

Ca' Foscari Japanese Studies 18
Linguistics and Language Education 3

e-ISSN 2724-2285
ISSN 2724-1203

Materials and Methods of Analysis for the Study of the Ainu Language Southern Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Varieties

Elia Dal Corso



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari



Materials and Methods of Analysis for the Study
of the Ainu Language

Ca' Foscari Japanese Studies
Linguistics and Language Education

Collana diretta da | A series directed by
Luisa Bienati, Paolo Calvetti,
Toshio Miyake, Massimo Raveri

18 | 3



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Ca' Foscari Japanese Studies

Linguistics and Language Education

General scientific editors

History and Society sub-series: **Toshio Miyake** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Arts and Literature sub-series: **Luisa Bienati** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Linguistics and Language Education sub-series: **Paolo Calvetti** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Religion and Thought sub-series: **Massimo Raveri** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Scientific boards

History and Society sub-series: **Nicola Bassoni** (Università degli Studi di Genova, Italia) **Sonia Favi** (The University of Manchester, UK) **Kimio Itō** (Kyoto University, Japan) **Toshio Miyake** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Andrea Revelant** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Steffi Richter (Universität Leipzig, Deutschland) **Sven Saaler** (Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan) **Hirofumi Utsumi** (Otemon Gakuin University, Japan) **Marco Zappa** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Arts and Literature sub-series: **Tomoko Aoyama** (The University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia) **Jaqueline Berndt** (Kyoto Seika University, Japan) **Luisa Bienati** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Katja Centonze** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Caterina Mazza (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Daniela Moro** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Carolina Negri** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Andreas Regelsberger** (Universität Trier, Deutschland)

Bonaventura Ruperti (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Silvia Vesco** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Pierantonio Zanotti** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Linguistics and Language Education sub-series: **Patrick Heinrich** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Hideo Hosokawa** (Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan) **Kikuo Maekawa** (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, Tokyo, Japan)

Marcella Mariotti (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Giuseppe Pappalardo** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Barbara Pizziconi** (SOAS, University of London, UK) **Aldo Tollini** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Religion and Thought sub-series: **Giovanni Bulian** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia) **Andrea De Antoni** (Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan) **Federico Marcon** (Princeton University, USA) **Tatsuma Padoan** (University College Cork, Ireland) **Silvia Rivadossi** (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Executive coordinator

Marcella Mariotti (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Head office



Dipartimento di Studi sull'Asia e sull'Africa Mediterranea

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

Palazzo Vendramin dei Carmini

Dorsoduro 3462

30123 Venezia

e-ISSN 2724-2285

ISSN 2724-1203



URL <https://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/en/edizioni4/collane/ca-foscari-japanese-studies/>

**Materials and Methods
of Analysis for the Study
of the Ainu Language**
Southern Hokkaidō
and Sakhalin Varieties

Elia Dal Corso

Venezia

Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Venice University Press

2022

Materials and Methods of Analysis for the Study of the Ainu Language. Southern Hokkaidō
and Sakhalin Varieties
Elia Dal Corso

© 2022 Elia Dal Corso for the text
© 2022 Edizioni Ca' Foscari for the present edition



Quest'opera è distribuita con Licenza Creative Commons Attribuzione 4.0 Internazionale
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License



Any part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted
in any form or by any means without permission provided that the source is fully credited.

Qualunque parte di questa pubblicazione può essere riprodotta, memorizzata in un
sistema di recupero dati o trasmessa in qualsiasi forma o con qualsiasi mezzo, elettronico
o meccanico, senza autorizzazione, a condizione che se ne citi la fonte.



Scientific certification of the works published by Edizioni Ca' Foscari: the essay published
has received a favourable evaluation by subject-matter experts, through a double blind
peer review process under the responsibility of the Scientific Committee of the series. The
evaluations were conducted in adherence to the scientific and editorial criteria established
by Edizioni Ca' Foscari, using a dedicated platform.

Certificazione scientifica delle Opere pubblicate da Edizioni Ca' Foscari: il saggio pubblicato
ha ottenuto il parere favorevole da parte di valutatori esperti della materia, attraverso un
processo di revisione doppia anonima, sotto la responsabilità del Comitato scientifico
della collana. La valutazione è stata condotta in aderenza ai criteri scientifici ed editoriali
di Edizioni Ca' Foscari, ricorrendo all'utilizzo di apposita piattaforma.

Edizioni Ca' Foscari
Fondazione Università Ca' Foscari | Dorsoduro 3246 | 30123 Venezia
<http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it> | ecf@unive.it

1st edition April 2022
ISBN 978-88-6969-585-8 [ebook]
ISBN 978-88-6969-604-6 [print]

Materials and Methods of Analysis for the Study of the Ainu Language. Southern Hokkaidō
and Sakhalin Varieties / Elia Dal Corso — 1. ed. — Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2022. —
xii + 164 p.; 23 cm. — (Ca' Foscari Japanese Studies; 18, 3). — ISBN 978-88-6969-604-6.

URL <https://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/it/edizioni/libri/978-88-6969-585-8/>
DOI <http://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-585-8>

Materials and Methods of Analysis for the Study of the Ainu Language Southern Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Varieties

Elia Dal Corso

Abstract

This volume is intended to be a practical manual to learn the basics of the Ainu language, in its varieties of Southern Hokkaidō and Sakhalin. Each lesson presents one specific topic that is investigated taking into account both varieties of the language. Three kinds of activities guide the student throughout each lesson to inductively make generalisations on the language that can be supported by linguistic evidence and, possibly, to revise the information they were given as a start of their analysis. In order to do this, the student learns to observe the data, recognize recurring patterns and exceptions, and formulate a description of the language behaviours illustrated by the given examples. At the end of each lesson the student actively gains knowledge of the Ainu language by producing themselves a set of descriptive rules. The course aims at giving the student some basic analytical tools to approach and analyse Ainu language sources. Furthermore, the student will gain knowledge about the genealogical relationship of the Ainu language and about important sociolinguistic issues relative to its past history and present status of vitality.

Keywords Ainu. Language teaching. Linguistics. Endangered languages. Language analysis.

Materials and Methods of Analysis for the Study of the Ainu Language
Southern Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Varieties
Elia Dal Corso

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments both on the general content and on the Ainu examples specifically. My gratitude also goes to Patrick Heinrich, Giuseppe Pappalardo, and Paolo Calveti for their support of the project that has led to the publication of this volume.

Table of Contents

1	Introductory Lesson: Generalities of the Ainu Language	3
2	Phonemic Inventory: The Sounds of the Language	9
3	Personal Affixes, Reciprocal and Reflexive	17
4	Inalienable Possessive Forms	29
5	The Ainu Passive Construction	43
6	Relative Clauses	51
7	Negatives	57
8	Noun Incorporation	65
9	Source of Information	71
10	Antipassive	79
11	Motion and Location	87
12	Aspect	93
13	Applicatives	101
14	Clause Linking	107
15	Some Uses of Nominalisation	115
16	Learning Ainu: Perspectives and Attitudes	121
17	The Ainu Language: Bilingualism and Language Education	127

18 Ainu's Relation to Other Languages	133
Appendix	141
Glossary	143
List of Glosses	155
Bibliography	157

**Materials and Methods of Analysis
for the Study of the Ainu Language**
Southern Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Varieties

1 **Introductory Lesson: Generalities of the Ainu Language**

Summary 1.1 The Ainu Language. – 1.2 The Rules of a Language. – 1.3 Linguistic Typology.

1.1 The Ainu Language

Ainu is a language of Far East Asia historically spoken in the territories of today's Russia and Japan that face the Southern Okhotsk Sea. Specifically, Ainu was spoken all through the Japanese island of Hokkaidō (also referred to as 'Ezo/Yezo' in old sources), in the southern part of Sakhalin island (called 'Karafuto' by Japanese people), in the Kuril Islands chain (called 'Chishima' by Japanese people), and in the southernmost tip of the Kamchatka peninsula. Although a number of hypotheses about Ainu's relation to other languages have been proposed (Dougherty 2019, 100), the language is presently classified as an isolate (see Lesson 18). There exist three main varieties of the language, that take their names from the regions where the language was spoken: Hokkaidō Ainu, Sakhalin Ainu, and Kuril Ainu. Both Kuril Ainu and Sakhalin Ainu are extinct, and Hokkaidō Ainu is classified as critically endangered by UNESCO.

1 • Introductory Lesson: Generalities of the Ainu Language



Figure 1
Ainu and its neighbour languages

1.2 The Rules of a Language

For any language we can have prescriptive rules and descriptive rules. How do they differ?

- Prescriptive rules tell us what is ‘right’ and what is ‘wrong’, that is how the language *should* or *shouldn’t* be used for a correct and efficient communication. These rules define what is grammatical and what is ungrammatical.
- Descriptive rules tell us how the language *is actually* used by speakers, making no judgement on its being ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. They are based on empirical observations made of the language, that help analyse and describe its patterns.

In this course we will try to produce descriptive rules from the Ainu data we analyse.

Exercise 1

Are the following statements prescriptive or descriptive?

1. Some masculine nouns in Icelandic do not have the ending *-i* in the dative singular.
2. The English sentence *I don't say nothing* is wrong.
3. In written English one should avoid contracted verb forms such as *haven't* or *doesn't*.
4. In the English language used on social networks we see the tendency to not use the apostrophe in contracted verb forms (e.g. *dont* for *don't*).
5. The Italian sentence *a me la linguistica non mi piace* is wrong.

1.3 Linguistic Typology

Typology is a discipline of linguistics that studies the variation among languages, measuring its span, differences, and similarities. Typologists create 'groups' of linguistic features that bring languages together and that can be employed to make predictions about those languages.

There exist different types of typology, that refer to different areas of linguistics and are thus defined using different criteria. It follows that languages akin to each other with regards to one typology may differ with regards to another. There are two main typologies:

Morphological typology

- Synthesis index or "how many morphemes are there in one word?"

The answer to this question delineates a continuum at whose extremes we find isolating (or analytic) languages, with one or a few morphemes per word, and polysynthetic languages, with many morphemes per word.



Central Yup'ik (Eskimo-Aleut, USA) is an example of a polysynthetic language.

Tuntu-ssur-qatar-ni-ksaite-ngqiggte-uq.

reindeer-hunt-FUT-say-NEG-again-3SG.IND

'He had not yet said again that he was going to hunt reindeer.'

(Eliza Orr in Payne 2006, 190)

1 • Introductory Lesson: Generalities of the Ainu Language

- Fusivity index or “how many functions/meanings are there *simultaneously* in one morpheme?”

The answer to this question delineates a continuum at whose extremes we find agglutinative languages, with one meaning per morpheme, and fusional languages, with many meanings per morpheme.



Japanese (Japonic, Japan) and Russian (Slavic, Russia) are examples of an agglutinative and a fusional language respectively.

Mi-saser-u.

see-CAUS-N.PST

‘To make see.’

Ja čita-ju knig-u.

I read-1S.PRES book-ACC.F.S

‘I read a book.’

Syntactic typology

“What is the linear order of the verb and the direct object with respect to each other?”

The answer to this question distinguishes languages in two main groups: VO and OV. This syntactic order of constituents usually has systematic repercussions on the order of words within phrases and clauses within sentences.

VO languages usually have:

- prepositions
- auxiliary-verb
- main clause-relative clause
- verb-adverb
- ...

OV languages usually have:

- postpositions
- verb-auxiliary
- relative clause-main clause
- adverb-verb
- ...

1 • Introductory Lesson: Generalities of the Ainu Language

Exercise 2

Ainu (Isolate, Japan) (constructed examples)

Consider the following clauses and their translation. How much can you understand of the main characteristics of this language? What kind of observations concerning its typology can you make by looking at these examples?

<i>Seta apkas</i>	'A dog walks'
<i>Seta kam e</i>	'A dog eats meat'
<i>Kam k-e</i>	'I eat meat'
<i>Seta ku-nukar</i>	'I see a dog'
<i>Huci cise orun apkas</i>	'The old woman walks towards the house'
<i>Cape ci-nukar</i>	'We see a cat'
<i>Apkas-as</i>	'We walk'
<i>Pon cape</i>	'The small cat'
<i>Poro cise ku-nukar</i>	'I see a big house'
<i>Seta pon</i>	'The dog is small'
<i>Pon seta</i>	'The small dog'

Exercise 3

Nivkh (Isolate, Russia) (constructed examples)

Consider the following clauses and their translation. How much can you understand of the main characteristics of this language? What kind of observations concerning its typology can you make by looking at these examples?

Fill in the set with the missing translations. Then, on the basis of the morphosyntactic rules of the language you have deduced from these examples, form one grammatical and one ungrammatical sentence.

<i>ɲivxyu p^hrəc</i>	'The men come'
<i>umguyu itc</i>	'The women speak'
<i>ɲivxyu p^href ɲəɲc</i>	'The men look for their own house'
<i>c^haχ urɟ</i>	'The water is good'
<i>umgu ɲtefin c^hai taj</i>	'The woman drinks tea in my house'
<i>if ɲteftoχ p^hrəɟ</i>	'She comes towards my house'
<i>umgu liys ɲəɲɟ</i>	'The woman looks for the wolf'
<i>atak q^hotr k^huɟ</i>	'Grandfather kills a bear'
<i>ɲivxyu ɲatak q^hotr k^huyəfttoχ vic</i>	'The men go to the place where my grandfather has just killed a bear'
<i>ɲivxyu c^hai tayətc</i>	'The men drink all the tea'
<i>umgu p^hreftoχ vij</i>	
	'The bears look for water'

Exercise 4

Yagua (Peba-Yaguan, Peru) (examples from Payne 2006, 204-5)

On the basis of the following examples determine whether this language is of the VO or OV type and whether it is of the SV or VS type. Justify your answer. Then list your observations on the order of the other constituents – given your generalisations on syntactic typology, is this constituent order expected or not (or you can't tell)? In the following exercise the asterisk marks ungrammatical examples.

1. a. Sa-munaa-dee Alchíco. 'Alchico's placenta.'
3SG-placenta-DIM Alchico
- b. Alchíco munaadee. 'Alchico's placenta.'
*Munaadee Alchíco, *Alchico samunaadee.
- c. Samunaadee 'His placenta.'
2. Jirya munaadee. 'This placenta.'
*Munaadee Jirya.
3. Tinkii munaadee. 'One placenta.'
*Munaadee tinkii.
4. Samunaadee kúútya. 'His placenta whispers.'
5. Sakúútya Alchíco munaadee. 'Alchico's placenta whispers.'
6. Jíryoonú súúy-anú sa-roori-myú Alchíco-níí.
bushmaster bite-PAST 3SG-house-LOC Alchico-3SG
'A bushmaster (snake) bit him in Alchico's house.'
*Jíryoonú sasúúyanuníí. ('A bushmaster he bit him.')
7. Sa-súúy-anú jíryoonú Alchíco roori-myú-níí.
3SG-bite-PAST bushmaster-3SG Alchico house-LOC-3SG
'A bushmaster (snake) bit him in Alchico's house.'
8. Sa-ą ráá-kyu. 'He will jump!'
3SG-FUT jump-POT
*Ráákyu saą, *Saráákyu saą, *Saráákyu ą.
9. Sa-niy suvú-tyaa jiiñu munátya sų-úmuteqesá
3SG-MALF fear-INTS this ancestor 3SG-behind
munaa játiy sa-ręę-níí.
placenta REL 3SG-jump-3SG
'This ancestor is really afraid behind the placenta that makes him jump.'
10. Ra-a jáá-charatá jiyu-dáy koodí-vyiimú.
1SG-FUT fall-might here-DAY snake-inside
'I might fall here inside a snake.'

2 **Phonemic Inventory: The Sounds of the Language**

Summary 2.1 Background Information and Observation. – 2.2 Research. – 2.3 Analysis and Description.

2.1 Background Information and Observation

Both Hokkaidō Ainu and Sakhalin Ainu (that will be abbreviated as HA and SA respectively from now on) have five vowels, represented in the latin script by *a, e, i, o, u*, and twelve consonants, represented in the latin script by *p, t, k, c, s, r, m, n, w, y, h, '* . The apostrophe is used to signal the glottal stop /ʔ/, a plosive glottal voiceless consonant that consists in an obstruction of the airflow in the glottis and produces a sort of pause like when in English we exclaim *uh-oh*.

This orthography in the latin script represents the following phonemes. I refer the reader to this interactive IPA chart for sound (<http://www.ipachart.com/>) and to Ladefoged, Maddieson (1996) among others for further discussion:

→ Consider this additional information...

1. Not all consonants of Ainu are allowed to occur at the end of a word. Precisely, the consonants not allowed word-finally are *c*, *h*, and the glottal stop in HA, and *p*, *t*, *k*, *c*, *r*, and the glottal stop in SA.
2. For plosive consonants there is no voiced-voiceless opposition, so that *p*, *t*, *k* can sometimes be realised respectively as *b* [b], *d* [d], *g* [g] without compromising the comprehensibility of the word and without changing its meaning.
3. The syllable structure is identical in HA and SA. SA might have a long vs. short vowel distinction in open syllables, which would have resulted in two more syllable types (i.e. CVV and VV). The status of long vowels is still debated (see Dal Corso 2021). The table below shows the possible syllable structure in both varieties.
4. Syllable-initially and especially between vowels, the glottal stop may or may not be there depending on the speaker's idiolect, or it may disappear in fast speech.
5. Before /i/ the consonant *s* is realised as [ç] (e.g. *sisam* > ['çi.sam]).

Table 4 Syllable structure

HA	SA
CV	CV
CVC	CVC
V	V
VC	VC

→ Dataset 1 - Plosive consonants

Consider the following words containing the consonants *p*, *t*, and *k* (the words are within curly brackets and the consonants under scrutiny are in bold). What is the actual pronunciation of *p*, *t*, and *k* in these words? Is the pronunciation always the same or does it change? If it does change, what does the change depend on? What differences between varieties do you notice? What revisions can you make to the information you were previously given?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. ...*tane tunasno a'uyna* {**kuni**} *hi neno an...*
2. ...{**tanto**} *hene ya nisatta hene ya...*
3. ...*heru* {**ipe**} *takup aki kor okaan...*
4. ...*kani suy iyosno* {**tapan**} *akor...*
5. ...*akotanu un* {**nispa**} *an kusu keraypo...*

6. ...*tanto kani* {**anak**} *tasum kur kusu*...
7. ...{**katu**} *renkayne*...
8. ...{**a'enkopisip**} *kuye rusuy korka tanto*...
9. ...*tono* {**puri**} *ne yakun neno*...
10. ...*ray wa isam* {**ponanpa**} *hi wano*...
11. ...*easir* {**yuptek**} *menoko ane kusu*...
12. ...{**ponkatkemat**} *a'eoripak wa kusu*...
13. ...{**eypakasnupa**} *kusu*...

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. ...*otakata* {**poro**} *yaani*...
2. ...{**siripirika**} *kusu sakiita neampe*...
3. ...*anihi* {**kamuyutarikehe**} *naa*...
4. ...*anunuhu* {**in***karaha*} *neampe*...
5. ...*casca* *kanne orowa cas wa 'oman kanna cas wa* {**hosipi**}...
6. ...*ran nean tani* {**cip**} *tani 'atuykata rehta repun*...
7. ...*'oman* {**kusu**} *neyke nean*...
8. ...*pateh* {**antekihii**} *'utah nimpa*...
9. ...*husko 'aynu neyke kiro* {**patek**} *'us*...
10. ...*cih'ohta* {**sapahci**} *teh*...
11. ...{**mat**} *naa korohci*...
12. ...*kito* {**tahci**} *'usikehe woonekahci kusu arikihichi*...

→ Dataset 2 - The sibilant consonant s

Consider the following words containing the consonant *s* (the words are within curly brackets and the consonants under scrutiny are in bold). What is the actual pronunciation of *s* in these words? Is the pronunciation always the same or does it change? If it does change, what does the change depend on? What differences between varieties do you notice? What revisions can you make to the information you were previously given?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. ...*tane* {**oruspe**} *ne yakka*...
2. ...*nep akor* {**rusuy**} *ka somo ki*...
3. ...*orowano* {**isacise**} *orun suy karpa oasi* {**kus**}...
4. ...*tanto kani anak* {**tasum**} *kur kusu*...
5. ...*tanpe poka pirka* {**sekor**} *kuyaynu wa*...
6. ...*nen poka tono* {**nispa**} *ka* {**niwkes**} *pe*...
7. ...*hine* {**rewsi**} *okaan*...
8. ...*aonaha aunuhu cis rok* {**cis**} *rok kor*...
9. ...{**tektaksa**} *poka e'ekar wa*...
10. ...*kuhenoye* {**siri**} *ne wa*...
11. ...{**ase**} *aeyayetokoyki*...

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. ...*tah pahno* {**soyta**} 'an teh...
2. ...*nean* 'episkanpe ka {**'ahkas**} wa...
3. ...{'**arasuy**} kayki nean 'onnewrap 'uyna...
4. ...*kanna* {niskuru'onne} rikinkehci kun pe he ka...
5. ...'okayahci yayne {**sine**} paa inuhci koh...
6. ...{**cis**} turano neya...
7. ...'emuyke kehke wa cokoko wa {**'isam**}...
8. ...*neya* {'**aspe**} koro kamuy...
9. ...'ampene {kesetuyram} 'ankoro {kesetuysiw} 'ankoro kusu...
10. ...{ruronsota} 'oman manu ike...
11. ...paye'anihi teh {'**etaraan**}...

2.2 Research

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

→ *Dataset 3 - The consonants r and h*

Consider the following words containing *r* and *h* (the words are within curly brackets and the consonants under scrutiny are in bold). What is the actual pronunciation of *r* and *h* in these words? Is the pronunciation always the same or does it change? If it does change, what does the change depend on? What differences between varieties do you notice?

Set 3.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. ...*nokanan* {**hine**} anakne...
2. ...{sirkunne} akus ene...
3. ...*kotan awente cis* {**tura**}...
4. ...{**uhuy**} nicica {cihetarpare} <i> iyayko'okka...
5. ...*siyamam ka* {**hetukpa**} a {**korka**}...
6. ...e {**easir**} ukokusispa...
7. ...*tapan pe* {**rekor**}...
8. ...{unpirma} an kusu...
9. ...*kamuy* {renkayne} {**ri**} usketa okaan kusu...
10. ...{**huci**} utar upaskuma...
11. ...*hemanta etoko* {yaykar} kusu...
12. ...*nis* {**kotor**} epitta nociw kur ka...
13. ...{kuyaykorpore} hine...
14. ...*amaketa* {**toho**} anakne...
15. ...*itak uturu ne wa siran* {**ruwe**} un...
16. ...{sirukopukrototke} {siryasrototke}...

Set 3.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. ...*siska tarayka* {**nah**} 'ayyee...
2. ...*sine 'orohko* {**rayki**} *teh*...
3. ...{**hekaci**'**ihunkeh**} *nee manuu*...
4. ...*temana 'an sampe koro* {'**utar**} *ee*...
5. ...{'**ahun**} *manu neya sahpemuy 'ampa teh*...
6. ...*neya* {**supara**} {**haaciri**} *manu*...
7. ...{**husko**} 'ohta nah 'an...
8. ...{**tukusi****h**} *naa hemoy naa cuhceh naa*...
9. ...{**eoruspe**} *korohci*...
10. ...{**henke**} *tu 'Orohko rayki* {**teh**}...
11. ...*tu* {**mahtekur**} *teepis pateh 'an yahka*...
12. ...'ohkayo *nee* {**ruhe**'an} *manuu*...
13. ...{**kirarehci**} *manu ike* {**neeroh**} *hekacita tani*...
14. ...{**reekoh**} *manka 'ohkayone 'okayahci*...
15. ...*ku'ani tani* {**toomuh**} *kanne ku'itah omantene tani 'uwasi*...
16. ...{**neete****h**} 'orowa *cukiita* {**hosipihci**} *teh tani*...

Examples from Other Languages

Italian (Romance, Italy)

What does the distribution of the sounds /p/ and /t/ in Italian tell us?

toro	/'tɔro/
poro	/'pɔro/
vista	/'vista/
vispa	/'vispa/
posto	/'pɔsto/
tosto	/'tɔsto/

In Italian, the distribution and overall the presence of the sounds /p/ and /t/ in a word cannot be **predicted** on the basis of the other sounds in that word – see the words 'toro' and 'poro' that have, besides /p/ and /t/, the same vowels and the same consonant (i.e. they are **minimal pairs**). The sounds /p/ and /t/ can appear in the same **phonetic environment**, in words with different meanings – they are therefore said to be in **contrastive distribution**. When two sounds are in contrastive distribution and their alternation causes a change in a word's meaning then these sounds represent (**separate**) **phonemes** of that language.

Hupa (Athabaskan, USA)

(examples from Genetti 2014, 59)

[t ^h a:qʰ]	‘three’
[tax ^w e:t]	‘how’
[nɪtaʔ]	‘your mouth’
[nɪt ^h aʔ]	‘your father’
[ʔɪtʃ ^u m]	‘sand’
[t ^h a:k ^h uw]	‘sweathouse’
[t ^h ɪn]	‘trail’
[mɪmɪtʰ]	‘my belly’
[tʃ ^h ɪtʰ ^w uw]	‘he is crying’

As exemplified in this limited data set, in Hupa there are no minimal pairs that are differentiated by the vowels [ɪ] and [u]. If we look at the sounds occurring before *and* after [ɪ] and [u] we do not find any identical phonetic environment where they appear – they are not in contrastive distribution, but rather in **complementary distribution**. This means that in some phonetic environments we will find one sound and in others the other sound – the distribution of [ɪ] and [u] is **predictable**. From the examples above we see that [u] only occurs before a labial-velar sounds (either [m] or [w]), while [ɪ] never appears in this environment. We can therefore say that [ɪ] and [u] are **allophones** (different phonetic realisations) of the same phoneme. One or the other realisation depends on the environment where the sound is found. Since [ɪ] appears in the **most varied environments** (i.e. in between all kinds of consonants) but [u] appears only before a labial-velar consonant, we can conclude that /ɪ/ is the **underlying phoneme** (i.e. the ‘original’ sound) and [u] is the realisation it takes when in presence of a labial-velar consonant.

Formally, we can write this rule we just discovered as:

$$ɪ > |u| / _m; _w \text{ OR } ɪ > |u| / _C_{[\text{labial-velar}]}$$

$$ɪ > |ɪ| / [\text{elsewhere}]$$
Korean (Koreanic, Korea)

[hanguk]	‘Korea’
[tʰɪp]	‘house’
[kiʰtʰajʌk]	‘train station’

In Korean, stops at the end of a word (and generally in coda position within a syllable) are realised as unreleased. We signal the lack of audible sound with ‘̚’ in IPA.

Tausug (Austronesian, Philippines)

(examples from Soderberg, Ashley, Olson, 2012)

[sarsila]	‘genealogy’
[palman]	‘word’
[salʔaʔ]	‘simultaneously’
[parman]	‘word’
[sarʔaʔ]	‘simultaneously’
[salsila]	‘genealogy’

In Tausug, the phoneme /r/ can be realised either as [r] or as [l] in some words. These words do not change meaning when this change in pronunciation occurs. Preference for one or the other sound in this case depends on the speaker, and precisely on where the speaker lives – in the city or in a village. In this instance [r] and [l] are in **free variation**.

Gujarati (Indo-Aryan, India)

(examples from Esposito, Dowla Khan 2012)

[b̥ɑr]	‘outside’
[b̥ɑn̩]	‘excuse’
[d̥ɑ̃]	‘polluted’

In Gujarati, vowels can be pronounced with less strength, almost as breathing or whispering. This happens under the influence of particular syllable structure, tone, and other factors. A **breathy vowel** is signaled in IPA with ‘̥’.

2.3 Analysis and Description

Once you are finished with your analysis of the data, describe in no less than 300 words the phonetic changes that characterise *r* and *h* in Ainu citing the necessary examples from the analysed data (optionally also describe the phonetic changes occurring for the consonants taken into account in datasets 1 and 2). Try to comment on the following in your description.

- From what premises did your analysis start?
- What have the data you have analysed revealed?
- Try to transcribe into IPA the words you cite as examples.
- Making reference to examples from other languages, how can you technically define what happens in Ainu (and, optionally, how do you formalise these phenomena)?
- What aspects of the pronunciation of *r* and *h* remain dubious?
- In your opinion, what kind of examples could be useful to clarify these doubts?

3 Personal Affixes, Reciprocal and Reflexive

Summary 3.1 Background Information and Observation. – 3.2 Research. – 3.3 Analysis and Description.

3.1 Background Information and Observation

HA makes a distinction among first, second, third, and fourth person, while SA only distinguishes first, second, and third person. The term ‘fourth person’ is actually an improper term since it could be easily misunderstood as referring to the obviative person in a direct-inverse alignment (see e.g. Jacques, Antonov 2014). Tamura (2000) prefers to discuss it as ‘indefinite person’. However, since referencing to an indefinite agent is only one of the functions of fourth person, this latter term has found its place in Ainu studies and it continues to be widely employed.

The so-called fourth person of HA is used to mark a first person plural inclusive (that is, a first person plural ‘we’ that includes the speaker and the interlocutor) (1), as opposed to the first person plural exclusive (that is, a first person plural ‘we’ that includes the speaker, some other referent(s) but not the interlocutor). The fourth person is otherwise used to mark an indefinite agent (2), a second person honorific (3), or a first person in direct speech (4).

- (1) *‘Eun ‘i-nu-‘an kuni p somo ne na.*
3/towards AP-hear-4S COND thing NEG COP FP
[These] are things **we** (= you and I) shouldn’t pay attention to.’ (Tamura 2000, 63)

- (2) *Cise-tumam* ‘anak ki ani ‘a-kar.
house-wall TOP reed with 4S-3PO/make
‘The walls of the house are made of reed [lit.: **someone** made the walls of the house with reed].’ (Tamura 2000, 71)
- (3) *Ku-yupo,* sinenne ‘a-ani ruwe he ‘an?
1S-older.brother.POSS alone 4S-3SO/carry DIR.RSN <FOC> DIR.RSN
‘Older brother, did **you** carry [that] by yourself?’ (Tamura 2000, 67)
- (4) *Ta-p* ‘a-e_upaskuma tane ka ki ...sekor Haca sekor
this-thing 4S-APPL-3SO/tell now even SLV/VO/do COMP Haca COMP
‘a-ye ‘acapo hawean.
4S-3SO/say old.man 3SS/speak
‘An old man called Haca said: “Indeed now **I** tell these facts ...”’ (Tamura 1984, 22)

In SA there is no separate fourth person. In this Ainu variety the personal affixes *an-/an*, cognates of the HA ones, are treated as the default forms for first person plural (Murasaki 1979). Nevertheless, the affixes overlap functionally in the two varieties to some extent, enough that the meanings illustrated in examples (2) and (4) are also attested for the SA *an-/an* (5)-(6). For this reason, it makes sense to acknowledge the presence of a polysemic ‘fourth person’ in SA as well (Dal Corso 2021). Differently from HA, the fourth person forms in SA have become the only way to express first person plural.

There are of course some differences with the HA fourth person. Since there is no separate marking for fourth person and first person plural, a formal distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive is absent. Moreover, fourth person markers in SA are not used to cross-reference an honorific second person.

- (5) *Ene an tok-[i]hi ‘an-kara pe.*
like.this 3SS/exist.PC 3/mark-POSS IP-3PO/make thing
‘Such [enormous] structures [could have made one think that] **someone** made them [on purpose].’ (Dal Corso 2021)
- (6) ‘An-kamesu-hu hee ‘an-kaasiw-e[he] he ‘an-ki kusu
4S-3SO/help-NMLZ FOC 4S-3SO/aid-NMLZ FOC 4S-3SO/do CAU.FIN
neampe nah ramu.
TOP COMP 3SS/3SO/think
‘She thought: “How in the world [can] **I** do to help or assist it?”’ (Dal Corso 2021)

Person is marked on Ainu verbs via affixes (both prefixes and suffixes). In both HA and SA third person singular is signalled by the lack of affixes. While for HA this is also true for third person plural, in SA this

latter can sometimes be marked overtly. **Personal affixes are only used for the subject and the object (or indirect object) of a verb and a maximum of two affixes can be attached to a verb.** The following tables show all personal agreement markers (subject referent) of the verbal paradigm on an intransitive and a transitive verb.

Table 1 Personal agreement affixes of HA and SA with the intransitive verb *mina/miina* 'laugh'

person	HA	SA
1sg	<i>ku-mina</i>	<i>ku-miina</i>
2sg	<i>e-mina</i>	<i>e-miina</i>
3sg	<i>mina</i>	<i>miina</i>
1pl	<i>mina-as</i>	-
2pl	<i>eci-mina</i>	<i>eci-miina</i>
3pl	<i>mina</i>	<i>miina(-hci)</i>
4	<i>mina-an</i>	<i>miina-an</i>

Table 2 Personal agreement affixes of HA and SA with the transitive verb *nukar/nukara* 'see, look', with implied third person singular object

person	HA	SA
1sg	<i>ku-nukar</i>	<i>ku-nukara</i>
2sg	<i>e-nukar</i>	<i>e-nukara</i>
3sg	<i>nukar</i>	<i>nukara</i>
1pl	<i>ci-nukar</i>	-
2pl	<i>eci-nukar</i>	<i>eci-nukara</i>
3pl	<i>nukar</i>	<i>nukara(-hci)</i>
4	<i>a-nukar</i>	<i>an-nukara</i>

→ Consider this additional information...

1. The verbal prefix *yay-* expresses reflexivity: the action carried out by the doer falls back on them – e.g. *yay-kar* (HA), *yay-ka-ra* (SA) 'become [lit.: make oneself]'
2. The verbal prefix *u-* expresses reciprocity: the verb has a plural subject whose parts carry out an action towards each other – e.g. *u-koyki* (HA, SA) 'fight [lit.: beat each other up]'

→ Dataset 1 - Transitive agreement

Consider the following example sentences and the relative translations (sentences marked with * are ungrammatical). Can you determine the full transitive agreement paradigm of Ainu verbs? Try to fill in the tables below. Can you determine what is the correct version of sentences marked as ungrammatical? What peculiarities do you notice? What generalisations on the syntactic typology of the language can you make? What revisions/additions to the previously given information can you propose?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. <i>Aynu poyson se.</i>	The man carries the baby on his back.
2. * <i>Ciecinukar.</i>	We (exc.) see you all.
3. <i>Huci wakkata kopan.</i>	The old woman hates drawing water.
4. <i>Poyson kuse.</i>	I carry a baby on my back.
5. <i>Kuyupoho ekopan.</i>	My older brother hates you.
6. <i>Ecinukar.</i>	I see you all.
7. <i>Aese.</i>	Someone carries you on their back.
8. * <i>Kuennukar.</i>	I see myself.
9. <i>Aise.</i>	We (exc.) carry someone on our back.
10. <i>Ecikopan.</i>	I hate you.
11. <i>Poro sike ecise.</i>	You all carry a big luggage on your back.
12. * <i>Ciese.</i>	We (exc.) carry you on our backs.
13. <i>Huci ise.</i>	The old woman carries someone on her back.
14. <i>Aecinukar.</i>	Someone sees you all.
15. <i>Apkasas.</i>	We (exc.) walk.
16. * <i>Enanukar.</i>	Someone sees me.
17. <i>Aenkopan.</i>	Someone hates me.
18. <i>Eciense.</i>	You all carry me on your back.
19. * <i>Ainukar.</i>	We (inc.) see ourselves.
20. <i>Tan poyson unkopan.</i>	This baby hates us (exc.).
21. <i>Aunse.</i>	Someone carries us (exc.) on their back.
22. <i>Aynu ennukar.</i>	A person sees me.
23. * <i>Eense.</i>	You carry me on your back.
24. <i>Ni ase.</i>	We (inc.) carry firewood on our back.
25. <i>Kuise.</i>	I carry someone on my back.
26. <i>Ecikopan.</i>	We (exc.) hate you all.
27. * <i>Kuekopan.</i>	I hate you.
28. <i>Unnukar.</i>	You see us (exc.).
29. <i>Kuyaynukar.</i>	I see myself.
30. * <i>Ikuse.</i>	I carry someone on my back.
31. <i>Apkasan.</i>	We (inc.) walk.
32. <i>Ni ese.</i>	You carry firewood on your back.
33. <i>Teta eciinukar.</i>	You all see someone here.
34. <i>Eciunkopan.</i>	You all hate us (exc.).
35. <i>Poyson ecinukar.</i>	The baby looks at you all.
36. <i>Ainukar.</i>	Someone sees us (inc.).
37. <i>Ni cise.</i>	We (exc.) carry firewood on our back.
38. <i>Enkopan ruwe?</i>	Do you hate me?
39. <i>Eciunukar.</i>	You all look at each other.
40. <i>Ecise.</i>	We (exc.) carry you on our back.
41. <i>Aynu ka poyson ka unnukar.</i>	The man and the baby look at us (exc.).
42. <i>Eise.</i>	You carry someone on your back.
43. * <i>Yayecinukar.</i>	You all see yourselves.

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. <i>Eciinuu.</i>	You all hear us.
2. <i>Tan aynu etura.</i>	This person accompanies you.
3. <i>Wen aynu seta koyki.</i>	The bad man beats up the dog.
4. <i>Ceh ankoyki.</i>	We beat up (= kill) the fish.
5. <i>Ecikoykiyan.</i>	I beat you all.
6. * <i>Eentura.</i>	You accompany me.
7. <i>Annuuhci.</i>	We hear them.
8. <i>Ekasi ucaskuma nuu.</i>	The old man hears the tale.
9. <i>Ennuu.</i>	You hear me.
10. <i>Ukoykian.</i>	We beat up (= strike) each other.
11. * <i>Kuenuu.</i>	I hear you.
12. <i>Ahci ecitura.</i>	You all accompany the old woman.
13. <i>Esetaha ekoykihci.</i>	You beat up your dogs.
14. <i>Ennuuhci.</i>	Someone hears me.
15. * <i>Kuenkoyki.</i>	I beat up (= strike) myself.
16. <i>Ecikoykihci.</i>	They beat you all.
17. <i>Enturayan.</i>	You all accompany me.
18. <i>Ahciutah seta koyki.</i>	The old women beat up the dog.
19. <i>Annuu.</i>	We hear them.
20. * <i>Yaykukoyki.</i>	I beat up (= strike) myself.
21. <i>Inuu.</i>	You hear us.
22. <i>Ahci ka ekasi ka seta eciturahci.</i>	You all accompany the old woman and the old man.
23. <i>Ahci nuuhci.</i>	The old woman hears them.
24. <i>Ecikoyki.</i>	I beat you up.
25. * <i>Anikoyki.</i>	We beat up ourselves.
26. <i>Iturahci.</i>	They accompany us.
27. <i>Inuuyan.</i>	You all hear us.
28. <i>Ahci kunuu.</i>	I hear the old woman.
29. <i>Anetura.</i>	We accompany you.
30. <i>Ahci ka ekasi ka seta koykihci.</i>	The old woman and the old man beat up the dog.
31. <i>Ahciutah kuturahci.</i>	I accompany the old women.
32. <i>Kuyaykoyki.</i>	I beat up (= strike) myself.
33. <i>Aynu inuu.</i>	The man hears us.
34. <i>Ekoykihci.</i>	They beat you up.
35. <i>Ahciutah ekasi ka seta ka nuuhci.</i>	The old women hear an old man and a dog.
36. <i>Ekasi ecitura.</i>	The old man accompanies you all.
37. * <i>Ahci nuuhci.</i>	The old woman hears someone.
38. <i>Ecinuuyan.</i>	We hear you all.
39. <i>Ceh ekoyki.</i>	You beat up (= kill) the fish.
40. <i>Aynu enkoyki.</i>	The man beats me up.

Transitive agreement paradigm (HA)

	1SO	1PO	2SO	2PO	3SO	3PO	4O
1SS							
1PS							
2SS							
2PS							
3SS							
3PS							
4S							

Transitive agreement paradigm (SA)

	1SO	1PO (4O)	2SO	2PO	3SO	3PO
1SS						
1PS (4S)						
2SS						
2PS						
3SS						
3PS						

Once you are finished, compare your results with the tables in the appendix.

3.2 Research

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

→ *Dataset 2 - Phonological changes*

Consider the verb forms that appear in the following short sentences. All verb forms are given in IPA (note that: indicates a long vowel/double consonant) and they feature some of the intransitive and transitive personal agreement affixes, and the reflexive and reciprocal prefixes *yay-* [jaj-] and *u-* [u-] that you have just analysed. What changes do you notice in their phonological realisation or in the realisation of the verb they are attached to?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. ajnu suma kik'	The man hits the rock.
2. teta itanki kama	I put the bowl here.
3. eṭaius	You all extinguish.
4. sajo itanki?or oma	The rice is in the bowl
5. itanki kukik'	I hit the bowl.
6. ɸutai seta ere	The old woman feeds the dog.
7. ɕaikehe ɕama	We (exc.) put down our luggage.
8. atuj?orun kapkas	I walk to the sea.
9. eapkas	You walk.
10. kujosura	I throw someone.
11. ɸunakun eṭai?osura ja	Where do you throw it?
12. ajnu pujaraḡ kari suma osura	The man throws the rock through the window.
13. kera?an kam patek'ke	I eat only delicious meat.
14. ɸutai ipe	The old woman eats.
15. ajnu itantai?ot:a su ama	The man puts the pot on the floor.
16. ɕep' ɕe ka somo ki	We (exc.) do not eat fish.
17. a?iosura	Someone throws us (inc.).
18. seta aere	We (inc.) feed the dog.
19. utaraḡ uwoma	The people are in each other (=gather together).
20. nupuri ejka	You cross the mountain.
21. ɸutai rurū e	The old woman eats soup.
22. suma kosura	I throw the rock.
23. utaraḡ ukik'	The people hit each other.
24. ?a?inukaraḡ	Someone sees us (inc.).
25. kosura	I throw [it].
26. pet?ot:a suma ɕosura	We (exc.) throw the rock into the river.
27. ipe?as	We (exc.) eat.
28. juk'pet?orun arapa	The deer goes to the river.
29. toan nupuri kujka	I cross that mountain.
30. ɸutai ijere	The old woman feeds us (inc.).
31. tanto kuipe ka somo ki	Today I do not eat.
32. juk'am eṭai	You all eat deer meat.
33. poron:o eṭai:pe	You all eat a lot.
34. tunasno apkas	They walk fast.
35. pase ɕike kuk'	I take a heavy luggage.
36. eciapkas	You all walk.
37. suma ɕuk'	We (exc.) take a rock.
38. nupuri ɕaika ka eajkap'	We (exc.) cannot cross the mountain.
39. kus	I extinguish.
40. kamuj kuɕikehe uk'	A bear takes my luggage.
41. ipe?an	We (inc.) eat.

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. itanki ku?ampa | I bring a bowl. |
| 2. ajnu ramu | The man thinks of it. |
| 3. ah̄t̄ai jo:nohka | The old woman lulls us. |
| 4. itanki eampaha | Do you bring a bowl? |
| 5. meko t̄ceh kue:re | I feed fish to the cat. |
| 6. nupuru anika: | We cross the mountain. |
| 7. ah̄t̄ai t̄ceh ēt̄ai?e:re | The old woman feeds you all fish. |
| 8. kuramu | I think of it. |
| 9. ajnu nupuru ika: | The man crosses the mountain. |
| 10. ah̄t̄ai iwante | The old woman knows us. |
| 11. ah̄t̄ai ten:ehpo o:nohka | The old woman lulls the baby. |
| 12. ni: ku?uφ | I take firewood. |
| 13. ni: ēt̄aiuφ | You all take firewood. |
| 14. ajnu haru jajkara | The man prepares provisions himself. |
| 15. ah̄t̄ai ajnu itah kue:t̄ca:kasno | I teach the old woman the Ainu language. |
| 16. ku?oman | I go. |
| 17. ah̄t̄ai t̄ceh je:re | The old woman feed us fish. |
| 18. seta ni: uφ | The dog takes firewood. |
| 19. nupuru kuika: | I cross the mountain. |
| 20. ah̄t̄ai meko ajnu itah e:t̄ca:kasno | The old woman teaches the Ainu language to the cat. |
| 21. ten:ehpo t̄ceh su: o:mare | The baby puts the fish in the pot. |
| 22. haru aj:ajkara | We prepare provisions ourselves. |
| 23. itanki anampa | We bring a bowl. |
| 24. ajnu i?a:re | The man makes us sit down. |
| 25. t̄ceh su: e?o:mare | You put the fish in the pot. |
| 26. antamu | We think of it. |
| 27. meko t̄ceh ēt̄ai:re | You all feed fish to the cat. |
| 28. ah̄t̄ai ajnu itah ije:t̄ca:kasno | The old woman teaches us the Ainu language. |
| 29. ni ku:φ | I take firewood. |
| 30. ah̄t̄ai su: io:mare | The old woman puts us in the pot. |
| 31. ten:ehpo t̄ceh ampa | The baby brings the fish. |
| 32. ah̄t̄ai ten:ehpo a:re | The old woman makes the baby sit down. |
| 33. ajnu itanki wo:mare | The man puts the bowls away [lit. makes the bowls be in each other] |
| 34. nupuru an?ika: | We cross the mountain. |
| 35. hemata eampaha | What do you bring? |
| 36. ah̄t̄ai aw:ante | We know the old lady. |
| 37. ten:ehpo eo:nohka | You lull the baby. |
| 38. su: kuampa | I bring the pot. |
| 39. nupuru ku?ika: | I cross the mountain. |
| 40. ah̄t̄ai t̄ceh i?e:re | The old woman feeds us fish. |

41. ἄρει εἰδιῶφι	You all take the fish.
42. ten:ehpo kuo:nohka	I lull the baby.
43. ajnu anʔa:re	I make the man sit.

Examples from Other Languages...

Ancient Greek (Hellenic, Greece)

γράφειν 'to write': perfect tense *γεγραφ- /γεγραφ/

ἔγραφα	γεγραφα	'I have written'
ἔγραφας	γεγραφας	'you have written'
ἔγραφε	γεγραφε	'he has written'
ἔγραφαμεν	γεγραφαμεν	'we have written'
ἔγραφατε	γεγραφατε	'you all have written'
ἔγραφατον	γεγραφατον	'you two have written'
ἔγραμμαι	γεγραμμαι	'I have been written'
ἔγραψαι	γεγραψαι	'you have been written'
ἔγραπται	γεγραπται	'he has been written'
ἔγραμμεθα	γεγραμμεθα	'we have been written'
ἔγραφθε	γεγραφθε	'you all have been written'
ἔγραφθον	γεγραφθον	'you two have been written'

In Ancient Greek the perfect tense of the verb γράφειν is formed from the stem *γεγραφ- [γεγραφ], that is made up of two **bound morphemes**: the verbal root γραφ- and the prefix Ce- (realised as γε- in this instance). When personal endings are added, the final sound of the verbal stem and the first sound of the personal suffix may be difficult to pronounce in sequence. Therefore, one of the two sounds is accommodated to ease pronunciation – one sound undergoes **assimilation** to the other. If the change concerns the second sound in the sequence, assimilation is said to be **progressive**. If the change concerns the first sound in the sequence, assimilation is said to be **regressive**. The case above shows two instances of regressive assimilation in the forms γεγραμμαι, γεγραμμεθα and γεγραπται, where the voiceless bilabial fricative /φ/ assimilates to the bilabial nasal /m/ and to the voiceless dental-alveolar plosive /t/ respectively, acquiring the same manner of articulation thus becoming itself the bilabial nasal [m] in the first case, or the voiceless bilabial plosive [p] in the second case. In all other phonetic environments /φ/ remains unchanged since we do not encounter difficulties in pronunciation.

We can formalise this assimilation as follows:

/φ/ > [m] / _m

/φ/ > [p] / _t

/φ/ > [φ] / elsewhere

The phonological change that concerns /φ/ in the form γεγραψαι is, on the contrary, a case of dissimilation (see below).

Sanskrit (Indo-Aryan, India)

Declension of the noun /go:d^huk/ ‘cow-milker’.

	singular	dual	plural
nom	go:d ^h uk	go:duhaw	go:duh ^h h
voc			
acc	go:duh ^h am		
ins	go:duha:	go:d ^h ugb ^h ja:m	go:d ^h ugb ^h ih
dat	go:duhe:		go:d ^h ugb ^h j ^h h
abl	go:duh ^h h	go:duho:h	go:duha:m
gen			go:d ^h uk ^h su
loc	go:duhi		

Throughout its declension, the Sanskrit noun go:d^huk ‘cow-milker’ features two phonological processes. The first process is assimilation (i.e. /k/ > [g] / _C_{voiced}) and the second is **dissimilation** which is the opposite of assimilation. With dissimilation a sound becomes less similar to another to ease pronunciation. In the case at hand the aspiration imposed on the voiced dental-alveolar plosive /d^h/ is lost whenever the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ appears in the noun ending. Like assimilation, dissimilation can be progressive or regressive. We formalise dissimilation in Sanskrit as follows:

/d^h/ > [d] / _uh

Hanunó'o (Austronesian, Philippines)

(data from Olson, Schultz 2002 in Payne 2006, 87)

ʔusa	‘one’	kasʔa	‘once’
duwa	‘two’	kadwa	‘twice’
tulu	‘three’	katlu	‘three times’
ʔupat	‘four’	kapʔat	‘four times’
pitu	‘seven’	kapitu	‘seven times’

In Hanunó'o numeral adverbs are formed with the addition of the prefix *ka-* to the cardinal number form. However, the first vowel of the cardinal number form disappears if it is *u*. This phonological process is called **elision** and again it serves to ease pronunciation. In addition to elision, cardinal numbers where *u* is preceded by the glottal stop also show **metathesis** – the glottal stop and the consonant following the elided *u* are inverted. We can formalise elision in adverbial numerals as follows:

/u/ > Ø / C_C

We can formalise elision followed by metathesis as:

/u/ > Ø / ʔ_C; ʔC₁ > C₁ʔ

Ancient Greek (Hellenic, Greece)

Declension of the noun ἀνὴρ 'man' /aner/ (root *ανρ- /anr/)

ἀνὴρ	aner	'the man'
ἀνδρός	andros	'of the man'
ἀνδρί	andri	'to the man'
ἄνδρα	andra	'the man'
ἄνερ	aner	'oh man'

The declension of the noun ἀνὴρ 'man' in Ancient Greek starts from the root *ανρ- /anr/ that contains a consonant cluster that is difficult to pronounce (i.e. /nr/). In order to ease pronunciation, an epenthetic sound is added – this process is called **insertion** (or **epenthesis**) and it is the opposite of elision.

We formalise insertion as it appears in the case at hand as follows: $\emptyset > [d] / n_r$

English (Germanic, UK)

(data from Payne 2006, 76)

ækjəət	'accurate'	ɪnækjəət	'inaccurate'
kɒŋɡruəs	'congruous'	ɪŋkɒŋɡruəs	'incongruous'
pɒsəbəl	'possible'	ɪmpɒsəbəl	'impossible'
dəskraɪ'bəbəl	'describable'	ɪndəskraɪ'bəbəl	'indescribable'
tɒləənt	'tolerant'	ɪntɒləənt	'intolerant'
sensɪtɪv	'sensitive'	ɪnsensɪtɪv	'insensitive'
veɪrɪəbəl	'variable'	ɪnveɪrɪəbəl	'invariable'
ɡlɒrɪəs	'glorious'	ɪŋɡlɒrɪəs	'inglorious'
meɪʒərəbəl	'measurable'	ɪmmeɪʒərəbəl	'immeasurable'
bæləns	'balance'	ɪmbæləns	'imbalance'

Morphemes can take different realisations depending on the **phonological environment** they are in. Sometimes, the phonological processes a morpheme undergoes (among which the ones above) can affect its realisation to the point where it is difficult to recognise the separate forms actually as the same morpheme. Usually semantics helps us in this case, giving us a hint of the same source for the separate forms we see. The prefixes [ɪn-], [ɪm-] and [ɪŋ-] in English are one such case, for which we can assume a same origin given the systematic meaning they contribute to the word they attach to (i.e. a negative meaning). To make linguistic analysis and description easier, morphemes are presented in one ‘representative’ form which may change due to phonological processes – this form is the **underlying form**. The underlying form should be the form that occurs in the largest number of environments and the one that is most difficult to derive by a rule – these two precautions save us a lot of time in writing derivation rules! In the case at hand, [ɪn-] appears before æ, d, t, s, v, [ɪm-] appears before p, m, b, and [ɪŋ-] appears before k, g. The most varied environment is the one of [ɪn-] that we take as our underlying form, while the other two realisations are **alloforms** of this latter. We can formalise the derivation rules as follows:

/ɪn-/ > [ɪm-] / _C [bilabial]

/ɪn-/ > [ɪŋ-] / _C [velar]

/ɪn-/ > [ɪn-] / elsewhere

See Payne 2006, 70-3 for further explanation.

3.3 Analysis and Description

Once you finish your analysis of the data, describe, in no less than 300 words, the phonological processes that characterise personal affixes of HA and SA. Provide the right name for them and, optionally, write a formal rule to describe them.

- From what premises did your analysis start?
- What is the underlying form of the HA first person singular subject and of the SA first person plural subject/fourth person (in transitive agreement)? Justify your answer.
- What type of alignment does Ainu display?
- If any, what doubts remain that prevent you from confidently answering this last question?
- How could these doubts be clarified?

4 Inalienable Possessive Forms

Summary 4.1 Background Information and Observation. – 4.2 Research. – 4.3 Analysis and Description.

4.1 Background Information and Observation

HA makes a distinction among first, second, third, and fourth person, while SA only distinguishes first, second, and third person. The term ‘fourth person’ is actually an improper term since it could be easily misunderstood as referring to the obviative person in a direct-inverse alignment (see e.g. Jacques, Antonov 2014). Tamura (2000) prefers to discuss it as ‘indefinite person’. However, since referencing to an indefinite agent is only one of the functions of fourth person, this latter term has found its place in Ainu studies and it continues to be widely employed.

The so-called fourth person of HA is used to mark a first person plural inclusive (that is, a first person plural ‘we’ that includes the speaker and the interlocutor) (1), as opposed to the first person plural exclusive (that is, a first person plural ‘we’ that includes the speaker, some other referent(s) but not the interlocutor). The fourth person is otherwise used to mark an indefinite agent (2), a second person honorific (3) and a first person in direct speech (4).

- (1) *‘Eun ‘i-nu-‘an kuni p somo ne na.*
3/towards AP-hear-4S COND thing NEG COP FP
[These] are things **we** (= you and I) shouldn’t pay attention to.’ (Tamura 2000, 63)

- (2) *Cise-tumam* ‘*anak ki ani* ‘*a-kar.*
 house-wall TOP reed with **4S-3PO**/make
 ‘The walls of the house are made of reed [lit.: **someone** made the walls of the house with reed].’ (Tamura 2000, 71)
- (3) *Ku-yupo,* *sinenne* ‘*a-ani ruwe he* ‘*an?*
 1S-older.brother.POSS alone **4S-3SO**/carry DIR.RSN <FOC> DIR.RSN
 ‘Older brother, did **you** carry [that] by yourself?’ (Tamura 2000, 67)
- (4) *Ta-p* ‘*a-e_upaskuma tane ka ki* ... *sekor Haca sekor*
 this-thing **4S-APPL-3SO**/tell now even SLV/VO/do COMP Haca COMP
 ‘*a-ye* ‘*acapo hawean.*
 4S-3SO/say old.man 3SS/speak
 ‘An old man called Haca said: “indeed now **I** tell these facts ...”’ (Tamura 1984, 22)

In SA there is no separate fourth person. In this Ainu variety the personal affixes *an-/an*, cognates of the HA ones, are treated as the default forms for first person plural (Murasaki 1979). Nevertheless, the affixes overlap functionally in the two varieties to some extent, enough that the meanings illustrated in examples (2) and (4) are also attested for the SA *an-/an* (5)-(6). For this reason, it makes sense to acknowledge the presence of a polysemic ‘fourth person’ in SA as well (Dal Corso 2021). Differently from HA, the fourth person forms in SA have become the only way to express first person plural.

There are of course some differences with the HA fourth person. Since there is no separate marking for fourth person and first person plural, a formal distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive is absent. Moreover, fourth person markers in SA are not used to cross-reference an honorific second person.

- (5) *Ene an tok-[i]hi* ‘*an-kara pe.*
 like.this 3SS/exist.PC 3/mark-POSS **IP-3PO**/make thing
 ‘Such [enormous] structures [could have made one think that] **someone** made them [on purpose].’ (Dal Corso 2021)
- (6) ‘*An-kamesu-hu hee* ‘*an-kaasiw-e[he] he* ‘*an-ki kusu*
4S-3SO/help-NMLZ FOC **4S-3SO**/aid-NMLZ FOC **4S-3SO**/do CAU.FIN
neampe nah ramu.
 TOP COMP 3SS/3SO/think
 ‘She thought: “How in the world [can] **I** do to help or assist it?”’ (Dal Corso 2021)

Person is marked on Ainu verbs via affixes (both prefixes and suffixes). In both HA and SA third person singular is signalled by the

lack of affixes. While for HA this is also true for third person plural, in SA this latter can sometimes be marked overtly. **Personal affixes are only used for the subject and the object (or indirect object) of a verb and a maximum of two affixes can be attached to a verb.** The following tables show all personal agreement markers (subject referent) of the verbal paradigm on an intransitive and a transitive verb.

Table 1 Personal agreement affixes of HA and SA with the intransitive verb *mina/miina* ‘laugh’

person	HA	SA
1sg	<i>ku-mina</i>	<i>ku-miina</i>
2sg	<i>e-mina</i>	<i>e-miina</i>
3sg	<i>mina</i>	<i>miina</i>
1pl	<i>mina-as</i>	-
2pl	<i>eci-mina</i>	<i>eci-miina</i>
3pl	<i>mina</i>	<i>miina(-hci)</i>
4	<i>mina-an</i>	<i>miina-an</i>

Table 2 Personal agreement affixes of HA and SA with the transitive verb *nukar/nukara* ‘see, look’, with implied third person singular object

person	HA	SA
1sg	<i>ku-nukar</i>	<i>ku-nukara</i>
2sg	<i>e-nukar</i>	<i>e-nukara</i>
3sg	<i>nukar</i>	<i>nukara</i>
1pl	<i>ci-nukar</i>	-
2pl	<i>eci-nukar</i>	<i>eci-nukara</i>
3pl	<i>nukar</i>	<i>nukara(-hci)</i>
4	<i>a-nukar</i>	<i>an-nukara</i>

→ Consider this additional information...

HA distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possession. When property of something can be suspended or removed, possession is said to be alienable. On the contrary, possession is inalienable when the property of something cannot be denied nor suspended and resumed – this kind of possession is common for nouns referring to body parts, bodily excretions, relatives and family, personal utensils, etc.

HA employs two distinct constructions to mark alienable and inalienable possession. Alienable possession is expressed with an analytic construction involving the verb *kor* ‘have’ on which the possessor is cross-referenced via transitive personal agreement markers in the subject form (7), while inalienable possession is expressed through

dedicated morphology in a synthetic construction (8) (see e.g. Tamura 2000, 81-9; Bugaeva 2004, 19-21).

- (7) 'A-*kor* *cise-soy-ta*.
4S-have house-outside-in
 'Outside of my house [lit.: the house that I have].' (Bugaeva 2004, 291)
- (8) '**A-*unu-hu-***'*oka-ke*.
4S-mother-POSS-behind-PTV
 'Behind my mother.' (Bugaeva 2004, 229)

In the synthetic possessive construction the possessor is again cross-referenced via transitive personal agreement markers in the subject form attached on the possessed noun. This latter noun also hosts the possessive suffix, which is *-hu* in (8).

The vowel in the possessive suffix is not fixed, but it is copied from the final vowel of the noun stem the suffix attaches to – e.g. *kampi* 'letter' > *kampihi* 'his/her/their letter', *sapa* 'head' > *sapaha* 'his/her/their head'. Therefore, we can provisionally treat the possessive suffix as having the form *-hV*. If the noun stem ends in a consonant, the possessive suffix takes the form *-VhV* and the copied vowel is the pre-consonant one in the noun stem – e.g. *kisar* 'ear' > *kisaraha* 'his/her/their ear', *tek* 'hand' > *tekehe* 'his/her/their hand'.

SA only displays the synthetic possessive construction for all nouns – formally there is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (Murasaki 1979, 81-4).

→ Dataset 1 - Transitive agreement¹

Consider the following example sentences and the relative translations (sentences marked with * are ungrammatical). Can you determine the full transitive agreement paradigm of Ainu verbs? Try to fill in the tables below. Can you determine what is the correct version of sentences marked as ungrammatical? What peculiarities do you notice? What generalisations on the syntactic typology of the language can you make? What revisions/additions to the previously given information can you propose?

1 For the reader's convenience, in this lesson I intentionally repeat Dataset 1 and part of the examples from other languages at the end of the activities from Lesson 3, since a proper understanding of the possessive forms' morphology featured in Dataset 2 follows from having completed (or revised) this activity on personal agreement affixes.

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Aynu poyson se.</i> | The man carries the baby on his back. |
| 2. * <i>Ciecinukar.</i> | We (exc.) see you all. |
| 3. <i>Huci wakkata kopan.</i> | The old woman hates drawing water. |
| 4. <i>Poyson kuse.</i> | I carry a baby on my back. |
| 5. <i>Yupoho ekopan.</i> | The older brother hates you. |
| 6. <i>Ecinukar.</i> | I see you all. |
| 7. <i>Aese.</i> | Someone carries you on their back. |
| 8. * <i>Kuennukar.</i> | I see myself. |
| 9. <i>Aise.</i> | We (exc.) carry someone on our back. |
| 10. <i>Ecikopan.</i> | I hate you. |
| 11. <i>Poro sike ecise.</i> | You all carry a big luggage on your back. |
| 12. * <i>Ciese.</i> | We (exc.) carry you on our backs. |
| 13. <i>Huci ise.</i> | The old woman carries someone on her back. |
| 14. <i>Aecinukar.</i> | Someone sees you all. |
| 15. <i>Apkas'as.</i> | We (exc.) walk. |
| 16. * <i>Enanukar.</i> | Someone sees me. |
| 17. <i>Aenkopan.</i> | Someone hates me. |
| 18. <i>Eciense.</i> | You all carry me on your back. |
| 19. * <i>Ainukar.</i> | We (inc.) see ourselves. |
| 20. <i>Tan poyson unkopan.</i> | This baby hates us (exc.). |
| 21. <i>Aunse.</i> | Someone carries us (exc.) on their back. |
| 22. <i>Aynu ennukar.</i> | A person sees me. |
| 23. * <i>Eense.</i> | You carry me on your back. |
| 24. <i>Ni ase.</i> | We (inc.) carry firewood on our back. |
| 25. <i>Kuise.</i> | I carry someone on my back. |
| 26. <i>Ecikopan.</i> | We (exc.) hate you all. |
| 27. * <i>Kuekopan.</i> | I hate you. |
| 28. <i>Unnukar.</i> | You see us (exc.). |
| 29. * <i>Ikuse.</i> | I carry someone on my back. |
| 30. <i>Apkasan.</i> | We (inc.) walk. |
| 31. <i>Ni ese.</i> | You carry firewood on your back. |
| 32. <i>Teta eciinukar.</i> | You all see someone here. |
| 33. <i>Eciunkopan.</i> | You all hate us (exc.). |
| 34. <i>Poyson ecinukar.</i> | The baby looks at you all. |
| 35. <i>Ainukar.</i> | Someone sees us (inc.). |
| 36. <i>Ni cise.</i> | We (exc.) carry firewood on our back. |
| 37. <i>Enkopan ruwe?</i> | Do you hate me? |
| 38. <i>Ecise.</i> | We (exc.) carry you on our back. |
| 39. <i>Aynu ka poyson ka unnukar.</i> | The man and the baby look at us (exc.). |
| 40. <i>Eise.</i> | You carry someone on your back. |

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. <i>Eciinuu.</i>	You all hear us.
2. <i>Tan aynu etura.</i>	This person accompanies you.
3. <i>Wen aynu seta koyki.</i>	The bad man beats up the dog.
4. <i>Ceh ankoyki.</i>	We beat up (= kill) the fish.
5. <i>Ecikoykiyan.</i>	I beat you all.
6. * <i>Eentura.</i>	You accompany me.
7. <i>Annuuhci.</i>	We hear them.
8. <i>Ekasi ucaskuma nuu.</i>	The old man hears the tale.
9. <i>Ennuu.</i>	You hear me.
10. <i>Ukoykian.</i>	We beat up (= strike) ourselves.
11. * <i>Kuenuu.</i>	I hear you.
12. <i>Ahci ecitura.</i>	You all accompany the old woman.
13. <i>Esetaha ekoykihci.</i>	You beat up your dogs.
14. <i>Ennuuhci.</i>	Someone hears me.
15. * <i>Kuenkoyki.</i>	I beat up (= strike) myself.
16. <i>Ecikoykihci.</i>	They beat you all.
17. <i>Enturayan.</i>	You all accompany me.
18. <i>Ahciutah seta koyki.</i>	The old women beat up the dog.
19. <i>Annuu.</i>	We hear them.
20. <i>Inuu.</i>	You hear us.
21. <i>Ahci ka ekasi ka eciturahci.</i>	You all accompany the old woman and the old man.
22. <i>Ahci nuuhci.</i>	The old woman hears them.
23. <i>Ecikoyki.</i>	I beat you up.
24. * <i>Anikoyki.</i>	We beat up ourselves.
25. <i>Iturahci.</i>	They accompany us.
26. <i>Inuuyan.</i>	You all hear us.
27. <i>Ahci kunuu.</i>	I hear the old woman.
28. <i>Anetura.</i>	We accompany you.
29. <i>Ahci ka ekasi ka seta koykihci.</i>	The old woman and the old man beat up the dog.
30. <i>Ahciutah kuturahci.</i>	I accompany the old women.
31. <i>Aynu inuu.</i>	The man hears us.
32. <i>Ekoykihci.</i>	They beat you up.
33. <i>Ahciutah ekasi ka seta ka nuuhci.</i>	The old women hear an old man and a dog.
34. <i>Ekasi ecitura.</i>	The old man accompanies you all.
35. * <i>Ahci nuuhci.</i>	The old woman hears someone.
36. <i>Ecinuuyan.</i>	We hear you all.
37. <i>Ceh ekoyki.</i>	You beat up (= kill) the fish.
38. <i>Aynu 'enkoyki.</i>	The man beats me up.

Transitive agreement paradigm (HA)

	1SO	1PO	2SO	2PO	3SO	3PO	4O
1SS							
1PS							
2SS							
2PS							
3SS							
3PS							
4S							

Transitive agreement paradigm (SA)

	1SO	1PO (4O)	2SO	2PO	3SO	3PO
1SS						
1PS (4S)						
2SS						
2PS						
3SS						
3PS						

Once you are finished, compare your results with the tables in the appendix.

4.2 Research

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

→ *Dataset 2 - Phonological changes*

Consider the examples given below that show some nouns in the non-possessive and in the possessive forms. All noun forms are given in IPA (note that: indicates a long vowel/double consonant; ungrammatical examples are marked with *). What changes do you notice in the phonological realisation of the possessive suffix $-(V)hV$ and in that of the personal agreement prefixes cross-referencing the possessor? Do you notice any behaviors at odds with the information you were previously given?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. topa	'group'	topaha	'his/her/their group'
2. set	'nest'	kuset̄ɕiɕi	'my nest'
3. ɕike	'luggage'	aɕikehe	'our (inc.) luggage'
4. kotparā	'chest'	ekotparoho	'your chest'
5. nan	'face'	kunanuɕu	'my face'
6. kewtum	'feeling'	kewtumuɕu	'his/her/their feeling'
7. ʔiriwak	'sibling'	kuiʔiwakiɕi	'my sibling'
8. kew	'body'	eɕikewehe	'you all's body'
9. etu	'nose'	eʔetuɕu	'your nose'
10. kujʔoj	'bladder'	kujʔojehe	'his/her/their bladder'
11. ɕut̄ɕi	'grandmother'	*eɕiɕut̄ɕiɕi	'you all's grandmother'
12. otop	'hair'	t̄ɕotopiɕi	'our (exc.) hair'
13. ɕik	'eye'	kuɕikiɕi	'my eye'
14. emko	'half'	emkoho	'his/her/their half'
15. ru	'path'	t̄ɕiruwehe	'our (exc.) path'
16. etu	'nose'	e:tuɕu	'your nose'
17. osoro	'buttocks'	kosoroho	'my buttocks'
18. mat	'wife'	mat̄ɕiɕi	'his/her/their wife'
19. hapo	'mother'	korɔ hapo	'his/her/their mother'
20. kotparā	'chest'	ekotparo	'your chest'
21. topa	'group'	topa	'his/her/their group'
22. uni	'house'	kuniɕi	'my house'
23. uni	'house'	eɕiʔuniɕi	'you all's house'
24. iriwak	'younger brother'	t̄ɕiriwakiɕi	'our (exc.) younger brother'
25. kisarā	'ear'	ekisaraha	'your ear'
26. ɕike	'luggage'	kuɕike	'my luggage'
27. hon	'belly'	ahoniɕi	'our (inc.) belly'
28. haw	'voice'	kuhawehe	'my voice'
29. kuru	'shadow'	ekuriɕi	'your shadow'
30. ɕut̄ɕi	'grandmother'	eɕiɕikorɔ ɕut̄ɕi	'you all's grandmother'
31. iro	'colour'	kujroho	'my colour'
32. hoku	'husband'	ehokuɕu	'your husband'
33. uni	'house'	eɕiuniɕi	'you all's house'
34. hapo	'mother'	*hapoho	'his/her/their mother'
35. kujʔoj	'bladder'	kujʔoje	'his/her/their bladder'

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. Ƨikiri	‘marrow’	ƧikiriƧi	‘his/her/their marrow’
2. sapa	‘head’	?esapaha	‘your head’
3. kem	‘blood’	?ekemiƧi	‘your blood’
4. miƧ	‘grandson’	am:iƧiƧi	‘our grandson’
5. seturu	‘back’	eseturuƧu	‘your back’
6. kotan	‘village’	kotaniƧi	‘his/her/their village’
7. teh	‘hand’	anteki	‘our hand’
8. itah	‘speech’	eitakiƧi	‘your speech’
9. utara	‘people’	anutariƧi	‘our people’
10. re:	‘name’	kure:he	‘my name’
11. meko	‘cat’	eƧimekoho	‘you all’s cat’
12. etu	‘nose’	ku?etuƧu	‘my nose’
13. seturu	‘back’	eseturiƧi	‘your back’
14. om	‘thigh’	omiƧi	‘his/her/their thigh’
15. teh	‘hand’	antekiƧi	‘our hand’
16. Ƨara	‘mouth’	ƧaruƧu	‘his/her/their mouth’
17. am	‘nail’	kuamiƧi	‘my nail’
18. noh	‘chin’	notiƧi	‘his/her/their chin’
19. etu	‘nose’	kuetuƧu	‘my nose’
20. mun	‘waste’	eƧimuniƧi	‘you all’s waste’
21. seremaka	‘ancestor’	seremakaha	‘his/her/their ancestor’
22. saraƧi	‘cradle’	ansaraniƧi	‘our cradle’
23. tumam	‘hip’	etumamuƧu	‘your hip’
24. atuj	‘sea’	atujehe	‘his/her/their sea’
25. Ƨi?amah	‘savings’	antƧi?amapu	‘our savings’
26. Ƨi	‘eye’	eƧiƧikiƧi	‘you all’s eye’
27. jarapoh	‘hip’	aj:arapokiƧi	‘our hip’
28. moƧiri	‘land’	emoƧiriƧi	‘your land’
29. Ƨiros	‘ciros (fish)’	antƧirosiƧi	‘our ciros’
30. Ƨum	‘sound’	ƧumiƧi	‘his/her/their sound’
31. nan	‘face’	an:anuƧu	‘our face’
32. seh	‘nest’	kusetƧi	‘my nest’
33. takuƧ	‘shoulder’	eƧitakupiƧi	‘you all’s shoulder’
34. non	‘saliva’	kunoniƧi	‘my saliva’
35. emus	‘sword’	e?emusƧi	‘your sword’
36. Ƨi?amah	‘savings’	antƧi?amapu	‘our savings’
37. iporo	‘colour’	kuiporiƧi	‘my colour’
38. ojpeh	‘spoon’	kuojpepiƧi	‘my spoon’
39. Ƨi	‘boat’	eƧipiƧi	‘your boat’
40. ramah	‘soul’	antamatuƧu	‘our soul’
41. oh	‘spear’	opiƧi	‘his/her/their spear’
42. sapa	‘head’	esapa	‘your head’
43. re:	‘name’	ante:he	‘our name’

44. sas	‘konbu seaweed’	kusasuφu	‘my konbu seaweed’
45. mi:	‘clothes’	kumijehe	‘my clothes’
46. mah	‘wife’	eṭṭimatṭiṭi	‘you all’s wife’
47. haw	‘voice’	hawehe	‘his/her/their voice’
48. ru:	‘path’	eruwehe	‘your path’
49. atuj	‘sea’	kuʔatujehe	‘my sea’

Examples from Other Languages...

Ancient Greek (Hellenic, Greece)

γράφειν ‘to write’: perfect tense *γεγραφ- /γεγραφ/

γέγραφα	γεγραφα	‘I have written’
γέγραφας	γεγραφας	‘you have written’
γέγραφε	γεγραφε	‘he has written’
γεγράφαμεν	γεγραφamen	‘we have written’
γεγράφατε	γεγραφατε	‘you all have written’
γεγράφατον	γεγραφατον	‘you two have written’
γέγραμμαι	γεγραμ:ai	‘I have been written’
γέγραψαι	γεγραψai	‘you have been written’
γέγραπται	γεγραπtai	‘he has been written’
γεγράμμεθα	γεγραμ:eθα	‘we have been written’
γέγραφθε	γεγραφθε	‘you all have been written’
γέγραφθον	γεγραφθon	‘you two have been written’

In Ancient Greek the perfect tense of the verb γράφειν is formed from the stem *γῆγραφ- [γῆγραφ], that is made up of two **bound morphemes**: the verbal root γραφ- and the prefix Ce- (realised as γε- in this instance). When personal endings are added, the final sound of the verbal stem and the first sound of the personal suffix may be difficult to pronounce in sequence. Therefore, one of the two sounds is accommodated to ease pronunciation – one sound undergoes **assimilation** to the other. If the change concerns the second sound in the sequence, assimilation is said to be **progressive**. If the change concerns the first sound in the sequence, assimilation is said to be **regressive**. The case above shows two instances of regressive assimilation in the forms γεγρᾶμαι, γεγρᾶμεθα and γεγρᾶται, where the voiceless bilabial fricative /φ/ assimilates to the bilabial nasal /m/ and to the voiceless dental-alveolar plosive /t/ respectively, acquiring the same manner of articulation thus becoming itself the bilabial nasal [m] in the first case, or the voiceless bilabial plosive [p] in the second case. In all other phonetic environments /φ/ remains unchanged since we do not encounter difficulties in pronunciation.

We can formalise this assimilation as follows:

/φ/ > [m] / _m

/φ/ > [p] / _t

/φ/ > [φ] / elsewhere

The phonological change that concerns /φ/ in the form γεγρᾶσαι is, on the contrary, a case of dissimilation (see below).

Sanskrit (Indo-Aryan, India)

Declension of the noun /go:d^huk/ ‘cow-milker’.

	singular	dual	plural
nom	go:d ^h uk	go:duhaw	go:duh ^l h
voc			
acc	go:duh ^l m	go:d ^h ugb ^h ja:m	go:d ^h ugb ^h i ^h
ins	go:duha:		go:d ^h ugb ^h j ^l h
dat	go:duhe:		
abl	go:duh ^l h	go:duho:h	go:duha:m
gen			go:d ^h uk ^ʃ u
loc	go:duhi		

Throughout its declension, the Sanskrit noun go:d^huk ‘cow-milker’ features two phonological processes. The first process is assimilation (i.e. /k/ > [g] / _C_{voiced}) and the second is **dissimilation** which is the opposite of assimilation. With dissimilation a sound becomes less similar to another to ease pronunciation. In the case at hand the aspiration imposed on the voiced dental-alveolar plosive /d^h/ is lost whenever the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ appears in the noun ending. Like assimilation, dissimilation can be progressive or regressive. We formalise dissimilation in Sanskrit as follows:

/d^h/ > [d] / _uh

Hanunó'o (Austronesian, Philippines)

(data from Olson, Schultz 2002 in Payne 2006, 87)

ʔusa	'one'	kasʔa	'once'
duwa	'two'	kadwa	'twice'
tulu	'three'	katlu	'three times'
ʔupat	'four'	kapʔat	'four times'
pitu	'seven'	kapitu	'seven times'

In Hanunó'o numeral adverbs are formed with the addition of the prefix *ka-* to the cardinal number form. However, the first vowel of the cardinal number form disappears if it is *u*. This phonological process is called **elision** and again it serves to ease pronunciation. In addition to elision, cardinal numbers where *u* is preceded by the glottal stop also show **metathesis** – the glottal stop and the consonant following the elided *u* are inverted. We can formalise elision in adverbial numerals as follows:

/u/ > Ø / C_C

We can formalise elision followed by metathesis as:

/u/ > Ø / ʔ_C; ʔC_i > C_iʔ

If elision concerns the final segment of a word, it is otherwise called **truncation** or **apocope**.

Niimiiputímt (Plateau Penutian, USA)

(data from Aoki 1970)

mæq	'paternal uncle'	næʔmæq	'my paternal uncle'
tot	'father'	nɑʔtot	'my father'
ʔic	'mother'	næʔic	'my mother'
cic	'paternal aunt'	nɑʔcic	'my paternal aunt'

Vowels in Niimiiputímt are divided into two classes – dominant and recessive. This subdivision serves to account for the phonological changes we witness when morphemes containing certain vowels attach to other morphemes. In this language /o/ and /a/ are dominant vowels and /æ/ and /u~ʉ/ are recessive vowels. The vowel /i/ belongs to both groups. When two or more morphemes combine, if any of these morphemes contain a dominant vowel then all recessive vowels present in all the morphemes of that word need to change to their dominant counterpart (see the first singular possessive /næʔ-/ that changes into /nɑʔ-/ under the influence of the dominant vowel /o/ in the noun root /tot/). The reverse does not happen. This phenomenon is called **vowel harmony** and it is a kind of long-distance assimilation, by which two or more non-contiguous sounds assimilate. Since /i/ belongs to both vowel groups it may or may not trigger vowel harmony. We can formalise vowel harmony for the first singular possessive prefix of Niimiiputímt as follows:

V > V_[front] / _ CV_[front]

English (Germanic, UK)
(data from Payne 2006, 76)

ækjəɹət	‘accurate’	ɪnækjəɹət	‘inaccurate’
kɔŋɡruəs	‘congruous’	ɪŋkɔŋɡruəs	‘incongruous’
pɔsəbəl	‘possible’	ɪmpɔsəbəl	‘impossible’
dəskɹɪˈbəbəl	‘describable’	ɪndəskɹɪˈbəbəl	‘indescribable’
tɔləɹənt	‘tolerant’	ɪntɔləɹənt	‘intolerant’
sensɪtv	‘sensitive’	ɪnsensɪtv	‘insensitive’
vɛɹiəbəl	‘variable’	ɪnvɛɹiəbəl	‘invariable’
ɡlɔɹiəs	‘glorious’	ɪŋɡlɔɹiəs	‘inglorious’
mɛzəɹəbəl	‘measurable’	ɪmmɛzəɹəbəl	‘immeasurable’
bæləns	‘balance’	ɪmbæləns	‘imbalance’

Morphemes can take different realisations depending on the **phonological environment** they are in. Sometimes, the phonological processes a morpheme undergoes (among which the ones above) can affect its realisation to the point where it is difficult to recognise the separate forms actually as the same morpheme. Usually semantics helps us in this case, giving us a hint to a same source for the separate forms we see. The prefixes [ɪn-], [ɪm-] and [ɪŋ-] in English are one such case, for which we can assume a same origin given the systematic meaning they contribute to the word they attach to (i.e. a negative meaning). To make linguistic analysis and description easier, morphemes are presented in one ‘representative’ form which may change due to phonological processes – this form is the **underlying form**. The underlying form should be the form that occurs in the largest number of environments and the one that is most difficult to derive by a rule – these two precautions save us a lot of time in writing derivation rules! In the case at hand, [ɪn-] appears before æ, d, t, s, v, [ɪm-] appears before p, m, b, and [ɪŋ-] appears before k, ɡ. The most varied environment is the one of [ɪn-] that we take as our underlying form, while the other two realisations are **alloforms** of this latter. We can formalise the derivation rules as follows:

/ɪn-/ > [ɪm-] / _C_[bilabial]

/ɪn-/ > [ɪŋ-] / _C_[velar]

/ɪn-/ > [ɪn-] / elsewhere

See Payne 2006, 70-3 for further explanation.

4.3 Analysis and Description

Once you finish your analysis of the data, describe, in no less than 300 words, the phonological processes that characterise personal affixes cross-referencing the possessor in HA and SA and the possessive suffix (if any, highlight problematic cases). Try to provide the right name for these processes and, optionally, write a formal rule to describe them.

- From what premises did your analysis start?
- What is the underlying form of the SA first person plural subject/possessor?
- What is the underlying form of the possessive suffix in HA and SA? Justify your answer.
- If any, what doubts remain that prevent you from confidently answering this last question?
- How could these doubts be clarified?

5 The Ainu Passive Construction

Summary 5.1 Background Information and Observation. – 5.2 Research. – 5.3 Analysis and Description.

5.1 Background Information and Observation

Among the uses of the HA fourth person Tamura (2000, 71-2) discusses that of cross-referencing the starting point of the action in a passive construction. A sentence like (1) is regarded as a passive sentence by virtue of the fact that the actual performer of the event is expressed in a noun phrase with *’orowa*, an oblique. The performer of the action is referenced to by the fourth person prefix on the verb. This is different from the impersonal construction (2) where the indefinite agent is still marked via the fourth person on the verb but it is not overtly expressed.

(1) *Hapo-’oro-wa a-en-koyki.*
mother-place-from 4S-1SO-scold
‘I was scolded by mother’ (Tamura 2000, 72)

(2) *Neno e-i-ki yak a-e-koyki na.*
like.this 2SS-AP-do if.FUT IP-2SO-scold FP
‘If you do that, someone will scold you [= you will be scolded].’ (Tamura 2000, 71)

In the active version of sentences like (1) the agent is no longer marked by *’orowa* and it is cross-referenced to via third person null agreement on the verb.

- (3) *Hapo en-koyki.*
 mother ISO-**3SS**/scold.
 ‘Mother scolds me.’

Murasaki (1979), on the other hand, does not report any analogous passive construction in SA. In this variety of the language only the impersonal construction is reported, where the indefinite agent is cross-referenced to via the third person plural suffix *-hci* (4). This construction may be read as passive depending on context.

- (4) *Taa cise-’oh-ta ’i-’ama-hci ’anah pirika kusune ya.*
 that house-place-in 4O-put-**3PS** if 3SS/be.good INTN FP
 ‘It would be good if someone left us at that house [= if we were left at that house]’ (Murasaki 1979, 51)

If the third person agent is overtly expressed the construction is no longer impersonal and the passive reading is cancelled.

→ *Consider this additional information...*

We can trace four important stages in the development of the HA passive (Bugaeva 2011), that resulted in the construction attested in the textual sources:

- It all started in the existential construction with the verb *’an* ‘exist’ that takes a noun as its sole argument.
- (Zero-)nominalisation of an intransitive verb happens and this nominalised verb functions as the sole argument of *’an* ‘exist’. The verb *’an* begins to be regarded as a suffix or, better yet, a post-clitic. The general situation described by this construction soon develops an impersonal reading.
- The impersonal construction with an intransitive verb is transferred also to transitive verbs. At this stage we have the switch from the suffix *-’an* to the prefix *’an-*, then *’a-* in Southern Hokkaidō Ainu dialects, due to the preference of the Ainu language to have prefixes instead of suffixes. The HA *’a-* is therefore clearly a cognate of the SA *’an-*.
- Finally, the impersonal construction with a transitive verb, by virtue of its essentially passive semantics, allows for actant expression with an oblique phrase marked with *’orowa*.

→ *Dataset 1 - Constituent structure*

Consider the following sentences (* marks ungrammatical examples, ? marks dubious examples). What is the typological order of constit-

uents in the passive construction? What additions and amendments can you make to the information you started from? What syntactic status do the constituents in the construction have (argument/oblique)? Justify your answer. Is the passive construction of HA and SA analytic or synthetic? Motivate your answer. What differences do you notice between HA and SA?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Toan kurorowa aenkik.*
'I was hit by that man.'
2. *Rera ani cikuni akekke.*
'The tree was broken by the wind.' (Bugaeva 2004, 41)
3. **Kamuy ene aiyaynure.*
'I was taken in such consideration by a god.'
4. *Suci matkaci omap.*
'Her grandmother loves the girl.'
5. *Toan nispaorowa taan kur akusa a ruwe?*
'Has this man been taken across [the river] by that noble man?'
(Satō 1995 in Bugaeva 2011, 535)
6. *Nispa seta kik.*
'A noble man hits a dog.'
7. **Toan orowa kur aenkik.*
'I was hit by that man.'
8. *Seta kuipere.*
'I let the dog eat.'
9. **Toan kurorowa akukik.*
'I was hit by that man.'
10. *Aiipere katu ka isam.*
'There was no sign [that] someone [would] let me eat [= I would be given food].'
(Tamura 1985, 2)
11. **Toan nispaorowa taan kur kusa a ruwe?*
'Has this man been taken across [the river] by that noble man?'
12. *Kamuyorwa ene aiyaynure.*
'I was taken in such consideration by a god.' (Tamura 1985, 46)
13. *Matkaci suciorowa aomap.*
'The girl is loved by her grandmother.' (Bugaeva 2004, 42)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *'Ohkayo [...]'iso'ohta kupapa.*
'The young boy was bitten by a bear.' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. [*'Okhaya]* *'onahcin'orowa 'ikoro 'ankohohpahci.*
'[The young boys] were given short swords by their father.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. * *Neya 'orowa 'ohacisuye 'annospa.*
'He was chased by that empty-house-devil.'
4. *Hemata ka kamuy'orowa 'annukareraye.*
'They were stared at by some kind of animals.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. * *Seta 'iso 'ankupapa.*
'The dog was bitten by a bear.'
6. *'Ona 'ohkayo 'emus kohohpa.*
'The father gave the young boys swords.'
7. *Neya 'ohacisuyeorowa 'annospa.*
'He was chased by that empty-house-devil.' (Pilsudski 1912, 100)
8. *'Ekasi'orowa 'anekoytahkara.*
'I was told by grandfather.' (Dal Corso 2021)
9. *Kamuyorowa mah kayki 'anekontehci.*
'You were given even a wife by the gods.' (Pilsudski 1912, 23)
10. ? *'Onahahcin'orowa 'okhaya 'ikoro 'ankohohpahci.*
'The young boys were given short swords by their father.'
11. * *'Ekasi'orowa 'an'enekoytahkara.*
'I was told by grandfather.'
12. *Pon tohkori tuh 'enkontehci.*
'They gave me two small cups.' (Dal Corso 2021)
13. * *Neya 'ohacisuyeorowa nospa.*
'He was chased by that empty-house-devil.'

5.2 Research

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

→ Dataset 2 – Syntactic tests

Consider the following clauses paying particular attention to ungrammatical examples (marked with *). Only HA examples are provided for this dataset. The passive construction is here used in combination with three other constructions – what are they and how are they expressed morphosyntactically? Why do you think ungrammaticality arises?

Set 2 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Tane nupuri osmak cup rari.*
'Eventually the sun set behind the mountain.' (UK 1986, line 125)
2. *Nea wenkur okkaypo [...] kor wa okay pe opitta rurapa.*
'That poor young man [...] carried all the things he possessed.' (Tamura 1985, 42)
3. **Nispa wen kamuyutarorowa siosmakwa akik.*
'The noble man was hit from (his own) behind by evil gods. (Satō 1995, 9)
4. *Pon menoko utar ka uwehopunpa wa horippa.*
'Even the young women stood up together and danced.' (Tamura 1985, 72)
5. *Seta kam e hi eki rusuy.*
'You want the the dog to eat the meat.'
6. *Huciorowa aenomap hi kuki rusuy.*
'I want to be loved by grandmother.' (Satō 2008, 206)
7. *Ne menokopo kor rusuy kuni ye.*
'He said that he wanted to have that young girl.' (Tamura 1985, 58)
8. *Suma rura.*
'He carried back a stone.'
9. *Henke utar inawneni tuye wa...*
'The elders cut the *inaw* wood and...'
10. *Nispa wen kamuyutarorowa osmakwa akik.*
'The noble man was hit from (his own) behind by evil gods. (Satō 1995, 9)
11. *Unu patek akor.*
'I only had a mother.' (Tamura 1984, 36)
12. **Huciorowa aenomap rusuy.*
'I want to be loved by grandmother.'
13. *Siosmakun kuinkar.*
'I looked behind myself.' (Satō 1995, 9)
14. *Horipian kor...*
'While I danced...'. (IH 1985, line 287)
15. *Eper [...] nimakihi ka [...] amihi ka nispaorowa atuypa.*
'The bear's nails and teeth were cut off by the noble man.' (adapted from Bugaeva 2011, 536)

Examples from Other Languages...

Japanese (Japonic, Japan)

Sensei-ga gakusei-o yob-u. Gakusei-ga sensei-ni yob-a-rer-u.
 teacher-NOM student-ACC call.NPST student-NOM teacher-by call-INFL-PASS-NPST
 ‘The teacher calls the student.’ ‘The student is called by the teacher.’

The Japanese passive is a synthetic construction since passive voice is expressed on the verb via the suffix *-(ra)rer*. In the (direct) passive construction what was the object in the active sentence is **promoted to subject** and it gets assigned subject morphology (i.e. the NOM postposition *-ga*), while the subject of the active sentence is **demoted to an oblique role** and marked by *-ni*. The passivised verb is now grammatically **intransitive**. These characteristics make the Japanese *-(ra)rer* construction a prototypical passive.

Nivkh (Isolate, Russia)

(data from Nedjalkov, Otaina 2012, 255)

ətək p’su-ɖ.
 father REF-wash-IND
 ‘Father washes himself.’

ətək p’ōla-du-ɖ.
 father REF-child-wash-IND
 ‘Father washes his own son.’

umgu ŋivx-ŋřə-r p’ōla-du-ɖ.
 woman man-see-CONV.NAR.3SG REF-child-wash-IND
 ‘The woman sees the man and washes *his / her own son.’ (constructed example)

ətək ōla-aχ p’su-gu-ɖ.
 father child-DAT/ACC REF-wash-CAUS-IND
 ‘Father has his son wash him(= father) / himself(= son).’

The personal/possessive reflexive pronoun $p^{\prime}/p^{\prime}i$ in Nivkh can only refer to the subject. This is the rule of **reflexive binding** in Nivkh and in the majority of languages. In the third sentence given here *umgu* ‘woman’ is the subject of both coordinate clauses (implied for the verb ‘wash’), while *ñivx* ‘man’ and *ōla* ‘child’ are objects respectively of the first and second clause. Although it could be contextually possible for the the child to be the man’s, this reading of the sentence is ruled out by the use of the possessive reflexive p^{\prime} - which can only bind the subject of the sentence (i.e. the woman). In order to express the meaning ‘his (= the man’s) son’ a third person possessive pronoun would be needed. The last sentence shows a causative construction. Causativisation results in the promotion of an originally (more) peripheral argument to a (more) core argument. Here what is marked as the indirect object (with the suffix $-a\chi$) of the causative verb ‘make wash’ is actually the logical subject of the non-causative verb ‘wash’. That is, despite its morphological marking the noun *ōla* also functions as a subject in this case. Therefore reflexive binding becomes ambiguous and the double reading of the reflexive pronoun is possible.

Kalaallisut (Inuit, Greenland)

(data from and adapted from Bjørnum 2012, 86-8)

Qimmi-a *sinip-poa.*
 dog-POSS.ABS.3SG sleep-3SG
 ‘His dog sleeps.’

Qimmi-ata *kiiva-anga.*
 dog-POSS.ERG.3SG bit-3SG>1SG
 ‘His dog bit me.’

Piita-p *qimmi-a* *nerukkar-paa.*
 Peter-ERG dog-POSS.ABS.3SG fed-3SG>3SG
 ‘Peter fed his (= someone else’s) dog.’

Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic) has morphological **ergative-absolutive alignment**. Besides being evident in the marking of verbal arguments, the ergative-absolutive alignment also concerns possession that is expressed with suffixes on the possessed noun. These suffixes agree in number and person with the possessor and they are also marked for ergative or absolutive case according to the grammatical function covered by the possessee.

Gude (Chadic, Nigeria and Cameroon)

(data from Hoskison 1983, 107)

<i>Kə</i>	<i>digə</i>	<i>ənji</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>ci.</i>
COMP	beat.p	people	DEF	he

‘He was beaten up / Someone beat him up.’

Paamese (Oceanic, Vanuatu)

(data from Crowley 1982, 180)

(* <i>kaile</i>)	<i>a-munumunu</i>	<i>Vauleli.</i>
*they	3PL.REAL-drink	Vauleli

‘There is drinking going on at Vauleli.’

Impersonal constructions are defined as such due to the **lack of reference** to a specific agent. In some languages like Gude a generic noun or pronoun can be used to refer to an **unspecified agent** (e.g. *ənji* ‘(some) people’) and it functions as the subject of the active sentence, which may also have a passive reading. In other languages like Paamese, the expression of the agent (even an unspecified one) via a separate noun phrase is not possible and impersonality is solely expressed by verbal morphology (in Paamese, third person agreement).

5.3 Analysis and Description

With the data at hand do you think Ainu has a passive construction? Why/why not? Justify your answer in no less than 400 words making reference to the examples given in the sections above. If you would not call the construction under investigation ‘passive’, how else would you call it? Why?

6 Relative Clauses

Summary 6.1 Background Information and Observation. – 6.2 Research. – 6.3 Analysis and Description.

6.1 Background Information and Observation

In both HA and SA relative clauses are obtained via the gap strategy. The relativised noun in the matrix clause heads the relative clause (i.e. it is the relative head, RH). There is no overt reference to the head noun within the relative clause (RC), so its original position is signalled only by a gap. There is no subordinator (e.g. a relative pronoun, a relativiser, ...) and the right boundary of the relative clause is only marked by the position of the relative head.

Examples (1) and (2) show subject relativisation in HA and SA respectively.

- (1) [___ *cise-soy* *pakno* *arki*]_{RC} *utar*_{RH}
house-outside until 3PS/come.PL people
'The men who came up to the doorway.' (Bugueva 2004, 95)
- (2) [*Neya* ___ *unci-kes-ta* *i-ku* *ea*]_{RC} *mahnekuh*_{RH}... *i-kotaysuye*.
this fire-end-in AP-3SS/drink IPFV? woman 4O-3SS/strike
'The woman who smoked at the end of the hearth struck me.' (Pilsudski 1912, 115)

The gap strategy is the only way to relativise verbal arguments (i.e. subject and objects) in both HA and SA. In line with the typological syntactic structure of OV languages (see Lesson 1), the relative clause always precedes the matrix clause.

→ Consider this additional information...

There exist other obliques in Ainu besides the ones expressing location discussed in Lesson 11. The following items are most commonly found: *ani* (HA and SA) that indicates instrument, *turano* (HA) or *tura* (SA) that indicates company, and *eun* (attested only in HA) that indicates the goal or beneficiary of an action. *Ani*, *tura(no)*, and *eun* follow the noun they refer to and are nothing but verb forms used adverbially – for instance, *ani* is a verb meaning ‘carry’ and *tura* is a verb meaning ‘accompany’. The semantics of these verbs have led to their use to mark oblique case relations. Therefore, *ani*, *tura(no)*, and *eun* are different from postpositions like *-ta*, *-un*, *-(e)ne*, *-wa*, *-pe-ka*, and *-poka* (see again Lesson 11).

→ Dataset 1 – Relativisation of non-arguments

Consider the following sentences showing relativised and non-relativised constructions. Why are the ungrammatical examples (marked with *) so? What are the morphosyntactic differences with other instances of relativisation where ungrammaticality does not arise? Do you find any correspondence between these morphosyntactic differences and the function of the noun that is being relativised? On the basis of this, what amendments are you able to make to the information you started your analysis from?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. * *Kuyupo kamuy cotca acapo.*
‘The uncle together with whom my elder brother shot the bear.’
2. *Katkemat ehotke usi kar.*
‘The woman prepared a [sleeping] place on which he [could] lie down.’
(adapted from Bugaeva 2004, 400)
3. *Teppo ani kuyupo kamuy tukan.*
‘My older brother shot the bear with a gun.’
4. * *Cep poronno hemesu pet.*
‘A river in which many fish go upstream.’
5. *Cikirihi tanne kikir.*
‘An insect whose legs are long.’ (Tamura 2000, 189)
6. *Cisesoy pakno arki utar.*
‘The men who came up to the doorway.’ (Bugaeva 2004, 95)
7. *Katkemat orota hotke usi kar.*
‘The woman prepared a [sleeping] place on which he [could] lie down.’
8. *Turano kuyupo kamuy cotca acapo.*
‘The uncle together with whom my elder brother shot the bear.’ (Bugaeva 2004, 96)

9. * *Katkemat hotke usi kar.*
'The woman prepared a [sleeping] place on which he [could] lie down.'
10. *Petotta cep poronno hemesu.*
'In the river many fish go upstream.'
11. *Acapo turano kuyupo kamuy cotca.*
'My elder brother shot the bear together with the uncle.'
12. * *Cikir tanne kikir.*
'An insect whose legs are long.'
13. *Ani kuyupo kamuy tukan teppo.*
'The gun with which my older brother shot the bear.' (Bugaeva 2004, 95)
14. *Aekasihi ka nupe ranke.*
'My grandfather dropped tears (= was weeping).'
15. * *Sinuma cisesoy pakno arki utar.*
'The men who came up to the doorway.' (Bugaeva 2004, 95)
16. *Kikir cikirihi tanne.*
'The insect's legs are long.'
17. *Orota cep poronno hemesu pet.*
'A river in which many fish go upstream.' (Bugaeva 2004, 96)
18. *Aekasihi ka ranke nupe.*
'The tears my grandfather shed.' (Bugaeva 2004, 95)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. * *Kannapaake 'eniskurukerotoh 'oyasi.*
'A monster whose upper jaw touched the sky.'
2. *Pon hekaci nunnun kirupu.*
'The [animal] fat that a small baby boy sucked.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. * *Hemata 'oyasiykehe tekihi 'ahun usiikehe.*
'The place into which the paw of some kind of spirit entered.'
4. 'Oyasi kannapaakehe 'eniskurukerotoh.
'The monster's upper jaw touched the sky.'
5. *Pon kahkemah [...] koitah 'ahciutah.*
'The old women to whom [our] little young woman speaks.'
6. *Hemata 'oyasiykehe tekihi usiikehe'onne 'ahun.*
'The paw of some kind of spirit entered into [that] place.'
7. *Pon hekachi kirupu nunnun.*
'A small baby boy sucked the [animal] fat.'
8. * *Pon hekaci pe nunnun kirupu.*
'The [animal] fat that a small baby boy sucked.'
9. *Hemata 'oyasiykehe tekihi 'onne 'ahun usiikehe.*
'The place into which the paw of some kind of spirit entered.' (Dal Corso 2021)
10. * *Pon kahkemah [...] itah 'ahciutah.*
'The old women to whom [our] little young woman speaks.'
11. *Kannapaakehe 'eniskurukerotoh 'oyasi.*
'A monster whose upper jaw touched the sky.' (adapted from Dal Corso 2021)

12. *Pon kakhemah* [...] 'ene an 'ahciutah koitah.
'[Our] little young woman speaks to such old women.' (adapted from Dal Corso 2021)

6.2 Research

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

→ *Dataset 2 – Other cases*

Consider the following examples (? marks dubious cases). Given what you have discovered up to this point of your analysis, do you think these are relative clauses too? Why/why not? What is the morphosyntactic structure of these sentences? If you think these structures are not in fact relative clauses, how else would you call them?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Kamuyutar nuwap kor okay hawe anu.*
'I heard the voices of gods groaning.' = 'I heard that gods are groaning.'
(Bugueva 2015, 92)
2. ?*Pase katkemat kor wa uwepirka asur* [...] *anu.*
'I heard the news (= that) he married a noble woman and they are happy together.' (Tamura 1985, 22)

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *'Aynu 'okay kotan nee wakayki* ...
'Although it was a village in which there were [many] people.' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Ku'unuhu naa kuacapoho naa* [...] *arikihci wepekere nee.*
'It is the story [of when] both my aunt and my uncle [...] went [there].'
(Dal Corso 2021)

Examples from Other Languages...

Yoruba (Niger-Congo, Nigeria et al.)
(examples from Lawal 1987, 69)

<i>Ọkùnrin</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>[ó</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>aṣọ]</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>dé.</i>
Man	that	he	bought	cloth	has	come

'The man who bought the cloth has come.'

Aṣọ tí [òkùnrin nàà rà] dára.
cloth that man the bought good
'The cloth that the man bought is good.'

Àdà tí [mo fi gé igi] mú.
Cutlass that I with cut tree sharp
'The cutlass that I cut the tree with is sharp.'

Some languages may employ **retention** as a means to retrieve the original position of the relative head within the relative clause. Sometimes retention can be used **along with the gap strategy**, like in the case of Yoruba. In Yoruba retention is obligatory for both arguments and obliques. With arguments, we see **pronoun retention** which is when a pronoun is found within the relative clause to reference to the relativised noun. In the first sentence the resumptive pronoun is *ó*, that refers to the animate *òkùnrin* 'man', while in the second sentence the pronoun is *nàà*, that refers to the inanimate *aṣọ* 'cloth'. With obliques, on the other hand, the gap strategy is used, but we also see **retention of the preposition** that indicates the original function that the relative head had prior to relativisation. In the third sentence the relative head *àdà* 'cutlass' is gapped, but the preposition *fi* 'with' is retained within the relative clause.

Japanese (Japonic, Japan)

[Kinō Hiroko-ga atta] hito-ga ki-ta.
yesterday Hiroko-NOM meet.PASS person-NOM come-PASS
'The man whom Hiroko met yesterday came.'

[Watashi-ga sakana-o tabe-ta] hashi.
I-NOM fish-ACC eat-PASS chopstick
'The chopsticks with which I ate the fish.'

In some languages the gap strategy is the only available strategy for relativisation and it is used **regardless of the function** that the relativised noun had in the relative clause. Japanese, for instance, employs the gap strategy for both arguments and obliques. In the first sentence above, the relativised *hito* 'person' is an argument of the verb *atta* 'met' in the relative clause. In the second sentence, the relativised *hashi* 'chopsticks' is an oblique (instrument) of the verb *tabeta* 'ate'. Nevertheless, there is **no morphosyntactic indication** within the relative clause to signal this original function, which is then understood solely on a pragmatic basis.

Karachay-Balkar (Turkic, Russia)
(examples from Comrie 1998, 81)

[Prezident kel-gän] hapar.
president come-PTCP news
'The news that the president has come.'

[Et biš-gän] iyis.
meat cook-PTCP smell
'The smell of meat cooking.'

Many languages also display constructions that, when we look at the linear order of constituents, are identical to relative clauses. In the Karachay-Balkar examples above the nouns *hapar* 'news' and *iyis* 'smell' follow a clause that they are the head of. This is exactly the order of constituents found in relative clauses in this language. However, both these nouns originally **do not occupy any position within the relative clause** – both *kel* 'come' and *biš* 'cook' are intransitive verbs whose subject is already present. This means that nothing has been gapped from within the clause in square brackets. These constructions are not relative clauses, but rather they are treated as **general noun-modifying clause constructions** (or GNMCCs) (Comrie 1998). In GNMCCs a noun heads a clause while not being formerly included in it. There is **no explicit expression of the relation** between this head noun and the clause, but the clause simply describes the semantics of the head noun. We can think of the first sentence as 'What kind of news?' 'The president-has-come news.' Some languages employ a subordinator of some kind (like the participle *-gän* in Karachay-Balkar) but many others do not employ any overt marking of dependency.

6.3 Analysis and Description

In no less than 400 words discuss relative clauses in HA and SA on the basis of your analysis of the data provided in Set 1 and Set 2.

- What premises did your analysis start from?
- What strategies are employed in HA and SA for relativisation?
- What are the limitations of these strategies?
- Are there constructions that resemble relative clauses which are not actually a relative clause? What are they and how are they different from relative clauses?
- Do HA and SA behave differently in some way?

7 Negatives

Summary 7.1 Background Information and Observation. – 7.2 Research. – 7.3 Analysis and Description.

7.1 Background Information and Observation

Negation in both HA and SA is expressed periphrastically. In HA the negative *somo* is placed before the verb (phrase) to negate it (Tamura 2000, 226).

- (1) *Kamuy oruspe **somo** a-ye hike kusu...*
god tale **NEG** 4S-3SO/say and because
'Whether I don't tell a tale of gods...' (Tamura 1984, 30)

In SA *hannehka* is found instead of *somo* (2) (Murasaki 1979, 109, 143). Moreover, *hannehka* can also be found to follow the verb (phrase) it negates (3) – in these cases it is preceded by *ka* 'even'.

- (2) ***Hannehka** 'e-meerayki wa?*
NEG 2SS-feel.cold FP
'Aren't you cold?' (Murasaki 1979, 109)
- (3) *'Ampene 'ipe **ka** hannehka kii.*
really 3SS/AP.eat **even** **NEG** 3SS/3SO/do
'She didn't eat at all.' (Dal Corso 2021)

→ Consider this additional information...

In line with the syntactic typology of the Ainu language (see Lesson 1) we expect adverbs to precede the verb they modify. This expectation is met, since adverbs are found in a pre-verbal position in both HA and SA.

→ Dataset 1 – Possible negative structures

Look at the following example clauses paying attention to ungrammatical ones (marked with *). What are the possible syntactic layouts of negative constructions in HA and SA? What word classes are involved in these constructions and what word class do *somo* and *hannehka* belong to in your opinion? Motivate your answer. What examples do you find hard to analyse? What are the morphosyntactic characteristics that make these examples problematic?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Asir cip ecinukare.*
'I show you a new boat.'
2. *Seta somo kukor.*
'I don't have a dog.'
3. *Seta kusak.*
'I don't have a dog.'
4. *Nea kotan kor nispa ki.*
'That noble man who had the village (= the village chief) did it.' (Tamura 1985, 64)
5. *Kamuy oruspe somo aye hike kusu...*
'Whether I don't tell a tale of gods...' (Tamura 1984, 30)
6. *...sekor yaynuan pe ne kusu, akosomotasnu.*
'Because I thought so, I pretended I didn't know [anything] about it.'
(IH 1986, line 710)
7. *Nep akar ka somo ki.*
'I didn't prepare any [food].'
(Tamura 1985, 22)
8. **Aep esomo kar.*
'You don't prepare food.'
9. *Tane hosipian somo ki yak...*
'If you don't return now...' (Bugaeva 2004, 143)
10. *Tunasno ainukare.*
'You show me quickly.'
(Tamura 1985, 18)
11. *Asinuma anak aerampewtek.*
'As for me, I don't know that.'
(Tamura 1984, 56)
12. **Tunasno eek ka somo yak...*
'If you don't come quickly...'
13. *Cikir ka sak tek ka sak pone ka sak...*
'It doesn't have legs, hands nor bones...'
(Tamura 1984, 56)

14. **Tanpe aeraman ka somo ki.*
'I don't know that thing.'
15. *Pirka esiruwante [...] wa eapkas somo ki yakun...*
'If you walk without paying attention...' (AM 1987, line 672)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *'Ampene 'ipe ka hannehka kii.*
'She didn't eat at all.' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Pirikano 'ewante.*
'He knows you well.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. **Mooso 'eh hanka.*
'He doesn't come early.'
4. *Hannehka 'emeerayki wa?*
'Aren't you cold?' (Murasaki 1979, 109)
5. *'Ampene nukara ka hankihci.*
'[The people] didn't see her at all.' (Dal Corso 2021)
6. *Poso kuniine 'an kah ka hannehka koro.*
'It didn't have the looks of [something that could be] stabbed.' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. **Hanka 'ewante.*
'He doesn't know you.'
8. *'Aynu'ohta ka yee ka hankii.*
'She didn't tell [that] to anyone.' (Dal Corso 2021)
9. *Tanto hanka anmonraykire.*
'Today I didn't let her work.' (Dal Corso 2021)
10. *'Ampene kuerameskari 'ampe.*
'I absolutely don't know him.' (Dal Corso 2021)
11. *Hancinukara siri.*
'A land that is not seen.' (Dal Corso 2021)
12. *Neampe 'ankii 'ani tani [...] 'oyasi [...] 'asin.*
'While I did that eventually [...] the monster [...] came out.' (Dal Corso 2021)
13. *Pu'onne 'ahun teh ponno 'an.*
'It went to the store house and stayed [there] a little while.' (Dal Corso 2021)
14. *'ipe ka sah.*
'They didn't have food either.' (Dal Corso 2021)
15. *Itomokene hanne ampe eh manuy.*
'Not towards me it came.' (Pilsudski 1912, 206)
16. *Sine aynu kayki ta aynu hanne cohca.*
'One man [among them] didn't hit that man (= No-one of them could hit that man).' (Pilsudski 1912, 70-1)
17. **'Aynu'ohta ka hankii yee.*
'She didn't tell [that] to anyone.'

7.2 Research

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

→ Dataset 2 - Constituent structure

Consider the following negative clauses and pay attention to the non-negative examples too. Only SA examples are provided for this dataset. What syntactic structures/processes are present in the non-negative clauses and how much of them can you find in the negative constructions? Review (if necessary) what word classes the constituents in the negative constructions belong to and provide a justification for your statements.

Set 2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *'Ampene nukara ka hankihci.*
'[The people] didn't see her at all.' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Poronispauta irenkaha nee.*
'It is the order of important people.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *'Anihi humpecepho hannehka.*
'I myself am not a puffer fish.' (Murasaki 2001, 198)
4. *Kipirika 'okarakahsekahci yahka 'ampene pirika ka hankii.*
'They made her roll down from atop of a hill but it was not good at all.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. **Sine pon tohkori ikuree koroka kuu ka han'ankii.*
'They [gave] me one small cup to drink but I didn't drink.'
6. *Itomokene hanne ampe eh manuy.*
'Not towards me it came.' (Pilsudski 1912, 206)
7. *Nean pon teynehpo reske ki.*
'He indeed raised that small baby.' (Dal Corso 2021)
8. *Mahpohohcin 'aynu po kayki hanne.*
'Her daughters were not even children of a human being.' (Pilsudski 1912, 59)
9. *'Ampene ceh kayki 'anee ka hankii.*
'I didn't eat fish at all either.' (Dal Corso 2021)
10. *Hancinukahsiri cinukahsiri 'uturuketa.*
'Between an unseen and a seen land (= in a faraway land).' (Dal Corso 2021)
11. *Ota pahko ne'ampe nakene ka oman ka hankii.*
'As for the old Ota, she [will] not go anywhere.' (Dal Corso 2021)
12. *Urayki neampe ham utara ki kun pe ne.*
'As for fighting, the Ainu wouldn't be [the ones to] do that.' (Pilsudski 1912, 70)
13. *Nean jitosa oo 'ankii.*
'I did get into that car.' (Dal Corso 2021)

14. *'Ekotan itah neh [...] nuure waa!*
'Make her listen [...] to some of the language of your village!' (Dal Corso 2021)
15. *Sine pon tohkori ikuree koroka 'ankuu ka hankii.*
'They [gave] me one small cup to drink but I didn't drink.' (Dal Corso 2021)
16. **Nupuru'onne ku'oman ka.*
'I also went to the mountain.'
17. *Hamecinu yayne...*
'You didn't listen and then...' (Pilsudski 1912, 121)
18. *'Ikuu raapokeketa nukaraha ne'ampe neya teh pu'onne 'ahun.*
'The fact he looked at it while smoking, the hand went into the store house'
= 'When he looked at it as he was smoking [he noticed that] the hand went into the store house' (Dal Corso 2021)
19. *Tani repun 'aynuutah nukara.*
'The people saw him eventually going at sea.' (Dal Corso 2021)
20. *Taata ka poro kotan 'an.*
'Also there there was a big village.' (Dal Corso 2021)

Examples from Other Languages...

Persian (Iranian, Iran)

(examples from Neiloufar 2014, 26)

<i>Hærfzædæn</i>	word hit = 'speak'
<i>Gufkærdæn</i>	ear do = 'listen'
<i>Bolænd kærdæn</i>	high do = 'lift'
<i>Pæs dadæn</i>	back give = 'return'

English (Germanic, UK)

<i>Have a rest</i>	= rest
<i>Take a walk</i>	= walk
<i>Do cleaning</i>	= clean

Many languages possess periphrastic verb constructions made up of a verb and a non-verbal element (usually a noun, but also adjectives, adverbs or prepositions are common). Verbs such as ‘do’, ‘take’, and ‘give’ are most commonly used, but the choice of the verbs allowed to appear in these constructions is strictly language dependent and always limited to a certain number of elements. The verbal element in these constructions does not contribute any meaning to the whole phrase (or its meaning is downgraded), but it is the non-verbal element what contributes the core meaning to the expression. See for instance the Persian *guf kærðæn* where the noun ‘ear’ contributes the meaning of ‘listening’, or the English *do cleaning* where the semantic content of the verb phrase is in the verbal noun *cleaning*. For this reason, the verb in these constructions is said to be a ‘**light verb**’, in the sense that its original meaning is not retrievable as it would be when it is used alone and it only has the syntactic function of heading a verb phrase. The whole construction is referred to as ‘**light verb construction**’ (see e.g. Butt 2010).

Malay (Austronesian, Malaysia)

(examples from Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, Wrona 2011, 13)

<i>Makan</i>	<i>lewat</i>	<i>tak</i>	<i>bagus</i>
eat	late	not	good

‘Eating late is not good.’

Korean (Koreanic, Korea)

(examples from Yoon 1991 in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, Wrona 2011, 6)

<i>Chelswu-ka</i>	<i>chayk-ul</i>	<i>ppalli</i>	<i>ilk-ess-um-i</i>	<i>pwunmyengha-ta.</i>
Chelswu-NOM	book-ACC	quickly	read-PST-NMLZ-NOM	evident-DECL

‘It is evident (the fact) that Chelswu read the book quickly.’

Nominalisation is a process through which a verb, verb phrase or an entire clause, headed by a verbal element, becomes to function as a noun. Nominalisation can be a morphosyntactic or a semantic process. In the first case, the change of word category (from verb to noun) is overtly signalled by a morphosyntactic element, usually a **nominaliser**, like the Korean *-um*. The new nominal status of the phrase/ clause marked with *-um* is clear from the fact that the whole constituent can bear morphological elements that are only compatible with nouns (see the NOM suffix *-i*). Alternatively, nominalisation is not signalled overtly in any way morphosyntactically. In this case a verb phrase or an entire clause starts to function as a noun, like in the Malay case above where the verb phrase *makan lewat* ‘eat late’ functions as the argument of the main verb *bagus* ‘be good’. Nominalisation in this case is also termed ‘**zero-nominalisation**’, ‘**zero-derivation**’ (e.g. Lieber 2005) or ‘**conversion**’ (e.g. Bauer, Valera 2005).

7.3 Analysis and Description

In no less than 400 words, list all constructions used in HA and SA to express negation providing an example for each construction.

- What word classes are involved in these constructions and how would you describe their morphosyntactic structure?
- What syntactic or non-syntactic processes are at work? Motivate your answer.
- Are the negative forms (i.e. *somo*, *hannehka*, ...) morphologically analyzable? If yes, what are the morphemes involved and which one would you point out at the one morpheme that encodes negation?
- What constructions (if any) remain difficult to analyse? Why? How would you think of resolving the problem?

8 Noun Incorporation

Summary 8.1 Background Information and Observation. – 8.2 Research. – 8.3 Analysis and Description.

8.1 Background Information and Observation

Noun incorporation (NI) is a process by which a noun stem, a noun root, or a noun phrase is combined with a verb to form one single stem. There have been many approaches to noun incorporation, some of which discuss it as a morphological process (e.g. Modena, Muro 2009) and some others that discuss it as a syntactic process (e.g. Baker 1988) or as semantic process (Chung, Ladusaw 2004). Traditionally, NI is said to be a valency-decreasing strategy, meaning that when the noun is incorporated in the verb this latter subcategorises for one less argument – if it is a transitive verb it becomes intransitive, if it is an intransitive verb already it becomes a zero-valency verb. After incorporation happens, the incorporated noun does not count as a verbal argument anymore, but it is part of the verb.

HA and SA showcase several cases of noun incorporation. In both varieties incorporation usually concerns the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs (i.e. the S and O arguments), while incorporation of the subject of transitive verbs is rare (Dal Corso 2021). Examples (1) and (2) illustrate S- and O-incorporation in HA, examples (3) and (4) illustrate the same in SA.

- (1) ***Sir-pirka.***
condition-be.good
'The condition is good.' = 'The weather is good.' (Tamura [1973] 2001, 119)

- (2) *E-wakka-ta* *kusu* *e-arpa*.
 2SS-water-collect CAU.FIN 2SS-go.PL
 ‘You go to draw water.’ (UT 1987, line 457)
- (3) ***Sir-u-kunne***.
 condition-0-be.dark
 ‘The condition is dark.’ = ‘It is night.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
- (4) ***Kito-ta-hci*** *kusu* *makap-a-hci*.
 kito-collect-3PS CAU.FIN go.uphill.PL-0-3PS
 ‘They went up inland to collect *kitos*.’ (Dal Corso 2021)

→ Consider this additional information...

Noun incorporation in Ainu is found to influence the stress pattern, which is then taken as a piece of evidence that incorporation has (not) occurred (Bugaeva 2004, 29). For example, in (1) stress falls only on *sir*, but in the non-incorporated synonymous version *sir pirka* both *sir* and *pirka* would bear the stress. The stress pattern of *sirpirka* in (1) is therefore a signal that noun incorporation has happened.

→ Dataset 1 – Evidence of incorporation

Consider the following examples. Some feature noun incorporation and some do not (* marks ungrammaticality). What morphosyntactic evidence do we have to say that noun incorporation has or has not occurred? What are the syntactic processes or the morphology that are insightful in this regard? Why does ungrammaticality arise?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Orota eahun wa ape eare*.
 ‘You enter there and light a fire.’
2. *Rapok suy tokap wakkataan*.
 ‘Meanwhile I again drew water at noon.’ (IH 1987, line 453)
3. * *Rapok suy tokap awakkata*.
 ‘Meanwhile I again drew water at noon.’
4. *Eare ape*.
 ‘The fire that you light.’
5. *Sirseseke*.
 ‘It is hot.’ (Tamura 2000, 194)
6. *Ata wakka*.
 ‘The water that You drew.’
7. *Orota eahun wa eapeare*.
 ‘You enter there and light a fire.’ (OS 1977, line 409)

8. **Taan wakka.*
'The water that You drew.'
9. **Kusirsesek.*
'I am hot.'
10. *Rapok suy tokap wakka ata.*
'Meanwhile I again drew water at noon.'

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Mahkoro'an 'ike yacyisekoro'an.*
'I got a wife (= married) and got myself a house.' (adapted from Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Ahapan teh [...] 'unci 'an'aare.*
'I entered and lit a fire.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. **Yaykoro'an cise.*
'The house I got [for] myself.'
4. **Koro'an mah.*
'The woman I married.'
5. *Cehrayki'an [...] hekacita tura 'an'ee.*
'I killed fish (= fished) [and] ate them with the boys.' (Dal Corso 2021)
6. *Koro kun mah 'isam manu.*
'They say that there is not a woman whom he could have.' = 'There's no good wife for him.' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. **Ancehrayki [...] hekacita tura 'an'ee.*
'I killed fish (= fished) [and] ate them with the boys.'

8.2 Research

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

→ *Dataset 2 - Limits and peculiarities of NI*

Consider the sentences given below (* marks ungrammaticality, ? marks dubious cases). Only SA examples are given for this dataset. Is there any syntactic or non-syntactic behavior that does not comply with what you have just observed about noun incorporation in Set 1? Why do you think ungrammaticality arise?

Set 2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Iki'an.*
'We act [like this].'
2. *Cehrayki'an [...] hekacita tura 'an'ee.*
'I killed fish (= fished) [and] ate them with the boys.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *'Atuyonne 'ampene [...] haweikihci.*
'They cried out loudly towards the sea.'
4. **Cikahrayki'an [...] hekacita tura 'an'ee.*
'I killed birds (= hunted for birds) [and] ate them with the boys.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. ?*Pon cehrayki'an [...] hekacita tura 'an'ee.*
'I caught small fish [and] ate them with the boys.'
6. *Neewa 'an haweikihci yahka ...*
'Even though they make such voices (= they are so insistent) ...' (Dal Corso 2021)

Examples from Other Languages...

Mohawk (Iroquoian, USA and Canada)
(examples from Baker 1996 in Muro 2009, 118)

Thíka *ʌ-ye-nakt-a-núhwe?-ne?*
that FUT-3F.SG.S/3N.O-**bed**-LNK-like-PUNC
'She will like this bed.'

In some languages incorporation only allows noun roots to be incorporated into a verb. Some others also allow **larger nominals** to be incorporated (like noun stems made up of a noun root plus, for example, an adjective root) but do not allow these nominals to have modifiers (like quantifiers, demonstratives, relative clauses, ...). This is not the case of Mohawk. In Mohawk a noun with **modifiers** can be incorporated, like we see for the noun *nakt* 'bed' in the example above. The modifier of this noun, here the demonstrative *thíka* 'that', remains **stranded** (i.e. outside of the verbal form) but it still references the incorporated noun (Muro 2009, 108-25). The languages that allow this kind of incorporation usually impose **limitations on the syntactic kind** of the element that can remain stranded, so that not all syntactic constituents are acceptable in that position.

Hindi (Indo-Aryan, India)
(examples from Dayal 2011 in Borik, Gehrke 2015, 20)

<i>Anu</i>	<i>sirf</i>	puraanii	kitaab	<i>becegli.</i>
Anu	only	old	book	sell.FUT

'Anu will only sell old books.'

In some languages noun incorporation is less strict syntactically. The incorporated noun is usually **less marked morphologically** (e.g. it cannot have markers of person, possession, number, ...) but it **retains some syntactic freedom** – e.g. it can be separated from the incorporating verb by an adverb, a particle and the like. This never happens in noun incorporation proper, which is why these cases are defined as **pseudo-noun incorporation** (PNI) (Borik, Gehrke 2015). Pseudo-incorporated nouns too can have modifiers, like the adjective *puraanii* ‘old’ that modifies the pseudo-incorporated noun *kitaab* ‘book’ in the example above. However, PNI imposes some **restrictions in the semantics** of modifiers so that only modifiers with semantics that help deriving a verbal form describing an action with **cultural relevance** are acceptable. In Hindi, selling old books is recognised as an activity that belongs to the culture of the people speaking the language while, for instance, ‘selling red books’ is not. Therefore it would be impossible to substitute ‘old’ with ‘red’ in the example above. A different structure (one that does not involve PNI) must be used.

Chukchi (Chukotka-Kamchatka, Russia)

(examples from Polinskaja, Nedjalkov 1987 in Muro 2009, 3)

ətłəg-ən *kawkaw-ək* *mətqə-rkele-gʔe*.
 father-ABS bread-LOC **butter**-spread.on-3SG.S
 ‘Father spread butter on the bread.’

Blackfoot (Algonquian, Canada)

(examples from Frantz 1971 in Mithun 1985, 858)

lihpokón-sskaawa *nóko’sa*.
ball-acquire.3SG my.child
 ‘My child got a ball.’

Nít-ohpokón-sskoawa *nóko’sa*.
 I-**ball**-acquire.3SG my.child
 ‘I provided my child with a ball.’

Noun incorporation may result in the **syntactic saturation** of the verb. For instance, if a noun is incorporated in a transitive verb, this verb becomes syntactically intransitive – i.e. it may take now just one argument, the subject. This is shown by the Chukchi example where the transitive *rkele* ‘spread on’ incorporates the noun *mətqə-* ‘butter’ and becomes intransitive. The new valency of the verb is clearly signalled by the **agreement** suffix *-gʔe*, that is used for marking third person subject on intransitives.

In other languages noun incorporation does not necessarily result in the syntactic saturation of the verb. In the first example from Blackfoot we see object incorporation of the noun *iihpokón-* ‘ball’ into the verb *sskaawa* ‘acquire’ which causes syntactic saturation – the only argument the verb can take is now the subject, here *nóko’sa* ‘my child’. However, this same incorporation **may not cause syntactic saturation** and the argument slot left vacant by the incorporated noun is filled by a new nominal or by an already present one. In the second example from Blackfoot *nóko’sa* ‘my child’ takes the empty slot of the object, it leaves the subject slot empty and so the verb can now take a new subject, here *nít* ‘I’. The verb **has not changed in valency** as it is still transitive. With this kind of incorporation (with no syntactic saturation) the semantics of the verb **may slightly change**. Furthermore, many languages impose **restrictions on the semantics** of the noun that can replace the incorporated noun.

8.3 Analysis and Description

In no less than 400 words discuss noun incorporation in HA and SA.

- Where did your analysis start from?
- What kind(s) of NI can you observe in HA and SA? Motivate your answer citing examples from Set 1 and Set 2 above where necessary.
- What is the morphosyntax of NI?
- What are the limitations of NI? Are they morphosyntactic or semantic?
- Is there any behavior or structure you observe that remains difficult to explain and define?

9 Source of Information

Summary 9.1 Background Information and Observation. – 9.2 Research. – 9.3 Analysis and Description.

9.1 Background Information and Observation

In both HA and SA there exist a number of sentence-final expressions that indicate how the speaker has obtained the information that is the content of her utterance and what was the source of this information. In other words, these final forms indicate the kind of evidence the speaker has in order to say what she says. The HA *siri ne* in (1) and the SA *humihī ‘an* in (2) provide an example. Additional background context information is given in square brackets.

- (1) *Sinuma ka ko-ray-niwkes siri ne (noyne iki a).*
he even APPL-3SS/3SO/die-be.difficult **siri ne** as.if AP.do PRF
‘It was (like) he couldn’t [separate from me] either.’ (Kayano 4-4,10)
[The speaker is being hugged by her husband and sees that he cannot let go of her since he is too happy]

In (1) the speaker sees first-person that her husband is having trouble separating from her because he misses her.

- (2) *Utara reekoro tohseno humihī ‘an.*
people really 3PS/sleep.deeply **humihī ‘an**
‘It seemed [those] people were really sleeping deeply.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 184)
[The speaker, the character of the tale, is resting in the dark next to some other people who are perfectly still and silent]

In (2) the speaker realises that the people next to him are completely still and, on the basis of that, deduces that they must be sleeping deeply.

Since these are sentence-final forms they come right after a verb. Their use is not obligatory on every sentence.

→ *Consider this additional information...*

- One of the ways to express possession in HA and SA is with the suffix *-(V)hV* that is attached to the possessed noun (see Lesson 4).
- The alloform *-hV* is attached to noun roots ending in a vowel and the alloform *-VhV* is attached to noun roots ending in a consonant.
- The vowel(s) of this suffix is copied from the last vowel present in the noun root to which the suffix attaches. Therefore we have for instance *sapa* ‘head’ > *sapaha* or *tek* ‘hand’ > *tekehe*.
- Sometimes the final segment *-hV* of the possessive suffix is truncated (e.g. *sapaha* > *sapa* or *tekehe* > *teke*).
- For some consonant-final noun roots this vowel-copying rule does not apply and the vowel in the suffix is different from the last one present in the root, resulting in an ‘irregular’ form – e.g. *par* ‘mouth’ > *paroho*.
- On this point HA and SA may differ as some ‘regular’ possessive forms in HA are ‘irregular’ in SA, like for example *tek* ‘hand’ > *tekehe* (HA) but *tek* ‘hand’ > *tekihi* (SA).
- The possessor on these forms is marked again on the noun via a transitive personal agreement prefix in the subject form – e.g. *kusapaha* ‘my head’ (HA, SA), *eparoho* ‘your mouth’ (HA), or *tekihi* ‘his/her/its/their hand’ (SA).
- When the possessor is a third person it can be expressed by a separate noun that always precedes the possessed noun – e.g. *seta paroho* ‘the dog’s mouth’.

→ *Dataset 1 - Variety of forms*

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

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Sinuma ka korayniwkes siri ne (noyne iki a).*
'It was (like) he couldn't [separate from me] either.' (Kayano 4-4,10)
[The speaker is being hugged by her husband and sees that he cannot let go of her since he is too happy]
2. *Areska wa an.*
'I had raised her [so].' (Bugaeva 2004, 307)
3. *Yuptek menoko ane.*
'I was a hard-working woman.' (Tamura 1984, 16)
4. *Ayupihi iyekari ek kor an siri iki.*
'It seemed my brother was coming towards me.' (adapted from Tamura 1985, 60)
[A stoat, character of the tale, turns himself into a woman and from afar sees his brother walking in his direction]
5. *Nep humihi [...] a(n)nu.*
'I heard the sound of something.' (OS 1981, line 798)
6. *Awenmatnepoho purio kaska siri an.*
'It seems that my degenerate daughter has had too much of a violent temperament.' (Tamura 1984, 34)
[The speaker comments like this after the main character of the story recounts the difficult travel he had to make because his mother, the speaker's daughter, had told him to].
7. *Husko nituypa ru ka an.*
'There was also the trace of an old tree cutting.' (Bugaeva 2004, 254)
8. *Usa sisakpe aiyere humi ne.*
'I was given various delicious food.' (Tamura 1984, 42)
[A blind woman comments on the food she was given by her relatives]
9. *Apesamta ek'an.*
'I went next to the fire.' (Bugaeva 2004, 270)
10. *Hunakun ka aiyani wa payean humi as.*
'It seemed I was carried and going somewhere.' (Tamura 1985, 4)
[A woman is inside a coffin and from the movements and the voices coming from outside she figures out she is being carried some place up a hill]
11. *Hopuni wa as.*
'[My father] jumped and stood up.' (Bugaeva 2004, 204)
12. *Aeramiskari okkaypo ek wa an ruwe ne.*
'A young man, who I don't know, has come.' (Bugaeva 2004, 256)
[A young woman says this to the owner of the house after having met an unknown man at the door]
13. *Apoho ene hawe ne ciki, isamun ek.*
'If you are my child, come next to me.' (Tamura 1984, 40)
[A woman says this after a young boy introduced himself to her saying that he was her son]
14. *Tanto sirpirka.*
'Today the appearance is good (= the weather is nice).'

15. *Kantoorun payean yakka ...*
'Even though we went to heaven ...' (Bugaeva 2004, 149)
16. *Akor sapo pasrota [...] kor ek hawe as.*
'It seemed my older sister came while swearing' (Tamura 1985, 19)
[The younger sister just played a prank to the older sister and from inside the house hears her coming back angry]
17. *Kem ruwe.*
'The trace of a needle.' (Bugaeva 2004, 162)
18. *Neun poka ikian.*
'I [had to] do something at least.' (Bugaeva 2004, 192)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Utara reekoro tohseno humihi 'an.*
'It seemed [those] people were really sleeping deeply.' (Pilsudski 1912, 184)
[The speaker, the character of the tale, is resting in the dark next to some other people who are perfectly still and silent]
2. *Neya ruu kaari san.*
'He went down through this path.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Tuhso neeno 'an puy 'ahun sirihi 'an.*
'It seemed a hole like a cave opened [on the side of the mountain].' (Dal Corso 2021)
[The speaker looks from a distance and guesses there is a cave ahead of him from the shape of the mountain]
4. *Cise'onnay neeno 'oseh.*
'It was wide like the inside of a house.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. *Na sukuh mahtekuh neehci.*
'They were still young women.' (Dal Corso 2021)
6. *'Ehankeno 'an pe ka 'emuyke kehke wa cokoko wa 'isam ruwehe 'an.*
'It must have ended up breaking and felling even all the things (the trees) around.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[The character of the story, after having killed a monster from inside its belly, jumps out and sees the damage it caused while squirming because of the pain.]
7. *Tenkorasi yahka pirika, 'ampene an hemata kihci?*
'Even if [one] hugs [bear cubs] it is fine. What do they do, really?' (Dal Corso 2021)
8. *Tani 'onne haw 'ankoroo.*
'Now we have an old voice.' (Dal Corso 2021)
9. *Ta ohacisuye seta humpa hawehe an.*
'It seemed that empty-house-devil crushed the dogs [that were inside the house].' (Pilsudski 1912, 79)
[The speaker is outside the house that his dogs just went into and hears them howling while the devil kills them]
10. *'Anhawehe nuu yahka wantehe nee nanko.*
'He [will] probably know if he hears our voice.' (Dal Corso 2021)
11. *'Aynu ka 'emuyke [...] 'ee wa 'isam.*
'[The monster] ended up eating [...] even all the people.' (Dal Corso 2021)

12. *Pon nayohta ihuraye ruwehe ne.*
'She washed me in a small river.' (Pilsudski 1912, 227)
[The speaker recalls something that was done to him when he was a little child]
13. *Hemata humihi reekoh nuhci.*
'They heard loudly the sound of something.' (Dal Corso 2021)
14. *Sine too reekoh siripirika.*
'One day the appearance was good (= the weather was nice).' (Dal Corso 2021)
15. *Kuikuu yayne ahun.*
'I smoked and then she entered.' (Dal Corso 2021)

9.2 Research

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

→ Dataset 2 – Structure and meaning

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

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Aonaha heru earanukar kor ora ihoppa siri an?!*
'Only once I see my father and then he leaves me?!' (adapted from Kayano 1-8,12)
[The speaker utters this sentence after the father he hadn't seen for a long time walks away from him]
2. *Ukuran ka yaanipo isam [...] sirki.*
'Even in the evening it seemed he was almost [...] dying.' (Tamura 1984, 14)
[The speaker tells about the time she healed a sick person and speaks about their physical conditions]
3. *Okkayo haw [...] "ahunke yak pirka wa" sekor hawas.*
'"You may let him come in" said the voice [of] a young man.' (Bugueva 2004, 257)
[The speaker hears the woman who just met him at the door say this once she goes back in to inform the owner of the house about who just arrived]

4. *Toop oyakketa ray pe aynu ne sekor hawas.*
'It's said that the ones who [go] to a faraway land [when] they die are people.' (Nakagawa 2001, 87)
[The speaker reports what others have told her]
5. **Usa sisakpe aiyere hum ne.*
'I was given various delicious food.'
6. *Nispa poka sone siknu wa an hawe an?*
'Truly at least [that] man has survived?' (adapted from Tamura 1985, 12)
[The speaker asks this to herself after having heard about the casualties and survivors of a famine at her old village]
7. *Pet put an (noyne) siran wa ...*
'It seemed (like) there was the mouth of a river.' (Bugaeva 2004, 319)
[The speaker observes the surroundings by the seashore from a distance]
8. *Hapo itak ne wa siran.*
'[Those] had been the words [of my] mother.' (Kayano 19-4,6)
[The speaker finally realises that what she heard previously, though strange to her, were the words of her mother.]
9. *Sermaka akor hawas.*
'It seems I have a protective god [on my side].' (Kayano 2-6,14)
[The speaker says this after hearing the distinctive cry of a bird that is the embodiment of a protective god]
10. *Tane icire (noyne) humas [...] kusu ...*
'Because now it seemed (as if) he grilled me ...' (Kayano 19-4,27)
[The speaker character of the story (an animal) is inside a pot and feels heat coming from below]

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Tan husko karauto an ruwehe 'an.*
'There was this old box.' (Pilsudski 1912, 200)
[The speaker looks around the house searching for something his brothers are hiding and finds a box]
2. **Pon nayohta ihuraye ruwe ne.*
'She washed me in a small river.'
3. *Reekoh etoorohci 'ani mokoro hawehehcin 'an.*
'It seemed they were sleeping while snoring loudly.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[The speaker is lying nearby some people who are sleeping]
4. *'Usahpa 'usahpa cisehehcin'onne (...) 'ampahci.*
'[The man] took [the bears] one by one to their house (=cage).' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. **Ta ohacisuye seta humpa haw an.*
'It seemed that empty-house-devil crushed the dogs [that were inside the house].'
6. *Oropekano inkaran yako, osomaciseohta ahupan teh okayan ruhe an.*
'When I looked around, [I realised] I must have entered a privy.' (Pilsudski 1912, 160)
[The speaker is lured into a dark privy by two gods. After smelling a foul smell and not understanding where it came from, he finally realises where he is.]

Examples from Other Languages...

Ngiyambaa (Pama-Nyungan, Australia)

(data from Donaldson 1980 in Aikhenvald 2004, 34)

Dindu-gara *girambiyi*.
you.NOM-SENS.EV sick.PAST
'You were sick (one could see it).'

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

Foe (Austronesian, Papua-New-Guinea)

(data from Rule 1977 in Aikhenvald 2004, 62)

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

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

Amdo Tibetan (Tibeto-Burma, China)

(data from Sun 1993 in Aikhenvald 2004, 45)

ʦaɕ^hi=kə ^htæ *ŋu=zəg*.
Bkra-shis=ERG horse buy=INFR
'Bkra-shis bought a horse (speaker inferred it).'

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

Lezgian (Caucasic, Azerbaijan)

(data from Haspelmath 1993 in Aikhenvald 2004, 31)

Baku.d-a irid itim gülle.di-z aqud-na-lda.
Baku-INESS seven man bullet-DAT take.out-AOR-REP
‘They say that in Baku seven men were shot.’

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

9.3 Analysis and Description

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

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

10 Antipassive

Summary 10.1 Background Information and Observation. – 10.2 Research. – 10.3 Analysis and Description.

10.1 Background Information and Observation

Antipassivisation is a process common in, but not exclusive to, ergative languages and it usually concerns transitive and ditransitive verbs. In a prototypical antipassive construction an original object argument of the verb is demoted to be an oblique (Payne 2006, 255). At discourse level, antipassivisation serves to de-focus an element that has low referentiality in the context. Antipassivisation is therefore similar to passivisation, the difference between the two processes being that the former downplays the centrality of an object while the latter downplays the centrality of the subject.

In both HA and SA there exists the antipassive marker *i-*. This verbal prefix is formally identical to the fourth person object marker *i-* (see Lessons 3 and 4). However, the origin of these two prefixes is diachronically distinct, with the antipassive marker being historically older than the 4O agreement prefix. A piece of evidence to argue for the older origins of the antipassive marker comes from phonology since, for reasons connected to a process of lexicalisation of the antipassive form, antipassive *i-* triggers glide insertion with vowel-initial verb stems (see Lesson 3). The 4O agreement prefix is usually not found to cause glide insertion (Tamura 1970; Bugaeva 2018, 7).

Examples (2) and (4) show an antipassive construction in HA and SA, and examples (1) and (3) respectively show their non-antipassive version.

- (1) **Mosir** *a-hoppa* *kusu ne.*
land 4S-**3SO**/leave INTN
 ‘I was about to leave [this] world.’ (IH 1987, line 1257)
- (2) *i-hoppa-an* *kusu ne.*
AP-leave-4S INTN
 ‘I was about to leave [this] world.’
- (3) *Henke tani ‘isam weepekere utah nuu.*
 old.man now 3SS/not.be **tale** people 3PS/**3SO**/hear
 ‘The people heard the news that the old mad [had] eventually died.’
 (Dal Corso 2021)
- (4) ‘*Oman-hi hee ka utah ‘erameskari ‘an yayne*
 3SS/go.PC-NMLZ FOC even people 3PS/3SO/not.know IPFV and.then
tani i-nu.
 now **AP**-3PS/hear
 ‘The people had no idea of [where the old man] went and eventually they
 heard a news.’ (Dal Corso 2021)

→ Consider this additional information...

The proposed path of development of the Ainu antipassive marker is as follows (Bugaeva 2018).

- The Ainu antipassive *i-* is traced back to the incorporation of a generic noun *hi/i* ‘fact, thing’. This noun does not exist anymore as an independent noun in Ainu, but it is retained as a nominaliser (see Lesson 15).
- The opaque semantics of this noun led the marker *i-* to refer to a generic object: an argument of the verb that has a peripheral discourse function and that can therefore be downplayed or omitted.
- The fourth person object marker *i-* would have then originated from the antipassive *i-* thanks to the referentiality properties of this latter. The reanalysis as a personal agreement marker probably started when it was necessary to avoid mentioning some speech act participants directly (out of respect or for other reasons). This hypothesis nicely explains the functions of the 4O marker to refer to the inclusive first person plural, an honorific second person, and a logophoric first person (see Lesson 3).

→ *Dataset 1 - Morphosyntactic constraints*

Examples (1)-(4) above already show a behavior of the Ainu antipassive that is at odds with the characteristics of a prototypical antipassive construction. Consider the following examples (* marks ungrammatical examples). What is the morphosyntactic structure of the Ainu antipassive construction? What causes the ungrammaticality of examples marked with *? Does antipassivisation affect verbal valency? How? What is the morphological evidence for that?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. **Uepekerotta inuas.*
'We heard a news.'
2. **Sinenne aponpohootta iyomapan.*
'I love the child all alone.'
3. *Aponpoho aomap kusu ...*
'Because I love our little baby ...' (adapted from OS 1981, line 969)
4. *Uepeker cinu.*
'We heard a news.'
5. **Sinenne aponpoho eun iyomapan.*
'I love the child all alone.'
6. *Sinenne iyomapan.*
'I love the child all alone.' (Bugaeva 2018, 14)
7. *Inuas.*
'We heard a news.'
8. **Uepekerorwa inuas.*
'We heard a news.'

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. **Sine paa tani weepelere'ohta inuan.*
'Eventually one year we heard a news.'
2. **Episkanne ciseta utara'ohta 'iwooneka.*
'He checked on the situation of people in the houses around.'
3. *Sine paa tani inuan.*
'Eventually one year we heard a news.'
4. *Episkanne ciseta 'iwooneka.*
'He checked on the situation of people in the houses around.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. **Sine paa tani weepelere'orowa inuan.*
'Eventually one year we heard a news.'
6. *Sine paa tani weepelere annuu.*
'Eventually one year we heard a news.'
7. **Episkanne ciseta utara'orowa 'iwooneka.*
'He checked on the situation of people in the houses around.'

10.2 Research

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

→ Dataset 2 - Antipassive's semantics

Consider the following examples that illustrate the semantic characteristics of the Ainu antipassive and the relative translations. Judging from the grammatical and ungrammatical examples given here, how is the semantic reference of the antipassive restricted? Do the semantic restrictions of the applicative affect the meaning of the verb form as a whole? How? Is there any difference between HA and SA? Are there any instances where the antipassive causes a morphological change of the non-antipassive base verb?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Aunuhu usey ku.*
'My mother drinks hot water (= tea).'
2. *Hepunian wa inkar'an akus ...*
'As I raised my head and looked around ...' (OS 1980, line 160)
3. **Iyomante kusu ekasi utar uwekarpa.*
Intended meaning: 'The elders gathered to make the man go.'
4. *Ikuan wa usa sinotcakian.*
'We drank sake and sang many songs.' (OS 1980, line 625)
5. *Tan kamuy menoko onuytasa aomante.*
'I made her go instead of this divine young woman.' (OS 1988, line 839)
6. *Cep hene akoyki wa ae.*
'I caught fish too and ate them.' (OS 1981, line 333)
7. **Ikuan wa usa sinotcakian.*
Intended meaning: 'We drank tea and sang many songs.'
8. *Cikap secihiotta omante.*
'He made the birds go tho their nests.'
9. *Iyomante kusu ekasi utar uwekarpa.*
'The elders gathered to make the [spirit of the bear] go (= to perform a bear ceremony).'
10. *Ipean wa hotkean.*
'I ate and went to sleep.' (OS 1980, line 552)
11. **Secihiotta iyomante.*
Intended meaning: 'He made the birds go to their nests.'
12. *Setane eciinukar.*
'You saw me in the shape of a dog.' (OS 1979, line 669)
13. *Sake aku ka eramiskari.*
'I had never drunk sake.' (IH 1986, line 482)

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *'Ipe'an hemaka tani 'asipan.*
'I finished eating [and] at that point I went out.' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Nay 'ururukasketa 'aa teh [...] ikuu.*
'He sat on the river bank and [...] smoked.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *'Ikaamesu kamuy ruy kusu ...*
'Because the god who helps people (= the protective god) was strong ...'
(Dal Corso 2021)
4. *Ponno wahka kukuu.*
'I drink a little water.'
5. **Nay 'ururukasketa 'aa teh [...] ikuu.*
Intended meaning: 'He sat on the river bank and [...] drank water.'
6. *Cisesoykene 'inkara.*
'He had a look at the situation outside of the houses.' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Penke 'an kuh [...] 'utarihi kasmesu.*
'The man of the upper course of the river [...] helped [his brother's] people.'
(Dal Corso 2021)
8. *Nean kamuy pooho na nukara teh ...*
'He saw that divine son of hers too and ...' (Dal Corso 2021)
9. **'Ikaamesu kamuy ruy kusu ...*
Intended meaning: 'Because the god who helps the village was strong ...'
10. *Rukumihhi pateh ku'ee.*
'I only ate a piece of it.' (Dal Corso 2021)
11. *Renkayne sake ekuu?*
'Did you drink a lot of sake?' (Dal Corso 2021)
12. **Nay 'ururukasketa 'aa teh [...] ikuu.*
Intended meaning: 'He sat on the river bank and [...] drank sake.'

Examples from Other Languages...

Central Alaskan Yup'ik (Eskimo-Aleut, USA)
(examples from Miyaoka 2012)

<i>Angute-m</i>	<i>kuvya-ni</i>	<i>allg-aa.</i>
man-REL.SG	net-ABS.SG.3SG.PSR	tear-IND.3SG>3SG
'The man tore his (own) net.'		

<i>Angun</i>	<i>kuvya-minek</i>	<i>allg-i-uq.</i>
man.ABS.SG	net-ABM.3RSG.SG	tear-ANTIP-IND.3SG
'The man tore his (own) net.'		

A **prototypical antipassive** construction has three formal characteristics (Payne 2006, 255): 1) the A argument (subject of transitive verb) **becomes the S argument** (subject of intransitive verb), which may be clear from a **morphological change** in the person agreement forms used on the verb, 2) the originally transitive **verb becomes intransitive**, which makes antipassivisation a **valency-changing** (valency-decreasing) strategy, 3) the original object of the transitive verb appears in an **oblique case**. The Central Alaskan Yup'ik examples above illustrate a prototypical antipassive. After antipassivisation is obtained via the suffix *-i*, the formerly transitive verb becomes intransitive – this is evident from person agreement as in the first example we find the transitive agreement *-aa* (referencing to a third person subject acting on a third person object), but in the second example we find the intransitive agreement *-uq* that only references a third person subject. The subject in the antipassive construction is an S – this is evident from the absolutive null marking on *angun* ‘man’ in contrast to the relative-ergative suffix *-m* in the non-antipassive sentence. Finally, the original direct object *kuvya* ‘net’ is expressed in the antipassive construction via an oblique (here with the ablative case in *-minek*).

Puma (Sino-Tibetan, Nepal)
(examples from Bickel, Gaenzle 2015)

Som-kha-mΛ-tuk.
love-**ANTIP**-3PS-love.NPTS
‘They love people.’

Antipassives can have their origin in **noun incorporation**. The antipassive *-kha* of Puma originated from a no longer existent noun meaning ‘all’ which was incorporated in the verb and later developed the function of referencing to a **generic object**. In the example above, the antipassive on the verb *som* ‘love’ references to ‘people’ in general. The peculiarity of antipassives that originate from noun incorporation seems to be that the construction **does not allow** the demoted object to be expressed overtly via an oblique. In languages possessing this kind of applicatives the demoted object is **always omitted**.

Tlachichilco Tepehua (Totonac-Tepehua, Mexico)
(examples from Watters 2017)

<i>Sa:-y</i>	<i>Sa:-nan</i>
hit-IPFV	hit.IPFV- ANTIP
‘S/he hits him/her/it.’	‘S/he plays music.’

<i>Mispa:-y</i>	<i>Mispa:-nan</i>
know-IPFV	know.IPFV- ANTIP
‘S/he knows him/her/it.’	‘S/he knows the location.’

Antipassivisation often results in **lexicalisation**. This happens more commonly in those languages (like Puma above) whose antipassive construction does not allow the overt expression of the demoted object. Tlachichilco Tepehua represents one more case of such languages. In fact, once the antipassive is obtained via the suffix *-nVn*, object expression is blocked and the antipassive takes a **restricted set of objects** or even only **one object specifically** as its semantic referent. This often causes a **change of meaning** in the antipassivised verb form compared to the one of the non-antipassive verb. Therefore, for instance the verb form *sa:nan* from *sa:* ‘hit’ only means ‘play music’, with the antipassive referencing specifically to musical instruments.

10.3 Analysis and Description

Discuss, in no less than 300 words, the morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of the Ainu antipassive. Cite relevant examples from Set 1 and Set 2 where needed.

- From what premises did your analysis start?
- Do HA and SA feature a prototypical antipassive construction? Why/why not? Motivate your answer.
- How does antipassivisation affect verbal valency?
- Is the semantic reference of the antipassive limited? How? How does this affect the overall meaning of the antipassive verb form?
- What are the differences between HA and SA?

11 Motion and Location

Summary 11.1 Background Information and Observation. – 11.2 Research. – 11.3 Analysis and Description.

11.1 Background Information and Observation

In both HA and SA motion and location are usually obliques (more rarely they appear as arguments). Morphosyntactically motion and location are expressed via a construction involving the noun *or* (HA), *oh/oro* (SA) ‘place’. This noun follows another noun that indicates a specific place and it is in its turn followed by a locative postposition that indicates location or specifies the kind of motion involved. One example of such postpositions is *-wa*, expressing motion away from a place, that we have already encountered in the impersonal-passive construction (cf. Lesson 5). Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the construction with *-orwa/-orowa* in HA and SA respectively.

- (1) *Tu hekattar cise-or-wa cisoyokuta.*
two young.boys house-**place-from** 3PS/come.out.of.house
‘Two young boys came out of the house.’ (Tamura 1985, 8)
- (2) *‘Ipe ka tek-ih-i-oro-wa haaree.*
food even 3/hand-POSS-**place-from** 3SS/3SO/drop
‘She dropped the food from her hands.’ (Dal Corso 2021)

Besides *-wa* there exist other locative postpositions. In HA we find *-ta* that indicates stative location, *-un* that indicates motion towards

a place, and *-peka* that indicates motion through a place (Tamura 2000, 104-8). In SA we find *-ta* that indicates stative location, *-(e)ne* that indicates motion towards a place, *-peka* that indicates straight motion through a place, and *-poka* that indicates irregular motion through a place. Sometimes, depending on the semantics of the verb and on the kind of place where motion happens, *-peka* and *-poka* can be interchangeable (Murasaki 1979, 118-19; Dal Corso 2021).

→ Consider this additional information...

The HA postposition *-un* has its origin in the transitive verb *un* ‘be in (a certain place)’. The original meaning of this verb is essentially stative, therefore its development into a postposition indicating motion is not clear.

- (3) *Ya un kur.*
 mainland 3SS/3SO/**be.in** person
 ‘A person who is in the mainland (= who lives/comes from the mainland, i.e. an Ainu).’

The same verb is also present in SA, but the use of *-un* as a locative postposition in this Ainu variety is much more limited. In fact it is used only with the meaning of ‘from’ in expressions that indicate the origins of someone or something.

- (4) *Tokyo-oro-un aynu.*
 Tokyo-**place-in** person
 ‘A person from Tokyo.’ (Murasaki 1979, 99)

→ Dataset 1 – Semantic complexity of motion and location

Consider the following examples paying attention to ungrammatical ones (marked with *). What are the phonological processes occurring on the noun *oro* ‘place’ when used with the various locative postpositions (cf. Lesson 3)? Do you notice any discrepancies in the use and/or meaning of locative postpositions with regards to the information you have been given? What makes the ungrammatical examples so?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Nea kotanotta nea wenkur okaypo kotan kor nispa poho ne.*
 ‘In that village, that poor young boy was the son of the village chief.’
 (Tamura 1985, 42)
2. *Petaruorun ran’an.*
 ‘I went down to the riverside.’ (Bugaeva 2004, 154)

3. * *Nea ciseta ekan.*
'I came to that house.' (Tamura 1985, 32)
4. *Ciseorun okkayo itak haw ene haweas.*
'From the house the speaking voice of a young man can be heard like this.'
(Tamura 1985, 18)
5. *Kimpeka payekaan.*
'I walked around in the mountains.' (OS 1980, line 433)
6. *Tu hekattar ciseorwa cisoyokuta.*
'Two young boys came out of the house.' (Tamura 1985, 8)
7. * *Kimotta ka arpa'an.*
'I went to the mountains too.'
8. * *Pisorpeka [...] cep ka koyki.*
'He caught also fish along the shore.'
9. *Nea ciseotta ekan.*
'I came to that house.' (Tamura 1985, 32)
10. *Hemanta nisorwa ran siri ne.*
'Something fell from the sky.' (Tamura 1985, 48)
11. *Cep poronno ne tootta okay.*
'There were a lot of fish in that lake.' (Tamura 1985, 54)
12. *Kinta ka arpa'an.*
'I went to the mountains too.' (Bugaeva 2004, 240)
13. *Tono kotanta tapan upaskuma anu.*
'I heard this very story in the village of great people (= Japan)' (Tamura 1984, 24)
14. *Pispeka [...] cep ka koyki.*
'He caught also fish along the shore.' (OS 1981, line 567)
15. *Sumaorwa a.*
'He sat on a rock.'

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Siska Tarayka nah 'ayyee kotan'ohhta [...]' 'orohko renkayne 'an.*
'In a village called Siska Tarayka [...] lived a lot of Oroks.' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Susucayteh'orowa hemata rusasoma rahki.*
'Some kind of straw bundle was hanging from the limbs of a willow.'
(Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Rurosoohta 'aa.*
'He sat on the main seat.' (Dal Corso 2021)
4. *'Enko utah neampe [...] 'Usoro'onne 'oman.*
'Half of the people [...] went towards 'Usoro.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. * *Nean nupuruta yaykotankoro.*
'[The monster] had its dwelling in that mountain.'
6. *Kinta nean henkeuta cehkoykihci.*
'Those elders fished in the mountains.' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Cih'ohhta sapahci.*
'They went down to the boat.' (Dal Corso 2021)

8. *Cuhniskuruorowa tani* [...] *kamuyhenke ran*.
'At that point from the highest sky [...] a divine elder came down.'
(Dal Corso 2021)
9. *Nean nupuru'ohtha yaykotankoro*.
'[The monster] had its dwelling in that mountain.' (Dal Corso 2021)
10. *An'unuhu cisehehcin'ohtha tusuu 'orohko 'ahci sineh 'an*.
'In my mother's house lived one shaman Orok woman.' (Dal Corso 2021)
11. *Ankotanta okayan ike sianno akianji renkayne 'an*.
'When I lived in my village, there were really a lot of salmon.' (Dal Corso 2021)
12. *Suu'orowa annukara*.
'I looked into the pot.' (Dal Corso 2021)
13. *Pohseh'onne reekoh 'erum hocikacika hawehe 'an*.
'It seemed the mouse was squirming violently inside the trap.' (Dal Corso 2021)
14. **Kimohta nean henkeuta cehkoykihci*.
'Those elders fished in the mountains.'
15. **Cihta sapahci*.
'They went down to the boat.'
16. *Ruroosota 'oman*.
'He went to the main seat.' (Dal Corso 2021)

11.2 Research

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

→ Dataset 2 – Intrinsically locative nouns

Consider the following examples. Only SA examples are given for this set. What new items expressing location do you see used as substitutes of *oh/oro*? Are these all nouns? If not, what word class do you think they belong to? Motivate your answer. What kind of locative relation do they express (under, over, next to, ...)? Try to find the semantic difference among the ones with a similar meaning. How do locative constructions change morphologically when the referent of the locative expression is not a third person?

Set 2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. **Tooro hekotane cas*.
'It ran towards Tooro.'
2. *Tekihi* [...] *'ururu'empoketa 'ahun*.
'The paw [of the mouse spirit] [...] entered under the bank [of the river].'
(Dal Corso 2021)

3. *Nupuru tonkeene* [...] *hemata puyehe* ‘*ahun*.
‘In the center of the mountain [side] [...] some kind of hole opened.’
(Dal Corso 2021)
4. *Ruu kaari makan*.
‘He went uphill along the trail.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
5. **Apa kuhekota*.
‘I went towards the door.’
6. *Ota poyehci teh* ‘*otatunketa* ‘*ahunkehci*.
‘They dug [holes in] the sand and put [praying sticks] in the center of the sand.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Kuy naa yayuh naa renkayne tocaapeka* ‘*okay*.
‘There were a lot of larches and Sakhalin firs too along the lake’s shores.’
(Dal Corso 2021)
8. **Ruu kaaripeka makan*.
‘He went uphill along the trail.’
9. ‘*Orohko* ‘*ahci sineh* ‘*iyohtha* [...] ‘*an*.
‘One old Orok woman lived [...] at my place.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
10. *Tooro hekota cas*.
‘It ran to Tooro.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
11. *Cipihisanketa neeroh kamuyutah yapahci*.
‘Those gods surfaced [from the sea] next to his boat.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
12. *Enhekota apkas*.
‘He walked towards me.’
13. *Kenemoto* ‘*owsiketa hemata ka kamuy he* ‘*an*.
‘Under an alder there was some kind of animal.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
14. * ‘*Itanki* [...] *ansanketa ama*.
‘He placed the bowl [...] next to me.’
15. *Rerannoskekepoka* ‘*anciw*.
‘I [had] pierced him through the center of [his] chest.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
16. *Enko utah neampe* [...] ‘*Usoro’onne* ‘*oman*.
‘Half of the people [...] went towards ‘Usoro.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
17. ‘*Inoskeketa* ‘*an kamuy reekoh* ‘*aspekoro kamuyhenke*.
‘The animal that was in the center [of the group was] an old god with mighty big back fins.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
18. ‘*Eyooko utah rawta* ‘*okay*.
‘The people who lay in wait were under [the slope].’ (Dal Corso 2021)
19. ‘*Itanki* [...] *isanketa ama*.
‘He placed the bowl [...] next to me.’ (Dal Corso 2021)
20. *Niitonke tuye teh horahte*.
‘He cut the center of the tree and felled it.’

Examples from Other Languages...

Finnish (Uralic, Finland)

<i>Talossa</i>	‘in the house’	<i>Talolla</i>	‘on the house’
<i>Talosta</i>	‘out from inside the house’	<i>Talolta</i>	‘from the house’
<i>Taloon</i>	‘into the house’	<i>Talolle</i>	‘onto the house’

Finnish has a complex system of grammatical cases that distinguishes **locative cases** into **internal** and **external**. Internal locative cases indicate state inside (inessive), motion out of (elative), or motion into something (illative). External locative cases indicate state on (adessive), motion away from (ablativ), or motion onto something (allative). The use of these cases can be extended to express meanings that are not locative *per se*. For instance, the inessive is used to express punctual time (e.g. ‘in January’) and the adessive is used to express, among other things, means and instrument (e.g. ‘by train’).

Icelandic (Germanic, Iceland)

<i>Ég fór í skólann.</i>	‘I went to school.’
<i>Ég er í skólanum.</i>	‘I am at school.’

In Icelandic the prepositions *í* and *á* are used to express state and motion to some place. The choice of which one of these prepositions to use is determined on the semantics of the noun they accompany. The reading of the locative expression as a state or as a motion, on the contrary, is clear from **grammatical case** (besides being possibly clear from the verb’s semantics). In fact, the accusative case is used with *í* and *á* to express motion and the dative case is used to express state.

11.3 Analysis and Description

Describe, in no less than 400 words, the ways to express motion and location in SA drawing from the examples given in Set 1.2 and Set 2. Be specific about the morphosyntactic structure of locative constructions and about the word classes involved. Provide a motivation for your statements.

- What is your proposed semantic subdivision of the locative items that appear in Set 2?
- Describe in your own words the semantic differences of the items displaying a similar meaning.
- On the basis of their usage, would you propose labels for the locative postpositions found in SA? If yes, which ones? If no, why? Be specific about problematic cases.

12 Aspect

Summary 12.1 Background Information and Observation. – 12.2 Research. – 12.3 Analysis and Description.

12.1 Background Information and Observation

Ainu counts numerous markers for aspect and mood (e.g. Murasaki 1979; Tamura 2000; Bugaeva 2004; 2012). The language, however, has no dedicated markers to express tense, that is therefore unmarked as a verbal category. Generally, aspectual and modal constructions are formed periphrastically with the aspectual or modal marker following a notional verb, as it can be seen in the examples below. Aspectual or modal markers show different stages of grammaticalisation, so the morphological complexity featured by predicates that are marked for aspect or mood varies from case to case (e.g. Dal Corso 2020).

Example (1) shows *kusu ne*, expressing intentional mood in HA. This modal expression is made of the causal-final linker *kusu* and the copula *ne*. Example (2) shows *koyaykus* ‘not be able’, expressing incapability in SA. The modal verb *koyaykus* forms with the preceding notional verb a light verb construction (Dal Corso 2020) (see Lesson 7).

- (1) *Yakun ku-ye wa eci-nu-re kusu ne.*
if 1SS-3SO/say and 1SS>2SOI-3SO/hear-CAUS INTN
‘If [so], I’m going to tell it and make you hear (= I’m going to tell you).’
(Tamura 1984, 18)

- (2) *Pirika nispa-utara ne yahka ray-ki koyaykus.*
be.good noble.man-COLL COP though 3PS/3SO/die-TR **SLV/VO/not.be.able**
'Even the noble rich men could not kill it.' (Pilsudski 1912, 240)

The above examples serve only as an illustration. In this lesson you will be focusing on aspect only.

→ *Consider this additional information...*

Although there exist no formal devices that have the primary function of expressing tense, Ainu is certainly not a tenseless language. In most cases, a predicate's relative tense reference (present, past, or future with respect to speech time) is clear from context or it may be indicated by the use of time adverbs. Furthermore, aspect has been often recognised as having semantico-pragmatic extensions to encode tense (e.g. Kindaichi 1931; Tamura 2000, 111; Dal Corso forthcoming). This means that the use of certain aspectual forms helps put separate events into a logical relation with each other and, by consequence, they highlight the temporal relation of said events. The same semantico-pragmatic extensions have been observed for evidentiality (Dal Corso 2018) (see Lesson 9). In Ainu, time reference (i.e. relative tense) is therefore essentially a by-product of the use of other verbal categories.

→ *Dataset 1 - Types of aspect*

Consider the following examples featuring three different aspectual forms of HA and SA. Examples not including aspectuals are also included for you to extrapolate the meaning of words. What are the three aspectual forms found in the dataset? What is the meaning of the words that constitute them? What type of aspect do they encode? Do you notice any morphological change among instances of the same aspectual form? Of what kind? How can you account for them? How do aspectual markers with the same function differ formally between HA and SA?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Tumunci kamuy umurek wa oka.*
'The evil gods were married.' (Tamura 1984, 20)
2. *Menoko suwe kor keraan pe ne.*
'When the woman [my wife] cooked it, it was delicious.' (Bugaeva 2004, 283)
3. *Cise kor kur soypeka omanan kor an.*

- 'The owner of the house was walking around outside.' (Bugaeva 2004, 319)
4. *Pista sanan wa ne tasiro ka isam.*
'I went down to the shore and that knife wasn't [there].' (Tamura 1985, 38)
 5. *Nea o kur ka ray wa isam.*
'That man on board [of the boat] ended up dying (= died) too.' (Tamura 1984, 24)
 6. *Areska wa an.*
'I had raised her.' (Bugaeva 2004, 307)
 7. *Nea matnepo ramatu uk [...] hine ek kor an.*
'He took that young girl's soul [...] and was coming [back].' (Tamura 1985, 60)
 8. *Aonaha anakne sumiyaki sisam ne hine okaan.*
'Our father is a Japanese coal-maker and we are (= live) [here].' (Tamura 1985, 8)
 9. *Kamuy asurne anu kor okaan.*
'I was hearing it as a news [from] the gods.' (Tamura 1985, 22)
 10. *Kunne tere wa okay akusu sirkunne.*
'As they were waiting for nightfall, it became dark.' (Bugaeva 2004, 178)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Oha kemihi pateh [...] pon nay neeno an teh netopakihi isam.*
'There was only his blood [...] [flowing] like a little river and his corpse was not [there].' (Pilsudski 1912, 110)
2. *'Ehankeno 'an pe ka 'emuyke kehke wa cokoko wa 'isam.*
'[In the confusion of the battle, the monster] ended up breaking and felling even all the things (= the trees) around.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Soyta oka utah temana kihci kusu okayahci?*
'How were the people outside doing?' (Dal Corso 2021)
4. *'Onnewrah ramrenkayne uyna wa eyhoh.*
'He picks up eagle's feathers as he wishes and sells them.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. *Hosipihci nukarahci kusu neeroh hekacita kanna sapahci.*
'Since they saw them returning, those boys went back down [to the village.]' (Dal Corso 2021)
6. *'Otakata 'ampene ruwehehcin maake teh an.*
'[The animals] had clearly left their footprints on the beach.' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Kemaha ka 'okore tuyteh wa 'isam.*
'Even her legs ended up falling off.' (Dal Corso 2021)
8. *Susucayteh'orowa hemata rusasoma rahki kusu an.*
'Some kind of straw bundle was hanging from the willow's limbs.' (Dal Corso 2021)
9. *'Ahciutah na henkeutah na 'okayahci.*
'There were both old women and old men.' (Dal Corso 2021)
10. *Tumi kihci kusu suy taata sapahci.*
'They went down there again to make war.' (Dal Corso 2021)
11. *Nah kii yayne 'ampene pakakara teh 'an.*
'She acted [like] so and eventually she got completely crazy.' (adapted from Dal Corso 2021)

12.2 Research

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

→ *Dataset 2 - Functional overlap and semantic differences*

Consider the following examples that feature two more aspectual markers of HA and SA respectively. Are there other markers in the two varieties that are similar in function to the new ones introduced here? How would you explain this variety of forms to express the same (or a similar) function? Are there any uses of aspectual markers that remain difficult to account for given the data provided?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Apepasuy kor wa a wa ...*
'He took fire-chopsticks and sat down and ...' (Bugaeva 2004, 141)
2. *Atuy oarsat wa isam.*
'The sea dried up completely.' (Bugaeva 2004, 339)
3. *Areska wa an.*
'I had raised her.' (Bugaeva 2004, 307)
4. *Ray'an wa an a ayne ...*
'I had [almost] died and then...'' (Bugaeva 2004, 159)
5. *Kumonrayke a.*
'I have worked.' (Bugaeva 2012, 495)
6. *Tani sikeruraan okere.*
'I finished moving the luggage already.' (OS 1979, line 87)
7. *Hosipi wa isam.*
'[The uncle] went away (= returned).' (Bugaeva 2004, 124)
8. *Tu tamasay kukor wa kan.*
'I have gotten two necklaces.' (adapted from Bugaeva 2012, 495)
9. *Nea o kur ka ray wa isam.*
'That man on board [of the boat] ended up dying (= died) too.'
(Tamura 1984, 24)
10. **Kumonrayke wa an.*
'I have worked.'
11. *Orowa uwerankarap'an okere wa ...*
'Then we finished greeting each other and ...' (Bugaeva 2004, 259)
12. *Akor cise aokere hine ...*
'I finished my house and ...' (OS 1981, line 1940)
13. *Opitta arayke wa isam.*
'We killed off all [of them].'' (Bugaeva 2004, 178)
14. *Kucasoy pak arkian a korka ...*
'We had reached the outside of the hunting hut, but ...' (Bugaeva 2004, 192)

15. *Tumunci kamuy umurek wa oka.*
'The evil gods were married.' (Tamura 1984, 20)

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *'Ehankeno 'an pe ka 'emuyke kehke wa cokoko wa 'isam.*
'[In the confusion of the battle, the monster] ended up breaking and felling even all the things (= the trees) around.' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Ciseorowano pa numa ea.*
'Smoke was rising from the house.' (Pilsudski 1912, 99)
3. *Hekaci'ihunkeh 'ehci ike 'ekokahci 'an.*
'They ate the baby boy's placenta and they had gotten sick from it.'
(adapted from Dal Corso 2021)
4. *Wen poro nii sineh wahka tura makan 'an.*
'A huge tree had come up with the water.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. *'Ipe 'okore 'anee hemaka.*
'We finished eating all the food.' (Dal Corso 2021)
6. *'Otakata 'ampene ruwehehcin maake teh an.*
'[The animals] had clearly left their footprints on the beach.'
(Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Sine sukuh aynu tata an ea kusu an.*
'One young man was [standing] there.' (Pilsudski 1912, 122)
8. *Neya 'emus kara hemakahci.*
'They finished making that sword.' (Dal Corso 2021)
9. *Omantene hemaka teh tani asin.*
'Eventually he stopped and at last went out.' (Dal Corso 2021)
10. *Kemaha ka 'okore tuyteh wa 'isam.*
'Even her legs ended up falling off.' (Dal Corso 2021)
11. *Monimahpo 'omayehe'enkaskewa 'ahte teh 'an.*
'Someone had hung [their loincloth] above the young woman's futon.'
(Murasaki 1989, 3)
12. *Uncionne inkaran koh suke ea.*
'When I looked towards the fire, [my wife] was cooking.' (Pilsudski 1912, 134)
13. *Henke kayki 'ampene 'emuyke sinka hemaka.*
'Even the old man ended up being tired.' (Dal Corso 2021)
14. *Henke tani 'isam weepkere utah nuu teh 'an.*
'The people had heard the rumor that the old man eventually died.'
(Dal Corso 2021)

Examples from Other Languages...

English (Germanic, UK)

(examples from van Lambalgen, Hamm 2005, 90-6)

Know

Push

Push a cart

Reach the top

Build a house

Flash

Verbs in any given language differ strikingly one from the other not only with regards to their pronunciation, syntactic valency, etc., but also with regards to the **type of event(s)** they denote – i.e. their **core semantics**. Events in the real world do not have all the same properties: some can be prolonged, some cannot, some subsume a change of some kind, some others do not. The English verbs above serve to illustrate the verb classes usually distinguished in languages according to the properties of the denoted event. The verb ‘know’ is here an example of a **state verb** – it denotes a type of event which subsumes no change nor is initiated by a force of some kind. The verb ‘push’ alone is considered an **action (in the narrow sense) verb** – it denotes a type of event initiated by a force (e.g. someone starting a motion) but is subsumes no change whatsoever. In the predicate ‘push a cart’, on the contrary, the verb ‘push’ is an **action (in the wide sense) verb** – it denotes a type of event that is initiated by someone and that subsumes some kind of change (in this case, a change of position in the place where the cart is). The verb ‘reach’ in ‘reach the top’ is called an **achievement verb** – it denotes a type of event subsuming a change that happens suddenly and that usually implies 1) that the situation present before (here someone’s being on their way to the top), which culminates with the sudden change, ceases to exist and 2) the achievement of a new state of things (here being at the top of some place). ‘Build’ in ‘build a house’ is referred to as an **accomplishment verb** – it denotes a type of event initiated by someone, that subsumes some kind of change (here the house being built), that culminates (gradually) with a change (the finished house), and ends with the achievement of a new state of things (a house where before there was nothing). Finally, ‘flash’ is referred to as a **semelfactive verb** – it denotes a type of event that only has a culmination, but lacks a force that initiates it, a resultant state, and any kind of change. These are the six classes of **Aktionsart** outlined by van Lambalgen, Hamm (2005), which include the four classes originally distinguished by Vendler (1967). Defining the *Aktionsart* of a predicate is useful to understand its **incompatibilities with certain categories or lexical items** (e.g. time adverbs, aspect, number, definiteness, ...) that, with their function or semantics, affect the internal structure of the event. It is important to remember that the *Aktionsart* of verbs that are synonymous in different languages may be very different – that is, not all languages **perceive events the same way**. Moreover, one verb of a language may belong to **more than one Aktionsart class**, depending on the type and semantics of its arguments and adjuncts.

Japanese (Japonic, Japan)

Chawan-ga *koware-te* *iru.*
teacup-NOM break.TE be

‘The teacup has/is broken.’

Intended meaning: * ‘The teacup is breaking.’

Hito-ga *kōhī-o* *nonde* *iru.*
person-NOM coffee-ACC drink.TE be

‘A person is drinking coffee.’

Intended meaning: * ‘A person has drunk coffee.’

One category that is found to **interact closely with *Aktionsart*** is aspect. In various languages certain types of aspect cannot be used with predicates/verbs belonging to certain *Aktionsarten* because the properties of aspect are **incompatible with the event structure** denoted by the predicate/verb. In Japanese the verb *kowareru* ‘break’ is a static (instantaneous) verb, which means that the event of breaking is perceived as not possibly having a duration – a teacup is either broken or it is not. On the contrary, *nomu* ‘drink’ is a dynamic verb as it denotes an event with a duration – the event persists all the time a person takes to drink and finish coffee. The auxiliary form *-te iru* is employed in Japanese to express both progressive and resultative aspect. **The reading as one or the other** is decided on the basis of the *Aktionsart* of the predicate. Japanese shows a case where an aspectual form can be used with different *Aktionsarten* and takes different readings, but in many languages it can be the case that a certain aspectual form is simply **completely unacceptable**.

12.3 Analysis and Description

Describe, in no less than 300 words, the HA aspectual markers *wa an/okay* and *wa isam*, and the SA aspectual markers *teh an* and *wa isam*. Draw from the examples in Set 1 and Set 2 where needed.

- What is the internal semantics and the function(s) as aspectuals of these expressions? How would you define them?
- What are the differences with the expressions obtained with *a* in HA and *an/ea* in SA, and with *okere* in HA and *hemaka* in SA?
- Can you account for the use of double aspect? What is suggested by these examples? What remains difficult to explain? Be specific about problematic cases.
- What issues should be addressed to have a better understanding of aspect in Ainu?

13 Applicatives

Summary 13.1 Background Information and Observation. – 13.2 Research. – 13.3 Analysis and Description.

13.1 Background Information and Observation

Applicatives are a valency-changing strategy present in many languages. In an applicative construction what would be normally expressed with an oblique is promoted to be an argument of the verb (Payne 2006, 264-5). As such applicatives usually function as a referent-focusing strategy at discourse level, because they bring into focus an otherwise peripheral element. An applicative construction is most commonly formally signalled via dedicated morphosyntax on the verb.

In HA and SA we find three applicative prefixes: *e-*, *ko-*, and *o-* (Tamura 2000, 206-8; Murasaki 1979, 32-4; Dal Corso 2021; Bugaeva 2010). These applicative morphemes are attached to the verb and have linear priority over personal agreement prefixes. Examples (1) and (2) show an applicative construction in HA and SA, while examples (3) and (4) show the relative non-applicative constructions.

- (1) *A-kor* **yupo** *a-ko-itak.*
4S-3SO/have **older.brother** 4S-APPL-3SO/speak
'I said [so] to my older brother.' (OS 1980, line 11)

- (2) *Suma kema 'e-tuhse-ka.*
stone leg APPL-3SS/3SO/3SOI/jump-TR
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.' (Murasaki 1979, 32)
- (3) *A-kor yupo eun itak-an.*
4S-3SO/have older.brother towards speak-4S
'I said [so] to my older brother.'
- (4) *Suma kema ani tuhse-ka.*
stone leg with 3SS/3SO/jump-TR
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.'

→ *Dataset 1 - Applicatives and thematic roles*

Consider the following examples featuring the applicatives *e-*, *ko-*, and *o-* (* marks ungrammatical examples). The non-applicative variants of some of these examples are also included. What causes the ungrammaticality? Is there any correspondence between the properties of the noun promoted to argument of the verb and the applicative form used? Can you point out what determines the choice of the applicative form?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. **Taihō koak.*
'He shot with a cannon.'
2. *Akor kamuy aepotara wa ...*
'I worried about my god.' (Bugueva 2010, 765)
3. **Pirka usike onaha epuni.*
'She offered the good parts [of the meat] to her father.'
4. **Akor ekasi ioonne.*
'My grandfather lived with me for a long time.'
5. *Kuioroinkar kusu kek ruwe ne.*
'I came [here] for sightseeing.'
6. **Taihō oak.*
'He shot with a cannon.'
7. *Akor ekasi ikoonne.*
'My grandfather lived with me for a long time.' (adapted from Bugueva 2010, 780)
8. *Pirka usike onaha kopuni.*
'She offered the good parts [of the meat] to her father.' (Bugueva 2010, 776)
9. **Akor yupo aoitak.*
'I said [so] to my older brother.'
10. *Aarserkehe toytumta rer.*
'Half of my body sank in the earth.'

11. **Pirka usike onaha opuni.*
'She offered the good parts [of the meat] to her father.'
12. *Akor yupo akoitak.*
'I said [so] to my older brother.' (OS 1980, line 11)
13. **Akor kamuy akopotara wa ...*
'I worried about my god.'
14. **Aarserkehe toytum korer.*
'Half of my body sank in the earth.'
15. *Kuioroinkar eek ruwe ne.*
'I came [here] for sightseeing.' (Bugaeva 2010, 767)
16. **Akor yupo aeitak.*
'I said [so] to my older brother.'
17. *Taihō eak.*
'He shot with a cannon.' (Bugaeva 2010, 768)
18. *Taihō ani ak.*
'He shot with a cannon.'
19. **Kuioroinkar oek ruwe ne.*
'I came [here] for sightseeing.'
20. *Akor ekasi iturano onne.*
'My grandfather lived with me for a long time.'
21. *Aarserkehe toytum orer.*
'Half of my body sank in the earth.' (Bugaeva 2010, 783)
22. *Akor yupo eun itakan.*
'I said [so] to my older brother.'

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. **Nis esikuru wa niskurukaene rikin.*
'He turned to the sky and ascended to above the clouds.'
2. **Utarihincin 'onne 'utasa 'epayehci.*
'They went to their relatives to visit [them].' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Nokanramuhu'ohta pisi.*
'He asked his younger brother.'
4. *Huu hay newa pehsamus tura, 'utura tenkoro.*
'She held together in her arms fresh hay and mat grass.'
5. *Suma kema 'etuhseka.*
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.' (Murasaki 1979, 32)
6. *Nis'ohta sikuru wa niskurukaene rikin.*
'He turned to the sky and ascended to above the clouds.'
7. **Nokanramuhu episi.*
'He asked his younger brother.'
8. *Nokanramuhu cisehehcin neya 'arapesca oan kusu ...*
'Since the houses [of the village] of his younger brother were on the opposite bank [of the river] ...' (Dal Corso 2021)

9. * *Suma kema kotuhseka.*
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.'
10. * *Nokanramuhu cisehehcin neya 'arapesca koan kusu ...*
'Since the houses [of the village] of his younger brother were on the opposite bank [of the river] ...'
11. * *Utarihihcin 'onne 'utasa kusu payehci.*
'They went to their relatives to visit [them].'
12. * *Suma kema ani tuhseka.*
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.'
13. * *Suma kema 'otuhseka.*
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.'
14. * *Huu hay newa pehsamus tura 'uotenkoro.*
'She held together in her arms fresh *hay* and mat grass.'
15. * *Nokanramuhu cisehehcin neya 'arapescata an kusu ...*
'Since the houses [of the village] of his younger brother were on the opposite bank [of the river] ...'
16. * *Nokanramuhu kopisi.*
'He asked his younger brother.' (Dal Corso 2021)
17. * *Nis kosikiru wa niskurukaene rikin.*
'He turned to the sky and ascended to above the clouds.' (Dal Corso 2021)
18. * *Huu hay newa pehsamus tura 'ukotenkoro.*
'She held together in her arms fresh *hay* and mat grass.' (Dal Corso 2021)
19. * *Utarihihcin 'onne 'utasa 'opayehci.*
'They went to their relatives to visit [them].'

13.2 Research

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

→ *Dataset 2 - Polysemy and polyfunctionality*

Consider the following additional examples. Given what you have discovered up to this point of the analysis, what is peculiar about the use of applicatives in these instances? What new functional extensions and/or semantic properties of applicatives do you notice? In light of this, how can you refine your account of HA and SA applicatives?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Sirar aiekikkik.*
'I was thrown on(to) the rock.' (Bugaeva 2010, 770)
2. *Akor huciape aekoitak.*
'I told [about that] to the Fire Goddess.' (adapted from OS 1977, line 348)
3. *Akor katkemat aekira.*
'I escaped with my wife.' (OS 1988, line 315)
4. *Siknuan wa yaycisekohospian.*
'I came back to life and returned to my own house.' (Bugaeva 2010, 789)
5. *Akor kotanu iorura.*
'He carries me to my village.' (adapted from Bugaeva 2010, 783)
6. *Tan nupuri [...] ekohemesu.*
'You climbed to [the top of] this mountain.' (Bugaeva 2010, 779)

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Otakata cih ehekem.*
'They dragged the boat off to the shore.' (Pilsudski 1912, 85)
2. *Ueyaycisekorohci.*
'They had a house for themselves together.' = 'They shared a house together.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Sine ehorah cisehe 'an.*
'There was one collapsed house.' (Dal Corso 2021)
4. *Neya horokeypo tani oro'omos teh [...] 'ekowepekere.*
'The young man eventually woke up and [...] she told him about it.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. *Yayce emus ani tawke emusi kokaye.*
'He cut the trout with the knife but he broke his knife up.' (Pilsudski 1912, 235)
6. *Nean poohohcin henke 'eko'imokakorohci.*
'That daughter of theirs gave [that] to her father as a gift.' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Ciseohta esirepaan.*
'I got to my house.' (Pilsudski 1912, 160)
8. *Ciseonnay tekoro kohokuy.*
'The inside of the house burnt down violently.' (Pilsudski 1912, 69)

Examples from Other Languages...

Malang Javanese (Austronesian, Indonesia)
(examples from Hemmings 2013, 168-71)

<i>Pelem</i>	<i>ceblòk</i>	menyang	gentèng	<i>ómah-ku.</i>
mango	fall	towards	roof	house-1SG.POSS

'A mango fell on the roof of my house.'

Pelem nyebblòk-i gentèng ómah-ku.
 mango fall-**APPL** roof house-1SG.POSS
 ‘A mango fell on the roof of my house.’

Ibu-ku ng-gupuk kasur nganggó sapu.
 mother-1SG.POSS AV-hit mattress AV.use broom
 ‘My mother hit the mattress with a broom (once).’

Ibu-ku ng-gupuk-i kasur nganggó sapu.
 mother-1SG.POSS AV-hit-**ITER** mattress AV.use broom
 ‘My mother hit the mattress with a broom (many times).’

Malang Javanese has two suffixes (*-i* and *-aké*) that fulfill the primary function of applicatives. Like **prototypical applicatives**, *-i* promotes a noun, that is otherwise expressed via an oblique, to argument of the verb – i.e. applicatives are a **valency-changing strategy**. The applicative *-i* of Malang Javanese typically targets nouns with the **thematic functions** of location or goal. In the first example above you see a non-applicative construction where the location ‘on the roof’ is expressed via the oblique *menyang gentèng* ‘towards the roof’. In contrast, in the second example the verb bears the applicative *-i* and the noun *gentèng* ‘roof’ is **promoted to argument**. The formerly intransitive verb is now transitive. There are also cases, however, where the applicative suffix *-i* **does not affect** the verb’s valency but rather encodes an aspectual meaning (iterative meaning specifically). In such instances, the applicative *-i* has a **valency-preserving** function.

13.3 Analysis and Description

Describe, in no less than 300 words, the semantics and functions of the applicatives *e-*, *ko-*, and *o-* in HA and SA.

- Where did your analysis start from?
- What properties of the applied object determine the choice of the applicative form?
- Are there cases of polysemy?
- Do applicatives have special functional extensions? Of what kind? How would you describe them?
- What are the differences between HA and SA?
- What would be needed to refine our analysis of Ainu applicatives?

14 **Clause Linking**

Summary 14.1 Background Information and Observation. – 14.2 Research. – 14.3 Analysis and Description.

14.1 Background Information and Observation

Ainu scholars have traditionally distinguished the clause linking words of Ainu into the two classes of ‘conjunctions’ and ‘conjunctivisers’ (e.g. Refsing 1986; Tamura 2000). In other accounts this distinction is not present and clause linkers are only called ‘conjunctions’ (e.g. Murasaki 1979). Syntactically, the forms of both classes follow the predicate of the clause they introduce.

Studies that operate this two-fold distinction argue that what separates conjunctions from conjunctivisers is mainly their prosodic features. On the one hand, conjunctions are said to be free forms as they may be phonologically separated from the predicate of the clause they introduce or may be found ‘at the beginning of sentences’ (which essentially means after a long pause in speech with a resuming function). On the other hand, conjunctivisers are said to be bound forms because they form a single phonological unit with the predicate they follow. Nonetheless, prosodic pauses even before conjunctivisers are sometimes attested, and this behavior eventually obscures the divide with conjunctions. Traditionally, conjunctivisers have been treated as adverbialisers. As such they are implicitly understood to entail the dependency of the clause they head from a matrix clause (i.e. subordination). However, at present there is still insufficient syntactic evidence to confirm the dependency of

clauses headed by conjunctivalisers and, more generally, to investigate the structural properties and differences of conjunctions and conjunctivalisers. Tracing a divide between coordination and subordination in Ainu is a complicated matter and generally conjunctions and conjunctivalisers are implicitly defined as subsuming one or the other on the basis of their contextual uses and translation. In light of these analytical problems and other theoretical ones we will simply talk about ‘clause linkers’ in this lesson.

Example (1) shows the HA linker *kor* ‘while, when’ and example (2) shows the SA linker *anah* ‘if’. As you can see, in both varieties the clause linker follows the predicate of the clause it heads (put in square brackets in the examples below).

- (1) [...*sekor hawean-an*] **kor** *a-wen-hoku-hu* *a-ko-sakayokar*.
 ADV speak-4S **while** 4-be.bad-husband-POSS 4S-APPL-3SO/insult
 ‘While saying so I insulted my no-good husband.’ (Tamura 1985, 30)
- (2) [*Kamuy-‘ahci i-yee ‘an pe nee-no hannehka*
 god-old.woman 4OI-3SS/3SO/say IPFV NMLZ COP-ADV NEG
‘an-kii] **‘anah** *wen*.
 4S-3SO/do **if** 3SS/be.bad
 ‘It [would] be bad if I didn’t do as the divine old woman tells me.’ (Dal Corso 2021)

→ Consider this additional information...

In HA and SA the clause linker *kusu* is polysemous as it entails both cause or aim. The causal or final reading is established on context. Examples (3) and (4) illustrate the uses of *kusu* with an example from SA.

- (3) [*‘Eci-mahpo-ho pirika*] **kusu** *‘eci-‘oskoro ‘anahka ...*
 2P-daughter-POSS 3SS/be.good **CAU.FIN** 2PS-3SO/be.jealous if
 ‘If you are jealous of your daughter because she is [so] beautiful...’ (Dal Corso 2021)
- (4) [*Nean kito-ta-hci usi-ke-he wooneka-hci*] **kusu**
 that kito-collect-3PS 3/place-PTV-POSS 3SO/check.situation-3PS **CAU.FIN**
ariki-hci-hi neampe ...
 come.PL-3PS-NMLZ TOP
 ‘As they went back to check the situation of the place where they collected the *kitos*...’ (Dal Corso 2021)

→ *Dataset 1 - Semantics of clause linkers*

Look at the following examples that feature the HA clause linkers *wa* and *yak* and the SA clause linkers *teh* and *yahka(yki)*. Consider the translations provided, determine the primary meaning of these linkers, and (if needed) try to propose an equivalent translation that would better fit the context. Then give a closer look at the instances of *wa* and *teh*. Are there cases where the meaning of these linkers is not straightforwardly retrievable in translation? How is clause linking rendered instead? What in the Ainu construction can account for this different interpretation and translation?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Arkian yak iociwe kuni eramu.*
'If I come you will think to throw me away.' (OS 1979, line 663)
2. *Apa caka wa ikore.*
'[My mother] opened the door for me.' (Bugaeva 2004, 131)
3. *Kusur epitta kewan wa aep ka isam.*
'In the whole Kushiro there was a famine and there was no food.'
(Tamura 1984, 26)
4. *Ikoonkami wa akoonkami.*
'He greeted me and I greeted him.' (Bugaeva 2004, 262)
5. *Ekimnean wa inkar'an sekoyaynuan.*
'I [will] try to go to the mountains [to hunt], I thought.' (Bugaeva 2004, 186)
6. *Na ci yak kera pirka.*
'It [will] taste better if it ripens more.' (Tamura 2000, 163)
7. *Tektaksa poka eekar wa [...] kor tasum pirka.*
'You give at least a massage [to the sick person] and [...] the sickness they have gets better.' (Tamura 1984, 12)
8. *Atumamaha opitta munin wa isam.*
'My whole body went rotten.' (Bugaeva 2004, 372)
9. *Ienonnoitak yak pirka na!*
'It's good if you pray to me.' (OS 1980, line 480)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Eerameskari yahka pirikaha.*
'You don't know that, but it's alright!' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Otakata 'ampene ruwehehcin maake teh an.*
'[The animals] had clearly left their footprints on the beach.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Nean henkeutah neyke renkarankorohci yahka neya mahtekuh 'ampene etunne.*
'Those elders agreed [to the wedding], but the young woman [their daughter] really didn't want to.' (Dal Corso 2021)
4. *'Ururukata rikinkehci teh 'ampene 'emus 'ani tatakihci.*
'They lifted [the mouse demon] up onto the river bank and beat it up with the swords.' (Dal Corso 2021)

5. *Neya cih [...] hesuyehci teh tani 'atuykaene repahci.*
'[The whale-gods] went round the boat and eventually went out to the open sea.' (Dal Corso 2021)
6. *'Ankuu ka hankii teh henkeuta 'ankuure.*
'I didn't drink it and made the men drink it [instead].' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Seta neeno tenkorasi yahka pirika.*
'One hugs [a bear cub] like a dog, but it's fine.' (Dal Corso 2021)

14.2 Research

Now look at this other dataset. Additional examples from other languages are not given for this lesson.

→ Dataset 2 – Semantic overlap

Examples in the following dataset feature some other clause linkers: *hine*, *hike*, *ciki*, and *yakun* of HA and *koroka*, *waka(yki)*, *ike*, and *wa* of SA. Background context is given in square brackets below each example. Looking at the translation and at the background context try to explain 1) how *hine* and *hike* are different from *wa*, 2) how *ciki* and *yakun* are different from *yak*, 3) how *koroka* and *waka(yki)* are different from *yahka(yki)*, and 4) how *ike* and *wa* are different from *teh*. For each of these linkers the same English translation is given, but you are free to propose a better one according to the context. What kind of semantic relation between clauses do these four groups of linkers entail?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Upascironnup kamuy ane hine okaan.*
'I was a stoat god and [so] I lived.' (Tamura 1985, 58)
[This is the beginning of a tale when the main character introduces himself.]
2. *Ekor rusuy pe an ciki hok!*
'If there's something you want, buy it!' (Tamura 2000, 165)
[The speaker gives a suggestion]
3. *Tektaksa poka eekar wa [...] kor tasum pirka.*
'You give a massage [to the sick person] and [...] the sickness they have gets better.' (Tamura 1984, 12)
[The speaker is explaining how to perform a healing massage on a sick person and goes through the phases of the treatment]
4. *Ase aeyayetokoyki hine nea katkemat anak akor poyson kay tek.*
'I got ready to carry [provisions] and [my] wife carried our small baby on [her] back.' (Tamura 1985, 26)
[The character of the story is telling about his and his wife's daily life, making a list of the different activities they used to do]

5. *Pewre okkaypoutar ne yakun pokor wa po resu kusu nepki.*
'If they are young men, they have children and they work to provide for them.' (Bugaeva 2004, 249)
[The speaker is imagining how the life of some young men, from whom food has been stolen, must be]
6. *lenonnoitak yak pirka na!*
'It's good if you pray to me.' (OS 1980, line 480)
[The character is told by a god that he will benefit from praying to him]
7. *Kamuy iyerampokwen kusu ene sikoan humi an sekoyaynuan hike cisan a an a.*
"Because the gods had mercy towards me [now] I regained my sight like this!" I thought and continued to cry.' (Tamura 1985, 8)
[An old lady suddenly gets her eyesight back, a signal that the curse previously cast on the village she comes from has left her, and now that she is able to see again she is overwhelmed with joy]
8. *Ikoonkami wa akoonkami.*
'He greeted me and I greeted him.' (Bugaeva 2004, 262)
[The character of the story is welcomed by the owner of a house and he responds likewise upon entering]
9. *Arkian yak iociwe kuni eramu.*
'If I come you will think to throw me away.' (OS 1979, line 663)
[A dog explains what it expects if it will follow the owner]
10. *A: Kunu ka eramiskari ruwe tapan na.*
'I've never ever heard [that story].'
11. *B: Yakun kuye wa ecinure kusu ne.*
'If [it's so], I'll tell it to you.' (Tamura 1984, 18)
[Two people are speaking about a story that A has never heard but about which she is curious]
12. *Aynu okkaypone yaykaran hine pasan kane terkean kane sanan.*
'I turned myself into a human young man and ran downhill leaping.'
(Tamura 1985, 60)
[A stoat god describes how he disguised himself in order to then go meet a human young woman who was walking on a mountain trail and deceive her]
13. *Taan hekaci itakan ciki pirkano enu kus ne na.*
'Boy, if I speak you should listen well.' (Bugaeva 2004, 205)
[The speaker is about to share important details on his identity with the boy, who is the main character of the story]

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Seta neeno tenkorasi yahka pirika.*
'One hugs [a bear cub] like a dog, but it's fine.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[Two speakers are talking about a man being bitten by a bear and one says it couldn't have been a bear cub since they are usually very docile]
2. *Oriikawa karakahseka wa ranke.*
'They made her roll down and threw her from a high place.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[The narrator tells how some people tried to cure the madness of a young woman]

3. *'Oniste koroka herohki nee nah 'an'eraman kusu sianno keera'anno 'an'ee.*
'[The flesh] was firm, but I thought they were *herohkis* so I ate them with much pleasure.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[The speaker is remembering the food she ate at an event and comments on it with a friend]
4. *Oyasine yaykara manu ike 'atuykaapoka tani 'ahkas.*
'She turned into a spirit and eventually roamed across the sea.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[In this passage the narrator tells how a crazy woman ended up after being thrown at sea]
5. *Nean henkeutah neyke renkarankorohci yahka neya mahtekuh 'ampene etunne.*
'Those elders agreed [to the wedding], but the young woman [their daughter] really didn't want to.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[In this tale a young woman refuses to get married and turns down all the suitors she has]
6. *Niicauta 'anse wa sapan.*
'I carried the tree limbs and went [back].' (Dal Corso 2021)
[The speaker tells about her activities in the morning]
7. *Neya cih [...] hesuyehci teh tani 'atuykaene repahci.*
'[The whale-gods] went round the boat and eventually went out to the open sea.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[After a father gives away his daughter to a whale god, the group of whales makes its farewell this way before leaving]
8. *Kucasamta sapan teh inuan [...] ike suke hum annu.*
'I proceeded down to the hut and listened [...] and I heard the sound of cooking.' (Pilsudski 1912, 134)
[The character of the tale tells the moments before he met with a she bear that had disguised herself as his wife.]
9. *Ramma ray 'aynu ka 'anhi nee waka sihnu utah tani 'emuyke situsahci.*
'There [had] certainly been people who [had] died, but all the people who [had] survived eventually recovered.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[The characters of the story manage to avoid a famine to get worse by bringing food to people in need, who escape from death thanks to it]
10. *'Anrekuchi kayki [...] 'araka nee koroka kahkemah simma oman kusu [...] 'ariki'anhi nee ko.*
'I also had a sore throat, but because the young woman (= our friend) leaves tomorrow [...] I came, you see.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[The speaker stresses how much it meant to her to be present at the last recording session before the collector of the data (i.e. the young woman) returned home]
11. *'Ururukata rikinhehci teh 'ampene 'emus 'ani tatakihci.*
'They lifted [the mouse demon] up onto the river bank and beat it up with the swords.' (Dal Corso 2021)
[After catching the demon that had stolen the village's provisions, a group of man kills it]

12. *Anemakankehe ne numan eperay wakayki ekoyaykus.*

'I sent you [there and] yesterday you fished, but you couldn't [catch anything].'
(Pilsudski 1912, 197)

[A god, who had disguised himself as a fish, reveals his plan to the character of the story]

14.3 Analysis and Description

In no less than 300 words give an overview of the semantics of the clause linkers *wa*, *hine*, *hike*, *ciki*, *yak*, and *yakun* in HA and *koroka*, *yahka(yki)*, *waka(yki)*, *ike*, *teh*, and *wa* in SA. Include relevant examples from the sets above where needed.

- What kind of semantic relation do they entail?
- Are there formally different but semantically equivalent linkers in HA and SA?
- The same English translation is given for groups of clause linkers in the examples in Set 2. Do the items in these groups show any difference? If yes, how are they different and what alternative translation would you propose to better highlight the semantic relation they express?
- Within each variety, are there linkers that appear to be semantically identical?
- Return on the examples in Set 1 where *wa* and *teh* are not translated directly into English. How do these clause linkers contribute with their meaning to the expression? How can this be insightful with regards to the function of *wa* and *teh* as clause linkers?

15 Some Uses of Nominalisation

Summary 15.1 Background Information and Observation. – 15.2 Research. – 15.3 Analysis and Description.

15.1 Background Information and Observation

In Lesson 5 and Lesson 7 we have seen zero-nominalisation involved in the impersonal-passive and in the negative constructions. Zero-nominalisation is just one type of nominalisation present in Ainu. In this lesson we concentrate on the kind of nominalisation that is overtly marked morphologically and on some of its uses in HA and SA.

In HA we find, among others, the nominalisers *-pe* ‘thing’ and *-(h)i* ‘place, moment, fact’ (Tamura 2000, 124-7). As for *-pe*, we find the alloform *-p* on vowel-final stems while the form *-pe* is reserved for consonant-final stems. These nominalisers have weak semantics and are specified by the verb/predicate/clause that they follow.

- (1) *Mip-ih* *ka opitta a-ko-sos-pa-re-hi* *ka*
3/clothes-POSS even all 4S-APPL-3PO/3POI/3SOI/take.off-CAUS-**NMLZ** even
erampewtek no...
3SS/3SO/not.know ADV
‘Without knowing that I ordered [my magic gloves] to take off [the Water Goddess]
all her clothes...’ (Bugaeva 2004, 157)

Nominalisation of a verb or predicate may derive a nominal that is re-analysed as a full-fledged noun with its specific semantics. This is called ‘lexical nominalisation’.

- (2) *A-e-p.*
 4S-eat-**NMLZ**
 'The thing people eat (= food).' (Tamura 2000, 221)
- (3) *Ape-o-y.* (< *ape-o-i*)
 fire-3SS/get.in-**NMLZ**
 'The place fire is in (= fireplace).' (Tamura 2000, 222)

In SA we find, among others, the nominaliser *-hi* (Dal Corso 2021). The underlying vowel in this nominaliser is *i* but, when *-hi* is attached to vowel-final stems, it changes following the rules of vowel harmony that we have seen for the possessive suffix (cf. Lesson 4).

- (4) *Ku-yee-he* *sunke.*
 1SS-3SO/say-**NMLZ** 3SS/be.false
 'What I say is a lie.' (Murasaki 1979, 95)

→ *Consider this additional information...*

Differently from the HA *-pe* and *-(h)i*, the nominaliser *-hi* is not used in lexical nominalisation in SA – in this Ainu variety zero-nominalisation is used to derive nouns like the ones in (2) and (3) above.

- (5) *lpe.*
 AP.eat(.NMLZ)
 'To eat something (> eating something = food).'

→ *Dataset 1 - Types of nominalisation*

Consider the following examples. Some sentences in this set contain the nominalisation strategies we have seen above and others have been included for you to deduce the meaning of words. Note that in Dataset 1 and also in Dataset 2 below nominalisers are given separated from the word they are suffixed to, for more clarity. What is nominalisation used for in these sentences? What interpretations do the nominalised clauses take? Do you think there are any other elements that, together with the nominaliser, derive these specific interpretations of nominalisation as a whole? Do the predicates in the nominalised clauses differ from sentence to sentence in any way (besides in their core semantics)?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. ... *sekor Piratur un kamuy ikaspaotte ki p ne korka anu humi ka oararisam.*
'... so the god of Piratur indeed asked me, but I didn't listen to him at all.'
(Tamura 1984, 32)
2. *Hempakiw ne siknuan wa okaan a p rapok ene neiwa ek sion sike wa ek ruwe ne.*
'Various [people] had survived, but at that time, like this, a young man came from somewhere carrying a load.'
(Tamura 1985, 50)
3. *Aep pirka hi cep pirka hi ikopunpa.*
'They offered me food of the good kind [and] fish of the good kind.'
(Tamura 1985, 20)
4. *Somo ka ene yaynuan kunak aramu a p nisapno nea [...] wenkur eun arpaan rusuy.*
'I thought I wouldn't certainly feel like that, but soon I wanted to go to that [...] poor man's [house].'
(Tamura 1985, 36)
5. *Tu kanpiso re kanpiso ka aenuypa wa oka yakun ...*
'If it has been written on two or three pieces of paper ...'
(Tamura 1984, 14)
6. *Kumimaki ani kapu kukar wa ke a.*
'I have peeled it with my teeth and eaten it.'
(Tamura 2000, 111)
7. *Ciseka orewsi hita pase kamuy yaynu ...*
'When he landed on top of the house, the great god thought ...'
(Tamura 1985, 28)
8. *Tasiro ka sak nep ka sak pe ne kusu ...*
'Because in fact he had no sword or anything ...'
(Tamura 1985, 34)
9. *Aenina p poka sak.*
'He doesn't even have the means to collect wood.'
(adapted from Tamura 1985, 36)
10. ... *sekor kuyaynu korka tanto kek ruwe ne.*
'I thought so but today I came.'
(Tamura 1984, 12)
11. *Atuseranke hita (aynu) sinen o.*
'When they lowered the net, one (man) got into it.'
(Tamura 1984, 22)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Kuyee he sunke.*
'What I say is a lie.'
(Murasaki 1979, 95)
2. *Anciwe he neampe henke tuhse.*
'When I hit him, the old man jumped.'
(Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Anhawehe nuu yahka wante he nee nanko.*
'Even though he hears our [old] voices, maybe he [will] in fact recognise [us].'
(Dal Corso 2021)
4. *Inkarahci hi neampe niskurukaawa [...] hemata ka cokokohse ran.*
'When they looked, something fell tumbling [...] from the clouds.'
(Dal Corso 2021)
5. *Ōta pahko neampe nakene ka oman ka hankii.*
'As for the old Ōta she [will] not go anywhere.'
(Dal Corso 2021)

6. *'Asin kun i 'anteere.*
'I waited for it to come out.' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Tani 'ene 'an 'ukoytah tura 'ankii hi nee.*
'Eventually I did (=had) a conversation like this with her.' (Dal Corso 2021)
8. *'Ekotanta 'eoman kun 'ohta ...*
'When you will go to your village ...' (Dal Corso 2021)
9. *Kayo ho neampe kosmacihi nee nanko sine mahtekuh 'asin.*
'When he called, one young woman, probably his wife, came out.'
(Dal Corso 2021)

15.2 Research

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

→ Dataset 2 - Pragmatic applications of nominalisation

The following examples illustrate one more use of nominalisation. What is the structural peculiarity of these sentences? How is nominalisation used? Can the nominalised clause in these instances be followed by any other element?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Atuy ruyampe isam yak pirka p!*
'[I wish] the sea weren't stormy!' (Tamura 2000, 164)

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Poro iso 'enukara ka hanki hi?*
'Haven't you seen the big bear?' (Dal Corso 2021)
2. *Hemata kusu enan si hura an hi hetaneya?*
'Why on earth is there such a smell of dung?!' (Pilsudski 1912, 160)
3. *Hoynu poronno 'e'ayki hi 'aa?*
'You catch a lot of pine martens, don't you?' (Pilsudski 1912, 132)
4. *'Esinnisahta 'enuma ike hemata 'ekii hi?*
'This morning you woke up and what have you done?' (Dal Corso 2021)

Examples from Other Languages...

Korean (Koreanic, Korea)

(example from Yoon 1991 in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, Wrona 2011, 6)

Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ppalli ilk-ess-um-i pwunmyengha-ta.
 Chelswu-NOM book-ACC quickly read-PST-NMLZ-NOM evident-DECL
 ‘It is evident (the fact) that Chelswu read the book quickly.’

This example from Korean shows nominalisation of **an entire clause**, that spans from *Chelswuka* to the verb *ilkess-*, marked by the nominaliser *-um*. The verb *ilk-* ‘read’ retains specification for tense, and it is also marked for nominative case via the postposition *-i*. This last fact indicates that the whole clause is nominalised and functions as a nominal. This type of nominalisation, where the predicate in the nominalised clause is still marked for categories such as tense, aspect, and mood, and the clause is compatible with nominal morphology, is called ‘**clausal nominalisation**’. A clause nominalised this way functions as a subordinate clause, dependent from a main clause (which, in the example above, is *pwunmyenghata* ‘it is evident’).

Mongsen Ao (Sino-Tibetan, India)

(example from Coupe 2007 in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, Wrona 2011, 8)

Tsəhŋi ku hwaŋ-əkə mən-pəʔ i aɯ-əʔ-ùʔ.
 sun LOC roast-SIM sit-NMZ PROX be.good-PRES-DEC
 ‘This sitting [and] bathing in the sun is good.’

The example from Mongsen Ao shows an instance of **embedded nominalisation**. Here the coordinated verbs *hwaŋ* ‘roast’ and *mən* ‘sit’ in the nominalised clause do not bear markers of tense, aspect, or mood and the whole nominal constituent functions as an argument of the verb in the main clause (i.e. *aɯ* ‘be good’). For this reason the nominalised clause is considered embedded (or ‘enclosed’) in the main predicate. It is important to note that the (im)possibility for the predicate in the nominalised clause to be marked for tense, aspect, or mood **varies from language to language** (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, Wrona 2011). Therefore, it may be possible to find one or two of these categories marked on the predicate but not the other(s).

Chhantyal (Sino-Tibetan, Nepal)

(example from Grunow-Hårsta, Yap 2009 in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, Wrona 2011, 8)

Ram-e *Sita-o* *rha* *sat-cyo.*
 Ram-ERG Sita-GEN goat kill-MIR.NMZ
 ‘Ram killed Sita’s goat!’ (to the speaker’s surprise)

The example from Chhantyal shows a nominalised clause that is not dependent from nor embedded in any main clause or predicate. The nominalised clause, although being morphosyntactically a nominal, functions as an independent clause. This kind of nominalisation is called ‘non-embedded nominalisation’ or ‘**insubordination**’ (Evans 2007; 2009). Insubordination usually fulfils **specific semantic-pragmatic functions**. For example, in Chhantyal it is used to mark the speaker’s surprised attitude towards the event.

15.3 Analysis and Description

In no less than 400 words give an overview of the pragmatic uses of nominalisation you have encountered in Datasets 1 and 2. Cite the relevant examples and also be specific about the kind of nominalisation involved and the morphosyntactic elements that are found together with nominalisation.

- Is there any case where the semantics borne out by nominalisation overlaps with that of other constructions?
- What are the differences between HA and SA?
- Are there any examples difficult to analyse? If yes, why are they so?

16 **Learning Ainu: Perspectives and Attitudes**

Summary 16.1 Introduction. – 16.2 Counting Ainu and Ainu Speakers. – 16.3 What is There to Revitalise? – 16.4 The Steps of Language Revitalisation.

16.1 Introduction

After the establishment of the Matsumae Han in Ezo (today's Hokkaidō) in 1604, the Ainu people was subjected to progressive prevarication and oppression by the Japanese. Oppression from the government, social inequity, and the political manipulation of the Ainu identity throughout the following three centuries resulted in permanent damages to Ainu culture. One aspect of the cultural heritage that was particularly affected is language.

Since the foundation of the Matsumae Han and the beginning of Japanese interactions with the Ainu, primarily aimed at establishing business relations, it was necessary to have interpreters to communicate. However, while understanding of the Ainu language was deemed essential for Japanese interpreters, the Ainu were forbidden from learning Japanese to any extent. The Matsumae Clan was in fact afraid that, had the Ainu learnt Japanese, they could have informed the central Tokugawa government of the atrocities that were being committed in Ezo and was therefore interested in maintaining the language barrier (Fukazawa 2019, 7). Establishing such language barrier between the Ainu and the Japanese eventually helped bring the Japanese language to the status of prestige language with respect to Ainu, making this latter the weak language within that newly formed bilingual environment. Therefore, it can be seen how a

decline process for the Ainu language was set up right at the start of Ainu-Japanese relations. With time, using the Ainu language was initially discouraged and eventually completely forbidden, at first as a vernacular language to be used in public then more thoroughly even within Ainu communities. The imposition to not speak the Ainu language, kindled by the continuous prejudice that the Ainu people had to face, made Ainu speakers give up their language almost entirely to the point where in many cases it was not passed on to new generations any longer as elders feared negative repercussion on their children and families. This process of language denial was by and large completed by the end of 1920, but some Ainu continued to learn the language in the family, reaching even high levels of proficiency.

16.2 Counting Ainu and Ainu Speakers

This brief introduction to the history of Ainu language in modern times serves to highlight a number of issues that are central when considering the vitality of the language in today's Japan and the efforts towards the revitalisation of Ainu. First, there is the question of how many Ainu are there in contemporary Japan. As Okazaki (2019, 355) points out, the answer to this question is not an easy one and estimates of the number of Ainu vary sharply. Among the reasons for variations in counting Ainu people there is the fact that the polls and censuses carried out to date differ in their scope (for instance, Ainu residing outside of Hokkaidō are never or rarely included). However, one main factor that influences the counting and that easily results in a biased perception of the extension of the Ainu community is that many Ainu people still do not feel comfortable with showing their Ainu identity and therefore do not participate in polls and censuses (Kitahara 2011). As it regards language specifically, there is one more layer of difficulty when it comes to counting speakers of Ainu. Although most native speakers of Ainu have passed away and there are now very few people who acquired the language in the family, there still is a significant number of younger Ainu who can use the language at varying levels of proficiency. This means that the actual number of speakers present in Japan is far more than the alarming figure (5 people) released by UNESCO in 2009. This reality calls for a distinction between 'native' speakers (i.e. those who have learnt the language from a relative and used it as one of their first languages) and 'active' speakers (i.e. those who have a passive and/or active understanding of the language they have learnt as a second language later in their life and can use it to different extents), which is an aspect of language vitality most important for revitalisation (Okuda 2010).

16.3 What is There to Revitalise?

When it comes to revitalisation there are contrasting opinions even within the Ainu community. Among those who wish for the Ainu culture to be revitalised the majority (53.1%) believes that language is the most important aspect of the Ainu heritage to be preserved for the future. Nevertheless, Ainu ceremonies and dances were also named as cultural heritage that should be given priority. Furthermore, when asked about their Ainu language proficiency and about whether they would consider taking Ainu language lessons, only the 7.2% has said to be able to speak either well or sufficiently well to have a simple conversation and, even more importantly, only the 9.7% showed an interest in learning the language (Fukazawa 2019, 20).

The marginal interest in the Ainu language as a valuable part of the Ainu cultural heritage that could find its place in modern Japanese society has a lot to do with the general public's perspective towards it. As Sawai (1998) notes, the firm conviction that Japan is a monolingual nation and that Ainu is a minority language with not many speakers left has propagated the idea of Ainu as a dying language, too small and with too little space (or no space at all) in contemporary Japan for anyone to spend time for its revitalisation. That is, continuously portraying Ainu as a moribund language through the years has turned into a factual reality and has slowly convinced many members of the Ainu community that any revitalisation effort would be made in vain.

16.4 The Steps of Language Revitalisation

The following excerpts are taken from Kitahara (2012), a paper where the author, as a member of the Ainu community, touches upon a number of issues to be addressed when thinking of revitalising the Ainu language and provides his point of view. Starting from Kitahara's considerations discuss each of the following points.

1. Which 'Ainu language' should be revitalised? Though the Saru dialect of Southern Hokkaidō is often tacitly taken as some kind of standard language, Ainu has no real standard variety (Fukazawa 2019, 15-16) and dialectal differences can be striking especially between the Hokkaidō and Sakhalin varieties. Moreover, Ainu has never developed the vocabulary to express concepts and denote things that exist in contemporary society.

Chiba daigaku un Nakagawa Hiroshi nispa yeehe ene an hi. "Kotan pismo itah katu sinnay ciki, nah wa an kotan un itah neyahka okore nuu easkay pahno wantehci anah pirikahaa. Siisam neyahka, Tokyo kotan un kuru, Osaka un itah kii eaykah yahka, nuu easkay tah nee. Taaha neeno an anah pirika nanko" nah yee. Tani neanpe tah yeeruy pirika anpe nee kuni anramu. (p. 279)

As Nakagawa Hiroshi from Chiba University says: "[Considering] there are dialectal differences, it is good that people learn [the language] enough to understand the variety of whatever village. Even in Japan, a person from Tokyo indeed understands the [Japanese] dialect of Osaka, even if they do not know it. It would be good if [we could] reach this goal". As of today, I believe this would be the best thing.

Husko ohta isam ike tani aneywanke asiri itah temana anyee kun pe hetaneyya. Siisam utah neanpe sianno wooyaan huuresiisam itah nuhci ike siisam itah ne karahci anpe. Nee wahkayki aynu utah neanpe yeyekota an itah kii ruuhe ka isam kusu, siisam neeno asiriitah kara ka hankii. Nee kusu tane aynu itah wante utah an teh itah kii kusu nah eramuokay yahka, husko itah pateh nee anah, anpene itah hayta anpe. Nee teh itah ankara rusuy koroka, itahkara neanpe sianno itah wante utah nee anah easkay koroka, tani sonno hokampa. (p. 286)

How is one to express the new words that once did not exist but that are now used? The Japanese heard a lot of words from the Europeans and translated them into their language. However, the Ainu [who] did not even use their mother tongue [could] not create new words like the Japanese. For this reason, even if people now know Ainu and intend to use it, they really lack the terminology [to express themselves] if [they rely] only on the words that already exist. [People have] the will to make up [new] words, but creating neologisms [would] be possible if there were someone who really knew the language, so this is very difficult now.

2. What language materials (if any) should be used? How should they be structured?

Etutaani kotan omoto koro pe nee kusu, yaykotan un itah aneacaasnokara rusuy wakayki, nupurukampi neanpe Saru kotan un itah neewa Chitose kotan un itah pateh koro. Itakirenkakampi neyke, Horobetsu un itah naa koro wakayki, taa itah ahkari an itah neanpe itahhunta ponno ponno pateh anihii nee. Nee kusu asinno aneacaasnokara ohta, Hattori Shirō kara “ainugo hōgen jiten” (1964) [...] ohta an yaykotan un itah hunara ike PC onne ahunkehci ike imerukorocinunkekampi karahci. Taa pateh neyke, itah hayta kusu, tutanno, wooyaan husko oruspe annuu ike PC onne anahunke ike, opokinno itah anweekaarirehci. (pp. 280-1)

[The attendants to the courses] were people native of different parts of Hokkaidō, so they wished to learn the dialect of their village, but we had only dictionaries of the Saru and Chitose dialects. As for grammars, there was also one for the Horobetsu dialect but the amount of vocabulary was in fact smaller than that [available] for the other dialects. Therefore, while being taught from the beginning, [the students] looked for the words from their dialect in “A dialect dictionary of Ainu” by Hattori Shirō [...], entered them in a computer and created a database. Only by doing this [some] words were [still] missing, so then many old stories were listened to, [words] were included in the PC [database], and [new] terms were added little by little.

3. What should be the aim of language revitalisation? How should it be possible to use the language after having learnt it?

Tah neanpe yeeruye paase ike yeeruye hokampa oruspe nee kuni anramu. Repunmosiri orun oruspe annuu wahkayki, ramma itah ecaacasnokara easkay yahka, nee itah sahno ukoytah easkay pe nee kusu, kii kun pe isam manu. Nee teh itah wante yahka, okaketa neera ka monrayke ne kii ka eaykah anpe yeeruye wen sirihii nee. (p. 290)

I think this is a more important and more complex matter. Hearing of [analogous] cases from abroad, studying [a language] is always possible but there seems to be no chance to use it because it is in fact possible to communicate without that language. And even if one knows the language, the fact that it cannot be introduced after [one has learnt it] in the workplace seems even worse.

Nee teh, eh yahka, hoskino anyee pe ani, oya utara ohta yee ka hankii. Tah kusu aynuitah neanpe aynu utuhta pateh kii. Koroka, cise soyta aynu unukara hi anpene ponno pateh an. (p. 297)

So even if they join [Ainu language courses], as I said before, they do not tell it to other people and for this reason they use the Ainu language only among members of the community. But the chances of meeting [other] Ainu outside of the household remain slim.

4. When should one start learning Ainu? Is there a recommended age to ensure proper language acquisition?

Sianno haciko ohta neanpe henke ahci tura ekihi nee koroka, icaakasnocise ohta ahun ohta otuye. Nee teh yaytuymaaste ike, ramurenkayne sinenehpone neera an pe ka kii easkay pahno poro koh, aynu weekaari ohta oman kuru ka an koroka, pookoro koh poo eyaynuhte kusu suy otuye hemaka. Ene teh, neera an yahka eyaycaakasno kuru neanpe sianno yuhke ramu koro kuru nee ike, porosereke poo reske hemaka teh, monrayki hemaka teh eh. (p. 297)

[Children] come [to Ainu language courses] at a very young age with [their] grandparents, but when they enter school they drop out [of classes]. Then, once the situation changes and they become old enough to decide for themselves, there are also people who re-join Ainu meetings, but as soon as they have children, they look after them and end up leaving again. That is, a person who [commits to] learning [Ainu] despite [their obligations] is a person with a strong will and, when they are done raising [their] children, the majority of them retires and returns [to meetings and courses].

17 **The Ainu Language: Bilingualism and Language Education**

Summary 17.1 Japan – A Monolingual Nation? – 17.2 Bilingual Education in Japan. – 17.3 Teaching and Learning Ainu as a Second Language.

17.1 Japan – A Monolingual Nation?

The notion that Japan is a ‘homogeneous’, ‘monoethnic’ and ‘monolingual’ nation became fixed in the post-war era (Fujita-Round 2019, 172), but in reality Japan has always been at the crossroads of cultural and linguistic exchange through its history. This misconception of Japan as a one-language country, that to much extent still remains in contemporary Japanese society, is mostly rooted in the modern era, namely in the imperialistic period of Japan’s history. In the decades leading to the establishment of the Japanese Empire of the 1920s-1930s, Japan annexed four territories: Hokkaidō (1869), the Ogasawara Islands (1872), the Ryukyuan Kingdom (i.e. today’s Okinawa province) (1879), Taiwan (1895), and the Korean peninsula (1910). These territories were inhabited by people speaking languages different from Japanese, whom the government made an effort to assimilate among Japanese.

As Morris-Suzuki (1998, 27) notes, imposing Japanese as the national language at all institutional levels during the Meiji period represented the central element of the assimilation process. Especially for the speakers of Ainu and the Ryukyuan languages, who were subjected to assimilation more directly and thoroughly, a forced education imparted only in Japanese slowly resulted in a language shift from the native language to Japanese by the end of the nineteenth

century. Importantly, although as a result of this Ainu and Ryukyuan people became in fact bilingual, they were never visibly acknowledged as such. The history of Ainu and Ryukyuan languages illustrates how not recognising bilingualism as a reality has contributed to creating the myth of Japan being a monolingual nation and helps us better understand the difficulties of establishing bilingual education systems in today's Japan.

17.2 Bilingual Education in Japan

Post-war attitudes towards bilingual education in Japan can be seen as a direct result of the assimilation policies of the Meiji period. The case of *kikokushijo* or 'returnee children' provides a good example. Starting from the 1960s, an increasing number of children began to arrive in Japan from abroad. These were children of Japanese people who had previously moved abroad for business and whose families were then returning to live in Japan. Having been born and raised in a foreign country, these children obviously behaved and spoke differently from Japanese children who were born and raised in Japan, which took the school system by surprise and for the very first time called for a new approach to education. As it concerned exactly the education of *kikokushijo* children, besides other measures the government gave a series of subsidies for opening special entrance quotas in schools and universities that were aimed at giving support to these children who needed to be re-entered in Japanese society. That is, *kokushijo* children were treated as a minority, in need of public support, who had to be somehow re-Japanised after their long absence from Japan (Fujita-Round 2019, 177-8). Again the reality of bilingualism was essentially denied. Only in the 1970s did the attitude towards bilingual education change and the presence of bilingual people, for whom Japanese may have been either a first or second language, started to be acknowledged more openly. Nevertheless, still today Japanese institutions seem to be slower to adjust to this change of perspective, and in most cases the view that second language learning and bilingualism is of a temporary nature persists. As a reason for this, Kanno (2008) points out on the one hand the teachers' perception of Japanese L2 learners as people who at some point will return to their home countries which somehow allows them to be less invested in their bilingual education. On the other hand, parental attitudes towards children's education are also specifically found to negatively influence the perception of the importance of receiving a bilingual education. Also because of a lack of transparency of the Japanese legislation, parents and children tend to underestimate the value of growing up bilingually and of knowing the language of their country of residency. Other than a substantial change

on the Japanese government's part, aimed at addressing bilingualism as a primary aspect of Japanese society, individual attitudes can also make a difference in how a new language can and should be acquired.

17.3 Teaching and Learning Ainu as a Second Language

Read the following quote from Fujita-Round (2019) where the author reasons on some important challenges concerning the future of bilingual education in Japan. In light of these considerations, read the excerpts below taken from Tangiku (2019) who writes about language education for the specific case of Ainu. How should the needs of Ainu speakers and the vitality status of the Ainu language be acknowledged in order to achieve a fruitful revitalisation within an apparently monolingual society?

The difficulty of implementing bilingual education partly comes from the sheer length of time needed to acquire language(s). Moreover, the actual language learning process is individually different, in the context of the society in which the speaker lives. Depending on the speaker's age, bilingual education involves the speaker's language acquisition, language learning, language maintenance and language loss. In some cases, this depends on the position of a language in a society where bilingual education is involved in language endangerment, language death and language revitalisation. Bilingual education cannot be separated from the constant language dynamism of the speaker's life and social reality. Together with the individual difficulty, how to contextualise bilingualism and multilingualism into "bilingual education" will be a challenge for the twenty-first century. (Fujita-Round 2019, 180)

1. With the intent of revitalising the Ainu language, educators have adopted some teaching methods from other countries where minority and indigenous languages have been or are being revived successfully. Considering what has been said about perspectives and attitudes of the speakers towards the Ainu language (see Lesson 16), do you think these teaching methods are applicable for Ainu? Are there any aspects, specific to the Ainu case, that should be addressed when drawing from experiences of revitalisation in other countries?

USA otta ka, Canada otta ka, Hawai'i otta ka, teetawanoankur utar, husko itak oyra okere wa easir, kanna suy kor rusuy utar, yayepakasnu wa tane husko itak eukoysoytak kor oka. Husko itak kanna suy asiknure hi "itaksiknure" "itakmososo" sekora aye p ne na. Husko sinrici kor itak kanna suy yaykata ka konrusuy sekora sanihi utar yaynu. Tane makanak itak asiknure yakun, mososo yakun pirka ya ka aeraman ruwe ne wa oya mositta usa usa husko itak asiknure hawean. (pp. 166-7)

In the USA, in Canada, and in Hawai'i, indigenous people forgot [their] native language and really [those] people who want to revive it learn it on their own and eventually [can] converse using it. Bringing back the native language is called "language revitalisation" [or] "language reawakening". The descendants of [Ainu] ancestors wish to bring back the language with their own strength. Today it is known how to revitalise [or] reawaken a language effectively and it seems that in different countries native languages are [being] restored.

Sonno Aynu itak aaskay rusuy yakun "sinen or wa sinen eun" ani aeraman kuni p ne na. Kanpinuyekur utar neyakka Aynu itak eraman huci utar orowa "sinen or wa sinen eun" ani ayayepakasnu rok pe ne ruwe tapan. Tane oka kanpinuye utar yaykata "sinen or wa sinen eun" ani Aynu itak eraman a korka, pewreutar epakasnu hi ta "sinen or wa sinen eun" anisomokino, ramma kane gakko otta neno, Aynu itak eraman rusuy utar sine uske ta uekarpare hi kuoyamokte kor kuan. Kanpinuye utar yaynu hi ene an hi. [...] "Sinen or wa sinen eun" ani Aynu itak aepakasnu wa tane eraman Yaunkur ka oka. Ponno patek ne yakka oka. (pp. 168-9)

If one really wants to be able to [speak] Ainu, they should learn it through [the method of] "one-to-one". Even linguists have been studying Ainu from elderly ladies who knew the language with this method. However, today's linguists, [who] have learnt Ainu themselves with the "one-to-one" method, when teaching to younger people do not employ the [same] method [and] always [hold lessons] in schools [where] people who want to learn are gathered [all] in one place. I think this is odd. [...] There are also people who have been taught with the "one-to-one" method and now know the language. Though they are a few, there are [some].

2. As a way to ensure an effective language acquisition, language education is often based on standardised teaching. How can the adoption of the same Ainu teaching materials and methods for everyone (not) satisfy the needs and motivation of individual learners?

Yaunkur utar usa usa okay kusu utar yaynu hi ka usinnayno an. Husko itak ponno patek eraman rusuy kur ka oka, kestoankor husko itak ani ukoysoytak rusuy kur ka oka. Kes cup an kor sine to ta patek husko itak seysey orowa aepakasnu rusuy sekora an kur ka oka, kestoankor 3 cikan husko itak eukoysoytak rusuy kur ka okay. Usa utar oka kusu ki rusuy pe ka usa kuni p ne na. (p. 167)

Ainu people are different so their opinions also vary. There are people who want to learn just a little bit of [their] native language, people who want to converse in Ainu every day, and there are also people who say they want to be taught by an Ainu teacher at least one day a month [and] converse in Ainu for three hours a day. Because there are different people, [their] needs must be diverse too.

Nah an pe neanpe, ikorouncise neya daigaku ohta sicaakasnoyara utah neanpe easkay wahkayki, oya utah neanpe anpene eaykah anpe nee. 2010paa oro AIEA asinno kampsios kara kusu nah yehci ike, paa pisno “nyūmonshū” “shokyūshū” “chūkyūchū” upis ree kampsios, kotan pisno kara kuni urenkarehci. Neewahkayki, etoko wano ankara anpe ka isam ike, anpene kara koyaykus pe neeno aneramuan. Anoka neyke kunine ani kampsios kara aynu anewartanne koroka, kiyanne itah urenkare kuru utah okore montapihici kusu, sine itah urenkare kuru ka sahno ankara kusu karahci. Tah kusu temana ka ankii koyaykus nah aneramuokay kusu, antokoy ne sukuh itah urenkare kuru aneutehkara ike anahunke ike, temana ankara anah pirika nah an pe aneukoramkorohci. (Kitahara 2012, 281-2)

This method works for people who learn [Ainu during classes] in a museum or at university, but it is really difficult for other people. [Since] 2010 the Organisation for the Revitalisation of Ainu has decided to release new publications [for each Ainu dialect] and, every year, it has published three [volumes] “absolute beginner level”, “beginner level”, and “intermediate level” [for three different dialects]. However, there was no source already available and this was believed to be an utterly impossible work. I teamed up with the people making the volumes, but older people experienced in Ainu were all busy so it was decided to proceed without a single expert of the language. Because I thought that such project was undoable, I asked a young person I know and included them [in the group] and we discussed how to produce a good publication.

3. Besides creating a safe space where Ainu speakers can actively use the language they have learnt in everyday life, revitalisation should also think of finding a place for Ainu speakers to apply their knowledge productively and creatively outside the community and within society. Where to start? Who should be involved in this?

Aynu itak ne yakka itak ne ruwe tapan. Sisam itak Huresisam itak ka uneno itak ne ruwe tapan. Kamuyyukar aye kusu, yukar aye kusu, inomi aye patek kusu akor itak ka somo ne. Kestoankor tan itak eukoysoytakan kuni p ne ruwe ne. Nep ne yakka aye easkay. Anime (moymoykenoka) otta aye itaki ne yakka aynu itak ani aye easkay. (p. 170)

Ainu is a language. A language equal to Japanese and Western languages. It is not a language just for reciting the *yukars*, traditional folklore, and prayers. It is a language to be spoken every day – one can express anything [with it]. Even dialogues in anime can be said in Ainu.

Ne wa oka moymoykenoka ta aynu itak utar, haw kar utar, sisam ne yakka arikikino aynu itak havehe nu wa, ponno ponno yakka aynu itak ka eraman wa kusu ne no pirkano aynu itak ye hi ruwe tapan. (p. 171)

The people who dubbed [the dialogues and] spoke Ainu were Japanese but they worked hard, listened to the language and [eventually] they even understood a little Ainu. This way they in fact [managed to] dub [the anime] in Ainu well.

18 **Ainu's Relation to Other Languages**

Summary 18.1 Is Ainu an Isolate Language? – 18.2 Philological Attestations and Investigation. – 18.3 Internal Reconstruction. – 18.4 Comparative Reconstruction. – 18.5 Loanwords and Areal Linguistics. – 18.6 Wörter und Sachen.

18.1 Is Ainu an Isolate Language?

Discuss:

- How do we define a language family?
- What makes a language isolate?
- How is an isolate language different from an unclassified language and what makes a language so?

Consider the following six means scholars usually employ to advance their knowledge on isolate languages (Campbell 2017, 11). Do you think they can be applied to Ainu? Which one(s) could be more effective than others and why?

- Philological attestations and investigation
- Internal reconstruction
- Comparative reconstruction
- Loanwords
- Areal linguistics
- Wörter und Sachen

18.2 Philological Attestations and Investigation

List of historical sources on HA:

- Anonymous (1624-44?), *Matsumae no kotoba* 松前ノ言 (The Language of Matsumae);
- De Angelis Girolamo (1624), *Relatione del regno di Iezo*;
- Kūnen (1704), *Ezo kotoba* 狄言葉 (The Language of Ezo);
- Chōsaborō Abe, Uehara Kumajirō (1792), *Moshiogusa* 藻汐草 (Sundried Seaweed);
- Batchelor John (1889), *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary*;
- Mashiho Chiri (1953-54), 分類アイヌ語辞典 *Bunrui ainugojiten* (Categorical Dictionary of the Ainu language).

List of historical sources on SA:

- La Pérouse Jean-François de Galaup (1798), *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, pendant les années 1785, 1786, 1787 et 1788* (A Voyage of La Pérouse Around the World Performed in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787 and 1788);
- Davydov Gavriilo (1812), Словарь наречий народов обитающих на южной оконечности полуострова Сахалина, собранный на месте покойным Гаврилою Давыдовым *Slovar' narechij narodov obitayushchikh na yuzhnoy okonechnosti poluostrova Sakhalina, sobranniy na meste pokojnym leytenantom Gavriloyu Davydovym* (A Dictionary of Ethnolects of Peoples Inhabiting the Southern Recesses of the Sakhalin Peninsula Collected on Location by the Late Lieutenant Gavriilo Davydov);
- Dobrotvorskij Michail M. (1875), Айнско-русски словарь *Ajnsko-rusски slovar'* (An Ainu-Russian Dictionary);
- Pilsudski Bronislaw (1912), *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*.

For additional sources, also on Kuril Ainu, see Satō, Bugaeva (2019, 69-71).

Attestations of words in historical sources help us trace the path of development of single terms and sometimes of the language in general. Valuable information on adoption of loanwords, creation of toponyms, phonological changes, presently obsolete morphosyntactic structures etc. can surface in historical sources – in the case of Ainu the transcription(s) used represents an insightful tool to investigate language development.

Attestations of *pirka* /pir̥ika/ 'be good'; *sirkunne* /çir̥ikun:e/ 'be dark' (examples from Satō, Bugaeva 2019, 84-6):

びる可	biruka	(<i>Matsumae no kotoba</i>)
びる可	piruka	(<i>Ezodan hikki</i> 1710)
飛類可	hiruka, et al. renderings	(<i>Ezo kotoba</i> 1704)
ビルカ	biruka	(<i>Hokkai zuihitsu</i> 1739)
пирука	piruka	(Davydov 1812)
志りく川ね	shirikunne	(<i>Matsumae no kotoba</i>)
志りくん祢	shirikunne	(<i>Ezodan hikki</i> 1710)
ширикунни	shirikunni	(Davydov 1812)

The Japanese (*hentaigana*) and Cyrillic transliterations point to actual different phonological realisations for the segment *r* in *pirka* and *sirkunne*. This phonological difference, lost in modern/contemporary Ainu, can be ascribed to different underlying syllable structures for the two words present in Proto-Ainu (see e.g. Satō 2015 for more).

18.3 Internal Reconstruction

Consider again the fourth person prefix *a-* of HA you analysed in Lesson 5 in the function of marker of agent in the impersonal-passive construction. The origin and development of this agreement prefix can be determined through internal reconstructions. Bugaeva (2011, 524-8) traces four stages that led to *a-* being used this way.

The affix *a-* has its origin in the intransitive verb *an* 'exist' in the existential construction, of the type in (1), where this verb takes a noun as its sole argument (S). This is the first, initial, stage.

- (1) *Inne kotan an.*
 be.populous village **3SS/exist.PC**
 'There was a populous village.' (Tamura 1985, 48)

The second stage of the development sees an intransitive verb being nominalised (via zero-nominalisation, a process widespread in Ainu) and functioning as the S argument of *an*.

- (2) [**Rok**]_s *an yakka pirka ya?*
sit.PL.NMLZ 3SS/exist.PC though 3SS/be.good INT
 Lit.: 'Is it good if there is sitting down? = May I sit down?'
 (KJ in Bugaeva 2011, 525)

The verb *an* begins to function as a clitic and semantically the construction soon develops an impersonal reading.

This impersonal construction that was originally limited to intransitive verbs gets extended to transitive verbs by analogy (3). Here the post-clitic =*an* is placed before the verb, thus becoming a prefix, in line with other personal agreement morphemes of Ainu. Erosion of the segment *n*, most common in Ainu when grammaticalisation happens, follows and the prefix takes the form *a-* (the form *an-* still remains in some fossilised verb forms and in North-Eastern Hokkaidō dialects). This third stage of the development is supported by the prosodic features that the personal affix *a-/an* still retains.

- (3) *A-en-ko-pisi* *p* *anakne* *opitta* *ku-ye*.
 IP-1SOI-APPL-3PO/ask thing TOP all 1SS-3PO/say
 'I (will) say everything I am asked.' (Tamura 1984, 12)

In the fourth and final stage (4) the impersonal construction with a transitive verb takes a passive reading and expression of the actant with an oblique is allowed.

- (4) Toan **kur-oro-wa** a-en-kik.
 that **man-place-from** IP-1SO-hit
 'I was hit by that man.'

18.4 Comparative Reconstruction

Philological studies of historical sources may include comparative reconstruction and vice versa. Two works that attempt to reconstruct Proto-Ainu using this approach are Vovin (1993) and Alonso de la Fuente (2012).

In particular, Vovin (1993) takes into account the phonetic alternations present in many Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Ainu dialects and, on this basis, sketches a provisional phonemic inventory of Proto-Ainu (PA). Secondly, though far more marginally, Vovin discusses a number of morphophonological variations that occurred in Ainu. Starting from the phonemes of PA some lexical items of the language are reconstructed and then compared with other proto-languages belonging to the Austroasiatic language family (AA).

(PA) *ki=raqu* 'horn'

PA ***ki(=)raqu** L(-)LH "horn". Cf. PW ***rxŋ** "horn (anim.)" (Diffloth 1980, 131); PM ***draŋ**, Proto-Mon ***krɛ:ŋŋ** "horn" (Diffloth 1984, 99).

(PA) *VqV > (Proto-Wa) +Vŋ
 (PA) [r] > (PAA, PW, Proto-Monic) [r]

(PA) *suma* 'stone'

PA ***suma** LH "stone". Cf. PW ***smo?** "stone" (Diffloth 1980, 106); PM ***tmo?** "stone" (Diffloth 1984, 130); Alak *tamō*; Bahnar *tómō*; Boloven *tamō*; Chrau *thmō*; Halang *mō*; Kaseng *tamō*; Khmer *thmō*; Kontu *tamō*; Kuoi *tamau*; Lavé *tamō*; Phnong *tama*; Por *thmo-*; Prou *tama*; Sedang *hum*; Stieng *tómāu*; Sué *tamao*; Talaing *tmo?*; Tareng *tamō*; Khasi *máw*; Umpai *samo*; Bo Luang *samo*; Mapá *samo* "stone" (Shafer 1965, 20-21). PAA ***θama** or ***θamu** ?

(PA) [s] > (PW) [s], (PM) [t], (PAA) [θ]

(PA) *ti=* 'we (personal agreement)'

PA ***ti=** L "we". Cf. PVM ***toy** "I" (Thompson 1976, 1176); Car Nicobar *cin* "I" (Das 1977, 25).

The comparative reconstruction approach adopted by Vovin is rooted in Hoenigswald's (1960) classical comparative method, with which linguists have long tried to determine cognation among languages. The comparative method includes three steps of language comparison: *step 1* - observe the sound correspondences within words that have a comparable meaning in different languages; *step 2* - infer regular sound changes rules which must explain all sound changes attested in the compared words; *step 3* - infer cognation judgements and propose a phylogenesis for the analysed languages.

The comparative method establishes two types of linguistic characters that help define language cognation: lexical characters (similar words with the same meaning in different languages) and phonological characters (similar or identical sound changes that recur in different languages). A special type of lexical characters are morphological characters (grammatical features such as declension, conjugation, agreement in different languages that can be traced back to the same proto-morpheme). Since morphological material resists borrowing, and therefore it is unlikely that a morpheme in a language changes in an unexpected way, looking at morphology when using the comparative method is most insightful.

In the 1990s, Warnow revises the classical comparative method by stating that, in comparing languages, almost all (but not necessarily all) the linguistic characters should be compatible within the evolutionary tree for the analysed languages. This is a way to bypass

the inevitable cases of phonological (e.g. natural sound changes) and lexical (e.g. provable cases of borrowing) idiosyncrasies sometimes attested among languages that otherwise exhibit a strong similarity. As a way to optimise his analysis that, otherwise, would produce several possible trees with varied degrees of compatibility, Warnow formulated the following criterion: *find the tree on which it is possible to explain all incompatible character evolution with as simple an explanation as possible, and which matches linguistic scholarship as closely as possible*. The tree that meets this criterion is the best tree to describe the relations and phylogenesis of the analysed languages.

What are the major pitfalls of this approach?

- How many examples are available and so how reliable are our results...
- Possible mismatch of semantic categories among proto-languages and their encoding in the lexicon...
- How advanced is the study on the other proto-languages we use as a term of comparison... Synchronic analysis...
- Historical derivation and development of morphemes and specifically of inflectional morphology... Diachronic analysis...
- Geographical boundaries, historical vicissitudes, language contact, ...
- Arbitrariness in choosing the languages to be compared...
- How much do our assumptions influence the outcome of our analysis...

18.5 Loanwords and Areal Linguistics

Language contact between Ainu and Japanese, on the one hand, and Ainu and Nivkh, on the other hand, is well-substantiated (Dougherty 2019, 101-2). Japanese loanwords in Ainu include *tampaku* (Jap. たばこ *tabako* 'tobacco, cigarette'), Nivkh loanwords in Ainu include *tunakay* (Niv. *tlaji* 'reindeer'). The Ainu loanwords that got into Japanese, e.g. ラッコ *rakko* 'sea otter', are rarer.

Grammatical structures or phonological/phonetic features may be shared by languages spoken in a same area (*Sprachbund*). These language features spread among languages through diffusion or contact. One example of diffusion of grammatical structures between HA Ainu and Japanese is e.g. the tentative construction *wa inkar* 'try to', most probably created on calque of the Japanese *-te miru*.

Do loanwords and linguistic features inherited through diffusion and contact tell us something specific about a language genetic affiliation?

18.6 Wörter und Sachen

“Words that can be analysed into component parts are believed to be more recent than words which have no internal analysis” (Campbell 2017, 13). Cases where we can apply this approach in Ainu include common words and many toponyms:

oypep (HA), *'oypeh* (SA) < *'o-ipe-p* (LOC-AP.eat-NMLZ)

‘the thing someone eats in = vessel, plate’

aop (HA) < *a-o-p* (IP-get.in-NMLZ)

‘the thing someone gets into = car’

Sapporo < *satporo pet* (HA) < *sat poro pet* (be.dry be.big river)

‘the big dry river’

“Words [that contain non-productive morphology] are assumed to be possibly older than words composed only of productive (regular) morphemes” (Campbell 2017, 14). However, for a language like Ainu...

- How do we determine whether a piece of morphology is no longer productive?
- How about those morphemes that become non-productive in the late stages of the language's history?
- Is this approach informative with regards to the historical development of the language?

Appendix

Transitive agreement paradigms (Lessons 3 and 4).

	1SO	1PO	2SO	2PO	3O	4O
1SS	-	-	<i>eci-</i>	<i>eci-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-i-</i>
1PS	-	-	<i>eci-</i>	<i>eci-</i>	<i>ci-</i>	<i>a-i-</i>
2SS	<i>en-</i>	<i>un-</i>	-	-	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-i-</i>
2PS	<i>eci-en-</i>	<i>eci-un-</i>	-	-	<i>eci-</i>	<i>eci-i-</i>
3S	<i>en-</i>	<i>un-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>eci-</i>		<i>i-</i>
4S	<i>a-en-</i>	<i>a-un-</i>	<i>a-e-</i>	<i>a-eci-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-i-</i>

(Transitive agreement paradigm of HA)

	1SO	1PO (4O)	2SO	2PO	3SO	3PO
1SS	-	-	<i>eci-</i>	<i>eci- -yan</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku- -hci</i>
1PS (4S)	-	-	<i>an-e-</i>	<i>eci- -yan</i>	<i>an-</i>	<i>an- -hci</i>
2SS	<i>en-</i>	<i>i-</i>	-	-	<i>e-</i>	<i>e- -hci</i>
2PS	<i>en- -yan</i>	<i>i- -yan</i> <i>eci-i-</i>	-	-	<i>eci-</i>	<i>eci- -hci</i>
3SS	<i>en-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>eci-</i>		<i>-hci</i>
3PS	<i>en- -hci</i>	<i>i- -hci</i>	<i>e- -hci</i>	<i>eci- -hci</i>	<i>-hci</i>	<i>-hci</i>

(Transitive agreement paradigm of SA)

Glossary

Hokkaidō Ainu

<i>acapo</i>	uncle
<i>ahun</i>	to enter (SG)
<i>ak</i>	to shoot
<i>am</i>	nail
<i>anak(ne)</i>	(topic marker)
<i>ani</i>	to carry
<i>ape</i>	fire
<i>are</i>	to make sit
<i>arki</i>	to come (PL)
<i>asinuma</i>	I
<i>asir</i>	to be new
<i>asur</i>	news, rumor
<i>caka</i>	to open
<i>ci</i>	to ripen
<i>cikir</i>	leg (of an animal)
<i>cis</i>	to cry
<i>cisoyokuta</i>	to come out of a house

<i>cotca</i>	to shoot
<i>cup</i>	sun
<i>ek</i>	to come (SG)
<i>ekari</i>	towards
<i>ene</i>	like this
<i>eper</i>	bear
<i>epitta</i>	all
<i>eyayetokoyki</i>	to get ready for sth.
<i>hapo</i>	mother
<i>haw</i>	voice
<i>hemanta</i>	what
<i>hemesu</i>	to go upstream
<i>hempak</i>	how many
<i>hepuni</i>	to raise one's head
<i>hok</i>	to buy
<i>hoppa</i>	to leave
<i>hopuni</i>	to jump
<i>hosipi</i>	to return
<i>hotke</i>	to lie down
<i>huciape</i>	Fire Goddess
<i>hunak</i>	where
<i>husko</i>	to be old
<i>isam</i>	to not be
<i>iso</i>	bear
<i>itak</i>	to speak
<i>kam</i>	meat
<i>kamuy</i>	god, bear, animal
<i>kanto</i>	the heavens
<i>kar</i>	to make, to prepare
<i>kaspa</i>	to be excessive, be left
<i>kaspaotte</i>	to ask, to enquire
<i>katu</i>	looks, sign
<i>kem</i>	needle
<i>keman</i>	to there be a famine
<i>kerā</i>	taste
<i>kerāan</i>	to be delicious
<i>kikir</i>	insect

<i>kikkik</i>	to beat up, to throw
<i>kira</i>	to escape
<i>koyki</i>	to catch
<i>kore</i>	to give
<i>kuca</i>	hunting hut
<i>kunak</i>	that (complementizer)
<i>kuni</i>	that (complementizer)
<i>kunne</i>	to be black, to be dark
<i>kusu</i>	because, in order to
<i>matnepo</i>	young girl
<i>mimak</i>	tooth
<i>ne</i>	that
<i>nea</i>	that
<i>nei/ney</i>	somewhere
<i>nep</i>	any, some
<i>nepki</i>	to work, work
<i>nimah</i>	see <i>mimak</i>
<i>nina</i>	to collect wood
<i>nisapno</i>	soon
<i>nituyya</i>	tree cutting
<i>nonnoitak</i>	to pray
<i>nu</i>	to hear, to listen
<i>nupe</i>	tear
<i>nuwap</i>	to groan
<i>o</i>	to get in sth.
<i>oar-</i>	completely
<i>oka(y)</i>	to exist (PL)
<i>okkaypo</i>	young man
<i>omanan</i>	to travel, to go around
<i>omante</i>	to make go
<i>omap</i>	to love
<i>ona</i>	father
<i>onne</i>	to be old
<i>onuytasa</i>	instead of
<i>opitta</i>	all
<i>oruspe</i>	tale
<i>pakno</i>	until

<i>pas</i>	to leap
<i>pase</i>	to be important, heavy
<i>pasrota</i>	to swear
<i>patek</i>	just, only
<i>paye</i>	to go (PL)
<i>payeka</i>	to walk, to travel (PL)
<i>pet</i>	river
<i>petaru</i>	riverside
<i>pewre</i>	to be young
<i>pirka</i>	to be good
<i>po</i>	child
<i>poka</i>	at least
<i>poronno</i>	a lot
<i>potara</i>	to be worried
<i>poyson</i>	small baby
<i>puni</i>	to lift, to offer
<i>purio</i>	to have a bad temper
<i>ramat</i>	soul
<i>ran</i>	to come down (SG)
<i>ranke</i>	to make fall, drop
<i>rapok</i>	meanwhile
<i>ray</i>	to die
<i>re</i>	three
<i>rer</i>	to sink
<i>lera</i>	wind
<i>reska</i>	to raise
<i>rura</i>	to carry
<i>rusuy</i>	want
<i>ruyampe</i>	storm
<i>san</i>	to descend (SG)
<i>sapo</i>	older sister
<i>sat</i>	to be dry, to become dry
<i>sekor</i>	that (complementizer)
<i>sermaka</i>	protective god
<i>sesek</i>	to be hot
<i>sike</i>	load
<i>sikerura</i>	to move a luggage

<i>sikoan</i>	to have sight
<i>siknu</i>	to survive
<i>sinenne</i>	alone
<i>sinotca</i>	song
<i>sinuma</i>	he, she, they
<i>sirar</i>	rock
<i>sisakpe</i>	delicious food
<i>sisam</i>	Japanese
<i>sone</i>	truly
<i>soy</i>	outside
<i>suwe</i>	cook
<i>suy</i>	again
<i>ta</i>	to collect
<i>taan</i>	this
<i>tamasay</i>	necklace
<i>tan</i>	this, that
<i>tane</i>	now, eventually
<i>tani</i>	see <i>tane</i>
<i>tanne</i>	to be long
<i>tapan</i>	this very
<i>tasiro</i>	sword
<i>tasum</i>	to be sick, sickness
<i>tektaksa</i>	massage
<i>tere</i>	to wait
<i>terke</i>	to jump, to run
<i>toan</i>	that
<i>tokap</i>	noon
<i>toop</i>	there (far away)
<i>toy</i>	earth, ground
<i>tu</i>	two
<i>tukan</i>	to shoot
<i>tunasno</i>	quickly
<i>uk</i>	to take (SG)
<i>ukuran</i>	evening
<i>umurek</i>	to marry, to be a couple
<i>usa</i>	to be many
<i>usey</i>	tea

<i>uwekapa</i>	to gather
<i>uwepirka</i>	to be happy together
<i>uwerankarap</i>	to greet each other
<i>wen</i>	to be bad
<i>wenkur</i>	poor person
<i>yaanipo</i>	almost
<i>yaykar</i>	to turn oneself into sth.
<i>yup</i>	older brother
<i>yuptek</i>	to be hard working

Sakhalin Ainu¹

<i>aare</i>	to make sit
<i>acapo</i>	uncle
<i>ahap*</i>	see <i>ahup*</i>
<i>ahci</i>	old woman
<i>ahun</i>	to enter (SG)
<i>ahunke</i>	to make enter
<i>ahup*</i>	to enter (PL)
<i>ama</i>	to place, put
<i>ampene (an)</i>	at all, really
<i>anihi</i>	(my)self
<i>araka</i>	to hurt
<i>arapesca</i>	opposite bank
<i>ariki</i>	to come (PL)
<i>asin</i>	to come/go out (SG)
<i>asip*</i>	to come/go out (PL)
<i>aspekoro</i>	that has fins
<i>atuy</i>	sea
<i>caa</i>	shore
<i>cas</i>	to run
<i>caytek*</i>	limb

1 In this Sakhalin Ainu Glossary an asterisk is used to signal the underlying form of a word ending in a consonant that is not permitted word-finally (that would be realized as [h]) by the phonotactic rules of the language.

<i>cehkoyki</i>	to catch fish
<i>ciw</i>	to pierce, to hit
<i>cokoko</i>	to fell
<i>ekok*</i>	to get sick from sth.
<i>emus</i>	sword
<i>emuyke</i>	all
<i>ene an</i>	such, like so
<i>eniskurukerotoh</i>	to touch the sky
<i>erum</i>	mouse
<i>esinnisahta</i>	this morning
<i>etunne</i>	not want
<i>eyhok*</i>	to sell, to deal in sth.
<i>eyooko</i>	to lie in wait
<i>he</i>	(focus particle)
<i>hecacita</i>	boys
<i>hekem</i>	to drag, to pull
<i>hemata</i>	what
<i>hemata ka</i>	some (kind)
<i>henke</i>	old man
<i>hokuy</i>	to burn
<i>horak*</i>	to crumble
<i>humpa</i>	to crush
<i>hura</i>	smell
<i>huraye</i>	to wash
<i>husko</i>	to be old
<i>huu</i>	to be fresh
<i>ihunkep*</i>	placenta
<i>ikoro</i>	short sword
<i>imokakoro</i>	to give as a gift
<i>isam</i>	to not be
<i>iso</i>	bear
<i>itak*</i>	to speak, to talk, speech
<i>kaamesu</i>	see <i>kasmesu</i>
<i>kanna</i>	again
<i>kannapaake</i>	upper jaw
<i>karakahseka</i>	to make roll
<i>kasmesu</i>	to help

<i>kat*</i>	looks, sign
<i>kaye</i>	to break sth.
<i>kayki</i>	even
<i>kayo</i>	to call
<i>kehke</i>	to break
<i>kem</i>	blood
<i>kema</i>	leg
<i>kipiri</i>	hill
<i>kirupu</i>	fat, grease
<i>koro</i>	to have
<i>koyaykus</i>	to not be able
<i>kuca</i>	hut
<i>kun</i>	(conditional marker)
<i>kusu</i>	because, in order to
<i>maake</i>	to leave
<i>mahpo</i>	daughter
<i>mahtekur*</i>	young woman
<i>makan</i>	to go uphill (SG)
<i>manu(y)</i>	reportative evidential
<i>mat*</i>	woman, wife
<i>mooso</i>	early
<i>na(a)</i>	still, again
<i>naa</i>	too, also
<i>nah</i>	so
<i>nak*</i>	where
<i>nay</i>	river
<i>neampe</i>	that (thing)
<i>neampe</i>	(topic marker)
<i>nean</i>	this, that
<i>neeno</i>	like, as
<i>neeroh</i>	these, those
<i>neh</i>	any, some
<i>netopak*</i>	corpse
<i>neya</i>	this, that
<i>niicauta</i>	tree limbs
<i>nis</i>	sky
<i>niskuru</i>	cloud

<i>nunnun</i>	to suck
<i>nuu</i>	to hear, to listen
<i>okay</i>	to exist (PL)
<i>okore</i>	all
<i>oman</i>	to go (SG)
<i>omay</i>	futon
<i>oniste</i>	to be firm
<i>onnay</i>	inside
<i>onne</i>	to be old
<i>onnew</i>	eagle
<i>oro'omos</i>	to wake up
<i>oseh</i>	to be wide
<i>osoma</i>	feces
<i>oyasi</i>	monster, spirit, demon
<i>ota</i>	beach, sand
<i>paa</i>	year
<i>pahko</i>	old lady
<i>pakakara</i>	to be/become crazy
<i>patek*</i>	only, just
<i>paye</i>	to go (PL)
<i>pe</i>	thing
<i>peray</i>	to fish
<i>pirika</i>	to be good
<i>pirikano</i>	well
<i>p̄isi</i>	to ask
<i>pon</i>	to be small
<i>ponno</i>	a little, a while
<i>poro</i>	to be big
<i>poronno</i>	a lot
<i>poso</i>	to stab
<i>puu</i>	storehouse
<i>puy</i>	hole
<i>rap*</i>	feather
<i>rahki</i>	to be hung, to hang
<i>ran</i>	to come down (PL)
<i>rayki</i>	to kill
<i>reekoh</i>	really

<i>reekoro</i>	see <i>reekoh</i>
<i>renkarankoro</i>	to agree
<i>renkayne</i>	a lot
<i>rep*</i>	to go at sea
<i>repun</i>	to be at sea
<i>rikinke</i>	to make ascend
<i>rusasoma</i>	straw bundle
<i>ruy</i>	to be powerful
<i>san</i>	to descend (SG)
<i>sap*</i>	to descend (PL)
<i>sianno</i>	really
<i>sihnu</i>	to survive
<i>sikiru</i>	to face sth., to turn
<i>sine</i>	one
<i>sinka</i>	to get tired
<i>sirepa</i>	to arrive
<i>siri</i>	land
<i>situsa</i>	to recover, to be healed
<i>suke</i>	cook
<i>sukup*</i>	to grow up, to be young
<i>taata</i>	there
<i>tani</i>	now, eventually
<i>tanto</i>	today
<i>tataki</i>	to beat, to strike
<i>tawke</i>	to cut
<i>tek*</i>	hand, paw
<i>temana</i>	how
<i>tenkorasi</i>	to hug
<i>tenkoro</i>	to hold in smō.'s arms
<i>tohkori</i>	cup
<i>tohseno</i>	to sleep deeply
<i>too</i>	day
<i>tup*</i>	two
<i>tuhse</i>	to jump
<i>tuhseka</i>	to kick, to launch
<i>tuhso</i>	cave
<i>tumi</i>	war, battle

<i>tura</i>	to accompany, together
<i>tusuu</i>	to perform a ritual
<i>tuyteh</i>	to fall off, to be cut
<i>ukoytak*</i>	conversation
<i>unci</i>	fire
<i>unu</i>	mother
<i>usii</i>	place
<i>utasa</i>	to visit
<i>uwepekere</i>	see <i>wepekere</i>
<i>uyna</i>	to take (PL)
<i>wakayki</i>	although
<i>wante</i>	to know
<i>wepekere</i>	story, tale, to tell
<i>wooneka</i>	to check sm.o.'s situation
<i>yap*</i>	to come/go ashore (PL)
<i>yaykara</i>	to turn oneself into sth.
<i>yaykotankoro</i>	to have o.self's house in
<i>yee</i>	to say

List of Glosses

The following list summarizes only the glosses used in Ainu language examples. For the glosses used in the examples from other languages please refer to the original work cited. For the sake of consistency and clarity throughout the volume, the glosses for Southern Hokkaidō Ainu examples have been adapted following the conventions employed in Dal Corso (2021). Please refer to Tamura (2000) for the original glosses used by the author, which may differ from the ones reported here.

0	epenthetic vowel
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
4	fourth person
ADV	adverb
AP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
CAU.FIN	causal-final linker
CAUS	causative
COLL	collective
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DIR.RSN	direct evidential (reasoning)

List of Glosses

FOC	focus particle
FUT	future
FP	final particle
INTN	intentional aspect
IP	impersonal
IPFV	imperfective aspect
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
O	object
P	plural possessor
PC	paucal verb form
PL	plural verb form
PO	plural object
POI	plural indirect object
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect aspect
PS	plural subject
PTV	partitive
S	subject
SLV	subject in light verb construction
SO	singular object
SOI	singular indirect object
SS	singular subject
TOP	topic marker
TR	transitivizer
VO	object verb in light verb construction

Bibliography

- Aikhenvald, A.Y. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alonso de la Fuente, J.A. (2012). *The Ainu Languages: Traditional Reconstruction, Eurasian Areal Linguistics, and Diachronic (Holistic) Typology* [PhD dissertation]. Universidad de País Vasco-Euskal Herriko Unibersitatea.
- Aoki, H. (1970). *Nez Perce Grammar*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press. University of California Publications in Linguistics 62.
- AM – Aoyama Mayumi 青山まゆみ (1987). *Kawakami Matsuno-san no Minwa (a) Densenbyō no Kami no Musuko to Netamu Ningentachi* 川上まつ子さんの民話 (ア) 伝染病の神の息子とねたむ人間たち (The Folklore of Kawakami Matsuno-san (a) The Disease God and the Envious Humans). <https://ainu-go.nam.go.jp/>.
- Asai Tooru 浅井亨 (1974). “Hōgen Bunrui ‘Ainugo Shohōgen no Kurasutā Bunsēki’ 方言分類「アイヌ語諸方言のクラスター分析」”. *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Daiichigō* 北方文化研究第一号 (Studies on the Cultures of the North no. 1). Sapporo: Hokkaidō University, 45-136.
- Baker, M.C. (1988). *Incorporation. A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bauer, L.; Valera, S. (2005). *Approaches to Conversion/Zero-Derivation*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Bickel, B.; Gaenszle, M. (2015). “First Person Objects, Antipassives, and the Political History of the Southern Kirant”. *Journal of East Asian Languages and Linguistics*, 2(1), 63-86.
- Bjørnum, S. (2012). *Grønlandsk Grammatik*. Forlaget Atuagkat.
- Borik, O.; Gehrke, B. (2015). *The Syntax and Semantics of Pseudo-Incorporation*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Bugaeva, A. (2004). *Grammar and Folklore Texts of the Chitose Dialect of Ainu (Idiolect of Ito Oda)*. Vol. A02-045 of *Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim*. Suita: Osaka Gakuin University.
-

- Bugaeva, A. (2010). "Ainu Applicatives in Typological Perspective". *Studies in Language*, 34(4), 749-801.
- Bugaeva, A. (2011). "A Diachronic Study of the Impersonal Passive in Ainu". Malchukov, A.; Siewierska, A. (eds), *Impersonal Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 517-46. *Studies in Language Companion Series* 124.
- Bugaeva, A. (2012). "Southern Hokkaidō Ainu". Tranter, N. (ed.), *The Languages of Japan and Korea*. London: Routledge, 461-99.
- Bugaeva, A. (2015). "Relative Clauses and Noun Complements in Ainu". Bugaeva, A.; Nagasaki, I. (eds), *Ainugo Kenkyū no Shomondai アイヌ語研究の諸問題 (The Many Problems of Ainu Studies)*. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā, 73-107.
- Bugaeva, A. (2016). "On the Innovative Nature of Sakhalin Ainu: Focusing on Nominalization". *Studia Orientalia*, 117, 95-117.
- Bugaeva, A. (2018). *Unspecified Participant: A Case of Antipassive in Ainu* [Unpublished draft – revision 5-12-2018].
- Butt, M. (2010). "The Light Verb Jungle: Still Hacking Away". Mengistu, A. et al. (eds), *Complex Predicates. Cross-Linguistic Perspectives on Event Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 48-78.
- Campbell, L. (2017). "Language Isolates and Their History". Campbell, L. (ed.), *Language Isolates*. London: Routledge, 1-18.
- Chung, S.; Ladusaw, W.A. (2004). *Restriction and Saturation*. Cambridge (MA): MIT University Press.
- Comrie, B. (1998). "Rethinking the Typology of Relative Clauses". *Language Design*, 1, 59-86.
- Crowley, T. (1982). *The Paamese Language of Vanuatu*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Dal Corso, E. (2018). *Ainu Evidentiality. A Semantico-Pragmatic Analysis and a Morphosyntactic Account* [PhD dissertation]. SOAS University of London.
- Dal Corso, E. (2020). "A Revision of the 'Auxiliaries' Class of Sakhalin Ainu: Data from the Pilsudski Corpora". Król, A.; Laskowska-Smoczyńska, W. (eds), *Bronisław Piłsudski. On The Centennial of His Death. Towards An Independent Homeland = Proceedings of the Conference* (Manggha Museum Kraków, 18-19 October 2018). Kraków: Muzeum Sztuki i Techniki Japońskiej Manggha: 227-47.
- Dal Corso, E. (2021). *The Language and Folklore of West Sakhalin Ainu. A Re-edition of Kyōko Murasaki's "Karafuto Ainugo" with Translation and Grammatical notes*. München: Lincom Publishing.
- Dal Corso, E. (forthcoming). "Some Insights on the Clause Linker *-teh* of Sakhalin Ainu Through a Consideration of Aspect". Ragagnin, E.; Khabtagaeva, B. (eds), *Endangered Languages of North Asia – Languages of Asia*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Dougherty, T. (2019). "Ainu". Campbell, L. (ed.), *Language Isolates*. London: Routledge, 100-16.
- Esposito, C.M.; Dowla Khan, S. (2012). "Contrastive Breathiness Across Consonants and Vowels: A Comparative Study of Gujarati and White Hmong". *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 42(2), 123-43.
- Evans, N. (2007). "Insubordination and Its Uses". Nikolaeva, I. (ed.), *Finiteness. Theoretical and Empirical Foundations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 366-431.

- Evans, N. (2009). "Insubordination and the Grammaticalisation of Interactive Presuppositions". Kikusawa, R. (ed.), *Methodologies in Determining Morphosyntactic Change*. Osaka Museum of Ethnography. <https://cites-erx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.574.8305&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
- Fujita-Round, S. (2019). "Bilingualism and Bilingual Education in Japan". Heinrich, P.; Ohara, Y. (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge, 170-83.
- Fukazawa, M. (2019). "Ainu Language and Ainu Speakers". Heinrich, P.; Ohara, Y. (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge, 3-24.
- Genetti, C. (ed.) (2014). *How Languages Work. An Introduction to Language and Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hemmings, C. (2013). "Causatives and Applicatives: The Case for Polysemy in Javanese". *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics*, 16, 167-94.
- Hoenigswald, H.M. (1960). *Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hoskison, J.T. (1983). *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Gude Language* [PhD dissertation]. Ohio State University.
- IH – Itō Hiromitsu 伊藤裕満 (1985). *Kawakami Matsuno-san no Minwa (a) Ootsumami o yochi shite mura o sukutta kitsunegami* 川上まつ子さんの民話 (ア) 大津波を予知して村を救ったキツネ神 (The Folklore of Kawakami Matsuno-san (a) The Fox God who Foresaw a Big Tsunami and Saved a Village). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- IH – Itō Hiromitsu (1986). *Kawakami Matsuno-san no Minwa (a) Wajin ni Natta Ani* 川上まつ子さんの民話 (ア) 和人になった兄 (The Folklore of Kawakami Matsuno-san (a) The Older Brother Who Became a Japanese). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- IH – Itō Hiromitsu (1987). *Kawakami Matsuno-san no Minwa (a) Obāchan to yamabudō* 川上まつ子さんの民話 (ア) おばあちゃんとヤマブドウ (The Folklore of Kawakami Matsuno-san (a) The Old Woman and the Amur Grape). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- Jacques, G.; Antonov, A. (2014). "Direct/Inverse Systems". *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 8(7), 301-18.
- Kayano Shigeru 萱野茂. *Ainugo-ainu Kōshō Bungei* アイヌ語・アイヌ口承文芸. (Ainu Language and Oral Literature). <http://www.town.birator-i.hokkaido.jp/biratori/nibutani/culture/language/story/>.
- Kindaichi Kyōsuke 金田一京助 (1931). *Ainu Jojishi Yūkara no Kenkyū 2* アイヌ叙事詩ユーカラの研究 2 (Studies of the Yukar Ainu Epic - Number 2). Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko.
- Kitahara, J.M. (2011). "Ainugo no Keishō no Genjō アイヌ語の継承の現状 (The Present Situation of Succession of the Ainu Language)". *Kikiteki na jōkyō ni aru gengo hōgen jittai ni kansuru chōsa kenkyū jigyō* 危機的な状況にある言語方言実態に関する調査研究事業 (Survey Research Works Relative to the Actual Situation of Languages and Dialects in a State of Endangerment). Tōkyō: NINJAL, 91-7.
- Kitahara, J.M. (2012). "Aynu Itah Eyaycaakasno (Learning the Ainu Language)". *Kotoba to Shakai 14* 言葉と社会 14 (Language and Society 14), 276-304.
- Ladefoged, P.; Maddieson, I. (1996). *Sounds of the World's Languages*. Oxford; Cambridge (MA): Blackwell Publishers.

- Lawal, N.S. (1987). "Yoruba Relativisation and the Continuous Segment Principle". *Studies in African Linguistics*, 18(1), 67-79.
- Lieber, R. (2005). "Word Formation Processes in English". Štekauer, P.; Lieber, R. (eds), *Handbook of Word-Formation*. New York: Springer, 375-427.
- Mithun, M. (1985). "The Evolution of Noun Incorporation". *Language*, 60(4), 847-94.
- Miyaoka, O. (2012). *A Grammar of Central Alaskan Yupik*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Modena, F.; Muro, A. (2009). "Noun Incorporation, Relative Clauses and Their Interactions in Polysynthetic Languages". *Padua Working Papers in Linguistics*, 3, 29-69.
- Morris-Suzuki, T. (1988). *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*. Armonk (NY); London: M.E. Sharpe.
- Murasaki Kyōko 村崎恭子 (1976). *Karafuto Ainugo – Shiryō* カラフトアイヌ語: 資料 (Karafuto Ainu – Materials). Tōkyō: Kokushokan Kōkai.
- Murasaki Kyōko (1979). *Karafuto Ainugo – Bunpō* カラフトアイヌ語: 文法編 (Karafuto Ainu – Grammar). Tōkyō: Kokushokan Kōkai.
- Murasaki Kyōko (1989). *Karafuto Ainugo Kōshō Shiryō* 樺太アイヌ語口承資料 (Traditional Materials of Karafuto Ainu). Sapporo: Hokkaidō Daigaku Gengo Bunkabu.
- Murasaki Kyōko (2001). *Karafuto Ainu Mukashibanashi – Asai Take kōjutsu* 樺太アイヌの昔話: 浅井タケ口述 (Folklore of the Ainu of Karafuto – Dictated by Asai Take). Tōkyō: Sōfūkan.
- Muro, A. (2009). *Noun Incorporation. A New Theoretical Perspective* [PhD dissertation]. Padua University.
- Nakagawa Hiroshi 中川裕 (2001). "Ainugo Kōshō Bungei Tekisutoshū 2, Shirazawa Nabe Kōjutsu: Shujin o Tasukerarenakatta Inu アイヌ語口承文芸テキスト集2、白沢なべ口述: 主人を助けられなかった犬 (Collection of Texts of the Ainu oral Literature 2, the Tradition of Shirazawa Nabe: The Dog by which the Master Was Not Helped)". *Chiba daigaku Yūrashia gengo bunka ronshū* 千葉大学ユーラシア言語文化論集 (University of Chiba's Essays on the Languages and Culture of Eurasia), 4, 77-94.
- Nedjalkov, V.P.; Otaina, G.A. (2012). *A Syntax of the Nivkh Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Neiloufar Family (2014). "Light Verb Constructions in Persian". Neiloufar family (eds), *Brill's Studies in South and Southwest Asian Languages*, vol 6: *Semantic Spaces of Persian Light Verbs. A Constructionist Account*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 25-56.
- Okazaki, T. (2019). "Ainu Language Shift". Heinrich, P.; Ohara, Y. (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge, 354-69.
- Okuda Osami 奥田統己 (2010). "Ainugo Shiryō no Hozon to Katsuyō アイヌ語資料の保存と活用 (Preservation and Use of Ainu Language Materials)". *Kokubungaku Kaishaku to Kanshō* 国文学解釈と鑑賞 (Interpretation and Appreciation of National Literature), 75(1), 44-8.
- Olson, K.S.; Schultz, P.H. (2002). "Can [Sonorant] Spread?". *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session*, 46. <https://doi.org/10.31356/silwp.vol46.01>.
- OS – Orita Suteno 織田ステノ (1977). *Orita Suteno-san no Minwa (a) Kuma no Yashū o Satchi Shita Ishikari no Yūki Aru Suemusume* 織田ステノさんの民話(ア)クマの夜襲を察知した石狩の勇気ある末娘 (The Folklore of Orita Sute-

- no-san (a) The Brave Younger Sister of Ishikari Who Foresaw the Night Attack of a Bear). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- OS – Orita Suteno (1979). *Orita Suteno-san no Minwa (a) Inu no Kamisama kara no Suzukarimono* 織田ステノさんの民話(ア)犬の神様からの授かり物 (The Folklore of Orita Suteno-san (a) The Gift from the Dog God). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- OS – Orita Suteno (1980). *Orita Suteno-san no Minwa (a) Seppa ka Torimotta Fuchi* 織田ステノさんの民話(ア)切羽が取り持った縁 (The Folklore of Orita Suteno-san (a) The Hem that Fitted the Trimming). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- OS – Orita Suteno (1981). *Orita Suteno-san no Minwa (a) Panaunpe to Haruni-re no Ki* 織田ステノさんの民話(ア) パナウンペとハルニレの木 (The Folklore of Orita Suteno-san (a) Panaunpe and the Elm Tree). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- OS – Orita Suteno (1988). *Orita Suteno-san no Minwa (a) Warui Ane ni Korosaresō ni Natta ga Taki no Kami ni Tasukerareta Musume* 織田ステノさんの民話(ア) 悪い姉に殺されそうになったが滝の神に助けられた娘 (The Folklore of Orita Suteno-san (a) The Young Girl who Was Almost Killed by her Evil Elder Sister but Was Saved by the God of the Fall). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- Payne, T. (2006). *Exploring Language Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pilsudski, B. (1912). *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*. Cracow: Imperial Academy of Sciences.
- Refsing, K. (1986). *The Ainu Language. The Morphology and Syntax of the Shizunai Dialect*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Satō Tomomi 佐藤知己 (1995). “Ainugo no Judōbun ni Kansuru Ichi Kōsaku アイヌ語の受動文に関する一考察 (One Consideration on the Passive Clause of Ainu)”. *Hokudai bungakubu kiyō* 北大文学部紀要 (Collection of Essays of the Department of Literature of the Hokkaidō University), 44(1), 1-17.
- Satō Tomomi (2008). *Ainugo Bunpō no Kiso* アイヌ語文法の基礎 (Fundamentals of Ainu Grammar). Tōkyō: Daigakushorin.
- Satō Tomomi (2015). “Ainugo no Gōseigo no Akusento Kisoku to sono Reigai ni tsuite アイヌ語の合成語のアクセント規則とその例外について (About the Stress Rules of Incorporated Words of Ainu and Their Exceptions)”. Bugaeva, A.; Nagasaki, I. (eds), *Ainugo Kenkyū no Shomondai* アイヌ語研究の諸問題 (The Many Problems of Ainu Studies). Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā, 1-13.
- Satō, T.; Bugaeva, A. (2019). “The Study of Old Documents of Hokkaidō and Kuril Ainu: Promise and Challenges”. *Hoppō gengo kenkyū* 北方言語研究 (Linguistic Research of the North), 9, 67-93.
- Sawai, H. (1998). “The Present Situation of the Ainu Language”. Matsumura, K. (ed.), *Studies in Endangered Languages*. Tōkyō: Hitsuji Shobō, 177-89.
- Soderberg, C.; Ashley, S.A.; Olson, K.S. (2012). “Tausug (Suluk)”. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 42(3), 361-4.
- Tamura, S. (1970). “Personal Affixes in the Saru Dialect of Ainu”. Hattori, S.; Jakobson, R.; Kawamoto, S. (eds), *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics: Presented to Shirō Hattori on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Tōkyō: TEC, 577-611.
- Tamura Suzuko 田村すず子 (1984). *Ainugo Onsei Shiryō 1* アイヌ語音声資料 1 (Sound Materials of the Ainu Language 1). <https://bit.ly/3usuLM2>.

- Tamura Suzuki (1985). *Ainugo Onsei Shiryō 2* アイヌ語音声資料2 (Sound Materials of the Ainu Language 2). <https://bit.ly/3usu1M2>.
- Tamura, S. (2000). *The Ainu Language*. Tōkyō: Sanseido Co.
- Tamura Suzuki [1973] (2001). “Ainugo Saru Hōgen no Gōsei Dōshi no Kōzō アイヌ語沙流方言の合成動詞の構造 (The Structure of Complete Verbs in the Saru Dialect of Ainu)”. *Ainugokō 4* アイヌ語考4. Tōkyō: Yumani Shobō, 99-120. Thoughts on the Ainu Language 4.
- Tangiku, I. (2019). “Ainu itak amososo kuni asir rir (The New Trends of Ainu Revitalisation)”. *Kotoba to Shakai* 言葉と社会 (Language and Society), 20, 164-83.
- UK – Uchida Kōichi 内田祐一 (1986). *Kawakami Matsuno-san no Minwa (a) Poroshiri Dake no Kami no Numa* 川上まつ子さんの民話 (7) ポロシリ岳の神の沼 (The Folklore of Kawakami Matsuno-san (a) The Swamps of the God of the Poroshiri Mount). <https://ainugo.nam.go.jp/>.
- van Lambalgen, M.; Hamm, F. (2005). *The Proper Treatment of Events. Explorations in Semantics*, vol. 4. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press.
- Vovin, A. (1993). *A Reconstruction of Proto-Ainu*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Warnow, T. (1996). “Mathematical Approaches to Comparative Linguistics”. *IRCS Technical Report Series*, 11, 1-16.
- Watters, J.K. (2017). “Tlachichilco Tepehua – Semantics and Function of Verb Valency Change”. Álvarez Gonzáles, A.; Navarro, Í. (eds), *Verb Valency Changes. Theoretical and Typological Perspectives*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 165-92.
- Yap, F.H.; Grunow-Härsta, K.; Wrona, J. (eds) (2011). *Nominalization in Asian Languages. Diachronic and Typological Perspectives*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Ca' Foscari Japanese Studies

1. Mariotti, Marcella; Miyake, Toshio; Revelant, Andrea (eds) (2014). *Rethinking Nature in Contemporary Japan: Science, Economics, Politics*. History and Society 1.
2. Miyake, Toshio (a cura di) (2014). *Mostri del Giappone. Narrative, figure, egemonie della dis-locazione identitaria*. Religion and Thought 1.
3. Calvetti, Paolo; Mariotti, Marcella (eds) (2015). *Contemporary Japan: Challenges for a World Economic Power in Transition*.
4. Moro, Daniela (2015). *Writing Behind the Scenes: Stage and Gender in Enchi Fumiko's Works*. Arts and Literature 1.
5. Mariotti, Marcella; Nobuo, Kazashi (eds) (2017). *New Steps in Japanese Studies: Kobe University Joint Research*.
6. De Antoni, Andrea; Raveri, Massimo (eds) (2017). *Death and Desire in Contemporary Japan: Representing, Practicing, Performing*. Religion and Thought 2.
7. Ruperti, Bonaventura; Vesco, Silvia; Negri, Carolina (eds) (2017). *Rethinking Nature in Japan: From Tradition to Modernity*. Arts and Literature 2.
8. Bulian, Giovanni; Nakano, Yasushi (eds) (2018). *Small-scale Fisheries in Japan: Environmental and Socio-cultural Perspectives*. History and Society 2.
9. Favi, Sonia (2018). *Self Through the Other: Production, Circulation and Reception in Italy of Sixteenth-Century Printed Sources on Japan*. Arts and Literature 3.
10. Mariotti, Marcella; Novielli, Roberta; Ruperti, Bonaventura; Vesco, Silvia (eds) (2018). *Rethinking Nature in Post-Fukushima Japan: Facing the Crisis*. Arts and Literature 4.
11. Berndt, Enno (2018). *J-Economy, J-Corporation and J-Power since 1990: From Mutual Gain to Neoliberal Redistribution*. History and Society 3.
12. Rivadossi, Silvia (2020). *Sciamani urbani. Rintracciando un nuovo discorso nel Giappone contemporaneo*. Religion and Thought 3.
13. Pappalardo, Giuseppe; Heinrich, Patrick (eds) (2020). *European Approaches to Japanese Language and Linguistics*. Linguistics and Language Education 1.
14. Bulian, Giovanni; Rivadossi, Silvia (eds) (2021). *Itineraries of an Anthropologist. Studies in Honour of Massimo Raveri*. Religion and Thought 4.

Per acquistare | To purchase:
<https://fondazionecafoscari.storeden.com/shop>

15. Negri, Carolina (2021). *Tra corte, casa e monastero. La vita di una donna nel Giappone del Medioevo*. Arts and Literature 5.
16. Mantelli, Alessandro (2021). *E-learning sostenibile per la didattica del giapponese. Progettare per l'apprendimento autonomo*. Linguistics and Language Education 2.
17. Novielli, Maria Roberta; Ruperti, Bonaventura; Vesco, Silvia (eds) (2021). *Italy-Japan. Dialogues on Food*.

This volume is intended to be a practical manual to learn the basics of the Ainu language, in its varieties of Southern Hokkaidō and Sakhalin. Thanks to its bottom-up approach and to the activities presented following a growing level of difficulty, this manual is suited for students even superficially trained in general linguistics as well as for the experienced linguist with no previous knowledge of the Ainu language. Through the selected language examples, the reader can also appreciate the regional differences of Ainu and have a glimpse into the Ainu folklore tradition.

Elia Dal Corso is a research grant holder and an adjunct professor in Japanese language and Ainu language at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. His research focuses primarily on the Sakhalin variety of Ainu and his specific interests include argument structure, the tense-aspect-mood-evidentiality category, and verb syntax and semantics more generally. He is the author of *The Language and Folklore of West Sakhalin Ainu – A Re-edition of Kyōko Murasaki's 'Karafuto Ainugo' with Translation and Grammatical Notes* (Lincom Publishing, 2021).



Università
Ca'Foscari
Venezia

