Elements of Sakhalin Ainu Phonetics, Phonology, and Morphosyntax in Bronisław Piłsudski's Corpus of Ainu Folklore

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Abstract   In this paper the author focuses on a number of linguistic features of East Sakhalin Ainu dialects. The language data for this study comes from a collection of traditional Ainu folklore elicited in 1903-04 and published as *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore* by Bronisław Piłsudski in 1912. The observations on phonetics, phonology, and morphosyntax will be discussed in light of more recent data coming from West Sakhalin Ainu dialects collected in the 1960s-1970s. This will allow for a brief consideration of the dialectal differences occurring between the two dialect subgroups as well as of the possible path of language development that took place during the 60-70 years that separate the two sources. The aim of the author is to highlight how a thorough descriptive work on old sources of an indigenous, minority language like Ainu can give to East Asian historical linguistics and to linguistic typology more generally.

Keywords   Ainu language. Ainu folklore. Bronisław Piłsudski. West Sakhalin Ainu dialects. Historical linguistics.

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1   Introduction

This paper gives an overview of a number of grammatical features characteristic of the eastern dialect subgroup of Sakhalin Ainu, an isolate autochthonous of Russia. The main reference for this study is the corpus of 27 folktales of the Sakhalin Ainu oral tradition collected by the Polish ethnographer and linguist Bronisław Piłsudski in 1903-04 during the final years of his second stay on Sakhalin, which were published in 1912 as *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore* (abbreviated as *Materials…* henceforth). As I will reiterate below, the *Materials…* are a priceless resource for Ainu studies because they represent one of the few documentation works ever carried out on the Sakhalin variety of Ainu, which went extinct at the end of the twentieth century. Furthermore, the 27 folktales that constitute the corpus were elicited from first-language native speakers who, for the most part, were completely monolingual. Therefore, the texts in Piłsudski's corpus illustrate a stage of Ainu when the language had little to no influence from the prestige languages of the colonizers (i.e. Japanese and Russian). The *Materials…* are today easily accessible and a detailed philological account of their earliest redactions which eventually led to their publication is given in Majewicz (1998a), but the folktales therein still await to be fully analyzed linguistically. While providing a detailed analysis of even one specific feature of the Sakhalin Ainu language depicted in Piłsudski's *Materials…* falls far beyond the scope of this paper, it is still possible to hint to the valuable grammatical information contained in the texts by focusing on a number of language behaviors that appear striking when compared against more recent data and descriptions available for western dialects of Sakhalin Ainu (Murasaki 1976; 1979; Dal Corso 2021a). Therefore, by taking into brief consideration the phonetics, phonology, and morphosyntax of East Sakhalin Ainu, I highlight the importance of Piłsudski's documentation work for the diachronic and synchronic study of Sakhalin Ainu and of the Ainu language as a whole. The main aim of this paper is to underline the contribution that a thorough descriptive work on old sources of an indigenous, minority language like Ainu can contribute to East Asian historical linguistics and to linguistic typology more generally.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides some generalities and typological information on Sakhalin Ainu, while Section 3 introduces Piłsudski's *Materials…* and the West Sakhalin Ainu sources to which I refer for comparison. Section 4 is dedicated to the discussion of peculiar features of East Sakhalin Ainu pertaining to phonetics (phonemic inventory and phonotactics, Section 4.1), phonology (phonological processes, Section 4.2), and morphosyntax (verbal transitive agreement and the verbal prefixes *e-*, *ko-*, and *yay-*, Sections 4.3 and 4.4). The peculiarities concerning these areas of the

East Sakhalin grammar will be briefly compared with language data coming from West Sakhalin Ainu in order to highlight possible dialectal differences or traces of a diachronic development of the language. Section 5 concludes.

2 The Sakhalin Ainu Language

The Ainu language shows great dialectal variation. The language has three main varieties that are defined geographically and correspond to the language once spoken on Hokkaidō,[1] Sakhalin, and the Northern Kuril Islands. Of these three varieties only Hokkaidō Ainu survives today in some of its southern and central-eastern dialects which are all regarded as critically endangered. Both the Sakhalin and Kuril varieties are extinct.[2] On the basis of variations in the lexicon, we can distinguish the dialect groups illustrated in the map in Figure 1 (Hattori, Chiri 1960; Asai 1974). Figure 2 shows a map with the location of the Ainu villages along the Sakhalin east coast where Piłsudski collected the texts that I examine in this study. The settlements of Rayciska and Maoka also appear in the map – these were the native villages of the two consultants who provided the language data for West Sakhalin Ainu collected by Murasaki (1976), which constitute the basis for the only language descriptions available for Sakhalin Ainu (Murasaki 1979; Dal Corso 2021a).

The canonical word order in intransitive and transitive clauses of Sakhalin Ainu is sv and aov respectively. Sakhalin Ainu is a polysynthetic, agglutinating language, it is strongly head-marking and right-headed with a rich but largely non-productive morphology. There is no grammatical agreement of gender while number may be non-obligatorily distinguished on nouns and verbs by dedicated morphology

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[1] The Hokkaidō variety extended also outside of the main island to Matomai, Shikotan, Iturup, and Kunashir – the four southernmost islands of the Kuril chain where a most probably distinct dialect of the variety was spoken. It is reported already in XVIII century travelogs, among which Krasheninnikov (1755) that the language spoken on these islands was hardly comprehensible to the Ainu living on Paramushir and Onekotan – two of the northernmost islands on the opposite end of the chain. On the basis of linguistic evidence coming from a Kuril Ainu glossary later collected by captain Vasily Mikhaylovich Golovnin in 1811, Bugaeva and Satō (2021) argue that Northern Kuril Ainu and Southern Kuril Ainu were in fact two distinct dialects of a separate Kuril Ainu variety.

[2] Although its last native speaker died in 1994 (Murasaki 2001, 2), Sakhalin Ainu is still presently spoken and it is the target of the tireless revitalization efforts of today's Ainu community in Japan, with one of the main activists involved being Kitahara Jirōta Mokottunas (see Section 3). In today's revival movement, the Sakhalin Ainu language is also referred to as *Enciw'itah* 'language of the Enciw', a glossonym that makes use of the historical Sakhalin Ainu autonym *enciw*, meaning 'human being'. This distinguishes Sakhalin Ainu from Hokkaidō Ainu, which is referred to by its speakers as *Aynu itak* 'Ainu language' or *Akor itak* 'our language'.
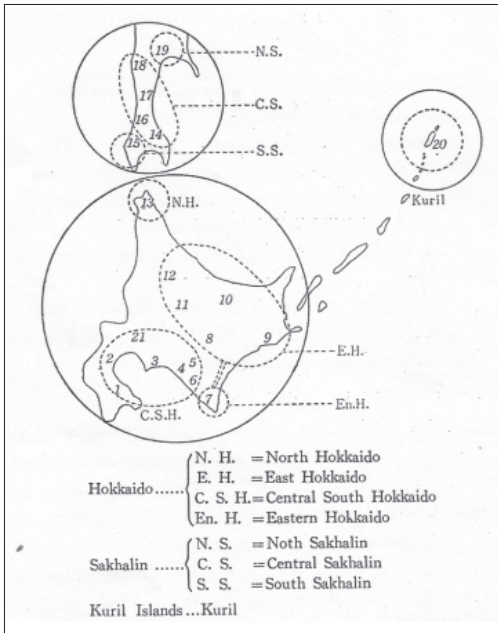
Figure 1 Ainu dialects (Asai 1974, 100)

Figure 2 Ainu settlements on the Sakhalin east coast

or via morphosyntactic processes (e.g. verb stem reduplication). Verbal morphology shows a number of morphemes dedicated to encoding applicative, causative, antipassive and other valency-changing strategies. There is no formal marking for tense, but the language displays synthetic and analytic constructions to mark mood, aspect, and evidentiality of the predicate (Chiri [1942] 1973; Murasaki 1979; Dal Corso 2021a).

3 Piłsudski's *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore* (1912) and West Sakhalin Ainu Sources

Bronisław Piotr Piłsudski (Zułów (present day Zalavas) 1866 – Paris 1918) was a Polish ethnographer and linguist. After being sentenced to 15 years of penal labor on Sakhalin in 1887 for his alleged participation in a failed assassination attack against the Tsar Alexander III, he came in touch with the Ainu population of the island. Between 1896 and 1905 Piłsudski carried out extensive research on the language and traditions of various Ainu communities that inhabited the east coast of Sakhalin. His inquisitive nature and the fact that he

could mediate with Russian people on their behalf helped Piłsudski befriend the Ainu and, with time, he gained enough knowledge of the Sakhalin Ainu language to be able to discuss its lexicon and structure in a critical way.

Piłsudski elicited language data from the Ainu of Sakhalin in a period of less than ten years before the outburst of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, an event that irremediably affected all future possibilities for Russian citizens to conduct research on the Ainu communities living on Sakhalin and, more importantly, the very lifestyle of those communities and the vitality of the language they spoke. After Japan's victory over Russia, the territories of Sakhalin island south of the 50th parallel were ceded to the Japanese who re-named them 'Karafuto'.[3] In the course of World War One, the imperialist government of Tōkyō intensified the progressive japanization of cultural and ethnic minorities, among which the Ainu, that had been started during the Meiji period (1868-1912). One act of Japan's assimilation policies was to discourage the Ainu from using their native language and to force them to take on a Japanese lifestyle. After World War Two and Japan's defeat in the conflict, Allied Forces decided for Karafuto to be given back to Russia, together with other territories facing the Okhotsk sea over which Japan had taken control. Since by that time the Ainu living on Karafuto had been granted Japanese citizenship (primarily to further legitimate Japan's presence on the island), the transfer of the territories to Russia resulted in the forced relocation of a large number of Sakhalin Ainu to Hokkaidō or elsewhere in Japan. Only a small part of them decided to live in Russia instead, where they were assimilated culturally and linguistically.

Relocation played a decisive role in the steady decline of Ainu traditions and linguistic vitality that had been set in motion by Japan's assimilation policies. The few Sakhalin Ainu who still practiced a traditional Ainu lifestyle could not continue to do so in a territory that was geographically so different from their native Sakhalin. Having their lifestyle become unsustainable, they had to leave it behind in favor of the Japanese way of living. Continuous prejudice and oppression towards them through the decades following the war also pushed the Ainu to abandon their language, which, in the case of Sakhalin Ainu, ceased to be actively passed on to new generations already during the first half of the twentieth century. Despite the critical situation, documentation of Sakhalin Ainu was still possible from the 1940s until the 1980s thanks to the last surviving native speakers of the language. The most notable outcomes of these documentation efforts are the collections of folklore texts and vocabulary recorded by Wada Bunjirō

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3 Still today it is common in Japanese academia to refer to the Sakhalin variety of the Ainu language as 樺太アイヌ語 *Karafuto ainugo* (Karafuto Ainu language).

from a speaker of the Usoro dialect,[4] the corpus of folklore texts elicited from Asai Take who was also a speaker of the Rayciska dialect (Murasaki 2001), and the corpus of folklore texts and conversations elicited from Fujiyama Haru and Ōta Yuk, speakers of the Rayciska and Maoka dialects respectively (originally published in Murasaki 1976 and re-edited in Dal Corso 2021a). This latter corpus specifically contains the language data that will serve as a comparison for the observations on East Sakhalin Ainu in Section 4. All these works document different dialects of the Sakhalin West coast and, as such, represent a priceless resource on this Sakhalin Ainu dialect group. It was after the death of the last native speaker, Asai Take from Odasu (Otasuh 顎, now Parusnoe), in 1994 that Sakhalin Ainu was declared extinct.

Piłsudski recorded the language of different Ainu communities on the Sakhalin east coast at a time when Ainu was still used as the everyday means of communication by native (and in most cases monolingual) speakers. Indeed we must account for possible imprecisions in the texts that have reached us through Piłsudski's transcription, mainly due to the elicitation method he employed (see below). Nonetheless, the collected data depict a stage in the history of East Sakhalin Ainu when the language had little to no sustained contact with a main or prestige language such as Russian or Japanese and bilingualism was almost absent – a scenario that has rarely re-presented itself in following documentation efforts for any Ainu dialect or variety. Furthermore, given that all other substantial documentation work on the Sakhalin variety has been carried out on West Sakhalin Ainu, as mentioned above, the materials gathered by Piłsudski constitute our only considerable linguistic resource on Eastern dialects, which exhibit grammatical characteristics unfound in Western dialects. Therefore, the value of Piłsudski's work for the study of the Ainu language as a whole cannot be overstated.

Piłsudski (1912) contains twenty-seven *ucaskuma* (folktales) collected in the Ainu settlements of Tarayka, Tunayci, Ay, and Hunup. The first two texts in the collection are presented with a line-by-line English translation on the side and a literary translation also in English at the end. All remaining *ucaskuma* have no interlinear translation but are followed only by a literary translation in English. After the translation of each text, Piłsudski provides a large number of notes on syntax, semantics, lexicon, and the Ainu culture especially for those passages that would be hardly intelligible to the unacquainted European reader. Ainu speakers are briefly introduced at the beginning of the note section the first time they appear as the language informant of

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4 Kitahara 2013; 2014; 2016; 2017; 2019.

a text. All texts in the collection were elicited through dictation[5] and, as Piłsudski (1912, IX) himself asserts, eliciting folktales from his informants with this method was the most efficient way for him to get more and more familiar with the language in the first place. Part of the total 350 texts collected on Sakhalin (most of which still unpublished today) was also recorded on phonographic wax cylinders, the majority of which unfortunately have deteriorated to the point that the audio track can no longer be reproduced.[6] Although Piłsudski was indubitably a careful transcriber and could very well discern a fluent speaker from a less skilled one, the method of eliciting through dictation has a number of (at least partially) inevitable pitfalls. Dictation is a slow process which in most cases forces an informant to interrupt in mid-narration or to repeat some passages in order to allow the transcriber to correctly report what is being said. Piłsudski (1912, 102) himself notices that this can very easily compromise the quality of narrative style and, ultimately, that of the linguistic data obtained. When conducting whatever kind of linguistic analysis on Piłsudski's corpora it is, therefore, important to consider that this method of elicitation may have influenced the quality of the data we analyze and, despite Piłsudski's meticulous editing work, we must account for possible incongruences, like unexpected syntax and other cases of 'broken' Ainu.

4 Grammatical Features of East Sakhalin Ainu Dialects

4.1 Phonemic Inventory and Phonotactics

Although there are no audio recordings available for the *Materials…*, we luckily can rely on the accurate close-phonetic transcription of Piłsudski and on his detailed explanation of the orthographic conventions employed in the redaction of the corpus. The *Materials…* thus become a valuable resource for investigation on phonetics and phonology, albeit with all due reservations on Piłsudski's listening skills (see my comment on the glottal stop below).

The phonemic inventory of East Sakhalin Ainu counts five vowel phonemes /a/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /i/, /u/, which Piłsudski represents in orthography as *a*, *e*, *o*, *i*, *u*, and eleven consonant phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/, /t͡ɕ/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /v/, /h/, /ɾ/, /j/ represented in the orthography by *p*, *t*, *k*,

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5 He used the same collection method during his stay with the Nivkh of Northern Sakhalin.

6 For further discussion on Piłsudski's recordings on wax cylinders and the most recent laser technology that allowed to restore the audio from them see, among others, Murasaki 2013.

ć, *m*, *n*, *s*, *v*, *h*, *r*, *j*. Absent from the East Sakhalin Ainu inventory is the glottal stop /ʔ/, which is provisionally included in the phonemic inventory of West Sakhalin Ainu as a phoneme in free variation (Dal Corso 2021a, 23-4). Since the works of Hattori and Tamura in the 1950s, the glottal stop is marked with an apostrophe in Latin-script based transcriptions of Ainu (thus for instance *ʼaynu* to represent /ʔajnu/) but, for the sake of readability, it has become conventional not to mark it in texts. If in recent publications not writing glottal stops in non-ambiguous cases is only a matter of conventions, Piłsudski (1912) does not mention this sound at all. Given that the glottal stop seems to be a phonetic feature common to all Hokkaidō dialects and also to West Sakhalin dialects, it is at least odd that none of the East Sakhalin dialects surveyed by Piłsudski is said to have it. A possibility is that Piłsudski's 'Slav ear', as he himself defines it, is at fault in this instance and that glottal stops, though present, are never reported simply because they were not heard. That is, it is impossible to ascertain the presence of the glottal stop in East Sakhalin Ainu.

4.1.1 Vowels

In East Sakhalin Ainu, *e* and *o* are said to represent the two open-mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ (Piłsudski 1912, 1). The quality of mid vowels of East Sakhalin Ainu contrasts sharply with that of the West Sakhalin *e* and *o*, which only correspond to the close-mid sounds /e/ and /o/. Piłsudski reports that, in unaccented syllables, the pronunciation of *e* and *o* tends to be 'narrowed' while that of *i* and *u* tends to be 'more open', with *e* and *i*, on the one hand, and *o* and *u*, on the other, becoming hardly distinguishable in many instances. From this explanation, I infer that *e* and *o* might have as possible allophones the close-mid [e] and [o] respectively, while *i* and *u* might have [ɪ] and [ʊ] as their respective allophones. This change in vocalic height is almost never attested in the folktales elicited from speakers of the Hunup and Tarayka dialects, but it appears quite commonly in the Ay and Tunayci dialects. In such instances, lowered *i* and *u* are transliterated as *e* and *o* while raised *e* and *o* are left unaltered in orthography, with no suprasegmental indicating the change. In contrast, [ɨ] deriving from rising and centralization of /e/ is overtly signaled in orthography, as *y*. The allophone [ɨ] is found in the environment nd_# and, more precisely, this realization concerns the *e* in the causative suffix *-te* (where voicing of /t/ into [ʈ] is triggered by the preceding nasal) – e.g. *ćivénd**y** [t͡ɕivɛnʈɨ] < ciwen-te* 'was destroyed'. The realization as [ɨ] is inferred from Piłsudski's (1912, 2) description of the sound as "akin to the Russian ы".

4.1.2   Plosives

Plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/ are always voiceless word-initially – e.g. **poro** [pɔɾɔ] < *poro* 'to be big'. Voicing of plosives in intervocalic position is most common for all three phonemes, in contrast to what is observed in West Sakhalin Ainu where voicing is never attested for /p/ and remains a rare phenomenon even for /t/ and /k/ (Dal Corso 2021a, 26).[7] Voicing of plosives is also attested after the approximant /j/ in East Sakhalin Ainu. As Piłsudski (1912, 4) notes, the pronunciation of plosives in the two environments V_V and C$_{approx.\_}$V is not exactly that of their voiced counterparts [b], [d], and [g], but rather it "wavers between the [voiceless] and [voiced] group". From this, I infer the allophones [p̬], [t̬], and [k̬]. Free variation of voiceless and voiced plosives is a common trait of the Ainu language since, as far as we know, in all its varieties and dialects the voicing opposition is not distinctive. Voicing, normally not rendered in modern transliterations, is evidenced in Piłsudski's corpus via the use of *b*, *d*, and *g* in orthography – e.g. *pájgara* [pajk̬aɾa] < *paykara* 'spring'. Voicing of plosives is otherwise possible, but not systematic, in the environment C$_{nasal\_}$, which is not attested in West Sakhalin Ainu – e.g. *ćivéndy* [t͡ɕivɛnt̬i] < *ciwente* 'was destroyed'.

Palatalization, marked in orthography by a diacritic ´ of /p/ and /k/ (but not /t/) and of the voiced allophones [p̬] and [k̬] is also reported (Piłsudski 1912, 4-5) – e.g. *emújke* [ɛmujk̬ʲɛ] < *emuyke* 'all', *tambe* [tamp̬ʲɛ] < *tanpe* 'this thing'; palatalization is systematic for /k/ in the environment _ɛ. Finally, palatalization seems to show a correlation with voicing in the environment C$_{nasal\_}$ɛ – compare *tambe* [tamp̬ʲɛ] < *tanpe* 'this thing' and *ámpene* [ampɛnɛ] 'really'. Forms such as the adverb *ampene* or the topic marker *neampe*, where palatalization of the plosive is missing, diachronically contain the same dependent noun *-pe* 'thing' found in *tanpe* and therefore the lack of palatalization could be accounted for by lexicalization. Palatalization is not attested in West Sakhalin Ainu.

Plosives are not allowed word-finally. In West Sakhalin Ainu, plosives in this position are systematically debuccalized. In East Sakhalin Ainu, these sounds are normally never noted in the transcription – thus e.g. *pate* [patɛ] < *pate* (for intended *pateh*, underlying form *patek**)[8] 'only', cf. West Sakhalin Ainu *pateh* [pateh], same meaning.

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[7]   However, it is interesting how Piłsudski (1912, 4) asserts that voicing of plosive is much more common in Western Sakhalin, quite contrarily to what is reported in Dal Corso. It might be that contact with Japanese was among the causes of the absence of this trait of plosives that stands out in the more recent West Sakhalin Ainu data collected by Murasaki.

[8]   Here I employ an asterisk to mark the underlying phonological form of words. This symbol should not be taken as indicating a reconstructed form as it is conventional in historical linguistics.

This orthographic peculiarity is most likely to be ascribed to the fact that debuccalized plosives (or plosives with no audible release, as they are reported to be in some Sakhalin dialects (Tangiku 2022, 331)) are difficult to perceive and, therefore, are easily left out in the transcription. The underlying word-final plosive surfaces if the word is followed by a bound morpheme beginning with a vowel. Though more rarely than elision, debuccalization may be present word-finally also in East Sakhalin dialects. This happens between words in the environments $V_1\_V_1$ and $\_C_{plosive}$ – e.g. *na**x** án* [nax an] < *nah an* 'to be so', *ita**x** ki* [itax ki] < *itah ki* 'to make a speech', where *nah* and *itah* have underlying forms *nak** and *itak**. In both cases, debuccalized plosives are realized as [x]. In particular, debuccalization in the case of *nax án* may be indicative of the presence of a glottal stop (i.e. *'an*), but all other analogous cases should be taken into account to determine how this phoneme is distributed in East Sakhalin Ainu. Besides being common at morpheme boundary, debuccalization is possible also word-internally but only in the environment $\_C_{plosive}$ – e.g. *júf́ke* [juɸkʲe] < *yuh-ke* 'to be strong', where [x] is further realized as [ɸ] under account of the preceding /u/ (cf. *yupu* 'to fasten', which shares with *yuhke* the same root *yup* featuring /p/ in a V_V environment).

4.1.3   Nasals

East Sakhalin Ainu dialects have the two nasals /n/ and /m/. While /m/ does not undergo any specific phonotactic change, Piłsudski (1912, 5) reports for /n/ the allophones [ŋ], rarely encountered, and [ɲ], which is found in the environments _# and _ε – e.g. *etunńe* [ɛtunɲɛ] < *etunne* 'to do not want'. This allophone is rendered in orthography as *ń*. Orthography does not make it clear whether in a word like *etunne* the palatalization of [ɲ] is transferred also on the /n/ preceding it, thus giving [ɲː].

4.1.4   Fricatives

The phoneme /s/ is represented as *s*. This phoneme has an allophone which, from Piłsudski's (1912, 5) description, corresponds to the alveolo-palatal fricative [ɕ], also present in West Sakhalin Ainu, and rendered by Piłsudski as *ś*. The allophone [ɕ] occurs systematically before and after /i/ word-initially, word-finally, and word-internally – e.g. *śine* [ɕinɛ] < *sine* 'one', *eoćiś* [ɛɔt͡ɕiɕ] < *eocis* 'to feel resentful for', *iśo* [iɕɔ] < *iso* 'bear'. It is also present in the environments i$\_C_{plosive}$ and _n – e.g. *húśko* < *husko* [huɕkɔ] 'to be old', which is a regular change

in West Sakhalin Ainu (Dal Corso 2021a, 27). Word-initially, provided that it does not precede /i/, [ɕ] can appear in free variation with [s] – e.g. *śuj* [ɕuj] < *suy* 'again', but cf. **s***uj* [suj] < *suy*, same meaning.

The labiodental fricative /v/, that Piłsudski (1912, 6) generally reports for all the East Sakhalin Ainu dialects he documented, is not present in West Sakhalin Ainu. From the discussion of semivowels (i.e. approximants, § 4.1.7) in Piłsudski (1912, 3) and comparing the examples provided therein with West Sakhalin cognates, I infer that rather than being "only an alternative form of *u*", /w/ could in fact be the underlying phoneme of which [v] and possibly [u] are allophones. Even so, the allophone [v] would still represent a peculiarity of East Sakhalin dialects in contrast with all other varieties and dialects of Ainu. The phonemic status of /w/ or /v/ would need to be corroborated by considering a larger number of examples and /v/ is included in the East Sakhalin Ainu phonemic inventory only provisionally.

The grapheme *h* represents the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. Realization of /h/ as [ɸ] (*f* in orthography) in the environments _u and u_, which is systematic in West Sakhalin Ainu (Dal Corso 2021a, 27), is not found always in East Sakhalin Ainu – e.g. **h***úxkara* [huxkaɾa] < *huhkara* 'small forest', but *f**ura* [ɸuɾa] < *hura* 'smell'. Piłsudski (1912, 6) mentions voicing of intervocalic /h/ as [ɦ], but does not specify where it appears. The voiceless velar fricative [x], besides being found at morpheme boundary, occurs in a coda position within words that contain the sequence $C_{plosive}+C_{plosive/nasal}$ either synchronically or diachronically. That is, [x] derives from debuccalization and should primarily been regarded as an allophone of the plosive sounds that feature this process – e.g. *hòx̂ke* [hɔxkʲɛ] < *hohke* 'to lie down' (cf. Southern Hokkaidō Ainu *hotke*, same meaning). [x] also appears word-finally, as discussed in § 4.1.2, and before [t͡ɕ] within the collective verbal suffix *-hci*. It should be noted that [x] appears word-initially in the corpus only in certain words having either *o* or *u* in the first syllable – e.g. *x**osíbi* [xɔɕipi] < *hosipi* 'to return', *xunana* [xunana] <*hunana* 'seek' (cf. again **h***òx̂ke* above). It is still not clear whether this is a piece of evidence for the synchronic or diachronic presence of a fricative consonant distinct from /h/. If this were the case, the phonemic status of [x] in East Sakhalin Ainu would have to be reconsidered.

4.1.5   Affricates

East Sakhalin Ainu has one affricate rendered as *ć*. Piłsudski (1912, 7) says that "the Ainus have no sound of *c* as […] the German *z*" nor a "pure *č*" as in the English *chalk*, and that this sound is "something akin to the sound of the Polish *ć*". This means that the sound represented by *ć* is in its turn different from /t͡s/ and /t͡ʃ/, and possibly close to /t͡ɕ/ which underlies the Polish grapheme *ć*. Furthermore, in

other texts redacted by Piłsudski using the Cyrillic alphabet, the East Sakhalin Ainu affricate is rendered as ц, and the occurrence of this grapheme followed by a soft vowel suggests palatalization or retraction. Therefore, I assume that East Sakhalin Ainu has the voiceless retroflex affricate /t͡ɕ/, yet noting that Piłsudski acknowledges great variation among dialects and even among single individuals. The allophone [d͡ʑ] (ʑ́ in orthography) appears only after nasals – e.g. únʑ́i [und͡ʑi] < *unci* 'fire'. I reconstruct this pronunciation given that this is "a sonant variation of ć" (Piłsudski 1912, 7).

4.1.6 Liquids

East Sakhalin Ainu has one liquid consonant. With reference to the guide to Sakhalin Ainu phonetics in Dobrotvorskij (1875), Piłsudski (1912, 8-9) lists a variety of possible pronunciations associated with the grapheme *r*. By the end of his excursus, Piłsudski is elusive with regard to the underlying phoneme that *r* subsumes. Exclusively from his endorsing of professor Abbé Rousselot's observation that "*r* in between vowels has its normal sound" I infer that the phoneme associated to *r* is the alveolar tap /ɾ/, if one understands this "normal sound" as the most common one in both Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Ainu.

   The only allophones of /ɾ/ that Piłsudski discusses are found at the beginning of words and after the nasal /n/. In these environments, /ɾ/ is articulated simultaneously with the plosive sound /t/ which is however "farther up [on the palate] than the usual *t*". From this, one can infer the presence of either the affricate [t͡ɾ] or a single retroflex consonant [ʈ] or [ɽ] (Alonso de la Fuente 2022, 157-9). After the nasal /n/, this affricate may be voiced, thus probably being realized as [d͡ɾ]. [t͡ɾ] is reported to have a lot of variation from speaker to speaker, with the plosive or trill trait of the affricate being in turns more prominent than the other. Word-final *r* is usually followed by an echoed vowel identical to the last vowel of the root, which is a common trait of most Ainu dialects – e.g. *kisara* [kisaɾa] < *kisara* (underlying form *kisar**) 'ear'. Like plosives (§ 4.1.2), the realization of /ɾ/ word-finally in those rare cases when it is not followed by a copy of the vowel preceding it is often not noted in the orthography – e.g. *máxneku* [maxnɛku] < *mahneku* 'young woman' (for intended *mahnekuh*, underlying form *mahnekur**). In such instances, *r* is most likely debuccalized as it happens in West Sakhalin Ainu (Dal Corso 2021a, 25-6).

4.1.7   Approximants

Provided the doubts on the phonemic status of /w/ (§ 4.1.4), the only approximant of East Sakhalin Ainu is /j/, represented in orthography as *j*.

4.2   Phonological Processes

Piłsudski's orthography is insightful also with regard to phonological processes. Most of the processes attested in the *Materials...* are also encountered in West Sakhalin Ainu sources and, as such, they seem to be distinctive of the Sakhalin Ainu variety in general. Among the phonological processes common to both coasts of Sakhalin we find, for instance, the assimilation of /ɾ/ to [n] preceding /n/, the dissimilation of /i/ to [j] following a vowel, or the insertion of [i] between a word ending in /n/ followed by the clause linker *ike* 'and' whose initial [i] is then dissimilated to [j] (for a list of all phonological processes found in West Sakhalin Ainu see Dal Corso 2021a, 29-40). In this subsection, I concentrate only on those phonological processes suggested by Piłsudski's transliteration of East Sakhalin Ainu that are unattested in West Sakhalin Ainu.

The alternation outlined in (a) provides an example. Orthography in this case suggests the realization of the bilabial nasal /m/ as [ŋ] before the plosive /k/ (i.e. assimilation). However, the change does not mirrored completely in orthography with the expected grapheme ŋ, in spite of the fact that Piłsudski does use this grapheme [ŋ]. This sound is reported to be "very rarely met with" (Piłsudski 1912, 5) and the alternation might be ascribed to the fact that /m/ in coda position are often pronounced as [n] in careless, fast speech (Chiri [1942] 1973, 472).

a.   /m/ > |n| / _k – e.g. *sánḱeta* [sankʲɛta] < *sam_-ke_ta* (by-PTV-in) 'by sth.'.

Dissimilation is present in Piłsudski's corpus mostly as regressive dissimilation. Of these instances, the dissimilation of a nasal /n/ or /m/ before the fricative /s/ is outstanding in that it appears far more commonly in East Sakhalin than in West Sakhalin (where it is in fact encountered only once, Dal Corso 2021a, 31)

b.   m/ > |j| / _s – e.g. *túj śáta* [tujɕata] < *tum_-sa-ta* (center-?-in) 'in the center of'.

Equally peculiar is the kind of elision that concerns *h* within the collective *-hci* when the suffix is attached to monosyllabic open-syllable verbs (c). This process is, however, not regular and there are a good number of counterexamples in the corpus. This alternation is never

attested in West Sakhalin sources. Elision of *h* may also happen in the possessive suffix *-(i)hi* (d).[9]

c.   [x] > Ø | #CV_ – e.g. *nùćí* [nuʧ͡ɕi] < *nu-[h]ci* (hear-COLL) '[they] heard'.

d.   /h/ > Ø | #C~nasal~ – e.g. *kotánu* [kɔtanu] < *kotan-[h]u* (3/village-POSS) '[their] village'.

4.3   Transitive Agreement Paradigm

In the Ainu language, person agreement except for third persons is marked by affixes on the verb. In reference grammars of Sakhalin and Hokkaidō dialects, person agreement marking is said to be obligatory, but the data in the *Materials...* contrasts with this general rule, as we seldom find verb forms unmarked for person agreement when they should be. The conditions that make person agreement superfluous are not yet understood and they will not be addressed here. Rather, in this section I focus on the formal encoding of participant interactions that we observe in the transitive agreement paradigm of East Sakhalin Ainu, which shows yet again interesting points of divergence with West Sakhalin Ainu.

One felicitous generality that can safely be made for all varieties and dialects of Ainu is that the language exhibits a disuniform morphological alignment. For West Sakhalin Ainu, Dal Corso (2021a, 83-9) lists the following forms. First person singular displays nominative-accusative alignment (*ku-* for S/A and *en-* for O); second person singular and plural feature direct alignment (2s *e-* and 2P *eci-* for all S/A/O functions). The same direct alignment can be recognized for third persons (i.e. non-speech act participants) that are always zero-marked.[10] West Sakhalin Ainu has one more set of person agreement forms: *-an*, *an-*, and *i-* (for S, A, and O respectively) exhibiting tripartite morphological alignment, which indicate, under specific semantico-pragmatic circumstances, a mismatch between the referenced

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9   The underlying form of the possessive suffix is assumed to contain the vowel *i*, since this vowel appears in the most varied phonological environments (Dal Corso 2021a, 32). Furthermore, the first vowel that appears in the realization of the suffix as *-VhV*, on consonant-final nouns, is treated as a case of optional insertion to solve the *Ch* cluster. This is assumed in light of the fact that forms such as *kotanuhu* and *kotanhu* 'one's village' are found in free distribution in the corpus.

10   The suffix *-(a)hci* may be optionally added to express plurality or collectivity of a third person subject or object. Contrary to how it is discussed in Dal Corso (2021a, 88-9), who follows Murasaki's (1979, 49) interpretation of this suffix, *-(a)hci* is not a person agreement marker and it should rather be considered a marker of number, as suggested in Sakaguchi (2018).

participant and the agreement form used and which, for this reason, Dal Corso (2023) discusses as markers of participant referentiality mismatch (PRM). All these affixes are proper of East Sakhalin Ainu too.

A first important difference with West Sakhalin Ainu lies in the presence of a separate set of agreement affixes for the exclusive first person plural, which in East Sakhalin Ainu are *ci-* for A, *-as* for S, and *in-* for O, unattested in West Sakhalin Ainu (Dal Corso 2021a, 84).[11] Like participant-referentiality-mismatch affixes, this set too exhibits tripartite morphological alignment. These markers are cognate forms of the Southern and Central-Eastern Hokkaidō *ci-/-as/un-*,[12] with the O form *in-* representing the only point of divergence with these latter dialect groups (Sato 1985). The prefix *ci-* is otherwise present in West Sakhalin, but only as a resultative marker, a function also attested in Piłsudski's corpus synchronically to the person agreement one.

The transitive agreement paradigm presented in Table 1 illustrates the affix combinations employed in a transitive clause – that is, when it is necessary to reference both participants covering the A and O functions. When a third person interacts with a first or second person (i.e. a speech act participant, SAP, which may also be cross-referenced on the verb via participant-referentiality-mismatch agreement), the only overt prefix on the verb is the one that references the SAP object (if the third person is the subject) or the SAP subject (if the third person is the object) (1)-(2). Otherwise, if both A and O are third persons, the verb appears unmarked for person (3).

(1) *Kamúi utara inránu.*
     Kamuy-utara **in**-*ranu[p].*
     god-COLL   **1P.O.EXCL-3P.A**/love
     'The gods love me.' (Piłsudski 1912, 86)

(2) *Ećítom óxkajo tarap ekorō!*
     Ecitom ohkayo   tarap **e**-*koro-[h]o?*
     Ecitom young.man   strap **2S.A-3S.O**/have-PK
     'Young man of Ecitom, have you got a strap?' (Piłsudski 1912, 114)

(3) *Nea niśpa emuś stómuśite.*
     Nea   nispa   emus   sitomusite.
     that   noble.man   sword   **3S.A/3S.O**/put.on.side
     'That noble man tied a sword to his belt.' (Piłsudski 1912, 77)

When both referents of A and O are speech act participants, a combination of the relative A and O prefix forms available for each person are attested. One example is the combination *e-i-* that expresses a second person singular subject (*e-*) acting upon a first person singular object marked by participant-referentiality-mismatch agreement (*i-*).

(4) *Eirájki.*
     ***E-i-**ray-ki.*
     2S.A-PRM.O-die-CAUS
     'You kill me.' (Piłsudski 1912, 125)

It is, however, more common to find affix combinations or portmanteau forms that cannot be felicitously separated into the two distinct A and O agreement forms otherwise employed for the persons involved. One example of this is the prefix *eci-* used to mark a first person singular subject acting upon a second person plural object (in example (5) a beneficiary indirect object), where there is no trace of the expected first person singular subject prefix *ku-*. The same portmanteau prefix is present in Southern Hokkaidō Ainu. Another example is the combination of affixes *in-…-an* used to mark a second person plural subject acting upon a first person plural object (6),[13] where together with the expected O form *in-* there appears *-an* which is never used to cross-reference a second person plural subject on transitive verbs in combination with a third person object nor on intransitive verbs.

(5) *Ećikóndehé.*
     ***Eci**-kor_-te-he.*
     1S.A>2S.IO-3S.O/have-CAUS-PK
     'I gave it to you.' (Piłsudski 1912, 77)

(6) *Inránupan.*
     ***In**-ranup-**an**.*
     2P.A>1P.O.EXCL-love-**2P.A>1P.O.EXCL**
     'You love me.' (Piłsudski 1912, 86)

In Table 1, the forms within the red square are those used for speech-act-participant interactions. Shaded areas indicate reflexive or reciprocal person relations that are marked with dedicated suffixes. Forms in bold are attested in East Sakhalin Ainu but not in West Sakhalin Ainu, while forms within square brackets are encountered

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13 In the example the exclusive first person plural is rendered in translation as 'me'. The use of first person plural forms as well as participant-referentiality-mismatch agreement to cross-reference the speaker is common in folklore.

in West Sakhalin Ainu but not in Piłsudski's corpus. All other forms are attested in both dialects or in neither one of them (N/A). Finally, abbreviations in small caps indicate in which dialect(s) each form is attested (TA for Tarayka, HU for Hunup, AY for Ay, and TU for Tunayci).

Table 1 Transitive agreement paradigm of Sakhalin Ainu

	1s.o	1p.o	2s.o	2p.o	prm.o	3s/p.o
1s.a			*eci-* TA, AY	*eci-* TA *eci-...-yan* TA		KU- TU, HU
1p.a			*ci-* HU	N/A		*ci-* TA, HU
2s.a	*[en-]*	N/A			*i-* TU *e-i-* HU, TA, TU	*e-* HU, TA, TU
2p.a	*[en-...-yan]*	in-...-(y)an ta			*[i-...-yan]* *[eci-i-]*	*eci-* TA, TU
prm.a			*an-e-* AY, HU, TU	*[eci-...-yan]*	*an-i-* HU, TU	*an-* AY, HU, TA, TU
3s/p.a	*[en-]*	*in-* HU, TA, TU	*e-* HU, TA, TU	*eci-* TA, TU	*i-* TU, HU	-

Let us consider the forms that are peculiar to East Sakhalin Ainu, highlighted in bold in Table 1. The first person plural exclusive O form *in-*, besides of course being found to mark the object with a third person subject, also appears in combination with *-(y)an* to mark a 2P.A>1P.O.EXCL relation. This affix combination is not attested in West Sakhalin Ainu since in this dialect the set of first person exclusive affixes is not attested. However, this morphological layout is in line with other combinations within the dimension of SAP-relations: see, for instance, *en-...-yan* for 2P.A>1S.O or *i-...-yan* for 2P.A>PRM.O. As noted in Dal Corso (2021a, 86), in these cases of combined affixation the prefix always encodes the object while *-(y) an* always refers to the subject. Furthermore, one of the referenced participants, may it be a subject or an object, is invariably a second person plural. *In-...-(y)an* attested in East Sakhalin Ainu is no exception to this. I can, therefore, provisionally conclude that combined affixation for SAP interactions involving a second person plural was a common feature of West Sakhalin Ainu and at least the northern dialect of Tarayka on the east coast. The lack of attestations of this type of agreement in the other East Sakhalin dialects prevents me from saying that it was in fact a common feature of the Sakhalin Ainu variety in general.

Other similarities can be observed between East Sakhalin Ainu and Hokkaidō Ainu dialects. One example is the portmanteau prefix *eci-*, employed to encode 1P.A.EXCL>2S.O and 1S.A>2P.O interactions. In West Sakhalin Ainu, *eci-* may also encode a 1S.A>2S.O interaction. Given the formal equivalence, in these cases the correct interaction intended is necessarily retrieved from context. This formal unity of agreement in first-second person interactions is also a property of southern Hokkaidō Ainu dialects (Tamura 2000, 59; Bugaeva 2012, 474). Another similarity with the southern Hokkaidō Ainu agreement paradigm is the combination *a-i-* for the PRM.A>PRM.O interaction. This combination is not attested in West Sakhalin Ainu, though the conditions for its use are seldom present – in such cases only the subject marker *an-* is found, while the object marker *i-* is suppressed (see Dal Corso 2021a, 87; 2023 specifically for the relevance of this discrepancy between eastern and western dialects for the study of the impersonal passive construction).

(7) *'Ekasi-'oro-wa*   *[…]*   **'an**-*e-ko-_itak_-kara.*
     old.man-place-ABL/ELA   **PRM.A>PRM.O-**APPL-APPL-3S.O/speak-make
     'I was instructed about it by [my] old man.'
     (Murasaki 1976, 94; Dal Corso 2021a, 389)

In (7), from the western dialect of Rayciska, the prefix *an-* cross-references the oblique agent *ekasiorowa* in the impersonal passive construction. However, the object, which in the rest of this folktale is consistently marked with PRM agreement, does not appear marked with the expected prefix *i-*.

4.4   Valency-Changing Strategies

Sakhalin Ainu showcases a number of verbal affixes that mark valency changes for the predicate. Among these we find, for instance, the valency-decreasing reciprocal *u-* and antipassive *i-* or the valency-increasing causative suffixes *-te/-re/-ke/-ki/-ka/-yara*. In this section, I concentrate on three prefixes: the 'applicatives' *e-* and *ko-*, and the reflexive *yay-*.[14] Specifically, the applicative *ko-* and the *reflexive yay-*, together with their primary valency-changing function, less frequently also exhibit what appears to be a valency-preserving function. As for the applicative *e-*, it appears on the verb *a* 'sit' that follows a verb in a seeming aspectual function. The valency-preserving

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14 Sakhalin Ainu has one more applicative prefix (*o-*) and one more reflexive prefix (*si-*), which will not be discussed here.

and aspect-related functions of these prefixes is rarely encountered in the West Sakhalin Ainu corpus, but is far more common in the *Materials....* Although this uneven distribution in the two sources may be indicative of a dialectal difference between eastern and western dialects, it may also be informative of language development or better, in this particular case, of language erosion. The scant attestations of this type of verbal morphology in the West Sakhalin data can mean that this secondary function of *e-*, *ko-* and *yay-* fell out of use with time probably as a consequence of the contact of Ainu with Japanese which intensified after the relocation of native speakers to Hokkaidō (§ 3). Indeed this case of erosion would be in line with the loss of productivity of verbal morphology documented for Ainu in general.

4.4.1 Applicatives *e-* and *ko-*

Through applicativization an oblique is promoted to argument (either a direct or indirect object) and included in the base verb's subcategorization (Kroeger 2004). Applicativization results in the transitivization of intransitive verbs and in the ditransitivization of (mono-)transitive verbs, it does not affect the promoted argument's thematic role, and it functions at discourse level as a focusing strategy for an otherwise peripheral element. The three applicative forms of Sakhalin Ainu are not interchangeable and their choice depends on the thematic role of the promoted argument. Example (9) shows the applicative version of example (8), where the oblique denoting instrument is promoted to indirect object of the verb *tuhseka* 'to kick' – the promotion is marked by the applicative *e-*.

(8) *Suma   kema ani   tuhse-ka.*
    rock   foot   3S.O/with   3S.A/3S.O/jump-CAUS
    '(S)he kicked the rock with [his/her] foot.'

(9) *Suma   kema e-tuhse-ka.*
    rock   foot   APPL-3S.A/3S.O/3S.IO/jump-CAUS
    '(S)he kicked the rock with [his/her] foot.' (Murasaki 1979, 32)

Dal Corso (2021b) proposes a unitary explanation for both the applicative and non-applicative functions of the prefixes *e-* and *ko-*, under Hopper and Thompson's (1980) theory of semantic transitivity and defines *e-* and *ko-* as morphological markers of high transitivity. However, upon a closer look at the data, Dal Corso (2021b) reports this non-applicative use of the two prefixes as too common a feature of *e-* and *ko-* than it actually is. Therefore, in an example like (10), the

prefix *e-* is better recognized as a phonological variant of the deictic *he-* 'head', which indicates that the motion event takes place up towards the goal of the action (i.e. the house). Most of the tokens featuring an alleged non-applicative *e-* discussed in Dal Corso (2021b) can be explained this way.

(10) *Ćiśe oxta eśirep án.*
      Cise   or_-ta   (h)e-sirepa-an.
      house   place-LOC/LAT   **DEI.HEAD**-arrive-PRM.S
      'I arrived up to the house.' (Piłsudski 1912, 160)

Albeit this revision to Dal Corso (2021b), some of the examples taken into account therein still cannot be easily explained as featuring the deictic *he-*. In those instances, we see *e-* prefixed to the verb *a* 'sit', which fulfills an aspectual function (11)-(13).

(11) *Tá maxneku níśkoro oxta etáras ea.*
      Ta   mahneku[h]   niskoro-or_-ta   etaras   e-a.
      that young.woman   cloud-place-LOC/LAT   3S.S/stand   **e**-sit.PC/IPFV(?)
      'Right there that young woman was standing on the clouds.' (Piłsudski 1912, 90)

(12) *Suḱe ea kánne ahupan.*
      Suke   e-a   kanne   ahup-an.
      3S.S/cook   **e**-sit.PC/IPFV(?)   ADV   enter.PC-PRM.S
      'I entered as [my wife] was presently cooking.' (Piłsudski 1912, 134)

(13) *An-kućaha orova pā numa eá-kusu án.*
      An-kuca-ha-oro-wa   paa numa   e-a   kusu an.
      PRM.PSR-hut-POSS-place-ABL/ELA   smoke 3S.S/rise **e**-sit.PC/IPFV(?)   PROG.PC
      'And there, smoke was rising from my hut.' (Piłsudski 1912, 134)

Here *ea* conveys a presentative meaning – that is, it brings attention to a specific participant in the event (which in the examples above is the subject of the notional verb). The syntactic layout where *ea* follows another verb makes it more likely for *e-* to be an applicative than the deictic *he-*; under such reading *e-* would introduce a direct object of the verb *a* (i.e. the full zero-nominalized clause containing the notional verb) possibly with the semantic role of aim/purpose. At any rate, this use of *e-* highlights an exceptional functional use of the verb *a* 'sit'. This verb is used as an aspectual auxiliary to mark actional perfect in Hokkaidō Ainu dialects (Bugaeva 2012), but it is never attested with this function in West Sakhalin Ainu. Another possible analysis is one that sees the segment *a* of the form *ea* as the verb *an* 'exist', whose final nasal has been elided. In this case, the syntax of the V+*ea* construction would be less problematic since *an* following a verb is commonly found as an auxiliary marking imperfective

aspect (Dal Corso 2022). One piece of evidence to support this last interpretation is the fact that the base predicate appearing with *ea* is either a state (11) or an activity (12)-(13) – that is, an atelic predicate. The imperfective *an* derives a continuous aspect reading for the predicate when this latter is an atelic predicate (Dal Corso 2022, 70-4). The co-occurrence of *ea* with progressive aspect *kusu an*, as in (13), is also non-trivial. It further supports the hypothesis that *ea* may in fact be an alloform of *ean* since progressivity is in line with the continuous aspect reading.

One more observation concerns the applicative *ko-*. A proper applicative function for this prefix is difficult to retrieve in three instances in Piłsudski (1912), where *ko-* is attached to a zero-valency verb indicating natural conditions, like *sistono* 'dawn' (14).

(14) *Mokoro poka ankojákuś, réuśi án. Kośiśtonó tonosḱe kooman-kane…*

Mokoro	*poka*	*an-koyakus*		*reusi-an*	
sleep.NMLZ	at.least	PRM.A-3S.O/not.be.able		pass.the.night-PRM.S	

I could not even sleep, but I spent the night [there].

ko-*sir-tono*		*to-noske*	*ko-oman*		*kane…*
ko-appearence-be.bright		day-middle	APPL-3S.A/3S.O/go.PC		ADV

'Having [the day] gotten to midday when it was plainly bright…'
(Piłsudski 1912, 146)

An applicative function (i.e. that of adding a goal direct object) can be recognized for *ko-* prefixed to *oman* 'go'; here the subject of the verb can be interpreted as an implied 'the day'. However, the same cannot be said for *ko-* prefixed to *sistono* 'dawn' since it is difficult to retrieve an antecedent within the context that has a semantic role compatible with those encoded by *ko-*. Therefore, *ko-* in these cases seems to show the high transitivity function discussed by Dal Corso (2021b). The instances of this use of *ko-* are very scant and I cannot provide any further insights at the moment.

4.4.2 Reflexive *yay-*

If the valency-preserving function of the applicative *e-* and *ko-* has already been investigated, that of the reflexive prefix *yay-* remains to be addressed. The prefix *yay-* attaches to transitive (usually actional) base verbs and indicates that the action denoted by the verb falls back on the agent-subject, which thus corresponds also to the patient-object. As such, reflexivization marked by *yay-* is a valency-decreasing strategy that results in the intransitivization of the base verb. The change in valency may become clear from the locus of affixation of person agreement on originally mono-transitive verbs like *reske* 'raise' – see the participant-referentiality-mismatch agreement

suffix *-an* reserved for the s argument of intransitives in (16), which is the reflexive version of (15).

(15) *Mahpoo-ho-hcin*   *reske-hci.*
     3.PSR/daughter-POSS-COLL   3P.A/3S.O/raise-COLL
     'They raised their daughter.'
     (Murasaki 1976, 28; Dal Corso 2021a, 281)

(16) **Yay-***reske-'an.*
     REFL-raise-PRM.S
     'I raised myself (= I grew up alone).'
     (Murasaki 2010, 72; Dal Corso 2021a, 415)

Sometimes the locus of affixation of *yay-* is on a noun that has been incorporated to the base verb. In these cases, the reflexive *yay-* cross-references the possessor of the incorporated noun and is co-indexed with the subject of the base verb (the "quasi-possessive reflexive" of Bugaeva, Kobayashi 2022, 526). Example (17) provides an illustration. Here the base transitive *koro* 'have' incorporates the whole nominal constituent *yaycise* 'own house'. This means that, although reflexivization is normally a valency-decreasing strategy, when *yay-* gets incorporated together with the possessee noun it does not affect the base verb's valency, which is decreased only once by the process of incorporation.

(17) *Sinene-h-ponne*   *yay-cise-koro.*
     alone-?-ADV?   3S.S/**REFL.PSR-**house-have
     'He had his own house.' (Piłsudski 1912, 238)

This use of *yay-* is limited to incorporated inalienable nouns (most commonly *cise* 'house', *kotan* 'village', *cara* 'mouth', *ram* 'soul' in Piłsudski's corpus) and it never appears to mark a third person possessor co-indexed with the verb's subject on unbound possessed noun forms.[15] Third person possessors, in line with the formal unmarkedness of third persons witnessed in verb person agreement (§ 4.3), are always zero-marked, and the eventual co-indexicality with the subject is retrieved only through contextual information – that is, the form **yaymahpoho* for 'his own daughter' is never encountered. Thus the possible double interpretation out of context for *mahpoho* in (14).

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15 Indeed prefixation of reflexive *yay-* and *si-* as well as of the reciprocal *u-* is possible on locative nouns (e.g. *u-sam* RECP-next.to 'next to each other', which Bugaeva and Kobayashi (2022, 525) call the quasi-possessive reciprocal type).

(18) *Nea henke   nea   mahpo-ho   cip_   'or_-ta*
this old.man this   **3.PSR**/daughter-POSS boat   place-LOC/LAT
'aa-re.
3S.A/3S.O/sit.PC-CAUS
'The old man had his (somebody else's)/his own daughter sit in the boat.'
(Murasaki 1976, 31; Dal Corso 2021a, 288)

Even more strikingly, *yay-* seldom appears prefixed to base intransitives whose subject is a third person, like *ahkas* 'walk' in (19) or *a* 'sit' in (20). In these instances as well, the reflexive does not affect the verb's valency, but rather seems to convey a dislocative or andative meaning and stress that the event takes place away from the contextual center of attention.

(19) *Kotánḱeś-un nispa jaj áxkaś jaxka…*
*Kotankes   un   nispa   **yay**-ahkas   yahka…*
Kotankes 3S.A/3S.O/live.in noble.man **REFL**-3S.S/walk   though
'A noble man who lived in Kotankes strolled by himself [away from the village], but…' (Piłsudski 1912, 76)

(20) *Pon kapári-óxkajo maćí turá kotán-hu ónne xośíbi kusú, poró ciś áni irúra-utará iván-níu irúra, móromaxpo jajá ajn(u) énko ćipó.*
Pon   kapari   ohkayo   mat_-i   tura
be.small plaice   young.man 3.PSR/wife-POSS 3s.O/together
kotan-hu-or_-ne   hosipi   kusu   poro cip_ ani
3.PSR/village-POSS-place-ALL   3P.S/return CAU.FIN be.big boat 3s.O/with
i-rura   utara   iwan-n-iw   i-rura
ANTIP-3P.S/transport people six-EP-CLN.ANI   ANTIP-3P.S/transport
moromahpo   yay-a   aynu enko cip-o.
young.woman **REFL**-3S.S/sit.PC man half 3P.S/boatget.in
'The young male plaice returned to his village together with his wife, so six rowers with a big boat rowed, the young woman sat by herself [on one side, and] half of the men led the boat.' (Majewicz 1998b, 287)

What I have discussed about verbal morphology in this section shows how the language data in the *Materials…* presents descriptivists working on Ainu with important issues that have to do not only with the language's structure but also with the semantic that influence morphosyntax. Being semantics, together with pragmatics, an area of the Sakhalin Ainu grammar that has rarely been investigated to date, the data in Piłsudski's corpus proves to be a precious resource.

5   Conclusion

In this paper, I focused on a number of peculiar grammatical features attested in the East Sakhalin dialects of Ainu documented by the Polish ethnographer and linguist Bronisław Piłsudski. Among the texts collected by Piłsudski, twenty-seven tales of traditional folklore constitute the corpus published as *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*, which was the main reference for this study. The areas of East Sakhalin Ainu that I surveyed in this paper were the phonemic inventory and phonotactic rules, some phonological alternations, and verbal morphology. In particular, with regard to verbal morphology, I addressed the transitive agreement paradigm and the valency-preserving functions of the applicative prefixes *e-* and *ko-* and of the reflexive prefix *yay-*. These areas of the East Sakhalin Ainu grammar show interesting points of divergence with the neighbouring West Sakhalin Ainu dialects, thus providing important insights and inputs for future research about dialectal differences within the Sakhalin Ainu variety and about the possible historical development of the language. The main aim of this paper was to underline the importance of analysing old sources on Ainu, of which Piłsudski's *Materials...* is just an example, for the description and the study of the history of minority, endangered languages of Japan.

Abbreviations

1P	first person plural
1S	first person singular
2P	second person plural
2S	second person singular
3	third person
3P	third person plural
3S	third person singular
A	transitive subject
ABL	ablative
ADV	adverb
ANTIP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
CAU.FIN	causal-final linker
CAUS	causative
CLN.ANI	animate numeral classifier
COLL	collective
DEI	deictic
ELA	elative
EP	epenthetic consonant
EXCL	exclusive
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
O	object
PC	paucal
PK	personal knowledge evidential
POSS	possessive
PRM	participant referentiality mismatch marker
PROG	progressive
PSR	possessor
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
S	intransitive subject

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