

7 Negatives

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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** 4A-3S.O/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 2S.S-feel.cold FP
'Aren't you cold?' (Murasaki 1979, 109)
- (3) *'Ampene 'ipe **ka** **hannehka** kii.*
really 3S.S/AP.eat **even** **NEG** 3S.A/3S.O/do
'She didn't eat at all.' (Dal Corso 2021, 350)

→ 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, akosomasnu*.*

‘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, 350)

2. *Pirikano ‘ewante.*

‘He knows you well.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 220)

3. *Hanka etunne wa kamuyonne kosmahne yaykaraa!*

‘Don’t be unwilling and give yourself as a wife to a god!’ (Dal Corso 2021, 286)

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, 351)
6. *Poso kuniine 'an kah ka hannehka koro.*
'It didn't have the looks of [something that could be] stabbed.' (Dal Corso 2021, 393)
7. **Etunne hanka wa kamuyonne kosmahne yaykaraa!*
'Don't be unwilling and give yourself as a wife to a god!'
8. *'Aynu'ohta ka yee ka hankii.*
'She didn't tell [that] to anyone.' (Dal Corso 2021, 317)
9. *Ray utaraohta toytunketa hankayki ahunke yan!*
'Don't put [the precious objects] in the ground for the dead men!' (Pilsudski 1912, 89)
10. *'Ampene kuerameskari 'ampe.*
'I absolutely don't know him.' (Dal Corso 2021, 217)
11. *Hancinukara siri.*
'A land that is not seen.' (Dal Corso 2021, 315)
12. *Neampe 'ankii 'ani tani [...] 'oyasi [...] 'asin.*
'While I did that eventually [...] the monster [...] came out.' (Dal Corso 2021, 392)
13. *Pu'onne 'ahun teh ponno 'an.*
'It went to the store house and stayed [there] a little while.' (Dal Corso 2021, 329)
14. *'Ipe ka sah.*
'They didn't have food either.' (Dal Corso 2021, 328)
15. *Itomokene hanneampe 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. *Nuca cankionne etaraka ye kayki hanne ki.*

‘They do not speak to Russian officials without reflection.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 62)

2. *Poronispauta irenkaha nee.*

‘It is the order of important people.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 216)

3. *‘Anihi humpecehpo 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, 353)

5. *Annu yahka asih ka hamanki.*

‘Although I heard it, I did not go out.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 161)

6. *Tu to pahno re to pahno hamo ipe makapan.*

‘I went uphill without eating for two or three days.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 123)

7. *Nean pon teynehpo reske ki.*

‘He indeed raised that small baby.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 371)

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, 170)

10. *Kimoykian yahka sine hoynu kayki hamanrayki.*

‘Although I hunted in the mountains, I did not kill a single marten.’ (Majewicz 1998, 265)

11. *Ota pahko neampe nakene ka oman ka hankii.*

‘As for the old Ota, she [will] not go anywhere.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 217)

12. *Urayki neampe hamutara 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, 185)

14. *‘Ekotan itah neh [...] nuure waa!*

‘Make her listen [...] to some of the language of your village!’ (Dal Corso 2021, 169)

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, 206)

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 neampe neya teh pu‘onne ‘ahun.*

‘As for the fact that 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, 329)

19. *Tani repun ‘aynuutah nukara.*

‘The people saw him eventually going at sea.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 364)

20. *Taata kayki poro ‘aynu kotan ‘an.*

‘There too was a big Ainu village.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 325)

21. *Hamo sísrampa teekoro inkararay manu.*

‘They stared fixedly without blinking.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 109)

22. *Nea aynu neampe numa kayki hanne ki.*

‘That man did not get up.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 126)

Examples from Other Languages...

Persian (Iranian, Iran)

(examples from Neiloufar 2014, 26)

<i>Hærf zædæn</i>	word hit = ‘speak’
<i>Guf kærdæn</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 kærdæn* 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 analysable? If yes, what are the morphemes involved and which one would you point out as the one morpheme that encodes negation?
- What constructions (if any) remain difficult to analyse? Why? How would you think of resolving the problem?
- Reconsider the examples in sets 1.2 and 2: are there any negative forms that seem to be used in specific functions and/or with a specific meaning? Which ones? How would you describe these functions or meanings?

