

The Ainu Language

*The Morphology and Syntax
of the Shizunai Dialect*



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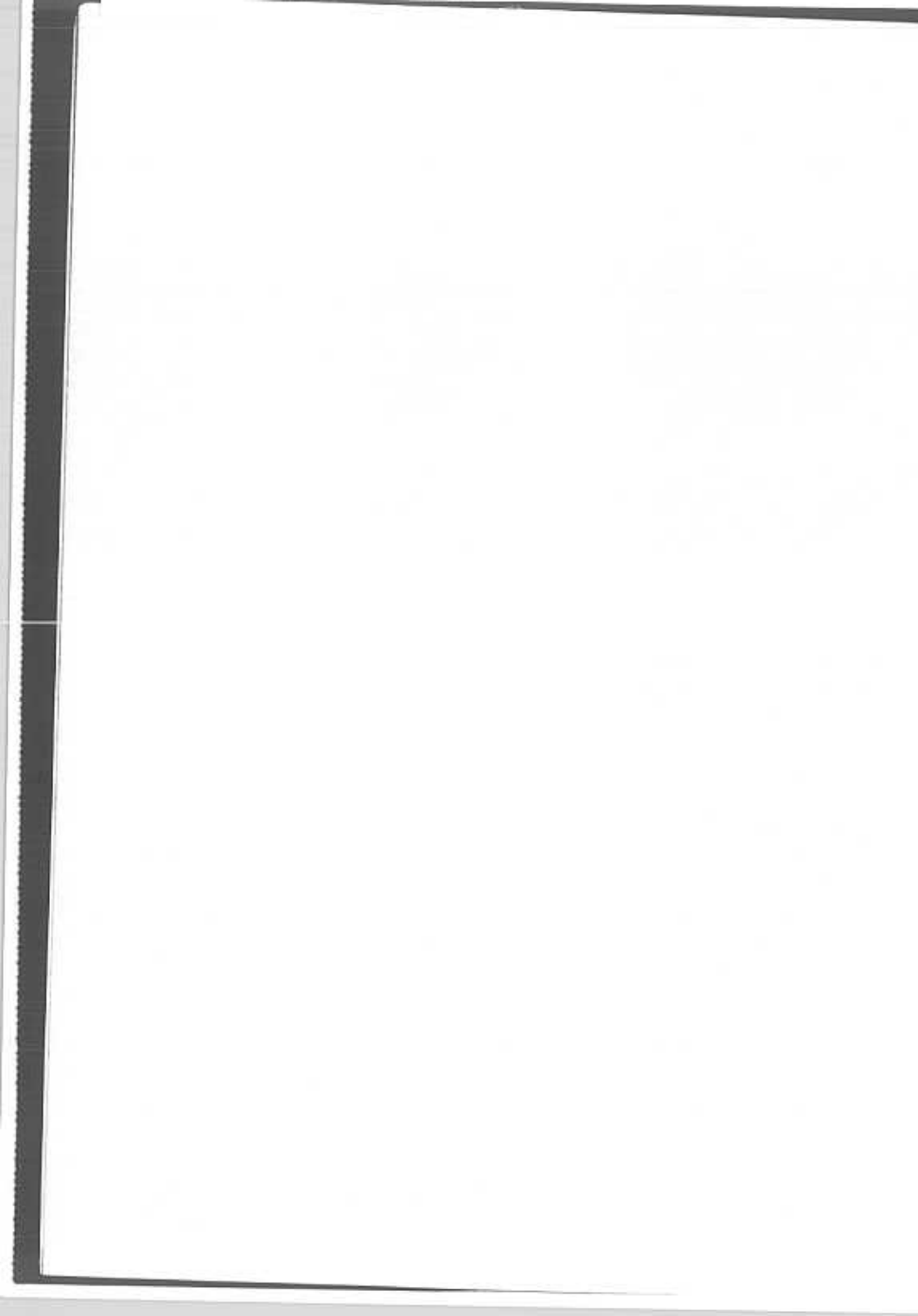
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I INTRODUCTION

1. Early Material on the Ainu language

Our earliest sources on the Ainu language go back to the late 16th or early 17th century. In his two articles on Ainu lexicography, Hans Adalbert Dettmer gives excellent descriptions of a number of these early sources (Dettmer: 1967, 1969), the oldest of which is *Matsumae no koto – Ezo kotoba no koto* (The Language of Matsumae – Ezo Words) from around the year 1600¹. It contains 117 words and short phrases compiled for the use of merchants trading with the Ainu.

The earliest non-Japanese word list was compiled by a Portuguese Jesuit monk, Jeronymo de Angelis, in 1621; it is attached to a general description of the island of Ezo (present-day Hokkaidō), and it contains 54 Ainu words of which 36 are numerals.

Official Japanese interpreters often compiled their own word lists and other material on the Ainu language, and a number of such works exist from the 17th to the 19th century. The most famous and also the most comprehensive of these is the Japanese-Ainu dictionary, *Ezo hōgen moshiogusa* (An Ezo Dialect Miscellany). It was compiled by the interpreter, Uehara Kumajirō, and the administrator, Abe Chōzaburō, and first published in 1792. In 1804 it was printed again, and this time in a much larger number of copies². The *Moshiogusa* contains close to 3000 words, divided into categories according to meaning, and it also has a list of common phrases and some short texts. The book even reached the Western World, and in 1851 Dr. August Pfizmaier of Vienna wrote his *Untersuchungen über den Bau der Aino-Sprache* on the basis of the *Moshiogusa* material and a few scanty European sources. Undoubtedly the *Moshiogusa* has also been of great value as a primary reference work for the first Japanese Ainu scholars of this century, Kindaichi Kyōsuke and Chiri Mashio.

From the Russian and Polish side the Ainu language has been recorded as far back as the beginning of the 18th century. In Murayama's book on the Ainu language of the northern Kurile Islands (Murayama: 1971), word lists by Krashennikov (1739), Steller (1743), Dybowski (1892) and others are

analysed and compared. As Murayama's title indicates, these word lists primarily contain vocabulary items from the Ainu language of the northern Kurile Islands.

Another important Russian³ contribution to the study of Ainu is a dictionary compiled by an army physician in Sakhalin, M. M. Dobrotworski: *Aínsko-Russkij Slovar* (1875). It contains 10,930 entries, of which approximately half were collected by the author himself in Sakhalin, while the other half were taken from various other sources.

Finally the Pole, Bronislaw Pilsudski, should also be mentioned here. He was deported to Sakhalin in 1886, and from that time on he spent the rest of his life studying the language and culture of the Ainu⁴. In 1912 he published a number of Sakhalin Ainu texts with translations under the title *Materials for the Study of Ainu Language and Folklore*.

2. Pre-war Ainu Research

An exhaustive presentation of Ainu linguistic research up to the end of World War II will not be given here. In the following I shall mainly discuss the three "giants" in the field of Ainu studies, namely John Batchelor, Kin-daichi Kyösuke, and Chiri Mashio, all of whom have contributed to the present study through their works.

2.1. John Batchelor (1853-1944)

The British missionary, John Batchelor, who worked among the Ainu for more than sixty years between 1877 and 1942, has had a lasting impact on Ainu language research outside Japan, since his works have until recently been the most easily accessible major source material in any other language than Japanese⁵. Batchelor's work as a missionary necessitated his learning the language, and from his hand we have a number of translations into Ainu of various parts of the Bible. Batchelor not only learned to speak the language; he also devised a romanization system to write it down (in Japan, until then, Ainu had been written – if at all – in the Japanese syllabic *kana* alphabet). Batchelor wrote a large number of books and articles about the Ainu culture and language⁶, and his greatest contribution was no doubt his *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary*, which was first published in 1889, but reached its final form in the fourth revised edition of 1938.

In Europe Batchelor's dictionary has been *the* authoritative work on Ainu for decades; a position which has been only slightly challenged by the appearance of Hattori's dialect dictionary in 1964 (Hattori: 1964). In Japan, however, Batchelor came to be viewed in rather a different light – especially after Chiri published his *Ainugō Nyūmon* (An Ainu Primer) in 1956. Chiri writes about Batchelor's dictionary:

"When speaking of dictionaries of Ainu, people invariably think of Dr. Batchelor's dictionary. Such is the extent of this dictionary's fame today. However, quite contrary to the trust which is generally placed in it, I must say that I have never in my life seen a dictionary with so many flaws. Nay, rather than saying that it has many flaws, it would be closer to the truth to say that it consists solely of flaws."

(Chiri: 1956: 237)

Over the next 15 pages Chiri proceeds to point out example after example of mistaken translations, phantom words, and wrong forms found in the dictionary. However, Chiri's harsh criticism should probably be seen in the light of the extremely favorable recommendations which followed the publication of Batchelor's dictionary from such distinguished professors as Basil Hall Chamberlain⁷ and Kindaichi Kyōsuke (of which at least the latter must have known better!). The dictionary (and the grammar preceding it) *are* extremely inaccurate and cannot be relied upon as a primary source for the study of Ainu. Nevertheless, considering the scarcity of sources and the generally poor quality of any material published before the works by Kindaichi and Chiri began to appear, Batchelor's dictionary should in my opinion not be dismissed altogether. It contains valuable material which can certainly be used with a critical and cautious approach. The dictionary gives both Japanese and English translations for the Ainu entries, and perhaps Batchelor's knowledge of Japanese was more at fault than his knowledge of Ainu, since in a number of instances one finds that while the Japanese translation is totally misleading, the English one is much closer to the point. Perhaps one may question whether Chiri actually bothered to read the English translations as well?

2.2. Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882-1971)

The name of Kindaichi Kyōsuke is inseparably associated with Ainu studies in the minds of ordinary Japanese people, so that even people who know very little about the Ainu beyond the fact that they are hairy and live in the

north, will often know as well that they were studied by Dr. Kindaichi. Kindaichi was a graduate of the highly prestigious Tokyo Imperial University, and his lifelong enthusiasm for the study of Ainu language and literature lent a certain legitimacy to this field and came to secure Ainu language research as a recognized and fairly respectable branch of linguistics in Japan. Kindaichi's main interest in Ainu lay not in the language as such, but rather in the orally transmitted literature, particularly the *yukar* epics, and his language studies were primarily aimed at providing a tool for the interpretation of the *yukar*. In 1931 he thus published the *Ainu jojishi yūkara no kenkyū* (Research in Ainu *Yukar* Epics), which contains *Ainu yūkara gobō tekiyō* (Essentials of the Grammar of Ainu *Yukar*) (Kindaichi: 1931).

From 1928 an Ainu woman, Kannari Matsu, stayed in the Kindaichi home for some years, writing down in romanized script all the *yukar* she could remember. Altogether she filled out seventy notebooks with Ainu texts, and until his death in 1971 Kindaichi was working on the translation and annotation of these texts. Eight volumes of texts with translations and notes appeared between 1959 and 1968 (Kindaichi: 1959-1968).

2.3. Chiri Mashio (1909-1961)

Chiri Mashio was an Ainu himself, but he was born in one of the more Japanized areas of Hokkaidō and grew up without learning to speak Ainu. With the support of Dr. Kindaichi he succeeded in gaining entrance to the famous Tokyo Imperial University, thus becoming the first Ainu ever to enter this prominent institution. As a pupil of Kindaichi he gradually began to take an interest in Ainu studies, and he eventually graduated with a thesis on the grammar of the Ainu language, *Ainu gobō gaisetsu* (An Outline of Ainu Grammar) (Chiri: (1936) 1974). Later he spent three years in Sakhalin and published a description of the Sakhalin dialects, *Ainu gobō kenkyū - Karafuto hōgen o chūshin to shite* (Research in Ainu Grammar - Centering on the Sakhalin Dialects) (Chiri: 1942).

Chiri's interest gradually turned towards etymological research, and among his later works are many that deal with toponymic research. Chiri began working on a projected ten volume classificational dictionary of Ainu, but unfortunately he only managed to complete three volumes before his early death in 1961. These three volumes with the title *Banrui Ainugo jiten* (A Classified Dictionary of Ainu) (Chiri: 1953, 1954, 1962) deal with plants, animals, and human beings respectively, and they contain a wealth of lexical and cultural information.

2.4. Kindaichi, Chiri, and the Present Study

For the present study I have mainly made use of Chiri's *Ainu gobō gaisetsu* (Chiri: (1936) 1974) and of Kindaichi's *Ainugogaku kōgi* (Lectures in Ainu Linguistics) (Kindaichi: 1960). Kindaichi's book is based on a series of lectures given by the author at the Tokyo Imperial University in the early 1920s, and they deal not only with the "classical" language of the *Yukar*, but with contemporary, spoken Ainu as well. Both books are representative of their authors' views, and since they both concern themselves with the Ainu language of Hokkaidō, they have provided a good background for comparisons. Below, I recapitulate the contents of these two books, while at the same time endeavouring to clarify the major differences between their approach and that of the present study.

Kindaichi begins his section on grammar (*gobōron* 語法論) by pointing out that a division of the parts of speech of Ainu is very problematic – the concept of free and bound forms, for instance, may not easily apply. Seemingly bound forms like case suffixes, noun prefixes, auxiliaries, etc. are in reality independent adverbs, verbs, nouns, or demonstratives which have been made to function in a less independent role. Kindaichi suggests that an alternative point of departure for a word class division might be to divide the words into those that may combine with personal affixes (*ninsbō setsuji* 人称接辞) and those that may not (Kindaichi: 1960: 30). However, after making these observations, he actually – and somewhat disappointingly – proceeds to describe the Ainu morphology in the following five chapters:

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Nouns | (<i>meishi</i> 名詞) |
| 2) Pronouns | (<i>daimeishi</i> 代名詞) |
| 3) Adjectives | (<i>keiyōshi</i> 形容詞) |
| 4) Adverbs | (<i>fukushi</i> 副詞) |
| 5) Verbs | (<i>dōshi</i> 動詞) |

These chapters are followed by a chapter on syntax (*bunshōbō* 文章法).

Chiri does not theorize about the criteria for word class division, but after a chapter on phonology goes straight on to describe the following eight groups:

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Nouns | (<i>meishi</i> 名詞) |
| 2) Pronouns | (<i>daimeishi</i> 代名詞) |
| 3) Numerals | (<i>sūshi</i> 數詞) |

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 4) Verbs | (<i>dōshi</i> 動詞) |
| 5) Adjectives | (<i>keiyōshi</i> 形容詞) |
| 6) Adverbs | (<i>fukushi</i> 副詞) |
| 7) Particles | (<i>joshi</i> 助詞) |
| 8) Interjections | (<i>kantanshi</i> 感嘆詞) |

A chapter on word formation follows these chapters, and finally, like Kindaichi, he ends the description with a chapter on syntax (*bunshōron* 文章論).

2.4.1. Nouns

Kindaichi points out that nouns cannot be declined according to case, number, or gender, but that they have the unique feature of being determined according to grammatical person. Kindaichi was the first to point out that the Ainu language had personal affixes, and not pronouns as Batchelor had called them. Kindaichi was also the first to point out that the difference between e.g. *itak* and *itaki(bi)*, "talk", was not one of number, as had been assumed in earlier works, but rather of what he calls an "abstract form" and a "concrete form", the latter of which is always determined with respect to grammatical person. However, Kindaichi maintained that all nouns had both of these forms, and while Chiri excluded some nouns as "non-possessable" (Chiri: 1936: 1974: 20ff), Tamura was the first to point out that actually only a limited number of nouns were capable of appearing in the "concrete" (or as Tamura calls it: "belonging") form; namely those "which express parts of the body and their function, parts of an entity, products made of or from some material, and a few fossilized, and therefore unpredictable forms" (Tamura: 1964: 49ff). In the present study I have maintained Tamura's terminology, "the belonging form", but I have gone one step further by defining the limitations on the use of the belonging form of nouns as being a question of alienable/inalienable possession. I.e., only expressions of inalienable possession (including the partitive genitive) may make use of the belonging form (see section 12.1.2).

Both Kindaichi and Chiri deal with the category of case (*kaku* 格) in the chapter on "Nouns". Their approach is semantic, i.e. they start out with all possible types of case relationship (nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, allative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, limitative, prolative, conformative, inessive, adessive, subessive, centricitive, illative, etc.), and then for each one they explain how it is expressed in the Ainu language (as zero, through suffixes (which are etymologically explained as original verbs,

adverbs, or demonstratives), through noun prefixes ("originally independent nouns"), by prefixation of the predicate, or with nouns expressing position and functioning "like particles"). This way of ordering grammatical categories is fundamentally different from the approach taken by Tamura (see section 3.4), and also from my own approach in the present study. The approach of Kindaichi and Chiri is the traditional, notional approach, where categories are set up on the basis of common semantic features ("nouns denote things, verbs denote actions"), and not on the basis of common formal or distributional features. It presupposes universal categories into which any new language may be poured if one commences by asking the question: "How does this language express that meaning?" This will not necessarily result in a misleading description of the language; especially providing that one refrains from trying to stretch the data to fit the system (the "this is the theory upon which we base our facts"-approach), but it will generally result in a confusing and disorderly description.

The opposite approach will ideally start out with the language alone, and with no preconceived categories. Out of this a system will grow forth – as the analysis and understanding progresses – a system based purely on formal and – especially in the case of Ainu, which has no conjugations or other devices which change the basic form of a word – on distributional criteria. In practice such an ideal and "pure" approach may be somewhat impeded by the fact that all linguists carry around preconceived notions of what a language can do – partly from their mother tongue, partly from other languages they have learned. If this were not the case, nothing would presumably stop them from e.g. inventing a brand-new terminology for the description of each new language. What does in effect stop them is of course not only an inability to rid themselves of preconceived notions (this in fact should not be impossible), but rather the extreme impracticality of the resulting terminological chaos.

In Tamura's works, for example, we thus find a compromise, where distributional criteria are employed to order the morphemes of Ainu into categories. These categories then terminologically avail themselves either of terms which are already known, or of terms which have known analogies from the traditional description of (primarily) Japanese. In the analysis of word classes in the Shizunai dialect, I have tried to stick to distributional criteria, but occasionally I have pointed out that the same or a similar concept may be expressed by grammatically different means.

The final section of both Chiri's and Kindaichi's chapters on "Nouns" is

devoted to what they call "nominalizing suffixes" (*meishibō gobi* 名詞法語尾). Tamura and Asai both call these same morphemes "nominal particles" (*mei-joshi* 名助詞) (Tamura: 1964: 42; Asai: 1969: 793), while I have termed them "nominalizers" in order to emphasize their function of making nominal expressions out of verbal ones (see section 14.13). Both Kindaichi, Chiri, and Asai list only a few suffixes in this group, but in my analysis these are included in a larger group of nominalizers, which furthermore contains morphemes, which by Kindaichi (1960: 201ff), Chiri ((1936) 1974: 127ff, 132ff, and 154ff), and Asai (1969: 789 and 790) are interpreted as belonging to different classes, such as e.g. "auxiliary verbs" (*jodōshi* 助動詞), or "conjunctive particles" (*setsuzoku joshi* 接続助詞). To my knowledge, Tamura has not so far written on "nominal particles" specifically, but her articles on "conjunctive particles" (Tamura: 1972a, 1972b, 1972-73) include none of the morphemes which I interpret as nominalizers, so presumably her category of nominal particles will also be broader than that of Kindaichi, Chiri, and Asai.

Chiri's chapter on "Nouns" furthermore includes a section on "transformed nouns" (*tensei meishi* 転成名詞). It presents lists of various words, which depending on their context may be interpreted either as nouns or as verbs. This raises an interesting question upon which I have touched only very briefly in my description of the Shizunai dialect. Chiri presents these lists of words without any syntactical arguments to explain why they would have this potential double function, but presumably he has in mind constructions like:

wakkata ku ki "waterdrawing-I-do"

or:

wakkata kusu ku oman "waterdrawing-for-I-go"

where the verb *wakkata*, "draw water", might be considered as a nominal form. For reasons of economy I have in my analysis chosen to consider *wakkata* in both of these cases as a verb: in the first example it is extended with *ki*, "do", functioning as an assertive auxiliary (see section 14.9.4.8), and in the second example it is extended with *kusu*, which I define as a conjunctive particle (see section 14.12.4). However, if *wakkata* is a verbal expression, one might in both cases reasonably have expected the pronominal affix, *ku*,

"I", to appear before *wakkata* as well as before *ki* and *oman*; the fact that this is not the case may then be taken as an argument in favour of viewing *wakkata* as a noun – or at least as a verb that ought to have been nominalized, but where ellipsis of the nominalizer has taken place. If *wakkata* is defined as a noun, it would in the second example force an interpretation of *kusu* as a case postposition – an interpretation which in my opinion would complicate the morphological analysis more than a rule which permits (but does not demand) ellipsis of a pronominal affix when it occurs more than once with two closely connected verbals. Unfortunately, however, the usage of pronominal affixes is one of the areas most likely to suffer decay in a language death process, where the superseding language does not have any equivalent of this phenomenon. Therefore, reliable data on which to base any conclusive evidence regarding this problem must be considered impossible to obtain.

2.4.2. Pronouns

Under "Pronouns", Kindaichi describes the personal pronouns and affixes, while pointing out that the latter are not pronouns, but "pronoun-like personal affixes". He lists the classical forms found in the *yukar* as well as the modern, colloquial forms, and here he introduces a distinction between inclusive and exclusive 1st person plural. This distinction has been maintained in all later descriptions of Ainu (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 50, Asai: 1969: 775; Tamura: 1970a: 9, 1970b: 584ff), but in the present analysis I have discarded this distinction in favour of a broader interpretation of the applicability of the pronominal affix for the indefinite person (see section 14.10). The same argument has caused me to drop the concept of the 2nd person honorific, which has also persisted in the majority of the post-Kindaichi Ainu language descriptions (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 51; Tamura: 1970a: 9, 1970b: 578).

In describing the cases of the pronouns both Kindaichi and Chiri define forms like *ku kor*, *e kor*, etc. as "possessive pronouns" (Kindaichi: 1960: 77; Chiri: (1936) 1974: 52), although they also both correctly analyse these forms as consisting of a personal affix and the verb, *kor*, "have". *Kor* in this position is treated as an attributive postposition in my analysis (see section 14.3).

For the other cases, Kindaichi gives the accusative/dative form of the personal affixes, and with this form, plus a number of the case markers described in his chapter on "Nouns", the various other cases of the personal pronouns are construed, he says. The case markers to which he refers are in reality what Tamura has later called "position nouns" (*ichi meishi* 位置名詞),

and I have called them "positionals" (see section 12.5). In my analysis the fact that positionals may attach to a pronominal (= personal) affix in the objective case to indicate position in relation to the speaker or the addressee is seen as analogous to the situation where positionals attach to other nouns which serve as a reference point for the position indicated.

Chiri keeps the description of the pronouns separate from that of the pronominal affixes, so that the latter are primarily analysed as conjugations of the verb: "subjective conjugation", "objective conjugation", and "incorporating conjugation" (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 69ff). The same terms are employed by Kindaichi in his description of the verb (Kindaichi: 1960: 97ff). "Incorporating conjugation" describes what Tamura and the present study call "nominative-objective affixation", i.e. the situation where a transitive verb has one pronominal affix as its subject and another as its object or dative object (Tamura: 1970a: 11ff, 1970b: 593ff; and section 14.10.5 in the present study).

Kindaichi's chapter on pronouns only deals with the personal pronouns, but Chiri includes in this chapter the "interrogative pronouns" (*gimon daimeshi* 疑問代名詞), the "demonstrative pronouns" (*shiji daimeshi* 指示代名詞), and a category which he calls "demonstrative adjectives" (*shiji keiyōshi* 指示形容詞). Neither Chiri nor Kindaichi seem to keep strictly to one single dialect in their descriptions, and in these sections on demonstratives and interrogatives Chiri lists a number of morphemes which are not found in the Shizunai dialect, while at the same time including those that are found in the Shizunai dialect. He describes the system of demonstratives as tripartite: proximal, mesial, and distal, but in the Shizunai dialect there is only a distinction between proximal and distal. The two morphemes expressing this distinction are identical to the morphemes which Chiri gives for the mesial and the distal deictics (see section 12.3.3 in the present study). The terminology of deictic and anaphoric in this connection is introduced by me; Chiri describes the function of the anaphoric *ne* correctly, but defines it as *teikanshiteki kanji no suru go* (定冠詞的感じのする語, i.e. "a word which feels similar to a definite article"). The category of "demonstrative adjectives" covers what I have termed the adnominal use of the demonstratives, and Chiri does not deal separately with the adnominal function of the interrogative pronouns (see section 14.1 in my description).

2.4.3. Adjectives

Both Kindaichi and Chiri make a distinction between verbs and adjectives,

although they both note that such a distinction is not required from a functional point of view. Kindaichi says that adjectives are "conjugated like intransitive verbs" (by "conjugation" he refers to the forms with pronominal affixes attached), and that they are similar to the category of adjectives in Japanese rather than in the European languages: they may be predicates; they do not change their form according to the noun which they modify; and they have no comparative or superlative declination. Thus, he says, they might as well be included within the category of intransitive verbs (Kindaichi: 1960: 81).

Chiri says in his chapter on verbs:

"The difference between verbs and adjectives in Ainu is very slight; semantically the former express acts, while the latter express properties, and functionally the latter have no imperative form - that is all. There is no morphological difference whatsoever."

(Chiri: (1936) 1974: 84)

In his book on the Sakhalin dialects, Chiri explains at length why the difference between verbs and adjectives is even smaller in Ainu than in Japanese (Chiri: 1942: 77ff). He points out for instance, that asserted forms of adjectives are in Ainu formed just like the asserted forms of verbs, namely with the auxiliary, *ki*, "do", while the corresponding expressions in Japanese use *suru*, "do", with verbs, but *aru*, "be", with adjectives.

Section 13.3.1 explains my reasons for discarding the distinction between verbs and adjectives in this description.

Kindaichi and Chiri both include a section on "adjectivizing suffixes" (Chiri: *keiyōshihō gobi* 形容詞法語尾; Kindaichi: *keiyōshi no shujunaru gobi* 形容詞の種々なる語尾) in their descriptions. They contain an analysis of some common, recurring adjective endings like *-ne*, *-us*, *-as*, *-kor*, etc. A similar section is found in their chapters on "Verbs", describing etymologically a number of endings which recur with verbs. Such an analysis goes beyond the scope of a purely synchronic description such as I have attempted here, but nevertheless I have included a similar section (see 13.6, "Verb Formative Morphemes") in my description. It may aid the understanding of the nature of Ainu verbs, but otherwise it should be seen more or less as an appendix to the description as such.

Kindaichi ends his description of the adjective with a section on adverbialized adjectives. Adverbialization is achieved with the suffix *-no*, which

Kindaichi explains as an adjective suffix with the original meaning of the Japanese *yoku*, "well, often". Chiri gives the same interpretation in his chapter on "Adverbs". In my description I interpret this *-no* as the conjunctivizer *no*, which may follow all other kinds of verb expressions as well (see section 14.12.1).

2.4.4. Adverbs

Chiri starts out by stating that all adverbs are derived or constructed from other parts of speech, and he then orders his description according to the various word classes which form the origin of the adverb, i.e. nouns, pronouns, numerals, verbs, and adjectives. Kindaichi in his chapter on "Adverbs" mainly deals with the morphemes which I have called "positionals" (see section 12.5). Neither of the two make any attempt to classify various types of adverbs semantically.

In my treatment of this word class I have divided the adverbs into six subcategories (see section 12.6.3), and I have disregarded diachronic (etymological) criteria for determining whether a morpheme which is capable of forming an adverbial adjunct should be regarded as an adverb or not, although I have in some cases noted the overlapping with other word classes. Surprisingly, a great many of the morphemes which would probably even from a diachronic point of view qualify as "pure adverbs" are mentioned by neither Kindaichi, nor Chiri – words like for instance *emkota*, *ekuskonna* (section 12.6.3.1), *suɣ, naa* (12.6.3.4), *sonno, sorekusa* (12.6.3.5), and *somo* (12.6.3.6).

Both Chiri and Kindaichi devote a section to the prefixes of direction, *be-*, "towards", and *bo-*, "away from", which they define as adverbs (etymologically nouns meaning "face" and "back", respectively). These I have treated as noun prefixes (see section 14.1.2).

2.4.5. Verbs

"Actually, Ainu verbs take a lot of affixes and change into very long forms, so that Ainu grammar is almost solely the grammar of verbs; for the rest, mere lexical explanations will suffice, and it presents no great problem."

(Kindaichi: 1960: 30)

Kindaichi's treatment of Ainu verbs takes up close to two thirds of the section on morphology. He starts out by establishing two main groups of

verbs, namely "complete verbs" (*kandōshi* 完動詞) and "incomplete verbs" (*fukandōshi* 不完動詞). The former are defined as verbs which can appear all by themselves, while the latter are verbs that must necessarily be accompanied by an object or a complement. The "complete verbs" thus correspond to intransitive verbs, while the "incomplete verbs" correspond to transitive verbs and what Kindaichi calls "incomplete intransitive verbs". Actually this last group has only one genuine member, namely *ne*, which Kindaichi translates as "become". As was later pointed out by Tamura, *ne* is the copula, and as I have demonstrated in section 13.5, the "become" meaning reflects the dynamic – as opposed to the static – function of the copula. Neither Kindaichi nor Chiri mentions the concept of copula. The other members which Kindaichi includes in the group of "incomplete intransitive verbs" are all intransitive verbs which have become transitive through the addition of prefixes such as *e-*, *ko-*, or *o-* ("adjunct-increasing prefixes" cf. my section 14.7.3).

Kindaichi points out that the most special feature of the Ainu verbs is that they are invariably determined according to grammatical person – a fact which had been overlooked in descriptions of Ainu until then. The 1st and 2nd person are marked with pronominal affixes, but the 3rd person is unmarked, so that whenever a verb is unmarked, it is, according to Kindaichi (1960: 98) determined as having a 3rd person subject. In my description I have chosen not to postulate a 3rd person in all instances of unmarked verbs – instead I prefer to say that an unmarked verb has a 3rd person subject (and/or object) *unless* there is another overt subject (and/or object) (see section 14.10).

Both Chiri and Kindaichi speak of "conjugation" (*katsuyō* 活用) in connection with the verbs. They set up three different conjugations: "The subjective conjugation" (*shukaku katsuyō* 主格活用), which applies to all classes of verbs; "the objective conjugation" (*mokutekikaku katsuyō* 目的格活用), which applies only to transitive verbs; and "the incorporating conjugation" (*bōgōgoteki katsuyō* 抱合語の活用), which describes the forms with both a nominative and an objective pronominal affix attached, and which therefore also applies to transitive verbs only.

The verb morpheme as such does not change its form according to grammatical person; only the affix changes. Some verbs, however, change their form according to number (see also section 13.7 in this study). Kindaichi employs this fact to set up four conjugational subcategories for the "complete verbs", namely according to how the plural form of the verb is

constructed: 1) Those that have the same form in the singular and the plural (Ex. *itak*, "speak"); 2) Those that add *-pa* after dropping their final vowel (Ex. *hosipi* - *hosippa*, "come back"); 3) Those that change their final *-n* into *-p* (Ex. *abuni* - *abup*, "come in"); and 4) Those that have completely different singular and plural forms (Ex. *an* - *oka*, "exist").

Transitive verbs have the same types of plural formation, but these plural forms are interpreted by Kindaichi as denoting plurality of the object (1960: 121ff). He does, however, elsewhere (1960: 126-27) say that the plural form of transitive verbs may also denote either plurality of subject or respect towards the addressee. This he explains as a later development caused by analogy with the plural of intransitive verbs.

With transitive verbs a plural subject will in many cases automatically imply plurality of object as well - although of course far from always - and in such cases it can be difficult to tell whether the plural form of the verb is caused by the one or the other. Since nouns are rarely marked for number, it will often be impossible to tell whether the subject or the object (or both) are plural or not. Finally, only very few of the transitive verbs in my Shizunai dialect material have plural forms at all, so it is not possible on that basis to verify Kindaichi's statement that the expression of plurality of the object is the basic function of transitive verbs in the plural.

In section 13.7 I point out still another function of the plural form, namely to denote "plurality of action" or "repetition". Furthermore, I include reduplication of the verb as an additional way of expressing this type of plurality.

Both Kindaichi and Chiri give many examples of verbs with the plural suffix *-pa* which in my material never appear in the plural form. This may well be due to decay in my informant's competence regarding this category. Japanese, which is her second language, has no equivalent to the plural form of verbs, and since number is furthermore not a feature which is stressed in the other word classes (except for the pronominal affixes), it must be considered one of the more exposed categories in the language death process.

In my description of Ainu verbs I do not employ the term "conjugation". Except for the singular-plural alternations, Ainu verbs never change their form, and I therefore consider it inappropriate to speak of conjugations. The various types of affixes and auxiliaries that combine with verbs I have instead treated as separate classes of bound forms. These classes, which I have called "verb prefixes", "verb suffixes", "verb auxiliaries", and "pronominal affixes" (sections 14.7-10) are all treated by Kindaichi and Chiri under either "Verbs" or "Syntax".

Both Chiri and Kindaichi devote special sections to the pronominal affixes *a-*, *ci-*⁸, and *i-*. *A-* is seen basically as the 1st person plural, inclusive; but Kindaichi points to six other possible functions of this affix: 1) General person (*hanshō* 汎称), i.e. "everybody, anybody"; 2) Indefinite person (*futeishō* 不定称), i.e. "one, you"; 3) Passive voice; 4) Middle voice; 5) Participle marker, 6) Honorific 2nd person. For *ci-* he lists the same functions with the exception of the passive voice and the honorific 2nd person.

As I have pointed out in section 14.10.4, *a-/an-* is primarily the affix for the indefinite person, while *ci-* (see 14.10.1) is used for the 1st person plural, when "we" are perceived as a clearly defined group which the speaker feels that he/she is representative of. The indefinite person is employed for the 1st person plural only when this condition is not fulfilled. The indefinite person may further be used when expressing an unspecified agent ("the passive"), for polite vagueness (2nd person honorific), and when expressing a "pretended I/we" (as for instance in stories told in the 1st person). *Ci-* in my material is never used for the indefinite person, and where it is used for the "general person" in the meaning of "(we) all", it is still limited to a known group, as for instance "we all in this village" or similar expressions.

The use of *a-* and *ci-* in what Kindaichi and Chiri call "participle forms" I regard as no different from any other kind of adnominalized sentence, with or without a pronominal affix attached to the adnominalized verb.

As for the middle voice, I have no examples of either *a-* or *ci-* expressing this concept. The concept of something happening by itself – involving no agent – is expressed by the verb prefix *si-* (see section 14.7.2).

The prefix *i-*, I have treated primarily as a verb prefix, and not as the objective case of the indefinite pronominal affix. It functions to make intransitive verbs out of transitive ones by providing them with an inbuilt object meaning "somebody" or "something" (see section 14.7.2). Chiri (1936) 1974: 66) gives three other uses for the prefix *i-*, namely as the nominative case of the 1st person singular, the 3rd person (expletive use with nouns), or the indefinite person. In my material I have no examples of any of these three nominative functions, and neither Kindaichi (1960), nor Tamura (1970b) make any mention of them.

Both Kindaichi and Chiri give a very thorough and systematic description of the verb prefixes with the exception of *i-*, which they both include among the pronominal affixes. One striking difference between their description and mine is that they put a much greater emphasis on the case marking function of the prefixes *e-*, *ko-*, and *o-* (Kindaichi: 1960: 136ff; Chiri: (1936) 1974:

89ff). The locative, allative, and to a lesser extent instrumental cases are in my material predominantly expressed through case postpositions following the noun. Unmarked nouns denoting position or goal followed by a prefixed verb are only rarely seen, while unmarked nouns denoting means followed by a verb prefixed with *e-* are somewhat more frequent. In Kindaichi's and Chiri's material, however, constructions of this type appear to be extremely common. I believe that this phenomenon, too, reflects a change brought about by the decline of the Ainu language and the influence of Japanese. Japanese employs only case postpositions and has no verb prefixes of this type. Since case postpositions have been available in the Ainu language as an alternative way of expressing the locative, allative, and instrumental cases, it seems inevitable that they should have gained in frequency among bilingual speakers at the expense of the constructions using verb prefixes. Kindaichi and Chiri both use data from the orally transmitted literature of the Ainu, which has preserved older stages of the language, and furthermore they base their descriptions on field work done in the 1920s and 1930s, so that even their data on the colloquial language certainly reflect a less decayed stage of the language than my data, which were collected in 1980 and 1981. As may be seen from my description (section 14.7.3), the adjuncts to which the prefixes point, when they appear in my material, are often not explicitly stated. Instead they are perceived as a vague sum of what has been implied by the preceding statement. It may be surmised that were the references for these verb prefixes to be stated explicitly in a single word, a case postposition would be employed instead of the prefix.

For those prefixes which I have called "adjunct-reducing" (section 14.7.2), i.e. *yay-*, *u-*, and *si-*, there does not seem to have been a similar decay – perhaps because the Ainu language has no alternative way of expressing reflexivity, mutuality, and middle voice. As mentioned above, the prefix *i-*, which also belongs in this group, is not included by Kindaichi and Chiri, but interpreted as a pronominal affix instead.

Combinations of prefixes are only touched upon briefly by both authors in their chapters on "Verbs". They describe the combinations of *u-e-* and *u-ko-* (Kindaichi: 1960: 151-52; Chiri: (1936) 1974: 95-96), and Chiri includes *yay-ko-* as well (1936) 1974: 97), but longer strings and other combinations are saved for a later chapter, where they are described under the heading, "Polysynthesis" (see section 2.4.7).

As for verb suffixes (section 14.8 in the present work), Chiri groups the transitivity and causativizing suffixes together with a list of verb formative

morphemes (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 103ff; see section 13.6 in my description), and beyond listing a number of isolated forms, he offers no comments. He also gets the transitivity and causativizing suffixes mixed up, when he interprets *-re* and *-te* as transitivity suffixes in some cases, and causativizing in others (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 107).

Kindaichi groups the causativizing suffixes with a group of suffixes that express aspect. The transitivity suffixes he does not treat in a body, although they are mentioned in connection with the division of verbs into "complete" and "incomplete".

Kindaichi makes a distinction between aspectual suffixes (*dōsatai no sabetu o arawasu rashii iroirona dōshi gobi* 動作態の差別を表わすらしい色々な動詞語尾, "various verb suffixes which seem to express distinctions in action aspect"), and "aspectual particles" (*tai (Aktionsart; aspect) no jōji* 態 (...)の助辞). To the first group belong *-kosanu*^{*}, *-rototke*, *-atki*, *-natarahitara*, *-osma*, *-tek*^{*}, and *-ekatta*^{*} (Kindaichi: 1960: 162ff). Of these, only the three forms marked with an asterisk are found in my material, and then only in very few expressions, which appear to be lexicalized.

The "aspectual particles" comprise forms which I have treated in section 14.9 as verb auxiliaries, but also a number of forms which are not found in my material on the Shizunai dialect. There is some discrepancy between Kindaichi's interpretations of the forms and mine; e.g. he treats *a* as the perfective aspect (Kindaichi: 1960: 167ff), while I interpret it as the durative mode of action (*aktionsart*) (see section 14.9.3.1). *Kor an*, which corresponds to *kane an* in the Shizunai dialect, Kindaichi calls "the progressive aspect" (*shinkōtai* 進行態) (Kindaichi: 1960: 171ff), while I see it as the uncompleted aspect (section 14.9.2.4). Chiri's description follows closely that of Kindaichi, but he includes the two forms *wa isam* and *wa okere* under "the perfective aspect" (*kanryōtai* 完了態). I distinguish between the two as the perfective aspect (14.9.2.1) and the completed aspect (14.9.2.3), respectively.

2.4.6. Particles

A chapter on "Particles" (*jōshi* 助詞) is only found in Chiri's book, and it contains sections on "particles, which follow uninflected words" (*taigen ni tsuku mono* 体言につくもの), "conjunctive particles" (*setsuzoku jōshi* 接続助詞), and "final particles" (*shūjōshi* 終助詞). Most of the morphemes in the first of these sections are treated under "Nouns" in Kindaichi's work, while the two latter sections are described in his final chapter on "Syntax". The first group comprises what I have called "postpositions", and in my

analysis I have subcategorized them into attributive postpositions (14.3), coordinative postpositions (14.4), case postpositions (14.5), and restrictive postpositions (14.6), thereby partly following the categories set up by Bruno Lewin for classical Japanese (Lewin: 1959: 75-85 and 92-97).

Chiri lists fifty-four different morphemes with translations and examples, but he makes no attempt to classify them. Some of the morphemes have been described in other connections in his book, and references are given, so that this section is partly a summary of earlier chapters.

In the section on conjunctive particles, Chiri lists thirty-four different morphemes (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 127ff). This section corresponds to Kindaichi's chapter on "conjunctive forms" (*setsuzokukei* 接続形) (Kindaichi: 1960: 191ff), and Kindaichi lists about twenty different conjunctive particles. Both include as conjunctive particles the morphemes I have called "quotationalizers" (see section 14.14), and Chiri also includes morphemes like *kotom*, *ruwe*, *hawe*, *hita*, etc., which I classify as "nominalizers" (see section 14.13). The term "conjunctive particle", which is also used in descriptions of Japanese, is employed in all later descriptions of Ainu, and with the exceptions mentioned above this group of morphemes corresponds to what I have called "conjunctivizers" (see section 14.12). I use the three terms, conjunctivizer, nominalizer, and quotationalizer to define those morphemes which mark three out of four possible types of sentence conversion in Ainu, namely conjunctivization, nominalization, and quotationalization. The fourth type is adnominalization, which occurs when a sentence modifies a noun. My description of Ainu syntax (Chapter 15) is inspired mainly by descriptions of Japanese syntax (see below, 3.6), and the works of other Ainu scholars have contributed very little in this respect.

The last section in Chiri's chapter on "Particles" deals with final particles. Of these he lists no less than twenty-nine, which contrasts sharply with thirteen in Tamura (1961) and four in my description (section 14.11). Chiri attains this very large number of "final particles" because he lists verbs, verb auxiliaries, and nominalized forms together with the true final particles (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 131ff).

Kindaichi treats the final particles as part of the analysis of different types of sentences, where he sets up seven types: imperative, negative, interrogative, interjectional, subjunctive, dubitative, and conjunctive (see also below, 2.4.8). Of these, not all are marked by final particles; e.g. the subjunctive and dubitative sentences are marked as such by verb auxiliaries, and the negative sentences are negative because they contain a negative adverb.

The genuine sentence final suffixes are rarely used by themselves after the final predicate; usually they are preceded by a nominalization and the copula or an equivalent form. These "fixed" sentence final forms I have treated together with the sentence final suffixes in section 14.11; Chiri does the same, but there are some discrepancies between his empirical data and mine which are probably due to dialect differences. Kindaichi, however, treats these extended sentence final forms in a separate section under "Syntax", which he calls "Seven Special Modes" (*nanashu no tokuyū no hō* 七種の特有の法). Among the seven are, however, also what in my analysis is interpreted as ordinary nominalization (with *bumi* and *katu*), conjunctionalization (with *kusu*), and quotationalization (with *kun*) (Kindaichi: 1960: 201ff; sections 14.12, 14.13, and 14.14 in my description).

2.4.7. Interjections

Kindaichi does not describe this class of morphemes, and Chiri's description simply consists of a list of single words. Half of these I interpret as verbs (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 135, §218), while the other half (§217) are genuine interjections, but only a few of them are found in my material, which unfortunately contains very few interjections altogether (see section 12.6.2).

2.4.8. Syntax

Generally it must be said that Kindaichi and Chiri do not make any clear distinction between morphology and syntax. In both descriptions the chapters on "Syntax" (Kindaichi: *bunshōhō* 文章法; Chiri: *bunshōron* 文章論) contain more morphology than syntax; i.e. they tend to deal with the meaning and function of single morphemes rather than with the structure of sentences. Therefore most of the phenomena described here in my description have been treated under "Morphology".

Both Chiri and Kindaichi set up the following sentence types (*bun no keishiki* 文の形式):

"Imperative sentences" (*meireikei* 命令形). This section is mainly a description of sentence final suffixes like *yan*, *ro* and *na* (see sections 14.9.4.1, 14.9.4.3, and 14.11.2 in my description).

"Negative sentences" (*biteikei* 否定形). Predicates are negated with the adverbs, *somo* or *iteke* (see section 12.6.3.6).

"Interrogative sentences" (*gimankei* 疑問形). Chiri notes that rising into-

nation alone may indicate a question (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 153), but otherwise this section is a description of sentence final suffixes (see section 14.11.1 in my description), and Kindaichi also includes a description of the interrogative pronouns (Kindaichi: 1960: 185ff) (see section 12.3.4 of this description).

Kindaichi furthermore sets up:

"Interjectional sentences and rhetorical questions" (*kantankei to hangokei* 感嘆形と反語形), which he describes as similar in form to interrogative sentences.

"Subjunctive sentences" (*ganbōkei* 願望形). These are formed with the desiderative auxiliary, *rusuy* (see section 14.9.4.4), or with a construction involving the case postposition *ta* and the existential verb *oka* (Kindaichi: 1960: 189). The latter construction is not found in my material on the Shizunai dialect.

"Dubitative sentences" (*sōzōkei* 想像形). This section contains a description of the dubitative auxiliary, *nankor* (see section 14.9.4.6).

"Conjunctive sentences" (*setsuzokukei* 接続形). As mentioned above, this section is actually a description of the various conjunctive particles, or – as I define them – conjunctivizers (see section 14.12).

Both Kindaichi and Chiri then proceed to describe modality, but they are not quite in agreement as to which types of moods are found in the Ainu language, nor as to which morphemes should be assigned to express the various moods. Kindaichi sets up seven different moods:

"Mood of visual perception" (*kensetsubō* 見説法), which is expressed by *siri* (*ne/an*). The section deals with the overall meaning of the morpheme, *sir(i)*, alone and in various compounds, and then with its functions when modified by a predicate. Chiri's description of this phenomenon agrees with Kindaichi's, but in my analysis *siri* is interpreted as a nominalizer (see sections 14.11 and 14.13.1).

"Mood of auditive perception" (*bunsetsubō* 聞説法), which is expressed by *hawe* (*as/ne/an/iki*). *Hawe*, too, is analysed in the same way by Chiri, while in my analysis it is defined as a nominalizer (see sections 14.11 and 14.13.1). Both *hawe* and *siri* are often used in the nominalizations, which may form part of or by themselves constitute a sentence final form. However, the modality of such a sentence final form is in my opinion not primarily a property of the nominalizer, but of the form as a whole or of the sentence final suffix, whether explicitly stated or not. These sentence final suffixes may express four different moods, namely interrogative, affective, assertive,

or imperative. Other ways of expressing modality are through the *au*, described in section 14.9.4.

The choice between employing *siri* or *hawe* is not dictated by the speaker's evaluation of his own statement, but only by his perception of that of which he speaks (visual, aural, etc.).

The third mood set up by Kindaichi is that of "sense perception" (*kansetsubō* 感説法). The same term is employed by Chiri, and the morpheme to which they assign this role is *humi*. *Hum(i)* is a noun meaning "sound", and in my analysis it is interpreted as a general noun. I have no example of its use as a more generalized nominalizer – although it does of course occasionally appear with an adnominalized sentence – and neither is it employed in the kind of sentence final nominalizations which we find for *hawe*, *siri*, *ruwe*, etc.

"Mood of reality" (*jijitsubō* 事実法, or as Chiri calls it and Kindaichi says in brackets: *kakusetsubō* 確説法) is expressed with *ruwe*. Again, *ruwe* is a morpheme which in my description is regarded as a nominalizer, and it enters into the same sentence final constructions as *hawe* and *siri* (see sections 14.11 and 14.13.1).

"Mood of state/circumstances" (*jōtaihō* 常態法) is only set up by Kindaichi; Chiri has no corresponding category. The morpheme which according to Kindaichi expresses this mood is *katu*, which Chiri interprets as a particle (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 130; cf. 2.4.6 above), and which he does not define beyond giving its meaning as "condition, state". I include *katu* among the nominalizers (see section 14.13.2), and I have no examples of *katu* entering into sentence final constructions like *ruwe*, *hawe* or *siri*.

The two final moods set up by Kindaichi are the "mood of expectation" (*shokibō* 所期法) and the "mood of potentiality" (*kanōhō* 可能法). The morphemes which express these two moods are *kusu* and *kuni* respectively. Chiri also describes these two morphemes as modal, but he defines them somewhat differently, namely so that *kusu* expresses the "mood of volition" (*ishihō* 意志法), while *kuni* expresses the "mood of expectation" (*yokihō* 予期法).

In my analysis I define *kusu* as a conjunctivalizer, which in one of its functions indicates that the conjunctivalized sentence is the purpose of the following one (see section 14.12.4). *Kuni* I have grouped among the quotationalizers, because it is always followed by a verb meaning "think, feel" in my material (see section 14.14). *Kuni* is generally translated as the Japanese modal auxiliary, *beshi*, and *kuni* may very well imply the nuance of necessity (expectation) or potentiality, also indicated by *beshi*. Formally and

distributionally, however, it behaves like a quotationalizer, and I have therefore categorized it as such.

The next section in Kindaichi's chapter on "Syntax" is a description of Ainu numerals, corresponding to Chiri's separate chapter, "Numerals" (Chiri: 1936) 1974: 57ff). I have treated numbers as a subcategory of nouns ("quantity nouns"; section 12.4), and my description is based partly on my data from the Shizunai dialect, partly on written sources: (besides Kindaichi and Chiri) Murayama: 1971, Patrie: 1981a; Tamura: 1981. I introduce a distinction between "numeral" (the basic digit morpheme) and "number" (the basic morpheme + counter), where numerals belong to the class of adnouns (see 14.1.1), and only the numbers belong in the class of nouns (see 12.4.5). Numbers may in rare circumstances function as adnouns (cf. 12.4.3); otherwise they appear as pure nouns or appositional to pure nouns. It has generally been said (Kindaichi: 1960: 219ff; Chiri: (1936) 1974: 62; Tamura: 1970b: 609) that expressions containing a numeral cannot be connected syntactically with a verb in the plural form, but my data seem to disprove this. A predicate with a plural pronominal affix attached will appear in the plural form (if it has one), also when expressions with a number or numeral are involved. This is a consistent feature, which should probably not be dismissed as due to decay in the competence of my informant. However a number of examples where no pronominal affix is involved show inconsistency in the use or non-use of plural verb forms, and here decay may well be assumed to be the cause.

Kindaichi ascribes the lack of congruence between numeral and plurality in the verb to a tendency for the Ainu language to do away with everything that is not necessary for the comprehension of an utterance. But congruence does exist between the plural pronominal affixes and the plural forms of verbs, so this statement does not quite hold true.

After the section on numerals, Kindaichi has a short section on the category of "time" (*toki* 時) in Ainu; a problem which Chiri does not go into in the *Ainu gobō gaisetsu* from 1936. Kindaichi states that the Ainu language makes no temporal distinctions, but expresses everything in the past tense – the present "now" being of such a fleeting nature that it cannot be pinned down by the language. In his book on the Sakhalin dialects (Chiri: 1942: 96-97), Chiri modifies this statement a little by pointing out that only non-stative verbs require a past tense translation, while stative verbs (*jizokutai no yōshi* 持続態の用詞) should be translated as the present progressive tense (Japanese: – *te iru*). My views regarding this problem are stated in section 14.9.1, and

they differ somewhat from the views of Kindaichi and Chiri. I believe that a language which does not possess the category of tense does not concern itself at all with a linear time concept. It is therefore not correct to maintain, as Chiri and Kindaichi do, that the past tense is a more proper translation than the present or any other tense. Chiri writes:

"When non-stative verbs are used isolatedly as predicates in the direct mood, they must be translated as the past tense, ... *shita*. E.g. *oman* should not be "he goes", but "he went". Regarding this point, the dictionaries and grammars written so far are for the greater part mistaken".

(Chiri: 1942: 96-97)

In my opinion *oman* is neither "he goes", nor "he went", but only a statement of the concept "go" in connection with the third person. As I point out in section 14.9.1, it is just as impossible for the Ainu language to place an utterance somewhere on a linear time line as it is for us to avoid doing so. Consequently a really exact translation is impossible.

The next section in Kindaichi's chapter on "Syntax" deals with "the grammar of honorific language" (*keigobō* 敬語法). The term seems to be somewhat excessive for this phenomenon in Ainu; it is in fact rather limited. Kindaichi points out that examples of honorific expressions are rare in the classical language of the *yukar* as well as in the northern and eastern dialects of Ainu. Only in the Hidaka and Iburi areas, where the population has had a long-standing association with the Japanese, may one find a consistent use of honorific expressions.

In my material on the Shizunai dialect examples of honorific language are few and far between. The means of expressing respect may be summarized as "vagueness" or "fudging": through the use of plurality and the indefinite pronominal affix (which Kindaichi calls the 1st person plural, inclusive), one may avoid direct mention of the actual perpetrator of an act or the subject of a state. This taboo-like avoidance of directly mentioning persons above oneself (in age, sex, or position) is the essence of Ainu "honorific language". In sections 13.7 and 14.10.4 I have briefly mentioned these two kinds of respect expressions and provided an example of each (Ex. 170 and 363).

Kindaichi and Chiri both end their chapters on "Syntax" with a section on "word order" (*gojo* 語序) and one on "polysynthesis" (*shūgō* 輯合).

The main principles of Ainu word order are summarized by Chiri (1936: 167) as follows:

1. Modifiers precede what they modify.
2. Object/complement precedes the verb.
3. All particles are postpositions.
4. When a subject is a noun or a pronoun it precedes the verb, and if there is an object or complement the word order is S O V.
5. When a subject is a pronominal affix, there are special rules;
 - a) 1st person's affix precedes transitive verbs, but succeeds intransitive verbs.
 - b) 2nd person's affix precedes all verbs.
 - c) When both subject and object are pronominal affixes, the word order is S O V.
 - d) When the object is a noun, the word order becomes O S V.

In chapter 15 I have described the word order of Ainu in the form of a context-free phrase structure grammar. My grammar does not explain the order of predicate adjuncts, as I have found this to be very free. Nor does it explain the fifth of the above principles; the rules for pronominal affixation are instead explained in chapter 14.10. My grammar is not detailed enough automatically to produce correct sentences, and it can only to some extent be used to determine whether a given sentence is correct or not, but if it is used together with the chapters on morphology, I believe it will serve to clarify my analysis.

The last section in the two books, "Polysynthesis", deals with multiple prefixation of verbs (see section 14.7.4 in my description), and combinations of nouns and verbs, where a transitive verb combines with its object to form an intransitive verb (see section 13.4.2 in this description). Similar combinations of verbs and adverbs are also mentioned, but I have no examples of this in my data.

2.5. Concluding Remarks

This description of the Shizunai dialect has only to a limited extent availed itself of the material found in pre-war sources. The Batchelor dictionary (Batchelor:1938) and older word lists have occasionally been of use in trying to trace the meaning of words not listed in Hattori's dialect dictionary (Hattori: 1964). The *yukar* translations by Kindaichi (Kindaichi: 1959-68) carry word indexes, which have also been useful in this respect, but mostly I have relied upon translations and explanations offered by my informant, Ms. Orita.

In the morphological analysis, the works by Kindaichi (1960) and Chiri (1936 (reprint: 1974), 1942) have served as reference material, but as de-

scribed above, the present description deviates from them in both the overall system (demarcation of word classes, grammatical terminology, etc.) and in a number of details concerning the interpretation of single morphemes.

3. Post-war Ainu Research

In 1955 Chiri Mashio cooperated with Hattori Shirō to gather data on Ainu dialects. Using Morris Swadesh's list of 200 basic vocabulary items, they attempted a lexicostatistic study of Ainu dialects (Chiri: 1960). Hattori was a professor of linguistics at Tokyo University, and under his guidance a number of his students became involved in the work of compiling a dictionary of Ainu dialects (Hattori: 1964). This dictionary, which contains about 2000 lexical items for nine different dialects, is so far the most reliable reference work for studies of the Ainu language.

Three of Hattori's students took up Ainu studies and wrote their graduation theses as descriptions of a single dialect: Tamura Suzuko on the Saru dialect, Asai Tōru on the Ishikari dialect, and Murasaki Kyōko on the Sakhalin Raychishka dialect. None of the theses are published, but all three have since continued their work on Ainu and published their results.

3.1. *Murasaki Kyōko and the Raychishka Dialect*

Murasaki Kyōko has written several articles on the grammar of the Raychishka dialect. In 1978 she published a small grammatical manual in English, and a more detailed Japanese version appeared the following year (Murasaki: 1978, 1979). Murasaki's analysis of morphology and syntax draws upon the tradition of generative grammar, and her terminology is less traditional and occasionally more precise than that of Tamura and Asai. However, since the differences between the Hokkaidō and Sakhalin dialects are considerable, Murasaki's works have only to a minor extent served as reference material for the present description. In some places data on the Sakhalin dialects have thus been quoted from Murasaki in order to provide material for comparison with the Shizunai dialect.

3.2. *Asai Tōru and the Ishikari dialect*

Asai Tōru wrote his thesis on the idiolect of one speaker of the Ishikari Uryū dialect, and in 1969 he published a short description of this dialect (Asai:

1969). Asai's work on Ainu has not been limited to this dialect; he has also worked on Ainu dialects in general (Asai:1974), on Ainu numerals (Asai: 1982), and on other subjects concerning the Ainu language and culture (see bibliography).

In his analysis of the Ishikari dialect, Asai closely follows Chiri in descriptive method and terminology. There are, however, some morphological differences between the Ishikari dialect and the dialect(s) of central-south Hokkaidō which Chiri described, and I have therefore in some places referred to the empirical data presented by Asai.

3.3. Tamura Suzuko and the Saru Dialect

Tamura Suzuko has not so far published a comprehensive description of the Saru dialect. Instead, her results have appeared in a large number of separate, small papers in linguistic periodicals. They deal with isolated aspects of morphology, and although they cover a wide range of subjects, they do not yet together constitute a total description of the Saru dialect. At Waseda University, where Tamura is currently a professor of linguistics, a course in Ainu is taught, and Tamura has published an Ainu primer with various supplements and tapes (Tamura: 1979, 1983).

For the present description of the Shizunai dialect I have – especially in the earlier stages of my work – drawn extensively upon the work by Tamura. Thus the Saru dialect is also the one most frequently referred to for comparisons. There are, however, major differences between Tamura's approach and mine. In spite of the close geographical proximity (less than 50 kilometers) between the Piratori area, where Tamura's informants lived, and the Shizunai area the two dialects differ considerably. The dialect differences account for some of the divergencies between Tamura's analysis and mine, but not for them all.

In Tamura's categorization of word classes, the system set up by Kindaichi and Chiri still lingers with minor changes in classification and terminology. Tamura, however, claims strict adherence to functional criteria for word class division. In her short article, *Ainugo to Nibongo* (Ainu and Japanese) (Tamura: 1978), she writes:

"When we divide the words into classes according to their grammatical function, Ainu does not differ much from Japanese, but the classification becomes very different from that of western languages".

Tamura proceeds to distinguish the following seven word classes:

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Verbs | (<i>dōshi</i> 動詞) |
| 2. Nouns | (<i>meishi</i> 名詞) |
| 3. Adnouns | (<i>rentaishi</i> 連体詞) |
| 4. Adverbs | (<i>fukushi</i> 副詞) |
| 5. Conjunctions | (<i>setsuzokushi</i> 接続詞) |
| 6. Particles | (<i>joshi</i> 助詞) |
| 7. Interjections | (<i>kantōshi</i> 間投詞) |

The distinction between verbs and adjectives, which with some hesitation was maintained by Kindaichi and Chiri, is abandoned by Tamura, who says:

"The greater part of the concepts which in various foreign languages are expressed through adjectives are expressed by verbs in Ainu".

(Tamura: 1978: 209)

In this as well as in the subdivision of verbs into complete (non-affixing) verbs, intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, and the copula, I follow Tamura. In a number of separate papers Tamura has dealt more specifically with various aspects of the verbs of the Saru dialect (Tamura: 1972c, 1973, 1974, 1975), and her very first paper from 1956, *Ainugo no dōshi no kōzō* (The Structure of Ainu Verbs), is a general description of the function of verb prefixes and suffixes and their order of affixation.

Tamura calls the verb expression without pronominal affixes "the personal stem" (*ninsbōgokan* 人称語幹); i.e. the stem to which personal (pronominal) affixes may attach. This stem, which may consist of a verbal root and a number of prefixes and/or suffixes, is described in the following diagram (Tamura: 1956: 51):

I	II	III	0	IV	VI
e-	i-	e-	base	sg/pl suffix	causat. suffix
—	yay-	—		V	—
ko-	u-	ko-		it/tr suffix	-yar
	si-				

My description of the verb affixes does not differ greatly from Tamura's, but I have refrained from setting up a similar diagram, because I find it impossible to narrow down any consistent restraints upon the order of sequence of the various prefixes in multiple prefixation (see sections 14.7 and 14.7.4). On the basis of my data on the Shizunai dialect I find that the versatility of the verb prefixes is limited, and that they are only productive to a certain degree. It is particularly in the case where two or more prefixes are combined that the forms appear to be almost totally lexicalized. This may be a consequence of the decay of the language or of the limited competence of my informant, and in any case it makes a detailed, formal analysis of the grammar of the verb prefixes in the Shizunai dialect a very delicate task.

Pronominal affixes and verb affixes are not defined as separate classes by Tamura, but are included within the class of verbs. I have chosen to treat these morphemes separately, as subcategories of the class of "clitics". In the treatment of pronominal affixes my analysis of the role of the indefinite person has resulted in a much simpler system than the one presented by Tamura (1970a, 1970b, 1971, 1972e). My arguments for this are presented in section 14.10 and also touched upon in section 2.4.2 above.

The class of "Nouns" is subdivided into three categories by Tamura, namely:

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. General nouns | (<i>futsū meishi</i> 普通名詞) |
| 2. Position nouns | (<i>ichi meishi</i> 位置名詞) |
| 3. Personal pronouns | (<i>ninshō daimeishi</i> 人稱代名詞) |

A comprehensive description of the class of general nouns, and especially the belonging form of nouns, is found in two articles by Tamura (Tamura: 1964, 1966), and the subject is dealt with in section 12.1 in the present description. In section 2.4.1 above, I have discussed the analysis of the belonging form with reference to Tamura's views as well, so I shall not go further into that here.

In my analysis I have used the term "nominals" to cover "any free form that cannot be a predicate", so in contrast with Tamura's class of "nouns", "nominals" furthermore include "quantity nouns" (section 12.4), conjunctions, interjections, adverbs (section 12.6), and demonstrative and indeterminate pronouns (section 12.3).

Tamura has chosen to emphasize the adnominal function of demonstratives and numerals, so that in her analysis they constitute a class by

themselves, *rentaishi* ("adnouns"). As pointed out in section 12.3 of the present description, demonstratives and indeterminates have a basic, free form, which alone will generally function as an adverbial adjunct. Combining this form with a suffix (-*an*, -*on*, -*un*, -*oka*) will produce an adnoun, which is a bound form, and which would therefore be placed in the third of my three major categories, namely "clitics" (see section 14.1.1). I have chosen to take the basic, free form of the demonstratives and indeterminates as the basis for deciding the primary word class affiliation.

For the quantity nouns the same reasoning would have resulted in placing all quantity nouns among the clitics as adnouns, since the basic numeral is always used adnominally. Here, however, I have been deliberately inconsistent. Most of the quantity nouns which do not contain a numeral are always free forms, as are the forms where a numeral is extended by a counter to form a "number" (see section 12.4). The adnominal use of the basic numeral morpheme appears much less frequently than the appositional or nominal use of the numbers, so for this reason I have chosen to place their primary word class affiliation with the nominals (see also chapter 11 in the present description).

The fourth, fifth, and seventh of Tamura's word classes (e.g. adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections) are accordingly included in the class of "nominals" in my description (see section 12.6). In Tamura's definition, "adverbs" comprise some postpositions, and it is not quite clear from her brief article (Tamura: 1978: 213), what postpositions specifically belong here. The three examples which she presents are: *ani* (instrumental case), *okari* ("around"; a positional in my analysis), and *nenō* (comparative case), but later in the article (and also in Tamura: 1960: 70), she deals with case postpositions as a subgroup of "Particles", and gives *ta* (locative case) and *un* (allative case) as examples. In my analysis only free forms can be defined as adverbs (see 12.6.3).

Similarly, in her definition of conjunctions, Tamura says that the borderline between "conjunctions" and "conjunctive particles" is fluid, and all the examples she gives of conjunctions are examples which I would define as bound forms. In the Shizunai dialect there are also examples of conjunctive particles (see 14.12) functioning as conjunctions, but they are few and far between, and can, in my opinion, generally be explained as the speaker making a delayed decision to continue the utterance. I therefore maintain in my analysis that a distinction between conjunctions (as free forms) and "conjunctive particles" (as bound forms) is feasible (see sections 12.6.1 and 14.12).

Tamura's class of "particles" is subdivided into the following six groups:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Verb auxiliaries | (<i>jodōshi</i> 助動詞) |
| 2. Nominal particles | (<i>meijosbi</i> 名助詞) |
| 3. Conjunctive particles | (<i>setsuzokujosbi</i> 接続助詞) |
| 4. Case particles | (<i>kakujosbi</i> 格助詞) |
| 5. Adverbial particles | (<i>fukujosbi</i> 副助詞) |
| 6. Final particles | (<i>shūjosbi</i> 終助詞) |

Of these, all except the nominal particles and the case particles have received separate, more detailed treatment in other papers by Tamura (Tamura: 1960, 1961, 1972a, 1972b, 1972-73).

Tamura treats as "particles" only those morphemes which are placed *after* free forms, and she defines them in general as words that are "weak in independence" (*dokuritsusei no yowai* 独立性の弱い). Verb auxiliaries – or "verbal particles" as Tamura translates *jodōshi* in the English summary of her article (Tamura: 1960: 343) – are defined by Tamura as forms which may follow a verb expression to form a new verb expression. The present description also treats verb auxiliaries as optional members of a verb expression, but in the interpretation of the function/meaning of the single auxiliaries there are some differences of opinion, not all of which are due to dialect differences. Tamura does not systematize her description of the auxiliaries, but only enumerates them while explaining their meaning and presenting examples of their use. Thus she does not enter into the questions of tense, aspect, mode of action, and mood, which I have dealt with in section 14.9. Tamura interprets both *a* and *nisa* (the latter is not found in the Shizunai dialect) as tense markers, while my data have led me to the conclusion that the category of tense does not exist in Ainu (see section 14.9.1). The last section in Tamura's article on auxiliaries (Tamura: 1960: 352) deals with verbs which may also function as auxiliaries. In my description of auxiliaries I have mentioned that an auxiliary is analytically constructed whenever this is the case, but my ordering of the auxiliaries is based upon whether they express aspect, mode of action, or mood, and not upon their formal or etymological properties.

"Conjunctive particles" are dealt with by Tamura in several papers (Tamura: 1972a, 1972b, 1972-73), and presumably she has not covered all the conjunctive particles of the Saru dialect yet. My chapter on "conjunctivizers" (14.12) by and large agrees with Tamura's description in the

interpretation of single morphemes; the few discrepancies may all be put down to dialect differences, and they are noted in each case in section 14.12. We are also in agreement about the syntactical role of the "conjunctive particles", but I go one step further in drawing a parallel between them and nominalizers (14.13) and quotationalizers (14.14) in a system of sentence embedding processes.

"Adverbial particles" are dealt with together with "final particles" in one paper (Tamura: 1961). Tamura's class of "adverbial particles" corresponds to what has been called "restrictive postpositions" in the present description. The term "restrictive", which I consider a more informative designation for this group of morphemes (see section 14.6), has been borrowed from Samuel E. Martin's description of Japanese (Martin: 1975), but I employ the term in a broader sense than Martin. The restrictive postpositions, *anak* and *ka* appear to exist in all dialects of Ainu, but regarding the rest of the morphemes in this group, dialect differences are considerable. Thus there is very little overlapping between the morphemes presented by Tamura and those described in the present work. The same is true for the final particles, and furthermore Tamura's analysis of the final particles of the Saru dialect does not go into the sentence final nominalizations, which I have included in my description of the sentence final forms (see section 14.11).

The final word class given by Tamura is "Interjections", but it is only mentioned in her article, and no examples are given.

3.4. The Description of Syntax

Syntax is treated by Tamura in most of her papers as part of her functional definition of the word class under discussion, but nowhere does she give a total survey of Ainu sentence structure. E.g. in her treatment of the particles, the six different types of particles are defined as the morphemes which may be placed in the empty boxes below (Tamura: 1960: 345ff):

Verbal particles (auxiliaries):



Nominal particles:



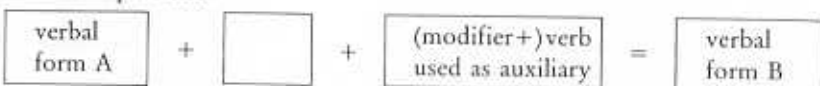
Conjunctive particles:



Case particles:



Adverbial particles:



or:



or:



Final particles:



In chapter 15 of the present description I have attempted to set up a very simple set of concatenating rewrite rules to describe the structure of Ainu sentences and the roles of the various classes of morphemes. Compared with Tamura's model above, my description may be said to turn the definitions around, so that a morpheme will not be classified according to the kind of expression it may enter into; but rather various types of expressions (or "forms") are defined by means of the types of morphemes which may possibly join in their formation.

My description of Ainu syntax relies very little upon earlier descriptions of Ainu. Instead, I was originally inspired by Roy Andrew Miller's analysis of Japanese syntax (Miller: 1967: 347ff), and later by Samuel E. Martin's chapter on sentence construction in his *A Reference Grammar of Japanese* (Martin: 1975: 28ff).

Miller, who is heavily influenced by Bernhard Bloch's description of Japanese, adheres so strictly to formal criteria that the discrimination of word classes necessarily becomes rather rough. For instance, all postpositions are grouped together as "particles", and no distinction is made between case markers and restrictive postpositions. In the syntactical analysis this leads Miller to classify e.g. temporal adverbs as "adverbial phrases" when they stand alone (e.g. *tokiori*), but as "relational phrases" when they are followed by a restrictive postposition (e.g. *ima mo*). Thus Miller's distinction between "adverbial" and "relational" becomes purely a formal matter of whether a "particle" is added or not – possible ellipsis of a particle does not enter into the system either. In my definition of "adverbial" and "relational", I thus depart from Miller's definition.

Martin, on the other hand, provides a very subtle and detailed analysis of word classes, which is of course only partly applicable to Ainu, but especially in my analysis of case versus restrictive postpositions, and in the interpretation of embedded sentences (conjunctionalization, nominalization, adnominalization, and quotationalization), Martin's analysis of Japanese has provided a great deal of insight. The differences between Japanese and Ainu mean, however, that the same term does not necessarily cover the same phenomenon in the two languages. E.g. I have termed as "restrictive postpositions" both Martin's "particles of focus", "restrictives and quasi-restrictives", "the comparator", and "the distributive" (Martin: 1975: 52ff). As sentence conversion processes Martin lists "adverbialization", "nominalization", "adnominalization", and "conjunctionalization". Of these, adverbialization cannot be distinguished from conjunctionalization in Ainu; and furthermore I have added quotationalization to the list in a somewhat different meaning than the one in which Martin employs the term (i.e. when a nominalized sentence is marked with *to iu* (Martin: 1975: 666)). Thus when I use the term, quotationalization, it rather corresponds to that which Martin calls "quotation", and which he describes as having an adverbial relationship to the information verb to which it is attached (Martin: 1975: 997).

3.5. Comparing with Japanese

In almost all descriptions of Ainu so far, references to similarities with or differences from Japanese abound. The present description is no exception. The reason for this tendency to compare with Japanese is clear: The majority of linguists doing research on Ainu either have Japanese as their mother tongue, or have learnt it and use it to communicate with their informants. In

no respects is Ainu immediately similar to any European languages, so if Japanese is the only non-European language known to the researcher, it will appear both handy and relevant to compare the two.

There are, however, some disadvantages involved in this automatic comparison with Japanese. On the one hand, the structure of Japanese may well predispose the linguist to draw analogies between similar constructions which are not quite warranted. On the other, he/she may well overlook special features of Ainu which have no counterparts in the Japanese language. This type of "blindness" appears to be quite common; e.g. the aspectual nature of a number of verb auxiliaries in the classical Japanese language was not recognized until it was pointed out by Russian scholars, who knew what to look for because the feature existed in their own language. Before that, these auxiliaries had been regarded as tense markers.

Comparisons between Ainu and Eskimo, Sino-Tibetan, Austronesian, or other non-Japanese/European languages would probably throw new light upon the description of Ainu. Unfortunately such comparisons are beyond the scope of the present work.

3.6. *A Note on Terminology*

The terminology used in the present description is drawn from many sources with the purpose of attaining as precise labels as possible. At the same time I have attempted to attain a compromise between preserving whenever possible the traditional terminology employed by Kindaichi, Chiri, and Tamura, and substituting what I have found to be necessary innovations inspired partly by Bruno Lewin (Lewin: 1959), partly by Samuel E. Martin (Martin: 1975). Lewin is extremely traditional in his description of classical Japanese grammar, but he introduces various terms from the European tradition of Slavonic studies, some of which I have found useful. Martin's terminology reflects a broad section of modern American linguistics, but it also contains a number of original terms which I have found to apply very well to the phenomena I wanted to describe.

My reasons for sticking as closely as I have thought justifiable to the traditional terms of "school-grammar" and of earlier Ainu grammars, and only using new terms when I have regarded them to be immediately intelligible from the context, are as follows:

A modern, comprehensive description of the Ainu language, based upon independent field work, and written in English, will stand rather isolated. The opportunity for duplicating my work has passed, and any major research

on Ainu in the future will of necessity be based upon other people's field work and written material. It has therefore been my wish to make this book comprehensible to all kinds of researchers – including people with little or no background in theoretical linguistics.

Even in Japanese comprehensive descriptions of Ainu are rare – and for the Eastern dialects (of which the Shizunai dialect is representative) there are none. It is therefore my hope that the material in this book may also be accessible/intelligible to the slowly increasing number of young Ainu (and Japanese) in Hokkaidō, who wish to study the Ainu language – not for its linguistic interest, but in order to gain access to the Ainu culture through the many stories and epics that now exist as transcribed texts. My book is not a text book or a language primer, but I sincerely hope that it may function as a work of reference and aid the understanding of such texts, thereby proving valuable in the context of preserving these remains of the Ainu culture.

The terminology employed in the description of the word classes is explained in chapter 11.

4. The Ainu People

4.1. Race

The racial origins of the Ainu differ from those of the Japanese. The Japanese belong to the Mongolian race, and over the years Ainu and Japanese have mingled to a degree where only very few Ainu may claim pure Ainu descent. Today most Ainu show traits and characteristics of the Mongolian race, such as the Mongolian eye fold, broad cheek bones, etc.; but they also retain non-Mongolian features as for instance an extreme amount of body hair.

Descriptions by travellers in the 18th and 19th centuries indicate that the Mongolian traits are recent, and that the physical features of the Ainu did not originally resemble those of their immediate neighbours. Some anthropologists, e.g. Eickstedt and Montandon, have claimed that the Ainu belong to the European race, while others, like Shternberg, maintain that the Ainu are of Oceanic and Australoid descent. The latter hypothesis receives strong support among Soviet scholars⁹. Recent linguistic evidence, however, points to the origin of the Ainu being on the Asiatic mainland (Patrie: 1982: 118ff).

4.2. Numbers

Since 1876 the Ainu have been officially recognized as Japanese citizens, and

since the end of World War II they have not been registered as aborigines (*kyūdojin* 旧土人), or set apart from other Japanese citizens. This, in combination with the blurring of their racial characteristics, makes it hard to estimate the size of the Ainu population. However, if we define Ainu in terms of self-identification – i.e. as people who think of themselves more as Ainu than as Japanese – the membership of the most powerful Ainu organization, the Utari Kyōkai¹⁰, may be an indication. Utari Kyōkai has about 25,000 members¹¹, and recently their numbers have begun to show a steady increase. This trend is seen as an expression of a growing pride in being Ainu, and it is a sign that many Ainu are now finding the courage to stand up and be counted¹².

4.3. Distribution

A few hundred years ago the Ainu and their language appear to have had a wide distribution. Towards the south, toponymic research in the Tōhoku area (the northern part of Japan's largest island, Honshū) has revealed Ainu etymologies for a large number of place names (Yamada: 1982). Towards the north there are sporadic references to Ainu residents on the southern tip of the Kamchatka peninsula in records from Russian explorers¹³. The Kurile archipelago had Ainu inhabitants until the end of World War II (Murasaki: 1963), but they were very few. Late in the 19th century the Japanese deported most of the Kurile Ainu to the southern part of the area, where their numbers were drastically reduced by deplorable living conditions, poverty, and disease. Their dialect has been recorded and described to some extent by Russian, Polish, and Japanese explorers and scholars.

Southern Sakhalin had a relatively large Ainu population, but after the war almost all of them were repatriated to Hokkaidō together with the Japanese who had been living in Sakhalin. They settled mainly along the northern coast of Hokkaidō, and thus by the late 1940s, all remaining speakers of Ainu were concentrated on the island of Hokkaidō.

Today the majority of the Ainu have adopted Japanese customs and life styles. Almost all the speakers with an active competence of the language are now more than 80 years old. Ainu is no longer used in daily communication, and there have been no serious attempts at a revival of the language.

5. Genetic Relationship

5.1. Dialects

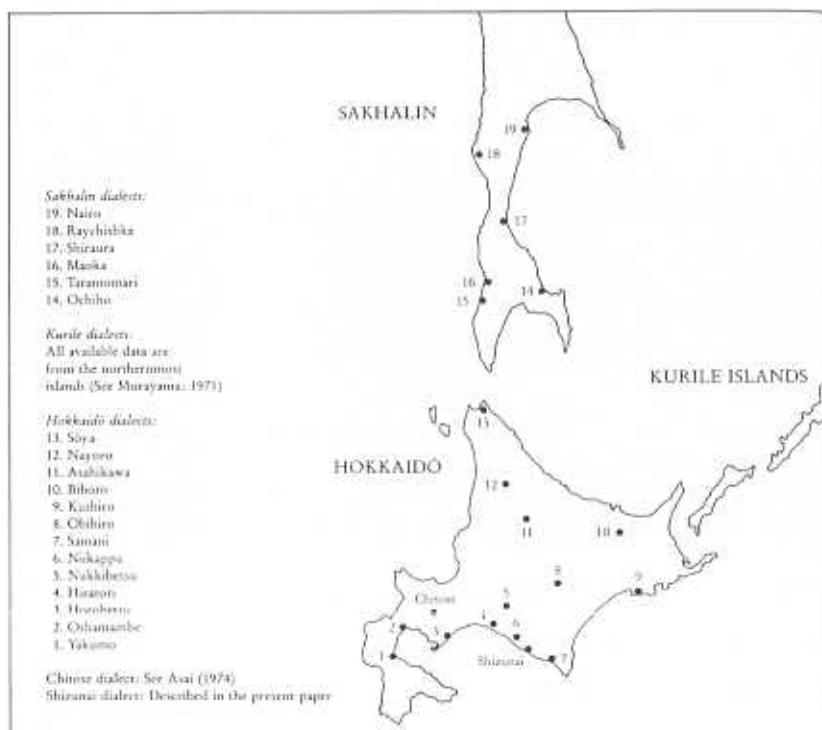
When linguists began to take a serious interest in Ainu in the 1930s, there were only two groups of Ainu left to study, namely the Hokkaidō Ainu and the Sakhalin Ainu. The Hokkaidō and Sakhalin dialects of Ainu differ a great deal, and they are generally not mutually intelligible. Both can be divided into numerous sub-groups, but unfortunately only a limited number of these have been investigated in detail, and in many cases the last speaker is long dead.

Early studies of the Ainu language did not strictly take dialect differences into account, and actually the first comparative study of Ainu dialects did not appear until 1960. It was a lexico-statistical survey of nineteen dialects, based upon the two hundred basic word list by Morris Swadesh, and it was carried out by the two Japanese linguists, Hattori Shirō and Chiri Mashio (Chiri: 1960). This study was not only limited by the scope of the two hundred basic word list; it suffers furthermore from the disadvantage of having only very few informants for each dialect. In 1960 a large number of dialects had already disappeared, so the picture we are able to obtain of Ainu dialect distribution is incomplete.

Map 1 shows the nineteen dialects investigated.

Asai (1974) goes a step further in classifying the dialects investigated by Chiri and Hattori, and he has supplemented their material with data from his own research of the Chitose dialect (see *Map 1*). His analysis resulted in the establishment of the following clusters of dialects (numbers refer to the numbers on *Map 1*):

<i>Sakhalin</i>	
North	(No. 19)
Central	(Nos. 14, 16, 17, 18)
South	(No. 15)
<i>Hokkaidō</i>	
North	(No. 13)
East	(Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12)
Central/south	(Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 + Chitose)
South East ¹⁴	(No. 17)
<i>Northern Kuriles</i>	



Map 1. Ainu dialect distribution according to Chiri & Hattori (1960) and Asai (1974).

The Shizunai dialect is on the borderline between the south Hokkaidō and east Hokkaidō, but the speech of to be closer to the dialects of the east than of the south. tion is the Shizunai river (Ainu name: Sipetcarī), and stor rivalry and fighting between the peoples on the two sides of t. eastern people" (*menas un kur*) and "the western people" (*sum a*.

In 1964 a dialect dictionary of Ainu was published (Hattori: 1964). little over two thousand vocabulary items with English and Japanese eq. lents, and it gives data for ten different dialects. Nine of these have bec. investigated by the compilers, while the data for the tenth, a northern Kurile dialect, have been obtained from a word list compiled in 1903 (Torii: 1903). The nine other dialects in the dictionary are Nos. 1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 18 in Map 1.

So far only three dialects of Ainu have been investigated in detail, and the results published. They are the Saru (Hiratori) dialect in south western Hokkaidō¹⁵, the Ishikari (Asahikawa) dialect in central Hokkaidō (Asai: 1969), and the Raychishka dialect of southern Sakhalin (Murasaki: 1977, 1978, 1980). A few Japanese linguists are working on the Tokachi and Kushiro dialects in eastern Hokkaidō, and the present paper is an attempt to describe the Shizunai dialect of south eastern Hokkaidō.

All of these dialect investigations have of necessity been based upon very few speakers – often only one or two – so it is impossible to establish clear and dependable isoglosses between dialects. Therefore, in most works on Ainu the word "dialect" should be interpreted to mean, if not "idiolect", then at least no more than "the language spoken by one or a few persons who lived in such and such a place" (Asai: 1974: 49).

5.2. Genetic Affiliations

The question of the genetic origins and affinities of the Ainu language is a matter of some controversy, and no consensus on any one conclusion has yet been reached among the various scholars in the field. Of the theories which have been advocated, some have more acclaim than others – not necessarily because of the superior quality of their arguments, but often as a result of their availability to a larger audience. Most research on Ainu has been done by Japanese scholars and published in Japanese, which is not widely read outside of Japan. Therefore, the theories of the few scholars who have

written in English, German, or French have been allowed to dominate the picture in the West.

For years it was considered "common knowledge" among some linguists that Ainu was an Indo-European language¹⁶ – a theory, which was put forth in great detail by Pierre Naert (Naert: 1958) and vigorously supported by Ivar Lindquist (Lindquist: 1960). It is a fascinating thought that a small isolated enclave of Indo-Europeans should be hiding away in the deep north of Japan – as Lindquist puts it: "it is of great moment to us Indo-Europeans" (Lindquist: 1960: 3) – and indeed it is probably too good to be true.

Naert's and Lindquist's arguments are to a large extent based upon Batchelor's grammar and dictionary (Batchelor: 1938), which is at best not very precise and often actually mistaken (see also section 2.1). Batchelor's transcription of Ainu words is inconsistent, and basing fine points of phonological comparisons on his spelling can only lead to doubtful results. Furthermore, any transcription of Ainu made in this century should probably take into consideration the influence of Japanese pronunciation, since all speakers in this timespan have been bilingual. Batchelor often records final vowels (especially after -r-/) in words where phonemically there are none. This clearly has to do with the Japanese influence. Since Japanese has no final consonants and all earlier transcriptions of Ainu were in the syllabic *kana* alphabet, it was impossible for the reader to distinguish between vowel-final and consonant-final words. Furthermore, Batchelor was probably biased by the phonemes of his own language, English, as well, e.g. when he distinguishes voiced and unvoiced consonants – a phonemic distinction Ainu does not have.

The work of Naert and Lindquist therefore stands on shaky ground¹⁷. Their arguments are compromised by imprecise data, inconsistent transcription, and a lack of familiarity with the grammar and morphology of the Ainu language. They assign meanings to morphemes which cannot be substantiated by other sources than Batchelor, and in some cases they treat obvious Japanese loans as Ainu words. Naert's description of Ainu grammar repeats many of Batchelor's mistakes; the belonging form of nouns is not recognized, and neither is the difference between pronouns and pronominal affixes. The analysis of the meaning and function of a number of bound forms also leaves much to be desired.

An attempt to relate Ainu to the Malayo-Polynesian languages was made by Olof Gjerdmán in 1926 (Gjerdmán: 1926). He explores seventy Ainu words and their correspondences with a number of languages in the Malayo-

Polynesian group. His analysis is very elaborate, and the similarities are sometimes striking, but the correspondences are far from systematic and hardly convincing.

Actually, there is no end to the number of languages Ainu has been superficially compared to. Batchelor for a while tried Hebrew; Torii compared Ainu and Assyrian; and of course anybody with sufficient imagination can set up a number of "look-alikes" between any two languages in the world. In order, however, to render genetic affiliation probable, there must be regular and systematic similarities in the form of recurring phonological correspondences.

The only attempt so far to satisfy this requirement has been made by James Patrie (Patrie: 1982), who goes a long way in convincing us that Ainu is an Altaic language. He also attempts to set up correspondences among Ainu, Japanese, and Korean as evidence of these three languages forming a subgroup. This results in the startling conclusion that Ainu appears to be closer to Korean than to Japanese. Patrie's evidence is not conclusive, and his book has received quite unfavourable reviews (Street: 1983; Dettmer: 1983), but so far it seems to be the best attempt.

The geographical proximity of the Japanese language and the centuries of close contact between the Ainu and the Japanese have produced a great deal of mutual linguistic influence. Since the Japanese were the conquerors, naturally their language has exerted a much greater influence on Ainu than the other way around – not only in the area of loan words, but also in phonology, and to some extent also in grammar and syntax. It is particularly during the past one hundred years, where the number of Ainu speakers has dwindled and most Ainu have been bilingual, that the influence of the Japanese language has been extremely strong. However, the question of a genetic relationship between the two languages, perhaps via a common Altaic origin, still needs further research.

6. Contact History

6.1. *Early Contacts and Matsumae Rule*

At the time of the initial contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, the Ainu were able to make up in numbers for the superior military force of the Japanese. Trade or barter relations were often initiated by the Ainu, who

from the fourteenth till the beginning of the seventeenth century sailed freely to ports on the main island, Honshū, to trade with the Japanese.

In the sixteenth century a steady stream of Japanese immigrants began to settle in Hokkaidō, and gradually the centre of trade moved from the northern coast of Honshū across the Tsugaru Strait to the ports in southern Hokkaidō. The Japanese warrior clan, Matsumae, which had received Hokkaidō as its fief, monopolized trade with the Ainu and enforced strict regulations. To avoid trouble between the Japanese settlers and the Ainu, they proscribed contact between the two groups by making it illegal to enter and settle in each other's territories. Thus in the seventeenth century contacts became limited to trade at designated trade posts at specific times of the year.

This, however, was not a stable balance. The trade restrictions only worked to the advantage of the Japanese merchants, and in many cases they exploited their monopoly by deceiving the Ainu with bad quality merchandise and crooked scales. Gradually Japanese settlers began to engage in large scale hunting and fishing, and since their methods were far more effective than those of the Ainu, they threatened not only the Ainu trade in these commodities, but also their whole livelihood, which was based upon the preservation of ecological balance. When the Ainu were cut off from making an independent living because of the scarcity of fish and game in their territory, many had no alternative but to work for the Japanese – for little or no wages. This situation naturally gave rise to a great deal of malcontent, and a number of revolts against the Japanese and the Matsumae rulers flared up. In 1669 the unfair trade regulations and the blatant dishonesty of the Japanese merchants caused a widespread rebellion led by the chieftain Shakushain of Shizunai, but the Ainu were easily defeated by the more disciplined and better armed Japanese soldiers, and Shakushain was killed in an ambush. In 1789 there was another large revolt in eastern Hokkaidō, but this, too, was easily put down, and the dissidents were executed.

Trade was conducted through interpreters, since until the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a ban on the Ainu learning to speak or read Japanese. The ban was never official, but in practice it functioned so effectively that contemporary writers who wrote about the Ainu believed it to be the law (Takakura: 1960: 38, 42). It was the custom of several samurai families on the mainland to send one son in each generation to Hokkaidō to become an interpreter. This was a lucrative job, since besides interpreting they took care of Ainu affairs in general, and for an enterprising interpreter there were abundant possibilities for making personal profit.

6.2 *Early Assimilation Policy*

The Japanese policy of keeping the Ainu in their place and allowing them to keep their language and customs as long as this did not interfere with trade profits, came to an end by the beginning of the nineteenth century. At this time Russian expansion towards the east and down along the Kurile Islands was beginning to threaten Hokkaidō. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Russians were well established on the Kurile Islands, where they changed the names and customs of the natives, taught them Russian and converted them to the Russian Orthodox faith.

The Matsumae clan had become impoverished over the years, and had relinquished some of their power to mainland merchants, whom they were unable to control. In 1799 the central government of Japan assumed direct control over eastern Ezo and later over the whole island. This lasted until 1821, when the rule was returned to the Matsumae clan. During these years of direct government the general principles were laid down for a policy towards the Ainu. As a means of appeasement, and to ensure that the Ainu would not enlist on the Russian side, efforts were made to standardize trade transactions and to grant fair treatment to the natives. Among other things it was made clear that the Ainu were to be encouraged to learn Japanese, and the officials in Ezo (the old name for Hokkaidō) were ordered to use the Japanese language in their contacts with the Ainu, and to encourage them to adopt Japanese customs and ethics together with the language. Furthermore, various relief measures were instituted, such as medical aid and care for widows and the aged, and at the same time attempts were made to assimilate the Ainu into Japanese society. They were urged to give up their native customs, which the Japanese found barbaric: for instance the long hair and beards of the men, the women's tattoos on hands and arms and around the lips; and also the bear festival and other native celebrations were outlawed. Efforts were made to make the Ainu change their diet from meat to cereals, and they were taught to grow rice.

However, the central government was prudent enough to realize that harsh enforcement of prohibitions would lead to unrest, so a plan was set up for a slow campaign of appeasement followed by guidance, and finally assimilation. But the results were slow in coming, and only a few years later, when the Russian threat diminished, the campaign was more or less abandoned before it had progressed very far. By then those Ainu who had begun to adopt Japanese customs quietly drifted back to the old ways.

6.3. Education Reforms after 1868

In the 1860s, when the arrival of American warships had forced the Japanese to open up their country to western influence, a period of more than 200 years of self-imposed isolation ended. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 provided a new government and a new constitution, and after a while the effects of this upheaval in central Japan began to make themselves felt in Hokkaidō as well. In 1876 the Ainu became enrolled in the Japanese census registers, and were thus considered as Japanese citizens, at least in principle. Land was allotted to them, and they were encouraged to take up farming along with the Japanese settlers. Consequently the traditional hunting and fishing communities began to disappear.

Under the Matsumae rule education had been explicitly denied the Ainu – a fact which facilitated exploitation. Special care had been taken to prevent the Ainu from learning Japanese, but during the short period of direct government (1799-1821), the Japanese language and some arithmetic had been taught to the Ainu on a small scale. By the end of the nineteenth century Ainu children were allowed into Japanese schools. Attendance, however, was negligible, and therefore it was decided in 1901 that the Ainu children should go to separate schools. In fact fewer than 30% attended such Japanese-run schools until in 1916 when four years of elementary schooling was made obligatory for Ainu children. At that time Japanese children were obliged to attend school for six years. In 1922 education became standardized for Ainu and Japanese children, but schools did not become integrated again until 1937. All subjects were taught in Japanese, and until the end of World War II great emphasis was put on instilling into the pupils the nationalistic spirit which sustained Japan through the war.

By breaking down the traditional Ainu system of learning from one's elders, and by imbuing Ainu children with the Japanese way of life, compulsory education became instrumental in destroying traditional social and cultural patterns. Educational opportunity also spelled disaster for the Ainu language – and thereby for important parts of the culture as well. Religious beliefs and cosmological concepts in particular, based on and reinforced by linguistic expression as they are, rapidly gave way to Japanese influence. In adopting Japanese customs, Japanese beliefs, and the Japanese language, most Ainu saw a way out of the abject poverty which had been the fate of their people for decades. With almost pathetic eagerness they sought to be even more Japanese than the Japanese, and in consequence the Ainu language and traditional life styles almost completely disappeared within only a couple of generations.

6.4. The Oral Tradition

One factor contributing to the rapid decline of the Ainu language was its lack of a writing system. Instead the Ainu had a great oral, literary tradition. Epics, songs, and stories were transmitted from generation to generation, and here and there we find classical forms of speech preserved which have disappeared from the colloquial language. Otherwise the only access we have to Ainu in previous stages is in the texts and vocabulary taken down in our alphabet or in the Japanese syllabic alphabets by earlier scholars or travellers (see also section 1).

The core of the Ainu literary tradition are the *yukar* (hero epics). *Yukar* are recited in a melodious voice, while the rhythm is marked by beating wood against the rim of the fire place. One *yukar* may take several hours to recite, and very long *yukar* may even be extended over a couple of evenings. Large parts of a *yukar* consist of stock phrases and descriptions, so that each transmitter of *yukar* has a sort of framework to hang the epic on. The choice of stock phrases, the order in which to use them, and the choice of words for parts where no stock phrases exist – all of this is decided by the individual transmitter of a *yukar*. Thus the same story is never told in exactly the same words, even if the narrator is the same person – rather, one telling equals one story, and the next time it will be a slightly different story, even though the basic plot remains unchanged.

The *yukar* deal with historical and mythological events (without making any clear distinction between the two), and a special type of *yukar*, the *kamuyukar*, are stories of gods. Besides the *yukar*, there are songs and various types of stories told in the colloquial language – some are fairytales, but most are of a didactic nature and told for the edification of children and young people.

The recounting of a long *yukar* or story – often after having heard it only once or twice – requires a keen memory, and this was indeed a characteristic trait in the majority of the old Ainu people I have worked with. They never ceased to amaze me with their total recall of conversations that had taken place several days before, or with their detailed accounts of even brief visits by other field workers years ago. A keen memory may well be characteristic of societies with a rich oral tradition, and the loss of this capacity for detailed memorization is perhaps the price we pay for literacy.

The oral tradition was important not only in the bulk of Ainu literature but also in religious ceremonies and in the settling of disputes. No religious ceremonies were performed without the recitation of epics or chants, and the

didactic stories provided moral and ethical education for the young. When conflicts arose between villagers or territorial groups, they were settled by formal disputes called *caranke*. In front of everybody, the opponents would chant or utter in poetic phrasing their arguments, and the best orator would win the dispute. These oral traditions broke down rapidly when Japanese education was made compulsory for Ainu children.

6.5. *Mutual Attitudes*

The discriminatory attitudes of the Japanese and the apparent inability of Ainu traditional values to cope with the new age caused many Ainu to reject their background with contempt and embarrassment. During the first half of the twentieth century a majority of Ainu in Hokkaidō strove to be as inconspicuous as possible, and many parents avoided speaking Ainu in front of their children for fear that they should learn it and inadvertently repeat it at school and be ridiculed. A middleaged Ainu woman in Asahikawa told me that her mother had scrubbed her face vigorously every morning before sending her off to school in the hope that she would look less darkskinned. This woman – like many others – was later forced by her parents into an unhappy marriage to a Japanese man, so that her children might become at least half Japanese.

During the past decade this attitude has gradually been replaced by a growing feeling of ethnic identity and pride. This has happened in the wake of the extraparliamentary movements which swept the industrialized countries in the late 1960s. A group of Japanese, radical left wing students succeeded in attracting attention to the situation of the Ainu, and many Ainu began themselves to take an interest in their cultural heritage. Study groups and seminars dealing with the Ainu language and culture have appeared all over Hokkaidō, and every year new books written by Ainu and dealing with Ainu matters are published. Even the tourist business, which has ruthlessly exploited the special characteristics of the Ainu culture for years, has now in some areas become engaged in the preservation of Ainu artifacts, and in active support and economical backing of a variety of projects to do with research and preservation of Ainu culture.

The above-mentioned activities have so far been met with indifference from the Japanese authorities. The official attitude still tends to deny the existence of an "Ainu problem", and to promote extermination through integration and assimilation. The reasoning is probably that when all Ainu have become Japanese the problem ceases to exist. So, of course, do the Ainu and their culture.

7. Language Death

The Ainu language is dying. It is no longer used as a means of daily communication, and few people can speak it at all. A dwindling number of elderly people have learned Ainu as their first language at home, but they had bilingual parents, and they were all taught Japanese in childhood or early youth. Their children are either monolingual speakers of Japanese, passive bilinguals, or in a few cases semi-speakers¹⁸ of Ainu. Their grandchildren know at most a few Ainu words and songs.

The life cycle of the Ainu language may be summarized as follows:

- 1st stage:* Predominant monolingualism in Ainu. (From ?? to approx. 1800).
- 2nd stage:* Language shift begins. Bilingualism: Ainu and Japanese with dominant competence in Ainu. (From approx. 1800 to approx. 1900).
- 3rd stage:* Language shift progresses. Bilingualism: Japanese and Ainu with dominant competence in Japanese. (From approx. 1900 to approx. 1940).
- 4th stage:* Language shift completed. Predominant monolingualism in Japanese. Death of the Ainu language. (Since 1940).

Of course the question of exactly when a language should be pronounced dead depends upon how one defines a living language. In terms of being an active speech community, Ainu has been dead for decades, but in terms of losing the last native speaker, it may still have a few years left. A number of young Ainu have taken up the study of Ainu as a foreign language, but their admirable efforts will hardly prolong the life span of the Ainu language.

8. Ainu Field Work

My first field work on Ainu was carried out in Hokkaidō in 1969, when I had the opportunity of travelling over most of the island in search of native speakers. I interviewed twenty-two informants (Refsing: 1974: 26ff) of varying degrees of fluency in the language. Some had previous experience of working with linguists, and they were usually open and straightforward. They would volunteer information and display a certain pride in their unique

knowledge. Others had never before been asked about the Ainu language, and many of them were suspicious and hostile and would start out by denying any knowledge of the language at all. Some of them even denied that such a language existed. With one or two exceptions I succeeded after a while in putting them at ease, and in the course of our conversation in Japanese about the old days, they would finally agree to tell me some stories or to sing a song in Ainu. One old woman told me that in her childhood she had been ridiculed by the Japanese children for speaking Ainu, and they had tried to convince her that the Ainu language was just meaningless sounds like the barking of dogs – and after all “dog” is *inu* in Japanese, and thus very close to the word *ainu* ... so this woman had been almost convinced that her mother-tongue was not a proper language.

To carry out field work on Ainu is a delicate task, and it cannot be hurried. Before you can make the person(s) you work with understand what you are trying to do, you yourself must start by trying to understand what it is like to be bilingual without having any clear concept of different languages; to be cursed with an extra language which detracts from your social status and exposes you to ridicule; and finally – in your old age – to be repeatedly besieged by eager young Japanese scholars who beg you to speak into their taperecorders the very same language that the very same Japanese used to compare to the senseless babbling of animals! As a foreigner I probably had the definite advantage of not belonging to the race of the oppressors and of having come from so far away that my sincerity could hardly be doubted. As a woman I had the further advantage of being generally less impressive and threatening in appearance, and since the majority of the surviving Ainu speakers are women, it was relatively easy to establish some common ground.

Psychological factors aside, the field worker in Ainu has another major problem, which she probably shares with other field workers in similar circumstances. The informants are all old people, who basically mostly wish to be left to die in peace. They are not motivated for linguistic field work in the first place, and even when they agree to participate they find it hard to understand the purpose of the whole thing. It can thus be next to impossible to get a straight answer to a straight question, and one will constantly have to sift the desired data from a bulk of often confusing and – at that time – irrelevant material. You might say that it takes a sneaky mind and a great deal of ingenuity to elicit the exact information you are looking for.

9. The Material for the Present Work

The field work for this book on the Shizunai dialect was carried out during the spring of 1980 and 1981. On both occasions I spent approximately three months in Hokkaidō, working with Ms. Sute Orita, who speaks this dialect. These two field work trips were made possible with grants from The Carlsberg Foundation and The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies.

My taped material consists partly of colloquial language, elicited in conversations where I would give the cues after which my informant would speak at length on general subjects, such as people's looks and behaviour, feelings, dreams, children, animals, nature (e.g. how to behave when walking in the mountains), food, housing, experiences in the past, family, etc. Furthermore, my material includes a large number of stories of various types, ranging from humorous anecdotes and short educational fables to long fairy-tales and epics.

Besides the raw data on my tapes and in my notebooks, I have made extensive use of the written material on the Ainu language that I have had access to. Sections 1-3, the bibliography, and the footnotes indicate what these are, and where they have been used. The Ainu language examples found throughout the text are all taken from my taperecordings unless otherwise stated.

I have worked with a single informant, Orita Sute of Toyohata, twelve kilometers north of Shizunai town. Ms. Orita was not the last speaker of this dialect; I learned that at least one other woman from the same area was able to speak the language, but I did not succeed in contacting her. I happened to meet still another Shizunai Ainu, Mr. Kuzuno, but I did not get to interview him. However, I have later received a taperecording from Murasaki Kyōko, who has worked with Mr. Kuzuno, and his speech appears to be somewhat different from Ms. Orita's. Mr. Kuzuno has spent his life near the coast, while Ms. Orita has lived further inland – about twenty kilometers away, and perhaps even this comparatively short distance can account for the dialectal differences.

Orita Sute was born around the turn of the century. She lost both her parents in early childhood and was brought up by her grandmother and an unmarried aunt. Her grandmother never knew any other language than Ainu, and Ms. Orita did not begin to learn Japanese until she was nearly an adult. She never went to school, and accordingly she does not read or write. Most of her life she has been engaged in farming, but she also has an extensive

knowledge of mountain life, the gathering and preparing of edible plants, fishing and hunting, and also of medicinal herbs and their application. She is skilled in the traditional handicrafts, and she is deeply rooted in the traditional Ainu beliefs as transmitted to her by her grandmother. Japanese culture has exerted no more than a superficial influence upon her thinking and way of life.

Ms. Orita has been married several times and has a son and five daughters. In her old age she is living with her youngest daughter and her family, who are engaged in the breeding and stabling of race horses.

II THE SHIZUNAI DIALECT OF AINU

10. Transcription and Pronunciation

10.1. *Some Reservations*

I have not here attempted to carry out a proper phonological analysis, so my transcription is the one used by Japanese researchers on Ainu with a few modifications of my own.

To provide an adequate description of the phonology of a dying language presents some difficulties. Often only a very limited number of speakers are available, and when a language shift is in progress so that these speakers are bilingual, the influence of the dominating language upon the one disappearing has to be taken into account.

In the case of the Shizunai dialect a phonological analysis would of necessity have to be based upon only one speaker, who is of advanced age. The fact that this person lacked several teeth would not have made the task easier. By comparing with tapes in the Ainu Collection (See Refsing: 1974) and with written records (especially Hattori: 1964 and Asai: 1969), I have tried to eliminate idiosyncratic pronunciation habits from the description, but still the transcription should be seen as tentative.

For more than thirty years all available speakers of Ainu have used Japanese in their daily lives in and out of their homes. We may envisage a transition period prior to that, when Ainu was still used among middleaged and elderly people – though probably interlaced with a great deal of code-switching¹⁹ – but for the past decades even the old people have spoken much more Japanese than Ainu. It is therefore extremely likely that Japanese intonation and pronunciation have left their mark upon the last speakers' command of Ainu phonology.

The description of the sounds of Ainu below is mainly based upon what others have written on the subject (Hattori: 1964; Asai: 1969; Murasaki: 1978; Tamura: 1972d, 1983, Peng: 1969-70; Simeon: 1969), but in case of conflicting descriptions I have relied on my own observations as well.

10.2. The Vowels

Ainu has five vowel phonemes, /i, e, a, o, u/, and they are pronounced very much like the corresponding Japanese vowels. /i/ is a closed front vowel; /e/ a half open front vowel; /a/ is open, and when pronounced in isolation tends towards back; /o/ is a half open back vowel, pronounced with only a slight rounding of the lips; and /u/ is a closed back vowel, also pronounced with only a slight rounding of the lips.

Sakhalin Ainu has a phonemic distinction between short and long vowels, but no such distinction is found in the dialects of Hokkaidō. Hattori (1964) sets up a glottal plosive [ʔ] in front of all initial vowels and intervocally; in the latter case it is reduced to laryngeal tension. This glottal plosive is treated as a separate consonant phoneme by Hattori, and it is represented as /ʔ/. Asai (1969:772) also recognized this feature, which he calls *seimon heisa* (声門閉鎖, "glottal closure"), but he does not treat it as a separate phoneme. Tamura includes this feature in most of her works, but in the recent *Ainugo kiso goi* (Tamura: 1983) she no longer marks it. In my informant's speech I find the phenomenon hard to detect, and I have left it out of my transcription.

10.3. The Consonants

Excluding the glottal plosive there are eleven consonant phonemes in Hokkaidō Ainu, namely /p, t, k, c, s, h, r, m, n, y, w/. Of these /c/ and /h/ cannot appear as finals; /y/ and /t/ cannot appear in front of /i/, and /w/ cannot precede /u/ and /i/. Sakhalin Ainu has the same consonants, but shows some differences in the restrictions on final consonants. In Sakhalin Ainu /p, t, k, r, c/ cannot be finals.

The consonants may be described as follows:

/p-/	Bilabial plosive	[p, b]
/t-/	Dental plosive	[t, (d) ²⁰]
/k-/	Velar plosive	[k, (g)]

/p, t, k/ may become more or less voiced between vowels or after [m] or [n], but there is no phonemic distinction between voiced and unvoiced plosives. In final position they become weak plosives.

/c-/	Dental plosive fricative [tʃ, (ts)]. Not found as a final.
/s-/	Fricative. May become palatalized [ʃ], and always does so in front of /i/; [ʃi], as in Japanese. Final /-s/ is often palatalized, unless

followed by a word commencing with [s]. Then it, too, becomes [s]. /-s/ and /-si/ may be hard to distinguish when /-s/ is palatalized.

- /h-/ Weak fricative. Before /-u/, it often becomes [ɸ], as in Japanese. Not found as a final.
- /r-/ Voiced post-alveolar lax plosive (like Japanese /r/), even sometimes approaching [d]. Intervocally it is flapped [r]. In final position it is often followed by an off glide vowel, either [a, u, or i] according to the preceding vowel, or simply [ū], but this varies and has no phonemic relevance (see also Peng: 1979-70). It may occur after other final consonants as well, but here it is less distinct than after /-r/. The phenomenon may be an effect of the influence of Japanese, which has no closed syllables and therefore customarily reproduces foreign consonant-final loan words with an extra final vowel.
- /m-, n-/ Labial and alveolar nasals, respectively: [m], [n]. Final /-n/ often gets assimilated to the following sound as [m] in front of labials and [ŋ] in front of velars.
- /w-, y-/ Semivowels, [w] and [j]. In final position they are [u] and [i], thus forming diphthongs with the preceding vowel.

10.4. Syllable Structure

The number of potential syllables is rather low, since the only phoneme combinations allowed are:

Hokkaidō Ainu:

$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ C_1V \\ VC_2 \\ C_1VC_2^{21} \end{array}$$

C_1 = all consonants

C_2 = /p, t, k, s, r, m, n, y, w/

Sakhalin Ainu:

$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ V_1V_2 \\ C_1V \\ C_1V_1V_2 \end{array}$$

$$VC_2$$

$$C_1VC_2$$

$V_1 = V_2$
 $C_1 =$ all consonants
 $C_2 =$ /s, m, n, w, y, h/

When a closed syllable is followed by a syllable beginning with a vowel, the final consonant of the first syllable may be drawn over to become the initial of the second syllable, thereby rendering the first syllable open. This may even happen between two words within the same clause. There are no fixed rules as to when this will happen – it appears to be a question of speech velocity and individual speech habits.

As previously mentioned the syllables ^oti, ^owu, ^owi, ^oyi, ^ouw, and ^oiy do not occur. Where ^oti might be expected for morphological reasons, it is replaced by /ci/.

10.5. Phonetic Alternations

Between two successive morphemes phonetic alternations may occur. They are not obligatory; some happen very often, others only now and then, and they are generally not marked in the present transcription. Similar morphophonotactic phenomena are found in other dialects as well (Asai: 1969: 773ff.; Murasaki: 1978: 3ff.; Tamura: 1972d: 47). In the Shizunai dialect alternations like the following may be observed:

Sandhi phenomena

/-n w-/ > /-nm-/ or /-mm-/ (almost always)

Ex. 1. ...*an wa* ... [anma] or [amma]

1 2

(1: be, 2: -ing)

"...being..."

/-n s-/ > /-ys-/ (almost always)

Ex. 2. *An se* [ayse]
 1 2

(1: I, 2: carry)

"I carry"

/-n r-/ > /-yr-/ or /-rr-/ (sometimes)

Ex. 3. *Sini an rusuy ...* [ayrusuy]
 1 2 3

(1: rest, 2: I, 3: desiderative aux.)

"I wish to rest..."

Ex. 4. *Sinnatuyne an tumama an ruwe ne na.* [arruwe]
 2 3 4 5 5 5

(1: having a different stomach, 2: I, 3: body (belonging form), 4: be, 5: assertive sentence final form)

"So you see, it is thus that my body has a different stomach (from that of the other horses)."

/-n y-/ > /-yy-/ (frequently)

Ex. 5. ...*an yakun ...* [ayyakun]
 1 2

(1: be, 2: if)

"...if it is..."

/-r n-/ > /-nn-/ (frequently)

Ex. 6. *A kor nispa* [akonnispa]
 1 2 3

(1: I, 2: have (here: attributive postp.), 3: gentleman)

"My husband"

/-r t-/ > /-tt-/ (almost always)

Ex. 7. *Ni senpir ta* [ni senpitta]
 1 2 3

(1: tree, 2: shade, 3: locative postp.)

"Hidden by the tree"

/-r c-/ > /-tc-/ (frequently)

Ex. 8. *Ku kor cikir* [ku kotcikir]
 1 2 3

1: I, 2: have (here: attributive postp.), 3: foot)

"My foot/feet"

/-r r-/ > /-nr-/ (frequently)

Ex. 9. *Mokor rusuy* [mokonrusuy]
 1 2

(1: sleep, 2: desiderative aux.)

"Sleepy"

Dropping initial h-

Initial /h-/ tends to disappear in unstressed suffixes. In rapid speech this happens without exception, and in normal speech it happens almost always, the exception being when the speaker makes a short pause or hesitates before choosing the appropriate suffix.

Ex. 10. *An eutanne wa oka an bike ...* [...anike...]
 1 2 3 3 4 5

(1: we, 2: marry, 3: imperfective aspect, 4: we, 5: and then)

"We were married, and then ..."

Epenthesis

Intervocalic [-w-] or [-y-] often appear between an open syllable and the following vowel-initial syllable. This epenthesis phenomenon may occur not only within words or compounds, but also between two words in the same clause.

Ex. 11. *Uepeker* [uʷepeker]

(Originally from the verb prefixes *u-*, "mutually", *e-*, "thereby", and the intransitive verb, *peker*, "be light/bright")

"Story/tale"

Ex. 12. *Iomap* [iyomap]

(Originally the verb prefix *i-*, "somebody/something (as the object)" and the transitive verb, *omap*, "love")

"Loves children"

/-u-/ > [w] and /-i-/ > [y]

When an unstressed /u/ or /i/ follows a vowel, it may be replaced by [w] and [y], respectively.

Ex. 13. *Yaykoupeker* [yaykoʷepeker]

(Originally the verb prefixes *yay*, "oneself", *ko*, "towards", and the idiom *uepeker*, "tale/tell a tale")

"Think/worry"

Ex. 14. *Yaykoytak* [yaykoytak]

(Originally the verb prefixes *yay*, "oneself", *ko*, "towards", and the intransitive verb, *itak*, "talk")

"Say to oneself"

10.6. Accent and Intonation

Ainu has a pitch accent, i.e. a high-low opposition between syllables. Accent kernel is on the high syllable, but a secondary accent also exists. When the accent kernel is on an open syllable, there is a tendency to prolong the vowel.

Usually one of the first two syllables carries the accent. If the first syllable is closed it will generally receive the accent, but if it is open, the second syllable will have the accent. The possible combinations are:

C \hat{V} C - C V C
 C V - C \hat{V}
 C \hat{V} C - C V
 C V - C \hat{V} C

There are only a few minimal pairs, i.e. words where accent is the only indication of semantic difference, so in the present description accent is not marked.

Sentence intonation is slightly falling in declarative sentences, and gradually rising in questions. However, the use of sentence final particles/forms (see section 14.11) greatly diminishes the importance of intonation.

11. Word Classes

The word classes of Ainu are initially divided into the following three major groups:

Nominals
 Verbals
 Clitics

Nominals, which are described in detail in chapter 12, include nouns and noun-like words, and they are defined as "free forms, which cannot be predicates". This very broad definition leads to the inclusion of a number of forms which are not traditionally regarded as "nouns" or even as "nominal/noun-like", but which are generally singled out as separate word classes.

In the following way the class of nominals is subdivided into six sub-classes:

1. *General Nouns*

General nouns are defined as forms which may be sentence subject or object and which may be followed by case postpositions. Furthermore, they may be preceded by adnouns and adnominalized sentences, and some may take noun suffixes and/or noun prefixes. Those that may be inalienably possessed may appear with pronominal affixes as well and form "the belonging form" (see 12.1.1).

2. *Proper Names*

Syntactically, proper names (toponyms and personal names) may appear in the same roles as general nouns, but they can take no prefixes or suffixes, and they are only in extremely rare cases preceded by an adnoun or an adnominalized sentence.

3. *Pronominal Nouns*

Pronominal nouns fall into the further subclasses of:

a) *Personal Pronouns*

Only the first and the second person have pronouns, and they have both singular and plural forms. Syntactically they behave like general nouns and proper names, but their use is restricted to situations of emphasis. Ordinarily, pronominal affixes (see 14.10) take their place.

b) *Anaphorics*

c) *Demonstratives*

d) *Interrogatives*

e) *Indefinites*

Subgroups b-e consist of forms derived from common roots, and only some of these forms can properly be classified as nominals. Apart from the indefinites, they all have adnominal forms which belong in the class of clitics under the subclass of adnouns (see 14.1). All except the anaphorics have adverbial forms which do fall under the class of nominals, but belong in subclass 6: Conjunctions, Interjections, and Adverbs. For the sake of simplicity, all the forms are mentioned under the heading of "Pronouns", but cross references are made to their proper classes.

4. *Quantity Nouns*

This subclass comprises numerals and quantity expressions. The same problem applies as with the pronouns, namely that numeral roots (basic numeral morphemes) form part of expressions which must properly be included in the clitic subclass of adnouns (see 14.1) or in the nominal subclass of adverbs (see 12.6.3). Again, such forms have been mentioned among the quantity nouns, but with cross references to the other classes.

5. *Positionals*

Positionals are frequently tied to a general noun which pinpoints the locative reference for the positional, and in such constructions they cannot quite be considered "free forms". Nevertheless, they do occasionally occur in isola-

tion as free forms – sometimes followed by a case postposition – and for this reason they have been placed among the nominals rather than the clitics. Syntactically they serve as relational adjuncts of locative or temporal content.

6. *Conjunctions, Interjections, and Adverbs*

This subclass actually comprises three separate classes, but certain common features warrant their being lumped together under one heading. All of them are free forms which syntactically function as adverbial adjuncts. They modify a sentence or a verb expression, but cannot be relational adjuncts (see 15.5 and 15.6).

Verbals, which are described in detail in chapter 13, are here defined as “forms which can be predicates”. Subclassification of the verbals first single out the copula, *ne*, which cannot form a sentence by itself, but is always connected to a noun expression (see 15.4). As criteria for subdividing the remainder of the verbs, it has been convenient to consider the restrictions surrounding the affixation of pronominal affixes. This results in the establishment of the following three subclasses:

1. *Closed Verbs*

A small group of verbs which for semantic reasons never combine with pronominal affixes and never take any other subject or object. These verbs are also closed to affixation of verb prefixes and verb suffixes (see 13.2).

2. *Intransitive Verbs*

These verbs never combine with pronominal affixes in the objective case, and they never take any other object either. Within this group are also found a number of verbs which in meaning correspond to adjectives in other languages (see 13.3.1). “Adjectives” are not set up as a separate word class in the present analysis.

3. *Transitive Verbs*

The transitive verbs can combine pronominal affixes in both the nominative and the objective case, and they can take noun expressions as their objects as well. Actually only very few transitive verbs may appear without an overt object, except when the object is the third person, which has no pronominal affix (see 14.10).

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may be shifted back and forth between these two categories by the addition or removal of one or more verb prefixes and/or verb suffixes. This is described in detail in chapters 14.7 and 14.8.

Clitics are described in detail in chapter 14. They form a large, heterogenous class of bound forms, and their only shared characteristic is that of being unable to appear independently as predicates or as isolated adjuncts to predicates. The term, "clitics", has been chosen as the broadest possible; a compromise term, which in this connection is intended to cover various degrees of "boundness" from the closely bound verb prefixes/suffixes to the rather more loosely bound adnouns, verb auxiliaries, pronominal affixes etc. I have not attempted to formalize the description of these "degrees of boundness", but only tentatively employ an oversimplified two-step distinction, where I write some clitics separate from the form they are "bound" to, while others are written together with the form. In principle, a better choice at this stage might have been to connect all clitics with the form to which they are attached, but to achieve maximum graphical clarity I have chosen to maintain spacing between them in some cases. However, a closer phonological analysis is definitely needed on this point.

The clitics are subdivided first according to the forms to which they are attached; then further subdivided according to specific function.

The first of the three major subclasses of the clitics connect with nominals and noun expressions. It consists of the following six types:

1. *Adnouns and Noun Prefixes*

Both of these precede and modify nominals, but noun prefixes are more tightly bound to the forms they precede than adnouns. Noun prefixes are a very small group of morphemes, which predominantly have to do with direction, and which are therefore mainly used with positionals or general nouns denoting location. Adnouns only precede general nouns; the majority are anaphoric, deictic, or interrogative, but there are a number of other adnouns as well (see 14.1.1).

2. *Noun Suffixes*

This group consists of only three morphemes, two of which follow general nouns, while the third follows positionals. They all serve to extend or modify the meaning of the form which they follow (see 14.2).

3. *Attributive Postpositions*

The attributive postpositions are added to a noun in order to enable it to modify a subsequent noun (see 14.3).

4. *Coordinative Postpositions*

The morphemes in this group are placed between nouns or noun expressions of equal weight to express enumeration of the forms involved. (See 14.4).

5. *Case Postpositions*

Follow nominals and noun expressions to mark them as relational adjuncts (see 15.4). All nominals, except the last group (conjunctions, interjections, and adverbs) may be followed by case postpositions. However, as shown in section 14.5, not all "cases" are marked with postpositions.

6. *Restrictive Postpositions*

The restrictive postpositions may follow not only nominals of all types and noun expressions, but also other clitics such as case postpositions, conjunctivizers (see 14.12), and nominalizers (see 14.13). They do not alter the syntactical role or status of the adjuncts they follow, but only qualify their semantic content in various ways (see 14.6).

Besides the above-mentioned six classes, pronominal prefixes in the nominative case may connect with certain general nouns, when inalienable possession is expressed (see 12.1.2). Furthermore, pronominal prefixes in the objective case may connect with positionals. However, since pronominal affixes primarily connect with verbs, they have been placed in the following subclass, which consists of those clitics that connect with verbals and verb expressions. They are:

7. *Verb prefixes*

The verb prefixes attach directly to transitive and intransitive verbs, and one verb may have a number of prefixes attached (see 14.7.4). There are three types of verb prefixes: intensifying prefixes, which do not affect the grammatical properties of the verb (see 14.7.1); "adjunct-reducing prefixes", which turn transitive verbs into intransitive verbs, thereby reducing the potential number of predicate adjuncts (see 14.7.2); and "adjunct-increasing prefixes", which perform the opposite role, i.e. they turn intransitive verbs into transitive verbs and increase the number of potential adjuncts (see 14.7.3).

8. *Verb Suffixes*

Like the verb prefixes, the suffixes attach to transitive and intransitive, and they may be subdivided into the same three groups. The "adjunct-neutral suffixes" do not influence the number of potential adjuncts, but on the semantic content of the verb (see 14.8.1). There is only one "adjunct-reducing suffix", which turns transitive verbs into intransitive verbs (see 14.8.2). "Adjunct-increasing suffixes" either perform the opposite function, namely to turn intransitive verbs into transitive verbs, or they express the causative (see 14.8.3).

9. *Verb Auxiliaries*

The verb auxiliaries follow upon verbs or verb expressions to indicate aspect, mode of action, or mood. The definition of auxiliaries is primarily functional rather than formal, so that while some auxiliaries are single morphemes, others are composite forms consisting of e.g. a conjunctivalizer (see 14.12) and a verb in an auxiliary function. Restrictive postpositions may form part of such composite forms as well. From a purely functional viewpoint some of the "adjunct-neutral" verb suffixes might for instance also have been included among the auxiliaries; but besides the functional criteria, the criterion of "degree of boundness" has also been employed. This entails that only forms which are capable of being removed from the verb to which they are attached by the interpolation of verb suffixes and/or a pronominal suffix qualify as auxiliaries. The auxiliaries of aspect, mode of action, and mood are further subdivided according to semantic content (see 14.9.1-4).

10. *Pronominal Affixes*

The pronominal affixes are pre- or suffixed to verbs (transitive, intransitive, and the copula) or verb expressions to express grammatical person. They are placed before verb prefixes and after verb suffixes, but before verb auxiliaries. Three kinds of grammatical person are expressed by pronominal affixes, namely the 1st, the 2nd, and the indefinite person. There is no affix for the 3rd person, but the absence of an affix will generally be interpreted as the 3rd person if no other overt subject or object is present. An exception is constituted by imperative sentences, which always omit the nominative affix. The affixes have two cases, nominative and objective (direct as well as indirect object).

The pronominal suffixes are fewer than the prefixes, and they only appear with intransitive verbs. For further details, see 14.10.

11. *Sentence Final Forms*

There are four different suffixes, which may be added to the final predicate to indicate imperative, interrogative, assertive, or affective mood. They differ from the modal auxiliaries in only being able to follow after the final predicate, i.e. they can only appear as the last morpheme in a sentence. Three of these sentence final suffixes are generally preceded by nominalizations of the predicate (the exception is the imperative suffix), and sometimes the nominalization alone carries the function of the sentence final suffix. Such "sentence final nominalizations" have been described together with the sentence final suffixes under the common heading of "sentence final forms". Sentence final forms are used frequently, but they are not obligatory.

The three last subclasses of the clitics share the common function of being able to convert full sentences into subordinate adjuncts to a new predicate:

12. *Conjunctionalizers*

A conjunctionalizer is modified by a sentence and serves to embed this sentence as an adverbial adjunct to the final predicate. Semantically the conjunctionalizers cover meanings which correspond to conjunctions in e.g. English. Ainu has conjunctions as well (see 12.6.1), but they are free forms and much less commonly used than the conjunctionalizers. The conjunctionalizers are subdivided according to semantic content and function (see 14.12).

13. *Nominalizers*

Nominalizers are also modified by sentences which they embed as relational adjuncts to the final predicate. Any complete sentence in Ainu can be placed in front of a noun and become an *adnominalized* sentence. When placed in front of a nominalizer instead of a noun, the sentence is said to be *nominalized*. In both situations the result is that the sentence becomes embedded as an adjunct to a new predicate. The nominalizers, too, are subdivided according to semantic content and function (see 14.13).

14. *Quotationalizers*

A special morpheme is used to mark quotations – of speech or thought – and like the conjunctionalizers and nominalizers above, this morpheme serves to embed the quotation as an adjunct to a new predicate. In this case the predicate will have the meaning of "speak", "think", "feel", etc. (see 14.14).

12. Nominals

Nominals are morphemes which by themselves or in combination with other elements work to form a noun expression (defined in 15.8). The nominals are subdivided into seven groups according to various characteristics which set them apart from each other. The following sections will describe each subgroup of nominals.

12.1. General Nouns

General nouns constitute the largest group among the nominals. They are the nouns used for designating things, beings, and phenomena in general (such as *pet*, "river", *cise*, "house", *heper*, "bear", *upas*, "snow", etc.), as distinct from proper names, which are used for naming specifics – beings or places. These will be dealt with in section 12.2.

General nouns are independent words; free forms which may by themselves perform the role of sentence subject. Number is marked in a few cases by the suffix, *-utar* (as in *menokoutar*, "women") or by reduplication (as in *ramram*, "fish scales"), but otherwise number is unmarked. So is gender, and as for case, only a small group among the general nouns form a kind of genitive, namely "the belonging form". This form is used only to express inalienable possession.

Ex. 15. *Ku tekebe* < *rek*, "hand"
1 2

(1: I, 2: 's hand)

"My hand"

Ex. 16. *Rekut puyebe* < *pyu*, "hole"
1 2

(1: throat, 2: 's hole)

"Throat opening"

The belonging form is not obligatory, but it is almost always used when the noun in question allows the form. When the relationship is not one of inalienable possession, the genitive is expressed with the help of attributive postpositions (see 14.3).

Case may otherwise be marked by case postpositions as described in 14.5.

12.1.1. The Belonging Form

The belonging form consists of the basic form of the noun, "the concept form", and an ending. If the noun ends in a vowel, the ending will be /hV/, and if the noun ends in a consonant, the ending will be /V/ or /VhV/. The vowel preceding the final consonant of the concept form will determine the ending of the belonging form.

12.1.1.1. Vowel Final Nouns

The belonging form is constructed by suffixing /h/ and a vowel identical to the final vowel of the concept form of the noun.

Ex. 17.	-a:	<i>apa</i>	>	<i>apaha</i>	"somebody's relatives"
		<i>sa</i>	>	<i>saha</i>	"somebody's elder sister"
Ex. 18.	-u:	<i>etu</i>	>	<i>etuhu</i>	"somebody's nose"
Ex. 19.	-e:	<i>cise</i>	>	<i>cisehe</i>	"somebody's house"
		<i>pake</i>	>	<i>pakehe</i>	"somebody's head"
		<i>arke</i>	>	<i>arkehe</i>	"half of something"
Ex. 20.	-o:	<i>caro</i>	>	<i>caroho</i>	"somebody's mouth"
		<i>po</i>	>	<i>poho</i>	"somebody's son"

In my material there are no nouns ending in /-i/ with a belonging form.

12.1.1.2. Consonant Final Nouns

A noun may end in all consonants except /^h-h/ and /^h-c/, which cannot appear as finals in any words. However, rather than the final consonant, it is the immediately preceding vowel which will determine the shape of the belonging form.

Nouns ending in the semi-vowels /-y/ and /-w/ only have belonging forms ending in /-e(he)/, regardless of what the immediately preceding vowel is.

Ex. 21.	<i>haw</i>	>	<i>hawe(he)</i>	"somebody's/something's voice"
	<i>may</i>	>	<i>maye(he)</i>	"the echo of something"
	<i>puy</i>	>	<i>puye(he)</i>	"the hole in something"
	<i>buy</i>	>	<i>buye(he)</i>	"somebody's cheek"
	<i>ciy</i>	>	<i>ciye(he)</i>	"somebody's penis"

When the vowel preceding the final consonant is /i/, the belonging form is always formed with the vowel /i/:

Ex. 22.	<i>cikir</i>	>	<i>cikiri(hi)</i>	"somebody's foot"
	<i>senpir</i>	>	<i>senpiri</i>	"something's shade"
	<i>mip</i>	>	<i>mipibi</i>	"somebody's garment"
	<i>sik</i>	>	<i>sikibi</i>	"somebody's eyes"

When the vowel preceding the final consonant is any other than /i/, i.e. /e, u, o, a/, the belonging form may be formed using either the vowel /i/, or the same vowel as the one which precedes the final consonant. This does not mean that there is a free choice between the two forms; the belonging form is always fixed for each word as either one or the other. It is not clear what determines whether a specific consonant final noun will have its belonging form constructed with /i/ or with the vowel preceding the final consonant.

There are two exceptions to the above rule:

Ex. 23.	<i>nan</i>	>	<i>nanuhu</i>	"somebody's face"
	<i>kotan</i>	>	<i>kotanu</i>	"somebody's ("our") village"

Here the last vowel, /a/, produces neither /-i(hi)/, nor /-a(ha)/ as would be expected, but /-u(hu)/ as its belonging form ending²².

Below, examples are given for each of the four possible "next-to-final" vowels:

Ex. 24.	/-aC/	+	/-i(hi)/	
	<i>ak</i>	>	<i>aki(hi)</i>	"somebody's younger brother"
	<i>imak</i>	>	<i>imaki</i>	"somebody's tooth"
	<i>matak</i>	>	<i>mataki</i>	"somebody (female)'s younger sister"
	<i>nisap</i>	>	<i>nisapi(hi)</i>	"somebody's shin"
	<i>utar</i>	>	<i>utari(hi)</i>	"somebody's relatives"
	<i>kam</i>	>	<i>kamibi</i>	"the meat of something"

Ex. 25.	/-aC/	+	/-a(ha)/	
	<i>kokkasap</i>	>	<i>kokkasapa</i>	"somebody's knee"
	<i>tumam</i>	>	<i>tumama(ba)</i>	"somebody's body"

Ex. 26.	/-oC/	+	/-i(hi)/	
	<i>hon</i>	>	<i>honi</i>	"somebody's stomach"
	<i>otop</i>	>	<i>otopi(hi)</i>	"somebody's hair"

- Ex. 27. /-oC/ + /-o(ho)/
osor > *osoro* "somebody's buttocks"
- Ex. 28. /-uC/ + /-i(hi)/
rur > *ruri(bi)* "the broth of something"
mour > *mouri(bi)* "somebody's undergarment"
kur > *kuribi* "somebody's/something's shadow"
hum > *humi(bi)* "the sound of something"
rekut > *rekuci*²³ "somebody's throat"
- Ex. 29. /-uC/ + /-u(hu)/
kiputur > *kiputuru* "somebody's forehead"
atur > *aturu* "the interval between something and something"
kewtum > *kewtumu(bu)* "somebody's heart (abstract meaning)"
- Ex. 30. /-eC/ + /-i(hi)/
askepet > *askepect*²³ "somebody's finger"
tures > *turesi* "somebody (male)'s younger sister"
- Ex. 31. /-eC/ + /-e(he)/
tek > *teke(he)* "somebody's arm/hand"

The diagram below summarizes the possible vowel shifts in the belonging form of consonant final nouns:

Vowel preceding the final consonant	i	e	a	o	u
Possible vowels in the belonging form	i	i e	i a u	i o	i u

Diagram 1. Vowel correspondences in the belonging form of consonant final nouns.

12.1.1.3. Long Versus Short Belonging Form

Whether the long form, /-VhV/, or the short form with only a vowel, /-V/, is chosen seems to depend mostly on sentence rhythm and speech velocity. In my material the short form is more frequent than the long and the long form appears more frequently with monosyllabic than with polysyllabic words. When it does appear in polysyllabic words, they have the accent kernel on the last syllable of the concept form. Some words only appear in one of the forms in my material, and for these I have given only the form in which they appear. This, of course, does not mean that the absent form is non-existent.

Tamura (1966: 52) maintains that the longer form is the basic one with /hV/ getting lost in rapid speech, while Chiri Mashio (1942:115, quoted by Tamura: 1966: 52) claimed that the shorter form was the basic form, and /hV/ was sometimes added for emphasis. One might also suggest a basic ending, /-hV/, which remains unchanged when added to vowel final nouns, but which loses the /h/ when following a consonant because of sound laws preventing consonant clusters with /h/ as the second element. It would then be optional to add the ending a second time for clarity in consonant final nouns.²⁴ E.g.

otop + hi > otopi + hi → otopihi

Still another explanation might be to postulate the interpolation of a supporting vowel, whenever /-hV/ is added to a consonant final noun. E.g.

otop + hi → otop + i + hi → otopihi

12.1.2. Semantic Classification of Belonging Form Nouns

Nouns which may appear in the belonging form are rather few (a little over fifty in my material), and they all fall within one of the following semantic categories, which share the characteristic of being expressions of inalienable possession.

12.1.2.1. Body Parts (Concrete)

Almost all words for parts of the body have a belonging form, and with the exception of situations in which a part of the body is mentioned in a general sense, the belonging form will be used.

- Ex. 32. *askepet* "finger"
ku askepeci "my finger"
- Ex. 33. *otop* "hair"
e otopihi "your hair"
- Ex. 34. *cikir* "foot"
toon katkemat cikiri "that woman's foot"

12.1.2.2. Abstract "Parts of the Body"

In this group there are only three examples in my material, namely *kewtum*, "mind, heart, personality", *haw*, "voice", and *ruye*, "track, footprints". Of these, *kewtum* does not always appear in the belonging form when this might be expected; i.e. *ku kewtum*, "my heart", is as acceptable as *ku kewtumu(hu)*.

- Ex. 35. *Kewtumu pirka*
_{1 2}
 (1: 's heart, 2: be good)
 "He is a good person."

- Ex. 36. *Ku kewtum wen*
_{1 2 3}
 (1: I, 2: heart, 3: be bad)
 "I feel miserable."

Haw always appears in the belonging form when it is clear to whom the voice belongs.

- Ex. 37. *(sine hekaci) hawebe tunun kane mayun kane...*
_{1 2 3 4 5 6 7}
 (1: one, 2: child, 3: 's voice, 4: chirp, 5: -ing, 6: twitter, 7: -ing)
 "The voice of (one of the children) was chirping and twittering and..."

Ruye or *ruyebu* only exists in the belonging form, so that footprints are always seen as belonging to somebody or something. Etymologically it is probably connected with the word *ru*, "road, path".

Ex. 38. *Tu unma rikin ruye an*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: two, 2: horses, 3: ascend, 4: 's footprints, 5: be)

"There were footprints of two horses going up."

12.1.2.3. Kinship Terms

Many kinship terms do not have the belonging form, and a few have the option of appearing either in the belonging form or in connection with an attributive postposition. In my material the following kinship terms appear in the belonging form:

Ex. 39.	<i>ak</i>	"younger brother"	<i>aki(hi)</i>
	<i>apa</i>	"relative"	<i>apaba</i>
	<i>bapo</i>	"mother"	<i>bapoho</i>
	<i>matak</i> ²⁵	"a woman's younger sister"	<i>mataki</i>
	<i>matnepo</i> ²⁵	"daughter"	<i>matnepoho</i>
	<i>ona</i>	"father"	<i>onaha</i>
	<i>po</i>	"child, son"	<i>poho</i>
	<i>sa</i>	"elder sister"	<i>saba</i>
	<i>tures</i>	"a man's younger sister"	<i>turesi(hi)</i>
	<i>unu</i>	"mother"	<i>unuhu</i>
	<i>utar</i>	"relative"	<i>utari(hi)</i>

Of the above, *bapo* is usually found with the attributive postposition, *kor* (see 14.3), and the expression *eci hapoho*, "your (plural) mother", only turned up in one example in a story told by my informant. *Hapo* usually pairs with *mici*, "father", which never appears in the belonging form. On the other hand we have the pair, *ona*, "father", and *unu*, "mother", which usually appear in the belonging form. However, in a *kamuyukar*, "god epic", told by my informant, *ona* repeatedly appears in expressions like *e kor ona*, "your father", and *an kor ona*, "our father". *Saba*, "somebody's elder sister", only turns up a few times in my material, while *ku kor sapo* (with the diminutive suffix *-po*), "my big sister", is frequent.

12.1.2.4. Personal Belongings and Extensions of the Body

Most expressions of possession, i.e. somebody owning something, are constructed with the attributive postposition *kor* (see 14.3), but sometimes the object owned may be considered as a kind of extension of the person, and

thus the belonging form may be used. In my material this is always the case with the words *mip*, "garment", and *mouy*, "undergarment".

Ex. 40. *An mi an mouribi ka ikosopa orowano ...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: I, 2: wear, 3: I, 4: 's undergarment, 5: too, 6: tear at something, 7: after)

"He even tore at my undergarment, after which he..."

Among personal belongings and extensions of the person, one may also consider the word *cise*, "house, home", which may appear in the belonging form, *e cisebe*, "your house", as well as in the form, *e kor cise*, "your house". They seem equally frequent and without any apparent differences in meaning, and there does not appear to be any determining factor in choosing one over the other.

Finally the word *kotan*, "village, settlement", occasionally appears in the belonging form.

Ex. 41. *... a kotanu ta isam siretokkor kathamat ...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: we, 2: 's village, 3: in, 4: not be, 5: be beautiful, 6: woman)

"There was no woman in our village who was as beautiful as she..."

The village, like the house, may be seen as an extension of the body, so *kotan* is included in this semantic group.

12.1.2.5. Parts of a Whole

The partitive genitive is a distinct type of inalienable possession, where the scope is narrowed from the whole to its part(s) by the use of the belonging form. It includes expressions like:

- Ex. 42. *rekut puyebe* "the throat opening"
 Ex. 43. *ni sempiri* "the shade of the tree"
 Ex. 44. *cep ruribi* "the fish broth"

- Ex. 45. *nep kamibi* "the meat of what (animal)?"
 Ex. 46. *ku arkebe* "my companion" (*arke*: "half")
 Ex. 47. *a mip kasebe*²⁶ "the exterior of my garment"
 Ex. 48. *nepka humibi* "the sound of something"

All the above examples show the word in the belonging form as a part of the preceding word; i.e. the scope is narrowed from the whole to its part(s). I have found only two examples of the opposite, where the scope is being widened from the parts to the whole. In the expression *cikap topaba*, "a flock of birds", the whole (i.e. *topa*, "flock") appears in the belonging form, while its parts (i.e. *cikap*, "birds") is in the concept form. Likewise in the expression *ki motaba*, "a cluster of reeds", the whole (i.e. *mota*, "cluster") takes the belonging form, while the parts (*ki*, "reeds") appears in the concept form.

12.2. Proper Names

Syntactically, the category of proper names (personal names and toponyms) behaves exactly like general nouns, but unlike general nouns, proper names are rarely modified by adnouns, or adnominalized sentences, and they never take plural suffixes. Everybody in Ainu society had a personal name, but family names were not in use before 1868, when Japanese family names were adopted. With each person and place having a unique name, the occasion for further definition by adnouns or adnominalized sentences would be extremely rare.

12.2.1. Personal Names and Family Names

Personal names were often constructed from words with an auspicious meaning or words to express the hopes the parents had for their child. From around the end of the eighteenth century, Ainu who were in regular contact with Japanese settlers or authorities were gradually persuaded to change their Ainu names into Japanese or Japanese-sounding names. Examples of this are found in Kaihō (1980:33):

<i>Ramranke</i>	>	Ranbei
<i>Caskunte</i>	>	Chashirō
<i>Sinkoksaaynu</i>	>	Shingorō

However, even though these "Japanese" names were registered, a person's proper Ainu name was presumably used within the family as long as the Ainu language was the medium of daily communication. Even today some elderly Ainu still have Ainu personal names in addition to their Japanese names.

Before the Meiji restoration in 1868 the Ainu were not alone in having no family names. Ordinary Japanese farmers as well were not allowed more than one name. When census registers were established all over Japan after the restoration, everybody was told to adopt a surname before being registered. Many chose a name from a particular topographic feature which was characteristic of the area in which they lived. In some cases a whole Ainu village would choose the same surname, so that still today one may to some extent tell the origins of an Ainu from his or her surname: the *Kaizawas* are from Nibutani, the *Monnos* from Chikabumi, etc. (Hilger: 1971: 110).

12.2.2. *Toponyms*

The study of Ainu toponyms has been almost more popular than the study of the Ainu language itself. When Hokkaidō was colonized by the Japanese, the majority of place names were not replaced with Japanese names, but only japonized to the extent necessary to provide them with *ateji* (i.e. Chinese characters assigned for pronunciation only, regardless of meaning). In this way e.g. *Poro Pet*, "Big River", became *Horobetsu*, written with the characters, 幌別. Since the characters were chosen for their pronunciation, and not for their meaning, looking at the meaning of the characters for Hokkaidō place names will rarely make any sense the way it would usually do throughout the rest of Japan. Many of the characters used in Hokkaidō place names are furthermore not in frequent use, and this, in combination with the fact that Japanese characters more often than not can be pronounced in more than one way, makes Hokkaidō toponyms an intriguing mystery for visitors to the island. Perhaps this is why the field of Hokkaidō toponymic research has held such an attraction for amateurs as well as for professional linguists.

I cannot attempt here to outline the enormous amount of work done in this field, so I shall confine myself to the brief mention of just two scholars; one for the bulk and the quality of his work, the other for the way in which his method of analyzing the meaning of place names has influenced etymological studies of Ainu in general.

Yamada Hidezō has spent more than four decades studying the toponyms of Hokkaidō, and he has also extended his research to place names in nor-

thern Honshū. His recently published four volume work, *Ainugo chimei no kenkyū* (Tokyo 1982, 1983) is a collection of the extensive work he has done in this field, and it must be considered the most exhaustive and dependable source for Ainu toponymic research.

The person who elevated Ainu toponymic research from an amateur hobby to a scientific pursuit was Chiri Mashio (see section 2.3). In 1956 he published a small introduction to the Ainu language with the subtitle, «Especially for Researchers of Toponyms» (Chiri: 1956b), and he also compiled a dictionary of Ainu toponyms (Chiri: 1956a). Furthermore, he contributed a number of place name analyses to the books on local history which were published by almost all large and medium-sized towns in Hokkaidō during the 1950s. Chiri took a great interest in not only the etymology of toponyms, but in the etymology of Ainu words in general. His basic point of view appears to be that all polysyllabic words in Ainu – not only toponyms – may be split up into mono- or bisyllabic morphemes or even single phonemes which carry separate meanings of their own. This method is put to full use in Chiri's famous three-volume dictionary, *Ainugo bunrui jiten* (Chiri: 1953, 1954, 1962), where one finds etymologies like the following:

Ex. 49.	<i>cep</i>	<	<i>c</i> : "we", <i>e</i> : "eat", <i>p</i> : "thing"
			> "fish"
	<i>cironnup</i>	<	<i>c</i> : "we", <i>ronnu</i> : "kill (many)", <i>p</i> : "thing"
			> "fox"
	<i>osus</i>	<	<i>o</i> : "buttock", <i>s</i> : "faeces", <i>us</i> : "attach to"
			> "baby"
	<i>sikoteyne</i>	<	<i>si</i> : "faeces", <i>ko</i> : "with", <i>teyne</i> : "be wet"
			> "newborn baby"

Chiri's etymological analyses are captivating, and they are supported by a thorough understanding of Ainu customs and ways of thinking. Nevertheless, one is occasionally left to wonder for instance why he chose one particular interpretation over another which might have resulted from separating the morphemes a little differently. E.g. *sikoteyne* might also make sense as *sik*: "eye", *o*: locative verb prefix, *teyne*: "be wet", thereby characterizing a baby as having wet eyes. Or if *c-e-p-* is "things which we eat", then how about *cep*, "boat"? May we expect the element /i/ to have a separate meaning, "ride" or "sail"? No such morpheme seems to exist.

A lot of sound etymological studies of place names were done by Chiri, but carried to extremes in other areas of the language, as he himself and some

of his followers have done, they tend to be more confusing than enlightening and easily end up as speculative jigsaw puzzles.

12.3. *Pronominal Nouns*

The term pronominal nouns, comprises five subgroups, namely the personal pronouns (12.3.1), the pronouns of anaphoric reference (12.3.2), the demonstratives (12.3.3), the interrogatives (12.3.4), and the indefinites (12.3.5). Syntactically they are similar to the general nouns in their being able to function by themselves as the subject or object of a sentence, but unlike general nouns they cannot be modified by adnouns or adnominalized sentences. Neither can they add the plural suffix, but the personal pronouns and some of the demonstratives have separate singular and plural forms.

The demonstratives and interrogatives have corresponding adnominal forms, which are included in the diagram at the end of section 12.3, but a more detailed description of these forms is given in the section on adnouns (14.1). All groups except for the personal pronouns have adverbial forms as well (adverbs of manner, cf. section 12.6.3.1). These forms are described in this section together with the nominal forms in each subgroup.

12.3.1. *Personal Pronouns*

Grammatical person in Ainu is primarily expressed through personal pronominal affixes (see 14.10), rather than through personal pronouns. There are, however, a number of forms which correspond in meaning to personal pronouns. They are generally used redundantly in connection with the corresponding pronominal affix, and they serve to emphasize or topicalize the grammatical person.

Ex. 50. *Kuani ka cep ka ku e.*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: I, 2: too, 3: fish, 4: too, 5: I, 6: eat)

"I, too, (I) eat fish as well."

The "personal pronouns" are actually amalgams of several morphemes. They all contain the pertinent pronominal affix, to which is added the existential verb, *an* (sg.)/*oka* (pl.), and/or a suffix. The singular forms are:

kuani "I, me"

eani "you"

and they may be analyzed as:

<i>kule</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>i</i>
pronominal affix, 1st/2nd person	"exist"	< <i>hi</i> , nominalizer

The personal pronoun for the 2nd person is rarely used to address persons towards whom one feels respect. Instead a polite noun, title, or kinship term may be used.

The plural forms of the personal pronouns are:

cioka
ciutar "we, us"

ecioka
eciutar "you"

and they may be analyzed as:

<i>ci/eci</i>	<i>oka</i>	or	<i>utar</i>
pronominal affix, 1st/2nd pers.pl.	"exist"		plural suffix

The 3rd person has no pronominal affix, and the pronominal forms generally used to denote the 3rd person consist of a demonstrative adnoun and a nominalizer as in:

taan kur "this person"

toon kur "that person"

taan pe "this thing"

toon pe "that thing"

In folk tales we find another form denoting the 3rd person, namely *ikiap*, "that guy", which has a derogatory connotation. *Ikiap* is often used anaphorically, and it may be broken down into the components, *ikia* (adnoun) + *p* (< *pe*) (nominalizer), cf. *ikia katkemat*, "this/that woman". The 3rd person plural is occasionally expressed as *utarpa*, "people".

The indefinite person may be expressed as *anutar*, but this is rarely used. When the indefinite person is used in some of its extended functions (i.e. as the 1st person in folk tales, a vague 1st person plural, or the 1st person singular vicariously; see section 14.10.4), the corresponding pronoun is *anoka*.

Below some examples are given of the use of various personal pronouns:

Ex. 51. *Kuanī anak mīci omne wa isam.*
 1 2 3 4 5 5

(1: I, 2: restrictive postposition, marks topic, 3: father, 4: grow old, 5: perfective aspect)

"As for me, my father is dead"

Ex. 52. *A kor acapo, oman usi en cioka ka un tura yan!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: we, 2: attributive postposition, 3: uncle, 4: go, 5: place, 6: allative postposition, 7: us, 8: restrictive postposition of inclusion, "too", 9: us (affix), 10: take along, 11: imperative sentence final)

"Our uncle, please take us along, too, to the place where you are going!"

Ex. 53. *Ciutar ka cise ka ci kor, utar ka ci kor...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: we, 2: too, 3: house, 4: too, 5: we (affix), 6: have, 7: relatives, 8: too, 9: we, 10: have)

"We, too, have a home as well as a family..."

Ex. 54. *Ecioka rupne nispa eci ne ruwe ne wa...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6 7

(1: you (pl.), 2: be grown up, 3: man, 4: you (affix), 5: copula, 6: assertive sentence final, 7: conjunctionalizer, "and")

"You are grown men, and..."

- Ex. 55. *Numan eciutar ku nukar bike, eci irara kane eci oka siri ku nukar.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

(1: yesterday, 2: you (pl.), 3: I, 4: see, 5: conjunctivalizer, "and", 6: you (affix), 7: do mischief, 8: -ing, *kane+oka*: uncompleted aspect, 9: you, 10: be (see 8), 11: nominalizer, "situation", 12: I, 13: see)

"Yesterday I saw you, and I saw you in the process of doing mischief."

- Ex. 56. *Anoka ka sino nispa an ne wa...* (from a folk tale)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: I (< indefinite person), 2: restrictive postposition of inclusion, "too", 3: really, 4: (prosperous) man, 5: I (affix, indefinite person), 6: copula, 7: conjunctivalizer, "and")

"(after having described the virtues of his wife) I, too, was a really prosperous man, and..."

12.3.2. Anaphoric Reference

The root *ne* appears in expressions of anaphoric reference, i.e. direct reference to a specific adjunct in an earlier sentence, with the meaning "the aforementioned thing/way" or "the said matter/way". *Ne* forms part of the form *nean pe* "the aforementioned thing", and it may also be used by itself adverbially or (more often) reinforced by the comparative nominalizer, *koraci*, to mean "in this/the aforementioned way".

- Ex. 57. *...toon pe kar, taan pe kar ari hawas wa, neanpe an ruska.*
1 1 2 3 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: that, 2: make, 3: this, 4: make, 5: quotationalizer, 6: say, 7: and, 8: this matter, 9: I, 10: get angry)

"...they say "Make this! Make that!" and at this I get angry."

- Ex. 58. *Kotan paan kotan kesun sirwante an pe ne na. Ne koraci iki*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
yan! Iteke cup etuk pakno hotke...
13 14 15 16 17 18

(1: village, 2: upper part, 3: village, 4: lower part, 5: look around, 6: be,

7: nominalizer, 8: copula, 9: assertive (6-9: assertive sentence final expression, see also 14.11.2), 10: anaphoric, 11: comparative nominalizer, "like", 12: act, 13: imperative sentence final, 14: don't, 15: sun, 16: come out, 17: until, 18: sleep/lie down)

"You had better look around the village everywhere! Act in this manner! Don't sleep until the sun comes out!"

The frequently used adverb of manner, *ene*, also functions anaphorically, and it is probably derived from the root, *ne*.

Ex. 59. *Aynu menoko e tura wa nekon e iki p ne e ramu wa ene e*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
hawki yan!
 16 17

(1: human, 2: woman, 3: you, 4: take along, 5: and, 6: how, 7: you, 8: act, 9: nominalizer, 10: copula, 11: you, 12: know, 13: and, 14: thus, 15: you, 16: speak, 17: imperative sentence final)

"Speak thus only if you know how to deal with a human woman after taking her with you!"

The root *ne* can also form part of an anaphoric adnoun:

<i>ne</i>	
<i>nee</i>	"this..."
<i>nebe</i>	
<i>nean</i> (sg.)	
<i>neoka</i> (pl.)	"that/those..."

Examples of their use are given in the section on adnouns (14.1).

A special kind of anaphoric reference is made with *too*, which actually derives from the root *to*, the distal demonstrative (see section 12.3.3). *Too* may be used to refer back to an adjunct in an earlier sentence, which now functions as the possessor or attributive modifier of a new noun. This anaphoric genitive is grammatically speaking an adnoun, and further examples of its use may be found in section 14.1.1, which deals with adnouns. Example 60 below also exemplifies the function of *too*:

Ex. 60

Poro tuma a yapkir akus, too ahun humi sirkumkumse kane
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ahun.
 11

(1: be big, 2: stone, 3: indefinite pronominal affix, 4: throw, 5: conjunctive, 6: "when", 7: its, 8: enter, 9: sound, 10: make a plopping sound, 11: conjunctive, "while", 11: enter)

"When one throws a large stone (into the water), the sound of its entering makes a plop while it enters."

12.3.3. The Demonstratives

The demonstratives formed from the roots *ta* and *to* can have anaphoric reference, too, but otherwise they are a deictic category, indicating location in time and space with reference to the speaker, the addressee, and others. Besides including this element of deixis, the demonstratives are definite (as opposed to indefinite), and the two roots *ta* and *to* provide two degrees of proximity to the speaker²⁷, with *ta* as the proximal and *to* as the distal demonstrative. Corresponding to this pair, there is an indeterminate root, *ne*, which appears in interrogative and indefinite expressions.

Various demonstratives are formed by adding suffixes:

	Proximal	Distal
Adverb of manner	<i>taa</i>	<i>too</i>
Thing/event/matter/person	<i>taan pe</i>	<i>toon pe</i> (sg.) <i>tooka pe</i> (pl.)
Adverb of place	<i>taan ta</i>	<i>toon ta</i>
Adnominal form (see also 14.1.1)	<i>taan</i>	<i>toon</i>

Ta also forms part of various fixed idioms such as *tap* or *tane*, "now", *tanto*, "today", *tanpa*, "this year", etc.

The double vowels, /aa/ and /oo/ are often shortened to single vowels in rapid speech.

²⁷ The Awa language.

Below a few comments and examples are given for each of the above forms apart from the adnominal forms, which are treated in the section on adnouns (14.1.1).

Taa, "in this way"

- Ex. 61. *Ikoytupa an hi kamuy nukar wa, pon cep poronno an eimekkar*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
wa, taa e se ruwe ne.
 12 13 14 15 16 16

(1: suffer from the lack of something, 2: we, 3: nominalizer, 4: gods, 5: see, 6: conjunctinalizer, "and", 7: be small, 8: fish, 9: a lot, 10: indefinite pronominal affix, here marking the passive, 11: bestow upon, 12: and, 13: in this way, 14: you, 15: bring, 16: assertive sentence final form)

"The gods saw our suffering and a lot of small fish were bestowed upon us, and in this way it is that you have brought them."

Taa may be reinforced by the comparative nominalizer, *koraci*, "manner, way".

- Ex. 62. *Onne huci taa koraci toranne p isoytak ye.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: be old, 2: old woman, 3: in this manner, 4: be idle, 5: nominalizer, 6: tale, 7: tell)

"I, old woman, will tell the tale of a lazy fellow in this manner: ..."

Too, "in that way", "thus", "such"

- Ex. 63. *An mi wa oka pe ikiap nyina wa are wa, too esokayne eyaphir.*
 1 2 3 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: indefinite pronominal affix, here marking the 1st person in a folk tale, 2: wear, 3: imperfective aspect, 4: nominalizer, 5: that guy, 6: grab, 7: conjunctinalizer, "and", 8: take off, 9: and, 10: thus, 11: to the far side of the room, 12: thereby-throw (*e-*, see 14.7.3))

"That guy grabbed what I was wearing and tore it off, and thus he threw it to the far side of the room."

Taa and *too* in the beginning of a sentence may function like a kind of interjection, "there now!", "well!".

Ex. 64. *Too kim ta oman wa yuk-emawri poronno uk wa ek!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9

(1: there now!, 2: mountain, 3: allative case, "to", 4: go, 5: and, 6: raspberries, 7: a lot, 8: gather, 9: directional mode of action, see 14.9.3.6, "and come")

"There now! Go to the mountain and gather a lot of raspberries and bring them back!"

Ex. 65. *Taa itak an cik pirkano nu yan!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: attention!, 2: speak, 3: indefinite pronominal affix, here marking the 1st person in a folk tale, 4: conjunctionalizer, "when", 5: well, 6: listen, 7: imperative sentence final)

"Now! When I speak, listen well!"

Sometimes *too* has the special nuance of stressing a subsequent stative verb as being of an "amazing degree".

Ex. 66. *Konnispa, too tuyma kotan wa apkas, a katan-kotan ta ek wa,*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
aynu opitta nispa ekantusma ruwe enta an na.
 12 13 14 15 16 16 16 16

(1: sir, 2: such, 3: be distant, 4: village, 5: ablative case, "from", 6: walk, 7: our, 8: humble, small village, 9: locative/allative case, "to", 10: come, 11: and, 12: people, 13: all, 14: gentleman (i.e. "you"), 15: admire (somebody's great deed), 16: assertive sentence final form)

"Sir, you have walked from such a distant village and come to our humble village, and all the people admire your great deed."

Taan pe, "this/these thing(s)/matter(s)/event(s)"

Ex. 67. *Acapo poro cep ikoturivi, "Taan pe an e kore na, uk!" ari hawki.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: uncle, 2: be big, 3: fish, 4: hand to somebody, 5: this, 6: I, 7: you, 8: give, 9: conjunctivalizer, "so", 10: take, 11: quotationalizer, 12: say)

"Uncle handed us a big fish and said: "I give you this, so take it!""

Toon pe, "that thing/matter/event", "that person"

Ex. 68. *Toon pe anak topenpe ka an, niikaomap ka an na...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: that, 2: restrictive postposition, marks topic, 3: sweets, 4: too, 5: be, 6: fruit, 7: too, 8: be, 9: so)

"As for that, there are both sweets and fruit, so (go ahead and eat!)"

While *taan pe* covers both the singular and the plural, *toon pe* has a plural form *tooka pe*, which consists of the demonstrative root *to*, the plural form of the existential verb (*an*), *oka*, and *pe*, a nominalizer. This plural form mainly refers to persons.

Ex. 69. *Tooka pe nepkusta poro ni samake ta roski wa oka?*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8

(1: those persons, 2: why, 3: be big, 4: tree, 5: beside, 6: locative case postposition, 7: stand, 8: imperfective aspect)

"Why are those persons standing next to the big tree?"

When *toon pe* or *tooka pe* are used to refer to persons, the reference is derogatory. Polite reference would be *toon/tooka nispa*, "that/those gentleman/-men" and *toon/tooka katkemat*, "that/those lady/-ies", while neutral reference would be *toon kur*, "that/those persons". The latter does not seem to have a plural equivalent; the expression **tooka kur* does not appear in my material.

Tooka pe is generally pronounced [tookajpe].

Taan ta, "here"

Ex. 70. *Harikiso ta monaa yan! Anoka anak taan ta monaa an na.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: opposite side (of the fire place), 2: locative case postposition, 3: sit, 4: imperative sentence final, 5: indefinite personal pronoun, here used for the 1st person in a folk tale, 6: marks topic, 7: here, 8: sit, 9: I, 10: assertive sentence final)

"Sit down on the opposite side! As for me, I shall sit here!"

Toon ta, "there"

Ex. 71. *Toon ta sine reyep an hike, ...*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: there, 2: one, 3: dog, 4: be, 5: conjunctualizer, "and")

"One dog is there, and..."

12.3.4. The Interrogatives

One set of interrogatives are derived from the root *ne* (*nekon*, *nep*, *nen*, *neyta* (< *ne ta*), etc.), while another set is derived from the roots *hem* and *hun*. The latter are not widely represented in the Shizunai dialect – there are only the two forms *hempara*, "when", and *hempak*, "how many". Dialects in the southeastern part of Hokkaidō have also *hemanta*, "what", *hunna*, "who", and *hunak*, "where" (Hattori: 1964: 312ff). Furthermore, there are a few interrogatives which are derived from neither of these roots.

In the following a list is presented of the interrogatives of the Shizunai dialect with example sentences demonstrating their use.

Nekon, "how"

Ex. 72. *Kesto an konno ku kār caykap sonpay ā en hīre wa, nekon ku kār*
 1 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
yak pīrka ya ku eranpetek.
 13 14 15 16 17

(1: every day, 2: I, 3: make, do, 4: cannot, 5: work, 6: indefinite pronominal affix, here marking the passive, 7: me, 8: make do (causative of *ki*), 9: conjunctualizer, "and", 10: how, 11: I, 12: make, 13: if, 14: be good, 15: interrogative sentence final²⁵, 16: I, 17: not know)

"Every day I am made to do work that I cannot do, and I do not know how I should do it."

Nep, "what"

Ex. 73. *Numan nep eci kar kane eci oka...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 5

(1: yesterday, 2: what, 3: you (pl.), 4: do, 5: uncompleted aspect, 6: you)

"What were you doing yesterday...?"

Nen, "who"

Ex. 74. *Korkatkemat, e osmake ta nen as ruwe ta an?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 7

(1: madam, 2: you, 3: 's behind, 4: locative case postposition, 5: who, 6: stand, 7: interrogative sentence final form)

"Madam, who is that standing behind you?"

Neyta, "where"

Ex. 75. *Ekas anak neyta an ruwe ne yakka ku eranpetek.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: grandpa, 2: restrictive postposition marking topic, 3: where, 4: be, 5: nominalizer, 6: copula, 7: concessive conjunctivalizer, "even", 8: I, 9: not know)

"As for grandpa, I don't even know where he is."

Hempara, "when"

Ex. 76. *Hempara eci paye kusu ki ruwe ta an?*
1 2 3 4 4 5 5 5

(1: when, 2: you (pl.), 3: go, 4: intentional mood, 5: interrogative sentence final form)

"When are you going to go?"

Hempak, "how many"

Ex. 77. *Korkatkemat, bempak matnepo e kor ruwe ta an?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 6 6

(1: madam, 2: how many, 3: daughter, 4: you, 5: have, 6: interrogative sentence final form)

"Madam, how many daughters do you have?"

Nepkus(ta), "why"

Ex. 78. *Nepkus toon pon menoko cis a cis a...?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 5 6

(1: why, 2: that, 3: be small, 4: woman, 5: cry, 6: durative mode of action)

"Why does that young woman keep on crying and crying...?"

Enun, "to where"

Ex. 79. *Enun eci paye usi ye yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: to where, 2: you (pl.), 3: go, 4: place, 5: say, 6: imperative sentence final)

"Say the place to where you are going!"

Onun, "from where"

Ex. 80. *Onun e hetuk wa e ek ruwe ta an?*
1 2 3 4 2 4 5 5 5

(1: from where, 2: you, 3: appear, 4: directional mode, "come", 5: interrogative sentence final form)

"Where did you appear from?"

12.3.5. The Indefinites

The majority of the indefinite pronouns are formed by adding the restrictive postposition, *ka*, to the interrogative pronoun:

<i>nep</i>	"what"	>	<i>nepka</i>	"something"
<i>nen</i>	"who"	>	<i>nenka</i>	"somebody"
<i>onun</i>	"from where"	>	<i>onunka</i>	"from somewhere"
etc.				

The restrictive postposition, *ka*, corresponds in meaning and function to the Japanese *mo* (see also section 14.6.2). Japanese, however, derives indefinite pronouns from interrogatives by adding the question marker, *ka*:

<i>dare</i>	"who"	>	<i>dareka</i>	"somebody"
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When Japanese adds *mo* to an interrogative pronoun, the resulting form is the indefinite pronoun as used in negated sentences:

<i>dare</i>	"who"	>	<i>daremo</i> (+neg)	"nobody"
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Ainu uses the same forms of the indefinite pronoun in declarative as well as in negative sentences. *Nenka* with a declarative predicate thus means "somebody", while with a negated predicate it means "nobody". The general term, "everybody", is expressed with different morphemes, e.g. *aynu opitta*, "all the people".

A few of the indefinite pronouns are formed by reduplicating the interrogative pronoun. This is an extra form besides the one constructed with *-ka*. In my material there are two examples of reduplicated forms, namely *nennen* and *onunonun*. *Nennen* has a nuance of "whoever/nobody whatsoever", where the corresponding form, *nenka*, means only "somebody/anybody". *Onunonun* means "from various places", i.e. it has a slightly different nuance from *onunka*, which means "from somewhere".

Below follows a list of the indefinite pronouns with examples of their use. In some cases declarative as well as negated sentences are given.

Nekonka, "somehow"

Ex. 81. *Nekonka, nekonka a konnisa e yaykonuyna wa e bosipi.*
 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: somehow, 2: indefinite pronominal affix used for the 1st person in a

folk tale, 3: 's husband, (< *kor*, attributive postposition + *nispa*, "gentleman"), 4: you, 5: hide oneself, 6: conjunctivalizer, "and", 7: you, 8: return home)

"Somehow, somehow my husband, you must hide and return home!"

Nepka, "something/anything/nothing"

- Ex. 82. *Nekon eci kar ya? Eci ociwe ruwe he an, nepka eci hok wa eci e*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
ruwe he an?
 14 14 14

(1: how, 2: you (pl.), 3: do, 4: interrogative sentence final, 5: you, 6: lose, 7: marks alternative question (*ruwe*, nominalizer, *he*: coordinative postposition (14.4), *an*: existential verb), 8: something, 9: you, 10: buy, 11: conjunctivalizer, "and", 12: you, 13: eat, 14: alternative question, cf. 7)

"How did you do (it – i.e. lose the money I gave you)? Did you drop it, or did you buy something and eat it?"

- Ex. 83. *Nepka a nukar ka somo ki, nepka ek ka somo ki.*
 1 2 3 4 5 4 6 7 4 5 4

(1: anything, 2: I, 3: see, 4: assertive mood (14.9.4.8), 5: not, 6: anything, 7: come)

"I didn't see anything at all; nothing came!"

Nep neyakka, "anything at all"

Nep neyakka is composed of *nep*, "what", *ne*, the copula, and *yakka*, the concessive conjunctivalizer.

- Ex. 84. *Tane e poro kusu, nep neyakka an e nure na, a ye itak iteke oyra*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
no nul
 15 16

(1: now, 2: you, 3: be big, 4: because, 5: anything, 6: indefinite pronominal affix, here marking the 1st person in a folk tale, 7: you, 8: tell (< *nu*,

"listen" + *-re*, causative suffix), 9: conjunctivalizer, "so", 10: I, 11: say, 12: talk (noun), 13: don't, 14: forget, 15: conjunctivalizer, "and", 16: listen)

"Because you are grown up now, I will tell you **absolutely everything**, so listen and don't forget the things I say!"

Nenka, "somebody/anybody/nobody"

Ex. 85. *Toon nay orun anak nenka paye ka somo ki...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 7

(1: that, 2: swamp, 3: into, 4: restrictive postposition, marks topic, 5: anybody, 6: go, 7: assertive mood, 8: not)

"As for that swamp, nobody goes into it..."

Ex. 86. *Nenka orwa an e kik wa...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: somebody, 2: from/by (here marking the agent), 3: indefinite pronominal affix, marks the passive, 4: you, 5: hit, 6: conjunctivalizer, "and")

"Were you hit by somebody and..."

Nennen, "whoever/nobody whatsoever"

Ex. 87. *Toon poro nupuri anak kamuy nupuri ne wa, nennen orun rikip ka*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
eykap ruwe ne.
 12 13 13

(1: that, 2: be big, 3: mountain, 4: restrictive postposition, marks topic, 5: god, "holy", 6: mountain, 7: copula, 8: conjunctivalizer, "and", 9: anybody whatsoever, 10: up there (allative case), 11: climb, 12: potential mood, negative, "cannot", 13: assertive sentence final form)

"As for that big mountain, it is a holy mountain, and nobody whatsoever can climb up there."

Ex. 88. *Nennen payeka yakka, iokunnaka wa iinkerayte...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: whoever, 2: pass by, 3: concessive conjunctive, 4: feel pity towards somebody, 5: conjunctive, "and", 6: give alms to somebody)

"No matter whoever pass by, they feel pity and give alms..."

Neytaka, "somewhere"

Ex. 89. *Hure nuyto ka isam. Neytaka hure nuyto an eyok uske an riwe*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
he an?
 13 14

(1: be red, 2: thread, 3: restrictive postposition, 4: not be, 5: somewhere, 6: be red, 7: thread, 8: indefinite pronominal affix, 9: sell, 10: place, 11: be, 12: nominalizer, 13: restrictive postposition expressing doubt, 14: be)

"There is no more red thread. Isn't there a place somewhere, where they might sell red thread?"

Neorkeka, "somewhere (inside)"

Neorkeka is similar in meaning to *neytaka*, but it does not have a corresponding interrogative pronoun, **neorke*, in the Shizunai dialect. According to Hattori (1964: 313), *neor* and *neoro* are found in the Obihiro and Saru dialects respectively, meaning "what place". The *orke* of *neorkeka* is a positional meaning "the place inside" (see section 12.5.2).

Ex. 90. *Hekaci anak sattek, amip ari ruyek pokon no an nukar, neorkeka*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
wen kotom an.
 12 13 14

(1: child, 2: restrictive postposition, marks topic, 3: be emaciated, 4: clothes, 5: instrumental case, 6: be fat, 7: nominalizer, "appearance", 8: conjunctive, "(hav)-ing", 9: indefinite pronominal affix, 10: see, 11: somewhere (inside), 12: be bad, 13: nominalizer, "apparent condition", 14: be)

"The child is emaciated; he looks fat with clothes on, (but) he must be ill somewhere inside."

Enunka, "to somewhere"

Ex. 91. *Nepkus e as ruwe ta an? Enunka e oman kusu ki siri enta an na?*
1 2 3 4 4 4 5 6 7 8 8 9 9 9 9

(1: why, 2: you, 3: stand, 4: interrogative sentence final form, 5: to somewhere, 6: you, 7: go, 8: intentional mood, 9: interrogative sentence final form)

"Why do you stand? Is it that you intend to go somewhere?"

Onunka, "from somewhere"

Ex. 92. *Kamuy renkayne onunka katkemat ek yakun, iteke e kowen no
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
tura e an.
11 12 13*

(1: gods, 2: thanks to, 3: from somewhere, 4: woman, 5: come, 6: conditional conjunctivalizer, "if/when", 7: don't, 8: you, 9: dislike, 10: conjunctivalizer, "and", 11: join, 12: you, 13: be)

"If a woman comes from somewhere as a favour from the gods, then don't think ill of her, but stay together with her!"

Onunonun, "from different places"

Ex. 93. *Taa oka menoko anak too onunonun an tura, wen
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
kamuy tura wa ek wa...
10 11 12 12 13*

(1: in this way, 2: be, 3: women, 4: restrictive postposition, marks topic, 5: thus, 6: from here and there, 7: indefinite pronominal affix, marks the passive, 8: bring along, 9: be bad, 10: god, 11: bring along, 12: directional mode of action, "come", 13: conjunctivalizer, "and")

"The women who were in this situation had been brought together from various places, the evil god had brought them along and..."

12.3.6. Final Remarks on Pronouns

In Diagram 2 on the following page I have aligned the forms of the *ne*, *ta*, and

	Demonstratives			Indeterminates	
	Anaphoric	Deictic		Interrogative	Indefinite
		Proximal	Distal		
»Manner« (adverbial)	<i>ene</i> in this/that way <i>ne (koraci)</i> in the said way	<i>taa (koraci)</i> in this way	<i>too</i> thus/in that way/such	<i>nekon</i> how	<i>nekonka</i> some-/anyhow
»Individual« (person/thing/event)	<i>nean pe</i> the afore-mentioned thing/event	<i>taan pe</i> this/these person(s)/thing(s)	<i>toon pe</i> that person/thing <i>tooka pe</i> those persons	<i>nep</i> what <i>nen</i> who	<i>nepka</i> some-/anything <i>nep neyakea</i> anything at all <i>nenka</i> some-/anybody <i>nennen</i> whoever
»Place«		<i>taanta</i> here	<i>toonta</i> there	<i>neyta</i> where	<i>neytaka</i> somewhere <i>neorkeka</i> somewh. inside
Adnominal	<i>nean</i> the afore-mentioned (sg.) <i>neoka</i> do. (pl.) <i>ne/nee/nebe</i> do. (not marked for number) <i>too</i> (genit.) »its«	<i>taan/tañ</i> this/these	<i>toon/ton</i> that <i>tooka</i> those	<i>neay</i> which	

Diagram 2. Demonstratives and Indeterminates in the Shizunai Dialect.

to roots as they correspond to each other. The adnominal forms are included in the diagram, but a more detailed description of their function is given with examples in section 14.1.1.

The anaphoric root morpheme *ne*, and the interrogative root morpheme *ne*, may have more than coincidence in common, and their homonymity with the copula *ne*, could also be drawn to attention.

12.4. Quantity Nouns

Under this heading the numerical system and a few single lexical items which refer to quantity will be presented. Ainu numerals have a basic morpheme

	Numerals	Numbers	
		Counting with <i>-p(-e)</i>	Counting with <i>-n/-iw</i>
1	<i>sine</i>	<i>sinep</i>	<i>sinen</i>
2	<i>tu</i>	<i>tup</i>	<i>tun</i>
3	<i>re</i>	<i>rep</i>	<i>ren</i>
4	<i>ine</i>	<i>inep</i>	<i>inen</i>
5	<i>asikne</i>	<i>asiknep</i>	<i>asiknen</i>
6	<i>iwan</i>	<i>iwanpe</i>	<i>iwaniw</i>
7	<i>arwan</i>	<i>arwanpe</i>	<i>arwaniw</i>
8	<i>tupesan</i>	<i>tupesanpe</i>	<i>tupesaniw</i>
9	<i>sinepesan</i>	<i>sinepesanpe</i>	<i>sinepesaniw</i>
10	<i>wan</i>	<i>wanpe</i>	<i>waniw</i>

Diagram 3. Numerals and Numbers from one to ten.

which is only used adnominally, and which may be expanded with the help of a rudimentary system of "classifiers" or "counters"; mainly *-p(e)*²⁹ (used for things, persons, animals) and *-n/-iw* (used only for human beings). The term *numeral* will be used for the basic morphemes, while *number* covers the expressions which consist of a numeral and a counter.

12.4.1. The Numerals

The numerals do not differ much from one Hokkaidō dialect to another, while the dialects of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands show some differences, especially in the numerals exceeding twenty. In diagram 3 on p. 110 only the Hokkaidō numerals are described, and all the examples are from the Shizunai dialect.

Of the numerals only 1-5 and 10 are really basic morphemes, while 6 to 9 are derived by deducting 4, 3, 2, and 1 respectively from 10. *I-wan* is thus "four (*i < ine*) – ten (*wan*)"; and *arwan* should be "three – ten", where *ar < re*, according to Chiri ((1936) 1974: 58). *Tupesán* and *sinepesán* are usually interpreted as *tu/sine + p + e + san*, i.e. "two/one – thing – thereby – ten", where *san < wan*³⁰. However, a more likely interpretation of these last two numerals is suggested by Patrie (1981: 247). He traces their origin back to an alternate morpheme for "ten", namely *upis*, which is found in Kurile Ainu as documented in the 18th century by Krascheninnikov and Steller independently (see Murayama: 1971: 19, 66). Thus *tupesán* is from *tu-upis* and *sinepesán* from *sine-upis*. The final *-án* remains to be accounted for, but it may perhaps be connected with the existential verb *an*.

Chiri (1936: 57ff) proposes etymologies for some of the basic numerals as well: *si* of *sine* is homonymous with the prefix, *si-*, which means "real, original, genuine, indigenous", and *ne*, which is also found in *ine*, "four", and *asikne*, "five", is – according to Chiri – a suffix, which "makes adjectives out of nouns". However, assuming that *-ne* is indeed an independent morpheme, it should in my opinion rather be interpreted as the copula in adnominal position. Chiri goes on to give the glosses *simompét* for "thumb" and *rimompét* for "middle (i.e. third) finger"³¹, thus deriving *sine*, "one", from "thumb", and *re*, "three", from the third finger.

For *ine*, Chiri suggests a connection with *inne*, "many", and the *asik-* of *asikne*, "five", he connects with the morpheme *aske*, which means "hand" in a number of compounds, as for instance *askepet*, "finger".

The numeral for "twenty", *bot*, is also a basic morpheme. It means "a set", and thus suggests a set of fingers and toes in one human being, i.e. "twenty".

The numerals eleven to nineteen are constructed by adding to ten the numerals from one to nine, using the verb, *ikasma*, "to be in excess". They are as follows:

Basic Morpheme

- 11 *sine ikasma wan*
- 12 *tu ikasma wan*
- 13 *re ikasma wan*
- 14 *ine ikasma wan*
- 15 *asikne ikasma wan*
- 16 *iwan ikasma wan*
- 17 *arwan ikasma wan*
- 18 *tupesan ikasma wan*
- 19 *sinepesan ikasma wan*
- 20 *hot(ne)*

Counting with *-p(e)*

- 11 *sinep ikasma wanpe*
- 12 *tup ikasma wanpe*
- 13 *rep ikasma wanpe*
- 14 *inep ikasma wanpe*
- 15 *asiknep ikasma wanpe*
- 16 *iwanpe ikasma wanpe*
- 17 *arwanpe ikasma wanpe*
- 18 *tupesampe ikasma wanpe*
- 19 *sinepesampe ikasma wanpe*
- 20 *hot (-pe is dropped)*

Counting with *-n/-iw*

- 11 *sinen ikasma waniw*
- 12 *tun ikasma waniw*
- 13 *ren ikasma waniw*
- 14 *inen ikasma waniw*
- 15 *asiknen ikasma waniw*
- 16 *iwaniw ikasma waniw*
- 17 *arwaniw ikasma waniw*
- 18 *tupesaniw ikasma waniw*
- 19 *sinepesaniw ikasma waniw*
- 20 *hotnen*

Numerals between twenty and twenty-nine are formed by adding the numerals one to nine to twenty:

- 21 *sine ikasma hotne*
 22 *tu ikasma hotne*
 23 *re ikasma hotne*
 etc.

From thirty to one hundred is counted as follows:

30	<i>wan e tu hotne</i>	(ten-thereby-two-twenty) ³²
40	<i>tu hotne</i>	(two-twenty)
50	<i>wan e re hotne</i>	(ten-thereby-three-twenty)
60	<i>re hotne</i>	(three-twenty)
70	<i>wan e ine hotne</i>	(ten-thereby-four-twenty)
80	<i>ine hotne</i>	(four-twenty)
90	<i>wan e asikne hotne</i>	(ten-thereby-five-twenty)
100	<i>asikne hotne</i>	(five-twenty)

The Asahikawa dialect has *sine hot* for "ten", *tu hot* for "twenty", and so on, forming a decimal system, and the Sakhalin dialect of Raychishka also has a decimal system based upon a different morpheme for "ten", namely *kunkutu* (as in *tukunkutu*, "twenty", *rekunkutu*, "thirty", etc.) (Hattori: 1964: 262ff). Krascheninnikov's data (Murayama: 1971: 23) show a decimal system for the Kurile dialect(s), based on the morpheme, *wan* (*reuampe*, "thirty", *ineuampe*, "forty", etc.). Apart from the dialect of Asahikawa, however, all Hokkaidō dialects have a vigesimal system based upon the morpheme, *hot*.

12.4.2. Special Forms

Most nouns may be counted by simply putting the basic form of the appropriate numeral in front of the noun. There are a few exceptions to this. Days are counted as follows:

<i>sineto</i>	(< <i>to</i> , "day")	"one day"
<i>tutko</i>		"two days"
<i>rerko</i>		"three days"
<i>ine rerko</i>		"four days"
<i>asikne rerko</i>		"five days"
etc.		

When counting a number of times (occasions), there is a special term for "once":

<i>arsuy</i>	(< <i>suy</i> , "time")	"once"
<i>tusuy</i>		"twice"
<i>resuy</i>		"three times"
etc.		

Patrie (1981: 247) suggests on the basis of comparative evidence that *ar* may be an older morpheme for "one".

Of the numerals, *iwan*, "six", has a special status, being occasionally used in the meaning of "many" – especially in the oral literature and in fixed sayings, such as riddles.

Ex. 94. *Iwan kotan kama hawe an nu p nep ta an ya?*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 9

(1: six, 2: villages, 3: spread over, 4: voice, 5: indefinite pronominal affix, 6: hear, 7: nominalizer, 8: what, 9: interrogative sentence final form)

"What is that, the voice of which one can hear over many villages?"
 (Answer: A cuckoo.)

Also *tu* and *re* in combination can mean "many", and in this meaning they are often reinforced by a prefix, *o-*.

Ex. 95. *Kuani anak otusuy kor no, oresuy kor na ku eyaykoopik*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
kane ku ye ranke...
 11 12 13 14

(1: I, 2: restrictive postposition, marks topic, 3: twice, 4: have, 5: conjunctivalizer, "and", 6: three times, 7: have, 8: conjunctivalizer, "and so", 9: I, 10: *e*, "thereby", *yay*, "oneself", *ko*, "towards", *opik*: "repeat", "repeat oneself", 11: contemporaneous conjunctivalizer, 12: I, 13: say, 14: conjunctivalizer, iterative meaning)

"As for me, I talk all the time, repeating myself over and over (< "both two and three times")..."

12.4.3. Numerals in Adnominal Position

The numerals in their basic form are only used adnominally.

- Ex. 96. *Ine cikir* "Four legs"
Tu unma "Two horses"

Between the numeral and the noun a pronominal affix or a stative verb may be inserted.

- Ex. 97. *Re ku mataki* "My three younger sisters"
Sine peure okkaypo "One young boy"
Tu pon cep "Two small fish"

Two special idioms should be noted here:

- Ex. 98. *Sine an pa ta ...*
1 2 3 4
(1: one, 2: be, 3: year, 4: locative/temporal case postposition)
"(Then) one year..."

and similarly, *sine an to ta*, "(then) one day". In contrast, when counting one day and one year, the existential verb, *an*, is left out, and we get *sine to*, "a/one day", and *sine pa*, "a/one year".

The forms used when counting human beings may also be used adnominally.

- Ex. 99. *Tun katkemat ukoitak kane apkas...*
1 2 3 4 5
(1: two persons, 2: women, 3: mutually-talk, "chat", 4: contemporaneous conjunctivalizer, 5: walk)
"Two women walked while chatting..."

12.4.4. Numbers in Appositional Position

When the counters *-u/-iw* or *-p(e)* are used, the noun being counted is often placed in front of the number, and the number is thus appositional to the noun.

Ex. 100. *A kor mici akibi tun, ren an ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8

(1: indefinite pronominal affix used for the 1st person, 2: attributive postposition, 3: father, 4: 's younger brothers, 5: two persons, 6: three persons, 7: be, 8: assertive sentence final form)

"My father had two or three younger brothers (< my father's brothers were two/three persons)."

A restrictive postposition may appear between the noun and the number.

Ex. 101. *Okkay ne po isam wa, mat ne po keray asiknen ku kor ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 13

(1: man, 2: attributive postposition, 3: child, 4: not be, 5: conjunctivizer, "and", 6: woman, 7: attributive postposition, 8: child, 9: restrictive postposition, "only", 10: five persons, 11: I, 12: have, 13: assertive sentence final form)

"There are no boys; only girls I have five of."

The numbers with *-p(e)* are never used adnominally, so when they explicitly refer to a noun in the text, they are always in appositional position.

Ex. 102. *Pirka amip sinep keray a kor kusu...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: be pretty, 2: garment, 3: one thing, 4: only, 5: I, 6: have, 7: because)

"Since I have only one pretty kimono ..."

12.4.5. Numbers as Pure Nouns

The numbers do not always modify a specific noun which is overtly expressed in the text. They may stand alone, functioning as pure nouns and meaning simply "one thing" or "one person".

Ex. 103. *Sinen askay, sinen naanaa aykap...*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: one person, 2: be clever, 3: one person, 4: (not) yet, 5: be unable)

"One is good (at it); one is not yet very good..."

When a number functioning as a pure noun is followed by the copula *ne*, an adverbial expression results:

Ex. 104. *Iteke ukoiki no tup ne ukosaraye yan!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: don't, 2: fight, 3: conjunctivalizer, "and", 4: in two, 5: divide/share, 6: imperative sentence final)

"Divide it in two and share it without fighting!"

In the case of *sinen*, "one person", the addition of *ne* creates a fixed idiom with the meaning "alone", "by oneself".

Ex. 105. *Sinenne ku mismu na, en tura ek!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: alone, 2: I, 3: be lonely, 4: conjunctivalizer, "so", 5: me, 6: join, 7: come)

"Alone I feel lonely, so come with me!"

Ne is frequently followed by the coordinative conjunctivalizer, *wa*, so that a conjunctivalized sentence is formed: "being (number), ..." (See also under *wa* in section 14.12.1). When the subject of the predicate in the following sentence is a pronominal affix, *ne* after the number takes the same affix.

Ex. 106. *Tun ci ne wa, ci e wa isam.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: two persons, 2: we, 3: copula, 4: and, 5: we, 6: eat, 7: perfective aspect)

"The two of us ate it all up."

12.4.6 Numerals and Plurality

If a noun can take the plural suffix, *-utar*, it will generally do so when modified by numerals other than one.

Ex. 107. *Sine hekaci* "One child"
Tu hekattar (< *hekacintar*) "Two children"

With verbs that are capable of expressing plurality, either by having separate plural and singular forms or by adding the suffix *-pa* (see also 13.7), a subject expressing an exact number of persons or things will often produce the singular form of the verb.

Ex. 108. *Tu unma rikin...*
1 2 3

(1: two, 2: horse, 3: ascend, sg. (> plur.: *rikip*))

"Two horses ascended..."

This, however, is not always the case.

Ex. 109. *Tu pon okkaypo arhi...*
1 2 3 4

(1: two, 2: be small, 3: boy, 4: come, pl. (< sing.: *ek*))

"Two small boys came..."

When a subject containing an exact number exceeding one takes a pronominal affix, the predicate will always have the plural form if possible.

Ex. 110. *Tun an ne wa soyenpa an.*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: two persons, 2: we, 3: copula, 4: and, 5: go out, pl., 6: we).

"The two of us, we went out."

Chiri ((1936) 1974: 62) and Tamura (1970b: 609) both establish as an absolute rule that a subject containing a numeral cannot be syntactically connected with a verb in the plural. On the basis of my data I must conclude that this does not hold true in the cases where the predicate has a pronominal affix attached to it, i.e. in constructions of the type:

number + pronominal affix + *ne wa* + pron.aff. + verb

But even when there is no pronominal affix involved, the rule does not apply consistently. Factors influencing the choice of the singular or the plural form

of a verb might be the presence or absence of adjuncts between subject and predicate, or whether there are parallel or extended predicates. On the other hand, we may here have another area of the language which has suffered some decay. Singular/plural distinction in verbs is not found in the dominant language, Japanese, and it may therefore be more exposed to decay than other areas of the Ainu language.

12.4.7. Quantity Expressions

Quantity nouns like *poronno*, "a lot", *ponno*, "a little", *opitta*, "all", *inne*, "a great many people", have more or less the same grammar as the numbers. They may all be appositional to the noun they modify, or they may function as pure nouns. However, only *poronno* and *ponno* are found in adnominal position as well.

Adnominal

Ex. 111. *Poronno bekattar sinotka no oka akus...*
 1 2 3 4 4 5

(1: many, 2: children, 3: play, 4: (=wa oka) imperfective aspect, 5: conjunctivalizer, "and then")

"Many children were playing, and then ..."

Ex. 112. ... *sayo a kar wa, a ere konno, ponno ponno sayo e kane oka*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8 9 10 11 11

konno...
 12

(1: rice gruel, 2: indefinite pronominal affix used for the 1st person, 3: make, 4: conjunctivalizer, "and", 5: I, 6: feed (< e, "eat", -re, causative), 7: conjunctivalizer, "and then", 8: a little, 9: rice gruel, 10: eat, 11: uncompleted aspect, 12: and then)

"I made rice gruel and fed it to them, and then they were eating a little rice gruel, and then ..."

Appositional

Ex. 113. *Aynu opitta nispa ekantusma...*
 1 2 3 4

(1: people, 2: all, 3: gentleman, here: "you (polite)", 4: appreciate)

"All the people appreciate you..."

Ex. 114. *Hure nonno, retat nonno poronno sipirasa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: be red, 2: flower, 3: be white, 4: flower, 5: a lot, 6: be all over)

"There are a lot of red flowers and white flowers all over..."

Pure Noun

Ex. 115. *Uinne ka as³³ bine rapok nisappone mun tum wa kim un*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 10
kamuy cisoyekatta...
10 11

(1: a great many together (*u*, suffix denoting mutuality), 2: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 3: stand, 4: conjunctivalizer, "and", 5: at that time, 6: suddenly, 7: thicket, 8: inside, 9: ablative case, "from", 10: bear (mountain+'s+god), 11: jump out suddenly)

"We were standing a crowd together, and then suddenly a bear jumped out of the thicket..."

Ex. 116. *Ponno ipe an hine, naanaa poronno ikasma.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: a little, 2: eat, 3: indefinite pronominal affix used for the 1st person, 4: and, 5: still, 6: a lot, 7: be left over)

"We ate sparingly, and a lot is still left over."

Note that in Ex. 116 *ipe* is an intransitive verb, so *ponno* here is not the object, but an adverb modifying *ipe*. Both *ponno* and *poronno* are frequently used adverbially, and they may thus be included among the adverbs as well.

12.5. Positionals

Positionals are a group of semi-free forms which usually appear after nouns. They are themselves nominals which – with or without the aid of case postpositions – may form relational adjuncts to the predicate. The noun to which

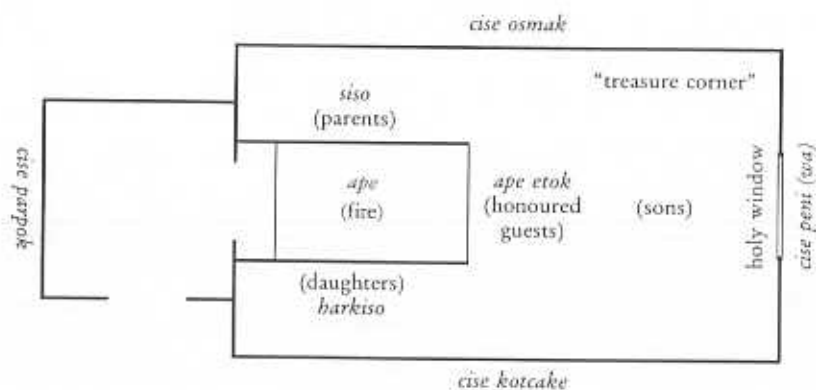


Diagram 4. An Ainu house.

they are joined serves as the point of reference for the position indicated by the positional.

Ex. 117. *E teke corpok ta*
 1 2 3 4

(1: you, 2: 's hand, 3: under, 4: locative case)

"Under your hand"

Ex. 118. *Ape etok ta*
 1 2 3

(1: fire, 2: before, 3: locative case)

"In front of the fire"

Positionals may also attach to pronominal affixes in the objective case.

Ex. 119. *En osmak ta*
1 2 3

(1: me, 2: behind, 3: locative case postposition)

"Behind me"

Generally the positionals refer to position in space, but a few of them may also be used to refer to position in time. When doing so, they may either follow nouns, which specify a temporal point of reference (Ex. 120), or they may follow verbs to indicate that one action or event is in a temporal relationship to another (Ex. 121). In the latter case the function of the positional is similar to that of conjunctions (see 12.6.1) or conjunctivalizers (see 14.12) – depending upon its degree of independence and whether it is preceded or followed by a pause (see Ex. 133 and 134).

Ex. 120. *Naa topes etok an na.*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: still, 2: noon, 3: before, 4: be, 5: assertive sentence final)

"It is still before noon!"

Ex. 121. *Eci hapoho ek etok ta, ...*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: you (pl.), 2: 's mother, 3: come, 4: before, 5: locative/temporal case postposition)

"Before your mother came,..."

12.5.1. Derived Forms

Some positionals have a belonging form (see 12.1.1), which is used when the relationship to the reference noun is stressed: the positional is seen, so to speak, as inalienably possessed by its point of reference. The belonging form is mostly used in expressions for fixed locations, and sometimes such expressions form an idiom.

Ex. 122.	<i>kem etoko</i>	"the point of a needle"
	<i>tek koto</i>	"the palm (lit. "underside of the hand")"
	<i>katamsar pakebe</i>	"the upper plain"

Many positionals have an alternative form ending in *-ke*. It is not quite clear under which circumstances the *-ke* forms are preferred to the shorter forms; it may be only a matter of sentence rhythm, as Chiri (1942: 127) suggests. In Chiri's earlier book (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 143) *-ke* is explained as meaning "place", and there is indeed a slight tendency in my data for the forms ending in *-ke* to be preferred when the position is perceived as a fixed location in which a state of some kind exists, while the shorter forms prevail where the location is seen as temporary or relative or as the location for actions and events.

- Ex. 123. *Iteke pet sam un payean!*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: don't, 2: river, 3: beside, 4: allative case postposition, 9: go)

"Don't go down beside the river!"

- Ex. 124. *Poro ni samake ta rosiki wa oka.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6

(1: be big, 2: tree, 3: beside, 4: locative case postposition, 5: stand, 6: imperfective aspect)

"They were standing next to the big tree."

- Ex. 125. *Taa poro nupuri corpok ta arki an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: in this way, 2: be big, 3: mountain, 4: below, 5: locative case postposition, 6: come (pl.), 7: we)

"In this way we came to the foot of the mountain."

- Ex. 126. *Ni sirit corpokke unno retartek kane, ...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: tree, 2: root, 3: under, 4: allative case, "all the way to", 5: whitish, 6: contemporaneous conjunctive)

"It was whitish all the way down below the roots of the tree, and (at the same time)..."

12.5.2. Positionals in the Shizunai Dialect

Below, the positionals found in the Shizunai dialect are given in alphabetical order³⁵:

Basic Form	Belonging Form	-ke Form	Meaning
<i>armoysam</i>			
(< <i>sam</i> ?)	-	-	"some distance from"
<i>corpok</i>	-	<i>corpokke</i>	"under, below"
<i>epis/epit</i>	-	-	"all over"
<i>erpak</i>	-	-	"next to, together with"
<i>esokayne</i>	-	-	"far beyond"
<i>esor</i>	<i>esoro</i>	-	"down along (the river)"
<i>etok</i>	<i>etoko</i>	-	"before, in front of"
<i>ka(si)</i>	-	<i>kasike</i>	"above, over, on top of"
<i>kari</i>	-	-	"through"
<i>kes</i>	-	-	"the lower part of"
<i>kopak</i>	-	-	"towards, in the direction of"
<i>kotca</i>	-	<i>kotcake</i>	"the front side of"
<i>kotor</i>	<i>kotoro</i>	-	"the (under)side of"
<i>mekka(si)</i>	-	<i>mekkasike</i>	"the upper side of, the ridge of"
<i>noski</i>	-	-	"in the midst of"
<i>okari/oykari</i>	-	-	"around"
<i>or</i>	<i>oro</i>	<i>orke</i>	"in/at a place"
<i>os</i>	-	<i>oske</i>	"inside"
<i>osmak</i>	-	-	"behind"
<i>pa</i>	-	<i>pake(ke)</i>	"the upper part of"
<i>rapok</i>	-	<i>rapoke</i>	"during, while"
<i>sam</i>	<i>sama</i>	<i>samake</i>	"beside, next to"
<i>senpir</i>	<i>senpiri</i>	-	"hidden by, in the shadow of"
<i>soy</i>	-	-	"outside"
<i>soy(e)kari</i>	-	-	"around (outside)"

Basic Form	Belonging Form	-ke Form	Meaning
<i>tom/tum</i>	<i>tomo</i>	—	"inside, in the middle of"
<i>turasi</i> (<i>usar</i>)	—	—	"up along (the river)"
<i>utur</i>	<i>uturu(bu)</i>	<i>usarke</i> <i>uturke</i>	"following, next" "between, among"

12.5.3. The Various Meanings of *or*

By far the most frequently appearing positional is *or*, "in, at", which is rarely used without a supporting case postposition. With the help of various case postpositions, *or* covers a wide range of meanings and functions.

Otta (< *or ta*):

When *or* is combined with the locative case postposition, *ta*, it usually indicates the place where a state of affairs exists, or where an action or event takes place.

Ex. 127. *Cise otta an yakka...*
1 2 3 4

{1: house, 2: in, 3: be, 4: concessive conjunctivalizer}

"Even though he is in the house, ..."

However, with verbs of movement *otta* may also indicate the direction or goal of that movement.

Ex. 128. *A kor cise otta hosippa an...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

{1: we, 2: attributive postposition, 3: house, 4: (in)to, 5: return, 6: we}

"We returned **to** our house ..."

Orun:

Un is a case postposition indicating direction, and when used with verbs of motion, it has the same function as *otta* above. The difference may be that with *otta* the goal is emphasized, while with *orun* the direction is emphasized

– a differentiation similar to that which is usually made between Japanese *ni* and *e*.

Ex. 129. *Nupurpet kotan orun ku oman rusuy*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: Noboribetsu, 2: village, 3: to, 4: I, 5: go, 6: desiderative mood auxiliary)

"I want to go in the direction of Noboribetsu."

Orun may furthermore indicate the indirect object (when this is marked at all).

Ex. 130. *Nen orun e ye wa, ...*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: who, 2: to, 3: you, 4: say, 5: coordinative conjunctivalizer)

"To whom are you saying ..."

Orwa(no):

Wa or *wano* are the postpositions for the ablative case, so *orwa(no)* is used to indicate movement away from somewhere.

Ex. 131. *Kusur un kotan orwa eci arki hawe ne yakun, ...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 8

(1: Kushiro, 2: attributive postposition, 3: village, 4: from, 5: you (pl.), 6: come, 7: assertive sentence final, 8: conditional conjunctivalizer)

"If you have indeed come from the village of Kushiro, ..."

Orwa may also be used to mark the agent in a passive construction.

Ex. 132. *Ekas orwa an ikoiruska.*
1 2 3 4

(1: grandfather, 2: marks the agent, "by", 3: indefinite pronominal affix marking the passive, 4: scold)

"We were scolded by grandfather."

Furthermore, *orwa(no)* is frequently used as a temporal conjunction (Ex. 133) or conjunctivalizer (Ex 134):

Ex. 133. *Ipe an wa. Orwa sinot yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: eat, 2: we, 3: affective sentence final, 4: then, 5: play, 6: imperative sentence final)

"Let's eat! Then go and play!"

Ex. 134. *Rupne an orwano, rupneutar ye koraci, sonpay ki an wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: grow up, 2: we, 3: after, 4: adults, 5: say, 6: comparative nominalizer, 7: work, 8: do, 9: we, 10: and)

"After we have grown up, we shall go to work like the grown ups say, and..."

Orpakno:

Pakno is a postposition marking movement all the way to somewhere; it is similar in meaning to the Japanese *made*. When joined with *or*, *or* often replaces the noun that *pakno* refers to.

Ex. 135. *...kotan an hike, orpakno nitan apkas a ki wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: village, 2: be, 3: coordinative conjunctivalizer, 4: to there, 5: quickly, 6: walk, 7: I, 8: assertive mood, 9: and)

"... is a village, and I walked quickly up to it, and..."

Orpakno may also function as a conjunction or a conjunctivalizer with the meaning, "until".

Ex. 136. *Onne orpakno...*
1 2

(1: grow old; die, 2: until)

"Until I die..."

12.6. Conjunctions, Interjections, and Adverbs

Conjunctions, interjections, and adverbs are grouped under one heading, because they share some common ground. They are all free forms which may function as adverbial adjuncts and modify whole sentences.

12.6.1. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are connectors which define a relationship between two sentences. Sentence conjoining is generally performed by conjunctivalizers (see 14.12) which follow directly upon the predicate of the first sentence, thereby turning it into an adjunct of the predicate in the second sentence. There are no "genuine" conjunctions in Ainu, i.e. there are no morphemes with the sole function of being a conjunction. Some of the conjunctivalizers may occasionally be preceded by juncture, i.e. a pause between the predicate and the conjunctivalizer, so that the conjunctivalizer comes to resemble a free form – in casu a conjunction. Furthermore there are a few composite expressions, consisting of a positional (see 12.5) and a case postposition, which may also perform the role of sentence connector, i.e. "conjunction".

Such conjunctions are actually set off from both sentences by a juncture on each side; the junctures may, however, be reduced or suppressed altogether, depending upon the cohesion of the two sentences, the length of the conjunction itself and of the immediately adjacent phrases, and upon the speed of the utterance. Conjunctions may thus – like interjections – be viewed as interpolated, minor sentences, or they may be said to modify the second sentence by characterizing it as being temporally, contemporally, or conditionally connected to the preceding sentence.

Some of the more common conjunctions used in the Shizunai dialect are the following:

Temporal/Sequential Conjunctions:

Etokta, "before then" (< *etok*, see 12.5)

Ex. 137. *Teeta anakne eci hapoho ek etokta sino katkemat tura oka an*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
hike,...
12

(1: long ago, 2: restrictive postposition marking topic, 3: you (pl), 4: mother (belonging form), 5: come, 6: before then, 7: real, 8: lady, 9: together with, 10: be, 11: I, 12: and)

"Long ago your mother came, and before then, I lived together with a real lady, and..."

Orwa/orowa/orowano, "and then, afterwards" (< *or*, see 12.5.3)

Ex. 138. *Ipe orwa hosipi!*
1 2 3

(1: eat, 2: then, 3: go home)

"Eat, and then go home!"

Ex. 139. *An mi an mouribi ka ikosospa, orowano kira an kusu ki konno, ...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 10 11

(1: I, 2: wear, 3: I, 4: 's undergarment, 5: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 6: tear off, 7: and then, 8: flee, 9: I, 10: intentional mood, 11: sequential conjunctualizer)

"He also tore off the undergarment I wore, and then when I tried to flee,..."

Orpakno, "until then" (< *or*, see 12.5.3)

Ex. 140. *... onne orpakno an eyaykoitak ...*
1 2 3 4

(1: grow old, die, 2: until then, 3: I, 4: tell oneself)

"...grow old, and until then I shall keep telling myself..."

(See also Ex. 133, 134, 136)

Contemporal Conjunctions:

Ekari, "around that time" (< *kari*, see 12.5.2)

Ex. 141. *Conto okimun iwak an ekari cise soy ta ek hine ...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: just (< Jap. *chōdo*), 2: from the mountain (cf. *kim*, "mountain"), 3: return home, 4: I, 5: around then, 6: house, 7: outside, 8: locative case, 9: come, 10: and)

"I had just returned home from the mountain, and it was about then that he appeared outside the house, and..."

Rapoketa, "during that time, while" (< *rapok*, see 12.5.2)

Ex. 142. *Nepka a ye kane oka an rapoketa e sama an wa, oyaykinmean*
 1 2 3 4 4 2 5 6 7 8 9 10
hawas an konno,...
 11 12 13

(1: something, 2: I (< indefinite pronominal affix), 3: say, 4: uncompleted aspect, 5: at the same time, 6: you, 7: 's side, 8: be, 9: and, 10: of various things, 11: talk, 12: indefinite pronominal affix as passive marker, 13: when)

"I am saying something, and at the same time various things are being said next to you, and then..."

Conditional Conjunctions:

Yak, "then" (a condition being fulfilled)" (see also 14.12.6)

Ex. 143. *Ikor sanke wa en kore yan! Yak tonontar paye an wa, tonuto*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
an bok wa arki an na!
 13 14 15 15 13 16

(1: money, 2: take out, 3: and, 4: me, 5: give, 6: imperative sentence final, 7: then, 8: the Japanese, 9: go, 10: we, 11: and, 12: rice wine, 13: we, 14: buy, 15: mode of action signifying approach, 16: assertive sentence final)

"Take out the money and give it to me! Then let's go to the Japanese and buy some rice wine, and come back here!"

The above conjunctions are often used after a major juncture, marked by a conjunctivalizer, so that the two sentences are connected by both a conjunctivalizer and a conjunction. In that case the conjunction resembles an adverb, modifying the predicate of the sentence. Or it may be seen as an emphatic extension of the conjunctivalizer.

- Ex. 144. *Kamahutte an bine, abupkere no, orowano, poro kamuy ne kusu,*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
inawke an wa,...
 11 12 13

(1: skin (< *kam abupte*: "take the meat inside") 2: we, 3: and, 4: carry in, 5: coordinative conjunctivalizer, 6: and then afterwards, 7: be big, 8: bear-god, 9: copula, 10: because, 11: make *inaw* prayer sticks, 12: we, 13: and)

"We skinned it and carried it in, and then afterwards, since it was a large bear-god, we made *inaw* and ..."

- Ex. 145. *... maa wa, orwa rurkar an konno,...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: fry, 2: and, 3: afterwards, 4: prepare soup, 5: we, 6: and then)

"...fried (the fish), and afterwards we made soup, and then ..."

12.6.2. Interjections

Interjections are often regarded as minor sentence types, which may either stand as isolated exclamations or initiate (or occasionally even be interpolated within) larger, full sentences. When followed by or incorporated within a larger sentence, the interjection may also be interpreted as adverbially modifying the sentence (or its predicate). Ex. 149 and especially Ex. 150 are good cases for this interpretation. The functions of interjections can be to call attention to the speaker, to respond to questions, commands, or other social transactions, or to express an emotional reaction on the part of the speaker.

Chiri ((1936) 1974: 134ff) gives a list of about fifty interjections, but I have only been able to elicit a much smaller number from my Shizunai informant. This is probably due to the fact that the employment of interjections presupposes a free and spontaneous, emotional interaction between fluent speakers, and with my limited adequacy in colloquial Ainu, such an interaction was not possible to establish, when working with only a single informant. Another factor contributing to the scarcity of interjections might be that for many years Ms. Orita had spoken almost exclusively Japanese.

Below is a list with examples of the interjections in my material on the Shizunai dialect.

Ayay, "ouch"

Ex. 146. *Ku kokkasapa arka, ayay!*
1 2 3 4

(1: I, 2: 's knee, 3: hurt, 4: ouch)

"My knee hurts, ouch, ouch!"

Ononno, expression of happiness and gratitude

Ex. 147. "*Ononno, ononno*" *ari basuki kane eyaykopuntek.*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: wonderful!, 2: quotationalizer, 3: say, 4: contemporaneous conjunctive, 5: be happy)

"Wonderful! Wonderful!" she was saying happily."

Iyayraykere is another expression of gratitude, used as a formal expression of "thank you". Literally it means "it makes me kill myself".

*Iramkitta*¹⁶, expression of amazement and disgust

Ex. 148. *Sonno iramkitta, kamuy ka poronno cise otta oka wa, inkar wa*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
oka bike, ...
11 12

(1: really, 2: awful!, 3: god, 4: even, 5: a lot, 6: house, 7: inside, 8: be, 9: and, 10: look, 11: imperfective aspect, 12: and (yet))

"It's really awful! There are lots of gods in the house, and they are looking, and yet ..."

Hetak, "well, now (followed by a command)"

Ex. 149. *Hetak, iteke sinot no pet otta paye wa cep koyki wa se wa*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
arki yan!
13 14

(1: well now, 2: don't, 3: play, 4: coordinative conjunctive, 5:

river, 6: to, 7: go, 8: and, 9: fish, 10: catch, 11: and, 12: carry, 13: directional mode of action signifying approach, 14: imperative sentence final)

"Well now – stop playing and go to the river and catch some fish and bring them back here!"

Hokure, "hurry!"

Ex. 150. *Hokure, pikan wa apkas!*
1 2 3 4

(1: hurry, 2: be quick, 3: and, 4: walk)

"Hurry up, walk quickly!"

Various kinds of emotional or exclamatory responses may also be expressed by sentence final forms (see 14.11). Interjections and sentence extensions through emotive sentence final forms may thus be viewed as mirror images of each other within the syntax.

12.6.3. Adverbs

While conjunctions and interjections may be regarded as interpolated, minor sentences, adverbs always form integral parts of larger sentences, in which they serve to modify the predicate or the whole sentence as such.

Several of the "adverbs" belong in other word class categories as well, such as pronouns (demonstratives, interrogatives, and indefinites; see 12.3.3, 12.3.4, and 12.3.5), and quantity nouns (see 12.4.5 and 12.4.7). Some adverbial expressions are derived from other word classes, e.g. when *-no* is added to stative verbs, *-ne* to numbers for counting persons or things, or case postpositions to nouns or demonstratives. Altogether the adverbs make up a heterogenous group of expressions of which many have unclear origins.

A tentative classification according to semantic criteria may be set up as follows:

- Adverbs of Manner
- Adverbs of Place
- Adverbs of Quantity and Distribution
- Adverbs of Time

Adverbs of Emotion and Emphasis
Adverbs of Negation

The six subgroups are described in the following six sections.

12.6.3.1. Adverbs of Manner

The adverbs of manner describe the way in which something is done, happens or is. Among them are the demonstratives *taa*, "in this way", *too*, "in that way", and *ene*, "thus" (see 12.3.2 and 12.3.3); the interrogative, *nekon*, "in what way" (see 12.3.4); and the indefinite, *nekonka*, "somehow" (see 15.3.5). In this group should also be placed the adverbs derived from stative verbs by suffixing *-no*, as for instance:

<i>pirkano</i> , "well"	(< <i>pirka</i> , "be fine, be good")
<i>wenno</i> , "badly"	(< <i>wen</i> , "be bad")
<i>asinno</i> , "newly"	(< <i>asin</i> , "be new")
<i>apunno</i> , "quietly"	(< <i>apur</i> , "be tender, be weak")
<i>poronno</i> , "a lot"	(< <i>poro</i> , "be big")
<i>esikinno</i> , "kindly"	(< <i>esikin</i> , "be kind, be friendly")
<i>sino</i> , "really"	(< <i>si-</i> , "genuine" (prefix))
<i>araskayno</i> , "successfully"	(< <i>araskay</i> , "be very able")

This "adverbializing *-no*" is identical to the coordinative conjunctivalizer, *no* (see 14.12.1). Compare e.g. the following two examples:

Ex. 151. *Pirkano nu yan!*
 1 2 3

(1: well, 2: listen, 3: imperative sentence final)

"Please listen well!"

Ex. 152. *Keraan no ipe an ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 5

(1: be delicious, 2: coordinative conjunctivalizer, 3: eat, 4: we, 5: assertive sentence final)

"(The meal) was delicious, and we ate!"

A Japanese translation of the two sentences will perhaps illustrate the similarity better:

(151) *Yoku kiite kudasai!*

(152) *Oishikute, tabeta n' desu.*

The stative verbs, *pirka* and *wen*, may be used adverbially without suffixing *no*, as in *wen iruska*, "be terribly angry", or *pirka moker*, "sleep well".

Adverbs of manner furthermore comprise the following nonderived words or words of unclear origin:

ekuskonna, "suddenly (surprise indicated)"

nisappone, "suddenly (speed indicated)"

emkota, "quickly"

eokaskasu, "untiringly, without rest"

bene, "incidentally"

*sinnatuyné*³⁷, "of a different stomach, differently"

12.6.3.2. Adverbs of Place

Adverbs of place include the demonstratives, *taanta*, "here", and *toonta*, "there" (see 12.3.3); the interrogative *neyta*, "where" (see 12.3.4); and the indefinites, *neytaka*, "somewhere", and *neorkeka*, "some place or other" (see 12.3.5). Other adverbial expressions specifying locations are formed by suffixing the locative case postposition to a positional (see 14.5.1 and 12.5). Positionals appearing without a locative case postposition may by themselves form adverbial adjuncts, too. Of uncertain origin are *esokayne*, which means "backwards", and *episno*, "here and there, separately".

12.6.3.3. Adverbs of Quantity and Distribution

In this group we find some of the quantity nouns like *ponno*, "a little" and *poronno*, "a lot" (see 12.4.5 and especially Ex. 116). Also the counters for persons and things, suffixed with *-ne*, form adverbial expressions of quantity, like *sinenne*, "by oneself, alone", *tupne*, "in two", etc. (see 12.4.4).

Other adverbs – of unclear origin – in this group are:

*patek*³⁸, "only"

iruka, "just for a little while"

betarka, "too much"
mosmamosma, "each"
oyaykinne, "of different kinds"
ranpak, "overmuch"
sironnu, "considerably" (< "really killing")

12.6.3.4. Adverbs of Time

This group comprises a large number of different indications of time like for instance the following:

kesto, "every day"
kespa, "every year"
kannakanna, "often"
naa, "still, (not) yet"
nani, "at once"
nisatta, "tomorrow"
numan, "yesterday"
oyasim, "the day after tomorrow"
tanto, "today"
tane, "now"
suy, "again"
ukuran, "yesterday evening"
 etc.

12.6.3.5. Adverbs of Emotion and Emphasis

The adverbs in this group resemble interjections somewhat, but differ from them in being unable to stand as isolated expressions. Some adverbs of manner may also have an emotional or emphatical nuance, but the three expressions below function solely to emphasize the succeeding sentence or predicate, while indicating the speaker's emotions towards it.

<i>eattukönnoan</i> , "really (genuinely)"	(truth value)
<i>sonno</i> , "really (very much)"	(emphasis, nuance of indignation)
<i>sorekuska</i> , "really (incredibly)"	(emphasis, nuance of surprise)

12.6.3.6. Adverbs of Negation

Negative sentences are generally produced by inserting the adverb, *somo*, "not".

Ex. 153. *Somo e ye yakka, ku eramuan na.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: not, 2: you, 3: say, 4: even though, 5: I, 6: understand, 7: assertive sentence final)

"Even though you do not say it, I do understand."

Ex. 154. *Toon nispa anak cep e maka wa, somo e ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 10

(1: that, 2: man, 3: restrictive postposition marking topic, 4: fish, 5: eat, 6: negative mood auxiliary signifying distaste, 7: and, 8: not, 9: eat, 10: assertive sentence final form)

"That man does not like fish, and he does not eat it."

Very often *somo* is used in combination with the verb, *ki*, "do", thereby forming an emphatic negation (see also 14.9.4.8). The construction may include the restrictive postposition, *ka* (see 14.6.2), which denotes inclusion (or non-inclusion), so that we get:

[verb] (*ka*) *somo ki* "not (even) [verb]"

Ex. 155. *Tane pakno ek ka somo ki kusu, tanto anak somo ek kotom ne na.*
 1 2 3 4 4 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: now, 2: until, 3: come, 4: emphatic negation, 5: because, 6: today, 7: marks topic, 8: not, 9: come, 10: nominalizer indicating appearance, 11: copula, 12: assertive sentence final)

"Since she has not come yet, it seems that she will not come today."

Ex. 156. *Yayupare wa esitomiciw somo ki no, yayeyam wa hosipi yan!*
 1 2 3 4 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: look out, 2: and, 3: stumble, 4: emphatic negation, 5: coordinative conjunctive, 6: take care of one's health, 7: and, 8: go home, 9: imperative sentence final)

"Look out that you **do not** stumble, and go home cautiously!"

Used in isolation, *somo* simply means "No" as the answer to a question. It may be softened by the affective sentence final, *wa*, in the expression, *somo wa*, "no, (it is not so)". *Somo* may also be used alone for negative repetition of an assertive predicate in expressions like:

[verb] *ruwe be an, somo ruwe be an?*
"Will/did (somebody) [verb] or not?"

An allomorph of *somo* is *homo*. In my material, *homo* is only found with the two verbs, *ipe*, "to take a meal", and *iku*, "to drink alcohol", and *somo* does not always appear as *homo* even with these verbs. *Homo* seems to have a semantic specialization to do with inability, "cannot".

Ex. 157. *Korsiutar anak homo iku; yaykipte ne na!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: children, 2: marks topic, 3: not, 4: drink alcohol, 5: be dangerous, 6: copula, 7: assertive sentence final)

"As for children they cannot drink alcohol; it is dangerous, you see!"

Ex. 158. *Tutko ka rerko ka ku homo ipe³⁹ wa, ku ipe rusuy...*
1 2 3 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: two days, 2: coordinative postposition, "both... and", 3: three days, 4: I, 5: not, 6: eat, 7: and, 8: I, 9: eat, 10: desiderative mood)

"I haven't been able to eat for many days, and I'm hungry..."

When the negative sentence is a command, *iteke*, "don't!", is used instead of *somo*. Probably there is a connection between this *iteke* and the interjection, *betak* (see 12.6.2. Ex. 149), which is always followed by a "positive" command. However, *iteke* is obligatory with negative commands, while *betak* is only used when a non-negative command is especially strong.

Ex. 159. ... *iteke, toon nay orun, iteke payeka yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: don't, 2: that, 3: swamp, 4: into, 5: go, 6: imperative)

"Don't, oh don't go into that swamp!"

Ex. 160. *E korstutar tuaskarap wa, iteke iruska!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: you, 2: children, 3: love, 4: and, 5: don't, 6: scold)

"Love your children, and don't scold them."

Ex. 161. *Iteke ukoiki no tupne ukosaraye yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: don't, 2: fight, 3: and, 4: in two, 5: divide, 6: imperative sentence final)

"Divide it in two without fighting!"

A small number of verbs and verb auxiliaries have a corresponding negative form, and with those *somo* is never used.

Ex. 162. *Taan anep e e rusuy yakun, e! E e maka yakun, iteke e!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 4 3 4 7 6 8 4

(1: this, 2: food, 3: you, 4: eat, 5: desiderative mood, 6: if, 7: negative auxiliary of distaste, 8: don't)

"If you like this food, eat it! If you don't like it, don't eat it!"

Ex. 163. *Ku eramuan pe ne yak, ku ye. Ku eramiskari p anak, "ku
1 2 3 4 5 1 6 1 7 8 9 1
erampetek" ari ku hawki na.
10 11 1 12 13*

(1: I, 2: understand, 3: nominalizer, 4: copula, 5: if, 6: say, 7: not know, 8: nominalizer (< *pe*), 9: marks topic, 10: not know (understand), 11: quotationalizer, 12: say, 13: assertive sentence final)

"If it is something I know, I say it. As for things I don't know, I shall say, "I don't know"."

Verbs and verb auxiliaries of this type are further treated in 13.8 and in 14.9.4.9.

13. Verbals

Most Ainu verbs can add one or more prefixes and suffixes, which may change the meaning as well as the grammatical properties of the verb. Mode of action, aspect and modality are expressed by a variety of auxiliaries which are added to the verb in its extended form. Prefixes, suffixes, and auxiliaries are described in detail in chapter 14 on "Clitics"; the relevant sections are 14.7, 14.8, 14.9, and 14.10.

Some verbs distinguish singular and plural forms (see 13.7), but beyond this Ainu verbs are not conjugated. The verbal stem without affixes may in some cases be analysed as consisting of a root (generally a nominal) and a verb formative (see 13.6).

Predicates are usually negated with the adverbs *somo*, "not", and *iteke*, "don't!"; but a small number of verbs have corresponding negative forms. Such declarative-negative pairs are described in section 13.8.

13.1. Subgrouping of Verbs

The pronominal affixes (see 14.10) have been employed in setting up criteria for subcategorizing the verbs into smaller groups with common properties. The following questions have been asked:

Can the verb combine with pronominal affixes at all?

Can it take a nominative as well as an objective affix?

If it takes only a nominative affix, is it then pre- or suffixed?

On this basis the four major subgroups described below have been set up (13.2-13.5).

13.2. Closed Verbs

Verbs which never combine with a pronominal affix form a group by themselves, the closed or non-affixing verbs⁴². They do not combine with verb prefixes or suffixes either, and they only appear with some of the auxiliaries.

Characteristically the verbs in this group are terms for natural phenomena or for acts with no specific agent, but a few stative verbs also belong here. They have an incorporated subject, so that they never appear with any independent subject either. Furthermore, the verbs in this group do not distinguish singular and plural forms.

Examples of closed verbs are:

sirseseke, "it is fine weather"

aptoas, "it rains"
asuras, "it is rumoured"
mean, "it is cold"
etc.

13.3. Intransitive Verbs

The intransitive verbs are characterized by their inability to combine with the objective pronominal affixes (or indeed to take any object at all). Furthermore, when combined with a nominative pronominal affix, which has a choice between a suffixed and a prefixed form (1st person pl. and indefinite person), the intransitive verb will always receive the suffixed form.

Intransitive verbs may be extended by prefixes and suffixes, and thereby they may in some cases be converted into transitive verbs.

Examples of intransitive verbs are:

an (sg) / *oka* (pl), "be, exist"
ahun (sg) / *abus* (pl), "enter into"
ek (sg) / *arki* (pl), "come"
hopuni (sg) / *hopunpa* (pl), "get up"
hosipi (sg) / *hosippa* (pl), "return home"
monaa (sg/pl), "sit down, be seated"
oman (sg) / *paye* (pl), "go"
etc.

13.3.1. "Adjectives"

"Adjectives" and intransitive verbs are not easily distinguished. There are no formal or distributional differences; both may be placed in attributive as well as in predicate position without any changes in form. A notational distinction based on the criterion that "adjectives describe qualities" would not enable us to make a clearcut distinction between stative verbs and adjectives – the difference between a "quality" and a "state" is rather elusive. Compare e.g. on the one hand:

Mokor cep, "a sleeping fish"
Cep mokor, "the fish is asleep"

and on the other:

Pirka cep, "a fine fish"

Cep pirka, "the fish is fine"

If a distinction were to be made on the grounds that restrictions upon the ability to accommodate various verb prefixes, suffixes, and auxiliaries are more severe for the so-called "adjectives" than for other intransitive verbs, we would be just as likely to end up producing instead a criterion for distinguishing between stative verbs and verbs of action. However, this still remains to be investigated.

For the purpose of this description the traditional distinction between adjectives and verbs will not be maintained. However, a few examples of words that have traditionally been classified as adjectives are given below, each together with an example of how they – like any other intransitive verb – may undergo causativization or transitivity by the adding of a suffix or one or more prefixes:

wen, "(be) bad"

pirka, "(be) good"

askay, "(be) able"

peker, "(be) bright"

wente, "damage"

pirkare, "cure, heal"

easkay, "can (do smth.)"

gaykouepekere, "worry"

The prefixes are described in section 14.7, and in 14.7.4 an explanation of *gaykouepekere* is given. The suffixes are described in section 14.8, and the general problem of adjectives versus verbs is also discussed in section 2.4.3.

13.4. Transitive Verbs

Verbs that can combine with objective as well as nominative pronominal affixes are grouped as transitive verbs. Pronominal affixes in the Shizunai dialect are always prefixed when attached to transitive verbs⁴¹.

Transitive verbs may receive the various verb prefixes and suffixes, and in doing so they may in some cases have their syntactical function changed and become intransitive verbs.

Among the transitive verbs a distinction can be made among those which may appear without an overt object (pseudo-intransitives), those which may take one object only (two-place verbs; i.e. subject *and* object), and those which may take both a direct and an indirect object (three-place verbs). When a three-place verb is causativized (by a causative suffix), a four-place verb phrase results, as for instance:

korere, "(A) makes (B) give (C) something (D)"

epakasnu, "(A) makes (B) explain (to C) something (D)"

from *kor*, "have" / *kore*, "give", and *epakasnu*, "teach", respectively.

13.4.1. Pseudo-intransitives

Even though a verb is capable of taking a direct object, it is not always obligatory for it to do so. However, like Japanese, Ainu appears to have fewer transitive verbs which do not require overt expression of the object than do e.g. English or Danish. In English we can say "I am writing" or "we are drinking" without stating what is being written or drunk, but in the first case Ainu would require an overt object as for instance:

Kanpi ku nuye, "I am writing a letter"

In the second case the intransitive equivalent of the transitive verb, *ku*, "drink", would be used, namely *iku* as in:

Iku as, "We are drinking alcohol"

Iku is formed by the addition of the prefix *i-*, which provides the verb with an incorporated object of indeterminate meaning, "somebody, something". In the case of *iku*, a semantic specialization has taken place, so that this verb always means "drink alcohol".

A few transitive verbs may, however, be used without a surface object, e.g.:

Ku oyra, "I have forgotten"

Ku eranpetek, "I don't understand"

E eramuan?, "Do you understand?"

Transitive verbs, which otherwise require an explicit object, may occasionally be used imperatively without an explicit object:

E!, "Eat!"

Uk!, "Receive/take (it)!"

13.4.2. Two-place Verbs

The transitive verbs that take only one object are by far the most numerous. The object is placed before the verb and after the subject (S-O-V), unless the subject is a pronominal affix. In that case the pronominal affix must be placed directly in front of the verb, producing the word order O-S-V. When both subject and object are pronominal affixes, the nominative affix comes first (S-O-V) in the Shizunai dialect, but in some other dialects, e.g. the Ishikari dialect, there are forms where the objective affix is prefixed the verb, while the nominative affix is suffixed (O-V-S) (Asai: 1969: 779). If the prefixed object is regarded as a part of the verb, thereby turning it into an intransitive verb, it fits nicely with the fact that the nominative affix is usually suffixed to intransitive verbs. This may occur with ordinary nouns as the object, too. For instance:

cip, "boat" + *o*, "row (tr.)" > *cipo*, "row a boat (intr.)"
rur, "soup" + *kar*, "make(tr.)" > *rurkar*, "prepare soup (intr.)"

Examples of ordinary two-place transitive verbs are:

nukar, "see"
mi, "wear"
se, "carry"
rommu, "kill (plur.)"
kor, "have"
etc.

13.4.3. Three-place Verbs

Genuine, lexicalized three-place verbs are few in number. They include verbs like:

(*e*)*pakasnu*¹², "teach, explain"
hok, "buy" (more frequently two-place)
rura, "deliver"

Most three-place verbs are derived from two-place verbs, like e.g.:

<i>kore</i> , "give"	<	<i>kor</i> , "have"
<i>nure</i> , "tell"	<	<i>nu</i> , "listen"
<i>ekasuy</i> , "help by..."	<	<i>kasuy</i> , "help"

The word order with three-place verbs is flexible, but when the subject is a pronominal affix, the most frequent order is:

indirect object – direct object – subject – verb

and if the subject is a noun, it is:

subject – indirect object – direct object – verb

The indirect object may be followed by a case postposition like *orun*, "to" or *orwa*, "from, by".

13.5. The Copula

The copula *ne* naturally does not combine with the objective pronominal affixes, but unlike the intransitive verbs it always prefixes the nominative pronominal affixes. *Ne* covers the equative and attributive meanings of the copula; such as:

Taanpe seta ne, "this is a dog"

and:

Eani anak repunkur ne, "you are a foreigner"

It does not, however, cover the existential or locative meanings of "to be"; this function is filled by the existential verb *an* (sg.) / *oka* (pl.).

On the other hand, Ainu does not distinguish between "being" and "becoming" (in the sense of changing into something else); the meaning of *ne* can be static as well as dynamic¹⁵. E.g.:

Kotan konnisa ne.

can mean both "to be the chief of a settlement" and "to become the chief of a settlement". A derived use of *ne* in the dynamic sense may be seen in the mutative case postposition *ne*, which denotes the result of a change.

Ex. 164. *Unma oyakatatono anakne menoko eiska wa unma ne kar wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: horse, 2: overlord (Japanese loan), 3: restrictive postposition marking topic, 4: women, 5: steal, 6: and, 7: horse, 8: mutative case, "into", 9: make, 10: and)

"The Overlord of the Horses stole women and made them into horses, and..."

The copula, *ne*, cannot take any verb prefixes or suffixes, but it may be followed by auxiliaries. A special and very frequent use of *ne* is in combination with the nominalizer *ruwe*, closing sentences emphatically or assertively with ...*ruwe ne* (see also 14.11.2 and 14.13.1).

Ex. 165. *Ren an ne wa oka an ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 4 2 5

(1: three persons, 2: we, 3: be, 4: imperfective aspect, 5: assertive sentence final)

"There were three of us, as a matter of fact."

Ex. 166. *Korkatkemat ka a utari ne ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: "madam", polite for "you", 2: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 3: I, 4: 's friend, relative, 5: be, 6: assertive sentence final)

"You, too, are my friend!"

The similarity between this sentence final form and the Japanese sentence final *no desu/n' desu* is striking.

13.6. Verb Formative Morphemes

A number of verbs may be analyzed as consisting of a nominal root and a morpheme which turns the nominal into a verb. There are several morphemes which perform this function; they are all monosyllabic, and some of them exist as independent verbs as well. The noun to which the verb formative is added will be either the subject or the object of the verbal content of the formative, and the verb thus formed is always intransitive. The verbs created in this way are lexicalized forms; i.e. the verb formatives are not productive morphemes.

In the Shizunai dialect we may isolate the verb formatives listed below. For

those that are capable of independent existence, their meanings as such have been listed, too.

-an: As an independent verb, *an* means "be, exist". When suffixed to temporal expressions, it will form a verb meaning "become (that time)":

cuk, "autumn" > *cukan*, "it becomes autumn"

When following other nouns, *-an* will form a stative verb, denoting the quality of possessing that which the noun expresses:

kera, "taste" > *keraan*, "be delicious"

-as: The independent verb *as* means "stand". It is employed as a suffix to form verbs which express events with no known agent behind, as for instance weather phenomena:

ruyanpe, "rain" > *ruyanpeas*, "it rains"

or unexplained sounds:

hum, "sound" > *humas*, "there is a sound"

or other spontaneous occurrences:

tum, "strength" > *tumas*, "become strong"

-at: The suffix *-at* has to do with the emitting of something:

bura, "smell" > *buraat*, "give a (bad) smell"

supuya, "smoke" > *supuyaat*, "smoke rises"

-kar: As an independent verb *kar* means "make". Suffixed to certain nouns, it denotes an action involving that noun:

sake, "rice wine"
(Japanese loan) > *sakekar*, "have a drinking party"

etu, "nose" > *etukar*, "blow one's nose"

Also the verb *nukar*, "see", may have been formed in this way from *nu*, "eye" (cf. *nupe*, "tears"; lit. "eye-things").

-ke: *-ke* is not found as an independent verb, but it has some connection with the transitivity morpheme, *-ke* (see 14.8.3). *-ke* as a verb formative follows onomatopoeitic words as in:

tuntun, "giggling" > *tuntunke*, "giggle"

It may also follow other types of nouns to denote the manufacturing of the the thing expressed by the noun:

maw, "prayer stick" > *inawke*, "whittle prayer sticks"

A number of verbs may have been derived in this way, but their interpretation is less certain. E.g.

kapke, "is bald" < *kap*, "skin" (?)
iwanke, "use (cleverly)" < *iwani*, "six, many" (?)

-kor: The independent verb, *kor*, means "have". It may also be used as an attributive postposition denoting ownership as in:

ku kor cise, "my house"

(See also 14.3)

Attached to certain nouns, *kor* will form a verb with the meaning "possess or have (that which the noun signifies)":

tum, "strength" > *tumkor*, "be strong"
mat, "woman" > *matkor*, "marry, get a wife"
hon, "stomach" > *bonkor*, "be pregnant"

-ma: This suffix attaches to a few nouns to form verbs which have to do with "depositing":

kuy, "urine" > *kuyma*, "urinate"

-ne: *ne* is the copula which added to nouns may form dynamic verbs (cf. the "become" meaning of the copula, see 13.5):

soy, "outside" > *soy(ene)*, "go out"

-ne may also create stative verbs (cf. the "be" meaning of the copula); such forms, however, are only used in attributive position, and they might alternatively be interpreted with *ne* as an attributive postposition (see 14.3):

mat, "woman" > *matne*, "(be) female"

-nu: This suffix will, when added to certain nouns, form verbs denoting the possession of that which the noun expresses:

rur, "salt" > *rurnu*, "be salty"

sik, "eye" > *siknu*, "live (< have eyes)"

-sak: *sak* is the negative opposite of *kor*, "have", and it may function as an independent verb as well, "not have, lack". When added to nouns, it forms a verb indicating the absence of that which the noun signifies:

tum, "strength" > *tumsak*, "be weak"

An allomorph of *-sak* is *-nak* in e.g.:

sik, "eye" > *siknak*, "be blind"

-se: This morpheme follows onomatopoeia (phonomimes as well as phenomimes) and turns them into verbs:

e, "yes" > *ese*, "answer yes"

sirkumkum, "plop" > *sirkumkumse*, "make a plopping sound"

karkar, "a rolling movement" > *karkarse*, "tumble"

-us: This suffix denotes that the noun which it follows is attached to something, as e.g.:

kenuma, "body hair" > *kenumaus*, "be hairy"
tur, "dirt" > *turus*, "be dirty"

13.7. Singular/Plural Pairs

The plural form of verbs may be employed in the following four functions:

Plurality of Subject

Ex. 167. *Emkota utura wa utekama wa hosippa yan!*
1 2 3 4 3 5 6

(1: hurry, 2: go together, 3: and, 4: hold hands, 5: return home (sg.: *hosipi*), 6: imperative sentence final)

"Hurry up and go home together, holding hands!"

(The subject is the 2nd person plural, but it is deleted in imperative sentences).

Plurality of Object

Ex. 168. *Otta payeka utar anak sikhure ka somo ki na; a ronnu...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6 8 9 10

(1: there (into), 2: go, 3: people, 4: restrictive postposition marking topic, 5: let live, 6: assertive mood, 7: not, 8: assertive sentence final, 9: indefinite pronominal affix marking the passive, 10: kill (sg.: *rayke*))

"As for people who go in there, they will definitely not be allowed to live, you see; they will be killed..."

Plurality of Action

Plurality of action means repetition or occasionally duration of an action.

Ex. 169. *Toun apkas katkemat satcep rispa kane,...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: that, 2: walk, 3: woman, 4: dried fish, 5: tear to shreds (sg.: *rise*), 6: and at the same time)

"That woman walking there is tearing dried fish to shreds, and at the same time ..."

Respect

Finally, the plural form of the verb may be employed to denote respect towards persons of higher standing.

Ex. 170. *Iarmoyam un nispa sinexopa kusu arki...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: the neighbouring village, 2: attributive postposition, 3: gentleman, 4: visit (sg.: *sinewe*), 5: conjunctualizer, "in order to", 6: come (sg.: *ek*))

"The gentleman from the next village has come to visit ..."

Only a minority of the verbs have corresponding plural forms at all, but those that have form the plural in three different ways: by reduplication; by adding the suffix, *-pa/-p*; or with an allomorph.

Reduplication of the verb is mostly used to indicate repetition or duration of an action or phenomenon:

Ex. 171. *Ku kimatek wa ku sanpe terketerke.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: I, 2: be frightened, 3: and, 4: I, 5: heart, 6: tremble)

"I got frightened and my heart was trembling (repeatedly)."

The plural suffix *-pa* can attach to transitive as well as to intransitive verbs ending in a vowel or in *-n^{tt}*. When attached to a vowel-final verb, the vowel is dropped in front of *-pa*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>hosipi</i>	<i>hosippa</i>	"return home"
<i>soy(e)ne</i>	<i>soyenpa</i>	"go out"
<i>sitoma</i>	<i>sitompa</i>	"fear"

When /-pa/ follows verbs ending in -n, the -n is dropped along with the final -a of -pa, or - in other words - verb final -n in the singular is changed into verb final -p in the plural.

All the examples of this type of plural formation in my material are of verbs denoting directional movement:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	
<i>abun</i>	<i>abup</i>	"enter"
<i>rikín</i>	<i>rikíp</i>	"ascend"
<i>san</i>	<i>sap</i>	"descend, come out"

A number of verbs, most of them very common and frequently used words, have plural forms which are totally different from the singular:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	
<i>ek</i>	<i>arki</i>	"come"
<i>oman</i>	<i>paye</i>	"go"
<i>an</i>	<i>oka</i>	"exist"
<i>a</i>	<i>rok</i>	"sit"
<i>as</i>	<i>roski</i> ⁴⁵	"stand up"

13.8. Declarative/Negative Pairs

As mentioned in section 12.6.3.5 on the adverbs of negation, some verbs and auxiliaries are not negated with the negative adverb *somo*, but have lexicalized negative forms instead. Below is a list of the declarative/negative pairs, which appear in my material of the Shizunai dialect:

<i>Declarative</i>	<i>Negative</i>
<i>an</i> (sg)/ <i>oka</i> (pl), "exist"	<i>isam</i> , "not exist/be"
<i>kor</i> , "have"	<i>sak</i> , "not have, lack"
<i>eramuan</i> (sg)/ <i>eramuoka</i> (pl), "understand"	<i>erampe(w)tek</i> , "not understand"
<i>amkir</i> , "know"	<i>eramiskari</i> , "not know" ⁴⁶
<i>easkay</i> , "can"	<i>eaykap</i> , "cannot"
<i>erusuy</i> , "wish to eat"	<i>emaka</i> , "decline to eat" ⁴⁷

iperusuy, "feel hungry"

ipeetoranne, "not feel inclined
to eat"

A special type of declarative/negative pairs (or opposites) are the stative verbs suffixed with *-ko*, as for instance

wen, "bad"

> *wenko*, "fine, not bad"

See also 14.8.1.

14. Clitics

Under this heading are grouped all bound forms, i.e. forms with the shared characteristic of being unable to appear independently as either predicates or as isolated adjuncts to a predicate. The first six groups of clitics, i.e. adnouns (and noun prefixes), noun suffixes, attributive postpositions, coordinative postpositions, case postpositions, and restrictive postpositions (14.1-14.6) can either modify or extend noun expressions; the following four groups, i.e. verb prefixes, verb suffixes, verb auxiliaries, and pronominal affixes (14.7-14.10) extend verb expressions; while the last four groups, i.e. sentence finals, conjunctualizers, nominalizers, and quotationalizers (14.11-14.14) extend sentences in different ways.

14.1. Adnouns and Noun Prefixes

Adnouns are forms which modify nouns and in some cases nominalizers. Like verbals in attributive position adnouns precede the noun, and they may be distinguished from verbal modifiers only by their inability to be rewritten in predicate position:

	<i>pirka katkemat</i>	"a beautiful lady"
→	<i>katkemat pirka</i>	"the lady is beautiful"

but:

	<i>sino katkemat</i>	"a real lady"
→	* <i>katkemat sino</i>	

Compared to adnouns, noun prefixes are more tightly bound to the nouns which they precede (nothing may be interpolated between prefix and noun), and their distribution is limited to specific groups of nouns. Among noun prefixes the pronominal affixes form a special group. In their nominative form they may be prefixed to any noun capable of having the belonging form (see 12.1.2), and it is possible to interpolate a short verb phrase between prefix and noun as in:

ku wen mataki "my bad younger sister"

14.1.1. Adnouns

Some adnouns overlap with other word classes, namely the numerals in their basic form (see examples in 12.4.3) and the demonstrative and indeterminate pronouns (cf. Diagram 2, p. 109). The demonstrative (anaphoric and deictic) and indeterminate (interrogative and indefinite) adnouns are listed below with examples.

*Anaphoric Adnouns: nean*⁴⁸, *neoka*, *ne*, *nee*, *nebe*, *too*

Ex. 172. *Nean ekayni otta wakka hene an ruwe an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: that (aforementioned), 2: crooked tree, 3: locative case, 4: water, 5: restrictive postposition, "at least", 6: be, 7: assertive sentence final)

"At least there had to be water by that crooked tree."

Ex. 173. *Too penata pakno (...) wakka ka isam.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: its, 2: other side, 3: allative case, 4: water, 5: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 6: not be)

"Neither was there any water all the way over to its other side."

Deictic Adnouns: taan, *toon*, *tooka*

Ex. 174. *Taan cep an ukousaraye wa an e.*
 1 2 3 4 5 3 6

(1: this, 2: fish, 3: we, 4: share, 5: and, 6: eat)

"Let us share **this** fish and eat it."

Ex. 175. *Tooka korsi iokunnuka!*
1 2 3

(1: those, 2: children, 3: be pitiful)

"What a pity for **those** children!"

Interrogative Adnouns: neun, hampak

Ex. 176. *Neun kotan orun menokoutar ne ya?*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: what, 2: village, 3: from, 4: women, 5: be, 6: interrogative sentence final)

"They are women from **what** village"

Ex. 177. *Hempak matnepo e kor ...*
1 2 3 4

(1: how many, 2: daughters, 3: you, 4: have)

"How **many** daughters do you have...?"

Indefinite Adnouns: onunka

Ex. 178. *Onunka katkemat ek yakun, ...*
1 2 3 4

(1: from somewhere, 2: lady, 3: come, 4: if)

"If a lady **from somewhere** comes,..."

Some nominalizers may also be modified by adnouns, as for instance *nean pe*, "that aforementioned thing", *toon kor*, "that person", or *mosma utar*, "other people".

Besides the abovementioned adnouns, which form part of the pronominal system, there are a number of other adnouns, such as e.g.:

Mosma, "other -"

Ex. 179. *Mosma kur a nukar ruwe ne.*
1 2 3 4 5 5

(1: another, 2: person, 3: I, 4: see, 5: assertive sentence final)

"It was somebody else that I saw."

Mosma may also form part of the idiom *mosmanoan* (*no*, conjunctivalizer, *an*, existential verb), which means "keep silent, say nothing".

Oyaykino, "various -"

Ex. 180. ... *ni amip usa saranpe usa oyaykino okaype an bok.*
1 2 3 4 3 5 6 7 8

(1: wear, 2: clothes (lit.: "one-wear-thing"), 3: and... and, 4: cloth, 5: various, 6: things (< *oka* + *pe*: "be-things"), 7: I, 8: buy)

"I bought clothes to wear and cloth and various (other) things."

Oyaykino may be interpreted as an adverb, modifying the *oka*, "be (plur.)", of *okaype*.

Sino, "real -"

Ex. 181. *Sino nipa an ne hine oka an.*
1 2 3 4 5 5 3

(1: real, 2: gentleman, 3: I, 4: be, 5: imperfective aspect)

"I was living as a real gentleman."

Usa, "lots of -"

Ex. 182. *Usa tonuto, usa tonobaru ki wa...*
1 2 1 3 4 5

(1: lots of, 2: rice wine, 3: rice, 4: produce (lit.: "do"), 5: and)

"They produced lots of rice wine and lots of rice, and..."

Some adnominal expressions may appear as independent nouns as well, and

are therefore best analyzed as “nouns modifying other nouns” – analogue to expressions like *kamuy cep*, “salmon” (lit.: “god-fish”) and *ape buci*, “the Fire Goddess” (lit.: “fire-(place)-old woman”) (see also 14.3). However, for the two expressions *anun* and *piskan*, of which examples are given below, the adnominal use is predominant, and examples of their use as independent nouns are rare.

Anun, “strange(r) –”

Ex. 183. *Anun nispa ne yakka, nokan an hita wano an irešu wa, ...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: strange, 2: man, 3: copula, 4: even though, 5: be young, 6: I, 7: nominalizer, “time”, 8: from, 9: indefinite person marking the passive, 10: raise, 11: and)

“Even though he is a **strange** man (= a stranger), I was raised (by him) from the time when I was a child, and ...”

(As an independent noun:)

Ex. 184. *Anun ka sono an ne ...*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: stranger, 2: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 3: not, 4: we, 5: copula)

“We are not **strangers** either (we are your parents)”

Piskan, “widespread –”, “– everywhere”

Ex. 185. *Wen kamuy matkor rusuy kusu, piskan kotan wa menokopo*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
eiska wa ...
 10 11

(1: be bad, 2: god, 3: marry (lit.: “woman-have”), 4: desiderative mood, 5: because, 6: everywhere, 7: village, 8: from, 9: young women, 10: steal, 11: and)

“The bad god stole young women from villages **everywhere**, because he wanted to marry, and ...”

(As an independent noun meaning "various places, everywhere":)

Ex. 186. *Unma oyakatatono anakne menoko eiska wa unma ne kar wa,*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
piskan ta po kor wa, ...
11 12 13 14 15

(1: horse, 2: overlord (Japanese loan), 3: restrictive postposition marking topic, 4: women, 5: steal, 6: and, 7: horse, 8: mutative case, 9: make, 10: and, 11: everywhere, 12: locative case, 13: children, 14: have, 15: and)

"The Overlord of the Horses stole women and made them into horses and begot children **all over the place**, and..."

14.1.2 Noun Prefixes

Noun prefixes are mainly directional prefixes, such as *e-/o-* and *be-/ho-*. They form pairs to denote direction towards and direction away from something, as in:

<i>e-kim-un</i>	"to the mountain"
<i>o-kim-un</i>	"from the mountain"
(< <i>kim</i> , "mountain", <i>un</i> : allative case postposition)	

or:

<i>herasi</i>	"downwards"
<i>horasi</i>	"from below"

These prefixes only appear with positionals (see 12.5), or with nouns which denote a specific location.

The prefix *si-* may attach to a number of nouns as well as to verbals to provide the meaning of "genuine/original":

<i>sipet</i>	"the main (current of a) river"
--------------	---------------------------------

and also:

<i>siprka</i>	"be genuinely beautiful"
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14.2. Noun Suffixes

Noun suffixes extend nominals, but alter neither their syntactic function, nor their status as nominals. Other clitics may follow nominals, such as verb formative morphemes (13.6), attributive postpositions (14.3), case postpositions (14.5), etc., but they are treated under separate headings and not included in the definition of noun suffixes. This narrow definition leaves us with three noun suffixes, namely *-ke*, *-po*, and *-utar*. Of these, *-ke* is described in the section on positionals (12.5.1), but examples of the other two will be given below:

-po, diminutive suffix

This suffix is derived from the independent noun *po*, which means "child/son".

<i>menoko</i> , "woman"	>	<i>menokopo</i> , "young woman"
<i>cep</i> , "fish"	>	<i>ceppo</i> , "small fish"
etc.		

-utar, plural suffix

Generally, number is not marked in nominals, but plurality may be stressed either by reduplication or by suffixing *-utar* (see also 12.1). *-utar* derives from the noun *utari*, which means "friend, fellow Ainu, relative", and thus the suffix *-utar* is widely used for human beings but rarely for animals, and – in my material – never for inanimate objects⁴⁹.

<i>korsi</i> , "child"	>	<i>korsiutar</i> , "children"
<i>nispa</i> , "man"	>	<i>nispantar</i> , "men"
<i>hekaci</i> , "child"	>	<i>hekattar</i> ⁵⁰ , "children"
<i>utari</i> , "friend"	>	<i>utariutar</i> , "friends"
etc.		

-utar is also used to form the plural of personal pronouns as described in 12.3.1. Furthermore, *-utar* may function as a plural nominalizer after verbals, as in:

askay utar, "those, who are able"

In this function, *-utar* always refers to human beings in general (see also 14.13.5).

14.3. Attributive Postpositions

An attributive postposition serves to mark the noun which precedes it as an attribute of the noun which follows it. However, it is also possible for one noun to modify another without the help of attributive postpositions. A number of expressions consist of two nouns, where the second is characterized or modified by the first, e.g.:

atuy asam, "sea bottom"
mosem apa, "entrance pole"
kamuy nupuri, "holy (lit.: "god") mountain"
supuya kur, "traces of smoke"
sipicari kotan, "Shizunai village"
etc.

There are, however, three attributive postpositions, namely *un*, *ne*, and *kor*, and they are described below.

Noun *un* noun:

The postposition, *un*, is predominantly used when a noun is characterized as belonging to a specific place, e.g.:

Ex. 187. *Rep un kurutar tonuto ya un kotan orun se wa yap.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 6

(1: foreigners (lit.: "open sea-'s-persons"), 2: rice wine, 3: native village (lit.: "land-'s-village"), 4: to, 5: bring, 6: directional mode of action specifying direction from sea to land)

"The foreigners brought rice wine to our village (by ship) and disembarked it."

Other examples are:

kotan pa un nispa, "man from downtown" (lit.: "village-low side-'s-man")

kim un kamuy, "bear" (lit.: "mountain-'s-god")
ya un kur, "countryman/Ainu" (lit.: "land-'s-person")
kusur un rap, "a Kushiro fellow" (lit.: "Kushiro-'s-fellow (de-rogatory)")
etc.

Un is homonymous with the allative case postposition meaning "to", and there is probably a semantic connection. Chiri ((1936) 1974: 121ff) interpretes *un* as a verb with the original meaning of "fit into/be stuck in".

Noun *ne* noun:

The copula *ne* may be used as an attributive postposition establishing identity or class membership relation between two nouns:

okkay ne po, "boy" (lit.: "man-be-child")
mat ne unma, "mare" (lit.: "woman-be-horse")
sapa ne kur, "chief" (lit.: "head-be-person")
etc.

Noun *kor* noun:

The genitive may be expressed as a kind of "status constructus" through what we have called the "belonging form" (see 12.1). This type of genitive, however, may only be used for inalienable possession. Other types of possession may be expressed by using the existential verb, *an* (sg) / *oka* (pl), in constructions like "for somebody there is ...". Still another way of expressing possession is by employing the verb *kor*, "have", and when *kor* is placed directly between two nouns, or a pronominal affix and a noun, representing possessor and possessed respectively, it functions as an attributive postposition.

awta oka utar kor cise, "the neighbour's house" (lit.: "neighbouring-exist-people-have-house")
ku kor menoko, "my woman (wife)" (lit.: "I-have-woman")

The above examples may be compared with the following to illustrate the difference between *kor* functioning in adnominalized position and *kor* as an attributive postposition:

cise kor nispa, "head of the household" (< a man, who has a house, lit.: "house-have-man")

In the latter example *cise kor* is an adnominalized sentence which modifies the noun *nispa*.

14.4. Coordinative Postpositions

When objects or persons are enumerated, they are generally placed next to each other with no morpheme to mark the coordination:

hapo mici, "mother and father"

tusuy resuy, "two-three times"

hure nonno retar nonno, "red flowers and white flowers"

Coordination may, however, be marked in various ways as described below:

Noun *ka* Noun:

Ka is basically a restrictive postposition (see 14.6.2), but when connecting two adjuncts it may be said to function as a coordinative postposition. Between two nouns, *ka* means "and", and it signifies the coordination of an open-ended string of elements.

Ex. 188. *Mun ka nonno poronno tuk wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: shrubs, 2: and, 3: flowers, 4: a lot, 5: grow, 6: and)

"A lot of shrubs and flowers grew, and..."

Ex. 189. *Urki ka taiki omanan wa...*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: fleas, 2: and, 3: lice, 4: crawl, 5: and)

"Fleas and lice (and whatnot) were crawling all over, and..."

Noun *ka* Noun *ka*:

When all the nouns enumerated are followed by *ka*, a closed string of elements is indicated. *Ka* here means "(both)... and..."; or if the predicate is negated, "neither... nor...".

Ex. 190. *Okay ka menoko ka poronno oka.*
 1 2 3 2 4 5

(1: men, 2: and, 3: women, 4: a lot, 5: be)

"There are a lot of both men and women."

Ex. 191. *Hapo ka mici ka erampetek wa,...*
 1 2 3 2 4 5

(1: mother, 2: and, 3: father, 4: not know, 5: and)

"He knows neither his father, nor his mother, and..."

Noun *be* Noun *be*:

The restrictive postposition, *be*, may be used after each noun in a closed string of alternatives being questioned, so that it has the meaning, "either...? or...?"

Ex. 192. *Hempara e oman kusu ki ruwe ta an? Oyasim be, nisatta be?*
 1 2 3 4 4 5 5 5 6 7 8 7

(1: when, 2: you, 3: go, 4: intentional mood, 5: interrogative sentence final, 6: the day after tomorrow, 7: or ?, 8: tomorrow)

"When do you intend to go? Tomorrow or the day after?"

Noun *bene* Noun *bene*:

Bene is a postposition meaning "even/too", and when used after a single adjunct it belongs among the restrictive postpositions (see 14.6.3). When used in an enumeration of nouns, however, *bene* after each noun assumes a coordinative function similar to that of *ka*, "both... and...". *Bene* is more emphatic than *ka* and carries a nuance of "contrary to expectation".

Ex. 193. *Ekimne an wa, yuk bene kamuy bene a rura wa,...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 5 7 8 9

(1: hunt, 2: I, 3: and, 4: deer, 5: and, 6: bear, 7: I, 8: bring home, 9: and)

"I hunted, and I brought home both deer and bear, and ..."

Noun *usa* Noun *usa*:

When *usa* precedes a noun, it functions as an adnoun meaning "a lot of -". When succeeding two or more nouns in a row, *usa* indicates an open-ended string of elements, "various... and various... and various other things as well".

Ex. 194. ... *amip usa saranpe usa oyaykino okaype poronno an bok.*
1 2 3 2 4 5 6 7 8

(1: clothes, 2: and, 3: cloth, 4: various, 5: things, 6: a lot, 7: I, 8: buy)

"I buy various clothes and cloth and a lot of different other things."

14.5. Case Postpositions

Case postpositions mark those adjuncts which stand in a case relationship to the predicate, i.e. relational adjuncts or phrases. However, not all cases are marked; no *nominative* or *objective* case postpositions exist. These two cases are thus only marked in the pronominal affixes where separate forms are found (see 14.10); otherwise they must be inferred from word order and context. The indirect object or *dative* case is generally unmarked, but may when stressed be moved to the beginning of the sentence and marked with an allative case postposition. The *genitive* is expressed by the belonging form (12.1) or by attributive postpositions (14.3).

Marking by case postposition is obligatory for the following cases: *locative* (except when a positional forms part of the adjunct; then marking is optional), *allative*, *ablative*, *traversal*, *comitative*, *comparative*, *instrumental*, and *mutative*. In the following the case postpositions for each case is described, and examples are given.

14.5.1. The Locative Case

The locative case postposition *ta* marks location in space as well as in time. It is often reinforced by the positional *or*, in the form *otta* (see also 12.5.3).

Ex. 195. *Sine to ta re sui ranke ipe an.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: one, 2: day, 3: in, 4: three, 5: times, 6: restrictive postposition; distributive, 7: take meals, 8: we)

"We eat three times in each day."

Ex. 196. *Kane sintoko oske ta buci ape iokunnuka!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: metal (Japanese loan), 2: barrel (here used about a round stove), 3: inside, 4: locative, 5: old woman, 6: fire (5-6: "Fire Goddess"), 7: be miserable)

"The Fire Goddess is miserable inside a metal stove!"

Ex. 197. *Taan ikimaypap, cise otta an yakka, etoranne wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: this, 2: ungrateful son, 3: home, 4: at, 5: be, 6: even though, 7: idle, 8: and)

"This ungrateful son, even though he is at home, he idles, and..."

14.5.2 The Allative Case

The allative case may be marked in different ways using a number of postpositions. The most common is *in*, "towards/to".

Ex. 198. *Episkan un inkar an ayne,...*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: all directions, 2: towards, 3: look, 4: we, 5: and then finally)

"After looking in all directions, we finally..."

Un is sometimes used in combination with the directional noun prefixes, *e-* and *o-* (see 14.1.2).

Like *ta*, *un* may also be reinforced by the positional *or* (see also 12.5.3).

Ex. 199. *Toon nay orun iteke payeka yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: that, 2: swamp, 3: into, 4: don't, 5: go, 6: imperative sentence final)

"Don't go into that swamp!"

Orun is also the postposition used when marking the emphasized dative:

Ex. 200. *Nen orun e ye wa...*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: who, 2: to, 3: you, 4: say, 5: and)

"To whom are you saying..."

When the target is stressed rather than the direction, *unno*, "all the way up to", is used.

Ex. 201. *Ni sinrit corpokke unno retartek kane...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: tree, 2: root, 3: under, 4: all the way up to, 5: be whitish, 6: contemporaneous conjunctive)

"It was whitish all the way in under the root of the tree, and at the same time..."

Pakno, which is primarily a restrictive postposition (14.6.3), may also be used to mark the allative case. It resembles *unno* in putting less emphasis on the direction than on the target, and with *pakno* the target is seen as the extreme limit for the circumstances or events described in the predicate.

Ex. 202. *Katamsar kes pakno poro okkay unma poro ciyehe taritari kane,*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
menoko unma nospa...
11 12 13

(1: plain, 2: lower end, 3: all the way to, 4: be big, 5: male, 6: horse, 7: be big, 8: penis (belonging form), 9: dangle, 10: contemporaneous conjunctive, 11: female, 12: horse, 13: chase)

"All the way to the lower end of the plain, large stallions were chasing mares with their big penises dangling..."

Used alone, *pakno* may function as an interjection, *pakno pakno*, "enough! enough!".

When used with verbs of motion, the locative *ta* gets an allative meaning as well:

Ex. 203. *Kim ta paye an wa..*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: mountain, 2: to, 3: go, 4: we, 5: and)

"We went to the mountain, and..."

The allative case may furthermore be indicated by prefixing the verb with *ko-* instead of marking the noun. This use is mostly found in the literary language of e.g. the *yukar* epics.

Ex. 204. *Yaycise kobosipi.*
1 2

(1: one's own home, 2: return to)

"He returned to his own home."

The verb prefix, *ko-*, is further described in section 14.7.3.

14.5.3. The Ablative Case

The ablative case is marked by *wa*, which like *ta* and *un* may be reinforced by the positional *or* to become *orwa*.

Ex. 205. *Nisappone mun tun wa kim un kamuy cisoyekatta.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: suddenly, 2: underbrush, 3: midst, 4: from, 5: mountain, 6: attributive postposition, 7: god (5-7: "bear"), 8: jump out)

"Suddenly a bear jumped out from inside the underbrush."

Ex. 206. *Kusir un kotan orwa eci arki hawe ne yakun, ...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 8

(1: Kushiro, 2: attributive postposition, 3: village, 4: from, 5: you(pl), 6: come(pl), 7: assertive sentence final (*hawe*; nominalizer, about something spoken), 8: if)

"If you say that you have come from the village of Kushiro,..."

The ablative postposition, *orwa*, is also used to mark the agent in passive constructions (see also 14.10.4 and 14.10.6 on the indefinite pronominal affix and passive constructions).

Ex. 207. *Ekimne kusu soyene nispa kamuy orwa a koyki wa a ronnu.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: hunt, 2: in order to, 3: go out, 4: man, 5: bear, 6: from/by, 7: indefinite person marking the passive, 8: attack, 9: and, 10: indefinite person marking the passive, 11: kill)

"The man who had gone out to hunt was attacked by a bear and killed."

14.5.4. The Traversal Case

Peka indicates space traversed in the sense of "through" or "over". The positionals *esoro* and *turasi* may also be conceived of as marking the traversal case. *Turasi* is related to the comitative *tura*, "together with", which in turn originates in a verb meaning "follow" (see also 14.5.5). Both *turasi* and *esoro* indicate the meaning "along", but where *turasi* is used, e.g. in connection with "river", in the meaning "along the river upwards", *esoro* means "along (the river) downwards".

Ex. 208. *Sinenne kim peka ku apkas ka etoranne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: alone, 2: mountain, 3: through, 4: I, 5: walk, 6: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 7: negative mood indicating distaste)

"I don't want to walk alone **through** the mountains either."

Ex. 209. *Pet turasi paye an a paye an a ayne...*
 1 2 3 4 5 3 4 5 6

(1: river, 2: along, 3: go, 4: we, 5: durative mode of action, 6: and then finally)

"We went upstream **along** the river for an (awfully) long time, and then finally..."

14.5.5. The Comitative Case

The comitative postposition, *tura*, marks the partner or companion of the subject or the object of the predicate.

Ex. 210. *Ponnispa tura ren an ne, onne huci tura ren an ne wa, ukoitak*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 2 3 4 5 8 9
an ruwe ne.
 10 11 11

(1: young gentleman, 2: with, 3: three persons, 4: we, 5: copula, 6: be old, 7: old woman, 8: and, 9: chat, 10: we, 11: assertive sentence final)

"With the young gentleman we are three, with this old woman (= me), we are three, and we chat together."

Tura is originally a transitive verb meaning "follow":

Ex. 211. *...i kasuy wa i tura wa ekimne...*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: me, 2: help, 3: and, 4: follow, 5: hunt)

"He helped me, and he followed me, and we hunted..."

14.5.6. The Comparative Case

The comparative case is marked by two postpositions with different meanings, namely *akkari*, "than", and *koraci*, "like". *Akkari* indicates the "loser" in a comparison, i.e. the one for whom the comparison is not favourable, and it is originally a transitive verb with the meaning "overtake/pass". Note that the comparative is not marked in the verbal.

Ex. 212. *Sine menokopo ek wa, eattukonnoan pirka, a kor katkemat akkari*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
siretokkor kane an kamuy menoko ek...
 11 12 12 13 14 15

(1: one, 2: young woman, 3: come, 4: and, 5: really, 6: be pretty, 7: I, 8: attributive postposition, 9: wife, 10: than, 11: be beautiful, 12: uncompleted aspect, 13: god, 14: woman, 15: come)

"One young woman came, and she was really pretty, a divine woman came, who was being more beautiful than my wife..."

Where *akkari* is used to compare unequal elements, *koraci* is used for comparisons of equality, where it marks the element which is similar to something else:

Ex. 213. *Aynu ne yakun, aynu koraci basuki...*
1 2 3 1 4 5

(1: human being, 2: copula, 3: if, 4: like, 5: speak)

"If it is a human being, it will speak like a human being..."

14.5.7. The Instrumental Case

Ari marks the means by which something is done or the material used for producing something. There may be a semantic connection to the quotationalizer, *ari* (see 14.14).

Ex. 214. *Hempak ucy ka cikiri ari ku nisapi kik kane an.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9

(1: how many, 2: times, 3: turns interrogative *bempak* into indefinite, "several", 4: (hi)s foot, 5: by means of, 6: I, 7: 's shin, 8: kick, 9: uncompleted aspect)

"He was kicking my shin several times with his foot."

Ex. 215. *Sake anakne amam ari a kar pe ne.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: rice wine (Japanese loan), 2: restrictive postposition marking topic, 3: rice, 4: from/by, 5: indefinite person, 6: make, 7: assertive sentence final)

"As for "sake", one makes it from rice."

14.5.8. The Mutative Case

The mutative postposition *ne* originates in the dynamic aspect of the copula in the meaning "become" (see 13.5). *Ne* marks the adjunct which defines the result of a change.

Ex. 216. *A kor katkemat unma ne an kar wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: wife, 4: horse, 5: into, 6: indefinite person marking the passive, 7: make, 8: and)

"My wife was made into a horse, and..."

14.6. Restrictive Postpositions

While the case postpositions treated in the preceding section may be described as having a "predicate-expanding" function, the postpositions in this section may be described as "adjunct-delimiting" or "adjunct-defining". The restrictive postpositions do not affect the syntactical status of the adjuncts they follow; they add nothing grammatically to the sentence. By restricting the meaning of the adjunct in one way or another, their contribution is primarily semantic in nature (although a clearcut distinction between "semantic" and "grammatical" content is hardly feasible). Restrictive postpositions may in principle follow all types of adjuncts, but semantic conditions impose limits upon their distribution.

The two most frequent restrictive postpositions are *anak* and *ka*, which roughly correspond to the Japanese particles of focus, *wa* and *mo*, respectively. *Anak* may thus be called the theme or topic marker and the marker of contrast, while *ka* is the inclusive postposition, "also/even/too" – or in the terminology of Samuel E. Martin's *A Reference Grammar of Japanese* (Martin: 1975: 52): *anak* "subdues", while *ka* "highlights".

Other restrictive postpositions are *be*, interrogative; *hene*, "at least"; *pak-no*, "up to/even"; *ranke*, distributive; *patek*, "only/just"; and *keray*, "only/no more than". The use of each postposition is described below, and examples are given.

14.6.1. Topic, Contrast, and Emphasis

The postposition *anak* (sometimes extended to *anakne*) may serve to single out an adjunct as the topic of an utterance. In this function the adjunct marked by *anak(ne)* is generally placed at the beginning of the sentence.

Ex. 217. *Toon poro nupur anak kamuy nupuri ne wa, ...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: that, 2: be big, 3: mountain, 4: topic, 5: god, 6: mountain, 7: copula, 8: and)

"As for that big mountain, it is a holy mountain, and..."

Ex. 218. *Rep un kur anak otopihi hure kusu a eramuan.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: sea, 2: attributive postposition, 3: person (1-3: "foreigner"), 4: topic, 5: their hair, 6: be red, 7: because, 8: indefinite person, 9: know)

"As for foreigners, one recognizes them because their hair is red (= blond)."

Anak(ne) may also mark an adjunct as being in contrast to another – explicit or implicit – adjunct.

Ex. 219. ... *cis pokon no ki yakka, kewtum otta anak mina...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: cry, 2: nominalizer denoting appearance, 3: adverbializing suffix, 4: do, 5: even though, 6: heart, 7: inside, 8: contrast, 9: laugh)

"Even though she pretends to cry, she is laughing inside her heart..."

Ex. 220. *Toon pon menoko an omap no an hike, mosma oka utar anak*
1 2 3 4 5 6 6 7 8 9 10 11
oyaykarsir...
12

(1: that, 2: be small, 3: woman, 4: indefinite person, 5: love, 6: imperfective aspect (= *wa an*), 7: although, 8: other, 9: be, 10: nominalizer for people, 11: contrast marker, 12: speak ill of/look down upon)

"Although that young woman is lovely, **other people** speak ill of her..."

Ex. 221. *A ye koraci iki! Somo ki yak anak an e kikkik na!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: I, 2: say, 3: like, 4: act, 5: not, 6: do, 7: if, 8: contrast marker, 9: I, 10: you, 11: hit, 12: assertive sentence final)

"Do as I say! If you do not, I shall hit you!"

When *anak(ne)* marks topic or contrast, it also contains an element of emphasis. In some cases this element of emphasis seems to be more dominant than the topic or contrast aspect, and I have therefore included a separate, third meaning of *anak(ne)*, that of pure emphasis. I have picked two examples where *anak(ne)* can be said principally to mark emphasis, but in both cases it is possible to argue for a contrast or topic interpretation as well.

Ex. 222. *Tanto anak an e tura wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: today, 2: emphasis, 3: I, 4: you, 5: take along, 6: and)

"Today I take you along, and..."

Ex. 223. *Toon nay orun anak nenka paye ka somo ki...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: that, 2: swamp, 3: into, 4: emphasis, 5: anybody, 6: go, 7: assertive mood, 8: not)

"Into that swamp, nobody goes..."

14.6.2. The Postposition of Inclusion

Where *anak* may be said to set up the topic in order to present some new information about it, *ka*, on the other hand, helps to enumerate yet another (new) topic (/subject/object) for which some "old", already known information is repeated. The basic meaning of *ka* is inclusive; it has a considerably higher frequency of occurrence than *anak*, and it is used in a variety of functions. In section 12.3.5 it was demonstrated how indefinite pronouns were created by adding *ka* to interrogative pronouns; in section 14.4 *ka* was included among the coordinative postpositions; and section 14.12 has examples of how the adding of *ka* to conjunctivalizers (*hikeka*, *yakka*, *korka*) will give an added nuance of concession or adversity.

When *ka* marks an adjunct as being included (or, in negative sentences: not included) with something else, the cross-reference for the inclusion is generally not stated explicitly. If explicitly stated, the adjunct covering the cross-reference will also be marked by *ka*, as in:

Ex. 224. *Nep hion ka, nep haw ka isam.*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: what, 2: sound, 3: ever, 4: voice, 5: not be)

"There were neither sounds, nor voices, at all."

In constructions where two or more successive nominal adjuncts are marked with *ka*, I have chosen to regard *ka* as a coordinative postposition (see 14.4).

Ka appears with negative predicates more often than with positive ones. In negative sentences *ka* may mark an adjunct as being "not even (included)" or "not (included) in the least":

Ex. 225. *Santek kor rusuy utar anak sinep ka siko ka somo ki...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 9

(1: offspring, 2: have, 3: desiderative mood, 4: nominalizer denoting people, 5: contrast, 6: one (child), 7: even, 8: bear, 9: assertive mood, 10: not)

"People who wish to have offspring do not produce **even** so much as one child (while those who do not want children seem to have a lot...)"

Ex. 226. *A kor katkemat an yakun, supuya kur an bike, supuya kur ka isam...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 6 7
 10 11

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: wife, 4: be, 5: if, 6: smoke, 7: traces, 8: be, 9: but, 10: even, 11: not be)

"If my wife was in, there would be wisps of smoke, but there were not **the least** traces of smoke..."

A slightly different nuance of *ka* in negative sentences is that of "(is) not even (included), (although it ought to be)":

Ex. 227. *Iruska ka ku caykap.*
 1 2 3 4

(1: get angry, 2: even, 3: I, 4: cannot)

"(I should, but) I cannot **even** get angry."

Ex. 228. *Kuani anak mici ka ku sak ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: I, 2: topic marker, 3: father, 4: even, 5: I, 6: not have, 7: assertive sentence final)

"As for me, I do not **even** have a father!"

In positive sentences *ka* means "too/also"; it marks an adjunct as included with something else which is not explicitly stated.

Ex. 229. *Kuani ka cep ka ku e.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: I, 2: too, 3: fish, 4: too, 5: I, 6: eat)

"I, too, eat fish as well."

- Ex. 230. *Cise onne wa, mean ka ki, sirapa ka ki kusu, asinno cise ku*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 5 6 8 9 10 11
kar rusuy.
12 13

(1: house, 2: be old, 3: and, 4: be cold, 5: too, 6: do (5-6: assertive mood), 7: be leaking, 8: because, 9: anew, 10: house, 11: I, 12: make, 13: desiderative mood)

"The house is old, and it is also cold and leaking as well (and there are other things wrong), so I feel like building another house."

The assertive constructions with (verb) *ka ki* (as in Ex. 230) usually give the added nuance of "something (is included), too, (although it ought not to be)", thereby implying the opposite of the negative construction *ka* (negative verb), which was described above.

14.6.3. Other Restrictive Postpositions

Hene marks an adjunct as the minimum of something expected, "at least":

- Ex. 231. *Taanta ku mipibi ku ama akus, nenka hene nukar ya?*
1 2 3 2 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: here, 2: I, 3: 's clothes, 4: put, 5: sequential conjunctivalizer, 6: somebody, 7: at least, 8: see, 9: interrogative sentence final)

"I put my clothes here, so hasn't at least someone (among you) seen them?"

There is a connection between this *hene* and the adverb *bene*, (see 12.6.3.1), which means "incidentally", as in:

- Ex. 232. *Taanta an a korsi enun oman wa isam, bene oman uske eci*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 8 6 9 10
eramuan ruwe enta an a?
11 12 12 12 12

(1: here, 2: be, 3: durative mode of action, 4: child, 5: off somewhere, 6:

go, 7: perfective aspect, 8: incidentally, 9: nominalizer specifying place, 10: you (pl), 11: know, 12: interrogative sentence final)

"The child who was here all the time has gone off somewhere; you wouldn't, **incidentally**, know where he went to?"

He marks an adjunct as doubtful; often in a double construction, where two alternatives are being questioned:

Ex. 233. *Sonpay orwa e hosipi cik, nep e kar? E ipe be ki, e botke be ki?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 9 13 11 12

(1: work, 2: from, 3: you, 4: return, 5: when, 6: what, 7: you, 8: do, 9: you, 10: take a meal, 11: alternative question, 12: assertive mood, 13: lie down)

"What will you do when you get home from work? Will you take a meal, **or will you lie down?**"

He also functions as a coordinative postposition as demonstrated in 14.4 (Ex. 192).

Pakno marks the extreme limit of a movement in space or time. As such, it often follows or even replaces an allative case postposition (see also 14.5.2).

Ex. 234. *Kim ta pakno paye an na!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: mountain, 2: to, 3: all the way to, 4: go, 5: we, 6: assertive sentence final, hortative function)

"Let's go **all the way** to the mountain!"

Ranke is a coordinative conjunctivalizer (14.12.1), but it also functions as a restrictive postposition after quantity nouns. In this position *ranke* has a distributive meaning, "- each".

Ex. 235. *Sine to ta re suy ranke ipe an ...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: one, 2: day, 3: in, 4: three, 5: times, 6: distributive, 7: take a meal, 8: we)

"We eat three times each day..."

Patek indicates the exclusiveness of the adjunct it follows, "only/just".

Ex. 236. *Sine epuy patek an wa...*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: one, 2: bud, 3: only, 4: be, 5: and)

"There is **only** one bud, and..."

The exclusiveness of an act may also be indicated by *patek*:

Ex. 237. *Cise'otta ku an yakka, ku toranne wa, an koiruska patek*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
ki kusu, ...
12 13

(1: house, 2: in, 3: I, 4: be, 5: even if, 6: I, 7: idle, 8: and, 9: indefinite person marking the passive, 10: scold, 11: only, 12: do, 13: because)

"Even if I am at home, I idle and just get scolded **all the time**, so..."

Keray indicates not only the exclusiveness of the adjunct which it follows, but adds emphasis – "really". It is not as frequently employed as *patek*, but is mostly used in connection with quantity nouns:

Ex. 238. *Okay ne po isam wa, mat ne po keray asiknen ku kor ruwe ne.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: man, 2: attributive postposition, 3: child, 4: not exist, 5: and, 6: woman, 7: only, 8: five persons, 9: I, 10: have, 11: assertive sentence final)

"I have no sons; **only** daughters, of which I have five."

14.7. Verb Prefixes

Transitive and intransitive verbs may take one or more verb prefixes. There is no regular order of sequence for these prefixes, but in a fixed verb expression containing more than one prefix, the order of sequence will not be subject to rearranging. The expression is lexicalized, and any possible change in the order of the prefixes will result in a corresponding change in meaning.

Verb prefixes may be divided into two main groups: those which influence the number of possible adjuncts to the predicate, and those which do not exert such an influence. The latter group consists of various intensifying prefixes, such as *ar-*, "very"; *si-*, "genuinely"; *toy-*, "forcefully"; *pit-*, "strongly"; *sir-*, "suddenly"; and *ru-*, "slightly". The former group may be subdivided into two types: those prefixes which deprive the predicate of a possible adjunct, and those which provide it with the possibility of an extra adjunct. Of the first type there are *yay-*, "with oneself as the object"; *u-*, "mutually/with each other as the object"; *si-*, "spontaneously/by itself"; and *i-*, "with something or somebody as the object". The second type includes *e-*, "by means of (extra adjunct)"; *ko-*, "towards (extra adjunct)"; and *o-*, "at (the place of) (extra adjunct)". Below, examples are given for each prefix when used in isolation, and at the end of this section there are examples of combinations of prefixes.

14.7.1. Adjunct-Neutral Prefixes

The prefixes *ar-* and *si-* are used with stative verbs to intensify their meaning. *Si-* may be used with nouns as well (see 14.1.2).

Ex. 239. *Anoka ka ekimne an konno, araskay no...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: I, 2: too, 3: hunt, 4: I, 5: when, 6: be extremely able, 7: and)

"When I was hunting, I, too, was extremely able, and ..."

Ru-, too, is used with stative verbs, and it indicates a slight degree as in for instance:

seseke, "be warm", > *ruseseke*, "be lukewarm"

Ray is an intransitive verb meaning "die", and when used as a verb prefix, it indicates a violent degree:

sakayokar, "scold/start a quarrel" > *raysakayokar*, "scold violently/attack verbally"

Toy- and *pit-* both indicate an action of strength as may be realized from the following two examples. Both prefixes generally appear in combination with

the prefix *ko-*, which indicates that the action is directed towards something or somebody.

Ex. 240. *Kira an kusu ki konno, i nospa, i toykokisma wa, kira ka an*
 1 2 3 3 4 5 6 5 7 8 9 10 11
eykap.
 12

(1: escape, 2: I, 3: intentional mood, 4: when, 5: me, 6: chase, 7: grab forcefully (> *kisma*, "grab/squeeze"), 8: and, 9: escape, 10: even, 11: I, 12: cannot)

"When I tried to escape, he chased me, he grabbed me forcefully, and I could not escape."

Ex. 241. *Mosem apa ikuspe a pitkokisma...*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: entrance, 2: door, 3: pillar, 4: I, 5: grab firmly)

"I firmly grabbed the pillar of the entrance door..."

Sir-, which indicates the suddenness of an action, is also generally followed by *ko-* to indicate that the action is directed towards a goal (On *ko-*, see 14.7.3).

Ex. 242. *Wen sanpe kor pe ekuskonna sirkoiki...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: be bad, 2: temper, 3: have, 4: nominalizer for things or persons, 5: suddenly, 6: attack suddenly/fly into a temper (< *koiki*, "attack"))

"Bad-tempered people may suddenly flare up at you..."

14.7.2. *Adjunct-Reducing Prefixes*

Prefixes which reduce the number of adjuncts do so because they themselves supply the missing adjunct. This is usually the direct or the indirect object of the predicate, so that when these prefixes are attached to transitive verbs, they can take no external object, and in effect, intransitive or "semitransitive" verbs result. If pronominal affixes are involved, they are influenced by such prefixation (see also 13.3 and 14.10).

Yay-, "oneself", functions to form reflexive expressions, where the subject and the object of the verb are the same person.

Ex. 243. *Yaykisma an hieka, an mi wa oka pe ikiap uyna wa are wa...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: hold on to oneself/embrace oneself (< *kisma*, "grab") 2: I, 3: although, 4: I, 5: wear, 6: imperfective aspect, 7: nominalizer, "thing", 8: that guy, 9: grab, 10: and, 11: take off, 12: and)

"Although I held on to myself, that guy grabbed what I was wearing and took it off and..."

Some forms with *yay-* are so completely lexicalized that their reflexive meaning only becomes clear through an etymological analysis:

<i>nu</i> , "listen"	>	<i>yaynu</i> , "think" (listen to oneself)
<i>tura</i> , "join"	>	<i>yaytura</i> , "be single/alone" (join oneself)

U-, "each other", denotes mutuality, and "each other" becomes the object of the verb.

Ex. 244. *Kamsuy menoko ek hine, suke pokon iki, nina pokon iki, kesto an*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 6 7 9 9
konno ki kane an ayne, oroepak an hine, utura oka an.
 9 10 11 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

(1: god, 2: woman, 3: come, 4: and, 5: cook, 6: nominalizer denoting appearance, 7: act, 8: gather wood, 9: every day, 10: do, 11: uncompleted aspect, 12: and then finally, 13: sleep together, 14: we, 15: and, 16: be together with each other, 17: exist/live, 18: we)

"A divine woman came, and she acted as if she cooked, acted as if she gathered wood; every day she was doing this, and then finally we slept together, and lived with each other."

Si-, "by itself", indicates spontaneous action with no conscious agent behind.

Ex. 245. *Nonno sipirasa wa a eramasuy.*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: flower, 2: spread out (by themselves), 3: and, 4: I, 5: be happy)

"The flowers spread out **naturally** (in front of me), and I was happy."

I- is used to denote that somebody or something is the object of the verb, which *i-* precedes. *I-* is also the objective case of the indefinite pronominal affix, so that when this is used in lieu of the 1st person (see 14.10.4), *i-* may also mean "me" or "us", according to context.

Ex. 246. *Wen kamuy a kor nispa nukar yak anak, nekon iki ya, an sitoma*
 1 2 3.4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
ruwe ne.
 14 14

(1: be bad, 2: god, 3: I, 4: attributive postposition, 5: husband, 6: see, 7: if, 8: restrictive postposition, marking topic, 9: how, 10: act, 11: interrogative sentence final, 12: indefinite person, 13: fear, 14: assertive sentence final)

"If the evil god sees you, my husband, one must be fearful of how he will act (< do something)."

A few of the semi-transitive verb expressions formed with the prefix *i-*, have become so thoroughly lexicalized that they have undergone phonetical changes or semantic specialization. For instance:

<i>e</i> , "eat"	>	<i>ipe</i> , "take meals/eat (intr)"
<i>nukar</i> , "see"	>	<i>inkar</i> , "look"
<i>ku</i> , "drink"	>	<i>iku</i> , "drink alcohol"

14.7.3. *Adjunct-Increasing Prefixes*

Three verb prefixes have the ability to increase the number of predicate adjuncts, although they do not always do so explicitly. They indicate location, means/circumstances, and direction/goal respectively, which may be specified in an adjunct or be left more vague, so that they have to be deduced from the context. When explicitly specified, the adjunct in question may be accompanied by an appropriate case postposition or it may be left unmarked. Generally the case postpositions marking the locative, instrumental, or allative case are obligatory, but when a verb prefix is used, it often replaces the case postposition. Compare e.g.:

E cisehe un hosipi!

and

E cisehe kohosipi!

which both mean "Return to your home!"

The prefix *o-* is used to indicate location. This may be simply location in space, but more often it indicates a vague location within a specific set of circumstances as expressed in one or more preceding sentences (see also Ex. 261).

Ex. 247. *A kor sapo osirumke pakno an nukar a hine...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: elder sister, 4: disappear from sight there, 5: until, 6: I, 7: see, 8: durative mode of action, 9: and)

"I watched until my elder sister had disappeared from my sight there, and..."

E- indicates the means by which – or more vaguely: the circumstances under which – something happens. Like *o-*, it often refers back to the sum of what has been described directly before rather than to a single adjunct. It may thus be said to have the function of gathering the facts together and presenting the result or the conclusion.

Ex. 248. *Nep e kar yakka, e epirka ruwe ne.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: what, 2: you, 3: do, 4: even though, 5: you, 6: thereby make good (= "gain"), 7: assertive sentence final)

"No matter what you do, you gain by it."

(See also Ex. 250 below).

Ko- indicates the direction or the goal of an action, or the object affected by the action. Of the three prefixes, it is the one which most often carries the extra adjunct explicitly.

Ex. 249. *Toonpe e en koitak rusuy.*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: that thing, 2: you, 3: me, 4: say to, 5: desiderative mood)

"I wish you would tell it to me."

Ex. 250. *A kor katkemat mi wa oka pe a kosospa cise oske an esipirasa...*
 1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: wife, 4: wear, 5: imperfective aspect, 6: nominalizer, "things", 7: indefinite person, 8: tear something, 9: house, 10: inside, 11: indefinite person, 12: thereby be scattered about)

"Somebody had **trn** my wife's clothes to **pieces** and by that action they were lying about scattered inside the house."

14.7.4. Multiple Prefixation

As many as five different prefixes may be combined in front of one verb, but the usual number when more than one prefix is involved is two or three. *I-*, *e-*, and *ko-* may all appear twice within one cluster of prefixes in front of the same verb, while *yay-* and *u-* may only appear once. *O-* and *si-* occur much less frequently in my material than do the other prefixes, so it is not possible on the basis of my data to draw any definite conclusions about their distribution.

An example of one of the longer combinations is the expression *e-yay-ko-u-e-pekere* (< *peker*, "be bright/clear").

Ex. 251. *Aynu he an? Kamuy he an? Nean noski an eyaykouepekere kane,...*
 1 2 3 4 2 3 5 6 7 8 9

(1: human being, 2: coordinative postposition, 3: be, 4: god, 5: this (anaphoric), 6: midst, 7: I, 8: thereby worry, 9: contemporaneous conjunctivalizer)

"Was he a human being, or was he a god? While in the midst of this I was **thus** worrying ..."

The reduced form, *uepekere*, is lexicalized as "tell (a story)" (< each other - thereby - be/get clear - causative suffix). *Yayko-* adds the meaning of "to-(wards) oneself", producing: "tell a story to oneself", which is lexicalized as "think deeply/worry". The initial *e-*, "thereby", adds a reference to some-

thing previously stated, so that the whole expression means "thereby worry" or "worry about (something)".

Other examples of multiple prefixation are:

Ex. 252. *Taan cep an ukousaraye wa an e.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: this, 2: fish, 3: we, 4: each other – towards – share, 5: and, 6: we, 7: eat)

"We share this fish with each other and eat it."

Ex. 253. *Onne orpakno an eyaykoitak, a utarintar an ekoitak kane oka an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 10

(1: grow old/die, 2: until, 3: I, 4: thereby – myself – to – say, 5: I, 6: 's relatives, 7: I, 8: thereby – to – say, 9: uncompleted aspect, 10: I)

"Until my death I shall thus be saying it to myself, I shall thus be saying it to my kinsmen."

Ex. 254. *Unewasar an kane apkas an na!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: mutually – thereby – have fun, 2: we, 3: while, 4: walk, 5: we, 6: assertive sentence final)

"Let's walk while having a chat!"

Ex. 255. *E toranne yak anakne, an e koinuska.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: you, 2: idle, 3: if, 4: restrictive postposition, 5: I, 6: you (obj.), 7: towards – something – scold, i.e. be angry with (somebody))

"If you idle, I shall get angry with you!"

Ex. 256. *Toon nispa apkas kane yaykosinotca...*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: that, 2: man, 3: walk, 4: while, 5: oneself – towards – sing)

"That gentleman is humming to himself as he walks..."

Ex. 257. *Kesto an konno ukouepekere⁵³ an.*
1 1 1 2 3

(1: every day, 2: each other – towards – tell stories (< mutually – thereby – make clear; see also Ex. 251), 3: we)

"Every day we tell stories to each other."

Ex. 258. *Kim peka sinenne omanan yakun, ru ka erampetek, iwor ka*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 7
erampetek wa, esituraynu ...
8 10 11

(1: mountain, 2: over, 3: alone, 4: pass, 5: if, 6: road, 7: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 8: not know, 9: territory, 10: and, 11: thereby – spontaneously – lose sight of)

"If one crosses the mountains alone, one will not know the way, one will not know the territory either, and one will **thereby naturally** lose one's way..."

Ex. 259. *Poro acapo poro cep ikoturiri, "Taampe an e kore na, ak!" ati*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
hawki korka, ...
13 14

(1: be big, 2: uncle/"uncle", 3: be big, 4: fish, 5: somebody (= me) – towards – hand, 6: this, 7: I, 8: you (obj.), 9: give, 10: so, 11: take, 12: quotationalizer, 13: say, 14: but)

"The big man handed a large fish to me and said: "I give you this, so take it!", but..."

Ex. 260. *Kesto an konno a en sikerayka p ne kusu, ku eyaykatuween, ku*
1 1 1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7 8 9
eyaynekonnakare hane ku apkas.
10 11 12 13

(1: every day, 2: indefinite person marking the passive, 3: me, 4: stare at, 5: assertive sentence final, 6: because, 7: I, 8: thereby – oneself – feel uncomfortable, 9: I, 10: thereby – oneself – be shy, 11: contemporal conjunctionalizer, 12: I, 13: walk)

"Because I am being stared at every day, it makes me feel uncomfortable, and it makes me shy while I walk."

Ex. 261. ... *kamuy bene, yuk bene a rura wa, nep an oikoitupa⁵² ka somo*
 1 2 3 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
ki no oka an.
 10 12 12 13

(1: bear, 2: restrictive postposition, 3: deer, 4: I, 5: hunt, 6: and, 7: what, 8: we, 9: there – somebody – against – somebody – preserve, 10: assertive mood, 11: not, 12: imperfective aspect, 13: we)

"I brought home bear as well as deer and we lived lacking nothing there (i.e. in that situation)."

14.8. Verb Suffixes

In the preceding chapter the verb prefixes were subdivided according to how they affected the number of possible adjuncts to the predicate. A similar subdivision may be made for the verb suffixes. Some suffixes have no influence upon the number of adjuncts; they merely change the semantic content of the verb to which they are attached. The transitivizing and causativizing suffixes will provide the possibility for the predicate of taking one extra adjunct, while the intransitivizing suffix will have the opposite effect.

14.8.1. Adjunct-Neutral Suffixes

The suffix *-ko* is used after stative verbs to give the opposite meaning of the verb without *-ko*:

Ex. 262. *E mataki wenko sivetokkor ruwe, a omap ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8

(1: you, 2: 's younger sister, 3: be good (< *wen*, "be bad"), 4: be beautiful, 5: nominalizer (abbreviated sentence final form, assertive), 6: indefinite person marking the passive, 7: love, 8: assertive sentence final)

"Your younger sister is good and beautiful; she is loved (by all)."

-tek also follows stative verbs, and it indicates a slight degree. Chiri ((1936) 1974: 101) called it "the trivial aspect".

Ex. 263. *Sir korupus wa retartek...*
 1 2 3 4

(1: frost, 2: towards – be frozen, i.e. “be frozen unto something”, 3: and, 4: be whitish)

“Hoar frost stuck to it (= the river bottom), and it was whitish ...”

-*ruy* is related to the stative verbs, *ruy*, “be violent”, and *ruye*, “be fat”. As a verb suffix it indicates an extraordinary degree.

Ex. 264. *Toon korsi tu pon cep e wa okere (...) iperuy korsi ne wa an*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 8 9 10 11 12

esirkurante.

13

(1: that, 2: child, 3: two, 4: be small, 5: fish, 6: eat, 7: completed aspect, 8: gluttonize (< *ipe* “eat”), 9: child, 10: copula, 11: and, 12: indefinite pronominal affix, 13: thereby – watch out)

“That child ate up two small fish... he is a gluttonizing child, and one should watch out for him.”

Two suffixes, *-kosanpa*⁵³ and *-ekatta*, serve to indicate suddenness of action and subsequent surprise on the part of the observer. Examples are few in my material, but Chiri ((1936) 1974: 99, 101) gives several different forms.

Ex. 265. *Ikkew konkosanpa.*
1 2

(1: hip, 2: snap suddenly (< *kone*, “break”))

“He gave a start” or “He was startled.”

Ex. 266. *Mun tum wa poro heper cisoyekatta.*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: underbrush, 2: midst, 3: from, 4: be big, 5: bear, 6: jump out suddenly (< *cisoye*, “come/go out”))

“A large bear suddenly jumped out from the underbrush.”

The plural suffix *-pa* also belongs among the adjunct-neutral suffixes; it is described in section 13.7. Similarly the suffix *-yar*, which is used in causative constructions when one wishes to avoid specific mention of the agent⁵⁴.

14.8.2. Adjunct-Reducing Suffixes

The only suffix in this group is *-ke*, which is found with a small number of verbs to mark intransitivity. *-ke* follows vowel-final verbs in such a way that before adding the suffix, *-ke*, the final vowel is dropped. The verbs in this group are few in number, and they have one semantic feature in common in that they are all expressions of some violent action which causes change.

Transitive

soso, "tear to pieces"
rewwe, "bend (smth.)"
pere, "split, break"
etc.

Intransitive

soske, "tear/be torn"
rewke, "bend/be bent"
perke, "break/be broken"
etc.

14.8.3. Adjunct-Increasing Suffixes

The verb suffixes which enable the predicate to take an extra adjunct mark either transitivity or causativity. The allomorphs *-ke*, *-ka*, *-(vowel)*, are added to intransitive verbs to form transitive ones:

Intransitive

sat, "be dry"
ray, "die"
ahun, "go inside"
san, "come forward"

uhuy, "burn"
hure, "be red"
kotuk, "stick to"
mom, "float"

try, "be cut/go to pieces"
yak, "crumble"
kay, "snap/break"
as, "stand"
etc.

Transitive

satke, "dry (smth.)"
rayke, "kill"
ahunke, "bring inside"
sanke, "bring forward"

uhuyka, "burn/incinerate"
hureka, "dye red"
kotukka, "attach/join"
momka, "set floating"

tuye, "cut"
yaku, "destroy"
kaye, "break off"
asi, "erect (smth.)"

The allomorphs, *-re*, *-e*, and *-te*, mark the causative, and their distribution is as follows:

Verbs ending in -y or a vowel add -re:

kore, "give"
epakasnu, "teach"

nu, "hear"
e, "eat"
hopuni, "get up"

korere, "make (sby.) give"
epakasnure, "make (sby.)
teach/tell"
nure, "tell" (< make (sby.) hear)
ere, "serve" (< make (sby.) eat)
hopunire, "wake/make (sby.)
get up"

Verbs ending in -r add -e:

nukar, "see"

kor, "have"
kar, "make"

nukare, "show" (< make (sby.)
see)
kore, "give" (< make (sby.) have)
kare, "make (sby.) make"

Verbs ending in other consonants add -te:

ek, "come"
ahup, "enter (pl.)"

wen, "be bad"

rikip, "ascend"

etc. etc.

ekte, "make (sby.) come"
ahupte, "make (sby./smth.)
enter"
wente, "destroy" (< make
(smth.) bad)
rikipte, "make (sby./smth.)
go up"

14.8.4. Examples of Causative and Transitive Constructions

Ex. 267. *Cep sanke un ere yan!*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: fish, 2: bring out, 3: us, 4: serve, 5: imperative sentence final)

"Bring out some fish and serve it for us."

- Ex. 268. *A kor katkemat nepka kar konno kasuy wa, usa seke usa ni*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 9 11
ahupte kane...
 12 13

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: wife, 4: anything, 5: make, 6: when, 7: help, 8: and, 9: lots of, 10: cooking, 11: firewood, 12: carry in, 13: contemporal conjunctinalizer)

"When my wife did anything, he would help, and while he was doing lots of cooking and lots of bringing wood inside,..."

- Ex. 269. *E monaa wa e yaysesekka kane e an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6

(1: you, 2: sit, 3: and, 4: you, 5: oneself – make warm, 6: uncompleted aspect, 7: you)

"You are sitting and warming yourself (by the fire)".

270. *Taa eci nukare an na, nukar!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: in this way, 2: you(pl.), 3: show, 4: I, 5: so, 6: look)

"I show you like this, so look!"

- Ex. 271. *Otta payeka utar anak siknure ka somo ki...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6

(1: there, 2: go, 3: nominalizer, "people", 4: restrictive postposition marking topic, 5: let live, 6: assertive mood, 7: not)

"As for people who go there, they are not allowed to live..."

- Ex. 273. *Taa ku cepkoyki hime, poronno ku cepyanke ruwe ne na.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8 8

(1: in this way, 2: I, 3: catch fish, 4: and, 5: a lot, 6: I, 7: haul up fish (< *yam*, "land/come ashore"), 8: assertive sentence final)

"I catch fish like this, and I haul a lot of fish ashore!"

- Ex. 274. *(mipibi) soy ta ese hime an ubuyka wa isam.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8

(1: 's clothes, 2: outside, 3: locative case, 4: thereby – carry, 5: and, 6: I, 7: burn, 8: perfective aspect)

"I thus carried her clothes outside, and I burned them up."

Ex. 275. *Iomante*.

(something – go – causative > send something/somebody off)

"The Bear Festival (where the bear is sent home to the Land of the Gods)."

14.9. *Verb Auxiliaries*

Verb suffixes and verb auxiliaries differ in their degree of attachment to the verb. Verb suffixes join the verb so closely that together they may be said to form a separate lexical item. No pause can be made between them and no other type of affixes can be interpolated. Verb auxiliaries, on the other hand, are more freely attached, and a pronominal suffix, for instance, will always be placed between the verb and the auxiliary. Some auxiliaries are analytic forms constructed from a conjunctive particle or a restrictive postposition and another, secondary verb. In such forms the pronominal affix may be repeated with the secondary verb as well.

14.9.1. *Time and Tense*

There are no markers of the past, the present, or the future tense in the morphology of the Ainu language. The Ainu are not verbally concerned with linear time, and actions, events, or states are not seen as being positioned upon an axis of time running in one direction from the past towards the future. All expressions of "time" are therefore aspectual, i.e. they concern themselves with the temporal contours of an action, state, or event, and with its distribution within or in relation to a temporal framework which is established implicitly or explicitly by the speaker. This framework may also be called the temporal "topic" of the utterance.

When a verb is used with no markings at all, we shall thus have the choice in our translation of placing it in the past, the present or the future on that timeline which is inescapably built into our own language (be it English, Danish – or even to some extent Japanese), but we should bear in mind that there is a certain degree of falsification in any such translation. The Ainu cannot explicitly place an action in linear time – we cannot avoid doing so. (See also 2.4.8, p. 58ff)

Tamura (1960:347ff) describes the auxiliary *a* (sg.)/ *rok* (pl.)⁵⁵ as an indicator of past tense when it is explicitly described as preceding an action in the present; i.e. as a marker of "relative past". There are very few examples of *a* in my data on the Shizunai dialect, and the most appropriate interpretation of those seems to be that of the durative mode of action. The usual way to express the durative is to repeat the verb twice and place *a* after it both times (see 14.9.2). On this basis I interpret the use of a single *a* as a weaker expression of duration, while the repeated use has overtones of impatience on the part of the speaker.

Ex. 276. *Kim peka payeka an a wa, poro kamuy an nukar kusu, an*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
ekimatek ...
 13

(1: mountain, 2: through, 3: pass, 4: we, 5: durative, 6: and, 7: be large, 8: bear, 9: we, 10: see, 11: because, 12: we, 13: be frightened)

"We were passing through the mountains, and because we saw a large bear, we were frightened..."

Ex. 277. *Cep keraan wa, cep ku e a wa!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: fish, 2: be delicious, 3: and, 4: fish, 5: I, 6: eat, 7: durative, 8: affective sentence final)

"The fish is delicious, and I am certainly eating it!"

Tamura (1960: 349) also describes the auxiliary *nisa*, which indicates that an action was completed in the immediate past. The Shizunai dialect does not appear to have this morpheme or any corresponding form.

14.9.2. Aspect

A narrow definition of aspect will usually confine itself to the oppositions between perfective and imperfective aspect and between completed and uncompleted aspect. These aspects have also been called the "subjective aspects" in opposition to "objective aspects" like momentary, continuative, inchoative, etc. A description of the latter as "objective" or solely as providers of "factual information" (e.g. Ducrot & Todorov: 1981: 311) would be

misleading in the case of Ainu, where some of the auxiliaries in this group contain a high degree of subjective evaluation. This type of verb auxiliaries have therefore been grouped in the following section (14.9.3) under the more comprehensive heading of »mode of action« (= Aktionsart).

The four aspects treated in this section are subjective in the manner that they describe the relationship between the temporal framework (or topic) set up by the speaker, and the temporal distribution of the action, event, or state described.

14.9.2.1. The Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect describes a process completed within the temporal framework established by the speaker. In contrast to the completed aspect (14.9.2.3), the perfective aspect is used when the process is completed as a result of exhausting its possibilities for continuation, or when it has resulted in the disappearance of its subject (with intransitive verbs) or its object (with transitive verbs).

The form employed to indicate the perfective aspect is created by combining the coordinative conjunctive, *wa*, with the intransitive verb, *isam*, »not be/be gone«.

Ex. 278. *Cep ku e wa isam.*
 1 2 3 4 4

(1: fish, 2: I, 3: eat, 4: perfective aspect)

»I ate up the fish.«

Ex. 279. *Taanta an a korsi enun oman wa isam?*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: here, 2: be, 3: durative mode of action, 4: child, 5: to where, 6: go, 7: perfective aspect)

»The child, who was (being) here, where has she gone away to?«

14.9.2.2. The Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect describes a process which is coextensive with or exceeds the speaker's temporal frame, i.e. an action, event, or state which continues before and beyond the temporal area upon which the speaker is

focussing her attention. The form marking the imperfective aspect is the conjunctivalizer *wa*, followed by the existential verb, *an* (sg.) / *oka* (pl.).

Ex. 280. *Monaa wa oka yan!*
 1 2 2 3

(1: sit, 2: imperfective aspect, 3: imperative sentence final)

"Remain sitting!"

Ex. 281. *A kor nispa ni senpir ta an wa inkar wa an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 10

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: husband, 4: tree, 5: hidden behind, 6: locative case, 7: be, 8: and, 9: see, 10: imperfective aspect)

"My husband was in hiding behind a tree and he was looking around."

The restrictive post position *patek* may be interpolated between *wa* and *an* to indicate that the subject is doing something to the exclusion of everything else.

Ex. 282. *A kor ekasi (...) botke wa patek an hike,...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 5 7

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: old man, 4: lie down, 5: imperfective aspect, 6: "only", 7: and)

"My husband, the old man, is doing nothing but lying around, and..."

Occasionally the imperfective aspect is formed with the conjunctivalizers *hine* or *no* instead of *wa*.

14.9.2.3. The Completed Aspect

The completed aspect describes an action as having achieved completion according to a planned course, and if a result is implied, it also indicates that the desired result was achieved. With verbs describing events or states, the completed aspect indicates that the event ran its course or the state was achieved completely and according to expectation.

The completed aspect is marked with the verb *okere* (sg.) / *okerpa* (pl.), "finish". Usually the conjunctivalizer *wa*, precedes *okere*, but there are examples of *okere* being attached directly to the main verb.

Ex. 283. *Utari opitta ipe okere wa, soyenpa bike...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: kinsmen, 2: all, 3: have a meal, 4: completed aspect, 5: and, 6: go out, 7: and)

"The kinsmen all finished eating and went out, and then..."

Ex. 284. *Toon anpayapaya su pop su oske a omanan konno, hare wa*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
okere na...
11 12

(1: that, 2: shrimp, 3: saucepan, 4: boil, 5: saucepan, 6: into, 7: indefinite pronominal affix, 8: put in and take out again, 9: when, 10: be red, 11: completed aspect, 12: so)

"When you put that shrimp into a saucepan of boiling (water) and take it out again, it will have become completely red, so..."

The difference between *wa isam* (perfective) and *wa okere* (completed) may be illustrated by the following two sentences:

Ex. 285. *(cep) ci e wa isam.*
1 2 3 4 4

(1: fish, 2: we, 3: eat, 4: perfective aspect)

"We ate (the fish), and it was gone."

Ex. 286. *Toon korsi tu pon cep e wa okere.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: that, 2: child, 3: two, 4: be squall, 5: fish, 6: eat, 7: completed aspect)

"That child finished (the process of) eating two small fish."

In Ex. 285 the disappearance of the fish as a result of its being eaten is stressed, while in Ex. 286 the completion of the act of eating is stressed.

14.9.2.4. *The Uncompleted Aspect*

The uncompleted aspect indicates simultaneity between a process and the temporal frame maintained by the speaker. It is expressed by the contem-

al conjunctivalizer *kane*, and the existential verb *an* (sg.) / *oka* (pl.). The following example (Ex. 287), which contains both *wa an* (imperfective aspect) and *kane an* (uncompleted aspect) will serve to illustrate the difference in nuance between the two. *Wa an* in the first clause denotes coextensiveness with the temporal topic *numan*, “yesterday”, while *kane an* in the second clause marks the action as simultaneous with the temporal frame established in the first clause.

Ex. 287. *Numan ka to okere ape sam ta monaa wa an. Nep eyaykouepelere*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 10 11
kane an ruwe ta an?
 12 12 13 13 13

(1: yesterday, 2: restrictive postposition marking inclusion, 3: day, 4: finish (3-4: “the whole day through”), 5: fireplace, 6: next to, 7: locative case, 8: sit, 9: imperfective aspect, 10: what, 11: worry about, 12: uncompleted aspect, 13: interrogative sentence final)

“Yesterday, too, he was sitting all day long by the fireplace. What was he worrying about (while he was sitting there)?”

When verb expressions with *kane an/oka*, or with the imperfective aspect marking *wa an/oka*, have a pronominal affix as their subject, not only the main verb, but also the auxiliary will usually carry the affix.

Ex. 288. *Nep e kar kane e an ruwe ta an? E kar pe ye!*
 1 2 3 4 2 4 5 5 5 6 7 8 9

(1: what, 2: you, 3: do, 4: uncompleted aspect, 5: interrogative sentence final, 6: you, 7: do, 8: nominalizer, 9: say)

“What are you doing (right now)? Tell me what you do!” (lit.: “your do-thing”)

The restrictive postposition *patek*, may – like with *wa an* – be interpolated between *kane* and *an* as well. The meaning is to concentrate upon doing one thing only.

Ex. 289. *Toonpe ipe a ipe a kane patek an hike ka, ...*
 1 2 3 2 3 4 5 4 6 6

(1: that guy, 2: eat, 3: durative mode of action, 4: uncompleted aspect, 5: "only", 6: although)

"Even though that guy is just (sitting there) eating and eating ..."

Other dialects, such as for instance the Saru dialect, have *kor an* in a function corresponding to that of *kane an* in the Shizunai dialect, and the contemporal conjunctivalizer in these dialects is also *kor* instead of *kane* (Hattori: 1964: 324; Tamura: 1972b: 148ff).

14.9.3. Mode of Action

The auxiliaries which mark the various modes of action differ from the aspectual auxiliaries in referring to properties of actions rather than to the relationship between an action, event or state on the one hand, and the subjective temporal framework behind the utterance on the other. Such properties of actions, however, are not necessarily purely objective properties – they may well reflect the speaker's subjective evaluation of a certain process as being for instance longwinded, excessive, slow, quick, etc. Still, mode of action also differs from the concept of mood (*modus*). Where the modal auxiliaries emphasize the subjective attitude towards an action, event, or state, the auxiliaries which mark mode of action do not primarily concern themselves with the attitude of the speaker. Their main function is to describe certain factual properties of an action, and this description may or may not then be overlaid with a subjective evaluation.

Verb auxiliaries are not the only means of expressing mode of action. The verb suffixes *-kosaupa* and *-ekatta* may be said to indicate the momentary or instantaneous mode, and the plural suffix *-pa* sometimes serves in an iterative function (see 14.8.1 and 13.7 respectively). Similarly, the iterative mode may be expressed with the help of the conjunctivalizer *ranke* (see 14.12.1), and another conjunctivalizer, *ayne* (see 14.12.2), may be interpreted as an expression of the resultative mode of action. Finally, the lexical meaning of the verb may in itself imply a mode of action, i.e. the basic meaning of the verb can be durative, momentary, instantaneous, or resultative.

The auxiliaries expressing modes of action are described below, and examples are given for each of them.

14.9.3.1. The Durative Mode of Action

The auxiliary *a* marks an action as having a certain duration (see also 14.9.1).

Usually the verb form with *a* is repeated, and a nuance of impatience on the part of the speaker is often implied.

Ex. 290. *Toon katkemat caroruy wa, itak a itak a...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 5 6

(1: that, 2: woman, 3: be extremely talkative, 4: and, 5: talk, 6: durative mode of action)

"That woman is extremely talkative, and she talks and talks..."

The expression (verb) *a* (verb) *a* is often followed by the conjunctivalizer *ayne* (in which case the final *a* is sometimes dropped), to indicate that the (too) long duration of something has finally come to an end, and then/now something else will follow.

Ex. 291. *Pet turasi paye an a paye an a ayne, pet etok kamuy nupuri an*
 1 2 3 4 5 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
wa...
 12

(1: river, 2: along, 3: go, 4: we, 5: durative mode of action, 6: sequential conjunctivalizer, 7: river, 8: head, 9: god, 10: mountain, 11: be, 12: and)

"We walked and walked along the river, and then finally at the head of the river there was a holy mountain, and..."

14.9.3.2 The Iterative Mode of Action

When the form (verb) *a* (verb) *a* is used with a verb of instantaneous, momentary, or resultative content, i.e. a verb which for semantic reasons can have no duration, *a* denotes the repetition of an act.

Ex. 292. *Kannakanna nekon e iki a wa, e tekebe e tuye a e tuye a...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 9 10 11

(1: many times, 2: how, 3: you, 4: act, 5: durative mode of action, 6: and, 7: you, 8: 's hand, 9: you, 10: cut, 11: iterative mode of action.)

"What are you doing all the time - you cut your hand again and again..."

In the Saru dialect *ranke* is the iterative auxiliary (Tamura: 1960: 349), and *ranke* is also used in an iterative function in the Shizunai dialect; but this *ranke* does not belong to the class of auxiliaries – it is a conjunctivalizer (see 14.12.1).

14.9.3.3. The Excessive Mode of Action

Excess of an action, state, or event may be expressed by an adverb or by the verb suffix *-rusy* (see 14.8.1). Yet another way of expressing that something goes beyond what is reasonable or expected is through the auxiliary *kaspa*⁵⁶.

Ex. 293. *Tanto sinki an kaspa kusu, sini an rusuy na.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: today, 2: he tired, 3: I, 4: be too much, 5: because, 6: rest, 7: I, 8: desiderative mood, 9: assertive sentence final)

"I am too tired today, so I wish to rest."

14.9.3.4. The Defective Mode of Action

The opposite of the excessive mode is the defective mode, which indicates that a process has not been carried through as expected or hoped for, that something is lacking. This is expressed by the auxiliaries *niwokes* and *orakse*. *Niwokes* simply indicates that part of a process has been left undone, although it should have been done, but *orakse* furthermore adds a nuance of dissatisfaction or lack of fulfilment: the part that is lacking is a source of discomfort for the subject.

Ex. 294. *Ku ipe niwokes, ku boni sik na, e ipe rusuy cik, e yan! E wa
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
 okere yan!
 15 16*

(1: I, 2: eat, 3: not finish, 4: I, 5: 's stomach, 6: be full, 7: so, 8: you, 9: eat, 10: desiderative mood, 11: if, 12: eat, 13: imperative sentence final, 14: eat, 15: completed aspect, 16: imperative sentence final)

"I haven't finished my meal, I am full, so if you are hungry, eat! Please eat it all up!"

Ex. 295. *Ku ipe a ku ipe a hike ka, ku boni sik, ku crampetek; nekon
 1 2 3 1 2 3 4 4 5 6 7 8 9 10*

poronno ku ipe yakka, ku ipe orakse.
11 12 13 14 15 16 17

(1: I, 2: eat, 3: durative mode of action, 4: even though, 5: I, 6: stomach, 7: be full, 8: I, 9: not know, 10: how, 11: much, 12: I, 13: eat, 14: even though, 15: I, 16: eat, 17: not be enough)

"Although I eat and eat, I do not know (the meaning of) a full stomach. No matter how much I eat, I never get enough."

14.9.3.5. Modes of Action Indicating Velocity

The auxiliaries *moyre* and *tunas* serve respectively to characterize a process as either slow or quick.

Ex. 296. *E ek moyre kuni ku ramu...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: you, 2: come, 3: take time/be slow, 4: quotationalizer, 5: I, 6: think)

"I thought you would be slow in coming..."

Ex. 297. *Eci apkas tunas wa, eci tura wa ku apkas nukuri.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: you (pl.), 2: walk, 3: be quick/rapid, 4: and, 5: you (pl.), 6: follow, 7: and, 8: I, 9: walk, 10: cannot)

"You walk rapidly, and I cannot follow you on foot."

14.9.3.6. Modes of Action Indicating Direction

Verbs of movement which contain an indication of direction may - with the interpolation of the coordinative conjunctivalizer *wa* - be used as auxiliaries to action verbs to describe their direction. The more common forms are constructed with the pair of opposites *wa ek* (sg.) / *wa arki* (pl.) and *wa oman* (sg.) / *wa paye* (pl.). *Ek* and *arki* denote an action directed towards the speaker's position at the moment of speaking, while *oman* / *paye* indicate that the action is directed away from the speaker at the moment of speaking. Other verbs of directed movement, such as *san*, "descend", or *yan*, "land", etc. may also be used as directional auxiliaries.

Ex. 298. *Tomuto a bok wa arki an na...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: rice wine, 2: we, 3: buy, 4: and-come, direction towards the speaker's position at the moment of speech, 5: we, 6: so)

"We shall go and buy rice wine, so..." (Lit.: "We shall buy rice wine and come (back) here.")⁵⁷

Ex. 299. *Cep an e kore na, e cise un se wa oman wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 10 11

(1: fish, 2: I, 3: you, 4: give, 5: so, 6: you, 7: 's house, 8: allative case, 9: carry, 10: and-go, direction away from the speaker, 11: and)

"I give you a fish, so take it to your home and..."

Ex. 300. *Okimun hoyuppa wa sapte.*
1 2 3 3

(1: from the mountain, 2: run (pl.), 3: and-make-descend, (causative), direction downwards)

"Something made them run down from the mountain."

14.9.3.7. The Inchoative Mode of Action

Wa ek may also be used to describe the onset of an action or an event, i.e. with an inchoative meaning.

Ex. 301. *Nisappone ruyante ai wa ek.*
1 2 3 4 4

(1: suddenly, 2: rain, 3: fall, 4: inchoative mode of action)

"Suddenly it began to rain."

In other dialects the inchoative mode of action may be expressed by the auxiliaries *oasi*⁵⁸ or *heasi*⁵⁹, but these forms do not appear in my material.

14.9.4. Mood

Modality describes the relationship between the content of an utterance and the objective reality - as defined by the speaker. In other words, it is the speaker's attitude towards and evaluation of an action, state, or event which is in focus when a modal expression is employed. Modality may be expressed

through adverbs and sentence final forms as well, but this section is primarily concerned with the verb auxiliaries of mood.

A process may be described as necessary, possible, or real, and this is reflected in the tri-partite division of mood into the imperative, subjunctive, and indicative moods. Sentences which are unmarked with respect to mood are usually defined as being of the declarative or indicative mood. In the present analysis, however, only the sentences which are especially marked as real, true, or emphatic statements are defined as modal, namely as the assertive mood.

Negative sentences may be regarded as representing a mood by themselves, the negative mood, or they may be considered merely as negations of some other mood. Without excluding the latter interpretation, I have here for the sake of clarity included a section on "negative moods" which describes the various manners of negating a predicate with the help of auxiliaries (see 14.9.4.9).

The imperative and subjunctive moods have been subdivided as described below.

14.9.4.1. The Imperative Mood

Imperative sentences differ from declarative ones by the dropping of the pronominal affix attached to the verb:

E hosipi, "You return"

Hosipi, "Return!"

The sentence final, *yan* may be added to an imperative predicate to indicate a plural subject or object.

Ex. 302. *Hetak, bopunpa yan!*
1 2 3

(1: well now, 2: get up, 3: imperative sentence final)

"Well, get up now!"

Ex. 303. *Tooka korstutar iokunnuka, nepka kore yan, ere yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6

(1: those, 2: children, 3: be pitiful, 4: something, 5: give, 6: imperative sentence final, 7: serve/make eat)

"Those children are pitiful; give them something, serve them (some food)!"

The plural form of a verb may be used to express respect towards the subject, and in the same way *yan* may be used as a polite form of the imperative, when the addressee for the order or request is a person towards whom you wish to show respect.

When the imperative concerns a favour towards the speaker, a polite form may be constructed with the verb *kore*, "give"⁶⁰.

Ex. 304. *Nu wa en kore yan!*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: listen, 2: coordinative conjunctivalizer, 3: me, 4: give, 5: imperative sentence final)

"Please listen to me!"

Ex. 305. *Taanpe se wa en kore yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: this, 2: carry, 3: coordinative conjunctivalizer 4: me, 5: give, 6: imperative sentence final)

"Please carry this for me!"

Negative imperative is expressed with the adverb *iteke* (see 12.6.3.6).

14.9.4.2. The Necessative Mood

Nankor na indicates that an action is necessary, and it is used as a "soft" imperative. *Nankor* is the auxiliary for the dubitative mood (see 14.9.4.4), and *na* is a conjunctivalizer which is placed after a sentence containing the background for an order or request given in the following sentence. The second sentence may not be explicitly stated, so that *na* will function as a sentence final, implying an unspoken order or admonition. (See also 14.12.4, and compare 14.11.2 on *na* as the assertive sentence final).

Unlike in the imperative constructions described above, a predicate with a pronominal affix will retain this affix in a necessative construction.

Ex. 306. *Hosipi pakno, cise otta eci oka nankor na!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: return, 2: until, 3: house, 4: inside, 5: you (pl.), 6: be, 7: necessative mood)

"You must stay inside the house until he returns!"

Ex. 307. *E nu nankor na!*
1 2 3 3

(1: you, 2: listen, 3: necessative mood)

"You must listen!"

The necessative mood may also be expressed with the form *kuni*, which is also a quotationalizer (see 14.14):

Ex. 308. *A kor nispa, bokure kuni a cisebe orun e hosipi.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: husband, 4: hurry, 5: necessative mood, 6: we, 7: 's house, 8: allative case, 9: you, 10: return)

"My husband, you must hurry and return to our house."

14.9.4.3. The Hortative Mood

The hortative mood is expressed by adding *na* to the predicate. It indicates a mutual invitation or a light imperative which comprises the speaker as well. In the Saru dialect, *ro* is used in this function (Tamura: 1961: 30-31)⁶¹. *Na* is probably identical with the *na* described in the preceding section, i.e. the sentence final, derived from the conjunctivalizer *na*, which implies an un-stated order or admonition: "Let us... (or else...)/We'd better...".

Ex. 309. *Uerpak ipe an na!*
1 2 3 4

(1: together, 2: have a meal, 3: we, 4: hortative mood)

"Let us eat together!"

Ex. 310. *Uenewsar an kane apkas an na!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: chat, 2: we, 3: contemporaneous conjunctivalizer, 4: walk, 5: we, 6: hortative mood)

"Let us chat while we walk!"

14.9.4.4. *The Desiderative Mood*

The desiderative auxiliary *rusuy* primarily indicates a wish or hope on behalf of the speaker. It may also denote intention, but without the determination to go through with the act implied by the auxiliary of the intentional mood described in the following section. In interrogative and conditional sentences, *rusuy* may indicate a presumed wish or intention on the part of the addressee. A third person's wish may also be expressed by *rusuy* as shown in Ex. 314.

With some verbs *rusuy* may form a fixed idiom in the form of a stative verb with a meaning implying "lack of something/desire for something", e.g. *mokor rusuy*, "sleepy" (< *mokor*, "sleep"), or *ipe rusuy*, "hungry" (< *ipe* (intr.), "eat").

Ex. 311. *Ku sanpe wen kane ku e rusuy.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: I, 2: 's heart/feeling, 3: be bad, 4: contemporaneous conjunctive, 5: I, 6: eat, 7: desiderative mood)

"I want to eat (so badly) that I am feeling sick."

Ex. 312. *Topenpe e e rusuy ya?*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: sweets, 2: you, 3: eat, 4: desiderative mood, 5: interrogative sentence final)

"Would you like to eat some sweets?"

Ex. 313. *E e rusuy cik, e!*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: you, 2: eat, 3: desiderative mood, 4: if, 5: eat)

"If you want to eat it, then eat it!"

Ex. 314. *Unma wen kamuy matkor rusuy kusu, ...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: horse, 2: be bad, 3: god, 4: get a wife, 5: desiderative mood, 6: because)

"The evil horse god wanted to get a wife, and therefore ..."

When the speaker wishes to express a wish regarding the desired action of others, *rusuy* is simply added to the predicate⁶² as in:

Ex. 315. *Toonpe en koitak rusuy.*
1 2 3 4

(1: that, 2: me, 3: towards – speak, 4: desiderative mood)

"I wish you would tell me that."

14.9.4.5. The Intentional Mood

As mentioned above, *rusuy* may be used as an expression of wishful intention. A stronger expression of the speaker's intention is the consequential conjunctivalizer *kusu*, followed by the verb *ki*, "do". Like *rusuy*, expressions with *kusu ki* may have the 2nd person as the subject in interrogative and conditional sentences.

Besides intention, (verb) *kusu ki* may also express incipient action, as shown in Ex. 318, and in this meaning it may have any person as its subject. However, since a conscious agent is presupposed, these expressions cannot appear with an inanimate subject.

Ex. 316. *A cisehe un an e tara kusu ki ruwe ne na.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 8 8 8

(1: I, 2: 's house, 3: allative case, 4: I, 5: you, 6: take along, 7: intentional mood, 8: assertive sentence final)

"I intend to take you along to my house."

Ex. 317. *Hempara e bosipi kusu ki ruwe ta an?*
1 2 3 4 4 5 5 5

(1: when, 2: you, 3: return home, 4: intentional mood, 5: interrogative sentence final)

"When do you intend to go home?"

Ex. 318. *Ku pobo, e monrayke kusu oyakotan e oman kusu ki...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9

(1: I, 2: 's son, 3: you, 4: work, 5: in order to, 6: another village, 7: you, 8: go, 9: incipient action)

"My son, you are about to go to another village to work..."

14.9.4.6. The Dubitative Mood

The auxiliary *nankor* expresses doubt about the validity of a statement. The doubt may be caused by the fact that future events are under discussion, but this is not always the case. When a speaker uses *nankor*, he implies that he feels it to be quite probable for the statement to be or to become true.

Ex. 319. *Ek nankor wa.*
1 2 3

(1: come, 2: dubitative mood, 3: affective sentence final)

"I am sure she will come." (Answer to the question: "Will she come or not?")

Ex. 320. *Tane ek nankor pe, iteke rampak iruska na!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: now, 2: come, 3: dubitative mood, 4: nominalizer, 5: don't, 6: too much, 7: get angry, 8: assertive sentence final)

"He will probably come right away; don't get too angry!"

14.9.4.7. The Potential Mood

The two verbs *askay*, "be able", and *aykap*, "be unable", are used as verb auxiliaries to denote that an action is possible or not possible. In this function *askay* and *aykap* always take the prefix *e-*, "thereby" (see 14.7.3).

Ex. 321. *Ku kokkasapa arka. Ku apkas eaykap.*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: I, 2: 's knee, 3: hurt, 4: I, 5: walk, 6: cannot)

"My knee hurts. I cannot walk."

Ex. 322. *Hure konno, a e easkay.*
1 2 3 + 5

(1: be red, 2: when, 3: indefinite person, 4: eat, 5: can)

"When they have become red, one can eat them (about shrimps)."

The restrictive postposition *ka* may be interpolated between the verb and the potential auxiliary for emphasis.

- Ex. 323. *Toon nupuri urar an wa, a nukar ka eaykap akus, urar vera san*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
wa maw wa, ponnoponno kamuy nupuri a nukar easkay.
 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

(1: that, 2: mountain, 3: mist, 4: be, 5: and, 6: indefinite person, 7: see, 8: restrictive postposition, 9: cannot, 10: sequential conjunctivalizer, 11: mist, 12: wind, 13: descend, 14: and, 15: blow, 16: and, 17: a little bit, 18: god, 19: mountain, 20: indefinite person, 21: see, 22: can).

"There was mist on that mountain, and one could not even see it, and then the wind descended and blew the mist away, and one could see the holy mountain a little bit."

14.9.4.8. The Assertive Mood

A predicate may be especially asserted or emphasized by employing the verb, *ki*, "do", as an auxiliary⁶³.

- Ex. 324. *Apkas siri nitan apkas ki wa ...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: walk, 2: nominalizer denoting appearance, 3: be quick, 4: walk, 5: assertive mood, 6: and)

"His pace was brisk, and he did walk, and..."

Often the restrictive postposition *ka* is interpolated between the main verb and *ki* to strengthen the emphasis.

- Ex. 325. *Eattukonnoan yuptek okkay utarpake ne wa, an eaykopuntek ka*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
ki...
 10

(1: certainly, 2: work hard, 3: man, 4: chief, 5: copula, 6: and, 7: I, 8: thereby - be happy, 9: restrictive postposition, 10: assertive mood)

"He was certainly a hard-working man, a chief, and I was really happy about it..."

The inclusive meaning of *ka* stands out clearly when two parallel verb expressions are both asserted in this way:

- Ex. 326. *Toon katkemat rep un kur ne kusu, otopi bure ka ki, retar ka ki*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 10 11
kusu, a eramuan.
13 14 15

(1: that, 2: woman, 3-5: foreigner, 6: copula, 7: because, 8: 's hair, 9: be red, 10: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 11: assertive mood, 12: be white, 13: because, 14: indefinite person, 15: understand/know)

"That woman is a foreigner, and therefore her hair is **indeed both** red and white, and therefore one knows it."

Negative predicates are very often emphasized in this way, and the negative adverb *somo* is then placed in front of *ki* (see also 12.6.3.6) in the construction:

(verb) *ka somo ki*

- Ex. 327. *Nepka ye ka somo ki.*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: anything, 2: say, 3: restrictive postposition, 4: not, 5: assertive mood)

"He **did not** say anything at all."

When a pronominal affix is involved in an assertive construction, it is usually attached to the main verb.

- Ex. 328. *Hapo, mici eci nunukar ki ya?*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: mother, 2: father, 3: you (pl.), 4: look after, 5: assertive mood, 6: interrogative sentence final)

"Will you indeed look after us, your father and mother?"

There are, however, examples of the pronominal affix being attached to *ki* instead, and also of both the main verb and *ki* having the pronominal affix.

Ex. 329. *Nitka apkas a ki wa...*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: quickly, 2: walk, 3: we, 4: assertive mood, 5: and)

"We did walk quickly, and..."

Ex. 330. *Pirka ku mokor ku ki ayne...*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: well, 2: I, 3: sleep, 4: I, 5: assertive mood, 6: sequential conjunctivalizer)

"I did sleep well, and then..."

When *ka* is interpolated between the main verb and *ki*, the pronominal affix will always attach to the main verb.

Ex. 3331. *Kusuri ku ku ka ki...*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: medicine (Japanese loan), 2: I, 3: drink/take, 4: restrictive postposition, 5: assertive mood)

"I do take medicine..."

Negative predicates which are asserted or emphasized almost always involve the restrictive postposition *ka*, and the pronominal affix invariably attaches to the main verb in these expressions as well.

Ex. 332. *Ku iruska ka somo ki.*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: I, 2: be angry, 3: restrictive postposition, 4: not, 5: assertive mood)

"I was certainly not angry."

Assertive mood may be expressed by sentence final forms as well (see 14.11.2). However, the assertive auxiliary *ki* primarily affects the verb ex-

pression of which it forms a part, while a sentence ending in an assertive sentence final form is seen as a unit, the totality of which is being subjected to a further evaluation by the speaker.

14.9.4.9. Negative Moods

In the preceding section negative assertion was described, and in section 14.9.4.7 on the potential mood, both ability and non-ability was mentioned. Besides these, and besides the plain negated statements with the adverb *somo*, there are a number of negative auxiliaries which carry various semantic shadings of inability, ignorance, distaste, or fear. Since they all have to do with the speaker's evaluation of an action, state, or event, they have been gathered together in this section under the heading of "negative moods".

Half of the auxiliaries listed below may function as independent verbs as well. They may occasionally have the restrictive postposition *ka* interpolated between the main verb and the auxiliary. Those that in my material are found only as auxiliaries are marked "(aux)", and they never appear with *ka*.

eramiskari, "not know of"

etoranne, "not want to bother" (< *toranne*, "idle")

koyaykus (aux), "be disabled and cannot do"

maka (aux), "not like to do (eat)"

nukuri (aux), "not have the strength to do"

*oripak*⁶⁴, "be afraid to do"

Ex. 333. *A nukar ka eramiskari poro acapo cep sinp i kore.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: I, 2: see, 3: restrictive postposition, 4: not know of, 5: be big, 6: uncle, (5-6: child's word for an elderly man), 7: fish, 8: one, 9: me, 10: give)

"A nice man that I had never seen before gave me a fish."

Ex. 334. *... iku konno, ipé etoranne...*
 1 2 3 4

(1: drink alcohol, 2: when, 3: eat, 4: do not bother)

"When they drink alcohol, they stop bothering about meals."

Ex. 335. *Cikiri arka wa, cas koyaykus.*

1 2 3 4 5

(1: 's feet, 2: hurt, 3: and, 4: run, 5: be unable to)

"Its feet hurt, and it cannot run."

Ex. 336. *Nepka ku e maka p isam ruwe ne.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: anything, 2: I, 3: eat, 4: dislike, 5: nominalizer, 6: not be, 7: assertive sentence final)

"There really isn't anything I cannot eat (I am not squeamish)."

Ex. 337. *Situyma kuni a ramu, apkas ari payeka an nukuri.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: really far, 2: quotationalizer, 3: I, 4: think, 5: walk, 6: instrumental case, 7: go, 8: I, 9: not have the strength)

"I think it is really far; I do not have the strength to go there on foot."

Ex. 338. *Poronno kamuy oka ruwe ne, an nukar oripak an kane payeka an.*

1 2 3 4 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: a lot, 2: gods, 3: be, 4: assertive sentence final, 5: I, 6: see, 7: be afraid to, 8: I, 9: while, 10: walk by, 11: I)

"There were lots of gods (bears) there; I walked by, being afraid to look."

14.10. Pronominal Affixes

The personal pronouns (see 12.3.1) are mostly used for emphasis, and grammatical person is generally indicated by means of affixes to verbs and to nouns, which may form the belonging form (see section 12.1.1). Pronominal affixes occur in the nominative and the objective case and in a combination of the two, "nominative-objective affixation". There are affixes for the 1st and the 2nd person and for the indefinite person. No affix exists for the 3rd person, but since the affixes for the 1st, 2nd, and indefinite person are only omitted in imperative sentences, a verb with no affix and no other explicit subject or object will automatically be interpreted as having a 3rd person (singular or plural according to context) subject and/or object.

Phonologically the pronominal affixes are just as closely attached to verbs as are the verb prefixes and verb suffixes described in section 14.7 and 14.8, but the order of sequence will always place the verb prefixes and suffixes closer to the verb, and the pronominal affixes will come before or after the extended verb expression. Therefore, in the orthography of the examples below, the pronominal affixes have for clarity's sake been represented as separate units.

Diagram 5 shows the pronominal affixes of the Shizunai dialect. Some dialects appear to distinguish the 1st person plural inclusive and exclusive (Tamura: 1970b:585ff; Asai:1969:775; Chiri:(1936) 1974: 62ff). In the Shizunai dialect, however, this distinction does not seem appropriate. Instead, an alternative interpretation of the data – which may also be applicable to other dialects – will be presented here. This interpretation will also cover the “1st person in folk tales”, which Tamura (1970a: 9ff) established for the Ishikari dialect, and the “polite 2nd person” (Tamura: 1970a: 9ff; 1970b: 589ff; Chiri: (1936) 1974: 62ff), both of which will be included within the semantic range of the indefinite person.

Diagram 5. The pronominal affixes.

		Nominative	Objective
	Singular	<i>ku-</i>	<i>en-</i>
1st person	Plural	I	<i>ai-</i>
		II	<i>-as</i>
2nd person	Singular	<i>e-</i>	
	Plural	<i>eci-</i>	
Indefinite person	I	<i>a-/an-</i>	<i>(i-)</i>
	II	<i>-an</i>	

I: Attach to transitive verbs, the copula, and nouns (belonging form).

II: Attach to intransitive verbs.

14.10.1. The 1st Person

The 1st person singular nominative “I” is expressed by the prefix *ku-*.

Ex. 339. *Pis un cep ka, pet otta a nyua cep ka ku e.*
 1 2 3 4 5 5 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: sea, 2: attributive postposition, 3: fish, 4: coordinative postposition, 5: river, 6: locative case, 7: indefinite person, 8: catch/get, 9: fish, 10: coordinative postposition (cf.4), 11: I, 12: eat)

"I eat sea fish as well as fish caught in the river."

Ex. 340. *Ku poho, e monrayke kusu oyakotan e oman...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: I, 2: son (belonging form), 3: you, 4: work, 5: in order to, 6: another village, 7: you, 8: go)

"My son, you are going to another village in order to work ..."

Ku- is never found in the language of the *yukar* epics, and it is extremely rare even in stories and songs which are closer in style to the colloquial language. Thus *ku-* must be considered as belonging exclusively in the daily language of personal communication. Its use is restricted to a personal and concrete "I", and it is avoided in quotations and utterances involving a pretended "I"⁶⁵. Here the indefinite person will be used instead.

Ex. 341. *Nep ne yakka sesek pe anak a e nukuri.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: what, 2: copula, 3: ever, 4: be hot, 5: nominalizer, 6: restrictive postposition marking topic, 7: indefinite person marking a pretended 1st person singular, 8: eat, 9: is unable to)

"As for hot things, whatever they be, I am unable to eat them."

The 1st person singular objective is expressed by the prefix *en-*.

Ex. 342. *Toon seta en sikerayka, wen sanpe kor kotom an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: that, 2: dog, 3: me, 4: stare at, 5: be had, 6: temper, 7: have, 8: nominalizer denoting appearance, 9: be)

"That dog is staring at me; it looks ill-tempered".

Ex. 343. *Sinenne ku mismo na, en tura ek!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: alone, 2: I, 3: be lonely, 4: so, 5: me, 6: join, 7: come)

"Alone I am lonely, so come with me!"

Like *ku-*, *en-* belongs exclusively in the colloquial language, and is restricted to being used as a concrete and personal "me".

The 1st person plural nominative "we" is expressed by the prefix *ci-* when used with transitive verbs, the copula, or with nouns in the belonging form, and by the suffix *-as* when used with intransitive verbs.

Ex. 344. *Acapo nanuhu ci nukar rusuy kusu, arki as.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: uncle, 2: face (belonging form), 3: we, 4: see, 5: desiderative mood, 6: because, 7: come, 8: we)

"We came because we wanted to see you(r face), uncle."

Ex. 345. *Cep toonta an hike, tun ci ne wa ci e wa isam.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: fish, 2: there, 3: be, 4: and, 5: two persons, 6: we, 7: copula, 8: and, 9: we, 10: eat, 11: perfective aspect)

"There was some fish there, and the two of us ate it all up."

Like *ku-*, *ci-* and *-as* belong in the colloquial language and are semantically very concrete. They are only used to cover a group of clearly perceived, known members, and the person saying *ci-* or *-as* must be part of the group and able to represent and speak for all its members concerning the matter in question – i.e. not in any official capacity, but because of the relatively small size and large degree of cohesiveness in the group, which makes it possible for any one member to make statements concerning the group on behalf of all its members. If such conditions are not fulfilled, the indefinite pronominal affix will be employed instead⁶⁴.

The 1st person plural objective "us" is expressed by the prefix, *un-*.

Ex. 346. *Pon katkemat ka huci ka cep e rusuy na, cep sanke wa un ere*
1 2 3 4 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
yan!
14

(1: be small, 2: lady, 3: both... and, 4: old woman, 5: fish, 6: eat, 7: desiderative mood, 8: consequential conjunctivalizer, "so", 9: fish, 10: take out, 11: and, 12: us, 13: serve (< "make eat", causative), 14: imperative sentence final)

"Both the young lady and I (old woman) want to eat fish, so take out the fish and serve it to us!"

- Ex. 347. *Tooka payeka p "Nep tookaype ki ruwe ta an?" ari yaynu kane*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 7 8 9 10
un sikerayka.
 11 12

(1: those, 2: pass by, 3: nominalizer, "persons", 4: what, 5: those persons (< *tooka pe*), 6: do, 7: interrogative sentence final, 8: quotationizer, 9: think, 10: contemporal conjunctivalizer, 11: us, 12: stare at)

"Those passers-by stare at us and think, "What are those persons doing?""

Un- also belongs to the colloquial and is affected by the same restrictions which apply to *ci-*.

14.10.2. The 2nd Person

Both the nominative and the objective case of the 2nd person singular "you" are expressed by the prefix *e-*.

- Ex. 348. *Topenpe poronno an na, e e rusuy cik, e!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: sweets, 2: a lot, 3: be, 4: so, 5: you, 6: eat, 7: desiderative mood, 8: if, 9: eat)

"There are lots of sweets, so if you wish to eat, eat!"

- Ex. 349. *E cisebe un hetak hosipi wa oman!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6

(1: you, 2: 's house, 3: allative case, 4: now, well, 5: return, 6: mode of action denoting direction away from the speaker)

"Now, go back to your home!"

Ex. 350. *Cep e kore?*
1 2 3

(1: fish, 2: you, 3: give to)

"Did he give you the fish?"

In the plural the nominative and the objective case of the 2nd person are also identical. Both are expressed by the prefix *eci-*. This morpheme may be analyzed as consisting of the singular 2nd person affix *e*, to which is added /*ci*/. This /*ci*/ in turn may be identical with the 1st person plural nominative (see 14.10.1 and 14.10.7).

Ex. 351. *Nep eci e ya?*
1 2 3 4

(1: what, 2: you, 3: eat, 4: interrogative sentence final)

"What did you eat?"

Ex. 352. *Tun eci ne wa, bempara eci hosippa kusu ki ruwe ta an?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 9

(1: two persons, 2: you, 3: be, 4: and (1-4 > "the two of you"), 5: when, 6: you, 7: return, 8: intentional mood, 9: interrogative sentence final)

"When do the two of you intend to go home?"

Ex. 353. *Taanpe eci kore an na, uk!*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: this thing, 2: you, 3: give to, 4: I, 5: so, 6: receive)

"I give this to you, so take it!"

Ex. 354. *Eci tura wa ku apkas nukuri.*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: you, 2: follow, 3: and, 4: I, 5: walk, 6: not have the strength to do)

"I cannot follow you (because you walk too fast)."

14.10.3. Polite 2nd Person

In descriptions of other dialects an affix for the polite 2nd person is generally

listed (Tamura: 1970a: 9ff, 1970b: 589ff; Chiri: (1936) 1974: 62ff), but morphologically this affix is identical to that of the indefinite person. In the Shizunai dialect, persons towards whom the speaker wishes to show respect are rarely addressed with a pronominal affix. Rather, a noun designating the status of the person is used.

Ex. 355. *Pase acapo kewtum anakne pirka hi ku eramuan rawe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9

(1: precious, 2: uncle, 3: heart, 4: restrictive postposition marking topic
 5: be fine, 6: nominalizer, 7: I, 8: understand, know, 9: assertive sentence final)

"I do know that your heart is good, precious uncle."

When one wishes to use a pronominal affix for the 2nd person and to show respect at the same time, the indefinite pronominal affix must be used. This reflects only one of the semantic nuances of the indefinite pronominal affix, and this analysis – in contrast to the descriptions of other dialects as mentioned above – does not establish separate categories for the various specific uses of the pronominal affixes for the indefinite person; all these uses are treated under one heading. Since this affix may be assumed to have a common etymology with the verb of existence *an*, the meaning of "indefinite person" will be taken as the root meaning in the presentation below.

Expressions of respect in Ainu are as a whole created by what one might call "fudging the agent", i.e. leaving it unclear who is the perpetrator of an action (either through the plural form of the verb (see 13.7), or by the use of the indefinite pronominal affix). A taboo against direct mention of superiors may well be the origin of this phenomenon.

14.10.4. The Indefinite Person

The basic meaning of the indefinite person has to do with an unknown executor of an action ("somebody did...") or with people in general (German: "man"; French: "on"). Both of these meanings may be covered by the indefinite pronominal affix in Ainu, and this affix also covers the function of the passive voice.

The morpheme designating the indefinite person is *an-* (in some cases *a-*) when attached to transitive verbs, the copula, or nouns in the belonging form. With intransitive verbs the suffix *-an* is used. The objective case is

expressed by the prefix *i-*, which is identical to the verb prefix *i-*, indicating somebody or something as the object of the verb to which it is prefixed. The meaning and function of this prefix is explained in the chapter on verb prefixes (see 14.7.2), so it will not be elaborated upon in this connection.

The etymology of *an-/an-*, and probably of *a-* as well, overlaps with that of the existential verb *an*. Bearing this in mind will facilitate a clear comprehension of the meaning, extent and function of the indefinite person as someone who "is" – i.e. "a being", "a presence".

Attaching several meaning distinctions to a single morpheme calls for caution. Such distinctions may appear clear to a bilingual speaker or to a foreigner who is learning or investigating the language in question, but since there is only one morpheme, the monolingual speaker hardly experiences any clear "meaning distinctions", but rather a broad, and perhaps vaguely defined "meaning area" of the particular morpheme. Thus, when the following separate meanings are established for the morphemes $\langle an, a \rangle$, they should be seen as different translation possibilities according to context, and not as a description of a linguistic reality to native speakers of the Ainu language.

The following interpretations of *a-*, *an-*, and *-an* are possible:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|----------------|
| a. | Indefinite person (sing./plur.) | (French: "on") |
| b. | 1st person singular | ("I") |
| c. | 1st person plural | ("we") |
| d. | 1st person in folk tales | ("I/we") |
| e. | 2nd person honorific | ("You") |
| f. | Passive marker | |

Below examples are given for each interpretation:

a. Indefinite Person

Ex. 356. *An omap pon menoko ne ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6

(1: indefinite person, 2: love, 3: be young, 4: woman, 5: copula, 6: assertive sentence final)

"She is a young woman whom people like (a popular young woman)."

Ex. 357. *Okkay nispa utar anak iku konno, ipe etoranne korka, homo iku p*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

ne anak sine to ta re suy ranke ipe an, somo ki yak anak, sompay
 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

ka a eaykap rawe ne.
 28 29 28 30 30

(1: man, 2: gentleman, 3: plural suffix, 4: restrictive postposition marking topic, 5: drink alcohol, 6: when, 7: take meals, 8: not bother to do, 9: but, 10: not (< *somo*), 11: drink alcohol, 12: nominalizer, here denoting person, 13: copula, 14: restrictive postposition marking contrast, 15: one, 16: day, 17: locative (temporal) case, 18: three, 19: times, 20: restrictive postposition, distributive meaning, 21: take meals, 22: indefinite person, 23: not, 24: do, 25: if, 26: restrictive postposition marking emphasis, 27: work, 28: negative potential, 29: indefinite person, 30: assertive sentence final)

"As for men and gentlemen, when they drink alcohol they do not bother about meals, but being a tectotaler, one will eat three times a day, otherwise one cannot work, you see."

b. 1st Person Singular

Ex. 358. *Taanta topenpe ka oka na, an e rusuy.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: here, 2: sweets, 3: restrictive postposition of inclusion, 4: be, 5: consequential conjunctivalizer, 6: indefinite person used for the 1st person singular, 7: eat, 8: desiderative mood)

"There are also sweets here, so I feel like eating them."

Ex. 359. *Topenpe ne yakka, nep a e yakka, pirkano a kuykuy wa a ruki,*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
rekut piye otta ahunbun bi pirka.
 12 13 14 15 16 17

(1: sweets, 2: copula, 3: even though, 4: what, 5: indefinite person used for the 1st person sg., 6: eat, 7: even though, 8: well (< *pirka*, "be good"), 9: chew, 10: and, 11: swallow, 12: throat, 13: 's hole, 14: into, 15: enter, 16: nominalizer, 17: be fine)

"Whether it be sweets or whether it be anything else I eat, I chew it well and swallow; things that will enter the hole of my throat are all right."

c. 1st Person Plural

Ex. 360. *Emkota aynu payeka etok ta payeka an wa, inkar an pe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 3 6 7 8 6 9 9

(1: quickly, 2: people, 3: pass by, 4: before, 5: locative (temporal) case, 6: indefinite person used for the 1st person plural, 7: and, 8: look, 9: assertive sentence final)

"We must go by there quickly and look before other people pass by."

Ex. 361. *Hetak topenpe taa an na, a e na!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7-8

(1: well, 2: sweets, 3: like this, 4: be, 5: so, 6: indefinite person used for the 1st person pl., 7: eat, 8: assertive sentence final, here: hortative)

"Well, there are sweets as you see, so let us eat them!"

(See also Ex. 341.)

d. 1st Person in Folk Tales

The following two examples are from the folk tale *Unma*, "The Horse". Ex. 362 shows the indefinite person used for the 1st person singular, while Ex. 363 shows it used for the 1st person plural.

Ex. 362. *Sino nispa an ne hine oka an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 3

(1: real, 2: gentleman, 3: indefinite person used for the 1st person singular in a folk tale, 4: copula, 5: and, 6: exist)

"I was living as a real gentleman.."

Ex. 363. *Tane pakno utaspa uyaykotuaskarap an kane oka an hike, iramkitta
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6 5 7 8
 kamuy ne...
 9 10*

(1: now, 2: until 3: mutually, 4: help each other lovingly, live in loving cooperation, 5: indefinite person used for the 1st person plural in a folk tale, 6: uncompleted aspect, 7: although, 8: be preposterous, 9: god, 10: copula)

"Despite the fact that we (= my husband and I) have been living in mutual, loving cooperation, such a preposterous god (suddenly appears...)"

c. 2nd Person Honorific

Ex. 364. *An nu no oka, ne ku ye hawe ne na, eramuan a kor katkemat.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8 9 10 11 12 13

(1: indefinite person used for the 2nd person honorific, 2: ask, 3-4: imperfective aspect (= *wa oka*), 5: thus, 6: I, 7: say, 8: assertive sentence final, 9: consequential conjunctivalizer, 10: understand, 11: I, 12: attributive postposition, 13: lady)

"(As) you are asking, thus I speak, so please understand that, my dear girl."

f. Passive Marker

Ex. 365. *A kor mici topattumi a tuye wa isam.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: father, 4: war, 5: instrumental case, 6: indefinite person creating a passive construction, 7: kill, 8: perfective aspect)

"My father was killed in the war."

Ex. 366. *Ku mi a mi p wen.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: I, 2: wear, 3: indefinite person creating a passive construction, 4: wear, 5: nominalizer, 6: be bad)

"The clothes (lit.: "things worn") which I wear are bad."

14.10.5. Nominative-Objective Affixation

When two pronominal affixes are combined and affixed to a single verb, we speak of nominative-objective affixation. Diagram 6 shows the possible combination forms in the Shizunai dialect:

Diagram 6. Nominative-objective combined forms in the Shizunai dialect.

Objective		1st person		2nd person	
Nominative		sing.	plur.	sing.	plur.
1st person	sing.			<i>an-e-</i>	<i>eci...-an</i> <i>an-eci-</i>
	plur.			<i>an-e-</i>	<i>an-eci-</i>
2nd person	sing.	<i>e-en-</i>	<i>e-an-</i>		
	plur.	<i>eci-en-</i>	<i>eci-an-</i>		
Indefinite person		<i>a-en-</i>	<i>a-an-</i>	<i>an-e-</i>	<i>an-eci-</i>

In the combined forms the 1st person nominative is always realized as *a-* or *an-*, i.e. as the indefinite pronominal affix. It is a general feature in this dialect that the nominative affix comes before the objective affix, and both affixes are prefixed to the verb. The one exception to this is the 1st person singular nominative in combination with the 2nd person plural objective, where in some cases the form

eci (obj.) + verb + *an* (nom.)

is found. No definite pattern can be seen for the preference of this form to the alternative,

an eci (verb)

In the Saru dialect all the nominative-objective forms are prefixed (Tamura: 1970b: 594), while the Ishikari dialect has prefixed forms as well as forms with the objective affix in front of the verb, and the nominative affix suffixed to the verb (Tamura: 1970a: 12; Asai: 1969: 779)⁶⁷.

Examples are given below for each of the combined forms.

a. 2nd person sing. nom. / 1st person sing. obj.

Ex. 367. *Nepkus nepka ku ye ka somo ki hike, e en kik...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: why, 2: anything, 3: I, 4: say, 5: assertive mood, 6: not, 7: although, 8: you, 9: me, 10: hit)

"Why do you hit me when I am not even saying anything?"

b. 2nd person sing. nom. / 1st person plur. obj.

Ex. 368. *E un nukar a.*
1 2 3 4

(1: you, 2: us, 3: see, 4: durative mode of action)

"You are looking at us."

c. 2nd person plur. nom. / 1st person sing. obj.

Ex. 369. *Numan eci en nukar ya?*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: yesterday, 2: you (plur.), 3: me, 4: see, 5: interrogative sentence final)

"Did you see me yesterday?"

d. 2nd person plur. nom. / 1st person plur. obj.

Ex. 370. *Atai kor cep eci se wa eci un kore. Iyayrayke an.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: value, 2: attributive postposition (< kor, "have"), 3: fish, 4: you (plur.), 5: bring, 6: and, 7: you (plur.), 8: us, 9: give, 10: be grateful, 11: we)

"You brought a fine fish and you gave it to us. Thank you."

e. 1st person sing. nom. / 2nd person sing. obj.

Ex. 371. *Ku ye ruscy pe an korka, naa e pewre wa an e nure ka eaykap.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

(1: I, 2: say, 3: desiderative mood, 4: nominalizer, 5: be, 6: but, 7: still, 8: you, 9: be young, 10: and, 11: I, 12: you, 13: tell, 14: restrictive postposition, 15: cannot)

"There is something I wish to say, but you are still too young, and I cannot tell you."

f. 1st person sing. nom. / 2nd person plur. obj.

Ex. 372. *Eci en kik yak anak, eci pakasnu an na.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: you (plur.), 2: me, 3: hit, 4: if, 5: restrictive postposition marking emphasis, 6: you (plur. obj.), 7: punish, 8: I, 9: assertive sentence final)

"If you hit me, I shall punish you!"

According to my informant, *an eci pakasnu* is also possible without a resulting change in meaning.

Ex. 373. *Nepka an kar pe an cik, ye yan! An kar wa, an eci kore na.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

(1: anything, 2: I, 3: make, 4: nominalizer, 5: be, 6: if, 7: say, 8: imperative sentence final, 9: I, 10: make, 11: and, 12: I, 13: you (plur.), 14: give, 15: assertive sentence final)

"If there is anything I can make for you, say so! I will make it, and I will give it to you."

g. 1st person plur. nom. / 2nd person sing. obj.

Ex. 374. *Tane pakno an e resu ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6

(1: now, 2: until, 3: we, 4: you, 5: bring up, 6: assertive sentence final)

"Until now we have raised you."

h. 1st person plur. nom. / 2nd person plur. obj.

Ex. 375. *Tim an ne wa an eci resu wa an eci nunukar a.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: two persons, 2: we, 3: copula, 4: and, 5: we, 6: you (plur.), 7: bring up, 8: and, 9: we, 10: you (plur.), 11: look after, 12: durative mode of action)

"The two of us (we) have brought you up, and we have been looking after you."

Since the indefinite pronominal affix is used for the 1st person singular as well as plural in nominative-objective affixation, the distinction must be made on the basis of context. When used with a verb which distinguishes a singular and a plural form, this ought to be simple, but actually *an-*, and *-an* are always used with the plural form of verbs when possible. This points to the indefinite person as a plural concept.

14.10.6. Nominative-Objective Affixation with the Indefinite Person

Combination forms containing the indefinite pronominal affix in the nominative form and the 2nd person in the objective form are identical with the forms which we translate as the 1st person nominative combined with the 2nd person objective. The following examples show instances where a 1st person interpretation of the indefinite pronominal affix would not be appropriate. Instead the constructions must be interpreted as passive forms with an indefinite agent.

Ex. 376. *E toranne yak anakne, an e koiruska na.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: you, 2: idle, 3: if, 4: restrictive postposition marking emphasis, 5: indefinite person marking the passive, 6: you, 7: scold, 8: assertive sentence final)

"If you idle, you will be scolded (by someone)."

Ex. 377. *Monaa yan! Eci irara yakun, keraan cep somo an eci*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ere na.
11 12

(1: sit, 2: imperative sentence final, 3: you (plur.) 4: be naughty, 5: if, 6: be delicious, 7: fish, 8: not, 9: indefinite person marking the passive, 10: you (plur.), 11: serve, 12: assertive sentence final)

"Sit down! If you misbehave, you will not be served any of the delicious fish."

Languages like English and Japanese, which do not have an indefinite per-

sonal pronoun, will often use passive constructions to convey that the agent behind the action is non-specific. In contrast to this, Ainu uses the indefinite pronominal affix as the only means of expressing the passive voice – even when the agent is specific and overt (see also 14.5.3 and Ex. 207).

Ex. 378. *Nenka orwa an eci kikkik wa ...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: somebody, 2: from/by (marks the agent), 3: indefinite person marking the passive, 4: you (plur.), 5: hit repeatedly, 6: and)

"Were you beaten up by somebody and ...?"

Ex. 379. *Ekasi orwa an ikoirnska.*
 1 2 3 4

(1: grandfather/old man, 2: marks the agent, 3: indefinite person marking the passive, 4: scold somebody)

"They were scolded by the old man."

When the 1st person objective occurs with the indefinite person nominative, we get the forms *a en* (singular) and *a un* (plural) to denote that a non-specific agent causes something to happen to the 1st person. Again a translation involving the passive will often result⁶⁸.

Ex. 380. *A en nukar ku etoranne.*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: indefinite person, 2: me, 3: see, 4: I, 5: be tired of)

"I am tired of being looked at (somebody looking at me)."

Ex. 381. *A un sikerayka.*
 1 2 3

(1: indefinite person, 2: us, 3: stare at)

"People stare at us."

14.10.7. Pronominal Affixes Reduced

When the indefinite pronominal affix is regarded as an extended use of the

existential verb, one is left with rather few genuine person markers in Ainu. In the singular there are *ku-* (1st person) and *e-* (2nd person)⁶⁹. In the plural there is *ci-*, and this *ci* may be what is repeated in the 2nd person plural as well, *eci-* (*e + ci*). *Ci* may in fact have a general plural meaning; an assumption which finds support in the fact that in the Raychishka dialect of Sakhalin we find a verb suffix *-bci*, which is a marker for the 3rd person plural (Murasaki: 1978: 16). A connection to *ci-* and *eci-* seems possible. Finally, in the plural we have *-as* (1st person), which is used with intransitive verbs. The origins of this *-as* are not clear.

Thus we are left with a rather more simple and rudimentary system of person marking in Ainu than has been suggested in previous descriptions. Leaving out the indefinite person, the diagram of pronominal affixes may be reduced to the following very simple one:

Diagram 7. Ainu pronominal affixes (reduced).

	Nominative	Objective
1st person sing.	<i>ku-</i>	<i>en-</i>
1st person plur.	<i>ci-</i> / <i>-as</i>	<i>un-</i>
2nd person sing.		<i>e-</i>
2nd person plur.		<i>eci-</i>

14.11. Sentence Final Forms

There are only four "genuine" sentence final suffixes in the Shizunai dialect⁷⁰ – namely the imperative *yan*, the assertive/necessative/hortative *na*, the interrogative/dubitative *ya*, and the affective *wa*. All four are modal in content; they follow full sentences to which nothing more may be added, and modify the meaning of these sentences according to the speaker's attitude.

Yan has already been described in section 14.9.4.1 and will not receive further attention here. Two uses of *na*, the necessative with *nankor* and the hortative, were described in sections 14.9.4.2 and 14.9.4.3 respectively, so only the assertive meaning of *na* will be touched upon here.

Ya and *na* (and to some extent *wa*) actually only rarely follow directly upon the main predicate of the sentence which they modify; they are frequently preceded by a nominalization (consisting of a nominalizer followed by the copula or a verb expressing location or existence). In some cases the sentence final suffix is even dropped, so that the nominalization alone func-

tions as sentence final. In these cases, however, there are examples of the whole sentence being further exposed to conjunctionalization (e.g. Ex. 75 and Ex. 131), or nominalization (Ex. 464), thus eliminating the sentence final function and retaining only the modal content.

14.11.1. Interrogative Sentence Final Forms

The interrogative sentence final suffix *ya* is often pronounced [a] after consonants. It may indicate a direct question, or simply doubt about the statement made⁷¹. When a sentence contains an interrogative pronoun, *ya* is optional.

Ex. 382. *Naman ekasi nep kar ya?*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: yesterday, 2: grandfather/old man, 3: what, 4: do, 5: interrogative sentence final)

"What did the old man do yesterday?"

Ya, is rarely used alone, however, but almost always preceded by various nominalizations. Below are listed the various sentence final nominalization forms which (with or without *ya*) indicate that the sentence is interrogative:

Sentence + <i>ruwe</i>	{ <i>ne ya</i> <i>ta an (ya)</i> <i>tap an</i> <i>enta an ya</i> <i>ene an bi an</i>
Sentence + <i>siri</i>	{ <i>ne ya</i> <i>ta an</i> <i>an/oka</i> <i>enta an ya</i> <i>ene an bi an</i>
Sentence + <i>hawe</i>	{ <i>ne ya</i> <i>ta an</i> <i>enta an ya</i>

Sentence + *pe*

{ *ne ya*
enta an ya

Ruwe, *siri*, *hawē*, and *pe* are nominalizers (see also 14.13). *Ruwe* and *pe* are neutral in meaning ("dummies"), but while *ruwe* may only refer to abstract matters, *pe* may in other contexts refer to concrete things or (impolitely) to persons as well. *Siri* originally means "appearance", and may thus only refer to something which may be seen, and *hawē* also exists as a true noun meaning "voice", so that as a nominalizer it may only refer to something heard or said. The choice of nominalizer in the sentence final form is thus determined by the semantic content of the verb being nominalized. Below, one example is given for each form.

Ruwe ne ya

Here *ya* is obligatory, since the form without *ya* has an assertive meaning (see 14.11.2). *Ne* is the copula.

Ex. 383. *Nep cikap ne ruwe ne ya?*
1 2 3 4

(1: what, 2: bird, 3: copula, 4: interrogative sentence final)

"I wonder what kind of bird it is?"

Ruwe ta an (ya)

Generally *ya* is dropped after *ruwe ta an*, but there are a few examples with *ya* intact. *An* is the existential or locative verb, and *ta* is probably connected with the allative case postposition (see 14.3.5.), which may in turn be connected with the proximal demonstrative root morpheme (see 12.3.3).

Ex. 384. *Ekasi soy ta soyene wa, nep kar ruwe ta an ya, buci?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: grandfather/old man, 2: outside, 3: allative case, 4: go out, 5: and, 6: what, 7: do, 8: interrogative sentence final, 9: grandmother/old woman)

"Grandfather went outside, what is he going to do, grandmother?"

Ex. 385. *Nepkus e as ruwe ta an? Enonka e oman kusu ki siri enta an ya?*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8 9 9 9 9

(1: why, 2: you, 3: stand, 4: interrogative sentence final, 5: to somewhere, 6: you, 7: go, 8: intentional mood, 9: interrogative sentence final)

"Why do you stand up? Are you going to go somewhere?"

Ruwe tap an

This form is only found in stories, and even there it is not frequent. It appears to be a polite version of *ta an*²².

Ex. 386. *Nehe okkaypo, aynu ne ruwe tap an? Kamuy ne ruwe tap an? A erampetek.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 4 5 7
 8

(1: this, 2: young man, 3: human being, 4: copula, 5: interrogative sentence final, 6: god, 7: I, 8: not know)

"I did not know whether this young man was a human being or a god."

Ruwe enta an ya

This form never drops the interrogative suffix *ya*, and *ya* is always pronounced as [a] here. The *en* of *enta* may have some connection with the adverb *ene*, "in this way", and with the anaphoric demonstrative *ne* (see 12.3.2).

Ex. 387. *Ruyanpe as ruwe enta an ya?*
 1 2 3

(1: rain, 2: fall, 3: interrogative sentence final)

"Is it raining?"

Ruwe ene an bi an

Ene is an adverb meaning "in this way"; *an* is the existential/locative verb,

and *bi* is a nominalizer used when referring to abstract matters. The [b]of *bi* is usually dropped in all but very slow speech.

Ex. 388. *Nekon e iki wa e tekehe e tuye a e tuye a ruwe ene an bi an?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 7 8 9 10

(1: how, 2: you, 3: act, 4: and, 5: you, 6: 's hands, 7: you, 8: cut, 9: iterative mode of action, 10: interrogative sentence final)

"How do you manage to keep cutting your hands over and over again?"

Siri ne ya

Ex. 389. *Toon reyep nepkus cas siri ne ya?*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: that, 2: derogatory term for "dog"; cur, 3: why, 4: run, 5: interrogative sentence final)

"I wonder why that cur is running?"

Siri ta an

Ex. 390. *Nep e nuye siri ta an?*
1 2 3 4

(1: what, 2: you, 3: write, 4: interrogative sentence final)

"What are you writing?"

Siri an/oka

Ex. 391. *Nep kar kusu too payeka siri oka?*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: what, 2: do, 3: in order to, 4: thus, 5: pass by, 6: interrogative sentence final)

"For what purpose are they thus passing by?"

Siri enta an ya

Ex. 392. *Ape sam ta e nisapi e sesekka kusu e abun siri enta an ya?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: fireplace, 2: side, 3: locative postposition, 4: you, 5: 's shin, 6: you, 7: heat up, 8: in order to, 9: you, 10: enter, 11: interrogative sentence final)

"It appears that you have come in in order to heat your shins by the fire?"

Siri ene an hi an

Ex. 393. (Nepkus...) *cip oske an omare wa an tura siri ene an hi an? Sonno*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
iramkitta!
11

(1: why, 2: ship, 3: inside, 4: indefinite person marking the passive, 5: make go, 6: and, 7: indefinite person marking the passive, 8: take along, 9: interrogative sentence final, 10: really, 11: outrageous)

"What made them force her (lit.: "why was she made to go?") inside the ship and take her along? It is really outrageous!"

Hawe ne ya

Ex. 394. *Nep kamuy ne hawe ne ya?*
1 2 3 4

(1: what, 2: god, 3: copula, 4: interrogative sentence final about something said)

"What kind of gods do you purport to be?"

Hawe ta an

Ex. 395. *Nep e paymoysak wa e soyene kusu e ye hawe ta an?*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: what, 2: you, 3: be in a hurry, 4: and, 5: you, 6: go out, 7: in order to, 8: you, 9: say, 10: interrogative sentence final)

"To what purpose do you say that you are going out in such a hurry?"

Hawe enta an ya

Ex. 396. *Anpe e ye ha^we enta an ya?*
1 2 3 4

(1: truth (lit.: "exist-thing"), 2: you, 3: say, 4: interrogative sentence final)

"Are you telling the truth?"

Pe ne ya

Ex. 397. *Onon' ek' pe ne ya?*
1 2 3

(1: from where, 2: come, 3: interrogative sentence final)

"Where did he come from?"

Pe enta an ya

Ex. 398. *Ikupa p' enta an ya?*
1 2

(1: bite somebody, 2: interrogative/dubitative sentence final ($p < pe$, e is dropped after vowel final verbs))

"It might bite somebody."

14.11.2. Assertive Sentence Final Forms

Na is a gregarious morpheme. It has a broad spectre of meanings, and it may be used between sentences as well as in sentence final position. *Na* as a conjunctivalizer is described in section 14.12.4, and as a sentence final suffix *na* is basically assertive, although it may in some cases carry a hortative (14.9.4.3) or a necessative/light imperative meaning (14.9.4.2). The assertive meaning can be carried by *na* alone, but very often *na* is preceded by one of the nominalizers, *ruwe*, *ha^we*, or *siri*, and the copula *ne*.

Na

Ex. 399. *Sinki an kasp^a kisu, siri an rusuy na.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: be tired, 2: I, 3: excessive mode of action, 4: consequential conjunctivalizer, 5: rest, 6: I, 7: desiderative mood, 8: assertive sentence final)

"I am too tired, so I really want to rest."

Ex. 400. *E sini yakku pirka. Sinenne paye an na.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: you, 2: rest, 3: even though, 4: be fine, 5: alone, 6: go, 7: I, 8: assertive sentence final)

"It is O.K. that you rest. I shall go alone."

Ruwe ne na

Ex. 401. *An e tura kusu ki ruwe ne na.*
1 2 3 4 4 5

(1: I, 2: you, 3: take along, 4: intentional mood, 5: assertive sentence final)

"I intend to take you along, you see."

Hawe ne na

Ex. 402. *Ne ku ye hawe ne na.*
1 2 3 4

(1: in this way, 2: I, 3: speak, 4: assertive sentence final)

"I speak like this, you see."

Siri ne na

Ex. 403. *Wen kamuy tura wa ek wa, taa yaykare siri ne na.*
1 2 3 4 4 5 6 7 8

(1: be bad, 2: god, 3: take along, 4: mode of action indicating direction, 5: and, 6: in this way, 7: transform, 8: assertive sentence final)

"The evil god brought them here and transformed them like this (i.e. into horses), you see."

Often *na* is left out so that the nominalization alone marks the assertive mood. In other words, a whole sentence is nominalized and established as a complement for the copula, so that a new sentence is formed. Thus the

original sentence may be said to have been subjected to an extra evaluation which asserts its factualness or truthfulness. This construction is very similar to the Japanese *n(o) desu/da* constructions, and the frequency of these nominalized assertions in both languages might be an argument in favour of their affinity. However, the centuries of close contact and bilingualism on the part of the Ainu speakers might also account for the similarity. The possibility of a syntactic loan (or the strengthening of an otherwise not very prominent feature) cannot be excluded.

Examples of assertive sentence final forms without *na* are given below.

Ruwe ne

In my material this form and the form with *na*, *ruwe ne na*, are by far the most widely used expressions of the assertive mood.

Ex. 404. *A utari patek oka ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: we, 2: friend/relative (belonging form), 3: only, 4: be, 5: assertive sentence final)

"Only our friends are present."

Ex. 405. *Wen kamuy ne ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4

(1: be bad, 2: god, 3: copula, 4: assertive sentence final)

"It is really an evil god."

Hawe ne

Ex. 406. *Ku eikotupa kusu, ku ye hawe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: I, 2: thereby be envious, 3: because, 4: I, 5: say, 6: assertive sentence final)

"It is because I am envious that I say it."

Pe ne

Ex. 407. *Patek an eikoitupa p po ne wa oka an pe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 8 9

(1: only, 2: we, 3: thereby be envious/lack, 4: nominalizer (<pe>, 5: child, 6: copula, 7: imperfective aspect, 8: we, 9: assertive sentence final)

"The only thing we were lacking was children."

Ruwe esta an ne

There is still another sentence final form containing the nominalizer, *ruwe*, namely *ruwe esta an ne*. The origin of the element <es> is not clear.

Ex. 408. ... *episkan un inkar an ayne, hosippa an ruwe esta an ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: all directions, 2: allative case postposition, 3: look, 4: we, 5: and then, 6: return, 7: we, 8: assertive sentence final)

"We looked in all directions, and then we came back, you see."

Ruwe esta an ne is very often used in answers to direct questions, and in short answers containing the copula as the main verb *ruwe* may be dropped. Similarly, when the questions asked with *ruwe esta an ya* (see 14.11.1) are short, the *ruwe* may be dropped if the copula is the main verb. In these short questions and answers, *enta an ya* and *esta an ne* take over the function of both the copula and the sentence final form. *Enta an ya* may thus be regarded as a sort of "interrogative copula", and *esta an ne* as the corresponding "assertive copula".

Ex. 409. *E poho enta an ya? Ku poho esta an ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: you, 2: 's son, 3: interrogative, 4: I, 5: 's son, 6: assertive)

"Is it your son? Yes, it is my son."

14.11.3. Affective Sentence Final Forms

The suffix *wa*, adds emotion to the utterance in such a way that it softens the expression and makes it more intimate. It can thus also be added to assertive forms to make them less abrasive.

Ex. 410. *Pirka wa.*
1 2

(1: be fine, 2: affective sentence final)

"Well, that's fine."

Ex. 411. *Ek nankor wa.*
1 2 3

(1: come, 2: dubitative mood, 3: affective sentence final)

"She'll come, you'll see."

Ex. 412. *An omap pon menoko ne ruwe ne wa.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 6 7

(1: indefinite person marking the passive, 2: love/like, 3: be young, 4: woman, 5: copula, 6: assertive sentence final, 7: affective sentence final)

"Oh, she is really a well-liked young woman."

14.12. *Conjunctionalizers*

For Ainu, as well as for Japanese, a distinction must be made between *conjunctions* and what I have here termed *conjunctionalizers*. Conjunctions are free forms which begin a sentence or a clause by semantically connecting it to a preceding – spoken or implied – sentence. Conjunctions may thus follow upon sentence final suffixes or long pauses, and they may also initiate a new utterance made by a second speaker in response to a statement made by the first speaker (see also 12.6.1).

Conjunctionalizers, on the other hand, are bound forms, which are modified by a sentence. This sentence then becomes embedded as an adjunct to a new predicate, to which it will usually be adverbially related (cf. 15.6). Intonation attaches the conjunctionalizer closely to the verb expression concluding the conjunctionalized sentence, so that the conjunctionalizer precedes the pause between the two sentences being joined. Occasionally in the spoken language – and of course, strictly speaking, Ainu has only spoken language – a pause may occur between the verb expression and the conjunctionalizer, so that the conjunctionalizer will seem to begin the following sentence. Its function then resembles that of the conjunctions, but it is by no means a frequent phenomenon, and it should properly be regarded as the

speaker making a delayed decision to continue the sentence instead of ending it.

There are less than twenty different conjunctivalizers in the Shizunai dialect, and they may be subdivided by semantic criteria into the following seven groups:

1. Coordinative conjunctivalizers
2. Sequential conjunctivalizers
3. Contemporaneous conjunctivalizers
4. Consequential conjunctivalizers
5. Concessive conjunctivalizers
6. Conditional conjunctivalizers
7. Adversative conjunctivalizers

14.12.1. *Coordinative Conjunctivalizers*

The coordinative conjunctivalizers mainly function to juxtapose two predicates without stressing any particular relationship between them. The first sentence is merely an extension of or addition to the second. However, occasionally their semantic range goes beyond the mere enumeration of sentences, so that they overlap in meaning with the sequential, consequential, or even the concessive or adversative conjunctivalizers.

The morphemes in this group are: *wa*, *no*, *hine*, *hike*, and *ranke*.

Wa

Wa is the most frequent of the coordinative conjunctivalizers, and it is found in all dialects of Ainu with more or less the same meaning and function. *Wa* usually connects two actions, states, or events by just enumerating them without stressing one over the other.

Ex. 413. *Kesto-an-konno i kasuy wa i tura wa ekimne...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: every day, 2: me, 3: help, 4: and, 5: me, 6: join, 7: and, 8: hunt)

"Every day he helped me and joined me in hunting..."

Sometimes a slight temporal relationship may be indicated, i.e. the conjunctivalized sentence happens before the sentence with the final predicate.

Ex. 414. *Ponno rurifi ci kar wa ci e.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: a little, 2: (fish)broth (lit.: "soup of something"), 3: we, 4: make, 5: and(then), 6: we, 7: eat)

"We prepared a little fish broth and ate it."

The conjunctionalized sentence may appear as a prerequisite for the following sentence; it describes the circumstances under which the action, event, or state expressed in the final predicate is realized.

Ex. 415. *Onne huci hawki bi ku oyra ka somo ki wa ku ye hawe ne.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 7 9 10 11 12 12

(1: be old, 2: grandmother, 3: say, 4: nominalizer, 5: I, 6: forget, 7: assertive mood, 8: not, 9: and (thus), 10: I, 11: say, 12: assertive sentence final)

"Never forgetting the things my old grandmother told me, I say them."

When the predicate of the conjunctionalized sentence is the copula *ne*, this may together with *wa* form an expression which functions as an emphatic definition of the subject (or occasionally the object) of the final predicate.

Ex. 416. *Sino nispa an ne wa ekimne an wa, kamuy bene yuk bene a rura*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 10 12 13
wa...
14

(1: real, 2: prosperous man, 3: I, 4: copula, 5: and, 6: hunt, 7: I, 8: and, 9: bear, 10: both ... and ..., 11: deer, 12: I, 13: bring home, 14: and)

"Being a really prosperous man, I hunted and brought home both bear and deer, and ..."

With numerical expressions this construction is very common (see also 12.4.5).

Ex. 417. *Tin an ne wa soyenpa an.*
1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: two persons, 2: we, 3: copula, 4: and, 5: go out, 6: we)

"The two of us went out."

In all cases where *wa* is used, a very close connection between the conjunctive sentence and the final predicate is indicated. The impression of closeness is reinforced by the fact that in about 90 % of the examples in my material the predicates joined by *wa* have the same subject.

An allomorph of *wa* is found after predicates with a final *-n* or *-m*. In this position *wa* becomes [*ma*].

Wa is the conjunctive particle most frequently used in analytically constructed auxiliaries (the perfective aspect (14.9.2.1), the imperfective aspect (14.9.2.2), the completed aspect (14.9.2.3), and the directional mode of action (14.9.3.6)).

No

A sentence conjunctive with *no* describes the circumstances under which the following sentence is realised. As noted above, *wa*, too, may have this function, but while *wa* mainly follows predicates in the affirmative, *no* generally follows negated predicates and stative verbs.

Ex. 418. *Iteke ukoyki no tup ne ukosaraye yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: don't, 2: quarrel, 3: and, 4: two things, 5: mutative case postposition, 6: share, 7: imperative sentence final suffix)

"Divide it in two and share it **without** quarrelling!"

No may also attach to stative verbs to form adverbial adjuncts which express the circumstances under which something is done or takes place (see also 12.6.3.1).

Ex. 419. *Pirka no kuykuy wa e!*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: be good, 2: adverbializer, 3: chew, 4: and, 5: eat)

"Chew it **well** and eat it!"

Occasionally *no* may replace *wa* in the analytically constructed auxiliary for the imperfective aspect, *no an/oka*.

Ex. 420. *Toon pon menoko an omap no an hike ...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: that, 2: be young, 3: woman, 4: indefinite person marking the passive, 5: like/love, 6: imperfective aspect, 7: but)

"That young woman is **being** very lovable, but..."

No is found in the Saru and Raychishka dialects as well, with more or less the same applications (Tamura: 1972b: 159ff; Murasaki: 1979: 140).

Hine

The functions of *hine* are very close to those of *wa*; i.e. enumeration of events, sometimes with the temporal implication that the conjunctionalized sentence happens before the following one, or with the implication that the conjunctionalized sentence expresses the circumstances under which the following sentence is realized. However, *wa* establishes a closer connection than *hine* between two predicates, and furthermore, *hine* tends to be more frequent in folk tales than in everyday, colloquial speech.

Ex. 421. *Emkota ku hopuni hine, ku wakka ta kusu pet otta ku oman.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1: early, 2: I, 3: rise, 4: and, 5: I, 6: water, 7: fetch (6-7 should be seen as one verb, "fetch water"), 8: in order to, 9: river, 10: to, 11: I, 12: go)

"I got up early, and I went to the river to draw water."

Ex. 422. *Sine an to ta, to pirka hine, ekimne kusu kunne wano (...)*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
hopunpa an.
12 13

(1: one, 2: be, 3: day, 4: temporal/locative postposition (1-4: "one day"), 5: weather (lit., "day"), 6: be fine, 7: and, 8: hunt, 9: in order to, 10: be dark, 11: from, 12: rise, 13: indefinite person marking the 1st person in a folk tale)

"One day the weather was beautiful, and I got up before dawn in order to go hunting."

There are a few examples of *hine* replacing *wa* in the analytically constructed auxiliaries for the imperfective aspect (*wa an/oka*) and the completed aspect (*wa okere*). In the constructions with *wa*, the main verb may alone carry a pronominal affix, but when *hine* is used, pronominal affixes will invariably attach to both the main verb and the auxiliary.

Ex. 423. *Simo nipa an ne hine oka an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 3

(1: real, 2: gentleman, 3: indefinite person marking the 1st person in a folk tale, 4: copula, 5: imperfective aspect)

"I was being (i.e. "living as") a real gentleman."

Ex. 424. *Ne kamuy an hopunire hine an okere...*
 1 2 3 4 5 3 5

(1: this, 2: bear, 3: indefinite person marking the 1st person plural in a folk tale, 4: send off, 5: completed aspect)

"We completed the (ritual of) sending off the bear..."

The etymology of *hine* has been explained as the nominalizer *hi* followed by the copula *ne* (Tamura: 1972b: 158; Kindaichi: 1960: 193). *Hine* is used in the Saru dialect as well, where it has more or less the same functions as in the Shizunai dialect (Tamura: 1972b: 156ff).

In the pronunciation of *hine*, the initial [*h*] is frequently dropped, and in rapid speech the [*i*] may be dropped, too, so that only [*ne*] remains.

Hike

Like *hine*, *bike* also tends to drop the initial [*h*] in rapid speech. *Hike* basically functions to juxtapose sentences without hinting at any special relationship between them, but it indicates a much more distant connection than does *wa*, *no*, or even *hine*.

Ex. 425. *Sūto katkemat an eutanne wa oka an bike, eattukonnoan*
 1 2 3 4 5 5 3 6 7
siretokkor, a kotanu ta isam siretokkor katkemat a tomnukar wa
 8 9 10 11 12 8 13 14 15 16
oka an bike, nep kare yakka, askay ka ki, yuptek ka ki...
 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 23 24 23 23

(1: real, 2: lady, 3: indefinite person marking the 1st person in a folk tale, 4: have as one's bride, 5: imperfective aspect, 6: and, 7: really, 8: be beautiful, 9: indefinite person marking the 1st person plural, 10: 's village, 11: locative case, 12: not exist, 13: lady, 14: I, 15: live in marriage with, 16: imperfective aspect, 17: I, 18: and, 19: what, 20: make (causative), 21: even though, 22: can, 23: assertive mood, 24: be diligent)

"I had a real lady as my bride, and (thus) I was living in marriage with a truly beautiful, the most beautiful, lady in our village, and no matter what I had her make, she was both able and diligent ..."

In some cases the main predicate may indicate a surprising or unexpected development in relation to the conjunctionalized sentence, so that the meaning of *bike* will resemble that of the sequential conjunctionalizer, *akus* (14.12.2).

Ex. 426. *E monaa wa e an bike, nepkus e matkosanpa e hopuni siri ta an?*
 1 2 3 1 3 4 5 1 6 1 7 8 8 8

(1: you, 2: sit, 3: imperfective aspect, 4: and (then), 5: why, 6: jump up, 7: rise, 8: interrogative sentence final)

"You were sitting there, and suddenly you jumped to your feet – why?"

The second sentence may even form a contrast to the conjunctionalized sentence in such a way that *bike* performs the role of a concessive or adversative conjunctionalizer, approaching *yakka* (14.12.5) or *koroka* (14.12.7) in meaning. In this role *bike* is frequently reinforced by the restrictive postposition *ka*.

Ex. 427. *Ku ipe a ku ipe a bike ka, ku honi sik ku erametek.*
 1 2 3 1 2 3 4 1 5 6 1 7

(1: I, 2: eat, 3: durative mode of action, 4: and even then, 5: stomach, 6: be full, 7: not know)

"I eat and I eat, but still I do not know the meaning of a full stomach."

Chiri ((1936) 1974: 129) includes *bike* among the conjunctional particles (*setsuzokujoshi*) as having a sequential meaning, but he also lists another (*b*)*ike* (Ibid:48), which added to "adjectives" will function as a nominalizer:

poro-ike, "a big thing/matter/person"
pirka-ike, "a good thing/matter/person"

Tamura (1972a: 35), however, describes *bike* only as a semantically neutral nominalizer, and she does not include *bike* among the coordinative "conjunctive particles" described in her article on "*shite* expressions" in Ainu (Tamura: 1972b). In my informant's speech I have found no examples of *bike* in the nominalizing function described by Chiri. In the present analysis, nominalizers and conjunctive particles have the common function of embedding sentences; the difference between them lies in their relationship to the main predicate. Nominalized sentences form relational adjuncts (R), while conjunctive particles form adverbial adjuncts (A), and according to this definition, *bike* can only be interpreted as a conjunctive particle. (See also 15.5 and 15.6 on relational and adverbial adjuncts).

Ranke

In section 14.6.3, *ranke* was presented as a restrictive postposition with a distributive meaning. This distributive function may be applied to whole sentences as well, so that *ranke* performs the role of a conjunctive particle indicating that something happens several times, or that two or more actions are carried out alternately. In the latter case, *ranke* is repeated after each verb.

Ex. 428. *Toon korsi nep oyamokte wa, ponno apkas ranke, sioka un inkar*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
ponno apkas wa sioka un inkar.
 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: that, 2: child, 3: what, 4: be afraid, 5: and, 6: a little, 7: walk, 8: and, 9: behind oneself, 10: allative case, 11: look)

"What is that child afraid of, walking a little, and looking behind, and then again walking a little and looking behind?"

Ex. 429. *Ponno monaa ranke, soy peka yaykoapakasapakas, nepka kar ka somo*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ki no yaykoapakas wa, suy nani cise orun ahun ranke, nep
 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 3 19
eyaykouepekere p bene an wa...
 20 21 22 23 24

(1: a little, 2: sit, 3: and, 4: outside, 5: around, 6: wander around, 7: anything, 8: do, 9: assertive mood, 10: not, 11: -ing, 12: wander around, 13: and, 14: again, 15: suddenly, 16: house, 17: into, 18: enter, 19: what, 20: thereby worry, 21: nominalizer, 22: restrictive postposition, "even", 23: be, 24: and)

"He sits down a little, and then wanders about outside, wanders about doing nothing, and then he suddenly enters the house again; I wonder if anything is worrying him..."

Tamura (1960: 73) describes *ranke* in the Saru dialect as a verb auxiliary (*jodōshi*) with the iterative meaning "to repeat an action many times in a non-continuous way", and her examples bear out this interpretation grammatically. The Saru and the Shizunai dialects thus manage to express the same meaning with the same morpheme, but with different grammatical means. The Sakhalin Raychishka dialect has both uses of *ranke*, and also the function covered by *ranke* as a distributive postposition (Murasaki: 1979: 61, 123, and 134).

14.12.2. Sequential Conjunctionalizers

Sequential conjunctionalizers indicate a temporal relationship between the embedded sentence and the main predicate. The events of the conjunctionalized sentence thus precede those of the following sentence. The sequential meaning may be overlaid with nuances of impatience (as with *ayne*) or surprise (as with *akus*). The conjunctionalizers in this group are: *tek*, *ayne*, *akus*, and *konno*.

Tek

Tek is used only rarely in this dialect. Its meaning is purely temporal: the event in the conjunctionalized sentence occurs before that described by the main predicate, and no causal relationship is indicated between them.

Ex. 430. *Nanpe ku nukar tek, ku ekimatek bine, cise otta ku hoyuru...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: well, 2: I, 3: see, 4: after, 5: I, 6: be frightened, 7: and, 8: home, 9: to, 10: I, 11: run)

"After seeing the well, I got frightened and ran home."

In the Sakhalin Raychishka dialect a similar conjunctivalizer, *teh*, is found (Murasaki: 1979: 129), and the *Ainu Dialect Dictionary* (Hattori: 1964: 323) lists *tek* or *tekkā* for the eastern and northern dialects, Obihiro, Bihoro, Nayoro, Sōya, and Sakhalin. The meaning is given as "after (doing A, to do B)". In this meaning the western and southern Hokkaidō dialects use *wa* or *orwa* instead (see also Tamura: 1972b).

In the Saru dialect a homonym is found, namely the verb suffix *-tek*, which indicates that something is done or happens "lightly" or is of short duration (Tamura: 1960: 351). This meaning of *-tek* is found in a few expressions in the Shizunai dialect as well (see 14.8.1).

Ayne

Ayne relates two predicates temporally so that the main predicate is realized after the events described in the embedded sentence have been going on for some time. *Ayne* carries a nuance of impatience on behalf of the speaker: "..., and then finally...".

Ex. 431. *Orun paye an uske toyma wa apkas an ayne, sinki an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: to there, 2: go, 3: we, 4: place, 5: be far away, 6: and, 7: walk, 8: we, 9: and then finally, 10: be tired, 11: we)

"The place to where we were going was far away, and we walked, and then finally (when we got there) we were tired."

The implication that the act or event expressed in the conjunctivalized sentence has been going on for a long time may be further clarified by using the iterative or durative auxiliary, ...-a...-a (see also 14.9.3.1 and 14.9.3.2).

Ex. 432. *Toykar an kusu toy casmika an. Pon nitay oka kusu an tuye wa an yanke a an yanke a ayne, a toykar.*
 1 2 3 4 5 2 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
 13 14 15 16 17

(1: make farm land, 2: we, 3: in order to, 4: ground, 5: clear, 6: be small, 7: forest, 8: be, 9: because, 10: we, 11: cut, 12: and, 13: carry, 14: durative mode of action, 15: and then finally, 16: we, 17: make farm land)

"We cleared the land in order to make fields. There was a small forest, so we cut it down and carried and carried (to clear it away), and then finally we could make a field."

The etymology of *ayne* has been explained as a combination of the durative auxiliary, *a*, and the conjunctivalizer, *bine* (14.12.1) (Chiri: (1936) 1974: 128; Tamura: 1972b: 159).

The Saru dialect has *ayne* in the same meaning and function as the Shizunai dialect (Tamura: 1972b: 158ff). The Sakhalin Raychishka dialect has *yayne*, which indicates that the second predicate occurs after the first has been going on for some time, but apparently no nuance of impatience is implied (Murasaki: 1979: 126 ff).

Akus

Akus is used when the conjunctivalized sentence represents a background into which something new and unexpected is introduced, or an action which is followed by a surprising development.

Ex. 433. *Tun katkemat ukoitak kane apkas kane oka akus, ekushonna mun*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6 7 8 9
tum wa poro heper cisoyekatta.
 10 11 12 13 14

(1: two persons, 2: woman, 3: chat, 4: while, 5: walk, 6: uncompleted aspect, 7: when, 8: suddenly, 9: underbrush, 10: midst, 11: from, 12: be big, 13: bear, 14: jump out suddenly)

"Two women were walking while talking, when suddenly a large bear jumped out from the underbrush."

Usually there is no interdependence between the events expressed by the two predicates, but in a few cases the conjunctivalized sentence may be seen as the cause or the condition for the occurrence of the following sentence.

Ex. 434. *Kamuy ku nukar wa ku ramutuyke. Toonta as wa an utarpa*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 10
orun ku ye akus, ne rametok ka kimatek, kiraas.
 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

(1: bear, 2: I, 3: see, 4: and, 5: I, 6: be scared, 7: there, 8: stand, 9:

imperfective aspect, 10: chief, 11: allative case, 12: I, 13: say, 14: after, 15: this, 16: brave, 17: too, 18: be frightened, 19: flee)

"I saw a bear and got scared. **When** I told the chief, who was standing there, that brave, too, got frightened and fled."

The above use of *akus* supports an etymological explanation of the word as being a combination of *a* (durative mode of action auxiliary) and *kusu* (consequential conjunctivalizer, 14.12.4).

The coordinative conjunctivalizer *hike* may appear with a meaning very much like that of *akus* (see Ex. 426).

Konno

Konno indicates that in a specific state of circumstances one event is followed by another. In general statements of habitual or universal validity, *konno* indicates that one event is necessarily followed by another, i.e. the sentence containing the main predicate is an inevitable (con)sequence of the conjunctivalized sentence. This may in some cases lend a nuance of conditionality to the expression, making the meaning of *konno* overlap with that of the conditional conjunctivalizers. The nuance of habituality is especially strong in the idioms for "every day", *kesto an konno*, and "every year", *kespa an konno*.

Ex. 435. *Kesto-an-konno ekimme an konno, i tura wa ekimme wa...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: every day, 2: hunt, 3: I, 4: when, 5: me, 6: join, 7: and, 8: hunt, 9: and)

"Every day, whenever I hunted, he joined me and hunted, and ..."

Ex. 436. *Cep e konno, sanpe wen.*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: fish, 2: eat, 3: when, 4: condition, 5: be bad)

"If/whenever he eats fish, he gets sick."

Konno is possibly a combination of the verb, *kor*, "have", and the coordina-

tive conjunctivalizer, *no* (14.12.1). The Saru dialect has a conjunctivalizer *kor* (Tamura: 1972b: 148ff), with two different meanings:

- a. simultaneity (corresponds to *kane* in the Shizunai dialect, see 14.12.3)
- b. inevitable (con)sequence (corresponds to *konno* in the Shizunai dialect)

The Sakhalin Raychishka dialect has a similar conjunctivalizer, namely *kob* or *kob ki*, which also expresses an inevitable sequence between two statements (Murasaki: 1979: 133ff).

14.12.3. Contemporaneous Conjunctivalizers

Kane

Kane indicates that two acts or events occur simultaneously.

Ex. 437. *"Sinenne paye an na", ari haweki an kane, soyenpa an.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: alone, 2: go, 3: I, 4: assertive sentence final, 5: quotationalizer, 6: say, 7: I, 8: while, 9: go out, 10: I)

"I'll go alone", I said while leaving the house."

After stative verbs *kane* indicates the circumstances or state, which form the background of the following sentence.

Ex. 438. *Toon korsi omap wa, ku sanpe wen kane ku omap.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: that, 2: child, 3: love, 4: and, 5: I, 6: heart, 7: be bad, 8: -ing, 9: I, 10: love)

"Loving that child, I love her painfully much."

Two sentences connected by *kane* generally have the same subject, but there are exceptions to this.

"Yesterday, since the weather was fine, the three of us took a stroll across the mountain."

Ex. 441. *Nisatta suy sinewe kusu ek!*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: tomorrow, 2: again, 3: visit, 4: in order to, 5: come)

"Come again tomorrow for a visit!"

Ex. 442. *Emkota ku bopuni hine, ku wakkata kusu pet otta ku oman.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: early, 2: I, 3: rise, 4: and, 5: I, 6: draw water, 7: in order to, 8: river, 9: to, 10: I, 11: go)

"I got up early and went to the river in order to draw water."

The auxiliary for the intentional mood involves *kusu* in combination with the transitive verb *ki*, "do" (see 14.9.4.5), and *kusu* also forms part of a number of compounds, such as for instance:

nepkus, "why" (*nep*, see 12.3.4)

wakusu, "so that" (*wa*, see 14.12.1)

nekusu, "therefore" (*ne*, see 13.5)

Kusu with similar meanings is found both in the Saru dialect (Tamura: 1972a: 33ff), and in the Sakhalin Raychishka dialect (Murasaki: 1979: 131ff).

Kunine

Kunine conjoins two sentences in such a way that the second one is carried out with the purpose of bringing about the first, i.e. the conjunctionalized sentence. It thus resembles *kusu* in the meaning of "in order to/in order that". In my material *kunine* appears infrequently, and *kusu* is the form generally used.

Etymologically, *kunine* is probably connected with the quotationalizer *kuni*, which is generally followed by a verb meaning "think" or "feel". *Kuni* refers to the probability or necessity of the content of the thought or impression by implying that it "is bound to be" or "will necessarily be" (see also 14.14). The *ne* of *kunine* is probably the copula.

Kunine with the same meaning is also found in the Saru and Raychishka dialects (Tamura: 1972b: 151 (Ex. 26); Murasaki: 1979: 139 ff).

Ex. 443. *An eramuan kunine ku haruki na, iteke oyra no nuyel!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(1: you, 2: understand, 3: in order that, 4: I, 5: say, 6: so, 7: don't, 8: forget, 9: -ing, 10: write)

"I speak **in order that** you may understand, so write it down without forgetting anything!"

Ex. 444. *Huci e kunine ku kar...*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: grandmother, 2: eat, 3: in order that, 4: I, 5: make)

"I will make it **in order that** grandmother may eat it..."

Nā

Nā conjunctionalizes a sentence which contains the justification or reason for a subsequent command or request.

Ex. 445. *Topenpe poronno an na, e e rusuy cik, e!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: sweets, 2: a lot, 3: be, 4: so, 5: you, 6: eat, 7: desiderative mood, 8: if, 9: eat)

"There are lots of sweets, **so** if you want to eat any, then eat!"

In some cases the command is not explicitly expressed, but only implied by the speaker, so that the conjunctionalized sentence stands alone. In this situation *nā* may well be interpreted as a sentence final suffix with the meaning, "so you had better..." or "so please..." (see 14.9.4.2 and 14.11.2). In sentence final position *nā* may also have a hortative function as described in section 14.9.4.3.

In the Saru dialect a similar *nā* is found which may function both as a conjunctivalizer between the justification for a command and the command itself and as an assertive sentence final suffix implying an unspoken command (Tamura: 1961: 32 ff). In the Sakhalin Raychishka dialect, *ciki* is used to give

the reason for a subsequent (explicit or implicit) imperative (Murasaki: 1979: 136 ff). *Ciki* in this function may be found in the "literary" style in the Shizunai and Saru dialects in the standard introduction to long speeches by gods:

Ex. 446. *Itak an ciki, pirka nu yan!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: speak, 2: I, 3: so, 4: well, 5: listen, 6: imperative sentence final)

"I shall speak, so listen well!"

14.12.5. Concessive Conjunctionalizers

The concessive conjunctionalizer indicates some reservations, expressed in the conjunctionalized sentence, with regard to the statement made in the following sentence. In other words, the main sentence states something, which is or happens in spite of what was expressed in the conjunctionalized sentence.

There is only one concessive conjunctionalizer, namely *yakka*, but as described in section 14.12.1, the coordinative conjunctionalizer *bike*, followed by the restrictive postposition *ka*, also has a concessive function. *Yakka* is probably a combination of the conditional conjunctionalizer *yak* (14.12.6) and the restrictive postposition *ka*.

Yakka

Ex. 447. *Taan ikimaypap! Cise otta e an yakka, e toranne wa e monrayke*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
ka somo ki...
 13 14 15

(1: this, 2: ungrateful son, 3: home, 4: at, 5: you, 6: be, 7: even though, 8: you, 9: idle, 10: and, 11: you, 12: work, 13: assertive mood, 14: not)

"You ungrateful son! Even though you are at home, all you do is idle, and you do not even work..."

We find a special function of *yakka* in connection with the verb *pirka*, "be fine", where the construction

(sentence) *yakka pirka*

means "it is all right that you ..." or "you may..." This construction is very similar to the Japanese ... (*V*)*te mo ii*.

Ex. 448. *Pirka, pirka. Sinenne e kor yakka pirka.*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: be fine, 2: alone, 3: you, 4: have, 5: "you may")

"OK, OK. You may keep it alone."

The Saru and Raychishka dialects also have *yakka* (Raychishka: *yahka*) with similar meanings and functions (Tamura: 1961: 24; Murasaki: 1979: 135 ff).

14.12.6. Conditional Conjunctionalizers

When two sentences are joined by a conditional conjunctionalizer, the conjunctionalized sentence expresses a real or hypothetical condition for the realization of the contents of the following sentence. The Shizunai dialect has three such conjunctionalizers, namely *cik*, *yakun*, and *yak*.

Cik

Cik is rather infrequently used. In stories it mostly appears in fixed expressions, where its meaning overlaps with that of the consequential conjunctionalizers⁷³. In the colloquial language *cik* is used in connection with imperative statements, where the conjunctionalized sentence expresses the assumption upon which the command or suggestion in the final predicate is based. This function resembles that of *na* (14.12.4), but the sentence conjunctionalized with *na* holds an explanation or justification for the ensuing command, while with *cik* it holds only an assumption.

Ex. 449. *Nepka e ye rusuy cik, monaa wa nepka ye!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: something, 2: you, 3: say, 4: desiderative mood, 5: if, 6: sit, 7: and, 8: something, 9: say)

"If you wish to say something, then sit down and say something!"

Cik may also be used in ordinary conditional expressions when the condition is hypothetical.

- Ex. 450. *Ru kari eci payeka ru eci erampetek yakun, nenka eci nukar cik,*
 1 2 3 4 1 3 5 6 7 3 8 9
uepekennu. Iteke situraynu no payeka yan!
 10 11 12 13 14 15

(1: road, 2: along, 3: you (plur.), 4: go, 5: not know, 6: if, 7: somebody, 8: see, 9: if, 10: ask, 11: don't, 12: get lost, 13: -ing, 14: go, 15: imperative sentence final)

"Passing along the road, if you do not know the way, then if you see somebody, ask; don't go and get lost!"

The Saru dialect has the frequently used conjunctivalizer, *ciki*, which in meaning and function corresponds more closely to *yakun* in the Shizunai dialect (see Tamura: 1972a: 28ff).

Yakun

Yakun indicates that the speaker does not know whether the statement made in the conjunctivalized sentence is actually going to be realized or not, but if it is realized, the contents of the following sentence will become relevant. As in some of the constructions with *cik*, the following predicate often expresses an order, a wish, or a suggestion.

- Ex. 451. *Taan anep e e rusicy yakun, e! E e maka yakun, iteke e!*
 1 2 3+5 6 4 3 4 7 6 8 4

(1: this, 2: food (lit.: "we-eat-thing"), 3: you, 4: eat, 5: desiderative mood, 6: if, 7: negative wish, "not like to", 8: don't)

"If you wish to eat this food, eat it! If you do not wish to eat it, don't eat!"

Yakun also appears in subjunctive constructions with *pirka*, "be fine":

- Ex. 452. *E eramuan yakun pirka wa!*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: you, 2: understand, 3: if, 4: be fine, 5: affective sentence final)

"I hope you understand!"

In the Saru dialect subjunctive expressions are formed with either *iki* or *kor* in combination with *pirka* (Tamura: 1972a: 38).

Finally, *yakun* may appear in ordinary conditional constructions, where the second sentence depends upon or necessarily follows upon the conjunctionalized sentence. In the latter case *yakun* carries a nuance of "when", so that the conditional meaning is overlaid with temporal implications.

Ex. 453. *Ruayanpe tomotuye yakun, hosippa an.*
 1 2 3 4 5

(1: rain, 2: stop, 3: if/when, 4: return home, 5: we)

"If/when the rain stops, we go home."

Yakun is etymologically connected with *yak* (see below), combined with the attributive/allative postposition, *un* (see 14.3 and 14.5.2).

Yak

Yak indicates that if a certain condition is (or is not) present as expressed in the conjunctionalized sentence, the contents expressed in the following sentence will necessarily come about. This construction often carries the implication that the speaker fears the realization of the conjunctionalized sentence and mentions the consequences in the following sentence as a kind of warning. In this function *yak* is frequently reinforced by the restrictive postposition, *anak*. In rapid speech *yak* occasionally drops the initial [y].

Ex. 454. *Toon nispa anak kesto-an-konno tokap mokor samo ki yak anak,*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
besuypa kane an.
 11 12 12

(1: that, 2: gentleman, 3: restrictive postposition marking topic, 4: every day, 5: noon, 6: sleep, 7: not, 8: do, 9: if, 10: restrictive postposition marking emphasis, 11: doze, 12: uncompleted aspect)

"If that gentleman does not get his nap every day at noon, he will be dozing off all the time."

In contrast to *yakun*, which often indicates hypothetical conditions, *yak* generally refers to matters which habitually stand in a conditional relation-

ship. Also the possibility of the condition in the conjunctionalized sentence being fulfilled may seem so close to certainty that "when" will be a more appropriate translation than "if". Thus there is a degree of overlapping in meaning with the sequential conjunctionalizers.

Ex. 455. *Humi nu yak, nani cisoykatta.*

1 2 3 4 5

(1: sound, 2: hear, 3: if, 4: at once, 5: come out)

"If/when they hear a sound, they come out at once."

Yak occasionally begins a sentence and thus functions as a free form (see 12.6.1, Ex. 143). The Saru dialect also has the conjunctionalizer *yak*, and it is very close in meaning and function to the *yak* described here (Tamura: 1972-3: 67ff).

14.12.7. Adversative Conjunctionalizers

Adversative conjunctionalizers connect two clauses by indicating that the second clause is in opposition to the first. The Shizunai dialect has only one such morpheme, namely *korka*, but the coordinative conjunctionalizer *hike* (14.12.1), reinforced by the restrictive postposition *ka*, may also function as a marker of adverseness.

Korka

Korka is found in all Hokkaidō dialects of Ainu (Hattori: 1964:323), but not in the Sakhalin Raychishka dialect. It indicates that the contents of the second of the two sentences which it connects occur contrary to expectation and in opposition to the conjunctionalized sentence.

Ex. 456. *Samor mosir wa pewre ponokkaypo kanpi i orun kannakanna*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

ekte korka, a nukar ka eramiskari.

10 11 12 13 14 15

(1: Sapporo, 2: area, 3: from, 4: be young, 5: young man, 6: letter (< Jap. *kami*, "paper"), 7: me, 8: to, 9: often, 10: send (< *ek*, "come", causative), 11: but, 12: I, 13: see (here: "read"), 14: restrictive postposition, 15: not know of)

"A young boy has often sent me letters from Sapporo, but I cannot even read them."

The *ka* of *korka* may be interpreted as the restrictive postposition *ka*, added to *kor*, which is the contemporaneous conjunctive in e.g. the Saru dialect. This would be analogue to the composition of *yak-ka* and *hike ka*. Another example of a conjunctive/restrictive postposition combination is *yak anak* (see Ex. 454).

14.13. Nominalizers

Any complete sentence in Ainu may be either adnominalized (by being put in front of a noun) or nominalized (by being put in front of a nominalizer). The (ad)nominalized sentence thereby becomes embedded in a new sentence and forms a relational adjunct to its predicate.

Nominalizers are noun-like words, which may occur only with adnominal modification. Some of them carry a well-defined semantic content beyond their "nominality", for instance "appearance", "situation", "time", "person", etc. Others are more or less semantically "empty", and serve primarily to transform the modifying sentence into a noun expression.

Nominalizers have a certain resemblance to conjunctives (14.12) – both are bound forms which require modification by a sentence, and both serve to embed the modifying sentence into a new sentence. The difference between the two classes stems from the way they relate to the predicate to which they are adjoined. While conjunctive sentences become adverbial adjuncts (see 15.6), nominalized sentences become relational adjuncts (see 15.5), and although both may be followed by restrictive postpositions, only nominalized sentences may be followed by case postpositions.

Unfortunately, however, nominalized adjuncts are rarely marked with case postpositions, and since there are no other formal distinctive features, the differentiation between nominalized and conjunctive adjuncts is not always clearcut⁷⁴. It turns out that the only criteria we are left with to determine their syntactical role are actually semantic. The circumstances surrounding this type of language description (with only one untrained informant) result in the main vehicle for semantic analysis being translation. And thus we find that some of the conjunctives may enter into constructions which to all intents and purposes might as well be interpreted as nominal in nature, while on the other hand some of the nominalizers have meanings which translate best as conjunctive⁷⁵.

The present description, however, will limit itself to pointing out this problem and will not provide any detailed description of the borderline cases. Below, the nominalizers are divided into groups according to semantic content, and examples are given of their use.

14.13.1. Semantically "Weak" Nominalizers

Hi

When *hi* is used to nominalize a predicate, the resulting nominal will always be something abstract, as for instance:

<i>itak</i> , "speak"	<i>itak hi</i> , "something spoken"
<i>pirka</i> , "be fine"	<i>pirka hi</i> , "a fine thing (abstract)"

After consonants, and in rapid speech also after vowels, the initial [*b*] is dropped.

Ex. 457. *Onne huci hazoki hi ku oyra ka somo ki.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 7

(1: be old, 2: grandmother, 3: say, 4: nominalizer, 5: I, 6: forget, 7: assertive mood, 8: not)

"I shall never forget that which my old grandmother said."

In the majority of cases *hi* follows verbs which have to do with speaking or listening. A special expression occurs before quotations:

Ex. 458. ...*ene itak hi*: "..."
 1 2 3

(1: in this way, 2: speak, 3: nominalizer)

"... and thus he spoke: "..."

Hi is also the nominalizer used in forming some of the personal pronouns (see 12.3.1).

Pe

Pe is mostly used for unspecified concrete things or persons, but it may also be used about abstract matters like *bi*. After vowels, *pe* drops the final [e].

Ex. 459. *Sino yuptek pe ne kusu, an eyaykopuntek.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1: real, 2: be hardworking, 3: nominalizer, 4: copula, 5: because, 6: I, 7: be happy)

"Since he was a real hard worker, I was happy."

Ex. 460. *Nekon e iki p ne e ramu wa ene e haruki...*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: how, 2: you, 3: act, 4: nominalizer, 5: copula, 6: you, 7: think, 8: and, 9: in this way, 10: you, 11: speak)

"What do you think you are going to do, talking like this...?"

Pe may also be modified by demonstrative pronouns as in *taan pe*, "this thing/guy" (see also 12.3.3). With numbers, *pe* functions as a counter for things, as in *sinep*, "one thing", *tup*, "two things", etc. (see also 12.4.1).

Ruwe

Ruwe may have some connection with the *ruwe* which means "traces/tracks of something" (Chiri:(1936)1974:155). It forms part of various sentence final expressions which denote question or assertion. For examples, see 14.11.1 and 14.11.2.

Have

Have also forms part of sentence final forms, where it is used to nominalize predicates which have to do with hearing or speaking. Examples are given in sections 14.11.1 and 14.11.2.

14.13.2. Situational Nominalizers

The two nominalizers *katu* and *siri* are both used after verbs describing a

situation or a condition, and *siri* may also be used after action verbs to mean the "way of action" (followed by a descriptive expression). Furthermore, *siri* appears in a number of sentence final forms (see 14.11.1 and 14.11.2).

Katu

- Ex. 461. *Taan kotan kor nispa, kor katkemat, itak an ciki einu katu ene*
 1 2 3 4 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
an bi: "..."
 12 13

(1: this, 2: village, 3: attributive postposition, 4: man, 5: woman, 6: speak, 7: I, 8: so, 9: thereby-listen, 10: nominalizer, "situation", 11: in this way, 12: be, 13: nominalizer)

"Men and women of this village! I am going to speak, so listen like this: "... (lit.: "your listening situation (must) be like this")."

Siri

- Ex. 462. ...*poronno oro nospa comanan kane an siri an nukar.*
 1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7 8

(1: a lot, 2: among, 3: chase, 4: thereby-run to and fro, 5: uncompleted aspect, 6: nominalizer, "way", 7: I, 8: see)

"I saw the way she was being chased about among a lot of others..."

14.13.3. Nominalizers of Appearance

The two nominalizers *pokon* and *kotom* indicate that the verb in front of them describes how things appear to the speaker, and not necessarily how they really are.

Pokon

Pokon often indicates that the appearance of things is due to pretence on the part of the agent.

- Ex. 463. *Ikasuy pokon iki ayne, a kor menoko cikka wa...*
 1 2 3 4 5-6 7 8 9

(1: be helpful, 2: nominalizer, "pretence", 3: act, 4: and then finally, 5: I, 6: attributive postposition, 7: woman/wife, 8: steal, 9: and)

"He made a pretence of being helpful, and in the end he stole my woman, and..."

Kotom

Ex. 464. *Neoka mat ne unma utar cattukonnoan hepokiki wa cis ruwe ne*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
kotom an na.
 12 13 14

(1: those, 2: woman, 3: attributive postposition, 4: horse, 5: plural suffix, 6: really, 7: hang one's head, 8: and, 9: cry, 10-11: assertive sentence final form, 12: nominalizer, "appearance", 13: be, 14: assertive sentence final suffix)

"Those mares really hung their heads and they had the appearance of crying."

14.13.4. *The Comparative Nominalizer*

Koraci was described in section 14.5.6 as a comparative case postposition. However, *koraci* may follow verbs as well, and in this position it may be interpreted as a nominalizer. The predicate nominalized with *koraci* is set up as a comparison basis for the main predicate.

Ex. 465. *A kor nipa nukar koraci an sitoma wen kamuy ne ruwe ne na.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 11 11

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: man/husband, 4: see, 5: nominalizer of comparison, 6: indefinite person, 7: fear, 8: be evil, 9: god, 10: copula, 11: assertive sentence final)

"As you see, my husband, it is a fearsome, evil god!"

Ex. 466. *A ye koraci iki!*
 1 2 3 4

(1: I, 2: say, 3: nominalizer of comparison, 4: act)

"Do as I say!"

With stative verbs *koraci* may take on the meaning of "befitting that state" which is expressed by the stative verb.

Ex. 467. *Wen pe ne yakun, wen koraci eci okewe, eci romu nankor na!*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 7 9 10 10

(1: be bad, 2: nominalizer, "guy", 3: copula, 4: if, 5: be bad, 6: nominalizer, "befitting", 7: you (plur.), 8: chase off, 9: kill, 10: necessitative mood)

"If it is a bad guy, you must chase him off and kill him as befits his being bad."

14.13.5. Other Nominalizers

Besides the nominalizers described above, there are a few nominalizers of a more "concrete" nature, such as *kur*, "the person who", the corresponding plural *utar*, "the people who", *pe*, "the thing which" (see also 14.13:1), *usi/uske*⁷⁶, "the place where", and *bita*, "the time when". The first four *kur*, *utar*, *pe*, and *usi/uske* are slightly more "nounlike" than the other nominalizers in that they may be modified by adnominal demonstratives as well.

Utar

Ex. 468. "...*ari payeka utar hawki kane payeka.*
 1 2 3 4 5 2

(1: quotationalizer, 2: pass by, 3: nominalizer, "people", 4: say, 5: while)

"The people who pass by, say: "...", while they pass by."

Pe

Ex. 469. *Nepka ku e maka p isam ruwe ne.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: anything, 2: I, 3: eat, 4: not like, 5: nominalizer, "thing", 6: not exist, 7: assertive sentence final)

"There is nothing I do not like (to eat) - (lit.: there is not anything, which is a thing, which I do not like to eat)."

Usi

Ex. 470. *Oman usi en cioka ka un tura yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(1: go, 2: nominalizer, "place", 3: allative case, 4: we, 5: restrictive postposition, "too", 6: us, 7: take along, 8: imperative sentence final)

"Take us along, too, to the place where you are going."

Hita

Ex. 471. *... ku pon hita mokor cep, rup us wa oka ceppo, buci anak "mokor
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8 9 10 11 4
ceppo" ari hawki.
9 12 13*

(1: I, 2: be small, 3: nominalizer, "time", 4: sleep, 5: fish, 6: ice, 7: stick to, 8: imperfective aspect, 9: fish (diminutive), 10: grandmother, 11: restrictive postposition marking topic, 12: quotationalizer, 13: say)

"At the time when I was little, my grandmother called the fish that slept, the small fish with ice sticking to them, for "sleeping little fish"."

14.14. Quotationalizers

A quotation – in the broad sense of quoting something thought as well as something spoken – is marked by a subsequent morpheme and thereupon embedded into a larger context with a main predicate meaning "speak/talk/think/feel... etc.". The function of this quotationalizing morpheme is thus very similar to the function of conjunctivalizers and nominalizers (14.12 and 14.13).

When the quote is something spoken, it is quotationalized with *ari*⁷⁷, which is then followed by verbs like *hawki*, "speak", *ye*, "say", *itak*, "talk", *yayisoitak*, "talk to oneself", etc. *Ari* is also used with the verb *yaynu*, "think/reflect", while the verb *ramu*, "think/feel", requires a different conjunctivalizer, namely *kuni*. When the quote is of hearsay, *ari* is used with the existential verb *an*.

Ex. 472. *"Onon eci arkit? Nep e ne?" ari hawki kane uepekemu yan!*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

(1: from where, 2: you (plur.), 3: come, 4: what, 5: you, 6: copula, 7: quotationalizer, 8: say, 9: while, 10: ask, 11: imperative sentence final)

"You must ask and say: "Where do you come from? What are you?"

- Ex. 473. *A kor katkemat ka unma ne an kar wa, po kor wa, kotan epitta*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
unma oka ruwe ne na", ari anpe a ye kane...
 15 16 17 17 17 18 19 20 21 22

(1: I, 2: attributive postposition, 3: wife, 4: too, 5: horse, 6: mutative case, 7: indefinite person marking the passive, 8: make, 9: and, 10: child, 11: have, 12: and, 13: village, 14: everywhere, 15: horse, 16: be, 17: assertive sentence final, 18: quotationalizer, 19: truth (lit.: "be-thing"), 20: I, 21: say, 22: while)

"I was telling the truth, that my woman, too, was changed into a horse and had children, and (now) there are horses in the villages everywhere."

- Ex. 474. *Iteke, iteke "ikasuy, yuptek pe ne" ari eci yaynu kane eci*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 7
obasiramma...
 10

(1: don't, 2: be helpful, 3: be diligent, 4: nominalizer, "guy", 5: copula, 6: quotationalizer, 7: you (plur.), 8: think, 9: -ing, 10: let somebody look after one's house while one is out)

"Don't ever think, "That's a helpful and hard-working guy", and then let him look after the house!"

- Ex. 475. *"Sonno iramkitta" kuni ku ramu akus, ...*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

(1: really, 2: be outrageous, 3: quotationalizer, 4: I, 5: think/feel, 6: when)

"Just when I thought: "That's really outrageous!",..."

- Ex. 476. *... ari Otasut un nispa yaysoitak ari an.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 6

(1: quotationalizer, 2: toponym, 3: attributive postposition, 4: man, 5: talk to oneself, 6: marks the quoting of hearsay)

(This phrase completes a long story).

"..." (this story) it is said that the man from Otasut reminisced to himself."

In the Bihoro and Sōya dialects, *kumi* is used for quoting speech as well, while in the Asahikawa and Nayoro dialects *kunak* is used. The Saru dialect has both of these (but not *ari*). However, *sekor* appears to be the most frequently used quotation marker in the Saru dialect (Hattori: 1964: 321).

15. Syntax

In the preceding sections, the word classes of the Shizunai dialect of Ainu have been defined and described, and this section will proceed to analyse their interaction and function within sentences. For this purpose, a set of concatenating rewrite rules have been drawn up as presented in Diagram 8. The sections below explain each rule in detail.

15.1. The Sentence

For the purpose of this analysis, utterances consisting of isolated interjections, vocatives, greetings, etc. will be disregarded, and the minimal complete sentence is thus defined as consisting of a verb:

Mokor. "He sleeps"

Pirka. "It is good"

E! "Eat!"

This verb may be expanded into a longer verb expression by adding prefixes, suffixes, pronominal affixes, and auxiliaries:

Mokor wa an. "He is sleeping"

E epirka. "You benefit (thereby-be fine)"

Ere! "Make them eat/serve them food!"

Diagram 8. Context-free grammatical rules of the Shizunai dialect of Ainu.

- (1) $S \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} R \\ A \\ Q \end{pmatrix}_0 P$
- (2) $P \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} ve \\ ce \end{pmatrix}_1 (s\ fin)_0^c$
- (3) $ve \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} (pro\ a)_0^c (v\ pre)_0^c \begin{pmatrix} int\ v \\ tr\ v \end{pmatrix}_1 (v\ suf)_0^c (pro\ a)_0^c (aux)_0^c \\ clo\ v \end{pmatrix}_1$
- (4) $ce \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} S\ n\text{-izer} \\ (S)_0^c ne \end{pmatrix}_1 (rest\ p)_0^c (pro\ a)_1^c\ copula$
- (5) $R \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} ne \\ S \begin{pmatrix} ne \\ n\text{-izer} \end{pmatrix}_1 \end{pmatrix}_1 (case\ p)_0^c (rest\ p)_0^c$
- (6) $A \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} adv \\ conj \\ inter \\ S\ c\text{-izer} \end{pmatrix}_1 (rest\ p)_0^c$
- (7) $Q \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} S \\ ne \end{pmatrix}_1 q\text{-izer}$
- (8) $ne \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} \langle \begin{pmatrix} adn \\ pro\ a \end{pmatrix}_0 \rangle_1^c (n\ pre)_0^c\ gen\ n\ (n\ suf)_0^c \\ prop\ n \\ pron \\ quan\ n \\ (gen\ n)_0^c\ posit \end{pmatrix}_1 \left(\begin{pmatrix} att\ p \\ coor\ p \end{pmatrix}_1 \right)_0^c ne\ (coor\ p)_0^c$

Symbols and abbreviations:

- () : optional elements
 { } : obligatory elements
 (y)₀ : "y may be included once"
 (y)₀^{*} : "y may be included once or more than once"
 $\left. \begin{matrix} y \\ z \\ x \end{matrix} \right\}_1$: "y or z or x must be included once"
 $\left(\begin{matrix} y \\ z \\ x \end{matrix} \right)_0^*$: "y and/or z and/or x may or may not be included once or more than once in any order of sequence"
 S : sentence
 P : predicate
 ve : verb expression
 ce : copula expression
 R : relational adjunct
 A : adverbial adjunct
 Q : quotational adjunct
 ne : noun expression

Terminal Symbols:

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|--------|------------------------------|
| adn | : adnoun | pro a | : pronominal affix |
| adv | : adverb | pron | : pronoun |
| att p | : attributive postposition | prop n | : proper name |
| aux | : verb auxiliary | q-izer | : quotationalizer |
| c-izer | : conjunctivalizer | quan n | : quantity noun |
| case p | : case postposition | rest p | : restrictive postposition |
| clo v | : closed verbs | s fin | : sentence final form/suffix |
| conj | : conjunction | tr v | : transitive verb |
| coor p | : coordinative postposition | v pre | : verb prefix |
| gen n | : general noun | v suf | : verb suffix |
| int v | : intransitive verb | | |
| inter | : interjection | | |
| n-izer | : nominalizer | | |
| n pre | : noun prefix | | |
| n suf | : noun suffix | | |
| posit | : positional | | |

Verb expressions may be further expanded by the addition of sentence final forms/suffixes:

Mokor wa an ruwe ne. "He is indeed sleeping"
E pirka ya? "Do you benefit?"
Ere yan! "Make them eat (plural, polite)!"

The sentence can be further enlarged by placing one or more adjuncts in front of the verb expression which constitutes the predicate. These adjuncts are defined as either relational (15.5), adverbial (15.6), or quotational (15.7). The order of sequence among adjuncts is relatively free, but in terms of tendency one may point out that a subject generally precedes an object, and that topics as well as temporal or locative expressions are usually placed at the beginning of a sentence.

Ex. 477. *Ekasi anak ape sam ta mokor wa an.*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7

(1: old man, 2: marks topic, 3: fire, 4: side, 5: locative case, 6: sleep, 7: imperfective aspect)

"The old man is sleeping beside the fire."

Ex. 478. *Tanto anak to pirka ruwe ne.*
1 2 3 4 5 5

(1: today, 2: marks topic, 3: day/weather, 4: be fine, 5: assertive sentence final form)

"As for today, the weather is really fine."

Ex. 479. *Keraan cep hokure e yan!*
1 2 3 4 5

(1: be delicious, 2: fish, 3: quickly, 4: eat, 5: imperative sentence final suffix)

"Hurry up and eat the delicious fish!"

15.2 The Predicate

A predicate is either a verb expression (15.3) or a copula expression (15.4)

which may or may not be followed by a sentence final form/suffix, as expressed in the second rule of the grammar:

$$(2) \quad P \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ve \\ ce \end{array} \right\}_1^1 (s \text{ fin})_0^0$$

A predicate without any adjuncts may in itself form a sentence as expressed in the first rule:

$$(1) \quad S \rightarrow \left(\begin{array}{l} R \\ A \\ Q \end{array} \right)_0^0 P$$

If a predicate is followed by either a conjunctivalizer (14.12), a nominalizer (14.13), or a quotationalizer (14.14), it is relegated to a lesser role as a secondary predicate, which together with its adjuncts – if any – becomes subordinate to another predicate or embedded within another sentence. If a predicate is followed by a general noun, the same process results; the adnominalized predicate becomes secondary to the main predicate of the utterance. This is further described in sections 15.5, 15.6, and 15.7.

15.3. Verb Expressions

The third rule of the phrase structure grammar describes the possible components of a verb expression:

$$(3) \quad ve \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (pro \ a)_0^0 \\ clo \ v \end{array} \right\} (v \ pre)_0^0 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} int \ v \\ tr \ v \end{array} \right\}_1^1 (v \ suf)_0^0 (pro \ a)_0^0 (aux)_0^0 \left\{ \right\}_1^1$$

Minimally a verb expression will consist of either a finite verb or a transitive or intransitive verb. Closed verbs (13.2) have no possibility of expansion, but transitive and intransitive verbs (13.3. and 13.4) may be built into longer verb expressions through the addition of pronominal affixes (14.10), verb prefixes (14.7), verb suffixes (14.8), and/or verb auxiliaries (14.9). The order of sequence of these elements as well as the possibility of employing them more than once within the same verb expression is described in the rule. The rules for affixing pronominal affixes to transitive and intransitive verbs differ, and they are described in the section on pronominal affixes (14.10). These

differences are not covered by the rule. According to the rule, pronominal affixes may precede as well as follow the verb, but actually we only find an affix on both sides of the verb when the subject is the 1st person singular, and the object the 2nd person plural (see 14.10.5, f.). In all other cases the rule should be interpreted to mean that the pronominal affixes are *either* prefixed or suffixed to the verb.

Ex. 480. *E e-yay-ko-u-e-peker-e nankor.*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(1: pronominal affix, "you", 2-6: verb prefixes (see 14.7), 7: intransitive verb, "be bright", 8: verb suffix, causative, 9: auxiliary, dubitative mood)

"You are probably worried."

Ex. 481. *I-n(u)kar as rusuy.*
 1 2 3 4

(1: verb prefix, something as the object, 2: transitive verb (made intransitive by *i-*), 3: pronominal affix, we, 4: auxiliary, desiderative mood)

"We wish to look."

15.4. Copula Expressions

The fourth rule of the grammar describes expressions with the copula *ne*:

(4) $ce \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \text{ n-izer} \\ (S)_0 \text{ ne} \end{array} \right\}_1 \langle \text{rest p} \rangle_0 \langle \text{pro a} \rangle_0 \text{ copula}$

The copula alone cannot form a sentence; it needs a nominal complement. This complement may either be a noun expression (15.8) or a noun, modified by an adnominalized sentence, i.e.:

$(S)_0 \text{ ne}$: can be either: *kotan (ne)*, "(it is) a village"
 or: *situyma kotan (ne)*, "(it is) a village, which is far away"

The complement may also be a nominalized sentence (see also 14.13), i.e.:

S n-izer: can be *anon ek pe (ne)*, "(it is) a person, who came from where?"

The nominal complement of the copula may be further determined through the use of a restrictive postposition, and the copula may also take a nominative pronominal affix, as in:

Aynu ka ku ne, "I am a human, too".

15.5. Relational Adjuncts

Relational adjuncts are adjuncts which express case relationships. The case relationship may be made clear by a case postposition, but not all cases are marked by postpositions. The subject and direct object are always unmarked, and the dative, locative, and allative cases may in some circumstances leave out the case marker (see also 14.5 and 12.5). The relational adjunct may be further defined by the addition of a restrictive postposition (14.6), which will follow the case postposition if one is employed; otherwise it will follow directly upon the nominal core of the adjunct. The fifth rule of the grammar describes the possible components of a relational adjunct:

$$(5) \quad R \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ne \\ S \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ne \\ n-izer \end{array} \right\}_i \end{array} \right\}_i^1 \quad (\text{case } p)_j^2 (\text{rest } p)_k^3$$

Examples of relational adjuncts are:

mun tum ta, "in the midst of the grass"

poro cise or un, "into the house which is big"

Samor mosir or wa ek kur, "the person, who came from the Sapporo area".

15.6. Adverbial Adjuncts

Adjuncts, which are neither subject, nor object; which are not marked with case postpositions or can be interpreted as instances of ellipsis of case postpositions; and which are furthermore not quotations, are regarded as adverbial adjuncts; i.e. they stand in an adverbial relationship to the predicate. The sixth rule of the grammar defines adverbial adjuncts as follows:

$$(6) \quad A \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adv} \\ \text{conj} \\ \text{inter} \\ \text{S c-izer} \end{array} \right\}_1 (\text{rest p})_0^1$$

In other words, an adverbial adjunct may consist of either a conjunction (12.6.1), an interjection (12.6.2), an adverb (12.6.3), or a conjunctionalized sentence (14.12). Like the relational adjuncts, it may in some cases be followed by a restrictive postposition (14.6).

Examples of adverbial adjuncts are:

eattukonnoan, "really"
a e wa okere yak anak, "if/when I finish eating"

15.7. Quotational Adjuncts

The seventh rule describes quotational adjuncts:

$$(7) \quad Q \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \text{ne} \end{array} \right\}_1 \text{q-izer}$$

The sentence or noun expression which necessarily precedes the quotationalizer must be something said, thought, felt, or heard, and quotational adjuncts are only found with predicates which have either of these or similar meanings. Examples are given in section 14.14.

15.8. Noun Expressions

The eighth and last rule of the grammar describes the possible components of noun expressions:

$$(8) \quad \text{ne} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adn} \\ \text{pro a} \end{array} \right\}_1 \right)_0^1 (\text{n pre})_0^1 \text{gen n} (\text{n suf})_0^1 \\ \text{prop n} \\ \text{pron} \\ \text{quan n} \\ (\text{gen n})_0^1 \text{posit} \end{array} \right\}_1 \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{att p} \\ \text{coor p} \end{array} \right\}_1 \right)_0^1 \text{ne} (\text{coor p})_0^1$$

A minimal noun expression consists of one nominal, which may be a general noun, a proper name, a quantity noun, or a positional. Positionals, however,

more often than not succeed a general noun which establishes the locational reference point (see also 12.5):

(gen n)₀ posit

Only general nouns may be modified by adnouns or take noun prefixes, pronominal prefixes, or noun suffixes. Adnouns and pronominal prefixes are mutually exclusive; if a noun is determined by one of the four types of adnouns (see 14.1.1), it cannot be pronominally determined as well – and vice versa:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adn} \\ \text{pro a} \end{array} \right\}_2^1 \text{ (ne pre)}_0 \text{ gen n (n suf)}_0$$

The noun expression rule is recursive (<ne> appears on both sides of the arrow symbol), and this signifies that noun expressions may be linked together, either by just enumerating them (this mostly happens with general nouns), or by inserting an attributive or coordinative postposition. In the case of coordinative linking, the coordinative postposition is often repeated after each noun expression:

$$\text{ne}^n \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{att p} \\ \text{coor p} \end{array} \right\}_2^1 \text{ ne (coor p)}_0 \right\}_0$$

Examples of noun expressions are:

tooka korsi-utar, "those children"
(demonstrative adnoun, general noun, plural suffix)

okkay ka menoko ka, "both men and women"
(general noun, coordinative postp., general noun, coordinative postp.)

ku mipihi, "my dress"
(pronominal prefix, general noun in the belonging form)