The morphosyntax of standard negation in Sakhalin Ainu
(For oral presentation in person)

Standard negation (Payne 1985: 198) in Sakhalin Ainu can be expressed either synthetically, via the proclitic *ham=* that attaches to a notional verb (1), or analytically by using a variety of grammaticalized unbound negative forms, among which *hanka* (2) and *hankii* (3). All forms involved in analytic negative expressions are analyzable as a combination of the proclitic *ham=* and either a verb with low semantic content or a particle, like *kii* 'do' and *ka* 'even' in the examples below. In reference grammars (Murasaki 1979), constructions featuring these forms are treated as equivalent strategies, in which negation has its scope over the notional verb despite the negative clitic not being directly affixed to it.

In most occurrences, the use of a specific unbound negative form complies with its internal morphology and the syntax of the clause – e.g. (2) where *hanka* contains the nominal restrictive particle *ka* and follows the adverbialized nominal compound *tanto* 'today'. Other less common cases cannot be accounted for so straightforwardly. In (4) *hanne* precedes the notional verb and follows an oblique instead of an argument, as it would be expected given that it contains the copula *ne*. A non-canonical layout is sometimes attested also for the proclitic *ham=*, which appears affixed to content nouns (5). While the syntax of some analytic negative expressions has been addressed in previous works (Dal Corso 2021b: 127-8), the use of other forms have been superficially surveyed, which leaves many open questions as to what are the syntactic constraints that rule the use of each form and the place of affixation of *ham=*, and what are the differences in the scope of negation connected to these constraints.

Building on the preliminary analysis in Dal Corso (2021a), the aim of this presentation is therefore to delve into the syntax of Sakhalin Ainu negative expressions in deeper detail and to propose a more accurate analysis of the scopal properties of each negative form, in primis the clitic *ham=*, while also commenting on their pragmatic uses. Two collections of folklore texts of Eastern and Western dialects of Sakhalin Ainu (Pilsudski 1912 and Dal Corso 2021b) constitute the reference sources for this study. Our main argument is that distinct forms, employed in different syntactic layouts, distinguish between constituent and clausal negation (de Haan 1997). The syntax of these forms is generally in line with those of the element to which the proclitic *ham=* attaches, but some of them have also developed new syntactic properties that resulted in negation being used for pragmatic purposes (e.g. to mark negative contrastive focus). Finally, following from typological studies such as Bond (2011), Hetterle (2015), and Mauri and Sansò (2019), we address the use of dedicated negative forms in adverbial and conditional clauses and reason on the correlation between negation, modality, and clause dependencies. By presenting the unique case of Sakhalin Ainu, this study adds to typological studies on negation and cliticization and contributes to the study of Ainu specifically by advancing our undestanding of syntactic constituency and clause dependencies.

Examples
1. ***Ham**=eci-nu*   *yayne ...*
   NEG=2P.A-3S.O/listen   and.then
   'You did not listen [to my warning] and then …' (Pilsudski 1912: 121)

2. *Tan-to*   **ham=ka**   *'an-monrayki-re.*
   This-day   **NEG=even**   PRM.A-3S.O/work-CAUS
   'Today I did not let her work.' (Dal Corso 2021b: 178)

3. *'An-kuu*   *ka*   **ham=kii**.
   PRM.A-3S.O/drink.NMLZ   even   **NEG=do**
   'I did not drink it.' (Dal Corso 2021b: 206)

4. *Neya*   *oyasi*   *[...]*   *i-tomo-ke-ne*   **hanne** *ampe*
   this   evil.spirit   PRM.O-towards-PTV-ALL   **NEG**   ?
   eh   *manuy.*
   3S.S/come.PC   REP
   'Not towards me came this evil spirit.' (Pilsudski 1912: 206)

5. *Urayki*   *neampe*   **ham**=*utara*   *ki-kun-pe*   *ne.*
   fighting   TOP   **NEG**=people   3P.A/3S.O/do-COND-NMLZ   COP
   'As for fighting, not the Ainu would be the ones to do it [first].' (Pilsudski 1912: 70)

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