



# THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF STANDARD NEGATION IN SAKHALIN AINU

(AND SOMETHING ON NON-STANDARD NEGATION TOO)

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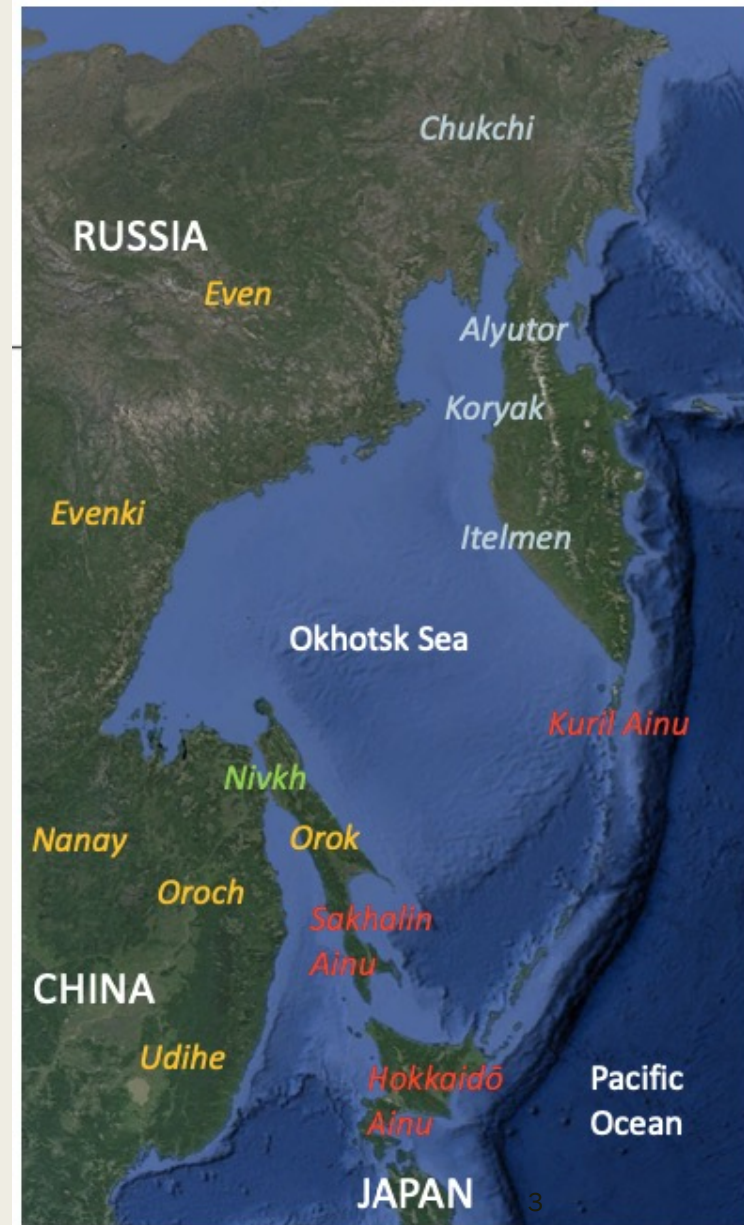


# Summary

- Generalities
- Typological features of Sakhalin Ainu
- Reference sources
- Previous work on negation
- Unresolved issues
- Sentence negation and constituent negation
- Form, scope, and function – diachrony of the negative preclitic *ham=*
- A look to non-standard negation (copular, adverbial clauses, and modality)
- Outlook of research

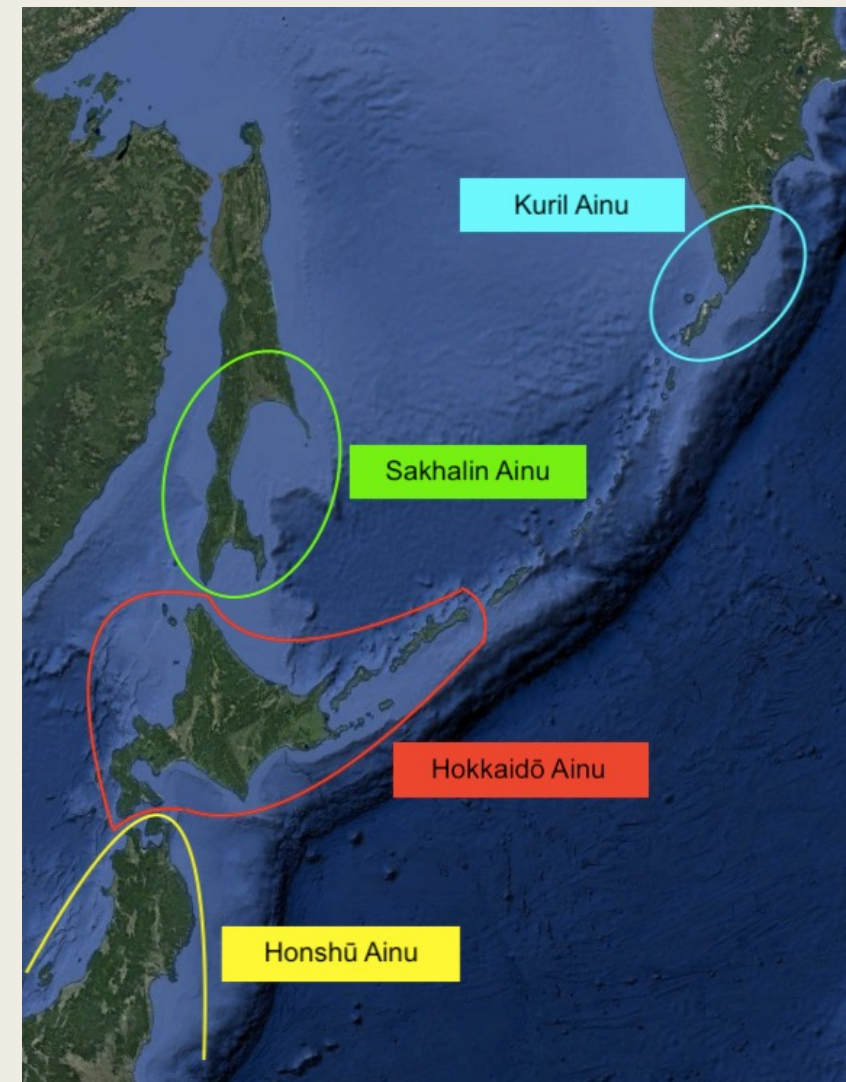
# Generalities

- Language isolate (unclassified).
- No proven genetic affiliation with any of the neighboring languages/language families of the area (Japonic, Tungusic, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, isolate).
- Only non-Japonic language autochthonous to the Japanese archipelago.



# Generalities

- Three main varieties:
  - Hokkaidō (critically endangered),
  - Sakhalin (extinct as L1),
  - (Northern) Kuril (extinct)
- Possible fourth variety spoken in Honshū.
- Ainu can be said to form a small language family (Ainuic or Kurilic) with three members (Janhunen 2022).
- Dialect groups within Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Ainu.



# Typological features

- SOV, head-final, head-marking, prefixal language.
- Zero-marking of verbal arguments.
- Definiteness and givenness generally unmarked (?).
- Topic, additive, and focus nominal particles.
- Non-obligatoriness (?) of person agreement and (T)AME categories.
- Clause linkers for subordination and coordination (?).

# Reference sources

- 39 tales of folklore elicited in 1903-1904 from L1 speakers of East Sakhalin dialects (Piłsudski 1912, Majewicz 2004, Latyshev 2002).
- 16 texts (tales and conversations) elicited in 1960-1971 from one L1 speaker of the Rayciska dialect, West Sakhalin (Murasaki 1976, Dal Corso 2021a).

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY  
OF THE AINU LANGUAGE  
AND FOLKLORE

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# SA negation – forms

- Negative forms attested in the reference sources:

- <i>Ham=</i>		
- <i>Hanka</i>	<i>ham= + ka</i>	'even'
- <i>Hankii</i>	<i>ham= + kii</i>	'do'
- <i>Hanne</i>	<i>ham= + ne</i>	COP
- <i>Hannah</i>	<i>ham= + nah</i>	'so'
- <i>Hamo/hamu</i>	<i>ham= + o/u</i>	?
- <i>Hanna</i>	<i>ham= + na</i>	'too'?
- <i>Hannehka</i>	<i>ham= + nep* + ka</i>	'anything', 'even'

# SA negation – distribution

- Forms are not attested in equal distribution in the reference sources.
- *Hanka* and *hankii* are most common in WSA but rare in ESA.
- *Hanne* and *hamo/hamu* are attested exclusively in ESA.
- *Hannehka* is absent in ESA.
  
- Dialectal differences or diachronic development?



# Previous work on SA negation

- Negative forms and constructions are described as practically identical semantically (Murasaki 1979: 109).
- Negation in SA is encoded by the preclitic *ham=*.
- Preclitic *ham=* has developed from a proto-form *\*hεN* (parallels with Northern Kuril cognate form).
- Development of an analytic light verb construction with the form *hankii* from an original synthetic one.
- Influence from Hokkaidō Ainu or neighboring languages with analogous analytic constructions (Nivkh, Itelmen, Alyutor, Koryak)? (Dal Corso 2021b)
  
- What is the morphosyntax of the other negative forms?
- What semantic or pragmatic factors rule their use?

# Standard negation – sentential negation

- Negative *ham=* is not class-selective and it is more peripheral than agreement prefixes > preclitic.
- Affixation on the scope verb was the basic strategy for standard negation.

*Makap-an\_*  
go.uphill.PL-PRM.S

*yahka ham=an-nukara.*  
though NEG=PRM.A-3S.0/see

‘Although I proceeded uphill, I didn’t see [any animals to hunt].’ (Piłsudski 1912: 168)

# Standard negation – constituent negation

- Affixation of the clitic on non-verbal elements (content words).
- The locus of affixation, not the form of the negative, is indicative of type of negation (de Haan 1997).

*An\_-matak-hi*                      *nah*                      *ye*                      *yahka,*  
PRM.PSR-younger.sister-POSS      so                      3S.A/3S.O/say      though

*ham=utara*                      *nu-hci*  
NEG=people                      3P.A/3S.O/hear-COLL

‘Although my younger sister said so, not the men heard her [but I did].’

(Piłsudski 1912: 120)

# Standard negation – constituent negation

*Ham\_=suy*      *kayki*    *ene*      *an-ki-kun-i*  
NEG=again      even      so      PRM.A-3S.0/do-COND-NMLZ

*an-ramu.*  
PRM.A-3S.0/think

‘Not again [like I had done before] for sure I intended to reduce [my brother’s possessions to pieces] that way.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 210)

- This kind of use is absent in WSA.

# Development of constituent negation

- *Ham=* appears affixed to the nominal restrictive additive particle (non-content word) *ka(yki)* ‘even’.
- Its use is rare in ESA (as *hankayki*) but more common in WSA (as *hanka*), where direct affixation on nouns is absent.
- *Ham=+ka(yki)* is attested on left-dislocated nominal elements in focus position.

# Development of constituent negation

- The strategy develops the pragmatic function of marking negative focus.
- Change in the morphosyntactic layout of focus constituent negation.
- Possible beginning of lexicalization of *hanka* as a nominal negative particle:
  - Assimilation
  - Phonological reduction in line with other particles of Ainu (e.g. topic marker *anak/anakne*).
  - Independent stress.

*Tan-to ham\_=ka 'an-monrayki-re.*  
this-day NEG=even PRM.A-3S.O/work-CAUS

'Not today I let her work [because we have a guest].' (Dal Corso 2021a: 178)

# Development of constituent negation

- Possible dialectal difference...?
- ... In the few instances attested in ESA the form co-occurs with another topic or limitative nominal particle > this strategy of marking constituent focus was not yet fixed when ESA data was collected.

*Tan-to neampe ham\_=kayki ne-ene paye yan!*  
this-day TOP NEG=even where-ALL 2P.S/go.PL FP.IMP

‘Not today go [some]where!’ (Piłsudski 1912: 119)

- First step towards constituent negation = focus negation?





# Sentence-focus negation

- *Kii* retains verbal features as shown by inflection (collective *-hci*).
- Subject agreement can appear on *kii* in ESA but not in WSA, where on *kii* only suffixes are allowed and prefixes appear on the notional verb.

[Ahup\_]                      kayki    ham=*an-kii-te* ...  
SLV/enter.PL.NMLZ        even    NEG=PRM.A-OLV/do-CBV.SUC

'I did not enter [but waited outside] and ...' (Piłsudski 1912: 210)

# Sentence-focus negation

- Omission of prefixal agreement on syntactic head may indicate reanalysis of the LVC as a one-verb construction.
- Difference with other instances of LVC in the language (e.g. abilitative mood).

[*Poro-n-no*      *'ipe]*                      *ka*      *ku-koyaykus.*  
be.big-EP-ADV      SLV/ANTIP.eat.NMLZ      even      1S.A-OLV/cannot

'I cannot eat much.' (Dal Corso 2021a: 185)

# Sentence-focus negation

- Data in recent sources suggests this became the only way to express sentence negation in WSA.
- Possible path of development: two-verb LVC > constraints to agreement affixation > omission of *ka* (parallels with Hokkaidō Ainu) > lexicalization of *hankii* > one-verb construction and loss of pragmatic function of focus.
- In negative LVCs of ESA the form *hanne* (< *ham*=+COP) is found synchronically to *hankii*.
- This layout is absent in WSA – dialectal difference.

[*Utara ta mosiri-or\_-ta ahkas] kayki hanne ki-hci.*  
people that island-place-LOC/LAT 3P.S/walk.NMLZ even NEG SLV/OLV/do

‘[Our] people does not travel to that island.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 61)

# Copular negation

- Copular negation is obtained with the same strategy employed for standard negation

*Mahpo-ho-hcin*                      *aynu*   *po*        *kayki*   *ham\_=ne.*  
3.PSR/daughter-POSS-COLL      human child      even      NEG=COP

‘Her daughters were not even human children.’ (Pit̄sudski 1912: 59)

# Copular negation

- *Hanne* is also found before a notional verb – with this syntactic layout, the whole form seems to negate the notional verb.

*Tani*    *anoka*    ***hanne***    *i-ee.*  
now    me    NEG    2S.A>PRM.O-eat

‘Eventually you didn’t eat me.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 197)

- Occurrence even with the copula suggests functional specification of the form *hanne*.

*Anoka*    *neampe*                    *sonno*    *ceh*    *kayki*    ***hanne***    *an-ne.*  
I            TOP                            really    fish    even    NEG    PRM.A-COP

‘In reality I am not even a fish.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 197)

# Copular negation

- Scope over preceding nominal in light of copular origin (dialectal variant analogous to *hanka*)?
- Next step: use in LVC with pragmatic function of expressing focus (dialectal variant analogous to LCV with *hankii*)?
- In most cases *hanne* follows a clause linker or an oblique.

*An-cise-or\_-ta*

PRM.PSR-house-place-LOC/LAT

*hanne an-e-ahun-ke.*

NEG PRM.A-2S.O-enter.PC-CAUS

‘Not in my house I let you enter.’

‘I don’t let you enter in my house.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 159)



# Copular negation

- Has *hanne* lexicalized into a negative element with scope over a verb?
  - If yes: has it become an adverb?
  - If not: does it have an anaphoric function?
  
- What is the typology of negatives developing from copula constructions?

# Clause dependencies and modality

- Typological analysis has focused mainly on negation in independent clauses; negation in dependent clauses has been superficially studied (Payne 1985).
- Many languages resort to different negative forms/strategies depending on clause dependencies (Bond 2011), e.g. Ingush, Northeast Caucasian (Peterson 2001).
- Can this be the case for Sakhalin Ainu?

# Clause dependencies and modality

- *Hamo/hamu* is found only in «adverbial» clauses.
- Unless the unidentified segment *o/u* is a clause linker, there is none in this form.

<i>Tani</i>	<i>ampene</i>	<i>hamu</i>	<i>ipe</i>	<i>okay-an.</i>
now	really	NEG	ANTIP.eat	exist.PL-PRM.S

‘Eventually I stayed [there] without eating at all.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 226)

- Other «adverbial» clauses marked with a linker and all other dependent clauses are marked with standard negation strategies.
- How diagnostic of different kind of nexus are the formal changes in the negative form?

# Clause dependencies and modality

- Many languages distinguish negative forms in realis and irrealis domains (e.g. negative imperatives or prohibitives).
- Sakhalin Ainu does not have a prohibitive (unlike Hokkaidō Ainu).
- The only overt conditional marker of the language is attested with standard negation (as part of a copula construction).
- Intentional/«future» mood is attested both with standard negation or with the form *hanna*.
- In conditional sentences, the verb in the apodosis is negated with standard negation and preceded by *hannah* referred to the clause linker *kusu* (double negation).

# Findings and outlook of research

- Sentence negation and constituent negation were originally expressed the same way in Sakhalin Ainu.
- With time the two types of negation have come to be expressed with two different strategies: *hanka* >< LVC with *hankii*.
- Path of lexicalization of *ham*-forms under functional (pragmatics) pressure.
  
- Typology of copula-based negative form *hanne*.
- Diagnostics of formal differences in negation for clause dependencies.
- Organization of mood category of the language.

Iyayraykiree!  
Thank you!  
Kiitos!

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