

The verb of Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu: a general overview

Alexander Akulov

independent scholar; St.Petersburg, Russia; e-mail: aynu@inbox.ru

Abstract

Original data on Kuril-Kamchatka idiom are rather meager, but as far as the dialect is rather close to the dialect of Kushiro/Shiranuka so it was possible to use the data of the last in the reconstruction of Kuril-Kamchatka grammar. When there were no direct data on Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu and when Kushiro dialect offered unique forms which weren't represented in other dialect, then more universal forms were chosen. The reconstructed idiom has certain unique features: two desiderative forms instead of one; unique negative particle *eyn* instead of habitual Ainu *somo*. From the other hand tenses and modalities are closer to those of Southern Hokkaido dialects.

Key words: Ainu language; Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu; Ainu verb

1. Introduction

Original data on the verb of Kuril-Kamchatka idiom are rather meager: main sources about grammar are materials collected by Stepan Petrovich Krasheninnikov and Benedyct Dybowski (Krasheninnikov 1994; Radlinski¹ 1891). However, Kuril-Kamchatka idiom is rather close to the dialect of Kushiro/Shiranuka² (Akulov 2016: 38), so it's possible to use the data of Kushiro dialect for the reconstruction of Kuril-Kamchatka grammar.

2. Personal affixes

2.1. Personal affixes of intransitive verbs

Personal affixes of intransitive verbs are the following:

		1	2	3
singular		ku= ³ /k=	e=	proper singular: Ø= indefinite subject: -an
plural	inclusive	=an	eci=	Ø=
	exclusive	=as		

This paper has been written with a support of Endangered Language Fund (Language Legacies program) within the project on Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu dialect revitalization.

¹ Data collected by B. Dybowski were edited and published by I. Radlinski, that's why dictionary of Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu that is generally known as Dybowski's dictionary, in references is marked as a work by Radlinski.

² See figure 1.

³ As far as Ainu verb can attach different affixes so “=” sign is used in order to mark proper personal affixes and distinguish them from other affixes.

Form *k=* is used before vowels, form *ku=* is used before consonants.

An example of intransitive paradigm:

mina “to smile”, “to laugh”

ku=mina “I smile”

e=mina “you smile”

\emptyset =*mina* “he smiles” / “she smiles”

mina-an “someone smiles”

mina=an “we (incl.) smile”

mina=as “we (excl.) smile”

eci=mina “you (pl.) smile”

\emptyset =*mina* “they smile”.

It is important to note that in current text zero affix is shown by special sign of zero morpheme “ \emptyset ” while in practical Ainu orthography it isn’t shown anyhow and so, for example, \emptyset =*mina* form in practical Ainu orthography will be simply *mina*.

Indefinite person affix is attached to the stem by “-”, but not by “=” in order to distinguish it from affixes of first person (for more details about indefinite person see 2.2 and 2.3).

2.2. Personal affixes of transitive verbs

Personal affixes of agent are the following:

		1	2	3
singular		ku=/k=	e=	proper singular: \emptyset =
				indefinite agent: an-
plural	inclusive	an=	eci=	\emptyset =
	exclusive	ci=		

Personal affixes of patient are the following:

		1	2	3
singular		=en=	=e=	proper singular: = \emptyset =
				indefinite patient: -i-
plural	inclusive	=i=	=eci=	= \emptyset =
	exclusive	=un=		

Table showing interaction of agent-patient affixes within a transitive verb:

			1			2		3		
			Sg	Pl		Sg	Pl	Sg		Pl
			=en=	incl.: =i=	excl.: =un=	=e=	=eci=	sg: =Ø=	indf: -i-	=Ø=
1	Sg	k= ku=				k=e=	k=eci=	k=Ø= ku=Ø=	k=i-	ku=Ø=
	Pl	incl: an=				an=e=	an=eci=	an=Ø=	an=i-	an=Ø=
		excl: ci=				ci=e=	ci=eci=	ci=Ø=	ci=i-	ci=Ø=
2	Sg	e=	e=en=	e=i	e=un=			e=Ø=	e=i-	e=Ø=
	Pl	eci=	eci=en	eci=i=	eci=un=			eci=Ø=	eci=i-	eci=Ø=
3	Sg	sg: Ø=	Ø=en=	Ø=i=	Ø=un=	Ø=e=	Ø=eci=	Ø=Ø=	Ø=i=	Ø=Ø=
		indf: an-	an-en=	an-i=	an-un=	an-e=	an-eci=	an-Ø=	an-i=	an-Ø=
	Pl	Ø=	Ø=en=	Ø=i=	Ø=un=	Ø=e=	Ø=eci=	Ø=Ø=	Ø=i=	Ø=Ø=

An example of transitive paradigm:

nukar “to see”

k=e=nukar “I see you”

k=eci=nukar “I see you (pl.)”

ku=Ø=nukar “I see him/her/it”

k=i-nukar “I see someone”

ku=Ø=nukar “I see them”

an=e=nukar “we (incl.) see you”

an=eci=nukar “we (incl.) see you (pl.)”

an=Ø=nukar “we (incl.) see him/her/it”

an=i-nukar “we (incl.) see someone”

an=Ø=nukar “we (incl.) see they”

ci=e=nukar “we (excl) see you”

ci=eci=nukar “we (excl) see you(pl)”

ci=Ø=nukar “we (excl) see him/her/it”

ci=i-nukar “we (excl) see someone”

ci=Ø=nukar “we (excl) see they”

e=en=nukar “you see me”

e=i=nukar “you see us (incl)”

e=un=nukar “you see us (excl)”

e=Ø=nukar “you see him/her/it”

e=i-nukar “you see someone”

e=Ø=nukar “you see them”

eci=en=nukar “you (pl.) see me”

eci=i=nukar “you (pl.) see us (incl.)”

eci=un=nukar “you (pl.) see us (excl.)”

eci=Ø=nukar “you (pl.) see him/her/it”

eci=i-nukar “you (pl.) see someone”

eci=Ø=nukar “you (pl.) see them”

Ø=en=nukar “he/she sees me”

Ø=i=nukar “he/she sees us (incl.)”

Ø=un=nukar “he/she sees us (excl.)”

Ø=e=nukar “he/she sees you”

Ø=eci=nukar “he/she sees you (pl.)”

Ø=Ø=nukar “he/she sees he/she/it”

Ø=i-nukar “he/she sees someone”

Ø=Ø=nukar “he/she sees them”

an-en=nukar “someone sees me”

an-i=nukar “someone sees us (incl.)”

an-un=nukar “someone sees us (excl.)”

an-e=nukar “someone sees you”

an-eci=nukar “someone sees you (pl.)”

an-Ø=nukar “someone sees him/her/it”

an-i-nukar “someone sees someone”

an-Ø=nukar “someone sees them”

Ø=en=nukar “they see me”

Ø=i=nukar “they see us (incl.)”

Ø=un=nukar “they see us (excl.)”

Ø=e=nukar “they see you”

Ø=eci=nukar “they see you (pl.)”

Ø=Ø=nukar “they see him/her/it”

Ø=i-nukar “they see someone”

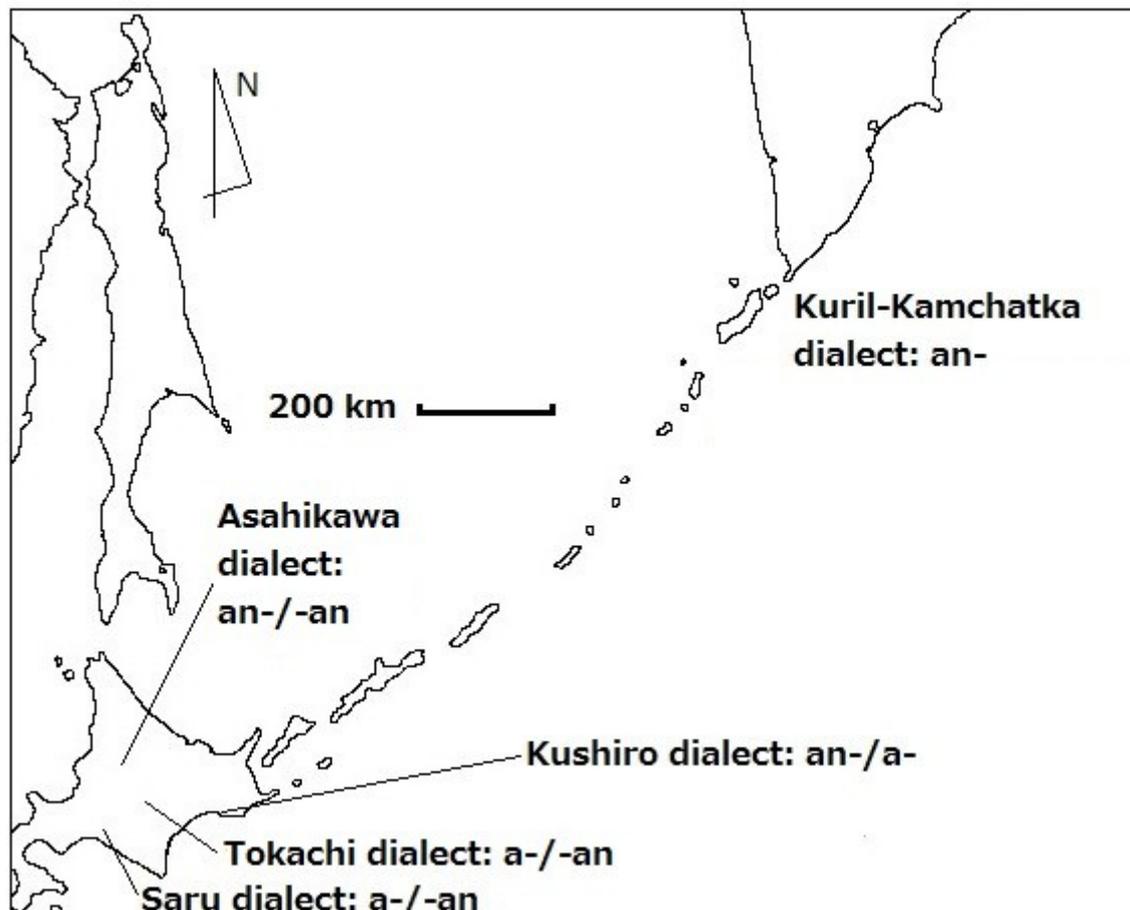
Ø=Ø=nukar “they sees them”

2.3. Indefinite person

In many contemporary grammars of Ainu language (written mostly by Japanese) can be seen the following: indefinite person is described as 4th person. I don't suppose that it's a good idea to invent 4th person in order to describe indefinite person.

Indefinite person actually acts same way as 3rd person, that's why it is described as a type of 3rd person in above shown tables. However, since indefinite person actually differs from proper 3rd person so indefinite person affixes are marked by “-”, but not by “=”.

In different dialects are used slightly different ways of expression of indefinite person (pic.1).



Pic. 1. Map showing geographic spread of different ways of expression of indefinite agent; Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu is rather close to the dialect of Kushiro

In available materials on Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu only forms containing indefinite agent affixes are shown, however, even on the base of these meager data it is possible to say that Kuril-Kamchatka dialect is rather close to that of Kushiro: in both dialects indefinite agent is expressed by prefixes only, while in other Hokkaido dialects indefinite agent can also be expressed by suffixes.

Forms with indefinite agent often are translated in English and Russian by forms of passive voice. It is completely acceptable from the point of view of English or Russian grammars, but we should keep in mind that in Ainu language there is no passive voice and there are no voices at all. In other words: from the point of view of voices typology Ainu language is a language outside of any voices.

3. Applicatives: prefixes changing valence

In all Ainu dialects verbs can attach prefixes which change valence: *e-*, *ko-* and *o-*. And the same situation is in Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu.

Some examples with such prefixes are represented in the materials collected by Dybowski:

(1) *esiski* (also *eseski*) “to close” (Radlinksii 1891: 78), in modern practical orthography: *e-ses-ke*; *ses-ke* means “to close” and it is an intransitive verb, while *e-ses-ke* means “to close something”, i.e.: it requires an object and thus it is a transitive verb.

(2) *kojam* “to disembark” (Radlinksi 1891: 93), it is a distorted form of verb that in modern practical orthography is written as *ko-yan*; *yan* means “to land”, it is intransitive verb, *ko-yan* means “to land to somewhere”.

The meaning of prefix *e-* can be interpreted as “using”, “concerning”, “regarding”; and the meaning of *ko-* can be interpreted as “against”, “toward” (Tamura 2000: 206; Tamura 2007: 101 – 102).

It should be noted that meanings of *e-* and *ko-* are very close and actually they express the same function and chose of a particular applicative in a particular case depends mostly on phonetic structure of a particular verb, for instance:

(3) *mina* “to laugh”, “to smile” – *e-mina* “to laugh at something/somebody”;

(4) *pasrota* “to scold” – *ko-pasrota* “to scold at somebody”.

Also *e-* and *ko-* can be attached to the same verb at once:

(5) *e-ko-hepenpenu* “to nod at someone (about something)” (Tamura 2000: 207).

The meaning of prefix *o-* can be interpreted as: “at”, “toward” (Tamura 2000: 206; Tamura 2007: 103):

(6) *cise*(1) *or*(2) *o-ahun*(3)
house(1) place(2) to enter into(3) (Tamura 2000: 27)
He/she enters into the house.

The same phrase with verb without applicative *o-* is the following:

(7) *cise*(1) *or*(2) *ta*(3) *ahun*(4)
house (1) place(2) in/at(3) (Ibid.)
He/she enters the house.

4. Prefix decreasing valence

In all Ainu dialects verbs also can accept prefix *i-* that decrease valence of verb. This *i-* literally means “item”, “issue”, “something”, and it evidently is the same morpheme as nominalizer *-i/-hi* (10.2). Verbs with this prefix can be interpreted as verb with incorporated noun “item”.

(8) *nuye* “to draw (something)” – transitive verb;

(9) *i-nuye* “to draw an item” – intransitive verb.

5. Reciprocity and reflexivity

Verb of Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu can express reciprocity and reflexivity as well as verbs of any other Ainu dialect.

5.1. Reciprocity

Reciprocity is expressed by *u-* prefix which meaning can be interpreted as “each other”:

(10) *koyki* “to tease”;

(11) *u-koyki* “to fight”.

5.2. Reflexivity

There are two reflexive prefixes in Ainu: *yay-* and *si-*.

Despite meaning of both prefixes are interpreted as “self”, but their usage is different: *yay-* means that action performed by the agent is directed toward agent; *si-* means that action is performed solely by agent without any outer help (in some descriptions *si-* is interpreted as middle voice).

(12) *kik* “he/she beats”;

(13) *yay-kik* “he/she beats himself/herself”;

(14) *pusu* “it floats up”

(15) *si-pusu* “it floats up by itself”

6. Grammatical number

As well as in any other dialect of Ainu grammatical number is expressed not just by personal affixes, but also can be expressed inside verbal stem.

Most verbs, however, use the same stem for singular and for plural forms. However, there are some verbs which express number inside their stems; there are some ways of expressing of grammatical number.

It should be noted that in Ainu language singular and plural forms express not just number of agent/patient/subject, but also can express frequency/intensiveness of the process described by the verb.

Also should be noted the in the case of transitive verb number usually reflects number of patient that is a feature of ergative language.

6.1. Suppletion

There is a small group of verbs which express singular and plural numbers irregularly, i.e.: they use completely different stems for singular and plural forms.

Examples of such verbs can be seen in the list of Ainu expression compiled by Krasheninnikov:

(16) *ea суана* [easiana] (Krasheninnikov 1994: 186); it is a distorted recording of the following form: *e=as an wa* “you are standing” where *an wa* is probably an aspectual form (for more details about this aspectual form see 7.4.)

(17) *окая роски чуа* [okaja roskitua] (Ibid.); this example obviously was the following phrase initially:

okay(1) roski(2) wa(3)

they(1) 3plsb=stand (pl.) (2) sentence final particle(3).

It seems that [wa]/[ua] became [tʃua] due to positional assimilation.

Complete list of suppletive verbs of Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu dialect is the following:

a – rok “to sit”;
an – oka “to be present”;
as – roski “to stand”;
*oman*⁴ – *paye* “to go”;
ek – arki “to come”;
mi – utomciwre “to wear”;
rayke – ronnu “to kill”;
uk – uyna “to take”;
unu – uyruke “to place”.

6.2. Suffix *-pa*

Also plurality can be formed by suffix *-pa*:

(18) *Тупсаинку фравантаг ткеани тифрорпа*⁵ (Krasheninnikov 1994: 112)
 [tipsainku fravantag tkeani tifrorpa].

It seems to be distorted recording of the following phrase (written in contemporary practical Ainu orthography):

Cip(1) san-ke(2) ya-[w]-an-ta-ke(3) ani(4) cip-ror-pa(5).

Boat(1) to down(2) near the shore/near the land(3) instrumental particle(4) to sit in a boat much⁶ (5).

Examples with the same suffix *-pa* can also be seen in Dybowski dictionary:

(19) *nojba* (Radłński 1891: 98); “to turn”, “to twist”; in contemporary orthography: *noy-pa*;

(20) *okonospa* “to hold” (Radłński 1891: 100); in contemporary orthography: *okonos-pa*.

This feature is common Ainu feature and isn't specific for any dialect group.

This suffix *-pa* can optionally be attached to the verbs which use the same stem for singular and plural forms.

⁴ In most of Hokkaido dialects form *arpa* is used as singular form instead of *oman*.

⁵ This phrase was text of song sung during a ritual dance performed by Itelmen people; the song and the ritual evidently were borrowed from Ainu; the song and the ritual were about sea hunting.

⁶ *Cip-ror-pa* literary means “to sit in a boat much”; in Ainu plurality expresses not just with number of subject/agent/patient, but also can express frequency and intensity (Tamura 2000: 39). Also should be noted that this verb is an example of hunters' euphemism or hunters' taboo to speak openly about issues related to hunting.

And also this suffix *-pa* can optionally be attached to plural forms of suppletive pairs in order to enforce the idea of plurality, for example:

(21) *ronnu-pa* “he/she kills many people many times”.

6.3. Alternation -n/-p in final position

Also as well as in any other dialect of Ainu there is a group of verbs which express plurality by alternation of final consonant of their stems, i.e.: forms ending with *-n* are singular and plural forms end with *-p*.

For example:

(22) *ahun – ahup* “to enter”;

(23) *rikin – rikip* “to ascend”;

(24) *san – sap* “to go down”.

6.4. Reduplication

Also plurality can be expressed by reduplication.

Despite examples of reduplication haven't been met in the materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski, it is possible to reconstruct reduplication as a mean of expressing plurality for Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu as far as reduplication is represented in all Ainu dialects.

Reduplication seems to be the most ancient way of expressing plural number in Ainu language. There are some types of reduplication.

Full reduplication:

(25) *kompa-kompa* “to fold”, singular form *kompa*;

(26) *ronke-ronke* “to scoop up”, singular form: *ronke* ;

(27) *terke-terke* “to jump”, “to leap”, singular form: *terke*.

Another type of reduplication is reduplication in which only root is reduplicated:

(28) *para-para-k* “to blub”, singular from: *parak*;

(29) *noy-noy-e* “to twist”, “to squat”, singular form: *noye*;

(30) *yak-yak-u* “to smash”, “to crush”, singular form: *yaku*.

Another type of reduplication is reduplication in which only a part of stem is reduplicated:

(31) *car-ar-se* “to glide”, “to slip”, singular form: *carse*

(32) *rim-im-im-se* “to cry and shout”, “to scream”, singular form: *rimimse*.

Reduplication in Kuril-Kamchatka dialect and in Ainu language at all still awaits a due and profound description.

7. Tenses and aspects

As well as in any other dialect of Ainu, in Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu verbs express tenses and aspectual forms.

It should be specially noted that in Ainu language there is no strictly determined border between tenses and aspects since most of aspectual forms are inseparably connected with particular tenses. If we analyze, for example, English tenses and aspect forms we can see that in any particular form it is possible to point univocally at aspectual part and tense part; while such procedure is impossible in Ainu since aspectual and tense parts are inseparably connected.

In different descriptions of Ainu language can be seen different approaches toward interpretation of Ainu tense and aspects.

In some descriptions can be met the statement that Ainu has no tenses since tenses aren't expressed morphologically; such point of view evidently correlates badly with the reality since tenses can be expressed syntactically, but not only morphologically.

Also in some descriptions can be met statement that analytical ways of expression of tenses are actually can be omitted and the same verbal form can be referred to past, present and future just depending on context. I am to note that such point of view also badly correlates with reality.

7.1. Present simple tense (general tense)

General tense denotes activity that happens in present, or activity that happens regularly. In all Ainu dialects this tense has no special markers, for example:

(33) *k=oman* "I go".

7.2. Present continuous tense

Present continuous tense isn't represented anyhow in materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski.

In the description of Shiranuka dialect written by Tamura Masashi are represented the following postpositions which express present continuous tense (durative aspect): *kor an/ kor oka/ kan okay (kan an)* (Tamura 2007: 184 – 185).

From the other hand we know that markers of continuous tense are postpositions: *kor an* and *sir ne*. (Simeon 1970: 181)

I suppose it is more useful to reconstruct a more universal form of present continuous tense for Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu, i.e.: form *kor an*. Also I suppose that the use of the only form for expressing a certain grammatical function helps to avoid potential ambiguity since form *sir ne* can tangle with *sir* that is a marker of evidence (9.3).

Thus, present continuous is represented by *kor an* postposition which plural form is *kor oka*.

(34) *k=oman kor an* "I am going";

(35) *paye=an kor oka* "We (incl.) are going".

7.3. Present perfect tense

Forms of present perfect tense isn't represented in the materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski, but it is mentioned in the description of Shiranuka dialect.

According to Tamura Masashi markers of present perfect tense are the following: *nisa* (Tamura 2007: 163) and *okore*⁷ (Ibid.: 165) which are placed in postposition.

According to George Simeon both *nisa* and *oker* are markers of action finished in past (Simeon 1970: 181).

I suppose that marker of present perfect tense in Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu should be *oker*, but not *nisa* since *oker* is a widely used marker of present perfect tense in Hokkaido dialects, while *nisa* should be marker of past perfect tense (7.6).

Oker literally means just “to finish”, “to end”; the same root (i.e.: *kes*) has meanings of “end” and “hem”, for instance: *kotan kes* “end of settlement”, *amip kes* “hem of clothes”. Also as it has been already said in (7.2) the use of the only form for expressing of a certain grammatical function helps to avoid ambiguity.

Thus, we have the following:

(36) *k=oman oker* “I have gone”.

7.4. Present perfect continuous tense

A form that seems to represent present perfect continuous tense is represented in materials collected by Krasheninnikov, see 6.1., example (16):

e=as an wa.

I suppose that this phrase can be interpreted as “you are standing”, literally: “you stand [and] it is”. In this sentence *wa* is sentence ending marker and *an* seems to be a marker of present perfect continuous tense: *an* placed after main verb looks much alike marker of present perfect continuous tense *wa an* described by Tamura Masashi (Tamura 2007: 185) if *wa* is omitted.

7.5. Past simple tense

Past simple is expressed by postposition of auxiliary verb *a/rok* that literally means “to sit”; singular and plural forms of this auxiliary verb correlate with grammatical number of main verb. This auxiliary is not mentioned anyhow in Krasheninnikov's and Dybowski's materials, but is mentioned in the description of Shiranuka dialect (Tamura 2007: 161 – 163); this auxiliary is represented in all Ainu dialects. Examples of use of this auxiliary are the following:

(37) *k=oman a* “I went”;

(38) *paye rok* “They went”.

7.6. Past perfect tense

Above mentioned *nisa* (7.3) in current description is interpreted as marker of an action or a process that has been completed in the past, i.e.: as a marker of past perfect tense.

⁷ *Okore* evidently is just a distorted form of *oker*, that literally means “to finish”.

Why I suppose it is possible to interpret *nisa* as a marker of past perfect tense while such tense isn't mentioned in any description of Ainu language?

If we pay attention to etymology of *nisa* we can see that it is compound of the following components: *ni* and *sa*. *Ni* means "tree" and *sa* means "to go down", "to fall" (this root *sa* can be seen in modern Ainu verb *san/sap* "to go down"). Thus, it seems that *nisa* initially means "tree falls", i.e.: "trees already fall since the time when the action/process happened". That's why I suppose *nisa* can be interpreted as a marker of past perfect tense.

(39) *oman nisa* "He/she had gone".

7.7. Future simple tense

Future tense isn't described anyhow in the materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski.

In the grammar of Shiranuka the postposition of *etokun* is described as a marker referred to the plan of future (Tamura 2007: 163).

However, as far as *kus ne* is more widely spread marker of future tense in Ainu language than *etokun* I suppose it is more useful to reconstruct *kus ne* as marker of future for Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu.

The postposition of *etokun* optionally can be a variant of expressing of hypothetical mood (8.7). As it has been mentioned above (7.2) I suppose that it is more useful for Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu to reconstruct those ways of expressions of grammatical meanings which are more widely spread among other Ainu dialects. If there are no direct evidences about a certain way of expressing of a grammatical meaning in the materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski then it is more preferable to choose a form that is more widely spread among different Ainu dialects.

(40) *k=oman kus ne* "I will go".

7.8. Frequentative/iterative aspect

This aspect isn't represented anyhow in materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski, but it is described in grammar of Shiranuka dialect (Tamura 2007: 162). Iterative aspect is formed the following way:

(41) *k=oman a k=oman a* "I go and go".

Also in some cases frequentative aspect can be expressed by reduplication of part of verbal stem with insertion of *a* between reduplicated element:

(42) *ter-a-ter-ke* "He/she jumps and jumps".

This aspect refers to the plan of present simple/general tense.

8. Modalities and moods

As well as verb of any other Ainu dialect verb of Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu expresses modalities and mood.

8.1. Indicative mood

In Kuril-Kamchatka dialect indicative mood has no special marker as well as in other Ainu dialects.

8.2. Imperative

8.2.1 Plain imperative

As well as in any other Ainu dialect plain imperative is expressed by bare singular stem, for example:

(43) *oman* “go!”

(44) *e* “eat!”

(45) *ki* “do!”

8.2.2. Polite imperative and demand/recommendation to a group

Polite (less abrasive) imperative/demand is expressed by adding postpositive particle *yan*:

(46) *e yan* “please, eat!”

(47) *ki yan* “please, do!”

The same particle *yan* also can be marker of a demand addressed to a group:

(48) *paye yan*⁸ “go!”

(49) *e yan* “eat!”

8.3. Hortative mood

As well as in other Ainu dialect hortative in Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu hortative is expressed by postpositional particle *ro*:

(50) *paye=an(1) ro(2)*
 go(pl.)=1sb.pl.incl.(1) HORT(2)
 “Let’s go!”

8.4. Causative mood

8.4.1. Plain causative

Causative mood in Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu is expressed by suffixes: *-el/-kal/-ke/-rel/-te* as well as in any other dialect of Ainu.

⁸ Phrase *paye yan* can also be used as polite recommendation since it is used, for instance, in the following phrase: *apunno paye yan* “peacefully go” that is a standard way to say “good bye” to departing person/persons, i.e.: it can be addressed to a group or to one person.

(51) *nukar* “to see” – *nukar-e* “to make (someone) see”;

(52) *mom* “to flow” – *mom-ka* “to shed”;

(53) *san* “to go down (sg.)” – *san-ke* “to down”;

(54) *a* “to sit” – *a-re* “to settle”;

(55) *ek* “to come (sg.)” – *ek-te* “to make someone come”.

8.4.2. Indefinite causative

The indefinite causative expresses causing an unspecified person to perform an action, or having an action performed by someone unspecified, without doing it oneself (Tamura 2000: 214).

This type of causative isn't described anyhow in materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski and isn't represented in the description of Shiranuka dialect written by Tamura Masashi, but, as far as this causative is widely represented in other Ainu dialects I suppose it is possible to reconstruct it for Kuril-Kamchatka dialect.

Indefinite causative is expressed by suffixing *-yar* to stems that end with vowels and by suffixing *-ar* to stem that end in consonants.

(56) *nu* “to hear” – *nu-yar* “to cause to be heard”

(57) *kar* “to make” – *kar-ar* “to cause to be made”

8.5. Debitive/deontic modality

Deontic modality isn't represented anyhow in the materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski. In the description of Shiranuka dialect the postposition of *kun* is represented as marker of debitive/deontic modality (Tamura 2007: 168 – 169).

However, I suppose it is better to use a more universal form for expressing deontic modality, i.e.: *'easirki*. This *'easirki* is represented in different dialect while form *kun* is a local form.

(58) *k=oman 'easirki* “I have to go”/“I should go”.

8.6. Desiderative mood/volitional mood

It seems that unlike other Ainu dialects there are two forms of desiderative in Kuril-Kamchatka dialect.

8.6.1. *Rusuy*

One form of desiderative is the same as desiderative in other Ainu dialects, i.e.: *rusuy*.

(59) *кмоконросива* [kmokonrosiva] (Krasheninnikov 1994: 186) is translated as “to sleep” by Krasheninnikov, but this form evidently is the following phrase:

k=mokor(1) rusuy(2) wa(3)

1sg.sb.=sleep(1) want(2) sentence final particle(3)

“I want to sleep”.

8.6.2. *Reyke*

Another form of desiderative is *reyke*:

(60) *unekreyke* [ipekrejke] “I want to eat” (Krasheninnikov 1994: 186).

In contemporary orthography it is: *ipe k=rey-ke*.

It is rather interesting and noteworthy that in this desiderative form personal marker is attached to the auxiliary verb, but not to the main verb.

Form *reyke* evidently is causative form of verb *reye* “to creep”, “to crawl”, and thus form *reyke* can be interpreted as “to make someone to crawl”, “to tend to do something”. It can be concluded that the desiderative of *reyke* is probably a softer desiderative than that of *rusuy*. However, as far as we have the only phrase with this *reyke* so reality of this form is quite questionable.

8.7. Hypothetical/dubitative mood

Hypothetical mood in Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu can be expressed by the following postpositional auxiliaries: *nankor* “maybe” and *etokun* “it seems to be”.

Markers of hypothetical mood are usually interpreted as markers of the plan of future; such point of view isn’t correct since hypothetical mood can coexist with markers of any tense.

(61) *sinuma*(1) *anakne*(2) *ikia*(3) *eramuan*(4) *nankor*(5)

He/she(1) topic marker(2) that(3) 3ag.sg.=3pt.sg.=know(4) maybe(5)
“He/she maybe knows that”.

(62) *sinuma*(1) *anakne*(2) *ikia*(3) *eramuan*(4) *etokun*(5)

He/she(1) topic marker(2) that(3) 3ag.sg.=3pt.sg.=know (4) it seems(5)
“It seems he/she knows that”.

(63) *numan*(1) *paye*(2) *rok*(3) *nankor*(4)

Yesterday(1) 3sb.pl.=go(2) plural form of marker of past simple (3) maybe(4)
“They maybe went yesterday”.

(64) *numan*(1) *paye*(2) *rok*(3) *etokun*(4)

Yesterday(1) 3sb.pl.=go(2) plural form of marker of past simple (3) it seems(4)
“It seems they went yesterday”.

(65) *nisatta*(1) *ek*(2) *kus ne*(3) *nankor*(4)

Tomorrow(1) 3sb.sg.=come(2) will(3) maybe(3)
“He maybe will come tomorrow”.

(66) *nisatta*(1) *ek*(2) *kus ne*(3) *etokun*(4)

Tomorrow(1) 3sb.sg.=come(2) will(3) it seems (4)
It seems that he will come tomorrow.

8.8. Conditional mood

The following markers of conditional mood are reconstructed for Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu: *yak* and *ciki*.

8.8.1. Plain conditional marker

Yak is used in description of condition where a certain phenomenon occurs.

- (67) *sirpirka*(1) *yak*(2) *k=oman*(3) *kus ne*(4)
 The weather is good(1) if(2) 1sb.sg.=go(3) will(4)
 “If the weather is good I will go”.

8.8.2. Conditional mood in demands and requests

In demands and requests a special form of conditional marker is used, i.e.: *ciki*.

- (68) *k=itak*(1) *ciki*(2) *pirka-no*(3) *inu*(4) *yan*(5)
 1sb.sg.=speak(1) if(2) well(3) listen(4) please(5)
 “If I speak, please listen well”.

8.9. Potential mood

As well as in any other Ainu dialect potential modality is expressed by postposition of *easkay* (Tamura 2007: 171). This *easkay* express physical ability as well as learned ability.

- (69) *k=inuye*(1) *easkay*(2)
 1sb.sg.=draw(1) can(2)
 “I can draw”.

- (70) *k=inu*(1) *easkay*(2)
 1sb.sg.=hear(1) can(2)
 “I can hear”.

8.10. Impossibility

Impossibility is expressed by the postposition of *eaykap* (Tamura 2007: 172) as well as in any other Ainu dialect.

- (71) *sinuma*(1) *anakne*(2) *ma*(3) *eaykap*(4)
 He/she(1) topic marker(2) 3sb.sg.=swim(3) impossibility(4)
 “He/she can’t swim”.

8.11. Negation

As well as in other Ainu dialects negation is expressed by a prepositional particle, but the particle used in Kuril-Kamchatka dialect is much unlike negative particle used in other Ainu dialects.

(72) *кмукуруа* [kmukurua] “I sleep” (Krasheninnikov 1994: 187); *k=mokor wa* in practical orthography;

(73) *ейн-кмукаруа* [ejnkmukarua] “I don’t sleep” (Ibid.); *eyn k=mokor wa* in modern practical orthography.

And an example of Saru dialect for contrast:

(74) *somo ku=mokor* “I don’t sleep”.

This particle *eyn* seems to be result of influence of some other language: Itelmen or probably Russian.

In some modern Japanese descriptions of Ainu language is propagated the following way of expressing negation: combination *ka somo ki* “[even] not do” should be placed after main verb. Such way of expressing of negation is actually nothing else, but just copying of ways of expressing negation which exist in Japanese language and so it isn’t original Ainu way of expressing negation. In Ainu language negation is expressed by prepositions.

9. Evidence

In Ainu language there is such grammatical category as evidence. Markers of evidence show how the information expressed in a certain utterance was received by speaker. In all Ainu dialects there are the four markers of evidence: *ruwe*, *hawe*, *siri*, *humi*. These markers are mentioned in the description of Shiranuka dialect (Tamura 2007: 147 – 148)

9.1. *Ruwe*

Ruwe literally means “there is a trace”; when it is placed after main verb it means that the speaker personally took/takes participation in the described process or personally sees/saw the described process.

(75) *sinuma*(1) *anakne*(2) *aynu*(3) *itak*(4) *eramuan*(5) *ruwe*(6)

She(1) topic marker(2) Ainu(3) language(4) 3ag.sg.=3pt.sg.=understand(5) evidence(6)
“She really understands Ainu language”.

The sentence means that someone who knows Ainu had conversation with a lady and through this experience immediately understood that she could speak Ainu.

As far as *ruwe* expresses the highest degree of confidence it is sometimes considered as a marker of past simple (and also: past perfect/present perfect) since items which has already happened and processes which has ended are the best issues for applying marker expressing the highest degree of confidence.

9.2. *Hawe*

Hawe literally means “voice”, “there is a voice”, “they say”; when it is placed after main verb it means that the information reported by the speaker has been received from a report of someone else.

- (76) *kor*(1) *i-nuye-p*(2) *pirka*(3) *hawe*(4)
 3sb sg=have(1) written(2) be good(3) they say(4)
 They say [that] her writing is good.

9.3. *Sir*

Sir literally can be interpreted as “[it] can be seen”; it denotes information that can be received by eyes. It can be interpreted as “it looks like”.

- (77) *upas*(1) *as*(2) *kus ne*(3) *sir*(4).
 Snow(1) 3sb.sg.=meteorological verb(2) will(3) it seems(4)
 “It looks like it will snow”.

9.4. *Hum*

Hum literally means “noise”, “sound”; it denotes information that can be received by ears/nose.

- (78) *nenka*(1) *ek*(2) *kor an*(3) *hum*(4)
 Someone(1) 3sb.sg.=come(2) present continuous(3) evidence(4)
 “It sounds like someone is coming”.

10. Nominalization

In all descriptions of Ainu language are usually mentioned three suffixes which convert verbs into nouns: *-pe/-p* “thing”/ “being”, *-i/-hi* “item”, “issue” and *-kur* “person”, “being”.

10.1. The nominalizer of *-p*

This nominalizer is usually represented in two variants: *-pe* is used after consonant end of stem and *-p* is used after vowel end of stem. However, it seems that in Kuril-Kamchatka Ainu only *-p* variant is represented:

- (79) *anep* (Radłński 1891: 69) in contemporary orthography: *an-e-p*: “food”, “meal”, literally: “something that can be eaten”;

- (80) *ajkarp* (Radłński 1891: 67) in contemporary orthography: *ay-kar-p* “a device for casting bullets”.

10.2. The nominalizer of *-i/-hi*

This nominalizer isn’t represented anyhow in the materials of Krasheninnikov and Dybowski, but is described in the grammar of Shiranuka dialect (Tamura 2007: 148 – 150). This nominalizer converts verbs into abstract nouns. The variant of *-i* is used after consonant ending of stem and the variant of *-hi* is used after vowel end of stem.

- (81) *pirka* “be good”/ “be beautiful” – *pirka-hi* “goodness”/ “beauty”.

- (82) *itak* “to speak” – *itak-i* “speech”.

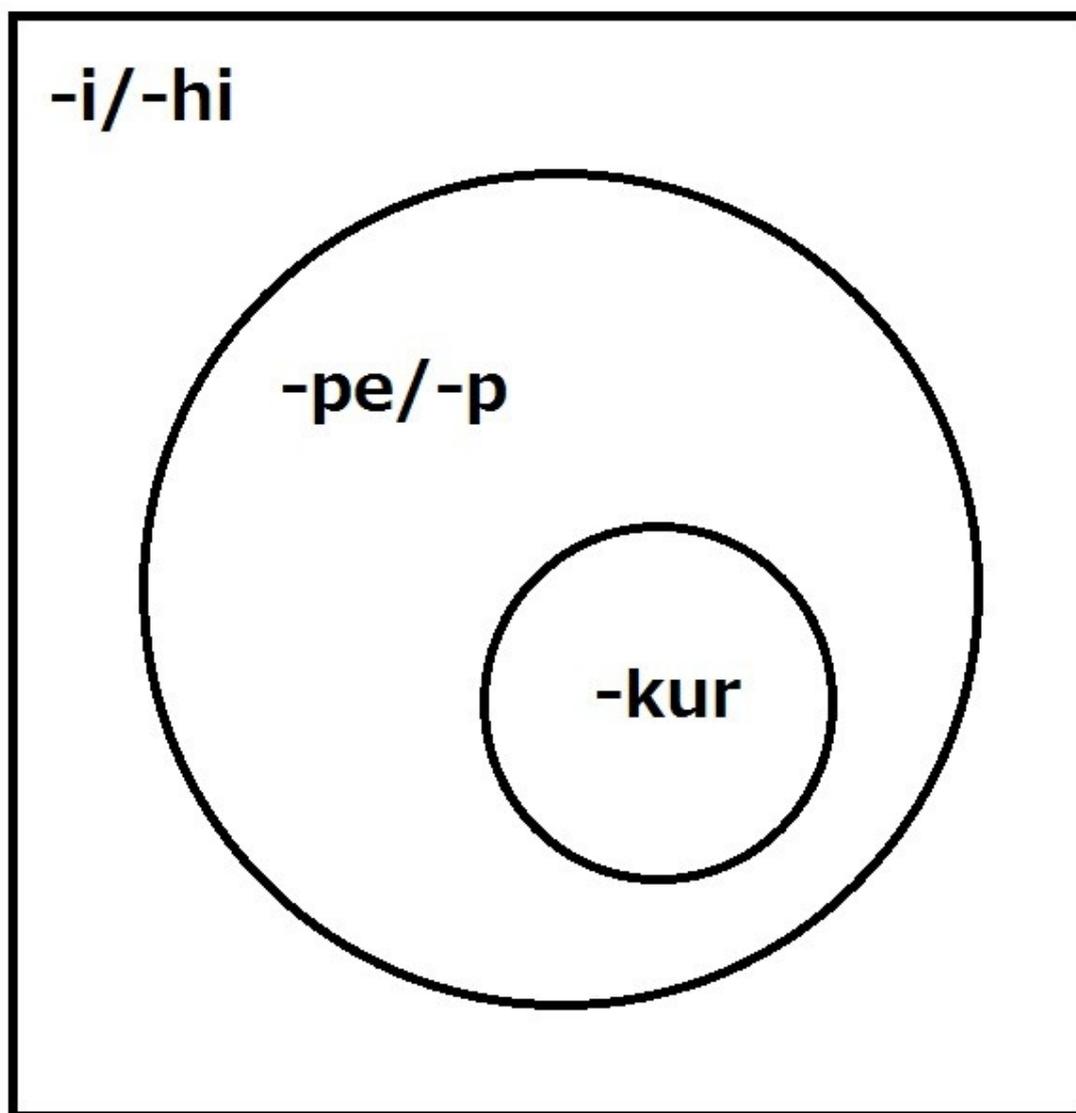
10.3. The nominalizer of *-kur*

Some words containing this nominalizer are represented in the materials collected by Dybowski, for instance:

(83) *icakukur* “teacher” (Radłński 1891: 79) where *icaku* means “index finger” (Ibid.) and also can be interpreted as “to point the finger”, “to teach” since in Ainu language conversion is highly developed.

10.4. Some notes on the subordinate interaction of nominalizers

The most concrete nominalizer is *-kur*; *-p/-pe* is less concrete and *-i/-hi* is the most abstract, i.e.: the set of *-kur* is included into the set of *-pe* that in its turn is included into the set of *-i/-hi* (see pic. 2 below).



Pic. 2. Scheme showing subordinate structure of sets of items covered by different nominalizers

11. An intermediate conclusion

A restoration of a language that lost about 90% of its material is actually not restoration, but evidently is much alike constructing a new language. Of course, restoration a language that is in the situation of radical language shift evidently supposes certain elements of constructing. However, in the case of Ainu the fact of notorious proximity of different dialects allows me to say that reconstruction made on the base of material of close dialects isn't constructing of a new language.

Also I am to note that a reconstructed grammar evidently supposes certain simplification and standardization.

Moreover, I don't suppose that it is possible to reconstruct and maintain all particular grammatical features which existed in the idiom when it was in everyday normal use. For example, if applicatives and markers of exclusive/inclusive would fall the idiom still will be Ainu by the way.

Thus, in the case of radical language shift we have to single out principal features and care mostly care of them and don't care much about possible fall of certain secondary features.

References

Akulov A. 2016. Krasheninnikov's and Dybowski's materials as sources on grammar of Kamchatka – Northern Kuril Ainu dialect. *Cultural Anthropology and Ethnosemiotics*, Vol. 2, № 1; pp.: 34 – 40

Krasheninnikov S. P. 1994. *Opisaniye zemli Kamchatka* (Kamchatka land description), Vol. 2. Nauka, Saint Petersburg

Radłński I. 1891. Słowniki narzecza Ludów Kamczackich. I. Słownik narzecza Ainów, zamieszkujących wyspę Szumszu w łańcuchu Kurylskim przy Kamczatce. ze zbiorów Prof. B. Dybowskiego (dictionaries of Kamchatka people. I. Dictionary of language of Ainu living in the island of Shumshu in the Kuril chain near Kamchatka. From collection of Prof. Dybowski) in *Rozprawy Akademii umiejętności, Wydział Fylogiczny, Serya II, Tom I. Nakł. Akademii umiejętności, Krakow*; pp.: 53 – 119 <https://archive.org/details/s2rozprawy01pols> – accessed March 2016

Simeon G. 1970. The morphology of Hokkaido Ainu. *Archiv Orientalni*, 38, 1970; pp.: 179 – 197

Tamura Masahi 田村雅史 2010. Ainu go Shiranuka hōgen no bunpō kijutsu 『アイヌ語白糠方言の文法記述』 (A description of grammar of Shiranuka dialect of Ainu language). PhD thesis PhD, Chiba University <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/500000542366?l=en> accessed March 2017

Tamura S. 2000. *The Ainu language*. Sanseido. Tokyo