I. Editor’s profile: Anna Bugaeva (Ph.D., Hokkaido University, 2004)
Associate Professor of Linguistics, Division of Crosslinguistic Studies, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. Bugaeva has taught courses on linguistic typology and Ainu at the most highly ranked universities in Japan (Tokyo University, Waseda, and Hitotsubashi). Bugaeva’s research focuses on the descriptive and typological study of Ainu, and the preservation and documentation of Ainu language materials. Her revised PhD thesis Grammar and Folklore Texts of the Chitose Dialect of Ainu (Idiolect of Ito Oda) (2004) was published within a specialized Japanese series on language documentation (Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim) to a very positive reception. Bugaeva’s research is rooted in the framework of functional linguistic typology (especially that of The St. Petersburg/Leningrad Typology Group). She has described a number of features of Ainu that are noteworthy from a typological standpoint; these include person marking, reported discourse, reciprocals, applicatives, causatives, impersonal passive, ditransitive constructions, and most recently relative clauses, nominalizations, and complex predicates. Most of her articles on Ainu are published as a result of her participation in international typological projects in edited volumes with leading publishers in the field (Mouton de Gruyter, John Benjamins, Routledge/Curzon). She has publications in the leading journal of functional linguistics (Studies in Language) and in top linguistics journals of Germany (Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung), Japan (Gengo Kenkyu) and Russia (Voprosy Jazykoznaniija). In the year 2013, Bugaeva was awarded The Japan National Institutes for the Humanities Research Prize for her cumulative research on Ainu.

II. Timeline
- Submission of first manuscripts: March 31, 2016
- Editing of first manuscripts, internal review: June 30, 2016
- Submission of revised manuscripts: September 30, 2016
- Editing and translating of revised manuscripts: October 1 – December 31, 2016
- Submission of final manuscripts: March 31, 2017
III. Significance of this volume

This volume will open the field of Ainu studies to the world and help to attract many new students and researchers. Ainu is the only non-Japonic language of Japan. It would be no exaggeration to say that the search for human history on the Japanese islands begins with studies on the origins of the Ainu. The volume is aimed at preserving invaluable knowledge about Ainu, a language-isolate, which is now on the verge of extinction. The last decade has been marked with the increase of global awareness of language endangerment and emergence of language documentation as a separate field focusing on building multi-purpose corpora of endangered languages. Originally, Ainu was not a written language but of all endangered languages Ainu possesses the largest documented stock of oral literature which is an integral part of human intellectual heritage – the particular course that language investigations have taken in Japan places it in the unusual situation (more below) of being richly documented (texts), but significantly under-described in terms of grammar. A detailed study of previous Ainu documentation is crucial for the production of a detailed adequate description of Ainu and possibly for answering questions about human prehistory such as ‘Who are the Ainu and how are they related to other Asian people?’

As an isolate with no known relatives, Ainu is of great significance to linguistic typology – the crosslinguistic study of what is possible in language – because of the many rare or unique features that its grammar exhibits. Though Ainu is a language widely cited in the typological literature in regard to phenomena such as noun incorporation and applicative constructions, most of the published typological work relies on secondary sources. The aim of this volume is to present an updated quality description of Ainu, which will be based only on primary sources and written up by a group experts on Ainu who have experience of Ainu fieldwork and their own materials. This unprecedented cooperation of the leading experts of Ainu will definitely help to increase the rigor and clarity of our understanding of Ainu language structures, and to set it in the perspective that linguistic typology provides for analyzing the extremely varied languages of the world. The deeper and wider understanding of Ainu, i.e. virtually its “rediscovery” by the international community of linguists and its reconnection with a vast stock of Ainu oral literature by a wide range of scholars may significantly contribute to the linguistic theory and in a long term perspective provide answers to problems of human prehistory.

Our proposed volume is novel and innovative because no existing Ainu grammar has ever attempted to provide a truly typologically-informed and typology-oriented
description of the language. This may also be viewed as *combining of two different scholarly traditions*, viz. the Japanese philological tradition emphasizing text studies, which probably was (along with the early development of recording technologies in Japan) one of the reasons why the Japanese had engaged in the extensive documentation of Ainu fifty years before language documentation boosted in the West, and the Western linguistic tradition emphasizing analysis and methodology, which has been successfully applied to the description of other endangered languages since the early 1960s.

It is important to fully open the field of Ainu studies to the world and help people to appreciate linguistic and cultural contribution of the Ainu of Japan to human intellectual heritage. This volume will make a step forward in the process of the so-called “gradual rediscovery of Japan as an ethically and culturally diverse nation” (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 183).

**IV. Organization of the book**

The book comprises a total of sixteen chapters that elaborate language-particular as well as universal aspects of the Ainu phonology and grammar. Each chapter will first give a brief review of the previous research on a particular topic, and then present what the author considers to be a most plausible analysis, followed by a prospect for promising directions of future research.

The sixteen chapters are grouped into two parts and appendix. Part I, entitled “Introduction to Ainu Studies”, consists of nine chapters which explain the fundamental issues of Ainu research such as the basic linguistic features of Ainu, history of Ainu studies, theories on the origins of Ainu, dialectal variation, sociolinguistic situation and Ainu oral literature. Part II “Typologically interesting characteristics of the Ainu language” is composed of seven chapters that highlight most appealing issues of Ainu phonology and morphosyntax. Revolving around but not confined to its polysynthetic character, Ainu manifests many typologically interesting phenomena, related in particular to the combinability of various voice markers and noun incorporation. Other interesting features of Ainu include vestiges of vowel harmony (presumably an areal feature), a mixed system of expressing grammatical relations which includes the elements of a rare tripartite alignment, nominal classification distinguishing common and locative nouns, a rich four-term evidential system, and verbal number operating on the ergative basis but with some exceptions, which will be explained in the volume. Appendix includes sample texts in Southwest Hokkaido, Northeast Hokkaido and Sakhalin dialects of Ainu (with interlinear glosses and translations).

The description is both typologically-informed and typology-oriented. All examples
are either from field materials of the contributors or from primary sources.

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INTRODUCTION
The introduction will be written by the editor and will describe the structure and objectives of the volume and will set out the preliminaries for work on the Ainu language, including dialectal variation, transcription, and glossing.

PART I. OVERVIEW OF AINU STUDIES

1. The Ainu language

   Anna BUGAEVA (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics)

   This chapter discusses the history of documentation and research of the Ainu language and describes its basic linguistic features using data mainly from the Saru dialect.

   Ainu is agglutinating, polysynthetic and incorporating. It employs more prefixation than suffixation, which is unusual for this area of the world. It is predominately head-marking. The basic word order is SV/AV. Ainu has mixed alignment. Given its polysynthetic character, Ainu manifests many typologically interesting phenomena (e.g. combinability of various voice markers and noun incorporation). Though it has attracted the close attention of specialists in linguistic theory over the past two decades, there is still not enough descriptive data on Ainu. Extensive documentation of Ainu and its linguistic research started a century ago (e.g. Y.Chiri 1978 [1923]; Kannari & Kindaichi 1993 [1956-75]; Kubodera 1977) and has produced a number of comprehensive dictionaries (e.g. Nakagawa 1995, Tamura 1996) and several grammars of the Sakhalin variety of Ainu (Murasaki 1979; Chiri 1973 [1942]) as well as the Hokkaido dialects of Saru (Kindaichi 1993 [1931]; Tamura 1988 (in English: 2000), Saru and Horobetsu (Chiri 1974 [1936]), Ishikari (Asai 1969), Shizunai (Refsing 1986, in English), and Chitose (Bugaeva 2004, in English), (Satō 2008). Despite this proliferation of works, none of those grammars are comprehensive. By the high standards of modern linguistic work, we are still at a rather early stage of Ainu research.

   However, although now Ainu is truly on the verge of extinction, thanks to accumulated efforts of researchers in Japan, the language, culture and oral literature have been well documented and Ainu studies will continue and are most likely to thrive when presented on a wider international scale.
2. Early Japanese records of the Ainu language

Tomomi SATÔ (Hokkaido University)

The oldest record of the Ainu language by a Japanese is the "Matsumae no Koto", a list of 117 words written in the early 17th century (author unknown). After that, there are no very good records until the late 18th century. Other early 17th century documents, viz. the "Ezo Kotoba" (1704), "Ezodanhiikki" (1710) and the "Hokkai Zuihitsu" (1739), have a limited use, yet they are of some value for investigating the old phonological system of Ainu and estimating the old pronunciations. "Moshiogusa" (1792) compiled by Kumajirō Uehara and Chōzaburō Abe was the first Ainu dictionary to be published in the world. Importantly, this dictionary also contains texts of forty six pages and is a precious source in terms of both quality and quantity. There are few original records after "Moshiogusa", and there are few documents which are of value for the study of the history of Ainu. An exception is "Ezoki", which is believed to be created independently around the same time as "Moshiogusa"; it contains prayers, texts and information on a kind of secret language, and has a high linguistic value. "Ezo-kotoba Irohabiki" (1848) contains many explanations of the meanings of words and detailed information on their usage, and thus has a unique role as an Ainu language dictionary. Although there are many limitations, the historical change of the Ainu language can be reconstructed to some extent using these old documents.
3. European records of the Ainu language

Alfred F. MAJEWICZ (Adam Mickiewicz University)

The Ainu language records by Westerners date back to the earliest encounters of the latter with the representatives of the enigmatic “hairy people” of the Far East in the third decade of the 17th century; the first of them known were primarily relatively short lists of words of varying length and reliability, usually included in, or attached to, travelogues and missionary report epistulae addressed to Rome, now mostly constituting but historical facts, although some of them (like Krasheninnikov 1755) played a decisive role in the later identification of the inhabitants of regions visited and described or the determination of territories inhabited by the Ainu. With the time passing, they became more and more extensive, turning into glossaries–vocabularies (e.g., von Strahlenberg 1730, Vereshchagin 1779, Broughton 1804, Rezanov 1805, Titsingh 1814, Furet 1861, de Rosny 1861, Dening 1881, Summers 1886, Torri 1918 (1903)) and dictionaries (Davydov-Kruzenshtern 1813, Davydov-Pfizmaier 1851, Pfizmaier 1854, Dobrotvorskiy 1875, Batchelor 1889, 19052, 19263, 19384, 1932, Radlinski-Dybowski 1891, Pilsudski 1911).

Descriptions of the structure of Ainu started in the second half of the 19th century with Pfizmaier’s studies of 1949, 1851 (“analyzed” by Dobrotvorskiy 1875), 1882, to be followed by consecutive editions of Batchelor’s grammar (1887, 1889, 1905, 1926, 1938), which for decades served, together with his dictionary, as practically the only reference source for audience outside (but also in) Japan until modern grammars, supported by modern linguistic knowledge (based, however, on idiolects of few elderly people still remembering – but not using – the language), like Murasaki 1978, Refsing 1986, Tamura 2000 (1988), Bugaeva 2004, were released. An impressive 4-volume work in German entitled “Ainu grammar”, but offering a lot beyond the notion of “grammar”, by Dettmer (1989-97) and Dettmer’s edition of Mogami Tokunai’s Ainu dictionary (2002) deserve special mention here.

Short sample phrases occasionally appeared added to word lists and dictionaries (e.g., “phrases in the Saru dialect” in Summers 1886) but it was epic traditions, songs and other forms of folklore, and prayers that constitute the absolute majority of texts published in the Ainu language in general – and this concerns also Western output in this respect. Among such Western collections, those by Chamberlain, Batchelor, but particularly Pilsudski and Nevskiy, stand out prominently; a more recent publication is Philippi 1979. Beyond folklore, only translations of religious (chiefly Biblical) texts into Ainu by Batchelor and epistolary texts (letters of an Ainu to Pilsudski written in Ainu) are known to exist in records and publications.

The last category of writings to be included in this chapter embraces research on the origins, phonetics, record collections, toponymics, and bibliographies of Ainu studies.
4. **History and origins of the Ainu language**  
Osami OKUDA (Sapporo Gakuin University)

The origin of the Ainu language is unknown at this time. Many phylogenetic relationships have been suggested including Japanese, Korean, Indo-European, Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic. Some suggestions are based on unreliable sources, while others have problems in the use of comparative method. In either case, they have not reached a level of hypothesis worthy of study. It is not even known when the use of the Ainu language started in the Japanese Islands. Although the prehistoric Ainu as a physical type are believed to go back to what is known as the Jōmon Period (14,000-300 BCE) in Japanese Archaeology or even earlier, we cannot directly identify the anthropological origins with the linguistic origins. This chapter focuses on place names which can be regarded as a valuable and reliable clue to investigating the history of the Ainu language. Ainu language place names are found on Hokkaido and as well as on the southern half of Sakhalin Island and the Kurile Islands. Research by Hidezō Yamada, who has investigated Ainu language place names for many years, indicates that there are also many locations in northern Tōhoku of Honshu Island that have Ainu place names. All of these facts suggest that the Ainu language had long been used in these areas prior to documentation.
5. **Language contact between Ainu and northern languages**

   Itsuji TANGIKU (Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University)
   & Hidetoshi SHIRAISHI (Sapporo Gakuin University)

   It is believed that the Ainu language, especially the Sakhalin dialect, contacted the
   Northern languages such as Nivkh (isolate), Ulita (Tungusic), and the Sakhalin dialect
   of the Evenki language (Tungusic) on Sakhalin Island. This chapter aims to accurately
   extract the circumstances of this language contact from documents. Through this work,
   we hope to clarify sociolinguistic aspects such as the scale and range of contact between
   the languages spoken on Sakhalin Island, and the effect onto each language. The second
   purpose of this chapter is to pick up, from previous research, several independent
   language examples believed to have occurred from this language contact and to
   introduce several descriptions and analyses (i.e., hypothesis regarding the direction of
   borrowing). This will focus on borrowed words (e.g., Ainu *tunakai* ‘reindeer’, Sakhalin
   dialect of Nivkh *tʰlaŋi*, and Amur dialect of Nivkh *cʰolŋi*), place names (e.g., Ainu
   *nakko*, Nivkh *lax*, Sakhalin dialect of Evenki *laka*), and grammar features (e.g.,
   reflexive prefixes *yay-* and *si-* in Ainu, which also have an anti-causative function, and
   the reflexive prefix *pʰ* in the Nivkh language). In addition, some oral literature such as
   songs, folktales and heroic epics will be compared.
6. **Hokkaido dialects of Ainu**

Hiroshi NAKAGAWA (Chiba University) & Mika FUKAZAWA (Chiba University)

It has been suggested that there are sub-dialects to the Hokkaido dialect, but based on analysis of basic vocabulary, the idea to divide the Hokkaido dialect into two larger groups of the Southwest dialects and Northeast dialects is generally accepted. There is also an idea to set the Soya dialect as a Northern dialect and separate it from the Northeast dialect group. Independently from the lexicostatistical research of basic vocabulary, it is thought that there is a linguistic and cultural boundary near the Shizunai River of the Hidaka region on the Pacific coast. This matches the boundary of the sum un kur ‘people of the west’ and the menas un kur ‘people of the east’ that was accurately confirmed in the late 17th century. The main linguistic evidence for the west-east division is found in basic vocabulary such as sapa : pake ‘head’, apto : ryuanpe ‘rain’, nonno : epuy/apappo ‘flower’. A similar division is apparent in the seemingly phonological opposition of pa- : ca-, as observed in par : car ‘mouth’ and pas : cas ‘run’, and in the names of folklore genres such as kamuyyukar : oyna ‘songs of gods’ etc.

Another conceivable classification is to distinguish the group including Saru dialect of the Hidaka region, Mukawa dialect of the Iburi region and Chitose dialect of the Ishikari region (hereinafter, Saru dialect group) from all other dialects. This group extends from the Pacific coast and crosses to the east and west. A main common feature is the structure of personal affixes. While in other dialects, transitive verbs employ circumfixes such as $e_korez=an3$ ‘I give (it) to you’, Saru dialect shows an extensive use of prefixes such as $eci1,3=korez$ (same meaning). Another characteristic of this group is that the personal prefixes $ku=1SG$, and $ci=1PL.EXC$ (before all vowels except for $i$-) are compressed into $k=$ and $c=.$ Interrogatives are also distinct, e.g. hemanta (Saru): nep (elsewhere) ‘what’ and makanak : nekon ‘how’; the same for some lexical and grammatical items, e.g. arpa : oman ‘go.SG’ and the quotation maker sekor : ari. Surprisingly, some of the characteristic vocabulary items of the Saru dialect group are shared with the Ishikari River region and Sakhalin, which is a key for speculating about the historical development of this group.
7. Sakhalin dialects of Ainu

Itsuji TANGIKU (Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University)

The presence of Ainu language on Sakhalin Island in the 13th century has been confirmed, but the differences in dialects at the time are unknown. Dialectal differences that are linked to today’s dialects appear by the 18th century. These can be broadly categorized into the northern East coast, Central area and Southern East coast dialects of Sakhalin Ainu. Most of the recorded materials are in the Raichishka dialect from the central region. In the various Central dialects, the syllable final consonants /p/, /t/, and /k/ neutralize into /h/ (cup (H) > cuh (S) ‘sun’, satke (H) > sahke (S) ‘dry’, rek (H) > reh (S) ‘beard’), and the word-final /r/ constant forms an open syllable (kar (H) > kara (S) ‘make’) because of the copying of preceding vowel, which, unlike in Hokkaido Ainu, has acquired a status of phoneme (Murasaki 1979). Furthermore, the unique long vowels of Sakhalin Ainu correspond to the irregular high accent on the first syllable seen in various Hokkaido dialects. In terms of vocabulary, some of the basic vocabulary items are different. Differences between the Raichishka dialect and various Hokkaido dialects are especially great in daily conversation.

In Hokkaido Ainu, the use of the head-marking possessive construction with the possessive suffix -V(hV) is restricted to body parts and kinship terms (e.g. ku=tek-ehe ‘my hand’), while in Sakhalin Ainu it is possible with a much greater range of nouns (e.g. ku=atuy-ehe ‘my sea’, i.e. ‘the sea where I live’, nakanramu pu-y-ehe ‘(his) younger brother’s warehouse’). Moreover, in Sakhalin Ainu, the same possessive suffixes are also used to nominalize verbs. Such nominalized verbal forms can have different functions, for example, in the sentence final position, they often form questions.

Next, the personal affixes an/=an of Hokkaido Ainu, which mark the so-called fourth person (its functions include the first person plural inclusive, the indefinite person etc.) can be used in Sakhalin Ainu as markers of the first person singular, but the opposition of the first person plural inclusive vs. exclusive distinction is lost there. Many of the -pa type plural verbs, excepting existential and motion verbs, are missing. Instead, the plurality suffixes -hci/-ahci are used. It is thought that many of these characteristics in Sakhalin Ainu are innovative and appeared after its branching off from the various Hokkaido dialects.
8. Sociolinguistic situation of Ainu language and revitalization movements
Tetsuhito OONO (Ainu language teacher)
The Ainu language, which has been long used as the native language of the Ainu people, was forced to experience a decline as a result of discrimination and repression against the Ainu people and the assimilation policy for the Ainu from the Japanese government. However, at the same time, the Ainu people in many locations are actively recording and revitalizing their language through various means. Since the 1980s, Ainu language classes have been held in various locations with the support of the government. Since the Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture was enacted in 1997, the Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture has carried out many projects to promote the Ainu language. Furthermore, ethnic Ainu researchers and promoters have actively promoted their language. Though the way to revitalization of the Ainu language as a daily language or native language is still far, it can be said that the activities of the Ainu people to revitalize their language are flourishing. On the other hand, there are still many challenges such as the training of teachers, development of teaching materials, establishment of teaching methods, compiling dictionaries, and issues regarding differences in dialects. Cooperation with Ainu language researchers through the organization and provision of resources is becoming even more important.
9. **Ainu oral literature**  
Shiho ENDÔ (Chiba University)

This chapter reviews the genres of Ainu oral literature, and focuses on the differences in linguistic features in the oral literate by region and genre. There are at least two metrical melodic genres, namely *yukar* ‘heroic epics’ and *kamuy yukar* ‘songs of gods’, and one prosaic genre *uwepaker* ‘folktale’, as they are called in the Saru dialect of Ainu (Southwest Hokkaido). In Ainu oral literature, the protagonist is referred to by the markers *a*=(*an*)/=an, which have a number of functions including the indefinite, or in some genres, by the first person plural marker *ci*=/=as. This presents a great challenge for analysis on whether Ainu oral literature can be treated as genuine ‘first person literature’, i.e. direct style narration, which is highly unusual for the world’s folklore.

The linguistic features in oral literature are not all the same as their aspects vary by genre, but the greatest distinction is between the poetry and prose. In prose narration, ‘when talk(ing)’ is *itak kor* lit. ‘talk when/if’, just as in everyday conversation, but in poetry, various methods to arrange the rhythm are often applied. For example, to express the above meaning the light verb *ki* may be inserted as in *itak ki ki kor* lit. ‘talk(ing) do do when/if’. However, even poetic literature in the same Saru dialect may vary. *Apehucikamuy* ‘grandmother god of fire’ in songs of gods may become *iresu kamuy* ‘god who raised me’ in prayers. Even lexicon featuring conventional phrases may differ by genre.
PART II: TYPOLOGICALLY INTERESTING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AINU LANGUAGE

10. Phonetics and phonology

Hidetoshi SHIRAISHI (Sapporo Gakuin University)

The aim of this chapter is to describe facts of phonetics and phonology known in the Ainu language in as much detail as possible based on previous research. I also aim to introduce several examples of previous analysis of corresponding facts without relying on a specific theoretical framework. Special attention will be paid to patterns of vowel sequences in the CVC root and -V suffix combinations, which are regarded as vestiges of vowel harmony in Ainu (Chiri 1952). Other facts of phonetics and phonology, described in this chapter, include iambic accent (sa’pa ‘head’, ’tanne ‘long’), phonemic alternations (pon son > poj son ‘small child’), kisar rapu > kisan rapu ‘ear lobe’), phonotactic restrictions (*wi, *wu), vowel devoicing (cise ‘house’, [t] ‘the root/base of’), post-prefixal glide formation (ko-i-omare > kojomare ‘pour alcohol for’) and glide insertion (i-omante > ijomante ‘send a bear’), intervocalic insertion of a glottal stop (su-at > suʔat ‘pot handle’), consonant palatalization (mat-ikor > matʃikor ‘female treasure’), vowel copying after /r/ (kor > [kora] ‘have ~’), omission of vowel in vowel sequences (ku-ojra > k-ojra ‘I forget (it)’) and resyllabification (tan ukuran lit. ‘this evening’ > tanukuran ‘tonight’).
11. Parts of speech: focusing on nominal classification

Hiroshi NAKAGAWA (Chiba University)

Parts of speech in Ainu can be categorized into eight classes: nouns, verbs, adverbs, adnominals, interjections, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs and particles. Any word that denotes a property concept falls in the category of intransitive verbs. Nouns are further subcategorized into common nouns, locative nouns, pronouns and formal nouns.

Common nouns may take conceptual forms, which are free and unmarked, and possessive forms, which are used when making a possessive expression, i.e. inalienable possession such as ku=tek-e ‘my hand’, is expressed with a personal prefix+possessive suffix on the possessee NP. Alienable possession, such as in ku,= kor,=seta, ‘my dog’ lit. ‘the dog, (that) I. have,’ is expressed with a different relative clause based construction consisting of a personal prefix+kor ‘to have’+conceptual form of the possessee NP.

Furthermore, Ainu makes a grammatical distinction between nouns which are regarded as ‘place’ and those which are not. Unlike locative nouns, common nouns in their conceptual form are never regarded as ‘place’, cf. kim ta ‘at the mountain’ (locative noun) and *nupuri ta ‘at the mountain’ (common noun). Thus, in locative/spatial expressions, common nouns cannot be immediately followed by a locative/allative case postpositional particle, and the use of a generic locative noun or ‘place’ or a relation specifying locative noun sam ‘near’, ka ‘top’ etc. is required, e.g. nupuri or ta ‘in the mountains’, lit. ‘in the place of mountains’ (common noun + locative noun + particle), nupuri sam ta ‘near the mountains’, nupuri ka ta ‘on top of the mountains’, suma ka ta ‘on the stone’. This phenomenon is parallel to the one observed in Chinese: in the expression zuo,=zai,=yi,=zi, shang, ‘to sit on the top of the chair,’ the use of shang ‘top’ is obligatory, i.e. one cannot omit it saying instead *zuo,=zai,=yi,=zi, as in the English translation ‘to sit on the chair’.
12. Grammatical relations

Anna BUGAEVA (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics)

The formal property that most readily identifies the grammatical relations of A, S and O in Ainu is an obligatory verbal cross-reference marking (or ‘indexing’) because argument NPs themselves (both nouns and pronouns) lack case-marking (or ‘flagging’). However, the verbal cross-referencing can be zero if the arguments are third person; then the only criteria for distinguishing grammatical relations are the word order (SV/AV) and context.

In the verbal cross-referencing, Ainu has mixed alignment, which depends on the person/number of arguments: the first person singular (ku-) has nominative-accusative alignment, the second (e- SG and eci- PL) and third (zero) persons neutral alignment, and the first person plural exclusive (ci- for A, -as for S, and un- for O) and a special fourth person (a- for A, -an for S, and i- for O), which also often referred to as ‘indefinite’, tripartite alignment. The fourth person has a number of historically related but synchronically very distinct functions: (i) the indefinite person (=the impersonal), (ii) the first person plural inclusive, (iii) the second person singular/plural honorific, and (iv) logophoric (person of the protagonist). The logophoric use is common in folktales because they have the structure of reported discourse with the whole story being a quote, as suggested in Tamura (1988).

Moreover, when it comes to interaction of the first person subject and second person object, the alignment becomes hierarchical, e.g. eci= in Saru (instead of *ku=e=) because a first person A is not indexed overtly in the presence of a second person O.

There is a tendency to omit topical argument NPs (zero anaphora). This is particularly conspicuous in the case of pronominal arguments (pro-dropping), which are, as a rule, omitted since there is obligatory cross-referencing for first and second persons on the verb. Unlike arguments, adjuncts cannot be omitted; they are marked with case-postpositions and not cross-referenced on the verb.

Other arguments-distinguishing syntactic phenomena to be considered in this paper include imperative subject deletion, raising and control analogues.
13. Verbal valency

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This chapter focuses on valency-changing alternations or ‘voices’ in a broad sense. Ainu is a true paradise of voice; it has reciprocals, reflexives, antipassives, causatives, anticausatives, and applicatives, each coded by several markers.

There are three major types of underived verbs in Ainu: one-place verbs (vi), two-place verbs (vt) and three-place verbs (vd). The valency of these basic verbs can be changed and many new verbs are derived by attaching affixes, mainly voice makers, and nominal stems. There are several means for increasing valency, viz. the applicative prefixes e-, ko- and o- used (e.g., e-mina ‘laugh about sth’) and causative suffix -re(-e/-te). Elements that decrease the valency include the lexical prefixes he- ‘head’ and ho- ‘buttocks’ (e.g., he-kiru ‘turn around, look back’, lit. ‘turn one’s head’), the reflexive/anticausative si- ‘one’s self’, yay- ‘one’s self’, reciprocal u- ‘each other’, antipassive i- encoding the generalized object, and the passive resultative ci- (e.g. ci-tata ‘chopped’, cf. tata ‘chop sth’). When a noun is incorporated into the verb, in most cases, the resultant verbal valency decreases, as in cep1-koyki2 ‘catch1 fish2’, however, if the noun is incorporated in its possessive form, as kew-e ‘the body of (sb)’ in kew1-e2-ri3 ‘tall’ lit. ‘the body1 of2 (sb) is high3’, the valency does not change. Similarly, the valency does not change when the lexical prefixes e- ‘the head of’ or o- ‘the buttocks of’ are attached to the verb.

It is also noteworthy that the various voice affixes, lexical prefixes and noun incorporation can combine in almost every possible way. Particularly long highly polysynthetic verbal forms are found in Ainu oral literature of the genre yukar, as ko1-kiraw2-si3-ka4-omare5 ‘(the deer) drew5 his antlers2 back3 over4 his body3 for1 (the grass)’ or nis1-o2-sits5-ciwa4 ‘(beyond the place where) the bottom2 of2 clouds1 pierce4 the horizon3’. In our study, we will try to look at the use of various valency-changing means in different genres and clarify the restrictions on their combinability.
14. Noun incorporation

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Ainu noun incorporation (NI) can be categorized into four main types: object NI (85.9%) \((wakka_{1-ta_{2}} \text{‘draw}_{2} \text{water}_{1})\), intransitive verb subject (natural force) NI (6.8%) \((sir_{1-pirka_{2}} \text{‘weather}_{1} \text{is good}_{2})\), intransitive verb subject (possessor-requiring noun) NI (5.6%) \((kema_{1-pase_{2}} \text{lit. ‘the legs}_{1} \text{of sb are heavy}_{2}, \text{i.e.‘(sb) is old})\), and transitive verb subject (natural force) NI (1.7%) \((koy_{1-yanke_{2}} \text{‘wave}_{1} \text{raised}_{2} \text{(sb)})\). The ability to incorporate subjects is a major feature of incorporation in Ainu, although there are not so many examples. Typologically, it is especially important that the transitive subject incorporation, which was previously claimed to be impossible (Baker 1988), is also attested. In the case of the intransitive verb NI with a nominal such as \(kema\ ‘the leg of sb’, the subject is co-referential with the possessor of the incorporated noun, which can be regarded as a ‘stranding’ structure. It should be noted that this is morphosyntactically very peculiar in that it violates the normal definition of ‘wordhood’ that word-internal elements do not undergo any syntactic operation. The distribution and frequency of various types of NI in Ainu can be interpreted as a result of the interaction of several NI restrictions and NI rescue rules. Based on this distribution we can build up a kind of incorporation accessibility hierarchy, which provides significant implications for linguistic typology.
15. **Aspect and evidentiality**

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In Ainu, aspect and evidentiality are not necessarily mandatory grammatical categories. However, various expressions related to these grammatical meanings are observed. Aspect is expressed with analytical means which combine the use of conjunctive particles and verbs (*ruyanpe*, *ruy*, *kor*, *an* ‘It’s raining’ lit. ‘rain$_1$ is heavy$_2$ and$_3$ exist$_4$’). In many dialects, opposition of progressive and resultative aspect is seen. In some dialects, there are restrictions on the person in the progressive. This can be considered a cross-linguistically marked phenomenon. Lexical aspects can be formed morphologically with such means as reduplication and suffixation (*kik-kik* ‘to beat many times’, *mat$_1$-kosanpa*$_2$ ‘to get up$_1$ suddenly$_2$’). On the other hand, evidentiality is expressed with nominalizers. In most dialects, for example in Tokachi (Northeast Hokkaido), there is a four-term evidential system consisting of visual (*sir* lit. ‘appearance’), non-visual sensory (*hum* lit. ‘sound’), hearsay (*hjaw* lit. ‘voice’), and inferential (*ru* lit. ‘footprint’) evidentials, which is similar to systems found in some Amazonian languages (Aikhenvald 2004). The nominalizers expressing evidentiality clearly originate in nouns, which is rather unusual. They form the so-called ‘noun/nominalizer + copula’ noun-concluding construction (Tsunoda 2013) that is also marked cross-linguistically (*upas*, *ruy*, *ne* ‘Snow fell’ lit. ‘(It) is$_4$ (the) trace/footprint$_3$ (of) the snow$_1$ (being) heavy$_2$.’).
16. **Verbal plurality**

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In Ainu, nouns are not marked for the category of number. Instead, there is a singular vs. plural distinction in verbs. This is the so-called verbal number whose general traits can be seen in Ainu verbs too. First, this morphological distinction encoded by suffixation, suffix alternation or suppletion is limited only to some Ainu verbs. Next, if there is such a distinction, the number for an intransitive verb roughly corresponds to the number of the Agent functioning as the subject, e.g. *seta ek* ‘a dog came [SG]’ and *seta arki* ‘dogs came[PL]’, but for the transitive verbs it corresponds to the number of the action, e.g. *cep tuy-e* ‘cut a fish’ and *cep tuy-pa* ‘cut a fish several times’. If there are multiple Patients, as a result, it is considered that an action was performed several times, so it may look as if the plurality marked the number of object. However, even if an actual action takes place several times, there are cases when it is expressed with a singular, e.g. *nitek, a=, tuy-e, wa, puyar; or, ta, apa, or, ta, a=, racitkere,* ‘I, cut[SG], twigs, and, hang, (them) at, the windows, (and) the door.’. Furthermore, even if the action is performed by a singular participant, depending on the dialect or genre, the predicate takes a plural form when expressing respect to someone in the second person, e.g. *hunak, wa, arki=an.* ‘Where, (did) you come[PL], from?’ (even if ‘you’ has a singular referent), or when expressing the protagonist’s action/state in a folktale, e.g. *apeucihuci, nep, an=, ne, ki, wa, oka, =an,* lit. ‘I, do, being, a Fire-goddess, and, (so) I, live[PL].’ (Shiranuka dialect). Thus, the actual use of singular vs. plural forms of verbs is a multifaceted complex phenomenon.

**APPENDIX**

Sample texts in Southwest Hokkaido, Northeast Hokkaido and Sakhalin dialects of Ainu (with interlinear glosses and translations)

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