

Lexical Negative Verbs in Ainu Language

Yan Kit KWONG

HKU SPACE International College

Lecturer

HKU SPACE International College, 6/F, United Center, Admiralty

Hong Kong

Abstract

*Ainu language is spoken by the Ainu – the indigenous people of Northern Japan, who now mainly live in Hokkaido of Japan. In Ainu language, negative clauses are formed by using adverbial particle *somo* before a verb or copula or by adding restrictive particle *ka* with *somo* (negator) *ki* (auxiliary verb, to do) after a verb. At the same time, lexical negative verbs, which will be the focus of this paper, are also used by Ainu speakers to express negation. In this paper, the author will examine the grammatical characteristics and functions of lexical negatives in the Ainu language..*

Keywords: Ainu language, lexical negative verbs, negation, incorporation, transitive and intransitive verbs

1. Introduction

Ainu language is spoken by the Ainu, the native people of Northern Japan. Ainu formerly inhabited in southern Sakhalin, Kurile Islands, Hokkaido and part of the Northeast region of Honshu. Nowadays, they are mainly live in Hokkaido. There is no official data of the exact number of ethnic Ainu in Japan. In 2013, the number of Ainu who identified themselves as Ainu was 16,786 (Hokkaido Prefecture Government, 2013). However, it is believed that the population of ethnic Ainu should be much higher than that reported in the survey, to the effect that some Ainu were not included in the survey because they live in other parts of Japan and other reasons. Today, only a handful of Ainu people use the Ainu language as their first language.

Ainu language had been divided into three major dialects: Sakhalin dialect, Hokkaido dialect, and Kurile dialect. It is believed that no native speaker of both Sakhalin and Kurile dialects exists today and only a small number of native speakers of the Hokkaido dialect are still alive (Tamura, 2013). The Hokkaido dialect can be roughly divided into Northeastern (Northern, Eastern and Central) and Southwestern groups (Southern and Southwestern) which are further subdivided into different local forms (Bugaeva, 2011). Dialects are different in terms of phonetics, lexicon and grammar. For example, in Southern Hokkaido dialects (Saru and Chitose dialects), the adverbial particle *iteki* indicates a negative imperative when it is attached to verb, as in (1) below.

- (1) *iteki arpa!*
 PROH go.SG
 “Don’t go!” (Tamura, 1996: 253)

However, in Asahikawa dialect (one of the Central Hokkaido dialects), *eciki* is used instead of *iteki*. In Saru dialect, *hapo* means mother; however, it means father in the Chitose dialect. In this paper, the author will focus on the Southwestern groups of the Ainu language, especially the Saru dialect. Ainu people have no writing system and nowadays Japanese katakana and alphabets are used in writing the language.

1.1 Basic grammar structure of Ainu language

Ainu language is a SOV language and verbs in Ainu language do not inflect according to tense. Personal affixes (both subject and object) are used in order to identify the subject and object of a sentence. The following are examples of the usage of subject-marking and object-marking personal affixes in colloquial Ainu language ((2), (3)) and oral literature ((4), (5)) in the Ainu language.

- (2) *en=ecinkar* *wa e=∅=anu ya?*
 2SG.A+1SG.O=leave. something. over. for. someone and 2SG.A=3.O=put.down Q
 “You left it for me?” (Tamura, 1996: 78)
- (3) *teeta wano oka=as ruwe ka somo ne, tomta wano*
 long.ago from live.PL=1PL.EXC INF.EV even NEG COP 2.to.3.years from
oka=as ruwe un.
 live.PL=1PL.EXC INF.EV FIN
 “We haven’t lived here for a long time ago; we started living here 2 to 3 years ago.” (Tamura, 1996: 721)
- (4) *kamuy menoko unihi tane anakne a=∅=ko-sirepa na.*
 God woman home now TOP IND.A=3.O=APPL-arrive FIN
 “I arrived at the home of the Goddess just now.” (Sato, 2008: 264)
- (5) *cise or ta i=ahupte yan.*
 home place LOC IND.O=make.someone.enter.PL IMP.POL
 “Please let us enter your house.” (Nakagawa & Nakamoto, 2014: 120)

In (2), *en=* (for me/to me) is the object-marking personal affix and *e=* (you) is the subject-marking personal affix. In Ainu language, it is necessary to attach the appropriate personal affix to verb in a sentence. On the other hand, personal pronouns are rarely used. Some of the intransitive and transitive verbs have singular and plural forms, either by employing different stems or suffixes. In (3), *oka*(to be/to live) is the plural form of the intransitive verb *an* (to be/to live) and *=as* is the first person plural (exclusive) subject-marking personal affix. Due to the fact that plurality for intransitive verbs refers to the number of subject referents, *oka* is used in the sentence instead of *an*. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, plurality refers to the number of object or patientive transitive subject referents (Bugueva, 2012). (4) and (5) are examples of personal affixes used in oral literature. As we can see in (4), *a=* is used as first person singular subject-marking personal affix by adding in front of the transitive verb *kosirepa*(to arrive). In (5), *i=* is used as the first person plural object-marking personal affix by attaching it with the transitive verb *ahupte*(to make someone enter), which is the plural form of the transitive verb *ahunke*. In this paper, personal affixes used in oral literature can be found in the examples quoted from Ueda Toshi (1912-2005)’s collection of Ainu folktales. Ainu language makes no distinction between adjectives and verbs. For example, the intransitive verb *pirkacan* express both stative meaning (good/rich/beautiful) and inchoative meaning (become good/rich/beautiful). Therefore, it seems there is no need to set up an independent category for adjectives in Ainu language (Shibatani, 1989).

1.2 Negation in Ainu language

Negation in Ainu language is expressed by 1) adding the adverbial particle *somo* before a verb or copula (6); 2) using the auxiliary verb *ki* with *somo*(7); 3) placing an auxiliary verb with negative meaning after a verb (8); 4) placing the adverbial particle *iteki* before a verb (1); 5) lexical negative verbs (9) and (10).

- (6) *numan somo k=ek.*
 yesterday NEG 1SG.S=come
 “I did not come yesterday.” (Tamura, 1996: 674)
- (7) *e=kotanu anakne a=∅=wente ka somo ki.*
 2SG.A=village TOP IND.A=3.O=ruin even NEG do.aux
 “I will not destroy your village.” (Ueda, 1997, Chapter 7: 146)
- (8) *na sesek wa ku=∅=ku ka eaykap.*
 still hot because 1SG.S=3.O=drink even cannot
 “Because it is still hot so I cannot drink it.” (Sato, 2008: 80)
- (9) *oar k=erampewtek.*
 utterly 1SG.S=not.understand
 “I have no idea (what it means).” (Sato, 2008: 123)
- (10) *∅=netopake epitta ∅=keptontone.*
 3.A=body-POSS throughout 3.S=be.furless
 “(That animal) is furless.” (Tamura, 1996: 295)

For the copula *ne* (to be), the negator *somo* is added before *itin* order to express negative (Nakagawa, 2013; Tamura, 1996) and the restrictive particle *ka* is usually used with *somo* in Ainu language (see (11)). In (12), *kasomokiis* used after the copula *ne*; ‘no’ is used after *kasomoki* as conjunctive form of the negative form of copula. Thus, it is possible to use *kasomoki* after copula when the sentence is not ended with the copula and is connected with another sentence.

(11) *asinuma anakne nep aynu ka somo ne.*
 IND.SG TOP what human/Ainu even NEG COP
 “I am not human being.” (Ueda, 1997, Chapter 6: 138)

(12) *aynu Ø=ne ka somo ki no mintuci ne yak Ø=Ø=ye p...*
 human 3.S=COP even NEG do.aux and kappa COP COMP 3.A=3.O=say NMR
 “He is not human being but something called Kappa...” (Ueda, 1997, Chapter 6: 143)

As we can see in (9), instead of using the positive verb *eraman* (to understand) with *somo* or *kasomoki*, the lexical negative verb *erampewtek* (to not understand) is used in the conversation. In (10), the lexical negative verb *keptontone* (to be furless), which has no ready affirmative antonym, is used by the speaker. In fact, for positive verbs with negative counterparts, Ainu speakers tend to use lexical negative verbs instead of negating them by employing *somo* or *kasomoki* (Bugueva, 2004). Lexical negatives can be found in many languages, including languages in Asia such as Japanese, Korean and Ryukyuan languages. However, lexical negatives in Ainu language are different from other languages in terms of grammatical structure and usage which will be discussed in this paper.

2. Method and Sources

This paper will focus on the lexical negative verbs in Ainu language. For lexical negative verbs in Ainu language, the author argues that they can be divided into three types: 1) lexical negative verbs with affirmative antonyms (which will be called “type A lexical negative verbs” in this paper); 2) lexical negative verbs which are formed by the incorporation of verbs or nouns with type A lexical negative verbs (which will be called “type B lexical negative verbs”); 3) single verbs containing negation without incorporating with any lexical negative (which will be called “type C lexical negative verbs”). The author will analyze the grammatical structure and usages of lexical negative verbs in Ainu language by studying primary sources and secondary sources. For primary sources, the author analyzes examples from Ainu folktales recited by a Saru dialect speaker named Ueda Toshi (1912-2005) between 1995 and 1997, which had been recorded by the Ainu Museum. The audio and written record of her works can be found in the website of the Ainu Museum and was published by the Ainu Museum in 2015 in the series *Ainu MinwaRaiburari* (Ainu Folktales Library). Data and examples of Southern Hokkaido dialects, in particular the Saru dialect, are cited from Bugueva (2004, 2011), Nakagawa and Bugueva (2012), Nakagawa and Nakamoto (2014), Sato (2008), and Tamura (1996, 2013). Vocabularies listed in table 1, 2, 3, and 4 are cited from Tamura (1996) and Toshi (1997).

3. Lexical Negative Verbs in Ainu Language

Apart from expressing negation with the particle morpheme *somo* or the auxiliary verb *ki* with *somo*, lexical negative verbs are often used by Ainu speakers to express negation. As mentioned in the above section, the author argues that lexical negative verbs in Ainu language can be divided into three types: 1) type A lexical negative verbs, 2) type B lexical negative verbs, and 3) type C lexical negatives verbs. In this section, the author will examine the characteristics and usage of these three types of lexical negative verbs.

3.1. Type a lexical negative verbs

Examples of type A lexical negative verbs (lexical negative verbs with affirmative antonyms) can be seen in table 1. Some of them are frequently used by Ainu speakers, including *eaykap* (to be unable to do), *eramiskari* (to not know), *erampewtek* (to not understand), *isam* (to not exist/to lack), and *sak* (to not have/to have lost). Type A lexical negative verbs are used for positive verbs with negative counterparts. For the intransitive verb *an* (to exist/to be), negation can be expressed by either using the lexical negative *isam* or adding the adverbial particle *somo* before the verb *an* (13); however, the lexical negation is more common (Bugueva, 2004).

(13) *iteki i-cake-re i-ko-ysanpa anak somo Ø=an na.*
 PROH APASS-be.dirty-CAUS APASS-of.APPL-copy TOP NEG 3.S=be FIN
 “There should be no such dirty imitating of people.” (Bugueva, 2004: 84)

In Ainu language, a number of verbs are used by Ainu speakers to describe good hunting or fishing (see table 2). On the other hand, the lexical negative verb *omuken* is used to refer to bad hunting, as in (14).

(14) *cikapo-po poka a=e=omuken.*

bird-DIM even IND.A=with regard. APPL=have.a.bad.hunt

“(Now we are older, and) we cannot even catch small birds.” (Nakagawa and Bugaeva, 2012)

Hunting was important for Ainu well-being and survival and there was a variety of rituals related to hunting (Fitzhugh and Dubreuil, 1999). In the concept of cultural emphasis in cultural anthropology, it is argued that the vocabulary found in any language tends to emphasize the words that are considered to be adaptively important in that culture (Ferraro and Andreatta, 2010). Due to the fact that most Ainu people’s lives revolved around hunting (and fishing), this helps explain the reason for the rich vocabulary refer to hunting in Ainu language.

Some of the type A lexical negative verbs, by adding them after a verb, can be used as auxiliary verb to express negation [(15) and (16)].

(15) *ku=moymoyke ka eaykap na.*

1SG.S=move even be.unable FIN

“I cannot move.”

(FRPAC, 2013: 102)

(16) *te pakno a=Ø=nukar ka eramiskari p.*

this point until IND.A=3.O=see even not.know NMR

“I have never seen (this) before.” (Ueda, 1997, Chapter 7: 142)

As we can see in (15), *eaykap* can be added after a verb (in this example, the verb is *moymoyke* which means “to move”) to express the meaning that one is unable to do an action. The lexical negative verb *eramiskari* can be added after a verb to describe one has no experience of doing an action, as in (16), which is added after the transitive verb *nukar* (to see). The adverbial particle *ka* (even) is often used in negative sentence.

Table 1: Examples of type A lexical negative verbs in Ainu language

Lexical Negative Verb	Verb Type	Positive Counterpart	Verb Type
<i>eaykap</i> (to be unable to do)	transitive	<i>easkay</i> (to be able to do)	transitive
<i>eramiskari</i> (to not know)	transitive	<i>amkir</i> (to know)	transitive
<i>erampewtek</i> (not understand)	transitive	<i>eraman</i> (to understand)	transitive
<i>isam</i> (to not exist/to lack)	intransitive	<i>an</i> (to be/to exist)	intransitive
<i>koyaykus</i> (to be unable to do...)	transitive	<i>easkay</i> (to be able to)	transitive
<i>omuken</i> (cannot catch any prey in hunting)	intransitive	<i>ison</i> (to catch a lot of prey in hunting)	intransitive
<i>sak</i> (to not have/to have lost)	transitive	<i>kor</i> (to have/to possess)	transitive
<i>turaynu</i> (to lose sight/not find)	transitive	<i>pa</i> (to find out/to discover)	transitive

Table 2: Verbs refer to good hunting in Ainu language

Verbs	Verb type	Meaning
<i>ison</i>	intransitive	to have bountiful game in a hunt
<i>isokoan</i>	intransitive	to do better than others at hunting/farming etc.
<i>isonukoan</i>	intransitive	to take/catch a lot of game by going into the mountains etc.
<i>nuwe an</i>	intransitive	to take/catch a lot game
<i>nuwekoan</i>	separable	to take/catch a lot of game in hunting/fishing/trade

3.2 Type B lexical negative verbs

Type B lexical negative verbs are formed by the incorporation of nouns or verbs with type A lexical negative verbs. Many of the type B lexical negative verbs are the combination of noun and type A lexical negative verb (see table 3). Unlike type A lexical negative verbs, not all type B lexical negative verbs have affirmative antonyms. This is not unique to Ainu language: in English and Japanese, some lexical negatives lack ready affirmative antonyms (Martin, 2004). On the other hand, some type B lexical negative verbs, such as *hawsak* (to be silent / to not speak; positive counterpart: *hawkor*), *sireramiskari*(to be unfamiliar with a place; positive counterpart: *siramkir*), and *nansak* (to have no trust in; positive counterpart: *nankor*) contain affirmative antonyms.

It seems that not all type A lexical negative verbs can be incorporated with nouns or verbs to form lexical negative verbs. On the other hand, as we can see in table 3, the transitive verb *sak* (to not have/to have lost) can often be found in many of the type B lexical negative verbs, in particular incorporated with nouns related to one's husband/wife and children (*cisesak*, *matsak*, *posak*) and trading partners (*otenasak*, *tonosak*). Both *otenasak* and *tonosak* are found in the Ainu folktales recited by Ueda Toshi [(17),(18)]. Judging from the grammar structure of the examples (using personal affix *an* to indicate first person singular, which is used in oral literature), both of them should be intransitive verb.

In fact, even lexical negative verbs related to one's partner and children can be found in Ainu language, we cannot find single negative verbs referring to close relatives. In (19), *sak* can be used after the noun *ona* to refer to "one does not have a father"; however, a single negative verb "*onasak*" cannot be found in Ainu language.

The verb *sak* is also incorporated with other nouns to refer to people's speaking or silence (e.g. *hawsak*, *notasak*, *oytaksak*, see table 3).

(17) *tonosak=an* *pe ne hi* *a=Ø=ye* *akusu...*
 lack a Japanese trading partner=IND.S NMR COP QUOT IND.A=3.O=to.say then
 "I said that I have no Japanese trading partner then..." (Ueda, 1997: Chapter 2, 40)

(18) *yaykata ka otenasak=an* *wa...*
 on.one's own even not.have.a.Ainu.trading.partner=IND.S and
 "I also do not have an Ainu trading partner and..." (Ueda, 1997: Chapter 2, 41)

(19) *unu patek a=Ø=kor,* *ona a=sak* *no.*
 mother only IND.A=3.O=to.have father IND.A=3.O=to.lack and
 "I only have a mother, I do not have a father." (Tamura, 1996: 597)

Moreover, as we can see in table 3, type B lexical negative verbs are intransitive verb. It seems that the nature of the type B lexical negative verb is unrelated to its elements. For example, both *sak* and *eaykapare* in fact transitive verbs; the verb *oytak*(to speak to), which is an element of the type B lexical negative verb *oytaksak*, is a transitive verb.

Table 3: Examples of type B lexical negative verbs (the bold parts are the type A lexical negative verbs)

Verb	Verb Type	Meaning
<i>cisesak</i> (<i>cise</i> : a house; noun)	intransitive	to have one's husband/wife die
<i>hawsak</i> (<i>haw</i> : the human voice, the call of an animal, bird etc.; noun)	intransitive	to be silent / not speak
<i>hemesueaykap</i> (<i>hemesu</i> : to go up/climb; intransitive verb)	intransitive	to be unable to climb (a mountain)
<i>matsak</i> (<i>mat</i> : a woman/a wife; noun)	intransitive	to not have wife
<i>nansak</i> (<i>nan</i> : face; noun)	intransitive	to have no trust in... / to distrust
<i>notaksak</i> (<i>notak</i> : the edge of a knife etc.; noun)	intransitive	to have a dull edge (a knife) / to be a silent type (people)
<i>otenasak</i> [<i>otena</i> : the head of a village/an Ainu man (when called by a Japanese person); noun]	intransitive	to not have an Ainu trading partner
<i>oytaksak</i> (<i>oytak</i> : to speak to; transitive verb)	intransitive	to have no retort
<i>posak</i> (<i>po</i> : a son/a child; noun)	intransitive	to not have children
<i>ramuysam</i> (<i>ramu</i> : soul)	intransitive	to know nothing
<i>sireramiskari</i> (<i>sir</i> : the land/the mountains/an island/a state; noun)	intransitive	to be unfamiliar with a place
<i>tonosak</i> (<i>tono</i> : a lord/a master/a husband/a steady, regular, customer/a chief/a god; noun)	intransitive	to not have a Japanese trading partner

Abbreviations:

1SG=first person singular, 2SG=second person singular, 3=indefinite, 1PL.EXC (lusive), A=transitive subject / possessor, ALL=allative, APASS=antipassive, APPL=applicative, AUX=auxiliary verb, COP=copula, DESID=desiderative, DIM=diminutive, FIN=final particle, IMP.POL=imperative polite, IND=indefinite, INF.EV=inferential evidential, INTERJEC=interjection, LOC=locative, NEG=negation, NMR=nominalizer, NONVIS.EV=non-visual evidential, O=object, PERF=perfective, POSS=Possessive, PROH=prohibitive, Q=interrogative, REP.EV=reportative evidential, S=intransitive subject, SG=singular, TOP=topic

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