

NEGATION IN SAKHALIN AINU: HISTORY AND TYPOLOGY

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This paper investigates negation in Sakhalin Ainu by focusing on the morphosyntax, semantics, and historical development of the negative proclitic *ham=*, which is employed for standard negation (including copula negation) and non-standard negation (including constituent negation, prohibitions, apprehensives, and negation in a number of dependent clause types), and of the constructions that feature it. The author argues in favor of the diachronic development of the Sakhalin Ainu negative *ham=* from a negative existential verb into a proclitic, which later in the history of the language gained more prefix-like features and further proceeded in its evolution to become a preverbal negator through the grammaticalization of a negative copula construction. The functional development of *ham=* is shaped by the interaction of the Givón Negative Cycle and the Negative Existential Cycle. At the same time, the author discusses how *ham=* being used to mark focus negation led to 1) the development of an analytic negative construction, from an originally synthetic one, that has come to be used as the sole productive strategy for negation in the later stages of the language's history, and 2) the development of prohibitive and apprehensive markers from negated non-content words following a typologically rare grammaticalization path. This paper adds to our understanding of negation in Ainuic, a grammar feature that more than others shows great variation within the family, and highlights the relevance of this topic for the investigation of areas of Ainu grammar which remain underdescribed to date, such as clause dependencies and modality.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates negation in Sakhalin Ainu, an isolate language autochthonous to Sakhalin Island in Russia and, later in its history, spoken also on the island of Hokkaidō in Japan by the relocated community. Building on the preliminary survey in Dal Corso (2021b) as well as on previous grammar sketches of Sakhalin Ainu (*in primis* Murasaki 1979 and its reworking in Dal Corso 2021a), this study delves into the morphosyntax, semantics, and historical development of the negative proclitic *ham=* and of the constructions that feature it. The proclitic *ham=* is the main strategy for negation in Sakhalin Ainu, as it is employed for standard negation (including copula negation) and non-standard negation (including constituent negation, prohibitions, apprehensives, and negation in a number of dependent clause types). Negative indefinites and lexical negative verbs, as well as the aspectual and modal auxiliary constructions these latter items are employed in, are excluded from the analysis.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, I argue in favor of the diachronic development of the Sakhalin Ainu negative *ham=* from a negative existential verb into a proclitic, which later in the history of the language gained more prefix-like features and further proceeded in its evolution to become part of a pre-verbal negator through the grammaticalization of a negative copula. I show that the functional development of *ham=* is shaped by the interaction of the Givón Negative Cycle (Givón 1978) and the Negative Existential Cycle (Croft 1991). Secondly, I discuss how *ham=* being used to mark focus negation led to: 1) the development of an analytic negative construction, from an originally synthetic one, that has come to be used as the sole productive strategy for negation in the later stages of the language's history; and 2) the development of prohibitive and apprehensive markers from negated non-content words following a typologically rare grammaticalization path. This paper adds to our understanding of negation in Ainu, a grammar feature that more than others shows great variation within the family, and highlights the relevance of this topic for the investigation of areas of Ainu grammar which remain underdescribed to date, such as clause dependencies and modality. The sources for the linguistic data to be analyzed in this paper are a number of corpora of Sakhalin Ainu folklore collected between the 1900s and the 1980s, which document different dialects on both the east coast (Piłsudski 1912; Majewicz 1998) and west coast (Murasaki 1976; see also its reworking in Dal Corso 2021a; Murasaki 1989; 1995; 2001; 2013; 2016; Kitahara 2013; 2014; 2016; Kitahara et al. 2003) of Sakhalin. In the remainder of the paper, east Sakhalin dialects and west Sakhalin dialects will be abbreviated as ESA and WSA respectively.

The paper is organized as follows. Section §2 provides a typological profile of Sakhalin Ainu. Section §3 is a due overview of the other negative items besides *ham=* that are attested in the language. Section §4 is dedicated to a discussion of the historical origins of *ham=* with a brief comparison of the possibly cognate negative forms found in Hokkaidō and Kuril Ainu. In Section §5, I present all attested negative forms that feature *ham=* and analyze them according to their semantico-pragmatic uses, while Section §6 deals with the diachronic development and typological characteristics of Sakhalin Ainu negation. Section §7 concludes the article.

2. A TYPOLOGICAL PROFILE OF SAKHALIN AINU

The canonical word order in intransitive and transitive clauses is *sv* and *AOV*, respectively. Sakhalin Ainu is a polysynthetic, agglutinating language; it is strongly head-marking and right-headed with a rich system of highly combinable voice markers that encode applicative, antipassive, causative, and other valency-changing operations (Bugaeva 2017). Most of these valency-changing operations have progressively lost their productivity due the language facing suppression and then endangerment, among other reasons. There is no grammatical agreement of gender, while number may be non-obligatorily distinguished on nouns and verbs by dedicated morphology or via morphosyntactic processes (for example, verb stem reduplication). Person agreement is marked on verbs (for subjects and objects) and on nouns (for possessors and locative or adverbial relations) via affixes, whose place of affixation and form changes for some persons, with third persons being morphologically unmarked. Person-agreement affixes are the most peripheral elements in the verb and noun morphological structure. Morphologically speaking, Sakhalin Ainu exhibits mixed alignment, with coexisting nominative-accusative, tripartite, and direct alignment depending on person. In addition to the three canonical grammatical persons, Sakhalin Ainu has a fourth set of subject-object agreement affixes that mark a mismatch in participant referentiality (see Dal Corso 2023 for details). There is no dedicated

marking for tense, but the language displays synthetic and analytic constructions to mark mood, aspect, and evidentiality of the predicate, which are characterized by uneven stages of grammaticalization. The language has a rich set of clause linkers to mark clause dependencies. However, the coordinating or subordinating functions of these linkers for the most part remain unsurveyed to date. Connected to this issue is the definition of finiteness for the language, which, to the best of my knowledge, has yet to be expressly addressed for Sakhalin Ainu and for Ainu in general.

3. LEXICAL NEGATIVES AND OTHER NEGATIVE ITEMS

Sakhalin Ainu has a number of lexical negative verbs whose affirmative counterparts are not usually negated with *ham=* or with any other negative strategy available in the language.¹ These verbs (listed in Table 1) make up a semantically closed sub-class of stative verbs that express location, possession, or psychological state (ability, desire, knowledge). Included in the table below is also a verb root, exhibiting the same affirmative-negative formal distinction, which is not used as an independent verb but only in compounding.

Table 1 Lexical negative verbs of Sakhalin Ainu.

negative		affirmative	
<i>erameskari</i> <i>eramiskari</i> ²	‘not know’ ‘not understand’	<i>wante</i>	‘know’
<i>etunne</i>	‘not want’	<i>-rusuy</i>	‘want’
<i>koya(y)kus</i> ³ <i>eaykap_</i> ⁴	‘not be able’ ‘cannot’	<i>easkay</i>	‘be able’ ‘can’
<i>isam</i>	‘not exist’	<i>an</i> (PC) <i>okay</i> (PL)	‘exist’
<i>√nak_</i>	‘not have’	<i>√nu</i>	‘have’
<i>sak_</i>	‘not have’	<i>koro</i>	‘have’

Eramiskari/erameskari, *etunne*, and *ko(y)aykus/eaykap_* are also found following a notional verb in a two-verb construction where they have developed an aspectual or modal function. These structures feature the zero-nominalization of the notional verb, which may be signaled by the presence of the additive particle *ka* ‘even’, and its embedding as the object of the negative verb in the construction. Therefore, VERB_{NMLZ}+*ka*+*erameskari* expresses an experiential aspect, VERB_{NMLZ}+*ka*+*etunne* expresses desiderative mood, and VERB_{NMLZ}+*ka*+*koya(y)kus/eaykap_*

1 In the reference corpora, only the verb *wante* ‘know’ appears regularly negated in place of the expected negative form *eramiskari* (four instances in the WSA dialects of Raichishika and Usoro). Regular negation of at least some of these affirmative verbs that have a lexical negative counterpart also seems possible in some Hokkaidō dialects. One such instance is Southern Hokkaidō Ainu, where *somo kor* ‘not have’ is a variant of *sak* (with the same meaning), albeit with a different pragmatic function (Nakagawa Hiroshi, pers. comm.).

2 The form *erameskari* is attested in WSA and *eramiskari* in ESA. Within this latter dialect group, *eramuskari* is a phonological variant attested in the Hunup, Takoye, Tarayka, and Tunayci dialects.

3 In ESA, *eaykap_* only appears in the Tunayci dialect. In WSA, this verb is not attested in Fujiyama Haru’s idiolect of the Rayciska dialect (Murasaki 1976: 2013; 2016), where *koyaykus* is the only form used for ‘not be able, cannot’. This is in spite of the fact that *eaykap_* is mentioned in Murasaki’s sketch grammar of this informant’s idiolect (Murasaki 1979: 58).

4 An underscore is used here and throughout the paper on citation forms to signal when a sound undergoes change due to phonological processes (for example, assimilation) or phonotactic rules, like word-final debuccalization of plosives and the alveolar tap /r/ (rendered in orthography as *r*), which is systematic in the language.

expresses abilitative mood. Similarly, *isam* is found again following a notional verb in a formally biclausal construction featuring the clause linker *wa* ‘and’ (that is, VERB+*wa*+*isam*) to express a conclusive aspect (for further discussion, see Dal Corso 2021a: 115–118). Additionally it should be noted that *isam* is the only intransitive verb among those listed in Table 1.

In addition to lexical verbs, Sakhalin Ainu has the negative adverbial *-ko(n)no*, which is most likely to be analyzed as *-ko(-n)-no* (-NEG(-EP)-ADV) on account of the negative suffix *-ko* found in Central-Eastern and South-Western Hokkaidō dialects, such as Shiranuka (Tamura 2010), Tokachi (Takahashi 2016), and Saru (Tamura 2000). Finally, for the Tunayci dialect of ESA, there are sporadic attestations of the Hokkaidō Ainu negative *somo* (briefly discussed in §4.1 and §6.4) and the Japanese prohibitive final particle *na*. More than a dialectal variation, this should be regarded as a case of language contact. In fact, the texts where these forms appear were elicited from informants who had spent many years in Hokkaidō (Piłsudski 1912: 161, 176, 191) and whose Ainu shows several influences from Hokkaidō dialects.

4. THE SAKHALIN AINU NEGATIVE *HAM*=

In this section, I outline the historical development that led to the grammaticalization of *ham*= as a marker of negation. I defer the discussion on the diachronic development and grammaticalization of *ham*-marked forms and constructions to §6. In §4.1, I provide a brief overview of negation forms in Hokkaidō and Kuril Ainu, in §4.2 I discuss the origins of *ham*=, and in §4.3 I argue for the status of *ham*= as a proclitic.

4.1 Negation in Hokkaidō and Kuril Ainu

Negation is one grammatical feature that shows sharp formal variation among and within Ainu varieties. Bugaeva (2024: 602) provides a non-exhaustive list of the negative forms attested in the Ainu languages, which is clearly representative of this variation. The adverb *somo* (*som-o* NEG-ADV?) is encountered in all northern, southern, and western Hokkaidō dialects (NH, SH, WH). However, its use in the east appears limited to the central-eastern dialects (CEH), like Nayoro, Asahikawa, and Bihoro, since it is absent in eastern dialects (EH) on the Pacific coast, like Samani, Shiranuka, and Kushiro. *Sen* is attested in Horobetsu (in the form of *senne*; see, e.g., *sen-ne* NEG-COP) and Yakumo (WH) (Hattori 1964: 327), and sporadically attested as an unproductive prefix also in the Saru area as *sem* (SH) (Kubodera 1992: 238; Kayano 2005: 287). Kushiro, Shiranuka, and Samani (EH) have *henne* (*hen-ne* NEG-COP) and *homo* (*hom-o* NEG-ADV?) (Hattori 1964: 327); this latter form (at least in Shiranuka) is sometimes realized as *komo*, due to the phonosyntactic combination with the preceding particle *ka* ‘even’, or ‘*omo/omo*’ where *h* is either elided or realized as a glottal stop (Hattori 1964: 325; Tamura 2010: 298–299). In Obihiro (CEH) we find *somo*, (*h*)*omo*, and *sien*. As such, Obihiro is at the crossroads between CE dialects, where only *h*-forms are encountered, and the other CEH dialects of the Tokachi region, where *somo* is attested as the negative form (Hattori 1964: 327; Takahashi 2018: 23).

In northern Kuril Ainu (NK), the following negative forms are attested. *Hein* and *hem* (Klaproth 1823; Torii 1903: 117; Murayama 1988: 52) and their varieties *ein* (*eйнь* in Krasheninnikov’s (1755: 187) Cyrillic spelling) and *em* (Dybowsky 1892, in Murayama 1988: 152) are deprived of the initial fricative, similarly to what happens in Obihiro and Shiranuka. Klaproth (1823) also reports *hain* and *hæ*. If one assumes that Georg Steller, who provided the data in Klaproth, most probably employed a close phonological transcription based on German spelling to compile his

list of Ainu terms, the diphthong *äi* in *häin* is easily understood as being pronounced [ei]. Of less certain interpretation is the pronunciation intended for *æ* in *hæ*, since this grapheme does not belong to the standard German spelling. Torii (1903: 123) also reports the negative *nepe*, which has no similar counterpart in any other Ainu language or dialect. Any generalizations about negation in the almost undocumented southern Kuril Ainu (SK) need to rely on the only token of the negative form *hejnu* (*xeÿny* in the original Cyrillic transliteration) collected by Captain Golovnin in 1811 (Bugueva & Satō 2021: 186). Finally, all dialects of Sakhalin Ainu feature negative forms beginning in *h*⁵ (see §5 below).

Without going into detail about the morphosyntax of negation in Hokkaidō and Kuril Ainu, of primary interest for the present discussion is the consonant (*h* <> *s*) and vowel (*a* <> *e*) alternations within negative forms across Ainu varieties and their dialects. Specifically, one observes that *s*-forms are exclusive to Hokkaidō Ainu (SH, NH, WH, and CEH) while *h*-forms are found elsewhere. At the same time, *e*-forms are characteristic of dialects and dialect groups along the Pacific coast, being found in WH, SH, EH, SK, and NK. In contrast, *a*-forms are encountered in SH, CEH, NH, and Sakhalin Ainu, with Shiranuka (EH) having also *e*-forms (see §4.2 about the reasons to include *somo* among *a*-forms). Figure 1 (*h*-forms in blue, *s*-forms in red) and Figure 2 (*a*-forms in purple, *e*-forms in green) illustrate the areal distribution of negative forms.

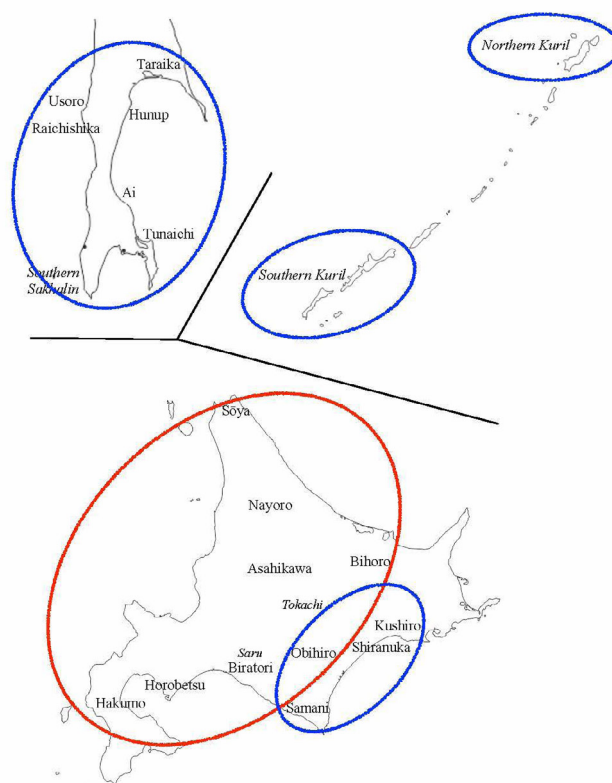


Figure 1 Areality of *h*-forms and *s*-forms.

5 This also includes southern Sakhalin (ss), which I do not take into account in this research (see, for instance, Yamabe 1993).

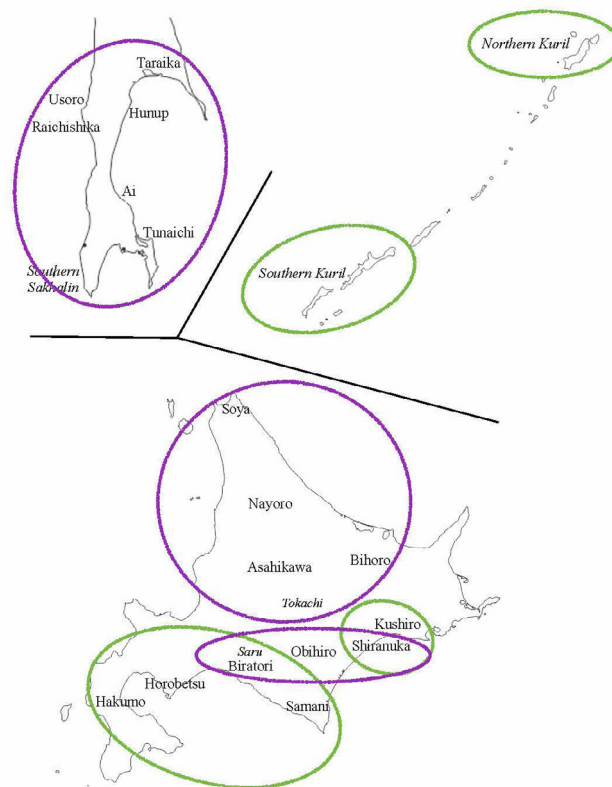


Figure 2 Areality of *a*-forms and *e*-forms.

4.2 Origins of *ham=*

In this subsection,⁶ I discuss the historical development of the Sakhalin Ainu proclitic *ham=* from an erstwhile stative transitive verb with negative semantics. I also argue that the proposed path of development accounts for negative forms of Hokkaidō and Kuril Ainu as well and that, therefore, the origin of negative markers is common in all Ainu varieties despite the sharp formal differences.

When presenting the lexical negative verbs of Sakhalin Ainu in §3, I pointed out how *isam* ‘not exist’ is the only intransitive form. Although this peculiarity could merely be explained by saying that *isam* is the negative counterpart of the intransitive *an/okay* ‘exist’, I argue that this is not the case. I follow Kindaichi and Chiri’s (1936) intuition, reiterated in Dettmer (1989: 845–846), that the segment *i* in *isam* is nothing more than the antipassive marker *i-* (Bugaeva 2021; Dal Corso 2021a: 100–101). Since antipassivization is a valency-decreasing strategy, the resulting intransitivity of *isam* indicates that the process originally targeted a transitive base, which I reconstruct as **sam* with the meaning of ‘not exist in (a certain place)’. As an independent verb, **sam* must have stopped being used already at some stage of Proto-Ainu

⁶ I thank José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente for his precious comments on the original idea that underlies the analysis in this subsection. Of course he does not necessarily share the views expressed here.

or, at any rate, at a stage in the evolution of Historical Ainu previous to when language documentation began, given the lack of attestations in the language sources. The verb **sam* adds to the small class of stative transitive verbs of Ainu whose subject is the entity that exists at a certain location and whose object indicates the location. Examples of such verbs are *un* ‘be/live in’, *o* and *oma* ‘be positioned in’, and *us* ‘be on’. Therefore, the form *isam* features the demotion of a locative object via antipassivization, with the semantic reference of the prefix *i-* being a general place.⁷ This is in line with the historical development of the antipassive prefix, whose origin Bugaeva (2021: 235) suggests to be in a semantically generic noun **i* ‘place, thing’, which no longer exists as an independent noun but is retained as a nominalizer. Following antipassivization, the verb *isam* would become lexicalized with the meaning of ‘not exist (anywhere)’ and only at this point would its use get fixed in the language as the negative counterpart of *an/okay*.

At the same time, the historical development of **sam* proceeded following another trajectory in which it started to be used as a marker of negation due to its intrinsically negative semantics. First, under functional pressure, **sam* became to be used in adposition to the negated element in accordance with the syntactic typology and right-headedness of the language; secondly, it acquired prefix-like characteristics aided by the overall tendency of Ainu to have prefixal inflectional morphology (see §4.3 and §6). Other analogous cases in the history of Ainu support this hypothesis. Stative transitive verbs that are the diachronic source of inflectional affixes include the abovementioned *un* ‘be/live in’, which in Hokkaidō Ainu grammaticalizes into the allative nominal suffix *-un* and *kor/koro* ‘have’, the source for the applicative *ko-* found in all Ainu varieties (Bugaeva 2010: 773–774). To these examples, one might also add the development of the stative (yet intransitive) verb *an* ‘exist’ into the person-agreement marker *-an/a(n)-* (Bugaeva 2011: 524–528).

The phonological change from /s/ to /h/, which characterizes negative forms in CEH dialects of Hokkaidō and in Sakhalin and Kuril Ainu, happened following this functional shift. This is assumed to be a regular change in Proto-Ainu, where original **s* is only preserved in the surroundings of /i/ (Alonso de la Fuente 2022: 162), which is exactly what happens in *isam*.⁸ The same change did not take place in other Hokkaidō dialects, where /s/ stemming from Proto-Ainu **s* was maintained. The sound change from /a/ (found in the Proto-Ainu form **sam*) to /o/, attested in negative forms all throughout Hokkaidō dialects, is explained as follows. In these dialects, **sam* was used primarily (and later on exclusively in some dialects) affixed to the adverbial suffix *-no* in the form of *samno* (see fn. 11). Irregular regressive vowel assimilation

7 I shall here address a comment that I received from one of the anonymous peer reviewers, who raised the question of whether **sam* could be the result of lexicalization of **s-an* (< NEG-exist.PC); which reconstruction would therefore assume negation to be expressed by the sole segment #s. However, if this were the case, **sam* would be an intransitive form and, as such, incompatible with antipassivization thus making the proposed reconstruction of **isam* problematic. Furthermore, there is no ground to assume the n>m phonological change as a result of cliticization.

8 Alternatively one might hypothesize that this change happened due to contact with Nivkh (isolate/Amuric, Russia), where we find the negative verb *ɤavr-* ‘not exist’ being used in one of the possible synthetic negative forms of the language (Gruzdeva & Fedotov *forthcoming*). In this scenario, the uvular fricative /ɤ/ would have been transposed in Ainu with /h/ – that is, the only available fricative in the Ainu phonemic inventory that comes closest to the articulation of the Nivkh original sound. The soundness of this hypothesis remains to be ascertained in light of historical evidence. Furthermore, although it might explain the /s/ to /h/ change in Sakhalin Ainu, the same does not hold for Kuril Ainu and CEH dialects of Hokkaidō Ainu, which did not experience sustained contact with Nivkh.

of /a/ to /o/, prompted by **samno* being stressed on the last syllable (like we still see in *somo*), eventually yielded the Historical Ainu form also attested in the language sources. Notably, the same assimilation did not happen in the cognate form *hamo/hamu* (*ham-o/u* NEG-ADV?) of Sakhalin Ainu (see §5). With regard to WH, SH, CEH, EH, SK, and NK forms that feature the vowel /e/, I assume that this is a possible reflex of an original front, open-mid, unrounded vowel /ɛ/ of Proto-Ainu (Dal Corso 2021b: 218), which is postulated by Vovin (1993) and therein referred to as ‘E’. In such case, the proto-form of the negative verb at the origin of the Ainu negative clitic should better be indicated as **sEm*. This sound, which yielded /e/ in these dialects, would result in a lower sound (i.e., /a/) in other Hokkaidō and Sakhalin dialects. Figure 3 illustrates the proposed development of the negative clitic from the Proto-Ainu verb **sam*, with forms in the lower part of the graph assumed to be more recent. The figure also includes the separate trajectory that yielded *isam* through antipassivization.

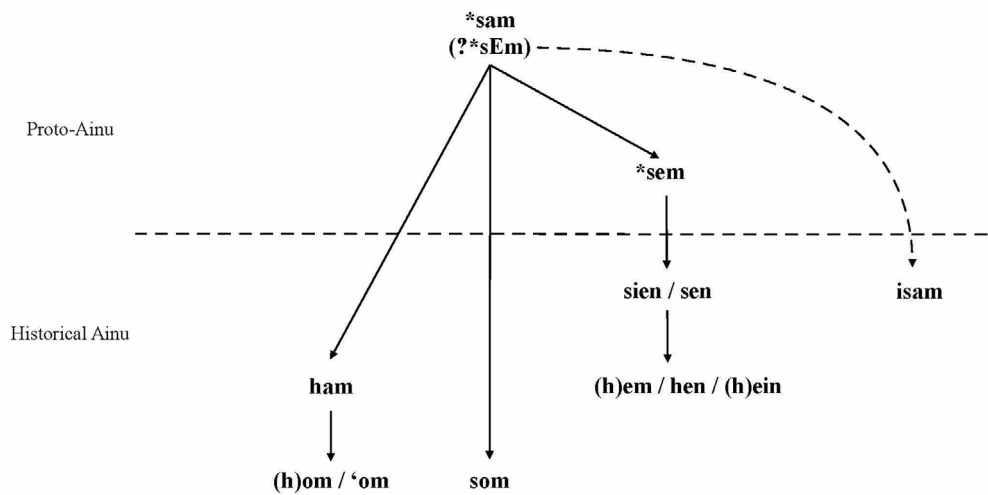


Figure 3 Proto-Ainu **sam* and its development.

4.3 *Ham=* as a proclitic

As discussed in §4.2, I assume that the Sakhalin Ainu negative *ham* acquired prefix-like characteristics after **sam* began to be used in adposition to the negated element under functional pressure. Reference sources provide morphophonological and, to a lesser degree, syntactic evidence both in favor and against the definition of *ham* as a prefix, thus suggesting that it never fully developed into one. Here I argue for the status of *ham* as a proclitic (and therefore cite the form as *ham=*) because it is not class-selective and it is phonologically dependent on a following host word (Spencer & Luís 2012). I necessarily base my conclusion only on 52 negative tokens out of the total available, and, more specifically, on those where the semantic scope of *ham=* is restricted to its host word. That is, I do not consider the morphophonological and syntactic features of *ham=* appearing in forms such as *hanka*, *hanki*, or *hannehka*, because these forms and the constructions they are employed in have undergone various stages of grammaticaliza-

tion and, therefore, may not be insightful with regards to the original structural features of *ham=* (see discussion in §6).

Ham= is clearly not class-selective, as it is found on preceding nouns, verbs, the copula, nominal particles, and adverbs (see Table 2 in §5 for the percentage of instances). Like other inflectional prefixes of the language, *ham=* undergoes regular phonological processes like the regressive assimilation of /m/: for example, *hancinukahsiri* (< *ham-ci-nukar-siri* NEG-ANTIC-see-land) [ˈhɑŋ.t̪ei̯.nu.kah.ɛi.ri] ‘an unseen land’, *hanne* (< *ham-ne* NEG-COP) [ˈhan.ne] ‘not be’, or *haysuy* (< *ham-suy* NEG-again) [ˈhaj.suj] ‘not again’. *Ham=* also forms a single phonological unit with the host element it negates and, due to its CVC-type syllable structure, causes re-syllabification. This is signaled by first-syllable stress on *ham=* when it attaches to a host word whose first syllable has an onset, as per the general rules of stress in Sakhalin Ainu (Murasaki 1979: 4–6; Dal Corso 2021a: 40); *haysuy* and *hanne* mentioned above provide an example. However, cases where *ham=* does not cause re-syllabification are also attested. One such example is *hám utara*, which is Piłsudski’s (1912) spelling for what I transliterate as *hamutara* (< *ham=utara* NEG=people). Piłsudski’s orthographic stress suggests the pronunciation [ˈha.mu.t̪a.ra] instead of *[ha.ˈmu.ta.ra] that is again expected on the basis of the general rules of stress, due to which words with a CV.CV structure are stressed on the second syllable.⁹ Ultimately, this suggests that *ham=* may have still retained phonological features of an independent word. One other piece of evidence, specific to Ainu, in favor of analyzing *ham=* as a proclitic comes from verbal morphology. On verbs, *ham=* is almost always found in a more peripheral position than person-agreement prefixes, which are the most external morphological elements in the Sakhalin Ainu verb structure (see §2): for example, *hamecinu* (< *ham=eci-nu* NEG-2P.A-3S.O/listen) ‘you did not listen to it’ and *hamanrayki* (< *ham=an-rayki* NEG-PRM.A-3S.O/kill) ‘I did not kill [any animals]’. This behavior is at odds with that of other inflectional morphemes, like the antipassive, applicative, or reflexive morphemes, which have linear precedence over agreement. Nevertheless, in two instances, *ham=* follows the person-agreement prefixes *anameyaynu* (< *an-ham-e-yay-nu* PRM.A-NEG-APPL-REFL-3S.O/listen) ‘I did not pay attention to it [lit.: I did not listen to myself about it]’, attested in the ESA dialect of Takoye (Majewicz 1998: 278), and *anhancinukahsiri* (< *an-ham-ci-nukara-siri* PRM.A-NEG-ANTIC-3S.O/see-land) ‘a land I did not know’, attested in the WSA dialect of Raichishika (Murasaki 2016: 30). These isolated cases leave room for doubt that *ham=* might in fact have been in the process of being re-analyzed as an inflectional prefix or, alternatively, that the whole verb or noun form might have undergone (partial) lexicalization similarly to forms such as *somoipere* (< *somo-ipe-re* NEG-eat.ANTIC-CAUS) ‘not feed’ in Hokkaido Ainu. Whether this was ever an actual step in the evolution of *ham=* cannot be further explored due to a lack of examples.

5. NEGATION STRATEGIES

5.1 *Ham*-marked forms, constructions, and their distribution

Table 2 lists the Sakhalin Ainu negative forms attested in the reference sources: 111 tokens are attested for ESA and 213 tokens for WSA, adding up to a total of 324 tokens of negation taken into

⁹ Sources where such instances appear have no audio recording that would help confirm the stress pattern and deductions are based on the orthographic conventions employed by the editor of the corpora.

account in this study. Table 3 summarizes the syntactic layouts, which I discuss in detail from §5.2 onwards, in which negative forms are encountered showing their distribution and frequency.¹⁰

Table 2 Negative forms of Sakhalin Ainu.

form	morphological analysis	dialect group	tokens	dialect group percentage	total percentage
<i>ham=</i>	NEG=	ESA	25	22.6%	16.0%
		WSA	7	3.3%	
<i>hamo</i> <i>hamu</i>	<i>ham=no/nu</i> ¹¹ NEG+ADV	ESA	4	3.6%	2.8%
		WSA	5	2.3%	
<i>hanka(yki)</i>	<i>ham=ka(yki)</i> NEG=even	ESA	9	8.1%	15.0%
		WSA	40	18.8%	
<i>hanki</i>	<i>ham=ki</i> NEG=do	ESA	11	9.9%	34.0%
		WSA	99	46.5%	
<i>hanna</i>	<i>ham=na</i> NEG=also	ESA	7	6.3%	2.2%
		WSA	0	0%	
<i>hannah(ka)</i>	<i>ham=nah(-ka)</i> ¹² NEG=so(-even)	ESA	10	9.0%	3.1%
		WSA	0	0%	
<i>hanne</i>	<i>ham=ne</i> NEG=COP	ESA	42	37.8%	6.8%
		WSA	0	0%	
<i>hanneh</i>	<i>ham=ne-p</i> NEG=COP-thing	ESA	3	2.7%	2.8%
		WSA	6	2.8%	
<i>hannehka</i>	<i>ham=ne-p-ka</i> NEG=COP-thing-even	ESA	0	0%	17.3%
		WSA	56	26.3%	

10 To support the readability of examples, in the following sections I gloss all the items presented in the tables simply as NEG with no specification of their internal morphology.

11 I propose that *hamo/hamu* is a lexicalized form deriving from the suffixation of the adverbializer *-no* to the Proto-Ainu verb **sam*, which then underwent the phonological changes outlined in §4. Although suffixation of *-no* should yield *hamno* or *hammo* through progressive assimilation, the form *hamo* is possible due to phonological lenition (a similar case is attested for *ponno* ‘a little’ (< *pon-no* be.small-ADV) often realized as *pono*). The same analysis holds true for Hokkaidō Ainu *somo* and *homo*. The difference with the dialects of this latter variety seems to be that Hokkaidō Ainu forms underwent one more stage of grammaticalization of the original adverbial negative verb into an unverbated negator as it is indicated by last-syllable stress, when *-no* normally never bears stress. On the contrary, Sakhalin Ainu *hamo/hamu* is stressed on the first syllable, despite its CVCV structure, which also explains rising from *o* to *u* in *hamu*, typical of unstressed syllables.

12 Bugaeva (2024: 602) analyzes this form as *ham=* added to the clause linker *yah* ‘if’ or *yahka* ‘although’. I assume a different morphemic composition, given that the approximant [j], rendered in orthography by *y*, is systematically elided after the nasal [m] (Murasaki 1979: 9); therefore, if this form were derived from the negation of the abovementioned clause linkers, it would appear as *hamah(ka)*.

Table 3 Syntactic layouts of negative forms, distribution, and frequency.

form	syntactic layout	dialect group	tokens	dialect group percentage	total percentage
<i>ham=</i>	<i>ham=</i> +verb	ESA	19	17.1%	8.0%
		WSA	7	3.3%	
	<i>ham=</i> +noun	ESA	3	2.7%	0.9%
		WSA	0	0%	
	<i>ham=</i> +non-content word (adverbs and particles)	ESA	3	2.7%	0.9%
		WSA	0	0%	
<i>hamo hamu</i>	<i>hamo</i> +verb	ESA	4	3.6%	2.8%
		WSA	5	2.3%	
<i>hanka(yki)</i>	<i>hanka(yki)</i> +verb	ESA	9	8.1%	15.0%
		WSA	40	18.8%	
<i>hanki</i>	verb+(<i>ka/kayki</i>)+ <i>hanki</i>	ESA	11	9.9%	34.0%
		WSA	99	46.5%	
<i>hanna</i>	<i>hanna</i> +verb	ESA	7	6.3%	2.2%
		WSA	0	0%	
<i>hannah(ka)</i>	clause linker/TOP+ <i>hannah(ka)</i> +verb(.NEG)	ESA	5	4.5%	1.5%
		WSA	0	0%	
	verb+ <i>kusu neyke</i> + <i>hannah+kusu</i>	ESA	5	4.5%	1.5%
		WSA	0	0%	
<i>hanne</i>	<i>ham</i> =COP	ESA	20	18.0%	6.2%
		WSA	0	0%	
	<i>hanne</i> +verb	ESA	8	7.2%	2.5%
		WSA	0	0%	
	verb+ <i>kayki</i> + <i>hanne+ki</i>	ESA	14	12.6%	4.3%
		WSA	0	0%	
<i>hanneh</i>	<i>hanneh</i> +verb	ESA	2	1.8%	1.9%
		WSA	4	1.9%	
	verb+ <i>hanneh+ki</i>	ESA	1	0.9%	0.9%
		WSA	2	0.9%	
<i>hannehka</i>	<i>hannehka</i> +verb	ESA	0	0%	13.3%
		WSA	43	20.2%	
	verb+ <i>ka</i> + <i>hannehka+ki</i>	ESA	0	0%	1.2%
		WSA	4	1.9%	
	used as negative copula	ESA	0	0%	2.8%
		WSA	9	4.2%	

5.2 Copula (equative) negation and standard negation

5.2.1 Copula (equative) negation

Equative clauses in Sakhalin Ainu have the syntactic layout of transitive clauses. If the subject is not a third person, it is marked on the copula *ne* with transitive subject-agreement prefixes, while the copular object always appears unmarked on the copula and overtly expressed with a nominal. An overtly expressed third person subject is distinguished from the copular object

on the basis of linear position (that is, subject-object-copula). One strategy to negate equative clauses is to have *ham=* affixed to the copula (1). This strategy is attested only in ESA: in 4 out of the total 20 instances (all found in Piłsudski 1912), the copular object is a common noun, and in the other instances it is a nominalized predicate most often (11 times) marked for conditional mood with the suffix *-kun*.

- (1) *Ta mahneku[h] neampe aynu hoko koro*
 that young.woman TOP human husband 3S.A/3S.O/have
yahka mahpo-ho-cin aynu po kayak[i] ham_=ne.
 though 3.PSR/daughter-POSS-COLL human child even NEG=COP
 ‘Even though that young woman had a human husband, her daughters were not human children.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 59)

Only in WSA, *hannehka* can be employed as a negative copula (2). This use is mostly documented for the Raichishika dialect (Murasaki 1976; 1989; 1995; 2001; 2013; 2016; Kitahara et al. 2003) with only two attestations in Usoro (Kitahara 2014).

- (2) ‘*Anihi humpecehpo hannehka. Anihi ne’ampe etuhka ciwteh-pe*
 self puffer.fish NEG.COP self top crow serve-being
ne yawa.
 COP FP.EXC
 ‘He himself is not a puffer-fish. He is the emissary of the crow, you see!’ (Murasaki 2001: 198)

For other specific applications of copula negation, see §5.3 and §5.4.3.

5.2.2 Standard negation

I understand standard negation as negation used in declarative main clauses that contain a verb and that do not involve quantifiers (Payne 1985: 198; Miestamo 2005). However, it is important to note that some of the negation strategies I analyze in this subsection find applications that go beyond the theoretically defined domain of standard negation, like copula negation (§5.2.1) and focus negation (§5.3). In addition, the strategies illustrated in examples (5) and (8) are also acceptable in interrogative clauses, so it is most likely that Sakhalin Ainu did not have a distinct way to express negation in questions. Unfortunately, from the data at hand, it is impossible to determine whether all the strategies attested in declarative clauses were also acceptable in interrogative clauses. Some of the following strategies are otherwise employed to negate predicates within complement clauses, relative clauses, and clauses that are introduced by syntactic linkers, which, on the basis of their sole semantics, one could define as “coordinating” or “subordinating”; examples include *yahka* ‘although’, *-teh* ‘and’, and *-ike* ‘and/but/when’. Due to our generally limited understanding of clause dependencies in Sakhalin Ainu and Ainu in general, I will only address the interaction between negation and subordination in those cases where formal changes in negation seem to be diagnostic of a specific kind of dependency (see §5.5), leaving further comments on the matter to future studies.

The strategy of directly marking the negated verb with the proclitic *ham=* (3) is attested most commonly in ESA dialects. As I discussed in §4, *ham=* is found in a more peripheral position than person-agreement prefixes. In WSA dialects, this strategy appears exclusively with the verb *nukara* ‘see’ within the idiomatic phrase *hancinukahsiri cinukahsiri uturuketa* ‘between

an unseen and a seen land’, which is used in folklore and loosely translates the English phrase ‘in a faraway land’.

- (3) **Ham**=*eci-nu* *yayne* *tani numan* *e-mat_-i-hi*
 NEG=2P.A-3S.O/listen and.then now yesterday 2S.PSR-wife-EP-POSS
toma-ta *or_-ta* ...
 3S.S/tuber-collect.NMLZ 3/place-LOC/LAT
 ‘You did not listen [to my warning] and eventually yesterday your wife, when she collected tubers...’ (Piłsudski 1912: 121)

Alternatively, *ham*= is attached to the verb *ki* ‘do’, thus resulting in the form *hanki*, but has its semantic scope over a preceding predicate. This syntactic layout is recognizable as a light verb construction (Butt 2003) where *ki* functions as a syntactic head on which all grammatical information (like negation, person, number, ...) is marked via inflectional morphology, and the preceding predicate functions as a semantic head that expresses the actual proposition being negated. Syntactically, the predicate under the scope of negation is a nominalized constituent that functions as the object of *ki*, while its subject is co-indexed with that of *ki* and, therefore, overtly marked only on this latter verb (see indexing in the examples below). The nominalized predicate is always followed by the particle *ka* ‘even’ or its emphatic version *kayki*, except for one case in Taraika (ESA) (Piłsudski 1912).

- (4) *Anoka neampe tohse* *ka ham=an-ki-no*
 I TOP SLV_i/lie.down.NMLZ_j even NEG=PRM.A₁-OLV_j/do-ADV
yay-nu-no-ka-an.
 REFL-listen-well-CAUS-PRM.S
 ‘As for me, I kept an ear out [for strange noises] without sleeping.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 184)

Example (5) illustrates a version of the strategy in (4) with a slightly different morphological layout, which is, on average, the most common of all negation strategies in the reference sources. The construction still maintains the syntactic characteristics of a light verb construction, but the subject is referenced via personal agreement prefixes on the nominalized notional verb and *ki* is left unmarked for person.¹³

- (5) *Aynu kur-i* *an-nukara* *ka ham_=kii.*
 person 3.PSR/figure-POSS PRM.A₁-3S.O/see.NMLZ_j even NEG=SLV_i/OLV_j/do
 ‘I did not see the man’s figure.’ (Kitahara 2016: 62)

Again the nominalized predicate may be followed by the particle *kayki* (in ESA) or *ka* (in WSA), where it has a higher frequency in Raichishika and Maoka (Murasaki 1976; 1989; 1995; 2001; 2013; 2016; Kitahara et al. 2003).¹⁴ To be noted also is one isolated instance in Raichishika (Murasaki 2001: 120), where person agreement referencing the subject, in the form of the first person singular *ku-*, is found on both the nominalized verb and *ki*.

Standard negation is otherwise obtained with *hanne*, *hanneh*, and *hannehka*. In one syntactic layout, these forms precede the verb they negate always being adjacent to it; see (6), (7),

13 With a plural subject, *ki* ‘do’ can be optionally marked for collective number with the prefix *-hci*.

14 The only case where *ka* is missing is one of those instances in the Raichishika dialect where this negation strategy is employed on an affirmative verb which has a lexical negative (see fn. 1).

and (8) below. One exception is attested in Raichishika (Murasaki 2016: 62), where a locative intervenes between *hannehka* and the verb. *Hanne* and *hanneh* are rarely found to follow the negated verb. This idiosyncratic behavior is attested only twice, in Raichishika (WSA) (Murasaki 2001: 300) and Tunaichi (ESA) (Majewicz 1998: 302).

- (6) *Nera ray pahno itak_ yahka anokay neyampe*
 how 3s.s/die until 3s.s/speak though I TOP

an-kisar-u kari hanne ahun.
 PRM.PSR-ear-POSS 3P.O/through NEG 3P.S/enter.PC

‘She [may] speak how[ever she likes] until she dies but, as far as I am concerned, [her words] do not enter my ears.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 140)

- (7) *Repohpe sine-p_ kayki hanneh kusa.*
 seal one-CNL.INA even NEG 3S.A/3S.O/transport

‘He did not bring [home] a single seal.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 149)

- (8) *Tani ‘ahturi hannehka ko-tasko.*
 now globeflower NEG APPL-3S.A/3S.O/3S.IO/tie

‘She does not tie [the dried fish] to the globeflowers.’ (Murasaki 2001: 112)

The other possible syntactic layout finds *hanne*, *hanneh*, and *hannehka* employed in a light verb construction analogous to the one featuring *hanki* illustrated above in (4) and (5). When overtly referenced via agreement, the subject is marked on *ki*; two exceptions to this are one instance in Taraika (ESA) (Piłsudski 1912: 118), where agreement appears on the nominalized verb, and one instance in Raichishika (WSA) (Murasaki 2013: 49), where agreement appears on both verbs. Here, too, the optional particle *ka* is most common in WSA while in ESA it has the form *kayki*.

- (9) *Tani nuca renkayne aynu-utara ta-ene ahkas*
 now Russian 3P.O/due.to Ainu-people there-ALL 3P.S/walk.NMLZ

kayk[i] hanne ki.
 even NEG SLV/OLV/do

‘Now, because of the Russians, the Ainu do not travel there.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 140)

- (10) *Nah kara-hci yahka ampene pirika*
 so 3P.A/3S.O/make-COLL though really 3S.S/be.good.NMLZ

hanneh kii manuu.
 NEG SLV/OLV/do REP

‘Although they did so [to her], she did not get better at all.’ (Murasaki 1976: 58; Dal Corso 2021a: 348)

- (11) *Si-moy-moy-a ka hannehka ki.*
 REFL-3S.S/move-move-TR.NMLZ even NEG SLV/OLV/do

‘[The monster] did not move.’ (Murasaki 1976: 99; Dal Corso 2021a: 396)

5.3 Focus and topic negation

Focus and topic negation is rarely attested in Sakhalin Ainu and only in ESA dialects. For this type of negation, the proclitic *ham=* is hosted either on a noun, which is always *utara* ‘people’, on the adverbs *suy* ‘again’ and *ene* ‘like this’, or on the topic particle *neampe*.

- (12) *An_-matak-hi nah ye yahka ham=utara*
 PRM.PSR-younger.sister-POSS so 3S.A/3S.O/say though NEG=**people**
nu-hci.
 3P.A/3S.O/listen-COLL

‘Although my sister said so, not [you] men listened to her [but I did].’ (Piłsudski 1912: 120)

- (13) *Ham_=suy kayki ene an-ki-kun-i an-ramu.*
 NEG=**again** even like.this PRM.A-3S.O/do-COND-NMLZ PRM.A-3S.O/think

‘Certainly not again [like I had done before] I intended to do that [to my brothers’ possessions].’ (Piłsudski 1912: 210)

- (14) *Neya oyasi kuca apa hekota ahun [...]*
 this evil-spirit hut door 3S.A/3S.O/go.towards 3S.S/enter.PC
i-tomo-ke-ne ham_=neampe ek_ manuy.
 PRM.O-side-PTV-ALL NEG=**top** 3S.S/come.PC REP

‘The evil spirit went towards the hut’s door [and] entered [...], not to my side it came.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 206)

Examples (12) and (13) illustrate focus negation.¹⁵ In (12), *utara* ‘people’ is a subject that does not perform the event expressed by the predicate differently from some other entity previously mentioned in context. Similarly, *ham=* on the adverbs *ene* ‘like this’ and *suy* ‘again’ (13) exhibits the function of contrasting the intensity or frequency of the event with that of another occurrence of the same event that happened previously. Focus negation with a contrastive meaning seems to be possible also for discourse topics, overtly marked as such by the particle *neampe* (Dal Corso 2021a: 136). Differently from what can be seen in (12), here the morphological host for negation is the topic particle and not the noun, which in the only available token is an oblique marked for allative case. I can only speculate that this might have been a possibility reserved for non-arguments.

Another negative strategy with a focus-like function features *hannah(ka)*, and its syntactic layout differs between ESA and WSA dialects. In the former dialect group, *hannah(ka)* follows a noun or a nominalized predicate marked for topicality with the particle *neampe*. In one instance (Piłsudski 1912: 204), topicalization is reiterated after *hannah* with the particle *anahne* (a case of code-switching with Hokkaidō Ainu). The whole nominal constituent functions as the subject of a negative copula in the form *hanne* (see §5.2.1). The copular object is again a noun with at least one verbal modifier or a nominalized predicate. Example (15) provides an illustration with bracketing of arguments.

15 An analogous use of the negative *somo* is attested in the Saru dialect of Hokkaido Ainu (Nurmi 2023).

- (15) [*Sine cep_ ka isam-hi neampe*]_{SUBJ} *hannahka* [*yayekota*
 one fish even 3s.s/not.exist-NMLZ TOP NEG by.oneself
eani e-wen kusu cep_ isam-hi ka]_{OBJ} *ham_=ne.*
 you.SG 2s.s-be.bad CAU.FIN fish 3p.s/not.exist.NMLZ even NEG=COP

‘As for the fact that there was not a single fish, it was not because you behaved badly that there were no fish.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 196)

In WSA, where this strategy is only attested twice in Raichishika (Murasaki 1976), *hannah* does not follow a nominal element, but it precedes either an intransitive verb seemingly used adverbially to express intensity (16) or an oblique locative noun (17). Example (17) shows the locative *oh̄ta* ‘in the place of’ that functions as a morphosyntactic cue within a relative clause in order to retrieve the grammatical function of the relativized locative noun *Hokkayto mosiri* ‘the land of Hokkaidō’.

- (16) *Reekoh hannah sawre i-ki manu.*
 really NEG **be.loose** ANTIP-3s.s/do REP

‘Really not so loosely [the monster] acted.’ (Murasaki 1976: 98; Dal Corso 2021a: 395)

- (17) *Tumi irenka yuhke yayne hannah [or_-ta*
 war opinion 3s.s/be.strong and.then NEG **3/place-LOC/LAT**
 ‘*arik[i]-an-kun*] *Hokkayto mosiri~or_-ta tani ‘arik[i]-an.*
 come.PL-PRM.S-COND Hokkaidō land~place-LOC/LAT now come.PL-PRM.S

‘The will to do war was strong, and eventually we came to Hokkaidō, to which, of all places, we would not [have thought] of coming.’ (Murasaki 1976: 5; Dal Corso 2021a: 171)

I recognize a contrastive focus use for *hannah(ka)* in ESA due to its being used in an equative construction: a specific occurrence of an event, which is presented as real, is contrasted with another occurrence of that same event, which is deemed as not real (that is, the copular subject and object respectively in (15)). *Hannah(ka)* reiterates the negation present on the copula, thus emphasizing it. It appears that this strategy is reserved for focus negation of morphosyntactically complex nominal constituents in place of *ham=*, whose use with nominals is limited to simple nouns (see above). Despite the different layout, I can propose the same conclusion for WSA. In (17), *hannah* has its scope over the relative head *Hokkayto mosiri*, which is contrasted with other possible places where the speakers might have gone and which is negated together with its modifier – that is, the relative clause (within square brackets in the example). Therefore, in the same way as in (15), *hannah* is placed right before the negated constituent, which is a complex nominal. Example (16) is strikingly at odds with this conclusion, but since it is the only such instance of *hannah*, I cannot provide an explanation.

5.4 Negation and modality

5.4.1 Prohibitives

Prohibitives (negative imperatives) are obtained by preposing *hankayki* (more common in ESA) or *hanka* (more common in WSA) to the verb which is always unmarked for person, like in affirmative imperatives (Dal Corso 2021a: 162–163). *Hanka(yki)* and the verb are usually syntactically adjacent, but arguments and obliques may intervene between them. The prohibi-

tion is optionally strengthened by adding an imperative or hortative particle at the end of the clause, such as *waa*, *kanne*, or *yan*, as shown in (18). In one instance in Taraika (ESA), *hankayki* refers to a verb within a conditional clause introduced by *ciki* ‘if’ in what reads as a negative suggestion, more so than a prohibition (19).¹⁶ Notably, in Sakhalin Ainu prohibitives exhibit a negative marking that has the same origin of other negative forms used in non-imperative contexts (i.e., *ham*=). On the contrary, Hokkaidō Ainu dialects make use of the special form *iteki/itekke/etekke/ecikki* for prohibitives, in contrast to *somo* and other forms used elsewhere (Hattori 1964: 327; Tamura 2000: 246–247; Tamura 2010: 296).

- (18) *Eci-ki anah cispo hoku-hu hanka*
 2P.A-3S.O/do if cispo 3.PSR/husband-POSS NEG(PROHIB)
wante-re yan.
 2P.A/3S.O/know-CAUS FP.IMP
 ‘If you do that, do not let the *cispo*’s husband know about it!’ (Kitahara 2014: 27)

- (19) *Peure utara reske kanne neampe hankayki*
 bear.cub people 3P.A/3S.O/raise while TOP NEG(PROHIB)
utara kim-o- i-ki c[i]ki pirika.
 people 3P.S/mountain-APPL-ANTIP-do if 3S.S/be.good
 ‘It is better if people do not hunt in the mountains while they are raising a bear cub [for the bear ceremony].’ (Majewicz 1998: 265)

5.4.2 Apprehensives and negative intention

The strategy of placing *hanna/hana* before a verb is peculiar to the Hunup dialect (ESA) and seems to express apprehension (20) and negative intention (21). This latter reading derives from the negated verb being marked for intentional mood with the auxiliary *kusu iki* (Murasaki 1979: 69; Dal Corso 2021a: 116–117).

- (20) **Hanna** *mawa-an-ike ta wen kiren-or_-ne*
 NEG starve-PRM.S-and this be.poor Tungus~place-ALL
an-kana-te an-e-kun_-pe ka ham_=ne yawa?
 PRM.A-3S.O/request-and PRM.A-3S.O/eat-COND-thing even NEG=COP FP.RETH
 ‘Lest I starve, should I ask [for food] to this poor Tungus and [then find out that] it is not something I would eat?’ (Piłsudski 1912: 139)
- (21) *Tani pahno-no okay-an-ike an-[h]ok[o]-ho hemata*
 now until-ADV exist.PL-PRM.S-and PRM.PSR-husband-POSS what
hana *ko-wen kusu iki.*
 NEG APPL-3S.A/3S.O/be.bad INTN
 ‘I have lived up to now and my husband will not fail at [providing] anything [to eat].’
 (Piłsudski 1912: 139)

16 The prohibitive meaning of the expression is nonetheless retrievable, since the suggestion in (19) is given about an action considered taboo on the basis of a religious precept.

5.4.3 Conditional sentences

The strategy illustrated in (22) and (23) involves *hannah* (already discussed in §5.3), and is attested in conditional sentences exclusively in Hunup (ESA).

- (22) *Tan ohacisuye tan_ mosiri-kes pahno an kusu*
 this empty.house.spirit this world-end until 3S.S/exist.PC CAU.FIN
neyke hannah kusu e-ramu-mo-kun_-pe
 TOP NEG CAU.FIN APPL-3P.A/3S.O/soul.POSS-be.quiet-COND-thing
kayki ham_=ne manu.
 even NEG=COP REP

‘If the empty-house-spirit had lived until the end of times, that [would] not have been something [people] would have felt safe about.’ (Pilsudski 1912: 110)

- (23) *Aca ne kamuy-utara tan_ mahneku*
 elder COP god-COLL this young.woman
ko-sap-ahci kusu neyke hannah kusu
 APPL-3P.A/3S.O/descend.PC-COLL CAU.FIN TOP NEG CAU.FIN
tan tono mosiri ko-yay-cuhki-kor_-te
 this be.bright land APPL-SLV/3S.O/3S.IO/REFL-ray-have-CAUS.NMLZ
ham_=ki nanko.
 NEG=3S.A/OLV/do DUB

‘If the ancient gods descended to this young woman [to do harm], probably this bright world would not shine its rays over her [any longer] to the detriment of [her husband, from whom I receive offers].’ (Pilsudski 1912: 215)

The protasis is introduced by the combination of the causal-final linker *kusu* and the topic marker *neyke*. In one instance (Pilsudski 1912: 169), *kusu neyke* is replaced by the linker *ciki* ‘if’. The verb in the apodosis is either a negative notional verb (23) or a negative copula, whose object is a predicate nominalized with *-pe* (22). *Hannah* appears between the two clauses before another *kusu*, which looks like a partial reiteration of the conditional nexus. In the construction in (22), the nominalized predicate may be marked for conditional mood with the suffix *-kun* and the sentence expresses that the result in the apodosis did not occur because the condition in the protasis was not attained. However, if *-kun* is missing like in (23) or if the subject is co-referential with the speaker, the conditional sentence expresses that the result in the apodosis may occur in the future if the condition in the protasis, which is deemed possible, is attained. It follows plainly that one of the uses of *hannah* is that of marking negation in the irrealis domain. As a way to account for the peculiar syntax of these constructions, I understand the second *kusu* to indeed be a partial repetition of the conditional nexus which *hannah* negates. Therefore, thanks to its focus function (see §5.3), *hannah* extends the scope of negation over the whole condition spelled out in the protasis and highlights that it did not or has not yet occurred at the reference time set by the event in the apodosis. This syntactic layout may be a way to avoid having *hannah* at the beginning of the clause, which would create confusion with its use illustrated in (15).

5.5 Negation and clause dependencies: Caritive adverbial clauses

The topic of clause dependencies remains largely unexplored in Ainu studies (§2), and even more so does the issue of the interaction of negation with coordination and subordination. When discussing negation in the Tokachi dialect of Hokkaidō Ainu, Takahashi (2016) notes that the clause linker *no* is used in place of *wa* and *kan* when the verb of the clause is marked for negation by *somo*. While assuming that *wa* and *kan* are markers of adverbial subordination, Takahashi then concludes that the expression of adverbial dependency, albeit in a limited number of cases, shows a formal change depending on polarity. However, Takahashi makes an *a priori* assumption about the subordinating function of the clause linkers he takes into consideration, so the connection between negation and clause dependency with regard to the formal realization of the subordination nexus does not hold. This is even clearer if one considers that *no* can also be used in affirmative clauses. In the same way, subordination cannot be said to have repercussions on the formal realization of negation, because *somo* is regularly used also in main clauses. Departing from Takahashi, I believe that it is preferable instead to take a formal realization of negation, which must be specific to a certain semantic domain, as diagnostic of a certain dependency relation. This is the case of *hamo*.

(24) *Tu to pahno re to pahno ham ipe makap-an.*
 two day until three day until NEG ANTIP.eat go.uphill.PL-PRM.S

‘For two and three days I proceeded uphill without eating.’ (Piłsudski 1912: 123)

Hamo (sometimes attested as *hamu* in ESA) negates a verb that stands in an adverbial relation to another predicate which follows (Murasaki 1979: 116), yielding the caritive meaning of ‘without doing’. The caritive adverbial clause is not introduced by any clause linker, in contrast to affirmative adverbial clauses, which are normally introduced by *kanne* or *ani*, and the negated verb is left unmarked for any grammatical category including person. I argue that morphological bareness indicates non-finiteness, a conclusion that is in line with Tamura’s (1972) generalization that negation derives a stative meaning for the predicate. As a non-finite form, the verb under the scope of *hamo* needs to depend on a main predicate for grammatical information; in fact, the subject of *ipe* in (24) is understood as the same of *makap_*. With *hamo* being a negative form exclusive to caritive adverbial clauses, it also makes the use of clause linkers superfluous, thus becoming itself a marker of clause dependency.

6. DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGATIVE STRATEGIES

6.1 Negative cycles: From synthetic to analytic standard negation

In §4, I discussed the diachronic development that sees the proclitic negator *ham*= originating from the Proto-Ainu negative existential verb **sam* with the meaning ‘not be in’, which ultimately represents an instantiation of the Givón Cycle, which postulates that diachronically erstwhile negative verbs can give rise to negative markers (Givón 1978). In light of this development, one can assume that there was a stage of the proto-language in which the negative existential was identical to the verbal negator (**sam*), so that Proto-(Sakhalin) Ainu is recognized as a Type C language according to Croft’s (1991) understanding of the Negative Existential

Cycle (NEC).¹⁷ Type C is the third and final stage postulated by Croft in the NEC, and it is cross-linguistically the rarest, being attested only in Dravidian and Polynesian languages (Veselinova 2016: 150). Croft (1991: 11–12) notes that the formal overlap between the verbal negator and the negative existential (characteristic of Type C) with time is perceived as odd by speakers and that this prompts the introduction of a distinct affirmative existential, which is then regularly negated with the new verbal negator (that is, the erstwhile negative existential). This represents the intermediate Type C~A leading to Type A, which sees verbal and existential negation being expressed by the same strategy, and possibly to a new start of the Cycle. In Sakhalin Ainu, the continuation of the Cycle in this sense did not take place for two reasons: 1) the adoption of the antipassive form *isam* ‘not exist’ as the negative existential, and 2) the *s>h* phonological change that gave rise to the form *ham=* used for verbal negation (§4.2). As a result, verbal negation and existential negation in (Historical) Sakhalin Ainu are expressed with two different forms employed in different constructions. This state of affairs is what defines Type B of the NEC. Therefore, we can conclude that the Sakhalin Ainu NEC skipped Type A in its evolution; this is not at all exceptional, since stages of the Cycle need not be sequential (Croft 1991). Existential clauses that feature *isam* and instances of verbal negation like the one in (3) then illustrate the first documented stage, or Stage 1, in the development of Sakhalin Ainu negative constructions (Stage 0 corresponding to the Type C situation of Proto-Ainu).

The introduction of a new affirmative existential was never needed in Sakhalin Ainu for the aforementioned reasons, nor can the affirmative existential *an/okay* (§3) be negated by *ham=*, but the negative proclitic is indeed employed to negate the copula (1). It is this kind of copula negation, which the sources show as being peculiar to ESA dialects, that provides the ground for a re-start of the NEC into Stage 2 of the development. In (6), *hanne* (< *ham=ne* NEG=COP) is employed for verbal negation in a syntactic layout where it precedes the verb; thus, it does not function as a negative copula anymore. This use clearly indicates a first re-analysis of the form as a negator. Indeed, new negators that originate from the univerbation of an erstwhile negator and an affirmative copula are cross-linguistically quite common. Analogous cases are attested, for instance, in Egyptian Arabic (Edwards 2006), Hindi (Kellogg 1938), Ahtna (Athabaskan, USA) (Kari 1990), Lewo (Oceanic, Vanuatu) (Early 1994),¹⁸ and Kairiru (Oceanic, PNG) (Wivell 1981). If we include equative copulas among the types of existential constructions involved in the NEC, the development illustrated by Stage 2 complies with the transitional Type B~C, which is characterized by a negative existential being employed for verbal negation. However, while the notion of copula in cross-linguistic studies on the NEC still lacks a proper definition (Veselinova & Hamari 2022: 30), the term usually refers only to existential copula constructions that feature a locative expression (McNally 2016), and so the Sakhalin Ainu case would be a deviation from the prototypical trajectory of the NEC. At any rate, *hanne* in ESA is far more commonly employed in the construction illustrated in (9). I assume that this use of *hanne* arises by analogy with the construction in (4)–(5), which is found synchronically in ESA. As I explained in §5.2.2, (4) and (5) and (9) are light verb constructions in which *ham=*

17 Croft (1991: 11–12) views Type C as the result of the replacement of an original negator with the new negator that develops from the existential verb, which becomes the only negation strategy available in the language for both existential and verbal clauses. Assuming that this is the scenario for Proto-Ainu, the replacement must have happened very early in the history of the language, leaving no indication of the original negator replaced by **sam*.

18 See, however, a different analysis in Budd 2010: 539–540.

or *hanne* negates the light verb *ki* ‘do’ but has semantic scope over the preceding nominalized predicate that functions as the embedded object of *ki*. Dal Corso (2021b: 223–225) notes that the analytic strategy of marking negation via nominalization of a predicate that becomes the argument of a negative dummy verb (mostly with the meaning of ‘be’ or ‘have’) seems to be an areal feature of the southeastern Okhotsk Sea, since it is also present in Hokkaidō Ainu, Nivkh (Nedjalkov & Otaina 2013: 96–97), and the Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages Chukchi (Dunn 1999: 328), Itelmen (Georg & Volodin 1999: 199–200),¹⁹ Alutor (Nagayama 2003: 111–112), and Koryak (Žukova 1972: 271–272). It is therefore possible that this strategy was adopted in Sakhalin Ainu through diffusion. It is worth noting how (4) and (5) differ in the place of affixation of person agreement, with the former structure being present only in ESA and the latter being on average the most frequent between the two in WSA. Dal Corso (2021b: 222) views the preference of prefixing person agreement to the notional verb instead of the light verb, which is the syntactic head of the construction, as an indication of the ongoing re-analysis of the structure from a two-predicate construction to a one-predicate construction that proceeds together with the development of *hanki* into a post-verbal negator. It is important to note that among the negative items found in light verb constructions (§5.2.2), *hanki* is the only form that cannot be employed pre-verbally and, therefore, can be seen to resist grammaticalization into a pre-verbal negator and maintain its verbal status as indicated by its compatibility with the verbal collective suffix *-hci* (see fn. 13). The light verb construction gets fixed in ESA most likely as a way to express emphatic negation. As such, this strategy compensates for the lack of a synthetic way to express this type of negation – remember that direct affixation of *ham=* to the host word has a focus or emphatic function only regarding nouns and non-content words (§5.3). Overall, what chiefly characterizes Stage 2 of the development is the presence of an analytic construction in place of the synthetic construction with *ham=*.

Due to its pragmatic function, *hanne* as a negator employed in a light verb construction hinders the grammaticalization of the *hanne*+verb construction. In fact, Stage 3 of the development sees the emergence of *hanneh* (< *ham=ne-p* NEG=COP-thing) employed in light verb constructions, where nominalization via the dependent noun *-p* ‘thing’ indicates that the form *hanne* is still perceived as having a verbal (copula) status. The result is a multi-clausal construction in which the nominalized notional predicate is the object of the negative copula and the whole copular clause is in its turn nominalized and embedded as the object of the light verb *ki*. Example (25), abbreviated from (10), shows the structure with bracketing and zeros added for clarity.

(25) [[*Ampene* \emptyset_i -*pirika*]_k *ham*₋= \emptyset_k -*ne-p*]_j \emptyset_i - \emptyset_j -*kii*
 really 3s.s-be.good.NMLZ NEG=COP.O-COP-thing_j SLV-OLV-do

‘Although they did so [to her], she did not get better at all.’ (Murasaki 1976: 58; Dal Corso 2021a: 348)

In WSA, the emphatic function of the construction is even more explicit, as it is signaled by *ka* ‘even’ in the form *hannehka*, like in (11) which exhibits the same structure of (25). This form is absent in ESA, for which the development of negative constructions cannot be traced beyond this phase (see Table 4 below).

19 However, see a different analysis in Ono 2021: 251–266.

In Stage 4, *hanneh(ka)* starts to be used pre-verbally by analogy with *hanne* (7) and (8), thus finally grammaticalizing as a univerbated form into a full-fledged negator. This stage is scarcely documented for ESA (and only featuring *hanneh*), but it is widely observable in WSA. It should be noted that, at this stage of the development, *ham=* is no longer productive in WSA and it remains only on verbs within idiomatic phrases (§5.2.2). Therefore, employing *hanneh(ka)* pre-verbally becomes a strategy to compensate for the lack of a way to express non-emphatic negation.

Finally, Stage 5 sees the emergence of *hannehka* as a new negative copula (2). *Hannehka* substitutes *hanne*, whose use is no longer possible in its original function due to *hanne* having undergone different stages of grammaticalization and because *ham=* is no longer productive, which excludes the possibility *ham=ne*. I argue that this most recent development was possible, starting from the structure in (11), through ellipsis of the light verb *ki* ‘do’ and substitution of the nominalized notional predicate with a common noun in the function of the copular object. This type of evolution that sees a negative copula evolving from a verbal negator without any restoration of a new separate affirmative copula could represent a backward transitional Type C~B in the NEC; to the best of my knowledge, this is not attested elsewhere.

Table 4 Stages of development of Sakhalin Ainu negative constructions.

Stage	Characteristics	ESA	WSA
Stage 0	Verbal negator and negative existential formally identical (NEC Type C).	(Proto-Ainu)	
Stage 1	Formally different verbal negator (<i>ham=</i>) and negative existential (<i>isam</i>) productively employed in distinct constructions (NEC Type B).	yes	no (verbal negator attested only in idiomatic phrases)
Stage 2	Negative copula <i>hanne</i> employed as verbal negator (NEC Type B~C); light verb construction with <i>hanne</i> employed for emphatic verbal negation.	yes	no
Stage 3	<i>Hanneh</i> is introduced as a negator in light verb constructions; emphasis is reinforced by <i>hannehka</i> .	yes (only <i>hanneh</i> is attested)	yes
Stage 4	Pre-verbal use of <i>hanneh(ka)</i> for non-emphatic negation to compensate for no longer productive <i>ham=</i> .	no	yes
Stage 5	<i>Hannehka</i> employed as a negative copula (NEC Type C~B?).	no	yes

6.2 Negation of non-content words: From focus to irrealis modality

Affixation of the proclitic *ham=* to non-content words is rare in Sakhalin Ainu (see Table 3 in §5.1). Among the attestations in the corpora, the affixation of *ham=* to the topic marker *neampe* to express negative focus (§5.3) stands out as the only instance of a particle being the morphological host of negation. This use of *ham=* may therefore look idiosyncratic, but I argue that negation of nominal particles, and more generally of non-content words, was a productive strategy at an earlier stage of Sakhalin Ainu. This strategy then disappeared almost completely from the language by the time documentation started, most likely due to the standardization of other negative constructions with an analogous pragmatic function of marking focus

(§6.1). The forms *hanna* (< *ham=na* NEG=also), *hanka(yki)* (< *ham=ka(yki)* NEG=even), and *hannah* (< *ham=nah* NEG=so), which all result from the application of this negative strategy, have survived in the language that is documented in the reference sources as grammaticalized forms employed to mark negation within the domain of irrealis modality – that is, in conditional sentences, apprehensives, negative intentions, and prohibitions (§5.4). I argue that this functional specification derives from these forms having as their basis items with additive, reiterative, or emphatic meanings, such as ‘also’, ‘even’, and ‘so’, and from their being used as markers of negative contrastive focus. Let us consider the case of the prohibitive *hanka(yki)*, which is also illustrative of the development of *hanna* and *hannah*.

The Sakhalin Ainu prohibitive *hanka(yki)* is typologically peculiar since the diachronic source of prohibitive markers is commonly found in verbs with the meaning of ‘abstain’ or ‘stop’, modals, expressions such as ‘not want’, the word ‘taboo’, subjunctive (irrealis) verb conjugations, or affirmative imperative markers (van der Auwera 2010: 88–93). Although cross-linguistically unusual, the path of development that sees negation of an item with a additive, iterative, or emphatic meaning (such as ‘even’, ‘also’, ‘just’, or ‘again’ turning into a prohibitive marker or strategy) is observed in other languages. In Mayali (Macro-Gunwinyguan, Australia), *yawoih-* ‘again’ precedes negation to express a negative imperative (Evans 1995) while in Ewe (Niger-Congo, Ghana, and Togo), prohibition is expressed with *mé-gà-* ‘NEG-again-’ prefixed to the verb (Wälchli 2006: 101). To this couple of examples one could add Alutor, where prohibitions are obtained by preposing *kətvə(l)* to the negated verb. This particle is almost identical to the verb *kətvəlj* ‘be sufficient’ (Nagayama 2003: 269) that takes the meaning ‘in time, just’ when used adverbially (Kibrik, Kodzasov & Muravyova 2004: 261–262, 434); however, neither Nagayama nor Kibrik, Kodzasov and Muravyova spell out the connection between the two. In §5.3, I discussed how *hannah(ka)* marks negative focus for complex nominals and may put one instantiation of an event, which is deemed true, in contrast with another or more instantiation(s) of that event, which is deemed false, like in (15). I assume that prohibitives develop from an analogous structure, in which a given factual situation (a realis event) is contrasted, via *hanka(yki)*, with an undesirable possible (irrealis) event that the speaker tries to avoid by deferring responsibility of this avoidance to others. With use, overt expression of the realis event is omitted, as contextual information makes its specification superfluous, which also causes ellipsis of the negative copula. The erstwhile construction is reduced to a clause whose predicate is directly negated by *hanka(yki)* in pre-verbal position, representing a syntactic layout that complies with the cross-linguistic trend (Horn 2001). This development also results in weakening of the original semantics of *ka(yki)*, which is eventually completely bleached as *hanka(yki)* and grammaticalizes into a prohibitive marker. Another language that exhibits this diachronic development of prohibitives is Karuk (isolate, USA), where the emphatic negative particle *-xay* ‘not at all’ is progressively weakened as it develops into a marker of negative hortative and then of prohibition in the form of *xáyfa:t* (Bright 1957). The prohibitive marker always takes the form *hanka* in WSA and *hankayki* in ESA. This distribution suggests that in the former dialects, semantic weakening was accompanied by formal reduction likely due to pragmatic pressure (that is, the need for prohibitions to be uttered as quickly as possible).

Similarly, in apprehensives and negative intentions (§5.4.2) and in conditional sentences (§5.4.3), *hanna* and *hannah* maintain their original function of contrasting focus. In the former case, the factual reality is contrasted with an undesirable irrealis event which the speaker tries

to avoid firsthand, like in (20), while in the latter case it is contrasted with the irrealis event expressed in the protasis, which has not happened or will probably happen, like in (23). Unlike prohibitives, here ellipsis of one of the contrasted events does not take place and, in particular, conditional sentences with the syntactic layout of (22) also maintain the copular construction that I assume to be the starting point of negative irrealis expressions.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I discussed the historical development, morphosyntax, semantics, and pragmatics of negation in Sakhalin Ainu from a typological standpoint. I argued for the development of the proclitic negator *ham=* from the Proto-Ainu negative existential **sam* ‘not be in’, which is recognized as an instantiation of the Givón Cycle. Overall, the evolution of negative constructions in Sakhalin Ainu is characterized by a shift from a synthetic structure featuring *ham=* to several possible analytic structures that, with time, came to be employed with different pragmatic functions or in distinct domains. The historical evolution of negators and of the constructions they are used in complies with Croft’s Negative Existential Cycle, but with two notable peculiarities: 1) the transition from Type C in Proto-Sakhalin Ainu to Type B in Historical Ainu without attestation of the intermediate Type A, and 2) an alleged counterdirectional development from Type C to Type B observed in the most recent stages of the evolution. I showed how Sakhalin Ainu followed a typologically rare path of development of negators from negated adverbs and particles, which specialized in marking negation within the irrealis domain, and how formal changes in negation are indicative of a specific nexus between clauses. As such, the analysis highlights the relevance of the studies on negation for the investigation of areas of Ainu grammar that remain underdescribed to date, such as clause dependencies and modality. The available reference sources present a generally homogeneous picture, in that the earlier stages of the development are attested in eastern dialects, documented at the beginning of the twentieth century, while the more innovative stages are attested in western dialects, documented from the 1940s onwards. Nevertheless, the changes undergone by negative constructions allegedly in just a forty-year timespan look outstanding, so that it is possible that the evolution proceeded at different paces in the two dialect groups, with ESA dialects being more conservative. This point cannot be clarified due to the lack of synchronic language data.

LIST OF GLOSSES

1P	first person plural	CAU.FIN	causal-final clause linker
1S	first person singular	CAUS	causative
2P	second person plural	CNL.INA	inanimate numeral classifier
2S	second person singular	COLL	collective
3P	third person plural	COND	conditional mood
3S	third person singular	COP	copula
A	transitive subject	DUB	dubitative
ADV	adverb	EP	epenthetic sound
ALL	allative	EXC	exclamative
ANTIC	anticausative	FP	final particle
ANTIP	antipassive	IMP	imperative
APPL	applicative	INTN	intentional mood

IO	indirect object	PSR	possessor
LOC/LAT	locative-lative	PTV	partitive
NMLZ	nominalizer	REFL	reflexive
O	object	REP	reportative evidential
OLV	object in light verb construction	RETH	rethoric
PC	paucal	S	intransitive subject
PL	plural	SG	singular
POSS	possessive	SLV	subject in light verb construction
PRM	participant referentiality mismatch marker	TOP	topic marker
PROHIB	prohibitive	TR	transitivizer.

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