

V-V complexes in Ainu

Anna Bugaeva (NINJAL) and Hiroshi Nakagawa (Chiba University)

Unlike Japanese, Ainu lacks compound verbs, but just like Japanese and many other Asian languages, Ainu has complex verbs, so in a broad sense it can be qualified as a language with V-V complexes. There are two major types of V-V complex verbs in Ainu: (1) ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ originating in coordination (2) ‘V1+(adverbial particle)+V2’ originating in complementation, which will be described in detail. Type (1), is often compared with V-te V verb complexes in Japanese because of the similarity in meanings brought in by V2 (Aktionsart, social, spatial aspects), e.g. perfective *wa isam* (‘disappear’; J *-te shimau*), benefactive *wa kor-e* (‘give’; J *-te kureru*), preparatory *wa anu/ari* (‘put.SG/PL’; J *-te oku*), ‘try ...’ *wa inkar/inu* (‘see/hear’; J *-te miru*); also *wa ek/arki* (‘come.SG/PL’; J *-te kuru*), and *wa arki/paye* (‘go.SG/PL’; J *-te iku*). However, structurally, type (1) is different from V-te V verb complexes in Japanese because both verbs in Ainu are marked with pronominal affixes; the third person is zero. Type (2), which has no structurally parallel equivalent in Japanese, V2 is a transitive verb typically expressing Aktionsart, ability, knowing etc. Type (2) is subdivided into (a) only V2 is marked with pronominal affixes, i.e. the clause containing V1 functions as the object complement of V2 (1a); (b) only V1 is marked with pronominal affixes, i.e. V2 functions as an auxiliary of V1 (1b). Moreover, in the case of the third person both verbs are unmarked (1c), so there is no straightforward answer on whether it is subtype (a) or (b). This will be discussed in more detail.

- (1) a. *nisap-no* *apkas ka* *a=e-aykap*
sudden/immediate-ADV walk even/also IND.A=APPL.about-be.unable¹
‘I [=the protagonist] was unable to walk immediately.’ (N N8804061UP)
- b. *nisap* *apkas=an* *ka* *e-aykap*
sudden/immediate walk=IND.S even/also APPL.about-be.unable
‘I [the protagonist] was unable to walk immediately.’ (M7908041UP)
- c. *kema-pase wa* *apkas ka* *e-aykap*
leg-heavy and walk even/also APPL.about-be.unable
‘He/she is old (lit. ‘heavy-legged’) and cannot walk.’ (N9306021YR)

¹ A =transitive subject, ADV =adverbial, APPL =applicative, IND =indefinite: used as the indefinite proper, the first person plural inclusive, second person singular/plural honorific, and logophoric (=person of the protagonist in folktales), S =intransitive subject.