

V-V complexes in Ainu

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Overview

- The paper will focus on two major types of V-V complexes in Ainu:
 - (a) **‘V1+conjunction+V2’** (monoclausal) construction originating in coordination, which is a rough equivalent of Japanese syntactic complex verbs in **-te** (Kageyama’s Type 4, e.g. *tabe-te miru* = ‘try and eat’);
 - (b) **‘V1+V2_{aux}’** (monoclausal) auxiliary verb construction (no syntactic equivalent in J) presumably originating in complementation and its further development into [V1+V2]_v syntactic compound verbs (Kageyama’s Type 3, e.g. *hataraki-tuzukeru* = ‘keep on working’).

Goals

- We will discuss the synchronic behavior of these constructions in terms of diachronic change and try to construct them with the equivalent constructions in Japanese (if appropriate).
- We will show that apparent VV sequences may have completely different origins and syntactic structure.
- Part (a) was prepared by Anna Bugaeva, part (b) by Hiroshi Nakagawa and Anna Bugaeva.

Ainu: Sociolinguistic situation

- Ainu (isolate) in a critically endangered language, no field work is any longer possible.
- Ainu dialects: Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and Kurile (almost no data for the latter).
- Hokkaido Ainu dialects: Southwestern and Northeastern.
- This paper will use data from Southwestern (Southern) dialects of Saru and Chitose primarily based on fieldwork material of Hiroshi Nakagawa (both published and unpublished) and Anna Bugaeva (2004), and other published materials (Tamura 1984-2000).
- Token frequency search is based mostly on K corpus: *A corpus of folktales of the Saru dialect of Ainu by Mrs. Kimi Kimura (1977-1983)*; the total number of Ainu words: 44,717, recording time: about 7 hours.

Figure 1. Map of Hokkaido



Ainu: Typological properties

- Agglutinating, polysynthetic, and incorporating.
- More prefixing than suffixing.
- SV/AOV. Predominantly head-marking.
- Arguments are not marked for case.
- Adjuncts are marked by postpositions.
- The verb is marked for the person and number of S/A/O.
- 3rd person is zero.
- Alignment is mixed (tripartite, nom-acc, neutral, depending on person/number).
- **4th person** (or Indefinite) is a label for a number of historically related functions: indefinite (=impersonal passive), 1PL.INC, 2SG/PL honorific, '1st pers. in quotation' (logophor), which is conventionalized as the protagonist's person in folktales.

Ainu: Typological properties (continued)

- The opposition of **transitive** and **intransitive verbs** is clear-cut (in tripartite alignment).
- Some verbs employ different stems/suffixes for SG & PL.
- All intransitive verbs without personal marking can function as nouns, e.g. *uwepeker* i. ‘to tell a folktale’, ii. ‘a folktale’.
- Ainu lacks any kind of special subordinate morphology on verbs.
- A number of aspectual, modal, and evidential markers, but no pure tense. Extensive voice system.

(a) 'V1+conjunction+V2'

- May include conjunctions *wa* 'and', *no* 'and' (with negation), and *híne* 'and/then', which are normally used for coordination and subordination (temporal/causal).
- Cf. *-te* forms, which are used for subordination and occasionally for coordination (Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 473). The scale of coordinateness in (Foley-Van Valin 1984).
- From 8 to 11 different V2s have been attested in the 'V1+conjunction+V2' construction (depending on a dialect/source), 7 of them have semantic equivalents in Japanese, see Table 1.

(a) 'V1+conjunction+V2'

Unlike Japanese, both V1 and V2 in Ainu

- Are finite (non-converbial etc.);
- Marked for person and number of the subject (and object).

As an initial illustration of 'V1+conjunction+V2, consider:

(1) *kunneywa e=e kuni p ka a=supa*
tomorrow 2SG.A=eat should thing even/also 4A=cook.PL
wa, a=nuyna wa a=anu p ne na.
and 4A=hide and 4A=PUT.SG NR COP FIN

'I will make food for you to eat tomorrow morning, and will hide it.' (K8007292UP.046)

(a) ‘V1+conjunction+V2’

- Cf. a regular coordinating construction:

(2) *sinna* *cise* *a=kar* ***wa***, *or-o* *ta*
separate house 4A=make and place-POSS LOC
a=anu *yak* *pirka*.
4=put.SG if good

‘(I’m sorry to say that the mother and niece cannot live with me, so) it would be good if you [polite “you”] built a separate house and put (them) there.’ (K7803233UP.376)

- NB: The locative adjunct phrase *or-o ta* can be omitted but there is always a (small) pause after ***wa*** ‘and’, which is not the case in ‘V1+conjunction+V2’.

(a) ‘V1+conjunction+V2’

Does ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ consist of a single predicate?

- Yes, it does, just like SVC (Aikhenvald 2006), which it is similar to in many respects (Bugaeva 2004).
- Cf. Shibatani (2009) who points out similarities between Japanese complex verbs in *-te* and SVCs (Shibatani 2009);

Monoclausality: Syntactic tests

- Arguments, subject (1) or object, are shared (3), (6), the latter pattern is not attested in J. In (3), The object V1 is the subject of V2 (only possible with ‘DISAPPEAR’ and ‘EXIST’).

(3) *opitta a=tuye wa a=ray-ke wa isam*

all 4.A=cut and 4A=die-CAUS and DISAPPEAR

‘We cut and killed all of them.’ lit. ‘We cut and killed all of them and (they) disappeared.’ (Bugaeva 2004: 115)

(a) 'V1+conjunction+V2'

Monoclausality: Syntactic tests

- The two verbs may not be separately negated; only one negator is possible: before V1 (4).

(4) *néa Sirkometu anak-ne, somo*

that (name) TOP-COP NEG

mokor no an *pe ne anan*

sleep and exist.SG NR COP ADM

'It appeared that the above-mentioned Sirkometu was not sleeping.' (stative perfect) (Tamura 1989(6): 78)

- The two verbs can form a single-headed relative clause construction (5) or nominalization (6), which is not possible in the homonymous coordinating construction (2) due to violation of Ross's island constraint.

(a) 'V1+conjunction+V2'

Monoclausality: Syntactic tests

Relative clause

(5) *os a=kor húci arpa hine suy cápe,*
after 4A=have grandmother go.SG and then cat
[onne wa okere] cape ne pa híne
be.old and FINISH cat COP PL and

'After that my grandmother went and again transformed into a very old cat.' (intensive degree) (K7803233UP.375)

Nominalization

(6) *konto su anak a=nuyna wa an pe ne*
then pan TOP 4A=hide and EXIST.SG NR COP

'Then a pan was also hidden.' (stative perfect) (K8007292UP.091)

(a) 'V1+conjunction+V2'

- 'V1+conjunction+V2' with **two V2s** is possible (as in J); further research is required.

(7) *kotan imak ta kor wa paye wa ari pa*

village back LOC have and GO.PL and PUT.PL PL

'They took the dishes to the back of the village (for a future use)'. (K8010281.UP.208)

(a) 'V1+conjunction+V2'

- **Wordhood: Insertion test**

Only two V2s (out of 8-11 attested in grammars) have been attested with the insertion of adverbs.

(8) hotke=an wa patek an=an ayne
sleep=4S and only EXIST.SG=4 finally

'I was **only** sleeping and finally...' (stative aspect) (T 1989(6): 19)

(9) ru usi or-o karahup wa
melt place place-POSS get.into and

ray wa oar isam
die and completely DISAPPEAR

'They got into the place with melted ice and all of them died.' lit.
'died and **completely** disappeared' (Nakagawa 1995: 416)

(a) 'V1+conjunction+V2'

- No V2 has been attested with the insertion of topical etc. particles (unlike in J), but such insertion is possible in a regular coordinating construction:

(10) *somo* *ipe* *no* *ka* *ek!*
NEG eat and even/also come.SG

'No, come without eating.' (Tamura 2000 (1988) 137)

- **Wordhood conclusion:** Though '**V1+conjunction+V2**' allows less insertion possibilities than grammaticalized **-te** constructions in Japanese, *morphologically it is not one word*, but it behaves *as one word syntactically* (negation, relativization and nominalization tests above).
- Cf. Grammaticalized **-te** constructions in Japanese *do not form morphological words* but behave *as words phonologically and syntactically* (Kageyama 1999: 317-318), (Shibatani 2007: 110).

Table 1. Token frequency of ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ in K corpus (A: Saru).

English Gloss	Ainu Form (SG/PL) vi/vt/vd	Ainu function	Token freq in K corpus (A)	Japanese equivalent	Token freq of Jap. equiv. in K corp tr
1. ‘EXIST’	<i>an /oka</i> (vi)	Stative Perf	121	<i>IRU/ARU</i>	723
2. DISAPPEAR	<i>isam</i> (vi)	Perfective	26	<i>SHIMAU</i>	109
3. ‘COME’	<i>ek/arki</i> (vi)	a. Dir: to the speaker; b. Start. act.	40 (a: 34) (b: 6)	<i>KURU</i>	311
4. ‘GO’	<i>arpa/paye</i> (vi)	a. Dir: from the speaker; b. Compl act	20 (a:19) (b:1)	<i>IKU</i>	100
5. ‘GIVE’	<i>kor-e</i> (vd)	Benefactive	18	<i>KURERU</i>	212
6. ‘PUT’	<i>anu ari</i> (vt)	Preparatory	15	<i>OKU</i>	39
7. ‘FINISH’	<i>okere/oker-pa</i> (vt)	a. Complet. b. Intens dg	9 (a:1); (b:8)	--	--
8. ‘SEE’	<i>inkar</i> (vi)	Tentative	6	<i>MIRU</i>	64
Total:			255		1558

Results and token frequency explanation (Ainu 'V1+conjunction+V2' vs. Japanese gram. *-te*)

- 7 out of 8 const in K corpus had equivalents in J.
- 'V1+conjunction+V2' is 6 times less frequent than its J *-te*.
- *an* (SG)/*oka* (PL) 'EXIST' (4), (6) in Ainu expresses only **stative perfect**, unlike J *IRU* (stative/actional perfect & progressive).
- Asp. meaning in *arpa /paye* 'COME' and *arpa /paye* 'GO' are very infrequent, hence not fully grammaticalized, unlike fully grammaticalized J *KURU* and *IKU*, see Shibatani (2009).
- *kor-e* (have-CAUS) 'GIVE' lit. 'make have' is used only in requests and orders (Satō 2008: 22), (Refsing 1986: 203) (typ. asking sb for prayers/offerings). Is not fully gram-d, unlike J *KURERU*. Last speakers of Ainu had extended its use to assertions (Bugaeva 2004: 66), under the influence of J.

(a) 'V1+conjunction+V2': GO, COME, GIVE

- (11) *nay* *or_* *ta* *kor* *wa* *arpa* *hine*,
stream place LOC have and go.SG and
ani *wakka-ta* *wa* *ek* *ruwe* *ne*
INST water-dig and COME.SG INF.EV COP

'(He took something out from the top of the package.) He took (it) to the stream and drew some water with (it). (Then he came back.)' (K7803231UP.059-061)

- (12) *i=erusa* *wa* *i=kor-e* *yak...*
4O=lend and 4O=have-CAUS(=GIVE) if

'If you could lend me (anything, I 'd save her)(K8106233UP.039)

- (13) *apa* *cak-a* *wa* *i=kor-e*
door open-CAUS and 4O=have-CAUS(=GIVE)

'(My mother) opened the door for me.' (Bugaeva 2004: 66)

(a) ‘V1+conjunction+V2’: ‘HEAR’, ‘FAST’, ‘FINISH’

K corpus: Other observations

- Ainu grammars also often include *-wa inu* ‘HEAR’ ‘try doing’ but it did not occur in K corpus.

Cf. “Along with *wa inkar* ‘try doing’ ..., [*wa inu*] expresses the idea that an action is done in order to see what happens...Matters related to vision or understood by looking at them use *inkar*, while matters related to hearing, touch, taste, and emotions use *inu*.” (Tamura 2000 (1988): 185)

- Satō (2008: 89) also mentions *wa túnas* ‘FAST’ (vi), which appears in our material only as an auxiliary (i.e. without *wa*).
- *Wa okere* ‘FINISH’ has no equivalent in J. It only occasionally expresses completive aspect and is frequently used as an **intensive degree marker**; it has no equivalent in J. It is the most grammaticalized of all ‘V1+conjunction+V2’s.

Grammaticalization of ‘V1+conjunction+V2’:

- We suggest that ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ originates in coordinating construction, cf. (1) & (2).
- Cf. a similar development of complex predicate constr. from the clause chaining constr. in J/K in Falsgraf & Park (1995).
- Overall ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ is **less gramm-d** than J **-te** .
- ‘V1+conj.+V2’ shows dif. degrees of gram. with particular V2s.
- A contact of Ainu with J has played a significant role in the grammaticalization of ‘V1+conjunction+V2; most of the meanings have been calqued from J into Ainu .
- Ainu-J contact “sustains” the use of those calqued ‘V1+conjunction+V2’s in Ainu, while those ‘V1+conjunction+V2s which had no equiv. in J are gradually going out of use (*inu* ‘HEAR’)...

Grammaticalization of 'V1+conjunction+V2':

...Or undergo a further gram. into aux, e.g. *okere* 'FINISH', *túnas* 'FAST' first by dropping pers marking (15) on V2, then *wa* (16).

(14) *Tan yuk tan ukuran e=e wa e=okere yak*
this deer this evening 2SG.A=eat and 2SG.A=FINISH if
'If you eat all of this deer tonight...' (K8010291UP.250)

(15) *k=oyra wa okere*
1SG.A=forget and FINISH
'I forgot (it).' (Tamura 1984: 56) & (Kindaichi 1993 (1931) 299)

(16) *e=sa-ha kam-ihí a=e okere...*
2SG.A=older.sister=POSS meat-POSS 4A=eat FINISH
'(Before) I finished eating your sister's meat' (K8010311UP.114)

- Occasionally, the dropping of pers mark occurs with other V2s.

Part (a): Conclusion

- We propose the following tentative grammaticalization scenario for the development of ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ in Ainu:

Coordinating construction > ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ > Aux. verb construction (emergent)

- In Part (b) we’ll focus on another auxiliary verb construction, which has a different source.

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

- Ainu lacks any kind of special subordinate morphology distinguishing finite vs. non-finite verbal forms.
- The major distinction is between **lexical verbs** and **auxiliary verbs**. The latter are not marked for the person/number of the subject and object.
- Auxiliary verbs can be classified at least into three types depending on their degree of grammaticalization from the respective lexical verbs.

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

- 'V1+V2_{aux}' auxiliary verb construction (1) employs **the least grammaticalized type of auxiliary verbs**, which can also function as main (lexical) verbs, cf. (2).

(1) Auxiliary Verb Use

nay *or* *un* *arpa=an* *easkay*

creek place ALL go.SG=4S APPL-be.able

'I can go to the creek.' (M7908041UP)

(2) Main (Lexical) Verb Use

sake-haw *hene* *a=e-askay*

tune-voice also 4A=APPL-be.able

'I can also (sing) a *sakehaw*-song. lit. 'I am able of a voice with a tune.' (K8109172UP)

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

- Auxiliaries employed in 'V1+V2_{aux}' are TRANSITIVE. They can express:
 - i. cognition/emotion: *amkir* 'know/remember', *eramiskari* 'not know/remember', *eraman* 'know/understand', *erampewtek* 'not know/understand', *oyra* 'forget', *ruska* 'feel angry with', *epotara* 'worry about';
 - ii. modality: *easkay* 'can/be able of', *eaykap* 'cannot/be unable of', *niwkes* 'be unable to finish/incapable of (doing)', *koyaykus* 'be unable/unskillful of', *etoranne* 'not want/feel in the mood of (doing)';
 - iii. aspect: *oasi* 'be about to do' (Nakagawa 1982), *okere* 'finish (doing)'.

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

- NB: types i. and ii. include a few typologically interesting negative verbs.
- Cf. Tamura (2000 (1988): 183) also includes in this list the light verb *ki* 'do sth' but we will leave it out.
- See also a longer detailed list of auxiliary verbs in Satō (2008: 80-83).
- Semantically, all of these verb belong to the class of so-called *complement-taking verbs*, Primary B type in Dixon (2010-II-39) – our types i. and ii., and Secondary types in Dixon (2010-II-399) – our type iii.

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

- In 'V1+V2_{aux}' construction:
- V1 is obligatorily marked with pronominal affixes (3a,b), (4); the 3rd person is zero (3c).
- V1 can optionally be followed with the adverbial particle *ka* 'even/also' (an equivalent of J *mo*), which expresses something "unexpected and unanticipated" (2000 (1988): 183). Its use is preferable in the case of negative V2 (3b,c), (4).
- V1 can be either *vi* (3) or *vt* (4).

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

(3) a. V1: vi

pikan-no *e=apkas* *e-askay*
quick-ADV 2SG.S=walk APPL-be.able

'I can walk quickly.' (N8804061UP)

b. V1: vi

nisap *apkas=an* *ka* *e-aykap*
sudden/immediate walk=4S even/also APPL-be.unable

'I was unable to walk immediately.' (M7908041UP)

c. V1: vi

kema-pase wa apkas ka *e-aykap*
leg-heavy and walk even/also APPL -be.unable

'He/she is old (lit. 'heavy-legged') and cannot walk.' (N9306021YR)

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

(4) V1:vt

sinen a=ne wa a=ko-sirepa ka e-aykap

alone 4A=COP and 4A=APPL.to-arrive even/also APPL -be.unable

'Alone I won't be able to reach (it, =the village).' (N8804061UP)



(b) “V2_{aux}” as main (lexical) verbs in complement clause constructions

- As mentioned, V2_{aux} can perfectly function as a full-fledged main (lexical) verb.
- In fact, it can take not only nominal arguments (2), but also as **clausal complements** (5), which is hardly surprising, given the semantics of V2, see the list of V2_{aux} above.
- **“V2_{aux}” as main (lexical) verbs in complement clause constructions**
- Both V1 and V2 are marked with pronominal affixes.
- Such constructions are RARE (redundancy in marking person twice? economy principle at work?).

(b) “V2_{aux}” as main (lexical) verbs in complement clause constructions

(5) V1:vt

[*pirka aep ka a=e ka a=eramiskari*

good food even/also 4A=eat even/also 4A =not.know/remembe

‘I don’t remember (when) I ate good food (last).’ (Bugaeva 2004: 315)

(6) V1:vt

[*nep ka a=kar kuni ka*

whateven/also 4A=make going.to even/also

a=kopan pe ne

4A=dislike/refuse NR COP

‘I was forbidden (to play outside) or even to do anything outside.’

(K7908051UP)

(b) “V2_{aux}” as main (lexical) verbs in complement clause constructions

(7) V1:vi

[*yay-kotan-or-esina=an* *ka*] *a=eaykap*
REFL-village-place-hide=4S even/also 4A=APPL-be.unable
‘I was unable to hide my own village.’ (N9306021YR)

(b) “V2_{aux}” as main (lexical) verbs: clausal nominalizations

- Instead, the complement clause (in brackets) (5)-(7) can get nominalized by **eliminating pronominal affixes**. However,
- This can be easily done in the case of intransitive V1 (8): all intransitive verbs unmarked for the person/number of the subject can function as nouns ($vi > n$; *apkas* ‘to walk; a walk),
- But is problematic in the case of transitive V1 (10): the omission of the transitive subject marker does not end up in a well-formed nominalization.
- As a result, in the case of transitive V1, ‘V1+V2_{aux}’ construction is a prevailing (if not the only) strategy.

(b) “V2_{aux}” as main (lexical) verbs: clausal nominalizations for V1:vi

- (8) [*yay-kotan-or-esina=an* *ka*] *a=eaykap*
REFL-village-place-hide=4S even/also 4A=APPL-be.unable
‘I was unable to hide my own village.’ (N9306021YR)
- (9) [*u-oyak* *un apkas ka*]_{NP} *a=eaykap*
REC-other.place ALL walk even/also 4A=APPL-be.unable
‘I cannot walk here and there.’ (K8010291UP)

cf. ‘V1+V2_{aux}’ construction

- (10) *kim* *peka* *apkas=an* *ka* *eaykap*
mountain through walk=4S even/also be.unable
‘I cannot walk in the mountains.’ (M7908061UP)

(b) “V2_{aux}” as main (lexical) verbs: No clausal nominalizations for V1:vt

(11) V1:vt

**sinen a=ne wa [ko-sirepa ka]_{NP} a=e-aykap*
alone 4A=COP and APPL.to-arrive even/also 4A=APPL-be.able
'Alone I won't be able to arrive (there).'

cf. 'V1+V2_{aux}' construction

(12) V1:vt

sinen a=ne wa a=ko-sirepa ka e-aykap
alone 4A=COP and APPL.to-arrive even/also 4A=APPL-be.able
'Alone, I won't be able to arrive (there).' (N8804061UP)

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

- In the case of **the 3rd person** neither V1 nor V2 is marked for person, so it is not possible to qualify the construction in question either as V1+V2_{aux}' construction (13a) or nominalization (13b).

(13) a. *kema-pase wa apkas ka e-aykap*

b. *kema-pase wa [apkas ka]_{NP} e-aykap*

leg-heavy and walk even/also APPL.about-be.unable

'He/she is old (lit. 'heavy-legged') and cannot walk.' (N9306021YR)

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}'

- Moreover, without the particle *ka*, even determining word boundaries becomes a problem.

(14) a. <i>hekattar</i>	<i>apkas</i>	<i>easkay</i>	Two Words
b. <i>hekattara</i>	<i>apkas-easkay</i>		One Word: O- incorporation
children	walk(-)APPL-be.unble		(transitive V2 incorporates
'Children can walk.'	(K8209101UP))		N (<intransitive V1))

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}' > '[N (<V1:vi)+V2]_v'

- V1+V2 as one word: Genuine '[N (<V1:vi)+V2]_v' compounds
- Transitive V2 incorporates N (<intransitive V1)
- The resultant [V1+V2] is intransitive, note the change of transitive subject marker **a=** for intransitive subject marker **=an**.

(15) a. *suke-easkay=an*

cook-APPL-be.able=4S

'I can cook.' (M8608101UP) cf. 'V1+V2_{aux}' construction

b. *suke a=e-askay*

cook 4A=APPL-be.able

'I can cook.' (constructed example)

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}' > '[N (<V1:vi)+V2]_v'

(16) *tane* *apkas-niwkes=an*

now walk-be.incapable=4S

'Now, I am incapable of walking.' (K8010291UP)

(17) *u-tura* *oka-e-askay=an*

REC-following exist.PL-APPL-be.able=4S

'We can live together.' (M8608101UP)

- Transitive V2 with incorporated N (<intransitive V1) is likely to become reanalysed as a suffix.
- The loss of independent status by V2 could have been facilitated by the unmarked third person V1 V2 contexts (13), in which it could easily “cliticize”.

(b) Syntactic realizations of V1+V2 complexes: Summary

- We have discussed the following **syntactic realizations of V1+V2 complexes** with transitive V2 (or <vt>); a constituent bearing pronominal marking is in bold:
 1. ‘**V1**+V2_{aux}’ auxiliary verb construction (V1: vi/vt);
 2. ‘**[V1]_{NP}**+V2’ complement clause construction (V1: vi/vt);
 3. ‘**[N (<V1:vi)]_{NP}** +V2’ clausal/derivational nominalization (V1: <vi>);
 4. ‘**[N (<V1:vi)+V2]_v**’ compound verbs (V1: <vi>).
- Importantly, all these forms performing the same function co-exist in Ainu: “**grammaticalization chains**” as constructions existing simultaneously at different stages of grammaticalization (Heine 1992).

(b) Syntactic realizations of V1+V2 complexes: Summary

- Here is some token frequency information on the use of respective constructions with verbs *easkay* ‘be able of’ and *eaykap* ‘be unable of’ with the 4th person subject in the field materials of Hiroshi Nakagawa.

(b) Syntactic realizations of V1+V2 complexes: Summary

Table 2. Token frequency information on *easkay* ‘be able of’ & *eaykap* ‘be unable of’ with 4th pers. in field materials of Hiroshi Nakagawa

	<i>Easkay</i> ‘be able of’	<i>Eaykap</i> ‘be unable of’
1. ‘ V1+V2_{aux} ’ auxiliary verb construction	19	21
2. ‘ [V1]_{NP}+V2 ’ complement clause construction	0	1
3. ‘ [N (<V1:vi)]_{NP}+V2 ’ clausal/der. nominalization	2	8
4. ‘ [N (<V1:vi)+V2]_v ’ compound	3	0

(b) Syntactic realizations of V1+V2 complexes: Summary

- Though there might exist certain preferences depending on the semantics of particular verbs, a general tendency on the frequency and its tentative diachronic explanation is as follows:
 1. ‘**V1**+**V2**_{aux}’ auxiliary verb construction (monoclausal) is MOST FREQUENT: synchronically dominant;
cf. “The more grammaticalized a form, the more frequent it is...” (Traugott and Heine 1991: 9).
 2. ‘[**V1**]_{NP}+**V2**’ complement clause construction (biclausal) is RARE: residual. Almost went out of use because it was uneconomical (both V1 and V2 are marked for person). It is likely that the complementation clause construction had a paratactic source, see Givón (2009: 115).



(b) Syntactic realizations of V1+V2 complexes: Summary

3. '[N (<V1:vi)]_{NP} +V2' clausal/derivational nominalization (V1: <vi only!)

(biclausal/monoclausal) is LESS FREQUENT;

Nominalization might have developed in Ainu under the structural influence of neighboring languages but could not become a dominant strategy because of Ainu-internal restrictions on vt nominalization.

4. '[N (<V1:vi)+V2]_v' compound verbs is RARE: emerging;
Has been triggered by the unmarked third person V1 V2 contexts.

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}': Grammaticalization

- The development of 'V1+V2_{aux}' in Ainu agrees with a general diachronic process referred to **clause fusion**.
- “Clause fusion is a diachronic process in which
- *A biclausal* surface structure becomes a *monoclausal* surface structure;
- The *verb of the matrix clause* becomes an *auxiliary*, that of the subordinate clause becomes the main (lexical) verb.”
(Harris & Cambell 1995: 172)
- Cf. Givon’s (1979: 208-209) scale of grammaticalization, cited from Majsak (2005: 54):
- lexical verb > auxiliary verb > clitic > affix, which can only be **unidirectional** (a prerequisite of grammaticalization).

(b) 'V1+V2_{aux}': Grammaticalization (continued)

- Ainu-internal evidence supporting the general developments: biclausal structure > monoclausal structure; lexical verb > auxiliary verb > affix.
- There are modal/asp. aux, which originate in verbs but are no longer used as main (lexical) verbs, i.e. only monoclausal 'V1+V2_{aux}' (and occasionally '[N (<V1:vi)+V2]_v') is possible and the biclausal structure presumably went out of use. e.g. *nisa* 'have just/recently done...' (Tamura 1996: 422),
- There are some modal/asp. aux, which have different (non-gram-d) meanings as lex verbs, e. g. *etokus* 'going to do' vs. *etokus* 'make preparation' (Nak : 91) .

Overall concluding remarks

- We have discussed the following V1+Vcomplexes in Ainu:
 - (a) ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ construction (Type 4)and
 - (b) ‘V1+V2_{aux}’ construction.
- The emergence and/or devel.of ‘V1+conj.+V2’ in Ainu has been induced by its contact with J .
- We have shown that synchronically both constructions are *monoclausal*,
- However, both originate in *biclausal constructions*:
- (a) in coordination; (b) in complementation.

Overall concluding remarks (continued)

- There are some signs of further grammaticalization:
 - (a) ‘V1+conjunction+V2’ > ‘V1+V2_{aux}’ construction;
 - (b) ‘V1+V2_{aux}’ > [V1+V2]_v compounds (Type 3)
- NB: Thus, we end up having two superficially similar ‘V1+V2_{aux}’ constructions of different origin; their precise syntactic behaviour is a matter of future research.

Iyairaykere ‘Thank you’

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