'Indefinite' or 'antipassive'? Matching diachronic and synchronic approaches in the study of Ainu

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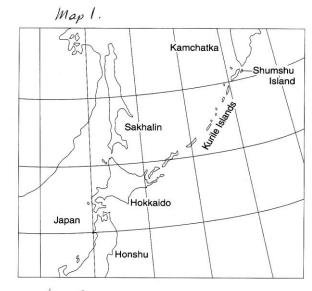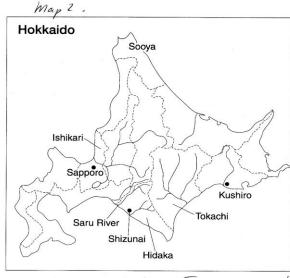NINJAL

Ainu: Overview

- AINU (isolate, Northern Japan, moribund)

- Hokkaido, Sakhalin and Kuril groups of dialects.

- Hokkaido Ainu dialects: SW & NE.

- DATA: mostly from Hokkaido dialects of Saru and Chitose (SW); my fieldwork etc.

- *A Glossed Audio Corpus of Ainu Folklore* (English HP). NINJAL. Available online at http://ainucorpus.ninjal.ac.jp/en/

- AINU is typologically "more like a morphologically reduced version of a **North American** lang." (J. Nichols p.c.)

- Few areal features are shared with **Northeast Asian** languages.

Map 1.

Kamchatka
Shumshu Island
Sakhalin
Kurile Islands
Hokkaido
Japan
Honshu

Map 2.

Hokkaido

Sooya
Ishikari
Sapporo
Kushiro
Tokachi
Saru River
Shizunai
Hidaka

(adapted from Tamura 2000)

Typological properties of Ainu

- Agglutinating, polysynthetic, and incorporating.

- SOV. Head-marking.

- Arguments are unmarked for case.

- Adjuncts are marked by postpositions.

- Pronouns are omitted.

- The verb is marked for the prs. & nmb. of S/A/O; 3rd pers. is zero.

- Alignment is mixed: nom-acc, neutral and tripartite.

- The opposition of vi & vt is clear-cut.

- Double-object construction.

- Extensive voice system: APPL, CAUS, ANTIP, REFL, REC, ACAUS verbal markers.

- A number of asp, modal, and evid. markers, but no pure tense.

- Verbal plurality.

The structure of verbal stem in Ainu

- Ainu verb has a mixed templatic/scopal organization:

  the suffixed part is templatic and the prefixed part is scopal (i.e. order of prefixes indicates order of derivation).

- The verbal valency can be changed four times.

- Inflectional affixes (**PERS**) are the last ones to attach to the stem.

PERS-APPL-ANTIP/REC/REFL-APPL-<u>base</u>-INTR/TR.SG/PL-DIR.CAUS-INDR.CAUS-**PERS**

(based on Bugaeva (2017), a revision of Fukuda (Tamura) (2001(1955): 55))

(1) **∅- un-**u-$_{-1}$ ko-$_{+1}$ i-$_{-1}$ <u>$ruska$</u>$_{+2}$-$re$$_{+1}$

3.A-1PL.EXCL.O-REC-toward.APPL-ANTIP-<u>be.angry.because.of</u>-CAUS

'He made us angry with each other because of something.' (OI)

4th/indefinite person paradigm

4th /indefinite person functions	S/A/O pronouns	S markers	A markers	O markers
(a) 1PL.INCL	*aoka*	*-an*	*a(n)-*	*i-*
(b) 2SG/PL honorific	*aoka*	*-an*	*a(n)-*	*i-*
(c) logophoric	*asinuma(SG)/ aoka(PL)*	*-an*	*a(n)-*	*i-*
(d) indefinite	---	*-an*	*a(n)-*	[*i-*]*

* [*i-*]: there is no inflectional indefinite object prefix but there is a derivational antipassive *i-* instead

4th/indefinite person paradigm

(2) *unarpe*_O   ***a(n)-Ø-nukar***

    aunt   4.A-3.O-see

    (a) We (1PL.INCL.A: 'you and I')

    (b) You (2SG/PL.HON.A)   saw the aunt.

    (c) I (=the protagonist) (LOG.A)

    (d) One/People (INDEF)

       (The aunt is seen.)

(3) *unarpe*_A   **Ø-*i*-*nukar***

  aunt   3.A-4.O-see

            (a) us (1PL.O: 'you and me')

The aunt saw   (b) you (2SG/PL.HON.O)

            (c) me (=the protagonist) (LOG.O).

'Indefinite' or 'antipassive'?

What about 'The aunt saw (someone/something)'?

(4) *unarpe*   *∅-**i**-n(u)kar*

    aunt   3.S-ANTIP-see

    'The aunt looked (around)'.

    lit. 'The aunt saw (someone/something).'

But, this prefix ***i-*** is derivational, not inflectional.

'Indefinite' or 'antipassive'?

- In Ainu studies, the *i-* marker is traditionally referred to as the **indefinite object marker** '(indefinite) person/thing'
(Kindaichi (1993 (1931): 252), Chiri (1974 (1936): 67), Chiri (1973 (1942): 509).

- But, in Bugaeva (2004), based on the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the construction in question (4) the label '**antipassive**' is suggested instead.

The derivational antipassive marker *i-*

(5a) ***i**-ri-as*   *wa*   *sini-as*   *na*. **ANTIPASSIVE** (vi)
       ANTIP-skin-1PL.EXCL.S and   rest-1PL.EXCL.S FIN
       'We will skin (the **catch**, lit. 'thing') and rest.' (O 0130054_6)

(5b) Base clause (vt):   *nea   kamuy   ci-Ø-ri*
                              that bear   1PL.EXCL.A-3.O-skin
                              'We skinned that bear…' (T 579)

- This prefix ***i-*** can be regarded as an antipassive marker based on its
  - syntactic (valency decreasing and
                 eliminating a patient/theme/recipient argument),
  - semantic (denoting an unspecified generic participant or
                 lexicalizing it to a single or subset of objects) and
  - discourse (patient-defocusing) properties.

4th/indefinite person paradigm

- As to (d) indefinite function of 4th person, there is not a true parallelism in the multifunctionality of *a(n)-* and *-an* (< *an* 'exist') in the same way as for *i-*.

- The **'indefinite'** (=impersonal) of *a(n)-* is grammatically transitive and encodes a subjectless construction: the original object (7) is not promoted to the subject; the subject slot is occupied by *a(n)-*.

(6) *rok-an*   *yak-ka*   *pirka*   *ya?*

    sit.PL-4.S   if-even   be.good   Q

    'May one sit down?' lit. 'Is it good, if there is sitting down?' (C)

(7) *neno*   *e-iki*   *yak*   ***a(n)-**e-koyki*   *na*

    like.this   2SG.S-do   if   4.A-2SG.O-scold   FIN

    'If you do that, you will be scolded.'

    lit. '…someone/people will scold you.' (Tamura 2000: 71)

The derivational antipassive marker *i-*

- There are two synchronically dictinct *i-* markers, viz. the derivational antipassive *i-* and inflectional 4th person object *i-* with the functions of 1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG.
- The derivational antipassive marker *i-* is also distinct from the inflectional 4th person object *i-* phonologically triggering the glide insertion (before /a/, /e/, /o/, and /u/).

(8) *oman-te* 'make sth/sb go' (vt) >

　　i-y-oman-te 'send off the spirit of a ritually killed bear' (vi)

　oske 'weave sth' (vt) >

　　i-y-oske 'to weave a net' (vi)

　uta 'pound sth' (vt) >

　　i-y-uta 'pound grain (for dumplings)' (vi)

　　(Kindaichi 1993 (1931): 253)

The derivational antipassive marker *i-*

- Both *i-* prefixes can co-occur on the same verb.

(9) *a-kor   ekasi   ∅-**i**-**i**-ku-re***

    4.A-have   grandfather   3.A-**4.O-ANTIP-**drink-CAUS

'Our grandfather made us (you and me) drink alcohol.' (Tamura 1979: 16)

    Cf. base clauses:

(10a) *tu-n   ci-ne   wa   **i**-ku-as*

     two-people.CL 1PL.EXCL.A-COP and   **ANTIP-**drink-1PL.EXCL.S

    'The two of us (I and them) drank alcohol.' (Tamura 1993 (1979): 6)

(10b) *re-n   ci-ne   wa wakka ci-∅-ku*

    three-people.CL 1PL.EXCL.A-COP and water 1PL.EXCL.A-3.O-drink

    'The three of us (I and them) drank water.' (Tamura 1993 (1979): 6)

The derivational antipassive marker *i-*

- Extended (absolute) use of the antipassive *i-* on obligatorily possessed incorporated nouns when there is no specified possessor, which resembles many Uto-Aztecan languages.

(11a) *i-tek-e-kar*   *pe*
    ANTIP-hand-by.APPL-make thing
    'hand-made thing' lit. 'a thing made by someone's hands'
    (K7807152KY.039)

(11b) *i-y-ona-ne*
    ANTIP-EP-father-COP
    'be a father' lit. 'be someone's father'
    (K8303243UP.054)

- Inalienable possessors as arguments of the head noun.

The diachronic source of the *i-* antipassive

- Suggested origin: 'generic element → antipassive marker'
  via O-incorporation of a generic noun ***i*** 'thing, place, time',
  which no longer exists as an independent noun, but is retained
  as a nominalizer ***i/hi*** 'place, time, thing, person'.

(12a) *kar-**i***

    make/do-NMLZ

    'doing, achievement' (Chiri 1974 (1936): 48)

(12b) *rek   a   rek a kor an   **i**   ta   patek*

    sing   ITR sing ITR and exist.SG NMLZ LOC only

    '(My husband did not eat) only at the **time** (when) (the cuckoo)
    kept singing.'   (Bugaeva 2004: 140)

The diachronic source of the *i-* antipassive

- Scenario 'generic element → antipassive marker' entailing the incorporation of generic/indefinite elements is well attested in other lgs which like Ainu do not allow any overt expression of the antipassivized object, e.g. Puma (Kiranti, TB) (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 70).

- It might be not accidental that functionally the antipassive construction (13a) in Ainu is so close to noun incorporation (13b).

(13a) *i-hoppa*

ANTIP-leave

'leave the world, go to the afterworld' (K8109193UP.147)

(13b) *mosir-hoppa*

world-leave

'leave the world, go to the afterworld' (K8109193UP.160)

Matching the antipassive *i-* and 4th person *i-*

There are two synchronically dictinct *i-* markers:

> derivational antipassive *i-*

> inflectional 4th person object *i-* (1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG)

What's the diachronic relationship between them?

4th/indefinite person paradigm

4th /indefinite person functions	S/A/O pronouns	S markers	A markers	O markers
(a) 1PL.INCL	*aoka*	*-an*	*a(n)-*	*i-*
(b) 2SG/PL honorific	*aoka*	*-an*	*a(n)-*	*i-*
(c) logophoric	*asinuma(SG)/ aoka(PL)*	*-an*	*a(n)-*	*i-*
(d) indefinite	---	*-an*	*a(n)-*	[*i-*]

- **Traditional view**

  Originally, ***i-*** is the indefinite person accusative prefix, but transitive verbs with ***i-*** prefixed have frequently become fixed intransitive verbs (Tamura (2000 (1988): 204).

  The **'first person inclusive'** should be regarded as the key function and all other uses can be derived from it as extensions (Kindaichi (1993 (1931): 238-242).

Matching the antipassive *i-* and 4th person *i-*

- **Recent view:**

  The 'first person inclusive' analysis is questioned in Refsing
  (1986: 94, 218-219) who suggested that
  it is the **'indefinite'** that should be regarded as the key function
  from which all other 4th person functions can be semantically
  derived.

Cf. Crosslinguistically too, "it is not unusual for indefinite pronouns
  to be used for specific reference" (Mithun 1993: 344).

Matching the antipassive *i-* and 4th person *i-*

- My adduced diachronic scenario (Bugaeva, to appear):

  antipassive > specific referential 4th person uses (1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG)

- Explained by invoking common pragmatic developments of argument-defocusing constructions that end up being used more or less systematically when the speaker wants to **avoid mentioning a speech act participant**.

Cf. 'Antipassive to 1PL object' diachronic scenario is amply attested in the world's languages, see Fleck (2006) on Matses (Panoan; western Amazonia), Bickel & Gaenszle (2015) on southern Kiranti languages (Tibeto-Burman; Nepal); Adamou (2014) on Ixcatec (Otomanguean; Mexico), Margetts (1999) on Saliba (Austronesian, Oceanic; PNG), Fortescue (2005) on Chukotko-Kamchatkan, and Auderset (2015), Sansò (2017) for typological generalizations.

Matching the antipassive *i-* and 4th person *i-*

- My adduced diachronic scenario:

  antipassive > specific referential 4th person uses (1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG)

Stage 1. Using the derivational antipassive *i-* to avoid mentioning a speech act participant.

Stage 2. The derivational antipassive marker *i-* was reanalyzed as a 4th person inflectional marker with functions of 1PL.INCL, 2HON and LOG to fit into a new inflectional set of person markers together with affixes *a(n)-* (A) and *-an* (S), but retained its original derivational status as the antipassive marker *i-*.

Note: By the time of formation of the new 4th person inflectional set, the antipassive *i-* had already **integrated into the verbal stem both phonologically (the glide insertion) and semantically (lexicalization**) so abolishing the derivat. status and turning the antipassive *i-* itself into an inflectional marker just for the sake of filling the gap in the personal paradigm was no longer an option.

Matching the antipassive *i-* and 4th person *i-*

Stage 1. Using the derivational antipassive *i- to* avoid mentioning a speech act participant (here: addressee) out of politeness (marginally attested in modern Ainu).

(14)   *k-eramuan   pe   anak-ne   k-e-**i**-pakasnu*
         1SG.A-know   NMLZ   TOP-COP   1SG.A-about.APPL-**ANTIP**-teach
          kusu   ne   wa
         going.to   COP   FIN
      'As to what I know, I am going to teach it to **you**.' lit. 'I am going to teach about it to **people**.' (instead of saying 'to you') (Satō 2008: 212)

Stage 2. The derivational antipassive marker *i-* was reanalyzed as a 4th person inflectional marker with functions of 1PL.INCL, 2HON and LOG (here: 2SG.HON).

(15)   *ku-**i**-e-pakasnu*
         1SG.A-**4.O**-APPL.about-teach
         'I will teach it to **you**.' (2nd person honorific)

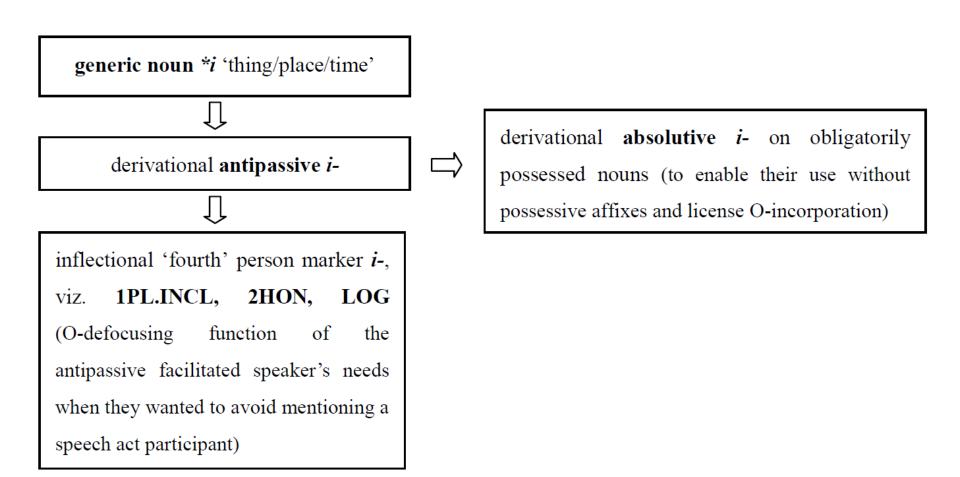# Diachronic scenario for the development the *i-* antipassive

Figure 1. Diachronic scenario for the development the *i-* antipassive

The development of 4th person markers

an 'exist.sg' (vi) → *an* (indefinite pronoun) → *-an* (indefinite S: impersonal construction) →

a(n)- (indefinite A: impersonal passive construction)

Figure 2. Origins of *a(n)-* (A) and *-an* (S) (Bugaeva 2011: 524)

indefinite (=impersonal) markers: *a-* (A)

                    -an (S)

antipassive derivational marker: *i-*

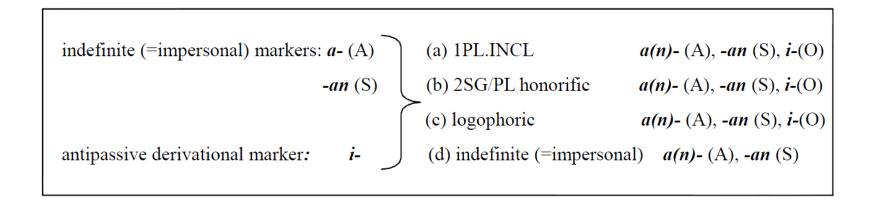|	
(a) 1PL.INCL	*a(n)-* (A), *-an* (S), *i-*(O)
(b) 2SG/PL honorific	*a(n)-* (A), *-an* (S), *i-*(O)
(c) logophoric	*a(n)-* (A), *-an* (S), *i-*(O)
(d) indefinite (=impersonal)	*a(n)-* (A), *-an* (S)

Figure 3. Development of 4th person markers in Ainu

Concluding remarks

- The so-called indefinite object marker *i-* '(indefinite) person/thing' can be regarded as an antipassive marker *per se* based on its

  - syntactic (valency decreasing, eliminating a patient/theme/recipient arg.),

  - semantic (denoting an unspecified generic participant or lexicalizing it to a single or subset of objects) and

  - discourse (patient-defocusing) properties.

- There are two synchronically distinct *i-* markers in Ainu, viz. the derivational antipassive *i-* and inflectional 4th person object *i-* (1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG):

  - both prefixes can co-occur on the same verb;

  - only the antipassive *i-* triggers the glide insertion.

- The extended use of the antipassive *i-* is attested on obligatorily possessed nouns when there is no specified possessor.

- Overall, the antipassive *i-* is older.

Concluding remarks

- The antipassive *i-* originated in the incorporation of
a generic noun **i* 'thing/place/time', which is common for languages without overt expression of the demoted O participant in the antipassive.

- Contrary to the accepted view, I adduce the following diachronic scenario
antipassive > specific referential 4th person uses (1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG) based on extensive crosslinguistic and Ainu-internal evidence.

- The reanalysis of the antipassive, which has an O-defocusing function, started when there was a need to avoid mentioning a speech act participant directly, out of politeness or for other pragmatic reasons.

- Synchronic misinterpretations in descriptions of certain categories in particular languages are often rooted in the lack of knowledge about the diachrony of respective markers.

- To be able to provide an adequate synchronic description of a particular grammatical marker in a language we should ideally know where it came from.

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Iyairaykere

Thank you!