



*Proposing a genealogical link  
between Ainu and Guarani  
based on their verb structure*

Jordi Ferre

**AINU AND GUARANI:  
ONE SAME LANGUAGE FAMILY?**

*Proposing a genealogical link  
between Ainu and Guarani  
based on their verb structure*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This PDF is the result of my research, and is the written version of my youtube videos in Japanese (January 2022) and English (January 2023). Their links are given at the end of this document.

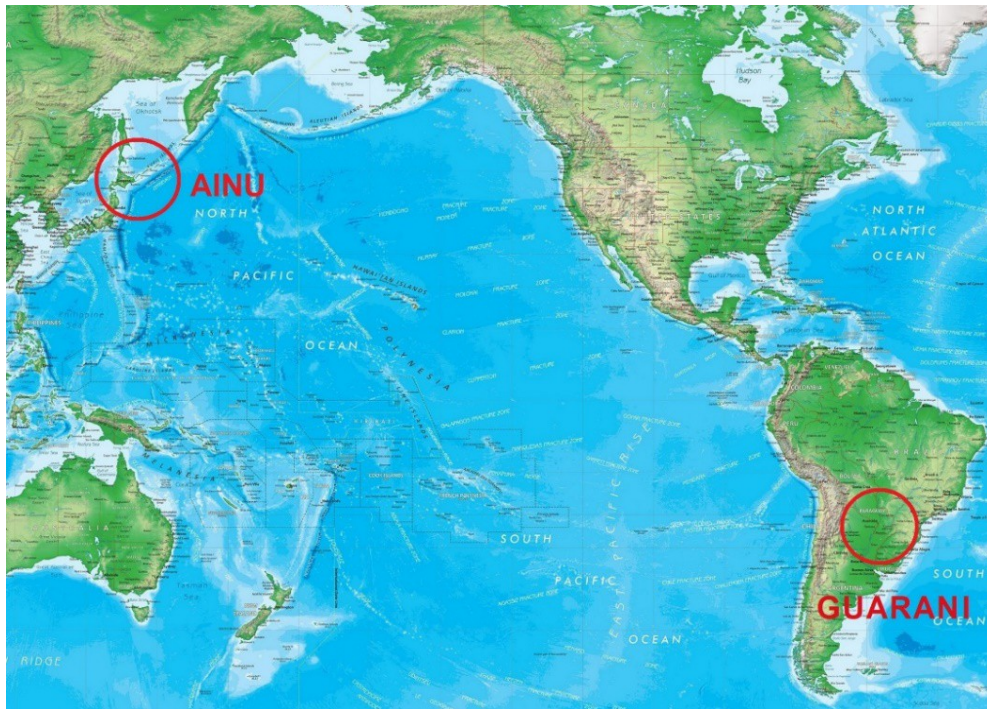
As a speaker of Guarani Mbya, Quechua and Japanese, I easily find the commonalities among them and with other languages. When I started to study Ainu, the similarities between Guarani and Ainu were appearing in every sentence structure and in every array of verb affixes – I was really in awe. So I did research on their verb structures, just to discover even more correspondence in the sequence, functions and sounds of all the affixes, as presented in the verb structure comparison table in Section 5:

Personal prefixes		VERBAL AFFIXES		~ AINU	~ GUARANI			Nomin.
Subject	Object	Applic.	General Object	Applic.	Base form of the verb	Personal suffixes	Causative	
<i>I</i> <i>ku / (a)</i> <i>a</i>	<i>me</i> <i>en</i> <i>xe</i>	<i>with, in regards to, about</i>	<i>oneself</i> <i>yay/si</i> <i>je</i>	<i>with, in regards to, about</i>		Plural form <i>pa</i> <i>pa</i>	have s.o. do <i>yar</i> <i>uka</i>	person, object <i>pe</i> <i>va'e/py</i>
<i>you</i> <i>e</i> <i>re</i>	<i>you</i> <i>e</i> <i>de</i>	<i>e / ko</i>	<i>each other</i> <i>u</i> <i>jo</i>	<i>e / ko</i> <i>ero</i>				
<i>he/she/it</i> -- <i>o</i>			<i>anyone, anything</i> <i>i</i> <i>i</i>	Causative make s.o./s.th. do <i>mbo</i>		Indefinite subject <i>someone</i> <i>an (intr.)</i> <i>a</i>	make s.o. / s.th. do <i>e/re/te</i> <i>ke/ka</i>	action, time, place <i>i / hi</i> <i>a / ha</i>
Indefinite <i>someone</i> <i>a (tr.)</i>								

In this paper, the complete array of Ainu and Guarani affixes will be presented gradually and with examples, so that every column and every slot of the verb structure can be understood and discussed. Such gradual introduction of the affixes is done as follows:

- Firstly, three relatively complex example sentences are presented and analyzed (Section 3), which will give us a first impression of how sentences are formed in Ainu and Guarani, and how verbs and their affixes are used in context.
- Secondly, the detailed analysis of each column and slot is carried out (Section 4), using affixes from the example sentences and introducing new affixes – always with clear examples of their usage. Nominalizers are also analyzed.
- Lastly, the comparison table is presented and discussed, as well as other similarities between the two languages (Sections 5 and 6).

## 2. GENERAL BACKGROUND



*Approximate regions of AINU and Guarani peoples – marked by author*

Ainu and Guarani people live very far apart, at opposite locations of the planet.

There are Ainu speakers in Hokkaido, the Kuril Islands and parts of Sakhalin and Kamchatka. Guarani is widely spoken in Bolivia, Paraguay, Southern Brazil and Northern Argentina.

There are many Guarani languages, so Guarani is actually a language family. Some of these languages are: Ava Nẽ'ẽ, Ava Guarani, Kaiova, Nandeva, Mbya, Ache, Tapiete. In this paper, I mainly compare Ainu from Southern Hokkaido with Guarani Mbya (from Paraguay, Argentina, Brazil). Guarani Mbya is a very conservative Indigenous language, and it is the Guarani language I know best, as I speak it in my daily life.

### 2.1. Human migrations from Asia into the Americas

All indigenous groups in the Americas came from Asia, and they mainly did so in three different migration waves.

The first migration wave was the coastal migration, which happened more than 16.000 years ago. The continent was covered in ice, but not the coast, where people could easily make camp, and they could find abundant food in the “kelp corridor”, a marine coastal ecosystem rich with marine life that stretched from Northeastern Asia to South America.



*Northeast Asia and America in the ice age - Google Maps. Migration arrows placed by author*

The peoples that left Asia into the Americas in this first wave were geographically very close to the areas where the ancestors of the Ainu lived, so it is not far fetched to believe that the Ainu may be related to people of this first migration wave – either genetically or linguistically.

Coastal migrations can be very fast, and this wave soon reached the Southern tip of South America. Proof of their early arrival is found in Monte Verde, Chile, where the remains of human dwellings have been dated to be more than 16.000 years old.

The second migration wave happened on land much later, when the Beringia land corridor opened almost 14.000 years ago. The descendants of those groups settled all around North America and the Caribbean.

The last migration wave took place along the Arctic Circle around 6000 years ago.

## **2.2. Genealogical links between American and Asian languages**

Since Asians and Indigenous Americans share common ancestors, they also share ancestor languages. But languages change through time, and they may also mix with other languages, so present day languages in Asia and the Americas are different from the languages of their ancestors.

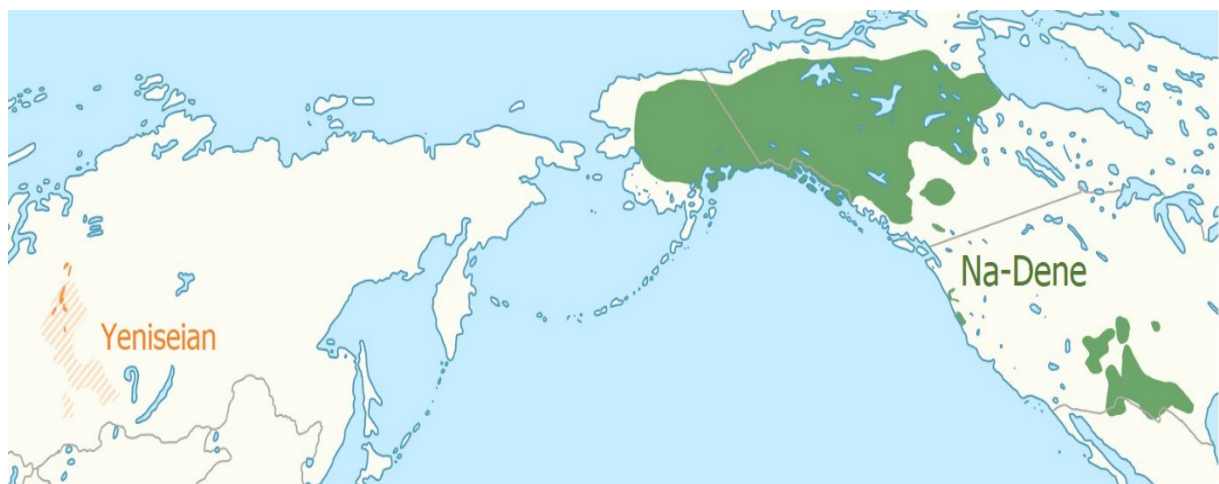
Languages change from generation to generation, even languages that are in isolation and do not mix with other languages. After five or six thousand years, languages have changed so much that they barely maintain any of their original vocabulary and features. So it is very difficult to detect any clear relation between Asian and American languages.

The first clear genealogical link between American and Asian languages is found, as can be expected, in the most recent wave of migrations. It is in the Eskimo-Aleut languages, spoken in the tip of Eastern Siberia and along the Arctic regions of North America.



*Eskimo-Aleut Languages, map from Evolution of Human Languages, Santa Fe Institute*

The second evidence of a genealogical link was presented by Vajda in 2008, comparing Ket (of the Yeniseian languages in Central Siberia) with Na-Dene languages in North America (such as Athabaskan, Tlingit, Navajo and Apache). The Na-Dene - Yeniseian language split happened a little over 7000 years ago.



*Na-Dene – Yeniseian Languages, map from Wikipedia*

To my knowledge, there is no other proven genetic relationship between American and Asian languages, although in this paper I support the Ainu-Guarani relationship.

I am aware that it is virtually impossible to prove such a relation due to their extremely ancient language split, of more than 15,000 years. After such a long time, languages no longer share common words or sounds. But, as was shown in the Na-Dene – Yeniseian

genealogical link, verb affixes can be more resistant to change. And that is precisely what I found to be the case between Ainu and Guarani, which share similar prefixes and suffixes, arrayed in exactly the same way and with exactly the same functions. Their sentence structure is also similar, as well as the inflection of post-positions and nouns, along with other features that will be presented, all of which strengthens the feeling of familiarity when a speaker of one of these languages is learning the other one.

As some researches have suggested, Ainu and Japanese may also have a common language ancestor. Guarani may prove to be the missing link between those two languages, as it shares features with Japanese that Ainu does not have. That may surface throughout this paper, although the aim of this paper is strictly to show the genealogical link between Ainu and Guarani. The proposal of a possible link Ainu-Guarani-Japanese is not the scope of my present research. As a final note, we could even consider other families in Asia and South America to share a proto-Altaic origin, but that is only a suggestion for further research.

### 3. EXAMPLE SENTENCES

In this section I present sentences that I wrote, as a first approach to Ainu and Guarani sentence building patterns and verbal structure. As this paper is the written version of my youtube videos in Japanese and in English, all examples are given in Japanese, Ainu, Guarani Mbya and English. And interestingly, Japanese sentences often help understand some Ainu and Guarani sentence constructions.

In order to make Ainu and Guarani comparison easier, I have adapted some Guarani Mbya spelling rules to those of Ainu, mainly the use of double hyphen (=) when joining affixes to the root of the verb or to other affixes. I have avoided the use of Guarani nasal accents, replacing nasal sounds with the letter n at the end of the word, as in Japanese. Other small adaptations have been made.

The focus of this paper is to compare verb affixes and nominalizers, but example sentences are given throughout in order to understand how they are used and to further appreciate the similarities between Ainu and Guarani. Full explanations of all elements of the sentences are given. Colors are also used to identify each word and each affix in the examples.

I would like to stress that Ainu and Guarani are indeed very different, and that by simply looking at their vocabulary we would not imagine that they could be related. But by looking at the general structure and especially at their use of affixes, their genealogical link becomes, as I hope to prove, undeniable.

**Important note:** *I am a language teacher, not a linguist. The information in this paper is given in the same manner you can expect in a language course, not in a research thesis. Even so, I do use some linguistic terms and their abbreviations, which are all explained when presented.*

#### 3.1. Example Sentence 1

This first example consists of a question and its reply. The question is a request, and the reply is a refusal to that request. The abbreviation QM means question marker.

ここで 私は物語を聞けば いいですか?	ここで 人は寝るから だめです。
Te=ta oruspe a=nu yakka pirka ya?	Te=ta =mokor=an kusu wen.
A=py kaujo a=endu ran iporan pa?	A=py o=ke=a ramo da'ewei.
Here story I listen if is alright QM?	Here sleep=someone because is bad.
May I listen to a story here?	As someone sleeps here, you may not.

The verbs are shown in blue. The subject and the subject markers are shown in red.

The prefix **a=** in the verb **nu / endu / listen** is the prefix for the subject, in the first person singular (**S.1s**). Thus, **a=nu / a=endu** means **I listen**.

**a=nu** is the classical Ainu form for the first person, used in tales and myths. The current spoken form is **ku=nu**.

In the reply, the verb **mokor / ke / sleep** is conjugated for the indefinite third person (**S.3ind**), as both Ainu and Guarani verbs differentiate between definite and indefinite third person.

The definite third person is **=mokor / o=ke / he/she sleeps**, while the indefinite third person is **=mokor=an / o=ke=a / someone sleeps**. The prefix for definite third person is null in Ainu, **o=** in Guarani. The indefinite third person is marked by the suffix **=an** in Ainu, **=a** in Guarani.

In Ainu and Guarani the affixes clearly show who the subject of the sentence is, so personal pronouns usually are not needed, except to show emphasis.

English adjectives correspond to verbs in Ainu and Guarani. In Ainu they are intransitive verbs, and in Guarani they are verbs of state. Thus, **pirka / iporan** means **it is good**, while **wen / da'ewei** means **it is bad**.

There are two clauses in the question and two in the reply. Adverbs are used after the verb to join clauses. In the question, the adverb **yakka / ran is** is used for the conditional clause, translated as **if**. In the reply, the adverb **kusu / ramo** means **as, because of the fact that**.

English prepositions correspond to postpositions in Ainu and Guarani. The last syllable in **te=ta / a=py** (which are usually written in one word: **teta / apy**) corresponds to the English preposition **in** or **at**.

The question in Ainu and Guarani is shown with question marker: **ya / pa**.

## 3.2. Example Sentence 2

This is a complex sentence, made up of four clauses.

In Ainu and Guarani there are verb affixes to refer to the subject and also to the direct object, as we will see in this example. The direct object is shown in purple. Other affixes are also introduced in this example.

Abbreviations used: **REFL**: reflexive, **DESID**: desiderative, **NML**: nominalizer, **APP**: applicative, all of which are explained below.

お前は 自分を 殺したい ときに母は お前を見た から お前の方に 行って お前と話し合った。

**E=yay=rayke=rusuy** hi ta hapo **e=nukar** kusu **e=hekote** =oman wa **e=ko=itak**.

**Re=je=juka=x**e ha py ha'i **der=exa** ramo **de=akaty** **o=o** wy **der=ero=aywu**.

**S.2s=REFL=kill=DESID** **NML** at mom **O.2s=see** because **O.2s=towards** **S.3=go** and **O.2s=APP=speak**.

*When you wanted to kill yourself, as mom saw you, she went towards you and spoke with you*

Let's break down this sentence and all the abbreviations used.

The subject marker for the second person singular (S.2s) is e / re.

The base form of the first verb in Sentence 2 is rayke / juka / kill. To make a verb reflexive, an invariable prefix is used: yay / je / oneself. Thus, e=yay=rayke / re=je=juka means you kill yourself. The desiderative marker rusuy / xe translates as to want, so e=yay=rayke=rusuy / re=je=juka=xe means you want to kill yourself.

As was mentioned, verbs in Ainu and Guarani are only conjugated for the present tense. Other tenses, as well as modes and aspects, are shown with adverbial particles after the verb. The tense can also be understood from the context, as in the example sentence above, where we understand it is a past action.

After the verb of the first clause, hi ta / ha py is translated as when. To break it down, hi / ha is an abstract nominalizer, meaning “act of”. And ta / py, as we saw in Sentence 1, means in (in or at). So hi ta / ha py means in the act of. E=yay=rayke=rusuy hi ta / Re=je=juka=xe ha py means “at the act of your wanting to kill yourself”, thus “when you wanted to kill yourself”.

The construction of this and other clauses may seem very odd to English speakers, but Ainu sounds very natural to a Guarani speaker, just as Guarani would sound very natural to an Ainu speaker.

In the second clause we have the verb nukar / exa / see. The prefix e / der refers to the direct object, 2nd person singular (D.O.2s), when the subject is in the third person. In Guarani, we can consider this prefix to be de, as the final r in der is an incremented sound needed here to join the prefix de and the root of the verb. When the root of the verb or affix that follows it starts with a consonant, we use the prefix de, without the final r.

In Ainu the 2nd person marker for the direct object sounds like the subject marker, but we will see later in this paper that the direct object conjugation is clearly different from the subject conjugation. Bear in mind that in English a similar situation arises: the pronouns for the direct object are: me, you him/her (in German: mich, dich, sich), so the pronoun you has the same form both for subject and direct object (whereas in German the forms are different: du, dich).

So, in the second clause, hapo e=nukar / ha'i de=rexax means mom saw you.

The root of the word hapo / ha'i is ha, as in haha in Japanese, and it means mom. The last syllable po / 'i is a diminutive suffix, which also shows affection, like in the English word mommy. I believe that ha (in hapo, ha'i, haha), just like mom, mama, is a word that has survived millenia, result of the strong bond between mother and child.

This second clause ends with kusu / ramo, which was introduced in Sentence 1 and means “as, because of the fact that”. So, hapo e=nukar kusu / ha'i de=rexax ramo is translated as “as mom saw you, because mom saw you”.

The third clause is **e=hekote oman / de=akaty oo**. The verb **oman / o / go** is conjugated for subject, third person (S.3s). The Ainu marker for S.3 is null (no marker means third person). In Guarani it is **o=**. Thus, **=oman / o=o** means **he or she goes**.

**e=hekote / de=akaty** means **towards you**. Postpositions in Ainu and Guarani are inflected for each person, following the same conjugation used for the direct object. This will be expanded in Section 4 of this paper.

The third and fourth clauses are joined with **wa / wy**. It corresponds with the **て** form of Japanese verbs, used to join verbs or clauses, here translated as **and**.

The fourth clause consists of just one word in Ainu and Guarani, **e=ko=itak / der=ero=aywu**, which translates to several words in English: **she talked with you**.

Let's break it down:

The verb is **itak / aywu / talk**.

**e / de= (der=)** is the prefix for D.O., 2nd person singular (D.O.2s) **you**.

**=ko= / =ero=** is an applicative, which may have different functions. In this context it has a comitative function, where the subject participates in the action with the direct object, so **=ko=itak / =ero=aywu** is translated as **to talk with**.

Hence, **e=ko=itak / der=ero=aywu** means **she talked with you**.

That is all for Sentence 2.

### 3.3. Example Sentence 3

This example sentence is more simple, with two short clauses.

Abbreviations used: **PL**: plural, **RECP**: reciprocity, **APP**: applicative, **PROB**: probability.

男の人達は皆起きて話し合うだろう。

**Okkayo utar =hopun=pa wa =u=we=newsar nankor.**

**Awa kuery o=wy=pa wy =jo=wero=aywu randavy.**

**Man PL S.3=wake=PL and S.3=RECP=APP=speak PROB**

*The men will probably all wake up and talk with one another.*

The first clause is **Okkayo utar ∅=hopun=pa / Awa kuery o=wy=pa**.

Let us start with the subject: **Okkayo utar / Awa kuery / Men**. The singular noun is **Okkayo / Awa / Man**. Ainu and Guarani nouns are invariable. There is no masculine or feminine, no singular or plural. In any position or function (subject, direct object, etc) the noun does not change. No articles are used either. To make the plural of nouns we use the pluralizer **utar /**

kuery [in Guarani, kuery is the general pluralizer, although the common pluralizer here would be kue]. Thus, Okkayo utar / Awa kuery means Men or The men.

The verb hopun (hopuni) / wy means to wake up.

In  $\emptyset$ =hopun=pa / o=wy=pa, the subject prefix (or lack of it) shows it is conjugated for subject, 3rd person. The suffix =pa is a plural marker, to show the subject is plural. The Ainu singular form hopuni becomes hopun=pa in the plural form (loss of final i). So, Okkayo utar  $\emptyset$ =hopun=pa / Awa kuery o=wy=pa can be translated as The men all wake up.

The two clauses are joined with wa / wy / and, which is the most common way to join verbs or clauses.

The second clause is u=we=newsar nankor / jo=wero=aywu randavy. The verb is newsar / aywu / talk (in Ainu, as seen in Sentence 2, to talk is itak, whereas newsar means to tell tales, to talk joyfully). The first prefix is u / jo, to show reciprocity, i.e. “to one another”. When showing reciprocity for 3rd person, Guarani does not use the subject marker o=, so it becomes just like Ainu (no marker indicates third person). The second prefix we / wero is the applicative, which also has the comitative sense as in Sentence 2. The applicative is actually e / ero, but the sound of the semivowel w appears to join u / jo with e / ero. So u=we=newsar / jo=wero=aywu translates as “they talk with one another”, “they chat”. Other usages of applicatives will be shown in Section 4.

After the verb, the adverbial particle nankor / randavy shows a supposition of the speaker, that is, probability. So u=we=newsar nankor / jo=wero=aywu randavy can be translated as “they will likely speak with one another”, “they will likely chat”.

That concludes the presentation of the three example sentences.

To appreciate at a glance the exact correspondence between Ainu and Guarani, here are the three example sentences in the two languages:

Te=ta oruspe a=nu yakka pirka ya?    Te=ta mokor=an kusu wen.  
A=py kaujo a=endu ran iporan pa?    A=py oke=a ramo da'ewei.

E=yay=rayke=rusuy hi ta hapo e=nukar kusu e=hekote =oman wa e=ko=itak.  
Re=je=juka=x    ha py ha'i der=exa ramo de=akaty o=o wy der=ero=aywu.

Okkayo utar =hopun=pa wa =u=we=newsar nankor.  
Awa kuery o=wy=pa wy =jo=wero=aywu randavy.

## 4. ANALYSIS OF VERB AFFIXES AND NOMINALIZERS

In this section the structured analysis of the affixes from the example sentences, together with new affixes, is carried out according to their function and position in the verb structure. Nominalizers are also analyzed. New concise example sentences are given throughout.

### 4.1 Affixes for the subject

Let us start by conjugating the verb for the subject. The example sentences introduced in Section 3 show the conjugation for first, second and third person singular.

Let us use simple phrases to conjugate the verbs **to listen** and **to sleep** for the subject in 1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular (**S.1s**, **S.2s**, **S.3s**) for different tenses, aspects and moods.

	<u>nu / endu / listen</u>	<u>mokor / ke / sleep</u>
S.1s	私は 物語を 聞いた。 Oruspe a=nu nankor. (ku=nu) Kaujo a=endu randavy. Story S.1s=listen PROB. I will probably listen to a story.	昨日 ここで 私は 寝た。 Numan teta ku=mokor Kuee apy a=ke Yesterday here S.1s=sleep I slept here yesterday.
S.2s	お前が 物語を 聞きたいの？ Oruspe e=nu=rusuy ya? Kaujo re=endu=x e pa? Story S.2s=listen DESID QM? Do you want to listen to a story?	ここで お前が 寝るよ。 Teta e=mokor ruwe ne. Apy re=ke raen tu. Here S.2s=sleep EVID. You will sleep here indeed.
S.3s	あの人は 物語を 聞くだらう。 Oruspe -=nu okere. Kaujo o=endu kuri. Story S.3s=listen PAST. He/she listen-ed to a story.	ここで あの人は 寝るそうです。 Teta -=mokor hawe. Apy o=ke maje. Here S.3s=sleep REP.EVID. It seems he/she sleeps here.

In Ainu and Guarani, verbs are only conjugated for the present tense. To express different tenses, aspects and moods, an extensive repertoire of adverbial particles is used, as shown above. The tense of verbs can also be inferred from time references (yesterday, tomorrow, etc).

Let us continue with the verb conjugation. As was presented in Example Sentence 1 with =mokor=an / o=ke=a / someone sleeps, both Ainu and Guarani have definite and indefinite 3rd person. Let us rewrite Example Sentence 1, changing the subject in the first clause to indefinite person, so the indefinite person is used in both clauses:

ここで 誰かが物語を聞けば いいですか？	ここで 人は寝る から だめです。
Te ta oruspe a=nu yakka pirka ya?	Te ta =mokor=an kusu wen.
A py kaujo o=endu=a ran iporan pa?	A py o=ke=a ramo da'ewei.
If someone listens to a story here, is it alright?	As someone sleeps here it's not alright.

In the first clause, a=nu was introduced as the classical form for the first person singular, but depending on the context it can also indicate the indefinite third person.

In Ainu, the indefinite person marker is the prefix a= for transitive verbs, while the suffix =an is used for intransitive verbs. In Guarani the suffix =a is used in all verbs.

Let us put all the subject markers together in a conjugation table:

	VERB TO LISTEN (TRANSITIVE)		VERB TO SLEEP (INTRANSITIVE)	
	=nu	=endu	=mokor	=ke
S.1s	a=nu / ku=nu	a=endu	ku=mokor	a=ke
S.2s	e=nu	re=endu	e=mokor	re=ke
S.3s	=nu	o=endu	=mokor	o=ke
S.3ind	a=nu	o=endu=a	=mokor=an	o=ke=a

In Ainu, transitive verbs and intransitive verbs are conjugated slightly differently. In Guarani, the distinction is made between action verbs and verbs of state. That will be discussed later in this paper.

## 4.2. Singular and plural forms of the verb

In Sentence 3 the suffix =pa, which indicates plurality, was introduced.

男の人達は	皆起きて	話し合う	だろう。
Okkayo utar	=hopun=pa	wa u=we=newsar	nankor.
Awa kuery	o=wy=pa	wy jo=wero=aywu	randavy.
The men	will probably	all wake up and	talk with one another.

Let us see the verb to wake up for singular and plural subject:

3rd person singular

あの人は起きる  
 =hopuni  
 o=wy  
 He/she wakes up

3rd person plural

あの人は起きる  
 =hopun=pa  
 o=wy=pa  
 They wake up

In Ainu, the pluralizer is only used in certain verbs. In Guarani, it can be used with all verbs. Guarani verbs can show plurality without **pa**, but when **pa** is used we avoid ambiguity, and we emphasize the idea that everybody performs the action.

The verb **hopuni** / **wy** / **wake up** is intransitive. When the verb is transitive, the plural marker **pa** refers to a plural direct object, not to a plural subject. Let us see that in the following example:

*SINGULAR DIRECT OBJECT*

あの人は薪を切る  
 Chikuni -=tuye  
 Chakan o=jaya  
 Firewood S.3s=cut  
 He/she cuts firewood

*PLURAL DIRECT OBJECT*

あの人は全ての竹を切る  
 Top -=tuy=pa  
 Takua o=jaya=pa  
 Bamboo S.3=cut=PL  
 He/she cuts all the bamboos.

In the previous example the subject is singular (**he, she**). Without the plural marker, the person is cutting one thing (**firewood**, uncountable). When using the plural marker, the same person is cutting many objects (**bamboos**).

The verb conjugation, including the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural marker (**pm**):

*VERB TO WAKE UP (INTRANSITIVE)*

S.1s	ku=hopuni	a=wy
S.2s	e=hopuni	re=wy
S.3s	=hopuni	o=wy
S.3ind	=hopuni=an	o=wy=a
S.3pm	=hopun=pa	o=wy=pa

*VERB TO CUT (TRANSITIVE)*

S.1s	a=tuye/ku=tuye	a=jaya
S.2s	e=tuye	re=jaya
S.3s	=tuye	o=jaya
S.3ind	a=tuye	o=jaya=a
S.3pm	=tuy=pa	o=ojaya=pa

The conjugation above shows how affixes for the subject can be placed in two different positions, which are:

- at the beginning of the verb, that is, the first column in the verb structure
- right after the base form of the verb

As mentioned before, Ainu has slightly different conjugations for transitive and intransitive verbs, while in Guarani different conjugations are used for verbs of action and verbs of state. A complete conjugation of Ainu and Guarani verbs for all subjects and verb types will be presented in the Appendix.

For now, let us just present the full conjugation of transitive verbs:

*VERB TO SEE (TRANSITIVE)*

S.1s	a=nukar/ ku=nukar	a=exa
S.2s	e=nukar	re=exa
S.3s	=nukar	o=exa
S.3ind	a=nukar	o=exa=a
S.1pl-inc	a=nukar	ja=exa
S.1pl-exc	ci=nukar	ro=exa
S.2pl	eci=nukar	pe=exa
S.3pl	=nukar	o=exa

As shown in the conjugation above, Ainu and Guarani, as most indigenous languages, have two types of we: inclusive (S.1pl-inc) and exclusive (S.1pl-exc). As the name indicates, the inclusive we includes everybody who is listening, while the exclusive we excludes the listener or listeners, as shown in the following examples.

When the action involves everybody present, we use the inclusive we:

私たちは どうすれば いいですか？

Makanak a=kar ciki pirka?

Mba'exa ja=japo ran iporan ?

How S.1pl-inc=do if is good ?

*How should we all do it? (What should we do?)*

In conversations between 1st person (singular or plural) and 2nd person plural, the exclusive we is used:

お前たちは 何を 見ますか？

Hemanta eci=nukar?

Mba'e tu pe=exa ?

What S.2pl=see ?

*What do you all see?*

私たちは 村 を見ます

Kotan ci=nukar

Tekoa ro=exa

Village S.1pl-exc=exa

*We (and not you) see a village*

When asking a question to a group of people, the group will always reply with the exclusive we, as the person who asked the question is not included in the reply.

Before analyzing other types of affixes, it is worth presenting the different forms of the verb to be (to exist in a place). To express where someone or something is located, we use the verb **an / in / be (there is, there are)**. Both Ainu and Guarani use different forms for singular and plural, and even a separate negative form.

Examples for the singular form:

ここに <b>私</b> が <b>いる</b>	ここに <b>ネズミ</b> が <b>いる</b>
Teta <b>ku</b> = <b>an</b>	Teta <b>herumun</b> = <b>an</b>
Apy <b>a</b> = <b>in</b>	Apy <b>anguja</b> <b>o</b> = <b>in</b>
Here <b>at</b> <b>S.1s</b> = <b>be</b>	Here <b>at</b> <b>mouse</b> <b>S.3s</b> = <b>be</b>
<i>I am here</i>	<i>There is a mouse here</i>

When the subject is plural, both in Ainu and in Guarani, instead of using the plural marker **=pa**, a different verb form is used altogether. That also is the case for other verbs in Ainu and Guarani. And for the verb **an / in / be**, yet another one is used for negation. This is shown in the following example, taken from Hokkaido STV Radio Ainu Course, year 2013, vol 2, given by Kimura Sensei. (STV アイヌ語ラジオ講座, 2013 年, Vol 2, 木村先生の例文).

この 家 に **ネズミ**が **一匹**いる。あの 家 に 以前は **なん匹**もいたけど今は**いない**。  
 Toan chise **otta herumun** =**an**. Tapan chise **otta teeta** =**okay** korka **tane isam**.  
 Kowa'e oo **py anguja** **o**=**in**. Awa'e oo **py kuewe** **i**=**kuai** tein **ayn da'ipoi**.  
 This house **in** **mouse** is. That house **in** **long ago** **are** but **now** **there isn't/aren't**.  
*There is a mouse in this house. In that house there were mice long ago, but now there aren't.*

Let us put the verbs in a comparison table:

<u>SINGULAR SUBJECT</u>	<u>PLURAL SUBJECT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE FORM (SING/PL)</u>
=an	=okay (also: oka)	isam
=in	=kuai (also: okua)	da'ipoi

In Guarani, **okua** is the auxiliary verb **to be** used to show plurality.

It is surprising that Ainu and Guarani use different verbs for each form, and it is even more remarkable how similar the singular and the plural forms are.

### 4.3. Direct Object markers

There are several types of affixes in Ainu and Guarani to refer to the direct object. We have already analyzed the plural marker **=pa/=pa**, which refers to the subject in intransitive verbs, and to the direct object in transitive verbs.

Before we analyze other direct object markers, it is important to mention that all transitive verbs in Ainu and Guarani, when no direct object is specified, refer to a third person direct object (him/her/it/them). Therefore, we could specify it in all the transitive verbs that were presented:

	=nukar	=exa	see
S.1s	a=nukar / ku=nukar	a=exa	I see him/her/it
S.2s	e=nukar	re=exa	you see him/her/it
S.3s	-=nukar	o=exa	he/she sees him/her/it
S.3ind	a=nukar	o=exa=a	someone sees him/her/it

When the verb refers to a direct object in the first or second person, the above conjugations are not used anymore. Instead, we use specific direct object markers. One example was given in Example Sentence 2:

母はお前を見た  
 hapo e=nukar  
 ha'i de=rexax  
 mom saw you

The subject in the previous example is in the 3rd person, and the direct object is in the 2nd person. Let us also introduce the direct object marker for the first person:

	nukar	exa	see
D.O.1s	Hapo en=nukar	Ha'i xe=rexax	Mom sees me
D.O.2s	Hapo e=nukar	Ha'i de=rexax	Mom sees you

The same markers are used when the subject is in the third person plural:

	nukar	exa	see
D.O.1s	Hekattar en=nukar	Kyringue xe=rexax	Children see me
D.O.2s	Hekattar e=nukar	Kyringue de=rexax	Children see you

A special feature of Ainu and Guarani is the inflection of postpositions. They are inflected with the previous affixes, as shown in Example Sentence 2:

お前の方に / e=hekote / de=akaty / towards you

Inflected for 1st and 2nd person:

	hekote	katy	towards
1st person	en=hekote	xe=akaty	towards me
2nd person	e=hekote	de=akaty	towards you

In Guarani, towards is **katy**. It is joined to the personal prefix with **a**, although postpositions not related to location do not require it:

	tura	rewe	with
1st person	en=tura	xe=rewe	with me
2nd person	e=tura	de=rewe	with you

In this section, we have only analyzed direct object markers for the 1st or 2nd person singular (**me**, **you**) when the subject is in the 3rd person (**he/she/they**). There are many other **Subject – Direct Object** combinations where the direct object refers to the first or second person. They are the interactions between 1st and 2nd person:

**I – you**, **I – you all**, **we – you**, **we – you all**, **you – me**, **you – us**, **you all – me**, **you all – us**.

It is a lengthy topic, not needed now to proceed with the analysis of the verb structure. The complete table of affixes for **Subject – Direct Object** interactions will be given in the Appendix.

#### 4.4. Reflexive verbs

When the subject and the direct object are the same person, the reflexive form of the verb is used. In Example Sentence 2 the reflexive form was introduced:

お前は自分を殺したい  
 e=yay=rayke=rusuy  
 re=je=juka=x  
 you want to kill yourself

The reflexive affix **yay / je** is invariable for all persons, and it is placed after the subject prefix:

	rayke	juka	kill
S.1s.	ku=yay=rayke	a=je=juka	I kill myself
S.2s	e=yay=rayke	re=je=juka	you kill yourself
S.3s	-= yay=rayke	o=je=juka	he kills himself

#### 4.5. Reciprocal verbs

When the subject and the object interact with one another, the reciprocal form is used. In Example Sentence 3 the reciprocal form was introduced:

あの人達は(お互いに)話し合う

∅=u=we=newsar

∅=jo=wero=aywu

They talk with one another.

The reciprocity affix is u / jo. Like the reflexive affix, it is invariable for all persons.

Let us see another example with the verb nukar / exa / see, its reciprocal form being u=nukar / jo=exa / see each other:

	nukar	exa	see
S.2pl	eci=u=nukar	pe=jo=exa	you (pl) see each other
S.3pl	∅=u=nukar	∅=jo=exa	they see each other

The subject marker for 2nd person plural is eci / pe, and for 3rd person plural it is null (no marker). As was mentioned before, when the reciprocal affix is used, Guarani does not use the subject marker o=, so it becomes just like Ainu (no marker indicates third person).

#### 4.6. Indefinite Object marker

There is one peculiar direct object affix, =i=, identical in Ainu and Guarani. It is used in transitive verbs to refer to an indefinite direct object. Let us see an example:

DEFINITE D.O. (transitive verb)

私を手伝う者が来る。

en=kasuy pe =ek.

xe=pytyvon wa'e o=u.

D.O.1S=help NML S.3s=come

The person that helps me is coming.

INDEFINITE D.O. (intransitive verb)

(何かに／誰かを)手伝う者が来る。

=i=kasuy pe -=ek.

o=i=pytywon wa'e o=u.

S.3s=D.O.ind=help NML S.3s=come

The person that helps (out) is coming.

In the left column, kasuy / pytyvon / to help is a transitive verb. The direct object marker is en= / xe= / me: en=kasuy / xe=pytyvon / he/she helps me. it is followed by the concrete nominalizer pe / wa'e, which will be fully introduced and analyzed later in this section:

en=kasuy pe / xe=pytyvon wa'e / the person who helps me.

In the right column, no direct object is defined. Instead, the indefinite direct object marker =i= is used to refer to "indefinite things, indefinite people, anything, anybody". In the example above, =i=kasuy / o=i=pytywon means 'he helps people, he helps in things', which can be translated as 'he helps out', 'she helps out'.

## 4.7. Applicatives

Applicatives are affixes that increase the transitivity of the verb. In Example Sentence 2 the applicative **ko / ero** was introduced:

母はお前と話し合った。

Hapo e=ko=itak

Ha'i de=rero=aywu

Mom talked with you

**itak / aywu / speak** is an intransitive verb. The applicative affix makes the verb transitive. In the example above, **ko / ero** shows a comitative action, where the subject performs the action with the object. The direct object is shown with the direct object prefix **e / de / you**.

We can conjugate the verb **ko=itak / ero=aywu** according to the subject, as with any transitive verb. Let us see an easy example:

私はお婆さんと話し合う

Huci ku=ko=itak

Xaryi a=ero=aywu

Grandma S.1s=do with=speak

I speak with grandma

In the example above, the Guarani **ero** loses its first vowel when the prefix is **a=**, so it becomes: **Xaryi a=ro=aywu**.

The applicative affix can have other functions, showing different relations between the subject and the direct object. Let us see an example with the verb **笑う / mina / puka / laugh**:

お前は他の人を笑ってはだめです。

E=e=mina yak wen

Re=ero=puka ran da'ewei

S.2s=APPL=laugh if is bad

If you laugh at other people, it is not good = *You should not mock other people*

In the example above, **ko / ero** is no longer comitative. Here it means “to do something regarding someone”. The verb **mina / puka**, when preceded by the affix **ko / ero**, means **to laugh at**.

## 4.8. Collective actions

In Ainu and Guarani, collective actions are expressed by the array of two affixes: the reciprocity affix and the applicative. In Example Sentence 3 an example of collective action was introduced:

Okkayo utar u=we=newsar

Awa kuery jo=wero=aywu

The men talk with one another

The applicative *e / ero* indicates that the subject participates in the action with the direct object. When preceded by the reciprocity affix *u / jo*, the people in the subject participate in the action with one another, i.e. the action becomes collective.

Ainu has two applicatives (*ko, e*), which correspond to only one applicative in Guarani (*ero*). So the affix array for collective actions can be *u=we* or *u=ko* in Ainu, but only *jo=wero* in Guarani:

Okkayo utar u=ko=itak

Awa kuery jo=wero=aywu

The men talk with one another

Let us summarize the different uses of the applicatives in the following table:

do with	do in regards to	collective action
ko=itak / =e=newsar	e=mina	u=ko=itak / u=we=newsar
ero=aywu	ero=puka	jo=wero=aywu
talk with	laugh at	talk with one another

## 4.9. Abstract Nominalizer

Verb nominalizers are particles used immediately after the verb. So rather than belonging to the verb structure, they belong to the *verbal structure*.

In Example Sentence 2 we saw the abstract nominalizer *hi / ha* (also pronounced *i / a*):

お前は自分を殺したいときに

E=yay=rayke=rusuy hi ta

Re=je=juka=xé ha py

S.2s=REFL=kill=DESID NML at

At you wanting to kill yourself (When you wanted to kill yourself)

The nominalizer **hi / ha** has three distinct uses:

- abstract quality of the verb
- location of the action
- time of the action

Ainu and Guarani share the exact same uses. Let us see them in simple sentences:

abstract quality	location	time
良い事/良さ/美しさ	私は横になる所にいる。	彼は村に行くときに食べ過ぎる。
Pirka=hi	ku=hotke hi ta ku=an.	Kotan ta =oman hi ta =ipe kaspá.
Iporan=ha	a=ñeno ha py a=in	Tekoa py o=o ha py o=karu raxa.
It's good=NML	S.1s=lie NML at S.1s=be	Village at S.3s=go NML at S.3s=eat in excess
Goodness, beauty	I am at my lying place (in bed)	When he goes to the village he eats too much

#### 4.10. Concrete Nominalizer

Another nominalizer is used in Ainu and Guarani for concrete things, i.e. for objects, animals and people. It was not introduced in the example sentences of Section 3, although it was used in an example in Section 4.6. In Ainu, it is **pe** (p after vowel); in Guarani it is **wa'e** or **py**:

良い物

Pirka.p

Iporan.wa'e

it's beautiful NML

beautiful object / beautiful person

Let us compare the example above with the example in the previous section:

goodness, beauty                      good thing, beautiful person

Pirka.hi

Pirka.p

Iporan.ha

Iporan.wa'e

Let us use this nominalizer in a simple sentence:

お前はおいしいものを食べるよ。

Keraan pe e=e ruwe ne.

Hee wa'e re='u raen tu.

Delicious thing S.2s=eat indeed

You will certainly eat delicious things.

As a side note, let us compare the verb **e / 'u / eat** of *the* previous example with the verb to eat used in the previous section:

Kotan **ta oman hi ta ipe** kaspá.

Tekoa **py o=o ha py o=karu** raxa.

*When he goes to the village he eats too much*

The verb to eat in Ainu and Guarani has a transitive form (**e / 'u**) and an intransitive form (**ipe / karu**). To feed oneself, to have a meal requires the intransitive form. When talking about eating something in particular, the transitive form is used.

Let us now introduce another sentence with the concrete nominalizers **pe / py**:

窓 から 見える 物 は 美しい。

Puyar kari **a=nukar pe** anak pirka.

Owentan rupi **o=exa.py** ma iporan.

Window through **S.3=see NML TOPIC** is beautiful.

What is seen through the window is beautiful (there's a nice view out the window).

In Guarani, **py** is only used for the third person, without reference to the subject, i.e. the subject is indefinite. Hence, in Ainu I used the indefinite subject marker (**a=**).

As shown above, Ainu and Guarani, like Japanese, use topic markers: **は / anak, anakne / ma**

## 4.11. Indirect Causative

Last but not least, let us introduce the causative affixes.

There are two types of causatives: direct and indirect. They were not introduced in the example sentences, as they require some exclusive, thorough attention.

The indirect causative is **yar / uka**, placed after the verb. It expresses the idea “have someone do something”:

<u>simple verb</u>	<u>causative verb</u>
私は鹿を殺す。	私は鹿を殺させる。
Yuk <b>a=rayke</b> .	Yuk <b>a=rayke=yar</b> .
Guaxu <b>a=juka</b> .	Guaxu <b>a=juka=uka</b> .
Deer <b>S.1s=kill</b>	Deer <b>S.1s=kill=CAUS</b>
I kill a deer.	I make the deer be killed (I have the deer killed).

where **a=rayke** becomes **ku=rayke** in modern Ainu.

Let us see one more example:

<u>simple verb</u>	<u>causative verb</u>
あの人は話を聞く。	あの人は話を聞かせる。
Oruspe -=nu.	Oruspe =nu=yar
Kaujo o=endu.	Kaujo o=endu=uka
Story S.3s=listen	Story S.3s=listen=CAUS
He/She listens to a story.	He/She lets the story be heard (he/she tells a story)

#### 4.12. Direct Causative

This causative is more direct than the previous one. The person or thing that is made to perform an action is clearly defined. Let us see an example:

<u>simple verb</u>	<u>causative verb</u>
お婆さんは来る。	お婆さんは私を来させる。
Huchi -=ek.	Huchi en=ek=te.
Xaryi o=u.	Xaryi xe=mbo=u.
Grandmother comes.	Grandmother made me come (Grandmother sent me)

In Ainu, the causative is a final suffix, just like the previous causative *yar*. The direct causative can take varied forms in Ainu: *e / re / te / ke / ka*.

The form in Guarani is *mbo*, which is always placed before the root of the verb.

In a few instances, this causative affix can have a similar meaning to *yar / uka*.

For example, in Ainu: *oruspe =nu=yar* is the same as *oruspe =nu=re*.

And that concludes the analysis of affixes and nominalizers.

## 5. VERB STRUCTURE COMPARISON TABLE

In this section, I match the Guarani verb structure to the Ainu verb structure given by Prof. Suzuko Fukuda (see reference section). In this table the whole array of affixes is given, as well as the column for nominalizers. The personal affixes for subject and object (first two columns) are given for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular. The 3rd person affix for the subject can also refer to the plural. The same table is given twice, with Japanese and English terms.

### 動詞の構造    ~ アイヌ語    ~ グアラニー語

人称接辞		適用態	目的語	適用態	動詞の 基本形	人称接辞	使役	名詞化
主語	目的語							
私は <i>ku/(a)</i> <i>a</i>	私を <i>en</i> <i>xe</i>	<i>e/ko</i>	自分を <i>yay/si</i> <i>je</i>	で、と、 について、 に対して		複数形 <i>pa</i> <i>pa</i>	人にさせる <i>yar</i> <i>uka</i>	物、者 <i>pe</i> <i>va'e/py</i>
お前は <i>e</i> <i>re</i>	お前を <i>e</i> <i>de</i>		互いを <i>u</i> <i>jo</i>	使役 させる <i>mbo</i>				
あの人は -- <i>o</i>			何かを 誰かを <i>i</i> <i>i</i>			不特定 人は <i>an</i> (自) <i>a</i>	させる <i>e/re/te</i> <i>ke/ka</i>	事、時、所 <i>i/hi</i> <i>a/ha</i>
不特定 人は <i>a</i> (他)								

### VERBAL AFFIXES    ~ AINU    ~ GUARANI

Personal prefixes		Applic.	General Object	Applic.	Base form of the verb	Personal suffixes	Causative	Nomin.
Subject	Object							
<i>I</i> <i>ku/(a)</i> <i>a</i>	<i>me</i> <i>en</i> <i>xe</i>	<i>e/ko</i>	oneself <i>yay/si</i> <i>je</i>	with, in regards to, about		Plural form <i>pa</i> <i>pa</i>	have s.o. do <i>yar</i> <i>uka</i>	person, object <i>pe</i> <i>va'e/py</i>
<i>you</i> <i>e</i> <i>re</i>	<i>you</i> <i>e</i> <i>de</i>		each other <i>u</i> <i>jo</i>	Causative make s.o./ s.th. do <i>mbo</i>				
<i>he/she/it</i> -- <i>o</i>			anyone, anything <i>i</i> <i>i</i>			Indefinite subject someone <i>an</i> (intr.) <i>a</i>	make s.o./ s.th. do <i>e/re/te</i> <i>ke/ka</i>	action, time, place <i>i/hi</i> <i>a/ha</i>
Indefinite someone <i>a</i> (tr.)								

## 5.1. Perfect matches

Let us highlight in yellow the affixes that have perfect matches, i.e. affixes that match in function and position, and that share a similar sound - if not the same.

Personal prefixes		Applic.	General Object	Applic.	Base form of the verb	Personal suffixes	Causative	Nomin.
Subject	Object							
<i>I</i> <i>ku/(a)</i> <i>a</i>	<i>me</i> <i>en</i> <i>xe</i>	<i>with, in regards to, about</i>	<i>oneself</i> <i>yay/si</i> <i>je</i>	<i>with, in regards to, about</i>		Plural form <i>pa</i> <i>pa</i>	Indirect Causative <i>have s.o. do</i> <i>yar</i> <i>uka</i>	person, object <i>pe</i> <i>wa'e/py</i>
<i>you</i> <i>e</i> <i>re</i>	<i>you</i> <i>e</i> <i>de</i>							
<i>he/she/it</i> -- <i>o/--</i>	<i>him/her/it</i> -- --		<i>anyone, anything</i> <i>i</i> <i>i</i>	<i>make s.o./s.th. do</i> <i>mbo</i>				
Indefinite <i>someone</i> <i>a (tr.)</i>								

Ainu and Guarani verbal structure is quite complex, and yet their extensive array of affixes follow the exact same order, and even within each column we find the exact same categories of affixes:

- Subject affixes in the first column.
- Direct object affixes in the second column for 1st and 2nd person. As we saw, no marker is used for the 3rd person because transitive verbs always refer to a 3rd person (him, her, it, them). When transitive verbs refer to a 1st or 2nd person, that is when we need to use direct object markers.
- The column for the general direct object is astonishingly similar, with three identical affixes: reflexive, reciprocal and indefinite/general (=i=).
- The column before the base form of the verb is used for the applicative affixes, which share the exact same functions: "to do something with" and "to do something regarding/about". And as was explained in the previous section, collective actions are expressed with the same array of affixes: reciprocal + applicative (*uwe/uko* in Ainu, *jowero* in Guarani).
- The first column after the base form of the verb is also astonishingly similar, with the plural marker =pa (which refers to a plural subject when the verb is intransitive, and to a plural direct object when the verb is transitive), and the subject affix =a/=an for the indefinite 3rd person.

- In the last column both languages use the suffix for the indirect causative
- Right after the verb we have the nominalizers, which share the exact same categories and subcategories: concrete nominalizer (for things, animals and people), and abstract nominalizer (for quality, place and time).

## 5.2. Close matches

There are two affixes that have “an extra position” in Ainu: the subject affix for the indefinite 3rd person, and the applicative:

VERBAL AFFIXES ~ Ainu ~ Guarani								
Personal prefixes		Applic.	General Object	Applic.	Base form of the verb	Personal suffixes	Causative	Nomin.
Subject	Object							
<i>I</i> ku / (a) a	<i>me</i> en xe	with, in regards to, about e / ko	<i>oneself</i> yay / si je	with, in regards to, about e / ko ero		Plural form pa pa	Indirect Causative have s.o. do yar uka	person, object pe wa'e/py
<i>you</i> e re	<i>you</i> e de		each other u jo					
<i>he/she/it</i> -- o / --	<i>him/her/it</i> -- --	anyone, anything i i	make s.o./ s.th. do mbo	Indefinite subject someone an (intr.) a		Direct Causative make s.o./ s.th. do e/re/te ke/ka	quality, time, place i / hi a / ha	
<b>Indefinite someone</b> a (tr.)								

Both affixes share one position to the right, but in Ainu they have the “extra position” highlighted in orange:

- The subject affix for indefinite 3rd person shares the position after the base form of the verb (in Ainu when the verb is intransitive, and in Guarani for all verbs). Transitive verbs in Ainu have that affix in the first column, with the exact same sound as the Guarani marker =a.
- The applicative affix in Guarani always comes after the general object column, while in Ainu in can be placed before and after that column.

And to conclude the discussion of the “close matches”, let’s look at the affix for the direct causative. It shares the exact same function, but is placed in different slots of the array. That is highlighted here in pink:

VERBAL AFFIXES ~ Ainu ~ Guarani

Personal prefixes		Applic.	General Object	Applic.	Base form of the verb	Personal suffixes	Causative	Nomin.
Subject	Object							
<i>I</i> ku/(a) a	<i>me</i> en xe	with, in regards to, about e/ko	<i>oneself</i> yay/si je	with, in regards to, about e/ko ero		Plural form pa pa	Indirect Causative have s.o. do yar uka	person, object pe wa'e/py
<i>you</i> e re	<i>you</i> e de		each other u jo					
<i>he/she/it</i> -- o/--	<i>him/her/it</i> -- --							quality, time, place i/hi a/ha
<i>Indefinite someone</i> a (tr.)			<i>anyone, anything</i> i i	<i>Direct Causative</i> make s.o./s.th. do mbo		<i>Indefinite subject</i> someone an (intr.) a	<i>Direct Causative</i> make s.o./s.th. do e/re/te ke/ka	

In Ainu the direct causative is placed in the last slot of the verb structure, while in Guarani it is placed before the root of the verb. Nevertheless, it is important to note that both languages share all the subtleties of the different types of causative, which are divided in three types: direct, indirect and comitative (to make someone do something while participating in the action, expressed with the applicative affix), and only the direct causative appears in a different slot.

### 5.3. Conclusions on the verb structure

When looking at the complete array of affixes and nominalizers, we must recognize how identical Ainu and Guarani are. Their many affixes and nominalizers have exactly the same functions and subtleties, and they follow one same array with similar sounds. But let us comment both on the differences and the correspondences

About the few differences in their verb structure:

- There are two applicative affixes in Ainu (e, ko), with two positions, but only one in Guarani (ero) – with the same functions. And there is one extra applicative in Ainu for location, which is not always included in the affix tables of Ainu scholars.
- There are two reflexive affixes in Ainu (yay, si), but only one in Guarani (je, with its nasal version ñe). The indefinite subject marker in Ainu can be a prefix (a=, for transitive verbs) or a suffix (=an, for intransitive verbs). In Guarani it is always a suffix (=a).
- Guarani has two concrete nominalizers (wa'e, py), compared to only one in Ainu (pe), although Ainu also uses the noun 'kur' for person, in the same position. Thus, in Ainu, 'en=kasuy.pe' is the same as 'en=kasuy.kur' (the person that helps me).

About the correspondences in the verb structure:

There are 16 types of affixes in the table, i.e. the 16 slots for Guarani and 18 slots for Ainu (due to the “double position” of two affixes). They all have the exact functions and “sub-functions” (different uses). There is no function and subfunction unique to only Ainu or Guarani, they are all shared. If you find it in one, you find it in another one.

We can quantify the table in the following manner:

- Number of affixes unique to only one language (in functions and uses): 0 out of 16
- Number of affixes with different position and sound: 1 out of 16 (direct causative).

Or, expressed in terms of correspondence:

- Number of affixes with shared functions and uses: 16 out of 16
- Number of affixes with correspondence in function and position: 15 out of 16
- Number of affixes with correspondence in function, position and sound: 15 out of 16 (half of them being identical or nearly identical).

Nothing comes close to this verbal structure in any other language. Such a high correspondence can not be the result of mere coincidence. If Ainu and Guarani verbs were more similar, the two languages would not just be related, they would be dialects of the same language instead!

## 6. OTHER SIMILARITIES BETWEEN AINU AND GUARANI

As we saw in the example sentences, Ainu and Guarani sentence structures are identical, and there are many similarities between the two languages that just reinforce their affinity:

- S-O-V dominant sentence structure.
- Use of postpositions, which are inflected following the direct object pattern.
- Nouns are invariable in gender, number and in their grammatical function.
- Nouns are inflected for the possessive form. Transferable nouns can appear without inflection (such as objects), whereas intransferable nouns are always inflected in the possessive form (such as parts of the body and members of the family).
- Complex terms are used for members of the family, which vary for relatives of a man and relatives of a woman, younger or older siblings, or relatives of the father's side or the mother's side. These terms are always inflected in the possessive form, as they are intransferable nouns.
- Verbs are conjugated for the present. Adverbial particles are used for tense, aspect, mood.
- Two types of verb exist in each language. In Ainu: transitive and intransitive. In Guarani: verbs of action and verbs of state. The Guarani verbs of state are treated as intransitive verbs in Ainu.
- There are no adjectives, as they are treated as verbs.
- We inclusive and exclusive.
- Verb to be (there is, there are, to be in a place) has three forms: singular, plural, negative – the singular and plural forms being very similar.

## 7. CLOSING WORDS

The comparison table of Ainu and Guarani verbal structure is my strongest evidence for a genealogical link between the two languages. Comparison of other elements of the language may also suggest that Ainu and Guarani are but echoes that have travelled in different directions from one same ancient source.

Languages within one same language family are different, sometimes very different. Ainu and Guarani are indeed very different languages, especially in their vocabulary, due to the many thousands of years that have elapsed since they split from their common ancestral language. At the same time, we need to be aware that the degree of the differences between Ainu and Guarani sentence and verb structure is not greater than the degree found within any language family. Greater differences in grammar and affixes are found, for example, among Indo-European languages. English and German have differences in gender, cases, word order and more, even if they are closely related. So when comparing English to more distant Indo-European languages, such as Russian, Farsi, Greek, Sanskrit or Hittite, a much lower degree of similarity is left.

With my work I hope to open a door to further research. In order to better document a genealogical link between Ainu and Guarani, a linguistic study needs to be carried out comparing Proto-Ainu and Proto-Tupi-Guarani. I hope linguists can carry on with this work and share their conclusions.

I also hope that Ainu and Guarani people can meet someday for a cultural exchange. I am convinced that they will feel at home with each other.

Tenonde Porã, São Paulo, 2023 (revised 2026)

Jordi Ferre (Guarani Mbya name: Karai Mirĩ)

## 8. APPENDIX

### Verb conjugations

Ainu and Guarani have a complex verb structure. On top of that, they also have different verb types, each one with their specific conjugation. As was introduced in this paper, Ainu has different conjugations for transitive and intransitive verbs, while Guarani distinguishes between verbs of action and verbs of state.

A full conjugation of a transitive verb was given in Section 4. Let us place it side by side with an intransitive verb:

	<i>VERB TO SEE (TRANSITIVE)</i>		<i>VERB TO SLEEP (INTRANSITIVE)</i>	
S.1s	a=nukar/ku=nukar	a=exa	ku=mokor	a=ke
S.2s	e=nukar	re=exa	e=mokor	re=ke
S.3s	=nukar	o=exa	=mokor	re=ke
S.3ind	a=nukar	o=exa=a	=mokor=an	o=ke=a
S.1pl-inc	a=nukar	ja=exa	=mokor=an	ja=ke
S.1pl-exc	ci=nukar	ro=exa	=mokor=as	ro=ke
S.2pl	eci=nukar	pe=exa	eci=mokor	pe=ke
S.3pl	=nukar	o=exa	=mokor	o=ke

The main position of subject markers are at the beginning of the verb, i.e. the first prefix in the verb structure, with occasional markers as suffixes. Another suffix is the plural marker =pa (subject pluralizer for intransitive verbs, direct object pluralizer for transitive verbs).

In Ainu transitive verbs all subject markers are prefixes, while in Guarani only the indefinite third person is a suffix (=a). So, the position of subject affixes in Ainu and Guarani is the same for all persons except for third person indefinite.

In Ainu intransitive verbs, the indefinite third person becomes a suffix (=an), as well as the subject markers for the first person plural inclusive and exclusive (=an, =as). So, in intransitive verbs, the position of subject affixes in Ainu and Guarani is the same for all persons except for the first person plural.

One extra comment on the prefixes of Guarani verbs: when the verb is nasal, the subject marker for the first person plural inclusive (ja) will also become nasal (ña). For example, with the verb to hear, it becomes ña=endu (and not ja=endu).

#### Verbs of state:

English adjectives are treated as verbs in Ainu and Guarani, as seen in Section 3:

pirka / iporan / is beautiful

In Ainu they are intransitive verbs, while in Guarani they are verbs of state.

The inflection of Guarani verbs of state is the same as the inflection of postpositions, which were introduced in Section 3. Their inflection was only given for the first and second person, so let us see the complete inflection. Two examples are given, as there are some sound changes depending on whether the root of the verb starts with consonant or vowel:

	<i>VERB TO BE BEAUTIFUL</i>		<i>VERB TO BE HEALTHY</i>	
S.1s	ku=pirka	xe=poran	ku=iwanke	xer=exain
S.2s	e=pirka	ne=poran	e=iwanke	ner=exain
S.3s	=pirka	i=poran	=iwanke	h=exain
S.1pl-inc	=pirka=an	nhane=poran	=iwanke=an	ñaner=exain
S.1pl-exc	=pirka=as	ore=poran	=iwanke=as	orer=exain
S.2pl	eci=pirka	pene=poran	eci=iwanke	pener=exain
S.3pl	=pirka	i=poran	=iwanke	h=exain

Ainu and Guarani, as languages that have evolved separately for many thousands of years, have obviously developed many different features. So we should not expect to find “perfect matches” in all their features, although almost always we will find “perfect matches” in the logic of those language features, as when treating the adjectives as verbs.

### Direct Object markers

As was presented in this paper, transitive verbs in Ainu and Guarani, when conjugated for the subject, always refer to a third person direct object:

	=nukar	=exa	see
S.1s	a=nukar / ku=nukar	a=exa	I see him/her/it/them
S.2s	e=nukar	re=exa	you see him/her/it/them
S.3s	=nukar	o=exa	he/she sees him/her/it/them
S.3ind	a=nukar	o=exa=a	someone sees him/her/it/them
S.1pl-inc	a=nukar	ja=exa	we (all) see him/her/it/them
S.1pl-exc	ci=nukar	ro=exa	we (and not you) see him/her/it/them
S.2pl	eci=nukar	pe=exa	you all see him/her/it/them
S.3pl	=nukar	o=exa	they see him/her/it/them

When the direct object refers to the 1st or 2nd person, the previous subject markers are no longer used. Instead, direct object markers are used.

In Section 4 we only analyzed direct object markers for the 1st or 2nd person singular (*me*, *you*) when the subject is in the 3rd person (*he/she/they*):

- S.3 – D.O.1s    en / xe / me
- S.3 – D.O.2s    e / de / you

The complete table of **Subject – Direct Object** combinations for direct object markers is:

3 - 1	2 - 1	3 - 2	1 - 2
S.3s – D.O.1s	S.2s– D.O.1s	S.3s – D.O.2s	S.1s – D.O.2s
S.3pl– D.O.1s	S.2pl– D.O.1s	S.3pl – D.O.2s	S.1pl – D.O.2s
S.3s – D.O.1pl	S.2s – D.O.1pl	S.3s – D.O.2pl	S.1s – D.O.2pl
S.3pl – D.O.1pl	S.2pl– D.O.1pl	S.2pl – D.O.2pl	S.1pl – D.O.2pl

In English, that corresponds to the following interactions (SG: singular, PL: plural):

	3 - 1	2 - 1	3 - 2	1 - 2
SG-SG	he/she – me	you – me	he/she – you	I – you
PL-SG	they – me	you all – me	they – you	we – you
SG-PL	he/she – us	you – us	he/she – you all	I – you all
PL-PL	they – us	you all – us	they – you all	we – you all

In Ainu and Guarani, those interactions are expressed with verb direct object markers. In Ainu (Saru and Chitose dialects), they are the following prefixes:

	3 - 1	2 - 1	3 - 2	1 - 2
SG-SG	en=	en=	e=	eci=
PL-SG	en=	ecien=	e=	eci=
SG-PL	un=	un=	eci=	eci=
PL-PL	un=	eciun=	eci=	eci=

Saru-Chitose Ainu is slightly more simple than other dialects. Guarani affixes have a similar degree of simplification:

	3 - 1	2 - 1	3 - 2	1 - 2
SG-SG	xe=	xe=	de=	ro=
PL-SG	xe=	xe=	de=	ro=
SG-PL	ore=	ore=	pende=	ro=
PL-PL	ore=	ore=	pende=	ro=

Let us see one example:

eci=nukar / ro=exa / I see you

The context will show whether the subject and direct object are singular or plural. Guarani also has a more formal combination of affixes for the previous sentence, when someone is addressing a group of people: a=po=exa, where a= is the subject prefix for the first person singular, and =po= is the direct object marker for you plural.

That concludes the verb information in this paper. For more information, please refer to the verb morphology material from different authors provided in the reference section.

## 9. REFERENCES

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<https://www.sapiens.org/archaeology/ainu-prejudice-pride>

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<https://www.science.org/content/article/most-archaeologists-think-first-americans-arrived-boat-now-they-re-beginning-prove-it>

### Ainu language resources:

- Ainu verbal structure from Prof. Suzuko Fukuda:

[https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/gengo1939/1956/30/1956\\_30\\_46/\\_pdf/-char/en](https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/gengo1939/1956/30/1956_30_46/_pdf/-char/en)

- A Topical Dictionary of Conversational Ainu by Anna Bugaeva and Shiho Endo:

<https://ainu.ninjal.ac.jp/topic/dictionary/en/>

- PDFs on Ainu verb morphology by:

Anna Bugaeva, 柴谷方良, Alexander Akulov, 福田すず子, 奥田統己, Elia Dal Corso, 児島康宏.

- STV アイヌ語ラジオ講座 / STV Ainu Radio Course:

<https://www.stv.jp/radio/ainugo/index.html>

- しとちゃんねる / Maya Sekine's Ainu language channel:

<https://www.youtube.com/@user-sg7qz4sh8p>

### Guarani language material:

All the explanations given about the Guarani language are the result of my work as a teacher in Guarani Mbya language and culture. I develop educational material with the other Guarani Mbya teachers, for students of primary and secondary education.

### Links to my youtube videos in Japanese on Ainu Guarani comparison:

前置き / Introduction: <https://youtu.be/CtI40w0lc5Y>

Part 1: [https://youtu.be/8a9IaA\\_zVLE](https://youtu.be/8a9IaA_zVLE)

Part 2: <https://youtu.be/H1M-dgUy-Bs>

### Links to my youtube videos in English on Ainu Guarani comparison:

Part 1: <https://youtu.be/QsdFPN4AJhk>

Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AxaliTzFLsQ&t=4s>

Part 3 + Conclusion: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wLZE5HfjGgY>

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*He enjoys comparing languages and learning from different cultures. He especially enjoys community life and wishes that the modern world can honor, and learn from, Indigenous Peoples.*

## About this research

*Ainu and Guarani, besides having the same sentence structure, also share an identical verb structure, with a complex array of affixes that have the same functions and positions, and often the same sounds.*

*In this book, affixes are analyzed in example sentences, and then placed side by side in a verb structure comparison table. It will become evident that their high resemblance can only result from a common origin of Ainu and Guarani languages.*

Personal prefixes		Applic.	General Object	Applic.	Base form of the verb	Personal suffixes	Causative	Nomin.
Subject	Object							
<i>I</i> <i>ku / (a)</i> <i>a</i>	<i>me</i> <i>en</i> <i>xe</i>	<i>with, in regards to, about</i>  <i>e / ko</i>	<i>oneself</i> <i>yay/si</i> <i>je</i>	<i>with, in regards to, about</i>  <i>e / ko</i> <i>ero</i>		Plural form  <i>pa</i> <i>pa</i>	have s.o. do  <i>yar</i> <i>uka</i>	person, object  <i>pe</i> <i>va'e/py</i>
<i>you</i> <i>e</i> <i>re</i>	<i>you</i> <i>e</i> <i>de</i>							
<i>he/she/it</i> <i>--</i> <i>o</i>			<i>anyone, anything</i>  <i>i</i> <i>i</i>					
Indefinite <i>someone</i> <i>a (tr.)</i>								

*Example sentences are given with Japanese and English translations. Comparison tables are also given with English and Japanese terms.*

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