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## An Ainu Uwepeker Text by N. A. Nevskij

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Keywords: Ainu, Hokkaido, Nevskij, folklore

#### 1. Introduction

Ainu (isolate) is a moribund language originally spoken in Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and Kuril Islands. Its extensive documentation and description started in the late 19th – early 20th centuries. In this publication, we would like to present an unpublished Hokkaido Ainu (Saru) *uwepeker* "folktale" narrated by an Ainu female speaker Kopoanu in Otaru on February 22, 1922 and written down by a Russian scholar Nikolaj Aleksandrovich Nevskij (1892-1937). The original (F. 69, op. 2, ed. khr. 37, ll. 92-94) is preserved in the archive of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (see Photographs of the original text at the end of the article). It contains a phonetic transcription in Ainu and interlinear translation into Russian. There is also a literary translation of this text into Russian stored as a separate item in the archive (F. 69, op. 2, ed. khr. 52, ll. 3-6) but since it was published in Nevskij (1972: 71-74), we do not repeat it here.

We have added to the original a Latin morphophonemic transcription of the Ainu text, English glosses and an English translation from Ainu. The division into lines is original. Each numbered line is structured of the following five lines with the last two lines (iv) and (v) focusing on the text line (iii).

- (i) Nevskij's original: Russian interlinear translation (Cyrillic)
- (ii) Nevskij's original: phonetic transcription, no clear word boundaries (Latin transcription with diacritic marks)
- (iii) Ainu text (Latin transcription accepted for Ainu as in Tamura (1996)): word structure
- (iv) English glosses (as in Nakagawa et al. 2020): morpheme-to-morpheme interpretation
- (v) English translation from Ainu text

A question mark "?" was used to indicate that there were questions regarding the interpretation. Personal affixes were indicated by separating with an equals sign "=".

#### 2. About Nikolaj Aleksandrovich Nevskij (1892-1937)

Nikolaj Aleksandrovich Nevskij (1892-1937) was an outstanding Russian Japanologist.

He graduated from the Chinese-Japanese division of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University in 1914 and then from 1915 spent 14 years of his research career in Japan (Tokyo, Otaru, and Osaka). After return to the Soviet Union in 1929, he worked at the Leningrad (former St. Petersburg) State University. During the Great Purge in 1937, he was arrested on the charge of being a Japanese spy and executed along with his Japanese wife, Iso (Isoko) Mantani. He was rehabilitated in 1957.

N. A. Nevskij had very broad research interests. He is famous for his studies on Japanese ethnology (Nevskij 1971), mainly the Shinto religion, the Ainu language and folklore (Nevskij 1972), the Miyako (Ryūkyū) language and folklore (Nevskij 1978), the Tsou (Taiwan) language and folklore (Nevskij 1981), and finally for his fundamental research on the Tangut language (Nevskij 1960) of the mediaeval Xi Xia Empire for which he was awarded the Lenin Prize posthumously in 1962. Only a few articles were published during the lifetime of N. A. Nevskij; most of his works were published after his death and many still remain unpublished in the archives of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in Russia and Tenri University in Japan.

What inspired Nevskij to study Ainu? According to Gromkovskaja and Kychanov (1978: 78) it was his study of the Shinto god *Oshirasama* that brought him to the Ainu. The cult of *Oshirasama* is particularly common in the north of Honshu and Nevskij suggested that it was of an Ainu origin. Also, the Ainu were one of the key research areas of the Russian anthropologist L. J. Shternberg, whose seminars at the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) Nevskij attended as a student. Importantly, during the first 4 years spent in Tokyo, Nevskij became friends with Prof. Kyōsuke Kindaichi of Tokyo Imperial University, who was a pioneer of Ainu studies in Japan. He attended his lectures on Ainu and was mentored by him throughout his stay in Japan.

In 1919, Nevskij moved to Otaru, where he got a position of a professor of Russian at Otaru University of Commerce. He spent there 3 years until he changed his job to Osaka Institute of Foreign Studies in 1922. During his stay in Otaru, Nevskij collected numerous folklore texts in the Ainu language, which in those days was still widely spoken in the Ainu community. He actively worked with such Ainu speakers as a 65-year-old Ms. Kopoanu from the Shumunkotsi village (紫雲古津 in Japanese; Saru), a 49-year-old Ms. Tannesanno from the Monbetsu village and others (Gromkovskaja and Kychanov 1978: 84-85). According to Nevskij (1972: 43), Kopoanu was a pure-blooded Ainu who knew a lot of folktales and could perform them perfectly. However, not a single Ainu text was published in Nevkij's lifetime; the book *Ajnskij Fol'klor* (Ainu Folklore) edited by L. L. Gromkovskaja appeared posthumously as Nevskij (1972) and its Japanese translation as Nevskij (1991). Yet, many Ainu texts from Nevskij's archive remain unpublished.

The quality of Ainu phonetic transcriptions and accuracy of Russian translations in Nevskij's texts are superb. This is also often noted for his other research areas. In addition to having a natural talent for languages, Nevskij received excellent training in phonetics at a newly opened laboratory of experimental phonetics of St. Petersburg University headed by L. V. Scherba, who was a disciple of Baudouin de Courtenay. The latter scholar, best known for his theory of the phoneme and phonetic alternations, was also working at St. Petersburg University. Furthermore, Nevskij was supervised by a famous Sinologist V. M. Alekseev, who had just returned from China and opened a phonetics studio, where he taught the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to his students (Gromkovskaja and Kychanov 1978: 23). Nevskij also received extensive training in Japanese, both classical and modern, from G. I. Dolja, A. I. Ivanov and Yoshibumi Kurono (Gromkovskaja and Kychanov 1978: 24-28). All these allowed Nevskij to become an expert on a number of East Asian languages in the future.

According to Tangiku (2013: 124), although Nevskij managed to publish only one article analyzing the genres of Ainu folklore (Nevskij 1935)<sup>1</sup>, he "was a forefront folklorist in his time and his point of view was almost the same to today's researchers (p. 124).... It was possible for him to analyze the form of texts, and surely he started rhetoric, stylistic, and poetic studies. (p. 127)" Nevskij also had certain insights into the Ainu language, for example, he wrote *korŏ* for the Ainu verb "have" and it was proven later that the  $\breve{o}$  sound is not phonemic in Ainu. "Nevskii's writing shows a possibility that he was aware of the R-ending syllables in 1921, a year before a famous young Ainu storyteller Chiri Yukie taught Kindaichi that Ainu language had R-ending in 1922." (Tangiku 2013: 126).

In 1922, Nevskij was invited to teach a course on Ainu at Kyoto University (Gromkovkaja 1996: 248). This shows that having studied Ainu for only three years Nevskij achieved great success. His brilliant work on Ainu awaits further study.

#### 3. Outline of the folktale

The story belongs to the genre of *uwepeker*, which is a prosaic folktale structured of prose without regard to adjusting the number of syllables. As usual, it is told by a human main character, here a younger sister, who wants to record the events of her life before dying of old age.

There lived an older sister and her younger sister and they did not know why they were living by themselves<sup>2</sup>. They cooked vegetables and so they lived. One day, an older sister left and was absent for two or three days, then she was absent for ten days and came back with a big belly. She gave birth to a cute little boy so the younger sister

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nevskij (1935) is reprinted as an introductory article in Nevskij (1972).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It is rather extraordinary for two Ainu women to live without any men because this means that they were not able to hunt and get meat.

said that she wanted a child too and asked her what she should do to get pregnant. The older sister said that she should go up the river to an old rotten elm tree. The tree was full of snakes, which looked like dry seaweed strips, and there was only a space for one person to lie down. The younger sister did everything as she was told and then she fell asleep on the old elm tree and saw a dream. In her dream, the elm tree said that she was a person to whom there were no equals in having an evil protective god and that her evil nature had turned into snakes who had got on top of her. The older sister spent a night on the elm tree and made love to a snake husband. The elm tree urged the younger sister to leave, otherwise she would have to sleep with the snake husband too. The elm tree also urged her not to return to her older sister. The younger sister went upstream to the source of the river, walked further and then there was a big village. In the middle of the village, there was a big house. She came in and saw a divine old man and a divine old woman, who were surrounded by treasures. She told them what happened to her so the old woman performed a purification ritual by plunging her into the river and beating. After that, in the evening, two beautiful young men returned home. The younger sister stayed with her new family helping to get firewood. But she missed her sister, so pretending to be gathering firewood, she went to the old elm tree. She saw there her older sister with her child: both had human heads but snake bodies. The younger sister got scared and ran back. She married the younger of the two men, had many children and lived a happy long life. However, as she was getting older she mourned for her older sister.

#### 4. The Text

(1) С сестрою мы живем, каким образом, нас только двое. Asaha-an hineokaan neunikiwa okajpeanejāk-a a=sa-hahine oka=anan 4.(A)=older.sister-POSS exist.SG and exist.PL=4.S i-ki neun wa okay pe a=neуa ka how APASS-do and exist.PL **NMLZ** 4.A=COP Q even There lived my sister, and so we lived. Why were we living together?

(2) Я этого не знаю, одними только сестра овощами aeramiśkari wa kinarataśkep tampepatek asaha a=eramiskari rataskep wa kina 4.A=not.know wild.plants/cooked.vegetables and grass tan-pe patek a=sa-ha4.(A)=older.sister-POSS this-thing only I did not know that. My sister was feeding me only with cooked vegetables

- (3) меня кормит, и так мы живем. Но вот теперь сама я тоже Ipareojki korokaanajne taneanakne aśinumaka e-o-i-ki i-par kor oka=an ayne 4.O-mouth by.APPL-at.APPL-APASS-do and exist.SG=4.S finally tane anak-ne asinuma ka TOP-COP already 4SG even and so we lived. Then I already
- (4) выросши подсобляю овощи приготовляя poroamma ukaśui kinarataśkep akarawa u-kasuy kina rataskep poro=an wa be.big/old and REC-help grass wild.plants/cooked.vegetables a=karwa 4.A=make and grew up and we started cooking vegetables together.
- (5) мы их едим. так и живем. За последнее время моя сестра aekorokaan peneaike hemtomaniwano aśaha a=ekor oka=anne hike pe 4.A=eat when/if exist.PL=4.S **NMLZ COP** but hemtomani a=sa-hawa-no one.day from-ADV 4.(A)=older.sister-POSS We were eating them and so we lived. One day, my sister
- по 3 дня нет, (6) куда-то уходит и по 2 дня нет rerkokaiśam hunak-un arpakoro tutkokaiśam hunak un kor tutko ka isam arpa where to/at go.SG when/if two.days not.exist even rerko ka isam three.days even not.exist went away somewhere and was absent for two days and three days.
- (7) так стала жить и вот в конце концов ayke ajneekraŋke koroka-an ajne oikeśne ayne ek rankekor oka=an ayne o-i-kes-ne finallycome.SG HAB and exist.PL=4.S finally bottom.POSS.PF-APASS-end-COP Then she kept coming (and going) and so we lived. Finally, in the end

- (8) 10 дней ее нет; она стала с большим животом. так живем; и вот korokaan wāntokaiśam akuśu porohonkoro wan to ka poro-hon-kor isam kor oka=an akusu ten day even not.exist when/if exist.SG=4.S then big-belly-have she was absent for ten days and so we lived, then she got a big belly.
- (9) и вот то к огню то от огня однажды hineokaanaike śineanta heśaśiwa hemakaśiwa hine oka=an ayke sineanta and exist.PL=4.S then sometime he-sa-(a)si he-mak-asi wa wa head.PF-front-stand and head.PF-back-stand and And so we lived. Then once to the fire from the fire
- (10) ворчв родильных муках ворочалась; хорошенького ребенка nuwapkoneampe śikiruru pirikapompe nuwap-ko-nean-pe-si-kiruru pirka pon-pe give.birth-APPL-that?-thing?-REFL-turn be.good be.small-person she was rolling around in labor (and) to a cute child
- (11) родила после этого мы его нянча jajkośange hineorowano aukoomapkoro yay-ko-sa-n-ke hine or-o-wa-no REFL-from.APPL-front-INTR.SG-CAUS place-POSS-from-ADV and a=u-ko-omapkor 4.A=REC-with.APPL-cherish while she gave birth. Then cherishing him,
- (12) так я думаю сестра каким образом okaanike enejajnuanhi asaha neunikīwa oka=anhike ene hi yaynu=anexist.SG=4.S but like.this think=4.S **NMLZ** i-ki a=sa-haneun wa 4.(A)=older.sister-POSS how APASS-do and we lived but I was thinking what my sister has done
- (13) принесла ребенка я думаю и потому я об этом спросила у нее korpeneruwean jajnuankuśu akopiśi

kor pe ne ruwe an **COP** have thing/person **COP INFR.EV** yaynu=an kusu a=ko-pisi think=4.S because 4.A=APPL-ask to give birth to a child. Since I was thinking so, I asked her.

(14) «Что делая ты родила ребенка? научи меня, makanakeikiwa epokonruweān ijepakaśnu makanak e=i-ki e=po-korwa what 2SG.S=APASS-do and 2SG.S=child-have hi i=e-pakasnu ruwe an INFR.EV exist.SG **NMLZ** 4.A=about.APPL-teach "Tell me what you did to give birth to a child.

была бы рада!» (15) я тоже если бы родила, ребенку aśinumahem pokorajjak pohene ajajkopuntekna asinuma hem po-kor=an yak hene po 4SG also child-have=4.S if still.more for.example a=e-yay-kopuntek na 4.A=about.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at **SGST** I too, if I had a child I would be really happy."

(16) так я сказала. Тогда так она сказала: «Отсюда śekor-itak-an kiakuśu henehaweani tewano sekor akusu itak=an kiene haw-e-an hi **QUOT** like.this voice-POSS-exist.SG NMLZ speak=4.S do then te-wa-no now/here-from-ADV I said this. Then she answered: "From here

(17) вверх по реке если пойти далеко в горах возле дороги petturaśi pajeanajne toopkimta rutekśamta paye=an kim turasi ayne toop pet ta mountains river upstream go.SG=4.S finally faraway at teksam ta ruroad near at

if you go up the river, near the road faraway in the mountains

(18) <del>пень</del> бревно вяза будет гнилое нень бревно

ćikiśaniśamamni ruwēmuniśamamni

cikisani samam-ni ruwe munin samam-ni

elm.tree fall.sideways-tree big rot fall.sideways-tree

a fallen elm tree, a big rotten fallen tree

(19) будет по всей поверхности словно сушеные полосы морской капусты

anruwenewa kaśiepitta kombuśatkeruneno

ruwe wa kas-i epitta an ne

top-POSS exist.SG INFR.EV COP and all.over

kompu-sat-ke rune-no

seaweed-dry-CAUS track as-ADV

will be there. All over it like dry seaweed strips

посредине пня, чтобы только лечь одному (20) лежат змеи

kamjaśian-ma śamamninośkita śinenhotkepakno

kamiyasi samam-ni noski an wa taat

snake exit.SG and fall.sideways-tree middle

sine-n hotke pak-no

one-person.CLF sleep till-ADV

snakes are lying. And on the middle of the fallen tree for (only) one person to lie

down

(21) свободное место есть будет; поэтому туда отправившись

śarauśikean nangorkuśu orota earpawa

sara usi-ke nankor kusu an or-o-ta

be.open place-POSS exist.SG probably because place-POSS-at

e=arpa wa

2SG.S=go.SG and

there must be space. So if you go there

(22) если ты ляжешь, забеременеешь» так сказала

ehotkejakun ehonkonnankorwā śekor-awean

e=hotkeyak-un e=hon-kornankor wa 2SG.S=sleep if/then 2SG.S=belly-have probably and

sekor haw-e-an

**OUOT** voice-POSS-exist.SG

and lie down, you will for sure get pregnant." She said.

(23) я обрадовалась, вверх по реке я пошла и вот ajakopuntekkuś petturaśi arapaanajne *a*=*e*-yay-kopuntek kus 4.A=about.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at because turasi arpa=an avne pet river go.SG=4.Sfinally upstream Since I felt happy about it, I went upstream and then

- (24) на самом деле возле дороги больше бревно śonnopoka rutekśamta porōśamamni sonno teksam poka rutaporo samam-ni truly only road near big fall.sideways-tree really near the road (there was) a big elm tree,
- (25) гнилое бревно лежит, а на нем по всей поверхности muninśamamni anineorowa kaśiepitta munin samam-ni an hine or-o-wa kas-i epitta rot fall.sideways-tree exist.SG and place-POSS-from top-POSS all.over there was a rotten tree and all over its surface
- (26) свернувшись кольцами (змеи) лежат по середине бревна takaśāpekoro śir-an śamamninośkita kasa ta pekor sir-an hat/umbrella? sit.SG? as.if appearance-exist.SG at noski samam-ni ta fall.sideways-tree middle at (snakes) were coiling up. In the middle of the fallen tree,
- (27) действительно, свободное место есть чтобы лечь только одному śonnoka śinehotkepakno śarauśikeān ka hotke pak-no sonno sine-n truly even one-person.CLF sleep till-ADV usi-ke sara an place-POSS exist.SG be.open there was really a space for only one person to lie down.
- (28) посмотревши, когда я взглянула я перепугалась ingannewā akipnekoroka weniśitoma

inkarne wa a=ki p ne korka wen-i-sitoma in actuality and 4.A=do NMLZ COP but very-APASS-be afraid of I only looked at that and got very scared.

- (29) и вот « если ты ляжешь, будет ли хорошо» так akiwa ehotkićikihe pirikaśekoro a=kie=hotkeciki sekor he pirka wa 4.A=do2SG.S=sleep if Q be.good **QUOT** and "Would it be good if you lay down or what?"
- я боялась, а потому (30) я подумала и затем легла, jajnuanajne orowa hotkeanruwene iśitomaanhike hotke=an yaynu=anayne or-o-wa ruwe ne think=4.S finally place-POSS-from sleep=4.S **INFR.EV COP** i-sitoma=an hike APASS-be.afraid.of=4.S but I thought so and then finally lay down. I was scared so
- (31) уж не заснуть мне так я думала, но заснула. śomoka mokoranaan mokorankunak aramuap kunak somo ka mokor=an **NEG** even fall.asleep=4.S going/expected/should.COMP a=ramumokor=an aan PERF.SG but fall.asleep=4.S 4.A=think **ADM** I thought I wouldn't fall asleep, but it turned out that I fell asleep.
- (32) и вот вижу я сон, будто старый дом большой дом стоит akuśu wentarapaŋkuśu huśkoćiśe poroćiśean akusu wentarap=an kusu husko cise poro cise an then have.a.dream=4.S because be.old house be.big house exist.SG Then I saw a dream. There was an old house, a big house.
- (33) в него я вхожу; престарелая старушка и вот orota ahunanaan akuśu onnerupnemat or-o-ta aan ahun=an akusu onne rupne-mat ADM then place-POSS-at enter.SG=4.S be.old grow.up-woman It turned out that I came in there and an old lady

- (34) находится и ко мне повернувшись так говорит «(сия) девушка! anhine ikohośari eneaweni tammenoko *i=ko-hosari* hine ene an exist.SG and 4.O=to.APPL-turn like.this haw-e-an menoko tan voice-POSS-exist.SG **NMLZ** this woman was (there). She turned to me and said the following: "Young girl!
- (35) что я тебе скажу, ты слушай, а именно, в той вашей деревне itakanćiki einukatu eneanī taanećikotanu-ta itak=anciki e=inu kat-u ene an i speak=4.S if 2SG.S=APASS-hear shape-POSS like.this exist.SG NMLZ taan eci=kotan-u tathis 2PL.(A)=village-POSS at If I speak, you should listen. It was as follows: "In that village of yours
- (36) был (даже) старшина но явилось поветрие благодаря которому śinoniśpa anakorŏka reraśkatu reŋkajne sino nispa an korka rera as kat-u renkayne true rich.man exist.SG but wind stand.SG shape-POSS depending there lived a truely rich man but since the wind blew,
- (37) вашей деревни люди умерли двое вас только ećikorkotan ājnuśakka tunećinema patek eci=kor kotan aynu sak-ka tu-n eci=ne wa patek 2PL.A=have village human lack-CAUS two-human.CLF 2PL.A=COP and only the wind has eliminated the people of your village and only two of you
- (38) живы остались как твоя сестра ećioka eśaha paknō ruweneaampe eci=oka ruwe ne aan pe 2PL.S=exist.PL **INFR.EV** COP ADM but e=sa-hapak-no 2SG.(A)=older.sister-POSS till-ADV remained.
- (39) несчастливых совсем нет таких kaśkamujewempe oar-iśam peneaanhine

kas-kamuy-e wen pe
top-god-POSS be.bad thing/person
oar-isam pe ne aan hike
completely-not.exist NMLZ COP ADM but
It appears that there is no one whose protective god is as evil as your sister's.

- (40)я же сама вяз есмь aśinuma anakne ćikiśani aneruwenehike asinuma anak-ne cikisani a=neruwe hike ne 4.A=COP 4SG TOP-COP elm.tree INFR.EV **COP** but As to myself, I am an elm tree but
- (41) боги тоже бывают плохую судьбу имеюшие kamuika weŋkaśkamui korikeka okapeneruwene hike kamuy ka wen-kas-kamuy ka kor be.bad-top-god one.of god even have even oka(y)ruwe pe ne ne exist.PL **NMLZ** COP INFR.EV **COP** even among gods there are ones having an evil protective god.
- (42) хорошую судьбу имеющие тоже более бывают pirikakaśkamuikoro hikekaoka penehike pakno ka pirka kas-kamuy kor hike oka ne hike pak-no pe have one.of even exist.PL NMLZ COP one.of till-ADV be.good top-god Ones having a good protective god also exist.
- (43) дурной судьбы, скверного рока, чем у меня wenkaśkamui wejśakanram korpeiśampe kas-kamuy sakan-ram wen wen kor be.bad top-god be.bad quarrelsome-heart have thing/person isam pe thing/person not.exist I am a person to whom there are no equals in having an evil protective god and evil nature.
- (44) нет состарившись я разрушаюсь и вот aneruweneawa onneamma horakamma ananhike a=neruwe ne awa 4.A=COP **INFR.EV COP** while

onne=an wa horak=an wa an=an hike be.old=4.S and fall.down=4.S and exist.SG=4.S but I got old and is lying.

- (45) моя злая судьба мой скверный рок эти вот aweŋkaśkamuje awejśakamarani ta enē a=wen-kas-kamuy-e a=wen-sakan-ram-i ta ene 4.(A)=be.bad-top-god-POSS 4.(A)=be.bad-quarrelsome-heart-POSS at like.this My evil protective god in my ill nature
- (46) змен гадюки суть на меня влезли <del>так</del> и вот tokkonineokawa ikurkaśike oruwe eneanianeawa tokkoni ne oka i=kurka-si-ke wa 4.O=above-POSS-place snake as exist.PL and ruwe ene an 0 ne awa **INFR.EV** like.this exist.SG NMLZ **COP** enter then has turned into snakes and got on top of me. Then
- (47) твоя сестра сюда придя на свободное место легла eśaha orotaekwa sarauśketa hotkeruwenē e=sa-haor-o-ta ekwa sara 2SG.(A)=older.sister-POSS place-POSS-at come.SG be.open and hotke us-ke ta ruwe ne **INFR.EV COP** place/time-place at sleep your sister came here and lay down on the spare place.
- (48) змея мужем имела так она делала, а потому kamiaśihoku korwakuśu eneikihi ekkororowano kor hoku i-ki kamiyasi wa kusu ene snake husband have and because like.this APASS-do hi ek kor or-o-wa-no **NMLZ** come.SG and place-POSS-from-ADV She made love to a snake husband and she once came (to her husband). After that
- (49)2 дня (дома) не бывала,<br/>tutkokaiśam3 дня не бывала,<br/>rerkokaiśami[так и жила и вот]tutkoka isamrerko ka isamtwo.days even not.existthree.days evennot.exist

hi ne ruwe ne awaNMLZ COP INFR.EV COP andshe was absent for two days and three days. Then

- (50) тебя научила и ты пришла, если ты будешь медлить eepakaśnuwa eekśirinejakun emojrejakne e=e-pakasnu wa 2SG.O=about.APPL-teach.to and e=eksiri ne 2SG.S=come.SG VIS.EV **COP** yakun e=moyrevakne if/then 2SG.S=be.late when she taught you and you came and if you get slow
- (51) то и ты змея-мужа должна будешь иметь eanika kamiasihoku nekonnojene eani kamiasi hoku e=korka noyne 2SG even snake husband 2SG.A=have look.as you too will have to sleep with a snake husband.
- (52) одна моя природа злая/дурная другая природа добрая/хорошая aarśakanrami wen aarśakanramihi pirika a=ar-sakan-ram-i wen 4.(A)=one/half-quarrelsome-heart-POSS be.bad a=ar-sakan-ram-ihi pirka 4.(A)=one/half-quarrelsome-heart-POSS be.bad One part of my nature is evil, another is kind.
- (53) и вот доброе/хорошее настроение когда сошло (на меня) ты пришла pirikaakeutumu śanekari eekśirinewa pene-awa pirka a=kewtum-u ne awa sa-n NMLZ COP while be.good 4.(A)=spirit-POSS front.place-INTR.SG ekari e=eksiri ne wa exactly.at.that.time 2SG.S=come.SG VIS.EV **COP COP** You came exactly at the time when I was in a good mood.
- (54) по-другому если бы я была (настроена) ты тоже змея оборотнем mosmano ananjakun eanika kamiaśine

mosma-no an=an yakun eani ka kamiasi ne another-ADV exist.SG=4.S if/then 2SG even snake COP If I were in a different (mood), you would also

- (55) сделалась бы не смей к своей сестре возвращаться eannojnenena itēki eśahaeun itēkiośipino e=annoyne ne na 2SG.S=exist.SG look.as COP **SGST** e=sa-haeun iteki hosipi no 2SG.(A)=older.sister PROH return there.at/to and have turned into a snake. Don't go back to your sister!
- (56) отсюда если ты убежишь будет хорошо. tewano ekirajak eaśiri pirikanojne te wa-no e=kira yak pirka noyne here from-ADV 2SG.S=run if be.good look.as It would probably be good if you ran away from here."
- (57) Tak она сказала слова еще слышались neruwenenaśekoro hawean huminēpekoro ruwe sekor ne ne na this? **INFR.EV COP SGST QUOT** haw-e-an humi pekor ne voice-POSS-exist.SG NONVIS.EV **COP** as.if It felt like she said that.
- (58) как будто когда я спрыгнула и вверх по реке jajnuan matkośampa anhine petturaśi yaynu=an mat-kosampa=an hine pet-turasi think=4.S stand.up-suddenly.INTR.PL=4.S and river-go.upstream I thought so. So I jumped and upstream
- (59) я пошла, и вот к истоку реки я поднялась; со стороны пришедшей реки arpaanajne petetok aohemesu ojakwaekpet arpa=an ayne pet-etok a=o-hemesu 4.A=to.APPL-climb/go.upstream.SG go.SG=4.Sfinally river-source oyak wa ekpet different.place from come.SG river I went. And so I went upstream to the source of the river. And

- (60) в долину/ущелье я спускаюсь иду вниз по реке и вот на хорошую дорогу petpeśśanan ruworkeaoran ajne pirikaru ru-w-or-ke a=o-ra-npet pes road-EP-place-place 4.A=to.APPL-low.place-INTR.SG river downstream ayne pirka sa-n=anfront.place-INTR.SG=4.S finally be.good road I came down to the riverside of the incoming river. I came down the river and
- я спускаюсь немного; (61) выбравшись многодомная деревня стоит; tomoaośma śanantekkoro innekotan an tom-o a=osmasa-n=antek middle-POSS 4.A=get.into/enter front.place-INTR.SG=4.S momentary kor inne kotan an exist.SG when/if be.numerous village got to a good road, went down a bit, and there was a big village
- (62) по деревне по середине деревни большой дом стоит иду kotajśejakuś kotannośkita poroćiśean kotan soy a=kuskotan noski ta poro cise an village outside 4.A=pass village middle at be.big house exist.SG I went through the village. In the middle of the village, there was a big house.
- (63) снаружи его на кучу отбросов (мусора) я села и сижу sojketa mimtarotta ānine ananakuśu a=ansoy-ke ta mimtar ta hine or outside-place at rubbish.heap/yard place at sit.SG=4.S and an=anakusu exist.SG=4.S then I sat down outside on the rubbish heap and there I stayed.
- (64) тогда хорошенькая девочка вышла наружу и меня увидела śojnehine inukarhine orota pirikamenokopo pirka hine i=nukarhine or-o-ta menoko-po soy-ne place-POSS-at be.good woman-DIMoutside-COP and 4.O=see and Then a cute girl came out and saw me.
- (65) затем снова (в дом) вошла; о том, что я сижу сказала orowa hetopoahūn ananhi jehaweaś

or-o-wa hetopo ahun an=an hi ye
place-POSS-from back enter.SG exist.SG=4.S NMLZ say/tell
hawe as

REP.EV stand.SG

Then she went back (into the house) and told that I was sitting (there).

(66) тогда «чтобы ни было раз хочет войти, то если может ходить akuśu nepeneka ahuprusuikuś arkipnejakun

akusu nep ene?/hene? ahup rusuy then what like.this?/for.example? even enter.PL DESID kusu arki vakun p ne because come.PL **NMLZ COP** if/then

"If she came because she wants to enter for whatever reason,

(67) пусть войдет, те тали?» такие голоса слышатся.

ahunteike makanakśekor hawaśaweaś

*a=ahun-te hike makanak sekor haw-as hawe as* 4.A=enter.SG-CAUS but what QUOT voice-stand.SG REP.EV stand.SG we should let her in, shouldn't we?" That's what was heard.

- (68) затем, наружу выйдя меня пригласили войти; тогда orowaśojne kiakuśu ijahuntejakje orowa ki i=y-ahun-te or-o-wa akusu soy-ne 4.O=EP-enter.SG-CAUS place-POSS-from outside-COP do then vak уe or-o-wa **COMP** place-POSS-from say/tell Then she went outside and invited me to enter. After that
- (69) то ползком (отталкиваясь руками), то на четвереньках я вошла śinuangane rejeankane ahunanruwene sinu=an kane reye=an kane ahun=an ruwe ne crawl=4.S doing.so creep=4.S doing.so enter.SG=4.S INFR.EV COP crawling and creeping I entered.
- (70) и вижу что за прелесть такое барство не найдень есть ли еще ingaranike ineapkuśu niśpanewa śirajjak-a inkar=an hike ineap kusu nispa ne wa

look=4.S but dear.me because rich.man COP and

sir-an ya ka
appearance-exist.SG Q even
I looked around. Dear me! A rich man I've never seen before!

- (71) я не знаю. ряд драгоценностей словно висячий обрыв aeramiśikari tanijoikiri rampeśkunne a=eramiskari tan iyoikir ram-pes kunne 4.A=not.know this treasure.shelf low-cliff as A row of treasures like the bluff end of a mountain
- (72) тянется барские мечи с массой лент а над ним ćiśiturire eŋkaśike niśpamutpe otu<del>ś</del>puśa ci-si-tur-i-re enkas-i-ke RES-REFL-stretch/extend-TR.SG-CAUS above-POSS-place nispa mutpe otu-pusa sword rich.man many-tassel is stretching. And over them many tassels of rich man's swords
- (73) все ленты развеваются и божественной старец красив ukopśaśujpakane ćaćakamuika pirikahikeān u-ko-pusa-suy-pa REC-APPL-tassel-shake-TR.PL doing.so hike kamuy ka pirka caca an exist.SG old.man even be.good/beautiful one.of god are swinging. The divine old man is beautiful.
- (74) и божественная старица красива тогла rupnematkamuika pirikahikeān orowa hike rupne-mat kamuy ka pirka an grow.up-woman be.good/beautiful one.of exist.SG god even or-o-wa place-POSS-from The divine old woman is beautiful. Then
- (75) божественный старец меня расспрашивает «от войны бегущие люди ćaćakamui ikouwepekennu tumiśawotpeka caca kamuy *i=ko-uwepekennu* tumi sawot pe ka 4.O=to.APPL-ask battle escape thing/person even old.man god the divine old man asked me: "(There are) people fleeing from war

(76) и от голода бегущие люди бывают, от чего kemśawotpeka okajpenewa makeikiwa kem sawot ka okay pe pe ne wa famine escape thing/person even exist.PL NMLZ COP and mak e=i-kiwa how 2SG.S=APASS-do and there are people fleeing from famine. Why

- (77) пришла сюда», так он сказал. и вот, «чтобы там ни было eekruweanśekoro hawean hikuśū neunaniun e=eksekor haw-e-an ruwe an 2SG.S=come.SG INFR.EV exist.SG QUOT voice-POSS-exist.SG kusu neun-an-i-un **NMLZ** because how/where-exist.SG-NMLZ-FIN have you come (here)?" He said. "For what reason
- (78) разве ты скроешь?» так я подумала и потому «так-то и так-то eeśinajaśekoro jajnuaŋkuśu tapnetapne e=esina ya sekor yaynu=an kusu tap-ne tap-ne 2SG.A=hide Q QUOT think=4.S because this-as will you hide it?" Since I thought so, I (said): "It is for this reason that
- (79) моя сестра меня воспитала и мы с ней жили, когда она забеременела, aśaha **k**ireśuwa okaanawa hoŋkorwa a=sa-hai=res-uoka=anwa awa 4.O=raise-TR.SG exist.SG=4.S 4.(A)=older.sister-POSS and then hon-kor wa belly-have and my sister raised me and so we lived. Then she got pregnant.
- (80) я этим восхищалась, поэтому к бревну пойти меня научила и aekojtupaakuśu śamamniorun iśirepakaśnuwa a=e-ikoytupa akusu samam-ni or un 4.A=about.APPL-envy fall.sideways-tree then place to i=sir-e-pakasnu 4.O=appearance-about.APPL-teach.to and I envied that so she taught me to go to the fallen tree.

(81) я пошла, и вот я увидела сон после которого ek-anawa tapnekane auwentarap akorwa orowa ek=ankane awa tap-ne an wentarap a=kor wa come.SG=4.S while this-as doing.so exist.SG dream 4.A=have and or-o-wa place-POSS-from I came (here) and saw a dream, then

(82) убежала» так я сказала; тогда тот старец kiraanruwe newaśekoro itakanawa neaćaća kira=an ruwe ne wa sekor itak=an awa nea

ran=4.S INFR.EV COP and QUOT speak=4.S while that old.man

caca

I ran away." I said. Then that old man

(83) подтыканную одежду опоясывает та старица orikineampe kutkoro nearupnemat

o-riki-nean-pe-kut-kor nea rupne-mat

bottom.POSS.PF-top-that?-thing?-belt-have that grow.up-woman

tied with a girdle again. The old woman

(84) подтыкавшись опоясывается и схватив меня за руку вытаскивает (из дому); к реке

orikikutkoro aattekpeći śkoetajpa petotta

o-riki-kut-kor a=at-tek-pet-i

bottom.POSS.PF-top-belt-have 4.(A)=one/half-hand-river-POSS

si-ko-etay-pa pet ot ta

REFL-to.APPL-pull.out-TR.PL river place at

tied with a girdle again. She dragged my hand towards herself, and to the river

(85) спустившись вниз по реке, вверх по реке меня окуная, ходит

rapanhine hepasihepera aijeraukorarpa ra-p=an hine hepasi hepera low.place-INTR.PL=4.S and downstream upstream a=i=y-e-raw-ko-rar-pa

4.A=4.O=EP-APPL-underwater-APPL-hold-TR.PL

we went down. And towards downstream and towards upstream she plunged me into the water.

(86) меня в воде бьют, рассекают (ножем) и вот затем домой aijepekokik aipekpa ajne orowa ćiśeotta a=i=y-e-pe-ko-kik 4.A=4.O=EP-APPL-water-APPL-hit/beat a=i=pet?-pa ayne or-o-wa cise ot ta 4.A=4.O=cut?-TR.PL finally place-POSS-from house place at She beat me in the water and cut me. Then

- (87) мы вернулись затем вечером arkianruwenē akuśu onumankane arki=anakusu kane ruwe ne onuman come.PL=4.S INFR.EV COP then evening somewhat we came home. In the evening,
- (88) двое красивых парней вернулись и потом tuokkajpopirikap iwakruwene hine orowano tu okkay-po pirka p iwak ruwe ne hine two man-DIM be.good thing/person return INFR.EV COP and or-o-wa-no place-POSS-from-ADV two beautiful young men returned home. After that
- (89)(там) я жила хворост принося и помогая я жила, но anan hike ninaka aejkaśui koro anaŋkorka hike nina an=anka a=e-kasuy kor exist.SG=4.S but gather.firewood even 4.A=with.APPL-help.sb when/if an=ankorka exist.SG=4.S but I lived (there) helping to get firewood. "But,
- (90) с сестрой только вдвоем жила «что она, делая, а потому aśaha attakupi aeturastep manakikikoro neawa a=sa-ha*a=he-turas-te* ar-takup-i 4.(A)=older.sister-POSS one/half-only-POSS 4.A=head.PF-ascend-CAUS manak kor ne awa i-ki p **NMLZ COP** APASS-do when/if then what I used to live only with my sister. "How is

(91) живет?» так думая я плакала jajnuankoro ćiśanaana anruweanśekoro ruwe sekor an an yaynu=anexist.SG **INFR.EV** exist.SG QUOT think=4.S kor cis=ana an when/if cry=4.S**ITR** exist.SG **ITR** she living there?" Thinking so, I cried and cried.

(92) и таким образом однажды как будто бы собирать хворост kor-anan ajne śineanta ninapkatun kor an=an ayne sineanta nina p kat-un when/if exist.SG=4.SG finally sometime gather.firewood NMLZ shape-belong.to One day, I pretended to be gathering firewood

(93) с таким видом наружу выйду как я сюда пришла (той же дорогой) ahorkaśuje śojneanine eneekaanahineno *a=horkasuy-e* sov-ne=an 4.A=pretend-TR.SG outside-COP=4.S hine ene ek=anaan ahi neno like.this come.SG=4.S ADM PERF **NMLZ** and and went outside. And as I had come here (the same way),

- (94) бегом вприпрыжку пошла и вот paśangane terekeangane ek-anajne pas=an kane terke=an kane ek=anayne run=4.Sdoing.so jump=4.S doing.so come.SG=4.S finally running and jumping, I came.
- (95) в прежние дни где я спала (то) бревно teetakane orota hotkeanaśamamni kane hotke=an teeta or-o-ta samam-ni asomewht place-POSS-at sleep=4.S **PERF** long.ago fall.sideways-tree To the fallen tree where I used to sleep before
- (96) к нему тихонько я подошла и увидела что orota orapunno ekanhine ingaranakuśu or-o ta or-apun-no ek=an hine place-POSS at completely-quiet-ADV come.SG=4.S and

inkar=an akusu look=4.S then

I came in silence and saw that

- (97) то что было моей сестрой только голова человеческая а туловище Aśahaneap śapatakupi netopakehe ajnune a=sa-hatakup-i ne sapa p 4.(A)=older.sister-POSS **COP PERF NMLZ** head only-POSS aynu ne netopa-ke-he human **COP** body-place-POSS in the body of my sister, only the head was a human and the body
- (98) змеиное, ее мальчонка тоже одна голова kamiaśine korhekaćika śapahapatek kamiasi hekaci ka ne kor sapa-ha patek snake **COP** have head-POSS only boy even was a snake. And (in the case of) her boy too, only the head was
- (99) человеческая прижавшись ею (к голове матери) они спят eukaohīne ajnunewa mokorwaoka ruwe wa e-u-ka-o hine mokor wa oka aynu ne ruwe human COP and APPL-REC-top-enter and sleep and exist.PL INFR.EV a human. He nestled against (his mother) and they were sleeping together.
- (100) только взглянувши, назад я побежала и туда где я anukattekkoro hetopo kiraan-īne neauśketa hetopo kira=an a=nukartek kor hine when/if back run=4.S4.A=see momentary and us-ke nea tathat place/time-place at Just glancing at them, I ran back and to the place (where I lived)
- (101) жила я пришла как будто собирала хворост с таким видом ekanine ninapkatun aśkopajarwa ek=an hine nina p kat-un come=4.S and gather.firewood NMLZ shape-belong.to a=si-kopa-yar wa 4.A=REFL-mistake-CAUS and I came. I pretended to be gathering firewood

(102) захватив хворост я вернулась. я жила, жила и вот затем niśkeammaiwakan ananajne orowano ni-ske=aniwak=an wa or-o-wa-no wood-carry.on.one's.back=4.S and return=4.S place-POSS-from-ADV ayne an=anexist.SG=4.S finally

so I returned carrying firewood on my back. I lived so and after that

(103) из тех парней младший был мне отдал nerokokkajpo poniunehikehe ajkorewa nerok hike-he a=i=kor-eokkay-po poniwne wathose man-DIM younger one.of-POSS 4.A=4.O=have-CAUS and I got married to the younger one of the two men and

(104) детей много из меня; такой работницы как я не pośireśiktean pakjuptekpe oariśambe po-sir-e-sik-te=an pak yuptek pe child-appearance-by.APPL-be.full-CAUS=4.S till hard.working thing/person oar isam pe completely not.exist thing/person had many children. I worked harder than anyone else.

(105) имеется, но по мере того как я стареюсь сестру я все больше жалею. anekorŏka onnepakno aśaha aośkunrunruwene

a=ne korka onne pak-no a=sa-ha

4.A=COP but be.old till-ADV 4.(A)=older.sister-POSS

a=oskur ruwe ne4.A=regret/mourn INFR.EV COP

But as I was getting older I mourned for my sister.

(106) Сказала.

śekorŏ.

sekor.

**QUOT** 

It was told.

[Диктовала Короапи 22/II 1922 г Otaru] (Dictated by Kopoanu 22-2-1922 Otaru)

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#### **Abbreviations**

1/2/3/4 = 1st /2nd /3rd /4th person, A = transitive subject, ADM = admirative, ADV = adverbial, APASS = antipassive, APPL = applicative, CAUS = causative, CLF = classifier, COMP = complementizer, COP = copula, DESID = desiderative, DIM = diminutive, EP = epenthetic consonant, FIN = final particle, HAB = habitual, INFR.EV = inferential evidential, INTR = intransitivizer, ITR = iterative, NEG = negation, NMLZ = nominalizer, NONVIS.EV = nonvisual evidential, O = object, PERF = perfect, PF = prefix, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROH = prohibitive, Q = question, QUOT = quotative, REC = reciprocal, REFL = reflexive, REP.EV = reportative evidential, RES = resultative, S = intransitive subject, SG = singular, SGST = suggestive (final particle), TOP = topic, TR = transitivizer, VIS.EV = visual evidential.

### Photographs of the original text (F. 69, op. 2, ed. khr. 37, ll. 92-94)

# 12. Unepexere Asara-an hineoxaan neunixiwa oxaj reanejak alramiskari wa kinarataskep tampepatek asaha iparesiki korokaanajne taneanakne asinimaka poroamma uxasui kinaratas kep akarawa alkoro Kaan peneaixe hemtomaniwano asa minax-un arpaxoro Tutxo xaisam rerxoxais wantoxaisam koroxaan-akusu porohon koro hineoxaanaixe sineanta hesasiwa hemakasiwa sexor itax an xiaxusu henehaweani tewano Cikisanisamamni ruwemu nisamamni sarausikean nangorkusu orota earpana

shotkejakun chon konnan korwa sekor-awean muninsamamni anine orowa kasiepitta taxasaperoro sir-an samamninos rita sonnoxa sinehotreparno axipnexoroxa axiwa chotxicixihe pirixasexoro I april anajne orowa hotxearriemene isitomaanhixe Somoka mokoran kunan aramuap mokoranaan axusu wentarapay xusu huskoéise orota ahunanaan axusu onnerupnemat napodyming a kowing notipuly brusis man robapun + flowed debysein anhine ixohosare eneaneani tammenoxo it axan cixi einexatu ene ani taanecixotanu-ta sinonispa anaxoroxa reraskatu renxajne baines gefetim med puepu jobol bae mo lainer gepetrue meter purpur the bar mout lciaxa rumenea ampe esaha parno colde Kaskamujewempe oar-isam peneaan asinuma anakne cikisani aneruwenehike Kamuika wen xas kamui korikeka oxapeneruwene hixexaoxa penehixe parno nirixaxaskamuikoro Wenxaskamui wejsakanram korpeisampe aneruweneawa onneamma horaxamma ananhire

more extegration pox may 3 may eydera awenkaskamuje awejsakamrani ta enë Tokkonine oxawa ikurkasike oruwe enlanineawa esaha orotaenna garaus neta rotnerunene Kamiasi hoku Korwakusu eneikihi ekkorotowano Por 1900 of me onlaro, 3. dry ne dubana max muse não Tutro xaisam rerxo xaisami nerumeneana Putkokaisam rerkokaisami neruwenean a medy mayuu a may npununa, eun my hymuna undung eepakasnuwa elksirinejakun emojrejakne eno m mee zuen eugaa pouonna dydeme neuem eani ka kami asi hoku kekon nojnene dydeme neuem eans akami asi hoku kekon nojnene dydeme neuem eans akami prinika ari prinika ari wen aarsakani anihi pirika men pene noone sankari elksirinewa pene-awa pirika akeutumu sankari elksirinewa no pyrony eun the other proposus, mos mome sankari elksirinewa mosmano an an lakun eanika kami asine mosmano an anjakun eanika kamiasine serapa eannognenena iteri esahaeun iteriosipino eannojnenena iteri esahaeun ileciosipino 
jomenda ecum ma zierumi si zem xoponio.

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& makana anruwe an sexoro lajnuan xoro cisanaana manus ospasou desidende Kax lymo de cotypane stopog kor-an an ajne sine anta ninap katun c manus onder y mapyony brings Kax s keda yuwu a manus of ahorkasuje sojneanine eneekaanahineno pas angane terexe angane ex-anajne teeta kane orota hotxe an asamanni orota orapunno exanhine n ybudena zm orota orapunno exanhine ingaranakusu
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lmo uora biruhyhuu, pajas 4 nosemana agnunewa duka o hine mo korwa o ka ruwe amo unco borunghum, paged 3 nosemana a mada de 3 anukatlekkoro hetopo kira an-ine neaus keta punda kanine ninap katun as kopajarwa e manun hotom ekanine ninap katun as kopajarwa saphanus shenyuan 3 amem a ruma muma nhof niske amma i wa kan orowano ana najne merokokkaj po poninne hikehe aj korewa merokokkaj po poninne hikehe aj korewa mena, umpo be unu makon pasommusu kor i ne posiresikte an paking tekpe o ari sambe musemis, um no mena ma kan superiok ceenay i kas sumul mada anekoro ka onnepak no as ahad aos kunruwene. Grasam Cxasaus sexoro. Dux molaria Kop vanu 22/I 1922 2. of are

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#### **Summary**

Nikolaj Aleksandrovich Nevskij (1892-1937) was an outstanding Russian Japanologist who spent 14 years of his research career in Japan focusing on the study of Ainu and other East Asian languages. Most of his works were published posthumously, yet, many remain unpublished. After *Ajnskij Fol'klor* (Ainu Folklore) (1972), this is the first publication of an Ainu folklore text from Nevkij's archive preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The text was narrated by an Ainu female speaker Kopoanu in Otaru on February 22, 1922. We have added to the original a Latin morphophonemic transcription of the Ainu text, English glosses and an English translation from Ainu. As usual for an *uwepeker* "folktale", the story is told by a human main character, here a younger sister, who wants to record the events of her life before dying of old age. The synopsis of the story is as follows. Two sisters lived together. Then the older sister made love to a snake husband, gave birth to a snake child and turned into a snake herself. The younger sister would have repeated the same fate unless she was warned by the old elm tree.

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