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An Ainu Upaskuma Text by N. A. Nevskij

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1. Introduction

Ainu (isolate) is a critically endangered language formerly spoken in Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and Kuril Islands. It has a rich oral tradition, which is well documented. Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to obtain new folklore texts but there are still many unpublished texts and audio recordings in various archives, mainly in Japan and Russia.

This paper presents a second unpublished¹ text by Nikolaj Aleksandrovich Nevskij (1892-1937)². The original (F. 69, op. 2, ed. khr. 37, ll. 89-92) 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). The text belongs to a prose genre of *upaskuma* ‘ancestor tale’ and was written down by N. A. Nevskij from a female speaker *Tanesanno* in Otaru on February 14, 1922. The text is in the Saru dialect of Ainu and is written in a phonetic Latin transcription, but unlike the *uwepeker* text in our first publication (Bugaeva and Sato 2021), only the beginning of this text is interlineally translated into Russian.

As in our previous publication, 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) with some notes in Japanese if present
- (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. 2016-2021): morpheme-to-morpheme interpretation

¹ See a collection of published Ainu texts in Nevskij (1972) and its Japanese translation in Nevskij (1991).

² Brief information on A. N. Nevskij as a scholar can be found in Bugaeva and Sato (2021) and more detailed information in Gromkovskaja and Kychanov (1978).

(v) English translation from Ainu text

A question mark “?” was used to indicate that the interpretation is questionable. Personal affixes were indicated by separating with an equals sign “=”.

2. The content of the text and other related materials

Just like in many other *upaskuma* tales, a central hero of the story is *Aynu-rak-kur* (lit. ‘a person who has a human smell’ meaning ‘a person of human descent’) who can be regarded as the “culture hero”; also referred to as *Okikurmi* ‘he wears a leather robe with a shiny hem’³, *Oina-kamuy* ‘god of the sacred tradition (*oina*)’, and *Aeoina-kamuy* ‘god concerning whom we sing the *oina*’ (Philippi 1982: 185-187).⁴ According to Kindaichi (1943), this culture hero was half-divine and half-human (*arke aynu arke kamuy*) and can be regarded as the father and teacher of the Ainu.

The text in this paper is a story revealing the origin of a mugwort doll used for exorcism. A detailed description of this doll can be found in Chiri (1976 [1953]: 5-8). Chiri reports that this doll has various Ainu names such as *imos₁-kamuy₂* ‘god₂ in a trance₁’, *noya₁-imos₂-kamuy₃* ‘mugwort₁ god₃ in a trance₂’, *chi-sina-p₁ kamuy₂* ‘(grass-)woven₁ god₂’, *aynu₁-tek₂-e₃-kar₄-kamuy₅* ‘god₅ made₄ by₃ human₁ hands₂’, *chi-tek₂-e₃-kar₄-kur₅* ‘a person₅ (who) we₁ make₄ by₃ hands₂’, *kina₁-sutu₂-inaw₃-kamuy₄* ‘club₂ sacred stick(-shaped)₃ god₄ (made of) grass₁’, *rewarewak₁-kur₂* ‘bending₁ god₂’, etc. In Saru of the Hidaka district, this doll is made by bundling mugwort into the head, body, hands, and feet, together with a mugwort spear and a mugwort sword. It is said that this doll is made only to repel those devils and monsters which humans cannot match because it is an extremely terrifying god. Though several stories of mugwort doll have been recorded, a story of its origin as such is not so common and therefore of much value from a mythological and ethnological point of view.

Though quite few, we can find some materials closely related to the text published here. First, Kindaichi (1931: 77) introduces “A story of the beginning of worshipping bears” in Japanese. Such a genre of Ainu folktale is called *kamuy upaskuma* ‘a story of a god’s teaching’. The outline of the story is as follows: one day, when a Bear God went down to visit the Ainu village, he found out that *Okikurmi*, the hero of human beings, was having a grand party and invited various gods. The Bear God got angry because he was not invited. Next day, again, the Bear God was not invited to the party. So the Bear God himself visited *Okikurmi*’s house. When the Bear God entered the house, *Okikurmi*’s younger sister noticed an unfamiliar guest and poured *sake*-wine to him. Then, she secretly told her elder brother about the unfamiliar guest. The Bear God noticed it and

³ This is the interpretation of Chiri (1952: 66), but Philippi (1979: 149) considers this derivation dubious.

⁴ Cf. According to Nakagawa (1997: 190), *Aynurakkur* and *Aeoina-kamuy* (*Oina-kamuy*) appearing in *kamuy yukar* and *oyna* ‘divine epics’ are originally different from *Okikurmi*.

sneaked away home.

Okikurmi could not figure out what kind of god the guest was so he followed him to the foot of a large mountain upstream but then lost the sight of him. There was a mugwort field there. In the field, *Okikurmi* found a mugwort stalk with an insect hole in it. He entered through that hole and eventually reached the top of the mountain. There he found a large gold house. When he entered the house, he saw a god in black with a good appearance. The Bear God broke a mugwort and stabbed him with it in the knee. *Okikurmi* felt a severe pain in his knee. Then, the Bear God asked why he did not invite him and told him to worship bear gods properly ever after. When *Okikurmi* apologized to the Bear God, he blew his wound to heal. Then, the Bear God gave him the mugwort which had stuck in his knee and told him that a god (i.e. a doll for exorcism) which humans made with mugwort was the strongest. After that, humans learned how to worship bear gods.

It appears that this story is almost the same as the text dictated by Mrs. *Tanesanno* to Nevskij in 1922 and presented here (cf. Section 3). The original Ainu text recorded by Kyōsuke Kindaichi is kept in the microfilm collection of Hokkaido Prefectural Library (HM423). It should be noted that there are interesting differences in the details of those texts. For example, while in Nevskij's text *Aynurakkur* (= *Okikurmi*) is described only as going through the bottom of a mugwort, in Kindaichi's text *Okikurmi* goes through an insect hole of a mugwort stalk (*noya*₁ *shuptomo*₂ *ponno*₃ *kikiri*₄ *sui*₅ *oma*₆ *ushikehe*₇ *peka*₈ *ahun*₉=*an*₁₀ 'I₁₀ entered₉ through₈ a place₇ with₆ a small₃ insect₄ hole₅ in a mugwort₁ stalk₂'). However, the text recorded by Nevskij is generally much longer and more detailed than that by Kindaichi.

Though a comparison of the two texts from different speakers can certainly provide new insights for the study of Ainu language and literature, unfortunately, for lack of space, we need to limit ourselves to mentioning only a few points.

3. Outline of the tale

The beginning of the story is told by the Bear God, the ruler of mountains. One day, he heard that Aynurakkur was sent down from the Upper Heaven to the land of humans to teach them how to live and pray properly. Aynurakkur threw a drinking party and invited there all gods, even those with unimportant roles, but forgot to invite the Bear God. Yet, the Bear God came to the party as an uninvited guest and was sitting there quietly facing the door, but Aynurakkur's sister noticed him and poured him wine. She told her brother about the uninvited guest and they tried to find out who the Bear God was, but he threw a mist in front of himself to conceal his origins and then left shortly afterwards. The Bear God went to the mountains, to his home. He ran over a beautiful sandy beach and small mugwort field and through one mugwort plant with two roots he entered the inside of his mountains.

Then the protagonist changes to Aynurakkur who is chasing the Bear God. He takes

the same journey and finds himself at the summit of the mountain in front of a beautiful house. He meets the Bear God looking like a gorgeous man wearing layers of black robe and having a big beard. Then the Bear God asks about the reason of Aynurakkur's visit. Aynurakkur says that he came to apologize for forgetting to invite the Bear God to the party, which was held to teach humans how to worship gods. After that the Bear God picked a half of mugwort and struck Aynurakkur heavily. He carefully explained to Aynurakkur that he was a very important god to whom the mountains were entrusted, and that he should be worshipped and sent off in the most careful manner, better than any other god. He also brought a mugwort and gave it to Aynurakkur. He said that such an ordinary thing hand-made by humans can serve as a spear or sword and become the protective god of humans and a threat to any evil god.

4. The Text

- (1) Важным богом,
 Pašekamui
 pase kamuy
 be.heavy god
 (I am) an important god,
- (2) богом гор владыкой
 Nupurikorkamui
 nupuri kor kamuy
 mountain have god
 a god who owns mountains.
- (3) являясь, живу я
 Anehineanan
 a=ne hine an=an
 4.A=COP and exist.SG=4.S
 And (so) I lived.
- (4) но вот
 Ruweneaike
 ruwe ne ayke
 INFR.EV COP then
 (So) it was. Then

- (5) я слышу, что
 Inwaŋkuśu
i-nu=an *kusu*
 APASS-hear=4.S because
 as I heard,
- (6) с верхнего неба,
 rikuŋkantowa
rik-un *kanto* *wa*
 upper.place-belong.to sky from
 a god from the Upper Heaven
- (7) странною людей
 ajnumośiri
aynu *mosir*
 human land
 (a god for guarding) Ainu land
- (8) чтобы управлять
 eruŋkinekuśu
e-punki-ne *kusu*
 about.APPL-guard-COP because
 for that purpose (he)
- (9) ниспосланный бог
 arantekamui
a=ra-n-te *kamuy*
 4.A=low.place-INTR.SG-CAUS god
 was sent down.
- (10) ajnueneikiwa
aynu *ene* *i-ki* *wa*
 human like.this APASS-do and
 (In order to show) the Ainu how to live
- (11) pirikakuni
pirka *kuni*
 be.good should/going/surely.COMP
 properly,

- (12) все
 opitta
opitta
 all
 (for) everyone
- (13) изображения им были сделаны
 nokahaakare
noka-ha *a=kar-e*
 image-POSS 4.A=make-CAUS
 to be given an image of that
- (14) чтобы, спустившийся
 kuśurān
kusu *ra-n*
 because low.place-INTR.SG
 he came down.
- (15) бог
 kamui
kamuy
 god
 The god
- (16) вина наварил
 sakekara
sake-kar
 liquor-make
 made rice wine
- (17) и затем
 hine orā
hine *ora*
 and then
 and then

- (18) всех богов пригласил.
 kamuŋ opittatak
kamuŋ opitta tak
 god all invite
 invited all gods.
- (19) Затем
 orowano
or-o-wa-no
 place-POSS-from-ADV
 After that,
- (20) ikuanhawe
i-ku an hawe
 APASS-drink exist.SG REP.EV
 it was heard there was a drinking party,
- (21) ihajeno
e-i-haye
 APPL-APASS-be.insufficient
 (and even a man with) an unimportant
- (22) должность имеющие люди даже
 jakukor-kur-ka
yaku-kor kur ka
 role-have person even
 role
- (23) были приглашены
 atakk^haweas
a=tak hawe as
 4.A=invite REP.EV stand.SG
 was invited.
- (24) я же приглашен не был
 aitakkaśomoki
a=i=tak ka somo ki
 4.A=4.O=invite even NEG do
 (But) I was not invited.

- (25) страшно рассердившись
 śinoiruškaan
sino i-ruska=an
 true APASS-be.angry.with=4.S
 I got truly angry
- (26) живу я
 kor-an-an
kor an=an
 and exist.SG=4.S
 and (so) I lived.
- (27) и вот
 aine
 aune
 finally
 Finally
- (28) я пошел вниз.
 śananruwene
sa-n=an ruwe ne
 front.place-INTR.SG=4.S INFR.EV COP
 I went down.
- (29) Голоса попойки
 ikūkanau
iku kan _haw
 drink just voice
 The sound of drinking,
- (30) Голоса пира
 ipekanau
ipe kan _haw
 eat just voice
 the sound of eating

- (31) громыхают.
 otuk-itara
 otuk-itara
 rumble-continually.INTR
 was rumbling (around).
- (32) я вхожу
 ahunan
 ahun=an
 enter.SG=4.S
 I came in
- (33) apakošikirutek
 *apa-ko-si-kiru*⁵ *tek*
 door-to.APPL-REFL-turn momentary
 (and) sat facing the door⁶.
- (34) там молча я сел
 orota mono a an ruwene
 or-o *ta* *mo-no* *a=an* *ruwe* *ne*
 place-POSS at quiet-ADV sit.SG=4.S INFR.EV COP
 I was seating there quietly
- (35) и вижу я
 iŋkaranike
 inkar=an *hike*
 look=4.S then
 (and) looked around.
- (36) Аунураккуру
 ajnurakkuru
 aynurakkur
 Ainurakkur(name)
 Ainurakkur's

⁵ No personal prefix =an (4.S).

⁶ It was an Ainu custom to sit facing the entrance until you were invited to sit closer to the hearth by the host (Nakagawa 1995: 15).

- (37) сестра
 matapaha
matapa-ha
 younger.sister-POSS
 younger sister
- (38) ковшик с вином
 anipuntari
an-i-puntari
 hold-TR.SG-decanter
 holding a decanter
- (39) ešimuk^truka
e-si-muk-ko-
 with.APPL-REFL-bosom-to.APPL-
 close to her bosom,
- (40) держит и
 ampakane
 -*am-pa* *kane*
 - hold-TR.PL doing.so
 doing so
- (41) среди пирующих
 ćikupśouturu
ci-ku-p-so-utur-u
 1PL.EXCL-drink-NMLZ-seat-between-POSS
 (and) among drinking people
- (42) похаживает
 erututke
e-rututke
 at.APPL-run.around
 running around,

- (43) и вот
 kor-an-ajne
kor an ayne
 and exist.SG finally
 she finally
- (44) на меня смотрит долго
 inukanrokan
i=nukar_ rokan
 4.O=see ADM.PL
 happened to notice me.
- (45) Затем
 orowan
or-o-wa-no
 place-POSS-from-ADV
 Then
- (46) меня угощает и
 ijomarekoro
i-y-oma-re kor
 APASS-EP-enter-CAUS and
 she poured wine.
- (47) на «промежутке»
 uturūhuta
utur-uhu ta
 between-POSS at
 Intermittently
- (48) откуда пришедшее существо,
 nejwa ekpe
ney wa ek pe
 where from come.SG thing/person
 “A person from where,

- (49) откуда пришедший бог
 nejwa ek kamui
ney wa ek kamuy
 where from come.SG god
 a god from where,
- (50) там нахожу? – так
 orota eneanhian sékorō
or-o ta ene an hi ne sekor
 place-POSS at like.this exist.SG NMLZ COP QUOT
 is sitting here like that?” She
- (51) думая меня угощает
 jājnukor-ijomare
yaunu kor i-y-oma-re
 think and APASS-EP-enter-CAUS
 thought and poured wine.
- (52) ekineiikure
ek hine i=i-ku-re
 come.SG and 4.O=APASS-drink-CAUS
 She came and let me drink.
- (53) amotohohunarakōr-an
a=moto-ho hunara kor an
 4.(A)=source-POSS search and exist.SG
 She (tried to) find out about my origins.
- (54) šitukariurara ot-te an
si-tukari-urar-ot-te=an
 REFL-before-mist-attach.to-CAUS=4.S
 I threw a mist in front of myself.
- (55) hine an-an
hine an=an
 and exist.SG=4.S
 and (so) I was.

- (56) затем снова
 ajne súi
ayne *suy*
 finally again
 And finally, again
- (57) к парадному входу идет
 rotta arãpa
ror *ta* *arpa*
 seat.of.honor at go.SG
 she went to the seat of honor
- (58) своего брата дергает
 jupietajtai
yup-i *etay-tay-e*
 elder.brother-POSS pull-pull-TR.SG
 and yanked her brother.
- (59) видно
 anaŋkatu
an=an *kat-u*
 exist.SG=4.S shape-POSS
 That I was (here),
- (60) и об этом извещает, как мне какем?
 epakašnu nojne jajnuan
e-pakasnu *noyne* *yaynu=an*
 about.APPL-teach.to look.as think=4.S
 it seemed that she was trying to tell him that.
- (61) Затем снова
 orowanosúi
or-o-wa-no *suy*
 place-POSS-from-ADV again
 Then again

- (62) *šitukariurara otte an*
si-tukari-urar-ot-te=an
 REFL-before-mist-attach.to-CAUS=4.S
 I threw a mist in front of myself.
- (63) *orano neppitoho*
orano nep pito-ho
 then what person/god-POSS
 Then, “What kind of person,
- (64) *nepkamuje*
nep kamuy-e
 what god-POSS
 what kind of god,
- (65) *hinatkaanhine*
hinak ta an hine
 where at exist.SG and
 where was he so that,
- (66) *aojraambe*
a=oyra an-pe
 4.A=forget exist.SG-thing/person
 he forgot (everything).”
- (67) *neruwean šekor jājnu*
ne ruwe an sekor yaynu
 COP INFR.EV exist.SG QUOT think
 She thought
- (68) *Ćiki tajtai iku an wa okere jakne, neppitoho*
ciki etay-tay-e. i-ku an wa okere yakne
 if pull-pull-TR.SG APASS-drink exist.SG and finish when
nep pito-ho
 what person/god-POSS
 and yanked (her brother). “When the drinking party was over, whatever person
 it is,

- (69) *nejakka motoho korokatu ahunara jakne*
ne yakka moto-ho kor katu a=hunara yakne
 COP although source-POSS have shape 4.A=search if
 if I search for his origins,
- (70) *anukara-okasekorō jajnu kor-an ora (затем) sojne-an (выхожу наружу)*
a=nukar oka sekor yaynu kor an ora soy-ne=an
 4.A=see DESID QUOT think and exist.SG then outside-COP=4.S
 I want to find it out!” She thought. I went outside,
- (71) *arapa-an (иду) auniun-arpa-an (в свой дом иду) akonnupuri (моя гора)*
arpa=an a=uni un arpa=an a=kor nupuri
 go.SG=4.S 4.(A)=home.POSS to/at go.SG=4.S 4.A=have mountain
 I went to the mountains, to my home.
- (72) *óropokketa (под низом) pirikka p-jota šanje nojašara (蓬野)*
corpok-ke ta pirka pi-ota sa-n-ke
 under-POSS at be.good little-POSS front-INTR.SG-CAUS
noya sar
 mugwort thicket
 Under (my mountains) (there was) a beautiful sandy beach, a projecting mugwort field.
- (73) *šipujnenojasara (蓬(原)野) šinenojatū kuršutuhu (幹)*
si-puyne noya sar sine noya tu kur-sut-uhu
 REFL-alone mugwort thicket one mugwort two shadow-root-POSS
 (Through) a small mugwort field, (through) one mugwort (plant) with two roots
- (74) *pēka ahunan akonnupuri (わが山の) šuptomoho (内部)*
peka ahun=an a=kor nupuri suptom-oho
 through enter.SG=4.S 4.A=have mountains inside-POSS
 I entered (and) to the inside of my mountains

- (75) unnohemeśwaan aunita (わが家～) arpa-an hinean-an
 unno hemesu-an a-uni ta arpa-an hine an-an
unno hemesu=an a=uni ta arpa=an hine
 to/till climb=4.S 4.(A)=home.POSS to go.SG=4.S and
an=an
 exist.SG=4.S
 I climbed. I went to my home and (so) I lived.
- (76) hmta kamui ahunruwean jājnuan orowa
hnta kamuy ahun ruwe an yaynu=an or-o-wa
 what god enter.SG INFR.EV exist.SG think=4.S place-POSS-from
 “What kind of god has entered?” I⁷ thought. Then
- (77) ʔruweaopeś akoropetturaśi arapa orowano (затем)
ru-w-e a=opes a=kor pet turasi arpa
 track-EP-POSS 4.A=follow.going.down 4.A=have river upstream go.SG
or-o-wa-no
 place-POSS-from-ADV
 I followed the track going down (and) went upstream the river. Then
- (78) osarapaan (вслед иду я) poronupuri (大山) corpokketa arapa
os arpa=an poro nupuri corpok-ke ta arpa
 behind go.SG=4.S big mountain under-POSS at go.SG
 I went after him (=the god) (and) he went under the mountain.
- (79) orowano aturajnu ājnenojā (蓬) śinep (一ツ)
or-o-wa-no a=turaynu ayne noya sine-p
 place-POSS-from-ADV 4.A=lose finally mugwort one-thing.CLF
 Then I lost sight of him and finally (through) a single mugwort
- (80) kursutuhu (草の幹) peka ahun (入り) kitajkehe peka
kur-sut-uhu peka ahun kitay-kehe peka
 shadow-root-POSS through enter.SG summit-POSS through
 root he entered, and at the summit (of the mountain)

⁷ The protagonist changes to *Aynurakkur*.

- (81) *sojne* (出デ) *poronupuri* (大 山) *kojkamatu araparuwean*
*soy-ne poro nupuri koykamatu arpa ruwe an*⁸
 outside-COP big mountain ran.quickly go.SG INFR.EV exist.SG
 he went out and ran quickly through the big mountain.
- (82) *ośarpaan nea* (ソノ) *poro* (大) *nupuri* (山) *ikian-ajne*
os arpa=an nea poro nupuri i-ki=an ayne
 back go.SG=4.S that be.big mountain APASS-do=4.S finally
 I followed him, that big mountain, after doing so (= going further to the top of
 the mountain),
- (83) *nupuri*(山) *kitaj* (頂) *ta* (二) *arpa-an* (我 行く) *kane-ćise* (железный дом),
poro ćise (большой дом)
nupuri kitaj ta arpa=an kane cise
 mountain summit at go.SG=4.S metal/beautiful house
 at the top of the mountain, I finally arrived. (There was) a beautiful house.
- (84) *anruwene* (есть) *ahunanruwene* (я вошел) *ćiseonnai* (внутри дома ?)
an ruwe ne ahun=an ruwe ne cise onnai
 exist.SG INFR.EV COP enter.SG=4.S INFR.EV COP house inside
 I entered it. The inner part of the house
- (85) *kunneurara* (черный туман) *etuśnatki* *nerkaśomoanukara* (ничего не видно)
kunne urar etus-natki nep ka somo a=nukar
 black mist fill.with-DUR.INTR what even NEG 4.A=see
 was filled with a black mist. I didn't see anything.
- (86) *śiranajne urarhećaha* (霧 晴れる) *ingaranakuśu* (打ち見れば)
sir-an ayne urar hecaha inkar=an akusu
 appearance-exist.SG finally mist clear.up look=4.S then
 In the meantime, the mist cleared up and I looked around.

⁸ Normally, in affirmative clauses evidential markers are followed by *ne* (COP), while *an* (exist.SG) is employed in interrogative clauses.

- (87) kaneinumbe (金の炉縁) pajerukonna tonnatara
kane inumpe *paye ru konna*
 kane framework.around.fireplace go.PL track RTM
tom-natara
 shine-continually.INTR
 The sight of a beautiful fire rim was shining.
- (88) kane-amso kurukaške tonnatara ošísomma
kane amso kurkas-ke tom-natara
 metal floor whole.surface-POSS shine-continually.INTR
o-si-so-un *wa*
 bottom.POSS.PF-right.(from.the.east.window)-seat.near.fireplace-fit.in from
 (And) the whole surface of the floor was shining. At the right seat
- (89) ponurattapkop écurarko nojekane sírančíki
pon urar tapkop ci-e-urar-ko-noy-e
 small mist mountain.peak RES-APPL-mist-APPL-twist-TR.SG
kane sir-an ciki
 doing.so appearance-exist.SG if
 he seemed to throw a small lump of mist in a shape of a mountain peak and hid himself.
- (90) okarokajne uraršímaka okakeheta kunnekoşonde (黒い小袖)
oka rok ayne urar si-mak-a
 exist.PL PERF.PL finally mist REFL-open-TR.SG
oka-ke-he ta kunne kosonte
 end/behind-place-POSS at black robe
 After a while, the mist cleared up and after that
- (91) utomčíurekuru tamporerek' kotparkaşi (胸どころ) eşeşkekane
u-tom-ciw-re kur tan poro rek kotpar
 REC-middle-stick-CAUS man this big beard breast
kas-i e-seske kane
 top-POSS with.APPL-close/cover doing.so
 a man wearing layers of (a black robe) and covering the top of his breast with a big beard,

- (92) kamujnekuśu kamujkoraċi (богоподобной) aŋkuruan (человек есть)
eneitaki (так говорит)
kamuy ne kusu kamuy koraci an kur
god COP because god just.like exist.SG person
an ene itak h i
exist.SG like.this speak NMLZ
a god-like person sat (there) and spoke as follows:
- (93) perekarakuśu (зачем) eekruweān (ты пришел?) śekor-itak (так сказал)
itakanawe (я говорю)
“*nep e=kar kusu e-ek ruwe an*”
what 2SG.A=make in.order 2SG.S-come.SG INFR.EV exist.SG
sekor itak itak=an hawe
QUOT speak speak=4.S REP.EV
“What for did you come?” he said. (And) I said
- (94) eneani (так:) rikunċantowa ajnumośiri epitta
ene an _hi: “rikun kanto wa
like.that exist.SG NMLZ upper.place-belong.to sky from
aynu mosir epitta
human land all
the following: “(I am a god who came down) from heaven
- (95) ajnunomikuśu jakuwakorēwa rapakamui
aynu nomi kusu yaku a=kor-e wa
human pray in.order role 4.A=have-CAUS and
ra-p a kamuy
low.place-INTR.PL PERF.SG god
with a task of (teaching) humans to pray (all over the land of humans).
- (96) ajnuśakekarakoro (люди вина наваривши) enenomikuni (как должны чтить
богов) aepakaśnukuśu (чтобы научить их этому)
aynu sake kar kor ene
human liquor make and like.this
nomi kuni a=e-pakasnu kusu
pray in.order 4.A=about.APPL-teach.to because
The people made rice wine (and I was sent) to teach them how to pray.

- (102) ani ukirošere anine nenoanamma
ani u-kir-osere=an h_ine neno an=an w_a
 by/with REC-leg-attach.to.the.back=4.S and like.this exist.SG=4.S and
 And with it, while I was sitting in a cross-legged position,
- (103) iširikotke iwampoknamoširi ikōtke
i=sirko-otke iwan pok-na mosir i=ko-otke
 4.O=heavily-prick six down-to land 4.O=to.APPL-prick
 he struck me heavily and threw me to the six lower lands.
- (104) mojmojkeāŋka (шевельнуться даже) eaikap eneaweani
moy-moy-ke=an ka e-aykap ene
 move-move-INTR.SG=4.S even about.APPL-be.unable like.this
h_aw-e-an h_i
 voice-POSS-exist.SG NMLZ
 I couldn't even move and he said as follows:
- (105) tewanoanakne (отныне) ajep enukušnejā pašekamui
te-wa-no anakne a=ye p e=nu
 now/here-from-ADV TOP 4.A=say/tell NMLZ 2SG.A=hear
kus ne ya pase kamuy
 intention COP Q be.heavy god
 “Will you listen to me from now on? Being a strong god
- (106) iworśakata košnekamui nejākka enējakuukkuni
iwor so ka ta kosne kamuy ne yakka
 hunting.ground floor top at be.light god COP although
ene e=yaku-uk kuni
 like.this 2SG.S=role-take.SG in.order
 or a weak god, in order to get a post like that you
- (107) opitta enuwaer-an ruwenehike iworśoka
opitta e=nu wa e=ra-n ruwe ne
 all 2SG.A=hear and 2SG.S=low.place-INTR.SG INFR.EV COP
hike iwor so ka
 but hunting.ground floor even
 listened all and got down to the hunting grounds but

- (108) akokijannere kusuaranġekuru aneruwene
a=ko-kiyanne-re *kusu* *a=ra-n-ke*
 4.A=toward.APPL-be.older-CAUS because 4.A=low.place-INTR.SG-CAUS
kur a=ne ruwe ne
 person 4.A=COP INFR.EV COP
 I am a person to whom mountains were entrusted.
- (109) ijoiraruwene (меня забыл) kuśu (поэтому) tewanoanakne nepkamuje
i=oyra ruwe ne kusu
 4.O=forget INFR.EV COP because
te-wa-no anakne nep kamuy-e
 now/here-from-ADV TOP what god-POSS
 Since you forgot me, from now on more than to any other god
- (110) kaśuwakkarī kimuŋ (山) kamui (神) iwarakokijannere
kasu-w-akkari kim-un kamuy
 exceed-EP-surpass mountains-live.at/belong.to god
iwor a=ko-kiyanne-re
 hunting.ground 4.A=toward.APPL-be.older-CAUS
 mountains have been entrusted to me.
- (111) kuśu jotta paśeno ahopunire orowano (ソレカラ)
kusu iyotta pase-no a=ho-pun-i-re
 because extremely be.heavy-ADV 4.A=bottom.PF-lift-TR.SG-CAUS
or-o-wa-no
 place-POSS-from-ADV
 So I am sent off in the most careful manner. From now on
- (112) nepkośnekamui paśekamui nejakka akkari
nep kosne kamuy pase kamuy ne yakka
 what be.light god be.heavy god even if
akkari
 surpass
 (If you agree with people that) rather than any weak god or any strong god

- (113) pašeno aihopunire utatturano ekoése
pase-no a=i=ho-pun-i-re utar_
 be.heavy-ADV 4.A=4.O=bottom.PF-lift-TR.SG-CAUS kin/people
tura-no e=ko-ese
 together.with-ADV 2SG.A=to.APPL-breathe
 I am sent off more carefully,
- (114) jakeáširi taannoja (эту полынь) aetaje (я вытащу) kuśunena
yak easir tan noya a=etay-e kus ne na
 if truly this mugwort 4.A=pull.out-TR.SG intention COP SGST
 I'll pluck this mugwort."
- (115) šekor-itak akoešeruwene neanojaetaje (эту полынь вытащил)
sekor itak a=ko-e-se ruwe ne
 QUOT speak 4.A=about.APPL-to.APPL-breathe INFR.EV COP
nea noya etay-e
 that mugwort pull.out-TR.SG
 He said, I agreed with that and he plucked that mugwort.
- (116) ruwene tannojaekorowa (эту полынь взявши) eağara (ты пойдì) ajnu
ruwe ne tan noya e=kor wa
 INFR.EV COP this mugwort 2SG.A=have and
e=arpa aynu
 2SG.S=go.SG human
 "Take this mugwort and go
- (117) tekekarakamui šipopkerne (器) eemśuka
tek-e-kar kamuy si-pop-ke-p ne
 hand-with.APPL-make god REFL-warm-INTR.SG-thing as
e-eumuska
 2SG.A-prepare
 to prepare belongings for a god hand-made by humans.
- (118) jakanakne atananajnu tekekarape (手 作 物)
yak anakne atanan aynu tek-e-kar-pe
 if TOP ordinary human hand-with.APPL-make-thing/person
 If you do so, and (use even) an ordinary thing hand-made by humans,

- (119) nejakka neanoja (アノヨモギ) opnekōro (鑓ヤリ) tašironekoro (大刀)
ne yakka nea noya op ne kor
 COP although that mugwort spear as have
tasiro ne kor
 sword as have
 that mugwort, as a spear, as a sword,
- (120) mošimōndasare išamkunihi ajnušermak
mo-si-mon-tas-a-re isam
 little?-REFL-hand-change-TR.SG-CAUS not.exist
kuni-hi aynu sermak
 should/going/surely.COMP-POSS human guardian.god
 in order not to be defeated even a little, become the protective god of humans
- (121) eoraje ajnuekaškamui koro kušnena šekoro (так)
e=o-ray-e aynu e=e-kaskamuy-kor
 2SG.A=to.APPL-move-TR.SG human 2SG.A=APPL-guardian.god-have
kus ne na sekor
 intention COP SGST QUOT
 and people will have you as their guardian god.”
- (122) hawean (он сказал.) oraekan (Затем пошел я,) ene pašekamui(как великий бог) haweaninekušu(сказал)
haw-e-an ora ek=an ene pase
 voice-POSS-exist.SG then come.SG=4.S like.that be.heavy
kamuy haw-e-an h_i kusu
 god voice-POSS-exist.SG NMLZ because
 He said, then I came. Since the important god said as follows,
- (123) iworšokata nepkamuje kašuwakkari
 iwor so ka ta nep kamuye kasuwakkari
iwor so ka ta nep kamuy-e kasu-akkari
 hunting.ground floor top at what god-POSS exceed-surpass
 on the hunting grounds, (the one that is being sent off) more carefully than any god

- (130) kamuine-jakka efuinekamui śimondasare
kamuy ne yakka ehuyne kamuy si-mon-tas-a-re
 god COP if what god REFL-hand-change-TR.SG-CAUS
 god is a threat to any god (lit. ‘gods cannot oppose it’)
- (131) eaigappene orowano ambe ajnu ajnutonoto
e-aykap pe ne or-o-wa-no
 about.APPL-be.unable NMLZ COP place-POSS-from-ADV
an-pe aynu aynu tonoto
 exist.SG-thing/person human human liquor
 Then humans with Ainu liquor,
- (132) ajnuśakē kamuajajnomi inaukkamui
aynu sake kamuy a=e-nomi inaw uk kamuy
 human liquor god 4.A=with.APPL-pray inaw take.SG god
 with Ainu rice wine humans worship gods. And there are gods who accept *inaw-*
 willow prayer sticks
- (133) śinna-anruwene kuśu ajnu opitta (люди все)
sinna an ruwe ne kusu aynu opitta
 another exist.SG INFR.EV COP because human all
 separately. So it would be good if humans
- (134) nujakpirika (если услышат хорошо.) śkōgo (слыхано).
nu yak pirka sekor
 hear if be.good QUOT
 heard that. (Told)

[Диктовала Tanesanno 14/II 1922 г. Otaru] (Dictated by Tanesanno 14-2-1922 Otaru)

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Abbreviations

1/2/3/4 = 1st /2nd /3rd /4th person, _ = phonological alternations, = = inflectional boundary, - = derivational boundary, A = transitive subject, (A) = possessor, ADM = admirative, ADV = adverbial, APASS = antipassive, APPL = applicative, CAUS = causative, CLF = classifier, COMP = complementizer, COP = copula, DESID = desiderative, DUR = durative, EP = epenthetic consonant, EXCL = exclusive, INFR.EV = inferential evidential, INTR = intransitivizer, NEG = negation, NMLZ = nominalizer, NONVIS.EV = nonvisual evidential, O = object, PERF = perfect, PF = prefix, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, Q = question, QUOT = quotative, REC = reciprocal, REFL = reflexive, REP.EV = reportative evidential, RES = resultative, RTM = rhythm, S = intransitive subject, SG = singular, SGST = suggestive (final particle), TOP = topic, TR = transitivizer.

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Summary

This paper presents an *upaskuma* ‘ancestor tale’ in the Saru dialect of Ainu recorded by a Russian scholar N. A. Nevskij (1892-1937) from a female speaker *Tanesanno* in Otaru on February 14, 1922. After *Ajnskij Fol’klor* (Ainu Folklore) (1972), this is the second publication of an Ainu text from Nevskij’s archive preserved in St. Petersburg. The story reveals the origin of a mugwort doll used for exorcism to repel most powerful monsters. A similar text is published in Japanese only by Kindaichi (1931: 77), while the original Ainu text is available as a microfilm at Hokkaido Prefectural Library. There are some interesting differences in the details of those texts but Nevskij’s text is generally more detailed than Kindaichi’s. The “culture hero” *Aynurakkur* (= *Okikurmi*) was sent to the land of humans to teach them how to worship gods and held a party but forgot to invite there a Bear God. Yet, the Bear God attended the party and was noticed by *Aynurakkur* and his sister who were trying to find out who he was. However, the Bear God did not reveal his identity and went back home to the top of a mountain through a mugwort plant with two roots. *Aynurakkur* followed the Bear God in order to apologize but the Bear God took a half of mugwort and struck *Aynurakkur* heavily. He explained to *Aynurakkur* that he was an important god of mountains who should be worshipped more carefully than any other god. He also brought a mugwort and gave it to *Aynurakkur* saying that such an ordinary thing hand-made by humans can serve as a spear or sword and become the protective god of humans.

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Photographs of the original text (F. 69, op. 2, ed. khr. 37, ll. 89-92)

11. Upaskuma	
Pase kamui	Вамисеи Соои,
Nupurikor kamui	Соои вор вадикон
Anehineanan	Ивукисе, Икуй д.
Ruwene aike	Но вом
Inwaykuisu	д сивуиу, энэ
rikuy kantowa	с вершию кива,
ajnu mo'siri	страшно иудей
eruykineku'bu	эмода уграбуф,
ar antekamui	исночашеви. бор
ajnueneikiwa	
piri kakuni	
opitta	все
nokaha akare	исотракииу иудеи сдана
ku'surān	эмода, энугубииниу
kamui	бор
saxe kara	вина наварии
hine orā	и sameen
kamui opittatak	всех боров прурасии.
orowano	Занесеи
iku an hawe	
ihajeno	

<i>jaxu kor-kur-ka</i>	долюшкоу желиоушемоу даме
<i>atax kaweas</i>	блми пришамена
<i>aitaxkaš omoxi</i>	Я же пришамен не дел.
<i>šinoiruška an</i>	Спрашуо рассердившее
<i>kor-an-an</i>	дулю я
<i>aine</i>	и втм
<i>šanan ruwene</i>	Я пошел вил.
<i>ikūkanau</i>	Улица поводи
<i>ipekanau</i>	Улица тура
<i>otuxitara</i>	грозыхаюи.
<i>ahunan</i>	Я вроду
<i>apaxoš'ixiru Tex'</i>	
<i>orota monoa an ruwene</i>	там мова я сел.
<i>iyxaranixe</i>	У вроду я
<i>ajnuraxxuru</i>	Аикураккуру
<i>matapaka</i>	сера
<i>anipuntari</i>	ковшик с вином
<i>esimux'ruka</i>	
<i>ampaxane</i>	геронц и
<i>šixupšouturu</i>	средн пурцоуцук
<i>erututxe</i>	порадибаем
<i>kor-an ajne</i>	и втм
<i>inukanrokan</i>	на целу селотпу дмо

orowano	Замеем
ijomarekoro	меня угрожает и
uturū huta	— на „приметке“
nejwa ekpe	откуда пришел сурьезь,
nejwa ek kamui	откуда пришел бог
orota eneanti an sexorō	там на карте? — так
jājnu kor-ijomare	думая меня угрожает
ekinei ikure	
amotoho hunara kor-an	
šitukari urara otte an	
hine an-an	
ajne šui	самеем снова
rotta arāpa	к парадному шеегу и др.
jupietajtai	своею брама держат
anay katu	вдоль
epakainu nojne jājnu an	и об этом ивещают, как шие каюгу.
orowano šui	Замеем снова
šitukari urara otte an	
orano neppitoh	
nekamuje	
hinat kaan hine	
aojraambe	
neruwan sexor jājnu	

cixitajtai iku an wa okere jaxne, neppitoko
 nejaxxa motoko korokatu ahunara jaxne
 anukara okas'ekorö jaxnu kor-an ora sojne an
 arapa-an auni-un-arpa-an axonnupuri
 coropokketa pirixxa pjota'sagge nojasara
 sipujne nojasara sinengjatu kursutuhu
 peka ahunan axonnupuri suptomoko
 unnohemeswaan aunita arpa-an hinean-an
 hmta kamui ahunruwean jaxnu an orowa
 truwea opes' axoropet-turasi arapa orowano
 osarapaan poronupuri corpoxketa arapa
 orowano aturajnu ajne noja sinep
 kursutuhu peka ahun xitajxeh peka
 sojne poronupuri koj kamatu araparuwcan
 osarapaan nea poro nupuri ixianajne
 nupurixitajta-arpa-an kane-cise poro-cise
 anruwene ahunanruwene ciseonnai
 kinneurara etusinaki nepxasomo anukara
 siranajne urarhecaka iggaranaxusu
 kaneinambe pajeruxonna tonnatarara
 kane-amso kuruxas'ke tonnatarara osisomma
 ponuratakop ceurarko nojexane siranc'iki
 oxarokajne urarsimaka oxaxeheta kinnekosonde

^{此の大なるひけ} ^{月と'しる}
 utombiurekuru ^{boro no odina} tampororek' ^{reiober ept} kotparxasi ^{max} es'es'kekane
 kamijnekusu ^{max} kamijkoraci ^{reiober ept} aykuru an eneitaki
^{jarlee} ^{ma nruueu} ^{max} ^{skasat} ^{reiober ept}
 nepkarxusu ^{max} ekruwe'an ^{reiober ept} sekori tak itakanawe
 eneani rikuykantowa ajnumosiri epitta
 ajni nomikusiu jakuwakorewa karakamui
^{иуди бие кабаруши каг гоуока апу} ^{иуди капу ик апу}
 ajni sake karakoro ene nomikuni aepokanikusiu
^{и ди ки стое аи} ^{и приров би аи и бек бои}
 airante sakeakarawa kamijopitta jakuwakorekuru
^{бес при каши кашиг ма} ^{и дукал} ^{ио бенико бога}
 opittatax huminekunax ^{и дукал} aramu awa pas'ekamui
^{и сабел} ^{нопоу} ^{исвнупог} ^{иуди} ^{и рунуи} ^{ма}
 aoraaan kuzujajaruman kusiu ek-an sekori
^{и ропоу} ^{он бога} ^{и нелли} ^{и з по охна}
 itak-an hopunina-arpa pijats'orpoxon
^{и мо}
 hemantaux korinek' nojaemko korineek
 ani ukirošere anine nenoanamma
 isirikotke iwamproknamosiri ikotke
^{и бели чунис гаке}
 mojmojke ayka saikap eneawani
^{и омбили}
 tewanoanakne ajep enikusneja pas'ekamui
 iworsakata kosnekamui nejakka enejakukukuni
 opitta enuwaer-an ruwenekike iworsoka
 akokijannere kusuaraygekuru aneruwene
^{и сабел} ^{нопоу} ^{и нелли}
 ijoiraruwene kusiu tewanoanakne nepkamuje
^и ^и
 kasuwakkari kimuykamui iwarakokijannere
^и ^и
 kusiu jotta paseno ahopunire orowanō
 nepkosnekamui pas'ekamui nejakka akkari
 paseno ahopunire utatturano exoese

jaxeasiri ^{omy nouseri 3 baritauca} taannoja aetaje kusunena
 sexor-itax ^{omy nouseri boemansu} axoeseruwene neanojaetaje
 ruuwene ^{omy nouseri 631buu mu nozu} tannojaexorowa earapa ajnu
 texekarakamui ³⁰ sipopkepne emsuxa
 jakanaxne ^{手 作 物} atananajnu texekarape
 nejaxxa ^{71 32x} neanoja ³⁰ opnexoro ^{大刀} tasironexoro
 mosimondasare ^{max} isamxunihijajnuiser'max
 eoraje ^{on ekasau. 3ameu nouu 8, kak beuuxuu on ekasau} ajnuexakamui koro kusnena sekoro
 hawean oraexan'ene ^{max} pasexamui haweaninexusu
 i'worsoxata ^{de o 30} nepxamuje kasuwakkari
 paseno ^{de o 30} ahopunirep kimuzkamujne orano
 otutamu nepxamujenejakkaxakkari
 kimuzkamuijakuhuporo punihi ajnuwaepaxasne
 orowa neanoja ajnutexekarakamui
 sipopkepnekoro kunihinejakkaxopitta ajnu
 aepaxasne kusnaxkuni atananajnu texekarape
 kamuiinejakkaxepuinekamui simondasare
 saigappene orowanambe ajnu ajnutonoto
 ajnu'saxē kamujajnomi inaukkamui
 sinna-anruwene kusn ^{mode bee} ajnuopitta
^{ekau qeekuuu kopouo, chesau.} nujaxpirika s'koro.

[Duxmobaua Janesanno 14/II 1922. Otaru]