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〈Notes on Research〉

Remarks on the Uilta folktale text collected by B. Pilsudski[1]

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1. Tungusic materials by B. Pilsudski

Bronislaw Pilsudski (1866-1918), a Polish ethnologist, much contributed to the ethnological and linguistic studies on the aboriginal peoples of Sakhalin and Amur region. His Tungusic materials have been collected in a single volume by the recent publication of Majewicz (2011). The collection covers three Tungusic languages, and each section includes the following materials[2]:

(A) Uilta (Orok)
  a. A grammatical sketch (in Polish/Russian) (cf. Tsumagari 1987 as a commentary and evaluation).
  b. Texts (with Polish/Russian translation): 16 riddles, **a folktale "A rat mother and a frog mother"**, 4 songs, fragmental legends and short phrases.
  c. An Uilta-Polish glossary (2730 entries with 332 personal and place names) (cf. Tsumagari 1985 as a general commentary and evaluation).

(B) Olcha (Ulcha, Ulchi)
  a. An Olcha-Polish glossary (1540 entries with 124 personal and place names) .
  b. Texts: a prayer, 14 riddles, 2 songs and a legend.

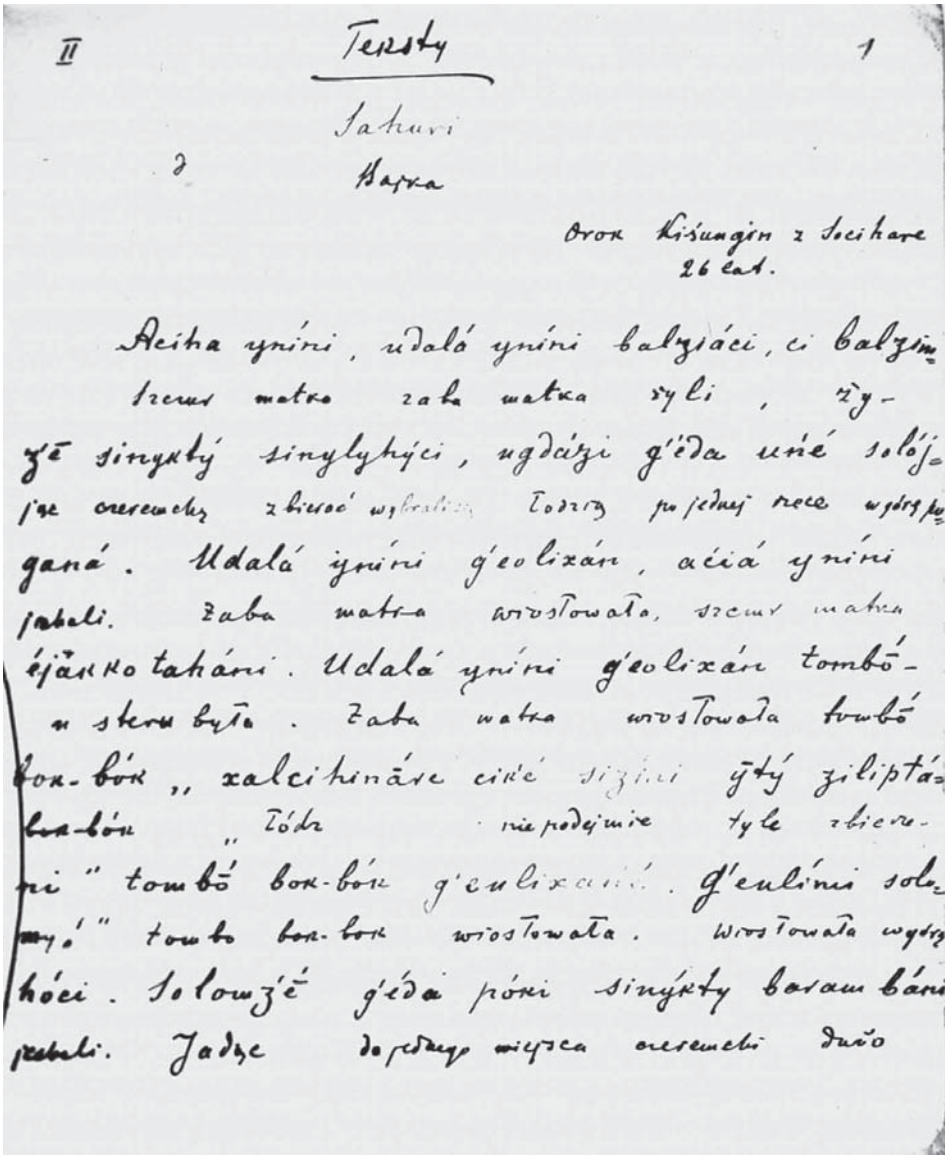
(C) Nanai (Gold)
  a. A Nanai-Russian glossary (about 1050 entries including personal and place names) with 26 riddles.

2. A folktale "A rat mother and a frog mother"

I will take up here the Uilta folktale text (emphasized above), which provides a complete story consisting of 12 pages of manuscript (including 98 lines[3] in the Polish version). In Majewicz (2011: 582-603) we can find the original text with Polish glosses (see Fig. 1) added by English equivalents, a full text both in original transcription and in linguistically reconstructed Cyrillic transcription, a Russian translation based on the reconstruction, and an English translation. The reconstruction, made by L. V. Ozolinja, is a 'hypothetical' one (Majewicz 2011: 571) and needs much elaboration. An attempt of full reconstruction of the text with grammatical analysis and Japanese translation will be published separately (Tsumagari 2014). The present

[1] This paper is a revised English version of Tsumagari (2013).
[2] See Ikegami (1985, 1987) as general remarks on Uilta and Olcha studies by Pilsudski. The numbers of entries of each glossary below are based on Majewicz (1985: 174; 2011: 1009).
[3] Majewicz (2011: 582-592) numbers the lines from 1 to 97, but there are some mistakes in numbering: the original 12th line is numbered as '11', and the 22nd as '21' (and the lines on after that indicate lower numbers.

paper is a preliminary work on the text, in which I will make some remarks on the contents of the story and discuss a linguistic problem.



II Teksty 1

Sahuri

Bajka

Orok Kiśungin z Socihare
26 lat.

Aciha yníni, udalá yníni balziáci, ci balzim
szczur matka zaba matka żyli, ży-
żē sinykty sinylyhýci, ugdázi g'éda uńé solój-
jąc czeremchę zbierać wybraliśmy łodzią po jednej rzece w górę po-
ganá. Udalá yníni g'eolixán, aćiá yníni
jechali. Zaba matka wiosłowała, szczur matka
éjākko taháni. Udalá yníni g'eolixán tombō-
u steru była. Zaba matka wiosłowała tombō
bok-bók „ xalcihināre ciké sizini ȳtý ziliptá-
bok-bók „ łódź nie podejmie tyle zbiere-
ni" tombō bok-bók g'eulixaní. G'eulíni solo-
my!" tombo bok-bok wiosłowała. Wiosłowała w górę
hóci. Solowżē g'éda póki sinýkty baram báni
jechali. Jadąc do jednego miejsca czeremchi dużo

Fig. 1 The first page of the text in Pilsudski's manuscript（Majewicz 2011: 565）

2.1 Outline of the story

The story of the folktale is summarized as follows (cf. Ikegami 1985: 170-71; Ikegami 1987: 278):

> A rat mother and a frog mother went up the river by boat to gather berries. The frog mother could not climb the tree and got no berries. The rat mother got many, but gave none of them to the frog mother. When they came back home, the children of the rat were happy, while the children of the frog were sad. The frog mother killed an elk and got much meat. The rat mother attempted to steal the meat, but was hit bitterly by the frog mother. To heal her wound, a crow shaman, a raven shaman and a bird shaman were called one by one. The bird shaman told the truth and was sent away by the rat mother.

2.2 Comparison with another version

The same story was recorded by Ikegami (2002: 87-92 [2007: 93-98]) from another speaker more than half a century later. We can see the similarity and difference between the two versions in the Table 1 below:

Pilsudski	Ikegami 2002 [2007]
Collected from an Uilta man Kisungin near the mouth of the Poronai river in 1904	Collected from an emigrant Uilta woman Chiyo Sato (Napka) in 1956
Regarded as a *saxuri* 'fairy tale'	Not regarded as a *saxuri* by the narrator
Both versions lack the opening phrase *daa xazilaccee* which is a formal feature of *saxuri.*	
An onomatopoeia of rowing a boat: *tomboo bok bok*	
The rat held the frog's stomach to get back a berry.	Squeezed the frog's throat with the seat board of the boat and trod on her stomach.
The frog children lost their sight in frustration.	(no mention)
(no mention)	Finding that the frog mother got elk's meat, the rat mother sent her child with berries to the frog, but the child was repelled.
The moaning of the rat: *xəərii*	
Both the crow shaman and the raven shaman were sent away before telling the reason of the rat's wound.	Both the crow shaman and the raven shaman were sent away because they told the reason of the rat's wound.
The bird shaman was sent away because he told the truth.	The bird shaman told a lie to please the rat, and got a reward.
The call of the crow, the raven and the bird respectively: *gaak/karr/ciin ciin ciruwaldas*.	
The wound of the rat was healed after all the shamans went back.	(no mention)

Table 1. Comparison between two versions by Pilsudski and Ikegami

In addition to sharing a general motif, the common use of particular onomatopoeic words, such as *tomboo bok bok* (representing rowing a boat), implies the same origin of the two.

2.3 Similar stories in other languages

We find similar stories among the neighboring Tungusic and also in Nivkh, as shown below[4]. In some Amur Tungusic languages (such as Negidal, Olcha and Nanai), instead of a rat and a frog, another combination of a squirrel and a tortoise may play each part, but their stories are generally not so elaborated and dramatic as Uilta's. The Nivkh version represents much more similar situation of a rat and a frog, but it lacks the latter half of the corresponding Uilta story. In Japan, we find also a similar motif with a monkey and a crab (Saito 1993: 138ff).

(a) Tungusic

> One of the most popular animal stories in the Amur basin is about a rat and a frog. Uilta in Sakhalin also has such a story. I got two different versions in Udihe: one with a squirrel and a tortoise, and another with a squirrel and a frog. In any versions, the story goes like this: "The two fellows go to gather berries together. The rat or squirrel climbs the tree and eats as many berries as he likes, and teases his partner (frog or tortoise). After that, the frog or tortoise gets his revenge on his greedy partner." (Kazama 2011: 31)

(b) Nivkh

> Why do frogs have small eyes? This is a story about a frog and a rat. Once a frog and a rat were living together friendly. One day the rat came home and said to the frog, "I found a good place to get many berries. Let's go together tomorrow." At first the frog rowed the boat, and the rat steered. The boat ran so slowly that the rat changed to row. Then the boat ran swiftly, and they reached the place. At once the rat landed ashore and climbed the tree, on which he ate the berries. The frog, unable to climb the tree, kept looking up the tree. Then a berry dropped into the frog's mouth. The frog swallowed it. The rat, looking at it, pushed the frog down and regained the berry by squeezing the frog's stomach with the board of the boat, and ate the berry for himself. The frog lay down for a while, and then another berry dropped into his eye. This is the reason why frogs have small eyes. (Austerlitz 1992: 157)

3. Some unusual forms in the text: *(-)nuci* etc.

Here I will concentrate on a linguistic problem found in the text. We find many occurrences of an unusual form *(-)nuci* and other related forms (*ŋuci~muci; also as nuni~muni*) which are difficult to identify. The followings are all occurrences of the sentence with the form concerned: the text is restored (except for the forms in question) and transcribed phonologically[5]

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[4] The original Japanese description is cited in English translation hereafter.

[5] The transcription adopted here is basically the same with Ikegami (1997) except for *c* and *z*, which correspond to Ikegami's *č* and *ǰ* respectively.

on the basis of the original manuscript in Roman script by Pilsudski (the original transcription in square brackets [ ]). The translation doesn't reflect the meaning of *(-)nuci* etc.

3.1 Examples of *(-)nuci* and related forms

(1)/1 *aciga ənini-**nuci** mookki muktaxani, sinəktəə tugbundəmi.*
The rat mother climbed the tree to gather berries.
/2 *udala ənini-**nuci** daatanduni uisəi xənee kargaxani, aciga ənini tugbulisiwəni tucimi.*
The frog mother stayed fixedly under the tree, looking up the rat mother to gather berries.

(2)/1 *suun ələə tuuzziduni, udala ənini-**nuci** gisiruukki dapadugacci miiktəmbə cigalindaxani.*
When the sun was almost setting, the frog mother went to cut the rowan tree with the knife.
cixalindagacci ələ bəjə daajjee itəxəni.
When going out to cut the tree, she saw a big beast.
/2 *tari**nuni** too [to[6]], nooni baaruni aŋmabi turagacci peexani.*
That was an elk and he opened the mouth and breathed out toward her with his tongue out.
/3 *peeriduni udala ənini-**nuci** uccini.*
At his breathing, the frog mother said.
"toowoo mimbee nuŋbəu." taraŋaci uccini.
"Elk, swallow me!" thus said.
/4 *udala ənini taraŋaci unziduni, nuŋbəxəni too-**muci** nuŋbəxəni.*
When the frog mother said that, the elk swallowed her.
too bokkoni dootoini iixəni.
She entered into the elk's stomach.
iixəcci caa gisiruuzi bokkomboni jaari jaar puktəcixəni, xarpicixəni.
Inside the stomach, she cut and ripped it to pieces with the knife.
/5 *too **muni** pəkcə tuuxəni.*
The elk fell down.
/6 *bokkokkeeni nəəduxəni. udala ənini-**nuci** duktakki ŋənuxəni.*
The frog mother came out of the stomach and went home.
ŋənugəcci purilbi gadumi isuxani, tooŋutakki [to mutakki]. coocci təldəxəni.
She came back to her elk with her children. Then she divided the meat.
/7 *purilni-**nuci** dəəricici duktakkeeri maludu suk sumzi urruucici.*
The children brought the meat home and piled up behind the fireplace.
cipal dəəricici duktakkeeri, dəəriməri xozixaci.
They finished carrying into the house all the meat.
xozigacceeri cipal iiduxəci, akpambuddoori.
They all entered the house to sleep.

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[6] Majewicz (2011: 586) mistyped the word as *ot*. Ikegami (1987: 209) transcribed the word as *toowo*, and explained: 'a kind of deer (bigger than reindeer, found not in Sakhalin but in the continent)'.

/8 *udala ənini* ***nuci*** *purilbi cipal akpambooccini. akpambookkacci əsigəə tucixəni.*
The frog mother put all her children to sleep. Then she kept guard.
aciga ənimbəni tucixəni, udala ənini.
She kept guard for the rat mother.
/9 *dolboni taldaanduni aciga ənini* ***nuci*** *jaaŋbaxani doromomi.*
At night the rat mother came to steal the meat.

(3) /1 *purilni-****nuci*** *samalaxacceeri, gaaji samambani gaduxaci.*
The children went to call a shaman and brought the crow shaman.
/2 *gaaji samani-****nuci*** *jaajaxani eerooxoni.*
The crow shaman sang and divined.

(4) *"ələ" uccini aciga ənini* ***nuci****.*
"That is enough," said the rat mother.

(5) *gaaji-****ŋuci*** *ŋənuxənduni [nynuxénduni], "əɲəsəəl, xəərii, tuwa samambani samallausu", uccini.*
After their crow shaman went back, the rat mother said to her children, "My kids, *xəərii*, go and take the raven shaman!"

(6) *purilni* ***nuci*** *samalagacceeri isuxaci.*
The children went to call a shaman and came back.

(7) *aciga ənini* ***nuci*** *taraŋaci umbөөmee, bənərələxəni.*
The rat mother was told like that, and struggled.

(8)/1 *nəəcigə samani* ***ŋuci*** *cup ŋənuxəni [nynuxéni].*
Their bird shaman quickly went back.
/2 *ŋənuxəni xamarakkeeni aciga ənini* ***nuci*** *əlləu uliŋa otuxani.*
After he went back, the rat mother got completely well.

In example (2) above (with successive lines), together with several occurrences of *nuci*, we can also find the forms like *nuni*, *muci* and *muni*. In examples (5) and (8)/1, Pilsudski transcribed as *ŋuci*, which may be interpreted as a transcriptional variant of *nuci* in question.

3.2 Possible interpretations for *(-)nuci*

I suggest the following three possible interpretations, in which the last one is proved to be acceptable.
(a) Diminutive suffix resulted from *nuuci* 'small'?
Pilsudski identified the element in question (*-núci* in his transcription) with an adjective *nuuci* 'small', and this interpretation, being unsuitable both syntactically and semantically, is

maintained in Majewicz (2011). Pilsudski recognized that the element *nuci* (as well as *muci*) followed some specific noun phrases, and suggested in his glossary as 'a nominal suffix' without defining its meaning (Majewicz 2011:386). If the element is derived from the adjective *nuuci* 'small', it may function as a diminutive suffix. However, such a suffix usage of *nuuci* has not been attested both in the previous materials and from present speakers. Moreover, the occurrences in the text above don't seem to reflect the diminutive meaning.

(b) Appositional third person plural pronoun *nooci* 'they'?

On the basis of some similarity with the third person plural pronoun *nooci* 'they' (sing. *nooni*), we may regard the element as an appositional pronoun for some emphatic purpose, as in the expression like "The rat mother, **she** climbed the tree." The interpretation is again dubious: in addition to the vowel difference, the plurality of the pronoun is incompatible with the preceding singular nominal phrases, such as *aciga əni*ni 'rat mother'. In this connection, we remind that in Udihe, a kind of the third person singular pronoun *bəjəni* (<*bəjə-ni* 'body/oneself'-3S) may follow a personal name and function as a honorific title like 'Mr./Ms.': e.g. *kanchuga bəjəni* 'Mr. Kanchuga'. Such a reading here is also out of context.

(c) Cliticization of the indirect (alienable) possessive form in *-ŋu-ci* 'their '

Considering that the distinction between *n* and *ŋ* is often inconsistent in Pilsuduski's transcription[7], the form *nuci* may well be regarded as *-ŋu-ci* (<Alienable possessive-3P 'their … /… of them'), just seen in (5) *gaaji-**ŋuci*** and (8)/1 *nəəcigə samani **ŋuci***. It possibly lost the original possessive meaning and changed into a definite or topic marker[8]. The form *-ŋu-ni* (with 3S marker) may also have a similar function. It is often the case with other Tungusic or Mongolic languages that an original possessive form develops to a definite or topic marker. Note that in the examples above, each noun phrase with this marker is contextually definite and functions as a subject or topic of the sentence.

The forms *-muni/-muci*, which appeared only after the word *too* (possibly from *toowo* as transcribed by Ikegami 1997:209) may be a reflection of the labial sound of the stem (*too-muni/-muci*<*toowo-ŋuni/ -ŋuci*).

Such a non-possessive definite usage of *-ŋu-ni/-ŋu-ci* is generally not found in Ikegami's text. The frequent occurrence in the above text implies that it may be ascribed to a personal habit of talking. We can find similar examples in Magata 1981 (cf. also Kazama 2001:148), in which the selective meaning of *-ŋuci* is observed from his translation:

*wasilai**ŋuni** goci bojoombo waaxani.* "Wasilai, as you know him, hunt a bear again."

*geeda**ŋuci** uccini.* "One of them said."

*sii**ŋuci** mastta toŋdo nari.* "You, among all, are the very honest man."

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[7] Tsumagari 1985:187. In the text above, we find '*nynu-*' for *ŋənu-* (5 and 8/1). The transcriptions *samani-nuci* (3/2) and *samani ŋuci* (8/1) may represent the same form *samani-ŋuci*.

[8] I had an opportunity to ask an Uilta speaker about the form *ŋuci*, who explained the form by analogy with a Russian conjunction *a* 'while, as for'.

*uilta**ŋuci** lauutamba tooccini.* “An Uilta (among others like Ainu, Gilyak, Japanese and Evenk) drew a sword.” (Magata 1981:154)

Though a possessive suffix usually may not follow another possessive form, the construction like [[*aciga əni-ni*]=*ŋu-ci*] implies that the element *ŋuci* is a clitic whose host can be not a word but a phrase.

4. An example of folk belief concerning a disease

As an additional topic, I would like to point out that the text contains an interesting example of folk belief concerning a disease. We can see the paragraph (9) below[9], in which the frog children lost their sight because their mother brought no berries for them:

(9) /1 *udala ənini puttəni agdami əuxəni, xee xee zildaccini.*
The frog children, joyfully croaking, came down to the riverside.
/2 *udala puttəni ənimbi isuxandani, agdami zildaccini.*
They shouted, delighted that their mother came back.
/3 *aciga ənini puttəni agdami əuxəni.*
The rat children came down to the riverside.
/4 *ceek ceek zildami agdami əuxəni, ənimbi isuxanduni, aciga puttəni.*
The rat children came down, joyfully squeaking, delighted that their mother came back.
/5 *aciga ənini ətuxəni, maŋga bara kurkəm(bə) cak dalupuxani, aciga ənini.*
The rat mother gathered many berries, making her basket full.
/6 *udala ənini geedadda əccini gaddoo,*
The frog mother brought not a single berry.
/7 *purilli isal cipal toktodonocici **xunikku**zi [xun´ukuzi] **xuni**məri.*
All the frog children lost their sight in frustration.
/8 *cipal kaapaduwaci məənə məənə duktakkeeri.*
Both families went up home respectively.

4.1 Lexical explanations for *xuni-* and *xunikku*

The Uilta words *xunikku* and its stem *xuni-* are attested in Ikegami (1997) in connection with such a disease caused by some frustration:

(a) ***xunni-ni*** [stem *xuni-*] (a child) to have a stomachache without getting what s/he wants. (= *xunikullee-ni*): *puttə xunixəni*. “A child had a stomachache wanting a gift from the guest”.
(b) ***xunikku*** a (small dog-like) talisman for a child when s/he has a stomachache without getting what s/he wants (when someone visits with no gift). (Ikegami 1997:246)

Pilsudski himself, perhaps on the basis of the present text, listed the words in his glossary with reference to a Nivkh word:

[9] In this paragraph, Pilsudski made some mistakes in punctuating the sentences, which were maintained in Tsumagari (2011:107) but are corrected here. See Tsumagari (2014) for details.

(c) ***xun´úku, xun´úkuzi*** ‘choroba pragniączka’ [illness?], po gilacku [in Gilyak] ***“kmázind”***. (cf. Majewicz 2011:294)

4.2 Similar belief among neighboring peoples

We can find the similar folk belief with related words among the neighboring Tungusic people. The following description reports a Nanai case:

> When I was invited by a Nanai family and treated with some dishes, the hostess said to me with a smile, “You should taste at least a spoonful of every dish, or you will have *xuni*.” What is *xuni*? It is believed that the visitor who failed to taste any dish will have a stomachache or a minor illness called *xuni*. To cure a *xuni*, you have to receive and eat the dish you left. (Kazama 2003:29)

Krejnovich observed in Nivkh a similar disease called *kmazind*, the word just referred above by Pilsudski. Krejnovich remarks that it is dialectally called *xunind*, which is clearly related to the Tungusic form:

> The Nivkh people in Sakhalin has a belief: some special food such as dog or seal should be shared with others, otherwise the one who was not given it may have an illness called ***kmazind*** (in the village Chaivo ***xunind***). Thus they keep it a rule to share such a food with others. If someone of your family came home and became ill, you first has to make clear where s/he was and what s/he saw. After having identified the possible reason for the illness, you should visit the host and ask for a piece of food, cloth, thread or a hair of fur etc. to cure the patient. If you bring back such a gift for the patient, s/he is believed to be cured. In case the illness is worse, you had better cut the gift into pieces and make him/her drink it with water. Of course such a cure has little effect. (Krejnovich 1993:283-284)

It is interesting that Japanese have a traditional eye disease which was believed to be cured by receiving a gift from others, as shown below:

> The name of the disease *monomorai* (lit. ‘to beg a thing; a beggar’) originates from a belief that the eye disease will be cured by receiving a gift from other’s home. The same is true for the dialectal forms such as *mekoziki*, *meboito* and *mekanzin* (lit. ‘eye-beggar’). (*A Japanese Etymological Dictionary*, Shogakkan 2005:1104)

5. Concluding remarks: Pilsudski and Arsen’ev as collectors of Tungusic materials

In the present paper, I intend to show some values of Pilsudski’s materials both in linguistic and ethnological viewpoints. Finally, I would like to refer to another collector of Tungusic materials of his age, Vladimir K. Arsen’ev (1872-1930), who was a great pioneer of Udihe and

Orochi studies (e.g. Arsen'ev 1995, 2008). Much more attention should be paid for his materials, along with Pilsudski's. It is particularly worth attention that Arsen'ev possibly made some recordings by wax cylinders, as suggested from the description in his famous book *Dersu Uzala*. I hope his recordings do exist somewhere waiting for deciphering.

The minority languages of the world are rapidly losing their speakers. Along with the new documentation of living materials, it is also important task for us to find past materials and bring new light on it.

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B.ピウスツキのウイルタ語民話テキストについて

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ポーランドの民族学者ブロニスワフ・ピウスツキによるツングース諸語資料は、20世紀初頭という比較的早い時期における質量ともにすぐれた記録として貴重である。本稿では、彼のウイルタ語資料の中から民話テキストをとりあげ、ウイルタ語原文ならびに内容面にわたる検討を行う。第1節で彼のツングース諸語資料を概観したのち、第2節では半世紀後に池上によって採集された同じ民話との比較を行うとともに、周辺諸民族の類話を紹介する。ついで第3節で言語面での特徴として、原文に見られる特異な文法的要素*(-)nuci* について、3人称複数譲渡可能所有接辞*-ŋuci* が主題標識化したものである、という解釈を示す。さらに第4節では、周辺諸民族に共通する、ある種の民間信仰にかかわる内容が含まれていることを指摘する。最後に、ピウスツキと同時代のツングース諸語資料収集者としてV. K.アルセーニエフがいたことに触れ、危機言語研究においてこうした文献資料の掘り起しが重要であることを述べる。