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[Materials and Research Notes]

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 Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to obtain new folklore texts but there are still many unpublished texts and audio recordings in various archives, mainly in Japan and Russia.

This paper presents a second unpublished[1] text by Nikolaj Aleksandrovich Nevskij (1892-1937)[2].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 Japense 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

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[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 $imos_1$-$kamuy_2$ 'god$_2$ in a trance$_1$', $noya_1$-$imos_2$-$kamuy_3$ 'mugwort$_1$ god$_3$ in a trance$_2$', chi-$sina$-p_1 $kamuy_2$ '(grass-)woven$_1$ god$_2$', $aynu_1$-tek_2-e_3-kar_4-$kamuy_5$ 'god$_5$ made$_4$ by$_3$ human$_1$ hands$_2$', chi_1-tek_2-e_3-kar_4-kur_5 'a person$_5$ (who) we$_1$ make$_4$ by$_3$ hands$_2$', $kina_1$-$sutu_2$-$inaw_3$-$kamuy_4$ 'club$_2$ sacred stick(-shaped)$_3$ god$_4$ (made of) grass$_1$', $rewarewak_1$-kur_2 'bending$_1$ god$_2$', 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

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[3] This is the interpretation of Chiri (1952: 66), but Philippi (1979: 149) considers this derivation dubious.
[4] Cf. According to Nakagawa (1997: 190), *Aynurakku*r 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 *Aynukrakkur* (=*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} 'I_{10} entered$_9$ through$_8$ a place$_7$ with$_6$ a small$_3$ insect$_4$ hole$_5$ in a mugwort$_1$ stalk$_2$'). 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,
        Paśekamui
        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
　　　Jnwaŋkuśu
　　　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)　страною людей
　　　ajnumośiri
　　　aynu　　　　　　*mosir*
　　　human　　　　　　land
　　　(a god for guarding) Ainu land

(8)　чтобы управлять
　　　epuŋkinekuśu
　　　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.
kamuj opittatak
kamuy   *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
atakkʰaweaś
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
śinoiruśkaan
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
ayne
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)   apakośikirutek
       apa-ko-si-kiru[5]   *tek*
       door-to.APPL-REFL-turn   momentary
       (and) sat facing the door[6].

(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

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[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)   eśimukᵗruka
         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
orowano

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»
uturŭhuta

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 śekorŏ

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

yaynu	*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) śitukariurara 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 śui
          ayne   *suy*
          finally   again
          And finally, again

(57)   к парадному входу идет
          rotta arăpa
          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?
          epakaśnu 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
          orowanośui
          or-o-wa-no   *suy*
          place-POSS-from-ADV   again
          Then again

(62)　śitukariurara 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 śekor 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,

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(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-okaśekorŏ jajnu kor-an ora (затем) śojne-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)　ćoropokketa (под низом) pirikka p-jota śaŋge nojaśara　（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)　śipujnenojasara　（蓬（原）野）śinenojatū kurśutuhu （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）śuptomoho （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?" I[7] thought. Then

(77)　ᵗruweaopeś 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　（一ッ）

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)

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[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（ニ）arpa-an（我　行く）kane-ćiśe (железный дом),
　　　　poro ćise (большой дом)
　　　　nupuri　　　　　kitay　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 (внутрь 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 nepkaśomoanukara (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）iŋgaranakuśu（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.

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[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-amśo kurukaśke tonnatara ośiśomma
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 ćeurarko nojekane śiranćiki
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 urarśimaka okakeheta kunnekośonde（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)　utomćiurekuru tampororek' kotparkaśi（胸どころ）eśeśkekane
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,

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(92) kamujnekuśu kamujkoraći (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) nepekarkuśu (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:) rikuŋkantowa 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.

(97) Airante (я был ниспослан) śakeakarawa (я приготовил вина) kamujopitta (и всех богов) jakuwakorekuru

a=i=ra-n-te			sake	a-kar	wa	kamuy
4.A=4.O=low.place-INTR.SG-CAUS			liquor	4.A-make	and	god

opitta	yaku	a-kor-e		kur
all	role	4.A-have-CAUS		person

I was sent down and made rice wine and (invited) gods, all persons with (high) positions,

(98) opittātak (всех пригласил) huminekunak (кажется так) aramuawā (я думал, но) paśekamui (великого бога)

opitta	a=tak	humi	ne	a=ramu	a
all	4.A=invite	NONVIS.EV	COP	4.A=think	PERF.SG

wa	pase	kamuy
and	be.heavy	god

I felt I invited all of them. I was thinking so, but

(99) aojra-aan (я забыл) kuśujajapapuan (поэтому извиниться) kuśu (чтобы) ek-an (я пришел) śekor (так)

a=oyra	aan	kusu	yayapari=an	kusu
4.A=forget	ADM.SG	because	apologize=4.S	in.order

ek=an	sekor
come.SG=4.S	QUOT

it appeared that I forgot (an important god). So I came in order to apologize."

(100) itak-an (я говорю) hopuniwa-arpa (он встал и пошел;) pujatćorpokun (из-под окна)

itak=an	ho-pun-i		wa	arpa	puyar	corpok	un
speak=4.S	bottom.PF-lift-TR.SG		and	go.SG	window	under	at/to

I said. (The god) stood up and went (out). Under the window

(101) hemantauk korinek' nojaemko korineek

hemanta	uk.	kor	h_ine	ek	noya	emko
what	take.SG	have	and	come.SG	mugwort	half.POSS

kor	h_ine	ek
have	and	come.SG

he picked something. Holding it, he came. He brought a half of mugwort.

(102) ani ukirośere 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) iśirikotke iwampoknamośiri 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 enukuśnejā paśekamui

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 kośnekamui 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 kusuaraŋgekuru 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*
exeed-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) paśeno aihopunire utatturano ekoeśe

pase-no   *a=i=ho-pun-i-re*   *utar̲*

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) jakeaśiri 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) śekor-itak akoeśeruwene 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) earapa (ты пойди) 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 śipopkepne（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）tasironekoro（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) mośimōndasare iśamkunihi ajnuśermak

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 ajnuekaśkamui koro kuśnena śekoro（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 paśekamui(как великий
бог) haweaninekuśu(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) iworśokata nepkamuje kaśuwakkari
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

(124) pāśeno ahopunirep kimuŋkamujnē（山の神）orano

pase-no　　　*a=ho-pun-i-re*　　　　　　　　　*p*

be.heavy-ADV　4.A=bottom.PF-lift-TR.SG-CAUS　　thing/person

kim-un　　　　　　　　*kamuy*　　　*ne.*　*ora-no*

mountains-live.at/belong.to　　god　　　　COP　then-ADV

is the god of mountains (=bear god). Then

(125) otutanu nepkamujenejakka akkari

otutanu nep　　*kamuy-e*　　*ne*　*yakka*　*akkari*

next　　what　　god-POSS　　COP　if　　surpass

compared to any other god

(126) kimuykamuijakuhuporo punihi ajnuwaepakaśnu kunihi

kim-un　　　　　　　　*kamuy*　　*yaku-hu*　　*poro*

mountains-live.at/belong.to　　god　　　role-POSS　　big

kuni-hi　　　　　　　　*aynu*

should/going/surely.COMP-POSS　human

a=e-pakasnu　　　　　　　*kun-ihi*

4.A=about.APPL-teach.to　　should/going/surely.COMP-POSS

the role of the mountain god should be bigger, that fact I taught to humans.

(127) orowa neanoja ajnutekekarakamui

or-o-wa　　　　*nea noya*　*aynu*　*tek-e-kar*　　　*kamuy*

place-POSS-from　that mugwort　human　hand-with.APPL-make　god

Then, (I taught humans) all that even that mugwort god hand-made by humans

(128) śipopkepnekoro kunihi nejakka opitta ajnu

si-pop-ke-p　　　　　　　*ne*　*kor*　*kuni-hi*

REFL-warm-INTR.SG-thing　　as　have　should/going/surely.COMP-POSS

ne　*yakka*　　　*opitta*　*aynu*

COP　although　　all　　human

should be used as a weapon.

(129) aepakaśnu kuśnaŋkuni atananajnu tekekarape

a=e-pakasnu　　　　　*kus*　　*ne*　　　*an?*

4.A=about.APPL-teach.to　intention　COP　　　exist.SG

kuni.　　　　　　　*atanan*　*aynu*　*tek-e-kar-pe*

should/going/surely.COMP　ordinary　human　hand-with.APPL-make

I will teach them that. (Even) an ordinary human hand-made

(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 kamujajnomi 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.) śkōro (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)

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 Nevkij'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

Paśe kamui	Важным богом,
Nupuri kor kamui	богом гор владыкой
Anehineanan	явился, живу я.
Ruweneaike	Но вот
Inwaykuśu	Я слышу, что
čikuykantowa	с верхнего неба,
ajnumośiri	страною людей
epunkinekuśu	чтобъ управить,
arantekamui	ниспосланный бог
ajnueneikiwa	
pirikakuni	
opitta	все
nokahaakare	изображение живым сделал
kuśuran	чтобы, спустившийся
kamui	бог
sake kara	вина наварил
hine oŕa	и затем
xamuj opitta tak	всех богов пригласил.
orowano	Записи
ikuanhawe	
ihajeno	

jaки koч-кич-ка	долполдь имеющимлоси даже
atakкáшeaš	были приглашена
aitakkaš omoкí	Я же приглашен не был.
śinoiruškaan	Страшно рассердивишсь
koч-an-an	живу я
ajne	и вот
śanan ruшene	Я пошел выше.
iкиkanaи	Голоса попойки
ipeкanaи	Голоса пира
otuкitara	громыхают.
ahunan	Я вхожу
apaкośíкiru teк'	
orota monoaanruшene	там монча я сел.
iуkarariкe	И вижу я
ajnuraккичи	Айнуракку ру
matapaкa	сестра
anipuntarí	ковшик с вином
eśímuкᵗчиka	
атpaкane	держиб и
ćiкиpśoнtичи	среди пирующих
erututкe	поживает
koч-an ajne	и вот
inикanчoкan	на меня смотрит только

orowano	Замеи
ijomarekoro	меня угощает и
uturii huta	— на „промежутке"
nejwa ekpe	откуда пришедши сударь,
nejwa ek kamui	откуда пришедший бог
orota eneanhi än śekoŕö	там народу? — так
jájnukor-ijomare	думал меня угощает
ekineii kure	
amotoho hunara koŕ-an	
śitu kari urara otte an	
hine an-an	
ajne śui	замен снова
rotla aŕäpa	к народному меру идёт.
jupietajtai	своего брата держит
anaykatu	видно
erakaśnu nojne jájnuan	и оброси извещай, как мне кажется.
orowano śui	Замен снова
śitu kari urara otte an	
orano neppitoho	
nepkamuje	
hinatkaan hine	
aojraambe	
neruwe an śekor jájnu	

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ćikitajtai iku an wa okere jakne, neppitoho

nejaxka motoho korokatu ahunarajakne

anukara oka'exoro jajnu kor-an ora sojne-an

arapa-an auni,un-arpa-an akonnupuri

coropokketa pirikka pjota'ayge nojasara

'ipujnenojasara sinenojatu kursutuhu

peka ahunan akonnupuri suptomoho

unnohemes'waan aunita arpa-an hineanan

hmta kamui ahunruwean jajnuan orowa

truweaopes' axoropet turasi arapa orowano

osarapaan poronupuri corpokketa arapa

orowano aturajnu ajnenoja sinep

kursutuhu peka ahun xitajxehe peka

sojne poronupuri kojkamatu araparuwean

osarpaan nea poronupuri ikianajne

nupurikitajta-arpa-an kane-cise poro-cise

anruwene ahunanruwene cisconnai

kunnenrara etusnatki nepxasomoanukara

siranajne urarhecaka iygaranaxusu

kaneinumbe pajeruxonna tonnatara

kane-amso kuruxaske tonnatara osisomma

ponurataproxop ceurarko nojekane sirancixi

oxaroxajne urarsimaxa oxakeheta kunnexosonde

utombiurekuru Tampororek' kotparxaśi eśeśkekane

kamujnekuśu kamujkoraśi ajkuruan eneitaki

perekarkuśu eekruweān śekor·itak itakanawe

eneani rikuykantowa ajnumośiri epitta

ajnunomikuśu jakuwakorewa rapakamui

ajnuśakekarakoro enepomikuni aepakapnikuśu

airante śakeakarawa kamujopitta jakuwakorekuru

opittatax huminekunax aramu āwā paśekamui

aojraaan kuśujajapapuan kuśu ek-an śekor

itak-an hopuniwa-arpa pujatśorpoxun

hemantaux korinex' pojaemko korineex

ani ukirośere anine nenoanamma

iśirikotke iwampoxnamośiri ixotke

tojtojkeāyka eaikap eneaweani

tewansoanakne ajep enukuśnejā paśekamui

iworśakata kośnekamui nejaxka enejakuuikkuni

opitta enuwaer·an ruwenehike inorśoka

akoxijannere kuśuarapdekuru aneruwene

ijoirawene kuśu tewansoanakne perkamuje

kaśuwakkaŕi kimuykamui iwaraxokijannere

kuśu jotta paśeno ahopunire orowano

perkośnekamui paśekamui nejaxka axxaŕi

paśeno aihopunire utatturano ekoeśe

jakeaśiri taannoja aetaje kuśunena
śekor-itak akoeśeruwene neanojaetaje
ruwene tannojaekorowa earapa ajnu
tekekarakamui śiporxepne eemśnka
jakanakne atananajnu tekekarape
nejakka neanoja opnekoro taśironekoro
mośimondasare iśamxunihi ajnuśerʻmak
eoraje ajnuekaśkamui xoro kuśnena śekoro
hawean oraexan ene paśexamui haweaninexuśu
iworśoxata nepxameje kaśuwakkari
pāśeno ahopunirep kimuykamujʻnē orano
otutanu nepxamejenejakka akkari
kimuykamuijakuhuporo punihi ajnuwaepakaśnu
orowa neanoja ajnutekekarakamui
śiporxepnekoro kunihi nejakka opitta ajnu
aepaxaśnu kuśnaykuni atananajnu tekekarape
kamuinejakka efuinekamui śimondasare
eaigappene orowano amba ajnu ajnutonoto
ajnuśakē kamujajnomi inaukkamui
śinna-anruwene kuśu ajnuopitta
nujakpirika śkoro.
[Диктовала Janesanno 14/II 1922 г. Otaru]