Annotated Folklore Texts of the Chitose Dialect of Ainu
Recited by Ito Oda

   Recorded on August 24, 1998. Playing Time: 2:49 113

2. *Retar Katak, Kunne Katak. Uwepeker* [White Clew and Black Clew. Folk Tale]
   Recorded on September 5, 1998. Playing Time: 5:26 120


   Recorded on October 13, 1998. Playing Time: 5:59 150


    Recorded on April, 23, 1999. Playing Time: 4:56

    Recorded on May 8, 1999. Playing Time: 8:01

    Recorded on September 14, 1999. Playing Time: 5:45

Folklore Texts of the Chitose Dialect of Ainu Recited by Ito Oda

1. **Ritunna**¹ *Kamuy Yukar* [Rumble. Epics of Gods]


**An Outline of the Story**

The tale is narrated by *kanna kamuy* – the Thunder God who is sharing impressions of his visit to an Ainu village.

One day the Thunder God decided to have a look at how the human-Ainu lived. He tied himself to a vine vehicle and flew.

The Thunder God came to the Ainu village and went to the gateway of the village chief’s house. The Thunder God looked into the window and saw that the village chief was sharpening knives.

There were many beautiful houses [in the village] and the Thunder God was delighted by the imposing sight.

Then the Thunder God saw two Ainu women who looked busy. One woman was weaving a straw mat, another woman was doing needlework. The village chief told them that it seemed that the Thunder God was walking about, so he asked the women to behave politely. But the women had taken off their hats even before they were asked to do so. The Thunder God saw that the women had put aside what they had been doing and thus they behaved politely.

Greatly impressed by how obedient the Ainu people were, the Thunder God returned home.

¹ *Ritunna*, which appears in the story as a refrain (*sakehe*), can be interpreted as an onomatopoeic imitation of the sound of thunder.

*Ritunna. Kamuy Yukar* depicting the Thunder God, who is on his trip to the land of humans, is a realistic description of an Ainu village in the situation, when a thunderstorm is about to break: all people put aside their outdoor work and come indoors.
**Ainu Text with English Translation, Glosses and Notes**

1)  \(\text{rittunna} aynu \text{ kotan} \) \(\text{rittunna}\) \(ci=\phi=nukan \) \(\text{rusuy} \) \(\text{rittunna}\)  
\(V \) Ainu village \(V \) 1PL.S=3.O=see \(V \) want \(V \)  
I wanted to see an Ainu village,

2) \(\text{tan-pe} \) kusu \(\text{rittunna}\), punkar sinta \(\text{rittunna}\)  
this-NR reason \(V \) vine \(V \) vehicle \(V \)  
\(a=\phi=yay-ko-sina\) \(\text{rittunna}\)  
IND.S=3.O=REFL-to.APPL-tie \(V \)  
For this reason, I tied myself to a vine vehicle.

3) \(a=\phi=yay-ko-yupu\) \(\text{rittunna}\)  
IND.S=3.O=REFL-to.APPL-fasten \(V \)  
I fastened myself tight to [the vine vehicle]

4) \(hoyupu=an\) ma, \(\text{rittunna}\)  
fly=IND.S and \(V \)  
[and] flew.

---

2 \(ci=\) is the 1\(^{st}\) person plural exclusive marker, which is attached to transitive verbs (cf. \(as\), the 1\(^{st}\) person plural exclusive marker, which is attached to intransitive verbs). However, it is also used in the meaning of the 1\(^{st}\) person singular, when a God is speaking for himself in \(kamuy \) yukar \ ‘epics of Gods’ (see 4.3.3.1).

3 \(yay-ko-sina\) <REFL-to.APPL-tie> lit. ‘to tie sth to oneself’ (vt) < \(ko-sina\) ‘to tie sth to sb’ (vb) < \(sina\) ‘to tie sth’ (vt). Note that here the applicative prefix introduces an implied reflexive-possessive object, although this is not obvious from my English translation (‘to tie oneself to sth’); cf. \(yay-ko-yupu\) (see also 4.3.4.1.2. and 4.3.4.2.1).

4 \(yay-ko-yupu\) <REFL-to.APPL-fasten> lit. ‘to fasten sth tightly to oneself’ (vt) < \(ko-yupu\) ‘to fasten sth tightly to sb’ (vb) < \(yupu\) ‘to fasten sth tightly’ (vt). Note that here the applicative prefix introduces an implied reflexive-possessive object, although this is not obvious from my English translation (‘to fasten oneself tightly to sth’); cf. \(yay-ko-sina\) (see also 4.3.4.1.2. and 4.3.4.2.1).
5) \( \text{arpa=}an \) \( \text{awa}, \) \( \{\text{rittunna}\} \)
\( \text{go=} \)IND.S \( \text{and} \) \( \text{V} \)
I went and

6) \( \text{kotan} \ \emptyset=\emptyset=\text{kor} \) \( \text{kur} \ \emptyset=\text{soy-ke} \) \( \text{ta} \ \text{arpa=}an \ \text{na}, \)
village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.O=outside-POSS to go=IND.S FIN
I came to the gateway of the village chief’s [house],

7) \( \{\text{rittunna}\} \ \text{ki} \ \text{p} \ \text{ne} \ \text{kusu}, \) \( \{\text{rittunna}\} \)
\( \text{V} \ \text{do} \ \text{NR} \ \text{COP} \ \text{because} \ \text{V} \)
Since it was so,

8) \( \text{puyar} \ \text{or} \ \text{wa} \ \text{he-hewpa=}an \ \text{na}, \) \( \{\text{rittunna}\} \)
window place into head-turn=IND.S FIN V
I looked through the window.

9) \( \text{kotan} \ \emptyset=\emptyset=\text{kor} \) \( \text{kur} \ \emptyset=\text{i-ruyke}^5 \) \( \text{kor} \)
village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=APASS-sharpen and
\( \emptyset=\text{an} \) \( \{\text{rittunna}\} \)
3.S=be V
The village chief was sharpening knives.

10) \( \text{“korka}, \ \text{asinuma} \ \text{anak-ne} \ \text{aynu} \ \text{kotan} \ a=\emptyset=\text{nukan} \ \text{rusuy} \ \text{kusu}, \) \( \text{howeverINDEF} \ \text{TOP-COP} \ \text{Ainu} \ \text{village} \ \text{IND.S=}3.O=\text{see} \ \text{want} \ \text{because} \)
\( \text{arpa=}an \ \text{pe} \ \text{ne}” \)
\( \text{go=} \)IND.S \text{NR} \text{COP} \n“However, I came, because I wanted to see the Ainu village.”

---

5 The actual pronunciation is close to \( \text{irúke} \).
\( \text{i-ruyke} \ \text{<APASS-sharpen>} \ \text{lit} \ ‘\text{to be engaged in sharpening’}(\text{vi}) \ < \ \text{ruyke} \ ‘\text{to sharpen sth’}(\text{vt}). 
The antipassive prefix \( \text{i-} \) denotes the so-called generalized object -‘undetermined person/thing’ which is translated here as ‘knives’ (see 4.3.4.2.4); cf. also \( \text{i-tese} \) in footnote 10.
11) sekor yay-nu=an ma kusu, hoyupu=an ma, {rittunna}
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and because run=IND.S and V
I thought so, I ran [flew?] and

12) aynu kotan ta arpa=an awa, {rittunna}
Ainu village to go=IND.S and V
came to the Ainu village.

13) nep-ene-po iranmakaka {rittunna}
how-like.this-DIM splendidly V
How splendid!

14) Ø=pirka cise {rittun} poro-n-no Ø=an^6 ma^7, {rittunna}
There were many beautiful houses.

15) Ø=as ru^8 konna {rittunna} Ø=mewnatara {rittunna}
3.S=stand sight PRT V 3.S=be.imposing V
The sight of standing [houses] [from above] was imposing.

---

6 Note that in Ainu it is possible to use a single form of the existential verb an ‘to be (SG)’ (cf. okay ‘be (PL)’) with the word poronno ‘many’, i.e. in the sentence with a plural subject. However, the following variant with the plural form okay also occurred in the later interview.

u-neno Ø=okay cise poro-n-no Ø=okay
‘There were many identical houses.’

Ito Oda used a reciprocal adverbial u-neno ‘alike’, which is syntactically related to the immediately following verb okay; the latter serves as a modifier of cise ‘house(s)’.

7 lit. ‘How splendidly good houses were numerous.’

8 ruwe, the possessive form of ru ‘track, trace’, is often used as a nominalizer (NR) or as an assertive nominalizing particle (ASS.NR) which is one of four evidential markers; cf. 4.3.7.1. and 4.3.7.1.1. However, in this case, ru appears in its lexical meaning which is determined by the context, therefore it is translated as ‘sight’. 
16) \(a=\emptyset=e\text{-rayap} \quad \text{kor,} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\} \quad \text{hosipi=}\emptyset \quad \text{na},\)

\(\text{IND.S=}\emptyset \text{.O=}\text{at.APPL=be.delighted} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{return=}\emptyset \text{.FIN}\)

\(\{\text{rittunna}\} \quad \text{suy,}\)

\(\text{V} \quad \text{again}\)

I was delighted at [that] and came back [to the Ainu village]. Again

17) \(\text{kotan} \quad \emptyset=\emptyset=kor \quad \text{kur} \quad \emptyset=\text{soy-ke} \quad \text{ta}\)

\(\text{village} \quad 3.\text{S=}3.\text{O=}\text{have} \quad \text{person}\quad 3.\text{O=}\text{outside-POSS} \quad \text{to}\)

\(\text{ek=}\text{'an} \quad \text{ruwe} \quad \text{ne} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\}\)

\(\text{come=}\text{IND.S} \quad \text{ASS.NR} \quad \text{COP} \quad \text{V}\)

I actually came to the gateway of the village chief’s house.

18) \(\text{inkar=}\text{'an} \quad \text{awa,} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\} \quad \text{tu} \quad \text{menoko} \quad \emptyset=\text{an}^9 \quad \text{ma,} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\}\)

\(\text{look=}\text{IND.S} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{woman} \quad 3.\text{S=}\text{be} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{V}\)

I looked around. There were two women.

19) \(\text{sine} \quad \text{menoko} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\} \quad \emptyset=\text{i-tese}^{10} \quad \text{kor} \quad \emptyset=\text{an} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\}\)

\(\text{one} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{V} \quad 3.\text{S=}\text{APASS-weave} \quad \text{and} \quad 3.\text{S=}\text{be} \quad \text{V}\)

One woman was weaving a straw mat.

20) \(\text{sine} \quad \text{menoko} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\} \quad \emptyset=\text{kemeyki}^{11} \quad \text{kor} \quad \emptyset=\text{an} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\}\)

\(\text{one} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{V} \quad 3.\text{S=}\text{do.needlework} \quad \text{and} \quad 3.\text{S=}\text{be} \quad \text{V}\)

Another woman was doing needlework.

---

9 \(\text{tu} \quad \text{menoko} \quad \emptyset=\text{an} \quad \langle\text{two} \quad \text{woman} \quad 3.\text{S=}\text{be.SG}\rangle \quad \text{‘[there] were two women’}.\)

Note that there is a rule in Ainu that numerals cannot be connected syntactically with verbs in the plural (Chiri (1936) 1974: 62) and Tamura (1970: 609)), so here okay the plural (suppletive) form of existential verb cannot be used.

10 \(\text{i-tese} \langle\text{APASS-weave}\rangle \quad \text{‘to weave a straw mat’ (vi) < tese ‘to weave sth’ (vt) (NAK: 270)}\)

(see 4.3.4.2.4); cf. also \(\text{i-rayke}\) in footnote 5.

11 \(\text{kemeyki} \quad (\text{kom-\text{e}-\text{ik})} \quad \langle\text{needle-by.APPL-APASS-do}\rangle \quad \text{‘to do needlework’ (vi)}.\)
Then the village chief said as follows:

“Women, it seems [from the sounds] that the God is walking about.

Please act politely!”

But [the women] took off their hats [even] before [they had been told].

I saw that the women had put aside what they had been doing and [thus] acted politely.

---

12 The complement of *etok* ‘before, ahead of’ is omitted, but in a later interview Ito Oda used *itak etok ta sapaha uk* ‘before [the village chief] said, they took off their hats’ and explained the phrase in Japanese as well.

13 Here *sapa-ha* <3.S=head-POSS> occurs as a metonymical expression with the meaning ‘their hats’.
27) \( \textit{rittunna} \) “nep-ene-po \( \emptyset =u\text{-}itak-nu^{14} \) ruwe” sekor
V how-like.this-DIM 3.S=REC-word-listen ASS.NR QUOT
\( \text{yay-nu=}an \quad \text{ma}, \)
REFL-hear=IND.S and
“Oh, how obedient they are indeed!” I thought.

28) \( a=\emptyset =e\text{-}rayap \quad \text{kor} \quad \text{hosipi=}an \quad \text{ruwe} \quad \text{ne} \)
IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-be.delighted and return=IND.S ASS.NR COP
\( \text{na} \quad \text{\{rittunna\}} \)
FIN V
Being delighted at [that], I went home.

29) sekor, \( \text{kanna} \quad \text{kamuy} \quad \emptyset =\text{isoytak} \quad \text{ruwe} \quad \text{ne} \)
QUOT thunder God 3.S=tell.story ASS.NR COP
That is the story told by the Thunder God.

\(^{14}\) \( u\text{-}itak-nu \text{<REC-word-listen>} \) i. ‘to agree with/obey each other’; ii. ‘to agree with /obey sb/sth’ (vi) (TAM: 751).

i.) is a proper reciprocal meaning (see 4.3.4.2.2) ; ii.), which is selected here, is a lexicalized non-reciprocal meaning, although it displays some connection with the reciprocal meaning. The lexicalized meaning implies a \textbf{response action} (a person one obeys feels satisfied) of the object referent. Cf. a similar derivation \( u\text{-}paskuma \) ‘to transmit teachings/legends’ (vi) < \textit{paskuma} ‘to tell/transmit stories about ancestors/human origins/history/traditions to sb’ (vt) (TAM 514).
2. Retar Katak, Kunne Katak. Uwepeker [White Clew and Black Clew. Folk Tale]

Recorded on September 5, 1998. Playing Time: 5:26

An Outline of the Story

The story is told by an elder brother, who lived together with his mother and younger brother.

Once, when the boys’ mother was leaving the house, she told them that they had an uncle, who was likely to call on them while she was out and bring some food which they should not eat [it could be poisoned].

When the boys were at home alone, an old man who was their uncle really came holding in his hands a deer foreleg. The uncle offered the meat to the boys. Saying that the boys were already old enough to work, the uncle suggested that on the next day the elder of the two brothers should go to work together with him.

When the boys’ mother came back and heard about the uncle’s visit, she got very angry, because once the uncle had said the same thing to the boys’ father, who was his younger brother, and had taken him away to work. The boys’ father never came back.

Although the uncle had promised to come and meet the elder brother “tomorrow”, which the boy took to mean “when it gets light”, he actually came when it was still dark. The elder brother was getting himself ready to leave when his mother brought two magic clews, a white one and a black one, in order to protect her son. She said that if there was anything that scared him the boy should throw the black clew to that place, and he should throw the white clew behind him, so it could show him the way back. The elder brother took the clews and put them in his bosom. They got into his uncle’s boat and went to work. It took a long time, the day had already broken, and only then the uncle moored the boat to the shore. Both jumped ashore and the uncle pointed to his usual place of work. The elder brother looked around: scary things were moving all around them in profusion. He threw the black clew there and he threw the white clew behind himself. Then he turned and ran back, as the white clew rolled away and he followed it. There was no one coming after him. Finally, he found himself in front of his house. His mother let him in. But the family felt relieved only when they realized that there were no voices or sounds of anyone coming after the elder son.

The boys grew up and went together to the mountains to hunt deer and hares, and
even big bears, providing well for their mother and themselves. Then their mother grew old and died.

Although both brothers got married, they always kept doing everything together.

Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation, and Notes

1)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a=unu-hu} & \quad \emptyset=an, \\
\text{a=ak-ihi} & \quad \emptyset=an \quad \text{ma}
\end{align*}
\]

IND.S=mother-POSS 3.S=be IND.S=younger.brother-POSS 3.S=be and

There was my mother and my younger brother,

2)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ren} & \quad a=ne \\
\text{wa} & \quad \text{oka}^{15}=an \\
\text{pe} & \quad \text{ne}^{16}
\end{align*}
\]

hike\(^{17}\),

three IND.S=COP and be.PL=IND.S NR COP and

[so] the three of us lived [together].

3)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a=unu-hu} & \quad \emptyset=soyne \quad \text{kor,}
\end{align*}
\]

IND.S=mother-POSS 3.S=go.out when

[Once] when our mother was going away.

\(^{15}\) Here is the only occurrence of \textit{oka} <be.PL> (existential verb) in Ito Oda’s data; she uses \textit{okay} elsewhere.

\(^{16}\) Verb+\textit{pe}(NR)+\textit{ne}(COP) is an assertive expression (see 4.3.7.2.4) which is also employed for generic expressions; cf.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kunne soy} & \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{sinot}=an \\
\text{yak-ka} & \quad \emptyset=wen \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{ne}
\end{align*}
\]

at.night outside at play=IND.S if-even 3.S=be.bad NR COP

‘It is bad to play outside at night.’ (SN; T. Satoo, p.c.).

However, here is no such sense. Its usage here is likely to emphasize a retrospective character of narration.

\(^{17}\) Sometimes, especially in the introductory parts of narrations, \textit{hike} (normally ‘but; a one of some kind; as regards to sth’) is used as a synonym of the conjunction \textit{wa}. In such cases the difference between \textit{wa} and \textit{hike} is not clear; they may be interchangeable.
4) “eci=aca-ha Ø=an ruwe ne na,
2PL.S=uncle-POSS 3.S=be ASS.NR COP FIN
[she said]: “It is fact that there is your uncle.

5) nep ka a=e-p Ø=Ø=kor wa Ø=ek,
something even IND.S=eat-NR 3.S=3.O=have and 3.S=come

nankor na,
probably FIN
He may bring some food.

6) asinuma isam¹⁸ rapok,
INDEF not.exist (here: ‘not be at home, be out’) while
[But] while I am away,

7) iteki e yan” sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor patek
PROH eat IMP.POL QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and only

Ø=soyne,
3.S=go.out
don’t eat that!” Just saying so, she went out.

8) kor okay=’an akusu,
when be.PL=IND.S then
We stayed [at home] and,

9) sonno poka, Ø=poro aynu Ø=ek wa,
indeed just 3.S=be.big/old¹⁹ man 3.S=come and
indeed, an old man came.

¹⁸ isam (vi) is a so-called lexical negative verb, i.e. the concept of negation is included in the meaning itself (see 4.4.3). Note, that here the verb takes no personal affixes, which is against our expectations.

¹⁹ It is unclear from the context, whether the uncle was “big (tall/fat)” or “old”, or even both. For my English translation I have chosen “old”, since the man was older than the speaker in any case.
10) **yuk** Ø=tapkir-i  
**sinep** Ø=Ø=ani


*kane*²⁰  
w,

while.AUX and

Holding in his hands a single deer fore leg,

11) **Ø=ek**  
**wa, “Ø=e yan, haa, eci=poro ruwe an,**

3.S=come and 3.O=eat IMP.POL oh 2PL.S=be.big ASS.NR be

he came [in]. “Please eat [it]! Oh, you have grown [so] big indeed!

12) **tane (nepki), Ø=nepki e-askay**²¹  
**pak, eci=poro ruwe an,**

already work 3.S=work of.APPL-be.able as 2SG.S=be.big

ASS.NR be

You are so big, that you really can already work!

---

²⁰ The meanings of *kane*, which is probably the most tricky syntactic word in Ainu appearing as an auxiliary verb, conjunction and adverbal particle, need further consideration (see Sato(o): 2002).

²¹ In a verb-verb construction, personal affixes attach to only one of the verbs, mainly to the notional verb coming first, so the second verb functions as an auxiliary (cf. 4.3.7.3.3). However, in some cases, the second verb is marked for person and the first verb is left unmarked, functioning as an argument of the second verb (no formal nominalization is required). There is no way we can say for sure, which of the two strategies has been selected in the phrase in question, because in Ainu the 3rd person SG/PL is zero-marked for subject and object (see 4.3.3.3).
13) *nisat-ta nepki-e-paye*22=an  
  
  *kus ne na*23,  
  
  dawn-at work-for.APPL-go.PL=IND.S going.to COP FIN  
  
  Let’s go to work tomorrow!

14) *eci=ekanok kus ne na”, sekor*  
  
  IND.S>2SG.O=meet going.to COP FIN QUOT  
  
  Ø=haw-e-an  
  
  kor,  
  
  3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
  
  I’ll come and meet you.” Saying so,

15) *Ø=hosipi wa Ø=isam, a=unu-hu Ø=ek wa*  
  
  
  [the uncle] went away. Our mother came and

16) *a=Ø=ye akusu, “isenram” sekor,*  
  
  IND.S=3.S=tell then again QUOT  
  
  I told her [what had happened]. “[He is at it] again!” [She said].

17) “*eci=ona-ha*24  
  
  2PL.S=farther-POSS also like that 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
  
  “Saying like that, [the uncle] also

---

22 The underlying verb *paye* ‘to go.PL’ is intransitive, so an object (*nepki* ‘work’) could have been incorporated only via applicative formation (*e- ‘for’), see 4.3.4.2.5.

23 Verb+*kus(u)+ne+na* originally expresses intentional mood (see 4.3.7.3.2). The use of the intentional marker *kusu* has been expanded to the periphrastic imperative (cf. 4.3.7.3.2), and the cohortative meaning in this sentence which is also a kind of imperative is conditioned by the use of the verb in the plural inclusive (=indefinite) form. As noted by Tamura (1976: 180-181), cohortatives of this kind imply a rather strong recommendation to join the speaker and are usually addressed to a person of younger age or lower status.

24 Note that *eci=ona-ha* ‘your farther’, is syntactically connected to *tura* ‘to take sb along’ (vt) as its direct object, but not to the adjacent *haw-e-an* ‘to say’, because the latter is intransitive. A brief pause after *eci=ona-ha ka* signals the speakers hesitation.
18) Ø=Ø=tura wa Ø=arpa wa,
 3.S=3.O=take.along and 3.S=go and
took your father away with him and left.

19) eci=ona-ha ka Ø=hosipi ka somo ki ruwe ne no,
 2PL.S=father-POSS also 3.S=return even NEG do ASS.NR COP and
It is a fact that your father never came back. And

20) akusu, suy ene Ø=haw-e-an i”,
  then again like that 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
[now] again [the uncle] said that!”

21) sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor
  QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be while
While saying so,

22) a=unu-hu Ø=i-ruska kor Ø=an a
  IND.S=mother-POSS 3.S=APASS-be.angry and 3.S=be PERF

  p ne,
  NR COP
our mother got angry.

23) “nisat-ta” sekor haw-’as yak-ka,
  dawn-at QUOT voice-stand if-even
Although it was said “tomorrow”,

24) “sir-pek’er wa haw-’as, nisat-ta Ø=ne”
  appearance-be.light and voice-stand tomorrow-at 3.S=COP

  kunak a=Ø=ramu akusu,
  INDR IND.S=3.O=think then
I thought that tomorrow comes when it gets light.
25) *naa nisat ka Ø=ek ka somo ki, sir-kunne*

still dawn even 3.S=come even NEG do appearance-be.dark

*hi ta,*

time.NR at

When the day still didn’t break yet [and] it was dark: [the uncle came:]

26) *haa, eci=ekanok kusu ek=an ruwe ne”*,

hi IND.S>2SG.O=meet in.order come=IND.S ASS.NR COP

“Hi! I came to meet you.”

27) *sekor Ø=haw-e-an ma, kusu,*

QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and because

As he said that,

28) *sipine=an kor an=’an akusu,*

dress.oneself=IND.S and be=IND.S then

I got myself dressed. Then

29) *a=unu-hu Ø=retar katak sinep, Ø=kunne katak sinep*

IND.S=mother-POSS 3.S=white clew one 3.S=black clew one

Ø=i=kor-e wa Ø=ek wa,

3.S=IND.O=have-CAUS and 3.S=come and

my mother brought me one white clew and one black clew.

30) “*nep ka e=Ø=sitoma [p] an yak-un,*

something even 2SG.S=3.O=be.afraid.of [NR] be if-EMP

“If there is anything that you get scared of,

31) *or-o un Ø=kunne katak e=Ø=osura,*

place-POSS to 3.S=black clew 2SG.S=3.O=throw

you should throw the black clew to that place
32) $\varnothing=\text{retar} \quad \text{katak} \quad \text{anak} \quad \text{si}-y-\text{oka} \quad \text{un} \quad e=\varnothing=\text{osura} \quad \text{yak},$
   
   $3.S=\text{white clew} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{REFL-EP-behind} \quad \text{to} \quad 2SG.S=3.O=\text{throw} \quad \text{if}$
   
   $\varnothing=\text{pirka} \quad na^{25},$
   
   $3.S=\text{be.good} \quad \text{FIN}$
   
   and, as to the white clew, you should throw [it] behind yourself.”

33) $\text{sekor} \quad \varnothing=\text{hawe-an} \quad \text{kor},$
   
   QUOT $3.S=\text{voice-be} \quad \text{while}$
   
   Saying so,

34) $\text{katak} \quad \text{tup} \quad \varnothing=i=\text{kor-e} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{kusu},$
   
   clew two $3.S=\text{IND.O=have-CAUS} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{because}$
   
   [my mother] gave me the two clews, so

35) $a=\text{upsor-o} \quad a=\varnothing=\text{oma-re} \quad \text{wa}, \quad \text{arpa=an}$
   
   IND.$S=\text{bosom-POSS} \quad \text{IND.$S=3.O=enter-CAUS} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{go=IND.$S}$
   
   I put them in my bosom and went.

36) $\text{ne} \quad a=\text{aca-ha} \quad \varnothing=\varnothing=\text{kor} \quad \text{cip}$
   
   this $3.S=\text{IND.$S=uncle-POSS} \quad 3.S=3.O=\text{have} \quad \text{boat}$
   
   $a=i=o-re \quad \text{wa},$ \hspace{1cm} PASS=$\text{IND.$O=enter-board-CAUS} \quad \text{and}$
   
   I was taken on board of my uncle’s boat.

37) $\text{arpa=an} \quad \text{ayne}, \quad \text{si-r-pekerc}$
   
   go=$\text{IND.$S} \quad \text{finally} \quad \text{appearance-be.light} \quad \text{and}$
   
   I went and finally the day broke.

---

$^{25}$ 2SG/PL.$S=\text{Verb+yak+pirka+na}$ (lit. ‘if you do sth, it will be good’) is a periphrastic imperative expression (see 4.6.2.5) used among socially equal grown-ups, like in the context in question, when an older female is speaking to a younger man (in Ainu culture sex and age are considered to be the important factors determining a person’s social status). Note that this Ainu expression is translated into English by ‘you should’ in lines 31, 32.
38) inkar='an akusu, haa, a=Ø=sitoma no Ø=okay pe look=IND.S then oh IND.S=3.O=be.afraid.of and 3.S=be.PL thing I looked around and, oh, the scary things [the things that people in general are (usually) afraid of]

39) poro-n-no Ø=okay, “te-ta nepki=an usi Ø=ne”, be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be.PL here-at work=IND.S usual.place 3.S=COP were in great numbers. “Here is the usual place we work at.”

40) sekor, Ø=haw-e-an kor, Ø=cip-e-ya-otke26 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be when 3.S=boat-by.APPL-land-prick wa kusu,
and because
Saying so, [my uncle] moored the boat to the shore, so

41) cip or wa heyasi terke=an ma, inkar='an akusu, boat place from to.the.shore jump=IND.S and look=IND.S then we jumped ashore from the boat. We looked around.

42) haa, a=Ø=sitoma no Ø=okay pe poro-n-no oh IND=3.O=be.afraid.of and 3.S=be.PL thing be.many-EP-ADV Oh, there were lots of scary things [the things that people in general are (usually) afraid of]

---

26 cip-e-ya-otke <boat-by.APPL-land-prick> ‘to moor boat to the shore/bank’ (vi) (lit. ‘to prick land by a boat’) is a verb with two incorporated nouns. Firstly, the direct object (ya ‘land’) is incorporated in the transitive verb otke ‘to prick sth/sb’, which results in intransitivization of the base verb, secondly, the oblique object cip ‘boat’ is incorporated via applicative formation (the applicative increases valence and noun incorporation reduces valence, so the resultant verb is intransitive), see 4.3.4.2.5.
43) \(\emptyset=uko-moy-oy-ke^{27}\) kor \(\emptyset=okay,\)
moving here and there.

44) akusu, \(\emptyset=kunne\) katak e-un a=\(\emptyset=osura\) wa,
    then 3.S=black clew there-to IND.S=3.O=throw and
    Then I threw the black clew there and

45) \(\emptyset=retar\) katak si-y-o ka un a=\(\emptyset=osura\) wa,
    3.S=white clew REFL-EP-behind to IND.S=3.O=throw and
    I threw behind myself the white clew.

46) or-o-wa, hoyupu=an ma si-y-o ka un hosipi=an,
    there-POSS-from run=IND.S and REFL-EP-behind to return=IND.S
    After that I returned back and ran away.

47) \(\emptyset=retar\) katak \(\emptyset=kar-kar-se\) hi ne-no, \(\emptyset=retar\) katak

\(\emptyset=kes-e\) a=\(\emptyset=anpa^{28}\) wa,
    3.O=end-POSS IND.S=3.O=hold.PL and
    As the white clew was rolling away, I followed the white clew.

48) hoyupu=an ma hosipi=an korka, i=y-os nep ka
    run=IND.S and return=IND.S but IND.O=EP-after something even
    [Thus] running, I returned home,

\footnotesize

---

27 *uko-moy-oy-ke* ‘to move here and there’ is derived by means of the complex reciprocal prefix *uko-* (see 4.3.4.2.2) and it is lexicalized. The meaning ‘here and there’ is sometimes termed recipocative and it displays close connection with the reciprocal meaning (V.P. Nedjalkov, p.c.).

28 *kes anpa* ‘to follow/chase sth/sb’ (here: lit. ‘I held the end of the white clew’) is a phrasal verb consisting of the locative noun *kes* ‘end, edge’ which takes personal markers of the object, and of the transitive verb *anpa* ‘to hold sth/sb (PL)’ (single form *ani* ‘to hold sth/sb (SG)’ never occurs as part of the phrasal verb); for the detailed description of phrasal verbs refer (Sato(o): 2001b).
49) Ø=ek hum-i ka, Ø=ek haw-e²⁹ ka Ø=isam no, 3.S=come sound-POSS even 3.S=come voice-POSS even 3.S=not.exist and and there were no sound[s] or voice[s] of anything, coming after me.

50) hoyupu=an ma, Ø=retar katak Ø=kes-e a=Ø=anpa wa, run=IND.S and 3.S=white clew 3.O=end-POSS IND.S=3.O=hold and arpa=an ayne,
go=IND.S finally
Running, I kept going after the white clew and finally

51) a=uni-hi Ø=soy-ke ta arpa=an ruwe ne IND.S=house-POSS 3.O=outside-POSS to go=IND.S ASS.NR COP wa, kusu (a, au...) and because I was in front of my house.

52) “a=unu-hu, hosipi=an na” sekor haw-e-an=’an akusu IND.S=mother-POSS return=IND.S FIN QUOT voice-POSS-be=IND.S then I said: “Mother, I am back!”

53) “haa, neun ne korka” sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor, oh somehow COP but QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be then “Fine!”³⁰ Saying so,

²⁹ humi, hawe are often used as nominalizing evidential particles with the reference to the source which the information is based on (see 4.3.7.1); however in the sentence 49 the original meanings of hum-i ‘the sound of’, haw-e ‘the voice of’ seem to be retained (see also 55). In my English translation, I follow the Japanese translation suggested by Ito Oda in her interview.

³⁰ The corresponding Japanese translation was suggested by Ito Oda.
54) *apa Ø=Ø=cak-a wa Ø=i=kor-e wa,*
door 3.S=3.O=open-TR and 3.S=IND.O=have-CAUS and

*ahup³¹ = 'an korka,*
enter.PL?=IND.S but
[my mother] opened the door for me and I came in.

55) *nep ka i=y-os Ø=ek haw-e ka*
something even IND.O=EP-after 3.S=come voice-POSS even

*Ø=isam pe ne kusu,*
3.S=not.exist NR COP because
As there were no voice[s] of anyone, coming after me,

56) *a=Ø=eramusinne wa okay=’an, or-o-wa-no,*
IND.S=3.O=feel.relieved and be.PL=IND.S there-POSS-from-ADV
we felt relieved. Then

57) *tane poro=an pe ne kusu,*
already be.big=IND.S NR COP because
as we were already grown up,

58) *a=ak-ihi tura-no ekimne arpa=an ma,*
IND.S=younger.brother-POSS together-ADV to.the.mountains go=IND.S and
I went to the mountains to hunt together with my younger brother.

59) *yuk ne yak-ka, isepo ne yak-ka a=Ø=ray-ke wa*
deer COP if-even hare COP if-even IND.S=3.O=die-CAUS and

*ek=’an ma,*
come=IND.S and
I killed deer and hares.

---

³¹ *ahup* <enter.PL> is a plural form of the verb *ahun* <enter.SG>; the latter form would be more contextually appropriate here.
60) \(a=unu-hu\) \(a=\emptyset=e-re\) \(kor\) \(okay=\acute{an}\)

\(\text{IND.S=mother-POSS}\ \text{IND.S=3.O=eat-CAUS}\ \text{and be.PL=IND.S}\)

We were feeding our mother.

61) \(a=unu-hu\) \(pirka-reska^{32}\) \(\emptyset=an\) \(kor\) \(okay=\acute{an}\) \(ayne\),

\(\text{IND.S=mother-POSS}\ \text{be.good-provide.for}\ \text{3.S=be}\ \text{and be.PL=IND.S}\ \text{finally}\)

We provided for our mother well and finally (lit. ‘as to our mother, there was good providing and [so] we lived, finally’)

62) \(tane\) \(poro=an\) \(pe\) \(ne\) \(kusu\),

already \(\text{be.big=IND.S}\ \text{NR}\ \text{COP}\ \text{because}\)

we already became adults,

63) \(\emptyset=poro\) \(kamuy\) \(ka\) \(a=\emptyset=osikoni\) \(ka\) \(ki\) \(p\) \(ne\) \(kusu\),

\(\text{3.S=be.big}\ \text{bear}\ \text{even}\ \text{IND.S=3.O=catch}\ \text{even do}\ \text{NR}\ \text{COP}\ \text{because}\)

as we even hunted down big bears,

64) \(a=unu-hu\) \(pirka\) \(a=\emptyset=reska\) \(ki\),

\(\text{IND.S=mother-POSS}\ \text{be.good}\ \text{IND.S=3.O=provide.for}\ \text{do}\)

we fed our mother well.

65) \(\emptyset=pirka\) \(a=e-p\) \(a=\emptyset=e-re\) \(kor\) \(okay=\acute{an}\) \(ayne\),

\(\text{3.S=be.good}\ \text{IND.S=eat-NR}\ \text{IND.S=3.S=eat-CAUS}\ \text{and be.PL=IND.S}\ \text{finally}\)

We were feeding good food to [our mother]. Finally,

66) \(a=unu-hu\) \(ka\) \(\emptyset=onne\) \(wa\) \(\emptyset=isam\) \(korka\),

\(\text{IND.S=mother-POSS}\ \text{even}\ \text{3.S=be.old}\ \text{and 3.S=not.exist}\ \text{however}\)

our mother grew old and died. However,

---

\(32\) Here, in \(pirka-reska\) one may observe a case of attributive (\(pirka\ ‘to be good’) incorporation (the incorporation of intransitive verbs in attributive position, see 4.3.4.2.5, cf. (72c)) in a transitive verb (\(reska\ ‘to raise/provide for sb’) which is then nominalized without any change in morphology.
67) \(a=ak\text{-}ihi\) \(tura\text{-}no\) \(ekimne^{33}\) \(ne\)
IND.S=younger.brother-POSS together-ADV go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt COP

\(yak\text{-}ka,\) \(nep\) \(a=\emptyset=ki\) \(yak\text{-}ka\)
even-if whatever IND.S=3.O=do even-if
when going to the mountains to hunt or do other things, we did everything
together with my younger brother.

68) \(a=ak\text{-}ihi\) \(tura\text{-}no\) \(patek\) \(\emptyset=an\) \(nankor\)
IND.S=younger.brother-POSS together-ADV only 3.S=be perhaps
We were always together with my younger brother (lit. ‘it was always together
with my younger brother’).

69) \(asinuma\) \(ka\) \(tane\) \(poro=an\) \(pe\) \(ne\) \(kusu,\)
INDEF even already be.big=IND.S NR COP because
As I already became an adult,

70) \(\emptyset=pirka\) \(menoko\) \(a=\emptyset=etun\) \(ma\)
3.S=be.good/beautiful woman IND.S=3.O=get.as.a.bride and

\(a=\emptyset=kor^{34}\) \(wa,\)
IND.S=3.O=have and
I got a beautiful woman as a bride and married her.

71) \(a=ak\text{-}ihi\) \(ka\)
IND.S=younger.brother-POSS also
As to my brother,

---

33 The verb is nominalized without any change in morphology.
34 As a lexicalized verb, \textit{kor} ‘to have/possess sth’ means ‘to marry sb’.
72) Ø=pirka menoko a=Ø=etun ma
3.S= be.good/beautiful woman IND.S=3.O=get.as.a.bride and

a=Ø=kor-e\textsuperscript{35} wa,
IND.S=3.O=have-CAUS and
I found him a beautiful woman for a bride, too.

35 The construction notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’ + kor-e ‘to give sth to sb’ has the benefactive meaning (see 4.3.6.1).

73) a=ak-ihi tura-no, nep a=Ø=ki
IND.S=younger.brother-POSS together-ADV whatever IND.S=3.O=do

yak-ka, a=Ø=kar kor okay=’an\textsuperscript{36} ruwe ne
if-even IND.S=3.O=make and be.PL=IND.S ASS.NR COP
Whatever we did, we used to do [it] together with my younger brother.

36 The construction notional verb + conjunction kor ‘and’ + an(SG)okay (PL) ‘to be’ which usually expresses the meaning of progressive aspect is used here to express habitative (see 4.3.5.2.1, cf. (93)).


An Outline of the Story

The story is narrated by an Ainu woman, who managed to marry *kanna kamuy* – the Thunder God.

Once an eloquent *kakkok* – Cuckoo perched on the altar with *inaw* – prayer sticks. The Cuckoo was hopping about and it kept singing for six days and nights and after that it went away.

There lived a lonely woman. One day she was visited by a stranger, who ate and stayed overnight at the woman’s place, and finally they married. Then the eloquent Cuckoo descended from the sky and started singing. The Cuckoo sang again for six days and nights, and all that time the woman’s husband was lying down and didn’t eat anything. The woman was distressed but her husband wouldn’t get up.

Only when the cuckoo went away, the husband got up for the first time. He took fire-chopsticks and sat down on the seat of honor. Lost in his thoughts, the husband was shifting the coals from the shore [the edge of the hearth] to the sea [the middle of the hearth] and the coals from the sea [the middle of the hearth] to the shore [the edge of the hearth].

Then he told his wife that he was not a human but one of six brothers, the Gods of Thunder. He was the only Thunder God who couldn’t find a wife for himself in heaven, so he descended to the land of humans searching for a perfect match. Having found the one, the Thunder God married and did not return to heaven. However, the other Gods sent down a cuckoo who insisted on the Thunder God’s return to heaven, because he had to help his brothers – the Thunder Gods with their job. The Thunder God could not disobey, otherwise he would never again have a chance to mix with other Gods, but he promised to come and see his wife after six years. In order to carry out his plan, the wife was supposed to make six hoods and put on all of them at once and then take off one hood every year. Having explained everything, the Thunder God turned himself into a bird and flew out of the window to the outside altar with *inaw*-prayer sticks. The woman rushed outside, but her husband was already ascending into the sky. Both were crying. His tears were falling as heavily as a summer rain and it seemed that he was trying to say something. The woman returned home, she made six hoods, put them on her head, and she kept taking off one hood each year, just like her husband had told her.
to do.

When six years passed the Thunder God came for his wife. He took her to heaven with him and they celebrated a real marriage there, a true marriage, and there was nothing to complain about. And they lived happily ever after.

Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1) \{U\} rek-no kakkok \{hunaa aoo\}  
V sing-ADV cuckoo V  
A singing cuckoo,

2) Ø=pawasnu hike \{no uu aoo\},  
3.S=be.eloquent one.of.some.kind V  
one of the eloquent kind,

3) inaw-san \{hunaa aoo\}  
whittled.prayer.sticks.used.as.offerings.to.Gods-shelf above on V  
\{u\} Ø=rew ki ki wa \{no uu aoo\},  
V 3.S=perch do do and V  
perched on the altar with inaw-prayer sticks.
4) e-si-so-un wa37 {hunaa aoo} e-harki-so-un {no uu wa un}
   head-right-seat-to and V head-left-seat-to V
   {u} Ø=terke-terke {hunaa aoo}
   V 3.S=hop-hop V
   It was hopping from a seat on the right to a seat on the left.

5) {u} tokap rerko {no uu aoo}
   V daytime day V
   In the daytime

6) {u} iwan rerko38 {hunaa aoo}
   V six day V
   for six days,

7) {u} kunne rerko {no uu aoo}
   V nighttime day V
   in the nighttime

8) {u} iwan rerko {hunaa aoo}
   V six day V
   for six days

9) Ø=rek a Ø=rek a ayne Ø=hosipi wa Ø=arpa
   [the cuckoo] was singing and singing, and finally returned [to the sky].

37  wa is a conjunction coordinating predicates or clauses, but not adverbs, like e-sisoun ‘to the right’,
eharkisoun ‘to the left’. Hence the two words appear here as intransitive verbs e-sisoun ‘to move to
the right seat’, eharkisoun ‘to move to the left seat’, which have gone out of use in the course of
time, being retained only in fossilized expressions. However, for the sake of convenience, they are
translated as adverbs.

38  According to Ito Oda, iwan rerko ‘six days’ is regarded by the Ainu as ‘a week’.
10) あるところに、*kamuy yukar* ね、あるところに
SOME PLACE. [THIS IS A ] kamuy yukar, AT SOME PLACE,

$makanak ne wa sine menoko ne \emptyset=an ma, \emptyset=an$
why COP and one woman as 3.S=be and 3.S=be

$pe a=ne ruwe ka$
person IND.S=COP ASS.NR even

Why was I a person living as a lonely woman,

11) $a=\emptyset=eramiskari korka,$
IND.S=3.O=not.know however
I didn’t know that. However

12) $sinen ne \emptyset=an menoko a=ne akusu,$
one.person as 3.S=be woman IND.S=COP then
I was a lonely woman, then

13) $or-o ta okkaypo sinen \emptyset=ek wa,$
place-POSS to young.man one.person 3.S=come and
a young man came there [along].

14) $aynu \emptyset=ne kuni (ay...ay...) a=\emptyset=e-pokna-re,$
human 3.S=COP must.be IND.S=3.O=APPL-downward-CAUS

$kamuy \emptyset=ne kuni (a=\emptyset=(e)ramu) [a=\emptyset=e-kan-na-re]$  
God 3.S=COP must.be (IND.S=think) [IND.S=3.O=APPL-up-to-CAUS]
I thought he surely was not a human, but a God.39

39 The translation was suggested by Ito Oda. This is an idiomatic expression and it is not quite clear in what way the verbs *e-pokna-re* ‘to make sth turn downward’ and *e-kanna-re* ‘to make sth turn upward’ are syntactically connected with the previous context.
15) kamuy ne (ne ya) kuni a=Ø=(e)ramu
God COP (COP Q) must.be IND.S=3.O=think

[a=Ø=e-kanna-re] kor
[IND.S=3.O=APPL-above-CAUS] and
I realized that he was a God.

16) a=Ø=nukar okkaypo Ø=ek wa,
IND.S=3.O=see young.man 3.S=come and
The young man, whom I saw, came and

17) i=y-ot ta, Ø=sini wa Ø=an ma kusu,
IND.O=EP-place at 3.S=rest and 3.S=be and because
had a rest at my place, so

18) suke=an ma a=Ø=ipe-re akusu,
cook=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=eat-CAUS then
I cooked and fed him

19) Ø=ipe ka ki, i=y-ot ta, Ø=rewsi ka
3.S=eat also do IND.O=EP-place at 3.S=stay.overnight also

ki wa,
do and
He ate and stayed for the night at my place and

20) okay=’an ayne u-kor=’an ma okay=’an awa,
be.PL=IND.S finally REC-have=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S then
[so] we lived. Finally, we slept together.

21) {u} rek-no kakkok, Ø=pawasnu hike,
V sing-ADV cuckoo 3.S=be.eloquent one.of.some.kind
The singing cuckoo, one of the eloquent kind,
22) Ø=ran ma Ø=ek[^40] wa,  

23) tokap rerko, iwan rerko, kunne rerko, iwan rerko  
daytime day six day nighttime day six day  
For six days, all day and all night

24) Ø=rek a Ø=rek a kor Ø=an hi ta patek,  
3.S=sing ITR 3.S=sing ITR and 3.S=be time at only  
only when [the cuckoo] was singing and singing,

25) a=an-te-hoku Ø=ipe ka somo ki no  
IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS 3.S=eat even NEG do and  
my husband didn’t eat,

26) Ø=hotke wa patek Ø=an ma,  
3.S=lie.down and only 3.S=be and  
he was only lying down.

27) otcike[^41] a=Ø=kar wa,  
tray IND.S=3.O=make and  
I prepared (lit. ‘made’) a tray [with food].

28) a=e-p ne yak-ka Ø=Ø=e ka somo ki p ne kusu,  
IND.S=eat-NR COP if-even 3.S=3.O=eat even NEG do NR COP because  
As [my husband] didn’t eat any food,

29) asinuma ka a=Ø=erampekamam kor, Ø=an korka,  
INDEF also IND.S=3.O=be.distressed.by and 3.S=be but  
I was distressed by that. It was [so], but

[^40] See footnote 10.

[^41] otcike ‘a lacquer tray’ was a commodity item bartered from the Japanese (OI).
30) Ø=hopuni ka somo ki no Ø=hotke wa Ø=an
3.S=get.up even NEG do and 3.S=lie.down and 3.S=be
[myp husband] wouldn’t get up, he stayed in bed.

31) kakkok Ø=hosipi akusu,
cuckoo 3.S=return when
When the cuckoo flew away,

32) easir Ø=hopuni wa Ø=ek wa,
for.the.first.time 3.S=get.up and 3.S=come and
[my husband] got up for the first time and came [out].

33) rot ta, ape-pasuy Ø=Ø=kor wa, Ø=a wa,
seat.of.honour at fire-chopsticks 3.S=3.O=hold and 3.S=sit.down and
He took fire-chopsticks and sat down on the seat of honor.

34) (rep o usat), ya Ø=Ø=o usat, Ø=rep-o-ray-e,
He shifted the coals from the shore [the edge of the hearth] to the sea [the middle of the hearth].

35) rep Ø=Ø=o usat, Ø=ya-o-ray-e kor,
sea 3.S=3.O=enter.into coals 3.S=shore.to.APPL-move-TR and
He shifted the coals from the sea [the middle of the hearth] to the shore [the edge of the hearth].

36) “a=an-te-maci, itak=’an ciki
IND.S=be-CAUS-wife.POSS speak=IND.S if
“My wife, if I speak,

37) pirka-no e=Ø=nu kus ne na,
good-ADV 2SG.S=3.O=hear intention COP FIN
you should listen well.

42 The scene of “the husband moving coals”, described in lines 34, 35, implies ‘brooding over some matter’.
38) \textit{asinuma anak-ne aynu ka somo a=ne}  
INDEF TOP-COP human even NEG IND.S=COP  
I am not a human,  

39) \textit{kamuy, kanna kamuy iwan irwak ne Ø=an pe}  
God thunder God six sibling as 3.S=be person  
\textit{a=ne korka,}  
IND.S=COP but  
I am one of six brothers, the Gods of Thunder.  

40) \textit{a=yup-utar-i anak-ne opitta mat Ø=Ø=kor korka,}  
IND.S=elder.brother-PL-POSS TOP-COP all wife 3.S=3.O=have but  
All of my elder brothers have wives, but  

41) \textit{asinuma anak-ne}  
INDEF TOP-COP  
as to me,  

42) \textit{a=Ø=yay-kotom-ka}^{43} p oar kamuy ot ta  
IND.S=3.O=REFL-match-CAUS person whole God place in  
\textit{a=Ø=nukar cik,}  
IND.S=3.O=look.for when  
when I looked for a person who would be a good match for me everywhere in the place of Gods,  

43) \textit{a=Ø=erampewtek ruwe ne wa, kusu}  
IND.S=3.O=not.know ASS.NR COP and because  
I couldn’t find one, so  

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{43} \textit{yay-kotom-ka} ‘to match sb’ (vt) < \textit{kotom} ‘to match’ (vi) (NAK 187). The valence rules (cf. 4.3.4.1. and 4.3.4.2) seem to be violated here: \textit{yay-kotom-ka} is derived by attaching the causative suffix \textit{–ka} (see 4.3.4.1.1), increasing valence by one, and the reflexive prefix \textit{yay-}, decreasing valence by one (see 4.3.4.2.1), however, contrary to our expectations, the derivative is transitive.
44) *aynu or un inkar=’an akusu,*
   human place at look=IND.S then
   I looked in the place of humans.

45) *eani pak-no a=Ø=yay-kotom-ka p Ø=isam*
   you as-ADV IND.S=3.O=REFL-match-CAUS person 3.S=not.exist
   ruwe ne wa,
   ASS.NR COP and
   There was no one matching myself as you do.

46) *kusu ran=[’an]*
   because descend=[IND.S] and REC-have=IND.S ASS.NR COP however
   So I descended [from heaven] and we married. However

47) *kamuy opitta, Ø=Ø=ye, なんだったな、 wa, kusu,*
   God all 3.S=3.O=say WHAT SHALL I SAY and because
   since all the Gods said…

48) “*tane hosipi=an somo ki yak,*
   now return=IND.S NEG do if
   “If you don’t return now,

49) *kamuy (ee) e=Ø=ko-poy-ke (e)*
   God 2SG.S=3.O=with.APPL-mix-INTR
   e=Ø=ki (e=ki) e-aykap na”
   2SG.S=3.O=do of.APPL-be.unable FIN
   you won’t be able to mix with the Gods.”

---

44 The personal affix is omitted for unclear reasons.
50) sekor, Ø=i=ko-caranke wa kusu,
    QUOT 3.S=IND.O=with.APPL-argue and because
[The cuckoo] argued with me.

51) “a=Ø=ran-ke wa Ø=ek kakkok
    PASS=3.O=descend-CAUS and 3.S=come cuckoo
    Ø=ne, kusu
    3.S=COP because
    “Because it was a cuckoo, who was sent down [by the Gods],

52) Ø=i=ko-caranke have ne kusu,
    3.S=IND.O=with.APPL-argue EVID.NR COP because
    hosipi=an ma
    return=IND.S and
    it argued with me, so I’ll return and

53) a=yup-utar-i a=Ø=kasuy kus ne na
    IND.S=elder.brother-PL-POSS IND.S=3.O=help intention COP FIN
    help my brothers.

54) iwan pa Ø=ek yak-un
    six year 3.S=come if-EMP
    When six years pass,

55) (e e) a=e=ekanok kus ne na
    IND.S=2SG.O=meet intention COP FIN
    I’ll come and see you.

---

45 ko-caranke ‘to dispute with sb’ (vt) < caranke ‘to dispute (vi); a dispute (n)’. According to my informant, caranke-dispute is a traditional Ainu way of resolving conflicts by competing in eloquence.

46 The construction notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’ + ek (SG/arki (PL) ‘to come’ means that the action expressed by the first verb is directed towards the speaker; see 4.3.6.2.
56) iwan$^{47}$ konci$^{48}$ e=Ø=kar wa e=Ø=he-ko-kari
  six hood 2SG.S=3.O=make and 2SG.S=3.O=head-around.APPL-turn
If you make six hoods and put them on [your] head,

57) wa, sine pa Ø=ek ciki, sine konci e=Ø=anu ranke,
  and one year 3.S=come if one hood 2SG.S=3.O=take.off ITR
and take off one hood after every one year,

58) sine konci e=Ø=anu ranke kor, e=an yak,
  one hood 2SG.S=3.O=take.off ITR and 2SG.S=take.off if
if you keep taking off one hood [every year],

59) iwan pa Ø=ek yak, a=e=ekanok kus ne na”
  six year 3.S=come if IND.S=2SG.O=meet intention COP FIN
I’ll come and see you when six years pass.”

60) sekor, a=an-te-hoku Ø=haw-e-an kor,
  QUOT IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POS S 3.S=voice-POSS-be then

  Ø=hopuni wa
3.S=get.up and
Said my husband. Then he got up and

61) puyar kari, puyar corpok ta,
  window through window under at through the window, under the window

$^{47}$ iwan ‘six’ is regarded by the Ainu as a magic divine number.

$^{48}$ According to Ito Oda, konci is a traditional Ainu headgear, a kind of hat or hood, put on one’s head, not tied. It was probably used on special occasions only, since my informant had never actually seen it. In (NAK 194) konci is described as ‘a hood (used when going to the mountains to hunt or when a wife, who became a widow, went into mourning for her dead husband)’.
62) \(\varnothing=si-tuy-tuy-e\) etok-o\(^{49}\) \(\varnothing=rikin\) akusu,
\(3.S=REFL\)-cut-cut-TR before-POSS 3.S=rise then
as if shaking off the dust, he rose up.\(^{50}\) Then

63) cikap ne \(\varnothing=an\) wa,
bird as 3.S=be and
[my husband] became a bird and

64) esoyne inaw-cipa \(\varnothing=\) un,
outside whittled.prayer.sticks.used.as.offerings.to.Gods-altar to

\(\text{esoyne } \varnothing=\) terke \(\varnothing=\) arpa, kusu
outside 3.S=jump and 3.S=go because
jumped out to the outside altar with the inaw, so

65) esoyne asinuma ka hoyupu=an ma, inkar=’an akusu,
outside INDEF also rush=IND.S and look=IND.S then
I also rushed outside and looked around.

66) tane \(\varnothing=rikin\) wa \(\varnothing=\) arpa kor \(\varnothing=\) an,
Just at that moment my husband was flying up [into the sky].

67) korka, \(\varnothing=\) \(\) ran-ke \(\varnothing=\) núpe-he,

sak apto\(^{51}\) sir ne \(\varnothing=\) ran-ke kor,
summer rain appearance as 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and
[My husband] was dropping his (dropping) tears like a summer rain.

---

\(^{49}\) etoko ‘before’ seems to be contextually inappropriate and should probably be regarded as a slip of the tongue due to the speaker’s hesitation. In the data of Ito Oda, the verb situytuye occurs one more time when it is followed by pekor ‘as if’, which could also be the intended form here.

\(^{50}\) The meaning of the sentence is not quite clear.

\(^{51}\) Ito Oda explained that sak apto ‘summer rain’ implies ‘a heavy (summer) rain’. Cf. the opposite interpretation as ‘a drizzling rain’ suggested by Nakagawa (1995: 304, see nupe).
68) \( \phi = \text{r} \phi \text{kin} \quad \text{ma} \quad \phi = \text{ar} \text{pa} \quad \text{cis} = \text{'an} \quad \text{kor} \)
\( 3. \text{S}= \text{rise} \quad \text{and} \quad 3. \text{S}= \text{go} \quad \text{cry}=\text{IND.S} \quad \text{and} \)

\( \phi = \text{an} \quad a \quad \phi = \text{an} \quad a \quad \text{korka}, \)
\( 3. \text{S}= \text{be} \quad \text{ITR} \quad 3. \text{S}= \text{be} \quad \text{ITR} \quad \text{but} \)
He kept rising and I was crying and crying.

69) “\( a = \text{an-te-hoku}, \quad \text{nep} \quad a = \phi = \text{ye} \)
\( \text{IND.S}= \text{be-CAUS-husband.POSS} \quad \text{something} \quad 2\text{SG.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{say} \)

\( a = \phi = \text{ye} \quad \text{haw} \quad \phi = \text{as} \quad a” \)
\( 2\text{SG.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{say} \quad \text{voice} \quad 3.\text{S}=\text{stand} \quad \text{PERF} \)
“My husband, it seemed that you were saying something.”

70) \( \text{sekor} \quad \text{yay-nu=} \text{an} \quad \text{ma}, \)
\( \text{QUOT} \quad \text{REFL-hear}=\text{IND.S} \quad \text{and} \)
I thought so and

71) \( \text{ahun}' \text{an} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{konci} \quad a = \phi = \text{kar} \quad \text{wa}, \)
\( \text{enter}=\text{IND.S} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{hood} \quad \text{IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{make} \quad \text{and} \)
went in. I made the hoods

72) \( \text{iwan} \quad \text{konci} \quad (a=\text{ka}…) \quad a = \phi = \text{he-k} \text{o-kari} \quad \text{wa}, \)
\( \text{six} \quad \text{hood} \quad \text{IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{head-around.APPL-turn} \quad \text{and} \)
and put them on my head.

73) \( \text{or-o-wa-no}, \quad \text{sine} \quad \text{pa} \quad \phi = \text{ek} \quad \text{kor}, \)
\( \text{there-POSS-from-ADV} \quad \text{one year} \quad 3.\text{S}=\text{come} \quad \text{when} \)
Then when one year had passed,
74) sine konci a=Ø=anu ranke, a=Ø=anu ranke
one hood IND.S=3.O=take.off ITR IND.S=3.O=take.off ITR

kor an='an
and be=IND.S
I took off one hood, I kept taking off [the hoods].

75) iwan pa Ø=ek akusu, sonno poka,
six year 3.S=come then really only
When six years had passed, indeed

76) a=an-te-hoku Ø=i=y-ekanok kusu
IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS 3.S=IND.O=EP-meet in.order.to
Ø=ek wa,
3.S=come and
my husband came to see me52.

77) a=Ø=tura wa kanto or un arpa=an ma,
IND.S=3.O=take.along and heaven place to go=IND.S and
I took him along with me and went to heaven.

78) kanto ot ta sonno u-kor53,
heaven place in real REC-have
In heaven the real marriage,

79) sino u-kor Ø=an ma,
true REC-have 3.S=be and
the true marriage took place.

---

52 In a later interview Ito Oda explained that every year, when thunders started, the wife went outside in order to meet her husband, but for five years the brothers of the Thunder God kept coming one by one, and only on the sixth year the woman’s husband himself came to see her.

53 u-kor ‘to marry’ (lit. ‘to have each other’), which is used as a verb in sentences 20, 46, appears as a noun ‘marriage’ in sentences 78, 79, 83.
80) *nep a=Ø=eranak ka somo ki,*
    something IND.S=3.O=worry.about even NEG do
    there was nothing we had to worry about.

81) *kanto or un paye=an yak-ka,*
    heaven place at go.PL=IND.S if-even
    When we went to heaven,

82) *neun ka neun ka nep ka Ø=Ø=ye hawe*
    somewhere even somewhere even something even 3.S=3.O=say EVID.NR

    *ka Ø=isam no,*
    even 3.S=not.exist and
    there was nothing to complain about.

83) *(nep… pirk…) sonno u-kor, sino u-kor Ø=an ma,*
    real REC-have true REC-have 3.S=be and
    It was a real marriage, a true marriage and

84) *u-w-e-pirka=an kor an=’an ruwe ne,*
    REC-EP-by.APPL-be.good=IND.S and be=IND.S ASS.NR COP
    we lived happily with each other.

85) *sekor sine menoko Ø=itak ruwe ne*
    QUOT one woman 3.S=tell ASS.NR COP
    This is the story one woman told.
An Outline of the Story

The story is narrated by ape huci kamuy – the Fire Goddess who did nothing everyday but needlework, because she and her husband were childless.

Once the voice of ecicikeppo – a Tit, pecking at the window screen of thatch, reached the ears of the Fire Goddess. The Tit told her that her husband had gone to the place of wakkaus kamuy – the Water Goddess and that they were making love to each other. Having heard that two or three times, the Fire Goddess took down her dowry chest and found in it a pair of magic gloves and a magic wooden clog. Then she put on the magic implements and went down to the riverside in order to go to the place of the Water Goddess upstream. Although the Fire Goddess ran very fast, she did not get tired at all, because she was wearing the magic clog.

Having reached the destination, the Fire Goddess turned herself into a very small bird and started singing. The lovers looked at the bird and smiled, they admired the bird’s beautiful voice which was like “a wind of metal”, like “a wind of mukkuri – musical instrument”. They kept looking at the bird and laughing. The lovers were quite unaware of the meaning of the bird’s song: the Fire Goddess actually sang that she would divest the Water Goddess of all her clothes, down to her underwear. Getting even more angry, the Fire Goddess sang that she would take off all the clothes, including a loincloth, from her husband as well. She ordered her magic gloves to do so.

Then the Fire Goddess did take off their clothes. Her husband stood there completely naked. The Water Goddess saw that and looked at her own body. It turned out that she was also completely naked! Shocked, the Water Goddess let out a loud thunder-like cry and vanished somewhere. Because of that cry the bird fell down under the window and stayed unconscious for some time. Then she woke up [already as the Fire Goddess] and saw her husband, who was lying unconscious and naked in front of the hearth. The Fire Goddess woke up her husband by shaking, dressed him and took him home.

As always, the husband sat on the sleeping platform carving on the sheathes for swords and the Fire Goddess did needlework day and night, watching intently the needle going back and forth. Both felt sad because they had no children.
This is the story the Fire Goddess told.

Ainu Text with English Translation, Glosses and Notes

1) \{ape ape apenna apenna\} kunne hene tokap hene kemeyki\textsuperscript{54} patek
\begin{align*}
\text{V} & \quad \text{night or day or needlework only} \\
\text{Day and night, I was doing only needlework.}\textsuperscript{55}
\end{align*}

2) \{ape ape apenna apenna\} \emptyset=an kor an='an wa, akusu, 
\begin{align*}
\text{V} & \quad 3.\text{S}=\text{be and be=IND.S and then} \\
\text{It was [so] and [so] I lived.}
\end{align*}

3) hentomani ta\textsuperscript{56} ecickeppo puyar-sik-rap\textsuperscript{57} \emptyset=tok-pa-tok-pa
\begin{align*}
\text{once} & \quad \text{at tit window-eye-feather} \\
\emptyset & \quad =\text{voice-POSS} \\
\text{Once what sounded like the voice of a Tit, pecking at the window screen of thatch,}
\end{align*}

4) \emptyset=i=ko-ek humi ene an i, 
\begin{align*}
3.\text{S}=\text{IND.O=to.APPL-come} & \quad \text{EVID.NR like.this be NR} \\
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{54} kemeyki ( kem-e-i-ki) <needle-by.APPL-APASS-do> ‘to do needlework’ (vi) is used here as a noun ‘needlework’.

\textsuperscript{55} lit. ‘Day and night, [there] was only needlework.’

\textsuperscript{56} The pronunciation is [h\text{\textae}ntomani\text{\textae}ta]. Here, the /i/ vowel is lengthened and the glottal stop /\texttextae/ before vowel /\texttextae/ (after /\texttextae/) is omitted; the latter fact causes a change in the syllabic structure of the word: we have h\texttextae-n-tom-a-ni-a instead of h\texttextae-n-tom-a-ni-ta, as in regular cases with a glottal stop.

\textsuperscript{57} puyar-sik-rap is a metaphorical expression literally meaning ‘eyelashes of window’ (sikrap ‘eyelashes’). According to the explanation of Ito Oda, puyar ‘window’ is viewed as “an eye of the house” and puyar-sik-rap, playing mostly the same role as windowpane, is a kind of ‘window screen made of of thatch’ which was pulled down by night and pulled up by day.
reached me, as follows:

5) “ape huci kamuy, katkemat,
   fire grandmother God married woman
   “Grandma Fire Goddess, married woman,

6) ene-po hene (e) e=siknak ruwe
   like this-DIM for example 2SG.S=be.blind ASS.NR
   are you that blind?

7) {ape ape apenna apenna} e=an-te-hoku58
   V IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS
   Your husband

8) {ape apen apenna} wakka-us kamuy Ø=or-o ta
   V water-adhere.to God 3.O=place-POSS to

   Ø=arpa wa,
   3.S=go
   and
   has gone to the place of the Water Goddess.

9) Ø=u-w-e-so-ne wa, Ø=okay ruwe ne
   They are making love to each other.

58 antehoku-(hu) ‘the husband of’ is an expression typical of Classical Ainu; cf. hoku-hu ‘the husband of’ of Colloquial Ainu. Note that in polysyllabic words the last component -ha/-hu/-ho/-he/-hi of possessive forms is often omitted as an attempt to reduce the number of unaccented syllables (see 4.1).
10) wa, (e=en=nukar) e=Ø=(sin)nukar\(^{59}\) somo ki,
and 2SG.S=1SG.O=see 2SG.S=3.O=see NEG do
Don’t you see that?

11) e=Ø=e-siknak ruwe” sekor, ecicikeppo Ø=haw-e-an,
“Are you blind about that?!” Said the Tit.

12) a=kisar-puy-e otu-suy re-suy Ø=ek pe ne kusu,
IND.S=ear-hole-POSS two-time three-time 3.S=come NR COP because
[This] surely reached my ears two or three times.

13) sut-ketusi a=Ø=san-ke wa,
grandmother-chest IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and
I took down my dowry chest \(^{60}\) and

14) a=Ø=tek-kus-pa-re wa inkar=’an\(^{61}\) akusu,
IND.S=3.O=hand-pass.through-CAUS and look=IND.S when
put my hands into it and looked [what was there].

15) Ø=pas tek-un-pe, Ø=pas pirakka\(^{62}\) Ø=an ruwe ne wa,
It is a fact that there was [a pair of] magic gloves and a magic wooden clog.

\(^{59}\) (sin)nukar is neither registered in the dictionaries, nor was approved by Ito Oda. However, the parenthesized part may be interpreted as an incorporated noun: sir- ‘appearance’ (> /sin-/ before l-rl) and the whole word sin-nukar would have the meaning ‘to see the sight/scene’ (vi).

\(^{60}\) In this translation I followed the explanation of Ito Oda.

\(^{61}\) The construction notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’+ inkar ‘to see’ means that the action expressed by the first verb is preparatory; see 4.3.6.4. Cf. line 26.

\(^{62}\) Ø=pas tek-un-pe, Ø=pas pirakka lit. ‘running gloves, running clog’ is an idiomatic expression for the magic implements. Ito Oda emphasized in her Japanese translation that there was a pair of gloves and only one clog.
16) Ø=pas tek-un-pe a=tek-ehe a=Ø=ko-sina,
3.S=run hand-on-NR IND.S=hand-POSS IND.S=3.S=to.APPL-attach
I pulled on the magic gloves on my hands.

17) Ø=pas pirakka a=kema-ha a=Ø=ko-sina wa,
3.S=run wooden.clog IND.S=foot-POSS IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-attach and
I put on the magic clog on my foot.

18) (wakka ee, pet, wak…) pe-ta-ru or un ran=’an ma,
water-draw-way place to descend=IND.S and
I went down to the riverside.

19) wákka-us kamuy Ø=or-o un arpa=an kusu, arpa=an,
water-adhere.to God 3.O=place-POSS to go=IND.S in.order go=IND.S
I went [there] in order to go to the place of the Water Goddess.

20) pet-turasi=an korka, Ø=pas pirakka
river-go.upstream.along=IND.S but 3.S=run wooden.clog

a=Ø=us pe ne kusu,
IND.S=3.O=attach NR COP because
I went upstream along the river, but since I really was in the magic clog,

21) (a) hoyupu=an ma arpa=an, a=hum-ihi Ø=an i
run=IND.S and go=IND.S IND.S=sound-POSS 3.S=be NR
I went running. [I ran] with a whiz.

22) (ee) nep ka a=Ø=e-sinki ka somo ki no,
somehow even IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-get.tired even NEG do and
Without getting tired of [running] at all,

23) nani wakka-us kamuy Ø=or-o ta arpa=an wa,
immediately water-adhere.to God 3.O=place-POSS to go=IND.S and
I immediately came (lit. ‘went’) to the place of the Water Goddess.
24) “makanak  i-ki=an  yak,  a=Ø=e-hese six  ya”
what APASS-do=IND.S if IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-breathe Q
“Should I draw [a deep] breath in order to stop worrying?”

25) sekor  yay-nu=an  kusu,
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S because
I thought. So

26) Ø=poon,  Ø=poon  cikap ne an=’an  ma,  rek=’an  ma
3.S=very.small 3.S=very.small bird as be=IND.S and sing=IND.S and

inkar=’an  a  wa,
see=IND.S PERF and
I turned [myself] into a very very small bird and tried to sing.

27) (a=re-he  a=)  a=haw-ehe  Ø=pirka
IND.S=name-POSS IND.S= IND.S=voice-POSS 3.S=be.beautiful

a=haw-ehe  Ø=ne,
IND.S=voice-POSS 3.S=COP
My voice was a beautiful voice.

28) “kane  maw  ne  (hetet) 64 [Ø=paye],
metal wind as ? 3.S=go.PL
“It blew like a wind of metal.

29) mukkuri  maw  ne  (hetet)  [Ø=paye]”,
mukkuri.musical.instrument wind as ? 3.S=go.PL
It blew like a wind of mukkuri.”

30) sekor  a=Ø=ye  pak-no  Ø=pirka,  a=haw-ehe
QUOT IND.S=3.O=say as-ADV 3.S=be.beautiful IND.S=voice-POSS

63 ehese must be a kind of idiomatic expression with the meaning ‘to stop worrying’.
64 hetet is an unclear form which was rejected by Ito Oda who produced sentences 28 and 29 with paye instead.
my voice was so beautiful that it should be said so. That is why,

31) *puyar-sik-rap*  
*ta*  
*an=*’*an*  
*ma,*  
*rek=*’*an*  
*akusu,*  
window-eye-feather at be=IND.S and sing=IND.S when 
when I stayed at the window screen of thatch and sang,

32) *Ø=umurek*  
*utar*  
*Ø=i=nukar*  
*wa,*  
3.S=be.husband.and.wife people 3.S=IND.S=look.at and 
the lovers looked at me,

33) *Ø=mina*  
*kane*  
*Ø=okay*  
*wa*  
*Ø=i=nukar,*  
smiled and so on. They looked at me.

34) “*hemanta*  
*Ø=pon*  
*cikap*  
*ene,*  
*Ø=haw-e-he*  
why 3.S=be.little bird like.this 3.S=voice-POSS

pirka^{65}  
*Ø=haw-e-an”*  
be.beautiful 3.S=voice-POSS-be 
“Why is this little bird singing so beautifully?”

35) *sekor,*  
*Ø=haw-e-oka*  
*kor,*  
*Ø=mina*  
*kane*  
*wa*  
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL while 3.S=laugh and.so.on.AUX and 
While saying so, they were laughing and

36) *Ø=i=nukar*  
*wa*  
*Ø=an*  
*wa,*  
*a=Ø=ruska*  
*kusu,*  
3.S=IND.S=look.at and 3.S=be and IND.S=3.O=get.angry.about because 
and looking at me. I got angry about it, so

---

^{65} Note that *pirka* appears here as a modifier on the verb *hawean*, therefore it is left unmarked for person. The adverbial form *pirka-no* would be more natural in this context; however, the similar adverbial usage of *pirka* is also registered in Tamura (1993).
37) wakka-us kamuy $\emptyset=mi$-pa-p-ihi$^{66}$, ($\emptyset=mour$-ihi)

   $\emptyset=mour$-i un-no
   3.S=underwear-POSS up.to-ADV

   a=$\emptyset=sos$-o kuni a=$\emptyset=e$-rek akusu,
   IND.S=3.O=take.off-TR INDR IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-sing then
   I sang that I would take off [all] the Water Goddess’s clothes down to her underwear.

38) $\emptyset=mour$-i ka, $\emptyset=mi$-p-ihi ka opitta
   3.S=underwear-POSS even 3.S=wear-NR-POSS even all

   a=$\emptyset=ko$-sos-pa-re$^{67}$ hi ka $\emptyset=erampewtek$ no,
   IND.S=3.O=from.APPL-take.off-PL-CAUS NR even 3.S=3.O=not.know and
   Without knowing that I ordered [my magic gloves] to take off [the Water Goddess] all her underwear and clothes,

39) wakka-us kamuy $\emptyset=i$=nukar wa
   water-adhere.to God 3.S=IND.O=look.at and
   the Water Goddess looked at me and

---

$^{66}$ $\emptyset=mi$-pa-p-ihi $<$3.S=wear-PL-NR-POSS$>$, which is the plural form of $\emptyset=mi$-p-ihi $<$3.S=wear-NR-POSS $>$ (cf. line 38), is derived from the plural transitive verb $mi$-pa ‘to wear sth’ ($< mi$ ‘to wear sth (SG)’) via nominalization.

$^{67}$ $ko$-sos-pa-re ‘to make sb take sth off sb’ $<$ ko-sos-pa ‘to take sth off sb’ (NAK 183) $<$ sos-pa ‘to take sth off’ (NAK 238).

$ko$-sos-pa-re is a four-place causative verb; the plural suffix -$pa$ may signify either plural object referents (more common on transitives) or plural subject referents (less common on transitives), here -$pa$ most likely refers to mipihi ‘(all) clothes’.

Only two objects of four are expressed overtly in the sentence. The unexpressed Patient object ‘the Water Goddess’ is clear from the context, but the Causee object ‘the magic gloves’ would be totally unpredictable, but for the explanation of Ito Oda.
40) \( \emptyset = \text{mina} \) \( kane \) \( \emptyset = \text{an} \), \( a=\emptyset = \text{ruska} \) \( kusu \),

3.S=laugh while.CONJ 3.S=be IND.S=3.O=get.angry.about because kept laughing. As I got angry about it,

41) \( a=\text{hoku-hu} \) \( ka \) \( \emptyset = \text{tepa-ha} \) \( ka \) \( \emptyset = \text{mi-p-i-hi} \) \( ka \)

IND.S=husband-POSS also 3.S=loincloth-POSS also 3.S=wear-NR-POSS also

\( a=\emptyset = \text{ko-sos-o} \) \( kuni \) \( suy \) \( a=\emptyset = e-rek \)

IND.S=3.O=from.APPL-take.off-TR INDR again IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-sing
I sang that I would also take off my husband his loincloth and clothes.

42) \( \text{akusu}, \text{sonno poka} a=\text{hoku-hu} \) \( ka \) \( \emptyset = \text{tepa-ha} \) \( ka \)

then really just IND.S=husband-POSS also 3.S=loincloth-POSS also

\( \emptyset = \text{mi-p-ihi} \) \( ka \) \( \text{opitta} \) \( a=\emptyset = \text{ko-sos-o} \),

3.S=wear-NR-POSS also all IND.S=3.O=from.APLL-take.off-TR
Then really, I took off my husband his loincloth and all his clothes.

43) \( \text{ot ta}, \emptyset = \text{ar-atusa} \) \( \text{sirihi} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{akusu} \),

place at 3.S=completely-be.naked EVID.NR be then
It looked as if [my husband] was completely naked.

44) \( \text{wakka-us} \) \( \text{kamuy} \) \( a=\text{hoku-hu} \) \( \emptyset = \text{ar-atusa} \)

water-adhere.to God IND.S=husband-POSS 3.S=completely-be.naked

\( \text{ruwe} \) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{nukar} \) \( \text{wa} \), \( \emptyset = \text{yay-huympampa} \) \( \text{wa} \),

ASS.NR 3.S=3.O=see and 3.S=REFL-examine and
The Water Goddess saw that my husband was completely naked and looked carefully at herself.

45) \( \text{yaykata} \) \( \text{ka} \) \( \emptyset = \text{ar-atusa} \) \( \text{ruwe} \) \( \text{an} \) \( \text{a} \),

oneself also 3.S=completely-be.naked ASS.NR be PERF
It is a fact that she was completely naked herself\(^{68}\)

---

\(^{68}\) Being completely naked, especially for women, is considered to be very shameful by the Ainu.
46) $\emptyset=\emptyset=e$-ramutuy (eramu...) $\emptyset=\emptyset=nukar$ wa,
  3.S=3.O=at.APPL-be.surprised 3.S=3.O=see and
  Surprised at what she saw,

47) $\emptyset=hum$-rik-ekatta kor,
  3.S==sound-upper.place-go.with.force.SUF and
  [the Water Goddess] let out a loud thunder-like cry$^{69}$ and

48) neun $\emptyset=arpa$ wa $\emptyset=isam$ ruwe ne wa,
  somewhere even 3.S=go and 3.S=not.exist ASS.NR COP and
  vanished somewhere.

49) asinuma ka puyar corpok un hacir='an ma,
  INDEF also window under to fall.down=IND.S and
  I fell down under the window and

50) ray='an wa $\emptyset=an$ a ayne,
  die=IND.S and 3.S=be PERF finally
  stayed unconscious and [so] it was.

51) tu su $\emptyset=at$ pak, re su $\emptyset=at$, (at) pak ya,
  two pan 3.S=boil.up till three pan 3.S=boil.up boil.up till Q
  re su $\emptyset=at$ pak ya,
  three pan 3.S=boil.up till Q
  For a while (lit. ‘untill two or three pans boiled up’$^{70}$)

52) ray='an ma $\emptyset=an$ a ayne,
  die=IND.S and 3.S=be PERF finally
  I lay unconscious and [so] it was. Finally

---

$^{69}$ This translation was suggested by the Ito Oda.

$^{70}$ It is an idiomatic expression with the meaning ‘for some time, for a while’. The translation was suggested by Ito Oda.
53) yay-mos-os-o=an ma inkar='an akusu,
    REFL-wake.up-P.RED-TR=IND.S and look=IND.S then
I woke out of sleep and looked.

54) a=an-te-hoku ka naa ape-etok ta Ø=ar-atusa
    IND.S=be-CAUS-husband even still hearth-front at 3.S=completely-be.naked

    sirihi Ø=hokus wa Ø=an ma kusu,
    EVID.NR 3.S=fall.down and 3.S=be and because
My husband, still completely naked, was lying\(^{71}\) in front of the hearth, so

55) hopuni=an ma, arpa=an ma,
    get.up=IND.S and go=IND.S and
I got up and came up [to him].

56) a=Ø=suy-e-suy-e, a=Ø=nik-a-nik-a\(^{72}\) akusu,
    IND.S=3.O=shake-TR-shake-TR IND.S=3.O=shake-TR-shake-TR then
I shook and shook [my husband].

57) “naa mokor=`an kunak a=Ø=ramu a p,
    still sleep=IND.S going.to IND.S=3.O=think PERFNR
“Although I was still going to sleep,

58) a=i=mos-os-o humi an”
    PASS=IND.O=wake.up-P.RED-TR EVID.NR be
It feels as if I was woken up!”

---

\(^{71}\) The moment when “the husband of the Water Goddess fell unconscious” is omitted in the Ainu text, but it appeared in the Japanese translation of Ito Oda.

\(^{72}\) Ito Oda could not explain to me the difference between the verbs suy-e-suy-e and nik-a-nik-a. They are probably close synonyms used for emphasis.
59) sekor $\varnothing=$haw-e-an kor, $\varnothing=$sik-nuy-a-nuy-a$^{73}$ kor
Saying so, he rubbed [his] eyes and

60) $\varnothing=$hopuni korka, $a=\varnothing=$i-mi-re wa,
3.S=get.up but IND.S=3.O=APASS-wear-CAUS and
got up. I dressed my husband and

61) or-o-wa, $a=uni-hi$ ta $a=\varnothing=tura$
there-POSS-from IND.S=house-POSS to IND.S=3.O=take.along

wa ek=’an
and come=IND.S
then taking him along with me, I returned to our house.

62) ma, ranma koraci, $a=hoku-hu$ ka amset ka ta
and always as IND.S=husband-POSS even sleeping.platform top on
As usual, my husband sat on the sleeping platform [and]

63) ikor ka $\varnothing=\varnothing=nuy-e$
sheath.of.sword top 3.S=3.O=carve-TR

tomi$^{74}$ ka $\varnothing=\varnothing=nuy-e$ kor $\varnothing=an$,
carving on the sheathes of swords.

64) asinuma ka kemeyki=an wa, kunne hene, tokap hene
INDEF also do.needlework=IND.S and night or day or
I did needlework. Day and night,

$^{73}$ I suppose this is probably a case of direct object incorporation, otherwise the possessive form
$\varnothing=sik-i(hi)$ $<$3.S=eye-POSS$>$ would be used in this context; see 4.3.4.2.5.

$^{74}$ ikor and tomi are close synonyms basically meaning ‘treasures’ with the only difference that ikor
is originally an Ainu word and tomi is a borrowing from Japanese. The two sentences in 63 have the
same meaning and make up a single idiomatic expression, so in my English translation I left only
one sentence in order to avoid tautology.
65) kem ru-oka\textsuperscript{75}, kem ru-w-e etok
needle trace-back needle trace-EP-POSS front

\begin{tabular}{llll}
a=\emptyset & sik-ko-tes-u\textsuperscript{76} & kor & ki \\
IND.S=3.O & eye-with.APPL-slide-TR & and & do
\end{tabular}

I was watching intently the needle [going] back and forth.

66) kemeyki=an kor okay='an
do.needlework=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S

I was doing needlework and [so] we lived.

67) \emptyset=u-ko-po-sak pe a=ne kusu,
3.S=REC-with.APPL-child-not.have person IND.S=COP because
As we had no children between ourselves,

68) \emptyset=uko-mismu wa, nepki patek \emptyset=\emptyset=ki p
3.S=SOC-feel.sad and work only 3.S=3.O=do person

\begin{tabular}{llll}
a=ne & ruwe & ne \\
IND.S=COP & ASS.NR & COP
\end{tabular}

we were the people who felt sad together and only worked.

69) sekor, ape huci kamuy \emptyset=haw-e-an
QUOT fire old.woman God 3.S=voice-POSS-be
This the the story the Fire Goddess said.

\textsuperscript{75} ru-, being a notional (base) form of the noun ‘trace’, is viewed here as a part of the compound noun ru-oka ‘behind the (needle) trace ’ (cf. the possessive form ru-w-e in the next phrase). Note that oka ‘back, behind’ and etok ‘front, ahead’ belong to the morphological class of the so-called locative nouns non-existent in European languages; hence they are translated by corresponding adverbs (see 4.1).

\textsuperscript{76} sik-ko-tes-u \textlangle\textit{eye-together.with.APPL-slide-TR}\textrangle lit. ‘to slide (the trace of the needle) together with one’s eyes’ has a lexicalized meaning ‘to watch sth intently’.

Recorded on October 27, 1998. Playing Time: 3:18

An Outline of the Story

The tale is narrated by *amamecikappo kamuy*– the Sparrow God who pecked at a grain of rice and ground it into powder in order to make rice-wine. The Sparrow God invited to the feast all the gods, including the Jay Man and the Crow Man.

After two or three days, the rice-wine was ready and the guests rejoiced together drinking it.

Everyone kept drinking. At the end of the drinking party the Jay Man danced out of the room. He stayed outside for a short while and returned holding a single acorn in his beak. All the Gods thought it was funny and laughed.

Then the Crow Man, who was watching this, went outside and came back holding a huge chunk of dung in his beak. All the gods got really angry. They beat the Crow Man, killed him and threw out.

Saying that from now on no one should imitate people in such a dirty manner, all the Gods returned home.

---

*amam-e-cikap-po* may be etymologized as <cereals-eat-bird-DIM> lit. ‘a little bird that eats grains’.

The plot of the story is very common and may be found in almost all the Ainu dialects. For a detailed account of “Variations, Similar Stories” see Tamura: 2002: 53-56. The variant of the story, provided by Ito Oda, is comparatively short and simplified.
1) {hankirikiri}78 sine amam79 num {hankirikiri} V one rice grain V
ci=Ø=tokpa-tokpa, {hankirikiri} V
ci=Ø=peck-peck 1PL.S=3.O=peck-peck V
I pecked and pecked at a grain of rice, [grinding it into powder].

2) sake-he ci=Ø=kar {hankirikiri} V
rice.wine-POSS 1PL.S=3.O=make V
I was making rice-wine of [that].

3) kamuy opitta {hankirikiri} c 80=Ø=e-tak-kar81 na, {hankirikiri} V
God all 1PL.S=3.O=to.APPL.invite-SUF FIN
I invited all the Gods to [the party].

78 hankirikiri is a refrain imitating the chirping of a sparrow.
79 amam means ‘cereals’, such as ‘rice, millet, wheat, barley, chestnut, etc.’
In the stories with a similar plot, amam is often interpreted as ‘millet’. However, here, following the explanation provided by Ito Oda, I prefer the meaning ‘rice’.
80 c(i)= is the 1st person plural exclusive marker for transitive verbs (cf. =as, the 1st person plural exclusive marker for intransitive verbs) which is also used in the meaning of the 1st person singular, when a God is speaking for himself in kamuy yukar ‘epics of Gods’ (see 4.3.3.1). The vowel /i/ drops out when the personal prefix is attached to stems with an initial vowel.
81 The derivation of e-tak-kar is not quite clear. The underlying transitive verb tak ‘to invite sb’ is used with the suffix –kar which originates from the transitive verb ‘to do/make sth’. It is unclear what particular nuance of meaning this suffix brings into the verb and whether it affects its valence here. The suggested meaning of the applicative prefix e- is based on the context only, without consulting the informant.
4) eyami okkayo ka {hankirikiri} c=Ø=e-tak-kar
jay man even V 1PL.S=3.O=to.APPL-invite-SUF

na, {hankirikiri}
FIN V
I invited the Jay Man to [the party],

5) paskur okkayo ka {hankirikiri} c=Ø=e-tak-kar
crow man even V 1.S=3.O=to.APPL-invite-SUF

na, {hankirikiri}
FIN V
I invited the Crow Man to [the party].

6) tutko rerko Ø=ne wa, {hankirikiri}
two.days three.days 3.S=COP FIN V
Two or three days later (lit. ‘it was two [or] three days and’),

7) “sake (p) ka Ø=pirka” seko haw-as wa, {hankirikiri}
rice.wine NR even 3.S=be.good QUOT voice-stand and V
it was said that the rice-wine was ready.

8) i-ku=an ki na, {hankirikiri}
APASS-drink=IND.S do FIN V
We drank,

9) kamuy opitta {hankirikiri} Ø=Ø=e-uko-yay-kopuntek {hankirikiri}
God all V 3.S=3.O=at.APPL-SOC-REFL-rejoice.at V
all the Gods rejoiced at [that] together.

82 Note that here the second vowel /u/ is not reduced to /w/ as in most cases.
11) *i-ku* \(^{83}\)  kes  \(\varnothing=\text{an}\)  kor,  \(\text{[hankirikiri]}\)  
APASS-drink  end  3.S=be  and  V  
at the end of the drinking party

12) *eyami*  okkayo  \(\text{[hankirikiri]}\)  
jay  man  V  
the Jay Man

13) \(\varnothing=\text{tapkar-tapkar}\)  \(\text{[hankirikiri]}\)  esoyne  \(\varnothing=\text{soyne}\) \(^{84}\)  \(\text{[hankirikiri]}\)  
danced out of the room.

14) *iruka*  \(\varnothing=\text{an}\)  kor,  \(\text{[hankirikiri]}\)  
for.a.short.time  3.S=be  and  V  
He was [outside] for a short while and

15) *sinen ne*  \(\varnothing=\text{hosipi}\)  \(\varnothing=\text{ek}\)  \(\text{na}\),  \(\text{[hankirikiri]}\)  
alone  as  3.S=return  and  3.S=come  FIN  V  
returned alone.

16) *sine*  nisew  num  \(\text{[hankirikiri]}\)  
one  acorn  grain  V  

\(\varnothing=\varnothing=\text{e-kupa}\)  \(\text{kane}\)  
3.S=3.O=head.of-hold.in.mouth  \(\text{while.CONJ}\)  
Holding a single acorn by its top (lit. ‘by its head’) in his mouth,

\(\text{V}\)  3.S=return  and  3.S=come  FIN  V

---

\(^{83}\) *i-ku* <APASS-drink> ‘to drink’ is an intransitive verb, so it can function as a noun without any change in morphology, which is the case here: *iku* ‘a drinking party’. Cf. footnote 12.

\(^{84}\) In a later interview Ito Oda preferred to use instead of neutral *esoyne soyne* ‘to go outside’, a stylistically high *soynasamma osiraypa* (same translation): 
*soy-na-san-wa*  o-si-ray-pa <outside-in.the.direction-descend-and  to.APPL-REFL-push-PL>.

As Tamura (2002: 29) notes, the latter is more common when the action refers to a God (the Jay Man is certainly one of the Gods).
[the Jay Man] returned.

18) kamuy opitta {hankirikiri}  \( \emptyset = \emptyset = e \text{-} mina \text{-} re \) {hankirikiri}
    God all V 3.S=3.O=at.APPL-laugh-CAUS V
    He made all the Gods laugh at [that].

19) ki akusu, {hankirikiri} paskur okkayo {hankirikiri}
    do then V crow man V
    \( \emptyset = \text{inkar} \text{-} \text{inkar} \), {hankirikiri}
    3.S=watch-watch V
    Then the Crow Man watched [this] attentively

20) \( \emptyset = ci \text{-} soy \text{-} na \text{-} raye \) {hankirikiri}
    3.S=REFL-outside-in.the.direction-move V
    went outside [and]

21) nani \( \emptyset = hosipi \) wa \( \emptyset = ek \) na, {hankirikiri}
    soon 3.S=return and 3.S=come FIN V
    came back soon.

22) inkar=an\textsuperscript{85} awa, {hankirikiri}
    look.around=IND.S when V
    When I looked around,

23) \( \emptyset = poro \) si tak-tak {hankirikiri}
    3.S=be.big dung chunk-chunk V
    \( \emptyset = \emptyset = e \text{-} kupa \) kane, {hankirikiri}
    3.S=3.O=head.of-hold.in.mouth while.CONJ V
    [the Crow Man], holding a huge chunk of dung in his mouth,

\textsuperscript{85} Note that the glottal stop before [a] is omitted here.

25) kamuy opitta {hankirikiri} Ø-i-ruska ki wa, {hankirikiri} God all V 3.S=APASS-be.angry.with do and V All the Gods got angry and

26) paskur okkayo {hankirikiri} a=Ø-uko-kik-kik na, {hankirikiri} crow man V PASS=3.O=SOC-beat-beat FIN V The Crow Man was beaten by everyone,

27) a=Ø-ray-ke wa Ø-isam\textsuperscript{86}, {hankirikiri} PASS=3.O=die=CAUS and 3.S=not.exist V killed and

28) esoyne a=Ø-osura wa Ø-an\textsuperscript{87} na, {hankirikiri} outside PASS=3.O=throw.away and 3.S=be FIN V thrown away outside.

29) kamuy opitta Ø-i-ruska wa, “te wa-no anak God all 3.S=APASS-be.angry.at and here from-ADV TOP All the Gods got angry: “From now on

30) ene an i-cakke-re i-ko-ysampa\textsuperscript{88} anak somo like.this be APASS-be.dirty-CAUS APASS-of.APPL-copy TOP NEG

\textsuperscript{86} The construction notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’+isam ‘to not exist’ expresses the meaning of the perfective aspect (see 4.3.5.2.3).

\textsuperscript{87} Here, in the construction notional verb + conjunction kor ‘and’+ an(SG)/okay (PL)’to be’, the notional verb names an action and the second verb refers to the continuing resultant state of the object referent (see 4.3.5.2.1).

\textsuperscript{88} ikoysampa < i-ko-isampa APASS-of.APPL-copy > ‘to copy (people in general)’ (vi) may function as a noun (‘copying’) without any change in morphology. Cf. footnote 7.
there should be no such dirty imitating of people.”

31) konna sekor (haw-e-ankor) Ø=haw-e-oka kor
PRT QUOT voice-POSS-be.SG and 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL and
Saying [so],

32) Ø=hosip-pa ruwe ne na {hankirikiri}
3.S=return-PL ASS.NR COP FIN V
the gods went home.

33) sekor, amamecikappo Ø=isoytak ruwe ne
QUOT sparrow 3.S=tell.story ASS.NR COP
That is the story told by the Sparrow.


An Outline of the Story

The tale is told by *mus* – a Fly, who lived alone in a big house. Once he felt as if someone was walking on the top of his house. The Fly went out and looked around: many people had come in order to make a night raid. The Fly was very surprised and he decided to go to the village of *Urayusnay* to warn the people about the raid.

The Fly attached his head to the ear-hole of the village chief and told him what he had seen. The village chief raised a cry, then he suddenly stood up, but then sat down. Then he gave instructions to his retainers and warned the people about the raid all over the village. Many villagers came together and prayed to the Gods for their help in the battle.

The Gods heard the prayers, so clots of blood (*kem tak*)\(^{89}\) flew from the upper and lower parts of the village. However, the villagers still kept praying, and finally a big clot of blood flew from the middle of the village and split into two, falling on the upper and lower parts of the village – now all the people in the village had been warned of the raid. The villagers armed themselves and waited till nightfall. When it grew dark, a lot of night raiders came, but the villagers, who had prepared well, easily killed all of them to the last person.

The villagers realized that they had survived thanks to the Fly God, so they made *inaw* [whittled prayer sticks used as offerings to the Gods], rice-wine, cooked dumplings and other delicious food in order to honour the Fly God. Many various gifts were given to the Fly God, but he was unable to take all that home by himself, so the villagers carried them to the Fly God’s house.

The narrator became the Fly God because he was properly worshipped by the Ainu.

---

\(^{89}\) According to Ito Oda, the episode with “flying blood clots may be interpreted as a sign proving that the prayers have been really heard by the Gods. On the other hand, these clots had their use as a warning to the people of the village about the raid.
Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation, and Notes

1) mus a=ne wa an=`an pe ne hike
fly IND.S=COP and be=IND.S NR COP but
I was a fly and [so] I lived.

2) (sine-an-pe-ta...) Ø=poro cise ot ta an=`an
one-be-thing-at 3.S=be.big house place at be=IND.S
I lived in a big house.

3) Ø=poro cise\(^{90}\) ot ta sinen ne Ø=an pe an=`an ruwe
3.S=be.big house place at alone as 3.S=be person be=IND.S ASS.NR
It is a fact that I lived alone in a big house.

4) sine-an-pe-ta
one-be-thing-at
One day,

5) cise, cise ka\(^{91}\) péka (heman) nep ka Ø=omanan
house house top on someone even 3.S=walk

pekor yay-nu=an
as.if REFL-hear=IND.S
I felt (lit. ‘thought’) as if someone was walking on the roof of the house.

\(^{90}\) In a later interview, Ito Oda said that “a big house the fly lived in” was in reality just punkar ‘a vine’.

\(^{91}\) In the cases like this, a locative noun modified by an inanimate noun with the meaning ‘place’ more commonly takes the notional (base) form (cise ka lit.’a house top’) and less commonly the possessive form (cise ka-si ‘the top of the house’). Note that in the cases when a locative noun has an animate modifier, it always takes a possessive form as, for example, kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=or-o <village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.O=place-POSS> ‘at the village chief’s place’ in line 14. See also 4.1.
6) ma soyne=an ma inkar='an akusu
and go.outside=IND.S and look.around=IND.S when
When I went out and looked around, [I saw that]

7) Ø=topattumi kuni p poro-n-no (ek)
3.S=make.a.night.raid expect NR be.many-EP-ADV come.SG

Ø=arki wa,
3.S=come.PL and
the people who were expected to make a night raid had come in great numbers.

8) Ø=as wa Ø=okay
They were standing.

9) Ø=nimara-ha cise ka peka Ø=omanan kor Ø=an hi

a=Ø=eramuan wa
IND.S=3.O=understand and
I realized that a part of them was walking on the roof of the house.

10) a=Ø=e-ramutuy kusu
IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-be.surprised because
As I was surprised at [that],

11) hoyupu=an ma Urayusnay un arpa=an
run=IND.S and Urayusnay to go=IND.S
I ran [out] and went to [the village of] Urayusnay.

---

92 topattumi ‘a night raider’ is registered in the dictionaries only as a noun. However, in these data, the word seems to be a verb, because it is immediately followed by the auxiliary verb kuni with the modal meanings, which is never used after nouns. The Japanese translation of Ito Oda also attests to the existence of the intransitive verb topattumi ‘make a night raid’.
12) \( a=Ø=e-asur-ani \) \( kusu \) \( arpa=an \)
   \( \text{IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-rumor-hold in.order.to go=IND.S} \)
   I went in order to warn the people about [the raid],

13) \( hoyupu=an \) \( ma \) \( arpa=an \) \( ma \)
   \( \text{run=IND.S and go=IND.S and} \)
   I went running.

14) \( kotan \) \( Ø=Ø=kor \) \( kur \) \( Ø=or-o \) \( ta \) \( arpa=an \) \( ma \)
   \( \text{village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.O=place-POSS to go=IND.S and} \)
   I went to the place of the village chief.

15) “\( tap-ne-tap-ne, \) this-COP-this-COP
   “In fact,

16) \( Ø=topattumi \) \( kuni \) \( p^{93} \) \( utar \)
   \( 3.S=\text{make.a.night.raid expect NR people} \)

   \( \text{poro-n-no} \) \( Ø=arki \)
   \( \text{be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=} \\text{come.PL} \)
   the people who were expected to make a night raid had come in great numbers.

17) \( wa \) \( Ø=okay \) \( ruwe \) \( ne” \)
   \( \text{and 3.S=} \text{be.PL ASS.NR COP} \)
   and stayed.”

\(^{93}\) topattumi kuni \( p \) is syntactically related to the predicate \( arki; utar \) which is used here in its lexical meaning is interpreted as a subject.

In a later interview this sentence was paraphrased as follows (note that topattumi appears in this sentence as a noun and \( utar \) is used as its plural marker).

\( \text{or-o ta somno poka topattumi-utar poro-n-no} \) \( Ø=arki \) \( p \) \( ne \) \( kusu \)
there-POSS to really only night raider-PL be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=come.PL NR COP so
‘The night raiders really came there in great numbers, so…”
HERE, SINCE IT WAS A FLY, [IT LANDED] HERE

I said [so], having attached [my] head to the village chief’s ear-hole. Then

[the village chief] raised a cry, [he] suddenly stood up, but

[then] sat down. After that

he gave instructions to his retainers and

warned [the people] about [the raid] all over the village.

Many villagers

94 yay-utar <REFL-people> was translated by Ito Oda as ‘retainers’.
24) nispa-utar Ø=uwekarpa wa
    rich.man-PL 3.S=come.together and
    [and] the rich men came together.

25) or-o-wa-no Ø=tumi-nonnoitak-pa
    After that they prayed [and]

26) Ø=tumi-nonnoitak-pa ayne
    prayed to the Gods for their help in the battle. Finally,

27) kotan pa wa Ø=poro kem tak Ø=hopuni wa
    village upper.part from 3.S=be.big blood clot 3.S=fly and
    a big clot of blood flew from the upper part of the village and

28) kotan kes wa Ø=hacir na
    village lower.part at 3.S=fall.down FIN
    fell down on the lower part of the village.

29) “Ø=wen ruwe ne wa” sekon ne, suy
    It was [said] to be really terrible. Again

---

95 Nakagawa has registered *tumi-nonnoitak-(pa)* (NAK 281) with the same meaning, i. e. in his variant the underlying -i- which, of course, originated in *itak* ‘to speak, a speech’ (*nonno* cannot be morphologically segmented since its meaning is obscure) turns into a glide [j] under the influence of the preceding vowel [o].
30) \( \emptyset=\text{kamuy-} \text{or-o-[o]-itak} \)\(^{96} \quad \text{kor} \quad \emptyset=\text{okay} \quad \text{akusu} \\
3.\text{S=God-place-POSS-to.APPL-speak} \quad \text{and} \quad 3.\text{S=be.PL} \quad \text{then} \\
they were praying to the Gods, then

31) \( \text{kotan kes wa} \quad \emptyset=\text{poro kem tak} \quad \emptyset=\text{hopuni wa} \) \\
village lower.part from \( 3.\text{S=be.big} \) \( \text{blood clot} \) \( 3.\text{S=fly} \) \quad \text{and} \\
a big clot of blood flew from the lower part of the village and

32) \( \text{kotan pa un} \quad \emptyset=\text{hacir} \quad \text{na} \) \\
village upper.part at \( 3.\text{S=fall.down} \) \quad \text{FIN} \\
fell down on the upper part of the village.

33) “\( \emptyset=\text{wen ruwe ne} \)” \( \text{sekor} \quad \emptyset=\text{haw-e-oka kor} \) \\
\( 3.\text{S=be.terrible} \) \( \text{ASS.NR COP QUOT} \) \( 3.\text{S=voice-POSS-be.PL} \) \text{and} \\
[Everyone] said that it was really terrible.

34) \( \emptyset=i\text{-nonnoitak} \quad a \quad \emptyset=i\text{-nonnoitak} \quad a \quad \text{ayne}, \) \\
\( 3.\text{S=APASS-pray.gods.for ITR} \) \( 3.\text{S=APASS-pray.gods.for ITR} \) \text{finally} \\
[The villagers] prayed and prayed and finally

---

\(^{96}\) I suggest that the intended form is \( \text{kamuy-} \text{or-o-[o]-itak} \) <God-place-POSS-[to.APPL]-speak> lit. 'to speak to Gods'. The informant was omitting the second -[o]- (<APPL>) even in slow careful speech probably because it is preceded by another -o- (<POSS>).

However, I suppose that the valence increasing applicative prefix \( \text{o-} \) ‘to, at’ is to be included here, because there is no other way for a noun (\( \text{kamuy oro} \) ‘place of Gods’) to be incorporated in an intransitive verb (\( \text{itak} \) ‘to say, speak’) unless the latter undergoes applicative formation turning it into a transitive verb, and incorporates a noun as its direct object (see 4.3.4.2.5).

It is obvious that we are dealing here with incorporation, because otherwise the locative noun \( \text{oro} \) ‘place’ would be marked by a case-postposition as an oblique argument of the intransitive verb \( \text{itak} \) ‘to say, speak’. 
35) \text{`kotan noski wa \ Ø=poro kem tak'} \\
\text{village middle from 3.S=be.big blood clot} \\
\Ø=hopuni wa \ kotan enka ta \ Ø=yas-ke wa \\
3.S=fly and village over at 3.S=tear-INTR and \\
a big clot of blood flew from the middle of the village and split [into two] over the 
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{village.} \\
\end{tabular}

36) \text{`kotan pa un sine p \ Ø=hacir,'} \\
\text{village upper.part at one thing 3.S=fall.down} \\
One piece fell down on the upper end of the village,

37) \text{sine p kotan kes un \ Ø=hacir} \\
one thing village lower.end at 3.S=fall.down \\
another piece fell down on the lower part of the village.

38) \text{`akusu \ “tane \ Ø=pirka siri ne’’ sekor ne,} \\
\text{then already 3.S=be.good EVID.NR COP QUOT COP} \\
Then they said, “It looks as if it is already enough.”

39) \text{`or-o-wa-no, \ Ø=tumi-hayok-pa\textsuperscript{97} ki kor} \\
\text{there-POSS-from-and 3.S=battle-arm.oneself-PL do and} \\
After that they armed themselves.

40) \text{`nispa-utar \ Ø=tumi-hayok-pa kor \ Ø=okay, wa} \\
\text{rich.man-PL 3.S=battle-arm.oneself-PL and 3.S=be.PL and} \\
The rich men were arming themselves.

\textsuperscript{97} The verb \textit{tumi-hayok-pa} is not registered in dictionaries as a single word. Since the underlying verb \textit{hayok} ‘to arm oneself’ (TAM 177) is intransitive, the noun \textit{tumi} (TAM 734) ‘battle’ cannot be incorporated as a direct object, I suppose that it is incorporated as a kind of adverbial (see 4.3.4.2.5).
41) \( \emptyset = \text{tumi-hayok-pa} \) \( \text{wa} \) \( \text{or-o-wa} \)
3.S=battle-arm.oneself-PL and there-POSS-from
[The villages] armed themselves. After that

42) \( \text{kunne} \) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{tére} \) \( \text{wa} \) \( \emptyset = \text{okay}^{98} \) \( \text{akusu} \)
nightfall 3.S=3.O=wait and 3.S=be.PL then

\( \text{sir-kunne} \) \( \text{akusu} \)
appearance-grow.dark when
they were waiting for nightfall, then it grew dark.

43) \( \text{sonno} \) \( \text{poka} \) \( \emptyset = \text{topattumi} \) \( \text{kuni-p} \)
really only 3.S=make.a.night.raid in.order.to-NR

\( \text{utar} \) \( \text{poro-n-no} \) \( \emptyset = \text{arki-arki} \)
Many people [the attackers] [started] coming and coming indeed in order to make a night raid.

44) \( \text{opitta} \) \( \text{a=} \emptyset = \text{tuye} \) \( \text{wa} \) \( \text{a=} \emptyset = \text{ray-ke} \) \( \text{wa} \) \( \emptyset = \text{isam} \),
all IND.S=3.O=cut and IND.S=3.O=die-CAUS and 3.S=not.exist
We cut and killed all of them

45) \( \text{sine-p} \) \( \text{ka} \) \( \emptyset = \text{isam} \) \( \text{no} \)
one-person even 3.S=not.exist and
to the last person.

46) \( \text{opitta} \) \( \text{a=} \emptyset = \text{ray-ke} \) \( \text{wa} \) \( \emptyset = \text{isam} \), \( \text{akusu} \) \( \text{nispa-utar} \)
all IND.S=3.O=die-CAUS and 3.S=not.exist then rich.man-PL
We killed everyone. The rich men [said]:

---

98 With durative transitive notional verbs (here: \( \text{tére} \)) the construction notional verb + conjunction \( \text{wa} \) ‘and’ + \( \text{an(SG)/okay (PL)’to be’} \) denotes continuation of the action or process named by the notional verb (see 4.3.5.2.2).
47) “mus, mus 神 Ø=an kusu siknu=an ruwe ne, kusu
fly fly GOD 3.S=be because survive=IND.S ASS.NR COP because
“Since we have survived because the Fly God was [here],

48) sake-kar=’an ma
rice.wine-make=IND.S and
let us make rice-wine and

49) mus kamuy a=Ø=nomi kus ne” sekor
fly God IND.S=3.O=honour intention COP QUOT
Ø=haw-e-oka kor
3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL and
honour the Fly God [with a celebration].” They said.

50) Ø=sake-kar kur Ø=sake-kar,
A man, who was in charge of brewing rice-wine, brewed rice-wine.

51) Ø=inawke kur Ø=inaw-ke
A man, who was in charge of making inaw [whittled prayer sticks used as
offerings to the gods], made inaw.

52) usa sito Ø=Ø=kar, hene
various dumpling 3.S=3.O=make or
They made various dumplings.

53) usa a=e-p Ø=pirka a=e-p poro-n-no
various IND.S=eat-NR 3.S=be.good IND.S=eat-NR be.many-EP-ADV

a=Ø=kar wa
IND.S=3.O=make and
We made lots of various food, delicious food.
54) sake karutukoroko Ø=ne wa  
    rice.wine even two.days three.days 3.S=COP and

    Ø=pirka sekornen wa  
    3.S=be.good QUOT COP and

It was [said] that two or three days had passed and the rice-wine became good.  
(lit. ‘As to the rice-wine, it was two three days, it was said.’)

55) or-owawa, “mus kamuy a=Ø=nomi” sekor  
    there-POSS-from fly God IND.S=3.O=honour QUOT

Then they [said]: “We’ll honour the Fly God.”

56) a=i=nomi wa  
    IND.S=IND.O=honour and

I was honoured and

57) usa a=e-p hene, inaw hene,  
    various IND.S=eat-NR or inaw or

    sake hene poro-n-no a=i=kor-e korka  
    rice.wine or be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=IND.O=have-CAUS but

given a lot of various food, inaw, rice-wine, but

58) yaykata a=Ø=kor wa hosipi99 ka  
    by.oneself IND.S=3.S=have and return even

    a=Ø=e-aykap pe ne  
    IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-be.unable NR COP

I was really unable to take [all that] home by myself,

59) kusu a=i=e-rura wa  
    because IND=IND.O=for.APPL-carry and

so, they carried [all the goods] for me.

99 Here hosipi ‘to return’ (vi) appears as a noun ‘return’ and a direct object of the verb eaykap ‘to be unable of’: lit. ‘having (that) by myself, I was unable of return’.
60) \( a=uni-hi \) \( ta \)
\( \text{IND.S=} \text{house-POSS} \) \( \text{to} \)
To my house…

61) \( \text{usa } a=e-p, \) \( \text{usa } inaw, \) \( sake \) \( hene, \) \( ne \) \( yakka \)
various \( \text{IND.S=} \text{eat-NR} \) various \( inaw \) rice.wine or COP even.if

\( \text{poro-n-no } a=uni \) \( ta \) \( a=i=e-rura \)
be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=house.POSS to IND=IND.O=for.APPL-carry
They carried for me a lot of various food to my house, various \( inaw \) [and] rice-wine.

62) \( a=Ø=e-yay-kamuy-ne-re^{100} \)
\( \text{kor } \) \( Ø=an, \)
\( \text{IND.S=} 3.\text{O=} \text{because.APPL-REFL-God-COP-CAUS} \) \( \text{and} \) \( 3.\text{S=} \text{be} \)
It happened that I became God because [I had been properly worshipped by the Ainu] and it was [so].

63) \( \text{mus } a=ne \) \( ruwe \) \( ne \)
fly \( \text{IND.S=} \text{COP} \) ASS.NR COP
I was a Fly.

---

100 \( e-yay-kamuy-ne-re \) ‘to become God because of sth’. The object introduced by the applicative prefix \( e- \) is not expressed overtly, giving an anaphoric reference to the preceding context (see 4.3.4.1.2). The relevant context has been pointed out by Ito Oda (the phrase in square brackets).

Recorded on February 5, 1999. Playing Time: 7:56

An Outline of the Story

A married woman is telling the story of her life. However, the middle part of the story, namely the scene of hunt, is told by the woman’s husband.

A married couple couldn’t have children. Then a baby-boy was born to them who looked exactly like his father. Both parents were very happy and the husband especially rejoiced over the baby who looked just like himself. The father quitted hunting and stayed at home nursing his son.

Again after three years the husband decided to try to go to the mountains in order to hunt. And so he did, staying over night at his hunting hut in the mountains. Before going to bed he prayed for the success of his hunt and stood the *inaw* [whittled prayer sticks used as offerings to the Gods], but in the morning he found out that all of them had fallen down. Disregarding this, he repeated the whole ceremony from the beginning, but again all the *inaw* fell down.

Nevertheless, he still went hunting. During the hunt the man was chased by a terrible-looking monster-bear who was half red and half white. There was a violent fight between the man and the monster-bear. After that the story breaks and the topic is switched.

The wife had a feeling that the hunt hadn’t gone well because her husband’s dog returned from the hunt alone and was lying without motion. She explained the situation to the village chief and asked him if she could go to the mountains to look for her husband. As the woman got the permission to do so, she cooked many delicious dishes, including the *sito* [traditional Ainu dumplings] and went to the mountains accompanied by the other villagers.

They found some evidence of the fight which had ended up in the death of both fighters, the man and the monster-bear. The woman grieved for her husband. She chopped the carcass of the monster-bear and used it as fertilizer for a fallen tree.

The woman returned to the village but she suffered the loss of her husband so terribly that she finally died of grief.
Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1)  \( a=hoku-hu \) \( \emptyset=an \) ma okay=’an pe ne 
    IND.S=husband-POSS  3.S=be and be.PL=IND.S NR COP
    There was my husband and [so] we lived, but

2)  hike \( \emptyset=u-ko-po-sak \) pe a=ne wa
    but  3.S=REC-with.APPL-child-not .have person IND.S=COP and
    we had no children.\(^{101}\)

3)  mismu=an kor okay=’an pe ne akasu
    feel.sad=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S NR be then
    We felt sad and we were [so] Then

4)  (ehempak), hempak, okkayo hekaci\(^{102}\) a=Ø=kor wa
    once boy baby IND.S=IND.O=have and
    one day, I [the woman] gave birth to a baby-boy.

5)  a=Ø=nukar wa
    IND.S=3.O=look.at and
    I looked at him.

\(^{101}\) lit. ‘we were the people having no children with each other’.

\(^{102}\) Generally, the word *hekaci* denotes “a boy between 4 or 5 and 14 or 15 years of age who has his individual world and character, i.e. mainly a boy of school age” (TAM: 179), but I suppose that its original meaning is ‘baby/child’ with a later reinterpretation as ‘(baby-)boy’.

Similar terms may be found in the following words: *makaci* ‘girl’ (< *mat*+*hekaci* <woman-child>); *hekatar* ‘children’ (< *hekaci*+utar <child-PL>).

Cf. the Japanese HITO ‘a man/human’ which is often used to refer to ‘a male person’.
6) a=hoku-hu Ø=arke a=Ø=yas-a a pekor
   IND.S=husband-POSS 3.S=half.POSS PASS=3.O=tear-TR PERF as.if

   Ø=an	extsuperscript{103} hekaci a=Ø=kor wa
   3.S=be boy IND.S=IND.O=have and

   I gave birth to the boy who was just a copy of my husband.\textsuperscript{104} [lit. ‘the boy who was [as similar] as if a half of my husband had been torn out’]

7) a=Ø=e-yay-(cik)-kopuntek korka
   IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-REFL-?-rejoice.at but
   I was happy but

8) a=hoku-hu po anak-ne Ø=e-yay-kopuntek
   IND.S=husband-POSS even.more TOP-COP 3.S=at.APPL-REFL-rejoice.over my husband rejoiced over that even more.

9) wa po-kor='an akusu or-o-wa-no
   and baby-have=IND.S when there-POSS-from-and

   From the time we had the baby,

10) Ø=ekimne ka soma ki no
    3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt even NEG do and

    [my husband] didn’t go to the mountains to hunt.

11) cine ot ta patek Ø=an ma
    house place at only 3.S=be and

    Only staying at home,

12) hekaci Ø=nanu-hu patek Ø=Ø=nukar kor
    boy 3.S=face-POSS only 3.S=3.O=look.at and

    he was always looking at the boy’s face.

\textsuperscript{103} This idiomatic expression of similarity has many parallels in other languages.
\textsuperscript{104} The fact of one’s resemblance to his father seems to be regarded as a very positive sign by the Ainu, since it proves the fatherhood.
13) *kes-to-an-kor Ø=an ma (ayn…) ayne,*
every-day-be-and 3.S=be and finally
He spent every day [like that]. Finally,

14) *re pa ka Ø=ekimne ka somo ki no*
three year even 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt even NEG do and
he didn’t go hunting to the mountains for three years,

15) *Ø=po-ho Ø=e-punkine wa Ø=an*
*ruwe ne wa, akusu* 今度旦那さんの言うことで
ASS.NR COP and then
really taking care of his son. THEN THE HUSBAND SAID:

16) “*haa, a=maci-hi Ø=po-kor wa a=Ø=nukar akusu*
ah IND.S=wife-POSS 3.S=baby-have and IND.S=3.O=look.at then
“Ah! [When] my wife had a baby, I looked at him, then

17) *(aa), “a=arke-he a=Ø=yas-a a pekor Ø=an hekaci*
IND.S=half-POSS PASS=3.O=tear-TR PERF as.if 3.S=be boy
*Ø=ne” sekor aynu opitta Ø=haw-e-okay koraci*
3.S=COP QUOT man all 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL as
all the people said that the boy was just a copy of me, so

18) *i=neno Ø=an hekaci ne noyne Ø=an ma*
IND.O=similar 3.S=be boy as seemingly 3.S=be and
similar to me the boy was.
19) $a=\emptyset = e\text{-}yay$-kopuntek  
IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at  
and  IND.S=3.O=SOC-run-CAUS

$kot  \emptyset = an$
and  3.S=be
We were happy about [it] and vied with each other for [the baby’s attention] and it was [so].

20) ayne re pa ka ekimne=an  
finally three year even go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S even NEG do

$no  an= ’an  an’an  wa  kusu$
and  be=IND.S ADM and because
Finally I spent three years without going to the mountains to hunt! So

21) (ekimne=an sekor),  
go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S QUOT

$ekimne=an  ma  inkar= ’an  sekor  yay-nu=an$
and see=IND.S QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S
I thought of trying to go to the mountains for a hunt.

22) ma ekimne arpa=an ma  
and to.the.mountains go=IND.S and
I went to the mountains.

\[105\] terke ‘to jump/run’ > terke-re ‘to make sb run/jump’ (OI) > uko-terke-re ‘(for everyone) altogether to make sb run/jump’. The sociative derivative in uko- (see 4.3.4.2.3) has been lexicalized and reinterpreted as competitive ‘to compete/vie in sth (here: ‘in making run’): ukoterkerere ‘to fight/compete with each other for (a baby)’ (vt), ‘describes a situation when a couple is fighting for their baby’s attention: each parent is trying to attract the baby asking him to come up to him/her’ (NAK 60).

The competitive meaning is closely related to the reciprocal and sociative; there are some other languages (Bulgarian, Karachay-Balkar, Japanese) where the reciprocal/sociative marker also has a competitive meaning (V.P. Nedjalkov, p. c.).
23) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{san-ke} \quad kuca \quad ka \quad \)  
3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS hunting.hut even  
Since [I had] a hunting hut close to the sea (lit. ‘a projecting hunting hut’)  

24) \( \text{kim-un} \quad kuca \quad ka \quad a=\emptyset =\text{kor} \quad pe \quad ne \quad \text{kusu} \quad \)  
mountains-in hunting.hut even IND.S=3.O=have NR COP because  
and also had a hunting hut in the mountains, so  

25) \( \text{kim-un} \quad kuca \quad ot \quad ta \quad \text{arpa}=\text{an} \quad ma(a), \quad \)  
mountains-in hunting.hut place to go=IND.S and  
I went to the hunting hut in the mountains,  

26) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{san-ke} \quad kuca \quad ot \quad ta \quad \text{arpa}=\text{an} \quad ma \quad \)  
3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS hunting.hut place to go=IND.S and  
I went to the hunting hut by the sea,  

27) \( \text{rewsi}=\text{an} \quad ma \quad \text{yay-e-ynonnoitak}=’\text{an} \quad ma \quad \)  
stay.overnight=IND.S and REFL-for.APPL-pray=IND.S and  
I stayed [at the latter?] and prayed for myself [for the success of the hunting],  

28) \( \text{inaw} \quad a=\emptyset =\text{roski} \quad wa \quad \text{suke}=\text{an} \quad ma \quad \)  
inaw IND.S=3.O=stand and cook=IND.S and  
I stood the inaw - whittled prayer sticks [used as offerings to the Gods], I cooked,  

29) \( \text{ipe}=\text{an} \quad ma \quad \text{hotke}=\text{an} \quad ma \quad \)  
eat=IND.S and sleep=IND.S and  
ate and slept.  

30) \( \text{kuneywa} \quad \text{hopuni}=\text{an} \quad ma \quad \text{inkar}=’\text{an} \quad \text{akusu} \quad \)  
in.the.morning get.up=IND.S and look.around=IND.S when  
Next morning, when I got up and looked around –  

31) \( a=\emptyset =\text{roski} \quad a \quad \text{inaw} \quad \text{opitta} \quad \)  
IND.S=3.O=stand PERF inaw all  
all the inaw I had stood
32) **kuca** *(o...)* [ot ta] hunting.hut ? [place at] at the hunting hut

33) **i=hekota,** Ø=hacir wa Ø=okay korka IND.O=in.the.direction.of 3.S=fall.down and 3.S=be.PL but were fallen down in my direction.

34) **neun a=Ø=ramu ka somo ki no a=Ø=nukar,** something IND.S=3.O=think even NEG do and IND.S=3.O=look.at I didn’t pay any attention, [just] looked at that.

35) **or-o-wa kim-un kuca ot ta suy arpa=an** there-POSS-from mountains-in hunting.hut place to again go=IND.S Then again I went to the hunting hut in the mountains

36) **ma rewsi=an ma** and stay.overnight=IND.S and and stayed [there] for the night.

37) **suy yay-e-yronnoitak='an wa** again REFL-for.APPL-pray=IND.S and Again I prayed for myself [for the success of the hunting],

38) **suke=an ma ipe=an ma** cook=IND.S and eat=IND.S and cooked, ate,

39) **hotke=an ma kuneywa hopuni=an** sleep=IND.S and in.the.morning get.up=IND.S slept and in the morning I got up

40) **ma inkar='an akusu** and look.around=1SG then and looked around.
41) \( a=\emptyset=\text{roski} \) \( \text{inaw} \) \( \emptyset=\text{horak} \) \( \text{wa} \) \( \emptyset=\text{an}, \)
\( \text{IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{stand} \) \( \text{inaw} \) all \( 3.\text{S}=\text{fall.down} \) and \( 3.\text{S}=\text{be} \)
All the \( \text{inaw} \) which I placed standing were fallen.

42) \( \text{korka} \) \( \text{te} \) \( \text{pak-no} \) \( \text{ek}='\text{an} \) \( \text{ruwe} \) \( \text{ne} \) \( \text{kusu} \)
but here till-ADV come=IND.S ASS.NR COP because
But as I was here,

43) \( \text{neun} \) \( \text{ka} \) \( \text{apkas}='\text{an} \) \( \text{ma} \) \( \text{inkar}='\text{an} \)
somewhere even walk=IND.S and look.around=IND.S

\( \text{sekor} \) \( \text{yay-nu=}\text{an} \) \( \text{ma} \)
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I decided to walk somewhere around and have a look.

44) \( \text{kuca} \) \( \text{soy} \) \( \text{ta} \) \( \emptyset=\text{pon} \) \( \text{nay} \)
hunting.hut outside at \( 3.\text{S}=\text{be.small} \) river

\( \emptyset=\text{pirka} \) \( \emptyset=\text{pon} \) \( \text{nay} \) \( \text{ka} \) \( \emptyset=\text{an} \)
\( 3.\text{S}=\text{be.good} \) \( 3.\text{S}=\text{be.small} \) river even \( 3.\text{S}=\text{be} \)
There was a small river, a good small river outside the hunting hut.

45) \( \text{ma} \text{nay} \) \( \text{turasi} \) \( \text{arpa=}\text{an} \) \( \text{akusu} \)
and river along go=IND.S then
And I went up along [that] river.

46) \( \text{nupuri} \) \( \text{poro-n-no} \) \( \emptyset=\text{an}^{106} \),
mountain be.many-EP-ADV \( 3.\text{S}=\text{be} \)
There were mountains all around.

---

^{106} Note that in Ainu it is possible to use a single form of the existential verb \( \text{an} \) ‘to be (SG)’ (cf. \( \text{oka} \) ‘be (PL)’) with the word \( \text{poronno} \) ‘many’, i.e. in the sentence with a semantically plural subject.
47) ne nupuri a=Ø=nukar kor an=’an akusu
   this mountain IND.S=3.O=look.at and be=IND.S then
   I looked at these mountains,

48) nupuri kes ta Ø=pon-pon nupuri onnay ta
   mountain end at 3.S=be.small- be.small mountain inside in
   nep ka Ø=an ma a=Ø=nukar akusu
   somebody even 3.S=be and IND.S=3.O=look.at when
   There was someone at the end of the mountains, inside a very small hill.
   When I looked at it,

49) Ø=arke cipor-pe a=Ø=o-ta107
   3.O=half.POSS salmon.roe-thing PASS=3.O=upon.APPL-pour
   [there was somebody] upon half of whom [some] salmon roe seemed to have been poured

50) Ø=arke Ø=ci-kuy pas a=Ø=kus-te108
   a pekor109 Ø=an pe Ø=an ma
   PERF as.if 3.S=be person 3.S=be and
   and whose other half seemed to be covered with crushed ashes.110

107 o-ta <upon.APPL-pour> ‘to pour sth upon sth’ is a three-place transitive verb which has two objects: a Patient object ciporpe ‘salmon roe’ introduced by the verbal root and a Locative object Ø=arke ‘his half’ introduced by the applicative prefix.

108 kus-te <pass.over-CAUS> ‘to cover sb/sth with sth’ (lit. ‘to make sth pass over sb/sth’) is a three-place transitive verb which has two objects: a causee object pas ‘ashes’ modified by cikuy ‘to be crushed’ and a Locative object Ø=arke ‘his half’.

109 Note that the perfect marker a and the operator pekor ‘as if’ are related to the predicates of both clauses (49) and (50).

110 It is an idiomatic expression describing “an evil bear” (TAM 57), who is half red (salmon roe) and half white (ashes).
51) \( \varnothing=i=nukar \quad akusu \quad \varnothing=mina \quad tek \quad pekor \)
   \( 3.S=\text{IND.O=look.at} \quad \text{then} \quad 3.S=\text{laugh} \quad \text{for.a.moment} \quad \text{as.if} \)

\( \varnothing=i-ki \quad siri \quad a=\varnothing=nukar \quad \text{wa,} \quad kusu \)
   \( 3.S=\text{APASS-do EVID.NR IND.S=IND.O=see} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{because} \)
I saw that he looked at me [and] then laughed for a moment. So

52) \( nani \quad hosipi=an \quad (ak\{usu\}) \quad korka \)
   \( \text{immediately} \quad \text{return=}\text{IND.S} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{but} \)
I immediately turned back but

53) \( i=kes \quad \varnothing=\varnothing=anpa^{111} \quad \text{wa} \quad \varnothing=ek \)
   \( \text{IND.O=end} \quad 3.S=3.O=\text{hold.PL} \quad \text{and} \quad 3.S=\text{come} \)
he chased me

54) \( \text{wa} \quad i=y-os \quad \varnothing=i=\text{haypa-haypa} \)
   \( \text{and} \quad \text{IND.O=EP-after} \quad 3.S=\text{IND.O=fail.to.seize-fail.to.seize} \quad \text{but} \quad \text{he failed to seize me.} \)

55) \( a=sapa-ha \quad \varnothing=\varnothing=\text{haypa-haypa} \quad kor \quad \varnothing=ek, \)
   \( \text{IND.S=head-POSS} \quad 3.S=3.O=\text{fail.to.seize-fail.to.seize} \quad \text{and} \quad 3.S=\text{come} \)
He tried to grasp my head,

56) \( \text{wa} \quad kusu \quad tasiro \quad a=\varnothing=\text{etaye} \quad \text{wa} \)
   \( \text{and because large.knife} \quad \text{IND.S=3.O=pull.out} \quad \text{and} \)
so I pulled out a large knife and

57) \( si-y-oka \quad un \quad a=\varnothing=tuy-e(ye) \quad akusu, \)
   \( \text{REFL-EP-behind to} \quad \text{IND.S=3.O=cut-TR} \quad \text{then} \)
brandished [it] behind myself

---

^{111} kes anpa ‘to follow/chase sth/sb’ (here: lit. ‘he held my end’) is a phrasal verb consisting of the locative noun kes ‘end, edge’ which takes personal markers of the object, and of the transitive verb anpa ‘to hold sth/sb (PL)’ (single form ani ‘to hold sth/sb (SG)’ never occurs as part of the phrasal verb); for the detailed description of phrasal verbs refer (Sato(o): 2001b).
58) \( a=\emptyset=tuy-e \) \( kor \) \( hoyupu=an \) \([i]ke? \) \( ka \)
   IND.S=3.O=cut-TR while run=IND.S but even
cutting [the monster], I ran but

59) \( \emptyset=i=rispa-rispa \) \( kor \) \( i=y-o ka-ke^{112} \), \( (i=y-o ka \ ke…) \)
   he plucked me.

60) \( (\emptyset=kes-e \) \( \emptyset=\emptyset=anpa \) \( wa)^{113} \)
   3.O=end-POSS 3.S=3.O=hold.PL and
   \( i=kes \) \( \emptyset=\emptyset=anpa \) \( wa \) \( \emptyset=ek \)
   [The monster] has chased me up.

61) \( neun \) \( poka \) \( i-ki=an \) \( ma \)
   something at.least APASS-do=IND.S and
   I [had] to at least try and do something.

62) \( kuca \) \( soy \) \( pak-no \) \( arpa=an \) sekor \( yay-nu=an \) \( ma \),
   hunting.hut outside till-ADV go=IND.S QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
   I decided to go to the hunting hut.

63) \( a=\emptyset=tawki \) \( (ranya?)\{ranke\} \( a=\emptyset=tawki \) \( ranke \) \( kor \)
   IND.S=3.O=chop \[ITR\]   IND.S=3.O=chop ITR while
   While I chopped and chopped [the monster],

64) \( kuca \) \( soy \) \( pak \) \( arki=an \) \( a \) \( korka \)
   hunting.hut outside till go=IND.S PERF but
   [both of us] reached the outside of the hunting hut, but

---

^{112} This form is not included in the translation, because it has been corrected by \( i=kes \), see (60).

^{113} The parenthesized form may be regarded as a slip of the tongue, because it is followed by the same expression with contextually correct personal markers.
65) neun i-ki=an a ka a=Ø=eramuskari,
what APASS-do=IND.S PERF even IND.S=3.O=not.remember
I don’t remember what happened [next].

66) or-o-wa oyak ta Ø=terke,
there-POSS-from another.place to 3.S=jump
Then [the topic] changes.

67) a=hoku-hu Ø=an ma okay=’an pe ne
IND.S=husband-POSS 3.S=be and be.PL=IND.S NR COP
There was my husband and [so] we lived.

68) akusu hentom’an’i ta po-kor=’an akusu
then once at baby-have=IND.S then
Then once we had a baby.

69) a=hoku-hu a=Ø=yas-a a pekor Ø=an
IND.S=husband-POSS PASS=3.O=tear-TR PERF as.if 3.S=be

hekaci a=Ø=kor wa
boy IND.S=3.O=have and
I gave birth to a [baby] boy who looked exactly like my husband.114

70) Ø=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek wa
3.S=3.O=at.APPL-SOC-REFL-rejoice.at and
My husband rejoiced at that.

71) a=Ø=kor hekaci Ø=Ø=e-punkine wa
IND.S=3.O=have boy 3.S=3.O=of.APPL-take.care and
He took care of our boy and

72) Ø=ekimne ka somo ki no
3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt even NEG do and
stopped going to the mountains to hunt.

114 lit. ‘I had a boy who was as if my husband had been torn off.’
73) re pa ka Ø=an ma or-o-wa
    three year even 3.S=be and there-POSS-from
    Three years passed.

74) ekimne\textsuperscript{115} wa (inkar sek…) inkar=’an kusu ne
    go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt and see see=IND.S intention COP
    “I am going to try and go to the mountains [in order] to hunt.”

75) sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor
    QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and
    Said [my husband].

76) Ø=soyne akusu, Ø=ek siri ka Ø=isam
    3.S=go.outside then 3.S=come EVID.NR even 3.S=not.exist
    [My husband] went away and it looks that he won’t come back.

77) ma or-o-wa (sepa) seta patek Ø=hosipi wa Ø=ek
    and there-POSS-from dog only 3.S=return and 3.S=come
    Since then only the dog returned.

78) wa seta Ø=he-muy-muy-e\textsuperscript{116} wa Ø=an ruwe a=Ø=nukar
    and dog 3.S=head-cover-cover-TR and 3.S=be ASS.NR IND.S=3.O=see
    I saw that the dog was lying motionless.

\textsuperscript{115} The intended form is ekimne=an <go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S>; lit. ‘I intend to go to the mountains to hunt and see’ (see 4.3.6.4).

\textsuperscript{116} he-muy-muy-e <head-cover-cover-TR> ‘to lie curled up and sleep motionlessly’. The meaning was suggested by Ito Oda.
79) *akusu* (pirka),
then  be.good

“*nep* Ø=pirka p-i\(^{117}\) Ø=an ruwe ka somo ne”
something 3.S=be.good thing-POSS 3.S=be ASS.NR even NEG COP
“Nothing good had happened.”

80) *sekor* yay-nu=an *kusu*
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S because
Since I thought [so],

81) *kotan* Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=or-o ta
village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.O=place-POSS to

*arpa=an* ma
go=IND.S  and
I went to the place of the village chief.

82) “*tap-ne* tap-ne Ø=ne wa
this-COP this-COP 3.S=COP and
“[Things] are like this and that.

---

\(^{117}\) To my knowledge, *p-i* <thing-POSS>’ as a single word has not been registered in the dictionaries. It is regarded here as a possessive form of *pe/p* (allomorphs) ‘thing/person; NR’. The form *p-i* appears in the present text twice (sentences 79 and 88) being preceded by the determiner *nep* ‘something’. As was suggested by T. Satoo (p.c.), the use of the possessive form *p-i* is determined by the preceding determiner, which increases the degree of specification in head nouns; as a result, the notional forms of nouns are often replaced by possessive forms.

There are a few parallel examples in which the possessive forms are not used in the proper possessive sense but are determined by the preceding determiners (in bold): *usa a=e-p-i* <various IND.S=eat-NR-POSS> ‘various food’ (NAK: 4) (cf.: *usa a=e-p* (OI: present text sentence 94)); *tup sumaw-e rep sumaw-e* <two carcass-POSS three carcass-POSS> ‘two carcasses, three carcasses (of dead game)’ (OI).
83) **a=hoku-hu Ø=ekimne kusu**
IND.S=husband-POSS 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt in.order

**Ø=arpa a**
3.S=go PERF
My husband went hunting

84) **hospipi ka Ø=isam no**
but return even 3.S=not.exist and
and never came back.

85) **seta patek Ø=hospipi wa Ø=ek wa**
dog only 3.S=return and 3.S=come and
Only his dog has returned and

86) **Ø=he-muy-muy-e wa Ø=an ruwe a=Ø=nukan ruwe,**
3.S=head-cover-cover-TR and 3.S=be ASS.NR IND.S=3.O=see ASS.NR
I saw that [the dog] was lying motionless.

87) **a=Ø=nukar kor**
IND.S=3.O=see when
When I saw [that],

88) “**nep Ø=pirka p-i Ø=an ruwe ka somo ne**”
something 3.S=be.good thing-POSS 3.S=be ASS.NR even NEG COP
“Nothing good had happened.”

89) **sekor yay-nu=an ma**
QUOT REFL-hear=1SG and
I thought.

90) “**ekimne arpa=an ma inkar=’an rusuy**”
to.the.mountains go=IND.S and look=IND.S want
“I want to go to the mountains and have a look.”
91) *sekor* kotan *Ø=Ø=kor* kur *Ø=or-o* ta  
QUOT village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.O=place-POSS to

*itak=*’an  
say=IND.S  
I said to the village chief.

92) *akusu* “*Ø=pirka hawe ne*” *sekor* *Ø=haw-e-an*  
then 3.S=be.good EVID.NR COP QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be  
Then - “It is fine,”-said [the village chief].

93) *ma* (su) *sito*  
and dumpling even IND.S=3.O=make  
I made dumplings.

94) *usa* *a=e-p* poro-n-no *Ø=pirka*  
various IND.S=eat-NR be.many-EP-ADV be.good  

*a=e-p* a=Ø=kar wa or-o-wa  
IND.S=eat-NR IND.S=3.O=make and there-POSS-from  
I cooked a lot of various dishes, delicious dishes. Then

95) *nispa-utar* katkemat-utar *Ø=i=tura* wa  
rich.man-PL housewife-PL 3.S=IND.O=follow and  
the rich men and their wives followed me and

96) *ekimne* paye=an ma  
to.the.mountains go.PL=IND.S and  
we went to the mountains.

97) *inkar=*’an *akusu*  
look.around=IND.S when  
When I looked around:
98) *sonno poka a=hoku-hu*
really even IND.S=husband-POSS
indeed my husband

99) *kamuyasi Ø=or-o wa*
monster 3.O=place-POSS

\[a\] \(^{119}\) *Ø=anpa wa*
and
had been chased by a monster.

100) *kamiyasi\(^{120}\) ka Ø=ray wa Ø=an ma,*
monster even 3.S=die and 3.S=be
The monster died [and] (lit. ‘was dead’)

101) *a=hoku-hu ka Ø=ray wa Ø=an ma,*
IND.S=husband-POSS even 3.S=die and 3.S=be and
my husband also died.

102) *sonno a=hoku-hu a=Ø=kemnu wa,*
really IND.S=husband-POSS IND.S=3.O=feel.sorry.for and
I felt really sorry for my husband.

103) *ne kamuyasi anakne a=Ø=tuy-pa-tuy-pa wa*
that monster TOP IND.S=3.O=cut-PL-cut-PL and
I chopped that monster and

---

118 The ablative postposition *wa* ‘from’ on the locative noun *or-o* ‘the place of’ is usually employed in passive constructions to mark the demoted subject (see 4.3.3.4.3).

119 The passive marker *a-* must have been accidentally omitted by Ito Oda because the verbal root also starts with /a/.

120 Here, the second vowel is pronounced as a front vowel, close to [i], cf. lines 99, 103 with [u].

Depending on the dialect and sometimes even on the individual pronunciation, the following variants of this word ‘monster’ may be found: *kamiasi* (<kamuy ‘God’+oyasi ‘monster’) (CH 55-56 for Horobetu, Chikabumi; TAM 269 for Saru; NAK 146 for Chitose), *kameasi* (TAM 269 for Saru), *kamuyasi* (NAK 148; OI for Chitose), *kamnasi* (HAT 172 for Bihoro), *kamunasi* (NAK 148; OI for Chitose); cf. *oyasi* (HAT 172 for Raychishka of Sakhalin).

For the greater part, Ito Oda prefers the form *kamuyasi* ‘monster’ and seldom if ever– *kamiyasi*, the status of the latter is unclear.
104) munin (samani) samamni a(e)=Ø=ko-puni
rotten fallen.tree IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-offer
offered him [as food; here: as fertilizer] to a rotten fallen tree.

105) wa a=Ø=ko-pasirota kor
and IND.S=3.O=APPL-curse and
I cursed [the monster] and

106) a=Ø=ko-puni ruwe ne
IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-offer ASS.NR COP
offered him [as fertilizer] [to a rotten fallen tree].

107) wa hosipi=an korka
and return=IND.S but
I returned home but

108) neun ne yak-ka a=hoku-hu a=Ø=kemnu
somehow COP if-even IND.S=husband-POSS IND.S=3.O=grieve.for
I grieved for my husband anyway.

109) wa ene a=Ø=ye hi ka Ø=isam no
and like.this IND.S=3.O=say NR even 3.S-not.exist and
I had nothing to say in this respect.

---

121 The Ainu story, when compared with its Japanese translation by Ito Oda, lacks the description of the so-called funeral scene of the woman’s husband.

“Since I couldn’t carry with me my husband’s dead body, I put it in front of the hunting hut and piled on it a lot of things [food offerings] and covered it with many twigs. Having finished the burial ceremony, I returned home.” (OI; from the Japanese translation of the story).

The above abstract depicting the scene of funeral for a person who died in an accident, far from his home, also occurs in several Ainu texts by Ito Oda. Leaving a dead body at the place of accident and performing all the burial rituals there was common practice among the Ainu.
110) cis=’an, cis=’an kor patek an=’an ayne, cry=IND.S cry=IND.S and only be=IND.S finally I cried. I was always crying. Finally,

111) a=Ø=wen-’ekot wa
IND.S=3.O=be.bad-die.of and I died a hard death because of that [of crying].

112) ray=’an ma Ø=isam ruwe ne\textsuperscript{122} die=IND.S and 3.S=not.exist ASS.NR COP [So] I died.

113) sekor, sine menoko Ø=itak QUOT one woman 3.S=tell One woman told that.

\textsuperscript{122} In a later interview Ito Oda described the woman’s death in the following way:

\begin{verbatim}
mismu=an ma cis=’an a cis=’an a ayne cis-ekot=’an
be.sad=IND.S and cry=IND.S ITR cry=IND.S ITR finally cry-die.of=IND.S
\end{verbatim}

‘I was sad, I cried and cried, finally I died of crying.’

The noun cis ‘cry’ is incorporated in the transitive verb ekot ‘to die of sth’; the new derivative cis-ekot is intransitive.


An Outline of the Story

The story is told by a boy who was brought up by *kapatcir kamuy*¹²⁴ – the Eagle God after his parents, as well as the entire village, had died of an epidemic.

Once on a spring day, the Eagle God was having fun on the beach, but suddenly he heard the voice of a crying baby. As there was no one else around, the Eagle God decided to pick up the baby and take care of him. For that purpose he had to turn himself into a regular Ainu elder-*ekasi* and become the boy’s grandfather. So the boy and the grandfather lived happily together until the day when the latter started feeling unwell and then finally returned to his homeland [the land of Gods] having turned himself back into the Eagle God.

Fortunately, on the next day, the boy, who had perhaps become a teenager by that time, was discovered by his elder half-brother, an Ainu hero – *Ponyaunpe*, and his sister, both were residents of the village *Shinutapka*. Returning home from a bartering trip, the elder brother and sister decided to drop in at their native village of which they had not heard anything for a long time. They were very surprised when they found out that only a boy had been left in the formerly prosperous village. Having performed the memorial rites for the dead, they took the boy with them and went back to their home in *Sinutapka*. *Ponyaunpe* treated his younger brother very well, he taught him crafts and hunting.

When the boy grew up *Ponyaunpe* suggested that the boy should return to his native village in order to reestablish it. Besides, *Ponyaunpe* brought a few young men to that village and built new houses for everyone. He also found a beautiful young

¹²³ The narrator could not remember the Japanese word for *kapátcir* saying that ‘it is just some kind of bird’. In my English translation I follow Chiri (1976: I-199): “オオワシ  *Haliaeëtus pelagicus pelagicus* (Pallas)” ‘eagle’. Cf. 「タカ」 ‘hawk’ (NAK 144).

¹²⁴ Ito Oda characterized *kapatcir kamuy* as a very kind God who is full of compassion for people, which generally agrees with the general characteristic of birds in Ainu culture given by Munro (1962: 22): “Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration”.

- 201 -
bride for his younger brother. The married couple settled down in the new village and finally had children. The man was very successful at hunting and they lived so well that there was nothing more they would want to eat or have. That was all due to the help of the Eagle God whom the man was worshipping all the time and making offerings to.

Then the sons became adults and started to hunt. Finally, the story-teller grew old and was not able to go hunting in the mountains any more. Nevertheless, there was nothing to worry about: he was fed by his children and lived so well that there was nothing more he would want to eat or have.

Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1)  
*a=ekas-i Ø=an ma*  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS 3.S=be and  
There lived my grandfather.

2)  
*a=ekas-ihi tura-no an=’an ma*  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS together.with-ADV be=IND.S and  
I lived together with my grandfather.

3)  
*a=ekas-ihi Ø=suke wa Ø=i=ipe-re kor*  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS 3.S=cook and 3.S=IND.O=eat-CAUS and  
My grandfather [always] cooked and fed me and

4)  
*or-o-wa easir yaykata ka Ø=ipe wa*  
there-POSS-and for.the.first.time by.oneself even 3.S=eat and only then he ate himself for the first time.

5)  
*kuneywa Ø=soyne kor*  
in.the.morning 3.S=go.outside and  
In the morning my grandfather went out and
6) onuman easir Ø=hosipi wa Ø=ek, in the evening for the first time 3.S=return and 3.S=come only in the evening he came back.

7) Ø=hosipi wa Ø=ek kor suy Ø=suke wa 3.S=return and IND.S=come and again 3.S=cook and Getting home, he cooked again,

8) a=ekas-ihi Ø=suke wa ipe=an kor IND.S=grandfather-POSS 3.S=cook and eat=IND.S and my grandfather cooked and I ate.

9) a=ekas-ihi upsor a=Ø=o-ahun ma IND.S=grandfather-POSS bosom IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-enter and I huddled in the bosom of my grandfather and

10) hotke=an kor okay=’an pe ne akusu fall.asleep=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S NR COP then was falling asleep [like this].

11) sine-an-pe-ta a=ekas-ihi Ø=hopuni ka somo ki no, once-be-NR-at IND.S=grandfather-POSS 3.S=get.up even NEG do and Once, my grandfather didn’t get up,

12) ney pak-no Ø=hotke wa Ø=an when until-ADV 3.S=be.asleep and 3.S=be he slept for a long time. (lit. ‘he was asleep for a long time and he continued being [so] it was [so]’)


14) sekor yay-nu=an kor an=’an akusu QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and be=IND.S then I thought.
15) Ø=hopuni wa Ø=as, Ø=apkas kor
3.S=get.up and 3.S=stand 3.S=walk and
Then [my grandfather] got up, rose and walked.

16) (sirak) Ø=si-rap-pa125 Ø=maw-ehe ene an i,
3.S=REFL-wing?/onomatopoeic?-PL 3.S=wind-POSS like.this be NR
The wind [made by his] flapping wings said as follows:

17) “taan126 hekaci, itak=an ciki
this boy speak=IND.S if
“Boy, if I speak,

125 si-rap-pa <REFL-wing?/onomatopoeic?-PL> ‘to flap the wings as bird’ (TAM 647); also (CH 1976: II-221).
For some unknown reasons Ito Oda rejected this meaning, insisting that it means ‘to say sth (of birds, never of men)’. However, I suggest that sirappa may have a combination of both meanings:
to speak by means of flapping wings (of a bird)’ as one of its meanings.
Cf. also si-rap-pa-rap-pa ‘to flap the wings as a bird’ (BAT 440); rap-se ‘to flap the wings as a bird’ (NAK 497); rap-o, rap-o-rap-o ‘to flap the wings as bird; to be about to fly up’ (Nakagawa 1981: 136-137).
126 taan ‘this, points to sth/sb that is close to the speaker’ (NAK 242), tan ‘1. this; points to sth/sb that is right in front of the speaker. 2. In folklore it is especially commonly used when addressing a person who is right in front of the speaker’ (NAK 250).
According to the above interpretation given for the Chitose Dialect, tan would be more contextually appropriate. However, the fact that Ito Oda preferred taan instead of tan means that the difference between the two demonstratives is not clearcut in the Chitose Dialect. Although tan and taan are not fully interchangeable: tan pa ‘this year’, tan to ‘this day’, tan pe kusu ‘for this reason’ (*taan pa, *taan to, *taan pe kusu (T. Satoo, p.c.)), there are many cases when either form may appear; thus this issue requires further investigation. toan ‘that; points to sth/sb that is far from the speaker’ (NAK 272) does not cause such a problem.
The distinction between tan and taan seems to be clear-cut in the Saru Dialect. Cf.: tan ‘this; sth that the speaker is holding in his hands etc., a village etc. which the speaker is now in’ (TAM 694) vs. taan ‘…sth/sb that is near the place of the speaker’ (TAM 691).
18) *pirka-no e=Ø=nu kus ne na*\(^{127}\),
be.good-ADV 2SG.S=3.O=listen intention COP FIN
you should listen well.

19) *asinuma anak-ne Ø=ekas-i ka somo a=ne*,
INDEF TOP-COP 3.S=old.man-POSS even NEG IND.S=COP
I am not an old man.

20) *kapaticir sekor a=Ø=ye, cikap kamuy a=ne ruwe ne*
eagle QUOT IND.S=3.O=say bird God IND.S=COP ASS.NR COP
I am a Bird God called Eagle.

21) *kusu, (ke) ruwe ne korka paykar Ø=an kor*
because ASS.NR COP however spring 3.S=be when
However, when spring came,

22) *pis ta sap=’an ma*
beach to go.down.PL?\(^{128}\)=IND.S and
I went down to the beach and

23) *sinot=’an pe ne kusu*
amuse.oneself=IND.S NR COP since
as I was really having fun,

24) *suy arki=an ma sinot=’an ma*
again go=IND.S and play=IND.S and
I walked again and played and

25) *hosipi=an sekor yay-nu=an ma*
return=IND.S QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I was [already] thinking of going home.

---

\(^{127}\) This is a periphrastic imperative expression which is formed in the declarative mood (see 4.6.2.3).

\(^{128}\) In this context, the use of the plural form *sap* <go.down.PL> instead of the singular form *san* <go.down.SG> looks odd.
26) hosipi=an ma ek=’an akusu
   return=IND.S and come=IND.S when
   When coming back,

27) pon-pe Ø=cis Ø=haw-e Ø=as wa
   There was the voice of a crying baby.

28) “hunak un ne ya”
   where from COP Q
   “Where does it come from?”

29) sekor yay-nu=an ma
   QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
   I thought.

30) pirka pirka inkar=’an akusu
   well well look.around=IND.S then
   Then I looked around carefully,

31) e=cis kor cise ekopas, cise-tumam ekopas-ekopas129 e=Ø=ki
   2SG.S=cry while house lean.on house-trunk lean.on-lean.on 2SG=3.O=do
   You were crying and leaning on the house, leaning on the house wall.

32) kor Ø=an ma a=Ø=nukar akusu
   and 3.S=be and IND.S=3.O=see then
   It was [so], I saw that and

33) ran=’an ma inkar=’an akusu,
   come.down=IND.S and look.around=IND.S when,
   I went down and looked around.

---

129 It is tempting to segment the word into e-kopas <on.APPL-lean>, but synchronically it is hardly possible.
34) *naa e=apkas ka e-aykap pon-pe e=ne*
yet 2SG.S=walk even of.APPL-be.unable be.small-person 2SG.S=COP
Yet, you were a little baby who couldn’t even walk.

35) *wa cis\textsuperscript{130} kor e=an ma kusu*
and cry and 2SG.S=be and because
As you were crying,

36) *pirka pirka inkar=`an korka*
well well look.around=IND.S but
I looked around carefully, but

37) *oar neun ka Ø=an ruwe ka Ø=isam pe,*
completely nobody even 3.S=be ASS.NR even 3.S=not.exist NR

\textit{ne wa kusu,}
COP and because
as there was no one at all…

38) *korka a=e=tura wa hosipi ka…*
but IND.S=2SG.O=take.along and return even
\textit{a=e=eram[pokiwen],}
IND.S=2SG.O=feel.sorry.for
However, taking you along with me ...\textsuperscript{131} I felt sorry for you.

\textsuperscript{130} I would expect in this context \textit{e=cis <2SG.S=cry>}, i.e. the verb has to be marked for the second
person, but the speaker’s pronunciation leaves no doubts.

\textsuperscript{131} The speaker probably intended to say, ‘However, I couldn’t take you home with me’ and by the
home of \textit{kapatcir kamuy}-the Eagle God is meant the land of Gods - heaven, as it was explained by
Ito Oda in a later interview.
39) \(a=e=hoppa\) \(\text{wa} (a=e)\)hosipi\^{132} \(\text{ka}\)

IND.S=2SG.O=leave.behind and (IND.S=2SG.O=)return even

\(a=\emptyset=e-a\)aykap\^{133} \(\text{wa} \ kusu\)

IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-be.unable and because

I couldn’t return leaving you behind, so

40) \((hekaci \ ne) \ \emptyset=ekas-i \ \text{ne} \ an='a[n]\^{134}, \ yay-kar='an \ \text{ma}\)

(boy as) 3.S=grandfather-POSS as be=IND.S REFL-make=IND.S and

I turned myself into his [the boy’s] grandfather and

41) tap-an, tap-an to pak-no, \((a=e) \ a=e=epunkine \ ruwe \ ne \ korka\)

this-be this-be day till-ADV IND.S=2SG.O=guard ASS.NR COP but

until now I have been guarding you, but

42) \(tane \ \text{onne} \ \text{ka} \ \emptyset=an \ \text{sinki} \ \text{ka} \ \emptyset=an \ \text{ma}\)

now be.old even 3.S=be be.tired even 3.S=be and

now I became old and I feel tired. (lit. ‘Now, there is oldness, there is tiredness.’)

---

132 \*(a=e)hosipi \< (IND.S=2SG.O=?) return> seems to be a slip of the tongue, since the verb hosipi ‘to return’ is intransitive. Another reason for eliminating \(a=e=\) is that hosipi and eaykap compose a single verb phrase and only one of two verbs may take personal affixes: here personal prefixes are also attached to the second verb eaykap, which means that the first verb hosipi functions as its direct object.

133 In a later interview, the narrator said several times hosipi=an ka eaykap, i.e. she attached personal affixes to the first verb, which is a more frequent occurrence (see 4.3.7.3.3).

In such cases, the second verb of the pair functions as if it were an auxiliary (Tamura 2000: 182).

134 The actual pronouncation is \[an’a\], but I think that the intended form was \(an='a[n] <\text{be=IND.S}>\). However, I am not sure that would also make an ideal syntactic fit, because in the above context one is more likely to encounter the following phrase (without \(an\ <\text{be}>\):  

\(\emptyset=ekas-i \ \text{ne} \ yay-kar='an\)

3.S=grandfather-POSS as REFL-make=IND.S

‘I turned myself into his grandfather.’ (lit. ‘I made myself as his grandfather.’)
43) hosipi=an rusuy kusu, hosipi=an kusu ne na, return=IND.S want because return=IND.S intention COP FIN, I’ll return [to my homeland = to heaven], because I want to return.

44) (ear), ean pak-no Ø=an pe anak only.one till-ADV 3.S=be person TOP As a person on your own,

45) e=yaykata\textsuperscript{135} e=suke wa e=ek e-askay no 2SG.S=by.oneself 2SG.S=cook and 2SG.S=come of.APPL-able and you can come and cook for yourself,

46) yaitupare-no suke wa e=ipe kusu ne na\textsuperscript{136}, be.careful-ADV cook and 2SG.S=eat intention COP FIN you should cook carefully and eat.

47) korka, eani anak-ne e=sa-ha ka Ø=an but you TOP-COP 2SG.S=elder.sister-POSS even 3.S=be However, for you there is your elder sister,

48) e=yup-ihi ka Ø=an ma 2SG.S=elder.brother-POSS even 3.S=be and there is your elder brother.

49) e=yup-ihi, e=sa-ha anak-ne 2SG.S=elder.brother-POSS 2SG.S=elder.sister-POSS TOP-COP Your elder sister and brother

\textsuperscript{135} e=yaykata <2SGS-by.oneself> with the intended meaning ‘by yourself’ is, to my knowledge, registered for the first time. Generally speaking, some postpositional adverbs in Ainu can take personal affixes, either subjective or objective; this is lexically determined (Tamura 2000: 95-97). However, the adverb yaykata ‘by oneself’ usually takes no personal affixes, in this regard it is an exceptional case here. When being interviewed later, Ito Oda approved both forms: yaykata and e-yaykata.

\textsuperscript{136} See footnote 5.
50) *Sinutapka sekor a=Ø=ye usi ta,*

*Sinutapka QUOT IND=3.O=say place at

Ø=okay utar Ø=ne wa,
3.S=be.PL people 3.S=COP and
are the people living at the place called *Sinutapka.

51) e=yup-i anak-ne *Ponyaumpe*137 sekor, a=Ø=ye

2SG.S=elder.brother-POSS TOP-COP *Ponyaumpe* QUOT IND=3.O=say

aynu kamuy Ø=ne wa, Ø=an ruwe ne, korka,
Ainu God 3.S=COP and 3.S=be ASS.NR COP but
Your elder brother is an Ainu God called *Ponyaumpe,* but

---

137 Ito Oda characterized the famous hero of Ainu folklore (mostly *yukar* ‘epics’) *Pon-ya-un-pe* <young-land-from-person>; lit. ‘a young person from the land (as opposed to the sea)’ as “a brave man who lived at the village of Sinutapka, but who was also more like a God.”

It is noteworthy that Ito Oda rejected the variant *Ponyaumpe* which is registered for the Chitose and Saru dialects (NAK 353; NV 26; KUB 210; BAT 376; cf. also *Ponyaumpe* as registered in BAT 378; KAY 419). The phonological alternation *-n + y- [n+y-] > -yy- [jy]*, described for the Saru dialect as a common phenomenon (Tamura 1988:14), occurs in Ito Oda’s idiolect very seldom (9-175) is the only example at my disposal; cf. (10-10). See 3.4.
52) tan-pe ne-no kotan (arus) a=Ø=ar-us-tek-ka\textsuperscript{138}
\hspace{1em} this-NR COP-ADV village PASS=3.O=completely-extinguish-instantly-CAUS

\hspace{1em} hi (an)\textsuperscript{139}, ta anak-ne
\hspace{1em} time (be) at TOP-COP
\hspace{1em} at the time when the village [of your mother]\textsuperscript{140} was extinguished [by an infectious disease],

53) u-hotanukar ka nisap Ø=Ø=e-aykap kusu
\hspace{1em} REC-call.upon even suddenly 3.S=3.O=of.APPL-be.unable because
\hspace{1em} all at once communication [between your villages] became impossible.

54) Ø=arka somo ki no Ø=okay ruwe ne korka
\hspace{1em} 3.S=be.ill NEG do and 3.S=be.PL ASS.NR COP but
\hspace{1em} [Ponyaumpe and his sister] were not ill, but

\textsuperscript{138} In a later interview Ito Oda explained that “the verb arustekka meant ‘to destroy sth (a village, all the people in the village) at once by an infectious disease’ with the disease itself being caused by the visit of the evil God of epidemics.” A cause of destruction other than epidemics (e.g. fights, earthquakes, robbers, etc.) is not included in the meaning by Ito Oda. Cf. ar-us-tek-ka <completely-extinguish-instantly-CAUS> ‘to completely destroy sth (a village) at once’ (TAM 25; KAY 36) seems to have a broader usage.

\textsuperscript{139} an ‘to be’ (?) cannot be syntactically related to the subsequent phrase. The following grammatically common variant appeared in a later interview: kotan a=Ø=ar-us-tek-ka hi ta anak-ne - same meaning.

\textsuperscript{140} The bracketed part of the translation was provided by Ito Oda. She also said that it was probably the village called Urayusnay (name of a village in folktales) where the boy was born and spent the early years of his life with Ø=ekas-i ‘his grandfather’.
55) \(\emptyset = uymam^{141}\) kusu \(\emptyset = arpa\) a, \(\emptyset = arpa^{142}\) a,
\(\emptyset = paye\) wa \(\emptyset = okay\) no,
3.S=go.PL and 3.S=be.PL and
they [just] went and went bartering, they were out.

56) “nisat-ta (\(\emptyset = hosipi\) wa) \(\emptyset = hosip-pa\) kor
dawn-at (3.S=return and) 3.S=return-PL when
“Tomorrow, when coming back,

57) \(\emptyset = sir-kus^{143}\) wa \(\emptyset = inkar”
3.S=land-pass.through and 3.S=see
they [your elder brother and sister] will try to drop in [at their native village].”

141 Regarding \(uymam\), Ito Oda explained that “in the old days, it was common for the Ainu to travel to the places inhabited by the Japanese [mostly to Matsumae] in order to barter bear and deer pelts for \(sintoko\) ‘lacquerware’, \(patci\) ‘bowl’ and \(amam\) ‘rice’.”

\(u\)-\(imam\) \(<\text{REC}-?>\) ‘to barter’. \(u\)- is likely to be related to the marker of reciprocity \(u\)-, since the meaning ‘to barter’ refers to a naturally reciprocal event. I suppose that the base form without \(u\)- did exist once but went out of use. The verb \(uyman\) can be viewed as \(reciprocating\ tantum\) (V.P. Nedjalkov, p. c.), since it has no counterpart without this initial phoneme. Cf. the similar Ainu word \(usaraye\) ‘to divide sth’.

\(uymam\) is often etymologically traced back to the Japanese OMEMIE ‘audience’ (Takakura 1966: 342; Howell 1999: 98; cf. also NAK 51) which is, in fact, very doubtful, because \(uymam\) as commodity exchange between the Ainu and the Japanese, had existed long before it acquired the political status of OMEMIE ‘audience’ attached to it by the Japanese officials in the late 17th century, when “the Ainu presented themselves before the [Japanese] lord in display of submission and received gifts as signs of the lord’s munificence” (Howell 1999: 98).

142 The singular form \(arpa\) \(<\text{SG}\) is to be treated as a slip of the tongue because it is immediately followed by the contextually appropriate plural form \(paye\) \(<\text{PL}\>.

143 \(sir-kus\) \(<\text{land-pass.through}\>’ to call on, to drop in on the way home” (OI). Cf. \(shirikush\) ‘to pass by’ (BAT 443).
58) sekor $\emptyset$=yay-nu kor $\emptyset$=okay no
QUOT 3.S=REFL-hear and 3.S=be.PL and
Thought [the grandfather], and [so] they did (lit. ‘and [so] they were’).

59) “$e$=yup-ihi-utar$^{144}$ nisat-ta $\emptyset$=arki nankor na,
2SG.S=elder.brother/sibling-POSS-PL dawn-at 3.S=come.PL perhaps FIN
“You’re elder brother and sister will probably come tomorrow.”

60) $e$=suke wa $e$=ipe wa, pis ta $e$=san ma,
2SG=S=cook and 2SG=S=eat and beach to 2SG=S=go.down and
You’d better cook and eat, and go down to the beach

61) $e$=sinot kor $e$=an yak $\emptyset$=pirka na,“
2SG.S=play and 2SG.S=be if 3.S=be.good FIN
and play.$^{145}$

62) (a=e), $a$=i=[y]e$^{146}$,
PASS=IND.O=tell
I was told.

63) “hokure itak,
quickly say
“Say quickly!”

64) hunak wa $\emptyset$=ek hekaci $e$=ne ruwe an”
where from 3.S=come boy 2SG.S=COP ASS.NR be
you are a boy who came from where?”

$^{144}$ yup ‘elder brother’ is marked for plural number with -utar, but it is perfectly clear from the above context that there was only one elder brother and one elder sister, which means that here yup acquires the meaning ‘elder sibling’.

$^{145}$ lit. ‘It will be good if you cook and eat, and go down to the beach and play.’ This is a periphrastic imperative expression which is formed in the declarative mood (see 4.6.2.5).

$^{146}$ The pronunciation is [aj’e]. The closest linguistic form would probably be $a$=i=$e$ <IND.S=IND.O=eat> ‘I was eaten’, but as it is completely out of place here, so I supplemented the context as follows: $a$=i=[y]e <IND.S=IND.O=say> ‘I was told’.
65) sekor  
(a=e)  
a=e=haw-e-koyki nankor,  
QUOT  
PASS=2SG.O=voice-by.APPL-bully probably  
You will be probably scolded [like this].

66) korka (iteki)  
“e=Ø=sitoma (p), (siri) kuni anak Ø=isam na,  
but PROH 2SG.S=3.O=fear NR EVID.NR should TOP 3.S=not.exist FIN  
“But you should not fear [them].

67) “a=ekas-i  
tap-ne tap-ne Ø=itak wa  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS this-COP this-COP 3.S=Say  and  
Ø=i=hoppa ruwe ne” sekor e=itak kusu ne na”  
3.S=IND.O=leave ASS.NR COP QUOT 2SG.S=say should COP FIN  
You should say: “My grandfather said this and that and left me.” ”

68) sekor  
Ø=haw-e-an  
kor  
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be  and  
Said [my grandfather] and

69) puyar corpok ta Ø=arpa wa  
window below to 3.S=go and  
gone [down] under the window.

70) Ø=yay-tuy-tuy-e pekor i-ki  
3.S=REFL-cut-cut-TR as.though APASS-do  
It seemed as though he was shaking the dust off himself.

---

147 The nominalizers p <NR> and siri <ASS.NR> are also grammatically permissible here, but after some hesitation Ito Oda chose the nominalizer with a stronger modal meaning, namely kuni 'should' (see 4.3.7.3.4; cf. 4.3.7.2.4. and 4.3.7.1.4).

148 yay-tuy-tuy-e <REFL-cut-cut-TR> ‘to shake the dust off oneself’ (OI). “si-tuy-tuy-e <REFL-cut-cut-TR> with the same meaning is also possible here’ (OI). The difference between the two reflexive prefixes requires future consideration (see 4.3.4.2.1).
71) akusu Ø=poro cikap ne Ø=an ma
then 3.S=be.big bird as 3.S=be and
Then he turned into a bird and

72) puyar kari Ø=soyne,
window through 3.S=go.outside
flew out of the window.

73) esoyne inaw-cipa un Ø=terke wa Ø=soyne
outside inaw-altar to 3.S=jump and 3.S=go.outside

siri? a=Ø=nukar akusu,
EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=see then
I saw that he jumped to the outside altar with inaw – whittled prayer sticks [used as offerings to Gods] and went out.

74) hoyupu=an ma soyne=an ma
run=IND.S and go.outside=IND.S and
After that I ran out,

75) inaw-cipa ot ta arpa=an ma inkar='an akusu
inaw-altar place to go=IND.S and look.around=IND.S then
got to the altar with inaw - whittled prayer sticks and I looked around.

76) a=ekas-ihi tane Ø=rikin kor Ø=an ma kusu
IND.S=grandfather-POSS already 3.S=ascend and 3.S=be and because
My grandfather was already ascending, so

77) cis='an kor
cry=IND.S while
I cried,
78) “a=ekas-ihi a=ekas-ihi” sekor,  
    IND.S=grandfather-POSS IND.S=grandfather-POSS QUOT

    a=Ø=hotuye-kar  
    IND.S=3.O=scream-TR

calling him: “Grandpa, grandpa!”

79) akusu, a=ekas-ihi ka  
then IND.S=grandfather-POSS even

Then, as to my grandfather,

80) Ø=Ø=ran-ke Ø=nupe sak apto  

    sir ne Ø=Ø=ran-ke kor,  
    appearance as 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and

he was dropping his tears (that he was dropping) as the summer rain.

81) a=ekas-ihi Ø=rikin ma Ø=arpa  

    wa Ø=isam ma, kusu,  
    and 3.S=not.exist and because

My grandfather ascended and went away, so

---

149 The word collocation Ø=Ø=ran-ke Ø=nupe <3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS 3.S=tears.POSS> is pronounced as one breath group, i.e. only the first word bears accent and the second word becomes enclitic. This fact may attest to a certain degree of lexicalization of the word collocation. However, in another story, namely Kanna Kamuy. Kamuy Yukar [The Thunder God. Epics of the God], Ito Oda pronounced both words with accent: Ø=Ø=ran-ke Ø=nupe-he <3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS 3.S=tears-POSS>. Note that nupe-(he) (OI) bears accent on the first open syllable thus being an exception from the main accentuation rules: in regular cases accent falls on the first syllable if it is a closed syllable, and on the second one, if the first syllable is open (see 3.3).

150 In a later interview Ito Oda explained that sak apto ‘summer rain’ implies “a heavy (summer) rain”. The opposite interpretation ‘drizzling rain’ may be found in Nakagawa (1995: 304).

151 The parenthesized phrase looks tautological in English, but may be not in Ainu.
82) hosipi=an ma suke=an ma ipe=an wa,  
    return=IND.S and cook=IND.S and eat=IND.S and  
    I went home, cooked and ate.

83) suy, onuman ka suke=an ma ipe=an,  
    again in.the.evening even cook=IND.S and eat=IND.S  
    Again in the evening I cooked and ate.

84) wa, hotke=an korka  
    and sleep=IND.S but  
    I fell asleep but

85) kuneywa suy hopuni=an ma suke=an ma ipe=an  
    in.the.morning again get.up=IND.S and cook=IND.S and eat=IND.S  
    in the morning I got up and cooked and ate once more.

86) ma or-o-wa pis ta san=’an ma  
    and there-POSS-from beach to go.down=IND.S and  
    After that, I went to the beach and

87) yay-tura-sinot=’an kor an=’an akusu  
    REFL-together.with-play=IND.S and be=IND.S then  
    was playing by myself. Then

88) episne inkar=’an akusu,  
    to.the.beach look=IND.S when  
    looking along the beach,
89) $\emptyset=u-e-tun-us$\textsuperscript{152} utar tun $\emptyset=arki$ kor
3.S=REC-APPL-two-be.attached.to people two 3.S=come.PL and

$\emptyset=okay$ siri $a=\emptyset=nukar$;
3.S=be.PL NR IND.S=3.O=see
I saw that two people, who were sailing (in a pair) together, came.

90) kor, $\emptyset=ne$ korka sinot=’an kor an=’an
and 3.S=COP but play=IND.S and be=IND.S
It was [so], but I kept playing.

91) akusu, (cip)\textsuperscript{153}, $i=hekota-no$ $i=tom-un-no$\textsuperscript{154}
then (boat) IND.O=in.the.direction.of-ADV IND.O=middle-to-ADV

$\emptyset=arki$ utar $\emptyset=ne$ noyne $a=\emptyset=nukar$ kor $\emptyset=ne$
It was as if I saw that there were people coming in my direction, just towards me,

92) korka sinot=’an kor an=’an akusu
but play=IND.S and be=IND.S then
but I was [still] playing and

\textsuperscript{152} *u-e-tun-us* <REC-about.APPL-two-be.attached.to> ‘to act in a pair together; to go/come on board a ship in a pair together’ (vi) (NAK 53) < *e-tun-us* <about?.APPL-two-be.attached.to> ‘to act in a pair with sb; to go/come on board a ship in a pair with sb (a person in charge of steering a boat and a person in charge of rowing a boat)’ (vt) (NAK 90). Nakagawa’s interpretation of the applicative prefix is not clear. I think that here *e*- has rather the comitative meaning ‘with’, then at least it becomes clear how the derivative *u-e-tun-us* acquires the sociative meaning with the reciprocal prefix *u*- being attached: ‘together (=with each other)’. Note that the underlying verb *e-tun-us* is lexicalized.

\textsuperscript{153} There is no way *cip* ‘boat’ can be syntactically connected to the subsequent phrase.

\textsuperscript{154} According to Ito Oda, both words, *i-hekotano* and *i-tomunno* have very similar meanings. Actually, even one of them would be enough in this context, but Ito Oda preferred to use both, probably for greater expressiveness.
93) sonno  ka  cip  Ø=ek  wa
really even boat 3.S=come and
then the boat really came.

94) cip  a=Ø=e-ya-otke<sup>155</sup>  akusu  okkayo  Ø=ne  kur<sup>156</sup>
boat  PASS=3.O=by.APPL-land-prick then man 3.S=COP person
The boat was moored to the shore (lit. 'pricked the land by the boat'). A man

95) turi  Ø=Ø=kor wa
pole.used.to.push.a.boat 3.S=3.O=have and
holding a pole

96) Ø=terke wa i=sam ta Ø=ek wa
3.S=jump and IND.O=near to 3.S=come and
jumped [out of the boat] and came up to me.

---

<sup>155</sup> *e-ya-otke* <by.APPL-land-prick> 'to moor sth (a boat) to the shore/bank' (vt) (lit. ‘to prick the land by sth (the boat)’ is a verb with the incorporated noun *ya* ‘land’. Here *a* is interpreted as a passive marker (see because contextually Actor(s) may be only the third person plural, and *cip* ‘boat’ as a subject. It is difficult to give a literal reading for this passive sentence because the verb *e-ya-otke* is strongly lexicalized (lit. ‘the boat was land-pricked by them ’?).

Note that Ito Oda sometimes expressed the same content by the verb with two incorporated nouns: *cip-e-ya-otke* <boat-by.APPL-land-prick> ‘to moor a boat to the shore/bank’ (vi) (lit. ‘to prick land withTRoat’). Firstly, the direct object (*ya* ‘land’) is incorporated in the transitive verb *otke* ‘to prick sth/shb’, which results in intransitivization of the base verb, secondly, the oblique object *cip* ‘boat’ is incorporated via applicative formation (the applicative increases valence and noun incorporation reduces valence, so the resultant verb is intransitive).

<sup>156</sup> *okkayo* Ø=ne kur  <man 3.S=3.O=COP person> ‘a man’ (lit. ‘a person who is a man’) (OI) seems to be a more formal expression in comparison with just *okkayo* ‘a man’ (cf. *okkayo* ‘a man who is 30-50 years old’ (Satoo 1991: 28)).

Cf. the similar expression *a=sa-ha* Ø=ne kur  <IND.S=elder.sister-POSS 3.S=COP person> ‘a person who is my elder sister’ (OI) in footnote 41.
97) “hunak wa Ø=ek hekaci ene ruwe an,
which from 3.S=come boy like.this ASS.NR be
“Where did you come from, boy?

98) hokure itak,
quickly tell
Say quickly!

99) itak Ø=moyre kur, itak,
speech 3.S=be.slow person speech
Ø=etok-oho Ø=Ø=tuy-e rametok\textsuperscript{157},
I am a brave man who kills a person who speaks slowly [even] before he says a word! (lit. ‘before speech’)

100) itak Ø=tunas kur, itak Ø=okake-he
speech 3.S=be.quick person speech 3.O=after-POSS
Ø=Ø=tuy-e rametok a=ne na”
3.S=3.O=cut-TR brave.man IND.S=COP FIN
I am a brave man who kills a person who speaks fast after he has spoken!” (lit. ‘after speech’)

101) sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor (ae…?aesisem?) Ø=itak korka,
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and 3.S=speak but
Said the man. He spoke [so]. However

\textsuperscript{157} “Rametok is a man who is especially skillful in killing people, who has enough courage to kill people. The hero Ponyaumpe (see footnote 15) is an example of rametok (OI).

This set expression (sentences 99, 100) commonly occurs in folklore texts when a hero is trying to intimidate the opponent.
“(ae...) a=ekas-ihi tap-ne tap-ne Ø=itak kor
IND.S=grandfather-POSS this-COP this-COP 3.S=say and
“My grandfather said so and so

(a) Ø=i=hoppa ruwe ne”
3.S=IND.O=leave ASS.NR COP
and left me.”

sekor itak=’an akusu,
QUOT say=IND.S then
I said. Then

“a=ak-ihi Ø=ne\textsuperscript{158}”
IND.S=younger.brother-POSS 3.S=COP
“He is our brother.”

sekor Ø=haw-e-oka kor
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL and
Said [Ponyaunpe and his sister] and

i=ka\textsuperscript{159} ta Ø=cis-pa wa
IND.O=over at 3.S=cry-PL and
cried over me.

\textsuperscript{158} As it looked strange that the elder brother could not immediately recognize his younger brother, I consulted Ito Oda and she explained to me that “Ponyaumpe even didn’t know about the existence of the boy, because the boy was born after Ponyaunpe had left for Sinutapka. The father of Ponyaunpe died, then his mother remarried and gave birth to a new child. Thus, Ponyaunpe and the boy were half-brothers who met for the first time.”

\textsuperscript{159} i=ka ta Ø=cis-pa <IND.O=over at 3.S=cry-PL> ‘they cried over me’. ka ‘above’ is a locative noun which takes personal prefixes of object. It is unclear what exact kind of the action ‘crying over sb’ is meant here: an actual leaning over somebody or it is just an idiomatic expression with the meaning ‘to cry hard’.
or-o-wa “hemakaraye=an\(^{160}\) ma
there-POSS-from call.on=IND.S and

After that, “We are going to call at home and

i-car-pa=an\(^{161}\) ma hosip-pa=an kus ne”
APASS-scatter-PL=IND.S and return-PL=IND.S intention COP
perform memorial rites for [our] ancestors and go back.”

sekor Ø=haw-e-oka kor
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL and
They said.

sake, ka a=e-p ka poro-n-no Ø=Ø=kor wa
rice-wine also IND.S=eat-NR also be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=3.O=have and
Having taken a lot of rice-wine and food,

Ø=yap pa\(^{162}\), a=uni ta paye=an ma,
3.S=go.ashore.PL and IND.S=house.POSS to go.PL=IND.S and
they went ashore and we went to my house.

---

\(^{160}\) The verb *hemakaraye* ‘to call on, drop in (mainly at one’s home)’ (vi) (OI) is not registered in dictionaries, however we may probably etymologize it as follows *he-maka-raye* <head.SUF-backward-move>.

\(^{161}\) *i-car-pa* <APASS-scatter-PL> ‘to perform memorial rites for ancestors by walking through a village and making food and wine sacrifices’ (OI). Note that the plural marker *-pa* in the stem refers to the implied plural object indicated by *i-* ‘thing.APASS’ (food, etc.) rather than to the plural subject (*Ponyaunpe* and his sister).

\(^{162}\) *pa* is an allomorph of *wa* ‘and’ which appears after words ending in *-pl*, just like *ma* ‘and’ appears after words ending in *-n*. But unlike the phonological alternation *-n+w- > -nm-* which may be found in most of the Ainu dialects, the phonological alternation *-p+w- > -pp-* has been attested in the Chitose dialect only (see 3.4).
113) \( a=sa-ha \) \( \emptyset=ne \) \( kur \)^\ref{fn:163} \\
IND.S=elder.sister-POSS 3.S=COP person  
My elder sister

114) \( cise \) onnay \( \emptyset=\emptyset=u-w-oma-re \)^\ref{fn:164} wa 
house inside 3.S=3.O=REC-EP-enter-CAUS and  
put the inside of the house in order and

115) \( \emptyset=mun-nuwe \) wa \( or-o-wa \) 
3.S=rubbish-sweep and there-POSS-from  
swept away rubbish, then

116) \( usa \) \( \emptyset=okay \) pe \( poro-n-no \) \( \emptyset=\emptyset=suwe \) wa 
cooked various dishes.

117) \( ne \) \( i-car-pa \) \( \emptyset=\emptyset=ki-pa \)  
that APASS-scatter-PL 3.S=3.O=do-PL  
[Ponyaunpe and his sister] performed those memorial rites for [their parents].  
(lit. ‘they did performing those memorial rites’)

118) \( akusu \) \( or-o-wa \) suy,  
then there-POSS-from again  
Then again:

^\ref{fn:163} \( a=sa-ha \) \( \emptyset=ne \) \( kur \) <3.S=elder.sister-POSS 3.S=COP person> ‘my elder sister’ (lit.’a person who is my elder sister’) (OI) seems to be a more formal expression in comparison with just \( a=sa-ha \) ‘my elder sister’. Cf. the similar expression \( okkayo \) \( \emptyset=ne \) \( kur \) <man 3.S=COP person> ‘a man’ (lit. ‘a person who is a man’) (OI) in footnote 34.

^\ref{fn:164} \( u-w-oma-re \) <REC-EP-enter-CAUS> ‘to put sth in order’ (vt) (OI) is a lexicalized object-oriented reciprocal verb which also has an unlexicalized object-oriented reciprocal meaning of joining sth/sb together: ‘to bring sth/sb together, gather sth/sb’ (TAM 815)’ derived in a standard way from the verb \( oma-re \) ‘to put sth/sb (one thing, one person) somewhere’ (TAM 467) (vb) < \( oma \) i. ‘to enter/get in, reach sth’, ii. ‘to be present somewhere’ (TAM 467) (vt) (see 4.3.4.2.2).
119) “kotan epitta i-car-pa=an ma
village all.over APASS-scatter-PL=IND.S and
“We are going to perform the memorial rites all over the village and

120) hosip-pa=an kus ne sekor ne, wa,
return-PL=IND.S intention COP QUOT COP and
go back.” They said.

121) Ø=paye (kus) wa kusu
3.S=go.PL and because
As they went,

122) i-tura=an ma inkar='an akusu
APASS-go.together.with=IND.S and look.around=IND.S then
I went with everyone and looked around.

123) Ø=inne kotan Ø=ne an’an pe ne,
3.S=be.numerous village 3.S=COP ADM NR COP
It really used to be a big village!

124) sine cise¹⁶⁵ poka supuya Ø=at ruwe ka Ø=isam no,
one house even smoke 3.S=rise ASS.NR even 3.S=not.exist and
[Now] no smoke rose even [above] a single house.

125) sir Ø=an ma
situation 3.S=be and
The situation was like this.

126) iyokunure=an kor a=Ø=nukar kor an=’an akusu
be.astonished=IND.S while IND.S=3.O=look.at and be=IND.S then
The situation was [like this] and I was looking at [it] in astonishment. Then

¹⁶⁵ I suggest that sine cise <one house> is topicalized (lit. ‘as to one house’) because there is no post-positional locative marking which would be necessary if it were an indirect argument of the intransitive verbs at ‘to rise’.
127) kotan epitta Ø=i-car-pa kor Ø=omanan
village all.over 3.S=APASS-scatter-PL while 3.S=walk
they walked performing memorial rites for [everyone’s] ancestors all over the
village.

128) a=yup-i a=sa-ha Ø=Ø=ki kor, ayne,
IND.S=elder.brother-POSS IND.S=elder.sister-POSS 3.S=3.O=do and finally
My elder brother and sister did [that]. Finally,

129) “tane Ø=pirka siri ne” sekor Ø=haw-e-oka kor,
already 3.S=be.good EVID.NR COP QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL and
they said, “It looks as if it is already enough!”

130) suy a=uni ta hosip-pa=an ma arki=an akusu
again IND.S=house.POSS to return-PL=IND.S and come.PL=IND.S when
When we came back to my home again,

131) “(a=yup-ih), a=ak-ihi ka
(IND.S=elder.brother-POSS) IND.S=younger.brother-POSS also
a=Ø=tura wa paye=an kus ne”
IND.S=3.O=take.along and go.PL=IND.S intention COP
“Let’s take our younger brother with us and go,”

132) sekor Ø=haw-e-an ma, kusu a=ekas-ihi
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and because IND.S=grandfather-POSS
said [my elder brother]. My grandfather

133) usa kam hene cep hene poro-n-no Ø=Ø=uwekarpa-re
various meat or fish or be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=3.O=gather-CAUS
had stored a lot of various kinds of meat and fish
134) wa ə=i=hoppa ruwe ne korka
and 3.S=IND.O=leave.behind ASS.NR COP but
and left me behind.

135) opitta a=Ø=kor wa
all IND.S=3.O=have and
I took all [that] and

136) a=yup-ihi-utar\(^{166}\) a=Ø=tura wa
IND.S=elder.brother/sibling-POSS-PL IND.S=3.O=go.together.with and
paye=an
go.PL=IND.S
went together with my elder brother and sister,

137) wa kusu, arkinne a=yup-ihi ə=i=y-omap pa\(^{167}\)
and because very IND.S=elder.brother-POSS 3.S=IND.O=love and
so my elder brother loved me very much.

138) ə=i=nukar kor
3.S=IND.O=look.at and
He looked at me and

139) ə=i=henkotpa\(^{168}\), ə=i=henkotpa
and nodded [and] nodded to me with loving care

140) kane ə=i-ki kor
and.so.on.CONJ 3.S=APASS-do and
and so on he did.

---

\(^{166}\) See footnote 22.

\(^{167}\) Regarding the phonological alternation -p+w- → -pp-, see footnote 40.

\(^{168}\) henkot-pa ʔ-PL> ‘to nod with loving care, to nod in approval’. -pa is a plural suffix, and there
is no singular form, probably because ‘nodding’ implies plurality of action.
141) \(\emptyset = i = y - omap\)  
\(pe\)  
\(ne\)  
\(kusu,\)

\(3.S = \text{IND.O} = \text{EP-} \text{love}\)  
\(NR\)  
\(\text{COP} \)  
\(\text{because}\)

He really loved me, so

142) \(a = yup - ihi\)  
\(\emptyset = arpa\)  
\(akusu\)  
\(\emptyset = arpa\)  
\(akusu\)

\(\text{IND.S} = \text{elder.brother-POSS}\)  
\(3.S = \text{go} \)  
\(\text{then}\)  
\(3.S = \text{go} \)  
\(\text{then}\)

when my elder brother went anywhere,

143) \(a = \emptyset = tura\)  
\(wa\)  
\(kesto\)  
\(oman’ an = ’ an\)

\(\text{IND.S} = 3.O = \text{go.together.with}\)  
\(\text{and}\)  
\(\text{everyday}\)  
\(\text{travel=} \text{IND.S}\)

\(\text{kor(an),} \)  
\(\text{an = ’ an}\)

and  
\(\text{be=} \text{IND.S}\)

I went with him. Everyday I travelled with him.

144) \(ma ayne, \emptyset = poro, \emptyset = poro\)  
\(hekaci\)  
\(ne\)  
\(\emptyset = an\)  
\(pe\)

and  
\(\text{finally}\)  
\(3.S = \text{big}\)  
\(3.S = \text{big}\)  
\(\text{boy}\)  
\(\text{as}\)  
\(3.S = \text{be}\)  
\(\text{person}\)

\(a = ne\)

\(\text{IND.S} = \text{COP}\)

\(\text{because}\)

And finally, as I became a big boy,

145) \(nepki hene\)  
\(\emptyset = i = y - e - pakasnu,\)

\(\text{work}\)  
\(\text{or}\)  
\(3.S = \text{IND.O} = \text{EP-to.APPL-teach}\)

[my elder brother] taught me [how] to work,

146) \(a = \emptyset = kar\)  
\(pe\)  
\(hene\)  
\(\emptyset = i = y - e - pakasnu\)  
\(kor\)

\(\text{IND=}3.S = \text{make}\)  
\(\text{thing}\)  
\(\text{or}\)  
\(3.S = \text{IND.O} = \text{EP-to.APPL-teach}\)

\(\text{and}\)

\(\text{okay=}’ an\)

\(\text{be.PL=} \text{IND.S}\)

taught me crafts and [so] we lived.
147)  *ayne, ekimne ka Ø=i=y-e-pakasnu kor,*
finally to.the.mountains even 3.S=IND.O=EP-to.APPL-teach and
Finally, [my elder brother] taught me hunting.

148)  *akusu ekimne ka Ø=i=tura wa*
then to.the.mountains even 3.S=IND.O=take.along and

*paye=an wa*
go.PL=IND.S and
Then he took me to the mountains with him. We went and

149)  *ekimne ka Ø=i=y-e-pakasnu*
go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt even 3.S=IND.O=EP-to.APPL-teach

*ruwe ne*
ASS.NR COP
[my elder brother] taught me hunting.

150)  *wa, “tane okkay…po sir-po (a=Ø=ye?) 169*
and already young.man features-DIM (PASS=3.O=say?)

*a=Ø=u-osma-re 170 wa an=’an akusu”*
IND.S=3.O=REC-enter-CAUS and be=IND.S when
When I already started looking like a young man,

151)  *a=yup-ihi ene Ø=haw-e-an i:*
IND.S=elder.brother-POSS like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
my elder brother said as follows,

---

169  *a=Ø=ye <IND.S=3.O=say> ‘it is said’ must be a slip of the tongue.*

170  *tane okkaypo sirpo a=Ø=uosmare* lit. ‘I gathered the features of a young man altogether’ is an
idiomatic expression describing a youngster turning into a grown-up.

Usually this verb is pronounced with an epenthetic consonant [w]: *u-w-osma-re*, but here the
pronunciation is not clear; at least I could not catch this [w].
152) “a=ak-ihi, eani anak-ne e=Ø=kor kotan un
IND.S=younger.brother you TOP-COP 2SG=3.O=have village to
e=hosipi wa
2SG.S=return and
“My younger brother, you should return to your village and

153) a=unu-hu Ø=oka-ke
IND.S=mother-POSS 3.O=behind-POSS
e=supuya-at-te⁷¹ kus ne na”
2SG.S=smoke-be.attached-CAUS intention COP FIN
send up smoke after our mother.”

154) sekor,
QUOT
[He] said so.

155) “kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur a=Ø=e-koramkor wa
village 3.S=3.O=have person IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-consult and
“I am going to consult the village chief and

156) okkaypo pon-no (ay…) a=i=tura-re kuni
young.man be.small-ADV IND.S=IND.O=go.together-CAUS INDR
a=Ø=ye kus ne na” sekor Ø=haw-e-an,
IND.S=3.O=tell intention COP FIN QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be
tell him that I’ll take with me a few young man.” Said [the elder brother].

⁷¹ supuya-at-te <smoke-be.attached-CAUS> (lit. ‘to attach smoke’) (vi) means ‘to bring to life an
abandoned village’, since “a rising smoke” was regarded as a symbol of an inhabited village.

In a later interview, Ito Oda used in the same context a similar form supuya-ot-te
<smoke-be.attached.to-CAUS> (vt) which would probably be a better fit here because it takes the
preceding unmarked complement a=unu-hu Ø=oka-ke as a direct object. In the case of the
intransitive supuya-at-te, one would expect a locative postposition after oka-ke.
Then I consulted the village chief.

“It is fine.”

As [the village chief] really said [so],

my brother immediately built a house [for himself] and,

as to my house, he built a nice house for me [as well].

172 Contextually, $\emptyset=\emptyset=ekoramkor$ ‘he [my elder brother] consulted [the village chief]’ would be more appropriate, but I left the text unchanged, as it was told by Ito Oda.

173 $\emptyset=cise-he$ <3.S=house-POSS> ‘his house’ and the following $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$ <3.S=3.O=have house> are the possessive forms of the noun $\textit{cise}$.

It is generally said that in the Hokkaido dialects the noun $\textit{cise}$ ‘house’ does not take the possessive form; possessive relations of this noun are usually expressed by the verb $\textit{kor}$ ‘to have’: $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$ <3.S=3.O=have house> ‘his house’, $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$ <IND.S=3.O=have house> ‘my house’ etc.; cf. 4.1.

Another speaker of the Chitose Dialect, Nabe Shirasawa, also used $\textit{cise-he}$, but only in some special cases (Nakagawa 2002: 119).
162) \( a=\emptyset=tura \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{paye}=an \quad (nu) \)

IND.S=3.S=take.along and go.PL=IND.S

I took with me [the young men] and we went.

163) \( \text{okkaypo-utar} \quad \emptyset=cise-he \quad ka \quad \emptyset=\emptyset=kar \)

young.man-PL IND.S=house-POSS also 3.S=3.O=make

\( \text{wa} \quad \text{or-o-wa}, \)

and there-POSS-from

[My elder brother] also built houses for the young men who came with us.

164) \( \emptyset=pirka \quad \emptyset=pon \quad \text{menoko} \)

3.S=be.beautiful 3.S=be.young woman

\( \text{sinep} \quad \emptyset=\emptyset=etun \quad \text{ma}, \)

one 3.S=3.O=receive.as.bride and

[My elder brother] found a beautiful young woman and

165) \( \emptyset=i=tura-re \quad \text{wa} \quad a=i=rura \)

3.S=IND.O=go.together.with-CAUS and PASS=IND.O=see.off

made her go with me\(^{174}\). We [me and my new wife] were seen off.

166) \( \text{wa} \quad a=kotan-uhu \quad \text{un} \quad \text{hosipi}=an \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{okay}='an \)

and IND.S=village-POSS to return=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S

We returned to my village and lived [there].

167) \( \text{korka} \quad \text{nep} \quad a=\emptyset=eranak \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{ka} \quad \emptyset=isam, \)

but what IND.S=3.O=be.troubled.by NR also 3.S=not.exist

However, there was nothing to trouble us,

\(^{174}\) It is not accidental that the marriage was arranged by the elder brother. Arranged marriages and even betrothing children to each other by their parents was common practice among the Ainu.
168) nep a=ø=e rusuy pe ka a=ø=kon rusuy
what IND.S=3.O=eat want NR even IND.S=3.O=have want

pe ka ø=isam no, kor okay=’an korka
NR even 3.S=not.exist and when be.PL=IND.S but
there was nothing more we’d want to eat or have, [so well] we lived.

169) cise or wa ekimne=an ka ki kor,
home place from go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S also do when
When going from home to the mountains to hunt,

170) yuk ci=koyki-p kamuy ci=koyki-p
deer 1PL.S=catch-NR bear 1PL.S=catch-NR

a=ø=e-aw-na-rura kor ø=an
IND.S=3.O=APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry and 3.S=be
I brought deer and bears as game.

171) a=ekas-ihi a=ø=ko-yayirayke wa
IND.S=grandfather-POSS IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-be.grateful and
I was grateful to my grandfather and

172) a=ø=ko-yayattasa rusuy korka
IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-pay.back want but
I wanted to pay him back but

173) ene a=ø=ye hi ka ø=isam pe ne kusu
like.this IND.S=3.S=say.to NR even 3.S=not.exist NR COP because
there wasn’t anything to say to him in this way [I couldn’t find proper words
of gratitude], so

175 Note that cise ‘house’ (here: ‘home’) is used in its notional form, probably for some pragmatic reasons.
174) \textit{a=ekas-thi kamuy-nomi ne}  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS God-celebrate.with.sacred.wine as  
\textit{a=Ø=nomi kor an='an}  
IND.S=3.O=celebrate and be=IND.S  
I was celebrating [my grandfather] as a God (lit. ‘as celebrating God’).

175) \textit{pe, (ne akusu), ne wa kusu}  
NR COP then COP and because  
That is why,

176) \textit{nep ka a=Ø=eranak pe ka Ø=isam ruwe ne}  
what even IND.S=3.O=be.troubled.by NR even 3.S=not.exist ASS.NRCOP  
That is why I really had no troubles.

177) \textit{sekor yay-nu=an pe ne kusu,}  
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S NR COP because  
As I thought [so],

178) \textit{a=ekas-i a=Ø=nomi kor patek an='an}  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS IND.S=3.O=celebrate and only be=IND.S  
\textit{pe ne}  
NR COP  
I was always making offerings to my grandfather.

179) \textit{ayne, u-ko-po-kor ka Ø=an ma, wa kusu,}  
finally REC-with.APPL-child-have even 3.S=be and and because  
Finally, we had children (lit. ‘there was having children with each other’), so

180) \textit{a=po-utar-i apunno a=Ø=reska wa}  
IND.S=children-PL-POSS peacefully IND.S=3.O=bring.up and  
we were peacefully bringing up our children.
181) \(a=\emptyset=\text{poro-re} \quad \text{wa} \quad \emptyset=\text{pirka} \quad \text{okkaypo}\)
\(\text{IND.S=3.O=be.big-CAUS} \quad \text{and} \quad 3.S=\text{be.good} \quad \text{young.man}\)
\(\text{ne} \quad \emptyset=\text{okay} \quad \text{wa}\)
as \(3.S=\text{be.PL} \quad \text{and}\)
We raised them and they turned into fine good young men.

182) \(\text{nepki} \quad \text{hene} \quad \text{ekimne} \quad \text{hene} \quad \emptyset=\emptyset=\text{ki-pa}\)
\(\text{work} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt} \quad \text{or} \quad 3.S=3.O=\text{do-PL}\)
They worked and went hunting to the mountains.

183) \(\text{kor} \quad \text{yuk} \quad c_i=\text{koyki-p} \quad \text{kamuy} \quad c_i=\text{koyki-p}\)
\(\text{and} \quad \text{deer} \quad 1PL.S=\text{catch-NR} \quad \text{bear} \quad 1PL.S=\text{catch-NR}\)
\(a=\emptyset=\text{e-aw-na-rura} \quad \text{akusu}\)
\(\text{IND.S=IND.O=APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry} \quad \text{then}\)
I brought deer and bears as game. Then

184) \(\text{asinuma} \quad \text{anak-ne} \quad \text{kema-pase}^{176} \quad \text{ka} \quad \emptyset=\text{an} \quad \text{ma}\)
\(\text{INDEF} \quad \text{TOP-COP} \quad \text{legs-be.heavy} \quad \text{even} \quad 3.S=\text{be} \quad \text{and}\)
my legs became heavy and (lit. ‘as to me, there was legs-heaviness’)

185) \(\text{ekimne} \quad \text{anak} \quad \text{arpa=an} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{somo} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{korka}\)
\(\text{go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{go=IND.S} \quad \text{even} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{but}\)
As to hunting, I didn’t go [myself], but

186) \(a=\text{po-utar-i} \quad \text{ekimne} \quad p \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{kusu}\)
\(\text{IND.S=children-PL-POSS} \quad \text{go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt} \quad \text{NR} \quad \text{COP} \quad \text{because}\)
since my sons went hunting to the mountains,

---

\(^{176}\) \textit{kema-pase} <\text{legs-be.heavy}> ‘to grow old’ is a verb with subject incorporation, which is scarcely observed in the world’s languages. One would expect this verb to have zero-valency, i.e. only a nominalized usage as in sentence 184. However, it is a one-place intansitive verb derived with a considerable degree of lexicalization (cf. \textit{kema-pase=an} <\text{legs-be.heavy=IND.S}> ‘I grew old’ (NAK 173)). See 4.3.4.2.5.
187) \( a=i=e-re \quad p \quad ne \quad kusu \)
\hspace{1cm} \text{PASS=IND.S=eat-CAUS \ NR \ COP \ because}
I was fed by them. So

188) \( nep \quad a=\emptyset=e \quad rусuy \quad pe \quad ka \quad nep \)
\hspace{1cm} \text{what \ IND.S=3.O=eat \ want \ NR \ even \ what}
\hspace{1cm} \text{a=\emptyset=kon \ rусuy \ pe \ ka \ somo \ ki \ no \ \emptyset=an \ ayne}
\hspace{1cm} \text{IND.S=3.O=have \ want \ NR \ even \ not.exist \ do \ and \ 3.S=be \ finally}
\hspace{1cm} \text{there was nothing more we’d want to eat or have, [so well] we lived. Finally,}

189) \( \emptyset=онне \ \text{оккайпо} \quad a=ne \quad ruwe \quad ne \quad \text{sekor,} \)
\hspace{1cm} \text{3.S=be.old \ man \ IND.S=COP \ ASS.NR \ COP \ QUOT}
\hspace{1cm} \text{I became an old man.}

190) \( \text{sine} \ \text{оккайпо} \ \emptyset=итак \ ruwe \ ne \)
\hspace{1cm} \text{one \ young.man \ 3.S=say \ ASS.NR \ COP}
\hspace{1cm} \text{That is what one young man told.}
(Earlier Version)


Outline of the Story

The story is told by an orphan boy who struggled for survival in his childhood. Being left near a house, the boy had a proper place to live in, as well as all the things of daily life, including a bow and arrows, but still he had to take care of feeding himself. At first, the boy was eating what had been left in the house, then, when the summer came, he could gather some edible plants. Having become a little older, the boy tried to go to the mountains to hunt, following the other villagers. From the very beginning the boy was very successful at hunting: he killed a bear at the first try and provided himself with a lot of meat. The boy built a hunting hut in the mountains for his own convenience.

Once a man from Kushiro visited the boy at his hunting hut. They spent a night together and had a nice chat. The man complained to the boy of his evil village chief who was taking away from the villagers lacquer-ware, bowls and dishes, and even the game they hunted down in order to provide for their families. The boy got angry with the evil village chief.

The two men (by that time, the boy had actually become a grown-up person) decided to go hunting separately and meet some day.

The boy walked and walked until he came upon a beautiful small river. Then he saw a fresh tree stump, so the boy realized that there was a village nearby. Having come to the village, the boy went to a good big house which turned out to be the house of the man from Kushiro and his family. He explained that he had come looking for the evil village chief and asked to show him the way to his place. But the man from Kushiro suggested that the boy should stay, have dinner and that next morning they would go together.

Next morning, the two men found the evil village chief and the boy tried to talk him out of his evil ways. The boy also scolded *pase kamuy* – the important Gods, *mosir kor huci* – the Fire Goddess and *cise kor kamuy* – the God Protector of the house, for having overlooked such evil behavior of the village chief. Finally, the villagers could take back their belongings and the village chief promised to change himself into
a good person.

The man from Kushiro invited the boy to spend one more night at his place. The man offered the boy his daughter as a bride, because she showed interest in the boy. The boy happily agreed to marry her because he also seemed to like the girl who was young and hard working, and a good cook. The man’s wife brought many various things and put them all into a chest and prepared it for the boy to carry it on his back.

The boy returned to his home together with his wife. They lived very happily and had many baby boys, whom they were raising with the greatest care. The boys became adults, so they went hunting to the mountains and fed their parents. Then all the sons got married and the man (the former boy) built houses for each of them. There were also many girls [our daughters], whom the man’s wife taught needlework and farming. Then the man and his wife grew old.

Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1) makana ne wa sinen ne Ø=an hekaci a=ne wa
   why COP and alone as 3.S=be boy IND.S=COP and
   an=’an ruwe ne ya ka
   be=IND.S ASS.NR COP Q even
   Why was I a lonely boy?

2) a=Ø=eramiskari kor
   IND.S=3.S=not.know and
   I didn’t know that.

3) sinen ne Ø=an hekaci a=ne wa
   one.person as 3.S=be boy IND.S=COP and
   I was a boy who lived alone.
4) *inkar=’an kor*
   look.around=IND.S when
   When I looked around,

5) *cise ka Ø=pirka Ø=poro cise, Ø=ne,*
   the house was good. It was a big house.

6) *Ø=onnay-ke Ø=Ø=oma a p ne yak-ka*
   3.O=inside-POSS 3.S=3.O=put.into PERF thing COP if-even
   There were things which had been put inside [the house].

7) *iyoykir ka Ø=pirka iyoykir*
   treasure even 3.S=be.beautiful treasure
   Treasures, beautiful treasures,

8) *a=eywanke-p ne yak-ka*
   IND.S=use-NR COP if-even
   tools and

9) *Ø=pirka p poro-n-no Ø=an,*
   many good things.

10) *ku ay ne yak-ka Ø=pirka p (a) Ø=okay*
    bow arrow COP if-even 3.S=be.good thing 3.S=be.PL
    *ruwe ne wa*
    ASS.NR COP and
    There were also [such] good things as a bow and arrows.
11) *or-o-wa makanak ne wa sinen ne Ø=an pe*
   there-POSS-from why COP and alone as 3.S=be person

   *a=ne ya ka a=Ø=eramiskari kor*
   IND.S=COP Q even IND.S=3.O=not.know and

   I didn’t know why I was a lonely person.

12) *a=e-p ka Ø=isam ma, pe ne kusu*
   IND.S=eat-NR even 3.S=not.exist and NR COP because

   As there was no food,

13) *nep ka nep ka Ø=okay pe*
   something even something even 3.S=be.PL thing

   *(a=Ø=e w…)* *a=Ø=suwe wa*
   IND.S=3.O=eat IND.S=3.O=boil and

   I boiled what had been left and

14) *a=Ø=e kor an=’an, sir-sak\textsuperscript{177} kor,*
   IND.S=3.O=eat and be=IND.S appearance-summer when

   was eating [that]. When the summer came,

15) *kina-kar=’an\textsuperscript{178} ma a=Ø=e,*
   grass-make=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=eat

   I gathered plants and ate [them].

\textsuperscript{177} *sir-sák* <appearance-summer> ‘to become summer’ is a so-called “complete verb” (Tamura 2000: 41), i.e. a verb with zero valence, which may not take even a subject (see 4.3.2.1).

\textsuperscript{178} *kina-kar* <grass-make> ‘to gather plants’ (vi) is a slightly lexicalized intransitive verb with an incorporated object (see 4.3.4.2.5).
16) somehow something even something even IND.S=3.O=eat and

an='an ayne
be=IND.S finally
Somehow I found some [food] to eat...

17) be.little-ADV 3.S=be.old boy as 3.S=be NR COP because

As I became a little older,

18) mountains to even go=IND.S and

I went to the mountains

19) hunting.hut even IND.S=3.O=make

and I built a hunting hut.

20) When the rich men from the village went to to the mountains to hunt,

21) I wanted to see where they did go, so
22) $\emptyset=$kes-e a=$\emptyset=$anpa$^{179}$ wa arpa=an ma
3.O=end-POSS IND.S=3.O=hold.PL and go=IND.S and
I followed them. I went and

23) a=$\emptyset=$nukar kor
IND.S=3.O=look.at and watched them.

24) $\emptyset=$paye ayne ekimne $\emptyset=$ahup pa$^{180}$, 3.S=go.PL finally to.the.mountains 3.S=enter.PL and
They went [and] finally they got into the mountains.

25) $\emptyset=$paye siri a=$\emptyset=$nukar pe ne ne kusu, 3.S=go.PL EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=see NR COP because
I saw them getting there, so

26) hempara ka
someday even
“someday

27) asinuma ka ekimne arpa=an ma inkar=’an
INDEF even to.the.mountains go=IND.S and see=IND.S
I’ll also try to go to the mountains.”

28) sekor yay-nu=an ma
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I thought.

$^{179}$ kes-(e) anpa ‘to follow/chase sth/sb’ (here: lit. ‘I held their end’) is a phrasal verb consisting of
the locative noun kes ‘end, edge’ which takes personal markers of the object, and of the transitive
verb anpa ‘to hold sth/sb (PL)’ (single form ani ‘to hold sth/sb (SG)’ never occurs as part of the
phrasal verb); for the detailed description of phrasal verbs refer (Sato(o): 2001b). Cf. footnote 35.

$^{180}$ pa is an allomorph of wa ‘and’ which appears after words ending in /-p/, just like
ma ‘and’ appears after words ending in /n/. But unlike the phonological alternation
-n+w- > -nm-, which may be found in most of the Ainu dialects, the phonological
alternation -p+w- > -pp- has been attested in the Chitose dialect only (see 3.4).
29) **ku ay a=Ø=u-ko-sina** wa a=Ø=nu

bow arrow IND.S=3.O=REC-with.APPL-bundle and IND.S=3.O=hear

p ne kusu

NR COP because

I bundled the bow and an arrow together and saw what it felt like.

30) **hentom’ani ta**

recently at

These days

31) **ku a=Ø=se wa ekimne arpa=an ma**

bow IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back and to.the.mountains go=IND.S and

**inkar=’an akusu**

see=IND.S then

I [decided to] try to go to the mountains, carrying a bow on my back.

---

181 **u-ko-sina** <REC-with.APPL-bundle> is an object-oriented reciprocal with the meaning of joining sth/sb together, derived by the following derivational process (see 4.3.4.2.2, cf. 4.3.4.1.2):

\[ \text{sina} \ 'to bind, tie sth' \ (vt) \ (OI) \]

\[ \rightarrow \text{ko-sina} \ 'to bind/tie sth/sb with/to sth/sb' \ (vb) \ (OI) \]

\[ \rightarrow \text{u-ko-sina} \ 'to gather/bundle sth together' \ (vt) \ (OI). \]

182 lit. ‘I bundled the bow and an arrow together and I heard [it =what it felt like].’

The construction **notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’+ nu ‘to hear sth’/inu ‘to hear’** (see 4.3.6.5) means ‘to try to do sth’ and is employed in the case of auditory, tactile and some other sensory information (TAM 234). As Tamura notes (1996: 438), *nu* ‘to hear sth’(vt) occurs in this construction only with transitive verbs and *i-nu* <APASS-hear> ‘to hear’(vi) occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs. The same preparatory meaning may be rendered by the analogous construction **notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’+ inkar ‘to see’** which is employed in the cases of visual or inferential information (see 4.3.6.4).
As I saw that a big bear was sitting with his back to me,

I tried to shot at [the bear]. Then

I saw that [the bear] was dying quietly.

Then I went up to him and worshipped him.

After that I skinned the animal.

I put on my back as [much meat] as I [could] carry and

went back.

I hung [the meat] outside,
40) cise ot ta ka a=Ø=racitke-re ne kusu,
    house place in even IND.S=3.O=be.hanging-CAUS COP because
    I hung [it] in the house, so

41) Ø=sum-ihi Ø=cik kor Ø=okay,
    3.S=fat-POSS IND.S=drop and IND.S=be.PL
    the fat of [the bear] was dropping down.

42) eun kesto a=Ø=e kor Ø=an korka
    from.there everyday IND.S=3.O=eat and 3.S=be but
    Every day I ate [some meat] from there and [so] it was, but

43) nep ka (etarkirir ka)[Ø=het-taro]183 siri Ø=isam no
    something even ? IND.S=decrease-SUF EVID.NR 3.S=not.exist and
    my supply of meat was not diminishing.

44) a=Ø=e kor Ø=an, a korka
    IND.S=3.O=eat and 3.S=be PERF but
    I ate and [so] it was, but

45) ekimne hene arpa=an wa inkar=’an sekor
    to.the.mountains.to.hunt or go=IND.S and see=IND.S QUOT
    yay-nu=an ma
    REFL-hear=IND.S and
    I thought of trying to go hunting to the mountains or something.

183 het-taro <decrease-SUF> ‘to decrease’ is not registered in the dictionaries. I suppose that this verb has been derived from the continuative base of the Japanese verb HERU (減る) ‘to decrease’ by means of the verbal sufix -taro (NAK 250) which specially serves to derive Ainu verbs from Japanese verbs.
Kim-un kuca ka a=Ø=kar wa
mountains-in hunting.hut even IND.S=3.O=make and
I built a hunting hut in the mountains and

Ø=an pe ne kusu
3.S=be NR COP because
it was [there].

Kim-un kuca ot ta arpa=an ma
mountains-in hunting.hut place at go=IND.S and
I went to the hunting hut in the mountains and

Rewsi=an ma
spend.a.night=IND.S and
spent a night [there].

Suke=an ma a=e wa
cook=IND.S and IND.S=eat and
I cooked and ate

Na hotke=an somo ki no an='an akusu
more sleep=IND.S NEG do and be=IND.S then
without sleeping more.

Or-o-ta Ø=poro aynu Ø=ahun kane
there-POSS-at 3.S=be.big man 3.S=enter suddenly.CONJ

Ø=i-ki wa
3.S=APASS-do and
Then suddenly a big man came in.
53) “tan-ukuran te ta i=rewsi-[re] wa
this-evening here at IND.O=stay.overnight-CAUS and

i=kor-e yan” sekor Ø=haw-e-an, akusu
IND.O=have-CAUS IMP.POL QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be then
“Please let me stay here tonight.” Said [the men]. Then

54) “Ø=pirka hawe ne wa” sekor itak=’an akusu
3.S=be.good EVID.NR COP FIN QUOT say=IND.S then
“It’s fine,” I said. Then

55) nani suke=an ma ne kur a=Ø=ipe-re,
immediately cook=IND.S and this man IND.S=3.O-eat-CAUS
I cooked immediately and fed this man.

56) u-w-e-newsar=’an kor okay=’an akusu
REC-EP-to.APPL-talk=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S when
When we were talking to each other,

57) ene Ø=haw-e-an i
like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
[the man] said as follows:

58) “asinuma anak-ne
INDEF TOP-COP
“As to myself,

59) Kusur sekor a=Ø=ye usi un aynu a=ne
Kushiro QUOT PASS=3.O=say place from Ainu IND.S=COP

ruwe ne
ASS.NR COP
I am an Ainu from the place called Kushiro.

184 lit. ‘Make me stay here tonight and give [it] to me.’ It is a benefactive construction (see 4.3.6.1).
However the village chief at our village acts badly.

[He] argues with everyone.

He takes away from [his men] various lacquer-ware and various bowls.

He also takes away dishes from [his men].”

There was [such] a rumour, but… I heard that there was [such] a rumour, but

“Once [the village chief] didn’t get [any new] dishes, but

when [the young men] went hunting to the mountains,
[The village chief] heard that they had gone hunting to the mountains and captured game.

[The village chief] argued with the young men and

and took away [their] bear game, ate [it] and [so] he lived.”

[That] was said. However

“I didn’t know what to do or say in this way, so

I left [all] as it was.” Said [the Ainu from Kushiro].

I listened to [the man], but… I heard the story\textsuperscript{185}, but

\textsuperscript{185} ‘The story’ in translation corresponds to the antipassive (or the generalized object) prefix $i$- from
I had a feeling of anger.

If these are young men,

they have children and

if they have no job even in order to provide for [their] children,

Note that the noun po ‘child/son’ appears here in its notional form regardless of our expectations of Ø=po-ho <3.S=child-POSS> ‘their children’ (cf. Ø=unu-hu <3.S=mother-POSS> Ø=ona-ha <3.S=father-POSS> in the next line 79). It is tempting to interpret the utterance as a single incorporational verb po-resu <child-raise/provide.for> ‘to raise a child; to provide for a child’ (not registered but theoretically possible) just like the preceding verb po-kor <child-have> ‘to have a child; to give birth to a child’ (cf. line 77), but Ito Oda made a considerable pause between po and resu. I think that at first Ito Oda intended to use po-resu but then hesitated about the existence of this verb and finally rejected it; however, it was already too late to change the notional form po for the possessive form Ø=po-ho.

---

*i-nu* <APASS-hear> ‘to hear’ (see 4.3.4.2.4).
79) \(\varnothing=unu-hu\) \(\varnothing=ona-ha\) \(\varnothing=\varnothing=\text{reska kusu}\)

\(\text{ne} \ \text{ki-pa} \ \ p \ \ \text{ne} \ \ \text{nankor}\)

this do-PL NR COP perhaps

what will they do to provide for their fathers and mothers?

80) \(a=e-p\) \(\text{ka}\) \(\varnothing=\varnothing=\text{ko-uk (ci)}\)
IND.S=eat-NR even 3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take

[The village chief] took food from [this men].”

81) \(\text{sekor,} \ \varnothing=\text{an} \ \pe \ \text{anak-ne}\)
QUOT 3.S=be NR TOP-COP

[Said the man]. These facts

82) \(\varnothing=\text{pirka} \ \ haw-as \ \ \\text{somo} \ \text{ne} \ \ \\text{ya,}\)
3.S=be.good voice-stand NEG COP probably

were not good news.

83) \(\text{ne} \ \ \\text{kur} \ a=\varnothing=\text{ramu} \ \ \\text{kur} \ a=\varnothing=\text{ruska} \ \ \\text{kor}\)
that man IND.S=3.O=think.about man IND.S=3.S=get.angry.with and

I was angry with that man, the man [the village chief?] I was thinking about.

84) \(a=\varnothing=\text{nu} \ \wa \ \varnothing=\text{an} \ \ \\a, \ \pe \ \text{ne}\)
IND.S=3.O=hear and 3.S=be PERF NR COP

I heard that and it was [so].

85) \(\varnothing=\text{ahun}\)\(\text{187} \ \wa \ \text{ne}, \ aynu \ \\text{nispal,} \ \varnothing=\text{rewsi} \ \wa\)
3.S=enter and this Ainu rich.man 3.S=stay.overnight and

He entered, the Ainu rich man [entered]. He stayed overnight and

86) \(\text{or-o-wa,} \ \ \\text{suy kuneywa} \ \ \\text{hopuni=}\text{an} \ \text{ma}\)
there-POSS-from again in.the.morning get.up=IND.S and

then again in the morning we got up and

\(\text{187} \ \text{The actual pronunciation is [ahu\text{\textDelta}k].}\)
87) suke=an ma ipe=an ma
cook=IND.S and eat=IND.S and cooked and ate.

88) “ekinne=an kusu tun a=ne wa
go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S in.order two IND.S=COP and

omanan=’an kor Ø=wen ruwe ne kusu
travel=IND.S when 3.S=be.bad ASS.NR COP because
“It will be bad, if there are two of us going to the mountains to hunt, so
(lit. ‘when there are two of us travelling in order to go the mountains to hunt, so’)

89) u-w-eko[h]opi ekinne=an yak Ø=pirka
REC-EP-separately.from go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S if 3.S=be.good it will be good, if we go hunting separately.

90) wa onuman suy arki=an yak Ø=pirka na”
FIN in.the.evening again come.PL=IND.S if 3.S=be.good FIN We may come [here] in the evening again.”

91) sekor haw-e-an=’an akusu
QUOT voice-APPL-be=IND.S then I said.

92) “Ø=pirka hawe ne wa” sekor Ø=haw-e-an ma

93) ne-no i-ki-pa=an (ma), kuni an kor
COP-ADV APASS-do-PL=IND.S and expect be while Planning to do so,

94) u-w-e-newsar=’an kor tokap Ø=an kor
REC-EP-to.APPL-talk=IND.S and noon 3.S=be and we talked with each other. [Then it] was noon and
95) **ekimne=an kor okay=’an pe ne akusu**
go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S NR COP then
we went to the mountains.

96) **hentom’ani [w]a-no ne kur Ø=ek siri ka**
recently from-ADV this person 3.S=come EVID.NR even

Ø=**isam ma**
3.S=not.exist and
Then this man [from Kushiro] went away.

97) **“makanak ne ruwe an” sekor yay-nu=an kor,**
what COP ASS.NR be QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S then
I thought: “What has happened?”

98) **yay-nu=an korka**
REFL-hear=IND.S but
I thought [so], but

99) **eun a=Ø=nu usi ka Ø=**isam,**
towards IND.S=3.O=ask place even 3.S=not.exist
there was no place [where I could] ask and

100) **a=Ø=ye usi ka Ø=isam pe ne kusu**
IND.S=3.O=say place even 3.S=not.exist NR COP because
no one to talk to, so (lit. ‘there was no place to say’)

101) **sinen ne (a=yay...ko…) yay-nu^{188} kor an=’an ma,**
alone as REFL-hear and be=IND.S and
I was thinking alone.

^{188} Here Ito Oda showed some hesitation. She probably intended to say ‘I walked alone’, but could not find proper words, so she ended up with saying yay-nu ‘to think’ without a personal prefix. I think that a contextually appropriate form is yay-nu=an <REFL-hear=IND.S> ‘I thought’.
102) “ne, hempara ka arpa=an ma
COP? someday even go=IND.S and
Someday I’ll go and

103) neun ka a=Ø=hunara wa inkar='an”
where even IND.S=3.O=look.for and see=IND.S
try to look for [the man] elsewhere.”

104) sekor yay-nu=an ma,
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I thought.

105) soyne=an ma inkar='an a korka
go.outside=IND.S and look.around=IND.S PERF but
I went outside and looked around, but

106) hunak un (nu) arpa=an (yara) yak,
where to go=IND.S if

Ø=pirka ya ka a=Ø=erampewtek no sir-an ma
3.S=be.good whether even IND.S=3.O=not.know and appearance-be and
It seemed that I didn’t know where it would be good [for me] to go.

107) “apkas=’an kor an=’an yak-un
walk=IND.S and be=IND.S if-EMP
“If I keep walking,

108) ney ta ka a=Ø=nukar nankor” sekor yay-nu=an
somewhere at even IND.S=3.O=meet perhaps QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S
perhaps I’ll meet [this man] someday,” I thought.

189 In Ainu there are two words ne: a copula and a determinative ‘this/that’; however, neither is
suitable here. As the speaker made a slight pause after ne, it could be the beginning of some
interrupted utterance.
109) *ma apkas='an kor an='an akusu,*
and walk=IND.S and be=IND.S then  
I kept walking. Then

110) *Ø=pirka Ø=pon pet Ø=an ma kusu,*
3.S=be.beautiful 3.S=be.small river 3.S=be and because  
there was a beautiful small river, so

111) *ne pet turasi arpa='an ayne*
this river upstream.along go=IND.S finally  
I went upstream along this river. Finally,

112) *Ø=husko Ø=ni-tuy-pa ru ka Ø=an,*
there was the stump of an old tree.

113) "*tane aynu kotan Ø=hanke ruwe ne*"
already Ainu village 3.S=be.close ASS.NR COP  
“There is truly an Ainu village already nearby."

114) *sekor yay-nu=an kor arpa=an akusu*
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S while go=IND.S then  
Thinking [so], I went, then

115) *suy Ø=asin ni sir, Ø=ni-tuy-pa ru ka Ø=an*
again there was a new tree, a stump of the tree.

116) *ma a=e-yay-kopuntek kor*
and IND.S=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about then  
I was happy about [it].

---

190 *ni-tuy-pa <3.S=tree-cut-PL> ‘to cut firewood’ (vi) is an incorporative verb which serves as an attributive on *ru ‘trace’ along with Ø=husko <3.S=be.old>: lit. ‘There was an old firewood-cut trace.’
I went, then there really was an Ainu village.

and I went there.

I passed in front of the village and

and there was a good house, a big house.

there was a house looking like the house of a village chief.

and I went to the gateway of [that house] and

191 The pronunciation is not clear, it is close to [ko], but that would be meaningless in this context. The closest linguistic forms are either a conjunction kor ‘when; while; and’, which is completely out of place here, or a transitive verb kor ‘to have/own’, which is less odd contextually, but may be accepted with reservations for syntactic reasons, because then we would have somewhat like: lit. ‘There was a house owned as the house of the village chief’.
124) *si-hum-nu-yar*\(^{192}\) = 'an kor an='an akusu
 REFL-noise-hear-CAUS=IND.S and be=IND.S then
 I made a noise letting my arrival be known. Then

125) *katkemath sinen* Ø=søyne wa Ø=ek wa
 housewife one 3.S=go.outside and 3.S=come and
 one housewife came out and

126) *pirka-no* Ø=i=nukar wa
 be.good-ADV 3.S=IND.O=look.at and
 looked at me well.

127) *or-o-wa* Ø=ahun akusu
 there-POSS-from 3.S=enter when
 After that she entered [the house]

128) “*soy ta sik-etok-o* a=Ø=eramiskari okkaypo
 outside at eye-in.front-POSS IND.S=3.O=not.know young.man
 “A young man whom I don’t know

129) Ø=ek wa Ø=an ruwe ne
 3.S=come and 3.S=be ASS.NR COP
 has come outside.

130) (a) a=Ø=ahun-ke yak Ø=pirka ya
 IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS if 3.S=be.good Q
 Shall I let him in (lit ‘Is it good if I let him in?’)

---

\(^{192}\) *si-hum-nu-yar* <REFL-noise-hear-CAUS> ‘to make a noise letting one’s arrival be known’ (lit. ‘to make the noise of oneself be heard’). The verb refers to the traditional Ainu situation when a guest who comes up to someone’s house is trying to attract the host’s attention by deliberately coughing or stamping in the doorway of the house. When the host hears such a sound, he realizes that the guest is standing in the doorway and comes out.
131) makanak ne ya’”
what COP Q
or what?”

132) sekor Ø=haw-e-an haw-as
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be voice-stand
Said [the housewife]. I could hear it.

133) okkayo haw;
man voice
The speech of the man.

134) “cise soy pakno Ø=ek kur anak-ne
house outside till-ADV 3.S=come person TOP-COP
“As to the man who came to the gateway of the house,

135) nep ka Ø=Ø=ye rusuy ka Ø=Ø=nu rusuy

kusu Ø=ek ruwe ne kusu
in.order 3.S=come ASS.NR COP because
he came in order to say or ask something, so

136) a=Ø=ahun-ke yak Ø=pirka wa’”
IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS if 3.S=be.good FIN
I may let him in.”

137) sekor haw-as wa hawe a=Ø=nu kor an’an
QUOT voice-stand and EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=hear and be=IND.S
It was said and I heard that. Then

138) akusu Ø=soyne wa Ø=ek wa
then 3.S=go.outside and 3.S=come and
[the woman] came out and
139) “ahup-pa an\textsuperscript{193} sekor \(\emptyset\)=haw-e=an \ ma \ kusu,\textsuperscript{194}”

140) kor \(\emptyset\)=si-etaye \ wa \ kusu
and 3.S=REFL-pull.in and because
[The woman] went back (lit. ‘pulled herself in’), so

141) \(\emptyset\)=os\textsuperscript{195} arpa=’an, ahun=’an akusu
3.O=after go=IND.S enter=IND.S then
I went after [her] and entered.

142) a=kuca-ha \(\emptyset\)=or-o \ ta \(\emptyset\)=ek \ wa
IND.S=hunting.hut-POSS 3.O=place-POSS at 3.S=come and

\(\emptyset\)=rewsi \ kor, \(\emptyset\)=ekimne \ kor \(\emptyset\)=an \ a

nispa \ ne \(\emptyset\)=an
rich.man as 3.S=COP
There was a man [there] who had come to my hunting hut, spent a night and went hunting.

143) wa \ a=\(\emptyset\)=eramuriten \ kor, から
and IND.S=3.O=feel.relieved.about and BECAUSE
I felt relieved about [this matter], SO

\textsuperscript{193} an is an allomorph of yan <IMP.POL> which appears after the verbs with a final consonant, as it was registered for the Saru dialect (TAM 838). However, our case is exceptional in that an appears after the vowel /a/. Note that in polite imperative sentences with yan <IMP.POL> the verb should be used in the plural form (-pa <PL>), see 4.6.1.

\textsuperscript{194} wa kusu ‘because’ was probably replaced by the succeeding kor ‘and’, so it is not translated.

\textsuperscript{195} Note that os ‘after’ is a postpositional adverb, not a locative noun, so it does not have a possessive form which would be necessary for a locative noun in the case of 3SG/PL; cf. \(\emptyset\)=sam-a <3SG/PL.O=near-POSS> ‘near him/her/them’ (locative noun); cf. 4.1.
144) arpa=an pe ne kusu
go=IND.S NR COP because
as I went [in],

145) yan=’an ma ne nispa a=Ø=ko-onkami,
go.up=IND.S and this noble.man IND.S=3.O=APPL-greet
I came up and greeted this noble man.

146) u-ko-onkami=an ma
REC-APPL-greet=IND.S and
We greeted each other.

147) or-o-wa (uwe…) u-w-erankarap=’an okere wa
there-POSS-from REC-EP-APPL-greet=IND.S finish and
Then having finished with official verbal greetings,

148) or-o-wa, u-w-ekap=’an196 ma or-o-wa,
there-POSS-from REC-EP-salute=IND.S and there-POSS-from
we saluted each other and

149) or-o-wa-no u-w-e-newsar=’an kor okay=’an
after that we were talking to each other.

150) korka nep kusu omanan=’an hi ka
but what because travel=IND.S NR even

196 It is not quite clear in what way u-w-ekap ‘to salute/greet each other’ actually differs from u-ko-onkami ‘to greet each other’ and u-w-erankarap ‘to greet each other’. The latter two obviously refer to the situation describing “exchanging the traditional Ainu greetings”. However, u-ko-onkami, which was mainly practiced by men, implies “bringing both hands in front of one’s chest and moving hands up and down with the palms turned up” (TAM 760) and u-w-erankarap involves probably more of verbal greetings (Tamura 1984: 46).
a=Ø=ye ka somo ki yak Ø=wen sekor yay-nu=an
IND.S=3.O=say even NEG do if 3.S=be.bad QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S
I thought that it would be bad if I didn’t say why I was travelling.

151) ma “kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur oruspe a=Ø=nu p
and village 3.S=3.O=have man story.POSS IND.S=3.O=hear NR
ne a kusu, kusu ek='an ruwe ne”
COP PERF because because come=IND.S ASS.NR COP
“I came because I had heard the story about the village chief.” (lit. ‘it was that I had heard the story about the village chief, so I came’)

152) sekor itak='an a(n)kusu,
QUOT say=IND.S then
I said.

153) “tan-to anak rewsı yan
this-day TOP stay.overnight IMP.POL
“Please stay today!

154) nisat-ta a=e=e-pakasnu¹⁹⁷ kus ne na”
dawn-at IND.S=2SG.S=about.APPL-teach intention COP FIN
Tomorrow I’ll explain to you [where the evil village chief lives].

155) sekor Ø=haw-e-an ma or-o-wa
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and there-POSS-from
Said the man.

¹⁹⁷ e-pakasnu <about.APPL-teach> ‘to teach sth to sb’ is a three-place transitive verb. Note that the object of Reference is introduced by the applicative prefix e- (see 4.3.4.1.2) and the Dative object is introduced by the verb root.
156) *rewsi=an kuni a=ramu kor*

stay.overnight=IND.S should IND.S=think and

*u-w-e-newsar=’an*

REC-EP-with.APPL-talk=IND.S

I thought that I should stay overnight and we talked to each other.

157) *kor inkar=’an awa*

and look.around=IND.S then

I looked around and then

158) *okkaypo tun pakno Ø=an ruwe ne noyne sir-an*

man two till-ADV 3.S=be ASS.NR COP seem appearance-be

it seemed that there appeared two men.

159) *matkaci anak*¹⁹⁸,

girl TOP

As to a girl…

160) *tun Ø=an*¹⁹⁹,

two 3.S=be

There were two people.

161) *rupne-mat ka Ø=an ruwe a=Ø=nukar kor an=’an, wa*

be.old-woman even 3.S=be ASS.NR IND.S=3.O=see and be=IND.S and

I saw that there was an elderly woman.

162) *(siromunno) sir-’onuman akusu*

appearance-evening then

It was growing dark, then

¹⁹⁸ The phrase breaks up here.

¹⁹⁹ Note that in Ainu the singular form of the existential verb *an* ‘to be’ is used with numerals meaning more than ‘one’. 
163) sonno poka okkaypo-utar \(\emptyset=\text{arki}\) wa
really only man-PL 3.S=come.PL and
the men really came [from hunting?].

164) an='an ruwe (eramus) \(\emptyset=\text{eramu(n)}\)okay noyne,
be=IND.S ASS.NR 3.S=3.O=know.PL seem
It seemed that they knew that I was [there].

165) \(\emptyset=\text{soyosipitatpa}\)\(^{200}\) wa \(\emptyset=\text{ahup}\) wa
3.S=take.off.one’s.outer.clothes and 3.S=enter.PL and
Having taken off their outer clothes, they entered and

166) \(\emptyset=\text{i=ko-onkami}\) wa a=\(\emptyset=\text{ko-onkami}\) wa
3.S=IND.O=APPL-greet and IND.S=3.O=APPL-greet and
greeted me and I greeted them.

167) tane sir-kunne p ne kusu
already appearance-be.dark NR COP because
As it already grew dark,

168) tane sir-onuman kusu
already appearance-evening because
as it was already evening,

169) “onuman-ipe=an kus ne na”
evening-meal=IND.S intention COP FIN
“Let us have an evening meal.”

170) sekor haw-as kor
QUOT voice-stand and
A voice said.

\(^{200}\) soy-o-si-pita-atpa <outside-at.APPL-untie-make.a.lot.[AUX.PL?] > ‘to take off one’s outer clothes’ (vi). “It was an Ainu custom that when there was a guest in one’s house, the family members, who had just returned from hunt, should take off their clothes and shoes outside before entering the house” (TAM 680).
171) (aeko) $a=i=ko-y-puni$ wa
PASS=IND.O=to.APPL-APASS-lift.up and

$ipe=an$ $ma$ $inkar='an$

eat=IND.S and see=IND.S

I was offered food and I tried to eat.

172) $akusu$ sonno $kera-an$ pe $patek$ $a=O=e$ $p$ $ne$ $kusu$

then really taste-be thing only IND.S=3.O=eat NR COP because

Then as I ate only really delicious things,

173) (ay ay) $a=O=eramuriten$ $ka$ $ki$

IND.S=3.O=get.into.good.mood.because.of even do

I got into a good mood because of [that] and

174) $a=O=eykoytupa^{201}$ $ka$ $ki$ $kor$

IND.S=3.O=be.envious.of even do and

I was envious of [that taste].

175) nep $a=O=suwe$ $wa$ $O=an^{202}$ yak-ka

something IND.S=3.O=cook and 3.S=be if-even

When I was cooking something,

176) $kera-an$ sekor yay-nu=an $kor$
taste-be QUOT REFL.-hear=IND.S and

I thought, it was delicious, [but]

---

201 $e$-ikoytupa <about.APPL-live.in want.for.things> ‘to be envious about sth’ is a lexicalized word derived by means of the applicative prefix $e$- (see 4.3.4.1.2) introducing an object of Reference. The verb seems to lack a negative connotation as that of the English ‘to envy’, because Ito Oda used it only in positive contexts.

202 The actual pronunciation is [ajiakka], due to the phonological alternation -$n+y$- > -yy-, which is very common of the Saru dialect, but is scarcely found in the Chitose dialect of Ito Oda (see 3.4).
177) \(a=\emptyset=e\) humi anak \(\emptyset=isam\) pe ne akusu
IND.S=3.O=eat feeling TOP 3.S=not.exist NR COP then
there was really no taste [when] I ate [it].

178) ene kera-an pe patek \(a=\emptyset=e\) wa
like.this taste-be NR only IND.S=3.O=eat and
[Now], I ate only the delicious things [I was offered] and

179) \(a=\emptyset=e\)-yay-kopuntek ka ki
IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.glad.about even do
I was glad about [it].

180) \(a=\emptyset=e\)-yoytupa ka ki kor
IND.S=3.O=be.envious.of even do and
I was envious of [it].

181) rews=an ma ne nisat-ta \(\emptyset=ek\)
stay.overnight=IND.S and that dawn-at 3.S=come
I stayed overnight. Somehow the next day came

182) wa or-o-wa,
and there-POSS-from
and then

183) ne kotan \(\emptyset=\emptyset=kor\) kur or-o un
that village 3.S=3.O=have person place-POSS to
\(a=i=sir-'e-pakasnu\)
PASS=IND.O=land-about.APPL-teach
I was shown the way to the place of the village chief

184) wa \(a=i=tura\) wa paye=an ma
and PASS=IND.S=take.along and go.PL=IND.S and
and accompanied [there by my host]. We went and
185) *soy ta si-hum-nu-yar=’an kor okay=’an akusu*
outside at REFL-noise-hear-CAUS=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S then
made a noise outside of the house letting our arrival be known.

186) *sine menoko Ø=soyne wa Ø=ek wa*
one woman 3.S=go.outside and 3.S=come and
A woman came out and

187) *wen-no-wen-no Ø=i=nukar wa*
be.bad-ADV- be.bad-ADV 3.S=IND.O=look.at and
rudely looked at us and

188) *or-o-wa Ø=ahun akusu*
there-POSS-and 3.S=enter then
then went in.

189) “*soy ta sik-etok-na-wa a=Ø=eramiskari*
outside at eye-in.front-in.the.direction.of-from IND.S=3.O=not.know

*okkayo tun (arpa) Ø=arki wa Ø=okay ruwe ne*
“Two men whom I don’t know came and are standing outside.

190) *a=Ø=ahun-ke yak Ø=pirka ya*
IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS if 3.S=be.good Q
Shall I let him them in

191) *makanak ne ruwe ne“*
what COP ASS.NR COP
or what?”

192) *sekor Ø=haw-e-an Ø=haw-e Ø=as akusu*
There was [the woman’s] voice saying [that].
193) “cise or un nen ne yak-ka (a) nep ka
house place to someone COP if-even something even

∅=∅=ye rusuy hene ∅=∅=nu rusuy hene
3.S=3.O=say want or 3.S=3.O=ask want or

ki kusu (ar) ∅=paye
do because 3.S=go.PL
“If some people came to the house because they want to say something or ask,

194) (aye) ∅=payokay utar ∅=ne kusu
if they are travelling men,

195) cise soy pak-no ∅=arki utar anak-ne
house outside till-ADV 3.S=come.PL men TOP-COP
as to the men who came up to the doorway,

196) a=∅=ahun-ke yak ∅=pirka wa”
IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS if 3.S=be.good FIN
I may let them in.”

197) sekor haw-as wa
QUOT voice-stand and
One could hear.

198) “ahup-pa an203” sekor ∅=haw-e-an kor
enter.PL-PL IMP.POL QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and
“Come in.” Said [the village chief].

199) ∅=soyne wa ∅=ek wa or-o-wa,
3.S=go.outside and 3.S=come and there-POSS-from
She came out and then

203) See footnote 17.
200) “ahup-pa an” sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor
enter.PL-PL IMP.POL QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and
said, “Come in.”

201) Ø=he-etye wa kusu Ø=os, ahup-pa=an akusu
3.S=head-pull.in and because 3.O=after enter.PL-PL=IND.S then
She pulled her head back, so we entered after her.

202) wen-no-wen-no Ø=mun-nuwe
be.bad-ADV-be.bad-ADV 3.S=rubbish-sweep
[The housewife] negligently swept away the rubbish

203) wa or-o-wa Ø=so-kar pe ne kusu,
and there-POSS-from 3.S=seating.mat-make NR COP because
and then she laid out the seating mats, so

204) yap=’an ma kusu arpa=an pe ne kusu
204 go.up.PL=IND.S and because go=IND.S NR COP because
we came in.

205) “tap-ne tap-ne i-nu=an pe ne a kusu,
this-COP this-COP APASS-hear=IND.S NR COP PERF because
a kusu
PERF because
“As I had heard this and that,

206) (arki) ek=’an ruwe ne” sekor itak=’an akusu
come.PL come=IND.S ASS.NR COP QUOT say=IND.S then
I came.” I said

204 arpa=an pe ne kusu ‘since I went’ is considered redundant and is not included in the translation.
207) “nep Ø=wen irenka Ø=an ka somo ki p
something 3.S=be.bad will 3.S=be even NEG do NR
ne a kusu
COP PERF because
“There was no bad will!

208) ene haw-as i” sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor
like.this voice-stand NR QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and
It was heard like this [by mistake]!” Said [the village chief].

209) Ø=ar-sikasike ki p ne a kusu a=Ø=ruska
3.S=completely-denied do NR COP PERF because IND.S=3.O=get.angry.with
As he had completely denied [everything], I got angry with that,

210) kusu mosir Ø=Ø=kor huci205 ka
because land 3.S=3.O=have old.woman even
a=Ø=ko-caranke,
IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue
so I argued with the Fire Goddess.

211) ene an Ø=wen pe Ø=an usi ta
like.this be 3.S=be.bad person 3.S=be place at
Ø=pase kamuy ne Ø=an ma
3.S=be.important God as 3.S=be and
She was an important God at the place of such a bad person! And

205 mosir Ø=Ø=kor huci <land 3.S=3.O=have old.woman> (lit. ‘old lady ruling the country’) is often referred to as ‘the Fire Goddess’ (Kubodera 1977: 730).
212) or-o-wa "[e=]Ø=erampewtek\(^\text{206}\) ruwehe ne ya"
there-POSS-from 2SG.S=3.O=not.know ASS.NR COP Q
then: "Didn’t you know that?"

213) sekor, (haw-e-an kor), haw-e-an=’an kor
QUOT voice-POSS-be and voice-POSS-be=IND.S when
I said.

214) mosir Ø=Ø=kor huci ka a=Ø=ko-caranke (a…)
land 3.S=3.O=have old.woman even IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue
I argued with the Fire Goddess.

215) or-un rot ta arpa=an ma
there-from seat.of.honour to go=IND.S and
Then I went to the seat of honour and

216) cise Ø=Ø=kor kamuy ka a=Ø=ko-caranke,
house 3.S=3.O=have God even IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue
blamed the God Protector of the house.

217) Ø=pase kamuy ne Ø=okay wa or-o-wa
3.S=be.important God as 3.S=be.PL and there-POSS-from
They were the important Gods! And then:

218) "ene an Ø=wen pe Ø=i-ki hi
like.this be 3.S=be.bad person 3.S=APASS-do NR

eci=Ø=erampewtek ya"
IND.S=3.O=not.know Q
"Didn’t you know what was such an evil person doing?"

\(^{206}\) The personal affix is omitted. A contextually appropriate form would be \(e=\)Ø=erampewtek
\(<2SG.S=3.O=not\ know>\) as in the analogous sentence in 218.
219) **sekor kamuy-utar a=Ø=ko-caranke**

QUOT God-PL IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue and

I argued with the Gods and

220) **ape sam ta (ek wa)**

fire near to come and come=IND.S and

I went to the hearth and

221) **af=an**

sit[=IND.S] and be=IND.S then

sat down. I was [there] and

222) **or-o-ta cise Ø=Ø=kor kamuy**

there-POSS-at house 3.S=3.O=have God

then the God Protector of the house

223) **(iyorkik) [iyoykir] ka peka Ø=terke-terke**

treasure over through 3.S=jump-jump and

jumped over the treasures and

224) **Ø=ran ma Ø=ek wa**

3.S=go.down and 3.S=come and

came down.

225) **inumpe ka peka un**

wooden.boards.around.fireplace above through to

He [jumped] over the wooden boards around the fire,

226) **esisoun ma eharkisoun Ø=arpa Ø=terke-terke akusu**

to.the.right and to.the.left 3.S=go 3.S=jump-jump then

he jumped to the right and to the left.

---

207 Here Ito Oda corrected herself.

208 The personal affix is omitted. A contextually appropriate form would be *a=an* <sit=IND.S> ‘I sat down’.
Then for the first time this man said as follows:

“I didn’t know that my behaviour was so bad

[so] I lived. But

I shall not behave badly, so

leave me alive!”

Said [the village chief].
“arininya yake,” korka or-o-wa
completely REFL-make but there-POSS-from
“Change your ways completely!” [I said], but then

néa kotan Ø=Ø=kør kur a=Ø=ko-caranke
that village 3.S=3.O=have person IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue
I argued with that village chief

a=Ø=ko-caranke wa or-o-wa,
IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue and there-POSS-from [and] argued.

te wa-no
here from-ADV
From now on,

ene an i-ki Ø=Ø=ki yak-un
like.this be APASS-do 3.S=3.O=do if-EMP
if he acts in this way, (lit. ‘if he does such a doing’),

nani a=Ø=rayke kus ne kusu
immediately IND.S=3.O=kill intention COP because
I’ll kill him immediately!

“(iteki) (ne) ney ene an Ø=wen puri anak
PROH this some.day like.this be 3.S=be.bad behavior TOP

somo an yak Ø=pirka na”
NEG be if 3.S=be.good FIN
“There should be no such wrong doing ever!”

sekor a=Ø=itak-’amkir-e
QUOT IND.S=3.O=words-remember-CAUS
I warned him [and]
242) \[ a=\varnothing=itak-'amkir-e \text{ akusu} \]
IND.S=3.O=words-remember-CAUS then
I warned him, then

243) \[ inkar='an \text{ akusu} \]
IND.S=look.around then
I looked around.

244) \[ cise \text{ onnay sik-te-no aynu poro-n-no} \]
house inside be.full-CAUS-ADV man be.many-EP-ADV
\[ \varnothing=okay \text{ wa} \]
3.S=be.PL and
There were so many people that the house was full.

245) \[ yay-nu=an \text{ ma inkar='an } \text{ hike} \]
REFL-hear=IND.S and look.around=IND.S then
I thought and looked around then:

246) \[ "a=\varnothing=ko-(r)-caranke wa \]
3.S=3.O=with.APPL-argue.with and
\[ usa \varnothing=okay \text{ pe } a=\varnothing=ko-uk utar \]
various 3.S=be.PL thing PASS=3.O=from.APPL-take people
“The people, who were abused and robbed of various things,

247) \[ arpa=an \text{ hi } \varnothing=nu \text{ wa } \varnothing=arki ruwe ne” \]
heard that I had come and they came.”

248) \[ sekor yay-nu=an pe ne kusu \]
QOUT REFL-hear=IND.S NR COP because
As I thought [so],
“(eci=e=) eci=Ø=kor-pa p nukar wa
2PL.S=3.O=have-PL thing look.at and
“Look at the things that belonged to you and

250) an=’an rapok kor wa hosipi^{209} an^{210}.
be=IND.S while have and return IMP.POL
take them [home] while I am here!”

251) sekor itak=’an akusu
QUOT say=IND.S then
I said. Then

252) ne utar opitta Ø=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek wa
that people all 3.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL.be.happy.about and
all those people felt happy about [that].

253) “tan-pe ku=Ø=kor pe tan-pe somo a p”
this-NR IND.S=3.S=have NR this-NR NEG PERF NR
“This was mine and that was not!”

254) sekor Ø=haw-e-oka kor,
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL while
Saying [so],

255) Ø=Ø=kor-pa p Ø=Ø=nukar wa Ø=Ø=kor
they looked at the things they had owned and took them.

256) wa Ø=soyne wa
and 3.S=go.outside and
They went outside.

^{209} Here a singular form of the verb *hosipi* <return> is used; however, the polite imperative in *(y)an* requires the plural form: *hosip-pa* <return-PL>, cf. sentence 139.
^{210} *an* is an allomorph of *yan* <IMP.POL>, cf. footnote 17.
There had been many dishes, but

There turned out to be only the people who were arguing and taking [the things] till there were no [more] dishes left.

I was astonished. All the people went [away].

I looked around.

[The village chief] was not a completely evil person, but

he [just] appeared to have such a bad will.

I warned and warned [the village chief]
(auwa) [ayne] or-o-wa hosip-pa=an ma
finally there-POSS-from return-PL=IND.S and
[and] finally we went home.

ne, Ø=or-o ta rewsî=an kur
that 3.O=place-POSS at spend.a.night=IND.S person
That man at whose place I had spent the night [said]:

“suy tan-to ka rewsî wa arpa”
again this-day also spend.a.night and go
“Stay again tonight!”

sekor Ø=haw-e-an pe ne kusu
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR COP because
As he really said [that],

Ø=or-o ta suy rewsî=an ma,
3.O=place-POSS at again spend.a.night=IND.S and
Again I spent a night at his place and

kuneywa hopuni=an ma
in.the.morning get.up=IND.S and
in the morning I got up and

Tan-to anak a=uni-hi ta hosipi=an
this-day TOP IND.S=house-POSS at return=IND.S
“Today I’ll return home.”

sekor yay-nu=an ma
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I thought.

211 This is a relative clause: ne [Ø=or-o ta rewsî=an] kur, in which Relativization of the
possessor involves retention of the possessive form of the possessee within the relative clause, i.e.
the possessive affix (-o) of the possessee (or-o ‘the place of’) which, in this case, appears to be a
locative noun, gives reference to NPrel-the possessor (kur ‘person); see 4.7.
272) sipine=an kor inkar='an akusu
get.dressed=IND.S and look=IND.S then
I got dressed and looked around.

273) Ø=pon menoko
3.S=be.young woman
A young woman

274) Ø=unu-hu Ø=or-o ta Ø=arpa wa
3.S=mother-POSS 3.O=place-POSS to 3.S=go and
came [up] to her mother’s place and

275) nep ka Ø=Ø=ye siri ka a=Ø=nukar, akusu,
something even 3.S=3.O=say EVID.NR even IND.S=3.O=see then
said something. I saw that.

276) katkemat Ø=hoku-hu Ø=or-o ta Ø=arpa wa
housewife 3.S=husband-POSS 3.O=place-POSS to 3.S=go and
Then the housewife [the young woman’s mother] went to her husband and

277) suy nep ka Ø=Ø=ye siri ka a=Ø=nukar
again something even 3.S=3.O=say EVID.NR even IND.S=3.O=see said something again. I saw that.

278) akusu, cise Ø=Ø=kor kur ene Ø=haw-e-an i
then house 3.S=3.O=have person like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
Then the master of the house said as follows:

279) “okkaypo, makanak e=yay-nu ruwe an,
young.man what 2SG.S=REFL-hear ASS.NR be
“Young man, what are you thinking [about]?”

280) a=matnepo-ho okkaypo Ø=Ø=tura wa Ø=arpa
My daughter wants to go together with the young man and
281) wa  Ø=par-o  Ø=Ø=o-suke\(^{212}\)  rusuy
   and  3.O=mouth-POSS  3.S=3.O=to.APPL-cook  want
to cook for him (lit. ‘for his mouth’).

282) sekor  Ø=haw-e-an  kor  Ø=an  ruwe  ne  (kor)
   QUOT  3.S=voice-POSS-be  and  3.S=be  ASS.NR  COP  and
   She said that and [so] she feels. (lit. ‘and [so] she is’)

283) sekor  Ø=haw-e,  a=Ø=e-yay-rayke  hawe  ne,
   QUOT  3.S=voice-POSS  IND.S=3.O=for.APPL-be.grateful  EVID.NR  COP
   I was grateful for his speech.

284) a=Ø=e-yay-kopun-tek  hawe  ne  sekor
   IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about  EVID.NR  COP  QUOT
   I was happy about [it].

285) itak=’an  akusu,  katkemat  sut-ketusi  Ø=Ø=san-ke
   say=IND.S  then  housewife  grandmother-chest  3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS
   I said. After that the housewife took out the chest

286) wa  or-o-wa  Ø=Ø=i-y-o
   and  there-POSS-from  3.S=3.O=APASS-EP.put.into.PL

   Ø=Ø=i-y-o
   3.S=3.O=APASS-EP.put.into
   and then [started] putting goods in [there].

287) usa  Ø=okay  pe  poro-n-no  Ø=Ø=oma-re
   She put many various things in [there],

\(^{212}\) **par-(o) o-suke** <mouth-(POSS) to.APPL-cook> ‘to cook for sb’ is a phrasal verb consisting of
the body part noun **par** ‘mouth’ which takes personal markers of the object, and of the applicative
transitive verb **o-suke** ‘to cook at/to some place’; cf. footnote 3.
288) *sut-ketusi*  
   \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{oma-re} \)  
   grandmother-chest  
   \( 3.S = 3.O = \text{enter.in-CAUS} \)

   \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{oma-re} \)  
   \( \text{wa} \)  
   (sik)  
   \( 3.S = 3.O = \text{enter.in-CAUS} \)  
   and

   She put and put [them] in the chest.

289) *sut-ketusi*  
   *sik-te-no*  
   grandmother-chest  
   be.full-CAUS-ADV

   \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{i-y-o} \)  
   \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{oma-re} \)  
   \( \text{wa} \)

   \( 3.S = 3.O = \text{APASS-EP-put.into} \)  
   \( 3.S = 3.O = \text{enter.in-CAUS} \)  
   and

   She put so [many things] in that she filled up the chest and

290) \( a = \emptyset = \text{se} \)  
   \( \text{kuni} \)  
   \( \text{ne} \)  
   \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{kar} \)  
   \( \text{wa} \)

   \( \text{IND.S} = 3.O = \text{carry.on.back in.order} \)  
   COP  
   \( 3.S = 3.O = \text{make} \)  
   and

   she did [it] [so] that I could carry [it] on my back and

291) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{san-ke} \)  
   \( \text{wa} \)

   \( 3.S = 3.O = \text{descend-CAUS} \)  
   and

   brought it [to me].

292) \( \emptyset = \text{matnepo-ho} \)  
   "\( \text{tan-pe} \)  
   \( \emptyset = \text{se} \)  
   \( \text{wa} \)  
   \( \text{arpa} \)"

   \( 3.S = \text{daughter-POSS} \)  
   this-NR  
   \( 3.O = \text{carry.on.back} \)  
   and  
   \( 3.S = \text{go} \)

   "Carry this on your back,"

293) *sekor*  
   \( \emptyset = \text{haw-e-an} \)  
   *kor*  
   \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{san-ke} \)

   QUOT  
   \( 3.S = \text{voice-POSS-be} \)  
   while  
   \( 3.S = 3.O = \text{descend-CAUS} \)

   *or-o-wa*  
   there-POSS-from

   said the daughter, bringing [the goods]. Then,

294) *ipe=an*  
   *ma*  
   *or-o-wa*  
   *u-tura=an*  
   *ma*  

   eat=IND.S  
   and  
   there-POSS-from  
   REC-go.together=IND.S  
   and  

   after having a meal, we went together and
295) \( a=\emptyset =\text{kor} \quad \text{cise} \quad \text{ot} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{hosipi}=\text{an} \quad \text{ma} \)
IND.S=3.O=have house place to return=IND.S and returned to my house.

296) \( \text{arki}=\text{an} \quad \text{korka} \)
come.PL=IND.S but
We came, but

297) \( \text{ne} \quad \text{menoko-po} \quad (\text{si}) \quad \emptyset =\text{sini} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{somo} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{no} \)
this woman-DIM 3.S=rest even NEG do and this young woman didn’t rest.

298) \( \text{cise} \quad \text{onnay} \quad \emptyset =\emptyset =\text{u-w-oma-re}^{213} \quad \text{wa} \)
house inside 3.S=3.O=REC-EP-enter-CAUS and She put the inside of the house in order and

299) \( \emptyset =\text{mun-ruwe} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{or-o-wa} \)
3.S=rubbish-sweep and there-POSS-from swept away the rubbish, then

300) \( \text{suke}=\text{an} \quad \text{ma} \)
cook=IND.S and we cooked and

301) \( \text{ipe}=\text{an} \quad \text{akusu} \)
eat=IND.S then ate.

---

213 \( \text{u-w-oma-re} \quad \text{<REC-EP-enter-CAUS>} \) ‘to put sth in order’ (vt) (OI) is a lexicalized object-oriented reciprocal verb (see 4.3.4.2.2), which also has an unlexicalized object-oriented reciprocal meaning of \text{joining sth/sb together}: ‘to bring sth/sb together, gather sth/sb’ (TAM 815)’ derived in a standard way from the following verbs

\( <\text{oma-re} \quad \text{to put sth/sb (one thing, one person) somewhere}’ (vb) (TAM 467) \)
\( <\text{oma} \quad \text{i. ‘to enter/get in, reach sth’, ii. ‘to be present somewhere’ (vt) (TAM 467).} \)
302) *kera-an* *ipe* \(\varnothing=\)an *pe* *ka* *ki*,
  taste-be eat 3.S=be NR even do
  It was a really delicious meal.

303) *a=\varnothing=kor-pa* \(p\) *ne* *yak-ka* *menoko* \(\varnothing=\varnothing=suwe\) *kor*
  IND.S=3.O=have-PL NR COP if-even woman 3.S=3.O=cook when
  When [my wife] cooked [from] what we had

304) *ene* *kera-an* *pe*
  like.this taste-be NR
  it was so delicious!

305) *yaykata* *a=\varnothing=suwe* *wa* *a=\varnothing=e* *kor*
  by.oneself IND.S=3.O=cook and IND.S=3.O=eat and
  [When] I cooked myself and ate,

306) *nep* *ka* *kera-an*, *humi* *ka* \(\varnothing=isam\) *pe* *ne*
  something even taste-be taste even 3.S=not.exist NR COP
  there was no taste at all.

307) *sekor*, *yay-nu=an* *kor*, *an=\acute{\text{a}}n* *akusu*
  QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and be=IND.S then
  I thought. And [so] I lived.

308) *cise* \(\varnothing=\varnothing=kor\) *kur* *ene* \(\varnothing=haw-e-an\) \textsuperscript{214}
  house 3.S=3.O=have person like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
  Then the master of the house said as follows:

309) “*okkaypo*, *makanak* \(e=yay-nu\) *ruwe* \(a\),
  young.man what 2SG.S=REFL-hear ASS.NR be
  “Young man, what do you think?

\textsuperscript{214} In lines 308-329 Ito Oda briefly repeated the content of lines 278-307. I think it happened accidentally because in the later version of *Hekaci* (text 15) she did not repeat the same passage twice.
310) a=matnepo-ho okkaypo Ø=Ø=tura
   IND.S=daughter-POSS young.man 3.S=3.O=go.together
   My daughter wants to go together with the young man

311) wa Ø=par-o Ø=Ø=o-suke rusuy
   and to cook for him (lit. ‘for his mouth’).

312) sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor Ø=an ruwe ne korka?
   QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and 3.S=be ASS.NR COP but?
   She said that and [so] she feels. (lit. ‘and [so] she is’)

313) sekor Ø=haw-e-an ma kusu
   QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and because
   As [the master of the house] said that,

314) “a=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek wa
   IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about and
   I was happy about [it] and

315) a=Ø=e-yayirayke wa sekor itak=’an akusu
   IND.S=3.O=for.APPL-be.grateful FIN QUOT say=IND.S then
   I was grateful for [that].” I said.

316) nani katkemat, sut-ketusi Ø=Ø=kar pe ne
   immediately housewife grandfather-chest 3.S=3.O=make NR COP
   The housewife immediately packed the luggage,

317) kusu ipe=an ma or-o-wa hosipi=an wa
   because eat=IND.S and there-POSS-from return=IND.S and
   so we ate and then went home.

215 See footnote 36.
318) *u-tura=an ma hosip-pa=an ma (arki)*
REC-go.together=IND.S and return-PL=IND.S and come.PL
We went together and returned home.

319) *a=uni ta arki=an korka*
IND.S=house.POSS to come.PL=IND.S but
We came home, but

320) *ne menoko-po Ø=sini ka somo ki no*
this woman-DIM 3.S=rest even NEG  do and
the young woman didn’t rest,

321) *cise onnay Ø=Ø=u-w-oma-re wa*
house inside 3.S=3.O=REC-EP-enter-CAUS and
She put the inside of the house in order and

322) *Ø=mun-nuwe wa or-o-wa*
3.S=rubbish-sweep and there-POSS-from
swept away the rubbish, then

323) *suke=an ma*
cook=IND.S and
cooked and

324) *ipe=an ma i-nu=an hike*
eat=IND.S and PASS-hear=IND.S  then
we tried the food (lit. ‘we tried to eat’).

325) *a=Ø=kor-pa p ne yak-ka menoko Ø=Ø=suwe kor*
IND.S=3.O=have-PL thing COP if-even woman3.S=3.O=cook when
When the woman [my wife] cooked [from] what we had

326) *kera-an pe ne an’an humi a=Ø=eramuan ma*
taste-be NR COP ADM EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=realize and
it was so delicious! I realized that.
327) \(a=\emptyset=\text{e-yayirayke} \quad kn \quad ki\)
\(\text{IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{for.APPL-be.grateful even do}\)
I was grateful for it,

328) \(a=\emptyset=\text{e-yay-kopuntek} \quad kn \quad ki \quad kor\)
\(\text{IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{about.APPL-REFL-be.glad.about even do and}\)
I was glad about [it].

329) \(\emptyset=\text{an, okkaypo} \quad a=\text{ne} \quad ruwe \quad ne\)
\(3.\text{S}=\text{be man IND.S=COP ASS.NR COP}\)
I was a man who felt [so].

330) \(\text{wa ekimne}=\text{an}, \quad \text{and go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt}=\text{IND.S}\)
I went to the mountains to hunt.

331) \(\text{cise} \quad \emptyset=\text{or-o} \quad \text{wa ekimne}=\text{an} \quad \text{kor}\)
\(\text{house 3.O=place-POSS from go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S when}\)
When I went from my house to the mountains to hunt

332) \(\text{yuk ci=koyki-p kamuy ci=koyki-p}\)
\(\text{deer 1PL.S=catch-NR bear 1PL.S=catch-NR}\)
\(\text{poro-n-no a=\emptyset=e-aw-na-rura wa}\)
\(\text{be.many-EP-ADV IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry and}\)
I brought a lot of deer and bear game.

333) \(\text{nep a=\emptyset=e rusuy nep a=\emptyset=kon rusuy kn somo}\)
\(\text{what IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{eat want what IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{have want even NEG}\)
\(\text{ki no okay=’an ruwe, ne, kor okay=’an ayne}\)
\(\text{do and be.PL=IND.S ASS.NR COP and be.PL=IND.S finally}\)
There was nothing more we’d want to eat or have, [so well] we lived. We lived

---

216 Lines 327, 328, 329, which have been separated for the sake of convenience, literally mean ‘I was a man who was grateful of [it] and who was glad about [it].’
[so] and finally,

334) $u$-ko-po-kor $ka$ $\emptyset=an$ $ma$
REC-with.APPL-child-have even 3.S=be and
Finally, we had children (lit. ‘there was having children with each other’).

335) okkayo hekaci $ka$ poro-n-no $a=\emptyset=kor$ $pe$
man child also be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.O=have NR

$ne$ $kusu$
COP because
As we had many boys,

336) apunno $a=\emptyset=reska$
peacefully IND.S=3.O=bring.up
we were peacefully bringing them up,

337) pirka$^{217}$ $a=\emptyset=reska$ $ki$ $wa$
be.good IND.S=3.O=bring.up do and
we were gently bringing them up.

338) $a=po-utar-i$ $a=\emptyset=poro-re$ $wa$
IND.S=child-PL-POSS IND.S=3.O=be.big-CAUS and
We raised our children and

339) (ay) $a=\emptyset=eramusinne$ $p$ $ne$ $kusu$
IND.S=3.O=feel.relieved NR COP because
felt relieved about [that].

340) asinuma anak-ne
INDEF TOP-COP
As to myself,

---

$^{217}$ *pirka* <be.good> (vi) is used here as an adverb, i.e. as a synonym of *pirka-no* <be.good-ADV> 'well'.

341) *ekimne* \(\text{ka somo } \emptyset=\text{ne} \quad \text{ki kor}
\text{go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt even NEG 3.S=COP do and I didn’t go to the mountains to hunt. (lit. ‘it was no going to the mountains’)}
\)

342) *a=po-utar-i* \(\emptyset=\text{ekimne} \quad \text{wa}
\text{IND.S=son-PL-POSS 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt and My sons went to the mountains to hunt and}
\)

343) *tup sumaw-e rep sumaw-e*\(^{218}\) \(\text{two dead.game-POSS three dead.game-POSS}
\text{\(\emptyset=\emptyset=\text{kor-pa} \quad p \quad \text{ne kusu}, \quad a=\emptyset=e \quad \text{kor,}
\text{3.S=3.O=have-PL NR COP because IND.S=3.O=eat and brought two or three bears, so we ate that.}
\)

344) *asinuma anak cise ot ta \(\emptyset=\text{an}, \quad \text{nepki a=\emptyset=ki} \quad \text{kor}
\text{INDEF TOP house place at 3.S=be work IND.S=3.O=do and I was staying at home and working.}^{219} \text{And}
\)

345) \(\emptyset=\text{an}, \quad \text{okkaypo ruwe ne sekor,}
\text{3.S=be man ASS.NR COP QUOT it was [so]. It was said that there lived [such a] man.}
\)

346) *wa a=po-utar-i* \(\text{ka \(\emptyset=\text{inne} \quad p \quad \text{ne kusu}
\text{and IND.S=son-PL-POSS even 3.S=be.many NR COP because As we had many sons (lit. ‘as our sons were really many’)}
\)

347) *cise ka poro-n-no a=\emptyset=\text{kar} \quad \text{wa}
\text{house also be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.S=make and I built houses and}
\)

\(^{218}\) Here the possessive form of the noun in *tup sumaw-e rep sumaw-e* \(<\text{two dead.game-POSS three dead.game-POSS}>\) is not used in the proper possessive sense: it is determined by the preceding determiners, which increases the degree of specification in the head nouns; as a result, in such cases, the notional forms of nouns are often replaced by possessive forms.

\(^{219}\) lit. ‘As to myself, I stayed at home I did working.’
348) \(a=\text{po-utar}-i\) \(a=\emptyset=\text{kor}-e\) \(wa\)

IND.S=son-PL-POSS IND.S=3.O=have-CAUS and
presented them to our sons.

349) \(m\text{atkaci} \ ka \ (\text{pon}) \ \text{poro-n-no} \ \emptyset=\text{an} \ \text{pe} \ \text{ne} \ \text{kusu},\)
girl also be.small be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be NR COP because
There were also many girls [our daughters], so

350) \(m\text{atkaci} \ \text{anak-ne} \ a=\text{mac-ihi}\)
girl TOP-COP IND.S=wife-POSS
as to the girls, my wife

351) \(k\text{emeyki}^{220} \ \text{ne} \ \text{yak-ka} \ \text{toy-ta} \ \text{ne} \ \text{yak-ka}\)

needlework COP if-even earth-dig COP if-even

\(\emptyset=\emptyset=e\text{-pakasnu}\)
3.S=3.O=about.APPL-teach
taught them needlework and farming.

352) \(w\text{a} \ \text{kor} \ \text{okay}=\text{\textasciitilde an} \ \text{ma},\)
and while be.PL=IND.S and
And so we lived.

353) \(\text{asinuma-utar} \ \text{anak-ne},\)
INDEF-PL TOP-COP
We [my wife and me]

354) \(\text{onne}=\text{an} \ \text{ruwe}, \ \text{ruwe} \ \text{ne}\)
be.old=IND.S ASS.NR ASS.NR COP
grew old.

---

\(^{220}\) kemeyki \((\text{kem-e-ki})\) <needle-by.APPL-APASS-do> ‘to do needlework’ (vi) is used here as a noun ‘needlework’.
355) sekor, sine okkaypo $\varnothing$=haw-e-an
    QUOT one man 3.S=voice-POSS-be
That is what one man told.


An Outline of the Story

In the story a woman is telling an episode from her life.

The woman and her husband had no children. One day the woman found a girl outside the house, whom she adopted later. The woman was taking the girl with her everywhere.

Once the woman said that she would like to go to dig up *turep*-lily roots. Hearing that, other women from the village decided to join her. All the women went by boats and they planned to spend the night in the hunting hut owned by the woman’s husband. The woman landed her boat after everyone, just like her mother had told her [so that in case of emergency it would be easy to escape]. The women went to the hunting hut, cooked there and had fun together. However, feeling nervous, the woman started walking around the hunting hut. Then she really saw a suspicious object digging the ground by the altar. The creature’s body was hidden and only the head was out. The woman boiled some water in a big pan and poured it on the creature’s head. The creature, who turned out to be a wolf on the watch, let out a loud cry and jumped into the river. The wolf gave a howling sign to his fellows and numerous packs of wolves howled from the mountains in reply.

It was dangerous to stay there any longer, so the woman pulled her girl by the hand, took her on board the boat and returned home without telling a word to the women in the hut.

When she got back she immediately went to the place of the village chief to explain what had happened. The village chief realized the gravity of the situation and ordered to make dumplings and various dishes in order to get ready to leave. Many men and women went together with the woman by boats. When they came to the hunting hut everyone realized that all the women had been eaten by the wolves; it was impossible to make out who was who: only the bones had been left. So they put all [the bones] on top of one another in a pile, then piled on dumplings, food and many twigs, so that the

221 *Horkew* ‘wolf’ is not overtly mentioned in the story. However, as Ito Oda explained, *wen kamuy* ‘evil God’ acting in the story is definitely *horkew* ‘wolf’.
wolves couldn’t cause any more damage.

The woman felt very sorry for the dead women, but at the time she ran away she really hadn’t known what to do. [Even if she had told the women about the danger, there would not be enough time for everyone to escape.] The woman returned home and lived peacefully raising the girl as if she were her own child.

**Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes**

1)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a=hoku-hu} & \quad \emptyset=\text{an} \quad \text{ma} \\
\text{IND.S=husband-POSS} & \quad 3.\text{S=be} \quad \text{and}
\end{align*}

There was my husband and

2)  
\begin{align*}
\text{okay='an} & \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{hike}, \\
\text{be.PL=IND.S} & \quad \text{NR} \quad \text{COP} \quad \text{and}
\end{align*}

and [so] we lived.

3)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a=hoku-hu} & \quad \emptyset=\text{an} \quad \text{korka} \quad (u-ko-po-s…) \\
\text{IND.S=husband-POSS} & \quad 3.\text{S=be} \quad \text{but}
\end{align*}

I had a husband, but

4)  
\begin{align*}
\emptyset=u-ko-po-sak & \quad \text{pe} \quad a=\text{ne} \quad \text{wa} \\
3.\text{S=REC-with.APPL-child-not.have} & \quad \text{person} \quad \text{IND.S=COP} \quad \text{and}
\end{align*}

but we were childless.

5)  
\begin{align*}
\text{po-kor} & \quad \text{ka} \quad \emptyset=\text{an} \quad \text{somo} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{wa} \\
\text{child-not.have} & \quad \text{even} \quad 3.\text{S=be} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{and}
\end{align*}

There were no children. (lit. ‘it was no having children.’)
6)  uko-mismu  kor  okay=’an\(^{222}\)  pe  (a,)  a=ne  akusu  
SOC-feel.lonely  while  be.PL=IND.S  person  IND.S=COP  then  
We were the people who lived feeling lonely.

7)  a=Ø=kor  cise\(^{223}\)  soy  ta  makanak  ki(i),  
IND.S=3.O=have  house  outside  at  why  do  
matkaci  Ø=ne  ya,  
girl  3.S=COP  Q  
Why was there a girl outside my house?

8)  matkaci  sinen  ne  Ø=an  ruwe  an  ma,  
girl  alone  as  3.S=be  ASS.NR  be  and  
It is a fact that she was a lonely girl and

\(^{222}\)  ‘an  of  okay=’an  <be.PL=IND.S>  seems  to  be  out  of  place  here;  besides,  Ito  Oda  showed  
much  hesitation  while  finishing  the  phrase  with  a=ne  <IND.S=COP>,  which  attests  to  the  fact  that  
she  had  noticed  this  ungrammaticality  herself.  Theoretically,  the  following  two  variants  are  possible  
and  the  speaker  hesitated  between  them.

1.  Ø=uko-mismu  kor  Ø=okay  pe  a=ne  
   3.S=SOC-feel.lonely  while  3.S=be.PL  person  IND.S=COP  
   ‘We were the people who lived feeling lonely.’

In  the  first  case,  pe  is  interpreted  as  a  noun  ‘person’  which  is  a  complement  of  the  copula  ne  (the  
main  clause:  ‘we  were  people’)  marked  for  the  indefinite  person  (see  4.3.3.4.2).  The  phrase  
preceding  pe  is  interpreted  as  a  relative  clause  (the  embedded  clause  is  [People  lived  feeling  
lonely]),  see  4.7.

2.  uko-mismu=an  kor  okay=’an  pe  ne  
SOC-feel.lonely=IND.S  and  be.PL=IND.S  NR  COP  
lit.  ‘It  was  our  living  and  our  feeling  lonely.’

In  the  second  case,  pe  is  interpreted  as  an  assertive  nominalizing  particle  (see  4.3.7.2.4),  and  the  
phrase  preceding  pe  as  a  nominalized  clause.  Syntactically  what  is  nominalized  is  a  complement  of  
the  copula  ne  which  is,  for  brevity,  not  marked  for  the  person  of  the  implied  subject  (‘it’)  with  zero.

\(^{223}\)  The  phonological  alternation  -r+c-  >  -tc-,  which  is  common  for  the  greater  part  of  the  Ainu  
dialects,  including  Saru  (Tamura  2002:  24),  does  not  occur  in  Oda’s  speech,  i.  e.  a=Ø=kor  cise  
never  appears  as  [akottise].
9) \( a=\emptyset=\text{erampokiwen} \ kusu, \ ne \ matkaci \ a=\emptyset=tura \)
   IND.S=3.O=feel.sorry.for \ because \ that \ girl \ IND.S=3.O=take.along
   as I felt sorry for her, I took that girl along [with me].

10) \( w_{a} \text{ ekimne} \ arpa=an \ yak-ka^{224} \)
    and to.the.mountains \ go=IND.S \ even-if
    Even when going to the mountains,

11) \( a=\emptyset=tura \ wa \ arpa=an \)
    IND.S=3.O=take.along \ and \ go=IND.S
    I took her along [with me].

12) \( neun \ arpa=an \ yak-ka \ a=\emptyset=tura \ wa, \)
    somewhere \ go=IND.S \ even-if \ IND.S=3.O=take.along \ and
    I took her along [with me] wherever I went.

13) \( omanan='an \ kor, \)
    travel=IND.S \ when
    When I travelled

14) \( \emptyset=an^{225} \ matkaci \ \emptyset=an \ pe \ ne \ akusu, \)
    3.S=be \ girl \ 3.S=be \ NR \ COP \ then
    there was [always] the girl.

---

224 In the Chitose Dialect of Ito Oda /n/ before /j/ (-n+j-) marginally undergoes gliding:
\( lajakakal \) (see 9-175), but here, as in most cases, it is just palatalization: \( anjakka \); see 3.4.

225 The use of \( an \) (\( \emptyset=an <3.S=be> \)) is not quite clear. The context requires something like \( ne \ matkaci \) ‘this girl’, which could be the intended form here.
15) hemtom’an’i<sup>226</sup> ta, “turep-ta=an<sup>227</sup>,”

once at turep-lily.root–dig=IND.S

Once “I [shall] go to dig turep – lily roots.”

16) sekor (yay…<sup>228</sup>) itak=’an akusu

QUOT (REFL…) say=IND.S then

I said.

17) katkemat-utar<sup>229</sup> “káni ka k=arpa rusuy, k=arpa rusuy”<sup>230</sup>

housewife-PL I also 1SG.S=go want 1SG.S=go want

“I also want to go, [and] I want to go!”

---

<sup>226</sup> The regular insertion of the glottal stops in hemtom’an’i may signal the historical morphological boundaries in this word and Oda’s awareness of their existence. Sometimes such an insertion is omitted by her in speech. Tamura etymologizes this word as hem-to-oman-(h)i <what-day-go-time> ‘recently’ (TAM 182) in the Saru Dialect. Cf. hentomanita ‘before (one) knows; once’ (NAK 351) provided for the Chitose Dialect, note that the second consonant is different, which suggests that the author was bearing in mind some other etymology of this word. I am not quite sure about the whole etymology but I suppose that the last two morphemes of the word may be etymologized as follows: hemtom-<i>an</i>-(h)i ’<i>be-time</i>’.

<sup>227</sup> turep-ta <turep-lily.root-dig> ‘to dig the roots of the turep-lily’. In a later interview Ito Oda explained that “in old days when there was not enough food, turep-lily roots especially rich in starch were highly valued by the Ainu who added them in gruel.”

<sup>228</sup> (yay…) could have been the beginning of the verb yay-nu <REFL-hear> ‘to think’ (vi).

<sup>229</sup> Here and further on, the word katkemat-utar ‘housewives’ is pronounced as [kaktematata].

<sup>230</sup> Ainu folktales are traditionally narrated in the direct speech mode from the protagonist’s point of view, and the specific feature of this mode is the use of the indefinite SG pronoun asinuma ‘someone’ and the corresponding verbal agreement affixes in order to refer to the protagonist-narrator (see 4.2.2.2). However, very seldom in the folktales in the direct speech of the characters other than the protagonist the persons other than indefinite occur (cf. 4.3.3.1); thus, here the first person pronoun káni ‘I’ and the first person prefix k=(<i>ku</i>) <1SG.S> are used.
18) \( sekor^{231} \cdot \emptyset = \textit{haw-e-okay} \)
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL
Said the [other] housewives.

19) \( katkemat \ poro-n-no \emptyset = an^{232} \ pe \ ne \ kusu \)
housewife be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=be NR COP because
As there were many [such] women,

20) \( katkemat \ poro-n-no \ a=\emptyset=tura \ wa \)
housewife be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.S=take.along and
I took along many women [with me].

21) \( turep-ta=an \ kusu \ cip \ ani \ paye=an, \)
\( turep\text{-lily.root–dig}=\text{IND.S in.order boat by go.PL=IND.S} \)
We went by boats in order to dig up \textit{turep} – lily roots.

22) \( a=hoku-hu \ \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{kor, kuca,} \)
IND.S=husband-POSS 3.S=3.O=have hunting.hut
\( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{san-ke kuca} \emptyset = an \ pe \ ne \ kusu, \)
There was my husband’s hunting hut close by the sea (lit. ‘a projecting hunting hut’), so

23) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{san-ke kuca ot ta paye=an ma} \)
3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS hunting.hut place at go.PL=IND.S and
I thought that we would go to the hunting hut close by the sea,

24) \( rewsi=an \ ma \ turep-ta=an \ sekor \ yay-nu=an \)
spend.night=IND.Sand \( turep\text{-lily.root–dig}=\text{IND.S QOUT REFL-hear=IND.S} \)

\(^{231}\) Here in \textit{sekor}, we find an irregular (probably accidental) insertion of a glide: \textit{[sie]kor}; the last \textit{o} is a regular prothetic phenomenon.

\(^{232}\) Note that in Ainu it is possible to use a single form of the existential verb \textit{an} ‘to be (SG)’ (cf. \textit{okay} ‘be (PL)’) with the word \textit{poronno} ‘many’, i. e. in the sentence with a plural subject.
spend [there] a night and dig up turep – lily roots.

25) ma, cip ani paye=an ma
    and boat by go.PL=IND.S and
    We went by boats and

26) a=unu-hu  “cip ani e=omanan yak-ka
    IND.S=mother-POSS boat by 2SG.S=travel if-even
    my mother [had said]: “If you travel by boat,

27) iyotta hoski cip(es…es…) e=Ø=sina somo ki kus ne na
    most before boat 2SG.S=3.O=tie NEG do intention COP FIN
    don’t tie down the boat before [everyone],

28) iyotta iyos cip Ø=sina hani”
    most after boat 3.O=tie FIN
    tie down the boat after [everyone]!”

29) sekor a=unu-hu Ø=haw-e-an pe ne kusu
    QUOT IND.S=mother-POSS 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR COP because
    My mother really said [that], so

30) katkemat-utar anak
    housewife-PL TOP
    as to the housewives,

31) a=hoku-hu Ø=Ø=kor kuca ot ta
    IND.S=husband-POSS 3.S=3.O=have hunting.hut place at
    paye=an akusu
    go.PL=IND.S when
    when we went to my husband’s hunting hut

32) nani cip Ø=Ø=sina wa Ø=yap kor(ko) Ø=okay
    they immediately tied down their boats and landed.
33) (ko) korka, asinuma anak iyotta iyos cip a=Ø=yan-ke wa, but INDEFTOP most after boat
IND.S=3.O=land-CAUS and
I was the last one to land the boat.

34) “kuca, okari ka omanan=’an ma inkar=’an somo ki yak, hunting.hut around even walk=IND.S and watch=IND.S NEG do if
“If I don’t walk around the hunting hut and watch

35) nep ka Ø=omanan ruwe an yak Ø=wen” somebody even 3.S=walk ASS.NR be if 3.S=be.bad
someone else will walk and that will be bad.”

36) sekor yaynu=an ma, QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I thought [so].

37) korka, katkemat-utar anak-ne Ø=uwe-yay-kopuntek kor but housewife-PL TOP-COP 3.S=SOC-REFL-rejoice.at and
However, the women were having fun together.

38) Ø=suke kor Ø=okay korka 3.S=cook and 3.S=be.PL but
They cooked,

39) asinuma anak-ne suke ka Ø=an ki somo ki no, INDEFTOP cook even 3.S=be do NEG do and
but I didn’t cook.

40) soy peka omanan=’an ma inkar=’an korka outside at walk=IND.S and look.around=IND.S but

---

233 The actual pronunciation is [uwééyaykopuntek]. The second vowel is lengthened.
234 lit. ‘As to me, there was no cooking.’ Both verbs ki ‘do’ function as auxiliary verbs, therefore they are unmarked for the person.
I was walking outside and looking around. However,

41) *kuca okari (e)nep ka Ø=omanan ruwe ka Ø=isam*

hunting.hut  around  somebody  even  3.S=walk  ASS.NR  even  3.S=not.exist
there was no one walking around the hunting hut.

42) *no, sir-an ma a=Ø=nukar korka*

and  appearance-be  and  IND.S=3.O=see  but
That’s what I saw. But

43) *inaw-cipa*\(^{235}\)

kes ta

whittled.prayer.sticks.used.as.offerings.to.gods-altar  edge  at

*hemanta*  3.S=land-dig  and

at the side of the altar with *inaw* a suspicious object was digging the ground.

44) *Ø=tumam-aha anak-ne Ø=Ø=nuyna wa, sapa takup-i\(^{236}\)*

3.S=body-POSS  TOP-COP  3.S=3.O=hide  and

head  only-POSS  3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS  and

*Ø=an pe*  *Ø=an ruwe a=Ø=nukar wa kusu,*

3.S=be  person  3.S=be  ASS.NR  IND.S=3.O=see  and  because

\(^{235}\) In a later interview, the narrator explained that “*inaw-cipa* is a cluster of *inaw* established outside of one’s house or at a temporary residence such as *kuca* ‘hunting hut’ or just at the place of hunting in order to perform *kamuynomi* ‘to celebrate the gods with sacred sake’ for the success and safety of the hunt.’

\(^{236}\) *takupi* <only - POSS> is a possessive form of *takup* ‘only’. The possessive suffix *i(hi)* is attached here instead of the preceding noun *sapa* which is retained in its notional form. *Takupi* is proclitic, i.e. it bears no accent of its own. The morphological status of *takupi* is ambiguous; it is probably somehow closer to a suffix (cf. Tamura 2000: 142).

However, Ito Oda more often prefers to express the same meaning by the possessive form of a noun and *takup* which functions in this case as a pure adverb (see line 50).
I saw that there was a person whose body was hidden and only the head was out.

45)  a=hoku-hu  Ø=poro  su  ka
IND.S=husband-POSS  3.S=be.big  pan  even

Ø=Ø=kor  wa  Ø=arpa,
3.S=3.O=have  and  3.S=go
My husband had brought a big pan.

46)  kuca  ot  ta  Ø=Ø=kor  wa  Ø=arpa,
 hunting.hut  place  at  3.S=3.O=have  and  3.S=go
He had brought it to the hunting hut [and]

47)  Ø=an  pe  ne  kusu
3.S=be  NR  COP  because
as it was [left there],

48)  ne  su  a=Ø=at-te  wa  úsey-kar=an  ma
this  pan  IND.S=3.O=be.put.on.fire-CAUS  and  hot.water-make=IND.S  and
I put the pan on fire and boiled some water.

49)  (popse),  pop-’usey-kar=’an\(^{237}\)  ma
be.hot-hot.water-make=IND.S  and
I made hot water and

\(^{237}\) pop’useykar \(<\text{be.hot-hot.water-make}>\) ‘to make hot water’ is an intransitive verb with incorporation made up of the transitive verb kar ‘to do/make sth’, the noun usey ‘hot water’ and the intransitive verb pop ‘be hot’, the latter serving as a modifier which is semantically tautological (see 4.3.4.2.5).
50) ne ø=sapa-ha takup ø=ø=san-ke wa
this 3.S=head-POSS only 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and

ø=an pe, ø=sapa-ha a=ø=kuta238 akusu
I poured [the water] on the creature with only his head sticking out.

51) ø=poro ø=haw-e ø=ø=san-ke kor
Then [the creature] let out a loud cry and

52) pet or un ø=hoyupu wa ø=arpa akusu,
river place to 3.S=jump and 3.S=go then
went jumping to the river. Then

53) pet or un ø=enpuyna wa ø=ray wa ø=isam,
river place to 3.S=fall.forward and 3.S=die and 3.S=not.exist

siri a=ø=nukar akusu
EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=see then
I saw that he fell forward into the river and died.

54) ø=ø=e-punkine p ø=an an’an ma,
3.S=3.O=for.APPL-watch.out person 3.S=be ADM and
[The creature] turned out to be on the watch.239

238 kuta ‘to spill/throw away sth [e.g. water]’ (vt) (TAM 369) normally takes only a certain type of
direct object, namely a Patient. However, Ito Oda used this verb with a Locative object without a
postposition, i.e. she treats it as a direct object. I do not know how to interpret this specific usage of
Oda, but the regular variant also occurred in her speech:
sapa ø=ka-si un a=ø=kuta
head 3.O=top-POSS on IND.S=3.O=spill
‘I spilt [the water] on the head.’

239 lit. ‘It turned out that that was the person [=creature] watching out for [the women]."
55) *ekimne-no* Ø=an ma Ø=wose akusu
   at.the.mountains-ADV 3.S?=be and 3.S=howl when
   [The other guys] stayed in the mountains. When [the guard] howled,

56) *ekimne*, Ø=inne Ø=haw-ehe, Ø=itak a
   Ø=wose Ø=haw-e a=Ø=nu wa,
   3.S=howl 3.S=voice-POSS IND.S=3.O=hear and
   I heard a lot of voices, howling voices [coming in reply from] the mountains.

57) *haa(y)* a=Ø=e-kimatek
   oh! IND.S=3.O=by.APPL-be.scared and
   Oh! I was scared by that!

58) *or-o-wa*, a=Ø=kor matkaci ka a=Ø=tura
   there-POSS-from IND.S=3.O=have girl even IND.S=3.O=take.along
   wa arpa=an pe ne a kusu,
   and come.PL=IND.S NR COP PERF because
   After that, since I had come together with my girl,

\(^{240}\) *itak a* <say PERF> has probably been replaced by *wose* <howl>, otherwise the sentence structure is obscure. In a latter interview, a clearer variant occurred as follows:

\(\text{ne} \quad \text{Ø=punkine} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{Ø=an} \quad \text{pe}\)
   this 3.S=watch.out and 3.S=be person

\(\text{‘This person on the watch}\)

\(\text{ekimne} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{Ø=wose} \quad \text{akusu}\)
   in.the.mountains to 3.S=howl then
   howled to the mountains, then

\(\text{okimne} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{Ø=inne} \quad \text{Ø=rup-ihi} \quad \text{Ø=wose}\)
   Ø=haw-e a=Ø=nu
   3.S=voice-POSS IND.S=3.O=hear
   I heard the howling voices of numerous packs (of wolves) from the mountains [in reply].’
59) \( a=Ø=kor \) matkaci \( Ø=tek-ehe \)
IND.S=3.O=have girl 3.S=hand-POSS

\( a=Ø=sirko-etaye^{241} \) wa
IND.S=3.O=immediately-pull and
I immediately pulled my girl’s hand and

60) cip or \( a=Ø=oma-re^{242} \) wa or-o-wa
boat place IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS and there-POSS-from
took her on board the boat. Then

61) sir-kunne korka cip ani hosipi=an ene,
appearance-be.dark but boat by return=IND.S like.this
it grew dark, but we [still] returned by boat.

62) \( a=Ø=ye \) hi ka \( a=Ø=kar \) hi ka \( a=Ø=eramiskari, \)
IND.S=3.O=say NR even IND.S=3.O=do NR
even IND.S=3.O=not.know
I didn’t know what to say or do (like this).

63) katkemat-utar a=Ø=erampokiwen korka,
housewife-PL IND.S=3.O=feel.sorry.for but
I felt sorry for the women, but

---

241 sirko- in sirko-etaye <immediately-pull> ‘to pull [sb/sth] immediately’ (OI) is a relatively productive lexical affix which adds the meaning ‘immediately, suddenly; violently’ (OI) without changing verbal valency. In the later interviews, Ito Oda also used a couple of other verbs in order to render generally the same sense:
esikari ‘to catch hold of sb/sth’ (vt),
si-ko-etaye <REFL-toward.APPL-pull> ‘to drag sb/sth toward oneself’ (vt).

242 In this case, a coalescent assimilation process has been applied: [‘örä’omáre’], i.e. the glottal stop before the first /a/ has been dropped and the accent switched (cf. ör ‘a=’omáre as in regular cases).
64) $s\text{inen}\ n\ e\ a=\emptyset=k\ or\ m\ a\ t\ k\ a\ i\ a\ =\emptyset=t\ u\ r\ a\ w\ a$
alone as IND.S=3.O=have girl IND.S=3.O=take.along and

hosipi=a\n
return=IND.S
I took my girl along [with me] and returned by myself.

65) $m, \ hosipi=a\ n\ a\ hosipi=a\ n\ a\ yak\-k\ a$
and return=IND.S ITR return=IND.S ITR if-even
Although I went and went home,

66) $s\text{ir}\-p\text{e}\text{ke}\text{r}\ r\ u\ w\ e\ k\ a\ \emptyset=i\ s\ a\ m$
appearance-be.light NR even 3.S=not.exist
it was not dawning.

67) $a\=\emptyset=k\ o\ r\ t\ o\ m\ a\ i\ r\ o\ t\ t\ a\ a\ r\ p\ a\=\ an\ a\ k\ a\ u$
finally IND.S=3.O=have bay place to go=IND.S when
Finally, when I came to my bay,

68) $o\ r\-o\ t\ a\ s\ i\ r\-p\ e\ k\ e\ r\ w\ a,$
there-POSS at appearance-be.light and
then it grew light.

69) $y\ an\=\’a\ n\ m\ a\ n\ a\ n i$
land=IND.S and immediately
I landed and immediately

70) $k\ o\ t\ a\ n\ \emptyset=\emptyset=k\ o\ r\ k\ u\ r\ \emptyset=o\ r\-o\ t\ a\ a\ r\ p\ a\=\ an\ m\ a,$
village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.O=place-POSS to go=IND.S and
went to the place of the village chief.

71) “$t\ a\ p\-n\ e\ t\ a\ p\-n\ e\ \emptyset=\ n\ e\ ” s\ e\ k\ o\ r,\ h\ a\ w\-\ e\-a\ n\=\’a\ n\ a\ k\ a\ u,$
this-COP this-COP 3.S=COP QUOT voice-POSS-be=IND.S then
“[The things] are like this and that.” I said.
72) \( \emptyset = i \cdot y \cdot o \cdot k u m n u r e \) \( \emptyset = o r - o - w a \),
3.S=APASS-EP-be.astonished.by and there-POSS-from
[The village chief] was astonished.

73) “\( \text{\textit{nep}} \emptyset = \text{pirka} \ \textit{pi} \emptyset \text{an hawe} \ \textit{ka} \ \text{somo} \ \textit{ne} \ (\textit{ne}) \) something 3.S=be.good thing-POSS 3.S=be EVID.NR even NEG COP
“Nothing good has happened,

74) \( \text{\textit{kusu}} \), \( \textit{sito} \) \( \emptyset = \text{kar} \) \( \text{yan} \),
because dumpling 3.O=make IMP.POL
so make dumplings

75) \( \text{\textit{usa}} \ \textit{a=\textit{e-p}} \) \( \emptyset = \text{kar} \) \( \text{yan} \)”
various IND.S=eat-NR 3.O=make IMP.POL
[and] make various dishes!”

76) \( \text{\textit{sekor}} \), \( \textit{kotan} \) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{kor} \) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{pawetenke} \)
QUOT village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=3.O=give.instructions.to
the village chief gave instructions to [his followers].

77) \( \text{\textit{wa or-o-wa sito}} \) \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{kar} \) \( \text{kur} \)
and there-POSS-from dumpling 3.S=3.O=make person

sito \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{kar} \),
dumpling 3.S=3.O=make

---

243 To my knowledge, \( p-i \) \textit{<thing-POSS>}’ as a single word has not been registered in the dictionaries. It is regarded here as a possessive form of \( pe/p \) (allomorphs) ‘thing/person; NR’. The form \( p-i \) is preceded by the determiner \textit{nep} ‘something’. As was suggested by T. Satoo (p.c.), the use of the possessive form \( p-i \) is determined by the preceding determiner, which increases the degree of specification in head nouns; as a result, the notional forms of nouns are often replaced by possessive forms. There are a few parallel examples where the possessive forms are not used in the proper possessive sense but are determined by the preceding determiners (in bold): \( \text{\textit{usa}} \ \textit{a=\textit{e-p-i}} \) \textit{<various IND.S=eat-NR-POSS>} ‘various food’ (NAK: 4) (cf.: \( \text{\textit{usa}} \ \textit{a=\textit{e-p}} \) (OI)); \( \text{\textit{tup sumaw-e rep sumaw-e}} \) \textit{<two carcass-POSS three carcass-POSS>} ‘two carcasses, three carcasses (of dead game)’ (OI).
Then a man [who was in charge of] making dumplings made the dumplings.

78) *usa a=e-p poro-n-no Ø=Ø=kar wa,*
   *various IND.S=eat-NR be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=3.O=make and*
   I cooked a lot of various dishes and

79) *a=Ø=kor wa sir-peaker wa or-o-wa suy,*
   *IND.S=3.O=have and appearance-be.light and there-POSS-from again*
   took them [with me]. The day broke and then again

80) *cip ani Ø=inne nispa Ø=inne katkemat*
   *boat by 3.S=be.many rich.man 3.S=be.many housewife*

   *a=Ø=tura wa, paye=an ma inkar='an akusu*
   *IND.S=3.O=take.along and go.PL=IND.S and look.around=IND.S when*
   many men and women went together with me by boats. When we looked around

81) *sonno ka inaan kur inaan pe Ø=ne ya*
   *really even which person which thing 3.S=COP Q*

   *ka a=Ø=erampewtek no*
   *even IND.S=3.O=not.know and*
   we really didn’t understand [by the bones] who [of the women] was who.

82) 皆殺されて骨だけになっていたわけだ。そして、それで
   THE FACT IS THAT EVERYONE HAD BEEN EATEN [BY THE WOLVES]. THEN

83) *ene a=Ø=kar hi ka Ø=isam pe ne kusu,*
   *like.this IND.S=3.O=do NR even 3.S=not.exist NR COP because*
   As we didn’t know what to do in this way,

84) *sine-p ne a=Ø=u-ka-oma-re wa or-o-wa,*
   *one-NR as IND.S=3.O=REC-top-enter-CAUS and there-POSS-from*
   we put [all the bones] on top of one another in one pile and then
85) *usa*  \( a=\emptyset =kor \)  \( wa \)  \( paye=an, \)  
\( \text{various IND.S}=3.O=have \)  \( \text{and go.PL=IND.S} \)  
we brought various [things].

86) *sito*  \( ne \)  \( yak-ka \)  \( a=e-p \)  \( poro-n-no \)  \( a=\emptyset =roski \)  
dumpling COP if-even IND.S=eat-NR be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.O=stand  
We piled dumplings and a lot of various food,

87) *wa*  \( or-o-wa \)  \( caycaye^{244} \)  \( poro-n-no \)  \( a=\emptyset =tuy-e \)  
and there-POSS-from twig be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.O=cut-TR  
then we cut many twigs

88) *wa*  \( \emptyset =kas-i \)  \( a=\emptyset =e-sik-te \)  \( no \)  
and 3.O=top-POSS IND.S=3.O=with.APPL-be.full-CAUS and  
and filled [with them] the top of [the pile].

89) *suy*  \( nep \)  \( ka \)  \( \emptyset =ek \)  \( wa, \)  
again somebody even 3.S=come and

\( neun \)  \( ka \)  \( \emptyset =\emptyset =kar \)  \( yak \)  \( \emptyset =wen \)  \( sekon \)  \( ne \)  \( kor \)  
something even 3.S=3.O=do if 3S=be.bad QUOT COP when  
[Thinking] that it will be bad, if again someone comes and does something.

90) *poro-n-no*  \( \emptyset =kas-i \)  \( a=\emptyset =e-sik-te \)  
I covered the top of [the pile with twigs] carefully.

---

^{244} The synonym of *kaykuma* (Oi).

In a later interview, Ito Oda also derived an incorporative verb *caycaye-tuye* ‘to cut twigs’ (vi); see 4.3.4.2.5.
91) \( wa^{245} \) or-o-wa hosip-pa=an ma arki=an ma
and there-POSS-from return-PL=IND.S and come.PL=IND.S and
After that we came back.

92) ha, i-y-okunnure=an,
oh! APASS-EP-be.astonished.by=IND.S
Oh! I was really astonished!

93) katkemat-utar a=Ø=erampokiwen korka
housewife-PL IND.S=3.O=feel.sorry.for but
I had felt sorry for the women, but

94) ene a=Ø=ye hi ka Ø=isam no hosip-pa=an ma,
like.this IND.S=3.O=tell NR even 3.S=not.exist and return-PL=IND.S and
we [the women and her adopted daughter] had returned without telling them [the
other women] [about the wolves].

95) or-o-wa-no ne matkaci a=uni ta
there-POSS-from-ADV that girl IND.S=house.POSS at

a=Ø=anu
IND.S=3.O=leave
From then on I let the girl [live] in my house.

96) wa po Ø=sir-i ne (a) a=Ø=omap kor
and child 3.S=appearance-POSS as IND.S=3.O=love while
Loving her as [my own] child,

\[^{245}\] There is a phrase which was omitted in the narration but occurred in the interview:

\( kuca \) ka a=Ø=hecawe-re
hunting.hut even IND.S=3.O=be.pulled.down-CAUS
‘I pulled down the hunting hut.’
97) $a=Ø=reska \text{ wa } \emptyset=an^{246} \text{ ruwe } ne,$
IND.S=3.O=raise \text{ and } 3.O=be \text{ ASS.NR COP}
I raised her and she was [grown]/it was [so].

98) $\text{sekor sine menoko yay-e-isoytak}^{247} \text{ ruwe ne}$
QUOT one woman REFL-about.APPL-tell.story ASS.NR COP
That is [how] one woman told the story about herself.

\footnote{246} Here, the construction notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’ + $an^{(SG)/okav}$ (PL) ‘to be’ allows double interpretation. In the first case, the notional verb names an action and the second verb refers to the \textbf{continuing resultant state of the object referent}: ‘I raised her and she was [grown]’. In the second case, the notional verb names an action and the second verb refers to the \textbf{entire situation that takes place after the action}: ‘it is/was [so]’ (= [such] is/was the state of things’); see 4.3.5.2.2.

\footnote{247} The word $\text{yay-e-isoytak}$ <REFL-about.APPL-tell.story> is pronounced as $\text{yoyéysoytak}$ (here $i$- is retained in spelling to make explicit the morphological structure). The glottal stop before $\text{le}/$ is dropped which causes resyllabification and the switch of accent: $\text{ya.yéysoytak}$ instead of $\text{yáy.'ey.ysoytak}$, the latter is also theoretically possible.


An Outline of the Story

The story is told by a hound who devotedly serves his master calling him “my father” and the master’s wife – “my mother.”

The dog was very good at hunting, catching a lot of game: bears and deer. The master really appreciated the hunting skills of his dog and treated him well. After each successful hunt, the master worshipped the dog, which he regarded as a God, even before worshipping the other animal Gods.

Once the master decided to go on a trading trip, telling his wife that she should feed his favorite hound well. However, as soon as the master had gone by boat into the open sea, his wife started abusing his dog, saying that she didn’t remember when she herself had eaten good food last because of the evil beast.

After that the wife cooked a full pan of various kinds of meat and fish but gave nothing to the dog. So for several days the dog starved. Then the dog in desperation left home in order to find a quiet place to die, because he didn’t want to die in front of the master’s wife. The dog walked and walked and then he was finally picked up by a villager who immediately recognized the famous dog and invited him to spend a couple of days at his place. The cordial host made for the dog a seat covered with an ornamental mat and gave him nice food. Getting full, the dog felt refreshed. Having rested for a few days, the dog joined the host at the hunt and killed a lot of bears and deer. The host was very pleased. Then the dog started to miss his own master and made him have a dream about what had happened. The master came back from his trading trip, and he felt very upset because the dog was not at home. He remembered his dream and immediately left his house to get his dog. He went carrying on his back presents for the host who had been taking care of his dog.

The word *horkew* basically means ‘wolf’ (Cf. *horkew* from the story 10. *Wen Horkew Kamuy.Uwepeker [The Evil Wolf God. Folk Tale]*)). However, according to Ito Oda, the character of the story is a *pirka kamuy* ‘good God’, the kind of domesticated wolf devotedly serving his master as a hound. For this reason, in this story I translate the words *horkew* ‘wolf’ and *kamuy* ‘God’ as ‘dog’. 
The dog and his master returned to the master’s house. Although the dog felt sorry for his master, it was time for the dog to return to the land of Gods. However, before departing, the dog and the master went hunting to the mountains for the last time, and they brought home a lot of game. The master was very angry with his wife for what she had done to his beloved dog, so he beat her to death and threw away.

Ainu Text\textsuperscript{249} with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1) \textit{a=ona-ha} \quad \varnothing=an \quad a=unu-hu \quad \varnothing=an \quad ma

IND.S=father-POSS \quad 3.S=be \quad IND.S=mother-POSS \quad 3.S=be \quad and

There lived my father, there lived my mother and

2) \textit{okay='an pe ne hike}

be.PL=IND.S \quad NR \quad COP \quad and

			いったらお母さん、お父さんとお母さんおってそで自分があって
[so] we lived.

3) \textit{a=ona-ha} \quad a=\varnothing=tura

IND.S=father-POSS \quad IND.S=3.O=go.together.with

\textit{wa ekimne=an}

and \quad go.to.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S

お父さん語ってekimneしに行ってそして熊を大きい熊でも
I went to the mountains to hunt together with my father.

\textsuperscript{249} The story was narrated with a considerable mixture of Japanese: sometimes Ito Oda consecutively translated her Ainu into Japanese and sometimes she added new parts in Japanese only. I left the story exactly as it was told, but in my English translation I included only those Japanese sentences which were not told in Ainu. The speaker did not respond to my request to tell the story in Ainu only.
4) \( \emptyset = \text{poro kamuy ne yak-ka} \)
   \( 3.S = \text{be.big bear COP if-even} \)
   \( \emptyset = \text{okkew-e a=\emptyset=\text{kay-e wa} } \)
   \( 3.S = \text{neck-POSS IND.S=3.O=break-TR and} \)
   I broke even the necks of big bears.

5) \( a=\text{unu-hu a=ona-ha \emptyset=\emptyset=e-yay-kopuntek} \)
   \( \text{IND.S=mother-POSS IND.S=father-POSS 3.S=3.O=at.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at} \)
   My mother and father rejoiced at [it].

6) \( \text{wa kamuy \emptyset=\emptyset=ko-onkami etok ta \emptyset=i=ko-onkami wa} \)
   \( \text{and God 3.S=3.O=worship before at 3.S=IND.O=APPL-worship and} \)
   They worshipped me before worshipping the [other] Gods.

7) \( \text{or-o-wa kamuy \emptyset=\emptyset=ko-onkami kor} \)
   \( \text{there-POSS-from God 3.S=3.O=worship and} \)
   Then they worshipped the [other] Gods and

8) \( \text{okay='an pe ne, hike} \)
   \( \text{be.PL=IND.S NR COP and} \)
   [so] we lived.

9) \( \text{これは本当に \emptyset=pirka kamuy だから akusu} \)
   \( \text{THAT IS BECAUSE HE WAS REALLY a good God…Then} \)
10) a=ona-ha hentom’ani ta ene Ø=itak i
IND.S=father-POSS once at like.this 3.S=say NR
once my father said as follows…

11) ekimne=an kor
go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S and
I went to the mountains to hunt and

12) tup sumaw-e
two dead.bear-POSS

rep sumaw-e a=Ø=e-aw-na-rura
three dead.bear-POSS IND.S=3.O=APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry
brought as game two dead bears, three dead bears

13) kor okay=’an pe ne akusu
and be.PL=IND.S NR COP then
and [so] we lived. Then

14) a=ona-ha hentom’ani ta ene Ø=haw-e-an i
IND.S=father-POSS once at like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
one day my father said as follows:

---

250 The phrase breaks up and the speaker repeats the previous content (the speech of the dog), then comes back to that phrase again in line 14.

251 The meaning of the verb e-aw-na-rura <APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry> is lexicalized ‘to bring sth as game’ (vt). Here the meaning of the prefix e- is not clear; Tamura (1996: 76) interprets it in this verb as <by.APPL>, but in this case, I think, the verb would be a three-place transitive, which is very doubtful. I suggest that here the prefix e- has either a locative meaning <to.APPL> (cf. 4.3.4.1.2), thus serving to incorporate the locative noun aw ‘inside’, or it may be regarded as a lexical prefix (h)e ‘head’ being a part of e-aw-na, a theoretically possible adverb with a meaning like ‘in the inside direction’.
15) “tane  ci=hok-i  ka  poro-n-no
already  1PL.S=buy-NR even be.many-EP-ADV

\( \emptyset = u\text{-}ka\text{-}osma\text{-}re \)\textsuperscript{252} ruwe ne kusu
3.S=REC\text{-}top\text{-}enter\text{-}CAUS ASS.NR COP because
“As a lot of goods [pelts, etc.] for trade have already piled up,

16) uyamam='an wa ek='an kus ne kusu
barter=IND.S and come=IND.S intention COP because
I’ll [go to] barter and come back, so

17) \( \emptyset = \text{pirka} \) suke e=\( \emptyset =ki \) wa
3.S=be.good cook 2SG.S=3.S=do and
you should cook well and [lit. ‘do good cooking’]

18) a=\( \emptyset =\text{kor} \) kamuy e=\( \emptyset =\text{ipe-re} \) kus ne na”
IND.S=3.O=have God 2SG.S=3.O=eat\text{-}CAUS intention COP FIN
feed my dog.”

19) sekor a=unu-hu \( \emptyset =\text{ko-ytak-muy-e} \)\textsuperscript{253}
QUOT IND.S=mother\text{-}POSS 3.S=3.O=for\text{-}APPL\text{-}words\text{-}bundle\text{-}TR

hawe ka a=\( \emptyset =\text{nu} \) kor an='an pe ne ne akusu
EVID.NR even IND.S=3.O=hear and be=IND.S NR COP then
I heard [my father] leaving this message for my mother. Then

\textsuperscript{252} It seems that Ito Oda was using \( u\text{-}ka\text{-}osma\text{-}re \) as an intransitive verb ‘to pile up’. The transitive verb \( u\text{-}ka\text{-}osma\text{-}re \) <REC\text{-}top\text{-}enter\text{-}CAUS> ‘to put one upon another, to store sth’, as it is interpreted by Tamura (1996: 753), would have to be marked in this context for the first person singular of the subject: \( a=\emptyset =u\text{-}ka\text{-}osma\text{-}re \) and the translation would be ‘as I have already piled up a lot of trade goods [pelts etc.]’.

\textsuperscript{253} \text{ko-ytak-muy-e} ‘to leave a message for sb’ is a lexicalized applicative verb with noun incorporation (<\text{itak} ‘words’) made up of the transitive verb \text{muye} ‘to bunch/bundle sth’ and the applicative prefix \text{ko-}, introducing a direct object of \textbf{Addressee} (see 4.3.4.1.2).
20) \(a=ona-ha\) \(ci=hok-i\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=se\) \(wa\)
IND.S=father 1PL.S=buy-NR 3.S=3.O=carry.on.one’s.back and my father put on his back the goods for trading and

21) \(pis\) \(ta\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=\) \(san\) \(wa\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=\) \(rura\) \(wa\)
beach to 3.S=go.downstream and 3.S=3.O=carry and went to the beach carrying [the goods].

22) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=rura\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=rura\) \(wa\) \(or-o-wa\)
3.S=3.O=carry 3.S=3.O=carry and there-POSS-and He carried [and] carried [the goods], then

23) \(cip\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=e-sik-te\) \(wa\)
boat 3.S=3.O=with.APPL-be.full-CAUS and he filled the boat with [goods],

24) \(cip\) \(sik-te-no\) \(ci=hok-i\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re\) \(wa\)
boat be.full-CAUS-ADV 1PL.S=buy-NR 3.S=3.O=enter-CAUS and he put so [many] goods that the boat was full.

25) \(\emptyset=uyram\) \(kusu\) \(tane\), \(a=ona-ha\) \(herepasi\) \(\emptyset=arpa\) \(hi\)
\(\emptyset=arpa\) \(hi\) \(a=unu-hu\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=eramuan^{254}\) \(akusu\)
3.S=go NR IND.S=mother-POSS 3.S=3.O=understand then My mother understood that my father had already gone to the open sea in order to barter,

26) \(or-o-wa-no\) \(\emptyset=i=ko-pasirota\)
there-POSS-and 3.S=IND.O=abuse then she [started] abusing me.

---

254 The final consonant is pronounced as palatalized: \(eramuan^{\dagger}\), probably accidentally.
といったらお父さんが熊の皮とか鹿の皮持って内地さ行ってくるから後にいいものを炊いてそのhorkeκa=κor kamuyって自分の大事な神様だから食べさせてやっててお父さんが言ったんだって

MY FATHER SAID: “AS I’LL TAKE THE BEAR AND DEER PELTS AND GO TO THE PLACES INHABITED BY THE JAPANESE. AFTER I LEAVE, YOU SHOULD COOK NICE DISHES AND FEED the dog, WHO IS MY IMPORTANT God, YOU SHOULD FEED HIM!”

27) “ϕ=pirka suke e=ϕ=ki wa
3.S=be.good cook 2SG.S=3.S=do and
“You should cook well and [lit. ‘do good cooking’]

28) a=ϕ=kor kamuy e=ϕ=ipe-re kus ne na”
IND.S=3.O=have God 2SG.S=3.O=eat-CAUS intention COP FIN

といったらちゃんといいものを炊いてうちの大事な神様に食べさせてお父さん言っていたの
feed my dog.” [SAID MY FATHER].

29) お父さん ϕ=rep-un wa ϕ=arpa,

hi ϕ=ϕ=eramuan ϕ=unu-hu
NR 3.S=3.O=understand IND.S=mother-POSS
[When] my mother realized that MY FATHER was gone to the open sea,

お父さん船でも出かけたの分かったら今度お母さんがすごく怒るんだってこの
ϕ=wen kamuyってhorkeκのことって怒るんだって

SHE GOT ANGRY WITH THIS evil God, the dog.

30) “taan ϕ=wen kamuy ϕ=an kusu
this 3.S=be.bad God 3.S=be because
“Because this bad God lives [here],

- 314 -
31) \( O = \text{pirka} \ a = \text{e-p} \ \ k a \ a = O = \text{e} \ \ k a \ a = O = \text{eramiskari} \)

I don’t remember [when] I ate good food [last].

32) \( \text{taan} \ O = \text{wen} \ \text{kamyasi}(pa) patek \ a = O = \text{e-re} \ \ kusu \)

As I was feeding only this terrible monster,

33) \( \text{te wa-no poka} a = O = e \ \ kus \ \ ne” \)

from now on I’ll eat [myself].”

34) \( \text{sekor} \ O = \text{haw-e-an} \ \text{kor} \)

Saying [so],

35) \( O = \text{poro} \ su \ O = O = \text{san-ke} \ \text{wa} \)

she took a big pan and

36) \( O = \text{poro} \ su \ sik-te-no \)

cooked a full pan of all kinds of meat and fish. Then

37) “\( \text{taan kamyasi, anak} \ O = O = \text{e} \ \text{kor} \ O = an \ pe \ ne \ a \ kusu” \)

“Since only this monster had been eating…”

\( ^{255} \) The actual pronunciation is \( [\text{kamyaspa}] \). -pa can hardly be interpreted, so it is bracketed; it could be the beginning of the word \text{patek} that follows it interrupted by a pause.
38) sekor  Ø=haw-e-an  kor
QUOT  3.S=voice-POSS-be  and
Said [my mother] and

39) sinen  ne  Ø=Ø=e  kor  Ø=an
alone  as  3.S=3.O=eat  and  3.S=be
ate alone.

というお母さんがお父さんもう出かけたの分かったらお母さんこんな畜生こん
なものいるために肉もいいとこ食べない魚もいいとこ食べないであったから今
から倍もお父さんいない時うまいとこ魚でも肉でも食べてやるからそしてhorkewに
何も食べさせなくなって自分一人で食べていたんだって、お母さん、そしたらもう何日も
お父さん

WHEN MOTHER REALIZED THAT FATHER HAD LEFT, SHE SAID THAT
BECAUSE OF THIS BEAST SHE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO EAT ANY
GOOD PIECES OF MEAT AND FISH, AND FROM NOW ON, WHILE HER
HUSBAND WAS AWAY, SHE WOULD EAT TWICE AS MUCH. SO SHE
DIDN'T FEED the dog AND ATE ALL THE FOOD HERSELF. FOR
SEVERAL DAYS MY FATHER

40) Ø=hosipi  wa  Ø=ek  somo  ki

帰ってこないんだって
didn’t come back.

41) pe  ne  kusu,
NR  COP  because
As it was [so],

42) ipe=an  ka  somo  ki  no
eat=IND.S  even  NEG  do  and
I didn’t eat and
43) hotke=an pe ne kusu kem-e-wen='an
lie.down=IND.S NR COP because hunger-of.APPL-be.bad=IND.S
というら、ほれ、何も食べないから具合悪くなって何か死にそうだから
lie down, so I was starving to death.

お母さんの見られるところに死んではならんと思っておもてに出てどこか行ってお
母さんの見えないところに死のうと思って出かけて

HAVING DECIDED THAT I SHOULDN’T DIE IN FRONT OF MY MOTHER, I WENT
AWAY IN ORDER TO DIE AT THE PLACE WHERE MY MOTHER COULD NOT SEE
ME, I WENT AWAY AND

44) arpa=an a arpa=an a kusu
go=IND.S ITR go=IND.S ITR because
as I kept going,

45) kotan Ø=an ma
village 3.S=be and
there was a village.

46) seta-utar Ø=i=y-e-mik, Ø=i=y-e-mik
Dogs barked at me.

47) akusu okkayo-utar Ø=inne okkayo Ø=soyne
then young.man-PL 3.S=be.many young.man 3.S=go.out
Then a lot of men came out

48) wa Ø=i=nukar wa
and 3.S=IND.O=see and
and saw me.

256 Here kemewen=an ‘to starve to death’(vi) is pronounced as [kemeweˈdan] (instead of the expected [kémewen=ˈdan]). The final /n/ of the root is omitted and the root itself is accentless.
49) "hemanta ene $\theta$=asur-u $\theta$=as a seta he ne ya
why like this $3.S$=rumour-POSS $3.S$=stand PERF dog or COP Q
"Why is such a famous dog

50) kamuy he ne ya
God or COP Q
or a God

51) makanak ki wa nahlen $\theta$=omanan siri an
what do and alone as $3.S$=travel EVID.NR be
why is he travelling alone?" [Said the men].

ってあるにもう熊でも優れ、首ねじって殺して旦那に何も苦労をかけないで熊でも
鹿でも獲っていたという噂すごいよかった犬、犬というがhorkewだろうけど、出てア
イヌたち見て今度中へ入ってしまったの、

"WHAT A FAMOUS DOG, ACTUALLY a wolf, WHO IS FAMOUS FOR BRINGING A
LOT OF GAME: BEARS AND DEER, FAMOUS FOR MAKING NO TROUBLE FOR THE
OWNER AND BREAKING BEAR NECKS!" – THE AINU MEN SAW THAT AND WENT
BACK INTO THEIR HOUSES.

52) a=$\theta$=nukar korka suy san='an akusu
IND.S=3.O=see but again go.downstream=IND.S then
I saw them but again went downstream, then

53) suy kotan $\theta$=an ma seta $\theta$=i=y-e-mik

ったら犬にほえられたの、それで
again there was a village and dogs barked at me.

54) 男三人出てきて、ええ ene 評判のよかった kamuy どうして一人で歩いているという
ようなことを言って、

THREE MEN CAME OUT AND SAID, "WHY IS such A FAMOUS God WALKING
ALONE?"
55) tutko rerko i=ko-sini yan
two.days three.days IND.O=with.APPL-rest IMP.POL

i=ko-rewsi yak Ø=pirka p
IND.O=with.APPL-stay.overnight if 3.S=be.good NR

って二日か三日泊まって行けばいいのに
“You may have a rest with us [and] stay at our place for two or three days.”

その三人出たアイヌのなかで一人言ったけど聞いたふりしてまで行った。

SAID ONE OF THE THREE MEN WHO CAME OUT. BUT I ACTED AS IF I DIDN’T
HEAR THEM AND AGAIN WENT AWAY.

56) そうしたら pet put いったら川の尻
[THEN THERE WAS pet put ‘THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER’.] THE WORD pet put
MEANS ‘A RIVER BOTTOM’.

pet put Ø=an noyne sir-an ma arpa=an akusu
river entrance 3.S=be as.if appearance-be and go=IND.S then
There seemed to be the mouth of the river. I went.

57) cise Ø=Ø=kor kur soy peka Ø=omanan kor Ø=an
house 3.S=3.O=have man outside at 3.S=walk.about and 3.S=be
The owner of the house was walking about outside

58) ma Ø=i=nukar akusu
and 3.S=IND.O=look.at then
then he looked at me.
59) “ene an i ene Ø=asur-u Ø=as a
like.this be NR like.this 3.S=rumour-POSS 3.S=stand PERF

kamuy makanak ki wa sinen ne Ø=ek ruwe an
God why do and alone as 3.S=come ASS.NR be
“Why does such a famous dog come alone?”

60) ahun ma i=ko-rewsi yan i=kotori yan”
enter and IND.O=with.APPL-stay.overnight IMP.POL IND.O=stay.at IMP.POL
Come in, spend a night with us, stay at our place!”

61) sekor Ø=haw-e-an ma kusu
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and because
Said [the owner of the house], so

62) nani puyar kari terke=an ma ahun=’an
immediately window through jump=IND.S and enter=IND.S

その、そう今そこ言ったところに行ったら主人個が表からなんかやって外にやっていて自分が行ったら、はあ、あんなに評判よかった神様どうして一人で歩いているんだ。家に入って休んでくれ、泊まってくれってそう言ったから、まあ
I immediately jumped in through the window.

63) puyar kari terke=an
window through jump=IND.S

というのは窓から飛び出して家を入れたんだって
I jumped in through the window.

64) wa hotke=an ma an=’an akusu
and lie.down=IND.S and be=IND.S then
I was lying down. Then

65) or-o ta cise Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=ahun ma
there-POSS to house 3.S=3.S=have person 3.S=enter and
the owner of the house entered there.
66) okitarunpe と言ったら、わし自分言ってるけれどその okitarunpe ってどんなものかって分からないんだわ。okitarunpe so Ø=Ø=kar と言うからやっぱりアイヌのあな
な立派なものでしょう。

I DON’T KNOW EXACTLY WHAT KIND OF THING IS okitarunpe BUT SINCE IT IS
SAID okitarunpe so Ø=Ø=kar <ornamental.mat sitting.place 3.S=3.O=make>
IT MUST BE SOMETHING HIGHLY VALUED BY THE AINU.

67) okitarunpe so Ø=Ø=kar wa
ornamental.mat sitting.place 3.S=3.O=make and

Ø=i=kor-e
3.S=IND.O=have-CAUS
[the owner of the house] made for me a nice seat [covered with] ornamental mat,

68) wa kusu or-o ta si-turi-ri=an ma
and because place-POSS at REFL-stretch-P.RED=IND.S and
so I stretched my body there and

69) hotke=an ma an='an akusu
be.asleep=IND.S and be=IND.S then
fell slept. Then

70) patci sik-te-no cise Ø=Ø=kor kur
bowl be.full-CAUS-ADV house 3.S=3.O=have person

usa kam usa cep Ø=Ø=kor wa Ø=ek
various meat various fish 3.S=3.S=have and 3.S=come
the owner of the house brought a bowl filled with all sorts of meat and fish,

71) wa i=sam ta a=Ø=anu p ne kusu
and IND.O=near at PASS=3.O=put NR COP because
[The food] was placed by my side, so
72) $a = \emptyset = e \ wa \ inkar' an \ akusu$

IND.S = 3.O = eat and see = IND.S when

I tried [it].

73) sonno $kera-an \ ma$

really taste-be and

It was really delicious!

74) $a = \emptyset = e \ akusu \ a = \emptyset = e - sanpe - si - turi - ri$

IND.S = 3.O = eat then IND.S = 3.O = because.of.APPL - heart - REFL - stretch - P.RED

I ate and felt [so] good because of that.

って言ったら、その家にいて主人個が少し休んでいったら泊まっていったらっていったからそこで窓から飛んで入って休んでおったら今度patchiいっぱいに肉のいいやつ魚のいいやつpatchiにいっぱい入れてもらってきて自分のそばへ置いてくれたから食べたらすごく気持ちよくて

IT IS SAID THAT THE MASTER OF THE HOUSE SAID: “WHY DON’T YOU STAY FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS?” I JUMPED IN THROUGH THE WINDOW AND HAD SOME REST. THEN THE MASTER BROUGHT A BOWL FILLED UP WITH THE BEST PIECES OF MEAT AND FISH AND PUT IT BY MY SIDE. I ATE AND FELT GOOD.

75) tutko rerko 二三日そこにまた寝て休んであって、ったらしっかり具合がよくなったんだって

I RESTED THERE FOR two or three days AND STARTED FEELING REALLY WELL.

76) そして、だから、はあ、この主人個がekinne したら連れて行こうと思っていたら

THEN THE OWNER DECIDED TO TAKE ME WITH HIM to the mountains.
I HEARD the owner of the house SAYING THAT when he went to the mountains to hunt, HE WOULD TAKE WITH HIM twenty male dogs and twenty female dogs, BUT

自分も行こうと思ってたの。朝になったらもう行った行ったという話を聞いてびっくりしてまた窓から飛び出してて後で行ってったらすぐ追いついて一緒に行って一緒に行かったけど先に行ってまた大きなkamuyの首折ってその主人個のところで梱ってあったから

I WAS ALSO THINKING OF GOING MYSELF. HOWEVER, IN THE MORNING, I HEARD THAT THEY HAD ALREADY LEFT, I WAS SURPRISED. I JUMPED OUT OF THE WINDOW AND FOLLOWED THEM. SOON I CAUGHT UP WITH THEM. I WENT WITH THEM, BUT THEN RAN AHEAD AND WAS THE FIRST ONE TO BREAK THE NECK OF a bear GIVING IT TO THE OWNER.

In most Ainu dialects the word *tuhot* means *forty* (etymologized as *tu-hot* <two-twenty>). However, Oda Ido translated it as ‘twenty’, which might be regarded as a dialectal peculiarity (cf. *tuhot* ‘twenty’ of the Asahikawa dialect (HAT 262)).
79) *hoski*  \( \emptyset=i=ko-onkami \)

firstly  3.S=IND.O=APPL-worship

first of all he worshipped me.

80) 獵ったらそこでこうやってこうやってやるもんらしいんだわアイヌは*onkami* して、そして

THE AINU WHEN THEY KILL A BEAR ARE DOING LIKE THIS (ITO ODA RUBBED HER HANDS), PERFORMING *onkami* – [A RITUAL PRAYING FORM].

81) *kamuy*  \( \emptyset=\emptyset=ko-onkami \)

God  3.S=3.O=APPL=worship and there-POSS-from

\( \emptyset=i-ri \)

3.S=APASS-skin and

[The host] worshipped the Gods, then he skinned the game and

82) \( \emptyset=\emptyset=se \)

wa  **hosip-pa=an**, 

3.S=3.O=carry.on.one’s.back and return-PL=IND.S

put it on his back. We went back.

83) *re*  to  **pak-no ekimne**

three day till-ADV to.the.mountains

\( a=\emptyset=tura \)

wa  **arpa=an**

IND.S=3.O=go.together.with and go=IND.S

I went to the mountains with [my host] for three days.

84) *ma*,  **poro-n-no kamuy ka**

and be.many-EP-ADV bear even

\( a=\emptyset=ray-ke \)

wa  \( a=\emptyset=kor-e \)

akusu

IND.S=3.O=die-CAUS and IND.S=3.O=have-CAUS when

When I killed many bears for [my host],
THINKING WHETHER MY FATHER HAD RETURNED FROM the trading TRIP, I LOOKED BEHIND MYSELF. FATHER CAME BACK, BUT the dog WAS NOT AT HOME, HE FELT UPSET AND LAY DOWN WITHOUT TELLING THE DETAILS OF THE TRIP. THEN I MADE MY FATHER SEE A DREAM ABOUT WHAT MY MOTHER HAD DONE TO ME, ABOUT WHAT AN ILL-TEMPERED PERSON SHE WAS, GETTING ANGRY AT ME AND FEEDING ME NOTHING AT ALL. I THOUGHT THAT I SHOULDN’T DIE AT THE PLACE WHERE MY MOTHER COULD SEE ME. I STARTED WALKING IN

---

258 at ‘a cord’ (here ‘a lead’?) may not be syntactically connected with the rest of the sentence. I think that having changed her mind halfway, Ito Oda changed at (‘looked at his lead’) for si-y-o<REFL-EP-behind>ka (‘looked behind himself’).
ORDER TO DIE [SOMEWHERE]. I WAS PICKED UP BY SOME PEOPLE AND TRANSMITTED TO MY FATHER THAT I WAS STAYING AT THE PLACE OF SUCH AND SUCH A PERSON. THEN MY FATHER PUT SOME LITTLE PACK ON HIS BACK, HE WAS GOING TO THANK [THE PERSON WHO WAS TAKING CARE OF ME] BY GIVING TREASURES, SO HE CARRIED THEM ON HIS BACK.

89) cise $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$ kur その $\emptyset=u-ko-onkami,$
house 3.S=3.O=have person THAT 3.S=REC=APPL-greet

[The father] and the owner of the house exchanged greetings.

90) a=ona-ha $\emptyset=\emptyset=i-y-e-kar{\textsuperscript{259}}$

kusu $\emptyset=ek$ wa
in.order 3.S=come and

My father came in order to give thanks to [the man who took care of me].

91) hemanta $p$ $\emptyset=\emptyset=se$ kane
some thing 3.S=3.O=carry.on.one’s.back while.CONJ

My father was carrying something on his back.

何かちょっともの背負ってお父さんが向かえて来たんだってそれで今度そのhorkewが泊まって世話になってたとこの人とonkamiしてukoonkamiといったらお互いにアイヌの挨拶こうやってこれがukoonkamiというの

MY FATHER CAME TO MEET ME CARRYING A SMALL PACK ON HIS BACK. THEN HE greeted THE MAN WHO WAS TAKING CARE OF the dog HAVING ALLOWED HIM TO STAY AT HIS PLACE. THE MEN PERFORMED ukoonkami – exchanged greetings several times IN THE TRADITIONAL AINU WAY.

{\textsuperscript{259}} The lexicalized transitive verb $i-y-e-kar$ <APASS-EP-for.APPL-do> with the intended meaning ‘to give thanks to sb’ (vt) seems to be not registered in dictionaries. However, theoretically it could be derived from the three-place transitive verb $e-kar$ <for.APPL-do.sth> ‘to do sth for sb’ (vb) (TAM 86). I have rejected the possible interpretation of this form as $\emptyset=i-y-e-kar$ <3.S=IND.O=EP-for.APPL-do> ‘he [my father] did [something good] for me’ because it does not agree with Ito Oda’s Japanese translation of this passage.
92)  Ø=u-ko-onkami  wa  or-o-wa
   3.S=REC=APPL-greet   and   there-POSS-from

   [The men] exchanged greetings. After that

93)  Ø=Ø=se  wa  Ø=arpa  p
   3.S=3.O=carry.on.one’s.back   and   SG.S=go thing

   cise   Ø=Ø=kor   kur   Ø=Ø=ko-turi-ri

   [my father] proffered the owner of the house the stuff he was carrying on his back.

94)  akusu   cise   Ø=Ø=kor   kur,   Ø=Ø=ko-onkami  wa
   then  house  3.S=3.O=have   person  3.S=3.O=greet   and

   こうやって
   Then the owner of the house greeted [my father] DOING LIKE THIS and

95)  or-o-wa  sintoko  Ø=ka-si  un  Ø=Ø=anu

   siri     a=Ø=nukar   kor
   EVID.NR   IND.S=3.O=see   and

   After that I saw him putting [presents] on top of the lacquer-ware.

96)  a=ona-ha  a=Ø=tura  wa  hosipi=an  korka
   IND.S=father-POSS   IND.S=3.O=go.together.with   and   return=IND.S   but

   I returned together with my father. However,

97)  a=ona-ha   ka   a=Ø=erampokiwen   korka
   IND.S=father-POSS   even   IND.S=3.O=feel.sorry.for   but

   I felt sorry for my father but
98) *asinuma ka kamuy or un hosipi=an somo ki*
   INDEF even God place to return=IND.S NEG do
   yak Ø=wen wa kusu
   if 3.S=be.bad and because
   since I had to return to the land of Gods,

99) *kamuy or un hosipi=an etok-o ta suy*
   God place to return=IND.S before-POSS at again
   before returning to the land of Gods, again

100) *a=ona-ha a=Ø=tura wa*
    IND.S=father-POSS IND.S=3.O=go.together.with and
    *ekimne=an ma*
    go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S and
    I went to the mountains to hunt together with my father.

101) *tu sumaw-e re sumaw-e*
    two dead.bear-POSS three dead.bear-POSS
    [I brought] two dead bears, three dead bears.

熊毎日獲って一所懸命しばらくお父さん山行かんでも食べるようにたくさん集めて
I WAS BRINGING THEM EVERY DAY AND GATHERED A LOT, SO THAT MY FATHER COULD EAT FOR A WHILE WITHOUT GOING TO THE MOUNTAINS.

102) それだから今度そのhorkew kamuy自分の神様の国に帰ったわけ、それなの。そして、
    THEN the dog God RETURNED TO HIS HOMELAND. THEN

103) *a=ona-ha a=Ø=erampokiwen*
    IND.S=father-POSS IND.S=3.S=feel.sorry.for
    ってお父さんが可哀そうだけど
    I felt sorry for [my father], BUT
お父さんにも奥さんがそういういじわる人で今度お母さん叩いて殺してやって投げたの。昔の人はもう、昔は人を殺し立って罪にもならんから平気でそういうことしたもんだべさ皆。それだから、

SINCE THE FATHER’S WIFE WAS AN ILL-TEMPERED PERSON, MY FATHER BEAT HER, KILLED HER AND THREW AWAY. IN OLD DAYS, TO KILL PEOPLE WAS NOT REGARDED AS A CRIME, SO ALL THE PEOPLE WERE DOING IT WITHOUT CARING MUCH. THUS caring

104) $a=\text{ona-ha}$  $a=\emptyset=\text{erampokiwen}$  $korka$
IND.S=father-POSS  IND.S=3.O=feel.sorry.for  but
I felt sorry for [my father], but

105) $a=\emptyset=\text{hoppa}$  $wa$  $kamuy$  $kotan$
IND.S=3.O=leave  and  God  village

まあお父さんが可哀そうだけれど、自分も神様の国へ帰りなきゃならんから自分のも神様の国へ帰るからでお父さん置いて帰っていたって。
I left [my father] and RETURNED to the village of Gods, BECAUSE I HAD TO RETURN THERE.

106) その$horkew$ kamuyのしゃべったことなんだって。

$horkew$  kamuy  $\emptyset=\text{isoytak}$  ruwe  ne  sekor
wolf  God  3.S=tell  ASS.NR  COP  QUOT
That is what the Dog God told.
An Outline of the Story

The story is told by *hmhm kamuy* – the Eagle Owl God, who lived by himself, and felt lonely.

Once, when the Eagle Owl God went to the beach and rested on the top of a tree, he saw that many fish shoals were coming. Then the head chief of the fishes came and said, addressing his fellows, that all of them should treat the Eagle Owl God with respect.

However, a fish from the very bottom of the shoal, who's name was *Ocakaipe*, was indignant at the idea that all the fish Gods should respect a God with such big [ugly] eyes. *Ocakaipe* started teasing the Eagle Owl God and made him angry. The Eagle Owl God pulled out a silver dipper from his bosom and scooped up the sea water up to the middle of the sea. The head fish God realized that the situation was grave and all the fishes were facing death, and he started railing at his fellows who paid little respect to the Eagle Owl God in spite of his warnings. But again the Eagle Owl God pulled out a golden dipper and scooped up the sea water. The sea dried up completely.

The fish Gods were groaning, and the Eagle Owl God thought that there was no reason for him to feel angry forever. He pulled out the silver dipper and poured the water [back] into the sea: the water raised to the middle of the sea. Then again he pulled out the golden dipper and emptied it: the water rose so high that the sea became full.

All the fish Gods rejoiced together and the Eagle Owl God saw them returning peacefully home. After that the Eagle Owl God also returned to his home village.

However, since he as before lived alone, he felt lonely.

---

260 Ito Oda could not remember the exact Japanese word for the bird *hmhm*, but explained that “it is a bird with very big eyes”. In my English translation I follow Chiri (1976: I-198), who, in his turn, cites J. Batchelor (1926: 163): *humhum kamuy* ‘a kind of owl; the eagle owl’. Note that Ito Oda pronounces this word without vowels, which also reveals its onomatopoetic origin.
Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1) `{hmhmkato} sinen ne patek
V alone as only

{hmhmkato} an='an ki wa
V be=IND.S do and

I lived by myself, and

2) `{hmhmkato} mismu=an kor an='an
V feel.lonely=IND.S and be=IND.S

felt lonely.

3) `{hmhmkato} tan-pe kusu
V this-NR because

This is why

4) `{hmhmkato}, pis ta hene san='an ma inkar='an
V beach to or go.down=IND.S and see=IND.S

sekor yay-nu=an ki na
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S do FIN

I thought of trying\textsuperscript{261} to go down to the beach.

5) `{hmhmkato} ki akusu `{hmhmkato} pis ta san='an
V do then V beach to go.down=IND.S

I went down to the beach

6) ma cikuni ka ta sinī=an ma
and tree top on rest=IND.S and

and rested on the top of a tree.

\textsuperscript{261} The construction notional verb + conjunction \textit{wa} ‘and’ + \textit{inkar} ‘to see’ means that the action expressed by the first verb is preparatory: ‘to try to do sth’ (see 4.3.6.4).
7) *episne* inkar='an ma an='an akusu
in.the.direction.of.the.beach look=IND.S and be=IND.S then
I was looking in the direction of the beach. Then

8) *kamuy* cep topa poro-n-no Ø=arki ki

\[ a=Ø=nukar ruwe ne \]
IND.S=3.O=see ASS.NR COP
I really saw that many fish shoals were coming.

9) \{hmhmkato\} a=Ø=nukar ki na
V IND.S=3.O=see do FIN
I saw [that],

10) \{hmhmkato\} ki akusu
V do then
then

11) *cep* poro-n-no Ø=ek
fish be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=come
many fishes came [and]

12) *cep* ot ta iyotta Ø=sapa-ne kamuy
fish place at most 3.S=head-COP God
the head chief of the fishes

13) *ene* Ø=haw-e-an i
like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
said as follows:
14) “toon ta a=Ø=e-ørípak kamuy
there at IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-show.respect God
Ø=an ruwe ne na
3.S=be ASS.NR COP FIN
“It is a fact that a God, whom we treat with respect, is there.

15) (ori…) eci=opitta Ø=e-ørípak yan”
2PL.S=all 3.O=to.APPL-show.respect IMP.POL
All of you, show respect to him!”

16) sekor Ø=haw-e-an hawe ka
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be EVID.NR even
a=Ø=nu kor an=’an akusu
IND.S=3.O=hear and be=IND.S then
I heard that [the chief God] said [that].

17) iyotta Ø=o-sar-kes-ne wa
most 3.S=at.APPL-end-COP and
[The fishes] from the very tail of [the shoal],

18) iyotta os cep-utar Ø=arki
most behind fish-PL 3.S=come.PL
the fishes, who were behind [others], came.

19) Ø=osor-oho wa Ø=ek cep
A fish who came from the tail of [the shoal]

20) ene Ø=haw-e-an i
like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
said as follows:
21) “ne cep anak-ne
that fish TOP-COP
“That fish

22) iyotta Ø=o-sar-kes-ne p Ø=ne kusu,
most 3.S=at.APPL-end-COP person 3.S=COP because
is from the very tail of [the shoal], so

23) Ø=ré-he anak Ocakaipe
3.S=name-POSS TOP Ocakaipe
as to his name,

24) sekor a=Ø=ye cep Ø=ne wa
QUOT IND.S=3.O=call fish 3.S=COP and
Ø=an ruwe ne wa”
3.S=be ASS.NR COP FIN
he is a fish, people call Ocakaipe.”

25) ne cep ene Ø=haw-e-an i
that fish like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
That fish [Ocakaipe] said this:

---

262 Ito Oda could not explain the etymology of ocakaipe, saying only that it is definitely a very humiliating name. In my opinion, o-caka-ipe may have originated from
<buttocks.SUF-have.diarrhea?-food> ‘a food which can cause diarrhea’; cf. si-pe lit. ‘true food’ – one of the terms for ‘salmon’. Cf. o-cakak-se < buttocks.SUF-onomatopoetic.stem-SUF> ‘to have diarrhea’ (TAM 453).
26) “hemanta  a=Ø=e-oripak  kamuy
why  IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-show.respect  God
ene  Ø=sik-i  Ø=poro  ruwe  an  ma
like.this  3.S=eye-POSS  3.S=be.big  ASS.NR be  and
ene  haw-as  i  an”
like.this  voice-stand  NR  be
“Why does the God, whom we treat with respect, has such big eyes? It is said like this.”

27) sekor  Ø=haw-e-an,  kor
QUOT  3.S=voice-POSS-be  when
When saying [so],

28) Ø=atkoci\textsuperscript{263}  rik  ta  Ø=Ø=suy-e  ki  na
[Ocakaipre] shook his fins high.

29) otu  suy  re  suy  ene  Ø=haw-e-an  pe  ne
two  times  three  times  like.this  3.S=voice-POSS-be  NR  COP
He said that two or three times,

30) kusu,  a=Ø=ruska  kor  an=’an  ma,
because  IND.S=3.O=be.angry.with  and  be=IND.S  and
so I got angry with [that].

31) pe  ne  kusu,  (atuy),
thing  COP  because  (sea)
That is why

\textsuperscript{263} According to the context, the possessive form of the noun is required. Although atkoci looks like a notional form, it is probably used here as a possessive form (cf. 4.1).
32) siro-kane pisakku a=upsor-o wa a=Ø=san-ke
   white-metal dipper IND.S=bosom-POSS from IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS
   I pulled out from my bosom a silver dipper

33) wa atuy (‘ak…) [wakka]264 a=Ø=nise akusu
   and sea water IND.S=3.O=scoop.up then
   and scooped up the sea water. Then

34) atuy noski pak-no wakka a=Ø=nise ruwe ne
   sea middle till-ADV water IND.S=3.O=scoop.up ASS.NR COP
   I scooped out the water up to the middle of the sea.

35) {hmhmkato} Ø=Ø=ki akusu,
   V 3.S=3.O=do then

   {hmhmkato}, Ø=Ø=ki p ne kusu
   V 3.S=3.O=do NR COP because
   Since [the fish] did [that],

36) i-ruska=an ma, an=’an ma
   APASS-be.angry.with=IND.S and be=IND.S and
   I got angry.

37) Ø=sapa-ne kamuy anak ene Ø=haw-e-an
   3.S=head-COP God TOP like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be
   The head God said as follows,

38) kor Ø=i-ruska(y)
   while 3.S=APASS-be.angry.with
   getting angry.

---

264 Ito Oda probably intended to say wakka ‘water’, because the verb nise ‘to scoop sth’ may take as direct objects only nouns with the general meaning ‘liquid’. Adjuncts of place, when used with this verb, take postpositions, i.e. they are marked as indirect objects. For this reason, I interpreted the preceding atuy ‘sea’ as an attribute of wakka ‘water’.
39) “ene an ma kusu,
like.this be and because
“As it turned out like this,

40) a=Ø=e-oripak kamuy neun,
IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-show.respect God what
Ø=i-ruska kor
3.S=APASS-be.angry.with when
when the God whom we respect gets angry,

41) neun, Ø=Ø=ki ya ka wa^{265}
what 3.S=3.O=do Q even and?
a=Ø=erampewtek pe ne kusu
IND.S=3.O=not.know NR COP because
I really don’t know what he [will] do.

42) a=Ø=e-oripak kamuy Ø=ne wa kusu
IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-show.respect God 3.S=COP and because
Since he is the God, we [are supposed to] treat with respect,

43) haw-e-an=’an hine
voice-POSS-be=IND.S then
I said, then

44) wa eci=Ø=nu ka somo ki wa or-o-wa,
and 2PL.S=3.O=listen.to even NEG do and there-POSS-from
you didn’t listen to that.

^{265} Normally, the conjunction wa ‘and’ does not appear in this position, because the phrase preceding ya ko is syntactically a direct object of the verb eramiskari ‘to not know sth’. There is a possibility of wrong interpretation here.
45) ene wakka a=Ø=nise ciki
like.this water PASS=3.O=scoop.up
If the water is scooped off like this,

46) a=opitta ray=’an ma Ø=isam kus ne
IND.S=all die=IND.S and 3.S=not.exist intention COP
all of us will die.

47) hosipi ka a=Ø=e-aykap ruwe ne”
return even IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-not.able ASS.NR COP
We [shall] not be able to go back.”

48) sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor,
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be when
Saying [so],

49) Ø=sapa-ne kamuy Ø=i-ruska,

ekor Ø=an korka,
and 3.S=be but
the head God got angry. However,

50) suy kon-kane pisakku a=Ø=san-ke
again golden-metal dipper IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS
again I pulled out a golden dipper

51) wa atuy wakka a=Ø=nise akusu
and sea water IND.S=3.O=scoop.up then
and I scooped up the sea water. Then
52) \( atuy \ oar \ \varnothing=sat^{266} \ wa \ \varnothing=ism, \ akusu \)
sea completely 3.S=dry.up and 3.S=not.exist then
the sea dried up completely.

53) \( kamuy-utar \ \varnothing=inne \ kamuy-utar \ \varnothing=nuwap \ kor \)
God-PL 3.S=be.many God-PL 3.S=groan and
\( \varnothing=okay \ hawe \ a=\varnothing=nu \ wa \ (a=y-sik…)^{267} \)
3.S=be.PL NR IND.S=3.O=hear and
I heard that the Gods, many [fish] Gods were groaning.

54) \( a=i=sirkuran-te^{268} \ ka \ ki \ p \ ne \ kusu, \)
PASS=IND.S=be.surprised-CAUS even do NR COP because
As I was surprised,

55) “\( i-ruska=an \ hi, \)
APASS-be.angry.with=IND.S NR
“Feeling angry…

56) \( ney \ pak-no \ i-ruska=an \ yak, \)
ever till-ADV APASS-be.angry.with=IND.S if
If I feel angry forever,

57) \( hi \ ka, \ nep \ \varnothing=raka-ha \ ne \ ya” \)
NR even what 3.S=sake-POSS COP Q
what will be the sense of [that]?”

---

266 The actual pronunciation is [sak], but the existent transitive verb sak ‘to not have sth’ would have to be marked by the prefix \( a= \) <IND.S>, which is not found here. Besides, it would not be a perfect semantic fit here, so I suppose that the intended form was the intransitive verb sat ‘to be dry’.

267 \( a=y-sik… \) is a slip of the tongue; the intended form appeared in the next line 54: \( a=i=sirkuran-te. \)

268 The actual pronunciation is [sirkuranpe], but the contextually appropriate linguistic form is sirkuran-te <be.surprised-CAUS> ‘to make sb surprised’.
58) sekor yay-nu=an ma,
     QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
     I thought.

59) suy, siro-kane pisakku a=Ø=san-ke wa
     again white-metal dipper IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and
     Again I pulled out the silver dipper and

60) atuy or un a=Ø=kuta akusu,
     sea place to IND.S=3.O=pour when
     when I poured [water] into the sea

61) atuy noski pak-no wakka Ø=rikin ruwe ne, akusu,
     sea middle till-ADV water 3.S=raise ASS.NR COP then
     the water raised to the middle of the sea.

62) wa kusu, na (ru…) kanna-ruyno271
     and because more again-violently
     So once again

63) kon-kane pisakku ka a=Ø=san-ke wa
     golden-metal dipper even IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and
     I pulled out the golden dipper and

64) a=Ø=ohare akusu
     IND.S=3.O=empty when
     when I emptied [it],

Note that the transitive verb kuta ‘to pour sth’ may take as a direct object only a Patient [e.g. ‘water’] which is omitted but clear from the context. The locative argument is oblique, so it is marked by the postposition un ‘to’.

270 (ru…) is a slip of the tongue, i.e. the beginning of the word ruyno.
271 kanna-ruyno <upper-in.the.direction> <violent-ADV> ‘again’ is a lexicalized expression where the meaning of the second component is not retained; it is commonly used in kamuy yukar ‘epics of Gods’.
65) atuy sik-no wakka Ø=rikin ruwe ne, 
sea be.full-as water 3.S=rise ASS.NR COP 
the water rose so [high, that] the sea became full.

66) akusu kamuy-utar opitta Ø=uko-yay-kopuntek kor 
then God-PL all 3.S=SOC-REFL-rejoice.at and 
Then all the [fish] Gods rejoiced together and 

67) apun-no Ø=hosip-pa wa Ø=paye siri 
a=Ø=nukar wa, akusu, 
IND.S=3.O=see and then 
I saw that they were returning home peacefully. After that 

68) asinuma ka a=Ø=kor kotan un hosipi=an 
INDEF even IND.S=3.O=have village to return=IND.S 
sekor yay-nu=an ma 
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and 
Then I also thought of going back to my home village. 

69) a=Ø=kor kotan un hosipi=an wa a korka 
IND.S=3.O=have village to return=IND.S and PERF but 
I returned to my village, but 

70) ramma koraci sinen ne an=`an pe ne kusu 
always as alone as be=IND.S NR COP because 
since I was as ever living alone, 

71) mismu=an kor an=`an ruwe ne, sekor, 
feel.lonely=IND.S and be=IND.S ASS.NR COP QUOT 
I felt lonely
72) *hmhm(hm)*    *kamuy*    *Ø=isoytak*    *ruwe*    *ne*

    eagle.owl    God    3.S=tell.story    ASS NR    COP

That is the story told by the Eagle Owl God.

Recorded on May 08, 1999. Playing Time: 8:01

An Outline of the Story

The story is narrated by *wao kamuy* - the Green Pigeon God, who is sharing with his fellow-animals his personal bitter experience of life in the world of humans.

The Green Pigeon God wanted to see a village of the Japanese so much, that he couldn’t resist this wish.

The famous Ainu heroes *Samayunkur* and *Okikurmi* tried to talk the Green Pigeon God out of going there, but he persisted. Both heroes invited him to stay for a couple of days at their Ainu villages, saying that only in that case the Green Pigeon God would be able to get back to the villages of the human-Ainu, because only the Ainu could provide him with a proper spirit-sending ceremony resulting in his future return to life. One after another, *Samayunkur* and *Okikurmi* tried to shoot the Green Pigeon in order to keep him in their villages, but he managed to avoid the arrows, sending the arrow that came first behind himself and the arrow that came afterwards in front of himself. The Ainu heroes reviled at “the evil Green Pigeon” and predicted him a miserable death at the Japanese village, but the Green Pigeon only scornfully laughed at them and didn’t listen to them at all.

The Green Pigeon God went to a Japanese village and was killed by the first arrow of the Japanese lord. The Japanese really honour the Green Pigeon God with torn paper (see footnote 19), so he was not able to come back to life. He fell on the ground and went rotten completely and even the Gods got scared at his bad smell.

After the greatest efforts, the Green Pigeon God finally returned to life as a very small green pigeon, with the purpose of instructing his fellow-animals by saying that from now on all the existing gods or birds or whoever should heed well what the human-Ainu had been telling them.
Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1) sisam kotan {waori}[^272] ci[^273]=Ø=nukan rusuy {waori}
Japanese village V IND.S=3.O=see want V
I wanted to see a Japanese village,

2) tan-pe kusu {waori} a=Ø=eyaynita[^274] {waori}
this-NR reason V IND.S=3.O=resist.one’s.wish.of V
for this reason, I [tried to] resist my wish and

3) kor Ø=an ki kor[^275] {waori}
and 3.S=be do and V
[so] it was.

4) hentom’ani ta (Samayunkur),
recently at Samayunkur
These days,

[^272] Here waori meaning ‘green pigeon’ appears as a refrain (sakehe) which usually gives kamuy yukar ‘epics of Gods’ rhythm and does not necessarily have a meaning.

[^273] c(i)= is the 1st person plural exclusive marker for transitive verbs (cf. =as, the 1st person plural exclusive marker for intransitive verbs) which is also used in the meaning of the 1st person singular, when a God is speaking for himself in kamuy yukar ‘epics of Gods’ (see 4.3.3.1). These markers are often used only at the beginning of a story, then they are replaced by the indefinite markers: a= in the case of transitives and =an in the case of intransitives.

[^274] It is tempting to segment the verb into morphems as e-yay-nita <in.APPL-REFL-suppress?> lit. ‘to suppress oneself in (doing sth)’, yet it is not possible synchronically.

[^275] ki is an auxiliary verb and an is a notional verb which functions as the direct object of ki. The phrase is almost meaningless in the sense that it adds very little to the content of the story, so I think that it occurs here for stylistic or rhythmical reasons.
5) Samayunkur $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$ (kotak) [kotan] $\emptyset=ka-si$ peka arpa=an
Samayunkur 3.S=3.O=have village 3.O=top-POSS through go=IND.S

sekor yay-nu=an ma {waori}
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and V
I thought of flying over Samayunkur’s village.

6) arpa=an awa {waori}
go=IND.S when V
When I was going by,

7) Samayunkur {waori} puyar ka $\emptyset=\emptyset=e-osma$ {waori}
Samayunkur V window even 3.S=3.O=head-put.into V
Samayunkur popped his head out of the window.

8) “wao kamuy {waori}
green.pigeon God V
“The Green Pigeon God,

9) tutko rerko {waori} i=ko-sini yan
two.day three.days V IND.O=at.APPL-rest IMP.POL
have a rest at my place for two or three days,

10) {waori} i=ko-rewsi yan {waori}
V IND.O=at.APPL-stay.for.a.night IMP.POL V
stay for the night!

11) $\text{ki}^{276}$ wa ne yak {waori}
do and COP if V
If you do so,

276 $\text{ki}$ ‘to do sth’ is most likely used here for stylistic or rhythmical reasons (the similar usage of $\text{ki}$ ‘to do sth’ occurs in this text for another 26 times). However, here the contextually grammatical form would be $e=\text{ki} <2\text{SG.S-do}>$ ‘you do’. 
12) kanna-ruyno\textsuperscript{277} \{waori\}  
again-violently \hspace{1cm} V  
again

13) aynu \hspace{0.1cm} kotan \hspace{0.1cm} {waori} \hspace{0.1cm} e=Ø=e-utan-ne \hspace{0.1cm} {waori}  
human/Ainu village \hspace{0.1cm} V \hspace{0.1cm} 2SG.S=3.O=with.APPL-people-COP \hspace{0.1cm} V  
\textit{ki} \hspace{0.1cm} e-askay\textsuperscript{278} \hspace{0.1cm} na \hspace{0.1cm} \{waori\}”  
do \hspace{0.1cm} to.APPL-be.able \hspace{0.1cm} FIN \hspace{0.1cm} V  
you’ll be able to get back to the village of the human-Ainu.”

14) \textit{Ø=haw-e-an} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{ki} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{kor} \hspace{0.1cm} \{waori\}  
3.S=voice-POSS-be \hspace{0.1cm} do \hspace{0.1cm} and \hspace{0.1cm} V  
Said [Samayunkur],

15) \textit{tu} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{onkami} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{toy} \hspace{0.1cm} \{waori\} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{re} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{onkami} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{toy} \hspace{0.1cm} \{waori\}  
two \hspace{0.1cm} greeting \hspace{0.1cm} ?strongly \hspace{0.1cm} V \hspace{0.1cm} three \hspace{0.1cm} greeting \hspace{0.1cm} ?strongly \hspace{0.1cm} V  
\textit{Ø=i=ko-anu}\textsuperscript{279} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{kor} \hspace{0.1cm} \{waori\}  
3.S=IND.O=toward.APPL-put \hspace{0.1cm} and \hspace{0.1cm} V  
performing (lit. ‘putting’) two or three ritual greetings at the pleasure of meeting me.

\textsuperscript{277} \textit{kan-na} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{ruy-no} \hspace{0.1cm} \text{<upper-in.the.direction> <violent-ADV>} ‘again’ is a lexicalized expression in which the meaning of the second component is not retained; it is commonly used in \textit{kamuy yukar} ‘epics of Gods’.

\textsuperscript{278} The verbs \textit{ki} ‘to do sth’ (vt) and \textit{easkay} ‘to be good at sth’ (vt) function here as auxiliaries of the notional verb \textit{eutanne} ‘to become a member of the community of’ (vt): they are unmarked for person because the marker is on the latter. Sometimes an auxiliary verb may take personal markers instead of the notional verb but not simultaneously with it.

\textsuperscript{279} \textit{tu onkami} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{toy} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{re onkami} \hspace{0.1cm} \textit{toy koani} ‘to perform two or three ritual greetings at the pleasure of meeting sb’ (lit. ‘to put two or three ritual greetings towards sb’) is an idiomatic expression in which the meaning and the syntactic function of \textit{toy} is not quite clear.
16) \( \emptyset = \text{he-etaye} \) \( \emptyset = \text{isam} \) \{\text{waori}\}, \text{akusu},
3.S=\text{head-pull} \quad \text{and} \quad 3.S=\text{not.exist} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{then}
[Samayunkur] pulled his head [back inside].

17) \text{iwan} \quad \text{kosonte} \quad \{\text{waori}\}
\text{six} \quad \text{wadded.silk.garment} \quad \text{V}

\{(eey, e) \quad \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{uko-}[e]-\text{kut-kor}\}^{280}
\{\text{waori}\}
3.S=3.O=\text{REC-[with.APPL]-belt-have} \quad \text{V}

Then he put on six wadded silk garments fastening them with a belt,

18) \text{iwan} \quad \text{kosonte} \quad \{\text{waori}\} \quad \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{opannaatte} \quad \{\text{waori}\}
\text{six} \quad \text{wadded.silk.garment} \quad \text{V} \quad 3.S=3.O=\text{fling} \quad \text{V}
he flung six [other] wadded silk garments on.

19) \text{karinpa} \quad \emptyset = \text{pon} \quad \text{ku} \quad \{\text{waori}\}
\text{cherry.tree.bark} \quad 3.S=\text{be.small} \quad \text{bow} \quad \text{V}

\emptyset = \emptyset = \text{kor} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{ki}^{281} \quad \text{wa} \quad \{\text{waori}\}
3.S=3.O=\text{have} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{V}
[Samayunkur] took a small bow [made] of cherry tree bark and

---

^{280} Ito Oda hesitated (eey, e) about attaching the applicative prefix before the reciprocal prefix (\text{e}-\text{uko-kut-kor} <\text{with.APPL}-\text{REC-belt-have}> - not registered in the dictionaries, but still theoretically possible) or after it (\text{uko-e-kut-kor} <\text{REC-[with.APPL]-belt-have}> - regarded as the intended form) and finally she omitted e-. Note also that here we are facing an object-oriented reciprocal prefix \text{uko-} (see 4.3.4.2.2) implying putting several objects together (V.P. Nedjalkov, p.c.); the meaning of the verb \text{uko-e-kut-kor} is lexicalized.

^{281} The auxiliary \text{ki} is repeated twice for the sake of rhythm.
20) *soy-na-san-ma*\(^{282}\) {waori}
outside-in.the.direction-descend-and V

\(\emptyset=\emptyset=\text{o-si-ray-e}\)\(^{283}\) na {waori},
3.S=3.O=to.APPL-REFL-push-TR FIN V
went out.

21) \(\emptyset=i=cotca\) korka {waori}
3.S=IND.O=shoot.at however V
He shot at me, but

22) hoski \(\emptyset=ek\) ay {waori}
before 3.S=come arrow V

\((aysiyo), a=\emptyset=\text{si-yoka-kus-te}\) {waori}
IND.S=3.O=REFL-EP-behind-pass-CAUS V
I sent the arrow which came first behind myself.

23) \(i=y-\text{os}\) \(\emptyset=ek\) ay {waori}
IND.O=EP-afterwards 3.S=come arrow V

\(a=\emptyset=\text{si-yetok-kus-te}\) {waori} ki akusu {waori}
IND.S=3.O=REFL-EP-behind-pass-CAUS V do then V
I sent the arrow which came afterwards in front of myself.

24) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=\text{kor}\) \(\emptyset=(i)wen\) irenka {waori}
3.S=3.O=have 3.S=be.bad disposition V

\(\emptyset=\text{nanu-hu}\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=e-pirasas\) \(\emptyset=\emptyset=\text{na}\) {waori}
The bad disposition of [Samayunkur] spread over his face (lit. “he spread his bad

\(^{282}\) *soy-na-san-ma* <outside-in.the.direction-descend-and> is a complex adverb originally consisting of a locative noun *soyna* ‘in the outside direction’, the intransitive verb *san* ‘to descend’ and the conjunction *ma* (<wa>) ‘and’.

\(^{283}\) The transitive verb *o-si-ray-e* <to.APPL-REFL-push-TR> ‘to go to’ (vt) is lexicalized.
disposition over his face").

25) \( \emptyset=\text{i=ko-pasirota} \) \{waori\}
3.S=IND.O=at.APPL-revile V
[Samayunkur] reviled at me.

26) tan \( \emptyset=\text{wen wao} \) \{waori\}
this 3.S=be.bad green.pigeon V
Such an evil Green Pigeon,

27) \( \emptyset=\text{Sirun-wen wao} \) \{waori\} e=\emptyset=ki kusu \{waori\}
3.S=very-bad green.pigeon V 2SG.S=3.O=do in.order V
a very bad Green Pigeon, to be able to do [so],

28) sisam ot ta \{waori\} e=arpa ki wa \{waori\}
a.Japanese place at V 2SG.S=go do and V
if you go to the place of the Japanese,

29) ki yak-ne, sisam tono \{waori\}
do if-COP Japanese lord V
if it happens [so], the Japanese lord

30) ku ay \( \emptyset=\emptyset=\text{uko-ani}^{284} \) wa \{waori\}
bow arrow 3.S=3.O=SOC-hold.in.one’s.hands and V

\( \emptyset=\text{soyne wa} \) \( \emptyset=\text{ek na} \) \{waori\}
3.S=go.outside and 3.S=come FIN V
will go outside holding in his hands a bow and an arrow together.

31) “\( a=e=\text{cotca} \) \{waori\}
PASS=2SG.O=shoot.at V
“You’ll get shot!

\[^{284}\text{The sociative prefix uko- in uko-ani ‘to take/hold/carry sth together’ is object-oriented (see 4.3.4.2.3).}\]
32) \( (hosi) ~ \text{hoski} \quad \emptyset=ek \quad ay ~ \{\text{waori} \}
before \quad 3.S=\text{come} \quad \text{arrow} \quad V
\)
The arrow that comes first

33) \( e=\text{upsor-o} ~ \emptyset=\emptyset=ekatta ~ \{\text{waori} \}
2SG.S=\text{chest-POSS} \quad 3.S=3.O=\text{stick.into} \quad V
\)
will go through your chest and

34) \( e=\text{sumaw-ne} ~ ki ~ na” ~ \{\text{waori} \},
2SG.S=\text{dead.game-COP} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{FIN} \quad V
\)
you’ll die!”

35) \( \text{pirka-no} ~ \emptyset=\text{inkar} ~ \{\text{waori} \}
\text{be.good-ADV} \quad 3.S=\text{look} \quad V
\)
Looking carefully, [Samayunkur]

36) \( \emptyset=\text{haw-e-an} ~ ki ~ kor
3.S=\text{voice-POSS-be} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{and}
\)
spoke and

37) \( \emptyset=i=\text{ko-pasirotan}^{285} ~ \{\text{waori} \} ~ ki ~ korka
3.S=\text{IND.O=at.APPL-revile} \quad V \quad \text{do} \quad \text{but}
\)
reviled at me. But

38) \( \text{aynu} ~ \emptyset=\emptyset=ye ~ \text{itak}^{286} \quad \text{hemanta} \quad a=\emptyset=\text{sitoma} \quad p \quad \text{an}
\text{Ainu} \quad 3.S=3.O=\text{say} \quad \text{words} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{IND.S}=3.O=\text{be.afraid.of} \quad \text{NR} \quad \text{be}
\)
“As to the words the Ainu say, what should I be afraid of?”

39) \( \text{sekor} ~ \text{yay-nu=an} ~ ki ~ wa ~ \{\text{waori} \}
\text{QUOT} \quad \text{REFL-hear=IND.S} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{and} \quad V
\)
I thought.

\text{---}

285 Actually pronounced as [ikoparirota].

286 \( \text{aynu} \ \emptyset=\emptyset=\text{ye itak} \) is regarded as a topic, although it is not marked by the topic marker 
\text{anak-(ne)} <\text{TOP-(COP)}>.
Laughing to myself at him,

I went [away].

Again I thought of flying over Okikurmi’s village and going [there].

When I went,

Okikurmi popped his head out of the window.

---

287 *e-yay-sempir-mina* <at.APPL–REFL–behind-laugh> ‘to chuckle, laugh to oneself at sb’ (vt) is derived from the intransitive verb *mina* ‘to laugh’. The valency rules are violated probably due to lexicalization: the resulting verb is transitive regardless of our expectations (of all the constituents only the applicative prefix *e-* increases valency by one).
45) “wao kamuy {waori} tutko rerko {waori}
green.pigeon God V two.days three.days V

\[ i=ko-sini \quad yan \]
IND.O=at.APPL-rest IMP.POL

“The Green Pigeon God, rest at my place for two or three days,

46) {waori} \[ i=ko-rewsi \quad yan \] {waori}
V IND.O=at.APPL-stay IMP.POL V
stay at my place.”

47) \[ \emptyset=haw-e-an \quad ki \quad korka^{288} \] {waori}, kor.
3.S=voice-POSS-be do but V then
Said [Samayunkur]. Then

48) karinpa \[ \emptyset=pon \quad ku \] {waori} \[ \emptyset=\emptyset=kor \] wa
cherry.tree.bark 3.S=be.small bow V 3.S=3.O=have and
[Samayunkur] took a small bow [made] of cherry tree bark and

49) \[ \emptyset=soyne \] {waori} \[ 3.S=go.outside \] V
went outside.

50) \[ \emptyset=i=cotca \quad ki \quad korka \] {waori}
3.S=IND.O=shoot.at do but V
He shot at me, but

51) hoski \[ \emptyset=ek \quad ay \] {waori}
before 3.S=come arrow V

\[ a=\emptyset=st-y-oka-kus-te \] {waori}
IND.S=3.O=REFL-EP-behind-pass-CAUS V
I sent the arrow which came first behind myself,

\[ ^{288} \text{Ito Oda corrected herself replacing } korka \text{ ‘but’ with } kor \text{ ‘and’}. \]
52) \( i=y-os \quad \emptyset=ek \quad ay \quad \{\text{waori}\} \\
\text{IND.O=EP-afterwards} \quad 3.S=\text{come} \quad \text{arrow} \quad V \\
\text{a=\emptyset=si-y-etok-kus-te} \quad \{\text{waori}\} \quad ki \quad akusu \quad \{\text{waori}\} \\
\text{IND.S=3.O=REFL-EP-behind-pass-CAUS} \quad V \quad \text{do} \quad \text{then} \quad V \\
\text{I sent the arrow which came afterwards in front of myself.}

53) \( \emptyset=\emptyset=kor \quad (iwen, \quad kor i…) \quad \emptyset=wen \quad puri \quad \{\text{waori}\}, \) \( \quad \emptyset=nanu-hu \quad \emptyset=ka-si \quad \{\text{waori}\} \) \( \quad \emptyset=\emptyset=e-pirasa \quad ki \quad wa \quad \{\text{waori}\} \) \\
3.S=3.O=\text{have} \quad ? \quad \text{have} \quad 3.S=\text{be.bad} \quad \text{habit.POSS} \quad V \\
\text{The anger of [Okikurmi] spread over his face (lit. “he spread his anger over his face”).}

54) \( \emptyset=i=ko-pasirola \quad \{\text{waori}\} \)
3.S=\text{IND.O=at.APPL-revile} \quad V \\
[Okikurmi] reviled at me.

55) “\( \emptyset=wen \quad wao \quad \{\text{waori}\} \)
3.S=\text{be.bad} \quad \text{green pigeon} \quad V \\
“An evil Green Pigeon,

56) \( \text{kamuyasi} \quad wao \quad \{\text{waori}\} \quad e=\emptyset=ki \quad kusu \quad \{\text{waori}\} \)
\text{monster} \quad \text{green.pigeon} \quad V \quad 2SG.S=3.O=\text{do} \quad \text{in.order} \quad V \\
a monster Green Pigeon, to be able to do so,

57) \( \text{sisam} \quad \text{kotan} \quad \text{ta} \quad e=\text{arpa} \quad \text{yak-un} \quad \{\text{waori}\} \)
\text{Japanese} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{to} \quad 2SG.S=\text{go} \quad \text{if-EMP} \quad V \\
if you go to the village of the Japanese,
sisam tono waori
Japanese lord V
a Japanese lord V

(ay tura), ay ka, ku ka Ø=Ø=kor kane wa
arrow together arrow even bow even 3.S=3.O=have while.AUX and
will take an arrow and a bow and

{waori} Ø=soyne ki na {waori}
V 3.S=go.outside do FIN V
come outside!

a=e=cotca yak-un {waori}
PASS=2SG.O=shoot.at if-EMP V
If you get shot at,

doski Ø=ek ay {waori}
before 3.S=come arrow V
the arrow which comes first

e=upsor-o Ø=Ø=ekatta {waori}
2SG.S= 2SG.S=chest-POSS 3.S=3.O=stick.into V
will go through your chest and

e=sumaw-ne ki na” {waori},
2SG.S=dead.game-COP do FIN V
you’ll die!”

e=siknu ka e-aykap ayne
2SG.S=survive even of.APPL-be.able finally
You won’t be able to survive, [and] finally
66) \[e = \text{toyko-munin} \quad e = \text{sirko-munin}^{289}\]  
\[\text{kus ne na’}\]  
\[2\text{SG.S}=\text{heavily-rot} \quad 2\text{SG.S}=\text{severely-rot} \quad \text{intention COP FIN}\]  
you’ll rot badly, you’ll rot away completely!”

67) \[\text{sekor} \quad a = \text{i=ko-pasirotा} \quad korka\]  
\[\text{QUOT PASS=IND.O=at.APPL-revile but}\]  
I was reviled at [so].

68) \[\text{’ecioká nep ye}^{290} \quad \text{hike}\]  
you.PL something say although  
“Although [all of] you said something,

69) \[\text{hemanta} \quad a = \emptyset = \text{sitoma}\]  
\[\text{p an}\]  
\[\text{WHAT what IND.S=3.O=be.afraid.of NR be}\]  
what should I be afraid of?”

70) \[\text{sekor} \quad \text{yay-nu=an ma} {\text{waori}}\]  
\[\text{QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and V}\]  
I thought.

71) \[a = \emptyset = \text{e-yay-sempir-mina} \quad \text{kane} \quad \text{kor}\]  
\[\text{IND.S=3.O=at.APPL–REFL-behind-V-laugh while.CONJ and}\]  
Laughing to myself at him,

72) \[\text{waori} \quad \text{arpa=an ki na} {\text{waori}}\]  
\[\text{V go=IND.S then FIN V}\]  
I went [away].

73) \[\text{sonno} \quad \text{poka} \quad {\text{waori}}\]  
really just \text{V}

\[^{289}\text{When explaining the story, Ito Oda used a single compound verb including the two verbs: toyko-munin-sirko-munin=}’an <\text{heavily-rot-severely-rot=}\text{IND.S}> ‘I rotted through and through’.

\[^{290}\text{Ito Oda has omitted personal prefixes on ye ‘to say’ probably due to the overt use of the personal pronoun }\text{ecioka ‘you (PL)’; the contextually appropriate form is }eci=\emptyset =\text{ye <2PL.S=3.O=say>}.\]
Indeed,

74) sisam kotan ta arpa=an akusu {waori}
Japanese village to go=IND.S then V
I really went to the Japanese village

75) sisam tono {waori}
Japanese lord V
a Japanese lord

76) ku ay Ø=Ø=ani wa {waori}
bow arrow 3.S=3.O=hold.in.one’s.hands and V
holding in his hands a bow and arrow,

77) Ø=soyne ki wa {waori}
3.S=go.outside do FIN V
came out and

78) Ø=i=cotca ki na {waori}
3.S=IND.O=shoot.at do FIN V
shot at me.

79) sumaw-ne=an {waori} ki p ne korka {waori}
dead.game-COP=IND.S V do NR COP but V
I died and [so] it was, but

80) (siknu), sonno poka sisam anak-ne
(survive) really just a.Japanese TOP-COP
the Japanese really
81) kampi (ci=) ci=pet-pa p {waori}
    paper 1PL.S= 1PL.S=chop-PL NR V

    Ø=Ø=e-kamuy-nomi²⁹¹ {waori}
    honour Gods with torn paper

82) Ø=Ø=ki p ne kusu {waori}
    3.S=3.O=do NR COP because V
    [and] as they do [so],

83) yaykacipi ka a=Ø=e-aykap
    resurrect even IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-be.unable
    I was not able to come back to life.

²⁹¹ kampi ci pet-pa p ekamuynomi ‘honouring Gods with torn paper’ implies GOHEI ‘a wand with hemp and paper streamers’ used by the Japanese in a Shinto ceremony. The Japanese ritual is opposed to the Ainu way of honouring Gods with inaw ‘whittled prayer sticks’ and tonoto ‘wine’, which is regarded by the Ainu as the only true way of honouring kamuy ‘Gods’ (animals etc.). The Ainu believed that only when treated well, i.e. killed and worshipped properly, kamuy may return to life and come back to the human-Ainu, bringing with them again their meat and skin as gifts for the Ainu. The following passage, which was not included in the text itself but was told in a later interview, describes the Ainu way of honouring Gods.

“inaw a=Ø=kar wa a=e=nomi yak
    inaw IND.S=3.O=make and IND.S=2SG.O-honour if
‘ If I make the inaw-prayer sticks and honour you,

aynu kotan e=Ø=e-utan-ne e-askay kusu”
    Ainu village 2SG.S=3.O=with.APPL-people-COP of.APPL-be.able because
    you’ll be able to get back to the village of the human-Ainu.”

sekor, Okikurmi Ø=haw-e-an
    QUOT Okikurmi 3.S=voice-POSS-be
    Said Okikurmi.’
84) siknu ka a=Ø=e-aykap ma, survive even IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-be.unable and I couldn’t survive.

85) ayne munin=’an ma finally rot=IND.S and Finally I went rotten and

86) a=wen-hura-ha ka kamuy-utar ne yak-ka IND.S=be.bad-smell-POSS even God-PL COP if-even

Ø=u-sitoma-re\(^{292}\) wa \{waori\}
3.S=SOC-be.scared.of-SOC and V even the Gods altogether became scared at my bad smell.

87) i=par-kot-pok-ke\(^{293}\) \{waori\} Ø=Ø=ru-kus-te IND.O=mouth-front-below-POSS V 3.S=3.O=road-path.through-CAUS The Gods took a path in front of me and

88) wa \{waori\} Ø=omanan kor Ø=an ki na \{waori\} and V 3.S=walk and 3.S=be 3.S=do FIN V walked [away], [so] it was.

89) korka siknu=an ka e-aykap ayne but return.to.life=IND.S even of.APPL-be.unable finally However, I couldn’t return to life. Finally

\(^{292}\) u-…-re is a sociative confix where u- is a productive reciprocal marker and –re is a productive causative marker (see 4.3.4.2.3),

\(^{293}\) To my knowledge, par-kot-pok-ke <mouth-front-below-POSS> ‘in front of’ has been registered for the first time, it may be regarded as a locative noun, as its morphological properties suggest. Similar derivations (all of them are possessive forms of locative nouns) are found in the dictionaries: parpok-i, parpok-ke ‘the leeward side’ (NAK 326), parpok-ke ‘at the entrance of, close by’ (TAM 513). Cf. also kotpok-ke ‘in front of’ (T. Satoo, p.c.).
90) *neun-poka neun-poka i-ki=an*
    something-at.least something-at.least APASS-do=IND.S
    I decided to do at least something.

91) *ma siknu=an wa inkar=an*
    and return.to.life=IND.S and see=IND.S
    and try to get back to life.

92) *akusu Ø=poon wao ne an*
    then 3.S=be.very.small green.pigeon as 3.S=be
    Then becoming a very small green pigeon,

93) *ma siknu=an ruwe ne kusu,*
    and return.to.life=IND.S ASS.NR COP because
    I returned to life. So,

94) “*(tawen-no), tane, Ø=okay kamuy ne yak-ka ?be.bad-ADV now 3.S=be.PL God COP if-even*
    “Now, [all] existing Gods

95) *cikap ne yak-ka nep ne yak-ka*
    bird COP even-if somebody COP if-even
    or birds or whoever

96) *aynu Ø=Ø=ye itak*
    Ainu 3.S=3.O=say words

    *pirka-no eci=Ø=nu kus ne na”*
    be.good-ADV 2PL.S=3.O=listen.to intention COP FIN
    should listen well to what the human-Ainu are telling you.”

97) *sekor, itak=’an ruwe ne*
    QUOT say=IND.S ASS.NR COP
    I said.

---

294 I suppose that the intended form was *an=’an <be=IND.S>*.
98) sekor wao kamuy Ø=isoytak ruwe ne
QUOT green.pigeon God 3.S=tell.story ASS.NR COP
That is the story told by the Green Pigeon God.

Recorded on September, 14, 1999. Playing Time: 5:45

An Outline of the Story

The story is told by an Evil Fox, also called a naked fox, because she had no fur.

The Fox lived alone in the mountains in a nice house, at least she thought so. However, once the Fox felt bored and went down to the beach. There she saw pon Samayunkur – Samayunkur the Younger and pon Okikurmi – Okikurmi the Younger launching their boat and going to the open sea, so the Fox decided to make fun of them. Shaking her small tail up and down, the Fox caused a wind from the mountains. The wind from the beach blew so strong that high waves heaved up and down, and then again – up and down. Okikurmi the Younger and Samayunkur the Younger were terrified, their countenances fell. They tried to get to the shore as hard as they could but then the Fox repeated the whole thing again and the kids were carried away to the sea. Samaynkur’s son got so tired that he died.

The parents, poro Samayunkur – Samayunkur the Elder and poro Okikurmi – Okikurmi the Elder, felt that something was going wrong, so they went to the sea in a big boat in order to save their children.

This time, the Evil Fox tried to make fun of the adults, shaking her tail up and down, but they didn’t even seem to notice anything.

Samayunkur the Elder and Okikurmi the Elder immediately went to the place where their children were. As Samayunkur the Younger lay unconscious, they trampled upon him and he revived [it turned out that he was not dead]. Then the adults took their children on board the big boat.

After that they went together to the Fox. Okikurmi cursed the Fox as a monster fox possessed by an evil spirit. Then Okikurmi pulled out an ikema poisoned bow and an ikema poisoned arrow and shot at the Evil Fox. The Fox only laughed because she felt no pain, but Okikurmi said that she would get itchy on her way back and then start rotting from the spot where the poisonous arrow had stuck. He also predicted that as soon as the Fox got back, she would realize that she had grown up not in a nice house but under a big fallen tree.

All that came true and the Evil Fox was dying a terrible death.

Since then no living creature is allowed to make fun of the Ainu, everyone should listen carefully to what the Ainu say. Having said that the Evil Fox died.
Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1) **asinuma anak-ne cironnup a=ne wa**
   
   INDEF TOP-COP fox IND.S=COP and
   
   I was a fox and

2) **kim ta an=’an korka**
   
   mountains in be=IND.S but
   
   lived in the mountains.

3) **Ø=pirka cise ot ta an=’an ma**
   
   3.S=be.good house place at be=IND.S and
   
   I lived in a nice house and

4) **(a=e) a=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek kor Ø=an korka**
   
   IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about and 3.S=be but
   
   was happy about [it] and [so] it was, but

5) **mismu=’an pe ne kusu**
   
   feel.lonely=IND.S NR COP because
   
   as I felt lonely,

6) **episne hene san=’an ma inkar=’an**
   
   to.the.beach or go.down=IND.S and see=IND.S
   
   sekor yay-nu=an ma.
   
   QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
   
   I decided to try to go down to the beach.
7) esoyne inkar=’an a\textsuperscript{295}, wa an=’an akusu outside look.around=IND.S PERF and be=IND.S then I looked around outside. Then

8) Ø=pon Samayunkur Ø=pon Okikurmi 3.S=be.young Samayunkur 3.S=be.young Okikurmi Samayunkur the Younger [and] Okikurmi the Younger

9) Ø=u-tura wa Ø=sap pa\textsuperscript{296}, 3.S=REC-be.together.with and 3.S=go.down.PL and went down together,


11) “Ø=pon Samayunkur Ø=pon Okikurmi pon-no 3.S=be.young Samayunkur 3.S=be.young Okikurmi be.small-ADV a=Ø=rammokka wa a=Ø=e-mina” IND.S=3.O=tease and IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-laugh

sekor yay-nu=an ma QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and I decided to tease Samayunkur the Younger and Okikurmi the Younger a little and make fun of them.

\textsuperscript{295} Ito Oda could have accidentally used here a perfect marker \textit{a}, then hesitating for a moment continued the phrase with \textit{wa}, which is a contextually better fit than \textit{a}, because when \textit{wa} is followed by \textit{an} ‘to be’ it makes up a serial-verb construction notional verb + \textit{wa} ‘and’ + \textit{an}(SG)/\textit{okay}(PL) ‘to be’ (see 4.3.5.2.2).

\textsuperscript{296} \textit{pa} ‘and’ is an allomorph of \textit{wa} ‘and’ which appears after stems ending with /pl/. So far, the alternation -p+w- > -pp- has been attested in the Chitose dialect only (see 3.4).
12) asinuma ka pis ta san='an ma
INDEF even beach to go.down=IND.S and
I went down to the beach and

13) a=pon-sara-ha (a=rik-na-nuye)
IND.S=be.small-tail-POSS IND.S=upper.direction-to-carve?

a=Ø=rik-na-suy-e (a=rik-na, a=rik-na, a=rik-na) たら
IND.S=3.O=upper.direction-to-shake-TR IND.S=upper.direction-to… IF SAID
shook my small tail in the upper direction. [IT IS] SAID SO.

14) akusu (o-kim-ne) 297, o-kim-un rera
then buttocks-mountains-COP buttocks-mountains-from wind
Then the wind from the mountains [and]

15) (o-pis-na) o-pis-un rera Ø=wen rera
buttocks-beach-to buttocks-beach-from wind 3.S=be.bad wind

Ø=ci-hopuni-re
3.S=REFL-occur-CAUS
and the wind from the beach, the bad wind, blew.

16) wa kanna atuy a=Ø=pok-na-re
and upper sea PASS=3.O=down-to-CAUS
The upper sea turned down [The high waters fell],

って言ったら、こう、こうなっていた海はこうなるまたこうなる
IT MEANS THAT THE SEA WHICH WAS LIKE THIS BECAME LIKE THAT AND
AGAIN RETURNED [TO ITS STATE].

297 It is a slip of the tongue which the speaker immediately corrected.
17) \( a=\emptyset=kan-na-re \quad a=\emptyset=pok-na-re \) 
\( \text{PASS}=3.\text{O}=\text{up-to-CAUS} \quad \text{PASS}=3.\text{O}=\text{down-to-CAUS} \)

\( a=\emptyset=kan-na-re \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{kusu} \) 
\( \text{PASS}=3.\text{O}=\text{up-to-CAUS} \quad \text{COP} \quad \text{because} \)
[The waves] heaved and fell, heaved and fell, so

18) \( \emptyset=p\text{on} \quad \text{Samayunkur} \) 
\( 3.\text{S}=\text{be.young} \quad \text{Samayunkur} \)

\( \emptyset=p\text{on} \quad \text{Okikurmi} \quad \emptyset=\text{ramutuy} \) 
\( 3.\text{S}=\text{be.young} \quad \text{Okikurmi} \quad 3.\text{S}=\text{be.terrified} \)
Okikurmi the Younger and Samayunkur the Younger were terrified

19) \( \text{wa} \quad \text{ipor} \quad \text{ka} \quad \emptyset=\emptyset=\text{sak} \quad \text{no} \) 
\( \text{and} \quad \text{countenance} \quad \text{even} \quad 3.\text{S}=3.\text{O}=\text{not.have} \quad \text{and} \)
[their] countenances fell.\(^{298}\)

20) \( \text{heyasi} \quad \emptyset=yap \quad \text{kusu} \quad \emptyset=i-ki-pa \quad \text{korka} \) 
\( \text{to.the.shore} \quad 3.\text{S}=\text{land.PL} \quad \text{in.order} \quad 3.\text{S}=\text{APASS-do-PL} \quad \text{but} \)
They struggled back (lit. ‘did’) in order to land on the shore

21) \( \emptyset=yap \quad \text{kusu} \quad \emptyset=i-ki-pa \quad \text{kor} \) 
\( 3.\text{S}=\text{land.PL} \quad \text{in.order} \quad 3.\text{S}=\text{APASS-do-PL} \quad \text{when} \)
when they were trying to land

22) \( a=p\text{on-sar-a} \quad a=\emptyset=suy-e \quad \text{kor} \quad \text{suy} \quad \text{(rep)} \) 
\( \text{IND.}S=\text{be.small-tail-POSS} \quad \text{IND.}S=3.\text{O}=\text{shake-TR} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{sea} \)
I shook my small tail and again

沖さあずっと行ってしまって
AND AGAIN THEY WERE CARRIED AWAY TO THE SEA.

\(^{298}\) lit. ‘They didn’t have countenances.’
23) \( a=\emptyset=e\text{-}mina \quad \text{kor} \quad \text{an}=\text{`an} \quad \text{akusu} \)

IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-laugh and be=IND.S then

I laughed at them.

24) \( \text{or-o} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{suy} \quad \emptyset=\text{poro} \quad \text{Samayunkur} \quad (\emptyset=\text{pon}) \)

there-POSS at again 3.S=be.old Samayunkur 3.S=be.young

\( \emptyset=\text{poro} \quad \text{Okikurmi} \)

3.S=be.old Okikurmi

Samayunkur the Elder and Okikurmi the Elder

25) \( \emptyset=u\text{-}tura \quad \text{wa} \quad \emptyset=\text{arki} \quad \text{wa} \)

3.S=REC-be.together.with and 3.S=come.PL and
came there together.

26) \( \emptyset=\text{poro} \quad \text{utar} \quad \text{ka} \quad a=\emptyset=\text{kimatek-ka} \quad \text{wa} \)

3.S=be.old people also IND.S=3.O=be.surprised-CAUS and

I decided to surprise the adults as well and

27) \( a=\emptyset=e\text{-}mina \quad \text{sekor} \quad \text{yay-nu}=\text{an} \quad \text{kusu}, \)

IND.S=3.O=laugh.at QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S because

make fun of them. As I thought [so],

28) \( a=\text{sar}-\text{aha} \quad a=\emptyset=\text{rik-na-suy-e} \)

IND.S=tail-POSS IND.S=3.O=upper.direction-to-shake-TR

a=\emptyset=\text{ra-na-suy-e} \)

IND.S=3.O=down-to-shake-TR

I shook my tail up and down.

尻尾上さこう上げたりこう下げたりこうやって上こう尻尾こう

a=\emptyset=\text{suy-e} \)

IND.S=3.O=shake-TR

と言うこうやって尻尾振ると何でも自分の思ったようになるから

Okikurmi Samayunkur にも脅かして笑って様子を見て

WHEN I shook MY TAIL UP AND DOWN AND UP, EVERYTHING HAPPENED JUST
LIKE I WANTED, SO I DECIDED TO FRIGHTEN Okikurmi with Samayunkur AND TO LAUGH LOOKING AT THEM.

29)  \( i-ki=an \) \( korka, \)
     APASS-do=IND.S but
     I did [so], but

30)  \( \emptyset=\emptyset=nu \) \( siri \) \( ka \) \( \emptyset=isam \) \( no \)
     3.S=3.O=hear EVID.NR even 3.S=not.exist and
     [the adults] seemed not to hear [that].

31)  \( \emptyset=paye \) \( wa \) \( \emptyset=isam \) \( ma, \) \( kusu \)
     3.S=go.PL and 3.S=not.exist and because
     They went away, so

32)  \( inkar='an \) \( awa \) \( nani \)
     look.around=IND.S when immediately
     when I looked around [I saw that] [the adults] immediately
33) \( \varnothing=po-utar-i \) (usi), \( or-o \) ta \( \varnothing=paye \) wa\(^{299} \)

3.S=child-PL-POSS (usual.place) place-POSS to 3.S=go.PL and went to the place where the children were.

\(^{299}\) The following interesting passage has been accidentally omitted in the narration proper but was present in a later interview. I think it is worth including it here for a fuller description.

\( \varnothing=pon \) Samayunkur anak-ne tane

3.S=be.young Samayunkur TOP-COP already

‘Samayunkur the Younger already

sinki \( \varnothing=\varnothing=e-kot \) wa \( \varnothing=ray \) wa \( \varnothing=an \),
got tired and died (lit. ‘died of tiredness and was dead’).

korka \( \varnothing=pon \) Samayunkur a=\( \varnothing=\)o-tet-ter-ke akusu

but 3.S=be.young Samayunkur PASS=3.O=upon.APPL-jump-jump-INTR when

However, when Samayunkur the Younger was trampled upon,

\( \text{hum-as,} \)
sound-stand

there was a sound:

‘mokor=’an humi a=\( \varnothing=\)ramu akusu

sleep=IND.S EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=think then

“I thought I was sleeping, then

a=i=mos-os-o humi an”

PASS=IND.O-wake.up-P.RED-TR EVID.NR be

It felt as if I was woken up!”

sekor \( \varnothing=haw-e-an \) kor \( \varnothing=hopuni \)

QUOT IND.S=voice-POSS-be and IND.S=get.up

Saying [so], Samayunkur the Younger got up.’

According to Ito Oda’s explanation, Samayunkur’s child is a human being, just like his father Samayunkur the Elder, a famous Ainu hero. He is not as strong as Okikurmi’s child whose father Okikurmi the Elder has a share of divine powers.
They took their children on board the big boat and taking them along with themselves returned.

They came towards me and then Okikurmi cursed me and cursed me:

“A monster fox, a bad fox! You are a naked fox!

As you are an evil fox, remember [that]!”

The accent is switched onto the first syllable, which means that it is a closed syllable: kāmyasi ‘monster’. This word has a lot of variants depending on the dialect and sometimes even on the individual pronunciation. As to the Chitose Dialect, Ito Oda normally preferred the form kamīyasi ‘monster’ and less frequently – kamīyasi (if the first syllable is open, the accent is on the second syllable).
"YOU ARE AN EVIL FOX WITH NO FUR, THAT IS BECAUSE YOU HAVE AN EVIL SPIRIT!" [OKIKURMI] WAS MAD AT THE FOX. WELL...

41) “nep e=Ø=ye hi ka
something 2SG.S=3.O=say NR even
ku=Ø=sitoma ka somo ki no”
1SG..S=3.O=be.afraid.of even NEG do and
“I am not afraid of what you are saying!”

おっかないと思わなくて笑っていたら
[THE FOX] WAS NOT AFRAID, BUT LAUGHED.

42) “e=cise-he301 or un arpa wa inkar
2SG.S=house-POSS place to go and see
“Try to go to your house!

43) Ø=cise-he ka Ø=isam ruwe ne,
3.S=house-POSS even 3.S=not.exist ASS.NR COP
There is no house [of the Evil Fox]!

---

301 e=cise-he <2SG.S=house-POSS> ‘your house’ and the succeeding Ø=cise-he <3.S=house-POSS> ‘his house’ are the possessive forms of the noun cise. It is generally said that in the Hokkaido dialects the noun cise ‘house’ does not take a special possessive form like this and that its possessive relations are usually expressed by the verb kor ‘to have’:
e=Ø=kor cise <2SG.S=3.O=have house> ‘your house’, Ø=Ø=kor cise <3.S=3.O=have house> ‘his/her/their house’. However, Ito Oda preferred to use the possessive form of the noun, especially in folklore texts. Although the kor strategy with this noun sometimes appears in her conversation texts, it can hardly be found in formal speech.

Another speaker of the Chitose Dialect, Nabe Shirasawa, also seems to have been using cise-he, but only in some special cases (Nakagawa 2002: 119).
44) $\Phi=\text{poro}$ cikuni $\Phi=\text{corpok-ke}$ ta $e=yay-\ldots\text{reska}^{302}$ wa
   3.S=be.big tree 3.O=under-POSS at 2SG.S=REFL-bring.up and

   $e=\text{an}$ ruwe ne a pekor”
   2SG.S=be ASS.NR COP PERF as.if

It seems that you grew up alone under a big tree.”

45) $\Phi=\text{haw-e-an}$ kor $\Phi=i=\text{ko-pasirota}$ kor
   3.S=voice-POSS-be while 3.S=IND.O=APPL-curse and

saying so, [Okikurmi] cursed me.$^{303}$

---

$^{302}$ Here Ito Oda hesitated for a moment, however I think that the intended form was the lexicalized
intransitive verb $yay$-reska $<$REFL-bring.up$>$ ‘to grow up alone’. Although the verb seems not to be
registered in dictionaries, such a derivation agrees with the grammar of Ainu.

Cf. $yay$-resu-p-po $<$REFL-bring.up-person-DIM$>$ ‘an orphan’ (TAM 865).

$^{303}$ Ito Oda omitted an important part of the story which explains why the fox had actually died.

The following passage appeared in a later interview.

$\text{ikema} \quad \Phi=\text{pon} \quad ku, \quad \text{ikema} \quad \Phi=\text{pon} \quad ay$

name.of.plant 3.S=be.small bow name.of.plant 3.S=be.small arrow

[Okikurmi took out] an ikema [poisoned] bow and an ikema [poisoned] arrow

$\text{cip upsor}$ 舟の中から

boat inside

FROM the inside of the boat.

Okikurmi 出してその cip onnay wa $\Phi=\Phi=\text{uk}$ wa $\Phi=i=\text{cotta}$


HAVING TAKEN THEM from the inside of the boat, Okikurmi shot at me.

いったら、それで、何も痛くもないからそのこと何も何でもないと思っておかしくて
っていったってそこで、お前はなんば笑っていてもいいからお前は悪いやつだから、
罰当るんだだから、今痛くなくてもお前行く途中から弓が刺さったとこ痒くなってそこか
ら腐っていくから

THAT IS SAID. THEN SINCE I DIDN’T FEEL ANY PAIN I THOUGHT IT WAS NOT
SERIOUS, SO I LAUGHED. HOWEVER [OKIKURMI] SAID: “YOU MAY LAUGH AS
MUCH AS YOU WANT, BUT SINCE YOU ARE AN EVIL PERSON YOU’LL BE PUNISHED.
(46) hosipi=an ma inkar=’an akusu
  return=IND.S and look.around=IND.S when
When I went back and looked around,

(47) sonno poka cise ka Ø=isam (popo) [Ø=poro]
  really only house even 3.S=not.exist 3.S=be.big
there was really no house.

(48) husko-no cikuni Ø=horak cikuni Ø=corpok-ke
  be.old-ADV tree 3.S=fall.down tree 3.O=under-POSS
  a=Ø=yay-’o-resu 304 wa an=’an ene an’an ma
IND.S=3.O=REFL-at.APPL-bring.up and be=IND.S like.this ADM and
It turned out that I grew up under a big old tree, a fallen tree.

(49) or-o un ahun=’an akusu
  there-POSS to enter=IND.S when
When I entered there,

(50) a=tumam-aha opitta Ø=munin ma, Ø=isam pe ne kusu,
  IND.S=body-POSS all 3.S=rot and 3.S=not.exist NR COP because
my whole body really went rotten, so

(51) tu-ray wen-ray a=Ø=ki ruwe ne sekor,
  hard.SUF-die dreadfully.SUF-die IND.S=3.O=do ASS.NR COP QUOT
I died hard, I died dreadfully.

EVEN IF IT DOESN’T HURT NOW, THE SPOT WHERE THE ARROW HAS STUCK WILL
GET ITCHY ON YOUR WAY BACK, AND FROM THERE YOU’LL GO ROTTEN.”

304 yay- ’o-resu <REFL-at.APPL-bring.up> ‘to grow up somewhere’ is a transitive verb, because the
applicative prefix o- increases the valence by one (cf. yay-resu (vi) in line 44 and footnote 8,
therefore it takes cikuni Ø=corpok-ke ‘under the tree’ as a direct object, i. e. no postposition is
required.
52) atusa cironnup Ø=isoytak,
be.naked fox IND.S=tell.story
That is the story told by the naked fox.

53) te wa-no anak-ne
here from-ADV TOP-COP
From that time on

54) aynu Ø=Ø=ye itak (iteki) eci=Ø=nu somo ki
man/Ainu 3.S=3.O=say words PROH 2PL.S=3.O=listen.to NEG do
yak Ø=wen ruwe ne kusu,
if 3.S=be.bad ASS.NR COP because
you should listen to what the Ainu say, so

55) nep cikap ne yak-ka kamuy ne yak-ka opitta
some bird COP if-even God COP if-even all
all birds and Gods,

56) aynu Ø=Ø=ye itak eci=Ø=eramuan kus ne na
man/Ainu 3.S=3.O=say words 2SG.S=3.O=remember intention COP SCST
you should remember what the Ainu say!

57) sekor, Ø=wen cironnup Ø=haw-e-an kor
QUOT IND.S=be.bad fox IND.S=voice-POSS-be and
Ø=ray wa Ø=isam
3.S=die and 3.S=not.exist
That is what the evil fox told and died.

もうアイヌのこと馬鹿にしたらこうなるんだからお前たちもう絶対そんなことしないでアイヌの言うこと聞きなさいって、そう言って狐でしまったんだって、それだけだ。

IF YOU TRY TO MAKE FUN OF THE AINU, YOU’LL GET INTO TROUBLE, SO NEVER DO THAT AND LISTEN WELL TO WHAT THE AINU ARE SAYING. HAVING SAID THAT, THE FOX DIED. THAT’S ALL.
15. *Hekaci*\textsuperscript{305}. *Uwepeker* [[The Story of] a Boy. Folk Tale] (Later Version)\textsuperscript{306}


Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

1) \textit{hunak wa Ø=ek hekaci a=ne wa}

   where from 3.S=come boy IND.S=COP and

   \textit{sinen ne Ø=an hekaci a=ne ruwe ne ya ka}

   alone as 3.S=be boy IND.S=COP ASS.NR COP Q even

   Where did I come from, [why] was I a lonely boy?

2) \textit{yaykata ka a=Ø=eramiskari no}

   myself even IND.S=3.O=not.know and

   I didn’t even know that myself.

3) \textit{sinen ne Ø=an hekaci a=ne wa an=’an, korka}

   alone as 3.S=be boy IND.S=COP and be=IND.S but

   I lived as a lonely boy, but

\textsuperscript{305} Ito Oda told the same ‘Hekaci’ story twice, thus there are the Earlier Version and the Later Version of the text. The two versions do not differ very much in content, for that reason I do not repeat here the Outline of the Story, which may be found in 9. *Hekaci. Uwepeker*[The Story of] a Boy. Folk Tale] (Earlier Version), pp. 124-176. The differences in grammar and vocabulary are considerable.

\textsuperscript{306} The Later Version of ‘Hekaci’ has been already published in:


A. Bugaeva “‘Hekaci’ (The story of a boy) by Ito Oda”, pp. 8-38.

   However, I decided to include in the present volume a glossed, fully commented and revised variant of the ‘Hekaci’ (Later Version) text in order to provide a complete collection of Ainu Folklore Texts by Ito Oda.
4) $a=e-p \ ka \ nep^{307} \ ka \ Ø=isam,$
IND.S=eat-NR even something even 3.S=no.exist
there was no food.

5) $pirka-no \ inkar='an \ akusu$
be.good-ADV look.around=IND.S when
When I looked around well,

6) $Ø=husko \ no \ Ø=okay \ pe \ pon-no \ Ø=okay \ wa,$
3.S=be.old and 3.S=be.PL thing be.little-ADV 3.S=be.PL and
there were a few old things, so

7) $kusu, \ ne \ wa \ Ø=okay \ pe \ a=Ø=suwe \ wa$
because COP and 3.S=be.PL thing IND.S=3.O=cook and
I cooked these things and

8) $a=Ø=e \ kor \ an='an,$
IND.S=3.O=eat and be=IND.S
ate them.

9) $paykar \ Ø=an \ kor$
spring 3.S=be and
When the spring came,

10) $kina-kar='an^{308} \ ma \ a=Ø=e \ kor,$
grass.make=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=eat and
I gathered plants and ate them.

11) $neun \ pok, \ siknu=an \ ma$
something only stay.alive=IND.S and
No matter what, I stayed alive.

---

$^{307}$ Here, $nep$ ‘something’ is pronounced with the long vowel: [nEEP]. Vowel lengthening may serve to intensify the meaning: ‘There was no food at all.’

$^{308}$ $kina-kar$ <grass.make> ‘to gather plants’ (vi) is a slightly lexicalized intransitive verb with an incorporated object (see 4.3.4.2.5).
12) \( \emptyset = an \) hekaci \( a = ne \) wa
   3.S = be boy IND.S = COP and
   I was a (living) boy.

13) kotan un nispa-utar nep ka \( \emptyset = \emptyset = kar \) kor
   village to rich.men-PL something even 3.S = 3.O = do when
   When the men from the village did anything,

14) pirka-no \( a = \emptyset = nukar \) wa, \( a = \emptyset = nukar \) wa
   well-ADV IND.S = 3.O = look.at and IND.S = 3.O = look.at and
   I watched them well, I watched them and

15) \( a = \emptyset = e = ykoysanpa \)309 wa
   IND.S = 3.O = about.APPL-imitate and
   imitated [that].

16) nep ka \( a = \emptyset = kar \) kor
   something even IND.S = 3.O = do and
   I did anything and

17) \( \emptyset = an \) pe), \( \emptyset = an \) hekaci \( a = ne \) wa,
   3.S = be person 3.S = be boy IND.S = COP and
   I was a (living) boy.

18) korka \( a = \emptyset = erampewtek \) pe anak-ne
   but IND.S = 3.O = not.know thing TOP-COP
   However, what I didn’t understand,

---

309 e-ykoysanpa (< e-ikoysanpa) <about.APPL-imitate> ‘to imitate in sth’ is a transitive verb derived from the intransitive verb ikoysanpa ‘to imitate’ by means of the applicative prefix e-introducing an inanimate object of Reference which is not expressed overtly but gives an anaphoric reference to the content of the previous sentence/phrase (see 4.3.4.1.2).
19) *ekimne* *sekor* *a=Ø=ye* *p*
   go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt QUOT IND=3.O=say thing
   a thing called “hunting”

20) *a=Ø=erampewtek* *pe* *ne,*
   IND.S=3.O=not.know NR COP
   was what I didn’t understand.

21) *nispa-utar* *nisat-ta* *Ø=ekimne*
   rich.man-PL dawn-at 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt
   *sekor* *haw-as* *pe* *ne* *kusu,*
   QUOT voice-stand NR COP because
   It was said that the rich men [planned to] go to the mountains to hunt on the next
day, so

22) *Ø=os* *arpa=an* *ma* *inkar=‘an* *sekor* *yay-nu=an* *ma*
   3.O=after go=IND.S and see=IND.S QOUT REFL.-hear=IND.S and
   I thought that I’ll try to to follow them.

23) *ne* *nisat-ta* *nispa-utar* *ekimne (‘e...)* *Ø=paye* *wa* *kusu*
   that dawn-at rich.man-PL to.the.mountains 3.S=go.PL and because
   The next morning the men went to the mountains, so

24) *Ø=os* *arpa=an* *ma* *inkar=‘an* *akusu,*
   3.O=after go=IND.S and see=IND.S then
   I tried to to follow them.

25) *Ø=arpa*\(^{310}\) *a,* *Ø=arpa* *Ø=arpa*
   They walked and walked.

\(^{310}\) Ito Oda accidentally used the singular form *arpa* \(<\text{go.SG}>\) instead of the contextually suitable
   *paye* \(<\text{go.PL}>\).
26) ekimne Ø=ahup Ø=ahup kane
   to.the.mountains 3.S=enter.PL 3.S=enter.PL while.CONJ

   Ø=i-ki kor
3.S=APASS-do and
They kept going, deeper and deeper into the mountains.

27) opitta ekimne (ahun) Ø=ahup wa Ø=isam
all to.the.mountains enter.SG 3.S=enter.PL and 3.S=not.exist

   ruwe ne,
ASS.NR COP
All [of them] entered the mountains.

28) wa yay-nu=an hike
   and REFL-hear=IND.S as.regards
As regards me, I thought,

29) ekimne sekor a=Ø=ye p anak-ne
   go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt QUOT IND=3.O=say thing TOP-COP
   “A thing called “hunting”

30) ekimne Ø=ahup wa Ø=omanan ma, kamuy hene, 何だか
   to.the.mountains 3.S=enter.PL and 3.S=travel and bear or
   SOMEWHAT

   kamuy ci=koyki-p yuk hene Ø=Ø=hunara kusu Ø=omanan
   bear 1PL.S=catch-NR deer or 3.S=3.O=search in.order 3.S=travel
   is [when men] enter the mountains and travel, looking for bears, bear game or
deer.”

31) siri ne sekor yay-nu=an ma
   EVID.NR COP QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I thought [so].
32) *asinuma ka hempara ka ekimne*
INDEF even someday even to.the.mountains

*arpa=an ma inkar=’an sekor yay-nu=an kor*
go=IND.S and see=IND.S QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S then
Thinking that someday I’ll also try to go to the mountains to hunt,

33) *hosipi=an ma an=’an pe ne kusu*
return=IND.S and be=IND.S NR COP because
I went back.

34) *hentom’ani ta ekimne arpa=an ma inkar=’an*
recently at to.the.mountains go=IND.S and see=IND.S
One of these days I’ll try to go to the mountains to hunt.

35) *sekor yay-nu=an ma*
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I thought [so].

36) *ku ay a=Ø=kor wa,*
bow arrow IND.S=3.O=have and
I took a bow and arrows and

37) *ekimne arpa=an ma inkar=’an akusu*
to.the.mountains go=IND.S and see=IND.S then
tried to go to the mountains, then

38) *Ø=poro kamuy Ø=setur-u Ø=i=tutanu-re wa*
3.S=be.big bear 3.S=back-POSS 3.S=IND.O=turn.to-CAUS and

*Ø=a wa Ø=an ruwe a=Ø=nukar wa kusu*
3.S=sit and 3.S=be ASS.NR IND.S=3.O=see and because
As I saw that a big bear was sitting with his back to me,
39) \( ku \ a=Ø=san-ke \) \( wa \)  
bow IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and  
I took out the bow,

40) \( a=Ø=cotca \) \( wa \) \( inkar='an \) \( akusu \)  
IND.S=3.O=shoot.at and look.around=IND.S then  
I shot at [the bear] and looked around. Then

41) \( apunno, \ Ø=sumaw-ne \) \( siri \) \( a=Ø=nukar \) \( wa \)  
quietly 3.S=dead.body-COP EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=see and  
I saw that [the bear] was dying quietly.

42) \( a=Ø=e-yayirayke \)  
IND.S=3.O=for.APPL-be.grateful  
I was grateful for [that].

43) \( a=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek \) \( kor \)  
IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about and  
I was happy about [it] and

44) \( Ø=sam-a \) \( ta \) \( arpa=an \) \( ma \) \( a=Ø=ko-onkami \)  
3.O=close-POSS to go=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=APPL=worship  
I went up to him and worshipped him.

45) \( wa \) \( or-o-wa, \ i-ri=an \) \( ma \)  
and there-POSS-from APASS-skin=IND.S and  
Then I skinned the animal.

46) \( a=Ø=se \) \( e-askay \) \( pak-no \)  
IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back of.APPL-be.able till-ADV

\( poro-n-no \) \( a=Ø=se \) \( wa \)  
be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back and  
I put on my back as [much meat] as I could carry and
47) hosipi=an ma
return=IND.S and
went back.

48) soy ta ka a=Ø=racitke-re
outside at even IND.S=3.O=be.hanging-CAUS
I hung [the meat] outside,

49) cise onnay ta ka a=Ø=racitke-re wa
house inside in even IND.S=3.O=be.hanging-CAUS and
I hung [the meat] in the house and

50) Ø=an ruwe ne wa
3.S=be ASS.NR COP and
[so] it was.

51) soy ta Ø=an usi から usi
outside at 3.S=be usual.place FROM usual.place

or-o wa, a=Ø=tuy-pa wa
place-POSS from IND.S=3.O=cut-PL and
I cut [pieces] from [the meat] in the usual place [where I kept it] outside and

52) a=Ø=suwe wa a=Ø=e kor Ø=an korka
IND.S=3.O=cook and IND.S=3.O=eat and 3.S=be but
cooked [the meat] and ate [it]. [So] it was, but

311 usi ‘usual place; time’ which is classified as a formal noun (TAM 788; NAK 62) was probably replaced by the succeeding locative noun or-o <place-POSS>. Ito Oda hesitated whether it was possible to attach a postpositional case particle wa ‘from’ to usi, but then rejected this possibility for unclear reasons.

Another interpretation, that the two words usi Ø=or-o <usual.place 3.O=place-POSS from> (lit. ‘from the place of the usual place’), are connected syntactically is almost unacceptable for semantic reasons.
53) oar nep ka, Ø=het-taro\textsuperscript{312} ruwe ka
completely something even IND.S=decrease-SUF ASS.NR even

\[a=Ø=erampewtek\] wa,
IND.S=3.O=not.know and
I [could] see there was as much meat as ever (lit. ‘I [could] see that [the meat] was not decreasing at all.’)

54) \[a=Ø=e-yay-ko-mismu\] wa,
IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-with.APPL-feel.bored and
I felt bored about that [my life?] and

55) ekimne hene arpa=an ma
to.the.mountains or go=IND.S and

\[inkar=’an sekor yay-nu=an ma,\]
see=IND.S QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
thought of trying to go to the mountains or [something].

56) ku a=Ø=se wa
bow IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back and
I put the bow on my back and

57) kamuy, kamuy haru pon-no a=Ø=kor
bear bear meat be.small-ADV IND.S=3.O=have
took a little bear meat.

\textsuperscript{312} het-taro <decrease-SUF> ‘to decrease’ is not registered in the dictionaries. I suppose that this verb has been derived from the continuative base of the Japanese verb HERU (減る) ‘to decrease’ by means of the verbal suffix -\textit{taro} (NAK 250) which specially serves to derive Ainu verbs from Japanese verbs.
58) \((a=\emptyset=kor \quad ak-ka^{313}) \quad haru \quad a=\emptyset=kor \quad wa\)
IND.S=3.O=have \quad if-even \quad meat \quad IND.S=3.O=have \quad and
I took the meat and

59) ekimne \quad arpa=an \quad ma,
to.the.mountains \quad go=IND.S \quad and
went to the mountains.

60) kim-un \quad kuca \quad ot \quad ta \quad rewsi=an \quad ma
mountains-in \quad hunting.hut \quad place \quad at \quad stay=IND.S \quad and
I stayed in a hunting hut in the mountains.

61) suke=an \quad ma \quad ipe=an \quad ma \quad an=\acute{\text{a}}n \quad akusu
cook=IND.S \quad and \quad eat=IND.S \quad and \quad be=IND.S \quad then
I cooked and ate, then

62) oar \quad a=\emptyset=eramuskari \quad aynu
completely \quad IND.S=3.O=not.know \quad man
then a man whom I didn’t know at all,

63) \emptyset=ahun \quad kane \quad (ippa) \quad [\emptyset=i-ki]
3.S=enter \quad suddenly.CONJ \quad ? \quad 3.S=APASS-do
suddenly came in.

64) “tan-ukuran \quad te \quad ta \quad i=rewsi-e^{314} \quad wa
this-evening \quad here \quad at \quad IND.O=stay.overnight-CAUS \quad and
i=kor-e \quad yan”
IND.O=have-CAUS \quad IMP.POL
“Please let me stay here tonight.”

65) sekor \quad \emptyset=haw-e-an, \quad wa

^{313} ak-ka (< yak-ka) <if-even>. Sometimes the glide [j] is deleted after [r]; it is a type of phonological alternation which occurs marginally.

^{314} The causative suffix is represented by the allomorphs -\text{re/-el-te} (see 4.3.4.1.1). After roots ending in vowels we usually expect -\text{re}, in this respect the above form rewsi-e is exceptional.
“The man” and said, “That’s fine.”

I cooked and fed this man.

Then I cooked and fed this man.

I fed [him] and then,

when we were talking to each other,

this man said as follows,

“As to myself, I am an Ainu from the village called Kushiro.
wa a=Ø=kor kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur,
and IND.S=3.O=have village 3.S=3.O=have person
Our village chief

haa Ø=puri-wen ma,
oh! 3.S=behavior-be.bad and
acts very badly!

nen ne yak-ka Ø=Ø=ko-caranke wa
who COP if-even 3.S=3.O=with.APPL-argue.with and
[He] quarrels with everyone.

patci sintoko sintoko patci Ø=Ø=ko-uk
bowl lacquer-ware lacquer-ware bowl 3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take

Ø=Ø=ko-uk kane Ø=i-ki kor
3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take while.CONJ 3.S=APASS-do and
He takes away from [his men] bowls and lacquer-ware, lacquer-ware and bowls.

Ø=an kor, sintoko ka patci ka Ø=Ø=sak utar anak-ne
3.S=be and lacquer-ware even bowl even 3.S=3.O=lose people TOP-COP
And [so] it is. As to the people who lost [their] lacquer-ware and bowls,

c=o-ype-p ne yak-ka i-y-or-us-pe 315
1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR COP if-even APASS-EP-place-attach.to-NR

itanki ne yak-ka Ø=Ø=ko-uk wa Ø=an”
cup COP if-even 3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take and 3.S=be
he also took away dishes, filled vessels and cups from them.”

sekor haw-as korka,
QUOT voice-stand but
It was said [so].

315 iyoruspe ‘a vessel with something in it’ (BAT 208). BAT is the only dictionary where this word is registered. It is unclear what particular kind of vessel is involved.
79) “ene a=Ø=kar hi ka a=Ø=erampewtek pe ne kusu
like.this IND.S=3.O=do NR even IND.S=3.O=not.know NR COP because
“I didn’t know what to do in this way, so

80) ne-no a=Ø=anu wa Ø=an ruwe ne”
COP-ADV IND.S=3.O=leave and 3.S=be ASS.NR COP
I left [all] as it was.”

81) sekor Ø=haw-e-an, i-ruska=an,

82) (c=o-ype-p or-us-pe eci=an? kor?)
1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR place-attach.to-NR 2PL.S=be? have?and?
(The story about dishes…)

83) okkaypo-utar-i Ø=ekimne kor,
young.man-PL-POSS 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt when
When the young men went to the mountains to hunt,

84) (okkaypo-utar Ø=ekimne)
young.man-PL-POSS 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt
(the young men went to the mountains to hunt,)

85) okkaypo-utar Ø=or-o wa,
young.man-PL 3.O=place-POSS from
kamuy haru Ø=Ø=uk wa Ø=Ø=e kor Ø=an,
[the evil village chief] took the bear meat away from the young men and was eating [it].

316 The phrase breaks up here and I am in doubt about the interpretation of the last two words, because they cannot be syntactically and semantically connected with the first two words.
86) Ø=ekimne  
3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt people COP if-even

Ø=Ø=ko-caranke wa
3.S=3.O=with.APPL-argue.with and

[The evil village chief] argued with the men who went to the mountains to hunt,

87) kamuy, kam ne yak-ka Ø=Ø=uk wa
bear meat COP if-even 3.S=3.O=take and

Ø=Ø=e kor Ø=an
took the bear meat away and ate [it].

88) sekor i-nu=(m)an ma i-ruska=an ma
QUOT APASS-hear=IND.S and APASS-get.angry.with=IND.S and
I heard the story and got angry with that.

89) okkaypo-utar ne yak-un Ø=pó-kor wa
young.man-PL COP if-EMP 3.S=child-have and
If these are young men, they have children and

90) Ø=pó-reska kusu ne ki-pa p ne nankor
3.S=child-raise in.order this do-PL NR COP perhaps
how will they provide for their children (lit. what will they do in order to raise children)?

91) ene a=e-p ka Ø=Ø=uk have
like.this IND.S=eat-NR even 3.S=3.O=take EVID.NR

sekor yay-nu=an
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S
Thinking that [the village chief] took away [their] food like this,
92) \( ma \) \( i-ruska=an \) \( kor \) \( an=\text{‘an} \),
and \( \text{APASS-get.angry.with}=\text{IND.S} \) and \( \text{be}=\text{IND.S} \)
I was getting angry.

93) \( ne \) \( Kusur \) \( un \) \( kur \) \( tura-no \) \( kim \) \( ta \) \( okay=\text{‘an} \) \( ma, \)
this Kushiro from man together.with-ADV mountains at \( \text{be.PL}=\text{IND.S} \) and
We were in the mountains together with this man from Kushiro.

94) \( u-w-eko[h/set]opi \) \( ekimne=an \) \( kor \) \( okay=\text{‘an} \)
\( \text{REC-EP-separately.from go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt}=\text{IND.S} \) and \( \text{be.PL}=\text{IND.S} \)
We went to the mountains to hunt separately from each other

95) \( korka \) \( eytasa \) \( kim \) \( ta \) \( okay=\text{‘an} \)
but too.long mountains at \( \text{be.PL}=\text{IND.S} \)
but stayed in the mountains for too long.

96) \( sekor \) \( yay-nu=an \) \( ma \)
\( \text{QUOT REFL-hear}=\text{IND.S} \) and
I thought [so].

97) “\( pon-no, \) \( hosipi=an \) \( ma \) \( tutko \) \( rerko \) \( sini=an \)
\( \text{be.small-ADV return}=\text{IND.S} \) and \( \text{two.days three.days rest}=\text{IND.S} \)
\( \text{ma (ma) suy omanan}=\text{an}^{317} \) \( ya” \) \( sekor \) \( itak=\text{‘an} \) \( akusu \)
and and again travel=IND.S QUOT say=IND.S then
I said: “Why don’t you go home for a little, have a rest for two or three days
and [then] travel again?”

98) “\( Ø=pirka \) \( hawe \) \( ne \) \( wa” \) \( sekor \) \( Ø=haw-e-an \) \( kor \)
\( 3.S=\text{be.good} \) EVID.NR COP FIN QUOT \( 3.S=\text{voice-POSS-be} \) and
[The man] said, “It is fine.”

^{317} \text{Note that the indefinite marker } =\text{an} \text{ is used here with reference to the second person singular, which is a so-called } \text{honorific} \text{ usage of indefinite affixes for } 2\text{SG/PL (see 4.3.3.4.2).}
I saw this man going [back] to his home.

I also returned to my home and

I rested for two or three days and then

when I went [to the mountains] again, that man also came [there] and

we spent every day in the mountains.

Then this man [from Kushiro] went away.

I thought, “What has happened?” However,
106) *eun a=Ø=ye usi ka*
towards IND.S=3.O=say place even
there was no one to talk to [and] (lit. ‘there was no place to say’)

107) *a=Ø=nu usi ka Ø=isampe ne kusu*
IND.S=3.O=ask place even 3.S=not.exist NR COP because
no place [where I could] ask, so

108) *asinuma ka cise ot ta hosipi=an ma*
INDEF also house place at return=IND.S and
I also returned home,

109) *sini=an ma an,*
rest=IND.S and be
rested and [so] it was.

110) *hempara ka ne kur a=Ø=hunara sekor*
someday even this man IND.S=3.O=look.for QUOT

* yay-nu=an kor*
REFL-hear=IND.S and
I thought that I’ll look for this man someday.

111) *sini=an ma Ø=an*
rest=IND.S and 3.S=be
I had [some] rest and [so] it was.

112) *hentom’ani ta soyne=an ma inkar=’an*
recently at go.outside=IND.S and look.around=IND.S

*a korka*
PERF but
Once I went outside and looked around, but
113) *hunak un arpa=an yak Ø=pirka ya ka*
where to go=IND.S if 3.S=be.good whether even

*a=Ø=eramiskari no sir-an pe ne kusu*
IND.S=3.O=not.know and appearance-be NR COP because
It seemed that I didn’t know where it would be good [for me] to go.

114) *pon-no-pon-no apkas=’an kor an=’an akusu*
be.small-ADV- be.small-ADV walk=IND.S and be=IND.S then
I walked just a little and

115) *kim ta (por) Ø=pirka Ø=pon, pet*
mountain in 3.S=be.beautiful 3.S=be.small river

*Ø=an ma,*
3.S=be and
as there was a small beautiful river in the mountains,

116) *kusu ne pet turasi arpa=’an, akusu*
because this river upstream.along go=IND.S then
so I went upstream along this river, then

117) *Ø=husko Ø=nituy-pa318 ru ka Ø=an,*

*ruwe a=Ø=nukar kor*
ASS.NR IND.S=3.O=see and
I saw that there was the stump of an old tree.

118) *aynu Ø=okay usi Ø=hanke ruwe ne*
Ainu 3.S=be.PL usual.place 3.S=be.close ASS.NR COP
The place where Ainu lived must be nearby.

---

318 *ni-tuy-pa <tree-cut-PL> ‘to cut firewood’ (vi) is an incorporating verb (see 4.3.4.2.5) which serves as an attribute on ru ‘trace’ along with *husko <be.old> lit. ‘There was an old firewood-cut trace.’*
119) sekor yay-nu=an kor arpa=an ayne
QUOT REFL-hear-IND.S and go=IND.S finally
I thought. I went and finally

120) pon-no arpa=an akusu (asinnu)
be.small-ADV go=IND.S when
when I walked a little

121) Ø=asin Ø=ní-tuy-pa319 ru, poro-n-no Ø=an ma
there were many new stumps.

122) a=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek kor
IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about and
I was happy about [it] and

123) kotan (un) or un arpa=an kor
village to place to go=IND.S and
went to the village.

124) hunak un arpa=an humi ne ya ka
where to go=IND.S EVID.NR COP Q even
a=Ø=eramiskari kor
IND.S=3.O=not.know and
Not knowing, where to go,

125) kotan soy a=Ø=kus wa arpa=an ayne
village outside IND.S=3.O=pass.through and go=IND.S finally
I passed in front of the village and finally

319 See the footnote 14.
126) akusu Ø=pirka cise Ø=poro cise Ø=an ma,
then 3.S=be.good house 3.S=be.big house 3.S=be and
there was a good house, big house.

127) kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=cise-he ene ne-no
village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=house-POSS like.this COP-ADV

Ø=poro Ø=pirka cise Ø=ne wa a=Ø=nukar
there was a big good house looking like the house of a village chief and I saw it.

128) korka ne cise soy ta arpa=’an ma
but that house outside to go=IND.S and
I went to the gateway of that house and

129) si-hum-nu-yar\textsuperscript{320}=’an akusu
REFL-noise-hear-CAUS=IND.S then
I made a noise letting my arrival be known. Then

130) katkemat sinep Ø=soyne wa Ø=ek wa
housewife one 3.S=go.outside and 3.S=come and
one housewife came out and

131) pirka pirka Ø=i=nukar wa
be.good be.good 3.S=IND.O=look.at and
looked at me well.

132) or-o-wa Ø=ahun ma
there-POSS-from 3.S=enter and
After that she entered [the house].

\textsuperscript{320} si-hum-nu-yar <REFL-noise-hear-CAUS> ‘to make a noise letting one’s arrival be known’ (lit. ‘to make the noise of oneself be heard’). The verb refers to the traditional Ainu situation when a guest who comes up to someone’s house is trying to attract the host’s attention by deliberately coughing or stamping in the doorway. When the host hears such a sound, he realizes that the guest is standing in the doorway and comes out.
133) “soy ta okkaypo a=Ø=eramuskari a okkaypo
outside at young.man IND.S=3.O=not.know PERF young.man
“A young man whom I don’t know

134) Ø=ek wa Ø=an ruwe ne
3.S=come and 3.S=be ASS.NR COP
has come.

135) a=Ø=ahun-ke ciki he Ø=pirka
IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS if Q 3.S=be.good
Shall I let him in

136) makanak ne ya”
what COP Q
or what?”

137) sekor Ø=haw-e-an Ø=haw-e as akusu
There was [the woman’s] voice saying [that].

138) “(okkayo-utar ka), cise soy pak-no Ø=ek
young.man-PL even house outside till-ADV 3.S=come

kur, kur anak-ne
man man TOP-COP
“As to the man who came to the gateway of the house,

139) Ø=ahun rusuy kusu Ø=arki p ne kusu
3.S=enter want because 3.S=come NR COP because
who came because he wanted to come in,

140) Ø=ahun-ke yan”
3.O=enter-CAUS IMP.POL
let him in.
141) sekor  Ø=haw-e-an  hawe  a=Ø=nu  akusu  
QOUT  3.S=voice-POSS-be  EVID.NR  IND.S=3.O=hear  then  
I heard [him] saying so.

142) Ø=soyne  wa  Ø=ek  wa  
3.O=go.outside  and  3.O=come  and  
[The housewife] came out.

143) (ahun=an  ki  p)  “ahup  an”  
enter=IND.S  do  NR  enter.PL  IMP.POL  
“Come in.”

144) sekor  Ø=haw-e=an  ma,  
QUOT  3.S=voice-POSS-be  and  
She said.

145) Ø=he-etarye  wa  kusu  
3.S=head-pull.in  and  because  
She pulled her head in, so

146) Ø=os,  ahun(ma)=an  ma  inkar=’an  akusu  
3.O=after  enter=IND.S  and  see=IND.S  then  
I entered after her and looked around.

147) a=Ø=hunara  kusu,  omanan=an  aynu  Ø=ne  wa  
IND.S=3.O=search  in.order  travel=IND.S  man  3.S=COP  and  
There was the man in search of whom I had come to the village.

148) a=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek  korka  
IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about  
I was happy about [it], but

---

*321* an is an allomorph of yan <IMP.POL> which appears after the verbs with a final consonant, as it was registered for the Saru dialect (TAM 838). Note that in polite imperative sentences with yan <IMP.POL> the verb should be used in the plural form (see 4.6.1).
149) ne kur a=Ø=hunara (kus) hi ka a=Ø=ye, somo ki no, this man IND.S=3.O=search in.order NR also IND.S=3.O=say NEG do and if I don’t say that I was looking for this man,

150) nep kusu omanan='an pe ne ya ka a=Ø=ye somo ki yak what because travel=IND.S NR COP Q even IND.S=3.O=say NEG do if I don’t say why I was travelling,

151) Ø=wen sekor yay-nu=an ma 3.S=be.bad QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and It will be bad, I thought.

152) “kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=wen-irenka-kor sekor Ø=an village 3.S=3.O=have man 3.S=be.bad-will-have QOUT 3.S=be pe a=Ø=nu wa kusu NR IND.S=3.O=hear and because As I heard it said that the village chief was possessed by an evil will,

153) a=Ø=nukan rusuy kusu omanan='an pe ne” IND.S=3.O=see want because travel=IND.S NR COP sekor itak='an QUOT say=IND.S I travelled in order to meet him.” I said.

154) akusu “nisat-ta a=e=sir-'e-pakasnu kusu ne na then dawn-at IND.S=2SG.O=land-about.APPL-teach intention COP FIN Then “Tomorrow I’ll show you the way [to the place of the evil village chief].

155) tan-to anak te ta rewsi yan” this-day TOP here at stay.overnight IMP.POL Please stay here today!”
156) **sekor**  $\emptyset=$**haw-e-an**  
QOUT  3.S=voice-POSS-be  
and place-POSS-from-and  
Said [the man] and then

157) **uwe-yay-kopuntek=’an**$^{322}$  
SOC-REFL-rejoice.about=IND.S  
and  
We had a good time together.

158) **u-w-e-newsar=’an**  
REC-EP-with.APPL-talk=IND.S  
and be.PL=IND.S  
finally  
We were talking to each other. Finally,

159) **sir-onuman**  
**okkaypo**  
**ka**  
**tun**  
**(un ouk)**  
appearance-evening  
man  
even two  
early in the evening two men

160) $\emptyset=$**okay**  
**noyne**  
**sir-an**  
**korka**  
3.S=be.PL  
seem  
appearance-be  
but  
appeared, but

161) **neun**  
**ka**  
$\emptyset=$**arpa**$^{323}$  
**wa**  
$\emptyset=$**isam**  
**ruwe**  
**ne**  
**ya**  
**ka**  
where  
even  
3.S=go  
and  
3.S=not.exist  
ASS.NR  
COP  
Q  
evend

\[ a=\emptyset=\text{eramiskari}, \]
IND.S=3.O=not.know
I didn’t know where [they] went.

---

$^{322}$ **uwe-yay-kopuntek** <SOC-REFL-rejoice.about> ‘to rejoice together’ (vi) is a sociative verb derived by the means of the sociative prefix **uwe-** which may be traced back to the reciprocal and applicative prefixes: **u-w-e** <REC-EP-with.APPL>. However, synchronically **uwe-** may not be viewed as a sum of of those prefixes because in most of such verbs, including the base verb **e-yay-kopuntek** <about.APPL-REFL-rejoice.about> the applicative prefix **e-** does not have the comitative meaning ‘with’; see 4.3.4.2.3.

$^{323}$ The plural form of **arpa** <go.SG> ‘to go’ is **paye** <go.PL>, which would be a contextually better fit here.
162) *sir-onuman* akusu
appearance-evening when
When it grew dark,

163) *okkaypo-utar* Ø=hosip-pa wa Ø=arki wa
the men came back.

164) *an=*an ruwe Ø=Ø=eramuan\(^{324}\) ayne
be=IND.S understand=IND.S 3.S=3.O=know finally
They knew that I was [there].

165) Ø=soyosipitatpa\(^{325}\) wa Ø=ahup wa
3.S=take.off.one’s.outer.clothes and 3.S=enter.PL and
Having taken off their outer clothes, they entered and

166) Ø=i=ko-onkami ne kusu
3.S=IND.O=APPL-greet COP because
greeted me, so

167) *u-ko-onkami-u-ko-onkami=an kor okay=’an akusu,*
REC-APPL-greet-REC-APPL-greet=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S then
we greeted each other several times. Then

168) *tane* *sir-onuman* kusu
already appearance-evening because
as it had already grown dark

---

\(^{324}\) The predicate *eramuan* <know.SG> refers to the plural subject *okkaypo-utar* <young.man-PL>, hence we expect here *eramuokay* <know.PL> instead. In the Earlier Version of the ‘Hekaci’ Story (line 164) Ito Oda actually used *eramuokay* <know.PL> in this context.

\(^{325}\) *soy-o-si-pita-atapa* <outside-at.APPL-untie-make.a.lot.[AUX.PL?]> ‘to take off one’s outer clothes’ (vi). “It was an Ainu custom that when there was a guest in one’s house, the family members, who had just returned from hunting, should take off their clothes and shoes outside before entering the house.” (TAM 680)
169) “(onupan) onuman-ipe=an kus ne na”
evening-meal=IND.S intention COP FIN
“Let us have an evening meal.”

170) sekor haw-as no,
QUOT voice-stand and
A voice said.

171) (a=i) a=i=ko-y-puni wa ipe=an ma
PASS=IND.O=to.APPL-APASS-lift.up and eat=IND.S and
i-nu='an hike
APASS-hear=IND.S as.regards
I was offered food and as regards what I tasted (lit. ‘tried to eat’),

172) nep-ene-po kera-an ma
how-like.this-DIM taste-be and
it was so delicious.

173) hum-as [y]a ka a=Ø=eramiskari
feeling-stand Q even IND.S=3.O=not.know
I have [never] experienced a feeling [like this].

174) a=Ø=eykoytupa ka ki
IND.S=3.O=be.envious.of even do
I was envious of [it].

175) a=Ø=e-rayap ka ki kor ipe=an a ipe=an a
IND.S=3.O=APPL-admire even do and eat=IND.S ITR eat=IND.S ITR
I admired [it], I ate and ate.
176) **or-o-wa** suy cise Φ=Φ=kor kur tura-no
there-POSS-from again house 3.S=3.O=have person together.with

*u-w-e-newsar=’an* kor okay=’an,
REC-EP-with.APPL-talk=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S
After that we were talking with the master of the house again.

177) **an-noski** pak-no **u-w-enewsar=’an** kor an=’an,
night-middle till-ADV REC-EP-with.APPL-talk=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S
We were talking till midnight.

178) **akusu** katkemat
then housewife
Then the housewife

179) **a=Φ=e-hotke**326 **usi** Φ=Φ=kar
IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-sleep place 3.S=3.O=make

*wa Φ=i=kor-e*
and 3.S=IND.S=have-CAUS
prepared a sleeping place for me.

180) **or-o ta hotke=an ma**
there-POSS at sleep=IND.S and
I lay down there,

181) **si-turiri=an ma yay-sini-re=an** ruwe ne wa,
REFL-stretch=IND.S and REFL-rest-CAUS=IND.S ASS.NR COP and
stretched my body and had some rest.

182) **kuneywa sir? hopuni=an ma**
in.the.morning ? get.up=IND.S and
Next morning, I got up and

---

326 *e-hotke* <at.APPL-sleep> ‘to sleep somewhere’ is a transitive verb derived by means of the applicative prefix *e*, which introduces here the object of Location.
183) *kuneywa ipe=an akusu*
    in.the.morning eat=IND.S then
    ate breakfast. Then

184) *cise Ø=Ø=kor kur “tan-to anak-ne*
    house 3.S=3.O=have person this-day TOP-COP
    the master of the house [said], “Today,

185) *ne kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=or-o un*
    this village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.O=place-POSS to
    *(ay) a=e=tura kusu ne na’*
    IND.S=2SG.S=accompany intention COP FIN
    I’ll accompany you to the place of the village chief.”

186) *sekor Ø=haw-e-an ma*
    QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and
    Said the man.

187) *u-tura=an ma paye=an ma, akusu,*
    REC-go.together=IND.S and go.PL=IND.S and then
    We went together, and then,

188) “*te-or-o ka somo Ø=ne”*
    here-place-POSS even NEG 3.S=COP
    “This is not his place.” (lit. ‘It is not here.’)

189) *sekor Ø=haw-e-an pe ne a korka,*
    QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR COP PERF but
    Said [the master of the house], but...

190) *Ø=tuyma usi Ø=ne wa paye=an (ay)*
    3.S=be.far place 3.S=COP and go.PL=IND.S
    It [the village chief’s place] was a place far away.
191) soy ta si-hum-nu-yar='an kor okay='an akusu
outside at REFL-noise-hear-CAUS=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S then
We made a noise outside letting my arrival be known.

192) menoko sinep Ø=soyne wa
woman one 3.S=go.outside and
A woman came out and

193) wen-no-wen-no Ø=i=nukar wa
be.bad-ADV be.bad-ADV 3.S=IND.O=look.at and
rudely looked at us and

194) Ø=ahun akusu
3.S=enter then
went in.

195) “soy ta sik-etok-na-wa a=Ø=eramiskari
outside at eye-in.front-in.the.direction.of-from IND.S=3.O=not.know
kur tun Ø=arki wa Ø=okay ruwe ne
“It is a fact that two men whom I don’t know came and are standing outside.

196) a=Ø=ahun-ke yak Ø=pirka ya”
IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS if 3.S=be.good Q
May I let him them in?”

197) sekor an-pe Ø=Ø=ye akusu
QUOT be-NR 3.S=3.O=say then
[She] said the real facts.

198) “cise soy pak-no Ø=arki utar anak-ne
house outside till-ADV 3.S=come.PL men TOP-COP
“The men who came up to the doorway,
199) \( \emptyset = \text{ahun}^{327} \) rusuy kusu \( \emptyset = \text{arki} \) p ne kusu

\[ \begin{align*}
3.\text{S} &= \text{enter} & \text{want} & \text{because} & \ 3.\text{S} &= \text{come.PL} & \text{NR} & \text{COP} & \text{because} \\
\text{really came because they wanted to come in, so} 
\end{align*} \]

200) \( a = \emptyset = \text{ahun-ke} \) yak \( \emptyset = \text{pirka} \) wa”

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{IND.}\text{S} &= 3.\text{O} = \text{enter-CAUS} & \text{if} & \ 3.\text{S} &= \text{be.good} & \text{FIN} \\
\text{I may let them in.”} 
\end{align*} \]

201) sekor haw-as hawe \( a = \emptyset = \text{nu} \) akusu \( \emptyset = \text{soyne} \) wa

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{QUOT} & \text{ voice-stand EVID.NR} & \text{IND.}\text{S} &= 3.\text{O} = \text{hear then} & \ 3.\text{S} &= \text{go.outside} & \text{and} \\
\text{I heard a voice saying [so]. Then [the housewife] came out and} 
\end{align*} \]

202) “ahup-pa an^{328}”, sekor \( \emptyset = \text{haw-e=an} \) kor

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{enter.PL-PL} & \text{ IMP.POL} & \text{QUOT} & \ 3.\text{S} &= \text{voice-POSS-be} & \text{and} \\
\text{said: “Come in.”} 
\end{align*} \]

203) \( \emptyset = \text{soyne} \) wa, wa kusu

\[ \begin{align*}
3.\text{S} &= \text{go.outside} & \text{and} & \ \text{and because} \\
\text{She came out and then} 
\end{align*} \]

204) \( \emptyset = \text{he-etaye} \) wa, kusu \( \emptyset = \text{os}, \) ahup=’an akusu

\[ \begin{align*}
3.\text{S} &= \text{head-pull.in} & \text{and because} & \ 3.\text{O} &= \text{after enter.PL} = \text{IND.S} & \text{then} \\
\text{She pulled her head in, so we entered after her.} 
\end{align*} \]

205) wen-no-wen-no \( \emptyset = \text{mun-nuwe} \) wa

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{be.bad-ADV} & \text{be.bad-ADV} & 3.\text{S} &= \text{rubbish-sweep} & \text{and} \\
\text{[The housewife] carelessly swept away the rubbish and} 
\end{align*} \]

206) \( \emptyset = \text{so-kar} \) wa \( \emptyset = i = \text{kor-e} \) wa

\[ \begin{align*}
3.\text{S} &= \text{seating.mat-make} & \text{and} & \ 3.\text{S} &= 3.\text{O} = \text{have-CAUS} & \text{and} \\
\text{laid out the seating mats for us.} 
\end{align*} \]

---

327 A contextually appropriate form is ahup <enter.PL>, instead of ahun <enter.SG>.

328 See footnote 17.
207) yap='an ma
  go.up.PL=IND.S and
We came in and

208) kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur a=Ø=[e]-uko-onkami\textsuperscript{329} korka
  village 3.S=3.O=have person IND.S=3.O=APPL-SOC-greet but
greeted together the village chief, but

209) wen-no-wen-no Ø=i=ko-onkami
  be.bad-ADV-be.bad-ADV 3.S=IND.O=APPL-greet
[The village chief] rudely greeted us.

210) a=Ø=ruska ka ki kor,
  IND.S=3.O=get.angry.with even do and
I got angry at that.

211) kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=wen, puri Ø=Ø=kor
  village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=be.bad behavior 3.S=3.O=have

  have a=Ø=nu wa kusu ek='an ruwe ne
  EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=hear and because come=IND.S ASS.NR COP
  “I have come because I heard that the village chief was behaving badly.”

212) sekor itak='an akusu
  QUOT say=IND.S then
I said that.

213) “hemanta (puri) Ø=wen puri a=Ø=kor pe Ø=an
  what 3.S=be.bad behavior IND.S=3.O=have NR 3.S=be
  “How could I behave badly?

\textsuperscript{329} I think that the intended form was \textit{e-uko-onkami} \textlangle\textbf{APPL-SOC-greet}\rangle ‘to greet sb together’ (vt),
because just \textit{uko-onkami} ‘to greet together/each other’ is an intransitive verb which may not take the
preceding direct object \textit{kur} and even looks odd with the \textit{a=} \textlangle\textbf{IND.S.TR}\rangle personal prefix
(intransitive verbs take \textit{=an} \textlangle\textbf{IND.S.INTR}\rangle).
214) asinuma anak-ne (pirka),
      INDEF TOP-COP be.good
As to me,

215) a=Ø=kor utar pirka a=Ø=kor ki wa
      IND.S=3.O=have people be.good IND.S=IND.O=rule do and
I rule my people well.

216) a=Ø=kor utar
      IND.S=3.O=have people
My people

217) Ø=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek kor Ø=okay ruwe ne”
are happy about it [my rule?].”

218) sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor
      QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and
Said [the village chief].

219) Ø=sikasike hawe a=Ø=ruska, wa kusu
      3.S=deny EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=get.angry.with and because
I got angry with his denying, so

220) mosir Ø=Ø=kor huci^{330} ka
      land 3.S=3.O=have old.woman even

      a=Ø=ko-caranke (si),
      IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue
I argued with the Fire Goddess.

^{330} mosir Ø=Ø=kor huci (lit. ‘old lady ruling the country’) is
often referred to as ‘the Fire Goddess’ (Kubodera 1977: 730).
221) “ene an Ø=wen-puri-kor pe Ø=wen-puri-kor
like.this be 3.S=be.bad-behavior-have person 3.S=be.bad-behavior-have

hi nukar somo ki no somo ki ne wa
NR see NEG do and NEG do COP and

“If you don’t notice the bad behaviour of this person, (lit. ‘Not noticing such a badly behaving person, his bad behavior,)"

222) mosir Ø=Ø=kor huci Ø=ne somo ki
land 3.S=3.O=have old.woman 3.S=COP NEG do

ruwe ne na”
ASS.NR COP FIN
You are not the Fire Goddess!” (lit. ‘it is not the Fire Goddess!’)

223) sekor a=Ø=ko-caranke wa
QUOT IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue and
I argued with [the Fire Goddess].

224) or-o-wa rot ta arpa=an ma
there-POSS-from seat.o.f.honour to go=IND.S and
Then I went to the seat of honour and

225) cise Ø=Ø=kor kamuy ka a=Ø=ko-caranke
house 3.S=3.O=have God even IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue argued with the God Protector of the house.

226) wa or-o-wa ape sam ta ek=’an ma an=’an akusu,
and there-POSS-from fire near to come=IND.S and be=IND.S then
After that, I came to the fireside.

227) ne cise Ø=Ø=kor inaw
this house 3.S=3.O=have inaw
The inaw-prayer stick, the Protector of the house,
228) sintoko  ka  peka  \(\phi=\text{terke-terke}\)  wa
lacquer-ware  on  through  3.S=jump-jump  and
jumped on the treasures and

229) \(\phi=\text{ran}\)  ma  \(\phi=\text{ek}\)  wa
3.S=go.down  and  3.S=come  and
came down.

230) inumpe  ka  \((\text{pa})\)  \([\text{ta}]\)  \(\phi=\text{terke-terke}\)
wooden.boards.around.fireplace  above  to  3.S=jump-jump
He [jumped] over the wooden boards around the fire,

231) esisoun  ma  eharkisoun  \(\phi=\text{terke-terke}\)  akusu
to.the.right  and  to.the.left  3.S=jump-jump  then
he jumped to the right and to the left. Then

232) easir  \(\mathcal{Z}\)\(\mathcal{O}\)  ne  aynu
for.the.first.time  THAT  that man
that man [said] for the first time,

233) “haa,  ene  an  \(\phi=\text{wen}\)  irenka  \(\phi=\text{an}\)  kor
ah!  like.this  be  3.S=be.bad  will  3.S=be  and

\(\text{an=}'\text{an}  hi  ka  a=\phi=\text{eramiskari}  \text{ no}\)
be=IND.S  NR  even  IND.S=3.O=not.know  and
“Ah! I didn’t know that I lived guided by ill will (lit. ‘Ah! I didn’t know that
there was such a bad will and [so] I lived) and

234) \(\text{an=}'\text{an}  ruwe  ne,}\)
be=IND.S  ASS.NR  COP
[so] I lived.
235) **te wa-no anak somo ene an**
here from-ADV TOP NEG like.this be

\(\phi=\)wenirenka **somo \(\phi=\)an kusu ne na,**
3.S=be.bad will NEG 3.S=be intentionCOP because
From now on, there will be no bad will!

236) **iteki i=ray-ke yan**
PROH IND.O=die-CAUS IMP.POL
Don’t kill me!

237) **i=siknu-re yan” sekor \(\phi=haw-e-an\) kor**
IND.O=be.alive-CAUS IMP.POL QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and
Leave me alive!” Said [the village chief].

238) **\(\phi=haw-e-an\) kor \(\phi=\)an kor,**
3.S=voice-POSS-be and 3.S=be and
He was saying that.

239) **haa, or-o-wa ne aynu a=\(\phi=\)ko-caranke a**
oh! there-POSS-from that man IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue ITR
Oh, then I argued with that man

240) **a=\(\phi=\)ko-caranke a,**
IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue ITR
and argued!

241) **or-o-wa a=\(\phi=\)itak-’unu**
there-POSS-from IND.S=3.O=words-attach.to
Then I bade him again.

\[331 \] **itak-’unu** ‘to bid sb, to pass a sentence to sb’ (vt) is a lexicalized incorporating verb derived from the three-place transitive **unu** ‘to attach sth to sth/sb’. To my knowledge, it is not registered in the dictionaries.
242) “te wa-no ene an irenka Ø=Ø=kor yak-un
done from-ADV like this be will 3.S=3.O=have if-EMP
“If from now on he has such a bad will,

243) naani (sok) or-o-ta a=Ø=ray-ke kusu ne”
immediately there-POSS-at 3.S=3.O=die-CAUS intention COP
I’ll immediately kill [him]!”

244) sekor itak=’an kor
QUOT say=IND.S and
I said.

245) a=Ø=itak-amkir-e kor an=’an akusu, wa
IND.S=3.O=words-remember-CAUS and be=IND.S then and
I kept warning him and then

246) hosipi=an sekor yay-nu=an ma inkar=’an akusu
return=IND.S QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and see=IND.S then
I tried to think of going home, then

247) cise sik-te-no aynu poro-n-no Ø=okay no
house be.full-CAUS-ADV man be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be.PL and
There were so many people that the house was full.

248) (a) hemanta kusu Ø=arki a ruwe an
what reason 3.S=come.PL PERF ASS.NR be

se[kor] a=Ø=nu ka somo ki korka
QUOT IND.S=3.O=hear even NEG do but
I didn’t ask them why they came, but

249) yay-nu=an ma inkar=’an hike
REFL-hear=IND.S and see=IND.S as.regards
as to what I thought,
250) usa Ø=okay patci hene sintoko hene
various 3.S=be.PL bowl or lacquer-ware or
c=o-ype-p hene Ø=Ø=ko-uk utar
1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR or 3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take people
The people from whom [the evil village chief] had taken away various bowls,
lacquer-ware and dishes

251) ek=’an (ru) hawe ne ya ka
come=IND.S EVID.NR COP Q even
Ø=Ø=nu wa Ø=arki ruwe ne”
came to ask whether I came [to help them].

252) sekor yay-nu=an pe ne kusu,
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S NR COP because
I thought.

253) “eci=Ø=kor-pa p pirka-no Ø=nukar wa
2PL.S=3.O=have-PL thing be.good-ADV 3.O=look.at and
“Look well at the things you owned and

254) an=’an (usi)332 hi ta Ø=kor wa hosip-pa yan”
be=IND.S place/time time at 3.O=have and return-PL IMP.POL
take them home while I am here!”

255) sekor itak=’an akusu
QUOT say=IND.S then
I said.

---

332 Ito Oda replaced usi ‘place; time’ with less polysemous hi ‘time’. In ‘Hekaci’ (Earlier Version)
she used in the same context rapok ‘while’; line 250.
256) $\emptyset = \emptyset = e\text{-}yay\text{-}kopuntek\text{-}pa$  
\[3.S = 3.O = \text{APPL\text{-}REFL\text{-}be.happy.about\text{-}PL}\] and 
They were happy about it.

257) sintoko patci ka $a=\emptyset = ko\text{-}uk$  
\[\text{utar anak-ne}\] lacquer-ware bowl even PASS=3.O=from.APPL-take people TOP-COP 
Although\textsuperscript{333} the people who were robbed of lacquer-ware and bowls,

258) nep ka pirka pirka\textsuperscript{334} $\emptyset = \emptyset = nukar$ somo ki yak-ka 
somehow even be.good be.good 3.S=3.O=look.at NEG do if-even 
didn’t look carefully at [the things] at all,

259) $\emptyset = \emptyset = kor\text{-}pa$  
\[p \quad \emptyset = \emptyset = uk\] wa  
$\emptyset = hosip\text{-}pa$ wa 
\[3.S = 3.O = \text{have\text{-}PL thing} \quad 3.S = 3.O = \text{take} \quad 3.S = \text{return\text{-}PL and}\] 
they returned having taken the things they had owned.

260) c=o\text{-}ype\text{-}p  
\[a=\emptyset = ko\text{-}uk\] utar anak-ne 
\[1\text{PL.S=} \text{from.APPL\text{-}eat\text{-}NR} \quad \text{PASS=} 3.O= \text{from.APPL\text{-}take people} \quad \text{TOP-COP}\] 
The people who were robbed of dishes

261) $\emptyset = \emptyset = kor$  
\[(coykek) \quad c=o\text{-}ype\text{-}p\] 
\[3.S = 3.O = \text{have} \quad 1\text{PL.S=} \text{from.APPL\text{-}eat\text{-}NR}\] 
$\emptyset = \emptyset = nukar$ wa 
\[3.S = 3.O = \text{look.at} \quad \text{and}\] 
looked at the dishes they had owned and

262) $\emptyset = \text{poro saranpe sik\text{-}te\text{-}no}$  
\[\emptyset = \emptyset = se\] wa 
\[3.S = \text{be.big silk.cloth be.full-CAUS-ADV} \quad 3.S = \text{3.O = carry.on.back} \quad \text{and} \] 
they put on their backs so [many things], that the big [wrapping] silk clothes [used as bags] were full.

\textsuperscript{333} ‘although’ in translation corresponds to yak-ka from the next line 258.

\textsuperscript{334} *pirka* <be.good> (vi) is used here as a synonym of the adjective *pirka-no* <be.good-ADV>. 
263) $\emptyset=$hosipi $\textkuran^{335}$ $ka$ $\emptyset=$an $\text{siri}$ $a=\emptyset=$nukar $wa$
3.S=return person also 3.S=be EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=see and
I saw that there was also a man returning home and

264) $i$-$y$-$\text{okunnure}=\emptyset$ $kor$, $a=\emptyset=$nukar $wa$ $or$-$o$-$\text{wa}$ ($\text{ae}?$)
APASS-EP-be.amazed.at=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=see and there-POSS-from
was amazed. I saw that and then

265) $\text{ne kotan}$ $\emptyset=\emptyset=$kor $kur$ $a=\emptyset=\text{itak}^{-}$-$\text{amkir}=\emptyset$
that village 3.S=3.O=have person IND.S=3.O=words-remember-CAUS
I warned the village chief

266) $\text{ayne}$ $\text{hosipi}=\emptyset$ $\text{ma}$
finally return=IND.S and
[and] finally I went back.

267) $\text{rewsi}=\emptyset$ $\text{usi}$ $\text{ta}$ $\text{suy}$ $\text{arki}=\emptyset$ $\text{akusu}$
spend.a.night=IND.S place to again come.PL=IND.S then
I came again to the place where we had spent a night.

268) “$\text{tan}$-$\text{to}$ $\text{ka}$ $\text{mono}$ $a$? $\text{rewsi}$ $\text{wa}$ $\text{arpa}$”
this-day also still sit spend.a.night and go
“Today, sit down (?), spend a night [here],”

269) $\text{sekor}$ $\text{cise}$ $\emptyset=\emptyset=$kor $kur$ $\emptyset=$haw-$e$-$\text{an}$ $\text{ma}$
QUOT house 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=voice-POSS-be and
said the master of the house,

270) $\text{rewsi}=\emptyset$ $\text{sekor}$ $\text{yay$-\text{nu}=\emptyset$ $\text{ma}$
spend.a.night=IND.S QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and
I thought that I’d stay for the night and

---

According to the previous context, one would expect here $\text{utar}$ ‘(several) people’ and not just $\text{kur}$ ‘person/man (returning home)’, but since Ito Oda also used singular verbal forms: $\text{hosipi}$ $<$return.SG>, $\text{an}$ $<$be.SG>, there is no way the sentence may be treated as a mistake.
271) reysi=an ma
    spend.a.night=IND.S and
    I stayed.

272) u-w-e-newsar=’an kor okay=’an, akusu
    REC-EP-to.APPL-talk=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S when
    We were talking to each other,

273) kuneywa, hopuni=an ma
    in.the.morning get.up=IND.S and
    In the morning I got up.

274) sipine=an kor inkar=’an akusu
    get.dressed=IND.S and look=IND.S then
    I got dressed and looked around.

275) menoko-po sinep
    woman-DIM one
    One young woman

276) Ø=unu-hu Ø=or-o ta Ø=arpa wa
    3.S=mother-POSS 3.O=place-POSS to 3.S=go and
    came [up] to her mother’s place and

277) nep ka Ø=Ø=ye siri ka a=Ø=nukar, akusu
    something even 3.S=3.O=say EVID.NR even IND.S=3.O=see then
    said something. I saw that.

278) or-o-wa, katkemat
    there-POSS-from housewife
    Then the housewife [the young woman’s mother]

279) Ø=hoku-hu Ø=or-o ta Ø=arpa
    went to her husband and
280) *nep ka Ө=Ө=ye siri ka a=Ө=nu**kar
something even 3.S=3.O=say EVID.NR even IND.S=3.O=see

ktor an=’an akusu
and be=IND.S then
said something. I saw that. Then

281) *cise Ө=Ө=kor kur ene Ө=haw-e-an i*
house 3.S=3.O=have person like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR
the master of the house said as follows:

282) “*okkaypo, makanak (yaynu) e=yay-nu kor e=an*
young.man what 2SG.S=REFL-hear and 2SG.S=be

ruwe an
ASS.NR COP
“Young man, what are you thinking [about]?

283) *a=matnepo-ho*
IND.S=daughter-POSS
My daughter [said]:

284) “*a=i=tura wa, (a=e-p apa) [Ө=arpa]*
PASS=3.O=take.along and IND.S=eat-NR ? 3.S=go
“If I [were] taken along and went [with the young man],

285) *okkaypo Ө=par-o a=Ө=o-suke*36 *rusuy”
young.man 3.O=mouth-POSS IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-cook want
I would like to cook for the young man (lit. ‘for the mouth of the young man’).”

36 *par-(o) o-suke* <mouth-(POSS) to.APPL-cook> ‘to cook for sb’ is a phrasal verb which consists of the body part noun *par* ‘mouth’ taking personal markers of the object, and of the applicative transitive verb *o-suke* ‘to cook at/to some place’; for the detailed description of phrasal verbs refer (Sato(o): 2001b).
286) *sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor Ø=an ruwe ne”*
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and 3.S=be ASS.NR COP
She said that and [so] she feels (lit. ‘and [so] she is’).”

287) *sekor Ø=haw-e-an, ma kusu*
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and because
As [the master of the house] said [so], [I said]:

288) “*a=Ø=e-yay-rayke hawe ne wa***
IND.S=3.O=for.APPL-be.grateful EVID.NR COP FIN
“I am grateful for [it],

289) *a=Ø=e-yay-kopuntek hawe ne wa”*
IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about EVID.NR COP FIN
I am happy about [it]!”

290) *sekor itak=’an akusu or-o-wa*
QUOT say=IND.S then there-POSS-from
I said. After that

291) *katkemat sut-ketusi (san wa) Ø=Ø=san-ke wa***
housewife grandmother-chest 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and
the housewife took out the chest.

292) *usa Ø=okay pe poro-n-no Ø=Ø=oma-re***

Ø=Ø=oma-re
3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS
She put and put [in] many various things.
She put and put dishes and [other] useful things into the chest. 

[She] also put [there] one pan,

[She] put in a lot of clothes and

tied up [all the things] with a rope.

[The daughter] brought [the stuff] to the front.

Said [the man’s] daughter.
hesasi ne Ø=Ø=suppakan pe to.the.front that 3.S=3.O=bundle.and.tie thing
Ø=Ø=san-ke siri ka a=Ø=nukar 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS EVID.NR also IND.S=3.O=see
I saw that she brought those tied up goods to the front.

wa or-o-wa kuneywa ipe=an ma and there-POSS-and in.the.morning eat=IND.S and
Then in the morning I ate.

or-o-wa Ø=yayirayke itak there-POSS-and 3.S=be.grateful words
a=Ø=ki a a=Ø=ki a wa IND.S=3.O=do ITR IND.S=3.O=do ITR and
After that I said again and again words of gratitude.

or-o-wa ne menoko-po a=Ø=tura wa there-POSS-and this woman-DIM IND.S=3.O=take.along and
Then taking this young woman along with me,

a=uni un hosipi=an ma IND.S=home.POSS to return=IND.S and
I returned to my home.

a=uni ta paye=an korka IND.S=home.POSS to go.PL=IND.S but
We went to my home, but

Ø=sini ka somo ki no 3.S=rest even NEG do and
[the young woman] didn’t rest.
307) *cise onray* $\emptyset = \emptyset = u\text{-}w\text{-}oma\text{-}re^{337}$ *wa*

house inside 3.S=3.O=REC-EP-enter-CAUS and

She put the inside of the house in order and

308) $\emptyset = m\text{-}mun\text{-}nuwe, \quad wa \quad o\text{-}r\text{-}o\text{-}wa$

3.S=rubbish-sweep and there-POSS-from

swept away the rubbish, then

309) $\emptyset = suke \quad wa$

3.S=cook and

cooked and

310) *ipe=an ma i\text{-}nu=an* *hike*

eat=IND.S and APASS-hear=IND.S then

we tasted [the food].

311) $a = \emptyset = k\text{-}or\text{-}pa \quad p \quad \emptyset = \emptyset = suwe \quad siri$

IND.S=3.O=have-PL thing 3.S=3.O=boil EVID.NR

$ne \quad kusu$

COP because

As she [just] boiled the food (lit. ‘things’) we had,

312) *yaykata suke=an ma ipe=an kor*

myself cook=IND.S and eat=IND.S when

I [tried] to cook myself and ate, [but]

---

337 *u\text{-}w\text{-}oma\text{-}re* <REC-EP-enter-CAUS> ‘to put sth in order’ (vt) (OI) is a lexicalized object-oriented reciprocal verb which also has an unlexicalized object-oriented reciprocal meaning of *joining sth/sb together*: ‘to bring sth/sb together, gather sth/sb’ (TAM 815)’ derived in a standard way from base verbs (see 4.3.4.2.2):

< *oma\text{-}re* ‘to put sth/sb (one thing, one person) somewhere’ (vb) (TAM 467)< *oma* i. ‘to enter/get in, reach sth’, ii. ‘to be present somewhere’ (vt) (TAM 467).
there was no taste at all.

It was [so], but

[myp wife] cooked for me the food (lit. ‘things’) we had.

[My wife’s] mother cooked and

it was a delicious taste!

The taste [of my wife’s] cooking was as good as the taste of her mother’s cooking. (lit. ‘She [my wife] did as good cooking as the taste [when] her mother cooked.)

I was grateful for it,
320) \( a = \emptyset = e - y a y - k o p u n t e k \) \( k a \ ki \ kor \)

\( \text{IND.S} = 3.0 = \text{about.APPL-REFL-be.glad.about} \) \( \text{even do and} \)

I was glad about [it]. And

321) \( \text{okay} = 'a n \ ay n e \ ek i m n e \ ka \ a r p a = a n \ ma \)

\( \text{be.PL=IND.S finally to.the.mountains even go=IND.S and} \)

[so] we lived. Finally I went to the mountains and

322) \( \text{yuk} \ ci = k o y k i - p \ kam u y \ ci = k o y k i - p \)

\( \text{deer 1PL.S=catch-NR bear 1PL.S=catch-NR} \)

\( a = \emptyset = e - a w - n a - r u r a \) \( \text{wa} \)

\( \text{IND.S} = 3.0 = \text{APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry} \) \( \text{and} \)

I brought back deer and bear game.

323) \( \text{nep a} = \emptyset = e \) \( \text{rusuy nep a} = \emptyset = k o n \) \( \text{rusuy ka} \) \( \text{somo} \)

\( \text{what IND.S=3.O=eat want what IND.S=3.O=have want even NEG} \)

\( \text{ki no okay} = 'a n \ ma , \)

\( \text{do and do.PL=IND.S and} \)

There was nothing more we’d want to eat or have, [so well] we lived.

324) \( \text{u-ko-po-kor} \) \( \text{ka} \) \( \text{ki} \) \( \emptyset = a n \ ma \)

\( \text{REC-with.APPL-child-have even do 3.S=be and} \)

Finally, we had children (lit. ‘there was having children with each other’) and

325) \( a = \emptyset = e - y a y - k o p u n t e k \) \( \text{wa} \)

\( \text{IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.glad.about and} \)

we were happy about [it].

326) \( a = p o - u t a r - i \) \( (a=e) \) \( a = \emptyset = e - p u n k i n e \) \( \text{wa} \)

\( \text{IND.S=child-PL-POSS IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-take.care and} \)

\( \text{an} = 'a n \ ay n e \)

\( \text{be=IND.S finally} \)

I was taking care of our children and finally
327) *a=po-utar-i ka Ø=poro wa*
IND.S=child-PL-POSS even 3.S=be.big and
our children grew up.

328) *nep ka ki ka Ø=Ø=e-askay pak-no*
something even do even 3.S=3.O=of.APPL-be.able as-ADV

*Ø=poro wa*
3.S=be.big and
[They] became so big that [they] could do everything.

329) *nepki hene ekimne hene Ø=Ø=ki-pa kor*
work or go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt or 3.S=3.S=do-PL and

*Ø=okay pe ne kusu*,
3.S=be.PL NR COP because
They worked and went to the mountains to hunt, so

330) *asinuma anak-ne ekimne ka somo*
INDEF TOP-COP go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt even NEG

*Ø=an kor*
3.S=be and
I lived without going to the mountains to hunt (lit. ‘As to me, there was no going to the mountains to hunt.’)

331) *a=po-utar-i patek Ø=ekimne wa*
IND.S=son-PL-POSS only 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt and
Only our sons went hunting to the mountains.

332) *a=i=e-re wa a=Ø=e kor Ø=an*
PASS=IND.O=eat-CAUS and IND.S=3.O=eat and 3.S=be
I was fed and I ate well and [so] it was.
Finally, I became an old man.

One boy grew up on his own and

became big. He became an adult and then

there was nothing more he’d want to eat or have, [so well] he lived.

They say there lived such a man.