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

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

### 1. *Ritunna*<sup>1</sup> *Kamuy Yukar* [Rumble. Epics of Gods]

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

#### 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 an 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.

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<sup>1</sup> *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) *{rittunna} aynu kotan {rittunna} ci<sup>2</sup>=∅=nukan rusuy {rittunna}*  
 V Ainu village V 1PL.S=3.O=see want V  
 I wanted to see an Ainu village,

- 2) *tan-pe kusu {rittunna}, punkar sinta {rittunna}*  
 this-NR reason V vine vehicle V

*a=∅=yay-ko-sina<sup>3</sup> {rittunna}*  
 IND.S=3.O=REFL-to.APPL-tie V  
 For this reason, I tied myself to a vine vehicle.

- 3) *a=∅=yay-ko-yupu<sup>4</sup> {rittunna}*  
 IND.S=3.O=REFL-to.APPL-fasten V  
 I fastened myself tight to [the vine vehicle]

- 4) *hoyupu=an ma, {rittunna}*  
 fly=IND.S and V  
 [and] flew.

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

<sup>3</sup> *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).

<sup>4</sup> *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) *arpa=an*                      *awa,*                      *{rittunna}*  
 go=IND.S                      and                      V  
 I went and
- 6) *kotan*     $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$                       *kur*     $\emptyset=soy-ke$                       *ta arpa=an 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) *{rittunna}*    *ki*    *p*    *ne*    *kusu,*                      *{rittunna}*  
                     V                      do    NR    COP    because                      V  
 Since it was so,
- 8) *puyar*                      *or*                      *wa*                      *he-hewpa=an*                      *na, {rittunna}*  
 window                      place                      into                      head-turn=IND.S                      FIN    V  
 I looked through the window.
- 9) *kotan*                       $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$                       *kur*                       $\emptyset=i-ruyke^5$                       *kor*  
 village                      3.S=3.O=have                      person 3.S=APASS-sharpen                      and
- \emptyset=an*                      *{rittunna}*  
 3.S=be                      V  
 The village chief was sharpening knives.
- 10) “*korka, asinuma anak-ne aynu kotan a=\emptyset=nukan rusuy kusu,*  
 howeverINDEF    TOP-COP    Ainu village    IND.S=3.O=see    want because
- arpa=an*    *pe*    *ne*”  
 go=IND.S    NR    COP  
 “However, I came, because I wanted to see the Ainu village.”

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<sup>5</sup> The actual pronunciation is close to [*irúke*].

*i-ruyke* <APASS-sharpen> lit ‘to be engaged in sharpening’ (vi) < *ruyke* ‘to sharpen sth’ (vt).  
 The antipassive prefix *i-* denotes the so-called generalized object - ‘undetermined person/thing’  
 which is translated here as ‘knives’ (see 4.3.4.2.4); cf. also *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)  $\emptyset$ =*pirka cise {rittunna} poro-n-no  $\emptyset$ =an<sup>6</sup> ma<sup>7</sup>, {rittunna}*  
 3.S=be.good house V be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be and V  
 There were many beautiful houses.
- 15)  $\emptyset$ =*as ru<sup>8</sup> konna {rittunna}  $\emptyset$ =mewnatara {rittunna}*  
 3.S=stand sight PRT V 3.S=be.imposing V  
 The sight of standing [houses] [from above] was imposing.

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<sup>6</sup> 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  $\emptyset$ =okay cise poro-n-no  $\emptyset$ =okay*  
 REC-same.as 3.S=be.PL house be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be.PL  
 ‘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)’.

<sup>7</sup> lit. ‘How splendidly good houses were numerous.’

<sup>8</sup> *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=∅=e-rayap kor, {rittunna} hosipi=an na,*  
 IND.S=IND.O=at.APPL-be.delighted and V return=IND.S FIN

*{rittunna} suy,*  
 V again

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

17) *kotan ∅=∅=kor kur ∅=soy-ke ta*  
 village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.O=outside-POSS to

*ek='an ruwe ne {rittunna}*  
 come=IND.S ASS.NR COP V

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

18) *inkar='an awa, {rittunna} tu menoko ∅=an<sup>9</sup> ma, {rittunna}*  
 look=IND.S and V two woman 3.S=be and V

I looked around. There were two women.

19) *sine menoko {rittunna} ∅=i-tese<sup>10</sup> kor ∅=an {rittunna}*  
 one woman V 3.S=APASS-weave and 3.S=be V

One woman was weaving a straw mat.

20) *sine menoko {rittunna} ∅=kemeyki<sup>11</sup> kor ∅=an {rittunna}*  
 one woman V 3.S=do.needlework and 3.S=be V

Another woman was doing needlework.

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<sup>9</sup> *tu menoko ∅=an* <two woman 3.S=be.SG> '[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.

<sup>10</sup> *i-tese* <APASS-weave> 'to weave a straw mat' (vi) < *tese* 'to weave sth' (vt) (NAK: 270) (see 4.3.4.2.4); cf. also *i-ruyke* in footnote 5.

<sup>11</sup> *kemeyki* (*kem-e-i-ki*) <needle-by.APPL-APASS-do> 'to do needlework' (vi).

21) *ki akusu kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur {rittunna} ene*  
 do then village 3.S=3.O=have person V like.this

*Ø=haw-e-an i, {rittunna}*  
 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR V

Then the village chief said as follows:

22) “*menoko-utar, {rittunna} kamuy Ø=payokay noyne hum-as na,*  
 woman-PL V God 3.S=walk.about as.if sound-stand FIN  
 “Women, it seems [from the sounds] that the God is walking about.

23) *oripak ki yan”, {rittunna}*  
 act.politely do IMP.POL V  
 Please act politely!”

24) *sekor, kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=haw-e-an awa,*  
 QUOT village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 Said the village chief.

25) *etok-o<sup>12</sup> ta Ø=sapa-ha<sup>13</sup> Ø=Ø=uk wa, {rittunna}*  
 before-POSS at 3.S=head-POSS 3.S=3.O=take.off and V  
 But [the women] took off their hats [even] before [they had been told].

26) *Ø=Ø=kar pe Ø=Ø=mak-o-raye, {rittunna}*  
 3.S=3.O=make thing 3.S=3.O=behind-to.APPL-move V

*Ø=oripak ki wa Ø=okay ruwe a=Ø=nukan na*  
 3.S=act.politely do and 3.S=be.PL ASS.NR IND.S=3.O=see FIN  
 I saw that the women had put aside what they had been doing and [thus] acted politely.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> Here *Ø=sapa-ha* <3.S=head-POSS> occurs as a metonymical expression with the meaning ‘their hats’.



27) {rittunna} “nep-ene-po Ø=u-itak-nu<sup>14</sup> ruwe” sekor  
 V how-like.this-DIM 3.S=REC-word-listen ASS.NR QUOT

yay-nu=an ma,  
 REFL-hear=IND.S and  
 “Oh, how obedient they are indeed!” I thought.

28) a=Ø=e-rayap kor hosipi=an ruwe ne  
 IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-be.delighted and return=IND.S ASS.NR COP

na {rittunna}  
 FIN V  
 Being delighted at [that], I went home.

29) sekor, kanna kamuy Ø=isoytak ruwe ne  
 QUOT thunder God 3.S=tell.story ASS.NR COP  
 That is the story told by the Thunder God.

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<sup>14</sup> *u-itak-nu* <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 **response action** (a person one obeys feels satisfied) of the object referent. Cf. a similar derivation *u-paskuma* ‘to transmit teachings/legends’ (vi) < *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) *a=unu-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*,      *a=ak-ih*                                       $\emptyset$ =*an*      *ma*  
 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) *ren*      *a=ne*                      *wa*      *oka*<sup>15</sup>=*an*                                      *pe*      *ne*                      <sup>16</sup>  
*hike*<sup>17</sup>,  
 three      IND.S=COP      and      be.PL=IND.S      NR      COP      and  
 [so] the three of us lived [together].
- 3) *a=unu-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*soyne*                      *kor*,  
 IND.S=mother-POSS      3.S=go.out                      when  
 [Once] when our mother was going away,

<sup>15</sup> Here is the only occurrence of *oka* <be.PL> (existential verb) in Ito Oda's data; she uses *okay* elsewhere.

<sup>16</sup> Verb+pe(NR)+ne(COP) is an assertive expression (see 4.3.7.2.4) which is also employed for generic expressions; cf.:

*kunne*    *soy*      *ta*    *sinot=an*      *yak-ka*     $\emptyset$ =*wen*      *pe*    *ne*  
 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.

<sup>17</sup> Sometimes, especially in the introductory parts of narrations, *hike* (normally 'but; a one of some kind; as regards to sth') is used as a synonym of the conjunction *wa*. In such cases the difference between *wa* and *hike* is not clear; they may be interchangeable.

- 4) *eci=aca-ha*           $\emptyset$ =*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*           $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor*          *wa*           $\emptyset$ =*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*          *isam*<sup>18</sup>          *rapok*,  
 INDEF          not.exist (here: ‘not be at home, be out’)          while  
 [But] while I am away,

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

$\emptyset$ =*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*,           $\emptyset$ =*poro*          *aynu*           $\emptyset$ =*ek*          *wa*,  
 indeed    just    3.S=be.big/old<sup>19</sup>    man    3.S=come    and  
 indeed, an old man came.

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<sup>18</sup> *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.

<sup>19</sup> 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*     $\emptyset$ =*tapkir-i*                      *sinep*     $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ani*  
 deer    3.S=animal.fore.leg-POSS            one    3.S=3.O=hold.in.hands

*kane*<sup>20</sup>                      *wa*,  
 while.AUX                and  
 Holding in his hands a single deer fore leg,

11)  $\emptyset$ =*ek*    *wa*, “ $\emptyset$ =*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*),     $\emptyset$ =*nepki*    *e-askay*<sup>21</sup>                      *pak*,    *eci=poro*  
 already    work    3.S=work    of.APPL-be.able    as    2SG.S=be.big

*ruwe*    *an*,  
 ASS.NR    be  
 You are so big, that you really can already work!

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

<sup>21</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person SG/PL is zero-marked for subject and object (see 4.3.3.3).

13) *nisat-ta nepki-e-paye<sup>22</sup>=an kus ne na<sup>23</sup>,*  
 dawn-at work-for.APPL-go.PL=IND.S going.to COP FIN  
 Let's go to work tomorrow!

14) *eci=ekank kus ne na", sekor*  
 IND.S>2SG.O=meet going.to COP FIN QUOT

*∅=haw-e-an kor,*  
 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 I'll come and meet you." Saying so,

15) *∅=hosipi wa ∅=isam, a=unu-hu ∅=ek wa*  
 3.S=return and 3.S=not.exist IND.S=mother-POSS 3.S=come and  
 [the uncle] went away. Our mother came and

16) *a=∅=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<sup>24</sup> ka, ene ∅=haw-e-an kor,*  
 2PL.S=farther-POSS also like.that 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 "Saying like that, [the uncle] also

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>24</sup> 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 *hawean* 'to say', because the latter is intransitive. A brief pause after *eci=ona-ha ka* signals the speakers hesitation.

- 18)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=tura$                       *wa*    $\emptyset=arpa$       *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*    $\emptyset=hosipi$       *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*       $\emptyset=haw-e-an$                       *i*”,  
 then      again      like.that      3.S=voice-POSS-be              NR  
 [now] again [the uncle] said that!”
- 21) *sekor*       $\emptyset=haw-e-an$                       *kor*  
 QUOT   3.S=voice-POSS-be              while  
 While saying so,
- 22) *a=unu-hu*                       $\emptyset=i-ruska$                       *kor*    $\emptyset=an$               *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-peker*                      *wa*      *haw-’as*,              *nisat-ta*               $\emptyset=ne$ ”  
 appearance-be.light      and      voice-stand      tomorrow-at      3.S=COP  
  
*kunak*                      *a= $\emptyset$ =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)  $\emptyset$ =retar katak anak si-y-oka un e= $\emptyset$ =osura yak,  
 3.S=white clew TOP REFL-EP-behind to 2SG.S=3.O=throw if

$\emptyset$ =pirka na<sup>25</sup>,  
 3.S=be.good FIN

and, as to the white clew, you should throw [it] behind yourself.”

33) sekor  $\emptyset$ =hawe-an kor,  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-be while  
 Saying so,

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

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

36) ne a=aca-ha  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =kor cip  
 this IND.S=uncle-POSS 3.S=3.O=have boat

a=i=o-re wa,  
 PASS=IND.O=get.on.board-CAUS and  
 I was taken on board of my uncle’s boat.

37) arpa=an ayne, sir-peker wa,  
 go=IND.S finally appearance-be.light and  
 I went and finally the day broke.

---

<sup>25</sup> 2SG/PL.S=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=∅=sitoma no ∅=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 ∅=okay, "te-ta nepki=an usi ∅=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, ∅=haw-e-an kor, ∅=cip-e-ya-otke<sup>26</sup>*  
 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=∅=sitoma no ∅=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]

---

<sup>26</sup> *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*<sup>27</sup>                      *kor*       $\emptyset$ =*okay*,  
 3.S=REC-move-P.RED-INTR                      and      3.S=be.PL  
 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-oka*                      *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-oka*                      *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*  
 3.S=white clew    3.S=roll-roll-SUF                      NR    COP-ADV    3.S=white                      clew
- $\emptyset$ =*kes-e*    *a*= $\emptyset$ =*anpa*<sup>28</sup>    *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,

---

<sup>27</sup> *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 reciprocal and it displays close connection with the reciprocal meaning (V.P. Nedjalkov, p.c.).

<sup>28</sup> *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)  $\emptyset$ =ek hum-i ka,  $\emptyset$ =ek haw-e<sup>29</sup> ka  $\emptyset$ =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,  $\emptyset$ =retar katak  $\emptyset$ =kes-e a= $\emptyset$ =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  $\emptyset$ =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  $\emptyset$ =haw-e-an kor,  
 oh somehow COP but QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be then  
 “Fine!”<sup>30</sup> Saying so,

---

<sup>29</sup> *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.

<sup>30</sup> The corresponding Japanese translation was suggested by Ito Oda.

54) *apa*       $\emptyset=\emptyset=cak-a$       *wa*       $\emptyset=i=kor-e$       *wa*,  
 door      3.S=3.O=open-TR      and      3.S=IND.O=have-CAUS      and

*ahup*<sup>31</sup>=*'an*      *korka*,  
 enter.PL?=IND.S      but  
 [my mother] opened the door for me and I came in.

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

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

56) *a= $\emptyset$ =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-ih*i      *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= $\emptyset$ =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.

---

<sup>31</sup> *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=∅=e-re*                      *kor*      *okay='an*  
 IND.S=mother-POSS      IND.S=3.O=eat-CAUS      and      be.PL=IND.S  
 We were feeding our mother.
- 61) *a=unu-hu*                      *pirka-reska*<sup>32</sup>                      *∅=an*      *kor*      *okay='an*      *ayne*,  
 IND.S=mother-POSS      be.good-provide.for      3.S=be      and      be.PL=IND.S      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      be.big=IND.S      NR      COP      because  
 we already became adults,
- 63) *∅=poro*              *kamuy*      *ka*      *a=∅=osikoni*              *ka*      *ki*      *p*      *ne*      *kusu*,  
 3.S=be.big      bear      even      IND.S=3.O=catch      even      do      NR      COP      because  
 as we even hunted down big bears,
- 64) *a=unu-hu*                      *pirka*                      *a=∅=reska*                      *ki*,  
 IND.S=mother-POSS      be.good      IND.S=3.O=provide.for      do  
 we fed our mother well.
- 65) *∅=pirka*              *a=e-p*                      *a=∅=e-re*                      *kor*      *okay='an*      *ayne*,  
 3.S=be.good      IND.S=eat-NR      IND.S=3.S=eat-CAUS      and      be.PL=IND.S      finally  
 We were feeding good food to [our mother]. Finally,
- 66) *a=unu-hu*                      *ka*      *∅=onne*                      *wa*      *∅=isam*                      *korka*,  
 IND.S=mother-POSS      even      3.S=be.old      and      3.S=not.exist      however  
 our mother grew old and died. However,

---

<sup>32</sup> 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-ih* *tura-no* *ekimne*<sup>33</sup> *ne*  
 IND.S=younger.brother-POSS together-ADV go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt COP  
  
*yak-ka, nep a=∅=ki yak-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-ih* *tura-no* *patek* *∅=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) *∅=pirka menoko a=∅=etun ma*  
 3.S=be.good/beautiful woman IND.S=3.O=get.as.a.bride and  
  
*a=∅=kor*<sup>34</sup> *wa,*  
 IND.S=3.O=have and  
 I got a beautiful woman as a bride and married her.
- 71) *a=ak-ih ka*  
 IND.S=younger.brother-POSS also  
 As to my brother,

---

<sup>33</sup> The verb is nominalized without any change in morphology.

<sup>34</sup> As a lexicalized verb, *kor* ‘to have/possess sth’ means ‘to marry sb’.

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

$a=\emptyset$ =*kor-e*<sup>35</sup>                      *wa,*  
 IND.S=3.O=have-CAUS      and  
 I found him a beautiful woman for a bride, too.

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

*yak-ka,*  $a=\emptyset$ =*kar*                      *kor*      *okay*=*'an*<sup>36</sup>      *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.

---

<sup>35</sup> The construction notional verb + conjunction *wa* 'and' + *kor-e* 'to give sth to sb' has the benefactive meaning (see 4.3.6.1).

<sup>36</sup> 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)).



### 3. *Kanna Kamuy. Kamuy Yukar* [The Thunder God. Epics of Gods]

Recorded on October 13, 1998. Playing Time: 6:49

#### 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 ka ta {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*      *wa*<sup>37</sup> {*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*    *rerko*<sup>38</sup> {*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*  
 3.S=sing    ITR    3.S=sing    ITR    finally    3.S=return    and    3.S=go  
 [the cuckoo] was singing and singing, and finally returned [to the sky].

---

<sup>37</sup> *wa* is a conjunction coordinating predicates or clauses, but not adverbs, like *esisoun* ‘to the right’, *eharkisoun* ‘to the left’. Hence the two words appear here as intransitive verbs *esisoun* ‘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.

<sup>38</sup> According to Ito Oda, *iwan rerko* ‘six days’ is regarded by the Ainu as ‘a week’.

- 10) あるところね、*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 Ø=an ma, Ø=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=Ø=eramiskari korka,*  
 IND.S=3.O=not.know however  
 I didn't know that. However

- 12) *sinen ne Ø=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 okaypo sinen Ø=ek wa,*  
 place-POSS to young.man one.person 3.S=come and  
 a young man came there [along].

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

*kamuy Ø=ne kuni (a=Ø=(e)ramu) [a=Ø=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.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> 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=∅=(e)ramu*  
 God COP (COP Q) must.be IND.S=3.O=think

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

16) *a=∅=nukar okaypo ∅=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, ∅=sini wa ∅=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=∅=ipe-re akusu,*  
 cook=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=eat-CAUS then  
 I cooked and fed him

19) *∅=ipe ka ki, i=y-ot ta, ∅=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, ∅=pawasnu hike,*  
 V sing-ADV cuckoo 3.S=be.eloquent one.of.some.kind  
 The singing cuckoo, one of the eloquent kind,



- 30)  $\emptyset$ =hopuni ka somo ki no  $\emptyset$ =hotke wa  $\emptyset$ =an  
 3.S=get.up even NEG do and 3.S=lie.down and 3.S=be  
 [my husband] wouldn't get up, he stayed in bed.
- 31) kakkok  $\emptyset$ =hosipi akusu,  
 cuckoo 3.S=return when  
 When the cuckoo flew away,
- 32) easir  $\emptyset$ =hopuni wa  $\emptyset$ =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  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =kor wa,  $\emptyset$ =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  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =o usat,  $\emptyset$ =rep-o-ray-e,  
 shore 3.S=3.O=enter.into coals 3.S=sea-to.APPL-move-TR  
 He shifted the coals from the shore [the edge of the hearth] to the sea [the middle  
 of the hearth].
- 35) rep  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =o usat,  $\emptyset$ =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].<sup>42</sup>
- 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= $\emptyset$ =nu kus ne na,  
 good-ADV 2SG.S=3.O=hear intention COP FIN  
 you should listen well.

<sup>42</sup> The scene of “the husband moving coals”, described in lines 34, 35, implies ‘brooding over some matter’.

38) *asinuma anak-ne aynu ka somo a=ne*  
 INDEF TOP-COP human even NEG IND.S=COP  
 I am not a human,

39) *kamuy, kanna kamuy iwan irwak ne Ø=an pe*  
 God thunder God six sibling as 3.S=be person

*a=ne korka,*  
 IND.S=COP but  
 I am one of six brothers, the Gods of Thunder.

40) *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) *asinuma anak-ne*  
 INDEF TOP-COP  
 as to me,

42) *a=Ø=yay-kotom-ka<sup>43</sup> p oar kamuy ot ta*  
 IND.S=3.O=REFL-match-CAUS person whole God place in

*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) *a=Ø=erampewtek ruwe ne wa, kusu*  
 IND.S=3.O=not.know ASS.NR COP and because  
 I couldn't find one, so

---

<sup>43</sup> *yay-kotom-ka* 'to match sb' (vt) < *kotom* 'to match' (vi) (NAK 187). The valence rules (cf. 4.3.4.1. and 4.3.4.2) seem to be violated here: *yay-kotom-ka* is derived by attaching the causative suffix *-ka* (see 4.3.4.1.1), increasing valence by one, and the reflexive prefix *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=∅=yay-kotom-ka p ∅=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]<sup>44</sup> ma u-kor='an ruwe ne korka,*  
 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, ∅=∅=ye, なんつたらな、 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=∅=ko-poy-ke (e)*  
 God 2SG.S=3.O=with.APPL-mix-INTR

*e=∅=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.”

---

<sup>44</sup> The personal affix is omitted for unclear reasons.

- 50) *sekor*,  $\emptyset=i=ko\text{-}caranke$ <sup>45</sup> *wa kusu*,  
 QUOT 3.S=IND.O=with.APPL-argue and because  
 [The cuckoo] argued with me.
- 51) “*a=∅=ran-ke* *wa ∅=ek*<sup>46</sup> *kakkok*  
 PASS=3.O=descend-CAUS and 3.S=come cuckoo  
  
*∅=ne*, *kusu*  
 3.S=COP because  
 “Because it was a cuckoo, who was sent down [by the Gods],
- 52)  $\emptyset=i=ko\text{-}caranke$  *hawe 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=∅=kasuy kus ne na*  
 IND.S=elder.brother-PL-POSS IND.S=3.O=help intention COP FIN  
 help my brothers.
- 54) *iwan pa ∅=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.

---

<sup>45</sup> *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.

<sup>46</sup> 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*<sup>47</sup> *konci*<sup>48</sup> *e=∅=kar*                      *wa*    *e=∅=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*    *∅=ek*            *ciki,*    *sine*    *konci*    *e=∅=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=∅=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*    *∅=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*                                      *∅=haw-e-an*                      *kor,*  
 QUOT    IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS    3.S=voice-POSS-be                      then

*∅=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

<sup>47</sup> *iwan* ‘six’ is regarded by the Ainu as a magic divine number.

<sup>48</sup> 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)’.





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 me<sup>52</sup>.

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-kor<sup>53</sup>,*  
 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.

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<sup>52</sup> 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.

<sup>53</sup> *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=∅=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* *∅=∅=ye* *hawe*  
somewhere even somewhere even something even 3.S=3.O=say EVID.NR  
  
*ka* *∅=isam* *no*,  
even 3.S=not.exist and  
there was nothing to complain about.
- 83) (*nep... pirk...*) *sonno* *u-kor,* *sino* *u-kor* *∅=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* *∅=itak* *ruwe* *ne*  
QUOT one woman 3.S=tell ASS.NR COP  
This is the story one woman told.

#### 4. *Ape Huci Kamuy. Kamuy Yukar* [The Fire Goddess. Epics of Gods]

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

##### 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 *ecিকেপ্পো* – 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<sup>54</sup> patek  
 V night or day or needlework only  
 Day and night, I was doing only needlework.<sup>55</sup>

- 2) {ape ape apenna apenna} Ø=an kor an='an wa, akusu,  
 V 3.S=be and be=IND.S and then  
 It was [so] and [so] I lived.

- 3) hentomani ta<sup>56</sup> ecিকেppo puyar-sik-rap<sup>57</sup> Ø=tok-pa-tok-pa  
 once at tit window-eye-feather 3.S=peck-PL-peck-PL

Ø=haw-e

3.S=voice-POSS

Once what sounded like the voice of a Tit, pecking at the window screen of thatch,

- 4) Ø=i=ko-ek humi ene an i,  
 3.S=IND.O=to.APPL-come EVID.NR like.this be NR

<sup>54</sup> kemeyki (kem-e-i-ki) <needle-by.APPL-APASS-do> 'to do needlework' (vi) is used here as a noun 'needlework'.

<sup>55</sup> lit. 'Day and night, [there] was only needlework.'

<sup>56</sup> The pronunciation is [héntomaniita]. Here, the /i/ vowel is lengthened and the glottal stop /' / before vowel /a/ (after /m/) is omitted; the latter fact causes a change in the syllabic structure of the word: we have hen-to-ma-ni:-ta instead of hen-tom-ani-ta, as in regular cases with a glottal stop.

<sup>57</sup> 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-hoku*<sup>58</sup>  
 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*  
 3.S=REC-EP-with.APPL-sitting.place-COP and 3.S=be.PL ASS.NR COP  
 They are making love to each other.

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<sup>58</sup> *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=∅=(sin)nukar*<sup>59</sup> *somo* *ki*,  
 and 2SG.S=1SG.O=see 2SG.S=3.O=see NEG do  
 Don't you see that?
- 11) *e=∅=e-siknak* *ruwe*" *sekor*, *ecিকেপ্পো* *∅=haw-e-an*,  
 2SG.S=3.O=about.APPL-be.blind ASS.NR QUOT tit 3.S=voice-POSS-be  
 "Are you blind about that?!" Said the Tit.
- 12) *a=kisar-puy-e* *otu-suy* *re-suy* *∅=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=∅=san-ke* *wa*,  
 grandmother-chest IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and  
 I took down my dowry chest<sup>60</sup> and
- 14) *a=∅=tek-kus-pa-re* *wa* *inkar='an*<sup>61</sup> *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) *∅=pas* *tek-un-pe*, *∅=pas* *pirakka*<sup>62</sup> *∅=an* *ruwe* *ne* *wa*,  
 3.S=run hand-on-NR 3.S=run wooden.clog 3.S=be ASS.NR COP and  
 It is a fact that there was [a pair of] magic gloves and a magic wooden clog.

<sup>59</sup> (*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 /-r/) and the whole word *sin-nukar* would have the meaning 'to see the sight/scene' (vi).

<sup>60</sup> In this translation I followed the explanation of Ito Oda.

<sup>61</sup> 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.

<sup>62</sup> *∅=pas tek-un-pe*, *∅=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)  $\emptyset$ =pas tek-un-pe a=tek-ehe a= $\emptyset$ =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)  $\emptyset$ =pas pirakka a=kema-ha a= $\emptyset$ =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  $\emptyset$ =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,  $\emptyset$ =pas pirakka  
 river-go.upstream.along=IND.S but 3.S=run wooden.clog  
  
 a= $\emptyset$ =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-ihí  $\emptyset$ =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= $\emptyset$ =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  $\emptyset$ =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<sup>63</sup> 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)<sup>64</sup> [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

<sup>63</sup> *ehese* must be a kind of idiomatic expression with the meaning ‘to stop worrying’.

<sup>64</sup> *hetet* is an unclear form which was rejected by Ito Oda who produced sentences 28 and 29 with *paye* instead.

*nep*                       $\emptyset$ =*ne*                      *kusu*,  
 something              3.S=COP                      because  
 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)  $\emptyset$ =*umurek*                      *utar*               $\emptyset$ =*i=nukar*                      *wa*,  
 3.S=be.husband.and.wife              people              3.S=IND.S=look.at              and  
 the lovers looked at me,

33)  $\emptyset$ =*mina*              *kane*                       $\emptyset$ =*okay*              *wa*               $\emptyset$ =*i=nukar*,  
 3.S=smile              and.so.on.CONJ              3.S=be.PL              and              3.S=IND.S=look.at  
 smiled and so on. They looked at me.

34) “*hemanta*               $\emptyset$ =*pon*                      *cikap*              *ene,*               $\emptyset$ =*haw-ehe*  
 why              3.S=be.little              bird              like.this              3.S=voice-POSS

*pirka*<sup>65</sup>                       $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an*”  
 be.beautiful              3.S=voice-POSS-be  
 “Why is this little bird singing so beautifully?”

35) *sekor*,               $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-oka*                      *kor,*               $\emptyset$ =*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)  $\emptyset$ =*i=nukar*                      *wa*               $\emptyset$ =*an*              *wa,*              *a= $\emptyset$ =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

---

<sup>65</sup> 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*       $\emptyset=mi-pa-p-ih\dot{i}$ <sup>66</sup>,      ( $\emptyset=mour-ih\dot{i}$ )  
 water-adhere.to    God      3.S=wear-PL-NR-POSS      3.S=underwear-POSS

$\emptyset=mour-i$       *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,*       $\emptyset=mi-p-ih\dot{i}$       *ka*      *opitta*  
 3.S=underwear-POSS    even    3.S=wear-NR-POSS    even    all

*a=\emptyset=ko-sos-pa-re*<sup>67</sup>      *hi ka*       $\emptyset=\emptyset=erampewtek$       *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

---

<sup>66</sup>  $\emptyset=mi-pa-p-ih\dot{i}$  <3.S=wear-PL-NR-POSS>, which is the plural form of  $\emptyset=mi-p-ih\dot{i}$  <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.

<sup>67</sup> *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)  $\emptyset$ =*mina* *kane*  $\emptyset$ =*an*, *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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*=*hoku-hu* *ka*  $\emptyset$ =*tepa-ha* *ka*  $\emptyset$ =*mi-p-i-hi* *ka*  
 IND.S=husband-POSS also 3.S=loincloth-POSS also 3.S=wear-NR-POSS also

*a*= $\emptyset$ =*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) *akusu*, *sonno* *poka* *a*=*hoku-hu* *ka*  $\emptyset$ =*tepa-ha* *ka*  
 then really just IND.S=husband-POSS also 3.S=loincloth-POSS also

$\emptyset$ =*mi-p-ih* *ka* *opitta* *a*= $\emptyset$ =*ko-sos-o*,  
 3.S=wear-NR-POSS also all IND.S=3.O=from.APPL-take.off-TR  
 Then really, I took off my husband his loincloth and all his clothes.

43) *ot* *ta*,  $\emptyset$ =*ar-atusa* *sirihi* *an* *akusu*,  
 place at 3.S=completely-be.naked EVID.NR be then  
 It looked as if [my husband] was completely naked.

44) *wakka-us* *kamuy* *a*=*hoku-hu*  $\emptyset$ =*ar-atusa*  
 water-adhere.to God IND.S=husband-POSS 3.S=completely-be.naked

*ruwe*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*nukar* *wa*,  $\emptyset$ =*yay-huymampa* *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) *yaykata* *ka*  $\emptyset$ =*ar-atusa* *ruwe* *an* *a*,  
 oneself also 3.S=completely-be.naked ASS.NR be PERF  
 It is a fact that she was completely naked herself!<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Being completely naked, especially for women, is considered to be very shameful by the Ainu.



- 46)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=e\text{-ramutuy}$  (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)  $\emptyset=hum\text{-rik-ekatta}$  kor,  
 3.S==sound-upper.place-go.with.force.SUF and  
 [the Water Goddess] let out a loud thunder-like cry<sup>69</sup> and
- 48) *neun ka  $\emptyset=arpa$  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'<sup>70</sup>)
- 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

<sup>69</sup> This translation was suggested by the Ito Oda.

<sup>70</sup> It is an idiomatic expression with the meaning 'for some time, for a while'. The translation was suggested by Ito Oda.



59) *sekor*  $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an* *kor*;  $\emptyset$ =*sik-nuy-a-nuy-a*<sup>73</sup> *kor*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be while 3.S=eye-rub-TR-rub-TR and  
 Saying so, he rubbed [his] eyes and

60)  $\emptyset$ =*hopuni* *korka*, *a= $\emptyset$ =*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= $\emptyset$ =*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*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*nuy-e*  
 sheath.of.sword top 3.S=3.O=carve-TR

*tomi*<sup>74</sup> *ka*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*nuy-e* *kor*  $\emptyset$ =*an*,  
 sheath.of.sword top 3.S=3.O=carve-TR and 3.S=be  
 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,

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

<sup>74</sup> *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*<sup>75</sup>, *kem ru-w-e etok*  
 needle trace-back needle trace-EP-POSS front

*a=∅=sik-ko-tes-u*<sup>76</sup> *kor ki*  
 IND.S=3.O=eye-with.APPL-slide-TR and do  
 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) *∅=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) *∅=uko-mismu wa, nepki patek ∅=∅=ki p*  
 3.S=SOC-feel.sad and work only 3.S=3.O=do person  
  
*a=ne ruwe ne*  
 IND.S=COP ASS.NR COP  
 we were the people who felt sad together and only worked.

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

---

<sup>75</sup> *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).

<sup>76</sup> *sik-ko-tes-u* <eye-together.with.APPL-slide-TR> lit. ‘to slide (the trace of the needle) together with one’s eyes’ has a lexicalized meaning ‘to watch sth intently’.

## 5. *Amamecikappo*<sup>77</sup>. *Kamuy Yukar* [The Sparrow. Epics of Gods]

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.

---

<sup>77</sup> *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.

## Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation, and Notes

- 1) *{hankirikiri}*<sup>78</sup>    *sine*        *amam*<sup>79</sup>    *num*        *{hankirikiri}*  
       V                    one            rice            grain        V

*ci=∅=tokpa-tokpa,*                    *{hankirikiri}*

1PL.S=3.O=peck-peck        V

I pecked and pecked at a grain of rice, [grinding it into powder].

- 2) *sake-he*                    *ci=∅=kar*                    *{hankirikiri}*  
       rice.wine-POSS    1PL.S=3.O=make            V

I was making rice-wine of [that].

- 3) *kamuy opitta {hankirikiri}* *c*<sup>80</sup>=∅=*e-tak-kar*<sup>81</sup>                    *na, {hankirikiri}*  
       God    all    V                    1PL.S=3.O=to.APPL.invite-SUF    FIN    V

I invited all the Gods to [the party].

---

<sup>78</sup> *hankirikiri* is a refrain imitating the chirping of a sparrow.

<sup>79</sup> *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’.

<sup>80</sup> *c(i)=* is the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural exclusive marker for transitive verbs (cf. =*as*, the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural exclusive marker for intransitive verbs) which is also used in the meaning of the 1<sup>st</sup> 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.

<sup>81</sup> 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 okayo ka {hankirikiri} c=∅=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 okayo ka {hankirikiri} c=∅=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 ∅=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 ∅=pirka” sekor 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} ∅=∅=e-uko-yay-kopuntek<sup>82</sup> {hankirikiri}*  
 God all V 3.S=3.O=at.APPL-SOC-REFL-rejoice.at V  
 all the Gods rejoiced at [that] together.

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

We [kept] drinking [and]

---

<sup>82</sup> Note that here the second vowel /u/ is not reduced to /w/ as in most cases.





[the Jay Man] returned.

- 18) *kamuy opitta {hankirikiri} Ø=Ø=e-mina-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

*Ø=inkar-inkar, {hankirikiri}*  
3.S=watch-watch V  
Then the Crow Man watched [this] attentively

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

- 21) *nani Ø=hosipi wa Ø=ek na, {hankirikiri}*  
soon 3.S=return and 3.S=come FIN V  
came back soon.

- 22) *inkar=an<sup>85</sup> awa, {hankirikiri}*  
look.around=IND.S when V  
When I looked around,

- 23) *Ø=poro si tak-tak {hankirikiri}*  
3.S=be.big dung chunk-chunk V

*Ø=Ø=e-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,

---

<sup>85</sup> Note that the glottal stop before [a] is omitted here.

- 24) (*ek*) Ø=*hosipi*      *wa*      Ø=*ek*      *na,*      {*hankirikiri*}  
 come    3.S=return      and      3.S=come      FIN    V  
 came back.
- 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 okayo {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*<sup>86</sup>,      {*hankirikiri*}  
 PASS=3.O=die=CAUS      and      3.S=not.exist      V  
 killed and
- 28) *esoyne a=Ø=osura*      *wa*      Ø=*an*<sup>87</sup>      *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*<sup>88</sup>      *anak somo*  
 like.this    be    APASS-be.dirty-CAUS    APASS-of.APPL-copy    TOP    NEG

<sup>86</sup> The construction notional verb + conjunction *wa* ‘and’ + *isam* ‘to not exist’ expresses the meaning of the perfective aspect (see 4.3.5.2.3).

<sup>87</sup> 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).

<sup>88</sup> *ikoyampa* < *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.

Ø=*an*            *na*”  
3.S=*be*            *FIN*

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.

## 6. *Mus Kamuy. Uwepeker* [The Fly God. Folk Tale]

Recorded on December 25, 1998. Playing Time: 4:38

### 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*)<sup>89</sup> 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.

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<sup>89</sup> 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...*)  $\emptyset$ =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)  $\emptyset$ =poro cise<sup>90</sup> ot ta sinen ne  $\emptyset$ =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<sup>91</sup> péka (heman) nep ka  $\emptyset$ =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.

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<sup>90</sup> In a later interview, Ito Oda said that “a big house the fly lived in” was in reality just *punkar* ‘a vine’.

<sup>91</sup> 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  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =kor kur*  $\emptyset$ =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)  $\emptyset$ =*topattumi*<sup>92</sup> *kuni p poro-n-no (ek)*  
 3.S=make.a.night.raid expect NR be.many-EP-ADV come.SG

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

8)  $\emptyset$ =*as wa  $\emptyset$ =okay*  
 3.S=stand and 3.S=be.PL  
 They were standing.

9)  $\emptyset$ =*nimara-ha cise ka peka  $\emptyset$ =omanan kor  $\emptyset$ =an hi*  
 3.S=part-POSS house top on 3.S=walk and 3.S=be NR

*a= $\emptyset$ =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= $\emptyset$ =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.

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<sup>92</sup> *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=∅=e-asur-ani*                                  *kusu*                                  *arpa=an*  
 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*  
 run=IND.S        and        go=IND.S        and  
 I went running.
- 14) *kotan*    *∅=∅=kor*                                  *kur*                                  *∅=or-o*                                  *ta*    *arpa=an*    *ma*  
 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) *∅=topattumi*                                  *kuni*                                  *p<sup>93</sup>*                                  *utar*  
 3.S=make.a.night.raid                                  expect                                  NR                                  people
- poro-n-no*                                  *∅=arki*  
 be.many-EP-ADV                                  3.S=come.PL  
 the people who were expected to make a night raid had come in great numbers.
- 17) *wa*    *∅=okay*                                  *ruwe*                                  *ne*”  
 and    3.S=be.PL                                  ASS.NR        COP  
 and stayed.”

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<sup>93</sup> *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).

*or-o*                                  *ta sonno poka*    *topattumi-utar*    *poro-n-no*                                  *∅=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...’

- 18) *sekor*, *kotan*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$  *kur*  $\emptyset=kisar-puy-e$   
 QUOT village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=ear-hole-POSS

ここへ、蠅だからここへ

HERE, SINCE IT WAS A FLY, [IT LANDED] HERE

*kotan*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$  *kur*  $\emptyset=kisar-puy-e$   
 village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=ear-hole-POSS

*a*= $\emptyset$ =*e-us* *wa*, *a*= $\emptyset$ =*ye* *akusu*  
 IND.S=3.O=head-attach.to and IND.S=3.O=say then  
 I said [so], having attached [my] head to the village chief's ear-hole. Then

- 19)  $\emptyset$ =*humse* *kor*  $\emptyset$ =*as* *tek* *a* *korka*  
 3.S=raise.a.cry and 3.S=stand.up suddenly PERF but  
 [the village chief] raised a cry, [he] suddenly stood up, but

- 20)  $\emptyset$ =*a* *wa* *or-o-wa*  
 3.S=sit.down and there-POSS-from  
 [then] sat down. After that

- 21) *yay-utar*<sup>94</sup>  $\emptyset$ =*or-o*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*pawetenke* *wa*  
 REFL-people 3.O=place-POSS 3.S=3.O=give.instructions.to and  
 he gave instructions to his retainers and

- 22) *kotan* *epitta*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e-asur-ani* *wa*  
 village all.over 3.S=3.O=about.APPL-rumor-hold and  
 warned [the people] about [the raid] all over the village.

- 23) *kotan*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor* *utar* *poro-n-no*  
 village 3.S=3.O=have people be.many-EP-ADV  
 Many villagers

<sup>94</sup> *yay-utar* <REFL-people> was translated by Ito Oda as 'retainers'.



- 24) *nispa-utar*                       $\emptyset$ =*uwekarpa*                      *wa*  
rich.man-PL                      3.S=come.together                      and  
[and] the rich men came together.
- 25) *or-o-wa-no*                       $\emptyset$ =*tumi-nonnoitak-pa*<sup>95</sup>  
there-POSS-from-ADV                      3.S=battle-pray.Gods.for-PL  
After that they prayed [and]
- 26)  $\emptyset$ =*tumi-nonnoitak-pa*                      *ayne*  
3.S=battle-pray.Gods.for-PL                      finally  
prayed to the Gods for their help in the battle. Finally,
- 27) *kotan pa wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*poro*                      *kem tak*                       $\emptyset$ =*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*                       $\emptyset$ =*hacir*                      *na*  
village lower.part at                      3.S=fall.down                      FIN  
fell down on the lower part of the village.
- 29) “ $\emptyset$ =*wen ruwe ne wa*”                      *sekon ne, suy*  
3.S=be.terrible ASS.NR COP FIN QUOT COP again  
It was [said] to be really terrible. Again

---

<sup>95</sup> Nakagawa has registered *tumi-nonnoytak-(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)  $\emptyset$ =*kamuy-*'*or-o-[o]-itak*<sup>96</sup>                      *kor*                       $\emptyset$ =*okay*                      *akusu*  
 3.S=God-place-POSS-to.APPL-speak                      and                      3.S=be.PL                      then  
 they were praying to the Gods, then
- 31) *kotan kes wa*  $\emptyset$ =*poro kem tak*  $\emptyset$ =*hopuni wa*  
 village lower.part from 3.S=be.big                      blood clot                      3.S=fly                      and  
 a big clot of blood flew from the lower part of the village and
- 32) *kotan pa un*  $\emptyset$ =*hacir na*  
 village upper.part at 3.S=fall.down                      FIN  
 fell down on the upper part of the village.
- 33) “ $\emptyset$ =*wen ruwe ne*”                      *sekor*                       $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-oka kor*  
 3.S=be.terrible                      ASS.NR COP QUOT                      3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL                      and  
 [Everyone] said that it was really terrible.
- 34)  $\emptyset$ =*i-nonnoitak a*                       $\emptyset$ =*i-nonnoitak a*                      *ayne,*  
 3.S=APASS-pray.gods.for ITR                      3.S=APASS-pray.gods.for ITR                      finally  
 [The villagers] prayed and prayed and finally

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<sup>96</sup> I suggest that the intended form is *kamuy-*'*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 *o-* ‘to, at’ is to be included here, because there is no other way for a noun (*kamuy oro* ‘place of Gods’) to be incorporated in an intransitive verb (*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 *oro* ‘place’ would be marked by a case-postposition as an oblique argument of the intransitive verb *itak* ‘to say, speak’.

- 35) *kotan noski wa Ø=poro kem tak*  
 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  
 village.
- 36) *kotan pa un sine p Ø=hacir,*  
 village upper.part at one thing 3.S=fall.down  
 One piece fell down on the upper end of the village,
- 37) *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) *akusu "tane Ø=pirka siri ne" sekor ne,*  
 then already 3.S=be.good EVID.NR COP QUOT COP  
 Then they said, "It looks as if it is already enough."
- 39) *or-o-wa-no, Ø=tumi-hayok-pa<sup>97</sup> ki kor*  
 there-POSS-from-and 3.S=battle-arm.oneself-PL do and  
 After that they armed themselves.
- 40) *nispa-utar Ø=tumi-hayok-pa kor Ø=okay, wa*  
 rich.man-PL 3.S=battle-arm.oneself-PL and 3.S=be.PL and  
 The rich men were arming themselves.

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<sup>97</sup> The verb *tumi-hayok-pa* is not registered in dictionaries as a single word. Since the underlying verb *hayok* 'to arm oneself' (TAM 177) is intransitive, the noun *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)  $\emptyset$ =*tumi-hayok-pa*                      *wa*                      *or-o-wa*  
 3.S=battle-arm.oneself-PL                      and                      there-POSS-from  
 [The villages] armed themselves. After that
- 42) *kunne*                       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*tére*                      *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*okay*<sup>98</sup>                      *akusu*  
 nightfall                      3.S=3.O=wait                      and                      3.S=be.PL                      then
- sir-kunne*    *akusu*  
 appearance-grow.dark                      when  
 they were waiting for nightfall, then it grew dark.
- 43) *sonno*                      *poka*                       $\emptyset$ =*topattumi*    *kuni-p*  
 really                      only                      3.S=make.a.night.raid                      in.order.to-NR
- utar*                      *poro-n-no*     $\emptyset$ =*arki-arki*  
 people                      be.many-EP-ADV                      3.S=come.PL-come.PL  
 Many people [the attackers] [started] coming and coming indeed in order to make  
 a night raid.
- 44) *opitta*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*tuye*                      *wa*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*ray-ke*    *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*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) *sine-p*    *ka*                       $\emptyset$ =*isam*    *no*  
 one-person                      even                      3.S=not.exist                      and  
 to the last person.
- 46) *opitta*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*ray-ke*    *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*isam*,                      *akusu*                      *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]:

---

<sup>98</sup> With durative transitive notional verbs (here: *tére*) the construction notional verb + conjunction *wa* ‘and’+ *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  $\emptyset=an$  *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= $\emptyset$ =nomi* *kus* *ne”* *sekor*  
 fly God IND.S=3.O=honour intention COP QUOT

$\emptyset=haw-e-oka$  *kor*  
 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL and  
 honour the Fly God [with a celebration].” They said.

50)  $\emptyset=sake-kar$  *kur*  $\emptyset=sake-kar,$   
 3.S=rice.wine-make man 3.S=rice.wine-make  
 A man, who was in charge of brewing rice-wine, brewed rice-wine.

51)  $\emptyset=inawke$  *kur*  $\emptyset=inaw-ke$   
 3.S=*inaw*-make man 3.S=*inaw*-make  
 A man, who was in charge of making *inaw* [whittled prayer sticks used as offerings to the gods], made *inaw*.

52) *usa* *sito*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kar,$  *hene*  
 various dumpling 3.S=3.O=make or  
 They made various dumplings.

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

*a= $\emptyset$ =kar* *wa*  
 IND.S=3.O=make and  
 We made lots of various food, delicious food.

54) *sake ka tutko rerko Ø=ne wa*  
 rice.wine even two.days three.days 3.S=COP and

*Ø=pirka sekor ne 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-o-wa, “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 hosipi<sup>99</sup> 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.

---

<sup>99</sup> 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*  
 IND.S=house-POSS to  
 To my house...

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

*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=∅=e-yay-kamuy-ne-re*<sup>100</sup> *kor ∅=an,*  
 IND.S=3.O=because.APPL-REFL-God-COP-CAUS and 3.S=be  
 It happened that I became God because [I had been properly worshipped by the  
 Ainu] and it was [so].

63) *mus a=ne ruwe ne*  
 fly IND.S=COP ASS.NR COP  
 I was a Fly.

---

<sup>100</sup> *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).

## **7. *Sine Menoko Isoytak. Uwepeker* [The Story of a Woman. Folk Tale]**

**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 quit 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.





- 6) *a=hoku-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*arke*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*yas-a*                      *a*                      *pekor*  
IND.S=husband-POSS    3.S=half.POSS    PASS=3.O=tear-TR    PERF    as.if
- $\emptyset$ =*an*<sup>103</sup>                      *hekaci*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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.<sup>104</sup> [lit. ‘the boy who was [as similar] as if a half of my husband had been torn out’]
- 7) *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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*                       $\emptyset$ =*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)  $\emptyset$ =*ekimne*                      *ka*                      *somo*                      *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) *cise*                      *ot*                      *ta*                      *patek*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*                      *ma*  
house                      place                      at                      only                      3.S=be                      and  
Only staying at home,
- 12) *hekaci*                       $\emptyset$ =*nanu-hu*                      *patek*                       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*nukar*                      *kor*  
boy                      3.S=face-POSS                      only                      3.S=3.O=look.at                      and  
he was always looking at the boy’s face.

<sup>103</sup> This idiomatic expression of similarity has many parallels in other languages.

<sup>104</sup> 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*       $\emptyset$ =*an*      *ma*      (*ayn...*)      *ayne,*  
 every-day-be-and      3.S=be      and      finally  
 He spent every day [like that]. Finally,
- 14) *re pa ka*       $\emptyset$ =*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)  $\emptyset$ =*po-ho*       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e-punkine*      *wa*       $\emptyset$ =*an*  
 3.S=son-POSS      3.S=3.O=of.APPL-take.care      and      3.S=be
- 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*       $\emptyset$ =*po-kor*      *wa a= $\emptyset$ =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= $\emptyset$ =yas-a*      *a pekor*       $\emptyset$ =*an hekaci*  
 IND.S=half-POSS      PASS=3.O=tear-TR PERF as.if 3.S=be boy
- $\emptyset$ =*ne*”      *sekor aynu opitta*       $\emptyset$ =*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=nenno*       $\emptyset$ =*an*      *hekaci ne noyne*       $\emptyset$ =*an*      *ma*  
 IND.O=similar 3.S=be      boy as seemingly 3.S=be and  
 similar to me the boy was.

19) *a=∅=e-yay-kopuntek*                      *wa*    *a=∅=uko-terke-re*<sup>105</sup>  
 IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at    and    IND.S=3.O=SOC-run-CAUS

*kor*                      *∅=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*                      *ka*    *somo*    *ki*  
 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*  
 go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S    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.

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<sup>105</sup> *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'):

*ukoterkere* '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. Nadjalkov, p. c.).

- 23)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=$ *san-ke*                      *kuca*                      *ka*  
 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) *kim-un*            *kuca*            *ka*            *a=\emptyset=kor*            *pe*    *ne*    *kusu*  
 mountains-in    hunting.hut    even    IND.S=3.O=have    NR    COP    because  
 and also had a hunting hut in the mountains, so
- 25) *kim-un*            *kuca*            *ot*            *ta*            *arpa=an*            *ma(a)*,  
 mountains-in    hunting.hut    place    to            go=IND.S            and  
 I went to the hunting hut in the mountains,
- 26)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=$ *san-ke*                      *kuca*                      *ot*            *ta*            *arpa=an*                      *ma*  
 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS    hunting.hut            place            to            go=IND.S                      and  
 I went to the hunting hut by the sea,
- 27) *rewsi=an*                      *ma*            *yay-e-ynonnoitak='an*                      *ma*  
 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) *inaw*            *a=\emptyset=roski*                      *wa*            *suke=an*                      *ma*  
*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) *ipe=an*            *ma*            *hotke=an*                      *ma*  
 eat=IND.S            and            sleep=IND.S                      and  
 ate and slept.
- 30) *kuneywa*            *hopuni=an*                      *ma*            *inkar='an*                      *akusu*  
 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=roski*                      *a*            *inaw*            *opitta*  
 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,*  $\emptyset$ =*hacir* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*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*  $a=\emptyset$ =*ramu* *ka* *somo* *ki no*  $a=\emptyset$ =*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-ynonnoitak='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=∅=roski inaw opitta ∅=horak wa ∅=an,*  
 IND.S=3.O=stand *inaw* all 3.S=fall.down and 3.S=be  
 All the *inaw* which I placed standing were fallen.

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

43) *neun ka apkas='an ma inkar='an*  
 somewhere even walk=IND.S and look.around=IND.S  
  
*sekor yay-nu=an ma*  
 QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and  
 I decided to walk somewhere around and have a look.

44) *kuca soy ta ∅=pon nay*  
 hunting.hut outside at 3.S=be.small river  
  
*∅=pirka ∅=pon nay ka ∅=an*  
 3.S=be.good 3.S=be.small river even 3.S=be  
 There was a small river, a good small river outside the hunting hut.

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

46) *nupuri poro-n-no ∅=an<sup>106</sup>,*  
 mountain be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be  
 There were mountains all around.

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<sup>106</sup> Note that in Ainu it is possible to use a single form of the existential verb *an* 'to be (SG)' (cf. *oka* 'be (PL)') with the word *poronno* 'many', i. e. in the sentence with a semantically plural subject.

47) *ne nupuri a=∅=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 ∅=pon-pon nupuri onnay ta*  
 mountain end at 3.S=be.small-be.small mountain inside in

*nep ka ∅=an ma a=∅=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) *∅=arke cipor-pe a=∅=o-ta<sup>107</sup>*  
 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) *∅=arke ∅=ci-kuy pas a=∅=kus-te<sup>108</sup>*  
 3.S=half.POSS 3.S=RES-crush ashes PASS=3.O=pass.over-CAUS

*a pekor<sup>109</sup> ∅=an pe ∅=an ma*  
 PERF as.if 3.S=be person 3.S=be and  
 and whose other half seemed to be covered with crushed ashes.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *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 *∅=arke* ‘his half’ introduced by the applicative prefix.

<sup>108</sup> *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 *ci-kuy* ‘to be crushed’ and a Locative object *∅=arke* ‘his half’.

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

<sup>110</sup> It is an idiomatic expression describing “an evil bear” (TAM 57), who is half red (salmon roe) and half white (ashes).



51)  $\emptyset=i=nukar$                       *akusu*               $\emptyset=mina$               *tek*                      *pekor*  
 3.S=IND.O=look.at              then              3.S=laugh              for.a.moment              as.if

$\emptyset=i-ki$                       *siri*                       $a=\emptyset=nukar$                       *wa,*                      *kusu*  
 3.S=APASS-do              EVID.NR              IND.S=IND.O=see                      and                      because  
 I saw that he looked at me [and] then laughed for a moment. So

52) *nani*                       $hosipi=an$                       (*ak[usu]*)                      *korka*  
 immediately                      return=IND.S                      then                      but  
 I immediately turned back but

53)  $i=kes$                        $\emptyset=\emptyset=anpa^{111}$                       *wa*                       $\emptyset=ek$   
 IND.O=end                      3.S=3.O=hold.PL                      and                      3.S=come  
 he chased me

54) *wa*               $i=y-os$                        $\emptyset=i=haypa-haypa$   
 and              IND.O=EP-after              3.S=IND.O=fail.to.seize-fail.to.seize  
 but he failed to seize me.

55)  $a=sapa-ha$                        $\emptyset=\emptyset=haypa-haypa$                       *kor*                       $\emptyset=ek,$   
 IND.S=head-POSS              3.S=3.O=fail.to.seize-fail.to.seize                      and                      3.S=come  
 He tried to grasp my head,

56) *wa*              *kusu*                      *tasiro*                       $a=\emptyset=etaye$                       *wa*  
 and              because              large.knife                      IND.S=3.O=pull.out                      and  
 so I pulled out a large knife and

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

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<sup>111</sup> *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=∅=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) *∅=i=rispa-rispa*                      *kor*      *i=y-oka-ke*<sup>112</sup>,                      (*i=y-oka*      *ke...*)  
 3.S=IND.O=pluck-pluck      and      IND.O=EP-after-POSS?      IND.O=EP-after  
 he plucked me.
- 60) (*∅=kes-e*                      *∅=∅=anpa*                      *wa*)<sup>113</sup>  
 3.O=end-POSS      3.S=3.O=hold.PL                      and)  
  
*i=kes*                      *∅=∅=anpa*                      *wa*                      *∅=ek*  
 IND.O=end                      3.S=3.O=hold.PL                      and                      3.S=come  
 [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=∅=tawki*                      (*ranya?*)[*ranke*]      *a=∅=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

<sup>112</sup> This form is not included in the translation, because it has been corrected by *i=kes*, see (60).

<sup>113</sup> 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=∅=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 ∅=terke,*  
 there-POSS-from another.place to 3.S=jump  
 Then [the topic] changes.
- 67) *a=hoku-hu ∅=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=∅=yas-a a pekor ∅=an*  
 IND.S=husband-POSS PASS=3.O=tear-TR PERF as.if 3.S=be  
  
*hekaci a=∅=kor wa*  
 boy IND.S=3.O=have and  
 I gave birth to a [baby] boy who looked exactly like my husband.<sup>114</sup>
- 70) *∅=∅=e-yay-kopuntek wa*  
 3.S=3.O=at.APPL-SOC-REFL-rejoice.at and  
 My husband rejoiced at that.
- 71) *a=∅=kor hekaci ∅=∅=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) *∅=ekimne ka somo ki no*  
 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt even NEG do and  
 stopped going to the mountains to hunt.

<sup>114</sup> 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<sup>115</sup> 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<sup>116</sup> 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.

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<sup>115</sup> 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).

<sup>116</sup> *he-muy-muy-e* <head-cover-cover-TR> ‘to lie curled up and sleep motionlessly’. The meaning was suggested by Ito Oda.



- 83) *a=hoku-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*ekimne*                      *kusu*  
IND.S=husband-POSS    3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt                      in.order
- $\emptyset$ =*arpa*                      *a*  
3.S=go                      PERF  
My husband went hunting
- 84) *korka*                      *hosipi*                      *ka*                       $\emptyset$ =*isam*                      *no*  
but                      return                      even                      3.S=not.exist                      and  
and never came back.
- 85) *seta*    *patek*     $\emptyset$ =*hosipi*                      *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*ek*                      *wa*  
dog    only    3.S=return                      and                      3.S=come                      and  
Only his dog has returned and
- 86)  $\emptyset$ =*he-muy-muy-e*                      *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*    *ruwe*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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*= $\emptyset$ =*nukar*                      *kor*  
IND.S=3.O=see                      when  
When I saw [that],
- 88) “*nep*                       $\emptyset$ =*pirka*                      *p-i*                       $\emptyset$ =*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 ka a=Ø=kar*  
 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*  $\emptyset=or-o$               *wa*<sup>118</sup>  $\emptyset=kes-e$               [*a*]<sup>119</sup>= $\emptyset=anpa$               *wa*  
 monster    3.O=place-POSS    from    3.O=end-POSS    [PASS]=3.O=hold.PL    and  
 had been chased by a monster.
- 100) *kamiyasi*<sup>120</sup>              *ka*               $\emptyset=ray$               *wa*               $\emptyset=an$   
 monster              even              3.S=die              and              3.S=be  
 The monster died [and] (lit. ‘was dead’)
- 101) *a=hoku-hu*              *ka*               $\emptyset=ray$               *wa*               $\emptyset=an$               *ma,*  
 IND.S=husband-POSS    even              3.S=die              and              3.S=be              and  
 my husband also died.
- 102) *sonno*              *a=hoku-hu*              *a= $\emptyset=kemnu$*               *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= $\emptyset=tuy-pa-tuy-pa$*               *wa*  
 that              monster              TOP              IND.S=3.O=cut-PL-cut-PL              and  
 I chopped that monster and

<sup>118</sup> 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).

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

<sup>120</sup> 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 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)=∅=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=∅=ko-pasirota* *kor*  
 and IND.S=3.O=APPL-curse and  
 I cursed [the monster] and
- 106) *a=∅=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*<sup>121</sup>  
 and return=IND.S but  
 I returned home but
- 108) *neun* *ne* *yak-ka* *a=hoku-hu* *a=∅=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=∅=ye* *hi* *ka* *∅=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.

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<sup>121</sup> 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=∅=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 ∅=isam ruwe ne<sup>122</sup>*  
 die=IND.S and 3.S=not.exist ASS.NR COP  
 [So] I died.

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

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<sup>122</sup> In a later interview Ito Oda described the woman's death in the following way:

*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  
 '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.

## 8. *Kapatcir*<sup>123</sup> *Kamuy. Uwepeker* [The Eagle God. Folk Tale]

Recorded on February 23, 1999. Playing Time: 12:27

### An Outline of the Story

The story is told by a boy who was brought up by *kapatcir kamuy*<sup>124</sup> – 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

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

<sup>124</sup> 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”.



- 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-ihī 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-ihī 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-ihī 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]')
- 13) *a=ekas-ihī makanak Ø=Ø=ki ruwe an*  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS what 3.S=3.O=do ASS.NR be  
“‘What happened to my grandfather?’”
- 14) *sekor yay-nu=an kor an='an akusu*  
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and be=IND.S then  
I thought.



- 18) *pirka-no e=∅=nu kus ne na<sup>127</sup>,*  
 be.good-ADV 2SG.S=3.O=listen intention COP FIN  
 you should listen well.
- 19) *asinuma anak-ne ∅=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) *kapatcir sekor a=∅=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 ∅=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?<sup>128</sup>=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.

<sup>127</sup> This is a periphrastic imperative expression which is formed in the declarative mood (see 4.6.2.3).

<sup>128</sup> 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*  
 be.small-person 3.S=cry 3.S=voice-POSS 3.S=stand and  
 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-ekopas<sup>129</sup> 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.

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<sup>129</sup> 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<sup>130</sup> 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  
  
*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

*a=e=eram[pokiwen],*  
 IND.S=2SG.O=feel.sorry.for  
 However, taking you along with me ...<sup>131</sup> I felt sorry for you.

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<sup>130</sup> I would expect in this context *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.

<sup>131</sup> The speaker probably intended to say, 'However, I couldn't take you home with me' and by the home of *kapatcir kamuy*-the Eagle God is meant the land of Gods - heaven, as it was explained by Ito Oda in a later interview.



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<sup>135</sup> 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<sup>136</sup>,*  
 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-ihika Ø=an ma*  
 2SG.S=elder.brother-POSS even 3.S=be and  
 there is your elder brother.

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

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<sup>135</sup> *e=yaykata* <2SG.S-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*.

<sup>136</sup> See footnote 5.



52) *tan-pe ne-no kotan (arus) a=Ø=ar-us-tek-ka*<sup>138</sup>  
 this-NR COP-ADV village PASS=3.O=completely-extinguish-instantly-CAUS

*hi (an)*<sup>139</sup>, *ta anak-ne*  
 time (be) at TOP-COP  
 at the time when the village [of your mother]<sup>140</sup> was extinguished [by an infectious disease],

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

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

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<sup>138</sup> 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.

<sup>139</sup> *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.

<sup>140</sup> 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*<sup>141</sup> *kusu*  $\emptyset$ =*arpa* *a*,  $\emptyset$ =*arpa*<sup>142</sup> *a*,  
 3.S=barter in.order.to 3.S=go ITR 3.S=go ITR

$\emptyset$ =*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*<sup>143</sup> *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].”

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<sup>141</sup> 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* <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 *uymam* can be viewed as *reciproca 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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).

<sup>142</sup> The singular form *arpa* <go.SG> is to be treated as a slip of the tongue because it is immediately followed by the contextually appropriate plural form *paye* <go.PL>.

<sup>143</sup> *sir-kus* <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-ih-utar*<sup>144</sup> *nisat-ta*  $\emptyset$ =*arki* *nankor* *na*,  
 2SG.S=elder.brother/sibling-POSS-PL dawn-at 3.S=come.PL perhaps FIN  
 “Your 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=eat and beach to 2SG=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.<sup>145</sup>”
- 62) (*a=e*), *a=i=[y]e*<sup>146</sup>,  
 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?”

<sup>144</sup> *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’.

<sup>145</sup> 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).

<sup>146</sup> 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=∅=sitoma (p), (siri)<sup>147</sup> *kuni anak* ∅=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* ∅=itak *wa*  
 IND.S=grandfather-POSS this-COP this-COP 3.S=Say and  
 ∅=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* ∅=haw-e-an *kor*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 Said [my grandfather] and
- 69) *puyar corpok ta* ∅=arpa *wa*  
 window below to 3.S=go and  
 went [down] under the window.
- 70) ∅=yay-tuy-tuy-e<sup>148</sup> *pekor i-ki*  
 3.S=REFL-cut-cut-TR as.through APASS-do  
 It seemed as though he was shaking the dust off himself.

<sup>147</sup>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).

<sup>148</sup>*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*  $\emptyset$ =*poro* *cikap* *ne*  $\emptyset$ =*an* *ma*  
 then 3.S=be.big bird as 3.S=be and  
 Then he turned into a bird and

72) *puyar* *kari*  $\emptyset$ =*soyne*,  
 window through 3.S=go.outside  
 flew out of the window.

73) *esoyne* *inaw-cipa* *un*  $\emptyset$ =*terke* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*soyne*  
 outside *inaw-altar* to 3.S=jump and 3.S=go.outside

*siri?* *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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  
 went to the altar with *inaw* - whittled prayer sticks and I looked around.

76) *a=ekas-ih* *tane*  $\emptyset$ =*rikin* *kor*  $\emptyset$ =*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-ih*                      *a=ekas-ih*                      *sekor*,  
 IND.S=grandfather-POSS    IND.S=grandfather-POSS    QUOT

*a=∅=hotuye-kar*  
 IND.S=3.O=scream-TR  
 calling him: “Grandpa, grandpa!”

79) *akusu*,    *a=ekas-ih*                      *ka*  
 then    IND.S=grandfather-POSS    even  
 Then, as to my grandfather,

80)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=ran-ke$                        $\emptyset=nupe$ <sup>149</sup>                      *sak*                      *apto*<sup>150</sup>  
 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS                      3.S=tears.POSS                      summer                      rain

*sir*                      *ne*                       $\emptyset=\emptyset=ran-ke$                       *kor*,  
 appearance                      as                      3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS                      and  
 he was dropping his tears (that he was dropping)<sup>151</sup> as the summer rain.

81) *a=ekas-ih*                       $\emptyset=rikin$                       *ma*                       $\emptyset=arpa$   
 IND.S=grandfather-POSS                      3.S=ascend                      and                      3.S=go

*wa*                       $\emptyset=isam$                       *ma*,                      *kusu*,  
 and                      3.S=not.exist                      and                      because  
 My grandfather ascended and went away, so

<sup>149</sup>The word collocation  $\emptyset=\emptyset=rán-ke$   $\emptyset=núpe$  <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:  $\emptyset=\emptyset=rán-ke$   $\emptyset=núpe-he$  <3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS 3.S=tears-POSS>. Note that *núpe-(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).

<sup>150</sup> 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).

<sup>151</sup> 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*<sup>152</sup>                      *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*)<sup>153</sup>,      *i*=*hekota-no*                                      *i*=*tom-un-no*<sup>154</sup>  
 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*  
 3.S=come.PL      people      3.S=COP      as.if              IND.S=3.O=see      and      3.S=COP

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

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<sup>152</sup> *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.

<sup>153</sup> There is no way *cip* ‘boat’ can be syntactically connected to the subsequent phrase.

<sup>154</sup> 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.

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<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 withRoat’). 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).

<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,*  
 where 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<sup>157</sup>,*  
 3.O=before-POSS 3.S=3.O=cut-TR brave.man

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

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<sup>157</sup> “*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.

- 102) “(ae...) *a=ekas-ih* *tap-ne tap-ne*  $\emptyset$ =*itak kor*  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS this-COP this-COP 3.S=say and  
“My grandfather said so and so
- 103) (a)  $\emptyset$ =*i=hoppa ruwe ne*”  
3.S=IND.O=leave ASS.NR COP  
and left me.”
- 104) *sekor itak='an akusu,*  
QUOT say=IND.S then  
I said. Then
- 105) “*a=ak-ih*  $\emptyset$ =*ne*<sup>158</sup>”  
IND.S=younger.brother-POSS 3.S=COP  
“He is our brother.”
- 106) *sekor*  $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-oka kor*  
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL and  
Said [*Ponyaunpe* and his sister] and
- 107) *i=ka*<sup>159</sup> *ta*  $\emptyset$ =*cis-pa wa*  
IND.O=over at 3.S=cry-PL and  
cried over me.

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<sup>158</sup> 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 “*Ponyaunpe* 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.”

<sup>159</sup> *i=ka ta*  $\emptyset$ =*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’.

- 108) *or-o-wa*                    “*hemakaraye=an*<sup>160</sup>            *ma*  
there-POSS-from            call.on=IND.S                    and  
After that, “We are going to call at home and
- 109) *i-car-pa=an*<sup>161</sup>    *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.”
- 110) *sekor*             $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-oka*    *kor*  
QUOT    3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL    and  
They said.
- 111) *sake*,            *ka*    *a=e-p*    *ka*    *poro-n-no*     $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*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,
- 112)  $\emptyset$ =*yap*    *pa*<sup>162</sup>,            *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.

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<sup>160</sup> 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>.

<sup>161</sup> *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).

<sup>162</sup> *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).



- 113) *a=sa-ha*  $\emptyset=ne$  *kur*<sup>163</sup>  
 IND.S=elder.sister-POSS 3.S=COP person  
 My elder sister
- 114) *cise onnay*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=u-w-oma-re$ <sup>164</sup> *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*  
 various 3.S=be.PL thing be.big-EP-ADV 3.S=3.O=cook and  
 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:

<sup>163</sup> *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.

<sup>164</sup> *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)  $\emptyset$ =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)  $\emptyset$ =inne kotan  $\emptyset$ =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 cise<sup>165</sup> poka supuya  $\emptyset$ =at ruwe ka  $\emptyset$ =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  $\emptyset$ =an ma*  
situation 3.S=be and  
The situation was like this.
- 126) *iyokunure=an kor a= $\emptyset$ =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

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<sup>165</sup> 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-ih* *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-ih*  
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*  $\emptyset=i=hoppa$  *ruwe* *ne* *korka*  
 and 3.S=IND.O=leave.behind ASS.NR COP but  
 and left me behind.
- 135) *opitta*  $a=\emptyset=kor$  *wa*  
 all IND.S=3.O=have and  
 I took all [that] and
- 136)  $a=yup-ih-i-utar$ <sup>166</sup>  $a=\emptyset=tura$  *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*  $a=yup-ih-i$   $\emptyset=i=y-omap$   $pa$ <sup>167</sup>  
 and because very IND.S=elder.brother-POSS 3.S=IND.O=love and  
 so my elder brother loved me very much.
- 138)  $\emptyset=i=nukar$  *kor*  
 3.S=IND.O=look.at and  
 He looked at me and
- 139)  $\emptyset=i=henkotpa$ <sup>168</sup>,  $\emptyset=i=henkotpa$   
 3.S=IND.O=nod.with.loving.care.to 3.S=IND.O=nod.with.loving.care.to  
 and nodded [and] nodded to me with loving care
- 140) *kane*  $\emptyset=i=ki$  *kor*  
 and.so.on.CONJ 3.S=APASS-do and  
 and so on he did.

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<sup>166</sup> See footnote 22.

<sup>167</sup> Regarding the phonological alternation *-p+w-* > *-pp-*, see footnote 40.

<sup>168</sup> *henkot-pa* <?-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=IND.O=EP-love                      NR      COP      because  
 He really loved me, so

142) *a=yup-ih*                                       $\emptyset=arpa$       *akusu*       $\emptyset=arpa$       *akusu*  
 IND.S=elder.brother-POSS 3.S=go      then      3.S=go      then  
 when my elder brother went anywhere,

143) *a=\emptyset=tura*                                      *wa*      *kesto*      *oman'an='an*  
 IND.S=3.O=go.together.with                      and      everyday      travel=IND.S

*kor(an)*,      *an='an*  
 and                      be=IND.S

I went with him. Everyday I travelled with him.

144) *ma*      *ayne*,       $\emptyset=poro$ ,       $\emptyset=poro$       *hekaci*      *ne*       $\emptyset=an$       *pe*  
 and      finally      3.S=big      3.S=big      boy      as      3.S=be      person

*a=ne*    *kusu*  
 IND.S=COP    because  
 And finally, as I became a big boy,

145) *nepki*      *hene*       $\emptyset=i=y-e-pakasnu$ ,  
 work      or      3.S=IND.O=EP-to.APPL-teach  
 [my elder brother] taught me [how] to work,

146) *a=\emptyset=kar*                                      *pe*      *hene*       $\emptyset=i=y-e-pakasnu$                                       *kor*  
 IND=3.S=make      thing or      3.S=IND.O=EP-to.APPL-teach                                      and

*okay='an*  
 be.PL=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 okay...po sir-po (a=Ø=ye?)<sup>169</sup>*  
 and already young.man features-DIM (PASS=3.O=say?)

*a=Ø=u-osma-re<sup>170</sup> 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-ihī 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,

<sup>169</sup> *a=Ø=ye* <IND.S=3.O=say> ‘it is said’ must be a slip of the tongue.

<sup>170</sup> *tane okaypo 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-ihī, eani anak-ne e=∅=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 ∅=oka-ke*  
 IND.S=mother-POSS 3.O=behind-POSS

*e=supuya-at-te*<sup>171</sup> *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 ∅=∅=kor kur a=∅=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) *okaypo pon-no (ay...) a=i=tura-re kuni*  
 young.man be.small-ADV (ay...) IND.S=IND.O=go.together-CAUS INDR

*a=∅=ye kus ne na*” *sekor ∅=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].

<sup>171</sup> *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 ∅=oka-ke* as a direct object. In the case of the intransitive *supuya-at-te*, one would expect a locative postposition after *oka-ke*.

157) *akusu kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur a=Ø=e-koramkor*<sup>172</sup>  
 then village 3.S=3.O=have person IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-consult  
 Then I consulted the village chief.

158) *akusu “Ø=pirka hawe ne wa”*  
 then 3.S=be.good EVID.NR COP FIN  
 “It is fine.”

159) *sekor, Ø=haw-e-an pe ne kusu*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR COP because  
 As [the village chief] really said [so],

160) *a=yup-ihī nani Ø=cise-he*<sup>173</sup>  
 IND.S=elder.brother-POSS immediately 3.S=house-POSS

*Ø=Ø=kar wa*  
 3.S=3.O=make and  
 my brother immediately built a house [for himself] and,

161) *a=cise-he ka Ø=pirka cise Ø=Ø=kar wa*  
 IND.S=house-POSS also 3.S=be.good house 3.S=3.O=make and

*Ø=i=kor-e,*  
 3.S=IND.O=have-CAUS  
 as to my house, he built a nice house for me [as well].

<sup>172</sup> Contextually, *Ø=Ø=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.

<sup>173</sup> *Ø=cise-he* <3.S=house-POSS> ‘his house’ and the following *a=cise-he* <IND.S=house-POSS> are the possessive forms of the noun *cise*.

It is generally said that in the Hokkaido dialects the noun *cise* ‘house’ does not take the possessive form; possessive relations of this noun are usually expressed by the verb *kor* ‘to have’: *Ø=Ø=kor cise* <3.S=3.O=have house> ‘his house’, *a=Ø=kor cise* <IND.S=3.O=have house> ‘my house’ etc.; cf. 4.1.

Another speaker of the Chitose Dialect, Nabe Shirasawa, also used *cise-he*, but only in some special cases (Nakagawa 2002: 119).



162) *a=∅=tura*                      *wa*              *paye=an*              (*nu*)  
 IND.S=3.S=take.along              and              go.PL=IND.S              ?  
 I took with me [the young men] and we went.

163) *okkaypo-utar*              *∅=cise-he*                      *ka*              *∅=∅=kar*  
 young.man-PL              IND.S=house-POSS              also              3.S=3.O=make

*wa*                      *or-o-wa,*  
 and                      there-POSS-from  
 [My elder brother] also built houses for the young men who came with us.

164) *∅=pirka*                      *∅=pon*                      *menoko*  
 3.S=be.beautiful              3.S=be.young                      woman

*sinep*                      *∅=∅=etun*                      *ma,*  
 one                      3.S=3.O=receive.as.bride                      and  
 [My elder brother] found a beautiful young woman and

165) *∅=i=tura-re*    *wa*              *a=i=rura*  
 3.S=IND.O=go.together.with-CAUS                      and              PASS=IND.O=see.off  
 made her go with me<sup>174</sup>. We [me and my new wife] were seen off.

166) *wa*      *a=kotan-uhu*                      *un*      *hosipi=an*              *ma*      *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) *korka*      *nep*      *a=∅=eranak*    *pe*      *ka*      *∅=isam,*  
 but      what      IND.S=3.O=be.troubled.by                      NR      also      3.S=not.exist  
 However, there was nothing to trouble us,

---

<sup>174</sup> 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=∅=e rusuy pe ka a=∅=kon rusuy*  
 what IND.S=3.O=eat want NR even IND.S=3.O=have want
- pe ka ∅=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<sup>175</sup> 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=∅=e-aw-na-rura kor ∅=an*  
 IND.S=3.O=APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry and 3.S=be  
 I brought deer and bears as game.
- 171) *a=ekas-ihī a=∅=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=∅=ko-yayattasa rusuy korka*  
 IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-pay.back want but  
 I wanted to pay him back but
- 173) *ene a=∅=ye hi ka ∅=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

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<sup>175</sup> Note that *cise* 'house' (here: 'home') is used in its notional form, probably for some pragmatic reasons.

- 174) *a=ekas-ih*                      *kamuy-nomi*                      *ne*  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS      God-celebrate.with.sacred.wine      as
- a=∅=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) *pe, (ne akusu), ne wa kusu*  
NR      COP      then      COP      and      because
- That is why,
- 176) *nep ka a=∅=eranak pe ka ∅=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) *sekor yay-nu=an pe ne kusu,*  
QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S NR COP because
- As I thought [so],
- 178) *a=ekas-i a=∅=nomi kor patek an='an*  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS IND.S=3.O=celebrate      and      only      be=IND.S
- pe ne*  
NR COP
- I was always making offerings to my grandfather.
- 179) *ayne, u-ko-po-kor ka ∅=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) *a=po-utar-i apunno a=∅=reska wa*  
IND.S=children-PL-POSS peacefully IND.S=3.O=bring.up      and
- we were peacefully bringing up our children.

- 181) *a=∅=poro-re*                      *wa*            *∅=pirka*            *okaypo*  
 IND.S=3.O=be.big-CAUS            and            3.S=be.good            young.man
- ne*                      *∅=okay*                      *wa*  
 as                      3.S=be.PL                      and
- We raised them and they turned into fine good young men.
- 182) *nepki*            *hene*            *ekimne*                                      *hene*            *∅=∅=ki-pa*  
 work            or            go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt            or            3.S=3.O=do-PL
- They worked and went hunting to the mountains.
- 183) *kor*            *yuk*            *ci=koyki-p*                      *kamuy*            *ci=koyki-p*  
 and            deer            1PL.S=catch-NR            bear            1PL.S=catch-NR
- a=∅=e-aw-na-rura*                                      *akusu*  
 IND.S=IND.O=APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry            then
- I brought deer and bears as game. Then
- 184) *asinuma*            *anak-ne*            *kema-pase*<sup>176</sup>            *ka*            *∅=an*            *ma*  
 INDEF            TOP-COP            legs-be.heavy            even            3.S=be            and
- my legs became heavy and (lit. ‘as to me, there was legs-heaviness’)
- 185) *ekimne*                                      *anak*            *arpa=an*            *ka*            *somo*            *ki*            *korka*  
 go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt            TOP            go=IND.S            even            NEG            do            but
- As to hunting, I didn’t go [myself], but
- 186) *a=po-utar-i*                                      *ekimne*                                      *p*            *ne*            *kusu*  
 IND.S=children-PL-POSS go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt            NR            COP            because
- since my sons went hunting to the mountains,

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<sup>176</sup> *kema-pase* <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 intransitive verb derived with a considerable degree of lexicalization (cf. *kema-pase=an* <legs-be.heavy=IND.S> ‘I grew old’ (NAK 173)). See 4.3.4.2.5.

187) *a=i=e-re*                      *p*    *ne*    *kusu*  
PASS=IND.S=eat-CAUS    NR    COP    because  
I was fed by them. So

188) *nep*    *a=∅=e*                      *rusuy*    *pe*    *ka*    *nep*  
what    IND.S=3.O=eat            want    NR    even    what

*a=∅=kon*            *rusuy*    *pe*    *ka*    *somo*    *ki*    *no*    *∅=an*    *ayne*  
IND.S=3.O=have    want    NR    even    not.exist    do    and    3.S=be    finally  
there was nothing more we'd want to eat or have, [so well] we lived. Finally,

189) *∅=onne*    *okaypo*    *a=ne*                      *ruwe*    *ne*    *sekor*;  
3.S=be.old    man            IND.S=COP    ASS.NR    COP    QUOT  
I became an old man.

190) *sine*    *okaypo*    *∅=itak*                      *ruwe*    *ne*  
one    young.man    3.S=say            ASS.NR    COP  
That is what one young man told.

## 9. *Hekaci. Uwepeker* [[The Story of] a Boy. Folk Tale] (Earlier Version)

Recorded on March 2, 1999. Playing Time 22:12

### 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) *makanak 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,*  
 house even 3.S=be.good 3.S=be.big house 3.S=COP  
 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,*  
 3.S=be.good thing be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be  
 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<sup>177</sup> kor,*  
 IND.S=3.O=eat and be=IND.S appearance-summer when  
 was eating [that]. When the summer came,

15) *kina-kar='an<sup>178</sup> ma a=Ø=e,*  
 grass-make=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=eat  
 I gathered plants and ate [them].

<sup>177</sup> *sír-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).

<sup>178</sup> *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) *neun nep ka nep ka a=Ø=e kor*  
 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) *pon-no Ø=poro hekaci ne Ø=an pe ne kusu*  
 be.little-ADV 3.S=be.old boy as 3.S=be NR COP because  
 As I became a little older,

18) *kim ta ka arpa='an ma*  
 mountains to even go=IND.S and  
 I went to the mountains

19) *kuca ka a=Ø=kar,*  
 hunting.hut even IND.S=3.O=make  
 and I built a hunting hut.

20) *kotan un nispa-utar Ø=ekimne kor*  
 village from rich.man-PL 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt when  
 When the rich men from the village went to to the mountains to hunt,

21) *hunak un Ø=paye siri ne ya ka*  
 where to 3.S=go.PL EVID.NR COP Q even

*a=Ø=nukan rusuy kusu*  
 IND.S=3.O=see want because  
 I wanted to see where they did go, so

22)  $\emptyset$ =*kes-e*                       $a$ = $\emptyset$ =*anpa*<sup>179</sup>                      *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*<sup>180</sup>,  
 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*                      *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.

---

<sup>179</sup> *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.

<sup>180</sup> ***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=∅=u-ko-sina*<sup>181</sup> *wa a=∅=nu*<sup>182</sup>  
 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=∅=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.

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<sup>181</sup> *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):

*sina* 'to bind, tie sth' (vt) (OI)

→ *ko-sina* 'to bind/tie sth/sb with/to sth/sb' (vb) (OI)

→ *u-ko-sina* 'to gather/bundle sth together' (vt) (OI).

<sup>182</sup> 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).

32)  $\emptyset$ =poro kamuy  $\emptyset$ =setur-uhu  $\emptyset$ =i=tutanu-re wa  
 3.S=be.big bear 3.S=back-POSS 3.S=IND.O=turn.to-CAUS and

$\emptyset$ =a wa  $\emptyset$ =an ruwe a= $\emptyset$ =nukar kusu  
 3.S=sit and 3.S=be ASS.NR IND.S=IND.O=see because  
 As I saw that a big bear was sitting with his back to me,

33) a= $\emptyset$ =cotca wa inkar='an akusu  
 IND.S=3.O=shoot.at and see=1SG then  
 I tried to shot at [the bear]. Then

34) apunno,  $\emptyset$ =sumaw-ne siri a= $\emptyset$ =nukar wa  
 quietly 3.S=dead.body-COP EVID.NR IND.S=IND.O=see and  
 I saw that [the bear] was dying quietly.

35) or-o-wa  $\emptyset$ =sam-a tarpa=an ma a= $\emptyset$ =ko-onkami  
 there-POSS-from 3.O=close-POSS togo=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=APPL-worship  
 Then I went up to him and worshipped him.

36) wa or-o-wa i-ri=an ma  
 and there-POSS-from APASS-skin=IND.S and  
 After that I skinned the animal.

37) a= $\emptyset$ =se, a= $\emptyset$ =se pak  
 IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back till  
 a= $\emptyset$ =se wa  
 IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back and  
 I put on my back as [much meat] as I [could] carry and

38) hosipi=an ma  
 return=IND.S and  
 went back.

39) soy ta ka a= $\emptyset$ =racitke-re  
 outside at even IND.S=3.O=be.hanging-CAUS  
 I hung [the meat] outside,

- 40) *cise ot ta ka a=∅=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) *∅=sum-ihī ∅=cik kor ∅=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=∅=e kor ∅=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)[∅=het-taro]<sup>183</sup> siri ∅=isam no*  
something even ? IND.S=decrease-SUF EVID.NR 3.S=not.exist and  
my supply of meat was not diminishing.
- 44) *a=∅=e kor ∅=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 sekora*  
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.

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<sup>183</sup> *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 *-taro* (NAK 250) which specially serves to derive Ainu verbs from Japanese verbs.

- 46) *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
- 47) *Ø=an pe ne kusu*  
3.S=be NR COP because  
it was [there].
- 48) *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
- 49) *rewsi=an ma*  
spend.a.night=IND.S and  
spent a night [there].
- 50) *suke=an ma a=e wa*  
cook=IND.S and IND.S=eat and  
I cooked and ate
- 51) *na hotke=an somo ki no an='an akusu*  
more sleep=IND.S NEG do and be=IND.S then  
without sleeping more.
- 52) *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.<sup>184</sup>” 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.

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<sup>184</sup> lit. ‘**Make me stay** here tonight and **give [it]** to me.’ It is a benefactive construction (see 4.3.6.1).



- 60) *korka a=∅=kor kotan un kotan ∅=∅=kor kur*  
 but IND.S=3.O=have village at village 3.S=3.O=have person  
 However the village chief at our village
- 61) *∅=puri-wen ma,*  
 3.S=behavior-be.bad and  
 acts badly.
- 62) *nen ne yak-ka, nen ne yak-ka, ∅=∅=ko-caranke*  
 who COP if-even who COP if-even 3.S=3.O=with.APPL-argue.with  
 [He] argues with everyone.
- 63) *usa sintoko usa patci ∅=∅=ko-uk*  
 various lacquer-ware various bowl 3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take  
 He takes away from [his men] various lacquer-ware [and] various bowls.
- 64) *c=o-ype-p ka ∅=∅=ko-uk kor ∅=an*  
 1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR also 3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take and 3.S=be  
 He also takes away dishes from [his men].”
- 65) *sekor haw-as korka haw-as i a=∅=nu korka,*  
 QUOT voice-stand but voice-stand NR IND.S=3.O=hear but  
 There was [such] a rumour, but... I heard that there was [such] a rumour, but
- 66) “*suy c=o-ype-p anak ∅=∅=uk ka somo ki*  
 again 1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR TOP 3.S=3.O=take even NEG do  
 “Once [the village chief] didn’t get [any new] dishes, but
- 67) *korka okaypo-utar ∅=ekimne kor*  
 but young.man=PL 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt when  
 when [the young men] went hunting to the mountains,

- 68)  $\emptyset$ =*ekimne*                      *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*iraye*  
 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt      and                      3.S=capture.game
- hawe*                       $\emptyset$ =*nu*                      *kor*  
 EVID.NR                      3.S=hear                      and  
 [the village chief] heard that they had gone hunting to the mountains and captured game.
- 69) *okkaypo-utar*       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ko-caranke*                      *wa*  
 young.man-PL      3.S=3.O=with.APPL-argue                      and  
 [The village chief] argued with the young men and
- 70) *kamuy haru ka*       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*uk*                      *wa*       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e*                      *kor*       $\emptyset$ =*an*”  
 bear      meat even      3.S=3.O=take      and      3.S=3.O=eat      and      3.S=be  
 and took away [their] bear game, ate [it]and [so] he lived.”
- 71) *sekor haw-as korka*  
 QUOT      voice-stand      but  
 [That] was said. However
- 72) “*ene a= $\emptyset$ =kar hi ka a= $\emptyset$ =ye hi ka*  
 like.this      IND.S=3.O=do      NR      even      IND.S=3.O=say      NR      even
- a= $\emptyset$ =erampewtek pe ne kusu*  
 IND.S=3.O=not.know      NR      COP      because  
 “I didn’t know what to do or say in this way, so
- 73) *ne-no a= $\emptyset$ =anu wa  $\emptyset$ =an sekor,  $\emptyset$ =haw-e-an ma*  
 COP-ADV      IND.S=3.O=leave and      3.S=be QUOT      3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 I left [all] as it was.” Said [the Ainu from Kushiro].
- 74) *a= $\emptyset$ =nu korka, i-nu=an korka*  
 IND.S=3.O=listen.to      but      APASS-hear=IND.S      but  
 I listened to [the man], but... I heard the story<sup>185</sup>, but

<sup>185</sup> ‘The story’ in translation corresponds to the antipassive (or the generalized object) prefix *i-* from

75)  $\emptyset=i-ruska$                       *kewtum*               $a=\emptyset=yay-kor-pa-re$   
 3.S=APASS-feel.angry.of      feeling              IND.S=3.O=REFL-have-PL-CAUS  
 I had a feeling of anger.

76)  $\emptyset=pewre$                       *okkaypo-utar*              *ne*              *yak-un*  
 3.S=be.young              young.man-PL      COP              if-EMP  
 If these are young men,

77)  $\emptyset=pó-kor$                       *wa*  
 3.S=child-have              and  
 they have children and

78)  $po^{186}$ ,               $\emptyset=\emptyset=resu$                       *kusu*              *nepki*              *po*  
 child              3.S=3.O=raise                      in.order              work              even.more

$\emptyset=\emptyset=sak$                       (*ak*)              *yak-un*  
 3.S=3.O=not.have                      if-EMP  
 if they have no job even in order to provide for [their] children,

---

*i-nu* <APASS-hear> ‘to hear’ (see 4.3.4.2.4).

<sup>186</sup> Note that the noun *po* ‘child/son’ appears here in its notional form regardless of our expectations of  $\emptyset=po-ho$  <3.S=child-POSS> ‘their children’ (cf.  $\emptyset=unu-hu$  <3.S=mother-POSS>  $\emptyset=ona-ha$  <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  $\emptyset=po-ho$ .

79)  $\emptyset$ =unu-hu                       $\emptyset$ =ona-ha                       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =reska                      kusu  
 3.S=mother-POSS                      3.S=father-POSS                      3.S=3.O=provide.for                      in.order

ne                      ki-pa                      p                      ne                      nankor  
 this                      do-PL                      NR                      COP                      perhaps  
 what will they do to provide for their fathers and mothers?

80) a=e-p                      ka                       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =ko-uk                      (ci)  
 IND.S=eat-NR                      even                      3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take  
 [The village chief] took food from [this men].”

81) sekor,                       $\emptyset$ =an                      pe                      anak-ne  
 QUOT                      3.S=be                      NR                      TOP-COP  
 [Said the man]. These facts

82)  $\emptyset$ =pirka                      haw-as                      somo                      ne                      ya,  
 3.S=be.good                      voice-stand                      NEG                      COP                      probably  
 were not good news.

83) ne                      kur                      a= $\emptyset$ =ramu                      kur                      a= $\emptyset$ =ruska                      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= $\emptyset$ =nu                      wa                       $\emptyset$ =an                      a,                      pe                      ne  
 IND.S=3.O=hear                      and                      3.S=be                      PERF                      NR                      COP  
 I heard that and it was [so].

85)  $\emptyset$ =ahun<sup>187</sup>                      wa                      ne,                      aynu                      nispa,                       $\emptyset$ =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) or-o-wa,                      suy                      kuneywa                      hopuni=an                      ma  
 there-POSS-from                      again                      in.the.morning                      get.up=IND.S                      and  
 then again in the morning we got up and

<sup>187</sup> The actual pronunciation is [ahuk].

- 87) *suke=an ma ipe=an ma*  
 cook=IND.S and eat=IND.S and  
 cooked and ate.
- 88) “*ekimne=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 ekimne=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*  
 3.S=be.good EVID.NR COP FIN QUOT 3.S=voice-APPL-be and  
 [The man] said: “It is fine.”
- 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



- 102) “*ne*,<sup>189</sup> *hempara ka arpa=an ma*  
 COP? someday even go=IND.S and  
 Someday I’ll go and
- 103) *neun ka a=∅=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
- ∅=pirka ya ka a=∅=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=∅=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.

---

<sup>189</sup> 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)  $\emptyset$ =*pirka*  $\emptyset$ =*pon* *pet*  $\emptyset$ =*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)  $\emptyset$ =*husko*  $\emptyset$ =*ni-tuy-pa*<sup>190</sup> *ru* *ka*  $\emptyset$ =*an,*  
 3.S=be.old 3.S=tree-cut-PL trace even 3.S=be  
 there was the stump of an old tree.
- 113) “*tane aynu kotan*  $\emptyset$ =*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*  $\emptyset$ =*asin* *ni sir,*  $\emptyset$ =*ni-tuy-pa* *ru* *ka*  $\emptyset$ =*an*  
 again 3.S=be.new tree appearance 3.S=tree-cut-PL trace also 3.S=be  
 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].

---

<sup>190</sup> *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  $\emptyset$ =*husko* <3.S=be.old>: lit. ‘There was an old firewood-cut trace.’



117) *arpa=an akusu (songai) sonno ka aynu kotan Ø=an*  
 go=IND.S then really even Ainu village 3.S=be  
 I went, then there really was an Ainu village.

118) *ma or-o ta arpa=an ma*  
 and place-POSS to go=IND.S and  
 I went there.

119) *kotan soy a=Ø=kus wa*  
 village outside IND.S=3.O=pass.through and  
 I passed in front of the village and

120) *hunak un ka arpa=an akusu*  
 where to even go=IND.S then  
 went somewhere. Then

121) *Ø=pirka cise Ø=poro cise Ø=an ma*  
 3.S=be.good house 3.S=be.big house 3.S=be and  
 there was a good house, a big house.

122) *kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur Ø=cise-he ne-no*  
 village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=house-POSS COP-ADV

*ko<sup>191</sup> ean cise Ø=an*  
 ? there house 3.S=be  
 there was a house looking like the house of a village chief.

123) *ma kusu Ø=soy-ke ta arpa='an ma*  
 and because 3.O=outside-POSS to go=IND.S and  
 I went to the gateway of [that house] and

---

<sup>191</sup> The pronunciation is not clear, it is close to [kɔ], 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*<sup>192</sup>='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) *katkemat*    *sinen*     $\emptyset$ =*soyne*                      *wa*     $\emptyset$ =*ek*                      *wa*  
housewife    one    3.S=go.outside                      and    3.S=come                      and  
one housewife came out and
- 126) *pirka-no*                       $\emptyset$ =*i=nukar*                      *wa*  
be.good-ADV    3.S=IND.O=look.at                      and  
looked at me well.
- 127) *or-o-wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*ahun*                      *akusu*  
there-POSS-from    3.S=enter                      when  
After that she entered [the house]
- 128) “*soy*    *ta*    *sik-etok-o*                      *a= $\emptyset$ =eramiskari*                      *okaypo*  
outside    at    eye-in.front-POSS    IND.S=3.O=not.know                      young.man  
“A young man whom I don’t know
- 129)  $\emptyset$ =*ek*                      *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*                      *ruwe*                      *ne*  
3.S=come                      and                      3.S=be                      ASS.NR                      COP  
has come outside.
- 130) (a)    *a= $\emptyset$ =ahun-ke*                      *yak*     $\emptyset$ =*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?’)

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<sup>192</sup> *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*  
 something even 3.S=3.O=say want even 3.S=3.O=ask want  
  
*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<sup>193</sup>” sekor Ø=haw-e=an ma kusu,<sup>194</sup>*  
 enter.PL-PL IMP.POL QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and because  
 said, “Come in.”

140) *kor Ø=si-etaye wa kusu*  
 and 3.S=REFL-pull.in and because  
 [The woman] went back (lit. ‘pulled herself in’), so

141) *Ø=os<sup>195</sup> arpa=’an, ahun=’an akusu*  
 3.O=after go=IND.S enter=IND.S then  
 I went afer her [and] entered.

142) *a=kuca-ha Ø=or-o ta Ø=ek wa*  
 IND.S=hunting.hut-POSS 3.O=place-POSS at 3.S=come and

*Ø=rewsi kor, Ø=ekimne kor Ø=an a*  
 3.S=spend.a.night and 3.S=go.hunting and 3.S=be PERF

*nispa ne Ø=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=Ø=eramuriten kor, から*  
 and IND.S=3.O=feel.relieved.about and BECAUSE  
 I felt relieved about [this matter], SO

<sup>193</sup> *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.

<sup>194</sup> *wa kusu* ‘because’ was probably replaced by the succeeding *kor* ‘and’, so it is not translated.

<sup>195</sup> 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. *Ø=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=∅=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='an<sup>196</sup> 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*  
 there-POSS-from-ADV REC-EP-with.APPL-talk=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S  
 after that we were talking to each other.
- 150) *korka nep kusu omanan='an hi ka*  
 but what because travel=IND.S NR even

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<sup>196</sup> 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=∅=ye ka somo ki yak ∅=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 ∅=∅=kor kur oruspe a=∅=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 rewsi yan*  
 this-day TOP stay.overnight IMP.POL  
 "Please stay today!"

154) *nisat-ta a=e=e-pakasnu<sup>197</sup> 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 ∅=haw-e-an ma or-o-wa*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and there-POSS-from  
 Said the man.

---

<sup>197</sup> *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<sup>198</sup>,*  
 girl TOP  
 As to a girl...

160) *tun Ø=an<sup>199</sup>,*  
 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

---

<sup>198</sup> The phrase breaks up here.

<sup>199</sup> 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 okaypo-utar Ø=arki wa*  
 really only man-PL 3.S=come.PL and  
 the men really came [from hunting?].
- 164) *an='an ruwe (eramus) Ø=Ø=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) *Ø=soyosipitatpa<sup>200</sup> 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 wa a=Ø=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.

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<sup>200</sup> *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=∅=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=∅=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=∅=eykoytuypa*<sup>201</sup> *ka ki kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=be.envious.of even do and  
 I was envious of [that taste].
- 175) *nep a=∅=suwe wa ∅=an*<sup>202</sup> *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]

---

<sup>201</sup> *e-ikoytuypa* <**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.

<sup>202</sup> The actual pronunciation is [*ajjakka*], 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=∅=e humi anak ∅=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=∅=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=∅=e-yay-kopuntek ka ki*  
 IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.glad.about even do  
 I was glad about [it].

180) *a=∅=eykoytupa ka ki kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=be.envious.of even do and  
 I was envious of [it].

181) *rewsi=an ma ne nisat-ta ∅=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 ∅=∅=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*  
 man two 3.S=come.PL and 3.S=be.PL ASS.NR COP  
 “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*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be 3.S=voice-POSS 3.S=stand then  
 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*  
 3.S=travel.PL men 3.S=COP because  
 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 an<sup>203</sup> 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

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<sup>203</sup> See footnote 17.

- 200) “*ahup-pa an*”                    *sekor*     $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an*                    *kor*  
 enter.PL-PL    IMP.POL    QUOT    3.S=voice-POSS-be                    and  
 said, “Come in.”
- 201)  $\emptyset$ =*he-etaye*                    *wa*    *kusu*                     $\emptyset$ =*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*                     $\emptyset$ =*mun-nuwe*  
 be.bad-ADV-be.bad-ADV    3.S=rubbish-sweep  
 [The housewife] negligently swept away the rubbish
- 203) *wa*    *or-o-wa*                     $\emptyset$ =*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*<sup>204</sup>  
 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

---

<sup>204</sup> *arpa=an pe ne kusu* ‘since I went’ is considered redundant and is not included in the translation.

207) “*nep*         $\emptyset$ =*wen*        *irenka*    $\emptyset$ =*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*         $\emptyset$ =*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)  $\emptyset$ =*ar-sikasike*        *ki*   *p*   *ne*   *a*   *kusu*   *a= $\emptyset$ =*ruska*  
 3.S=completely-deny        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*         $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor*        *huci*<sup>205</sup>        *ka*  
 because        land        3.S=3.O=have        old.woman        even

*a= $\emptyset$ =*ko-caranke*,  
 IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue  
 so I argued with the Fire Goddess.*

211) *ene*        *an*         $\emptyset$ =*wen*        *pe*         $\emptyset$ =*an*        *usi*        *ta*  
 like.this        be        3.S=be.bad        person        3.S=be        place        at

$\emptyset$ =*pase*        *kamuy*        *ne*         $\emptyset$ =*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

---

<sup>205</sup> *mosir*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*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=]∅=*erampewtek*<sup>206</sup>    *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*    ∅=∅=*kor*            *huci*            *ka*    *a*=∅=*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*    ∅=∅=*kor*            *kamuy*    *ka*    *a*=∅=*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) ∅=*pase*                    *kamuy*    *ne*    ∅=*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*    ∅=*wen*            *pe*    ∅=*i-ki*            *hi*  
 like.this    be    3.S=be.bad            person    3.S=APASS-do    NR  
  
*eci*=∅=*erampewtek*                    *ya*”  
 IND.S=3.O=not.know                    Q  
 “Didn’t you know what was such an evil person doing?”

---

<sup>206</sup> The personal affix is omitted. A contextually appropriate form would be *e*=∅=*erampewtek* <2SG.S=3.O=not know> as in the analogous sentence in 218.

- 219) *sekor kamuy-utar a=∅=ko-caranke wa*  
 QUOT God-PL IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue and  
 I argued with the Gods and
- 220) *ape sam ta (ek wa)<sup>207</sup> ek='an ma*  
 fire near to come and come=IND.S and  
 I went to the hearth and
- 221) *a[=an]<sup>208</sup> wa an='an akusu*  
 sit[=IND.S] and be=IND.S then  
 sat down. I was [there] and
- 222) *or-o-ta cise ∅=∅=kor kamuy*  
 there-POSS-at house 3.S=3.O=have God  
 then the God Protector of the house
- 223) *(iyorkik) [iyoykir] ka peka ∅=terke-terke wa*  
 treasure over through 3.S=jump-jump and  
 jumped over the treasures and
- 224) *∅=ran ma ∅=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 ∅=arpa ∅=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.

<sup>207</sup> Here Ito Oda corrected herself.

<sup>208</sup> The personal affix is omitted. A contextually appropriate form would be *a=an* <sit=IND.S> 'I sat down'.



227) *or-o-ta easir ne aynu ene Ø=itak*  
 there-POSS-at for.the.first.time this man like.this 3.S=speak

Then for the first time this man said as follows:

228) “*ene an Ø=wen puri a=Ø=kor hi*  
 like.this be 3.S=be.bad behavior IND.S=3.O=have NR

*a=Ø=eramuskari no*  
 IND.S=3.O=not.know and  
 “I didn’t know that my behaviour was so bad

229) *an=’an ruwe ne korka*  
 and be=IND.S ASS.NR COP but  
 [so] I lived. But

230) *te wa-no anak*  
 here from-ADV TOP  
 from now on,

231) *somo ene an Ø=wen puri a=Ø=ki*  
 NEG like.this be 3.S=be.bad behavior IND.S=3.O=do

*kus ne kusu*  
 intention COP because  
 I shall not behave badly, so

232) *i=siknu-re yan”*  
 IND.O=be.alive-CAUS IMP.POL  
 leave me alive!”

233) *sekor Ø=haw-e-an kor*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 Said [the village chief].

- 234) “*arikinne yay-kar,*” *korka or-o-wa*  
 completely REFL-make but there-POSS-from  
 “Change your ways completely!” [I said], but then
- 235) *néa kotan Ø=Ø=kor 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
- 236) *a=Ø=ko-caranke wa or-o-wa,*  
 IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue and there-POSS-from  
 [and] argued.
- 237) *te wa-no*  
 here from-ADV  
 From now on,
- 238) *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’),
- 239) *nani a=Ø=rayke kus ne kusu*  
 immediately IND.S=3.O=kill intention COP because  
 I’ll kill him immediately!
- 240) “(*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!”
- 241) *sekor a=Ø=itak-’amkir-e*  
 QUOT IND.S=3.O=words-remember-CAUS  
 I warned him [and]

242) *a=∅=itak-'amkir-e* *akusu*  
 IND.S=3.O=words-remember-CAUS then  
 I warned him, then

243) *inkar='an* *akusu*  
 IND.S=look.around then  
 I looked around.

244) *cise onnay sik-te-no aynu poro-n-no*  
 house inside be.full-CAUS-ADV man be.many-EP-ADV

*∅=okay wa*  
 3.S=be.PL and

There were so many people that the house was full.

245) *yay-nu=an ma inkar='an hike*  
 REFL-hear=IND.S and look.around=IND.S then  
 I thought and looked around then:

246) “*a=∅=ko-(r)-caranke wa*  
 3.S=3.O=with.APPL-argue.with and

*usa ∅=okay pe a=∅=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 hi ∅=nu wa ∅=arki ruwe ne”*  
 go=IND.S NR 3.S=hear and 3.S=come.PL ASS.NR COP  
 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],

- 249) “(eci=e=) eci=∅=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<sup>209</sup> an<sup>210</sup>”  
 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 ∅=∅=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=∅=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 ∅=haw-e-oka kor,  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL while  
 Saying [so],
- 255) ∅=∅=kor-pa p ∅=∅=nukar wa ∅=∅=kor  
 3.S=3.O=have-PL thing 3.S=3.O=look.at and 3.S=3.O=have  
 they looked at the things they had owned and took them.
- 256) wa ∅=soyne wa  
 and 3.S=go.outside and  
 They went outside.

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<sup>209</sup> 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.

<sup>210</sup> *an* is an allomorph of *yan* <IMP.POL>, cf. footnote 17.



- 264) (*auwa*) [*ayne*] *or-o-wa* *hosip-pa=an* *ma*  
 finally there-POSS-from return-PL=IND.S and  
 [and] finally we went home.
- 265) *ne*,  $\emptyset=or-o$  *ta* *rewsi=an* *kur*<sup>211</sup>  
 that 3.O=place-POSS at spend.a.night=IND.S person  
 That man at whose place I had spent the night [said]:
- 266) “*suy tan-to ka rewsu wa arpa*”  
 again this-day also spend.a.night and go  
 “Stay again tonight!”
- 267) *sekor*  $\emptyset=haw-e-an$  *pe* *ne* *kusu*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR COP because  
 As he really said [that],
- 268)  $\emptyset=or-o$  *ta* *suy* *rewsi=an* *ma*,  
 3.O=place-POSS at again spend.a.night=IND.S and  
 Again I spent a night at his place and
- 269) *kuneywa* *hopuni=an* *ma*  
 in.the.morning get.up=IND.S and  
 in the morning I got up and
- 270) *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.”
- 271) *sekor* *yay-nu=an* *ma*  
 QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and  
 I thought.

---

<sup>211</sup> This is a relative clause: *ne* [ $\emptyset=or-o$  *ta* *rewsi=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 NP<sub>rel</sub>-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)  $\emptyset$ =*pon menoko*  
 3.S=be.young woman  
 A young woman
- 274)  $\emptyset$ =*unu-hu*  $\emptyset$ =*or-o* *ta*  $\emptyset$ =*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*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ye siri ka a= $\emptyset$ =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*  $\emptyset$ =*hoku-hu*  $\emptyset$ =*or-o* *ta*  $\emptyset$ =*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*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ye siri ka a= $\emptyset$ =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*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor kur ene*  $\emptyset$ =*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) “*okaypo, 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 okaypo*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*tura wa*  $\emptyset$ =*arpa*  
 IND.S=daughter-POSS young.man 3.S=3.O=go.together and 3.S=go  
 My daughter wants to go together with the young man and

- 281) *wa*  $\emptyset=par-o$   $\emptyset=\emptyset=o-suke^{212}$  *rusuy*  
 and 3.O=mouth-POSS 3.S=3.O=to.APPL-cook want  
 to cook for him (lit. ‘for his mouth’).
- 282) *sekor*  $\emptyset=haw-e-an$  *kor*  $\emptyset=an$  *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*  $\emptyset=haw-e,$  *a=\emptyset=e-yayirayke* *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=\emptyset=e-yay-kopuntek* *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*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=san-ke$   
 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*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=i-y-o$   
 and there-POSS-from 3.S=3.O=APASS-EP-put.into.PL  
  
 $\emptyset=\emptyset=i-y-o$   
 3.S=3.O=APASS-EP-put.into  
 and then [started] putting goods in [there].
- 287) *usa*  $\emptyset=okay$  *pe* *poro-n-no*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re$   
 various3.O=be.PL thing be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS  
 She put many various things in [there],

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<sup>212</sup> *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*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re$   
grandmother-chest 3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS
- $\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re$  *wa* (*sik*)  
3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS and  
She put and put [them] in the chest.
- 289) *sut-ketusi* *sik-te-no*  
grandmother-chest be.full-CAUS-ADV
- $\emptyset=\emptyset=i-y-o$   $\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re$  *wa*  
3.S=3.O=APASS-EP-put.into 3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS and  
She put so [many things] in that she filled up the chest and
- 290) *a=\emptyset=se* *kuni* *ne*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kar$  *wa*  
IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back in.order COP 3.S=3.O=make and  
she did [it] [so] that I could carry [it] on my back and
- 291)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=san-ke$  *wa*  
3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and  
brought it [to me].
- 292)  $\emptyset=matnepo-ho$  “*tan-pe*  $\emptyset=se$  *wa* *arpa*”  
3.S=daughter-POSS this-NR 3.O=carry.on.back and 3.S=go  
“Carry this on your back,”
- 293) *sekor*  $\emptyset=haw-e-an$  *kor*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=san-ke$   
QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be while 3.S=3.O=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=∅=kor*                    *cise*      *ot*      *ta*      *hosipi=an*      *ma*  
 IND.S=3.O=have      house      place      to      return=IND.S      and  
 returned to my house.

296) *arki=an*                    *korka*  
 come.PL=IND.S      but  
 We came, but

297) *ne*      *menoko-po*      (*si*)      *∅=sini*                    *ka*      *somo*      *ki*      *no*  
 this      woman-DIM                    3.S=rest                    even      NEG      do      and  
 this young woman didn't rest.

298) *cise*      *onnay*      *∅=∅=u-w-oma-re*<sup>213</sup>                    *wa*  
 house      inside      3.S=3.O=REC-EP-enter-CAUS                    and  
 She put the inside of the house in order and

299) *∅=mun-nuwe*                    *wa*                    *or-o-wa*  
 3.S=rubbish-sweep                    and                    there-POSS-from  
 swept away the rubbish, then

300) *suke=an*                    *ma*  
 cook=IND.S      and  
 we cooked and

301) *ipe=an*                    *akusu*  
 eat=IND.S      then  
 ate.

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<sup>213</sup> *u-w-oma-re* <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 **joining sth/sb together**: 'to bring sth/sb **together**, gather sth/sb' (TAM 815)' derived in a standard way from the following verbs

< *oma-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).

- 302) *kera-an* *ipe*  $\emptyset=an$  *pe* *ka* *ki*,  
 taste-be eat 3.S=be NR even do  
 It was a really delicious meal.
- 303)  $a=\emptyset=kor-pa$  *p* *ne* *yak-ka* *menoko*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=suwe$  *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*  $a=\emptyset=suwe$  *wa*  $a=\emptyset=e$  *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*  $\emptyset=isam$  *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='an* *akusu*  
 QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and be=IND.S then  
 I thought. And [so] I lived.
- 308) *cise*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$  *kur* *ene*  $\emptyset=haw-e-an$   $i^{214}$   
 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* *an*,  
 young.man what 2SG.S=REFL-hear ASS.NR be  
 “Young man, what do you think?”

<sup>214</sup> 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.



- 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.



[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*<sup>217</sup>      *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,

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<sup>217</sup> *pirka* <be.good> (vi) is used here as an adverb, i. e. as a synonym of *pirka-no* <be.good-ADV> ‘well’.

341) *ekimne ka somo Ø=ne ki kor*  
 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 Ø=ekimne wa*  
 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<sup>218</sup> (ap),*  
 two dead.game-POSS three dead.game-POSS

*Ø=Ø=kor-pa p ne kusu, a=Ø=e kor,*  
 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 Ø=an, nepki a=Ø=ki kor*  
 INDEF TOP house place at 3.S=be work IND.S=3.O=do and  
 I was staying at home and working.<sup>219</sup> And

345) *Ø=an, okaypo ruwe ne sekor,*  
 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 ka Ø=inne p ne kusu*  
 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=Ø=kar wa*  
 house also be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.S=make and  
 I built houses and

<sup>218</sup> Here the possessive form of the noun in *tup sumaw-e rep sumaw-e* <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.

<sup>219</sup> lit. 'As to myself, I stayed at home I did working.'



348) *a=po-utar-i*                      *a=∅=kor-e*                      *wa*  
 IND.S=son-PL-POSS      IND.S=3.O=have-CAUS                      and  
 presented them to our sons.

349) *matkaci ka (pon) poro-n-no*                      *∅=an*      *pe ne kusu,*  
 girl      also be.small be.many-EP-ADV      3.S=be      NR      COP      because  
 There were also many girls [our daughters], so

350) *matkaci anak-ne a=mac-ih*  
 girl              TOP-COP      IND.S=wife-POSS  
 as to the girls, my wife

351) *kemeyki<sup>220</sup> ne yak-ka toy-ta ne yak-ka*  
 needlework      COP      if-even      earth-dig      COP      if-even

*∅=∅=e-pakasnu*  
 3.S=3.O=about.APPL-teach  
 taught them needlework and farming.

352) *wa kor okay='an ma,*  
 and      while      be.PL=IND.S      and  
 And so we lived.

353) *asinuma-utar anak-ne,*  
 INDEF-PL      TOP-COP  
 We [my wife and me]

354) *onne=an ruwe, ruwe ne*  
 be.old=IND.S      ASS.NR      ASS.NR      COP  
 grew old.

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<sup>220</sup> *kemeyki (kem-e-i-ki)* <needle-by.APPL-APASS-do> 'to do needlework' (vi) is used here as a noun 'needlework'.

355) *sekor; sine okaypo*  $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an*  
QUOT one man 3.S=voice-POSS-be  
That is what one man told.

## 10. *Wen Horkew Kamuy*<sup>221</sup>. *Uwepeker* [The Evil Wolf God. Folk Tale]

Recorded on March 10, 1999. Playing Time: 6:56

### 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

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<sup>221</sup> *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) *a=hoku-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*              *ma*  
IND.S=husband-POSS      3.S=be              and  
There was my husband and
  
- 2) *okay='an*                      *pe*              *ne*              *hike,*  
be.PL=IND.S              NR              COP              and  
and [so] we lived.
  
- 3) *a=hoku-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*              *korka*              (*u-ko-po-s...*)  
IND.S=husband-POSS      3.S=be              but  
I had a husband, but
  
- 4)  $\emptyset$ =*u-ko-po-sak*                      *pe*              *a=ne*              *wa*  
3.S=REC-with.APPL-child-not.have      person              IND.S=COP              and  
but we were childless.
  
- 5) *po-kor*                      *ka*               $\emptyset$ =*an*              *somo*              *ki*              *wa*  
child-not.have              even              3.S=be              NEG              do              and  
There were no children. (lit. 'it was no having children.')

6) *uko-mismu kor okay='an'?*<sup>222</sup> *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=∅=kor cise*<sup>223</sup> *soy ta makanak ki(i),*  
 IND.S=3.O=have house outside at why do

*matkaci ∅=ne ya,*  
 girl 3.S=COP Q  
 Why was there a girl outside my house?

8) *matkaci sinen ne ∅=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

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<sup>222</sup> ='*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. *∅=uko-mismu kor ∅=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.

<sup>223</sup> 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=∅=kor cise* never appears as [*akottise*].

- 9) *a=∅=erampokiwen kusu, ne matkaci a=∅=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) *wa ekimne arpa=an yak-ka<sup>224</sup>*  
 and to.the.mountains go=IND.S even-if  
 Even when going to the mountains,
- 11) *a=∅=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=∅=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) *∅=an<sup>225</sup> matkaci ∅=an pe ne akusu,*  
 3.S=be girl 3.S=be NR COP then  
 there was [always] the girl.

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<sup>224</sup> In the Chitose Dialect of Ito Oda /n/ before /j/ (-n+j-) marginally undergoes gliding:  
 /aj jakka/ (see 9-175), but here, as in most cases, it is just palatalization: [an<sup>j</sup> jakka]; see 3.4.

<sup>225</sup> The use of *an* (*∅=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!”

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<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-an-(h)i* ‘<?-be-time>.’

<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 [*kátkemattara*].

<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=(<ku=)* <1SG.S> are used.

- 18) *sekor*<sup>231</sup>     $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-okay*  
 QUOT    3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL  
 Said the [other] housewives.
- 19) *katkemat*    *poro-n-no*     $\emptyset$ =*an*<sup>232</sup>    *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*-lily.root-dig=IND.S    in.order    boat    by    go.PL=IND.S  
 We went by boats in order to dig up *turep* – lily roots.
- 22) *a=hoku-hu*     $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor*,    *kuca*,  
 IND.S=husband-POSS    3.S=3.O=have    hunting.hut  
  
 $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*san-ke*    *kuca*     $\emptyset$ =*an*    *pe*    *ne*    *kusu*,  
 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS    hunting.hut    3.S=be  
 NR    COP    because  
 There was my husband's hunting hut close by the sea (lit. 'a projecting hunting hut'), so
- 23)  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*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.S and    *turep*-lily.root-dig=IND.S    QOUT    REFL-hear=IND.S

<sup>231</sup> Here in *sekor*, we find an irregular (probably accidental) insertion of a glide: [*séjkor*o]; the last [o] is a regular prothetic phenomenon.

<sup>232</sup> 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.



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=∅=sina somo ki kus ne na*  
 most beforeboat 2SG.S=3.O=tie NEG do intention COP FIN  
 don't tie down the boat before [everyone],

28) *iyotta iyos cip ∅=sina hani"*  
 most after boat 3.O=tie FIN  
 tie down the boat after [everyone]!"

29) *sekor a=unu-hu ∅=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 ∅=∅=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 ∅=∅=sina wa ∅=yap kor(ko) ∅=okay*  
 immediately boat 3.S=3.O=tie and 3.S=land.PL and 3.S=be.PL  
 they immediately tied down their boats and landed.

- 33) *(ko) korka, asinuma anak iyotta iyos cip a=∅=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 ∅=omanan ruwe an yak ∅=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 ∅=uwe-yay-kopuntek<sup>233</sup> kor*  
 but housewife-PL TOP-COP 3.S=SOC-REFL-rejoice.at and  
 However, the women were having fun together.
- 38) *∅=suke kor ∅=okay korka*  
 3.S=cook and 3.S=be.PL but  
 They cooked,
- 39) *asinuma anak-ne suke ka ∅=an ki somo ki<sup>234</sup> no,*  
 INDEF TOP 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

<sup>233</sup> The actual pronunciation is [uwéyaykopuntek]. The second vowel is lengthened.

<sup>234</sup> 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<sup>235</sup> kes ta*  
 whittled.prayer.sticks.used.as.offerings.to.gods-altar edge at

*hemanta Ø=sir-ouri wa*  
 suspicious.object 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,*  
 3.S=body-POSS TOP-COP 3.S=3.O=hide and

*sapa takup-i<sup>236</sup> Ø=Ø=san-ke wa*  
 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

<sup>235</sup> 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 *kamuy nomi* ‘to celebrate the gods with sacred sake’ for the success and safety of the hunt.’

<sup>236</sup> *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*                       $\emptyset$ =*poro*              *su*              *ka*  
IND.S=husband-POSS      3.S=be.big              pan              even

$\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor*                      *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*arpa*,  
3.S=3.O=have                      and                      3.S=go

My husband had brought a big pan.

46) *kuca*                      *ot*                      *ta*               $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor*              *wa*               $\emptyset$ =*arpa*,  
hunting.hut                      place                      at              3.S=3.O=have              and              3.S=go

He had brought it to the hunting hut [and]

47)  $\emptyset$ =*an*                      *pe*                      *ne*                      *kusu*  
3.S=be                      NR                      COP                      because

as it was [left there],

48) *ne*              *su*              *a= $\emptyset$ =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*<sup>237</sup>    *ma*  
be.hot-hot.water-make=IND.S              and

I made hot water and

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<sup>237</sup> *pop'useykar* <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*  $\emptyset$ =*sapa-ha* *takup*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*san-ke* *wa*  
 this 3.S=head-POSS only 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and
- $\emptyset$ =*an* *pe,*  $\emptyset$ =*sapa-ha*  $a$ = $\emptyset$ =*kuta*<sup>238</sup> *akusu*  
 3.S=be person 3.S=head-POSS IND.S=3.O=spill then  
 I poured [the water] on the creature with only his head sticking out.
- 51)  $\emptyset$ =*poro*  $\emptyset$ =*haw-e*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*san-ke* *kor*  
 3.S=be.big 3.S=voice-POSS 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and  
 Then [the creature] let out a loud cry and
- 52) *pet* *or* *un*  $\emptyset$ =*hoyupu* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*arpa* *akusu,*  
 river place to 3.S=jump and 3.S=go then  
 went jumping to the river. Then
- 53) *pet* *or* *un*  $\emptyset$ =*enpuyna* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*ray* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*isam,*  
 river place to 3.S=fall.forward and 3.S=die and 3.S=not.exist
- siri*  $a$ = $\emptyset$ =*nukar* *akusu*  
 EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=see then  
 I saw that he fell forward into the river and died.
- 54)  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e-punkine* *p*  $\emptyset$ =*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.<sup>239</sup>

<sup>238</sup> *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*  $\emptyset$ =*ka-si* *un*  $a$ = $\emptyset$ =*kuta*  
 head 3.O=top-POSS on IND.S=3.O=spill

'I spilt [the water] on the head.'

<sup>239</sup> lit. 'It turned out that that was the person [=creature] watching out for [the women].'

55) *ekimne-no*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*            *ma*     $\emptyset$ =*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,*                       $\emptyset$ =*inne*                       $\emptyset$ =*haw-ehe,*                       $\emptyset$ =*itak*            *a?*<sup>240</sup>  
 in.the.mountains    3.S=be.numerous            3.S=voice-POSS            3.S=say            PERF

$\emptyset$ =*wose*             $\emptyset$ =*haw-e*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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*= $\emptyset$ =*e-kimatek*                      *wa,*  
 oh!            IND.S=3.O=by.APPL-be.scared            and  
 Oh! I was scared by that!

58) *or-o-wa,*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*kor*                      *matkaci ka*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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,

<sup>240</sup> *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:

*ne*             $\emptyset$ =*punkine*                      *wa*             $\emptyset$ =*an*                      *pe*  
 this            3.S=watch.out            and            3.S=be                      person  
 ‘This person on the watch  
*ekimne*                      *wa*             $\emptyset$ =*wose*                      *akusu*  
 in.the.mountains            to            3.S=howl                      then  
 howled to the mountains, then  
*okimne*                      *wa*            *ka*             $\emptyset$ =*inne*                       $\emptyset$ =*rup-ih*                       $\emptyset$ =*wose*  
 in.the.mountains            from            even            3.S=be.many            3.S=pack-POSS            3.S=howl  
 $\emptyset$ =*haw-e*                      *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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].’



64) *sinen ne a=∅=kor matkaci a=∅=tura wa*  
 alone as IND.S=3.O=have girl IND.S=3.O=take.along and

*hosipi=an*

return=IND.S

I took my girl along [with me] and returned by myself.

65) *ma, hosipi=an a hosipi=an a yak-ka*  
 and return=IND.S ITR return=IND.S ITR if-even  
 Although I went and went home,

66) *sir-peker ruwe ka ∅=isam*  
 appearance-be.light NR even 3.S=not.exist  
 it was not dawning.

67) *ayne, a=∅=kor tomari ot ta arpa=an akusu*  
 finally IND.S=3.O=have bay place to go=IND.S when  
 Finally, when I came to my bay,

68) *or-o ta sir-peker wa,*  
 there-POSS at appearance-be.light and  
 hen it grew light.

69) *yan='an ma nani*  
 land=IND.S and immediately  
 I landed and immediately

70) *kotan ∅=∅=kor kur ∅=or-o ta arpa=an ma,*  
 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) “*tap-ne tap-ne ∅=ne*” *sekor, haw-e-an='an akusu,*  
 this-COP this-COP 3.S=COP QUOT voice-POSS-be=IND.S then  
 “[The things] are like this and that.” I said.



- 72)  $\emptyset=i$ -y-okunnure                      wa              or-o-wa,  
 3.S=APASS-EP-be.astonished.by      and              there-POSS-from  
 [The village chief] was astonished.
- 73) “nep               $\emptyset=$ pirka              pi<sup>243</sup>               $\emptyset=$ an      hawe      ka      somo ne (ne)  
 something      3.S=be.good      thing-POSS      3.S=be      EVID.NR      even      NEG      COP  
 “Nothing good has happened,
- 74) kusu,              sito               $\emptyset=$ kar              yan,  
 because      dumpling      3.O=make      IMP.POL  
 so make dumplings
- 75) usa              a=e-p               $\emptyset=$ kar              yan”  
 various              IND.S=eat-NR              3.O=make              IMP.POL  
 [and] make various dishes!”
- 76) sekor,              kotan               $\emptyset=\emptyset=$ kor              kur               $\emptyset=\emptyset=$ 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) wa              or-o-wa              sito               $\emptyset=\emptyset=$ kar              kur  
 and              there-POSS-from              dumpling              3.S=3.O=make              person
- sito               $\emptyset=\emptyset=$ kar,  
 dumpling              3.S=3.O=make

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<sup>243</sup> 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* is 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 where 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)); *tup sumaw-e rep sumaw-e* <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-peker 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=∅=kor wa paye=an,*  
 various IND.S=3.O=have and go.PL=IND.S  
 we brought various [things].
- 86) *sito ne yak-ka a=e-p poro-n-no a=∅=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<sup>244</sup> poro-n-no a=∅=tuy-e*  
 and there-POSS-from twig be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.O=cut-TR  
 then we cut many twigs
- 88) *wa ∅=kas-i a=∅=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 ∅=ek wa,*  
 again somebody even 3.S=come and
- neun ka ∅=∅=kar yak ∅=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 ∅=kas-i a=∅=e-sik-te*  
 be.many-EP-ADV 3.O=top-POSS IND.S=3.O=with.APPL-be.full-CAUS  
 I covered the top of [the pile with twigs] carefully.

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<sup>244</sup> The synonym of *kaykuma* (OI).

In a later interview, Ito Oda also derived an incorporative verb *caycaye-tuye* <twig-cut> ‘to cut twigs’ (vi); see 4.3.4.2.5.

- 91) *wa*<sup>245</sup> *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) *haa*,                    *i-y-okunnure=an*,  
 oh!                    APASS-EP-be.astonished.by=IND.S  
 Oh! I was really astonished!
- 93) *katkemat-utar*                    *a=∅=erampokiwen*                    *korka*  
 housewife-PL                    IND.S=3.O=feel.sorry.for                    but  
 I had felt sorry for the women, but
- 94) *ene*                    *a=∅=ye*                    *hi*                    *ka*                    *∅=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=∅=anu*  
 IND.S=3.O=leave  
 From then on I let the girl [live] in my house.
- 96) *wa*                    *po*                    *∅=sir-i*                    *ne*                    (a) *a=∅=omap*                    *kor*  
 and    child    3.S=appearance-POSS                    as                    IND.S=3.O=love                    while  
 Loving her as [my own] child,

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<sup>245</sup> There is a phrase which was omitted in the narration but occurred in the interview:

*kuca*                    *ka*                    *a=∅=hecawe-re*  
 hunting.hut                    even                    IND.S=3.O=be.pulled.down-CAUS  
 ‘I pulled down the hunting hut.’

97) *a=∅=reska*                      *wa*                      *∅=an*<sup>246</sup>                      *ruwe*                      *ne,*  
 IND.S=3.O=raise                      and                      3.O=be                      ASS.NR                      COP  
 I raised her and she was [grown]/it was [so].

98) *sekor*                      *sine*                      *menoko*                      *yay-e-isoytak*<sup>247</sup>                      *ruwe*                      *ne*  
 QUOT                      one                      woman                      REFL-about.APPL-tell.story                      ASS.NR                      COP  
 That is [how] one woman told the story about herself.

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<sup>246</sup> Here, the construction notional verb + conjunction *wa* ‘and’ + *an*(SG)/*okay* (PL) ‘to be’ allows double interpretation. In the first case, the notional verb names an action and the second verb refers to the **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 **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.

<sup>247</sup> The word *yay-e-isoytak* <REFL-about.APPL-tell.story> is pronounced as [yayésoytak] (here *i-* is retained in spelling to make explicit the morphological structure). The glottal stop before /e/ is dropped which causes resyllabification and the switch of accent: ***ya.yéy.soy.tak*** instead of ***yáy. ’ey.soy.tak***, the latter is also theoretically possible.

## 11. *Pirka Horkew Kamuy*<sup>248</sup>. *Uwepeker* [The Good Dog God. Folk Tale]

Recorded on March 17, 1999. Playing Time: 14:57

### 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.

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<sup>248</sup> 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<sup>249</sup> with Glosses, English Translation and Notes

- 1) *a=ona-ha*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*                      *a=unu-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*                      *ma*  
 IND.S=father-POSS    3.S=be                      IND.S=mother-POSS    3.S=be                      and  
 There lived my father, there lived my mother and

- 2) *okay='an*                      *pe*                      *ne*                      *hike*  
 be.PL=IND.S                      NR                      COP                      and

っていったらお母さん、お父さんとお母さんおってそで自分がおって  
 [so] we lived.

- 3) *a=ona-ha*    *a= $\emptyset$ =tura*  
 IND.S=father-POSS    IND.S=3.O=go.together.with

*wa*    *ekimne=an*  
 and    go.to.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S

お父さん語って*ekimne*しに行つてそして熊を大きい熊でも  
 I went to the mountains to hunt together with my father.

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<sup>249</sup> 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)  $\emptyset$ =poro kamuy ne yak-ka  
 3.S=be.big bear COP if-even
- $\emptyset$ =okkew-e a= $\emptyset$ =kay-e wa  
 3.S=neck-POSS IND.S=3.O=break-TR and  
 I broke even the necks of big bears.
- 5) a=unu-hu a=ona-ha  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =e-yay-kopuntek  
 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) wa kamuy  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =ko-onkami etok ta  $\emptyset$ =i=ko-onkami wa  
 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) or-o-wa kamuy  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =ko-onkami kor  
 there-POSS-from God 3.S=3.O=worship and  
 Then they worshipped the [other] Gods and
- 8) okay='an pe ne, hike  
 be.PL=IND.S NR COP and  
 [so] we lived.
- 9) これは本当に  $\emptyset$ =pirka kamuy だから akusu  
 THAT IS BECAUSE HE WAS REALLY a good God...Then





15) *tane*      *ci=hok-i*      *ka*      *poro-n-no*  
 already      1PL.S=buy-NR      even      be.many-EP-ADV

$\emptyset=u-ka-osma-re$ <sup>252</sup>      *ruwe*      *ne*      *kusu*  
 3.S=REC-top-enter-CAUS      ASS.NR      COP      because  
 “As a lot of goods [pelts, etc.] for trade have already piled up,

16) *uymam='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)  $\emptyset=pirka$       *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=kor*      *kamuy*      *e=\emptyset=ipe-re*      *kus*      *ne*      *na''*  
 IND.S=3.O=have      God      2SG.S=3.O=eat-CAUS      intention      COP      FIN  
 feed my dog.”

19) *sekor*      *a=unu-hu*       $\emptyset=\emptyset=ko-ytak-muy-e$ <sup>253</sup>  
 QUOT      IND.S=mother-POSS      3.S=3.O=for.APPL-words-bundle-TR

*hawe*      *ka*      *a=\emptyset=nu*      *kor*      *an='an*      *pe*      *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

<sup>252</sup> It seems that Ito Oda was using *u-ka-osma-re* as an intransitive verb ‘to pile up’. The transitive verb *u-ka-osma-re* <REC-top-enter-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-ka-osma-re* and the translation would be ‘as I have already piled up a lot of trade goods [pelts etc.]’.

<sup>253</sup> *ko-ytak-muy-e* ‘to leave a message **for sb**’ is a lexicalized applicative verb with noun incorporation (<*itak* ‘words’) made up of the transitive verb *muye* ‘to bunch/bundle sth’ and the applicative prefix *ko-*, introducing a direct object of **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*       $\emptyset=san$       *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)  $\emptyset=uymam$       *kusu*      *tane,*      *a=ona-ha*      *herepasi*       $\emptyset=arpa$       *hi*  
 3.S=barter      in.order    already    IND.S=father-POSS    out.to.sea    3.S=go      NR
- $\emptyset=arpa$       *hi*      *a=unu-hu*       $\emptyset=\emptyset=eramuan$ <sup>254</sup>      *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.

<sup>254</sup> The final consonant is pronounced as palatalized: [eramuan<sup>h</sup>], 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horkewにa=∅=kor kamuyって自分の大事な神様だからもの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) “∅=pirka                      suke                      e=∅=ki                      wa  
           3.S=be.good                cook                      2SG.S=3.S=do                and  
 “You should cook well and [lit. ‘do good cooking’]

- 28) a=∅=kor                      kamuy                      e=∅=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いものを炊いてうちの大事な神様に食べさせててお父さん言っていたの  
 feed my dog.” [SAID MY FATHER].

- 29) お父さん                      ∅=rep-un                      wa                      ∅=arpa,  
 FATHER                      3.S=open.sea-go.to                      and                      3.S=go

hi                      ∅=∅=eramuan                      ∅=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  
 ∅=wen kamuyってhorkewのことって怒るんだって

SHE GOT ANGRY WITH THIS evil God, the dog.

- 30) “taan    ∅=wen                      kamuy                      ∅=an                      kusu  
 this    3.S=be.bad                God                      3.S=be                      because  
 “Because this bad God lives [here],

31)  $\emptyset$ =pirka a=e-p ka a= $\emptyset$ =e ka a= $\emptyset$ =eramiskari  
 3.S=be.good IND.S-eat-NR even IND.S=3.O=eat even IND.S=3.O=not.know  
 I don't remember [when] I ate good food [last].

32) taan  $\emptyset$ =wen kamyasi(pa)<sup>255</sup> patek a= $\emptyset$ =e-re kusu  
 this 3.S=be.bad monster only IND.S=3.O=eat-CAUS because  
 As I was feeding only this terrible monster,

33) te wa-no poka a= $\emptyset$ =e kus ne"  
 here from-ADV only IND.S=3.O=eat intention COP  
 from now on I'll eat [myself]."

34) sekor  $\emptyset$ =haw-e-an kor  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 Saying [so],

35)  $\emptyset$ =poro su  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =san-ke wa  
 3.S=be.big pan 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and  
 she took a big pan and

36)  $\emptyset$ =poro su sik-te-no  
 3.S=be.big pan be.full-CAUS-ADV

usa kam usa cep  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =suwe wa, or-o-wa  
 various meat various fish 3.S=3.O=cook and there-from-and  
 cooked a full pan of all kinds of meat and fish. Then

37) "taan kamyasi, anak  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =e kor  $\emptyset$ =an pe ne a kusu"  
 this monster TOP 3.S=3.O=eat and 3.S=be NR COP PERF because  
 "Since only this monster had been eating..."

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<sup>255</sup> The actual pronunciation is [kámýaspa]. -pa can hardly be interpreted, so it is bracketed; it could be the beginning of the word *patek* that follows it interrupted by a pause.

38) *sekor*  $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an* *kor*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 Said [my mother] and

39) *sinen* *ne*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e* *kor*  $\emptyset$ =*an*  
 alone as 3.S=3.O=eat and 3.S=be  
 ate alone.

といったら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れない魚もいいとこ食べれないでお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* に何も食べさせないで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)  $\emptyset$ =*hosipi* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*ek* *somo* *ki*  
 3.S=return and 3.S=come NEG do

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*<sup>256</sup>  
 lie.down=IND.S NR COP because hunger-of.APPL-be.bad=IND.S

といたら、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*  
 dog-PL 3.S=IND.O=EP-at.APPL-bark 3.S=IND.O=EP-at.APPL-bark  
 Dogs barked at me.

- 47) *akusu okayo-utar Ø=inne okayo 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.

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<sup>256</sup> Here *kemewen=an* 'to starve to death'(vi) is pronounced as [*kemewe'án*] (instead of the expected [*kémewen='án*]). The final /n/ of the root is omitted and the root itself is accentless.

49) *hemanta ene Ø=asur-u Ø=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 sinen ne Ø=omanan siri an*  
 what do and alone as 3.S=travel EVID.NR be  
 why is he travelling alone?” [Said the men].

ってあんなにもう熊でも優れ、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、犬というか*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=Ø=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 Ø=an ma seta Ø=i=y-e-mik*  
 again village 3.S=be and dog 3.S=IND.O=EP-at.APPL-bark

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ないでまた行った。

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* といったら川の尻

[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んで家さ入ったんだって  
 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んな立派なもんでしょ。

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=∅=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=∅=e*                      *akusu a=∅=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、その家にお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  
 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*patci*いっぱい肉のいいや  
 つ魚のいいやつ*patci*にいっぱい入れても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おって、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 *ekimne* 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.

77) *cise*     $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$     *kur*     $\emptyset=ekimne$     *kusu*  
 house    3.S=3.O=have    person    3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt    in.order

$\emptyset=arpa$     *akusu*    *pinne*    *cucu*    *tuhot*<sup>257</sup>    *matne*    *cucu*    *tuhot*  
 3.S=go    when    male    dog    twenty    female    dog    twenty

と言ったら雄犬二十匹雌犬二十匹連れてこの主人個がまたぎに行くんだって、そういうのを聞いたけど

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聞いてびっくりしてまた窓から飛んでいて後ぼって行ったらすぐ追いついて一緒に行って一緒に行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そこへ回っておったら

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.

78) *p*     $\emptyset=\emptyset=se$     よっぱ  
 thing    3.S=3.O=carry.on.one's.back    VERY

$\emptyset=\emptyset=e-yay-kopuntek$     *wa*  
 3.S=3.O=at.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at    and

[The host]carried [the game] on his back and was VERY glad about it,

<sup>257</sup> 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) 獲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又は *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*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=ko-onkami$  *wa* *or-o-wa*  
 God 3.S=3.O=APPL=worship and there-POSS-from

$\emptyset=i-ri$  *wa*  
 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],

- 85)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=e$ -yay-kopuntek (wa) kor  $\emptyset=an$  korka  
 3.S=3.O=at.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at (and) and 3.S=be but  
 he was glad about [it].
- 86) “*a=ona-ha makanak  $\emptyset=\emptyset=ki$  ruwe an*”  
 IND.S=father-POSS what 3.S=3.O=do ASS.NR be  
 “What is my father doing?”
- 87) *sekor yay-nu=an ma*  
 QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and  
 thinking [so],
- 88) (*at*),<sup>258</sup> *si-y-oka un inkar='an*  
 (cord) REFL-EP-behind to look=IND.S  
 I looked behind myself.

ったら、自分のお父さん *uymam* から帰ってきたかどうしたかなと思って後へ見たらお父さん帰ってきたけどその *horkew* おらんもんだからがっかりして何も教えられなくなった、寝ておるのを見えたって。

そうだからこういうことお母さんがしていじわる人自分に怒って何も食わせてくれなかったから自分はお母さんの見えるところに死んではならんと思って死にたいつもりで歩いていたら人に拾われてこういう人のおところからということをお父さんに夢を見させたんだって。そうしたら今度お父さん何かちょっこり背負って自分の宝ものでお礼しようと思って背負ってきて、

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

<sup>258</sup> *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-oka* <REFL-EP-behind> (‘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*       $\emptyset=\emptyset=i-y-e-kar$ <sup>259</sup>  
IND.S=father-POSS      3.S=3.O=APASS-EP-for.APPL-do

*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.

何かちよっともの背負ってお父さんが向かえに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ろの人と *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.

<sup>259</sup> 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)  $\emptyset=u$ -*ko-onkami*                      *wa*                      *or-o-wa*  
 3.S=REC=APPL-greet                      and                      there-POSS-from  
 [The men] exchanged greetings. After that

93)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=se$     *wa*                       $\emptyset=arpa$                       *p*  
 3.S=3.O=carry.on.one's.back                      and                      SG.S=go                      thing

*cise*                       $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$                       *kur*                       $\emptyset=\emptyset=ko-turi-ri$   
 house                      3.S=3.O=have                      person                      3.S=3.O=for.APPL-stretch.out-P.RED  
 [my father] proffered the owner of the house the stuff he was carrying on his back.

94) *akusu*    *cise*     $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$                       *kur,*                       $\emptyset=\emptyset=ko-onkami$                       *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*                       $\emptyset=ka-si$                       *un*                       $\emptyset=\emptyset=anu$   
 there-POSS-and    lacquer-ware    3.O=top-POSS                      at                      3.S=3.O=put

*siri*                       $a=\emptyset=nukar$                       *kor*  
 EVID.NR                      IND.S=3.O=see                      and

After that I saw him putting [presents] on top of the lacquer-ware.

96)  $a=ona-ha$                        $a=\emptyset=tura$     *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*                       $a=\emptyset=erampokiwen$     *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=ona-ha*                      *a=∅=erampokiwen*                      *korka*  
 IND.S=father-POSS      IND.S=3.O=feel.sorry.for      but  
 I felt sorry for [my father], but

105) *a=∅=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ら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*      *∅=isoytak*      *ruwe*      *ne*      *sekor*  
 wolf      God      3.S=tell      ASS.NR      COP      QUOT  
 That is what the Dog God told.

## 12. *Hmhm*<sup>260</sup> *Kamuy. Kamuy Yukar* [The Eagle Owl God. Epics of Gods]

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

### 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.

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<sup>260</sup> 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 onomatopoeic 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<sup>261</sup> 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*    *sini=an*            *ma*  
 and    tree            top    on    rest=IND.S            and  
 and rested on the top of a tree.

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<sup>261</sup> The construction notional verb + conjunction *wa* 'and' + *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*  
 God fish shoal be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=come.PL do

*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=∅=e-oripak kamuy*  
 there at IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-show.respect God

*∅=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 ∅=e-oripak yan”*  
 2PL.S=all 3.O=to.APPL-show.respect IMP.POL

All of you, show respect to him!”

16) *sekor ∅=haw-e-an hawe ka*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be EVID.NR even

*a=∅=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 ∅=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 ∅=arki*  
 most behind fish-PL 3.S=come.PL

the fishes, who were behind [others], came.

19) *∅=osor-oho wa ∅=ek cep*  
 3.S=buttoks-POSS from 3.S=come fish

A fish who came from the tail of [the shoal]

20) *ene ∅=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<sup>262</sup>*  
 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:

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<sup>262</sup> 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. *sí-pe* lit. ‘true food’ – one of the terms for ‘salmon’. Cf. *o-cakak-se* < buttocks.SUF-onomatopoeic.stem-SUF> ‘to have diarrhea’ (TAM 453).





32) *siro-kane pisakku a=upsor-o wa a=∅=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]<sup>264</sup> a=∅=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=∅=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} ∅=∅=ki akusu,*  
 V 3.S=3.O=do then

*{hmhmkato}, ∅=∅=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) *∅=sapa-ne kamuy anak ene ∅=haw-e-an*  
 3.S=head-COP God TOP like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be  
 The head God said as follows,

38) *kor ∅=i-ruska(y)*  
 while 3.S=APASS-be.angry.with  
 getting angry.

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<sup>264</sup> 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=∅=e-oripak kamuy neun,*  
 IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-show.respect God what

*∅=i-ruska kor*  
 3.S=APASS-be.angry.with when  
 when the God whom we respect gets angry,

41) *neun, ∅=∅=ki ya ka wa<sup>265</sup>*  
 what 3.S=3.O=do Q even and?

*a=∅=erampewtek pe ne kusu*  
 IND.S=3.O=not.know NR COP because  
 I really don't know what he [will] do.

42) *a=∅=e-oripak kamuy ∅=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=∅=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.

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<sup>265</sup> Normally, the conjunction *wa* ‘and’ does not appear in this position, because the phrase preceding *ya ka* 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=∅=nise ciki*  
 like.this water PASS=3.O=scoop.up if  
 If the water is scooped off like this,
- 46) *a=opitta ray='an ma ∅=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=∅=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 ∅=haw-e-an kor,*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be when  
 Saying [so],
- 49) *∅=sapa-ne kamuy ∅=i-ruska,*  
 3.S=head-COP God 3.S=APASS-be.angry.with
- kor ∅=an korka,*  
 and 3.S=be but  
 the head God got angry. However,
- 50) *suy kon-kane pisakku a=∅=san-ke*  
 again golden-metal dipper IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS  
 again I pulled out a golden dipper
- 51) *wa atuy wakka a=∅=nise akusu*  
 and sea water IND.S=3.O=scoop.up then  
 and I scooped up the sea water. Then

52) *atuy oar Ø=sat<sup>266</sup> wa Ø=isam, akusu*  
 sea completely 3.S=dry.up and 3.S=not.exist then  
 the sea dried up completely.

53) *kamuy-utar Ø=inne kamuy-utar Ø=nuwap kor*  
 God-PL 3.S=be.many God-PL 3.S=groan and

*Ø=okay hawe a=Ø=nu wa (a=y-sik...)<sup>267</sup>*  
 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<sup>268</sup> 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 Ø=raka-ha ne ya”*  
 NR even what 3.S=sake-POSS COP Q  
 what will be the sense of [that]?”

<sup>266</sup> 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’.

<sup>267</sup> *a=y-sik...* is a slip of the tongue; the intended form appeared in the next line 54:

*a=i=sirkuran-te.*

<sup>268</sup> 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=∅=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=∅=kuta*<sup>269</sup>      *akusu,*  
 sea      place      to      IND.S=3.O=pour when  
 when I poured [water] into the sea
- 61) *atuy noski*      *pak-no*      *wakka*      *∅=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...)*<sup>270</sup>      *kanna-ruyno*<sup>271</sup>  
 and      because      more                      again-violently  
 So once again
- 63) *kon-kane*      *pisakku*      *ka*      *a=∅=san-ke*                      *wa*  
 golden-metal      dipper      even      IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS                      and  
 I pulled out the golden dipper and
- 64) *a=∅=ohare*                                      *akusu*  
 IND.S=3.O=empty                                      when  
 when I emptied [it],

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<sup>269</sup> 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’.

<sup>270</sup> *(ru...)* is a slip of the tongue, i. e. the beginning of the word *ruyno*.

<sup>271</sup> *kan-na ruyn-no* <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*  
 peaceful-ADV 3.S=return-PL and 3.S=go.PL EVID.NR  
  
*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*       $\emptyset$ =*isoytak*      *ruwe*      *ne*  
eagle.owl      God      3.S=tell.story      ASS.NR      COP  
That is the story told by the Eagle Owl God.



### **13. *Wao Kamuy. Kamuy Yukar* [The Green Pigeon God. Epics of Gods]**

**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}*<sup>272</sup> *ci*<sup>273</sup>= $\emptyset$ =*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*= $\emptyset$ =*eyaynita*<sup>274</sup> *{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  $\emptyset$ =an ki kor*<sup>275</sup> *{waori}*  
 and 3.S=be do and V  
 [so] it was.
- 4) *hentom'ani ta (Samayunkur),*  
 recently at *Samayunkur*  
 These days,

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<sup>272</sup> 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.

<sup>273</sup> *c(i)*= is the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural exclusive marker for transitive verbs (cf. =*as*, the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural exclusive marker for intransitive verbs) which is also used in the meaning of the 1<sup>st</sup> 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.

<sup>274</sup> It is tempting to segment the verb into morphemes as *e-yay-nita* <in.APPL-REFL-suppress?> lit. 'to suppress oneself in (doing sth)', yet it is not possible synchronically.

<sup>275</sup> *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* Ø=Ø=*kor* (*kotak*) [*kotan*] Ø=*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 Ø=Ø=*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) *ki<sup>276</sup> wa ne yak {waori}*  
 do and COP if V  
 If you do so,

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<sup>276</sup> *ki* ‘to do sth’ is most likely used here for stylistic or rhythmical reasons (the similar usage of *ki* ‘to do sth’ occurs in this text for another 26 times). However, here the contextually grammatical form would be *e=ki* <2SG.S-do> ‘you do’.

- 12) *kanna-ruyno*<sup>277</sup> {*waori*}  
 again-violently V  
 again
- 13) *aynu kotan* {*waori*} *e=∅=e-utan-ne* {*waori*}  
 human/Ainu village V 2SG.S=3.O=with.APPL-people-COP V
- ki e-askay*<sup>278</sup> *na* {*waori*}”  
 do to.APPL-be.able FIN V  
 you’ll be able to get back to the village of the human-Ainu.”
- 14) *∅=haw-e-an* *ki kor* {*waori*}  
 3.S=voice-POSS-be do and V  
 Said [Samayunkur],
- 15) *tu onkami toy* {*waori*} *re onkami toy* {*waori*}  
 two greeting ?strongly V three greeting ?strongly V
- ∅=i=ko-anu*<sup>279</sup> *kor* {*waori*}  
 3.S=IND.O=toward.APPL-put and V  
 performing (lit. ‘putting’) two or three ritual greetings at the pleasure of meeting me.

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<sup>277</sup> *kan-na ruy-no* <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 *kamuy yukar* ‘epics of Gods’.

<sup>278</sup> The verbs *ki* ‘to do sth’ (vt) and *easkay* ‘to be good at sth’ (vt) function here as auxiliaries of the notional verb *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.

<sup>279</sup> *tu onkami toy re onkami 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 *toy* is not quite clear.

16)  $\emptyset$ =*he-etaye*      *wa*       $\emptyset$ =*isam*      {*waori*},      *akusu*,  
 3.S=head-pull      and      3.S=not.exist      V      then  
 [Samayunkur] pulled his head [back inside].

17) *iwan*      *kosonte*      {*waori*}  
 six      wadded.silk.garment      V

(*ee*, *e*)       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*uko-[e]-kut-kor*<sup>280</sup>      {*waori*}  
 3.S=3.O=REC-[with.APPL]-belt-have      V  
 Then he put on six wadded silk garments fastening them with a belt,

18) *iwan*      *kosonte*      {*waori*}       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*opannaatte*      {*waori*}  
 six      wadded.silk.garment      V      3.S=3.O=fling      V  
 he flung six [other] wadded silk garments on.

19) *karinpa*       $\emptyset$ =*pon*      *ku*      {*waori*}  
 cherry.tree.bark      3.S=be.small      bow      V

$\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor*      *ki*      *ki*<sup>281</sup>      *wa*      {*waori*}  
 3.S=3.O=have      do      do      and      V  
 [Samayunkur] took a small bow [made] of cherry tree bark and

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<sup>280</sup> Ito Oda hesitated (*ee*, *e*) about attaching the applicative prefix before the reciprocal prefix (*e-uko-kut-kor* <[with.APPL]-REC-belt-have> - not registered in the dictionaries, but still theoretically possible) or after it (*uko-e-kut-kor* <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 *uko*- (see 4.3.4.2.2) implying putting several objects together (V.P. Nedjalkov, p.c.); the meaning of the verb *uko-e-kut-kor* is lexicalized.

<sup>281</sup> The auxiliary *ki* is repeated twice for the sake of rhythm.

- 20) *soy-na-san-ma*<sup>282</sup> {waori}  
 outside-in.the.direction-descend-and V
- $\emptyset=\emptyset=o\text{-}si\text{-}ray\text{-}e$ <sup>283</sup> *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*),  $a=\emptyset=si\text{-}y\text{-}oka\text{-}kus\text{-}te$  {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
- $a=\emptyset=si\text{-}y\text{-}etok\text{-}kus\text{-}te$  {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)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$   $\emptyset=(i)wen$  *irenka* {waori}  
 3.S=3.O=have 3.S=be.bad disposition V
- $\emptyset=nanu\text{-}hu$   $\emptyset=\emptyset=e\text{-}pirasa$  *ki na* {waori}  
 3.S=face-POSS 3.S=3.O=over.APPL-spread do FIN V  
 The bad disposition of [Samayunkur] spread over his face (lit. ‘he spread his bad

<sup>282</sup> *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’.

<sup>283</sup> The transitive verb *o-si-ray-e* <to.APPL-REFL-push-TR> ‘to go to’ (vt) is lexicalized.

disposition over his face”).

- 25)  $\emptyset=i=ko-pasirota$  {waori}  
3.S=IND.O=at.APPL-revile V  
[Samayunkur] reviled at me.
- 26) *tan*  $\emptyset=wen$  *wao* {waori}  
this 3.S=be.bad green.pigeon V  
Such an evil Green Pigeon,
- 27)  $\emptyset=sirun-wen$  *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*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=uko-ani$ <sup>284</sup> *wa* {waori}  
bow arrow 3.S=3.O=SOC-hold.in.one's.hands and V  
  
 $\emptyset=soyne$  *wa*  $\emptyset=ek$  *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=cotca* {waori}  
PASS=2SG.O=shoot.at V  
“You’ll get shot!”

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<sup>284</sup> The sociative prefix *uko-* in *uko-ani* ‘to take/hold/carry sth together’ is object-oriented (see 4.3.4.2.3).

- 32) (*hosi*)    *hoski*     $\emptyset=ek$     *ay*    {*waori*}  
                  before    3.S=come    arrow    V  
 The arrow that comes first
- 33) *e=upsor-o*                     $\emptyset=\emptyset=ekatta$                     {*waori*}  
 2SG.S=chest-POSS    3.S=3.O=stick.into                    V  
 will go through your chest and
- 34) *e=sumaw-ne*                    *ki*    *na*”    {*waori*},  
 2SG.S=dead.game-COP    do    FIN    V  
 you’ll die!”
- 35) *pirka-no*                     $\emptyset=inkar$                     {*waori*}  
 be.good-ADV    3.S=look    V  
 Looking carefully, [Samayunkur]
- 36)  $\emptyset=haw-e-an$                     *ki*    *kor*  
 3.S=voice-POSS-be    do    and  
 spoke and
- 37)  $\emptyset=i=ko-pasirota$ <sup>285</sup>                    {*waori*}    *ki*    *korka*  
 3.S=IND.O=at.APPL-revile    V    do    but  
 reviled at me. But
- 38) *aynu*     $\emptyset=\emptyset=ye$     *itak*<sup>286</sup>    *hemanta*    *a=\emptyset=sitoma*                    *p*    *an*  
 Ainu    3.S=3.O=say    words    what    IND.S=3.O=be.afraid.of    NR    be  
 “As to the words the Ainu say, what should I be afraid of?”
- 39) *sekor*    *yay-nu=an*                    *ki*    *wa*    {*waori*}  
 QUOT    REFL-hear=IND.S    do    and    V  
 I thought.

<sup>285</sup> Actually pronounced as [*ikoparirota*].

<sup>286</sup> *aynu*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=ye$  *itak* is regarded as a topic, although it is not marked by the topic marker *anak-(ne)* <TOP-(COP)>.



40) *a=∅=e-yay-sempir-{waori}-mina*<sup>287</sup>                      *kane*                      {*waori*}  
 IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-REFL-behind-V-laugh                      while.CONJ                      V  
 Laughing to myself at him,

41) *arpa=an*                      *akusu*                      {*waori*}  
 go=IND.S                      then                      V  
 I went [away].

42) *Okikurmi*                      *kotan*                      *enkasi*                      {*waori*}  
*Okikurmi*                      village                      over                      V

*suy*                      *a=∅=kus*    *ki*                      *ki*                      *wa*                      {*waori*}  
 again                      IND.S=3.O=pass.through                      do                      do                      and                      V

*arpa=an*                      *sekor*                      *yay-nu=an*    *ma*                      {*waori*}  
 go=IND.S                      QUOT                      REFL-hear=IND.S                      and                      V  
 Again I thought of flying over Okikurmi's village and going [there].

43) *arpa=an*                      *awa*                      {*waori*}  
 go=IND.S                      when                      V  
 When I went,

44) *Okikurmi*                      {*waori*},                      *puyar*                      *ka*                      *∅=∅=e-osma*    {*waori*}  
*Okikurmi*                      V                      window                      even                      3.S=3.O=head-put.into                      V  
 Okikurmi popped his head out of the window.

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<sup>287</sup> *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 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 yan” {waori}*  
 V IND.O=at.APPL-stay IMP.POL V  
 stay at my place.”

47)  $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an ki korka<sup>288</sup> {waori}, kor,*  
 3.S=voice-POSS-be do but V then  
 Said [Samayunkur]. Then

48) *karinpa  $\emptyset$ =pon 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) (*sewna?*) [ $\emptyset$ =*soyne*] *{waori}*  
 [3.S=go.outside] V  
 went outside.

50)  $\emptyset$ =*i=cotca ki korka {waori}*  
 3.S=IND.O=shoot.at do but V  
 He shot at me, but

51) *hoski  $\emptyset$ =ek ay {waori}*  
 before 3.S=come arrow V

*a= $\emptyset$ =si-y-oka-kus-te {waori}*  
 IND.S=3.O=REFL-EP-behind-pass-CAUS V

I sent the arrow which came first behind myself,

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<sup>288</sup> Ito Oda corrected herself replacing *korka* ‘but’ with *kor* ‘and’.

- 52) *i=y-os*                       $\emptyset=ek$               *ay*              {*waori*}  
 IND.O=EP-afterwards      3.S=come              arrow              V
- a= $\emptyset$ =si-y-etok-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.
- 53)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$       (*iwen, kor i...*)       $\emptyset=wen$               *puri*              {*waori*},  
 3.S=3.O=have      ?      have      3.S=be.bad              habit.POSS              V
- $\emptyset=nanu-hu$                        $\emptyset=ka-si$                                       {*waori*}  
 3.S=face-POSS                      3.O=over-POSS                                      V
- $\emptyset=\emptyset=e-pirasa$                                       *ki*              *wa*              {*waori*}  
 3.S=3.O=over.APPL-spread                                      do              FIN              V  
 The anger of [Okikurmi] spread over his face (lit. “he spread his anger over his face”).
- 54)  $\emptyset=i=ko-pasirota$                                       {*waori*}  
 3.S=IND.O=at.APPL-revile                                      V  
 [Okikurmi] reviled at me.
- 55) “ $\emptyset=wen$                       *wao*                                      {*waori*}  
 3.S=be.bad                      green pigeon                                      V  
 “An evil Green Pigeon,
- 56) *kamuyasi*      *wao*                      {*waori*}      *e= $\emptyset$ =ki*              *kusu*              {*waori*}  
 monster      green.pigeon      V              2SG.S=3.O=do      in.order      V  
 a monster Green Pigeon, to be able to do so,
- 57) *sisam*              *kotan*      *ta*              *e=arpa*              *yak-un*      {*waori*}  
 Japanese      village      to              2SG.S=go              if-EMP      V  
 if you go to the village of the Japanese,

- 58) *sisam tono {waori}*  
 Japanese lord V  
 a Japanese lord
- 59) (*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
- 60) *{waori} Ø=soyne ki na {waori}*  
 V 3.S=go.outside do FIN V  
 come outside!
- 61) *a=e=cotca yak-un {waori}*  
 PASS=2SG.O=shoot.at if-EMP V  
 If you get shot at,
- 62) *hoski Ø=ek ay {waori}*  
 before 3.S=come arrow V  
 the arrow which comes first
- 63) (*e=*) *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
- 64) *e=sumaw-ne ki na'' {waori}*,  
 2SG.S=dead.game-COP do FIN V  
 you'll die!"
- 65) *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=toyko-munin*      *e=sirko-munin*<sup>289</sup>      *kus*      *ne*      *na*  
 2SG.S=heavily-rot      2SG.S=severely-rot      intention      COP      FIN  
 you'll rot badly, you'll rot away completely!"

67) *sekor*      *a=i=ko-pasirota*      *korka*  
 QUOT      PASS=IND.O=at.APPL-revile      but  
 I was reviled at [so].

68) “*ecioká*      *nep*      *ye*<sup>290</sup>      *hike*  
 you.PL      something      say      although  
 “Although [all of] you said something,

69) 何      *hemanta*      *a=∅=sitoma*      *p*      *an*  
 WHAT      what      IND.S=3.O=be.afraid.of      NR      be  
 what should I be afraid of?”

70) *sekor*      *yay-nu=an*      *ma*      {*waori*}  
 QUOT      REFL-hear=IND.S      and      V  
 I thought.

71) *a=∅=e-yay-sempir-mina*      *kane*      *kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=at.APPL-REFL-behind-V-laugh      while.CONJ      and  
 Laughing to myself at him,

72) {*waori*}      *arpa=an*      *ki*      *na*      {*waori*}  
 V      go=IND.S      then      FIN      V  
 I went [away].

73) *sonno*      *poka*      {*waori*}  
 really      just      V

<sup>289</sup> When explaining the story, Ito Oda used a single compound verb including the two verbs: *toyko-munin-sirko-munin*= 'an <heavily-rot-severely-rot=IND.S> 'I rotted through and through'.

<sup>290</sup> Ito Oda has omitted personal prefixes on *ye* 'to say' probably due to the overt use of the personal pronoun *ecioka* 'you (PL)'; the contextually appropriate form is *eci=∅=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

$\emptyset=\emptyset=e$ -*kamuy-nomi*<sup>291</sup> {*waori*}  
 3.S=3.O=with.APPL-Gods-honour V  
 honour Gods with torn paper

82)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=ki$  *p* *ne* *kusu* {*waori*}  
 3.S=3.O=do NR COP because V  
 [and] as they do [so],

83) *yaykatcipi* *ka* *a=\emptyset=e-aykap*  
 resurrect even IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-be.unable  
 I was not able to come back to life.

---

<sup>291</sup> *kampi cipetpa p ekamuy nomi* ‘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=\emptyset=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=\emptyset=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*  $\emptyset=haw-e-an$   
 QUOT *Okikurmi* 3.S=voice-POSS-be  
 Said *Okikurmi*.’

84) *siknu ka a=∅=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

*∅=u-sitoma-re*<sup>292</sup> *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*<sup>293</sup> *{waori} ∅=∅=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} ∅=omanan kor ∅=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

---

<sup>292</sup> *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),

<sup>293</sup> 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*       $\emptyset$ =*poon*                                      *wao*                      *ne*      *an*<sup>294</sup>  
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*,       $\emptyset$ =*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*       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ye*                                      *itak*  
Ainu      3.S=3.O=say                                      words
- pirka-no*                      *eci= $\emptyset$ *=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.

<sup>294</sup> I suppose that the intended form was *an='an* <be=IND.S>.

98) *sekor*    *wao*                    *kamuy*     $\emptyset$ =*isoytak*                    *ruwe*    *ne*  
QUOT    green.pigeon    God    3.S=tell.story                    ASS.NR    COP  
That is the story told by the Green Pigeon God.

## 14. *Wen Cironnup. Uwepeker* [The Evil Fox. Folk Tale]

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. Samayunkur'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)  $\emptyset$ =*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= $\emptyset$ =e-yay-kopuntek kor  $\emptyset$ =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<sup>295</sup>, wa an='an akusu*  
 outside look.around=IND.S PERF and be=IND.S then  
 I looked around outside. Then
- 8)  $\emptyset$ =*pon Samayunkur  $\emptyset$ =pon Okikurmi*  
 3.S=be.young Samayunkur 3.S=be.young Okikurmi  
 Samayunkur the Younger [and] Okikurmi the Younger
- 9)  $\emptyset$ =*u-tura wa  $\emptyset$ =sap pa<sup>296</sup>,*  
 3.S=REC-be.together.with and 3.S=go.down.PL and  
 went down together,
- 10) *cip  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =san-ke wa  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =o-pa wa*  
 ship 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and 3.S=3.O=get.on.board-PL and
- $\emptyset$ =rep-un siri a= $\emptyset$ =nukar,*  
 3.S=open.sea-go.to EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=see  
 and I saw them launching a boat and going to the open sea.
- 11) “ $\emptyset$ =*pon Samayunkur  $\emptyset$ =pon Okikurmi pon-no*  
 3.S=be.young Samayunkur 3.S=be.young Okikurmi be.small-ADV
- a= $\emptyset$ =rammokka wa a= $\emptyset$ =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.

<sup>295</sup> Ito Oda could have accidentally used here a perfect marker *a*, then hesitating for a moment continued the phrase with *wa*, which is a contextually better fit than *a*, because when *wa* is followed by *an* ‘to be’ it makes up a serial-verb construction notional verb + wa ‘and’ + an(SG)/okay (PL) ‘to be’ (see 4.3.5.2.2).

<sup>296</sup> *pa* ‘and’ is an allomorph of *wa* ‘and’ which appears after stems ending with /p/. 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=∅=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)<sup>297</sup>, 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 ∅=wen rera*  
 buttocks-beach-to buttocks-beach-from wind 3.S=be.bad wind

*∅=ci-hopuni-re*  
 3.S=REFL-occur-CAUS  
 and the wind from the beach, the bad wind, blew.

16) *wa kanna atuy a=∅=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].

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<sup>297</sup> It is a slip of the tongue which the speaker immediately corrected.

- 17) *a=∅=kan-na-re*                      *a=∅=pok-na-re*  
 PASS=3.O=up-to-CAUS      PASS=3.O=down-to-CAUS

*a=∅=kan-na-re*                      *ne*              *kusu*  
 PASS=3.O=up-to-CAUS              COP              because  
 [The waves] heaved and fell, heaved and fell, so

- 18) *∅=pon*                      *Samayunkur*  
 3.S=be.young              Samayunkur

*∅=pon*                      *Okikurmi*              *∅=ramutuy*  
 3.S=be.young              Okikurmi              3.S=be.terrified  
 Okikurmi the Younger and Samayunkur the Younger were terrified

- 19) *wa*              *ipor*                      *ka*              *∅=∅=sak*                      *no*  
 and              countenance              even              3.S=3.O=not.have              and  
 [their] countenances fell.<sup>298</sup>

- 20) *heyasi*              *∅=yap*                      *kusu*              *∅=i-ki-pa*                      *korka*  
 to.the.shore              3.S=land.PL              in.order              3.S=APASS-do-PL              but  
 They struggled back (lit. 'did') in order to land on the shore

- 21) *∅=yap*                      *kusu*                      *∅=i-ki-pa*                      *kor*  
 3.S=land.PL              in.order              3.S=APASS-do-PL              when  
 when they were trying to land

- 22) *a=pon-sar-a*                      *a=∅=suy-e*                      *kor*              *suy*              (*rep*)  
 IND.S=be.small-tail-POSS              IND.S=3.O=shake-TR              and              again              sea  
 I shook my small tail and again

沖さあすつと行ってしまつて

AND AGAIN THEY WERE CARRIED AWAY TO THE SEA.

<sup>298</sup> lit. 'They didn't have countenances.'





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)  $\emptyset$ =*po-utar-i* (usi), *or-o* *ta*  $\emptyset$ =*paye* *wa*<sup>299</sup>  
 3.S=child-PL-POSS (usual.place) place-POSS to 3.S=go.PL and  
 went to the place where the children were.

<sup>299</sup> 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.

$\emptyset$ =*pon* *Samayunkur* *anak-ne* *tane*  
 3.S=be.young Samayunkur TOP-COP already  
 ‘Samayunkur the Younger already

*sinki*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e-kot* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*ray* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*an*,  
 be.tired 3.S=3.O=of.APPL-die and 3.S=die and 3.S=be  
 got tired and died (lit. ‘died of tiredness and was dead’).

*korka*  $\emptyset$ =*pon* *Samayunkur* *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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,

*hum-as*,  
 sound-stand  
 there was a sound:

*“mikor=’an* *humi* *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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-PRED-TR EVID.NR be  
 It felt as if I was woken up!”

*sekor*  $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an* *kor*  $\emptyset$ =*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.



「裸になった毛もない狐、それこそ悪い精神悪いからそうになっているもんだから」  
 うやって怒られて怒られて、ええ

“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=∅=ye*                    *hi*                    *ka*  
          something        2SG.S=3.O=say                    NR                    even

*ku=∅=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いで笑っていたら  
 [THE FOX] WAS NOT AFRAID, BUT LAUGHED.

42) “*e=cise-he*<sup>301</sup>                    *or*                    *un*                    *arpa*                    *wa*                    *inkar*  
          2SG.S=house-POSS        place                    to                    go                    and                    see  
          “Try to go to your house!”

43) *∅=cise-he*                    *ka*                    *∅=isam*                    *ruwe*                    *ne*,  
          3.S=house-POSS                    even                    3.S=not.exist                    ASS.NR                    COP  
          There is no house [of the Evil Fox]!

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<sup>301</sup> *e=cise-he* <2SG.S=house-POSS> ‘your house’ and the succeeding *∅=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=∅=kor cise* <2SG.S=3.O=have house> ‘your house’, *∅=∅=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)  $\emptyset$ =poro cikuni  $\emptyset$ =corpok-ke ta e=yay-...reska<sup>302</sup> wa  
 3.S=be.big tree 3.O=under-POSS at 2SG.S=REFL-bring.up and

e=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)  $\emptyset$ =haw-e-an kor  $\emptyset$ =i=ko-pasirota kor  
 3.S=voice-POSS-be while 3.S=IND.O=APPL-curse and  
 saying so, [Okikurmi] cursed me.<sup>303</sup>

<sup>302</sup> 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).

<sup>303</sup> 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.

ikema  $\emptyset$ =pon ku, ikema  $\emptyset$ =pon 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

cip upsor 舟の中から  
 boat inside

FROM the inside of the boat.

Okikurmi 出してその cip onnay wa  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =uk wa  $\emptyset$ =i=cotta  
 Okikurmi TAKE THESE boat inside from 3.S=3.O=get and 3.S=IND.O=shoot  
 HAVING TAKEN THEM from the inside of the boat, Okikurmi shot at me.

といたら、それで、何も痛くもないからそのこと何も何でもないとっておかしくて  
 っていたってそしたら、お前はなんぼ笑っていたっていいからお前は悪いやつだから、  
 罰当るんだから、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*<sup>304</sup> *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.”

<sup>304</sup> *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、そう言って狐死ん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*<sup>305</sup>. *Uwepeker* [[The Story of] a Boy. Folk Tale]  
(Later Version)<sup>306</sup>**

**Recorded on January 18, 2000. Playing Time: 25:02**

**Ainu Text with Glosses, English Translation and Notes**

- 1) *hunak wa Ø=ek hekaci a=ne wa*  
 where from 3.S=come boy IND.S=COP and
- 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) *yaykata ka a=Ø=eramiskari no*  
 myself even IND.S=3.O=not.know and  
 I didn't even know that myself.
- 3) *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

---

<sup>305</sup> 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.

<sup>306</sup> The Later Version of 'Hekaci' has been already published in:

T. Satoo (ed.) 2002, *Preliminary Reports on Ainu Dialects (1)*, ELPR Publications Series A2-002.

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<sup>307</sup> 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<sup>308</sup> ma a=Ø=e kor,*  
 grass-make=IND.S and IND.S=3.O=eat and  
 I gathered plants and ate them.
- 11) *neun poka, siknu=an ma*  
 something only stay.alive=IND.S and  
 No matter what, I stayed alive.

---

<sup>307</sup> Here, *nep* ‘something’ is pronounced with the long vowel: [*neep*]. Vowel lengthening may serve to intensify the meaning: ‘There was no food **at all**.’

<sup>308</sup> *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)  $a=\emptyset=e-ykoysanpa$ <sup>309</sup>                      *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,

---

<sup>309</sup> *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).



26) *ekimne*             $\emptyset$ =*ahup*             $\emptyset$ =*ahup*            *kane*  
to.the.mountains    3.S=enter.PL        3.S=enter.PL        while.CONJ

$\emptyset$ =*i-ki*                            *kor*  
3.S=APASS-do                      and

They kept going, deeper and deeper into the mountains.

27) *opitta*    *ekimne*                            (*ahun*)     $\emptyset$ =*ahup*            *wa*             $\emptyset$ =*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= $\emptyset$ =ye*            *p*            *anak-ne*  
go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt    QUOT    IND=3.O=say        thing        TOP-COP  
“A thing called “hunting”

30) *ekimne*             $\emptyset$ =*ahup*            *wa*     $\emptyset$ =*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*     $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*hunara*    *kusu*     $\emptyset$ =*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 hembra 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=∅=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) *∅=poro kamuy ∅=setur-u ∅=i=tutanu-re wa*  
 3.S=be.big bear 3.S=back-POSS 3.S=IND.O=turn.to-CAUS and

*∅=a wa ∅=an ruwe a=∅=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=∅=san-ke wa*  
 bow IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and  
 I took out the bow,
- 40) *a=∅=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, ∅=sumaw-ne siri a=∅=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=∅=e-yayirayke*  
 IND.S=3.O=for.APPL-be.grateful  
 I was grateful for [that].
- 43) *a=∅=e-yay-kopuntek kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about and  
 I was happy about [it] and
- 44) *∅=sam-a ta arpa=an ma a=∅=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=∅=se e-askay pak-no*  
 IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back of.APPL-be.able till-ADV
- poro-n-no a=∅=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=∅=racitke-re*  
 outside at even IND.S=3.O=be.hanging-CAUS  
 I hung [the meat] outside,

49) *cise onnay ta ka a=∅=racitke-re wa*  
 house inside in even IND.S=3.O=be.hanging-CAUS and  
 I hung [the meat] in the house and

50) *∅=an ruwe ne wa*  
 3.S=be ASS.NR COP and  
 [so] it was.

51) *soy ta ∅=an usi から usi<sup>311</sup>*  
 outside at 3.S=be usual.place FROM usual.place

*or-o wa, a=∅=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=∅=suwe wa a=∅=e kor ∅=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

---

<sup>311</sup> *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 ∅=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<sup>312</sup> 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.

---

<sup>312</sup> *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 *-taro* (NAK 250) which specially serves to derive Ainu verbs from Japanese verbs.



- 58) (*a=∅=kor*            *ak-ka*<sup>313</sup>) *haru*    *a=∅=kor*            *wa*  
 IND.S=3.O=have    if-even    meat    IND.S=3.O=have    and  
 I took the meat and
- 59) *ekimne*            *arpa=an*            *ma*,  
 to.the.mountains    go=IND.S            and  
 went to the mountains.
- 60) *kim-un*            *kuca*            *ot*    *ta*    *rewsi=an*    *ma*  
 mountains-in    hunting.hut    place    at    stay=IND.S    and  
 I stayed in a hunting hut in the mountains.
- 61) *suke=an*            *ma*    *ipe=an*            *ma*    *an='an*    *akusu*  
 cook=IND.S    and    eat=IND.S    and    be=IND.S    then  
 I cooked and ate, then
- 62) *oar*            *a=∅=eramuskari*            *aynu*  
 completely    IND.S=3.O=not.know            man  
 then a man whom I didn't know at all,
- 63) *∅=ahun*            *kane*            (*ippa*)    [*∅=i-ki*]  
 3.S=enter    suddenly.CONJ    ?    3.S=APASS-do  
 suddenly came in.
- 64) “*tan-ukuran*    *te*    *ta*    *i=rewsi-e*<sup>314</sup>            *wa*  
 this-evening    here    at    IND.O=stay.overnight-CAUS    and  
*i=kor-e*            *yan*”  
 IND.O=have-CAUS    IMP.POL  
 “Please let me stay here tonight.”
- 65) *sekor*            *∅=haw-e-an*,            *wa*

<sup>313</sup> *ak-ka* (< *yak-ka*) <if-even>. Sometimes the glide [j] is deleted after [r]; it is a type of phonological alternation which occurs marginally.

<sup>314</sup> The causative suffix is represented by the allomorphs *-re/-e/-te* (see 4.3.4.1.1). After roots ending in vowels we usually expect *-re*, in this respect the above form *rewsi-e* is exceptional.

QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
Said [the man] and

66) “ $\emptyset$ =*pirka wa*” *sekor haw-e-an='an wa*  
3.S=be.good FIN QUOT voice-POSS-be=IND.S and  
I said, “That’s fine.”

67) *or-o-wa nani suke=an ma*  
there-POSS-from immediately cook=IND.S and

*ne kur a= $\emptyset$ =e-re*  
this man IND.S=3.O=eat-CAUS  
Then I cooked and fed this man.

68) *wa, kor a= $\emptyset$ =e-re wa or-o-wa*  
and and IND.S=3.O=eat-CAUS and there-POSS-from  
I fed [him] and then,

69) *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,

70) *ne kur ene  $\emptyset$ =haw-e-an i*  
this person like.this 3.S=voice-POSS-be NR  
this man said as follows,

71) “*asinuma anak-ne Kusur, Kusur sekor a= $\emptyset$ =ye*  
INDEF TOP-COP Kushiro Kushiro QUOT PASS=3.O=say

*kotan un aynu a=ne ruwe ne*  
village from Ainu IND.S=COP ASS.NR COP  
“As to myself, I am an Ainu from the village called Kushiro.

- 72) *wa a=∅=kor kotan ∅=∅=kor kur,*  
 and IND.S=3.O=have village 3.S=3.O=have person  
 Our village chief
- 73) *haa ∅=puri-wen ma,*  
 oh! 3.S=behavior-be.bad and  
 acts very badly!
- 74) *nen ne yak-ka ∅=∅=ko-caranke wa*  
 who COP if-even 3.S=3.O=with.APPL-argue.with and  
 [He] quarrels with everyone.
- 75) *patci sintoko sintoko patci ∅=∅=ko-uk*  
 bowl lacquer-ware lacquer-ware bowl 3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take
- ∅=∅=ko-uk kane ∅=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.
- 76) *∅=an kor, sintoko ka patci ka ∅=∅=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,
- 77) *c=o-ype-p ne yak-ka i-y-or-us-pe<sup>315</sup>*  
 1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR COP if-even APASS-EP-place-attach.to-NR
- itanki ne yak-ka ∅=∅=ko-uk wa ∅=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."
- 78) *sekor haw-as korka,*  
 QUOT voice-stand but  
 It was said [so].

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<sup>315</sup> *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=∅=kar hi ka a=∅=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=∅=anu wa ∅=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, ∅=haw-e-an, i-ruska=an,*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be APASS-get.angry.with=IND.S  
 Said [the Ainu from Kushiro]. I got angry about that.
- 82) (*c=o-ype-p or-us-pe eci=an? kor?*)<sup>316</sup>  
 1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR place-attach.to-NR 2PL.S=be? have?and?  
 (The story about dishes...)
- 83) *okkaypo-utar-i ∅=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 ∅=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 ∅=or-o wa,*  
 young.man-PL 3.O=place-POSS from
- kamuy haru ∅=∅=uk wa ∅=∅=e kor ∅=an,*  
 bear meat 3.S=3.O=take and 3.S=3.O=eat and 3.S=be  
 [the evil village chief] took the bear meat away from the young men and was  
 eating [it].

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<sup>316</sup> 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)  $\emptyset$ =*ekimne*                      *utar*              *ne*              *yak-ka*  
 3.S=go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt      people              COP              if-even

$\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*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*     $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*uk*                      *wa*  
 bear              meat    COP    if-even    3.S=3.O=take                      and

$\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e*                      *kor*               $\emptyset$ =*an*  
 3.S=3.O=eat                      and              3.S=be  
 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*     $\emptyset$ =*pó-kor*                      *wa*  
 young.man-PL    COP    if-EMP    3.S=child-have                      and  
 If these are young men, they have children and

90)  $\emptyset$ =*po-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*               $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*uk*                      *hawe*  
 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='an,*  
 and APASS-get.angry.with=IND.S and be=IND.S  
 I was getting angry.
- 93) *ne Kusur un kur tura-no kim ta okay='an ma,*  
 this Kushiro from man together.with-ADV mountains at be.PL=IND.S and  
 We were in the mountains together with this man from Kushiro.
- 94) *u-w-eko[h]opi ekimne=an kor okay='an*  
 REC-EP-separately.from go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S  
 We went to the mountains to hunt separately from each other
- 95) *korka eytasa kim ta okay='an*  
 but too.long mountains at be.PL=IND.S  
 but stayed in the mountains for too long.
- 96) *sekor yay-nu=an ma*  
 QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and  
 I thought [so].
- 97) “*pon-no, hosipi=an ma tutko rerko sini=an*  
 be.small-ADV return=IND.S and two.days three.days rest=IND.S  
  
*ma (ma) suy omanan=an<sup>317</sup> ya” sekor itak='an akusu*  
 and and again travel=IND.S Q 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) “*∅=pirka hawe ne wa” sekor ∅=haw-e-an kor*  
 3.S=be.good EVID.NR COP FIN QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 [The man] said, “It is fine.”

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<sup>317</sup> Note that the indefinite marker =*an* is used here with reference to the second person singular, which is a so-called **honorific** usage of indefinite affixes for **2SG/PL** (see 4.3.3.4.2).

99) *ne kur ka Ø=uni-hi un Ø=arpa siri*  
 this man even 3.S=home-POSS to 3.S=go EVID.NR

*a=Ø=nukar kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=see and  
 I saw this man going [back] to his home.

100) *asinuma ka a=uni-hi ta ek='an ma*  
 INDEF also 3.S=home-POSS to come=IND.S and  
 I also returned to my home and

101) *sini=an ma tutko rerko sini=an ma or-o-wa*  
 rest=2SG.S and two.days three.days rest=2SG.S and there-POSS-from  
 had a rest. I rested for two or three days and then

102) *suy arpa=an akusu ne kur ka Ø=ek wa*  
 again go=IND.S then that man also 3.S=come and  
 when I went [to the mountains] again, that man also came [there] and

103) *ekimne (kesuankor) [kestoankor] okay='an akusu*  
 in.the.mountains every.day be.PL=IND.S then  
 we spent every day in the mountains.

104) *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.

105) *“makanak ne ruwe an” sekor yay-nu=an korka*  
 what COP ASS.NR be QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S but  
 I thought, “What has happened?” However,

- 106) *eun*      *a=∅=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=∅=nu*                      *usi*      *ka*      *∅=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=∅=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*      *∅=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-pa<sup>318</sup> ru ka Ø=an,*  
 3.S=be.old 3.S=tree-cut-PL trace even 3.S=be

*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.

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<sup>318</sup> *ní-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)  $\emptyset$ =*asin*  $\emptyset$ =*ni-tuy-pa*<sup>319</sup> *ru, poro-n-no*  $\emptyset$ =*an ma*  
 3.S=be.new 3.S=tree-cut-PL trace be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be and  
 there were many new stumps.
- 122) *a= $\emptyset$ =e-yay-kopuntek kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.aboutand  
 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= $\emptyset$ =eramiskari kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=not.know and  
 Not knowing, where to go,
- 125) *kotan soy a= $\emptyset$ =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

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<sup>319</sup> See the footnote 14.

126) *akusu*  $\emptyset$ =*pirka* *cise*  $\emptyset$ =*poro* *cise*  $\emptyset$ =*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*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor* *kur*  $\emptyset$ =*cise-he* *ene* *ne-no*  
 village 3.S=3.O=have person 3.S=house-POSS like.this COP-ADV

$\emptyset$ =*poro*  $\emptyset$ =*pirka* *cise*  $\emptyset$ =*ne* *wa* *a*= $\emptyset$ =*nukar*  
 3.S=be.big 3.S=be.good house 3.S=COP and IND.S=3.O=see  
 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*<sup>320</sup>=*'an* *akusu*  
 REFL-noise-hear-CAUS=IND.S then  
 I made a noise letting my arrival be known. Then

130) *katkemat* *sinep*  $\emptyset$ =*soyne* *wa*  $\emptyset$ =*ek* *wa*  
 housewife one 3.S=go.outside and 3.S=come and  
 one housewife came out and

131) *pirka* *pirka*  $\emptyset$ =*i=nukar* *wa*  
 be.good be.good 3.S=IND.O=look.at and  
 looked at me well.

132) *or-o-wa*  $\emptyset$ =*ahun* *ma*  
 there-POSS-from 3.S=enter and  
 After that she entered [the house].

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<sup>320</sup> *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 okaypo a=∅=eramuskari a okaypo*  
 outside at young.man IND.S=3.O=not.know PERF young.man  
 “A young man whom I don’t know
- 134) *∅=ek wa ∅=an ruwe ne*  
 3.S=come and 3.S=be ASS.NR COP  
 has come.
- 135) *a=∅=ahun-ke ciki he ∅=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 ∅=haw-e-an ∅=haw-e as akusu*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be 3.S=voice-POSS stand then  
 There was [the woman’s] voice saying [that].
- 138) “(*okayoy-utar ka*), *cise soy pak-no ∅=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) *∅=ahun rusuy kusu ∅=arki p ne kusu*  
 3.S=enter want because 3.S=come NR COP because  
 who came because he wanted to come in,
- 140) *∅=ahun-ke yan*”  
 3.O=enter-CAUS IMP.POL  
 let him in.



149) *ne kur a=∅=hunara (kus) hi ka a=∅=ye, somo ki no,*  
 thisman 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=∅=ye somo ki yak*  
 what because travel=IND.S NR COP Q even IND.S=3.O=say NEG do if  
 if I don't say why I was travelling,

151) *∅=wen sekor yay-nu=an ma*  
 3.S=be.bad QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S and  
 It will be bad, I thought.

152) “*kotan ∅=∅=kor kur ∅=wen-irenka-kor sekor ∅=an*  
 village 3.S=3.O=have man 3.S=be.bad-will-have QOUT 3.S=be

*pe a=∅=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=∅=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 rewsu yan”*  
 this-day TOP here at stay.overnight IMP.POL  
 Please stay here today!”

- 156) *sekor*     $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an*                      *wa*    *or-o-wa-no*  
 QOUT    3.S=voice-POSS-be                      and    place-POSS-from-and  
 Said [the man] and then
- 157) *uwe-yay-kopuntek*= 'an<sup>322</sup>                      *ma*  
 SOC-REFL-rejoice.about=IND.S                      and  
 We had a good time together.
- 158) *u-w-e-newsar*= 'an                      *kor*    *okay*= 'an                      *ayne*  
 REC-EP-with.APPL-talk=IND.S                      and    be.PL=IND.S                      finally  
 We were talking to each other. Finally,
- 159) *sir-onuman*                      *okaypo*    *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*<sup>323</sup>    *wa*     $\emptyset$ =*isam*                      *ruwe*    *ne*    *ya*    *ka*  
 where    even    3.S=go                      and    3.S=not.exist    ASS.NR    COP    Q                      even

*a*= $\emptyset$ =*eramiskari*,  
 IND.S=3.O=not.know  
 I didn't know where [they] went.

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<sup>322</sup> *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 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.

<sup>323</sup> 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*       $\emptyset$ =*hosip-pa*              *wa*       $\emptyset$ =*arki*              *wa*  
 young.man-PL      3.S=return-PL              and      3.S=come.PL              and  
 the men came back.
- 164) *an='an*              *ruwe*                                       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*eramuan*<sup>324</sup>                                      *ayne*  
 be=IND.S      understand=IND.S      3.S=3.O=know                                      finally  
 They knew that I was [there].
- 165)  $\emptyset$ =*soyosipitatpa*<sup>325</sup>                                      *wa*               $\emptyset$ =*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)  $\emptyset$ =*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

<sup>324</sup> 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.

<sup>325</sup> *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 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=∅=eramiskari*  
 feeling-stand Q even IND.S=3.O=not.know  
 I have [never] experienced a feeling [like this].
- 174) *a=∅=eykoytupa ka ki*  
 IND.S=3.O=be.envious.of even do  
 I was envious of [it],
- 175) *a=∅=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.



- 183) *kuneywa*      *ipe=an*      *akusu*  
in.the.morning    eat=IND.S    then  
ate breakfast. Then
- 184) *cise*       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*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*     $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor*                      *kur*       $\emptyset$ =*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*       $\emptyset$ =*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*       $\emptyset$ =*ne*”  
here-place-POSS    even    NEG    3.S=COP  
“This is not his place.” (lit. ‘It is not here.’)
- 189) *sekor*       $\emptyset$ =*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)  $\emptyset$ =*tuyma*      *usi*       $\emptyset$ =*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*  
 person two 3.S=come.PL and 3.S=be.PL ASS.NR COP  
 “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)  $\emptyset$ =*ahun*<sup>327</sup>    *rusuy*    *kusu*     $\emptyset$ =*arki*    *p*    *ne*    *kusu*  
 3.S=enter    want    because    3.S=come.PL    NR    COP    because  
 really came because they wanted to come in, so
- 200) *a*= $\emptyset$ =*ahun-ke*    *yak*     $\emptyset$ =*pirka*    *wa*”  
 IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS    if    3.S=be.good    FIN  
 I may let them in.”
- 201) *sekor*    *haw-as*    *hawe*    *a*= $\emptyset$ =*nu*    *akusu*     $\emptyset$ =*soyne*    *wa*  
 QUOT    voice-stand    EVID.NR    IND.S=3.O=hear    then    3.S=go.outside    and  
 I heard a voice saying [so]. Then [the housewife] came out and
- 202) “*ahup-pa*    *an*<sup>328</sup>”    *sekor*     $\emptyset$ =*haw-e=an*    *kor*  
 enter.PL-PL    IMP.POL    QUOT    3.S=voice-POSS-be    and  
 said: “Come in.”
- 203)  $\emptyset$ =*soyne*    *wa,*    *wa*    *kusu*  
 3.S=go.outside    and    and    because  
 She came out and then
- 204)  $\emptyset$ =*he-etaye*    *wa,*    *kusu*     $\emptyset$ =*os,*    *ahup='an*    *akusu*  
 3.S=head-pull.in    and    because    3.O=after    enter.PL =IND.S    then  
 She pulled her head in, so we entered after her.
- 205) *wen-no-wen-no*     $\emptyset$ =*mun-nuwe*    *wa*  
 be.bad-ADV-be.bad-ADV    3.S=rubbish-sweep    and  
 [The housewife] carelessly swept away the rubbish and
- 206)  $\emptyset$ =*so-kar*    *wa*     $\emptyset$ =*i=kor-e*    *wa*  
 3.S=seating.mat-make    and    3.S=3.O=have-CAUS    and  
 laid out the seating mats for us.

<sup>327</sup> A contextually appropriate form is *ahup* <enter.PL>, instead of *ahun* <enter.SG>.

<sup>328</sup> 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<sup>329</sup> 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.witheven 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  
  
*hawe 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?”

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<sup>329</sup> I think that the intended form was *e-uko-onkami* <APPL-SOC-greet> ‘to greet sb together’ (vt), because just *uko-onkami* ‘to greet together/each other’ is an intransitive verb which may not take the preceding direct object *kur* and even looks odd with the *a=* <IND.S.TR> personal prefix (intransitive verbs take =*an* <IND.S.INTR>).

- 214) *asinuma anak-ne (pirka),*  
 INDEF TOP-COP be.good  
 As to me,
- 215) *a=∅=kor utar pirka a=∅=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=∅=kor utar*  
 IND.S=3.O=have people  
 My people
- 217) *∅=∅=e-yay-kopuntek kor ∅=okay ruwe ne”*  
 3.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about and 3.S=be.PL ASS.NR COP  
 are happy about it [my rule?].”
- 218) *sekor ∅=haw-e-an kor*  
 QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be and  
 Said [the village chief].
- 219) *∅=sikasike hawe a=∅=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 ∅=∅=kor huci<sup>330</sup> ka*  
 land 3.S=3.O=have old.woman even
- a=∅=ko-caranke (si),*  
 IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue  
 I argued with the Fire Goddess.

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<sup>330</sup> *mosir ∅=∅=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).

- 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.of.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 Ø=terke-terke wa*  
lacquer-ware on through 3.S=jump-jump and  
jumped on the treasures and
- 229) *Ø=ran ma Ø=ek wa*  
3.S=go.down and 3.S=come and  
came down.
- 230) *inumpe ka (pa) [ta] Ø=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 Ø=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 ㄗㄩ ne aynu*  
for.the.first.time THAT that man  
that man [said] for the first time,
- 233) *“haa, ene an Ø=wen irenka Ø=an kor*  
ah! like.this be 3.S=be.bad will 3.S=be and  
  
*an=’an hi ka a=Ø=eramiskari 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) *an=’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  
  
*∅=wenirenka somo ∅=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 ∅=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) *∅=haw-e-an kor ∅=an kor,*  
 3.S=voice-POSS-be and 3.S=be and  
 He was saying that.
- 239) *haa, or-o-wa ne aynu a=∅=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=∅=ko-caranke a,*  
 IND.S=3.S=with.APPL-argue ITR  
 and argued!
- 241) *or-o-wa a=∅=itak-'unu<sup>331</sup>,*  
 there-POSS-from IND.S=3.O=words-attach.to  
 Then I bade him again.

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<sup>331</sup> *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*  
 here 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 IND.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,



- 256)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=e-yay-kopuntek-pa$  wa,  
 3.S=3.O=APPL-REFL-be.happy.about-PL and  
 They were happy about it.
- 257) *sintoko patci ka a= $\emptyset$ =ko-uk utar anak-ne*  
 lacquer-ware bowl even PASS=3.O=from.APPL-take people TOP-COP  
 Although<sup>333</sup> the people who were robbed of lacquer-ware and bowls,
- 258) *nep ka pirka pirka<sup>334</sup>  $\emptyset=\emptyset=nukar$  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)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor-pa$  *p  $\emptyset=\emptyset=uk$  wa  $\emptyset=hosip-pa$  wa*  
 3.S=3.O=have-PL thing 3.S=3.O=take and 3.S=return-PL and  
 they returned having taken the things they had owned.
- 260) *c=o-yep-p a= $\emptyset$ =ko-uk utar anak-ne*  
 1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR PASS=3.O=from.APPL-take people TOP-COP  
 The people who were robbed of dishes
- 261)  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$  (*coykek*) *c=o-yep-p*  
 3.S=3.O=have 1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR
- $\emptyset=\emptyset=nukar$  *wa*  
 3.S=3.O=look.at and  
 looked at the dishes they had owned and
- 262)  $\emptyset=poro$  *saranpe sik-te-no  $\emptyset=\emptyset=se$  wa*  
 3.S=be.big silk.cloth be.full-CAUS-ADV 3.S=3.O=carry.on.back and  
 they put on their backs so [many things], that the big [wrapping] silk clothes  
 [used as bags] were full.

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<sup>333</sup> 'although' in translation corresponds to *yak-ka* from the next line 258.

<sup>334</sup> *pirka* <be.good> (vi) is used here as a synonym of the adjective *pirka-no* <be.good-ADV>.



- 271) *rewsi=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)  $\emptyset$ =*unu-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*or-o*                      *ta*       $\emptyset$ =*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*       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ye*              *siri*              *ka*      *a= $\emptyset$ =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)  $\emptyset$ =*hoku-hu*                       $\emptyset$ =*or-o*                      *ta*               $\emptyset$ =*arpa*  
 3.S=husband-POSS              3.O=place-POSS              to              3.S=go  
 went to her husband and

280) *nep ka Ø=Ø=ye siri ka a=Ø=nukar*  
 something even 3.S=3.O=say EVID.NR even IND.S=3.O=see

*kor an='an akusu*  
 and be=IND.S then  
 said something. I saw that. Then

281) *cise Ø=Ø=kor kur ene Ø=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) “*okaypo, 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) [Ø=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) *okaypo Ø=par-o a=Ø=o-suke<sup>336</sup> 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’).”

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<sup>336</sup> *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*  $\emptyset$ =*haw-e-an* *kor*  $\emptyset$ =*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*  $\emptyset$ =*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*= $\emptyset$ =*e-yayirayke* *hawe* *ne* *wa*  
 IND.S=3.O=for.APPL-be.grateful EVID.NR COP FIN  
 “I am grateful for [it],
- 289) *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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*)  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*san-ke* *wa*  
 housewife grandmother-chest 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and  
 the housewife took out the chest.
- 292) *usa*  $\emptyset$ =*okay* *pe* *poro-n-no*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*oma-re*  
 various 3.S=be.PL thing be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS  
 $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*oma-re*  
 3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS  
 She put and put [in] many various things.

293) *c=o-ype-p*                                      *hene a=eywanke-p hene sut-ketusi*  
 1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR    or    IND.S=use-NR    or    grandmother-chest

$\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re$                                        $\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re$                                       *wa*  
 3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS                                      3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS                                      and  
 She put and put dishes and [other] useful things into the chest.

294) *or-o-wa*                                      *su ka sinep  $\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re$*   
 there-POSS-and    pan    also    one    3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS  
 [She] aslo put [there] one pan,

295) *amip ka poro-n-no  $\emptyset=\emptyset=oma-re$  wa*  
 clothing    also    be.many-EP-ADV    3.S=3.O=enter.in-CAUS                                      and  
 [she] put in a lot of clothes and

296) *tar ani  $\emptyset=\emptyset=suppakar$  wa*  
 rope    with    3.S=3.O=bundle.and.tie                                      and  
 tied up [all the things] with a rope.

297) *hesasi  $\emptyset=\emptyset=san-ke$  wa*  
 to.the.front    3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS                                      and  
 [The daughter] brought [the stuff] to the front.

298) “*tan pe e= $\emptyset$ =se wa e=arpa kusu ne na*”  
 this thing 2SG.S=3.O=carry.on.back    and    2SG.S=go intention COP FIN  
 “You should carry these things on your back.”

299) *sekor  $\emptyset=matnepo$   $\emptyset=\emptyset=ye$  kor*  
 QUOT    3.S=daughter.POSS                                      3.S=3.O=say                                      and  
 Said [the man’s] daughter.

- 300) *hesasi ne Ø=Ø=suppakar 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.
- 301) *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.
- 302) *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.
- 303) *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,
- 304) *a=uni un hosipi=an ma*  
IND.S=home.POSS to return=IND.S and  
I returned to my home.
- 305) *a=uni ta paye=an korka*  
IND.S=home.POSS to go.PL=IND.S but  
We went to my home, but
- 306) *Ø=sini ka somo ki no*  
3.S=rest even NEG do and  
[the young woman] didn't rest.

- 307) *cise onnay Ø=Ø=u-w-oma-re*<sup>337</sup> *wa*  
house inside 3.S=3.O=REC-EP-enter-CAUS and  
She put the inside of the house in order and
- 308) *Ø=mun-nuwe,* *wa or-o-wa*  
3.S=rubbish-sweep and there-POSS-from  
swept away the rubbish, then
- 309) *Ø=suke wa*  
3.S=cook and  
cooked and
- 310) *ipe=an ma i-nu=an hike*  
eat=IND.S and APASS-hear=IND.S then  
we tasted [the food].
- 311) *a=Ø=kor-pa p Ø=Ø=suwe siri*  
IND.S=3.O=have-PL thing 3.S=3.O=boil EVID.NR
- ne 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]

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<sup>337</sup> *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 base verbs (see 4.3.4.2.2):

< *oma-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).

313) *nep*                     $\emptyset$ =*kera-ha*                    *ka*                     $\emptyset$ =*isam*,  
 something    3.S=taste-POSS                    even    3.S=not.exist  
 there was no taste at all.

314) *pe*    *ne*    *a*                    *korka*  
 NR    COP    PERF    but  
 It was [so], but

315)  $a=\emptyset$ =*kor-pa*                    *p*                     $\emptyset=\emptyset$ =*suwe*                    *wa*  
 IND.S=3.O=have-PL                    thing    3.S=3.O=boil                    and

$\emptyset$ =*i=kor-e*  
 3.S=IND.O=have-CAUS  
 [my wife] cooked for me the food (lit. ‘things’) we had.

316)  $\emptyset$ =*unu-hu*                     $\emptyset$ =*suke*                    *wa*  
 3.S=mother-POSS                    3.S=cook                    and  
 [My wife’s] mother cooked and

317)  $\emptyset$ =*keraan*                    *humi*                     $\emptyset$ =*an*                    *pe*    *ne*    *akusu*  
 3.S=be.delicious                    feeling    3.S=be                    NR    COP    then  
 it was a delicious taste!

318)  $\emptyset$ =*unu-hu*                     $\emptyset$ =*suke*                    *humi*                    *ne-no*  
 3.S=mother-POSS                    3.S=cook                    feeling                    COP-ADV

$\emptyset$ =*pirka*                    *suke*                     $\emptyset=\emptyset$ =*ki*                    *wa*  
 3.S=be.good                    cooking    3.S=3.O=do                    and

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.’)

319)  $a=\emptyset$ =*e-yayirayke*                    *ka*                    *ki*  
 IND.S=3.O=for.APPL-be.grateful                    even                    do  
 I was grateful for it,

- 320) *a=∅=e-yay-kopuntek* *ka ki kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.glad.about even do and  
 I was glad about [it]. And
- 321) *okay='an ayne ekimne ka arpa=an ma*  
 be.PL=IND.S finally to.the.mountains even go=IND.S and  
 [so] we lived. Finally I went to the mountains and
- 322) *yuk ci=koyki-p kamuy ci=koyki-p*  
 deer 1PL.S=catch-NR bear 1PL.S=catch-NR
- a=∅=e-aw-na-rura wa*  
 IND.S=3.O=APPL?-inside-in.direction-carry and  
 I brought back deer and bear game.
- 323) *nep a=∅=e rusuy nep a=∅=kon rusuy ka some*  
 what IND.S=3.O=eat want what IND.S=3.O=have want even NEG
- ki no okay='an ma,*  
 do and do.PL=IND.S and  
 There was nothing more we'd want to eat or have, [so well] we lived.
- 324) *u-ko-po-kor ka ki ∅=an ma*  
 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=∅=e-yay-kopuntek wa*  
 IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.glad.about and  
 we were happy about [it].
- 326) *a=po-utar-i (a=e) a=∅=e-punkine wa*  
 IND.S=child-PL-POSS IND.S=3.O=of.APPL-take.care and
- an='an ayne*  
 be=IND.S finally  
 I was taking care of our children and finally

327) *a=po-utar-i*                      *ka*       $\emptyset$ =*poro*                      *wa*  
 IND.S=child-PL-POSS    even    3.S=be.big                      and  
 our children grew up.

328) *nep*                      *ka*      *ki*      *ka*       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e-askay*                      *pak-no*  
 something    even    do    even    3.S=3.O=of.APPL-be.able    as-ADV

$\emptyset$ =*poro*                      *wa*  
 3.S=be.big                      and

[They] became so big that [they] could do everything.

329) *nepki*    *hene*    *ekimne*                                      *hene*     $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ki-pa*                      *kor*  
 work    or    go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt    or    3.S=3.S=do-PL                      and

$\emptyset$ =*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

$\emptyset$ =*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*       $\emptyset$ =*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= $\emptyset$ =e*                                      *kor*       $\emptyset$ =*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.

333) *ayne, Ø=onne okaypo a=ne ruwe ne sekor,*  
 finally IND.S=be.old man IND.S=COP ASS.NR COP QUOT  
 Finally, I became an old man.

334) *sine hekaci (yay) sinen ne Ø=yay-reska wa*  
 one boy alone COP 3.S=REFL-raise and  
 One boy grew up on his own and

335) *Ø=poro wa, Ø=poro wa or-o-wa*  
 3.S=be.big and 3.S=be.big and there-POSS-from  
 became big. He became an adult and then

336) *nep Ø=Ø=kon rusuy nep Ø=Ø=e rusuy*  
 what 3.S=3.O=have want what 3.S=3.O=eat want

*ka somo ki no Ø=an, ruwe ne sekor ne,*  
 even NEG do and 3.S=be ASS.NR COP QUOT COP  
 there was nothing more he'd want to eat or have, [so well] he lived.

337) *sekor ne, ne okaypo Ø=an ruwe ne*  
 QUOT COP this man 3.S=be ASS.NR COP  
 They say there lived such a man.