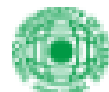




The study of old documents of Hokkaido and Kuril Ainu: Promise and Challenges

Tomomi Sato (Hokkaido U) & Anna Bugaeva (TUS/NINJAL)
tomomis@let.hokudai.ac.jp bugaeva@rs.tus.ac.jp

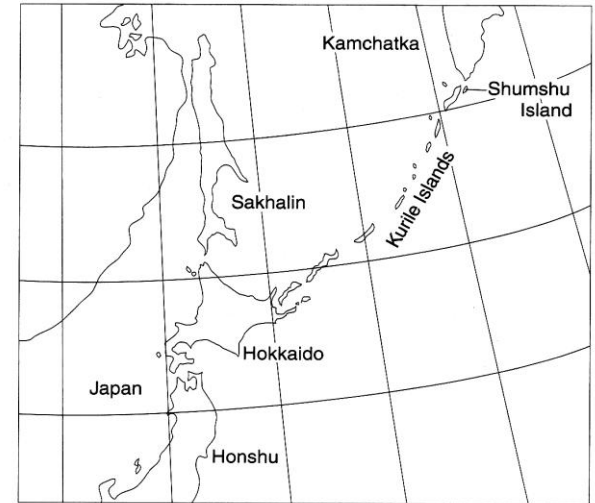


TOKYO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE

Introduction: Ainu

- AINU (isolate, North Japan, moribund)
- Is the only non-Japonic lang. of Japan.
- Major dialect groups :
 - Hokkaido (moribund),
 - Sakhalin (extinct since 1993),
 - Kuril (extinct since the end of XIX).
- Was also spoken in Tōhoku till mid XVIII.
- Hokkaido Ainu dialects:
 - Southwestern (well documented)
 - Northeastern (less documented)
- Is not used in daily conversation since the 1950s.
- Ethnical Ainu: 100,000.

Map 1.

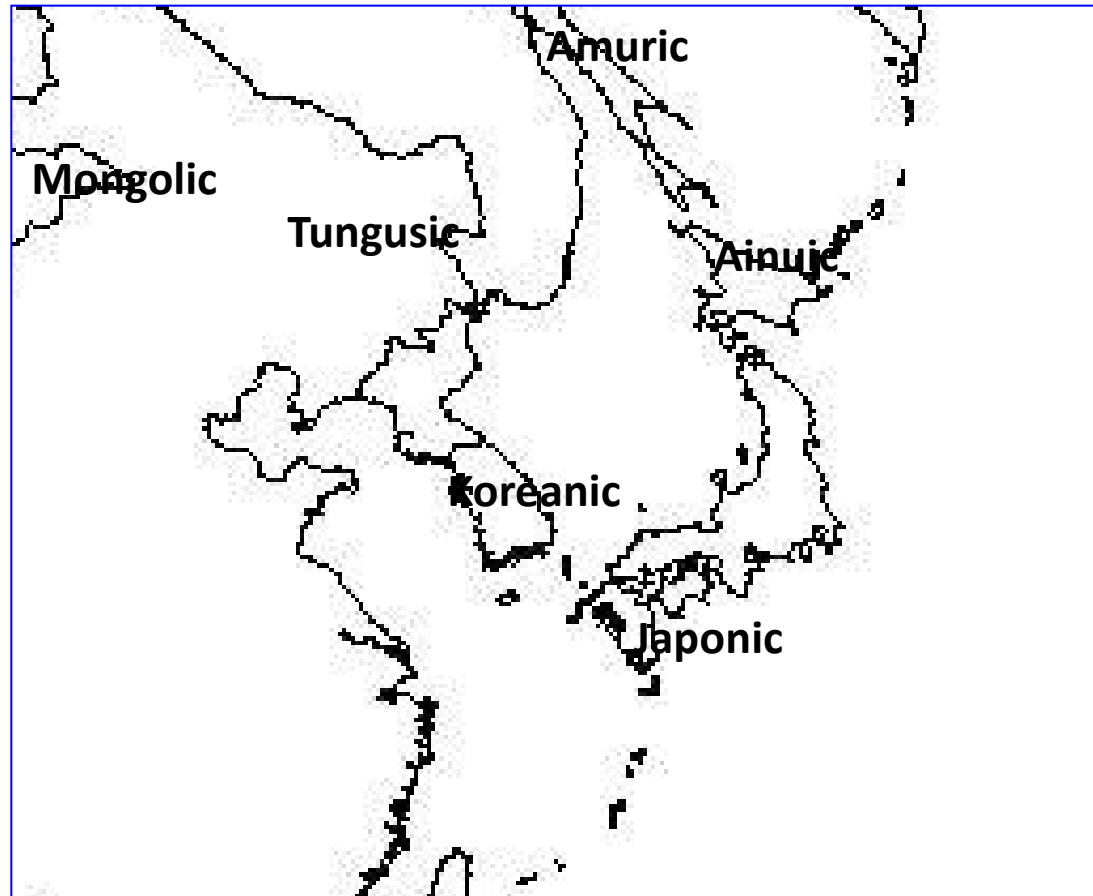


Map 2.



(adapted from Tamura 2000)

Fig. 2 Major language families in Northeast Asia (excluding Sinitic)



- Ainu shares only few features with Northeast Asian languages.
- Ainu is typologically “more like a morphologically reduced version of a North American language.” (Johanna Nichols p.c.).
- This is due to the strongly head-marking character of Ainu (Bugaeva, to appear).

Why is it important to study Ainu?

- Ainu culture is widely regarded as a direct descendant of the Jōmon culture which was spread in the Japanese archipelago in the Prehistoric time from about 14,000 BC.
- Ainu is the only surviving Jōmon language; there had been other Jōmon lgs too: about 300 lgs (Janhunen 2002), cf. 10 lgs (Whitman, p.c.) .
- Ainu is likely to be much more typical of what languages were like in Northeast Asia several millennia ago than the picture we would get from Chinese, Japanese or Korean.
- Focusing on Ainu can help us understand a period of northeast Asian history when political, cultural and linguistic units were very different to what they have been since the rise of the great historically-attested states of East Asia.

Ainu research: Past and present

- Extensive documentation of Ainu and its linguistic research started a century ago and has produced a number of comprehensive dictionaries and grammars.

But, no grammar of Ainu is historical and/or cross-dialectal.

- There were separate attempts to relate Ainu to Indo-European (Batchelor 1889, Naert 1958, Lindquist 1960), Austronesian (Gjerdman 1926, Murayama 1992,1993), Koreo-Japonic within Altaic (Patrie 1982), and Nivkh (Austerlitz 1976) or reconstruct Proto-Ainu of 1000 CE (Vovin 1993).

But, due to the scarcity of written records or methodological problems none of them have been verified.

- As a result, there is a general lack of historical perspective on Ainu, which is a major impediment to the further progress of Ainu research.

Our research: Goals and methodology

- Focus on the cross-dialectal comparison to clarify transitions between different synchronic states of Ainu and possibly reconstruct its earlier phases (particularly important in the case of language isolates which lack outside comparisons).
- Studying old documents of Ainu, especially unpublished old written documents made by foreigners to compensate for the lack of documentation of some under-described Ainu dialects.
- Comparing old documents in *kana* by the Japanese and in the Roman/Cyrillic alphabets by foreigners.

Formation of the Ainu ethnos

- No Yayoi (Iron Age) period in Hokkaido.
- Neolithic Epi-Jomon period was replaced in Hokkaido by
 - - The **Satsumon** culture (from Northern Honshu; had agricultural practices, built *chasi*-stockades and exchanged goods with their neighbours, [predecessors of modern Ainu](#)) in SW Hok. in 700 AD &
 - - The **Okhotsk** culture (from the lower Amur river; primarily sea-mammal hunters, lived in pit dwellings; [Nivkh people?](#)) in NE Hok. around 500-600 AD.
- Around 1000 AD, the Okhotsk culture gave way to the Satsumon culture, and its protagonists absorbed into what we know as the Ainu ethnic group.
- Cf. *ya-un-kur* ‘people from the mainland’ who win over *rep-un-kur* ‘people from the sea’ in *yukar* ‘heroic epics’.

Formation of the Ainu ethnos

- The Ainu further extended to Sakhalin presumably in the 13th and to the Kurils in the 14-15th centuries (Kikuchi 1999: 50).
- Evidence from the Chinese texts (*Yuan-shi*) supporting Ainu expansion into Sakhalin:
 - the Guwei or *kui/kuyi* (=Ainu) fought against the Jilimi (=Nivkh) between 1264 and 1308, who had already submitted to the Mongols (Hudson 1999: 226).
- The Jilimi (=Nivkh) were pushed to the north of Sakhalin.

Preliminary knowledge about Japanese *kana*

- Japanese *kana* syllabaries: *hiragana* and *katakana*.
- In 1900, the Ministry of Education of Japan established the standard set of 48 *hiragana* (and *katakana*) characters.
- Until the Meiji era (1868-1912), it was not unusual for a number of different *kana* characters to be used to notate one and the same sound in Japanese documents. For example, while as a *hiragana* for *ta*, only た is now used, 多, 當, 堂, and others were freely used as *hiragana* before the Meiji era.
- *Hentaigana* 変体仮名 ‘variant *kana*’ is non-standard *hiragana* characters that were not chosen for the 48 established set.

(Sato, to appear in *Handbook of Ainu*)

Old Ainu documents in *kana*

- Both *hiragana* (including *hentaigana*) and *katakana* are used for the notation of Ainu in old documents by the Japanese.
- In 17-18th century documents: Ainu tends to be written with *hiragana* (including *hentaigana*).
- In the late 18th and 19th century documents: Ainu tends to be written with *katakana*.

(Sato, to appear in *Handbook of Ainu*)

Old Ainu documents in *kana*

- **1604** The Japanese warrior **clan Matsumae** received Hokkaido as its fief from the the Edo Shogunate and monopolized trade with the Ainu.

17th-early 18th century Ainu documents are **few**.

- **1799** The Japan government's **direct control** over Hokkaido.

Late 18th -19th century Ainu documents are **numerous**.

- Presumably, the language in all Old Ainu documents in *kana* is Hokkaido Ainu (often unspecified).

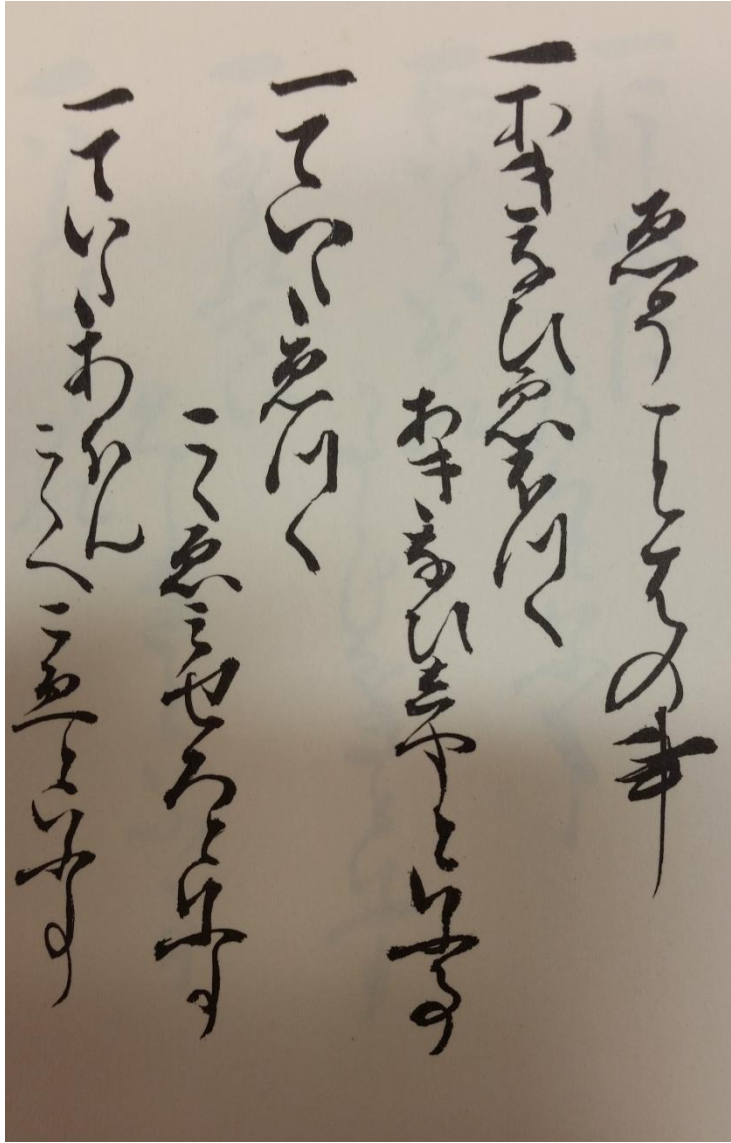
(Sato, to appear in *Handbook of Ainu*)

Kana documents of the 17th century

Matsumae no kotoba (松前ノ言) 'The Words of Matsumae' (n.d., Narita(ed.)1972a); belongs to the Library of Tenri University, Nara Pref.

- The exact date of this document is not clear, but it must be the oldest Japanese document of Ainu found so far.
- Included in a series of books called *Kokuseki-ruisho* (国籍類書) 'a series of Japanese books' which once belonged to the Ishikawas in Ise (now Mie Pf)
- Is assumed to date back to the period of *Kan'ei* (1624-1644) (Sasaki 1925). The total number of entries in this vocabulary is 117 (Satō 1998).
- Example:
'ゆ王んふ (yuwanfu) 六川の事' corresponding to the present form *iwanpe* 'six' but this notation may imply that this word once had a form like **iwanp* or **iwanpə* (Satō 2008: 174).

Matsumae no kotoba (松前ノ言) 'The Words of Matsumae', Tenri University Library (early 17th century?). The oldest Japanese document of Ainu (Sato 1998).



First deciphered in
Kindaichi
(1924(1974)) →

アキナヒエホック あきなひしやうといふ事 (akimai は和語「商い」の輸入、ehok は「売る」、ihok は「買う」)
テイタエツク こゝゑみせろといふ事 (teta ek 「こゝへ来れ」)
テイタアホン こゝゑこゑといふ事 (teta ahun 「こゝへ入れ!」)

Kana documents of the 18th century

- *Ezo kotoba* (狹言葉) ‘The words of Ezo’ (Kūnen 2010/**1704**).
Number of entries is 456. The oldest attested Ainu vocabulary of considerable size that is clearly dated (Satō 2014). Belongs to Fukui City History Museum.
- *Ezodan hikki* (蝦夷談筆記) ‘A report on the Ainu’ (Matsumiya 1969/**1710**):
- *Wakan sansai zue* (和漢三才図会) ‘Illustrated Sino-Japanese encyclopedia’ (Terashima (ed.) 1998/**1712**). Number of entries: 56.
- *Hokkai zuihitsu* (北海隨筆) ‘An essay on the northern region’ (Sakakura 1969/**1739**). Number of entries: 121.
- *Ezo sōshi* (蝦夷草紙) ‘The Ezo storybook’ (Mogami 1965/**1790**). Number of entries: 145.
- ***Moshiogusa*** (もしほ草) ‘Seaweeds for making salt’ (Uehara 1972/**1792**).
Number of entries: 2000. The first published Ainu dictionary in the world.
Also contains various kinds of texts including those of oral literature.
Its influence on the succeeding old documents was enormous.
- *Ezoki* (蝦夷記) ‘The Records of Ezo’ (Kyūkan **1795**). Number of entries: 1595.
Includes Ainu versions of various ordinances in the appendix as well as part of Matsumae Onjima Gōchō ('The List of Islands in Matsumae').
(Sato, to appear in *Handbook of Ainu*)

Kana documents of the 19th century

- *Ezogoshū* (蝦夷語集) ‘Collection of Ainu words’ (Uehara 1824).
The author is Yūji Uehara, probably the same person as Kumajirō Uehara, the author of *Moshiogusa* (1792).
Number of entries is 6000 (Tanaka and Sasaki 1985).
It is probably the largest Ainu dictionary in the Edo era.
- *Ezo kotoba irohabiki* (蝦夷言いろは引) ‘Ainu words arranged in *kana* order’ (Itoya 1848). Number of entries is 1724 (Satō 1995).
Includes Ainu versions of ordinances at the end.

(Sato, to appear in *Handbook of Ainu*)

Old Ainu documents in *hiragana*: Notation system

In *Matsumae no kotoba* (early 17th cent.) and *Ezo kotoba* (1704) , some characters are used more often for the notation of Ainu than for Japanese (tran):

- 「可」(ka): ([Ainu: Jap.:](#) 23:12/57:29);
- 「志」(shi): (23:5/87:4);
- 「川」(tsu) (33:11/30:6);
- 「遍」(he)(10:1/9:1);
- 「本」(ho)(11:3/37:8);
- 「連」(re)(5:1/24:3).

This kind of information is important for dating undated documents, see *Ezosaezuri* below.

Old Ainu documents in Roman characters: Hokkaido Ainu

- The oldest document: *'Relatione del Regno di Iezo'* [An account of the land of Iezo] (the original is in Portuguese) (**1625**) by an Italian Jesuit, Girolamo de Angelis, recorded Ainu words (54 entries) in the record of his journeys to Hokkaidō, (Cieslik 1962).

E.g. *emus* 'sword' is written as ***yemuxi***. This notational feature can only be explained by assuming that Angelis's material was **copied from some material originally written in *kana* by a Japanese author** because the phonetic value of the initial $\bar{\text{え}}$ was known to be [je] in this period in Japanese, unlike today's pronunciation [e], and so it was natural that the initial $\bar{\text{え}}$ was usually romanized as *ye* by Westerners at that time. (Sato, *Ainu Handbook*, to appear)

The romanization like *yemuxi* 'sword' is a result of romanizing mechanically a form originally written in *kana* like $\bar{\text{え}}\text{むし}$ by some Japanese writer.

In addition, the romanization *xi* with the redundant *i* may also be a reflex of its having been transliterated mechanically from し .

- See Majewicz (*Ainu Handbook*, to appear) for a detailed account of Roman documents of Ainu.

Old Ainu documents in Roman/Cyrillic charact: Sakh Ainu

- Davydov (1812) “Slovar’ narechiy narodov obitayushchikh na yuzhnoy okonechnosti poluostrova Sakhalina, sobranniy na meste pokoynym leytenantom Gavriloyu Davydovym” [A Dictionary of ethnolects of peoples inhabiting the southern recesses of the Sakhalin Peninsula collected on location by the late lieutenant Gavriila Davydov]. In: [Ivan Fyodorovich] Kruzenshtern *Puteshestviye vokrug sveta v 1803, 4, 5 i 1806 godakh na korablyakh Nadezhde i Neve* [Circumnavigation in 1803-1806 on ships Nadezhda and Neva]. Vol. 3. StP.: Morskaya tipografiya. Pp. 342-380.
- Number of entries: 1,987. The German edition (Pfizmaier 1851).

(*Примѣч:* Симъ же языкомъ, или съ весьма малою только разностию, говорятъ коренные жители Матсмай или Ёссо и южныя Курильскія острова, словомъ всѣ народы, именуемые отъ Японцовъ *Айнами*, коимъ именемъ и сами жители себя называютъ).

(**Note:** The same or almost the same language is used by denizens of Matsmai or Ezo, Southern Kurils, in other words, by all people who the Japanese call *Ainu*, which is also their self-designation).

А. Б.	Б.	
Авось.	Неинангуруза.	Бабушка.
Анбарь.	Пуу (*)	Балалайка.
Альй.	Фурю.	Барабань.
Аршельцикь.	Вишурусэ.	Бамбу.
Аршинь (Яп. мѣра около сего).	Паварикане.	Башюшка.
		Фуци.
		Тонкари.
		Качу.
		Паи.
		Хамби, на Матс- маѣ, Уна.

Old Ainu documents in Roman/Cyrillic charact.: Kuril Ainu

- Extinct since the end of the 19th century; poorly documented.

Published documents (Murayama 1971):

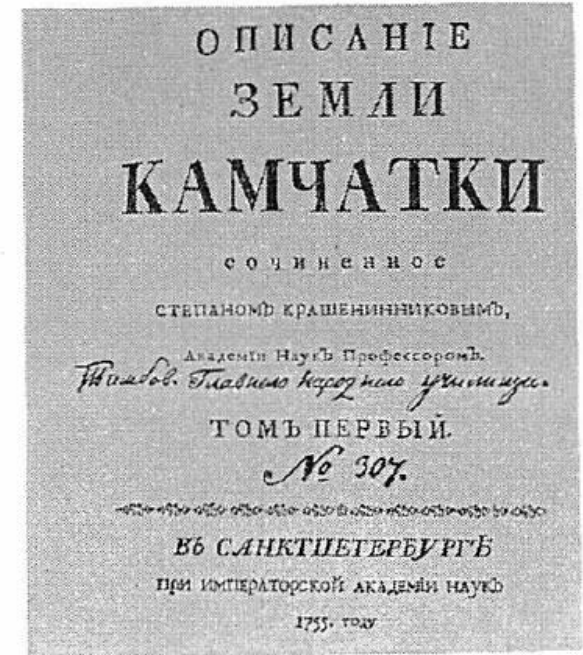
- Krasheninnikov (1755). Number of entries: 297.

Recorded in 1738 during **the Second Kamchatkan Expedition** in Bol'sheretsk (Kamchatka) with 2 speakers from the Paramushir Island. Published in Cyrillic but and the Roman version is available at the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg.

- Steller (1743) – lost? Accord. to Murayama (1971), it was published as Klaproth (1823).

“Kurilen oder Aino”. In: *Asia Polyglotta*. Paris. Roman ch.

- Dybowski (1892). Number of entries: 1900. Roman ch.
- Torii, Ryuzo (鳥居龍蔵) (1903). Number of entries: 700. Roman ch.



クラシェニンニコフ著『カムチャツカ地誌』
初版本のタイトルページ

Explorations of Kamchatka

Krasheninnikov (1755) Описание...[*Explorations of Kamchatka*]

Собрание словъ Курильскаго языка.

Богъ, камуй.	Упро, нисіапъ.
Дьяволъ, уинъ-ка-	Полдень, пбананаш-
муй.	ки.
Небо, ниссъ.	Вечеръ, онууманъ.
Облака, уураpъ.	Ночь, сиркуннè.
Въпръ, кеера.	Полночь, упаканнаш-
Буря, ісіупу.	ки.
Дождь, сиругънъ.	Годъ, пыюанъ.
Снѣгъ, ұпашъ.	Земля, кошанъ.
Градъ, каукигъ.	Гора, опгуръ.
Громъ, умъ.	Пригорокъ, бннанъ-
Молнія, камуй-сіу-	опгуръ.
унè.	Огонь, апй.
Солнце, } чуппу.	Дымъ, сіупуя.
Луна, }	Жаръ, апиушатъ.
Звѣзда, кеша.	Вода, пи.

Krasheninnikov. *Vocabularium Latino-Curilice*, Archive SPF ARAN

- *Photo of the original manuscript*
(removed)

Krasheninnikov. *Vocabularium Latino-Curilice* (Murayama 1971)

2. Vocabularium Latino-Curilice

前記のような状況のもとで、おそらくペテルブルグの科学アカデミーの作成したラテン語を見出し語とする基礎語彙調査表によって、クラシェニンニコフはクリル語を調べた。それがラテン・クリル語彙 (*Vocabularium Latino-Curilice*)である。ラテン・クリル語彙のラテン語の部に日本語訳をつければ、次のとおりになる。

VOCABULARIUM

Latino (ラテン語)		Curilice (クリル語)
Deus	神	<i>Kamùì</i>
Diabolus	悪魔	<i>Uìn-kamui</i>
Caelum	空	<i>Niss</i>
Nubes	雲	<i>Uuràr</i>
Ventus	風	<i>Keerà</i> [正しくは <i>Reerà</i>]
Procella	嵐	<i>Ísijupu</i>
Pluvia	雨	<i>Sirugèn</i>
Nix	雪	<i>Upasch</i>
Grando	あられ	<i>Kaukàch</i>
Tonitru[s]	雷鳴	<i>Um</i>
Fulgur	いなずま	<i>Kamùì-Siuunè</i>
Sol	太陽 } 月 }	<i>Tschuppù</i>
Luna		
Stella	星	<i>Keta</i>
Dies	日	<i>To</i>

Unpublished old documents in Roman/Cyrillic charact.: Kuril Ainu (1), Archive SPF ARAN

- Unpublished/partially published documents stored at the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch (SPF ARAN) :
 - (1) *Kuril'skie Slova* [Kurile Words] (**1843**), a list of 1609 word/phrases in Cyrillic found in the archive **I.G. Voznesenskii**, a Russian naturalist, explorer of Russian America and Russian Far East. Compiler unknown.

Presumably recorded by Voznesenskii's assistant **Filat Druzhinin** on the Urup Island.
- Only one third of this document's material is to some extent used in Vovin (1993), the rest has never been published.
- Mentioned in Vdovin(1954: 103) and Miyaoka (1985: 154).
- Known in the world through the manuscript (写本) of A. Pinart.

“Instructions”: a letter of I.G. Voznesenskii in which he is asking his assistant Filat Druzhinin to stay in Isl. Urup and collect materials on flora, fauna and local customs/language.

- *Photo of the original manuscript (removed)*

Наставленіе.

Данное Филату Дружинину.

при оставленіе его на островъ Урупъ.

Поразрешѣшенію г. Главнаго Правителя Російско-Американскихъ колоній Адольфа Карловича и кав. Этолина, состоящаго при мѣ Креола, изъ Воспитанниковъ Ново-Архангельской школы, Филата Дружинина, оставляю на Островъ Урупъ до перваго прихода одного изъ судовъ принадлежащихъ Російско-Американской Компаніи въ слѣдующемъ 1845 году. Въ продолженіи этаго времени поставляется ему исполнять слѣдующее:

- 1)→ Собрать всѣ предметы по части Натуральной исторіи, какъ животнаго, такъ росстительнаго и минеральнаго царствъ; которые должень надлежащимъ образомъ приготовлять и сохранять; обращая неуспыное попеченіе на сбереженіе и цѣлость всего собраннаго.
- 2)→ Непропускать ни одного дня въ продолженіи сего лѣта, а въ будущемъ году начала весны, дѣлать поиски за обитающими на семь островъ Птицами и Звѣрями (исключая морскихъ бобровъ); мѣстомъ охоты слѣдуетъ избирать: опушку лѣса, равнины, берега рѣки, озера и моря; въ возможное же время, выѣзжать съ удельщиками въ байдаркѣ на проливы или на друг. мѣста.

Kuril'skie Slova [Kuril Words] (1843), Archive SPF ARAN

- Photo of the original manuscript (removed)

№	Русский		Айнский
	Древ. орфография	Совр. орфография	
Б			
1.	Богъ (Ностачи)	Бог	Камуй <i>katuy</i> 'God'
2.	Берегъ	берег	Пе-гаръ <i>pekar</i> 'riverbank'
3.	Бухта		Мой-никоръ <i>moynikor</i> 'bay, gulf'
4.	Болото		Обурси <i>opurse hi</i> 'swamp'
5.	Быкъ	бык	Пиннесъ-скойчипъ <i>pinne si-koyki p</i> 'bull'
6.	Береза		Тан-ни <i>tanni, tatni</i> 'birch tree'
7.	Байдара		Чипъ <i>cip</i> 'boat'
8.	Бумага		Кампе <i>kampe</i> 'paper'
9.	Бѣлой	белый ¹	Детаръ <i>tetar</i> 'white'
10.	Бровь		ви-раръ <i>i-rar</i> 'brow'
11.	Большой		Поропъ ² (великій, огромной) <i>poro p</i> 'big thing'
12.	Баконь	?? ³	Нисипъ ?

Unpublished old documents in Roman/Cyrillic charact.: Kuril Ainu (2), Archive SPF ARAN

- *Photo of the original manuscript (removed)*

“Описание
На первомъ острову
живущихъ куриловъ оихъ,
обычаяхъ и поведѣніи”
**[The description of Kuril
people living on the first
island, their customs and
behavior] (1742),**
recorded by Osip Argunov
at Isl.Parmushir
as ordered by Georg
Wilhelm Steller (1709 –
1746) who was a German
botanist, zoologist,
physician and explorer
working for the Russian
Academy of Sciences in
Russia.

Unpublished old documents in Roman/Cyrillic charact.: Kuril Ainu (2), Archive SPF ARAN

- *Photo of the original manuscript*
(removed)

и которого описание X вашему благородию прилагается, а кто что мог исполнить в приказанных от вашего благородия делах, и что не исполнено за каким припятствием, и о том обо всех явствует ниже сего, также сколько мною сбрано трав по разным числам.

Подан Октября 10-го **1742** года
Академии наук благородному
господину адъютанту
Георгу Вильгельму Стеллеру
[To G.W. Steller] (from Osip Argunov)

Репорт [Report]

По силе данной нам инструкции от
вашего благородия прошедшаго
1741 года, апреля 24-го дня поехадт
из устья большой реки в
построенной байдарке служиым
Слободчиковым до Лопатки Даже до
первого и второго Курильских
островов; и будучи в пути как и
вперед и возвратно, так и живучи на
оных сотровах, сочинено мною
описание рекам и речкам, также
погоду и ветры кажого дня; и в пути
и где стояли из-за какого пряпятствия,

Unpublished old documents in Roman/Cyrillic charact.: Kuril Ainu (3), Archive SPF ARAN

- *Photo of the original manuscript*
(removed)

“Описание пути от устья
Большой реки до
Курильской Лопатки и
оттуда до первого, вокруг
Второго и возвратно вокруг
же Первого островов
Курильских подле морской
берег водным путем,
впадающим рекам и
речкам.” [The description of
the way from the estuary of
the Bolshaya River to the
Kuril Lopatka, then to the
first island ...] (1741) by Osip
Argunov.

- Includes many place names
of Ainu origin.

Unpublished documents on Kuril Ainu (2) and (3) are described in an article by a historian B.P. Polevoj (1988) Neopublikovannoe sochinenie O. Argunova o severnykh ajnakh [An unpublished manuscript on northern Ainu by Osip Argunov. *Sovetskaja etnografija* 3.

Б. П. Полевой

**НЕОПУБЛИКОВАННОЕ СОЧИНЕНИЕ О. АРГУНОВА
О СЕВЕРНЫХ АЙНАХ**

**[К 250-летию начала камчатских
исследований С. П. Крашенинникова]**

Unpublished old documents in Roman/Cyrillic charact.:

Kuril Ainu (2), Archive SPF ARAN

Описание На первомъ острову живущихъ куриловъ оихъ, обычаяхъ и поведѣніи” [The description of Kuril people living on the first island, their customs and behavior] (1742), recorded by Osip Argunov in Isl.Parmushir .

- Clearly stated that indigenous people living on Isl. Paramushir are the Ainu (both culturally and linguistically) though Itelmen (Kamchadal) cultural influence is strong.
- Contains about 30 Ainu words grouped as follows:
 - 1) Names of Months;
 - 2) Names of Winds (=points of the compass);
 - 3) Names of seasons;
 - 4) Names of Stars;
 - 5) Swear Words.

Unpublished old documents in Roman/Cyrillic charact.: Kuril Ainu (2), Archive SPF ARAN

5) Swear Words, hardly ever documented.

- *Photo of the original manuscript*
(removed)

Бранные слова 'Swear words'

Унатаратитста матерень тайной удъ 'female genitals'

Уиманатаръ мужеской тайной удъ 'male genitals'

унатараніпй неодинъ де отецъ изъ матери добылъ, и оное слово
завеликое бесчестие в'меняють 'it is not only father who had sex with mother; a
very rude offensive expression'

эньтендкиванепъ-энькури збранья прозба 'a rude/swear request'

Unpublished old documents in Cyrillic charact.: Kuril Ainu (2), Archive SPF ARAN Бранные слова ‘Swear words’

- *унатаратитста* ‘female genitals’

unataratitsta

unatar-*cit*-*sta*

cf. *sta* ‘dog’ (Kuril Ainu: Krash, Dybowski, Voznesenskii)

?-vagina-dog

cf. *čit* ‘vagina’ (陰門) (Kuril Ainu: Dybowski)

- *уумаунатаръ* ‘male genitals’

uumaunatar

u-*oma*-*unatar*

REC?-enter?-?

- *унатаранипй* ‘it is not only father who had sex with mother;

unataranipi

a very rude offensive expression’

unatar *ne* *pe* (?)

? COP NMLZ

Unpublished old documents in Cyrillic charact.: Kuril Ainu (2), Archive SPF ARAN Бранные слова 'Swear words'

- *эньтендкиванепъ-энькури* 'a rude/swear request'

entendkiwanep-enkuri

en-tente ki wa nep en-kore (?)

1SG.O-? do and something 1SG.O-give

Comparing KA and HA Ainu old documents: New words

- What is *unatarā*? Is not attested in any published dictionary.
- Unexpectedly appears in *Ezosaezuri* (狄さへつり) ‘Ezo twittering’, date unspecified.

おな多ら(おなたら)「父殺」*onatarā* ‘father-killing’

おなバ者(おなばは)「母殺」*onabaha* ‘mother-killing’

(参考: 「狄さへつり」(年代不詳、以下参照)にも類例あり。

於奈たら「おなたら」*onatarā* (悪敷言事母ト言事) ‘bad things about mother’

おなぼ「同断 父ト言事」*onaba* ‘bad things about father’

うなたら「散々なる事」*unatarā* ‘terrible things’.

Comparing KA and HA Ainu old documents: New words

- *Ezosaezuri* (狹さへつり), date unspecified.
- Is probably as old as *Matsumae no kotoba* (松前ノ言) (17th cent.) or *Ezo kotoba* (狹言葉) (1704) because it shows the same tendency in the use of *hentaigana* (Sato 2017) .

In *Ezosaezuri*, just like in *Matsumae no kotoba* (early 17th cent.) and *Ezo kotoba* (1704) , some characters are used more often for the notation of Ainu than for Japanese (tran):

- 「可」(ka): ([Ainu: Jap.:](#) 91: 22);
- 「志」(shi): (173:6);
- 「川」(tsu) (80:7);
- 「遍」(he)(38:3);
- 「本」(ho)(39:0);
- 「連」(re)(33:1).

Comparing KA and HA Ainu old documents: New (=original) meanings of words

Occay (Relatione del regno di Iezo 1625)

おん可い(おんかい) *onkai* (*Matsumae no kotoba* 松前ノ言 1625-1644)

おつ可ひ(おつかひ) *okkay* (*Ezo kotoba* 狹言葉 1704年)

おつかい *okkai* (*Tsugaru Ittoshi* 津軽一統志 1734年)

In all these documents the meaning is ‘**boy, young man**’ 「男の子、青年」, while in most modern Hokkaido Ainu dialects the meaning is ‘**man**’ (Hattori 1964: 34).

Cf. Kuril Ainu *okkai* ‘**young man**’ 「若者」(Torii 1903: 137)

- KA retained the older meaning of this word.

Comparing KA, HA and SA Ainu old documents: Internal reconstruction

Words for 'good' and 'dark' in modern Ainu dialects:

Phonetically [pirika], [sirikunne] – the preceding vowel is copied after /r/; Phonologically /pirka/, /sir_kunne/.

Cf. Old documents:

KA: **pirkava** 'good, excellent' 「優れた」(Dybowski)

siri 'weather' 「天気」(Dybowski)

HA: 飛るか(ひるか) hiruka 「良い」(*Ezo kotoba* 狩言葉 1704年).

志りくん衿 (shirikunne) *sirkunne* 'dark',

きゝ里 (kikiri) *kikir* 'bug' are always written with 里(ri) or 𑖅(ri)

(same source), but not る(ru).

Cf. also KA: *pirgap* 'kind (thing)' (добрый), *pirkava* 'good' (хорошо) etc. in Voznesenskii (1843)

Cf. also SA: *piruka wa* 'good' (хороший) but *piriba* 'rub' (тереть), *siri piruka* 'the weather is good' (хорошая погода) etc. in Davydov (1812).

Comparing KA, HA and SA Ainu old documents: Internal reconstruction

Q: Why ゴ (ru) /ル (ru) or Cyrillic **py**/(no vowel) are used in *pirka* 'good', whereas 里 (ri) /リ (ri) or Cyrillic **pi** are used in *sirkunne* 'dark', *sirpirka* 'the weather is fine', *mosir* 'island', *sirkotor* 'slope' and *sirkorkamuy* 'god of tree' etc.?

A: Reconstruct superheavy syllable structure ***CVHC** for PA.

Note: *H is an unidentified hypothetical consonant.

- At least in the 18th century, *pirka* 'good' may have been **piHr.ka* with an *H sound intervening between *i* and *r*. Since *r* (and the following redundant vowel-like sound) **was separated from *i* by an *H sound**, it was not directly influenced by this *i*, therefore it was written with ゴ (ru).
- In contrast, historically in forms like *sir* 'land' this *H was absent and so *r* was adjacent to *i* and became palatalized, which is reflected in the notation リ (ri).

Concluding remarks

Murayama (1971) notes that that Kuril Ainu, the most poorly documented dialect group, is extremely important for Ainu dialectology and history of Ainu, but he does not give any concrete example of how it can actually be used for this purpose.

We have shown that Kuril Ainu old documents can reveal a lot only when compared with old documents of other dialects (HA and SA).

Challenges: It is hard to get access to old documents and even harder to decipher them (both in Roman/Cyrillic and *kana* scripts)

Promise: New findings (vocabulary, meanings; e.g. *unatara* – Eurica!), possibility of advancing research on the history of Ainu (e.g. *CVHC syllable structure in PA).

Thanks!

- Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) *Towards understanding dynamics of language change in Ainu* (Grant period: 2017-2022)

Principal investigator: Anna Bugaeva;

Co-investigator: Tomomi Sato;

Collaborators: Ekaterina Gruzdeva, John Whitman.

Selected references

服部四郎 (1964)『アイヌ語方言辞典』東京: 岩波書店.

宮岡伯人 (1985)「A. Pinart と極北諸語関係資料」『北方文化研究』
17: 141-164.

村山七郎 (1971)『北千島アイヌ語』東京: 吉川弘文館.

佐藤知己 (2003)「酒田市立光丘図書館所蔵蝦夷記のアイヌ語について」『北大文学研究科紀要』111: 95-118.

佐藤知己 (2016a)「アイヌ語古文獻研究と情報処理」加藤重広・佐藤知己(編)『情報科学と言語研究』147-171. 相模原: 現代図書.

佐藤知己 (2016b)『狹言葉の研究』札幌: 北海道大学大学院文学研究科.

佐藤知己 (2016c)「言語史の研究方法与アイヌ語史の諸問題」『歴史言語学』5: 79-89.

佐藤知己 (2017a)『狄さへつりの研究』札幌: 北海道大学大学院文学研究科.

佐藤知己 (2017b)「江戸時代のアイヌ語彙集「狄さへつり」について」『北方人文研究』10: 119-128.

佐藤知己 (印刷中)「アイヌ語古文献における仮名の用法—日本語とアイヌ語とで表記上の差異は存在するか」『北大文学研究科紀要』154.

鳥居龍蔵 (1903)『千島アイヌ』東京: 吉川弘文館.

Vdovin, I. S. (1954) *Istorija izutcenija paleoaziatskix jazykov*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.

Vovin, A. (1993) *A reconstruction of Proto-Ainu*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.