A Comparative Analysis of an East Sakhalin Ainu Folktale Collected by Bronisław Piłsudski

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Abstract   This contribution presents a linguistic analysis of an East Sakhalin Ainu (East Enciw'itah) folktale collected by Bronisław Piłsudski in 1903. The author bases his analysis on two different versions of the text, which Piłsudski compiled himself using a cyrillic-script-based and a latin-script-based transcription for Ainu. Taking into account two versions of the folktale where different scripts are used proves insightful with regards to phonetics and phonology and, thanks to Piłsudski's painstakingly accurate transcription, allows for investigation despite the lack of a backup audio recording. Starting from Piłsudski's originals, the author provides a re-transliteration of the text, following modern standard conventions for Ainu, and a morphemic analysis. A discussion of the most salient grammatical aspects of the informant's language follows and a comparison with neighbouring West Sakhalin Ainu (West Enciw'itah) dialects is drawn.

Keywords   Ainu. Sakhalin. Folklore. Philology. Piłsudski. Endangered languages.

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1 Introduction

In this paper I present a re-edited and annotated version of a folktale of the East Sakhalin Ainu tradition narrated by Sisratoka, a young man from the village of Tarayka, and collected by Bronisław Piłsudski in 1903 on Sakhalin. The untitled folktale appears in two different publications, which constitute the reference sources for this study. A first version of the folktale, transliterated using a Cyrillic-based script and accompanied by a Russian translation, is featured in *Predanija Sakhalinskikh Ajnov* (*Предания Сахалинских Айнов*, 'The Tradition of the Ainu of Sakhalin'). This is the last of a series of seven notebooks, now held at the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, that Piłsudski compiled in 1903 and that were re-edited in 2002 in the volume *Fol'klor Sakhalinskikh Ajnov* (*Фольклор Сахалинских Айнов*, 'The Folklore of the Ainu of Sakhalin')[1] curated by Vladislav Mikhailovich Latyshev. Another version of the text, for which Piłsudski employed a Latin-based script and provided an English translation, is contained in *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*, published in 1912, which is a collection of twenty-seven East Sakhalin Ainu folklore texts featuring some of those included in the above-mentioned notebooks. Piłsudski first met the Ainu of Sakhalin during his detention on the island as a political prisoner and, in a nine-year period, he collected from them 350 texts of their oral tradition (Piłsudski 1912, XXI), among which is the tale I examine in this paper. His long and fruitful collaboration with the Ainu produced a large amount of both linguistic and ethnographic data that represents the main body of documentation on the language and culture of Sakhalin Ainu available to us today.[2] The immense value of the data that Piłsudski collected does not only rest in their quantity, but also in the fact that he collected them before important historical events, that are directly correlated to the present status of vitality of Sakhalin Ainu, made it impossible to work *in loco* with the Ainu of Sakhalin.

With this paper, I aim at giving a glimpse into the richness of Sakhalin Ainu as it is depicted in the texts collected by Piłsudski by providing, for the first time since its publication in 1903 and 1912, a morphemic analysis of the folktale under examination and a comment

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1 This is also the title Piłsudski gave to the other six notebooks of the series stored in Saint Petersburg.

2 At present, the most exhaustive publication collecting the works of Bronisław Piłsudski on the Ainu and their language is *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski vols 1, 2, and 3* edited by Alfred F. Majewicz (1998a; 1998b; 2004). The second volume of this series contains a reproduction of Piłsudski's 1912 publication. The majority of the total 350 texts gathered by Piłsudski remains unpublished to date.

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on the most salient grammatical facts featured therein. The discussion of the characteristics of the East Sakhalin Ainu (East Enciw'itah) dialect spoken by Sisratoka, the informant of the tale, will be compared against existing descriptions of the neighbouring West Sakhalin Ainu sub-variety. With the intent of broadening the scope of my analysis over the whole 1912 corpus of folktales in the future, here I show how considering even just one text already suggests to what extent a thorough analysis of the Piłsudski's corpora will benefit any investigation on Sakhalin Ainu and our understanding of the Ainu language more generally.

The paper is organised as follows. In § 2, I introduce my reference sources, I underline the importance of Piłsudski's work for the study of Sakhalin Ainu, and provide the metadata of the folktale together with a profile of the informant and his dialect. In § 3, I present the transliteration conventions used by Piłsudski and those I employ in my re-transliteration of the text. Section § 4 gives an outline of the folktale, whose glossed text follows in § 5. Section § 6 reports the original English translation written first-hand by Piłsudski (1912), while § 7 is dedicated to the discussion of noteworthy grammatical characteristics encountered in the text and to a comparison with West Sakhalin Ainu (with reference to the grammatical sketch in Dal Corso 2021). Section § 8 concludes.

2 Reference Sources and Metadata

2.1 The Value of Piłsudski's Work

Bronisław Piłsudski (Zalavas 1866-Paris 1918) was a Polish ethnographer and linguist. After being sentenced to 15 years of penal labour on Sakhalin in 1887 for his alleged participation in a failed assassination attack against the Tsar Alexander III, he came in touch with the Ainu population of the island. Between 1896 and 1905 Piłsudski carried out extensive research on the language and traditions of various Ainu communities that inhabited the east coast of Sakhalin, in an area spanning from Aniva Bay in the south to the Gulf of Terpenija (Gulf of Patience) further north (see fig. 1 in § 2.2). His inquisitive nature and the fact that he could mediate with Russian people on their behalf helped Piłsudski befriend the Ainu and, with time, he gained enough knowledge of the Sakhalin Ainu language to be able to discuss its lexicon, morphosyntactic structure, and semantics in a critical way.

Piłsudski elicited language data from the Ainu of Sakhalin in a period of less than ten years before the outburst of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, an event that irremediably affected all future possibilities for Russian citizens to conduct research on the Ainu commu-

nities living on Sakhalin and, more importantly, the very lifestyle of those communities and the vitality of the language they spoke. After Japan's victory against Russia, the territories of Sakhalin island south of the 50th parallel were ceded to the Japanese who renamed them Karafuto.[3] In the course of World War I, the imperialist government of Tokyo intensified the progressive japanisation of cultural and ethnic minorities, among which the Ainu, that had been started during the Meiji period (1868-1912). One act of Japan's assimilation policies was to forbid the Ainu from using their native language and to force them to take on a Japanese lifestyle. After World War II and Japan's defeat in the conflict, Allied Forces decided for Karafuto to be given back to Russia, together with other territories facing the Okhotsk sea over which Japan had taken control. Since by that time the Ainu living on Karafuto had been granted Japanese citizenship (primarily to further legitimate Japan's presence on the island), the transfer of the territories to Russia resulted in the forced relocation of a large number of Sakhalin Ainu to Hokkaidō or elsewhere in Japan. Only a small part of them decided to live in Russia instead, where they were completely assimilated culturally and linguistically (Okazaki 2019).

Relocation played a decisive role in the steady decline of Ainu traditions and linguistic vitality that had been set in motion by Japan's assimilation policies. The few Sakhalin Ainu who still practiced a traditional Ainu lifestyle could not continue to do so in a territory that was geographically so different from their native Sakhalin. Having their lifestyle become unsustainable, they had to leave it behind in favour of the Japanese way of living. Continuous prejudice and oppression towards them through the decades following the war also pushed the Ainu to abandon their language, which, in the case of Sakhalin Ainu, ceased to be actively passed on to new generations already during the first half of the twentieth century. Despite the critical situation, documentation of Sakhalin Ainu was still possible from the 1940s until the 1980s thanks to the last surviving native speakers of the language. The most notable outcomes of these documentation efforts are the collections of folklore texts and vocabulary recorded by Wada Bunjirō from a speaker of the Usoro dialect (Kitahara 2013; 2014; 2016; 2017; 2019), the corpus of folklore texts and conversations elicited from Fujiyama Haru and Ōta Yuk, speakers of the Rayciska and Maoka dialects respectively (Murasaki 1976; Dal Corso 2021), and the corpus of folklore texts elicited from Asai Take who was also a speaker of the Rayciska dialect (Murasaki 2001). All these works document different dialects of the Sakhalin West coast and, as such, represent a priceless resource on this Sakhalin Ainu

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3 Still today it is common in Japanese academia to refer to the Sakhalin variety of the Ainu language as *Karafuto ainugo* 樺太アイヌ語 (Karafuto Ainu language).

sub-variety. After the death of the last native speaker, Asai Take, in 1994 Sakhalin Ainu was (yet controversially) declared extinct.[4]

Piłsudski had the rare opportunity of working with Ainu communities and recording their language at a time when Ainu was still used as the everyday means of communication by native (and in most cases monolingual) speakers. Indeed I must account for possible imprecisions in the texts that have reached us through Piłsudski's transcription, mainly due to the elicitation method he employed (§ 2.3). Nonetheless, the collected data depict a stage in the history of East Sakhalin Ainu when the language had little to no sustained contact with a main or prestige language such as Russian or Japanese and bilingualism was almost absent – a scenario that has rarely re-presented itself in following documentation efforts for any Ainu dialect or variety. Furthermore, given that all other substantial documentation work on the Sakhalin variety has been carried out on West Sakhalin Ainu, as mentioned above, the materials gathered by Piłsudski constitute our only considerable linguistic resource on Eastern dialects, which exhibit grammatical characteristics unfound in Western dialects. Therefore, the value of Piłsudski's work for the study of the Ainu language as a whole cannot be overstated.

2.2 Overview of Piłsudski [1903] 2002 and Piłsudski 1912

With regards to the Cyrillic version of the tale originally published in 1903, for this study I refer to its most recent edition in Latyshev (2002). As already mentioned in § 1, Latyshev reedited seven notebooks originally compiled by Piłsudski himself. The first six notebooks in the series contain a total of eleven *tuytah*, a type of non-rhythmic genre of folklore that recounts tales about gods or humans, while the last notebook contains three *ucaskuma*, that is the genre of the folktale I analyse (see § 2.3). The texts were recorded in the Ainu settlements of Takoye, Sieraroko, Ocohpoka, Tunayci, and Otosan (see **[fig. 1]**) and come with an interlinear Russian translation and a literary translation in Russian at the end. The *tuytah* and *ucaskuma* in the 1903 notebooks have been reedited in the Latin script and provided with both an interlinear word-by-word translation and literary translation in English in Majewicz (1998b) who, however, excludes from this publication those texts that Piłsudski later included in the 1912 corpus, among which the folktale under scrutiny.

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[4] Together with various dialects of the Hokkaidō variety, Sakhalin Ainu is still presently spoken and it is the target of the tireless revitalisation efforts of today's Ainu community in Japan, with one of the main activists involved being the editor of the abovementioned folklore texts of Wada Bunjirō, Kitahara Jirōta Mokottunas.

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Figure 1
Location of East Sakhalin Ainu settlements, adapted from Piłsudski's map in Majewicz (1998a, 219), and location of the Rayciska and Maoka villages on the west coast. Source of map: Google Maps 2021

Piłsudski (1912) contains twenty-seven *ucaskuma* collected in the Ainu settlements of Tarayka, Tunayci, Ay, and Hunup. The first two texts in the collection are presented with a line-by-line English translation on the side and a literary translation also in English at the end. All remaining *ucaskuma* have no interlinear translation but are followed only by a literary translation in English. After the translation of each text, Piłsudski provides a large number of notes on syntax, semantics, lexicon, and the Ainu culture especially for those passages that would be hardly intelligible to the unacquainted European reader. Ainu speakers are briefly introduced at the beginning of the note section the first time they appear as the language informant of a text.

2.3   Elicitation Method and Folktale's Metadata

As it is suggested by the title *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*, Piłsudski published the 1912 corpus for didactic purposes, as a manual for people wishing to learn the Ainu language. As Piłsudski (1912, ix) himself asserts, eliciting folktales from his informants was the most efficient way for him to get more and more fa-
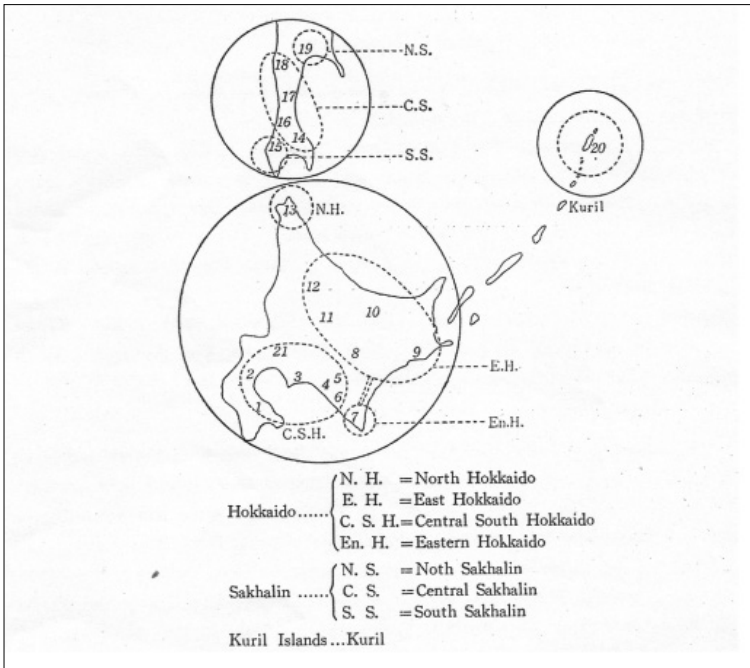
miliar with the language in the first place. Piłsudski argues for the benefit that writing down tales under dictation has for learning a language and, since this same method had proved valid during his experience among the Nivkh of Northern Sakhalin, he employed it also when working with the Ainu. Part of the total 350 texts collected on Sakhalin was also recorded on phonographic wax cylinders, the majority of which unfortunately have deteriorated to the point that the audio track can no longer be reproduced.[5] Although Piłsudski was indubitably a careful transcriber and could very well discern a fluent speaker from a less skilled one, the method of eliciting through dictation has a number of (at least partially) inevitable pitfalls. Dictation is a slow process which in most cases forces an informant to interrupt in mid narration or to repeat some passages in order to allow the transcriber to correctly report what is being said. Piłsudski (1912, 102) himself notices that this can very easily compromise the quality of nar-

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[5]　For further discussion on Piłsudski's recordings on wax cylinders and the most recent laser technology that allowed to restore the audio from them see, among others, Murasaki 2013.

rative style and, ultimately, that of the linguistic data obtained. When conducting whatever kind of linguistic analysis on Piłsudski's corpora it is, therefore, important to consider that this method of elicitation may have influenced the quality of the data we analyse and, despite Piłsudski's meticulous editing work, we must account for possible incongruences, like unexpected syntax and other cases of 'broken' Ainu.

Piłsudski collected the folktale under examination in January 1903 from Sisratoka (Śiśrátoka, in Piłsudski's transliteration), a 28-year-old man of Tarayka[6] (Piłsudski 1912, 45). Asai (1974, 100) classifies the Tarayka dialect as part of the North Sakhalin dialect cluster, which is in turn included within the larger Sakhalin Ainu variety (see cluster no. 19 in [fig. 2]). Asai's cluster analysis is, however, only based on lexicon and the consideration of morphosyntactic features seem to support a revised distinction into Eastern and Western (and possibly Southern) dialects (see e.g. Dal Corso 2018). Piłsudski (1912, 53) describes Sisratoka as an informant with a good memory and an ambition to be known as a good speaker, but whose language and narrative skills are not (at least in this instance) as good as those of other informants he had met. In particular, Sisratoka seems to try to use short sentences and to avoid idiomatic phrases and difficult words in order to make it easier for the listener to follow. The folktale narrated by Sisratoka belongs to the subgenre of the Ainu oral tradition known as *ucaskuma* or *upaskuma* 'ancestor tales' (*ućaśkoma* in Piłsudski's transcription). The *ucaskuma* is included among the non-rhythmic genres (also referred to as 'prose') of the Ainu tradition and, like the *enciwtuytah* 'tales of human beings', is characterised by a third-person narration and recounts the vicissitudes of humans (Kubodera 1977, 8).

3 Transliteration Conventions

Piłsudski employs a near-phonetic transcription in both the 1903 and the 1912 editions of the folktale. Graphemes that are absent from the original script used in each edition are added in order to represent the original Ainu sound in the most accurate way possible – this is, for instance, the case of the grapheme *h* used in the Cyrillic-based transcription of the text to represent the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ that is not present in the Russian phonetic inventory. Especially in the Latin-based transcription, Piłsudski resorts to diacritics and explains their use in combination with roman letters to represent specific phonemes of the Ainu language by making reference to sounds of other European and non-European languages which he reckons to be more familiar

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[6] Also known as 多来加 in Japanese.

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to the reader. A discussion of the representation of East Sakhalin Ainu phonemes in the 1903 and 1912 orthographies is deferred to § 7.1.

In § 5, where I present the glossed text, the first two tiers of each line display the two original transcriptions by Piłsudski. A third tier is reserved to a new version of the text in which I follow modern transliteration conventions for Ainu (as in e.g. Tamura 1984; Murasaki 1976; Dal Corso 2021 among others). Interlinear linguistic glosses appear in a fourth and last tier. Throughout my re-transcription of the folktale, I maintain punctuation as Piłsudski noted it in the 1912 edition but I do not mark stress, like it has become common in recent publications on Ainu. Piłsudski's (1912, 51-3) original English translation of the text is also kept unchanged and given in § 6. For citations of the two editions both in the footnotes in § 5 and in § 7, I use the abbreviations P.1903 and P.1912 for convenience. In-textual citation of line numbers is given in round brackets. Finally, complying with Dal Corso (2021), the following symbols and conventions are used:

- Square brackets [ ] contain segments that are not realised as a result of elision (§ 7.1.3).
- An underscore adjacent to a letter (e.g. *r_*) indicates that the phoneme represented by that letter undergoes a process of assimilation or dissimilation. In the text the underlying form of the word is given and the result of the phonological process is explained in § 7.1.3.
- Long vowels are indicated by a digraph (e.g. *aa* to indicate [a:]) and not by a macron (i.e. *ā*).

4 Outline of the Folktale

According to Sisratoka, the facts recounted in the folktale had happened 150 years before his retelling, when Ainu settlements were located also further north from Tarayka along the Sakhalin east coast. Sisratoka himself had heard the story from his uncle, who had passed away one year before Piłsudski's visit to Tarayka (Piłsudski 1912, 53).

The tale takes place in the village of Paratunnay[7] (Paratunnai) where a woman named Inanupirika[8] lives with her close relatives. The other people in the village have died for some unknown reason and dwelling alone has become more and more difficult for the few remaining Ainu. After Inanupirika refuses to marry a wealthy man from

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[7] Name composed of *para* 'to be broad', *tu* 'two', and *nay* 'river'. Old village on the shore of the Gulf of Terpenija (Piłsudski 1912, 53). Here and henceforth Ainu names are written following modern transliteration conventions and Piłsudski's transcription is given within brackets.

[8] The name can be analysed as *i-nan-u-pirika* (ANTIP-face-POSS-be.good) and translated as 'She (whose) face is beautiful'.

Tarayka, which would have resulted in more stability for herself and her relatives, the men of the family propose to move to the village of Moriruesan,[9] where other Ainu live and where they can have children and live more easily. However, Inanupirika opposes this decision and eventually has the upper hand on her male relatives, and the group heads to Wennay[10] (Vennai) by the sea of Karere instead. There they build new houses and prepare for the winter season by drying fish and storing it away as provisions. A man from the village of Camoki (Ćamoki) asks Inanupirika in marriage, but she again refuses provoking the anger of the suitor. Out of resentment for having been refused, during a stormy night the man of Camoki comes to Wennay and destroys the storehouse of Inanupirika's family, leaving all provisions to the ravages of wild animals. Once the bad weather ends, the people find themselves without enough food to pass the winter and soon begin to starve. After some time, when the man of Camoki goes back to Wennay to check the situation, he finds that everyone has eventually starved to death. Their sad end is witnessed also by some other Ainu from Tarayka, distant relatives of Inanupirika, who visit the settlement with the coming of spring. The tale is told as a warning to educate especially the young Ainu to not give in to a young woman's stubbornness because it can only lead to problems and suffering.

5   Text

1.   Пара́туннай это́кота а́йну поро́на* ан, эму́йке раяхци́,
      Parátunnaj [oxta]** etókota ájnu poróno an. Emújḱe rajaxći.
      Paratunnay-or_-ta   etoko-ta   aynu   poro-no   an.   Emuyke   ray-a-hci.
      Paratunnay-place-in 3/front-in person be.big-ADV 3PS/exist.PC all   3PS/die-EP-COLL

      *   Seeming assimilation of [o] to [a] on account of the following [a]. This is most likely a mistake in transliteration, later corrected into *porono an* in P.1912.

      **   Absent in P.1903. The locative *-ohta* is here necessary to express stative location with the proper name *Paratunnay*, while the locative *etokota* 'in front of' is here employed with a temporal meaning, i.e. 'before', 'once upon a time'.

2.   ока́кета синэ́ ма́хнэку рэ Ина́нупи́рика сира́нкури-у́тара
      Oká̋keta śine máxneku, ré Inanupírika, śirankuri útara
      Oka-ke-ta   sine   mahneku,   re   Inanupirika,   sirankuri   utara
      3/behind-PTV-in one   young.woman name Inanupirika   be.relative people

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[9]   Name composed of *mo* 'to be little', *ri* 'to be high', *ru* 'way', and *esan* 'to go towards the seashore' (Piłsudski 1912, 54).

[10]   The name of the village is composed of *wen* 'to be bad' and *nay* 'river', which somehow foreshadows the grim end that awaits Inanupirika and her relatives.

3. турá патэ́ омэ́ка, синэ́ цисе́ патэ́ áйну пáхтэно
   tura pate oméka. Śine ćiśe pate ájnu páxteno

tura		*pate*	*omeeka.*	*Sine*	*cise*	*pate*	*aynu*	*pak_-te-no*
3SO/be.together		only	3PS/remain	one	house	only	person	be.until-CAUS-ADV

4. ан. Нэ́тэ Тарáйка-ун нисьпá Инанупи́рика сам русýи;
   án. Néte Tarájkaun niśpá Inanupírika sám rusúi.

an.	*Nete*	*Tarayka-un*	*nispa*	*Inanupirika*	*sam-rusui.*[*]
3SS/exist.PC	and.so	Tarayka-be.in	noble.man	Inanupirika	3SS/3SO/marry-want

   [*] In this informant's idiolect, the desiderative appears realised as [rusui] (cf. transcriptions as *rusui* and русуи) instead of [rusuj] like in West Sakhalin Ainu (§ 7.1.1.6). Similar occurrences also in the dialects of other informants for the 1912 corpus suggest the syllable structure [ru.su.i] for this auxiliary verb in East Sakhalin Ainu (as opposed to [ru.suj] in West Sakhalin Ainu) (§ 7.1.2).

5. сам русýике Инанупи́рика этýнне. Тарáйка-ун нисьпá
   Sám rusúiḱe, Inanupírika etúnne. Tarájkaun niśpá

Sam-rusui		*[i]ke,*	*Inanupirika*	*etunne.*		*Tarayka-un*	*nispa*
3SS/3SO/marry-want		and	Inanupirika	3SS/3SO/not.want		Tarayka-be.in	noble.man

6. котáну-охтá хоси́би hэмакá; Инанупи́рика тани ýтарhи
   kotánu oxta xośíbi hemaka. Inanupírika tani utárhi

kotan-[h]u-or_-ta		*hosipi*	*hemaka.*		*Inanupirika*	*tani*	*utar-hi*
3/village-POSS-place-in		3SS/return	finish		Inanupirika	now	3/people-POSS

7. áйну э́нко сюй рай. Нах ан ани́ тáта оhóроно
   ájnu énko śuj ráj. Nax án ani, táta ohórono

aynu-enko	*suy*	*ray.*	*Nah*	*an*		*ani*	*ta-ta*	*ohoro-no*
person-half	again	3PS/die	so	3SS/exist.PC		with	there-in	be.long-ADV

8. Парáтуннайта ан коякусь. Нах рэ́нкайнэ hэя́о
   Parátunnaj-ta án kojákuś. Nax án rénkajne, hejáo

Paratunnay-ta an		*koyakus.*[*]		*Nah*	*an*		*renkayne,*[**]	*heyao*
Paratunnay-in	SLV/exist.PC.NMLZ	3PS/OLV/not.be.able	so		3SS/exist.PC		therefore	to.mainland

   [*] Variant of West Sakhalin Ainu *koyaykus*.
   [**] In this informant's idiolect, the word *renkayne* has a different meaning from that it has in West Sakhalin Ainu where it is used as a quantifier meaning 'a lot'.

9. япахци́ ýтарhи турá иси́ннэ япахци́,
   japaxći, utárhi tura iśínne japaxći.

yap-a-hci		*utar-hi*	*tura*		*isinne*	*yap-a-hci.*
3PS/go.ashore.PL-EP-COLL		3/people-poss	3SO/be.together		all	3PS/go.ashore.PL-EP-COLL

10. Морѝруеса́н япахцѝ, та́та цисе́ карахцѝ, та́та
Morìruesán japaxći. Táta ćíśe karaxći, táta
Moriruesan yap-a-hci.   Ta-ta   cise   kara-hci,   ta-ta
Moriruesan 3PS/go.ashore.PL-EP-COLL there-in house 3PS/3PO/make-COLL there-in

11. ohо́роно окаяхцѝ. Óхкаё нэ а́мпэ: а́йну кота́н ка́йки
ohórono okajaxći. Óxkajo ne ámpe: ájnu kotan kájki
ohoro-no   okay-a-hci.   Ohkayo neampe: aynu-kotan   kayki
be.long-ADV 3PS/exist.PL-EP-COLL male   TOP   person-village even

12. анкусу́, óннэ япа́н кусу́ нэ́йке,
án-kusu, ónne japan kusu néjḱe,
an   kusu,   or_-ne   yap-an   kusu   neyke,
3SS/exist.pc CAU.FIN 3/place-to go.ashore.PL-4S CAU.FIN   TOP

13. а́йну-утара́ туму́кета исѝннэ окаянахцѝ кусу́ нэ́йке,
ájnu utara tumúketa iśínne okajánaxći kusu néjḱe,
aynu-utara-tum-u-ke-ta   isinne okay-an-a-hci   kusu   neyke*
person-COLL-centre-EP?-PTV-in all   exist.PL-4S-EP-COLL CAU.FIN TOP
* The insertion of an epenthetic *u* is supposed only on account of the RS
cognate *tum* 'centre'. Nevertheless, this word may actually have the form *tumu*
in TS.

14. пирика́; та́та а́йну са́нкета окаянуа́ ан-нукара
pìriká. Táta ájnu sánḱeta okajanua, àn-nukára
pirika.   Ta-ta   aynu-sam_-ke-ta   okay-an-u   [w]a, an-nukara
3SS/be.good there-in person-by-PTV-in exist.PL-4S-EP FP   4S-3SO/see

15. кусу́ нэ́йке, а́йну ан-нэ кусу яйки соро кара́ ан кусу́
kusu néjḱe, ájnu an-né-kusu jáj kiśoro kara án kusu
kusu   neyke, aynu   an-ne   kusu   yay-kisoro-kara-an   kusu
CAU.FIN TOP   person 4S-COP CAU.FIN REFL-descendant-make-4S CAU.FIN

16. нэ́йке, ка́на суй ан кота́н hy óннэ Пара́туннай-охта́ пае́ ан-тэ
néjḱe, kána súj an-kotánhu ónne, Parátunnaj oxta paje ánte
neyke   kana   suy   an-kotan-hu-or_-ne   Paratunnay-or_-ta   paye-an te
CAU.FIN again   again 4-village-POSS-place-to Paratunnay-place-in go.PL-4S and

17. ка́на икѝннэ кота́н асѝри-ка анкѝ кусу́ нэ́йке,
kána ikínne kotan aśiriká anki kusu néjḱe
kana   ikir_-ne kotan   asiri-ka   an-ki   kusu   neyke*
again group-ESS village SLV/3SO/be.new-TR.NMLZ 4S-OLV/do cau.fin TOP

  *   In P.1912 we find the translation 'again once' for *kana ikinne* and the idiomatic translation 'once more' is found in Majewicz and Majewicz (1986, 191). I propose these phrase can be better analysed as an essive construction with the meaning of 'again as a group'.

18.   пирика́. Охкаё на́х-канэ пи́рика ита́х ки.

     pìriká. Óxkajo náxkane pírika itax ki.

pirika.		*Ohkayo*	*nah*	*kane*	*pirika*	*itah*	*ki.*
3SS/be.good		male	so	ADV	be.good	speech	3PS/3SO/do

19.   Нах нэ́ва ка́йки Инанупи́рика нэ а́мпэ носькы́ ута́ра сям русу́ике

     Náx néva kájki, Inanupírika ne ámpe hoškí utara sám rusúike,

Nah	*ne*	*wakayki*	*Inanupirika*	*neampe*	*hoski*	*utara*	*sam-rusui*	*[i]ke*
so	COP	although	Inanupirika	TOP	3/extremity	people	3SS/3PO/marry-want	and

20.   эту́нне та́мбе а́ни а́йну уни́ке о́ннэ ян

     etúnne, támbe-ani ájnu únike ónne ján

etunne,		*tan_-pe-ani*	*aynu*	*uni-ke-or_-ne*	*yan*
3SS/3SO/not.want		this-thing-with	person	house-PTV-place-to	3SS/go.ashore.PC.NMLZ

21.   эту́нне; Ина́нупирика ця́руhу hоканнасика́. Нэ рэ́нкайнэ нэа́ о́хкаё

     etúnne. Inànupiriká ćáruhu hokànnasiká, ne rénkajne, nea óxkajo

etunne		*Inanupirika*	*car-u-hu*		*hokannasika,**	*ne*	*renkayne,*	*nea*	*ohkayo*
3SS/3SO/not.want		Inanupirika	3/mouth-EP-POSS		3SS/surpass	this	therefore	this	male

  *   Piłsudski (1912, 55) analyses this word as *ho-* 'from' (which has its cognate form in the deictic prefix *(h)o-* of West Sakhalin Ainu, Dal Corso 2021, 93-4), *kanna* 'upper', the reflexive *si-*, and *ka*, a contracted form of the verb *kara* 'to make'.

22.   ра́муhу эма́ци-тэ Карэ́рэ о́ннэ Вэн-най о́ннэ паехци́, та́та

     rámuhu emáćite, Karére ónne Vénnaj ónne pajexći, táta

ram-u-hu		*emaci**	te,	Karere-or_-ne	Wennay-or_-ne	paye-hci,		ta-ta
3/soul-EP-POSS		?	and	Karere-place-to	Wennay-place-to	3PS/go.PL-COLL		there-in

  *   Majewicz and Majewicz (1986, 133) propose the analysis *e-ma(k)-(h)ci* (APPL-open-COLL) that would yield the meaning 'to open their souls to (a matter)' or 'to decide on sth.'. The etymology is dubious.

23.   цисе́ караhци́, поро́но инунибехци́ пуси́сь-каннэ́

     ćise karaxći, poróno inùnipéxći, pu śìś-kanné,

cise	*kara-hci,*		*poro-no*	*inun-ipe-hci,*	*pu*	*siskanne*
house	3PS/3PO/make-COLL		be.big-ADV	3PS/dry-food-COLL	storehouse	3SS/be.full

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24. са́хпэ эсись-каннэ карахци́, хэма́катэ тани́
sáxpe eśìśkanné karahći, hemakáte taní

sat_-pe   e-siskanne-kara-hci,   hemaka   te   tani
be.dried-thing   APPL-3PS/3SO/3SIO/be.full-make-COLL   3PS/3SO/finish and now

25. мата́йта э̄. Ука́нру Ця́муки-айну та ма́хнэку
matájta é. Ukánru Ćámoki ájnu tá máxneku

mata-_i-ta   ee.   Ukanru Camoki aynu   ta   mahneku
winter-moment-in   3PS/3PO/eat   Ukanru Camoki person that   young.woman

26. сам-русу́и. Инанупи́рика эту́нне, нэя́ а́йну
sám rusúi. Inanupírika etúnńe. Neja ájnu

sam-rusui.   Inanupirika etunne.   Neya   aynu
3SS/3SO/marry-want Inanupirika 3SS/3SO/not.want this   person

27. эоцись кота́ну о́ннэ ома́н. Мата́йта
eoćíś, kotánu ónne oman. Matájta

e-ocis   kotan-[h]u-or_-ne   oman.   Mata-_i-ta
APPL-3SS/3SO/feel.resentful 3/village-POSS-place-to   3SS/go.PC   winter-moment-in

28. нэя́ Ука́нту у пун ю́фке поро си́ри вэн ан-тэ,
neja Ukántu upun júf́ke, poro śiri vén ánte,

neya   Ukantu upun   yuhke,   poro   siri-wen   an   te
this   Ukantu storm 3SS/be.strong be.big appearance-be.bad.NMLZ   3SS/exist.PC   and

29. Вэ́ннай оннэ э̆; Вэннай-ун а́йну-у́тара пу-hэ
Vénnaj ónne ĕ́. Vénnaj-un ájnu-utara púhe,

Wennay-or_-ne   e.*   Wennay-un aynu-utara   pu**-he
Wennay-place-to   3SS/come.PC   Wennay-be.in person-COLL 3/storehouse-POSS

* Despite the elision of the final plosive (§ 7.1.1.2), the underlying form *ek* of this verb
is retrievable from vowel length (§ 7.1.2) – cf. *é* for *ee* 'to eat' at line 25.

** Based on the vowel *e* within the possessive suffix (§ 7.2.1), the underlying form of
this noun can be reconstructed as *puw**.

30. пу ту́нту-hy мука́р-ани́ то́хпа, пу́hэ hopá,
pú túntuhu mukar-ani tóxpa, púhe hora

pu   tuntu-hu   mukar[a]-ani tohpa   pu-he   hora
storehouse 3/pillar-POSS axe-with   3PS/3PO/cut 3/storehouse-POSS 3SS/fall.down

31. эму́йке ци-вэ́нды hэма́ка, кота́ну о́ннэ хоси́би,
emújḱe ćivéndy hemáka, kotánu ónne xośíbi

emuyke ci-wen-te   hemaka kotan-[h]u-or_-ne   hosipi

all	MID-3SS/be.bad-CAUS	finish	3/village-POSS-place-to	3SS/return

32. тани́ цисе́ охта́ ан hэмака́; тани́ Вэннай охта́ ан
Tani ćiśe oxta án hemaka. Tani Vénnaj-oxta án

tani	*cise-or_-ta*	*an*	*hemaka.*	*Tani*	*Wennay-or_-ta*	*an*
now	3/house-place-in	3SS/exist.PC	finish	now	Wennay-place-in	3PS/exist.PC

33. утара́ си́ри вэн ани́ пу о́ннэ сан кайки
utara śiri vén-ani pu ónne san kájki

utara	*siri-wen*	*ani*	*pu-or_-ne*	*san*	*kayki*
people	appearance-be.bad	with	storehouse-place-to	SLV/descend.PC.NMLZ	even

34. коя́кусь; та а́йну утара́ той цисе́ окаяхци́,
kojákuś. Tá ájnu utara tòj ćiśe okajaxći,

koyakus.		*Ta*	*aynu-utara*	*toy-cise*	*okay-a-hci,*
3PS/OLV/not.be.able		that	person-COLL	soil-house	3PS/exist.PL-EP-COLL

35. той цисе́ охта́ ибе́ ка́йки ися́м, пу-туа́ русу́и
tòj ciśe oxta íbe kájki iśám; pú tua rusúi

toy-cise-or_-ta	*ipe*	*kayki*	*isam;*	*pu-tua*-rusui*
soil-house-place-in	food	even	3SS/not.exist	3PS/storehouse-go.to.seek.food-want

* Piłsudski (1912, 56) reports that this word (allegedly a verb) only occurs in connection with the noun *pu* 'storehouse' to express the meaning 'to go to the storehouse for food'. This can easily be analysed as a case of noun incorporation.

36. коя́кусь; ван-то пахно́ а́мпэнэ си́ри вэн,
kojákuś. Van tó páxno ámpene śiri vén.

koyakus.*		*Wan*	*to*	*pahno*	*ampene*	*siri-wen.*
3PS/3SO/not.be.able		ten	day	until	really	appearance-be.bad

* In this instance the verb *koyakus* is not involved in a light verb construction. Rather, an adversative-meaning clause linker is missing, as it happens at line 49 below. The sentence is to be read as 'they wanted to go look for food (but) could not do that'.

37. нэ́тэ а́си си́ри пи́рика пу о́ннэ сан;
Néte aśi śiri pirika, pù ónne sán;

Nete	*asi*	*siri-pirika,*	*pu-or_-ne*	*san*
and.so	at.last	appearance-be.good	storehouse-place-to	3PS/descend.PC

38. сани́ке а́йну му́кара-ани пу-ту́нту то́хпа
sáníke, ájnu múkara-áni pú túntu tóxpa

san	*ike,*	*aynu*	*mukara-ani*	*pu-tuntu*	*tohpa*
3PS/descend.PC	and	person	axe-with	storehouse-pillar	3SS/3PO/cut

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39. рýhэ ан, нэ́тэ пу hорá, ибé hэ сумáри на,
    rúhe an, néte pú hora; iḃehe sumári nejaxka,[*]

ruhe an,	*nete*	*pu*	*hora;*	*ipe-he*	*sumari*	*ne*	*yahka,*
IND.RSN	and.so	storehouse	3SS/fall.down	3/food-POSS	fox	COP	though

   * In P.1903 на 'also' is found instead, to form the nominal coordinated construction
   сумáри на hóйну на 'both foxes and martens'.

40. hóйну на нэя́ ибé эмýйке э̄-ци, пóно пóно
    hójnu ná, neja iḃe emújḱe éći, póno-póno

hoynu	*na,*	*neya*	*ipe*	*emuyke*	*ee-[h]ci,*	*po[*]-no*	*po-no*
marten	too	this	food	all	3PS/3SO/eat-COLL	be.small-ADV	be.small-ADV

   * Possible alternative form of *pon* 'to be small' used when the adverbial *-no* is present.

41. патэ́ ан, нэ а́мпэhэ турá макáн, утара
    pate án. Ne ámpehe tura makan, útara

pate	*an.*	*Neampehe*	*tura*	*makan*	*utara*
only	3SS/exist.PC	therefore	3PO/together	3PS/go.uphill.PC	people

42. э̄, па́йгара тукарикетá ýтара мá̀ва, ибé эмуйке ися́м,
    é. Pájgara tukàriḱetá utara mava, iḃe emújḱe iśam.

e[e].	*Pajkara-tukari-ke-ta*	*utara*	*mawa,*	*ipe*	*emuyke*	*isam.*
3PS/3SO/eat	spring-early.part-PTV-in	people	3PS/starve	food	all	3SS/not.exist

43. той цисé охтá а́йну иси́ннэ мá̀хнэк-утарá тамá-на
    Tój ćíśè oxta ájnu iśinne, máxnek utara tama ná

Toy-cise-or_-ta	*aynu*	*isinne*	*mahnek[*]-utara*	*tama*	*na*
soil-house-place-in	person	all	female-people	bead	too

   * The segment *k* is dubious. It could be a mishearing of a glottal stop
   insertion, which is seen to occur commonly in West Sakhalin Ainu before the
   collective *-utah/-utara*. Otherwise, this could be a contraction of *mahnekuh-*
   utara with the truncation of the final segment *#uh* of *mahnekuh* 'female,
   woman' due to fast speech.

44. мукахци́ косóнуа[*] на ми-ци, hэмá̀ка-тэ
    mukaxći, kosóndo ná míći, hemákate

muk-a-hci	*kosonto*	*na*	*mi-[h]ci,*	*hemaka*	*te*
3PS/3PO/put.on.neck-EP-COLL	kosode	too	3PS/3PO/wear-COLL	3PS/3SO/finish	and

   * I cannot explain this discrepancy between the two versions. P.1903 most likely contains
   a mistransliteration.

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45. айн-иси́ннэ уhохкекаці́ руhэ-ан; ибе́ исям ампэ,
àjn iśinne uhòxḱekaćí rúhe an, iḃe iśam ámpe
ayn[*u*]   *isinne*   *u-hohke-ka-*[*h*]*ci*   *ruhe an, ipe*   *isam*   *ampe,*
person   all   RECP-3PS/lie.down-TR-COLL   IND.RSN   food   3SS/not.exist   FP

46. син-ан кусу́ айн-иси́ннэ цепома́ утара́
śìn-án kusu àjn-iśínne ćepoma utara
sinan   *kusu*   *ayn*[*u*]   *isinne*   *cepoma*   *utara*
really   CAU.FIN   person   all   3PS/die.of.hunger   people

47. эука-hо́хке, нэ́тэ айн-эму́йке рай. Нэ́тэ
eùkahoxḱe, néte ájn emújḱe ráj. Néte
e-uka-hohke   *nete*   *ayn*[*u*]   *emuyke*   *ray.*   *Nete*
APPL-3PS/3SO/RECP.TOP-lie.down   and.so   person   all   3PS/die   and.so

48. Ця́моки-ун айну У́канту hо́ськи ра́мhу орова́:
Ćámokiun ájnu Ukántu hóśki rámhu orova
Camoki-un   *aynu*   *Ukantu*   *hoskiram-hu-oro-wa*
Camoki-be.in   person   Ukantu   3/older.brother-POSS-place-from

49. "Ма́хну русу́ике ко́якусь hэнэ́ ки анахка́йки
Máxnu rusúiḱe kojákuś hene kí anaxkájki
Mat_-nu-rusui   [*i*]*ke*   *koyakus*   *hene*   *ki*   *an*   [*y*]*ahkayki*
3SS/wife-have-want   and   SLV/3SO/not.be.able   dub   3SS/OLV/do   IPFV   though

50. Вэ́ннай-охта́ ока́й утара́ аувонэка",– на́хе
Vénnaj oxta okaj utara auvonnekare.[*] Náxa
Wennay-or_-ta   *okay*   *utara*   *a-uwonneka*[**]*-re*   *naha*
Wennay-place-in   3PS/exist.PL   people   IP-3PO/check.situation-CAUS   COMP

   [*]   The causative suffix *-re* is missing in P.1903.

   [**]   This verb form can be analysed as *u-wonneka-re* (RECP-check.situation-CAUS),
   cf. instance in (52).

51. нока́н ра́мhу Уканту охта́ эа́сакара. Нэ́я Ука́нту
Ukántu nokan rámhu […][*]
Ukantu   *nokanram-hu-or_-ta*   *e-asakara.*   *Neja Ukantu*
Ukantu   3/younger.brother-POSS-place-in   APPL-3SS/3SO/order   this   Ukantu

   [*]   Missing passage in P.1912. The re-transliteration is based on P.1903.

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52. Вэ́ннай-о́ннэ иво́нэка кусу́ ома́н; оманике́ нэя́
Vénnaj ónne ivónneka kusu oman. Omaníke neja
Wennay-or_-ne   i-wonneka   kusu   oman.   Oman   ike neya
Wennay-place-to ANTIP-3SS/check.situation CAU.FIN 3SS/go.PC 3SS/go.PC and this

53. айну утара́ цепо́ма-тэ ро́яхци* ру́hэ-ан;
ájnu utara [emújke]** ćepómate rajaxći rúhe án.
aynu-utara   emuyke cepoma   te   ray-a-hci   ruhe an.
person-COLL   all   3PS/die.of.hunger and 3PS/die-EP-COLL   IND.RSN
* Possible mistake for ря́яхци.
** Not present in P.1903.

54. нука́ра-тэ кота́ну о́ннэ хоси́би. Нэ́тэ Тара́йка
Nukaráte kotánu ónne xośíbi. Néte Tarájka
Nukara   te   kotan-u-or_-ne   hosipi.   Nete Tarayka
3SS/3SO/see and 3/village-POSS-place-to 3SS/return and.so Tarayka

55. утара́ ну-ци, Ина́нупирика сира́нкури утара́ тани́ ока́кета
utara nùći. Inanupírika śiránkuri utara tani okáketa
utara   nu-[h]ci.   Inanupirika sirankuri   utara   tani   oka-ke-ta
people 3PS/3SO/hear-COLL   Inanupirika be.relative people now   3/behind-PTV-in

56. Вэ́ннай-о́ннэ циб(о)*-а́ни паехци́, исё кимо́йки-кара́
Vénnaj ónne ćib-áni pajexći, iśo kimójki kara
*Wennay-or_-ne   cip-ani   paye-hci,   iso   kimoyki** kara*
Wennay-place-to boat-with 3PS/go.PL-COLL bear hunting   3SS/3SO/make.NMLZ
* The verb *o* 'to get into' appears within brackets in P.1903. Indeed the sentence would be grammatically correct in both cases. With the layout *cip-o ani*, *ani* would function as a clause linker for the verb *cipo* that results from the incorporation of *cip*· 'boat' into the verb *o* – i.e. 'by getting into the boat'; in the layout *cip ani*, *ani* would function as a postpositional adverb expressing instrument – i.e. 'by boat'.
** This word can be analysed as *kim-o-i-ki* (mountain-APPL-ANTIP-do) 'to do hunting in the mountains'. The verb is zero-nominalised and functions as the direct object argument of the following *kara* 'to make'.

57. эпаехци́. Карэ́р-оту́и* орова́ паехци́. Нэя́
epajexći. Karer atúi orova pajexći, nea
e-paye-hci.   Karer[e]-atuy-oro-wa   paye-hci,   neya
APPL-3PS/3SO/go.PL-COLL Karere-sea-place-from   3PS/go.PL-COLL   this
* Possible mistake for ату́и. The use of the Cyrillic *o* could otherwise signal the pronunciation of the *a* in *atui* as [e], following the Russian pronunciation rule for pre-tonic *o*, instead of [a] that would be intended by the grapheme *a*. If so, this convention (or the pronunciation that prompts it) does not seem to be systematic in the text.

58. Вэннай охта́ паехци́; ту у́ндзи-о-цисе́, поро́ цисе́
    Vénnaj oxta pajexći. Tu únźi ó ćiśe, poro ćiśe
    Wennay-or_-ta   paye-hci.   Tu   unci   o   cise,   poro   cise
    Wennay-place-in 3PS/go.PL-COLL two fire 3SS/3PO/get.in house be.big house

59. нэ́ рухэ ан, hора́ ки́ке цисе́ ама́ни той ка́та
    né rúhe án. Horá-kiḱe ćiśe amani tój káta
    ne   ruhe an. Horak   ike   cise   amani   toy-ka-ta
    COP   IND.RSN SLV/fall.down and house beam soil-TOP-in

60. уко́сьтурупа́, поро́ су́hэ-цин
    ukòśiturupá, poro súhećin
    u-ko-si-turu-pa,   poro-su-he-[h]cin*
    RECP-APPL-REFL-3PS/stretch-ITER   3/be.big-pot-POSS-COLL
    * Underlying root form *suw**, see fn. to line 29.

61. hу́хкара туйся́та амахци́ ру́hэ ан; та́ha нэяхка́ а́йну утара́
    húxkara túj śáta amáxći rúhe án. Táha nejaxka ájnu utara
    huhkara-tum_-sa-ta   ama-hci   ruhe an. Ta-ha   ne   yahka   aynu-utara
    small.forest-centre-?-in 3PS/3PO/put-COLL IND.RSN that-EPH? COP though person-COLL

62. нука́рахци, на́хканэ уця́ськома ан. Нах ан рэ́нкайнэ
    nukaraxći. Náxkane ućáśkoma án. Nax án rénkajne
    nukara-hci.   Nah   kane   ucaskoma   an.   Nah   an   renkayne
    3PS/3SO/see-COLL SO ADV tale 3SS/exist.PC SO 3SS/exist.PC therefore

63. ма́хнэку нэ а́мпэ ита́кихи нэ а́мпэ о́хкаё
    máxneku ne ámpe itákihi ne ámpe óxkajo
    mahneku   neampe   itak-i-hi   neampe   ohkayo
    young.girl TOP 3/speech-EP-POSS TOP male

64. эра́му сикирукуни́ ан эту́нне, ма́хнэку ита́
    erámu śikiru kuni, anetúnne; maxneku ita
    eram-u   sikiru   kun-i,   an-etunne;   mahneku   ita
    3/soul-POSS 3PS/3PO/turn.to COND-NMLZ IP-3SO/not.want young.woman speech

65. коhэкиру́ а́йну нэ а́мпэ hу́сько орованó а́йну
    kohekiru ájnu ne ámpe húśko orovanó ájnu
    ko-hekiru   aynu   neampe   husko-oro-wano   aynu
    APPL-3SS/3SO/face person TOP be.old-place-from person

66. эяйтупарэ́-пэ та́нэ; нэ рэ́нкайнэ тани́
ejajtúparepè tánè. Nè rénkajne tani

e-yaytupare-pe			*ta*	*ne.*	*Ne*	*renkayne*	*tani*
APPL-3SS/3PO/be.dangerous-thing			EPH	COP	this	therefore	now

67. анця́ця утара́ по коро́ утара́
án ćáća utara pó-koro utara, [né kusu néjḱe,]*

an	*caca-utara*	*po-koro*	*utara*	*ne*	*kusu*	*neyke*
3PS/exist.PC	uncle-COLL	3PS/child-have	people	COP	CAU.FIN	TOP

   *   Not present in P.1903.

68. эця́касьно кара́.
ećákaśno kara.

ecakasno-kara.

3PS/3SO/3PIO/teach-make

6   Translation

[Lines 1-11]
There were many people of old in Paratunnai, but they all came to die, so that at last there only remained one woman, named Inanupirika, with her relations: only enough persons for a single dwelling. Then a wealthy man of Taraika desired to wed Inanupirika; he desired to wed her, but she would not have him: and this rich man of Taraika finally returned to his village. Now again the people who were with Inanupirika came to die, one after another. And therefore, it was not possible to dwell there in Paratunnai any longer. So they went to the seashore, and sailed away; away they sailed, the whole company. They sailed to Moriruesan, where they built a house and lived there a long time.
[Lines 11-20]
But the men said: "There are Ainu villages; if we sail thither and live all together amongst the Ainu folks, it will be well. There, living beside our Ainu people, we may once more behold our village and – since men are there – have offspring, and it will be well". Thus rightly spoke the men. But Inanupirika, who had formerly refused those that would have wedded her, was against sailing towards her Ainu home.
[Lines 21-9]
And Inanupirika prevailed in speech against them. Wherefore the men, making up their minds, departed for Karere and Vennai, where they built a house, a storehouse that they filled up with smoked fish, which having accomplished, they now might eat their food in winter

quarters. But the man Ukantu of Ćamoki was fain to wed that woman Inanupirika; and she refused him. He waxed wroth, and went home to his village. And this man Ukantu, when there was a great snow-storm and the weather was bad in winter, came to Vennai;

[Lines 29-41]

with his axe did he hew down the pillars of the storehouse of the men of Vennai, and making it fall, wrecked it utterly. And then he returned home to his village and abode there. But the people who dwelt in Vennai could not go to their storehouse, for the weather was too bad; and they lived in houses dug in the earth, wherein there was no food; and though they would fain have gone to the storehouse to seek food, it was impossible. For ten days long, the weather was exceeding bad. When at last it became fair weather, they went down to the storehouse. When they got there, they saw plainly that some man had with an axe hewn down the storehouse pillars, so that it had fallen. All the food there had been devoured by foxes and pine-martens; only a very little remained.

[Lines 41-50]

And therefore the people went together, and ate it up. But spring not having yet arrived, they soon were hungry, and there was no food at all for them now. The men went together to the earth house; the women, adorning themselves as if already dead, put beads round their necks and arrayed themselves in silken robes. This done, they all lay down together. Together they all lay down, no food was in sight, they knew for sure that they were all to starve to death. After which every one of them died. Thereafter Ukantu, the man of Ćamoki, who had desired to wed Inanupirika but could not do so, was nevertheless commanded by his elder brother to visit the dwellers in Vennai.

[Lines 50-61]

Thus went Ukantu's younger brother to visit Vennai: where he found that all the people had died, evidently of hunger. He saw, and returned home. Then the men of Taraika, the kindred of Inanupirika, heard; and now they went by boat to Vennai, and hunted bears there. They came from the sea of Karere, they came to Vennai. There they saw the house that had two hearths; it had fallen, the beams thereof were scattered one upon the other on the ground. Within they saw the great iron pots, visible from the interior of the adjoining forest.

[Lines 61-8]

This also did the Ainus see, and thus goes the tradition. And as this was so, we see that it is not right that men should give up their souls to the discourse of women; to yield to the discourse of women has been a dangerous thing from olden times. And therefore do the old men now living tell this for instruction of their children.

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7   Linguistic Features of Sisratoka's Idiolect

This section is dedicated to a summary of noteworthy linguistic features of the Tarayka dialect spoken by Sisratoka that appear in the folktale in § 5. In § 7.1, I give an overview of phonetics and main phonological alternations, and outline the phonemic inventory of Sisratoka's idiolect. The inventory, summarised in **[tab. 1]** at the end of the subsection, is reconstructed on the basis of the 1903 and 1912 transcriptions and of Piłsudski's (1912, 1-9) account of East Sakhalin Ainu sounds. Of course, the analysis of one single text makes it difficult to draw generalisations on grammar but, despite the limited data, some observations on nominal and verbal morphosyntax and semantics can be made. These observations call attention to a number of peculiarities of the Tarayka dialect that are discussed in § 7.2, where I also compare them with the neighbouring West Sakhalin Ainu language. Specifically, the sketch grammar of the Rayciska dialect in Dal Corso (2021) will serve for the comparison.

It should be noted that the folktale under scrutiny was collected in 1903 while the Rayciska dialect data in Dal Corso (2021, 13) are around 60 years more recent. This means that, even considering part of the discrepancies I discuss below as in fact indicative of a linguistic divergence between Eastern and Western dialects, I should also acknowledge that they might be ascribed to the sustained contact of Sakhalin Ainu with Japanese following World War II (§ 2.1) and to the subsequent bilingualism and decline of language vitality. Throughout this section, I refer to the Tarayka dialect spoken by Sisratoka and to the Rayciska dialect illustrated in Dal Corso respectively as TS and RS.

7.1   Phonetics and Phonology

The phonemic inventory of TS counts five vowel phonemes /a/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /i/, /u/, represented in the orthography by *a, e, o, i, u* (P.1912) and *a, э, o, u, y* (P.1903), and eleven consonant phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/, /t͡ʂ/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /v/, /h/, /r/, /j/ represented in the orthography by *p, t, k, ć, m, n, s, v, h, r, j* (P.1912) and *n, m, к, ц, м, н, с, в, h, p, ŭ* (P.1903). Quantity-wise, the phonemic inventory of TS (see end of this subsection) is only one consonant short of the RS phonemic inventory, with the one consonant missing being the glottal stop, rendered in the orthography for RS as ' and briefly discussed in § 7.1.1.7. I now move on to discussing each phoneme and its attested allophones.

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7.1.1   Phonemes, Allophones, and Phonotactic Rules

7.1.1.1   Vowels

Vowel phonemes of TS show an interesting point of divergence with those of RS. In the former dialect, *e*/э and *o* are said to represent the two open-mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ (Piłsudski 1912, 1), while in RS *e* and *o* correspond to the close-mid sounds /e/ and /o/.[11] Piłsudski reports that, in unaccented syllables, the pronunciation of *e* and *o* tends to be 'narrowed' while that of *i* and *u* tends to be 'more open', with *e* and *i*, on the one hand, and *o* and *u*, on the other, becoming hardly distinguishable in many instances.[12] From this explanation, I infer that *e* and *o* might have as possible allophones the close-mid [e] and [o] respectively, while *i* and *u* might have [ɪ] and [ʊ] as their respective allophones. At least in the present folktale, this change in vocalic height is not attested, but it appears to be quite common (though not systematic) in other texts of the 1912 corpus collected from other informants. In such instances, lowered *i* and *u* are transliterated as *e* and *o* while raised *e* and *o* are left unaltered in orthography, with no suprasegmental indicating the change.

In contrast, [ɨ] deriving from rising and centralisation of /e/ is overtly signalled in orthography, as *y* in P.1912 and as ы in P.1903. The allophone [ɨ] is found in the environment nd_# and, more precisely, this realisation concerns the *e* in the causative suffix *-te* (where voicing of /t/ into [ʧ] is triggered by the preceding nasal, see § 7.1.1.2) – e.g. *цu-вэ́нды*/*ćivéndy* [ʧ̱ivɛnʧ̱ɨ] < *ciwente* 'was destroyed' (31). The realisation as [ɨ] is inferred from Piłsudski's (1912, 2) description of the sound as "akin to the Russian ы".[13]

Transliteration in P.1903 also suggests an allophone [ɐ] for /a/ which, however, remains dubious. This possible allophone is only inferred following Russian spelling and pronunciation rules from the use of *o* in place of *a* in a pre-tonic syllable (see §5 fn. to line 57) – e.g. *omу́u* (then amended as ***a**tú́i* in P.1912) [ɐtui] < *atuy* 'sea' (57).

7.1.1.2　　Plosives

Like in RS, the plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/ are always voiceless word-in-itially – e.g. *поро́*/***p****oro* [pɔrɔ] < *poro* 'to be big' (60). Voicing of plosives in intervocalic position is most common for all three phonemes, in contrast to what is observed in RS where voicing is never attested for /p/ and remains a rare phenomenon even for /t/ and /k/ (Dal Corso 2021, 26).[14] Voicing of plosives is also attested after the approximant /j/. As Piłsudski (1912, 4) notes, the pronunciation of plosives in the two environments V_V and C$_{approx.\_}$V is not exactly that of their voiced counterparts [b], [d], and [g], but rather it "wavers between the [voiceless] and [voiced] group". From this, I infer the allophones [p̬], [t̬], and [k̬]. Free variation of voiceless and voiced plosives is a common trait of the Ainu language since, as far as we know, in all its varieties and dialects the voicing opposition is not distinctive. Voicing, normally not rendered in modern transliterations, is evidenced in both P.1903 and P.1912 via the use of *б*/*b*, *∂*/*d*, and *г*/*g* in orthography – e.g. *хоси́би*/*хоśĺ****b****i* [xɔɕipi] < *hosipi* 'to return' (54), *па́йгара*/*páj****g****ara* [pajk̬ara] < *paykara* 'spring' (42). Voicing of plosives is otherwise possible in the environment C$_{nasal\_}$, which is not attested in RS – e.g. *ци-вэ́нды*/*ćivén****d****y* [t̠ɕivɛnt̬ɨ] < *ciwente* 'was destroyed' (31), but cf. *нэ а́мпэһэ*/*ne á****m****pehe* [nɛampɛhɛ] < *neampehe* 'therefore' (41).

Palatalisation of /p/ and /k/ (but not /t/) and of the voiced allophones [p̬] and [k̬] is also reported (Piłsudski 1912, 4-5). In the text, palatalisation is limited to the environment _ɛ only for /p/, /k/ and [p̬], and it is marked in orthography by a diacritic ´ in P.1912 or, in P.1903, by the use of the soft vowel *e* instead of the strong vowel *э* otherwise employed to represent /ɛ/ – e.g. *эму́йке*/*emúj****k****e* [ɛmujkʲɛ] < *emuyke* 'all' (47), *инунибехцу́*/*inùnip****é****хći* [inunipʲɛxt̠ɕi] < *inunipehci* 'they dried fish' (23), *та́мбе*/*tam****b****e* [tampʲɛ] < *tanpe* 'this thing' (20). Palatalisation is consistent for /k/ in the environment _ɛ as it is for both /p/ and [p̬] within the word *ipe* 'food', where the palatalised or non-palatalised sound appears in free variation (compare attestations in (23) and (40)). Finally, palatalisation seems to show a correlation with voicing in the environment C$_{nasal\_}$ɛ – compare again *та́мбе*/*ta****mb****e* [tampʲɛ] < *tanpe* 'this thing' (20) and *а́мпэнэ*/*á****mp****ene* [ampɛnɛ] < 'really' (36). Forms such as the adverb *ampene* or the topic marker *neampe*, where palatalisation of the plosive is missing, diachronically contain the same dependent noun *pe* 'thing' found in *tanpe* and therefore the lack of palatalisation could be accounted for by lexicalisation. Unfortunate-

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14　　However, it is interesting how Piłsudski (1912, 4) asserts that voicing of plosive is much more common in Western Sakhalin, quite contrarily to what is reported in Dal Corso 2021. Again, it might be that contact with Japanese was among the causes of the absence of this trait of plosives that stands out in the more recent RS data.

ly, the scant number of examples does not allow me to pursue this issue further. Palatalisation is not attested in RS.

Plosives are not allowed word-finally. In RS, plosives in this position are systematically debuccalised, but in TS they are usually simply elided – e.g. *namэ́/pate* [patɛ] < *pate* (underlying form *patek**)[15] 'only' (41), cf. RS *pateh* [pateh], same meaning. This is yet again different from Hokkaidō Ainu dialects where word-final plosives have no audible release (cf. Southern Hokkaidō Ainu cognate *patek* [patek̚]). The underlying word-final plosive surfaces if the word is followed by a bound morpheme beginning with a vowel, a condition that in the text is met in verbal inflection (cf. *muk** 'to put sth. on smo.'s neck' (44)) and before the adverbial postposition *ani* 'with' (cf. *cip** 'boat' (56)). Though more rarely than elision, debuccalisation may be present word-finally also in TS. This happens between words in the environments $V_1\_V_1$ and $\_C_{plosive}$ – e.g. *нах ан/nax án* [nax an] < *nah an* 'to be so' (62), *umáx κu/itax ki* [itax ki] < *itah ki* 'to make a speech' (18), where *nah* and *itah* have underlying forms *nak** and *itak**. In both cases, debuccalised plosives are realised as [x].[16] Beside being common at morpheme boundary (see § 7.1.3), debuccalisation is possible also word-internally but only in the environment $\_C_{plosive}$ – e.g. *ю́фκe/júɸ́ke* [juɸkʲe] < *yuhke* 'to be strong' (28), where [x] is further realised as [ɸ] under account of the preceding /u/ (cf. *yupu* 'to fasten', which shares with *yuhke* the same root *yup* featuring /p/ in a V_V environment).

7.1.1.3 Nasals

TS has the two nasals /n/ and /m/. While /m/ does not undergo any specific phonotactic change, Piłsudski (1912, 5) reports for /n/ the allophones [ŋ] (not attested in the analysed text) and [ɲ], which is found in the environments _# and _ɛ – e.g. *эту́нне/etunńe* [ɛtunɲɛ] < *etunne* 'to do not want' (26). This allophone is rendered in P.1912 as *ń* and in P.1903 as *н* followed by a soft vowel. Orthography does not make it clear whether in a word like *etunne* the palatalisation of [ɲ] is transferred also on the /n/ preceding it, thus giving [ɲ:]. Differently from RS (Dal Corso 2021, 27), I can deduce that velarisation of /n/ to [ŋ] is not attested before /k/ given that this sound is never rendered with the grapheme *ŋ* that Piłsudski uses in other places in P.1912.

7.1.1.4 Fricatives and Affricates

The phoneme /s/ is represented in P.1912 as *s* and in P.1903 as *c*. This phoneme has an allophone which, from Piłsudski's (1912, 5) description, corresponds to the alveolo-palatal fricative [ɕ], also present in RS, and rendered in P.1912 as *ś* and in P.1903 as *c* followed by a soft vowel or, if word final, as *сь*.[17] The allophone [ɕ] occurs systematically before and after /i/ word-initially, word-finally, and word-internally[18] – e.g. *синэ́*/*śine* [ɕinɛ] < *sine* 'one' (2), *эоцись*/*eoćiś* [ɛɔ͡t͡ʂ͡ɕiɕ] < *eocis* 'to feel resentful for' (27), *ucё́*/*iśo* [iɕɔ] < *iso* 'bear' (56). It is also present in the environments i_C_{plosive} and _n – e.g. *húcькo*/*húśko* < *husko* [huɕkɔ] 'to be old' (65), *эця́касьно*/*ećákaśno* [ɛt͡ʂ͡akaɕnɔ] < *ecakasno* 'to teach' (68). Although this change is regular in RS (Dal Corso 2021, 27), it is impossible to determine whether it is so also in TS due to the scant number of occurrences. Word-initially, provided that it does not precede /i/, [ɕ] appears in free variation with [s] at least for some specific words – e.g. *сюй*/*śuj* [ɕuj] < *suy* 'again' (7), but cf. *суй*/*suj* [suj] < *suy*, same meaning (16).[19] [ɕ] is also present word-finally after [u], but always in the same word – *коя́кусь*/*kojákuś* [kɔjakuɕ] < *koyakus* 'to not be able' (37). The allophone [s] appears elsewhere.

The labiodental fricative /v/, that Piłsudski (1912, 6) generally reports for all the East Sakhalin Ainu dialects he documented, is not present in RS. From the discussion of semivowels (i.e. approximants, § 7.1.1.6) in Piłsudski (1912, 3) and comparing the examples provided therein with RS cognates, I infer that rather than being "only an alternative form of *u*", /w/ could in fact be the underlying phoneme of which [v] and possibly [u] are allophones. Even so, the allophone [v] would still represent a peculiarity of TS. The phonemic status of /w/ or /v/ needs to be corroborated by considering a larger number of examples so, for the time being, I follow Piłsudski's analysis and include /v/ as a phoneme of TS. /v/ is rendered as *в*/*v* in P.1903 and P.1912.

The grapheme *h* represents the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ and, in TS, it does not showcase the realisations reported for RS (Dal Corso 2012, 27) that Piłsudski (1912, 6) himself notices for other East Sakhalin dialects. In particular, realisation of /h/ as [ɸ] (*ɸ*/*f* in orthography) in the environments _u and u_ is not attested – e.g. ***h**ýxкара*/

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17 The orthographic choice in P.1903 constitutes a piece of evidence that this sound is definitely not the post-alveolar [ʃ], in which case *ш* would have probably been used, nor is it a long sound [ɕ:], for which *щ* would have been a more appropriate graphic representation.

18 However, cf. *хоканнасика́*/*hokànnasikà* [hɔkan:asika]? < *hokannasika* 'to surpass' (21). Possible mistransliteration in P.1912.

19 There is one instance where transcriptions in P.1903 and P.1912 diverge in how they indicate the presence of [ɕ] – cf. *сям* (19) and *сам* (26) both transliterated as *sám* in P.1912 for *sam* 'to marry'.

***h**úxkara* [huxkara] < *huhkara* 'small forest' (61),[20] nor is voicing as [ɦ] clearly reported for intervocalic /h/.[21] The voiceless velar fricative [x], besides being found at morpheme boundary (§ 7.1.3), occurs in a coda position within words that contain the sequence $C_{plosive}+C_{plosive/nasal}$ either synchronically or diachronically. That is, [x] derives from debuccalisation and should primarily been regarded as an allophone of the plosive sounds that feature this process – e.g. *hoxκe/hòx́ke* [hɔxkʲɛ] < *hohke* 'to lie down' (45) (cf. Southern Hokkaidō Ainu *hotke*, same meaning), *мáхнэку/mátχneku* [maxnɛku] < *mahneku* 'young woman' (2) (lexicalised compound from *mat*-ne-kur** wife-COP-person). [x] also appears word-finally, as discussed in (§ 7.1.1.2), and before [ʈʂ] within the collective suffix *-hci* (§ 7.2.2). It should be noted that [x] appears word-initially only in the word *xocúбu/xośíbi* [xɔɕipi] < *hosipi* 'to return' (54), when we otherwise find [h] in this position, including before [o] (cf. again ***h**oxκe/**h**òx́ke* above). This is in contrast with RS where we find *hosipi* [hoɕipi]. It is not clear whether this is a peculiarity of Sisratoka's pronunciation or a piece of evidence for the synchronic or diachronic presence of a fricative consonant distinct from /h/. If this were the case, the phonemic status of [x] in TS would have to be reconsidered.

TS has one affricate rendered as *ć/ц*. The orthography in P.1912 is a more accurate representation of the TS affricate since Piłsudski (1912, 7) says that "the Ainus have no sound of *c* as […] the German *z*" nor a "pure *č*" as in the English *chalk*, and that this sound is "something akin to the sound of the Polish *ć*" (which is also the pronunciation of the Russian *ц*). This means that the sound represented by *ć/ц* is in its turn different from /t͡s/, /t͡ɕ/, and /t͡ʃ/. Furthermore, the occurrence of *ц* followed by a soft vowel in P.1903 suggests palatalisation or retraction – e.g. *эцяќасьно* [ɛʈ͡ʂakaɕnɔ] < *ecakasno* 'to teach' (68). Therefore, I tentatively propose that TS has the voiceless retroflex affricate /t͡ʂ/, yet noting that Piłsudski acknowledges great variation among dialects and even among single individuals. The allophone [d͡ʐ] (*дз/ź* in orthography) appears only after nasals – e.g. *ýндзu/únźi* [und͡ʐi] < *unci* 'fire' (58). I reconstruct this pronunciation given that this is "a sonant variation of *ć*" (Piłsudski 1912, 7).

7.1.1.5   Liquids

TS has one liquid consonant. With reference to the guide to Sakhalin Ainu phonetics in Dobrotvorskij (1875), Piłsudski (1912, 8-9) lists a variety of possible pronunciations associated with the grapheme

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[20]   Although see *юфκe/júf́ke* in § 7.1.1.2.

[21]   Piłsudski (1912, 6) does mention voicing of *h* but does not specify where it appears.

p/r. By the end of his excursus, Piłsudski is elusive with regards to the underlying phoneme that *p/r* subsumes. Exclusively from his endorsing of professor Abbé Rousselot's observation that "*r* in between vowels has its normal sound" I can speculate that the phoneme associated to *p/r* is the Polish/Russian alveolar trill /r/. This conclusion contrasts sharply with the data from Hokkaidō Ainu dialects and from RS, where the only liquid consonant is the alveolar tap /ɾ/. This matter needs further investigation, but for the time being I will follow Piłsudski and take /r/ as the liquid consonant of TS.

The only allophones of /r/ that Piłsudski discusses are found at the beginning of words and after the nasal /n/. In these environments, /r/ is articulated simultaneously with the plosive sound /t/ which is however "farther up [on the palate] than the usual *t*". From this I can speculate the presence of the affricate [t͡ɹ], also present word-initially in free variation with [ɾ] in RS (Dal Corso 2021, 27). After the nasal /n/, this affricate may be voiced, thus probably being realised as [d͡ɹ]. [t͡ɹ] is reported to have a lot of variation from speaker to speaker, with the plosive or trill trait of the affricate being in turns more prominent than the other. The only instance where this can be observed in the text is in the person's name *Ukantu*, for which we see both realisations as *Укáнру*/*Ukánru* [ukanru] (25) and *Укáнту*/*Ukántu* [ukantu] (28), notably with no voicing of the affricate after /n/. Since this allophone does not appear elsewhere in the text, I will not discuss it further here.

Like plosives (§ 7.1.1.2), /r/ is elided word-finally – e.g. *мáхнэку*/*máxneku* [maxnɛku] < *mahneku* 'young woman' (underlying form *mahnekur**) (2). This is different from RS, where the alveolar tap in this position undergoes debuccalisation (cf. *mahnekuh* in RS).

7.1.1.6 Approximants

Provided the doubts on the phonemic status of /w/ (§ 7.1.1.4), the only approximant of TS is /j/, represented as *ŭ* in P.1903 and as *j* in P.1912. In some words where /j/ is found in RS, TS features /i/ in complementary distribution – e.g. *pycýu*/*rusúi* [rusui] < *rusui* (cf. *rusuy* [ɾusuj] in RS) (49). This raises interesting questions about the differences in syllabic structure of said words in the two dialects (see §5, fn. to line 4).

7.1.1.7 On the Absence of the Glottal Stop

When comparing the TS consonant inventory with that of RS, the absence of the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the former stands out. Indeed, the phonemic status of the glottal stop is not certain even in RS and Dal Cor-

so (2021, 23-4) includes it in the dialect's inventory only provisionally as a phoneme found in free variation. Since the works of Hattori and Tamura in the 1950s, the glottal stop is marked with an apostrophe in Latin-script based transcriptions of Ainu, thus for instance *'aynu* to represent /ʔajnu/. Since the glottal stop is a quite frequent sound in Ainu, it has become conventional not to mark it in texts for the sake of readability, as it also happens in the *katakana*-based transcription used today in Japan. The glottal stop is, however, overtly reported in the Latin script if needed to mark morpheme boundaries or to account for word syllabification.

If in recent publications not writing glottal stops in non-ambiguous cases is only a matter of conventions, Piłsudski (1912) does not mention this sound entirely. Given that the glottal stop seems to be a phonetic feature common to all Hokkaidō dialects and also to RS and other West Sakhalin dialects, it is at least odd that none of the East Sakhalin dialects surveyed by Piłsudski is said to have it. A possibility is that Piłsudski's "Slav ear", as he himself defines it, is at fault in this instance and that glottal stops, though present, are never reported simply because they were not heard. In the text in § 5, there is one suspect case that suggests a glottal stop insertion (see §5, fn. to line 43) but, at least at this point of the analysis, it is impossible to ascertain the presence of a glottal stop in TS.

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Table 1 Phonemic inventory of Sisratoka's Tarayka dialect

IPA	Transliteration P.1903	Transliteration P.1912	Modern transliteration	Attested allophones*
/a/	а	a	a	[ɐ] (о, a)
/ɛ/	э	e	e	[ɨ] (ы, y)
/ɔ/	о	o	o	
/i/	и	i	i	
/u/	у	u	u	
/p/	п	p	p	[p] (б, b)
				[p̌ʲ] (п + soft vowel, ṕ)
				[pʲ] (б + soft vowel, b́)
				[ɸ] (ф, f)
				[x] (х, x)
/t/	т	t	t	[ṭ] (д, d)
				[x] (х, x)
/k/	к	k	k	[ḳ] (г, g)
				[kʲ] (к + soft vowel, ḱ)
				[x] (х, x)
/t͡ʂ/	ц	ć	c	[d͡ʐ] (дз, ź)
/m/	м	m	m	
/n/	н	n	n	[ɲ] (н + soft vowel, ń)
/s/	с	s	s	[ɕ] (c + soft vowel/сь, ś)
/v/	в	v	v	
/h/	h	h	h	[x] (х, x)
/r/	р	r	r	
/j/	й	j	y	

* Transliterations for the allophones in P.1903 and P.1912 are given within round brackets.

7.1.2 Accent/Stress, Syllable Structure, Vowel Length, and Use of Hyphens

The general accentuation rule for RS states that 1) the primary high pitch accent falls on the second syllable of a word if the first syllable is open and, in longer words, secondary high pitch accents fall on even-number syllables, and 2) the primary high pitch accent falls on the first syllable of a word if this syllable is closed or if it is an open syllable with an intrinsically long vowel (Dal Corso 2021, 40).

Given the lack of an audio recording for the folktale, it is impossible to straightforwardly determine whether also TS featured pitch accent. Whether TS had pitch accent, stress, or else, this is marked in orthography in P.1912 by 'when primary and by' when secondary; in P.1903, only primary accents/stresses are marked – e.g. *асúри-ка/aśìriká* [a.ˌɕi.ri.ˈka] < *asirika* 'to renew' (17). The overall picture of accent/stress patterns in TS that comes from the analysis of the text is complicated. Along with cases that clearly align with the rule outlined for RS – e.g. *этýнне/etúnne* < [ɛ.ˈtun.ɲɛ] *etunne* 'to not want'

(20), *cáxпэ*/*sáxpe* ['sax.pɛ] < *sahpe* 'dried fish' (24) – there are other instances where accentuation/stressing apparently follows a different pattern – cf. *носькú*/*hośkí* [hɔɕ.'ki] < *hoski* 'to be old' (19). Transcriptions in P.1903 and P.1912 also show many discrepancies with regards to accent/stress marking which will need to be addressed in more detail with a consideration of the whole 1912 corpus. Although at this point I am far from proposing any conclusions on TS accent/stress, some of the "irregular" cases attested in Sisratoka's tale are insightful with regards to vowel length (see below).

Syllables in TS can be of four types: CV, CVC, V, and VC. The examples below provide an illustration of each type.

CV type: *рэ*/*ré* < *re* 'name' (2)
CVC type: *рай*/*ráj* < *ray* 'to die' (7)
V type: *э̄*/*é* < *ee* 'to eat' (25)
VC type: *ан*/*án* < *an* 'to exist' (4)

The constraints in syllabic structure noticeable in TS are in line with those of RS (Dal Corso 2021, 23) and, more generally, of the Ainu language. Complex onsets, codas, or nuclei are not allowed. Plosive consonants and the liquid *r* cannot appear in the coda, where they undergo debuccalisation or elision (§ 7.1.1.2; § 7.1.1.5). Since there are no such instances in the text, I infer that also *c* cannot appear in the coda only by analogy with RS. Consonant clusters may only appear at syllable boundaries with no more than two consonants involved – e.g. *нисьпá*/*niśpa* < *nispa* [niɕ.pa] 'noble man' (5). The sequence *uw* is not permitted in the rhyme and is seemingly resolved via elision of /w/ – e.g. *ny*/*pú* [pu] < *pu* (underlying *puw**) 'storehouse', when in RS it results in lengthening of *u* (see discussion in § 7.2.1).

In my consideration of vowel length, I start by assuming that, like in RS (Dal Corso 2021, 40), vowels in closed syllables are never long and that vowels in open syllables may be intrinsically long or may be lengthened when the syllable bears the primary accent/stress. Therefore, we can infer the structures [hɛ.ˈma.ka] or [hɛ.ˈmaː.ka] for *нэмáка*/*hemáka* < *hemaka* 'to finish' (44), but only [ˈhɔj.nu] for *нóйну*/*hójnu* < *hoynu* 'marten' (40).[22] Given that accent/stress on an open first syllable is taken as diagnostic of an intrinsically long vowel, instances such as *цяцья*/*ćáća* < *caca* 'uncle' (67) are understood as having the structure [CV̄CV], thus [ˈʧ͡ʂaː.ʧ͡ʂa]. Importantly, all words of this kind that appear in the text have RS equivalents also with a long vowel. In rarer cases, Piłsudski himself overtly indicates a long vowel via a macron – e.g. *э̄*/*é* [ɛː] < *ee* 'to eat' (25). Here indicating the long vowel in orthog-

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22 Note that in both P.1903 and P.1912 regular stress on an open second syllable is not marked but left implied.

raphy serves as a disambiguation for other otherwise homographic words – cf. *ǯ*/*ě* [ɛ] < *e* (underlying *ek**) 'to come' (29). Overt marking of "irregular" accent/stress in P.1903 (but notably not in P.1912) provides an orthographic cue to detect possible long vowels and some cases of vowel lengthening. This is the case of e.g. *нэмакá* < *hemaka* 'to finish' (32) (cf. instance of the same word in (44), for which I assume [hɛ.ma.ˈkaː]). The scant evidence to safely confirm the intentional use of a graphic accent to indicate vowel length adds to the too many discrepancies on accent marking between P.1903 and P.1912 transcriptions. Therefore, in my retranscription I decided not to mark long vowels in the text unless they are also explicitly reported in P.1912.

A few words about Piłsudski's use of hyphens in the text are in order. There is no direct correspondence between P.1903 and P.1912 with regards to the use of hyphens, the former redaction of the text being the one where hyphens are more widely used – e.g. *Тарáйка-ун* but *Tarájkaun* < *Tarayka-un* 'of Tarayka' (4). Generally, Piłsudski seems to use hyphens in P.1903 more consistently as a way to separate dependent morphemes from their host root or stem, a convention that he later abandons almost completely in P.1912. However, this is not systematic neither in P.1903 nor, when present, in P.1912 – cf. *тýнту- hy* < *tuntu-hu* 'its pillars' (30), but *цярyhy* < *car-uhu* 'his mouth' (21) and *Vénnaj-oxta* (32), but *Vénnaj oxta* (50) < *Wennay-or_-ta* 'in Wennay'. Piłsudski (1912, 11) explains that it was impossible to keep the use of hyphens consistent throughout the redaction of P.1912 and that they are sometimes employed to divide words according to their etymology and some other times to represent two distinct words functioning as a single phonological word (i.e. bearing only one primary stress/accent).

7.1.3 Phonological Processes

Instances of assimilation, dissimilation, elision, insertion, and lenition are encountered in the text. All these phonological processes happen at morpheme boundary and between words. The following cases of regressive assimilation are attested:

a. /n/ > |m| / _$C_{plosive}$ – e.g. *тáмбе*/*ta**m**be* [tampʲɛ] < *tan_-pe* (this-thing) 'this' (20).

b. /r/ > |n| / _n – e.g. *óннэ*/*ó**n**ne* [ɔnːɛ] < *or_-ne* (place-to) 'towards' (12).

An outstanding case is represented by the alternation in (c), which seems to suggest the realisation of the bilabial nasal as [ŋ] before the plosive /k/ (i.e. assimilation). However, this does not find confirmation in orthography. The alternation may be ascribed to the fact that /m/ in coda position are often pronounced as [n] in careless, fast speech (Chiri [1942] 1973, 472).

c.   /m/ > |n| / _k – e.g. *са́нкета*/*sánḱeta* [sankʲɛta] < *sam̱_-ke_ta* (by-PTV-in) 'by sth.' (14).

Dissimilation is present mostly as regressive dissimilation (d), with only one case of progressive dissimilation (better recognised as a case of glide formation) (e):

d.   /m/ > |j| / _s – e.g. *туйся́та*/*túj śáta* [tujɕata] < *tum̱_-sa-ta* (centre-?-in) 'in the centre of' (61).

e.   /i/ > |j| / a_ – e.g. *мата́йта*/*matájta* [matajta] < *mata-_i_-ta* (winter-moment-in) 'in the winter' (25).

Regressive dissimilation is also attested as debuccalisation (lenition) of plosives and /r/ (see also discussion in § 7.1.1.2). Specifically, before a plosive consonant, debuccalisation of /r/ entails previous assimilation of this consonant with the following plosive, as evidenced by Hokkaidō Ainu cognates, after which the first consonant of the cluster dissimilates to avoid double plosives (de la Fuente 2014).

f. $C_{plosive}$ > |x| / _$C_{plosive}$,n – e.g. *па́хтэно*/*páx̱teno* [paxtɛnɔ] < *paḵ_-te-no* (be.until-CAUS-ADV) 'until' (3), *ма́хну*/*máx̱nu* [maxnu] < *maṯ_-nu* (wife-have) 'to get a wife' (49).

g.   /r/ > |x| / _$C_{plosive}$ – e.g. *охта́*/*ox̱ta* [ɔxta] < *oṟ_-ta* (place-in) 'in' (6) (cf. Southern Hokkaidō Ainu *otta*, same meaning).

On average, elision primarily targets vowels and the approximant /j/. Among the cases of elision reported here, only the one in (h) shows systematicity (cases of elision in (i)-(j), though regular in RS, cannot be said to be so in TS as they appear only once).

h.   /i/ > Ø | i_ – e.g. *ки́ке*/*kiḱe* [kikʲɛ] < *ki [i]ke* 'did and' (59).[23]

i.   /v/ > Ø | u_ – e.g. *окаяну́а́*/*okajanua* [ɔkajanua] < *okay-an-u [w]a* (exist.PL-4S-EP-FP) '(let) us live' (14).[24]

j.   /j/ > Ø | n_ – e.g. *ки анахка́йки*/*ki anaxkájki* [ki anaxkajki] < *ki an [y]ahkayki* (do IP-FV though) 'though he had done' (49).

Peculiar to TS is the kind of elision that concerns *h* within the collective *-hci* (§ 7.2.2) when the suffix is attached to monosyllabic open-syllable verbs. However, there are at least two counterexamples to

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23   In three out of the four total instances in the text, this kind of elision happens after the desiderative *rusui*.

24   See rule (n) below.

this behaviour – cf. *уноχκεκαцύ/uhòxḱekaći* (45) and *амахцύ/amáxći* (61). Elision of *h* may also happen in the possessive suffix *-hi* (§ 7.2.1) after noun roots ending in *m* or *n*.

k. [x] > Ø | #CV_ – e.g. *ну-ци/nùći* [nuʧ̄ʃi] < *nu-[h]ci* (hear-COLL) '[they] heard' (55).[25]

l. /h/ > Ø | #C_nasal— – e.g. *котáну/kotánu* [kɔtanu] < *kotan-[h]u* (3/village-POSS) '[their] village' (6).

Other instances of elision, seemingly to avoid hiatus, are found at lines (14), (30), (45), (47), (57).

All instances of insertion attested in TS are regular in RS. The vowel *a* is inserted before the collective suffix *-hci* on consonant-final verbs to avoid the formation of a complex consonant cluster (m), and an epenthetic *u* follows verb roots ending in *n* before the final particle *wa* (n).[26] With regards to nouns, a vowel is inserted non-obligatorily before the possessive suffix on consonant-final roots again to avoid an unfavourable consonant cluster (o). This epenthetic vowel is affected by the rules of vowel harmony like the vowel within the suffix (§ 7.2.1).

m. Ø > |a| / C_{-hci} – e.g. *раяхци/raj**a**xći* [rajaxʧ̄ʃi] < *ray-**a**-hci* (die-EP-COLL) 'they died' (1).

n. Ø > |u| / n_{wa} – e.g. *окаянуá/okajan**u**a* [ɔkajanua] < *okay-an-**u*** [w]a (exist.PL-4S-EP FP) '(let) us live' (14).

o. Ø > |V| / C_{-hi} – e.g. *итáкини/iták**i**hi* [itakihi] < *itak-**i**-hi* (speech-EP-POSS) 'her talk' (63).

7.2 Grammatical Features of Nouns and Verbs

7.2.1 Nominal Morphosyntax and Semantics

Possession: Possession is marked on possessed nouns via the suffix *-hi*. Like in RS (Dal Corso 2021, 31-8), the vowel *i* in the suffix responds to vowel harmony when attached to vowel-final roots and to consonant-feature dissimilation and secondary vowel harmony when attached to consonant-final roots – e.g. *тýнту-**h**у/túnt**uhu*** < *tuntu-hu* (3/pillar-POSS) 'the pillars of [the house]' (30), *ýmap**h**u/ut**árhi*** < *ut**ar-hi***

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[25] See this same kind of elision also in the collective nominal suffix *-hcin* (60).

[26] Quite unexpectedly, /w/ is then elided after /u/ that is inserted to avoid clustering in the first place.

(3/people-POSS) '[her] family' (6). An epenthetic vowel may be inserted before the suffix on consonant-final roots or the segment *h* in the suffix may be elided (see points (l) and (o) in § 7.1.3). The possessor is referenced via person agreement prefixes in the subject form on the possessed noun (§ 7.2.2) – e.g. *ан котáн hy*/**an-**kotánhu < **an-**kotan-hu (4-village-POSS) 'our village' (16). Null agreement signals a third person possessor. In its only attestation, the collective suffix *-hcin* can be understood as referring to either the possessor or the possessee (60). The noun roots *puw** 'storehouse' and *suw** 'pot', that are not realised in their underlying form in the text due to a phonotactic rule (§ 7.1.2), can be reconstructed thanks to the vowel change within the possessive suffix. In fact, the possessive suffix is realised as *-he* only after an approximant consonant (Dal Corso 2021, 38). The other possible sequence that can trigger this same vowel change (i.e. *uy*) does not have the same phonotactic restrictions as *uw* and would therefore appear overtly, being acceptable as the syllable rhyme word-finally or before the suffix *-he*. Therefore, I infer that both mono-syllabic words *pu* 'storehouse' and *su* 'pot' have an underlying rhyme *uw*, that is here resolved as *u* to avoid an unfavourable sound sequence – i.e. *nýhэ*/*púhe* < *pu-he* (3/storehouse-POSS, underlying *puw**-*he*) '[their] storehouse' (30), *cýhэ*/*súhe* < *su-he* (3/pot-POSS, underlying *suw**-*he*) '[their] pots' (60).[27]

Determiners and quantifiers: At line (21), we notice the peculiar use of the demonstrative determiner *ne* 'this' without a support noun, preceding the (probably) adverbial *renkayne* 'therefore'. This contrasts with RS, where determiners of any class cannot be used without a support noun (Dal Corso 2021, 65). Similarly, it seems that in TS the quantifier *emuyke* 'all' can be used as a full-fledged pronoun, functioning as an anaphoric element. I conclude this on the basis of syntax, since at line (31) *emuyke* follows the verb *hora* 'to fall down' and still refers to the noun *puhe* '[their] storehouse' which precedes it. Such syntactic layout is not attested in the RS data where *emuyke*, though following its reference noun, is always found in direct adposition to it.

7.2.2 Verbal Morphosyntax and Semantics

Fourth person agreement and impersonal-passive construction: Person agreement in the text only appears as null agreement, to cross-reference a third person subject, object, or indirect object, and as

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27 The outcome of harmony in the possessive suffix represents one more piece of evidence for the actual presence of an approximant phoneme /w/, or at least an allophone [w], in TS (see discussion on /v/ in § 7.1.1.4).

the affixes *an-/-an*, to cross-reference a fourth person subject participant respectively on transitive and intransitive verbs – e.g. **an-**-*nukara* (4s-3so/see) 'we see sth.' (14), *paye-**an*** (go.PL-4s) 'we go' (16). Like it is reported for RS (Dal Corso 2021, 86-8), fourth person in TS can mark a first person plural, as in the examples above, or an impersonal agent – cf. *an-etunne* 'one does not want' (64). I cannot determine whether fourth person agreement can be used in TS also to cross-reference the agent in an impersonal-passive construction, which is one other function of *an-/-an* attested in RS (Dal Corso 2021, 97-9). Across lines (48)-(51), Sisratoka starts with what morphosyntactically looks like an impersonal-passive construction that, however, he rephrases in the active voice after the direct speech at lines (49)-(50). At line (48), *hoskiramuhuorowa* 'by his elder brother' is the oblique agent marked via *orowa* and *Camokiun aynu Ukantu* 'Ukantu, the man of Camoki' is the morphologically bare patient/goal argument in the subject function. However, at line (51) the verb *easakara* 'to order sth.' is not marked for fourth person to cross-reference the oblique agent – null agreement indicates a third person subject, which is an implied *hoskiramuhu* 'his elder brother', and the patient appears as an oblique marked via *ohta* – i.e. *Ukantu nokanramhuohta* 'to his younger brother, Ukantu'. Sisratoka might have had the intention of using a different verb to complete the impersonal-passive construction and the rephrasing at line (51) is most likely due to the valency of the verb he eventually chooses, that is *easakara*, which has an agent subject and an instrumental object (introduced by the applicative *e-*) but no other direct argument that can function as the patient/goal object in a passive-impersonal construction.

Reflexivity: The instance of reflexive *yay-* at line (15) confirms a secondary, valency-preserving function of this prefix that is also rarely attested in RS (Dal Corso 2021, 95). As evidenced by the suffixal form of fourth person agreement, the verb *kisorokara* 'to have an offspring' is an intransitive verb, obtained via incorporation of the noun *kisoro* 'offspring' into the transitive *kara* 'to make'. Here *yay-* yields a self-benefactive meaning, thus **yay-**-*kisoro-kara-an* 'we have an offspring to our own advantage'.

8   Concluding Remarks

In this paper I have presented a morphemic analysis of an East Sakhalin folktale narrated in the Tarayka dialect (idiolect of the informant Sisratoka). The two versions of the text compiled by Piłsudski in 1903 and 1912 were the starting point for commenting on the phonetics, phonology, and some grammatical features of the Tarayka dialect and for a comparison with the Rayciska dialect of West Sakhalin. The nature of the data and scope of the analysis

allowed me to make observations mostly on the phonetics and phonology of the language and to give only marginal notes on morphosyntactic constructions. In contrast with the West Sakhalin Rayciska dialect, the Tarayka dialect features the two mid-open vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, and the retroflex affricate /t͡ʂ/. Even more peculiar is the alleged presence of the trill /r/, unattested in any other Ainu variant or dialect. Other aspects of the Tarayka dialect phonology remain difficult to ascertain, specifically the phonemic status of the labiodental fricative /v/ and of the velar fricative [x], that in this dialect might not just be an allophone of /h/. With regards to grammar, the Tarayka dialect showcases a unique construction for the determiner *ne* 'this' and the quantifier *emuyke* 'all' that can apparently be used without a support noun, differently from what holds true for the Rayciska dialect. Other structures, attested either commonly or marginally in the Rayciska dialect, are encountered in the analysed folktale – in particular, the valency-preserving function of the reflexive *yay-* and the presence and productivity of the impersonal-passive construction need further investigation in light of additional data on the Tarayka dialect. Overall, with the analysis of this folktale, I have shown how taking into account the wider Piłsudski corpora of the East Sakhalin Ainu language may challenge and enrich our present notions on Ainu and help better understand the still underdescribed Sakhalin variety of the language.

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List of glosses

3	third person
4	fourth person
ADV	adverb
APPL	applicative
ANTIP	antipassive
CAU.FIN	causal-final linker
CAUS	causative
COLL	collective
COMP	complementiser
COND	conditional
COP	copula
EP	epenthetic vowel or consonant
EPH	emphatic particle
DUB	dubitative particle
FP	final particle
IND.RSN	indirect reasoning evidential
IP	impersonal
IPFV	imperfective
ITER	iterative
MID	middle voice
NMLZ	nominaliser
OLV	verbal object in light verb construction
PC	paucal
PIO	plural indirect object
PL	plural
PO	plural object
POSS	possessive
PS	plural subject
PTV	partitive
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
S	subject
SLV	subject in light verb construction
SO	singular object
SIO	singular indirect object
SS	singular subject
TOP	topic
TR	transitiviser.

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