A Kuril Ainu Glossary by Captain V. M. Golovnin (1811)

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Abstract

This paper presents a newly discovered glossary (230 items) of Northern and Southern Kuril Ainu recorded by the captain Vasily Mikhaylovich Golovnin in 1811 and stored at the Russian National Archive of the Navy in St. Petersburg. Based on this new document we argue that Southern Kuril has a much closer lexical resemblance to Northeastern Hokkaido Ainu than Northern Kuril. On the other hand, we reaffirm that both Southern and Northern Kuril Ainu constitute a really separate Kuril group because they show a number of lexical, phonological and grammatical features, which are different from Hokkaido Ainu.

Keywords

Northern Kuril Ainu – Southern Kuril Ainu – Hokkaido Ainu – Vasily Mikhaylovich Golovnin – glossary – dialectology – philology

1 Introduction

Ainu is a nearly extinct Northeast Asian isolate formerly spoken in Hokkaido,¹ Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands. Kuril Ainu is the least documented variety of the language but it is absolutely indispensable for the history of Ainu. It disappeared in the beginning of the 20th century as a result of constant territorial disputes over the Kuril Islands between Russia and Japan. According to the Treaty of Saint Petersburg (1875), the entire Kuril archipelago became Japanese territory and the whole Sakhalin Island became Russian. By that time, a hundred or so of the native Kurils (or the Kuril Ainu) who lived on the former Russian part of the Kurils had been already considerably Russified and baptized (Zajac 2009: 34–52). In order to assimilate the Kuril Ainu, who were perceived of as a potential Russian threat by the Japanese, the Japanese government forcibly moved most of them to the southern island of Shikotan in 1884. The living conditions in Shikotan were different and also rather poor compared to the other Kuril Islands, which led to the death of many Kuril Ainu people and the eventual loss of their language (Zajac 2009: 99–101).

There is only less than a dozen of published Kuril Ainu documents containing word lists and short phrases, i.e. about 297 items in Krasheninnikov (1755), 372 items in Klaproth (1823), 1900 items in Dybowski (1892), 700 items in Torii (1903), 30 items by Argunov (Satō and Bugaeva 2019, Bugaeva and Gorlova 2021) and 500 out of 1600 items from Voznesensky's archive (SPbF-ARAN, f. 53, op.1, #43) published in Vovin (1993), for a fuller description see Alonso de la Fuente (2021: 3–7). All these materials present a Northern Kuril variety of Ainu while Southern Kuril Ainu remains undocumented.

This article is the first attempt to discuss the differences between Northern and Southern Kuril Ainu based on a newly discovered glossary from the captain Vasily Mikhaylovich Golovnin's archive stored at the Russian National Archive of the Navy in St. Petersburg (RGAVMF, f. 7, op. 1, #19, pp. 199–203). The document contains 230 items with forms in both Northern Kuril (called *язык русских курильцев* 'the language of the Russian Kurils') and Southern Kuril Ainu (called *язык мохнатых* 'the language of the hairy people').² It was written by the captain V. M. Golovnin himself during his 1811 trip aimed

1 Hokkaido Ainu dialects are divided into Southwestern and Northeastern groups.

2 The Russians called the Southern Kuril Ainu and Hokkaido Ainu *мохнатые* 'hairy people' probably because of their beards. The Northern Kuril Ainu who lived on the Russian territory adopted a Russian custom of shaving beards so they were not called like that (Golovnin 1816: 220–221).

at describing the Kuril Islands.³ This study proves that the Kuril Ainu group of dialects should be divided into Northern and Southern subgroups because there are certain differences in the lexicon and grammar, which, do not, however hinder mutual comprehensibility.

The article has the following structure. First, we explain the details of V. M. Golovnin's trip (1811) to Kurils and try to make an assumption about the place, time and circumstances in which the glossary was compiled (§2). Next, we characterize the glossary and its accompanying narrative with short phrases and present them (§3). And finally, we discuss the linguistic characteristics of Kuril Ainu presented in the document (§4) and turn to concluding remarks (§5).

2 V. M. Golovnin and His 1811 Trip to Kurils

Vasily Mikhaylovich Golovnin (1776–1831) is a Russian Navy officer and seafarer. In 1806, Golovnin was given command of the sloop *Diana* and made his first trip around the world (1807–1809) to survey the northern Pacific. At that time, there was no official border⁴ between Russia and Japan but Russia had control over about sixteen Kuril Islands counting from the North, while the Southern Kuril islands of Iturup and Kunashir were inhabited by the Japanese (and the Ainu). In the end of April 1811, the captain Golovnin sailed off Kamchatka being commissioned to chart the coasts of the Southern Kuril Islands. Golovnin had managed to survey at least seven Kuril Islands, i.e. Rasshua (#13), Ushishir (#14), Ketoy (#15), Simushir (#16), two Chirpoys (#17), and Urup (#18), before his six crew members and him, as well as the Kuril Ainu Alexey were taken prisoners by the Japanese on Kunashir on July 11, 1811 and spent two years in captivity in Hakodate and Matsumae of Hokkaido (Golovnin 1816: 204).

The question is where and under what circumstances he could have written down the present glossary? This would hardly be possible in captivity because at most times Golovnin had no paper (Golovnin 2007: 273) and almost no freedom to do what he wanted. Even though he was often accompanied by Kumajirō Uehara, a famous Japanese-Ainu interpreter and the author of

3 Olga Kanamatovna Gerbekova and other specialists from the Ryazan' Regional Academic Library, the compilers of a full catalogue of V. M. Golovnin's library (Ministry of culture and tourism of Ryazan' Region, the Ryazan' Regional Academic Library 2021), helped us identify V. M. Golovnin's handwriting with a great degree of accuracy. It should be noted that Vasily Mikhaylovich Golovnin was born in the Ryazan' Region.

4 In 1855, Russia and Japan concluded the Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation and established the official border between Iturup and Urup Islands.

the first Ainu dictionary *Moshiogusa* (もしほ草) ‘Seaweeds for making salt’ (1792) (Narita and Kindaichi 1972), it is very unlikely that the latter would teach Golovnin Ainu; it was rather Golovnin’s job to teach Uehara Russian. In 1813, Golovnin and other sailors were finally released from Japanese captivity by the captain Pëtr Ivanovich Ricord (1776–1855) who exchanged them for several Japanese merchants abducted by Khvostov and Davydov in 1807.⁵

The only possibility to compile the glossary would be just a few weeks before the captivity. In fact, there is a detailed account of Golovnin’s survey of the Kuril Islands, which includes all of his crewmen’s encounters with the local Ainu,⁶ namely in Ketoy, Rasshua, and twice in Ushishir (Golovnin 1819: 16, 33, 36, 38). However, those accounts do not mention any documentation of Kuril Ainu; most conversations with the Ainu were carried out in Russian. On June 19, Diana was near Iturup Island (Golovnin 1819: 79) and Golovnin ordered two of his crewmen to inspect the island where they met some Japanese people, local Kuril Ainu and nine Kuril Ainu from the Russian Island Rasshua (#13). The Ainu from Rasshua had shipwrecked⁷ off the coast of Iturup a year ago and had been taken prisoners by the Japanese as Russian spies because of the 1807 year’s incident (see footnote 5). However, by the time Diana arrived, they were released and were making preparations to sail back to Rasshua. They visited Diana and one of them, a young man Alexey, who was most proficient in Russian, was invited to sail together on Diana to help survey Urup and Kunashir Islands. That was exactly the time when Golovnin could have recorded the glossary from Alexey who was a native speaker of Northern Kuril Ainu (Rasshua) and knew Southern Kuril Ainu⁸ as well after one year spent on Iturup.

In captivity Alexey served as a translator from Kuril Ainu into Russian while the above-mentioned official Japanese translator Kumajirō Uehara served as a translator from Japanese into Kuril Ainu; the Ainu language was used as a lingua-franca by the imprisoned captain Golovnin and the Japanese.

5 “In 1807, without authorization (and seemingly counterproductive to the goal of opening peaceful trade), Rezanov ordered naval officers (also employees of the Russian-American Company) Nikolai A. Khvostov and G. I. Davydov to attack Japanese possessions in the North Pacific. They attacked fishery outposts on southern Sakhalin, Rishiri Island, and defeated Nanbu and Tsugaru garrisons on Iturup (Etorofu) Island and took several Japanese prisoners.” (Walker 2007: 298).

6 According to Golovnin (1819: 119), there were only about 150 Ainu people on all Russian Kurils but much more of them on the four Japanese Southern Kuril Islands.

7 According to the Ainu themselves, they came to Iturup in order to trade with the Japanese (Golovnin 1816: 216).

8 Golovnin complained that once he was on the boat, every time he tried to speak to the Japanese, Alexey was constantly chatting with the Iturup Ainu (Golovnin 1816: 227–228).

3 The Structure and Text of Golovnin (1811)

Golovnin (1811) consists of two parts, i.e. *Словарь Курильского языка* [A Kuril Ainu Glossary] and a narrative about Kuril Ainu, which follows the glossary. The glossary contains 201 Russian glosses including those for which there are no Kuril Ainu words, see Table 1 below. We also present a full text of the narrative in Russian in the pre-reform Russian orthography and our English translation of it in Table 2. The narrative includes 29 Ainu words/phrases for a total of 230 items.

The glossary (Table 1) has three columns: a Russian gloss written in the pre-reform Russian orthography (column 1), a Northern Kuril Ainu form (column 3), and a Southern Kuril Ainu form (column 5) with a focus on Southern Kuril Ainu: when the Northern Kuril Ainu form is the same it is not repeated. Ainu forms are recorded in the Cyrillic script in the pre-reform Russian orthography but some letters contain the Latin letters above them to render a closer phonetic representation; those upper Latin letters are reflected here at the upper right corner of the Russian letter they refer to, e.g. x^h, r^h, ч^h, тth, тthч, тthр; б^w (Russian letters: x [h], r [g], ч [tʃ], т [t], р [r], б [w]).

Moreover, we have added to the glossary three extra columns, i.e. column 2 with an English translation of the Russian gloss and columns 4 and 6 for our interpretation of Northern and Southern Kuril Ainu forms respectively. Both interpretation columns, they are in italics, contain the morphemic divisions of words and morphemic glossing in {}. Many interpretations require an explanation, which is consistently provided in footnotes.

It is not indicated whether the forms in the narrative are from Northern or Southern Kuril Ainu but we suggest that they are from Northern (Rasshua) Ainu, which is the native dialect of the speaker Alexey. We mark the original Ainu words in the narrative both in the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets in bold and our added Ainu interpretations are in italics.

The order of words in the glossary is thematic (the numbering is ours):

- 1.–36. Natural phenomena, the four elements, seasons, and geographical features;
- 37.–49. Names for people and kinship terms;
- 50.–67. Body parts;
- 68.–89. Animals;
- 90.–94. Clothes;
- 95.–99. Food and drinks;
- 100.–119. Tools and utensils;
- 120.–122. Color terms;

- 123. Illness;
- 124.–129. Pronouns;
- 130.–157. Human actions and states;
- 158.–165. Cardinal and intercardinal directions;
- 166.–201. Numerals.

The words/phrases in the narrative are less thematically structured but they include at least the following groups (numbering is ours):

- 202.–204. Imperative phrases (human actions);
- 205. Year;
- 206.–214. Numerals and numerals in combination with nouns;
- 215.–220. Names for weather and stars,
- 221.–222. Scolding and swearing;
- 223.–227. Ethnonyms;
- 228. What is this?
- 229.–230. Horse.

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”]^a

(Russian gloss) ^b	English translation	русских курильцев '(language) of the Russian Kurils' in Cyrillic = Northern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation	мохнатых '(language) of the hairy people' in Cyrillic = Southern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation
1. небо	sky			канто	<i>kanto</i>
2. солнце	sun			тчюпъ	<i>cup</i>
3. луна	moon			сиргуни тчюпъ	<i>sir-kunne cup</i> {appearance-black moon}
4. облако	cloud			нисшъ	<i>nis</i>
5. громъ	thunder			камих ^h юмъ	<i>kamuy^c hum</i> {god sound}
6. молнія	lightning			имиру	<i>imeru</i>

a In the table, only columns 1, 3, and 5 are original.
b This title is added.
c A loanword from Old Japanese *kami* ‘god’, see §4.2.

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

(Russian gloss)	English translation	русских курильцев '(language) of the Russian Kurils' in Cyrillic = Northern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation	мохнатых '(language) of the hairy people' in Cyrillic = Southern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation
7. звѣзда	star			кета	<i>keta</i>
8. вѣтеръ	wind			т th ера	<i>rera</i>
9. туманъ	mist			урраръ	<i>urar</i>
10. снѣгъ	snow			убасъ	<i>upas</i>
11. дождь	rain	в ^w ини	<i>wen_i</i> {bad thing}	сирив ^w иль	<i>sir-wen</i> {appearance-bad}
12. день	day			сирбигиръ	<i>sir-peker</i> {appearance-bright}
13. ночь	night			сиргуни	<i>sir-kunne</i> {appearance-black}
14. утро	morning			нисабъ	<i>nisat</i>
15. вечеръ	evening			оннумахъ	<i>onuman</i>
16. полдень	noon			тоннуски	<i>to-noski</i> {day-middle}
17. весна	spring			пайгаръ	<i>paykar</i>
18. лѣто	summer			сакъ	<i>sak</i>
19. осень	autumn			тчюпъ	<i>cup</i>
20. зима	winter			мата	<i>mata</i>
21. вода	water	ппе	<i>pe</i>	вакка	<i>wakka</i>
22. земля	earth				
23. огонь	fire			аббе	<i>ape</i>
24. воздухъ	air	слова нѣгъ 'no word'			

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25. материкъ	continent			ирсине-котанъ	<i>irsinne^d-kotan^e</i> {jointly-village}
26. островъ	island	котанъ	<i>kotan</i>	мусиръ	<i>mosir</i>
27. море	sea			атвига или 'ор' атуига	<i>atuy-ka</i> {sea-surface}
28. мысъ	cape			шеремгу	<i>sir-emko</i> {land-end}
29. сопка	volcanic hill			нубури	<i>nupuri</i>
30. гора	mountain			г ^h уръ	<i>hur</i>
31. озеро	lake			то	<i>to</i>
32. гавань	harbor			тчибайни	<i>cip-e-yan-t^f</i> {boat-at. APPL-land-place}
33. проливъ	strait			атуй	<i>atuy</i> {sea/ocean}
34. рѣка	river			петгъ	<i>pet</i>
35. сулой	tide-rip			тч ^w	<i>c^w</i>
36. заливъ	bay			мойнуторъ	<i>moy-nikor</i> {whirlpool-inside}
37. человекъ	human			айну	<i>aynu</i>
38. мужчина	man	окаййну	<i>okkay aynu</i> {man human}	окай	<i>okkay</i>

d Cf. *irsine* 'simultaneously, jointly' for Obihiro (Hokkaido) in Hattori (1964: 255) and *issinne* 'together' in Batchelor (1938: 207) and Kubodera (1992: 109), the latter has a note that the form is used in Sakhalin Ainu.

e In Kuril Ainu, *kotan* 'village' also means 'island, land' (Dykowski 1892: 42), see #26.

f Also appears in Klaproth (1823: 307) and Voznesensky (1844: f. 53, op. 1, #43, word no. 157).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

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39. женщина	woman	мать	<i>mat</i>	миного	<i>menoko</i>
40. мальчикъ	boy	пумбо	<i>pon-po</i> small-child	г ^h егаджи	<i>hekaci</i>
41. дѣвочка	girl	кама	<i>kama</i> ^g	оберги	<i>operke</i>
42. отецъ	father			миджи	<i>mici</i>
43. мать	mother			нонну	<i>nonno</i> ^h
44. мужъ	husband			окай	<i>okay</i>
45. жена	wife			хмаджи	<i>ku-mac-i</i> {1SG. POSS- woman- AFF}
46. братъ	brother			обу	<i>hapo</i> ⁱ
47. сестра	sister			мачеръ ба	<i>macirpe</i>
48. сынъ	son	смотри маль-			
49. дочь	daughter	чикъ и дѣвочка ‘see boy and girl’			
50. голова	head			па	<i>pa</i>
51. рука	hand			текъ	<i>tek</i>
52. глаза	eyes			сикъ	<i>sik</i>
53. носъ	nose			эду	<i>etu</i>
54. губы	lips	чадай	<i>catoy</i>	чибусъ	<i>capus</i>

g This could be a borrowing from Japanese *kama* ‘wife’ (Nihon daijiten kankōkai 1973). Cf. many Ainu dialects use the Japanese word 39. *menoko* ‘woman’ so using a Japanese word for ‘girl’ would not be unusual.

h In Kuril Ainu, *nonno* is ‘mother’ (Dybowski 1892: 46, Torii 1903:66). Cf. Hokkaido Ainu *nonno* ‘flower, something nice (e.g. a toy) in children’s language’ (Tamura 1996: 433).

i See *hapo* in Torii (1903: 67); cf. in Hokkaido Ainu, *hapo* means ‘mother’ or ‘father’ depending on a particular dialect (Hattori 1964: 39, 321).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка ["A Kuril Ainu Glossary"] (*cont.*)

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55. ротъ	mouth			чаръ	<i>car</i>
56. нога	leg, foot	кема	<i>kema</i>	т th чингю	<i>cinkew</i>
57. языкъ	tongue			ау	<i>aw</i>
58. борода (волосы)	beard (hair)	дрекъ ^j	<i>rek</i>	ноткиръ	<i>notkir^k</i>
59. зубы	teeth			имаки	<i>imak-i</i> {tooth-AFF}
60. ноготь	nail			амъ	<i>am</i>
61. палець	finger			ассигбитъ	<i>askepet</i>
62. х-й	male genitals (obscurity)			ти	<i>ci</i>
63. м-де	loins, testicles (obscurity)			нокъ	<i>nok-i</i> {testicles-AFF}
64. п-а	female genitals (obscurity)			т th итъ	<i>cit</i>
65. ж-а	buttocks (obscurity)			осаракамъ	<i>osor-kam</i> {buttocks-flesh}
66. волосы на голове	head hair			ру	<i>ru^l</i>
67. слюна	saliva			нонь	<i>non</i>

j Cf. "trek" in other sources. Elaborating on Vovin (1993), who reconstructions *tr-clusters, Alonso de la Fuente (2021: 36–37, item 31) speculates that this spelling in reality could reflect the alveolar trill (i.e., /r/ as in Spanish *rosa* or *perro*) in opposition to the tap (i.e., /r/). See more items like that below, e.g. 168/178/210 трѣбичи (reppis) 'three', 207. трѣпа (repa) 'three year', and 225. дребунгары (rep-un-kur {sea-attach.to-man}) 'Northern Kuril Ainu'. Yet we should also consider another possibility: these notations may represent a kind of retroflex stop in initial positions (Hattori 1964: 34).

k *notkir* 'chin' (Hattori 1964: 7–8).

l Cf. Hokkaido Ainu *otop(i)* (Hattori 1964: 2).

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68. лисица	fox	тчачо	<i>cawcaw</i> ^m	чиренокъ	<i>cironnup</i>
69. бобръ морской	beaver			лахъко	<i>rakko</i>
70. сивучъ	sea lion			этакпе	<i>etaspe</i>
71. нерпъ	seal	ткв ^w аръ	<i>tukar</i>	тукаръ	<i>tukar</i>
72. собака	dog			ста	<i>sita</i>
73. волкъ	wolf			оргеу	<i>horkew</i>
74. китъ				т th рига	<i>rika</i>
75. косатка	killer whale	т th чигъ	<i>cep</i>	т th чача	<i>caca</i> ⁿ
76. медвѣдь	bear			кимумгамы	<i>kim-un-kamuy</i> ^o {mountains-live.at-god}
77. лисицы красная	red foxes			хюри	<i>hure</i> red
78. чернобу-рая	silver (foxes)			штумбе	<i>situmpe</i> ^p
79. сиводу-шка	hybrid between the silver and the red (foxes)			уткасури	<i>etakasure</i> ^q

m In Hokkaido Ainu, *cawcaw* ‘fox’ (*Vulpes vulpes*)’ (Chiri 1976: 145), cf. in Kuril Ainu, *chauchan* ‘fox’ Torii (1903: 71), cf. *čaača* ‘fox’ (Dybowski 1892: 23), *cacoo* ‘fox’ (Voznesensky 1844: f. 53, op. 1, #43, word no. 510).

n In Hokkaido Ainu, *caca* ‘uncle’, *kamuy cacā* ‘bear’ (Hattori 1964: 36, 185); cf. *čacani* ‘marine animal similar to a dolphine’ (Dybowski 1892: 23).

o A loanword from Old Japanese *kami* ‘god’, see §4.2.

p The word *situmpe* (< *situ-un-pe* {mountain.range-attach.to-thing} ‘fox’ (*Vulpes vulpes schrenckii* Kishida)) is a polite name for a fox or the most highly ranked type of fox (Chiri 1976: 145).

q *e-ta-kasu-re* {APPL-?-exceed-CAUS} ‘surpassing, special, unusual, extraordinary’ (adverb) (Tamura 1996: 130), the same in Kayano (1996: 140), Kubodera (1992: 69), and Batchelor (1938: 135). This perfectly reflects the unusual color of this type of fox.

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80. рыба	fish			т ^h чепъ	<i>cep</i>
81. рямша	sculpins	сокъ	<i>sok^r</i>	ч ^h еби	<i>cep-i</i> {fish-AFF}
82. хайко	Siberian salmon, dog salmon			сиби	<i>si-pe</i> {true-thing}
83. горбуша	humpback salmon			сагиби	<i>sak-ipe</i> {summer-food}
84. нерка	red salmon			сижипъ	<i>si-cep</i> {true-fish}
85. свинка	dolphin			одумъ	<i>okom²⁸</i>
86. птица	bird	тчиръ	<i>cir</i>	тчипапъ	<i>cikap</i>
87. орелъ	eagle	сунгуръ	<i>surkur^t</i>	кабачиръ	<i>kapatcir</i>
88. альбат росъ	albatross			оннидори	<i>onne-tori^u</i> {big-bird}
89. топорокъ	puffin			этубрига	<i>etupirka</i>
90. штаны	pants			ою	<i>oyo^v</i>
91. рубашка	shirt	нѣтъ слова 'no word'			
92. сапоги	boots			керъ	<i>ker</i>
93. тарбаса	boots (used on the Far East)			керъ	<i>ker</i>
94. парка	coat	имми	<i>imi</i>	уръ	<i>ur</i>

r *sok* 'fish, blob' Cottus (Dybowski 1892: 60).s *okom* 'dolphin' (including several species) (Chiri 1976: 174).t *surkur* 'eagle' (Krasheninnikov 1755.2: 188, Torii 1903: 72).

u Borrowed from Japanese.

v *oyo* (Krasheninnikov 1755.2: 186), *oyo*, *oyo* (Dybowski 1892: 48).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

(Russian gloss)	English translation	русских курильцев '(language) of the Russian Kurils' in Cyrillic = Northern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation	мохнатых '(language) of the hairy people' in Cyrillic = Southern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation
95. пшено проч.	millet etc.			амамъ	<i>amam</i>
96. дрова				ни	<i>ni</i>
97. черемша		букса	<i>pukusa</i>	пукуса	<i>pukusa</i>
98. сарана	Fritillaria cam-schatcensis: Kamchatka lily or wild rice	сарана	<i>sarana</i> ^w	ару	<i>aru</i> ^x
99. вино	wine	водка	<i>votka</i> ^y	саги	<i>sake</i> ^z
100. байдара	boat	тчипъ	<i>cip</i>		
101. бумага писчая	writing paper	камбе	<i>kanpi</i> ^{aa}		
102. табакъ	tobacco	тамбагу	<i>tampaku</i> ^{ab}		
103. кур. трубка	tobacco-pipe	кес/шири	<i>kiseri</i> ^{ac}	киссири	<i>kiseri</i>
104. желѣзо	iron			кани	<i>kani</i>
105. компасъ	compass	компасъ	<i>kompas</i> ^{ad}		
106. ложка	spoon			пасвъи	<i>pasuy</i> ^{ae}
107. ножъ	knife			эбиро	<i>epira</i> ^{af}

w Borrowed from Russian.

x Cf. *arru* ‘a kind of lily, *sarana*, *lilium tenuigolium*’ (Dybowski 1892: 19), *haru* ‘*Cardiocrinum Glehni* Makino, *Fritillaria kamschatcensis* Ker-Gawl’ (Chiri 1976: 196, 223).

y Borrowed from Russian.

z Borrowed from Japanese.

aa Borrowed from Japanese.

ab Borrowed from Japanese and into Japanese from Portuguese *tabaco* ‘tobacco’.ac Borrowed from Japanese and into Japanese from Portuguese *que sorber* ‘smoke (a pipe)’.ad Borrowed from Russian and into Russian from Italian *compassio* from *compassare* ‘measure by steps’.ae A loanword from Old Japanese *pasi* ‘chopsticks’, see §4.2.

af Also appears in Krasheninnikov (1755.2: 186) and Klaproth (1823: 309).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка ["A Kuril Ainu Glossary"] (*cont.*)

(Russian gloss)	English translation	русских курильцев '(language) of the Russian Kurils' in Cyrillic = Northern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation	мохнатых '(language) of the hairy people' in Cyrillic = Southern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation
108. парусъ	sail			кая	<i>kaya</i>
109. порохъ	gun-powder	порохъ	<i>poroh</i> ^{ag}	уив ^{wh} имо, текопоку-шири	<i>uipe imo</i> ^{ah} {pieces-potato} <i>teppo</i> <i>kusuri</i> ^{ai} {gun-medicine}
110. ружье	gun	камойду	<i>kamuy</i> ^{aj} <i>ku</i> {god bow}	текъ-по	<i>teppo</i>
111. столъ	table	парида	<i>para-ita</i> ^{ak} {wide-board}		
112. судно мореходное	ship	легундо	<i>rokunto</i> ^{al}	пинза	<i>pencay</i>
113. топоръ	axe			мугаръ	<i>mukar</i>
114. свинецъ	lead	свинецъ	<i>swinets</i> ^{am}	айнеканъ	<i>aynep</i>
115. чернилы	ink	камбенуитъ	<i>kanpi-nuye-p</i> {paper-tattoo/write-thing}	суми	<i>sumi</i>
116. юрта	house			т th че	<i>ce</i>

ag Borrowed from Russian.

ah Borrowed from Japanese.

ai Both words are borrowed from Japanese.

aj A loanword from Old Japanese *kami* 'god'; see §4.2.

ak Borrowed from Japanese.

al A rare word found in *yukar*-epics in Hokkaido Ainu.

am Borrowed from Russian (Torii 1903: 71).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

(Russian gloss)	English translation	русских курильцев ‘(language) of the Russian Kurils’ in Cyrillic = Northern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation	мохнатых ‘(language) of the hairy people’ in Cyrillic = Southern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation
117. пл? боть	ship, boat			юрусъ г th чипъ	<i>yar-us^{an} cip</i> {tree.bark-attach boat}
118. платокъ	shawl			кончи	<i>konci</i>
119. сабля	sable			эдообни	<i>etu-op-ni</i> {beak-spear-stick}
120. бѣлой	white			г th реторъ	<i>retar</i>
121. черной	black			эгурохъпе	<i>ekurok-pe</i> {black-thing}
122. красной	red			г th уритке	<i>hure pe?</i> {red thing}
123. болѣзнь, недугъ	illness	арга	<i>arka</i>	игони	<i>ikoni</i>
124. я	I			кани	<i>kani</i>
125. ты	you	ани	<i>eani</i>	аногай	<i>anokay</i>
126. онъ	he	тангуръ	<i>tan kur</i> {this person}	туайнану	<i>taan/toan aynu</i> {this/that human}
127. мы	we			айнодаръ	<i>aynu-utar</i> {human-PL}
128. вы	you (PL)			туанодаръ	<i>toan utar</i> {this/that people}

an Cf. *yar-cip* {tree.bark-boat} ‘a boat made from tree bark’ in Hokkaido Ainu (Kayano 1995: 450, Kubodera 1992: 315).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

(Russian gloss)	English translation	русских курильцев '(language) of the Russian Kurils' in Cyrillic = Northern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation	мохнатых '(language) of the hairy people' in Cyrillic = Southern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation
129. они, онѣ	they			айнюгирь	<i>aynu-ikir</i> ^{ao} {human-PL}
130. ѣшь	Eat!	кониби	<i>kon ipe</i> {IMP eat}	конибея	<i>kon ipe ya</i> {IMP eat IMP.POL}
131. пей	Drink!			кумпегу	<i>kon pe-ku</i> {IMP water-drink}
132. хочу пить	I want to drink			пехрейре	<i>pe-ku rusuy</i> {water-drink DESID}
133. говорить	speak			кониданъ	<i>kon itak</i> {IMP-speak}
134. е -ъ	have a sexual intercourse (obscenity)			учавнасту	<i>u-ciw?</i> {RECIP-prick}
135. живъ, здравст- вуетъ	be alive, be healthy			вакнуа	<i>iwanke-an wa</i> {healthy-4. ^{ap} S FIN}
136. нездоровъ	be unhealthy			хейну	<i>hein</i> NEG ^{aq}
137. внутренняя болѣзнь	internal illness	в ^w инуа	<i>wen wa</i> {bad FIN}	кигониуа	<i>ku-i-koni wa</i> {1SG.S- ANTIP-suffer FIN}
138. плакать	cry	тисъ	<i>cis</i>		

ao *ikir* is a nominal plurality marker in Kuril Ainu.

ap 4th person is a common label for 1PL.INCL, 2SG/PL.HON, 1st person in oral literature or logophoric.

aq For the meaning ‘unhealthy’ the speaker probably just said ‘no’. For a discussion of the negation marker in Kuril Ainu see Sato and Bugaeva (2019: 81).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

(Russian gloss)	English translation	русских курильцев ‘(language) of the Russian Kurils’ in Cyrillic = Northern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation	мохнатых ‘(language) of the hairy people’ in Cyrillic = Southern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation
139. ты плачешь you cry		этиса	<i>e-cis wa</i> {2SG.S-cry FIN}		
140. пѣть	sing	югаръ	<i>yukar</i>		
141. плясать	dance	дримси	<i>rimse</i>		
142. попляши	Dance!	кунъ дримси	<i>kun rimse</i>		
143. спать	sleep			могору	<i>mokor</i>
144. садись	Sit down!			конабуна	<i>kon ahun ya</i> {IMP enter. SG IMP.POL}
145. стой	Stand!			конасъ	<i>kon as</i> {IMP stand. SG}
146. ты ударилъ you hit				этьюштагейки	<i>eci-u-sitayki</i> (w)a {2PL.S- RECIP- hit FIN}
147. украсть	steal			иска	<i>iska</i>
148. умереть	die			т th рай	<i>ray</i>
149. смѣяться	laugh			мина	<i>mina</i>
150. ты смѣеся you laugh				эмина	<i>e-mina</i> {2SG.S-laugh}
151. ссать	take a piss			осома	<i>osoma</i>
152. ср-ъ	take a dump			коносома	<i>kon osoma</i> {IMP defecate}
153. хорошо	good			пиргив ^{wa}	<i>pirka wa</i> {good FIN}
154. худо, дурно	bad			винв ^{wa}	<i>wen wa</i> {bad FIN}

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

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155. плевать	spit			нонеты	<i>non-e-atu</i> {saliva-with. APPL-vomit}
156. ты пьянь	be drunk			эсаги киндра-гара	<i>e-sake-kinrakar</i> {2SG.S-alcohol-be.mad}
157. я пьянь	I am drunk			конисаги-киндра-гара	<i>kuani (ku)-sake-kinrakar</i> {1SG 1SG.S-alcohol-be.mad}
158. сѣверъ	North	сисамъ-чъянду	<i>sisam</i> <i>si-anruru</i> ^{ar} {Japanese/ foreigner REFL-over.there}		
159. сѣверо-востокъ	North East	мусиръ-ба	<i>mosir-pa</i> {land-head}		
160. востокъ	East	сирруръ	<i>sirur</i> ocean		
161. юго-востокъ	South East	в ^w индрера	<i>wen rera</i> ^{as} {bad wind}		
162. югъ	South	ояв ^w индрера	<i>oya wen rera</i> {another bad wind}		
163. юго-западъ	South West	мусиръ-гисъ	<i>mosir kes</i> {land end}		
164. западъ	West	маканургусъ-оямъ	<i>makan-rur-kes oya?</i> {behind-ocean-end another?}		

ar *anruru* 'over there' (Torii 1903: 74).as Cf. *v'ent'era* 'eastern wind' (Dybowski 1892: 67).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

(Russian gloss)	English translation	русских курильцев ‘(language) of the Russian Kurils’ in Cyrillic = Northern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation	мохнатых ‘(language) of the hairy people’ in Cyrillic = Southern Kuril Ainu	Interpretation
165. сѣверо-западъ	North West	макантуръ	<i>makan-rur</i> ^{at} {behind-ocean}		
166. 1	one	синипъ	<i>sine-p</i> {one-thing.CL}		
167. 2	two	тубичи	<i>tuppis</i> ^{au}		
168. 3	three	требичи	<i>reppis</i> ^{av}		
169. 4	four	инипъ	<i>ine-p</i> {four-thing.CL}		
170. 5	five	асигнипъ	<i>asikne-p</i> {five-thing.CL}		
171. 6	six	ив ^w амъ	<i>iwan</i>		
172. 7	seven	арувамби	<i>arwan-pe</i> {seven-thing.CL}		
173. 8	eight	тубисамбе	<i>tupesan-pe</i> {eight-thing.CL}		
174. 9	nine	синибисамбе	<i>sinepesan-pe</i> {nine-thing}		
175. 10	ten	вампе	<i>wan-pe</i> {ten-thing.CL}		
176. 11	eleven	синипъ- вампе- казма	<i>sinep wan-pe</i> <i>kasma</i> ^{aw} {one-thing.CL ten- thing.CL leave}		

at Cf. *makan ruru* ‘the northern sea’ (Batchelor 1938: 289).

au Cf. *tuppis* ‘two’ for Yakumo (Hokkaido) in Hattori (1964: 260).

av Cf. *reppis* ‘three’ for Yakumo (Hokkaido) in Hattori (1964: 260).

aw In most Hokkaido Ainu dialects (e.g. Saru and Chitose) the number ‘eleven’ (and some others) is expressed as *sine-p i-kasma wan-pe* {one-thing.CL ANTIP-leave ten-thing.CL} (Tamura 1996: 221, Nakagawa 1995: 29).

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

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177. 12	twelve	тубичи- вампе- казма	<i>tuppis wan-pe kasma</i> {two ten-thing. CL leave}		
178. 13	thirteen	требичи- вампе- казма	<i>reppis wan-pe kasma</i> {three ten-thing.PL leave}		
179. 14	fourteen	инипъ- вампе- казма	<i>inep wan-pe kasma</i> {four-thing.CL ten- thing.CL leave}		
180. 15	fifteen	асигнипъ- вампе- казма	<i>asikne-p wan-pe kasma</i> {five-thing.CL ten-thing.CL leave}		
181. 16	sixteen	ивамъ[w]- вампе- казма	<i>iwan wan-pe kasma</i> {six ten-thing.CL leave}		
182. 17	seventeen	арувамбе- вампе- казма	<i>arwan-pe wan-pe kasma</i> {seven-thing.CL ten-thing.CL leave}		
183. 18	eighteen	тубисамбе- вампе- казма	<i>tupesan-pe wan-pe kasma</i> {eight-thing.CL ten-thing.CL leave}		
184. 19	nineteen	синибесамбе- вампе- казма	<i>sinepesan-pe wan-pe kasma</i> {nine-thing.CL ten- thing.CL leave}		

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

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185. 20	twenty	ходъ	<i>hot</i>		
186. 21	twenty one	синипъ-ходъ-казма	<i>sine-p hot kasma</i> {one-thing.CL twenty leave}		
187. 22	twenty two	тубичи-ходъ-казма и проч. ‘etc.’	<i>tuppis hot kasma</i> {two twenty leave}		
188. 30	thirteen	вамбедъ-ходъ	<i>wan-pe (e)-tu-hot</i> {ten-thing.CL (APPL)- two-twenty}		
189. 31	thirty one	синипъ-вамбедъ-ходъ-казма и проч. ‘etc.’	<i>sine-p wan-pe (e)-tu-hot</i> {one-thing. CL ten-thing.CL (APPL)-two-hot}		
190. 40	forty	туходъ	<i>tu-hot</i> {two-twenty}		
191. 41	forty one	сипипъ-туходъ-казма	<i>sine-p tu-hot kasma</i> {one-thing.CL two-twenty leave}		
192. 50	fifty				
193. 51	fifty one				
194. 60	sixty	треходъ	<i>re hot</i> {three twenty}		
195. 70	seventy				
196. 80	eighty	инъходъ	<i>ine hot</i> {four twenty}		

TABLE 1 Словарь Курильского языка [“A Kuril Ainu Glossary”] (*cont.*)

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197. 90	ninety				
198. 100	hundred	асигнипъ-ходъ	<i>asikne-p hot</i> {five-thing,CL twenty}		
199. 120	hundred and twenty	иванходъ	<i>ivan hot</i> {six twenty}		
200. 200	two hundred	ванходъ	<i>wan hot</i> {ten twenty}		
201. 400	four hundred	туванходъ	<i>tu wan hot</i> {two ten twenty}		

TABLE 2 A narrative following “A Kuril Ainu Glossary”

<p>Жители сѣверныхъ курильскихъ острововъ подвластныхъ Россіи, и южныя находящихся во владѣніи Россіи японцевъ, говорятъ однимъ и тѣмъ же языкомъ съ небольшою разницей его произношенія; но очень мало такихъ вещей, которыя имѣли бы разныя названія; всѣ оныя означены въ словарь.</p> <p>Выраженія Куриловъ ложись спать – конирамигасъ гокки.</p>	<p>Inhabitants of the Northern Kuril Islands governed by Russia, and the Southern Islands that are held by the Japanese speak the same language with slight differences in pronunciation; however, there are few things that would have different names; all of them are marked in the dictionary.</p> <p>Kuril expressions Go to bed! – koniramigas gokki. 202. <i>kon ?^a hotke</i></p>
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a It must be some kind of verb.

TABLE 2 A narrative following "A Kuril Ainu Glossary" (*cont.*)

Поди ко мнѣ – конеге	Come to me! – konege 203. <i>kon ek ya</i>
Поди прочь – оехти яма .	Go away! – oehti jama . 204. <i>eci-isam na</i> {2PL.S-not.exist FIN}
Годъ называется мадапи , а со щетом другое названіе имѣть, на примеръ:	The year is called madapi 205. <i>mata-pa</i> {winter-year}, but with numbers there are other names, for example:
2 года – тупа	2 years – tupa 206. <i>tu-pa</i> {two-year}
3 – трепа	3 – repa 207. <i>re-pa</i> {three-year}
4 – инипа	4 – inepa 208. <i>ine-pa</i> {four-year}
При семъ надобно заметить, что у нихъ щетъ просто идетъ такъ:	At the same time, it is necessary to note, that numbers on their own go like this:
2 – тубичи	2 – tupichi 209. <i>tuppis</i>
3 – требичи	3 – trebichi 210. <i>reppis</i>
4 – инипъ	4 – inip 211. <i>inep</i>
Но съ существительнымъ послѣдней слогъ отнимается, на прим:	But with a noun, the last syllable disappeared, for example:
2 собаки ту-ста	2 dogs tu sita 212. <i>tu seta</i> {two dog}
3 – тре-ста у	3 – tre-sta 213. <i>re sita</i> {three dog}
4 – ассигни-ста	4 – assigni-sta 214. <i>asikne sita</i> {four-dog}
<hr/>	
тихой день – сирбиръ-га	quiet day – sirbir-ka 215. <i>sir-pirka</i> {appearance-good}
гладкое море, тишина – атвига убега	smooth sea, calm – atwiga ubega 216. <i>atuy-ka oupeka</i> {sea-surface straight}
сильная погода, буря – тthрепа-руй	strong weather, storm – tthrepa-ruj 217. <i>rera-ruy</i> {wind-violent}
волненіе – атвига-в^{ину}	roughness – atwiga-wenu 218. <i>atuy-ka wen</i> {sea-surface bad}
утреня звѣзда (венера) – нисасаубъ	morning star (Venus) – nisasaub 219. <i>nisat-sawot</i> {morning-escape}
вечерняя звѣзда(венера) – скояучекета	evening star ckojaucheketa 220. <i>ci-ko-ya-uk keta</i> {1PL.A-from. APPL-net-take.SG star} ^b

b вечерняя звѣзда – скояучекета [skojautejeketa]: In a Japanese-Ainu dictionary compiled in 1848 in Otaru (Hokkaido), there is a form *chikoyaukinochiu* (Satō 1995: 92). This form is clearly related to скояучекета

TABLE 2 A narrative following “A Kuril Ainu Glossary” (*cont.*)

за что меня бранишь? – генга энъ = = жагаръ ?	What are you scolding me for? – genga en = zhakar? 221. <i>henka^c en-cak-kar?</i> ^d {why 1SG.O-punishment-make}
Видно, что ты собака – ста иге = шренуа	I see that you are a dog – sta ige = shrenua 222. <i>sita e-ki siri ne wa</i> {dog 1SG.A-do VIS.EV COP FIN}
Это курильская брань, одна только и есть у них, другой и нѣтъ никакой.	These are Kuril swear words, the only ones, they do not have anything else.
Японцы нашихъ курильцевъ называютъ: яуншишамъ ,	The Japanese call our Kuril people: jaunshisham 223. <i>ya-un-sisam</i> {land-attach.to-Japanese/foreigner}, while
а мохнатыхъ – яунгуръ .	the hairy people – jaunkur 224. <i>ya-un-kur</i> {land-attach.to-person}.
А мохнатые нашихъ курильцевъ называютъ: дребунгары	And the hairy people call our Kurils: drebungary 225. <i>rep-un-kur</i> {sea-attach.to}.
Японцы русскихъ называютъ агай-сшто ; а мохнатые и курильцы русскихъ называютъ сизамъ .	The Japanese call Russians agj-sshito 226. <i>akai hito</i> {red-person}, and the hairy people and Kurils call Russians sizam 227. <i>sisam</i> .

[skojaɯ tʃeketa], though the final part *nociw* ‘star’ is replaced by *keta* ‘star’, which is the corresponding non-cognate form in the Kuril dialect. It is not so easy to reconstruct the correct form for this, but from another variant recorded in Kumajirō Uehara’s *Ezogoshū* (Sasaki and Tanimoto 2019: 275), namely *yashi-nochiu*, we can assume that the name of this star has some relation to *ya* ‘net’, since *yashi* means a kind of fishing carried out with two boats and a net. If so, we can assume that скояучекета [skojaɯ tʃeketa] is **ci-ko-ya-uk keta* {1PL.A-from.APPL-net-take.SG star}, which means ‘the star of which we deprive a net’. Yet a further study should be carried out to find out the reason why this star is called so in Ainu.

c (h)*enka* ‘what for’ for Northern Kuril Ainu in Voznesensky (1844: f.53, op.1, #43, word no. 326), *hēnggā* ‘why’ (Klaproth 1823: 52); cf. *henkite* ‘why’ (Torii 1903: 332).

d *cak-kar* {punishment?-make} is not registered in Ainu dictionaries but probably means ‘to punish’, cf. *pak* ‘punishment’ (Batchelor 1938: 377), which is related to a hotly disputed *c:p* phonological correspondence in Ainu dialects (Nakagawa and Fukazawa, to appear).

TABLE 2 A narrative following “A Kuril Ainu Glossary” (*cont.*)

Что это такое? – г ^h амапъ_тамана?	What is this? – ghamap, tamana? 228. <i>hemat</i> , ^e <i>temana</i> ^f
Курильцы и махнатые не имѣютъ названія лошади въ своемъ языкѣ, а употребляютъ японское слово умма(мма) лошадь – а русскаго слова лошадь не знаютъ, но говорятъ конь .	The Kurils and hairy people do not have a word for “horse” in their language, and they use the Japanese word umma(mma) 229. <i>umma</i> лошадь, and they do not know the Russian word loshad’, but they say kon’ 230. <i>kon</i> .

e *hemat* ‘what’ for Northern Kuril Ainu in Voznesensky (1844: f.53, op.1, #43, word no. 1399, 1597, 1599).
f Cf. *temana* ‘what’ in Sakhalin Ainu (Hattori 1964: 314).

4 **Linguistic Characteristics of the Kuril Dialects Recorded in Golovnin (1811)**

According to Golovnin (1816: 258), “Ainu inhabitants of Hokkaido are different from Ainu inhabitants of Kuril Islands and have their own language. Though Hokkaido Ainu contains many Kuril Ainu words, it is incomprehensible to the Kuril Ainu. While Alexey and the inhabitants of Iturup and Kunashir could communicate freely, he could communicate with the Hokkaido Ainu with great difficulty, and sometimes even could not understand them. However, there is no doubt that all of them had been a single ethnos in the past: their appearance, customs and many similar words sufficiently testify about that.”⁹ In the ensuing subsections, we are going to analyze in detail Golovnin’s (1811) linguistic data and among other things to test them to the above-mentioned observations.

9 “Курильцы острова Мацмай отчасти особенный народ от жителей других Курильских островов и имеют свой язык, в котором хотя и есть много курильских слов, но курильцы их понимать не могут. Алексей и жители островов Итуруп и Кунасири совершенно разумели друг друга, но с мацмайскими курильцами он объяснялся с большим трудом, а иногда и понимать их не мог; но в том, что все они некогда составляли один и тот же народ, нет ни малейшего сомнения: наружный вид, обычаи и множество сходных слов в их языках слишком достаточно о том свидетельствуют.” (Golovnin 1816: 258).

4.1 *Lexical Features: Native Lexicon*

As seen from Table 3 below, there are clear lexical differences between the Northern and Southern Kuril dialects. Roughly speaking, the Southern Kuril dialects exhibit a greater lexical similarity to the Northeastern Hokkaido dialects. This makes us reconsider the above-mentioned Golovnin's claim and the claim by Murayama (1971: 77) that linguistically the Northern and Southern Kuril dialects are related more closely to each other than to the Hokkaido dialects. Furthermore, the similarity of the Southern Kuril dialects to the Hokkaido dialects can also be found in an old Japanese document called *Etorofu omusha moshiwatashi* [An Ainu translation of orders by the Japanese authorities on Etorofu (Iturup) Island] (1821) (held in the Archives of Hokkaido). This supports once again our observation that the Southern Kuril dialects had more lexical resemblance to the Hokkaido dialects, especially Eastern Hokkaido dialects (e.g. Bihoro in Table 3). On the other hand, we should also be aware that in some cases, forms in Golovnin's Southern Kuril dialect materials bear a striking resemblance to the Northern Kuril dialect collected by Torii in 1903, for example, *нонну* 'mother' and *обу* 'brother' in Table 3. Therefore, from this fact we may say that although the Southern Kuril dialects exhibits a strong similarity to the Northeastern Hokkaido dialects in a number of respects, they may nevertheless have undergone many particular changes common to the Northern Kuril dialects too.

TABLE 3 A comparison of Northern and Southern Kuril Ainu with Hokkaido Ainu

	Northern Kuril dialects (Golovnin 1811)	Northern Kuril dialects (Torii 1903)	Southern Kuril dialects (Golovnin 1811)	Hokkaido dialects (Hattori 1964)
87. eagle	сунгуръ (sungur)	shurukuru	кабачиръ (kabachir)	kapatcir (Bihoro dialect)
21. water	ппе (ppe)	peh	вакка (wakka)	wakka (Bihoro dialect)
39. woman	мать (mat)	mat	миного (minago)	menoko (Bihoro dialect)
43. mother		nonno	нонну (nonnu)	hapo (Bihoro dialect)

TABLE 3 A comparison of Northern and Southern Kuril Ainu with Hokkaido Ainu (*cont.*)

	Northern Kuril dialects (Golovnin 1811)	Northern Kuril dialects (Torii 1903)	Southern Kuril dialects (Golovnin 1811)	Hokkaido dialects (Hattori 1964)
46. brother		habo	обу (obu)	mici (Bihoro dialect)
54. lips	чадай (chadaj)	chātoi	чибусъ (chibus)	capus (Bihoro dialect)
68. fox	тчачо (tchacho)	chauchau	чиренокъ (chirenok)	cironnup (Bihoro dialect)
86. bird	тчиръ (tchir)	chiri	тchipапъ (tchipap)	cikap (Bihoro dialect)
40. boy	пумбо (pumbo)	bombo	г ^h егаджи (g ^h egadži)	hekaci (Saru dialect), 'ekaci (Bihoro dialect)

4.2 *Lexical Features: Borrowed Lexicon*

There are quite many borrowings in Kuril Ainu, especially in the category 100.–119. Tools and utensils (Table 1). It would be natural to expect that there are more borrowings from Russian in the Northern Kuril Ainu and less in Southern Kuril Ainu, while in Southern Kuril Ainu, the situation is opposite. However, this is not necessarily the case. The total number¹⁰ of borrowings from Russian in Kuril Ainu is 6, and indeed all of them were borrowed into Northern Kuril Ainu as in (1). The total number of borrowings from Japanese is 14: 5 into Northern Kuril Ainu and 9 into Southern Kuril Ainu (NK = Northern Kuril; SK = Southern Kuril) as in (2) and (3), which probably means that the Japanese and Northern Kuril Ainu never stopped trading.

- (1) 98. сарана *sarana* ‘Kamchatka lily’ (NK)
99. водка *votka* ‘wine’ (NK)
105. компасъ *kompas* ‘compass’ (NK)
109. порохъ *poroh* ‘gunpowder’ (NK)

10 We count the number of words with borrowed items, not the number of borrowed items. When there are more than two morphemes/words in borrowings, the borrowed item is shown in bold.

114. свинець *swinets* 'lead' (NK)
 230. конь *kon* 'horse' (NK)
- (2) 101. камбе *kanpi* 'writing paper' (NK)
 102. тамбагу *tampaku* 'tobacco' (NK)
 103. кес/шири *kiseri* 'tobacco-pipe' (NK)
 111. парида *para-ita* {wide-board} 'table' (NK)
 115. камбенуитъ *kanpi-nuye-p* {paper-tattoo/write-thing} 'ink' (NK)
- (3) 99. саги *sake* 'wine' (SK)
 103. киссири *kiseri* 'tobacco-pipe' (SK)
 104. кани *kani* 'iron' (SK)
 106. пасв^{ви} *pasuy* 'spoon' (SK)
 109. уив^{ви} имо *uipe imo* {pieces-potato} 'gunpowder' (SK)
 109. текопокушири *teppo kusuri* {gun-medicine} 'gunpowder' (SK)
 110. текъ-по *teppo* 'gun' (SK)
 115. суми *sumi* 'ink' (SK)
 229. умма(мма) *umma* 'horse' (SK?)

There are also some very old borrowings from Japanese, for example *kamuy* 'god' (#5, 76, 110) or *pasuy* 'chopsticks', here 'spoon' (#106), which can be dated back to Old Japanese (700–800),¹¹ i.e. before the time the Ainu moved from Hokkaido to the Kurils.

4.3 *Phonetic Features*

- 1) In a few cases, the Kuril dialects show the devoicing or reduction of vowels between voiceless consonants, which is not prevalent in Hokkaido dialects:

11 The Japanese *mi* in *kami* (神) is a so-called 'otsurui' group vowel of Old Japanese (Jōdaigo jiten henshū iinkai 1967: 219, 696). Therefore, the Ainu *uy* may be a result of this fact and if this is the case, this borrowing should be dated to a very ancient period. Moreover, as mentioned, there is another interesting example like this: *pasuy* 'chopsticks' 「箸」. This example shows a phonetic parallelism with *kamuy* and *muy*, but since 「し」 (*shi*) is commonly believed to lack the distinction of the *kō-otsu* groups (here, *i* vs. *ī*) in *kana*, we cannot explain this peculiar form by referring to the *kana*-distinction. If there had been a similar *kana*-distinction in 「し」 in very old times as well, the Ainu form could mirror this unknown historical fact. In fact, Mabuchi (1953) claims that there was such a distinction of two different 「し」 at least in *Kojiki* (712): cf. the *kō*-group 「斯, 紫, etc.」 (with *ī*), the *otsu*-group 「志, 芝, etc.」 (with *i*). For example, *hasi* 「箸」 is written as 「波志」 (Jōdaigo jiten henshū iinkai 1967), where the second syllable is the *otsu*-group *kana* 「志」 (*ī*), which can explain why the Ainu *pasuy* 'chopsticks' (or 'spoon' here) has such a "strange" form now.

- (4) 71. **ткварь** (tkv^w ar') (NK) 'seal' vs. *tukar* (Hokkaido dialect) (cf. **тукаръ** (SK))
 72. **ста** (SK) (sta) 'dog' vs. *sita* 'dog' (Hokkaido dialect) (Hattori 1964: 186)
 78. **штумбе** (ʃtumbe) (SK) 'silver (foxes)' vs. *situmpe* (Hokkaido dialect) (Chiri 1976: 145)
 116. **тthче** (SK) (tthtʃe) 'house' vs. *cise* 'house' (Hokkaido dialect) (Hattori 1964: 100)
- 2) A general accentuation rule in Ainu is as follows: if the first syllable is closed (heavy) then it is accented as in 21. *wák.ka* 'water', if the first syllable is open (light) then the accent falls on the second syllable as in 94. *i.mí* 'coat'. Among all Hokkaido dialects, the Kuril Ainu dialects are claimed to most closely resemble the Northeastern Hokkaido dialects, which are famous for the reduction of /h/ occurring before an unaccented vowel, e.g. the word *he.káci* 'boy' (Southwestern Hokkaido) would usually become *e.káci* 'boy' in EH. However, the reduction of /h/ before an unaccented vowel seems to be uncommon in Kuril Ainu, which is proved by Golovnin's materials (5).
- (5) 40. **г^hегаджи** (g^hegaji) *he.káci* 'boy' (SK), see also **г^hекачичиръ** (gekachi-chir) *he.káci-cir* {boy-bird} 'старики' (an unknown bird) (Krashennnikov 1755.2: 188), cf. *ekáci* 'boy' in EH

In fact, there are words without the reduction of /h/ before an unaccented vowel in other Kuril Ainu materials too:

- (6) a. **гурай** (gurai) *hu.ráye* 'wash' (Voznesensky 1844: f.53, op.1, #43, word no. 87), but *urai* in Dybowski (1892: 66), which is an exception, cf. *uráye* 'wash' in EH;
 b. **кани haiyoku'pe kani** *ha.yókpe* 'armour' {metal-armour} (Torii 1903: 71), cf. *ayókpe* in EH

Another even more striking feature of Kuril Ainu is that it quite unexpectedly shows the reduction of /h/ in accented (heavy) syllables both in Golovnin's (7a) and other materials (7b–c), which never occurs in EH or any other Ainu variety.

- (7) a. 73. **оррей** (orgeu) *ór.kew* 'wolf' (SK), see also **оррий** (orgiu) (Krashennnikov 1755.2: 188), **stórkkygh** (sta orkew) {dog-wolf} (Klaproth 1823: 314), **orkiu** (Dybowski 1892: 49), cf. *hórkew* 'wolf' in all Hokkaido and Sakhalin dialects

- b. аргѣ (*argi*) *ár.ki* 'left' (Voznesensky 1844: f.53, op.1, #43, word no. 534), *arki* (Dybowski 1892: 19), but *hârkŷ* in Klaproth (1823: 309), which is an exception, cf. *harki* 'left' in all Hokkaido and Sakhalin dialects
- c. апрапъ (*aprap*) *áp.rap* 'March' (Voznesensky 1844: f.53, op.1, #43, word no. 1551), *aprap* (Dybowski 1892: 19), cf. *haprap* 'February/March' as attested in some Hokkaido dialects

It is quite likely that historically this reducible /h/ in heavy syllables of Kuril can be traced back to a different consonant *X whose exact nature is unclear but we may try to speculate that it was some kind of glide.

Importantly, in Golovnin's data, the reduction of /h/ does not occur in monosyllabic words consisting of heavy syllables as in (8).

- (8) a. 30. гһуръ (*gh ur*) *húr* 'mountain' (SK), cf. *hur* 'mountain' in some Hokkaido dialects
- b. 5. камѣхһюмъ (*kamih^hjum*) *kamuy húm* 'thunder' (SK), cf. *kamuy hum* 'thunder' in all Hokkaido and Sakhalin dialects
- c. 185. ходъ (*hod*) *hót* 'twenty' (NK), cf. *hot* 'twenty' in all Hokkaido and Sakhalin dialects
- 3) non-occurrence of a parasitic vowel after a syllable final /r/. In a number of Hokkaido dialects, it is very common that a parasitic vowel arises after a syllable final /r/. In Sakhalin dialects, this parasitic vowel developed into an independent vowel phoneme functioning as a kind of formative of the word:
- (9) *kor* [*kor* ~ *koro*] (Hokkaido dialect), cf. *koro* (Sakhalin dialect) (Hattori 1964: 150)

Importantly, such parasitic vowels do not occur so often in our materials:

- (10) 86. тчиръ (*tchir*) 'bird' (NK)
 92. керъ (*ker*) 'boots' (SK)
 123. арга (*arga*) 'illness' (NK)
 94. уръ (*ur*) 'coat' (SK)

However, one example with a parasitic vowel in the word-final position was also attested in the Southern Kuril dialect:

- (11) 156. эсаги киндра-гара (*esagi kindra-gara*) 'to be drunk' (**e-sake-kinra-kar* {2SG.S-alcohol-be.mad}) (SK)

This example may show that the tendency was in the process of spreading (= change in progress) first in the Southern Kuril dialects, perhaps under the influence of the Hokkaido dialects.

Overall it is clear that although on the lexical level Kuril Ainu is close to Eastern Hokkaido Ainu (e.g. Bihoro dialect in Table 3), on the phonological level it is quite different from the latter.

4.4 *Grammatical Features*

Of course, it is not so easy to decide on the exact nature of grammar in these Kuril dialects only based on our insufficient data. However, we could find a few forms which are very important for considering dialectal peculiarities in grammar in the Kuril dialects:

- 1) Imperative is often marked by a special form (*kon ~ *kun) that is not attested in other Ainu dialects:
- (12) 130. конибея (konosoma) 'Eat!' (*kon ipe ya) (SK)
 130. кониби (konibi) 'Eat!' (*kon ipe) (NK)
 133. кониданъ (konidan) 'speak' (*kon itak) (SK)
 144. конабуна (konabuna) 'Sit down/enter!' (*kon ahun ya) (SK)
 145. конасъ (konas) 'Stand!' (*kon as) (SK)
 152. коносома (konosoma) 'take a dump' (*kon osoma) (SK)
 203. конеге (konege) 'Come to me!' (*kon ek ya) (NK?)
- (13) 142. кунъ дримси (kun drimshi) 'Dance!' (*kun rimse) (NK)
 131. кумпегу (kumpeku) 'Drink water!' (*kun pe-ku) (SK)

We could not find this form attested anywhere else so far but for the time being it may suffice to say that it might be related to the form *kunnano* 'to be early; quickly' found in the Asahikawa dialect (Hattori 1964: 253), which also belongs to the Northeastern Hokkaido dialects. This form may be analyzed into *kun- (root), -na (presumably a predicate-forming suffix, cf. Chiri 1974: 42, 119), -no (adverbial suffix). The root *kun-* may be historically associated with our reconstructed imperative marker *kon ~ *kun.

Incidentally, it should be noted that in this case the sentence final imperative particle is *ya* (not *yan* as in most Hokkaido dialects), which is also attested in the Asahikawa dialect (Hattori 1964: 333).

- 2) Numeral expressions found in Golovnin's materials exhibit a different construction as compared with other Ainu dialects. In Torii (1903), we can find such a form as *shine wambe kasuma* {one ten leave} 'eleven'. But

such a form has not ever been reported for any other Ainu dialect. Usually, 'eleven' is expressed by a form like *sinep ikasma wanpe* {one remain ten} in the other Ainu dialects, for details see note aw in Table 1. However, here 'eleven' is 176. синипъ-вампе-казма **sinep wanpe kasma*¹² {one ten leave} (NK) just as in Torii (1903: 124). We cannot explain the reason for this dialectal difference. But Golovnin's materials suggest that we need to take up Torii's description again and consider in detail this peculiarity both from a synchronic and diachronic point of view.

5 Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have clearly shown that Southern Kuril has a much closer lexical resemblance to Northeastern Hokkaido Ainu than Northern Kuril, see Table (3). Also, Southern Kuril Ainu only occasionally shows the insertion of a parasitic vowel after a syllable final /r/ being the influence of Hokkaido Ainu, which has not extended to Northern Kuril.

On the other hand, this paper reaffirmed that both Southern and Northern Kuril Ainu constitute a really separate Kuril group because they show a number of lexical, phonological and grammatical features, which are different from Northeastern Hokkaido Ainu. For example, in lexicon, Kuril Ainu employs *nonno* for 'mother' and *hapo* for 'brother', while the former word means 'flower or something nice' in Hokkaido Ainu and the latter means 'father' or 'mother' depending on a particular Hokkaido dialect. In the phonology, Kuril Ainu, unlike Northeastern Hokkaido Ainu, exhibits such phenomena as the devoicing or reduction of vowels between voiceless consonants, a unique phenomenon of the reduction of /h/ in accented (heavy) syllables, but does not exhibit such common phenomena as the reduction of /h/ before an unaccented vowel and the insertion of a parasitic vowel after a syllable final /r/. In the grammar, Kuril Ainu employs a special imperative form, i.e. a pre-verbal **kon* ~ **kun*, which has a cognate in the Asahikawa (Northeastern Hokkaido) dialect, and a very peculiar construction for encoding 'eleven' and the like numbers, which is not attested elsewhere. It is obvious that Southern Kuril has undergone many particular changes common to Northern Kuril dialect, which made both distant from Hokkaido Ainu.

We have also examined borrowings in Kuril Ainu from Russian and Japanese. It appears that there are almost three times more borrowings from

12 *Kasma* 'leave' and *i-kasma* {ANTIP-leave} 'remain' are a transitive-intransitive pair, the antipassive *i-* blocks the expression of the object (Bugaeva 2021).

Japanese (14 items) than from Russian (6 items), including even 5 items from Japanese in Northern Kuril Ainu, which is probably indicative of the trade scale of the respective countries of those days.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the reading room staff of the Russian National Archive of the Navy in St. Petersburg, especially E. V. Nikandrova and E. L. Bychkova, for their kind cooperation, and a PhD student Anastasiya Gorlova (University of Missouri) for helping us to type Cyrillic materials. We would like to express our deep gratitude to Olga Kanamatovna Gerbekova and other specialists from the Ryazan' Regional Academic Library who helped us identify V. M. Golovnin's handwriting with a great degree of accuracy. The present study was supported by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, International Scientific Grant-in-Aid Research Program, project "Towards understanding dynamics of language change in Ainu" (2017–2021) (Kiban C17K02743, Principal Investigator: Anna Bugaeva, Tokyo University of Science; Co-investigator: Tomomi Satō).

Abbreviations

1,2,3,4	person (for 4th person, see note ap in Table 1)
A	transitive subject
AFF	affiliative
ANTIP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
CL	classifier
COP	copula
FIN	final (particle)
IMP	imperative
IMP.POL	imperative polite
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
S	intransitive subject
SG	singular
VIS.EV	visual evidential

	наименование курильцев	наименование малыш
материна		ирине котав
всправ	котав	мусирв
море		атвиги и.м. атвиги
мбсь		шеремиг
сонка		куьчри
гора		гурв
озеро		тто
таван		тгивойни
травы		атчуй
рѣка		тгтгтв
сухой		тггч
залив		мойну горв
зеленка		айну
мущина	окайну	окай
женщина	матв	миного
малыш	тгчуб	херагни
дѣвка	кама	оберги
отец		мидни
матв		нонку
муж		окай
жена		хамани
брат		обу
сестра		матерв ба
сын	{ смотрю малышка и дѣвка	
дѣ		
тавоа		та

рука глаз ног зуб рот нога хвост борода зубы ноготь палец а. и. т. ж. волосы слеза лицо бороды сидеть несть собака волк кит кошак медведь		рука глаз ног зуб рот нога хвост борода зубы ноготь палец а. и. т. ж. волосы слеза лицо бороды сидеть несть собака волк кит кошак медведь		рука глаз ног зуб рот нога хвост борода зубы ноготь палец а. и. т. ж. волосы слеза лицо бороды сидеть несть собака волк кит кошак медведь		рука глаз ног зуб рот нога хвост борода зубы ноготь палец а. и. т. ж. волосы слеза лицо бороды сидеть несть собака волк кит кошак медведь	
рука		рука		рука		рука	
глаз		глаз		глаз		глаз	
ног		ног		ног		ног	
зуб		зуб		зуб		зуб	
рот		рот		рот		рот	
нога		нога		нога		нога	
хвост		хвост		хвост		хвост	
борода		борода		борода		борода	
зубы		зубы		зубы		зубы	
ноготь		ноготь		ноготь		ноготь	
палец		палец		палец		палец	
а.		а.		а.		а.	
и.		и.		и.		и.	
т.		т.		т.		т.	
ж.		ж.		ж.		ж.	
волосы		волосы		волосы		волосы	
слеза		слеза		слеза		слеза	
лицо		лицо		лицо		лицо	
бороды		бороды		бороды		бороды	
сидеть		сидеть		сидеть		сидеть	
несть		несть		несть		несть	
собака		собака		собака		собака	
волк		волк		волк		волк	
кит		кит		кит		кит	
кошак		кошак		кошак		кошак	
медведь		медведь		медведь		медведь	

	наименование курльцев	наименование аинов
лишья красна		хюри
чернобурая		шпугибе
свободный		ушкасури
рвѣя		тѣгетѣ
рѣшѣ	сокѣ	зѣвѣ
хайко		сѣвѣ
торбуша		савибу
неркѣ		сѣмѣтѣ
сѣмѣ		огулѣ
тѣмѣ	тѣмѣ	тѣмѣ
орѣ	сунѣ	кабѣ
Алѣ		онѣ
тѣмѣ		онѣ
шѣ		оѣ
руѣ	идѣ	сѣ
сѣ		кѣ
тѣ		кѣ
тѣ	шѣ	чѣ
тѣ		амѣ
зѣ		нѣ
зѣ	тѣ	тѣ
сѣ	сѣ	арѣ
вѣ	сѣ	сѣ
тѣ	тѣ	
тѣ	тѣ	
тѣ	тѣ	

	русская кыргызская	магнатская
Н.с. изго		Кани 201
Копипан	Копипан	табис
Ланна		Абиро
Наттв		Ках
Ттарув		уивм или
Тторав	Тторав	Ттектотокршири
Рурнбс	Камонд	ттектв то
Сотол	Ттариза	
Суниморид	Ледундо	ттинза
Ттоттор		мугар
Свинсир	Свинсир	Айнскав
Зерим	Камбонунтв	и Сун
Тортв		тте
Дябосов		Торув ттунтв
Тланокв		Котси
Саблв		Дзоббв
Бллой		тпрептор
Зерной		Дурохвте
Красной		Дуритке
Талтв крфт	Арза	Мон
Х		Кани
Ттв	Ани	Анага
Окв	Ттансир	Ттаункач
Мв		Аиногар
Вв		Ттаунгар
Окунд		Аиносир
Ттв	Кони	Кони
Ттей		Кунтесу

	Русская Правда	Микант
Аху, паша		Псхрейсе
говоришь		Конирань
Е. б		Уравнасту
Ини, управителю		Вакнуа
Недгарова	В	Аейну
Внутренняя (мидя)	Вакнуа	Кисоница
плакати	тти в	
тви массаи	Итиса	
тти в	Югарь	
тти в	Орниси	
потомки	Куновориши	
спати		шогору
сади		Конабука
стой		Конав
тви урари		Итисата-Бика
украсти		иска
уморит		тпрай
сидеть		мика
тви сидеть		Длика
сати		Олома
ср - в		Ктиосама
хорошо		тирива
худо, дурно		винва
стелать		Нонсту
тви твель		Дали Киндра
х пблев		Кара
		Конираи
		Киндра-варс

	русская Курское	монголская
Север	Сисай-Ухенг.	
Северо-восток	Мусирь-ба.	
Восток	Сиррурь.	
Юго-восток	Викорера	
Юг	Охвикорера	
Юго-запад	Мусирь-исв	
Запад	Маханурей-аив	
Северо-запад	Махантурь.	
1.	Сикинв	
2.	тгубиги	
3.	тгребиги	
4.	икинв	
5.	Асикинв	
6.	Иваив	
7.	Аруванви	
8.	тгубисаме	
9.	икинвигаме	
10.	ваине	
11.	Сикинв-ваине-кариа	
12.	тгубиги-ваине-кариа	
13.	тгребиги-ваине-кариа	
14.	икинв-ваине-кариа	
15.	Асикинв-ваине-кариа	
16.	Иваив-ваине-кариа	
17.	Аруванв-ваине-кариа	
18.	тгубисаме-ваине-кариа

итимаа теат — сирдурз — са
 итимаа море,
 он и итимаа — Амбурз — уберз
 Сибурз мода,
 дурз — тирера — рур
 Волнеур — Амбурз — бур
 Велурепенте жотиде — Нила сауде
 ре берепенте жотиде — Сибурзекета
 Жа это неа браунт? — Уила диле —
 = Жаварз?
 Идидо, это тв. собанс — Сига иле —
 = иреруа.
 Это куривенс браунт, огне итимаа
 и сенту итимаа, дурз итимаа итимаа?
 Итимаа наших куривенс
 называють: Хунимамид, а мо-
 лематив: Хунгурз.
 А молематив наших куривенс
 называють: Дуреджарз.
 Итимаа русских называють: Арай-
 ситто; А молематив и куривенс
 русских называють: Сигаид.
 Это это тане? — Тамант-тананс?
 Куривенс и молематив, не итимаа
 названт лематив в этом лематив, а
 употребляют: Итимаа виле уиле (или)
 лематив — а русских виле лематив не,
 жуант, и виле итимаа.

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