

Ramat newa Kamuy

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Neil Gordon Munro nispa nuye-hi ene oka-hi: *ramat newa kamuy* aynu kamuy-uepakasnu moto itak ne. Munro anak ekasi utar ene *ramat* eitak-hi nuye. Aynu ekasi ene itak-hi: Kotanpira anak "Ramat newa Kamuy aynu kor kamuy-uepakasnu moto ne" sekor hawean, ine-hot-pa Hokkaydo emakasi wa ek Rennuikes "ramacihi isam yakun – nep ka kor eaykap" sekor hawean, Nisukrek "ramat anak nep ne yakka esik-te, ramat a-wen-te eaykap" sekor hawean, Uesanas "nei ta ne yakka ramacihi an" sekor hawean. [Munro 1963: 8]

Nep ka a-perke kor ramacihi nerok perke-p hoppa, aynu ray kor ramacihi ray-kur hoppa, korka siknu wa oyak ta arpa. Tam-pe kusu aeywankep ramacihi ray-kur tura-no arpa easkay kusu ray-kur tura-no a-oma-re ku hem ay hem emus hem a-eiwanke-p hem a-perke.

Sinna kamuy ramat poron-no kor, sinna kamuy pon-no kor. Aynu opitta kamuy koraci-no ramat kor: sinna kur pon-no, sinna kur poron-no ramat kor. Yakun, ene itak-an easkay: ramat anak Porinesia un mana a-ye p ne koraci an pe ne wa. [Munro 1963: 10]

Ramat anakne tu sinna itak ani a-kar pe ne ruwe ne kuni ku=ramu. Ene an-i: ram + at. *Ram* anak nea itak sinrit ne. Naa *ram* anakne oyak itak sinrit ne ka an:

ram / ramu,
e-ram-an / e-ramu-an,
e-ram-iskari,
e-ram-as,
e-yay-ram-at-te

Ram-at kor *at* anak "an" hene "oma" hene koraci ne kuni ku=ramu.
Ruwe ne kusu, *ram-at* anak "ram an" hene "ram oma" hene ne wa.

Kamuy anak otutanuno-an kamuy-uepakasnu moto itak ne. John Batchelor nuye-hi ene oka-hi: *kamuy* anak re sinna itak (ka+mu+i) ani a-kar itak ne; ka+mu+i anak "nep utar kurka" sekor ramu (Munro).

Kamuy anak Sisam itak *kami* or wa ek, sekor sisam ne yakka Yoroppa-un-kur ne yakka ramu kur poronno oka (Fritz Vos).

Aynu itak *kamuy* ne yakka Sisam itak *kami* ne yakka sine sinrit or wa hetukpa p ne, sekor a-ramu. *Kamuy* ne yakka *kami* ne yakka Arutay itak *kam/kom* sinrit ne kor pe ne nankor, sekor a-ramu. *Kamuy* sinricihi anak ene an-i: kam → kam-i¹ → kam-us → kam-uy. Naa Koryo itak *kom* - "iso", *komkkun* - "kam ohaw" uneno-an sinrit or wa hetukpa itak ne, sekor a-ramu.

Korka *kamuy* anak Arutay *kam/kom* sinrit or wa somo hetuku p ne ruwe ne.

Sisam itak hem Koryo itak hem Arutay itak sinrit ne kor. Kia kusu Sisam itak hem Koryo itak hem irwak itak ne ruwe ne. Sisam itak hem Koryo itak hem Arutay itak ne.

¹ Sisam *kami* anak son-no Arutay *kam* - "tusu" wa ek nankor kuni ku=ramu. Korka tam-pe anak ku kor aitia patek an.

Korka Aynu itak anakne Sisam itak hem Koryo itak hem oro wa rit-itak-katu² ani earkinne sinnay-no an. Aynu itak anakne Amerika rit-itak-katu kor:

(m)+(r)+R+(M) - pa-itak³ us easkay

Sisam itak hem Koryo itak hem Arutay rit-itak-katu ne:

(r)+R+(m) - pa-itak us eaykap

R,r - sinrit ne,

M,m - ni-tek itak / sam-itak⁴ ne.

Tap-oka earkinne sinnay-no oka itak (Aynu itak, Sisam itak) anakne sine itak sinrit ne kor kuni-p somo ne (Akulov A.Yu.). Tan tu itak utur ta poro itak a-ukoosouk eaykap kuni ku=ramu. *Kamuy* anak Aynu kor iyotta husko, iyotta nupur itak or ta an ruwe ne. Tap-an itak oyak itak wa ek eaykap ruwe ne kuni ku=ramu.

Naa son-no nucaktek pe anak ene oka-hi: Aynu *kampi* anak Sisam *kami* or wa ek ruwe ne. Kia kusu ku=ramu hi ene oka-hi: *kamuy* anak Sisam *kami* or wa ek yakun *kampi* ne an wa, *kamuy* ne an eaykap ruwe ne.

Sisam ne yakka Yoroppa un kur ne yakka poroserke ramu hi ene oka-hi: *kamuy* anak Aynu itak *kam* sinrit or wa hetuku ruwe ne.

K=eaykouepekennu hi ene oka-hi: hemanta kus *kamuy* anak iso oyak rehe ne a-ye? Tane nani a-eayese hi ene oka-hi: iso anak kam poron-no kor kusu iso anak *kam-us* / *kam-uy* sekor a-ye easkay. Kia kusu *kamuy* anak *kam* sinrit or wa ek. Sekor Aynu-uepakasnu-kur poroserke ramu.

Korka nea aitia anak wen kuni ku=ramu. Otutanu-p ta a=nukar ro:

Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney katkemat nuye hi ene oka-hi: *kamuy* anak oyak ta okay pe sonno sinnay no an pe ne ruwe ne. Yakun nep ne yakka a=e-oripak pe *kamuy* sekor a=reko ruwe ne.

Iyotta pon pe ne yakka, iyotta ipokas pe ne yakka (kikir, terke-p) a=e-oripak kusu *kamuy* sekor a-reko easkay. Naa ikkewe okay pe, wen pe, a-eoripak pe (uhuy nupuri, siri simoye, o-repun-pe) *kamuy* sekor a=reko ruwe ne. Naa pirka p, nupur pe (pirka mat-ne-po, retar-pe-us-onne-kur, emus, cip) *kamuy* sekor a-reko ruwe ne.

Tane anak a-nukar easkay hi ene oka-hi: *kamuy* itak anak-ne usa, kam tura-no okay pe patek a-reko ruwe ka somo ne. Kia kusu *kamuy* anak *kam* sinrit or wa somo hetuku p ne ruwe ne.

Kamuy itak re itak ani a-kar itak ne kuni ku=ramu (ka + mu + i):

Pa-itak - *ka* anak "kurka" / "ka ta" ne koraci an.

Kes-itak⁵ - *i/hi* anakne poron itak kes-itak (pirka-hi, itak-i, an-i) ne kor ruwe ne wa.

Tane anak noski ta an itak *mu* itakipehe hemanta an ya ka pon-no k=eramiskari ruwe ne. Korka Karapto Aynu itak or ta *mu* anak "pirasa", "imakare" ne ruwe ne. Tam-pe kus *kamuy* or ta an *mu* anak "imakare", "pirasa" ne-no an nankor kuni ku=ramu.

Hawe ne yakun, *ka-mu-i* / *ka-mu-y* anak "rik ta an pe", "utar akkari p" ne kuni ku=ramu. Hawe ne yakun, ene ku=ramu hi anak Batchelor nispa itak koraci an.

² "rit-itak-katu" anak-ne Inkiris itak ani "linear model of word form" ne.

³ "pa-itak" anak-ne Inkiris itak ani "prefix" ne.

⁴ "ni-tek-itak" / "sam-itak" anak-ne Inkiris itak ani "affix" ne.

⁵ "kes-itak" anak-ne Inkiris itak ani "suffix" ne.

Tam-pe kusu a-eraman easkay pe ene oka-hi: hemanta kusu iso anak *kamuy* sekora a-ye? Tee-ta oka aynu ramu hi ene oka-hi: iso anak si-no ikkewe an pe ne wa si-no a-eoripak pe ne, si-no iso rehe a-ye yakun iso anak kotan ta san easkay. Naa iso anak iramante-kur kim ta ronnu easkay. Tam-pe kusu si-no iso rehe a-ye yakun wen nankor. Kia kusu si-no iso rehe iteki a-ye p ne. Iso a-e-oripak kusu *kamuy* sekora a-ye. Iso a-e-oripak kusu patek iso rehe ne *kamuy* sekora a-ye. Tam puri anak Porinesia un tapu puri koraci an. Kia kusu itak-an easkay hi ene oka-hi: nea puri anak iramante-kur tapu ne ruwe ne.

Yoroppa un Aynu uepakasnu kur poron-no ramu hi ene oka-hi: Aynu *kamuy* anak Yoroppa un itak *deus / god / Gott / dios / deus* ne-no an. Koraka tan itak anakne pon-no wayru p ne ruwe ne:

Kamuy anak poron-no oka. Deus anak sinen-ne patek an.

Kamuy anak aynu tek-sam ta oka ruwe ne. Deus anak aynu mosir or wa earinne tuyma no an.

Kamuy mosir ta isaika-no arpa-an easkay. Deus mosir ta arpa-an hi anak isaika-ko.

Kamuy tura no u-nukar-an wa u-w-ene-sar-an pe anak isaika. Deus tura no u-w-ene-sar-an pe anak isaika-ko.

Aynu anak kamuy mosir un mat-etun-an easkay. Yoroppa deus tura-no tam-pe anak a-ki eaykap ruwe.

Tam-pe kus kuni ku=ramu ene oka-hi: kamuy anak Yoroppa deus toyko sinnay no an. Kia kusu a-ye easkay ene oka-hi: *kamuy* anak Yoroppa itak ani *deus* ne an eaykap. *Kamuy* itak Yoroppa itak ani *kamuy* patek ne an easirki. Yoroppa itak ta *kamuy* itak anak-ne konteksto or wa a-eraman easkay ruwe ne.

Imaka-ke ta a-ye easkay pe ene oka-hi: ramat piye, kamuy piye a-uk wa a-eraman wa, aynu puri or ta okay pe ne yakka a-ki p ne yakka nep ne yakka peken-no a-eraman easkay.

Ramat anak moto ne ruwe ne. Koraka ramat anak yay-kata nep-ka ki eaykap. Ramat anak an hene ya isam hene ya patek ne p ne ruwe ne. Kamuy patek ramat kor wa nep ka ki easkay. Kamuy anak ramat poron-no kor wa oyak pe ramacihi poro-re hene pon-te hene easkay ruwe ne. Ramat poro-re kamuy anak pirka kamuy ne, ramat pon-te kamuy wen kamuy ne ruwe ne. Naa itak-an easkay pe ene oka-hi: ramat anak matematika un itak ani *scalar* koraci an pe ne wa kamuy anak matematika un itak ani *tensor* koraci an pe ne.

Poron-no ramat kor pe pirka. Ramat poro-re easkay pe pirka. Ramat pon-te pe wen. Ramat a-siknu-re kusu wen pe a-esisi easirki.

Kia kusu Aynu puri or ta a-ki p opitta (inaw nuye, kamuy oman-te) ramat a-siknu-re kusu, ramat poro-re kusu a-ki p ne ruwe ne.

A-eiwanke a-nuye-p

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Ramat and Kamuy

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Summary (Inkiris itak ani piye itak):

This short text is devoted to the analysis of *ramat* and *kamuy* which are the key words/basic concepts of Ainu religion and Ainu traditional life. This text is written in Ainu language and it is the first scientific article in Ainu language during the whole history of Ainu studies. *Ramat* is the first and the main concept of Ainu religion. According to my data this word consists of two morphemes: *ram* which means "soul"/"mind"/"heart" and *at* which is similar to such verbs as *an/oka* and *oma* which mean "to be"/"to exist". So the concept of *ramat* can be interpreted as "soul exists".

Ramat exists everywhere and fills everything. Every thing and every being has *ramat*. One thing has a lot of *ramat*, another - little but nothing can exist without *ramat*. *Ramat* cannot be annihilated. When beings die or when things are broken their *ramat* leaves them but doesn't disappear and goes to another place. Following to Neil Gordon Munro it is possible to state that *ramat* is very much alike to the Polynesian *mana*.

Kamuy is the second basic concept of Ainu religion. According to my data word *kamuy* doesn't have any connection to the Japanese *kami* "deity" because *kamuy* belongs to the most important and old part of Ainu lexics. The Ainu and Japanese languages differ in their linear model of word form: Ainu has linear model of word form of the American type while Japanese demonstrates this of the Altaic type, i.e. in Japanese prefixation is strictly prohibited while in Ainu it is permitted. I think serious word-change process cannot take place between such different languages.

Moreover it is worth noting that the Ainu had not known paper before they met Japanese, so in the Ainu language the word for paper was borrowed from Japanese. In Japanese paper sounds the same way as "deity", i.e. *kami* but in Ainu it became *kampi*. In this connection I think that Ainu *kamuy* cannot originate from Japanese *kami* because Japanese *kami* would become *kampi* but not *kamuy* in Ainu.

Also I don't think that *kamuy* has any connection with the Ainu word *kam* – "meat" as many anthropologists believe. This point of view is usually explained in such a way: *kamuy* is often used in connection with bear because bear has a lot of meat, i.e. *kamuy* originated from *kam* + *uy* which later became *kam+uy*.

Following to John Batchelor I believe that the word *kamuy* consists of three morphemes: *ka* + *mu* + *i*. According to my interpretation the meaning of these morphemes is the following:

ka is similar to "kurka" / "ka ta" - "over"/"above";

suffix *i/hi* is often used as a verbal substantivator ex.: *pirka-hi*, *itak-i*, *an-i*;

though now I a bit misunderstand the meaning of the middle morpheme *mu*, cause I have never met it in the Saru dialect. But I have met such morpheme is Sakhalin Ainu. In Sakhalin Ainu *mu* means "spread" and it is equal to *imakare*, *pirasa* of the Saru dialect. Because of it I think that *mu* in *kamuy* has the similar meaning.

So I think *ka-mu-i* / *ka-mu-y* means "spread over thing", "a thing above people". And my interpretation is similar to the interpretation of Batchelor.

And from this point of view it is possible to understand: why *kamuy* is used as another name of bear or another awful or beautiful beings or things. According to Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney *kamuy* should be distinguished from other beings. And it is important to know that the word *kamuy* is often used to name some beings and things, which real names are tabooed. In the case of bear the word *kamuy* is used just in order to express respect to bear and in order to avoid the use of the real name of bear cause it may bring different troubles to people.

Also it is important to note that *kamuy* is not similar to the European concepts *deus* / *god* / *Gott* / *dios* / *deux* cause European god is a transcendental being while *kamuy* exist in the neighborhood of people and people can easily get *kamuy* mosir. Because of it, the word *kamuy* should not be

translated as *deus* /*god* / *Gott* / *dios* / *deux* into European languages. I think the best way is to leave the word *kamuy* without any translation at all and explain its meaning from the context.

At least it is possible to state the following: *ramat* is the basis. But *ramat* itself cannot make anything. It may just exist or not exist, but it cannot act. Instead of it *kamuy* can act. *Kamuy* has a lot of *ramat* and can endow or take away *ramat* to other beings. *Kamuy* which endows *ramat* is good, *kamuy* which takes *ramat* away is bad. If we turn to the certain concepts of mathematics we can state that *ramat* is a scalar and *kamuy* is a tensor.

Having picked up the essence of *ramat* and *kamuy*, having understood their meaning we can interpret every thing and every act of the Ainu tradition. Every event of Ainu traditional life can be described in terms of *ramat* and *kamuy*. Any act of Ainu tradition is intended to save and to magnify the existing *ramat*. Because of it a thing which has much *ramat* and which can magnify *ramat* is good thing; while thing which takes *ramat* away is bad. Because of it people should escape things and beings which take *ramat* away. And every act of Ainu tradition (carving inaw or bear feast) is performed in order to save and magnify the existing *ramat*.