

Grammatical Suffixes of Hezhen: With the Text ‘Antu Mergen’ and its English and Japanese Translations

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1. Introduction

Hezhen is a tungusic language spoken in northeastern China. The grammar of this language was described in Sunik (1958), An (1986), Zhang et al. (1989), Chaoke (1997), and U (2005).¹ Among them An (1986) and Zhang et al. (1989) include a small lexicon and U (2005) includes a long epic text ‘Site Mergen’ with its word to word translation into Japanese.

Following U (2005 : 50), seven epic texts of Hezhen had been published before her and all these texts are the translations from their Chinese version which had been published in some journals and books on the basis of recorded original texts. Of these seven texts, three texts were published in *Manyu Yanjiu* (満語研究 = Manchu Studies) the journal of Heilongjiang Institute of Manchu Studies (黒龍江省満語研究所) published every half year in Harbin, China. Each text of these includes its word to word and free translations into Chinese.

In the present article the main grammatical suffixes of Hezhen are analyzed on the basis of the epic text ‘Antu Mergen’ which was transcribed and translated into Chinese by You Zhixian (尤志賢) in *Manyu Yanjiu* 1 (1985) 4 (1987).² After the analysis of the suffixes the first part of ‘Antu Mergen’ with its word-to word translations into English and Japanese and the free translation into English is republished as the sample text.

The transcription methods of Hezhen texts are different among the authors and texts. In the present article the following letters denote the phones in brackets. The other letters denote almost the same phones as in the IPA.³

sh[ʃ] ch[tʃ] zh[dʒ] ng[ŋ] ɳ[ɳ] ɛ[ɛ]

2. Analysis of Grammatical Suffixes⁴

2. 1. Case suffixes

Following suffixes can be recognized as case suffixes. Nouns of nominative case stand with no suffix. According to An (1986) and Chaoke (1997), Hezhen nouns have the genitive case which is denoted with *-i/-ji*. But this case suffix is not found in our text except the pronouns of the 1st and the 2nd person. In the noun the possession is denoted by the possession suffix of the head noun, e.g. *Antu baldixe-ni* ‘the growth of Antu’.

<i>-me/-we/-w/-u/-ue</i>	accusative	(~ を)
<i>-du</i>	dative-locative	(~ に , ~ で)
<i>-dula/-dule/-le</i>	directional	(~ へ)
<i>-tiki/-tki</i>	directional-elative	(~ へ , ~ から)
<i>-zhi</i>	instrumental-comitative	(~ で , ~ といっしょに)

Dative-locative suffix *-du* denotes also the occasion or the cause (Cf. the sentences 14, 40, and 85 in the sample text. Below only the sentence number is given). The case suffix *-tiki/-tki* has both the directional usage (48, 55 etc.) and the elative usage (39, 40 etc.)

In some nouns which mean spatial relations, for example *do* ‘inside’ and *zhule* ‘front’, the directional case is denoted with *-shiki* and the elative case with *-zhi*. The suffix *-zhi* after the verb form also denotes the elative case (90). On this function of the suffix *-zhi* in tungusic languages see Tamura (1996 ; 2003). The instrumental-comitative suffix *-zhi* is also used for the derivation of an adverb from an adjective, e.g. *ai-zhi* ‘well’ (44) from *ai* ‘good’.

2. 2. Possession suffixes

Personal and reflexive possession suffixes are as follows. Despite no descriptions in the above-mentioned grammars, there is a reflexive possession suffix *-i* which is frequently used in our text (22, 25, 40, 51, 56, 65 etc.)

	singular	plural
1 st person	<i>-i/-mi-</i>	<i>-wu</i>
2 nd person	<i>-shi</i>	<i>-su/-so</i>
3 rd person	<i>-ni/-n</i>	<i>-ti</i>
reflexive	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>

2. 3. Verbal suffixes

2. 3. 1. Personal suffixes

Personal and reflexive possession suffixes are also used as personal suffixes of the verb. The verb form with these suffixes function not only as a finite verb, but also as a modifier (102) or a nominalized form (6, 84, 91 etc.)

2. 3. 2. Suffixes of tense

Following three suffixes are recognized as the tense suffixes. The suffix of the future tense *-zhi*, which is described in Sunik (1958 : 23) and Chaoke (1997 : 302 3), is not found in our text.

<i>-i</i>	present tense	(in the 2 nd and the 3 rd person)
<i>-re</i>	present tense	(in the 3 rd person)
<i>-xe</i>	past tense	

In the present tense of the declarative sentence the suffix *-i* is inserted between the verb stem and the personal suffix, if the verb is in the 2 nd or 3 rd person, e.g. *ene-i-ti* ‘they go forward’ (51)⁵ This suffix is not inserted in the 1 st person, e.g. *bu-i* ‘I give’ (50 and 80) In the 3 rd person the suffix *-re* is also used as the present tense suffix as well as the suffix *-i*, e.g. *xesu-re-n* ‘he says’ (28) and *xesu-i-ni* ‘he says’ (55). After the tense suffix *-re* the personal suffix is *-n* in both the singular and the plural. Also in other cases the suffix of the 3 rd person singular *-ni/-n* is sometimes used as the 3 rd person plural (21, 31 etc.)

2. 3. 3. Suffixes of negation

The suffixes of negation are as follows.⁶

<i>-rshe</i>	negation of present tense	(13 38 47 50 82 ,111 etc .)
<i>-rchi</i>	negation of past tense	(9 54)

In the Hezhen text of U (2005) the suffixes of the negation are *-(r)she* (present tense) and *-(r)chi* (past tense) In our text the negation suffix always has the form *-rshe* or *-rchi*.

2. 3. 4. Suffixes of passive, causative, and reciprocal

Following suffixes are used as voice suffixes.

<i>-u</i>	passive	(~ される)	(9 92 and 116)
<i>-kune</i>	causative	(~ させる)	(4 41 56 60 etc .)
<i>-machi</i>	reciprocal	(~ しあう)	(75)

The causative suffix *-kune* has the same function as the imperative of the 3 rd person, if the verb to which it is added stands in the subordinate clause after the verb of ‘say’ or ‘pray’ (56 and 97). The passive suffix *-u* may be also used as the causative suffix (15 and 16. See note 10)

2.3.5. Suffixes of imperative

Suffixes of imperative are as follows. The verb stem is also used as the imperative of the 2nd person singular and plural (55 and 71). The negation of the imperative is formed of *e:he* + (verb stem) *-re* (16)

<i>-ru/-ro</i>	imperative of 2nd person singular	(109)
<i>-busu/-buso</i>	imperative of 2nd person plural	(28, 43 and 55)
<i>-mai</i>	imperative of 1st person plural	(~しましよう) (110)

2.3.6. Suffix of conditional

The following suffix denotes the conditional. This suffix is used with a personal suffix (50, 80, and 96) or without it (14, 45, and 74)

<i>-ki</i>	conditional	(~ならば)
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2.3.7. Suffixes of attempt and volitional

Following suffixes are recognized as the suffix of attempt or of volitional.

<i>-michie</i>	attempt	(~してみる)	(55, 87 and 94)
<i>-k(e)chi</i>	volitional	(~しようとする)	(12, 14 and 35)

2.3.7. Suffixes of converb

Suffixes of converb are as follows.

<i>-mi</i>	converb of simultaneity	(~しながら)	(8, 34, 37 etc.)
<i>-re</i>	converb of posteriority 1	(~してから)	(12, 18, 41 etc.)
<i>-keche</i>	converb of posteriority 2	(~した後)	(82)

The suffix *-mi* is also used in the following usages. In these cases the verb form with *-mi* has the same function as the infinitive in English.

<i>-mi deri-/deru-/deriu-</i>	‘begin to do something’	(~し始める)	(57, 113 etc.)
<i>-mi mete-/ -mi uli-</i>	‘can do something’	(~することができる)	(27, 59 etc.)

2.4. Other suffixes

Other suffixes in our sample text are as follows.

<i>-kech(i)ɛ</i>	appearance or resemblance	(様子, ~のように)	(11, 19, 63)
<i>-mi-du</i>	‘as soon as’	(~するとすぐ)	(89, 104 etc.)
<i>-de</i>	‘too / even’	(~も / ~でも)	(29, 47, 59 etc.)

3. Sample Text ‘Antu Mergen’⁸

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | zhule aren
early year
むかし | jolugu
yorugu
ヨルグ | mangme
river
川の | dulinba-du-ni
middle basin
中流域に | eme
a
一人の | chocho
youth
若者が | baldi-re-n.
lives
暮らしていた。 |
| 2 | gerbi-ni
name
その名は | antu
Antu
アントウ | mergen.
mergen
ムルゲン (という) | | | | |

- 3 ushkuli du-ni du ami-ni eni-ni shaxu anchi da-xe-n.
 little when already father mother all not be became
 (彼が) 小さい時に すでに 父と 母は みな いなく なってしまった。
- 4 xesu-i-ti, ami-ni eni-ni nio-du zhaf-u-re axa odu-kune-xe-n.
 they say father mother by someone be captured slave made
 人が言うには、彼の父と 母は 人に 捕らえられ、(人が) 奴隷に した(という)。
- 5 tuinere zho baledi baite shaxu mene nale-zhi uile-i-ni.
 so house life thing all self hand does
 そこで 家や 生活の ことは すべて 自分の 手で している。
- 6 inien inien imaxe bujuen-me wakechi ienkete enbi-we gade-re nemi antu-we
 every day fish beast hunt wild fruits wild vegetables⁹ gather so Antu
 毎日 魚や 野獣を 捕り 野性の果実や 山菜を 採り、 このように アントゥに
 tatiu-xe-ni fakeshi-zhi uile-i-ni.
 instructed skillfully practices
 (人が) 教えたことを (彼は) 上手に 行っている。
- 16 :
 Once upon a time, there lived a youth in the middle basin of the Yolugu river. His name was Antu Mergen. His father and mother disappeared when he was a little child. It is said that his father and mother were captured by someone and were made slaves. So he does all housework and everything for living by himself. Every day, catching fish, hunting beasts, and gathering wild fruits and wild vegetables, Antu practices skillfully what others have instructed him.
- 7 ekechi eme inin antu mangme zhiabukere-le-ni eme-xe-n.
 so one day Antu river bank came
 こうして ある 日 アントゥは 川 岸へ やって来た。
- 8 iche-xe-n. eme diake mangme zhabukere-u-ni giauli-mi eme-re-n.
 saw one ship river bank pull oars come
 見ると、 一艘の 船が 川 岸を オールを漕いで やって来る。
- 9 mura agedene-re-n, uki guida-mi nio xuliu-i-ni iche-rchi-n.
 very be glad how long people go not have seen
 (彼は) とても 喜ぶ、 どれだけ 久しく 人が 行くのを 見なかったか、と。
- 10 diake eshdu giauli-mi kirale-n ishian-xe-n.
 ship soon pull oars before him reached
 船は やがて オールを漕ぎつつ 彼の目の前に 至った。
- 11 antu iche-ki-n, diake xorun-du-n giaulie-keche na-du jargunde-keche shiaxu
 Antu look at ship on pull oars land pull hawser all
 アントゥが 見ると、 船の 上で オールを漕ぐ様、 陸地で 船の綱を引く様 みな
 asen xite.
 female youth (girl)
 若い女性たち(であった)。

12 niani mangme zhiabukere-du-ni chomuchi-re muke-we lantule-mi ukechi-mi ide-me ichie-kechi-ni.
 he river bank crouch water beat play liveliness want to see
 彼は川岸にしゃがんで水を叩いて遊びながら賑やかさを見ようとする。

13 asen xite antu-we iche-mi-du shiaxu giauli-rshe-n jargunde-rshe-n da-xe-n.
 female youth Antu see all not pull oars not pull hawser became
 女の子(たち) アントウを見るやみな オールを漕がず, 船の綱を引かなくなった。

14 eiteni antu baldi-xe-ni mura guzhukuli du-ni, asen xile eli ichie-ki eli
 essentially Antu growth very handsome because girls more see more
 もともと アントウの成長ぶりはとても美しいので, 女の子たちは見ればみるほどますます

taxele-mi ichie-kchi-ti, uili-de oungmu-xe-ti.
 willingly want to see work forgot
 喜んで見ようとし, 仕事も忘れた。

15 ei burgun-du-ni eme chocho diake do-zhi-ni dili-i niu-re¹⁰ asen xile-we xachingele-i-ni,
 this time a male youth ship out of head put out girls blame
 この時一人の若者が船の中から頭を出して, 女の子たちを責めののしる。

unakemi giauli-rshe-n jargunde-rshe-n ti chochou-le iche-keche-i-su.
 why not pull oars not pull hawser that youth want to see
 どうして オールを漕がず 船の綱を引かず, あの若者の方を見ようとするのか, と。

16 diake xorun-du-n bishi eme mafa ei chocho-we tafulechi, asen xite-we ezhe
 ship on be an old man this young man reproves girl (don't)
 船の上にいる一人の老人がこの若者をたしなめる。女の子を

xachengele-re, ezhe baite-u niu-u-re.
 blame (don't) thing put out
 責めるな, 事を出すな [騒ぎを起こすな], と。

17 tuinemi diake delune-xe-n.
 so ship passed by
 こうして船は通り過ぎて行った。

7 17 :

One day Antu comes to the bank of the river. When he looks around, there comes a ship, being pulled by oarsmen, alongside the bank of the river. He was very glad, for he has not seen people moving for a long time. The ship, being pulled by oarsmen, soon comes before him. Antu sees that the persons pulling oars on the ship and the persons pulling hawsers on the land are all girls. He crouches on the bank of the river and, beating water for fun, watches the liveliness (looks at them as a spectator). All the girls stop pulling oars and pulling hawsers, as soon as they see Antu. Because Antu has grown very handsome, the more closely the girls see Antu, the more willingly they watch him, and they have forgotten to work. At this time, a young man puts his head out of the inside of the ship and blames the girls, “Why do you watch the boy, not pulling oars and hawsers?” An old man on the deck of the ship reproves the young man, “Don’t blame the girls and don’t put out the thing (don’t make a disturbance)” So the ship passed by.

18 antu xai mangme zhiabukere-du-ni ili-re eiki iche-kechi-re soloki iche-kechi-re emachi
 Antu again river bank stand east watch west watch for some time
 アントウが また 川 岸に 立って 東を 見, 西を 見ると, しばらく

bi-mi-du na eme diake eme-re-n.
 being again a ship comes
 して すぐ また 一艘の 船が やって来る。

19 ei diake xorun-du-ni giauli-kechie jargunde-kechie shiaxu asen xite.
 this ship on pull oars pull hawsers all girl
 この 船の 上で オールを漕ぐ様, 船の綱を引く様, みな 若い女性(であった)

20 asen xite antu-e ichie-mi-du shaxu make-xe-ti.
 girl Antu see all were amazed
 女性(たち)は アントウを 見るや みな 呆然とした。

21 shaxu giauli-rshe-n jargunde-rshe-n da-xe-ni.
 all not pull oars not pull hawsers became
 みな オールを漕がず, 船の綱を引かなく なった。

22 ei burgun-du-ni eme chocho diake dou-zhi-ni dili-i niu-u-re asen xile-we xachengele-i-ni,
 this time a youth ship out of head put out girls blame
 この 時 一人の 若者が 船の 中から 頭を 出して, 女の子たちを 責めののしる。

unakemi uile-r-su¹¹
 why not work
 どうして 働かないのか, と。

23 tuinemi ei chocho ai-zhi iche-mi-du tagedergi-xe-ni. antu teni niani
 so this young man carefully see recognized Antu just he
 そうしながら この 若者が よく 見るとすぐ わかった。 アントウが まさに 彼の

guchixin akin-i¹²
 (elder male relative)
 表 兄(であると)

24 asen xile-dula-ni chikin guzhukuli dame antu guchixin xunazhi-ni.
 girls most beautiful just Antu (younger female relative)
 (そして)女の子たちの中で 最も 美しいのが まさに アントウの 表 妹(であった)

25 antu mene guchixin neu-i guchixin xunazhi tagedirgi-xe-n, ebuchukuli agedene-i-ni,
 Antu self (younger male relative) (younger female relative) recognized very much be glad
 アントウは 自分の 表 弟 と 表 妹 だと わかり, たいへん 喜び,

tigurun-me shaxu mene zhogu-dule-i salirgi-xe-n.
 them all self house invited
 彼らを みな 自分の 家に 招いた。

18 25 :

Antu stands on the bank of the river again and looks eastward and westward. After a while, there comes a ship again. The

persons pulling oars on this ship and the persons pulling hawsers are all girls. As soon as they see Antu, the girls are all amazed and stop pulling the oars and hawsers. At this time, a young man puts his head out of the inside of the ship and blames the girls, "Why don't you work?" Then the young man sees (Antu) closely and soon he recognizes that Antu is his elder relative. And the most beautiful among the girls turns out to be Antu's younger relative. Antu is very glad to recognize that they are his relatives. He invites all of them to his house.

- 26 antu zhogu-du-ni emadan-du ekechi malxon nio eme-xe-ni.
Antu house at a time such many people came
アントウの 家に 一度に こんなに たくさんの 人が 来たのだ。
- 27 men-du ai zhefuku ulu-mi ulixi-rshe-n, oni ne-ki ai.
for oneself delicious food cook not can how do good
自分で 御馳走を 作ることが できない。 どう すれば いいか。
- 28 niani emachi goni-mi-du xesu-re-n. "gege xunazhi, su mene buda ulu-busu.
he for some time think say sisters you for oneself meal cook
彼は しばらく 考え、すぐに 言う。 姉妹たちよ、 自分たちで 料理を 作ってくれ。
- taketu-dula-n ima jake bi-ki-n, ima jake-u ulu-mi zhefe-busu."
fish cabin something be something cook eat
魚小屋に 何か あれば、 何かを [それを] 調理して 食べてくれ。
- 29 asen xite mo-we koloteli-i-ni-de bi-re-n, muke damzhile-i-ni-de bi-re-n, zhekete-u siliki-i-ni-de bi-re-n,
girl wood cut be water carry up be millet wash be
女の子は 木を 伐る(者)も あり, 水を 担ぐ(者)も あり, 粟を 洗う(者)も あり,
- soligi kere-i-ni-de bi-re-n, imaxe taku-i-ni-de bi-re-n, oleguchu gazhi-ni-de bi-re-n.
vegetable cut be fish prepare be dried fish bring be
野菜を 切る(者)も あり, 魚の 用意をする(者)も あり, 干し魚を 持って来る(者)も ある。
- 30 geren gurun gese tungkukute-mi eshitulu buda soligi-we dere-le netan-xe-n.
all people together act for some time meals side dish table put
すべての 者が 一緒に 仕事をし, しばらくして ご飯と おかずを テーブルに 置いた。
- 31 geren gurun zhefu-re omi-re nemi deriu-xe-n.
all poeple eat drink so began
みんな 食べたりに 飲んだり し 始めた。
- 32 geren gurun antu zhogu-du-ni ilan inin ilan dolubu bi-xe-ti.
all people Antu house three day three night stayed
すべての 者が アントウの 家に 三日 三 晩 いた。
- 33 antu guchixin neu-zhi ilan inin ilan dolubu arki omi-xe-ti.
Antu (younger male relative) three day three night wine drank
アントウは 表 弟と 三日 三 晩 酒を 飲んだ。
- 34 tigurun xofur xofur sokutu-mi omi-xe-ti.
they (onomatopoeia) getting drunk drank
彼らは 酔いながら 飲んだ。

26 34 :

What a lot of people come to Antu's house at one time ! Antu cannot prepare a delicious dish for himself. What should he do ? He thinks for a while and says, "My sisters, prepare dishes for yourself. Cook and eat what is in the fish cabin." (The girls share the work.) Some girls cut wood, some carry up water, some wash millet, some cut vegetables, some prepare fish, and some bring dried fish. They all work together and after a while they put meals and side dishes on the table. Everybody begins to eat and drink. All the people stay in Antu's house three nights and days. Antu drinks wine with his younger relative during the three nights and days. They drink (wine), getting drunk.

35 antu guchixin neu-ni edu ashichime guida-mi niadu-rshe-n, tigurun gulene-kechi-re-n.
Antu (elder male relative) here very much long time not stay they want to leave
アントウの 表 弟は ここに それほど 長くは とどまらず , 彼らは 出発しようとする。

36 antu-we xesuchi-mi, tigurun-zhi gese eneu-kuchi-i-ni.
Antu say with them together will go
(彼らは)アントウに 言う。 彼らと ともに 行くようにと。

37 antu mura agedene-mi zharikete-xe-n, tiaxele-mi tigurun-zhi gese ene-re-n.
Antu very much be glad answered willingly with them together go
アントウは たいへん 喜んで 答えた。 喜んで 彼らと ともに 行く , と。

38 ei teni eme nio zhogu-du bii tiaxele-rshe-n, tatikina ei dulibin-du-ni ami-i
this just one person house be not wants namely this occasion father
これは すなわち , 一人で 家に いることを 望まず , つまり この 機会に 父(と)

eni-i geletanggi-i kimu nio-we wa-i.
mother seek enemy person kill
母を 捜し , 仇を 討つ (ということ)

39 antu zho-tiki delexe-i ei inin, ai-zhi eme erin arki omi-xe-ni arki xou-ni arki
Antu house leave this day much a time wine drank wine bottle wine
アントウが 家から 出て行く この 日 , かなり一 度に 酒を 飲み , 酒 壺 と 酒の

kutexan-me-ni shaxu nodu-xe-ni.
glass all threw away
杯を すべて 投げ捨てた。

36 39 :

Antu's younger relative stays here not so long. They want to leave here and ask Antu to go with them together. Antu answers very delightfully that he will willingly go with them. This means that he doesn't want to stay in his house alone, namely that on this occasion he seeks his father and mother and revenges himself on the enemy. This day when he leaves his house, Antu drinks much wine at a time and throws away all the wine bottles and wine glasses.

40 antu zho-tiki delxei-du-i gonin exelegen zhogu-du-i bishi zhiake-we bargirgi-xe-n.
Antu house leave heart sad house be thing put in order
アントウは 家から 出て行く時 , 心が 重いまま 家に ある 物を 片づけた。

41 xachin seun-me shaxu ai-zhi ilieu-kune-re xesu-re-n;
each god (figure) all skillfully set up say
各種の 神 (の像) を すべて 上手に 立てて 言う。

- 42 xerile xerilenani xerigeige
(spell)
(呪文)
- 43 geren seun ai-zhi dolidi-buso.
all god carefully listen to
すべての 神よ, よく 聞いてください。
- 44 edu ai-zhi zho-we etemachie bi.
here well house keep I
ここで よく 家を 守ってきました, 私は。
- 45 jadu-de mangge bake-ki geren seun mine-we belechian.
wherever trouble meet all god me help
どこであれ 困難に 出会ったなら すべての 神よ 私を 助けに来てください。
- 46 doledi-xe-n echi-xe-n, arna arang ...
heard memorized (spell)
(神々は) 聞いたことを 覚えたであろうか。 (呪文)
- 40 46 :
When he leaves his house, Antu puts the things in the house in order, with his heart being sad. He sets up the figures of all gods skillfully and says,
Xerile xerilenani xerigeige.
All gods, listen to me carefully.
I keep my house well here.
Wherever I am in difficulty, all gods, come to help me !
Have you memorized what you have heard ? Arna arang
- 47 antu ai muxan, ali-de kimu nio-zhi nele-rshe-n.
Antu good man any time enemy person not fear
アントゥは 優れた 男であり, どんな時でも 仇を 恐れない。
- 48 tuinemi niani nati eiki zhulexi soluki ferxi duin erge-tiki sagedi dilegan-zhi kili-mi;
so he again east south west north four direction big voice shout
そこで 彼は また 東 南 西 北の 四つの 方向へ 大きな 声で 叫ぶ。
- 49 xerile xerilenani xerigeige
(spell)
(呪文)
- 50 oshi katen seun bi-ki-ni mini seun-me-i ete-ki-ni, mini guzhukuli zho na-le-i
somewhere powerful god be my god defeat my beautiful house land
どこかに 強い 神が いて, 私の 神を 打ち破り, 私の 美しい 家と 土地に

ilian-ki, bi tiaxele-mi ilan tauen ba oli-mi xuli, ei ba-le-de
stay I willingly three hundred li¹³ go around walk this place
とどまるなら, 私は あえて進んで 三 百 里を 回り道して 歩き, この 場所へ

emergi-mi exele-u-su gelte-rshe-i, mene zho na-i berti ti-du bu-i. arang...
 come back fault not seek self house land permanently to him give (spell)

戻って あなた方の過ちを 捜したりせず, 自分の 家と 土地を 永久に 彼に 与える。(呪文)

51 antu eiten baite-i odi-mi-du guchixin neu guchixin xunazhi-zhi-i diake-le taketi-xe-n,
 Antu every thing finish (younger male relative)(younger female relative) ship got on
 アントゥは すべての ことを するや 表 弟や 表 妹とともに 船に 乗り,

nati zhuleshiki ene-i-ti.
 again forward go
 (彼らは)再び 前へ 進む。

52 ekechi emadi inin ene-xe-ti.
 so for some days went
 こうして 何 日間か 行った。

47 52 :

Antu is a good man. He never fears the enemy. So again he shouts in the four directions of east, south, west, and north. Xerile xerilenani xerigeige.

If there is a powerful god somewhere and this god defeats my gods and stays in my beautiful house and land, I will not dare to come back here making a detour of three hundred li, I will not find fault with you, but will give my own house and land to another god permanently. Arang ...

As soon as he has done everything, Antu gets on the ship with his relatives. They go forward again. So they proceed for some days.

53 eme inin antu diake dou-zhi-ni xuli-mi niu-xe-ni, diake zhulezhige-du-ni ili-re iche-kechi-ni.
 one day Antu ship from inside walking got out ship front stand watches
 ある 日 アントゥは 船の 中から 歩いて 出て, 船の 前方に 立って 見る。

54 diake-de goru-zhi ene-rchi-n, zho-ni ichi-u-mi bi-re-n.
 ship far not went house be seen be
 船は 遠くは 進んではおらず, 彼の家が 見えて いる。

55 antu mura tiaxe-rshi-ni, asen xile-tiki xesui-ni. "su emachi teine-busu, bi edin-me
 Antu very much be dissatisfied to girls says you for a while take a rest I wind
 アントゥは たいへん 不満に思い, 女の子たちに 言う。 お前たち しばらく 休みなさい。私が 風を

gelemichie-mi*. su kotile-we tate."
 try to find you sail pull
 捜してみる。 お前たちは 帆を 引いてくれ。

56 xesu-mi odi-mi-du antu zho-i erge-tiki-ni gemurshi-mi, seuen-i belechieu-kune-i-ni.
 say finish Antu house direction pray god shall help
 言い 終えるや アントゥは 家の 方向に向かって 祈る。 自分の神が 助けるように, と。

57 teni xesu-mi odi-mi-du sagedi edin edine-mi deriu-xe-n.
 just say finish strong wind blow began
 今や 言い 終えるや 強い 風が 吹き 始めた。

- 58 diake emeti edin fuligi-ni kechi ene-re-n.
 ship as if wind blow alike goes
 船はまるで風が吹くかのように進む。
- 59 diake kunbieleku-i-ni ashichime mangge, eme nio-de kute-mi mete-rshe-n.
 ship roll very badly a person steer not can
 船が揺れることとても激しく、誰も舵をとることができない(ほどである)。
- 60 esi antu nati gemurshi-re-n, seuen sauli-re kuteu-kune-i-ni.
 now Antu again prays god invoke make steer
 今アントウはまた祈り、神を呼び、舵をとらせる。
- 61 teni gemurshi-mi odii-zhi-ni, suliau-zhi eme fashi shanggin tukusu degede-xe-n, diake uizhige-le-ni
 just pray finish from west a group white cloud flew ship above
 ちょうど祈り終えらると、西からひと塊の白い雲が飛んできて、船の上空に
 ishia-mi-du sarte-xe-n.
 reach was scattered
 至るや四散した。
- 62 tuinemi diake amizhige-du-ni jame zhake tiofur te-xe-n.
 so ship stern some thing (onomatopoeia) sat down
 そうして船尾に何かが座った。
- 63 diake eshi uendeke otu-xe-n, edin-du fuligie-u-mi ue-u koletile-mi guguda gamun gula-mi
 ship now tranquil became wind be blown wave cutting high hill fill (with water)
 船は今や平穏となり、風に吹かれて波を切りつつ高い丘を水で満たし、
- niekete ba-ue nielebe-mi nioru kechi zhule-shiki ene-i-ni.
 hollow place fill (with water) arrow alike forward goes
 窪んだ所をあふれさせ、矢のよう前へと進む。

53 63 :

One day, Antu goes for a walk from the inside of the ship and looks around, standing on the bow. The ship doesn't proceed far and his house can be seen. Antu is quite dissatisfied with it and says to the girls, "Take a rest for a while. I seek a wind. Pull the sails." After he finishes speaking, Antu prays in the direction of his house that his god shall help him. As soon as he finishes praying, a violent wind begins to blow. The ship proceeds, as if a wind would blow. The ship rolls so badly that nobody can steer the ship. Now Antu prays again, invokes his gods so that they would steer the ship. As soon as Antu finishes praying, there come flying a group of white clouds from the west. Hardly coming above the ship, they are scattered. Then something sits down on the stern. Now it becomes tranquil in the ship. Blown by the wind and cutting waves, the ship proceeds like an arrow and fills high hills and hol-low places with water.

- 64 ekechi emadi inin ene-xe-ti. eme inin eme xotun-dule ishia-xe-ti.
 so some day they went one day a town arrived at
 こうして何日か彼らは行き、ある日ある街に至った。
- 65 tigurun diake-i aku-xe-n, darun-dule tukuti-xe-n, xotun do-shiki-ni ene-i-ti.
 they ship brought to the shore pier went up town to inside go
 彼らは船を接岸させ、波止場に上り、街の中へと入って行く。

- 66 xotun tokun-dule-n ishian-xe-n. malexun nio ichie-xe-ti.
town center arrived at many people saw
街の 中心部に 着くと, 多くの 人たちを 見た。
- 67 eme chiarnexen mafa nio tokun-du-ni ili-re bi-re-n.
a gray-haired old man people center stand be
一人の 白髪の 老人が 人々の 真ん中に 立って いる。
- 68 ei mafa ei xotun ezhien-ni,
this old man this town leader
この 老人は この 街の 首領である。
- 69 ti geren gurun-tiki xesu-re-n.
he all people say
彼は すべての 人たちに 言う。
- 70 xerile xerilenani xerigeige
(spell)
(呪文)
- 71 mergen muxan, ai-zhi doledi.
mergen brave man well listen to
勇敢な男(たち)よ, よく 聞いてくれ。
- 72 mini eme asen xite-i zhuan zhiakun se da-xe-n.
my one daughter eighteen age became
私の 一人 娘は 十 八 歳に なった。
- 73 medelea-i nio ashichime malexun.
propose people quite many
求婚する 人たちは かなり 多い。
- 74 bi-de ni-du bu-rshi-ki-de exele.
I too to anybody not give undesirable
私も 誰にも 与えないのも 良くない。
- 75 elezhimachi-mi xodie-u gelete-i.
competing son-in-law seek
(私は) 競いあって 婿を 探す。
- 76 bi eshi ilan zhiake gele-i.
I now three thing seek
私は 今 三つの 物を 求めている。
- 77 zhulexi erge mo keun-du-ni eme kiakechin bi-re-n.
south direction tree hole an eagle be
南の 方角の 木の 穴に 一羽の 鷲が いる。

- 78 eikizhige muke-du-ni eme aishin dawu bi-re-n.
 east lake ? a golden salmon be
 東の 湖に 一匹の 金の 鮭が いる。
- 79 suliashige ureken gumen-du-ni eme kumake bi-re-n.
 west mountain hill a deer be
 西の 山 (丘) に 一匹の 鹿が いる。
- 80 ni ei ilan zhake-we gazhi-ki-ni, bi asen xite-i ni-du bu-i.
 who this three thing bring I daughter whom (= him) give
 誰か この 三つの 物を 取ってきたなら, 私は 自分の娘を その誰かに [その人に] 与える。
- 81 doledi-xe-n, ezhi-xe-so, arna arang ...
 heard memorized (spell)
 聞いたこと 覚えたか。 (呪文)

64 81 :

So they go for some days. One day, they arrive at a town. They bring the ship to the shore, go up on the pier, and go into the town. They arrive at the center of the town and see many people. A gray-haired old man stands in the middle of the people. This old man is the leader of the town. He says to all people.

Xerile Xerilenani Xerigeige.

Brave men, listen carefully.

My only daughter has become eighteen years old.

Quite many people propose her.

It is also undesirable for me to give her to nobody.

I seek my son-in-law by competition.

Now I want three things.

There is an eagle in the hole of a tree in the south.

There is a golden salmon in a lake in the east.

There is a deer in a mountain in the west.

I will give my daughter to the man who has brought these three things.

Have you memorized what you have heard ? Arna arang ...

- 82 geren gurun ei ilan zhiake doledi-keche, shiaxu meife-i modirshi-re dili-i ushikachi-re
 all people this three thing heard all neck stroke head scratch
 人々は この 三つの 物のことを 聞いてのち, みな 首を 撫で 頭を 掻き,

emeken-de ene-i gisun xesu-rshe-n.
 anyone go word not say
 誰ひとり (自分が) 行くという 言葉を 言わない。

- 83 ei teni ti zhiake mura mangge, bake-mi meteu-rshe-n.
 this just that thing very difficult get not can
 これは まさに その 物が とても 厄介で, 得ることが できない (ということである)。

- 84 xesui-ti, ti mafa asen xite-ni baledi-xe-ni mura guzhukuli, seun-de katen.
 (they) say that old man daughter growth very beautiful god too powerful
 噂によれば, その 老人の 娘の 成長ぶりは たいへん 美しく, 神もまた 強い。

- 85 ei ilan zhiake bakei-du mura mangge.
 this three thing get big trouble
 (しかし)この 三つの 物を 得るには かなりの 困難がある。
- 86 tuineren-de geletan-kechi nio-de bi-re-n.
 nevertheless want to seek person be
 そうはいつでも 探してみようと思う 人も いる。
- 87 ei burgin-du-ni eme chocho nio do-zhi-ni xuli-mi niu-xe-n, xesu-re-n, "bi ene-michie-mi"
 this time a young man people from inside walking got out said I try to go
 この 時 一人の 若者が 人々の 中から 歩き 出て、 言う。 私が 行ってみる と。
- 88 geren gurun maketeuchi-ti, na dengshine-i-ti, seun-me ai-zhi etemachieu-kene-i-ni.
 all people admire as well as worry god well make protect
 すべての 人々は 称賛しつつも、また 心配し、 神に(彼を)よく 保護させる [護るようと祈る]
- 82 88 :
 After they have heard about these three things, everybody stokes their necks and scratches their heads. Nobody says to go. This means that it is very difficult and impossible to get the things. It is said that the daughter of the old man has grown very beautiful and her (guardian)god is powerful, too. Although it is very difficult to get these three things, there is also a man who wants to seek them. At this time, a young man comes out of the people and says, "I will try to go." All the people admire him, while they worry about him and wish that the gods shall protect him well.
- 89 ei chocho zhogu-dule-i eni-mi-du omiliekete-mi gulune-xe-n.
 this young man house go tie a girdle left
 この 若者は 家に 行くや、 帯を締めて 出発した。
- 90 ene-xe-n-zhi eme bia dulune-xe-n, zhiashixen-de anchi.
 went a month passed news not be
 行ってから 一カ月が 経ったが、 何の便りも ない。
- 91 amile geren gurun nio xesui-ni doledi-xe-ti.
 later all people person say heard
 後に 人々は 人が 話すのを 聞いた。
- 92 ei chocho xokutu aleden-du-ni neleuki tasxe-du zhef-u-xe-n.
 this young man root on way wolf tiger was eaten
 この 若者は 道の 途中で 狼や 虎に 食べられた、と。
- 93 xotun ezhin ei baite-u sa-mi-du na xotun gurun-me-nixudalergi-xe-ni.
 town leader this thing know again town people appealed to
 街の 長は この ことを 知るや 再び 街の 人々に 呼びかけた。
- 94 ti-gurun-tiki gisere-i-ni, "etiki ni tiaxele-ki, ni ene-miche-busu."
 to them says from now who wants who should try to go
 彼らに 言う。 「これからは 誰かが 望むなら その人が 行ってみるがいい。」

95 esi eme nio-de ene-i nemi xesu-rshe-n.
 now one person go so not say
 今や 一人も (自分が) 行くと 言わない。

96 ei burgin-du-ni antu nio do-zhi-ni niu-mi-du xesu-re-n,“su ni-de ene-rsh-ki-su,
 this time Antu people from inside come out say you nobody not go
 この時 アントウが 人の 中から 出てくるや 言う。「あなたたちが 誰も 行かないのなら,

bi ene-re ichia-mi.”
 I go see
 私が 行ってみよう。」

97 antu guchixin neu-tiki gisere-xe-ni, ei ba-du niani-me-ni emadi inin alechieu-kune-i-ni.
 Antu (younger male relative) said this place him several days should wait
 アントウは 表 弟に 言った。この 場所で 彼を 何 日間か 待つように, と。

98 xesu-mi odi-mi-du gulene-xe-n.
 say finish departed
 言い 終えるや 出発した。

89 98 :

As soon as he goes to his house, this young man ties a girdle and leaves the house. A month passes, since he left. There are no news about him. Later the people hear other people tell that this young man has been eaten by wolves and tigers on the way. The leader of the town, soon after knowing this, appeals to the people of the town again. He says to them, “From now on, who wants, should try to go.” Now nobody says to go. At this time Antu comes out of the people and says, “If none of you goes, I will try to go.” Antu says to his younger male relative that he should wait for him for several days. Having said this, he soon departs.

99 eme inin niani ekechi bishi ba-le ishia-xe-ni.
 one day he such being place arrived at
 ある 日 彼は このような 場所に 着いた。

100 na xorun-du-ni jalun bude-xe-n nio giamuse-ni, mura ebuchukuli.
 ground upside many dead people bone very terrible
 地 上に たくさんの 死んだ 人の 骨(があり), とても 恐ろしい。

101 katen antu ezhi emachi-de nele-rsh-n.
 brave Antu never a bit not fears
 (しかし) 勇敢な アントウは 決して 少しも 恐れぬ。

102 antu bute-xe-n nio gaimuse xoru-me-ni xeiki-mi emachi ene-xe-ni.
 Antu dead people bone on step a bit went
 アントウは 死んだ 人の 骨の 上を 踏みつつ 少し 進んだ。

103 emeadi nio-de tebeli-mi bakezhirgi-rshe-n bediun bude-xe-n mo dulia-du-ni eme folutuku bi-re-n.
 some people hold not seize big withered tree inside one hole be
 何人かの 人でも 抱えて 捉えられないほど 太い 枯れた 木の中に 一つの穴が ある。

104 antu ichekechi-mi-du eme nio dili giamese-u-ni zhiafu-mi mo folutuku do-shik-ni nodu-xe-n.
 Antu see one person head bone catch tree hole into threw
 アントウは 見るとすぐ 一人の 人の 頭蓋骨を 掴み, 木の 穴の 中に 放り投げた。

105 emachi bi-mi-du do-zhi-ni eme kiakechen degede-mi niu-xe-n.
 a while be from inside one eagle flying came out
 しばらく して 中から 一羽の 鷲が 飛びながら 出てきた。

106 kiakechen mura sagedi, chauketen-de onimu tebetin. ichie-ki emachi sagedine-xe-n.
 eagle very big talon long sharp seemingly a bit grew old
 鷲は とても 大きく, 爪も 長く 鋭いが, 見れば 少し 老いていた。

99 106 :

One day, he arrives at a place where there are many bones of dead people on the ground. It is very terrible. But the brave Antu never fears. Antu walks a bit stepping on the bones of dead people. There is a hole in a withered tree which is so big that even several men cannot hold it in their arms. Having seen it, Antu catches the skull of a person and throws it into the hole of the tree. After a while, an eagle comes flying out of the hole. The eagle is very big and its talons are long and sharp, too. Seemingly it is somewhat old.

107 kiakechen antu-we ichie-mi-du meifun sarchi amenng-e-i turachi-mi xesu-ren;
 eagle Antu see neck extend beak stretch says
 鷲は アントウを 見るや 首を 伸ばし 嘴を 張りつつ 言う。

108 xerile xerilenani xerigeige.
 (spell)
 (呪文)

109 chocho shi doledi-ro, beti kimu-de anchi shi iau ne-mi eme-xe-shi.
 young man you listen we grudge not have you what do came
 若者よ 聞きなさい。我々は 恨みも ない。 お前は 何を しに 来たのか。

110 mine-we zhiafan-xe-shi, beti bakechi-mai.
 me came to get we fight each other
 私を 捕らえに来たのか。(それなら)我々は 戦いあおう。

111 bi sagedine-xe-n-de shin-du bai daxu-rshe-i. arang ...
 I grew old by you easily not be beaten (spell)
 私は 老いたとはいえ お前に 簡単に 負けはしない。(呪文)

112 kiakechin xesu-mi odi-mi-du antu bei-le-n xukuchu-i-ni.
 eagle say finish Antu body fall
 鷲は 言い 終えるや アントウの 身体に 倒れかかる。

113 antu kiakechin zhu dekese-u-ni zhafu-mi-du ba-kechi-mi deru-xe-n.
 Antu eagle two wing catch beat began
 アントウは 鷲の 二つの 羽を 掴むや 叩き 始めた。

114 na-du bunburi-ti, eshdu kiakechin xorun-du odurgi-ren, eshdu antu xorun-du odurgi-re-n.
 ground roll about for a while eagle upperpart becomes for a while Antu upperpart becomes
 (彼らは)大地に 転がり, しばらくは鷲が 上に なり, しばらくはアントウが上に なる。

115 ekechi ibe guida-mi ba-kechi-xe-ti.
 in this manner very long time beat
 こうして かなり 長いこと 彼らは叩きあった。

116 kiakechen emachi terimete-rshe-n da-xe-n, antu-du farxe-u-mi digeda-u-xe-n.
 eagle a bit not withstand became Antu be beaten down be held
 鷲は 少し 耐えられなく なり, アントウに 叩き倒され 押さえられた。

117 zhu begede-le zhu dekese-eu-ni¹⁴ xeruke-mi-du xinale-re xotun-dule emergi-ni.
 both paw both wing tie shoulder town comes back
 (アントウは鷲の)両 脚に 二つの 羽を 巻きつけるや 背負って 街に 戻る。

107 117 :

When it sees Antu, the eagle, extending his neck and stretching his beak, says to him;

Xerile xerilenani xerigeige.

Listen, young man, we have no grudge against each other. What have you come to do? If you have come to get me, let's fight each other. Although I am old, I'm not beaten by you easily. Arang ...

Soon after having said this, the eagle falls on Antu's body. Antu catches both wings of the eagle and begins to beat it. They roll about on the ground. For a while the eagle is on Antu, for a while Antu is on the eagle. In this manner they beat each other for a long time. The eagle begins to not withstand it and is beaten down and held by Antu. Antu ties both the eagle's wings to its paws and shoulders it and brings it back to the town.

118 xotun gurun antu kiakechen-me zhafu-re gazhirgi-xe-n nemi doledi-re shaxu maketeuchi-ti.
 town people Antu eagle get brought so hear all admire
 街の 人たちは アントウが 鷲を 捕らえて 持ってきた と 聞いて みな 称賛する。

119 antu erile-mi ili-re ei-ue medele-re ta-ue medele-re ne-i-ti.
 Antu surround stand this ask that ask do
 アントウを 囲んで 立ち, これを 尋ね あれを 尋ね する。

120 xotun ezhin mafa mura agedene-re-n, antu-we sauli-xe-n.
 town leader old man very be glad Antu invited
 街の 長の 老人は たいへん 喜び, アントウを 招いた。

121 antu-we xibukuchi-mi na aishin da-u zhafau-kune-i-ni.
 Antu encourage again golden salmon make get
 (彼は)アントウを 励まして 再び 金の 鮭を 捕まえさせる [捕まえるようにと励ます]

122 zhutin inin antu na eiki gulune-xe-n.
 next day Antu again eastward left
 翌 日 アントウは また 東へ 出発した。

123 emadi inin dulune-xe-n, antu aishin da-ue zhafu-re gazhirgi-xe-n.
 several day passed Antu golden salmon get brought
 何 日か 経って, アントウは 金の 鮭を 捕らえて 持って来た。

118 123 :

Having heard that Antu had got and brought the eagle, all the people of the town admire him. Surrounding him, they ask Antu about one thing or another. The old man, the leader of the town, is very glad and invites Antu. He encourages Antu again to get the golden salmon. The next day, Antu leaves for the east again. Several days pass. Antu gets the golden salmon and comes with it.

Notes

- 1 Beyond that, there is a book of Ling (1934) which the present author doesn't possess.
- 2 The title of a Hezhen epic includes its hero's name. *Mergen* means a brave man.
- 3 While Chinese authors regard the phones of *p, t, k, ch* as aspirated voiceless and the phones of *b, d, g, zh* as non-aspirated voiceless, the present author regard the opposition of these two groups of phones as the voiceless-voiced opposition for the time being, which corresponds to the sound system of other tungusic languages in Russia.
- 4 To some suffixes their Japanese equivalents are given in parentheses.
- 5 Cf. Zhang et al. (1989 : 64) There are a few forms without this suffix in our sample text (88, 114, 117, etc.)
- 6 According to Zhang et al. (1989 : 63-65), the negative suffixes are *-she* and *-chi*, which are preceded by the inserted sound *-r*.
- 7 This suffix is used only one time in our sample text, but it is used several times in other parts of the text.
- 8 *Manyu Yanjiu* Vol.1 (1985) pp.96-104.
- 9 The word *ienkete* denotes a sort of cherry and the word *enbi* denotes a sort of mugwort. Here these words are translated as their hypernyms as in the Chinese translation.
- 10 This word should be *niu-u-re* 'after putting out'. The stem *niu-* means 'come out' (53, 96, and 105)
- 11 This word should be *uile-rshe-su* 'you (plural) don't work'.
- 12 The phrase *guchixin akin* means an elder male person who is the son of a sister of the father, or who is the son of a brother/sister of the mother. For convenience it is translated as an elder male relative. The phrases *guchixin xunazhi* and *guchixin neu* below are translated likewise.
- 13 Li is a unit of distance. A li corresponds to about 4 kilometers.
- 14 The grammatical form of this word should be *dekese-ue-ni*.

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