

Itelmen Texts

A Preliminary Linguistic Analysis

Working materials to accompany:
Ительменские тексты / *Itelmen Texts*.
 Erich Kasten and Michael Dürr (editors).

This text version with interlinear glosses is intended to make the edition of *Itelmen texts* (Kasten and Dürr eds. 2015) and the related recordings more easily accessible to readers interested in linguistics. These additional materials have been provided by Michael Dürr with all gaps and errors as preliminary working versions without further revision.

The Itelmen texts, following the cyrillic-based orthography used in Kamchatka, and English translations of the 2015 edition have been supplemented by two additional lines, with an phonetic transcription and with glosses. It should be noted that in the case of switches to Russian, slips of the tongue or slurred words or endings, the narrators occasionally chose a different wording so that the transcriptions do not always correspond to the sound recordings of the recordings exactly (Kasten and Dürr 2015: 11). The glossings follow in most cases these transcriptions. As they originated from the editing phase of the book, small differences, especially in the line count, can occur.

List of abbreviations used in glosses

1	first person	IMP	imperative
2	second person	INF	infinitive
3	third person	INS	instrumental
1SG	1st person singular	IO	indirect object
1SG.S	1st person singular subject	IPFV	imperfective
1SG.S>3PL.O	1st person singular subject > third person plural (direct) object	ITER	iterative
2PL	2nd person plural	LOC	locative
3SG.S>1SG.IO	3rd person singular subject > third person singular indirect object	M	masculine
ABL	ablative	NARR	narrative (not fully finite verb form, often used in narrations; mostly described either as participle or infinitive)
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negative
ADV	adverb(ial)	O	(direct) object
ANTIP	antipassive	PART	particle
AUGM	augmentativa	PASS	passive
AUX	auxiliary	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POSS	possessive
COM	comitative	PREP	preposition
dat	dative / directive	PRES	present
DEM	demonstrative	PRO	pronoun
DES	desiderative	PROH	prohibitive
DESIG	designative	PROX	proximal/proximate
DIM	diminutive	PST	past
DIR	directive	S	subject
DISTR	distributive	SUBJ	subjunctive
EMPH	emphasis	SUP	supine
F	feminine	SUPERL	superlative
FUT	future	TOP	toponym

Our Life

Remembrances of life when I was a child

Valentina Ivanovna Uspenskaya — recorded 24.8.2000, Esso

ILC1_1 (Northern Itelmen)

- 1 Кма т'эсхтқукичэн Эсхлэнк, энну ма' Пирожниково.
Kma t'-esxt-qu-kičen Esxł-enk, enu maʔ Pirožnikovo.

[00:01] PRO:1SG 1SG-be.born-IPFV-1SG.S <Top>-LOC PRO:DEM PRO:where <Top>

I was born in Sedanka-Osedlaya, where Pirozhnikovo is.

- 2 Мизэн ли ч'иныңлаҳ атнум лқуэн.
Məzin li č'ineŋ-laχ atnum ł-qu-ven.

[00:04] PRO:1PL.POSS very good-ADJ village be-IPFV-3SG.S

We had a very beautiful village.

- 3 Ҳоқэн ли густа кылхэ'н лқуэ'н.
χoqen li gusta kilx-eʔn ł-qu-veʔn.

[00:08] there very many birch.tree-PL be-IPFV-3PL.S

There were a lot of birch-trees.

- 4 Потом кий тмалк. А кийэнк ныйныл нэньчэ'н.
Potom kij tmal-k. A kij-enk nijnił nənč-eʔn.

[00:14] also river near-LOC and river-LOC many fish-PL

Also the river was near. There were many fish in the river.

- 5 Мизэн қҗалос °плаҳ лқуэн.
Məzin qɣalos °p-laχ ł-qu-ven.

[00:19] PRO:1PL.POSS family big-ADJ be-IPFV-3SG.S

Our family was big.

- 6 Исх Беккеров Иван Васильевич, на нысылан.
Isx Bekkerov Ivan Vasilevič, na nisilan.

[00:23] Father <name> PRO:3sg hunter

My father was Ivan Vasilevich Bekkerov, he was a hunter.

- 7 На лэмқунэ'н вэқањлэ'н, лхмэ'н, мињлэ'н, тса'л.
Na łem-qu-neʔn veqanł-eʔn, łxm-eʔn, minł-eʔn, tsa-ʔl.

[00:29] PRO:3SG hunt-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.O bear-PL sable-PL hare-PL fox-PL

He hunted bears, sables, hares, foxes.

- 8 Потом вэтатқуэн колхозанк, потом совхозанк завскладом.
Potom vetat-qu-ven kolxoz-ank, potom sovhoz-ank zavskladom.

[00:36] then work-IPFV-3SG.S kolkhoz-LOC then sokhoz-LOC stockkeeper

Then he worked at the kolkhoz, then in the sovkhos as the stockkeeper.

- 9 А лахсх Беккерова Илларија Гаврильевна, по роду Федотова,
A laχsχ Bekkerova Illarija Gavrilevna, po rodu Fedotova.

[00:41] and mother <name> PREP lineage <name>

And my mother was Illariya Gavrilevna Bekkerova, from the Fedotova lineage.

- 10 на лэм вэтатқуэн колхозанк.
Na lem vetat-qu-ven kolxoz-ank.

[00:47] PRO:3SG also work-IPFV-3SG.S kolkhoz-LOC

She also worked in the kolkhoz.

- 11 Доилқуэн, в полеводстве вэтатқуэн, потом пикиэн на пенсию.
Doiɫ-qu-ven, v polevodstve vetat-qu-ven, 12 potom piki-ven na pensiju.
 [00:52] milk-IPFV-3PL.S PREP gardener work-IPFV-3SG.S [00:56] then walk-3SG.S PREP retirement
 She milked cows and worked as a (vegetable) gardener, and then she retired.
- 13 Мизэн қјалос ли дружной лқуэн. Ли њињикэ’њч густа.
Məzin qjalos li družnoj ɫ-qu-ven. 14 Li ɟeɟeke-ʔnč gusta.
 [00:59] PRO:1PL.POSS family very close.ADJ be-IPFV-3SG.S [01:05] very child-DIM.PL many
 Our family was very close, there were many children.
- 15 °Плаҳ лылыхл – Евдокия, на ањчпалқуэн њињикэ’њч.
°P-laχ lilixɫ – Evdokija, na aɲčpaɫ-qu-veʔn ɟeɟeke-ʔnč.
 [01:09] big-ADJ sister – <name> PRO:3SG teach-IPFV-3PL.S child-DIM.PL
 My oldest sister was Evdokiya, she taught the children.
- 16 Вера лэм ањчпалқуэн.
Vera lem aɲčpaɫ-qu-ven.
 [01:15] <name> also teach-IPFV-3SG.S
 Vera taught also.
- 17 Қэткин Иннокентий вэтатқуэн в совхозе, на тракторист.
Qetkin¹ Innokentij vetat-qu-ven v sovchoze, na traktorist.
 [01:20] brother <name> work-IPFV-3SG.S PREP sovkhos PRO:3SG tractor.driver
 Brother Innokenti worked in the sovkhos, he was a tractor driver.
- 18 Итҳ қа’т исхэ’н.
Itχ qaʔt isχ-eʔn.
 [01:27] PRO:3PL already die-3PL
 They have died already.
- 19 А кэман счас зунсын лылыхл в Тигиле Надежда.
A kəman sčas zun(ɫ)-s-in lilixɫ v Tigile Nadežda.
 [01:29] And PRO:1SG.POSS now live-PRES-3SG.S sister PREP <Top> <name>
 And I have a sister Nadezhda who lives in Tigil.
- 20 На лэм вэтатқуэн в совхозе, потом в детском садике завхозом.
Na lem vetat-qu-ven v sovchoze, 21 potom v detskom sadike zavxozom.
 [01:35] PRO:3SG also work-IPFV-3SG.S PREP sovkhos [01:38] then PREP child garden manager
 She also worked in the sovkhos, then as a manager at the kindergarten.
- 22 А в Петропавловске зунсын лылыхл Ксенья.
A v Petropavlovске zun(ɫ)-s-in lilixɫ Ksenja,
 [01:42] And PREP <Top> live-PRES-3SG.S sister <name>
 And in Petropavlovsk lives my sister Kseniya.
- 23 На врач, счас на пенсии.
na vrač, sčas na pensii.
 [01:47] PRO:3SG doctor now PREP retired
 She is a doctor and is now retired.
- 24 А самой уљуљах лылыхл Зина водерэн зунсын омоком кэманк.
A samoj uljuɫaχ lilixɫ Zina voderen zun(ɫ)-s-in omokom kəma-nk.
 [01:52] And herself little-ADJ sister <name> always live-PRES-3SG.S together PRO:1SG-LOC
 And my youngest sister Zina lives with me permanently.

1 Variant of *qitkin-eɟ* “brother (from a sister’s perspective)” without singulative suffix *-eɟ*.

- 25 На әңқсхизән, әннан тха'н әңқсхискинэ'н, на қа'м лалыкақ.
Na әңқсxi-z-en, әнан тха-?n әңқсxi-s-kine?n, 26 *na qa?m ʔali-kaq.*
 [01:59] PRO:3SG sick-PRES-3SG.S PRO:3SG.POSS leg-PL sick-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.IO [02:04] PRO:3SG NEG walk-NEG
She is sick, her legs are crippled. She cannot walk.
- 27 Муза'н ... мама ... мизән исх и лахсх нывлсқун,
Muza?n ... mama ... muza?n isx i laxsx n-ilvs-qu-n,
 [02:07] PRO:1PL mama PRO:1PL father and mother 1PL-listen-IPFV-1PL.S>3PL.O
We ... mama ... listened to our father and mother,
- 28 қа'м ит'э хақаһлжақ лқуэ'н.
qa?m it'e xaqant-kaq ʔ-qu-ve?n.
 [02:12] NEG when be.angry-NEG be-IPFV-3PL.S
they never quarrelled (with each other).
- 29 Ли ч'инанқ нзуһлқук.
Li č'inaŋ-q n-zunt-qu-k.
 [02:15] Very good-ADV 1PL-live-IPFV-1PL.S
We lived very well.
- 30 Мизән чиқуэн огород °плах, хоқэн картофель, потом репа
Məzin či-qu-ven ogorod °p-laχ, xoqen kartofel, potom repa,
 [02:18] PRO:1PL.POSS have-IPFV-3SG.S garden big-ADJ there potato then beet
We had a big garden, there were potatoes, also beets,
- 31 потом турнепс эсқузән водерән.
potom turɲeps es-qu-z-en voderen.
 [02:23] then turnips grow-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S always
also turnips growing always.
- 32 И ещѐ лқуэн коров, потом қэйу'ньч уљуљаха'н.
I ješʃo ʔ-qu-ven korov, 33 potom qeju-?nč ulu-ʔaχ-a?n.
 [02:28] and also live-IPFV-3SG.S cow [02:31] then calf-DIM.PL little-ADJ-PL
And also there were cows, and little calves.
- 34 И водерән муза'н стайка нчисчақучән,
I voderen muza?n stajka n-čista-qu-čen,
 [02:35] and always PRO:1PL pen 1PL-clean-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O
We cleaned the pen
- 35 сәна нләнүқучэ'н корова'н.
sena n-ʔennu-qu-če?n korov-a?n.
 [02:40] hay 1PL-feed-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O cow-PL
and fed the cows with hay.
- 36 Ещѐ пап'ан лқукинэ'н ... исх'ән лқукинэ'н °қсқа'н.
Ješʃo pap-ʔan ʔ-qu-kine?n ... isx-ʔen ʔ-qu-kine?n °qsχa-ʔn.
 [02:43] Also papa-POSS be-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.IO father-POSS be-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.IO dog-PL
Papa had, as well, ... father had dogs.
- 37 Кма водерән тләнүқучэ'н әннун °қсқа'н.
Kma voderen t-ʔennu-qu-če?n enun °qsχa-ʔn.
 [02:48] PRO:1SG always 1SG-feed-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O PRO:DEM.PL dog-PL
I always fed these dogs.

- 38 Коказоқучэн тхаанк опана, и' тсивлықучэн.
 (t-)koka-zo-qu-čen txaʔa-nk opana, 39 iʔ t-sivle-qu-čen.
 [02:52] (1SG-)cook-ITER-IPFV-1SG.S>3SG.O PRO:3PL-DAT sour.broth [02:57] water 1SG-carry-IPFV-1SG.S>3SG.O
 I made sour broth for them, hauled water.
- 40 Мизэн атнок мил ҺиҺикэ'Һч вэтаткуэ'н.
 Məzin atno-k miʔ ɬeɬeke-ʔnč vetat-qu-veʔn.
 [03:00] PRO:1PL.POSS village-LOC all child-DIM.PL work-IPFV-3PL.S
 In our house all children worked.
- 41 Мил ҫплаха'н лылыхлэ'н Ксения и Надежда коказоқуэ'н
 Miʔ ʔp-laχ-aʔn lilixʔ-eʔn Ksenja i Nadežda koka-zo-qu-z-eʔn,
 [03:06] all big-ADJ-PL sister-PL <name> and <name> cook-ITER-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S
 My older sisters Kseniya and Nadezhda cooked,
- 42 стира'лқуэ'н, чи'нҫылқуэ'н.
 stiraʔ-qu-z-eʔn, čiʔnɬɬ-qu-z-eʔn.
 [03:12] do.laundry-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S sew-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S
 did the laundry, sewed.
- 43 А кма и' тсивлықучэн.
 A kma iʔ t-sivle-qu-čen.
 [03:16] And PRO:1SG water 1SG-carry-IPFV-1SG.S>3SG.O
 And I hauled the water.
- 44 Потом у'э'н тсивлықучэ'н и ҫсха'н тлэнуқуэ'н.
 Potom uʔ-eʔn t-sivle-qu-čeʔn i ʔqsχa-ʔn t-ʎennu-qu-čeʔn.
 [03:20] Then firewood-PL 1SG-carry-IPFV-1SG.S>3PL.O and dog-PL 1SG-feed-IPFV-1SG.S>3PL.O
 I hauled firewood and fed the dogs.
- 45 Ҳэнҫэн кэман вэтат исх и лахсх нытықуэ'н.
 χenχen kəman vetat isχ i laχsχ n-ita-qu-čen. ¹
 [03:27] PRO:such PRO:1SG.POSS work father and mother PASS-order-IPFV-PASS.3SG.S
 That was the kind of work father and mother assigned to me.
- 46 Мизэн кийэнк ли густа нэһчэ'н лқуэ'н.
 Məzin kij-enk li gusta nənč-eʔn ʔ-qu-veʔn.
 [03:35] PRO:1PL.POSS river-LOC very many fish-PL be-IPFV-3PL.S
 There were a lot of fish in our river.
- 47 Ҷа'т ит' ламл лэатызэн, қнэҫ мил ч'амзалэ'н,
 Qaʔt itʔ lamʔ la-ati-z-en, ² qneɬ miʔ č'amzal-eʔn,
 [03:44] already when summer become-DIR-PRES-3SG.S at.once all person-PL
 When summer comes, all at once all the people
- 48 к'э зуһлқуэ'н Эсхлэнк, пикатызэ'н мэмэ'нк.
 k'e zunt-qu-veʔn Esχʔ-enk, pik-ati-z-eʔn mem-eʔnk.
 [03:49] PRO:who live-IPFV-3PL.S <Top>-LOC walk-DIR-PRES-3PL.S summer.hut-LOC.PL
 who lived in Sedanka left for their balagans [summer huts raised on pilings].

1 Volodin / Khaloimova (1989) give the transitive root as *ete-s* “to order, to assign”. A rare form interpreted as passive Georg / Volodin (1999: 163–164). Within the transitive paradigm *n-ita-qu-čen* has to be glossed as “we assigned it” (1PL-order-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O), the corresponding form with third person plural subject would be *n-ita-qu-nen* “they assigned it” (3PL-order-IPFV-3PL.S>3SG.O).

2 Pronounced like *la-kas* “to narrate”, but should be *le-kas* “to become”.

- 49 И мэмэ'нк итх ивлхэ'н Һэводилжуэ'н, нәһч Һэводилжуэ'н.
I mem-e?nk itx ivlχ-e?n hevodił-qu-ve?n, 50 *nəñč hevodił-qu-ve?n.*
 [03:55] and summer.hut-LOC.PL PRO:3PL man-PL fish.with.nets-IPFV-3PL.S [04:01] fish fish.with.nets-IPFV-3PL.S
 And at the balagans the men fished with nets, they caught fish with nets.
- 51 А йимсхэ'н нәһчэ'н Өфтқунэ'н.
A jimsχ-e?n nəñč-e?n ɔft-qu-ne?n.
 [04:05] And woman-PL fish-PL clean-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.O
 And the women cleaned the fish.
- 52 Мама густа нәһчэ'н Өфтқунэ'н, нозэ'н сқонэ'н, сољалжуэн.
Mama gusta nəñč-e?n ɔft-qu-ne?n, 53 *noz-e?n s-qo-ne?n,* *sołat-qo-ven.*
 [04:11] Mama many fish-PL clean-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.O [04:14] yukola-PL make-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.O salt-IPFV-3SG.S
 Mama cut a lot of fish, made yukola, salted them.
- 54 А папа ещѐ вилвил сқонэ'н ҫсха'нк.
A papa ješjo vilvil s-qo-ne?n ʷqsχa-?nk.
 [04:18] And papa also food(fish.for.dogs) make-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.O dog-DAT.PL
 And papa made food for the dogs.
- 55 А муза'н, ҺиҺикэ'һч, водерэн ийэнк Һлқук.
A muza?n, ҺeҺeke-?nč, voderen ijenk n-ł-qu-k.
 [04:23] And PRO:1PL child-DIM.PL always downriver.LOC 1PL-be-IPFV-1PL.S
 And we children always were at the water.
- 56 То муза'н нәһчэ'н Һсивлақу'н.
To muza?n nəñč-e?n n-sivle-qu-?n.
 [04:29] and PRO:1PL fish-PL 1PL-carry-IPFV-3PL.O
 We hauled fish.
- 57 Потом маульк'и'һч кийэнк, ләм это маульк'и'һч кийэнк муза'н ловили.
Potom maułk'u-?nč kij-enk, 58 *lem eto maułk'u-?nč kij-enk muza?n lovili.*
 [04:36] Then small.fry-DIM.PL river-LOC [04:41] also this small.fry-DIM.PL river-LOC PRO:1PL catch.PST.PL
 And the small fry in the river, we caught the small fry too, in the river.
- 59 И водерэн ннуқук нәһчәл. Нозэ'н, йухала ли ч'эвузлақ лқуэн.
I voderen n-nu-qu-k nəñč-eł. 60 *Noz-eł, juxala li č'evuz-laχ ł-qu-ven.*
 [04:52] and always 1PL-eat-IPFV-1PL.S fish-INS [04:58] yukola-INS dried.fish very sweet-ADJ be-IPFV-3SG.S
 And we ate fish all the time. Yukola [dried fish], "yukhala", was really good.
- 61 Потом килыкил Һсқочэн: ләңју'һч и нәһчэ'н омоком.
Potom kilikil n-s-qo-čen: 62 *leŋju-?nč¹ i nəñč-e?n omokom.*
 [05:02] Then kirilka 1PL-make-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O [05:06] berry-DIM.PL and fish-PL together.
 Also we made kirilka, from berries and fish together.
- 63 Муза'н ещѐ чқлаха'н лйлик'э'һч Һтхалқу'н.
Muza?n ješjo čq-laχ-a?n lilik'e-?nč n-tχal-qu-?n.²
 [05:09] PRO:1PL also humid-ADJ-PL pickled.fish.head-DIM.PL 1PL-eat-IPFV-1PL.S>3PL.O
 We also ate pickled fish heads.

1 As a slip of the tongue *leŋju-?nč-e?n* combining the diminutive plural with an additional regular plural suffix.

2 *n-tχal-qu-?n* instead of *n-tχal-qu-če?n*. In the following parts of the text there are various verb forms with first person plural subject and third person plural object showing this replacement, e.g. sentence 67, 74, 79

- 64 Счас, на pewno, хэ'нч мтхалчэн,
Sčas, naverno, xeʔnč m-tχal-čen,
 [05:12] Now, probably NEG.IMP 1PL.IMP-eat-1SG.S>3SG.O
 We probably would not eat them now,
- 65 а раьше водерэн ннукук льи́лик'эчэ́л.
a raʔše voderen n-nu-qu-k lilik'eč-eł.
 [05:16] and before always 1PL-eat-IPFV-1PL.S pickled.fish.head-INS
 but in former times we always ate pickled heads.
- 66 А ит' ламл лқуээн,
A it' lamł ł-qu-z-en,
 [05:23] And when summer be-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S
 And when it was summer,
- 67 митх нч'э'лқу'н зинк лалэки льэ́ну'нч нчилқу́нч.
*mitχ n-č'eł-qu-ʔn zin-k łale-ki leʔnu-ʔnč n-čil-qu-ʔen.*¹
 [05:27] grandmother 1PL-accompany-IPFV-1PL.S>3PL.O forest-LOC walk-INF berry-DIM.PL 1PL-gather-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O
 we went with my grandmother to the forest and picked berries.
- 68 Мизэн оромхэ'н лқуэ'н.
Məzin oromχ-eʔn ł-qu-veʔn.
 [05:33] PRO:1PL.POSS oromkh-PL be-IPFV-3SG.S
 We had birch-bark dishes.
- 69 Потом муза'н водерэн нлалыкук омоком лахсх и митх
Potom muzaʔn voderen n-łale-qu-k omokom laχsχ i mitχ
 [05:36] Then PRO:1PL always 1PL-walk-IPFV-1PL.S together mother and grandmother
 We used to all go together with my mother and grandmother
- 70 и густа њи́њикэ'нч зинк.
i gusta ʔeʔeke-ʔnč zin-k.
 [05:44] i many child-DIM.PL forest-LOC
 and many children into the forest.
- 71 Муза'н хоқэн нчилқу́нч льэ́ну'нч:
Muzaʔn χoqen n-čil-qu-ʔen leʔnu-ʔnč:
 [05:48] PRO:1PL there 1PL-gather-1PL.S>3SG.O berry-DIM.PL
 We picked berries there:
- 72 лэлтхэ'н, потом ийа́ночх, потом лы'л.
ləltχ-eʔn, potom ijaʔo-čχ, potom li-ʔl.
 [05:52] honeysuckle-PL then raspberry-DIM then crowberry-PL
 honeysuckle, raspberries, crowberries.
- 73 И ли посуда лқуээн:
I li posuda ł-qu-ven:
 [06:02] and very container be-IPFV-3PL.S
 And there were many containers:

1 The verb form *n-čil-qu-ʔen* shows another personal suffix *-ʔen* replacing *-čen* “1PL.S>3SG.O”. Also to be found in sentence 73.

- 74 чуманчики, оромха'н, ач'ала'н – нызуку'н льэңу'ньч.
čumančiki, oromx-aʔn, ¹ 75 *ač'al-aʔn – n-əzzu-qu-ʔn* *леңу-ʔнč.*
 [06:10] *chumanchiki oromkh-PL [06:15] achal-PL 1PL-put.away-IPFV-1PL.S>3PL.O berry-DIM.PL*
chumanchiki, oromkhs and achals — (into which) we put the berries.
- 76 А вместо рюкзака лқуэн льэпхэ'н, энну °сыса'ин ска'н.
A vmesto rukzaka ł-qu-ven лепхе-ʔn, 77 *enu °sisa-ʔin sk-aʔn.*
 [06:18] *And instead backpack be-IPFV-3SG.S basket-PL [06:23] PRO:DEM grass-POSS make-3PL.S*
And instead of a backpack we had baskets (lepkhe). They were made from grass.
- 78 Льэңу'ньч лқуэ'н ли ныйныл льэңу'ньч лқуэ'н.
леңу-ʔнč ł-qu-veʔn li nijnił леңу-ʔнč ł-qu-veʔn.
 [06:28] *berry-DIM.PL be-IPFV-3PL.S very many berry-DIM.PL be-IPFV-3PL.S*
There were berries, lots of berries.
- 79 Лавал-та муза'н энну льэңу'ньч эм летом нтхалку'н.
łavał-ta muzaʔn enu леңу-ʔнč em letom n-txal-qu-ʔn.
 [06:32] *PRO:why PRO:1PL PRO:DEM berry-DIM.PL only summer 1PL-eat-IPFV-1PL.S>3PL.O*
For some reason we ate berries only in the summer.
- 80 На зиму, видишь, сахар нету лқуэн.
Na zimu, vidiš, saxar netu ł-qu-ven.
 [06:39] *PREP winter see-INF sugar NEG be-IPFV-3PL.S*
In the winter ... you see, we had no sugar.
- 81 И қэчик летом ннуқук льэңу'ньчэл.
I qeči-q letom n-nu-qu-k леңу-ʔнč-eł.
 [06:43] *and good-ADV summer 1PL-eat-IPFV-1PL.S berry-DIM.PL-INS*
So we really ate berries in the summer.
- 82 Мизэн тмалк нету лқуэ'н ку'н.
Məzin tmal-k netu ł-qu-veʔn ku-ʔn.
 [06:47] *PRO:1PL.POSS near-LOC NEG be-IPFV-3PL.S pine.nut-PL*
There were no pine nuts near us.
- 83 Видишь, ли мэч'ақ итх лқуэ'н.
Vidiš, li meč'a-q itx ł-qu-veʔn.
 [06:54] *see-INF very far-ADV PRO:3PL be-IPFV-3PL.S*
You see they were very far away.
- 84 Эм исх маачхал схэзйалэн на охоту,
Em isx mač-xal sxezj-ał-en na oxotu,
 [06:57] *only father PRO:where-ABL go-FUT/DES-3SG.S PREP hunting*
When father goes hunting somewhere,
- 85 ҳоҳал т'флатысчиңнэн ку'н.
хо-ҳал t'fł-atə-s-čij(nen) ku-ʔn.
 [07:01] *there-ABL bring-DIR-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.IO pine.nut-PL*
he brings pine nuts from there.
- 86 Ҳоқэн ит'э муза'н нзуњлқук нету лқуэ'н моторка'н, потом машина'н.
хоqen it'e muzaʔn n-zuñł-qu-k netu ł-qu-veʔn motork-aʔn, potom mašina-ʔn.
 [07:10] *there when PRO:1PL 1PL-live-IPFV-1PL.S NEG be-IPFV-3PL.S motor-PL then car-PL*
When we lived there, there were no motors, no cars.

1 Pronounced as *oromxał*, the instrumental suffix *-ł* does not make much sense in this listing.

- 87 Эм нйээдылжук °қсха'л, зимой °қсха'л, а летом хтул.
Em n-jezdiṭ-qu-k °qsχa-ṭ, zimoj °qsχa-ṭ 88 *a letom χtu-ṭ*.
 [07:16] Only 1PL-travel-IPFV-1PL.S dog-INS.PL winter dog-INS [07:20] and summer canoe-INS
 We travelled only by dogsled — by dogsled in the winter, and in the summer by bats (dug-out canoes).
- 89 Пап'ан чиқукинэн °қсха'н, наверно 12.
Pap-ʔan či-qu-kinen °qsχa-ʔn, naverno 12.
 [07:24] papa-POSS have-IPFV-3SG.S>3SG.IO dog-PL probably 12
 Papa had dogs, probably twelve.
- 90 Йақ ли нықа йээдылжуэн, а летом хту'н.
Jaq li niqa jezdiṭ-qu-ven, 91 a letom χtu-ʔn.
 [07:28] but very fast go-IPFV-3SG.S [07:32] and summer canoe-PL
 And they went very fast, but in the summer by bat.
- 92 А хту'н нада қасха'н парома'л скәс.
A χtu-ʔn nada qasχ-aʔn parom-aṭ skə-s.
 [07:35] And canoe-PL it's.necessary two-POSS.PL paired.boat-INS.PL make-INF
 And bats — two were necessary to make paired boats.
- 93 Мил груз с Усть-Тигильа хту'л ивлхэ'н ...,
Miṭ груз s Ust-Tigila χtu-ṭ ivṭχ-eʔn e ... e
 [07:40] All load PREP <Top> canoe-INS.PL man-PL
 All the load from Ust Tigil the men ...,
- 94 ивлхэ'н хту'л нт'ылжунэн до Эсхлэнк.
ivṭχ-eʔn χtu-ṭ n-t'it-qu-nen¹ do Esχṭ-enk.
 [07:49] man-PL canoe-INS.PL 3PL-bring-IPFV-3PL.S>3SG.O PREP <Top>-LOC
 the men brought in bats to Sedanka.
- 95 Ли нура пикижуэн с отдыхом.
Li nura piki-qu-z-en s otdixom.
 [07:52] very long.time walk-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S PREP rest.INS
 It took a long time with breaks.
- 96 Ит' кма уљульах тлжукичэн, ли °пэлқ амңә'л илвсқучэн.
It' kma ulu-ḷaχ t-ṭ-qu-kičen, li °pəl-q amɲe-ʔl ilvs-qu-čeʔn.
 [08:02] when PRO:1SG.S little-ADJ 1SG-be-IPFV-1SG.S very big-ADV story-PL listen-IPFV-1SG.S>3PL.O
 When I was little, I listened to stories very enthusiastically.
- 97 Ит' вечер лаатызэн лаволатыск уйэрэтэнк или ит' нәльчатыск –
It' večer la-ati-z-en² (n-)ṭavol-ati-s-k ujeret-enk ili it' n-aḷč-ati-s-k
 [08:08] when evening become-DIR-PRES-3SG.S (1PL-)sit.down-DIR-PRES-1PL fire-LOC or when 1PL-go.to.bed-DIR-PRES-1PL.S
 When the evening came we gathered by the fire or when we lay down to sleep
- 98 мама водерэн или бабушка-митх,
– mama voderen ili babuška-mitχ,
 [08:15] mama always or grandmother-grandmother

1 variant of *t'ṭl-* (or *(w)ṭṭl-*) “to bring”.

2 Pronounced like *la-kas* “to narrate”, but should be *le-kas* “to become”.

- 99 водерэн лакусчиңнэн разные амҗэла'н.
voderen la-qu-s-čijnen raznie amžel-aʔn.
 [08:21] always narrate-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.IO various story-PL
 — Mama or grandmother always told various stories
- 100 Муза'н ... мизанк лақучиңнэн амҗэл:
Muzaʔn ... məz-ank la-qu-čijnen amžel:
 [08:25] PRO:1PL PRO:1PL-LOC narrate-IPFV-3SG.S>3SG.IO story
 We ... they told us stories of raven [mythical figure called Kutkh]:
- 101 Қусхҗнэку манк итх омоком зуһлқукнэн Миты,
Qusχʔneku man-k itχ omokom (k-)zunʔ-qu-knen Miti,
 [08:28] <name> PRO:where-LOC PRO:3PL together NARR-live-IPFV-NARR <name>
 How Kutkh lived together with Mite,
- 102 манк Қусхҗнэку лэҗк'у'нк интимнэ'ан,
man-k Qusχʔneku leʔk'u-ʔnk (k-)intəmne-ʔan,
 [08:34] PRO:where-LOC <name> mouse-DAT.PL NARR-deceive-NARR
 how Kutkh was tricked by mice
- 103 потом манк Қусхҗнэку ли квэтаткнэн т'ылан Миты.
potom man-k Qusχʔneku li k-vetat-knen t'ilan Miti.
 [08:39] then PRO:where-LOC <name> very NARR-work-NARR guest(?) <name>
 and how Kutkh got Mite [his wife] to work hard.
- 104 Потом ещё мама водерэн лақучиң(нэн) амҗэл “Тылвал”.
Potom ješjo mama voderen la-qu-čij(nen) amžel “Tilval”.
 [08:44] Then also mama always narrate-IPFV-3SG.S>3SG.IO story <name>
 Then mother told us also always the story “Tylval.”
- 105 Тылвал это ... энну ительменский богатырь, мин зуһлқуэн Изменянк.
Tilval eto ... enu itelʔmenskij bogatir, 106 min zunʔ-qu-ven Izmenoj-ank.
 [08:52] <name> this ... PRO:DEM itelmen.ATTR hero [08:56] which live-IPFV-3SG.S <Top>-LOC
 Tylval, he is he is an Itelmen hero who lived at Izmenoi.
- 107 Муза'н ещё ульчқ ит' ма' ульулаха'н нлқук
Muzaʔn ješjo uliʔ-q it' maʔ ulu-laχ-aʔn n-ʔ-qu-k
 [09:01] PRO:1PL also little-ADV when PRO:where little-ADJ-PL 1PL-be-IPFV-1PL.S
 We were still little, when we were little
- 108 мизэн хэнҗэн ма'йанэ'н, манк счас чэ'н нету лқуэ'н.
məzin χenɲe-ʔn maʔjan-eʔn, 109 man-k sčas če-ʔn netu ʔ-qu-veʔn.
 [09:05] PRO:1PL.POSS PRO:such-PL toy-PL [09:08] PRO:where-LOC now have-3PL.S NEG be-IPFV-3PL.S
 we had such toys, ones that no longer exist.
- 110 Эм камушки ма'лқук, потом ещё ма'йанэ'н лқуэ'н,
Em kamuški maʔ-qu-k, 111 potom ješjo maʔjan-eʔn ʔ-qu-veʔn,
 [09:11] Only kamushka.PL play-IPFV-1PL [09:17] then also toy-PL be-IPFV-3PL.S
 Only we played in the kamushka, then there were toys,
- 112 әҗчис ... мин тарелка'н разбит илэн, эннул осколкал и нма'лқук.
əjis ... min tarelka-ʔn razbit iten, 113 enu oskolka-ʔ i n-maʔ-qu-k.
 [09:25] ... like dish-PL break go-3SG.S [09:29] PRO:DEM piece-INS and 1PL-play-IPFV-1PL.S
 like when dishes broke, we played with those pieces.

- 114 А хэлүчэ'н муза'н нсқо'н °сыса'ин.
 А *χeluč-eʔn muzaʔn n-s-qo-ʔn* "sisa-ʔin.
 [09:32] And doll-PL PRO:1PL 1PL-make-IPFV-1PL.S>3PL.O grass-POSS
 And we made dolls from grass.
- 115 А эззанк ли вайма нма'лқук:
 А *əzzan-k li vajma n-maʔ-qu-k:*
 [09:40] And outside-LOC very happy 1PL-play-IPFV-1PL.S
 And outside we had a lot of fun playing
- 116 “Прятушки”, потом “хайэн и ... хайэн и қос – қос и хайэн.”
 “*Prjatuški*”, *potom* “*χajen i ... χajen i qos* 117 – *qos i χajen*.”
 [09:44] <name> then wolf and wolf and reindeer [09:51] reindeer and wolf
 “Pryatushki”, then “Wolf and ... wolf and reindeer — Reindeer and wolves.”
- 118 А зимой лэңал и нартај кататись.
 А *zimoj leŋa-ʔ i narta-ʔ katatis*.
 [09:55] And winter ski-INS and sled-INS sleigh-INF
 And in the winter we used skis and sleds.
- 119 Потом ит'э кэман лқуэн 9 лет, кма школанк пикикичэн.
Potom it'e kəman ʔ-qu-ven 9 let, kma škola-nk (t-)piki-kičen.
 [10:05] Then, when PRO:1SG.POSS be-IPFV-3SG.S 9 year PRO:1SG school-LOC 1SG-walk-1SG.S
 Хоқэн т'ансэлқукичэн.
χoqen t'-anseʔ-qu-kičen.
 there 1SG-study-IPFV-1SG.S
 Then, when I was nine years old, I started school and studied there.
- 120 Кма до 10 лет т'утуқук крвэлатки по-русски.
Kma do 10 let t'-utu-qu-k krveʎat-ki po russki.
 [10:11] PRO:1SG PREP 10 year 1SG-be.unable-IPFV-1SG.S speak-INF PREP Russian
 I could not speak Russian until I was ten years old.
- 121 Эм мэзанлҳанык нкрвэлатқук.
*Em məzatχan*¹ *t-krveʎet-qu-k*.
 [10:18] only PRO:1PL.POSS.language 1S-speak-ITER-IPFV-1SG.S
 I only spoke our own language.
- 122 Кэман лқуэн Валька подружка русская.
Kəman ʔ-qu-ven Valʎka podružka russkaja.
 [10:21] PRO:1SG.POSS be-IPFV-3SG.S <name> girlfriend Russian.
 I had (a friend) Valya, a Russian girlfriend.
- 123 И кма энна тч'э'лқучэн крвэлатки ли лэңқ,
I kma əna t-č'eʔ-qu-čen krveʎat-ki li ʔəŋ-q,
 [10:27] and PRO:1SG PRO:3SG 1SG-accompany-IPFV-1SG.S>3SG.O speak-ITER-INF very funny-adv
 I spoke funny to her.
- 124 мил слова русские коверкала.
miʔ slova russkije kovjerkala.
 [10:31] all word Russian distorted.PST.F
 I got the Russian words all turned around.

1 The form used here and also twice later (sentences 164 and 184) for “our language” by V.I. Uspenskaya is not documented otherwise, the first component might be analyzed as *məzan* „our“, the second component is unclear.

- 125 Мизэн зуһлҕуэн эм ительмэна'н,
Məzin zunt-qu-ven em itelmen-aʔn,
 [10:37] PRO:1PL.POSS live-IPFV-3SG.S only Itelmen-PL
 We were only Itelmens living together,
- 126 а ава'ньч совсем мало лҕуэн только қасх, по-моему.
a ava-ʔnč sovsjem malo t-qu-veʔn tolko qasx po-moemu.
 [10:42] and Russian-DIM.PL altogether few be-IPFV-3PL.S, only two perhaps
 and there were few Russians (Europeans), two perhaps.
- 127 Қниң аһчпқуум муза'н, а қулан лечиқуум.
Qniŋ aŋčp-qu-vuʔm muzaʔn, a qula leči-qu-vuʔm.
 [10:48] One teach-IPFV-1PL.O PRO:1PL and other heal-IPFV-1PL.O
 One taught us, and the other healed.
- 128 А да муза'н водерэн тавльо'н омоком ч'э'лҕуэн ... это ...
A da muzaʔn voderen tavlo-ʔn omokom č'eʔt-qu-ven ... eto ...
 [10:54] And PRO:1PL always Koryak-PL together accompany-IPFV-3SG.S this
 And we always (were) together with Koryaks ...
- 129 вот мама ... лахсх, исх схэзйатызэ'н ҳоқэн тавльо'нк,
Vot mama ... laxsx, 130 isx sxezj-ati-z-eʔn xoqen tavlo-ʔnk,
 [11:00] it's mama mother [11:04] father travel-DIR-PRES-3PL.S there Koryak-DIR.PL
 Mama, ... mother and father went to the Koryaks,
- 131 ҳоҳал қойаҷх нт'лҕатызнэн,
ho-ħal qoja-čx-eʔn (txiʔin) n-txl-ati-z-nen,
 [11:09] there-ABL reindeer-DIM.PL (PRO:3PL) 3PL-bring-DIR-PRES-3PL.S>3SG.O
 and brought reindeer,
- 132 и муза'н потом атнок эйнатизэ'н, шап қойа'ин растелят.
i muzaʔn potom atno-k ijn-ati-z-eʔn, 133 šap qoja-ʔin rasteljat.
 [11:12] and PRO:1PL then village-LOC arrive-DIR-PRES-3PL.S [11:16] hide reindeer-POSS prepare.SUF
 and then we, ... they get home and we prepare the reindeer hide.
- 134 Муза'н мил нлаволатыск вокруг исхэнк, лахсхэнк,
Muzaʔn mił n-ʔavol-ati-s-k vokrug isx-enk, i laxsx-enk,
 [11:19] PRO:1PL all 1PL-sit.down-DIR-PRES-1PL.S around father-LOC and mother-LOC
 We all sit down around father and mother
- 135 и нтҳалқузэн, нқомлоқуск.
i n-tħal-qu-z-en, n-qomla-qu-s-k.
 [11:23] and 1PL-eat-IPFV-PRES-1PL.S>3SG.O 1PL-eat.bone.marrow-IPFV-PRES-1PL
 and eat, and eat the bone marrow.
- 136 И понта нтҳалқуэн чқлаҳ. – Ой ч'эвусқ!
I ponta n-tħal-qu-ven čq-laħ. – Oj č'eves-q!
 [11:30] and liver 1PL-eat-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O raw-ADJ EXCL sweet-ADV
 And we ate the liver raw. — Oi, it tasted good!
- 137 А қомла'н ли ч'эвузлаҳа'н.
A qoml-aʔn li č'evuz-laħ-aʔn.
 [11:34] And bone.marrow-PL very sweet-ADJ-PL
 And bone marrow is very tasty.

- 138 Папа латызнэн и давай нталақузнэн,
Papa ɬe-t-əz-nen i davaj-ta n-tala-qu-z-nen,
 [11:38] *papa take-DISTR-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O and let's.go 1PL-break.bone(s)-IPFV-PRES-1PL.S>3SG.O*
Papa takes and prompts us to whack the bones,
- 139 и потом айвай нтхалқун лэм.
i potom ajvaj n-txal-qu-vin lem.
 [11:42] *and then brain 1PL-eat-IPFV-3SG.S>3SG.O also*
... and then we ate the brains too.
- 140 А тхаанк тавльо'нк муза'н нзылқун чай, потом тавок,
A txaʔa-nk tavɬo-ʔnk muzaʔn n-zil-qu-n čaj, potom tavok,
 [11:47] *And PRO:3PL-DAT Koryak-DIR.PL PRO:1PL 1PL-give.away-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O tea then tobacco*
And to them, to the Koryaks we gave tea, tobacco,
- 141 потом ещё нерпичий тхалтхал, и шапэ'ньч чаут скэс.
potom ješʃo nerpičij txaltxal, 142 i sap-eʔnč čaʔvat skə-s.
 [11:55] *then also seal meat [12:03] and hide-DIM.PL lasso make-INF*
then also seal meat, also hides to make lassos.
- 143 Мизэн лэм лқуэн приятели,
Məzin lem ɬ-qu-ven prijateli
 [12:07] *PRO:1PL.POSS also be-IPFV-3SG.S trade.partner*
- 144 к'э обменивались мизанк нзылқунэн.
k'e obmenivalis məz-ank n-zil-qu-nen ...
 [12:11] *PRO:who trade-INF PRO:1PL-DAT 3PL-give-IPFV-3SG.S>3SG.O*
We also had priyateli (trade-partners), with whom we traded, they gave us ...
- 145 Миланэнк чиқуэн приятели.
miɬan-enk či-qu-ven prijateli.
 [12:17] *all-LOC have-IPFV-3SG.S trade.partner*
Everyone had priyateli.
- 146 И как осень қниң нсхэзйатыск,
I kak oseɳ qniɳ n-sxexj-ati-s-k,
 [12:23] *and how fall immediately 1PL-travel-DIR-PRES-1PL.S*
As soon as it was fall we're off,
- 147 папа схэзйатызэн приятелианк хоқэн,
papa sxexj-ati-z-en prijateli-ank xoqen,
 [12:26] *papa travel-ITER-PRES-3SG.S trade.partner-LOC there*
Papa goes there
- 148 и хоҳал әңқачх тлатысчиңнэн ч'эвузлаҳ.
i xo-xal əŋqa-čx t-ɬa-t-əs-čijnen č'evuz-laχ.
 [12:30] *and from.there-ABL PRO:what-DIM 1SG-take-DISTR-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.IO sweet-ADJ*
and brings something good back.
- 149 Ит' кма уљуљах тлқукичэн,
It' kma ulu-ɬaχ t-ɬ-qu-kičen,
 [12:35] *when PRO:1SG little-ADJ 1SG-be-IPFV-1SG.S*
When I was young,

- 150 мизэн нету лқуэ'н крупэ'н: хэнјэн рис или гречка.
məzin netu ɫ-qu-veʔn krup-eʔn xenjen ris ili grečka.
 [12:38] PRO:1PL.POSS NEG be-IPFV-3PL.S grain-PL PRO:such rice or buckwheat
 we did not have today's grains; we ate buckwheat.
- 151 Мама водерэн чилқунэ'н эфкэ'н.
Mama voderen čil-qu-neʔn efk-eʔn.
 [12:44] Mama always collect-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.O sarana-PL
 Mama collected sarana (black lily root).
- 152 Йимсхэ'н пикатызэн зинк
Jimsx-eʔn pik-ati-z-en zin-k
 [12:47] woman-PL walk-DIR-PRES-3SG.S forest-LOC
 The women go to the forest
- 153 и нлматызнэн қосқос и нэнтхзоқузнэ'н эфкэ'н.
i n-la-t-əz-nen qosqos 154 i n-entxzo-qu-z-neʔn efk-eʔn.
 [12:50] and 3PL-take-DISTR-PRES-3SG.S>3PL.O tool.for.digging [12:53] and 3PL-search-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S>3PL.O sarana-PL
 and take with them koskos (instrument for digging sarana) and look for sarana.
- 155 Итх ҳақ н'ылқунэн ма' чилкэс эвкэ'н.
Itx haq n'-il-qu-nen maʔ čil-kes efk-eʔn.
 [12:57] PRO:3PL AUX:know 3PL-know-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.O PRO:where gather-INF sarana-PL
 They knew where they collected sarana.
- 156 Итх льэлк'у'н нчилатызнэн ... нора ... делать элақ склад
Itx lelk'uʔn n-čil-at-əz-kinen ... 157 nora ... delatʲ eda ko sklad
 [13:02] PRO:3PL mouse-PL 3PL-gather-DISTR-PRES-3PL.S>3SG.IO [13:08] den make food PREP stockroom
 Mice gather it (sarana), ... they make a kind of cache
- 158 и густа ит' нчкиатызнэн энну льэлк'у'ин запасы.
i gusta it' n-čki-ati-z-nen enu lelk'u-ʔin zapasi.
 [13:12] and many when 3PL-find-DIR-PRES-3PL.S>3SG.O PRO:DEM mouse-POSS supply.PL
 and there's a lot when the women find them, these mouse caches.
- 159 И потом нчилқузнэн, но итх қа'м ит' мил эфкэ'н лақ.
I potom n-čil-qu-z-nen, 160 no itx qaʔm it' miɫ efk-eʔn ɫ-aq.
 [13:17] and then 1PL-gather-IPFV-PRES-3SG.O [13:20] but PRO:3PL NEG when all sarana-PL be-NEG
 So then they collect them, but they never take all sarana.
- 161 Надо уључқ хоть льэлк'у'нк ... льэлк'у'нк оставить, а то итх исхалјэ'н.
Nada uluč-q xotʲ lelk'u-ʔnk ... 162 lelk'u-ʔnk ostavitʲ, a to itx isx-aɫ-eʔn.
 [13:24] it's.necessary little-ADV though mouse-DAT.PL [13:33] mouse-DAT.PL leave.inf because PRO:3PL die-FUT-3PL.S
 A little has to be left for the mice ... left for the mice, otherwise, they would die.
- 163 Потом ещё кимчига нчилқунэн.
Potom ješjo kimčiga n-čil-qu-nen.
 [13:38] Then also kimchiga 3PL-gather-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O
 Then they also collected spring beauty roots.
- 164 Толькот'утускичэн интфалкас манк мэзанлјхэн лакэс.
Tolko t'-utu-s-kičen əntal(kas) man-k məzatxan lake-s.
 [13:44] Only 1SG-be.unable-PRES-1SG.S remember PRO:where-LOC PRO:1PL.POSS.language speak-INF
 Only I cannot remember what it's called in our language.

- 165 Энну ли ч'эвузлах, элақ картофеля'ньч уљуљаха'н.
Enu li č'evuz-lax, 166 ełaq kartofel-aʔnč uļu-łax-aʔn.
 [13:49] PRO:DEM very sweet-ADJ [13:52] like potato-DIM.PL little-ADJ-PL
 It's very good, like little potatoes.
- 167 Ит'э кма тлқукичэн Ковране,
It'e kma t-ł-qu-kičen Kovrane
 [13:55] when PRO:1SG 1SG-be-IPFV-1SG.S <Top>
 When I was in Kovran,
- 168 на Алхалалалае, ҳоқэн ли густа чилқунэн йимсхэ'н кимчига.
na Alxalalalaje, ʁoqen li gusta čil-qu-nen jimsx-eʔn kimčiga.
 [13:59] PREP Alkhalalalai there very many gather-IPFV-3SG.S>3SG.O woman-PL kimchiga
 at Alkhalalalai, there were many women (who) collected spring beauty roots.
- 169 Ли ч'инанқ отварить илэн, а ... я
Li č'inaŋ-q otvaritʃ ił-en, a ... ja,
 [14:07] Very good-ADV decoct-INF be-3SG.S and I
 They cooked them up very well. And ...
- 170 я ч'эвузлаха'н, элақ картофеля'ньч уљуљаха'н.
ja č'evuz-lax-aʔn, ełaq kartofel-eʔnč uļu-łax-aʔn.
 [14:11] I sweet-ADJ-PL like potato-DIM.PL little-ADJ-PL
 (I,) tasty, just like little potatoes.
- 171 Потом водерэн нсқонэн сылқсылқ.
Potom voderen n-s-qo-nen silqsilq.
 [14:16] Then always 3PL-make-IPFV-3PL.S>3SG.O talkusha
 Then they always made talkusha [somewhat like pemmican].
- 172 Энну нада нура скэс.
Enu nada nura skə-s.
 [14:19] PRO:DEM it's.necessary long.time make-INF
 It takes a long time.
- 173 Мизэн митх водерэн сқонэн.
Məzin mitx voderen s-qo-nen.
 [14:23] PRO:1PL.POSS grandmother always make-IPFV-3SG.S>3SG.O
 Our grandmother always made it.
- 174 Надо ҳоқэн и жир изус, и потом тхалтхал, по-моему, уључқ, картофель,
Nada ʁoqen i žir izu-s, 175 i potom tɣaltɣal, po-moemu, uļuč-q, kartofel,
 [14:28] it's.necessary there and fat add-INF [14:34] and then meat perhaps little-ADV potato
 It's necessary to add fat, then meat, then, I think, some potato,
- 176 но кма сейчас т'утуалкичэн лаалки әңқа ҳоқэн надо изус.
no kma sejčas t'-utu-ał-kičen laałki əŋqa ʁoqen nada izu-s.
 [14:37] but PRO:1SG immediately 1SG-be.unable-FUT-1SG.S there PRO:what there it's.necessary add-INF
 but now I can't say, what has to put in.
- 177 Но кма ҳақ исчэн ли нура нада талас
No kma ɣaq (t'-)i(t)-s-čen li nura nada tala-s
 [14:42] but PRO:1SG AUX:know (1SG-)know-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.O very long.time it's.necessary crush-INF
 I'm very sure that it has to be beaten for a long time

- 178 что́бы атхлах лқуэн и ч'эвузлаҳ.
čtobi atx-laχ t-qu-ven i č'evuz-laχ.
 [14:46] so.that light-ADJ be-IPFV-3SG.S and sweet-ADJ
 in order for it to become white and tasty.
- 179 Сылқсылқ водерэн эм ит'э праздника'н лқуэ'н,
Silqsilq voderen em it' prazdnik-aʔn t-qu-veʔn,
 [14:50] *tolkusha always only when feast-PL be-IPFV-3PL.S*
Tolkusha was always made for festivities.
- 180 вон и нсқочэн мизэн сылқсылқ.
von i n-s-qo-čen mazin silqsilq.
 [14:57] then and 1PL-make-IPFV-1PL.S>3SG.O PRO:1PL.POSS *tolkusha*
That's when we made our tolkusha.
- 181 Потом ещё лэну'ньч нчилатысчэ'н омоком нэньчэ'н.
Potom ješjo leŋu-ʔnč n-čil-at-əs-čeʔn omokom nənč-eʔn.
 [15:01] Then also berry-DIM.PL 1PL-gather-DISTR-PRES-1PL.S>3PL.O together fish-PL
Then we also gathered berries,... together with fish.
- 182 Потом крошат уључқ и омоком жир (хамлх) хоқэн нынсатысчэн
Potom pokrošaʔ uluč-q 183 i omokom žir χamtχ χoqen n-ins-ati-s-čen
 [15:09] Then crumble-INF little-ADV [15:14] and together fat fat there 1PL-pour-DIR-PRES-1PL.S>3SG.O
Then you crumble a little together with fat, (that) we poured fat there, you (get)
- 184 по-русски – кирилка, мэзанлханык,
po-russki – kirilka, məzatχank
 [15:24] Russian kirilka PRO:1PL.POSS.language.LOC
in Russian kirilka, in our language,
- 185 ой т'энтхакичэн ... лэм ч'эвузлаха'н.
oj t'-əntxva-čen ... 186 lem č'evuz-laχ-aʔn.
 [15:28] *oj 1SG-forget-1SG.S>3SG.O [15:32] also sweet-ADJ-PL*
oi, I forgot, ... also very good.
- 187 Потом јәлңәлнәньч'ин муза'н қа'м ит'э сольабақ н'ылқун.
Potom ɟəlŋəl nənč-ʔin 188 muzaʔn qaʔm it'e soʎaʎ-aq n'-eʔ-qu-n.
 [15:35] Then dry.roe fish-POSS [15:41] PRO:1PL NEG when salt-NEG 1PL-be-IPFV-3SG.O
Also, fish-roe we never salted it.
- 189 А водерэн нлатызын и нк'эсхлқун.
A voderen n-ʎa-t-əz-ən i n-k'əsχt-qu-n.
 [15:45] And always 1PL-take-DISTR-PRES-3SG.O and 1PL-dry-IPFV-3SG.O
Rather always ... we take and dry it.
- 190 лэм нтхалқун јәлңәл мин к'эсхлқнэн уључқ.
Lem n-tχal-qu-n ɟəlŋəl min (k-)k'əsχt-knen uluč-q.
 [15:52] Also 1PL-eat-IPFV-3SG.O dry.roe which NARR-dry-NARR little-ADV
We also ate dry roe a little.
- 191 А нозэ'н — водерэн ннуқук нозэл,
A noz-eʔn – voderen n-nu-qu-k noz-eʔ,
 [15:58] And yukola-PL always 1PL-eat-IPFV-1PL.S yukola-INS
And yukola, — we always ate yukola,

- 192 а ...я...я ч'эвузлах! Ли °пэлқ нну'аск нозэл.
a ... ja...ja č'evuz-lax! Li °pəl-q n-nu-a-s-k noz-eł.
 [16:02] and I sweet-ADJ very big-ADV 1PL-eat-DES-PRES-1SG.S yukola-INS
 ... tasty! I would love to eat yukola.
- 193 Кислые головки — к'лч'лэ'н, к'лч'лэ'н вот так нтхалқу'н.
Kislje golovki – k'č'le-ʔn, k'č'le-ʔn vot tak n-txal-qu-ʔn.
 [16:05] pickled fish.PL pickled.head-PL pickled.head-PL it's thus 1PL-eat-IPFV-1PL.S>3PL.O
 Pickled (fish) heads ...
- 194 И сейчас кма ттхалысчэ'н к'лч'лэ'н.
I sejčas kma t-txal-as-čeʔn k'č'le-ʔn.
 [16:15] and immediately PRO:1SG 1SG-eat-PRES-1SG.S>3PL.O pickled.head-PL
 I ate pickled heads.
- 195 Ит'э Тигиль т'эјэнэтэск, қнэң т'энтхзоқусын ма' же
It'e Tigil t'-ejen-et-as-k, qneŋ t'-entx-zo-qu-s-in maʔ ʒe
 [16:18] when <Top> 1SG-come-DIR-PRES-1SG.S at.once 1SG-find.out-ITER-IPFV-PRES-3SG.O PRO:where already
 When I arrive in Tigil, I immediately find out where,
- 196 к'эн же чизэн к'лч'лэ'н.
k'e ʒe či-z-en k'č'le-ʔn.
 [16:22] PRO:who already have-PRES-3SG.S pickled.head-PL
 or who has pickled heads.
- 197 Но теперь мало ч'амзалэ'н к'э тхалэзнэ'н к'лч'лэ'н или скэзнэ'н.
No teper malo č'amzal-eʔn k'e txal-az-neʔn k'č'le-ʔn ili skə-z-neʔn.
 [16:25] but now few person-PL PRO:who eat-PRES-3SG.S>3PL.O pickled.head-PL or make-PRES-3SG.S>3PL.O
 But now, there are few people, who eat or make pickled heads.
 [16:31]