

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

Remembrances «Txełnom – Vozpominanija»

Zaporotskaya, Galina Afanas'evna — recorded 05.09.2012, Palana

ILC1_2 (Southern Itelmen)

- 1 Кэмма ттхиласкичэн 2 ит'э манкэ, нсуњлқзукичэн А'навак.
Kəmma t-txił-a-s-kičen it'e man-ke n-sunt-qzu-kičen A'nava-k.
 [00:00] PRO:1SG 1SG-remember-DES-PRES-1SG.S [00:03] when PRO:where-DAT 1PL-live-IPFV-1PL.S <Top>-LOC
 I want to remember when we once lived in Moroshechnoe
- 3 Кэмма Галина Афанасьевна. 4 Т'ахскичэн Сузвайэнк.
Kəmma Galina Afanasevna. T'-axs-kičen Suzvaj-enk.
 [00:09] PRO:1SG <name> [00:12] 1SG-be.born-1SG.S <Top>-LOC
 I'm Galina Afanas'evna, I was born in Sopochnoe.
- 5 Лахсх, ит'э ахсхмиң 6 неделя нсуњлқзук.
Laχsχ, it'e axs-en χuken nedelja n-sunt-qzu-k.
 [00:19] mother when give.birth-3SG.S there [00:23] week 1PL-live-IPFV-1PL.S
 When my mother gave birth [to me], we lived there for a week.
- 7 Лјам нсхэзэк А'навакэ. 8 Хуқэнэ т'эсхтэкичэн.
łam n-sxeze-k A'nava-ke. χuken t'-esχte-kičen.
 [00:25] then 1PL-travel-1PL.S<Top>-DAT [00:31] there 1SG-grow.up-1SG.S
 Then we moved to Moroshechnoe. There I grew up.
- 9 Самое главное ттхиласкичэн исх кэмман,
Samoj glavnoje t-txił-a-s-kičen isχ kəmman,
 [00:34] most (important) 1SG-remember-DES-PRES-1SG.S father PRO:1SG.POSS
 The most important what I want to say is to remember my father.
- 10 Мэзвинк ъэту иҳлх'ин п'эч – инэнк'зулқилх.
Mizvin-k netu iχłχ-ʔin p'eč – in-ənk'zu-ł-kiłχ.
 [00:42] PRO:1PL-LOC NEG male-POSS child ANTIP-help-ANTIP-INF
 We had no son to help us. (lit.: There was no male child to help.)
- 11 Вмэстоэнна кэмма тлқзукичэн энк'зулқилх исхэнк.
Vmesto ənna kəmma t-ł-qzu-kičen (in-)ənk'zu-ł-kiłχ isχ-enk.
 [00:47] instead PRO:3SG PRO:1SG 1SG-be-IPFV-1SG.S ANTIP-help-ANTIP-INF father-LOC
 So, instead I was my father's assistant.
- 12 Хэ њања чизэн – инэнк'зулқилх лахсх'ан.
kəmman ɲaɲa či-z-en – in-ənk'zu-ł-kiłχ laχsχ-ʔan.
 [00:56] PRO:1SG.POSS older.sister have-PRES-3SG.S ANTIP-help-ANTIP-INF mother-POSS
 But I had an older sister – she was my mother's assistant.
- 13 Тлаасчэн кэмма: 14 Кэмма қу'нэңэн тлқзукичэн к'эсхчом.
T-la-a-s-čən kəmma: Kəmma quʔneŋen t-ł-qzu-kičen k'-esχ-čom.
 [01:05] 1SG-narrate-DES-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.O PRO:1SG [01:09] PRO:1SG always 1SG-be-IPFV-1SG.S COM-father-COM
 I would like to say: I was always with my father.
- 15 Т'энк'зуқзучэн исх, 16 ит'э эннанкэ њэкогда лқзувэн.
T-ənk'zu-qzu-čən isχ, it'e ənna-nke ɲekogda ł-qzu-ven.
 [01:17] 1SG-help-IPFV-1SG.S>3SG.O father [01:21] when PRO:3SG-DAT when.not be-IPFV-3SG.S
 I helped my father, when he was not around.

- 17 Кэмман эннан вэтат тсқзочэн.
Kəmman ənnan vetat t-s-qzo-čen
 [01:27] PRO:1SG.POSS PRO:3SG.POSS work 1SG-do-IPFV-1SG.S>3SG.O
 I did his work.
- 18 Вэн ньэту у'и'н, 19 исх лознэн: – К'олал ансэ'лнох'ал,
Ven netu u?-i?n, isx ɬo-z-nen: – K'ol-at anse?no-x?al,
 [01:33] if NEG wood-PL [01:35] father say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O go-DES school-ABL
 When we had no firewood, my father said, “When you come home from school,
- 20 қнаң қсхэзэхч охотанкэ, у'и'н кт'фл'ин,
qnaŋ q-sxeze-xč oxot-anke, u?-i?n k-t'fl-in,
 [01:41] at.once 2SG.IMP-travel-2SG.S hunt-DAT wood-PL NARR-bring-NARR
 immediately go into the forest and bring firewood,
- 21 у'и'н т'флас нада кэстанкэ.
u?-i?n t'flə-s nada kest-anke.
 [01:49] wood-PL bring-INF it's.necessary house-DAT
 one must bring firewood home.”
- 22 Нада-та итх манкэ-та к'исхлэс
Nada itx man-ke k'isxle-s
 [02:01] it's.necessary PRO:3PL PRO:where-DAT wither-INF
 It is necessary to dry it out somehow
- 23 то ест, нада итх җонкэ ... энтхзу'лэс.
to est, nada itx ɟonke ... entxzu?le-s.
 [02:04] that's it's.necessary PRO:3PL usual stand.CAUS-INF
 (and) whatever is there, someone has to pile up.
- 24 Итх ханк'исхл'ин, 25 Лам у'и'н нада улвэс.
Itx xan-k'isxɬ-i?n, ɬam u?-i?n nada ulve-s.
 [02:10] PRO:3PL 3PL.IMP-wither-3PL.S [02:14] then wood-PL it's.necessary chop.wood-INF
 They first have to dry, then cut the firewood.
- 26 Скэс нада мунт'уңэ'н.
Skə-s nada munt'uŋ-e?n.
 [02:17] make-INF it's.necessary firefighter-PL
 One has to cut the dried pieces.
- 27 Улуқ лахсханкэ, чтобы уйирэт скэс.
Ulu-q laxsx-anke, čtobi ujiret skə-s.
 [02:22] little-ADV mother-DAT so.that campfire make-INF
 Something for my mother to light the fire in the oven.
- 28 Исх лқзувэн ныслан. 29 Ку'нэңэн суңлқзувэн синк.
Isx ɬ-qzu-ven nisilan. Qu?neŋen sunt-qzu-ven sin-k.
 [02:30] father be-IPFV-3SG.S hunter [02:44] always live-IPFV-3SG.S forest-LOC
 My father was a hunter. He always lived in the wood.
- 30 Ит'э кистэнк лқзузэн, к'олитқзувэн нэснох'ал.
It'e kist-enk ɬ-qzu-z-en, k'ol-et-qzu-ven nesno-x?al.
 [02:52] when house-LOC be-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S go-ITER-IPFV-3SG.S hunting.place-ABL
 When somebody was at home, he came from the hunt.

- 31 Кулхэнк капкана'н, энтхзу'л'ин 32 сипуқа'нкэ, нэлхэнкэ
Kulχ-enk kapkan-aʔn, k-əntχzuʔl-in sipuq-aʔnke, nəlχen-ke ¹
 [03:01] tundra-LOC trap-PL NARR-stand.CAUS-NARR [03:08] arctic.fox-DAT otter-DAT
 In the tundra, we set up the traps for arctic foxes, for otters.
- 33 Ит'э халч, нада провэрас капкана'н: 33 эңқа-то, навэрна, ка'ин.
It'e xatč, nada proveras kapkan-aʔn: əŋqa-to, naver-na, kaʔ-in.
 [03:18] when soon it's.necessary check trap-PL [03:23] PRO:what certain(ly) entrap-3SG.S
 When it was time, it was necessary to check the traps, for something that got caught (there).
- 34 Лэм, послэ обэда, ит'э тк'оскичэн школах'ал,
Lem, posle obeda, it'e t-k'o(ɬ)-s-kičen škola-xʔal,
 [03:29] also after lunch when 1SG-go-PRES-1SG.S school-ABL
 Also, after lunch, when I came home from school,
- 35 ʔқсхо'н қ'ат готова лқзузэн.
ʔQsχ-aʔn q'at gotova ɬ-qzu-z-en.
 [03:36] dog-PL already ready be-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S
 the dogs were already prepared.
- 36 Нқзиск и нсхээзск провэрас капкана'н.
N-qzi(ɬ)-s-k i n-sxeze-s-k proveras kapkan-aʔn.
 [03:40] 1PL-get.ready-PRES-1PL.S and 1PL-travel-PRES-1PL.S check trap-PL
 We got ready and went to check the traps.
- 37 Триватқзускичэн, ит'э тэлчкуқзусчэн,
T-rivat-qzu-s-kičen, it'e t-əɬku-qzu-s-čen,
 [03:45] 1SG-be.pleased-IPFV-PRES-1SG.S when 1SG-see-IPFV-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.O
 I am pleased, when I saw
- 38 т'сал кка'кнэн, нэлэнқ кка'кнэн.
t'sal k-kaʔ-knen, (ili) nələnɬq k-kaʔ-knen.
 [03:49] fox NARR-entrap-NARR (or) otter NARR-entrap-NARR
 that a fox was caught, an otter was caught.
- 39 И исх лазнэн: – Ты'ну кнын лқзакэн,
I isx la-z-nen: – tiʔnu knin ɬ-qz-a-xen,
 [03:55] and father narrate-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O PRO:PROX PRO:2SG.POSS be-IPFV-FUT-3SG.S
 And my father said, "this will be yours
- 40 хэ ты'н кэмман хәнлқзувэн лмас 41 латна!
χe tiʔn kəmman xən-ɬ-qzu-ven ɬma-s ladna! ²
 [03:59] and PRO:PROX PRO:1SG.POSS 3SG.IMP-be-IPFV-3SG.S kill-INF [04:03] all.right
 and this will be my prey, all right!"
- 42 Ты'ну хаңклэ.
Tiʔnu xaŋkle.
 [04:07] PRO:PROX winter
 This was in winter.

1 In lines 31–33 the edited version differs substantially from the spoken wording.

2 Russian *ладно* "all right".

- 43 А ламлэнк лэм қу'нэңэн к'исхчом 44 нэлвэнтзоқзукичэн.
A lamł-enk lem qu?neŋen k'-isx-čom n-elvent-zo-qzu-kičen.
 [04:09] and summer-LOC also always COM-father-COM [04:15] 1PL-catch.fish-ITER-IPFV-1PL.S
 And also in the summer I was always with my father, we went fishing.
- 45 Кэмма хиқ т'ылқзучэн әһчэ'н.
Kemma xiq t-ıl-qzu-čen aňč-e?n.
 [04:20] PRO:1SG AUX:know 1SG-know-IPFV-1SG.S>3SG.O fish-PL
 I knew a lot about fish.
- 46 Исх қу'нэңэн ҳынэқзувэн, әһчэ'н нада хиқ элэс,
Isx qu?neŋen χene-qzu-ven, 47 aňč-e?n nada xiq eł-es,
 [04:24] father always say-IPFV-3SG.S [04:27] fish-PL it's.necessary AUX:know know-INF
 My father always said, one must know a lot about fish,
- 48 ит'э манкэнан к'олитқзузэ'н әһчэ'н.
it'e mankenan k'oł-it-qzu-z-e?n aňč-e?n.
 [04:32] when PRO:where.POSS go-DISTR-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S fish-PL
 when which fish is running.
- 49 Ит'э ч'увай к'осын, қэк'ф к'осын.
It'e č'uvaj k'o(ł)-s-in, 50 qek'f k'o(ł)-s-in
 [04:34] when king.salmon go-PRES-3SG.S [04:37] dog.salmon go-PRES-3SG.S
 When is the run of the humpback salmon, the chum salmon.
- 51 Самой, мин, пэрвой әһч, ты'ну – қавач.
Samoj, min, pervoj aňč, ti?nu – qavač.
 [04:45] very which first fish PRO:PROX smelt
 The very first one was the smelt.
- 52 Љви ҳынэзэн исх, нада лэм элкас ҳокэ,
łvi χine-z-in isx, 53 nada lem eł-kas χoke,
 [04:54] very say-PRES-3SG.S father [04:57] it's.necessary also go-INF over.there
 Very good, says my father, one must also go there,
- 54 чтобы чэлэс – лаҳсх, һаһа, сийлатумх.
čtobi čele-s – laχsχ, ɣaɣa, sillatumχ.
 [05:01] so.that accompany-INF mother older.sister, younger.sister
 that we are together – mother, older and younger sisters.
- 55 Всё ҳокэ мэстанке хэнылк, нада қавач әһк'звэс.
Vsjo χoke mesta-nke xən-ıl-k, 56 nada qavač aňk'zve-s.
 [05:08] over.there place-DAT 3SG.IMP-go-1PL.S [05:12] it's.necessary smelt help-INF
 We all go there to that place, we have to dry the smelt.
- 57 Исх ҳынэзэн: – Обязательно, чтобы лқзузэ'н у'э'һч, у'э'һч кчоһлаҳэ'н.
Isx χine-z-en: – Objazatel'no, čtobi ł-qzu-z-e?n u?-e?nč, 58 u?-e?nč kčon-łax-e?n.
 [05:16] father say-PRES-3SG.S obligated so.that be-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S wood-DIM.PL [05:25] wood-DIM.PL thin-ADD-PL
 My father says, "Absolutely, that there must be sticks (to string the smelt), thin sticks."
- 59 Ҳокэ нэһнэс қавач.
χoke nes-kes i-s-in qavač.
 [05:28] over.there hang-INF be-PRES-3SG.S smelt
 There they hung the smelt on a string.

- 60 Ты'ну анок, а лам тэнақ ламл, тэнақ нк'оскичэн қавах'ал
Ti?nu anok, a lam tenaq 61 *laml, tenaq n-k'o(ɬ)-s-kičen qava-x?al*
 [05:36] PRO:PROX spring and then again [05:48] summer again 1PL-go-PRES-1SG.S smelt-ABL
 It was spring, and then again in summer, we go again for the smelt,
- 62 нузуск хањчкэ или ийанкэ фэкас.
n-uzu-s-k xanč-ke ili ijanke feka-s.
 [05:56] 1PL-begin-PRES-1SG.S upriver-DAT or downriver.DAT swim-INF
 we started to float upstream or downstream.
- 63 Пониже кивэнк, чтобы хукэ лқзувэн эњч'ном.
Ponize kiv-enk, 64 čtobi хuke ɬ-qzu-ven ənč'nom.
 [06:04] downstream river-LOC [06:06] so.that there be-IPFV-3SG.S fish.place
 Downstream (from the village), to (set up) the fish camp there.
- 65 Целае лэто ху тлқзускичэн эњч'номанк.
*Tselaje leto хu t-ɬ-qzu-s-kičen ənč'nom-ank.*¹
 [06:10] entire summer there 1SG-be-IPFV-PRES-1SG.S fish.place-LOC
 All summer I stayed there at the fishing camp.
- 66 Лайақ кјалоса'н – ч'оқ или ч'ақ кјалоса'н лқзузэ'н.
Laɬlq kjalos-a?n – č'oq ili č'aq kjalos-a?n ɬ-qzu-z-e?n.
 [06:16] how.many family-PL three or four family-PL be-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S
 How many families were there – probably three or four families stayed there.
- 67 Ты'нвэ'н – Дьяконова'н, Запороцкая'н теперь Садовникова'н.
Ti?nve?n – Djakonova-?n, Zaporotskoja-?n teper Sadovnikova-?n.
 [06:26] PRO:PROX.PL <name>-PL <name>-PL now <name>-PL
 These were the Diakonovy, Zaporotsky, and also the Sadovnikovy.
- 68 Қу'нэңэ исх лэм хынэзэн:
Qu?neŋen isx lem хine-z-in:
 [06:36] always father also say-PRES-3SG.S
 My father always said,
- 69 кэмманк њэту сила. Ихлхин п'эч њэту.
 – *kəmman-k ɲetu sila.* 70 *Ixlχ-?in p'eč ɲetu.*
 [06:41] PRO:1SG-LOC NEG strength [06:44] male-POSS child NEG
 “I don't have strength. I don't have a son.”
- 71 Вместо ихлх'ин п'эч кэмман чизин мимсх'ин п'эч.
 “*Vmesto ixlχ-?in p'eč kəmman či-z-in mimsx-?in p'eč.*”
 [06:45] instead male-POSS child PRO:1SG.POSS exist-PRES-3SG.S female-POSS child
 Instead of the son I was the daughter.
- 72 Энк'зузмиң қу'нэңэн, ламл хэ хаңклэ.
Ənk'zu-z-miŋ qu?neŋen, 73 laml хe хaŋkle.
 [06:54] help-PRES-1SG.O always [06:56] summer and winter
 you always help me, in summer and winter“.
- 74 Ну и вот ттхискичэн исх қу'нэңэн.
Nu i vot t-txi-s-kičen isx qu?neŋen.
 [07:01] well.so 1SG.carry-PRES-1SG.S father always
 And so I often remember my father.

1 In lines 65-66 the edited version differs substantially from the spoken wording.

- 75 Ҳынэзэн: – Нада әңқа скәс.
χine-z-en: – *Nada* *әңқа* *skə-s*.
 [07:06] say-PRES-3SG.S it's.necessary PRO:what make-INF
 He says, "One has to do something."
- 76 Қәнк'зумиң! – Нада нарта брава скәс,
Q-әнк'zu-mәң! – *Nada* *narta brava* *skə-s*,
 [07:11] 2SG.IMP-help-1SG.O it's.necessary sled strong make-INF
 Help! – One has to make the sled well,
- 77 чтобы хәңклә нада хә нарта скәс, свободной време лқзузэн.
čtobi simoj nada χe narta skə-s, 78 *svobodnoj vremje t-qzu-z-en.* ¹
 [07:17] so.that winter it's.necessary and sled make-INF [07:26] free time be-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S
 that one has to make the sledge for the winter, when there is free time."
- 79 Әнна хынэзэн: – Ит'ә кәмма кистәнк қа'м лқақ,
әнна χine-z-in: – *It'e kәmma kist-enk qa?m t-kaq*,
 [07:36] PRO:3SG say-PRES-3SG.S when PRO:1SG house-LOC NEG be-NEG
 He says, "When I am not at home,
- 80 лаҳсх мэл қәнк'зусх.
laχsχ mel q-әнк'zu-s-x.
 [07:41] mother very 2SG.IMP-help-PRES-2SG.S>3SG.O
 help your mother well.
- 81 Қтымплә'сх и', у'ә'н қ'улвәсхә'н.
Q-timplә?-s-x *i?', u?-e?n q'-ulve-s-xe?n*.
 [07:44] 2SG.IMP-carry-PRES-2SG.S>3SG.O water wood-PL 2SG.IMP-chop.wood-PRES-2SG.S>3PL.O
 Haul water, cut firewood."
- 82 Да и қулан, әңқа лаалчиңнән.
Da i qula әңқа la-ał-čingnen. ²
 [07:48] and other PRO:what narrate-FUT-3SG.S>3SG.IO
 Yes, and more, he said.
- 83 Кәмма ку'нәңән тлқзукичән к'исхчом.
Ja qu?neңen t-t-qzu-kičen k'-isx-čom.
 [07:57] I always 1SG-be-IPFV-1SG.S COM-father-COM
 I was always close to my father.
- 84 Ку'нәңән ттхискичән, ма' бы тлқзускичән.
Qu?neңen t-txi-s-kičen, ma? bi t-t-qzu-s-kičen.
 [08:01] always 1SG-remember-PRES-1SG.S PRO:where 1SG-be-IPFV-PRES-1SG.S
 I always recall, where I would be.
- 85 Кәмма аңчпқзолмәң манкә әңқа скәс.
Kәmma аңчр-qzo-lmәң man-ke әңқа skə-s.
 [08:08] PRO:1SG teach-IPFV-1SG.O PRO:where-DAT PRO:what make-INF
 He taught me, how I had to make something.

1 In lines 76–77 the edited version differs substantially from the spoken wording.

2 A short section with Russian words has not been edited.

86 Ұынэзэн: – Кэмман ньэту ихлұхин п’эч. Кэзза лқзуч, кэмман п’эч ихлұ’ин,
χine-z-in: – *Kəmman* *netu* *iχtχ-ʔin* *p’eč*. 87 *Kəzza* *t-qzu-č*, *kəmman* *p’eč* *iχtχ-ʔin*.
 [08:14] *say-PRES-3SG.S* *PRO:1SG.POSS* *NEG* *male-POSS* *child* [08:17] *PRO:2SG* *be-IPFV-2SG.S* *PRO:1SG.POSS* *child* *male-POSS*
 He said, “I have no son, you are my son.”

88 и лахсх энк’зуқзун.
i *laχsχ* *t’ənk’zu-qzu-čen*.
 [08:28] *and* *mother* *1SG-help-IPFV-1SG.S>3SG.O*
 and I helped my mother.

89 Ну лахсх энк’зулқзувэн ҺаҺа Зоя.
Nu *laχsχ* *(in-)ənk’zu-t-qzu-ven* *ҺаҺа* *Zoja*.
 [08:30] *well* *mother* *ANTIP-help-ANTIP-IPFV-3SG.S* *younger.sister* *<name>*
 Well, my sister Zoia helped my mother more.

90 Нух кэмман тхэлном кэмман исхк’ит.
Nux *kəmman* *tχełnom* *kəmman* *isχ-k’it*.¹
 [08:41] *here* *PRO:1SG.POSS* *remembrance* *PRO:1SG.POSS* *man-CAUS*
 These are my memories of my father.
 [08:44]

1 The final sentence (line 90) was spoken in Russian and translated into Itelman.