

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

Itelmen Tale «Kutkh and Miti»

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recorded 31.08.1997, Tigil'

ILC1_4 (Northern Itelmen)

1. Ит' қа'та энну клқзукнан ҺЭТ әңқа клқзукнан.
It' qaʔta enu k-l-qzu-knan ɲet aŋqa k-l-qzu-knan.
 [00:00] when already PRO:DEM NARR-be-IPFV-NARR NEG PRO:what NARR-be-IPFV-NARR
 Once upon the time, there was nothing.
2. Эм Һэйэ'н йэмэлқән қыҳ клқзукнан ли °плэх.
Em ɲej-eʔn jemelqən¹ qıχ k-l-qzu-knan li ʷpleχ.
 only mountain-PL tundra sea NARR-be-IPFV-NARR very big.ADJ
 There were only mountains, tundra and the big sea.
3. қа'м к'э зуњлкақ клқзукнан.
qaʔm k'e zunʔ-kaq k-l-qzu-knan.
 NEG PRO:who live-NEG NARR-be-IPFV-NARR
 Nobody lived (there).
4. Һэйэ'н ли °пэлқ к-фчит-қзу-кнан.
ɲej-eʔn li pəl-q k-fčit-qzu-knan.
 mountain-PL very big-ADV NARR-breathe-IPFV-NARR
 The mountains breathed very heavily.
5. Ит'э итх кфчитқукнан
It'e itχ k-fčit-qzu-knan
 [00:24] when PRO:3PL NARR-breathe-IPFV-NARR
 ванкың тхым қесчханк ли °плэх т'имт'им к'эсқзукнан.
vankıŋ txin² qesčχ-ank li ʷpleχ t'it'im k'-es-qzu-knan.
 upper.DIR _____ sky.DIM-DIR very big.ADJ smoke NARR-come.out-IPFV-NARR
 When they breathed, very thick smoke came out and went up to the sky.
6. Кохэ'н хкалаха'н ксиңқзукнан
Kox-eʔn xka-laχ-aʔn k-siŋ-qzu-knan
 stone-PL hot-ADJ-PL NARR-fly-IPFV-NARR
 ли қә'тх қа'т вимлх'ин Һэйи'н синэх ли °пэлқ кч'уфлқзукнан
li qəʔtχ qaʔt ɣimʔχ-iŋ ɲej-iʔn sinex li pəl-q k-č'uft-qzu-knan³
 very as.if already fire-POSS mountain-PL and very big-ADV NARR-budge-IPFV-NARR
 Hot stones flew (around), as if the already very fiery mountains heaved (up and down) heavily
7. Сәмтчах ләм ли °пэлқ кч'уфлқзукнан.
səmt-čax lem li pəl-q k-č'uft-qzu-knan.
 earth-DIM also very big-ADV NARR-budge-IPFV-NARR
 And the land also heaved heavily.

1 Koryak: *jemelqen* "tundra".

2 Form slurred and unclear.

3 Variant of *č'oxʔ*- "to budge, stir, move".

8. И ит'э энну'н кохэ'н тсилаатэзы'н
I it'e enu?n kox-e?n tsela-ate-z-i?n
 [00:45] and when PRO:DEM.POSS stone-PL fall-DIR-PRES-3PL.S
 узуал пиньлфатэзы'н эннун ч'флжэс нэйэ'н.
uzu-ał pintf-ate-z-i?n¹ enun č'uft-kəs nej-e?n.
 begin-INF finish-DIR-PRES-3PL.S PRO:DEM.POSS budge-INF mountain-PL
 And when these rocks fell down, the mountains ceased to heave.
9. Сәмтчаҳ ли гладкой ләатэзын қа'м әңқа ҳоқан эскақ лқзузын.
Səmt-čax li gladkoj le-ate-z-in qa?m əŋqa xoqen es-kaq t-qzu-z-in.
 earth-DIM very flat.ADJ become-DIR-PRES-3SG.S NEG PRO:what there come.out-NEG be-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S
 The earth became very flat, nothing stuck up there.
10. Эм энну и' скатэзын ли әмч'қ сқзозын
Em enu i' sk-ate-z-in li emč'-q sq-zo-z-in
 only PRO:DEM water smell-DIR-PRES-3SG.S very bitter-ADV smell-ITER-PRES-3SG.S
 энну ҳақ исән әңқа әмч'қ сқзозын
enu xaq i(t)-s-en əŋqa emč'-q sq-zo-z-in
 PRO:DEM AUX:know know-PRES-3SG.S PRO:what bitter-ADV smell-ITER-PRES-3SG.S
 и энну водичка плохо пахнет.
i enu vodička ploxo paxnet.
 and PRO:DEM water.DIM bad.ADJ smell.3SG.S.PRES
 Only the water had a very bad smell, somehow it smelled bad, the water smelled bad.
11. қунилиң крас ли °пәлқ нэйэ'н кохэ'н ткиллызны'н ткиллызны'н
quŋel?in kras li pəl-q nej-e?n kox-e?n tkilli-z-ni?n² tkilli-z-ni?n
 always beauty very big-ADV mountain-PL stone-PL put.away-3SG.S>3PL.O put.away-3SG.S>3PL.O
 а уж т'ит'им эсэзын ли °плэх.
a už t'it'im es-ez-in li "plex.
 [01:19] and already smoke come.out-PRES-3SG.S very big
 All the time, the mountains threw very big rocks, and also very thick smoke emerged.
12. Кохэ'н ҳоқун тсэлызы'н хкалаҳа'н қә'тх вимлхэ'н
Kox-e?n xoqen tsel-iz-i?n xka-laχ-a?n qā?tχ yimlx-e?n
 stone-PL there fall-PRES-3PL.S hot-ADJ-PL as.if fire-PL
 эннун нэйэ'н мил қлва'ныкнын
enun nej-e?n mił k-łva?ni-knin
 PRO:DEM mountain-PL all NARR-cope.with.own.forces-NARR
 The rocks fell down there as hot as fire, all the mountains fell over.
13. ит'э ҳэйның к'лэкнын қә'тх сәмтчаҳ ҳу минән
it'e hejniŋ k'-le-knen qā?tχ səmt-čax χu min-e?n
 when such NARR-become-NARR as.if earth-DIM there PRO:which-PL
 һэт әңқа қлқукнан элақ һэту қлқукнан.
het əŋqa k-ł-qu-knan ełaq hetu k-ł-qu-knan.
 NEG PRO:what NARR-be-IPFV-NARR like NEG NARR-be-IPFV-NARR
 When this happened, the earth was as if there had never been anything.

1 *pintf-es* “to end, finish, conclude sth.”

2 *tkelle-s, tkellele-s* “to put away, intersperse”

14. Сэных ит'э Һэйэ'н җальч ли °пэлқ энну кохэ'н ткэлқзузнын
Senix it'e Һej-eʔn җaʔč li pəl-q enu kox-eʔn tkel-qzu-z-nin
 and when mountain-PL soon very BIG-ADV PRO:DEM stone-PL put.away-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O
 т'иқзузын қыҗчаҗ ли эй °пэлқ элақ ч'инайнақузын и' милжит сэмтчханкоҗ
*t'i-qzu-z-in qıx-čaҗ li ej pəl-q eʔaq č'inajna-qu-z-in*¹ i' miʔ-kit səmt-čx-ankəҗ
 [01:44] boil-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S SEA-DIM VERY BIG-ADV like spit-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S water all-CAUS earth-DIM-DIR
 When the mountains threw up these rocks very strongly, the sea boiled up very strongly and so moved towards the land.
15. Твиэқзузнын да элақ чңэвлитқзузын и'чаҗ
tvie-qzu-z-nin da eʔaq čņevlit-qzu-z-in iʔ-čaҗ
 conflate-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O like contest-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S water-DIM
 эм твиэқзузын ли °плэҗа'н әҗқа скатэзын
em tvie-qzu-z-in li ʔpleҗ-aʔn əҗqa sk-ate-z-in
 only conflate-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O very big-ADV PRO:what make-DIR-PRES-3SG.S
 и энну сэмтчаҗ то энну сажа лјән тхнуатэсчән эзаатызән
i enu səmt-čaҗ to enu saʒaʔ(en) tχnu-ate-s-čen eza-ati-z-en
 and PRO:DEM earth-DIM and PRO:DEM soot-INS fill-DIR-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.O die-DIR-PRES-3SG.S
 миланкалјин ктвэлаҗ лэатызын.
miʔankaljin ktve-laҗ le-ati-z-in
 all.kind.of black-ADJ become-DIR-PRES-3SG.S
 The water flowed together and quarreled, it flowed together and made itself very big, and the earth was filled with soot and it made everything black.
16. И вот вуну қунилиң крас Һэй'әнчаҗ энну клва'ныкнын сэмтанкоҗ
i vot vunu qunelēn kras Һejen-čaҗ enu k-ʔvaʔni-knin səmt-ankəҗ
 and here here always beauty mountain-DIM PRO:DEM NARR-cope.with.own.forces-NARR earth-DIR
 и тхэйның к'лэкнын элақ вуну Һэт әҗқа Һэйэ'н к'лэкнын
i tχejniҗ k'-le-knen eʔaq vunu Һet əҗqa Һej-eʔn k'-le-knen.
 [02:18] and _____ NARR-become-NARR like here NEG PRO:what mountain-PL NARR-become-NARR
 And then, once the mountain had fallen over the earth was as if nothing had been there.
17. Кк'олкнын манхал та ксхускнын Кутх и клаволкнын ну'н Һэйҗә
K-k'ol-knen man-xal ta k-sxus-knen Kutx i k-ʔavol-knin nuʔn Һejje
 NARR-go-NARR where-ABL that NARR-turn-NARR <name> and NARR-sit.down-NARR here mountain
 лязын и әлчкузын җоқун қыҗанкоҗ әҗқа та әлчкуазын әлчкуазнән
ʔa-z-in i əʔku-z-in җoqen qıx-ankəҗ əҗqa ta əʔku-a-z-en əʔku-a-z-nen
 sit-PRES-3SG.S and see-PRES-3SG.S there sea-DIR PRO:what that see-DES-PRES-3SG.S see-DES-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O
 К'э ну Кутхан ин лано'нч °плэҗа'н ли мэч'ақ әлчкускинән.
*k'e nu Kutx-an in ʔano-ʔnč ʔpleҗ-aʔn li meč'a-q əʔku-s-kinen.*²
 PRO:who that <name>-POSS eye-DIM.PL big-PL very far-ADV see-PRES-3SG.S
 Coming from somewhere, Kutkh appeared and sat down on the mountain, sat and looked out to sea as if he wanted to see something, as if he wanted to see somebody. Kutkh had big eyes with which he saw very far.
18. Әлчкузын җоқун Һэйәнхал әлчкузын әҗқа әлчкуазын
əʔku-z-in җoqen Һejen-xal əʔku-z-in əҗqa əʔku-a-z-in
 [02:47] see-PRES-3SG.S there mountain-ABL see-PRES-3SG.S PRO:what see-DES-PRES-3SG.S

1 Verb stem unclear, possibly from Koryak чыҗайҗа- "to spit"?

2 The use of a pronominal suffix from the indirect objective set is unusual here.

инсхи кәльчку'ин ин хуқан йимсхчаҳ твисчән қыҳәнк
*insxe*¹ *k-əłčku-ʔin* *in* *xuqen* *jimsx-čax* *tvi-s-čen* *qijxenk*
 just.now see-PRES-3SG.S there woman-DIM float-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.O sea-LOC

ли °пәлқ и прямо лхазын йимсхчаҳ.
li pəlq i prjamo kłxa-z-in jimsx-čax.
 very big-ADV and directly drown-PRES-3SG.S woman-DIM

He looked from the mountain, he looked, he wanted to see something,
 and suddenly he saw a woman on the water on the surface of the sea, she was drowning.

19. Кутх ли °пәлқ әльчкузын
Kutx li pəl-q əłčku-z-in
 <name> very big-ADV see-PRES-3SG.S
 әнна ҳақ иснән қа'т әнна әннан Миты.
əna xaq i(ɬ)-s-nen qaʔt əna ənnan Miti.
 PRO:3SG AUX:know know-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O already PRO:3SG PRO:3SG.POSS <name>
 Kutkh paid close attention and knew already that it was his Miti.

20. Әнна әннан ңыч.
əna ənnan ɲič.
 [03:09] PRO:3SG PRO:3SG.POSS wife
 She is/was his wife.

21. Кјалқзукнан кәльчкуқзукнан ли қәчиқ
K-łale-qzu-knan k-əłčku-qzu-knan li qeči-q
 NARR-walk-IPFV-NARR NARR-see-IPFV-NARR very good-ADV
 потом на кәльчку'ан әнну қа'т лхазын.
potom na k-əłčku-ʔan enu qaʔt kłxa-z-in.
 then PRO:3SG NARR-see-NARR PRO:DEM already drown-PRES-3SG.S
 He went close and looked very closely, then he saw that she was already drowning.

22. Ксыңкнын ҳоқун. К'илкнын қыҳанкоң.
K-siŋ-knen xoqen. K'-il-knen qix-ankon.
 NARR-fly-NARR there NARR-arrive-NARR sea-DIR
 He flew there. He arrived at the sea.

23. Әнну йимсхчаҳ нын кли'ин вонкун и кәнтхлақзукнан ин ә'лонкоң
enu jimsx-čax nin k-łi-ʔin vonkun i k-əntxla-qzu-knan in eʔl-onkəŋ
 [03:25] PRO:DEM woman-DIM now NARR-take-NARR then and NARR-carry-IPFV-NARR shore-DIR
 әм сисил әннаәл и а'әнк ктәлқзу'ан йимсчаҳ.
em sis-ıl ənnan-ɬ i aʔenk k-təl-qzu-ʔan jimsx-čax
 only wing-INS PRO:3SG.POSS-INS _____-LOC NARR-embrace-IPFV-NARR woman-DIM
 Син кти'нул нин кин танақ сисил и'лунэзын к'инси'ин ҳоқун ңәйанкоң.
sin k-tiʔnu-ɬ nin kin tanaq sis-ıl iʔlune-z-in k'-insi-ʔin xoqen ɲeja-ŋkəŋ.
 and COM-PRO:3PL-COM now again wing-INS tear-PRES-3SG.S NARR-pour-NARR there mountain-DIR
 He took the woman right away. He hauled her to shore.
 He embraced the woman with his wings and deposited her with the wings there on the mountain.

24. Әннан йимсчаҳ нин кәнзол'ан әнну Миты ксолқзукнан
ənnan jimsx-čax nin k'-ənzol(l)-ʔan enu Miti k-sol-qzu-knan
 PRO:3SG.POSS woman-DIM now NARR-start-NARR PRO:DEM <NAME> NARR-lie.down-IPFV-NARR

1 From Koryak *ins* "(just) now"

қа'м әңқа хқа исчән кйилкәқзукнан Миты.
*qaʔm əŋqa xaq i(ʔ)-s-čen k-jilke-qzu-knan*¹ Miti.
 NEG PRO:what AUX:know know-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O NARR-sleep-IPFV-NARR <name>
 He laid the woman down, Miti lay there unconscious, Miti slept.

25. – Илфсәсч?

– *Ilfs-es-č?*

[03:50] hear-PRES-2SG.S

“Can you hear (me)?”

26. – Ыақ кза йәлкисч?

– *Jaq kza jelki-s-č?*

but PRO:2SG sleep-PRES-2SG.S

Are you already sleeping?”

27. Миты кйилкәқзукнан уснула она без сознания клқзукнан.

Miti k-jilke-qzu-knan usnula ona bez soznanija k-ʔ-qzu-knan.

<name> NARR-sleep-IPFV-NARR asleep PRO:3F without consciousness NARR-be-IPFV-NARR

Miti fell asleep, slept, she was without consciousness.

28. Кутх клақукнан кәлькуқзу'ан “Әә ч'инәңлаҳ Миты.”

Kutx k-ʔa-qu-knan k-əʔku-qzu-ʔan Ee č'inəŋ-laχ Miti.

<name> NARR-sit.down-IPFV-NARR NARR-see-IPFV-NARR yes beautiful-ADJ <name>

Kutkh sat down, began to look at her “Yes, beautiful Miti.”

29. Кәлькуқзу'ан ин ли қәчиқ на к'уруаткнын

K-əʔku-qzu-ʔan in li qeči-q na k'-urat-knin

NARR-see-IPFV-NARR very good-ADV PRO:3SG NARR-be.tired-NARR

та вун Митын ваатәринк хтаанк кйилкәқзукнан.

ta vun Miti-n vaaterink xtaank k-jilke-qzu-knan.

[04:12] that here <name>-POSS thorax-LOC here.LOC NARR-sleep-IPFV-NARR

He looked very carefully, became tired. Here on Miti's breast he began to sleep.

30. Кйилкәқзукнан сис әнна ты'ну кәнк'ол'ан

K-jilke-qzu-knan sis əna tiʔnu k'-ənk'ola-ʔin

NARR-sleep-IPFV-NARR wing PRO:3SG PRO:PROX NARR-break-NARR

вотхал мжим вискинән воткун Митәнкоң хтаанк ланәнк вискинән.

*votxal mʃim vi-s-kinen*² votkuŋ Mite-nkoŋ xtaank lane-nk vi-s-kinen

here.ABL blood drip-pres-3SG.IO here.DIR <name>-DIR here.LOC eye-LOC drip-pres-3SG.IO

He slept, but his wing was broken, blood trickled from it onto her, dropped on Miti's eyes.

31. Миты энну хкалаҳа'н мжимәл воткун вискинән вуну к'әсхликнын

Miti enu xka-laχ-aʔn mʃimeʔ votkuŋ vi-s-kinen vunu k'-esxʔi-knin

<name> PRO:DEM hot-ADJ-PL blood here.DIR drip-pres-3SG.IO here NARR-wake.up-NARR

К'әсхликнын кәлку'ин ин Миты Кутх лазын.

K'-esxʔi-knin k-əʔku-ʔin in Miti Kutx ʔa-z-in.

NARR-wake.up-NARR NARR-see-NARR <name> <name> sit-PRES-3SG.S

Miti woke from the hot blood. Woke up, and saw Kutkh sitting.

1 Cf. Koryak *jelqe(t)*- “to sleep”.

2 A variant of *fe-kas* “to float down, to drip”

32. Кәльчкуқу'ан ин больше Һәту к'ә эм қық да энну Кутх.
K-əɬču-qu-ʔan in bolše ɲetu k'e em qiq da enu Kutx.

[04:38] NARR-see-IPFV-NARR more NEG PRO:who only sea and PRO:DEM <name>
 She began to look around, nobody else was there, only the sea and Kutkh.

33. Миты ʔкк'әнизикнын эм ты'ну Кутх Һаачил зунсын.
Miti ʔk-k'enezi-knin em tiʔnu Kutx ɲaɕiɬ zun(ʔ)-s-in.
 and NARR-think-NARR only PRO:PROX <name> nanny-INS live-PRES-3SG.G
 Miti thought, (if) she and Kutkh might live together.

34. – Кма әннан җыч навроно.
 – *Kma ənnan ɟiɕ naverno.*
 PRO:1SG PRO:3SG.POSS wife probably
 “I could probably be his wife.”

35. На кәман инк'әнсиң қиқахал.
Na kəman ənk'ən-s-iŋ qiq-axal.
 PRO:3SG PRO:1SG.POSS catch-PRES-3SG.S>1SG.O sea-ABL
 He brought me in from the sea.

36. Клјаволкнын и кәльчку'ин ин сис әннан кәнк'ол'ан
K-ɬavol-knin i k-əɬču-ʔin in sis ənnan k'-ənk'ol-ʔan
 NARR-sit.down-NARR and NARR-see-NARR wing PRO:3SG.POSS NARR-break-NARR
 кји'ин ин к'имк'им вотхал ивлақ ктхункнын
k-ɬ-ʔin in k'imk'im votxal iv-laɕ k-txun-knin
 [05:02] NARR-take-NARR hair here-ABL long-ADJ NARR-pull-NARR
 энну сис нин к'омт'ин гладилқзу'ан Кутх гладилқу'ан Кутх.
enu sis nin k'-omt-ʔin (k-)gladil-qzu-ʔan Kutx gladil-qu-ʔan Kutx.
 PRO:DEM hair now NARR-tie-NARR NARR-caress-IPFV-NARR <name> caress-IPFV-NARR <name>
 She sat down and noticed that his wing was broken. She took long hairs from her head,
 pulled them out, wrapped the wing, and began to caress Kutkh.

37. Потом ктаволкнан и хтаанк Кутх кйилкақзукнан
Potom k-tavol-knan i xtaank Kutx k-jilka-qzu-knan
 then NARR-embrace-NARR and here.LOC <name> NARR-sleep-IPFV-NARR
 нура кйилкақзукнан қа'м әңқа әнмисақ к'илқзу'ан.
nura k-jilka-qzu-knan qaʔm əŋqa ənmis-aq k-iɬ-qzu-ʔan.
 long.time NARR-sleep-IPFV-NARR NEG PRO:what disturb-NEG NARR-be-IPFV-NARR
 Then she embraced (him) and began to sleep with Kutkh.
 They slept for a long time, nothing disturbed them.

38. Инсхә к'әсхликнын Кутх и Миты омоком.
Insxe k'-esxɬi-knin Kutx i Miti omokom.
 just.now NARR-wake.up-NARR <name> and <name> together
 Then Kutkh and Miti woke up together.

39. Кутх қның кхәнәқзукнан:
Kutx qniŋ k-xəne-qzu-knan:
 [05:31] <name> at.once NARR-say-IPFV-NARR
 Kutkh immediately said:

40. – Миты энну кза кэман ты'н сис оmtэ?
 – *Miti enu kza kman ti?n sis omt-es?*
 <name> PRO:DEM PRO:2SG PRO:3SG.POSS PRO:3PL wing tie-INF
 “Miti, did you wrap this around my wing?”
41. – Энну ʔкмэлвин Миты т'омтчэн Кутха т'омтчэн.
 – *enu ʔkməlvin Miti t'-omt-čen Kutxa t'-omt-čen.*
 PRO:DEM PRO:1SG.XXX <name> 1SG-tie-1SG.s>3SG.O <name> 1SG-tie-1SG.s>3SG.O
 “Yes, I, Miti, wrapped this myself, I wrapped Kutkh.”
42. – И әңқанәсх хэйну кза скән?
 – *i әŋqanesx xejnu kza sk-ən?*
 and PRO:why such PRO:2SG make-3SG.S
 “And why did you do so?”
43. Қның Миты кҳиныкнан:
qnay Miti k-χene-knen:
 at.once <name> NARR-say-NARR
 Miti answered directly:
44. – Кза кма қыҳахал әнтсум кма вилах тлхақукичэн
 – *kza kma qix-axal ənt-s-um kma vilax t-kłxa-qu-kičen*
 [05:46] PRO:2SG PRO:1SG sea-ABL cross.over-PRES-2SG.S>1SG.O PRO:1SG _____ 1SG-drown-IPFV-1SG.S
 хэйнә-кит кнын ты'ну сис т'омтчэн.
xejne-kit knin ti?nu sis t'-omt-čen.
 such-CAUS PRO:2SG.POSS PRO:3PL wing 1SG-tie-1SG.s>3SG.O
 “You hauled me out of the sea (when) I was drowning, so I wrapped your wing.”
45. Энну нада вон скәс кза за кма әнтсум
enu nada von skəs kza za kma ənt-s-um
 PRO:DEM it's.necessary then do-INF PRO:2SG out PRO:1SG cross.over-PRES-2SG.S>1SG.O
 кма ләм кнын сис әңқа ну т'омталчэн.
kma lem knin sis əŋqa nu t'-omt-ał-čen.
 PRO:1SG also PRO:2SG.POSS wing PRO:what that 1SG-tie-DES-1SG.s>3SG.O
 This had to be done, you hauled me out and somehow I wrapped your wing.
46. Кза вsoжа қ'лэхч
kza vsoža q'-le-xč
 PRO:2SG _____ 2SG.IMP-become-2SG.S
 You must recover fully.”
47. Кутх қның кҳэнәқукнан:
Kutx qniŋ k-χene-qu-knan:
 [06:06] <name> at.once NARR-say-IPFV-NARR
 Kutkh immediately began to say:

48. – Миты, қэлну қа'м лхулақ исин ли ч'инәңлаха'н кмә'н
 – *Miti, kexnu qaʔm ʔxul-aq*¹ *i(ʔ)-s-in li ʕ'inəŋ-laχ-aʔn k'im-iʔn*
 <name> really NEG ____-NEG know-PRES-3SG.S very beautiful-ADJ-PL hair-PL
 и кза ты'ну тхунқзузч нвә'н кәман сис олтаҗқзун.
i kza tiʔnun txuŋ-qzu-z-č nveʔn kman sis omt-aʔ-qzu-n
 and PRO:2SG PRO:PROX pull-IPFV-PRES-2SG.S that PRO:1SG.S.POSS wing tie-DES-IPFV-3SG.S
 “Miti, don't you feel really bad for the very beautiful hairs,
 that you have pulled out for wrapping my wing?”
49. Миты кхэныкнын:
Miti k-χene-knen:
 <name> NARR-say-NARR
 Miti said:
50. – қа'м әңқа лхулақ Кутха т'исчән.
 – *qaʔm əŋqa ʔxul-aq Kutxa t'-i(ʔ)-s-čen.*
 NEG PRO:what ____-NEG <name> 1SG-know-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.O
 “It doesn't matter, I don't feel bad for them, Kutkh.
51. Кза ли нкэтулкән кза ли ч'инәңлаҳ
Kza li n-ketvul-knen kza li ʕ'inəŋ-laχ
 [06:22] PRO:2SG very NARR-be.strong-NARR PRO:2SG very beautiful-ADJ
 кза миҗ әңқа ҳақ исчән.
kza miʃ əŋqa χaq i(ʔ)-s-čen.
 PRO:2SG all PRO:what AUX:know know-PRES-2SG.S>3SG.O
 You are very strong, very beautiful, you know everything.
52. Әңқанәсх кма кмә'н кәман тлхулақзучән.
əŋqanesx kma k'im-iʔn kəmman t-ʔxula-qzu-čen.
 PRO:why PRO:1SG hair-PL PRO:1SG.POSS 1SG-____-IPFV-1sg.s>3sg.o
 Why should I regret losing a few hairs?”
53. Итх ли ч'иңақ танақ к'ансолкнын уйәкән ли ч'иңақ
*Itχ li ʕ'iŋa-q tanaq k'-ansol-knin ujiken*² *li ʕ'iŋa-q*
 PRO:3PL very beautiful-ADV again NARR-cuddle-NARR warmly very beautiful-ADV
 тхийн ктозоқзо'ан потом кйилкәқзукнан
tχiʔin k-tozo-qzo-ʔan potom k-jilke-qzu-knan
 PRO:3PL NARR-rub-IPFV-NARR then NARR-sleep-IPFV-NARR
 Again, they embraced each other very warmly, caressed each other tenderly, and then fell asleep.
54. Потом итх кхэныкнын
potom itχ k-χene-knen
 then PRO:3PL NARR-say-NARR
 Then they said:
55. – Лучше мәнналхк да мәнзунҗқзук омоком.
 – *Lučše mən-naʔx-k da mən-zunʔ-qzu-k omokom.*
 [06:44] better 1PL.IMP-bend-1PL.S YES 1PL.IMP-live-IPFV-1PL.S together
 “We'd better go ahead and marry, yes, we will live together.”

1 The verb root *ʔxul(a)* in lines 48–52 seems not to be attested.

2 Unclear, possibly of Koryak origin

56. И к'илфчакнын.
i k'-ilfča-knin.
 and NARR-agree-NARR
 And they agreed.
57. И кзуњлқзукнан ли ч'иңақ.
i k-zunł-qzu-knan li č'iŋa-q.
 and NARR-live-IPFV-NARR very good-ADV
 And they began to live very well.
58. Миты водерэн кровақзукнан, кровақзукнан
Miti voderen k-rova-qzu-knan, k-rova-qzu-knan
 <name> always NARR-bear.child-IPFV-NARR NARR-bear.child-IPFV-NARR
 ли ңыңыл лхэмлхэм нин к'әнсхт'ин энну'н галгат қның к'әнсхт'ин
li ŋiŋıl łxəmlxəm nin k'-ənsχt-ʔin enuʔn ɣalyat¹ qneŋ k'-ənsχt-ʔin
 [07:04] very many sable now NARR-give.birth-NARR PRO:DEM.PL bird.PL at.once NARR-give.birth-NARR
 энну черэмша нын к'әнсхт'ин.
enu čeremša nin k'-ənsχt-ʔin.
 PRO:DEM longrooted.onion now NARR-give.birth-NARR
 Miti gave birth repeatedly, she bore very many sables, bore birds, bore long-rooted onions.
59. Ли ңыңыл ңиңикэ'њч к'әнсхт'ин.
li ŋiŋıl ɳeŋeke-ʔnč k'-ənsχt-ʔin.
 very many child-DIM.PL NARR-give.birth-NARR
 She bore very many children.
60. Њиңикэ'њч сэных к'әсхтықзукнан қның и кпикиқукнан атнохал
ɳeŋeke-ʔnč senix k'-esxti-qzu-knan qniŋ i k-piki-qu-knan atno-xal
 child-DIM.PL and NARR-grow-IPFV-NARR at.once and NARR-walk-IPFV-NARR village-ABL
 то ксиңқзукнан кпикиқукнан
to k-siŋ-qzu-knan k-piki-qu-knan
 and NARR-fly-IPFV-NARR NARR-walk-IPFV-NARR
 и Миты энну ли ̊пәлқ ктәйәнқукнан њәњәка'њчкоң и кхәнәқукнан:
i Miti enu li pəlq k-tejen-qu-knan ɳeŋeke-ʔnč-kon i k-xene-qu-knan
 and <name> PRO:DEM very big-ADV NARR-weep-IPFV-NARR child-DIM.PL-DAT and NARR-say-IPFV-NARR
 The children grew up and soon left home,
 they flew away, went away wept wholeheartedly for her children and said:
61. – Њиңикэ'њч тәнсхтысчән итх мил пикизы'н пикизы'н кәманхал
 – *ɳeŋeke-ʔnč t'-ənsχt-əs-čən itχ mił piki-z-iʔn piki-z-iʔn kəmmaŋ-xal*
 [07:30] child-DIM.PL 1SG-give.birth-PRES-3SG.O PRO:3PL all walk-PRES-3PL.S walk-PRES-3PL.S PRO:1SG.S-ABL
 кма қа'т тт'әйәнискичән Кутхай тәңқсхискичән.
kma qaʔt t-t'ejeni-s-kičən Kutx-aj t-əŋqsxi-s-kičən
 PRO:1SG already 1SG-be.depressed-PRES-1SG.S <name>-VOC 1SG-be.sick-PRES-1SG.S
 "I have borne the children, and then all left, went away from me, I long (for them). Kutkh, I am sick."
62. Потом Миты к'исхкнын.
potom Miti k'-isx-knin
 then <name> NARR-die-NARR
 Then Miti died.

1 *ɣalya*- "bird, wing" + Koryak Dual or plural suffix -*t*.

63. Кутх нын Миты сэмтчханк нын кзэл'ин
Kutx nin Miti səmt-čx-ank nin k-zel-ʔin
 <name> now <name> earth-DIM-LOC now NARR-give.away-NARR
 и ли °пэлқ Кутха ктэйэнқзукнан.
*i li pəl-q Kutxa k-tejen-qzu-knan.*¹
 and very big-adv <name> NARR-weep-IPFV-NARR
Kutkh laid Miti on the ground and Kutkh mourned very deeply.
64. Эннун стойбищанк ма' итх кзуњлқзукнан ксэңзоқзукнан ксэңзоқзукнан.
enun stojbišč-ank maʔ itχ k-zunl-qzu-knan k-seŋ-zo-qzu-knan k-seŋ-zo-qzu-knan.
 PRO:DEM nomad.camp-LOC PRO:where PRO:3PL NARR-live-IPFV-NARR NARR-fly-ITER-IPFV-NARR NARR-fly-ITER-IPFV-NARR
He began to fly over the camp where they had lived.
65. Потом ксиңқзукнан ма'ланк йэмэлкоң щас крикнешь ма'ланк йэмэлкоң ксиңқзукнан
potom k-siŋ-qzu-knan maalank jemelkə-ŋ ščas krikneš maalank jemelkə-ŋ k-siŋ-qzu-knan
 [08:02] then NARR-fly-IPFV-NARR far.LOC tundra-DIR just.now cry-INF far.LOC tundra-DIR NARR-fly-IPFV-NARR
 и ли мэч'ахал ли ванк қэсчханк ккэлқзукнан.
i li meč'a-xal li vank qesčχ-ank k-kel-qzu-knan
 and very far-ABL very upper.LOC sky.DIM-LOC NARR-shout-IPFV-NARR
 Как он кричал? Кутх как кричал? – қэээ, қэээ, қэээ.
kak on kričal? Kutx kak kričal? – qeee, qeee, qeee.
 how PRO:3SG.M cry.PST <name> how cry.PST ONOM ONOM ONOM
Then he began to fly very far away into the tundra. He flew croaking very far away into the tundra, and he croaked from very far away from up in the sky. How did he croak? How did Kutkh croak? – “Keee, keee, keee.”
66. Ли °пэлқ ктэйэнқзукнан қа'м к'энк на лмали илақ.
li pəl-q k-tejen-qzu-knan qaʔm k'e-nk na lmaɬu iɬ-aq.
 very big-ADV NARR-weep-IPFV-NARR NEG PRO:who-LOC PRO:3SG AUX:believe believe-NEG
He began to yearn so much, nobody believed him.
67. Эм анна ъињикэ'њч на кэльчкуқу'ан ли энну к'ирэчил
em anan ʎeŋeke-ʔnč na k-əlčku-qu-ʔan li enu k'irič-iɬ
 [08:34] only PRO:3SG.POSS child-DIM.PL PRO:3SG NARR-see-IPFV-NARR VERY PRO:DEM squint-INS
 хи кэльчкуқу'ан исх тхйин ҳоқан ванк қэсчханк сэңзоскипинэн.
χi k-əlčku-qzu-ʔan isχ tχiʔin χoqən vank qesčχ-ank seŋ-zo-s-kipnen.
 there NARR-see-IPFV-NARR father PRO:3PL there upper.LOC sky.DIM-LOC fly-ITER-PRES-3SG.S>3PL.IO
His children looked at him from the side. They looked, their father flew up in the sky above them there.
68. Эм исхэнк ҳақ нисчэн анна ъињикэ'њч.
em isχ-enk χaq n-i(ʔ)-s-čeʔn anan ʎeŋeke-ʔnč.
 only father-LOC AUX:know PASS-know-PRES-PASS.3PL.S PRO:3SG.POSS child-DIM.PL
Only the father knew his children (lit.: the children were known by the father).
69. А ъињикэ'њч схиқ кэнтхва'ан
a ʎeŋeke-ʔnč sxle k-əntxva-ʔan
 and child-DIM.PL then NARR-forget-NARR
 что энну энна́н исх энна́н лахсх клқзукнан.
čto enu ənnan isχ ənnan laχsχ k-ʔ-qzu-knan.
 that PRO:DEM PRO:3SG.POSS father PRO:3SG.POSS mother NARR-be-IPFV-NARR
But the children had forgotten who their father and mother were.

1 *tejen* or *tejne* “to weep” from a Koryak root.

70. Кэнтхва’ан тҳиин энна тҳиин родители.
K-əntxva-ʔan tχiʔin əna tχiʔin roditeli.
 NARR-forget-NARR PRO:3PL PRO:3SG PRO:3PL parent.PL
 They had forgotten their parents.

71. Ёақ туза’н ҳақ иссх лэм тызвин лаҳсх и исх.
jaq tuzaʔn χaχ i(ʔ)-s-sχ lem tizvin laχsχ i isχ.
 [09:01] but PRO:2PL AUX:know know-PRES-2SG.S also PRO:2PL.POSS mother and father
 But do you know your Mama and Papa?

72. Всё.
vsjo.
 That’s all.