

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 «Tilval»

Agrafena Danilovna Ivashova (Sedanka-Osedlaia)

recorded 30.08.1997, Tigil'

ILC1_5 (Northern Itelmen)

1. Ит' қа'та ваһчк кийэнк кзуһлжукнэн ч'амза'л.
It' qaʔt vančk kij-enk k-zunt-qu-knen č'amza-ʔl.
 [00:00] when already upriver.LOC river-LOC NARR-live-IPFV-NARR person-PL
 A long time ago there were people who lived at the upper reaches of the river.
2. Қниҗанк семьянк кзуһлжукнэн ифлҗ да йимсхчах.
Qniḡ-ank semja-nk k-zunt-qu-knen iflɟ da jimsx-čax.
 [00:05] one-LOC family-LOC NARR-live-IPFV-NARR man and woman-DIM
 In one family there lived a man and a woman.
3. Қа'т в летах к'лэҗнэн, а Һиһикэ'һч тҗиин нету клҗзукнэн.
Qaʔt v letax k'-le-knin, a ɲeɲeke-ʔnč tɟiʔin ɲetu k-ʔ-qzu-knen.
 [00:11] already PREP years NARR-become-NARR but child-DIM.PL PRO:3PL NEG NARR-be-IPFV-NARR
 Many years had passed already, but they had no children.
4. И қунэлэн йимсхчах кхэныкнэн ифлҗэнк:
I quneten jimsx-čax k-xene-knen iflɟ-enk:
 [00:17] and always woman-DIM NARR-say-NARR man-LOC
 Мизэн Һиһикэчх лҗзаалэн.
 – Mizen ɲeɲeke-čx ʔ-qza-aʔ-en.
 PRO:1PL.POSS child-DIM be-IPFV-FUT-3SG.S
 Then once, the woman said to the man: “We are going to have a child.”
5. Ифлҗчах ли җпэлқ к'вэҗкэйкнэн. Йақ қнэҗ кхэныкнэн:
Iflɟ-čax li ɲpəl-q k'-venkivi-knen. Jaq qneɟ k-xene-knen:
 [00:25] man-DIM very big-ADV NARR-rejoice-NARR but at.once NARR-say-NARR
 The man was very happy and said:
6. – Қәлҗну лылҗэ мизэн Һэһэкэчх лҗзаалэн?
 – Qexnu liʔ mizen ɲeɲeke-čx ʔ-qza-aʔ-en?
 [00:30] really true PRO:1PL.POSS child-DIM be-IPFV-FUT-3SG.S
 “Really, is it true that we are going to have a child?”
7. Йимсхчах кхэныкнэн:
Jimsx-čax k-xene-knen:
 [00:33] woman-DIM NARR-say-NARR
 – Лыли нэ лҗзаалэн мизэн Һиһикэчх.
 – Liʔi ne ʔ-qza-aʔ-en mizen ɲeɲeke-čx.
 true be-IPFV-FUT-3SG.S PRO:1PL.POSS child-DIM
 The woman said: “Yes, it's true, we're going to have a child.”
8. Время прошло и кк'олҗкнэн,
Vremja prošlo i k-k'ot-knen,
 [00:39] time passed and NARR-come-NARR
 йимсхчах к'ынсхтын'ын п'эч ифлҗ'ин и к'очинтх'ин «Тылвал».
jimsx-čax k'-ənsxʔ-ʔin p'eč iflɟ-ʔin i k'-očintx-ʔin Tilval.
 woman-DIM NARR-give.birth-NARR child man-POSS and NARR-call-NARR <name>
 Time passed and it happened; the woman gave birth to a son and they called him “Tylval.”

9. Тылвал ли нықа к’узукнэн қнәң әсхтки. Ли нықа ксклавульатқзукнэн.
Tilval li niqa k’uzu-knen qneŋ əsx-tki. Li niqa k-skɫavuɫ-at-qzu-knen.
 [00:52] <name> very fast NARR-begin-NARR at.once grow-INF [00:57] very fast NARR-run-DIR-IPFV-NARR
Tylval at once began to grow very rapidly. He ran very fast.
11. Исхэнк и лахсхэнк ли ч’инаңқ к’инәк’зулқукнэн.
Isx-enk i laxɫɫɫ-enk li č’inaŋ-q k’inək’zuɫ-qu-knen.
 [01:02] father-LOC and mother-LOC very good-ADV NARR-help-IPFV-NARR
He helped his father and his mother very well.
12. Но ли нықа ксклавульатқзукнэн.
No li niqa k-skɫavuɫ-at-qzu-knen.
 [01:06] well very fast NARR-run-DIR-IPFV-NARR
And he ran very fast.
13. И қунәлән тхуинк атнок у’э’н кпыһлфкнэн.
I qunelen tɫiʔin-k atno-k uʔ-eʔn k-piɲɫf-knen.
 [01:10] and always PRO:3PL-LOC village-LOC wood-PL NARR-finish-NARR
Once the firewood at home ran out.
14. И лахсх әннанк кхэныкнэн:
I laxɫɫɫ ənna-nk k-xene-knen:
 [01:17] and mother PRO:3SG-LOC NARR-say-NARR
And his mother said to him:
15. – Кза бы нә зинк қлалычиңнэн
 – *Kza bi ne zin-k q-ɫali-čɪŋnen*
 [01:19] PRO:2SG forest-LOC 2SG.IMP-walk-2SG.S>3SG.O
 да у’э’н қт’флчиңнэн.
da uʔ-eʔn q-tʃɫ-čɪŋnen.
 wood-PL 2SG.IMP-bring-2SG.S>3SG.O
“You could go to the forest and bring back firewood.”
16. Тылвал қнәң: – Счас нә тт’флалкичэн.
Tilval qneŋ: – Sčas ne t-tʃɫ-at-kičen.
 [01:24] <name> at.once now 1SG-bring-FUT-1SG.S
Tylval answered: “Right away, I’ll bring some.”
17. Қнәң ли нықа ксхәллақзукнэн.
Qneŋ li niqa k-sxəlla-qzu-knen.
 [01:27] at.once very fast NARR-run-IPFV-NARR
At once he ran away very swiftly.
18. Ксхәллакнэн, зинк кк’олкнэн,
K-sxəlla-knen, zin-k k-k’ot-knen,
 [01:46] NARR-run-NARR forest-LOC NARR-come-NARR
 энну [...] у’э’н ли нықа кчилкнэн,
enu [...] uʔ-eʔn li niqa k-čil-knen,
 PRO:DEM wood-PL very fast NARR-gather-NARR
 к’аачанк нә к’узу’ин и әм склав атноң кпикикнэн.
k’aacɫ-ank ne k’uzu-ʔin i em sklav atno-ŋ k-piki-knen.
 back-LOC NARR-begin-NARR and run village-DIR NARR-walk-NARR
He ran into the forest, very quickly gathered the firewood;

19. Атноҟк пока склавақзукнэн
Atno-ḡk poka (k-)sklav-qzu-knen
 [01:52] village-LOC meanwhile (NARR-)run-IPFV-NARR
 да ли нықа лэқ ну у'э'н мил кузукнэн лукил к'аачанк.
da li niqa leq nu uʔ-eʔn mił k-uzu-knen lu-kis k'aac-ank.
 very fast ____ that wood-PL all NARR-begin-IPFV-NARR burn-INF back-LOC
 so quickly, the firewood even began to burn on his back.
20. Мил нэ кистэнк атноҟк нэ просты зитлп'к'улэ'н т'флкнын.
Mił ne kist-enk atno-ḡk ne prosti zitlpe'n (k-)t'fl-knin.
 [00:04] all house-LOC village-DAT only coal.PL NARR-bring-NARR
 He brought home only coals.
21. Лахсхэнк қнэҟ кхэныкнэн:
Laḡsḡ-enk qneḡ k-ḡene-knen:
 [01:57] mother-LOC at.once NARR-say-NARR
 His mother said at once,
22. – Кма нэ кнанк водерэн тхэныскичэн:
 – *Kma ne knan-k voderen t-ḡene-s-kičen:*
 [02:00] PRO:1SG PRO:2SG-LOC always 1SG-say-PRES-1SG.S
 зақ нықа лалыкақ қсэхч.
zaq niqa lali-kaq q-ł-sə-xč.
 NEG.PROH fast walk-NEG 2SG.IMP-be-PRES-2SG.S
 “I always tell you: ‘Don’t go so fast.’”
23. – Мил опять у'э'н [..т'] к'энлул'ин,
 – *Mił opjat uʔ-eʔn [..t'] k'-ən-lu-ł-ʔin,*
 [02:05] all again wood-PL NARR-ANTIP-burn-ANTIP-NARR
 к'аач ны к'энлул'ин свой.
k'aac ni k'-ən-lu-ł-ʔin svoj.
 back NARR-ANTIP-burn-ANTIP-NARR own
 Again, the wood burned up. And you burned your back.”
24. Ну Тылвал на ли здоровой лқукнэн,
Nu Tilval na li zdorovoj (k-)ł-qu-knen,
 [02:12] that <name> PRO:3SG very strong (NARR-)be-IPFV-NARR
 ли нықа мил әңқа соза клэкнэн.
li niqa mił əḡqa soza k-le-knen.
 very fast all PRO:what ____ NARR-become-NARR
 Tylval was very strong, he did everything very quickly.
25. Опять теперь лахсх к'әһсхқукнэн и лахсх әннан кхэныкнэн:
Opjat teper laḡsḡ k'-əḡsx-qu-knen i laḡsḡ ənnaḡ k-ḡene-knen:
 [02:17] again now mother NARR-be.sick-IPFV-NARR and mother PRO:3SG.POSS NARR-say-NARR
 Now again his mother became ill and she said:
26. – А я...я... ли пәлқ валвачил тнуаскичэн.
 – *A ja...ja... li pəl-q valvačḡ-ıł t-nu-a-s-kičen.*
 [02:22] very big-ADV duck-INS 1SG-eat-DES-PRES-1SG.S
 “I very much want to eat duck.

27. Кза бы қйэздылчиңнэн, әңқану, на устья бы қлалычиңнэн да
Kza bi q-jezdił-čijen, ǵqanu, na ustja bi q-łali-čijnen da
 [02:24] PRO:2SG 2SG.IMP-travel-2SG.S>3SG.O PRO:what at mouth.of 2SG.IMP-walk-2SG.S>3SG.O
 и кулика’њч бы кэманк т’флчиңнэн.
i kulika-ʔnč bi kamma-nk t’fł-čij(n)en.
 and sandpiper-DIM.PL PRO:1SG-LOC bring-2SG.S>1SG.O
 You could go, to the coast and bring me sand pipers.”
28. Тылвал нэ кхэныкнэн: – Счас нэ тлалаалкичэн.
Tilval ne k-xene-knen: – Sčas ne t-łale-ał-kičen.
 [02:34] <name> NARR-say-NARR now 1SG-walk-FUT-1SG.S
 Tylval said: “I’m going now.”
29. Қнэң ли нықа кпикикнэн и кк’олкнэн.
Qneŋ li niqa k-piki-knen i k-k’ot-knen.
 [02:38] at.once very fast NARR-walk-NARR and NARR-come-NARR
 He at once very quickly left and returned.
30. И тых тхаанк т’әнҗалатыскинэн эннун эм чэқолэ’њч валвачи’ин.
I tix txaʔank t’enŋ-ał-at-aš-kinen enun em čeqoł-eʔnč valvač-ʔin.
 [02:41] and PRO:3PL-LOC hang-DIM-DISTR-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.IO PRO:DEM only head-DIM.PL duck-POSS
 Only heads of ducks was all that was left hanging.
31. Лахсх эннак кхэныкнэн:
Laχsχ ənna-nk k-xene-knen:
 [02:47] mother PRO:3SG-LOC NARR-say-NARR
 His mother said to him:
32. – Кза опять эм склав кк’олкнэн, мича валва’њч ману к’әнфлат’ан
 – *Kza opjat em sklav k-k’ot-knen, miča valva-ʔnč manu k’-ənɬk-ʔan*
 [02:50] PRO:2SG again only run NARR-come-NARR beautiful duck-DIM.PL NARR-come.home-NARR
 эм чэқолэ’њч т’флкнын
em čeqoł-eʔnč t’fł-knin
 only head-DIM.PL bring-NARR
 “You again only come on the run; you ruined a bunch of good ducklings; you bring only heads,
- 32a. ит’ и ләңлаалч ли нықа склавољатки, надо тәљвуқ ләләқзуки.
 [03:02] it’ i ɬŋlaaɬč li niqa sklavoł-at-ki, nado teɬvu-q ɬale-qzu-ki.
 when and very fast run-DIR-INF it’s.necessary quiet-ADV walk-IPFV-INF
 it’s time to stop running so fast and walk quietly.”
33. Но Тылвал всё равно манк нэ клаләқзукнэн,
No Tilval vsjo ravno man-k ne k-łale-qzu-knen,
 [03:02] but <name> anyway PRO:where-LOC NARR-walk-IPFV-NARR
 вонк и клаләқзукнэн.
vonk i k-łale-qzu-knen.
 then and NARR-walk-IPFV-NARR
 But Tylval all the same kept on going as he had been going.
34. Дивно кзуњлалакнэн эннун селонк, ма’ итх кзуњлқзукнэн.
Divno k-zunł-ala-knen enun sjelo-nk, maʔ itχ k-zunł-qzu-knen.
 [03:07] nice NARR-live-DIM-NARR PRO:DEM village-LOC PRO:where PRO:3PL NARR-live-IPFV-NARR
 They lived through a lot in this village where they lived;

35. Ли °пэлқ к’узукнэн голодова’лки.
Li ʷpəl-q k’uzu-knen golodovaʔki.
 [03:13] very big-ADV NARR-begin-NARR starve-TRANS
 they began to starve.
36. И исх Тылваланк кхэныкнэн:
I isx Tilval-ank k-χene-knen:
 [03:16] and father <name>-LOC NARR-say-NARR
 – Кза бы зинк қлалычиңнэн да вэқањл қлэмчиңнэн.
 – *Kza bi zin-k q-ʔali-čijnen da veqanʔ q-ʔəm-čijnen.*
 PRO:2SG forest-LOC 2SG.IMP-walk-2SG.S>3SG.O and bear 2SG.IMP-kill-2SG.S>3SG.O
 And Tylval’s father said: “You could go to the forest and kill a bear.”
37. Қнэң энну Тылвал кхэныкнэн: – Счас нэ тјалаалкичэн.
Qneŋ enu Tilval k-χene-knen: – Sčas ne t-ʔala-aʔkičen.
 [03:24] at.once PRO:DEM <name> NARR-say-NARR now 1SG-walk-FUT-1SG.S
 At once Tylval said: “I’m going now.”
38. Кпикикнэн. Дивно погода қа’т ус ч’эзын опяť кистэнк.
K-piki-knen. Divno pogodja qat us č’e-z-in opjat kist-enk.
 [03:28] NARR-walk-NARR nice already yet enter-PRES-3SG.S again house-LOC
 A little later he’s already coming in.
39. Исх эннан хэныскинэн: – Кза манхал?
Isx ənən χene-s-kinen: – Kza man-χal?
 [03:34] father PRO:3SG.POSS say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O PRO:2SG PRO:where-ABL
 His father says to him: “Where did you come from?”
40. – Зинхал.
 – *Zin-χal.*
 [03:38] forest-ABL
 “From the forest.”
41. – Ёақ вэқањл әңқа лјэмчиңнэн?
 – *Jaq veqanʔ əŋqa ʔəm-čijnen?*
 [03:39] but bear PRO:what kill-2SG.S>3SG.O
 “And did you kill a bear?”
42. – Тјэмкичэн, нэ тыхтыну дворанк нэ сын.
 – *T-ʔəm-kičen, ne tixtinu dvor-ank ne (ʔ-)s-in.*
 [03:41] 1SG-kill-1SG.S yard-LOC be-PRES-3SG.S
 “Killed one; it’s in the yard.”
43. – Әңқа дворанк?
 – *əŋqa dvor-ank?*
 [03:44] PRO:what yard-LOC
 “What’s in the yard?”
44. – Хы нэ дворанк т’омтчэн.
 – *χi ne dvor-ank t’omt-čen.*
 [03:46] there yard-LOC 1SG-tie-1>3SG
 “There in the yard, I tied it up.”

45. Қнәң исх әззанк ккәмсткнән и к'әльчкунән вәқаһлэ'н ли ч'инаһқ
Qneŋ isx əzzan-k k-kəmst-knen i k-əlčku-nen veqant-eʔn li č'inah-q
 [03:48] at.once father outside-LOC NARR-go.out-NARR and NARR-see-NARR bear-PL very good-ADV
 қә'тх қсхә'һлән ... кпызыкнән.
qaʔtx qsχonten ... k-pizi-knen.
 like dog NARR-tie.up-NARR
 His father went outside at once and sees bears tied very well, like dogs in a team.
46. Исх қнәң нын оч'ин ч'амзала'н, иплхэ'н свой
Isx qneŋ nin oč'in č'amzal-aʔn, iptχ-eʔn svoj
 [03:58] father at.once now invite-3SG.S person-PL friend-PL own
 и кләм'ан энну вәқаһлан, минән Тылваланк т'флкнын.
i k-ləm-ʔan ennu veqant-aʔn, min-eʔn Tilval-ank t'ʃl-knin.
 and NARR-kill-NARR PRO:DEM bear-PL PRO:which-PL <name>-LOC bring-NARR
 His father at once called people, his friends, and they killed these bears that Tylval had brought.
47. Мил село к'нукнын, милананк қзылытын тхалтхал вәқаһл'ан
Mit sjelo k'-nu-knin, miʔan-ank k-zilit-in tχaltχal veqant-ʔan
 [04:09] all village NARR-eat-NARR all-LOC NARR-give.away-NARR meat bear-POSS
 и опять снова узукнән ч'инаһқ зуһлқи.
i opjat snova uzu-knen č'inah-q zunt-ki.
 and again again begin-NARR good-ADV live-INF
 The whole village ate, they gave the bear meat to everyone and again they started to live well.
48. Ну и қа'т кпәлсикнән Тылвал.
Nu i qat k-pəlsi-knen Tilval.
 [04:23] well and already NARR-grow-NARR <name>
 Well, Tylval had grown up.
49. Әннан лахсх кхәныкнән:
ənan laχsχ k-χene-knen:
 [04:25] PRO:3SG.POSS mother NARR-say-NARR
 His mother said to him:
50. – Кза бы нә хальч кңалхчхән, музан қа'т ли старые нт'ләск,
 – *Kza bi ne χaʔč k-ŋaʔχ-čχen, muzan qat li starije nt'-le-sk,*
 [04:28] PRO:2SG soon SUBJ-marry-2SG.S>3SG.O PRO:1PL already very old 1PL-become-PRES-1PL.S
 “It's time for you to get married; we've become very old.
51. – да и папа қа'т манк хәнохотйәлән.
 – *da i papa qat man-k χan-oxotjelen.*
 [04:32] and father already PRO:where-LOC 3SG.IMP-hunt.3SG.S
 How can your father hunt?
52. – Да кма слепой нә т'ләскичән.
 – *Da kma sljepoj ne t'-le-s-kičen.*
 [04:37] PRO:1SG blind 1SG-become-PRES-1SG.S
 Манк мчә'ңәласхин туза'н двое.
Man-k m-čeʔŋela-sxin tuzaʔn dvoje.
 PRO:where-LOC 1SG.IMP-sew-1SG.S>2PL.O PRO:2PL.POSS two
 And I've become blind, how can I sew both your clothes?”

53. Қнәң Тылвал нә кхэныкнән:
Qneŋ Tilval ne k-xene-knen:
 [04:43] at.once <name> NARR-say-NARR
 – Кма нә тҗалҗалкичән, только к’энк?
 – *Kma ne t-ŋaɬχaɬ-kičen, tolko k’e-nk?*
 PRO:1SG 1SG-marry-1SG.S only PRO:who-LOC
 Tylval said, “I’d like to get married, but to whom?”
54. А лахсх кхэныкнән:
A laχsχ k-xene-knen:
 [04:48] and mother NARR-say-NARR
 – Қа’т невеста йәпх нтчкикичән кнанк.
 – *Qat njevjestā jepχ n-tčki-kičen knan-k.*
 already bride although 1PL-find-1SG.S PRO:2SG-LOC
 And his mother said: “We’ve already found a bride for you.”
55. – Нада йэздылкас, сваталкас.
 – *Nada jezdīt-kas, svataɬ-kas.*
 [04:53] it’s.necessary travel-INF court-INF
 We have to go and propose.”
56. И қнәң ксхэзыкнән ҳы Воямполканк
I qneŋ k-sxezi-knen χi Vojampolka-nk
 and at.once NARR-travel-NARR there <Top>-LOC
 и ҳоқән йимсхчаҳ тавльо’ан тҳиин кли’ин,
i χoqen jimsχ-čaχ tavl̥o-ʔan tχiʔin k-ɬ-in,
 [04:55] and there woman-DIM Koryak-POSS PRO:3PL NARR-take-NARR
 They went right away to Voyampolka and there selected a Koryak woman.
57. мин ли ч’инаңқ кчи’нҗылқзукнән,
min li č’inaŋ-q k-č’iŋjil-qzu-knen,
 [05:02] which very good-ADV NARR-sew-IPFV-NARR
 ли ч’эвусқ ккоказокукнән ли ч’инаңқ крәпқзукнән.
li č’eves-q k-koka-zo-qu-knen. li č’inaŋ-q k-rep-qzu-knen.
 very sweet-ADV NARR-cook-ITER-IPFV-NARR very good-ADV NARR-cook-IPFV-NARR
 She sewed beautifully, cooked very delicious food and sang very beautifully.
58. И энну Тылваланк қнәң ли ч’инаңқ ләм к’әлч’к’зуан
I ennu Tilval-ank qneŋ li č’inaŋ-q lem k’-əɬku-qzu-ʔan
 [05:12] and PRO:DEM <name>-LOC at.once very good-ADV also NARR-see-IPFV-NARR
 и к’әлфчакнән к’җалхкнән.
i k’-əɬča-knen k’-ŋaɬχ-knen.
 and NARR-agree-NARR NARR-marry-NARR
 And Tylval immediately liked her very much and agreed to marry.
59. И кт’флжкнән энну йимсхчаҳ атноҗ
I k-t’fɬ-knen ennu jimsχ-čaχ atno-ŋ
 [05:20] and NARR-bring-NARR PRO:DEM woman-DIM village-DAT
 и кзуҗлқзукнән ҳоқән, дружно кзуҗлқзукнән.
i k-zunɬ-qzu-knen χoqen, družno k-zunɬ-qzu-knen.
 and NARR-live-IPFV-NARR there amicably NARR-live-IPFV-NARR
 He brought this woman home and they lived there, they lived amicably.

60. Но йимсхчах всё равно кхэныкнэн Тылваланк:
No jimsx-čax vsjo ravno k-χene-knen Tilval-ank:

[05:30] woman-DIM anyway NARR-say-NARR <name>-LOC

– Давай энну муза’н ыаачил мзуьлқзук.

– *Davaj ennu muzaʔn jačit m-zunt-qzu-k.*

let’s PRO:DEM PRO:1PL nanny-INS 1SG.IMP-live-IPFV-1SG.S

The woman said to Tylval anyway: “Let’s live together.”

61. А синэх Тылвал кхэныкнэн:
A sinex Tilval k-χene-knen:

[05:37] but <name> NARR-say-NARR

– Кэман нэ бабу’ньч ли старые, манк итх омзос?

– *Kman ne babu-ʔnč li starije, man-k itχ omzo-s?*

PRO:1SG.POSS grandparent-DIM.PL very old PRO:where-LOC PRO:3PL leave-INF

But Tylval said “My parents are very old; how can I leave them?”

62. На кхэныкнэн:
Na k-χene-knen:

[05:43] PRO:3SG NARR-say-NARR

– Муза’н тхаанк нэ нт’лалықзалк,

– *Muzaʔn tχaʔa-nk ne nt’-lali-qz-ał-k,*

PRO:1PL PRO:3PL-DAT 1PL-walk-IPFV-FUT-1SG.S

нт’эльчкуқзуалин, нт’нык’зуалқзалк.

nt’-əčku-qzu-ał-in, nt’-nik’zu-ał-qz-ał-k.

1PL-see-IPFV-FUT-1PL.S>3PL.O 1PL-help-DES-IPFV-FUT-1SG.S

She answered: “We’ll visit them, watch over and help.”

63. Тылвал кхэныкнэн:
Tilval k-χene-knen:

[05:50] <name> NARR-say-NARR

– Ну счас пойду места т’энтхзоқалчэн.

– *Nu sčas pojdu mjesta t’-entχzo-q-ał-čen.*

well now I.go place 1SG-search-IPFV-FUT-1SG.S>3SG.O

Tylval said: “Okay I’m going to look for a place.”

64. Ну и қнәң кпикикнән к’эльчку’ин
Nu i qneŋ k-piki-knen k-əčku-ʔin

[05:53] well and at.once NARR-walk-NARR NARR-see-NARR

и кчкикнән места тыхт Қувсиск ульучқ ваьчк

i k-čki-knen mjesta tixt Quvsink uluč-q vančk

and NARR-find-NARR place ____ <Top>-LOC little-ADV upriver.LOC

и қоқән уљулаҳ ңәйаьчаҳ кчкикнән, ли удобной места.

i χoqen ulu-łax ɲejan-čax k-čki-knen, li udobnoj mjesta.

and there little-ADJ hill-DIM NARR-find-NARR very suitable place

He went to look and found a place a little above Kuvsiskh and there found a small hillock, a very good place.

65. Қнәң қоқән йуртэ’ кск’ан.
Qneŋ χoqen jurte? k-sk-ʔan.

[06:06] at.once there yurt NARR-make-NARR

И потом җыч җоқэн т'флкнын.
I potom ɟiʃ ʒoqen (k-)t'fl-knin.
 and then wife there (NARR-)bring-NARR
 He made a yurt at once and then brought his wife there.

66. Кҗэныкнын: – Хтаанк и нзуьлкалк.
K-ɟene-knen: – Xtaank i n-zunt-q-aɬ-k.
 [06:12] NARR-say-NARR here.LOC and 1PL-live-IPFV-FUT-1SG.S
 He said: "We'll live here."

67. И җуқэн и к'узукнэн зуьлки.
I ɟuqen i k'-uzu-knen zunt-ki.
 [06:14] and there and NARR-begin-NARR live-INF
 And there they began to live.

68. Тылвал всё вонк же к'элант'зоқукнэн и к'охотилқукнэн.
Tilval vsjo vonk ʒe k'-əlantzo-qu-knen i k'-oxotil-qu-knen.
 [06:18] <name> then NARR-fish-IPFV-NARR and NARR-hunt-IPFV-NARR
 Tylval netted fish there and hunted.

69. А йимсхчаҗ летом ...
A jimsx-ɟaɟ letom ... (lamɬ) /
 [06:22] and woman-DIM summer summer
Nu-ka niqa q-ɟeni-x
 well fast 2SG.IMP-say-2SG.S>3SG.O
 And the woman in the summer ... (as a FN: ...(what, speak quick) there...to there on that bank...?)

70. Саланк к'энтақзукнэн җоқэн, лэну'ньч кчилқзукнэн.
A, sal-ank ! / sal-ank k'-ənta-qzu-knen ʒoqen, lənu-ʔnɕ k-čil-qzu-knen.
 [06:40] and across-LOC across-LOC NARR-cross.over-IPFV-NARR there berry-DIM.PL NARR-gather-IPFV-NARR
 And across the river! She went across the river in a dugout boat and gathered berries.

71. Қунэлэн җоқ к'энтакнэн, кәльчу'ин ч'амзаңлҗ ли ч'инаңқ тхзускинэн,
Qunəlen ʒoq k'-ənta-knen, k-əɬču-ʔin č'amzanɬɟ li č'inanɟ-q tɟzu-s-kinen,
 [06:46] always there NARR-cross.over-NARR NARR-see-NARR person very good-ADV stand-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.IO
 әннанк кәльчускинэн.
əna-nk əɬču-s-kinen.
 PRO:3SG-LOC see-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.IO
 Once she went there and saw a very handsome man looking at her.

72. На ли ктылҗхкнэн йимсхчаҗ,
Na li k-tilɬɟx-knen jimsx-ɟaɟ,
 [06:52] PRO:3SG very NARR-be.frightened-NARR woman-DIM
 а синэх энну ч'амзаңлҗ әннанк кҗэныкнэн:
a sinex ennu č'amzanɬɟ əna-nk k-ɟene-knen:
 and and PRO:DEM person PRO:3SG-LOC NARR-say-NARR
 – Зақ тылфлҗақ, қәлну қа'м линхпыкақ исум?
– Zaɟ tilɬɟk-aq, qəxnu qaʔm ɬinxpik-aq i(ɬ)-s-um?
 NEG.PROH be.frightened-NEG really NEG know-NEG know-PRES-1SG.O
 The woman was frightened. This man said to her: "Don't be afraid, don't you know me?"

73. Қнәң йимсхчаҳ әльчкунән ли қэчик,
Qneŋ jimsx-čax əlčku-nen li qeči-q,
 [07:06] at.once woman-DIM see-3SG.S>3SG.O very good-ADV
 энну мэхну тхийн эннан сосед, мақот кзуњлқзукнән.
ennu mexnu tχiʔin ənnan sosjed, maqot k-zunʔ-qzu-knen.
 PRO:DEM perhaps PRO:3PL PRO:3SG.POSS neighbour where NARR-live-IPFV-NARR
 The woman looked more closely and it appeared that it was her former neighbor.
74. Энну қнәң кхэныкнән: – Ласт кза зунсч?
Ennu qneŋ k-χene-knen: – Last kza zun(č)-s-č?
 [07:16] PRO:DEM at.once NARR-say-NARR how PRO:2SG live-PRES-2SG.S
 He said: “How are you living?”
75. – Да кма нә ч’инаңқ тзунскичән,
 – *Da kma ne č’inaŋ-q t-zun(č)-s-kičen,*
 [07:20] yes PRO:1SG good-ADV 1SG-live-PRES-1SG.S
 Тылвал тч’эсчән, только ли пәлқ тәйәңискичән атноңк.
Tilval t-č’e-s-čen, tolko li ʔpəl-q (t-)tejeŋi-s-kičen atnoŋk.
 <name> 1SG-be.in.place-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.O only very big-ADV 1SG-long.for-PRES-1SG.S village-DAT
 “Yes?, I’m living well, together with Tylval. Only I miss home very much.”
76. Қнәң эннун кхэныкнән: – Пойдём нә энну мсхәллак атноңк?
Qneŋ ennu k-χene-knen: – Pojdjom ne ennu m-sxəlla-k atnoŋk?
 [07:26] at.once PRO:DEM NARR-say-NARR let’s.go PRO:DEM 1SG.IMP-run-1SG.S village-DAT
 The man said: “Let’s go, run home.”
77. А на хэныч: – Кма нә хэ’њч Тылваланк ныңқсиумк.
 А *na χeni-č: – Kma ne χenč Tilval-ank n-əŋqzi-umk.*
 [07:34] but PRO:3SG say-2SG.S PRO:1SG NEG.IMP <name>-LOC 1PL-let.go-1PL.O
 But she said: “Me, no. Tylval won’t let us go.”
78. – А если на нәңқсиалумк всё равно лукал мэйэм нә нлјотзоалум,
 – *A jesli na n-əŋqzi-aʔ-umk vsjo ravno luk-aʔ mejem ne n-ʔot-zo-aʔ-um,*
 [07:38] if PRO:3SG 1PL-let.go-FUT-1PL.O anyway bowstring-INS plenty 1PL-shoot-ITER-FUT-1PL.O
 And if he did let us go all the same he would shoot arrows at us heavily.
79. – нутуалк манк схәллакаалки.
 – *n-utu-aʔ-k man-k sxəllaka-aʔ-ki.*
 [07:43] 1PL-be.unable-FUT-1PL.S PRO:where-LOC run-FUT-INF
 We can’t run off anywhere.”
80. А синэх энну ифлх кхэныкнән:
 А *sinex ennu iʔlχ k-χene-knen:*
 [07:45] and and PRO:DEM man NARR-say-NARR
 – А кза нә қк’олхч и энну лукаан тетива улық нә к’әмпхалах
 – *A kza ne q-k’olχč i ennu lukaan tetiva ulu-q ne k’əmpχala-x*
 and PRO:2SG 2SG.IMP-go-2SG.S and PRO:DEM bowstring.POSS string little-ADV 2SG.IMP-slice-2SG.S
 и утуалән лјотзоалки.
i utu-aʔen ʔot-zo-aʔ-ki.
 and be.unable-FUT-3SG.S shoot-ITER-FUT-INF
 The man said: “You come and cut the bowstring some and he won’t be able to shoot.”

81. Ну йимсхчаҳ қнәң к'райткнән атноң назад.
Nu jimsx-čax qneŋ k'-rajt-knen¹ atno-ŋ nazad.
 [07:56] that woman-DIM at.once NARR-return-NARR village-DIR back
 Now the woman headed home at once.
82. Тылвал атнок. Тылвал қа'т кк'олжкнән элантзоҳал и кхэныкнән:
Tilval atno-k. Tilval qat k-k'oł-knen əlantzo-χal i k-χene-knen:
 [08:00] <name> village-LOC <name> already NARR-come-NARR fishing.place-ABL and NARR-say-NARR
 Tylval was at home, he had already arrived from netting fish and said:
83. – Ҳоқэн нәнчә'н тт'флкичән, нада эфтәс.
 – *χoqen ninč-eʔn t-t'fł-kičen, nada əftə-s.*
 [08:05] there fish-PL 1SG-bring-1SG.S it's.necessary clean.fish-INF
 “There are some fish I brought; they need to be cleaned.”
84. А синэх внэто к'ураткн'н ли °пәлқ.
A sinex vneto k'-urat-knen li pəl-q.
 [08:08] and and therein NARR-be.tired-NARR very big-ADV
 He was very tired.
85. И қнәң энну йимсхчаҳ кхэныкнән:
I qneŋ ennu jimsx-čax k-χene-knen:
 [08:11] and at.once PRO:DEM woman-DIM NARR-say-NARR
 The woman said:
86. – Кза, ну наверно, уратч, әҗк'и нә сперва
 – *Kza, nu naverno, urat-č, əŋqa ne spjerva*
 [08:14] PRO:2SG well perhaps be.tired-2SG.S PRO:what firstly
 қ'нухч, қ'илхч, қч'айазохч, қйәлқэтыхч уључқ,
q'-nu-xč, q'-il-xč, q-č'ajazo-xč, q-jelketi-xč ułuč-q,
 2SG.IMP-eat-2SG.S 2SG.IMP-drink-2SG.S 2SG.IMP-drink.tea-2SG.S 2SG.IMP-sleep-2SG.S little-ADV
 а энну потом омоком мыхтын.
a ennu potom omokom m-ixti-n.
 and PRO:DEM then together 1PL.IMP-clean.fish-3SG.O
 “You are probably very tired. Eat first, drink, have some tea and sleep a little. Then we'll both clean the fish together.”
87. Қнәң Тылвал к'әлфчакнән, к'әлжкнән и к'йәлқукнән.
Qneŋ Tilval k'-əlfča-knen, k'-əłč-knen i k'-jelke-knen.
 [08:26] at.once <name> NARR-agree-NARR NARR-lie.down-NARR and NARR-sleep-IPFV-NARR
 Tylval agreed, lay down and slept.
88. А йимсхчаҳ синэх эззанк к'исткнән,
A jimsx-čax sinex əzzan-k k'-is-t-knen,
 [08:32] but woman-DIM and outside-LOC NARR-go.out-DISTR-NARR
 нырвуқән вальч нын кли'ин и к'ынлжкнән әннанк лукәнк
nirvuqen vałč nin k-łi-ʔin i k'-inxł-knen ənna-nk luk-enk
 sharp knife now NARR-take-NARR and NARR-get.there-NARR PRO:3SG-LOC bowstring-LOC
 и к'әмпхалаан тетива.
i k'-əmpχala-an tətiva.
 and NARR-slice-NARR bowstring
 But the woman went outside, took a sharp knife and cut the bowstring.

1 Verb root *rajt*- “return” from Koryak.

89. Ну и опять йуртэнк кч'эқзукнэн.
Nu i opjat jurte-nk k-č'e-qzu-knen.

[08:50] well and again yurt-LOC NARR-enter-IPFV-NARR

Then she went back into the yurt.

90. Тылвал энну йэлқызэн, а йимсхчах к'ч'эқнэн,
Tilval enu jelki-z-en, a jimsx-čax k'-č'e-knen,

[09:01] <name> PRO:DEM sleep-PRES-3SG.S woman-DIM NARR-enter-NARR

снова эннанк к'ыңлжкнэн и ли ч'инаңк к'лаволкнэн,
snova əna-nk k'-inxl-knen i li č'inaŋ-q k-ɬavol-knen,

again PRO:3SG-LOC NARR-get.there-NARR and very good-ADV NARR-sit.down-NARR

қә'тх ли қә'м әңқа скан.

qatx li qaɬm əŋqa sk-an.

as.if very NEG PRO:what do-3SG.S

Tylval is sleeping and the woman went up to him again, walked up and sat quietly as if she had done nothing.

91. И потом ит' энну снова Тылвал к'эсхлжкнэн
I potom it' ennu snova Tilval k'-esxli-knen

[09:14] and then when PRO:DEM again <name> NARR-awake-NARR

и кпикжкнэн тнумк әхтном, мил тхйин нәнчә'н к'әфтнн.

i k-piki-knen tnum-k əxtnom, miɬ tχiʔin ninč-eʔn k'-əftn-in.

and NARR-walk-NARR down-LOC cleaning.place all PRO:3PL fish-PL NARR-clean.fish-NARR

Then, when Tylval woke up and went below where the fish were cut, he cleaned all their fish.

92. Тылвал кхэныкнэн: – Халч нэ мрайтқзуск.
Tilval k-χene-knen: – χaɬč ne m-rajt-qzu-s-k.

[09:26] <name> NARR-say-NARR soon 1SG.IMP-return-IPFV-PRES-1SG.S

Tylval said: "It's time, let's go home."

93. Йимсхчах кхэныкнэн.
Jimsx-čax k-χene-knen:

[09:29] woman-DIM NARR-say-NARR

– Кма нэ хэ'ньч, ещө кийэнк хтаанк тполоскаалчэн

– *Kma ne χenč, ješjo kij-enk xtaank t-poloska-aɬ-čen*

PRO:1SG NEG.IMP river-LOC here.LOC 1SG-rinse-FUT-1SG.S>3SG.O

хы ну уљуљаха'н вещички

χi nu ulu-ɬax-aʔn vješčički.

there well little-ADJ-PL luggage.PL

The woman said: "Me, not now, I'm going to rinse these little things in the river."

94. Қнәң энну Тылвал: – Ну кма пойду атноңк.
Qneŋ ennu Tilval: – Nu kma pojdu atno-ŋk.

[09:36] at.once PRO:DEM <name> well PRO:1SG I.go village-DAT

Tylval said: "Well, I'm going home."

95. Кпикжкнэн атнок.
K-piki-knen atno-k.

[09:39] NARR-walk-NARR village-LOC

He went home.

96. А синэх йимсхчах ли нықа қнәң тхтымэнкснова клаволкнан
A sinex jimsx-čax li niqa qneŋ tχtim-enk snova k-ɭavol-knan
 [09:40] and and woman-DIM very fast at.once boat-LOC again NARR-sit.down-NARR
 и ли нықа к’энтакнән хавнәнк берганк.
i li niqa k’-anta-knen χavn-enk berega-nk.
 and very fast NARR-cross.over-NARR ____-LOC river.bank-LOC
 The woman very quickly sat in the boat and quickly traveled to the other side.
97. Хоқән ифлхәнк тхиинәнк нкзусчән.
χoqen iflχ-enk tχiɪn-enk n-kzu-s-čen.
 [09:46] there man-LOC PRO:3PL-LOC PASS-wait-PRES-PASS.3SG
 The man was waiting for her there.
98. Қнәң ли нықа клаволкнән тхтымәнк и квиқзукнән.
*Qneŋ li niqa k-ɭavol-knen tχtim-enk i k-vi-qzu-knen.*¹
 [09:50] at.once very fast NARR-sit.down-NARR boat-LOC and NARR-go.boating-IPFV-NARR
 They both very quickly sat in the boat and set off.
99. А Тылвал нэ в это время к’илфсин к’әнү илывэнызән,
A Tilval ne v eto vremja k’-ilfs-in k’enu ilven(tz)u-z-en,
 [09:56] and <name> in this time NARR-hear-NARR PRO:who go.fishing-PRES-3SG.S
 к’әнү хтым илывэнызән.
k’enu χtim ilven(tz)u-z-en.
 PRO:who boat go.fishing-PRES-3SG.S
 At the same time, Tylval heard that someone was working with the paddles—someone is poling a boat very hard.
100. Әззанк ккәмсткнән, кәльчуккнән җыч
əzzan-k k-kəms-tknen, k-əɭčku-knen ɟič
 [10:06] outside-LOC NARR-go.out-NARR NARR-see-NARR wife
 сақну ифлх ч’эснән вики кийәнк.
saqnu iflχ č’e-s-nen viki kij-enk.
 what man enter-PRES-3SG.S ____ river-LOC
 He went outside and saw that his wife was traveling along the river with some man.
101. Қнәң к’узукнән кәлки:
Qneŋ k’-uzu-knen kel-ki:
 [10:14] at.once NARR-begin-NARR shout-INF
 – Ну-ка назад қк’олхч! Манк схэзизч?
 – *Nu-ka nazad q-k’olχ-č! Man-k sxezi-z-č?*
 well back 2SG.IMP-come-2SG.S PRO:where-LOC run-PRES-2SG.S
 He cried out: “Hey there, come back! Where are you going?”
102. А йимсхчах қа’м к’олжақ назад скинән.
A jimsx-čax qaʔm k’ol-kaq nazad (ɭ-)s-kinen.
 [10:20] and woman-DIM NEG go-NEG back be-PRES-3SG.S
 But the woman doesn’t go back.

1 A variant of *fekas* “to go boating, to float”.

103. Тылвал в это время қнәң нә ксхәллакнән нақа атнок,
Tilval v eto vremja qneŋ ne k-sxəlla-knen naqa atno-k,
 [10:26] <name> at this time at.once PRO:3SG NARR-run-NARR _____ village-LOC
 к'ынлфкнән лук нын лин.
k'-intf-knen luk nin lin.
 [10:26] NARR-____-NARR bowstring now _____
Tylval ran home, took his bow intending to shoot;
104. Қунәмх клоталқзукнән, натянуть нын илин лук,
Qunemx k-ɬot-aɬ-qzu-knen, natjanutʲ nin iɬ-in luk,
 [10:34] too NARR-shoot-DES-IPFV-NARR stretch.INF now be.able-3SG.S bowstring
 только натягивать к'илән, қнәң тетива кпхәкнән.
tolko natjagivatʲ k'-iɬ-en, qneŋ tɛtɪva k-pxe-knen.
 only stretch.INF NARR-be.able-NARR at.once bowstring NARR-break-NARR
drew the bow but just as he started the bowstring broke.
105. Тылвал қнәң хақ нын т'илкнән – әннан җычәнк на т'интәмныан.
Tilval qneŋ xaq nin (k-)til-knen – ənən ʒič-enk na k'-intenmi-ʔan.
 [10:45] <name> at.once AUX:know now NARR-know-NARR PRO:3SG.POSS wife-LOC PRO:3SG NARR-deceive-NARR
Tylval at once figured out that his wife had deceived him.
106. Ксалыкнән, йәпх, қунәл җоқән тнумк.
K-sali-knen, jɛpx, qunɛl(en) ʒoqen tnum-k.
 [10:54] NARR-run-NARR although always there down-LOC
He ran down below (to the river bank).
107. Кий же ли ныпулақән,
Kij ʒe li nɐpulaqen, ¹
 [10:58] river already very deep.ADJ
 к'утукнән ли нура тхзоалки и чанзос итх.
k'-utu-knen li nura tχzo-aɬ-ki i ʧanzo-s itχ.
 NARR-be.unable-NARR very long.time stand-DES-INF and chase-INF PRO:3PL
The river was very deep and he could not stand long and catch up with them.
108. Назад кпикикнән, ванк к'эвскнән.
Nazad k-piki-knen, vank k'-evs-knen.
 [11:04] back NARR-walk-NARR upper.LOC NARR-climb-NARR
He went back, climbed up
109. Улық потом кзуңјалакнән әннун җәйәмчхан тхйин кистәнк
Ulu-q potom k-zunt-ala-knen enun ʒejemʧχan ² *tχiʔin kist-enk*
 [11:07] little-ADV then NARR-live-DIM-NARR PRO:DEM mountain(?) PRO:3PL house-LOC
 и кпикикнән (әңқану) атноң.
i k-piki-knen (əŋqanu) atno-ŋ.
 and NARR-walk-NARR PRO:what village-DIR
and lived at this place a bit, then he went home.
110. Атноң кк'олкнән
Atno-ŋ k-k'oɬ-knen
 [11:14] village-DIR NARR-go-NARR

1 Adjective borrowed from Koryak (*nə-...-qen*), possibly *nəppuɬuqin* “small”-

2 Perhaps a variant to *nejje* “mountain, hill”.

мақот эннан бабучх, дедючх кзуњлқзукнэн.
maqot ennan babu-čx, d'ed'u-čx k-zunt-qzu-knen.
 where PRO:3SG.POSS grandmother-DIM grandfather-DIM NARR-live-IPFV-NARR
 He arrived home where his old father and mother lived.

111. Алхчат к'узу'ин кпынлоатыс:
Ałčat k'-uzu-?in kpiŋlo-ati-s: ¹

[11:20] NARR-begin-NARR announce-DIR-INF

– Ма' кэман исх и ма' кэман лахсх?
 – *Ma? kman isx i ma? kman laχsχ?*
 PRO:where PRO:3SG.POSS father and PRO:where PRO:3SG.POSS mother

He began asking, “where are my father and my mother?”

112. Эннанк кхэныкнэн: – Итх нэ қа'та исхэн.
əna-nk k-χene-(k)nen: – *Itχ ne qata isχ-en.*

[11:27] PRO:3SG-LOC NARR-say-NARR PRO:3PL already die-3SG.S

They told him: “They died long ago.

113. – Кза нэ всё нкзукзуин, нкзукзуин,
 – *Kza ne vsjo n-kzu-qzu-?in, n-kzu-qzu-?in,*

[11:30] PRO:2SG NARR-wait-IPFV-NARR NARR-wait-IPFV-NARR

тэвут вонк и нэ исхэн
tevut vonk i ne isχ-en.
 even then and die-3SG.S

They waited and waited for you and died waiting.”

114. Тылвал ли пэлқ ктэйиңқзукнэн.
Tilval li pəl-q k-tejen-qzu-knen.

[11:35] <name> very big-ADV NARR-weep-IPFV-NARR

Tylval was deeply saddened

115. И ещѐ қасх или ч'оқ қлхлэ'н нын атнок кзоњлалакнэн
I ješjo qasχ ili č'oq qłχl-e?n nin atno-k k-zunt-ala-knen

[11:37] and yet two or three day-PL now village-LOC NARR-live-DIM-NARR

и қунэлэн клиңлэ кткнан и кпикикнэн ңэйанк
i qunelen kłiŋle k-t-knan i k-piki-knen ɲeja-nk
 and always night NARR-stand.up-NARR and NARR-walk-NARR hill-LOC

и больше қа'м к'энк ит'э на әлчқук илан.
i bolše qa?m k'e-nk it'e na əłčku-q k'-it-in.

and more NEG PRO:who-LOC when PRO:3SG see-NEG NARR-be-NARR

and stayed two or three days in the village. One night he got up and went to the hilltop and no one ever saw him again.

116. А энну места, мақот на эннан ңычэнк предат к'илин,
A enu mjestā, maqot na enan ɲič-enk predat' k'-it-in,

[11:52] and PRO:DEM place where PRO:3SG PRO:3SG.POSS wife-LOC betray NARR-be-NARR

энну места с той поры нот'зосчэн Изменной.
enu mjestā s toj pori n-ot'-zo-s-čen Izmennoj.

PRO:DEM place since.then PASS-call-ITER-PRES-PASS.3SG <name>

And this place where his wife betrayed him, this place has since that time been called “Betrayal.”

[12:04]

1 Probably from Koryak (*ja*)*pəŋla-* “to announce, inform”