

# 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<br>> third person plural (direct) object      | ITER   | iterative                                                                                                                      |
| 2PL          | 2nd person plural                                                         | LOC    | locative                                                                                                                       |
| 3SG.S>1SG.IO | 3rd person singular subject<br>> third person singular indirect<br>object | M      | masculine                                                                                                                      |
| ABL          | ablative                                                                  | NARR   | narrative (not fully finite verb form,<br>often used in narrations; mostly<br>described either as participle or<br>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 «Karalka»

Vera Innokentevna Khan — recorded 30.6.1998, Kovran

ILC1\_6 (Southern Itelmen)

1. Ксуњлқзукнэ'н Кутх эк Митэ.  
*K-sunʎ-qzu-kneʎn Kutx ek Mite.*  
 [00:00] NARR-live-IPFV-NARR <name> and <name>  
 There once lived Kutkh and Miti.
2. Тхи'инк лқзувэ'н касх п'э'н: Эмэмқут эк Синаңэвт.  
*Txiʎi-nk ʎ-qzu-veʎn kasx p'e-ʎn: Ememqut ek Sinaŋevt.*  
 [00:04] PRO:3PL-LOC be-IPFV-3PL.S two child-PL <name> and <name>  
 They had two children: Ememkut and Sinanewt.
3. Ульулаха'н п'э'н лқзувэ'н. Исхэ'н льви нлфталатнэ'н п'э'н.  
*Ulu-laʎa-aʎn p'e-ʎn ʎ-qzu-veʎn. Isx-eʎn ʎvi n-lʎtalat-neʎn p'e-ʎn.*  
 [00:10] small-ADJ-PL child-PL be-IPFV-3PL.S father-PL very 3PL-love-3PL.S>3PL.O child-PL  
 They were small children and their parents loved them very much.
4. Кутх вечно қыхэнк эк синк промыслайқзунэ'н.  
*Kutx večno qıx-enk ek sin-k promisʎaj-qzu-neʎn.*  
 [00:18] <name> always sea-LOC and forest-LOC hunt-IPFV-3SG.S>3PL.O  
 Kutkh always hunted at sea and in the forest.
5. Митэ кистэнк убэра'лқзунэн, ккукэкзукнэн, клэнқзукнэн ньэ'схч'э'н.  
*Mite kist-enk uberaʎ-qzu-nen, k-kuke-qzu-knen, k-ʎen(nu)-qzu-knen ʎeʎsʎʎ'e-ʎn.*  
 [00:24] <name> house-LOC clean.up-IPFV-3SG.S>3SG.O NARR-cook-IPFV-NARR NARR-feed-IPFV-NARR toddler-PL  
 Miti kept house, cooked and took care of the children.
6. Қун Митэ утре ласчиңнэн Кутхэнкэ:  
*Qun Mite utre la-s-ʎiŋnen Kutx-enke:*  
 [00:33] once <name> morning narrate-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.IO <name>-DAT  
 One morning Miti says to Kutkh:
7. — Зақ ты'ну қлхлэнк манкэ илкақ қсэхч.  
*“Zaq tiʎnu qʎxl-enk man-ke iʎ-kaq q-(ʎ-)sə-xʎ.*  
 [00:38] NEG.PROH PRO:PROX day-LOC PRO:where-DAT go-NEG 2SG.IMP-be-PRES-2SG.S  
 Кэмма льви хэқэ трэтлакичэн.  
*Kəmma ʎvi xeqe t-retla-kiʎen.”*  
 PRO:1SG very bad 1SG-dream-1SG.S  
 — “Don't go anywhere today. I had a very bad dream.”
8. Кутх қа'м илфскақ Митэ, эвун илин охтанкэ.  
*Kutx qaʎm ilʎs-kaq Mite, evun iʎ-in oxt-anke.*  
 [00:46] <name> NEG hear-NEG <name> even go-3SG.S wood-DAT  
 Kutkh did not listen to Miti and went to the forest anyway.
9. Митэ кистэнк ккукэкнэн илқ, кскнэн ли'лум.  
*Mite kist-enk k-kuke-knen iʎq, k-s-knen ʎiʎlum.*  
 [00:52] <name> house-LOC NARR-cook-NARR soup NARR-make-NARR kirilka  
 Miti, at home, made soup and kirilka.

10. Хоровал кэстанкэ әңқа ыаңэ кч'экнэн; сфу'н, урвақ чқлаҳэ'н лқзувэ'н.  
*Xoroval kest-anke әңқа ыаңэ k-č'e-knen; sfu-ʔn, urvaq-ʔin čq-laḥ-eʔn ł-qzu-veʔn.*  
 [00:58] suddenly house-DAT PRO:what girl NARR-enter-NARR boot-PL shirt-POSS humid-ADJ-PL be-IPFV-3PL.S  
 Suddenly a girl came in; her boots and her shirt were wet.
11. Митэ тәңлаҳ җымсх лқзувэн, қнаҗ әһлалэн эк клинну'ин, чайал кқэскнэн.  
*Mite teŋ-laḥ ʒimsx ł-qzu-ven, qnaḥ enlaʔ-en ek k-ʔinnu-ʔin, čaja-ʔ k-qes-knen.*  
 [01:08] <name> kind-ADJ woman be-IPFV-3SG.S at.once place.in.a.seat-3SG.S and NARR-feed-NARR tea-INS NARR-feast-NARR  
 Miti was a kind woman and at once sat her down, fed her and gave her tea.
12. — Қол кәммаккэ әңқа тхлжкнэн, лознэн ыаңэ.  
*“Qoʔ kamma-nke әңқа tɬi-knen,” ʔo-z-nen ыаңэ.*  
 [01:18] PART:give PRO:1SG-DAT PRO:what put.on-INF say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O girl  
 — “Give me something to wear,” the girl said.
13. — Нух новой урвақ, сфу'н — қтхлжихи'н, лознэн Митэ.  
*“Nux novoj urvaq, sfu-ʔn — q-tɬi-(xi)ʔn,” ʔo-z-nen Mite*  
 [01:25] here new shirt boot-PL 2SG.IMP-put.on-2SG.S>3PL.O say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O <name>  
 — “Here’s a new shirt, boots — put them on,” said Miti.
14. — Бравой кәмма хә'һч мтхлалкичэн, лознэн ыаңэ.  
*“Bravoj kamma xeʔnč m-tɬl-aʔ-kičen,” ʔo-z-nen ыаңэ.*  
 [01:31] good PRO:1SG NEG.IMP 1SG.IMP-put.on-FUT-1SG.S say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O girl  
 — “I won’t put on good things,” the girl said.
15. — Аңқанкит? ләһллознэн Митэ.  
*“Әңқан-кит?” ʔenllo-z-en Mite.*  
 [01:37] PRO:why-CAUS ask-PRES-3SG.S <name>  
 — “Why?” Miti asked.
16. — Кәмман кистэнк птос новой одэзда'н чизин, кнын новой урвақ кәммаккэ?  
*“Kamma kist-enk ptos novoj odezda-ʔn či-z-in, knin novoj urvaq kamma-nke?”*  
 [01:41] PRO:1SG.POSS house-LOC much new cloth-PL have-PRES-3SG.S PRO:2SG.POSS new shirt PRO:1SG-DAT  
 җе nada.”  
 NEG it's.necessary  
 — “I have a lot of new clothing at home; why give me your new shirt? It’s not necessary.”
17. — Эвун қтхлжх!  
*“Evun q-tɬi-x!”*  
 [01:50] even 2SG.IMP-put.on-2SG.S>3SG.O  
 — “Put it on anyway!”
18. — Хә'һч мтхлалкичэн, қол нух ты'н кнын урвақ!  
*“Xeʔnč m-tɬl-aʔ-kičen, qoʔ nux tiʔn knin urvaq!”*  
 [01:52] NEG.IMP 1SG.IMP-put.on-FUT-1SG.S PART:give here PRO:PROX PRO:2SG.POSS shirt  
 — “I won’t put it on, give me your shirt!”
19. — Ты'н урвақ қа'т старой сын.  
*“Tiʔn urvaq qaʔt staroj (ʔ-)s-in.”*  
 [01:57] PRO:PROX shirt already old be-PRES-3SG.S  
 — “This shirt is already old.”

20. — Эвун хэ’ньч мтхлалкичэн новой.  
*“Evun xeʔnč m-txł-ał-kičen novoj.*  
 [02:00] even NEG.IMP 1SG.IMP-put.on-FUT-1SG.S new  
 — “Well even so I won’t put on anything new.
21. Қол нух ты’н кнын урвақ эк плат,  
*Qoł nuх tiʔn knin urvaq ek plat,”*  
 [02:04] PART:give here PRO:PROX PRO:2SG.POSS shirt and kerchief  
 кқақаңлжкнэн ләңә-т’улҗ.  
*k-xaqanł-knen laŋe-t’ułx.*  
 NARR-be.angry-NARR girl-guest  
 Give me this shirt of yours and the dress,” the guest girl grumbled.
22. Митә кәнзу’ин эч’әлилкас.  
*Mite k-ənzu-ʔin eč’elil-kas.* <sup>1</sup>  
 [02:12] <name> NARR-begin-NARR undress-INF  
 Miti began to take off her clothes.
23. Ләңә хоровал поланк сап кли’ин, кткит’ин Митәнкә к’а’ачанкә.  
*laŋe xoroval pol-ank sap k-łi-ʔin, k-tkit-ʔin Mite-nke k’aʔač-anke.*  
 [02:16] girl suddenly floor-LOC reindeer.hide NARR-take-NARR NARR-throw-NARR <name>-DAT back-DAT  
 The girl suddenly picked up a reindeer hide from the floor and threw it on Miti, on her back.
24. Һу’нум қнаҗ Митә қозк’а к’лэкнән.  
*ʔuʔn em qnaʔ Mite qoz-k’a k’-le-knen.*  
 [02:23] here only at.once <name> reindeer-TRANS NARR-become-NARR  
 Miti instantly turned into a reindeer.
25. Ләңә к’айтаткнән қоз әззанкә.  
*laŋe k’ajtat-knen* <sup>2</sup> *qoz əzzan-ke.*  
 [02:29] girl NARR-chase-NARR reindeer outside-DAT  
 The girl chased the reindeer outside.
26. Йақ увик кәнзу’ин нокас тхәлтхәл, әһчә’н.  
*Jaq uvik k-ənzu-ʔin no-kas txaltxal,* <sup>3</sup> *əhč-eʔn.*  
 [02:32] but body NARR-begin-NARR eat-INF meat fish-PL  
 Мәл к’нукнән, қнаҗ ҫңыксыкнән.  
*Mel k’-nu-knen, qnaʔ k-ʷŋiksi-knen.*  
 well NARR-eat-NARR at.once NARR-go.to.sleep-NARR  
 She began to eat meat, fish. She filled herself and at once went to sleep.
27. Ты’н қа’м ләңә лқзувән, ты’н лқзувән тәмйуңлаҳ каралка’.  
*Tiʔn qaʔm laŋe ł-qzu-ven, tiʔn ł-qzu-ven temjuŋ-laχ karalka.*  
 [02:42] PRO:PROX NEG girl be-IPFV-3SG.S PRO:PROX be-IPFV-3SG.S sly-ADJ karalka  
 She was not a girl, she was an evil shaman-karalka.
28. Митә-қоз к’колжкнән кнэзакә, ҳу әннан п’ә’н ма’лқзувән.  
*Mite-qoz k-k’oł-knen kneza-ke, χu ənnap p’e-ʔn maʔł-qzu-veʔn.*  
 [02:49] <name>-reindeer NARR-go-NARR shore-DAT there PRO:3SG.POSS child-PL play-IPFV-3PL.S  
 Reindeer-Miti went to the river bank and played with her children.

1 Volodin / Khaloimova (1989): *eč’elil-kas*, the suffix -ʔ is part of derivational circumfixes for causatives and antipassives, cf. *eč’e-* in sentence 43 (fn 11).

2 Pronounced: *t’ajtat-knen*.

3 Pronounced: *txaltxal la*.

29. Мил қлжәл Митә-қоз лқзувэн омакаң п'э'н.  
*Mit qłǵıl Mite-qoz ł-qzu-ven omakañ p'e-ʔn.*  
 [02:58] all day <name>-reindeer be-IPFV-3SG.S together child-PL  
 Reindeer-Miti was with her children all day.
30. Қлжлә итх к'нукнэ'н хэвлы'н, вилқзувэ'н лқлаҳ и'э'л.  
*Qłǵle itx k'-nu-kneʔn xevl-iʔn, vil-qzu-veʔn lq-laħ iʔ-eł.*  
 [03:04] day PRO:3PL NARR-eat-NARR raw.fish-PL drink-IPFV-3PL.S cold-ADJ water-INS  
 During the day they ate raw fish heads and drank cold water.
31. Вечером Митә-қоз лознэн:  
*Večerom Mite-qoz ło-z-nen:*  
 [03:12] evening <name>-reindeer say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O  
 In the evening Reindeer-Miti says:
32. — Халч кэмма тсхәллакичэн охтанкә. Кутх қа'т тмалк исын.  
*“Xałč kamma t-sxalla-kičen oxt-anke. Kutx qaʔt tmal-k is-in.*  
 [03:15] soon PRO:1SG 1SG-run-1SG.S wood-DAT <name> already near-LOC go.out-3SG.S  
 — “Now it's time for me to run to the forest. Kutkh is already near.
33. “К'энэзэхэн кэмма қоз сын, лотқзахэн.  
*“K'eneze-xen kamma qoz (ł-)s-in, łot-qz-a-xen.”*  
 [03:22] think-3SG.S>3SG.O PRO:1SG reindeer be-PRES-3SG.S kill-IPFV-FUT-3SG.S>3SG.O  
 He'll think that I'm a reindeer and kill me.”
34. Ксхәллакнэн лахсх-қоз, п'э'н файхақзукнэ'н.  
*K-sxalla-knen laħsx-qoz, p'e-ʔn fajxa-qzu-kneʔn.*  
 [03:28] NARR-run-NARR mother-reindeer child-PL cry-IPFV-NARR.3PL  
 Reindeer-mother ran off and the children began to cry.
35. Кутх к'олин, ләһьллознэн:  
*Kutx k'ol-in, łəñłlo-z-nen:*  
 [03:33] <name> come-3SG.S ask-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O  
 Kutkh came up and said:
36. — Аңқанкит фйхассх? Мәнылк кэстанкә, лахсх кзузэн.  
*“Əŋqan-kit fajxa-s-sx? Mən-ił-k kest-anke, laħsx kzu-z-en.”*  
 [03:36] PRO:why-CAUS CRY-PRES-2SG.S 1PL.IMP-go-1PL.S house-DAT mother wait-PRES-3SG.S  
 — “Why are you crying? Let's go home, mama's waiting.”
37. Кч'әкнэ'н кэстанкә, қнаң җаңә-караҗка' хамух криваткнэн.  
*K-č'e-kneʔn kest-anke, qnañ ɟaŋe-karałka xamux k-rivat-knen.*  
 [03:43] NARR-enter-NARR house-DAT at.once girl-karalka as.if NARR-be.happy-NARR  
 They entered the house and the girl-karalka acts happy.
38. Столанкә нукнэн кнаправэн эм Кутхәнкә.  
*Stol-anke nu-knen k-naprave-(ʔi)n<sup>1</sup> em Kutx-enke.*  
 [03:50] table-DAT eat-INF NARR-prepare.food-NARR only <name>-DAT  
 She puts food out on the table only for Kutkh.
39. П'э'н чхмалэн эк к'иты'ин Һәкҗкас, қам аңқал клинну'ин.  
*P'e-ʔn čħmale-n ek k'-iti-ʔin “ħekł-kas, qaʔm əŋqa-ł k-łinnu-ʔin.*  
 [03:54] child-PL scold-3SG.S and NARR-compel-NARR go.to.bed-INF NEG PRO:what-INS NARR-feed-NARR  
 She scolded the children and put them to bed having fed them nothing.

1 The suffix -n is probably a slip of the tongue for -ʔin, as the circumfix is k-...-ʔin.

40. — Аңқанкит чхмалэсч? лознэн Кутх.  
*“Əŋqan-kit čxmale-s-č?” ło-z-nen Kutx.*  
 [04:02] PRO:why-CAUS scold-PRES-2SG.S say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O <name>  
 — “Why scold them?” Kutkh asked.
41. — Зақ хақаһлқақ!  
*“Zaq xaqanł-karaq!”*  
 [04:08] NEG.PROH be.angry-NEG  
 — “Don’t be angry!”
42. — Кәмма нәһн хәқә трәтлакичән,  
*“Kamma neʔn xeqe t-retla-kičen,*  
 [04:10] PRO:1SG now bad 1SG-dream-1SG.S  
 — “I had a bad dream today,
43. кәзза қа’м кәмма илфсәсч, нәһн қ’илчкас!  
*kəzza qaʔm kamma ilfse-s-č, neʔn q’-ilč-kas!”*  
 [04:13] PRO:2SG NEG PRO:1SG hear-PRES-2SG.S now 2SG.IMP-be.silent-INF  
 ккәлкнән хамух Митә.  
*k-kel-knen xamux Mite.*  
 NARR-shout-NARR as.if <name>  
 you didn’t listen to me, now shut up!” shouted the false Miti.
44. П’эһн эсчақ ктәлхлжинән, к’эч’әкнан аһтсанкә.  
*P’e-ʔn esča-q k-telxl-knen, k’-eč’e-knen<sup>1</sup> aʔts-anke.*  
 [04:21] child-PL much-ADV NARR-be.frightened-NARR NARR-disrobe-NARR bed-DAT  
 The children were very afraid and lay in bed.
45. Амәлаң кузу’ин фәйхаказ, ктхилкнәһн лахсх.  
*Amelaŋ<sup>2</sup> k-uzu-ʔin fajxa-kaz, k-txil-kneʔn laxsx.*  
 [04:27] secretly NARR-begin-NARR cry-INF NARR-remember-NARR mother  
 They quietly began to cry and remembered their mother.
46. Кутх ч’эвәсқ ҫңыксыкнән.  
*Kutx č’eves-q k-“ŋiksi-knen.*  
 [04:33] <name> sweet-ADV NARR-go.to.sleep-NARR  
 Kutkh fell asleep soundly.
47. Ләңә-каралка’ тәлвәчқ ктәкәйкнән, кхумсткнән әззанкә, к’әфскнән мәмәнкә.  
*Laŋe-karalka telveč-q k-tekej-knen, k-xumst-knen<sup>3</sup> əzzan-ke, k’-efs-knen mem-enke.*  
 [04:36] girl-karalka quiet-ADV NARR-stand.up-NARR NARR-go.out-NARR outside-DAT NARR-ascend-NARR balagan-DAT  
 The girl-karalka quietly stood up, went outside and climbed into the balagan.
48. Нозәһн, хәмлх, мәлқәв, әлпх тхылән, к’ијликнән.  
*Noz-eʔn, xamłx, mełqev, əlpx txəl-en, k-č’iłi-knen.*  
 [04:45] yukola-PL fat berry prepared.fireweed eat-3SG.S NARR-cram-NARR  
 She ate up the yukola, fat, berries and prepared fireweed. She was full.

1 Cf. *eč’elil-kas* “to disrobe”, sentence 22 (fn. 7).

2 Volodin / Khaloimova (1989): *amelaŋ*

3 Pronounced: *k-sxumst-knen*

49. Тэнақ исэңқ кк’олкнэн кэстанкэ эк к’элчкнэн омакаң Кутхэ.  
*Tenaq isəŋ-q k-k’ot-knen kest-anke ek k’-elč-knen omakaŋ Kutxe.*  
 [04:53] again quiet-ADV NARR-come-NARR house-LOC and NARR-lie.down-NARR together <name>  
 She quietly returned to the house and lay down with Kutkh.
50. Утре Кутх клињллозэ’н:  
*Utre Kutx k-łinłlo-zo-?in:*  
 [05:00] morning <name> NARR-ask-ITER-NARR  
 In the morning Kutkh asks:
51. — Манкэ клфиңлэ кэзза ил’ин?  
*“Man-ke kłfiŋle kəzza ił-in?”*  
 [05:03] PRO:where-DAT night PRO:2SG go-3SG.S  
 — “Where did you go last night?”
52. — Имтс, кэмман қэлтқ әңқсхызын,  
*“Imts, kəmmaŋ qelɬq əŋqs-əz-in,*  
 [05:08] serious PRO:1SG.POSS stomach be.sick-PRES-3SG.S  
 — “My stomach hurts,
53. тласкичэч, хэқэ трэтлакичэн, зақ лэруңкақ қсэхч,  
*t-la-s-kičen, xeqe t-retla-kičen, zaq ɬeruŋ-kaq q-ɬ-sə-xč,”*  
 [05:11] 1SG-narrate-1SG.S bad 1SG-dream-1SG.S NEG.PROH growl-NEG 2SG.IMP-be-PRES-2SG.S  
 хамух кқа’мсткнэн Митэ-љаңэ.  
*χamux k-qaʔmst-knen Mite-ɬaŋe.*  
 as.if NARR-be.offended-NARR <name>-girl  
 I say, I had a bad dream, nothing to growl about,” the Miti-girl complained.
54. Кутх ктэкэйкнэн, кча’йакнэн эк қнаң илјин элвэнтзонокэ.  
*Kutx k-tekej-knen, k-čaʔja-knen ek qnaŋ ił-in elvent-zo-noke.*  
 [05:21] <name> NARR-stand.up-NARR NARR-drink.tea-NARR and at.once go-3SG.S catch.fish-ITER-SUP  
 Kutkh got up, had tea and at once went fishing.
55. Кутх илјин, қнаң ъаңэ-каралка’ кэнсхли’ин п’э’н, к’айтат’ан эззанкэ.  
*Kutx ił-in, qnaŋ ɬaŋe-karałka k-ənsxli-?in p’e-?n, k’ajtat-?an əzzan-ke.*  
 [05:27] <name> go-3SG.S at.once girl-karalka NARR-awake-NARR child-PL NARR-chase-NARR outside-DAT  
 Kutkh went out and the girl-karalka woke up the children and chased them outside.
56. Эмэмқут кли’ин Синаңэвт эк к’олин кнэзакэ, кэнзу’ин кзокас лахсх.  
*Ememqut k-łi-?in Sinaŋevt ek k’ot-in kneza-ke, k-ənz-u-?in kzo-kas laχsxχ.*  
 [05:36] <name> NARR-take-NARR <name> and come-3SG.S shore-DAT NARR-begin-NARR wait-INF mother  
 Ememkut and Sinanewt came to the bank and began to wait for mama.
57. Әнна кәлч’у’ин хуқэнэ қоз схәллазын тхә’анкә льви хлоска.  
*Ənna k-əłč-u-?in — χiqen<sup>1</sup> qoz sxəlla-z-in txeʔa-nke ɬvi xłoska.*  
 [05:44] PRO:3SG NARR-see-NARR there reindeer run-PRES-3SG.S PRO:3PL-DAT very quickly  
 They (lit. he/she) saw that a reindeer was running swiftly toward them.
58. Нух лахсх-қоз к’олин, қнаң кэнзу’ин таволкас, ова’јкас әннан п’э’н.  
*Nux laχsxχ-qoz k’ot-in, qnaŋ k-ənz-u-?in taval-kas, ovaʔ-kas ənnaŋ p’e-?n.*  
 [05:56] here mother-reindeer come-3SG.S at.once NARR-begin-NARR embrace-INF kiss-INF PRO:3SG.POSS child-PL  
 Mama-reindeer had come. She began to hug and kiss her children.

1 Cf. *χu(qen)*, *χi(qen)* “there”.

59. Лам Митэ-қоз кзил'ин Эмэмқутэнкэ эк Синаңэвтэнкэ  
*lam Mite-qoz k-zil-ʔin Ememqut-enke ek Sinaŋevt-enke*

[06:04] then <name>-reindeer NARR-give-NARR <name>-DAT and <name>-DAT

ульжулаха'н булка'н, йақ кхынэкнэн:

*uɭu-ɭax-aʔn bulka-ʔn jaq k-xene-knen:*

little-ADJ-PL bread.roll-PL but NARR-say-NARR

Then Reindeer-Miti gave Ememkut and Sinanewt little bread rolls and said:

60. — Нух булка'н қ'нуссх, колңэн қэззуссх,  
*“Nux bulka-ʔn q'-nu-s-sx, kolŋən q-əzzu-s-sx,*

[06:15] here bread.roll-PL 2SG.IMP-eat-PRES-2SG.S>3SG.O half 2SG.IMP-put.away-PRES-2SG.S>3SG.O

вечером кистэнк қ'нуссх.

*večerom kist-enk q'-nu-s-sx.”*

evening house-LOC 2SG.IMP-eat-PRES-2SG.S>3SG.O

— “Here are some rolls, eat but put away half and in the evening when you're home eat.”

61. П'э'н браво булкал к'нукнэн, колңэн Эмэмқут кэззу'ин урвақэнк.  
*P'e-ʔn bravo bulka-ɭ k'-nu-kneʔn, kolŋən Ememqut k-əzzu-ʔin urvaq-enk.*

[06:23] child-PL good bread.roll-INS NARR-eat-NARR half <name> NARR-put.away-NARR shirt-LOC

The children heartily ate some of the rolls; Ememkut put half in his shirt.

62. Тэнақ Митэ-қоз қлҗәл лқзувэн омакаң п'э'н  
*Tenaq Mite-qoz qɭʒǎɭ ɭ-qzu-ven omakaŋ p'e-ʔn*

[06:31] again <name>-reindeer day be-IPFV-3SG.S together child-PL

Reindeer-Miti was with the children again during the day

63. вечером тэнақ ксхәллакнэн охтанкэ.  
*večerom tenaq k-sxəlla-knen oxt-anke.*

[06:36] evening again NARR-run-NARR wood-DAT

and ran off into the forest in the evening.

64. Кутх кк'олкнэн, кәлчку'ин п'э'н фәйхәзэ'н.  
*Kutx k-k'ot-knen, k-əɭku-ʔin p'e-ʔn fajxa-z-eʔn.*

[06:40] <name> NARR-come-NARR NARR-see-NARR child-PL cry-PRES-3PL.S

Kutkh came up and saw that the children were crying.

65. Кистэнк тэнақ лахсх-каралка' қә'тх ачиңчк эм Кутхэнкэ кэззу'ин ноном,  
*Kist-enk tenaq laxsx-karalka qaʔtx ačĩnčk em Kutx-enke k-əzzu-ʔin nonom,*

[06:45] house-LOC again mother-karalka like yesterday only <name>-DAT NARR-put.away-NARR eating.place

п'э'н тэнақ к'иты'ин °ңәклас.

*p'e-ʔn tenaq k'-iti-ʔin ʷŋekt-kas.*

child-PL again NARR-compel-NARR go.to.bed-INF

At home mother-karalka, as on the day before, gave food only to Kutkh and put the children to bed.

66. Кутхә к'нукнэн, кча'йакнэн эк кәлч'укнэн хамух °кңыксыкнэн.  
*Kutx-e k'-nu-knen, k-čaʔja-knen ek k-äɭč-knen xamux k-ʷŋiksi-knen.*

[06:57] <name>-VOC NARR-eat-NARR NARR-drink.tea-NARR and NARR-go.to.bed-NARR as.if NARR-go.to.sleep-NARR

Kutkh ate, had tea and lay down pretending to sleep.

67. Митэ-каралка' исәңқ исәңқ ктәкәйкнэн, ксхәллакнэн әззәнкә.  
*Mite-karalka isəŋ-q isəŋ-q k-tekej-knen, k-sxəlla-knen əzzan-ke.*

[07:04] <name>-karalka quiet-ADV quiet-ADV NARR-stand.up-NARR NARR-run-NARR outside-DAT

Reindeer-Miti very quietly stood up and ran outside.

68. Кутх қнаң лэм ктэкэйкнэн, исәңқ алупск'ва'зэн,  
*Kutx qnaŋ lem k-tekej-knen, isəŋ-q alupsk'vaʔ-z-en,*  
 [07:14] <name> at.once also NARR-stand.up-NARR quiet-ADV eavesdrop-PRES-3SG.S>3PL.O  
 әннан п'ә'н алуптк'алказә'н:  
*ənnan p'e-ʔn aluptk'aʔka-z-eʔn:*  
 PRO:3SG.POSS child-PL whisper-PRES-3SG.S>3PL.O  
*Kutkh got up too and snuck up to listen to his children:*
69. — Қ'нухч булка', мәзвин лаҳсхал скқазән,  
 "Q'-nu-xč bulkaʔ, mizvin laxsx-aʔ skqa-z-en,"  
 [07:23] 2SG.IMP-eat-2SG.S>3SG.O bread.roll PRO:1PL.POSS mother-ABL smell-PRES-3SG.S  
 лознән Эмәмқут.  
*ʔo-z-nen Ememqut.*  
 say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O <name>  
 — "Eat a roll, they smell of mama," said Ememkut.
70. Қнаң итх тәлвәчқ кфайхакнән.  
*Qnaŋ itx telveč-q k-fajxa-kneʔn.*  
 [07:31] at.once PRO:3PL quiet-ADV NARR-cry-NARR  
*They began at once to cry quietly.*
71. — Кәмма хиқақ тысчән, кәмман п'ә'н хәқә суһлқзузә'н,  
 "Kəmma xiq-aq t-i(ʔ)-s-čen — kəmmān p'e-ʔn xeqe sunt-qzu-z-eʔn,"  
 [07:36] PRO:1SG AUX:know-NEG 1SG-know-PRES-1SG.S>3SG.O PRO:1SG.POSS child-PL bad live-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S  
 к'әнәзәсын Кутх  
*k'eneze-z-in Kutx.*  
 think-PRES-3SG.S <name>  
 — "I don't know anything — my children live terribly," Kutkh thinks.
72. Хоровал Кутх илфсызән:  
*Xoroval Kutx ilfs-əz-en:*  
 [07:43] suddenly <name> hear-PRES-3SG.S  
*Then Kutkh heard:*
73. — Азоск тәнақ лаҳсх мәзванкә к'олахин,  
 "Azosk tenaq laxsx məzv-anke k'oʔ-a-xin,  
 [07:46] next.day again mother PRO:1PL-DAT come-FUT-3SG.S  
 йақ вечером тәнақ илахән охтанкә, лознән Синаңэвт.  
*jaq večerom tenaq iʔ-a-xen oxt-anke, ʔo-z-nen Sinəŋevt*  
 but evening again go-FUT-3SG.S>3SG.O wood-DAT say-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O <name>  
 — "Mama will come again tomorrow but then run into the forest in the evening," Sinanewt said.
74. Утре Кутх ктэкэйкнән қа'т атхсака нэчанкә кхынәкнән:  
*Utre Kutx k-tekej-knen qaʔt atxsa-k'a neč-anke k-xene-knen:*  
 [07:56] morning <name> NARR-stand.up-NARR already become.bright-TRANS wife-DAT NARR-say-NARR  
*In the morning Kutkh got up early and said to his wife:*
75. — Ты'ну қлхләнк кәмма льви мач'акә т'ылалкичән,  
 "Tiʔnu qlxl-enk kəmma lvi meč'a-ke t-iʔ-aʔ-kičen,  
 [08:04] PRO:PROX day-LOC PRO:1SG very far-DAT 1SG-go-FUT-1SG.S  
 кнанкә тмәлвә'скичән. Тәңқ!  
*knan-ke t-məlvəʔ(ʔ)-s-kičen. Teŋ-q!"*  
 PRO:2SG-DAT 1SG-hope-PRES-1SG.S kind-ADV  
 — "I am going very far today, I'll leave responsibilities to you. Good-bye!"

76. Кутх хамух илин мэч'акэ, йақ °фнэва ксэңкнэн °физвумэнк,  
*Kutx xamux il-in meč'a-ke, jaq °fneva k-soŋ-knen*<sup>1</sup> °fizvum-enk,  
 [08:13] <name> as.if go-3SG.S far-DAT but PRO:3SG.EMPH NARR-hide-NARR bush-LOC  
 ма' п'э'н вечно ма'сэ'н.  
*ma? p'e-ʔn večno ma?-s-eʔn.*  
 PRO:where child-PL always play-PRES-3PL.S  
 Kutkh pretended to go off far away, but hid himself in the bushes where the children always played.
77. Хоровал Кутх кэлчу'ин ч'инэңлаҳ қоз схэллазын вэтва тхэ'анкэ.  
*Xoroval Kutx k-əčku-ʔin č'ineŋ-laχ qoz sxəlla-z-in vetva txeʔa-nke.*  
 [08:23] suddenly <name> NARR-see-NARR good-ADJ reindeer run-PRES-3SG.S directly PRO:3PL-DAT  
 Suddenly Kutkh saw a beautiful reindeer run straight toward him.
78. П'э'н лэм кчавакнэ'н қозанкэ.  
*P'e-ʔn lem k-čava-kneʔn qoz-anke.*  
 [08:31] child-PL also NARR-come.to.meet-NARR reindeer-DAT  
 The children were also running, to meet the reindeer.
79. Қоз қнаң кэнзу'ин тэнақ таволкас, ова'лкас, лэннос булкал п'э'н.  
*Qoz qnaŋ k-ənz-u-ʔin tenaχ tavol-kas, ovaʔl-kas, lenno-s bulka-l p'e-ʔn.*  
 [08:35] reindeer at.once NARR-begin-NARR again embrace-INF kiss-INF feed-INF bread.roll-INS child-PL  
 The reindeer began to hug and kiss the children and feed them with rolls.
80. — Нэ'н булка'н ульљулаха'н, колңэн қэззуссх.  
*“Neʔn bulka-ʔn ulʎu-laχ-aʔn, kolŋən q-əzzu-s-sx.*  
 [08:44] now bread.roll-PL little-ADJ-PL half 2SG.IMP-put.away-PRES-2SG.S>3SG.O  
 — “Now the rolls are little; take half of them with you.
81. Ты'ну қлхлэнк кэмма послэтной рас тизва'нкэ тк'олалкичэн.  
*Tiʔnu qʎχl-enk kəmma posʎednoj ras tizvan-ke t-k'ol-əl-kičən.*  
 [08:50] PRO:PROX day-LOC PRO:1SG last time PRO:2PL-DAT 1SG-go-FUT-1SG.S  
 I have come to you for the last time today.
82. Азоск қа'т атхсак'а кэмма ч'э'лэс қула'н қзы'н,  
*Azosk qaʔt atxsa-k'a kəmma č'eʔle-s qula-ʔn qzi-ʔn*  
 [08:56] next.day already become.bright-TRANS PRO:1SG accompany-INF other-PL reindeer-PL  
 нсхэллакичэн мэч'акэ, т'алан һэйңаланкэ.  
*n-sxəlla-kičən meč'a-ke, t'əlʔan hejŋal-anke.*  
 1PL-run-1PL.S far-DAT distant mountain-DAT  
 Tomorrow (in full light) I go off with the other reindeer far away to the distant mountains.
83. Қула'н годанк мк'олалкичэн, қкзусхмиң.  
*Qula-ʔn goda-nk m-k'ol-əl-kičən, q-kzu-s-xməŋ.*  
 [09:09] other-PL year-LOC 1SG.IMP-come-FUT-1SG.S 2SG.IMP-wait-PRES-1SG.O  
 I'll come next year. Wait for me.”
84. Кутх мил к'илфскнэн эк °к'энэзэзын:  
*Kutx miʎ k'-ilfs-knen ek °k'eneze-z-in:*  
 [09:14] <name> all NARR-hear-NARR and think-PRES-3SG.S  
 Kutkh heard everything and thinks:

1 Cf. *sjačeʔl-kas* “to play hide-a-go-seek”; *soŋ-kas* “to hide away”

85. — Ма' кэмма хэйнңын сап тэлчкучэн?  
*"Maʔ kəmma xejnŋin sap t-əɬku-ʃen?"*  
 [09:19] PRO:where PRO:1SG such reindeer.hide 1SG-see-1SG.S>3SG.O  
 — "Where have I seen that reindeer hide before?"
86. Э-э, хэйнңын сап мэзвин кистэнк чизвин, ктхилжкнэн Кутх  
*E-e, xejnŋin sap mizvin kist-enk ʃi-z-vin, k-txil-knen Kutx.*  
 [09:23] yes such reindeer.hide PRO:1PL.POSS house-LOC have-PRES-3SG.S NARR-remember-NARR <name>  
 Oh yes, there's a hide like that at home," he remembered.
87. Қа'т вечером Митэ-қоз энзоэн простэлкас кп'эслэс:  
*Qaʔt večerom Mite-qoz ənzo-z-en prostel-kas k-p'es-les:*<sup>1</sup>  
 [09:32] already evening <name>-reindeer begin-PRES-3SG.S say.goodbye-INF COM-child-COM  
 In the evening Reindeer-Miti said good-bye to the children:
88. — Халч кэмма мсхэллакичэн, Кутх к'олахэн, кэмма лотқзахэн.  
*"Xaɬ kəmma m-sxəlla-kičen, Kutx k'oɬ-a-xen, kəmma ɬot-qz-a-xen."*  
 [09:39] soon PRO:1SG 1SG.IMP-run-1SG.S <name> come-FUT-3SG.S PRO:1SG kill-IPFV-FUT-3SG.S>3SG.O  
 — "It is time to go, if Kutkh comes he would kill me."
89. Әнна кәнзу'ин ова'лкас п'э'н.  
*Ənna k-ənzu-ʔin ovaʔl-kas p'e-ʔn.*  
 [09:46] PRO:3SG NARR-begin-NARR kiss-INF child-PL  
 She began to kiss the children.
90. Итх кфайхакнэн һачк'элқ эк кчанзоа'н лахсх-қоз.  
*Itx k-fajxa-knen hačk'el-q ek k-čanzo-z-aʔn laxsx-qoz.*  
 [09:50] PRO:3PL NARR-cry-NARR loud-ADV and NARR-pursue-NARR mother-reindeer  
 They cried loudly and chased after their mother.
91. Қоз к'илвизыкнэн, п'э'нкэ хэнэзэн:  
*Qoz k'ilvize-knen, p'e-ʔnke xene-z-en:*  
 [09:57] reindeer NARR-return-NARR child-DAT.PL say-PRES-3SG.S  
 The reindeer turned back and said to the children:
92. — Зақ файхакақ, қа'т кэмман иплжэ'н схэллазоэ'н.  
*"Zaq fajxa-kaq, qaʔt kəmman iplɟə-ʔn sxəlla-zo-z-eʔn."*  
 [10:02] NEG.PROH cry-NEG already PRO:1SG.POSS friend-PL run-ITER-PRES-3PL.S  
 — "Stop crying, my friends are already running off."
93. Кэмма ләм халч мсхэллакичэн.  
*Kəmma lem xaɬ m-sxəlla-kičen.*  
 [10:07] PRO:1SG also soon 1SG.IMP-run-1SG.S  
 Қа'т ху кэмман иплж-қоз кзуэн кэмма.  
*Qaʔt xu kəmman iplɟ-qoz kzu-z-in kəmma."*  
 already there PRO:1SG.POSS friend-reindeer wait-PRES-3SG.S PRO:1SG  
 I have to run off too. My reindeer-friend is waiting for me."

1 The comitative circumfix is k-...-ɬ, without final -es.

94. Олла кскэззанк тхзузын аслах, ч'инэҗлаҗ ихлх'ин қоз,  
*Olla kskəzza-nk tχzu-z-in as-laχ, č'inerj-laχ iχtχ-ʔin qoz,*  
 [10:15] beside alder.thicket-LOC stand-PRES-3SG.S high-ADJ good-ADJ male-POSS reindeer  
 тхзузын Митэ-қоз.  
*tχzu-z-in*<sup>1</sup> *Mite-qoz.*  
 stand-PRES-3SG.S <name>-reindeer  
 A beautiful, tall reindeer man stood near an alder thicket, waiting for Reindeer-Miti.
95. Кутх льви хэқэ лқзувэн, қнаҗ кхақаңлқкнэн, кнаправэн аркан.  
*Kutx lvi χeqe t-qzu-ven, qnaʃ k-χaqanɫ-knen, k-naprave-(ʔi)n*<sup>2</sup> *arkan.*  
 [10:26] <name> very bad be-IPFV-3SG.S at.once NARR-be.angry-NARR NARR-prepare.food-NARR lasso  
 Kutkh felt terrible, became angry and prepared a lasso.
96. Митэ-қоз тэнақ кэнзу'ин овалјэс п'э'н, °фнэва файхазэн,  
*Mite-qoz tenaq k-ənzu-ʔin ovaʎ-es p'e-ʔn, ʷfneva fajxa-z-en,*  
 [10:33] <name>-reindeer again NARR-begin-NARR kiss-INF child-PL PRO:3SG.EMPH cry-PRES-3SG.S  
 әлчқузэн әннан иплх-қоз чәфэзын.  
*əɫku-z-en ənnaɲ iɫχ-qoz čəfə-z-in.*  
 see-PRES-3SG.S PRO:3SG.POSS friend-reindeer hurry-PRES-3SG.S  
 Reindeer-Miti again began to kiss the children and cry herself, seeing that her reindeer-friend is in a hurry.
97. Қа'т Митэ иплх-қоз кқа'мкнэн эк ксхәллакнэн җәйҗанкә,  
*Qaʔt Mite iɫχ-qoz k-qaʔm-knen ek k-sxəlla-knen ʃejʃa-nke,*  
 [10:44] already <name> friend-reindeer NARR-be.offended-NARR and NARR-run-NARR mountain-DAT  
 Митэ-қоз ләм ксхәллакнэн.  
*Mite-qoz lem k-sxəlla-knen.*  
 <name>-reindeer also NARR-run-NARR  
 Her reindeer-friend became angry and ran off to the mountains. Miti also ran off.
98. Хоровал Кутх льви хлоска кт'итк'ин аркан, кәнккә'ин қоз.  
*Xoroval Kutx lvi χloska k-t'itk-ʔin*<sup>3</sup> *arkan, k-ənkkə-ʔin qoz.*  
 [10:54] suddenly <name> very quickly NARR-throw-NARR lasso NARR-catch-NARR reindeer  
 Suddenly Kutkh threw the lasso and caught the reindeer.
99. Криваткнэн, кк'олкнэн қоз-Мэтанкә, ктаволкнэн, °фнэва файхазэн:  
*K-rivat-knen, k-k'ol-knen qoz-Met-anke, k-tavol-knen, ʷfneva fajxa-z-en:*  
 [11:01] NARR-be.happy-NARR NARR-come-NARR reindeer-<name>-DAT NARR-embrace-NARR PRO:3SG.EMPH cry-PRES-3SG.S  
 He was happy, went up to Reindeer-Miti, hugged her and crying says:
100. — Нэ'н хә'ньч манкә илқақ қсыхч.  
*“Neʔn χeʔnč maɲ-ke iɫ-kaq q-(t-)sə-xč.*  
 [11:08] now NEG.IMP PRO:what-DAT go-NEG 2SG.IMP-be-PRES-2SG.S  
 Мәхну кәзза кәмман җыч, а ну к'э?  
*Mexnu kəzza kəmmaɲ ʃič, a nu k'eʔ*  
 maybe PRO:2SG PRO:1SG.POSS wife but that PRO:who  
 — “Now you're going nowhere. It seems that you are my wife — but who is the other woman?”

1 A verb form *kzu-z-in* “she is waiting” (cf. the previous sentence) would seem to be more appropriate than *tχzu-z-in*.

2 The suffix *-n* is probably a slip of the tongue for *-ʔin*, as the circumfix is *k-...-ʔin*. According to Volodin / Khaloimova (1989), in contrast to the example in this sentence, the verb refers to the preparation of food

3 The verb root might be a variant of *tkit-* “to throw”.

101. Митэ хэнэзэн:

*Mite* *χene-z-en:*

[11:15] <name> say-PRES-3SG.S

Miti says:

102. — Энна қа'м ч'амзаңлх сын, энна хэқэлах каралка'.

*“Ənna qaʔm č'amzanłχ (t-)s-in, ənna χeqe-laχ karatka.”*

[11:17] PRO:3SG NEG person be-PRES-3SG.S PRO:3SG evil-ADJ karalka

— “She is not a person, she is an evil karalka.”

103. Қнаң қоз'ин сап ктсәлкнэн, эк Митэ-қоз к'лэкнэн ит'энан Митэ.

*Qnaŋ qoz-ʔin sap k-tsäl-knen, ek Mite-qoz k'-le-knen it'ənan Mite.*

[11:22] at.once reindeer-POSS hide NARR-fall-NARR and <name>-reindeer NARR-become-NARR ancient <name>

Instantly the reindeer hide fell off and Reindeer-Miti became the Miti of before.

104. Эмэмқут, Синаңэвт, Кутх эк Митэ льви риватқзузэ'н.

*Ememqut, Sinaŋevt, Kutx ek Mite lvi rivat-qzu-z-eʔn.* <sup>1</sup>

[11:30] <name> <name> <name> and <name> very be.happy-IPFV-PRES-3PL.S

Ememkut, Sinanewt, Kutkh and Miti were very happy.

105. Риваткнин Кутх кәнқсы'н каралка' охтанкэ.

*Rivat-knin Kutx k-əŋksi-ʔn karatka oxt-anke.*

[11:36] be.happy-INF <name> NARR-dismiss-NARR karalka wood-DAT

In his happiness Kutkh let the karalka go off into the woods.

[11:42]

<sup>1</sup> Pronounced: *rivat-qze-z-eʔn*