

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 Songs

Gutorova, Tatyana Evstropovna — recorded 30.8.1999
Petrovsk-Kamchatski.

ILC1_7 (Southern Itelmen)

Eagle's Song (Written for the legend «El'vel»; Melody by Arina Osipova Slobodchikova's mother)

1. Аслах җэйҗэнк тсыҗқзалкичэн.
[00:00] *As-laχ җеҗе-nk t-siη-qz-ał-kičen.*
high-ADJ mountain-LOC 1SG-fly-IPFV-FUT-1SG.S
I will fly over a tall mountain.
2. Иплхчах спәлчах т'оч'алчэн
Ipłχ-čaχ spәl-čaχ t-oč'-ał-čen:
friend-DIM wind-DIM 1SG-call-FUT-1SG.S>3SG.O
I will call friend wind:
3. Спәлчхә, спәлчхә, кәзза ксың'ин.
Spәl-čχe, spәl-čχe, kәzza k-siη-ʔin.
wind-DIM wind-DIM PRO:2SG NARR-fly-NARR
Wind, wind you fly.
4. Хаһч'ан атнокә т'әнклахэн.
Ханч-ʔan atno-ke t-әnkl-a-xen.
upriver-POSS village-DAT 1SG-expede-FUT-1SG.S>3SG.O
I send you to the upriver village.
5. Мәвәҗ спәлчхә, җәйн'ин ч'әтқзалән,
Meveη spәl-čχe, җеҗе-xʔal¹ č'ek-qz-ał-en,
much wind-DIM mountain-ABL enter-IPFV-FUT-3SG.S
A strong wind came from the mountains.
6. Хаһч'ан атнокә э'вәнқзал,
Ханч-ʔan atno-ke even-qz-ał(-č),
upriver-POSS village-DAT arrive-IPFV-FUT-2SG.S
You will fly to the upriver settlement,
7. Итә'нмә'нкә Хаһч'ан Атнок.
Itә'nmә-ʔnke ханч-ʔan atno-k.
Itelmen-DAT.PL upriver-POSS village-LOC
To the Itelmens in the upriver settlement.
8. Кәмман чақа'лјс қлақзухчик,
Kәmman čaqa'les q-la-qzu-xčik,
PRO:1SG.POSS song 2SG.IMP-narrate-IPFV-2SG.S>3SG.O
Sing my song,
9. Тҳи'ин атнола'н °Плахән, Каврал
Тҳи-ʔin atnol-aʔn °Plaxen, Kavral.
PRO:3PL.POSS villager-PL <name> <name>
Of their villagers of Plakhen (and) Kovran.

1 Unclear nominal suffix, grammatically an ablative *җеҗе-xʔal* could make sense here.

10. Ухтэнк кивчэк'и кт'элқзу'ин.
Uxt-enk kivče-k'i k-t'əl-qzu-ṛin.
 <name>-LOC river-TRANS NARR-transform-IPFV-NARR
 Ukht turned into a river.
11. Кэмман иплжчах ч'инәңлах Эльвэль,
Kəmman ipłχ-čax č'inεṅ-lax Elvel,
 PRO:1SG.POSS friend-DIM beautiful-ADJ <name>
 My beautiful darling Elvel,
12. Исхэнк Һэйҗек'и кт'элқзу'ин.
Isx-enk ḥejje-k'i k-t'əl-qzu-ṛin.
 father-LOC mountain-TRANS NARR-transform-IPFV-NARR
 Father, he turned into a mountain.

[01:32]

The Utkholok melody of grandmother.
Slobodchikova (Rukhchikhi)

I.

1. Ч'инәңк лаччах эсазән.
Č'ineŋ-q laččaχ esa-z-en.
[01:33] beautiful-ADV sunrise come.out-PRES-3SG.S
It's a beautiful sunrise.

2. Кәмман нита чақа'сән.
Kəmman nita čaqaʔ-s-en. (twice)
PRO:1SG.POSS soul sing-PRES-3SG.S
My soul sings.

3. Толк'алнокә хәнлјалак(ас).
Tolk'ał-noke xən-łala-kas. ¹ (twice)
kimchiga-SUP 3PL.IMP-walk-INF
Let's go to get kimchiga (springbeauty).

II.

1. Мэвиң ләлјк'ән квэтакнән.
Mejeŋ ² ləlʔk'-eʔn k-vetat-kneʔn. (twice)
much mouse-PL NARR-work-NARR.PL
The mice worked hard.

2. Ләпхә'н эсчақ нтхнувалјән.
ləpχe-ʔn esča-q n-tχnuv-ał-eʔn. (twice)
basket-PL much-ADV 1PL-fill-FUT-1PL.S>3PL.O
We'll carry full baskets.

III.

1. Тосханк муза нјавалал.
Tosx-ank muzan n-łavol-ał(-k). (twice)
shore-LOC PRO:1PL 1PL-sit.down-FUT-(1PL.S)
We'll sit down on the beach/bank.

2. Тәлвәчқ ходила'н нчақа'лјән.
Telveč-q xodila-ʔn n-čaqaʔ-ł-eʔn. (twice)
quiet-ADV song-PL 1PL-sing-1PL.S>3PL.O
We'll quietly sing chants.

IV.

1. Мәзви'н хольа'н к'ојахә'н.
Mizvin χoła-ʔn k'oł-a-xeʔn. (twice)
PRO:1PL.POSS young.person-PL come-FUT-3PL.S
Our young people are coming.

2. Ч'эвэсқ нова'лқзалјкичән.
Č'eves-q n-ovaʔ-ł-qz-ał-kič-en. (twice)
sweet-ADV 1PL-kiss-IPFV-FUT-1PL.S
We will kiss them sweetly.

[02:45]

1 The suffix of the verb has been omitted; 3rd person imperatives show the circumfix *xən-...-(w)en* or, with infinitive suffix, *xən-...-kas*.
2 Variant of *mejeŋ* "much".

Song of the Dying Mother in the legend «Elvel»

I.

1. Ухтэ Лаччах ч'эхч'эл инхтақ.
 [02:46] *Uxt-e laččax č'exč'eł inχt-aq.*
 <name>-VOC sunrise for.nothing look-NEG
 Ukht don't waste your time looking for Lachakh (sunrise).
2. Әнна к'алэк °соллозән.
Ənna k'alo-k °sollo-z-en.
 PRO:3SG not.far-LOC lie-PRES-3SG.S
 She is lying nearby.
3. Мэзвин атнола'н Кананк клэма'н.
Mizvin atnol-aʔn Kana-nk k-łəm-ʔan.
 PRO:1PL.POSS villager-PL <name>-DAT NARR-kill-NARR
 Kana killed our villagers.
4. Т'изазкичән кәмма ләм.
T'-iza-z-kičən kəmma lem.
 1SG-die-PRES-1SG.S PRO:1SG also
 I am dying as well.
5. Ты'ну милячх тэзвин п'эльучх,
Tiʔnu miła-čχ tizvin p'eļu-čχ,
 PRO:PROX girl-DIM PRO:2PL.POSS daughter-DIM
 This girl, your daughter,
6. Эсчақ Кананк кэнтхкэ'ин.
*Əsqča-q Kana-nk k-entχqe-ʔin.*¹
 very-ADV <name>-DAT NARR-cast.spell(?) -NARR
 Kana cast a serious spell over.
7. Қрвэљушки кәмман Эльвэльэчх,
Krveļuški kəmma Eļveļ-ečχ,
 bye PRO:1SG.POSS <name>-DIM
 Bye-bye, my little Elvel,
8. Қрвэљушки кәмлоњчах!
Krveļuški kamlon-čax!
 bye grandchild-DIM
 Bye-bye, my little granddaughter!

II.

1. Ухтэ, кэзза Квэзэм қчкихчик.
Uxt-e, kəzza Kvezəm q-čki-xčik.
 <name>-VOC PRO:2SG <name> 2SG.IMP-find-2SG.S>3SG.O
 Ukht, find Kvezm.
2. Хәңчамлалнән Эльвэльэчх.
Xən-čamlala-nen Eļveļ-ečχ.
 3SG.IMP-shamanize-3SG.S>3SG.O <name>-DIM
 Let him remove the spell from little Elvel.

1 Unknown transitive verb stem, based on the translation one could expect the verb *eʔnuji-* “to cast a spell”.

3. Зақ ну ит'э Квэзэм әнтхвақ.
Zaq nu it'e Kvezəm əntxv-aq.
 NEG.PROH that when <name> forget-NEG
 Never forget Kvezm.
4. Әңқа кнанкэ нлловахэн.
Əŋqa knan-ke n-ło-va-xen.
 PRO:what PRO:2SG-DAT 3PL-say-FUT-3PL.S>2SG.O
 What he tells you.
5. Кэзза, Ухтэ, ч'инәңқ қсуњлқас.
Kəzza, Uxt-e, č'ineŋ-q q-sunł-kas.
 PRO:2SG <name>-VOC well-ADV 2SG.IMP-live-INF
 Live well Ukht.
6. Тқарвэла Эльвэлэчх қңытэкәс.
Tkarvela Elvel-ečx q-ŋite-kas.
 calmly <name>-DIM 2SG.IMP-preserve-INF
 Raise Elvel calmly.
7. Қа'та °кмәлвән түмзысхән.
Qaʔt¹ °kməlvən t-umzu-s-sxen.²
 already PRO:1SG.EMPH 1SG-abandon-PRES-1SG.S>2PL.O
 I am already leaving you.
8. Т'изазкичән кәмма қа'т.
T'-iza-z-kičən kəmma qaʔt.
 1SG-die-PRES-1SG.S PRO:1SG already
 I am dying already.
9. Қрвэљушки кәмман кәмлоњчах.
Krveljuški kəmmaŋ kamloŋ-čax.
 bye PRO:1SG.POSS grandchild-DIM
 Bye-bye, my little grandddaughter.
10. Қрвэљушки Эльвэлэчх.
Krveljuški Elvel-ečx,
 bye <name>-DIM
 Bye-bye, Elvel,
11. Қрвэљушки, ... ә-ху-хә!
Krveljuški e-xu-xe!
 bye <onom>
 Bye-bye, ...!

[05:41]

1 Sung as *Qaʔta*2 From *omze-s* “to abandon”, should be *t-umze-s-sxen*.

Gutorova, Tatyana Evstropovna
«Narochno»

1. Кэзза хамух мэт'ск'(ай)
[05:42] *Kəzza* *χamux* *met'əsk'*
PRO:2SG as.if bear
Стовалах'ал кэскнэн,
Stovala-xʔal *k-es-knen*,
pine.bush-ABL NARR-come.out-NARR
Э–хэ! Э–хэ!
E-χe! E-χe!
You pretend to be a bear.
Emerging from the pine bush. (twice)
2. Қлимух манкэ кивчэнк
*Q-ʔimu-x*¹ *man-ke* *kivč-enk*
2SG.IMP-kill-2SG.S>3SG.O PRO:where-DAT river-LOC
Нэка'лқзална'н эньчэ'н,
*Nekaʔ-qz-aʔ-naʔn*² *əñč-eʔn*,
entrap.CAUS-IPFV-FUT-2SG.S>3PL.O fish-PL
Э–хэ! Э–хэ!
E-χe! E-χe!
Imitating as if in the river.
You'll catch fish. (twice)
3. Кэзза хамух °қ'лайу
Kəzza *χamux* *ʷq'laqju*³
PRO:2SG as.if raven
Қтоктоназхэн эньчэ'н.
*Q-toktona-z-xen*⁴ *əñč-eʔn*,
2SG.IMP-peck-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O fish-PL
Крр–Крр–Крр!
Krr – Krr – Krr!
You pretend to be a raven.
You peck at a fish. (thrice)
4. Манх'ал ксфэзкнэн йақйақ
Man-xʔal *k-sfəs-knen*⁵ *jaqjaq*
PRO:where-ABL NARR-arrive.unexpected-NARR seagull
Лэм клжавулкнэн к'алэк,
Lem *k-ʔavol-knen* *k'ale-k*,
also NARR-sit.down-NARR not.far-LOC
Ийанк! Ийанк!
ʔjank! *ʔjank!*
downriver.LOC downriver.LOC

1 Unclear, possibly a variant of the verb root *ʔme-* “to kill, to hunt”.

2 *nekaʔ-ʔ* or *enkaʔ-ʔ* is the causative to *kaʔ-kas* “to entrap”.

3 Final vowel cluster of *ʷq'laqʔχ* “crow” substituted by *-ju* (manner of singing?).

4 Volodin / Khaloimova (1989): *toktonaʔ-*

5 Volodin (2008) *sfes-kas*.

°Қтақақәс! °Қтақақәс!
Q-^wtaqa-kas! Q-^wtaqa-kas!
 2SG.IMP-pray-INF 2SG.IMP-pray-INF
 A seagull appeared from somewhere.
 It landed nearby. (twice)
 “To the coast! to the coast!
 Pray! Pray!”

5. Чақол кәнтс’ин фитфит
Čaqol k-əntxs-ʔin fitfit
 animal.head NARR-drag.out-NARR seal
 Кәлчкүқзу’ин ч’ахлном,
K-əłčku-qzu-ʔin č’axlnom,
 NARR-see-IPFV-NARR celebrating.place
 Ә–хә! Ә–хә!
E-xe! E-xe!
 A seal poked its head out
 It looks at those celebrating. (twice)

6. Қәйәх хтәзән әскас
Qejex xte-z-en es-kas
 coward fear-PRES-3SG.S come.out-INF
 Тә’мзазознән лу’вәл,
Təʔmza-zo-z-nen luʔvel
 lick-ITER-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O whisker(s)
 Ә–хә! Ә–хә!
E-xe! E-xe!
 The coward is afraid to come out.
 It licks its whiskers. (twice)

7. Схәллаң тқми’ай кк’олкнән
Sxəlla-n tqmiʔ-aj k-k’ol-knen
 run-3SG.S volverine-AUGM NARR-come-NARR
 Ч’ирикзузнән әһчә’н,
Č’iri-qzu-z-nen əñč-eʔn,
 steal-IPFV-PRES-3SG.S>3SG.O fish-PL
 Ә–хә! Ә–хә!
E-xe! E-xe!
 A wolverine came running.
 He is stealing fish. (twice)

8. Қхәқәнәкнән мәт’ск’(ай)
K-xeqene-knen met’ask’
 NARR-be.angry-NARR bear
 Ч’ахлалкила’н кпәнскнән,
Č’axl-ał-kilaʔn k-pens-knen,
 celebrate-DES-INF.PL NARR-throw.at-NARR
 Ә–хә! Ә–хә!
E-xe! E-xe!
 The bear became upset.
 He went after those celebrating. (twice)