

Tnaqol — The Old Man

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July 26, 2022

This story, told by Lyudmila E. Pravdoshina and recorded by the author in Tigil, 9 March 1994, recounts an event that happened within living memory. The identity of the protagonist, the old man, is known, and the story takes place in the village of Esxlhin or “Settled” Sedanka. This village, not to be confused with the subsequently established village of Sedanka on the the Napana River, is where the raconteur was raised. Like several other Itelmen villages, it was closed in the 1950s and bulldozed, with the inhabitants relocated to the larger regional center, Tigil’. This version incorporates edits made by Pravdoshina while helping with transcription and translation (into Russian). I am also grateful to the late Alexandr P. Volodin for additional suggestions and corrections, and to Irina Monich for her assistance in preparing a version for itelmenslovar.org.

- (1) tiʔnu esxl̥in-k k-l̥-qzu-knen. məzin esxl̥in-k.
this Sedanka-LOC PRT-BE-ASP-PRT. 1PL.POSS Sedanka-LOC
‘This was in Sedanka, in our Sedanka.’
- (2) it’e k-zun¹l̥-qu-knen li staroj tnaqol
when PRT-live-ASP-PRT very old old.man
‘Once upon a time there lived a very old man.’
- (3) n¹en¹eke-ʔn¹-č əna-ʔn k-l̥-qzu-kne-ʔn, qat
child-PL-DIM-3S.POSS-PL PRT-BE-ASP-PRT-PL, already big-PL
plex-a-ʔn k’-le-kne-ʔn
PRT-become-ASP-PRT-PL
‘He had grandchildren (lit: there were also his grandchildren), they had already become very big.’
- (4) qniŋ samsəs k-l̥-qu-knen
one son.in.law PRT-BE-ASP-PRT
‘He had a son-in-law (lit: there was a son in law).’

- (5) tnaqol li čin-aq k'-anⁱ-tne-t-qzu-knen
old.man very beautiful-ADV PRT-AP-read-L-ASP-PRT
'The old man read very well.'
- (6) it'e-to samzat-ank k-zunⁱ-t-qu-knen
when-PTCL Tigil-LOC PRT-live-ASP-PRT
'At some time, he lived in Tigil.'
- (7) samzat-ank k-zunⁱ-t-qzu-kne-ʔn li bogatye č'amza-ʔl
Tigil-LOC PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL
'In Tigil there lived very rich people.'
- (8) βuʔn i k'-anⁱ-tse-ʔt-knen anⁱ-tne-t-ki
there PTCL PRT-learn-ASP-PRT AP-read-INF
'There he learned to read.'
- (9) k'-tne-t-qzu-ʔan=(n)in biblija
PRT-read-ASP-PRT=3CL bible
'He read the bible.'
- (10) potom esxⁱin-k k-zunⁱ-t-qzu-knen
then Sedanka-LOC PRT-live-ASP-PRT
'Then he lived in Sedanka.'
- (11) qat li staroj k-le-knen, li pəl-q tχa-ʔn
already very old PRT-become-ASP-PRT, very big-ADV foot-PL
k-əŋqxs-qzu-kna-ʔn
PRT-hurt-ASP-PRT-PL
'He had already become very old, his feet/legs hurt very much.'
- (12) k-ənⁱ-tini-kne-ʔn tχa-ʔn li pəl-q
PRT-swell-PRT-PL leg-PL very big-ADV
'His feet/legs swelled up very much.'
- (13) əŋqa βusx φelser-anⁱ-t k-t-qzu-knen βusx qaʔm emet-kiⁱ[χ]
what probably feldsher-EVAL PRT-be-ASP-PRT probably NEG capable?-NOM
'There was probably a feldsher or something, probably not very capable.'¹
- (14) k-χene-knen φelser-anⁱ[t]:
feldsher-EVAL PRT-say-PRT
'The feldsher said:'

¹Feldsher: a medic or some type of doctor's assistant. *emet-* is not an otherwise attested Itelmen word and may be a borrowing, cf. Koryak *emelke* 'OK'.

- (15) ti?nu əna-?n qa?m tʃa-?n əŋqsx-aq s-kine-?n, enu ənan prokaza
 this 3POSS-PL NEG foot-PL hurt-NEG BE.PRES-3DAT-PL that 3.POSS leprosy
 ‘This is not his legs hurting him, It’s (his) leprosy.’
- (16) qneŋ enu tnaqol li meča-nk ma-nk esxʃin-xʃal
 right.then that old.man very far-DAT where-DAT Sedanka-ABL
 n-əntxla-aʃ-qzu-kičen
 3PL-carry-DESID-ASP-1SG.OBJ
 ‘Then they wanted to take that old man somewhere very far away from Sedanka.’
- (17) ənan p’eč, samsəs jurte-čx tʃi-?n k-sk-?an
 3.POSS child/son son-in-law yurt-DIM 3PL-PL PRT-make-PRT
 ‘His son and son-in-law made a yurt.’
- (18) tnaqol-ank qa?m laal-kaq k-iʃ-qu-kne-?n, k-utu-qu-?in tʃi?n
 old.man-DAT not tell-NEG PRT-AUX-ASP-PRT-PL PRT-unable-ASP-PRT 3PL.POSS
 laal-ki
 tell-INF
 ‘They didn’t tell the old man, they couldn’t tell him.’
- (19) tnaqol xaq-aq nin k-iʃ-qu-?an, čto əna-nk jurte xokan
 old.man know-NEG 3CL PRT-AUX-ASP-PRT that 3SG-DAT yurt there
 n-sk-əz-nen, čto nada əntxla-kes xok-uŋ
 3PL-make-PREZ-3>3, that must carry-INFIN there-DAT
 ‘The old man didn’t know that they were making a yurt for him there, that they needed to take him there.’
- (20) samsəs ənan k-xene-knen [pʃx-aʃn-kəŋ]:
 son-in-law 3SG.POSS PRT-say-PRT friend-PL-DAT
 ‘The son-in-law said to his companions.’
- (21) nada bumag zəl-es ma? k-kele-?in, čto na əŋqsx-əz-in
 need paper give-INF where PRT-write-PRT, that 3SG sick-PRES-3SG
 prokaza-ʃ
 leprosy-INSTR
 ‘(We) need to give him a (piece of) paper, where it says that he is suffering from leprosy.’
- (22) na nin k-ʃne-an enu i k-xene-qzu-knen:
 3SG 3CL PRT-read-PRT DEM and PRT-say-ASP-PRT
 ‘He read that, and said.’

- (23) “nu-ne raz proza, tak prokaza.
well-PTCL once leprosy, then leprosy
(In Russian:) ‘Well, if it’s leprosy, then it’s leprosy.’
- (24) ma-nk jaq əntxla-qza-aʔ-sx-kum kma?
where PTCL carry-ASP-FUT-2PL-1SG 1SG
‘Where will you take me.?’
- (25) qneŋ samsəs k-xene-knen:
right.then son-in-law PRT-say-PRT
‘Then the son-in-law said:’
- (26) qat-ne nt-sk-ən jurte
already-PTCL 1PL-make-3OBJ yurt
‘We have already made a yurt.’
- (27) k-ʔeβu-qzu-knen esxʔin-xʔal
PRT-walk-ASP-PRT Sedanka-ABL
‘He walked around Sedanka.’²
- (28) miʔ pʔx-aʔn k-tχzu-qu-kne-ʔn k-čača-qzu-kne-ʔn.
all friend-PL PRT-stand-ASP-PRT-PL PRT-cry-ASP-PRT-PL
‘All his companions stood (there) and cried.’
- (29) tnaqol qoβskʔal-čax k-tzil-qzu-ʔan=(n)in, lem li kčonʔ-ʔax
old.man parka-DIM PRT-wear-ASP-PRT=3CL, also very thin-ADJ
‘The old man wore a coat, but it was very thin.’
- (30) miʔan-aʔn-kəŋ k-čʔsʔun-qzu-knen k-taqa-qzu-knen
all-PL-DAT PRT-bow-ASP-PRT PRT-pray-ASP-PRT
‘He bowed to everyone and crossed himself (lit: prayed) to them.’
- (31) qata atnom k-pənʔʔ-qzu-knen
already village PRT-end-ASP-PRT
‘Already, the village ended (i.e., they reached the end of the village).’
- (32) qneŋ k-ənʔʔaʔ-ʔin txtu-nk, βanʔč-kəŋ k-əntxla-qzu-knen ke-xʔal
right.then PRT-sit-ASP-PRT dugout-ABL, up-DAT PRT-carry-ASP-PRT river-ABL
‘Then they sat him in a dugout, and took him up the river.’

²The five-line passage starting here was added by the raconteur in the editing stage.

- (33) it'e k-t'ił-ʔin ɣok-un, p'eč i samsəs atno-ŋ
 when PRT-take-PRT there-DAT child and son-in-law village-DAT
 k-βi-qzu-kne-ʔn.
 PRT-go.downstream-ASP-PRT-PL
 'When they had taken him there, the son and son-in-law went home (by boat, downstream).'
- (34) jurte-čɣ-ank k-zun¹ł-qu-knen n¹aačıl
 yurt-DIM-LOC PRT-live-ASP-PRT alone
 'He lived in the yurt by himself.'
- (35) ənan samoj ul¹u-l¹aɣ jimsx-in p'eč k-ł-qzu-knen
 his most little-ADJ woman-ATTR child PRT-BE-ASP-PRT
 'There was his youngest daughter.'
- (36) enu βoderin k-łale-qu-knen əna-nk k-skłaβłat-qzu-knen
 DEM always PRT-walk-ASP-PRT 3S-DAT PRT-run-ASP-PRT
 'That one always went to him, ran (to him).'
- (37) xałč txun-qzu-z-in, qneŋ i pika-at-əz-in, čtob βiaq k'e
 when dark-ASP-PRES-3SG right.then PTCL go-GO-PRES-3SG, so.that NEG who
 əłčku-ki
 see-INFIN
 'When it gets dark, she goes, so that noone sees.'
- (38) li qeči-q k-quze-ʔin əna-nkəŋ łale-kas, βiaq k'e łale-ki, βiaq k'e
 very well-ADV PRT-forbid-PRT 3SG-DAT walk-INF, NEG who walk-INF, NEG who
 omokom zun¹ł-ki
 together live-INF
 'They strongly forbade going to him, noone (should) go, noone (should) live together (with him).'
- (39) enu jimsx-in p'eč sxəlat-əz-in esx-ankəŋ, tut i
 DEM woman-ATTR child run-PRES-3SG father-DAT here PTCL
 txan-at-əz-in jemalk-eʔ-nk
 get.wet-DISTR-PRES-3SG tundra-PL-LOC
 '(But) that daughter runs to her father, and gets wet on the tundra (in the bogs).'
- (40) tnaqol xaq-aq nin k'-ił-qzu-ʔan enu jimsx-in p'eč k'o-s-kinen
 old.man know-NEG 3CL PRT-AUX-ASP-PRT DEM woman-ATTR child come-3DAT
 'The old man didn't know that his daughter is coming to him.'

- (41) jimsx-in p'eč k-k'oł-knen qat txun-q k'-le-knen
 woman-ATTRR child PRT-come-PRT already dark-ADV PRT-become-PRT
 '(His) daughter would come when it got dark.'
- (42) tχal-knen k-txł-knen=(n)in əna-nkəŋ
 eat-PRT PRT-bring-PRT=3CL 3SG-DAT
 'She would bring him something to eat.'
- (43) tnaqol enu p'eč k'-əłčku-ʔan=(n)in li taq k-txane-knen, li čk-leχ
 old.man DEM child PRT-see-PRT=3CL very ?? PRT-get.wet-PRT very wet-ADJ
 k'-le-knen.
 PRT-become-PRT
 'The old man saw that his child had gotten soaked, (she) was very wet.'
- (44) peče nin li xk-aq k'-uje-ʔin da i k'-ən-zəłŋa-ʔan=(n)in p'eč.
 stove 3CL very hot-ADV PRT-fire.up-PRT PTCL and PRT-CAUS-sleep-PRT=3CL child
 'He fired up the stove very hot and put his child to sleep.'
- (45) xałč k-txsa-qzu-knen k'-ənsxli-ʔin=(n)in p'eč, atno-ŋ k'-ənqłe-ʔin
 when PRT-dawn-ASP-PRT PRT-wake-PRT=3CL child, village-DAT PRT-send-PRT
 'When it dawned, he woke his child and sent her home.'
- (46) p'eč enu jimsx-in k-łale-qzu-knen qłxle txuntxun-k tnaqol-ank
 child DEM woman-ATTR PRT-walk-ASP-PRT day dusk-LOC old.man-DAT
 'That girl went to the old man by day and at evening.'
- (47) qun'ıłink k-k'oł-knen qat kij k-ŋelp-qzu-knen
 once PRT-come-ASP-PRT already river PRT-awake-ASP-PRT
 'Once (she) came when the river had already started to flow.'
- (48) k-k'oł-knen li qečiq k-txane-knen
 PRT-come-PRT very well PRT-get.wet-PRT
 'She arrived thoroughly soaked.'
- (49) tnaqol tanaq peče k'-uje-ʔin=(n)in li xk-aq
 old.man again stove PRT-fire.up-PRT=3CL very hot-ADV
 'The old man fired up the stove very hot again.'
- (50) mił k'-ən-kizi-ʔin=(n)in sφu-ʔn, ia-ʔl
 all PRT-CAUS-dry-PRT=3CL boot-PL foot.wrap-PL
 'He dried everything: her boots and footwraps.'

- (51) xałč k-txsa-qzu-knen k'-ənsxli-ʔin=(n)in p'eč, atno-ŋ k'-ənqɬe-ʔin,
when PRT-dawn-ASP-PRT PRT-wake-PRT=3CL child, village-DAT PRT-send-PRT
k-χene-qzu-knen
PRT-say-ASP-PRT
'When it dawned, he woke his child and sent her home, and said.'
- (52) iʔiɬun-xʔal q-piki-kas, zato xenʲč q-txane-xč
shore-ABL IMP-go-INF, so.that NEG.IMP-get.wet-2SG
'Go along the shore, so that you don't get wet.'
- (53) ktβol-čax kčonʲ-lʲax. li tmalq iʔiɬun-k q-ɬeβu-kas
ice-DIM thin-ADJ very close shore-LOC IMP-walk-INF
'The ice is thin, walk close to the shore.'
- (54) tnaqol nin k'-ənqɬe-ʔin p'eč
old.man 3CL PRT-send-PRT child
'The old man sent away his child.'
- (55) ke-xʔal piki-kas ɬne li pəl-q k-k'enezu-qu-knen,
river-ABL go-INF SELF3SG.EMPH very big-ADV PRT-think-ASP-PRT
k-ɬeβu-qzu-knen zalxknom-k
PRT-walk-ASP-PRT behind-LOC
'He himself was worried to go on the river (ice) and walked behind her.'
- (56) it'e p'eč qat βa-nk k'-eɬs-knen atno-qol-ank tnaqol lem
when child already UP-LOC PRT-go.up-PRT village-AUG-LOG old.man also
k'-ənkt-knen
PRT-go.to-PRT
'When (his) daughter had already gone up there to the village, he also went up to it.'
- (57) meča-xʔal k'-əłčku-qzu-ʔan=(n)in atno-qol časovnja k-č'sɬun-knen čoq
far-ABL PRT-see-ASP-PRT=3CL village-AUG chapel PRT-bow-ASP-PRT three
raz k-tequ-knen
times PRT-pray-ASP-PRT=3CL
'He looked at the village from a distance, at the chapel, bowed and crossed himself three times.'
- (58) k-piki-qzu-knen tanaq atno-ŋ əna-n jurte-čχ-ank, telβeč-q
PRT-go-ASP-PRT back home-DAT 3SG-POSS yurt-DIM-DAT slow-ADV

k-piki-qzu-knen

PRT-GO-ASP-PRT

‘He went back home to his yurt. He went slowly.’

- (59) esxlin-k t’aβl¹-at k-l-qzu-kne-ʔn mejeŋ tχal-no-ʔan
Sedanka-LOC Koryak-PL PRT-BE-ASP-PRT-PL much eat-NOM-SUBST
k-βilčū-kne-ʔn
PRT-trade-PRT-PL

‘In Sedanka there were Koryaks. They traded for a lot of food.’

- (60) k-ʔeβu-qzu-kne-ʔn tχi-ʔn atno-ŋ. k’-əʔčku-qzu-ʔan tχiʔn əŋqa
PRT-walk-ASP-PRT-PL 3PL-PL home-DAT PRT-see-ASP-PRT-PL 3PL what
qəlal-ank, lkza-nom
snow-LOC track-NOM

‘They were walking home. They saw something in the snow, tracks.’

- (61) to li βeqaʔn¹ to li əŋqa k-ʔeβu-qzu-knen
so Q bear so Q what PRT-walk-ASP-PRT
‘A bear or something had been walking?’

- (62) it’e-to itχ k’-ilφs-qzu-ʔan əŋqa tnaqol əŋqsx-kiłχ k-netxa-kne-ʔn
when-PTCL 3PL PRT-hear-ASP-PRT what old.man sick-NOM PRT-forget-PRT-PL
‘At some time they had heard something of a sick old man, but had forgotten.’

- (63) tnaqol tχiʔn k-tzəl-knen. xaq tχi-ʔn k-təl-knen
old.man 3PL PRT-catch.up-PRT-PL know 3PL-PL PRT-AUX-PRT
‘They caught up to the old man and recognized (lit: knew) him.’

- (64) li qečiq tχal-no-ʔan k-zəl-ʔin tχiʔn
very much eat-NOM-SUBST PRT-give PRT 3PL
‘They gave him much food.’

- (65) tnaqol-ank n¹etu əŋqa k-l-qzu-knen maʔ tχal-no-ʔn əzu-s
old.man-LOC NEG what PRT-BE-ASP-PRT where eat-NOM-PL put-INF
‘The old man didn’t have anything where he could put the food.’

- (66) qoβsk’al-čax k-tzil-qzu-ʔan sit-eł k’-omt-ʔan, enu qoβsk’al-čax
parrka-DIM PRT-wear-ASP-PRT belt-INSTR PRT-tie-PRT DEM coat-DIM
k-txanu-qu-ʔan tχal-no-ł
PRT-put-ASP-PRT eat-NOM-INSTR

‘He was wearing a coat (parka). They tied it with a belt and put the food into that coat.’

- (67) li qečiq tχi-ʔn tnaqol k'-alβalta-ʔan k-piki-kne-ʔn itχ tχi-ʔin
 very much 3PL-PL old.man PRT-give.food-PRT PRT-go-PRT-PL 3PL 3PL-POSS
 atno-η
 village-DAT
 'They gave the old man much food, and went to their village.'
- (68) tnaqol əna-n jurte-čχ-ank k-piki-knen
 old.man 3sg-POSS yurt-DIM-LOC PRT-goprt
 'The old man went to his yurt.'
- (69) qunʔilen-k li qečiq k-urat-knen da i k'-elʃč-knen
 one.day-LOC very much PRT-tire-PRT PTCL and PRT-lie.sleep-PRT
 'One day he was very tired and went to bed.'
- (70) li kt-aq k-jelqe-t-knen qłχle
 very strong-ADV PRT-sleep-T-PRT by.day
 'He slept very soundly during the day.'
- (71) esxʔin-k qniη iφłx oηal-no-η k-sxeza-qzu-knen
 Sedanka-LOC one man collect.firewood-NOM-DAT PRT-drive-PRT
 'In Sedanka one man planned to go out to collect firewood.'
- (72) ηeč-ank k-χene-knen:
 wife-DAT PRT-say-PRT
 'He said to his wife.'
- (73) q-əzu-x kəma-nk klep
 IMP-put-3.OBJ 1SG-DAT bread
 'Put some bread (in my things).'
- (74) ηič k-χene-knen:
 wife PRT-say-PRT
 'His wife said.'
- (75) jaq əηqa-nes knank oηal-no-η klep
 PTCL what-?? 2SG.DAT collect.firewood-NOM-DAT bread
 'What do you need bread for to collect firewood?'
- (76) qamzan k-χene-knen:
 husband PRT-say-PRT
 'The husband said.'

- (77) kma tnaqol-ank t-lala-ał-k
1SG old.man-DAT 1SG-go-FUT-1SG
'I will go to the old man.'
- (78) iφłx enu uʔ-eʔn k'-əmpχe-ʔi-[ʔ]n
man DEM wood-PL PRT-cut-PRT-PL
'The man cut firewood.'
- (79) k-piki-knen tnaqol-ank-əŋ k-č'e-knen jurte-čχ-ank
PRT-go-PRT-PL old.man-DAT-DAT PRT-enter-PRT yurt-DIM-DAT
'He went to the old man and entered the yurt.'
- (80) tnaqol li kt-aq jelqe-z-in
old.man very strong-ADV sleep-PRES-3SG
'The old man is sleeping soundly.'
- (81) k-əzu-ʔin=(n)in klep stol-ank, k-piki-knen, atno-ŋ k-sxezi-knen
PRT-put-PRT=3CL bread table-DAT PRT-go-PRT village-DAT PRT-drive-PRT
'He put the bread on the table, left (lit: went) and went home.'
- (82) tnaqol it'e k-esxli-knen, k'-əłčku-ʔan=in stol-ank klep
old.man when PRT-wake-PRT PRT-see-PRT=3CL table-LOC bread
'At some point the old man woke up and saw the bread on the table.'
- (83) k'-enezi-knen. k'e=za k-txł-knen
PRT-think-PRT who=EMPH PRT-bring-PRT
'He thought: Who brought it?'
- (84) k'-χumst-knen əza-nk, łkza-nom k'-əłčku-ʔan=(n)in qneŋ i nin
PRT-go.out-PRT outside-DAT track-NOM PRT-see-PRT=3CL right.then PTCL 3CL
k-čanzo-ʔan
PRT-followPRT
'He went outside and saw tracks. He followed them.'
- (85) a iφłx qat atno-ŋ k-sxezi-knen
but man already village-DAT PRT-drive-PRT
'But the man had already gone home.'
- (86) tnaqol zalxknom-k k-piki-qzu-knen xaq nin k-təl-knen, k'e enu iφłx,
old.man back-LOC PRT-go-ASP-PRT, know 3CL PRT-AUX-PRT, who DEM man
k-tequʔł-qzu-knen
PRT-cross-PRT
'The old man went back. He knew who the man was, and crossed himself'

- (87) qunⁱilen-k sənix enu lamɬ k-ɬ-qzu-knen
one.day-LOC PTCL DEM summer PRT-BE-ASP-PRT
‘One day, it was already summer.’
- (88) tnaqol miɬ əŋqa nin k-sk-ʔan i k'-anⁱ-ɬne-ɬ-qzu-knen
old.man all what 3CL PRT-do-PRT and PRT-AP-read-L-ASP-PRT
‘The old man had done everything and was reading.’
- (89) biblija=nin k-ɬne-qzu-ʔan
bible=3CL PRT-read-ASP-PRT
‘He was reading the bible.’
- (90) nuč k'-ənⁱɬi-ʔin k-ɬ-qzu-knen
door PRT-open-PRT PRT-BE-ASP-PRT
‘The door was open.’
- (91) tnaqol k'-anⁱ-ɬne-ɬ-qzu-knen k'aac-iɬ nuč-ank-əŋ k-tχzu-qzu-knen
old.man PRT-AP-read-L-ASP-PRT spine-INSTR door-DAT-DAT PRT-stand-ASP-PRT
‘The old man was reading, standing with his back to the door.’
- (92) k'-anⁱ-ɬne-ɬ-qzu-knen
PRT-AP-read-L-ASP-PRT
‘He read.’
- (93) li pəl-q k'aac-enk k'-meti-qzu-ʔan=(n)in k'e əɬčku-z-in
very big-ADV back-LOC PRT-sense-ASP-PRT=3CL who see-PRES-3SG
‘He felt very much that someone was watching him.’
- (94) tnaqol k'-əɬčku-knen noč-ank-əŋ da i n(β)en xajen k'-əɬčku-ʔin
old.man PRT-see-PRT door-DAT-DAT PTCL and DEM? wolf PRT-see-PRT
‘The old man looked to the door and there was a wolf watching him.’³
- (95) tnaqol k'-əɬčku-qzu-knen xajen-ank-əŋ insxiq k-χene-knen
old.man PRT-see-ASP-PRT wolf-DAT-DAT then PRT-say-PRT
‘The old man looked at the wolf and said.’
- (96) əŋqa-s əɬčku-s-č kəm-ank-əŋ ?
what-PTCL see-PRES-2SG QSG-DAT-DAT
‘What are you looking at me for?’

³Audio recording has here instead: ...*k'-əɬčku-ʔan=(n)in xajen ɬa-z-in* ‘and (he) saw a wolf is sitting’.

- (97) xajen k'-əłčku-qzu-knen insxiq k-sxəŋzi-knen i k-piki-knen
 wolf PRT-see-ASP-PRT then PRT-turn-PRT and PRT-go-PRT
 'The wolf watched, then turned around and went.'
- (98) tnaqol nuč nin k-sop-ʔan
 old.man door 3CL PRT-close-PRT
 'The old man closed the door.'
- (99) tnaqol k'-anⁱ-łne-ł-knen, nuč nin k'-alpe-ʔin, k'-el'č-knen i
 old.man PRT-AP-read-L-ASP-PRT door 3CL PRT-lock-PRT PRT-lie.sleep-PRT and
 k-jelqe-qzu-knen
 PRT-sleep-ASP-PRT
 'The old man finished reading, locked the door, went to bed and slept.'
- (100) qulan qłχle-nk uβek-ank-əŋ k-χene-knen:
 other day-LOC self-DAT-DAT PRT-say-PRT
 'The next day he said to himself.'
- (101) t'-əłčku-at-ał-čen k'e-ze enu ł-qzu-in
 1SG-see-GO-FUT-3SG.OBJ who-PTCL DEM BE-ASP-3SG
 'I'll go see who was there.'
- (102) esli xajen əna-ʔn łqza-nom ł-qza-ał-kine-ʔn
 if wolf 3SG-POSS.PL track-NOM BE-ASP-FUT-3DAT-PL
 'If it was a wolf, then there will be tracks of his.'
- (103) k-piki-knen tnaqol i k'-əłčku-ʔan=(n)in łqza-nom xajen
 PRT-go-PRT old.man and PRT-see-PRT=3CL track-NOM wolf
 'The old man went out and saw wolf tracks.'
- (104) k-łabola-knen i k-piki-knen zen-k-on
 PRT-sit-PRT and PRT-go-PRT woods-DAT-DAT
 'It had sat and gone into the woods.'
- (105) enu lamł k-ł-qzu-knen
 DEM summer PRT-BE-ASP-PRT
 'This was summer.'
- (106) ekol'uške-ʔn-č esxłin-xʔal li niynił qta-no-ŋ k-piki-kne-ʔn
 girl-PL-DIM Sedanka-ABL very many berry.pick-NOM-DAT PRT-go-PRT-PL
 'The girls from Sedanka went berry picking a lot.'

- (107) li nyajma k-piki-qzu-kne-ʔn, k-ɬɨzi-qzu-kne-ʔn, ləltɬ-eʔn
 very happily PRT-go-PRT-PL PRT-laugh-PRT-PL honeysuckle-PL
 k-čil-qzu-kne-ʔn tɬi-ʔn
 PRT-collect-PRT-PL 3PL-PL
 ‘Very merrily they went, laughed and picked honeysuckle berries.’
- (108) tnaqol k’-ilɬs-ʔi-ʔn=(n)in ɬɨzi-kilat k’-es-knen jurta-čɬ-xʔal
 old.man PRT-hear-PRT-PL=3CL laugh-NOM.PL? PRT-go.out-PRT yurt-DIM-ABL
 da i k’-əɬčku-ʔi-ʔn=(n)in ekolʲuške-ʔn-ʲč
 PTCL and PRT-see-PRT-PL=3CL girl-PL-DIM
 ‘The old man heard people laughing, went out of the yurt and saw the girls.’
- (109) qniŋ nin xaq k-təl-knen qneŋ i k-kel-qzu-knen:
 one 3CL know PRT-AUX-PRT right.then and PRT-yell-ASP-PRT
 ‘He recognized one and then he called out:’
- (110) esx-ank-eŋ li plex-aʔn txuʔ-iʔn q-la-qzu-čx-eʔn
 father-DAT-DAT very big-PL greeting-PL IMP-tell-ASP-II-PL
 ‘Give (tell) your father big greetings!’
- (111) ekolʲuške-ʔn-ʲč miɬ qneŋ k-kel-qzu-kn-eʔn:
 girl-PL-DIM all right.then PRT-yell-ASP-PRT-PL
 ‘The girls all then called out:’
- (112) muza-ʔn miɬ esx-aʔn-k-eŋ txuʔ-iʔn nt’-la-aɬ-xŋ-eʔn
 1PL-PL all father-PL-DAT-DAT greeting-PL 1PL-tell-FUT-II-PL
 ‘We will all give our fathers greetings!’
- (113) tnaqol βuʔn-nu qasx-aʔn kɬal-aʔn k-zunʲɬ-qzu-knen
 old.man so-PTCL two-PL year-PL PRT-live-ASP-PRT
 ‘The old man lived so for two years.’
- (114) qunʲiɬink jimsx-in p’eč k-k’oɬ-knen
 once woman-ATTR child PRT-come-ASP-PRT
 ‘One time his daughter came.’
- (115) tnaqol qat-a k’-isx-knen
 old.man already-PTCL PRT-die-PRT
 ‘The old man had already died.’
- (116) p’eč atno-ŋ k-piki-knen, k-la-knen=(n)in
 child village-DAT PRT-go-PRT, PRT-tell-PRT=3CL,
 ‘The daughter went back to the village and told (people).’

- (117) k-piki-kne-ʔn xoku-ŋ, jurte-čχ-ank-əŋ, miʔ esxɬin-i-ʔn
 PRT-go-PRT-PL there-DAT yurt-DIM-DAT-DAT all Sedanka-ATTR-PL
 ‘Everyone from Sedanka went there, to the little yurt.’
- (118) li čin-aq k-xoroni-ʔan sənix jurte-čχ miʔ ənlutɬi-ʔ k’-ite-ʔin
 very beautiful-ADV PRT-bury-PRT PTCL yurt-DIM all enflame-INST PRT-AUX-PRT
 ‘They buried him very beautifully and burned the little yurt and everything.’