

# Kutkh and the Mice

Ekaterina E. Silina

April 16, 2023

The story of Kutkh and the Mice is one of the most well-known stories in the Raven cycle. It exists in many versions, with differing vignettes and different endings.<sup>1</sup> The leit-motif of Itelmen versions of the story, as with many other stories in the Raven cycle, is that Kutkh—the Raven-creator and familial head of the pantheon—is fundamentally lazy, but gets his comeuppance for his attempts to cheat his way out of work and responsibilities.

The version presented here was told by the late Ekaterina E. Silina of Esxlin (“Settled” Sedanka), recorded by the author in (new) Sedanka, 10 April 1994, and transcribed with the help of the recounter. I am also grateful to the late Valentina I. Uspenskaja and Alexandr P. Volodin for additional suggestions and corrections, and to Irina Monich for her assistance in preparing a version for itelmenslovar.org.

- (1) it-qat            k-zun<sup>1</sup>4-qu-kne-ʔn    Kusx1nequ i    Miti, ənna-n    ɲič.  
when-already PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL Kutkh        and Miti 3SG-POSS wife  
‘Once upon a time there lived Kutkh and Miti, his wife.’
- (2) k-4-qzu-kne-ʔn    txi-ʔi-ʔn    n<sup>1</sup>en<sup>1</sup>eke-ʔn<sup>1</sup>-č    Ememqut iφ1x-ʔin    p’eč i  
PRT-BE-ASP-PRT-PL 3PL-POSS-PL child-PL-DIM    Ememqut man-ATTR child and  
jimsx-ʔin    p’eč    Sinangewt.  
woman-ATTR child Sinangewt  
‘There were (also) their children: son Ememqut and daughter Sinangewt.’
- (3) qunje1in, Miti k-xejne-knen:  
Once        Miti PRT-say-PRT  
‘Once, Miti said:’

---

<sup>1</sup>A Soviet-era animated short under the same title was inspired by the Chukchi cosmology, but other than the overlap in characters has no relation to the story recounted here.

- (4) “xač by kza, Kusxłnequ, pišca? ma q’-enxt-zo-?an.”  
time CND 2SG Kutkh food where IMP-look.for-deriv-2>3OBJ  
“It’s time you look for some food somewhere, Kutkh.”
- (5) “ladno Miti, mitu rano q’-ənsxłi-βum  
OK Miti tomorrow early IMP-wake-1SG.OBJ  
“OK, Miti, wake me tomorrow early”
- (6) kəmma-nk sxu-?n prigotov, čaj q’-ənsł-x, noze-?n napravit  
1SG-DAT boot-PL prepare, tea IMP-steep-2>3SG dried.fish-PL prepare  
q’-ił-xe-?n.”  
IMP-AUX-2>3-PL  
‘Get (my) boots ready for me, make tea, prepare dried fish.’
- (7) “ladno, mn-əłč-k.  
OK 1PL-go.to.bed-1  
“OK, let’s go to bed.’
- (8) mitu t’-ənsxłi-ał-in”  
tomorrow 1SG-wake-FUT-1>2SG  
‘I will wake you tomorrow,’
- (9) Miti k-χejne-knen.  
Miti PRT-say-PRT  
‘Miti said.’
- (10) rano utrom Miti k’-ənsxłi-?an Kusxłnequ.  
early morning Miti PRT-wake-PRT Kutkh  
‘Early in the morning Miti woke Kutkh.’
- (11) “xač q-t-kas Kuke!  
INTRJ IMP-get.up-INF Kuke  
“Hey, get up, Kuke! [Kutkh]’
- (12) Qat mił čajnik t’-ənsł-čen, noz-e?n knank napravit  
already all kettle 1SG-steep-3SG.OBJ dried.fish-PL 2SG.DAT prepare  
t’-ił-če-?n.”  
1SG-aux-3.OBJ-PL  
‘I’ve already done everything: I’ve made tea, I’ve prepared dried fish for you.’
- (13) k-t-knen Kusxłnequ, x-kuma-knen, k-čaja-knen i  
PRT-get.up-PRT Kutkh, PRT-don.footwear-PRT PRT-have.tea-PRT and

- qeχ-ank k-piki-knen  
sea-DAT PRT-GO-PRT  
'Kutkh got up, put on his boots, drank tea, and went to the sea.'
- (14) meč'a-xʔal k'-əʔčku-ʔan k'e χoq-aŋ li niyɲiʔ čuφ-s-in.  
far-ABL PRT-see-PRT who there-DAT very much move-PRES-3SG  
'From afar he saw someone there moving a lot.'
- (15) k'-ənɲʔ-knen tmal-k, k'-əʔčku-ʔan lel'ku-ʔn li niyɲiʔ, əŋqa  
PRT-approach-PRT close-DAT PRT-see-PRT mouse-PL very many what  
n-skə-z-ni-ʔn  
3PL-do-PRES-3>3-PL  
'He went close, and saw many mice doing something.'
- (16) jesčo tmal-k k'-ənɲʔ-knen, mexnu lel'ku-ʔn βitβit  
still close-DAT PRT-approach-PRT as.if mouse-PL seal  
n-txuŋə-z-nin.  
3PL-drag.out-PRES-3>3  
'He went still closer: [it was] as if the mice were dragging a seal out.'
- (17) "əŋqa tuza-ʔn xta-ank skə-z-sx?"  
what 2PL-PL here-LOC do-PRES-2PL  
'What are you doing here?'
- (18) "da vot muza-ʔn nt'-utu-z-in βitβit txuŋe-s.  
INTRJ DEM 1PL-PL 1PL-unable-PRES-3.OBJ seal drag.out-INF  
'Well, see, we can't drag the seal out.'
- (19) q'-ənk'zu-βuʔm."  
IMP-help-1PL.OBJ  
'Help us!'
- (20) "nu davajte m-ənk'zu-sxin.  
INTRJ HORTATIVE 1SG.IRR-help-2PL.OBJ  
'OK, let me help you,'
- (21) kəmma-n k'aač-ank q'-əzu-sx βitβit."  
1SG-POSS back-DAT IMP-put-2PL seal  
'Put the seal on my back.'

---

<sup>2</sup>Possibly *nt'-utu-z-iʔn* 1PL-PL 1PL-unable-PRES-3PL.OBJ, but plural object marking would be unexpected here.

- (22) k'-əzu-ʔan lel'ku-ʔn k'aáč-ank βitβit i k-piki-kne-ʔn.  
 PRT-put-PRT mouse-PL back-DAT seal and PRT-go-PR-PLT  
 'They put the seal on his back and went.'
- (23) "tol'ko, d'ed'u, zaq məzin kist propustit iʔ-aq (i-s-xen)  
 only, Grandpa, NEG.IMP 1PL.POSS house miss AUX-NEG AUX-PRES-3.OBJ  
 'Just don't miss our house, Grandpa.'<sup>3</sup>
- (24) əʔčku-z-in məzin kist?"  
 see-PRES-3SG.OBJ 1PL.POSS house  
 'Do you see our house?'
- (25) "t'-əʔčku-s-čen."  
 1SG-see-PRES-3SG.OBJ  
 'I see it.'
- (26) piki-z-iʔn omakom.  
 go-PRES-3PL together  
 'They go together.'
- (27) janot-k Kusxʔnequ, szadi lel'ku-ʔn piki-z-iʔn.  
 front-LOC Kutkh behind mouse-PL go-PRES-3PL  
 'Kutkh goes in front and the mice behind.'
- (28) (potom) n-əʔčku-z-nin min<sup>ʔ</sup>-čax tχzu-z-in, kanso-z-in.  
 then 3PL-see-PRES-3>3 hare-DIM stand-PRES-3SG smoke-PRES-3SG  
 'Then they see a hare standing there, smoking.'
- (29) "ma-nk tuza-ʔn piki-s-sx?"  
 where-DAT 2PL-PL go-PRES-2PL  
 'Where are you going?'
- (30) "da vot, lel'ku-ʔnʔ-aʔn t'-ənk'zu-s-če-ʔn", Kusxʔnequ χejne-z-in.  
 INTRJ DEM mouse-EVAL-PL 1SG-help-PRES-3.OBJ-PL Kutkh say-PRES-3SG  
 'Well, see, I'm helping the mice.' Kutkh said.'
- (31) dal'še piki-z-iʔn  
 further go-PRES-3PL  
 'They go further.'

---

<sup>3</sup>The second auxiliary is in the audio version but the recounter suggested removing it during the transcription phase. Auxiliaries in negative constructions are frequently omitted, and generally considered optional. The first auxiliary, by contrast, is part of the light verb construction with the borrowed Russian verb.

- (32) n-əłčku-z-nin tsxal-astax tχzu-z-in.  
3PL-see-PRES-3>3 fox-EVAL stand-PRES-3SG  
'They see a fox standing there.'
- (33) "tuza-ʔn ma-nk piki-s-sx?"  
2PL-PL where-DAT go-PRES-2PL  
'Where are you going?'
- (34) "da lelʲku-ʔn t'-ənk'zu-s-če-ʔn", Kusxłnequ χejne-z-in.  
INTRJ mouse-PL 1SG-help-PRES-3.OBJ-PL Kutkh say-PRES-3SG  
'I'm helping the mice.' Kutkh said.'
- (35) "kza, dʲedʲu-čχ, qat məzin kist tmal-k!"  
2SG Grandpa-DIM already 1PL.POSS house close-LOCT  
'Hey you, Grandpa, our house is already close!.'
- (36) "t'-əłčku-s-čen təzin kist."  
1SG-see-PRES-3SG.OBJ 2PL.POSS house  
'I see your house.'
- (37) βun-ne dʲedʲuske-čχ Kusxłnequ k'enez-in:  
DEM-PRTCL gr.father-DIM Kutkh think-3SG  
'There the old man Kutkh thought:'
- (38) "ex, qat li tmal-k jepx. t'-əłčku-s-čen. Mit-enk n-qzu-zum."  
INTRJ already very close-LOC truly 1SG-see-PRES-3.OBJ Miti-LOC N-wait-1SG.OBJ  
'Yes, it truly is already close. I see (it). Miti is waiting for me.'<sup>4</sup>
- (39) tolʲko lelʲku-ʔin kist k-peskez-ʔin, qneŋ lelʲku-ʔn [χejne-z-iʔn]  
only mouse-POSS house PRT-pass-PRT right.away mouse-PL say-PRES-PL  
'As soon as he passed the mice's house, the mice say:'
- (40) "ma-nk, dʲedʲu, piki-s-č?"  
where-DAT Grandpa, go-PRES-2SG  
'Where are you going, Grandpa?'
- (41) tixt məzin kist!"  
here 1PL.POSS house  
'Here is our house!'

---

<sup>4</sup>This could also be parsed as: 'I see that Miti is waiting for me.'

- (42) Kusxʰnequ eʎaq qaʔm əŋka ilʔs-aq,  
Kutkh as.if NEG what hear-NEG  
'Kutkh [acted] as if he didn't hear.'
- (43) li pəl-q k-βajla-qu-knen.  
very big-ADV PRT-hurry-ASP-PRT  
'He has hurrying very much.'
- (44) teʎi sxəlla-ki k-ʔ-knin.  
even run-INF PRT-BE-PRT  
'He was even running.'
- (45) "xaʎč Miti niqa qat qzu-z-um kma."  
INTRJ Miti quickly already wait-PRES-1SG.OBJ 1SG  
'Hey Miti quickly! You're already waiting for me.'
- (46) "oj kəmma-n Kuke qat k'o-s-in."  
INTRJ 1SG-POSS Kutkh already come-PRS-3SG  
'Oh! My Kuke is already coming.'
- (47) "niqa, Miti, davaj nuč q-sop-x!  
quickly Miti INTRJ door IMP-close-2>3SG  
'Quickly, Miti, close the door!'
- (48) zaq k'e ənks-aq [q-]iʔ-qu-x kest-ank-oŋ!"  
NEG.IMP who allow-NEG IMP-AUX-ASP-2>3SG house-DAT-DAT  
'Don't let anyone into the house!'
- (49) k-č'e-kne-ʔn, qneŋ Mit-enk nuč k-sop-ʔan li kt-aq.  
PRT-enter-PRT-PL right.away Miti-LOC door PRT-close-PRT very strong-ADV  
'They went in and Miti immediately closed the door very firmly.'
- (50) qneŋ: "Miti, silqsilq q-skə-x, da li č'ina-q nʎenʎeke-ʔnʎ-č  
right.away Miti, talkusha IMP-make-2>3 and very beautiful-ADV child-PL-DIM  
miʔ q-ʎen-nu-x-eʔn.  
all IMP-CAUS-eat-2>3-PL  
Immediately [Kutkh said]: "Miti, make talkusha, and feed the kids all nicely."
- (51) potom məzi-ʔn nʎenʎeke-ʔn-ʎč q'-ən-jalqə-ʔ-x-eʔn, potom omokom  
then 1PL.POSS-PL child-PL-DIM IMP-CAUS-sleep-??-2>3-PL, then together  
məŋ-nu-k.  
1PL.IRR-eat-1  
'then put our kids to sleep, then we can eat together.'

- (52) it'e n'en<sup>1</sup>eke-ʔn<sup>1</sup>-č jelqa-q-ał-iʔn, omokom li č'ina-q  
 when child-PL-DIM sleep-ASP?-FUT-3PL together very beautiful-ADV  
 mən-nu-k enu silqsilq-ał.”  
 1PL.IRR-eat-1 DEM talkusha-INST  
 ‘When the kids fall asleep, we can eat the nice talkusha together.’
- (53) A lel<sup>1</sup>ku-ʔn mił li pəl-q k-χaqane-kne-ʔn  
 INTRJ mouse-PL all very big-ADV PRT-angry-PRT-PL  
 ‘But the mice all got very angry.’
- (54) babuška-čχ lel<sup>1</sup>k-o[n<sup>1</sup>ʔ] k-χejne-knen  
 grandmother-DIM mouse-EVAL PRT-say-PRT  
 ‘The grandmother mouse said.’
- (55) “βot βečerom xałč Kusxłnequ i Miti jalqa-q-ał-iʔn, qneŋ  
 INTRJ evening when Kutkh and Miti sleep-ASP-FUT-3PL right.away  
 q-piki-sx χoq-əŋ tχe-ank-oŋ kist-enk.  
 IMP-go-2PL there-DAT 3PL-DAT-DAT house-DAT  
 ‘So this evening as soon as Kutkh and Miti fall asleep, go there to them, to their house.’
- (56) i q-č'e-sx χoq-əŋ, mił silqsilq q-č'iri-sx.  
 and IMP-enter-2PL there-DAT all talkusha IMP-steal-2PL  
 ‘and go in, and steal all the talkusha.’
- (57) i ejp'e-ʔn mejeŋ q-tkit-sxi-ʔn pol-ank.”  
 and thorn-PL well IMP-throw-2PL>3-PL floor-DAT  
 ‘and throw thorns all over the floor.’
- (58) βonk i k-sk-ʔan lel<sup>1</sup>ku-ʔn-k.  
 thus and PRT-do-PRT mouse-PL-LOC  
 ‘And so it was done by the mice.’
- (59) it'e Kusxłnequ i Miti, n'en<sup>1</sup>eke-ʔn<sup>1</sup>-č tχi-ʔiʔn k-jalqa-qu-kne-ʔn,  
 when Kutkh and Miti child-PL-DIM 3PL-POSS-PL PRT-sleep-ASP-PRT-PL  
 lel<sup>1</sup>ku-ʔn k-č'e-kne-ʔn telβeč-q.  
 mouse-PL PRT-enter-PRT-PL slow-ADV  
 ‘When Kutkh and Miti and their children fell asleep, the mice entered slowly.’
- (60) silqsilq mił k-č'ira-ʔan, atno-ŋ k-əntxla-kne-ʔn, ejp'e-ʔn mił  
 talkusha all PRT-steal-PRT home-DAT PRT-carry-PRT-PL thorn-PL all

- k-tkit-ʔa-ʔn.  
PRT-throw-PRT-PL  
'They stole all the talkusha, carried it home, threw thorns all over.'
- (61) xaʔč txun-q qat k-le-knen,  
time dark-ADV already PRT-become-PRT  
'When it became dark,'
- (62) Kusxʔnequ: "xaʔč , Miti k-t-kas!  
Kutkh time Miti IMP-get.up-INF  
'Kutkh [says]: "Hey Miti time to get up!'
- (63) qat nʔenʔeke-ʔnʔ-č jelqe-qu-iʔn.  
already child-PL-DIM sleep-ASP-3PL  
'The kids are already asleep.'
- (64) zaq βumʔx ən-tχ-aq, a to n-əʔčku-aʔ-um."  
NEG.IMP fire CAUS-light-NEG, otherwise 3PL-see-FUT-1PL.OBJ  
'Don't light a fire, otherwise they will see us.'
- (65) Miti χejne-in: "xaʔč t-t'-aʔ-kičen sčas."  
Miti say-3SG INTRJ 1SG-get.up-FUT-1SG now  
'Miti said "I'll get up now."
- (66) tol'ko Miti k-t-knan: "Oj! Aj, əŋqa li əŋqsx-laχ!"  
only Miti PRT-get.up-PRT oh ah what very hurt-ADJ  
'Miti just got up [and said]: "Ow, ah! There's something very painful."
- (67) tanaq k-βaqa-knen, tanaq "Oj!"  
again PRT-step-PRT again Oh  
'She took a step again, and again: "Ow!"
- (68) "əŋqa, Miti, kza s-ič?"  
what Miti BE.PRES-2SG  
'What's with you Miti? [lit: what are you?]
- (69) "əŋqa li əŋqsx-laχ"  
what very hurt-ADJ  
'There's something very painful.'
- (70) "nu-ka q-ʔaβol-xč, sčas kməʔβum t-t'-aʔ-kičen."  
INTRJ PTCL IMP-sit-2SG now 1SG.EMPH 1SG-get.up-1SG  
'Well, sit down. Now I will get up.'

- (71) k-t-knen Kusxłnequ, k-anstβol-knen  
 PRT-get.up-PRT Kutkh PRT-step-PRT  
 ‘Kutkh got up and took a step’
- (72) “oj Miti, qeʔnu Ememqut-ank kni-ʔn sis-eʔn k-tkit-ʔi-ʔn.  
 oh Miti maybe Ememqut-LOC 2SG.POSS-PL needle-PL PRT-throw-PRT-PL  
 “Ow, Miti, maybe Ememqut threw all your needles around.”
- (73) nado na mest[o] əzu-t-es sis-eʔn kni-ʔn.”  
 must to place put-DIST-INF needle-PL 2SG.POSS-PL  
 ‘You need to put away your needles.’
- (74) “mił t’-əzu-če-ʔn sis-eʔn.”  
 all 1SG-put-3.OBJ-PL needle-PL  
 “I put away all the needles!”
- (75) dalʕe k-piki-qu-knen Kusxłnequ.  
 further PRT-go-ASP-PRT Kutkh  
 ‘Kutkh went further.’
- (76) “oj! oj! nu-ka Miti βumłx q-ən-tχ-ix.”  
 ow ow INTRJ Miti fire IMP-CAUS-burn-2>3SG  
 “Ow! Ow! Hey Miti light a fire!”
- (77) “əŋqa kza xta-ank sk-əz-in?”  
 what 2SG DEM-LOC do-PRES-3SG  
 “What are you doing?”
- (78) “nu-ka m-əłčku-in.  
 INRJ 1SG.IRR-see-2SG.OBJ  
 “Well, let me look at you.”
- (79) oj, li pəl-q ən<sup>h</sup>im-əz-in tχaŋ knin.”  
 oh very big-ADV bleed-PRES-3SG foot 2SG.POSS  
 ‘Oh! Your foot is bleeding a lot.’
- (80) “oj, man-xʔal li niyɲił ejp’e-ʔn k-sφis-kne-ʔn?”  
 oh where-ABL very many thorn-PL PRT-originate-PRT-PL  
 “Oh! Where did all these thorns come from?”
- (81) “k’e xta-ank k-łale-knen.”  
 who DEM-LOC PRT-walk-PRT  
 ‘Someone was walking around here.’

- (82) qneŋ:       “xaq t’-il-ki-čen.           lel<sup>l</sup>k-oŋn<sup>l</sup>-aŋn k-łale-kne-ŋn.  
right.away know 1SG-AUX-II-3SG.OBJ mouse-AUG-PL PRT-walk-PRT-PL  
Then (suddenly): “I know. The mice were walking here.”
- (83) Miti q-əłčku-x, silqsilq č-i-z-in?”  
Miti IMP-see-2>3 tolkusha be-PRES-3SG  
‘Miti, see if the tolkusha is still there.’
- (84) “n<sup>l</sup>etu əŋqa silqsilq, mił lel<sup>l</sup>ku-ŋn-k   k’-əntxla-kne-ŋn.”  
is.not what tolkusha, all mouse-PL-LOC PRT-carry-PRT-PL  
“There is no tolkusha! It was all taken by the mice!”
- (85) “Miti ladno, mn-ełč-k.”  
Miti OK 1PL.IRR-lie.to.sleep-1PL  
“OK, Miti, let’s go to bed.”
- (86) tak i k’-ełč-kne-ŋn,           qaŋm əŋqa-ł   nu-kənki-ŋn.  
so and PRT-lie.to.sleep-PRT-PL NEG what-INST eat-NEG-PL  
‘And so they went to bed down without having eaten anything.’
- (87) utrom rano Kusxłnequ li pəl-q k-χaqane-knen  
morning early Kutkh very big-ADV PRT-angry-PRT  
‘Early the next morning Kutkh became very angry.’
- (88) palka k-ł-ŋan,   k-piki-knen lel<sup>l</sup>ku-ŋn-k   χoq-əŋ  
stick PRT-take-PRT PRT-go-PRT mouse-PL-DAT DEM-DAT  
‘He took a stick and went there to the mice.’
- (89) rano utrom k-stukał-qu-knen lel<sup>l</sup>ku-ŋn-k.  
early morning PRT-knock-ASP-PRT mouse-PL-LOC  
‘In the early morning, he knocked at the mice’s.’
- (90) lel<sup>l</sup>k-oŋn<sup>l</sup>-aŋn-k   k-pəŋlo-ŋan: “k’e li rano x-k’oł-knen?”  
mouse-EVAL-PL-LOC PRT-ask-PRT who very early PRT-come-PRT  
‘The mice asked: “Who has come so early?”
- (91) “Nu-ka q-t-qu-sx           xałč!”  
INTRJ IMP-get.up-ASP-2PL INTRJ  
“Hey! Get up!”
- (92) “A d<sup>l</sup>ed<sup>l</sup>u-čχ           x-k’oł-knen.”  
ah grandfather-DIM PRT-come-PRT  
“Ah, Grandfather has come.”

- (93) “əŋqa-nes məzin silqsilq ačɪnʲčq č’iri-sx?”  
 what-PTCL 1PL.POSS tolkusha yesterday steal-2PL  
 “Why did you steal our tolkusha yesterday?”
- (94) “oj, dʲedʲu, da[βa]j məzin silqsilq q-taβoŋ-x.”  
 oh grandpa INTRJ 1PL.POSS IMP-try-2>3  
 “Oh, Grandpa, here - try our tolkusha.”
- (95) qneŋ k’-ənʲ-ʎaʎ-ʎan dʲedʲuška-čχ, Kusxʎnequ,  
 right.away PRT-CAUS-sit.TR-PRT grandfather-DIM Kutkh  
 k-ʎen-nu-ʎan-(n)in, mejeŋ qat braga-ʎ k-ʎiŋ-il-ʎan  
 PRT-CAUS-eat-PRT=3CL well already home.brew-INST PRT-CAUS-drink-PRT  
 ‘Right away they sat the old man, Kutkh, down, fed him, plied him well with home  
 brew,’
- (96) i k-ʎelqe-qu-knen Kusxʎnequ.  
 and PRT-sleep-ASP-PRT Kutkh  
 ‘And Kutkh fell asleep.’
- (97) txsal-astas k-č’e-knen, li pəl-q najaβaskničɛn  
 fox-EVAL PRT-enter-PRT very big-ADV drunk  
 “The fox came in, very drunk.”<sup>5</sup>
- (98) minʲʎ-čax k-č’e-knen, lem χeŋnin, ʎeʎnu lʲaŋ-oʎnʲ-č’ li kosije  
 hare-DIM PRT-enter-PRT also thus even eye-PL-DIM very crooked  
 k-le-knen, pəl-q k’-el-za-no-knen  
 PRT-become-PRT big-ADV PRT-drink-dstr-??-PRT  
 ‘The hare came in, also that way, even its eyes had gone very crooked, it had drunk  
 very much.’
- (99) x-kanso-qu-kne-ʎn, miʎ k’-il-ist-kne-ʎn mejeŋ.  
 PRT-smoke-ASP-PRT-PL all PRT-drink-??-PRT-PL well  
 ‘They smoked and they all drank well.’
- (100) qneŋ dʲedʲu-čχ k-χejne-knen:  
 right.away grandfather-DIM PRT-say-PRT  
 ‘Then the grandfather [i.e., Kutkh] said.’

---

<sup>5</sup>The structure of the last word is obscure. It may follow the pattern of borrowed Koryak adjectives in *n-...-qin*, some of which are established in in the Sedanka-Tigil dialects, but not in the Southern dialects.

- (101) “li pəl-q kəmt’qol č’oβa-z-in  
 very big-ADV head itch-PRES-3SG  
 ‘My head is itching a lot.’
- (102) nu-ka q-k’oł-xč kəmma-n kəmt’qol q-əłčku-x.”  
 INTRJ IMP-come-2SG 1SG-POSS head IMP-look-2>3  
 ‘Come and look at my head.’
- (103) “oj, d’ed’u, li pəl-q kəma-ʔn k’φu-ʔn əŋqsxi-z-iʔn.  
 oh Grandpa very big-ADV 1SG-POSS.PL claw-PL hurt-PRES-3PL  
 ‘Oh, Grandpa, my claws hurt a lot.’
- (104) t-łale-qu-kičen zin-k ləqlem-eʔn t’-entχzo-qu-če-ʔn.  
 1SG-walk-ASP-1SG woods-LOC kimchiga 1SG-look.for-ASP-3.OBJ-PL  
 ‘I was walking in the woods looking for kimchiga (spring beauty tubers).’
- (105) “nu-ka kza togda q-koł-xč βotk-əŋ.”  
 INTRJ SG then IMP-come-2SG DEM-DAT  
 ‘Well, then you come here!’
- (106) “oj, d’ed’u, li pəl-q kəma-ʔn lə-ʔl əŋqsxi-z-iʔn.  
 oh Grandpa very big-ADV eye-PL hurt-PRES-PL  
 ‘Oh, Grandpa, my eyes hurt a lot.’
- (107) vs’u noč t-č’innjł-qu-kičen. t’-utu-s-kičen əłčku-ał-ki.”  
 all night 1SG-sew-ASP-1SG 1SG-unable-PRES-1SG see-FUT-INF  
 ‘I was sewing all night. I won’t be able to see.’
- (108) samoj ul’u-l’ajχ leł’ko-stas k’-ənkł-knen.  
 most small-ADJ mouse-EVAL PRT-approach-PRT  
 ‘The smallest mouseling approached.’
- (109) “nu-ka, d’ed’u, kməłβum m-əłčku-čen knin kəmt’qol.”  
 INTRJ Grandpa 1SG.EMPH 1SG-see-3SG.OBJ 2SG.POSS head  
 ‘Well Grandpa let me look at your head.’
- (110) leł’ko-stas k’-uzu-ʔan in’ł-ił Kusxłnequ, i Kusxłnequ  
 mouse-EVAL PRT-begin-PRT look.for.lice-NFIN Kutkh and Kutkh  
 k-jelqe-qu-knen.  
 PRT-sleep-ASP-PRT  
 ‘The mouseling started to search Kutkh’s head for lice, and Kutkh fell asleep.’

- (111) tsxal-astas k-χejne-knen:  
fox-EVAL PRT-say-PRT  
'The fox said:'
- (112) "davaj kəmma-ʔn k'mə-ʔn-č m-ən'čxl-eʔn əna-nk ʔaŋ-oʔn<sup>j</sup>-č-k."  
HORT 1SG-POSS.PL hair-PL-DIM 1SG-place-3PL.OBJ 3SG-DAT eye-PL-DIM-DAT  
'Let's place my hairs on his eyes.'<sup>6</sup>
- (113) k-č'inŋe-ʔa-ʔn ʔaŋ-oʔn<sup>j</sup>-č č'ač'a-laχ k'mə-ʔ tsxala-ʔin  
PRT-sew-PRT-PL eye-PL-DIM red-ADJ hair-INST fox-ATTRIB  
'They sewed the red fox hair on his eyes.' (lit: They sewed his eyes with the red fox hair)
- (114) tsxala-stas k-rajt-qu-knen, min<sup>ʔ</sup>čax lem  
fox-EVAL PRT-go.home-ASP-PRT hare-DIM also  
'The fox went home, and the hare, too.'
- (115) qat k večeru d'ed<sup>ʔ</sup>uška-čχ lel<sup>ʔ</sup>ku-ʔn<sup>j</sup>-k k-ənsxli-qu-ʔan  
already towards evening grandfather-DIM mouse-PL-LOC PRT-wake-ASP-PRT  
'As it was getting towards evening, Kutkh was wakened by the mice.'
- (116) "xałč, d'ed<sup>ʔ</sup>u, q-rajt-kas!  
INTRJ Grandpa IMP-go.home-INF  
'Hey, Grandpa, go home!'
- (117) knin kist lu-z-in!"  
2SG.POSS house burn-PRES-3SG  
'Your house is burning!'
- (118) utu-z-in əsxli-ał-ki, mejeŋ k-łəŋ-il-ʔin Kusxłnequ.  
unable-PRES-3PL awake-FUT-INF well PRT-CAUS-drink-PRT Kutkh  
'He couldn't wake up. They had plied Kutkh well with drink.'
- (119) "q-t-kas, d'ed<sup>ʔ</sup>u, knin kist lu-z-in!"  
IMP-get.up-INF Grandpa 2SG.POSS house burn-PRES-3SG  
'Get up Grandpa, your house is burning.'<sup>7</sup>
- (120) "ma? kəmma-n kist lu-z-in?"  
where 1SG-POSS house burn-PRES-3SG  
'Where is my house burning?' [How is it my house is burning?]

<sup>6</sup>The verb form here is 1sg. The 1pl form expected from the translation would be *m(ə)n-ən'čxl-eʔn*

<sup>7</sup>This line is in the audio recording but was skipped in the edited version.

- (121) “xaʎč! Miti keli-z-in: knin kist lu-z-in!”  
 INTRJ Miti shout-PRES-3SG 2SG.POSS house burn-PRES-3SG  
 “C’mon! Miti is shouting your house is burning!”
- (122) k-əsxʎi-knen Kusxʎnequ  
 PRT-awake-PRT Kutkh  
 ‘Kutkh woke up.’
- (123) “ma? kəmma-n kist?”  
 where 1SG-POSS house  
 ‘Where’s my house?’
- (124) xej βon knin kist li pəl-q lu-z-in!  
 there! there 2SG.POSS house very big-ADV burn-PRES-3SG  
 ‘Over there! Your house is burning a lot!’
- (125) k-sxilla-qu-knen Kusxʎnequ, xejne-z-in  
 PRT-run-ASP-PRT Kutkh say-PRES-3SG  
 ‘Kutkh ran, saying:’
- (126) “Miti! xaʎč niqa q-χumst-xč!  
 Miti INTRJ quickly IMP-exit-2SG  
 “Miti! Come out quick!”
- (127) məzin kist lu-z-in!”  
 1PL.POSS house burn-PRES-3SG  
 ‘Our house is burning.’
- (128) “əŋqa, Kusxʎnequ, keli-s-č?”  
 what Kutkh shout-PRES-2SG  
 “What are you shouting, Kukth?”
- (129) “məzin kist lu-z-in!”  
 1PL.POSS house burn-PRES-3SG  
 “Our house is burning.”
- (130) “intemni-s-č, kza, Kusxʎnequ.”  
 deceive-PRES-2SG 2SG Kutkh  
 “You’re lying, Kutkh’
- (131) “liʎi məzin kist lu-z-in!”  
 really 1PL.POSS house burn-PRES-3SG  
 “Really! Our house is burning.”

- (132) k-ən<sup>j</sup>le-ʔan nuč  
 PRT-open-PRT door  
 ‘He opened the door.’
- (133) Miti k-əłčku-ʔan=(n)in Kusxłnequ.  
 Miti PRT-see-PRT=3CL Kutkh  
 ‘Miti saw Kutkh.’
- (134) “Uuu! ɬaβaɬ kni-ʔn ɬaŋ-on<sup>j</sup>-č č’ač’a-laχ-aʔn?”  
 INTERJ why 2SG.POSS-PL eye-PL-DIM red-ADJ-PL  
 ‘Oh! Why are your eyes red?’
- (135) k-txuŋ-kne-ʔn Miti tsxala-ʔi-ʔn k’mə-ʔn.  
 PRT-pull-PRT-PL Miti fox-ATTR-PL hair-PL  
 ‘She pulled [off] the fox hairs.’
- (136) “Oj, Miti, ostorožno!  
 Ow Miti careful  
 ‘Ow, Miti, careful!’
- (137) ɬaŋ-oʔn-<sup>j</sup>č kəma-ʔn əŋqsx-ał-iʔn.”  
 eye-PL-DIM 1SG-POSS.PL hurt-FUT-3PL  
 ‘My eyes will hurt.’
- (138) “qeʔnu leɬ<sup>j</sup>ku-ʔn<sup>j</sup>-k n-łəŋ-ile-in”  
 seems mouse-PL-LOC N-CAUS-drink-2SG.OBJ  
 ‘Looks like the mice plied you with drink.’
- (139) “χoq-an i t-ł-qu-kičən, t-jelqe-qu-kičən  
 DEM-LOC and 1SG-BE-ASP-1SG, 1SG-sleep-ASP-1SG  
 ‘I was there and I fell asleep.’
- (140) mejeŋ n-intimne-βum kma.  
 well 3PL-deceive-1SG.OBJ 1SG  
 ‘They really fooled me.’
- (141) nu, Miti, t-pika-ał-kičən, mił tχi-ʔi-ʔn kəmt’qol-aʔn  
 well Miti 1SG-go-FUT-1SG all 3PL-POSS-PL head-PL  
 t’-axł-ał-če-ʔn.”  
 1SG-remove-FUT-3.OBJ-PL  
 ‘Well, Miti, I will go, I will rip off all their heads.’

- (142) utrom tanaq k'-əsxɪ-knen Kusxɪnequ, noz-əɬ k'-nu-knen,  
morning again PRT-awake-PRT Kutkh dried.fish-INST PRT-eat-PRT  
k-čaja-knen, tanaq palka k-ɬ-ʔan, k-č'e-knen lelʲku-ʔn-k.  
PRT-tea-PRT again stick PRT-take-PRT PRT-enter-PRT mouse-PL-DAT  
'In the morning Kutkh again woke up, ate dried fish, had tea, again took a stick,  
and went in to the mice.'
- (143) miɬ lelʲku-ʔn jelqe-z-iʔn.  
all mouse-PL sleep-PRES-3PL  
'All the mice were sleeping.'
- (144) li niqa miɬ kəmt'qola-ʔn k'-axɬ-it-ʔi-ʔn, mesok-ank  
very quickly all head-PL PRT-remove-iter-PRT-PL bag-DAT  
k-teɬ-ʔa-ʔn.  
PRT-put.in-PRT-PL  
'Very quickly he took off all their heads and put them in a bag.'
- (145) k-rajt-knen atno-ŋ.  
PRT-go.home-PRT home-DAT  
'He went home.'
- (146) "Nu-ka kma kɬčle-ʔn m-sk-če-ʔn.  
INTRJ 1SG rotten-PL 1SG.IRR-do-3.OBJ-PL  
'Well, maybe I'll make rotten heads.'
- (147) č'oq qɬɣle-ʔn peskez-aɬ-iʔn, li slavnyje kɬčle-ʔn sk-aɬ-iʔn.  
three day-PL pass-FUT-3PL very glorious rotten-PL do-FUT-3PL  
'Three days will pass, and they will make very nice rotten heads.'
- (148) k'-ənkɬ-knen uʔ-enk, k-χejne-knen  
PRT-approach-PRT tree-DAT, PRT-say-PRT  
'He went up to a tree.'
- (149) "uʔ-e q-naɬ-xč! uʔ-e q-naɬ-xč!"  
tree-VOC IMP-bend-2SG tree-VOC IMP-bend-2SG  
'O tree! Bend down! O tree! Bend down!'
- (150) uʔ k-naɬ-knen  
tree PRT-bend-PRT  
'The tree bent down.'

- (151) Kusxłnequ k'-ən-t'əŋn-aʔn kəmt'qol-aʔn lel'ku-ʔi-ʔn.  
 Kutkh PRT-CAUS-hang-PRT-PL head-PL mouse-ATTR-PL  
 'Kutkh hung the mouse heads.'
- (152) "uʔ-e čŋi-q q-le-xč! uʔ-e čŋi-q q-le-xč!"  
 tree-VOC proper-ADV IMP-become-2SG tree-VOC proper-ADV IMP-become-2SG  
 "O tree! Become straight! O tree! Become straight!"
- (153) uʔ čŋi-q k-le-knen.  
 tree proper-ADV PRT-become-PRT  
 'The tree became straight (proper).'
- (154) k-piki-knen atno-ŋ Kusxłnequ, k-rajt-qu-knen.  
 PRT-go-PRT home-DAT Kutkh PRT-go.home-ASP-PRT  
 'Kutkh went back home.'
- (155) tmal-k χoqan tsxal k-łale-qu-knen,  
 close-LOC DEM fox PRT-walk-ASP-PRT  
 'A fox was walking around nearby.'
- (156) mił əŋqa k'-əłčku-ʔan=(n)in i k'-ənkł-knen uʔ-enk, k-χejne-knen:  
 all what PRT-see-PRT=3CL and PRT-approach-PRT tree-DAT PRT-say-PRT  
 'She saw everything, went up to the tree and said.'
- (157) "uʔ-e q-nał-xč! uʔ-e q-nał-xč!"  
 tree-VOC IMP-bend-2SG tree-VOC IMP-bend-2SG  
 "O tree! Bend down! O tree! Bend down!"
- (158) ma-nk Kusxłnequ k-χejne-qu-knen  
 where-LOC Kutkh PRT-say-ASP-PRT  
 'as Kutkh had said.'
- (159) uʔ-ečχ k-nał-knen  
 tree-dim PRT-bend-PRT  
 'The tree bent down.'
- (160) tsxal-astas mesok k'-əłʔi-knen k'-əłčku-ʔan  
 fox-EVAL bag PRT-get-PRT PRT-see-PRT  
 'The fox got the bag down, and looked at it.'
- (161) "oj, kəma-nk pišča!  
 oh 1SG-DAT food  
 "Oh! Food for me!"

- (162) oj, kma xeŋnin pišča li l'ubit t'-iŋ-qu-s-čen."  
oh 1SG-DAT such food very love 1SG-AUX-ASP-PRES-3SG.OBJ  
'Oh I love such food very much!'
- (163) k'-uzu-ŋa-ŋn=(n)in enu-ŋn kəmt'qola-ŋn tmal-k a mesok-ank  
PRT-put-PRT-PL=3CL DEM-PL head-PL near-DAT bag-DAT PRT-put-PRT-PL  
k'-uzu-ŋa-ŋa koφ-eŋn, səmt, tnaqu-ŋl;  
stone-PL earth stump-PL  
'She put the heads to one side, and into the bag she put stones, earth, and roots.'
- (164) miŋ əŋqa k-teŋ-at-ŋan  
all what PRT-put.in-ANDAT-PRT  
'She went and put everything [all kinds of things] in.'
- (165) "uŋ-e čŋi-q q-le-xč! uŋ-e čŋi-q q-le-xč!"  
tree-VOC proper-ADV IMP-become-2SG tree-VOC proper-ADV IMP-become-2SG  
'O tree! Become straight! O tree! Become straight!'
- (166) uŋ čŋi-q k-le-knen.  
tree proper-ADV PRT-become-PRT  
'The tree became straight (proper).'
- (167) tsxal-astas li βaima k-rajt-qu-knen, k[ŋ]rep-qu-knen.  
fox-EVAL very happy PRT-go.home-ASP-PRT, PRT-sing-ASP-PRT  
'The fox very merrily went home singing.'
- (168) atno-ŋ k-rajt-knen mejeŋ k-č'eŋa-zo-knen i k-jelqe-qu-knen.  
home-DAT PRT-go.home-PRT well PRT-eat.fill-ITER-PRT and PRT-sleep-ASP-PRT  
'She went home, ate her fill, and went to sleep.'
- (169) Kusxŋnequ xejne-z-in:  
Kutkh say-PRES-3SG  
'Kutkh said:'
- (170) "oj, Miti, məzin li č'ineŋ-laχ piščaŋ ka-ŋ məjeŋ nt'-leβtuβ-aŋ-k  
oh Miti 1SG.POSS very beautiful-ADJ food-INST ?? well 1PL-eat.fill-FUT-1  
kŋčle-ŋn.  
rotten-PL  
'Oh Miti, we will eat our fill of our very beautiful food, the rotten heads.'
- (171) možet mitu t-ŋala-aŋ-kičen."  
maybe tomorrow 1SG-walk-FUT-1SG  
'Maybe I'll go tomorrow.'

- (172) qol-ank t-pika-ał-kičen.”  
 next.day 1SG-go-FUT-1SG  
 ‘I’ll go the day after tomorrow.’
- (173) č’oq qłχle-ʔn k-peskez-kne-ʔn, k-piki-knen Kusxłnequ χoq-əŋ.  
 three day-PL PRT-pass-PRT-PL, PRT-go-PRT Kutkh there-DAT  
 ‘Three days went by and Kutkh went there.’
- (174) “uʔ-e q-nał-xč! uʔ-e q-nał-xč!”  
 tree-VOC IMP-bend-2SG tree-VOC IMP-bend-2SG  
 ‘O tree! Bend down! O tree! Bend down!’
- (175) uʔ-ečχ k-nał-knen  
 tree-dim PRT-bend-PRT  
 ‘The tree bent down.’
- (176) Kusxłnequ mesok k’-ənsxu-ʔan.  
 Kutkh bag PRT-lift-PRT  
 ‘Kutkh lifted the bag.’
- (177) “Oj, li qəz-laχ.  
 oh very heavy-ADJ  
 ‘Oh, it’s very heavy.’
- (178) naβerno li č’eβuz-laχ-aʔn kłčle-ʔn k-sx-kna-ʔn.”  
 probably very tasty-ADJ rotten-PL PRT-do-PRT-PL  
 ‘Probably very tasty rotten heads have resulted.’
- (179) k-piki-qu-knen atno-ŋ i k-[ŋ]rep-qu-knen.  
 PRT-go-ASP-PRT home-DAT and PRT-sing-ASP-PRT  
 ‘He went home, singing.’
- (180) tmal-k k-le-knen i x-keli-knen  
 close-LOC PRT-become-PRT and PRT-shout-PRT  
 ‘He got close and cried out.’
- (181) “Miti! xałč q-χumst-xč! qat t-k’oł-kičen. čaj zavarit q-ił-en!”  
 Miti INTRJ IMP-exit-2SG already 1SG-come-1SG. tea boil IMP-AUX-2>3SG  
 ‘Miti! Hey, come out! I’ve already arrived. Boil tea!’
- (182) “mił əŋqa qat qejβe-z-in.  
 all what already boil-PRES-3SG  
 ‘Everything is already boiling.’

- (183) əŋqa tɸ-s-čŋ-in?  
 what bring-PRES-II-2>3SG  
 ‘What are you bringing?’
- (184) “-tɸ-s-kiče-ʔn, Miti, li naverno č’eβuz-laχ-aʔn kɪčle-ʔn  
 1SG-bring-PRES-3OBJ-PL Miti very probably tasty-ADJ-PL rotten-PL  
 k-sx-kna-ʔn.  
 PRT-do-PRT-PL  
 ‘I’m bringing what have probably become very tasty rotten heads.’ (Or: ‘I’m  
 bringing them, Miti - they have probably become...’) <sup>8</sup>
- (185) mejeŋ m-nu-k, nʲenʲeke-ʔnʲ-č m-ʔən-nu-ʔn.”  
 well 1SG-eat-1SG, child-PL-DIM 1SG-CAUS-feed-3PL.OBJ  
 ‘I will eat well. I will feed the kids.’
- (186) kʻ-ənʲ-ʔaʔ-ʔaʔn nʲenʲeke-ʔnʲ-č.  
 PRT-CAUS-sit.TR child-PL-DIM  
 ‘They sat the children down.’
- (187) nʲenʲeke-ʔnʲ-č k-ʔaβol-kne-ʔn Kusxʔnequ omokom.  
 child-PL-DIM PRT-sit-PRT-PL Kutkh together  
 ‘The children sat together with Kutkh.’
- (188) Kusxʔnequ k-zəl-ʔan mesok Mit-enk  
 Kutkh PRT-give-PRT bag Miti-DAT  
 ‘Kutkh gave the bag to Miti.’
- (189) “na, Miti, kulβum qʻ-ənsx-eʔn.”  
 INTERJ Miti 2SG.EMPH IMP-lift-2>3PL  
 ‘Here Miti, you lift them out.’
- (190) tolʲko Miti k-teʔ-ʔan xkʻič mesok-ank, k-ənχ-knen li p-leχ koφ.  
 only Miti PRT-put.in-PRT hand bag-DAT PRT-get-PRT very big-ADJ stone  
 ‘As soon as Miti put her hand into the bag, she got a very big stone.’
- (191) enu-ʔ=ze koφ-eʔ k-paxčo-ʔan Kusxʔnequ.  
 DEM-INSTR-FOC stone-INSTR PRT-throw-PRT Kutkh  
 ‘She pelted Kutkh with this stone.’
- (192) “kza əŋqa, Miti?”  
 “2SG what Miti  
 “What’s with you Miti?”

---

<sup>8</sup>The 1sg prefix *t-* is deleted here for phonological reasons, namely before a *t*-initial cluster.

- (193) “ma? əŋqa ʎo-z-iʎn kʎčle-ʎn?  
 where what say-PRES-2>3PL rotten-PL  
 “Where are those rotten heads you said (mentioned)?”
- (194) əŋqa tiʎnu?”  
 what this  
 ‘What’s this?’
- (195) “tiʎnu koφ.”  
 this stone  
 “This is a stone.”
- (196) tanaq Miti xk’ič k-tin-iʎ-ʎan mesok-ank.  
 again Miti hand PRT-take.out-??-PRT bag-LOC  
 ‘Again Miti drew her hand out of the bag.’
- (197) tanaq k-ənx-knen li p-leχ kamok səmt-ʎin.  
 again PRT-get-PRT very big-ADJ chunk earth-ATTR  
 ‘Again Miti got a very big clump of earth.’
- (198) tanaq k-paxčo-ʎan Kusxʎnequ.  
 again PRT-throw-PRT Kutkh  
 ‘Again she pelted Kutkh (with it).’
- (199) “kza əŋqa, Miti paxčo-zo-s-č?”  
 “2SG what Miti throw-DIST-PRES-2SG  
 “What are you [doing] Miti, throwing [things] around?”
- (200) “nu-ka kulβum q-əʎčku-x saq əŋqa-ʎn kʎčle-ʎn.”  
 INTRJ 2SG.EMPH IMP-see-2>3SG what.kind what-PL rotten-PL  
 “See for yourself what kind of rotten heads!”
- (201) Kusxʎnequ k-əʎčku-ʎa-ʎn=(n)in.  
 Kutkh PRT-see-PRT-PL=3CL  
 ‘Kutkh looked (at them).’
- (202) nʎetu əŋqa-ʎn saq kʎčle-ʎn, prostyje koφ-eʎn da səmt.  
 NOT.BE what-PL what.kind rotten-PL simple stone-PL and earth  
 ‘There were no (such) rotten heads, just simple stones and earth.’
- (203) tanaq nʎenʎeke-ʎnʎ-č golodnyje.  
 again child-PL-DIM hungry  
 ‘Again the children (went) hungry.’

- (204) "əŋka-t̩ m-t̩en-nu-ʔn?"  
 what-INST 1SG-CAUS-eat-3PL.OBJ?  
 "What can/should I feed them?"
- (205) "nu ladno, zaq, Miti, ɣaqaʔn<sup>j</sup>t̩-kaq. mitu t-pika-a-t̩-kič̩en."  
 INTRJ OK NEG.IMP Miti angry-NEG tomorrow 1SG-go-FUT-1SG  
 "OK, Miti, don't get angry. I'll go tomorrow."
- (206) tanaq qaʔm nu-kənkin k'-e-t̩č̩-kne-ʔn  
 again NEG eat-NEG PRT-lie.to.sleep-PRT  
 'Again they went to bed without having eaten.'
- (207) mitu tanaq rano ɸne k-t-knen, palkaʔ k-t-ʔan,  
 tomorrow again early 3SG.EMPH PRT-get.up-PRT stick PRT-take-PRT  
 k-piki-knen lel<sup>j</sup>ku-ʔn-k.  
 PRT-go-PRT mouse-PL-DAT  
 'The next day again he got up early, took a stick, and went to the mice.'
- (208) ɣoq k'-ənxt̩-knen lel<sup>j</sup>ku-ʔn-k, kist-enk  
 there PRT-go.in-PRT mouse-PL-DAT house-DAT  
 'He went up to the mice, to their house.'
- (209) li narod k'-iβu-kne-ʔn.  
 very folk PRT-gather-PRT-PL  
 'Very many people had gathered.'
- (210) tanaq braga n-il-iz-nin.  
 again homebrew 3PL-drink-PRES-3>3  
 'Again they're drinking homebrew.'
- (211) mejeŋ x-kanso-l<sup>j</sup>at-kne-ʔn, min<sup>j</sup>t̩-o-t̩-aʔn, tsxal-a-t̩-aʔn  
 well PRT-smoke-DERIV-PRT-PL, hare-AUG-PL, fox-AUG-PL  
 'They smoked a lot, the rabbits and the foxes.'
- (212) li pəlq ŋrepi-zi-ʔn.  
 very much sing-PRES-PL  
 'They're singing a lot.'
- (213) moroška stol-ank k'-ən<sup>j</sup>at̩-at-ʔan, l<sup>j</sup>eβ-eʔn<sup>j</sup>-č̩ li niyni<sup>t̩</sup> raznije  
 cloudberry table-LOC PRT-place-ANDAT-PRT, egg-PL-DIM very many different  
 'They came and placed cloudberry on the table, all kinds of little eggs.'

---

<sup>9</sup>A verb glossed as 'get dressed' has been omitted in this sentence as it was not identifiable in editing.

- (214) “Oj, məz-in dʲedʲu-čχ x-k'ot-knen.  
oh 1PL-POSS grandfather-DIM PRT-come-PRT  
'Oh, our grandpa has come.'
- (215) it'-qat qaʔm ətčku-q.”  
when-already not see-NEG  
'We haven't seen him for a long time.'
- (216) snačala Kusxʎnequ li pəlq k-χaqanʔi-knen.  
at.first Kutkh very much PRT-angry-PRT  
'At first Kutkh got very angry.'
- (217) it'e k'-ətčku-ʔan=in stol-ank braga, li pəlq k-βənkʲiβi-knen  
when PRT-see-PRT=CL table-LOC homebrew, very much PRT-rejoice-PRT  
'When he saw the homebrew on the table, he cheered up.'
- (218) li niyɲiʎ pišča li pəlq k-t-qu-knen  
very much food very much PRT-BE-ASP-PRT  
'There was much food.'<sup>10</sup>
- (219) “βot təza-nk uʔ-eʔn tφt-kiče-ʔn uj-at-knen.”  
so 2PL-DAT wood-PL bring-1>3-PL heat-ANDAT-PRT  
'I've brought you wood to heat with.'
- (220) “q-ʎaβul-xč dʲedʲu, q-nu-xč!  
2.IRR-sit-2SG.IRR grampa 2.IRR-eat-2SG.IRR  
'Sit, Grampa, eat!'
- (221) mənʲ-ʎin-ili-in č'ina-q.  
1PL.IRR-CAUS-drink-2SG.OBJ pretty-ADV  
'We'll ply you nicely with drink.'
- (222) k-ʎaβul-knen Kusxʎnequ, teβut Miti i nʲenʲeke-ʔnʲ-č k'-əntxa-ʔan=nən  
PRT-sitPRT Kutkh back Miti and child-PL-DIM PRT-forget-PRT=CL  
'Kutkh sat down, and again forgot Miti and the children.'
- (223) tanaq mejeŋ k-ŋeju-knen, k-ʎin-nu-ʔi-ʔn=in, tanaq k-jelqə-qu-knen.  
again well PRT-eat.fill-PRT, PRT-CAUS-eat-PRT-PL=CL, again PRT-sleep-ASP-PRT  
'Again he ate well his fill, (they) fed (him), again he fell asleep.'

<sup>10</sup>The verb in the edited transcription is slightly different and is rendered as 'he wanted to eat', but the form given there is not attested in other sources and may be a mistranscription.

- (224) qneŋ lel'ku-ʔn, tsxal-aʔ-aʔn, minʃt-oʔ-aʔn miʃ mejeŋ k-tekoβa-ʔan=(n)in  
 then mouse-PL, fox-AUG-PL, hare-AUG-PL all well PRT-laugh-PRT=CL  
 Kusxʃnequ.  
 Kutkh  
 ‘The the mice, the foxes, the hares all made fun of Kutkh.’
- (225) p'əlx-aʔn l'eŋu-č-iʃ k'-anzazo-ʔa-ʔn, qeqəŋ l'eβu-č-iʃ  
 cheek-PL blueberry-DIM-INSTR PRT-smear-PRT-PL, nose egg-DIM-INSTR  
 k'-anzazo-ʔaʔn,  
 PRT-smear-PRT-PL  
 ‘They smeared his cheeks with blueberry, and smeared his nose with egg.’
- (226) [tə]ltə-ʔl zitʃxə-ʃ x-krase-ʔan, k'elfle-ʔn lem  
 eyebrow-PL coal-INSTR PRT-paint-PRT, lip-PL blueberry-DIM-INSTR  
 l'eŋu-č-iʃ k'-anzazo-ʔa-ʔn  
 PRT-smear-PRT-PL  
 ‘They painted his eyebrows with coal, and also smeared his lips with blueberry.’
- (227) li č'ineŋ-laχ Kusxʃnequ k-le-knen, eʃaq jimsx  
 very pretty-ADJ Kutkh PRT-become-PRT, like woman  
 ‘Kutkh became very pretty, like a woman.’
- (228) ješče lač-čaχ k-ʃ-qu-knen.  
 still sun-DIM PRT-be-ASP-PRT  
 ‘It was still sunny.’
- (229) samoj ul'u-l'aχ lel'ku-čχ k'-ənxʃ-knen, k-ənsxʃi-qu-ʔan Kusxʃnequ  
 most small-ADJ mouse-DIM PRT-go.to-PRT, PRT-wake-ASP-PRT Kutkh  
 ‘The smallest mouse went up [to Kutkh] and woke him.’
- (230) “xaʃč d'ed'uška, q-t-kas!”  
 hey, grandpa, 2IRR-get.up-INF  
 ‘Hey grandpa, get up!’
- (231) knin Miti k'oʔ-it-qu-in, li pəʃq čača-z-in, χene-z-in  
 2SG.POSS Miti come-ITER-ASP-3SG very much cry-PRES-3SG say-PRES-3SG  
 Ememqut x-kʃa-knen.  
 Ememqut PRT-drown-PRT  
 ‘Your Miti has been coming, she is crying a lot, she says Ememqut has drowned.’

- (232) “kza əŋqa ʎo-z-in?”  
2SG what say-PRES-2SG>3SG  
‘What are you saying?’
- (233) “liʎi, knin Ememqut x-kʎa-knen.  
truly 2SG.POSS Ememqut PRT-drown-PRT  
‘Really, your Ememqut has drowned.’
- (234) Miti li pəlq čača-z-in.”  
Miti very much cry-PRES-3SG  
‘Miti is crying a lot.’
- (235) li pəlq k-təlxʎ-knen Kusxʎnequ, k-sxəla-qu-knen kej-ank-oŋ.  
very much PRT-frighten-PRT Kutkh PRT-run-ASP-PRT river-LOC-DAT  
‘Kutkh got very scared and ran to the river.’
- (236) k'-ənxʎ-knen kej-ank-oŋ, uβik iʎ-enk k'-əʎčku-ʎan.  
PRT-go.to-PRT river-LOC-DAT self water-LOC PRT-see-PRT  
‘Coming to the river, he saw himself in the water.’
- (237) “oj, kza li č'ineŋ-laχ.  
oh 2SG very pretty-ADJ  
‘Oh, you are very pretty!’
- (238) man-xʎal sxus-č?  
where-ABL appear-2SG  
‘Where did you come from?’
- (239) kza mank n-oč-zo-z-in?”  
2SG how N-call-DISTR-PRES-2SG.OBJ  
‘What are you called (named)?’
- (240) jimsx qaʎm əŋqa ʎo-q iʎ-a-nin.  
woman NEG what say-NEG AUX-?-3>3  
‘The woman didn’t say (answer) anything.’
- (241) “kəma-n Miti qaʎm č'ineŋ-kin, a kza li č'ineŋ-laχ.  
1SG-POSS Miti NEG pretty-NEG but 2SG very pretty-ADJ  
‘My Miti isn’t pretty but you are very pretty.’
- (242) možet kn-ank kəma-n qoφs-čax nado s-in?”  
maybe 2SG-DAT 1SG-POSS coat-DIM need BE.PRES-3SG  
‘Maybe you need my coat?’

- (243) k-tkil-ʔan=in      qoφs-k'əl kej-ank.  
 PRT-throw-PRT=CL coat-AUGM river-DAT  
 'He threw his coat into the river.'
- (244) k-βi-qu-knen      qoφs-k'əl.  
 PRT-float-ASP-PRT coat-AUGM  
 'The coat floated away.'
- (245) "togda kəma-ʔn      sxu-ʔn q-ʔ-x-əʔn!  
 then 1SG-POSS.PL boot-PL 2SG.IRR-take-II-2>3PL  
 'Then take my boots!.'
- (246) Mit-enk n-sk-če-ʔn.  
 Miti-LOC N-make-3.OBJ-PL  
 'They were made by Miti.'
- (247) sxu-ʔn lem n'e nado, togda li(ʔ)l      q-ʔ-x-əʔn!"  
 boot-PL also not need then mitt(PL) 2SG.IRR-take-II-2>3PL  
 'You also don't need my boots, then take my mittens!'
- (248) li(ʔ)l      lem k-βi-qu-kne-ʔn.  
 mitt(PL) also PRT-float-ASP-PRT-PL  
 'The mittens also floated away.'
- (249) "možet βač ʔ-aʔ-in,      li      č'ineŋ-laχ?"  
 maybe knife take-FUT-2>3SG very pretty-ADJ  
 'Maybe you'll take (my) knife, which is very pretty?'
- (250) k-tkil-ʔan=in      βač kij-enk.  
 PRT-throw-PRT=CL knife river-LOC  
 'He threw his knife into the river.'
- (251) qneŋ i      k-teβre-qu-knen βač  
 then and PRT-sink-ASP-PRT knife  
 'The knife sunk.'<sup>11</sup>
- (252) "možet kn-ank em kma nado?"  
 maybe 2SG-DAT only 1SG need  
 'Maybe you only need me?'

---

<sup>11</sup>This verb is not otherwise attested, but is presumably from the root -teβ- 'to carry away', class 2 transitive.

- (253) sčas t-k'oł-ał-kičen.  
 now 1SG-come-FUT-1SG  
 'Now I'll come.'
- (254) nu, Miti, proščaj!  
 well Miti goodbye!  
 'Well, Miti, goodbye [in Russian]'
- (255) xejnč bol'se m-əłčku-in."  
 FUT.NEG more 1SG-see-2SG.OBJ  
 'I won't see you anymore.'
- (256) k-tsəl-knen kej-ank-koŋ i x-kła-knen  
 PRT-fall-PRT river-LOC-DAT and PRT-drown-PRT  
 'He fell into the river and drowned.'