

Tilwal

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The legend of Tigil is recorded in a number of versions. The main setting is the Tigil River, where both Itelmen and Koryak populations have lived. In this version, reference is made to the Cheeks - a prominence on the Tigil river, about halfway between the current location of Tigil and the former location of “Settled” Sedanka (closed in 1952), and to the hill now called (in Russian) *Izmennaya* ‘betrayed.’ There are indeed two ditches running down the west side of the hill to the river. However, the ditches are each a metre wide and are a eight metres or so apart.

The version presented here was told by the late Agrafiena D. Ivashova of Esxlin (“Settled” Sedanka), recorded by the author in Tigil, March 1994, and transcribed with the help of the recounter. I am also grateful to the late Alexander P. Volodin for additional suggestions and corrections, and to Irina Monich for her assistance in preparing a version for itelmenslovar.org.

- (1) it'-qata zi-nk k-zun¹ṭ-qzu-kne-ʔn č'amza(ʔ)l
when-already woods-LOC PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL person(PL)
'A long time ago, some people lived in the woods.'
- (2) k-zun¹ṭ-qzu-kne-ʔn omokom tχi-ink jimsx i iφṭχ.
PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL together 3PL-LOC woman and man
'A woman and a man lived with them.'
- (3) itχ k-ṭ-qzu-kne-ʔn ɲič i qamzan.
3PL PRT-be-ASP-PRT-PL wife and husband
'They were husband and wife.'
- (4) nura k-zun¹ṭ-qzu-kne-ʔn, n'enⁱeke-ʔnⁱ-č n'etu k-ṭ-qzu-kne-ʔn
long PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL child-PL-DIM not PRT-be-ASP-PRT-PL
'For a long time they lived, they did not have children.'

- (5) qunⁱilⁱn ŋič əna-nk k-χene-knen, qamzan-ank:
once wife 3SG-DAT PRT-say-PRT husband-DAT
'One time the wife said to him, to her husband.'
- (6) "Məz-in nⁱenⁱeke-čχ ɬ-qza-aɬ-in."
1PL-POSS child-DIM be-ASP-FUT-3SG
'We will have a child.' (lit: Our child will be.)
- (7) qamzan li pəlq k-βənkiβi-knen i omokom k'-uzu-kne-ʔn kzu-ɬ.
husband very much PRT-rejoice-PRT and together PRT-begin-PRT-PL wait-INTR
'The husband was very happy and together they began to wait.'
- (8) qamzan li pəlq k-βənkiβi-knen i li č'inaŋ-q k-ənzu-ʔin=in
husband very much PRT-rejoice-PRT and very nice-ADV PRT-begin-PRT=CL
ŋite-ɬ ŋič, ŋimsx-čax svoj.
keep-INTR wife, woman-DIM 3SG.POSS
'The husband was very happy and began keeping (caring for) his wife, his woman very well.'
- (9) vremⁱa k-koɬ-knen, ŋič k-roβa-knen i k-ənsxt-ʔin=in
time PRT-come-PRT wife PRT-give.birth-PRT and PRT-bear-PRT=CL
p'amxč-onⁱɬ.
boy-AUGM
'The time came, the wife gave birth and bore a boy.'
- (10) p'amxč k'-oč-ʔin tχiʔn təlβal.
boy PRT-call-PRT 3PL.POSS Tilwal
'They called the boy Tilwal.'
- (11) təlβal li niqa k'-uzu-knen əsxte-ki.
Tilwal very quickly PRT-begin-PRT grow-INF
'Tilwal began to grow very fast.'
- (12) ješče li ulⁱu-lⁱaχ k-ɬ-qzu-knen, a li niqa k'-uzu-knen ɬale-ki,
still very small-ADJ PRT-be-ASP-PRT but very quick PRT-begin-PRT walk-INF
i li niqa k-ɬale-qzu-knen i k-sklⁱaβlⁱat-qzu-knen.
and very quick PRT-walk-ASP-PRT and PRT-run-ASP-PRT
'When he was still very small he quickly began to walk, and he walked and ran around very quick.'
- (13) diβno k-əsxte-knen, a it'e nⁱenⁱeke-ʔnⁱ-č pɬχ-aʔn k-č'eɬ-qu-in
much PRT-grow-PRT but when child-PL-DIM friend-PL PRT-do.together-ASP-PL

- mał-ki, na k'-utu-qu-knen k'e-nk tzəl-ał-ki.
 play-INF 3SG PRT-unable-ASP-PRT who-LOC catch-FUT-INF
 'He grew a lot and when they played together with kids, with friends, no one could catch him.'
- (14) vidiš, na li niqa k-skl'aβl'at-qzu-knen.
 you.see 3SG very quick PRT-run-ASP-PRT
 'You see, he used to run very fast.'
- (15) it'e k'-əsxte-knen, k'-uzu-knen inənkzuł-ki laχsχ-enk i isx-enk.
 when PRT-grow-PRT PRT-begin-PRT help-INF mother-LOC and father-LOC
 'When he grew up, he began helping (his) mother and father.'
- (16) it'e isx n'etu atno-ŋ k-ł-qzu-knen, Təlβal k'-inənkzuł-qzu-knen
 when father not home-LOC PRT-be-ASP-PRT Tilwal PRT-help-ASP-PRT
 laχsχ-enk.
 mother-LOC
 'When his father was not at home, Tilwal helped his mother.'
- (17) k-łale-qu-knen zi-nk, li niynił χoken čilit-at-əs-čij-ne-ʔn
 PRT-walk-ASP-PRT woods-LOC very much there gather-ANDAT-PRES-II-3>3-PL
 uʔ-eʔn.
 tree-PL
 'He would go into the woods, and goes and collects a lot of logs.'
- (18) k'aač-enk əzu-ata-z-ne-ʔn i em skl'aβu-ł atno-ŋ
 back-LOC place-ANDAT-PRES-3>3-PL and only run-INSTR home-LOC
 txł-it-qzu-kine-ʔn.
 carry-DISTR-ASP-3.DAT-PL
 'He puts these on his back, and carries them home at a run.'
- (19) qun'iłin əna-n laχsχ k-χene-knen:
 once 3SG-POSS mother PRT-say-PRT
 'One time, his mother said:'
- (20) "kma t'-əŋqsxi-s-kičen i li pəlq βalβač-ił
 1SG 1SG-sick/hurt-PRES-1SG and very much duck-INSTR
 t'-nu-a-s-kičen."
 1SG-eat-WANT-PRES-1SG
 'I'm feeling sick and I would very much like to eat duck.'

- (21) Təlβal k-χene-knen:
Tilwal PRT-say-PRT
'Tilwal said:'
- (22) "sejčas t-t'ala-a-t-kičen."
now 1SG-walk-FUT-1SG
'I will go now.'
- (23) k-piki-knen i qneŋ atno-ŋ x-k'oł-knen
PRT-go-PRT and right.away home-LOC PRT-come-PRT
'He went and right away came home.'
- (24) sit-enk em βalβač-ŋi-ŋn čeqol-i?nⁱ-č t'enŋa-lⁱat-es-kine-ŋn.
belt-LOC only duck-ATTRIB-PL head-PL-DIM hang-DERIV-PRES-3DAT-PL
'He came back, and there were only duck heads hanging off his belt.'
- (25) laχsχ-enk k-pəŋlo-ŋan:
mother-LOC PRT-ask-PRT
'(His) mother asked:'
- (26) "ma? βalβa-ŋnⁱ-č?"
where duck-PL-DIM
'Where are the ducks?'
- (27) Təlβal əłčku-nen sit-enk – em čeqol-i?nⁱ-č βalβač-ŋi-ŋn
Tilwal see-3>3 belt-LOC only head-PL-DIM duck-ATTRIB-PL
t'enŋa-lⁱat-es-kine-ŋn.
hang-DERIV-PRES-3DAT-PL
'Tilwal looked at his belt - just the heads of the ducks are hanging (there).'
- (28) qneŋ i k'-əntxeł-knen:
right.away and PRT-remember-PRT
'He suddenly remembered:'
- (29) na-že li niqa k-łəm-astan-ŋa-ŋn=in βalβa-ŋnⁱ-č
3SG-FOC very quickly PRT-kill-?-PRT-PL=CL duck-PL-DIM
'He had quickly killed a bunch of ducks,'
- (30) i atno-ŋ li niqa k-skl'aβul-qzu-knen
and home-LOC very quickly PRT-run-ASP-PRT
'and run home quickly,'

- (31) a βalβa-ʔnⁱ-č sit-enk k-omtsxen-ʔi-ʔn k-ʔ-qzu-kne-ʔn
but duck-PL-DIM belt-LOC PRT-tie-PRT-PL PRT-be-ASP-PRT-PL
'and the ducks were attached to his belt.'
- (32) it'e k-sklⁱaβul-qzu-knen miʔ βalβa-ʔnⁱ-č k-tsa-t-kne-ʔn
when PRT-run-ASP-PRT all duck-PL-DIM PRT-fall-DISTR-PRT-PL
'When he ran, all the ducks fell (off).'
- (33) βalβa-ʔnⁱ-č miʔ k-pxe-tit-kne-ʔn
duck-PL-DIM all PRT-rip.off-??-PRT-PL
'All the ducks ripped off.'
- (34) qat divno vremⁱa k-peskas-knin.
already much time RT-pass-PRES-3 > 3
'Then much time passed.'
- (35) Təβal li p-leχ k-le-knen.
Tilwal very big-ADJ PRT-become-PRT
'Tilwal became very big.'
- (36) i v selⁱe, maʔ-qot itχ k-zunⁱʔ-qzu-kne-ʔn č'amzala-ʔn li pəlq
and in village where-REL they PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL person-PL very much
x-ksxlit-qzu-kne-ʔn
PRT-hunger-ASP-PRT-PL
'And in the village where they lived, people were going hungry.'
- (37) i isx əna-nk k-χene-knen, Təβal-enk:
and father 3SG-LOC PRT-say-PRT, Tilwal-DAT
'And the father said to him, to Tilβal.'
- (38) "kza by zi-nk k'-ʔale-čŋ-in da βeqa-ʔnⁱʔ
2SG SBJNC woods-LOC SBJNC-walk-II-2SG>3SG? and bear-AUGM
k'-ʔəm-čŋ-in"
SBJNC-kill-II-2>3SG
'You should go into the woods and kill a bear.'¹
- (39) Təβal qneŋ k-piki-knen i li niqa nazad x-k'oʔ-knen
Tilwal right.away PRT-go-PRT and very quickly back PRT-com-PRT
'Tilwal left right away and came back very soon.'

¹Here and in a few other examples below, verb endings are unexpected. The source of this variation has not been established.'

- (40) kest-ank č'e-z-in i isx-enk k-pəŋlo-ʔan:
house-DAT enter-PREZ-3SG and father-LOC PRT-ask-PRT
'He entered the house and his father asked: '
- (41) "qata-ne k'oł-č?
already-PTCL come-2SG
'You're already back?
- (42) əŋqa ʔəm-čŋ-in?"
what kill-II-2>3SG
'Did you kill something?'
- (43) "xi βeqa-ʔnʔ-iʔn txł-ki-če-ʔn."
there bear-AUGM-PL bring-II-3OBJ-PL
'There - I brought bears.'
- (44) isx əzza-nk k-χumst-knen, k-əłčku-ʔin βeqa-ʔnʔ-iʔn čoq, li
father outside-LOC PRT-go.out-PRT PRT-see-PRT bear-AUGM-PL three very
č'ina-q tsep-ank ʔa-z-iʔn, qotχ qsx-oʔnʔ-iʔn.
nice-ADV chain-LOC sit-PRES-3PL like dog-AUGM-PL
'The father went outside and saw three bears, on a chain sitting very nicely, like dogs.'
- (45) isx qneŋ kest-ank k-č'e-knen
father right.away house-DAT PRT-enter-PRT
'The father went right into the house.'
- (46) "ʔaβał-ne qaʔm ʔəm-aq ił-eʔn?"
why-PTCL NEG kill-NEG AUX-2SG>3SG
'Why didn't you kill them?'
- (47) "jaq ʔaβał ʔəm-es?
PTCL why kill-INF
'Why [would I] kill them?'
- (48) sčas płχ-aʔn m-otz-eʔn, m-ʔəm-eʔn, i mił
now friend-PL 1SG.IRR-call-3PL.OBJ 1SG.IRR-kill-3PL.OBJ and all
m-zəl-et-ən tχaltχal płχ-aʔn-k."
1SG.IRR-give-DISTR-3OBJ meat friend-PL-DAT
'Now I'll call (our) friends, kill them, and give out the meat to (our) friends.'

- (49) βonk i k-sk-ʔa-ʔn.
thus and PRT-do-PRT-PL
'And so they did.'
- (50) βeqa-ʔn¹ i ʔn k-ʔəm-ʔa-ʔn tχiʔn i k-zəl-et-ʔin pʔχ-aʔn-k."
bear-AUGM-PL PRT-kill-PRT-PL 3PL.POSS and PRT-give-DISTRIB-PRT friend-PL-DAT
'They killed the bears and distributed [the meat] to the friends.'
- (51) βonk i k-zun¹ qzu-kne-ʔn, k'-inənkuʔ-qu-kne-ʔn drug drugu.
so and PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL PRT-help-ASP-PRT-PL one another
'And thus they lived, helping one another.'
- (52) əna-ʔn laχsχ i isx staroj k-le-qu-kne-ʔn.
3SG.POSS-PL mother and father old PRT-become-ASP-PRT-PL
'His mother and father grew old.'
- (53) laχsχ k-χene-knen Təlβal-ank:
mother PRT-say-PRT Tilwal-DAT
'His mother said to Tilβal.'
- (54) "kza xaʔč nado ʔaʔx-kes."
2SG INTERJ need marry-INF
'It's time for you to marry.'
- (55) "jaq k'e-nk m-ʔaʔx-kičen?"
PTCL who-LOC 1SG.IRR-marry-1SG
'But who could I marry?'
- (56) "qat muza-ʔn kn-ank lʔaŋe-čχ n[t]-čki-nen.
already 1PL-PL 2SG-DAT girl-DIM 1PL-find-3PL.OBJ
'We've already found you a girl,'
- (57) taφʔu-ʔan tol'ko
Koryak-ATTRIB only
'Only she's Koryak.'
- (58) nado taφʔu-aʔn-k jezdiʔ-kes i ʔəs enu jimsx-čax χokan.
need Koryak-PL-LOC ride-INF and take-INF DEM woman-DIM there
'You need to go to the Koryaks and take her.'
- (59) li-ne č'ineŋ-laχ, li č'ina-q koka-qzu-z-in, li k-č'iŋniʔ-knen
very-PTCL pretty-ADJ very pretty-ADV cook-ASP-PRES-3SG very PRT-sew-PRT

- i li č'ina-q k-ηrep-knen."
and very pretty-ADV PRT-sing-PRT
'She is very beautiful, cooks beautifully, sews a lot and sings beautifully.'
- (60) Təlβal k-χene-knen:
Tilwal PRT-say-PRT:
'Tilwal said.'
- (61) "nu, ladno, t-ηaɬx-aɬ-kičen."
PTCL INTERJ 1SG-marry-FUT-1SG
'OK I will get.married [to her].'
- (62) i enu jimsx-čax lem k-əɬɬča-knen i k-qamzan-te-knen Təlβal-ank.
and DEM woman-DIM also PRT-agree-PRT and PRT-husband-V-PRT Tilwal-LOC
'And that woman also agreed and got married to Tilβal.'
- (63) k'-uzu-kne-ʔn omokom zun^ɪɬ-kes: Təlβal, ηič i babu-čχ i
PRT-begin-PRT-PL together live-INF Tilwal, wife, and grandmother-DIM and
d^ɪed^ɪ-učχ əna-ʔn.
grandfather-DIM 3SG.POSS-PL
'They began to live together: Tilβal, the wife, and his grandma and grandpa [i.e., mother and father].'
- (64) laxsχ i isx omokom k-zun^ɪɬ-qu-kne-ʔn.
mother and father together PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL
'They lived together with (his) mother and father.'
- (65) a sənix taɬɬu-ʔn maʔ-qot enu jimsx-čax k-zun^ɪɬ-qu-knen, li pəlq
and but Koryak-PL where-??? DEM woman-DIM PRT-live-ASP-PRT very much
k-χaqeni-kneʔn, čto Təlβal k-ɬ-ʔin=in samoj č'inenɟ-lax jimsx,
PRT-be.angry-PRT that Tilwal PRT-take-PRT=CL most beautiful-ADJ woman
li k-βetat-knin da li k-č'ɪɲniɬ-knin.
very PRT-work-PRT and very PRT-sew-PRT
'and the Koryaks where this woman lived got very angry that Tilβal took the most beautiful woman, very hard-working and who sews a lot.'
- (66) i k'-uzu-kne-ʔn tχe-ank βoderin ənxɬi-t-kes da miɬ əŋqa
and PRT-begin-PRT-PL 3PL-DAT always PRT-go.to-ITER-PRT and all what
tχi-ʔin ɬ-əs:
3PL-POSS take-INF
'and they started going to their place and taking everything of theirs.'

- (67) *mił noz-əʔn tɣi-ʔin n-č'iri-at-əz-ni-ʔn,*
 all *jukola-PL 3PL-POSS 3PL-steal-ANDAT-PRES-3>3-PL*
n-tł-at-əz-pine-ʔn
3PL-take-ANDAT-PRES-3DAT.PL-PL
 'all their *jukola* they went and stole and took.'
- (68) *əŋqa č'ineŋ-laχ n-əłčku-at-əz-ne-ʔn,*
 what beautiful-ADJ *3PL-see-ANDAT-PRES-3 > 3-PL*
n-tł-at-əz-ne-ʔn i kes qaʔm pəŋl-aq
3PL-take-ANDAT-PRES-3 > 3-PL and even NEG ask-NEG
n-ił-at-əz-ne-ʔn mestami.
3PL-AUX-ANDAT-PRES-3 > 3-PL sometimes
 'They see something pretty, they take it and sometimes don't even ask.'
- (69) *i qun'iłin enu jimsx-čax, ɲič Təlβal-an k-χene-knen:*
 and one.time DEM woman-DIM wife Tilwal-POSS PRT-say-PRT
 'And once this woman, Tilwal's wife, said:'
- (70) *"kma qaʔm omokom knin laχsχ i isx*
1SG NEG together 2SG.POSS mother and father
č'eł-a-s-če-ʔn zun'ł-ki.
do.together-DESID-PRES-3OBJ-PL live-INF
 'I don't want to live together with your mother and father'
- (71) *davaj mn-jalat-k maʔ-ačχ-ank."*
let's 1PL.IRR-migrate-1 where-DIM-LOC
 'Let's move away somewhere.'
- (72) *Təlβal k-χene-knen:*
Tilwal PRT-say-PRT
 'Tilwal said:'
- (73) *jaq mank kəma-ʔn zun'ł-qa-ał-iʔn d'ed'u-čχ da babu-čχ?"*
PTCL how 1SG-POSS.PL live-ASP-FUT-3PL grandpa-DIM and grandma-DIM
 'But how then will my old man and old woman [father and mother] live?'
- (74) *qneŋ ɲič k-χene-knen:*
right.away wife PRT-say-PRT
 'His wife replied right away:'

- (75) jaq nt'-inənkzuł-qa-ał-k, nt'-əłćku-st-əł-qa-ał-eʔn itχ
 PTCL 1PL.IRR-help-ASP-FUT-1 1PL.IRR-see-DERIV-??-ASP-FUT-3PL.OBJ 3PL
 "Well, we will help them and look (in on?) them."
- (76) Təłβal k-sxezi-knen, k-łəβul-knen xtəm-ank i k-βi-knen χo-xʔal i
 Tilwal PRT-drive-PRT PRT-sit-PRT dugout-LOC and PRT-swim-PRT DEM-ABL and
 k'-umni-knen tixt maʔ-qot p'əłχ-aʔn.
 PRT-stop-PRT DEM where-REL cheek-PL
 'Tilwal went (by vehicle), he sat (himself) in a dugout and went downriver, and
 stopped there where the "Cheeks" are.'
- (77) χokan enu gorá k-ćki-knen=in mesto i li č'inaq enu
 there DEM mountain PRT-find-PRT=CL place and very pretty DEM
 k-əłćku-ʔin=in
 PRT-see-PRT=CL
 'There at that mountain he found a place and looked around nicely.'
- (78) χokan k'-ən-tχzu-ł-ʔin=in jurte, kt-laχ, plex i li kəs-q
 there PRT-CAUS-stand-V-PRT=CL tent strong-ADJ big and very dry-ADV
 χokan.
 there
 'He set up a yurt there, a solid (and) large one, and it was very dry there.'
- (79) ɲič χok k-txł-knen
 wife there PRT-bring-PRT
 'He brought his wife there.'
- (80) i k'-uzu-knen χokan zun^ɪł-ki
 and PRT-begin-PRT there live-INF
 'and they began to live there.'
- (81) i Təłβal vs^ɔo βon-k=ze i k'-oxoti-ł-qzu-knen i
 and Tilwal all DEM-LOC=FOC and PRT-hunt-V-ASP-PRT and
 k'-əlantzo-qzu-knen.
 PRT-fish-ASP-PRT
 'and Tilwal did everything there, he hunted and fished (with a net)'
- (82) a sənix jimsx-čəχ l'etom xtum-k k-łəβul-ast-qu-knen i
 and but woman-DIM summer dugout-LOC PRT-sit-??-ASP-PRT and
 salaŋ-k k'-ənta-t-qzu-knen
 far.side-LOC PRT-CROSS-ANDAT-ASP-PRT
 'and in the summer the woman would get in the dugout and cross to the far side'

- [of the river]’
- (83) χ okun li η u- η n¹-č k-čil-qzu-kne- η n
 there (blue)berry-DIM-PL PRT-pick-ASP-PRT-PL
 ‘There she picked blueberries.’
- (84) qun¹i η in k-piki-knen χ oku- η i vdrug k’-ə η čku- η in=in č’amzan¹tx
 once PRT-go-PRT there-DAT and suddenly PRT-see-PRT=CL person
 txzu-z-in i əna-nk ə η čku-s-kinen
 stand-PRES-3SG and 3SG-LOC see-PRES-3DAT
 ‘Once she went there and suddenly she saw a person standing [there] looking at her.’
- (85) i qne η k- χ ene-knen:
 and then PRT-say-PRT
 ‘and then he said.’
- (86) “muza- η n li pə η q xan- η an staroj selo-k nt-pika-a-s-k, da
 1PL-PL very much up-ATTRIB old village-LOC 1PL-go-DESID-PRES-1 PTCL
 Tə β al-enk muza- η n qa η m ənks-aq n-i-s-u η m.
 Tilwal-LOC 1PL-PL NEG let.out-NEG N-AUX-PRES-1PL.OBJ
 ‘We very much want to go up to the old village, but Tilval does’t let us.’
- (87) kza by ənan luk t¹et¹e β a k’-əmpxa-al-an, čtob na β iaq
 2SG SJNC 3SG.POSS bow string COND-cut-DIM?-3.OBJ so.that 3SG NEG.FUT
 muza- η n tətzu xan-i η -qzu- β u $\langle$ η $\rangle$ m=nən
 1PL-PL shoot 3SG.IRR-AUX-ASP-1OBJ- $\langle$ PL $\rangle$ =CL
 ‘You could cut hi bowstring a bit, so that he can’t shoot us.’
- (88) jesli kza enu sk-a η -in, kza məz β in-k nt-t-a η -in nazad,
 if 2SG DEM do-FUT-3SG.OBJ 2SG 1PL.POSS-LOC 1PL.IRR-take-FUT-2SG.OBJ back
 omokom q-zun¹t-qza-a η -xč.”
 together 2.IRR-live-FUT-2SG
 ‘If you do this, we will take you back to our (place) and you will live together (with us).’
- (89) jimsx-čax k-teje η -qu-knen it’e Tə β al-ank k- η a η x-knen enu.
 woman-DIM PRT-homesick-ASP-PRT when Tilwal-LOC PRT-marry-PRT DEM
 ‘The woman had become homesick once Tilwal married her.’

- (90) “mił t’-sk-ał-čen mank kza χene-s-č.”
all 1SG-do-FUT-1>3 how 2SG say-PRES-2SG
‘I will do everything how you say.’
- (91) nazad x-k’oł-knen atno-ŋ, k-βi-knen xtu-ł
back PRT-come-PRT village-DAT PRT-swim-PRT dugout-INST
‘She came back home, going (downriver) in the dugout.’
- (92) i Təlβal qat x-k’oł-knen lem, qneŋ k-χeni-knen:
and Tilwal already PRT-come-PRT also, right.away PRT-say-PRT
‘and Tilwal had also come back already and said at once.’
- (93) “kza by-ne k’-ineqzuł-čiŋnen, nənⁱč-i?n χokan txł-kiče-?n .”
2SG SJNCT=PTCL CND-help-II.2>3 fish-PL there bring-1>3-PL
‘You could help, I’ve brought fish there.’
- (94) qneŋ jimsx-čaχ k-χeni-knen:
then woman-DIM PRT-say-PRT
‘Then the woman said.’
- (95) “kza q’-ełč-xč.
2SG 2.IRR-lie-2SG
‘You lie down.’
- (96) sejčas kma, kza poka q’-ełč-xč, a kməlβun xtəm mił nənⁱč-i?n
now 1SG, 2SG for.now 2.IRR-lie-2SG, and 1SG.EMPH dugout all fish-PL
tkit-ał-če-?n knuz-enk.”
throw-FUT-1>3-PL steep.bank-LOC
‘Now me, you lie down for now, and I will throw all the fish from the dugout onto the steep bank.’
- (97) Təlβal k’-ełč-knen, a tolⁱko k-ŋapsxat-qu-knen, ŋič qneŋ əzza-nk
Tilwal PRT-lie.down-PRT and just PRT-doze.off-ASP-PRT wife then outside-LOC
k’-χumst-knen i li niqa luk nin k-ł-?in ənan i t’et’əβa
PRT-go.out-PRT and very quickly bow 3SG PRT-take-PRT 3SG.POSS and string
ulⁱu-q k-əmpxa-al-?an=in
little-ADV PRT-cut-DIM?-PRT=CL
‘Tilwal lay down and as soon as he fell asleep (his) wife went outside and, very quickly, she took his bow and cut the string a little.’

- (98) a taϕlu-ʔn v eto vremʲa kʻ-uzu-knen ənta-ki kije-xʔal.
and Koryak-PL in that time PRT-begin-PRT cross-INF river-ABL
'And the Koryaks at that time began crossing the river.'
- (99) Təlβal vdrug kʻ-esxʲi-knen i qneŋ ŋiç k-pəŋlo-ʔan=in:
Tilwal suddenly PRT-awake-PRT and right.away wife PRT-ask-PRT-CL
'Tilwal suddenly woke up and asked his wife right away.'
- (100) "ʔaβaʔ kij-enk əŋqa šum k-sk-knan?"
why river-LOC what noise PRT-do-PRT
'Why is something making noise at the river?'
- (101) a sənix ŋiç k-xeni-knen:
but but wife PRT-say-PRT
'But his wife said:'
- (102) "da prosto vidiš βijis-kneʔin xejne-kit=ne kij šum i-s-in."
PTCL simply you.see windy-?? thus-CAUS=PTCL river noise AUX-PRES-3SG
'Its just windy, you see, that's why the river is making noise.'²
- (103) potom Təlβal fsʲotaki kʻ-es-knen əzza-nk i kʻ-əʔčku-ʔin=in qula-ʔn
then Tilwal anyway PRT-go.out-PRT outside-LOC and PRT-see-PRT=CL other-PL
taϕlu-ʔn kʻ-ənta-kne-ʔn sovsʲem, a qula-ʔn kij-enk ənta-z-iʔn
Koryak-PL PRT-cross-PRT totally and other-PL river-LOC cross-PRES-3PL
əna-n bereg-ank.
3SG-POSS shore-LOC
'Then Tilwal went outside anyway and saw that some Koryaks had completely crossed the river and others were on the river crossing to his shore.'
- (104) qneŋ luk k-ʔ-ʔin, kʻ-uzu-ʔin ʔot-zo-s itχ.
then bow PRT-take-PRT PRT-begin-PRT shoot-DISTR-INF 3PL
'Right away he took (his) bow and began to shoot (at) them.'
- (105) tolʲko qunʲiʲin k-ʔot-knen, a ftoʲroj raz li qeçi-q luk-in tʲetʲeβa
only once PRT-shoot-PRT and second time very good-ADV bow-POSS string
natʲanutʲ-kʻ-iʔ-ʔin i k-pχe-knen tʲetʲeβa.
pull- PRT-AUX-PRT and PRT-tear.off-PRT string
'He shot only once, and the second time he pulled the bow's string very well and the string tore off.'

²The specific verb for 'be windy' here is noted by Volodin as a particular wind portending a frost.

- (106) i k'-utu-ʔin bol'se taɸtu-ʔn ɬot-ze-s
and PRT-unable-PRT more Koryak-PL shoot-DISTR-INF
'and he couldn't shoot them anymore.'
- (107) i miɬ tɬi-ʔn jurte k'-ən-k'ol-sx-ʔan=aʔn.
and all 3PL-PL tent PRT-CAUS-break-PL-PRT=CL
'and they broke up all the tent (camp).'
- (108) a sənix ɲič k-ɬaβul-knen xɬəm-ank i k-βe-qzu-knen taɸtu-ʔn
and but wife PRT-sit-PRT dugout-LOC and PRT-float-ASP-PRT Koryak-PL
k-č'eɬ-ʔin.
PRT-do.together-PRT
'And his wife got in the dugout and paddled away with the Koryaks.'
- (109) Təlβal li pəlq x-kel-qzu-knen ɲič-enk, čtob enu k'-elβeze-in.
Tilwal very much PRT-yell-ASP-PRT wife-LOC so.that DEM COND-return-3SG
'Tilwal shouted very much to (his) wife, so that she would come back.'
- (110) a na qaʔm ilɸsa-q qamzan.
but 3SG NEG listen-NEG husband
'But she didn't hear/listen to her husband.'
- (111) togda Təlβal sopka k-sale-knen
then Tilwal hill PRT-slide-PRT
'Then Tilwal slid down the hill.'
- (112) qunix k-tzəl-aɬ-qzu-knen itɬ
unfortunately PRT-catch-DESID-ASP-PRT 3PL
'Unfortunately, he wanted to catch them'
- (113) a kij li nipuxeqen ɣoqan
but river very swift.flowing there
'But the river was very swift flowing there.'
- (114) i k'-utu-ʔin=in k'e tzəl-aɬ-ki
and PRT-unable-PRT who catch-DESID-INF
'and he wasn't able to catch anyone.'
- (115) i k-zeɬ-knen na n'aačiɬ.
and PRT-remain-PRT 3SG alone
'and he was left behind alone.'

- (116) n¹aačit̪ k-zeɬ-knen, k-zun¹ɬ-qu-knen, k-tejen-qzu-knen li pəlq
alone PRT-remain-PRT PRT-live-ASP-PRT PRT-homesick-PRT very much
‘He was left behind alone, and lived, and was very homesick.’
- (117) i laxsɣ da isx k’-ən-txiɬ-qzu-knen.
and mother and father PRT-CAUS-remember-ASP-PRT
‘And he remembered his mother and father.’
- (118) a potom k-χene-knen:
and then PRT-say-PRT
‘And then he said:’
- (119) “laxsɣ da isx t’-əɬčku-ata-aɬ-če-ʔn.”
mother and father 1SG-see-ANDAT-FUT-1>3-PL
‘I will go look in on Mother and Father.’
- (120) k-piki-knen βon-k maʔ-qot itɣ k-zun¹ɬ-qu-kne-ʔn βa-nk kij-enk.
PRT-go-PRT there-LOC where-REL 3PL PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL up-LOC river-LOC
‘He went up the river to the place where they lived.’
- (121) x-koɬ-knen χoq-uŋ, qat n¹etu k’e k-le-knen.
PRT-come-PRT there-DAT already NOT.BE who PRT-become-PRT
‘He came to that place, already there was no one left.’
- (122) babuke-ʔn-č da d¹ed¹uke-ʔn-č k’-isx-et-kni-ʔn i əna-ʔn lem
old.woman-PL-DIM and old.man-PL-DIM PRT-die-DISTR-PRT-PL and 3POSS-PL also
k’-isx-kne-ʔn
PRT-die-PRT-PL
‘The grandmothers and grandfathers (i.e., the old people) had all died, and his
[grandparents] had died too.’
- (123) k-pəŋlo-ʔan maʔ əna-ʔn laxsɣ da isx.
PRT-ask-PRT where 3POSS-PL mother and father
‘He asked where his mother and father were.’
- (124) əna-nk k-χene-knen itɣ isx-iʔn.
3SG-DAT PRT-say-PRT 3PL die-3PL
‘He was told, that they had died.’
- (125) qneŋ Təlβal k-ɬ-ʔin=in, k-zun¹ɬ-qu-knen ješčo ul¹u-q βuʔn=nu
then Tilwal PRT-take-PRT=CL PRT-live-ASP-PRT still little-ADV DEM=PTCL

omokom tʃi-ʔink.
together 3PL-LOC

‘Then Tilwal took [something?], and lived a little still there together with them.’

- (126) a qunʔiʔin kʔiŋle k-piki-knen ɲeja-ʔn-k i bolʃe na qaʔm
and once night PRT-go-PRT mountain-PL-LOC and more NEG who-LOC
kʔe-nk əʔčku-q kʔ-iʔ-ʔin.
see-NEG PRT-AUX-PRT

‘And one night he went into the mountains and was never seen by anyone again.’

- (127) enu mesta maʔ-qot k-zunʔ-qzu-kne-ʔn n-oč-zo-s-čen “izmennoj”.
DEM place where-REL PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL N-call-ITER-PRES-3.OBJ “izmennoj”

‘That place where they lived is called “Izmennoj” [betrayed]

- (128) videš ɣo-xʔal ɲič k-sxəla-knen qamzan-xʔal i k-ən-zeʔ-ʔan=in
you.see there-ABL wife PRT-run-PRT husband-ABL and PRT-CAUS-remain-PRT-CL
qamzan nʔaačiʔ.
husband alone

‘You see, from there the wife ran away from her husband, and left her husband behind alone.’

- (129) enun mesta-nk maʔ Təʔʔal k-sale-knen kij-enk k-zeʔ-knen i
DEM place-LOC where Tilwal PRT-slide-PRT river-LOC PRT-remain-PRT and
sejčas vidno qasɣ-aʔn skʔazon-aʔn, qotɣ k-paxa-ʔan səmt ɣoqan
now visible two-PL track-PL as.if PRT-plow-PRT earth there.

‘At that place where Tilwal slid into the water are visible even now two tracks as if someone had plowed the earth there.’