# Kolyma Yukaghir Texts

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### **Preface**

This book is a collection of texts in the Kolyma Yukaghir language recorded between 1997 and 2007 in two settlements in the Russian North: Kolymskoe in the Srednekansk District of the Magadan Region and Nelemnoe in the Verkhnekolymsk District of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). The texts were narrated by three Kolyma Yukaghir women: Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Sharina, Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, and Mariya Ivanovna Turpanova. This linguistic material was previously published in 2015 in a book titled *Materialy po jazyku jukagirov Verkhnej Kolymy*, which includes texts transcribed in Cyrillic script with Russian translations. In contrast, this current book transliterates each text into Latin script and provides English glosses and translations in English and Japanese. Additionally, the book contains lexical and morphological indices that list the items in alphabetical order and indicate the text and sentence number of each item.

This book is the result of the generosity and support of many individuals. First and foremost, the editor is indebted to Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Sharina, Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, and Mariya Ivanovna Turpanova, who shared their valuable knowledge of their language and culture by narrating these texts. Special thanks are extended to Dar'ya Petrovna Borisova, Akulina Egorovna Shadrina, and Varvara Vladimilovna Fedotova for their assistance during the editor's fieldwork on Kolyma Yukaghir. The editor also appreciates the contribution of Nadezhda Popova in preparing the translations of the texts.

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Iku Nagasaki January 2023

## Abbreviations and Symbols

1	first person	НВТ	habitual
2	second person	HYP	hypothetical
3	third person	IMP	imperative
ABES	abessive	INCH	incoative
ABL	ablative	IND	indicative
ACC	accusative	INDF	indefinite
ADV	adverbial	INFR	inferential
AFF	affermative	INS	instrumental
AGG	aggregate	INTERR	interrogative
AN	action nominal	INTJ	interjection
ANPH	anaphotic	INTNS	intensifier
APPL	applicative	INTR	intransitive
ATTR	attributive	IPFV	imperfective
AUG	augmentative	ITER	iterative
CAUS	causative	ЈРТСР	je-participle
COM	comitative	LOC	locative
COND	conditional	MED	medial
СОР	copula	MPTCP	me-participle
DAT	dative	NEG	negative
DES	desiderative	NMLZ	nominalizer
DETR	detransitive	OF	object focus
DIM	diminutive	PFV	perfective
DIR	directional	PL	plural
DLM	delimitative	POSS	possessive
DS	different-subject converb	PRD	predicative
DST	distal	PROH	prohibitive
E	epenthesis	PROL	prolative
ЕМРН	emphatic	PROP	proprietive
FOC	focus	PROX	proximal
FUT	future	PURP	purposive
GEN	genitive	Q	question particle
		QLT	qualitative

## Abbreviations and Symbols

RES	resultative	SS	same-subject converb
RN	result nominal	SUBST	substantivizer
SEQ	sequential	TMP	temporal
SF	subject focus	TR	transitive
SFC	sentence-final clitic	TRANS	translative
SG	singular	VEN	venitive
SIM	simultaneous		
(xxx)	inaudible word(s)		
adn	adnominal	postp	postposition
adv	adverb	pro	pro-form
dem	demonstrative	propn	proper noun
interr	interrogative	ν	verb
n	noun	vi	intransitive verb
num	numeral	vt	transitive verb
pers pro	n personal pronoun		

#### 1 Wolverine

Recorded on 27 July 1997 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) omnī modo-l'el-ni. (2) arnūjā-die, arnūjā-die-le people sit-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 wolverine-DIM wolverine-DIM-INS terike-l-l'el. (3) tamun ködiel-e=de annume wolf-ins=emph at.first old.woman-prop-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) DST pulut-n'ie-l'el, (4) tāt peššej-l'el-nā, tan paj. old.man-prop-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) dst.attr woman ANPH:ADV throw:pfv-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 l'e ō-d-ōn. zhadnyj ō-d-ōn. (5) a potom arnūjā-die-nin that.one cop-poss.3-ess greedy(Rus.) cop-poss.3-ess and(Rus.) then(Rus.) wolverine-DIM-DAT (6) arnūjā-die-gele peššej-l'el-nā. tozhe wolverine-dim-acc also(Rus.) throw:pfv-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 go-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG) "omnī met-kele nonōn erielie-nā? (7) i arnūjādie zapel, and.the.wolverine.began.to.sing(Rus.) people 1sg-ACC why dislike:INCH-PL:IND.TR.3 (8) met nutneje ped'e-n'e-ge omnī erie-nu-nā." (9) kebe-t'. 1sg navel smell-prop-loc people dislike-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG (10) kebe-t'. (11) tude-gele peššej-dele kebej-ni. (12) tudel leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg 3sg-acc throw:pfv-ss.seq leave:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3 3s<sub>G</sub> kebe-t'. (13) l'e-nin ann'e-i, "ileje, tet-ek jō that.one-DAT speak-IND.INTR.3sg wind 2sg-Foc INTJ leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (14) ileje mon-i, "met pukel'e mon-i, wind say-IND.INTR.3sg snow be.strong-INFR-E-SF say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg el=t'andeli-t'e. NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1SG

(1) People lived. (2) Their daughter was married to a wolverine. (3) First, she was married to a wolf, that daughter. (4) But they left him, because he was greedy. (5) And, then, she married a wolverine. (6) Then they left the wolverine too. (7) And the wolverine began to sing, "Why do people hate me? (8) My navel is stinking, so people hate me." (9) He went off. (10) He went off. (11) They left him and went off. (12) And he went off. (13) He said (to the wind), "Wind, you are the one who is strong." (14) The wind said, (it was not the wind but) the snow that said, "I am not strong.

(1)人々が暮らしていた。(2)彼らの娘はクズリと結婚していた。(3)それははじめ狼と結婚していた、その娘は。(4)彼らは狼を捨てた、あれだったので、いやしかったので。(5)それからクズリのところへ嫁に行った。(6)彼らはクズリも捨てた。(7)クズリは歌いだした、「人々はわたしをなぜ嫌いになったのだろう?(8)わたしの臍が臭いから人々はわたしを嫌うのだ」(9)そしてクズリは出発した。(10)出発した。(11)人々は彼を捨てて去った。(12)彼も去った。(13)彼はあれに向かって言った、「風よ、おまえこそが強い」(14)風は言った、(風ではなくて)雪は言った、「わたしは強くない。

#### 1 Wolverine (told by A.G. Shadrina in 1997)

- (16) pukel'e, "ileje met-kele šar-nunnu-m." (15) ileje met-kele šar-nunnu-m." wind 1sg-Acc cover-HBT-IND.TR.3sg snow wind 1sg-acc cover-hbt-ind.tr.3sg (17) tāt'ile mon-i, "ileje, tet-ek jō t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (18) ileje mon-i, then say-IND.INTR.3sg wind 2sg-foc INTJ be.strong-INFR-E-sf "met el=t'andeli-t'e." (19) ileje mon-i, "met el=t'andeli-t'e. NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sG wind say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sg īt'e-ge jododo-llo šobol'ā-nun-d'e." (21) tamun, "šāl, tet-ek jō (20) šā-d tree-GEN tip-LOC wrap:DETR-SS.SEQ cease-HBT-IND.INTR.1SG DST tree 2sg-foc intj t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (22) šāl mon-i, "met el=t'andeli-t'e. (23) šoromo tree say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sg be.strong-INFR-E-SF person met-kele t'ine-nunnu-m." (24) tamun mon-i, "šoromo, tet-ek jō 1sg-acc chop-hbt-ind.tr.3sg say-IND.INTR.3sg person 2sg-foc intj DST t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (25) šoromo mon-i, "met el=t'andeli-t'e. be.strong-INFR-E-SF person say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sg met-kele kudedie-nnu-m." (27) vsë! (26) smier (28) kakoj malen'kij da? death(Rus.) 1sg-ACC kill-HBT-IND.TR.3sg so.small.huh?(Rus.) all(Rus.)
- (15) The wind is stronger than I." (16) The snow said, "The wind is stronger than I." (17) Then, the wolverine said, "Wind, you are the one who is strong." (18) The wind said, "I am not strong." (19) The wind said, "I am not strong. (20) I whirl around a treetop and stop." (21) He said, "Tree, you are the one who is strong." (22) The tree said, "I am not strong. (23) Man fells me." (24) He said, "Man, you are the one who is strong." (25) Man said, "I am not strong. (26) Death kills me." (27) That is all! (28) So small, huh?
- (15) 風がわたしを押さえつけてしまう」(16) 雪が(言った)、「風がわたしを押さえつけてしまう」(17) それから言った、「風よ、おまえこそが強い」(18) 風は言った、「わたしは強くない。(20) 梢で回って止まってしまう」(21) それは(言った)、「木よ、おまえこそが強い」(22) 木は言った、「わたしは強くない。(23) 人間がわたしを切り倒してしまう」(24) それは言った、「人間よ、おまえこそが強い」(25) 人間は言った、「わたしは強くない。(26) 死がわたしを殺してしまう」(27) おしまい! (28) すごく短いでしょ?

#### 2 Wolverine

Recorded on 8 August 1997 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) punnume modo-l'el-ni, pulut terike-n'e. (2) irkin neighbor sit-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 old.man old.woman-сом one martl'uö-n'ā-l'el-ni. martl'uö-gele ködiel-nin (3) tan titte daughter-prop-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 DST.ATTR 3PL:GEN daughter-ACC wolf-DAT tadi-l'el-nā, (4) al=gamun terike-d-ōn. l'e-l-ge, t'ā-ie give-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 old.woman-poss.3-ESS NEG=how.many exist-AN-LOC be.few-JPTCP l'e-ge modo-l'el. (5) alys žadnanō-l'el. very be.greedy-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) that.one-Loc sit-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) igeje-gele t'umu lew-l'el-u-m. (6) mīd'ī-pe-de (7) tamun-gele nume-get sledge-pl-poss.3:GEN string-ACC all eat-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG DST-ACC house-ABL ugutej-l'el-nā. arnūjā-die, arnūjā-die-nin ANPH:ADV wolverine-DIM wolverine-DIM-DAT go.out:CAUS:PFV-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 tadi-l'el-nā. (9) arnūjā-die nutneje-gi ped'e-n'e-gi. (10) d'e tamun-gele give-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 wolverine-DIM navel-POSS.3 smell-PROP-POSS.3 INTI DST-ACC ugutej-l'el-ŋā. (11) tandiet qanā-l'el-ni, arnūjā-die again go.out:CAUS:PFV-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 roam.away-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 wolverine-DIM tudid'ie=de peššej-dele. (12) arnūjā-die ohō-t pon'ō-j. wolverine-DIM 3sg:INTNS=EMPH stand-ss remain-IND.INTR.3sg throw:pfv-ss.seq (13) tātl'elle tā "omnī met-kele noŋōn erielie-ŋā? iagtā-i, DST.LOC sing:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG people 1SG-ACC why dislike:INCH-PL:IND.TR.3 then (14) met nutneje ped'e-n'e-ge erielie-nu-nā." smell-prop-loc dislike:INCH-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 1sg navel
- (1) People lived, an old man and his old wife. (2) They had one daughter. (3) They got her married to a wolf. (4) The wolf lived with them for some time, not too long. (5) He was very greedy. (6) He ate all the rope of their sledge. (7) So, they drove him out of the house. (8) And they got their daughter married to a wolverine. (9) The wolverine's navel was stinking. (10) So, they drove him out too. (11) They went away, leaving the wolverine behind. (12) The wolverine remained, standing there alone. (13) And he began to sing, "Why do people hate me? (14) My navel is stinking, so they hate me."
- (1)人々が暮らしていた、おじいさんとおばあさんが。(2)彼らには娘が1人いた。(3)彼らはその自分たちの娘を狼に嫁にやった。(4)狼はいくらかの間、少しの間暮らした。(5)とても食いしん坊だった。(6)彼らの橇の縄まで食べてしまった。(7)彼らはそれを家から追い出した。(8)そして彼らはクズリに娘を嫁にやった。(9)クズリは臍が臭かった。(10)彼らはそれも追い出した。(11)彼らは出発した、クズリを捨てて。(12)クズリはひとりっきりで残って立っていた。(13)それから歌い出した、「人々はわたしをなぜ嫌いになったのだろうか?(14)わたしの臍が臭いから人々はわたしを嫌うのだ」

(15) tātl'elle pukel'e-ge el=t'uge-t'uön kebe-t'. (16) kebej-dele then NEG=track-ABES leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg leave:pfv-ss.seq "pukel'e, tet-ek jō t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (17) pukel'e mon-i, mon-i, say-IND.INTR.3SG snow 2sg-foc intj be.strong-infr-e-sf "met el=t'andeli-t'e. (18) met-kele ileje šar-nunnu-m." (19) tāt, 1sg neg=be.strong-ind.intr.1sg 1sg-acc wind cover-hbt-ind.tr.3sg ANPH:ADV "ileje, tet-ek jō t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (20) ileje mon-i, wind 2sg-foc intj be.strong-infr-e-sf wind say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg el=t'andeli-t'e. īt'e-ge jododo-llo (21) met šā-d šobol'ā-nun-d'e." 1sg tree-gen tip-loc wrap:detr-ss.seq cease-hbt-ind.intr.1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sG (22) tamun-ge tāt tudel mon-i, "šāl, tet-ek jō t'andelū-l'el-u-l." DST-LOC say-IND.INTR.3sG tree 2sG-FOC INTJ be.strong-INFR-E-SF ANPH:ADV 3SG "met el=t'andeli-t'e. (24) šoromo met-kele (23) šāl mon-i, tree say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sg person 1sg-Acc "šoromo, tet-ek jō (25) tāt, t'ine-nunnu-m." t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (26) šoromo chop-нвт-IND.TR.3sG 2sg-foc intj be.strong-infr-e-sf ANPH:ADV person person "met el=t'andeli-t'e. (27) smier met-kele mon-i, say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1SG death(Rus.) 1sg-ACC kudedie-nnu-m." (28) n'ādude. (29) tandelme t'emie-t'. kill-hbt-ind.tr.3sg meanwhile end:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG that's.enough

(15) And he went over to the snow; there was no footpath. (16) He said, "Snow, you are the one who is strong." (17) The snow said, "I am not strong. (18) The wind is stronger than I." (19) So, the wolverine said, "Wind, you are the one who is strong." (20) The wind said, "I am not strong. (21) I whirl around a treetop and stop." (22) Then, he said, "Tree, you are the one who is strong." (23) The tree said, "I am not strong. (24) Man fells me." (25) Then, the wolverine said, "Man, you are the one who is strong." (26) The man said, "I am not strong. (27) Death kills me." (28) That's enough. (29) This is the end.

(15) それから雪の上を道のないところを出発した。(16) 出発して言った、「雪よ、おまえこそが強い」(17) 雪は言った、「わたしは強くない。(18) 風がわたしよりも強い」(19) すると (クズリは言った)、「風よ、おまえこそが強い」(20) 風は言った、「わたしは強くない。(21) わたしは梢で回って止まってしまう」(22) すると言った、「木よ、おまえこそが強い」(23) 木は言った、「わたしは強くない。(24) 人間がわたしを切り倒してしまう」(25) すると言った、「人間よ、おまえこそが強い」(26) 人間は言った、「わたしは強くない。(27) 死がわたしを殺してしまう」(28) ここまで。(29) これでおしまい。

#### 3 Wolverine

Recorded on 22 October 2002 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) omnī modo-l'el-ni. (2) pulun-die terike-n'e modo-ni. (3) irkin people sit-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 old.man-dim old.woman-com sit-pl:ind.intr.3 one martl'uö-n'e-ŋi. ködiel-e, ködiel-e (4) tamun arnūjā-die-le, wolverine-dim-ins wolf-ins wolf-ins daughter-prop-pl:IND.INTR.3 DST terike-t-l'el, (5) titte terike-š-nā. old.woman-prop.inch-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) old.woman-prop.caus-pl:ind.tr.3 3PL:GEN martl'uö-gele ködiel-nin tadi-nā. (6) ködiel n'eganide n'eleme-le INDF:where INDF:what-INS daughter-ACC wolf-DAT give-PL:IND.TR.3 mīd'ī igeje-gele t'umu lew-l'el-u-m. el=ket'ī-nu-j. (7) tudel'e-ge, NEG=bring-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG 3sg:subst-loc sledge string-Acc all eat-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg (8) žadnanō-de-gen peššej-l'el-nā. (9) peššej-l'el-nā. tāt be.greedy-poss.3-prol anph:adv throw:pfv-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 throw:pfv-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 (10) ugutej-l'el-ŋā, nume-get. (11) tāt arnūjā-die-nin go.out:CAUS:PFV-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 house-ABL ANPH:ADV wolverine-DIM-DAT gol-l'el. (12) arnūjā-die nutneje-gi naqā ped'e-n'e-j. go-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG) wolverine-dim navel-poss.3 very smell-prop-ind.intr.3sg (13) tamun, tamun ped'e-de-gen, nutneje ped'e-de-gen smell-poss.3-prol navel smell-poss.3-prol DST DST (14) tandiet kudele-lle ugutej-l'el-nā. kebei-ni. prepare-ss.seq leave:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3 go.out:CAUS:PFV-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 then tandiet. (16) omnī kebej-ni. (15) kebej-ni leave:pfv-pl:IND.INTR.3 then people leave:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3

(1) People lived. (2) There lived an old man and his wife. (3) They had one daughter. (4) They made a wolf marry her. (5) They got their daughter married to the wolf. (6) But the wolf didn't bring anything anywhere. (7) He ate up the rope of the sledge. (8) She left the wolf because he was greedy. (9) They abandoned him, (10) Drove him out of the house. (11) Then their daughter got married to a wolverine. (12) The wolverine's navel was stinking very much. (13) They drove the wolverine away because of the smell of his navel. (14) Then, they packed up and left. (15) They left, after all. (16) People left.

(1)人々が暮らしていた。(2) おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(3) 彼らにはひとりの娘がいた。(4) 狼を結婚させた。(5) 彼らの娘を狼にやった。(6) 狼はどこへも食べ物も何も持ってこなかった。(7) 橇の縄まで食べてしまった。(8) 狼がいやしかったので、捨ててしまった。(9) 狼を捨てた、(10) 追い出した、家から。(11) そして娘はクズリのところへ嫁に行った。(12) クズリは臍がとても臭かった。(13) その臭いのせいで、臍の臭いのせいで、クズリを追い出した。(14) そして彼らは支度して、去った。(15) 去った、ついに(16) 人々は去ってしまった。

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(17) arnūjā-die
                   tudid'ie ohō-t
                                     pon'ō-j.
                                                          (18) "omnī met-kele noŋōn
    wolverine-DIM 3sg:INTNS stand-ss remain-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                               people 1sg-ACC why
erielie-nā?
                       (19) met nutneje ped'e-n'e-ge
                                                        erielie-nu-ŋā."
dislike:INCH-PL:IND.TR.3
                                         smell-prop-loc dislike:Inch-ipfv-pl:Ind.tr.3
(20) tandiet kebej-ni.
                                   (21) tudel āj
                                                    kebe-t'.
                                                                          (22) noj-gi
    then
            leave:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                               leg-poss.3
                                        3sg
                                              again leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
korotkij. (23) pukel'e t'eginmō-j.
                                                                          (25) "pukel'e,
                                            (24) jara-t
                                                          qon-i.
short(Rus.)
               snow
                        be.deep-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                 swim-ss go-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                               snow
             t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (26) pukel'e mon-i,
                                                              "met
2sg-foc intj be.strong-infr-e-sf
                                     snow
                                             say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg
el=t'andeli-t'e.
                           (27) jal'ōd'e met-kele al'āš-nunnu-m."
                                                                           (28) tamun-ge
NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sG
                                        1sg-acc melt:caus-hbt-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                                DST-LOC
                "jal'ōd'e, tet-ek jō
                                       t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (29) jal'ōd'e mon-i,
mon-i,
                          2sg-foc intj be.strong-infr-e-sf
say-ind.intr.3sg sun
                                                                        say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                               sun
"met el=t'andeli-t'e.
                                (30) ningār met-kele töw-nunnu-m."
                                                                           (31) "ningār,
1sg Neg=be.strong-ind.intr.1sg
                                            1sg-acc close-hbt-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                                cloud
             t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (32) ningār mon-i,
                                                             "met el=t'andeli-t'e.
2sg-foc intj be.strong-infr-e-sf
                                     cloud
                                            say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sg
(33) ileje met-kele šašahat-nu-m."
                                             (34) tamun-ge mon-i,
                                                                             "ileje, tet-ek
    wind 1sg-acc tear:caus-ipfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                  DST-LOC
                                                            say-IND.INTR.3sg wind 2sg-foc
    t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (35) ileje mon-i,
                                                   "met el=t'andeli-t'e.
INTJ be.strong-INFR-E-SF
                            wind say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sg
```

(17) The wolverine remained standing alone. (18) "Why do people hate me? (19) My navel is stinking, so they hate me." (20) After all, people went away. (21) He left too. (22) His legs were short. (23) Snow was deep. (24) He walked, shoveling snow away. (25) "Snow, you are the one who is strong." (26) The snow said, "I am not strong. (27) The sun melts me." (28) So, the wolverine said, "Sun, you are the one who is strong." (29) The sun said, "I am not strong. (30) Cloud blocks me." (31) "Cloud, you are the one who is strong." (32) The cloud said, "I am not strong. (33) Wind scatters me." (34) So, the wolverine said, "Wind, you are the one who is strong." (35) The wind said, "I am not strong.

(17) クズリはひとりで残って立っていた。(18)「人々はわたしをなぜ嫌いになったのだろうか? (19) わたしの臍が臭いから人々はわたしを嫌うのだ」(20) 人々はついに去った。(21) 彼も出発した。(22) 彼の足は短い。(23) 雪は深い。(24) かきわけながら行った。(25) (クズリは言った)「雪よ、おまえこそが強い」(26) 雪は言った、「わたしは強くない。(27) 太陽がわたしを溶かしてしまう」(28) すると言った、「太陽よ、おまえこそが強い」(29) 太陽は言った、「わたしは強くない。(30) 雲がわたしを覆ってしまう」(31)「雲よ、おまえこそが強い」(32) 雲は言った、「わたしは強くない。(33) 風がわたしを引き裂いてしまう」(34) すると言った、「風よ、おまえこそが強い」(35) 風は言った、「わたしは強くない。

#### 3 Wolverine (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2002)

(36) šāl-ge jododo-llo šāl budien jododo-llo šobol'ā-nun-d'e." tree-loc wrap:detr-ss.seq tree onto wrap:detr-ss.seq cease-hbt-ind.intr.1sg

death(Rus.) 1sg-ACC kill-HBT-IND.TR.3sg

- "šāl, tet-ek jō t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (38) šāl (37) tamun-ge mon-i, say-IND.INTR.3sG tree 2sG-FOC INTJ be.strong-INFR-E-SF DST-LOC "met el=t'andeli-t'e. (39) šoromo met-kele t'ine-nunnu-m, mon-i. say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sg person 1sg-acc chop-hbt-ind.tr.3sg n'inrā-nunnu-m." (40) tamun-ge mon-i, "šoromo, tet-ek jō fall.down:caus-hbt-ind.tr.3sg DST-LOC say-IND.INTR.3sg person 2sg-foc intj t'andelū-l'el-u-l." (41) šoromo mon-i, "met el=t'andeli-t'e. be.strong-INFR-E-SF person say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.1sg (42) smert' met-kele kuddie-nnu-m." (43) tandā n'ādude.
- (36) I whirl around a treetop and stop." (37) So, the wolverine said, "Tree, you are the one who is strong." (38) The tree said, (39) "I am not strong. Man fells me, cuts me down." (40) So, the wolverine said, "Man, you are the one who is strong." (41) The man said, "I am not strong. (42) Death kills me." (43) That is enough.

DST.LOC that's.enough

(36) 梢で回って止まってしまう」(37) すると言った、「木よ、おまえこそが強い」(38) 木は言った、「わたしは強くない。(39) 人間がわたしを伐る、伐り倒す」(40) すると言った、「人間よ、おまえこそが強い」(41) 人間は言った、「わたしは強くない。(42) 死がわたしを殺してしまう」(43) おしまい。

#### 4 Wolverine

Recorded on 21 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) pulut terike-n'e modo-ni. (2) irkin martl'uö-n'e-ni. (3) titte old.man old.woman-com sit-pl:IND.INTR.3 daughter-PROP-PL:IND.INTR.3 3PL:GEN martl'uö-gele ködiel-nin tadi-nā. (4) ködiel n'eqanide el=legul-e n'eleme-le daughter-ACC wolf-DAT give-pl:IND.TR.3 wolf INDF:where NEG=food-INS INDF:what-INS el=kudit'i. (5) tude mīd'ī igeje-gele t'umu lew-l'el-u-m, NEG=kill:ITER(-IND.INTR.3SG) 3sg:gen sledge string-ACC all eat-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg lendōl'-i-t. (6) ködiel-e ugutej-ŋā. (7) arnūjā-die-nin wolf-ins go.out:caus:pfv-pl:ind.tr.3 wolverine-DIM-DAT eat:DETR:DES-E-SS (8) arnūjā-die nagā ped'e-n'e-j. tadi-l'el-nā. tuön-gi wolverine-dim prox-poss.3 very smell-prop-ind.intr.3sg give-Infr-pl:Ind.tr.3 (9) nutneje-gi ped'e-n'e-j. (10) arnūjā-die-gele āj peššej-nā. navel-poss.3 smell-prop-ind.intr.3sg wolverine-DIM-ACC again throw:PFV-PL:IND.TR.3 terike-de-n'e (11) pulun-die kudele-ni, martl'uö-gi. (12) tandiet old.man-DIM old.woman-POSS.3-COM prepare-PL:IND.INTR.3 daughter-POSS.3 then kebej-ni. arnūjā-die ohō-t jolohude juö-t leave:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3 ANPH:ADV wolverine-DIM stand-ss back (15) "omnī met-kele kebej-pe-gi juö-mele. (14) tāt jaqtā-j: leave:pfv-pl-poss.3 see-of.3sg ANPH:ADV sing:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG people 1sg-Acc erielie-nu-nā." nonōn erielie-nā? (16) met nutneje ped'e-n'e-ge dislike:INCH-PL:IND.TR.3 smell-prop-loc dislike:Inch-ipfv-pl:Ind.tr.3 why 1sg navel

(1) There lived an old man and his old wife. (2) They had a daughter. (3) They got their daughter married to a wolf. (4) But the wolf neither hunted for food nor did other things. (5) He even up the rope of the sledge, so hungry he was. (6) They drove him away. (7) They got their daughter married to a wolverine. (8) The wolverine was very stinky. (9) His navel was stinking. (10) They drove the wolverine away too. (11) The old man and his old wife packed up; their daughter too. (12) Then, they left. (13) The wolverine stood there, and he turned back. He saw them leaving. (14) And he started singing: (15) "Why do people hate me? (16) My navel is stinking, so they hate me."

(1) おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(2) 彼らには娘が1人いた。(3) 自分たちの娘を狼に嫁にやった。(4) 狼はどこへも食べ物も何も殺して持ってこなかった。(5) 橇の紐をすべて食べてしまった、腹が空いて。(6) 狼を追い出した。(7) 彼らは娘をクズリにやった。(8) クズリのこれはとても臭かった。(9) 臍は臭かった。(10) 彼らはクズリも捨てた。(11) おじいさんとおばあさんは支度をした、娘は。(12) そして出発した。(13) そしてクズリは立ちながら後ろを見て、彼らが去って行くのを見ていた。(14) そして歌い出した:(15)「人々はわたしをなぜ嫌いになったのだろうか?(16) わたしの臍が臭いから嫌いになるのだ」

#### 4 Wolverine (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

```
(17) tāt
               tudel āj
                           kebe-t'.
                                                 (18) pukel'e t'eginmō-d'ōd-ek.
                     again leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                              be.deep-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD
    ANPH:ADV 3SG
                                                      snow
              tude
                       noj-gi
                                 jukō-j,
                                                      korotkij.
                                                                 (20) pukel'e-ge
    and(Rus.) 3sg:gen leg-poss.3 be.small-ind.intr.3sg short(Rus.)
                  (21) "pukel'e, tet-ek t'īle-l-l'el-u-l,"
                                                                                (22) pukel'e
                                 2sg-foc power-prop-infr-e-sf say-ind.intr.3sg
swim-IND.INTR.3sG
                       snow
                                                                                    snow
                "met el=t'īle-n'-d'e.
                                                    (23) jal'ōd'e met-kele
mon-i.
say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg neg=power-prop-ind.intr.1sg
                                                         sun
                                                                 1sg-acc
                                                       "met el=t'īle-n'-d'e."
al'āš-nunnu-m."
                         (24) jal'ōd'e mon-i,
melt:CAUS-HBT-IND.TR.3SG
                              sun
                                      say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg neg=power-prop-ind.intr.1sg
                (25) "ningār met-kele töw-nunnu-m."
                                                            (26) niŋqār mon-i,
                     cloud
                              1sg-acc close-hbt-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                 cloud say-IND.INTR.3sg
say-ind.intr.3sg
"met el=t'īle-n'-d'e.
                                   (27) ileje met-kele šašahat-nunnu-m."
                                                                                (28) "ileje,"
1sg neg=power-prop-ind.intr.1sg
                                        wind 1sg-acc
                                                       tear:caus-hbt-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                                     wind
                "tannigi tet-ek t'īle-l-l'el-u-l."
                                                                                   "met
                                                        (29) ileje mon-i,
                         2sg-foc power-prop-infr-e-sf
                                                            wind say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg
say-IND.INTR.3sg then
el=t'īle-n'-d'e.
                             (30) jal'ōd'e, ē
                                                šāl budien jömge-lle
NEG=power-prop-ind.intr.1sg
                                  sun
                                           INTI tree onto
                                                            rotate-ss.seq
šobol'ā-nun-d'e,"
                                        (31) "šāl, tet-ek," mon-i,
                       mon-i.
cease-hbt-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                            tree 2sg-foc say-ind.intr.3sg
"t'īle-l-l'el-u-l."
                     (32) šāl mon-i,
                                                "met el=t'īle-n'-d'e.
power-PROP-INFR-E-SF
                          tree say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg neg=power-prop-ind.intr.1sg
(33) šoromo met-kele n'iŋrā-nunnu-m."
    person 1sg-ACC fall.down:CAUS-HBT-IND.TR.3sg
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(17) Then, he walked away too. (18) Snow was deep. (19) His legs were short. (20) He walked, shoveling the snow away. (21) "Snow, you are the one who is strong." (22) The snow said, "I am not strong. (23) The sun melts me." (24) The sun said, "I am not strong. (25) Cloud covers me." (26) The cloud said, "I am not strong. (27) Wind scatters me." (28) "Wind, so you are the one who is strong." (29) The wind said, "I am not strong. (30) I whirl around a treetop and stop." (31) "Tree, you are the one who is strong." (32) The tree said, "I am not strong. (33) Man fells me."

(17) そして彼も出発した。(18) 雪が深かった。(19) 彼の足は短い。(20) 雪をかきわけて行った。(21)「雪よ、おまえこそが強い」(22) 雪は言った、「わたしは強くない。(23) 太陽が私を溶かしてしまう」(24) 太陽は言った、「わたしは強くない。(25) 雲がわたしを覆ってしまう」(26) 雲は言った、「わたしは強くない。(27) 風がわたしを引き裂いてしまう」(28)「風よ、それならおまえこそが強い」(29) 風は言った、「わたしは強くない。(30) 梢で回って止まってしまう」(31)「木よ、おまえこそが強い」(32) 木は言った、「わたしは強くない。(33) 人間がわたしを倒してしまう」

## 4 Wolverine (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

(34) šoromo mon-i, "met el=t'īle-n'-d'e. (35) smier met-kele person say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg NEG=power-PROP-IND.INTR.1sg death(Rus.) 1sg-Acc kudedie-nnu-m." (36) taŋdā, n'ādude. kill-hbt-ind.tr.3sg death(Rus.) DST.LOC that's enough

(34) The man said, "I am not strong. (35) Death kills me." (36) That is enough.

<sup>(34)</sup> 人間が言った、「わたしは強くない。(35) 死がわたしを殺してしまう」(36) おしまい。

#### 5 Hare

Recorded on 26 July 1997 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) pulun-die t'olhorā, eto, pul pu terikie-die-n'e modo-ni. old.man-ым hare this.one(Rus.) old.woman-dim-com sit-pl:ind.intr.3 (2) t'olhorā-die-le uö-n'e-ni. (4) "terike. (3) pulun-die mon-i: hare-DIM-INS child-prop-pl:ind.intr.3 old.man-DIM say-IND.INTR.3sG old.woman mit t'olhorā lek-ke." (5) a (6) "ē. mon-i. pulun-die mon-i: 1PL hare eat-IMP.1PL say-IND.INTR.3sG and(Rus.) old.man-DIM say-IND.INTR.3sG INTJ numun. numun šowhorā-le loškarā-le lek-tuök?" (7) tāt with.what with.what wooden.plate-ins wooden.spoon-ins eat-fut:interr.1pl ANPH:ADV (8) t'olhorā-die tan ugijel-me egie-ni. ažū-pe-de-ile morning-TMP stand:INCH-PL:IND.INTR.3 hare-ым DST.ATTR word-PL-POSS.3-ACC loškarā-k medi-m. (9) pulun-die-die šowhorā-k lont'i-jī-mele. hear-IND.TR.3sG old.man-DIM-DIM wooden.spoon-FOC wooden.plate-FOC carve-VEN-OF.3sG (10) t'olhorā-die mon-i... (11) terikie-die modo-dolo tude nohī-le hare-ым say-IND.INTR.3sg old.woman-dim sit-ss.seo 3sg:gen thimble-ins amladai-dele inrū-l'el. (12) t'olhorā-die nume budien swallow:pfv-ss.seq fall.asleep-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) hare-рім house onto arpā-t'. (13) tāt nume budiet tāt pömude-j climb:pfv-IND.INTR.3sG ANPH:ADV house from.the.top.of ANPH:ADV slide.down-IND.INTR.3SG pömude-i. (14) tāt ediet'-u-m: slide.down-IND.INTR.3sG ANPH:ADV call:ITER-E-IND.TR.3SG
- (1) There lived an old man and his old wife. (2) They kept a hare as their own child. (3) The old man said, (4) "Wife, let's eat our hare!" (5) And the old woman (liter. the old person) said, (6) "From what dish, with what spoon shall we eat it?" (7) They got up in the morning. (8) The hare heard their words. (9) The old man went to make a dish and a spoon. (10) The hare said... (11) The old woman was sitting; she swallowed her thimble and fell asleep. (12) The hare climbed to the roof of the house. (13) Then, he rolled down the roof of the house and started rolling, rolling. (14) Then the hare called out,
- (1) おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(2) 彼らはウサギを子供にしていた。(3) おじいさんが言った:(4)「ばあさんよ、わたしたちのウサギを食べよう」(5) おじいさんが言った(「おじいさんが言った」と言っているが、実際に続くのはおばあさんの台詞であり、「おばあさんが言った」の言い間違いと考えられる):(6)「いったいどんな食器やスプーンで食べるっていうんだい?」(7) 翌朝彼らは起きた。(8) ウサギは彼らの言葉を聞いていた。(9) おじいさんはスプーンと皿を彫りに行った。(10) ウサギは言った…(11) おばあさんは座っていて、自分の指貫を飲み込んで眠ってしまった。(12) ウサギは家の上に登った。(13) そして家の上から何度も滑り降りた。(14) そしてウサギは呼んだ:

### 5 Hare (told by A.G. Shadrina in 1997)

- (15) "epie!" (16) öjl'e. (17) "epie!" (18) öjl'e. grandmother not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) grandmother not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg)
- (19) terikie-die tude nohī-le amladaj-dele iŋrū-l'el. old.woman-dim 3sg:gen thimble-ins swallow:pfv-ss.seq fall.asleep-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
- (20) t'olhorā-die taŋdiet umul-ge ē unuŋ-ge ejmugude umul-ŋin hare-DIM then island-LOC INTJ river-LOC to.the.other.side island-DAT

šewrej-l'el. (21) pulun-die kie-t'. (22) "terike," escape:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) old.man-dim come-ind.intr.3sg old.woman

"min. mon-i. šowhorā loškarā!" (23) terikie-die tīne say-IND.INTR.3sG take(-IMP.2sG) wooden.plate wooden.spoon old.woman-dim prox:tmp t'olhorā-die šewrej-l'el-gele. juö-l'el-u-m, (24) "leme do.that-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG see-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG hare-DIM escape:PFV-INFR-ACC what lew-din ket'ī-mek?" (25) "t'olhorā-die šewrej-l'el." mon-i.

eat-PURP bring-IND.TR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG hare-DIM escape:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)

(26) pulun-die, pulun-die tāt qaṇinā-m. (27) "t'olhorā-die

(26) pulun-die, pulun-die tāt qaŋinā-m. (27) "t'olhorā-die old.man-dim old.man-dim anph:adv chase:ipfv:inch-ind.tr.3sg hare-dim tetid'ie=de lew-dele," mon-i, "tāt l'e-jek!"

2sg:intns=emph eat-ss.seo say-ind.intr.3sg anph:adv exist-ind.intr.2sg

- (28) ibier-ge kurgom tāt qaṇinā-m. sticks.surrounding.fireplace-LOC all.round ANPH:ADV chase:IPFV:INCH-IND.TR.3SG
- (29) mure-d igeje-de-ge egie-j. (30) terikie-die shoes-gen string-poss.3-loc stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg old.woman-dim

n'oho-j. (31) ē, t'eslā-le tāt t'inej-m. fall.down-ind.intr.3sg intj adze-ins anph:adv chop:pfv-ind.tr.3sg

(15) "Grandma!" (16) No answer. (17) "Grandma!" (18) No answer. (19) The old woman had swallowed her thimble and fell asleep. (20) So, the hare ran away to the other side of the river, to the island. (21) The old man came back. (22) "Wife, take the dish and the spoon!" (23) A little bit earlier, the old woman had seen the hare running away. (24) "What shall we eat with the spoon and dish you brought? (25) The hare has just run away." (26) The old man started running after the old woman. (27) "You ate the hare alone!" (28) He started running after her around the hearth. (29) He stepped on her shoelace. (30) The old woman fell. (31) He hacked her with an adze.

(15)「おばあちゃん!」(16)返事がない。(17)「おばあちゃん!」(18)ない。(19)おばあさんは指貫を飲み込んで眠ってしまった。(20)ウサギはとうとう川の向こう岸へ島へ逃げてしまった。(21)おじいさんが来た。(22)「妻よ、食器とスプーンをうけとれ!」(23)おばあさんはさっき見ていた、ウサギが逃げてしまったのを。(24)「何を食べるために持ってきたんだい?(25)ウサギは逃げてしまったよ」(26)おじいさんは彼女を追いかけだした。(27)「ウサギをひとりで食べてしまったんだな!」(28)炉のまわりで追いかけだした。(29)おばあさんの靴の紐を踏んだ。(30)おばあさんは転んだ。(31)手斧でたたき切った。

#### 5 Hare (told by A.G. Shadrina in 1997)

(32) terikie-die, terikie-die amde-i. (33) iri-de-jle ill'aj-m. old.woman-DIM old.woman-DIM die-IND.INTR.3sG belly-poss.3-acc rip.up-ind.tr.3sg (34) n'eleme-die öil'e. (35) molin nohī=dā šohō-l. (36) "ōi INDF:what-DIM not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) thimble=EMPH enter:RES-SF only INTJ nonōn kuddie-l'el-u-m," "met terike? (37) iri-gi mon-i, why kill-infr-e-interr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg old.woman belly-poss.3 (38) el=lew-l'el ol=qode-n'e. t'olhorā-die-gele." NEG=contents-PROP(-IND.INTR.3SG) NEG=eat-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) hare-DIM-ACC (39) iri-de-jle (40) ani... ani-n l'e-ge īde-m. orpure-m, belly-poss.3-acc sew-ind.tr.3sg fish-GEN that.one-LOC hang:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG orpol'-ge. (41) tāt ugijel-me (42) t'olhorā-die bar.for.drying.fish-Loc ANPH:ADV morning-TMP leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG hare-ым umul-ge pejd'i-de ewrie-l'el. (43) šaššī-le ā-m. DST.ATTR island-LOC run:ITER-SS.SIM walk-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG) trap-INS make-IND.TR.3SG (45) terikie-die ed'ie-dele ind'e-t modo-j. (44) kie-t'. old.woman-dim be.alive:Inch-ss.seq sew:Detr-ss sit-ind.intr.3sg come-IND.INTR.3sG (46) t'olhorā-die," mon-i, "šaššī, šaššī-ge l'e-me, nušeľeš-me. hare-ым say-IND.INTR.3sg trap trap-Loc do.that-of.1sg set.up-of.1sg (47) ugijel-me qon-i. (48) t'olhorā-die ige-l'el. morning-TMP go-IND.INTR.3SG hare-ым get.caught-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) (50) tamun-gele leŋ-ŋā. (49) šaššī-ge ige-l'el. (51) n'ādude, trap-LOC get.caught-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) DST-ACC eat-pl:IND.TR.3 that's.enough tandelme t'emie-t'. meanwhile end:pfv-IND.INTR.3sG

(32) The old woman died. (33) He slashed her stomach. (34) There was nothing. (35) Only a thimble was inside. (36) "Oh, why did I kill my wife? (37) Her stomach is empty. (38) She didn't eat the hare." (39) He stitched up her belly. (40) And he hang her on a stick for drying fish. (41) He went out in the morning. (42) The hare was running on the island. (43) The old man made a trap. (44) He returned home. (45) The old woman came to life and sat there sewing. (46) "I set a trap for the hare," the old man said. (47) In the morning, he went off. (48) The hare was caught. (49) He fell into the trap. (50) They ate it. (51) That's enough; this is the end.

(32) おばあさんは…、おばあさんは死んだ。(33) おじいさんはおばあさんの腹を切り裂いた。(34) 何もなかった。(35) 指貫だけがそこに入っていた。(36) 「ああ、どうして殺してしまったんだろう、自分の妻を?(37) 彼女の腹は空っぽだ、(38) ウサギを食べなかったようだ」(39) 彼女の腹を縫い合わせた、(40) 魚のあれに干した、物干ざおに。(41) そして翌朝出かけた。(42) ウサギはあの島で跳び回っていた。(43) おじいさんは罠を作った。(44) 帰ってきた、(45) おばあさんは生き返って、縫物をしながら座っていた。(46) 「ウサギに罠をしかけたぞ」おじいさんは言った。(47) 翌朝行った。(48) ウサギがかかっていた。(49) 罠にかかっていた。(50) 彼らはそれを食べた。(51) これでおしまい。

#### 6 Hare

Recorded on 22 October 2002 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) pulun-die terike-dā-n'e modo-ni. (2) pulun-die old.man-dim old.woman-poss.3-com sit-pl:ind.intr.3 old.man-DIM say-IND.INTR.3sG (3) "terike. mit t'olhorā lek-ke!" (4) "terike." "mit t'olhorā mon-i. old.woman 1PL hare old.woman say-IND.INTR.3SG 1PL hare eat-IMP.1PL lek-ke!" (5) "pulut, numun šowhorā-le lek-tuök. loškarā-le?" eat-IMP.1PL old.man with.what wooden.plate-ins eat-fut:interr.1pl wooden.spoon-ins (6) "met ā-jī-t," mon-i. (7) "loškarā t'olho, eto, make-ven-fut:ind.tr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg this.one(Rus.) 1s<sub>G</sub> wooden.spoon ket'ī-t, loškarā šowhorā." (8) kebe-t' pulun-die. wooden.spoon bring-fut:IND.TR.1sg wooden.plate leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sg old.man-DIM (9) t'olhorā-die tan ažū-pe-de-ile medi-ŋā, medi-l'el-u-m. (10) d'e. DST.ATTR word-PL-POSS.3-ACC hear-PL:IND.TR.3 hear-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG hare-рім INTI nume budien arpā-t'. (11) nume budien arpaj-dele house onto climb:pfv-ind.intr.3sg house onto climb:pfv-ss.seo t'ibal'-ge (12) terikie-die inrū-l'el. juö-m.
- (13) tude nohī-le, nohī-le amladaj-dele iŋrū-l'el.

  3sg:gen thimble-ins thimble-ins swallow:pfv-ss.seq fall.asleep-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
- (14) "epie!" (15) öjl'e. (16) "epie!" (17) öjl'e. grandmother not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) grandmother not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG)

old.woman-DIM fall.asleep-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg)

(4) "Wife," he said, "let's eat our hare!" (5) "Husband, from what dish, with what spoon shall we eat?" (6) "I'll go to make (7) And bring a spoon and a dish." (8) The old man went off. (9) The hare heard their words. (10) He climbed up to the roof of the house. (11) He climbed up to the roof of the house and saw through the chimney that (12) The old woman had fallen asleep. (13) She swallowed her thimble and fell asleep. (14) "Grandma!". (15) No answer. (16)

(1) There lived an old man and his wife. (2) The old man said, (3) "Wife, let's eat our hare!"

"Grandma!" (17) Nothing.

stove.with.flue.on.the.top-loc see-IND.TR.3sG

(1) おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(2) おじいさんは言った:(3)「妻よ、わたしたちのウサギを食べよう!」(4)「妻よ、わたしたちのウサギを食べよう!」(5)「夫よ、どんな皿で食べるっていうんだい、スプーンで?」(6)「わたしは作りに行く。(7) スプーンと皿を持って来る」(8) おじいさんは出発した。(9) ウサギはその彼らの言葉を聞いていた。(10) ウサギは家の上に登った。(11) 家の上に登って煙穴から見た。(12) おばあさんは眠ったようだった。(13) 自分の指貫を飲み込んで眠ったようだった。(14)「おばあちゃん!」(15) 返事がない。(16)「おばあちゃん!」(17) 返事がない。

(18) terikie-die (19) a t'olhorā-die tandiet iŋrō-j. old.woman-DIM sleep-IND.INTR.3sG and(Rus.) hare-ым then šewre-t'. (20) unun-ge ejmugude umul-nin šewre-t'. river-LOC to.the.other.side island-DAT escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG escape:pfv-ind.intr.3sg ediet'-u-m: mežže-ť. (21) terikie-die (22) tāt old.woman-dim wake.up:pfv-ind.intr.3sg ANPH:ADV call:ITER-E-IND.TR.3SG (23) "t'olhoro!" (24) öjl'e. (25) "t'olhoro!" (26) öjl'e. hare not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) hare (27) uke-t'. (28) juö-m. (29) t'olhorā-die unuŋ-ge ejmugude go.out:pfv-ind.intr.3sg see-IND.TR.3sG hare-ым river-Loc to.the.other.side šewrej-l'el. (30) d'e, t'olhorā-die unuŋ-ge ejmugude escape:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) river-LOC to.the.other.side INTJ hare-DIM šewrej-l'el. (31) pulun-die kie-t'. (32) šowhorā-le escape:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) old.man-DIM come-IND.INTR.3SG wooden.plate-INS (33) "terike, loškarā-le kie-t'. lont'i-lle mā, šowhorā wooden.spoon-ins carve-ss.seq come-ind.intr.3sg old.woman INTJ wooden.plate (35) mit t'olhorā loškarā!" (34) "pulut, leme lew-din ket'ī-mek? wooden.spoon old.man what eat-purp bring-IND.TR.2sG 1PL hare šewrej-l'el unun ejmin." tet kimdān'e-jek. escape:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) river to.the.other.side.of INTI 2sg deceive-IND.INTR.2sg (37) tetid'ie lew-dele tāt l'e-jek!" (38) d'e tāt 2sg:intns eat-ss.seq anph:adv exist-ind.intr.2sg INTJ ANPH:ADV t'ibal'-ge ganinā-m, chase:IPFV:INCH-IND.TR.3sg stove.with.flue.on.the.top-Loc all.round

(18) The old woman was sleeping. (19) So, the hare ran away. (20) He ran to the other side of the river. (21) The old woman woke up. (22) She called out, (23) "Hare!" (24) He was not there. (25) "Hare!" (26) He was not there. (27) She went out. (28) She saw him. (29) The hare was running to the other side of the river. (30) The hare ran to the other side of the river. (31) The old man came back. (32) He made a dish and a spoon and came back. (33) "Wife, here, take the dish and the spoon!" (34) "Husband, you brought them, but what shall we eat? (35) Our hare ran away to the other side of the river." (36) "Ah, you are lying. (37) You've eaten the hare alone!" (38) He started running after the old woman around the stove.

(18) おばあさんは眠っていた。(19) ウサギはついに逃げた、(20) 川の向こう岸へ、島へ逃げた。(21) おばあさんは目覚めた。(22) 呼んだ。(23)「ウサギよ!」(24) いない。(25)「ウサギよ!」(26) いない。(27) 外へ出た。(28) 見た。(29) ウサギは川の向こう岸へ逃げてしまっていた。(30) ウサギは川の向こう岸へ逃げてしまっていた。(31) おじいさんが帰って来た。(32) 木の皿と木のスプーンを彫って来た。(33)「妻よ、そら、皿とスプーンだ!」(34)「夫よ、何を食べるために持ってきたんだい?(35) わたしたちのウサギは逃げてしまったよ、川の向こう岸へ」(36)「おまえは嘘をついているな。(37) 1 人で食べてしまったんだろう!」(38) そして追いかけはじめた、炉のまわりで。

(39) ē mure-d igeje-de-ge qorpuše-m. (40) terikie-die INTJ shoes-GEN string-POSS.3-LOC stumble:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG old.woman-ым n'oho-i. (41) a t'eslā-le titāt šowhorā loškarā and(Rus.) adze-ins anph:adv wooden.plate wooden.spoon fall.down-IND.INTR.3sG t'eslā-le t'ine-m, ā-mele=bed-e. tī=ben-de-ile, tan make-mptcp.3sg=nmlz-ins dst.attr adze-ins chop-ind.tr.3sg prox:loc=nmlz-poss.3-acc jowho-de-jle. (42) iri-de-jle ill'aj-m. (43) n'eleme-die back-poss.3-Acc belly-poss.3-ACC rip.up-IND.TR.3SG INDF:what-DIM öjl'e. (44) nohī=dā godō-l tol'ko iri-de-ge. (45) "ō met thimble=EMPH lie-SF only(Rus.) belly-Poss.3-loc not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) INTJ 1SG el=le... el=le... t'olhorā-die-gele el=lem-mele=bed-ek met terike old.woman 1sg old.woman hare-ым-асс NEG=eat-MPTCP.3SG=NMLZ-PRD kudedie-l'el-me." (46) iri-de-jle l'e-m, īde-m. kill-infr-of.1sg belly-poss.3-acc do.that-ind.tr.3sg sew-ind.tr.3sg (47) orpunrā-ge orpure-m. (48) ugijel-me egie-j. bar.for.drying.fish-Loc hang:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG morning-TMP stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG unuŋ-ge ejmugude (49) unun-ge ejmugude, qon-i. (50) šaššī-le river-LOC to.the.other.side river-LOC to.the.other.side go-IND.INTR.3sG trap-ins (51) kie-t'. ā-m. (52) terikie-die omolbā-l'el. old.woman-DIM be.good:INCH-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) make-IND.TR.3sG come-IND.INTR.3sG (53) iri-gi, iri-gi, johor-gi t'umut omolbā-l'el. belly-poss.3 belly-poss.3 wound-poss.3 all be.good:INCH-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) (54) šohurpā-l'el. (55) "ē," (56) pulun-die ajā-t heal.up-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) old.man-DIM rejoice-ss die-IND.INTR.3sG INTJ tamun-ge. DST-LOC

(39) He got her entangled in her fur boot lace. (40) The old woman fell. (41) He hacked her with the adze he had made the dish and the spoon; he hacked her here, in the back. (42) He slashed her stomach. (43) Nothing was there. (44) There was only a thimble in her stomach.

- (45) "Oh, I killed my wife who didn't eat the hare." (46) He stitched up her belly. (47) He hung her on the stick used for drying fish. (48) In the morning, he woke up. (49) He went to the other side of the river. (50) He made a trap. (51) He came back home. (52) The old woman had recovered. (53) Her belly, her wound had healed. (54) It had healed. (55) "Oh!" (56) The old man felt so happy that he could die.
- (39) 靴紐を踏んでつまづかせた。(40) おばあさんは転んだ。(41) おじいさんは手斧でこんな風に、皿やスプーンを作ったやつで、手斧でたたき切った、ここにあるものを、おばあさんの背中を。(42) 腹を切り裂いた。(43) 何もなかった。(44) 腹の中に指貫があるだけだった。(45) 「おお、わたしの妻を、ウサギを食べなかったのを殺してしまった」(46) 腹を縫った。(47) 物干しざおに干した。(48) 翌朝起きた。(49) 川の向こう岸へ行った。(50) 罠を作った。(51) 帰って来た。(52) おばあさんは治っていた。(53) 腹は、傷はすっかり治っていた。(54) 癒えていた。(55) 「おお」(56) おじいさんは死ぬほど喜んだ。

#### 6 Hare (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2002)

- (57) terike ed'ie-j. (58) tudid'ie pon'ō-j. old.woman be.alive:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG 3sg:INTNs remain-IND.INTR.3sg
- (59) ugijel-me qon-i. (60) t'olhorā-die šaššī-ge ige-l'el. morning-tmp go-ind.intr.3sg hare-dim trap-loc get.caught-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
- (61) t'olhorā-die-gele ket'ī-ŋā. (62) n'elbet-ŋā. (63) pan-ŋā. hare-dim-acc bring-pl:ind.tr.3 skin-pl:ind.tr.3 cook-pl:ind.tr.3
- (64) leŋ-ŋā. (65) n'ādude. eat-PL:IND.TR.3 that's.enough

(57) The old woman had come back to life. (58) She was alone. (59) In the morning, he went off. (60) The hare had fallen into the trap. (61) They caught the hare. (62) They skinned it. (63) They boiled it. (64) They ate it. (65) That's enough.

- (57) おばあさんは生き返った。(58) ひとりで残っていて。(59) おじいさんは翌朝行った。
- (60) ウサギが罠にかかっていた。(61) ウサギを運んできた。(62) 皮を剥いだ。(63) 煮た。
- (64) 食べた。(65) おしまい。

#### 7 Hare

Recorded on 16 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) pulun-die (2) t'olhorā-die-le terike-de-n'e modo-ni. old.man-dim old.woman-poss.3-com sit-pl:ind.intr.3 hare-DIM-INS (4) "terike. (3) irkid'e pulun-die mon-i: mit t'olhorā uö-n'e-ni. child-prop-pl:ind.intr.3 old.man-DIM say-IND.INTR.3sG old.woman 1PL hare once lek-ke!" (5) a terike-gi (6) "pulut, numun mon-i: and(Rus.) old.woman-poss.3 say-ind.intr.3sg еат-імр.1рі. old.man with.what šowhorā-le loškarā-le lek-tuök?" (7) "met ugujie gon-teje. wooden.plate-ins wooden.spoon-ins eat-fut:interr.1pl tomorrow go-fut:Ind.intr.1sg 1sg "šowhorā loškarā." (8) lont'i-jī-t," (9) ugijel-me mon-i. carve-ven-fut:ind.tr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg wooden.plate wooden.spoon morning-тмР pulun-die. (10) tami-dele kebe-t' n'umud'ī stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg old.man-DIM dress.oneself-ss.seo leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg axe min-dele t'eslā min-dele. (11) terikie-die ind'e-i. (12) ind'e-lle take-ss.seo adze take-ss.seo old.woman-dim sew:detr-ind.intr.3sg sew:DETR-SS.SEQ ind'e-lle tude nohī-gele amladaj-l'el-u-m. sew:detr-ss.seq 3sg:gen thimble-acc swallow:pfv-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg (14) t'olhorā-die tin (13) inrū-l'el. ažū-pe-de-ile PROX:ATTR word-PL-POSS.3-ACC fall.asleep-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) hare-рім titte-gele, "kudede-din l'e-ŋā," ann'e-ni-de-ile, mon-u-t. hear-IND.TR.3SG speak-PL-POSS.3-ACC 3PL-ACC kill-purp exist-pl:ind.tr.3 say-e-ss
- (1) There lived an old man and his wife. (2) They kept a hare as a child. (3) One day, the old man said, (4) "Wife, let's eat our hare!" (5) The old woman said, (6) "Husband, from what dish and with what spoon shall we eat?" (7) "I'll go to fetch them tomorrow. (8) I'll make a dish and a spoon." (9) In the morning, the old man woke up. (10) He put on his clothes and went out with his adze. (11) The old woman was sewing. (12) She sewed and sewed, and she swallowed her thimble. (13) She fell asleep. (14) The hare heard their words. He heard that they wanted to kill him.
- (1) おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(2) 彼らはウサギを子供としていた。(3) あるときおじいさんが言った:(4)「妻よ、わたしたちのウサギを食べよう!」(5) おばあさんは言った:(6)「夫よ、どんな食器やスプーンで食べるっていうんだい?」(7)「わたしが明日行くよ、(8) 皿とスプーンを彫りに行くよ」(9) おじいさんは翌朝起きた。(10) 服を着て出かけた、斧を持って、手斧を持って。(11) お婆さんは縫物をしていた。(12) 縫物をしていて、自分の指貫を飲み込んでしまった、(13) 眠ってしまった。(14) ウサギはその彼らのことばを聞いた、彼らがしゃべるのを、自分を殺そうとしているって。

#### 7 Hare (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

(15) arpā-t'. (16) nume budien arpā-t'. (17) tibidaṇil'-gen climb:PFV-IND.INTR.3sg house onto climb:PFV-IND.INTR.3sg stovepipe-PROL
mežže-j. (18) juö-m: (19) terikie-die iŋrū-l'el, hear:detr-ind.intr.3sg see-ind.tr.3sg old.woman-dim fall.asleep-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
tude nohī-le amladaj-dele. (20) "epie!" (21) öjl'e, 3sg:gen thimble-ins swallow:pfv-ss.seq grandmother not.exist(-ind.intr.3sg)
al=ažū-gi. (22) "epie!" (23) öjl'e. (24) iŋrō-j.  NEG=word-poss.3 grandmother not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) sleep-IND.INTR.3sg
(25) terikie-die iŋrū-l'el. (26) ā šewre-t'. old.woman-dim fall.asleep-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) intj escape:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
(27) l'e-lle pömude-lle pömude-lle nume budie, šewre-t'. exist-ss.seq slide.down-ss.seq slide.down-ss.seq house on escape:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
(28) unuŋ-ge ejmugude šewre-t'. (29) terikie-die river-Loc to.the.other.side escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3sg old.woman-DIM
mežže-t'. (30) "t'olhoro!" (31) öjl'e t'olhoro. wake.up:pfv-ind.intr.3sg hare not.exist(-ind.intr.3sg) hare
(32) "t'olhoro!" (33) pullugude uke-t'. (34) andā unuŋ-ge ejmugude hare outside go.out:pfv-ind.intr.3sg med:loc river-loc to.the.other.side
šewrej-l'el, terikie-die ē t'olhorā-die. (35) pulun-die escape:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) old.woman-dim intj hare-dim old.man-dim
kie-t'. (36) "terike min," mon-i, "šowhorā loškarā!" come-ind.intr.3sg old.woman take(-imp.2sg) say-ind.intr.3sg wooden.plate wooden.spoon

(15) He climbed up. (16) He climbed up to the top the house. (17) He heard them through the chimney. (18) He saw, (19) The old woman swallowed her thimble and fell asleep. (20) "Grandma!" (21) But no voice was heard. (22) "Grandma!" (23) No answer. (24) She was sleeping. (25) The old woman had fallen asleep. (26) The hare ran away. (27) He, er..., rolled down from the top of the house and ran away. (28) He ran away to the other side of the river. (29) The old woman woke up. (30) "Hare!" (31) There was no hare. (32) "Hare!" (33) She went out. (34) The old woman, no, the hare ran away, to the other side of the river. (35) The old man came back. (36) "Wife, take the dish and the spoon!"

(15) 登った。(16) 家の上に登った。(17) 煙穴を通して聞いた。(18) 見た。(19) お婆さん は眠ったようだった、指貫を飲み込んで。(20)「おばあちゃん!」(21)いなかった。(22) 「おばあちゃん!」(23) 返事がなかった。(24) 眠っていた。(25) おばあさんは眠ったよ うだった。(26) ウサギは逃げた。(27) 家の上で何度も滑り下りてから逃げた。(28) 川の 向こう岸へ逃げた。(29) おばあさんは目を覚ました。(30)「ウサギよ!」(31) ウサギは いない。(32)「ウサギよ!」(33)外へ出た。(34)川の向こう岸へ逃げたようだった、お 婆さん、いや、ウサギは。(35) おじいさんが帰って来た。(36) 「妻よ、そら、皿とスプー ンだ!」

#### 7 Hare (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

(37) "pulut," mon-i, "noŋōn ket'ī-mek? (38) mit t'olhorā old.man say-IND.INTR.3sG why bring-IND.TR.2sG 1PL hare šewrei-l'el." (39) "ōj kimdān'e-t tāt l'e-iek," INTJ deceive-ss ANPH:ADV exist-IND.INTR.2SG escape:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) t'eslā-gele mid'-u-m. (40) tude (41) tāt 3sg:gen adze-acc say-IND.INTR.3sg take-E-IND.TR.3sG ANPH:ADV  $(42) \bar{a}$ qorput'ī-t, qorput'ī-t n'oho-j. (43) tamun ganinā-m. chase:IPFV:INCH-IND.TR.3SG INTJ stumble-ss stumble-ss fall.down-IND.INTR.3sg DST (44) terikie-die t'eslā-le t'inej-m. amde-j. (45) iri-de-jle adze-ins chop:pfv-ind.tr.3sg old.woman-DIM die-IND.INTR.3SG belly-poss.3-ACC ill'aj-m. (46) n'eleme öil'e. (47) nohī=dā qodō-l tol'ko. INDF:what not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) thimble=EMPH lie-sF only(Rus.) rip.up-IND.TR.3sG (48) "ō met terikie," "kimdān'e-t kudedie-l'el-d'e, juö-mek!" mon-i, INTJ 1sg old.woman say-IND.INTR.3sg deceive-ss kill-infr-ind.intr.1sg see-ind.tr.2sg (49) iri-de-ile (50) orpunrā-ge īde-m. orpure-m. belly-poss.3-acc sew-ind.tr.3sg bar.for.drying.fish-LOC hang:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG (51) ugijel-me (52) t'olhorā-die t'uge-gen kebe-t'. egie-j. morning-TMP stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG hare-ым track-prol leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg (53) umul molho šaššī-k ā-mele, plashka. (54) kie-t'. (55) juö-m. island in trap-Foc make-of.3sg trap(Rus.) come-IND.INTR.3SG see-IND.TR.3SG (56) terikie-die endā ed'ie-dele ind'e-t modo-j. (57) t'uö old.woman-dim med:loc be.alive:inch-ss.seq sew:detr-ss sit-ind.intr.3sg already ed'ie-l'el. be.alive:INCH-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg)

(37) "Husband, what did you bring them for? (38) Our hare has just run away." (39) "You want to cheat me!" (40) He took his adze. (41) He started running after her. (42) The old woman stumbled and fell. (43) He hacked her with the adze. (44) The old woman died. (45) He slashed her stomach. (46) There was nothing there. (47) Just the thimble was inside. (48) "Oh, I've killed my wife by mistake, look!" (49) He stitched up the old woman's belly. (50) He hung her on the stick for drying clothes. (51) The next morning, he got up. (52) He followed the hare's tracks. (53) He set a trap on the island. (54) He returned. (55) The old man saw, (56) The old woman was revived, and she sat sewing there. (57) She had come back to life already.

(37)「夫よ、何のために持ってきたんだい? (38) ウサギは逃げてしまったよ」(39)「おお、嘘をついてるんだろう!」(40) 手斧を手にとった。(41) そして追いかけはじめた。(42) おばあさんはつまづいて転んだ。(43) おじいさんは手斧でたたき切った。(44) おばあさんは死んだ。(45) 腹を切り裂いた。(46) 何もなかった。(47) 指貫だけがあった。(48) 「妻をまちがって殺してしまったようだ」(49) おばあさんの腹を縫い合わせた。(50) 物干し竿に掛けた。(51) 翌朝起きた。(52) ウサギの足跡にしたがって行った。(53) 島で罠を作った。(54) 帰ってきた。(55) 見た。(56) おばあさんは生き返って、縫物をしながら座っていた。(57) もう生き返っていた。

#### 7 Hare (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

(58) tuön-gi t'umu-gi šohurpā-l'el. (59) tāt ugijel-me
PROX-POSS.3 all-POSS.3 heal.up-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG) ANPH:ADV morning-TMP

egie-dele pulun-die kebe-t'. (60) šaššī juö-jī-m.

stand:INCH-SS.SEQ old.man-DIM leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG trap see-VEN-IND.TR.3SG

(61) t'olhorā-die šaššī-ge ige-l'el (62) ket'ī-nā tamun-s

- (61) t'olhorā-die šaššī-ge ige-l'el. (62) ket'ī-ŋā, tamun-gele. hare-dim trap-loc get.caught-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) bring-pl:ind.tr.3 dst-acc
- (63) n'elbet-tele pat-tele leŋ-ŋā. (64) n'ādude. skin-ss.seq cook-ss.seq eat-pl:ind.tr.3 that's.enough

<sup>(58)</sup> Her wound had healed already. (59) The next morning, the old man woke up and went off. (60) He went to check his trap. (61) The hare was caught in the trap. (62) They brought it. (63) They skinned it, boiled it, and ate it. (64) That's enough.

<sup>(58)</sup> 彼女のそれ(傷) はすっかり癒えていた。(59) そして翌朝起きて、おじいさんは出かけた。(60) 罠を見に行った。(61) ウサギが罠にかかっていた。(62) 運んできた。(63) 皮を剥いで煮て食べた。(64) おしまい。

## 8 Debegei

and'e-t-tejek.

eye-prop.inch-fut:ind.intr.2sg

Recorded on 27 July 1997 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) debegei, debegei modo-i. (2) t'ūl'd'ī, t'ūl'd'ī pulut-e punnume-n'e-j. Debegei Debegei sit-IND.INTR.3sG tale ogre-ins neighbor-prop-IND.INTR.3sG t'ūl'd'ī pulut-ke, terike-gi al=and'e-n'. (3) tan (4) tāt old.woman-poss.3 NEG=eye-prop(-IND.INTR.3sG) DST.ATTR ogre-LOC ANPH:ADV debegej modo-dolo mon-i: (5) "ā tudā uöŋō-t," mon-i. "and'e ālō Debegei sit-ss.seq say-IND.INTR.3sg INTJ before be.young-ss say-IND.INTR.3sG eye iedutei-nunnu." (6) "debegej monohot-t'ok?" mon-i. be.visible:CAUS:PFV-HBT(-IND.TR.1SG) Debegei say.what-IND.INTR.2sG say-IND.INTR.3sG tabud-e kudelej-tejek," (8) "pundu-k, debegej mon-i. INTJ again DST-INS prepare:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG tell-IMP.2sG Debegei kimďeš!" (9) "gon," "nume-nin. (10) gon-dolo," mon-i. stand.firm(-IMP.2sG) go(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG house-DAT go-ss.seq "tet terike. tet terike-nin mon." mon-i. mon-i, say-Ind.intr.3sg 2sg old.woman 2sg old.woman-dat say(-imp.2sg) say-ind.intr.3sg kurgom pohožīde ewre-gen. sticks.surrounding.fireplace-LOC all.round on.one's.knees walk-IMP.3sG 2sg "šukume tāt l'e-k. jolo-do-ho." mon-i. t'ine-k. say-IND.INTR.3sg at.random ANPH:ADV do.that-IMP.2sg chop-IMP.2sg back-poss.3-loc t'ūl'd'ī pulut qon-i. (14) "terike, ďe well(Rus.) ogre go-IND.INTR.3SG old.woman INTJ

(1) There lived Debegei. (2) He lived next door to the Ogre. (3) The Ogre's wife was blind. (4) So, Debegei was sitting and he said, (5) "Formerly, when I was young, I healed people's eyes." (6) "Debegei, what did you say?" (7) "Uh, you can also start like this." (8) "Tell me, please, Debegei." (9) "Go home. (10) Go home and tell your wife (11) To walk on her knees around

rejoice-IMP.2sG

(15) ajā-k!"

Debegei." (9) "Go home. (10) Go home and tell your wife (11) To walk on her knees around the hearth. (12) And you, hit her bottom at random." (13) The Ogre went home and said, (14) "Wife, you will see. (15) Rejoice!"

(1) デベゲイが暮らしていた。(2) 人喰い鬼が隣人だった。(3) その人喰い鬼の妻は目が見えなかった。(4) そしてデベゲイは座っていて言った:(5)「むかし若い頃には(人々の)目を見えるようにしてやったものだ」(6)「デベゲイ、何だって?」(7)「おまえもこういう風にすればいい」(8)「教えてくれ、デベゲイ、お願いだ!」(9)「家へ行け。(10)(家へ)行っておまえの妻に言え、(11) 炉のまわりを膝をついて歩くようにと。(12) おまえは手当たり次第にあれしろ、たたき切れ、彼女の背中を」(13) 人喰い鬼は家へ行った(14)「妻よ、目が見えるようになるぞ、(15) 喜べ!」

```
(16) "ī, lem-dik ā-din
                              l'e-me?"
                                          mon-i.
                                                           (17) "tet pohožīde
    INTJ what-foc make-purp exist-of.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                               2sg on.one's.knees
                                           kurgom," mon-i.
ewre-k,
             ibier-ge
                                                                      (18) tamun t'eslā-le
walk-IMP.2sG sticks.surrounding.fireplace-LOC all.round say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                                  adze-ıns
                                                                          DST
                               šukume and'e ajbišī-dele
min-dele d'e, jolo-do-ho
                                                                t'ine-m.
take-ss.seq intj back-poss.3-loc at.random eye
                                                blindfold-ss.seq chop-ind.tr.3sg
                                                    kurgom qon-dolo. (20) tāt
(19) t'ine-m
                    t'ine-m
                                    t'ine-m,
    chop-IND.TR.3sG chop-IND.TR.3sG all.round go-ss.seQ
                                                                             ANPH:ADV
and'e-le johodaj-m.
                                 (21) tude
                                              terike-gele
                                                              t'itte t'umu
                                      3sg:gen old.woman-acc all
eye-ins open:caus:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
t'ine-l'el-u-m.
                      (22) t'umu kudedie-l'el-u-m.
                                                       (23) "ōj, debegej lem-dik
                                                            ınтj Debegei what-гос
                                  kill-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg
chop-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg
                           all
            (24) met terike-gele
                                                        juö-mek?"
ā-mele?
                                     kudedešt'īl'e-m,
                                                                       (25) debegej-ŋin
make-of.3sg
                 1sg old.woman-Acc kill:caus-Ind.tr.3sg see-Ind.tr.2sg
                                                                           Debegei-dat
                               sumā-lek
                                            l'ie-l'el-u-l,
                                                           t'omō-d'e. (27) meshok-ok
gon-i.
               (26) nu,
                    well(Rus.)
                               big.sack-foc exist-INFR-E-SF be.big-JPTCP
go-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                           bag(Rus.)-PRD
chto li?
             (28) debegej-gele tā
                                                        (29) šinšaj-dele pie-d
                                                                                 īt'e-nin
                                        šinšaj-m.
perhaps(Rus.)
                  Debegei-ACC DST.LOC cram-IND.TR.3SG
                                                             cram-ss.seo hill-gen tip-dat
                                                īt'e-get alhude jalhil-nin
arpušaj-m.
                         (30) tāt
                                        pie-d
                              ANPH:ADV hill-GEN tip-ABL down lake-DAT
climb:caus:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
peššej-tem,
                        töw-dele.
                                    (31) tāt
                                                   debegej mon-i:
throw:pfv-fut:ind.tr.3sg close-ss.seo
                                         ANPH:ADV Debegei say-IND.INTR.3SG
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(16) "Yee, what are you going to do?" (17) "Crawl on your knees around the hearth." (18) He took an adze, chopped her bottom, blindfolded her, and chopped her here and there. (19) He chopped, chopped, chopped, walking around her. (20) Then, he opened his eyes. (21) It turned out that he had hacked his wife to death. (22) He had killed her completely. (23) "Oh, what has Debegei done? (24) It was all because of him that I've killed my wife, look!" (25) He went to Debegei. (26) There was a large sack. (27) It was a sack perhaps. (28) He put Debegei in it. (29) He put him in the sack and took it to the top of the hill. (30) He will throw the sack, tied up, into the lake. (31) And Debegei said,

(16)「イー、おまえは何をするつもりなんだい?」(17)「膝をついて歩き回れ、炉のまわりを」(18)彼は手斧を手に取って、彼女の後ろで手当たり次第に目隠ししてたたき切った。(19)たたき切った、ぐるっと歩きながら。(20)そして目を開けた。(21)自分の妻をすっかり叩き切ってしまった。(22)すっかり殺してしまった。(23)「おお、デベゲイは何をしたんだ?(24)彼はわたしにわたしの妻を殺させた、見ろ!」(25)デベゲイのところへ行った。(26)大袋があったようだ、大きな。(27)袋だったのかな?(28)デベゲイをそこに押し込んだ。(29)押し込んで、山頂に運び上げた。(30)そして山頂から下の湖へ投げ込むのだ、閉じて。(31)するとデベゲイは言った:

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(32) "t'ūl'd'ī_pulut," mon-i,
                                          met t'ohoje-d abut jonrā-l'el-me,"
                     say-IND.INTR.3sg INTJ 1sg knife-gen case forget-INFR-of.1sg
    ogre
                "nume-ge. (33) tamun t'ūd'ī-t
                                                      tet-kele
say-IND.INTR.3sg house-loc
                                        play.a.trick-ss 2sg-Acc
el=inruš-u-t.
                                  (34) mundej-k,
                                                  jaq!" (35) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut
NEG=sleep:CAUS-E-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG
                                       fetch-IMP.2sg INTJ
                                                               ogre
                      tanide nume-nin. (36) t'ohoje-d abut-ki
                                                                    mundej-mele.
leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg dst.dir house-dat
                                              knife-gen case-poss.3 fetch-of.3sg
                                          qoqt'i-n šanaha-k medū-l.
(37) tātl'elle, mod'e_lemdik, āt'e-n
                                                                          (38) "lem-dik,"
                             reindeer-gen hoof-gen clack-foc be.heard-sf
    then
             INTJ
                                                                               what-Foc
                "tī
                          godō-l?" (39) "ē," mon-i,
mon-i.
                                                              "met and'e-lek, and'e
say-IND.INTR.3SG PROX:LOC lie-SF
                                        INTJ say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg eye-foc
ijū-ge," mon-i,
                          "met and'e-lek l'e-me,
                                                        (40) kak_po-jukagirski
                                          do.that-of.1sg
ache-Loc say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg eye-Foc
                                                             how.it.will.be.in.Yukaghir(Rus.)
                                                                         (42) "ē, met-ul
                       (41) and'e-lek emtedej-nu-me," mon-i.
zabyla dazhe.
I've.even.forgotten(Rus.)
                            eye-Foc
                                      cure-ipfv-of.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                              INTI 1SG-ACC
                                (43) "met-ke āi
                                                   and'e el=l'en,"
l'e-k,"
               mon-i.
do.that-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                    1sg-loc again eye
                                                         NEG=be.visible(-IND.INTR.3sG)
                (44) "met-ul met and'e l'e-k."
                                                        (45) "tet johodaj-k,"
                     1sg-acc 1sg eye
                                                             2sg open:caus:pfv-imp.2sg
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                         do.that-IMP.2sG
mon-i,
                "tannigi. (46) sumā
                                       aŋil'-gi
                                                       igeje-le
                                                                uldō-i."
                               big.sack opening-poss.3 string-INS be.tied-IND.INTR.3sG
say-IND.INTR.3sg then
(47) johodaj-m.
    open:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
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(32) "Ogre, I forgot my sheath at home. (33) The sheath will not let you sleep well. (34) Come on, go and bring it!" (35) And the Ogre went back home. (36) He went to get the sheath of Debegei. (37) Then, what is it? He heard the steps of a reindeer. (38) "What is lying here?" (39) "Eh, my eyes are bad, my eyes …(40) How it will be in Yukaghir, I've even forgotten…(41) I'm curing my eyes." (42) "Eh, do that for me. (43) My eyes can't see well too. (44) Cure my eyes." (45) "Then, open the sack. (46) The opening is tied with a rope." (47) The man opened the sack.

(32)「人喰い鬼よ、わたしはナイフ入れを忘れてしまった、家に。(33) それは化けてでておまえを眠らせないだろう。(34) 取りに行け、そら!」(35) 人喰い鬼は家へ去った。(36) デベゲイのナイフ入れを取りに行った。(37) しばらくすると、トナカイの蹄の音が聞こえた。(38)「何だろうここにあるのは?」(39)「わたしは目を、目が悪いので、わたしは目をあれしている。(40) ユカギール語で何て言うんだったっけ、忘れてしまったよ。(41) 目を治療している」(42)「エー、私をあれしろ。(43) わたしも目が見えないのだ。(44) わたしを、わたしの目をあれしてくれ」(45)「それなら、おまえは袋を開けてくれ。(46) 袋の口は紐で縛られている」(47) 開けた。

```
(48) uke-t'.
                            (49) sumā-get
                                             uke-t'.
                                                                     (50) āt'e-gi,
                                 big.sack-ABL go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                          reindeer-poss.3
    go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
āt'e-le
            kel-l'el.
                                     (51) erpeje-lek. (52) sumā-de-ge
                                                                              šinšaj-m.
reindeer-INS come-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)
                                          Ewen-PRD
                                                           big.sack-poss.3-Loc cram-IND.TR.3sG
(53) igeje-de-jle
                      ulte-m.
                                    (54) āt'e-de-ge
                                                            imā-j.
    string-poss.3-ACC tie-IND.TR.3sG
                                         reindeer-poss.3-loc sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG
(55) t'uge-de-ge
                                                     (56) d'e kie-t'.
                     jolohude kebe-t'.
    track-poss.3-loc back
                               leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                          INTJ come-IND.INTR.3SG
(57) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut kie-t'.
                                     (58) "debegej," mon-i,
                                                                      "mā tetl'e.
    ogre
                   come-IND.INTR.3sG
                                          Debegei
                                                     say-ind.intr.3sg intj 2sg:subst
t'ohoje-d abut min!"
                             (59) "ē,
                                       (60) "tamun sumā
                                                             molho-do-hot
knife-gen case take(-IMP.2sg)
                                                     big.sack inside-poss.3-ABL
                                  INTJ
                                            DST
                (61) "bi_əšum_debegej_bišə." (62) ja_znachit_ne_debegej.
                                                                                  (63) "ē,
mon-i,
                     I'm.not.Devegei(Ev.)
                                                    it.means.I'm.not.Debegei(Rus.)
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                                       INTJ
      kimdān'ā-jek!"
                                (64) d'e, tintan
                                                     sumā-gele taŋ
                                                                           jalhil-ŋin
again deceive:INCH-IND.INTR.2SG
                                    INTJ ANPH:ATTR big.sack-ACC DST.ATTR lake-DAT
                     (65) d'e, nume-nin kebe-t'.
                                                                (66) nume-nin
peššej-m.
throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                          INTI house-dat leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                     house-DAT
                              (67) mod'e lemdik, debegej modo-j.
kebej-dele
                juö-m:
                                                                            (68) "debegej,
leave:pfv-ss.seq see-ind.tr.3sg
                                                   Debegei sit-IND.INTR.3sG
                                   INTJ
                                                                                 Debegei
tet qodit, qot
                      kie-t'ek?"
                                         mon-i.
                                                          (69) "met tet-ul
                                                                             ialhil-ge
2sg why from.where come-IND.INTR.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                               1sg
                                                                     2sg-acc lake-loc
peššej-me=bed-ek."
throw:pfv-mptcp.1sg=nmlz-prd
```

(48) Debegei got out. (49) He got out from the sack. (50) The man had come on the reindeer. (51) He was Even. (52) So, Debegei put him into the sack. (53) He tied it with the rope. (54) He rode the Even man's reindeer. (55) He went back following his trail. (56) He came. (57) The Ogre came. (58) "Debegei, here, take your sheath!" (59) "Eh, (60) The voice came from inside the sack, (61) "bi əšum Debegej bišə." (62) It means, "I am not Debegei." (63) "Uh, you are going to cheat me again." (64) Then, he threw that sack into the lake. (65) He went home. (66) He went home and saw: (67) What!, Debegei was sitting there. (68) "Debegei, why, where did you come from? (69) I'd thrown you into the lake."

(48) 出た。(49) 袋から出た。(50) そいつはトナカイで来ていた。(51) エウェン人だった。(52) そいつを袋に突っ込んだ。(53) 紐で縛った。(54) トナカイに乗った。(55) 彼の足跡にしたがって引き返した。(56) 来た。(57) 人食い鬼が来た。(58)「デベゲイ、そら、おまえのナイフ入れを取れ!」(59)「ああ」(60) 袋の中から言った(61)「ビー・エシュム・デベゲイ・ビシェ」(62)(つまり)「わたしはデベゲイじゃない」(63)「また騙そうとしているな!」(64) その袋を湖に投げ込んだ。(65) 家へ去った。(66) 家へ行って見た:(67) なんとデベゲイが座っている。(68)「デベゲイ、おまえはどうして、どこから来たんだ?(69) わたしはおまえを湖に投げ込んだのに」

(70) "ē, āj tabud-e kudelej-tejek," (71) "met tā mon-i. INTJ again DST-INS prepare:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 1s<sub>G</sub> DST.LOC aibid'ī-ge ewre-je. (72) ajbid'ī-ge ewre-lle another.world-LOC walk-IND.INTR.1sg another.world-loc walk-ss.seq come-ind.intr.1sg (73) "tet terike ľe-i," (74) "nagā," tā mon-i. mon-i. 2sg old.woman DST.LOC exist-IND.INTR.3sg say-IND.INTR.3sg say-IND.INTR.3sG very "uöŋō-i," (75) "n'ādeli-t'e mon-i, mon-i. paj-nōt say-IND.INTR.3sg be.young-IND.INTR.3sg say-IND.INTR.3sg be.beautiful-JPTCP woman-TRANS kude-l'el. (76) uöŋō-d'ōn-ŋōt tā l'e-i tet become-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) be.young-JPTCP:NMLZ-TRANS DST.LOC exist-IND.INTR.3SG 2SG terike." (77) "debegej kimd'eš, met-ul tanide āj peššej-k. old.woman Debegei stand.firm(-IMP.2sG) 1sG-ACC DST.DIR again throw:PFV-IMP.2sG (79) d'e, al'ōdī t'omō-d'e sumā-k (78) peššej-ī-k!" mon-i. throw:pfv-ven-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg INTJ very.big be.big-JPTCP big.sack-FOC min-mele. (80) "qonto-k," (81) "tet pie-ŋin arpušaj-k." mon-i. take-of.3sg 2sg hill-dat climb:caus:pfv-imp.2sg go:CAUS-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG (83) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut tā (82) tā jaqa-ŋi. sumā-ge šög-i. DST.LOC arrive-PL:IND.INTR.3 ogre DST.LOC big.sack-LOC enter-IND.INTR.3SG (84) debegej t'umu ulte-m. (85) d'e, jalhil-nin peššej-m. Debegei all INTI lake-dat throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg tie-IND.TR.3SG INTJ (87) "met tet nikakoj ajbid'ī-ge el=ewre-je," mon-i. whatever(Rus.) another.world-loc neg=walk-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1s<sub>G</sub> el=l'uö-je," mon-i. old.woman neg=see-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg

(70) "Eh, you can also do it like this. (71) I'd been there, in the other world. (72) I had a walk in that world and came back. (73) Your wife was there. (74) She was very young. (75) She turned into a beautiful woman. (76) Your wife turned into a young woman there. (77) "Debegei, throw me there too, please! (78) Go to throw me!" (79) He took a very large sack. (80) "Carry it. (81) Take it to the hill." (82) They reached there. (83) The Ogre got into the sack. (84) Debegei tied it thoroughly. (85) And he threw it into the lake. (86) "I didn't go to any other world. (87) I didn't see your wife.

(70)「おまえもこういう風にすればいい。(71) わたしはあの世を歩いた。(72) あの世を歩いてから帰って来た。(73) おまえの妻はそこにいた。(74) 彼女はとても若かった。(75) 美しい女になっていた。(76) 若くなってそこにいた、おまえの妻は」(77)「デベゲイよ、お願いだ、わたしもそこへ投げてくれ! (78) 投げに行ってくれ!」(79) とても大きな袋を手に取った。(80)「運べ、(81) 山へ運び上げろ」(82) 彼らはそこに着いた。(83) 人喰い鬼は袋に入った。(84) デベゲイはすっかり縛った。(85) 湖に投げ込んだ。(86)「わたしはあの世になんて行っていない。(87) わたしはおまえの妻を見てないさ。

#### 8 Debegei (told by A.G. Shadrina in 1997)

(88) "met tet-ul me=kimdān'e-je!" (89) tandiet l'e-m, (90) taŋdiet 2sg-acc aff=deceive-ind.intr.1sg then do.that-ind.tr.3sg then peššej-m. (91) n'ādude tandelme. (92) tan debegej tudid'ie modo-t, that's.enough meanwhile throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg DST.ATTR Debegei 3sG:INTNS sit-ss tudid'ie modo-t pon'ō-j. 3sg:intns sit-ss remain-IND.INTR.3sG

(88) I've cheated you!" (89) After all, he did that. (90) After all he threw him into the lake. (91) That's enough. (92) Debegei remained alone and lived.

(88) わたしはおまえを騙したんだ!」(89) とうとうやった。(90) とうとう投げ込んだ。 (91) ここまで。(92) デベゲイは1人で残って暮らした。

## 9 Debegei

Recorded on 27 May 2002 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) debegei modo-i. t'ūl'd'ī pulut-e punnume-n'e-j. (2) punnume-gi, Debegei sit-IND.INTR.3sG neighbor-poss.3 ogre-ins neighbor-prop-IND.INTR.3sG (3) t'ūl'd'ī pulut terike-n'-i. (4) irkid'e t'ūl'd'ī pulut debegej-nin old.woman-prop-ind.intr.3sg Debegei-DAT ogre once ogre kött'i-j. (5) debegej mon-i: (6) "ōj tudā, tudā omot' modo-t, visit-ind.intr.3sg Debegei say-IND.INTR.3sG INTJ before before well al=and'e-n'-d'ōn=de and'e-š-nunnu." (7) t'ūl'd'ī pulut NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH eye-PROP.CAUS-HBT(-IND.TR.1sg) ogre (8) "monohot-t'ok?" mon-i. āi tabud-e say-IND.INTR.3sG say.what-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg INTJ again DST-INS kudelej-tejek," (10) "pundu-k=te pundu-k!" (11) "a mon-i. prepare:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG tell-imp.2sg=emph tell-imp.2sg and(Rus.) (12) "met terike and'e-gi el=l'en," tet gon," mon-i. 2sg go(-imp.2sg) say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg old.woman eye-poss.3 NEG=be.visible(-IND.INTR.3sg) mon-i. (13) "qon," (14) "and'e-gi jodo-k," mon-i. say-IND.INTR.3sG go(-IMP.2sG) say-IND.INTR.3sG eye-poss.3 wrap-IMP.2sG (15) "tet terike-nin mon-i. mon," mon-i. 2sg old.woman-dat say(-imp.2sg) say-ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg kurgom pohožīde (16) "ibier-ge ewre-k. (17) tet tet and'e sticks.surrounding.fireplace-LOC all.round on.one's.knees walk-IMP.2sG 2sg 2sg eye iodo-k." mon-i. wrap-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg

(1) There lived Debegei. (2) He lived next door to the Ogre. (3) The Ogre had a wife. (4) Once, the Ogre made a visit to Debegei. (5) Debegei said, (6) "In the old days, I lived well and I cured blind people." (7) The Ogre said, (8) "What did you say?" (9) "Uh, you can also do it like this." (10) "Tell, tell me!" (11) "Go home," said Debegei. (12) "My wife can't see," said the Ogre. (13) "Go home. (14) Blindfold her. (15) Tell your wife (16) To walk on all fours around the hearth. (17) Blindfold yourself.

(1) デベゲイが暮らしていた。(2) 人喰い鬼が隣人だった。(3) 人喰い鬼には妻がいた。(4) あるとき人喰い鬼はデベゲイを訪ねた。(5) デベゲイは言った:(6)「かつては良い暮らしをしていて、目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだ」(7) 人喰い鬼は言った:(8)「何だって?」(9)「ああ、おまえもこういう風にすればいい」(10)「教えてくれ、教えてくれ!」(11)「おまえは家に行け」(12) 人喰い鬼は言った:「わたしの妻は目が見えないんだ」(13) デベゲイは言った:「家に行け。(14) 妻の目を目隠ししろ。(15) おまえの妻に言え、(16) 炉のまわりを這って歩くように。(17) 自分の目を隠ししろ。

```
(18) "tātl'elle šukume t'ine-k,"
                                                       (19) "jolo-do-ho
                                                                           qon-u-t qon-u-t
                                      mon-i.
              at.random chop-IMP.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                           back-poss.3-loc go-e-ss go-e-ss
    then
t'ine-k!"
             (20) tak i sdelal. (21) "d'e, terike
                                                      and'e-t-tejek.
                 he.did.so(Rus.)
                                     INTJ old.woman eye-prop.inch-fut:ind.intr.2sg
chop-IMP.2sG
                   (23) d'e tet kiejen l'e-k,"
                                                                         (24) "pohožīde
(22) ajā-k!
                                                        mon-i.
                        INTJ 2sg before do.that-IMP.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
    rejoice-IMP.2sG
                                                                             on.one's.knees
            (25) met tet jalā," mon-i,
                                                 "qon-u-t t'ohoje-le t'umu titāt
go(-IMP.2sG)
                 1sg 2sg after say-ind.intr.3sg go-e-ss knife-ins all
t'ine-t!"
                    mon-i.
                                     (26) tan
                                                   terikie-die
                                                                   pohožīde
chop-fut:ind.tr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                          DST.ATTR old.woman-DIM on.one's.knees
                 pohožīde
                                ibier-ge
                                                              kurgom tāt
stand:INCH-SS.SEQ on.one's.knees sticks.surrounding.fireplace-LOC all.round ANPH:ADV
                      (27) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut köwde-m
pet'ie-j.
                                                        köwde-m
                                                                        t'ine-m
run:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG
                                         beat-IND.TR.3SG beat-IND.TR.3SG chop-IND.TR.3SG
                           ogre
                                (28) tātl'elle juö-m:
                                                            (29) tude
                                                                         terikie-gele
t'ine-m
                t'ine-m.
chop-IND.TR.3SG chop-IND.TR.3SG
                                     then
                                             see-IND.TR.3SG
                                                                 3sg:gen old.woman-acc
                                      t'ohoje-le t'ine-t. (30) "ōj debegej lem-dik
                kudedie-l'el-u-m,
sovsem
completely(Rus.) kill-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sG knife-INS chop-ss
                                                             INTI Debegei what-Foc
                        (31) met terike
                                             kudedešt'īl'e-mle," mon-i.
            juö-k.
make-of.3sg see-IMP.2sg
                             1sg old.woman kill:caus-of.3sg
                                                                 say-ind.intr.3sg
(32) debegej-nin mon-i:
                                  (33) "tet," mon-i,
                                                              "met terike
    Debegei-DAT say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                       2sg
                                             say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg old.woman
kudedešt'īl'e-mek," mon-i.
kill:caus-ind.tr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
```

(18) Then, chop at random. (19) Walk after her and chop!" (20) So the Ogre did. (21) "Wife, you'll be able to see. (22) Rejoice! (23) Come on, well. (24) Walk on all fours. (25) And I'll go after you and chop like this!" (26) So, the old woman got on her knees and started walking on all fours. (27) And the Ogre hit and hit, chopped and chopped. (28) Then he saw: (29) He had finally killed his wife, hacked her with the knife. (30) "Oh, what has Debegei done? Look! (31) I've killed my wife because of him!" (32) He told Debegei, (33) "I've killed my wife because of you!

(18) そして手当たり次第にたたき切れ。(19) 妻の背後を歩きながらたたき切れ!」(20) 人喰い鬼はその通りにした。(21)「妻よ、目が見えるようになるぞ。(22) 喜べ! (23) おまえはわたしの前をあれしろ。(24) 這って歩け。(25) わたしはおまえの後ろを歩いて、ナイフでこんな風にたたき切るぞ!」(26) おばあさんは膝をついて、炉のまわりを這いはじめた。(27) 人喰い鬼は何度も殴り、何度もたたき切った。(28) そして見た。(29) 自分の妻をすっかり殺してしまっていた、ナイフでたたき切って。(30)「おお、デベゲイは何をしたんだろう? 見ろ! (31) 妻を殺させた!」(32) デベゲイに言った:(33)「おまえはわたしに妻を殺させたな!

- (34) "tet mon-ol tite t'ine t'ine t'ine t'ine. 2sg say-rn like chop(-IND.TR.1sg) chop(-IND.TR.1sg) chop(-IND.TR.1sg) chop(-IND.TR.1sg) (36) "t'umu kuddie-l'el-d'e. (35) juö," mon-i. (37) sumā see(-IND.TR.1sg) say-IND.INTR.3sg all kill-infr-ind.intr.1sg big.sack (38) sumā nuk," (39) "pie-d īt'e-ηin nuk. mon-i. hill-gen tip-dat find(-IMP.2sG) big.sack find(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG jalhil-ek nutne-l. arpušaj-t tet-ul. (40) tāt qobo climb:caus:pfv-fut:ind.tr.1sg 2sg-acc ANPH:ADV down.below lake-foc be.situated-sf jalhil-nin t'eruše-t," mon-i. "tet-ul." (42) d'e pie-d DST.ATTR lake-DAT sink:CAUS-FUT:IND.TR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 2SG-ACC INTJ hill-GEN (43) "t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut," mon-i, īt'e-nin arpaj-ni. "ē met t'ohoje tip-dat climb:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3 say-IND.INTR.3sg INTJ 1sg knife ogre "nume-ge. (44) met t'ohoje mundej-k!" mon-i. jonrā-l'el-me," mon-i, forget-INFR-OF.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG house-LOC 1sg knife fetch-IMP.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg (45) "met ... tet-kele met t'ohoje t'ūd'ī-t el=inruš-u-t!" (46) d'e 2sg-Acc 1sg knife play.a.trick-ss neg=sleep:caus-e-fut:ind.intr.3sg INTJ kebe-t' t'ūl'd'ī pulut. (47) debegej t'ohoje mundej-mele. (48) tāt leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg ogre Debegei knife fetch-of.3sg ANPH:ADV sumā-ge. (49) t'umu ultie-l'el-ηā. sumā-ge qodō-j, (50) sumā molho. big.sack-Loc lie-IND.INTR.3sg big.sack-Loc all tie-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 big.sack in (51) tātl'elle (xxx), mod'e\_lemdik, āt'e-n qoqt'i-n šanaha-k medū-l. reindeer-gen hoof-gen clack-foc be.heard-sf then INTJ (52) tāt erpeje tite mon-i: ANPH:ADV Ewen like say-IND.INTR.3sg
- (34) I chopped her as you told me to; I chopped and chopped. (35) Then I saw: (36) I had killed her actually. (37) Find a sack. (38) Find a sack. (39) I'll take you to the top of the hill. (40) There is a lake down there. (41) I'll drown you there." (42) They climbed on to the top of the hill. (43) Debegei said, "Hey, Ogre! I forgot my knife at home. (44) Go bring my knife! (45) Otherwise, my knife will get weird and not let you fall asleep!" (46) The Ogre went. (47) He went for Debegei's knife. (48) Debegei was in the sack. (49) Its opening was tightly tied. (50) He was in the sack. (51) Suddenly, there was the sound of reindeer hooves. (52) Somebody said in Even,
- (34) おまえが言ったように斧で何度もたたき切った。(35) 見た。(36) すっかり殺してしまっていた。(37) 袋を見つけろ。(38) 袋を見つけろ。(39) 山頂へおまえを運び上げてやる。(40) そして、下に湖がある。(41) その湖に沈めてやる、おまえを」(42) 彼らは山頂に登った。(43) 「人喰い鬼よ、わたしはナイフを忘れてしまった、家に。(44) わたしのナイフを取りに行ってくれ。(45) ナイフはおまえにいたずらして、眠らせないだろう」(46) 人喰い鬼は去った。(47) デベゲイのナイフを取りに行った。(48) そしてデベゲイは袋の中に横たわっていた。(49) 袋の口はすっかり縛られていた。(50) 袋の中に横たわっていた。(51) すると、なんとトナカイの蹄の音が聞こえた。(52) するとエウェン語で言った:

```
(53) "lem-dik tuön," mon-i,
                                       "qodō-l?" (54) "met-ul," mon-i,
                                                                                 "tiŋ
     what-foc prox say-ind.intr.3sg lie-sf
                                                      1sg-acc say-ind.intr.3sg prox:attr
              igeje-ge peššej-k!"
                                           mon-i.
                                                            (55) peššej-m.
string big.sack string-loc throw:pfv-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                 throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
(56) mod'e_lemdik, erpeje-lek. (57) erpeje-lek. (58) āt'e-le
                                                                   ewre-t tā
                                     Ewen-PRD
                                                      reindeer-INS walk-SS DST.LOC
                     Ewen-PRD
     INTJ
                                                          (60) "tī
jaga-l'el.
                         (59) tamun-ge mon-i:
arrive-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)
                              DST-LOC
                                         say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                               PROX:LOC enter(-IMP.2sG)
                 (61) "met and'e emtedej-nu-me," mon-i.
                                                                     (62) "ā met and'e
                           eye
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                  cure-IPFV-OF.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                         INTJ 1sg eye
tozhe
           eri-t',"
                                                (63) tā
                                                                          šinšaj-m.
                                                             sumā-ge
again(Rus.) be.bad-IND.INTR.3sG say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                     DST.LOC big.sack-LOC cram-IND.TR.3SG
                                    (65) tandiet āt'e-de-ge
(64) igeje-de-jle
                      ulte-m.
                                                                    imā-j.
     string-poss.3-ACC tie-IND.TR.3SG
                                         then
                                                 reindeer-poss.3-loc sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG
                                         kebe-t'.
(66) t'uge-de-ge
                     jolohude tāt
                                                                (67) āt'e-gi
     track-poss.3-loc back
                               ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                     reindeer-poss.3
qonto-mle.
               (68) peššej-tem=el'e.
                                                  (69) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut peššej-tem.
go:CAUS-OF.3SG
                    throw:pfv-fut:ind.tr.3sg=sfc
                                                      ogre
                                                                     throw:pfv-fut:ind.tr.3sg
(70) t'ūl'd'ī pulut kel-dele
                                                (71) "mā debegej, met, debegej,"
                               mon-i:
                                                     INTJ Debegei 1sg Debegei
                   come-ss.seq say-ind.intr.3sg
mon-i,
                 "l'e-k,
                                mā," mon-i,
                                                      "tet t'ohoje!"
say-IND.INTR.3sg do.that-IMP.2sg INTJ say-IND.INTR.3sg 2sg knife
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(53) "What is lying here?" (54) "Untie the rope and release me, please," said Debegei. (55) He released Debegei. (56) It was an Even man. (57) It was an Even man. (58) He had come on the reindeer. (59) Debegei said, (60) "Get in here! (61) I'm healing eyes." (62) "Ah, I have bad eyes." (63) Debegei shoved the Even man into the sack. (64) He tied it up with a rope. (65) Then, he rode the Even man's reindeer. (66) He went back following the Even man's trail. (67) He took away the Even man's reindeer. (68) Indeed, he would throw the Even man. (69) The Ogre would throw the Even man into the lake. (70) The Ogre returned and said, (71) "Here, Debegei, take your knife!"

(53)「何だろう、これは?」(54)「わたしを、この袋の紐を解いて、出してくれ。」(55) 出してやった。(56) なんとエウェン人だった。(57) エウェン人だった。(58) トナカイに乗ってそこに来たのだった。(59) するとデベゲイは言った:(60)「ここに入れ! (61) わたしは自分の目を直しているんだ」(62)「ああ、わたしも目が悪い」(63) デベゲイはエウェン人をその袋の中に入れた。(64) 紐を縛った。(65) それからエウェン人のトナカイに乗った。(66) 彼の足跡にしたがって引き返した。(67) 彼のトナカイを連れて行った。(68) 投げてしまうだろうよ。(69) 人喰い鬼はエウェン人を湖に投げてしまうだろう。(70) 人食い鬼がやって来て言った:(71)「そら、デベゲイ、おまえのナイフだ!」

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(72) taŋ erpeje mon-i: (73) "bi_əšum_debegej_bišə."

DST.ATTR Ewen say-IND.INTR.3SG I'm.not.Debegej(Ev.)
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(74) po-evenski\_ja\_govorit\_ne\_debegej. (75) nu, l'e-ge-de-gen he.said.in.Even.I'm.not.Debegei(Rus.) well(Rus.) DST.ATTR that.one-LOC-POSS.3-PROL (76) d'e tāt igeje-de l'e-gen šinšaj-m. peššej-m string-poss.3:GEN that.one-prol cram-IND.TR.3sG INTJ ANPH:ADV throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg (xxx) bednyj n'eleme el=buruj-n'e-j jalhil-ηin. (77) sumā-ge erpeje-k lake-рат big.sack-Loc poor(Rus.) INDF:what NEG=fault-PROP-JPTCP Ewen-FOC tā papadaj-l. (78) pemere-j tandiet. (79) debegej āt'e roll.down-IND.INTR.3sg then DST.LOC fall-SF Debegei reindeer ANPH:ADV nume-nin kebe-t'. (80) debegej āt'e-le qonto-m house-dat leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg Debegei reindeer-INS go:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG šoromo-p-t-in. (81) tāt kie-t'. (82) kie-t', person-PL-POSS.3-DAT ANPH:ADV come-IND.INTR.3SG come-IND.INTR.3sG mod'e lemdik, tude nume-ge. (83) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut mon-i: (84) "debegej, 3sg:gen house-loc ogre say-ind.intr.3sg Debegei kie-t'ek," "tet? (85) tet-ul qot mon-i, from.where come-IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 2SG 2sg-acc lake-loc peššej-me=bed-ek=el'e." (86) "met tā ewre-je kenigi lebie-ge. throw:pfv-mptcp.1sg=nmlz-prd=sfc DST.LOC walk-IND.INTR.1SG other land-LOC 1s<sub>G</sub> (87) ajbid'ī-ge ewre-je," mon-i. (88) "tet terike tā another.world-LOC walk-IND.INTR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 2sg old.woman DST.LOC (89) "uöŋō-d'ōd-ek mon-i. nagā. exist-IND.INTR.3SG say-IND.INTR.3SG be.young-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD very

the other world. (88) Your wife was there. (89) She was very young.

<sup>(72)</sup> The Even man said, (73) "Bi əšum Debegej bišə." (74) He said in Even, "I'm not Debegei." (75) The Ogre put the knife into the sack. (76) Then, he threw the sack into the lake. (77) But in the sack was that poor, innocent Even man. (78) He rolled down into the lake. (79) And Debegei went home. (80) Debegei took the reindeer to the family of the Even man. (81) Then, he came back. (82) He returned home. (83) The Ogre said, (84) "Debegei, where did you come from? (85) I had thrown you into the lake." (86) "I walked on the other land. (87) I walked in

<sup>(72)</sup> エウェン人は言った: (73)「ビーエシュムデベゲイビシェ」(74) エウェン語で「わたしはデベゲイじゃない」と言った。(75) 人食い鬼はあれに、紐のあれにナイフを突っ込んだ。(76) そして湖に投げた。(77) 袋の中には…、可哀想な、罪のないエウェンがいたんだ。(78) ついに転がり落ちた。(79) デベゲイは家へ行った。(80) デベゲイはトナカイをその(エウェン人の)家族のところへ連れて行った。(81) そして帰って来た。(82) 自分の家へ帰って来た。(83) 人喰い鬼は言った: (84)「デベゲイよ、どこから来たんだ、おまえは?(85) わたしはおまえを湖に投げ込んだんだのに」(86)「わたしはあの世を歩き回った。(87) あの世を歩き回った。(88) おまえの妻はあそこにいた。(89) とても若かった。

#### 9 Debegei (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2002)

```
(90) and'e-gi āj
                     boit'e
                                 omo-t',"
                                                                       (91) "debegej tannigi
                                                      mon-i.
     eye-poss.3 again completely be.good-IND.INTR.3sG say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                           Debegei then
l'e-k."
               mon-i.
                                (92) "met-ul sumā-ge
                                                                            alhude
                                     1sg-Acc big.sack-Loc sit.on:caus-ss.seq down
do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                  (93) met met terike-nin
                                                kebej-teje."
peššej-k.
throw:pfv-imp.2sg
                       1sg 1sg old.woman-dat leave:pfv-fut:ind.intr.1sg
(94) i_tut_obmanul.
                           (95) d'e arpaj-ŋi.
                                                             (96) t'omō-d'e sumā-ge
     he.deceived.again(Rus.)
                                INTJ climb:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                 be.big-JPTCP big.sack-LOC
                (97) "d'e tilledej-k,"
šinšaj-m.
                                                                     "titāt."
                                                    mon-i.
cram-IND.TR.3sG
                     INTJ stretch.oneself:PFV-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV
(98) me=tilledej-t
                                        sumā-gele t'umu šašahadaj-m.
     AFF=stretch.oneself:PFV-ss DST.ATTR big.sack-ACC all
                                                            tear:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
(99) "omo-t'ōn
                        nuk."
                                                       "bojt'e
                                      mon-i,
     be.good-JPTCP:NMLZ find(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG completely
                             (100) t'ūl'd'ī pulut āj
el=šašahaj-tej=ben."
                                                        tanide kebe-t'
NEG=tear:PFV-FUT:JPTCP=NMLZ
                                                  again DST.DIR leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                   ogre
                                sumā-k
                                            ket'ī-mele. (102) d'e tā
nume-nin. (101) omo-t'e
                                                                             šinšaj-m.
house-dat
                 be.good-JPTCP big.sack-FOC bring-OF.3sG
                                                               INTI DST.LOC cram-IND.TR.3SG
                    (104) "d'e met terike-ge
(103) ulte-m.
                                                   nuk
                                                                 juö
                                                                                 l'e-t
                          INTI 1sg old.woman-loc find(-IMP.2sg) see(-IND.TR.1sg) exist-ss
      tie-IND.TR.3sG
                                        "ajbid'ī-ge!"
jaga-teje,"
                       mon-i,
                                                          (105) peššej-m.
arrive-fut:IND.INTR.1sg say-IND.INTR.3sg another.world-loc
                                                                throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
(106) alhude, pie-ge alhude pemere-j.
              hill-loc down roll.down-IND.INTR.3SG
```

(90) Her eyesight got better." (91) "Debegei, come on! (92) Put me into the sack too and throw me down! (93) I'll go to my wife!" (94) And Debegei cheated the Ogre again. (95) They climbed up the hill. (96) Debegei shoved the Ogre into a large sack. (97) "Here, stand up straight!" (98) When he straightened up, the sack was torn into pieces. (99) "Find a stronger sack that will be never torn," said Debegei. (100) The Ogre went home again. (101) He brought a strong sack. (102) Debegei shoved him into it. (103) He tied the sack. (104) "So, I'll reach my wife, I'll get to the other world!" (105) Debegei threw the sack down. (106) The sack rolled down the hill.

(90) 目もすっかり良くなっていた」(91)「デベゲイよ、それならあれしてくれ。(92) わたしを袋に入れて投げ落としてくれ。(93) わたしは妻のところへ行く」(94) ほらまたデベゲイは人喰い鬼を騙した。(95) 彼らは登った。(96) デベゲイは人喰い鬼を大袋に入れた。(97)「体を伸ばせこんな風に」(98) 人喰い鬼は体を伸ばして、その大袋を引き裂いてしまった。(99)「丈夫な袋を見つけろ、絶対に破れないやつを」(100) 人喰い鬼は再び家へ行った。(101) 丈夫な袋を持って来た。(102) デベゲイは人喰い鬼をそこに入れた。(103) 縛った。(104)「わたしは妻のところに行くぞ、あの世に!」(105) デベゲイは袋を投げた。(106) 袋は山を下の方へ転がり落ちた。

## 9 Debegei (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2002)

- (107) "t'ūl'd'ī pulut, met kimdān'e-je. (108) tet-ul kimdān'erī. 1sg deceive-Ind.Intr.1sg 2sg-acc deceive:APPL(-IND.TR.1sg) ogre (110) "tet (109) n'eleme-n ajbid'ī-ge el=ewre-je," mon-i. INDF:what-gen another.world-loc neg=walk-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg 2sGel=l'uö-je," (111) "met tet-ul terike mon-i. old.woman neg=see-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1s<sub>G</sub> 2sg-acc me=kimdān'erī!" (113) l'e-m." (112) i\_vsë. AFF=deceive:APPL(-IND.TR.1SG) and.that's.all(Rus.) do.that-IND.TR.3sG (115) t'erie-t' (114) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut ōžī-ge pemere-j. tandiet. water-LOC roll.down-IND.INTR.3sG ogre sink:pfv-ind.intr.3sg then (116) tudel nume-nin gon-i. (117) modo-j tudid'ie. (118) t'ūl'd'ī pulut house-dat go-ind.intr.3sg sit-ind.intr.3sg 3sg:intns ogre öjl'e. (119) tudid'ie=de omot' modo-j. (120) n'ādude. not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) 3sg:intns=emph well sit-IND.INTR.3sG that's.enough
- (107) "Ogre! I've lied to you! (108) I've cheated you! (109) I didn't go to any other world. (110) I didn't meet your wife! (111) I've cheated you!" (112) That' all. (113) Then …(114) The Ogre fell into the water. (115) And he drowned. (116) Debegei went home. (117) And he lived alone. (118) The Ogre didn't exist anymore. (119) He lived happily. (120) That's enough.
- (107)「人喰い鬼よ、わたしは嘘をついたのだ。(108) おまえを騙したのだ。(109) あの世なんて歩いていない。(110) おまえの妻になんか会わなかった。(111) わたしはおまえを騙したのだ!」(112) おしまい。(113) あれした。(114) 人喰い鬼は水の中に転がり落ちた。(115) そして沈んだ。(116) デベゲイは家へ帰った。(117) ひとりで暮らした。(118) 人喰い鬼はいない。(119) ひとりっきりで快適に暮らした。(120) おしまい。

# 10 Debegei

Recorded on 22 October 2002 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe the Magadan Region.

- (1) debegej modo-j. (2) terike-gi öjl'e.

  Debegei sit-IND.INTR.3sg old.woman-poss.3 not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg)
- (3) el=terike-t'uön modo-j. (4) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut-e punnume-n'e-t modo-j.

  NEG=old.woman-Abes sit-Ind.intr.3sg ogre-ins neighbor-prop-ss sit-ind.intr.3sg
- (5) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut terike-n'-i. (6) aŋd'e-gi öjl'e. ogre old.woman-prop-ind.intr.3sg eye-poss.3 not.exist(-ind.intr.3sg)
- (7) aŋd'e-gi el=l'en. (8) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut debegej-ŋin ewre-j. eye-poss.3 NEG=be.visible(-IND.INTR.3sG) ogre Debegei-dat walk-ind.intr.3sG
- (9) "ā," mon-i, "tudā l'e-t omot' modo-t al=and'e-n'-d'on=de INTJ say-IND.INTR.3sg before do.that-ss well sit-ss NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH and'e-š-nunnu." (10) "debegej monohot-t'ok?" (11) mon-i Debegei say.what-IND.INTR.2SG eye-prop.caus-hbt(-ind.tr.1sg) say-ind.intr.3sg t'ūl'd'ī pulut. (12) "ā āj tabud-e kudelej-tejek." (13) "pundu-k=te INTJ again DST-INS prepare:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG tell-IMP.2SG=EMPH ogre kimďeš, (14) gode met terike and'e-š-tem? (15) met, met stand.firm(-IMP.2sG) how 1sg old.woman eye-prop.caus-fut:interr.1sg 1sg 1sg (16) "qon. and'e-gi el=l'en." terike (17) nume-nin go(-IMP.2sg) old.woman eye-poss.3 NEG=be.visible(-IND.INTR.3sG) house-DAT gon," (18) "terike-nin mon," mon-i. mon-i. old.woman-dat say(-imp.2sg) say-ind.intr.3sg go(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG

(1) There lived Debegei. (2) He had no wife. (3) He lived without a wife. (4) He lived next door to the Ogre. (5) The Ogre had a wife. (6) She couldn't see. (7) She couldn't see. (8) The Ogre went to Debegei. (9) Debegei said, "In the old days, I lived well and cured blind people." (10) "Debegei, what did you say?" (11) The Ogre said. (12) "Ah, you can also do it like this." (13)

"Tell me, please. (14) How can I cure my wife's eyes? (15) My wife can't see." (16) "Go. (17) Go home. (18) Tell your wife.

(1) デベゲイが暮らしていた。(2) 妻はいなかった。(3) 妻なしで暮らしていた。(4) 人喰い鬼を隣人として暮らしていた。(5) 人喰い鬼には妻がいた。(6) 彼女は目がなかった。(7) 目が見えなかった。(8) 人喰い鬼はデベゲイのところへ行った。(9) (デベゲイは言った) 「かつては良い暮らしをしていて、目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだ」(10) 「デベゲイ、何だって?」(11) と人喰い鬼は言った。(12) 「ああ、おまえもこういう風にすればいい」(13) 「話してくれ、お願いだ。(14) どうしたら妻の目を治せるんだ? (15) わたしの妻は目が見えない」(16) 「行け。(17) 家へ行け。(18) ばあさんに言え」

```
(19) ibier-ge,
                                    ibier,
                                                               lot'il piedie-nu-j.
     sticks.surrounding.fireplace-LOC sticks.surrounding.fireplace fire
                                                                     burn-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                            ewre-k,"
                                    kurgom pohožīde
     sticks.surrounding.fireplace-LOC all.round on.one's.knees walk-IMP.2sG say-IND.INTR.3sG
(21) "d'e tamun t'ohoje min,"
                                                         (22) "t'ohoje-le titāt
                                        mon-i.
                          take(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                              knife-INS
     INTJ DST
                 knife
                                                                          ANPH:ADV
l'e-k."
                              tātl'elle terike
               (23) tan
                                                  örn'e-i
                                                                      örn'e-j
do.that-IMP.2sG
                    DST.ATTR then
                                       old.woman shout-IND.INTR.3sg shout-IND.INTR.3sg
örn'e-j.
                   (24) tāt
                                  juö-m:
                                                 (25) tude
                                                               terike-gele
                                                                               t'umu t'ohoje-le
                                                      3sg:gen old.woman-acc all
shout-ind.intr.3sg
                        ANPH:ADV see-IND.TR.3SG
                                                                                      knife-INS
                                                    (27) "ōj!" (28) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut debegej-ŋin
t'ine-l'el-u-m.
                       (26) amdā-l'el.
                                                                                  Debegei-dat
chop-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg
                            die-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)
                                                         INTJ
                                                                   ogre
                (29) "met tet-ul kudede-jī-t'e,"
                                                         mon-i.
                                                                          (30) "met terike
                          2sg-acc kill-ven-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                                    old.woman
go-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                               1sg
                    (31) omon t'ohoje-le t'ine-t kudedie-l'el-d'e.
kudedeš-mek.
                                                                         (32) jaq, sumā-ge
kill:caus-ind.tr.2sg
                                knife-ins chop-ss kill-infr-ind.intr.1sg
                                                                              INTI big.sack-Loc
                         just
                                           "met tet-ul." (33) tīmie
šewre-t,"
                                                                              meshok-oq.
                          mon-i,
enter:caus-fut:ind.tr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg
                                                 2sg-acc
                                                               PROX.QLT:ATTR bag(Rus.)-PRD
                  meshok-oq. (35) "tā
                                             šinšaj-t,"
                                                                                   (36) "pie-d
(34) kozhanyj
                                                                  mon-i.
    leather(Rus.) bag(Rus.)-PRD
                                                                                        hill-gen
                                     DST.LOC cram-fut:IND.TR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
īt'e-nin arpaj-teje.
                                    (37) arpaj-dele...."
                                                         (38) igeje-n'-i.
tip-dat climb:pfv-fut:ind.intr.1sg
                                         climb:pfv-ss.seo
                                                              string-prop-ind.intr.3sg
```

(19) Fire is burning in the hearth, (20) (Tell your wife) to walk on all fours around the hearth.

the hill. (37) When they climbed up, (38) There was a rope.

<sup>(21)</sup> Take a knife. (22) Do it with the knife like this." (23) The old woman shouted and shouted. (24) He saw: (25) He had hacked his wife completely. (26) She was dead. (27) "Oh!" (28) The Ogre went to Debegei. (29) "I have come to kill you!" (30) I've killed my wife because of you. (31) I've hacked her with the knife. (32) Now! I'll put you into a large sack." (33) It's such kind of a sack. (34) It's a leather sack. (35) "I'll put you in it. (36) And I'll climb to the top of

<sup>(19)</sup> 炉には火が燃えている。(20)「炉のまわりを這って歩け(と言え)。(21) ナイフを持て。(22) ナイフでこんな風にあれしろ」(23) そうすると、老婆は何度も叫んだ。(24) そして見た:(25) 自分の妻をすっかりナイフでたたき切ってしまっていた。(26) 彼女は死んでしまっていた。(27)「おお!」(28) 人喰い鬼はデベゲイのところへ行った。(29)「わたしはおまえを殺しに来たぞ。(30) わたしの妻を殺させたな。(31) わたしは彼女をナイフでたたき切って殺してしまったようだ。(32) そら! 大袋の中に入れてやる、わたしはおまえを」(33) こういう袋だ。(34) 皮の袋だ。(35)「そこに突っ込んでやる。(36) 山の上に登るんだ。(37) 登ってから…」(38) (それには) 紐がついているんだ。

```
(39) taŋ
              sumā
                       igeje-n'-i
                                               titāt,
                                                          botinka
                                                                         tite.
    DST.ATTR big.sack string-PROP-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV lace.boot(Rus.) like
(40) "šinšaj-t.
                         (41) jalhil-ge l'e-t,"
    cram-fut:IND.TR.1sG
                              lake-loc do.that-fut:ind.tr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                 īt'e-get ejtinide!" (42) nu
"peššej-t
                                                                    t'ūl'd'ī_pulut
throw:pfv-fut:ind.tr.1sg hill-gen tip-abl dst.dir
                                                         well(Rus.) ogre
                                                              (44) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut
t'īle-n'-i=el'e.
                             (43) d'e arpaj-ŋi.
power-prop-ind.intr.3sg=sfc
                                  INTJ climb:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                   ogre
debegej-gele sumā-ge
                          šinšaj-m.
                                           (45) sumā-ge
                                                            šinšaj-m.
                                                                            (46) "ē
Debegei-ACC big.sack-LOC cram-IND.TR.3sG
                                               big.sack-LOC cram-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                                 INTJ
t'ūl'd'ī pulut," mon-i,
                                "met nume-ge t'ohoje-lek joŋrā-l'el-me.
                                                                               (47) tet-kele
               say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg house-loc knife-foc
                                                             forget-INFR-OF.1sg
ogre
                                                                                    2sg-acc
t'ūd'ī-t
              el=inruš-u-t.
                                                (48) tamun mundej-k.
                                                                          (49) met t'ohoje
play.a.trick-ss NEG=sleep:CAUS-E-FUT:IND.INTR.3sG
                                                             fetch-IMP.2sG
                                                                               1sg knife
mundej-k!" (50) t'ūl'd'ī pulut kebe-t'
                                                       tanide, debegej nume-nin.
fetch-IMP.2sG
                                leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg dst.dir Debegei house-dat
                  ogre
               qodō-delma, "lem-dik tuön qodō-l?" mon-i.
                                                                       (52) erpeje-lek
(51) tāt
    ANPH:ADV lie-DS.SIM
                             what-FOC PROX lie-sF
                                                      say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                            Ewen-Foc
                                                             (54) "ē," mon-i,
                                                                                         "met
kelu-l. (53) āt'e-n
                          qoli-gi
                                        medi-t'.
             reindeer-GEN sound-poss.3 be.heard-IND.INTR.3sG
come-sr
                                                                  INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG 1SG
and'e-lek emtedej-me.
          cure-of.1sg
eye-Foc
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(39) There was a rope in the sack, like the lace of the boots. (40) "I'll put you into the sack. (41) I'll push you down into the lake from the top of the hill!" (42) The Ogre was very strong. (43) They climbed up the hill. (44) The Ogre shoved Debegei into the large sack. (45) He shoved him into the large sack. (46) "Eh, Ogre, I forgot my knife at home. (47) It will get weird and will not let you sleep. (48) Go and bring it. (49) Go and bring my knife!" (50) The Ogre went to the house of Debegei. (51) When Debegei was in the sack, somebody asked, "What is lying here?" (52) That was an Even man who had come there. (53) The clatter of reindeer hooves was heard. (54) "I'm curing my eyes.

(39) その大袋には紐がついている、こんな風に、革靴のように。(40)「袋に突っ込んで、(41) 湖にあれしてやる、投げ込んでやる、山頂からそこへ!」(42) 人喰い鬼は力が強いんだよ。(43) 彼らは山に登った。(44) 人喰い鬼はデベゲイを大袋の中に入れた。(45) 大袋の中に入れた。(46)「人喰い鬼よ、わたしは家にナイフを忘れてしまった。(47) それは化けてでておまえを眠らせないだろう。(48) それを取りに行け。(49) わたしのナイフを取りにいけ!」(50) 人喰い鬼はデベゲイの家へ行った。(51) そしてデベゲイが横たわっていると、「これは何がここにあるのだろう?」誰かが言った。(52) エウェン人が来たのだ。(53) トナカイの足音が聞こえた。(54) 「わたしは目を治療しているんだ。

- (55) al=and'e-n'-d'e," (56) "ē met-ul l'e-k," mon-i. NEG=eye-prop-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg INTJ 1sg-Acc do.that-IMP.2sg mon-i. (57) "met-ke āj and'e eri-t'. (58) met-ul šinšaj-k 1sg-Loc again eye 1sg-acc cram-imp.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg be.bad-IND.INTR.3sG (59) "d'e tannigi londo-k," (60) "sumā igeje londo-k." mon-i. big.sack string remove-IMP.2sG MED:LOC INTJ then remove-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG (61) londo-m. (62) tintan erpeje-gele tā šinšaj-m. remove-IND.TR.3sG ANPH:ATTR Ewen-ACC DST.LOC cram-IND.TR.3SG (63) khitryj\_debegej. (64) tā šinšaj-m. (65) igeje-de-jle ulte-m. Debegei.is.cunning(Rus.) DST.LOC cram-IND.TR.3SG string-poss.3-ACC tie-IND.TR.3sG (66) igeje-de-jle (67) āt'e-de-ge ulte-m. string-poss.3-ACC tie-IND.TR.3SG reindeer-poss.3-loc sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG (68) t'uge-de-ge jolohude kebe-t', erpeje kel-ōl-ge. (69) debegej, track-poss.3-loc back leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg Ewen come-rn-loc Debegei (70) "debegej, mā," mon-i, t'ūl'd'ī pulut kie-t'. eto, Debegei INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG 2SG this.one(Rus.) ogre come-IND.INTR.3sG t'ohoje!" (71) taŋ erpeje mon-i erpeje tite: (72) "bi əšum debegej bišə." knife DST.ATTR Ewen say-IND.INTR.3SG Ewen like I'm.not.Debegei(Ev.) (73) po-evenski\_ja\_ne\_debegej\_govorit. (74) v\_dyrku\_prosunul in.Even.I'm.not.Debegei(Rus.) he.thrust.it.into.the.hole(Rus.)
- (55) I can't see," said Debegei. (56) "Do it for me. (57) I have poor eyesight too. (58) Put me in there too," said the Even man. (59) "So, untie it. (60) Untie the rope of the sack." (61) The Even untied it. (62) Debegei put the Even man into the sack. (63) Cunning Debegei! (64) Debegei shoved the Even man into the sack. (65) He tied the rope. (66) He tied the rope. (67) He rode the reindeer. (68) And he went following the Even man's trail, along the road the Even man had taken. (69) The Ogre returned. (70) "Debegei, here, take your knife!" (71) The Even man said in the Even language, (72) "Bi əšum Debegej bišə." (73) He said in Even, "I am not Debegei." (74) The Ogre thrust the knife into the hole and threw the sack into the lake. (75) He went back home.

(75) poshël tuda k sebe domoj.

he.went.back.home(Rus.)

i\_brosil\_v\_ozero.

and.threw.into.the.lake(Rus.)

(55) わたしは目が見えない」デベゲイは言った。(56) (エウェンは言った)「わたしをあれしろ。(57) わたしも目が悪い。(58) 私をそこに入れてくれ。」(59)「それなら外してくれ。(60) 袋の紐を外してくれ」(61) 外した。(62) デベゲイはそのエウェン人をそこに入れた。(63) デベゲイはずる賢いんだ。(64) そこに入れた。(65) 紐を縛った。(66) 紐を縛った。(67) トナカイに乗った。(68) 足跡にしたがって引き返した、エウェン人の来た跡にしたがって。(69) 人喰い鬼が来た。(70)「デベゲイ、そら、おまえのナイフだ!」(71) そのエウェンは言った、エウェン語で:(72)「ビーエシュムデベゲイビシェ」(73) エウェン語で「わたしはデベゲイじゃない」と言った。(74) 穴から(ナイフを)突っ込んで、湖に投げ込んだ。(75) 自分の家へ帰った。

(76) debegej erpeje-nin āt'e-de-jle (77) jolohude qonto-m. Debegei Ewen-dat reindeer-poss.3-acc go:caus-ind.tr.3sg back n'āt'ede-t'. (78) tude nume-nin kie-t'. (79) t'ūl'd'ī pulut 3sg:gen house-dat come-ind.intr.3sg return:pfv-ind.intr.3sg ogre kie-t'ek?" nume-ge šög-i. (80) "debegej, tet qot 2sg from.where come-IND.INTR.2sg house-loc enter-IND.INTR.3sG Debegei kel-tem?" (81) "qot (82) "ajbid'ī-get mon-i. mon-i. another.world-ABL from.where come-fut:interr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg kie-t'e. (83) tā met-ul peššej-mek jalhil-ge. (84) d'e, l'e-ge come-IND.INTR.1sG DST.LOC 1SG-ACC throw:PFV-IND.TR.2SG lake-LOC INTJ that.one-LOC ewre-je," (85) "ajbid'ī-ge ewre-je. (86) tet mon-i. another.world-LOC walk-IND.INTR.1SG walk-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg 2sG(87) "naqā omo-t'e terike tā l'e-i," mon-i. paj, old.woman DST.LOC exist-IND.INTR.3SG say-IND.INTR.3SG be.good-JPTCP woman very krasivyj," "bojt'e. (88) ajbid'ī-ge mon-i, ľe-i beautiful(Rus.) say-IND.INTR.3sG completely another.world-LOC DST.LOC exist-IND.INTR.3SG (89) "naqā omolbā-l'el," tet terike," mon-i. mon-i. 2sg old.woman say-IND.INTR.3sg very be.good:INCH-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) say-IND.INTR.3sG (90) "krasivyj boit'e." (91) "debegej, met-ul, met-ul tanide qonto-k." beautiful(Rus.) completely Debegei 1sg-acc 1sg-acc dst.dir go:caus-imp.2sg (92) "t'omō-d'e sumā nuk," mon-i. be.big-JPTCP big.sack find(-IMP.2sG) say-IND.INTR.3sG

(76) Debegei led the reindeer to the Even man's house. (77) And he went back. (78) He went home. (79) He entered the Ogre's house. (80) "Debegei, where did you come from?" asked the Ogre. (81) "Where did I come from? (82) I came from the other world. (83) You had thrown me into the lake. (84) I walked there. (85) I walked round that world. (86) Your wife was there. (87) Such a beautiful woman she is! (88) In that world your wife lives. (89) She has recovered. (90) She has become such a beauty!" (91) "Debegei, take me there." (92) "So, find a large sack."

(76) デベゲイはエウェン人のところへトナカイを連れて行った。(77) 戻った。(78) 自分の家へ帰った。(79) 人喰い鬼の家に入った。(80)「デベゲイよ、おまえはどこから来たんだ?」人喰い鬼は言った。(81)「わたしがどこから来るかって? (82) あの世から来たんだよ。(83) おまえはわたしを投げ込んだろ、湖に。(84) あそこを歩いた。(85) あの世を歩いたんだ。(86) おまえの妻はそこにいた。(87) すごく美しい女だった。(88) あの世にいる、おまえの妻は。(89) 彼女はすっかり治った。(90) すっかり美しくなった」(91)「デベゲイよ、わたしをそこへ連れて行ってくれ!」(92)「大きな袋を見つけろ」(デベゲイは言った)

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(93) tā
             aduön jukō-d'ōn-get
                                            šašahadaj-tem.
                                                                         (94) d'e
                    be.small-jptcp:nmlz-abl tear:caus:pfv-fut:ind.tr.3sg
     DST.LOC MED
                                                                              INTJ
t'ūl'd'ī pulut t'omō-d'e sumā-k
                                       min-mele. (95) arpušaj-m.
                                                                                  (96) pie-ŋin
              be.big-JPTCP big.sack-FOC take-OF.3sG
                                                        climb:caus:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                                       hill-DAT
ogre
                                                    t'ūl'd'ī_pulut-kele. (98) ta
arpaj-ŋi.
                       (97) tā
                                    šinšaj-m
                            DST.LOC cram-IND.TR.3SG ogre-ACC
climb:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                              INTJ
                                              (99) t'it'egej-m.
                                    "titāt."
                                                                         (100) t'it'eget-tin
t'it'egej-k,"
                   mon-i,
stretch:pfv-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg anph:adv
                                                   stretch:PFV-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                               stretch-purp
                        (101) "nonōn tīmie-d'ōn
šašahadaj-m.
                                                             ket'ī-mek?
                                                                              (102) met
                                       be.like.this-JPTCP:NMLZ bring-IND.TR.2SG
tear:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
                              why
                                                                                    1sg
tet-in mo-d'e,"
                                          (103) "omo-t'on
                         mon-i.
2sg-dat say-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                be.good-JPTCP:NMLZ bring-IMP.2sG
                                          kebe-t'.
omo-t'e
              sumā." (104) taŋide āj
                                                                 (105) nume-nin āj
be.good-JPTCP big.sack
                            DST.DIR again leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                       house-dat again
kebe-t'.
                      (106) omo-t'e
                                          sumā-k
                                                       mundej-mele. (107) t'omō-d'e
leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                            be.good-JPTCP big.sack-FOC fetch-of.3sg
                                                                            be.big-JPTCP
                           krepkij
                                       ikl'ō-d'ōd-ek
                                                              ket'ī-mele. (108) titāt
omo-t'e
              sumā-k
be.good-JPTCP big.sack-foc strong(Rus.) be.firm-JPTCP:NMLZ-FOC bring-of.3sg
                                                                                 ANPH:ADV
                (109) d'e igeje-de-jle
                                            omot' ulte-m
                                                                                (110) d'e
                                                                  krepko.
                                                   tie-IND.TR.3sG strongly(Rus.)
cram-IND.TR.3sG
                      INTI string-poss.3-Acc well
peššej-m
                     alhude. (111) alhude peššej-m=el'e.
                                                                     (112) t'ūl'd'ī pulut
throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg down
                                    down throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg=sfc
                                                                           ogre
örn'e-gi
            medi-t'.
shout-poss.3 be.heard-IND.INTR.3sg
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(93) The Ogre would tear a sack, since (the sack) was small. (94) The Ogre brought a large sack. (95) He carried it to the top of the hill. (96) They climbed up the hill. (97) Debegei shoved the Ogre into the sack. (98) "Straighten up!" said Debegei. (99) The Ogre straightened up. (100) He straightened up and tore the sack. (101) "Why did you bring such a sack? (102) I told you! (103) Bring a good sack." (104) The Ogre went. (105) He went home again. (106) He went to get a good sack. (107) He brought a large, good sack, a durable one. (108) Debegei shoved the Ogre into the sack. (109) He tied the rope tightly. (110) And he threw it down. (111) He threw it down. (112) The shout of the Ogre was heard.

(93) 袋が小さくて引き裂いてしまうんだ。(94) 人喰い鬼は大きな袋を手にした。(95) 運び上げた。(96) 彼らは山に登った。(97) デベゲイは大袋に人喰い鬼を入れた。(98)「伸びをしろ!」デベゲイは言った。(99) 人喰い鬼は体を伸ばした。(100) 伸びをして大袋を破いてしまった。(101)「どうしてこんなのを持って来たんだ? (102) わたしはおまえに言っただろ。(103) 良いやつを持って来い、良い袋をと」(104) 人喰い鬼は再び行った。(105) 家へ行った。(106) 良い袋を取りに行った。(107) 大きな良い袋を、頑丈なのを運んで来た。(108) デベゲイは人喰い鬼を突っ込んだ。(109) 紐をきつく縛った。(110) 下の方へ放り投げた。(111) 下の方へ放り投げたんだ。(112) 人喰い鬼が叫ぶのが聞こえた。

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(113) örn'e-t löwdi-t'.
                               (114) tāt
                                                pie-get t'obul-nin, l'e-nin,
                                                                                jalhil-nin
      shout-ss fall-ind.intr.3sg
                                     ANPH:ADV hill-ABL sea-DAT
                                                                   that.one-dat lake-dat
                      (115) "öjl'e, met tet-ul kimdān'erī,"
pemere-j.
roll.down-IND.INTR.3sG
                                   1sg 2sg-acc deceive:APPL(-IND.TR.1sg) say-IND.INTR.3sg
(116) "met tā
                    n'eleme-n
                                   ajbid'ī-ge
                                                     el=ewre-je,"
      1sg dst.loc indf:what-gen another.world-loc neg=walk-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
(117) "met terike
                       tet-ul el=l'uö-je,"
                                                                      (118) "met tet-ul
                                                     mon-i.
      1sg old.woman 2sg-ACC NEG=see-IND.INTR.1sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                                            1sg
                                                                                 2sg-acc
kimdān'erī!"
                                         (119) tandiet t'ūl'd'ī_pulut tā
                        mon-i.
deceive:APPL(-IND.TR.1SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                               then
                                                        ogre
                                                                      DST.LOC
                     ōžī-ge.
                                (120) tude
                                              nume-nin qon-i.
                                                                         (121) terikie-die
sink:pfv-ind.intr.3sg water-loc
                                      3sg:gen house-dat go-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                               old.woman-ым
                          t'ūl'd'ī_pulut kudde-m=el'e.
debegej kudede, l'e,
                                                           (122) terikie-die
Debegei kill
                 that.one ogre
                                        kill-IND.TR.3SG=SFC
                                                                 old.woman-ым
                      (123) tudid'ie modo-j
öil'e.
                                                                 (124) tāt
                                                                                  omot'
                                                       tāt.
not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG)
                             3sg:intns sit-ind.intr.3sg anph:adv
                                                                       ANPH:ADV well
               (125) n'ajdelit'
                                                  tudid'ie. (126) tude-gele nilgi
                                  modo-j
sit-IND.INTR.3sG
                      comfortably sit-IND.INTR.3sg 3sg:INTNS
                                                                  3sg-acc
                                                                             anyone
el=ūše.
                         (127) tāt
                                         modo-j
                                                         tandiet.
                               ANPH:ADV sit-IND.INTR.3sg then
NEG=touch(-IND.INTR.3sg)
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(113) Shouting, he fell. (114) He rolled down the hill and fell into the lake. (115) "I've just cheated you! (116) I didn't go to any other world. (117) I didn't see your wife. (118) I've cheated you!" (119) After all, the Ogre drowned in the water. (120) Debegei went home. (121) The old woman, the Ogre killed her. (122) There was no old woman. (123) He lived alone. (124) He lived very well. (125) He lived happily. (126) Nobody bothered him. (127) So he lived.

(113) 叫びながら落ちた。(114) その山から海に、いや、湖に転がり落ちた。(115)「いいや、わたしはおまえを騙したんだ。(116) わたしはあの世なんて歩いていない。(117) わたしはおまえの妻を見てはいない。(118) わたしはおまえを騙したんだ!」(119) ついに人喰い鬼は水に沈んだ。(120) デベゲイは自分の家へ行った。(121) おばあさんは、人喰い鬼が殺したんだ。(122) おばあさんはいない。(123) ひとりで暮らした。(124) 快適に暮らした。(125) 素晴らしい暮らしをした、ひとりで。(126) 彼を誰も邪魔しない。(127) こうして彼は暮らした。

# 11 Debegei

Recorded on 16 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) debegej modo-j. (2) t'ūl'd'ī pulut-e punnume-n'e-j. (3) t'ūl'd'ī pulut Debegei sit-IND.INTR.3sG ogre-ins neighbor-prop-IND.INTR.3sG ogre terike-n'-i. (4) debegej-ge terike-gi öjl'e. old.woman-prop-ind.intr.3sg Debegei-Loc old.woman-poss.3 not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut debegej-nin kött'i-j. (6) debegej mon-i: Debegei-dat visit-ind.intr.3sg Debegei say-IND.INTR.3sG ANPH:ADV ogre tudā met omot' modo-t." (8) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut-ke terike-gi, and'e and'e-gi INTI before 1sg well old.woman-poss.3 eye sit-ss ogre-Loc eye-poss.3 el=l'en. (9) and'e-gi jow-t'. (10) debegej mon-i: eye-poss.3 ache-IND.INTR.3sG NEG=be.visible(-IND.INTR.3sg) Debegei say-IND.INTR.3sG (11) "tudā met omot' modo-t al=and'e-n'-d'ōn=de and'e-š-nunnu." NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH eye-PROP.CAUS-HBT(-IND.TR.1sG) before 1sg well sit-ss (12) t'ūl'd'ī pulut mon-i: (13) "debegej monohot-t'ok?" (14) "ē say-ind.intr.3sg Debegei say.what-IND.INTR.2sG INTI again ogre tabud-e kudelej-tejek," (15) "pundu-k=te, mon-i. DST-INS prepare:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG tell-IMP.2SG=EMPH and'e-š kimďeš. (16) d'e tet and'e met terike tannigi." stand.firm(-IMP.2sG) 1sg old.woman eye-prop.caus(-imp.2sg) then INTJ 2sg eye (17) "tannigi nume-nin qon," (18) "tet terike mon-i. and'e-gi house-dat go(-imp.2sg) say-ind.intr.3sg 2sg old.woman eye-poss.3 then iodo-k." (19) chut'-chut' juö-l'el-u-m mon-i. tāhan=tit. a.little(Rus.) see-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sG indeed=though wrap-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg

(1) There lived Debegei. (2) He lived next door to the Ogre. (3) The Ogre had a wife. (4) Debegei had no wife. (5) Once, the Ogre made a visit to Debegei. (6) Debegei said, (7) "In the old days, I lived well and …" (8) The Ogre's wife couldn't see. (9) She had bad eyes. (10) Debegei said, (11) "In the old days, I lived well and cured the blind." (12) The Ogre asked, (13) "Debegei, what did you say?" (14) "Eh, you can also do it like this." (15) "Tell me, please! (16) Cure my wife's eyes!" (17) "So, go home. (18) Blindfold your wife." (19) Well, she could see a little bit.

(1) デベゲイが暮らしていた。(2) 人喰い鬼が隣人だった。(3) 人喰い鬼には妻がいた。(4) デベゲイは妻がいなかった。(5) 人喰い鬼はデベゲイのところに行った。(6) デベゲイは言った:(7)「ああ、昔は良い暮らしをしていて」(8) 人喰い鬼の妻は目が見えない。(9) 目が悪かった。(10) デベゲイは言った:(11)「昔は良い暮らしをしていて、目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだ」(12) 人喰い鬼は言った:(13)「デベゲイ、何だと?」(14)「おまえもこういう風にすればいい」(15)「話してくれ、お願いだ。(16) 妻の目を治してくれ」(17)「では家へ行け。(18) 妻を目隠ししろ」(19) いずれにせよ少し見えるんだ。

- (20) and 'e-de-jle jodo-m. (21) "qon," mon-i, "and 'e jodie-t. eye-poss.3-ACC wrap-IND.TR.3SG go(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG eye keep.wrapped-ss
- (22) ibier-ge kurgom tāt ewre-k." (23) a sticks.surrounding.fireplace-LOC all.round ANPH:ADV walk-IMP.2SG and(Rus.)

t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut, ēj t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut tāt l'ie-l'el-u-m. (24) t'ohoje min-dele ogre intj ogre anph:adv do.that-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg knife take-ss.seq

šukume t'ine-t jolo-do-ho qon-i. (25) terikie-die pohožīde at.random chop-ss back-poss.3-loc go-IND.INTR.3sG old.woman-DIM on.one's.knees

qon-i. (26) a tudel t'ohoje-le t'ine-t tāt. (27) tāt terike go-ind.intr.3sg and(Rus.) 3sg knife-ins chop-ss anph:Adv Anph:Adv old.woman

qoli-gi el'ed'ō-j. (28) tāt tude and'e jod-ō-gele sound-poss.3 disappear-IND.INTR.3sg ANPH:ADV 3sg:GEN eye wrap-rn-acc

johodaj-m. (29) terikie-die-gele t'umu t'ohoje-le t'ine-l'el-u-m. open:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG old.woman-DIM-ACC all knife-INS chop-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG

- (30) d'e tamun jodo-dolo peni-m mieste-ge. (31) debegej-ŋin qon-i.

  INTJ DST wrap-SS.SEQ put-IND.TR.3SG place-LOC Debegei-DAT go-IND.INTR.3SG
- (32) "debegej tet lem-dik ā-me, juö-k. (33) met terike t'umu kudede-me Debegei 2sg what-foc make-of.1sg see-imp.2sg 1sg old.woman all kill-of.2sg kudedešt'i-mek. (34) t'umu t'ohoje-le t'ine-t t'umu kudedie-l'el-d'e. kill:caus-ind.tr.2sg all knife-ins chop-ss all kill-infr-ind.intr.1sg
- (35) l'e-k," mon-i. (36) "met, sumā, t'omō-d'e sumā beleml'edej-k. do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg big.sack be.big-jptcp big.sack prepare-imp.2sg

(20) He covered his wife's eyes. (21) "Walk blindfolded! (22) Walk around the hearth." (23) Then, the Ogre did this: (24) He took a knife and walked after his wife, hitting out at random. (25) The old woman walked on all fours. (26) And he hit her with the knife. (27) No sounds were heard from the old woman anymore. (28) He uncovered his eyes. (29) He had his wife hacked with the knife finally. (30) He wrapped her and put her back. (31) And he went to Debegei. (32) "Debegei, look, what have you done! (33) I've killed my wife because of you! (34) I've finally killed her hitting with the knife! (35) Do this. (36) Prepare a large sack.

(20) 人喰い鬼は妻の目を目隠しした。(21)「歩け、目隠ししたままで。(22) 炉のまわりを歩け」(23) そして人喰い鬼は、人喰い鬼はそのようにした。(24) ナイフを持って手当たり次第にたたき切りながら、妻の後ろを歩いた。(25) おばあさんは膝をついて歩いた。(26) 彼はナイフでたたき切って。(27) そしておばあさんの物音が聞こえなくなった。(28) そして彼は目隠しをとった。(29) おばあさんをすっかりナイフでたたき切ってしまっていた。(30) それを包んで置いた。(31) デベゲイのところへ行った。(32)「デベゲイ、おまえは何をしたんだ?(33) おまえはわたしの妻を殺させた。(34) ナイフでたたき切って、すっかり殺してしまった。(35) あれしろ。(36) 袋を、大きな袋を用意しろ。

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(37) taŋ
              sumā-ge
                           met tet-ul
                                        šinšaj-t,"
                                                             mon-i.
                                                                              (38) "pie-d
     DST.ATTR big.sack-LOC 1sg 2sg-ACC cram-fut:IND.TR.1sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                                                   hill-gen
                                                            ulte-lle," mon-i,
īt'e-nin arpaj-tīli.
                                   (39) tāt
                                                  igeje-le
tip-dat climb:pfv-fut:ind.intr.1pl
                                        ANPH:ADV string-INS tie-ss.SEQ say-IND.INTR.3SG
"tet-ul jalhil-nin peššej-t!"
                                            (40) godo ā-tem?
                                                                            (41) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut
2sg-acc lake-dat throw:pfv-fut:ind.tr.1sg
                                                 how make-fut:interr.1sg
                                                                                 ogre
                         (42) d'e, kebej-ŋi.
t'īle-n'-i.
                                                          (43) t'omō-d'e sumā-k
power-prop-ind.intr.3sg
                              INTJ leave:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                                               be.big-JPTCP big.sack-FOC
min-nile.
            (44) d'e arpaj-ni.
                                             (45) arpaj-ŋi.
                                                                         (46) sumā-ge
                 INTJ climb:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
take-pl:of.3
                                                  climb:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                              big.sack-Loc
šinšaj-m,
                debegej-gele. (47) ulte-lle: (48) "ēj t'ūl'd'ī_pulut," mon-i,
cram-IND.TR.3SG Debegei-ACC
                                    tie-ss.seQ
                                                                       say-IND.INTR.3SG 1SG
                                                  INTJ ogre
nume-ge met t'ohoje jonrā-l'el-me,"
                                                           (49) "t'ohoje igeje-n'-i-t,"
                                          mon-i.
                       forget-INFR-OF.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
house-Loc 1sg knife
                                                                knife
                                                                         string-PROP-E-SS
                 (50) "tamun tet-in
                                     pokoj
mon-i.
                                                 el=kej-tej.
                                                                            (51) tamun
                              2sg-dat rest(Rus.) neg=give-fut:ind.intr.3sg
say-ind.intr.3sg
                      DST
                                                                                DST
             met t'ohoje!" (52) tintaŋ,
                                                      sumā-ge
                                                                   šinšaj-m.
fetch-IMP.2sg 1sg knife
                                 ANPH:ATTR PROX:LOC big.sack-LOC cram-IND.TR.3SG
(53) t'ūl'd'ī pulut, ē
                         debegej tā
                                                       igeje-de-jle
                                          jaqa-dele
                   INTI Debegei DST.LOC arrive-SS.SEQ string-POSS.3-ACC arrive:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
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(37) I'll put you into the sack. (38) Let's climb to the top of the hill. (39) And I'll tie a rope and throw you into the lake!" (40) What could he do? (41) You see, the Ogre was strong. (42) They went to the hill. (43) They took a large sack. (44) They climbed up. (45) They climbed up. (46) The Ogre shoved Debegei into the sack. (47) When the Ogre tied the sack, (48) Debegei said, "Hey Ogre! I have left my knife at home. (49) The knife with its sheath (liter. with a rope). (50) My knife will haunt you. (51) Go and bring my knife!" (52) The Ogre shoved Debegei into the sack. (53) The Ogre, no, (not the Ogre, but) Debegei, brought a rope when he climbed up the hill.

(37) その袋にわたしはおまえを入れてやる。(38) 山頂に登ろう。(39) そして、紐で縛っておまえを湖に投げてやる!」(40) どうすべきか? (41) 人喰い鬼は力が強いんだ。(42) 彼らは行った。(43) 大きな袋を持った。(44) そして山に登った。(45) 登った。(46) デベゲイを大袋に入れた。(47) 紐で縛ると、(48)「えーい、人喰い鬼よ、わたしは家に自分のナイフを忘れてしまった」デベゲイは言った。(49)「ナイフと紐だ。(「ナイフとナイフ入れ」の言い間違い?)(50) それはおまえをほっておかないだろう。(51) それを取りに行け、わたしのナイフを!」(52) 人喰い鬼はデベゲイを袋の中に入れたんだ。(53) 人喰い鬼、じゃなくて、デベゲイはそこに紐を持ってきたんだ。

- (54) egedej-tej. (55) pajlū-gi juö-mek? (56) d'e look.out:detr:pfv-fut:ind.intr.3sg be.cuning-poss.3 see-IND.TR.2sG t'ūl'd'ī pulut kebe-t'. (57) t'ohoje-lek mundej-mele, debegej t'ohoje. knife-Foc fetch-of.3sg ogre leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg Debegei knife (59) igeje-de-jle (58) qodō-j debegej sumā-ge. tāt ulte-m. lie-IND.INTR.3sg Debegei big.sack-Loc string-poss.3-ACC ANPH:ADV tie-IND.TR.3SG qodō-dege, mod'e\_lemdik, āt'e-n qoqt'i-n šanaha-k medū-l. (60) tāt ANPH:ADV lie-poss.3:DS INTJ reindeer-gen hoof-gen clack-foc be.heard-sf (62) erpeje tite mon-i: (63) "lem-dik tī (61) tāt mon-i. ANPH:ADV say-IND.INTR.3sg Ewen like say-IND.INTR.3sg what-foc prox:Loc (65) "ē, l'e-l?" mon-i. (64) "ē, lem-dik tī qodō-l?" mon-i. INTJ what-FOC PROX:LOC lie-SF exist-sf say-IND.INTR.3sG say-ind.intr.3sg INTJ met-ek," mon-i. (66) "met and'e ijū-ge, and'e ijū-ge," mon-i, "met 1sg-prd say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg eye ache-Loc eye ache-Loc say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg and'e emtedej-nu-me. (67) tannigi," mon-i, "l'e-k. (68) tin cure-IPFV-OF.1sG then say-ind.intr.3sg do.that-imp.2sg PROX:ATTR (70) "met and'e igeje-gi londo-k," (69) londo-m. mon-i. string-poss.3 remove-IMP.2sG say-IND.INTR.3sG remove-IND.TR.3SG 1s<sub>G</sub> eye tabud-ek emtedej-nu-me tin mon-i. sumā-ge šohō-t," be.bad-loc DST-FOC cure-IPFV-OF.1SG PROX:ATTR big.sack-Loc enter:res-ss say-IND.INTR.3SG (71) d'e tan erpeje tā āt'e-gi ohō-j. INTI DST.ATTR Ewen DST.LOC reindeer-POSS.3 stand-IND.INTR.3SG
- (54) He looked out. (55) Did you understand how cunning he was? (56) The Ogre left. (57) He went to get the knife, Debegei's knife. (58) Debegei was lying in the sack. (59) He tied the sack with the rope. (60) He was lying there when, suddenly, he heard the clatter of a reindeer's footsteps. (61) Then, somebody spoke. (62) He said in Even, (63) "What is lying here? (64) What is lying here?" (65) "It's me. (66) I have bad eyes, so I'm curing them." (67) "Then do it for me too." (68) "Untie the rope." (69) He untied it. (70) "My eyes cannot see well, so I'm curing my eyes in the sack." (71) The Even man's reindeer was standing nearby.
- (54) 彼は袋から外を見るだろう。(55) 彼のずる賢さが分かるかい?(56) 人喰い鬼は去った。(57) ナイフを取りにいった、デベゲイのナイフを。(58) デベゲイは袋の中に横たわっていた。(59) 紐で袋を縛った。(60) そして横たわっていると、なんとトナカイの蹄の音が聞こえた。(61) そして(誰かが)言った。(62) エウェン語で言った:(63) 「ここにあるのは何だろう?(64) ここにあるのは何だろう?」(65) 「ああ、わたしだ。(66) わたしは目が悪いので、目を治している。(67) あれしてくれ。(68) この紐をはずしてくれ」(69) はずした。(70) 「わたしは目が悪いので、それを治療している、この袋に入って」(71) そのエウェン人のトナカイがそこに立っていた。

- (72) erpeje taŋ l'e-ge šög-i. (73) sumā-ge šög-i. Ewen dst.attr that.one-loc enter-ind.intr.3sg big.sack-loc enter-ind.intr.3sg
- (74) debegej t'umu igeje-de-jle ulte-m. (75) āt'e-de-ge Debegei all string-poss.3-ACC tie-IND.TR.3sG reindeer-poss.3-LOC

imā-j. (76) jolo-do-ho, kel-ō-de-gen jolohude sit.on:Inch-ind.intr.3sg back-poss.3-loc come-rn-poss.3-prol back

kebe-t', erpeje kel-ōl-gen. (77) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut kie-t'.

leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg Ewen come-rn-prol ogre come-ind.intr.3sg

- (78) "debegej, mā," mon-i, "tet t'ohoje!" (79) ā tintaŋ erpeje mon-i: Debegei INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG 2SG knife INTJ ANPH:ATTR Ewen
- (80) "bi\_əšum\_debegej\_bišə," mon-i. (81) "met el=erpeje el=debegej say-ind.intr.3sg I'm.not.Debegej(Ev.) say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg neg=Ewen neg=Debegei ō-d'e," mon-i. (82) tāt kak-nibud' mon-i. cop-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg anph:adv somehow(Rus.) say-ind.intr.3sg
- (83) taŋ t'ohoje-de-jle tāt šinšaj-m. (84) peššej-m.

  DST.ATTR knife-POSS.3-ACC ANPH:ADV cram-IND.TR.3SG throw:pfv-IND.TR.3SG
- (85) t'olhaj-m, pie-ge alhude. (86) bojt'e el=buruj-n'e-j=bed-ek push:pfv-ind.tr.3sg hill-loc down completely neg=fault-prop-jptcp=nmlz-prd
- tāt. (87) d'e, d'e, "debegej l'e-ge t'eruše," mon-i,
  ANPH:ADV INTJ INTJ Debegei that.one-loc sink:CAUS(-IND.TR.1SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG

  "jalhil-ge." (88) kebe-t' tude nume-njin. (89) debegej jaqa-j.
  lake-loc leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG 3SG:GEN house-DAT Debegei arrive-IND.INTR.3SG

(72) The Even man got into the sack. (73) He got into the sack. (74) Debegei tied the rope. (75) He rode the reindeer. (76) And he went back through the road along which the Even man had come. (77) The Ogre returned. (78) "Debegei, here, take your knife!" (79) The Even man said, (80) "Bi əšum Debegej bišə." (81) He said, "I'm not Debegei!" (82) And the Ogre said something. (83) The Ogre thrust Debegei's knife into the sack. (84) Then he threw the sack. (85) He pushed the sack off the hill. (86) Indeed, that Even man was guilty of nothing. (87) "I've drowned Debegei in the lake." (88) The Ogre went home. (89) Debegei arrived.

(72) エウェンはそのあれに入った。(73) 袋に入った。(74) デベゲイは紐をすっかり縛った。(75) トナカイに乗った。(76) 彼の来た跡にしたがってを引き返した、エウェン人の来た跡にしたがって。(77) 人喰い鬼が来た。(78)「デベゲイよ、そら、おまえのナイフだ」(79) そのエウェン人は言った:(80)「ビーエシュムデベゲイビシェ」(81)「わたしはデベゲイじゃない」(82) そして(人喰い鬼は)何か言った。(83) 人喰い鬼はデベゲイのナイフを袋に突っ込んだ。(84) ほうり投げた。(85) 突き落とした、山の下の方へ。(86) そのエウェン人はぜんぜん悪くなかったのに。(87)「わたしはデベゲイを湖に沈めてやったぞ」(88) 人喰い鬼は自分の家へ去った。(89) デベゲイは着いた。

## 11 Debegei (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

- (90) tin erpeje nume-ge jaqa-j. (91) "mā," mon-i, "titl'e. INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG 2PL:SUBST PROX:ATTR Ewen house-loc arrive-ind.intr.3sg (92) tit et'ie=dū, āt'e-gi endī ket'ī-me," mon-i. (93) "tā ewr-ōl 2PL father=Q reindeer-Poss.3 MED:LOC bring-OF.1sG say-IND.INTR.3sG DST.LOC walk-RN kebe-t'. nū." (94) tāt mon-i. find(-IND.TR.1SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG (95) āt'e-p-te-jle tadi-m. (96) kebe-t'. (97) jaqa-j. reindeer-PL-POSS.3-ACC give-IND.TR.3SG leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg arrive-IND.INTR.3SG (98) tude nume-ge jaqa-j. (99) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut-ke šög-i. 3sg:gen house-loc arrive-ind.intr.3sg ogre-Loc enter-IND.INTR.3sG (100) "debegej tet qot kelu-k?" (101) "qadun-get mon-i. Debegei 2sg from.where come-interr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg which-ABL (102) "ē ajbid'ī-ge kelu-k?" ewre-lle kie-t'e," mon-i. INTJ another.world-LOC walk-ss.seq come-IND.INTR.1sg say-IND.INTR.3sg come-interr.2sg (103) "tet terike (104) (xxx) and e-gi t'umu ľe-j. 2sg old.woman dst.loc exist-ind.intr.3sg eye-poss.3 all "bojt'e omolbā-l'el," (105)mon-i. be.good:INCH-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG completely be.young-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD uöŋō-d'ōd-ek," mon-i, "bojt'e. (106) nagā omolbā-l'el. say-IND.INTR.3sG completely very be.good:inch-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) 2sGterike tā l'e-j." (108) "tannigi l'e, debegej, tannigi met-ul that.one Debegei then old.woman DST.LOC exist-IND.INTR.3SG then 1sg-acc peššej-k," mon-i. throw:pfv-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
- (90) He got to the Even man's house. (91) "Here is your reindeer! (92) I brought the reindeer, your father's reindeer. (93) It was there, I found it." (94) Then, Debegei left. (95) He had returned the Even man's reindeer. (96) He left. (97) He reached. (98) He reached his home. (99) He entered the Ogre's house. (100) "Debegei, where did you come from? (101) Where did you come from, uh?" (102) "Ah, I had a walk in the other world, and just came back. (103) Your wife was there. (104) Her eyes were healed. (105) She was so young. (106) She recovered her health completely. (107) Your wife was there." (108) "Then, Debegei, throw me down too!"
- (90) そのエウェンの家に着いた。(91)「そら、おまえたちのものだ。(92) おまえたちの父さんだろうか、彼のトナカイをほらここに連れてきた。(93) あそこで歩いているのを見つけた」(94) そして去った。(95) トナカイを渡した。(96) 去った。(97) 着いた。(98) 自分の家に着いた。(99) 人喰い鬼の家に入った。(100)「デベゲイ、おまえはどこから来たんだ? (101) どこから来たんだ?」(102)「ああ、わたしはあの世を歩いてから帰ってきた。(103) おまえの妻はそこにいた。(104) 彼女の目はすっかり良くなっていた。(105) すっかり若くなった。(106) とても良くなっていた。(107) おまえの妻はそこにいた」(108) 「それならデベゲイ、わたしをほうり投げてくれ」

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(109) tīne
                mon-d'ōd-ek:
                                    (110) "āj
                                                tabud-e kudelej-tejek,"
      PROX:TMP say-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD
                                          again DST-INS prepare:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG
                 (111) "tā
                               arpaj-t'īli!"
mon-i.
                                                      mon-i.
                                                                       (112) t'omō-d'e
                       DST.LOC climb:PFV-IND.INTR.1PL say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                             be.big-JРТСР
say-IND.INTR.3sG
            min-mele, pajaj-mele. (113) "tannigi šök,"
                                                                                     "tiŋ
sumā-k
                                                                   mon-i,
big.sack-FOC take-OF.3sG lift-OF.3sG
                                                    enter(-IMP.2sg) say-IND.INTR.3sg PROX:ATTR
                                           then
sumā-ge."
            (114) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut šög-i.
                                                    (115) "d'e t'īle-le
big.sack-Loc
                                 enter-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                          INTJ power-INS
                  ogre
tilledej-k!"
                          mon-i.
                                           (116) tilledej-t
                                                                      tintan
                                                                                  sumā-gele
                                                 stretch.oneself:pfv-ss anph:attr big.sack-acc
stretch.oneself:pfv-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                        (117) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut t'īle-n'-i=el'e.
šašahadaj-m.
                                                                          (118) tāt
tear:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
                                             power-prop-ind.intr.3sg=sfc
                                                                                ANPH:ADV
                              ogre
                                min-mele. (119) arpaj-ni.
                                                                         (120) pie-d
d'e omo-t'e
                   sumā-k
INTJ be.good-JPTCP big.sack-FOC take-OF.3sG
                                                 climb:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                               hill-gen
īt'e-nin arpaj-ni.
                               (121) t'umu igeje-de-jle
                                                              ulte-m.
                                                                            (122) pie-ge
tip-dat climb:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                             string-poss.3-ACC tie-IND.TR.3SG
                                      all
                                                                                  hill-Loc
alhude t'olhaj-m.
                            (123) "t'ūl'd'ī_pulut, met me=kimdān'e-je!
down push:pfv-IND.TR.3sG
                                  ogre
                                                  1sg Aff=deceive-ind.intr.1sg
(124) n'eqadun-ge," mon-i,
                                       "l'e-ge
                                                    el=ewre-je,"
      INDF:which-Loc say-IND.INTR.3sG that.one-Loc NEG=walk-IND.INTR.1sG say-IND.INTR.3sG
(125) "n'eqadi
                  ajbid'ī-ge
                                    el=ewre-je.
                                                           (126) tet terike
      INDF:which another.world-LOC NEG=walk-IND.INTR.1sG
                                                                 2sg old.woman
el=l'uö-je,"
                     mon-i.
NEG=see-IND.INTR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
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(109) Before, Debegei had said, (110) "Eh, you can also do it like this." (111) "Let's climb there!" said the Ogre. (112) He took a large sack and raised it. (113) "Well, get into the sack then." (114) The Ogre got into it. (115) "Straighten up as hard as you can!" (116) The Ogre tore the sack. (117) The Ogre was very strong. (118) Then, he got a durable sack. (119) They climbed up the hill. (120) They reached the top of the hill. (121) Debegei tied the rope of the sack. (122) Then, he pushed it down the hill. (123) "Ogre, I've lied to you! (124) I didn't visit that world. (125) I didn't go to any other world. (126) I didn't see your wife.

(109) 前に彼は言ったんだ: (110)「おまえもこういう風にすればいい」と。(111)「あそこに登ろう」人喰い鬼は言った。(112) 彼は大きな袋を持った、担いだ。(113)「それなら入れ、この袋に」(114) 人喰い鬼は袋の中に入った。(115)「力いっぱい体を伸ばせ!」(116) 彼は体を伸ばして袋を引き裂いてしまった。(117) 人喰い鬼は力が強いんだよ。(118) そして彼は(さらに)丈夫な袋を持った。(119) 彼らは登った。(120) 山頂に登った。(121) デベゲイは紐をすっかり縛った。(122) 山の下へ突き落とした。(123)「人喰い鬼よ、わたしは嘘をついたんだ。(124) わたしはどこも歩きまわっていない。(125) どんなあの世も歩いていない。(126) おまえの妻を見ていない。

### 11 Debegei (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

tet-ul!" (128) tandiet t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut tā (127) "met me=kimdān'e-je jalhil-ge 1sg Aff=deceive-Ind.Intr.1sg 2sg-Acc then ogre DST.LOC lake-LOC (129) d'e ō t'erie-t'. ninie-gi omolbe-j, debegej. INTJ INTJ soul-poss.3 be.good:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg Debegei sink:pfv-ind.intr.3sg (130) tudid'ie qodō-toj. (131) omot' modo-toj zhe. 3sg:intns lie-fut:ind.intr.3sg sit-fut:IND.INTR.3sg just(Rus.) well (132) nume-nin kebe-t'. (133) tāt modo-j tudid'ie. house-dat leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg ANPH:ADV sit-IND.INTR.3SG 3SG:INTNS omot' tudid'ie modo-doho, naqā ajā-j. (135) tandelme 3sg:intns sit-poss.3:ds very rejoice-ind.intr.3sg meanwhile t'emie-t'. (136) t'ūl'd'ī t'emie-t'.

(127) I've cheated you!" (128) And so the Ogre drowned in the lake. (129) Debegei felt much better! (130) He would live alone. (131) He would happily live alone. (132) He went home. (133) So, he lived alone. (134) So, he lived alone, happily. (135) This is the end. (136) This is the end of the fairy tale.

end:pfv-ind.intr.3sg

end:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG

tale

(127) わたしは騙したんだよ、おまえを」(128) そして人喰い鬼はその湖に沈んだ。(129) 気分が良くなったデベゲイは。(130) ひとりっきりで暮らすだろう。(131) 快適に暮らすだろう。(132) 家に行った。(133) そしてひとりで暮らした。(134) 快適に暮らしてとても喜んだ。(135) これでおしまい。(136) 昔話はおしまい。

#### 12 Pieter Berbekin

Recorded on 28 July 1997 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) irkin görat-ke pochtal'on-ek l'ie-l'el-u-l. (2) tan pochtal'on-gele one town(Rus.)-Loc postman(Rus.)-Foc exist-INFR-E-SF DST.ATTR postman(Rus.)-ACC ubun gōrat-nin l'ie-l'el-nā. kebe-t'. (3) tāt (4) tamun other town(Rus.)-DAT do.that-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG DST pieter berbekin. (5) tāt kebe-t'. (6) qon-doho, name-poss.3 Pieter.Berbekin ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG go-poss.3:Ds tree molhon gon-i. (7) gon-doho l'e-lek. šoromo-n ažū-k medū-l: go-poss.3:Ds that.one-foc person-gen word-foc be.heard-sf in go-IND.INTR.3SG (8) "pieter berbekin, ganide gon-d'ek?" (9) "met lani kelu-k. mon-i. Pieter.Berbekin where go-IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 1s<sub>G</sub> come-IMP.2sG (10) migide kelu-k," (11) "met lani kelu-k." mon-i.  $(12) \bar{a}$ . PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG to come-IMP.2sG INTJ ANPH:ATTR 1sg ažū medū-l=ben-nin gon-i. (13) gon-i. (14) tan šāl-ge word be.heard-AN=NMLZ-DAT go-IND.INTR.3SG go-IND.INTR.3SG DST.ATTR tree-LOC apl'etāj-ek l'e-l, iodō-l. (15) "migide migide kelu-k!" mon-i. opletaj-Foc exist-sf wrap:RES-SF PROX:DIR PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG (16) apl'etāj ujūke qon-i. (17) ē, pieter berbekin ujūke qon-i. opletaj not.far go-IND.INTR.3sG INTI Pieter.Berbekin not.far go-IND.INTR.3sG
- (1) In a town, there lived a postman. (2) The postman was sent to another town. (3) So, he left. (4) His name was Pieter Berbekin. (5) And he left. (6) He walked through the forest. (7) He walked on and, erm, heard a human voice. (8) "Pieter Berbekin, where are you going? (9) Come to me. (10) Come here. (11) Come to me." (12) He went to where the voice came from. (13) He went there. (14) There was the Worm-Opletai, twined round a tree. (15) "Come, come here!" she said. (16) Opletai was getting nearer. (17) Well, Pieter Berbekin was getting nearer.
- (1) ある町に郵便配達人がいた。(2) その郵便配達人をほかの町へ送った。(3) そして出発した。(4) 彼の名はピエテル・ベルベキンだ。(5) そして出発した。(6) 彼は木々の間を通って行った。(7) 行くと、人間の声が聞こえた:(8)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、どこへ行くんだ?(9) わたしの方へ来い。(10) こっちへ来い。(11) わたしの方へ来い」(12) そのことばの聞こえる方へ行った。(13) 行った。(14) 木にアプリタイがいた、巻きついていた。(15)「こっちへこっちへ来い!」(16) アプリタイは近くに行った、(17) ああ(そうじゃなくて) ピエテル・ベルベキンは近くに行った。

```
(18) taŋ
              apl'etāj šāl-get lodā-dele
                                            pieter berbekin-ge jododa-t'
    DST.ATTR opletaj tree-ABL dodge-ss.seq Pieter.Berbekin-loc wrap:detr:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
          (19) d'e qon-doho: "ē leme-n ahurpe-ge jaqa-m?"
titāt.
               INTJ go-Poss.3:Ds INTJ what-gen suffer-loc arrive-interr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
ANPH:ADV
(20) "tudā, tudā," mon-i,
                                   "ewre-t, lot'il-ge=de, lot'il-ge=de
    before before say-IND.INTR.3sg walk-ss fire-loc=emph fire-loc=emph
                      (21) ōžī-ge=de
                                                                   (22) šibit'e-ge=de
ewrie-nun-d'e.
                                            jara-nun-d'e.
walk-hbt-ind.intr.1sg
                           water-loc=emph swim-hbt-ind.intr.1sg
                                                                        dog.rose-Loc=ЕМРН
                                      (23) "monohot-t'ok,"
lende-de
               ewrie-nu-je."
eat:detr-ss.sim walk-ipfv-ind.intr.1sg
                                           say.what-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
"pieter berbekin?" (24) "ē
                             šibit'e legōl'.
                                                          (25) leŋdōl'-i-t
                                                                                šibit'e
Pieter.Berbekin
                        INTJ dog.rose eat:DES(-IND.TR.1SG)
                                                               eat:DETR:DES-E-SS dog.rose
                              (26) "tet šibit'e lew-din el=qol-loq,"
leg-u-t egužu-jli."
                                                                           mon-i.
eat-e-ss walk:iter-ind.intr.1pl
                                   2sg dog.rose eat-purp neg=go-proh.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
(27) "el=qol-loq,
                      el=qol-loq!"
                                                        (28) šibit'e_shipovnik_zhe
                                       mon-i.
    NEG=go-Proh.2sg neg=go-Proh.2sg say-Ind.intr.3sg
                                                             šibit'e.is.dog.rose(Rus.)
koljuchij.
                (29) "el=qol-loq!"
                                      (30) ē
                                                tamun-gele medi-m,
                                                                            pieter berbekin.
it's.prickly(Rus.)
                     NEG=go-PROH.2sg
                                           INTI DST-ACC
                                                            hear-IND.TR.3sg Pieter.Berbekin
(31) d'e šibit'e nono-nin
                                 kebe-t',
                                                        šibit'e lew-din.
    INTJ dog.rose bush.trunk-dat leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg dog.rose eat-purp
(32) leŋdōl'-i.
    eat:DETR:DES-IND.INTR.3SG
```

(18) Opletai detached from the tree and twined around Pieter Berbekin like this. (19) He walked on and said, "Why do I suffer like this? (20) In the old days, I even walked through the fire. (21) I even swam in the water. (22) I walked in dog rose bushes, eating hips." (23) "What did you say, Pieter Berbekin?" (24) "I want to eat hips. (25) I'm hungry, so let's walk eating hips." (26) "Don't go to eat hips. (27) Don't go, don't go!" (28) Shibiche is a dog rose; it's prickly. (29) "Don't go!" (30) Pieter Berbekin heard it. (31) He went to the rose thickets to eat hips. (32) He was hungry.

(18) そのアプリタイは木から離れてピエテル・ベルベキンに巻きついたこんな風に(語り手は左手の人差指に右手の人差指をからませている)。(19) 彼は歩きながら言った、「どうしてこんな苦しみに遭わなければならないんだ?(20)かつては火の中さえも歩いたものだ。(21)水の中さえも泳いだものだ。(22)ノイバラを食べながら歩いたものだ」(23)「何だって、ピエテル・ベルベキン?」(24)「わたしはノイバラが食べたい。(25)お腹が空いたからノイバラを食べながら歩き回ろう」(26)「ノイバラを食べには行かないでくれ。(27)行くな、行くな!」(28) shibicheっていうのはノイバラのことだ、ちくちく刺さるんだよ。(29)「行くな」(30) それを聞いた、ピエテル・ベルベキンは。(31) そしてノイバラの茂みの方へ行った、ノイバラを食べに。(32) 彼はお腹が空いていた。

- (33) ē taŋ apl'etāj mon-i šāl-ŋin šāl-ŋin menmege-t'.

  INTJ DST.ATTR opletaj say-IND.INTR.3SG tree-DAT tree-DAT jump:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
- (34) tāt āj šāl-ge jodā-t'. (35) d'e pieter\_berbekin ANPH:ADV again tree-LOC turn:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG INTJ Pieter.Berbekin

ō-d'ōd-ek=el'e. chto jodō-d'ōn ajā-j, (36) tāt rejoice-IND.INTR.3sg what(Rus.) wrap:res-jptcp:nmlz cop-jptcp:nmlz-prd=sfc ANPH:ADV (38) "ē (37) "met-ket, met-ket kebe-jek," mon-i. met go-IND.INTR.3SG 1sg-abl 1sg-abl leave-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg INTJ 1sg el=kebe-tejek," l'e-get, met t'āt'ā-get el=pon'ō mon-i.

that.one-ABL 1sg elder.brother-ABL NEG=remain NEG=leave-FUT:IND.INTR.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg

(39) pieter\_berbekin qon-u-t qon-u-t, irkin nume-ge jaqa-j, go-E-ss go-E-ss one house-Loc arrive-IND.INTR.3sG t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut nume-ge. (40) šög-i tā. (41) t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut al=and'e, house-Loc ogre enter-ind.intr.3sg dst.loc ogre NEG=eye al=and'e qodō-l. (42) "ē qot kie-t'ek?" mon-i. NEG=eye lie-sf INTJ from.where come-IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG

(43) "pieter berbekin ō-d'ok=dū? (44) d'e tī met-n'e modo-tojok," Pieter.Berbekin COP-IND.INTR.2SG=Q INTJ PROX:LOC 1SG-COM sit-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG (45) "met-n'e modo-k." (46) nume-de t'ien'e-de mon-i. 1sg-com sit-imp.2sg house-poss.3:gen small.entrance.hall-poss.3:gen say-IND.INTR.3sG molho-do-ho qorobo-n amun omon tāt qodō-nu-j. inside-poss.3-loc cow-gen bone just ANPH:ADV lie-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG

(47) legō-d'ōn, t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut leg-ō-gi. eat:res-jptcp:nmlz ogre eat-rn-poss.3

(33) Opletai jumped to a tree. (34) And she twined around the tree again. (35) Pieter Berbekin rejoiced, because she had stopped twining round him. (36) He walked off. (37) Then Opletai said, "You've escaped from me. (38) But you'll not escape from my brother." (39) Pieter Berbekin walked, walked, and reached one house; the house of the Ogre. (40) He entered it. (41) The blind Ogre was lying there. (42) "Where did you come from? (43) Are you Pieter Berbekin? (44) Live here with me. (45) Live with me." (46) A whole cow skeleton was in the entrance hall of the house. (47) It was the remains of the Ogre's meal.

(33) アプリタイは木に飛び移った。(34) そして再び木に巻きついた。(35) ピエテル・ベルベキンは喜んだ、彼女は巻きついていたんだから。(36) そして行った。(37) (アプリタイは言った) 「わたしからは逃げた。(38) だがわたしの兄からは逃げられないだろう」(39) そのピエテル・ベルベキンはずっと行って、1 軒の家に着いた、人喰い鬼の家に。(40) そこに入った。(41) 人喰い鬼が目が見えずに横たわっていた。(42) 「どこから来たんだ? (43) おまえはピエテル・ベルベキンか? (44) ここでわたしと暮らせ。(45) わたしと暮らせ」(46) 彼の家の玄関には牛の骨がまるごとあった。(47) 人喰い鬼が食べた残りだった。

```
(48) ē,
                   t'ūl'd'ī pieter berbekin tobō-t
                                                               modo-t
         taŋ
                                                        nār
                           Pieter.Berbekin
                                            close: RES-SS always sit-SS
    INTJ DST.ATTR
eldelkie-j.
                           (49) "gode kebej-tem?
                                                                (50) gode
become.boring-IND.INTR.3sG
                                       leave:pfv-fut:interr.1sg
                                how
                                                                     how
                                           (51) "ē," mon-i,
šewrej-tem?"
                                                                      "tudā," mon-i,
                          mon-i.
                                                INTJ say-IND.INTR.3sg before say-IND.INTR.3sg
escape:PFV-FUT:INTERR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
"omot' modo-t," mon-i,
                                  "al=and'e-n'-d'on=de
well
       sit-ss
                 say-ind.intr.3sg neg=eye-prop-jptcp:nmlz=emph
                               (52) "pieter_berbekin, monohot-t'ok?"
and'e-š-nunnu."
                                                                            mon-i.
eye-prop.caus-hbt(-ind.tr.1sg)
                                    Pieter.Berbekin
                                                      say.what-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
(53) "ē
         āj
                tabud-e kudelej-tejek.
                                                     (54) \bar{e}
                                                               mo=mo-d'e,"
    INTJ again DST-INS prepare:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG
                                                          INTJ AFF=say-IND.INTR.1sg
                (55) "al=and'e-n'-d'ōn=de
                                                      and'e-š-nunnu."
                                                                                     (56) "d'e
mon-i.
say-ind.intr.3sg
                     NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH eye-PROP.CAUS-HBT(-IND.TR.1SG)
                                                                                          INTJ
                                      (57) met al=and'e qodō-je,"
met-ul and'e-š=ta.
1sg-acc eye-prop.caus(-imp.2sg)=emph
                                           1sg neg=eye lie-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
(58) "l'e-k,"
                                         (59) "t'omō-d'e alhuj-ge
                    mon-i.
                                                                            ōžī
    do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                              be.big-JPTCP copper.kettle-Loc water
pugelet,"
                                             (60) (xxx), tan
                    mon-i.
                                                                  lolho-j
                                                                             alhuj-gele
be.hot:caus(-imp.2sg) say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                        DST.ATTR boil-JPTCP copper.kettle-ACC
mid'-u-m.
                 (61) "šapadaŋil'-pe-ŋin mon,"
                                                       mon-i,
                                                                        (62) "šapadaŋil'-pe
take-E-IND.TR.3sG
                      door-pl-dat
                                          say(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                             door-pl
johaj-k.
open:PFV-IMP.2sG
```

(48) Pieter Berbekin stayed locked up; he stayed locked up all the time and got tired of it. (49) "How shall I go away? (50) How shall I run away?" he said. (51) "In the old days, I lived well and cured the blind," said Pieter Berbekin. (52) The Ogre said, "Pieter Berbekin, what did you say?" (53) And Pieter Berbekin said, "Eh, you can also do it like this. (54) I said, (55) I cured the blind." (56) "Well, cure my eyes. (57) I am lying blind." (58) "Do it this way: (59) Boil water in a large cauldron." (60) (Indistinct piece of records.) He took the boiling cauldron. (61) "Tell the doors: (62) Doors, open!

(48) ピエテル・ベルベキンは閉じこめられて、ずっと暮らしていてうんざりした。(49) 「どうやって(ここから)出ていこうか?(50)どうやって逃げようか?」(51)「かつては良い暮らしをしていて、目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだ」ピエテル・ベルベキンは言った。(52)「ピエテル・ベルベキン、何だって?」(53)「ああ、おまえもこういう風にすればいい。(54) わたしは言ったのだ。(55) 目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだと」(56)「それなら、わたしの目が見えるようにしてくれ。(57) わたしは目が見えずに横たわっているのだ」(58)「あれしろ。(59) 大きな鍋にお湯を沸かせ」(60) ピエテル・ベルベキンはその沸騰した大鍋を手にした。(61)「ドアたちに言え。(62) ドアたちよ開け、と。

- (63) šapadaŋil'-pe johaj-k." (64) d'e tiŋ alhuj-gele mid'-u-m. door-pl open:pfv-imp.2sg intj prox:attr copper.kettle-acc take-e-ind.tr.3sg
- (65) kipjatok tintaŋ t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut budie al'beš-u-m. boiling.water(Rus.) ANPH:ATTR ogre on spill:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG
- (66) al'beš-u-m. (67) tāt šewre-t'. (68) šewre-t'. spill:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG ANPH:ADV escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
- (69) šewre-t'. (70) maqlō-l šapadaŋil'-get uke-t'. (71) "ēj escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG be.near-AN door-ABL go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG INTJ jaqlō-l šapadaŋil' tebie-k!" mon-i. (72) "tebie-k! (73) al=l'al-lek

be.far-AN door close-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG close-IMP.2SG NEG=send-proh.2SG

pieter\_berbekin!" (74) i t'ien'e molho-do-ho tāt Pieter.Berbekin and(Rus.) small.entrance.hall inside-poss.3-loc Anph:Adv

totti-t'. (75) jaqlō-l šapadaŋil' tebie-j. (76) chto\_delat'? cling-ind.intr.3sg be.far-an door close-ind.intr.3sg what.to.do(Rus.)

(77) sejchas kel-tej. (78) aŋt'ī-tem=el'e. (79) šapadaŋil' now(Rus.) come-fut:ind.intr.3sg look.for-fut:ind.tr.3sg=sfc door jaqlō-l-get el=ukej. (80) tintaŋ qorobo-n amun-pe leg-ō-gi. be.far-An-Abl neg=go.out:pfv(-ind.intr.3sg) Anph:attr cow-gen bone-pl eat-rn-poss.3

- (81) taŋ niŋiedamun-pe-ge šög-i. (82) šög-i.

  DST.ATTR sternum-PL-LOC enter-IND.INTR.3SG enter-IND.INTR.3SG
- (83) niŋiedamun-pe-gi, eto\_lezhat\_tselikom. (84) tā šög-i. sternum-pl-poss.3 they.lie.entirely(Rus.) DST.LOC enter-IND.INTR.3SG

(66) He poured the boiling water. (67) And he ran away. (68) He ran away. (69) He ran out. (70) He got out from the nearest door. (71) "The distant door, close! (72) Close! (73) Don't let Pieter Berbekin go out." (74) And Pieter Berbekin remained locked in the entrance hall. (75) The distant door was shut. (76) What to do? (77) Now he would come. (78) He would search for Pieter Berbekin. (79) Pieter Berbekin could not go out from the distant door. (80) There were bones of a cow there, the remains of the Ogre's meal. (81) Pieter Berbekin hid under the

rib bones. (82) He got in there. (83) The whole ribs were there. (84) He got in there.

(63) Doors, open!" (64) He took the cauldron. (65) He poured the boiling water on the Ogre.

(63) ドアたちよ開け、と」(64) その大鍋を手にした。(65) 熱湯をその人喰い鬼の上に注いだ。(66) 注いだ。(67) そして逃げた。(68) 逃げた。(69) 逃げた。(70) 近くにあるドアから出た。(71) 「遠くのドアよ、閉まれ! (72) 閉まれ! (73) 逃すな、ピエテル・ベルベキンを!」(74) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは玄関の間の中で動けなくなった。(75) 遠くのドアが閉まったのだ。(76) どうしたらいいのだろうか? (77) 今に人喰い鬼がやって来るだろう。(78) ピエテル・ベルベキンを探すだろうよ。(79) 遠くのドアから出ることはできなかった。(80) あの牛の骨の食べ残し。(81) その胸骨の中に入った。(82) 入った。(83) 胸骨が丸ごと転がっていたんだ。(84) そこに入った。

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(85) t'ūl'd'ī pulut al=and'e kude-dele
                                           pukižej-dele,
                                                             d'e tiŋ
                                                                             šapadanil'-e
                   NEG=eye become-ss.seq run.out:pfv-ss.seq intj prox:attr door-ins
    ogre
johodaj-m.
                         (86) johodaj-m
                                                       šapadanil'-e. (87) tintan
                             open:caus:pfv-ind.tr.3sg door-ins
open:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
                                                                          ANPH:ATTR
qorobo-d amun-gele titāt
                                pejžī-tem
                                                          pullugude. (88) pejžī-t
cow-gen bone-acc
                      ANPH:ADV throw:ITER-FUT:IND.TR.3sG outside
                                                                           throw:iter-ss
             pieter_berbekin amun, niniedamun molho šohō-d'ōn-gele
                                                                                    tāt
throw:ITER-ss Pieter.Berbekin
                              bone
                                      sternum
                                                           enter:res-jptcp:nmlz-acc anph:adv
                                                   in
                             (89) "ō," pieter berbekin obradovalsja. (90) "ō!" l'e
irkil'en peššej-m.
together throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                  INTJ Pieter.Berbekin.was.excited(Rus.)
                                                                            INTJ that.one
                                        (92) örn'e-t mon-i:
                                                                       (93) "irkil'en
                (91) örn'e-j.
                                             shout-ss say-IND.INTR.3sG
say-ind.intr.3sg
                     shout-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                            together
peššej-mek
                     pullugude!" mon-i.
                                                   (94) a
                                                                 tintan
                                                                             t'ūl'd'ī_pulut
throw:pfv-ind.tr.2sg outside
                                  say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                        and(Rus.) ANPH:ATTR ogre
irkin n'umud'ī-k (xxx) peššej-mele.
                                         (95) "na
                                                         pieter berbekin, min,"
                        throw:pfv-of.3sg
                                              take(Rus.) Pieter.Berbekin
one
     ахе-гос
                                                                          take(-IMP.2sG)
                 (96) "tet-in prigoditsja
                                             t'ugie
                                                        qon-u-t." (97) a
mon-i.
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                     2sg-dat be.useful(Rus.) on.the.way go-E-ss
                                                                       and(Rus.)
pieter berbekin dogadyvaetsja. (98) jolohunpiedit'ie-gele titāt
                                                                      totto-m.
Pieter.Berbekin
                 guess(Rus.)
                                      little.finger-ACC
                                                            ANPH:ADV attach-IND.TR.3SG
(99) a tā tsepilsja_toporom.
                               (100) topor krichit:
    it.was.stuck.to.the.axe(Rus.)
                                     the.axe.shouted(Rus.)
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(85) The Ogre, blinded, ran out and opened the door. (86) He opened the door. (87) He would throw out the cow's bones. (88) He threw them and then threw Pieter Berbekin, hidden under the ribs, together with the bones outside. (89) Oh, Pieter Berbekin was happy! (90) "Oh!" the bone said. (91) the bone yelled. (92) The bone yelled, (93) "You've thrown me outside together with Pieter Berbekin!" (94) And the Ogre threw an axe. (95) "Here, Pieter Berbekin, take this. (96) It will be useful in your trip." (97) But Pieter Berbekin guessed. (98) He touched the axe with his small finger like this. (99) And it stuck to the axe. (100) The axe yelled,

(85) 人喰い鬼は目が見えなくなって、走り出て、そのドアを開けた。(86) ドアを開けた。(87) 彼はその牛の骨をこんな風に投げるだろう、外へ。(88) 投げて投げて、ピエテル・ベルベキンが胴体の骨の中に入っているのをいっしょに投げてしまった。(89)「おお!」ピエテル・ベルベキンは喜んだ。(90)「おお!」あれが言った。(91)(骨が)叫んだ。(92)叫んで言った:(93)「ピエテル・ベルベキンをいっしょに投げてしまったぞ、外へ」(94)人喰い鬼は斧を投げた。(95)「そら、ピエテル・ベルベキン、斧を取れ。(96) おまえに必要になるだろう、道の途中で」(97) ピエテル・ベルベキンは分かっていた。(98) 小指を斧にこんな風にくっつけた。(99) 小指は斧にくっついた。(100) 斧が叫んだ:

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(101) "idi skoree,
                      plokho derzhu!"
                                               (102) "derzhish'_pieter_berbekin?"
      come.quick(Rus.) I.don't.hold.him.tight(Rus.)
                                                     Do.you.hold.Pieter.Berbekin(Rus.)
(103) "plokho derzhu!"
                               (104) a pieter berbekin nozh vzjal
     I.don't.hold.him.tight(Rus.)
                                     Pieter.Berbekin.took.the.knife(Rus.)
i_tak_rezanul_tude_nugengele. (105) tintan
                                                t'ūl'd'ī_pulut tamun-gele tude
and.cut.off.his.own.hand(Rus.)
                                      ANPH:ATTR ogre
                                                              DST-ACC
                                                                           3sg:gen
n'umud'ī-gele mid'-u-m.
                                                piedit'e-gele leg-u-m
                               (106) tintan
                                                                             tandiet.
axe-ACC
              take-E-IND.TR.3sG
                                     ANPH:ATTR finger-ACC
                                                             eat-E-IND.TR.3sg then
                                     pieter_berbekin. (108) "ē met-ket
(107) tāt
               kebe-t'.
      ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sg Pieter.Berbekin
                                                             INTJ 1SG-ABL
palā-jek,
                                     (109) "jagā_bāba-get el=pon'ō-tejek."
                                                           NEG=remain-fut:IND.INTR.2sG
be.saved-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                           ogress-ABL
(110) qon-u-t qon-u-t d'e jagā_bāba nume-ge jaqa-j.
      go-E-SS go-E-SS INTJ ogress
                                              house-Loc arrive-IND.INTR.3sG
(111) jagā_bāba titāt
                          johul-e ūše-m.
                                                    (112) "ō
                                                              šoromo-n ileje-k
                ANPH:ADV nose-INS touch-IND.TR.3SG
                                                         INTI person-GEN wind-FOC
      ogress
medū-l.
           (113) šoromo-d ileje qot
                                             kie-t'?
                                                               (114) šoromo-d ileje-k
                 person-gen wind from.where come-IND.INTR.3sg
be.heard-sF
                                                                     person-gen wind-foc
kelu-l. (115) ā
                   pieter_berbekin tet-ek kelu-l!" (116) ona_uže_znaet.
                                                                                 (117) d'e
              INTI Pieter.Berbekin
                                   2sg-foc come-sf
                                                          she.knows.already(Rus.)
come-sr
                                                                                      INTI
tamun modo-j
                       modo-j
                                      tintan
                                                 jagā_bāba nume-ge.
       sit-IND.INTR.3SG sit-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ATTR ogress
                                                            house-Loc
DST
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(101) "Come here quickly. I can't hold him tight!" (102) "Are you holding Pieter Berbekin?" (103) "I can't hold him tight!" (104) And Pieter Berbekin took his knife and cut his own hand. (105) The Ogre took his axe. (106) And he ate the finger. (107) Then Pieter Berbekin walked off. (108) "You've escaped from me, (109) but you'll not escape from Baba-Yaga." (110) He walked, walked, and came to the house of Baba-Yaga. (111) Baba-Yaga started sniffing. (112) "Oh, it smells like human flesh! (113) Where is the human smell coming from? (114) I smell the human smell. (115) Ah, Pieter Berbekin, it's you who's come!" (116) She knew already. (117) He lived in the house of Baba-Yaga.

(101)「はやく来い、わたしはちゃんと捕まえていないぞ!」(102)「おまえはピエテル・ベルベキンを捕まえてるのか?」(103)「わたしはちゃんと捕まえていないぞ!」(104) ピエテル・ベルベキンはナイフをつかんで、そして、自分の手を切った。(105) 人喰い鬼はそれを、自分の斧をつかんだ。(106) 小指を食べた。(107) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは去った。(108)「おまえはわたしから逃げた。(109)(しかし) 鬼婆からは助からないだろうよ」(110) ピエテル・ベルベキンはずっと行って、鬼婆の家に着いた。(111) すると鬼婆は鼻をひくつかせた。(112)「おお、人間の匂いがする。(113) 人間の匂いがどこから来るのだろう? (114) 人間の匂いがする。(115) ああ、ピエテル・ベルベキン、おまえが来たのか!」(116) 彼女はもう知っていた。(117) ずっと暮らした、その鬼婆の家で。

- (118) okazyvaetsja terike ŋōžī-t modo-l'el. it.turned.out(Rus.) old.woman cop:caus-ss sit-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
- (119) a\_rodilsja\_syn\_jagā\_bābaget. (120) uzhe t'ommu-j. he.had.a.son.with.Baba-Yaga(Rus.) already(Rus.) be.big:inch-ind.intr.3sg
- (121) mon-i: (122) "d'e id'ī emej," mon-i, "kel-tej.
  say-IND.INTR.3sG INTJ now mother say-IND.INTR.3sG come-FUT:IND.INTR.3sG
- (123) n'eleme-le el=īde-t, el=ket'ī-t.

  INDF:what-INS NEG=get.caught:CAUS-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG NEG=bring-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG
- (125) tet-ek lek-temle. tet-ek lek-temle. (126) šewrej-k," DST.ATTR 2SG-FOC eat-FUT:OF.3SG 2sg-foc eat-fut:of.3sg escape:PFV-IMP.2sG (127) "tāt unuŋ-ek l'e-l. unun jahil-ge mon-i. tī (128) tan ANPH:ADV PROX:LOC river-FOC exist-SF DST.ATTR river edge-Loc say-ind.intr.3sg (129) "tan ataqun topol'-ek ohō-tel," mon-i. topol' poplar(Rus.)-FOC stand-FUT:SF say-IND.INTR.3SG DST.ATTR poplar(Rus.) shchepka-gi t'inej-k," (130) "peššej-k. mon-i. (131) qadi-k, sliver(Rus.)-poss.3 chop:pfv-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg throw:pfv-imp.2sg which-FOC tamun lodka vverkh poplyvet, ā-k. which-Foc floats.upstream(Rus.) DST boat(Rus.) make-IMP.2sG
- (132) a\_kotoryj\_vniz\_poplyvët, eto\_ne\_delaj, tamun al=ā-lek." the.one.which.floats.downstream(Rus.) don't.make.that(Rus.) рsт мед=таke-рrон.2sg
- (133) d'e kotoryj\_vverkh\_poplyl, pieter\_berbekin bystro tamun-gele INTJ the.one.which.floated.upstream(Rus.) Pieter.Berbekin quickly(Rus.) DST-ACC

lodka-ŋōn ā-m. boat(Rus.)-ess make-ind.tr.3sg

(118) He lived there, taking her as his wife. (119) And he had a son with Baba-Yaga. (120) The son grew up already. (121) He said, (122) "Mother will come now. (123) She will catch nothing, she will bring nothing. (124) Then she will eat you. (125) She will eat you. (126) Run away. (127) There is the river. (128) Two poplars are growing on the bank of the river. (129) Fell these poplars and chop their slivers off. (130) Throw them into the river. (131) Make a boat from the tree whose slivers float upstream. (132) But don't make it from the tree whose slivers float

downstream ··· Don't make it from that. (133) Pieter Berbekin quickly made a boat from the tree whose slivers floated upstream.

(118) 彼はその鬼婆を妻として暮らしていたんだ。(119) 鬼婆から息子が生まれた。(120) その息子はもう成長した。(121) 息子は言った:(122)「もうすぐ母さんが帰って来るだろう。(123) 彼女は何も捕まえないだろう、持って来ないだろう。(124) おまえを食べるだろう。(125) おまえを食べるだろう。(126) 逃げるんだ。(127) そこに川がある。(128) その川岸にハコヤナギが2本立っているだろう。(129) そのハコヤナギを切り倒して木端を出せ。(130) それを川に投げ込め。(131) 木端が上流へ流れて行った方で舟を作れ。(132) 下流へ流れて行った方では作るな。それでは作るな」(133) 上流へ流れて行った方でピエテル・ベルベキンはすばやく舟を作った。

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(134) nu
                uö-gi
                                             (135) jagā_bāba-get uö-n'e-j.
                            mon-i.
      well(Rus.) child-poss.3 say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                  child-prop-ind.intr.3sg
                                                   ogress-ABL
(136) zhil_okazyvaetsja_s_etoj_baboj.
                                                   (137) "emej," mon-i,
     it.turns.out.that.he.lived.with.that.woman(Rus.)
                                                         mother say-IND.INTR.3sG
"örn'e-ti."
                                        (138) "tet-kele dagan'aj-tem.
                       mon-i.
                                              2sg-ACC catch.up(Rus.)-FUT:IND.TR.3sg
shout-fut:ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                         (141) mit lani jodaj-k.
(139) mon-tej:
                           (140) mit uö
                                           qārte-ge.
      say-fut:IND.INTR.3sG
                                 1PL child divide-IMP.1PL
                                                               1PL to
                                                                        turn:pfv-imp.2sg
                          (143) tet el=l'uödej-lek,"
(142) juödej-k.
                                                                                 (144) "tuön
                                                                mon-i.
      see:DETR:PFV-IMP.2SG
                                 2SG NEG=see:DETR:PFV-PROH.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                                       PROX
                       tet-kele lek-tem."
juödej-mek,
                                                   (145) lodka-le
see:detr:pfv-ind.tr.2sg 2sg-acc eat-fut:ind.tr.3sg
                                                         boat(Rus.)-INS make-IND.TR.3SG
(146) bystro
                   l'e-nin
                                unuη-ηin l'e-m
                                                             t'olhaj-m.
      quickly(Rus.) that.one-dat river-dat do.that-ind.tr.3sg push:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                         (148) "pieter_berbekin mit uö, mit uö
(147) jagā bāba ör-gi
                              medej-l:
                 shout-poss.3 be.heard-sf
                                               Pieter.Berbekin
                                                                 1PL child 1PL child
      ogress
              (149) juödej-k
                                         met laŋi." (150) tamun irkin aŋd'e-le
qārte-ge.
divide-IMP.1PL
                    see:detr:pfv-imp.2sg 1sg to
                                                          DST
                                                                 one
                                                                       eye-INS
                   and'e-le zagljanul. (151) i
konchikom
                                                       tude
                                                               uö-gele mid'-u-m.
with.the.edge(Rus.) eye-INS saw(Rus.)
                                             and(Rus.) 3sg:gen child-Acc take-E-IND.TR.3sg
(152) popolam
                  šašahadaj-m.
                                          (153) ejmunde-de-jle tāt
                                                                           kinul
      in.two(Rus.) tear:caus:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                half-poss.3-acc anph:adv threw(Rus.)
pieter_berbekin-ηin.
Pieter.Berbekin-DAT
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(134) His child had told him to. (135) He had a child with Baba-Yaga. (136) It turned out that he lived with that woman. (137) "Mother will shout. (138) She will catch up with you. (139) She will tell you: (140) Let's divide our son. (141) Turn round to me. (142) Look at me. (143) But don't look at her. (144) If you look at her, she will eat you." (145) Pieter Berbekin made a boat. (146) And he pushed it quickly into the river. (147) Baba-Yaga's shout was heard: (148) "Pieter Berbekin, let's divide our child! (149) Look at me!" (150) He looked at her out of corner of one eye. (151) And she took her child. (152) And she split him in half. (153) She threw the half of the child at Pieter Berbekin.

(134)子供は言った。(135)鬼婆との間に子供がいた。(136)その婆さんと暮らしていたらしい。(137)「母さんは叫ぶだろう。(138)おまえに追いつくだろう。(139)言うだろう: (140) — 子供を分け合おう。(141)わたしの方を向け。(142)見ろ — (143)(しかし)おまえは見てはならない。(144)それを見たら、おまえを食べてしまうだろう」(145)ピエテル・ベルベキンは舟を作った。(146)すばやく川にあれした、押し出した。(147)鬼婆の叫び声が聞こえた:(148)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、わたしたちの子供を分け合おう!(149)見ろ、わたしの方を!」(150)彼は目の端でちらりと見た。(151)彼女は子供をつかんだ。(152)半分に引き裂いた。(153)半分をピエテル・ベルベキンに投げつけた。

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(154) a_esli_by_khorosho_zagljanul_to_by_uzhe_vsë_by. (155) i_ego_chut'_ne_utopil
      if.he.looked.it.well.it.would.be.all.over(Rus.)
                                                                 she.almost.drowned.him(Rus.)
ne utopila.
                      (156) d'e udral.
                                              (157) "met-ket kebe-jek,"
she.drowned.him(Rus.)
                            INTJ escaped(Rus.)
                                                    1sg-abl leave-ind.intr.2sg
                (158) "ataqun bogatyr'-get el=kebe-tejek."
                                                                         (159) d'e qon-u-t
mon-i.
                               hero(Rus.)-ABL NEG=leave-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG
say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                               INTJ go-E-SS
                      two
qon-u-t qon-u-t tude
                         anabuskā-gele
                                           egete-m.
                                                                (160) peškom
go-E-SS go-E-SS 3SG:GEN dugout.canoe-ACC stand:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                                                      on.foot(Rus.)
kebe-t'.
                      (161) qon-doho irkin t'orqo-ho ataqun bogatyr'-pe-k
                                                                                  kimd'i-nil.
leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                            go-poss.3:Ds one plain-Loc two
                                                                hero(Rus.)-PL-FOC fight-PL:SF
(162) kimd'i-t kimd'i-t kimd'i-t t'īle-p-ki
                                                 ulumu-l'el-ni.
      fight-ss fight-ss fight-ss power-pl-poss.3 run.out-infr-pl:ind.intr.3
(163) godō-ni
                      uzhe
                                                     ulumu-ge.
                                   bojt'e
                                              t'īle
      lie-pl:ind.intr.3 already(Rus.) completely power run.out-loc
(164) a_drugoj_bogatyr'_moni chelovecheskim_golosom. (165) "met-ul qamie-k,"
      another.Bogatyr.said(Rus.) in.a.human.voice(Rus.)
                                                                 1sg-acc help-imp.2sg
                (166) "met-ul poldo-tmek,
mon-i.
say-ind.intr.3sg
                      1sg-acc take.out-fut:ind.tr.2sg
to_tetul_qanide_napravili_tuda_ja_tebja_dovedu." (167) po-russki_kazhetsja_smeshal,
then.I'll.take.you.there.you.were.sent.to(Rus.)
                                                         I.mixed.Yukaghir.with.Russian(Rus.)
(168) "tuda_dovedu_ja_tebja." (169) i_davaj_tamun_chelovek_kotoryj
      I'll.take.you.there(Rus.)
                                     that.who.is.a.man(Rus.)
no_on_chelovek_v_samom_dele_togo_drugogo_pobedili_vdvoëm_ubili.
actually.he.was.a.man(Rus.)
                                 they.beat.the.other.Bogatyr.together.they.killed.him(Rus.)
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(154) If he looked well at her, it would be all over. (155) And she almost drowned him. (156) Well, he escaped. (157) Baba-Yaga said, "You've escaped from me. (158) But you'll not escape from the two Bogatyrs." (159) He went, went, and went and he left his boat. (160) He walked. (161) He came to a field where two Bogatyrs were fighting. (162) They fought, fought, and fought, and their strength ran out. (163) They were lying down with their strength run out already. (164) And one Bogatyr said in a human voice, (165) "Help me. (166) If you help me, I'll take you to the place you were sent to." (167) The language seems to be mixed with Russian. (168) "I'll take you there." (169) This Bagatyr was a man, he was actually a man. And they beat the other Bogatyr. They killed him.

(154) よく見たなら、もうおしまいだっただろう。(155) あやうく水に沈めそうだった。 (156) 逃げた。(157)「わたしからは逃げた。(158)(しかし)2人の勇士からは逃げられないだろう」(159)ピエテル・ベルベキンはずっと行って、丸木舟を置いた。(160)歩いて行った。(161)行くと、平原で2人の勇士が戦っていた。(162)戦って力が尽きてしまった。(163)横たわっていた、すっかり力尽きて。(164)一方の勇士が言った、人間の声で。 (165)「わたしを助けてくれ。(166) 助けてくれたら、おまえの送られたところまで送り届けよう」(167) ロシア語と混ぜてしまったよ。(168)「そこへ連れていこうわたしはおまえを」(169) その人間、実は人間なんだ、それとふたりで別のやつに勝った、殺した。

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(170) tintan
                 kenigi bogatyr'-gele kudde-ŋā.
                                                     (171) d'e tintan
                                                                            šoromo tite
      ANPH:ATTR other hero(Rus.)-ACC kill-PL:IND.TR.3
                                                           INTJ ANPH:ATTR person like
ann'e-l=ben
               mon-i:
                                (172) "id'ī met budie imā-k,"
                                                                         mon-i.
speak-An=NMLZ say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                      now 1sg on
                                                       sit.on:INCH-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
(173) pieter_berbekin tī
                                pud-de-ge
                                                                      (174) i
                                              imā-j.
     Pieter.Berbekin
                      PROX:LOC top-POSS.3-LOC sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                            and(Rus.)
                nodo-nōt prevratilsja.
                                            (175) nodo-nōt kude-l'el-ni.
bird(Rus.)-TRANS bird-TRANS turned.into(Rus.)
                                                  bird-trans become-infr-pl:ind.intr.3
                             (177) mere-t mere-t dolgo_li
                                                                  mere-t tā
(176) d'e meruše-m.
                                   fly-ss fly-ss is.it.long?(Rus.) fly-ss
      INTJ fly:caus-ind.tr.3sg
                   kuda pieter berbekingele napravili. (178) d'e tā
arrive-pl:IND.INTR.3 where.Pieter.Berbekin.was.sent.to(Rus.)
                                                               INTJ DST.LOC
                                                         (180) legite-ŋā.
                          (179) ammal-i.
ammal-i.
spend.a.night-IND.INTR.3sG
                               spend.a.night-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                               eat:CAUS-PL:IND.TR.3
(181) vot
                        terike-ŋin
                                        mon-i:
                                                        (182) "pieter berbekin met-kele
                tude
      here(Rus.) 3sg:gen old.woman-dat say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                               Pieter.Berbekin
                                                                                 1sg-acc
               (183) pieter berbekin met-kele gamie-m,"
gamie-m.
                                                               mon-i.
help-IND.TR.3sG
                     Pieter.Berbekin
                                      1sg-acc help-ind.tr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg
(184) d'e,
                     pieter berbekin," mon-i, "tet-ul jolohude köwdej-t.
INTJ Pieter.Berbekin say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                              2sg-Acc back
                                                                leave:CAUS:PFV-FUT:IND.TR.1SG
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(170) They killed the other Bogatyr. (171) And the Bogatyr, speaking as a man, said, (172) "Now, ride me." (173) Pieter Berbekin rode him. (174) And he turned into a bird. (175) He turned into a bird. (176) And he flew off with Pieter Berbekin. (177) He flew, flew, and flew for a long time and arrived at the place Pieter Berbekin was sent to. (178) He spent the night there. (179) He spent the night. (180) He was fed. (181) The Bogatyr told his wife, (182) "Pieter Berbekin saved me." (183) Pieter Berbekin saved me." (184) "Pieter Berbekin, I'll take you back.

(170) 彼らはそのもう 1 人の勇士を殺した。(171) その人間のようにしゃべる方が言った: (172)「それではわたしの上に乗れ」(173) ピエテル・ベルベキンは彼の背に乗った。(174) 勇士は鳥に変身した。(175) 勇士は鳥に変身した。(176) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンを背に乗せて飛んだ。(177) ずっと飛んでそこに着いた、ピエテル・ベルベキンが送られたところに。(178) そこに泊まった。(179) 泊まった。(180) 食事を与えられた。(181) 勇士は自分の妻に言った:(182)「ピエテル・ベルベキンがわたしを助けてくれた」(183)「ピエテル・ベルベキンがわたしを助けてくれた。(184) ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、おまえを元来たところへ連れて行こう。

```
(185) qonto-t,"
                                              "za to chto metul ty spas.
                             mon-i,
      go:CAUS-FUT:IND.TR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG because.you've.saved.me(Rus.)
(186) nu d'e vot tak strjakhnulsja.
                                        (187) nigide-t'.
                                                                            (188) āj
      well.he.shook.himself.like.this(Rus.)
                                              shake.oneself:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                                   again
ptitsa-ŋōt
                                     (189) pieter_berbekin imā-j
                kude-j.
bird(Rus.)-TRANS become-IND.INTR.3SG
                                           Pieter.Berbekin
                                                             sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                   (191) d'e tude
imi-de-ge.
                (190) i
                                meruše-m.
                                                                       gōrat-ke
neck-poss.3-loc
                      and(Rus.) fly:caus-ind.tr.3sg
                                                         INTJ 3SG:GEN town(Rus.)-LOC
                      tude
                              kelie-l'el-u-l
                                                    gōrat-ke.
                                                                   (192) egete-m.
joqto-m,
arrive: CAUS-IND.TR.3SG 3SG:GEN come: INCH-INFR-E-AN town(Rus.)-LOC
                                                                         stand:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
(193) "ā," mon-i,
                            "met tet-ul ket'ī.
                                                            (194) met-ul qamie-mek.
      INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG 1SG 2SG-ACC bring(-IND.TR.1SG)
                                                                  1sg-acc help-ind.tr.2sg
                                         ket'ī.
(195) met tet-ul
                   tamun-gen tī
                                                           (196) a
                                                                           esli
      1sg 2sg-acc dst-prol
                               PROX:LOC bring(-IND.TR.1SG)
                                                                 and(Rus.) if(Rus.)
                      met tet-ul ket'ī-l-ōl tīmie-d'ōn-ge
                                                                         imo-t
brag-fut:Ind.intr.2sg 1sg 2sg-acc bring-e-rn be.like.this-jptcp:nmlz-loc sit.on-ss
                   bogatyr'-ge, khuzhe_budet,
                                                    erū-tej,"
kie-t'ek
                                                                            mon-i.
come-Ind.intr.2sg hero(Rus.)-loc it'll.be.worse(Rus.) be.bad-fut:ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg
(197) "nu ladno."
                        (198) kebe-t'
                                                    jolohude. (199) pieter berbekin-gele
                              leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg back
                                                                     Pieter.Berbekin-ACC
      well.all.right(Rus.)
nagradi-ŋā
                       bukatyn.
award(Rus.)-pl:IND.TR.3 completely
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(185) I'll take you because you've saved me." (186) Well, he shook himself like this. (187) He shook himself. (188) And he turned into a bird again. (189) Pieter Berbekin sat on his neck. (190) And the Bogatyr flew off with Pieter Berbekin. (191) He brought Pieter Berbekin to his town, to the town Pieter Berbekin had come from. (192) He dropped Pieter Berbekin off. (193) He said, "I've brought you here. (194) You saved me. (195) That's why I've brought you here. (196) And if you boast that I brought you here, if you say you came here riding the Bogatyr, it'll be worse for you. (197) Well, all right." (198) He went back. (199) Pieter Berbekin was highly esteemed.

(185) 送って行こう、私を救ってくれたお礼に」(186) そして体を震わせた。(187) 体を震わせた。(188) 再び鳥に変身した。(189) ピエテル・ベルベキンは彼の首のところに乗った。(190) そして勇士はピエテル・ベルベキンを乗せて飛んだ。(191) 彼の町へ送り届けた、彼の来た町へ。(192) 立たせた。(193) 「わたしはおまえを連れて来た。(194) おまえはわたしを助けてくれた。(195) そのお礼にわたしはおまえをそのお礼にここに連れて来た。(196) もしわたしがおまえを運んできたことを自慢したら、こういうものに乗って来た、勇士に乗って…、そうしたら悪いことになるぞ。(197) じゃあな」(198) 勇士は戻って行った。(199) ピエテル・ベルベキンは非常に讃えられた。

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(200) d'e za to chto
                        tan
                                  vazhnyj
                                                  pochta
                                                             joqt-ō-de-gen,
      INTJ because(Rus.) DST.ATTR important(Rus.) post(Rus.) arrive:caus-rn-poss.3-prol
                        put'
                                   ō-d'ōd-ek=el'e.
                                                           (201) d'e,
such(Rus.) difficult(Rus.) way(Rus.) COP-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD=SFC
                                                                 INTJ
"tīmie-d'ōn-ge
                          kie-t'e."
                                             (202) ōžeš-ηā.
                                                                          (203) vino-le
be.like.this-JPTCP:NMLZ-LOC come-IND.INTR.1sG
                                                   drink:caus-pl:ind.tr.3
                                                                                wine(Rus.)-INS
                      vodka-le.
                                      (204) mon-ni.
                                                             (205) tamun-gele, met-kele,
ōžeš-ŋā,
drink:caus-pl:ind.tr.3 vodka(Rus.)-ins
                                            say-pl:IND.INTR.3
                                                                   DST-ACC
                                                                                 1sg-acc
              ... (206) bogatyr'-pe-lek," mon-i,
                                                          "l'e-me.
                                                                         (207) bogatyr'-ek
                       hero(Rus.)-PL-FOC say-IND.INTR.3sG do.that-of.1sG
bird(Rus.)-Loc
                                                                               hero(Rus.)-FOC
gamie-me," mon-i.
                             (208) "tamun-gen met-kele tinide
help-of.1sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                1sg-acc prox:dir come-ind.intr.1sg
                 (209) "met-kele imo-t
                                          ket'ī-m."
mon-i.
                                                           (210) a
                                                                           potom
                                  sit.on-ss bring-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                 and(Rus.) then(Rus.)
say-IND.INTR.3sg
                       1sg-acc
ugijel-me
             uke-t'.
                                     (211) i_tut_kak_tut tintan
                                                                     l'e
                                                                              bogatyr'
morning-TMP go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                           here(Rus.)
                                                          ANPH:ATTR that.one hero(Rus.)
                           (212) "tet," mon-i,
                                                         "met tet-ul
                                                                       ket'ī-l-ōl
            ket'ī-l=ben.
which(Rus.) bring-AN=NMLZ
                                  2sg
                                       say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg
                                                              2sg-acc bring-e-rn
qvastavaj-mek.
                                          el=mo-d'e?"
                                                               (214) "ā
                      (213) el=tet-in
boast(Rus.)-IND.TR.2SG
                            NEG=2SG-DAT NEG=Say-IND.INTR.1SG
                                                                      INTI no(Rus.)
el=met-ek
                       l'e-l
                                aduön. (215) aduön khmel'-ek
                                                                       tāt
NEG=1SG-FOC ANPH:ADV exist-SF MED
                                              MED
                                                     alcohol(Rus.)-FOC ANPH:ADV
l'e-l.
               (216) met tet-ul
                                  ket'ī-t,"
                                                       mon-i.
exist-s<sub>F</sub>
                     1sg 2sg-acc bring-fut:ind.tr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
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(200) Because he brought the important mail and the trip was difficult. (201) "I've arrived riding one," he said. (202) They got him drunk. (203) They got him drunk on wine and vodka. (204) He said, (205) "That's me, on a bird! (206) Bogatyr ···(207) I saved the Bogatyr. (208) That's why he brought me here. (209) He brought me on his back." (210) The next morning, Pieter Berbekin went out. (211) And standing there was the Bogatyr who had brought him to town. (212) "You were boasting that I brought you. (213) Didn't I warn you?" (214) "Ah, no, It's not me who did so. (215) The tipsiness, it did this all. (216) I'll bring it to you."

(200) そのような重要な郵便物を届けたので、そのような困難な道だったので。(201) わたしはこういうものに乗って来た。(202) 飲まされた。(203) するとワインを飲まされた、ウォッカを。(204) 言った。(205)「わたしを鳥に…(206) わたしは勇士をあれした。(207) わたしは勇士を助けた。(208) 彼はそのお礼にわたしをここに連れて来た。(209) 私を乗せて連れて来た」(210) そして翌朝外に出た。(211) そこにいた、その勇士が、彼を連れて来たものが(言った)。(212)「おまえはわたしがおまえを連れて来たことを自慢したな。(213) おまえに言わなかったか?」(214)「ああ、ちがうよ、わたしがやったんじゃない。(215) 酒がやったんだ。(216) わたしはおまえに持ってきてやろう」

(219) "nu

tuön ōže-tmek,"

(217) pole-ŋin, bol'šoe\_pole, bochka-lek, vodka-lek qonto-mle. plain(Rus.)-dat big.plain(Rus.) cask(Rus.)-foc vodka(Rus.)-foc go:caus-of.3sg

(218) khmel' tannigi nazyvali.

they.called.it.tipsiness.at.that.time(Rus.) well(Rus.) prox drink-fut:Ind.tr.2sg mon-i. (220) "tet tozhe tāt ann'e-tt'ek." (221) nu say-Ind.intr.3sg 2sg also(Rus.) anph:Adv speak-fut:Ind.intr.2sg well(Rus.)

tamun-gele taŋ bogatyr' taŋ l'e-gele vodka-gele ōže-m.

DST-ACC DST.ATTR hero(Rus.) DST.ATTR that.one-ACC vodka(Rus.)-ACC drink-IND.TR.3SG

(222) ugijel-me pieter\_berbekin kie-t'. (223) taŋ l'e-gen morning-tmp Pieter.Berbekin come-ind.intr.3sg dst.attr that.one-prol

tselyj vulkan-ek ūj-l'el-mele taŋ bogatyr' immu-lle. whole(Rus.) volcano(Rus.)-foc make-infr-of.3sg dst.attr hero(Rus.) get.drunk-ss.seq

- (224) "pieter\_berbekin, tet d'e ubuj mol-l'el-d'ek," mon-i. Pieter.Berbekin 2sg intj that's.right say-infr-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
- (225) "metell'el ōže-lle khmel' ōže-lle lem-dik ā-l'el-me, tan 1sg:intns drink-ss.seo dst.attr alcohol(Rus.) drink-ss.seo what-foc make-infr-of.1sg (227) "id'ī," pie-pe-k ūj-l'el-me," juö-k! (226) tselyj mon-i. see-IMP.2sG whole(Rus.) hill-pl-foc make-infr-of.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg now "skol'ko khochesh' ľe-k köjbunnu-k met met tet-ul mon-i, say-IND.INTR.3sg as.much.as.you.want(Rus.) do.that-IMP.2sg brag-IMP.2sg 1sg 1sg 2sg-Acc

ket'ī-l-ōl." (228) nu\_vsë. (229) na\_etom\_vsë. bring-E-RN well.that.is.all(Rus.) this.is.the.end(Rus.)

(217) Pieter Berbekin brought a barrel of vodka to the field — it was a large field. (218) At that time, they called vodka "tipsiness." (219) "You'll drink it. (220) And you'll talk the same." (221) Well, the Bogatyr drank it, the vodka. (222) Pieter Berbekin came the next morning. (223) The Bogatyr, drunk, made an entire volcano in the field. (224) "Pieter Berbekin, you've told the truth (225) Look what I've done after drinking vodka! (226) I've made an entire hill. (227) So, now, you may do it as much as you want; you may boast that I brought you here." (228) Well, that is all. (229) This is the end of the story.

(217) 平原へ、大きな平原へ、樽をウォッカを運んだ。(218) その頃ウォッカは khmel'と呼ばれていた。(219)「よし、これを飲め。(220) (そしたら) おまえも同じようにしゃべるだろう」(221) それを、その勇士はそのウォッカを飲んだ。(222) 翌朝ピエテル・ベルベキンが来た。(223) 勇士は酔っ払って(地面を掘って)山をたくさん作っていた。(224) 「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、おまえの言ったことは正しかったようだ。(225) わたしがその酒を飲んで何をしたのか見ろ!(226) 山だらけにしてしまった。(227) これからは好きなだけ自慢するがいい、わたしがおまえを運んで来たことを」(228) おしまい。(229) これでおしまい。

# 13 Pieter Berbekin (told by A.G. Shadrina in 1997)

Recorded on 4 August 1997 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) irkin gōrat-ke pochtal'on-ek l'ie-l'el-u-l, modo-l'el-u-l. (2) tamun-gele town(Rus.)-Loc postman(Rus.)-Foc exist-INFR-E-SF sit-INFR-E-SF DST-ACC ubun gōrat-nin pochta gonto-din. (3) pieter berbekin send-pl:ind.tr.3 other town(Rus.)-dat post(Rus.) go:caus-purp Pieter.Berbekin kebe-t' pieter\_berbekin. (5) qon-u-t qon-u-t n'ū-gi. (4) tāt name-poss.3 ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sg Pieter.Berbekin go-E-SS go-E-SS gon-u-t gon-doho šāl molhot ažū-lek medū-l: (6) "pieter berbekin go-E-ss go-Poss.3:Ds tree from.the.inside.of word-Foc be.heard-sf Pieter.Berbekin migide kelu-k!" (7) "met lani kelu-k!" mon-i. PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG come-IMP.2sG (9) n'eleme el=l'en. (8) juödie-nu-j. (10) "migide INDF:what NEG=be.visible(-IND.INTR.3sG) see:DETR-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG PROX:DIR kelu-k! (11) migide kelu-k!" (12) qon-i. (13) šāl-ge mod'e lemdik come-IMP.2sG PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG go-IND.INTR.3sG tree-LOC INTI apl'etāj-ek jodō-l, iodō-l. (14) "migide kelu-k," (15) "migide mon-i. opletaj-foc wrap:RES-SF wrap:RES-SF PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG PROX:DIR met al'-nin!" (16) apl'etāj jaqa-j. (17) šāl-get lodā-dele come-IMP.2sg 1sg near-dat opletaj arrive-IND.INTR.3sG tree-ABL dodge-ss.seo pieter berbekin-ge jodā-t'. Pieter.Berbekin-Loc turn:pfv-Ind.Intr.3sg
- (1) In a town, there lived a postman. (2) He was sent to another town to deliver mail. (3) His name was Pieter Berbekin. (4) And Pieter Berbekin walked off. (5) He walked, walked, and walked and heard a voice from a tree: (6) "Pieter Berbekin, come here! (7) Come to me!" (8) He looked. (9) But he could see nothing. (10) "Come here! (11) Come here!" (12) He went there. (13) The Worm-Opletai was twined round the tree. (14) "Come here," she said. (15) "Come here, come to me!" (16) Opletai came near him. (17) She got off the tree and twined around Pieter Berbekin.
- (1) ある町に郵便配達人が暮らしていた。(2) それを送った、ほかの町へ、郵便物を運ぶために。(3) ピエテル・ベルベキンだ、彼の名前は。(4) そして出発した、ピエテル・ベルベキンは。(5) ずっと歩いていると、木々の中から声が聞こえた:(6)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、こっちへ来い! (7) わたしのところへ来い!」(8) 見た。(9) 何も見えなかった。(10)「こっちへ来い! (11) こっちへ来い!」(12) 行った。(13) 木になんとアプリタイが巻きついていた。(14)「こっちへ来い。(15) こっちへ来い、わたしのそばへ」(16) アプリタイは近づいた(実際にはピエテル・ベルベキンがアプリタイに近づいたと言うべきところを、言い間違えたのだと考えられる)。(17) 木から離れてピエテル・ベルベキンに巻きついた。

- (18) n'e=qon-gi eri-t'. (19) n'e=modo-gi eri-t'. EMPH=go-poss.3 be.bad-IND.INTR.3sG EMPH=sit-poss.3 be.bad-IND.INTR.3sG
- (20) n'eqodo l'e-gi eri-t'. (21) tāt ahurpe-de qon-i.
  INDF:how exist-poss.3 be.bad-IND.INTR.3sG ANPH:ADV suffer-ss.SIM go-IND.INTR.3sG
- (22) "ē, ōžī-ge," mon-i, "qonoho l'e-l-ōl, ōžī-ge löwdū-l-ōl!" INTJ water-loc say-IND.INTR.3sg if.only do.that-e-rn water-loc fall-e-rn
- löwdū-l el=iŋi-je (23) "ē, tet ōžī-ge mon-i. INTJ 2sg water-loc fall-an Neg=be.afraid.of-Ind.intr.1sg 1sg say-ind.intr.3sg "lot'il-ge qonoho pied-ōl!" (25) "ē, lot'il (24) "tannigi," mon-i, mon-i. say-ind.intr.3sg then say-IND.INTR.3sg fire-Loc if.only burn-RN INTJ fire el=ini-je," "met." (26) "tannigi šibit'e nono mon-i, molho dog.rose bush.trunk into NEG=be.afraid.of-IND.INTR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 1SG then (27) "šibit'e-lek lek-teme." qon-u-t šibit'e legōl'-me," mon-i. go-E-ss dog.rose eat:DES-OF.1sG say-IND.INTR.3sG dog.rose-FOC eat-FUT:OF.1sG
- (28) "pieter\_berbekin tol'ko šibit'e-ŋin el=qol-loq!" mon-i. (29) "met-ul Pieter.Berbekin only(Rus.) dog.rose-dat neg=go-proh.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg-acc el=qonto-loq šibit'e nono-ŋin!" (30) pieter\_berbekin mon-i:

  NEG=go:CAUS-PROH.2sg dog.rose bush.trunk-dat Pieter.Berbekin say-ind.intr.3sg
- (31) "ā šibit'e nono-k iŋi-mele dahane." (32) tāt šibit'e INTJ dog.rose bush.trunk-FOC be.afraid.of-of.3sg even ANPH:ADV dog.rose nono-ŋin, nono molhin kebejlie-j. (33) apl'etāj lodā-dele bush.trunk-DAT bush.trunk in leave:PFV:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg opletaj dodge-ss.seQ

šāl-ge jodā-t'.

tree-loc turn:pfv-ind.intr.3sg

(18) Pieter Berbekin couldn't walk. (19) He couldn't sit. (20) He couldn't do anything. (21) So, he walked on, suffering. (22) "Ah, it would be so nice to fall into the water!" (23) "Ah, I won't be scared if you fell into the water." (24) "Then, it would be so nice to burn in a fire!" (25) "Ah, I'm not afraid of fire." (26) "Then, I would walk in dog rose bushes. I want to eat hips. (27) I'll eat hips." (28) "Pieter Berbekin, just don't go to a rose bush! (29) Don't take me to rose bushes!" (30) Pieter Berbekin said, (31) "She is afraid of rose bushes." (32) He went to the rose bushes. (33) Opletai detached from Pieter Berbekin and twined round a tree.

(18) 進むこともできなかった。(19) 座っていることもできなかった。(20) どうすることもできなかった。(21) そして苦しみながら行った。(22)「ああ、水に落ちることができたらいいのに」(23)「ああ、おまえが水に落ちたってわたしは恐くない」(24)「それなら、火の中で燃えることができたらいいのに」(25)「火は恐くない、わたしは」(26)「それならノイバラの茂みの中を通ってノイバラを食べたい。(27) ノイバラを食べよう」(28)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、ノイバラのところへだけは行かないでくれ!(29) わたしを連れ行くな、ノイバラの茂みへ」(30) ピエテル・ベルベキンは言った:(31)「ノイバラの茂みが恐いんだな」(32) そしてノイバラの茂みの方へ、茂みの中へ行こうとした。(33) アプリタイはピエテル・ベルベキンから離れて木に巻きついた。

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(34) "met-ket kebe-jek,"
                                mon-i.
                                                 (35) "met t'āt'ā-get
                                                                            el=pon'ō
    1sg-abl leave-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                           elder.brother-ABL NEG=remain
                                                      1sg
el=palā-tejek."
                              (36) "met-ket palā-jek.
                                                                  (37) met t'āt'ā-get
NEG=be.saved-fut:IND.INTR.2sg
                                   1sg-abl
                                            be.saved-IND.INTR.2SG
                                                                      1sg elder.brother-abl
el=palā-tejek."
                                             qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t t'ūl'd'ī_pulut
                              (38) tāt
NEG=be.saved-fut:IND.INTR.2sG
                                   ANPH:ADV go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS ogre
                                                                     (40) and'e-gele erit'
nume-ge jaqa-j.
                             (39) nume-de-ge
                                                   šög-i.
house-LOC arrive-IND.INTR.3SG
                                  house-poss.3-loc enter-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                                          eye-ACC
                                                                                     badly
                                                 (42) "ē, pieter berbekin,
              (41) and'e-gi eri-t'.
juö-m.
                                                     INTJ Pieter.Berbekin
see-IND.TR.3SG
                   eye-poss.3 be.bad-IND.INTR.3sG
kie-t'ek?"
                                   (43) "d'e n'aha
                                                     modo-tīli."
                                       INTJ together sit-FUT:IND.INTR.1PL
come-IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                     (45) and'e-gele erit' juö-m.
(44) modo-ni.
                                                         (46) pieter_berbekin
    sit-pl:ind.intr.3
                         eye-ACC
                                    badly see-IND.TR.3SG
                                                             Pieter.Berbekin
                (47) "tudā uöŋō-t
                                        omot' modo-t," mon-i,
mon-i:
                     before be.young-ss well
say-ind.intr.3sg
                                              sit-ss
                                                        say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                              (48) "monohot-t'ok?"
"al=and'e-n'-d'on=de
                               and'e-š-nunnu."
NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH eye-PROP.CAUS-HBT(-IND.TR.1SG)
                                                                  say.what-IND.INTR.2sG
                (49) "ē
                          al=and'e-n'-d'ōn
                                                   and'e-š-nunnu,"
                     INTJ NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ eye-PROP.CAUS-HBT(-IND.TR.1SG)
say-IND.INTR.3sG
mon-i.
                (50) "tannigi," mon-i,
                                                "met-ul emtedej-k, met and'e.
                     then
                               say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg-ACC cure-IMP.2sg 1sg eye
say-ind.intr.3sg
```

- (34) "You've run away from me. (35) But you'll not escape from my elder brother. (36) You've escaped from me. (37) But you'll not escape from my elder brother." (38) He walked, walked, walked, and walked and came to the Ogre's house. (39) He entered the house. (40) The Ogre couldn't see well. (41) His eyesight was poor. (42) "Ah, Pieter Berbekin, did you come? (43) Let's live together." (44) They lived together. (45) The Ogre couldn't see well. (46) Pieter Berbekin said, (47) "In the old days, when I was young, I lived well and cured the blind." (48) "What did you say?" (49) "I cured the blind." (50) "Then, heal me.
- (34)「わたしからは逃げた。(35)(しかし)わたしの兄からは助からないだろうよ。(36) わたしからは助かった。(37)(しかし)わたしの兄からは助からないだろうよ」(38)そしてピエテル・ベルベキンはずっと行って、人喰い鬼の家に着いた。(39)家に入った。(40)人喰い鬼は目がよく見えなかった。(41)目が悪かった。(42)「ああ、ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、来たのか?(43)いっしょに暮らそう」(44)彼らは暮らした。(45)人喰い鬼は目がよく見えなかった。(46)ピエテル・ベルベキンは言った:(47)「かつては良い暮らしをしていて、目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだ」(48)「何だって?」(49)「目の見えない人を治してやったものだ」(50)「それならわたしを治療してくれ。

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(51) erit' juö,"
                          mon-i.
                                            (52) "el=l'uö-je."
                                                                      (53) "d'e tannigi,"
     badly see(-IND.TR.1SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                NEG=see-IND.INTR.1SG
                                                                           INTJ then
                 "t'omō-d'e alhuj-ge,
                                              t'omō-d'e alhuj-ge,"
                                                                            mon-i,
say-Ind.intr.3sg be.big-jptcp copper.kettle-loc be.big-jptcp copper.kettle-loc say-ind.intr.3sg
"ōžī pugeledej-k."
                                                      ōžī
                             (54) tāt
                                                             alhuj-ge
                                             tan
water be.hot:CAUS:PFV-IMP.2SG
                                  ANPH:ADV DST.ATTR water copper.kettle-loc
lolhā-j.
                                     alhuj-gele
                                                      ōžī-gi
                                                                   lolhoš-u-t
                      (55) tan
boil:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG
                           DST.ATTR copper.kettle-ACC water-Poss.3 boil:CAUS-E-SS
                (56) and'e-de
                                    budie al'beš-u-m
                                                                 jō-de
                                                                                 budie.
gon-i.
                     eve-poss.3:gen on
go-IND.INTR.3sG
                                          spill:caus-e-ind.tr.3sg head-poss.3:gen on
(57) a
                        šapadanil'-pe-le johodaj-mele=bed-ek.
                                                                             (58) kazhdyi
     and(Rus.) PROX:TMP door-PL-INS
                                          open:CAUS:PFV-MPTCP.3SG=NMLZ-PRD
                                                                                  every(Rus.)
                                                                 (59) šapadanil'-pe-gi t'umu
               t'itte_t'umu šoromo ažū-pe-le medi-ηā.
l'e-gi
that.one-poss.3 all
                            person word-pl-ins hear-pl:ind.tr.3
                                                                      door-pl-poss.3
joho jonno-j=bed-ek.
                              (60) "ē
                                       met šapadanil'-pe tebie-nik!"
                                                                         mon-i.
                                   INTI 1SG door-PL
                                                           close-pl:imp.2 say-ind.intr.3sg
     be.open-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD
(61) "met šapadanil'-pe tebie-nik!"
                                                        (62) maqlō-l
                                                                        šapadanil'
                                       mon-i.
         door-pl
                         close-pl:imp.2 say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                            be.near-AN door
tebie-j.
                  (63) i
                                 örd'ō-l
                                              t'ien'e
                                                            šapadaŋil'-ge, tebie-j.
close-IND.INTR.3sG
                       and(Rus.) be.middle-AN entrance.hall door-Loc
                                                                          close-IND.INTR.3sG
(64) jeklude el=ukej.
                                           (65) qorobo-d amun-pe leg-u-t
     further NEG=go.out:PFV(-IND.INTR.3sG)
                                                cow-gen bone-pl eat-e-ss
niniedamun-pe-gi tāt
                             n'ugeredamun-n'e-t qodō-ni.
sternum-pl-poss.3 Anph:Adv rib-prop-ss
                                                   lie-pl:IND.INTR.3
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(51) My eyes can't see well. (52) I can't see." (53) "So, boil water in a large cauldron." (54) The water came to a boil in the cauldron. (55) Pieter Berbekin boiled the water in the cauldron and went. (56) He poured the boiling water on the Ogre's eyes, on his head. (57) But before that, he opened the doors. (58) Every door could understand human speech. (59) All the doors were open. (60) "Eh, my doors, close! (61) My doors, close!" (62) The nearest door closed. (63) And it locked Pieter Berbekin in the entrance hall. (64) So, he couldn't go out. (65) There were remains of the Ogre's meal there, the bones of a cow: the body bones and rib bones.

(51) わたしの目はよく見えない。(52) わたしは見えない」(53)「それなら大きな鍋にお湯を沸かせ」(54) そしてお湯が大鍋の中で沸騰しはじめた。(55) ピエテル・ベルベキンはその大鍋にお湯を沸騰させて行った。(56) 目の上に注いだ、頭の上に。(57) で、彼はドアを開けたんだった。(58) ドアはどれも完全に人間のことばを理解していた。(59) ドアはすべて開いていた。(60)「わたしのドアたちよ閉まれ!(61) わたしのドアたちよ閉まれ!」(62) 近くのドアが閉まった。(63) 玄関の間のドアのところで閉じ込められた。(64) 先へ出られなかった。(65) 牛の骨の食べ残しの、胸骨と肋骨が転がっていた。

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(66) "l'e-k!"
                    mon-i.
                                     (67) niniedamun molho qorobo-n niniedamun molho
    do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                              cow-gen sternum
                                         sternum
                                                      in
                                                                                      in
amle-t'.
                     (68) \bar{e}
                               menmege-t'.
                                                     (69) menmege-t'.
                          INTJ jump:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                          jump:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
dive:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
(70) t'ūl'd'ī_pulut tāt
                                                            šukume. (71) ant'ī-t
                             ant'īd'ā-i
                   ANPH:ADV look.for:DETR:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG at.random
                                                                            look.for-ss
    ogre
             molho-do-ho
                              ant'īd'e-j.
                                                        (72) n'eleme-die
t'ien'e
entrance.hall inside-poss.3-loc look.for:detr-ind.intr.3sg
                                                             INDF:what-DIM
öjl'e.
                       (73) t'ien'e
                                        jonno-j.
                                                             (74) tintan
                                                                              amun-pe-gele
not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG)
                           entrance.hall be.open-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                  ANPH:ATTR bone-PL-ACC
          pullugude pejžī-l'el-u-m.
                                                  (75) peššej-m.
ANPH:ADV outside
                     throw:iter-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg
                                                       throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                                 and(Rus.)
                                         pieter_berbekin tā
           niniedamun molho-do-ho
tintan
                                                                   šohō-jōd-ek,
                        inside-poss.3-loc Pieter.Berbekin
ANPH:ATTR sternum
                                                          DST.LOC enter:RES-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD
irkil'en pullugude peššej-m.
                                                        tamun qorobo-n amun
                                         (77) a
together outside
                    throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                              and(Rus.) DST
                                                               cow-gen bone
örn'e-j:
                   (78) "pieter berbekin met-n'e irkil'en pullugude peššej-mek,"
shout-ind.intr.3sg
                       Pieter.Berbekin
                                          1sg-com together outside
                                                                      throw:pfv-ind.tr.2sg
                (79) d'e, "tannigi," mon-i.
                                                     (80) id'ī me=kebe-t'=el'e.
mon-i.
                                                          now Aff=leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg=sfc
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                     INTI then
                                     say-ind.intr.3sg
(81) pullugude peššej-m.
                                     (82) "tannigi," mon-i,
                                                                     "tiŋ
                                                                                n'umud'ī
    outside
                throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                          then
                                                    say-IND.INTR.3SG PROX:ATTR axe
min."
              mon-i.
take(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG
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(66) "Come on!" (67) Pieter Berbekin got into the cow's breastbone. (68) The Ogre ran out. (69) He ran out. (70) The Ogre started searching at random. (71) He started searching in the entrance hall. (72) He could find nobody. (73) The entrance hall door was open. (74) The Ogre threw the bones out. (75) He threw them out. (76) Pieter Berbekin was hiding under the ribs, and the Ogre threw him out together with the bones. (77) The cow's bone screamed, (78) "You threw Pieter Berbekin out together with me." (79) "Well," said the Ogre. (80) Pieter Berbekin will escape now. (81) The Ogre had thrown him out. (82) "Take this axe.

(66)「あれしろ!」(67) ピエテル・ベルベキン胸骨の中に、牛の胸骨の中には潜り込んだ。(68) 人喰い鬼は飛び込んだ。(69) 飛び込んだ。(70)(そして)人喰い鬼は手当たり次第に探しはじめた。(71) 玄関の間の中で探した。(72) 何もなかった。(73) 玄関の間は開いていた。(74)人喰い鬼は例の骨を外へ投げてしまった。(75) 投げた。(76) その胸骨の中にピエテル・ベルベキンが入っているのをいっしょに外へ投げた。(77) すると牛の骨が叫んだ:(78)「おまえはピエテル・ベルベキンをわたしといっしょに外へ投げたぞ」(79)「それなら」人喰い鬼は言った。(80) ピエテル・ベルベキンは逃げようとしている。(81)人喰い鬼はピエテル・ベルベキンを外へ投げてしまったんだ。(82)「それなら、この斧を受け取れ。

```
(83) "nadaŋō-tej
                                   mozhet
                                                t'ugie."
                                                            (84) titāt
                                                                           n'umud'ī-lek
    be.necessary-fut:IND.INTR.3sg perhaps(Rus.) on.the.way
                                                                 ANPH:ADV axe-FOC
        lani peššej-mele.
                               (85) pieter berbekin pajli-t'=el'e.
                                                                                (86) tā
             throw:pfv-of.3sg
                                   Pieter.Berbekin
3sg:gen to
                                                    be.cuning-IND.INTR.3sG=sfC
                                                                                     DST.LOC
jolohopiedit'e titāt
                                               (87) tāt
                                                              mid'-u-m.
                                                                                (88) n'umud'ī
                         tottaj-m.
little.finger
               ANPH:ADV attach:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
                                                    ANPH:ADV take-E-IND.TR.3SG
                                                                                     axe
                            (89) "kelu-k
                                               kelu-k."
                                                                              (90) "erit'
titāt
          mid'-u-m.
                                                            mon-i.
ANPH:ADV take-E-IND.TR.3SG
                                 come-IMP.2sg come-IMP.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                                                  badly
                                  (91) "erit' moj."
moj,"
                                                               (92) a
                                                                             tin
                 mon-i.
hold(-IND.TR.1sg) say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                       badly hold(-IND.TR.1sG)
                                                                   and(Rus.) PROX:ATTR
jolohopiedit'e-gele t'ohoje-le t'ohaj-m.
                                                 (93) t'ūl'd'ī pulut qon-i.
                    knife-ins cut:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                      ogre
                                                                     go-IND.INTR.3SG
(94) tan
              jolohopiedit'e-le ana
                                       molho šinšaj-m.
                                                                (95) d'e
    DST.ATTR little.finger-INS
                                mouth in
                                               cram-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                    INTJ
kebe-t'.
                      (96) šewre-t'.
                                                   (97) "met-ket kebe-jek,"
                                                        1sg-abl leave-ind.intr.2sg
leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                           escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                 (98) "met pābā-get
                                           bāba jagā-get el=kebej-tejek."
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                      1s<sub>G</sub>
                           elder.sister-ABL ogress-ABL
                                                          NEG=leave:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG
(99) qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t, bāba_jagā-ge jaqa-j.
                                                                          (100) "ā,
    go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS ogress-LOC
                                                       arrive-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                                INTI
bāba_jagā, pieter_berbekin kie-t'."
                                                (101) t'uö
                                                              t'umu lejdī-ŋā.
ogress
           Pieter.Berbekin
                             come-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                      already all
                                                                     know-pl:ind.tr.3
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(83) "Maybe you'll need it on your way." (84) The Ogre threw the axe at Pieter Berbekin like this. (85) Pieter Berbekin was cunning. (86) He touched the axe lightly with his little finger. (87) And he took it. (88) He took the axe. (89) "Come, come. (90) I can't hold tight. (91) I can't hold tight!" said the axe. (92) So, he cut off his little finger with his knife. (93) The Ogre came. (94) He put the finger into his mouth. (95) Pieter Berbekin walked away. (96) He ran away. (97) "You've escaped from me. (98) But you'll not escape from my elder sister, Baba-Yaga." (99) Pieter Berbekin walked, walked, and walked and came to Baba-Yaga. (100) "Ah," said Baba-Yaga, "Pieter Berbekin has come." (101) She already knew everything.

(83) 途中で必要になるかもしれないぞ」(84) 人喰い鬼はこんな風に斧をピエテル・ベルベキンの方へ投げた。(85) ピエテル・ベルベキンは狡賢いんだよ。(86) ピエテル・ベルベキンは小指を斧にこんな風にくっつけた。(87) 持った。(88) 斧をこんな風に持った。(89) 「来い、来い。(90) わたしは(斧を) ちゃんと持っていないぞ。(91) ちゃんと持っていないぞ!」(92) そして、彼は小指をナイフで切り落とした。(93) 人喰い鬼が来た。(94) その小指を口の中へ突っ込んだ。(95) ピエテル・ベルベキンは去った。(96) 逃げた。(97) 「わたしからは逃れた。(98) (しかし) わたしの姉の鬼婆からは逃れられないだろうよ」(99) ピエテル・ベルベキンはずっと行って、鬼婆のところに着いた。(100) 「ああ」鬼婆は言った「ピエテル・ベルベキンが来たのか」(101) 彼女はすでにすべて知っていた。

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(102) qadun-ge lejdī-nu-m?
                                      (103) nu
                                                                bāba jagā-gele terike
                                                      taŋ
      which-Loc know-IPFV-IND.TR.3sG
                                            well(Rus.) DST.ATTR ogress-ACC
                                                                                old.woman
nōžī-t
            modo-l'el.
                                  (104) tintan
                                                   bāba jagā uö-n'e-j.
COP:CAUS-SS sit-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)
                                        ANPH:ATTR ogress
                                                              child-prop-ind.intr.3sg
                             pod'erqo āj
(105) uö-gi
                  bojt'e
                                             tāt
                                                       t'ommu-j.
      child-poss.3 completely day
                                       again ANPH:ADV be.big:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG
                   ewre-j=ben-ŋōt
(106) uzhe
                                           kude-j.
                                                                (107) tude
                                                                              et'ie
      already(Rus.) walk-JPTCP=NMLZ-TRANS become-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                      3sg:gen father
                        (108) "tet," mon-i,
mo=ōžī-m.
                                                     "emej esli
                                                                    n'eleme-le
                                    say-IND.INTR.3sg mother if(Rus.) INDF:what-INS
AFF=COP:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                              2sg
el=ket'ī-tej."
                           (109) pod'erqo āj
                                                 ewre-j,
                                                                   promišl'ajde-din.
NEG=bring-fut:IND.INTR.3sG
                                 day
                                           again walk-IND.INTR.3sG hunt-PURP
                                                                                "tamun
(110) "emej n'eleme-le
                            esli
                                   el=ket'ī-tej,"
                                                               mon-i,
      mother INDF:what-INS if(Rus.) NEG=bring-fut:IND.INTR.3SG say-IND.INTR.3SG DST
tet-ek lek-temle.
                      (111) tāt
                                                 tet-ul lew-dele," mon-i,
                                                                                     "met-ek
                                       tāt
2sg-foc eat-fut:of.3sg
                            ANPH:ADV ANPH:ADV 2SG-ACC eat-ss.seq say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg-foc
                                                           (113) "šewrej-k!
lek-temle.
              (112) id'ī kebej-k!"
                                          mon-i.
eat-fut:of.3sg
                    now leave:PFV-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                 escape:PFV-IMP.2sG
(114) unun jahil-nin qon-tojok.
                                          (115) ataqun pon'qarā, topol'_kak_nazyvaetsja?
      river edge-dat go-fut:ind.intr.2sg
                                               two
                                                                  what's.the.name.of(Rus.)
                                                        birch
(116) ataqun ugurt'erā ohō-nu-j.
                                               (117) tan
                                                               šepinke-lek
      two
             poplar
                        stand-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                     DST.ATTR sliver-FOC
t'inej-teme.
chop:pfv-fut:of.2sg
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(102) Where did she know from? (103) Well, he lived with Baba-Yaga and made her his wife. (104) Baba-Yaga gave birth to a child. (105) Her child was growing day by day. (106) He started walking soon. (107) Pieter Berbekin was his father. (108) "If Mother doesn't bring anything, she will eat you," said the child. (109) She went to hunt every day. (110) "If Mother doesn't bring anything, she will eat you (111) And after eating you, she will eat me. (112) Go away now! (113) Run! (114) Go to the bank of the river. (115) There are two birch trees — how to say 'poplar' in Yukaghir? (116) Two poplars are standing there. (117) Chop their slivers.

(102) どこで知っていたのやら。(103) 彼はその鬼婆を妻として暮らした。(104) 鬼婆は子供を生んだ。(105) 彼女の子供は日増しに育った。(106) もう歩けるようになった。(107) (ピエテル・ベルベキンが) 彼の父親だった。(108) 「おまえ、母さんが何も持ってこなかったら」(109) 彼女は毎日狩りに行っていた。(110) 「母さんは何も持ってこなかったら、おまえを食べるだろう。(111) そしておまえを食べてから、わたしを食べるだろう。(112) 今すぐに出発しろ。(113) 逃げろ。(114) 川岸へ行け。(115) 2本の白樺 — topol'ってユカギール語で何て言うんだったかな — (116) ハコヤナギが 2本ある。(117) その木片を切れ。

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(118) ōžī-ŋin,
                qaduön unun n'āt'in qon-i,
                                                       tamun tabud-e tabud-e l'e
      water-dat which
                        river against go-IND.INTR.3sg DST
                                                              DST-INS DST-INS that.one
                                           ā-dele,"
anabuskā
                           (119) tāt
                                                        mon-i,
dugout.canoe make-імр.2sg
                                 ANPH:ADV make-ss.seq say-ind.intr.3sg anph:ADV
                 kebej-tejek,"
                                                             (120) "mit emej,"
imā-dele
                                            mon-i.
sit.on:inch-ss.seq leave:pfv-fut:ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                   1PL mother
                 "šubeže-ti,"
                                                      (121) "pieter_berbekin, qanide
                                     mon-i.
say-ind.intr.3sg run-fut:ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                            Pieter.Berbekin
                      (122) mit uö," mon-i,
                                                       "qārte-ge!
                                                                     (123) a
kebe-t'ek?
                                                                                     esli
                            1PL child say-IND.INTR.3sG divide-IMP.1PL
leave:pfv-ind.intr.2sg
                                                                           and(Rus.) if(Rus.)
polnost'ju
             juö-t'ī-temek,"
                                     mon-i,
                                                     "tamun-gele tet-kele kudede-tum.
entirely(Rus.) see-DLM-FUT:IND.TR.2sG say-IND.INTR.3sG DST-ACC
                                                                   2sg-acc kill-fut:ind.tr.3sg
                met-kele=de putin šašahadaj-tem.
                                                                                 esli
(124) a
                                                                 (125) a
      and(Rus.) 1sg-acc=emph in.two tear:caus:pfv-fut:ind.tr.3sg
                                                                       and(Rus.) if(Rus.)
                                                                              "tet endā
el=juödej-tejek,"
                                                   "tannigi," mon-i,
                                  mon-i,
NEG=see:DETR:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg then
                                                              say-ind.intr.3sg 2sg med:loc
l'e-l
        me=šewre-ťek."
                                    (126) l'ej, tamun-gele anabuskā-gele
exist-sf Aff=escape:pfv-ind.intr.2sg
                                          INTI DST-ACC
                                                            dugout.canoe-ACC quickly
                (127) anabuskā-ge
                                                                (128) "pieter berbekin
                                        imā-j.
                       dugout.canoe-Loc sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                      Pieter.Berbekin
make-IND.TR.3sG
qanide kebe-t'ek?"
                              mon-i.
                                               (129) tin
                                                               uö-gi
                                                                            pund-ō-gi.
where leave:pfv-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                     PROX:ATTR child-poss.3 tell-rn-poss.3
(130) "ganide l'e-jek?"
                                mon-i.
                                                 (131) "qanide kebe-t'ek?
              exist-IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                       where
                                                                leave:pfv-ind.intr.2sg
```

(118) Make a dugout from the tree whose slivers float upstream. (119) Once you've made a dugout, get into it and row away. (120) Our mother will come running . (121) (And she will say:) 'Pieter Berbekin, where did you go? (122) Let's divide our child!' (123) If you see her entirely, she will kill you. (124) And she will tear me to pieces. (125) But if you don't see her, you'll be able to escape." (126) Pieter Berbekin made a boat quickly. (127) He got into it. (128) "Pieter Berbekin, where did you go?" (129) Everything happened as the child had told him. (130) "Where did you ...(131) Where did you go?

(118) 川上に木片が流れて行く方で丸木舟を作れ。(119) 丸木舟を作って、それに乗って行け。(120) 母さんが走ってくるだろう。(121)(言うだろう) — ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、どこへ行くのか?(122) わたしたちの子供を分け合おう!(123) もしおまえが彼女を完全に見たら、彼女はおまえを殺してしまうだろう。(124) そして彼女はわたしをふたつに引き裂くだろう。(125) もし見なかったら、そのときは、おまえは逃げられるだろう」(126) 彼はそれを、丸木舟をすばやく作った。(127) 丸木舟に乗った。(128)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、どこへ行ったんだ?」(129) あの子供が言ったとおりだ。(130)「おまえはどこへあれしたんだ? (131) どこへ行ったんだ?

```
(132) mit-n'e mit uö
                        qārte-ge!"
                                      (133) tamun irkin and'e jahil-die-le titāt
      1PL-COM 1PL child divide-IMP.1PL
                                                                edge-dim-ins anph:adv
                                            DST
                                                    one
                                                         eye
juö-m:
              (134) tintan
                                       uö-gele putin šašahadaj-m.
                    ANPH:ATTR 3PL:GEN child-ACC in.two tear:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
see-ind.tr.3sg
                                                    mond'āt al=al'be.
(135) tāt
                tabud-e aj-m.
                                         (136) ō
      ANPH:ADV DST-INS shoot-IND.TR.3SG
                                               INTJ almost
                                                             NEG=spill(-IND.INTR.3sG)
(137) tamun-gele tude-ge l'e-m
                                            johote-m.
                                                           (138) johote-m.
                                                                               (139) andā
      DST-ACC
                  3sg-loc do.that-IND.TR.3sg hit-IND.TR.3sg
                                                                hit-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                                    MED:LOC
šewre-t'.
                       (140) al=al'be.
                                                     (141) a
                                                                    ejmunde-de-jle
                                                          and(Rus.) half-poss.3-Acc
escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                             NEG=spill(-IND.INTR.3SG)
leg-u-m.
                (142) tāt
                                nume-nin kebe-t'.
                                                                 (143) "met-ket
eat-e-ind.tr.3sg
                      ANPH:ADV house-DAT leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                       1sg-abl
kebe-jek,"
                                   (144) "ataqun bogatyr'-get
                  mon-i.
leave-Ind.intr.2sg say-Ind.intr.3sg
                                         two
                                                 hero(Rus.)-ABL
el=palā-tejek."
                              (145) pieter berbekin tāt
                                                               kebe-t'.
NEG=be.saved-fut:IND.INTR.2sg
                                    Pieter.Berbekin
                                                    ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
(146) qon-u-t qon-u-t irkin l'e-ge
                                                  t'omō-d'e t'orqo-ge jaqa-j.
      go-E-ss go-E-ss go-E-ss one that.one-Loc be.big-IPTCP plain-Loc arrive-IND.INTR.3sG
              ataqun ataqun bogatyr'-pe-k
                                               kimd'i-nil. (148) ižilbe-lle
(147) tā
                             hero(Rus.)-PL-FOC fight-PL:SF
      DST.LOC two
                      two
                                                                get.tired-ss.seo
                               irkie-t
qodō-ŋi.
                (149) tan
                                         šoromo-n ažū-le
                                                              ann'e-j:
lie-pl:IND.INTR.3
                      DST.ATTR be.one-ss person-gen word-ins speak-ind.intr.3sg
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(132) Let's divide our child!" (133) Pieter Berbekin glanced at her out of the corner of his eye like this. (134) She tore their child in half. (135) And she threw him at Pieter Berbekin. (136) Pieter Berbekin almost fell into the water. (137) She hit Pieter Berbekin with the child's halved body. (138) She hit (him with the child). (139) But Pieter Berbekin escaped. (140) He didn't fall into the water. (141) And she ate the half of the child. (142) And she went home. (143) "You've escaped from me. (144) But you'll not escape from the two Bogatyrs." (145) And Pieter Berbekin went away. (146) He walked, walked, and walked and reached one large field. (147) Two Bogatyrs were fighting there. (148) They lay down, tired. (149) One of them began to speak in a human voice.

(132) わたしたちの子供を分け合おう!」(133) ピエテル・ベルベキンは片方の目の端でこのように見た。(134) 彼女は子供をまっぷたつに引き裂いた。(135) そしてそれを投げつけた。(136) もうちょっとで水に落ちるところだった。(137) 彼女はそれを、彼にあれした、命中させた。(138) 命中させた。(139) 彼はそこから逃げた。(140) (彼は) 水の中に落ちなかった。(141) そして彼女は子供の半分を食べた。(142) そして家へ去った。(143) 「わたしからは逃げた。(144) (しかし) 2人の勇士からは助からないだろうよ」(145) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは去った。(146) 彼はずっと行って、あるところに、大きな平原に着いた。(147) そこで 2人の勇士が戦っていた。(148) 彼らは疲れて横たわっていた。(149) 一方が人間の言葉でしゃべった。

```
(150) "mit endī
                   l'e-l,"
                           mon-i.
                                            (151) "t'īle ulumu-ge abudā-jīli.
     1PL MED:LOC exist-sf say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                  power run.out-loc lie.down-IND.INTR.1PL
(152) met-ul qamie-tejek.
                                   (153) ejtin
                                                  bogatyr' kudede-ge," mon-i.
     1sg-acc help-fut:ind.intr.2sg
                                         DST.ATTR hero(Rus.) kill-IMP.1PL say-IND.INTR.3SG
(154) "tāt,"
                                "met-ul qamie-lukene, met nume-nin
                mon-i,
     ANPH:ADV say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg-ACC help-1|2:ps.cond 1sg house-dat
köwdej-t,"
                                             (155) "tāt
                             mon-i.
                                                             tet nume-nin
leave:CAUS:PFV-FUT:IND.TR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                   ANPH:ADV 2sg house-dat
köwdej-t."
                             (156) d'e tintan
                                                  l'e-gele
                                                               ataqlō-t šoromo-n
                                  INTJ ANPH:ATTR that.one-ACC be.two-ss person-GEN
leave:CAUS:PFV-FUT:IND.TR.1SG
         ann'e-l=ben-n'e
                             ataqlō-t tamun-gele kudde-ŋā.
                                                                  (157) a
word-ins speak-an=nmlz-com be.two-ss dst-acc
                                                   kill-pl:ind.tr.3
                                                                        and(Rus.) DST
                                                                    kude-j.
šoromo titāt
                  nigide-t'.
                                                (158) l'e-ŋōt
person ANPH:ADV shake.oneself:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                     that.one-TRANS become-IND.INTR.3SG
(159) nodo-ŋōt kude-j
                                     nodo-ŋōt. (160) d'e tude
                                                                    budie
     bird-tranS become-Ind.Intr.3sg bird-tranS
                                                      INTI 3SG:GEN on
pieter berbekin-gele imdo-m.
                                                           köwdej-m.
                                           (161) tāt
Pieter.Berbekin-Acc
                     sit.on:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                                ANPH:ADV leave:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
                                              (163) nigide-t'.
(162) tude
              nume-ge joqto-m.
     3sg:gen house-loc arrive:caus-ind.tr.3sg
                                                    shake.oneself:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
(164) šoromo-ŋōt kude-j.
                                        (165) ammal-ni.
                                                                        (166) ižilbe-le
                                              spend.a.night-PL:IND.INTR.3
     person-tranS become-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                              fatigue-INS
köwde-ŋā.
beat-pl:IND.TR.3
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(150) "We are here. (151) Our strength is gone; that's why we are lying down. (152) Help me. (153) Let's kill that Bogatyr. (154) If you help me, I'll take you to my home. (155) And then I'll take you to your home." (156) Pieter Berbekin, together with the Bogatyr speaking as a man, killed the other Bogatyr. (157) And the man shook himself like this. (158) He turned into, um ···(159) He turned into a bird. (160) He seated Pieter Berbekin on his back. (161) And he carried him off. (162) He brought Pieter Berbekin to his home. (163) He shook himself. (164) And he turned into a man. (165) They spent the night there. (166) They had some rest.

(150)「わたしたちはここにいる。(151) 力が尽きて横たわっている。(152) わたしを助けてくれ。(153) その勇士を殺そう。(154) わたしを手伝ってくれたら、わたしはおまえをわたしの家に連れて行こう。(155) それからおまえの家に連れて行こう」(156) そのあれを2人で、人間の言葉をしゃべる者と2人で殺した。(157) そして、彼はこのように身震いした。(158) あれに変身した。(159) 鳥に変身した、鳥に。(160) 彼は自分の背にピエテル・ベルベキンを乗せた。(161) 運んでいった。(162) 彼は自分の家に連れてきた。(163) 身震いした。(164) 人間に変身した。(165) 彼らは泊まった。(166) 休息した。

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(167) "d'e tet-ul nume-nin köwdej-t
                                                            tet nume-nin." (168) titāt
      INTJ 2sg-acc house-dat leave:caus:pfv-fut:ind.tr.1sg 2sg house-dat
                                                                                  ANPH:ADV
nigide-t'.
                              (169) āi
                                          nodo-ŋōt kude-j
shake.oneself:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                    again bird-tranS become-IND.INTR.3SG bird-tranS
(170) pieter_berbekin imā-j.
                                               (171) tāt
                                                                                    (172) d'e
                                                               merej-ŋi.
     Pieter.Berbekin
                      sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                     ANPH:ADV fly:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                                          INTJ
pieter_berbekin gōrat-ke
                                                      (173) t'umu pochta-le
                                joqto-m,
Pieter.Berbekin
                town(Rus.)-LOC arrive:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                                            all
                                                                   post(Rus.)-INS
                                                         (174) "nu
gonto-lle
              t'umu ket'īnā-j
                                           pochta-le.
                                                                         met l'e-l-ōl,"
                     bring:IPFV:INCH-JPTCP post(Rus.)-INS
go:CAUS-SS.SEQ all
                                                               well(Rus.) 1sg do.that-e-rn
                "met budie imo-l-ōl
                                        nilgi-nin
                                                    el=pundu-lek."
                                                                       (175) d'e
                             sit.on-e-rn anyone-dat neg=tell-proh.2sg
say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg on
                                                         (176) tamun-gele l'e-nā.
pieter berbekin all'ōdī delo-k
                                       ā-l'el-mele.
                        work(Rus.)-FOC make-INFR-OF.3SG
Pieter.Berbekin
                very
                                                               DST-ACC
                                                                            exist-pl:IND.TR.3
(177) d'e prazdnik-ek
                          ujā-ŋile,
                                                          (178) pieter_berbekin
                                             ā-ŋile.
      INTJ party(Rus.)-FOC make:INCH-PL:OF.3 make-PL:OF.3
                                                                Pieter.Berbekin
immu-j.
                      (179) d'e tabud-e: (180) "vot
                                                                               tudā
                                                            tīt
                                                                     tāt
get.drunk-IND.INTR.3sG
                            INTI DST-INS
                                                 here(Rus.) PROX:ABL ANPH:ADV before
irkie-t...," mon-i,
                                             drugoj=ben
                                                              kenigil'e
                           tā
                                   odno,
                                                                          ubun=bed-ek
be.one-ss say-IND.INTR.3sg DST.LOC one(Rus.) other(Rus.)=NMLZ other:SUBST other=NMLZ-FOC
nide-mele. (181) "met," mon-i,
                                           "šoromo budie imo-t
                                                                    kie-t'e
speak-of.3sg
                   1s<sub>G</sub>
                          say-IND.INTR.3sg person
                                                           sit.on-ss come-IND.INTR.1sG
                                                    on
bogatyr' budie.
hero(Rus.) on
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(167) "Well, I'll take you to your home." (168) He shook himself like this. (169) He turned into a bird again. (170) Pieter Berbekin rode him. (171) They flew off. (172) He took Pieter Berbekin to his town. (173) Pieter Berbekin brought) all the mail he had to bring. (174) "Don't tell anybody that you arrived riding me." (175) Pieter Berbekin did a great job. (176) That's why people held …(177) They held a feast. (178) Pieter Berbekin got drunk. (179) And then … (180) From everywhere, one said one thing, another told a different thing. (181) "I came riding the man, the Bogatyr," said Pieter Berbekin.

(167)「よし、おまえを家に運んでいこう、おまえの家に」(168) こんな風に体を震わせた。 (169) また鳥に変身した、鳥に。(170) ピエテル・ベルベキンはそれに乗った。(171) そして彼らは飛んでいった。(172) ピエテル・ベルベキンの町に送り届けた。(173) ピエテル・ベルベキンはすべての郵便物を運んだ、すべての運ぼうとしていた郵便物を。(174)「わたしがあれしたことを、わたしの上に(おまえが)乗ってきたことを誰にも話してはならない」(175) ピエテル・ベルベキンはとても大変なことをやり遂げた。(176) それを人々はあれした。(177) お祝いをした。(178) ピエテル・ベルベキンは酔っ払った。(179) それで(180) あちこちから人々が言った、ある人はこう言った、別の人はああ言った。(181) ピエテル・ベルベキンは言った、「わたしは人間に乗ってやって来た、勇士に乗って。

(182) ket'ī-m met-kele. (183) kebe-t'." (184) d'e, pod'ergo-mo bring-IND.TR.3SG 1SG-ACC leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg ıntj day-тмр l'e-i, uke-t'. (185) tintan bogatyr' tendī ANPH:ATTR hero(Rus.) PROX:LOC do.that-ind.intr.3sg go.out:pfv-ind.intr.3sg kel-l'el. (186) "met tet-in tudā el=mo-d'e?" mon-i. 1sg 2sg-dat before neg=say-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg come-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) (187) "met-n'e el=l'e-lek. (188) met tet-ul ket'ī-l-ōl el=pundu-lek." 1sg-com neg=exist-proh.2sg 1sg 2sg-acc bring-e-rn neg=tell-proh.2sg (189) "eto el=met-ek l'e-l, aduön," mon-i. this.one(Rus.) NEG=1SG-FOC ANPH:ADV exist-SF MED say-IND.INTR.3sG (190) "khmel'-ek tāt l'e-l. (191) khmel' ann'-ōl-gi," mon-i. alcohol(Rus.)-FOC ANPH:ADV exist-sf alcohol(Rus.) speak-rn-poss.3 say-IND.INTR.3sG (192) "met al=ann'e-je." (193) "lem-dik tamun," mon-i, "khmel' 1sg neg=speak-ind.intr.1sg what-prd dst say-IND.INTR.3sg alcohol(Rus.) (194) d'e bochonok-e ket'ī-m, vino-le. (195) bochonka-lek INTJ cask(Rus.)-INS bring-IND.TR.3SG wine(Rus.)-INS cask(Rus.)-Foc ket'ī-mele. (196) "tuön ōžo-k," (197) "tātl'elle met-in mon-i. whole(Rus.) bring-of.3sg PROX drink-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG then 1sg-dat pundu-tmek." (198) d'e tan, ľe bogatyr' tamun-pe-gele t'umu taŋ tell-fut:ind.tr.2sg INTI DST.ATTR DST.ATTR that.one hero(Rus.) DST-PL-ACC ōže-m. (199) tāt pieter berbekin ugijel-de-ge kie-ť. drink-IND.TR.3sG ANPH:ADV Pieter.Berbekin morning-poss.3-loc come-IND.INTR.3sG

(182) "He brought me here. (183) And he left." (184) In the afternoon, Pieter Berbekin went out. (185) That very Bogatyr appeared. (186) "Didn't I tell you (187) Not to …(188) Not to say that it was me who brought you here? Didn't I?" (189) "It wasn't me. (190) It was tipsiness that did it all. (191) Tipsiness told everyone. (192) I didn't tell anyone." (193) "What is this tipsiness?" (194) Pieter Berbekin brought a keg, he brought wine. (195) He brought the whole keg. (196) "Drink it. (197) Then tell me." (198) The Bogatyr drank it all. (199) The next morning, Pieter Berbekin came to him.

(182) 彼はわたしを連れてきた。(183) (そして彼は) 去った」(184) ピエテル・ベルベキンは外へ出た。(185) その勇士がそこへ来ていた。(186) 「わたしはおまえに以前言わなかったか? (187) おまえがあれしないように。(188) わたしがおまえを連れてきたことを話すなと?」(189) 「わたしがやったんじゃないさ。(190) 酒がやったんだ。(191) 酒がしゃべったんだ。(192) わたしはしゃべっていない」(193) 「何だそれは、酒っていうのは?」(194) ピエテル・ベルベキンは樽を運んできた、ワインを運んできた。(195) 満杯の樽を運んできた。(196) 「これを飲め。(197) それからわたしに話してくれ」(198) その勇士はそれをすべて飲んだ。(199) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは翌朝やって来た。

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(200) lem-dik al=ā-l'el-mele
                                     toľko.
                                                (201) jama-lek
                                                                    bugor-pe-lek
      what-foc NEG=make-INFR-OF.3sg only(Rus.)
                                                     hole(Rus.)-FOC hillock(Rus.)-PL-FOC
                 t'umu, pie-pe-lek t'umu. (202) "pieter_berbekin, tet lem-dik
                        hill-pl-foc all
                                                 Pieter.Berbekin
make-INFR-OF.3sg all
                                                                   2sg what-foc
                           id'ī," mon-i.
                                                 (203) tet met-ul mo-d'ek:
            juö
ā-me,
make-of.2sg see(-IND.TR.1sg) now say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                       2sg 1sg-acc say-ind.intr.2sg
(204) "met-n'e el=köjbunnu-lek." (205) "pieter_berbekin ubuj
                                                                    mo-d'ek,"
      1sg-com Neg=brag-proh.2sg
                                        Pieter.Berbekin
                                                         that's.right say-IND.INTR.2SG
                (206) "met id'ī met-n'e, met tet-ul ket'ī-l-ōl, tamun-n'e tabud-e
mon-i.
                           now 1sg-com 1sg 2sg-acc bring-e-rn dst-com
say-IND.INTR.3sG
köjbunnu-k," mon-i.
                              (207) "tamun t'umu nied'irī-k,"
brag-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                            all
                                                   talk:APPL-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                    DST
(208) tandā
                                bogatyr'
                                          pierī-de-lle
             tan,
                       taŋ
                                                                 āį
                                                                       merie-t'
     DST.LOC DST.ATTR DST.ATTR hero(Rus.) wing-prop.inch-ss.seq again fly:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
jolohude. (209) tandelme t'emie-t'.
back
                meanwhile end:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
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(200) Whatever had the Bogatyr done? (201) He'd made pits, knolls, and hills. (202) "Pieter Berbekin, I see what you did." (203) "You told me, (204) 'Don't boast'. (205) Pieter Berbekin, you were right," said the Bogatyr. (206) Now you may boast that it was me who brought you. (207) Tell everything." (208) And the Bogatyr with the wings flew back again. (209) This is the end.

(200) 勇士はあらゆることをしでかしていた。(201) 山や穴を作っていた。(202)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、おまえが何をしたのか分かったぞ。(203)「おまえはわたしに言った。(204) わたしのことを自慢するなと。(205) ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、おまえの言ったことは正しかった。(206) これからは私がおまえを連れ帰ったことを自慢するがいい。(207) そのことをすっかり話すがいい」(208) そしてその勇士は翼を生やして帰って行った。(209) これでおしまい。

## 14 Pieter Berbekin

Recorded on 8 August 1997 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) irkin gōrat-ke pieter berbekin modo-l'el. (2) pochtal'on-ek. one town(Rus.)-Loc Pieter.Berbekin sit-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG) postman(Rus.)-PRD
- (3) pieter berbekin-gele ubun gōrat-nin l'ie-l'el-nā. (4) leme-n Pieter.Berbekin-ACC other town(Rus.)-DAT do.that-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 what-gen nadanō-d'ōd-ek (5) pieter berbekin tāt jan-dil l'el-ŋā. be.necessary-jptcp:nmlz-foc send-purp exist-pl:ind.tr.3 Pieter.Berbekin ANPH:ADV

kebe-t'. (6) qon-u-t qon-u-t šāl molhot al'ōdī ann'e-k leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg go-E-ss go-E-ss tree from.the.inside.of very.big speak-foc

(7) "pieter berbekin met lani kelu-k!" Pieter.Berbekin be.heard-sF 1sg to come-IMP.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg

- (8) juöde-j. (9) n'eleme-die el=l'en. see:detr-ind.intr.3sg INDF:what-DIM NEG=be.visible(-IND.INTR.3sG)
- (10) "pieter\_berbekin met laŋi kelu-k!" (11) qon-i. (12) ažū Pieter.Berbekin 1sg to come-IMP.2sG word go-IND.INTR.3SG

medū-l=ben-nin gon-i. (14) mod'e lemdik, (13) tāt juö-m: be.heard-AN=NMLZ-DAT go-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV see-IND.TR.3SG INTJ

apl'etāj-ek jododā-l'el-u-l. (15) "migide migide kelu-k! (16) migide tree-LOC opletaj-FOC wrap:DETR-INFR-E-SF PROX:DIR PROX:DIR come-IMP.2sg PROX:DIR

kelu-k!" (17) al'-de-ge jaqa-j.

come-IMP.2sG near-poss.3-loc arrive-IND.INTR.3sG

(1) In a town, there lived Pieter Berbekin. (2) He was a postman. (3) They wanted to send Pieter Berbekin to another town. (4) They wanted to send some important things. (5) Pieter Berbekin set out. (6) He walked, walked, and walked, and there was heard a loud voice from the trees, (7) "Pieter Berbekin, come up to me!" (8) He looked. (9) But he could see nothing. (10) "Pieter Berbekin, come to me, come to me!" (11) He went. (12) He went where the voice was coming from. (13) He saw (14) The Worm – Opletai twined round the tree. (15) "Come, come here! (16) Come here!" (17) He went near her.

(1) ある町にピエテル・ベルベキンが暮らしていた。(2)(彼は)郵便配達人だった。(3) 人々はピエテル・ベルベキンをほかの町へあれしようとしていた。(4) 何か必要なものを 送ろうとしていた。(5) ピエテル・ベルベキンは出発した。(6) ずっと歩きつづけると、木 の繁みの中から大きな声が聞こえた。(7)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、わたしの方へ来い」 (8) 彼は見た。(9) 何も見えなかった。(10) 「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、わたしの方へ来 い!」(11) 行った。(12) 声の聞こえる方へ行った。(13) そして見た。(14) なんと木にア プリタイが巻きついていた。(15)「こっちへこっちへ来い。(16) こっちへ来い!」(17) 彼 はそばに近づいた。

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(18) šāl arqā jaqa-j.
                                   (19) apl'etāj menmege-t tīne
                                                                       pieter berbekin-ge
     tree near arrive-IND.INTR.3sG
                                        opletaj jump-ss
                                                             PROX:TMP Pieter.Berbekin-LOC
          iodā-t'.
                                (20) n'at'īl'e
                                                    qon-i.
                                                                    (21) n'e=ohō-din
                                     with.difficulty go-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                         EMPH=stand-purp
ANPH:ADV turn:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                       (22) n'e=modo-din lorqaj-m.
                                                                   (23) olgodin titāt
lorgaj-m.
be.unable.to-IND.TR.3sG
                            EMPH=sit-PURP be.unable.to-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                        just
                                                                                 ANPH:ADV
jododā-l'el.
                              (24) "tāt
                                              ahurpe-l keriete," mon-i,
                                                                                   "lot'il-ge
wrap:detr-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
                                   ANPH:ADV suffer-AN than
                                                                 say-IND.INTR.3sg fire-LOC
et=piede-je!"
                       (25) "ē
                                 piede-k,"
                                                                (26) "met lot'il
HYP=burn-IND.INTR.1sg
                            INTJ burn-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                     1sg
                                                                          fire
el=ini-je!"
                             (27) "tāt
                                             ahurpe-l keriete," mon-i,
                                  ANPH:ADV suffer-AN than
NEG=be.afraid.of-IND.INTR.1SG
                                                                say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg
                                (28) "ē
                                         löwdū-k," mon-i.
          et=löwdi-t'e!"
                                                                       (29) "met ōžī
ōžī-ge
water-loc hyp=fall-ind.intr.1sg
                                     INTJ fall-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                                  water
                                                                            1s<sub>G</sub>
                             (30) "titāt
el=ini-je!"
                                             leŋdōl'-i-t
                                                               ahurpe-de ewre-l keriete,
NEG=be.afraid.of-IND.INTR.1SG
                                  ANPH:ADV eat:DETR:DES-E-SS suffer-SS.SIM walk-AN than
šibit'e nono-ho,
                        šibit'e
                                 nono-ho
                                                 molho et=ewre-je,
                                                                                šibit'e
dog.rose bush.trunk-Loc dog.rose bush.trunk-Loc in
                                                        HYP=walk-IND.INTR.1sg dog.rose
leg-u-t." (31) "monohot-t'ok?"
                                                      (32) "met šibit'e
                                                                        leg-u-de
                                    mon-i.
eat-E-ss
              say.what-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                           1s<sub>G</sub>
                                                                dog.rose eat-E-ss.sim
et=ewre-je,"
                       mon-i.
HYP=walk-IND.INTR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
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(18) He went near the tree. (19) Opletai jumped from the tree and twined round Pieter Berbekin. (20) He could hardly walk. (21) He couldn't stand. (22) He couldn't sit. (23) She twined. (24) "Instead of suffering so much, I'd rather burn in a fire!" (25) "Well, burn in a fire. (26) I am not afraid of fire." (27) "Instead of suffering so much, I'd rather drown in the water!" (28) "Well, drown in the water. (29) I am not afraid of the water." (30) "Instead of suffering from hunger so much, I'd rather walk through dog rose bushes. I'll eat hips." (31) "What did you say?" asked Opletai. (32) "It would be so nice to walk and eat hips.

(18) 木のそばに近づいた。(19) アプリタイは跳びはねて、ピエテル・ベルベキンに巻きついた。(20) 彼はやっとのことで歩いた。(21) 立っていることもできなかった。(22) 座っていることもできなかった。(23) (アプリタイが) こんな風に巻きついていたんだ。(24) 「こんな風に苦しむよりも、火の中で燃えることができたらいいのに!」(25) 「燃えればいいさ。(26) わたしは火は恐くない。(27) 「こんな風に苦しむよりも、水に落ちることができたらいいのに!」(28) 「落ちればいいさ。(29) わたしは水は恐くない」(30) 「こんな風に腹を空かせて苦しみながら歩くよりも、ノイバラの繁みを歩き回ることができたらいいのに、ノイバラをたべながら」(31) 「何だって?」アプリタイが言った。(32) 「わたしはノイバラを食べながら歩き回るだろうに。

- (33) "leŋdōl'-i-t," mon-i, "šibit'e lew-din..." (34) "el=qol-loq," eat:Detr:Des-e-ss say-ind.intr.3sg dog.rose eat-purp neg=go-proh.2sg mon-i, "šibit'e-ŋin. (35) met iŋi," mon-i. say-ind.intr.3sg dog.rose-dat 1sg be.afraid.of(-ind.tr.1sg) say-ind.intr.3sg (36) "met-ke, tamun l'el-gi, mided'e titimie-l=ben-n'e-j.
- (37) n'it'ahat-u-m, met-kele." (38) d'e pieter\_berbekin-ŋin medi-m=el'e. stick:caus-e-ind.tr.3sg 1sg-acc intj Pieter.Berbekin-dat hear-ind.tr.3sg=sfc

be.like-an=nmlz-prop-ind.intr.3sg

- (39) d'e t'ejd'ie šibit'e nono molhin tāt kebe-t'.

  INTJ on.purpose dog.rose bush.trunk into ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
- (40) tāt menmege-de apl'etāj-gi šāl-ge āj jododa-t'.

  ANPH:ADV jump-SS.SIM opletaj-POSS.3 tree-LOC again wrap:DETR:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
- (41) ō d'e ed'ie-j, l'e-ge, pieter\_berbekin. (42) apl'etāj tude-get intj intj be.alive:inch-ind.intr.3sg that.one-loc Pieter.Berbekin opletaj 3sg-abl

lodā-j. (43) tāt kebe-t'. (44) "d'e met-ket dodge-ind.intr.3sg anph:adv leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg intj 1sg-abl

palā-jek," mon-i. (45) "met t'āt'ā-get be.saved-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg elder.brother-abl

that.one-poss.3 needle

1sg-loc dst

el=palā-tejek." (46) d'e tāt kebe-t'. (47) qon-u-t NEG=be.saved-fut:ind.intr.2sg intj anph:adv leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg go-e-ss qon-u-t qon-u-t irkin, irkin pulut-ke jaqa-j. go-e-ss go-e-ss go-e-ss go-e-ss one one old.man-loc arrive-ind.intr.3sg

(33) I've got hungry, and I want to eat hips," said Pieter Berbekin. (34) "Don't go to rose bushes! (35) I am afraid. (36) It has thorns like needles. (37) They prick me." (38) Pieter Berbekin heard it. (39) He went to the rose bushes on purpose. (40) So, Opletai jumped off him and twined around a tree again. (41) Pieter Berbekin was revived. (42) Opletai had got detached from him. (43) He walked further. (44) "You've escaped from me. (45) But you'll not escape from my brother." (46) He walked further. (47) He walked, walked, and walked and came to a house of one old man.

(33) お腹が空いて、ノイバラを食べに…」(34)「行かないでくれ、ノイバラのところへは。 (35) わたしはノイバラが恐い。(36) あれには針のようなものがついている。(37)(それが) わたしのことを刺す」(38) ピエテル・ベルベキンはそれを聞いたんだ。(39) 彼はわざとノイバラの茂みの中へ行った。(40) するとアプリタイは跳ねながら、木にふたたび巻きついた。(41) ピエテル・ベルベキンは生き返った。(42) アプリタイは彼から離れた。 (43) そして(彼は) 去った。(44)「(おまえは) わたしからは助かった。(45)(しかし) わたしの兄からは助からないだろうよ」(46) そして彼は去った。(47) ずっと行って、ある老人のところに着いた。

- (48) t'ūl'd'ī pulut-ek=dū lem-dik=dū? (49) irkin pulut-ke. (50) t'ūl'd'ī pulut-tege ogre-PRD=Q what-prd=Q one old.man-Loc ogre-AUG ō-l'el-tei. (51) and'e-gi eri-t'. (52) qorobo mut'in=ben COP-INFR-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG eye-poss.3 be.bad-IND.INTR.3sg various=NMLZ cow leg-ō-gi molho-do-ho t'ien'e omon šogno-j. eat-RN-POSS.3 entrance.hall inside-POSS.3-LOC just be.stucked.in.a.pile-IND.INTR.3sG (53) d'e tude-n'e modo-j. (54) "ā," mon-i, "titāt modo-l keriete," INTJ 3SG-COM sit-IND.INTR.3SG INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV sit-AN than "ahurpe-l keriete... (55) šoromo and'e ālō l'ie-nunnu, mon-i. person eye say-IND.INTR.3sg suffer-AN than ? do.that-HBT(-IND.TR.1SG) omolot-nunnu." (56) "pieter berbekin, met and'e omolot ta!" Pieter.Berbekin be.good:caus-hbt(-IND.TR.1sg) 1sg eye be.good:caus(-imp.2sg) intj (57) "tannigi l'e-k," (58) "t'omō-d'e alhuj mon-i. ōžī then do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg be.big-JPTCP copper.kettle water al'beš-tele lolhodaj-k. (59) tet tāt qodō-k," mon-i. tāt spill:caus-ss.seq anph:adv boil:caus:pfv-imp.2sg 2SG ANPH:ADV lie-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG (60) "tan tabud-e l'e-tt'e." (61) d'e tin lolhaj-ge DST.ATTR copper.kettle boil:PFV-LOC DST-INS do.that-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG INTJ PROX:ATTR lolha-t'. (62) pieter berbekin n'āt'e-de alhui budie copper.kettle boil:pfv-IND.INTR.3sG Pieter.Berbekin face-poss.3:GEN on tāt al'beš-u-m, taŋ ōžī-gele, lolho-j ōžī-gele. ANPH:ADV spill:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG DST.ATTR water-ACC boil-IND.INTR.3SG water-ACC
- (48) Was it the Ogre, or who was it? (49) He came to the house of one old man. (50) Most likely, he was the Ogre. (51) He was blind. (52) In the entrance hall, there were the remains of a cow his meal. (53) Pieter Berbekin lived with him. (54) He said, "Instead of living this way and suffering…(55) In the old days, I cured people's eyes." (56) "Pieter Berbekin, cure my eyes!" (57) "Then, do this. (58) Fill a large cauldron with water and boil it. (59) Then, lie down for a while. (60) When the water boils, we'll start treatment." (61) The water in the large cauldron came to a boil. (62) Pieter Berbekin poured the hot, the boiling water on the Ogre's face.
- (48) 人喰い鬼だろうか何だろうか。(49) ある老人のところに(着いた)。(50) 彼は人喰い鬼なのかもしれない。(51) 彼は目が悪かった。(52) 牛のさまざまなものの(彼が)食べて残ったものが玄関に積まれていた。(53) (ピエテル・ベルベキンは) 彼と暮らした。(54) 「こんな風に暮らすよりも、こんな風に苦しむよりも…(55) わたしはかつて人々の目を治療したものだ」(56) 「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、わたしの目を治してくれ!」(57) 「それならあれしろ。(58) 大きな鍋に水を注いで沸かせ。(59) それからおまえは横たわっている。(60) 大鍋が煮たったら、それであれしよう(治療しよう)」(61) その大鍋が煮たった。(62) ピエテル・ベルベキンは彼の顔の上に注いだ、そのお湯を、煮たったお湯を。

- (63) ō and'e-de-ile t'umu itogedej-m. (64) lolho-j ōžī. INTJ eye-POSS.3-ACC all burst:caus:pfv-ind.tr.3sg boil-IND.INTR.3sg water šewre-ť. (65) padōmu-j. (66) d'e tāt cook:res:inch-ind.intr.3sg INTJ ANPH:ADV escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG (68) šapadanil'-pe jonno-j=ben-pe-k. (67) šewrej-din l'e-j. escape:PFV-PURP exist-IND.INTR.3sG door-pl be.open-JPTCP=NMLZ-PL-PRD (69) "šapadanil'-pe tebie-nik!" (70) šapadanil'-pe tāt mon-i. door-pl close-pl:imp.2 say-ind.intr.3sg door-pl ANPH:ADV tebie-ni. (71) maglō-l šapadanil'-get uke-t'. (72) t'ien'e close-pl:IND.INTR.3 be.near-AN door-ABL go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG entrance.hall molho tebie-j. (73) d'e t'ien'e molho-do-hon qorobo mut'in=ben INTJ entrance.hall inside-Poss.3-Prol cow close-IND.INTR.3SG niniedamun-pe-gi jonno-t n'ugeredamun-pe-gi t'umut titāt leg-ō-gi tan eat-RN-POSS.3 DST.ATTR sternum-PL-POSS.3 be.open-ss rib-PL-POSS.3 all ANPH:ADV amle-t'. (74) pieter\_berbekin tamun molho-do-ho Pieter.Berbekin inside-poss.3-loc dive:pfv-ind.intr.3sg be.open-IND.INTR.3SG DST (75) amle-t'. (76) tintamun pukiže-t'. (77) šukume=te dive:pfv-ind.intr.3sg ANPH run.out:pfv-ind.intr.3sg at.random=емрн (78) ant'ī-de ant'īlā-m. ant'ī-t, öjl'e. look.for-ss.sim look.for-ss not.exist(-ind.intr.3sg) look.for:inch-ind.tr.3sg
- (63) The Ogre's eyes were boiled. (64) The boiling water ···(65) His eyes were boiled. (66) Then, Pieter Berbekin ran away. (67) He wanted to escape. (68) The doors were open. (69) "Door, close!" said the Ogre. (70) And the doors closed at once. (71) Pieter Berbekin went out through the nearest door. (72) But he found himself locked in the entrance hall. (73) In the entrance hall, there were scraps: remains of the cow's carcass. Its bones and ribs were open. (74) Pieter Berbekin got into the bones. (75) He got into them. (76) The Ogre ran out. (77) He started searching everywhere. (78) He searched and searched. (79) But he couldn't find Pieter Berbekin.

NEG=find-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG

(79) pieter\_berbekin-gele el=nugu-nu-j.

Pieter.Berbekin-Acc

(63) (人喰い鬼の) 目をすっかり破裂させてしまった。(64) 煮立ったお湯…(65) 彼の目は煮えてしまった。(66) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは逃げた。(67) 彼は逃げようとした。(68) ドアは開いていた。(69)「ドアよ閉まれ」人喰い鬼は言った。(70) ドアはすると閉まった。(71) 近くのドアから出た。(72)(すると) 玄関の間の中に閉じこめられた。(73) 玄関の中に、牛のさまざまなもの、(彼が) 食べて残ったもの、胴体の骨が広がっていた、肋骨がすべてこんな風に広がっていた。(74) ピエテル・ベルベキンはその中に潜った。(75) 潜った。(76) 人喰い鬼は走り出た。(77) 手当たり次第に探しはじめた。(78) 探しまわったが、だめだった。(79) ピエテル・ベルベキンを見つけることができなかった。

- (80) tintan qorobo amun-pe-gele šapadanil'-get pullugude pejžī-m. bone-PL-ACC door-ABL outside throw:iter-ind.tr.3sg ANPH:ATTR COW (82) "ō (81) taŋ qorobo-n ažū mon-i: pieter berbekin met-n'e, met-n'e
- INTI Pieter.Berbekin DST.ATTR cow-GEN word say-IND.INTR.3SG 1sg-com 1sg-com irkil'en pullugude peššej-mek!" (83) d'e pieter\_berbekin ajā-j. together outside throw:pfv-ind.tr.2sg INTJ Pieter.Berbekin rejoice-IND.INTR.3SG
- n'umud'ī-k peššej-mele. (85) "pieter\_berbekin," (84) d'e tintan pulut INTJ ANPH:ATTR old.man axe-FOC throw:pfv-of.3sg Pieter.Berbekin

"tet-in nadaŋō-tej, mā!" mon-i. mon-i. (86) d'e say-IND.INTR.3sg 2sg-dat be.necessary-fut:IND.INTR.3sg INTJ say-IND.INTR.3sg INTJ pieter berbekin tude jolohopiedit'e-gele tāt t'ahitaj-m. (87) nugen 3sg:gen little.finger-acc hand Pieter.Berbekin ANPH:ADV touch:PFV-IND.TR.3SG (88) t'ohoje-le titāt titāt totti-t'. t'oh-u-m, t'inej-m, ANPH:ADV cling-IND.INTR.3SG knife-ins anph:adv cut-e-ind.tr.3sg chop:pfv-ind.tr.3sg (89) d'e šewre-t'. t'oh-u-m. (90) tintan pulut min-dele cut-e-ind.tr.3sg INTJ escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ATTR old.man take-ss.seo l'e-de-ile jolohopiedit'e-de-jle leg-u-m. (91) leg-u-m.

tan DST.ATTR that.one-POSS.3-ACC little.finger-POSS.3-ACC eat-E-IND.TR.3SG eat-e-ind.tr.3sg

(92) d'e "met-ket palā-jek," (93) "met pābā-get mon-i. INTI 1sg-abl be.saved-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg elder.sister-ABL 1s<sub>G</sub> bāba\_jagā-get el=pon'ō-tejek, el=palā-tejek!" NEG=remain-fut:IND.INTR.2sg NEG=be.saved-fut:IND.INTR.2sg ogress-ABL

(80) He threw the cow's bones out. (81) The cow's bones said, (82) "Oh, you threw me out together with Pieter Berbekin!" (83) Pieter Berbekin rejoiced. (84) Then, the Ogre threw an axe. (85) "Pieter Berbekin, it will be useful for you. Here, take it!" (86) Pieter Berbekin touched the axe with his little finger. (87) And his hand stuck to the axe like this. (88) He cut off his

little finger with a knife. (89) And he ran away. (90) The Ogre took his little finger and ate it. (91) He ate it. (92) "You escaped from me. (93) But you will not from my elder sister. You'll not escape from Baba-Yaga."

(80) 彼はその牛の骨をドアから外へ投げた。(81) その牛の声がした:(82) 「おお、ピエ テル・ベルベキンをわたしといっしょに外へ投げてしまったぞ!」(83) ピエテル・ベル ベキンは喜んだ。(84) すると、その老人は斧を投げつけた。(85)「ピエテル・ベルベキン よ、おまえに必要になるだろう、そら! (86) ピエテル・ベルベキンは小指で斧に触れ た。(87) 手は斧にこんな風にくっついた。(88) ピエテル・ベルベキンは小指をナイフで こんな風に切り落とした。(89) そして逃げた。(90) 老人はそのあれを、彼の小指をつか んで食べた。(91)食べた。(92)「わたしからは助かった。(93)(しかし)わたしの姉の鬼 婆からは助からないだろうよ!」

- (94) qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t, irkin lem-dik=dū?, tāt belem t'uge-gen go-E-ss go-E-ss go-E-ss one what-PRD=Q ANPH:ADV prepared(Yak) track-PROL (96) "ō pieter\_berbekin, (95) bāba\_jagā-ge jaqa-j. qon-i. ınтj Pieter.Berbekin go-IND.INTR.3SG ogress-LOC arrive-IND.INTR.3SG kie-t'ek?" (97) d'e met-n'e mot-tojok," mon-i. mon-i. come-IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG INTJ 1sg-com sit-fut:ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg (98) tamun-gele terike ηōžī-t modo-j. (99) uö-n'e-ηi, DST-ACC old.woman cop:caus-ss sit-ind.intr.3sg child-prop-pl:IND.INTR.3 tude-get. (100) tan uö-gi t'umu t'ommu-j. 3sg-abl DST.ATTR child-poss.3 all be.big:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG (101) pieter\_berbekin-nin mon-i: (102) "id'ī emej," mon-i, "n'eleme-le Pieter.Berbekin-дат now mother say-IND.INTR.3sg INDF:what-INS say-ind.intr.3sg el=ket'ī-tej. (103) tannigi tet-ek lek-temle," mon-i. NEG=bring-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG then 2sg-foc eat-fut:of.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg tamun jalāt met-ek lek-temle. (105) šewrej-k. after 1sg-foc eat-fut:of.3sg escape:PFV-IMP.2sG
- (106) l'e-ŋin qon. (107) unuŋ jahil-ŋin qon!" mon-i. that.one-dat go(-imp.2sg) river edge-dat go(-imp.2sg) say-ind.intr.3sg
- (108) "ataqun ugurt'erā ohō-te-j. (109) tamun t'inej-k. two poplar stand-fut-ind.intr.3sg dst chop:pfv-imp.2sg
- (110) šepinke-gi ōžī-ge t'ande kebej-tej. sliver-poss.3 water-loc up leave:pfv-fut:ind.intr.3sg

(94) He walked, walked, and walked ... whether there was a path or not, he walked along the path that was already there. (95) He came to Baba-Yaga. (96) "Oh, Pieter Berbekin, did you come?" she said. (97) "You'll live with me." (98) Pieter Berbekin took her as his wife and started living with her. (99) Their child was born. (100) The child became quite grown. (101) He told Pieter Berbekin, (102) "If Mother brings nothing now, (103) She will eat you. (104) Then, she will eat me. (105) Run. (106) Go there. (107) Go to the bank of the river! (108) Two poplars stand there. (109) Fell them. (110) Slivers of one of the trees will float upstream.

(94)(彼は)ずっと歩きつづけて、ある道だったか何だったか、そして、すでにそこにあった道を行った。(95)鬼婆のところに着いた。(96)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、来たかい? (97)わたしといっしょに暮らせ」(98)それを妻として暮らした。(99)子供ができた。(100)その彼の子供はすっかり成長した。(101)子供はピエテル・ベルベキンに言った:(102)「今、母さんは何も持ってこないだろう。(103)そのときおまえを食べるだろう。(104)そしてその後にわたしを食べるだろう。(105)逃げろ!(106)あそこへ行け!(107)川岸へ行け!(108)そこにハコヤナギが2本立っているだろう。(109)それを切り倒せ。(110)(そのうちの一方の木の)木片は川を上流へ向かって流れて行くだろう。

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(111) tamun anabuskā-ŋōn
                              ā-k,"
                                            mon-i.
                                                             (112) "t'ugōn ā-k!"
             dugout.canoe-ESS make-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                   quickly make-IMP.2sG
      DST
                (113) "d'e emej kel-tej.
mon-i.
                                                          (114) tāt
                      INTJ mother come-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                ANPH:ADV
örn'e-ti,"
                                        (115) "pieter_berbekin, migide juödej-k!
                       mon-i.
                                             Pieter.Berbekin
                                                                PROX:DIR see:DETR:PFV-IMP.2SG
shout-fut:ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                qārte-ge!
                              (117) el=l'uödej-lek,"
(116) mit uö
                                                               mon-i.
      1PL child divide-IMP.1PL
                                    NEG=see:DETR:PFV-PROH.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 2SG
                             ľe-j.
(118) d'e t'ugōn tāt
                                               (119) pon'qarā ugurt'erā-gele
      INTJ quickly ANPH:ADV exist-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                     birch
                                                               poplar-ACC
šepinke-de-jle t'inej-m.
                                    (120) unun-ge t'ande qadi-k
                                                                      kebej-l,
                                                                                   tabud-ek
                                                           which-foc leave:pfv-sf DST-foc
sliver-poss.3-ACC chop:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                          river-Loc up
                             (121) t'ugōn ā-m.
anabuskā-ŋōn
                                                            (122) d'e tāt
                 ā-mele.
dugout.canoe-ESS make-OF.3SG
                                   quickly make-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                  INTJ ANPH:ADV
anabuskā-gele
                 ōžī-ge
                            l'e-m
                                              t'olhaj-m.
                                                                  (123) bāba jagā andāt
dugout.canoe-ACC water-LOC do.that-IND.TR.3sG push:PFV-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                        ogress
                                                                                   MED:ABL
šubeže-gi šubeže-l-e medej-l.
                                 (124) tude
                                                ibišī-pe-gele titāt
                                                                        min-dele titāt
run-poss.3 run-an-ins be.heard-sf
                                       3sg:gen breast-pl-acc anph:adv take-ss.seo anph:adv
                      (125) šubeže-j.
                                            (126) "l'e-k,"
                                                                                   (127) "mit
pejžī-m.
                                                                  mon-i.
throw:iter-ind.tr.3sg
                            run-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                                         1<sub>PL</sub>
                                                   do.that-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                    (128) "migide juödej-k!"
     qārte-ge,"
                   mon-i.
child divide-IMP.1PL say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                          PROX:DIR see:DETR:PFV-IMP.2SG
```

(111) Make a dugout from that tree. (112) Make it quickly! (113) Mother will come. (114) And she will shout, (115) 'Pieter Berbekin, look at me! (116) Let's divide our child!' (117) Don't look at her!" said the child. (118) Pieter Berbekin did everything quickly. (119) He felled the poplars and got the slivers. (120) From the tree whose slivers floated upstream, he made a dugout. (121) He did it quickly. (122) Then, he pushed the boat into the river. (123) He heard Baba-Yaga coming closer to him. (124) Baba-Yaga grabbed her breast and threw them back. (125) She ran. (126) "Let's do that. (127) Let's divide our child. (128) Look here!"

(111) それで丸木舟を作れ。(112) すばやく作れ。(113) 母さんが来るだろう。(114) 叫ぶだろう。(115) — ピエテル・ベルベキン、こっちを見ろ! (116) わたしたちの子供を分け合おう! — (117) それを見るな、おまえは」(子供は) 言った。(118) ピエテル・ベルベキンはすばやくそのようにした。(119) ハコヤナギを木端にした。(120) (木端が) 川の上流へ流れて行った方で丸木舟を作った。(121) すばやく作った。(122) そして丸木舟を川にあれした、押し出した。(123) 鬼婆があちらから走って来るのが聞こえてきた。(124) 自分の乳房をこんな風に掴んで、こんな風に(後ろに) 抛った。(125) 走って来た。(126) 「あれしろ! (127) わたしたちの子供を分け合おう! (128) こっちを見ろ!」

```
(129) tamun titāt
                       chut'
                                   juöde-t'.
                                                            (130) tintan
                                                                             tude
             ANPH:ADV a.little(Rus.) see:DETR:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
     DST
                                                                  ANPH:ATTR 3SG:GEN
uö-gele šašahadaj-m.
                                 (131) ejmunde-de-jle tāt
child-ACC tear:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
                                       half-poss.3-acc anph:adv shoot-ind.tr.3sg
(132) mond'āt ōžī-ge
                         al=al'beš-u-m.
                                                    (133) tāt
                                                                    tandiet unun-ge ledude
               water-loc neg=spill:caus-e-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                           river-Loc down
     almost
                                                         ANPH:ADV then
                      anabuskā-le.
                                      (134) "d'e, met-ket kebe-jek,"
kebe-t',
leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG dugout.canoe-INS
                                            INTJ 1SG-ABL leave-IND.INTR.2SG
                (135) "ataqun bogatyr'-get el=pon'ō
                                                         el=kebe-tejek!"
                              hero(Rus.)-ABL NEG=remain NEG=leave-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                      two
(136) d'e tāt
                                    (137) qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t irkin
                    gon-i.
     INTJ ANPH:ADV go-IND.INTR.3SG
                                          go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS one
t'omō-d'e t'orqo-ge jaqa-j.
                                         (138) andā
                                                       ataqun bogatyr'-pe-k
                                                                                kimd'i-nil.
be.big-JPTCP plain-LOC arrive-IND.INTR.3sG
                                              MED:LOC two
                                                               hero(Rus.)-PL-FOC fight-PL:SF
(139) kimd'i-t t'īle
                     ulumu-l-ge
                                              abudā-l'el-ŋi.
                                    tāt
     fight-ss power run.out-an-loc anph:adv lie.down-infr-pl:ind.intr.3
(140) qodō-ni.
                                     kenigil'e
                                                                  (142) "d'e mit t'īle
                     (141) tāt
                                                 mon-i:
     lie-pl:ind.intr.3
                           ANPH:ADV other:SUBST say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                        INTI 1PL power
ulumu-ge," mon-i,
                            "mo=qodō-jīli.
                                                (143) met-ul qamie-k.
                                                                          (144) adin
run.out-Loc say-IND.INTR.3sg AFF=lie-IND.INTR.1PL
                                                      1sg-acc help-imp.2sg
                                                                                MED.ATTR
bogatyr' kudede-ge," mon-i.
hero(Rus.) kill-IMP.1PL say-IND.INTR.3sG
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(129) He looked at her just a little like this. (130) She tore her child to pieces. (131) And she threw a half of the child (at Pieter Berbekin). (132) Pieter Berbekin almost fell into the water. (133) And Pieter Berbekin went downstream in the boat. (134) "You've escaped from me. (135) But you'll not be able to escape from the two Bogatyrs!" (136) So, Pieter Berbekin walked on. (137) He walked, walked, and walked and came to a large field. (138) Two Bogatyrs were fighting there. (139) They fought, their strength ran out, and they had to lie down. (140) They were lying down. (141) One of the Bogatyrs said, (142) "Our strength ran out, so we are lying down. (143) Help me. (144) Let's kill that Bogatyr.

(129) 彼はこんな風にちょっと見た。(130) 鬼婆は自分の子供を引き裂いた。(131) そしてその半分を投げつけた。(132) もう少しでピエテル・ベルベキンを水に落とすところだった。(133) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは下流へ去った、丸木舟で。(134) 「おまえはわたしからは逃げた。(135) (しかし) 2人の勇士のところからは逃げられないだろうよ」(136) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは行った。(137) ずっと行って、ある大きな平原に着いた。(138) そこでは2人の勇士が戦っていた。(139) 彼らは戦って力尽きて横たわった。(140) 横たわっていた。(141) すると一方が言った:(142) 「わたしたちは力が尽きて横たわっているところだ。(143) わたしを助けてくれ。(144) その勇士を殺そう。

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(145) "tannigi met-ul met tet-ul
                                    tet nume-nin joqto-t,"
               1sg-acc 1sg 2sg-acc 2sg house-dat arrive:caus-fut:ind.tr.1sg
      then
mon-i.
                (146) d'e tan
                                     bogatyr'-gele ataqlō-t kudede-ηā.
                                                                            (147) tamun
                      INTJ DST.ATTR hero(Rus.)-ACC be.two-ss kill-pl:ind.tr.3
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                                  DST
nigide-t'.
                             (148) l'e-nōt
                                                  kude-j.
shake.oneself:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                   that.one-TRANS become-IND.INTR.3SG
(149) pierī-n'e-j=ben,
                            nodo-nōt kude-j.
                                                            (150) tāt
                                                                             tude
                                                                                     budie
      wing-prop-jptcp=nmlz bird-trans become-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                  ANPH:ADV 3SG:GEN on
imdo-m.
                     (151) tāt
                                     kebej-ŋi.
                                                            (152) tude
                                                                          nume-ge
sit.on:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                           ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                                                  3sg:gen house-loc
                   (153) āj
                               šoromo-nōt kude-j.
                                                                  (154) "d'e
arrive-pl:IND.INTR.3
                         again person-TRANS become-IND.INTR.3SG
                                  "d'e met tet-ul tet nume-nin qonto-t."
pieter berbekin," mon-i,
Pieter.Berbekin
                  say-Ind.intr.3sg intj 1sg 2sg-acc 2sg house-dat go:caus-fut:ind.tr.1sg
(155) d'e nodo-ŋōt kude-j.
                                          (156) tude
                                                         budie imdo-m.
      INTI bird-trans become-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                3sg:gen on
                                                               sit.on:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                     (158) d'e tuön tude
(157) tāt
                merieš-u-m.
                                                              gōrat-ke
      ANPH:ADV fly:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG
                                           INTJ PROX 3SG:GEN town(Rus.)-LOC
                      (159) "met," mon-i,
                                                   "met-n'e met tet-ul ket'ī-l-ōl el=,
joqto-m.
                                   say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg-com 1sg 2sg-acc bring-e-rn
arrive: CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                            1s<sub>G</sub>
nilgi-ŋin
            el=pundu-lek,"
                              mon-i.
                                               (160) d'e tātl'elle kebe-t'.
anyone-dat neg=tell-proh.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                    INTJ then
                                                                  leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
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(145) Then, I'll take you to your home." (146) The two of them together killed the second Bogatyr. (147) The Bogatyr shook himself. (148) He turned into a bird. (149) He turned into a being with wings; he turned into a bird. (150) Then, he seated Pieter Berbekin on his back. (151) They flew away. (152) They flew to the Bogatyr's house. (153) He turned into a man again. (154) He said, "Pieter Berbekin, I'll take you to your home." (155) He turned into a bird. (156) He seated Pieter Berbekin on his back. (157) And he flew away. (158) He brought Pieter Berbekin to his town. (159) "Don't tell anybody that I brought you here!." (160) And he left.

(145) そうしたらわたしはおまえをおまえの家へ送り届けてやろう」(146) 彼らはその勇士を2人で殺した。(147) その(残った)勇士は体を震わせた。(148) あれに変身した。(149) 羽をもつもの、鳥になった。(150) そして(ピエテル・ベルベキンを)自分の上に乗せた。(151) そして(彼らは)出発した。(152)勇士の家に着いた。(153)(彼は)また人間に変身した。(154)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、わたしはおまえをおまえの家へ連れて行こう」(155)鳥になった。(156) ピエテル・ベルベキンを自分の上に乗せた。(157) そして飛んで連れて行った。(158) ピエテル・ベルベキンの町へ送り届けた。(159)「わたしがおまえを連れて来たことを誰にも話してはならないぞ」(160) そして去った。

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(161) tude
              nume-nin merie-t'.
                                            (162) d'e pieter berbekin leme-n
     3sg:gen house-dat fly:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                  INTJ Pieter.Berbekin
                                                                       what-gen
nadanō-d'ōn-gele
                           ket'ī-temle=ben-gele
                                                         t'umu ket'ī-m.
                                                                                (163) d'e,
be.necessary-JPTCP:NMLZ-ACC bring-FUT:MPTCP.3sG=NMLZ-ACC all
                                                                bring-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                                      INTJ
immu-lle,
                ōžeš-l'el-ŋā.
                                          (164) tāt
                                                          ugijel-me
get.drunk-ss.seo drink:caus-infr-pl:ind.tr.3
                                                ANPH:ADV morning-TMP
                                       bogatyr' endī
                                                          n'āt'e-de-ge,
uke-t'.
                      (165) tintan
                             ANPH:ATTR hero(Rus.) MED:LOC face-POSS.3-LOC face-POSS.3:GEN
go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                        (166) "met tet-in el=mo-d'e?"
kiejie l'e-j.
before exist-IND.INTR.3sG
                              1sg 2sg-dat neg=say-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
(167) "met-n'e met tet-ul ket'ī-l-ōl el=pundu-lek."
                                                         (168) "eto
     1sg-com 1sg 2sg-acc bring-e-rn neg=tell-proh.2sg
                                                               this.one(Rus.) NEG=1SG-FOC
          l'e-l,"
                                  (169) eto
                                                     khmel'-ek
                                                                                l'e-l.
tāt
                 mon-i.
                                                                      tāt
ANPH:ADV exist-sf say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                        this.one(Rus.) alcohol(Rus.)-FOC ANPH:ADV exist-SF
                  tudel met-kele ann'eš-u-m."
(170) khmel',
                                                         (171) "lem-dik tamun
     alcohol(Rus.) 3sg
                        1sg-acc speak:caus-e-ind.tr.3sg
                                                               what-PRD DST
khmel'
            monō-l=ben?
                             (172) tet met-in ket'ī-k!"
                                                             mon-i.
alcohol(Rus.) say:res-an=nmlz
                                   2sg 1sg-dat bring-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
               bochonok, bochonok-kele gonto-m.
                                                             (174) "tuön ōže-k!"
(173) leme-n
     what-gen cask(Rus.) cask(Rus.)-Acc go:CAUS-IND.TR.3sg
                                                                   PROX drink-IMP.2SG
mon-i.
                (175) "ugijel-me
                                   met tet-ul juö-jī-t."
                                                                       (176) d'e nume-nin
                      morning-TMP 1SG 2SG-ACC see-VEN-FUT:IND.TR.1SG
                                                                             INTJ house-dat
say-ind.intr.3sg
kebe-t'.
leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
```

(161) He flew back home. (162) All the important things Pieter Berbekin should have brought back there, he brought. (163) He got drunk, as everybody gave him a drink. (164) The next morning, he went out. (165) That very Bogatyr was standing in front of him. (166) "Didn't I tell you (167) Not to tell anyone that I brought you here?" (168) "It wasn't me who did it," said Pieter Berbekin. (169) "Tipsiness did it all. (170) It was tipsiness that made me talk." (171) "What is it, tipsiness? (172) Bring it to me!" (173) Pieter Berbekin brought a small keg. (174) "Drink it! (175) Tomorrow morning, I'll come to look at you." (176) Pieter Berbekin went home.

(161) 自分の家へ飛び去った。(162) ピエテル ベルベキンは何か必要なものを、自分が運んで来るはずだったものをすべて運んで来た。(163) 彼は酔っ払った、飲まされた。(164) そして翌朝、外へ出た。(165) あの勇士がここに、彼の目の前にいた。(166) 「わたしはおまえに言わなかったか?(167) わたしがおまえを連れて来たことを話すなと」(168) 「それはわたしがやったんじゃない。(169) 酒がやったんだ。(170) 酒がわたしに喋らせたんだ」(171) 「何だそれは、その酒ってのは?(172) わたしに持って来い!」(173) ピエテル・ベルベキンは小さな樽を運んで来た。(174) 「これを飲め!(175) 明日の朝わたしはおまえを見に来よう」(176) ピエテル・ベルベキンは家へ去った。

## 14 Pieter Berbekin (told by A.G. Shadrina in 1997)

(177) ugijel-me kie-t'. (178) tintan bogatyr' tan khmel' morning-TMP come-IND.INTR.3sG ANPH:ATTR hero(Rus.) DST.ATTR alcohol(Rus.) ōže-lle leme-n l'e-pl-ek jama-pl-ek ā-l'el-mele. (179) pie-pe-lek hill-PL-FOC drink-ss.seq what-gen that.one-pl-foc hole(Rus.)-pl-foc make-infr-of.3sg ūj-l'el-mele. (180) "id'ī juö-k," (181) "d'e met ubuj mon-i. make-INFR-OF.3sG now see-IMP.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg INTJ 1sg that's.right mol-l'el-d'e tet-in. (182) el=met-ek (183) khmel'-ek!" tāt l'e-l. say-infr-ind.intr.1sg 2sg-dat NEG=1SG-FOC ANPH:ADV exist-SF alcohol(Rus.)-PRD (184) "pieter\_berbekin, tet tet omot' ā-mek. (185) tet omot' 2sg 2sg well Pieter.Berbekin make-IND.TR.2sG 2sg well ūj-l'el-mek. (186) id'ī met-n'e kel-ōl iskom tabud-e šoromo-nin make-INFR-IND.TR.2SG now 1sg-com come-RN always DST-INS person-DAT nied'irī-k." (187) n'ādude. (188) vsë. talk:APPL-IMP.2SG that's.enough all(Rus.)

(177) The next morning, he arrived. (178) The Bogatyr, drunk on tipsiness, had made pits. (179) And he had made mountains. (180) "Now, look! (181) I told you the truth. (182) It was not me who did it. (183) The tipsiness did it!" (184) "Pieter Berbekin, you were right! (185) Well done. (186) Now, you may tell everybody that you flew in with me." (187) That's enough. (188) That's all.

(177) 翌朝やって来た。(178) その勇士は酒を飲んで、穴を掘っていた。(179) 山を作っていた。(180)「ほら見ろ。(181) わたしはおまえに本当のことを言っただろう。(182) わたしがやったんじゃない。(183) 酒なんだ」(184) (勇士は言った)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、おまえはよくやった。(185) おまえはよくやったようだ。(186) これからはわたしと来たことをいつも人々に話すがいい」(187) おしまい。(188) おしまい。

## 15 Pieter Berbekin

Recorded on 12 October 2002 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(2) leme-n (1) pieter berbekin-gele jan-nā, pochta-nin, pochta qonto-din. Pieter.Berbekin-Acc send-pl:ind.tr.3 post(Rus.)-dat post(Rus.) go:caus-purp what-gen tannigi l'ie-l'el-u-l, kil leidī. (3) d'e pieter berbekin exist-INFR-E-SF who know(-INTERR.3SG) INTJ Pieter.Berbekin post(Rus.)-Foc then kebe-t'. (4) qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t tāt tāt ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG go-e-ss go-e-ss go-e-ss anph:adv šā-n'e-j=ben-ge (5) tamun tāt edied'e-l jaga-j. ANPH:ADV call:DETR-AN tree-prop-jptcp=nmlz-loc arrive-ind.intr.3sg DST (6) "pieter berbekin, met lani kelu-k!" budi-t'. Pieter.Berbekin be.heard?-IND.INTR.3sG 1sg to come-IMP.2sG DST.LOC (8) tanide juöde-j, iuöde-i. qadun-ge ažū medū. DST.DIR see:DETR-IND.INTR.3SG which-LOC word be.heard(-INTERR.3SG) see:detr-ind.intr.3sg n'eleme el=l'en. (9) öil'e, (10) "migide migide not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) INDF:what NEG=be.visible(-IND.INTR.3sg) PROX:DIR PROX:DIR (11) migide kelu-k!" (12) qon-i. (13) d'e qon-i. come-IMP.2sG PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG go-IND.INTR.3SG INTJ go-IND.INTR.3SG (14) gadun-ge ažū medū tanide gon-i. (15) "migide kelu-k! which-LOC word be.heard(-INTERR.3SG) DST.DIR go-IND.INTR.3SG PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG (16) migide kelu-k!" (17) šāl-ek ohō-l, šāl-ek, t'omō-d'e šāl-ek. (18) tā PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG tree-PRD stand-sF tree-PRD be.big-JPTCP tree-PRD (19) apl'etāj titāt emledej-m pieter berbekin-gele. jaqa-j. opletaj ANPH:ADV embrace-IND.TR.3sg Pieter.Berbekin-ACC arrive-IND.INTR.3SG

(1) People sent Pieter Berbekin to deliver mail. (2) Who knows what kind of mail was there in those days? (3) And Pieter Berbekin left. (4) He walked, walked, walked, and walked and reached the forest. (5) Somebody called out to him, (6) "Pieter Berbekin, come to me!" (7) He looked. (8) He looked to where the voice came from. (9) No, nothing could be seen. (10) "Here, come here! (11) Come here!" (12) He went. (13) He went. (14) He went there, to the place the voice was coming from. (15) "Come here! (16) Come here!" (17) There was a tree, a large tree. (18) He came close to it. (19) The Worm-Opletai stuck to Pieter Berbekin.

(1) ピエテル・ベルベキンを送った、郵便を運ぶために。(2) どんな郵便が当時あったのか、誰も知らない。(3) ピエテル・ベルベキンは出発した。(4) ずっと行って、木の生えた所に着いた。(5) すると呼ぶのが聞こえた。(6) 「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、わたしの方へ来い!」(7) 見た。(8) 声の聞こえる方を見た。(9) 何も見えなかった。(10) 「こっちへ来い! (11) こっちへ来い!」(12) 行った。(13) 行った。(14) 声の聞こえる方へ行った。(15) 「こっちへ来い! (16) こっちへ来い!」(17) 木が立っていた、大きな木が。(18) そこに着いた。(19) アプリタイがこのように抱きついた、ピエテル・ベルベキンに。

- (20) titāt kurgom jodutaj-m. (21) d'e gon-i. (22) ele-ele ANPH:ADV all.round wrap:PFV-IND.TR.3sG hardly(Rus.) INTJ go-IND.INTR.3SG gon-i. (23) pieter berbekin mon-i: (24) "titāt ahurpe-l keriete Pieter.Berbekin say-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV suffer-AN than go-IND.INTR.3sG ot=keriete amde-tt'e!" (25) "ā met ōžī el=ini-je," ōžī-ge die-fut:Ind.Intr.1sg INTJ 1sg water neg=be.afraid.of-IND.INTR.1sg water-LOC HYP=than (26) "tāt (27) "ā ahurpe-l keriete lot'il-ge et=piede-je!" mon-i. say-ind.intr.3sg ANPH:ADV suffer-AN than fire-LOC HYP=burn-IND.INTR.1SG INTJ met lot'il el=ini-je," mon-i. (28) a apl'etāj tāt 1sg fire Neg=be.afraid.of-Ind.intr.1sg say-Ind.intr.3sg and(Rus.) opletaj ANPH:ADV jodō-j. (29) "tāt ahurpe-l keriete," mon-i, "l'e-ge, ANPH:ADV suffer-AN than say-IND.INTR.3sG that.one-LOC dog.rose wrap:res-ind.intr.3sg no šibit'e leg-u-t et=ewre-je," "šibit'e nono-ho šibit'e mon-i, bush.trunk-Loc dog.rose dog.rose eat-E-ss hyp=walk-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg dog.rose (30) "monohot-t'ok," "pieter berbekin?" molho-do-ho." mon-i, bush.trunk inside-poss.3-loc say.what-Ind.intr.2sg say-Ind.intr.3sg Pieter.Berbekin (31) "ā, šibit'e nono molho ewre-t šibit'e leg-u-de et=ewre-ie." INTI dog.rose bush.trunk in walk-ss dog.rose eat-E-ss.sim hyp=walk-ind.intr.1sg (32) "ōj el=qol-loq," (33) "el=qol-loq. (34) tet šibit'e-nin mon-i. INTJ NEG=go-PROH.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG NEG=go-PROH.2sg 2sg dog.rose-dat el=qol-loq! (35) tamun nit'ahaj-ŋi, taŋ l'e-gi, nono-gi." NEG=go-PROH.2SG DST stick:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 DST.ATTR that.one-poss.3 bush.trunk-poss.3
- (20) She twined around him. (21) He went on. (22) He could hardly walk. (23) Pieter Berbekin said, (24) "Instead of suffering so much, it would be better to die in water!" (25) "Ah, I am not afraid of water." (26) "Instead of suffering so much, it would be better to be burnt in a fire!" (27) "Ah, but I am not afraid of fire." (28) Opletai was twined round him. (29) "Instead of suffering so much, shall I walk round dog rose bushes, eating hips?" he said. (30) "What did you say, Pieter Berbekin?" (31) "It would be so nice to walk round dog rose bushes and eat hips." (32) "Oh, don't go. (33) Don't go. (34) Don't go to dog rose bushes! (35) The twigs are prickly."
- (20) このように巻きついた。(21) 彼は歩いた。(22) やっとのことで歩いた。(23) ピエテル・ベルベキンは言った:(24)「こんな風に苦しむよりも、水の中で死ねたらいいのに」(25)「ああ、わたしは水は恐くない」(26)「こんな風に苦しむよりも、火の中で燃えることができたらいいのに!」(27)「ああ、わたしは火は恐くない」(28) アプリタイは巻きついていた。(29)「こんな風に苦しむよりも、ノイバラのとげの中を、ノイバラを食べながら歩こうか、ノイバラのとげの中を」(30)「何だって、ピエテル・ベルベキン?」(31)「ノイバラの枝の中を、ノイバラを食べながら歩けたらいいのに」(32)「おお、行かないでくれ。(33) 行かないでくれ。(34) ノイバラのところへ行かないでくれ! (35) 刺さるんだ、その幹は」

- (36) ē d'e inlī-mele=ben-gele nug-u-m=el'e. (37) d'e šibit'e INTJ INTJ frighten-MPTCP.3sG=NMLZ-ACC find-E-IND.TR.3sG=SFC INTJ dog.rose nono-t'ā-nin kebe-t'. (38) tanide qon-i.  $(39) \bar{e},$ šāl-ge bush.trunk-AGG-DAT leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG DST.DIR go-IND.INTR.3SG INTJ tree-LOC (40) t'irt'ege-t'. (41) šāl-ge jodā-t'. menmege-t'. jump:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG tree-loc turn:pfv-ind.intr.3sg jump:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG (42) d'e pieter\_berbekin nug-u-m=el'e, inlī-mele=ben-gele. INTJ Pieter.Berbekin find-E-IND.TR.3SG=SFC frighten-MPTCP.3SG=NMLZ-ACC (43) nit'ahaj-ŋi, qode emledej-tem. (44) tāt qon-u-t qon-u-t stick:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3 how embrace-fut:ind.tr.3sg ANPH:ADV go-E-SS go-E-SS qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t. (45) "ē, met-ket kebe-jek," go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS INTJ 1SG-ABL leave-IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG (46) "l'e-ge met pābā-get el=pon'ō-tejek.  $(47) \bar{e}$ met that.one-Loc 1sg elder.sister-ABL NEG=remain-FUT:IND.INTR.2sg INTI 1SG el=pon'ō-tejek," mon-i. (48) d'e qon-u-t grandfather-ABL NEG=remain-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG INTI go-E-SS t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut, t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut nume-ge jaqa-j. (49) irkin and'e-n'-i. ogre ogre house-Loc arrive-IND.INTR.3sG one eye-prop-ind.intr.3sg (50) irkin and'e-n'-d'e t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut-ke. (51) tā modo-j. (52) tude-ge eye-prop-jptcp ogre-loc DST.LOC sit-IND.INTR.3SG 3sg-loc modo-j. (53) tan t'ūl'd'ī\_pulut mon-i: sit-ind.intr.3sg DST.ATTR ogre say-ind.intr.3sg
- (36) He found out what frightened her! (37) He went to dog rose bushes. (38) He went there. (39) She jumped to a tree. (40) She jumped. (41) And she twined around the tree. (42) Pieter Berbekin found out what frightened her. (43) A dog rose clings and pricks. (44) Pieter Berbekin walked, walked, walked, and walked ··· Opletai said, (45) "Eh, you've escaped from me. (46) But you'll not escape (lit. will stay) from my elder sister. (47) You'll not escape (lit. will stay) from my grandfather." (48) He walked on and came to the Ogre's house. (49) He (the Ogre) had only one eye. (50) He came to the one-eyed Ogre. (51) He lived there. (52) He lived in the Ogre's house. (53) The Ogre said,
- (36) 彼は恐ろしがらせるものを見つけたんだよ。(37) ノイバラの茂みへ行った。(38) (彼は) そこへ行った。(39) アプリタイは木に飛びついた。(40) 飛びついた。(41) そして木に巻きついた。(42) ピエテル・ベルベキンは見つけたんだよ、アプリタイを恐ろしがらせるものを。(43) 絡みつくと刺さるんだ。(44) そしてずっと行った。(45) (アプリタイは言った) 「おまえはわたしからは逃げた。(46) (しかし) わたしの姉からは助からないだろう。(47) ああ、(そうではなくて) わたしのおじいさんからは助からないだろう」(48) 彼は行って、人喰い鬼の家に着いた。(49) 彼は目が1つだった。(50) 一つ目の人喰い鬼のところに(着いた)。(51) そこで暮らした。(52) 彼のところで暮らした。(53) 人喰い鬼は言った。

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(54) "ā tudā omot' modo-t," mon-i.
                                                  (55) ē,
                                                           pieter berbekin mon-u-l.
    INTI before well
                       sit-ss
                                 say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                      INTJ Pieter.Berbekin
                                                                             say-E-SF
(56) "tudā omot' modo-t," mon-i,
                                             "and'e-n'-d'e and'e-n' and'e
    before well
                  sit-ss
                            say-ind.intr.3sg
al=and'e-n'-d'ōn=de
                                and'e-š-nunnu."
                                                               (57) "monohot-t'ok?"
NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH eye-PROP.CAUS-HBT(-IND.TR.1SG)
                                                                   say.what-IND.INTR.2sG
                (58) "met-ul and'e-š=ta!"
                                                            (59) "d'e tannugi l'e-k,"
mon-i.
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                     1sg-acc eye-prop.caus(-imp.2sg)=emph
                                                                 INTJ then
                                                                              do.that-IMP.2sG
                (60) "irkin alhuj
                                         beleml'edej-k. (61) irkin alhuj
mon-i.
                                                                                 kej-k,"
say-IND.INTR.3sg
                     one
                            copper.kettle prepare-IMP.2sG
                                                              one copper.kettle give-IMP.2sG
                (62) "tāt
mon-i.
                                uölobo kej-k
                                                    uölobo." (63) tan
                                                                            pieter berbekin
                                                                   DST.ATTR Pieter.Berbekin
                     ANPH:ADV tin
                                        give-IMP.2sG tin
say-ind.intr.3sg
                          uölobo-le al'āš-u-m.
                                                            (64) al'āš-tele,
                                                                                 "d'e id'ī
taŋ
         alhuj-ge
DST.ATTR copper.kettle-Loc tin-INS
                                     melt:caus-e-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                melt:caus-ss.seq inti now
                                 (65) taŋ
                                                uölobo-le jō-de-ge
                mon-i.
lie.down-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                      DST.ATTR tin-INS
                                                          head-poss.3-loc
al'beš-u-m.
                      (66) and'e-de-ile
                                          puše l'e-m,
                                                                  kenigi and'e-gi
spill:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG
                           eye-poss.3-Acc more do.that-IND.TR.3sG other
                                                                         eye-poss.3
al'beš-mele.
                (67) bojt'e
                                al=and'e kude-j.
                                                               (68) tāt
                     completely NEG=eye become-IND.INTR.3SG
spill:caus-of.3sg
                                                                    ANPH:ADV
šewre-t'.
                       (69) šapadanil', mieke tan
                                                         šapadanil' jonno-j=bed-ek.
                                        nearby DST.ATTR door
escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
                            door
                                                                    be.open-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD
```

(54) "In the old days, I lived well and cured the blind." (55) Eh, it was Pieter Berbekin who said so. (56) "In the old days, I lived well and cured the blind." (57) "What did you say? (58) So, cure my eyes!" (59) "Then, do it this way. (60) Prepare a large cauldron. (61) Fetch one large cauldron. (62) Then, fetch tin." (63) Pieter Berbekin melted tin in that large cauldron. (64) He melted it and said, "Lie down!" (65) And he poured the tin on the Ogre's head. (66) The Ogre's eye, erm, then he poured the tin into the Ogre's only eye. (67) The Ogre became completely blind. (68) And he ran away. (69) The door, the nearest door, was open.

(54)「かつては良い暮らしをしていて…」(55) ああ、これはピエテル・ベルベキンが言ったんだ。(56)「かつては良い暮らしをしていて、目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだ」(57)「何だって?(58) わたしの目を治してくれ!」(59)「それならあれしろ。(60) 大鍋を用意しろ。(61) 大鍋を1つくれ。(62) それから錫をくれ、錫を」(63) ピエテル・ベルベキンはその大鍋に錫を溶かした。(64) 溶かして「次に横になれ」と言った。(65) その錫を人喰い鬼の頭の上に注いだ。(66) 人喰い鬼の目を、もう一方の目に(錫を)注いだ。(67) 人喰い鬼はすっかり目が見えなくなった。(68) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは逃げた。(69) ドアは、近くのドアは開いていたんだ。

```
(70) "ō," mon-i,
                          "met šapadaŋil'-pe tebie-ŋik!"
                                                            (71) tamun t'ūl'd'ī pulut
    INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG 1SG
                                door-pl
                                               close-pl:imp.2
                                                                 DST
                                                                         ogre
                 (72) "met šapadanil'-pe tebie-nik!"
                                                        (73) maqlō-l
                                                                        šapadanil'
                           door-pl
                                          close-pl:imp.2
say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                            be.near-AN door
                  (74) t'ien'e
                                    molho-do-ho
                                                     totti-t'.
tebie-j.
                                                                       (75) jaqlō-l
                       entrance.hall inside-poss.3-Loc cling-IND.INTR.3sG
close-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                            be.far-AN
                             (76) d'e qode l'e-tum?
šapadanil' tebie-j.
                                                                  (77) qanide
door
           close-IND.INTR.3sG
                                  INTJ how exist-fut:Interr.1sg
                                                                      where
                          (78) ēj, l'e-lek
ukej-tem?
                                                qorobo-loq lew-nu-l'el-mele
                              INTJ that.one-FOC cow-FOC
go.out:pfv-fut:interr.1sg
                                                            eat-ipfv-infr-of.3sg
mut'in=bed-ek.
                                qorobo n'ugeredamun-gi t'umut l'e
                 (79) tan
                                         rib-poss.3
various=NMLZ-FOC
                       DST.ATTR COW
                                           l'e
                                                   molho-do-ho
legō-j.
                    (80) tan
                                  ľe
                                                                     amle-t'.
eat:res-ind.intr.3sg
                         DST.ATTR that.one that.one inside-POSS.3-LOC dive:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                     amle-t'.
(81) n'ugeredamun molho-do-ho
                                                           (82) tamun al=and'e-t'uön
                    inside-poss.3-loc dive:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                DST
                                                                       NEG=eye-ABES
                            amun-gele šapadanil'-get pullugude pejžī-m.
pukižej-dele
                  tan
run.out:pfv-ss.seq dst.attr bone-acc
                                       door-abl
                                                      outside
                                                                 throw:iter-ind.tr.3sg
(83) pieter berbekin-gele tā
                                   taŋ
                                            niniedamun molho-do-ho
    Pieter.Berbekin-ACC
                           DST.LOC DST.ATTR sternum
                                                          inside-poss.3-loc
                                         pullugude peššej-m.
kudiežī-t
                               tāt
                                                                          (84) ō
keep.something.placed.within-ss ANPH:ADV outside
                                                    throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                               INTJ
pieter berbekin ajā-t
                           amde-j,
                                           pullugude peššej-dege.
Pieter.Berbekin
                 rejoice-ss die-IND.INTR.3sG outside
                                                      throw:pfv-poss.3:ds
```

(70) "Doors of mine, close!" (71) The Ogre said, (72) "Doors of mine, close!" (73) The nearest door closed. (74) Pieter Berbekin got locked in the entrance hall. (75) The distant door closed too. (76) What to do? (77) How to go out? (78) The Ogre ate a cow and other things. (79) There were picked cow ribs. (80) Pieter Berbekin got into there. (81) He got into the ribs. (82) The blind Ogre ran out and threw the bones out through the door. (83) He threw Pieter Berbekin, hiding under the ribs, outside. (84) Oh, Pieter Berbekin was so glad because he was thrown outside.

(70)(人喰い鬼は言った)「わたしのドアたちよ閉まれ!」(71)その人喰い鬼は言った。(72)「わたしのドアたちよ閉まれ!」(73)近くのドアが閉まった。(74)玄関の中に閉じ込められた。(75)遠くのドアが閉まった。(76)どうすればいいのだろうか? (77)どこへ出ればいいのだろうか? (78)牛があった、彼の食べたのが、いろいろなのが。(79)その牛の肋骨がすっかり食べられていた。(80)その中に潜り込んだ。(81)肋骨の中に潜り込んだ。(82)その人喰い鬼は目が見えなくなって走り出て、その骨をドアから外へ投げた。(83)ピエテル・ベルベキンをその胴体の骨の中に入れたままで外へ投げた。(84)おお、ピエテル・ベルベキンは死ぬほど喜んだ、人喰い鬼が外へ投げたので。

```
(85) a
              tamun ann'e-j:
                                         (86) "met-ul peššej-mek,"
                                                                            mon-i,
     and(Rus.) DST
                      speak-IND.INTR.3sG
                                              1sg-acc throw:pfv-ind.tr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                      (89) "andā
(87) "peššejš-mek!"
                               (88) pieter berbekin mon-i:
     throw:pfv:caus-ind.tr.2sg
                                    Pieter.Berbekin
                                                     say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                           MED:LOC
peššej-m=el'e,"
                                          "met-kele." (90) "ā d'e, met-ket
                         mon-i,
throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg=sfc say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg-acc
                                                           INTJ INTJ 1SG-ABL
                     (91) "ē, kej-k
                                            tāne,"
                                                                     "met tet
palā-jek."
                                                    mon-i,
be.saved-IND.INTR.2sg
                          INTJ give-IMP.2sG anyway say-IND.INTR.3sG 1sG
                                                                           2sG
jolohopiedit'e! (92) tet t'ohoje-le titāt
                                              t'ahitaj-k,"
                                                                                 "titāt
                                                                mon-i,
                    2sg knife-ins anph:adv touch:pfv-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg anph:adv
little.finger
jolohopiedit'e!" (93) ē
                          titāt
                                     mid'-u-m
                                                      tamun tan
                                                                        jolohopiedit'e-gele.
                                                              DST.ATTR little.finger-ACC
little.finger
                     INTJ ANPH:ADV take-E-IND.TR.3SG DST
(94) pieter_berbekin t'ohoje t'ī, tabud-e t'inej-m
                                                              tude
                                                                       jolohopiedit'e-gele.
     Pieter.Berbekin
                     knife
                                 DST-INS chop:PFV-IND.TR.3SG 3SG:GEN little.finger-ACC
(95) t'ūl'd'ī pulut vzjal
                                mid'-u-m.
                                                  (96) tandiet jolohopiedit'e-de-jle
                   he.took(Rus.) take-E-IND.TR.3sG
                                                      then
                                                               little.finger-poss.3-ACC
                (97) "d'e met-ket palā-jek,"
                                                                         (98) "met
leg-u-m.
                                                        mon-i.
eat-e-ind.tr.3sg
                     INTJ 1sg-abl be.saved-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                              1s<sub>G</sub>
               el=palā-tejek.
                                              (99) el=palā-tejek."
pābā-get
                                                                                 (100) d'e
elder.sister-abl neg=be.saved-fut:ind.intr.2sg
                                                  NEG=be.saved-fut:IND.INTR.2sg
                               (101) gon-u-t gon-u-t gon-u-t gon-u-t gon-u-t
tā
        jaqa-tej.
DST.LOC arrive-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG
                                     go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS
jaqa-j.
arrive-IND.INTR.3SG
```

(85) And the Ogre said, (86) "You throw me out! (87) You made me throw you out!" (88) Pieter Berbekin said, (89) "Yes, he threw me out!" (90) "You've escaped from me ..." (91) No, (it was the Ogre who said so) "Give me your little finger! (92) Touch the axe with your little finger." (93) Well ... he took the little finger. (94) Pieter Berbekin cut his little finger off with the knife. (95) The Ogre took the little finger. (96) And he ate it. (97) "You've escaped from me. (98) But you'll not escape from my sister. (99) You'll not escape from her." (100) He would reach there. (101) He walked, walked, walked, walked, and walked and reached.

(85) そして人喰い鬼は言った:(86)「わたしを投げたな。(87) 投げさせたな」(88) ピエテル・ベルベキンは言った:(89)「(あいつは) わたしを投げたぞ」(90) 人喰い鬼は言った、「お前はわたしから助かった。(91) わたしにおまえの小指をよこせ。(92) おまえのナイフでこんな風に小指に触れ」(93) ピエテル・ベルベキンはこんな風にその小指を手に取った。(94) ピエテル・ベルベキンはナイフで自分の小指を切り落とした。(95) 人喰い鬼は(小指を) 手に取った。(96) 小指を食べてしまった。(97)「わたしからは助かった。(98) (しかし) わたしの姉からは助からないだろうよ。(99) 助からないだろうよ」(100) そして(ピエテル・ベルベキンは) あそこに着くんだ。(101) ずっと行って、着いた。

```
(102) irkin bāba_jagā-ge jaqa-j.
                                             (103) taŋ
                                                            pulut
                                                                     pābā-gi.
                                                   DST.ATTR old.man elder.sister-poss.3
           ogress-LOC
                          arrive-IND.INTR.3SG
      one
(104) d'e irkin terike,
                            bāba_jagā. (105) tā
                                                      modo-j.
                                                                      (106) okazyvaetsja
                                                                            it.turned.out(Rus.)
      INTJ one old.woman ogress
                                              DST.LOC sit-IND.INTR.3SG
terike
           ηōžī-l'el-u-m.
                                      (107) iri-n'e-j
                                                                             l'e-get
                                                                    tan
old.woman cop:caus-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg
                                            belly-prop-ind.intr.3sg dst.attr that.one-abl
t'ūl'd'ī_pulut, pieter_berbekin-get tan
                                             bāba_jagā. (108) d'e šewre-t'.
              Pieter.Berbekin-ABL DST.ATTR ogress
                                                               INTJ escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
ogre
(109) šewrej-din
                      me=l'e-j.
                                            (110) a
                                                            tamun mon-i:
      escape:PFV-PURP AFF=exist-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                   and(Rus.) DST
                                                                    say-ind.intr.3sg
(111) "kebej-tejek...."
                                (112) kin-tek mon-u-l, tamun metsam
      leave:pfv-fut:ind.intr.2sg
                                      who-foc say-e-sf DST
                                                (114) "šewrej-nide
                                                                         l'e-k,"
el=lejdī-je.
                       (113) jonro.
                             forget(-IND.TR.1sG)
NEG=know-ind.intr.1sg
                                                      escape:PFV-ss.COND do.that-IMP.2sg
                (115) "unun jahil-ge ataqun ugurt'erā-k ohō-tel,"
                                                                        mon-i.
                             edge-Loc two
                                               poplar-foc stand-fut:sf say-ind.intr.3sg
say-IND.INTR.3sG
(116) "tamun t'ine-k,"
                                            (117) net,
                                                           el=irkin, irkin ugurt'erā.
                           mon-i.
              chop-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                  no(Rus.) NEG=one one poplar
(118) "tamun l'e-gi,
                                         šepinke-gi unun-ge t'ande
                             kotoryj
              that.one-poss.3 which(Rus.) sliver-poss.3 river-LOC up
      DST
kebej-tej,
                          löwdū-tej,
                                               tamun, tamun l'e-k,"
                                                                             mon-i.
leave:pfv-fut:ind.intr.3sg fall-fut:ind.intr.3sg dst
                                                       DST
                                                              do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                          ā-k."
(119) "tabud-e lodka
                                                        (120) "tabud-e kebej-k.
                                       mon-i.
      DST-INS boat(Rus.) make-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                              DST-INS leave:PFV-IMP.2SG
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(102) He reached the house of Baba-Yaga. (103) She was the Ogre's sister. (104) Baba-Yaga was an old woman. (105) He lived there in her house. (106) It turned out that he lived and made her his wife. (107) Baba-Yaga got pregnant from Pieter Berbekin. (108) He ran away. (109) He wanted to run away. (110) He said, (111) "When you set off…" (112) I don't remember who said so. (113) I forgot. (114) "When you run away, do this …(115) There will be two poplars on the bank. (116) Fell them." (117) No, not one poplar, but... (118) "From the poplar whose slivers will float upstream, make …(119) Make a boat. (120) And row off.

(102) 鬼婆のところに着いた。(103) あの人喰い鬼の姉だ。(104) 老婆だ。(105) そこで彼は暮らした。(106) 彼女を妻にしたんだ、で、妊娠した。(107) ピエテル・ベルベキンの子供を、その鬼婆は。(108) 彼は逃げた。(109) 逃げようとしていた。(110) 彼は言った:(111)「(おまえが) ここを去るときに…」(112) 誰が言ったのか、自分でも覚えていない。(113) 忘れてしまったよ。(114)「おまえは逃げたらあれしろ。(115) 川岸に 2本のハコヤナギが立っているだろう。(116) それを切り倒せ」(117) いや、1本のハコヤナギではない…(118)「その木片が上流へ流れ去る方であれしろ。(119) それでボートを作れ。(120) それに乗って行け。

## 15 Pieter Berbekin (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2002)

- (121) imā-k. (122) tabud-e kebej-k," mon-i. sit.on:INCH-IMP.2SG DST-INS leave:PFV-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
- (123) "šewrej-k. (124) tāt l'e-tt'ek," mon-i. escape:PFV-IMP.2SG ANPH:ADV do.that-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
- (125) "jagā\_bāba tet-kele šar-tem," mon-i.
  ogress 2sG-ACC catch.up-FUT:IND.TR.3sG say-IND.INTR.3sG
- (126) "örn'e-ti," mon-i. (127) "mit uö, mit uö l'e-ti, shout-fut:ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1pl child 1pl child exist-fut:ind.intr.3sg

qārte-ge mit uö!" (128) uö-n'ie-l'el okazyvaetsja divide-imp.1pl 1pl child child-prop-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) it.turned.out(Rus.)

pieter\_berbekin-get. (129) "tan me=l'e-k," mon-i. (130) "mit uö Pieter.Berbekin-abl dst.attr aff=do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1pl child

qārte-ge!" (131) tamun putin šašahadaj-dele titāt. divide-IMP.1PL DST in.two tear:CAUS:PFV-SS.SEQ ANPH:ADV

- (132) šašahadaj-l'el-u-m. (133) "mit uö qārte-ge," mon-i. tear:CAUS:PFV-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG 1PL child divide-IMP.1PL say-IND.INTR.3SG
- (134) "tamun, tude laŋi el=l'uöde-lek," mon-i.

  DST 3SG:GEN to NEG=See:DETR-PROH.2SG SAY-IND.INTR.3SG
- (135) "el=l'uödej-lek. (136) juödej-tejek," mon-i,
  NEG=see:DETR:PFV-PROH.2SG see:DETR:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG

  "tet-kele, tet al'be-tt'ek," mon-i, "ōžī-ge!" (137) taŋ uö-le,
  2SG-ACC 2SG spill-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG water-LOC DST.ATTR child-INS
  taŋ uö ejmunde-de-le tāt aj-m.

DST.ATTR child half-poss.3-ins anph:adv shoot-ind.tr.3sg

- (121) Get into it. (122) And get off. (123) Escape. (124) When you do so, (125) Baba-Yaga will chase you. (126) She will shout, (127) 'Let's divide our child!'" (128) It turned out that she gave birth to a child of Pieter Berbekin. (129) "Let's do that. (130) Let's divide our child!" (131) She tore the child in half. (132) She tore him in half. (133) "Let's divide our child!" (134) "(She will say so, but) don't look at her. (135) You shouldn't look at her. (136) If you look at her, you'll fall into the water!" (137) She threw the half of the child at him.
- (121) それに乗れ。(122) それに乗って行け。(123) 逃げろ。(124) こうなるだろう。(125) 鬼婆はおまえに追いつくだろう。(126) 叫ぶだろう。(127) わたしたちの子供をあれしよう、わたしたちの子供を分け合おう!」(128) 彼女はピエテル・ベルベキンの子供を産んだんだ。(129)「ああしよう。(130) わたしたちの子供を分け合おう!」(131) その子供を半分に引き裂いて。(132) 引き裂いた。(133)「わたしたちの子供を分け合おう(と鬼婆は言うだろうが)、(134) 彼女の方を見てはならない。(135) 見てはならない。(136) 見たら水に落ちてしまうぞ」(137) 鬼婆はその子供の半分を投げつけた。

```
(138) aj-nit,
                    chut'-chut' and'e-le kraeshkom
                                                           juöde-t'.
      shoot-ss.cond a.little(Rus.) eye-ins with.the.edge(Rus.) see:detr:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
(139) a
                           mond'āt al=al'be.
                                                            (140) tandiet
      and(Rus.) a.little(Rus.) almost
                                    NEG=spill(-IND.INTR.3sG)
                                                                  then
                                                                             (142) "tan
                    (141) "d'e met-ket palā-jek,"
pon'ō-j.
                                                            mon-i.
                         INTJ 1sg-abl be.saved-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
remain-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                                   DST.ATTR
bogatyr'-pe-get el=pon'ō-tejek."
                                             (143) d'e tāt
                                                                  qon-u-t qon-u-t
hero(Rus.)-pl-abl neg=remain-fut:ind.intr.2sg
                                                   INTJ ANPH:ADV go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS
                                                        (144) kimd'i-t kimd'i-t kimd'i-t
qon-u-t qon-u-t ataqun bogatyr'-pe kimd'i-ni.
                        hero(Rus.)-pl fight-pl:ind.intr.3
go-E-ss go-E-ss two
                                                              fight-ss fight-ss
t'īle-pul ulumu-l'el.
                                    (145) t'īle-pul ulumu-lle
                                                                 irkie-t
power-PL run.out-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg)
                                          power-pl run.out-ss.seq be.one-ss say-ind.intr.3sg
(146) "l'e-k,"
                                                                           (148) "met-ul
                     mon-i.
                                     (147) šoromo tite ann'e-j:
      do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                           person like speak-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                                1sg-acc
gamie-k,"
                             (149) "tin
                                             ľe
                                                      kudede-ge," mon-i,
            mon-i.
help-IMP.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                   PROX:ATTR that.one kill-IMP.1PL say-IND.INTR.3SG
"kenigil'e." (150) kenigi bogatyr', qode=bed-ek, qode šoromo-loq=dū, kil
other:subst
                 other hero(Rus.) how=nmlz-prd how person-prd=o
leidī.
                  (151) "met-ul qamie-temek,"
                                                                    "met tet-ul
                                                    mon-i,
know(-interr.3sg)
                        1sg-acc help-fut:ind.tr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg 2sg-acc dst.dir
                                         nado.
qonto-t
                      qadun-ge tet-in
                                                         (152) met tet-ul
go:CAUS-FUT:IND.TR.1SG which-LOC 2SG-DAT necessary(Rus.)
                                                               1sg 2sg-acc
gonto-t,"
                      mon-i.
go:CAUS-FUT:IND.TR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
```

(138) When she threw it, he looked at her out of corner of his eye. (139) Then, he nearly fell down into the water. (140) After all, he escaped (lit. remained). (141) "You've escaped from me. (142) But you'll not escape from those Bogatyrs!" (143) He walked, walked, walked, walked, walked ... two Bogatyrs were fighting. (144) They were fighting and fighting, and their strength had run out. (145) When their strength ran out, one of them said, (146) "Do it this way." (147) He spoke as a man, (148) "Help me. (149) Let's kill the other Bogatyr." (150) The second Bogatyr, how to say whether he was a man or not; nobody knows. (151) "If you help me, I'll take you to the place where you should go. (152) I'll take you there.

(138) 投げつけると、(ピエテル・ベルベキンは) ほんの少しだけ目の端で見た。(139) もう少しで水に落ちるところだった。(140) 結局彼は助かった。(141)「わたしからは助かった。(142)(しかし) あの勇士たちからは助からないだろうよ」(143) そしてずっと行くと、2人の勇士が戦っていた。(144) 彼らは戦って戦って、力が尽きた。(145) 力尽きて、一方が言った:(146)「ああしろ」(147) 人間のようにしゃべった。(148)「わたしを助けてくれ。(149) もう一方の勇士を殺そう」(150) もう一方の勇士は、どのような者だったのだろうか、人間だったのか、誰が知っていようか。(151)「わたしを助けたら、わたしはおまえを然るべきところへ運んで行こう。(152) わたしはおまえを運んで行こう。

```
(153) "merej-tejli,"
                              mon-i.
                                               (154) "i
                                                               met tet-ul
                                                                            tī
      fly:pfv-fut:ind.intr.1pl say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                     and(Rus.) 1sg 2sg-ACC PROX:LOC
              tanide qonto-t."
                                             (155) d'e tan
                                                                  bogatyr'-gele
sit.on:CAUS-SS DST.DIR go:CAUS-FUT:IND.TR.1SG
                                                   INTJ DST.ATTR hero(Rus.)-ACC
               (156) d'e tamun nigide-t'.
kudede-ŋā.
kill-pl:ind.tr.3
                                 shake.oneself:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                     INTJ DST
(157) pierī-n'e-j=ben-nōt
                                   kude-j.
                                                                        pieter berbekin-gele
                                                         (158) tan
      wing-prop-jptcp=nmlz-trans become-ind.intr.3sg
                                                              DST.ATTR Pieter.Berbekin-ACC
        budie imdo-m.
                                     (159) taŋide köwdej-m.
tude
3sg:gen on
               sit.on:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                           DST.DIR leave:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
(160) köwdej-m.
                               (161) jaqa-ni.
                                                                         pochta-gele
                                                         (162) tan
      leave:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
                                                               DST.ATTR post(Rus.)-ACC
                                     arrive-pl:IND.INTR.3
                            qonto-nile=ben-gele
                                                         tanide, tā
                                                                         kuda
tadi-m,
               kotoryj
give-IND.TR.3sG which(Rus.) go:CAUS-PL:MPTCP.3=NMLZ-ACC DST.DIR DST.LOC where(Rus.)
                                                                          (164) met
               (163) "d'e id'ī met-ul qonto-k
                                                        met kel-ōl-ge.
necessary(Rus.)
                     INTJ now 1sg-acc go:caus-imp.2sg 1sg come-rn-loc
                                                                                 1s<sub>G</sub>
nume-nin met-ul qonto-k.
                                   (165) met-ul=de
                                                        spasaj-k."
                                                                          (166) d'e
house-dat 1sg-acc go:caus-imp.2sg
                                         1sg-acc=emph save(Rus.)-imp.2sg
                                                                                INTJ
                        (167) imdo-m.
                                                    (168) tā
                                                                  jaqa-ŋi.
sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG
                              sit.on:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                                          DST.LOC arrive-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                                  (170) "l'e-k,"
(169) d'e nume-de-ge
                            joqto-m.
                                                                       mon-i.
      INTJ house-poss.3-Loc arrive:caus-IND.TR.3sg
                                                        do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
```

(153) We shall fly together. (154) I'll seat you on my back and take you there." (155) They killed the other Bogatyr. (156) The Bogatyr shook himself. (157) And he turned into a creature with wings. (158) He seated Pieter Berbekin on his back. (159) And he took him there. (160) He took him there. (161) They flew there. (162) He delivered the mail he had brought to the place, where it was needed. (163) "And now, come on, take me. (164) Take me where my home is. (165) Help me." (166) He sat on the back of the Bogatyr. (167) The Bogatyr seated Pieter Berbekin on his back. (168) They flew. (169) The Bogatyr brought him to his home. (170) "Do it this way," said the Bogatyr.

(153) 一緒に飛んで行こう。(154) わたしはおまえをここで背に乗せて、そこへ運んで行こう」(155) 彼らはその勇士を殺した。(156) 勇士は体を震わせた。(157) 羽をもつものに変身した。(158) そのピエテル・ベルベキンを自分の背に乗せて、(159) 連れて行った。(160) 連れて行った。(161) 彼らは到着した。(162) ピエテル・ベルベキンは郵便物を渡した、運んだものを、必要とされていたところへ。(163) 「さあ、今度はわたしを連れていけ、わたしの来たところへ。(164) わたしの家へわたしを連れていけ。(165) わたしのことも助けろ」(166) ピエテル・ベルベキンは勇士の背に乗った。(167) 勇士はピエテル・ベルベキンを自分の背に乗せた。(168) 彼らは着いた。(169) 勇士はピエテル・ベルベキンを彼の家に送り届けた。(170) 「ああしろ!

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(171) "met tet-ul ket'ī-l-ōl nikomu
                                            el=pundu-lek,"
                                                              mon-i.
                                                                               (172) d'e
           2sg-Acc bring-e-rn nobody(Rus.) Neg=tell-proh.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                                    INTJ
tude-gele ōžeš-l'el-ŋā.
                                     (173) numun
                                                     qodo ōže-t,
3sg-acc
          drink:caus-infr-pl:ind.tr.3
                                           with.what how drink-ss alcohol(Rus.)
                     tannigi. (174) "met-ul nilgi-nin
                                                         el=qvastavaj-lek,"
n'ūn'ī-nu-ŋā
                                    1sg-acc anypne-dat Neg=boast(Rus.)-proh.2sg
name-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 then
                (175) d'e pieter_berbekin ōže-lle
                                                        tamun. (176) d'e, "ō met
mon-i.
                      INTJ Pieter.Berbekin
                                            drink-ss.seq dst
                                                                      INTJ INTJ 1SG
say-ind.intr.3sg
              pierī-n'e-j=ben-ge.
                                        (177) met-kele imdo-t
                                                                      ket'ī-ŋā
                                                                                      tudā.
PROX.Qlt:ATTR wing-PROP-JPTCP=NMLZ-LOC
                                              1sg-acc
                                                        sit.on:caus-ss bring-pl:ind.tr.3 before
(178) t'umu tamun, tinide
                              ket'ī-ŋā,"
                                                                "met-kele!"
                                               mon-i,
                     PROX:DIR bring-PL:IND.TR.3 say-IND.INTR.3SG 1SG-ACC
(179) ugijel-me
                   uke-t'.
                                          (180) tintan_bogatyr'_uzhe_tut_kak_tut.
      morning-TMP go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                that.bagatyr.was.already.there(Rus.)
                                           (182) "met tet-in
(181) pieter_berbekin-ŋin mon-i:
                                                               mo-d'e,"
      Pieter.Berbekin-DAT
                                                       2sg-dat say-ind.intr.1sg
                          say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                 1sg
                (183) "met-ul ket'ī-l-ōl tinide
                                                   el=pundu-lek."
                                                                     (184) "el=met-ek
mon-i.
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                      1sg-acc bring-e-rn prox:dir neg=tell-proh.2sg
                                           (185) "el=met-ek. (186) met khmel'
tāt
          l'e-l
                  aduön," mon-i.
                                                                    1sg alcohol(Rus.)
ANPH:ADV exist-SF MED
                          say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                 NEG=1SG-PRD
tātl'elle ōže-lle
                    tāt
                               mol-l'el-d'e.
then
        drink-ss.seq anph:adv say-infr-ind.intr.1sg
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(171) "Don't tell anybody that it was me who brought you here." (172) But Pieter Berbekin was made to get drunk. (173) In those days, they called vodka "tipsiness." (174) "Don't boast to anybody of stories about me," said the Bogatyr. (175) But Pieter Berbekin drank and said, (176) "Oh, I flew in riding such one, with such wings. (177) He brought me here. (178) He brought me here!" (179) The next morning, he went outside. (180) The Bogatyr was standing in front of him. (181) He said to Pieter Berbekin, (182) "I told you, (183) Not to say that I brought you." (184) "It was not me who did it. (185) It was not me. (186) I drank the tipsiness and told it.

(171) わたしが、おまえを運んで来たことを誰にも話すな」勇士は言った。(172) ピエテル・ベルベキンは飲まされた。(173) その頃は酒は khmel'って呼ばれていたんだ。(174) 「わたしのことを誰にも自慢するな」と勇士は言った。(175) ピエテル・ベルベキンは酒を飲んで…(176)「おお、わたしはこういう翼をもつものに…(177) わたしはその背に乗って連れて来られた。(178) ここへわたしを運んで来た」(179) 翌朝、外へ出た。(180) あの勇士がもうそこにいた。(181) 彼はピエテル・ベルベキンに言った:(182)「わたしはおまえに言ったはずだ。(183) わたしがおまえをここへ連れてきたことを話すなと」(184)「わたしがやったんじゃない。(185) わたしじゃない。(186) わたしは酒を飲んでそんな風に言ってしまったようだ。

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(187) tamun el=lejdī-je,"
                                     mon-i,
                                                      "met." (188) "ket'ī-k
                                                                                 tāne
             NEG=know-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg
                                                                   bring-IMP.2sG anyway
      DST
                  khmel'!"
met-in tan
                               mon-i.
                                                (189) d'e bochka-ge,
                                                                          bochka-ge,
1sg-dat dst.attr alcohol(Rus.) say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                      INTJ cask(Rus.)-LOC cask(Rus.)-LOC
           polnyj ket'ī-m.
                                      (190) ket'ī-m.
                                                             (191) "tuön ōže-k,"
l'e-lle,
exist-ss.seq full(Rus.) bring-IND.TR.3sG
                                            bring-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                   PROX drink-IMP.2SG
                (192) "tannigi met-in mon-tojok,"
mon-i.
                                                             mon-i.
                                                                              (193) tan
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                       then
                                1sg-dat say-fut:ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                                    DST.ATTR
bogatyr' tabun-gele ōžā-l'el-u-m.
                                              (194) t'umu leme jama-pl-ek
                                                           what hole(Rus.)-PL-FOC
hero(Rus.) DST-ACC
                      drink-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG
                                                    all
ā-l'el-mele.
                 (195) bugry
                                    t'umu t'īle-le
                                                      t'umu inertie-l'el-u-m
                        hillock(Rus.) all
make-INFR-OF.3sG
                                           power-ins all
                                                             dig-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG everwhere
(196) "vot
                pieter berbekin, ubuj
                                             tet mol-l'el-d'ek.
                                                                       (197) met
                                  that's.right 2sg say-INFR-IND.INTR.2sg
     here(Rus.) Pieter.Berbekin
                                                                              1s<sub>G</sub>
                lem-dik ā-l'el-me,"
                                           mon-i,
                                                             "adin
                                                                       khmel'
see(-IND.TR.1sg) what-foc make-INFR-OF.1sg say-IND.INTR.3sg MED.ATTR alcohol(Rus.)
ōže-lle.
            (198) id'ī met tet-ul ket'ī-l-ōl-gen
                                                     t'umu šoromo-nin pundu-k,"
drink-ss.seo
                  now 1sg 2sg-acc bring-e-rn-prol all
                                                            person-dat tell-imp.2sg
                (199) "tīmie-d'ōn-ge
                                                 meruše-t ket'ī-m
mon-i.
                       be.like.this-JPTCP:NMLZ-LOC fly:CAUS-SS bring-IND.TR.3SG PROX:DIR
say-ind.intr.3sg
(200) vsë.
      all(Rus.)
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(187) I don't remember any of it." (188) "Bring that tipsiness to me too!" (189) He brought a barrel full of tipsiness. (190) He brought it and said, (191) "Drink this. (192) And tell me later." (193) The Bogatyr drank it all. (194) And he made pits. (195) He dug knolls here and there with all his might. (196) "Well, Pieter Berbekin, you were right! (197) I see what I made after drinking the tipsiness! (198) Now, you may tell everybody that I brought you here. (199) Such and such one brought me here; tell them so." (200) This is the end.

(187) わたしはそのことを覚えていない」(188)「だったら持ってこい、わたしにその酒を」 (189) 樽いっぱいの酒を運んで来た。(190) 運んで来た。(191)「これを飲め。(192) そしてわたしに話せ」(193) その勇士はそれを飲んだ。(194) 穴を作った。(195) 小山を全力ですっかり掘った、いたるところで。(196)「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、おまえの言ったことは正しかったようだ。(197) わたしは見た、自分のしたことを、その酒を飲んで。(198) これからはわたしがおまえを運んで来たことをすべて人々に話せ。(199) こういうものが飛んでここへ運んで来たと」(200) おしまい。

## 16 Pieter Berbekin

Recorded on 29 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) irkin gōrat-ke pieter berbekin l'ie-l'el-u-l. (2) pochtal'on-ŋōn town(Rus.)-Loc Pieter.Berbekin exist-INFR-E-SF postman(Rus.)-Ess ui-l'el. pieter berbekin-gele jūke lani jal-l'el-nā, (3) tan DST.ATTR Pieter.Berbekin-ACC far to work-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) send-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 nagā t'ejli-t'e mieste-nin, pochta ket'ī-din. gonto-din, pochta very be.far-JPTCP place-DAT post(Rus.) go:caus-purp post(Rus.) bring-purp (4) pieter berbekin tāt kebe-t'. (5) qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t Pieter.Berbekin ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS irkin mieste-ge, šā-n'e-j=ben-ge qon-i. (6) tāt šoromo ažū place-LOC tree-PROP-JPTCP=NMLZ-LOC go-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV person word medi-t'. (7) "pieter berbekin, migide kelu-k!" (8) juö-m: Pieter.Berbekin be.heard-IND.INTR.3sG PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG see-IND.TR.3SG (9) n'eleme öjl'e. (10) tāt (11) irkin šāl-ge apl'etāj juö-m: INDF:what not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) ANPH:ADV see-IND.TR.3SG one tree-Loc opletaj iodō-l. (12) apl'etāj vot tak apl'etāj-ek jodō-l. (13) "migide migide wrap:RES-SF opletaj like.this(Rus.) opletaj-FOC wrap:RES-SF PROX:DIR PROX:DIR kelu-k!" mon-i. (14) "migide kelu-k!" (15) pieter berbekin PROX:DIR come-IMP.2SG Pieter.Berbekin come-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG al'-d-in qon-i. near-poss.3-dat go-ind.intr.3sg
- (1) In a town, there lived Pieter Berbekin. (2) He worked as a postman. (3) Pieter Berbekin was sent far away, to a very far place to deliver and bring back mail. (4) And Pieter Berbekin left. (5) He walked, walked, walked, and walked along the place where trees were grown. (6) There he heard a human voice, (7) "Pieter Berbekin, come here!" (8) He looked. (9) Nothing was there. (10) Then, he saw: (11) The Worm-Opletai.was twined round a tree. (12) Opletai was twined like this. (13) "Come here, come! (14) Come here!" (15) Pieter Berbekin came close to her.
- (1) ある町にピエテル・ベルベキンがいた。(2) 郵便配達人として働いていた。(3) そのピエテル・ベルベキンを遠くへ送った、とても遠い場所へ、郵便物を運ぶために、郵便物を運んで来るために。(4) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは出発した。(5) ずっと行って、ある木の生えている場所を行った。(6) すると人の声が聞こえた。(7) 「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、こっちへ来い!」(8) 見た。(9) 何もなかった。(10) そして見た。(11) 木にアプリタイが巻きついていた。(12) アプリタイがこんな風に、アプリタイが巻きついていた。(13) 「こっちへこっちへ来い。(14) こっちへ来い!」(15) ピエテル・ベルベキンはそのそばに行った。

- (16) i tak šā-de-ge šāl-get menmege-t'. and(Rus.) like.this(Rus.) tree-POSS.3-LOC tree-ABL jump:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG (17) pieter berbekin-ge jododa-t'. (18) ahurpeli-t'=el'e, tamun Pieter.Berbekin-Loc wrap: DETR: PFV-IND.INTR.3sG be.hard-IND.INTR.3SG=SFC DST apl'etāj pajie-de ewre-l-e. (19) nār qon-i, nār gon-i. opletaj keep.lifting-ss.sim walk-an-ins always go-Ind.intr.3sg always go-Ind.intr.3sg (20) t'īle-gi (21) "ō lendōl'-i-t amde-je," ulumu-j. power-poss.3 run.out-IND.INTR.3sg INTJ eat:DETR:DES-E-SS die-IND.INTR.1SG (22) "šibit'e-n'-d'ōn-ge mon-i. ewrie-nu-lukene." dog.rose-prop-jptcp:nmlz-loc walk-ipfv-1|2:Ds.cond say-ind.intr.3sg say-IND.INTR.3sG (23) "pieter\_berbekin, monohot-t'ok?" "šibit'e leg-u-de et=ewre-je." dog.rose eat-E-ss.sim hyp=walk-ind.intr.1sg Pieter.Berbekin say.what-IND.INTR.2sG aŋt'ī-jī-teme, (24) "šibit'e-lek šibit'e-lek mon-i. mon-i, dog.rose-foc dog.rose-foc look.for-ven-fut:of.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg šibit'e lew-din! (25) leŋdōl'-i-t amde-je," mon-i. dog.rose eat-purp eat:DETR:DES-E-SS die-IND.INTR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG (26) "pieter berbekin, šibit'e-nin el=qol-loq!" (27) potomu chto koljuchij,
- Pieter.Berbekin dog.rose-dat neg=go-proh.2sg because.it.is.thorny(Rus.)

  nel'zja\_emu, el=jododaj. (28) "el=qol-loq, mon-i.
  he.should.not(Rus.) neg=wrap:detr:pfv(-ind.intr.3sg) neg=go-proh.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
- (29) "šibit'e-n'-d'ōn-ŋin el=qol-loq!" dog.rose-prop-jptcp:nmlz-dat neg=go-proh.2sg

(16) She jumped off the tree. (17) And she twined herself around Pieter Berbekin. (18) It was hard to walk, carrying Opletai. (19) But Pieter Berbekin walked and walked. (20) And his strength ran out. (21) "Oh, I've got so hungry that I'll starve to death. (22) If I walk along the place, where a dog rose grows, I'll walk and eat hips." (23) "Pieter Berbekin, what did you say?" (24) "I'm going to look for a dog rose to eat hips! (25) I'm starving and dying." (26) "Pieter Berbekin, don't go to a dog rose!" (27) She said so because the dog rose is thony, and she can't twine around it. (28) "Don't go. (29) Don't go to dog rose bushes!"

(16) そしてこんな風に木から飛びあがった。(17) ピエテル・ベルベキンに巻きついた。(18) アプリタイを担ぎながら歩くのは大変だったんだよ。(19) ずっと行った。(20) (そして) 力が尽きた。(21) 「ああ、腹が空いて(わたしは)死んでしまう。(22) ノイバラの生えているところを歩いたら、ノイバラを食べながら歩くだろうに」(23) 「ピエテル・ベルベキン、何だって?」(24) 「ノイバラをわたしは探しに行く、ノイバラを食べに! (25)腹が空いて死にそうなんだ」(26) 「ピエテル・ベルベキンよ、ノイバラのところへは行くな!」(27) ちくちくするからね、駄目なんだ、巻きつくことができない。(28) 「行くな。(29) ノイバラの生えているところへは行くな!」

- (30) tudel t'ejd'ie šibit'e-n'-d'e mieste-nin, ant'ī-din qon-i. on.purpose dog.rose-prop-jptcp place-dat look.for-purp go-IND.INTR.3sG (31) qon-i. (32) šibit'e-t'ā-ge jaqa-j. (33) apl'etāj tandiet go-IND.INTR.3SG dog.rose-AGG-AGG arrive-IND.INTR.3SG opletaj then menmege-t ubun=ben-ge ubun šāl-ge jododa-t'. (34) "d'e," other=nmlz-loc other tree-loc wrap:detr:pfv-ind.intr.3sg jump-ss INTJ "met-ket kebe-jek. (35) met pābā-get mon-i, say-IND.INTR.3sg 1sg-abl leave-IND.INTR.2sg 1sg elder.sister-abl el=kebe-tejek," el=kebe-tejek. (36) met t'āt'ā-get 1sg elder.brother-abl neg=leave-fut:ind.intr.2sg NEG=leave-fut:IND.INTR.2sG (37) qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t, d'e jaqa-j. (38) tamun go-E-SS go-E-SS go-E-SS INTJ arrive-IND.INTR.3SG say-ind.intr.3sg DST l'e-ge, tan šoromo-ho, tan pulut-ke jaqa-j. that.one-loc dst.attr person-loc dst.attr old.man-loc arrive-ind.intr.3sg nume-de-ge. (40) ejmunde and'e-n'-i. (41) d'e enter-IND.INTR.3sg house-poss.3-Loc half eye-prop-ind.intr.3sg INTJ kil leidī. tāt leme ā-t ľe, (42) tāt tude-n'e ANPH:ADV what make-ss exist(-INTERR.3sG) who know(-INTERR.3sG) ANPH:ADV 3SG-COM (43) promišl'aj-de ewrie-nnu-j. (44) t'ū-pe-lek leme-pe-lek meat-pl-foc what-pl-foc exist-IND.INTR.3sG hunt-ss.sim walk-hbt-ind.intr.3sg
- (30) He went on purpose to look for the place where dog roses grew. (31) He went. (32) And he came to a place where many dog roses were growing. (33) Opletai jumped off and twined round a tree. (34) "You've escaped from me. (35) But you'll not escape from my elder sister. (36) You'll not escape from my brother." (37) Pieter Berbekin walked, walked, walked, and walked and arrived. (38) He came to that man, to the Ogre. (39) He entered his house (the Ogre's house). (40) The Ogre was one-eyed. (41) Nobody knew what he did. (42) But Pieter Berbekin lived with the Ogre. (43) The Ogre went to hunt. (44) He brought meat and something else. (45) Was it beef or human meat?

(45) gorobo-n t'ūl-ek=dū, šoromo-n t'ūl-ek=dū?

cow-gen meat-prd=q person-gen meat-prd=q

ket'ī-nu-mle.

bring-IPFV-OF.3sG

(30) 彼はわざとノイバラの生えているところへ、探しに行った。(31) 行った。(32) ノイバラのたくさん生えているところに着いた。(33) アプリタイは跳びはねて、ほかのに、ほかの木に巻きついた。(34) 「わたしからは逃げた。(35) (しかし) わたしの姉さんからは逃げられないだろうよ。(36) わたしの兄さんからは逃げられないだろうよ」(37) ずっと行って、着いた。(38) あれのところ、あの人のところに、あの老人のところに着いた。(39) 入った、その老人の家に。(40) 片目だった。(41) 何をしながらかは分からない。(42) ピエテル・ベルベキンはその老人と暮らした。(43) 老人は狩りに行っていた。(44) 肉やらを持ってきた。(45) 牛の肉だろうか、人の肉だろうか?

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(46) irkid'e mon-i.
                             (47) al=l'an-nu-j
                                                             tamun, and'e-de
                                 NEG=send-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG DST
                                                                     eye-poss.3:gen
    once
            say-IND.INTR.3sg
l'e-l=ben.
                (48) pieter berbekin-gele al=l'an-nu-j.
                                                                       (49) n'eqanide
do.that-AN=NMLZ
                     Pieter.Berbekin-ACC
                                           NEG=send-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                            INDF:where
                           (50) "ō," mon-i,
                                                      "tudā al=and'e-n'-d'on=de
al=l'an-nu-j.
NEG=send-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                INTJ say-IND.INTR.3sg before NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH
and'e-š-nunnu."
                              (51) "pieter_berbekin, monohot-t'ok?"
                                                                            (52) "met
eye-prop.caus-hbt(-ind.tr.1sg)
                                   Pieter.Berbekin
                                                      say.what-IND.INTR.2sG
                                                                                1sg
tet-in mo=mo-d'e,"
                                                       (53) "al=and'e-n'-d'ōn=de
                             mon-i.
                                                           NEG=eye-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH
2sg-dat aff=say-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
and'e-š-nunnu,
                              tudā omot' modo-t." (54) "met-ul l'e-k
eye-prop.caus-hbt(-ind.tr.1sg) before well
                                                           1sg-Acc do.that-IMP.2sg then
                                            sit-ss
                (55) "met and'e, met and'e ā-k,"
                                                                            (56) "emtedej-k
mon-i.
                                                           mon-i.
                     1sg
                          eye
                                  1sg eye
                                             make-IMP.2sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                                                cure-IMP.2sG
say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                "uölobo. (58) t'omō-d'e
met and'e!" (57) "ket'ī-k,"
                               mon-i,
                                                                           alhui
                 bring-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg tin
                                                              be.big-JPTCP copper.kettle
1sg eye
                              "t'omō-d'e alhuj."
ket'ī-k,"
                                                       (59) ket'ī-m.
                                                                            (60) tamun-gele
bring-IMP.2sG say-IND.INTR.3sG be.big-JPTCP copper.kettle
                                                            bring-IND.TR.3sG
                                                                                 DST-ACC
lot'il-ge egete-m.
                              (61) taŋ
                                            uölobo-gele tā,
fire-Loc stand:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                   DST.ATTR tin-ACC
                                                         DST.LOC DST.LOC
egete-m
                     tāt.
                               (62) uölobo al'ā-j
                                                              tā.
stand:caus-ind.tr.3sg anph:adv
                                    tin
                                            melt-IND.INTR.3SG DST.LOC
```

(46) Once Pieter Berbekin said ···(47) The one-eyed Ogre did'nt let him go out. (48) He didn't let Pieter Berbekin go out. (49) He didn't let him go out anywhere. (50) "Oh, in the old days, I even cured the blind," said Pieter Berbekin. (51) "Pieter Berbekin, what did you say?" (52) "I told you, (53) I used to even cure the blind when I lived well." (54) "Come on. (55) Make me an eye. (56) Cure my eyes!" (57) "Bring tin. (58) Bring a large cauldron, a large cauldron!" (59) The Ogre brought it. (60) Pieter Berbekin put it on fire. (61) He put the tin on fire. (62) The tin melted.

(46) あるときピエテル・ベルベキンは言った。(47) 彼は、その片目は、行かせなかった。(48) ピエテル・ベルベキンを行かせなかった。(49) どこへも行かせなかった。(50)「ああ、かつては目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだ」(51)「ピエテル・ベルベキン、何だって?」(52)「わたしはおまえにこう言ったのだ、(53) 目の見えない人さえ治してやったものだ、かつては良い暮らしをしていて」(54)「わたしをあれしてくれ、それなら。(55) わたしの目を作ってくれ。(56) わたしの目を治してくれ!」(57)「錫を持って来い。(58) 大きな鍋を持って来い、大きな鍋を!」(59) 老人は持ってきた。(60) ピエテル・ベルベキンはそれを火にかけた。(61) その錫を(火に)かけた。(62) 錫は溶けた。

- (63) "d'e abudā-k," mon-i. (64) taŋ l'e, abudā-j.

  INTJ lie.down-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG DST.ATTR that.one lie.down-IND.INTR.3SG
  (65) taŋ alhuj-gele jō-de budien al'beš-u-m. (66) vot
- DST.ATTR copper.kettle-ACC head-poss.3:GEN onto spill:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG here(Rus.)

  tāt šewre-t'. (67) "met šapadaņil'-pe tebie-ņik!" mon-i.

  ANPH:ADV escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG 1SG door-PL close-PL:IMP.2 say-IND.INTR.3SG
- (68) "pieter\_berbekin el=töŋ-ŋilek!" (69) tiŋ blizhnij l'e-ge Pieter.Berbekin neg=close-pl:proh.2 prox:attr close(Rus.) that.one-loc

šapadanil'-get uke-t'. (70) jaglō-l šapadanil' tebie-j. (71) "ē, door-ABL go.out:pfv-ind.intr.3sg be.far-an door close-IND.INTR.3sG INTJ al=l'an-nilek," (72) "met šapadanil', al=l'an-nilek," mon-i. NEG=send-pl:proh.2 say-ind.intr.3sg door NEG=send-PL:PROH.2 1sg

mon-i. (73) "pieter\_berbekin al=l'an-ŋilek!" (74) taŋ pieter\_berbekin, ... say-ind.intr.3sg Pieter.Berbekin neg=send-pl:proh.2 dst.attr Pieter.Berbekin

(75) taŋ t'ien'e molho-do-ho, leme-n legō-d'e niŋiedamun-pe-k DST.ATTR small.entrance.hall inside-POSS.3-LOC what-GEN eat:RES-JPTCP sternum-PL-FOC

qodō-ŋil. (76) amun-pe-lek qodō-ŋil, niŋiedamun-pe-k. (77) taŋ qorobo-n lie-pl:sf bone-pl-foc lie-pl:sf sternum-pl-foc DST.ATTR cow-GEN

niniedamun molho amle-t'. (78) pieter\_berbekin ahidi-t' sternum in dive:pfv-ind.intr.3sg Pieter.Berbekin hide.oneself-ind.intr.3sg

tā. (79) a tintamun bojt'e al=aŋd'e kude-j.

DST.LOC and(Rus.) ANPH completely NEG=eye become-IND.INTR.3SG

(63) "Well, lie down!" said Pieter Berbekin. (64) The Ogre lay down. (65) Pieter Berbekin poured the contents of the cauldron on his head. (66) Then, he ran away. (67) "Doors of mine, close! (68) Don't let Pieter Berbekin run away!" (69) Pieter Berbekin went out through the nearest door. (70) But the distant door closed. (71) "Don't let him out. (72) My doors, don't let him out. (73) Don't let Pieter Berbekin out!" (74) Pieter Berbekin …(75) In the entrance hall, there were the remains of meal: breastbones. (76) There were breastbones. (77) Pieter Berbekin got into the cow's breastbones. (78) Pieter Berbekin hid there. (79) And the Ogre had got completely blind

(63)「横になれ!」(64) 横たわった。(65) ピエテル・ベルベキンはその大鍋を老人の頭の上に注いだ。(66) そして逃げた。(67)「わたしのドアたちよ閉まれ! (68) ピエテル・ベルベキンを逃すな!」(69) ピエテル・ベルベキンは近くのドアから出た。(70) 遠くのドアが閉まった。(71)「逃すな。(72) わたしのドアよ、逃すな。(73) ピエテル・ベルベキンを逃すな!」(74) ピエテル・ベルベキンは…(75) 玄関の間の中に食べた残りの胸骨があった。(76) 骨があった、胸骨が。(77) ピエテル・ベルベキンはその牛の胸骨の中に潜り込んだ。(78) ピエテル・ベルベキンはそこに隠れた。(79) その人喰い鬼はすっかり目が見えなくなった。

```
(80) tīne
              uölobo-le al'beš-u-m=el'e.
                                                   (81) l'e,
                                                                 "ē
                                                                     moj-ŋik
                         spill:caus-e-ind.tr.3sg=sfc
                                                        that.one intj hold-pl:imp.2
    PROX:TMP tin-INS
moj-ηik.
             (82) pieter berbekin moj-nik!"
                                                mon-i.
                                                                (83) taŋ
                                                                               amun-pe-nin
hold-pl:imp.2
                 Pieter.Berbekin
                                  hold-pl:imp.2 say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                     DST.ATTR bone-PL-DAT
                     (84) "moj-nik
                                       met kelu-l
                                                     lani." (85) tamun šapaha-t tanide
mo=mon-i.
                          hold-pl:imp.2 1sg come-an to
                                                                       hit-ss
                                                                DST
                                                                                 DST.DIR
AFF=say-IND.INTR.3SG
               (86) šapadanil'-e johodaj-m.
                                                          (87) tuön omon ant'ī-t,
                                                                                      omot'
gon-i.
                    door-ins
                                 open:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG
                                                               PROX just
                                                                            look.for-ss well
go-IND.INTR.3SG
omot' nugu-din butte šapadanil'-ge l'e-lle
                                                           pejžī-l'el-u-m
                                                 tāt
      find-purp as.if door-loc
                                     exist-ss.seq anph:adv throw:iter-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg
         amun-gele. (88) a
                                    pieter_berbekin l'e
                                                             molho-do-ho
                          and(Rus.) Pieter.Berbekin
                                                     that.one inside-poss.3-Loc bone in
DST.ATTR bone-ACC
                 pieter berbekin vmeste
                                                                     (89) "ōj." (90) tan
l'e-j=ben,
                                                peššej-m.
exist-JPTCP=NMLZ Pieter.Berbekin
                                together(Rus.) throw:pfv-Ind.tr.3sg
                                                                          INTI
                                                                                    DST.ATTR
        niniedamun mon-i.
                                      (91) "endī
                                                   tet-ul
                                                                            pieter berbekin
                                                          met-ul l'e
that.one sternum
                                           MED:LOC 2sg-ACC 1sg-ACC that.one Pieter.Berbekin
                     say-ind.intr.3sg
               molho-do-ho
                                peššej-mek,"
                                                                     (92) "pullugude
met metl'e
                                                     mon-i.
1sg 1sg:subst inside-poss.3-loc throw:pfv-ind.tr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                          outside
peššej-mek!"
                     (93) tamun: (94) "moj-k,"
                                                                    (95) "moj-k!"
                                                   mon-i.
throw:pfv-ind.tr.2sg
                                                                         hold-IMP.2sG
                                      hold-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
(96) n'umud'ī, tud-in peššej-m.
                                            (97) peššej-m.
               3sg-dat throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                 throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
    axe
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(80) Since Pieter Berbekin poured the tin into his eye. (81) "Eh, hold him, hold him. (82) Hold Pieter Berbekin!" (83) He told the bones. (84) "Hold him until I get there!" (85) He, stumbling, walked there. (86) He opened the door. (87) Searching for Pieter Berbekin, he threw the bones out. (88) Pieter Berbekin hid there, in the breastbone, and the Ogre threw him out with the bones. (89) "Oh!" (90) Said the breastbone. (91) "You've just thrown Pieter Berbekin out. He was hiding inside me. (92) You've thrown him out!" (93) The Ogre said, (94) "Hold him. (95) Hold him!" (96) He threw an axe at him. (97) He threw the axe.

(80) さっきピエテル・ベルベキンは錫をかけたんだ。(81)「捕まえていろ、捕まえていろ。(82) ピエテル・ベルベキンを捕まえていろ!」(83) その骨たちに言ったんだ。(84)「捕まえていろ、わたしが行くまで」(85) 彼はぶつかりながらそこへ行った。(86) ドアを開けた。(87) 探しながら、見つけることできるように、ドアのところで骨を外へ投げた。(88) ピエテル・ベルベキンがその中に、胸骨の中にいたのをいっしょに外に投げた。(89)「おぉ」(90) 胸骨が言った。(91)「ほら、おまえはピエテル・ベルベキンをわたしの中に入れたままで投げ捨てたぞ。(92) 外に投げ捨てたぞ!」(93) 老人は言った:(94)「持っていろ。(95) 持っていろ!」(96) 斧を彼に投げつけた。(97) 投げつけた。

```
(98) tamun: (99) "moj-k,"
                                                (100) "pieter berbekin moj-k
                               mon-i.
                  hold-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                      Pieter.Berbekin
                                                                        hold-IMP.2sG
    DST
moj-k!"
             (101) lew-din tāne.
                                    (102) tamun lek-tem=el'e.
                                                                         (103) tude
                   eat-PURP anyway
hold-IMP.2sG
                                          DST
                                                  eat-fut:IND.TR.3sG=sfc
                                                                               3sg:gen
jolohopiedit'e tottaj-mele
                                         (104) tamun tāt
                                                                 totti-t'.
                                tā.
                                                      ANPH:ADV cling-IND.INTR.3SG
little.finger
               attach:pfv-of.3sg DST.LOC
                                               DST
                                                    šoromo ileje-de-le
(105) tamun medin l'e-din
                                  l'e
                                                                             njukhal.
                                          taŋ
             soon
                     do.that-purp that.one DST.ATTR person wind-poss.3-INS he.smelled(Rus.)
(106) kelu-nu-j.
                              (107) tamun tude
                                                    (xxx) t'inej-m,
      come-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                    DST
                                           3sg:gen
                                                          chop:pfv-ind.tr.3sg 3sg:gen
n'umud'ī-le, tude
                     piedit'e-gele. (108) "ō, peššej-mek,"
             3sg:gen finger-acc
                                          INTJ throw:pfv-ind.tr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
axe-ins
(109) "peššej-mek!
                           (110) endī,"
                                                           "l'e-mle."
                                          mon-i,
                                                                         mon-i,
      throw:pfv-ind.tr.2sg
                                 MED:LOC say-IND.INTR.3SG do.that-of.3SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                              "tude
"t'ine-mele," mon-i,
                                       piedit'e-gele!" (111) pieter_berbekin tamun-gele,
chop-of.3sg say-IND.INTR.3sg 3sg:GEN finger-ACC
                                                            Pieter.Berbekin
              t'ūl'd'ī_pulut mid'-u-m.
                                                                                ďe
                                               (112) leg-u-m.
                                                                     (113) \bar{e},
INTJ DST.ATTR ogre
                             take-E-IND.TR.3sG
                                                    eat-e-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                           INTJ INTJ
kebe-t'.
                                                                           (116) "met-ket
                      (114) šewre-t'.
                                                    (115) mon-i:
leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                            escape:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                          say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                                  1sg-abl
kebe-jek,"
                  mon-i.
leave-IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
```

(98) He said, (99) "Hold him. (100) Hold Pieter Berbekin, hold!" (101) He wanted to eat him. (102) He would eat him, after all. (103) Pieter Berbekin touched the axe with his little finger. (104) The little finger got stuck to the axe. (105) The Ogre sniffed the man's smell. (106) He was getting closer and closer. (107) Pieter Berbekin cut his little finger off with his axe. (108) "Oh, throw it to me. (109) Throw it! (110) He cut his little finger off!" (111) Pieter Berbekin, no, the Ogre took Pieter Berbekin's little finger. (112) And he ate it. (113) And Pieter Berbekin went away. (114) He escaped. (115) The Ogre said, (116) "You've escaped from me.

(98) それは (言った): (99)「持っていろ。(100) ピエテル・ベルベキン、持っていろ!」 (101) 食べようとしていた。(102) そいつは (ピエテル・ベルベキンを) 食べようとしていた。(103) ピエテル・ベルベキンは自分の小指をくっつけた、斧に。(104) 小指は斧にくっついた。(105) 老人は、人間の人の匂いを嗅いだ。(106) 近づいてきた。(107) ピエテル・ベルベキンは切り落とした、斧で自分の小指を。(108)「おお、投げろ。(109) 投げろ! (110) ほら、彼は切り落としたぞ、自分の指を」(111) ピエテルベルベキンはそれを。いや、その人喰い鬼は小指をつかんだ。(112) 食べた。(113) (ピエテル・ベルベキンは) 去った。(114) 逃げた。(115) 人喰い鬼は言った: (116)「おまえはわたしから逃げた。

```
(117) "met pābā-get
                          el=kebe-tejek.
                                                     (118) bāba_jagā, tude-get
           elder.sister-abl neg=leave-fut:ind.intr.2sg
                                                           ogress
                                                                       3sg-abl
el=kebe-tejek,"
                           mon-i.
                                           (119) tāt
                                                           qon-u-t qon-u-t
NEG=leave-fut:IND.INTR.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                 ANPH:ADV go-E-SS go-E-SS
                               bāba_jagā-ge jaqa-j.
                                                                 (120) tuön t'uge-lek
qon-u-t, ē,
             qon-u-t tan
go-E-SS INTJ go-E-SS DST.ATTR ogress-LOC
                                                                       PROX track-PRD
                                              arrive-IND.INTR.3SG
             (121) qode qode tā
chto li?
                                       qon-nu-ŋi?
                                                            (122) "ē," bāba_jagā
perhaps(Rus.)
                   how how dst.loc go-ipfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                  INTJ ogress
                (123) "d'e kie-t'ek,
mon-i.
                                             pieter_berbekin."
                      INTJ come-IND.INTR.2SG Pieter.Berbekin
say-IND.INTR.3sG
(124) t'umu kak raz znaet chto li?
                                        (125) d'e, bojt'e
                                                             madā-i
      she.knows.everything.perhaps(Rus.)
                                             INTJ completely sit:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG DST.LOC
(126) bāba_jagā kel-dele,
                                         promišl'aj-t kel-tej.
                             kel-dele,
                                                                            (127) t'umu
                come-ss.seq come-ss.seq hunt-ss
                                                                                  all
      ogress
                                                     come-fut:IND.INTR.3sg
                                                                      (129) tabud-e
             ket'ī-temle.
                             (128) terike-l-l'el.
raznoe
various(Rus.) bring-fut:of.3sg
                                   old.woman-prop-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
                                                                            DST-INS
modo-l'el.
                                     bāba jagā-n'e modo-l'el.
                                                                          (131) d'e tudel
                      (130) taŋ
sit-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)
                           DST.ATTR ogress-COM
                                                    sit-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)
                                                                                INTI 3SG
irkid'e t'unre-le
                   ewreš-u-m,
                                          šewrej-din.
                                                          (132) "šewrej-l
       thought-ins walk:caus-e-ind.tr.3sg escape:pfv-purp
                                                                escape:PFV-AN PROX:ABL
nado,
               tanide qon-din, pochta
                                           qonto-din."
necessary(Rus.) DST.DIR go-PURP post(Rus.) go:CAUS-PURP
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(117) But you'll not escape from my elder sister. (118) Baba-Yaga, you'll not escape from her." (119) And he walked, walked, and walked and came to Baba-Yaga. (120) Was there a road? (121) How did people go there? (122) "Eh," Baba-Yaga said. (123) "Pieter Berbekin, it is you who has come?" (124) She knew everything, didn't she? (125) Pieter Berbekin started living there. (126) Baba-Yaga went to hunt. (127) She brought back all sorts of things. (128) He married her. (129) And he lived with her. (130) It turned out that he lived with Baba-Yaga. (131) Once, he decided to run away from her: (132) "I must run away from here. I must get there, and I must deliver mail."

(117)(しかし)わたしの姉さんからは逃げられないだろうよ。(118)鬼婆、彼女からは逃げられないだろうよ」(119)ずっと行って、鬼婆のところに着いた。(120)道があったのだろうか?(121)どうやって行ったのだろうか?(122)「ああ」鬼婆は言った。(123)「来たな、ピエテル・ベルベキンよ」(124)彼女は全部知っているんだろうか?(125)ピエテル・ベルベキンはそこで暮らし始めた。(126)鬼婆は狩りから帰ってきた。(127)さまざまなものを運んできた。(128)ああ妻にしたんだ。(129)そうして暮らしていた。(130)その鬼婆と暮らしていたんだ。(131)彼はあるとき逃げようと考えた。(132)ここから逃げなければならない、そこへ行かなければ、郵便物を運ばなければ。



(133) And he ran away. (134) Baba-Yaga said, (135) "Where are you going? (136) Are you escaping? (137) Did you leave your child?" (138) She said, (139) "Look back!" (140) I forgot who told so, do yo see? (141) I can't tell the story well. (142) "Look at me! (143) Let's divide our child. (144) Let's divide him!" (145) She grabbed his legs. (146) And she tore him. (147) She ate her child. (148) And Pieter Berbekin looked at it just out of the corner of his eye. (149) She threw the child at him. (150) She nearly caught up with him. (151) "Now, do this. (152) You'll reach the river. (153) You come to the river.

(133) そして逃げた。(134) それ(鬼婆) は言った:(135)「どこへ行くんだ?(136) 逃げるのかい?(137) 自分の子供を捨てたのかい?」(138) 言った:(139)「後ろを見ろ!」(140) 誰がこう言ったのだろうか忘れてしまったよ。分かるかい?(141) ちゃんと話せないかもしれない。(142)「こっちを見ろ。(143) わたしたちの子供を分け合おう。(144) 分け合おう!」(145) 彼女は子供の足を持った。(146) 引き裂いた。(147) 自分の子供を食べてしまった。(148) ピエテル・ベルベキンはちらっと目の端で見た。(149) 鬼婆はそれを投げつけた。(150) もう少しであれするところだった、追いつくところだった。(151)「ああしろ。おまえは川に着くだろう。(152) 川に着くだろう。(153) 川に着くだろう。

```
(154) ugurt'erā-k ohō-tel,"
                               mon-i,
                                                "ataqun ugurt'erā-k. (155) tamun
      poplar-foc stand-fut:sf say-IND.INTR.3sg two
                                                         poplar-Foc
                                                                             DST
t'inej-k.
                 (156) šepinke-gi
                                         irkie-t
                                                   tinide
                                                            ierej-tej.
chop:pfv-imp.2sg
                       sliver(Rus.)-poss.3 be.one-ss prox:dir float:pfv-fut:ind.intr.3sg
(157) ledude ierej-tej.
                                        (158) irkinl'e-gi
                                                               unun-ge t'ande
             float:pfv-fut:ind.intr.3sg
                                              one:subst-poss.3 river-loc up
      down
                                          unuŋ-ge t'ande kebej-l=ben-n'e
kebej-tej.
                          (159) tan
leave:pfv-fut:ind.intr.3sg
                                DST.ATTR river-LOC up
                                                           leave:pfv-an=nmlz-com
kebej-k,"
                                  (160) ē,
                                             tīne
                                                       pieter_berbekin qani-t, ...
                 mon-i.
leave:PFV-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                        INTJ PROX:TMP Pieter.Berbekin
                                                                        chase-ss
(161) tamun_tak_rasskažyvali. (162) grud'_u_nee_tut_boltajutsja.
      they.told.like.this(Rus.)
                                      her.breasts.are.hanging.down.like.this(Rus.)
(163) tinide
               pejžī-l'el-u-m.
                                            (164) tude
                                                           jewlegiel-ge titāt
      PROX:DIR throw:ITER-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG
                                                  3sg:gen shoulder-loc anph:adv
                 tanide boltajutsja.
                                                       (165) d'e qon-i.
pejžī-de,
throw:ITER-SS.SIM DST.DIR they,were.hanging.down(Rus.)
                                                             INTI go-IND.INTR.3SG
               ugurt'erā-pe-ge jaqa-j.
                                                    (167) taŋ
(166) taŋ
                                                                    šepinke-de-jle
      DST.ATTR poplar-PL-LOC
                                arrive-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                          DST.ATTR sliver(Rus.)-POSS.3-ACC
                                                          (169) ledude iere-t'.
t'inej-m.
                    (168) ōžī-ŋin
                                     peššej-m.
chop:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                          water-dat throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                down float:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
(170) irkill'e-gele
                     ataqlid'e t'inej-m.
                                                   (171) ōžī-ŋin
                                                                    peššej-m.
      one:subst-ACC twice
                              chop:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
                                                         water-dat throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg
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(154) You'll see two poplars growing there. (155) Fell them. (156) Slivers of one of them will float here. (157) It will float downstream. (158) Slivers of the other will float upstream. (159) Row a boat made from the poplar whose slivers float upstream." (160) Eh, when she was running after him …(161) It was told this way: (162) Her breasts were hanging down. (163) She threw them back. (164) She threw them on her back. (165) He went. (166) He came to the poplars. (167) He chopped the slivers of one of them. (168) And he threw the slivers into the river. (169) Those slivers floated downstream. (170) He chopped the slivers of the second poplar. (171) And he threw them into the river.

(154) 2本のハコヤナギが立っているだろう。(155) それを切り倒せ。(156) その木片は、片方はこちらへ流れ去るだろう。(157) 下流へ流れ去るだろう。(158) もう一方は川を上流へ流れて行くだろう。(159) その川を上流へ流れて行く方で行け」(160) ああ、さっきピエテル・ベルベキンを追いかけたとき、(161) こんな風に語ったものだ。(162) 彼女の乳房がこんな風にぶら下がっていた。(163) こっちに投げ出していた。(164) 背中にこんな風に投げ出しながらと。(165) で、彼は行った。(166) そのハコヤナギのところに着いた。(167) 切り倒すと木片ができた。(168) それを水に投げ込んだ。(169) それは下流へ流れ去った。(170) もう一方を2回めに切り倒した。(171) 木片を水に投げ込んだ。

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(172) ōžī-ge
                t'ande kebe-t'.
                                             (173) tabud-ek anabuskā-le
                                                                              ā-mele,
                       leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                   DST-FOC dugout.canoe-INS make-OF.3SG
      water-Loc up
         t'ande kebej-l=bed-e.
                                       (174) d'e tabud-e anabuskā-le
tan
                                                                           ā-m.
                leave:pfv-an=nmlz-ins
                                             INTJ DST-INS dugout.canoe-INS make-IND.TR.3SG
DST.ATTR up
(175) d'e kebe-t'.
                                (176) ōžī-gen,
                                                  ōžī-ge
                                                            imā-dele
                                                                             tandiet
      INTJ leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
                                      water-prol water-loc sit.on:Inch-ss.seq then
                      (177) qon-u-t qon-u-t qon-u-t t'ugie
kebe-t'.
                                                                         gon-u-t, d'e
leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                            go-E-ss go-E-ss go-E-ss on.the.way go-E-ss INTJ
                        noil-e kebe-t'.
tamun peššej-dele
                                                     (178) tāt
                                                                     juö-dege
                                                                                  irkin
DST
       throw:pfv-ss.seq leg-ins leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                                           ANPH:ADV see-POSS.3:DS one
t'orgo-k nutne-l.
                       (179) t'orqo-loq l'e-l.
                                               (180) tā
                                                              atagun, atagun l'e-k,
plain-FOC be.situated-sF
                             plain-FOC exist-sF
                                                      DST.LOC two
                                                                              that.one-FOC
                         kimd'i-lle qodō-nil, ižilbe köwde-t. (181) tāt
atagun bogatyr'-pe-k
                                                                                irkill'e
       hero(Rus.)-PL-FOC fight-ss.seo lie-PL:SF fatigue beat-ss
                                                                     ANPH:ADV one:SUBST
                (182) "pieter_berbekin, tet met-ul qamie-k!"
mon-i:
                      Pieter.Berbekin
                                        2sg 1sg-acc help-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
say-ind.intr.3sg
               kenigil'e
                           er-t'ōd-ek,
                                                 okazyvaetsja,
                                                                   kenigil'e.
                                                                              (184) "met-ul
(183) a
      and(Rus.) other:subst be.bad-jptcp:nmlz-prd it.turned.out(Rus.) other:subst
gamie-k,"
                             (185) "ejtuön kudede-ti,
                                                             ataqlō-t! (186) met-ke t'īle
                                   DST
                                           kill-fut:ind.tr.1pl be.two-ss
help-IMP.2sG say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                             1sg-loc power
ulumu-j,"
                    mon-i.
                                    (187) "met-ul met tet-ul
                                                                qamie-t.
run.out-Ind.intr.3sg say-Ind.intr.3sg
                                           1sg-acc 1sg 2sg-acc help-fut:ind.tr.1sg
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(172) They floated upstream. (173) He made a dugout from the poplar whose slivers floated upstream. (174) He made a dugout. (175) And he rowed out. (176) He got into the boat and rowed along the river. (177) He rowed, rowed, rowed, and rowed; then, he left the boat and started walking. (178) He looked over, and there was a field. (179) There was a field. (180) There were two Bogatyrs. They fought with each other; then, they lay down, having a rest. (181) One of them said, (182) "Pieter Berbekin, help me!" (183) And, it turned out, that the second Bogatyr was bad. (184) "Help me. (185) Let the two of us together kill that Bogatyr! (186) My strength has run out. (187) I'll help you.

(172) 上流へ流れて行った。(173) それで丸木舟を作った、上流へ流れて行った方で。(174) それで丸木舟を作った。(175) 出発した。(176) 川伝いに、丸木舟に乗ってついに出発した。(177) ずっと行って、途中でそれを捨てて歩いて行った。(178) 見ると平原が広がっていた。(179) 平原があった。(180) そこに 2 人のあれが、2 人の勇士が戦って、休んで横たわっていた。(181) すると一方が言った:(182)「ピエテル・ベルベキン、わたしを助けてくれ」(183) もう一方は悪いやつなんだ、もう一方は。(184)「わたしを助けてくれ。(185) あいつを殺そう 2 人で! (186) わたしは力が尽きてしまった。(187) わたしはおまえを助けてやろう。

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(188) kudede-ti,"
                                         (189) "met-ul qamie-k.
                                                                    (190) met tet-ul
                        mon-i.
      kill-fut:ind.tr.1pl say-ind.intr.3sg
                                               1sg-acc help-imp.2sg
                                                                          1sg 2sg-acc
tā
        joqto-t
                                  tet görat-ke,
                                                     qanide qon-d'ok
                                                                             taŋide.
DST.LOC arrive:CAUS-FUT:IND.TR.1SG 2SG town(Rus.)-LOC where go-IND.INTR.2SG DST.DIR
(191) met modo-l mieste-ge tā
                                     l'e-j
                                                                                  (192) d'e
                                                       taŋ
                                                                 gōrat=te."
                  place-loc dst.loc exist-ind.intr.3sg dst.attr town(Rus.)=emph
      1sg sit-an
                                                                                        INTJ
           bogatyr'-gele ataqlō-t kudedie-l'el-ηā.
                                                       (193) d'e tamun
ANPH:ATTR hero(Rus.)-ACC be.two-ss kill-infr-pl:ind.tr.3
                                                             INTJ DST
                             (194) pierī-n'e-j=ben-ηōt
nigide-t'.
                                                                kude-j.
shake.oneself:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
                                   wing-PROP-JPTCP=NMLZ-TRANS become-IND.INTR.3SG
(195) tamun tude
                     budie imdo-m.
                                                 (196) tāt
                                                                  kebej-ni.
                            sit.on:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                                       ANPH:ADV leave:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
             3sg:gen on
                                    (198) tudel, gde
(197) tā
              joqto-m.
                                                            pochta,
                                                                      pochta-gele
      DST.LOC arrive:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                                where(Rus.) post(Rus.)-ACC
                                          3sg
                            tanide tā
                                                                  (199) d'e tamun
kin-in
         qonto-m,
                                            joqto-m.
who-dat go:caus-ind.tr.3sg dst.dir dst.loc arrive:caus-ind.tr.3sg
                                                                        INTI DST
                        (200) "jolohude köwdej-t,"
            l'e-lle.
                                                                                      "tet
l'e-ge
                                                                      mon-i,
that.one-LOC exist-ss.seQ
                              back
                                        leave:CAUS:PFV-FUT:IND.TR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 2SG
             (201) za to chto tude-gele qamie-m.
kel-ōl-nin."
                                                          (202) imā-j.
                   because(Rus.) 3sg-Acc
                                           help-IND.TR.3sG
come-RN-DAT
                                                                sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG
(203) tude
              budie imā-j.
      3sg:gen on
                    sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG
```

(188) Let's kill him. (189) Help me. (190) I'll take you to the place where you must go. (191) That town is in the place where I live." (192) The two of them together killed that Bogatyr. (193) The Bogatyr shook himself. (194) He turned into a creature with wings. (195) He seated Pieter Berbekin on his back. (196) And they flew away. (197) He brought Pieter Berbekin. (198) He brought him there where he should deliver mail. (199) And he said, (200) "Now, I'll take you to your place," said he, "where you came from." (201) It was because Pieter Berbekin helped him. (202) Pieter Berbekin rode him. (203) He sat on the Bogatyr's back.

(188) (あいつを) 殺そう。(189) わたしを助けてくれ。(190) わたしはおまえを送り届けよう、おまえの町へ、おまえが行こうとしているところへ。(191) わたしの暮らすところにある、その町も」(192) 彼らはその勇士を 2 人で殺した。(193) 勇士は体を震わせた。(194) 翼をもつものに変身した。(195) 自分の上にピエテル・ベルベキンを乗せた。(196) そして彼らは出発した。(197) そこへ送り届けた。(198) 彼はピエテル・ベルベキンを郵便を運ぼうとしていたところへ送り届けた。(199) そして彼は…(200)「元来たところへ送って行こう、おまえの来たところへ」(201) ピエテル・ベルベキンが彼を助けたお礼に。(202) ピエテル・ベルベキンは乗った。(203) 彼の背に乗った。

```
(204) tanide merušie-m
                                      tude
                                              kel-ō-de
                                                                  gōrat-nin.
                                                                                 (205) d'e
      DST.DIR fly:CAUS:INCH-IND.TR.3SG 3SG:GEN come-RN-POSS.3:GEN town(Rus.)-DAT
                                                                                       INTJ
tātl'elle kebe-t',
                              jolohude. (206) ō,
                                                    pieter berbekin-gele, ajā-t
then
        leave:pfv-ind.intr.3sg back
                                               INTJ Pieter.Berbekin-ACC
          "bojt'e
bukatyn,
                      omo-t'e
                                    l'e-ge
                                                 ā-mele,
                                                             dobryj
                                                                        delo-lek
completely completely be.good-JPTCP that.one-LOC make-of.3sg kind(Rus.) work(Rus.)-foc
            mon-u-t bukatyn omot' qolī-l'el-ŋā.
                                                              (207) d'e tamun:
make-of.3sg say-e-ss completely well
                                      praise-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3
                                                                    INTJ DST
(208) "tī
               l'e-je.
                                 (209) tā
                                               l'e-je.
                                                                 (210) d'e, d'e
      PROX:LOC exist-IND.INTR.1SG
                                       DST.LOC exist-IND.INTR.1SG
                                                                       INTJ INTJ
tīmie-d'ōn-ge
                                            (211) tātmie-d'ōn-ge
                          ewre-je.
be.like.this-JPTCP:NMLZ-LOC walk-IND.INTR.1sG
                                                  be.like.that-JPTCP:NMLZ-LOC
ewre-je.
                  (212) tuöd-ek ā-me."
                                              (213) tīne
                                                              tan
                                                                        bogatyr'
walk-ind.intr.1sg
                        PROX-FOC make-of.1sg
                                                    PROX:TMP DST.ATTR hero(Rus.)
                (214) "metl'e, met ket'ī-l-ōl tet-n'e el=köjbunnu-lek," mon-i.
mon-i:
                      1sg:subst 1sg bring-e-rn 2sg-com neg=brag-proh.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
say-ind.intr.3sg
                uke-t'.
                                                       bogatyr' pered
(215) tāt
                                       (216) taŋ
      ANPH:ADV go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG
                                             DST.ATTR hero(Rus.) before(Rus.)
pieter berbekin-ge ohō-j.
                                      (217) ochutilsja.
                                                                     (218) "tet,"
Pieter.Berbekin-Loc stand-IND.INTR.3sG
                                            he.came.to.be.there(Rus.)
                                                                           2sG
mon-i,
                "met tet-in
                              mo-d'e,"
                                                mon-i.
say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg 2sg-dat say-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
```

(204) And the Bogatyr flew away, taking Pieter Berbekin to the town he came from. (205) Then, the Bogatyr flew back. (206) Everybody was glad to see Pieter Berbekin; "He did a great thing, he did a good thing!" they said and praised him. (207) He said, (208) "I was here. (209) I was there. (210) I visited these places. (211) I visited those places. (212) I did this and that." (213) The Bogatyr told him, (214) "Don't boast that it was me who brought you." (215) When Pieter Berbekin went out, (216) The Bogatyr was standing in front of him. (217) He was there. (218) "I told you," he said.

(204) 勇士はピエテル・ベルベキンを乗せて飛び立った、彼がそこから来たところの町へ。 (205) そして勇士は戻って行った。 (206) ピエテル・ベルベキンを、人々は喜んで「とても良いおこないをした」と言ってとても誉めた。 (207) ピエテル・ベルベキンは言った: (208) 「わたしはここに行った。 (209) あそこに行った。 (210) こういうところを歩いた。 (211) ああいうところを歩いた。 (212) こういうことをした」 (213) さっきその勇士は言っていたんだ。 (214) 「わたしがおまえを連れてきたことを自慢してはならない」と。 (215) そしてピエテル・ベルベキンは外へ出た。 (216) (すると) あの勇士がピエテル・ベルベキンの前に立っていた。 (217) そこにいた。 (218) 「わたしはおまえに言ったじゃないか。

```
(219) "met tet-ul
                    qamie-l-ōl, tinide
                                         ket'ī-l-ōl el=köjbunnu-lek." (220) "el=met-ek
           2sg-acc help-e-rn prox:dir bring-e-rn neg=brag-proh.2sg
                                                                              NEG=1sg-foc
                  (221) aduön khmel'-ek
          l'e-l.
                                                           l'e-l.
                                                                   (222) khmel'
                               alcohol(Rus.)-FOC ANPH:ADV exist-sf
ANPH:ADV exist-sf
                        MED
                                                                         alcohol(Rus.)
ōže-lle,"
                             "tāt
                                       ann'ā-l'el-d'e,"
                                                                                (223) tamun
            mon-i.
                                                               mon-i.
drink-ss.seq say-ind.intr.3sg anph:adv speak-infr-ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                                      DST
              ket'ī-mele, tīmie
                                          bochka.
bochka-lek
                                                    (224) "tet-in ket'ī,"
cask(Rus.)-FOC bring-OF.3SG PROX.QLT:ATTR cask(Rus.)
                                                          2sg-dat bring(-IND.TR.1sg)
                                                      (226) tannigi lejdī-temek,"
mon-i.
                 "tuön. (225) tet āj
                                        ōže-k.
say-ind.intr.3sg prox
                              2sG again drink-IMP.2sG
                                                            then
                                                                    know-fut:ind.tr.2sg
                                          (228) tātl'elle kebe-t'
                (227) gonto-m.
mon-i.
say-ind.intr.3sg
                       go:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG
                                                then
                                                        leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG house-DAT
(229) "ugujie
                kel-teje,"
                                       mon-i.
                                                        (230) ugijel-me
                                                                           gon-i.
      tomorrow come-fut:IND.INTR.1sg say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                              morning-TMP go-IND.INTR.3SG
                    t'oqot'o punke-p-tie-k, mut'in=bed-e
                                                               lebie-le t'umu
      PROX.QLT:ATTR precipice hill-PL-DIM-FOC various=NMLZ-INS land-INS all
                       (232) "pieter_berbekin, tet ubuj
                                                                mol-l'el-d'ek,"
qonroš-l'el-u-m.
break-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sG
                             Pieter.Berbekin
                                                2sg that's.right say-INFR-IND.INTR.2sg
                (233) "metell'el khmel'
                                                           lem-dik ā-l'el-me,
mon-i.
                                              ōže-lle
                       1sg:intns alcohol(Rus.) drink-ss.seo what-foc make-infr-of.1sg
say-IND.INTR.3sg
juö-k!
           (234) id'ī metl'e,
                                 met tet-ul
                                              ket'ī-l-ōl omot' nide-k,"
                 now 1sg:subst 1sg 2sg-acc bring-e-rn well
see-IMP.2SG
                                                                speak-IMP.2sG
mon-i.
say-IND.INTR.3sG
```

(219) "Don't boast that it was me who saved you and brought here." (220) "It wasn't me who did it. (221) It was tipsiness who did it. (222) I got drunk and that's why I blabbed." (223) Pieter Berbekin brought a barrel. (224) "I've brought it for you. (225) Drink it. (226) Then you'll understand." (227) He brought the barrel. (228) He went back home, saying, (229) "Tomorrow, I'll come." (230) He came the next morning. (231) There appeared a cliff, small hills, and many other different things that the man had created (by digging the land). (232) "Pieter Berbekin, you were right. (233) Look at what I did while I was drunk! (234) Now you may tell everyone that it was me who brought you here."

(219) わたしがおまえを助けたことを、ここへ連れてきたことを自慢するなと」(220)「わたしじゃない。(221) 酒がやったんだ。(222) 酒を飲んで、そしてしゃべってしまったんだ」(223) 樽を運んできた、こういう樽を。(224)「これをおまえに運んできたぞ。(225) おまえも飲め。(226) そうしたら分かるだろう」(227) 運んだ。(228) そして家へ去った。(229)「明日来るよ」と言った。(230) ピエテル・ベルベキンは翌朝行った。(231) こういう崖、小さな丘、勇士はいろんなものを地面をすっかり掘り返して作った。(232)「ピエテル・ベルベキン、おまえの言ったことは正しい。(233) わたしが酒を飲んで何をしたのか、見ろ。(234) これからはわたしがおまえを連れてきたことをちゃんと話すがいい」

## 17 There Lived an Old Man and His Wife

ANPH:ADV eat:DETR:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG

Recorded on 22 October 2002 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) irkin pulun-die terike-dā-n'e modo-ni. (2) irkin qorobo-nn'e-j. old.man-dim old.woman-poss.3-com sit-pl:ind.intr.3 cow-prop-ind.intr.3sg (4) "terike. (3) pulun-die mon-i: mit gorobo lek-ke!" (5) titte old.woman 1pl cow old.man-DIM say-IND.INTR.3sG eat-IMP.1PL 3PL:GEN gorobo-holo kudede-nā. (6) t'itte t'umu pad-u-m alhuj-ge, tan cow-acc kill-pl:ind.tr.3 all cook-e-ind.tr.3sg copper.kettle-loc dst.attr qorobo-holo noj-pe-gi t'umu t'ow-nu-lle t'itte t'umu. (7) istōl-ge cow-acc leg-PL-POSS.3 all cut-IPFV-SS.SEQ all table-Loc egete-m. (8) t'itte t'umu titāt īt'e-š-u-m. poldo-lle, stand:caus-ind.tr.3sg all ANPH:ADV tip-prop.caus-e-ind.tr.3sg take.out-ss.seq (9) tāt poldo-lle. tudā mit lendie-nun-d'īli t'ohoje-le. lunbuge-get iron.caldron-ABL take.out-ss.seo ANPH:ADV before 1PL eat:DETR-HBT-IND.INTR.1PL knife-INS (11) tāt (10) t'ūl tudā todī-ge min-tej, titāt t'ow-nunnu-j. meat before tooth-loc take-fut:ind.tr.1pl anph:adv cut-hbt-ind.tr.1pl ANPH:ADV t'ow-nunnu-i. (12) el=t'ohoje-t'uön nichego take-fut:ind.tr.1pl anph:adv cut-hbt-ind.tr.1pl NEG=knife-ABES anything(Rus.) el=lek-tejek. (13) nu poldo-nā. (14) tintan pulun-die well(Rus.) take.out-pl:ind.tr.3 NEG=eat-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG ANPH:ATTR old.man-DIM (15) padō-d'ōn-gele tāt lendie-j. legie-m.

(1) There lived an old man and his wife. (2) They kept a cow. (3) The old man said, (4) "Wife, let's eat our cow!" (5) They killed their cow. (6) They boiled the whole cow in a large cauldron, with all its legs cut. (7) They put the large cauldron on the table. (8) They took all meat from the cauldron and piled it up. (9) In the old days, we ate meat this way, cutting it with a knife. (10) In the old days, we held meat by teeth and cut off a piece of it with a knife. (11) We held meat this way and cut it this way. (12) One cannot eat anything without a knife. (13) Well, so, they pulled out the meat. (14) The old man started eating. (15) He started eating the boiled meat.

cook:res-jptcp:nmlz-acc eat:inch-ind.tr.3sg

(1) おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(2) 牛を1頭飼っていた。(3) おじいさんは言った:(4)「妻よ、わたしたちの牛を食べよう!」(5) 彼らは自分たちの牛を殺した。(6) 大鍋ですっかり煮た、その牛を、足をすべて切ってから。(7) その大鍋をテーブルに置いた。(8) すべてこのように山積みにした、鍋から取り出して。(9) こんな風にかつてわたしたちは食べたものだ、ナイフを使って。(10) 肉を昔は歯に咥えて、こんな風に(咥えたままナイフを口の前で動かして)切ったものだ。(11) こんな風に咥えて、こんな風に切ったものだ。(12) ナイフなしでは何も食べられないんだ。(13) で、彼らは牛を取りだした。(14) おじいさんは食べはじめた。(15) 煮えたものを食べはじめた。

- (16) tin terikie-die t'ohoje-le ant'ī-m ant'ī-m. PROX:ATTR old.woman-dim knife-ins look.for-ind.tr.3sg look.for-ind.tr.3sg (17) öjl'e. (18) tī ant'ī-m. (19) tā ant'ī-m. not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) PROX:LOC look.for-IND.TR.3SG DST.LOC look.for-IND.TR.3SG (21) t'ohoje öjl'e. (20) öil'e. (22) terikie-die not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) knife old.woman-ым t'ohoje-gi öjl'e. (23) pulun-die tandelme tude t'ūl-e t'itte t'umu knife-poss.3 not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) old.man-DIM meanwhile 3sg:GEN meat-INS all (24) t'itte\_t'umu leg-u-m. (25) öjl'e. (26) amun=de eat-e-ind.tr.3sg all eat-e-ind.tr.3sg not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) bone=EMPH amun pon'ō-l. (27) tintan t'ohoje, terike t'ohoje ant'ī-delma ANPH:ATTR knife old.woman knife look.for-ds.sim all (29) t'ūl leg-u-m t'ūl-e. (28) tāt egie-j. ANPH:ADV stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG eat-E-IND.TR.3sG meat-INS meat el'ed'ō-j. terike t'ohoje-gele, (30) egie-j. (31) d'e, tude INTJ 3sg:GEN old.woman knife-ACC disappear-IND.INTR.3SG stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG (32) "terike, juö-k," pud-de-ge modo-l'el. mon-i. top-poss.3-loc sit-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) old.woman see-IMP.2SG say-IND.INTR.3SG (33) "tet t'ohoje budie modo-l'el-d'e!" (34) t'ūl-e lew-dele t'umu. 2sg knife sit-infr-ind.intr.1sg meat-INS eat-ss.seo all
- (16) And the old woman began to look for a knife. (17) There was no knife. (18) She searched here. (19) She searched there. (20) But there was no knife. (21) There was no knife. (22) There was no knife for the old woman. (23) Meanwhile, the old man had eaten the meat. (24) He had eaten all the meat. (25) There wasn't any meat left. (26) Only bones were left. (27) While the old woman was looking for her knife, the old man ate all the meat. (28) Then, he rose. (29) The meat had disappeared. (30) He rose. (31) It turned out that his wife's knife was lying under him. (32) "Wife, look! (33) It turned out that I was sitting on your knife!" (34) He had eaten all the meat, and he said so. (35) Well, that's so unfair, isn't it?

(35) vot\_kak\_nechestno\_da? it's.so.unfair.isn't.it?(Rus.)

(16) おばあさんはナイフを探しに探した。(17) なかった。(18) こっちで探した。(19) あっちで探した。(20) なかった。(21) ナイフはなかった。(22) おばあさんのナイフはなかった。(23) おじいさんはその間に自分の肉をすっかり食べてしまった。(24) すっかり食べてしまった。(25) 肉はなかった。(26) 骨だけが残っていた。(27) ナイフを、おばあさんがナイフを探している間に、おじいさんはすべて食べてしまった、肉を。(28) そしておじいさんは立ち上がった。(29) 肉はなくなってしまった。(30) おじいさんが立ち上がった。(31) 彼は自分の妻のナイフを、その上に座っていたのだった。(32)「妻よ、見ろ!(33) わたしはおまえのナイフの上に座っていたようだ!」(34) 肉をぜんぶ食べてしまって。(35) なんてずるいんだろうね。

## 18 There Lived an Old Man and His Wife

Recorded on 16 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) pulun-die terike-dā-n'e modo-ni. (2) pulun-die: (3) "terike," old.man-DIM old.woman-POSS.3-COM sit-PL:IND.INTR.3 old.man-рім old.woman "mit qorobo kudede-ge!" (4) korovu zarezali. mon-i, (5) titte kill-IMP.1PL they.stabbed.the.cow(Rus.) say-ind.intr.3sg 1pl cow 3PL:GEN gorobo-holo kudde-nā. (6) t'ū-de-ile t'itte t'umu irkid'e pat-l'el-nā. cook-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 cow-acc kill-pl:ind.tr.3 meat-poss.3-Acc all once (7) t'umu pat-l'el-nā, lunbuge-ge. (8) nu iel'e-i. well(Rus.) ripen-IND.INTR.3sG cook-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 iron.caldron-loc all (10) neskol'ko slov, sovsem malo. (11) d'e, tamun (9) t'ū-gi a.few.words(Rus.) not.much(Rus.) meat-poss.3 ripen-IND.INTR.3sG INTI DST (12) šowho-le egete-m. t'ū-de-ile istōl-ge egete-m. meat-poss.3-Acc table-Loc stand:CAUS-IND.TR.3sG plate-ins stand:caus-ind.tr.3sg (13) tamun t'ūl-e poldo-m. (14) poldo-m. (15) d'e t'ohoje tā DST meat-ins dst.loc take.out-ind.tr.3sg take.out-IND.TR.3sG INTI knife min-dele legie-m, pulun-die. (16) kushaet kushaet. take-ss.seq eat:INCH-IND.TR.3sg old.man-DIM he.eats.and.eats(Rus.) (18) "met t'ohoje goll'e?" (17) a\_babushka\_govorit: mon-i. and.the.old.woman.sais(Rus.) 1sg knife be.where(-INTERR.3SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG (19) "t'ohoje goll'e?" (20) ishet ishet. she.is.looking.for.it(Rus.) knife be.where(-INTERR.3sG)

(1) There lived an old man and his wife. (2) The old man said, (3) "Wife, let's kill our cow!"

- (4) They killed the cow. (5) They killed their cow. (6) They boiled the beef all at once. (7) They boiled it all on the fire. (8) Well, the meat had boiled. (9) The beef had boiled. (10) (The fairy tale consists of) few words, very few. (11) They put the meat on the table. (12) He put a dish. (13) He pulled out the meat (from the cauldron). (14) He pulled it out. (15) The old man took a knife and started eating. (16) He was eating and eating. (17) And the old woman said, (18) "Where is my knife? (19) Where is the knife?" (20) She was searching and searching.
- (1) おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(2) おじいさんは(言った):(3)「妻よ、わたしたちの牛を殺そう!」(4) 牛を殺した。(5) 彼らの牛を殺した。(6) その肉をぜんぶ一気に煮た。(7) ぜんぶ煮た、鍋で。(8) 肉は煮えた。(9) その肉は煮えた。(10)(この話は) ほんの少ししかない、とても短いよ。(11) テーブルに肉を置いた。(12) 食器を置いた。(13) そこに肉をとりだした。(14) とりだした。(15) そしてナイフを手にして食べはじめた、おじいさんは。(16) 食べた食べた。(17) 一方、おばあさんは言った。(18) 「わたしのナイフはどこだい? (19) ナイフはどこだい?」(20) おばあさんはナイフを探した探した。

- (21) a dedushka nār me=leg-u-m. (22) lende-t modo-t modo-t and(Rus.) old.man(Rus.) always AFF=eat-E-IND.TR.3SG eat:DETR-SS sit-SS sit-ss modo-t. (23) skazka ona est' skazka. (24) i eto t'ūl-e t'umu this.is.a.fairy.tale(Rus.) and(Rus.) this.one(Rus.) meat-INS all (25) t'itte\_t'umu leg-u-m. babushka leg-u-m. (26) a potom and(Rus.) then(Rus.) old.woman(Rus.) eat-e-ind.tr.3sg all eat-e-ind.tr.3sg t'ohoje-lek ant'ī-mele, t'ohoje. (27) est'-to nechem bylo. eshchë tude still(Rus.) knife-FOC look.for-of.3sg 3sg:gen knife there.was.nothing.to.eat.with(Rus.)
- (28) okazyvaetsja\_on\_na\_nej\_sidel\_narochno\_e-e. (29) vot\_druzhva\_da? it.turned.out.that.he.was.sitting.on.it.on.purpose(Rus.) is.it.friendship.huh?(Rus.)
- (30) egie-j. (31) "ē, tet t'ohoje tendī l'ie-l'el-u-l!" mon-i. stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG INTJ 2SG knife PROX:LOC exist-INFR-E-SF Say-IND.INTR.3SG
- (32) "met pude-de-ge modo-l'el-d'e!" (33) a\_t'ūle\_net\_chtoby\_ostavit'.

  1sg top-poss.3-loc sit-infr-ind.intr.1sg but.there.was.no.meat.left(Rus.)

(21) And the old man was eating for a long time. (22) He was eating and sitting, sitting, sitting. (23) This is a fairy tale. (24) And, well, he ate all the meat. (25) He ate it completely. (26) But the old woman was still searching for the knife, for her own knife. (27) There was nothing to eat with. (28) It turned out that he was sitting on the knife on purpose, eh? (29) Is it friendship? (30) The old man rose. (31) "Eh, your knife is here!. (32) I've been sitting on it!" (33) But there was no meat left.

(21) いっぽう、おじいさんはずっと食べていた。(22) 食べて、ずっと座っていて、(23) これは昔話なんだよ。(24) それで、(おじいさんは) 肉をぜんぶ食べてしまった。(25) すっかり食べてしまった。(26) そしておばあさんはまだナイフを探していた、じぶんのナイフを。(27) 食べる道具がまったくないんだ。(28) 彼はわざとその上に座っていたんだ、ね? (29) なんて愛情なんだろうね? (30) おじいさん立ちあがった。(31) 「おや、おまえのナイフはここにある。(32) わたしはナイフの上に座っていたようだ!」(33) おばあさんに残す肉はなかった。

## 19 There Lived an Old Man and His Wife

Recorded on 21 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) starik so starukhoj vdvoëm zhivut. (2) a potom poeli. (3) lende-lle there.live.an.old.man.and.his.wife(Rus.) and.then.they.had.a.meal(Rus.) eat:DETR-SS.SEQ (4) "terike. id'ī kin, kin-tek, kin an' kin, kiejen ann'ā-l, mon-i: tamun old.woman now who who-Foc who who before speak:INCH-SF DST say-ind.intr.3sg aile-tum, šowho-le ajle-tum." (5) d'e posuda-le plate(Rus.)-ins wash-fut:ind.tr.3sg plate-ins wash-fut:ind.tr.3sg INTJ al=ann'e-nit. (6) irkin pod'erqo-ho al=ann'e-ni. (7) ann'e-nide, NEG=speak-pl:fut:ind.intr.3 day-loc one NEG=speak-PL:IND.INTR.3 speak-ss.cond tamun šowho-le tudel ajle-tum. kin-tek ann'ā-l who-foc speak:INCH-SF DST plate-ins 3sg wash-fut:IND.TR.3sG (8) skol'ko stoit-to? (9) d'e d'e kakoj-to leme-n punnume-get INTJ INTJ something.like(Rus.) what-gen neighbor-abl how.much.is.it.worth(Rus.) (10) t'omōd'el-pe-gi=dū, staršij-pe-gi=dū? (11) "tuön qode come-pl:IND.INTR.3 prince-PL-POSS.3=Q head(Rus.)-PL-POSS.3=Q PROX how l'e-met?" (12) "jowl'ā-jemet?" (13) al=ann'e-ni. mon-i. exist-interr.2pl say-ind.intr.3sg be.sick:INCH-IND.INTR.2PL NEG=speak-pl:IND.INTR.3 (14) molchat. (15) "lem-dik tit-ke? (16) godo kude-l'el? they.keep.silent(Rus.) what-foc 2pl-loc how become-INFR(-INTERR.3sg) (17) jowl'ā-jemet=dū? (18) qodit al=ann'e-met?" be.sick:INCH-IND.INTR.2PL=Q why NEG=speak-INTERR.2PL
- (1) There lived an old man and his wife. (2) And they had a meal. (3) They had a meal, and the old man said, (4) "Wife, let the one who talks first wash the dishes!" (5) So, they didn't talk. (6) They didn't talk the whole day. (7) If someone talks, the one who talks first should wash the dishes. (8) How much was it worth? (9) Well, some neighbors came to them. (10) Their chief or their head. (11) "What happened to you? (12) Are you sick?" (13) They didn't speak. (14) They kept silent. (15) "What happened to you? (16) What happened? (17) Are you sick? (18) Why don't you talk?"
- (1) おじいさんとおばあさんが 2 人で暮らしていた。(2)そして彼らは食事をした。(3)食べてからおじいさんは言った:(4)「妻よ、今から先にしゃべりだした方が皿を洗うことにしよう」(5)彼らはしゃべらない。(6)1 日中しゃべらなかった。(7)しゃべったら、しゃべりだした方が皿を洗うんだ。(8)どんな意味があるってんだろうね?(9)隣人の誰かが来た。(10)君主だろうか、族長だろうか?(11)「これはいったいどうしたんだ?(12)病気になったのかい?」(13)彼らはしゃべらなかった。(14)だまっていた。(15)「おまえたちは何があったんだ?(16)どうしたんだ?(17)病気になったのかい?(18)どうしてしゃべらないんだい?」

(19) juöde-ŋi. (20) ne umerli? (21) "tannigi nado lot'il see:DETR-PL:IND.INTR.3 didn't.they.die(Rus.) then necessary(Rus.) fire (22) tittel khrani eto vodit'sja vodit'sja nado." (23) "tannigi piedī-din. keep.burning-purp need.to.look.after.the.fire(Rus.) ľe-k," (24) "kin, kin ejmeš-u-t?" mon-i. (25) tā irkin who who pay-e-fut:interr.3sg do.that-imp.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg DST.LOC one (26) "tamun l'e-lukene, lot'il piedī-t paj mon-i: tamun lot'il woman say-IND.INTR.3sG DST do.that-1|2:Ds.COND fire keep.burning-ss DST fire kin ejmeš-u-t?" ewre-lukene, kin gamie-t, (27) a walk-1|2:Ds.cond who help-fut:ind.tr.1sg intj who pay-e-fut:interr.3sg and(Rus.) (28) "von tamun staršij-gi mon-i. babushka omo-t'e head(Rus.)-poss.3 say-ind.intr.3sg there(Rus.) old.woman(Rus.) be.good-JPTCP DST amde-dejne, mahil-gi l'e-j," (29) "tamun min-gek, mon-i. coat-poss.3 exist-ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg DST take-IMP.FUT.2sg die-poss.3:Ds.cond (30) babushka soskochila. (31) "ēj met mahil babushka amde-dejne." old.woman(Rus.) die-poss.3:Ds.cond the.old.woman.jumped.up(Rus.) INTI 1sg coat nilgi-ŋin el=tadi-teje!" (32) i starik soskochil. mon-i. anyone-DAT NEG=give-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG and.the.old.man.jumped.up(Rus.) (33) "vot ty budesh' myt' šowhorā šowho!" now.you'll.wash.the.dish(Rus.)

(19) They had a look at them. (20) Didn't they die? (21) "Well, we should get fire alight. (22) We should look after the fire." (23) "Then, well···(24) Who will pay?" (25) One woman said, (26) "If I come here to get fire alight, who will pay for that?" (27) And the head said, (28) "There is a good coat of the old woman over there. (29) Take it, if she died, if the old woman died." (30) The old woman jumped up, (31) "Eh, I'll not give my coat to anybody!" (32) And the old man jumped up, (33) "Now you'll wash the dishes!"

(19) 彼らは見た。(20) 死んでいないだろうか?(21)「それなら、火を燃やしておかなくちゃ。(22) 火の面倒をみなければならないよ」(23)「それなら、(24) 誰が(それに対して)支払ってくれるんだい?」(25) ある女が言った:(26)「それをやったら、(火を絶やさないためにここに) 通ったら、誰が助けてくれる、いや、誰が支払ってくれるんだい?」(27) すると族長が言った。(28)「ほらあそこにばあさんの良いコートがある。(29) それをもらえばいいさ、死んだのなら、ばあさんが死んだのなら」(30) おばあさんは飛び出してきた。(31)「わたしのコートは誰にもやらないよ!」(32) おじいさんも飛び出してきた。(33)「ほら、おまえが皿を洗うんだぞ」

## 20 There Lived an Old Man and His Wife

Recorded on 27 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) pulun-die terike-de-n'e modo-ŋi. (2) tamun nār l'e-ŋi. old.man-dim old.woman-poss.3-com sit-pl:ind.intr.3 dst always exist-pl:ind.intr.3
- (3) pulun-die leme-le mon-toj, terike, terike n'eqanin old.man-dim what-ins say-fut:ind.intr.3sg old.woman old.woman indf:when

al=ā tāt. (4) t'umu tude tude, tudel'e-le neg=make(-ind.intr.3sg) anph:adv all 3sg:gen 3sg:gen 3sg:subst-ins

ā-nnu-m. (5) po-svoemu ā-nnu-m. (6) d'e tātl'elle ... make-нвт-ind.tr.3sg in.one's.own.way(Rus.) make-нвт-ind.tr.3sg intj then

(7) ē terike-gi tāt l'ie-nnu-l. (8) pulun-die terike-gi ōžī-ge INTJ old.woman-poss.3 ANPH:ADV exist-hbt-sf old.man-dim old.woman-poss.3 water-loc pemerie-l'el. (9) taŋ pulun-die madā-j. roll.down-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) dst.attr old.man-dim sit:inch-ind.intr.3sg

(10) anabuskā-ge madā-j. (11) i t'ande, unuŋ-ge t'ande dugout.canoe-loc sit:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG and(Rus.) up river-loc up aŋt'ī-jī-m, tude terike-gele. (12) taŋ šoromo-pul mon-ŋi:

look.for-ven-ind.tr.3sg 3sg:gen old.woman-acc dst.attr person-pl say-pl:ind.intr.3

(13) "pulut, qaŋide qaŋide kebej-k adiŋin tet unuŋ-ge t'ande? (14) tet old.man where where leave:PFV-INTERR.2SG MED.DIR 2SG river-LOC up 2SG terike ōžī-ge löwdi-t'. (15) ledude kebe-t'." old.woman water-LOC fall-IND.INTR.3SG down leave:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG

(1) There lived an old man and his wife. (2) They lived so all the time. (3) When the old man asked her to do anything, the old woman never did it. (4) She always did everything in her own way. (5) She did in her own way. (6) Then ... (7) Eh, the old woman was like that. (8) The old woman fell into the river. (9) The old man got into it. (10) He got into the dugout. (11) And he went upstream to search for his wife. (12) People said, (13) "Old Man, where are you going upstream? (14) Your wife fell down into the river. (15) And she floated downstream."

(1) おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(2) 彼らはいつもこうだった。(3) おじいさんが何か言っても、おばあさんは決してそれに従わなかった。(4) 何でも自分のやりたいようにやった。(5) 自分のやりたいようにやった。(6) そして....、(7) ああ、おばあさんがそうだったんだよ。(8) おばあさんは川に転がり落ちた。(9) そのおじいさんは乗った。(10) 丸木舟に乗った。(11) そして川上へ...、川上へ探しに行った、自分の妻を。(12) 人々は言った。(13)「じいさんよ、どこへ行こうっていうんだ、川上へ?(14) おまえの妻は川に落ちた。(15) (そして)下流へ流れていったんだぞ」

- (16) a tudel mon-i: (17) "taŋnigi tāt l'ie-nnu-j. (18) met and(Rus.) 3sG say-ind.intr.3sg then ANPH:ADV exist-HBT-IND.INTR.3sG 1s<sub>G</sub> mon-toje, t'umu t'ahide ā-nnu-m. (19) met mon-ōl-gele say-fut:ind.intr.1sg all the.other.way make-нвт-IND.TR.3sG 1sg say-rn-acc n'eqanin el=medi. (20) met, tudel, tudel pemere-lle ōžī-ge INDF:when NEG=hear(-IND.INTR.3sg) roll.down-ss.seq water-loc 1sg 3sg 3s<sub>G</sub> (21) met t'ande ant'ī-jī-t." (22) naoborot float:pfv-ind.intr.3sg 1sg up look.for-ven-fut:ind.tr.1sg the.other.way(Rus.) (23) "vot takzhe l'ie-nnu-j," starukha tāt here(Rus.) again(Rus.) old.woman(Rus.) ANPH:ADV exist-HBT-IND.INTR.3sG make-IND.TR.3sG (24) "met-kele t'umu t'ahide ā-nnu-m." mon-i. the.other.way make-HBT-IND.TR.3SG say-ind.intr.3sg 1sg-acc
- (16) He said, (17) "She is like that. (18) Everything I tell her, she is always doing the opposite. (19) She never listens to me. (20) She fell down into the river and floated downriver. (21) So, I shall go to search for her upstream." (22) He did the opposite. (23) "Then, the old woman was also the same. (24) Everything I say, she is doing the opposite."
- (16) 彼は言った: (17)「彼女はいつもこうだ。(18) わたしが何か言うと、いつも反対のことをする。(19) わたしの言うことを決して聞かなかった。(20) 彼女は転がり落ちて川下へ流れ去った。(21) (だから) わたしは川上へ探しに行く」(22) 彼は反対のことをした。(23)「ばあさんもそうだった。(24) わたしの言うことをすべてに反対にやる」

## 21 Crow

Recorded on 29 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

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(1) parnā··· nodo merej-ni.
                                        (2) puge-l,
                                                      puge-l,
                                                                puge-l
                                                                          l'e-nin,
             bird fly:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                           be.hot-an be.hot-an that.one-dat
mieste-nin kebej-ni.
                                                                             (4) "parnā, tet
                                                parnā-nin mon-i:
                                   (3) a
place-dat leave:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
                                      and(Rus.) crow-dat say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                                                 crow
                                                                                         2s<sub>G</sub>
qadun-ge t'ugōj t'u kak_eto...
                                          (5) qadun-ge lejdī-mek
which-Loc
                      how.to.say.this(Rus.)
                                              which-LOC know-IND.TR.2SG be.like.that-JPTCP
t'uge? (6) tet mit qon-tejli,
                                        tet tā
                                                     l'e-iek.
           2SG 1PL go-FUT:IND.INTR.1PL 2SG DST.LOC exist-IND.INTR.2SG
(7) kebej-tīli,
                                            pon'ō-jek.
                                                                 (8) pundu-k
   leave:pfv-fut:ind.intr.1pl 2sg prox:loc remain-ind.intr.2sg
                                                                    tell-IMP.2SG INTI
                                                                                         2s<sub>G</sub>
                         t'uge lejdī-mek."
                                                (10) el=pundōl'.
qadun-ge omo-t'e
                                                                                (11) tāt
which-LOC be.good-JPTCP track know-IND.TR.2SG
                                                     NEG=tell:DES(-IND.INTR.3SG)
                                                                                     ANPH:ADV
köwdie-nā.
                     (12) köwde-nā
                                          köwde-nā.
                                                          (13) i
                                                                         t'umu
beat:INCH-PL:IND.TR.3
                          beat-pl:ind.tr.3 beat-pl:ind.tr.3
                                                               and(Rus.) all
pugelbie-de-jle t'umu jelde-ηā.
                                       (14) tāt
                                                       embe-i
                                                                     lebie l'e-gen,
                                            ANPH:ADV be.black-JPTCP land that.one-PROL
hair-poss.3-Acc all
                       pick-pl:IND.TR.3
pon'qo pugelbie-gen embe-j=bed-ek
                                               ukej-l.
                                                             (15) tamun lani
light
        hair-prol
                      be.black-JPTCP=NMLZ-FOC go.out:PFV-SF
el=pundu-nnu-j.
                          (16) tak
                                             el=pundu-j.
NEG=tell-HBT-IND.INTR.3SG
                               like.this(Rus.) NEG=tell-IND.INTR.3SG
```

(1) Birds flew away. (2) They flew away to a warm place. (3) And they asked the crow,

(1) 鳥たちは飛び去った。(2) 暖かい、暖かい…、暖かいあれへ、場所へ飛び去った。(3) カラスに尋ねた:(4)「カラスよ、おまえはどうして…(5) どうしてそんな道を知っているんだい?(6) わたしたちが行くと、おまえはあそこにいる。(7) わたしたちが出発すると、おまえはここに残っている。(8) 教えてくれ、(9) どうして良い道を知っているんだい?」(10) カラスは話したがらなかった。(11) すると鳥たちはカラスを殴りはじめた。(12) 殴りに殴った。(13) カラスの羽毛をすべてむしった。(14) するとあれのかわりに白い羽毛のかわりに黒いのが生えてきた。(15) そうなるまでカラスは話したがらなかった。(16) 話さなかった。

<sup>(4) &</sup>quot;Crow, how do you know ... how to say this ... (5) How do you know such a short way?

<sup>(6)</sup> When we arrive, you are already here. (7) When we fly off, you remain here. (8) Tell us.

<sup>(9)</sup> How do you know such a good way?" (10) The crow didn't want to tell them. (11) So, they started beating him. (12) They beat and beat him. (13) They plucked all his feathers off. (14) Then, instead of white feathers, black ones grew. (15) That's how much he didn't want to tell them. (16) The crow never told.

## 21 Crow (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

(17) ti	ittel merej-ŋi,	tudel	tī	po	n'ō-j.	(	18) tittel p	ouge-l
3	PL fly:pfv-pl:ind.intr	.3 3sg	PROX:LO	ren	nain-IND.	intr.3sg	3pl b	e.hot-an
•	ge jaqa-ŋi, oc arrive-pl:IND.INTR.3				l'e-j. exist-ini		(19) vot here(F	tamun Rus.) DST
	l=pundu-nnu-j, ieg=tell-нвт-ind.inтr.3s			` '		1 0	ulumu-l run.out-AN	3
, ,	prjamyj_da? bstinate.isn't.he(Rus.)							

<sup>(17)</sup> When the birds flew off, he remained here. (18) When they arrived at the warm place, the crow was already there. (19) The crow never told, you see, (20) Till he lost all his feathers. (21) He was stubborn, wasn't he?

<sup>(17)</sup> 彼らが飛び去るとき、カラスはここに残っている。(18) 彼らが暖かい土地に着くと、カラスはすでにそこにいる。(19) それぐらいまで話さなかったんだ、わかる? (20) 自分の羽毛がなくなるまで。(21) 強情でしょ?

# 22 We Used to Have a Very Poor Life

t'itte\_t'umu šašahaj-dele

āi

tear:PFV-ss.seq again wear-HBT-IND.TR.1PL

Recorded on 22 September 2002 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

(1) mit tudā ochen' modo-jōn-pe ō-d'īli. 1PL before very(Rus.) poorly(Rus.) sit-JPTCP:NMLZ-PL COP-IND.INTR.1PL öil'e. (2) legō-tej=ben (3) n'āde-me ōžī eat:RES-FUT:JPTCP=NMLZ not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) automn-тмр water (4) navodnenie t'omō-tej. t'omō-tei. (5) anil öjl'e. be.big-fut:IND.INTR.3sG flood(Rus.) be.big-fut:IND.INTR.3sG fish not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) (6) āj t'ied'e-me lek-tel=ben öil'e. (7) lem-dik again coldness-TMP eat-FUT:AN=NMLZ not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) what-Foc lek-tel? (8) lendōl'-d'īli. (9) vsë vremja lendōl'-d'īli, eat-FUT:OF.1PL eat:DETR:DES-IND.INTR.1PL always(Rus.) eat:DETR:DES-IND.INTR.1PL lendōl'-i-lek lendōl'-d'īli. (10) toľko önme-ge pon'ō-l only(Rus.) eat:DETR:DES-E-FOC mind-LOC remain-SF 1SG-LOC eat:DETR:DES-IND.INTR.1PL (11) toľko lendōl'-i-lek, nār lendōl'-i-t nār lendōl'-i-t. (12) mit only(Rus.) eat:detr:des-e-foc always eat:detr:des-e-ss always eat:detr:des-e-ss 1<sub>PL</sub> nier šašahō-nu-i. (13) t'umut irkin nier-ek morie-nnu-l. cloth tear:RES-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG all cloth-гос wear-нвт-ог.1pl be.small-ss irkin nier moro-tej. (15) tamun bojt'e šašahaj-dele āj kudul-n'e-t, cloth put.on-fut:ind.tr.1pl completely tear:PFV-ss.seq again grime-PROP-ss DST

(1) We used to have a very poor life. (2) There was no food. (3) In autumn, there came a lot of water. (4) There was a big flood. (5) There was no fish. (6) In winter too, there was no food. (7) What could we eat? (8) We were hungry. (9) We were hungry all the time, very hungry. (10) I remember only that we were hungry. (11) Only that we were hungry, hungry all the time, hungry all the time ... (12) Our clothes were in rags. (13) We all were wearing the same clothes. (14) When we were small, we wore the same clothes. (15) The clothes were in rags, but we wore them still.

morie-nnu-j.

(1) わたしたちはかつてとても貧乏に暮らしていた。(2) 食べるものはなかった。(3) 秋に大水になる。(4) 大変な洪水になる。(5) 魚はなかった。(6) 冬にも食べるものがなかった。(7) いったい何を食べるというのか?(8) お腹を空かせていた。(9) いつもお腹を空かせていた、お腹を空かせていた。(10) ただお腹を空かせていたことだけがわたしの記憶に残っている。(11) ただお腹を空かせていたことだけが、いつもお腹が空いていて、いつもお腹が空いていて。(12) わたしたちの服はぼろぼろだった。(13) わたしたちはみな、1 着の服を着ていた。(14) 小さいときに1 着の服を着る。(15) それはすっかり破れてしまって、さらに汚れていて、すっかり破れてしまっても、わたしたちはまだ着ていたものだ。

```
(16) et'ie, jālō-d'īli,
                                        et'ie met-ek. (17) trinadtsat',
                                                                          kun'el jālbudi
                                emej
     father be.three-IND.INTR.1PL mother father 1sg-PRD
                                                            thirteen(Rus.) thirteen
n'amalhil-ge vmeste
                            inrō-jīli.
                                              (18) nār
                                                          lot'il-ek emej
                                                                           t'ine-temle.
             together(Rus.) sleep-IND.INTR.1PL
                                                   always fire-FOC mother chop-FUT:OF.3sG
year-Loc
(19) nār
                                     (20) tudel tol'ko.
            lot'il-ek t'ine-temle.
                                                           (21) a
                                                                          īle-pul
                                                                and(Rus.) other-PL
     always fire-FOC chop-FUT:OF.3sG
                                          3sg
                                                only(Rus.)
                    nume-ge. (22) jöwluge jō! (23) irkid'e beremennyj
modo-nitei
sit-pl:fut:ind.intr.3 house-loc
                                    dear
                                             INTJ
                                                              pregnant(Rus.)
                                                       once
                    (24) tamun t'omō-d'e
ō-d'ōd-ek.
                                            l'e
                                                     jarqa el'ejī-t, lot'il el'ejī-din, tamun
COP-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD
                        DST
                                be.big-JPTCP that.one ice
                                                           carry-ss fire
                                                                         carry-purp DST
löwdi-t'.
                (25) uö-gi
                                 löwdi-t',
                                                  i
                                                            bol'she
                                                                       öil'e.
                     child-poss.3 fall-ind.intr.3sg and(Rus.) more(Rus.) not.exist(-ind.intr.3sg)
fall-IND.INTR.3sG
                       zhalko
                                      ō-d'ōd-ek,
                                                          jöwluge jō, emej jō!
(26) emej
            ochen'
     mother very(Rus.) miserable(Rus.) cop-jptcp:nmlz-prd dear
                                                                   INTI mother INTI
(27) tamun iner lem-dik? (28) et'ie tozhe
                                                  ugijel-me
                                                               kebej-dele
                                                                               gamunde
            apart what-PRD
                                 father also(Rus.) morning-TMP leave:PFV-ss.seo how.many:INDF
pod'erqo-ge öjl'e-ti.
                                       (29) gamunde
                                                           pod'erqo-ge el=lende-t'uön
day-Loc
             not.exist-fut:IND.INTR.3sg
                                           how.many:INDF day-Loc
                                                                        NEG=eat:DETR-SS.ABES
ewre-lle
                                  (30) īdejnede chto – nibud'
            kel-tei.
                                                                  ket'ī-m.
walk-ss.seo come-fut:IND.INTR.3sg
                                       sometimes something(Rus.) bring-IND.TR.3SG
(31) īdejnede öjl'e.
                                       (32) tāt
                                                      modo-jōn-pe
                                                                       ō-d'īli.
     sometimes not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg)
                                           ANPH:ADV sit-JPTCP:NMLZ-PL COP-IND.INTR.1PL
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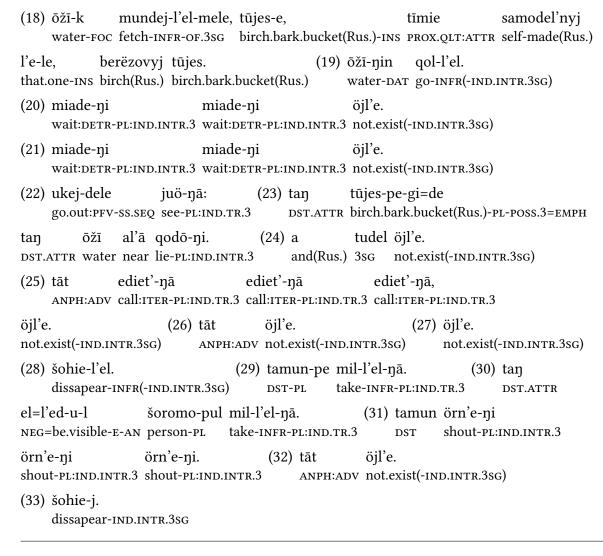
(16) There were three of us: Mother, Father, and I. (17) We slept together till I was thirteen years of age. (18) Mother was chopping wood all the time. (19) She was chopping wood all the time. (20) Only she was chopping wood. (21) And others were sitting at home. (22) My poor mother! (23) Once, she was pregnant. (24) She carried large pieces of ice and wood, and she miscarried. (25) She miscarried and couldn't have children anymore. (26) I felt really sorry for my mother, my poor mother! (27) What else was there? (28) Father too. He left early in the morning and was absent for several days. (29) He spent several days without food and came back. (30) Sometimes he brought back something. (31) And sometimes he didn't. (32) So we lived.

(16) わたしたち家族は 3 人だった、母さん、父さん、わたしだ。(17) 13 才のときまでいっしょに寝ていた。(18) いつも薪を母さんが割る。(19) いつも薪を割る。(20) 彼女だけ。(21) ほかの人たちは家で座っていた。(22) 可哀想に!(23) あるとき彼女は妊娠していた。(24) 大きな氷を運んで、薪を運んで、流産してしまった。(25) 赤ん坊を流産してしまって、そして子供はもうできなかった。(26) 母さんはとても可哀想だった、可哀想に、母さん!(27) ほかに何があっただろうか?(28) 父さんだって朝に出発すると、何日間かいない。(29) 何日間か食事せずに歩いてから帰って来る。(30) 時には何か食べ物を持って来た。(31) 時には持って来なかった。(32) こんな風にわたしたちは暮らしていたんだ。

# 23 When I Was Small, There Were "Escaping People"

Recorded on 14 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (1) met jukō-luke šegužu-i šoromo-k tannigi egužu-l'el-nil. (2) mit 1sg be.small-1|2:ds escape:iter-jptcp person-foc then walk:iter-infr-pl:sf 1<sub>PL</sub> et'ie t'umut modo-ni, (3) tude nume-ge jurta-ge mother father all 3sg:gen house-loc yurta(Rus.)-loc sit-pl:ind.intr.3 modo-l'el-ni, el=l'en-d'e šoromo-pul pude, pude (4) tan sit-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 DST.ATTR NEG=be.visible-JPTCP person-PL outside outside (6) a kel-l'el-ni. (5) töwke oj-m, oj-ŋā. bark.at-IND.TR.3sg bark.at-PL:IND.TR.3 and(Rus.) come-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 dog töwke-get šegužu-ni. šegužu-ni tittel. (7) tan escape:iter-pl:ind.intr.3 3pl DST.ATTR dog-ABL escape:ITER-PL:IND.INTR.3 irkid'e gārbas lodka, gārbas-ek peššej-l'el-nile. boat(Rus.) boat-foc throw:pfv-infr-pl:of.3 DST.ATTR and(Rus.) once boat (11) a qārbas ierej-l'el. (10) uplyla. tittel tan DST.ATTR boat float:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) it.swam.away(Rus.) and(Rus.) 3PL tamun-gele peššej-l'el-pe-gi, a kak uznat'? (12) sobaki lajut. (13) töwke-gi DST-ACC throw:pfv-infr-pl-poss.3 how.to.know(Rus.) dogs.bark(Rus.) dog-poss.3 oi-nā. (14) a el=l'en-ni. (15) el=l'en-ni. bark.at-pl:IND.TR.3 and(Rus.) NEG=be.visible-PL:IND.INTR.3 NEG=be.visible-pl:IND.INTR.3 (16) absoliutno el=l'en-ni. (17) tudel ōžī-nin gol-l'el. absolutely(Rus.) NEG=be.visible-PL:IND.INTR.3 water-dat go-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) 3sg
- (1) When I was small, there were "escaping people." (2) Mother and Father were sitting. (3) They were sitting at home, in the yurt. (4) There came the invisible people. (5) Dogs started barking. (6) They escaped. (7) They escaped from the dogs. (8) Once, they untied a boat. (9) The boat floated away. (10) It floated away. (11) How was it known that they untied the boat? (12) Dogs were barking. (13) Dogs were barking. (14) But one couldn't see them. (15) One couldn't see them. (16) One couldn't see them at all. (17) Then, a woman went to the river.
- (1) わたしが小さかった頃、逃げ回る人々がその頃徘徊していたそうだ。(2) 母、父、みんな座っていた。(3) 家の中で、ユルタの中で座っていた。(4) するとその姿の見えない人々は外に来た。(5) 犬が吠えた。(6) 彼らは逃げ回った。(7) その犬から逃げ回った。(8) そしてあるとき彼らは舟を放った。(9) その舟は流れ去ってしまった。(10) 流れ去ってしまった。(11) 彼らが舟を放ったことがどうして分かるのか。(12) 犬が吠えたんだ。(13) 犬が吠えかかったんだ。(14) (しかし) 彼らの姿は見えなかった。(15) 見えなかった。(16) まったく見えなかった。(17) それから、ある女が川へ行った。



(18) She went to get water with home-made birch buckets. (19) She went to get water. (20) People waited, waited for her, but she didn't return. (21) People waited, waited for her, but she didn't return. (22) They went out to have a look. (23) Only her buckets were lying on the bank. (24) But she wasn't there. (25) They started calling her, but she wasn't there. (26) She wasn't there. (27) She wasn't there. (28) She had disappeared. (29) They had taken her away. (30) The invisible people took her with them. (31) People called her several times. (32) But she wasn't there. (33) She disappeared.

(18) 水を汲みに行った、桶をもって、こういう手作りの、白樺製の桶をもって。(19) 水を汲みに行った。(20) 待てども待てども帰ってこなかった。(21) 待てども待てども帰ってこなかった。(22) 外に出て見た。(23) 彼女の桶だけが水辺にあった。(24) そして彼女はいなかった。(25) そして呼べども呼べども彼女はいなかった。(26) いなかった。(27) いなかった。(28) 消えてしまった。(29) 彼らがさらってしまったんだ。(30) その姿の見えない人々が彼女をさらってしまった。(31) 人々は何度も叫んだ。(32) それでもいなかった。(33) いなくなった。

```
(34) a_potom
                   dolgo l'elle,
                                       sejchas ne budem ob etom govorit',
    and.then(Rus.) for.a.long.time(Rus.) now.we.will.not.talk.about.this(Rus.)
ja noch'ju bojus'.
                        (35) a
                                       eto,
I'm.scared.at.night(Rus.)
                            and(Rus.) this.one(Rus.) ANPH:ADV come-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg)
                                          n'āt'e-gi. (37) tamun mol-l'el-ni:
(36) bojt'e
                naqā eri-t',
    completely very be.bad-IND.INTR.3sg face-poss.3
                                                                  say-infr-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                          DST
(38) "gon l'e-jek?
                              (39) qadun-ge l'e-jek?
                                                                (40) met tet-ul
    where exist-IND.INTR.2SG
                                   which-Loc exist-IND.INTR.2sG
                                                                     1sg 2sg-acc
                                          ediet'."
ediet'
                     ediet'
call:ITER(-IND.TR.1sg) call:ITER(-IND.TR.1sg) call:ITER(-IND.TR.1sg)
(41) el=pundu-l'el.
                                 (42) prikazali_zhe_tittel. (43) "el=pundu-lek,
    NEG=tell-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)
                                      they.ordered(Rus.)
                                                                 NEG=tell-proh.2sg
                         (44) a_potom_dumali.
to khuzhe budet."
                                                          (45) et'ie, irkin djadja
then.it.will.be.worse(Rus.)
                              and.then.they.thought(Rus.)
                                                               father one uncle(Rus.)
                                                (47) qon nun-nitem?
                                                                                (48) lem-dik
l'ie-l'el-u-l.
               (46) tāt
                              qodo uznat'?
                    ANPH:ADV how know(Rus.)
                                                     where find-pl:fut:ind.tr.3
exist-INFR-E-SF
                                                                                     what-Foc
ewre-nil? (49) töwke oj-nā.
                                          (50) el=l'en-ni.
                                                                           (51) tamun
walk-pl:sf
               dog
                       bark.at-pl:ind.tr.3
                                               NEG=be.visible-pl:IND.INTR.3
                                                                                DST
                                   (52) chelovechie_sledy,
pesok-ke
              juö-l'el-ŋā.
                                                               ē
                                                                    šoromo-n t'uge-k.
                                        human.footprints(Rus.) INTJ person-GEN track-PRD
sand(Rus.)-LOC see-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3
(53) t'umu noj-pe-gi
                         t'umu pugelbie-n'e-j.
                                                       (54) sejchas ne budem govorit',
    all
            leg-PL-POSS.3 all
                                hair-prop-ind.intr.3sg
                                                            we.will.not.talk.now(Rus.)
ja bojus'
I'm.scared(Rus.)
```

(34) And, then, for a long time ··· let's not talk about this now; I am afraid at night. (35) So, she returned. (36) Her face was so terrible. (37) People asked, (38) "Where were you? (39) Where were you? (40) We were calling out for you." (41) She didn't tell them anything. (42) She had been told, (43) "Don't tell and it'll be worse." (44) Then they had some thought (of finding out). (45) There were Father and Uncle. (46) How did they know? (47) How did they find out? (48) What was roaming? (49) Dogs were barking. (50) But they couldn't be seen. (51) They saw on the sand (52) Footprints of a man. Yes, there were footprints of a man on the sand. (53) Their legs were really hairy. (54) Let's not talk about this now; I am afraid.

(34) それから長いこと、今は話さないよ、夜中におっかないから。(35) で、彼女は帰ってきた。(36) とてもひどかった、その顔は。(37) 人々は言った:(38)「どこにいたんだい?(39) どこにいたんだい?(40) わたしはおまえを何度も呼んだのに」(41) 話さなかった。(42) 命令されたんだ。(43)「話してはならない、さもないと悪いことが起こるぞ」(44) で、考えた。(45) 父とおじさんがいた。(46) どうしたら分かるだろうか?(47) どこで見つけられるだろうか?(48) 何が歩いているのか?(49) 犬が吠えかかった。(50) 彼らの姿は見えなかった。(51) 砂の上に見た。(52) 人間の足跡、ああ、人間の足跡だ。(53) 彼らの足は毛むくじゃらだった。(54) 今はしゃべらないことにしよう、おっかないから。

## 24 Once Mother Said

Recorded on 29 August 2003 from Agaf'ya Grigor'evna Shadrina, in the village of Kolymskoe, the Magadan Region.

- (2) "mido-jīli." (1) emej irkid'e nied'i-j. (3) emei evenka mother once talk-IND.INTR.3sG roam-IND.INTR.1PL mother female.ewen(Rus.) (5) t'umu bednyj-pe ō-d'ōd-ek. (4) "mido-jīli. ō-d'īli." roam-IND.INTR.1PL poor(Rus.)-PL COP-IND.INTR.1PL COP-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD all (6) "tamun, lendōl'-dele lendōl'-dele mit irkin=de āt'e mon-i. say-IND.INTR.3sG eat:DETR:DES-SS.SEQ eat:DETR:DES-SS.SEQ 1PL one=EMPH reindeer DST kudde-j," mon-i. (7) "tamun gamunde nume garte-i how.many:INDF house divide-IND.TR.1PL DST.ATTR kill-ind.tr.1pl say-ind.intr.3sg DST mere-l. (9) a (8) t'omparnā mimo tā irkin pōŋō-d'e by(Rus.) fly-sf and(Rus.) DST.LOC one be.orphan-JPTCP meat-poss.3 raven l'e-i=bed-ek. (10) ē vdova. t'omparnā ann'e-de woman exist-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD widow(Rus.) INTJ raven speak-ss.sim mudde-t'. kimdān'e-t  $(11) \bar{a}$ mon-i.  $(12) \bar{e}$ tan paj pass:detr:pfv-ind.intr.3sg INTJ DST.ATTR woman say-IND.INTR.3SG INTI deceive-ss l'e-jek! (13) t'omparnā mon-i: (14) tit nonōn tit poslednij ANPH:ADV exist-IND.INTR.2SG raven say-ind.intr.3sg 2PL why 2PL last(Rus.) tett'ie-k āt'e kudede-met? (15) kel-tel pod'erqo-ho ten-n'e-j come-fut:AN day-LOC reindeer kill-interr.2pl wealth-PROP-JPTCP rich.person-FOC nuk-temet. (16) āt'e-le tadi-tem tudel. min-nitem reindeer-ins take-pl:fut:ind.tr.3 give-fut:ind.tr.3sg 3sg find-fut:of.2pl
- (1) Once mother said, (2) "We were roaming." (3) My mother was Even. (4) "We were roaming. (5) We all were poor. (6) We were starving and killed our only reindeer. (7) We divided the meat between several houses." (8) A crow was flying by. (9) And there was one widow. (10) "A crow flew and talked." (11) The woman said so. (12) "You are lying!" people said to the woman. (13) "The crow said, (14) 'Why did you kill your last reindeer? (15) Tomorrow, you'll meet a rich man. (16) He will give you a reindeer."
- (1) 母さんがあるとき言った。(2)「わたしたちは移動していた」(3) 母さんはエウェン人だったんだ。(4)「わたしたちは移動していた。(5) みな貧しかった」彼女は言った。(6)「お腹が空いてお腹が空いて、わたしたちの唯一のトナカイを殺した。(7) そのトナカイの肉を何軒かの家で分けあった」(8) オオガラスがそばを飛んでいた。(9) そこに身寄りのない女がいたんだ、身寄りのない女が。(10)「オオガラスがしゃべりながら通り過ぎた」(11) 彼女はこう言った。(12)(すると人々は言った)「おまえは嘘をついてるな!」(13)「オオガラスはこう言ったんだ。(14) おまえたちはどうして最後のトナカイを殺してしまったのだ?(15) 明日、おまえたちは金持ちに会うだろうに。(16) 彼はトナカイをおまえたちにくれるだろうに —」

## 24 Once Mother Said (told by A.G. Shadrina in 2003)

- (17) ugijel-me qanā-ŋi. (18) tak\_i\_est'. (19) taŋ tett'ie-gele morning-TMP roam.away-PL:IND.INTR.3 it.is.so(Rus.) DST.ATTR rich.person-ACC nug-u-l'el-ŋā. (20) nu tett'ie vsë ravno tadi-tem. find-e-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 well(Rus.) rich.person anyway(Rus.) give-fut:ind.tr.3sg belka tadi-ŋitem. (21) togda tam (22) vot\_ona\_znaet. at.that.time(Rus.) squirrel(Rus.) there(Rus.) give-pl:fut:ind.tr.3 she.does.know(Rus.)
- (23) t'omparnā ažū-gele ponimaet. (24) vidish'?" (25) i\_vsë. raven word-ACC she.understands(Rus.) you.see(Rus.) and.that's.all(Rus.)
- (17) The next morning, they walked. (18) That was what happened. (19) They found a rich man. (20) Anyway, the rich man gave them a reindeer. (21) And they gave him a squirrel. (22) She really knew. (23) She understood the crow's speech. (24) You see? (25) And that's all.
- (17) 翌朝彼らは出発した。(18) そのとおりだった。(19) 彼らはその金持ちを見つけた。(20) まあ、金持ちはそれでもやっぱりトナカイをくれた。(21) 彼らはリスを(交換に)やった。(22) ほら、彼女は知っているんだよ。(23) オオガラスの言葉が分かるんだ。(24) わかった? (25) おしまい。

## 25 There Lived an Old Woman and Her Husband

Recorded on 29 August 2006 from Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

- (1) irkin terike pulun-die-die-n'e modo-l'el-ni. (2) modo-nidege jān old.woman old.man-dim-dim-prop sit-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 sit-pl:poss.3:ps three šoromo kel-l'el. pulun-die-die-n'e (3) tan terikie-die DST.ATTR old.woman-DIM old.man-DIM-DIM-PROP person come-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) marqil'-n'ā-l'el-ni irkin. (4) irkin uö-n'ie-l'el-ni, marqil'. (5) all'odī girl-prop-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 one one child-prop-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 girl very īli-t'e marqil' ō-l'el. (6) d'e taŋ šoromo-pul be.beautiful-JPTCP girl COP-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG) INTJ DST.ATTR person-PL kel-nidege marqil'-nin mon-i: šöw-l'el-ni. (7) emej-gi come-pl:poss.3:ds enter-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 mother-poss.3 girl-dat say-ind.intr.3sg (8) "ta tin (9) legite-k." šoromo-pul t'āj-e ōžeš, INTJ PROX:ATTR person-PL tea-INS drink:CAUS(-IMP.2SG) eat:CAUS-IMP.2SG t'āj ōžā-ni, (10) tāt (11) lendie-ni, (12) nied'i-ni. ANPH:ADV tea drink-pl:IND.INTR.3 eat:DETR:INCH-PL:IND.INTR.3 talk-pl:ind.intr.3 nied'i-lle pulun-die-die iowlet'-u-m: (14) "nonon tit tī 2PL PROX:LOC ANPH:ADV talk-ss.seq old.man-dim-dim ask-e-ind.tr.3sg why kie-t'emet mit-in? (15) mit jūke modo-jīli=el'e." (16) tabun-ge irkin köj come-IND.INTR.2PL 1PL-DAT 1PL far sit-IND.INTR.1PL=SFC DST-LOC one šoromo-pul-get: (17) "mon-ni. mon-i tan say-IND.INTR.3sg DST.ATTR person-PL-ABL say-pl:IND.INTR.3
- (1) There lived an old woman and her husband. (2) They lived, and three men came to them. (3) The old man and the old woman had a daughter. (4) They had a child, a daughter. (5) She was very beautiful. (6) Those people arrived and entered the house. (7) The mother told her daughter, (8) "Give these people tea to drink. (9) Give them food to eat." (10) Then, they began to drink tea. (11) They began to eat. (12) They were talking. (13) After the talk, the old man

asked, (14) "Why did you come here, to us? (15) We live far away." (16) One of the people, a young one, said, (17) "People say,

(1) 1人のおばあさんとおじいさんが暮らしていた。(2) 彼らが暮らしていると、3人の人がやって来た。(3) おばあさんとおじいさんには娘がいた、1人の。(4) 子どもがいた、娘が。(5) とても美しい娘だった。(6) その人々はやって来て、家に入った。(7) 母親は娘に言った:(8) 「さあこの人たちにお茶を飲ませなさい。(9) 食事をさせなさい」(10) そして彼らはお茶を飲みはじめた。(11) 食事をはじめた。(12) 話をした。(13) 話をしてから、おじいさんは尋ねた:(14) 「なぜあなたたちはここに来たのか、わたしたちのところへ? (15) わたしたちは遠くに住んでいるのに」(16) するとそのうちの 1 人の若者が言った:(17) 「(人々は)言う。

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(18) šoromo-pul mon-ni:
                                   (19) tit-ke
                                                 omo-t'e
                                                               marqil' l'ie-l'el.
                  say-pl:IND.INTR.3
                                        2pl-loc be.good-JPTCP girl
                                                                        exist-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg)
    person-PL
               marqil' juö-din, (21) tit marqil' ubuj
                                                             omo-t'e
                                                                            marqil'
    DST.ATTR girl
                       see-purp
                                     2PL girl
                                                  that's.right be.good-JPTCP girl
ō-l'el."
                                            kude-l'el.
                        (22) juöle-ŋōt
                                                                        (23) juöle-nōt
                             evening-trans become-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
COP-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)
                                                                             evening-TRANS
                     (24) d'e jeŋrō-din l'e-ŋi.
kude-j.
                                                             (25) tāt
become-IND.INTR.3SG
                          INTJ sleep-purp exist-pl:IND.INTR.3
                                                                  ANPH:ADV INTJ
abudā-ŋi.
                      (26) abudā-dele
                                          jālō-t
                                                      abudā-ŋi.
                                                                             (27) mieste-le
                           lie.down-ss.seq be.three-ss lie.down-pl:ind.intr.3
lie.down-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                                  place-ins
                                (28) jālō-t
                                                abudā-ni,
                                                                                 köjpe-pul.
                 pol-ge.
make-pl:IND.TR.3 floor(Rus.)-LOC
                                     be.three-ss lie.down-pl:ind.intr.3 dst.attr man-pl
(29) irkin köj mon-i:
                                 (30) "pulun-die, kimd'eš,
                                                                       t'ūl'd'ī pundu-k
    one man say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                      old.man-DIM stand.firm(-IMP.2sg) tale
                                                                               tell-IMP.2sG
                                                      (32) "t'ūl'd'ī pundu-t.
mit-in." (31) tabun-ge pulun-die mon-i:
                                                                                       (33) met
             DST-LOC old.man-DIM say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                    tell-fut:ind.tr.1sg
                                                           tale
                                                                                            1s<sub>G</sub>
t'ūl'd'ī pundu-t t'emerej-l
                                  lani bojt'e
                                                  el=jeŋrū-ŋilek,
                                                                            (34) medi-t
       tell-ss
                 end:caus:pfv-an to
                                       completely NEG=fall.asleep-PL:PROH.2
                                                                                hear-ss
qodō-nik, (35) qodo mon-temet?"
                                                           pulun-die.
                                          mon-i
lie-pl:IMP.2
                how say-fut:interr.2pl say-ind.intr.3sg old.man-dim
(36) "el=jenrū-tejmet?"
                                     (37) mon-ŋi
                                                            adi-pe.
    NEG=fall.asleep-fut:IND.INTR.2PL
                                          say-pl:ind.intr.3 young.man-pl
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(18) People say that (19) You have a beautiful daughter. (20) We are here to see her. (21) Your daughter is really beautiful." (22) Night fell. (23) Night fell. (24) They prepared to go to sleep. (25) They lay down. (26) Three men lay down. (27) They prepared to sleep on the floor. (28) The three young men lay down to sleep. (29) One of them said, (30) "Old man, tell us a fairy tale, please." (31) Then, the old man said, (32) "I'll tell you a fairy tale. (33) But you shouldn't fall asleep until I finish my tale. (34) Lie down and listen. (35) Well, how is it? (36) Won't you fall asleep?" (37) The young men said.

(18) 人々は言う:(19) — あなたたちのところに美しい娘がいる — と (20) その娘を見るために来た。(21) あなたたちの娘は本当に美しい」(22) 夜になった。(23) 夜になった。(24) 彼らは眠る支度をした。(25) そして彼らは横になった。(26) 横たわって、3 人で横になった。(27) 寝る場所を床に作った。(28) 3 人で横になった、その若者たちは。(29) 1 人の若者が言った:(30)「おじいさん、お願いだ、昔話を話してくれわたしたちに」(31) するとおじいさんは言った:(32)「昔話を話してやろう。(33) ただしわたしが昔話を話し終えるまで決して眠ってはならない。(34) 聞きながら横たわっていなさい。(35) どうだい?」おじいさんは言った。(36)「眠らないかい?」(37) 若者たちは言った。

(38) adi-pe mon-ŋi: (39) "ell'ē, el=iŋrū-tejli." (40) l'e, young.man-PL say-PL:IND.INTR.3 NEG=fall.asleep-FUT:IND.INTR.1PL that.one no pulun-die-die mon-i. (41) t'ūl'd'ī-le pundu-m pundu-m. (42) tāt'ile old.man-dim-dim say-ind.intr.3sg tale-INS tell-IND.TR.3SG tell-IND.TR.3SG then (43) pulun-die-die mon-i. (44) tāt mon-i. jaqtā-j: say-IND.INTR.3sG old.man-dim-dim say-ind.intr.3sg ANPH:ADV sing:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG (45) "šāl-ņōt kude-teje. (46) šöil-nōt kude-teje. tree-trans become-fut:ind.intr.1sg stone-trans become-fut:ind.intr.1sg (47) polrit'e-ŋōt kude-dele, ileje-n'e merej-teje. (48) ul'ege-ŋōt leaf-trans become-ss.seq wind-com fly:pfv-fut:ind.intr.1sg grass-TRANS kude-teje. (49) jalhil-nōt kude-teje." (50) tāt'ile tāt become-fut:IND.INTR.1sg lake-trans become-fut:ind.intr.1sg then ANPH:ADV modo-t t'ūl'd'ī pundu-t pulun-die-die modo-j. (51) tan köjpe-p tale tell-ss tell-ss old.man-dim-dim sit-ind.intr.3sg sit-ss DST.ATTR man-PL lani juöde-t'. (52) köjpe-pul tudā jeŋrō-ŋi. see:DETR:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG before sleep-pl:IND.INTR.3 man-PL (53) jeŋrū-l'el-ŋi. (54) köjpe-pul tudā jeŋrū-l'el-ŋi. fall.asleep-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 man-PL before fall.asleep-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 (55) tāt'ile itt'iel'elle pulun-die-die (56) "jalhil-ŋōt āj mon-i: after.a.little.while old.man-DIM-DIM again say-IND.INTR.3sG lake-trans kude-teje." become-fut:IND.INTR.1sG

(38) The young men said, (39) "No, we'll not fall asleep." (40) The old man began. (41) He continued the tale. (42) He spoke. (43) The old man spoke. (44) Then, he started singing, (45) "I'll turn into a tree. (46) I'll turn into a stone. (47) I'll turn into a leaf and fly away with the wind. (48) I'll turn into grass. (49) I'll turn into a lake." (50) And the old man was sitting like this and telling a fairy tale. (51) He looked at the young men. (52) The young men were already sleeping for a long time. (53) They fell asleep. (54) The young men were already sleeping for a long time. (55) After a while, the old man said again, (56) "I'll turn into a lake."

(38) 若者たちは言った: (39)「いいや、眠らないさ」(40) おじいさんは言った。(41) 昔話を話し続けた。(42) それから言った。(43) おじいさんは言った。(44) こんな風に歌った: (45)「わたしは木になるだろう。(46) わたしは石になるだろう。(47) 葉っぱになって風とともに飛び去るだろう。(48) わたしは草になるだろう。(49) わたしは湖になるだろう」(50) それからこんな風に座って、昔話を話しながらおじいさんは座っていた。(51) 若者たちの方を見た。(52) 若者たちはだいぶ前に眠っていた。(53) 彼らは眠ってしまっていた。(54) 若者たちはだいぶ前に眠ってしまっていた。(55) それからしばらくしておじいさんは再び言った: (56)「わたしは湖になるだろう」

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qodo "jalhil-ŋōt kude-teje"
(57) pulun-die-die
                     tāt
                                                                           mon-i,
    old.man-dim-dim anph:adv how lake-trans become-fut:ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg
t'iste t'umu šešpedanil' ō-hon
                                      ōžī
                                            tan
                                                      (xxx). (58) tāt
                                                                            kude-t
             door
                         frame?-PROL water DST.ATTR
                                                                  ANPH:ADV become-ss
               itt'iel'elle
                                 t'umu pol-gele
                                                      l'e-lle
         ōžī
                                                                  polnyj
                                                                            ō-i
tan
DST.ATTR water after.a.little.while all
                                        floor(Rus.)-ACC exist-ss.seq full(Rus.) cop-ind.intr.3sg
         šoromo-pul jenrō-l mieste-gele. (59) pol
                                                            t'umu ōžī-ŋōt
DST.ATTR person-PL
                      sleep-AN place-ACC
                                                 floor(Rus.) all
                                                                   water-TRANS
                    (60) tabun-gele juö-ηam,
kude-j.
                                                    (61) mežžej-ni.
become-IND.INTR.3SG
                         DST-ACC
                                     see-pl:IND.TR.3
                                                         wake.up:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3
(62) tabun-gele juö-dele mežžej-nam
                                                            köjpe-pul. (63) irkin köj
                                                  tan
                see-ss.seq wake.up:pfv-pl:ind.tr.3 dst.attr man-pl
                  (64) "t'ugōn t'ugōn!" mon-i.
                                                           (65) "kebe-t'īli
örn'e-j:
shout-ind.intr.3sg
                       quickly quickly say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                               leave:pfv-ind.intr.1pl
kebe-t'īli!
                      (66) ukej-ŋik
                                              ukej-ŋik!
                                                                 (67) ōžī-ge
                           go.out:PFV-PL:IMP.2 go.out:PFV-PL:IMP.2
leave:pfv-ind.intr.1pl
                                                                     water-Loc
amde-tt'īli!"
                    (68) tāt'ile oknodanil' lani juöde-ni.
                                                                       (69) tāt'ile oknodaņil'
die-fut:IND.INTR.1PL
                         then
                               window
                                            to
                                                 see:DETR-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                                                            then
                                                                                   window
                    (70) okno-hon
                                           ōžī,
lani juö-nam:
                                                  tiŋ
                                                             okno-hon
                        window(Rus.)-PROL water PROX:ATTR window(Rus.)-PROL DST.ATTR
    see-pl:IND.TR.3
okno-hon
                         (71) taŋ
                                       köjpe-pul tami-ŋam.
                                                                          (72) tude
                                                  dress.oneself-pl:IND.TR.3
window(Rus.)-PROL water
                              DST.ATTR man-PL
                                                                               3sg:gen
nier-pe tami-dele
                           pude
                                   lanide šewrej-ni.
cloth-PL dress.oneself-ss.seq outside to
                                          escape:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
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(57) When the old man said, "I'll become a lake," water started leaking from under the door at once. (58) Soon, the water filled the entire floor where the young men were sleeping. (59) The entire floor was flooded. (60) They saw it. (61) They noticed. (62) The young men saw it, they noticed. (63) One young man shouted, (64) "Hurry up, quickly! (65) Let's get out! (66) Get out! (67) Or else we'll drown and die!" (68) They glanced toward the window. (69) They glanced toward the window. (70) The water started leaking through the window. (71) The young men put their clothes on. (72) They got dressed and ran outside.

(57) おじいさんが「わたしは湖になるだろう」と言うとすぐにドアから水が入ってきた。 (58) そうなって、その水はまもなく、その床を一面に満たした、その人々が眠っている場所を。 (59) 床はすっかり水浸しになった。 (60) 彼らはそれを見た、 (61) 気づいた。 (62) それを見て気づいた、その若者たちは。 (63) 1 人の若者が叫んだ: (64) 「はやく、はやく! (65) 行こう、行こう! (66) 外へ出ろ、外へ出ろ! (67) 水の中で死んでしまうぞ!」 (68) それから窓の方を見た。 (69) それから窓の方を見た。 (70) 窓から水が入ってきた、こっちの窓から、あっちの窓から。 (71) 若者たちは服を着た。 (72) 彼らは服を着て外へ逃げた。

- (73) taŋ pulun-die nume-get örn'e-j, šešpedaŋil' johodaj-dele.

  DST.ATTR old.man-DIM house-ABL shout-IND.INTR.3SG door open:CAUS:PFV-SS.SEQ
- (74) terikie-die āj. (75) nume-get örn'e-ŋi, šešpedaŋil' johodaj-dele. old.woman-ым again house-авы shout-рызидылтк.3 door open:саus:рfv-ss.seq
- (76) pulun-die-die mon-i. (77) tude nugen-e tāt ā-m. old.man-dim-dim say-ind.intr.3sg 3sg:gen hand-ins anph:adv make-ind.tr.3sg
- (78) pulun-die-die mon-i, nugen-e ā-de: (79) "tit-ket mit t'āšet t'umu old.man-DIM-DIM say-IND.INTR.3sg hand-INS make-ss.sim 2PL-ABL 1PL now all

amde-tt'îli tiŋ ōžī-ge. (80) mit nume jalhil-ŋōt kude-dil die-fut:ind.intr.1pl prox:attr water-loc 1pl house lake-trans become-purp

l'e-j." (81) itt'iel'elle pulun-die juö-m. (82) terikie-die-n'e after.a.little.while old.man-diм see-ind.тк.3sg exist-ind.intr.3sg old.woman-ым-сом ōžī molho qon-ni taŋide. (83) tāt juö-ηam tude marqil'-gele. go-pl:ind.intr.3 dst.dir ANPH:ADV see-PL:IND.TR.3 3SG:GEN girl-ACC water in

- (84) örn'e-ŋi: (85) "qadun-ge l'e-jek? (86) qadun-ge l'e-jek? shout-pl:ind.intr.3 which-loc exist-ind.intr.2sg which-loc exist-ind.intr.2sg
- (87) kelu-k kelu-k!" (88) marqil' öjl'e. (89) marqil' come-imp.2sg come-imp.2sg girl not.exist(-ind.intr.3sg) girl õžī-ge=de öjl'e, (90) nume-ge=de öjl'e. water-loc=emph not.exist(-ind.intr.3sg) house-loc=emph not.exist(-ind.intr.3sg)
- (91) tudā taŋ šoromo, irkin nume āj l'ie-l'el jūke juke-die. before dist.attr person one house again exist-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) far far-dim

(73) The old man yelled at them through the door. (74) The old woman yelled too. (75) They shouted from the house, opening the door. (76) The old man said and (77) He showed with his hand. (78) The old man said, showing with his hand, (79) "Now, we all will die because of you, drowned in the water. (80) Our house is turning into the lake." (81) Soon, the old man watched (82) The water flowing over him and the old woman. (83) They looked for their daughter. (84) They shouted, (85) "Where are you? (86) Where are you? (87) Get out, get out!" (88) The daughter was nowhere. (89) The daughter was not in the water. (90) Nor was she in the house. (91) At the time, there was one more house at some distance.

(73) そのおじいさんは家の中から叫んだ、ドアを開けて。(74) おばあさんも叫んだ。(75) 彼らは家の中から叫んだ、ドアを開けて。(76) おじいさんは言った。(77) 手をこんな風にした(指さした)。(78) おじいさんは言った、手をこんな風にしながら(指さしながら): (79) 「おまえたちのせいでわたしたちは皆死んでしまうだろう、この水の中で。(80) わたしたちの家は湖になろうとしている」(81) しばらくしておじいさんは見た。(82) おばあさんと一緒に水に流されようとしていた。(83) そして彼らは見た、自分たちの娘を。(84) 叫んだ:(85) 「おまえはどこにいるのか?(86) どこにいるのか?(87) おいで、おいで!」(88) 娘はいなかった。(89) 娘は水の中にもいなかった、(90) 家の中にもいなかった。(91) そのとき、少し遠いところに家があった。

- (92) taŋ nume-nin nume lanin šewrej-l'el marqil' taŋ DST.ATTR house-DAT house until escape:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) DST.ATTR girl mon-din: (93) "medin met šoromo-pul ōžī-ge amde-ni, (94) amde-din say-PURP 1sg person-pl water-LOC die-PL:IND.INTR.3 soon die-purp (95) qamied'e-nik kimd'eš-nik." l'e-ηi. (96) mon-din help:detr-pl:imp.2 stand.firm-pl:imp.2 exist-pl:IND.INTR.3 say-purp šubežie-l'el. (97) tabun-ge tāt juö-m, pulun-die-die tinide. run-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) DST-LOC ANPH:ADV see-IND.TR.3SG old.man-DIM-DIM PROX:DIR (99) t'emej-l'el (98) terikie-die öil'e. molho. old.woman-DIM not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) end:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) water in (100) itt'iel'elle pulun-die-die āj. (101) nugen-e ā-m after.a.little.while old.man-DIM-DIM again hand-INS make-IND.TR.3SG only(Rus.) marqil' šubežie-l'el. (103) šubeže-lle tan (102) tāt'ile tan then DST.ATTR girl run-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) run-ss.seo DST.ATTR šoromo-pul-ge jaga-l'el. (104) jaga-dele mol-l'el: person-pl-loc arrive-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) arrive-ss.seq say-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) (105) "met emej et'ie adi-pe ōžī-ge t'emerej-ni," mon-i. mother father young.man-pl water-loc end:CAUS:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 say-IND.INTR.3sG (106) "tāt löwdū-ŋi. (107) mit nume jalhil-ŋōt kude-j." ANPH:ADV fall-pl:IND.INTR.3 1PL house lake-trans become-ind.intr.3sg (108) tabun-ge tan šoromo-pul kel-l'el-ni. DST-LOC DST.ATTR person-PL come-infr-pl:ind.intr.3
- (92) The daughter ran toward that house. (93) To tell them, "All my family will drown in the water now. (94) They are going to die. (95) Help, please!" (96) She ran there. (97) The old man looked around. (98) There was no old woman. (99) She had drowned in the water and died. (100) After a while, the old man drowned too. (101) He'd been able to give only a wave of his hand. (102) Then, the girl began to run. (103) She ran and came to their (neighbors') house. (104) She came running and said, (105) "My mother, my father, and three fellows drowned in the water. (106) They've drowned in the water. (107) Our house has turned into the lake." (108) Then those people came.
- (92) その家の方へ逃げた、その娘は、(次のように) 言うために:(93)「もうすぐわたしの家族は水の中で死んでしまうでしょう。(94) 死んでしまうでしょう。(95) 助けてください、お願いです」(96) そう言うために彼女は走って行った。(97) そして見た、おじいさんはこちらを。(98) おばあさんがいなかった。(99) 水に沈んでしまった。(100) まもなくしておじいさんも沈んだ。(101) 指差しただけだった。(102) そしてその娘は走って行った。(103) 彼女は走って行って、その人々のところに着いた。(104) たどり着いて言った:(105)「わたしの母、父、若者たちが水に沈んでしまいました。(106) 水の中に落ちてしまいました。(107) わたしたちの家は湖になってしまいました」(108) そして、その人々が来た。

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(109) jān šoromo kel-l'el.
                                            (110) ē,
                                                       marqil' qol-l'el.
      three person come-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg)
                                                               go-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)
                                                  INTJ girl
(111) jaga-dele
                  šoromo-pul-nin mon-i:
                                                    (112) "amde-jli,
                                                                          (113) met emej
      arrive-ss.seq person-pl-dat
                                   say-ind.intr.3sg
                                                         die-IND.INTR.1PL
                                                                                1sg mother
et'ie jād adi-pe
                                    amde-ŋi,
                                                     (114) mit nume jalhil-ŋōt
                          ōžī-ge
father three young.man-PL water-LOC die-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                                           1PL house lake-TRANS
kude-j."
                    (115) tāt'ile tan
                                          šoromo-pul kel-l'el-ni
become-IND.INTR.3sG
                          then
                                DST.ATTR person-PL
                                                       come-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 other
nume-get. (116) tāt'ile juö-ŋam.
                                      (117) n'eleme-die
                                                           öjl'e.
                                            INDF:what-DIM not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg)
house-ABL
                 then see-pl:ind.tr.3
(118) nume el=ohō.
                                     (119) t'umu jalhil-ŋōt kude-dele
                                                  lake-trans become-ss.seq
      house NEG=stand(-IND.INTR.3sg)
                                           all
                                               jalhil jeklie qol-l'el.
                  (120) irkin šoromo tā
ohō-j.
stand-IND.INTR.3sG
                              person DST.LOC lake beyond go-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)
                        one
(121) qon-dele juö-m.
                              (122) juö-dege
                                                          jalhil-ge ōqill'ā-pe
                                                 taŋ
      go-ss.seq see-ind.tr.3sg
                                    see-poss.3:Ds dst.attr lake-loc perch-pl
                                                               (124) "šoromo
                             (123) tabun-get mon-ni:
eire-ni
                  ninge-t.
walk-pl:ind.intr.3 be.many-ss
                                   DST-ABL
                                              say-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                                     person
                  lige-d'e
mon-dejne,
                              šoromo ažū-gi
                                                   medi-k.
say-poss.3:ds.cond be.old-jptcp person word-poss.3 hear-imp.2sg
(125) el=medi-tejmet,
                                tāt
                                          kude-tejmet."
      NEG=hear-fut:ind.intr.2pl anph:adv become-fut:ind.intr.2pl
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(109) Three men came. (110) Ah, that was the daughter who went. (111) She came to the people and said, (112) "We'll die. (113) My mother, father, and three fellows died in the water. (114) Our house turned into the lake." (115) Then those people from the other house came. (116) They looked. (117) There was nothing. (118) There was no house. (119) Everything had turned into the lake. (120) Then, one of those people headed towards the other side of the lake. (121) The man went and saw. (122) He saw many perches swimming in the lake. (123) Therefore, people say, (124) "When an old man says something, listen to what he is saying. (125) If you don't listen, the same thing will happen to you."

(109) 3人の人がやって来た。(110) ああ、娘が行ったのだった。(111) 彼女はたどり着いて人々に言った:(112)「わたしたちは死んでしまいます。(113) わたしの母と父、3人の若者たちは水の中で死んでしまいました。(114) わたしたちの家は湖になってしまいました」(115) そしてその人々がやって来た、もう1軒の家から。(116) そして見た。(117) 何もなかった。(118) 家はなかった。(119) すっかり湖になっていた。(120) のちに1人の人がその湖の向こうに行ったそうだ。(121) その人は行って、そして見た。(122) 見ると、その湖にはカワスズキがたくさん泳いでいた。(123) だから人々は言う:(124)「人が何か言ったら、その年老いた人の言うことを聞きなさい。(125) 聞かなければ、こんな風になってしまうぞ」

#### 26 Ersenei

Recorded on 26 July 2007 from Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

- (1) met-ke tiŋ n'amalhil-ge ... (2) ja\_prosto\_skazhu\_sejchas.

  1sg-loc prox:attr year-loc I.will.just.tell.something.now(Rus.)
- (3) potom\_t'ūl'd'ī. (4) purkin\_kun'el'\_purkibudi n'amalhil-ŋōt kude-j. then.I.will.tell.a.tale(Rus.) seventy.seven year-trans become-ind.intr.3sg
- (5) met ajī modo-t t'ūl'd'ī pundu-je. (6) qodo amdā-tum?

  1sg still sit-ss tale tell-IND.INTR.1sg how die-FUT:INTERR.1sg
- (7) mon-ŋi: "pundu-k!" uör-pe, kel-d'e uör-pe. (8) d'e t'ūl'd'ī. say-pl:ind.intr.3 tell-imp.2sg child-pl come-jptcp child-pl intj tale
- (9) t'āqadan unuŋ-gen nuŋenaŋil' jeklie irkin nume the.river.Yasachnaya river-PROL the.mouth.of.river.Rassokha beyond one house

modo-l'el-ŋi. (10) irkin marqil'-n'ā-l'el-ŋi. (11) irkin\_kun'el sit-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 one girl-prop-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 ten

n'amalhil-n'e-j. (12) köjpeduö-n'ie-l'el-ŋi, pulun-die-die year-prop-ind.intr.3sg boy-prop-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 old.man-dim-dim

terike-de-n'e. (13) puge-me pulun-die-die promišl'aj-ŋin old.woman-poss.3-com summer-tmp old.man-dim-dim hunt-dat

ewrie-nul-l'el. (14) emej tude uör-pe-n'e ul'ege-lek walk-hbt-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) mother 3sg:gen child-pl-com grass-foc

ā-nu-l'el-ŋile titte qorobo-ŋin. (15) irkin qorobo-nn'ā-l'el-ŋi. gather-ipfv-infr-pl:of.3 3pl:gen cow-dat one cow-prop-infr-pl:ind.intr.3

(1) This year, I am ... (2) I'll just say something now. (3) Then, I'll tell a tale. (4) I am 77 years old. (5) I am still alive and telling fairy tales. (6) How can I die? (7) Children coming to me say: "Tell us a fairy tale." (8) Here is a fairy tale. (9) In Yasachnaya, over the mouth of the river Rassokha, there lived one family. (10) They had a daughter. (11) She was 10 years old. (12) They had a boy ... the old man and the old woman did. (13) In summer, the old man went to hunt. (14) The mother with her children gathered hay for their cow. (15) They had a cow.

(1) わたしは今年で… (2) ひとこと言うよ。(3) それから昔話だ。(4) わたしは77才になった。(5) わたしはまだ生きていて、昔話を語る。(6) どうして死ねるだろうか? (7) 子供たちが「語ってくれ」と言う、訪ねて来る子供たちが。(8) で、昔話だ。(9) ヤサチナ川沿い、ラソハ川河口の向こうに、ある家族が暮らしていた。(10) 彼らには娘が 1 人いた。(11) 彼女は 10才だった。(12) 彼らには男の子がいた、おじいさんとその妻には。(13) 夏におじいさんは狩りをしに歩いた。(14) 母は子供たちと草刈りをした、彼らの牛のために。(15) 彼らは牛を 1 頭飼っていた。

- (16) marqil'-pe-gi t'omō-d'e marqil' ō-l'el. (17) īli-t'e girl-pl-poss.3 be.big-JPTCP girl COP-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG) be.beautiful-JРТСР modo-nidege irkin šoromo kel-l'el. marqil'-ek. (18) irkid'e tāt ANPH:ADV sit-PL:POSS.3:DS one come-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) girl-PRD person (19) t'umu nume-ge l'ie-l'el-ni, et'ie emej-gi uöre-p-tie-pe. house-loc exist-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 father mother-poss.3 child-pl-dim-pl all (21) "tit qorobo met-in šoromo kel-dele mol-l'el: (20) tan DST.ATTR person come-ss.seq say-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) 2<sub>PL</sub> cow 1sg-dat kej-nik." (22) tamun-ge mol-l'el-ni et'ie-pe-gi emej-de-n'e: say-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 father-pl-poss.3 mother-poss.3-com give-PL:IMP.2 DST-LOC (23) "ell'ē mit gorobo godo tadi-tuök? (24) mit aduöd-e lende-t 1<sub>PL</sub> cow how give-fut:interr.1pl 1PL MED-INS eat:DETR-SS modo-jīli." (25) tamun-ge tan šoromo n'āt'e-gi sit-ind.intr.1pl DST-LOC DST.ATTR person face-Poss.3 ANPH:ADV erū-l'el, erūlbie-l'el, kel-d'e šoromo. be.bad-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) be.bad:INCH-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) come-JPTCP person (26) mol-l'el: (27) "kej-ŋit el=kej-ŋit, met mid'-u-t. say-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) give-ss.cond neg-give-ss.cond 1sg take-e-fut:ind.tr.1sg (28) el=kej-tejmet tit qorobo, met tit-ul kudde-t." (29) tamun-ge NEG=give-fut:IND.INTR.2PL 2PL cow 1sg 2pl-acc kill-fut:ind.tr.1sg DST-LOC mol-l'el-ni: (30) "mit el=kej-tejli." (31) omon tāt say-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 1PL NEG=give-FUT:IND.INTR.1PL just ANPH:ADV mol-l'el-ni, terikie-die pulun-die-die-n'e, pulut-te-n'e. say-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 old.woman-dim old.man-dim-dim-prop old.man-poss.3-com
- (16) Their daughter was older. (17) She was beautiful. (18) Once, when they lived so, one man came. (19) All of them, father, mother, and children, were at home. (20) The man came and said, (21) "Give me your cow." (22) Father and mother said to that, (23) "No, how can we give our cow to you? (24) We live by feeding on it." (25) Then the face of the man became terrible, the face of the man who came. (26) He said, (27) "Whether you give it to me or not, I'll take it anyway. (28) If you don't give me your cow, I'll kill all of you." (29) Then they said, (30) "We'll not give it to you." (31) They, the old woman and the old man, just said so.
- (16) 彼らの娘は大きかった。(17) 美しい娘だった。(18) あるとき彼らが暮らしていると、1人の人がやって来た。(19) みな家にいた、父と母と子供たちは。(20) その人はやって来て言った:(21)「おまえたちの牛をよこせ」(22) すると言った、父と母は:(23)「いいや、わたしたちの牛をどうしてくれてやるものか。(24) わたしたちはそれで食べ物を得て暮らしているのだ」(25) すると、その人の顔つきが凶悪になった、やって来た人の。(26) 彼は言った:(27)「おまえたちがよこそうとよこすまいと、わたしは手に入れるだろう。(28) 牛をよこさないのなら、おまえたちを殺してやる」(29) すると彼らは言った:(30)「わたしたちはやらない」(31) こう言った、おばあさんとおじいさんは。

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(32) tāt
               tude
                       užō-gele mil-l'el-u-m
                                                                  šoromo. (33) tāt
                                                        taŋ
    ANPH:ADV 3sg:GEN gun-ACC take-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sg DST.ATTR person
                                                                                ANPH:ADV
pulun-die-gele aj-l'el-u-m.
                                         (34) tāt
                                                        epie-gele.
                                                                          (35) tan
old.man-dim-acc shoot-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg
                                              ANPH:ADV grandmother-ACC
                                                                              DST.ATTR
marqil'-pe-gi tami-t
                              ohō-l'el.
                                                       (36) tude
                                                                    najmikān moro-dele
girl-pl-poss.3 dress.oneself-ss stand-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
                                                            3sg:gen suede.coat put.on-ss.seq
                                       najmikān marqil'-pe-gi. (37) tintaņ
                         odu-n
                                                                                 ataglešte
stand-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) Yukaghir-GEN suede.coat girl-pl-poss.3
                                                                      ANPH:ATTR the.second
      aj-l'el-u-m.
                              (38) ataqlešte aj-t
                                                      epie-gele
                                                                        tāt
                                  the.second shoot-ss grandmother-ACC ANPH:ADV
again shoot-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sG
n'ohotā-l'el-u-m.
                                               marqil' tāt
                                (39) tan
fall.down:caus-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg
                                     DST.ATTR girl
                                                       ANPH:ADV
pukižej-l'el,
                               ibel'e-de örn'e-de
                                                      pude lani. (40) marqil'-pe-gi
run.out:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) cry-ss.sim shout-ss.sim outside to
                                                                        girl-PL-POSS.3
ibel'e-de örn'e-de
                       pullugude pukižej-l'el.
                                                                 (41) tan
                                                                                jukō-l
cry-ss.sim shout-ss.sim outside
                                  run.out:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)
                                                                      DST.ATTR be.small-AN
aduö irkin skovoroda-le
                                mil-l'el-u-m.
                                                      (42) min-dele skovoroda-le
           frying.pan(Rus.)-INS take-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG
                                                           take-ss.seo frying.pan(Rus.)-INS
                               (43) "skovoroda-ŋōt
tāt
          tolt'īlā-m.
                                                           kude-jīli.
                                    frying.pan(Rus.)-TRANS become-IND.INTR.1PL
ANPH:ADV beat:INCH-IND.TR.3sG
(44) pierinžā-n'e-l=ben-pe
                                kel-ni."
                                                    (45) tāt
                                                                   tāt
     dorsal.fin-prop-an=nmlz-pl come-pl:ind.intr.3
                                                        ANPH:ADV ANPH:ADV
                    tolt'ī-de
                               tolt'ī-de
                                          menmegie-l'el.
frying.pan(Rus.)-INS beat-SS.SIM beat-SS.SIM jump-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)
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(32) But that man took his gun. (33) And he shot the old man. (34) Then he shot the old woman. (35) Their daughter was standing there, with her clothes on. (36) She put her najmikan on and was standing there (najmikan – the Yukaghir women's coat made of suede, embroidered with beads), their daughter. (37) That man shot again. (38) He shot for the second time and threw the old woman down. (39) The girl ran out, crying and screaming. (40) The daughter was crying and screaming as she ran out. (41) The younger son took a frying pan. (42) He took a frying pan and started beating it. (43) "We turned into the frying pan. (44) Those having dorsal fins arrived." (45) And he was beating the frying pan and jumping.

(32) すると自分の銃を手に取った、その人は。(33) そしておじいさんを撃った。(34) それからおばあさんを。(35) 彼らの娘は服を着て立っていた。(36) 鞣皮外套を着て立っていた、ユカギールの鞣皮外套を、彼らの娘は。(37) その人は再び撃った。(38) 2 発目を撃って、おばあさんを倒した。(39) 娘は飛び出した、泣きながら叫びながら外へ。(40) 娘は泣きながら叫びながら外へ飛び出した。(41) 下の息子はフライパンを手に取った。(42) 手に取って、フライパンを叩きはじめた。(43) 「わたしたちはフライパンになった。(44) 背びれを持つ者たちがやって来た」(45) そして彼はフライパンを叩きながら跳ねた。

- (46) tāt tamun juö-dele tan bandit pukižej-l'el. see-ss.seq dst.attr bandit(Rus.) run.out:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) ANPH:ADV DST (47) taŋ er-t'e šoromo pukižej-l'el. (48) pukižej-dele DST.ATTR be.bad-JPTCP person run.out:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) run.out:pfv-ss.seq mežže-t ohō-j. (49) mežže-t ohō-l'el, qanide tan hear:DETR-SS stand-IND.INTR.3SG hear:detr-ss stand-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) where dst.attr (50) mežže-lle marqil' šubeže-j, tabun mežže-t. mežže-lle girl run-ind.intr.3sg dst hear: DETR-SS hear: DETR-SS.SEQ hear: DETR-SS.SEQ (51) nunenanil' lejtej-m. landet n'amt'e-gi understand:PFV-IND.TR.3SG the.mouth.of.river.Rassokha on.the.side.of bell-poss.3 najmikān n'amt'e qoli-gi. (52) najmikān n'amt'e medi-t', sound-poss.3 be.heard-IND.INTR.3sg suede.coat bell suede.coat bell sound-poss.3 (54) šubeže-lle qoli-gi medi-t'. (53) tāt tanilani šubeže-j. ANPH:ADV DST.DIR run-IND.INTR.3SG sound-poss.3 be.heard-IND.INTR.3sG run-ss.seo šubeže-lle īt' šubežie-l'el. marqil' t'uge-gele (55) tāt taŋ run-ss.seq for.a.long.time run-infr(-ind.intr.3sg) ANPH:ADV DST.ATTR girl track-ACC šohušā-l'el-u-m. (56) n'amt'e qoli-gele šohušā-l'el-u-m, er-t'e šoromo. lose-infr-e-ind.tr.3sg bell sound-ACC lose-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sG be.bad-JPTCP person n'āt'edaj-l'el. (57) d'e tāt (58) a taŋ marqil' INTJ ANPH:ADV return:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) and(Rus.) DST.ATTR girl nunedanil'-ge jaqa-l'el, ibel'e-de örn'e-de, erejdāq! the.mouth.of.river.Rassokha-Loc arrive-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) cry-ss.sim shout-ss.sim pity
- (46) The bandit saw it and ran out. (47) The bad man ran out. (48) He ran outside and stood there listening. (49) He stood listening where the girl was running. He listened to it. (50) He was listening and listening, and he heard. (51) Her small bell, the sound of the small bell on her naimikan, was heard from over the mouth of the river Rassokha. (52) The sound of the small bell on her naimikan was heard. (53) And he began to run there. (54) He was running and running; he was running for a long time. (55) And he lost the girl's footsteps. (56) He couldn't hear the sound of the small bell any more, the bad man. (57) And he returned. (58) But the girl reached the mouth of the river Rassokha; she was crying and screaming, poor thing!
- (46) それを見ると、その強盗は走り出た。(47) その悪人は走り出た。(48) 走り出て耳をすまして立っていた。(49) 耳をすまして立っていた、どこへ娘は走って行ったのだろうか? それを聞きながら。(50) 彼は耳をすまして、耳をすまして気づいた。(51) ラソハ川の方から鈴が、その音が聞こえた。外套の鈴の音だ。(52) 外套の鈴の音が聞こえた。(53) そして彼はそちらへ走って行った。(54) 走って走って、長いこと走った。(55) そして娘の痕跡を見失った。(56) 鈴の音が聞こえなくなった、悪人は。(57) そして戻って行った。(58) 一方その娘はラソハ川の川口に着いたそうだ、泣きながら、叫びながら、可哀想に!

- (59) "t'ugōn kel-nik!" (60) šoromo-pul-nin jaga-dele, nunedanil' quickly come-pl:IMP.2 person-PL-DAT arrive-ss.seq the.mouth.of.river.Rassokha šoromo-pul-nin jaga-dele. (61) "t'ugōn kel-nik! (62) irkin šoromo kel-dele person-PL-DAT arrive-ss.seo quickly come-pl:IMP.2 person come-ss.seq 1sg emej-gele et'ie-gele kudde-m užō-le. (63) met emd'e örn'e-de tā mother-ACC father-ACC kill-IND.TR.3SG gun-INS 1sg younger.sibling shout-ss.sim dst.loc nume-ge, skovoroda min-dele tolt'ī-de." (64) tabun-ge remain-IND.INTR.3sg house-LOC frying.pan(Rus.) take-ss.seq beat-ss.sim DST-LOC šoromo-pul kebej-l'el-ni, nunenanil' tanide marqil'-n'e. the.mouth.of.river.Rassokha person-PL leave:pfv-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 dst.dir girl-com (65) gon-dele juö-l'el-nam. (66) nume-ge šöw-dele terikie-die pulun-die-die go-ss.seq see-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 house-loc enter-ss.seq old.woman-dim old.man-dim-dim amdā-l'el-ni tudā ajī. (67) tabun-ge mun'n'aq ā-l'el-nam.
- (68) mun'n'aq ā-dele jārmon laŋi. session make-ss.seo Yarmon to

die-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 before still

- (69) jārmon\_eto\_tsentr\_srednekolymskikh\_jukagirov. Yarmon.is.the.center.of.the.Yukaghir.of.the.Srednekolymask.region(Rus.)
- (70) tāt jārmon laŋdet apl'et-n'e-j šoromo-pul kel-l'el-ŋi.

  ANPH:ADV Yarmon on.the.side.of epaulet-prop-jptcp person-pl come-infr-pl:ind.intr.3

DST-LOC

session

make-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3

(59) "Go quickly!" (60) She came to the people, to the people from the river Rassokha's mouth, and said, (61) "Go quickly! (62) One man came and killed my mother and father with the gun. (63) My brother, shouting, remained there, at home. He took a frying pan and beat it." (64) So, the people from the river Rassokha's mouth set off there with the girl. (65) They went to see. (66) When they entered the house, the old woman and old man were already dead for a long time. (67) So, they had a meeting. (68) They had a meeting, and to Yarmon ... (69) Yarmon is the center of the Yukaghir of the Srednekolymsk region. (70) And there arrived people with epaulettes from Yarmon.

(59)「はやく来て!」(60)人々のところに着いて、ラソハ川の川口に住む人々のところに着いて言った。(61)「はやく来て! (62) 男がやって来て、わたしの母と父を銃で殺してしまいました。(63) わたしの弟が叫びながらそこに残りました、家に、フライパンを持ってそれを叩きながら」(64) そしてラソハ川河口の人々は娘と行った。(65) 行って、そして見た。(66) 家に入ると、おばあさんとおじいさんはすでに死んでいた。(67) そして会議が開かれたそうだ。(68) 会議を開いて、ヤールモンへ…(69) ヤールモンはスレドニェコリムスクのユカギールの中心地だ。(70) そしてヤールモンの方から肩章をつけた人々が来た。

### 26 Ersenei (told by A.V. Sleptsova in 2007)

(71) kel-dele jān pod'erqo-ho tan er-t'e šoromo-gele ant'ī-t come-ss.seq three day-Loc DST.ATTR be.bad-JPTCP person-ACC look.for-ss nū-l'el-nam. (72) tāt'ile qontā-l'el-nam jārmon laņi. (73) tā find-infr-pl:ind.tr.3 then go:CAUS-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 Uarmon to šoromo-get: (74) "noŋōn terikie-die jowlet'-l'el-ηam taŋ er-t'e ask-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 DST.ATTR be.bad-JPTCP person-ABL why old.woman-ым pulun-die-die-n'e kudde-mek?" mon-u-t. (75) tabun-ge mol-l'el: old.man-DIM-DIM-PROP kill-IND.TR.2SG say-E-SS DST-LOC say-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) (76) "qorobo-p-ki min-din. (77) met nie-nu. (78) el=kej-nu-ŋi. cow-pl-poss.3 take-purp 1sg beg-ipfv(-ind.tr.1sg) NEG=give-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 (79) tabun-get." (80) tan nunenanil'-ge ajī odu-pe DST.ATTR the.mouth.of.river.Rassokha-LOC still Yukaghir-PL DST-ABL modo-ηi. (81) tan lebie er-t'e šoromo kudde-l lebie-gi sit-pl:ind.intr.3 DST.ATTR land be.bad-JPTCP person kill-AN land-poss.3 ert'enej. n'ū-te-ŋam name-prop.caus-pl:IND.TR.3 Ersienej

(71) They arrived, searched for the bad man for three days, and found him. (72) They took him to Yarmon. (73) There, they asked the bandit, (74) "Why did you kill the old woman and her husband?" (75) He said, (76) "In order to take their cow. (77) I asked them. (78) But they didn't give it to me. (79) That's why." (80) The Yukaghirs still live on the river Rassokha's mouth. (81) The land, the land where the bandit killed (them), is called Ersenei.

(71) やって来て、3日間その悪人を探して見つけた。(72) そして連れて行った、ヤールモンへ。(73) そこで尋ねた、その悪人に:(74) 「なぜおばあさんとおじいさんを殺したのか?」と。(75) すると彼は言った:(76) 「彼らの牛を手に入れるために。(77) わたしは頼んだ。(78) しかし彼らはよこさなかった。(79) だから(殺した)」(80) そのラソハ川河口にはまだユカギール人が暮らしている。(81) その土地を、その悪人が人殺しをした土地をエルシェネイと呼ぶ。

# 27 How Katalka, Wood Grouse and Pike Fought

Recorded on 26 August 2007 from Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

- (1) met t'āšet pundu-t, momušā poņžube šukedie qode serileštaj-ŋam. 1sg now tell-fut:ind.tr.1sg long.nose.sucker capercaillie pike how battle-pl:ind.tr.3
- (2) poŋžube kel-dele irkin t'itne-j kiel'ō-d'e šā-n īt'e-ge capercaillie come-ss.seq one be.long-jptcp get.dry:res-jptcp tree-gen tip-loc

madā-j, merej-dele kel-dele. (3) tāt modo-t poŋžube alhude sit:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG fly:PFV-SS.SEQ come-SS.SEQ ANPH:ADV sit-SS capercaillie down juöde-t'. (4) alhude juö-dege irkin jalhil l'ie-l'el.

see:detr:pfv-ind.intr.3sg down see-poss.3:ds one lake exist-infr(-ind.intr.3sg)

- ialhil molho-do-ho irkin šukedie ewre-i. (6) tamun juö-t DST.ATTR lake inside-poss.3-loc one pike walk-ind.intr.3sg see-ss DST ponžube: (7) "nn," mon-i, "gode tud-in omo-t'!" say-IND.INTR.3sg capercaillie INTJ say-IND.INTR.3sG how 3sg-dat be.good-ind.intr.3sg (8) "tudel kurūlubuj ōžī molho ewre-j. (9) met n'eqanin say-IND.INTR.3sG 3s<sub>G</sub> always water in walk-IND.INTR.3sG 1sg indf:when el=juö-nu-je. (10) kurūlubuj gobo modā-nu-je, water neg=see-ipfv-ind.intr.1sg always down.below sit-IPFV-IND.INTR.1sg land-Loc
- (11) nn īluge!" (12) tāt mon-i. INTJ dear ANPH:ADV say-IND.INTR.3sG

(1) Now, I'll tell you how the katalka (the local Russian name for the river fish of the sturgeon family), the wood grouse, and the pike fought. (2) The wood grouse flew in and perched on the top of a high dry tree. (3) The wood grouse perched and watched downwards. (4) When he looked down, there was a lake. (5) In the lake, there was a pike, swimming. (6) The wood grouse looked at it and said, (7) "Ahem, the pike is so fine there! (8) The pike is always swimming in the water. (9) I'll never try (to swim in) the water. (10) I am always on the land. (11) Ahem, what a pity!" (12) The wood grouse said so.

(1) わたしはこれから話そう、モムシャーとオオライチョウとカワカマスがどのように戦ったのかを。(2) オオライチョウがやって来て、ある背の高い枯れた木の先端にとまった、飛んで来て。(3) そして座りながらオオライチョウは下の方に目を向けた。(4) 下を見ると、湖があった。(5) その湖の中で1 匹のカワカマスが泳いでいた。(6) それを見て言った、オオライチョウは:(7)「んー、なんて彼は気持ち良さそうなのだろう!(8) 彼はいつも水の中を泳いでいる。(9) わたしは決して水を見ることはない。(10) いつも地上に座っている。(11) んー、残念だ!」(12) オオライチョウはこのように言った。

- (13) mon-doho qadun-get qadun-get kie-t', momušā. say-poss.3:Ds which-abl which-abl come-ind.intr.3sg long.nose.sucker
- (14) momušā kie-t', lukil-n'e-t. (15) tudel lukil-gele mid'-u-m. long.nose.sucker come-IND.INTR.3sg arrow-prop-ss 3sg arrow-acc take-e-IND.TR.3sg
- (16) poŋžube-le aj-m. (17) poŋžube tude lukil-e mid'-u-m capercaillie-INS shoot-IND.TR.3SG capercaillie 3SG:GEN arrow-INS take-E-IND.TR.3SG
- āj. (18) min-dele momušā-gele aj-m āj. (19) momušā-gele again take-ss.seq long.nose.sucker-ACC shoot-IND.TR.3sG again long.nose.sucker-ACC
- aj-m āj. (20) tāt'ile šukedie kie-t'. (21) tamun-ge šukedie shoot-ind.tr.3sg again then pike come-ind.intr.3sg dst-loc pike

momušā lukil-gele mid'-u-m. (22) taŋdigi šukedie momušā lukil-gele long.nose.sucker arrow-ACC take-E-IND.TR.3SG then pike long.nose.sucker arrow-ACC

mid'-u-m. (23) min-dele aj-m āj poŋžube-le. (24) poŋžube āj take-E-IND.TR.3sG take-SS.SEQ shoot-IND.TR.3sG again capercaillie-INS capercaillie again titte-gele ajlā-m šukedie-le. (25) tabun-gele juö-m momušā.

3PL-ACC shoot:Inch-ind.tr.3sg pike-ins dst-acc see-ind.tr.3sg long.nose.sucker

- (26) tāt jaqtā-j. (27) "unmun šajde tobō-j! the.river.Kolyma across close:res-ind.intr.3sg
- (28) jalhil šajde t'owrō-j!" (29) tāt'ile kilbe molho amle-t', lake across be.narrow-ind.intr.3sg then waterweed in dive:pfv-ind.intr.3sg
- (30) ahidi-t'. hide.oneself-IND.INTR.3sG

(13) When he said so, the katalka swam up from somewhere. (14) The katalka with arrows swam up. (15) The katalka took the arrows. (16) And he shot at the wood grouse. (17) The wood grouse took his arrows too. (18) He took his arrows and shot at the katalka too. (19) He shot at the katalka too. (20) And the pike swam up. (21) Then the pike took the katalka's arrows. (22) Then the pike took the katalka's arrows. (23) The pike took the arrows and shot at the wood grouse too. (24) The wood grouse began to shoot at the pike too. (25) The katalka saw it. (26) And he started singing. (27) "The river Kolyma is dammed across! (28) The lake is narrow across!" (29) And the katalka dived into the weeds. (30) He hid in it.

(13) 彼がそのように言うと、どこからかモムシャーが来た。(14) モムシャーが来た、矢を持って。(15) 彼は矢を取った。(16) オオライチョウを射た。(17) オオライチョウも自分の矢を手に取った。(18) 矢を取って、モムシャーを射た。(19) モムシャーを射た。(20) それからカワカマスが来た。(21) するとカワカマスはモムシャーの矢を手にした。(22) そのときカワカマスはモムシャーの矢を取った。(23) 矢を取って、彼もオオライチョウを射た。(24) オオライチョウも彼らを射はじめた、カワカマスを。(25) それを見た、モムシャーは。(26) そして歌いだした。(27)「コリマ川は横にせき止められている! (28) 湖は横に狭くなっている!」(29) それから水草の中に潜った。(30) 隠れた。

- (31) taŋ jalāt šukedie āj, kilbe molho āj, momušā tāt DST.ATTR ANPH:ADV after pike again waterweed in again long.nose.sucker jalāt. (32) tāt modo-dolo ponžube merie-t', tan šāl-get, capercaillie fly:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG DST.ATTR tree-ABL after ANPH:ADV sit-ss.seq kiel'ō-d'e šāl-get. (33) qaninde jowje-ge momušā juö-temet, when:INDF net-LOC long.nose.sucker see-FUT:IND.TR.2PL get.dry:RES-JPTCP tree-ABL (34) t'umu amun-ek. (35) tāt'ile titte šukedie āj, juö-ŋik. n'ugere-ge pike again see-PL:IMP.2 all bone-PRD then 3PL:GEN side-LOC embe-j tochka l'e-j. (36) tabun ponžube aj-l-ō-gi. be.black-JPTCP spot(Rus.) exist-IND.INTR.3sG DST capercaillie shoot-E-RN-POSS.3 amun-gi poŋžube lukil. (38) āj ponžube nun-nide, long.nose.sucker bone-poss.3 capercaillie arrow again capercaillie find-ss.cond kudde-nide. (39) t'umu pojne-j juö-nik, ponžube tātmie-d'e belyi see-pl:imp.2 capercaillie kill-ss.cond all be.white-IPTCP be.like.that-IPTCP white(Rus.) (40) t'umu pojne-j tochka (41) tamun pjatno. titimie-j. be.white-JPTCP spot(Rus.) be.like-IND.INTR.3sG spot(Rus.) DST šukedie-n'e aj-l-ō-pe-gi. momušā long.nose.sucker pike-com shoot-e-rn-pl-poss.3
- (31) Then the pike too hid in the weeds after the katalka. (32) And the wood grouse flew off the tree, the dry tree. (33) If you find a katalka in the net someday, and a pike too, look. (34) They are full of bones. (35) And they have black spots on their sides. (36) These are marks from the wood grouse's arrows. (37) The bones of the katalka are the wood grouse's arrows. (38) And if you see a wood grouse, if you kill a wood grouse, look …(39) It has white spots. (40) The wood grouse has white spots. (41) These white spots are the arrow marks of the katalka and the pike.
- (31) そしてその後から、カワカマスも隠れた、水草の中に、モムシャーの後から。(32) そうして座っていて、オオライチョウは飛び去った、その木から、枯れた木から。(33) いつか網にモムシャーを見たら、カワカマスを見ても、見なさい。(34) 骨だらけだ。(35) それから、彼らの脇腹には黒い点がある。(36) それはオオライチョウが射た跡だ。(37) モムシャーの骨はオオライチョウの矢だ。(38) オオライチョウを見つけたら、オオライチョウを殺したら見なさい。(39) こういう風な白い斑点だらけだ。(40) 白い斑点だらけだ。(41) それはモムシャーがカワカマスといっしょに射た跡だ。

# 28 My Land

Recorded on 29 August 2006 from Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

- met lebie! (2) tet godo īlū-k! (3) tett'ie-k, tet, 2sg how be.beautiful-interr.2sg rich.person-PRD 2sG el=t'emūii-l pejit-pe! (4) met iŋrōžī-nit juö-nu. (5) tet-ul met NEG=end:ITER-AN plain?-PL 1sg dream-ss.cond see-IPFV(-IND.TR.1sg) 2sg-acc 1sg (6) met lebie! (7) met emej! (8) met öjl'e-tt'e, tet kurūlubuj īlugī-nide. miss-ss.cond 1sg land 1sg mother 1sg not.exist-fut:ind.intr.1sg 2sg always tett'ie-t īlū-t ohō-t pon'ō-tejek. (9) mit-ul ANPH:ADV be.rich-ss be.beautiful-ss stand-ss remain-fut:IND.INTR.2sg 1PL-ACC nungeden-ie. legitie-nu-l mit emej-lie eat:CAUS-IPFV-AN 1PL mother-DIM the.river.Rassokha-DIM
- (1) Oh, my land! (2) How beautiful you are! (3) You are abundant, and your meadows are endless! (4) I always have dreams about you. (5) I always think with love about you. (6) My land! (7) My mother! (8) Even when I'll not exist anymore, you'll still remain abundant and beautiful. (9) Our mother, the river Rassokha, you are always giving gifts to us.
- (1) おお、わたしの大地よ。(2) おまえはなんて美しいのか。(3) 豊かだ、おまえは、尽きることのない平原よ。(4) わたしは夢でいつも見る。(5) おまえをわたしは恋しく思って。(6) わたしの大地よ。(7) わたしの母よ。(8) わたしはいなくなるだろう、(しかし) おまえはいつもこのように豊かで美しいまま残っているだろう。(9) わたしたちに恵みを与えるわたしたちの母、ラソハ川よ。

# 29 My Land

Recorded on 26 August 2007 from Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

- (1) met t'āšet pundu-t met šörileš-u-l stikhi. (2) ō met lebie! 1sg now tell-fut:Ind.tr.1sg 1sg write-e-an poem(Rus.) Intj 1sg land
- (3) tet qode īlū-k! (4) tett'ie-k tet, el=t'emūji-l t'orqo-pul! 2sg how be.beautiful-interr.2sg rich.person-prd 2sg neg=end:iter-an plain-pl
- (5) met iŋrōžī-ŋit juö-nu. (6) tet-ul met īlugī-ŋide. (7) met lebie! 1sg dream-ss.cond see-ipfv(-ind.tr.1sg) 2sg-acc 1sg miss-ss.cond 1sg land
- (8) tudā mit ewre-l, šubend'i-t ewre-l pejit-pe! (9) t'omō-d'e tibo-le before 1pl walk-an run:iter-ss walk-an plain?-pl be.big-jptcp rain-ins

erd'ieš-u-m. (10) tudā mit modā-nu-l t'orqā-die! (11) arbun n'anme-le want:INCH:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG before 1PL sit-IPFV-AN plain-DIM ? willow-INS

toh-u-m. (12) t'āšet taŋ mit pejit laŋdet medū-nu-j. close-e-ind.tr.3sg now dst.attr 1pl plain? on.the.side.of be.heard-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg

- (13) īdeņide šohie-d'e pōṇō-d'e t'ajke-n ažū-gi. (14) met lebie! sometimes dissapear-JPTCP be.orphan-JPTCP gull-GEN word-Poss.3 1sG land
- (15) met āj öjl'e-tt'e. (16) tet qode īlū-t tāt

  1sG again not.exist-fut:ind.intr.1sG 2sG how be.beautiful-ss anph:adv

  pon'ō-tejek. (17) mit-ul legitie-nu-l mit emej-lie nungeden-ie!

  remain-fut:ind.intr.2sg 1pl-acc eat:caus-ipfv-an 1pl mother-dim the.river.Rassokha-dim

(1) Now, I'll tell you the poem I wrote. (2) Oh, my land! (3) How beautiful you are! (4) You are abundant, and your plains are unbounded! (5) I always have dreams about you. (6) I think with love about you. (7) My land! (8) In the old days, we ran along your plains! (9) With wish for the rain to fall. (10) The plains we used to live in (11) Got covered with willows. (12) I hear the voice from our plains. (13) Sometimes, I hear a voice of a lonely gull, left behind its flock. (14) My land. (15) I'll pass away too. (16) And you'll still remain beautiful. (17) Our mother river Rassokha, you are bringing gifts to us!

(1) わたしはこれからわたしの書いた詩を話そう。(2) おお、わたしの大地よ。(3) おまえはなんて美しいのか。(4) 豊かだ、おまえは、尽きることのない平原よ。(5) わたしは夢でいつも見る。(6) おまえをわたしは恋しく思って。(7) おお、わたしの大地よ。(8) かつてわたしたちが走り回った平野よ。(9) 大雨を欲している。(10) かつてわたしたちが座っていた平原よ。(11) サルヤナギで覆われてしまった。(12) 今はそのわたしたちの平原から聞こえてくる。(13) ときどき仲間からはぐれた一人ぼっちのカモメの鳴き声が聞こえてくる。(14) わたしの大地よ。(15) わたしもいなくなってしまうだろう。(16) (しかし) おまえは美しいままで残るであろう。(17) わたしたちに恵みを与えるわたしたちの母、ラソハ川よ。

### 29 My Land (told by A.V. Sleptsova in 2007)

(18) tiŋ unuŋ-ge mit modo-jīli, promišl'aj-t t'ied'e-me puge-me t'umu prox:attr river-loc 1pl sit-ind.intr.1pl hunt-ss coldness-tmp summer-tmp all mit sem'ja. (19) id'ī met nume-ge modo-je. (20) n'eqadun-ge 1pl family(Rus.) now 1sg house-loc sit-ind.intr.1sg indf:which-loc el=ewrie-nu-je.

NEG=walk-ipfv-ind.intr.1sg

(18) We lived by this river, in winter and summer, our families hunted for living. (19) Now I sit in the house. (20) I don't go anywhere.

(18) この川にわたしたちは暮らしていた、狩りをして、冬にも夏にもわたしたちの家族皆が。(19) 今わたしは家で座っている。(20) どこも歩くことはない。

### 30 Barkha

Recorded on 26 August 2007 from Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

(1) anil l'e pat-tele t'emej-nu-ni. (2) iel'ie-nu-j anil. fish that.one cook-ss.seo end:pfv-ipfv-pl:ind.intr.3 ripen-IPFV-IND.INTR.3sG fish (3) tamun-gele ott'o-ho ott'o ... (4) von met-ke DST-ACC box.of.birch.bark-Loc there(Rus.) box.of.birch.bark 1sg-Loc l'e-i. (5) tātmie-d'e ott'o-ho vo vo vo! exist-IND.INTR.3sG that's.right(Rus.) be.like.that-JPTCP box.of.birch.bark-LOC peni-nu-nam. (6) peni-dele l'e-deine amun-gi put-ss.seq exist-poss.3:ds.cond bone-poss.3 all put-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 londā-nu-ŋam. (7) il'ie-nu-nam. and(Rus.) ANPH:ADV do.that-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 remove-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 l'e lebejdī tite. (8) tā tolt'īlā-nu-nam, tandigi lepëshka-not beat:INCH-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 that.one berry DST.LOC then flatbread(Rus.)-TRANS like kude-nu-i, lepëshka tite, olad'i, lepëshka tāt. īlegul become-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg flatbread(Rus.) like pancakes(Rus.) flatbread(Rus.) Anph:adv flour tite. (9) tandigi, l'e-le anillebejdī, pat-nu-ŋam. (10) l'e-le, like then that.one-INS roa cook-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 that.one-ins gomordog-ge l'ie-nu-nam, anillebejdī. (11) l'e-gi, iril-gi tāt'ile frying.pan(Yak.)-LOC do.that-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 roa that.one-poss.3 belly-poss.3 then pukil'-gi iel'ie-nu-j. lepëshka molho, īlegul molho (12) tan bladder-poss.3 ripen-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg DST.ATTR flatbread(Rus.) in flour in anil lepëshka molho. l'ie-nu-nam, do.that-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 fish flatbread(Rus.) in

(1) (Akulina Vasil'evna is telling how to prepare the traditional dish called barkha.) Fish is boiled. (2) Fish is cooked. (3) Put the boiled fish into the birchbark vessel. (4) I have one over there; that, that one! (5) Put the fish into a vessel. (6) Then separate all the bones. (7) Then pound it, like berries. (8) And the fish becomes like a flat cake, like a pancake, and like flour. (9) Then boil that, the roe. (10) Fry the roe in a frying pan. (11) Boil entrails and the swimbladder. (12) Then put it into the blend, which looks like bread, into the flour blend, into the pounded fish blend.

(1) (アクリーナ・ワシーリエヴナは伝統料理「バルハ」の作り方を説明している。) 魚をゆでる。(2) 魚に火がとおる。(3) それを白樺樹皮の器に…(4) ほらあそこに白樺樹皮の器がある。(5) こういう白樺樹皮の器に入れる。(6) 入れるときは、魚の骨をすべて取り除く。(7) そしてそれを叩き潰す、ベリーのように。(8) すると平たいパンのようになる、小麦粉のように。(9) それから魚卵を煮る。(10) フライパンで魚卵を焼く。(11) 腹と浮き袋に火が通る。(12) それから、そのパンの中に、小麦粉の中に、魚のパンの中に(入れる)。

(13) i āi tolt'ī-nu-ŋam t'umu. (14) tāt t'umu tāt and(Rus.) ANPH:ADV again beat-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 all ANPH:ADV all l'e-le, odun lebejdī-ge ewrie-nu-nam. (15) kurūlubuj, gather:caus-ss.seq that.one-ins bilberry-loc walk-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 always odun\_lebejdī-le t'umu l'e-gi, londo-llo londo-llo listochki, that.one-poss.3 remove-ss.seq remove-ss.seq small.leaves(Rus.) bilberry-INS all londo-llo londo-llo t'umu. (16) i peni-nu-nam tāt remove-ss.seq remove-ss.seq anph:adv put-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 all and(Rus.) this(Rus.) tolt'ī-nu-nam. (17) i tolt'ī-dele lepëshka-nōt ANPH:ADV beat-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 and(Rus.) beat-ss.seq flatbread(Rus.)-trans kudie-nu-j. (18) tabun l'e-ge tātmie-d'e that.one-LOC be.like.that-JPTCP box.of.birch.bark-LOC become-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg DST (19) tāt'ile töw-nu-ŋam peni-nu-nam. l'e-le, āį ott'o put-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 then close-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 that.one-INS again box.of.birch.bark titimie-d'e... (20) — pige? (21) ā pige, pige, be.like-IND.INTR.1sG birch.bark.box INTJ birch.bark.box birch.bark.box but(Rus.) (22) tātmie-d'e l'e-le berëzo-le material. tāt töw-nu-ŋam. material(Rus.) be.like.that-ptcp that.one-ins birch(Rus.)-ins anph:adv close-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 (23) töw-dele, l'e-le l'ie-nu-nam, ultie-nu-nam. close-ss.seo that.one-ins do.that-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 tie-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 (24) ultie-nu-nam. (25) ulte-lle, l'e-le āj, togda verëvka tie-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 tie-ss.seq that.one-ins again at.that.time(Rus.) string(Rus.) öil'e=el'e. not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg)=sfc

(13) Then pound again all together. (14) After blending everything together, well, go pick blueberries. (15) After separating the gathered blueberries from leaves, separate the leaves and put all of it (into the pounded fish). (16) Then pound it all. (17) After pounding, it will become like a flat cake. (18) Later put it into a birchbark vessel like this. (19) Then cover it in the birchbark vessel … with such …(20) Pige? (21) Ah, pige, pige, but material. (22) With birchbark like this. (23) Cover it, then tie it up. (24) Tie it up. (25) Tie it up … in the old days, there was no rope.

(13) そしてまたすべて叩き潰す。(14) こうしてすべて一緒に混ぜて…、クロマメノキを集めに歩く。(15) クロマメノキから小さな葉をとりのぞいて、とりのぞいてから、すべて入れる。(16) そして叩き潰す。(17) 叩き潰すと、パンのようになる。(18) それをこういう白樺樹皮の容器に入れる。(19) それから覆う、再び白樺樹皮製の容器のような…(20) "pige"ですか?(21) pige じゃなくて布状の。(22) こういう白樺樹皮で覆う。(23) 覆ってから、あれであれする、縛る。(24) 縛る。(25) あれで縛ってから…、その頃は紐がなかったんだよ。

- (26) pukel'ō-d'e n'anme-le, pukel'ō-d'e n'anme-le ili kir'aš-e. be.soft-JPTCP willow-INS be.soft-JPTCP willow-INS or(Rus.) twisted.strings-INS
- (27) kir'aš titimie-d'e, von kir'aš taŋdā l'e-l. twisted.strings be.like-IND.INTR.1sg there(Rus.) twisted.strings destrict exist-sf
- (28) von\_vverkhu. (29) vot tātmie-d'e l'e-le, pukel'ō-d'ōn over.there(Rus.) here(Rus.) be.like.that-jptcp that.one-ins be.soft-jptcp:nmlz

öjl'e-dejne, tātmie-d'e l'e-le n'anme-le. (30) n'anme l'e-gi, not.exist-poss.3:Ds.cond be.like.that-JPTCP that.one-INS willow-INS willow that.one-poss.3

qār-gi londā-nu-ŋam. (31) juö-mek vot? (32) londo-lle skin-poss.3 remove-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3 see-ind.tr.2sg here(Rus.) remove-ss.seq

tātmie-d'e verëvka-k ā-nu-ŋile. (33) tāt ultie-nu-ŋam, be.like.that-jptcp string(Rus.)-foc make-ipfv-pl:of.3 Anph:adv tie-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3

l'e-ge pjatnadtsatogo, petrov\_den'-ge. (35) petrov\_den'-ge tī d'e that.one-loc the.fifteenth(Rus.) Petrov.day(Rus.)-loc Petrov.day(Rus.)-loc INTJ

loŋdo-din kel-din, taŋdigi johodaj-nu-ŋam. (36) l'e-get dance-purp come-purp then open:CAUS:PFV-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 that.one-ABL

ojbun-get kelu-nu-ŋi. (37) l'e-get jasachna the.river.Omulëvka-ABL come-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 that.one-ABL the.river.Yasachnaya(Rus.)

šoromo-pul, ojbun šoromo-pul, i nungeden šoromo-pul, t'umu

person-pl the.river.Omulëvka person-pl and(Rus.) the.river.Rassokha person-pl all

šaqal'ā-nu-ŋi, irkin mieste-ge. gather-ipfv-pl:ind.intr.3 one place-loc

(26) (Tie it up) with soft willow (bark) or with a kiryash (a wicker rope from soft bark). (27) Kiryash – is that one, well, kiryash is over there. (28) Over there. (29) From a willow like this, if there is nothing soft, from such one, from a willow. (30) The willow bark is torn off. (31) Look here, can you see? (32) Tear it off and make a rope. (33) Then tie it up. (34) When is it eaten? It's eaten on the 15th, on St Pyotr's Day. (35) We opened it on St Pyotr's Day, when people came here for the dance. (36) People came from the river Omulyovka. (37) People from Yasachnaya, from Omulyovka, and from the river Rassokha all gathered in one place.

(26) 柔かいサルヤナギの樹皮かキリャーシ(樹皮を撚った紐)で(縛る)。(27) キリャーシってのはこういう…、ほらキリャーシがあそこにある。(28) ほら上の方に。(29) こういうあれで、柔らかいのがなければ、こういうサルヤナギで。(30) サルヤナギのあれを、樹皮を剥す。(31) ほら見えるだろう?(32) 剥してからこういう紐を作る。(33) それから縛る、こういう風にそれからこういう風に(容器を樹皮で覆ってから十字に紐で縛る)。(34) そしてそれをいつ食べるかというと、(6月) 15日、聖ペトル祭の日だ。(35) 聖ペトル祭の日にそこに踊りに来て、そのときに開けたものだ。(36) オイブンから人々が来た。(37) ヤサチナ川の人々、オムリョフカの人々、そしてラソハ川の人々が皆一ヶ所に集まった。

- (38) šagal'ā-lle d'e praždnik zhe. (39) d'e londā-nu-ni tā gather-ss.seq dst.loc intj it.is.the.feast.after.all(Rus.) INTJ dance-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 köjpe-pul pajpe-pul, marqi-pe-n'e. (40) jōdā-nu-ni emi-d-in. woman-PL girl-PL-сом play-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 night-poss.3-dat l'e-gele (41) bojt'e tāt l'e-t taŋ johodaj-dele completely ANPH:ADV exist-ss DST.ATTR that.one-ACC open:CAUS:PFV-SS.SEQ INTJ (42) chtoby\_oni\_uvidelis'\_cherez\_god, lendie-nu-ni. eat:DETR-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 so.that.they.meet.each.other.once.a.year(Rus.) meeting(Rus.) (43) ikhnjaja vstrecha lebie l'e-i tā omulëvka-ge. their(Rus.) meeting(Rus.) land exist-IND.INTR.3sg DST.LOC the.river.Omulëvka-LOC (44) eto po-russki omulëvka. (45) odul tite ojbun. It.is.in.Russian.Omulyovka(Rus.) Yukaghir like the.river.Omulëvka DST.ATTR ojbun-ge, taŋ ojbun-ge, ojbun-ge irkin the.river.Omulëvka-Loc dst.Attr the.river.Omulëvka-Loc the.river.Omulëvka-Loc one (47) povorota qode mon-nu-ni, polupovorot. tite? turning.of.river(Rus.) turning.of.river(Rus.) how say-ipfv-pl:ind.intr.3 Yukaghir like jodū, puskaj. (48) jodū? (50) irkin jodū (49) ē tā, turn.of.river INTI turn.of.river let.it.go(Rus.) one turn.of.river DST.LOC šohurmādie, tā jodū. (51) etot l'ie-nu-ŋā, this(Rus.) Shogurmaadie DST.LOC do.that-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 INTI turn.of.river ammal-nu-ni. spend.a.night-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
- (38) All gathered, as it was the feast after all. (39) And men, women, and girls, everybody danced. (40) They played till it was night. (41) And, after it was uncovered, everybody ate it. (42) So, they meet one another once a year. (43) The place of their meeting is at the river Omulyovka. (44) It's in Russian: "Omulyovka." (45) In Yukaghir, they say "Oibun." (46) In the river Omulyovka, there is the place where the river bends. (47) What will "bend" be in Yukaghir? (48) Yoduu? (49) Eh, yoduu, let it be so. (50) There is yoduu (the bend). (51) Shogurmaadie, they stopped there.
- (38) 集まってそこで、祭りなんだ。(39) 男性も女性も娘たちも踊ったものだ。(40) 遊んだものだ、夜中まで。(41) そしてそれを開いて食事をしたものだ。(42) 年に1度会うために。(43) 彼らが会う場所があったんだ、オムリョフカに。(44) ロシア語ではオムリョフカ。(45) ユカギール語ではオイブンというんだ。(46) オイブン川には分岐点がある。(47) ユカギール語で分岐点はなんていうのかな?(48)「ヨドゥー」ですか?(49) うん、「ヨドゥー」、まあいいだろう。(50) ヨドゥー(分岐点)がそこにある。(51) その(ユカギール語で)ショグルマーディエというところに泊まったものだ。

- šohurmādie-ge met ewre-je, ewrie-nu-je. (52) taŋ DST.ATTR Shogurmaadie-LOC 1sg walk-Ind.intr.1sg walk-Ipfv-Ind.intr.1sg (53) pulun-die-die tandigi. (54) kurūlubuj okhota-ge old.man-dim-dim exist-ind.intr.3sg then always hunting(Rus.)-Loc ewrie-nu-jli, letom=de, tā šohurmādie-ge. zimoj=de, walk-IPFV-IND.INTR.1PL in.winter(Rus.)=EMPH in.summer(Rus.)=EMPH DST.LOC Shogurmaadie-LOC (56) "āj šohurmādie-ņin kebe-t'īli." (55) met mo-d'e: 1sg say-ind.intr.1sg again Shogurmaadie-DAT leave:PFV-IND.INTR.1PL DST.LOC kebe-t'īli. spiridon\_konstantinovich metl'e pulut=te arpaj-dele, leave:PFV-IND.INTR.1PL Spiridon.Konstantinovich 1sg:subst old.man=emph climb:pfv-ss.seq mieste, naqā omo-t'e mieste-k. (58) ubuj very be.good-JPTCP place-PRD that's.right DST.LOC INTJ beauty(Rus.) place šagal'ā-nu-l'el-ni. (59) šaqal'ā-dele tāt jōde-lle, tan barga gather-IPFV-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3 gather-ss.seo anph:adv play-ss.seo dst.attr barkha leg-u-t leg-u-t, jode-t, d'e kelu-nu-ni. (60) ewrie-nu-nā, eat-E-ss eat-E-ss play-ss intj come-ipfv-pl:ind.intr.3 walk-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3 that.one-DAT
- prorva laŋi. (61) prorva\_eto\_po-jakutski\_da?
  the.river.Prorva(Rus.) to Prorva.it's.Yakut.word.isn't.it(Rus.)

  (62) a\_po-jukagirski\_ul'ege\_t'orqo. (63) ul'ege\_t'orqā laŋi. (64) tā
  but,in.Yukaghir.it's.Uliege.chorkho(Rus.) Ul'ege.Chorxo to DST.LOC
  šaqal'ā-nu-ŋi, t'iste\_t'umu odu-pe.
  gather-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 all Yukaghir-PL

(52) I'd been there, in Shogurmaadie. (53) At that time, my husband was alive. (54) We always went to hunt, both in winter and in summer, in that Shogurmaadie. (55) I said, (56) "Let's go to Shogurmaadie once more!" (57) When I went there with my husband Spiridon Konstantinovich, it was beautiful there, a very beautiful place. (58) Yes, we gathered there. (59) We met, played, ate this "barkha," and played again; then we returned. (60) We walked towards the river Prorva. (61) "Prorva," it's a Yakut word, isn't it? (62) But, in Yukaghir, it is "Uliege chorkho" (a grass field). (63) We walked towards Uliege chorkho. (64) All the Yukaghirs gathered there.

(52) そのショグルマーディエをわたしは歩いた、歩いたものだ。(53) その頃は夫が生きてた。(54) いつもわたしたちは狩りをして歩いたものだ、冬も夏も、そのショグルマーディエで。(55) わたしは言った:(56)「またショグルマーディエに行こう!」(57) そこにわたしたちは行った、スピリドン・コンスタンティーノビッチ、わたしの夫もいっしょに登ると — おお、なんて美しいところだろうか、そこはとても綺麗なところなんだ。(58) 本当にそこに集まったものなんだ。(59) 集まってそして遊んで、そのバルハを食べて遊んで、そして帰ってきたものだ。(60) 歩いたものだ、プロルバ川へ。(61) プロルバというのはヤクート語でしょ?(62) ユカギール語ではウリェゲ・チョルコ(草の平原)という。(63) ウリェゲ・チョルコへ歩いたものだ。(64) そこにはユカギールが皆集まった。

### 30 Barkha (told by A.V. Sleptsova in 2007)

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(65) tandigi tā
                     šagal'ā-nidejne,
                                             lūt'ī
                                                      nume-get l'e
                                                                         jaqa-pe
     then
             DST.LOC gather-PL:POSS.3:DS.COND Russian house-ABL that.one Yakut-PL
kelu-nu-ni,
                       jaga-pe, adi-pe
                                               marqil'-pe. (66) d'e tāt
come-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 Yakut-PL young.man-PL girl-PL
                                                                INTJ ANPH:ADV
                       (67) erpeje-pul āj?
                                             (68) erpeje-pul=de āj
jōdā-nu-ni.
                                                                       qon-nu-j.
                           Ewen-pl
                                                  Ewen-PL=EMPH again go-IPFV-IND.INTR.3sG
play-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                       again
(69) i
              jān pod'erqo-ho jān emil-ge londā-nu-ni.
                                                                          (70) jān emil-ge
     and(Rus.) three day-Loc
                                 three night-LOC dance-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                                                               three night-loc
jān pod'erqo-ho. (71) met emej
                                    tudesam tā
                                                        l'e-i
                                                                          āj.
                                                                                (72) met
                         1sg mother 3sg:INTNs DST.LOC exist-IND.INTR.3sg again
three day-Loc
                                                                                     1s<sub>G</sub>
et'ie-gele tā
                   nugu-m,
                                  nū-l'el-u-m.
                                                        (73) "jān pod'erqo-ho,"
father-ACC DST.LOC find-IND.TR.3SG find-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG
                                                             three day-Loc
                 "tāt
                           londā-nu-jli,"
                                                                    (74) "bojt'e
mon-i.
                                                   mon-i.
say-IND.INTR.3sg ANPH:ADV dance-IPFV-IND.INTR.1PL say-IND.INTR.3sg
                                                                        completely
el=lendie-nu-jli,"
                                                (75) "l'e-ge,
                                                                  šöw-dele
                                                                              šubeže-lle,"
                               mon-i.
NEG=eat:DETR-IPFV-IND.INTR.1PL say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                     that.one-Loc enter-ss.seo run-ss.seo
                                             (76) jolohude kel-dele
                 "ōžī ōžā-i."
mon-i,
say-IND.INTR.3sg water drink:INCH-IND.TR.1PL
                                                 back
                                                           come-ss.seo again
                        (77) tamun "ul'ege t'orqo."
loŋdā-nu-ŋi.
dance-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                    Ul'ege.Chorxo
                             DST
```

(65) When they gathered, the Yakuts, young boys and girls, came from the Russian houses. (66) Then they played. (67) The Evens too? (68) The Evens came too. (69) And they danced for three days and three nights. (70) Three days and three nights. (71) My mother was also there. (72) She met my father there. (73) She said, "We danced for three days. (74) We didn't eat anything. (75) We ran (to the river?) and began to drink water." (76) They returned, and they danced again. (77) That is the place, Uliege Chorkho.

(65) そこに集まると、ロシア式の家からヤクート人が来た、若者たちが娘たちが。(66) そして遊んだ。(67) エウェン人たちも来たのですか?(68) エウェン人たちも来たものだ。(69) そして三日三晩踊り明かした。(70) 三日三晩。(71) わたしの母もそこにいた。(72) 彼女はわたしの父をそこで見つけたんだ。(73) (彼女は言った) 「わたしたちは3日間そこで踊ったものだ。(74) まったく食事もとらなかった。(75) 走り込んで、水を飲みだしたものだ」(76) 彼らは戻って来てまた踊ったんだ。(77) それがウリェゲ・チョルコだ。

# 31 Once We Went Upriver on the Rassokha

(1) irkid'e mit nungeden-gen

Recorded on 26 August 2007 from Akulina Vasil'evna Sleptsova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

(2) tāt

možžo-t

možžo-ili.

- 1PL the.river.Rassokha-PROL go.upstream-IND.INTR.1PL ANPH:ADV go.upstream-ss pujle-gen možžā-jīli. irkin pujle-ge šöw-jīli. (3) tan one brook-loc enter-IND.INTR.1PL DST.ATTR brook-PROL go.upstream:INCH-IND.INTR.1PL (4) tāt možžo-t mitl'e lodka l'e-ge l'e-ge iere-j, ANPH:ADV go.upstream-ss 1pl:subst boat(Rus.) that.one-loc that.one-loc float-ind.intr.3sg ōžī-ge. l'e-t met modo-je, lodka-ge. (6) modo-t tāt ANPH:ADV exist-ss 1sg sit-ind.intr.1sg boat(Rus.)-loc water-Loc sit-ss ANPH:ADV (8) irkin d'el'onanō-d'e tātmie-d'e anil-ie iuö. see(-IND.TR.1sg) see(-IND.TR.1sg) be.green-JPTCP be.like.that-JPTCP fish-DIM irkin mieste-ge. (9) šöjl-ge ... budie ōžī molho ohō-j. stand-IND.INTR.3sG place-Loc stone-Loc water in stand-IND.INTR.3sg one on
- (10) met mo-d'e: (11) "kelu-k, kel-ŋik juö-ŋik," mo-d'e.

  1sg say-ind.intr.1sg come-imp.2sg come-pl:imp.2 see-pl:imp.2 say-ind.intr.1sg
- (12) "lem-dik," mo-d'e, "anil?" mo-d'e. (13) "interesnyj anil-ek. what-prd say-ind.intrr.1sg fish say-ind.intrr.1sg interesting(Rus.) fish-prd
- (14) d'el'onaŋō-j," mo-d'e. (15) kel-ŋi. (16) juö-ŋam. be.green-IND.INTR.3SG SAY-IND.INTR.1SG come-PL:IND.INTR.3 see-PL:IND.TR.3
- (17) "ōj." (18) irkin lūt'ī l'e-j=bed-ek, mit-n'e.

  INTJ one Russian exist-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD 1PL-COM

(1) Once we went upriver on the Rassokha. (2) We went upriver and got to one inflow. (3) There, we began to go upstream. (4) While going upstream, our boat started floating downstream. (5) I was in the boat. (6) Sitting there, I saw. (7) I saw: (8) One green fish swimming in one place. (9) It was on the stone, in the water. (10) I said, (11) "Come, come here, look! (12) What fish is this? (13) It's an interesting fish. (14) It's green." (15) They came. (16) They looked. (17) "Oh." (18) One Russian was with us.

(1) あるときわたしたちはラソハ川をさかのぼった。(2) さかのぼって、ある小川に入った。(3) その小川をさかのぼりはじめた。(4) さかのぼると、わたしたちのボートは水の流れに従って下流へ進んだ。(5) そしてわたしは座っていた、ボートに。(6) 座っていて見た。(7) 見た。(8) ある場所に1匹の緑色のこういう小魚がいた。(9) 石の上に、水の中にいた。(10) わたしは言った:(11)「来て来て!、見て! (12) 何の魚だろう? (13) おもしろい魚だ。(14) 緑色だ」(15) 人々がやって来た。(16) 彼らは見た。(17)「おお」(18) 1人のロシア人がいたんだ、わたしたちといっしょに。

- 31 Once We Went Upriver on the Rassokha (told by A.V. Sleptsova in 2007)
- (19) "ryba\_interesnyj," skazal. (20) mon-i: (21) "chto\_za\_ryba?" interesting.fish(Rus.) he.said(Rus.) say-IND.INTR.3sg what.fish.is.it(Rus.)
- (22) ja\_govorju: (23) "ne\_znaju." (24) nn interesnyj anil-ek! I.say(Rus.) I.don't.know(Rus.) INTJ interesting(Rus.) fish-prd
- (25) tātmie-d'e anil-ek, d'el'onaŋō-j. (26) ōžī molhon me=ewrie-nu-j. be.like.that-jptcp fish-prd be.green-jptcp water in Aff=walk-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg
- (27) eto\_tol'ko\_odin\_raz? (28) odin\_raz\_videla. (29) pierinžā-n'e-j. did.it.happen.only.once(Rus.) I.saw.it.once(Rus.) dorsal.fin-prop-ind.intr.3sg
- (30) pierinžā-n'e-t tāt l'ie-nu-j. dorsal.fin-prop-ss anph:adv exist-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg

(19)「おもしろい魚だ」(20) 彼は尋ねた:(21)「何の魚だろう?」(22) わたしは言った: (23)「分からない」(24) んー、おもしろい魚だった。(25) こんな (親指と人差し指で 10cm ぐらいであることを示して) 魚だった、緑色の。(26) 水の中を泳いでいた。(27) - それは 1 度だけだったのですか? - (28) 1 度だけ見たんだ。(29) 背びれがついていた。(30) 背びれをつけて泳いでいたんだ。

<sup>(19) &</sup>quot;The fish is interesting," he said. (20) He asked, (21) "What fish is it?" (22) I said, (23) "I don't know." (24) Hm, it was an interesting fish. (25) It was a fish like this; it was green. (26) It was swimming in the water. (27) "And did you see it only once?" (28) I saw it once. (29) It had a dorsal fin. (30) It was swimming with a dorsal fin.

### 32 Hare

Recorded on 25 July 2007 from Mariya Ivanovna Turpanova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

- (1) t'olhorā-die t'āšet pundu-t, pro zajtsa. (2) irkid'e pulut hare-ым now tell-fut:IND.TR.1sg about.hare(Rus.) once old.man terikie-die-n'e öil'ie-l'el. modo-l'el-ni. (3) uör-pe-gi child-pl-poss.3 not.exist-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) old.woman-dim-com sit-infr-pl:ind.intr.3 tudel'e moro-l'el-mele. tudel'e. kölit'e. pulun-die-die tāt ANPH:ADV old.man-dim-dim 3sg:subst put.on-infr-of.3sg anph:adv 3sg:subst ski (5) "met gon-d'e," mon-i. (6) "met l'e iuö-iī-t. 1sg go-IND.INTR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 1s<sub>G</sub> that.one see-VEN-FUT:IND.TR.1SG (7) kapkan-pe juö-t," (8) "met l'e. mon-i. nono-pe trap(Rus.)-pl see-fut:ind.tr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg that.one snare-PL (9) mozhet ige-l'el-tej." iuö-t. šār (10) tāt see-fut:ind.tr.1sg perhaps(Rus.) something get.caught-INFR-FUT:IND.INTR.3sG ANPH:ADV (11) gon-dolo īt' el=l'e-lle tāt kie-t'. go-IND.INTR.3SG go-ss.seq for.a.long.time NEG=exist-ss.seq ANPH:ADV come-IND.INTR.3sG (12) mon-i: (13) "terike, juö-k. (14) t'olhoro-log ket'ī-me!" say-IND.INTR.3sG old.woman see-IMP.2sG hare-FOC bring-of.1sg (15) "amdō-i?" (16) "öil'e, ed'-i." (17) tāt t'olhorā-die odul Yukaghir die:res-ind.intr.3sg no be.alive-IND.INTR.3sG ANPH:ADV hare-DIM tite tāt ann'ā-j: like ANPH:ADV speak:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG
- (1) Now, I'll tell you a fairy tale about the hare, about the hare. (2) Once upon a time, there lived an old man and his old wife. (3) They had no children. (4) Once, the old man took his ... his skis (and said), (5) "I'll go. (6) I'll go see. (7) I'll go see my traps. (8) I'll, erm, check my traps. (9) Maybe something fell into it." (10) And he left. (11) Soon, he returned. (12) He said, (13) "Wife, look. (14) I've brought a hare!" (15) "Dead?" (16) "No, alive." (17) Then, the hare began to speak in the Yukaghir language.
- (1) ウサギの話を今からしよう、ウサギについて。(2) あるとき、おじいさんとおばあさんが暮らしていた。(3) 彼らには子供がいなかった。(4) そしておじいさんは自分のあれを身に着けた、自分のあれを、スキーを。(5)「わたしは行くよ。(6) わたしはあれを見に行く。(7) 罠を見るとしよう。(8) わたしはあれを、罠を見るとしよう。(9) もしかしたら何かかかったかもしれない」(10) そして行った。(11) 行ってからまもなくして帰ってきた。(12) おじいさんは言った:(13)「妻よ、見ろ。(14) ウサギを持ってきたぞ!」(15)「死んでるのかい?」(16)「いいや、生きてるよ」(17) するとウサギはユカギール語でしゃべりはじめた:

(18) "epie," mon-i, "epie, met-ul el=kudde-nilek=ie. (19) met grandmother say-IND.INTR.3sg grandmother 1sg-Acc NEG=kill-PL:PROH.2=sfc 1s<sub>G</sub> uö-nōn ō-teje." (20) tāt pulun-die-die 2PL-DAT child-ESS COP-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG ANPH:ADV old.man-DIM-DIM say-IND.INTR.3SG (21) "ō ubuj dahane!" mon-i. terikie-die-nin: (22) "terike, old.woman-DIM-DAT INTJ that's.right even say-IND.INTR.3sG old.woman PROX:ATTR t'olhoro," mon-i, "mit uö-ŋōn ā-tej=ie!" mon-i. (23) "ā," hare say-ind.intr.3sg 1pl child-ess make-fut:ind.tr.1pl=sfc say-ind.intr.3sg INTJ "mit-ke uö öil'e." mon-i. (24) tāt t'olhorā-die. say-IND.INTR.3sg 1PL-LOC child not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) ANPH:ADV hare-DIM t'olhorā-die tāt'ile mon-i, eto tude epie-nin: (25) "epie hare-ым then say-IND.INTR.3sg this.one(Rus.) 3sg:gen grandmother-dat grandmother t'āšet qamie-t=ie! (26) lot'il-ek el'ejī-teme, ōžī-lek." (27) "ā," met tet-ul 1sg 2sg-acc now help-fut:ind.tr.1sg=sfc fire-FOC carry-FUT:OF.1sg water-FOC INTJ pulun-die-die mon-i ugujel-me mon-i. (28) tāt ANPH:ADV old.man-DIM-DIM say-IND.INTR.3SG morning-TMP say-ind.intr.3sg egie-dele: (29) "met," mon-i, "qon-d'e=ie," (30) "ā, mon-i. stand:INCH-SS.SEQ 1s<sub>G</sub> say-Ind.intr.3sg go-Ind.intr.1sg=sfc say-Ind.intr.3sg INTI gon," terikie-die tudel'e-ge mon-i. (31) tāt otul-ge modo-t ANPH:ADV old.woman-DIM 3sg:subst-loc fireside-loc sit-ss go(-IMP.2SG) say-IND.INTR.3SG ind'e-j. (32) tude pulut-kin molod'o-log murdū-lek īde-mle. 3sg:gen old.man-dat mitten-foc sew:detr-ind.intr.3sg socks-FOC sew-of.3sg

(18) "Grandmother, don't kill me. (19) I'll be a child for you." (20) The old man told the old woman, (21) "Oh, yes, indeed! (22) Wife, let's make the hare our child!" (23) "Ah, we have no children." (24) Then, the hare said to the old woman, (25) "Grandmother, I'll help you now! (26) I'll carry wood and water." (27) "Ah, good," she said. (28) The next morning, the old man said, (29) "I'll go out." (30) "All right, go." (31) The old woman was sitting in front of the hearth and sewing. (32) She was sewing mittens and socks for her husband.

(18)「おばあちゃん、ぼくを殺さないで。(19) ぼくはおまえたちの子供になるよ」(20) するとおじいさんは言った、おばあさんに:(21)「おお、まったくそのとおりだ。(22) 妻よ、このウサギをわたしたちの子供にしよう」(23)「そうだね、わたしたちには子供がいない」(24) するとウサギはおばあさんに言った:(25)「おばあちゃん、ぼくはおまえを今から手伝うよ!(26) 薪を運ぶよ、水を運ぶよ」(27)「そうかい」おばあさんは言った。(28) そしておじいさんは翌朝起きて言った:(29)「わたしは行くよ」(30)「ああ、行っておくれ」(31) そしておばあさんは、炉のところに座りながら縫い物をしていた。(32) 夫に手袋と靴下を縫っていた。

- (33) l'e-lek mure-lek, mure-lek molod'o-loq, murdū-lek, moho-lek īde-mle. that.one-foc shoes-foc shoes-foc mitten-foc socks-foc fur.cap-foc sew-of.3sg
- (34) modo-j. (35) tāt t'olhorā-die kie-t'. (36) "epie, tet sit-ind.intr.3sg andmother 2sg qamujāq met-in kej-k=te!" (37) etot\_doska\_škuru\_režut. ladle 1sg-dat give-imp.2sg=emph board.which.is.used.to.cut.fur.leather(Rus.)
- (38) taŋ qamujāq-kele, mon-i: "kej-k met-in!" (39) "noŋōn?"

  DST.ATTR ladle-ACC say-IND.INTR.3SG give-IMP.2SG 1SG-DAT why
- (40) "met t'āšet qon-teje," mon-i. (41) "pömude-tt'e.

  1sg now go-fut:ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg slide.down-fut:ind.intr.1sg
- (42) pömude-tt'e, katat'sja\_budu. (43) nume jeklie," mon-i, slide.down-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG I.will.slide.down(Rus.) house beyond say-IND.INTR.3SG

"tīmiel'e l'e-j," mon-i. (44) "tā pömude-tt'e," prox.qlt:subst exist-ind.intr.3sg say-ind.intr.3sg dst.loc slide.down-fut:ind.intr.1sg

mon-i. (45) "kej-k met-in, epie!" (46) "juö-k, pulut say-ind.intr.3sg give-imp.2sg 1sg-dat grandmother see-imp.2sg old.man

kel-tej. (47) qāqā kel-tej. (48) met-kele come-fut:ind.intr.3sg grandfather come-fut:ind.intr.3sg 1sg-acc

kudde-tum. (49) juö-k, el=šejrej-lek." (50) "öjl'e," mon-i, kill-fut:ind.tr.3sg see-imp.2sg neg=escape:pfv-proh.2sg no say-ind.intr.3sg

"el=šejrej-teje." (51) tāt tude qamujāq-kele tadi-m.
NEG=escape:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG ANPH:ADV 3SG:GEN ladle-ACC give-IND.TR.3SG

(33) Erm, she was sewing footwear, mittens and socks, and a hat. (34) She was sitting. (35) And there came the hare. (36) "Grandmother, give me a scoop!" (37) This is ... a board ... to cut hide. (38) "Give me a scoop!" (39) "What do you want it for?" (40) "I'll to go out now. (41) I'll have a slide. (42) I'll have a slide. (43) Behind the house, there is that ... (44) I'll slide there. (45) Give me, Grandmother!" (46) "Look, my husband will come. (47) Grandfather will come. (48) He will kill me. (49) Mind, don't escape!" (50) "No, I'll not run away!" (51) She gave her scoop to him.

(33) あれを靴を、靴や手袋や靴下や帽子を縫っていた。(34) 座っていた。(35) するとウサギが来た。(36)「おばあちゃん、杓子をぼくにちょうだい」(37) あの、板、皮を切るための.. (qamujāq (杓子) ではなく ninbā (毛皮を切るために使う板) と言いたかったと思われる)(38) その杓子を「ぼくにちょうだい」と言った。(39)「どうしてさ?」(40)「ぼくはこれから行くんだ。(41)(それを橇のようにして)滑るんだ。(42)滑るんだ。(43)家の向こうにこういうあれがある。(44) そこで滑ることにするよ。(45) おばあちゃん、ぼくにちょうだい」(46)「夫が帰って来るだろう。(47) おじいさんが帰って来るだろう。(48) (そして) わたしを殺すだろう。(49) 逃げるんじゃないよ」(50)「いいや、逃げたりしないさ」(51) そしておばあさんは自分の杓子を渡した。

- qamujāq-kele mid'-u-m. (53) uke-t'. (52) taŋ DST.ATTR ladle-ACC take-E-IND.TR.3sG go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG īť (54) ukej-dele d'e īt' l'e-i. (55) taŋ go.out:pfv-ss.seq intj for.a.long.time for.a.long.time exist-ind.intr.3sg DST.ATTR örn'ie-j: (56) "t'olhoro, goll'e-jek?" terikie-die tāt old.woman-dim anph:adv shout:inch-ind.intr.3sg hare be.where-IND.INTR.2sG (59) "ē." (57) "ā, met tī (58) pude jōde-je." l'e-je. INTJ 1SG PROX:LOC exist-IND.INTR.1SG outside play-IND.INTR.1sG INTJ (60) tāt okno-gen juö-nu-m. (61) tāt t'olhorā-die tin ANPH:ADV window(Rus.)-PROL see-IPFV-IND.TR.3SG ANPH:ADV PROX:ATTR hare-DIM (62) tāt īť el=l'e-lle: (63) "kie." tāt ANPH:ADV slide.down-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV for.a.long.time NEG=exist-ss.seQ friend "šök-kek=ie!" (64) "ā," mon-i. mon-i. (65) tāt say-IND.INTR.3sg enter-IMP.FUT.2sg=sfc INTI say-IND.INTR.3sg ANPH:ADV terikie-die ind'e-t ind'e-t tude, tudel'e-gele tāt nohī-gele old.woman-dim sew:detr-ss sew:detr-ss 3sg:gen 3sg:subst-acc anph:adv thimble-acc tīmiel'e-ge onrū-t usnula. (66) chajnik napërstok thimble(Rus.) fall.asleep-ss she.fell.asleep(Rus.) kettle(Rus.) PROX.QLT:SUBST-LOC l'e-ge. chajnik-ke (67) tā lolho-j. stand-IND.INTR.3sg that.one-Loc DST.LOC kettle(Rus.)-LOC boil-IND.INTR.3SG ANPH:ADV
- (52) The hare took the scoop. (53) He went out. (54) He went outside and was there for a long long time. (55) The old woman started calling. (56) "Hare, where are you?" (57) "I'm here! (58) I'm playing outside." (59) "Eh." (60) The old woman looked through the window. (61) The hare was sliding. (62) After a while, the old woman said, (63) "Enter the house!" (64) "All right," said the hare. (65) The old woman was sewing, and her thimble ... thimble ... and she fell asleep. (66) There was a kettle on the ... (67) The kettle was boiling. (68) The old woman woke up soon. (69) "Hare, where are you?"

(69) "t'olhoro, goll'e-jek?"

be.where-IND.INTR.2sG

hare

īť

el=l'e-t

mežže-ť.

for.a.long.time NEG=exist-ss wake.up:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG

(52) ウサギはその杓子を受け取った。(53) 外に出た。(54) 外に出て、長い間外にいた。(55) おばあさんは叫びだした:(56)「ウサギよ、どこにいるんだい?」(57)「ああ、ぼくはここにいるよ。(58) 外で遊んでいるよ」(59)「そうかい」(60) そしておばあさんは窓から見た。(61) ウサギは滑っていた。(62) そしてまもなくして(おばあさんは言った):(63)「中に入りなさい!」(64)「わかったよ」ウサギは言った。(65) そしておばあさんは縫い物をしていて自分のあれを指貫を、指貫を…、眠った。(66) やかんがこういうあれに置かれていた。(67) そこでやかんが沸騰していた。(68) そしてまもなくしておばあさんは目を覚ました。(69)「ウサギよ、どこにいるんだい」

#### 32 Hare (told by M.I. Turpanova in 2007)

(70) öjl'e. (71) tāt uke-t'. (72) ukej-dele not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) ANPH:ADV go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG go.out:PFV-SS.SEQ (73) "t'olhoro, qoll'e-jek?" (74) jūket (75) "ā mon-i: tāt: say-ind.intr.3sg hare be.where-IND.INTR.2sG from.far.away ANPH:ADV INTJ (76) izdal'ka\_tak\_krichit. l'e-je." (77) tāt met tī mon-i: 1sg prox:loc exist-ind.intr.1sg he.shouts.from.afar(Rus.) ANPH:ADV say-IND.INTR.3SG (79) tet ibišī kīmer (78) "met-in el=nadaŋō-jek. met-in 1sg-dat neg=be.necessary-ind.intr.2sg 2sg breast inner.side.of.hide 1sg-dat el=nadanō!" (80) tvoë\_moloko\_ne\_nado\_govorit. (81) ubezhal. NEG=be.necessary(-IND.INTR.3sg) I.don't.need.your.milk.he.says(Rus.) he.ran.away(Rus.) (82) tāt starukha zashla. (84) tude chajnik-kele (83) šög-i. the.old.woman.entered(Rus.) 3sg:gen kettle(Rus.)-Acc enter-IND.INTR.3sG peni-m. (85) tude pulut-kin legul-ek ā-mele. (86) modo-j. 3sg:gen old.man-dat food-foc make-of.3sg put-IND.TR.3sG sit-ind.intr.3sg t'uöte el=kelu-nu, (87) tāt el=kelu-nu. ANPH:ADV old.man always NEG=come-IPFV(-IND.INTR.3sG) NEG=come-IPFV(-IND.INTR.3sG) (89) āj (88) tude nohī-gele mid'-u-m mid'-u-m. āj. 3sg:gen thimble-Acc take-E-IND.TR.3sg again again take-E-IND.TR.3sG (91) proglotila spit. (90) amladaj-m. sobaka she.swallowed.it.and.fell.asleep(Rus.) swallow:pfv-ind.tr.3sg ANPH:ADV dog(Rus.) töwke töwke l'e-j. (93) töwke-gi tāt ojďe-j. do.that-ind.intr.3sg dog-poss.3 Anph:Adv bark:Detr-ind.intr.3sg dog dog

(70) There was no hare. (71) The old woman went out. (72) She went out and said, (73) "Where are you, hare?" (74) The hare shouted from afar, (75) "I am here!" (76) The hare shouted from afar. (77) And he said, (78) "I don't need you! (79) I don't need dirt (lit. inner side of hide) from your breasts! (80) I don't need your milk." (81) And he ran away. (82) The old woman entered the house. (83) She entered the house. (84) She put her kettle. (85) She prepared a meal for her husband. (86) She was sitting. (87) The husband didn't come for some time. (88) She took her thimble again. (89) She took it again. (90) She swallowed it. (91) She swallowed it and fell asleep. (92) And a dog ... a dog, a dog, erm ... (93) A dog started barking.

(70) ウサギはいなかった。(71) そして外に出た。(72) 外に出て言った:(73)「ウサギよ、どこにいるんだい?」(74) 遠くから(ウサギが言った):(75)「ああ、ぼくはここにいるよ」(76) 遠くからこう叫んでいる。(77) そして言った:(78)「ぼくにはおまえは要らないよ。(79) おまえのおっぱいのかすなんて要らない」(80) おまえのおっぱいは要らないと言った。(81) 逃げた。(82) おばあさんは家に入った。(83) 家に入った。(84) 自分のやかんを置いた。(85) 自分の夫に食事を作った。(86) 座っていた。(87) おじいさんはずっと帰ってこなかった。(88) 彼女は自分の指貫を手にした、再び。(89) 再び手にした。(90) 飲み込んだ。(91) 飲み込んで眠っている。(92) 犬があれした。(93) 犬が吠えた。

```
(94) tāt
              juö-dege
                            pulun-die-die
                                                               (95) "qaja
                                            šög-i.
    ANPH:ADV see-POSS.3:DS old.man-DIM-DIM enter-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                    INTJ
                         (96) "ā," tāt
mo=onrō-jog=dū?"
                                             mežže-ť.
                                                                      (97) "l'e
                                                                                   mit
AFF=sleep-ind.intr.2sg=q
                              INTJ ANPH:ADV wake.up:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                           that.one 1PL
t'olhoro goll'e?"
                              (98) "mit t'olhoro pude jōde-j=bed-ek,"
                                                 outside play-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD
hare
        be.where(-INTERR.3sG)
                                   1PL hare
                (99) "tāt
                               me=šewre-t',"
mon-i.
                                                           mon-i.
                                                                            (100) tamun-ge
                     ANPH:ADV AFF=escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG say-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                                                  DST-LOC
say-ind.intr.3sg
                (101) "tīne
                                mo-d'īli=elō,"
                                                                      (102) "mit-n'e, mit-ke
                                                     mon-i.
say-IND.INTR.3sG
                      PROX:TMP say-IND.INTR.1PL=SFC say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                            1PL-COM 1PL-LOC
neme-die öil'e
                                 legō-l=ben.
                                                 (103) mit t'olhoro lek-ke.
                                                                                (104) tamun
what-DIM not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg) eat:RES-AN=NMLZ
                                                        1PL hare
                                                                     eat-IMP.1PL
                                                                                      DST
medi-dege
              me=šewre-t'."
                                                          tāt'ile: (106) "öjl'e,"
                                          (105) a
hear-poss.3:Ds Aff=escape:PfV-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                and(Rus.) then
                                                                       no
                tetsam
                          lek-tele me=l'e-jek!"
                                                           mon-i.
say-ind.intr.3sg 2sg:intns eat-ss.seq aff=exist-ind.intr.2sg say-ind.intr.3sg
(107) "me=kimdān'erī-mek
                                 met-ul!" mon-i.
                                                                            terikie-die
                                                            (108) tāt
      AFF=deceive:APPL-IND.TR.2SG 1SG-ACC say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                 ANPH:ADV old.woman-DIM
                       (109) terikie-die-gele
                                                           qaninā-m.
stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG
                             old.woman-dim-acc anph:adv chase:ipfv:inch-ind.tr.3sg
(110) šöštok, d'e ohō-j.
                                     (111) tāt
                                                     qaninā-m.
      hearth INTJ stand-IND.INTR.3sG
                                           ANPH:ADV chase:IPFV:INCH-IND.TR.3SG
```

(94) She saw the old man entering. (95) "Well, are you sleeping?" (96) "Ah," the old woman woke. (97) "Where is our hare?" (98) "Our hare was playing outside. (99) Then he ran away," the old woman said. (100) And she said, (101) "We were talking. (102) We had nothing to eat. (103) Let's eat our hare, we said. (104) He heard it and ran away." (105) Then the old man said, (106) "It's a lie! You've eaten it alone! (107) You've cheated me!" (108) Then the old woman stood up. (109) The old man started running after her. (110) There was a hearth (a stove). (111) He started running (after her) (around the hearth).

(94) 見ると、おじいさんが入ってきた。(95)「おや、眠っているのかい?」(96)「ああ」 おばあさんは目を覚ました。(97)「わたしたちのウサギはどこにいるんだい?」(98)「わたしたちのウサギは外で遊んでいた。(99) そして逃げてしまった」(100) そして言った:(101)「さっきわたしたちは言ったじゃないか。(102) わたしたちには何も食べるものがない。(103) だからわたしたちのウサギを食べよう、と。(104) それを聞いて逃げたんだよ」(105) すると(おじいさんは言った):(106)「いいや、おまえ1人で食べたんだな。(107) 騙したんだな、わたしを!」(108) おばあさんは立ち上がった。(109) おじいさんはおばあさんを追いかけまわしだした。(110) 火を起こす台があった。(111) 追いかけまわしはじめた。

- (112) terikie-die l'e-gi mure-d igeje-gi pejže-t'. old.woman-DIM that.one-POSS.3 shoes-GEN string-POSS.3 come.undone-IND.INTR.3SG
- (113) tāt tāt qon-u-t qon-u-t pulun-die-die tāt tude, tiŋ
  ANPH:ADV ANPH:ADV go-E-SS go-E-SS old.man-DIM-DIM ANPH:ADV 3SG:GEN PROX:ATTR
  terikie-die l'e-ge, terikie-die n'oho-j.
  old.woman-DIM that.one-Loc old.woman-DIM fall.down-IND.INTR.3SG
- (114) nastupil\_na\_etot\_verëvochku (115) starukha\_upala. (116) tāt d'e: he.stepped.on.the.lace(Rus.) the.old.woman.fell.down(Rus.) ANPH:ADV INTJ

"tet iril juö-t=ie!" mon-i. (117) t'ohoje-lek min-mele. 2SG belly see-FUT:IND.TR.1SG=SFC say-IND.INTR.3SG knife-FOC take-OF.3SG

ill'aj-m. (119) öjl'e.  $(120) \bar{a}$ nohī-gi=ere ANPH:ADV rip.up-IND.TR.3SG not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG) INTJ thimble-poss.3=ЕМРН ľe-j, molho. (121) tabun, "ō," mon-i. iri-de (122) tāt DST INTJ say-IND.INTR.3sg exist-IND.INTR.3sg belly-poss.3:gen in ANPH:ADV (123) īde-lle: (124) "d'e terike egie-k."

INTJ old.woman stand:INCH-IMP.2SG

(125) terike\_kakoj\_tam? (126) qajaq tāhar amde-j=bed-ek. (127) tāt what.wife.is.ther(Rus.) INTJ even die-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD ANPH:ADV

sew-ss.seo

sew-ind.tr.3sg

(128) "met terike kudde=elō!" ibel'e-j. qindī (129) tāt tāt'ile old.woman PROX:LOC kill(-IND.TR.1SG)=SFC cry-ind.intr.3sg 1s<sub>G</sub> ANPH:ADV then tude terike-gele peni-m. (130) tāt: 3sg:gen old.woman-acc put-ind.tr.3sg ANPH:ADV

(112) The old woman's footwear lace untied. (113) The old man was walking after his wife for some time and the old woman fell. (114) He stepped on the lace. (115) The old woman fell down. (116) Then, the old man said, "Now, I'll take a look at your belly!" (117) He took a knife. (118) He ripped open the old woman's belly with his knife. (119) There was nothing. (120) Only the thimble was in her belly. (121) "Oh!" he said. (122) And he stitched up her belly. (123) He stitched up her belly and said, (124) "Wife, get up!" (125) There was no wife anymore! (126) She was already dead. (127) Then he cried. (128) "I've killed my wife!" (129) He left his wife's body. (130) Then he said,

(112) おばあさんのあれが、靴の紐がほどけた。(113) そしてずっと追いかけておじいさんは自分のこのおばあさんのあれに...、おばあさんは転んだ。(114) おじいさんは紐を踏んだ。(115) おばあさんは転んだ。(116) そして、「おまえの腹を見てやる」とおじいさんは言った。(117) ナイフを手にした。(118) そして(おばあさんの腹を) 切り裂いた。(119) なかった。(120) 指抜きだけがあった、彼女の腹の中には。(121) おじいさんは「おお」と言った。(122) 腹を縫い合わせた。(123) 縫い合わせてから(言った):(124)「妻よ、起きろ」(125) どんな妻がいるもんか。(126) 彼女はもう死んでいたんだ。(127) そしておじいさんは泣いた。(128) 「わたしは妻を殺してしまったではないか!」(129) そして自分の妻を置いた。(130) そして(言った):

- (131) "met t'āšet qon-teje," (132) "taŋ t'olhoro met t'āšet mon-i. now go-fut:ind.intr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg DST.ATTR hare 1sg now nugu-t," mon-i. (133) qon-i. (134) t'olhorā-die l'e-ge find-fut:IND.TR.1sg say-IND.INTR.3sg go-IND.INTR.3sG hare-ым that.one-Loc pulun-die-die (135) a tāt'ile mid'-u-m. kie-t'. (136) taŋ DST.ATTR old.man-DIM-DIM come-IND.INTR.3SG and(Rus.) then take-E-IND.TR.3sG (137) t'olhoro-loq īdie-l'el-mele, t'olhoro tude (138) tan kapkan-ge hare-FOC get.caught:caus-INFR-OF.3sG DST.ATTR hare 3sg:gen trap(Rus.)-loc l'e-ge, l'e-ge, ige-l'el. (139) tamun-gele ket'ī-m. that.one-LOC that.one-LOC get.caught-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG) DST-ACC bring-IND.TR.3sG juö-dege šoromo-lek ewre-l. (141) tāt juö-dege grandfather see-poss.3:Ds person-foc walk-sf ANPH:ADV see-POSS.3:DS DST.ATTR ed'ie-l'el. (142) eto\_babushka\_ozhila. terikie-die old.woman-DIM be.alive:INCH-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg) the.old.woman.came.to.life(Rus.) (144) "pulut, mā, met tet-in legul-ek ā-me." (143) khodit. she.walked(Rus.) old.man INTJ 1SG 2SG-DAT food-FOC make-OF.1SG DST.ATTR pulut: (146) "qaja met tīne tet-ul t'ohoje-le ill'aj-me=bed-ek=elō." tude 3sg:gen old.man 1SG PROX:TMP 2SG-ACC knife-INS rip.up-MPTCP.1SG=NMLZ-PRD=SFC (148) "öjl'e." (149) "met ien paj (147) tamun-ge mon-i: say-ind.intr.3sg other woman say-E-ss (150) "öjl'e met met! t'unre-je," mon-i. think-IND.INTR.1SG say-IND.INTR.3SG 1sg 1sg no
- (131) "Now I'll go out. (132) I'll find that hare!" (133) He went off. (134) The hare that ... (135) Then he caught the hare. (136) The old man returned. (137) He caught the hare. (138) The hare fell into his trap. (139) He brought it. (140) The old man saw someone walking. (141) He saw that the old woman had come to life. (142) It was the old woman who had come to life. (143) She walked. (144) "Old man, here, I'm preparing meal for you." (145) Her husband said, (146) "What! I just ripped open your belly with the knife." (147) And the old woman answered, (148) "No." (149) "I thought it was another woman walking." (150) "No, it's me!
- (131)「わたしは今から行くぞ。(132) あのウサギをこれから見つけてやる」(133) 行った。(134) ウサギはあれに…。(135) そしてそれから捕まえた。(136) おじいさんは帰ってきた。(137) 彼はウサギを捕まえた。(138) そのウサギは罠にかかった。(139) それを運んできた。(140) おじいさんが見ると、人が歩いていた。(141) そして見ると、おばあさんが生き返っていた。(142) おばさんは生き返っていたんだ。(143) 歩いていた。(144) 「夫よ、ほら、わたしはおまえに食事を作っている」(145) おじいさんは(言った):(146) 「おや、わたしはさっきおまえをナイフで腹を裂いたんじゃなかったか」(147) するとおばあさんは言った:(148) 「ちがうよ」(149) 「わたしはほかの女だと思っていた」(150) 「ちがうよ、わたし、わたし。

(151) tīne ind'e-t modo-t," mon-i, "nohī PROX:TMP sew:DETR-SS sit-SS say-IND.INTR.3sg thimble amladaj-me=bed-ek," mon-i. (152) "taŋ tet iril ill'aj-dele," swallow:pfv-mptcp.1sg=nmlz-prd say-ind.intr.3sg DST.ATTR 2SG belly rip.up-ss.seq "taŋ min, nū." nohī mon-i. mon-i. say-IND.INTR.3sg DST.ATTR thimble take(-IND.TR.1sg) find(-IND.TR.1sg) say-IND.INTR.3sg (153) d'e d'e pulun-die-die l'e-lek ā-mele, lot'il-ek. (154) "tin t'olhoro INTJ INTJ old.man-DIM-DIM that.one-FOC make-OF.3sg fire-FOC PROX:ATTR hare (155) t'olhoro-gele l'e-ηā, lek-tej," pat-tele do.that-pl:ind.tr.3 cook-ss.seq eat-fut:ind.tr.1pl say-ind.intr.3sg hare-acc (156) tan gār-e tude pulut-kin moho-lek īde-mle. DST.ATTR skin-INS 3SG:GEN old.man-DAT fur.cap-FOC sew-OF.3SG eat-pl:IND.TR.3 l'e-le l'e-le khvosť tāt (157) tin taŋ nugen-ge PROX:ATTR DST.ATTR that.one-INS that.one-INS tail(Rus.) ANPH:ADV hand-LOC morie-nu-j=ben-gele t'ied'e-ge tak ā-mele. (158) a wear-IPFV-JPTCP=NMLZ-ACC coldness-LOC like.this(Rus.) make-of.3sg and(Rus.) tusha-die-gele terikie-die. sanajāq-ŋōn ā-m, that.one-poss.3 body(Rus.)-DIM-ACC fur.coat(Yak,)-ESS make-IND.TR.3sG old.woman-DIM skazka t'emie-t'. tiŋ (160) konchilsja. ANPH:ADV PROX:ATTR tale(Rus.) end:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG it.ended(Rus.)

(151) I was sitting, sewing, and I swallowed the thimble." (152) "I ripped open your belly and found the thimble there," said the old man. (153) The old man, erm, lit a fire. (154) "Let's eat the hare!" (155) They boiled and ate the hare. (156) The old woman made a hat from the wool. (157) From the tail, she made that ... to put on the hands in the cold ... (158) And from the wool of the trunk, she made a vest. (159) And this is the end of the fairy tale. (160) The end.

(151) さっき縫い物をしながら座っていて、指貫を飲み込んだんだよ」(152)「おまえの腹を裂いて、その指貫を見つけたのだ」とおじいさんは言った。(153) おじいさんはあれをした、火を焚いた。(154)「このウサギを食べよう」と言った。(155) ウサギをあれした、煮て食べた。(156) その毛皮で自分の夫に帽子を縫った。(157) この、そのあれで、あれで、尻尾で、寒いときにこんな風に手につけるものを、それを作った。(158) そしてあれで、胴体を上着にした、おばあさんは。(159) これで昔話はおしまい。(160) おしまい。

# 33 In the Old Days, When We Were Small

pulut

mon-i: old.man say-IND.INTR.3sG

Recorded on 25 July 2007 from Mariya Ivanovna Turpanova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

(1) ran'še kogda my malen'kie ... (2) tudā jukō-t, mit jukō-jīli. before.when.we.were.small(Rus.) before be.small-ss 1pl be.small-ind.intr.1pl basiki mon-u-t l'e-lle (3) togda uchastok l'e-j. (4) tā at.that.time(Rus.) Basiki say-E-ss exist-ss.seq area(Rus.) exist-IND.INTR.3sg DST.LOC gorobo-pul l'e-ni, jagadāt'e-pul tā. (5) vobshche ferma tā. exist-pl:ind.intr.3 horse-pl cow-PL DST.LOC in.general(Rus.) farm(Rus.) DST.LOC (6) d'e kebe-t'īli. (7) emej mit-kele, ohus na byke, na samke, mother 1PL-ACC ox(Yak.) on.a.ox(Rus.) on.a.cow(Rus.) INTJ leave:PFV-IND.INTR.1PL (8) met emd'e tāt mit-kele köwdej-m. tīmie ANPH:ADV 1PL-ACC leave:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG 1sg younger.sibling prox.qlt:attr iukō-i. tude-ge jān n'amalhil-n'e-j. be.small-IND.INTR.3sG and(Rus.) 3sg-loc three year-prop-ind.intr.3sg (10) sestra moi sestrënka. (11) tāt, d'e qon-u-t qon-u-t irkin mieste-ge my.sister.small.sister(Rus.) ANPH:ADV INTJ go-E-SS go-E-SS one iuö-i: (13) palatka-lek ohō-l. jaga-jīli. (12) tāt (14) palatka. arrive-IND.INTR.1PL ANPH:ADV see-IND.TR.1PL tent(Rus.)-FOC stand-sF tent(Rus.) (16) "ō," mo-d'īli, (15) l'e jūl ukt'ie-i. "d'e puge-t'e that.one smoke go.out:ITER:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG INTJ say-IND.INTR.1PL INTJ be.hot-JPTCP t'āi ōže-ti!" (17) d'e egie-jīli. (18) d'e tāt, tea drink-fut:IND.TR.1PL INTJ stand:INCH-IND.INTR.1PL INTJ ANPH:ADV INTJ DST.ATTR

(1) In the old days, when we were small ... (2) When we were small ... (3) There was a place called Basiki at the time. (4) There were cows and horses there. (5) On the whole, there was a farm there. (6) We set out there. (7) Mother took us, astride a stag. (8) My sister was so small. (9) She was 3 years old. (10) My sister, my younger sister. (11) So, we went and went and arrived at one place. (12) We saw: (13) There was a tent. (14) A tent. (15) There was smoke. (16) "Oh, we shall have hot tea!" we said. (17) We stopped. (18) Then, erm, an old man said,

(1) かつてわたしたちが幼かったころ(2) かつて幼かったころ...、わたしたちは幼かった。 (3) その頃、バシキという土地があった。(4) そこには牛がいた、馬がいた。(5) そこは まあ飼育場だった。(6) わたしたちは出発した。(7) 母はわたしたちを牛に乗せて連れて いった。(8) わたしの妹はこのように幼かった。(9) 彼女は3才だった。(10) わたしの妹、 小さな妹。(11) そして行って、わたしたちはある場所に着いた。(12) そして見た。(13) テントが立っていた。(14) テントだ。(15) 煙が出てきた。(16) 「おお、熱いお茶を飲も う」(17) わたしたちは止まった。(18) そして、んー...、そのおじいさんが言った:

- (19) "met t'āšet kel-teje=ie," (20) "tā ponžube-pe nagā mon-i. come-fut:ind.intr.1sg=sfc say-ind.intr.3sg DST.LOC capercaillie-PL very now ninge-j," (21) glukhar', mon-i. "glukharej polno," capercaillie(Rus.) there.are.many.capercaillies(Rus.) be.many-IND.INTR.3SG say-IND.INTR.3SG (22) d'e, "met tanide qon-d'e=ie," mon-i. (23) tāt, DST.DIR go-IND.INTR.1SG=SFC say-IND.INTR.3SG he.says(Rus.) INTJ 1sg ANPH:ADV īť (24) irkin l'e-lek el=l'e-t kie-t'. ponžube-lek for.a.long.time NEG=exist-ss come-IND.INTR.3sG one that.one-FOC capercaillie-FOC ket'ī-mele. (25) ponžube\_znachit\_glukhar'. (26) ket'ī-m. (27) ket'ī-dele poŋžube.is.capercaillie(Rus.) bring-of.3sg bring-IND.TR.3sG bring-ss.seQ (28) "mā," mon-i, "tuön jelde-nik," mon-i: INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG PROX pick-PL:IMP.2 say-IND.INTR.3SG say-ind.intr.3sg tamun-ge met emd'e (31) "ō," (29) šipaj-ŋik." (30) tāt, mon-i: pinch-PL:IMP.2 ANPH:ADV DST-LOC 1sg younger.sibling say-IND.INTR.3sg INTI "naqā omo-t'e rubakha-n'e-j=ie!" say-ind.intr.3sg very be.good-jptcp shirt(Rus.)-prop-ind.intr.3sg=sfc (32) "krasivyj\_platie\_govorit. (33) "rubakha-gi nagā krasivyj. (34) mā," she.says.the.dress.is.beautiful(Rus.) shirt(Rus.)-poss.3 very beautiful(Rus.) mama "nā, met-in tīmie platie īde-k! (35) tīmie say-ind.intr.3sg intj 1sg-dat prox.qlt:attr clothes(Rus.) sew-imp.2sg PROX.QLT:ATTR platie īde-k!" (36) trigodik eto ne ponimaet. clothes(Rus.) sew-IMP.2sG three.years.old.she.doesn't.understand(Rus.)
- (19) "I'll be back right now. (20) Many wood grouses are there." (21) A wood grouse, "there are lots of wood grouses," he said. (22) "I'll go there," he said. (23) Soon, he returned. (24) And he brought a wood grouse. (25) "Ponjube" means wood grouse. (26) He brought it. (27) He brought it and said, (28) "Here, pluck it! (29) Pluck it!" (30) Then, my sister said, (31) "Oh, what a beautiful shirt it's wearing!" (32) "The dress is beautiful," she said. (33) "The shirt is very beautiful. (34) Mama, make me a dress like that! (35) Make me a dress like that!" (36) At 3 years old, she didn't understand.
- (19)「わたしはすぐ戻ってくるよ。(20) あそこにオオライチョウがとてもたくさんいるんだ」(21) オオライチョウ「オオライチョウがたくさんいるんだ」(彼は) 言った。(22)「わたしはそこへ行ってくるよ」(23) 彼はまもなくして帰ってきた。(24) オオライチョウを運んできた。(25) オオライチョウだ。(26) 運んできた。(27) 運んできて言った:(28)「これ(これの羽) をむしりなさい。(29) むしりなさい」(30) するとわたしの妹が言った。(31)「おお、とてもきれいなシャツを着ているね」(32) きれいな服だって言った。(33)「この鳥のシャツはとてもきれいだ。(34) 母さん、わたしにこういう服を縫ってよ。(35) こういう服を縫ってよ」(36) 3 才なんだ、分かっていないんだ。

(37) tāt ielde. (38) "kak krasivyj. (39) irkinl'e t'ā-i. ANPH:ADV pick(-IND.TR.1SG) how.beautiful(Rus.) one:subst be.few-ind.intr.3sg (40) irkie-t t'ā-i. (41) eshchë ket'ī-k!" mon-i. be.one-ss be.few-IND.INTR.3sg still(Rus.) bring-IMP.2sG say-IND.INTR.3sG (44) ket'ī-m. (42) starik\_poshël. (43) opjat'\_prinës. (45) tamun-ge the.old.man.went(Rus.) he.brought.again(Rus.) bring-IND.TR.3sG DST-LOC ielde (46) "ō, naqā omo-t'e rubakha kude-j=ie! āj. pick(-IND.TR.1sG) again INTJ very be.good-JPTCP shirt(Rus.) become-IND.INTR.3sG=SFC gon-nide," mon-i, "klub-ke (47) l'e-ηin, posëlka-nin that.one-dat village(Rus.)-dat go-ss.cond say-ind.intr.3sg club(Rus.)-loc platie." (48) emej mon-i: yeah(Rus.) put.on-fut:IND.TR.1sg DST.ATTR clothes(Rus.) mother say-IND.INTR.3sG īde-t īde-t." (50) tāt taŋ pulut mon-i: ANPH:ADV DST.ATTR old.man say-IND.INTR.3SG sew-fut:ind.tr.1sg sew-fut:ind.tr.1sg (52) "aduön t'ommu-nide," (51) "erejdāq-pe jō!" mon-i. mon-i, be.big:INCH-SS.COND say-IND.INTR.3SG pity-PL INTJ say-IND.INTR.3SG MED "naqā omo-t'e ō-ŋitej." krasavitsa-pe mon-i. very be.good-jptcp beutiful.woman(Rus.)-pl cop-pl:fut:ind.intr.3 say-ind.intr.3sg (53) "omo-t'e marqil'-pe-ŋōt kude-ŋitej," mon-i. (54) "tittesam be.good-JPTCP girl-PL-TRANS become-pl:fut:ind.intr.3 say-ind.intr.3sg 3PL:INTNS ind'e-nitej," mon-i. (55) "t'itte t'umu īdie-nitem. sew:detr-pl:fut:ind.intr.3 say-ind.intr.3sg all sew:inch-pl:fut:ind.tr.3

(37) Then, I plucked the bird. (38) "It's so beautiful! (39) One will not be enough. (40) One will not be enough. (41) Bring more!" she said. (42) The old man went away again. (43) He brought again. (44) He brought. (45) I plucked it too. (46) "Oh, what a beautiful dress! (47) When we arrive at the village, we'll wear such a dress in the club." (48) Mother said, (49) "Yeah, I'll sew one, I'll sew one." (50) Then, the old man said, (51) "Poor thing! (52) When they grow up, they will be very beautiful. (53) They will become good daughters. (54) They will sew themselves. (55) They will sew everything.

(37) そしてわたしは鳥の羽をむしった。(38)「すごくきれい! (39)1つじゃ足りないよ。 (40)1つじゃ足りないよ。(41)もっと持ってきて!」彼女は言った。(42)おじいさんは行った。(43)また持ってきた。(44)持ってきた。(45)そしてわたしはまたむしった。(46)「おお、とてもきれいなシャツになるね。(47)村へ帰ったら集会所でこういうドレスを着よう」(48)母さんは言った:(49)「ああ、縫ってあげるよ、縫ってあげるよ」(50)するとそのおじいさんは言った:(51)「かわいい子たちだ。(52)その子たちは大きくなったらとても美人になるだろう。(53)美しい娘になるだろう。(54)自分で縫い物をするようになるだろう。(55)何でも縫うようになるだろう。

(56) īde-nitem," mon-i. (57) tāt posëlka-nin sew-pl:fut:ind.tr.3 say-ind.intr.3sg ANPH:ADV village(Rus.)-DAT (58) jaqa-jīli. kebe-t'īli. (59) tāt tanide qon-dele āj leave:pfv-ind.intr.1pl arrive-IND.INTR.1PL ANPH:ADV DST.DIR go-SS.SEQ again jolohude, emej magazin-nin qon-i. (60) jān metr-ek mother shop(Rus.)-DAT go-IND.INTR.3sG back three meter(Rus.)-FOC sitets-ek min-mele. (61) tāt (62) "t'āšet," mon-i: cotton.print(Rus.)-FOC take-OF.3sG ANPH:ADV say-IND.INTR.3SG now "tit-in platie īde-t." mon-i, (63) "ā, met tīne, say-IND.INTR.3sg 2pl-dat clothes(Rus.) sew-fut:IND.TR.1sg INTJ 1SG PROX:TMP platie qoll'e? t'umu," mon-i,  $(64) \, \bar{o},$ be.good-JPTCP clothes(Rus.) be.where(-INTERR.3sG) INTJ all say-ind.intr.3sg "pugelbie-pe-gi t'umut löwdi-t'=elō!" (65) "met mon-i. this.one(Rus.) hair-PL-POSS.3 all fall-IND.INTR.3SG=SFC say-IND.INTR.3SG 1s<sub>G</sub> platie īde-t." tet-in ien 2sg-dat other clothes(Rus.) sew-fut:ind.tr.1sg

(56) They will sew."(57) Then, we went to the village. (58) We arrived. (59) When we came back, Mother went to the shop. (60) And she bought three meters of cotton print. (61) Then she said, (62) "I'll make you dresses." (63) "Where is that beautiful dress of mine? (64) Oh, all feathers fell out!" said my younger sister. (65) "I'll make you another dress," said Mother.

(56) 縫うようになるだろう」(57) こうしてわたしたちは村へ出発した。(58) 到着した。(59) 戻ってから、母さんは店に行った。(60) 木綿プリント布を3メートル買った。(61) そして言った、「これからおまえたちにドレスを縫ってあげよう」(62) 木綿プリント布を3メートル買った。(63) (妹は言った)「あたしのさっきの、綺麗なドレスはどこ? (64) ぜんぶ毛が落ちてしまったじゃないの!」(65) (母は言った)「わたしはおまえにほかのドレスを縫ってあげるよ」

### 34 I Had Three Children

Recorded on 25 July 2007 from Mariya Ivanovna Turpanova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

- (1) tā met jān uö-n'e-jōn ō-d'e. (2) irkin uö t'āšet DST.LOC 1SG three child-PROP-JPTCP:NMLZ COP-IND.INTR.1SG one child now eď-i. amde-j=ben-pe-lek. (4) met mašl'uö āj (3) ataqun uö child die-JPTCP=NMLZ-PL-PRD be.alive-IND.INTR.3sG 1sg daughter again öil'e-j=bed-ek. (5) ataqun uör-pe-gi pon'ō-nidege eto not.exist-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD two child-PL-POSS.3 remain-PL:POSS.3:DS this.one(Rus.) orphan nōžī-t pon'ō-ni. (6) titte et'ie-n'e modo-ni. (7) tāt tudā ... 3PL:GEN father-com sit-pl:ind.intr.3 COP:CAUS-SS remain-PL:IND.INTR.3 ANPH:ADV before t'āšet met jagte-je jagte-le t'āt'ā šörileš-mele=bed-ek. PROX:ATTR now 1sg sing-JPTCP song-ins elder.brother write-mptcp.3sg=nmlz-prd (9) emej jagtā-nunnu-j. (10) tan jagte-le emej mother sing-HBT-IND.INTR.3SG DST.ATTR song-INS mother here.and.there ewre-t, jakutskaj-nin gamlid'ā festival'-nin ewre-jōn ō-d'īli. festival(Rus.)-DAT walk-ss Yakutsk-DAT how.many.times walk-JPTCP:NMLZ COP-IND.INTR.1PL ewre-t ewre-t tāt aposle jowl'e-t amde-j. ANPH:ADV walk-ss walk-ss ANPH:ADV later be.sick-ss die-IND.INTR.3sG ANPH:ADV (13) tāt šoromo-pul tinide kelu-nu-ni. met-in mon-ni: person-PL PROX:DIR come-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 ANPH:ADV 1SG-DAT say-PL:IND.INTR.3
- (14) "tet chto-nibud', kušleme lejdī-mek? 2sg something(Rus.) INDF:what know-IND.TR.2sg

(1) I had three children. (2) Now one is alive. (3) Two died. (4) The daughter died too. (5) Her two children, left orphaned. (6) They lived with their father. (7) Once ... (8) The song I just sang was written by my elder brother. (9) My mother sang it. (10) My mother sang it in different places. Several times we travelled to Yakutsk to take part in the festivals. (11) So mother was travelling and travelling, and then she got ill and died. (12) Then people came here. (13) They asked me, (14) "Do you know anything?

(1) わたしには 3人の子供がいた。(2) 1人は今も生きている。(3) 2人は死んでしまった。(4) 娘もいない。(5) 彼女の 2人の子供は孤児になって残った。(6) そして父親と暮らしている。(7) そして昔…(8) この今わたしが歌った歌は兄が書いた(語り手はこの録音をおこなう前に歌をひとつ歌ってくれたが、それを録音することはできなかった)。(9) 母が歌っていた。(10) その歌を母はあちこちで歌い、わたしたちはフェスティバルのためにヤクーツクに何度も行った。(11) こうしてあちこちに行って、母はのちに病気になって死んでしまった。(12) それから、人々がここへ来た。(13) そしてわたしに尋ねた:(14) 「おまえは何か知っているか?

- (15) emej jagte-p-ki, emej qode jaqtā-nunnu-j uönō-t?" (16) tabun-ge met mother song-pl-poss.3 mother how sing-hbt-ind.intr.3sg be.young-ss DST-LOC 1SG tin jaqte, l'e, emej jaqte-gi tāt'ie l'ie-nu-l, önme-ge l'ī-t PROX:ATTR song that.one mother song-poss.3 at.that.time? exist-IPFV-AN mind-LOC keep-ss jagtā-nu-je t'āšet. (17) eto\_kak ē, tudā lenin lampa-gi sing-IPFV-IND.INTR.1SG now what.is.that(Rus.) INTJ before Lenin(Rus.) lamp(Rus.)-poss.3 lampochka-gele āj, tamun-gele āj šörileš-mele=bed-ek met t'āt'ā again lamp(Rus.)-ACC again DST-ACC again write-MPTCP.3SG=NMLZ-PRD 1SG elder.brother odul tite. (18) moskva jaqte-p-ki āj podmoskovnye\_vechera, Moscow(Rus.) song-PL-Poss.3 again Moscow.Suburban.Nights(Rus.) Yukaghir like tamun-gele āj odul tite šörileš-mele=bed-ek. (19) jarqadan the.river.Yarkhadan mother DST-ACC again Yukaghir like write-MPTCP.3sG=NMLZ-PRD jarqadan-e t'āšet tamud-e nār jaqtā-nu-ŋi. (20) tuön t'āt'ā the.river.Yarkhadan-INS now DST-INS always sing-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 PROX elder.brother perevododaj-mele=bed-ek odul tite. (21) tī ewre-jon-pe-lek. (22) nnn, translate-MPTCP.3sG=NMLZ-PRD Yukaghir like PROX:LOC walk-JPTCP:NMLZ-PL-PRD INTJ šoromo-k, pisaťeľ, Aleksandr Lovrik, tī ewre-j=bed-ek. šörileš-nu-j write-IPFV-JPTCP person-PRD writer(Rus.) Aleksandr.Lovrik PROX:LOC walk-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD (23) tāt'ile kompozitor, akkordeon-e l'e-le pianino-le composer(Rus.) accordion(Rus.)-INS that.one-INS piano(Rus.)-INS jōdā-nunnu-j. play-HBT-IND.INTR.3SG
- (15) Like the one your mother sang in her young days?" (16) That's why I remember this song, the song of my mother, and sing it. (17) Well, how is it? In the old days, my brother wrote about the lamp of Lenin in the Yukaghir language. (18) The song about Moscow, "Moscow Nights," he also wrote in Yukaghir. (19) The song "Mother River Yarkhadan," they often sing it about the Yarkhadan. (20) It was my brother who translated it into Yukaghir. (21) People come here. (22) A writer, Aleksandr Lovrik, came here. (23) One composer came here too. He played the accordion and the piano.
- (15) お母さんの歌を、お母さんが若い頃どんな風に歌ったかを」(16) だからわたしはこの歌を、母の歌を覚えていて今歌っている。(17) 何だっけ、以前レーニンのランプについても、ランプについても、それについても書いたんだ、わたしの兄はユカギール語で。(18) モスクワの歌も、「モスクワ郊外の日は暮れて」もユカギール語で書いたんだ。(19) 「母なるヤルハダン川」、「ヤルハダン」は今はいつも歌われている。(20) これは兄がユカギール語に訳したんだ。(21) ここを訪れたものだ。(22) えーっと、作家だ、アレクサンドル・ラヴリクがここを訪れた。(23) それから作曲家が、彼はアコーディオンやピアノを弾いた。

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(24) tamun-pe tī
                         kelu-t
                                                        jarqadan
                                                                           jaqte-gele lūt'ī
                                 taŋ
                                           jaqte-gi,
     DST-PL
               PROX:LOC come-ss DST.ATTR song-POSS.3 the.river.Yarkhadan song-ACC Russian
tite šörilen'-i.
                            (25) tamun-gele t'āt'ā
                                                          odul
                                DST-ACC
                                             elder.brother Yukaghir like
like be.written-IND.INTR.3sG
perevododaj-mele=bed-ek.
                                            jarqadana-gele
                              (26) tan
                                                                    t'āšet uöre-p-tie
translate-MPTCP.3sG=NMLZ-PRD
                                   DST.ATTR the.river.Yarkhadan-ACC now
                                                                          child-рL-DIM
                                         (27) ien jaqte-l öjl'e.
tamud-e jaqte-t ewrie-nu-ni.
                                                                                   (28) tāt'ile
DST-INS sing-ss walk-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                              other sing-AN not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sg)
                                                                                        then
                                               (29) akkordeon-e,
juöle-me
             klub-nin
                           kel-ŋi.
                                                                       tannigi,
evening-TMP club(Rus.)-DAT come-PL:IND.INTR.3
                                                    accordion(Rus.)-INS then
                                   novyj_akkordeon_emu_podaril. (30) etot
Grigor'jan u nego akkordeon,
                                                                                    odul
Grigoryan.he.had.an.accordion(Rus.) he.was.gifted.a.new.accordion(Rus.)
                                                                          this(Rus.) Yukaghir
                    tite šörilen'-i.
                                                (31) tamun-gele odul
jaqte-gi
            lūt'ī
                                                                           tite
song-poss.3 Russian like be.written-IND.INTR.3sG
                                                     DST-ACC
                                                                  Yukaghir like
perevododaj-m.
                                   mit-kele mon-i:
                                                              (33) "d'e jagte-nik!"
                    (32) tāt
                                                                                     (34) mit
translate-IND.TR.3sG
                        ANPH:ADV 1PL-ACC say-IND.INTR.3SG
                                                                   INTJ sing-pl:IMP.2
                                                                                          1<sub>PL</sub>
                           (35) qode jaqte-tuök?
                                                           (36) odul
naqā ninge-jli.
                                                                         tite
very be.many-IND.INTR.1PL
                                how sing-fut:interr.1pl
                                                               Yukaghir like
šörilen'-i,
                       tamun. (37) d'e jaqtā-jīli.
be.written-IND.INTR.3SG DST
                                     INTI sing:INCH-IND.INTR.1PL
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(24) They came here and wrote that song, the song about the Yarkhadan in Russian. (25) And, later, my brother translated it into Yukaghir. (26) Now, children sing the song about the Yarkhadan and travel. (27) There is no other song. (28) Then, the writer and the composer came to the club. (29) Then, on the accordion, Grigor'yan, he had an accordion, (then) gave him the new accordion. (30) That Yukaghir song was written in Russian. (31) My brother translated it into Yukaghir. (32) Then, he told us: (33) "Come on, sing!" (34) There were many of us. (35) How did we sing? (36) The song was written in Yukaghir. (37) So, we started singing it.

(24) 彼らがここに来て、その歌を、ヤルハダンの歌をロシア語で書いた。(25) それを兄がユカギール語に訳したんだ。(26) そのヤルハダンを、今は子供たちが歌って回っている。(27) 他の歌はない。(28) そして彼ら(作家と作曲家は)夜に集会所に来た。(29) アコーディオンをそのとき、グリゴリヤンにはアコーディオンがあるんだけど、(それはそのとき) 新しいアコーディオンが贈られたものなんだ。(30) このユカギールの歌はロシア語で書かれていた。(31) それを(兄が)ユカギール語に訳した。(32) そしてわたしたちに言った:(33)「さあ、歌ってくれ!」(34) わたしたちはとても人数が多かった。(35) どうやって歌ったものか。(36) それはユカギール語で書かれていた。(37) わたしたちは歌うようになった。

# 34 I Had Three Children (told by M.I. Turpanova in 2007)

(38) t'āšet uöre-p-tie jaqtā-nu-ŋi, jaqte-le odul tite nār, taŋ child-pl-dim sing-ipfv-pl:ind.intr.3 dst.attr song-ins Yukaghir like always jarqadan. (39) t'āšet met jarqadan jaqte-tt'e. the.river.Yarkhadan 1sg the.river.Yarkhadan sing-fut:IND.INTR.1sg now (40) jarqadan\_budu\_pet'. (41) "pie-d ande-pe-gen I.will.sing.the.river.Yarkhadan(Rus.) hill-gen bottom?-pl-prol ice ōžī-gele, jarqadan pod'ol'ā-nu-j. (42) pojnā-t'ī-l tude emej whiten-IPFV-IND.INTR.3sG be.white-DLM-AN 3SG:GEN water-ACC the.river.Yarkhadan mother mīde, t'urūd'ā jarqužāš-u-m. (43) īluge jō, īluge jō! dear intj dear intj stream along quietly swing-E-IND.TR.3sG (44) porqoje-n'ā-t'ī-l t'ohot'e budie, nolut-pe-die-k ohō-ŋil. curved.riverbank-PROP-DLM-AN cliff willow-pl-dim-foc stand-pl:sf on ileje titte-gele, t'urūd'ā jarqužāš-u-m. (45) t'ie-t'e (46) īluge jō, īluge jō! be.cold-IPTCP wind 3PL-ACC quietly swing-E-IND.TR.3SG dear inti dear inti (47) qodit tāt kude-l'el-d'od-ek? (48) met juöl'et-me marqil'-gele, why Anph: Adv become-infr-jptcp:nmlz-prd 1sg love-mptcp.1sg girl-acc niedie-l'el-nam. (49) qodit tāt jarqadan n'ū-le the.river.Yarkhadan name-INS call-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3 why anph:adv

kude-l'el-d'ōd-ek? (50) īluge jō, īluge jō!" become-infr-jptcp:nmlz-prd dear intij dear intij

(38) Now, children always sing the song in Yukaghir, about the Yarkhadan. (39) Now, I'll sing about the Yarkhadan. (40) I'll sing about the Yarkhadan. (41) "At the foot of the mountains, the ice glitters. (42) The mother river Yarkhadan is quietly carrying its shining water. (43) Ah, beloved, ah, beloved! (44) There are willows on the steep bank. (45) The cold wind is quietly moving them. (46) Ah, beloved, ah, beloved! (47) Why did it turn out like this? (48) My beloved girl was named Yarkhadan. (49) Why did it turn out like this? (50) Ah, beloved, ah, beloved!"

(38) 今は子供たちがその歌をユカギール語でいつも、ヤルハダンを歌っている。(39) 今からわたしはヤルハダンを歌おう。(40) わたしはヤルハダンを歌おう。(41) 「山の麓で氷が白くなりつつある。(42) 輝くその水を、母なるヤルハダンの流れに沿って、静かに揺らしている。(43) イールゲヨー、イールゲヨー! (44) 川岸の切り立った崖の上に、ヤナギたちが立っている。(45) 冷たい風がそれらを、静かに揺らしている。(46) イールゲヨー、イールゲヨー! (47) なぜこうなったのだろうか? (48) わたしの愛する娘は、ヤルハダンという名で呼ばれる。(49) なぜこうなったのだろうか? (50) イールゲヨー、イールゲヨー!」

- (51) "mit nume-pe molho-de-p-ki t'umut pod'ohaj-nunnu-ni. (52) lenin 1PL house-PL inside-poss.3-PL-poss.3 all shine:pfv-hbt-pl:ind.intr.3 Lenin(Rus.) pon'qo-gi tāhar mit-ke=de jaqa-j. (53) nume-ge modo-l šoromo-pul light-poss.3 even 1PL-LOC=EMPH arrive-IND.INTR.3sG house-loc sit-an person-PL t'umut nuölie-ni. īluge, lenin (54) lenin īluge jō, laugh:INCH-PL:IND.INTR.3 Lenin(Rus.) dear Lenin(Rus.) dear INTJ all mit-ke kelu-l. (55) stado-get kelu-nu-t lampa-gi nume-ge lamp(Rus.)-poss.3 1pl-loc come-sf herd(Rus.)-ABL come-IPFV-ss house-loc šög-i. (56) kerosina lampa-gele jiedugude peššej-m. kerosene(Rus.) lamp(Rus.)-ACC to.another.place throw:pfv-ind.tr.3sg enter-IND.INTR.3sG (57) tamun-get mit ajā-t jaqtā-nun-d'īli. (58) kommunist partija-nin 1PL rejoice-ss sing-HBT-IND.INTR.1PL communist(Rus.) party(Rus.)-DAT "spasibot'e" mon-nu-ili. (59) mit nume-pe molho-de-p-ki t'umut thanks say-ipfv-ind.intr.1pl 1PL house-PL inside-poss.3-PL-poss.3 all pod'ohaj-ni. (60) lenin īluge, lenin īluge, mit-in pon'qo-le shine:pfv-pl:ind.intr.3 Lenin(Rus.) dear Lenin(Rus.) dear 1PL-DAT light-INS kej-m." give-IND.TR.3sG
- (51) "Our houses became light. (52) The light of Lenin reached us. (53) All the people began to laugh in the house. (54) Dear Lenin, dear Lenin, his lamp reached us. (55) Arrived from the herd, he entered the house. (56) He threw the oil lamp away. (57) That's why we are singing in joy. (58) We express our gratitude to the Communist Party. (59) Our houses got lighter. (60) Dear Lenin, dear Lenin, he brought the light to us."
- (51)「わたしたちの家の中はすっかり明るくなった。(52) レーニンの灯りがわたしたちのところにやって来た。(53) 家で座っている人々は皆笑いだした。(54) レーニンよ、レーニンよ、彼のランプがわたしたちのところにやって来た。(55) 放牧地から帰ってきて家に入った。(56) 灯油のランプを投げ捨てた。(57) だからわたしたちは喜んで歌う。(58) 共産党にありがとうとわたしたちは言う。(59) わたしたちの家の中はすっかり明るくなった。(60) レーニンよ、レーニンよ、彼はわたしたちに灯りをくれた」

# 35 We Went by Car and Arrived at Someplace

Recorded on 25 July 2007 from Mariya Ivanovna Turpanova, in the village of Nelemnoe, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

- (1) tāt mit mašina-le qon-u-t qodimie\_ere mieste-ge jaqa-jīli.

  ANPH:ADV 1PL car(Rus.)-INS go-E-SS what.kind.of:INDF place-LOC arrive-IND.INTR.1PL
- (2) taŋ mieste-ge mit, poezd, poezd\_dolzhen\_priekhat', poezd, tāt dst.attr place-loc 1pl train(Rus.) a.train.should.com(Rus.) train(Rus.) anph:adv
- modo-jīli. (3) t'uge, taŋ t'uge, sidim. (4) poezd, sit-ind.intr.1pl track details track we.are.sitting(Rus.) train(Rus.)
- miade-jli. (5) poezd\_dolzhen\_priekhat'. (6) irkin terikie-die wait:detr-ind.intr.1pl a.train.should.com(Rus.) one old.woman-dim
- kie-t'. (7) "tit, tit qodimie lager'-get kie-t'emet?" come-ind.intr.3sg 2pl 2pl what.kind.of camp(Rus.)-abl come-ind.intr.2pl
- (8) nas\_sprashivaet\_da? "ot\_kakoj\_iz\_lagerja?" govorit. she.is.asking.is.isn't.she(Rus.) from.what.camp(Rus.) he.says(Rus.)
- (9) dumaet\_my\_zakljuchennye. (10) "öjl'e, mit uöre-p-tie ō-jīli," she.is.thinking.that.we.are.prisoners(Rus.) no 1pl child-pl-dim cop-ind.intr.1pl
- mo-d'îli. (11) "juöreq-ŋin, kit'ie-din me=kebe-t'îli, taskan laŋin." say-IND.INTR.1PL seminary-DAT learn-PURP AFF=leave:PFV-IND.INTR.1PL Taskan until
- (12) "ā," mon-i, "erejdāq-pe jō! t'āšet t'āj-ek ket'ī-teme," mon-i.

  INTJ Say-IND.INTR.3SG pity-PL INTJ now tea-Foc bring-FUT:OF.1SG Say-IND.INTR.3SG
- (13) t'āj ... qode? (14) tāt juö-j: tea how ANPH:ADV see-IND.TR.1PL

(1) We went by car and arrived someplace. (2) In that place we ... train, a train should come ... train, and we were sitting. (3) We were sitting on the road. (4) We were waiting for a train. (5) The train should come. (6) An old woman walked up. (7) "What prison camp did you come from?" (8) She was asking us, wasn't she? "From what camp?" she said. (9) She thought that we were prisoners. (10) "No, we are children," we answered. (11) "We are going to Taskan to study." (12) "Ah, poor things! Now, I'll bring you tea." (13) Tea ... how? (14) Then, we saw:

(1) そしてわたしたちは車で行って、どこかに着いた。(2) そこでわたしたちは列車、列車が来るはずだった、そしてわたしたちは座っていた。(3) 道、その道で座っていた。(4) 列車、待っていた。(5) 列車が来るはずだった。(6) 1 人のおばあさんが来た。(7) 「おまえたちはどの収容所から来たんだい?」(8) わたしたちに尋ねるんだ、どの収容所から来たのかって。(9) わたしたちのことを囚人だと思ったんだ。(10) 「ちがいます、わたしたちは子供なんです。(11) タスカンに勉強しに行くところなんです」(12) 「ああ、可哀想に、今お茶を持ってきてあげよう」彼女は言った。(13) お茶…、どうやって?(14) そしてわたしたちは見た:

- (15) jān šoromo-pl-ek kel-nil. (16) vedro-n'-ni. (17) kartoshka-lek three person-PL-FOC come-PL:SF bucket(Rus.)-PROP-PL:IND.INTR.3 potato(Rus.)-Foc ket'ī-nile, sup, tarelka-pl-ek, lozhka-pl-ek. (18) mit-in abutte-nam. bring-pl:of.3 soup(Rus.) dish(Rus.)-pl-foc spoon(Rus.)-pl-foc 1PL-DAT pour-PL:IND.TR.3 (19) "ō," govorit, "ā, t'āj, t'āj ōže-k." (20) obuv' net, eto INTJ he.says(Rus.) INTJ tea tea drink-IMP.2sG we.had.no.shoes(Rus.) this.one(Rus.) v torbazakh. (21) otkuda\_u\_nas? (22) nichego\_net, wearing.fur.boots(Rus.) where.could.we.get(Rus.) we.have.nothing(Rus.) (23) mit mure t'umu ohunbe-j, ni botinok net. namochilos'. we.have.not.boots(Rus.) 1PL shoes all get.wet-IND.INTR.3sG it.got.wet(Rus.) (24) my sidim, kak my poedem dumaem. medi-t: (25) tan we.are.sitting(Rus.) we.are.thinking.how.to.go(Rus.) DST.ATTR old.woman-DIM hear-ss (26) "t'āšet met botinka-pe-lek ket'ī-teme." (27) titimie t'omō-d'e 1sg lace.boot(Rus.)-PL-FOC bring-FUT:OF.1sg PROX.QLT:ATTR be.big-JPTCP sapogi-pe-lek ket'ī-mele! (28) tāt modo-jīli. (29) tāt'ile juö-j: high.boot(Rus.)-PL-FOC bring-OF.3sG ANPH:ADV sit-IND.INTR.1PL then see-IND.TR.1PL (31) mit mo-d'īli: (30) mit poezd kie-t'. (32) "spasibo=ie, 1PL train(Rus.) come-IND.INTR.3SG 1PL say-IND.INTR.1PL thanks(Rus.)=sfc babushka." (33) "ā, met t'āšet ket'ī-t," (34) ataqun INTJ 1sg now bring-fut:Ind.tr.1sg say-ind.intr.3sg old.woman(Rus.) two meshok orekh-oq ket'ī-mele, orekh. bag(Rus.) nuts(Rus.)-FOC bring-OF.3sG nuts(Rus.)
- (15) Three men came. (16) They had buckets. (17) They brought potato, soup, plates, and spoons. (18) They poured us. (19) "Oh," one said, "here is tea. Drink tea." (20) We had no shoes; we were wearing fur boots. (21) Where could we get them? (22) We had nothing; we had no lace boots. (23) Our boots got wet. (24) We were sitting and thinking, "How shall we go?" (25) That old woman heard it and said, (26) "I'll bring lace boots now." (27) She brought large boots! (28) So, we were sitting. (29) Then, we saw: (30) Our train arrived. (31) We said, (32) "Thank you, Grandmother!" (33) "Ah, now, I'll bring you something more," she said. (34) And she brought us two sacks of nuts.
- (15) 人が3人やって来た。(16) バケツを持っていた。(17) 彼らはじゃがいもを持って来てくれた、スープや皿やスプーンを。(18) わたしたちによそってくれた。(19)「ああ、お茶を飲みなさい」と言った。(20) わたしたちには靴がなかった、皮の長靴を履いていた。(21) 靴なんてどこにあるだろうか? 靴なんてどこにあるだろうか? (22) 何もなかった、ブーツもなかった。(23) わたしたちの長靴はずぶ濡れだった。(24) わたしたちは座って、どうやって行こうかと考えていた。(25) そのおばあさんがそれを聞いて(言った):(26)「今ブーツを持って来てあげよう」(27) 彼女はこんな大きなブーツを持って来た。(28) そしてわたしたちは座っていた。(29) そして見た:(30) わたしたちの列車が来た。(31) わたしたちは言った:(32)「ありがとう、おばあさん!」(33)「ああ、今持って来てあげよう」彼女は言った。(34) 彼女はナッツを2 袋持って来てくれた。

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(35) "tuda,
                  budete_orekhi_kushat', vremja_bystro_projdët."
    to.there(Rus.) you.will.eat.nuts(Rus.)
                                           time.will.pass.quickly(Rus.)
                                                                           ANPH:ADV
poekhali_dolgo_dolgo_kuda – to.
                                            (37) qodimie ere
                                                                   mieste-ge
we.went.somewhere.for.a.long.long.time(Rus.)
                                                 what.kind.of:INDF place-LOC
                                                  sovsem tak voda ... navodnenie.
jaqa-jīli.
                   (38) traktor,
                                     traktor,
                        traktor(Rus.) traktor(Rus.) much.water(Rus.)
arrive-IND.INTR.1PL
                                                                        flood(Rus.)
(39) sredi_pjatnadtsatogo_avgusta_i_pjatnadtsatogo_sentjabrja
    from.the.fifteenth.of.August.and.on.the.fifteenth.of.September(Rus.) DST.LOC
tselyj_mesjats_sovsem_koe – kak_doekhali_do_taskana. (40) tan
                                                                         taskan-ge
the.whole.month.we.reached.Taskan.somehow(Rus.)
                                                               DST.ATTR Taskan(Rus.)-LOC
internat bol'shoj.
                            (41) polovina_internat.
                                                                   (42) ejmunde-gi
                                 the.half.was.a.boarding.school(Rus.)
a.large.boarding.school(Rus.)
                                                                        half-poss.3
                     ejmunde-gi detdom
internat,
                                                  ... (43) l'e,
                                                                   pōŋō-d'e
                                                                                   uör-pe,
boarding.school(Rus.) half-poss.3
                                 orphanage(Rus.)
                                                          that.one be.orphan-JPTCP child-PL
                                         mit tselyj
erejdāq-pe jō! (44) tāt,
                                                          irkin kind'e-ge bol'nitsa-ge
                                taŋ
                     ANPH:ADV DST.ATTR 1PL whole(Rus.) one
                                                                moon-Loc hospital(Rus.)-Loc
pity-PL
           INTJ
                (45) d'e, kashljajut kashljajut,
                                                     u kogo legkoe,
qodō-jīli.
lie-IND.INTR.1PL
                    INTJ they.cough.and.cough(Rus.) some.had.lung.disease(Rus.)
                              u kogo golova.
u kogo zheludok,
                                                          (46) t'āšet qon?
some.had.stomach.disease(Rus.) some.had.head.disease(Rus.)
                                                               now where
(47) zyrjanka-get
                        ataqun l'e-j,
                                             taskan-ge
                                                              kit'ie-je
                                                                          uör-pe
                                do.that-JPTCP Taskan(Rus.)-LOC learn-JPTCP child-PL
    Zyrjanka(Rus.)-ABL two
                  tā.
exist-pl:ind.intr.3 dst.loc
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(35) "There, you'll eat nuts and time will pass quickly." (36) Then, we went somewhere for a long, long time. (37) We arrived at some place. (38) A tractor, a tractor much water, … flood. (39) From the fifteenth of August to the fifteenth of September, through the whole month, we reached Taskan somehow. (40) In Taskan, there was a large boarding school. (41) A half of the house was a boarding.school. (42) One half was the boarding school, and the other half was an orphanage. (43) There were orphaned children, poor things! (44) There we were in the hospital for a month. (45) There were those who had a cough, a cough, who had a lung disease, who had a stomach disease, and who had a head disease. (46) Where are they now? (47) Two were from Zyryanka; they studied in Taskan.

(35)「ナッツを食べなさい、時間が速く過ぎるよ」(36) そしてわたしたちは長い時間をかけてどこかへ行った。(37) どこかに着いた。(38) トラクター、トラクター、全体が水に、洪水だ。(39) 8月15日から9月15日の丸1ヶ月でなんとかタスカンに着いた。(40) タスカンには大きな寄宿学校があった。(41) 半分が寄宿学校。(42) 半分が寄宿学校、半分が孤児院だ。(43) 身寄りのない子供たちがいた、可哀想に! (44) わたしたちは丸1ヶ月病院にいた。(45) ある子は咳、ある子は肺病、ある子は胃の病気、ある子は頭が痛かった。(46) 今はどこだろうか? (47) ズイリャンカから来たタスカンで学ぶ子供が2人いた。

- (48) oni tittel t'omō-ŋi uzhe. (49) uör-pe-n'-ŋi. they(Rus.) 3PL be.big-PL:IND.INTR.3 already(Rus.) child-PL-PROP-PL:IND.INTR.3
- (50) jukō-d'e uör-pe l'e-ŋi, īle-pul. (51) tamun-pe, be.small-JPTCP child-pl exist-pl:IND.INTR.3 other-pl DST-pl

tuberkulez\_zakhvatil. (52) i\_vot moj\_brat, met t'āt'ā āj be.taken.ill.with.tuberculosis(Rus.) and(Rus.) my.brother(Rus.) 1sg elder.brother again

tāt jowl'e-t amde-j. (53) taŋ tuberkulëznyj\_bol'nitsa-ge qodō-t ANPH:ADV be.sick-ss die-IND.INTR.3SG DST.ATTR tuberculosis.hospital(Rus.)-Loc lie-ss

qodō-t qodō-t met et'ie taskaj-m. (54) tāt'ile irkin n'amalhil-ge tāt lie-ss lie-ss 1sg father carry-IND.TR.3sg then one year-loc ANPH:ADV

kit'ie-jīli taskan-ge. (55) tāt kie-t'īli jolohude. (56) tāt learn-ind.intr.1pl Taskan(Rus.)-loc Anph:adv come-ind.intr.1pl back Anph:adv

tiŋ lebie-gele uzhe jakutī-ge jakutija, jaqa-pe-ŋin ... PROX:ATTR land-ACC already(Rus.) Yakutia-Loc Yakutia(Rus.) Yakut-PL-DAT

- (57) magadan\_otdelilsja i\_v\_zyrjanke\_stali\_uchit'sja.
  Magadan.has.separated(Rus.) and.we.began.to.study.in.Zyryanka(Rus.)
- (58) v\_zyrjanke\_koe\_kak\_god\_uchilis'. (59) irkin n'amalhil-ge kit'ie-jīli. in.Zyryanka.we.studied.a.year.somehow(Rus.) one year-loc learn-ind.intr.1pl
- (60) tī šoromo el=jaqūji. (61) t'umut jukō-jīli,

  PROX:LOC person NEG=reach:ITER(-IND.INTR.3SG) all be.small-IND.INTR.1PL

  shestoj\_klass, sed'moj ...

  the.sixth.form(Rus.) the.seventh(Rus.)

(48) They were already grown-up. (49) They already had children. (50) And there were small children too. (51) They were taken ill with tuberculosis. (52) And my brother fell ill too and died. (53) He was in the tubercular hospital; my father took him there. (54) So, we studied in Taskan for one year. (55) Then, we returned. (56) This land was already included in Yakutia, for the Yakut. (57) It was separated from Magadan, and we began to study in Zyryanka. (58) In Zyryanka, we studied for a year somehow. (59) We studied for one year. (60) Here, in Zyryanka, there was a lack of people. (61) All of us were very young, sixth-, seventh-year pupils.

(48) 彼らはもう大きかった。(49) 彼らには子供がいた。(50) 小さい子供たちがいた。(51) 彼らは結核にかかっていた。(52) わたしの兄もこの病気にかかって死んだんだ。(53) 結核の病院にずっと入院していて、わたしの父が彼を運んで行った。(54) そして1年間わたしたちはタスカンで学んだ。(55) そして帰って来た。(56) この地域はすでにヤクーチアに帰属していた、(57) この地域はマガダン州から離れ、そしてわたしたちはズイリャンカで学び始めた。(58) ズイリャンカでなんとか1年間学んだ。(59) 1年間学んだ。(60) ここでは働き手が足りていなかった。(61) わたしたちは皆小さかった、6年生、7年生だった。

(62) kto\_dojarka, kto teljatnitsa, rabotnitsy separatora, someone.as.milkmaid(Rus.) someone.as.calfwoman(Rus.) milk-divider.operator(Rus.) smetany delali, kto svinarka, svinii. (63) tāt they.made.sour.cream(Rus.) someone.as.pig-tender(Rus.) pigs(Rus.) ANPH:ADV el=kit'ie-jīli. (64) mit shkola pešše-ť. (65) ujlā-jīli. NEG=learn-IND.INTR.1PL 1PL school(Rus.) throw:pfv-ind.tr.1pl work:inch-ind.intr.1pl kun'el irkubudi klas-ek. (66) t'āšet tī (67) uöre-p-tie kiejen now prox:loc eleven class(Rus.)-PRD child-pl-dim first (68) ne\_mogut\_uchit'sja, el=kit'ie-nu-ni, juö-mek? NEG=learn-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3 see-IND.TR.2sG they.can't.study(Rus.) rjadom\_odinnadtsatyj\_klass! (69) a\_my\_bednye\_taskalis'. (70) samolët, there.is.the.11th.class.near(Rus.) we.went.to.various.places(Rus.) airplane(Rus.) kakoj\_tam\_samolët\_budet? (71) tudā samolët ne letal. what.kind.of.airplanes.were.there.at.that.time(Rus.) before aiplanes.did.not.fly(Rus.)

(62) We worked as milkmaids, calf herders, separator operators who made sour cream, and swineherds who took care of pigs. (63) Then, we didn't study. (64) We dropped out of our studies at school. (65) We began to work. (66) At present, here, in the village of Nelemnoe, there is a school with education up to the 11th year. (67) Children don't study at all; you saw it, didn't you? (68) They cannot study, though there is the class for the grade 11 next door! (69) And we, poor things, worked hard. (70) A plane, what plane could be then? (71) In the old days, there were no flights.

(62) わたしたちのうちのある者は搾乳をした、ある者は子牛を飼育した、クリームを分離する仕事をした、サワークリームを作った、豚を飼育した。(63) そしてわたしたちは(その頃は) 学ばなかった。(64) わたしたちは学校をやめた。(65) 働きはじめた。(66) 今はここ(ネレムノエ村の学校には) 11 年生までのクラスがある。(67) 子供たちはまず勉強しないんだ、見たかい?(68) 勉強しないんだ、すぐそばに 11 年生までのクラスがあるっていうのに。(69) わたしたちは可哀想に、あちこち行った。(70) 飛行機、その頃どんな飛行機があったってんだい?(71) 昔は飛行機は飛んでいなかった。

35 We Went by Car and Arrived at Someplace (told by M.I. Turpanova in 2007)

(72) eto\_v\_kakom - to\_godu, pjat'desjat\_kakom - to\_godu, ja\_ne\_pomnju, I.don't.remember(Rus.) in.what.year(Rus.) in.a.year.in.the.fifties(Rus.) tak\_muchalis'\_muchalis'\_muchalis'. (73) dolgo\_rasskazyvali, we.were.having.very.hard.time(Rus.) we.have.talked.over.a.long.period(Rus.) tam\_navodnenie\_bylo, ottuda navodnenie tinide qanā-jīli there.was.a.flood(Rus.) from.there(Rus.) flood(Rus.) PROX:DIR roam.away-IND.INTR.1PL lebie-ŋin. tiŋ PROX:ATTR land-DAT

(72) これは何年のことだったか、50年代だ、よく覚えてないけれど、わたしたちはとても苦労した。(73) それから長いこと話したものだ、あそこで洪水があったと、あそこから洪水がここまで、この土地まで達したと。

<sup>(72)</sup> It was in some year, in 50-something, I don't remember, we so suffered, suffered, and suffered. (73) They talked about it for a long time; there was the flood, and from there that flood reached here, reached this land.

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a and (Rus.).
                                                    27-30.
♦ a [and(Rus.)] 1-5, 4-19, 5-5, 6-19, 6-41, 7-
                                                 ahurpe- vi suffer.
  5, 9-11, 11-23, 11-26, 12-94, 12-97, 12-196,
                                                  ♦ ahurpe-de [suffer-ss.sim] 13-21, 14-30.
  12-210, 13-57, 13-76, 13-77, 13-92, 13-123,
                                                  ♦ ahurpe-ge [suffer-LOC] 12-19.
  13-124, 13-125, 13-141, 13-157, 15-28, 15-85,
                                                  ♦ ahurpe-l [suffer-AN] 14-24, 14-27, 14-54,
  15-110, 15-139, 16-79, 16-88, 16-148, 16-183,
                                                    15-24, 15-26, 15-29.
  18-21, 18-26, 19-27, 20-16, 21-3, 22-21, 23-6,
                                                 ahurpelū- vi be hard.
                                                  ♦ ahurpeli-t'=el'e [be.hard-IND.INTR.3SG=
  23-11, 23-14, 23-24, 23-35, 24-9, 26-58, 32-
  105, 32-135, 32-158.
                                                    sfc] 16-18.
absoljutno adv absolutely (Rus.).
                                                 aj- vt shoot.
♦ absoljutno [absolutely(Rus.)] 23-16.
                                                  ♦ aj-l'el-u-m [shoot-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG] 26-
abudā- vi lie down.
                                                    33, 26-37.
♦ abudā-dele [lie.down-ss.seq] 25-26.
                                                  ♦ aj-l-ō-gi [shoot-E-RN-POSS.3] 27-36.
♦ abudā-j [lie.down-IND.INTR.3sG] 16-64.
                                                  ♦ aj-l-ō-pe-gi [shoot-E-RN-PL-POSS.3] 27-41.
♦ abudā-jīli [lie.down-IND.INTR.1PL] 13-
                                                  ♦ aj-m [shoot-IND.TR.3sG] 13-135, 14-131,
  151.
                                                    15-137, 16-149, 27-16, 27-18, 27-19, 27-23.
♦ abudā-k [lie.down-IMP.2SG] 15-64, 16-63.
                                                  ⋄ aj-t [shoot-ss] 26-38.
♦ abudā-l'el-ŋi [lie.down-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.
                                                  ♦ aj-nit [shoot-ss.cond] 15-138.
  3] 14-139.
                                                 ajbid'ī n another world, the world of dead.
♦ abudā-ni [lie.down-pl:IND.INTR.3] 25-25,
                                                  ♦ ajbid'ī-ge [another.world-LOC] 8-71, 8-72,
  25-26, 25-28.
                                                    8-86, 9-87, 9-104, 9-109, 10-85, 10-88, 10-
abut n case, container.
                                                    116, 11-102, 11-125.
                                                  ♦ ajbid'ī-get [another.world-ABL] 10-82.
♦ abut [case] 8-32, 8-58.
♦ abut-ki [case-poss.3] 8-36.
                                                 ajbišī- vt blindfold.
                                                  ♦ ajbišī-dele [blindfold-ss.seq] 8-18.
abutte- vt pour.
                                                 ajle- vt wash.
♦ abutte-ŋam [pour-pl:IND.TR.3] 35-18.
adil n young.man.
                                                  ♦ ajle-tum [wash-fut:IND.TR.3sG] 19-4, 19-
♦ adi-pe [young.man-PL] 25-37, 25-38, 25-
                                                    4, 19-7.
  105, 25-113, 30-65.
                                                 \mathbf{ajla}- (\mathbf{aj-l-a}-) vt begin to shoot.
adin dem this, that.
                                                  ♦ ajlā-m [shoot:INCH-IND.TR.3SG] 27-24.
♦ adin [MED.ATTR] 14-144, 15-197.
                                                 ajā- vi rejoice.
adinin dem to there.
                                                  ♦ ajā-j [rejoice-IND.INTR.3SG] 11-134, 12-35,
♦ adiŋin [MED.DIR] 20-13.
                                                    14-83.
aduö n son.
                                                  ♦ ajā-k [rejoice-IMP.2SG] 8-15, 9-22.
♦ aduö [son] 26-41.
                                                  ♦ ajā-t [rejoice-ss] 6-56, 15-84, 16-206, 34-57.
aduön dem this, that.
                                                 ajī adv still.
\diamond aduön [MED] 10-93, 12-214, 12-215, 13-189,
                                                  ♦ ajī [still] 26-5, 26-66, 26-80.
  15-184, 16-221, 33-52.
                                                 akkordeon accordion (Rus.).
♦ aduöd-e [MED-INS] 26-24.
                                                  ♦ akkordeon-e [accordion(Rus.)-INS] 34-23,
ahidū- vi hide oneself.
                                                    34-29.
♦ ahidi-t' [hide.oneself-IND.INTR.3SG] 16-78,
                                                 al' n near.
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♦ al'-d-in [near-POSS.3-DAT] 16-15.
                                                ♦ amdā-l'el-ŋi [die-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3] 26-
♦ al'-de-ge [near-poss.3-Loc] 14-17.
                                                 66.
◊ al'-ŋin [near-DAT] 13-15.
                                                ♦ amdā-tum [die-fut:INTERR.1sg] 26-6.
                                                ♦ amde-dejne [die-POSS.3:DS.COND] 19-29,
al'ā postp near.
♦ al'ā [near] 23-23.
                                                  19-29.
al'ā- vi melt.
                                                ♦ amde-din [die-PURP] 25-94.
♦ al'ā-j [melt-IND.INTR.3sG] 16-62.
                                                ♦ amde-j [die-IND.INTR.3sG] 5-32, 6-56, 7-44,
al'ā\dot{s}- (al'ā-\dot{s}-) vt melt.
                                                  15-84, 34-11, 35-52.
♦ al'āš-nunnu-m [melt:CAUS-HBT-IND.TR.
                                                [die-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD]
  3sg] 3-27, 4-23.
                                                 32-126.
♦ al'āš-tele [melt:CAUS-SS.SEQ] 15-64.
                                                ♦ amde-j=ben-pe-lek [die-JPTCP=NMLZ-PL-
♦ al'āš-u-m [melt:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG] 15-63.
                                                 PRD] 34-3.
al'be- vi spill.
                                                ♦ amde-je [die-IND.INTR.1sG] 16-21, 16-25.
♦ al'be-tt'ek [spill-fut:IND.INTR.2sg] 15-
                                                ♦ amde-jli [die-IND.INTR.1PL] 25-112.
  136.
                                                ♦ amde-tt'e [die-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG] 15-24.
♦ al=al'be [NEG=spill(-IND.INTR.3SG)] 13-
                                                ♦ amde-tt'īli [die-fut:IND.INTR.1pL] 25-67,
  136, 13-140, 15-139.
                                                 25-79.
al'beš- (al'be-š-) vt spill.
                                                ♦ amde-ŋi [die-pl:IND.INTR.3] 25-93, 25-
♦ al'beš-mele [spill:CAUS-OF.3SG] 15-66.
                                                  113.
♦ al'beš-tele [spill:CAUS-SS.SEQ] 14-58.
                                               amd\bar{o}- (amd-\bar{o}-) vi be dead.
♦ al'beš-u-m [spill:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG] 12-
                                                ♦ amdō-j [die:RES-IND.INTR.3SG] 32-15.
  65, 12-66, 13-56, 14-62, 15-65, 16-65.
                                               amladaj- (amlad-aj-) vt swallow.
♦ al'beš-u-m=el'e [spill:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG=
                                                ♦ amladaj-dele [swallow:PFV-SS.SEQ] 5-11,
  sfc] 16-80.
                                                 5-19, 6-13, 7-19.
♦ al=al'beš-u-m
                         [NEG=spill:CAUS-E-
                                                ♦ amladaj-l'el-u-m [swallow:PFV-INFR-E-
  IND.TR.3sG] 14-132.
                                                 IND.TR.3sG] 7-12.
                                                ♦ amladaj-m [swallow:PFV-IND.TR.3SG] 32-
al'ōdī∼all'ōdī adv very (big).
◊ al'ōdī [very.big] 8-79, 14-6.
⋄ all'ōdī [very] 13-175, 25-5.
                                                [swallow:pfv-
alhude adv down.
                                                 MPTCP.1SG=NMLZ-PRD] 32-151.
♦ alhude [down] 8-30, 9-92, 9-106, 9-106, 10-
                                               amlej- (aml-ej-) vi dive.
  110, 10-111, 11-85, 11-122, 27-3, 27-4.
                                                ♦ amle-t' [dive:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG] 13-67, 14-
alhuj n copper kettle.
                                                 74, 14-75, 15-80, 15-81, 16-77, 27-29.
♦ alhuj [copper.kettle] 14-58, 14-60, 14-61,
                                               ammal- vi spend a night.
  15-60, 15-61, 16-58, 16-58.
                                                ♦ ammal-i [spend.a.night-IND.INTR.3sG] 12-
♦ alhuj-ge [copper.kettle-LOC] 12-59, 13-53,
                                                 178, 12-179.
  13-53, 13-54, 15-63, 17-6.
                                                ♦ ammal-nu-ηi
                                                                       [spend.a.night-IPFV-
♦ alhuj-gele [copper.kettle-ACC] 12-60, 12-
                                                 PL:IND.INTR.3] 30-51.
  64, 13-55, 16-65.
                                                ♦ ammal-ni [spend.a.night-PL:IND.INTR.3]
alys very.
                                                 13-165.
♦ alys [very] 2-5.
                                               amun n bone.
amde- vi die.
                                                ♦ amun [bone] 12-46, 12-88, 13-77, 16-88,
♦ amdā-l'el [die-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)] 10-
                                                  17-26.
                                                ♦ amun-ek [bone-PRD] 27-34.
  26.
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♦ amun-gele [bone-ACC] 12-87, 15-82, 16-
                                               ♦ ann'e-l=ben-n'e [speak-AN=NMLZ-COM]
  87.
                                                 13-156.
♦ amun-gi [bone-poss.3] 27-37, 30-6.
                                               ♦ ann'e-tt'ek [speak-FUT:IND.INTR.2sg] 12-
♦ amun-pe [bone-PL] 12-80, 13-65.
♦ amun-pe-gele [bone-PL-ACC] 13-74, 14-
                                               ♦ ann'e-ŋi-de-jle [speak-PL-POSS.3-ACC] 7-
  80.
♦ amun-pe-lek [bone-PL-FOC] 16-76.
                                               ♦ ann'e-ŋide [speak-ss.cond] 19-7.
♦ amun-pe-ηin [bone-PL-DAT] 16-83.
                                               ♦ ann'-ōl-gi [speak-RN-POSS.3] 13-191.
♦ amun=de [bone=EMPH] 17-26.
                                               [NEG=speak-IND.INTR.1sG]
anabuskā n dugout canoe.
                                                 13-192.
                                               ♦ al=ann'e-met
♦ anabuskā [dugout.canoe] 13-118.
                                                                  [NEG=speak-INTERR.2PL]
♦ anabuskā-ge [dugout.canoe-LOC] 13-127,
                                                 19-18.
  20-10.
                                               ♦ al=ann'e-ηi [NEG=speak-PL:IND.INTR.3]
                                                 19-6, 19-13.
♦ anabuskā-gele [dugout.canoe-ACC] 12-
  159, 13-126, 14-122.
                                               ♦ al=ann'e-nit [NEG=speak-PL:FUT:IND.INTR.3]
♦ anabuskā-le [dugout.canoe-INS] 14-133,
                                                 19-5.
  16-173, 16-174.
                                               ann'eš- (ann'e-š-) vt make someone speak.
♦ anabuskā-ŋōn [dugout.canoe-ESS] 14-
                                                                [speak:caus-e-ind.tr.3sg]
                                               ♦ ann'eš-u-m
  111, 14-120.
                                                 14-170.
ande n bottom?.
                                               ana n mouth.
♦ ande-pe-gen [bottom-PL-PROL] 34-41.
                                               ⋄ aŋa [mouth] 13-94.
andāt dem from there.
                                               and'e n eye.
♦ andāt [med:abl] 14-123.
                                               ♦ and'e [eye] 8-5, 8-18, 8-39, 8-43, 8-44, 9-
ande n bottom?.
                                                 17, 9-61, 9-62, 10-57, 11-8, 11-16, 11-21, 11-
♦ andā [MED:LOC] 7-34, 10-58, 13-139, 14-
                                                 28, 11-66, 11-66, 11-66, 11-70, 13-50, 13-133,
  138, 15-89.
                                                 14-55, 14-56, 16-55, 16-55, 16-56, 16-148.
anil n fish.
                                               ♦ and'e-de [eye-poss.3:GEN] 13-56, 16-47.
♦ anil [fish] 22-5, 30-1, 30-2, 30-12, 31-12.
                                               ♦ and'e-de-jle [eye-poss.3-Acc] 11-20, 14-
♦ anil-ek [fish-PRD] 31-13, 31-24, 31-25.
                                                 63, 15-66.
♦ anil-ie [fish-DIM] 31-8.
                                               ♦ and'e-gele [eye-ACC] 13-40, 13-45.
                                               ♦ and'e-gi [eye-poss.3] 9-12, 9-14, 9-90, 10-6,
\diamond ani-n [fish-GEN] 5-40.
anillebejdī n roa.
                                                 10-7, 10-15, 11-8, 11-9, 11-18, 11-104, 13-41,
♦ anillebejdī [roa] 30-9, 30-10.
                                                 14-51, 15-66.
ann'ā- (ann'-ā-) vi begin to speak.
                                               ♦ aŋd'e-le [eye-INS] 8-20, 12-150, 12-150, 15-
♦ ann'ā-j [speak:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg] 32-17.
♦ ann'ā-l [speak:INCH-SF] 19-4, 19-7.
                                               ♦ and'e-lek [eye-Foc] 8-39, 8-39, 8-41, 10-
ann'e- vi speak.
                                                 54.
♦ ann'ā-l'el-d'e [speak-INFR-IND.INTR.1sG]
                                               ♦ and'e-n'-d'e [eye-PROP-JPTCP] 15-50.
  16-222.
                                               ♦ and'e-n'-i [eye-PROP-IND.INTR.3SG] 15-49,
♦ ann'e-de [speak-ss.sim] 24-10.
                                                 16-40.
♦ ann'e-j [speak-IND.INTR.3sG] 1-13, 13-149,
                                               ♦ and'e-t-tejek [eye-prop.inch-fut:ind.
                                                 INTR.2sG] 8-14, 9-21.
  15-85, 15-147.
♦ ann'e-k [speak-FOC] 14-6.
                                               ♦ and'e-š [eye-PROP.CAUS(-IMP.2SG)] 11-16.
♦ ann'e-l=ben [speak-AN=NMLZ] 12-171.
                                               ♦ and'e-š=ta [eye-PROP.CAUS(-IMP.2SG)=
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ЕМРН] 12-56, 15-58.
                                                 13-71.
                                              ant'īlā- (ant'ī-l-ā-) vt begin to look for.
[eye-prop.caus-hbt(-
  IND.TR.1SG)] 9-6, 10-9, 11-11, 12-51, 12-55,
                                               ♦ aŋt'īlā-m [look.for:INCH-IND.TR.3sg] 14-
  13-47, 13-49, 15-56, 16-50, 16-53.
                                                 77.
♦ and'e-š-tem
                    [eye-PROP.CAUS-FUT:IN-
                                              apl'et n epaulet.
  TERR.1SG] 10-14.
                                               ♦ apl'et-n'e-j [epaulet-PROP-JPTCP] 26-70.
♦ al=aŋd'e [NEG=eye] 12-41, 12-41, 12-57,
                                              apl'etāj n opletaj.
  12-85, 15-67, 16-79.
                                               ♦ apl'etāj [opletaj] 12-16, 12-18, 12-33, 13-
\Diamond al=and'e-n' [NEG=eye-PROP(-IND.INTR.
                                                 16, 13-33, 14-19, 14-42, 15-19, 15-28, 16-11,
  3sg)] 8-3.
                                                 16-12, 16-18, 16-33.
♦ al=and'e-n'-d'e [NEG=eye-PROP-IND.INTR.
                                               ♦ apl'etāj-ek [opletaj-FOC] 12-14, 13-13, 14-
  1sg] 10-55.
                                                 14, 16-12.
NEG=eye-PROP-
                                               ♦ apl'etāj-gi [opletaj-poss.3] 14-40.
                                              aposle adv later.
  JPTCP:NMLZ] 13-49.
NEG=eve-PROP-
                                               JPTCP:NMLZ=EMPH] 9-6, 10-9, 11-11, 12-51,
                                              arbun?.
  12-55, 13-47, 15-56, 16-50, 16-53.
                                               ♦ arbun [?] 29-11.
♦ al=and'e-t'uön [NEG=eye-ABES] 15-82.
                                              arnūjā n wolverine.
                                               ♦ arnūjā-die [wolverine-DIM] 1-2, 2-8, 2-9,
anil' n opening.
♦ anil'-gi [opening-poss.3] 8-46.
                                                 2-11, 2-12, 3-12, 3-17, 4-8, 4-13.
annume adv at first.
                                               ♦ arnūjā-die-gele [wolverine-DIM-ACC] 1-6,
♦ annume [at.first] 1-3.
                                                 4-10.
ant'ī- vt look for.
                                               ♦ arnūjā-die-le [wolverine-DIM-INS] 1-2, 3-
♦ aŋt'ī-de [look.for-ss.sim] 14-78.
♦ ant'ī-delma [look.for-DS.SIM] 17-27.
                                               ♦ arnūjā-die-nin [wolverine-DIM-DAT] 1-5,
♦ ant'ī-din [look.for-purp] 16-30.
                                                 2-8, 3-11, 4-7.
♦ ant'ī-jī-m [look.for-ven-ind.tr.3sg] 20-
                                              arpaj- (arp-aj-) vi climb.
                                               ♦ arpaj-dele [climb:PFV-SS.SEQ] 6-11, 10-37,
  11.
                                                 30-57.
♦ aŋt'ī-jī-t
             [look.for-ven-fut:ind.tr.1sg]
  20-21.
                                               ♦ arpaj-t'īli [climb:PFV-IND.INTR.1PL] 11-
♦ ant'ī-jī-teme [look.for-ven-fut:of.1sg]
                                                 111.
  16-24.
                                               ♦ arpaj-teje [climb:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG]
♦ aηt'ī-m [look.for-IND.TR.3sG] 17-16, 17-
                                                 10-36.
  16, 17-18, 17-19.
                                               ♦ arpaj-tīli
                                                             [climb:pfv-fut:IND.INTR.1pL]
♦ ant'ī-mele [look.for-of.3sg] 18-26.
                                                 11-38.
♦ aŋt'ī-t [look.for-ss] 13-71, 14-78, 16-87, 26-
                                               ♦ arpaj-ŋi [climb:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3] 9-42,
                                                 9-95, 10-43, 10-96, 11-44, 11-45, 11-119, 11-
  71.
♦ ant'ī-tem=el'e [look.for-FUT:IND.TR.3SG=
                                                 120.
  sfc] 12-78.
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                                               ♦ arpušaj-k [climb:CAUS:PFV-IMP.2SG] 8-81.
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♦ āt'e-gi [reindeer-Poss.3] 8-50, 9-67, 11-71,
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♦ āt'e-le [reindeer-INS] 8-50, 9-58, 9-80, 24-
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babushka n old woman, grandmother
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barqa n barkha.
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♦ basiki [basiki] 33-3.
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bedno adv poorly (Rus.).
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                                                ♦ bogatyr'-pe-k [hero(Rus.)-PL-FOC] 12-
bejd'ie adv everwhere.
♦ bejd'ie [everwhere] 15-195.
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belem prepared (Yak.).
                                                ♦ bogatyr'-pe-lek [hero(Rus.)-PL-FOC] 12-
♦ belem [prepared] 14-94.
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                                                bojt'e adv completely.
beleml'edej- vi prepare.
♦ beleml'edej-k [prepare-IMP.2SG] 11-36,
                                                ♦ bojt'e [completely] 9-90, 9-99, 10-87, 10-
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                                                  90, 11-86, 11-105, 11-105, 12-163, 13-105,
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                                                 ♦ chto_li [perhaps(Rus.)] 8-27, 16-120.
  25-33, 30-41, 30-74.
                                                 chto-nibud' something (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ chto-nibud' [something(Rus.)] 22-30, 34-
bol'nitsa n hospital (Rus.).
♦ bol'nitsa-ge [hospital(Rus.)-Loc] 35-44.
bol'she adv more (Rus.).
                                                 chut' adv a little (Rus.).
♦ bol'she [more(Rus.)] 22-25.
                                                 ♦ chut' [a.little(Rus.)] 14-129, 15-139.
                                                 chut'-chut' adv a little (Rus.).
botinka n lace boot (Rus.).
♦ botinka [lace.boot(Rus.)] 10-39.
                                                 ♦ chut'-chut' [a.little(Rus.)] 11-19, 15-138,
♦ botinka-pe-lek [lace.boot(Rus.)-PL-FOC]
                                                   16-148.
  35-26.
                                                 dagan'aj- vt catch up (Rus.).
budi- vi be heard.
                                                 ♦ dagan'aj-tem [catch.up(Rus.)-FUT:IND.TR.3sG]
♦ budi-t' [be.heard-IND.INTR.3sG] 15-5.
                                                   12-138.
budie postp on.
                                                 dahane adv even.
♦ budie [on] 7-27, 12-65, 12-172, 13-56, 13-
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                                                 debegej propn Debegei.
  14-150, 14-156, 15-158, 16-195, 16-203, 17-
                                                 ♦ debegej [debegei] 8-1, 8-1, 8-4, 8-6, 8-8, 8-
                                                   23, 8-31, 8-58, 8-67, 8-68, 8-77, 8-84, 8-92,
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budien postp onto.
                                                   9-1, 9-5, 9-30, 9-47, 9-71, 9-71, 9-79, 9-80,
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                                                   10, 11-13, 11-32, 11-53, 11-57, 11-58, 11-74,
♦ budiet [from.the.top.of] 5-13.
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bugor n hillock (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ debegej-ge [debegei-LOC] 11-4.
                                                 ♦ debegej-gele [debegei-ACC] 8-28, 10-44,
♦ bugor-pe-lek [hillock(Rus.)-PL-FOC] 13-
bukatyn adv completely.
                                                 ♦ debegej-nin [debegei-DAT] 8-25, 9-4, 9-32,
♦ bukatyn [completely] 12-199, 16-206, 16-
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                                                 ♦ el=debegej [NEG=debegei] 11-81.
                                                 dedushka n old man, grandfather (Rus.).
butte as if.
                                                 ♦ dedushka [old.man(Rus.)] 18-21.
♦ butte [as.if] 16-87.
buruj n fault.
                                                 delo n work (Rus.).
♦ el=buruj-n'e-j [NEG=fault-PROP-JPTCP] 9-
                                                 ♦ delo-k [work(Rus.)-FOC] 13-175.
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                                                 ♦ delo-lek [work(Rus.)-Foc] 16-206.
♦ el=buruj-n'e-j=bed-ek [NEG=fault-PROP-
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  JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD] 11-86.
                                                 ♦ detdom [orphanage(Rus.)] 35-42.
bystro adv quickly (Rus.).
                                                 djadja n uncle (Rus.).
♦ bystro [quickly(Rus.)] 12-133, 12-146.
                                                 ♦ djadja [uncle(Rus.)] 23-45.
                                                 dobryj kind (Rus.).
chajnik n kettle (Rus.).
♦ chajnik [kettle(Rus.)] 32-66.
                                                 ♦ dobryj [kind(Rus.)] 16-206.
♦ chajnik-ke [kettle(Rus.)-LOC] 32-67.
                                                 drugoj other (Rus.).
♦ chajnik-kele [kettle(Rus.)-ACC] 32-84.
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chto what (Rus.).
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♦ chto [what(Rus.)] 12-35.
                                                 ♦ d'e [INTJ] 2-10, 6-10, 6-30, 6-38, 8-14, 8-18,
chto_li perhaps (Rus.).
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                                                  ♦ ed'-i [be.alive-IND.INTR.3sG] 32-16, 34-2.
                                                 ed'ie- (ed'-ie) vi revive.
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                                                  ♦ ed'ie-dele [be.alive:INCH-SS.SEQ] 5-45, 7-
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  177, 13-179, 13-184, 13-194, 13-198, 14-38,
                                                  ♦ egedej-tej [look.out:DETR:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.
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                                                 egete- (ege-te-) vt stand.
  14-97, 14-113, 14-118, 14-122, 14-134, 14-
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                                                 egie- (eg-ie-) vi stand up, get up, stop.
  14-158, 14-160, 14-162, 14-163, 14-176, 14-
  181, 15-3, 15-13, 15-21, 15-36, 15-37, 15-42,
                                                  ♦ egie-dele [stand:INCH-SS.SEQ] 7-59, 9-26,
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                                                  ♦ egie-j [stand:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG] 5-29, 6-
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                                                  ♦ egie-ni [stand:INCH-PL:IND.INTR.3] 5-7.
                                                 egužu- (egu-žu-) vi walk around, go here
  199, 16-205, 16-207, 16-210, 16-210, 17-31,
  18-11, 18-15, 19-5, 19-9, 19-9, 20-6, 25-6,
                                                  and there.
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                                                 ejmeš- vt pay.
  45.
                                                  ♦ ejmeš-u-t [pay-E-FUT:INTERR.3SG] 19-24,
d'el'onaηō- vi be green.
                                                    19-26.
♦ d'el'onaŋō-d'e [be.green-JPTCP] 31-8.
                                                 eimin postp to the other side of.
♦ d'el'onaŋō-j [be.green-IND.INTR.3sG] 31-
                                                  ♦ ejmin [to.the.other.side.of] 6-35.
  14.
                                                 eimugude adv to the other side.
♦ d'el'onaŋō-j [be.green-JPTCP] 31-25.
                                                  ♦ ejmugude [to.the.other.side] 5-20, 6-20, 6-
edied'e- (edie-d'e-) vi call.
                                                    29, 6-30, 6-49, 6-49, 7-28, 7-34.
♦ edied'e-l [call:DETR-AN] 15-5.
                                                 ejmunde n half.
ediet'- (edie-t'-) vt call several times.
                                                  ♦ ejmunde [half] 16-40.
♦ ediet' [call:ITER(-IND.TR.1SG)] 23-40, 23-
                                                  ♦ ejmunde-de-jle [half-poss.3-Acc] 12-153,
  40, 23-40.
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♦ ediet'-u-m [call:ITER-E-IND.TR.3SG] 5-14,
                                                  ♦ ejmunde-de-le [half-poss.3-INS] 15-137.
  6-22.
                                                  ♦ ejmunde-gi [half-poss.3] 35-42, 35-42.
                                                 ejre- vi walk, go. (see also ewre-)
♦ ediet'-nā [call:ITER-PL:IND.TR.3] 23-25, 23-
  25, 23-25.
                                                  ♦ ejre-ŋi [walk-pl:IND.INTR.3] 25-122.
ed'- vi be alive.
                                                 ejtin dem that.
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♦ ejtin [DST.ATTR] 13-153.
                                                 ♦ emtedej-k [cure-IMP.2sG] 13-50, 16-56.
                                                 ♦ emtedej-me [cure-of.1sg] 10-54.
ejtiŋide dem to there.
♦ ejtinide [DST.DIR] 10-41.
                                                 ♦ emtedej-nu-me [cure-IPFV-OF.1sG] 8-41,
ejtuön dem that.
                                                  9-61, 11-66, 11-70.
♦ ejtuön [DST] 16-185.
                                                endā dem there.
eldelkie- vi become boring.
                                                 ♦ endā [MED:LOC] 7-56, 13-125.
♦ eldelkie-j [become.boring-IND.INTR.3sG]
                                                endī dem there.
  12-48.
                                                 ♦ endī [MED:LOC] 11-92, 13-150, 14-165, 16-
ele-ele adv hardly (Rus.).
                                                  91, 16-110.
\diamond ele-ele [hardly(Rus.)] 15-22.
                                                epie n grandmother.
                                                 ♦ epie [grandmother] 5-15, 5-17, 6-14, 6-16,
ell'ē intj no.
♦ ell'ē [no] 25-39, 26-23.
                                                  7-20, 7-22, 32-18, 32-18, 32-25, 32-36, 32-45.
el'ed'ō-j vi disappear.
                                                 ♦ epie-gele [grandmother-ACC] 26-34, 26-
♦ el'ed'ō-j [disappear-IND.INTR.3sG] 11-27,
  17-29.
                                                 ♦ epie-ηin [grandmother-DAT] 32-24.
el'ejī- vt carry, drag.
                                                erd'ieš- (erd'-ie-š-) vt make someone want.
♦ el'ejī-din [carry-PURP] 22-24.
                                                 ♦ erd'ieš-u-m [want:INCH:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG]
♦ el'ejī-t [carry-ss] 22-24.
                                                  29-9.
♦ el'ejī-teme [carry-fut:of.1sg] 32-26.
                                                erejdāq n pity.
embe- vi be black.
                                                 ♦ erejdāq [pity] 26-58.
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                                                 ♦ erejdāq-pe [pity-PL] 33-51, 35-12, 35-43.
♦ embe-j=bed-ek
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                                                erie- vt dislike.
  FOC] 21-14.
                                                 ♦ erie-nu-ηā [dislike-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3] 1-8.
emd'e n younger sibling.
                                                erielie- (erie-l-ie-) vt come to dislike.
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emej n mother.
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                                                  2-13, 3-18, 4-15.
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  34-9, 34-10, 34-15, 34-15, 34-16, 34-19, 34-
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                                                erpeje n Ewen.
♦ emej-de-n'e [mother-POSS.3-COM] 26-22.
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                                                ert'enej propn Ersiene.
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                                                  30-14.
♦ et'ie [father] 13-107, 22-16, 22-16, 22-28,
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  39, 15-45, 15-47, 15-55, 15-91, 15-93, 16-71,
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ēj intj
                                                   ♦ ierej-l'el [float:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sg)]
\diamond \bar{\mathbf{e}}_{\mathbf{j}} [INTJ] 11-23, 11-48, 12-71, 15-78, 16-111,
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festival' n festival (Rus.).
♦ festival'-nin [festival(Rus.)-DAT] 34-10.
                                                  ige- vi get caught.
gorat n town (Rus.).
                                                   ♦ ige-l'el [get.caught-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)]
♦ gōrat-ke [town(Rus.)-Loc] 12-1, 12-191,
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                                                     3sg] 32-9.
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♦ gōrat-nin [town(Rus.)-DAT] 12-2, 13-2, 14-
  3, 16-204.
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\diamond gorat=te [town(Rus.)=EMPH] 16-191.
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                                                   ♦ igeje-de-ge [string-POSS.3-LOC] 5-29, 6-39.
                                                   ♦ igeje-de-jle [string-poss.3-Acc] 8-53, 9-64,
◊ i [and(Rus.)] 12-74, 12-151, 12-174, 12-190,
  13-63, 15-154, 16-16, 18-24, 20-11, 21-13,
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  30-34, 30-37, 30-69, 33-9.
                                                   ♦ igeje-ge [string-LOC] 9-54.
                                                   ♦ igeje-gele [string-ACC] 2-6, 3-7, 4-5.
ibel'e- vi cry.
♦ ibel'e-de [cry-ss.sɪм] 26-39, 26-40, 26-58.
                                                   ♦ igeje-gi [string-Poss.3] 11-68, 32-112.
♦ ibel'e-j [cry-IND.INTR.3sG] 32-127.
                                                   ♦ igeje-le [string-INS] 8-46, 11-39.
ibier n sticks surrounding fireplace.
                                                   ♦ igeje-n'-i [string-PROP-IND.INTR.3SG] 10-
♦ ibier [sticks.surrounding.fireplace] 10-19.
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♦ ibier-ge
                [sticks.surrounding.fireplace-
                                                   ♦ igeje-n'-i-t [string-PROP-E-SS] 11-49.
  LOC] 5-28, 8-11, 8-17, 9-16, 9-26, 10-19, 10-
                                                   ijū- vi ache.
  20, 11-22.
                                                   ♦ ijū-ge [ache-LOC] 8-39, 11-66, 11-66.
                                                   ♦ jow-t' [ache-IND.INTR.3sG] 11-9.
ibišī n breast, milk.
◊ ibišī [breast] 32-79.
                                                   ikl'ō- vi be firm.
♦ ibišī-pe-gele [breast-PL-ACC] 14-124.
                                                   [be.firm-JPTCP:NMLZ-FOC]
id'ī adv now.
                                                     10-107.
◊id'ī [now] 12-122, 12-172, 12-227, 13-80,
                                                  ileje n wind.
  13-112, 13-202, 13-206, 14-102, 14-180, 14-
                                                   ♦ ileje [wind] 1-13, 1-14, 1-15, 1-16, 1-17, 1-
  186, 15-64, 15-163, 15-198, 16-151, 16-234,
                                                     18, 1-19, 2-18, 2-19, 2-20, 3-33, 3-34, 3-35,
  19-4, 29-19.
                                                     4-27, 4-28, 4-29, 12-113, 34-45.
iel'e- vi ripen, be cooked.
                                                   ♦ ileje-de-le [wind-poss.3-INS] 16-105.
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♦ ileje-k [wind-Foc] 12-112, 12-114.
                                                   65, 32-151.
                                                  ♦ ind'e-nitej [sew:DETR-PL:FUT:IND.INTR.3]
♦ ileje-n'e [wind-сом] 25-47.
ili or (Rus.)
                                                   33-54.
⋄ ili [or(Rus.)] 30-26.
                                                 iner adv apart.
ill'aj- vt rip up.
                                                  ♦ iner [apart] 22-27.
♦ ill'aj-dele [rip.up-ss.seq] 32-152.
                                                 inerte- vt dig.
♦ ill'aj-m [rip.up-IND.TR.3sG] 5-33, 6-42, 7-
                                                  ♦ inertie-l'el-u-m [dig-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sG]
  45, 32-118.
                                                   15-195.
♦ ill'aj-me=bed-ek=elō [rip.up-MPTCP.1SG=
                                                 ini- vt be afraid of.
                                                  ⋄iŋi [be.afraid.of (-ind.tr.1sg)] 14-35.
  NMLZ-PRD=SFC] 32-146.
im\bar{a}- (im-\bar{a}-) vi ride.
                                                  ♦ ini-mele [be.afraid.of-of.3sg] 13-31.
♦ imā-dele [sit.on:INCH-SS.SEQ] 13-119, 16-
                                                  ♦ el=iŋi-je [NEG=be.afraid.of-IND.INTR.1sg]
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                                                   13-23, 13-25, 14-26, 14-29, 15-25, 15-27.
♦ imā-j [sit.on:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg] 8-54, 9-
                                                 inlī- vt frighten.
                                                  ♦ inlī-mele=ben-gele [frighten-мртср.3sG=
  65, 10-67, 11-75, 12-173, 12-189, 13-127, 13-
  170, 15-166, 16-202, 16-203.
                                                   NMLZ-ACC] 15-36, 15-42.
                                                 iŋrō- vi sleep. (see also jeŋrō- and oŋrō-).
♦ imā-k [sit.on:INCH-IMP.2sG] 12-172, 15-
                                                  ♦ iŋrō-j [sleep-IND.INTR.3sg] 6-18, 7-24.
  121.
imdo- (im-do-) vt give someone a ride, take
                                                  ♦ iŋrō-jīli [sleep-IND.INTR.1PL] 22-17.
                                                 iŋrōžī- vt dream, see someone in dream.
 something aboard.
♦ imdo-lle [sit.on:CAUS-SS.SEQ] 9-92.
                                                  ♦ iŋrōžī-ŋit [dream-ss.cond] 28-4, 29-5.
♦ imdo-m [sit.on:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG] 13-160,
                                                 iŋruš- (iŋru-š-) vt make someone sleep.
  14-150, 14-156, 15-158, 15-167, 16-195.
                                                  ♦ el=inruš-u-t [NEG=sleep:CAUS-E-FUT:IND.
                                                   INTR.3sg] 8-33, 9-45, 10-47.
♦ imdo-t [sit.on:CAUS-SS] 15-154, 15-177.
                                                 iŋrū- vi fall asleep. (see also jeŋrū- and
imil n neck.
♦ imi-de-ge [neck-poss.3-loc] 12-189.
                                                  oηrū-).
immu- vi get drunk.
                                                  ♦ iŋrū-l'el [fall.asleep-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)]
◊immu-j [get.drunk-IND.INTR.3sG] 13-178.
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♦ immu-lle [get.drunk-ss.seq] 12-223, 14-
                                                  ♦ el=iŋrū-tejli [NEG=fall.asleep-FUT:IND.
  163.
                                                   INTR.1PL] 25-39.
imo- vi sit on the deer-back, boat, sledge,
                                                 iril n belly.
                                                  ♦ iri-de [belly-poss.3:GEN] 32-120.
 etc...
◊ imo-l-ōl [sit.on-E-RN] 13-174.
                                                  ♦ iri-de-ge [belly-poss.3-Loc] 6-44.
◊ imo-t [sit.on-ss] 12-196, 12-209, 13-181.
                                                  ♦ iri-de-jle [belly-poss.3-Acc] 5-33, 5-39, 6-
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♦ interesnyj [interesting(Rus.)] 31-13, 31-
                                                  ♦ iri-gi [belly-POSS.3] 5-37, 6-53, 6-53.
                                                  ♦ iri-n'e-j [belly-PROP-IND.INTR.3SG] 15-
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internat n boarding school (Rus.).
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♦ internat [boarding.school(Rus.)] 35-42.
                                                  ♦ iril [belly] 32-116, 32-152.
iηd'e- (iη-d'e-) vi sew.
                                                  ♦ iril-gi [belly-poss.3] 30-11.
♦ ind'e-j [sew:DETR-IND.INTR.3SG] 7-11, 32-
                                                 irkid'e num once.
                                                 ◊irkid'e [once] 7-3, 9-4, 16-46, 16-131, 18-6,
♦ iŋd'e-lle [sew:DETR-SS.SEQ] 7-12, 7-12.
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♦ ind'e-t [sew:DETR-SS] 5-45, 7-56, 32-65, 32-
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◊irkie-t [be.one-ss] 13-149, 13-180, 15-145,
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  16-156, 33-40.
                                                  \diamond \bar{i} [INTJ] 8-16.
irkill'e (irkil-l'e) num one.
                                                 īde- vt sew.
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 irkinl'e).
                                                  ♦ īde-k [sew-IMP.2sG] 33-34, 33-35.
♦ irkill'e [one:subst] 16-181.
                                                  ◊ īde-lle [sew-ss.seq] 32-123.
♦ irkill'e-gele [one:SUBST-ACC] 16-170.
                                                  ◊īde-m [sew-IND.TR.3sG] 5-39, 6-46, 7-49,
irkil'en adv together.
                                                    32-122.
♦ irkil'en [together] 12-88, 12-93, 13-76, 13-
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  78, 14-82.
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irkin num one.
                                                    33-62, 33-65.
♦ irkin [one] 2-2, 3-3, 4-2, 12-1, 12-39, 12-
                                                  ♦ īde-ŋitem [sew-pl:fut:IND.TR.3] 33-56.
  94, 12-150, 12-161, 13-1, 13-133, 13-146, 14-
                                                 īde- (ī-de-) vt catch.
  1, 14-47, 14-47, 14-49, 14-94, 14-137, 15-49,
                                                  ♦ īdie-l'el-mele
                                                                        [get.caught:caus-INFR-
                                                    of.3sg] 32-137.
  15-50, 15-60, 15-61, 15-102, 15-104, 15-117,
  16-1, 16-5, 16-11, 16-178, 17-1, 17-2, 19-6,
                                                  ♦ el=īde-t [NEG=get.caught:CAUS-FUT:IND.INTR.
  19-25, 22-13, 22-14, 23-45, 24-9, 25-1, 25-
                                                    3sg] 12-123.
                                                 īdejnede adv sometimes.
  3, 25-4, 25-16, 25-29, 25-63, 25-91, 25-120,
  26-9, 26-10, 26-15, 26-18, 26-41, 26-62, 27-
                                                  ♦ īdejnede [sometimes] 22-30, 22-31.
  2, 27-4, 27-5, 30-37, 30-46, 30-50, 31-2, 31-8,
                                                 īdeņide adv sometimes.
                                                  ♦ īdeņide [sometimes] 29-13.
  31-8, 31-18, 33-11, 33-24, 34-2, 35-6, 35-44,
  35-54, 35-59.
                                                 īdie- (īd-ie-) vt begin to sew.
♦ irkin=de [one=EMPH] 24-6.
                                                  ♦īdie-ŋitem
                                                                   [sew:inch-pl:fut:ind.tr.3]
♦ el=irkin [NEG=one] 15-117.
                                                    33-55.
irkinl'e (irkin-l'e) num one.
                                    (see also
                                                 īle n other.
                                                  ♦ īle-pul [other-PL] 22-21, 35-50.
 irkill'e).
♦ irkinl'e [one:SUBST] 33-39.
                                                 īlegul n flour.
♦ irkinl'e-gi [one:SUBST-POSS.3] 16-158.
                                                  ♦ ilegul [flour] 30-8, 30-12.
irkin_kun'el num ten.
                                                 īlugī- vt miss, feel sad without someone.
♦ irkin_kun'el [ten] 26-11.
                                                  ♦ īlugī-nide [miss-ss.cond] 28-5, 29-6.
iskom adv always.
                                                 īt' adv for a long time.
♦ iskom [always] 14-186.
                                                  ♦ īt' [for.a.long.time] 26-54, 32-11, 32-54, 32-
istōl n table.
                                                    54, 32-62, 32-68, 33-23.
♦ istōl-ge [table-Loc] 17-7, 18-11.
                                                 īt'e n tip, top of mountain.
itogedej- (itoge-d-ej-) vt burst.
                                                  ♦ īt'e-ge [tip-LOC] 1-20, 2-21, 27-2.
♦ itogedej-m [burst:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG]
                                                  ♦ īt'e-get [tip-ABL] 8-30, 10-41.
  14-63.
                                                  ♦ īt'e-ŋin [tip-DAT] 8-29, 9-39, 9-42, 10-36,
itt'iel'elle adv after a little while.
                                                    11-38, 11-120.
♦ itt'iel'elle [after.a.little.while] 25-55, 25-
                                                  ♦ īt'e-š-u-m [tip-prop.caus-e-ind.tr.3sg]
  58, 25-81, 25-100.
                                                    17-8.
ižilbe n fatigue.
                                                 iluge intj dear (expresses the feeling of deep
♦ ižilbe [fatigue] 16-180.
                                                   affection or pity). (see also jöwluge).
◊ ižilbe-le [fatigue-INS] 13-166.
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♦ ižilbe-lle [get.tired-ss.seq] 13-148.
                                                 īlū- vi be beautiful.
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♦ īli-t'e [be.beautiful-JPTCP] 25-5, 26-17.
                                                 ♦ al=l'an-ŋilek [NEG=send-PL:PROH.2] 16-
♦ īlū-k [be.beautiful-INTERR.2SG] 28-2, 29-3.
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♦ jaqtā-nu-ni [sing-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3] 34-
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                                                 ♦ el=l'en-ŋi [NEG=be.visible-PL:IND.INTR.3]
♦ jaqte-l [sing-AN] 34-27.
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♦ jaqte-t [sing-ss] 34-26.
                                                jedutej- (jedu-t-ej-) vt make visible.
♦ jaqte-tt'e [sing-fut:IND.INTR.1sG] 34-39.
                                                 ♦ jedutej-nunnu
                                                                         [be.visible:CAUS:PFV-
♦ jaqte-tuök [sing-fut:interr.1pl] 34-35.
                                                   HBT(-IND.TR.1SG)] 8-5.
♦ jaqte-nik [sing-PL:IMP.2] 34-33.
                                                jeklie postp beyond.
jaqūji- (jaq-ūji-) vi reach.
                                                 ♦ jeklie [beyond] 25-120, 26-9, 32-43.
♦ el=jaqūji [NEG=reach:ITER(-IND.INTR.3SG)]
                                                jeklude adv further.
  35-60.
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                                                jelde- vt pick, pluck.
jara- vi swim.
♦ jara-j [swim-IND.INTR.3sG] 4-20.
                                                 ♦ jelde [pick (-ind.tr.1sg)] 33-37, 33-45.
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♦ jara-nun-d'e
                   [swim-HBT-IND.INTR.1SG]
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                                                 \diamond jelde-\eta \bar{a} [pick-PL:IND.TR.3] 21-13.
♦ jara-t [swim-ss] 3-24.
                                                jewlegiel n shoulder.
jarqa n ice.
                                                 ♦ jewlegiel-ge [shoulder-LOC] 16-164.
                                                jeŋrō- vi sleep. (see also iŋrō- and oŋrō-).
♦ jarqa [ice] 22-24, 34-41.
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jarqadan propn the river Yarkhadan.
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  24, 34-38, 34-39, 34-42, 34-48.
                                                 ♦ jenrō-ni [sleep-PL:IND.INTR.3] 25-52.
♦ jarqadan-e [the.river.Yarkhadan-INS] 34-
                                                jeŋrū- vi fall asleep. (see also iŋrū- and
                                                  oŋrū-).
                        [the.river.Yarkhadan-
♦ jarqadana-gele
                                                 ♦ jeŋrū-l'el-ŋi [fall.asleep-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.
  ACC] 34-26.
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jarqužāš- vt swing.
                                                 ♦ el=jeŋrū-tejmet
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♦ jarqužāš-u-m [swing-e-ind.tr.3sg] 34-
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                                                 ♦ el=jeŋrū-ŋilek [NEG=fall.asleep-pL:ргон.
jasachna propn the river Yasachnaya (Rus.).
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♦ jasachna [the.river.yasachnaya(Rus.)] 30-
                                                jiedugude adv to another place.
                                                 ♦ jiedugude [to.another.place] 34-56.
  37.
jālō- num be three.
                                                jodaj- (jod-aj-) vt turn, twine around.
♦ jālō-d'īli [be.three-IND.INTR.1PL] 22-16.
                                                 ♦ jodaj-k [turn:PFV-IMP.2SG] 12-141.
♦ jālō-t [be.three-ss] 25-26, 25-28.
                                                 ♦ jodā-t' [turn:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG] 12-34, 13-
jān num three.
                                                   17, 13-33, 14-19, 15-41.
♦ jād [three] 25-113.
                                                jodie- vt keep something wrapped.
◊jān [three] 25-2, 25-109, 26-71, 30-69, 30-
                                                 ♦ jodie-t [keep.wrapped-ss] 11-21.
  69, 30-70, 30-70, 30-73, 33-9, 33-60, 34-1, 35-
                                                jodo- vt wrap.
  15.
                                                 ♦ jod-ō-gele [wrap-RN-ACC] 11-28.
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♦ jodo-dolo [wrap-ss.seq] 11-30.
                                                 ♦ jolo-do-ho [back-poss.3-loc] 8-12, 8-18,
♦ jodo-k [wrap-IMP.2sG] 9-14, 9-17, 11-18.
                                                  9-19, 11-24, 11-76.
♦ jodo-m [wrap-IND.TR.3sG] 11-20.
                                                jolohopiedit'e n little finger.
                                                 ♦ jolohopiedit'e [little.finger] 13-86, 15-91,
jododaj- (jodo-d-aj-) vi twine around.
♦ jododa-t' [wrap:DETR:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG]
                                                  15-92, 16-103.
  12-18, 14-40, 16-17, 16-33.
                                                 ♦ jolohopiedit'e-de-jle
                                                                                [little.finger-
                                                  POSS.3-ACC] 14-90, 15-96.
[NEG=wrap:DETR:PFV(-
  IND.INTR.3sg)] 16-27.
                                                 ♦ jolohopiedit'e-gele [little.finger-ACC] 13-
jododo- (jodo-do-) vi twine around.
                                                  92, 14-86, 15-93, 15-94.
♦ jododā-l'el [wrap:detr-INFR(-IND.INTR.
                                                 ♦ jolohopiedit'e-le [little.finger-INS] 13-94.
                                                 ♦ jolohunpiedit'ie-gele [little.finger-ACC]
  3sg)] 14-23.
♦ jododā-l'el-u-l
                      [wrap:detr-infr-e-sf]
                                                  12-98.
  14-14.
                                                jolohude adv back, backwards.
♦ jododo-llo [wrap:DETR-SS.SEQ] 1-20, 2-21,
                                                ♦ jolohude [back] 4-13, 8-55, 9-66, 10-68, 10-
  3-36, 3-36.
                                                  77, 11-76, 12-184, 12-198, 13-208, 16-139,
jod\bar{o}- (jod-\bar{o}-) vi be twined around.
                                                  16-200, 16-205, 30-76, 33-59, 35-55.
♦ jodō-d'ōn [wrap:res-jptcp:nmlz] 12-35.
                                                joηno- vi be open.
♦ jodō-j [wrap:res-IND.INTR.3sG] 15-28.
                                                 ♦ jonno-j [be.open-IND.INTR.3sG] 13-73, 14-
♦ jodō-l [wrap:RES-SF] 12-14, 13-13, 13-13,
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  16-11, 16-12.
                                                 ♦ joηno-j=bed-ek
                                                                      [be.open-JPTCP=NMLZ-
jodutaj- (jodut-aj-) vt wrap.
                                                  PRD] 13-59, 15-69.
♦ jodutaj-m [wrap:pfv-ind.tr.3sg] 15-20.
                                                 ♦ jonno-j=ben-pe-k [be.open-JPTCP=NMLZ-
jod\bar{\mathbf{u}} n turn of a river.
                                                  PL-PRD] 14-68.
♦ jodū [turn.of.river] 30-48, 30-49, 30-50, 30-
                                                 ♦ jonno-t [be.open-ss] 14-73.
                                                joηro- vt forget.
johaj- (joh-aj-) vi open.
                                                ♦ jonrā-l'el-me [forget-INFR-OF.1SG] 8-32,
♦ johaj-k [open:PFV-IMP.2SG] 12-62, 12-63.
                                                  9-43, 10-46, 11-48.
johodaj- (joho-d-aj-) vt open.
                                                 ♦ jonro [forget (-ind.tr.1sg)] 15-113, 16-140.
♦ johodaj-dele [open:CAUS:PFV-SS.SEQ] 25-
                                                joqto- (joq-to-) vt bring, carry, deliver.
  73, 25-75, 30-41.
                                                 ♦ joqt-ō-de-gen
                                                                     [arrive:CAUS-RN-POSS.3-
♦ johodaj-k [open:CAUS:PFV-IMP.2SG] 8-45.
                                                  PROL] 12-200.
♦ johodaj-m [open:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG] 8-
                                                 ♦ joqto-m [arrive:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG] 11-53,
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♦ johodaj-mele=bed-ek [open:CAUS:PFV-
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♦ johodaj-nu-ŋam
                       [open:CAUS:PFV-IPFV-
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  PL:IND.TR.3] 30-35.
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                                                 ♦ jowho-de-jle [back-poss.3-Acc] 6-41.
johor n wound.
♦ johor-gi [wound-poss.3] 6-53.
                                                jowje n net.
johote- vt hit.
                                                 ♦ jowje-ge [net-Loc] 27-33.
♦ johote-m [hit-IND.TR.3sG] 13-137, 13-138.
                                                jowl'e- vi be sick.
                                                 ♦ jowl'e-t [be.sick-ss] 34-11, 35-52.
johul n nose.
♦ johul-e [nose-INS] 12-111.
                                                jowl'ā- (jowl'-ā-) vi get sick.
jolo n back.
                                                 ♦ jowl'ā-jemet [be.sick:INCH-IND.INTR.2PL]
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19-12.
                                                 ♦ juö-mek [see-IND.TR.2sG] 7-48, 8-24, 11-
                                                  55, 16-140, 21-19, 30-31, 35-67.
♦ jowl'ā-jemet=dū [be.sick:INCH-IND.INTR.
  2PL=Q] 19-17.
                                                 ♦ juö-mele [see-of.3sg] 4-13.
jowlet'- vt ask.
                                                 ♦ juö-nu [see-IPFV(-IND.TR.1sg)] 28-4, 29-5.
♦ jowlet'-l'el-ŋam [ask-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3]
                                                 ♦ juö-nu-m [see-IPFV-IND.TR.3sg] 32-60.
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  26-73.
♦ jowlet'-u-m [ask-E-IND.TR.3sG] 25-13.
                                                  25-83, 25-116, 31-16.
jömge- vi rotate.
                                                 \diamond juö-\eta\bar{a} [see-PL:IND.TR.3] 23-22.
♦ jömge-lle [rotate-ss.seq] 4-30.
                                                 ♦ juö-ηik [see-PL:IMP.2] 27-33, 27-38, 31-11.
jöwluge intj dear (expresses the feeling of
                                                 ♦ juö-t [see-fut:IND.TR.1sG] 32-7, 32-8.
 deep affection or pity). (see also īluge).
                                                 ◊ juö-t [see-ss] 4-13, 27-6.
♦ jöwluge [dear] 22-22, 22-26.
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jukō- vi be small.
                                                 ♦ juö-temet [see-FUT:IND.TR.2PL] 27-33.
♦ jukō-d'e [be.small-JPTCP] 35-50.
                                                 ♦ juö-t'ī-temek [see-DLM-FUT:IND.TR.2sg]
♦ jukō-d'ōn-get [be.small-JPTCP:NMLZ-ABL]
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♦ jukō-j [be.small-IND.INTR.3sG] 4-19, 33-8.
♦ jukō-jīli [be.small-IND.INTR.1PL] 33-2, 35-
                                                 ♦ el=l'uö-je [NEG=see-IND.INTR.1SG] 8-87,
                                                  9-110, 10-117, 11-126, 13-52.
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                                                juöde- (juö-de-) vi see, look.
♦ jukō-l [be.small-AN] 26-41.
♦ jukō-luke [be.small-1|2:DS] 23-1.
                                                 ♦ juöde-j [see:DETR-IND.INTR.3SG] 14-8, 15-
♦ jukō-t [be.small-ss] 22-14, 33-2.
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juö- vt see, look.
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♦ juö-dele [see-ss.seq] 25-62, 26-46.
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 ♦ juö-din [see-PURP] 25-20.
                                                juödej- (juö-d-ej-) vi look.
♦ juö-j [see-IND.TR.1PL] 33-12, 35-14, 35-29.
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♦ juö-jī-m [see-ven-ind.tr.3sg] 7-60.
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♦ juö-jī-t [see-VEN-FUT:IND.TR.1sG] 14-175,
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♦ juö-k [see-IMP.2sG] 9-30, 11-32, 12-225, 14-
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♦ juö-l'el-u-m [see-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG] 5-
                                                 ♦ juödej-tejek [see:DETR:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.
  23, 11-19.
                                                  2sg] 15-136.
♦ el=juödej-tejek
                                                                         NEG=see:DETR:PFV-
                                                  FUT:IND.INTR.2SG] 13-125.
\diamond juö-l'el-\eta\bar{a} [see-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3] 23-51.
                                                 ♦ el=l'uödej-lek
                                                                        NEG=see:DETR:PFV-
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                                                 ♦ juöle-me [evening-TMP] 34-28.
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  25.
                                                 ♦ juöle-ηōt [evening-TRANS] 25-22, 25-23.
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juöl'et- vt love.
                                                 ♦ el=kebe-tejek [NEG=leave-FUT:IND.INTR.
♦ juöl'et-me [love-MPTCP.1sG] 34-48.
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                                                   117, 16-118.
♦ juöreq-nin [seminary-DAT] 35-11.
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jurta n yurta (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ kebej-dele [leave:PFV-SS.SEQ] 2-16, 8-66,
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jō intj
                                                 ♦ kebej-k [leave:PFV-IMP.2sG] 13-112, 15-
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                                                 ♦ kebej-k [leave:PFV-INTERR.2SG] 16-135,
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                                                  \diamond kebej-l [leave:PFV-SF] 14-120.
j\bar{o} n head.
                                                  ♦ kebej-l'el-ŋi [leave:PFV-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3]
 ♦ jō-de [head-poss.3:GEN] 13-56, 16-65.
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♦ jō-de-ge [head-Poss.3-Loc] 15-65.
                                                  ♦ kebej-l=bed-e [leave:pfv-An=nmlz-ins]
jōde- vi play.
                                                   16-173.
♦ jōdā-nu-ŋi [play-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3] 30-
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♦ khmel' [alcohol(Rus.)] 12-225, 13-191, 13-
  193, 14-170, 14-171, 14-178, 15-173, 15-186,
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⋄ kie [friend] 32-63.
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 tences) in any way.
♦ kiejen [before] 9-23, 19-4, 35-67.
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⋄ kiejie [before] 14-165.
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◊ kiel'ō-d'e [get.dry:RES-JPTCP] 27-2, 27-32.
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♦ kimdān'ā-jek [deceive:INCH-IND.INTR.
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kimdān'e- vi deceive.
♦ kimdān'e-je [deceive-IND.INTR.1sG] 9-
♦ kimdān'e-jek [deceive-IND.INTR.2SG] 6-
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♦ me=kimdān'e-je [AFF=deceive-IND.INTR.
  1sg] 8-88, 11-123, 11-127.
kimdān'erī- (kimdān'e-rī-) vt deceive.
♦ kimdān'erī [deceive:APPL(-IND.TR.1SG)]
  9-108, 10-115, 10-118.
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  IND.TR.1sG)] 9-111.
♦ me=kimdān'erī-mek [AFF=deceive:APPL-
  IND.TR.2SG] 32-107.
kimd'eš- vi stand firm. (used in the imper-
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 tor(s)).
                                                köj n man.
◊ kimd'eš [stand.firm (-imp.2sg)] 8-8, 8-77,
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♦ kil [who] 15-2, 15-150, 16-41
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                                                köjpeduö n boy.
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♦ kin-tek [who-Foc] 15-112, 16-140, 19-4,
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  19-7.
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kind'e n moon, month.
                                                kött'i- vi visit.
♦ kind'e-ge [moon-Loc] 35-44.
                                                 ♦ kött'i-j [visit-IND.INTR.3sG] 9-4, 11-5.
kir'aš n twisted strings.
                                                köwde- vt beat.
♦ kir'aš [twisted.strings] 30-27, 30-27.
                                                 ◊ köwde-m [beat-IND.TR.3sG] 9-27, 9-27.
♦ kir'aš-e [twisted.strings-INS] 30-26.
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kit'ie- vi learn, study.
♦ kit'ie-din [learn-PURP] 35-11.
                                                  12, 21-12.
♦ kit'ie-je [learn-JPTCP] 35-47.
                                                köwdie- (köwd-ie-) vt begin to beat.
♦ kit'ie-jīli [learn-IND.INTR.1PL] 35-54, 35-
                                                 ♦ köwdie-ηā [beat:INCH-PL:IND.TR.3] 21-11.
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                                                köwdej- (köw-d-ej-) vt take.away.
♦ el=kit'ie-jīli
                  [NEG=learn-IND.INTR.1PL]
                                                 ♦ köwdej-m
                                                               [leave:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG]
  35-63.
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♦ el=kit'ie-nu-ŋi
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  PL:IND.INTR.3] 35-67.
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kīmer n inner side of hide.
                                                krasavitsa n beutiful woman (Rus.).
⋄ kīmer [inner.side.of.hide] 32-79.
                                                 ♦ krasavitsa-pe [beutiful.woman(Rus.)-PL]
klas n class (Rus.).
                                                  33-52.
                                                kudde- vt kill. (see also kudede-).
♦ klas-ek [class(Rus.)-PRD] 35-66.
klub n club (Rus.).
                                                 \diamond kudde=elō [kill(-IND.TR.1sG)=sfc] 32-128.
♦ klub-ke [club(Rus.)-Loc] 33-47.
                                                 ♦ kudde-j [kill-IND.TR.1PL] 24-6.
♦ klub-ηin [club(Rus.)-DAT] 34-28.
                                                 ♦ kudde-l [kill-AN] 26-81.
ködiel n wolf.
                                                 ♦ kudde-m [kill-IND.TR.3sG] 26-62.
⋄ ködiel [wolf] 3-6, 4-4.
                                                 ♦ kudde-m=el'e [kill-IND.TR.3SG=SFC] 10-
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\diamond ködiel-e=de [wolf-ins=emph] 1-3.
                                                 ♦ kudde-mek [kill-IND.TR.2sG] 26-74.
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- ♦ **kudde-t** [kill-fut:ind.tr.1sg] 26-28.
- ♦ **kudde-tum** [kill-fut:IND.TR.3sg] 32-48.
- **♦ kudde-ŋide** [kill-ss.cond] 27-38.
- ♦ kudde-ŋā [kill-pl:ind.tr.3] 12-170, 13-156, 18-5.
- ♦ kuddie-l'el-d'e [kill-INFR-IND.INTR.1SG] 9-36.
- ♦ kuddie-l'el-u-m [kill-INFR-E-INTERR.1SG] 5-36.
- ♦ kuddie-nnu-m [kill-hbt-ind.tr.3sg] 3-42.
- ♦ el=kudde-ŋilek=ie [NEG=kill-PL:PROH.2= SFC] 32-18.

#### kude- vi become.

- **♦ kude-dele** [become-ss.seq] 12-85, 25-47, 25-119.
- ♦ **kude-dil** [become-PURP] 25-80.
- **kude-j** [become-IND.INTR.3SG] 12-188, 13-106, 13-158, 13-159, 13-164, 13-169, 14-148, 14-149, 14-153, 14-155, 15-67, 15-157, 16-79, 16-194, 25-23, 25-59, 25-107, 25-114, 26-4.
- **♦ kude-j=ie** [become-IND.INTR.3SG=SFC] 33-46.
- ♦ **kude-jīli** [become-IND.INTR.1PL] 26-43.
- ♦ kude-l'el [become-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)]
  8-75, 25-22.
- ♦ kude-l'el [become-INFR(-INTERR.3SG)] 19-16.
- ♦ kude-l'el-d'ōd-ek [become-infr-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD] 34-47, 34-49.
- ♦ kude-l'el-ŋi [become-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3] 12-175.
- ♦ kude-nu-j [become-IPFV-IND.INTR.3sG] 30-8.
- ♦ **kude-t** [become-ss] 25-58.
- ♦ kude-teje [become-FUT:IND.INTR.1sG] 25-45, 25-46, 25-48, 25-49, 25-56, 25-57.
- ♦ kude-tejmet [become-FUT:IND.INTR.2PL] 25-125.
- ♦ kude-ŋitej [become-PL:FUT:IND.INTR.3] 33-53.
- ♦ kudie-nu-j [become-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG] 30-17.

**kudede-** *vt* kill. (see also **kudde-**).

- **⋄kudede** [kill] 10-121.
- ♦ **kudede-din** [kill-PURP] 7-14.
- ♦ kudede-ge [kill-IMP.1PL] 13-153, 14-144, 15-149, 18-3.
- ♦ kudede-jī-t'e [kill-ven-ind.intr.1sg] 10-29.
- ♦ **kudede-me** [kill-of.2sg] 11-33.
- ♦ **kudede-met** [kill-INTERR.2PL] 24-14.
- ♦ kudede-ti [kill-fut:IND.TR.1pl] 16-185, 16-188.
- ♦ kudede-tum [kill-FUT:IND.TR.3sG] 13-123.
- **♦ kudede-ŋā** [kill-pl:IND.TR.3] 14-146, 15-155, 17-5.
- ♦ kudedie-l'el-d'e [kill-INFR-IND.INTR.1sG] 7-48, 10-31, 11-34.
- ♦ **kudedie-l'el-me** [kill-INFR-OF.1SG] 6-45.
- ♦ kudedie-l'el-u-m [kill-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG] 8-22, 9-29.
- ♦ kudedie-l'el-ŋā [kill-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3] 16-192.
- ♦ kudedie-nnu-m [kill-HBT-IND.TR.3SG] 1-26, 2-27, 4-35.

**kudedeš-** (**kudede-š-**) *vt* make someone kill.

♦ kudedeš-mek [kill:CAUS-IND.TR.2SG] 10-30.

**kudedešt'i-** (**kudede-št'i-**) *vt* make someone kill.

♦ kudedešťi-mek [kill:CAUS-IND.TR.2SG] 11-33.

**kudedešt'īl'e-** (**kudede-št'īl'e-**) *vt* make someone kill.

- ♦ kudedešť řl'e-m [kill:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG] 8-24.
- ♦ **kudedešť iľe-mek** [kill:CAUS-IND.TR.2SG]
- ♦ kudedešť řl'e-mle [kill:CAUS-OF.3SG] 9-31.

# kudele- vi prepare.

- ♦ **kudele-lle** [prepare-ss.seq] 3-14.
- ♦ **kudele-ni** [prepare-PL:IND.INTR.3] 4-11.

# **kudelej-** (**kudel-ej-**) *vi* start, begin.

♦ **kudelej-tejek** [prepare:PFV-FUT:IND.INTR.

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♦ lebie [land] 21-14, 26-81, 28-1, 28-6, 29-2,
  2sg] 8-7, 8-70, 9-9, 10-12, 11-14, 11-110, 12-
  53.
                                                   29-7, 29-14, 30-43.
kudiežī- vt keep something placed within.
                                                 ♦ lebie-ge [land-LOC] 9-86, 21-18, 27-10.
♦ kudiežī-t [keep.something.placed.within-
                                                 ♦ lebie-gele [land-ACC] 35-56.
  ss] 15-83.
                                                 ♦ lebie-gi [land-poss.3] 26-81.
kudit'i- (kudi-t'i-) vt kill.
                                                 ♦ lebie-le [land-INS] 16-231.
♦ el=kudit'i [NEG=kill:ITER(-IND.INTR.3SG)]
                                                 ♦ lebie-ŋin [land-DAT] 35-73.
  4-4.
                                                ledude adv down, downstream.
kudul n grime.
                                                 ♦ ledude [down] 14-133, 16-157, 16-169, 20-
♦ kudul-n'e-t [grime-PROP-SS] 22-15.
                                                   15.
kun'el irkubudi num eleven.
                                                leg- vt eat.
♦ kun'el_irkubudi [eleven] 35-66.
                                                 ♦ leg-ō-gi [eat-RN-POSS.3] 12-47, 12-80, 14-
kun'el_jālbudi num thirteen.
                                                   52, 14-73.
◊ kun'el_jālbudi [thirteen] 22-17.
                                                 ♦ leg-u-de [eat-E-SS.SIM] 14-32, 15-31, 16-22.
kurgom adv all round.
                                                 ♦ leg-u-m [eat-E-IND.TR.3sG] 12-106, 13-141,
◊ kurgom [all.round] 5-28, 6-38, 8-11, 8-17,
                                                   14-90, 14-91, 15-96, 16-112, 17-23, 17-24,
  8-19, 9-16, 9-26, 10-20, 11-22, 15-20.
                                                   17-27, 18-24, 18-25.
kurūlubuj adv always.
                                                 ♦ leg-u-t [eat-E-ss] 12-25, 13-65, 14-30, 15-
♦ kurūlubuj [always] 27-8, 27-10, 28-8, 30-
                                                   29, 30-59, 30-59.
  15, 30-54.
                                                 ♦ lej-nu-ηam [eat-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3] 30-34.
kušleme (kuš-leme) pro something.
                                                 ♦ lek-ke [eat-IMP.1PL] 5-4, 6-3, 6-4, 7-4, 17-4,
♦ kušleme [INDF:what] 34-14.
                                                   32-103.
lager' n camp (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ lek-tej [eat-fut:IND.TR.1pL] 32-154.
♦ lager'-get [camp(Rus.)-ABL] 35-7.
                                                 ♦ lek-tel [eat-FUT:0F.1PL] 22-7.
lampa n lamp (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ lek-tel=ben [eat-fut:AN=NMLZ] 22-6.
♦ lampa-gele [lamp(Rus.)-Acc] 34-56.
                                                 ♦ lek-tele [eat-ss.seq] 32-106.
♦ lampa-gi [lamp(Rus.)-Poss.3] 34-17, 34-
                                                 ♦ lek-tem [eat-fut:IND.TR.3sG] 12-144.
                                                 ♦ lek-tem=el'e
                                                                    [eat-fut:IND.TR.3sG=sfc]
lampochka n lamp (Rus.).
                                                   16-102.
♦ lampochka-gele [lamp(Rus.)-Acc] 34-17.
                                                 ♦ lek-teme [eat-fut:of.1sg] 13-27.
                                                 ♦ lek-temle [eat-FUT:0F.3sG] 12-124, 12-
landet postp on the side of.
♦ landet [on.the.side.of] 26-51, 26-70, 29-12.
                                                   125, 13-110, 13-111, 14-103, 14-104.
lani postp to.
                                                 ♦ lek-tuök [eat-fut:Interr.1pl] 5-6, 6-5, 7-
♦ laŋi [to] 12-9, 12-11, 12-141, 12-149, 13-7,
  13-84, 14-7, 14-10, 15-6, 15-134, 16-3, 16-84,
                                                 \diamond len-nā [eat-PL:IND.TR.3] 5-50, 6-64, 7-63,
                                                   32-155.
  21-15, 21-19, 21-20, 25-33, 25-51, 25-68, 25-
  69, 26-39, 26-68, 26-72, 30-60, 30-63.
                                                 ♦ lew-dele [eat-ss.seq] 5-27, 6-37, 13-111,
lanide postp to.
                                                   17-34.
♦ lanide [to] 25-72.
                                                 ♦ lew-din [eat-PURP] 5-24, 6-34, 12-26, 12-
lanin postp until.
                                                   31, 14-33, 16-24, 16-101.
♦ laŋin [until] 25-92, 35-11.
                                                 ♦ lew-l'el-u-m [eat-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG] 2-6,
lebejdī n berry.
                                                   3-7, 4-5.
♦ lebejdī [berry] 30-7.
                                                 ♦ lew-nu-l'el-mele [eat-IPFV-INFR-OF.3sG]
lebie n land.
                                                   15-78.
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♦ el=lek-tejek [NEG=eat-FUT:IND.INTR.2SG]
                                                  ♦ lejtej-m [understand:PFV-IND.TR.3sG] 26-
  17-12.
                                                   50.
♦ el=lem-mele=bed-ek [NEG=eat-MPTCP.
                                                 leme interr what.
                                                  ♦ lem-dik [what-Foc] 8-16, 8-23, 8-38, 9-30,
  3sG=NMLZ-PRD = 6-45.
♦ el=lew-l'el [NEG=eat-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)]
                                                   9-53, 10-51, 11-32, 11-63, 11-64, 12-225, 13-
                                                   200, 13-202, 15-197, 16-233, 19-15, 22-7, 23-
  5-38.
♦ me=leg-u-m [AFF=eat-E-IND.TR.3SG] 18-
                                                   48.
  21.
                                                  ♦ lem-dik [what-PRD] 13-193, 14-171, 22-27,
legej- (leg-ej-) vt eat up.
                                                   31-12.
♦ legej-m [eat:PFV-IND.TR.3SG] 16-147.
                                                  \diamond lem-dik=d\bar{\mathbf{u}} [what-PRD=Q] 14-48, 14-94.
legie- (leg-ie-) vt begin to eat.
                                                  ♦ leme [what] 5-24, 6-34, 15-194, 16-41.
♦ legie-m [eat:INCH-IND.TR.3SG] 17-15, 18-
                                                  ♦ leme-le [what-INS] 20-3.
  15.
                                                  ♦ leme-n [what-GEN] 12-19, 14-4, 14-162,
                                                   14-173, 14-178, 15-2, 16-75, 19-9.
legite- (legi-te-) vt feed, make someone eat.
♦ legite-k [eat:CAUS-IMP.2SG] 25-9.
                                                  ♦ leme-pe-lek [what-PL-FOC] 16-44.
\diamond legite-\eta\bar{a} [eat:CAUS-PL:IND.TR.3] 12-180.
                                                 lenin propn Lenin (Rus.).
♦ legitie-nu-l [eat:CAUS-IPFV-AN] 28-9, 29-
                                                  ♦ lenin [lenin(Rus.)] 34-17, 34-52, 34-54, 34-
                                                   54, 34-60, 34-60.
  17.
leg\bar{o}- (leg-\bar{o}-) vi be eaten.
                                                 leŋde- (leŋ-de-) vi eat.
♦ legō-d'e [eat:RES-JPTCP] 16-75.
                                                  ♦ lende-de [eat:DETR-SS.SIM] 12-22.
\diamond legō-d'ōn [eat:RES-JPTCP:NMLZ] 12-47.
                                                  ♦ lende-lle [eat:DETR-SS.SEQ] 19-3.
♦ legō-j [eat:RES-IND.INTR.3SG] 15-79.
                                                  ♦ lende-t [eat:DETR-SS] 18-22, 26-24.
\diamond legō-l=ben [eat:RES-AN=NMLZ] 32-102.
                                                  ♦ lendie-nu-ni [eat:DETR-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.
♦ legō-tej=ben [eat:RES-FUT:JPTCP=NMLZ]
                                                   3] 30-41.
  22-2.
                                                  ♦ lendie-nun-d'īli [eat:DETR-HBT-IND.INTR.
leg\bar{o}l'- (leg-\bar{o}l'-) vt want to eat.
                                                   1PL] 17-9.
\diamond legōl' [eat:DES(-IND.TR.1SG)] 12-24.
                                                  ♦ el=lende-t'uön [NEG=eat:DETR-SS.ABES]
◊ legōl'-me [eat:DES-OF.1SG] 13-26.
                                                   22-29.
legul n food.
                                                  NEG=eat:DETR-IPFV-
♦ legul-ek [food-FOC] 32-85, 32-144.
                                                   IND.INTR.1PL] 30-74.
♦ el=legul-e [NEG=food-INS] 4-4.
                                                 lendie- (len-d-ie-) vi begin to eat.
lejdī- vt know.
                                                  ♦ lendie-j [eat:DETR:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg] 17-
♦ lejdī [know (-interr.3sg)] 15-2, 15-150, 16-
                                                   14.
                                                  ♦ lendie-ni [eat:DETR:INCH-PL:IND.INTR.3]
♦ lejdī-mek [know-IND.TR.2SG] 21-5, 21-9,
                                                   25-11.
  34-14.
                                                 leŋdōl'- (leŋ-d-ōl'-) vi want to eat, be hun-
♦ lejdī-nu-m [know-ipfv-ind.tr.3sg] 13-
                                                  gry.
                                                  ♦ leŋdōl'-d'īli [eat:DETR:DES-IND.INTR.1PL]
♦ lejdī-temek [know-fut:IND.TR.2sg] 16-
                                                   22-8, 22-9, 22-9.
                                                  ♦ lendol'-dele [eat:DETR:DES-SS.SEQ] 24-6,
  226.
\diamond lejdī-ŋā [know-pl:ind.tr.3] 13-101.
                                                   24-6.
♦ el=lejdī-je [NEG=know-IND.INTR.1SG] 15-
                                                  ♦ lendōl'-i [eat:DETR:DES-IND.INTR.3SG] 12-
  112, 15-187.
                                                  ♦ lendōl'-i-lek [eat:DETR:DES-E-FOC] 22-10,
lejtej- (lejt-ej-) vt understand, remember.
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30-6, 30-30.
  22-11.
                                                lont'i- vt carve.
♦ lendol'-i-t [eat:DETR:DES-E-SS] 4-5, 12-25,
  14-30, 14-33, 16-21, 16-25, 22-11, 22-11.
                                                 ♦ lont'i-jī-mele [carve-VEN-OF.3SG] 5-9.
lepëshka n flatbread (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ lont'i-jī-t [carve-VEN-FUT:IND.TR.1SG] 7-
♦ lepëshka [flatbread(Rus.)] 30-8, 30-8, 30-
  12, 30-12.
                                                 ♦ lont'i-lle [carve-ss.seq] 6-32.
♦ lepëshka-ŋōt [flatbread(Rus.)-TRANS] 30-
                                                lorqaj- vt be unable to.
  8, 30-17.
                                                 ♦ lorqaj-m [be.unable.to-IND.TR.3sg] 14-21,
letom in summer (Rus.).
                                                   14-22.
♦ letom=de [in.summer(Rus.)=emph] 30-54.
                                                lot'il n fire, firewood.
lige- vi be old.
                                                 ♦ lot'il [fire] 10-19, 13-25, 14-26, 15-27, 19-
♦ lige-d'e [be.old-JPTCP] 25-124.
                                                   21, 19-26, 19-26, 22-24.
lodka n boat (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ lot'il-ek [fire-Foc] 22-18, 22-19, 32-26, 32-
♦ lodka [boat(Rus.)] 12-131, 15-119, 23-8,
  31-4.
                                                 ♦ lot'il-ge [fire-LOC] 13-24, 14-24, 15-26, 16-
♦ lodka-ge [boat(Rus.)-Loc] 31-5.
♦ lodka-le [boat(Rus.)-INS] 12-145.
                                                 ♦ lot'il-ge=de [fire-LOC=EMPH] 12-20, 12-20.
♦ lodka-ηōn [boat(Rus.)-ESS] 12-133.
                                                lozhka n spoon (Rus.).
lodā- vi dodge.
                                                 ♦ lozhka-pl-ek [spoon(Rus.)-PL-FOC] 35-17.
♦ lodā-dele [dodge-ss.seq] 12-18, 13-17, 13-
                                                londo- vi dance.
                                                 ♦ loŋdā-nu-jli
                                                                   [dance-IPFV-IND.INTR.1PL]
♦ lodā-j [dodge-IND.INTR.3sG] 14-42.
                                                   30-73.
lolhaj- (lolh-aj-) vi boil up.
                                                 ♦ londā-nu-ni [dance-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3]
♦ lolha-t' [boil:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG] 14-61.
                                                   30-39, 30-69, 30-76.
♦ lolhaj-ge [boil:PFV-LOC] 14-60.
                                                 ♦ londo-din [dance-PURP] 30-35.
lolhā- (lolh-ā-) vi begin to boil.
                                                loškarā n wooden spoon.
♦ lolhā-j [boil:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG] 13-54.
                                                 ♦ loškarā [wooden.spoon] 5-22, 6-7, 6-7, 6-
lolho- vi boil.
                                                   33, 6-41, 7-8, 7-36.
                                                 ♦ loškarā-k [wooden.spoon-FOC] 5-9.
♦ lolho-j [boil-IND.INTR.3sG] 14-62, 14-64,
                                                 ♦ loškarā-le [wooden.spoon-INS] 5-6, 6-5,
  32-67.
♦ lolho-j [boil-JPTCP] 12-60.
                                                   6-32, 7-6.
lolhodaj- (lolho-d-aj-) vt boil.
                                                löwdū- vi fall.
♦ lolhodaj-k [boil:CAUS:PFV-IMP.2SG] 14-58.
                                                 ◊ löwdi-t' [fall-IND.INTR.3sG] 10-113, 20-14,
lolhoš- (lolho-š-) vt boil.
                                                   22-24, 22-25.
♦ lolhoš-u-t [boil:CAUS-E-SS] 13-55.
                                                 ♦ löwdi-t'=elō [fall-IND.INTR.3SG=SFC] 33-
londo- vt remove.
                                                   64.
♦ londo-k [remove-IMP.2sG] 10-59, 10-60,
                                                 ♦ löwdū-k [fall-IMP.2sG] 14-28.
  11-68.
                                                 ♦ löwdū-l [fall-AN] 13-23.
♦ londo-lle [remove-ss.seq] 30-32.
                                                 ♦ löwdū-l-ōl [fall-e-rn] 13-22.
♦ londo-llo [remove-ss.seq] 30-15, 30-15,
                                                 ♦ löwdū-ni [fall-pl:IND.INTR.3] 25-106.
  30-15, 30-15.
                                                 ♦ löwdū-tej [fall-fut:ind.intr.3sg] 15-118.
                                                 ♦ et=löwdi-t'e [HYP=fall-IND.INTR.1SG] 14-
♦ londo-m [remove-IND.TR.3sg] 10-61, 11-
  69.
                                                   27.
                                                lukil n arrow.
♦ londā-nu-ŋam [remove-IPFV-PL:IND.TR.3]
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♦ lukil [arrow] 27-37.
♦ lukil-e [arrow-INS] 27-17.
♦ lukil-gele [arrow-Acc] 27-15, 27-21, 27-
♦ lukil-n'e-t [arrow-prop-ss] 27-14.
lunbuge n iron caldron.
♦ lunbuge-ge [iron.caldron-Loc] 18-7.
♦ lunbuge-get [iron.caldron-ABL] 17-8.
lūt'ī n Russian.
♦ lūt'ī [russian] 30-65, 31-18, 34-24, 34-30.
l'e- vi exist.
\diamond l'e [exist (-interr.3sg)] 16-41.
♦ l'e-dejne [exist-poss.3:Ds.cond] 30-6.
◊ l'e-gi [exist-poss.3] 13-20.
◊ l'e-j [exist-IND.INTR.3sG] 8-73, 8-76, 9-88,
  10-86, 10-88, 11-103, 11-107, 14-67, 14-118,
  14-165, 16-42, 16-191, 19-28, 21-18, 25-80,
  27-35, 30-4, 30-43, 30-53, 30-71, 32-43, 32-
  54, 32-120, 33-3.
♦ l'e-j=bed-ek [exist-JPTCP=NMLZ-PRD] 24-
  9, 31-18.
\diamond l'e-j=ben [exist-JPTCP=NMLZ] 16-88.
◊ l'e-je [exist-IND.INTR.1sG] 16-208, 16-209,
  32-57, 32-75.
♦ l'e-jek [exist-IND.INTR.2SG] 5-27, 6-37, 7-
  39, 13-130, 21-6, 23-38, 23-39, 24-12, 25-85,
  25-86.
◊ l'e-l [exist-sF] 11-63, 12-14, 12-127, 12-214,
  12-215, 13-125, 13-150, 13-189, 13-190, 14-
  168, 14-169, 14-182, 15-184, 16-179, 16-220,
  16-221, 30-27.
\diamond l'e-l-ge [exist-AN-LOC] 2-4.
◊ l'e-lle [exist-ss.seq] 7-27, 15-189, 16-87,
  16-199, 25-58, 33-3.
◊ l'e-me [exist-of.2sg] 8-16.
♦ l'e-met [exist-INTERR.2PL] 19-11.
◊ l'e-t [exist-ss] 9-104, 30-41, 31-5.
\diamond l'e-ti [exist-fut:IND.INTR.3sG] 15-127.
♦ l'e-tum [exist-fut:INTERR.1SG] 15-76.
$\frac{1}{e}\pi [exist-PL:IND.INTR.3] 20-2, 25-24, 25-
  94, 33-4, 35-47, 35-50.
\diamond l'e-nā [exist-PL:IND.TR.3] 7-14, 13-176.
\diamond l'el-ŋā [exist-pl:IND.TR.3] 14-4.
♦ l'ie-l'el [exist-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)] 25-19,
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25-91, 27-4.
◊ l'ie-l'el-u-l [exist-INFR-E-SF] 8-26, 12-1,
  13-1, 15-2, 16-1, 18-31, 23-45.
♦l'ie-l'el-ηi [exist-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3] 26-
♦ l'ie-nnu-j [exist-HBT-IND.INTR.3sG] 20-17,
◊ l'ie-nnu-l [exist-нвт-sF] 20-7.
♦ l'ie-nu-j [exist-IPFV-IND.INTR.3sg] 31-30.
\diamond l'ie-nu-l [exist-ipfv-an] 34-16.
♦ el=l'e-lek [NEG=exist-PROH.2SG] 13-187.
♦ el=l'e-lle [NEG=exist-ss.seQ] 32-11, 32-62.
♦ el=l'e-t [NEG=exist-ss] 32-68, 33-23.
♦ me=l'e-j [AFF=exist-IND.INTR.3SG] 15-109.
♦ me=l'e-jek [AFF=exist-IND.INTR.2SG] 32-
  106.
l'e pro (used to refer to someone or something
 when a speaker cannot recall its name.) that
 one, thingy.
◊ l'e [that.one] 1-4, 10-121, 11-108, 12-90, 12-
  211, 13-118, 13-198, 15-79, 15-80, 15-80, 15-
  149, 16-64, 16-81, 16-88, 16-90, 16-91, 16-
  105, 22-24, 25-40, 30-1, 30-7, 30-65, 32-6, 32-
  8, 32-97, 33-15, 34-16, 35-43.
\diamond l'e-de-jle [that.one-poss.3-ACC] 14-90.
♦ l'e-ge [that.one-LOC] 2-4, 5-40, 10-84, 11-
  72, 11-87, 11-124, 13-146, 14-41, 15-29, 15-
  46, 16-38, 16-69, 16-199, 16-206, 30-18, 30-
  34, 30-75, 31-4, 31-4, 32-66, 32-113, 32-134,
  32-138, 32-138.
♦ l'e-ge-de-gen [that.one-LOC-POSS.3-PROL]
♦ l'e-gele [that.one-ACC] 12-221, 13-156, 30-
♦ l'e-gen [that.one-PROL] 9-75, 12-223, 21-
  14.
♦ l'e-get [that.one-ABL] 12-38, 15-107, 30-36,
  30-37.
♦ l'e-gi [that.one-POSS.3] 13-58, 15-35, 15-
  118, 30-11, 30-15, 30-30, 32-112, 32-158.
◊ l'e-k [that.one-FOC] 16-180.
◊ l'e-le [that.one-INS] 23-18, 30-9, 30-10, 30-
  14, 30-19, 30-22, 30-23, 30-25, 30-29, 30-29,
  32-157, 32-157, 34-23.
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◊ l'e-lek [that.one-Foc] 12-7, 15-78, 32-33,
                                                 l'ej inti]
  32-153, 33-24.
                                                  ♦ l'ej [INTJ] 13-126.
♦ l'e-pl-ek [that.one-PL-FOC] 14-178.
                                                 l'ī- vt keep, have.
♦ l'e-nin [that.one-DAT] 1-13, 10-114, 12-
                                                  ◊ l'ī-t [keep-ss] 34-16.
  146, 14-106, 21-2, 30-60, 33-47.
                                                 mad\bar{a}- (mad-\bar{a}-) vi sit down.
♦ l'e-ηōt [that.one-TRANS] 13-158, 14-148.
                                                  ♦ madā-j [sit:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg] 16-125,
♦ l'el-gi [that.one-poss.3] 14-36.
                                                    20-9, 20-10, 27-2.
l'e- v (used to refer to an action or state when
                                                 magazin n shop (Rus.).
 a speaker cannot recall an apropriate verb)
                                                  ♦ magazin-ηin [shop(Rus.)-DAT] 33-59.
do that.
                                                 mahil n coat.
◊ l'e-din [do.that-PURP] 16-105.
                                                  ⋄ mahil [coat] 19-31.
                                                  ♦ mahil-gi [coat-poss.3] 19-28.
◊ l'e-j [do.that-IND.INTR.3sG] 13-184, 32-92.
◊ l'e-j [do.that-JРТСР] 35-47.
                                                 maqlō- vi be near.
◊ l'e-k [do.that-IMP.2sG] 8-12, 8-42, 8-44, 9-
                                                  ♦ maqlō-l [be.near-AN] 12-70, 13-62, 14-71,
  23, 9-71, 9-91, 10-22, 10-56, 11-35, 11-67, 12-
                                                    15-73.
  58, 12-227, 13-66, 14-57, 14-126, 15-59, 15-
                                                 marqil' n girl, young woman.
                                                  ♦ marqi-pe-n'e [girl-PL-сом] 30-39.
  114, 15-118, 15-146, 15-170, 16-54, 16-151,
  19-23.
                                                  ♦ marqil' [girl] 25-4, 25-5, 25-19, 25-20, 25-
\diamond l'e-l-ōl [do.that-E-RN] 13-22, 13-174.
                                                    21, 25-21, 25-88, 25-89, 25-92, 25-102, 25-
\diamond l'e-l=ben [do.that-AN=NMLZ] 16-47.
                                                    110, 26-16, 26-39, 26-49, 26-55, 26-58.
♦ l'e-lukene [do.that-1|2:DS.COND] 19-26.
                                                  ♦ marqil'-ek [girl-PRD] 26-17.
◊ l'e-m [do.that-IND.TR.3sG] 6-46, 8-89, 9-
                                                  ♦ marqil'-gele [girl-ACC] 25-83, 34-48.
  113, 12-146, 13-137, 14-122, 15-66.
                                                  ♦ marqil'-n'e [girl-com] 26-64.
◊ l'e-me [do.that-of.1sg] 5-46, 8-39, 12-206.
                                                  ⋄ marqil'-n'ā-l'el-ηi
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 sokha.
                                                ♦ n'āt'edaj-l'el [return:pfv-infr(-ind.intr.
♦ nunedanil' [the.mouth.of.river.Rassokha]
                                                  3sg)] 26-57.
  26-60.
                                                ⋄n'āt'ede-t' [return:pfv-IND.INTR.3sg] 10-
♦ nunedanil'-ge
                    [the.mouth.of.river.Ras-
                                                  77.
  sokha-Loc] 26-58.
                                                n'āt'in postp against.
nunenanil' propn the mouth of river Ras-
                                                ⋄ n'āt'in [against] 13-118.
 sokha.
                                                n'elbet- vt skin.
♦ nuŋenaŋil' [the.mouth.of.river.Rassokha]
                                                ♦ n'elbet-tele [skin-ss.seq] 7-63.
  26-9, 26-51, 26-64.
                                                ♦ n'elbet-ηā [skin-pl:IND.TR.3] 6-62.
                                                n'eleme (n'e-leme) pro (used in negative
♦ nunenanil'-ge
                    [the.mouth.of.river.Ras-
  sokha-Loc] 26-80.
                                                 sentences) anything.
nušel'eš- vt set up.
                                                ⋄ n'eleme [INDF:what] 7-46, 9-77, 13-9, 15-9,
♦ nušel'eš-me [set.up-of.1sg] 5-46.
n'aha adv together.
                                                ♦ n'eleme-die [INDF:what-DIM] 5-34, 6-43,
⋄ n'aha [together] 13-43.
                                                  13-72, 14-9, 25-117.
n'ajdelit' adv comfortably.
                                                ♦ n'eleme-le [INDF:what-INS] 3-6, 4-4, 12-
⋄ n'ajdelit' [comfortably] 10-125.
                                                  123, 13-108, 13-110, 14-102.
n'amalhil n year.
                                                ♦ n'eleme-n [INDF:what-GEN] 9-109, 10-116.
                                                n'eqadi (n'e-qadi) pro (used in negative sen-
⋄n'amalhil-ge [year-Loc] 22-17, 26-1, 35-
  54, 35-59.
                                                 tences) anything.
♦ n'amalhil-n'e-j [year-prop-IND.INTR.3sg]
                                                ♦ n'eqadi [INDF:which] 11-125.
                                                n'eqadun (n'e-qadun) pro (used in negative
  26-11, 33-9.
♦ n'amalhil-ŋōt [year-TRANS] 26-4.
                                                 sentences) anywhere.
n'amt'e n bell.
                                                ♦ n'eqadun-ge [INDF:which-LOC] 11-124,
⋄n'amt'e [bell] 26-51, 26-52, 26-56.
                                                  29-20.
⋄n'amt'e-gi [bell-poss.3] 26-51.
                                                n'eqanin (n'e-qanin) pro (used in negative
n'anme n willow.
                                                 sentences) at any time.
⋄ n'anme [willow] 30-30.
                                                ♦ n'eqanin [INDF:when] 20-3, 20-19, 27-9.
⋄n'anme-le [willow-INS] 29-11, 30-26, 30-
                                                n'eqanide (n'e-qanide) pro (used in nega-
  26, 30-29.
                                                 tive sentences) anywhere.
n'at'īl'e adv with difficulty.
                                                ♦ n'eqanide [INDF:where] 3-6, 4-4, 16-49.
⋄ n'at'īl'e [with.difficulty] 14-20.
                                                n'eqodo (n'e-qodo) pro (used in negative
                                                 sentences) anyhow.
n'āde n automn.
♦ n'āde-me [automn-TMP] 22-3.
                                                \diamond n'eqodo [INDF:how] 13-20.
n'ādelū- vi be beautiful.
                                                n'it'ahat- (n'it'aha-t-) vt stick.
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♦ n'it'ahat-u-m [stick:CAUS-E-IND.TR.3SG]
                                                   34-18, 34-20, 34-25, 34-30, 34-31, 34-36, 34-
  14-37.
                                                   38.
n'iŋre- (n'iŋ-re-) vt push down, cut down.
                                                 ♦ odu-n [Yukaghir-GEN] 26-36.
♦ n'inrā-nunnu-m [fall.down:caus-hbt-
                                                 ♦ odu-pe [Yukaghir-PL] 26-80, 30-64.
  IND.TR.3sG] 3-39, 4-33.
                                                odun_lebejdī n bilberry.
n'oho- vi fall down.
                                                 ♦ odun lebejdī-ge [bilberry-Loc] 30-14.
⋄n'oho-j [fall.down-IND.INTR.3sG] 5-30, 6-
                                                 ♦ odun_lebejdī-le [bilberry-INS] 30-15.
  40, 7-42, 32-113.
                                                ohunbe- vi get wet.
n'ohote- (n'oho-te-) vt push down.
                                                 ♦ ohunbe-j [get.wet-IND.INTR.3sG] 35-23.
♦ n'ohotā-l'el-u-m
                        [push.down-INFR-E-
                                                ohō- vi stand.
  IND.TR.3sG] 26-38.
                                                 ⋄ ohō-j [stand-IND.INTR.3sG] 11-71, 16-216,
n'ugere n side.
                                                   25-119, 26-48, 31-8, 31-9, 32-66, 32-110.
♦ n'ugere-ge [side-LOC] 27-35.
                                                 ⋄ ohō-l [stand-sF] 15-17, 33-13.
n'ugeredamun n rib.
                                                 ♦ ohō-l'el [stand-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)] 26-
⋄n'ugeredamun [rib] 15-81.
                                                   35, 26-36, 26-49.
♦ n'ugeredamun-gi [rib-poss.3] 15-79.
                                                 ♦ ohō-nu-j [stand-ipfv-ind.intr.3sg] 13-
♦ n'ugeredamun-n'e-t [rib-PROP-SS] 13-65.
♦ n'ugeredamun-pe-gi [rib-PL-POSS.3] 14-
                                                 ⋄ohō-t [stand-ss] 2-12, 3-17, 4-13, 28-8.
  73.
                                                 ♦ ohō-te-j [stand-fut-IND.INTR.3sG] 14-108.
n'umud'\bar{1} n axe.
                                                 ♦ ohō-tel [stand-fut:sf] 12-128, 15-115, 16-
⋄ n'umud'ī [axe] 7-10, 13-82, 13-88, 16-96.
♦ n'umud'ī-gele [axe-ACC] 12-105.
                                                 ♦ ohō-ŋil [stand-PL:SF] 34-44.
⋄ n'umud'ī-k [axe-Foc] 12-94, 14-84.
                                                 \diamond el=ohō [NEG=stand(-IND.INTR.3sg)] 25-
⋄ n'umud'ī-le [axe-INS] 16-107.
♦ n'umud'ī-lek [axe-Foc] 13-84.
                                                 \diamond n'e=ohō-din [EMPH=stand-PURP] 14-21.
\mathbf{n'\bar{u}} n name.
                                                oj- vt bark at.
⋄n'ū-gi [name-poss.3] 12-4, 13-3.
                                                 ⋄oj-m [bark.at-IND.TR.3sG] 23-5.
⋄ n'ū-le [name-INS] 34-48.
                                                 ♦ oj-ηā [bark.at-PL:IND.TR.3] 23-5, 23-13, 23-
♦ n'ū-te-nam [name-PROP.CAUS-PL:IND.TR.3]
                                                   49.
  26-81.
                                                ojbun propn the river Omulëvka.
n'ūn'ī- vt name.
                                                 ♦ ojbun [the.river.Omulëvka] 30-37, 30-45.
♦ n'ūn'ī-nu-ŋā [name-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3] 15-
                                                 ♦ ojbun-ge [the.river.Omulëvka-Loc] 30-46,
  173.
                                                   30-46, 30-46.
\eta \bar{o} z \bar{i} (\eta \bar{o} - z \bar{i}) vt regard someone as some-
                                                 ♦ ojbun-get [the.river.Omulëvka-ABL] 30-
 thing, treat someone as something. (see also
 ōžī-)
                                                ojd'e- (oj-d'e-) vi bark.
♦ ηōžī-l'el-u-m [COP:CAUS-INFR-E-IND.TR.
                                                 ♦ ojd'e-j [bark:DETR-IND.INTR.3SG] 32-93.
  3sg] 15-106.
                                                oil n stream.
♦ ηōžī-t [COP:CAUS-SS] 12-118, 13-103, 14-98,
                                                 ⋄ojl [stream] 34-42.
  34-5.
                                                okhota n hunting (Rus.).
ochen' adv very (Rus.)
                                                 ♦ okhota-ge [hunting(Rus.)-Loc] 30-54.
◊ ochen' [very(Rus.)] 22-1, 22-26.
                                                okno n window (Rus.).
odul n Yukaghir.
                                                 ♦ okno-gen [window(Rus.)-PROL] 32-60.
⋄ odul [Yukaghir] 30-45, 30-47, 32-17, 34-17,
                                                 ♦ okno-hon [window(Rus.)-PROL] 25-70,
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25-70, 25-70.
                                                         2sG=Q] 32-95.
oknodanil' n window.
                                                       orekh n nuts (Rus.)
⋄ oknodanil' [window] 25-68, 25-69.
                                                       ⋄ orekh [nuts(Rus.)] 35-34.
olad'i n pancakes (Rus.).
                                                       ♦ orekh-oq [nuts(Rus.)-FOC] 35-34.
♦ olad'i [pancakes(Rus.)] 30-8.
                                                       orpol' n bar for drying fish.
olgodin adv just.
                                                       ♦ orpol'-ge [bar.for.drying.fish-Loc] 5-40.
⋄ olgodin [just] 14-23.
                                                       orpunrā n bar for drying fish.
omnī n people.
                                                       ♦ orpunrā-ge [bar.for.drying.fish-Loc] 6-47,
⋄omnī [people] 1-1, 1-7, 1-8, 2-13, 3-1, 3-16,
                                                         7-50.
  3-18, 4-15.
                                                       orpure- (orpu-re-) vt hang.
                                                       ♦ orpure-m [hang:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG] 5-40,
omo- vi be good.
⋄omo-t' [be.good-IND.INTR.3sG] 9-90, 27-7.
                                                         6-47, 7-50.
⋄omo-t'e [be.good-JPTCP] 9-101, 10-87, 10-
                                                       ott'o n box made of birch bark.
  103, 10-106, 10-107, 11-118, 16-206, 19-28,
                                                        ◊ ott'o [box.of.birch.bark] 30-4, 30-19.
  21-9, 25-19, 25-21, 30-57, 33-31, 33-46, 33-
                                                        ♦ ott'o-ho [box.of.birch.bark-Loc] 30-3, 30-
  52, 33-53, 33-63.
                                                         5, 30-18.
                                                       otul n fireside.
♦ omo-t'ōn [be.good-JPTCP:NMLZ] 9-99, 10-
                                                       ♦ otul-ge
                                                                     [place.where.a.fire.is.made-LOC]
  103.
omolbe- (omo-lbe-) vi get better.
                                                         32-31.
                          [be.good:INCH-INFR(-
♦ omolbā-l'el
                                                       ō inti
  IND.INTR.3sG)] 6-52, 6-53, 10-89, 11-104,
                                                       \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}} [INTJ] 6-45, 7-48, 11-129, 12-89, 12-90, 12-
  11-106.
                                                         112, 13-136, 14-41, 14-63, 14-82, 14-96, 15-
⋄ omolbe-j
                  [be.good:inch-ind.intr.3sg]
                                                         70, 15-84, 15-176, 16-21, 16-50, 16-108, 16-
  11-129.
                                                         206, 28-1, 29-2, 32-21, 32-121, 33-16, 33-31,
omolot- (omo-lot-) vt make better, cure.
                                                         33-46, 33-64, 35-19.
♦ omolot [be.good:CAUS(-IMP.2SG)] 14-56.
                                                       ō- vi be.
♦ omolot-nunnu
                           [be.good:CAUS-HBT(-
                                                       \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-d'e [COP-IND.INTR.1SG] 11-81, 34-1.
  IND.TR.1SG)] 14-55.
                                                        \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-d'ok=d\bar{\mathbf{u}} [COP-IND.INTR.2SG=Q] 12-43.
omon adv just.
                                                        ♦ ō-d'īli [COP-IND.INTR.1PL] 22-1, 22-32, 24-
⋄omon [just] 10-31, 12-46, 14-52, 16-87, 26-
                                                         5, 34-10.
  31.
                                                       \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-d'\bar{\mathbf{o}}d-ek [COP-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD] 22-23,
omot' adv well.
                                                         22-26, 24-3.
⋄omot' [well] 9-6, 9-119, 10-9, 10-109, 10-
                                                       \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}} - \mathbf{d'\bar{o}d} - \mathbf{ek} = \mathbf{el'e} [\text{COP-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD=SFC}]
  124, 11-7, 11-11, 11-131, 11-134, 12-51, 13-
                                                         12-35, 12-200.
  47, 14-184, 14-185, 15-54, 15-56, 16-53, 16-
                                                        \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-d-\bar{\mathbf{o}}n [COP-POSS.3-ESS] 1-4, 1-4.
                                                        \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-\mathbf{i} [COP-IND.INTR.3sG] 25-58.
  87, 16-87, 16-206, 16-234.
                                                        \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-jīli [COP-IND.INTR.1PL] 35-10.
Omulëvka propn the river Omulëvka (Rus.).
♦ Omulëvka-ge [the.river.Omulëvka-Loc]
                                                        \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-l [COP-AN] 13-193.
  30-43.
                                                        \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-l'el [COP-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)] 25-5, 25-
onrū- vi fall asleep. (see also inrū- and
                                                         21, 26-16.
jeŋrū-).
                                                       ⋄ō-l'el-tej
                                                                        [COP-INFR-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG]
♦ onrū-t [fall.asleep-ss] 32-65.
                                                         14-50.
onrō- vi sleep. (see also inrō- and jenrō-).
                                                       \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-teje [COP-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG] 32-19.
\diamond mo=onrō-joq=dū [AFF=sleep-IND.INTR.
                                                        \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-nitej [COP-PL:FUT:IND.INTR.3] 33-52.
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ōl' n frame.
                                                              31-4.
\diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}-hon [frame-PROL] 25-57.
                                                            \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}} \dot{\mathbf{z}} \mathbf{\bar{i}} - \mathbf{g} \mathbf{e} = \mathbf{d} \mathbf{e} [water-LOC=EMPH] 12-21, 25-89.
                                                            ♦ ōžī-gele [water-ACC] 14-62, 14-62, 34-42.
ōj intj
\diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}j [INTJ] 5-36, 7-39, 8-23, 9-6, 9-30, 10-27,
                                                            ♦ ōžī-gen [water-PROL] 16-176.
  15-32, 16-89, 30-57, 31-17.
                                                            \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}} \dot{\mathbf{z}} \bar{\mathbf{i}} - \mathbf{g} \mathbf{i} [water-poss.3] 13-55.
ōqill'ā n perch.
                                                            \diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}} \dot{\mathbf{z}} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{k} [water-Foc] 23-18.
♦ ōqill'ā-pe [perch-PL] 25-122.
                                                            ♦ ōžī-lek [water-Foc] 32-26.
ōžā- (ōž-ā-) vi begin to drink.
                                                            ♦ ōžī-ŋin [water-DAT] 13-118, 16-168, 16-
♦ ōžā-ni [drink-pl:Ind.intr.3] 25-10.
                                                              171, 23-17, 23-19.
\bar{\mathbf{o}}\dot{\mathbf{z}}\bar{\mathbf{a}}- (\bar{\mathbf{o}}\dot{\mathbf{z}}-\bar{\mathbf{a}}-) vt begin to drink.
                                                            ♦ ōžī-ŋōt [water-TRANS] 25-59.
♦ ōžā-j [drink:INCH-IND.TR.1PL] 30-75.
                                                           öil'e- vi not exist.
ōže- vt drink.
                                                            ⋄öjl'e [not.exist (-ind.intr.3sg)] 5-16, 5-18,
◊ōžā-l'el-u-m
                      [drink-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sG]
                                                              5-34, 6-15, 6-17, 6-24, 6-26, 6-43, 7-21, 7-23,
                                                              7-31, 7-46, 9-118, 10-2, 10-6, 10-122, 11-4,
   15-193.
♦ ōže-k [drink-IMP.2SG] 14-174, 15-191, 16-
                                                              13-72, 14-78, 15-9, 16-9, 17-17, 17-20, 17-21,
  225, 35-19.
                                                              17-22, 17-25, 22-2, 22-5, 22-6, 22-25, 22-31,
♦ ōže-lle [drink-ss.seq] 12-225, 12-225, 14-
                                                              23-20, 23-21, 23-24, 23-25, 23-26, 23-27, 23-
  178, 15-175, 15-186, 15-197, 16-222, 16-233.
                                                              32, 25-88, 25-89, 25-90, 25-98, 25-117, 32-23,
♦ ōže-m [drink-IND.TR.3sG] 12-221, 13-198.
                                                              32-70, 32-102, 32-119, 34-27.
⋄ōže-t [drink-ss] 15-173.
                                                            ♦ öjl'e=el'e [not.exist(-IND.INTR.3sG)=sfc]
♦ ōže-ti [drink-fut:Ind.tr.1pl] 33-16.
                                                              30-25.
♦ ōže-tmek [drink-fut:IND.TR.2sg] 12-219.
                                                            ♦ öjl'e-dejne [not.exist-poss.3:Ds.cond] 30-
♦ ōžo-k [drink-IMP.2SG] 13-196.
                                                              29.
ōžeš- (ōže-š-) vt make someone drink, let
                                                            ♦ öil'e-j=bed-ek
                                                                                     [not.exist-JPTCP=NMLZ-
                                                              PRD] 34-4.
 someone drink.
\diamond \bar{\mathbf{o}}\check{\mathbf{z}}\check{\mathbf{e}}\check{\mathbf{s}} [drink:CAUS(-IMP.2SG)] 25-8.
                                                            ♦ öjl'e-ti [not.exist-fut:Ind.Intr.3sg] 22-
♦ ōžeš-l'el-ŋā [drink:CAUS-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3]
                                                              28.
   14-163, 15-172.
                                                            ♦ öjl'e-tt'e [not.exist-FUT:IND.INTR.1SG] 28-
♦ ōžeš-ŋā [drink:CAUS-PL:IND.TR.3] 12-202,
                                                              8, 29-15.
  12-203.
                                                            ♦ öjl'ie-l'el [not.exist-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)]
\bar{\mathbf{o}}\dot{\mathbf{z}}\bar{\mathbf{i}}- (\bar{\mathbf{o}}-\dot{\mathbf{z}}\bar{\mathbf{i}}-) vt regard someone as something,
                                                              32-3.
 treat someone as something.
                                                           öjl'e intj no.
                                           (see also
                                                            ◊ öjl'e [no] 10-115, 32-16, 32-50, 32-106, 32-
 ηōžī-)
♦ mo=ōžī-m
                     [AFF=COP:CAUS-IND.TR.3SG]
                                                              148, 32-150, 35-10.
                                                           önme n mind.
  13-107.
\bar{\mathbf{o}}\check{\mathbf{z}}\bar{\mathbf{i}} n water.
                                                            ♦ önme-ge [mind-Loc] 22-10, 34-16.
♦ ōžī [water] 12-59, 13-53, 13-54, 14-29, 14-
                                                           örul n shout.
  58, 14-64, 15-25, 22-3, 23-23, 25-57, 25-58,
                                                            ⋄ ör-gi [shout-poss.3] 12-147.
  25-70, 25-70, 25-82, 25-99, 27-8, 27-9, 30-75,
                                                           örd'ō- vi be middle.
                                                            ♦ örd'ō-l [be.middle-AN] 13-63.
  31-9, 31-26.
♦ ōžī-ge [water-LOC] 9-114, 10-119, 13-22,
                                                           örn'e- vi shout.
                                                            ♦ örn'e-de [shout-ss.sɪм] 26-39, 26-40, 26-
  13-22, 13-23, 14-27, 14-110, 14-122, 14-132,
  15-24, 15-136, 16-172, 16-176, 20-8, 20-14,
                                                              58, 26-63.
                                                            ♦ örn'e-gi [shout-poss.3] 10-112.
  20-20, 25-67, 25-79, 25-93, 25-105, 25-113,
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⋄örn'e-j [shout-IND.INTR.3sG] 10-23, 10-23,
                                                 ♦ el=palā-tejek [NEG=be.saved-FUT:IND.
  10-23, 12-91, 13-77, 25-63, 25-73.
                                                   INTR.2sg] 13-35, 13-37, 13-144, 14-45, 14-
⋄ örn'e-t [shout-ss] 10-113, 12-92.
                                                   93, 15-98, 15-99.
♦ örn'e-ti [shout-FUT:IND.INTR.3sg] 12-137,
                                                papadaj- vi fall (Rus.)
  14-114, 15-126.
                                                 ♦ papadaj-l [fall-sF] 9-77.
♦ örn'e-ni [shout-pl:IND.INTR.3] 23-31, 23-
                                                parnā n crow.
  31, 23-31, 25-75, 25-84.
                                                 ♦ parnā [crow] 21-1, 21-4.
örn'ie- (örn'-ie-) vi begin to shout.
                                                 ♦ parnā-ŋin [crow-dat] 21-3.
♦ örn'ie-j [shout:INCH-IND.INTR.3sg] 32-55.
                                                partija n political party (Rus.).
pad- vt cook.
                                                 ♦ partija-ŋin [party(Rus.)-DAT] 34-58.
♦ pad-u-m [cook-E-IND.TR.3sG] 17-6.
                                                pābā n elder sister.
\diamond pan-\eta\bar{a} [cook-pl:ind.tr.3] 6-63.
                                                 ♦ pābā-get [elder.sister-ABL] 13-98, 14-93,
                                                   15-46, 15-98, 16-35, 16-117.
♦ pat-l'el-nā [cook-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3] 18-6,
  18-7.
                                                 ♦ pābā-gi [elder.sister-poss.3] 15-103.
♦ pat-nu-nam [cook-ipfv-pl:ind.tr.3] 30-
                                                ped'el n smell.
  9.
                                                 ♦ ped'e-de-gen [smell-POSS.3-PROL] 3-13, 3-
♦ pat-tele [cook-ss.seq] 7-63, 30-1, 32-155.
pad\bar{o}- (pad-\bar{o}-) vi be cooked.
                                                 ♦ ped'e-n'e-ge [smell-PROP-LOC] 1-8, 2-14,
♦ padō-d'ōn-gele
                      [cook:res-jptcp:nmlz-
                                                   3-19, 4-16.
                                                 ♦ ped'e-n'e-gi [smell-PROP-POSS.3] 2-9.
  ACC] 17-15.
padōmu- (pad-ō-mu-) vi get boiled.
                                                 ♦ ped'e-n'e-j [smell-PROP-IND.INTR.3sG] 3-
♦ padōmu-j [cook:res:inch-ind.intr.3sg]
                                                   12, 4-8, 4-9.
                                                pejd'i- (pej-d'i-) vi run around.
  14-65.
                                                 ♦ pejd'i-de [run:ITER-SS.SIM] 5-42.
paj n woman.
♦ paj [woman] 1-3, 10-87, 19-25, 24-9, 24-11,
                                                pejit n plain.
  32-149.
                                                 ⋄ pejit [plain] 29-12.
♦ paj-ŋōt [woman-TRANS] 8-75.
                                                 ♦ pejit-pe [plain-PL] 28-3, 29-8.
pajpe n woman.
                                                pejžej- vi come undone.
♦ pajpe-pul [woman-PL] 30-39.
                                                 ♦ pejže-ť [come.undone-IND.INTR.3sg] 32-
pajaj- vt lift something onto one's shoulder.
                                                   112.
♦ pajaj-mele [lift-of.3sg] 11-112.
                                                pejžī- (pej-žī-) vt throw.
pajie- vt keep something lifted on one's
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qonoho adv if only.
                                               qot interr from where.
♦ qonoho [if.only] 13-22, 13-24.
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qonto- vt carry.
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samodel'nyj self-made (Rus.).
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                                                sum\bar{a} n big sack.
                                                 ⋄ sumā [big.sack] 8-46, 8-60, 9-37, 9-38, 9-
sanajāq n fur coat.
♦ sanajāq-ŋōn [fur.coat(yak)-ESS] 32-158.
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sapogi n high boots (Rus.).
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                                                 ♦ sumā-de-ge [big.sack-poss.3-loc] 8-52.
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                                                 ♦ sumā-ge [big.sack-LOC] 8-83, 9-48, 9-48, 9-
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                                                 ♦ sumā-get [big.sack-ABL] 8-49.
♦ serileštaj-nam [battle-PL:IND.TR.3] 27-1.
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shkola n school (Rus.).
                                                sup n soup (Rus.).
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                                                 ⋄ sup [soup(Rus.)] 35-17.
sitets n cotton print (Rus.).
                                                šajde adv across.
♦ sitets-ek [cotton.print(Rus.)-FOC] 33-60.
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                                                šanaha- vi clack.
skovoroda n frying pan (Rus.).
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♦ skovoroda-le [frying.pan(Rus.)-INS] 26-
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                                                  86.
♦ smert' [death(Rus.)] 3-42.
                                                 ♦ šapadanil'-ge [door-Loc] 13-63, 16-87.
smier n death (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ šapadanil'-get [door-ABL] 12-70, 14-71,
⋄ smier [death(Rus.)] 1-26, 2-27, 4-35.
                                                   14-80, 15-82, 16-69.
sovsem adv completely (Rus.).
                                                 ♦ šapadaņil'-pe [door-PL] 12-62, 12-63, 13-
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⋄ sovsem [completely(Rus.)] 9-29.
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                                                 ♦ šapadanil'-pe-le [door-PL-INS] 13-57.
spasibo thanks (Rus.).
♦ spasibo=ie [thanks(Rus.)=SFC] 35-32.
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spasibot'e thanks (Rus.).
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♦ spasibot'e [thanks] 34-58.
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šaqal'ā- vi gather.
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♦ šaqal'ā-dele [gather-ss.seo] 30-59.
                                                    ♦ šaššī-k [trap-Foc] 7-53.
♦ šaqal'ā-lle [gather-ss.seq] 30-38.
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  PL:IND.INTR.3] 30-58.
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♦ šaqal'ā-nu-ni [gather-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3]
                                                    \diamond \dot{s}\bar{a}-de-ge [tree-poss.3-loc] 16-16.
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šaqal'eš- (šaqal'e-š-) vt gather.
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♦ šaqal'eš-tele [gather:CAUS-SS.SEQ] 30-14.
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šar- vt cover.
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  15, 1-16, 2-18.
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šar- vt catch up.
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♦ šar-tem [catch.up-FUT:IND.TR.3sG] 15-
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♦ šašahadaj-dele [tear:CAUS:PFV-SS.SEQ] 15-
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                                                    ⋄šār [something] 32-9.
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                                                   šegužu- (šegu-žu-) vi run from place to place
♦ šašahadaj-l'el-u-m [tear:CAUS:PFV-INFR-
  E-IND.TR.3SG] 15-132.
                                                    trying to escape.
                                                    ♦ šegužu-j [escape:ITER-JPTCP] 23-1.
♦ šašahadaj-m [tear:CAUS:PFV-IND.TR.3SG]
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                                                   šejrej- (šejr-ej-) vi escape. (see also šewrej-
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šašahaj- (šašah-aj-) vi tear.
                                                    ♦ el=šejrej-lek [NEG=escape:PFV-PROH.2SG]
♦ šašahaj-dele [tear:PFV-SS.SEQ] 22-15, 22-
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♦ el=šašahaj-tej=ben
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                               NEG=tear:PFV-
  FUT:JPTCP=NMLZ] 9-99.
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♦ šašahat-nu-m [tear:CAUS-IPFV-IND.TR.3SG]
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šašahō- (šašah-ō-) vi be torn.
                                                   šewre- (šew-re-) vt put in.
♦ šašahō-nu-j [tear:RES-IPFV-IND.INTR.3SG]
                                                    ♦ šewre-t [enter:CAUS-FUT:IND.TR.1SG] 10-
  22-12.
                                                   šewrej- (šewr-ej-) vi escape.
šaššī n trap.
                                                                                         (see also
♦ šaššī [trap] 5-46, 7-60.
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♦ šewre-t' [escape:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG] 6-19,
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                                                  63, 9-75, 9-96, 9-102, 10-44, 10-45, 10-62, 10-
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♦ šewrej-din [escape:PFV-PURP] 14-67, 15-
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  109, 16-131.
                                                 ♦ šinšaj-t [cram-fut:IND.TR.1sg] 10-35, 10-
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                                                 ♦ šipaj-nik [pinch-PL:IMP.2] 33-29.
♦ šewrej-l [escape:PFV-AN] 16-132.
♦ šewrej-l'el [escape:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.
                                                šobol'e- vi cease, stop.
  3sg)] 5-20, 5-25, 6-29, 6-30, 6-35, 7-34, 7-38,
                                                 ♦ šobol'ā-nun-d'e [cease-HBT-IND.INTR.1sg]
  25-92.
                                                   1-20, 2-21, 3-36, 4-30.
♦ šewrej-l'el-gele [escape:PFV-INFR-ACC] 5-
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                                                 ♦ šohie-d'e [dissapear-JРТСР] 29-13.
  23.
                                                 ♦ šohie-j [dissapear-IND.INTR.3sG] 23-33.
♦ šewrej-tem [escape:PFV-FUT:INTERR.1sG]
  12-50.
                                                 ♦ šohie-l'el [dissapear-INFR(-IND.INTR.3sG)]
♦ šewrej-ŋi [escape:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3] 25-
                                                   23-28.
  72.
                                                šohurmādie propn Shogurmaadie (the name
♦ šewrej-ŋide [escape:PFV-SS.COND] 15-114.
                                                 of a place somewhere near a branch of the
♦ me=šewre-t' [AFF=escape:PFV-IND.INTR.
                                                 river Omulëvka).
  3sg] 32-99, 32-104.
                                                 ♦ šohurmādie [Shogurmaadie] 30-51.
♦ me=šewre-ťek
                           [AFF=escape:PFV-
                                                 ♦ šohurmādie-ge [Shogurmaadie-Loc] 30-
  IND.INTR.2SG] 13-125.
                                                   52, 30-54.
šešpedanil' n door. (see also šapadanil').
                                                 ♦ šohurmādie-ŋin
                                                                        [Shogurmaadie-DAT]
♦ šešpedaŋil' [door] 25-57, 25-73, 25-75.
                                                   30-56.
šibit'e n dog rose.
                                                šohurpe- vi heal up.
♦ šibit'e [dog.rose] 12-24, 12-25, 12-26, 12-
                                                 ♦ šohurpā-l'el [heal.up-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)]
  31, 12-31, 13-26, 13-26, 13-29, 13-31, 13-32,
                                                   6-54, 7-58.
  14-30, 14-30, 14-30, 14-32, 14-33, 14-39, 15-
                                                šohuše- vt lose.
                                                 ♦ šohušā-l'el-u-m [lose-INFR-E-IND.TR.3SG]
  29, 15-29, 15-29, 15-31, 15-31, 15-37,
  16-22, 16-24.
                                                   26-55, 26-56.
♦ šibit'e-ge=de [dog.rose-LOC=EMPH] 12-22.
                                                šohō- (šoh-ō-) vi be in.
♦ šibit'e-lek [dog.rose-Foc] 13-27, 16-24, 16-
                                                 ♦ šohō-d'ōn-gele
                                                                      [enter:RES-JPTCP:NMLZ-
  24.
                                                  ACC] 12-88.
                                                 ♦ šohō-jōd-ek [enter:RES-JPTCP:NMLZ-PRD]
♦ šibit'e-n'-d'e [dog.rose-PROP-JPTCP] 16-
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♦ šibit'e-n'-d'ōn-ge
                             [dog.rose-PROP-
                                                 \diamond \check{soho-l} [enter:RES-SF] 5-35.
  JPTCP:NMLZ-LOC] 16-22.
                                                 \diamond \check{soho-t} [enter: RES-SS] 11-70.
♦ šibit'e-n'-d'ōn-ŋin
                             [dog.rose-PROP-
                                                šogno- vi be sticked in a pile.
  JPTCP:NMLZ-DAT 16-29.
                                                 ♦ šoqno-j [be.stucked.in.a.pile-IND.INTR.3sG]
♦ šibit'e-t'ā-ge [dog.rose-AGG-LOC] 16-32.
                                                   14-52.
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tadi- vt give.
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♦ tami-dele [dress.oneself-ss.seq] 7-10, 25-
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♦ tami-t [dress.oneself-ss] 26-35.
♦ tami-ŋam [dress.oneself-PL:IND.TR.3] 25-
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tandā dem over there.

**♦ taŋdā** [DST.LOC] 3-43, 4-36, 13-208, 30-27. **taŋdelme** *adv* meanwhile.

**♦ taŋdelme** [meanwhile] 2-29, 5-51, 8-91, 11-135, 13-209, 17-23.

**tandiet** *adv* then.

**♦ tandiet** [then] 2-11, 3-14, 3-15, 3-20, 4-12, 5-20, 6-19, 8-89, 8-90, 9-65, 9-78, 9-115, 10-119, 10-127, 11-128, 12-106, 14-133, 15-96, 15-140, 16-33, 16-176.

tandigi adv then. (see also tannigi and tannugi).

**♦ tandigi** [then] 27-22, 30-8, 30-9, 30-35, 30-53, 30-65.

**tanide** *dem* there.

**♦ taŋide** [DST.DIR] 8-35, 8-77, 9-100, 10-50, 10-91, 10-104, 15-8, 15-14, 15-38, 15-151, 15-154, 15-159, 15-162, 16-85, 16-132, 16-164, 16-190, 16-198, 16-204, 25-82, 26-64, 33-22, 33-59.

taŋilaŋi dem there.

♦ tanilani [DST.DIR] 26-53.

tannigi adv then. (see also tandigi and tannugi).

**♦ taŋnigi** [then] 4-28, 8-45, 9-91, 10-59, 11-16, 11-17, 11-67, 11-108, 11-108, 11-113, 13-24, 13-26, 13-50, 13-53, 13-79, 13-82, 13-125, 14-57, 14-103, 14-145, 15-2, 15-173, 15-192, 16-54, 16-226, 19-21, 19-23, 20-17, 23-1, 34-29.

tannugi adv then. (see also tandigi and tannigi).

**♦ tannugi** [then] 15-59.

tarelka n dish (Rus.).

♦ tarelka-pl-ek [dish(Rus.)-PL-FOC] 35-17.
taskaj- vt carry (Rus.).

**♦ taskaj-m** [carry-IND.TR.3sG] 35-53. **taskan** *propn* Taskan.

- ♦ taskan [Taskan] 35-11.
- ♦ taskan-ge [Taskan(Rus.)-Loc] 35-40, 35-47, 35-54.

tā dem there.

◆ tā [DST.LOC] 2-13, 8-28, 8-71, 8-73, 8-76, 8-82, 8-83, 9-58, 9-63, 9-77, 9-86, 9-88, 9-102, 10-35, 10-62, 10-64, 10-83, 10-86, 10-88, 10-93, 10-97, 10-116, 10-119, 11-53, 11-71, 11-93, 11-103, 11-107, 11-111, 11-128, 12-40, 12-84, 12-177, 12-178, 13-76, 13-86, 13-147, 13-180, 15-7, 15-18, 15-51, 15-83, 15-100, 15-105, 15-162, 15-168, 16-61, 16-61, 16-62, 16-78, 16-103, 16-121, 16-125, 16-180, 16-190, 16-191, 16-197, 16-198, 16-209, 17-19, 18-13, 19-25, 21-6, 21-18, 24-9, 25-120, 26-63, 26-73, 30-8, 30-38, 30-43, 30-50, 30-51, 30-54, 30-57, 30-58, 30-64, 30-65, 30-71, 30-72, 32-44, 32-67, 33-4, 33-4, 33-5, 33-20, 34-1, 35-39, 35-47.

**tāhan** *adv* indeed.

♦ tāhan=tit [indeed=though] 11-19.

tāhar *adv* even.

♦ tāhar [even] 32-126, 34-52.

tāne *adv* anyway.

**♦ tāne** [anyway] 15-91, 15-188, 16-101.

tāt dem like this, like that.

♦ tāt [ANPH:ADV] 1-4, 2-8, 2-19, 2-22, 2-25, 3-8, 3-11, 4-13, 4-14, 4-17, 5-7, 5-13, 5-13, 5-14, 5-26, 5-27, 5-28, 5-31, 5-41, 6-22, 6-37, 6-38, 7-39, 7-41, 7-59, 8-4, 8-12, 8-20, 8-30, 8-31, 9-26, 9-40, 9-48, 9-52, 9-66, 9-76, 9-79, 9-81, 10-24, 10-51, 10-114, 10-123, 10-124, 10-127, 11-5, 11-22, 11-23, 11-26, 11-27, 11-28, 11-39, 11-59, 11-60, 11-61, 11-82, 11-83, 11-86, 11-94, 11-118, 11-133, 11-134, 12-3, 12-5, 12-34, 12-36, 12-46, 12-67, 12-74, 12-88, 12-107, 12-127, 12-153, 12-214, 12-215, 12-220, 13-4, 13-21, 13-32, 13-38, 13-54, 13-65, 13-70, 13-74, 13-87, 13-105, 13-111, 13-111, 13-119, 13-119, 13-135, 13-142, 13-145, 13-154, 13-155, 13-161, 13-171, 13-180, 13-189, 13-190, 13-199, 14-5, 14-13, 14-19, 14-

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# **tāt'ie** *adv* at that time.

♦ **tāt'ie** [at.that.time] 34-16.

#### **tāt'ile** *adv* then.

♦ tāt'ile [then] 1-17, 25-42, 25-50, 25-55, 25-68, 25-69, 25-102, 25-115, 25-116, 26-72, 27-20, 27-29, 27-35, 30-11, 30-19, 32-24, 32-105, 32-129, 32-135, 34-23, 34-28, 35-29, 35-54.

## tātl'elle *adv* then.

♦ tātl'elle [then] 2-13, 2-15, 8-37, 9-18, 9-28,
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tātmie- dem be like that.
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- ♦ tātmie-d'e [be.like.that-JPTCP] 27-39, 30-5, 30-18, 30-22, 30-29, 30-29, 30-32, 31-8, 31-25.
- ♦ tātmie-d'ōn-ge [be.like.that-JPTCP:NMLZ-LOC] 16-211.
- ♦ tātmie-j [be.like.that-JРТСР] 21-5.

## tebie- vi close.

- **♦ tebie-j** [close-IND.INTR.3sG] 12-75, 13-62, 13-63, 14-72, 15-73, 15-75, 16-70.
- ♦ tebie-k [close-IMP.2sG] 12-71, 12-72.
- ♦ tebie-ŋi [close-PL:IND.INTR.3] 14-70.
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# **tedul** *n* wealth.

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## **terike** *n* old woman, wife.

- ♦ terike [old.woman] 5-4, 5-22, 5-36, 6-3, 6-4, 6-33, 6-45, 6-57, 7-4, 7-36, 8-10, 8-14, 8-73, 8-76, 8-87, 9-12, 9-21, 9-31, 9-33, 9-88, 9-110, 10-14, 10-15, 10-23, 10-30, 10-86, 10-88, 10-117, 11-16, 11-18, 11-27, 11-33, 11-103, 11-107, 11-126, 12-118, 13-103, 14-98, 15-104, 15-106, 17-4, 17-27, 17-31, 17-32, 18-3, 19-4, 20-3, 20-3, 20-14, 25-1, 32-13, 32-22, 32-124, 32-128.
- ♦ terike-d-ōn [old.woman-poss.3-Ess] 2-3.
- ♦ terike-de-n'e [old.woman-роss.3-сом] 4-11, 7-1, 20-1, 26-12.
- **♦ terike-dā-n'e** [old.woman-poss.3-сом] 6-1, 17-1, 18-1.
- ♦ terike-ge [old.woman-Loc] 9-104.
- **♦ terike-gele** [old.woman-Acc] 8-21, 8-24, 10-25, 20-11, 32-129.
- **♦ terike-gi** [old.woman-Poss.3] 7-5, 8-3, 10-2, 11-4, 11-8, 20-7, 20-8.
- ♦ terike-l-l'el [old.woman-prop-infr(ind.intr.3sg)] 1-2.
- ♦ terike-l-l'el [old.woman-PROP-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)] 16-128.
- ♦ terike-n'-i [old.woman-PROP-IND.INTR.3sG] 9-3, 10-5, 11-3.

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♦ t'ahide [the.other.way] 20-18, 20-24.
                                                  t'elū- vi be cold.
t'ahitaj- (t'ahit-aj-) vt touch.
                                                   ♦ t'ie-t'e [be.cold-JPTCP] 34-45.
                                                  t'emej- (t'em-ej-) vi end.
♦ t'ahitaj-k [touch:PFV-IMP.2SG] 15-92.
                                                  ♦ t'emej-l'el [end:PFV-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)]
♦ t'ahitaj-m [touch:PFV-IND.TR.3SG] 14-86.
t'ajke n gull (Rus.).
                                                    25-99.
♦ t'ajke-n [gull-GEN] 29-13.
                                                   ♦ t'emej-nu-ni [end:PFV-IPFV-PL:IND.INTR.3]
t'ande adv up, upwards, upstream.
                                                    30-1.
♦ t'ande [up] 14-110, 14-120, 15-118, 16-158,
                                                   ♦ t'emie-t' [end:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG] 2-29, 5-
  16-159, 16-172, 16-173, 20-11, 20-11, 20-13,
                                                     51, 11-135, 11-136, 13-209, 32-159.
  20-21.
                                                  t'emerej- (t'eme-r-ej-) vt end.
                                                   ♦ t'emerej-l [end:CAUS:PFV-AN] 25-33.
t'andelū- vi be strong.
♦ t'andelū-l'el-u-l [be.strong-INFR-E-SF] 1-
                                                   ♦ t'emerej-ŋi [end:CAUS:PFV-PL:IND.INTR.3]
  13, 1-17, 1-21, 1-24, 2-16, 2-19, 2-22, 2-25,
                                                    25-105.
  3-25, 3-28, 3-31, 3-34, 3-37, 3-40.
                                                  t'emūji- (t'em-ūji-) vi end.
♦ el=t'andeli-t'e [NEG=be.strong-IND.INTR.
                                                  ♦ el=t'emūji-l [NEG=end:ITER-AN] 28-3, 29-
  1sg] 1-14, 1-18, 1-19, 1-22, 1-25, 2-17, 2-20,
                                                  t'erej- (t'er-ej-) vi sink.
  2-23, 2-26, 3-26, 3-29, 3-32, 3-35, 3-38, 3-41.
t'ā- vi be few.
                                                  ♦ t'erie-t' [sink:PFV-IND.INTR.3sg] 9-115, 10-
◊ t'ā-i [be.few-IND.INTR.3sG] 33-39, 33-40.
                                                     119, 11-128.
♦ t'ā-je [be.few-JPTCP] 2-4.
                                                  t'eruše- (t'eru-še-) vt make someone or
\mathbf{t'\bar{a}j} n tea.
                                                   something sink.
◊ t'āj [tea] 25-10, 33-16, 35-13, 35-19, 35-19.
                                                   ♦ t'eruše [sink:CAUS(-IND.TR.1SG)] 11-87.
◊ t'āj-e [tea-INS] 25-8.
                                                   ♦ t'eruše-t [sink:CAUS-FUT:IND.TR.1SG] 9-41.
◊ t'āj-ek [tea-Foc] 35-12.
                                                  \mathbf{t'esl\bar{a}} n adze.
t'āqadan propn the river Yasachnaya.
                                                   ♦ t'eslā [adze] 7-10.
                                                   ♦ t'eslā-gele [adze-ACC] 7-40.
♦ t'āqadan [the.river.Yasachnaya] 26-9.
t'āšet adv now.
                                                   ♦ t'eslā-le [adze-INS] 5-31, 6-41, 6-41, 7-43,
♦ t'āšet [now] 25-79, 27-1, 29-1, 29-12, 32-1,
                                                    8-18.
  32-25, 32-40, 32-131, 32-132, 33-19, 33-62,
                                                  t'ibal' n stove with flue on the top.
                                                  ◊ t'ibal'-ge [stove.with.flue.on.the.top-Loc]
  34-2, 34-8, 34-16, 34-19, 34-26, 34-38, 34-39,
                                                    6-11, 6-38.
  35-12, 35-26, 35-33, 35-46, 35-66.
t'āt'ā n elder brother.
                                                  t'ied'e n coldness, winter.
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♦ t'ied'e-ge [coldness-LOC] 32-157.
                                                 t'itte_t'umu
                                                                  adv
                                                                         all.
                                                                                           also
                                                                                    (see
◊ t'ied'e-me [coldness-TMP] 22-6, 29-18.
                                                  t'iste t'umu).
t'ien'e n small entrance hall.
                                                  ♦ t'itte_t'umu [all] 8-21, 13-58, 17-6, 17-6,
                                                    17-8, 17-23, 17-24, 18-6, 18-25, 22-15, 33-55.
♦ t'ien'e [small.entrance.hall] 12-74, 13-63,
  13-71, 13-73, 14-52, 14-72, 14-73, 15-74, 16-
                                                 t'īle n power.
                                                  ♦ t'īle [power] 12-163, 13-151, 14-139, 14-
  75.
♦ t'ien'e-de [small.entrance.hall-poss.3:GEN]
                                                    142, 16-186.
  12-46.
                                                  ♦ t'īle-gi [power-poss.3] 16-20.
t'ine- vt chop.
                                                  ♦ t'īle-l-l'el-u-l [power-prop-infr-e-sf] 4-
♦ t'ine [chop (-ind.tr.1sg)] 9-34, 9-34, 9-34,
                                                    21, 4-28, 4-31.
                                                  ♦ t'īle-le [power-INS] 11-115, 15-195.
                                                  ♦ t'īle-n'-i [power-PROP-IND.INTR.3SG] 11-
♦ t'ine-k [chop-IMP.2SG] 8-12, 9-18, 9-19, 15-
  116.
                                                    41.
♦ t'ine-l'el-u-m [chop-INFR-E-IND.TR.3sG]
                                                  ♦ t'īle-n'-i=el'e [power-PROP-IND.INTR.3SG=
  8-21, 10-25, 11-29.
                                                    SFC] 10-42, 11-117.
♦ t'ine-m [chop-IND.TR.3sG] 6-41, 8-18, 8-19,
                                                  ♦ t'īle-p-ki [power-PL-POSS.3] 12-162.
  8-19, 8-19, 9-27, 9-27, 9-27.
                                                  ♦ t'île-pul [power-PL] 15-144, 15-145.
♦ t'ine-mele [chop-of-3sG] 16-110.
                                                  ♦ el=t'īle-n'-d'e
                                                                           NEG=power-prop-
♦ t'ine-nunnu-m [chop-нвт-ind.тк.3sg] 1-
                                                    IND.INTR.1SG] 4-22, 4-24, 4-26, 4-29, 4-32,
  23, 2-24, 3-39.
                                                    4-34.
♦ t'ine-t [chop-fut:IND.TR.1sG] 9-25.
                                                 t'obul n sea.
♦ t'ine-t [chop-ss] 9-29, 10-31, 11-24, 11-26,
                                                  ♦ t'obul-ŋin [sea-DAT] 10-114.
                                                 t'oh- vt cut.
  11-34.
♦ t'ine-temle [chop-FUT:OF.3sG] 22-18, 22-
                                                  ◊ t'oh-u-m [cut-E-IND.TR.3sG] 14-88, 14-88.
                                                  ♦ t'ow-nu-lle [cut-IPFV-SS.SEQ] 17-6.
t'inej- (t'in-ej-) vt chop off, cut off.
                                                  ♦ t'ow-nunnu-j [cut-hbt-ind.tr.1pl] 17-
♦ t'inej-k [chop:PFV-IMP.2SG] 12-129, 14-
                                                    10, 17-11.
  109, 16-155.
                                                 t'ohaj- (t'oh-aj-) vt cut off.
♦ t'inej-m [chop:PFV-IND.TR.3sG] 5-31, 7-43,
                                                  ♦ t'ohaj-m [cut:PFV-IND.TR.3SG] 13-92.
  14-88, 14-119, 15-94, 16-107, 16-167, 16-170.
                                                 t'ohoje n knife.
♦ t'inej-teme [chop:PFV-FUT:OF.2SG] 13-
                                                  ◊ t'ohoje [knife] 9-43, 9-44, 9-45, 9-47, 9-71,
  117.
                                                    10-21, 10-49, 10-70, 11-24, 11-48, 11-49, 11-
t'irt'egej- (t'irt'eg-ej-) vi jump.
                                                    51, 11-57, 11-78, 15-94, 17-21, 17-27, 17-27,
♦ t'irt'ege-t' [jump:PFV-IND.INTR.3SG] 15-
                                                    17-33, 18-15, 18-18, 18-19, 18-26, 18-31.
                                                  ♦ t'ohoje-d [knife-GEN] 8-32, 8-36, 8-58.
                                                  ♦ t'ohoje-de-jle [knife-poss.3-Acc] 11-83.
t'iste_t'umu adv all. (see also t'itte_t'umu)
                                                  ♦ t'ohoje-gele [knife-ACC] 17-31.
◊ t'iste_t'umu [all] 25-57, 30-64.
t'it'egej- (t'it'eg-ej-) vt stretch.
                                                  ♦ t'ohoje-gi [knife-POSS.3] 17-22.
♦ t'it'egej-k [stretch:PFV-IMP.2SG] 10-98.
                                                  ♦ t'ohoje-le [knife-INS] 9-25, 9-29, 10-22, 10-
♦ t'it'egej-m [stretch:PFV-IND.TR.3sG] 10-99.
                                                    25, 10-31, 11-26, 11-29, 11-34, 13-92, 14-88,
t'it'eget- vt stretch.
                                                    15-92, 17-9, 17-16, 32-146.
♦ t'it'eget-tin [stretch-PURP] 10-100.
                                                  ◊ t'ohoje-lek [knife-FOC] 10-46, 11-57, 18-
t'itne- vi be long.
                                                    26, 32-117.
♦ t'itne-j [be.long-JPTCP] 27-2.
                                                  ♦ el=t'ohoje-t'uön [NEG=knife-ABES] 17-12.
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t'ohot'e n cliff.
                                                  ♦ t'orqo-ge [plain-LOC] 13-146, 14-137.
◊ t'ohot'e [cliff] 34-44.
                                                  ◊ t'orqo-ho [plain-Loc] 12-161.
t'olhaj- (t'olh-aj-) vt push down.
                                                  ♦ t'orqo-k [plain-Foc] 16-178.
♦ t'olhaj-m [push:PFV-IND.TR.3sG] 11-85,
                                                  ♦ t'orqo-loq [plain-FOC] 16-179.
  11-122, 12-146, 14-122.
                                                  ♦ t'orqo-pul [plain-PL] 29-4.
t'olhoro n hare.
                                                  ♦ t'orqā-die [plain-DIM] 29-10.
                                                 t'owrō- vi be narrow.
♦ t'olhorā [hare] 5-1, 5-4, 6-3, 6-4, 6-35, 7-4,
  7-38.
                                                  ♦ t'owrō-j [be.narrow-IND.INTR.3sg] 27-28.
♦ t'olhorā-die [hare-DIM] 5-8, 5-10, 5-12, 5-
                                                 t'uge n track, footprint.
                                                  ♦ t'uge [track] 21-5, 21-9, 35-3, 35-3.
  20, 5-23, 5-25, 5-27, 5-42, 5-46, 5-48, 6-9, 6-
  19, 6-29, 6-30, 6-60, 7-14, 7-34, 7-52, 7-61,
                                                  ◊ t'uge-de-ge [track-poss.3-loc] 8-55, 9-66,
  32-1, 32-17, 32-24, 32-24, 32-35, 32-61, 32-
                                                    10-68.
  134.
                                                  ♦ t'uge-gele [track-ACC] 26-55.
♦ t'olhorā-die-gele [hare-DIM-ACC] 5-38, 6-
                                                  ◊ t'uge-gen [track-PROL] 7-52, 14-94.
                                                  ♦ t'uge-k [track-PRD] 23-52.
  45, 6-61.
                                                  ♦ t'uge-lek [track-PRD] 16-120.
♦ t'olhorā-die-le [hare-DIM-INS] 5-2, 7-2.
♦ t'olhoro [hare] 6-23, 6-25, 7-30, 7-31, 7-32,
                                                  ♦ el=t'uge-t'uön [NEG=track-ABES] 2-15.
  32-22, 32-56, 32-69, 32-73, 32-97, 32-98, 32-
                                                 t'ugie adv on the way.
  103, 32-132, 32-138, 32-154.
                                                  ♦ t'ugie [on.the.way] 12-96, 13-83, 16-177.
♦ t'olhoro-gele [hare-ACC] 32-155.
                                                 t'ugōn adv quickly.
♦ t'olhoro-log [hare-Foc] 32-14, 32-137.
                                                  ♦ t'ugōn [quickly] 13-126, 14-112, 14-118,
t'ommu- (t'om-mu-) vi grow up.
                                                    14-121, 25-64, 25-64, 26-59, 26-61.
♦ t'ommu-j [be.big:INCH-IND.INTR.3SG] 12-
                                                 t'umu all.
  120, 13-105, 14-100.
                                                  ◊ t'umu [all] 2-6, 3-7, 4-5, 8-22, 8-84, 9-25,
♦ t'ommu-nide [be.big:INCH-SS.COND] 33-
                                                   9-36, 9-49, 9-98, 10-25, 11-29, 11-33, 11-34,
  52.
                                                    11-34, 11-74, 11-104, 11-121, 13-59, 13-101,
t'omparnā n raven.
                                                    13-173, 13-173, 13-198, 13-201, 13-201, 13-
◊ t'omparnā [raven] 24-8, 24-10, 24-13, 24-
                                                   207, 14-63, 14-100, 14-162, 15-178, 15-194,
  23.
                                                   15-195, 15-195, 15-198, 16-127, 16-231, 17-6,
t'omō- vi be big.
                                                   17-27, 17-34, 18-7, 18-24, 20-4, 20-18, 20-24,
◊ t'omō-d'e [be.big-JPTCP] 8-26, 8-79, 9-96,
                                                   21-13, 21-13, 23-53, 23-53, 24-5, 25-58, 25-
  10-92, 10-94, 10-107, 11-36, 11-43, 11-112,
                                                   59, 25-79, 25-119, 26-19, 27-34, 27-39, 27-
  12-59, 13-53, 13-53, 13-146, 14-58, 14-137,
                                                   40, 29-18, 30-6, 30-13, 30-14, 30-15, 30-15,
  15-17, 16-58, 16-58, 22-24, 26-16, 29-9, 35-
                                                   30-37, 33-64, 35-23.
  27.
                                                  ♦ t'umu-gi [all-poss.3] 7-58.
                                                 t'umut all.
♦ t'omō-tej [be.big-FUT:IND.INTR.3SG] 22-3,
                                                  ¢t'umut [all] 6-53, 14-73, 15-79, 22-13, 23-2,
                                                    33-64, 34-51, 34-53, 34-59, 35-61.
♦ t'omō-ni [be.big-PL:IND.INTR.3] 35-48.
t'omōd'el n prince.
                                                 t'unre n thought.
\diamond t'omōd'el-pe-gi=dū [prince-PL-POSS.3=Q]
                                                  ♦ t'unre-le [thought-INS] 16-131.
                                                 t'unre- vi think.
  19-10.
t'oqot'o n precipice.
                                                  ♦ t'unre-je [think-IND.INTR.1sg] 32-149.
♦ t'oqot'o [precipice] 16-231.
                                                 t'uö adv already.
                                                  ◊ t'uö [already] 7-57, 13-101.
t'orqo n plain.
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t'uöte adv always.
                                                   ♦ uchastok [area(Rus.)] 33-3.
◊ t'uöte [always] 32-87.
                                                  ugijel n morning. (see also ugujel)
t'urūd'ā adv quietly.
                                                   ♦ ugijel-de-ge [morning-POSS.3-LOC] 13-
◊ t'urūd'ā [quietly] 34-42, 34-45.
t'ūl n meat.
                                                   ♦ ugijel-me [morning-TMP] 5-7, 5-41, 5-47,
◊ t'ū-de-jle [meat-poss.3-Acc] 18-6, 18-11.
                                                    6-48, 6-59, 7-9, 7-51, 7-59, 12-210, 12-222,
◊ t'ū-gi [meat-poss.3] 18-9, 24-7.
                                                    14-164, 14-175, 14-177, 15-179, 16-230, 22-
◊ t'ūl [meat] 17-10, 17-29.
                                                    28, 24-17.
◊ t'ūl-e [meat-INS] 17-23, 17-27, 17-34, 18-
                                                  ugujel n morning. (see also ugijel)
                                                   ♦ ugujel-me [morning-TMP] 32-28.
  13, 18-24.
\diamond t'ūl-ek=dū [meat-PRD=Q] 16-45, 16-45.
                                                  ugujie adv tomorrow.
♦ t'ū-pe-lek [meat-PL-FOC] 16-44.
                                                   ♦ ugujie [tomorrow] 7-7, 16-229.
t'ūd'ī- vt play a trick on someone.
                                                  ugurt'erā n poplar.
◊ t'ūd'ī-t [play.a.trick-ss] 8-33, 9-45, 10-47.
                                                   ♦ ugurt'erā [poplar] 13-116, 14-108, 15-117.
\mathbf{t'\bar{u}l'd'\bar{i}} n tale.
                                                   ♦ ugurt'erā-gele [poplar-ACC] 14-119.
                                                   ♦ ugurt'erā-k [poplar-FOC] 15-115, 16-154,
◊ t'ūl'd'ī [tale] 8-2, 11-136, 25-30, 25-32, 25-
  33, 25-50, 26-5, 26-8.
                                                    16-154.
◊ t'ūl'd'ī-le [tale-INS] 25-41.
                                                   ♦ ugurt'erā-pe-ge [poplar-PL-LOC] 16-166.
                                                  ugutej- (ugu-t-ej-) vt drive out.
t'ūl'd'ī_pulut n ogre (lit. tale old man).
◊ t'ūl'd'ī_pulut [ogre] 8-13, 8-32, 8-35, 8-57,
                                                   ♦ ugutej-l'el-ŋā
                                                                         [go.out:CAUS:PFV-INFR-
  8-83, 9-3, 9-4, 9-7, 9-27, 9-43, 9-46, 9-69, 9-
                                                    PL:IND.TR.3] 2-7, 2-10, 3-10, 3-13.
  70, 9-83, 9-100, 9-107, 9-114, 9-118, 10-5, 10-
                                                   ♦ ugutej-ŋā [go.out:CAUS:PFV-PL:IND.TR.3]
  8, 10-11, 10-28, 10-42, 10-44, 10-46, 10-50,
                                                    4-6.
  10-69, 10-79, 10-94, 10-112, 10-119, 10-121,
                                                  uj- vi work.
                                                   ♦ uj-l'el [work-INFR(-IND.INTR.3SG)] 16-2.
  11-3, 11-5, 11-12, 11-23, 11-23, 11-41, 11-
                                                  uilā- (ui-l-ā-) vi begin to work.
  48, 11-53, 11-56, 11-77, 11-114, 11-117, 11-
                                                   ♦ ujlā-jīli [work:inch-ind.intr.1pl] 35-65.
  123, 11-128, 12-39, 12-41, 12-47, 12-65, 12-
                                                  \mathbf{uj\bar{a}}- (\mathbf{uj}-\bar{\mathbf{a}}-) vt begin to make.
  85, 12-94, 12-105, 13-38, 13-70, 13-93, 15-48,
  15-48, 15-53, 15-71, 15-95, 15-107, 16-111.
                                                   ♦ ujā-nile [make:INCH-PL:OF.3] 13-177.
◊ t'ūl'd'ī_pulut-e [ogre-INS] 8-2, 9-2, 10-4,
                                                  ujūke adv nearby.
                                                   ◊ ujūke [not.far] 12-16, 12-17.
                                                  ukej- (uk-ej-) vi go out.
\diamond t'ūl'd'ī_pulut-ek=dū [ogre-PRD=Q] 14-48.
◊ t'ūl'd'ī_pulut-ke [ogre-Loc] 8-3, 11-8, 11-
                                                   ♦ ukej-dele [go.out:PFV-SS.SEQ] 23-22, 32-
  99, 15-50.
                                                    54, 32-72.
♦ t'ūl'd'ī_pulut-kele [ogre-ACC] 10-97.
                                                   ◊ ukej-l [go.out:PFV-SF] 21-14.
♦ t'ūl'd'ī_pulut-tege [ogre-AUG] 14-50.
                                                                   [go.out:PFV-FUT:INTERR.1SG]
                                                   ♦ ukej-tem
ubuj adv rightly, that's right.
                                                    15-77.
⋄ ubuj [that's.right] 12-224, 13-205, 14-181,
                                                   ◊ ukej-ŋik [go.out:PFV-PL:IMP.2] 25-66, 25-
  15-196, 16-232, 25-21, 30-58, 32-21.
                                                    66.
ubun adn other.
                                                   ♦ uke-t' [go.out:PFV-IND.INTR.3sG] 6-27, 7-
⋄ ubun [other] 12-2, 13-2, 14-3, 16-33.
                                                    33, 8-48, 8-49, 12-70, 12-210, 13-184, 14-71,
♦ ubun=bed-ek [other=NMLZ-FOC] 13-180.
                                                    14-164, 15-179, 16-69, 16-215, 32-53, 32-71.
♦ ubun=ben-ge [other=NMLZ-LOC] 16-33.
                                                   ♦ el=ukej [NEG=go.out:PFV(-IND.INTR.3sG)]
uchastok n area (Rus.).
                                                    12-79, 13-64.
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ukt'ie- (uk-t'-ie-) vi begin to go out.
                                                  118, 16-152, 16-153, 16-158, 16-159, 20-11,
♦ ukt'ie-j [go.out:ITER:INCH-IND.INTR.3sG]
                                                  20-13, 29-18.
  33-15.
                                                 ♦ unuŋ-gen [river-PROL] 26-9.
ul'ege n grass.
                                                 ◊ unuη-ηin [river-DAT] 12-146.
♦ ul'ege-lek [grass-Foc] 26-14.
                                                uzhe adv already (Rus.).
♦ ul'ege-nōt [grass-TRANS] 25-48.
                                                ⋄uzhe [already(Rus.)] 12-120, 12-163, 13-
ul'ege_t'orqo propn Ul'ege Chorxo (lit.
                                                  106, 21-18, 35-48, 35-56.
 grassy plain)
                                                uö n child.
♦ ul'ege_t'orqo [Ul'ege.Chorxo] 30-77.
                                                ⋄ uö [child] 12-140, 12-148, 12-148, 13-122,
♦ ul'ege_t'orqā [Ul'ege.Chorxo] 30-63.
                                                  13-132, 14-116, 14-127, 15-127, 15-127, 15-
uldō- vi be tied.
                                                  127, 15-130, 15-133, 15-137, 16-137, 16-143,
♦ uldō-j [be.tied-IND.INTR.3sG] 8-46.
                                                  16-147, 32-23, 34-2, 34-3.
ulte- vt tie.
                                                 ♦ uö-gele [child-ACC] 12-151, 13-134, 14-130.
♦ ulte-lle [tie-ss.seq] 11-39, 11-47, 30-25.
                                                 ♦ uö-gi [child-poss.3] 12-134, 13-105, 13-129,
♦ ulte-m [tie-IND.TR.3sG] 8-53, 8-84, 9-64, 9-
                                                  14-100, 22-25.
  103, 10-65, 10-66, 10-109, 11-59, 11-74, 11-
                                                ⋄ uö-le [child-INS] 15-137.
                                                 ♦ uö-n'e-j [child-PROP-IND.INTR.3SG] 12-
  121.
♦ ultie-l'el-ŋā [tie-INFR-PL:IND.TR.3] 9-49.
                                                  135, 13-104.
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  (juö-d-ej-), lende- (len-de-), lendie- (len-d-ie-), lendol'- (len-d-ol'-), miade- (mia-de-),
  muddej- (mud-d-ej-).
-dE [CAUS]
⇒ imdo- (im-do-), itogedej- (itoge-d-ej-), īde- (ī-de-), johodaj- (joho-d-aj-), köwdej-
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⇒ aŋt'īd'ā- (aŋt'ī-d'-ā-), aŋt'īd'e- (aŋt'ī-d'e-), edied'e- (edie-d'e-), iŋd'e- (iŋ-d'e-), ojd'e-
  (oj-d'e-), qamied'e- (qamie-d'e-).
-d'i [ITER]
\Rightarrow pejd'i- (pej-d'i-).
-ej/-aj [PFV]
⇒ amladaj- (amlad-aj-), amlej- (aml-ej-), arpaj- (arp-aj-), arpušaj- (arpu-š-aj-), egedej-
  (ege-d-ej-), ierej- (ier-ej-), itogedej- (itoged-ej-), jedutej- (jedu-t-ej-), jodaj- (jod-aj-),
  jododaj- (jodo-d-aj-), jodutaj- (jodut-aj-), johaj- (joh-aj-), johodaj- (joho-d-aj-), juödej-
  (juö-d-ej-), kebej- (keb-ej-), kebejlie- (keb-ej-l-ie-), köwdej- (köw-d-ej-), kudelej- (kudel-
  ej-), legej- (leg-ej-), lejtej- (lejt-ej-), lolhaj- (lolha-j-), lolhodaj- (lolho-d-aj-), menmegej-
  (menmeg-ej-), merej- (mer-ej-), mežžej- (mežž-ej-), muddej- (mud-d-ej-), nigidej-
  (nigid-ej-), nit'ahaj- (nit'ah-aj-), n'āt'edaj- (n'āt'ed-aj-), peššej- (pešš-ej-), peššejš-
  (pešš-ej-š-), pod'ohaj- (pod'oh-aj-), pugeledej- (puge-led-ej-), pukižej- (pukiž-ej-),
  šašahadaj- (šašaha-d-aj-), šašahaj- (šašah-aj-), šejrej- (šejr-ej-), šewrej- (šewr-ej-), tilledej-
  (tilled-ej-), tottaj- (tott-aj-), t'ahitaj- (t'ahit-aj-), t'emej- (t'em-ej-), t'emerej- (t'eme-r-
  ej-), t'erej- (t'er-ej-), t'inej- (t'in-ej-), t'irt'egej- (t'irt'eg-ej-), t'it'egej- (t'it'eg-ej-), t'ohaj-
  (t'oh-aj-), t'olhaj- (t'olh-aj-), ugutej- (ugu-t-ej-), ukej- (uk-ej-).
El=[NEG]
♦ al=al'be 13-136, 13-140, 15-139. al=al'beš-u-m 14-132. al=ann'e-je 13-192. al=ann'e-met
  19-18. al=ann'e-ni 19-6, 19-13. al=ann'e-nit 19-5. al=and'e 12-41, 12-41, 12-57, 12-85,
  15-67, 16-79. al=and'e-n' 8-3. al=and'e-n'-d'e 10-55. al=and'e-n'-d'on 13-49. al=and'e-
  n'-d'ōn=de 9-6, 10-9, 11-11, 12-51, 12-55, 13-47, 15-56, 16-50, 16-53. al=and'e-t'uön 15-82.
  al=ažū-gi 7-21. al=ā 20-3. al=ā-l'el-mele 13-200. al=ā-lek 12-132. el=buruj-n'e-j 9-77.
  el=buruj-n'e-j=bed-ek 11-86. el=debegej 11-81. el=erpeje 11-81. el=ewre-je 8-86, 9-109,
  10-116, 11-124, 11-125. el=ewrie-nu-je 29-20. el=iŋi-je 13-23, 13-25, 14-26, 14-29, 15-25,
  15-27. el=inruš-u-t 8-33, 9-45, 10-47. el=inrū-tejli 25-39. el=irkin 15-117. el=īde-t 12-
  123. al=l'al-lek 12-73. al=l'an-nu-j 16-47, 16-48, 16-49. al=l'an-ŋilek 16-71, 16-72, 16-73.
  el=jaqūji 35-60. el=l'ed-u-l 23-30. el=l'en 8-43, 9-12, 10-7, 10-15, 11-8, 13-9, 14-9, 15-9.
  el=l'en-d'e 23-4. el=l'en-ni 23-14, 23-15, 23-16, 23-50. el=jenrū-tejmet 25-36. el=jenrū-
  nilek 25-33. el=jododaj 16-27. el=juö-nu-je 27-9. el=l'uö-je 8-87, 9-110, 10-117, 11-126,
  13-52. el=l'uöde-lek 15-134. el=juödej-tejek 13-125. el=l'uödej-lek 12-143, 14-117, 15-
  135. el=kebe-tejek 12-38, 12-158, 14-135, 16-35, 16-36, 16-117, 16-118. el=kebej-tejek
  13-98. el=kej-nu-ni 26-78. el=kej-tej 11-50. el=kej-tejli 26-30. el=kej-tejmet 26-28.
  el=kej-nit 26-27. el=kelu-nu 32-87, 32-87. el=ket'ī-nu-j 3-6. el=ket'ī-t 12-123. el=ket'ī-
  tej 13-108, 13-110, 14-102. el=kit'ie-jīli 35-63. el=kit'ie-nu-ni 35-67. el=köjbunnu-lek
  13-204, 16-214, 16-219. el=kudde-nilek=ie 32-18. el=kudit'i 4-4. el=lek-tejek 17-12.
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el=lem-mele=bed-ek 6-45. el=lew-l'el 5-38. el=legul-e 4-4. el=lejdī-je 15-112, 15-187.
  el=lende-t'uön 22-29. el=lendie-nu-jli 30-74. el=l'e-lek 13-187. el=l'e-lle 32-11, 32-62.
  el=l'e-t 32-68, 33-23. el=l'e-j 16-150. el=medi 20-19. el=medi-tejmet 25-125. el=met-
  ek 12-214, 13-189, 14-168, 14-182, 15-184, 16-220. el=met-ek 15-185. el=mo-d'e 12-213,
  13-186, 14-166. el=nadaŋō 32-79. el=nadaŋō-jek 32-78. el=nugu-nu-j 14-79. el=ohō 25-
  118. el=palā-tejek 13-35, 13-37, 13-144, 14-45, 14-93, 15-98, 15-99. el=pon'ō 12-38, 13-35,
  14-135. el=pon'ō-tejek 12-109, 14-93, 15-46, 15-47, 15-142. el=pundōl' 21-10. el=pundu-j
  21-16. el=pundu-l'el 23-41. el=pundu-lek 13-174, 13-188, 14-159, 14-167, 15-171, 15-183,
  23-43. el=pundu-nnu-j 21-15, 21-19. al=qamun 2-4. ol=qode-n'e 5-37. el=qol-loq 12-
  26, 12-27, 12-27, 12-29, 13-28, 14-34, 15-32, 15-33, 15-34, 16-26, 16-28, 16-29. el=qonto-loq
  13-29. el=qvastavaj-lek 15-174. el=šar-i 16-150. el=šašahaj-tej=ben 9-99. el=šejrej-lek
  32-49. el=šejrej-teje 32-50. el=tadi-teje 19-31. el=terike-t'uön 10-3. el=tet-in 12-213.
  el=tön-nilek 16-68. el=t'andeli-t'e 1-14, 1-18, 1-19, 1-22, 1-25, 2-17, 2-20, 2-23, 2-26, 3-26,
  3-29, 3-32, 3-35, 3-38, 3-41. el=t'emūji-l 28-3, 29-4. el=t'īle-n'-d'e 4-22, 4-24, 4-26, 4-29,
  4-32, 4-34. el=t'ohoje-t'uön 17-12. el=t'uge-t'uön 2-15. el=ukej 12-79, 13-64. el=ūše
  10-126.
-ell'el [INTNS]
\Rightarrow metell'el (met-ell'el).
=elō [SFC]
⋄ill'aj-me=bed-ek=elō 32-146. kudde=elō 32-128. löwdi-t'=elō 33-64. mo-d'īli=elō 32-
  101.
=el'e [SFC]
♦ ahurpeli-t'=el'e 16-18. al'beš-u-m=el'e 16-80. ant'ī-tem=el'e 12-78. me=kebe-t'=el'e
  13-80. kudde-m=el'e 10-121. lek-tem=el'e 16-102. medi-m=el'e 14-38. modo-jīli=el'e
  25-15. nug-u-m=el'e 15-36, 15-42. ō-d'ōd-ek=el'e 12-35, 12-200. öjl'e=el'e 30-25. pajli-
  t'=el'e 13-85. peššej-m=el'e 10-111, 15-89. peššej-me=bed-ek=el'e 9-85. peššej-tem=el'e
  9-68. t'īle-n'-i=el'e 10-42, 11-117.
-ere [INDF]
\Rightarrow qodimie_ere.
=ere [EMPH]
♦ nohī-gi=ere 32-120.
Et = [HYP]
♦ et=ewre-je 14-30, 14-32, 15-29, 15-31, 16-22. ot=keriete 15-24. et=löwdi-t'e 14-27. et=piede-
  je 14-24, 15-26.
-gE (-kE after a voiceless consonant) [LOC]
♦ ahurpe-ge 12-19. ajbid'ī-ge 8-71, 8-72, 8-86, 9-87, 9-104, 9-109, 10-85, 10-88, 10-116, 11-102,
  11-125. al'-de-ge 14-17. alhuj-ge 12-59, 13-53, 13-54, 15-63, 17-6. anabuskā-ge 13-
  127, 20-10. āt'e-de-ge 8-54, 9-65, 10-67, 11-75. bāba_jagā-ge 13-99, 14-95, 15-102, 16-119.
  bochka-ge 15-189, 15-189. bogatyr'-ge 12-196. bol'nitsa-ge 35-44. chajnik-ke 32-67.
  debegej-ge 11-4. emil-ge 30-69, 30-70. erū-ge 11-70. gōrat-ke 12-1, 12-191, 12-191, 13-1,
  13-172, 14-1, 14-158, 16-1, 16-190. ibier-ge 5-28, 8-11, 8-17, 9-16, 9-26, 10-19, 10-20, 11-22.
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igeje-de-ge 5-29, 6-39. igeje-ge 9-54. ijū-ge 8-39, 11-66, 11-66. imi-de-ge 12-189. iride-ge 6-44. istöl-ge 17-7, 18-11. īt'e-ge 1-20, 2-21, 27-2. jahil-ge 12-128, 15-115. jakutīge 35-56. jalhil-ge 8-69, 9-85, 10-41, 10-83, 11-87, 11-128, 25-122. jewlegiel-ge 16-164. jolo-do-ho 8-12, 8-18, 9-19, 11-24, 11-76. jowje-ge 27-33. jurta-ge 23-3. jō-de-ge 15-65. kapkan-ge 32-138. kel-ōl-ge 10-68, 15-163. kind'e-ge 35-44. klub-ke 33-47. lebie-ge 9-86, 21-18, 27-10. lodka-ge 31-5. lolhaj-ge 14-60. lot'il-ge 13-24, 14-24, 15-26, 16-60. lot'il-ge=de 12-20, 12-20. lunbuge-ge 18-7. l'e-l-ge 2-4. l'e-ge 2-4, 5-40, 10-84, 11-72, 11-87, 11-124, 13-146, 14-41, 15-29, 15-46, 16-38, 16-69, 16-199, 16-206, 30-18, 30-34, 30-75, 31-4, 31-4, 32-66, 32-113, 32-134, 32-138, 32-138. **l'e-ge-de-gen** 9-75. **met-ke** 8-43, 10-57, 14-36, 16-186, 22-10, 26-1, 30-4. **mieste-ge** 11-30, 16-5, 16-191, 30-37, 31-8, 33-11, 35-1, 35-2, 35-37. mit-ke 32-23, 32-102, 34-54. mit-ke=de 34-52. molho-do-ho 12-46, 12-74, 13-71, 13-76, 14-52, 14-74, 15-29, 15-74, 15-80, 15-81, 15-83, 16-75, 16-88, 16-91, 27-5. niniedamun-pe-ge 12-81. nono-ho 14-30, 14-30, 15-29. nugen-ge 32-157. nume-de-ge 13-39, 15-169, 16-39. nume-ge 8-32, 9-43, 9-82, 10-46, 10-79, 11-48, 11-90, 11-98, 12-39, 12-39, 12-110, 12-117, 13-38, 13-162, 14-152, 15-48, 22-21, 23-3, 26-19, 26-63, 26-66, 29-19, 34-53, 34-55. nume-ge=de 25-90. nunedanil'-ge 26-58. nunenanil'-ge 26-80. n'amalhil-ge 22-17, 26-1, 35-54, 35-59. n'āt'e-de-ge 14-165. n'eqadun-ge 11-124, 29-20. n'ugere-ge 27-35. odun\_lebejdī-ge 30-14. ojbun-ge 30-46, 30-46, 30-46. okhota-ge 30-54. Omulëvka-ge 30-43. orpol'-ge 5-40. orpunrā-ge 6-47, 7-50. ott'o-ho 30-3, 30-5, 30-18. otul-ge 32-31. ōžī-ge 9-114, 10-119, 13-22, 13-22, 13-23, 14-27, 14-110, 14-122, 14-132, 15-24, 15-136, 16-172, 16-176, 20-8, 20-14, 20-20, 25-67, 25-79, 25-93, 25-105, 25-113, 31-4. ōžī-ge=de 12-21, 25-89. önme-ge 22-10, 34-16. ped'e-n'e-ge 1-8, 2-14, 3-19, 4-16. pesok-ke 23-51. petrov\_den'-ge 30-34, 30-35. pie-ge 9-106, 11-85, 11-122. pierī-n'e-j=ben-ge 15-176. pieter\_berbekin-ge 12-18, 13-17, 14-19, 16-17, 16-216. pod'erqo-ge 22-28, 22-29. pod'erqo-ho 19-6, 24-15, 26-71, 30-69, 30-70, 30-73. pol-ge 25-27. ptitsa-ge 12-205. pud-de-ge 12-173, 17-31. pude-de-ge 18-32. pujle-ge 31-2. pukel'e-ge 2-15, 4-20. pulut-ke 14-47, 14-49, 16-38. qadun-ge 13-102, 15-8, 15-14, 15-151, 21-4, 21-5, 21-9, 23-39, 25-85, 25-86. qomordoq-ge 30-10. sumā-de-ge 8-52. **sumā-ge** 8-83, 9-48, 9-48, 9-63, 9-77, 9-92, 9-96, 10-32, 10-44, 10-45, 11-37, 11-46, 11-52, 11-58, 11-70, 11-73, 11-113. **šapadaņil'-ge** 13-63, 16-87. **šaššī-ge** 5-46, 5-49, 6-60, 7-61. **šā**de-ge 16-16. šāl-ge 3-36, 12-14, 12-34, 13-13, 13-33, 14-14, 14-40, 15-39, 15-41, 16-11, 16-33. šā-n'e-j=ben-ge 15-4, 16-5. šibit'e-ge=de 12-22. šibit'e-n'-d'ōn-ge 16-22. šibit'e-t'ā-ge 16-32. šohurmādie-ge 30-52, 30-54. šoromo-ho 16-38. šoromo-pul-ge 25-103. šöjl-ge 31-9. tabud-ge 25-16, 25-31, 25-97, 25-108. tabun-ge 26-64, 26-67, 26-75, 34-16. tamunge 2-22, 3-28, 3-34, 3-37, 3-40, 6-56, 9-59, 26-22, 26-25, 26-29, 27-21, 32-100, 32-147, 33-30, 33-45. taskan-ge 35-40, 35-47, 35-54. tātmie-d'ōn-ge 16-211. terike-ge 9-104. tit-ke 19-15, 25-19. tīmie-d'ōn-ge 12-196, 12-201, 15-199, 16-210. tīmiel'e-ge 32-66. todī-ge 17-10. tude-ge 13-137, 15-52, 33-9. tudel'e-ge 3-7, 32-31. t'ibal'-ge 6-11, 6-38. t'ied'e-ge 32-157. t'orqo-ge 13-146, 14-137. t'orqo-ho 12-161. t'uge-de-ge 8-55, 9-66, 10-68. t'ūl'd'ī pulutke 8-3, 11-8, 11-99, 15-50. ubun=ben-ge 16-33. ugijel-de-ge 13-199. ugurt'erā-pe-ge 16-166. ulumu-ge 12-163, 13-151, 14-142. ulumu-l-ge 14-139. umul-ge 5-20, 5-42. ununge 5-20, 6-20, 6-29, 6-30, 6-49, 6-49, 7-28, 7-34, 14-120, 14-133, 15-118, 16-152, 16-153, 16-158, 16-159, 20-11, 20-13, 29-18.

<sup>-</sup>gE (-kE after a voiceless consonant) [IMP.1PL]

<sup>♦</sup> kudede-ge 13-153, 14-144, 15-149, 18-3. lek-ke 5-4, 6-3, 6-4, 7-4, 17-4, 32-103. qārte-ge

12-140, 12-148, 13-122, 13-132, 14-116, 14-127, 15-127, 15-130, 15-133, 16-143, 16-144. **-gElE** (**-kElE** after a voiceless consonant)/-**jlE** [ACC]

♦ alhuj-gele 12-60, 12-64, 13-55, 16-65. amun-gele 12-87, 15-82, 16-87. amun-pe-gele 13-74, 14-80. anabuskā-gele 12-159, 13-126, 14-122. ann'e-ni-de-jle 7-14. and'e-de-jle 11-20, 14-63, 15-66. and'e-gele 13-40, 13-45. arnūjā-die-gele 1-6, 4-10. ažū-gele 24-23. ažūpe-de-jle 5-8, 6-9, 7-14. āt'e-de-jle 10-76. āt'e-p-te-jle 11-95. bāba\_jagā-gele 13-103. bochonok-kele 14-173. bogatyr'-gele 12-170, 14-146, 15-155, 16-192. chajnik-kele 32-84. debegej-gele 8-28, 10-44, 11-46. ejmunde-de-jle 12-153, 13-141, 14-131. emej-gele 26-62. epie-gele 26-34, 26-38. erpeje-gele 10-62. et'ie-gele 26-62, 30-72. ibišī-pe-gele 14-124. igeje-de-jle 8-53, 9-64, 10-65, 10-66, 10-109, 11-53, 11-59, 11-74, 11-121. igejegele 2-6, 3-7, 4-5. inlī-mele=ben-gele 15-36, 15-42. iri-de-jle 5-33, 5-39, 6-42, 6-46, 7-45, 7-49. irkill'e-gele 16-170. jaqte-gele 34-24. jarqadana-gele 34-26. jod-ō-gele 11-28. jolohopiedit'e-de-jle 14-90, 15-96. jolohopiedit'e-gele 13-92, 14-86, 15-93, 15-94. jolohunpiedit'ie-gele 12-98. jowho-de-jle 6-41. ket'ī-temle=ben-gele 14-162. lampagele 34-56. lampochka-gele 34-17. lebie-gele 35-56. lukil-gele 27-15, 27-21, 27-22. l'ede-jle 14-90. l'e-gele 12-221, 13-156, 30-41. marqil'-gele 25-83, 34-48. martl'uö-gele 2-3, 3-5, 4-3. **met-kele** 1-7, 1-15, 1-16, 1-23, 1-26, 2-13, 2-18, 2-24, 2-27, 3-18, 3-27, 3-30, 3-33, 3-39, 3-42, 4-15, 4-23, 4-25, 4-27, 4-33, 4-35, 12-182, 12-183, 12-205, 12-208, 12-209, 13-182, 14-37, 14-170, 15-89, 15-177, 15-178, 20-24, 32-48. met-kele=de 13-124. mieste-gele 25-58. mit-kele 33-7, 33-7, 34-32. momušā-gele 27-18, 27-19. mon-ōl-gele 20-19. morie-nuj=ben-gele 32-157. nadaŋō-d'ōn-gele 14-162. nohī-gele 7-12, 32-65, 32-88. n'umud'īgele 12-105. ōžī-gele 14-62, 14-62, 34-42. padō-d'ōn-gele 17-15. piedit'e-gele 12-106, 16-107, 16-110. pieter\_berbekin-gele 12-199, 13-160, 14-3, 14-79, 15-1, 15-19, 15-83, 15-158, 16-3, 16-48, 16-206. pochta-gele 15-162, 16-198. pochtal'on-gele 12-2. pol-gele 25-58. pugelbie-de-jle 21-13. pulun-die-gele 26-33. qamujāq-kele 32-38, 32-51, 32-52. qoligele 26-56. qonto-nile=ben-gele 15-162. qorobo-holo 17-5, 17-6, 18-5. sumā-gele 8-64, 9-98, 11-116. **šepinke-de-jle** 14-119, 16-167. **šewrej-l'el-gele** 5-23. **šohō-d'ōn-gele** 12-88. šoromo-gele 26-71. tabun-gele 15-193, 25-60, 25-62, 27-25. tamun-gele 2-7, 2-10, 5-50, 7-62, 12-30, 12-105, 12-133, 12-205, 12-221, 13-2, 13-123, 13-126, 13-137, 13-156, 13-176, 14-98, 16-60, 16-111, 23-11, 30-3, 30-34, 32-139, 34-17, 34-18, 34-25, 34-31. tamun-pe-gele 13-198. terike-gele 8-21, 8-24, 10-25, 20-11, 32-129. terikie-die-gele 11-29, 32-109. terikie-gele 9-29. tet-kele 8-33, 9-45, 10-47, 12-138, 12-144, 13-123, 15-125, 15-136. tett'ie-gele 24-19. titte-gele 7-14, 27-24, 34-45. tī=ben-de-jle 6-41. tude-gele 1-11, 10-126, 15-172, 16-201. tudel'e-gele 32-65. tusha-die-gele 32-158. t'eslā-gele 7-40. t'ohoje-de-jle 11-83. t'ohoje-gele 17-31. t'olhorā-die-gele 5-38, 6-45, 6-61. t'olhoro-gele 32-155. t'uge-gele 26-55. t'ū-de-jle 18-6, 18-11. t'ūl'd'ī pulut-kele 10-97. ugurt'erā-gele 14-119. uö-gele 12-151, 13-134, 14-130. uölobo-gele 16-61. užō-gele 26-32. vodka-gele 12-221.

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-gEk (-kEk after a voiceless consonant) [IMP.FUT.2SG] 

♦ min-gEk 19-29. šök-kEk=ie 32-63.
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### -gEn [PROL]

♦ ande-pe-gen 34-41. joqt-ō-de-gen 12-200. kel-ō-de-gen 11-76. kel-ōl-gen 11-76. ket'ī-l-ōl-gen 15-198. l'e-ge-de-gen 9-75. l'e-gen 9-75, 12-223, 21-14. molho-do-hon 14-73. nungeden-gen 31-1. okno-gen 32-60. okno-hon 25-70, 25-70, 25-70. ō-hon 25-57. ōžī-

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gen 16-176. ped'e-de-gen 3-13, 3-13. pugelbie-gen 21-14. pujle-gen 31-3. tamun-gen
  12-195, 12-208. tibidanil'-gen 7-17. t'uge-gen 7-52, 14-94. unun-gen 26-9. žadnanō-de-
  gen 3-8.
-gEn [IMP.3sG]
♦ ewre-gen 8-11.
-gEt (-kEt after a voiceless consonant) [ABL]
♦ ajbid'ī-get 10-82. bāba_jagā-get 13-98, 14-93. bogatyr'-get 12-158, 13-144, 14-135. bo-
  gatyr'-pe-get 15-142. īt'e-get 8-30, 10-41. jagā bāba-get 12-109, 12-135. jaglō-l-get 12-
  79. jukō-d'ōn-get 10-93. lager'-get 35-7. lunbuge-get 17-8. l'e-get 12-38, 15-107, 30-36,
  30-37. met-ket 12-37, 12-37, 12-108, 12-157, 13-34, 13-36, 13-97, 13-143, 14-44, 14-92, 14-134,
  15-45, 15-90, 15-97, 15-141, 16-34, 16-116. molho-do-hot 8-60. noj-de-get 16-145. nume-
  get 2-7, 3-10, 25-73, 25-75, 25-115, 30-65. ojbun-get 30-36. pābā-get 13-98, 14-93, 15-46,
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### $-ie/-\bar{a}$ [INCH]

⇒ ajlā- (aj-l-ā-), ann'ā- (ann'-ā-), aŋt'īd'ā- (aŋt'ī-d'-ā-), aŋt'īlā- (aŋt'ī-l-ā-), ed'ie- (ed'-ie-), egie- (eg-ie-), erd'ieš- (erd'-ie-š-), erielie- (erie-l-ie-), imā- (im-ā-), īdie- (īd-ie-), jaqtā- (jaqt-ā-), jowl'ā- (jowl'-ā-), kebejlie- (kebej-l-ie-), kelie- (kel-ie-), ket'īnā- (ket'ī-n-ā-), kimdān'ā- (kimdān'-ā-), köwdie- (köwd-ie-), legie- (leg-ie-), leŋdie- (leŋ-d-ie-), lolhā- (lolh-ā-), madā- (mad-ā-), merušie- (meru-š-ie-), možžā- (možž-ā-), nuölie- (nuö-l-ie-), ōžā- (ōž-ā-), örn'ie- (örn'-ie-), pet'ie- (pet'-ie-), qaŋinā- (qaŋinā-), tolt'īlā- (tolt'ī-l-ā-), ujlā- (uj-l-ā-), ujā- (uj-ā-), ukt'ie- (uk-t'-ie-).

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  (mit-l'e), tetl'e (tet-l'e), titl'e (tit-l'e), tīmiel'e (tīmie-l'e), tudel'e (tude-l'e).
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⇒ n'eleme (n'e-leme), n'eqadi (n'e-qadi), n'eqadun (n'e-qadun), n'eqanin (n'e-qanin), n'eqanide (n'e-qanide), n'eqodo (n'e-qodo).

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  (pad-ō-), padōmu- (pad-ō-mu-), šašahō- (šašah-ō-), šohō- (šoh-ō-), tobō- (tob-ō-).
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  34-26, 34-38, 35-10, 35-67. uöre-p-tie-pe 26-19.
-rE [caus]
⇒ n'inre- (n'in-re-), orpure- (orpu-re-), šewre- (šew-re-), t'emerej- (t'eme-r-ej-).
-rī [APPL]
⇒ kimdān'erī- (kimdān'e-rī-), nied'irī- (nied'i-rī-).
-sam [INTNS]
⇒ metsam (met-sam), tetsam (tet-sam), tittesam (titte-sam), tudesam (tude-sam).
-šE [CAUS]
\Rightarrow al'āš-(al'ā-š-), al'beš-(al'be-š-), ann'eš-(ann'e-š-), arpušaj-(arpu-š-aj-), erd'ieš-(erd'-
  ie-š-), ewreš- (ewre-š-), iŋruš- (iŋru-š-), kudedeš- (kudede-š-), lolhoš- (lolho-š-), merieš-
  (merie-š-), meruše- (meru-še-), ōžeš- (ōže-š-), peššejš- (peššej-š-), qorpuše- (qorpu-
  še-), šagal'eš- (šagal'e-š-), t'eruše- (t'eru-še-).
-št'i [CAUS]
⇒ kudedešt'i- (kudede-št'i-).
-št'īl'E [caus]
⇒ kudedešt'īl'e- (kudede-št'īl'e-).
-t [FUT:IND.TR.1SG]
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-t [ss]
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-tE [CAUS]
⇒ egete- (ege-te-), jedutej- (jedu-t-ej-), joqto- (joq-to-), legite- (legi-te-), n'it'ahat- (n'it'aha-
  t-), qonto- (qon-to-), šašahat- (šašaha-t-), ugutej- (ugu-t-ej-).
-tE/-\check{s} [PROP.CAUS]
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-t' [ITER]
\Rightarrow ediet'- (edie-t'-).
-t'ā [AGG]
♦ nono-t'ā-ŋin 15-37. šibit'e-t'ā-ge 16-32.
-t'i [ITER]
 ⇒ kudit'i- (kudi-t'i-), ukt'ie- (uk-t'-ie-).
-t'ī [DLM]
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-ūji [ITER]
 \Rightarrow jaqūji- (jaq-ūji-), t'emūji- (t'em-ūji-).
-žE [DETR]
⇒ mežže- (mež-že-).
-žī [CAUS]
\Rightarrow \eta \bar{o} \check{z} \bar{i}- (\eta \bar{o} - \check{z} \bar{i} -), \bar{o} \check{z} \bar{i}- (\bar{o} - \check{z} \bar{i} -).
-žī [ITER]
\Rightarrow pejžī- (pej-žī-).
-žu [ITER]
⇒ egužu- (egu-žu-), šegužu- (šegu-žu-).
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