

## (S)he lives with that legend, with that fairytale till today<sup>1</sup>

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### 1. Tales and Legends from the Bolshoy and Malyy Yugan Rivers

In this paper, I present and analyze a text from a collection of Surgut Khanty tales and legends in honour of Professor Ulla-Maija Forsberg, who has herself published and edited several Ob-Ugric materials and collections (e.g. Kulonen 2007, Castrén 2018).

*Surgut Khanty*, like most names referring to ethnic groups and/or their language, can be understood in a number of ways. It can be used: (1) as a term to design a group of Khanty living in the basin of the rivers Lyamin, Pim, Tromagan, Var'yogan, Agan, Bolshoy Yugan, Malyy Yugan, Salym and Demyanka (Pesikova 2002: 208, Pesikova & Volkova 2013: 6); (2) as a dialect name, i.e. a collective term referring to the subdialects of Khanty spoken along the above-mentioned rivers, namely Pim Khanty, Tromagan Khanty, Agan Khanty and Yugan Khanty (Csepregi 2017: 17, Janurik & Schön forthcoming);<sup>2</sup> (3) and as a written, literary, standardized umbrella variant of the subdialects mentioned in (2) (Csepregi 1998, Koshkareva 2006), which does not completely equate to any one spoken subdialect but instead serves as a unified form of the language for the community. In this paper, Surgut Khanty is only used in this third meaning.

Various types of Surgut Khanty tales have been published: (a) only in Surgut Khanty, mostly schoolbooks and textbooks for children (e.g. Ajpin 2003, Pesikova 2003, Pesikova 2010, Tereshkin 1959); (b) only in Russian (e.g. Lukina 1990), in English

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1. This work was only made possible thanks to the contributions of L. N. Kayukova, V. I. Usanov, my Khanty storytellers, native speakers and teachers. I am deeply grateful for their patience and for the knowledge they have shared with me. I would also like to thank my reviewers for their many useful comments and suggestions.

2. The subdialect areas only partially coincide with the river names listed in (1).



(e.g. Csepregi 1997a), in Hungarian (e.g. Csepregi 1997b), in German (e.g. Gulya 1974); (c) in Surgut Khanty with translation, where the Surgut Khanty section may appear in different writing systems, in particular different Cyrillic alphabets, different versions of the Finno-Ugric Transcription or even IPA, while the language of the translation may be Russian, Hungarian, English, German and/or Finnish (e.g. Csepregi 1993, Csepregi 2011, Csepregi 2015, Gugán & Schön forthcoming, Honti 1978, Koshkareva 2004, Paasonen & Vértes 2001, Pesikova & Volkova 2013); (d) digitally available, online resources in Surgut Khanty and translations in the depository of the Ob-Ugric Institute of Applied Research and Development in Khanty-Mansiysk<sup>3</sup> as well as in the *Surgut Khanty Corpus* database of the project *Ob-Ugric languages: conceptual structures, lexicon, constructions, categories* in Munich.<sup>4</sup>

The tale *v:tił qv:təŋ mɔ:n'v' qo: pɛ:nə jiləy qantəy ot (VIU)*<sup>5</sup> ‘The Fairytale Hero living alone and the Evil Being (VIU)’ featured below is the first sample of a larger project, which aims to represent the cultural and narrative treasures of the Yugan Khanty originating along the Bolshoy Yugan, Malyy Yugan, Salym and Demyanka rivers.<sup>6</sup> More than seventy tales and legends were collected between 2010 and 2016 in western Siberia by the present author, in part together with L. N. Kayukova, and are intended to be published under the title *Tales and Legends from the Bolshoy and Malyy Yugan Rivers*. The project is now (2020) in a prepilot phase. The aim is to publish the tales and legends based on sound recordings but in the current Cyrillic orthography of Surgut Khanty and in a normatized way. This written standard has been chosen to make the collection available to and enjoyable for the native-speaker community and for non-specialists. The planned Russian and English translations will similarly be relatively free. The recordings, transcriptions and glossings of the texts can partly already be found in the *Yugan Khanty Corpus*<sup>7</sup> of the project *Ob-Ugric database: analyzed text corpora and dictionaries for less described Ob-Ugric dialects* (henceforth OUIDB) with a different methodological approach: with all characteristics of spoken discourse and a broad phonematization using IPA-characters<sup>8</sup> (Wisiołek & Schön 2017; Skribnik et al. 2017). The intended publication both print and online aims to serve different audiences and present different approaches of working with audio recordings.<sup>9</sup> One result will be

3. <<https://folk.ouipiir.ru>> (30.12.2019).

4. <[http://www.oudb.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php?abfrage=SK\\_corpus&subnavi=corpus\\_pub](http://www.oudb.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php?abfrage=SK_corpus&subnavi=corpus_pub)> (30.12.2019).

5. The abbreviation *VIU* stands for the name of the storyteller: Vasilij Ivanovich Usanov. As the concept of the collection of tales is to elicit the same plot from different speakers, the abbreviation of the storyteller is included in the title to indicate the version of the fairytales, legends etc.

6. Traditionally, the territory of the Demyanka is considered as belonging to one of the Southern Khanty dialects (e.g. Karjalainen & Vértes 1964), and the Salym basin to either one of the Southern or one of the Eastern Khanty dialects (e.g. Honti 1982). However, since the end of the 19th century, Yugan Khanty have moved into both areas to the extent that today only Yugan Khanty speakers live along both rivers (Csepregi 2017: 16, Schön 2017a: 34, 43).

7. <[http://www.oudb.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php?abfrage=YK\\_corpus&subnavi=corpus\\_pub](http://www.oudb.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php?abfrage=YK_corpus&subnavi=corpus_pub)> (30.12.2019).

8. The IPA-characters used in the OUIDB project and in this publication have been chosen during the project *Ob-Ugric languages: conceptual structures, lexicon, constructions, categories* (<<http://www.babel.gwi.uni-muenchen.de>> 30.12.2019) by Elena Skribnik, Marianne Bakró-Nagy, Ulla-Maija Forsberg and Johanna Laakso.

9. On the one hand, the sound recording of the tale *v:tił qv:təŋ mɔ:n'v' qo: pɛ:nə jiləy qantəy ot (VIU)* with the Yugan Khanty spoken language variant, a word-by-word transcription and glosses are available under the ID 1619 in the *OUIDB Yugan Khanty corpus* (cf. Schön 2017d); a normatized version of this tale is first published in this paper.

a detailed description of the differences between the Surgut Khanty written standard and the Yugan Khanty spoken variant (see also Schön forthcoming).

In this paper, the tale ‘The Fairytale Hero Living Alone and the Evil Being (VIU)’ is presented both in Cyrillic and IPA, the latter glossed according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules and with an English translation to make the data easily accessible to the research community. Remarks on how the spoken language of the recordings has been standardized and a short plot summary with ethnographic commentary have been added as well.

## 2. The Fairytale Hero Living Alone and the Evil Being (VIU)

The tale entitled *v:tił qv:təŋ mɔ:n'vi qo: pɛ:nə jiləy qantəy ot* (VIU) ‘The Fairytale Hero Living Alone and the Evil Being (VIU)’ was collected in 2015 along the Bolshoy Yugan river from Vasiliy Ivanovich Usanov. After working with the storyteller in his son’s house, we (Vasiliy Ivanovich’s son with his two sons and myself) visited Vasiliy Ivanovich in his new home in *pɛ:β pu:t* ‘Cone Village’, where he told me this tale. Vasiliy Ivanovich was born in the forest along the Bolshoy Yugan river in 1962 and is a native speaker of Yugan Khanty. He is also fluent in Russian. He has lived almost his whole life along the Bolshoy Yugan as a hunter and fisherman and he finished schooling after the 6th grade.

The tale tells the story of the Fairytale Hero Living Alone and his journey to the land of the Evil Being and back. After that the Fairytale Hero Living Alone saved the Evil Being from the thunder hunting him by giving him shelter and hiding him, the Evil Being offers to take him to its land. There he is shown a festive life, which soon bores him. The Evil Being tells him how to get back home and that on his way he will meet a dying girl, whom he can save by having her drink her own blood, which had been taken away earlier by the Evil Being. The Fairytale Hero succeeds in saving the girl and they get married.

The *v:tił qv:təŋ mɔ:n'vi qo:* ‘Fairytale Hero Living Alone (in his isolated house)’, or according to the glosses the ‘Fairytale Man with the Isolated House’ (Sentence 1), is a typical Khanty tale personage. His full name only occurs in the first sentence of the tales, afterwards he is called by a variety of designations, such as *mɔ:n'vi qo:* ‘Fairytale Man’, ‘Fairytale Hero’ or *qantəy qo:* ‘Khanty man’, ‘man’ or even ‘human being’ in contrast to the other, non-human participant. The Fairytale Hero is well known among the Khanty. He is always *the* Khanty man, a main character in many Khanty tales (e.g. Lukina 1990: 202, Schön 2017b, Schön 2017c). In DWS, he is documented in the southern Khanty dialects, with the meaning ‘allein im Hause wohnender Mensch’ (DWS 215).

The *pɛ:j* ‘thunderstorm’ (Sentence 2 and others) stands in this tale for *pɛ:j i:ki*, the profane name of the God of Thunder, who hunts the Evil Being.

For *jitʲy qanʲy ot* (Sentence 5 and others), the ‘Evil Being’, DWS provides the following definition: ‘böser Waldgeist, der die Menschen durch Rufen, Klopfen usw. erschreckt und in Gestalt eines Mannes oder einer Frau erscheint [nicht-haftendes, nicht-hängenbleibendes Wesen]’ and the Russian translation ‘соседка, лешак’ or ‘нечистый дух’ (DWS 310). In other publications the meaning ‘нечистая сила’ (Handybina 2011: 79, Koshkareva 2006: 59) or ‘маленькая маячка’ (Lukina 1990: 186), ‘маячка’ (Kulemzin et al. 2006: 89) or even ‘колдунья’ (Handybina 2011: 61) can be found; sometimes it is not translated (Handybina 2011: 77).

There are a number of tales and legends in which the Evil Being appears: e.g. (i) as a harmful creature which moves into the houses of humans after seven years of abandonment and kills people who enter (e.g. Schön 2016, Schön PA 003, 094), as a harmful creature (ii) who kills somebody (Handybina 2011: 82–85) or (iii) who tries to capture or (iiib) to kill somebody and is killed itself in the end (Handybina 2011: 74–77, 78–83). In addition, the Evil Being (iiic) is equal to an evil mythological creature who is not only killed but who also puts a curse on the hero (Schön PA 103). In another plot (iv), Evil Beings transport a living man to his dead friend and later back to the world of living (Lukina 1990: 186–187). In other tales (v) there is a clear threat to be possessed by them (Schön PA 100) or (vi) a woman becomes an Evil Being herself (Koshkareva 2006: 58–59). However, the Evil Being (vii) may occasionally also occur in a positive role (Handybina 2011: 60–61). A plot like (viii) in the tale published here is not known to me.

## 2.1. Preliminary editorial remarks

As the text of the tale ‘The Fairytale hero Living Alone and the Evil Being (VIU)’ published here is based on a sound recording and is presented in the Surgut Khanty written standard, it is not surprising that the recording and the present text will differ on many levels. Literary Surgut Khanty resembles for the most part (spoken) Tromagan Khanty (Schön forthcoming). Vasily Ivanovich’s speech contains typical characteristics of Yugan Khanty, e.g. (i) he mostly pronounces the cluster  $V_1V_2$  as a long or overlong  $V_1$ : as in *pu:ʲt, pu:t* ‘village’ instead of *pu:ʲət* ‘village’ or (ii) in certain cases, he pronounces the long open back rounded /ɔ:/ ~ Cyrillic <o> instead of the long open central unrounded /e:/ ~ Cyrillic <a>, etc. (cf. also Csepregi 2002: 86–87, Schön 2017a: 35–38). Additionally, he pronounces the plosive /t/ instead of the lateral fricative /ʈ/ regularly but not exclusively. The tale is a spontaneous speech production with all characteristics of spoken discourse (e.g. Chafe & Tannen 1987, Tannen 1980). The following changes<sup>10</sup> have been made with regard to the sound recording:<sup>11</sup>

10. A detailed description of all changes is not intended, as this is not the main topic of this paper. However, even if the tale published here is the first of a planned volume, some remarks on the formation of the Surgut Khanty written literary standard have to be mentioned here, too (cf. Schön forthcoming). All changes have been made in cooperation with native speakers, mostly L. N. Kayukova.

11. The sound recording with the Yugan Khanty spoken language variant of the tale is available under ID 1619 in the *OUDB Yugan Khanty corpus* (cf. Schön 2017d).

- All Yugan Khanty (sub)dialectal characteristics have been adapted to the written standard, for example the velar fricative /ɣ/ ~ Cyrillic <х> has been changed to the bilabial fricative /β/ ~ Cyrillic <в> between two vowels in a word stem (e.g. *toyə* > *toβə* ‘there’);
- All characteristics of spoken discourse have been omitted, such as speech disfluencies, superfluous repetitions, fillers, etc.;
- The text structure has been changed in the case of non-comprehensive narration;
- Sentences have been omitted if they were part of a metatextual conversation or did not belong to the tale;
- Ungrammatical, incoherent sentences have been rewritten, pragmatically necessary words have been inserted by a native speaker (mostly L. N. Kayukova);
- Russian words have been replaced with Surgut Khanty ones by a native speaker (mostly L. N. Kayukova).

## 2.2. Атыл қотәң моңь қө панә йәләх қәнләх өт (ВИУ)

Әй мәта латнә вөнт өнт-йохәрт өнтнә атыл қотәң моңь қө вәлл. Ёи вәлдәлнә, әй мәта латнә тарәм пай кил.

Тарәм пай кил. Өвпил ылә тәвәртәх. Йәләх қәнләх өт ёт йәқәнам лүватынам вортли. Йәләх қәнләх өт: «Йа, қәнтәх қөлицки, мант йәқә вәйа!»

«Ма нүңат қөл чәвиләм?»

«Йа, ма ёи өвпи улты нум пәләка қәнчә йонттә ваё йынтәпхә ёхә лүньһәмтәләм. Нүң мант вәйа!»

Йәқә вәйтәх. Ёу йәләх қәнләх өт қәнчә йонттә ваё йынтәпхә төвә өвпи нум пәләка төвә лүьәмтәх. Пай ёи нәрипәх, нәрипәх, төвә қот мәхәлты мата әй сөңнам мата похәптәлтәх. Панә пай мәнәм пырнә, йәләх қәнләх өт қәнтәх қө һәви, қәнтәх қө тәләлат ёи лүьәмтәх.

Йәхәләл: «Вәлә, ичәк қәнтәх қуйәли, мант нөқ вәйән. Йа, ма мәхәм ләйәлтәхә йәңқли!»

«Йа, ма қөднә нүңаты йөвәтләм? Нүң вәлә тәхлән войәх-күрән войәх вөсән. Ма вәлә қәнтәх қө һәви вөсәм. Қөднә нүңаты йөвәтләм?»

«Қөднә йөвәтлән? Нүң ма өвтәма ләта! Ма нүңат туләм. А нүң қынт вәра! Қынт вәра панә қынт ләхпийа ләта!»

Қынт вәр панә қынт ләхпийа ёи ымәт. Ёи нүрәхтәх ёу йәләх қәнләх өт. Ёи қөвәлл, ёи қөвәлл, ёи қәнтәх қө нөмәқсәхәл: «Қәја, өлән мүвә кимнә нүрәхтәлтәх?» Ухәл нөқ әңкрәмтәтәх. Әңкрәмтәмал латнә, ухәлнә төйәм миләл қөққә илнам рәкән.

Йәләх қанләх өт пөчәди сәңктахә вәр: «Кәш, кәш, ылә ымла!»

«Вәлә қөтә йәхән, қәнтәх қө?»

«Вәс ухәмнә тәйәм миләм қөлта қыҗ?»

«Нүңаты вәлә йастәхләм, нүң нөқ ал әңкрәмта!»

«Ухәмнә тайтам миләм қөвән қыҗ».

Өс пәрхи йәңқәән, бу мил нөқ кәнчәттән. Ёи мәнхән. Ёи мәнхән, мәнхән, әй мәта латнә, ёи йәләх қанләх өт вәлтә воҗа ёи йөвәтхән. Төвә йөвәт. Лүвә мүвә? Әй пахә мата качәң йәнһөт мәтали! Бу қәнтәх қө порийат вәри. Ёи төт әнта, йимәң лапәт, қуләң лапәт мәрәхи төт ёи, йимтәт. Әй мәта латнә қәнтәх қуйа йәқшәңкә питтахә йәх. Йәләх қанләх өтнә вули ёи тохи.

Йәхәләл: «Мәң мәхувнә төвәнә, вәлтавнә. Пой йухты йөпинат әй па мәдән қунтә, ёық мәнли. Киммәтхә мәдән қунтә, лиләңкә йәли».

Бу төвәнә күҗасләтыннә, әй мәта латнә қәнтәх қө бу йәләх қанләх өт ариәләтәх: ылә көрәх. А йухөнта йәңқиләх, пой йухты йөпи вәр, йәқә ләң. Өв әй па мәйтәх.

Бу мунт сар мәнмин латнә, моңҗ қө йәләх қанләх өтнә ёәнә памийи:

«Там пәрхинам мәнта латнә, қәнтәх қө қота йөвәтлән. Имихән-икихән әй әви тайләхән. Бу әвинә лиләл тәм атнә вәлтәх, тәм қәтәлнә вәлтәх, бу кима йәх. Нүңаты лихәлдәхән нөқ вәртахә. Нүң бу атнә йаста: „Имихән-икихән, әвихән йа нөқ вәрләм. Нын төп кәм йәңқилтән. Кәм йәңқилтән.” Ёин кәм мәнтың пырнә, лүв қуҗниднә пәсанәли омәсл. Бу пәсанәл илә пунчә. Вәри анхәли төт омәсл. Ма мәнмам пәнты, манә нөқ йинһүльәхты вәрәл. Бу анхәли төвә йинһүләтә. Бу ай нә төт лиләңкә йәл».

Йа ёәтты. Бу Моңҗ қө бу йәләх қанләх өт пой йухты йөпийат мәйтәх. Пәрхинам мән.

Бу мәнтәлнә, әй латнә қөлтә кима йәхәма, имихән-икихәна йөвәт. Имихән-икихәна йәқә ләң тәт. Ёитөтат-уҗат липты. Имихән-икихән айта. Нөддин-сәмдин әнта қөтә йәхәт, ариәләтәх.

«Нын тәми қөтә йәхәттән?»

«Мин тәми вәлтамәннә, әвәмән кәча йәх. Нәма лиләл пә тәм атнә, вәлә тәм қәтәлнә вәлтәх. Нүң өләң илта йүвәм мәч қө-мойәң қө вөсән. Нүңнә өләң нөқ мунта вәртә қөлат әнтә вули?»

Бу латнә нөмләмтәх: а-а, ма ёәнә вәлә памилөйәм!

«Йа, вәртахә-вәрләм. Нын кәм йәңқилтән!»

Кэм мэнхэн. Йăқә дăң, ɣу äви қот лөқийа. Арйалдлтәх; пәсан тăйал. Төт ɣу илэ пунчәмтәтәх. Чăйипә вәри анхәли төт омәсл. ɣу мэта анхәли нөқ илмәхтәтәх панә ɣу äвийа төвә йәнъјалтәтәх. ɣу äви тәлаң қө, тәләнә-мәвәла төт нөқ лүльәмтәх. Нәма мэта йәхнә, мэта аңкинә нула мәйихән төт. ɣу мойәң қө-мәчәң қө төт имәңкә йәх. ɣу йиснәл, ɣу муьџәлнат итпә вәлд.

Йасәң пәтә төтты.

2.3. *v:tiʔ qo:təŋ mɔ:n'tʃ qo: pɛ:nə jɪʔəy qanʔəy ot* (VIU)  
The Fairytale Hero Living Alone and the Evil Being (VIU)

- (1) *əj mətɛ tɛ:t-nə βont ont jv:yərt ontnə v:tiʔ*  
one some time-LOC taiga interior crossroads in isolated  
*qo:t-əŋ mɔ:n'tʃ qo: βat-t-∅*  
house-PROPR fairytale man live-PRS-3SG

‘Once upon a time in the taiga, at a crossroads, there lived a Fairytale Hero Living Alone.’

- (2) *tʃi: βat-t-vʔ-nə əj mətɛ tɛ:t-nə tɛ:rəm pɛ:j*  
so live-PTCP.PRS-3SG-LOC one some time-LOC strong thunderstorm  
*ki:t-∅-∅*  
awake-PST-3SG

‘Once, whilst he was living in this way, a strong thunderstorm awoke.’

- (3) *tɛ:rəm pɛ:j ki:t-∅-∅*  
strong thunderstorm awake-PST-3SG  
‘A strong thunderstorm has awoken.’

- (4) *o:βpi-t u:rʔ tɑβər-∅-təy*  
door-SG<3SG up lock-PST-SG<3SG  
‘He locked his door.’

- (5) *jə-ʔəy qan-ʔəy ot tʃe:t*  
become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature lo\_and\_behold!  
*jaqənɛm tʃβetinɛm βv:rt-t-i*  
into\_the\_house 3SG.APPR shove\_in-PRS-PASS.3SG

‘Lo and behold! An Evil Being simply barges into the house.’

- (6) *jə-təy qan-təy ot jə: qantəy*  
become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature well Khanty  
*qo:liŋki mɛ:nt jaqə βəj-v*  
man-DIM.PEJ ISG.ACC into\_the\_house let\_in-IMP.2SG  
'The Evil Being [says]: «Well, poor human, take me in into your house!»'
- (7) *mɛ: nɛŋvət qoʔ tʃe:βi-t-əm*  
ISG 2SG.ACC where hide-PRS-ISG  
'«Where do I hide you?»'
- (8) *jə: mɛ: vi: o:βpi u:ʔti nu:m pɛlək-v qantʃə*  
well ISG this door across upper side-DLAT embroidery\_pattern  
*jd:nt-tə βɛ:vʲ ji:ntəp-γə tʲe:γə ʃu:nʲtʲəmtə-t-əm*  
sew-PTCP.PRS thin pin-TRANSL here shove\_in-PRS-ISG  
'«Well, I will push myself in here to the upper side of the door like a thin pin to sew embroidery patterns.»'
- (9) *nɛŋ mɛ:nt βəj-v*  
2SG ISG.ACC let\_in-IMP.2SG  
'«You just take me in!»'
- (10) *jaqə βəj-Ø-təy*  
into\_the\_house let\_in-PST-SG<3SG  
'He took him in into the house.'
- (11) *tʲu: jə-təy qan-təy ot qantʃə*  
that become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature embroidery\_pattern  
*jd:nt-tə βɛ:vʲ ji:ntəp-γə toβə o:βpi nu:m pɛlək-v toβə*  
sew-PTCP.PRS thin pin-TRANSL there door upper part-DLAT there  
*ʃu:ʃəmtəy-Ø-Ø*  
stand-PST-3SG  
'That Evil Being stood there in the upper part of the door like a thin pin to sew embroidery patterns.'
- (12) *pɛ:j vi: nɛripəy-Ø-Ø nɛripəy-Ø-Ø toβə qv:t*  
thunderstorm so bluster-PST-3SG bluster-PST-3SG there house  
*mayəʔti mɛ:tɛ əj soŋ-nɛm mɛ:tɛ pɔ:γəptə-t-təy*  
around SUP one corner-APPR SUP let\_crash-PRS-SG<3SG  
'The thunderstorm roared and roared, it crashed constantly there around the house.'



- (13) *pɛ:nə pɛ:j mən-əm pu:rənə jə-təy*  
 and thunderstorm go-PTCP.PST after become-PTCP.NEG  
*qan-təy ot qantəy qo: n'ɑβi qantəy qo:*  
 stick-PTCP.NEG creature Khanty man body Khanty man  
*tət-ət-ət vi: ʃu:ʃəmtəy-Ø-Ø*  
 completeness-SG<3SG-INSC so stand-PST-3SG  
 'And after the thunderstorm went away, the Evil Being took on human form, and human completeness.'
- (14) *jəyət-ət-Ø βətɛ i:tfək qantəy qu:j-əli*  
 turn\_to\_smb\_and\_speak-PRS-3SG in\_fact dear Khanty man-DIM.MEL  
*mɛ:nt noq βəj-Ø-ən*  
 ISG.ACC PFV take-PST-2SG  
 'He turns to him and says: «In fact, dear little Khanty man, you saved me.»'
- (15) *jɛ: mɛ: məy-əm tɛ:jət-tɛyɔ jəŋq-t-i*  
 well ISG land-SG<ISG take\_a\_look\_at-INF leave-PRS-PASS.3SG  
 '«Well, let's go and take a look at my land!»'
- (16) *jɛ: mɛ: qotnə nɯŋɛti jəβət-t-əm*  
 well ISG how 2SG.DAT come-PRS-1SG  
 '«Well, how do I come to you?»'
- (17) *nɯŋ βətɛ toyt-əŋ βɔ:jəy kɯr-əŋ βɔ:jəy βos-ən*  
 2SG in\_fact feather-PROPR animal leg-PROPR animal COP-2SG  
 '«You, in fact, are a bird, you are an animal.»'
- (18) *mɛ: βətɛ qantəy qo: n'ɑβi βos-əm*  
 ISG in\_fact Khanty man body COP-1SG  
 '«I, on the contrary, am a human being.»'
- (19) *qotnə nɯŋɛti jəβət-t-əm*  
 how 2SG.DAT come-PRS-1SG  
 '«How do I come to you?»'
- (20) *qotnə jəβət-t-ən*  
 how come-PRS-2SG  
 '«How do you come?»'
- (21) *nɯŋ mɛ: o:βtɛmɛ ʃət-v*  
 2SG ISG to\_the\_surface\_of.ISG.DLAT sit\_down\_on\_a\_conveyance-IMP.2SG  
 '«Sit on top of me!»'

- (22) *mɛ: nɯɣɛt tu:-təm*  
ISG 2SG.ACC bring-PRS-1SG  
'«I will bring you.»'
- (23) *v: nɯɣ qu:nt<sup>12</sup> βər-v*  
well 2SG knapsack do-IMP.2SG  
'«Well, just make a knapsack!»'
- (24) *qu:nt βər-v pɛ:nə qu:nt tɔypijɛ*  
knapsack do-IMP.2SG and knapsack inside  
*tət-v*  
sit\_down\_on\_a\_conveyance-IMP.2SG  
'«Make a knapsack and sit inside it!»'
- (25) *qu:nt βər-Ø-Ø pɛ:nə qu:nt tɔypijɛ ti: ʉ:mət-Ø-Ø*  
knapsack do-PST-3SG and knapsack inside so sit-PST-3SG  
'He made a knapsack and sat inside the knapsack.'
- (26) *ti: nɯɣɣtɔɣ-Ø-Ø ti: jə-tɔɣ qan-tɔɣ ot*  
so run-PST-3SG that become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature  
'And so he ran, that Evil Being.'
- (27) *ti: qo:βət-t-Ø ti: qo:βət-t-Ø ti: qantɔɣ qo:*  
so run-PRS-3SG so run-PRS-3SG this Khanty man  
*noməqsəɣə-t-Ø qat'v oɔɣ mɯβə ki:mənə*  
think-PRS-3SG well whether what till\_extent\_of  
*nɯɣɣtə-t-tɔɣ*  
run-PRS-SG<3SG  
'He runs, he runs, this human thinks: «Well, how fast can he run?»'
- (28) *u:ɣ-ət noq ɛɣkrəmt-Ø-ətɔɣ*  
head-SG<3SG PFV take\_a\_look-PST-SG<3SG  
'He stuck out his head.'
- (29) *ɛɣkrəmtə-m-vɛ tɛ:tnə u:ɣ-ət-nə toj-əm*  
take\_a\_look-PTCP.PST-3SG when head-SG<3SG-LOC have-PTCP.PST  
*mi:l-ət qo:qqə i:tnem rəkən-Ø-Ø*  
cap-SG<3SG far away fall\_off-PST-3SG  
'While he took a look, the cap on his head fell off, far, far away.'

12. A *qu:nt* 'knapsack' is usually made of birchbark (cf. DWS 516).

- (30) *jə-təy qan-təy ot potf-ət-i*  
 become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature back-SG<3SG-ABL  
*səŋk-təyə βer-Ø-Ø kəf kəf ur:tə ur:mət-v*  
 hit-INF begin-PST-3SG hey hey down sit\_down-IMP.2SG  
 ‘He began to hit the back of the Evil Being: «Hey! Hey! Get down!»’
- (31) *βətə qotə jəy-Ø-ən qantəy qo:*  
 in\_fact how become-PST-2SG Khanty man  
 ‘«Well, human, what has happened to you?»’
- (32) *βəs u:y-əm-nə toj-əm mi:l-əm qottə*  
 well head-SG<1SG-LOC have-PTCP.PST cap-SG<1SG somewhere  
*qu:vi-Ø-Ø*  
 leave\_behind-PST-3SG  
 ‘«Well, was the cap on my head left somewhere behind?»’
- (33) *nəŋeti βətə jə:stəyət-Ø-əm nəŋ noq v:t əŋkrəmt-v*  
 2SG.DAT in\_fact say-PST-1SG 2SG PFV PROH take\_a\_look-IMP.2SG  
 ‘«I just told you: don’t look!»’
- (34) *u:y-əm-nə taj-t-əm mi:l-əm qo:βən*  
 head-SG<1SG-LOC have-PTCP.PRS-1SG cap-SG<1SG long  
*qu:vi-Ø-Ø*  
 leave\_behind-PST-3SG  
 ‘«The cap on my head was left far behind.»’
- (35) *o:s pəryi janq-Ø-qən tu: mi:l noq kəntf-Ø-əttən*  
 and back leave-PST-3DU that cap PFV search-PST-SG<3DU  
 ‘And they went back and found the cap.’
- (36) *vi: mən-Ø-yən*  
 so go-PST-3DU  
 ‘So they set off again.’
- (37) *vi: mən-Ø-yən mən-Ø-yən əj mətə tət-nə vi:*  
 so go-PST-3DU go-PST-3DU one some time-LOC this  
*jə-təy qan-təy ot βət-tə*  
 become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature live-PTCP.PRS  
*βo:tf-v vi: joβət-Ø-yən*  
 town-DLAT so come-PST-3DU  
 ‘They went and went, [and] some time later, they arrived at the town where the Evil Being lives.’

- (38) *tobə joβət-Ø-Ø*  
there come-PST-3SG  
'He arrived there.'
- (39) *tubə mubə*  
in\_fact what  
'What is this?'
- (40) *əj pɛ-yə mə:tɛ kɛ:tʂəŋ jɛn'tiət mətɛli*  
one time-TRANSL SUP all\_sorts\_of beverage and\_suchlike  
'The tastiest things, all sorts of beverages and suchlike was there!'
- (41) *tʲu: qantəy qo: pɔ:ri-jɛt βɛr-Ø-i*  
that Khanty man sacrifice-INSC do-PST-PASS.3SG  
'A sacrifice was made for that human.'
- (42) *tʲi: tot antɛ jim-əŋ tɛ:pət qu:t-əŋ tɛ:pət mɛrəyi*  
so there whether taboo-PROPR week fish-PROPR week during  
*tot tʲi: ji:mt-Ø-ət*  
there so celebrate-PST-3PL  
'So however, during a week full of holiness, a week full of fish, they celebrated.'
- (43) *əj mətɛ tɛ:t-nə qantəy qu:j-ɐ jaqʂəŋ-kə pi:t-tɛyə*  
one some time-LOC Khanty man-DLAT boring-TRANSL become-INF  
*jəy-Ø-Ø*  
begin-PST-3SG  
'Some time later the human began to get bored.'
- (44) *jə-təy qan-təy ot-nə βu:-t-i tʲi:*  
become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature-LOC know-PRS-PASS.3SG this  
*tɔ:yi*  
place  
'The Evil Being knew this.'
- (45) *jəyətə-t-Ø məŋ məy-ɯβ-nə toβənə*  
turn\_to\_smb\_and\_speak-PRS-3SG 1PL land-SG<IPL-LOC so  
*βət-t-ɐβ-nə*  
live-PTCP.PRS-IPL-LOC  
'He turns to him and says: «In our land it goes so, we live this way.»'

- (46) *pv:j ju:y-t-i jopi-nət əj pɛ: mə-t-ən qu:ntə*  
 aspen wood-PL-ABL mallet-COM one time give-PRS-2SG if  
*tʷu:q mən-t-i*  
 unconsciously go-PRS-PASS.3SG  
 ‘«If you hit somebody one time with a mallet [made] from aspen wood, he will be knocked out.»’

- (47) *ki:mmət-γə mə-t-ən qu:ntə ti:t-əŋ-kə*  
 second-TRANSL give-PRS-2SG if soul-PROPR-TRANSL  
*jə-t-i*  
 become-PRS-PASS.3SG  
 ‘«If you hit him a second time, he will be awakened.»’

- (48) *tʷu: toβənə kʷtʷestə-t-in-nə əj mətɐ tɛ:t-nə*  
 so so drink\_heavily-PTCP.PRS-3DU-LOC one some time-LOC  
*qantəy qo: tʷu: jə-təy qan-təy ot*  
 Khanty man that become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature  
*v:rjɐt-Ø-ətəy ur:tə kəɾəy-Ø-Ø*  
 appoint-PST-SG<3SG down fall-PST-3SG  
 ‘So they drank and drank heavily, and some time later the human said to that Evil Being: he will fall down.’

- (49) *v: ju:yont-v janqitəy-Ø-Ø pv:j ju:y-t-i jopi*  
 well forest-DLAT go\_to\_do\_smth-PST-3SG aspen wood-PL-ABL mallet  
*βer-Ø-Ø jaqə tən-Ø-Ø*  
 do-PST-3SG into\_the\_house step\_in-PST-3SG  
 ‘Well, he went to the forest, he made a mallet from aspen wood and went back into the house.’

- (50) *o:β əj pɛ: məj-Ø-təy*  
 head one time give-PST-SG<3SG  
 ‘He hit the head one time.’

- (51) *tʷu: mu:nt sɛ:r mən-m-in tɛ:tnə mɔ:nʷi qo:*  
 so before beforehand go-PTCP.PST-3DU when fairytale man  
*jə-təy qan-təy ot-nə tʷe:nə pɛ:mij-Ø-i*  
 become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG creature-LOC so show-PST-PASS.3SG  
*tam pəryinɐm mən-t-v tɛ:tnə qantəy qo:*  
 then back go-PTCP.PRS-2SG when Khanty man  
*qɔ:t-v joβət-t-ən*  
 house-DLAT come-PRS-2SG

‘So before they went, the Evil Being said to the human as follows:  
 «Then when you go back, you will come to the house of a man.»’

- (52) *i:mi-γən i:ki-γən ɔj εβi taj-t-əγən*  
wife-DU husband-DU one daughter have-PRS-3DU  
'«The wife and the husband have one daughter.»'
- (53) *tʰu: εβi-nə ʰi:t-ət te:m v:t-nə βə-t-təγ te:m*  
that daughter-LOC soul-SG<3SG this night-LOC take-PRS-SG<3SG this  
*qatət-nə βə-t-təγ tʰu: ki:m-ə jəγ-Ø-Ø*  
day-LOC take-PRS-SG<3SG that possibility-DLAT become-PST-3SG  
'«The soul of that daughter will be taken this night, it will be taken  
this day, that's how bad it has become.»'
- (54) *nəŋətʰi ʰi:γət-t-əγən noq βer-təγə*  
2SG.DAT hope\_for-PRS-3DU PFV heal-INF  
'«They hope that you can heal her.»'
- (55) *nəŋ tʰu: v:t-nə jə:st-ə i:mi-γən i:ki-γən εβi-γən<sup>13</sup>*  
2SG that night-LOC say-IMP.2SG woman-DU man-DU daughter-DU  
*jə: noq βer-t-əm*  
well PFV heal-PRS-SG<1SG  
'«That night you say: Woman and man, I will heal your daughter.»'
- (56) *ni:n to:p ke:m janqit-tən*  
2DU only out go\_to\_do\_smth.PRS-2DU  
'«You just go outside.»'
- (57) *ke:m janqit-tən*  
out go\_to\_do\_smth.PRS-2DU  
'«You go outside.»'
- (58) *ʰi:n ke:m mən-t-in pu:rnə ʰtʰβ qu:tʰiʰitnə*  
3DU out go-PTCP.PRS-3DU after 3SG beside.3SG.LOC  
*pəsən-əli d:məs-t-Ø*  
table-DIM.MEL sit-PRS-3SG  
'«After they go out, [you'll see that] there is a little table next to her.»'
- (59) *tʰu: pəsən-ət i:tə pu:ntʰ-e*  
that table-SG<3SG PFV open-IMP.SG<2SG  
'«Open that table[drawer].»'
- (60) *βər-i v:ny-əli tot d:məs-t-Ø*  
blood-PROPR bowl-DIM.MEL there sit-PRS-3SG  
'«There is a bowl of blood.»'

13. The function of the dual marker here is to indicate that the woman, the man and the daughter belong together.

- (61) *mæ: mæn-m-em pænti mæ:nə noq ji:nitʰəyt-Ø-i*  
 ISG go-PTCP.PST-1SG when ISG.LOC PFV drink-PST-PASS.3SG  
*βər-ət*  
 blood-SG<3SG  
 ‘«When I went there, I drank her blood.»’
- (62) *tʰu: v:ny-əli toβə ji:nitʰət-e*  
 that bowl-DIM.MEL there give\_to\_drink-IMP.SG<2SG  
 ‘«Give her that little bowl to drink!»’
- (63) *tʰu: v:j ne: tot ti:t-əŋ-kə jə-t-Ø*  
 that young woman there soul-PROPR-TRANSL become-PRS-3SG  
 ‘«Then that young woman will be alive again.»’
- (64) *jv: v:e:tti*  
 well so  
 ‘«Well, well.»’
- (65) *tʰu: mɔ:nitʰi qo: tʰu: jə-təy qan-təy*  
 that fairytale man that become-PTCP.NEG stick-PTCP.NEG  
*ot pɔ:j ju:y-t-i jopi-jet məj-Ø-təy*  
 creature aspen wood-PL-ABL mallet-INSC give-PST-SG<3SG  
 ‘The Fairytale Man hit the Evil Being with the mallet [made] from aspen wood.’
- (66) *pəryinəm mæn-Ø-Ø*  
 back go-PST-3SG  
 ‘He went back.’
- (67) *tʰu: mæn-t-vt-nə əj tʰe:t-nə qv:t-tə*  
 so go-PTCP.PRS-3SG-LOC one day-LOC spend\_the\_night-PTCP.PRS  
*ki:m-v jəy-əm-v i:mi-γən i:ki-γən-v*  
 time-DLAT become-PTCP.PST-DLAT woman-DU man-DU-DLAT  
*jəβət-Ø-Ø*  
 come-PST-3SG  
 ‘While he was travelling home, one day, when the time came to spend the night [somewhere], he arrived [at the house of] a woman and a man.’
- (68) *i:mi-γən i:ki-γən-v jaqə təŋ-Ø-Ø tət*  
 woman-DU man-DU-DLAT into\_the\_house step\_in-PST-3SG here  
 ‘He went into the house of the woman and the man.’

- (69) *ʃi:tot-vt*    *utf-vt*                    *ʃi:pt-Ø-i*  
food-INSC    and\_suchlike-INSC    feed-PST-PASS.3SG  
'He was given food and suchlike.'
- (70) *i:mi-γən*    *i:ki-γən*    *ɛjtɐ*  
woman-DU    man-DU    visibly  
'There's something about the woman and the man.'
- (71) *n'ot-tin*    *sem-tin*<sup>14</sup>    *antɐ*    *qotə*    *jəγ-Ø-ət*  
nose-PL<3DU    eye-PL<3DU    who\_knows    how    become-PST-3PL  
*v:rjvət-ət-təγ*  
look-PRS-SG<3SG  
'What has happened to their faces? He looks at them.'
- (72) *ni:n*    *te:mi*                    *qotə*    *jəγ-Ø-ətən*  
2DU    lo\_and\_behold    how    become-PST-SG<2DU  
'«What has happened to you?»'
- (73) *mi:n*    *te:mi*                    *βət-t-vmən-nə*                    *ɛβe-mən*  
1DU    lo\_and\_behold    live-PTCP.PRS-1DU-LOC    daughter-SG<1DU  
*kətʃ-v*    *jəγ-Ø-Ø*  
ill-DLAT    become-PST-3SG  
'«While we live like this, our daughter became ill.»'
- (74) *nemv*    *ʃi:t-ət*                    *pə*    *te:m*    *v:t-nə*    *βətɛ*    *te:m*  
directly    soul-SG<3SG    EMPH    this    night-LOC    in\_fact    this  
*qatət-nə*    *βə-t-təγ*  
day-LOC    take-PRS-SG<3SG  
'«Her soul will immediately be taken this night, in fact, this day.»'
- (75) *nɛŋ*    *otəŋ*                    *i:ʃtɐ*                    *jɪβ-əm*                    *matʃ*    *qo:*<sup>15</sup>  
2SG    whether    from\_far\_away    come-PTCP.PST    guest    man  
*mɔ:j-əŋ*                    *qo:*    *βos-ən*  
wedding-PROPR    man    COP-2SG  
'«You must be a visitor, a guest came from far away.»'

14. *n'ot-sem* is a paired word meaning 'face'. That is why the suffixation seems unusual.

15. There are two kinds of guests in Surgut Khanty: a *matʃ qo:* is a guest (DWS 886) who is travelling somewhere and visits you on his way there for a shorter time. His visit is not planned or announced (L. N. Kayukova 2016 p.c.). A *mɔ:jəŋ qo:* is a guest (DWS 895) who comes with the intent of looking for a wife. His visit is planned and not unexpected (L. N. Kayukova 2016 p.c.).



- (76) *nnyhno oʔəŋ noq mu:ntv βer-tə qol-vt*  
 2SG.LOC whether PFV again heal-PTCP.PRS intention-INSC  
*əntə βu:-t-i*  
 NEG know-PRS-PASS.3SG  
 ‘«You know how to heal her again, don’t you?»’
- (77) *tʰu: tɛ:t-nə nomʔəmtəy-Ø-Ø v:v: mɛ: vɛ:nə βəʔɛ*  
 that time-LOC think\_up-PST-3SG aaa ISG so in\_fact  
*pɛ:miʔ-Ø-ojəm*  
 show-PST-PASS.1SG  
 ‘Then he remembered: aaa, I was shown what to do!’
- (78) *jɛ: βer-təyɔ βer-t-ɛm*  
 well heal-INF heal-PRS-SG<1SG  
 ‘«Well, healing, I will heal her.»’
- (79) *ni:n ke:m jaŋqit-tən*  
 2DU out go\_to\_do\_smth.PRS-2DU  
 ‘«Go outside!»’
- (80) *ke:m mən-Ø-yən*  
 out go-PST-3DU  
 ‘They went out.’
- (81) *jaqə ʔəŋ-Ø-Ø tʰu: ɛβi qɔ:t lo:qi-jɛ*  
 into\_the\_house step\_in-PST-3SG that girl house corner-DLAT  
 ‘He stepped into the house, to the girl’s part of the house.’
- (82) *v:rjɛʔ-əʔ-təy pəʂən ʔəj-vʔ-Ø*  
 inspect-PRS-SG<3SG table have-PRS-3SG  
 ‘He inspects it: there is a table.’
- (83) *tot tʰu: i:tə pu:ntʂəmtə-Ø-təy*  
 there so PFV open-PST-SG<3SG  
 ‘He opens it.’
- (84) *tʂəji pə βər-i v:ny-əli tot v:məs-t-Ø*  
 true EMPH blood-PROPR bowl-DIM.MEL there sit-PRS-3SG  
 ‘Indeed, there is a bowl with blood.’

- (85) *tʰu: mətʰ ɛ:ny-əlɪ noq i:ʔmətʰ-Ø-təy pɛ:nə tʰu:*  
that some bowl-DIM.MEL up raise-PST-SG<3SG and that  
*ɛβi-jɛ toβə je:nitʰətʰ-Ø-təy*  
girl-DLAT there give\_to\_drink-PST-SG<3SG  
‘He raised the little bowl and gave it to the girl to drink.’
- (86) *tʰu: ɛβi tɛʔ-ɛŋ qo: tɛʔ-ɛŋ*  
that girl completeness-PROPR human completeness-PROPR  
*mɑβət-ɛt tot noq ʃu:ʔəmtəy-Ø-Ø*  
circle-INSC there up stand-PST-3SG  
‘That girl turned into a healthy, whole human.’
- (87) *nɛmɛ mətʰ jəy-nə mətʰ ɛ:ŋki-nə*  
directly some\_kind\_of father-LOC some\_kind\_of mother-LOC  
*nʰu:tɛ məj-Ø-iyən tot*  
together give-PST-PASS.3DU there  
‘They were immediately married by her father and her mother.’
- (88) *tʰu: mɔj-ɛŋ qo: matf-ɛŋ qo: tot i:mɛ-ŋ-kə*  
that wedding-PROPR man guest-PROPR man there wife-PROPR-TRANSL  
*jəy-Ø-Ø*  
become-PST-3SG  
‘That visitor, that guest got married there.’
- (89) *tʰu: ji:sŋ-ətʰ tʰu: mu:nitʰ-ətʰ-nɛt i:tpə*  
that legend-SG<3SG that fairytale-SG<3SG-COM till\_today  
*βət-ʔ-Ø*  
be-PRS-3SG  
‘He lives with that legend, with that fairytale till today.’
- (90) *jɛ:səŋ pətə totti*  
legend end\_of\_smth is\_there  
‘This is the end of the legend.’

## Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	NEG	negation
ACC	accusative	PASS	passive
APPR	approximative	PFV	perfective
COM	comitative-instrumental	PL	plural
COP	copula	PROH	prohibitive
DAT	dative	PROPR	proprietary
DIM.MEL	meliorative diminutive	PRS	present
DIM.PEJ	pejorative diminutive	PST	past
DLAT	dative-lative	PTCP.NEG	negative participle
DU	dual	PTCP.PRS	present participle
EMPH	emphasis	PTCP.PST	past participle
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	SUP	superlative
INSC	instructive-final	TRANSL	translative
LOC	locative		

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