

isom'sipi | kostipe | nomon aukkaise ome
punli (-e) masi
kostipe | t'st'u | k. nagi | k'etsti loppumaton (l
paljo)

punll

isom'sipi k = k'etsti punli
Märta Csepregi

**K. F. Karjalainen's
Eastern Khanty
Text Collection
(1899-1901)**

tsk'ss nypä | ar mont'u | sät'mu (= lauk'ss; vi

kät'mu

timin t'st'u | k. nagi | k'etsti

sonts k'et'mu

nuy'mu nuy'kät'pi | sau'nani | toi k'uonun edess

ts'ii | p'ay't'ai | si pul'usti vuoluiseb

somana | nuy'uoi | k'ar'vooi sydämällesi s

layika p'itt mallaca (?), su

isom'sipi sau'nani | t. t. | p. t. |

si pul'usti

som. n. u. k. u. l. p'it'at

isom'sipi | s. (on) p' - - - - - p'it'at

nuy'mu ou's'k'uya | sät'm' tui | (nouse yfös kias
taen --)

nomon mä't'm'it'sti

pät'ay kät | pät'sya | isom'ras'iki Mallasi (siirvey

pups kittot arsa (= ed)

smt loom ko | i symms

kantä ko pay | idm

tsu ton

smt to

kon

ko m

pahti

ost sämp

During fieldwork conducted between 1898 and 1902 in Western Siberia, Kustaa Fredrik Karjalainen traveled through the entire area where Khanty (also known as Ostyak) was spoken. He collected an abundant amount of lexical material from each dialect, and in addition he made grammatical sketches and collected folklore texts. Due to Karjalainen's untimely death, he was unable to publish his collection. The Eastern Khanty text collection presented in this work is the hitherto-unpublished last part of Karjalainen's legacy. It is of great significance from the point of view of both linguistics and folkloristics, as it is the oldest Eastern Khanty text corpus, and it documents genres that were previously unknown.

The present work comprises a phonematic transcription of the manuscript, its English translation, and notes explaining linguistic and folklore phenomena. In addition, it contains a linguistic description of three Eastern Khanty dialects (Tremjugan, Vasjugan, Likrisovo), and word lists of these based on the texts. A detailed introduction to the research history of Khanty and a summary of the contribution of the texts to ethnographic research place the presently published source into a wider context and set out further potential directions for research.

shuila lämmitä

estuntumain

reisistä

ismissipi | kan saykip | tou it psta

nömmän tau ri | tisti (e.)

t'st' uapi | kam uapi | tötöng'söi

möyö } sei sett'

Nostan orkaan

vansa kunnan

seen millä so

Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura — Société Finno-Ougrienne
Helsinki 2024
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oni psta nom on tau ri | tisti

t'st' uapi | k u | tötöng'söi | m. s. sett'

vaseman ka

Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia
Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne

* 279 *

Márta Csepregi

**K. F. Karjalainen's
Eastern Khanty
Text Collection
(1899–1901)**

Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura
Société Finno-Ougrienne
Helsinki 2024

Márta Csepregi

K. F. Karjalainen's Eastern Khanty Text Collection (1899–1901)

Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia
Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne ²⁷⁹

Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura — Société Finno-Ougrienne 2024

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Trj2, Song for waking the bear II (*pupj kiatat[ə] árəγ*)

Layout AK/Finno-Ugrian Society

Translation from Hungarian to English Katalin Gugán & Mária Sipos

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Foreword

The present work is a critical edition and commentary on a 125-year-old handwritten Eastern Khanty text collection. During fieldwork conducted between 1898 and 1902 in Western Siberia, Kustaa Fredrik Karjalainen traveled through the entire area where Khanty (also known as Ostyak) was spoken. He collected an abundant amount of lexical material from each dialect, and in addition he made grammatical sketches and collected folklore texts. Due to Karjalainen's untimely death, he was unable to publish his collection. As it was the Finno-Ugrian Society that funded his fieldwork, the Society undertook the task of taking care of his legacy. The Khanty vocabularies were published by Y. H. Toivonen in 1948, the grammar sketches and the southern Khanty texts by Edith Vértés in 1964 and 1975. The collection presented in this work is the hitherto-unpublished last part of Karjalainen's legacy. It is of great significance from the point of view of both linguistics and folkloristics, as it is the oldest Eastern Khanty text corpus, and it documents genres that were previously unknown.

The original manuscript was written in Khanty without any translations; only occasional marginal notes help the interpretation. Even so, Karjalainen provided the key to deciphering the texts through his ample dictionaries, his grammar sketches, and the large amount of information presented in his monograph on Ob-Ugric mythology.

The present work comprises a phonematic transcription of the manuscript, its English translation, and notes explaining linguistic and folklore phenomena. In addition, it contains a linguistic description of three Eastern Khanty dialects (Tremjugan, Vasjugan, Likrisovo), and word lists of these based on the texts. A detailed introduction to the research history of Khanty and a summary of the contribution of the texts to ethnographic research place the presently published source into a wider context and set out further potential directions for research. The present approach differs from traditional text editions in focusing more deeply on the circumstances of the text-collection process, using the collector's and his colleagues' reports and letters.




The present work contributes to Khanty studies by making a hitherto inaccessible source available. I consider it a special privilege to have had the opportunity to embark on this project. I am greatly indebted to Professor Péter Hajdú for encouraging me to help Edith Vértés in editing her manuscripts at the beginning of the 1990s. She introduced me to the methodology of publishing legacies, and she bequeathed me Karjalainen's last unpublished

text collection. I am grateful to the Finno-Ugrian Society for supporting me throughout this work, and for undertaking the task of publishing the manuscript. I started this project as a faculty member at the Finno-Ugric Department of the Eötvös Loránd University, carried on doing it as a pensioner, and finished it as a part-time researcher at the HUN–REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics. I truly appreciate that I have been able to work in a supportive, inspiring community during my time spent on this project.

Numerous colleagues helped me throughout this project. The maps were drawn by Szilvia Németh, and the word lists were edited by Zsanett Ferenczi. The English translation was made by Katalin Gugán and Mária Sipos, and the translation was proofread by Christopher Culver. The volume was copyedited by Anna Kivijärvi. I would like to thank them here for their contribution.

Beyond my own field experience, it was the help of my Khanty colleagues, especially A. S. Pesikova and L. N. Kajukova, that enabled me to understand the world of mythical songs. I am greatly indebted to them, and I sincerely hope that their contribution will help to convey this heritage to those to whom it belongs: the Eastern Khanty community.

To the reader of the online version

Karjalainen's original handwritten manuscript pages are included at the end of this online version (pp. 485–672). To assist with navigation, the chapters have been bookmarked. In the margins of the Tremjugan, Vasjugan, and Likrisovo texts and their notes (Chapters 2–4),  symbols link to the corresponding manuscript pages.  symbols in the texts and the original manuscripts link to the notes.  symbols in the notes and the original handwritten manuscript take the reader back to the corresponding text lines in Chapters 2–4.

The scan was made from a copy of the original manuscript, which was in the possession of Edith Vértes. The entries in green are from her.

1. Introduction

1.1. On the Khanty dialects

Khanty (previously also known as Ostyak) belongs to the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric language family. Together with its closest relative, Mansi (Vogul), Khanty forms the Ob-Ugric branch. This name refers to the area where these languages are spoken: North-Western Siberia, along the banks of the river Ob and its tributaries.

The Khanty dialects are grouped according to the cardinal directions. The name of each dialect matches with the river along the banks of which the given dialect is spoken, or, more rarely, with the city in the vicinity of which the speakers live. The centre of the Khanty language area, that is, where the three dialect groups adjoin one another, is the confluence of the rivers Ob and Irtyš. The southern dialects are spoken to the south of this point, along the banks of the river Irtyš and its tributaries (Konda, Demjanka). It is very likely that the speakers of these dialects had shifted to Russian or Tartar by the middle of the 20th century. The northern dialects are spoken north of the confluence of the Ob and Irtyš, along the Ob and its tributaries up to the Arctic Ocean. Out of these northern dialects, those that were spoken in the southernmost areas (Šerkaly, Nizjam) are already extinct. Further northward there are three viable subgroups: the first is the Kazym dialect spoken along the river Kazym, the second is the Berězovo dialect that is known as the Šuryškary dialect in current Russian usage (this covers the variants spoken in the cities of Muži, Šuryškary, Tegi, and a variant spoken by the people who live along the banks of the Synja river), and the third is the northernmost variant known as the Obdorsk dialect (based on the earlier name of the city Salehard, but in Russian also known as *priural'skij* ‘next to the Urals’), covering the versions spoken along the rivers Sob and Kunovat, and at the estuary of the river Ob.

There are three larger subgroups of the Eastern dialect group, that is, the dialects spoken to the east of the confluence of the Ob and the Irtyš. The variant that was spoken along the banks of the river Salym has disappeared almost without any documentation. The dialect that is referred to as the Surgut dialect is in fact a group of variants spoken along the banks of the rivers Ljamin, Pim, Tromagan, Agan, and the Malyj and Bolšoj Jugan. The easternmost dialects are spoken along the rivers Vah and Vasjugan, and in the settlement of Alexandrovo on the bank of the river Ob.

Research on the Ob-Ugric languages started in the mid 19th century. In the present volume, we focus on the history of research investigating the eastern Khanty dialects, and refer to the two other major dialect groups only if these were touched upon during the field trip made by Karjalainen.

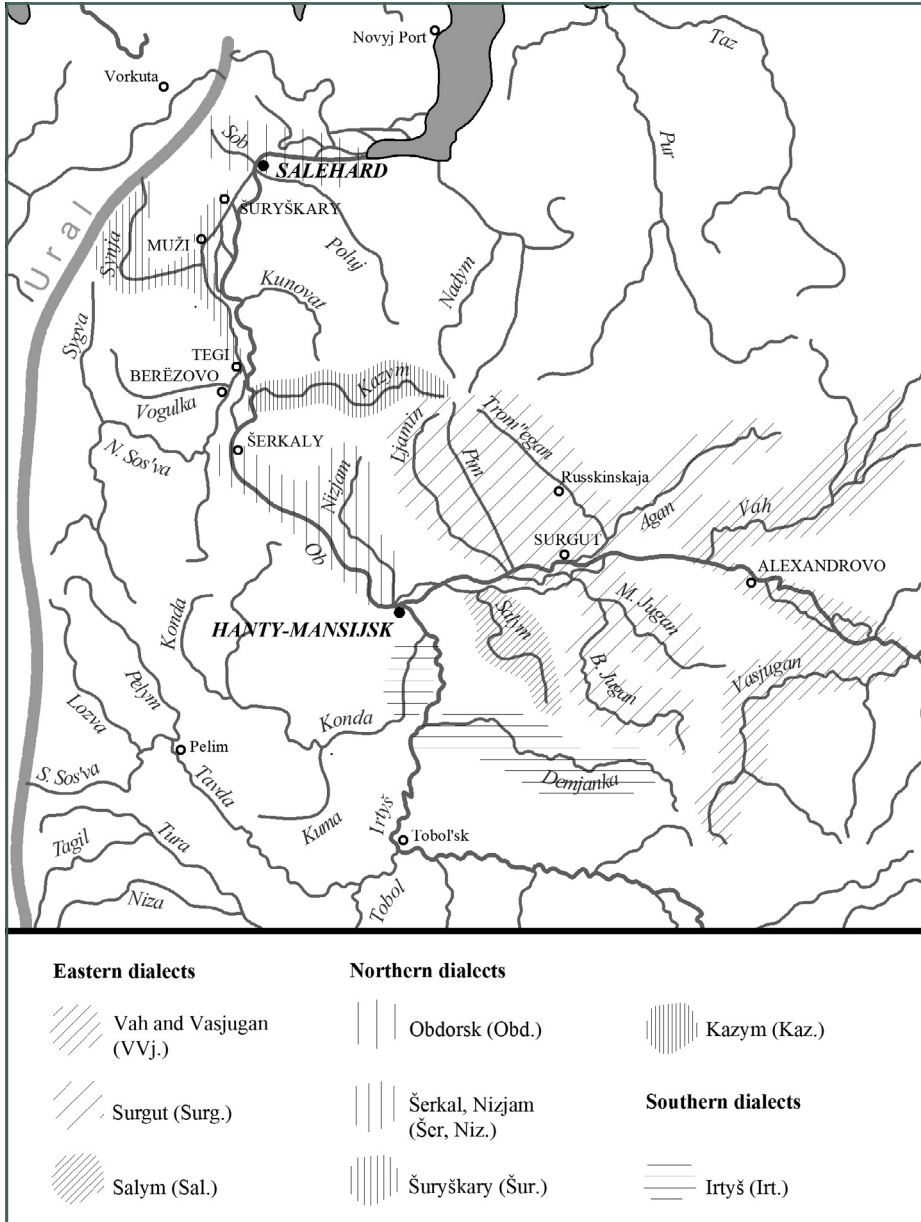


Figure 1: The Khanty dialects

1.2. Research on the eastern Khanty dialects

The beginnings

Very little was known about the Finno-Ugric peoples of Siberia prior to the 19th century. The 18th-century expeditions at the initiative of the Russian tsars yielded glossaries of various length, but it was not always clear which dialects these materials represented (Stipa 1990).

The first pieces of more exact information on the language of the Surgut Khanty stem from the Finnish researcher M. A. Castrén (1813–1852), who traveled through an area where Khanty was spoken on his way to meet Samoyeds in 1845, at the beginning of his second expedition. According to his notes, he compiled a grammar sketch and a glossary in August 1845 during his stay in Surgut. He had been planning to work further on this Khanty collection, but this could not take place, as four years later, in 1849 he had to discontinue his fieldwork because of his impaired health.¹

When Castrén returned home with the grammar sketches of a number of Samoyedic and Paleosiberian languages, he edited the Khanty material first (1849). This publication was the first item of a series that was edited by Anton Schiefner after Castrén's untimely death (*Nordische Reisen und Forschungen von Dr. M. Alexander Castrén* I–XII, 1853–1862). Schiefner published a revised version of the Khanty grammar as well, in which he made some structural changes, corrected the German usage of the manuscript, altered the transcription of Khanty data by transliterating them from Cyrillic to Latin, and extended it with a German–Khanty glossary (1858). The newest version of Castrén's Khanty grammar is a critical edition published in English as part of the series *Manuscripta Castreniana* (Forsberg 2018). The editor of this volume, Ulla-Maija Forsberg published a commented version, the comments being based on the two earlier published versions, the original manuscript of Castrén written in Swedish, and the knowledge on Khanty accumulated during those 150 years that have passed since the first publication.

It is evident in Castrén's grammar sketch that he devoted more attention to the Irtyš dialect.² He notes in the foreword of his book that “with

1. “Leider liess ich dieser Plan nicht ausführen, weil meine Gesundheit damals so zerrüttet war, dass ich mir alle wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigungen aus dem Sinn schlagen müsste” (Castrén 1849: 08). “Unfortunately, I could not fulfil this plan, because I was already at that moment in such bad health that I had to forget all my scientific tasks” (Forsberg 2018: 44).

2. He even managed to note down a short tale here, which, however, had only been available as a manuscript for a long time, as it was published more than a century later by Wolfgang Steinitz (1963).

respect to the Surgut dialect, my material is quite scanty (1848: 08).³ He collected linguistic material at two different places in the vicinity of Surgut, and distinguishes them as Lower and Upper Surgut data (OS. = *der Dialekt oberhalb Surgut*; US. = *der Dialekt unterhalb Surgut*). Still, he did notice vowel harmony that was already absent from the Southern dialects, and he also remarked on the fact that the labial *â* can have two types of high vowel alternants in certain verbs.⁴

Linguistic collections of ethnographers during the second half of the 19th century

During the second half of the 19th century a fair number of researchers embarked on expeditions into Western Siberia, many of whom were primarily interested in the Ob-Ugric peoples from an ethnographic point of view. Some of them have also met the eastern Khanty: the Hungarians Károly Pápai (1861–1893) and János Jankó (1868–1902), the Swede Fredrik Martin (1868–1933), and the Finn U. T. Sirelius (1872–1929).

Károly Pápai set out for the Ob region as a companion of Bernát Munkácsi in 1888. They spent three months together among the Mansi, and then Pápai went on towards the south and east. He turned back from Tomsk, the farthest point of his journey in October, following the winter sledgeway on the river Ob. In his report he describes this journey as follows:

I contacted a homogeneous group of Ostyaks at the bank of the river Vasjugan, a larger left tributary of the Ob, having arrived there on November 14. Then I continued traveling on the Ob and stopped occasionally to study the Ostyaks living at the given place. Carrying out investigations in this way, by traveling on the frozen Ob, I arrived at the city that is the centre of the northernmost region, Berëzovo. (Quoted by Kodolányi 1973: 165)

Károly Pápai's untimely death thwarted him in publishing his valuable observations. His glossaries were redacted by Bernát Munkácsi under the title *Southern Ostyak Glossary*, as at that time the Khanty dialects spoken along

3. "für den Surgutischen Dialekt sind meine Materialien sehr unvollständig / my notes from the Surgut dialect are also highly incomplete" (Forsberg 2018: 44).

4. "Wenn mich mein Ohr nicht irre geleitet hat, giebt es auch Wörter, die im Imperativ eine besondere Vocalveränderung erleiden" (Castrén 1849: 67). "If my ear has not misguided me, there are also words that are subject to a special vowel alternation in the imperative" (Forsberg 2018: 113).

the upper and the middle region of the Ob were all classified as southern ones (Pápai & Munkácsi 1896). This glossary also contains items marked as belonging to the Surgut or Jugan variant (S, Jg) besides the forms representing the easternmost dialects (V, Vj). Being an ethnographer, Pápai was interested in the names of artifacts, but he was very much interested in mythology and the language associated with the bear cult as well. For this reason, his glossary contains numerous words naming gods, idols, holy places, and festivities.

A couple of years later the Swedish orientalist Fredrik Martin, having acquired expertise in the fields of art history, ethnography, and archaeology, also embarked on an expedition to Siberia. He visited the Surgut district in 1891 and gives an account of the material culture and lifestyle of the Surgut Khanty in his book titled *Sibirica* (1879). He did not publish linguistic data, yet there appear a couple of words among the notes added to figures. Recently it was Lars-Gunnar Larsson who described the life and the western Siberian fieldwork of Martin in detail (Larsson 2002). János Jankó writes about Martin's fieldwork in his own diary on 6 August 1898 in Surgut as follows:

Martin was known by everybody, and it turns out they had problems with him, as he did not know Russian and traveled with an interpreter; I am familiar with his report on his Jugan trip that was published in 1897, but he visited the Vah with the doctor since then, and I know nothing about that; the doctor also told me that the news that he died is widespread in Tobol'sk.⁵

János Jankó reached the Ob region in 1898 as a member of the third Zichy expedition.⁶ He sailed through the rivers Demjanka, Salym, and the Bolšoj and Malyj Jugan during the summer months. He visited every settlement and collected ethnographic, anthropological, and archaeological information. He also recorded the names of the artifacts he gathered very precisely, therefore his diary is also interesting from a linguistic point of view (Jankó 2000). When we published his diary, we dedicated a separate entry to the list of words collected by him, and we also marked the source (i.e. dialect) of these words (Csepregi 2000).

U. T. Sirelius set out on his journey partly owing to the encouragement of János Jankó. Sirelius also followed Jankó's fieldwork methods when starting his expeditions in 1898. His first expedition lasted from June 1898 until

5. Fortunately, this report was false: Martin died on 20 April 1933 in Cairo (Larsson 2002: 232).

6. József Pápay (1873–1931) was a member of the very same expedition, and he was the one who deciphered Antal Reguly's northern Khanty field notes during his voyage.

the end of that year, and he visited the easternmost Khanty, i.e. those who live along the rivers Vasjugan and Vah. He began his second expedition among the northern Khanty and Mansi in July 1899. He reached the area where Surgut Khanty was spoken at the end of September. There he spent approximately three months. During this time he visited the Khanty living along the rivers Jugan, Agan, Tremjugan, and Pim. Similarly to Jankó, he also recorded the names of artifacts and published these as a part of his ethnographic study (1904: 63–75; 1928).

The Finno-Ugrian Society that had financed Sirelius's expeditions translated the diary of the researcher into German and published it in a carefully edited volume with a German–Khanty glossary (Sirelius & Schellbach 1983). However, this describes only the first expedition and therefore contains only Vah–Vasjugan data. The diary of the second journey (1899) is still unpublished, although it probably contains valuable Surgut Khanty data. This diary was the main source of Hanna Snellman's book *Khants' Time*. Unfortunately, as Snellman was not specialized in Khanty, she misinterpreted many of Sirelius's findings (2001).

Russian clerks on the eastern Khanty in the 19th century

Among other sources, it is N. P. Grigorovskij's descriptions that contain information on the Khanty living along the banks of the river Vasjugan. As an employee of the Russian missionary society he wrote the first Selkup primer, but he also reports on other indigenous communities in his works (1883; 1884). The Russian Geographic Society frequently published articles describing the systems of settlement and the demographic characteristics of the local minority groups (Plotnikov 1901, among others). The assumedly first eastern Khanty text published was a tale from the Vasjugan dialect printed in the journal of the Tomsk episcopate (*Томские епархиальные ведомости*) in 1890, republished by László Honti almost a hundred years later (1984b).

A. A. Dunin-Gorkavič arrived in Siberia as a Russian clerk and forestry expert in 1880. His three-volume description of the geography, demographics, ethnography, and statistics of the Tomsk Governorate gives a clear picture on the circumstances at the turn of the 20th century. He stood out from his contemporaries in being interested in the languages of the indigenous peoples as well. He published a Russian–Khanty–Nenets dictionary (1910) with a deliberate intention to ease administration among the autochthonous peoples. This dictionary was also published by Kai Donner among several Samoyedic glossaries (1932), and in 1998 the Surgut County Council issued a reprint edition. The Khanty vocabulary items display features of the Vah and Surgut dialects.

János Jankó met Dunin-Gorkavič on 17 August 1898, and describes this event as follows:

As Дунин-Горкавич (who wrote a beautiful article on the Ostyaks in the *Ежегодник* of the Tobol'sk Museum) lives in Surgut, I had also wanted to visit him, but the doctor invited him over, and so I met him at the doctor's. He is a young Polish Roman Catholic forester, who, having traveled this region far and wide, concerns himself mainly with the question of whether the Salym and the Jugan is suitable for settling Russians, whether there is suitable land for cattle and farming along the banks of these rivers. (Jankó 2000: 175)

Linguistic expeditions to Surgut Khanty territory at the turn of the 20th century

During the second half of the 19th century, Finnish and Hungarian researchers collected a significant amount of linguistic data among the Ob-Ugric peoples. Two among these scholars also visited eastern Khanty speakers: Heikki Paasonen (1865–1919) and K. F. Karjalainen (1871–1919).

Heikki Paasonen spent ten months around the river Ob from the autumn of 1900 to May 1901. From Tobol'sk, his first Siberian station, he traveled to the village Demjanskoe on the bank of the river Irtyš. He met a talented Khanty man there and hired him as his language tutor. In October, before the river froze, he got on the last ship with his tutor and traveled to Surgut, where he continued the work with his tutor until the end of February. He shifted his focus to the Surgut dialect only in March 1901, during which time he worked with an informant from the Jugan area. He had planned to go on a longer expedition along the river Jugan to collect further folklore texts as soon as the rivers were navigable again, and he also intended to visit the Khanty living on the banks of the Upper Ob. However, he abandoned these plans and traveled home at the end of May when he received the news that the position of full professor was open at the Finno-Ugric department of the University of Helsinki (Paasonen 1903: 18).

Kustaa Fredrik Karjalainen spent four years (with some intermissions) in Siberia as a scholarship holder of the Finno-Ugric Society between 1898 and 1902. He traveled around the entire area where Khanty was spoken and collected glossaries, texts, morphological paradigms, and information about mythology. His expedition will be the subject of Sections 1.3 and 1.4 below.

Both researchers were prevented from fully editing their own collections by their untimely deaths. Paasonen's lexical collection was published by Kai Donner (Paasonen & Donner 1926 = PD), and Karjalainen's by Y. H. Toivonen (Karjalainen & Toivonen 1948 = KT). The rest of their legacy was transferred to Edith Vértés, whom the Finno-Ugrian Society entrusted with the task of editing and publishing these materials. She published the notes on grammar first (Karjalainen & Vértés 1964; Paasonen & Vértés 1965), then she continued with the southern Khanty texts (Karjalainen & Vértés 1975; Paasonen & Vértés 1980) and a supplement to Karjalainen's dictionary (Karjalainen & Vértés 1996). Finally, she published those four tales from the Jugan dialect that were collected by Paasonen during the last days of his stay in Surgut (Paasonen & Vértés 2001). She had also planned to redact Karjalainen's eastern Khanty collections, but this did not take place during her lifetime.

The process of creating Khanty literacy

During the 20th century, foreign researchers had very little chance to travel to the Ob region until the 1990s. Research did not stop, however. It continued with the editing and publishing of the linguistic material collected earlier. In the meantime, research in the USSR into the language and culture of Siberian peoples was formalized, with the Institute for Northern Peoples in Leningrad as its centre. Besides scientific research, it was also necessary to focus on practical problems, that is, these peoples that had lacked literacy had to be provided with an alphabet. In the case of the Khanty dialects, this process started in the 1930s with the creation of the written version of the northern dialects. The first alphabets of the Obdorsk and Kazym dialects used Latin script as the basis of the alphabet, but in 1937 there was a switch to Cyrillic script. The writing systems of the Šerkaly and the Šuryškary dialects were developed in the 1940s, and textbooks and literary texts (both original works and translations) were published in these Khanty variants.

The German scholar Wolfgang Steinitz (1905–1967) played an important role in creating Khanty literacy. He lived in the Soviet Union between 1934 and 1937, and created several variants of the writing system of the Kazym dialects, which later served as a basis for the alphabets of the other dialects. As a professor in the Institute for Northern Peoples, he could learn about almost all of the Khanty dialects owing to the presence of Khanty students at the Institute. Between July and October in 1935 he traveled the area where Northern Khanty was spoken, from Šerkaly to Salehard. After the Second World War, he lived in East Berlin until his death. His work extended to all Finno-Ugric languages, but he is noted primarily as a scholar of the Ob-Ugric languages. His studies on Khanty were collected and published after his death in four

bulky volumes (Steinitz 1975–1989). The third volume (*Texte aus dem Nachlass*, 1989) contains those texts that were not published during his lifetime. Within this volume, five shorter Vasjugan prose texts (559–573) and twenty-eight Vah-Vasjugan riddles represent the Eastern Khanty dialect group. There were not any Surgut Khanty texts among the materials he left behind. His monumental etymological and dialectal dictionary (Steinitz 1966–1993 = D, DEWOS) that exploited each and every source then accessible also contains a significant amount of Eastern Khanty data.

Nikolaj Ivanovič Terěškin (1913–1986) was one of Steinitz' most talented students and the first among Khanty speakers to become a professional linguist. He was born and raised in the region of the estuary of the river Irtyš, that is, in the area where the three main dialect groups were in a contact situation. He collected texts from the Nizjam, Šerkaly, and Kazym dialects, but these texts have not yet been published. In the 1950s, he conducted research on the eastern Khanty dialects. The outcome of this work is twofold. One is a monograph on Vah Khanty (1961), which contains a grammar, texts, and a glossary. The other is a dictionary published in 1981 which represents the vocabulary of all the eastern Khanty dialects. He also worked out the writing system of Eastern Khanty and published the first Vah (1958) and Surgut (1959) primers, which were later followed by another textbook on Surgut Khanty (1975). Owing to Terěškin's in-depth theoretical knowledge of Eastern Khanty phonology, the writing systems that were devised by him represent Vah and Surgut phonology accurately, and the orthography of these languages did not need revision until recently.

There is no textbook or any other teaching material available in the Vasjugan dialect. This can partly be due to the fact that while the speakers of the other Khanty dialects live either in the Hanty-Mansi or in the Jamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug of the Tjumen' Oblast' where certain basic minority rights are recognized, the Vasjugan river belongs to a different administrative district (Tomsk Oblast') in which the Khanty speakers do not come to attention (Nagy 2011b).

N. I. Terěškin worked at the Leningrad Branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, but he also held lectures at the Herzen State Pedagogical University when he found motivated students. His most successful student was A. S. Pesikova, who became a co-author of the textbooks as well. Terěškin's textbook published in 1975 contains texts written by Pesikova, who proved to be the most reliable representative of Surgut Khanty and proponent of literacy. She is either the sole author or a co-author of the textbooks that are used presently from first to fifth grade (1996; 2003a; 2003b; 2005; 2006; 2010; 2013).

A. S. Pesikova was one of the Surgut Khanty informants of the Hungarian linguist László Honti (1943–), who broadened his knowledge of Khanty

dialects during his three-month study trip in the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad. As a matter of fact, if we disregard the school textbooks, it was László Honti and Julianna Rusvai who published the first texts representing the Surgut dialect (Honti & Rusvai 1977; Honti 1978a; 1978b). Up to that point, the data found in Paasonen's and Karjalainen's grammar sketches and dictionaries were the only available information about the structure of Surgut Khanty. The texts collected by Paasonen were published only much later (2001), and Jeremej Ajpin (1948–) started to publish his literary works in the 1980s.

Scientific centres in Siberia

During the first years of the Soviet Union, scientific research gained fresh momentum. A young employee of the Russian Museum of Leningrad, Raisa Mitusova (1894–1937) conducted ethnographic and anthropological fieldwork among the Agan Khanty (Mitusova 1926a; 1926b; 1926c; 1929). Her promising scientific career, and, tragically, her life was put to an end by the Stalinist terror (Karapetova & Kitova 2006).

Besides the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad, Siberian research centres, especially the ones in Tomsk and Novosibirsk, increased in importance from the second half of the 20th century.

Research on Siberian languages was launched at the Tomsk State Pedagogical Institute⁷ from the 1960s. Its initiator was A. P. Dul'zon (1900–1973), who was deported to Tomsk in 1941 because of his Volga German origin. The members of the faculty he founded carried out valuable linguistic, ethnographic, and archaeological research among the indigenous peoples of the area. L. I. Kalinina was also among the members of this faculty, and besides gathering toponyms she also collected Vasjugan folklore texts, which she published in local series (1966; 1970a; 1970b; 1976). From among these texts, one tale was also published in the journal *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* (Erdódi & Kecskeméti 1970). The Hungarian linguist László Honti transcribed the majority of these texts following the phonematic principles developed by Steinitz, translated them into Hungarian as well, and republished these with a glossary in the journal *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (1982b). A part of Kalinina's collection was worked up by two Tomsk-based researchers as well (Fil'čenko & Potanina 2010), but they were not nearly as accurate as László Honti (Csepregi 2012: 488–490). A. Filchenko carried out linguistic fieldwork among the Khanty living around the banks of the rivers Vah and Vasjugan, and also among the Khanty inhabitants of Alexandrovo. He published his results

7. Since 1995 the Tomsk State Pedagogical University.

in numerous studies (2006; 2010), and he was the one who described Eastern Khanty in various typological works that were results of international cooperation (2012; 2015; 2017).

The members of this university were also involved in the publication of a Khanty–Russian dictionary that was compiled on a voluntary basis by a native speaker of Vasjugan Khanty, Markel Kondratevič Mogutajev (1915–2001). The Hungarian ethnographer Zoltán Nagy, who spent several months on several occasions among the Vasjugan Khanty since the 1990s (2007a; 2007b; 2011a; 2011b), also participated in the redaction of this dictionary.

The ethnographers of the Tomsk State University, N. V. Lukina (1937–) and V. M. Kulemzin (1938–2021) participated in numerous expeditions from the 1960s onward, and their findings were continuously disseminated in studies and monographs (Kulemzin & Lukina 1977). Kulemzin's primary research focus was on mythology (1976; 1984; 2000; 2004). N. V. Lukina collected linguistic data as well (1973), and she compiled a rich folklore collection (1990) with the assistance of Éva Schmidt. She also published the diary entries that she made during her expeditions in five volumes (2004–2010). She translated fundamental handbooks of Ob-Ugric studies from German to Russian, including Karjalainen's monumental synthesis on Ob-Ugric mythology in three volumes (Karjalainen 1994–1996) and Sirelius's travel diary (2001). Besides that, she has been actively engaged in the training of new Ob-Ugric intelligentsia as a thesis supervisor, peer reviewer, and editor.

The other centre of linguistic research is the Novosibirsk State University. At the outset, the research focus was on Northern Khanty and Mansi dialects, but lately N. B. Koškarëva's interest has extended to the Surgut dialect as well. Her text collections are significant (2004; 2005; 2006) and she has also published numerous linguistic studies.

The research fellows of the Novosibirsk State Conservatory have carried out ethnomusicological research among the Khanty (Nazarenko 2005). Of the ethnographers in Jekaterinburg, it was E. Perevalova who participated in expeditions among the Surgut Khanty (Perevalova & Karačarov 2006).

During the 1990s, research centres have started to get closer to the area where the native speakers live, and scientific institutions have emerged one after another. The Research Institute for the Revival of the Ob-Ugric Peoples, which has seen many reforms and renamings, is still operating under the name Ob-Ugric Institute of Applied Researches and Development (Обско-угорский институт прикладных исследований и разработок). The institute has two branches in the Surgut area, one in Ljantor and one in Var'ëgan. The Yugra State University (Югорский государственный университет) was founded in 2001 in Hanty-Mansijsk. During the first ten years of the existence of the University, there was a program to train researchers specializing on

Ob-Ugric languages. However, later the Ob-Ugric Department was dissolved on the grounds that there were not enough students.

The return of foreign researchers to the field

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Siberia opened up again for researchers from abroad. The Surgut Khanty were visited first by the Finnish ethnographer Juha Pentikäinen in 1989 (1997; 1998). He met Ivan Stepanovič Sopočin (1910–1993), the most famous shaman of the Tromagan region, and publication of the material that was collected then from Sopočin is currently in progress. Besides being a leading figure of his community, Sopočin was also considered to be one of the most authentic keepers and sources of information on Khanty traditions. His family was also visited by the Hungarian ethnographer Ágnes Kerecsi, first in 1991, and in the following year she was accompanied by the ethnomusicologist Katalin Lázár and Márta Csepregi. They collected data together twice during the summers of 1992 and 1993, and then they also visited this area separately several times. They met informants from around the banks of the river Tromagan and its tributaries (Agan, Imi-jagun, Ort-jagun, Jinku-jagun, Voki-rap-jagun) on the one hand, and from the headwaters of the Bolšoj Jugan on the other hand. During the first decade of the 2000s, Márta Csepregi also took her students to this region for fieldwork, and some of them have remained in academia and carried out research ever since, three of them having already defended their PhD theses as well (Katalin Gugán in 2013, Zsófia Schön in 2017, Nikolett F. Gulyás in 2017). The Japanese Sachiko Sosa also started her studies on Surgut Khanty under the supervision of Márta Csepregi in Helsinki (2017). Collaboration between the Khanty intelligentsia and international researchers has continued in Europe as well. Out of the native-speaker consultants, earlier it was A. S. Pesikova and nowadays L. N. Kajukova whose expertise is drawn on most frequently, and who have traveled regularly to assist scholars of various universities and institutes (Budapest, Munich, Helsinki, Tampere). O. I. Sopočina participated mostly in projects located in Budapest.

Concerning ethnologists, the Estonian Anzori Barkajala (2002), the British scholar Peter Jordan (2003) and the German Stephan Dudeck (2013) have published several articles, and each of them authored a monograph as well. Andrew Wiget from the USA and Olga Balalaeva summarized their experiences of fieldwork done along the banks of the Jugan in a co-authored book (2011). Out of the Finnish ethnomusicologists, it was Jarkko Niemi who collected music samples from the Surgut area (2001). The Hungarian ethnographer Zoltán Nagy has been carrying out research among the Vasjugan Khanty since 1992 (2007a; 2007b; 2011a; 2011b).

Awareness of the Eastern Khanty and their dialects

In spite of the fact that the Northern Khanty dialects were researched by more scholars for a longer period, the Surgut dialect has been receiving more and more attention in the international literature. The Khanty language is represented by the Surgut variant in a number of handbooks focusing on Uralic languages. This is partly due to the contribution of László Honti who, having compiled the grammar of Surgut Khanty partly on the basis of Karjalainen's grammar sketches (Karjalainen & Vértes 1964) and partly on the basis of his own research, published this in the handbook *The Uralic Languages* (Honti 1988; the handbook was edited by Denis Sinor), and in another volume covering all Uralic languages that was published in Russia (Honti 1993). A few years later it was again the Surgut (Tromagan) variant that represented the Khanty dialects in a British publication that aimed at describing nearly all of the Uralic languages (Abondolo 1998). There were separate chapters dedicated to Surgut Khanty in two recently published handbooks as well (Gugán & Schön 2022; Csepregi 2023). Thanks to the contributions of A. Filchenko, the easternmost, i.e. the Vah, Vasjugan and Aleksandrovo dialects have become ever more widely known as well (2006; 2010; 2012; 2015; 2017). Other Tomsk-based researchers have also investigated Eastern Khanty dialects (Vorobeva & Novitskaya 2020). Information on the Eastern dialects can also be obtained from typological literature and databases (Havas et al. 2015; Skribnik 2014–2017).

It is a welcome phenomenon that the last few years have witnessed a surge in the number of publications in the Surgut dialect also in the territory where the speakers of the language live: the Hanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. The majority of these publications are used in elementary education: textbooks and teaching materials are published continuously. The most famous writer of the Surgut Khanty, Jeremej Ajpin wrote only his first works in Khanty, but these were published in several editions, and they became part of the curriculum as well (1981; 2003a; 2003b). Ljudmila Kajukova published page-long reports written in Surgut Khanty in the journal *Khanty Yasang* (Ханты ясанг) monthly between 2005 and 2012, and in 2014, A. S. Pesikova edited and published seven issues of a bilingual, truly colorful and varied Russian–Khanty journal (*Айкӧл*) in the Surgut district. Folklore texts, tales, riddles, recollections concerning the history of the community have been published continuously (Pesikova 2002; Koškarëva & Pesikova 2006; Nemysova & Kajukova 2007; Pesikova & Volkova 2013; Balalajeva et al. 2021), and there are also literary translations (Puškin 2002). We are only aware of a single publication in the Vah dialect, and moreover that contains numerous misprints (Košil' 2010). There are no publications in the Vasjugan dialect.

The Estonian Lennart Meri (1929–2006), president of Estonia in the period 1991–2001, shot several ethnographic films among the Finno-Ugric peoples during the Soviet era. He recorded the bear-feast rituals of the Khanty living along the banks of the river Agan in 1985 and 1988. In order to shoot the film, he assembled the inhabitants of this territory, the elderly and those young people who knew the traditions well. In the film *The Sons of Torum* (1989) he documented knowledge that would have disappeared with the death of the elderly. Surgut television employee Ol'ga Kornienko presented the life of the autochthonous peoples in several films. Her first documentary *Путём Хозяйки Агана* (*On the Trail of the Mistress of the Agan*) was shot in 1996 during a boat trip organized by the Forest Nenets poet Jurij Vella (Vella 2010). The Hungarian György Pál Gadó shot two films portraying the lives of the descendants of Ivan Stepanovič Sopočin (*The Khanty Shaman's Legacy*, 1999, *Aliska*, 2008). Erzsi Winter published an album consisting of the photographs she made during her field trip among the Tromagan Khanty (1995). The introduction to this album was written by the ethnographer Ágnes Kerezsi and it also contains Khanty poems written by A. S. Sopočina (Pesikova). The Finn Marianne Flinckenberg-Gluschkoff published a richly illustrated volume about the life of the Khanty living around the banks of the river Agan (2011).

1.3. K. F. Karjalainen's Siberian expedition

Karjalainen set out from Finland on his Siberian fieldwork journey when he was 27 years old, on 26 May 1898. He was not completely inexperienced when he accepted the commission from the Finno-Ugric Society. Earlier, he had done fieldwork among the Karelians (the Karelian language being a close relative of Finnish) on three occasions: in 1894 he visited the White Sea (Viena) area, in 1895 the Tver area, and in 1897 the Olonets (Aunus) area. However, this time he was about to record the lexicon, grammar, and texts of numerous dialects of a language that was unknown to him.

The young traveler arrived in Tobol'sk, the gate of Siberia via Saint Petersburg on 4 June 1898. He prepared for his expedition here by obtaining the necessary permits for traveling and visiting museums. He met the Hungarian József Pápay as well. Pápay also planned to set out for the north in order to decipher, with the help of speakers of Northern Khanty, the heroic songs collected by Antal Reguly in 1844/1845.

At the end of July, Karjalainen started his voyage downwards on the river Irtyš, heading north. At the estuary of the river Demjanka, at the settlement named Demjanskoe he met another Hungarian, János Jankó, and they traveled together to Samarovo, the place where the river Irtyš joins the river Ob

(the site of the present-day Hanty-Mansijsk). Karjalainen returned to Demjanskoe a few days later, and started collecting linguistic material along the banks of the river Demjanka. This first phase of his work lasted until February 1899. Afterwards, he continued his fieldwork along the river Konda, another tributary of the river Irtyš. At the beginning of April, he returned to the river Demjanka for a further two months, and he left back for the Irtyš at the end of May.

Karjalainen arrived at Surgut via Samarovo on 7 July and he met here *inter alia* U. T. Sirelius. He stayed in Surgut only for a week, and then he continued traveling eastwards. He arrived at Larjatskoe (a settlement at the banks of the river Vah) at the end of July, and he spent the summer there collecting lexical and grammatical material. He fell ill in September, and by the time he got well, the roads were already impassable. Therefore he could start his return journey only on 27 November, when winter commenced, and he arrived at Surgut on 10 December. He worked here with an informant speaking the Tremjugan dialect until the end of March.

He traveled back to Finland for a short time: he set out on 22 March 1900 and returned to Russia at the end of May. He headed for his easternmost destination again: he arrived at Narym on the 27 June, and continued towards the Vasjugan River after a few days. He returned to Narym in the beginning of September, and worked on the processing and producing clear copies of the material that he had collected earlier. He was in Surgut again in the beginning of October, and continued working with his Tremjugan Khanty informant. He collected lexical material until February 1901. In the spring he went on a horse drawn sleigh ride to Likrisovskoe and Vartovskoe, two settlements at the eastern border of the Surgut district, about 600 versts from Surgut. He took his informant from Likrisovskoe back with him to Surgut, and carried on working with him until 19 May. By this time Heikki Paasonen also arrived at Surgut, having brought with him his informant from the river Konda, and worked with him until the end of March.

Karjalainen left Surgut in July 1901, and traveled via Tobol'sk to Samarovo, from where he set out north on 10 September. From the beginning of October till March next year he was stationed at Berězovo, where he acquainted himself with the Kazym dialect on the one hand, and studied the fishing methods of the Khanty on the other hand. His report on this was published by the journal of Tobol'sk County.

He arrived at Obdorsk on 16 March 1902 in order to study the northernmost dialects. Besides carrying out lexical and grammatical fieldwork, he also copied some of the manuscripts of the library of the missionary school. By that time the head of this school, Father Irinarh (Ivan Seměnovič Šemanovskij)⁸

8. The valuable ethnographic and archaeological collection of I. S. Šemanovskij (1873–?1922/?1923/?1936) is held in the Salehard museum named after him (Lipatova 2005).

was already fairly well known in scientific circles; the school was exchanging publications with, among institutions, the Finno-Ugrian Society.

Karjalainen returned to Berëzovo at the end of April, where he met a Khanty speaking the Nizjam dialect, and he managed to collect some linguistic material with his help. In the beginning of July he continued traveling towards the south. He arrived at Tobol'sk in August and began to organize his journey back home. The expedition that lasted more than four years ended on 20 September 1902 when he arrived in Helsinki (KT 05–010; Karjalainen 1900–1903; 1921; 1983; Korhonen 1983).

Let us take a look at the length of the periods Karjalainen dedicated to the study of the different Khanty dialects or dialect groups. The duration of the expedition can be divided by and large into three parts: the first year was spent in the region where Southern Khanty was spoken, the last year where Northern Khanty was spoken, and the two years in between – except for a two-month stay in Finland – were dedicated to studying the eastern dialects. He spent a couple of months in each region. He spent half a year along the banks of the river Demjanka, where he came across the first Khanty dialect, and returned later for a further two months. He studied the dialects along the river Konda for about three months (including the time spent traveling), and he spent four months along the river Vah. He stayed slightly more than four months in Surgut, and, having returned from Finland, he traveled to the river Vasjugan for about three months. He studied the variants of the Surgut dialect (Trj, Mj, Likr, Vart, VK) later for a further nine months. The locations for his study of the northern dialects were Berëzovo and Obdorsk. He spent eight months in two intervals in Berëzovo and barely two months in Obdorsk. The rest of the time (which amounted to months) was spent traveling, which was a hazardous activity in those times: by boat, by ship, by horse- or reindeer-drawn sleighs, and not infrequently on foot.

K. F. Karjalainen visited Siberia as a scholarship holder of the Finno-Ugrian Society. Commissioned by the University of Helsinki, his older colleague, Heikki Paasonen crossed the Ural Mountains in the summer of 1900, after two years of fieldwork around the Volga River. Paasonen's letter written to Otto Donner shows clearly that he was not satisfied with the methods which Karjalainen had followed. He wrote the following (*inter alia*) on 22 December 1900:

Having read his travel reports, I have already expressed my astonishment concerning Karjalainen's hustle and bustle in my last letter. Now that I have information from Karjalainen himself about the results he has achieved so far, and now that

I appreciate more and more how difficult Ostyak is, I find this business even more doubtful.

It turned out from his account that he studied the Demjan-ka dialect for about four months. He seems to find it necessary to justify the length of his stay while working on this dialect; it was his own inexperience and the alcoholism of his informant that slowed the work down (to which we could also add the deficient command of Russian on the part of the researcher at the beginning of the fieldwork). As for me, I would rather ask why he spent so little time on this dialect that should be the basis of his further studies of the Ostyak dialects in general. When the Society sent me for fieldwork among the Mordvins, especially to collect lexical material, I got written instructions from the secretary of the Society (who at that time happened to be you, my good sir) that made me aim at collecting folklore material if it was possible, and called my attention to the diverse opportunities concerning the potential uses of these texts. I am on the verge of concluding that the Society had completely forgotten to give instructions to this scholarship holder, although this inexperienced man was sent on the grandest fieldwork targeting a territory where Finno-Ugric languages are spoken that has ever been organized by the Society [...].

Then he went on to study the Konda dialect, dedicating about seven weeks to it. [...] Afterwards, he shifted his focus to the Ostyak of the Surgut district, whose dialect differs more from the Konda and the Irtyš dialects than Estonian from Finnish in my opinion (my informant from Konda cannot speak with the Ostyak living here). K. researched the distant Vah dialect first for a little bit more than two months. He did not collect any texts from this dialect, not even a tale; some riddles at most. At the Vasjugan, the dialect of which territory is again a different one, K. worked for about three months. As for texts, he has little of them. Folklore is diminishing, and it is said that there lives a well-known singer at the upper course of the river, but the summer roads weren't suitable for getting there, and traveling would have taken a lot of time.

K. is focusing on the Tremjugan dialect now. Then come the Ob dialects, but he should also visit the areas around the rivers Jugan, Pim and Salym. Under no circumstances will he be able to get to the surroundings of Berëzovo before autumn

commences, even if he would keep the pace. [...] What could the results of this five-year-long scientific expedition be? As far as the linguistic side goes, so-so – but what will the collection of folklore be like, which is equally important? The Hungarian Pápay acted a lot more sensibly in devoting almost a year to the Obdorsk dialect, and he built up a really rich folklore collection.

The Society should appoint at least two scholarship holders, but three would be even better. The linguistic area where Ostyak is spoken is so vast and difficult that a single man is unable to cope with it. Achieving considerable results would require approximately eight years of reasonable work. Two years for the Irtyš, Demjanka, Konda, and Salym dialects, three for the dialects of the Surgut District and the Vasjungan, and a further three for the northern dialects. One faces such difficulties here that other people elsewhere don't have the faintest idea of. Traveling takes an unconceivable amount of time. The informants' command of Russian is truly deficient in places (for instance, the current Tremjungan informant of K. – who, by the by, is evidently drunk three days a week – speaks Russian downright frightfully, although he is the best speaker of Russian in this area, and around the Kazym, according to the forester living here, there isn't a single Ostyak whom one could communicate in Russian with). [...]

I would not want to criticize Karjalainen by any means. I think the problem lies with the plan, more precisely, with the lack of a plan. (Hajdú & Mikola 1992: 155–157)

In his travelogue Karjalainen gives detailed justifications concerning his seemingly abrupt choices of travel directions. Under the contemporary road conditions, the turns of the seasons could make the change of location impossible for weeks. Therefore, one could travel only when and where moving by water or on the winter roads was possible. The following short excerpt serves as a convincing illustration of the adversities of traveling:

According to my original plan, I was about to work on the territory between Samarovo and Surgut, and move gradually upwards on the river Ob, touring the large tributaries in a way that I would finish working on this so-called southern territory at the river Vasjungan. But as life is fairly demanding at this godforsaken territory here, far from the Ob, and as traveling on the tributaries works poorly during winter, I had decided

that I would try to work in the northeast corner of the Surgut District last summer [i.e. the summer of 1899]. I did arrive at Larjatskoe, the central settlement at the banks of the river Vah, about 1,100 versts from Samarovo, and I could have started traveling back at the end of September. But I got a cold, and this interrupted my travel plans. As I had to stay in bed for more than four weeks, I had to content myself with watching how the weather turns wintry, blocking the summer roads that would have led me back to the civilized world. However, the winter roads did not become quickly passable, either. We could set out from Larjatskoe only on 27 November, and the ice on the river was not yet suitable for traveling, therefore we had to look for bypass roads through dry necks, across streams and half-frozen swamps. Finally, we arrived at Surgut on 10 December. After having secured an informant, I worked with him until 22 March, when I left for my homeland for a short time to settle some private matters. (Hamina, 21 May 1900; JSFOu XIX/3: 3-4)⁹

From Karjalainen's article "The Vah Ostyaks" ("Vachin ostjakit" JSFOu XX/2: 28-32; Karjalainen 1983: 114-117) we can obtain an even more comprehensive picture of this trip lasting from 27 November until 10 December 1899 that involved traveling on an easily toppled reindeer sleigh, nights spent under the open sky, and various other vicissitudes. The exceptionally harsh circumstances of contemporary linguistic fieldwork are illustrated amply by these.

9. Alkuperäisen aikomukseni mukaan olisi minun nyt pitänyt työskennellä Samarovon ja Surgutin välillä ja sieltä vähitellen nousta Obia ylöspäin, käydä suurilla sivujoilla ja lopettaa Vasjuganilla työni tällä n.s. eteläalueella. Mutta kun eläminen talvella syrjäisissä seuduissa, kaukana Obilta on hiukan vaivaloista ja kun talvinen kulkuyhteys sivujoilla on huono, päätin viime kesän aikana koettaa saada suoritetuksi Surgutin piirin koilliskulman, etäiset Vah-joen seudut. Heinäkuussa saavuinkin Vahin kuntakylään, Larjatskoehen, johon Samarovosta lasketaan olevan noin 1.100 virstaa, ja syyskuun lopulla olin valmis sieltä lähtemään. Mutta vähäinen vilustuminen teki lopun matkatumista. Viidettä viikkoa vuoteessa viruen sain tyytyä katselemaan miten talvi teki tuloaan vähitellen sulkien minulta kesätien ihmisten ilmoihin. Mutta ei talvietäkään nopeaan kulkukuntoiseksi tullut. Vasta marraskuun 27 p:nä voi Larjatskoesta lähteä, ja silloinkaan ei vielä ollut ajateltavaakaan tavallisia jokiteitä kulkea, vaan saimme etsiä kiertoteitä poikki kankaiden, purojen ja puolisolien soiden. Joulukuun 10 päivänä olin vihdoinkin taas Surgutissa. Kielimestarin saatuaani työskentelin siellä maaliskuun 22 p:ään, jolloin yksityisten asioiden tähden läksin lyhyelle käynnille kotimaahan. (Haminassa, toukokuun 21 p:nä 1900, SUSA XIX/3: 3-4.)

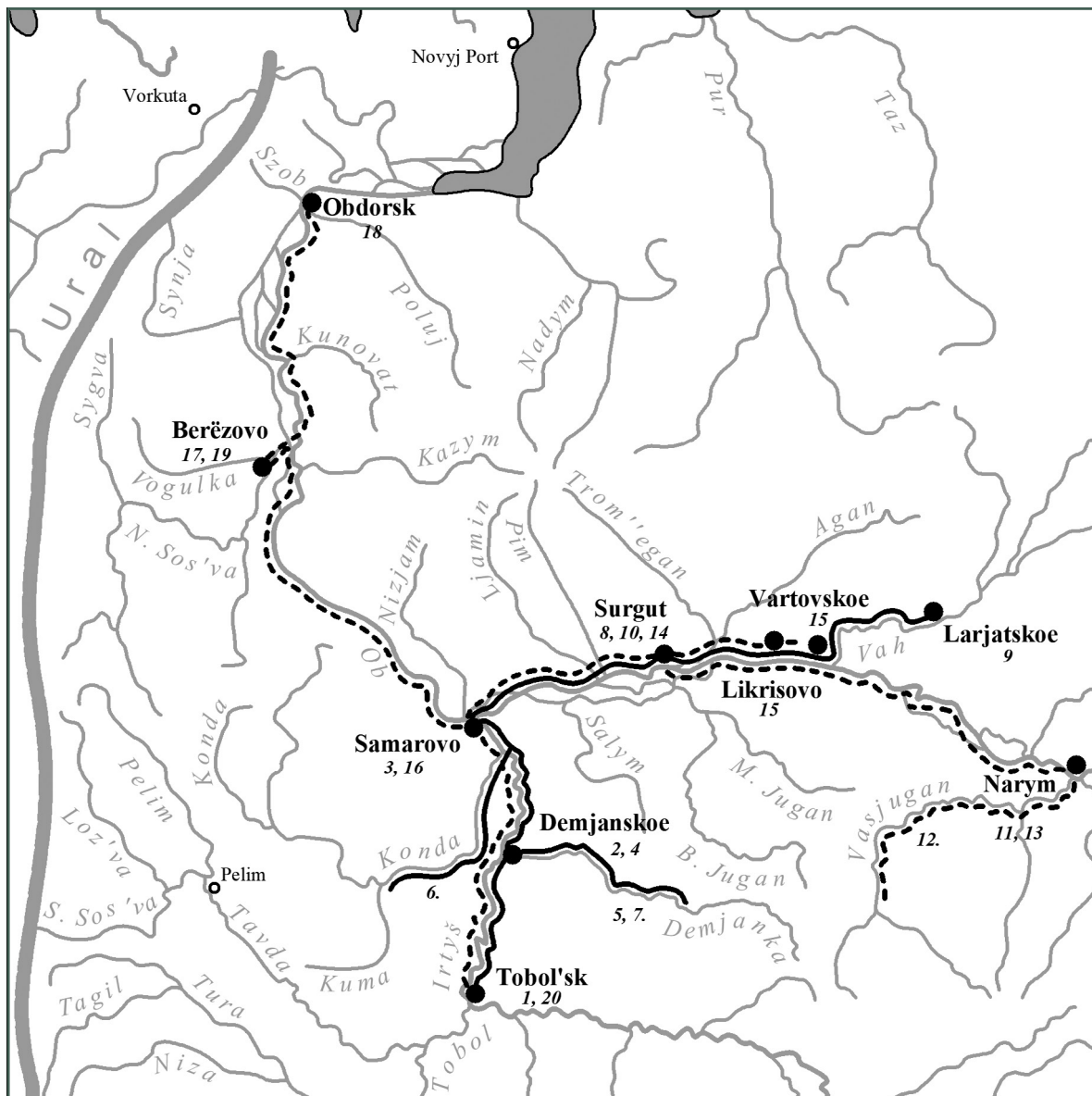


Figure 1: Karjalainen's route

● settlements where data was collected
 3, 16 the order in which the settlements were visited

1. Tobol'sk (4 June 1898 – July 1898)
2. Demjanskoe (late July 1898 – a couple of days)
3. Samarovo (late July 1898 – a couple of days)
4. Demjanskoe (late July 1898)
5. The area around Demjanka (late July 1898 – February 1899)
6. The area around Konda (February 1899 – 13 April 1899)
7. The area around Demjanka (13 April 1899 – late May 1899)
8. Surgut (7 July 1899 – 12 July 1899)
9. Larjatskoe (late July 1899 – 27 November 1899)
10. Surgut (10 December 1899 – 22 March 1900)

— First Expedition - - - Second Expedition

11. Narym (27 June 1900 – a couple of days)
12. Vasjugan (June 1900 – early September 1900)
13. Narym (September 1900)
14. Surgut (early October 1900 – July 1901)
15. Upper Ob (April 1901)
16. Samarovo (August 1901 – 10 September 1901)
17. Berëzovo (early October 1901 – March 1902)
18. Obdorsk (16 March 1902 – late April 1902)
19. Berëzovo (late April 1902 – early July 1902)
20. Tobol'sk (August 1902)

1.4. Assessing Karjalainen's expedition

Having returned to Finland, the young scholar wrote his final report that was published in the journal of the Finno-Ugrian Society (JSFOu XXI/6: 5–7). In this account he divided the material he collected into the following five groups: vocabularies, folklore texts, mythological data, sound recordings, and demographic data. He gave the following appraisal of his fieldwork:

Concerning my acquisitions, I can summarize them briefly by recounting that I have eight larger and eight smaller word lists, the latter mainly from the so-called transitional dialects. [...]

The collection of folklore texts took a back seat to the collection of lexical material. In this respect, I tried to follow a practical approach by collecting a song or a tale or something similar from each of the dialects as an exemplar of the given variant. It is certain that some kind of folk poetry is ubiquitous among the Ostyaks, but it is difficult to take down for various reasons.

Naturally, an Ostyak does not readily give information about his beliefs and his old but partly still surviving religious customs. However, I managed to acquire such knowledge in certain fields that sheds new light on the basis of the beliefs of the Ostyaks compared to the earlier accounts. [...]

I managed to make voice recordings of some of the tunes used by the Ostyaks by means of a phonograph. [...]

I paid attention to statistical data about the population, but in this respect I did not always have access to manuscript sources.¹⁰

10. Matkasaaliista voin lyhyesti mainita, että minulla on kahdeksan suurempaa sanakokoelmaa, sekä kahdeksan pienempää, viimeainitut etupäässä n. s. ylimenomurteiden alalta. [...]

Kansanrunouden kerääminen on sanastotyön laajuuden tähden saanut jäädä syrjään. Olen siinä suhteessa pitänyt silmällä vastaisuudessa mahdollista käytännöllistä tarvetta, ja sen mukaan joka alueelta olen koettanut saada jonkun sadun, laulun t. m. s. kielennäytteeksi. Että kansanrunoutta ostjakeilla on jonkunverran kaikkialla, on varma, mutta se on monesta syystä vaikeasti kirjalle saatavaa.

Luonnollisista syistä ei ostjaksi ole halukas antamaan tietoja uskomuksistaan ja vanhoista, osaksi nytkin käytännössä olevista uskonnollisista tavoistaan. Eri alueilta olen kuitenkin saanut tietoja, jotka esittävät ostjakin maailmankatsomuskannan osaksi toisessa valossa, kun miksi sitä ennen on esitetty. [...]

Ostjakkien käyttämiä laulusävelmiä olen grafofoonilla jonkunverran saanut kootuksi. [...]

Tilastollisiin tietoihin väkiluvunsuhteista olen myöskin pannut huomiota, vaikkakin siinä suhteessa en aina ole onnistunut julkaisemattomia lähteitä käyttämään. (Matkakertomus ostjakkien maalta IV. JSFOu XXI/6: 5–7).

From the excerpts above it becomes evident that Karjalainen attached primary importance to the collection of lexical data. This is understandable, as he was commissioned first and foremost with this task by the Finno-Ugrian Society. As he died relatively young (at the age of 48), he did not have enough time to publish this huge collection. After his death the Finno-Ugrian Society delegated the task of assessing and publishing Karjalainen's legacy to Yrjö Heikki Toivonen (1890–1956). Toivonen worked on the editing of the dictionary for decades, carrying out this job in addition to his other tasks, as he was also a lecturer at the University of Helsinki since 1923, Professor of Finno-Ugric linguistics between 1934 and 1948, and an editor of the Finnish etymological dictionary as an associate of the Suomen Suku research institute as well from 1930. The *Ostjakische Wörterbuch*, amounting to 1199 pages in two volumes, was finally published in 1948. This was the most comprehensive Khanty dictionary for a long time and covers the lexicon of each Khanty dialect. This was also the basis of Wolfgang Steinitz's etymological and dialectological dictionary (DEWOS), the preparation and publication of which took several decades.

Karjalainen himself found the amount of folklore material he had collected to be too meager. He did not manage to get hold of folklore texts from each dialect. Similarly to the view expressed by Paasonen in his letter written to Otto Donner cited above, Karjalainen himself realized that collecting folk poetry would require more time. When Toivonen assessed Karjalainen's legacy, he found that there are items of folklore collections from the southern dialects (Demjanka, Cingala, Sotnikovskija, Krasnojarsk) and also from some of the eastern dialects (Vasjugan, Tremjugan, Likrisovo), whereas there are only a few pages available from the northern dialects (KT 016–017). According to Yrjö Wichmann, Toivonen did not wish to publish these texts. We have information about this from a letter written to József Pápay: "He [Karjalainen] does not have many texts, and there is no translation for them. Toivonen does not want to publish them."¹¹ This letter was written on 30 May 1925, showing that the assessment of Karjalainen's legacy started shortly after his death.

We have further information from Edith Vértes concerning the unwillingness of the Finno-Ugrian Society to publish these texts. She wrote as follows:

[Karjalainen and Paasonen] collected items of folklore poetry only as a corpus for linguistic research, in order to be able to interpret words in a more precise, more reliable manner.

11. "Tekstejä hänelläkään [Karjalaisella] ei ole paljo ja nekin ovat ilman käännöstä, Toivonen ei aio niitä ruveta julkaisemaan" Yrjö Wichmann's letter to József Pápay, Helsinki, 31 May 1925. (Pápay & Fazekas 1934: 038.)

Neither these researchers nor the researchers entrusted with their legacy mention the publication of these texts – perhaps they had not intended to do so, either. It was only Hungarian Finno-Ugric scholars' hunger for Ob-Ugric material that finally induced the Finno-Ugric Society of Helsinki to publish these short and seemingly insignificant southern and eastern Ostyak text collections. (Vértes & T. Lovas 1986: 23)

The southern Khanty linguistic material is not even that small, consisting of about 20,000 words. Vértes published these with translations in a volume covering 256 pages (Karjalainen & Vértes 1975).

Karjalainen also experienced severe difficulties associated with the collection of data concerning religious beliefs. Still, he returned with an immensely rich material that served as a basis for his monumental monograph (1918) that was published as the third volume of the series *Suomen suvun uskonnot* (Religious Beliefs of the Finno-Ugric Peoples) across 601 pages. In this monograph he enriches the observations in previous literature with his own observations that expand, fine-tune, or revise earlier findings. Reading this monograph reveals that Karjalainen used his text collections as well. There are many instances of quoting the near-translations of prayers and oaths and the content of mythical songs from his own collection.¹² Ultimately, the collection of folklore poetry did not serve only linguistic purposes. We can also learn from this volume why Karjalainen did not supplement his Khanty text collections with translations: the reason for this is that he understood these texts, and he did not think that the task of publishing them would be incumbent on someone else.

The scores and analyses of the tunes that were recorded with a phonograph were published in two volumes by Armas Otto Väisänen in two volumes (in 1937 and 1939, together with Artturi Kannisto's recording from among the Mansi people).

Karjalainen made (or had other people make) copies of the registers of parishes at several places. Later he supplemented these with the help of his informants, asking for the Khanty names of the villages, the nicknames, and the family relationships of the inhabitants. He paid special attention to the shamans, keepers of the cultural and religious heritage. All these lists survive in manuscript form to this day and it is only possible to study them in the National Archives of Finland (Kansallisarkisto). The lists collected by Artturi Kannisto among the Mansi fared better, as these were made accessible for research by Jorma Nevalainen (Kannisto & Nevalainen 1969).

12. I shall give the exact location of each of these translations alongside the publication of the texts themselves.

The photos made by Karjalainen are kept in the Picture Collection of the Finnish Heritage Agency (Museovirasto). Some of these were made public (Lehtinen & Kukkonen 1980). Karjalainen was not commissioned to collect artifacts, but he bought and was gifted artifacts during his travels, especially such objects that had ritual functions. The Finnish National Museum bought a collection of 36 items from his heirs after his death, and this collection has been held there ever since (Lehtinen 2002a: 37; 2002b: 37).

Karjalainen did not refer distinctly to this in his final report, but he did make a significant amount of notes on grammatical phenomena. He wrote fairly detailed descriptions of the morphology of five southern (DN, DT, Ts, Sav, Kr) and three eastern (V, Vj, Trj) dialects, and he made notes on syntactic phenomena as well. He collected less data about the northern (Ni, Kaz, Obd) dialects. All these notes were published by Edith Vértés after the Finno-Ugrian Society commissioned her to publish the legacy of Karjalainen and Paasonen. The notes on grammar were published first (Karjalainen & Vértés 1964; Paasonen & Vértés 1965), and these were followed by the publication of texts (Karjalainen & Vértés 1975; Paasonen & Vértés 1980, 2001).

Karjalainen made observations on ethnographic and sociological phenomena throughout his journey, and he summarized his findings in his travel reports. These descriptions give an accurate picture of the lifestyle, settlement forms, economic activities, family relationships, health conditions, and relationships with the neighboring ethnic groups of the different Khanty groups. These are important documents of life around the river Ob in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A portion of the travel reports was later published in a separate volume (Karjalainen 1983).

Karjalainen's phonetic notes constitute a distinct group and amount to 93 pages (KT 017). Besides providing a thorough description of the individual sounds, Karjalainen also took notes on the personal data of his informants in the beginning of his fieldwork, but during the expedition he paid less and less attention to phonetics and – to our greatest sorrow – to providing ample information about his informants. It is easy to understand why the amount of phonetic notes diminished: the fieldworker got used to the Khanty language, and he also developed a routine in transcription during the months of his stay. The notes on the Southern dialects take 31 pages, while 20 pages are dedicated to the VVj dialect. The Trj dialect – which, incidentally, is at the forefront when it comes to the lexical collection – is represented only by remarks concerning the pronunciation of certain words. As opposed to this, Karjalainen discusses the phonetic features of the Likr variant over 35 pages (we will return to the reasons for this in connection with the Likr texts in Section 4.1). He did not make notes on the phonology of the northern dialects. Karjalainen built on these notes in his later works on historical phonology, and the editor

of the posthumous dictionary, Y. H. Toivonen presumably built on these as well when working out the principles of transcription (KT 024–031). Perhaps this explains why nobody considered it necessary to publish these notes separately.

If we try to evaluate the work of these two Finnish researchers retrospectively, we have to state that they recorded data that would have been inevitably lost without their work, or would have stayed unknown forever. Concerning the southern (Irtyš) dialect, M. A. Castrén reported on it earlier (1849; 1858) and Serafim Patkanov published significant amounts of folklore texts and a synthesis of grammar as well (Patkanow & Fuchs 1911). Yet the collections of Karjalainen and Paasonen are far more accurate and reliable from a linguistic point of view, owing to the expertise of these fieldworkers. Furthermore, they were the last to document southern Khanty data, as these dialects became extinct during the following decades. The language shift was probably complete by the middle of the 20th century. Only those people speak Khanty along the banks of the Irtyš and its tributaries who moved there later from the vicinity of the river Jugan, that is, they are speakers of an eastern dialect.

These two Finnish researchers played an important role in the documentation of the eastern dialects as well: the characteristics of the V, Vj, Trj variants as spoken at the beginning of the 20th century are accessible only through their notes. During the next five decades there was hardly any linguistic fieldwork in this language area. Concerning the Vah dialect, it was N. I. Terěškin who provided up-to-date information (1961), and, partly on the basis of his publications, János Gulya (1966). Perhaps owing to the peripheral situation of this area, there have not been any researchers who conducted fieldwork there ever since. Except for the investigations carried out by A. Ju. Fil'čenko, the Vasjugan dialect became extinct without being thoroughly documented. One of the reasons for the extinction is the fact that this area is outside even the periphery: instead of Tjumen' Oblast', it belongs to Tomsk Oblast'. Another reason for this is the establishment of detention camps in this territory, leading to a radical and unfavorable change in the demographic makeup of the area, which, in turn, starkly restricted the use of the mother tongue (Nagy 2011b).

The northern dialects took a back seat in Karjalainen's fieldwork. It seems as if the pace of his work slowed down during the last year of his expedition. It is possible that he did not have enough energy left to learn a new language thoroughly – it is well known that the differences between the Khanty dialects are large enough to hinder communication, as observed by Paasonen as well in his letter quoted above (Section 1.3). It can also be the case that Karjalainen considered the documentation of the northern dialects already secured by the Hungarian travelers Antal Reguly and József Pápay,

who had been there earlier, and by the missionary school of Obdorsk. Karjalainen could not know what we know now: in retrospect, he proved to be absolutely right. It was far more important to carry out thorough fieldwork in the southern and eastern areas, for this work proved to be a unique opportunity to save linguistic data for posterity. At present, the northern dialects are, on one hand, the most vital ones and, on the other, the most researched ones. Besides the collections of Reguly and Pápay, the research of Wolfgang Steinitz also enriched our knowledge of these dialects first and foremost. He met students stemming mostly from the northern areas during the 1930s, and his expedition was also carried out there in 1935. Then in the 1990s it turned out that the so-called national intelligentsia of the Khanty would stem from the northern group: they are the ones who actively preserve their mother tongue and the culture associated with it.

1.5. Karjalainen's Eastern Khanty text collection

In his foreword to Karjalainen's posthumous dictionary, Yrjö Toivonen gave an overview of the texts in Karjalainen's legacy as well (KT 016–017).¹³ According to Toivonen's overview, the Eastern dialects are represented by 77 pages of Vasjugan texts, 7 pages of Likrisovo texts, and 77 pages of Tremjugan Khanty texts. Toivonen also mentions that these pages are quartos ("in quart-format"), corresponding to A5 paper size in modern terms. Before embarking on the publication of these texts, let us have a look at Karjalainen's manuscript.

Within the area where Eastern Khanty is spoken, it was the town of Surgut where Karjalainen recorded the first texts in December 1899 from an informant hailing from the banks of the Trom"egan (as Karjalainen put it, the Tremjugan) River, immediately after his expedition to the Vah River. He divided the texts into three groups: there are three bear-feast songs in the first group, the second group contains an unfinished heroic song, and the third group consists of short oaths, prayers, and 25 riddles with their Finnish translations. The latter are written down once again on a separate page with a slightly different transcription and translation. Within the first group, the first two songs are dated (9 and 10 December 1899, respectively), and Karjalainen also added the informant's name: Al. Kētšəmep.¹⁴

13. I have assigned a code to each text of Karjalainen's collection (Trj1, Trj2, ... Vj1, Vj2..., etc.) so that I could refer to each item precisely in the glossaries and the notes as well. I will use these codes in this section as well.

14. Concerning the circumstances under which the data was collected, see Section 2.1 on the Tremjugan texts.

Table 1: Length of Tremjugan texts

Code	Title/genre	Page number in the manuscript	Number of lines	Number of words	Number of characters
Trj1	Song for waking the bear I	1–6	103	209	1346
Trj2	Song for waking the bear II	7–15	154	416	2602
Trj3	Bear-feast song	16–32	284	525	3328
Trj4	Heroic song	33–69	646	1322	8239
Trj5	Oaths and prayers	70–73	36	143	871
Trj6	Riddles	73–79	25	223	1443
Total:				2838	17,829

Karjalainen worked around the banks of the Vasjugan River during the summer of 1900, from June until September. He recorded a lengthy heroic tale, a song that was composed under the influence of fly-agaric, and seven shorter lyrics. He also mentions the names of two of his informants, one of them a local headman (*starosta*), Ivan Madykov, the other a man hailing from the yurts of Jurlomkin, Isidor Vasil'evič Jurlomgin.

Table 2: Length of the Vasjugan texts

Code	Title/Genre	Page number in the manuscript	Number of lines	Number of words	Number of characters
Vj1	Heroic tale	1–50	1017	4929	31,655
Vj2	Fly-agaric song	51–70	379	1558	9344
Vj3	Individual song I	71–72	35	335	2068
Vj4	Individual song II	72–73	30		
Vj5	Individual song III	74–75	29		
Vj6	Cradle song	75–76	22		
Vj7	Individual song IV	76	6		
Vj8	Bear song for children	77–78	27	355	2150
Vj9	The beginning of a heroic song	79–82	57		
Total:		82	1602	7177	45,217

Likrisovo was a settlement with a population of 18 people, located on the bank of the Ob River at the eastern border of the Surgut District. Karjalainen worked here during the spring of 1901, when he went on a horse-drawn sleigh ride for a few weeks with the help of the chief constable of Surgut. He took his informant back with him to Surgut at the end of this trip. It is possible that he recorded the lyrics then as well.¹⁵

Table 3: Length of the Likrisovo texts

Code	Title/Genre	Page number in the manuscript	Number of lines	Number of words	Number of characters
Likr1	Bear-feast song	1–2	22	302	1919
Likr2	Hunter’s song	2–3	15		
Likr3	Hunter’s song	3–4	14		
Likr4	Song to the Fire Goddess	4–5	19		
Likr5	The song of the crane	5–7	21		
Total:		7	91	302	1919

The entire manuscript consists of 10,317 words, 64,965 characters with spaces.

1.6. Technical aspects of editing

Principles of transcription

Karjalainen aimed at documenting the texts he heard as precisely as possible phonetically throughout his fieldwork. In order to do so, he used the transcription that was applied generally to other Finno-Ugric languages at the end of the 19th century. The caretakers of his legacy, Y. H. Toivonen and Edith Vértés endeavored to reproduce every handwritten symbol in print as well. Edith Vértés sought to reconstruct Karjalainen’s working methods in a detailed analysis (1984), and she dedicated a separate volume to the topic of Southern Khanty transcription, with a special focus on transcription errors (1997a). The majority of the notes concerning the Southern Khanty texts also pertained to the written form of the manuscript (2004).

15. Concerning the circumstances of data collection, see Section 4.1 on the Likrisovo texts.

However, by the early 21st century, when one has the opportunity to make manuscripts electronically available,¹⁶ it is no longer an objective of a printed edition to display each and every tiny detail of a manuscript. We base our editorial work on all the knowledge that has been accumulated during the last decades concerning the phonemic system of the Khanty dialects. Therefore, we transcribe Karjalainen's originally phonetic transcription into a phonemic transcription, in the hope that by doing so, it will prove to be a more easily accessible source of information for linguists and folklorists.

When Karjalainen returned from his expedition, he started to work on his doctoral dissertation entitled *Zur ostjakischen Lautgeschichte I: Über den Vokalismus der ersten Silbe* (1904) immediately. This work served as a starting point for the research that led to our present-day knowledge and to the tables below. The phoneme systems that will be described here are based on (among others) the observations of Wolfgang Steinitz (1950; 1980), László Honti (1982a; 1984a; 1999), N. I. Terěškin (1961; 1981), and on my own field experience.¹⁷

The vowel system of word-initial syllables has always contained more phonemes than the vowel system of non-initial syllables, therefore we will describe these two systems separately.

Table 4: Vowel system of word-initial syllables in the Tremjugan dialect

	Long				Short			
	Back		Front		Back		Front	
	rounded	unr.	rounded	unr.	rounded	unr.	rounded	unr.
High	<i>u</i>	<i>ɨ</i>		<i>i</i>			<i>ũ</i>	
Mid	<i>o</i>			<i>e</i>	<i>õ</i>		<i>õ</i>	<i>ə</i>
Low	<i>ɑ</i>			<i>ɑ</i>		<i>ǎ</i>		<i>ǎ</i>

Table 5: The vowel system of word-initial syllables in the Vasjugan dialect

	Long				Short			
	Back		Front		Back		Front	
	rounded	unr.	rounded	unr.	rounded	unr.	rounded	unr.
High	<i>u</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>i</i>			<i>ũ</i>	
Mid	<i>o</i>		<i>ö</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>õ</i>		<i>õ</i>	<i>ə</i>
Low	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ä</i>		<i>ǎ</i>		

16. The original manuscripts of Karjalainen's Eastern Khanty text collection are available alongside the online version of this book at <<https://doi.org/10.33341/sus.22>>.

17. We do not describe the special features of the phonology of the Likrisovo dialect here. Information concerning this can be found in Section 4.2.

The above-quoted authors usually distinguish two main categories of vowels: full vowels and reduced vowels. I shall use the long : short distinction, and I only recognize one reduced vowel pair, namely a/\hat{a} . Therefore, it would be more logical if I used the grapheme \check{e} for the front unrounded mid vowel appearing in the first syllable. However, Karjalainen used the grapheme a to represent this phoneme, and so did I in my previous works, similarly to the majority of researchers. The publications published in Russia also follow this practice.

Concerning the short front labial vowels (\check{o} , \check{u}), the system presented above differs from Steinitz's and Honti's descriptions. These two researchers (Steinitz 1950: 32; Honti 1984a: 20) considered these two vowels to be more open in the Tremjugan dialect. As for the more open vowel of these two (written as \check{o} by me and as $\check{ö}$ by Honti), Steinitz claims that it is more likely an allophone, as it appears rarely and only in a given phonetic context (after k and w). László Fejes shares this opinion (2007; 2008). When opting for representing the vowels \check{o} , \check{u} as separate phonemes, I based my decision partly on the Surgut Khanty alphabet developed by N. I. Terëškin and partly on my own experience. When listening to the informants during fieldwork, I perceived the vowel written as \check{u} being close, and the vowel written as \check{o} being a bit more open along the Tromagan, and close-mid along the Jugan.

Concerning the vowel system of the Vasjugan dialect, each description considers it to be the same as the vowel system of the Vah dialect. These reckon with only one short front rounded vowel written as \check{o} (Steinitz 1950: 26; Terëškin 1961: 9; Gulya 1966: 23; Honti 1984a: 19). As opposed to this, I have continued to use the grapheme \check{u} , as this seems to be unambiguously and consistently distinguished from \check{o} by Karjalainen.

In the table above we also distinguish mid (o , \ddot{o}) and open (ϱ , $\ddot{\varrho}$) long rounded vowels. This distinction is first found in Karjalainen's works, and it is relevant also from the point of view of historical phonology. There are some minimal pairs that only differ with respect to these sounds ($k\varrho s$ 'star', $k\ddot{o}s$ 'twenty'), which clearly demonstrates that these are separate phonemes. Steinitz and his students also distinguished these two sounds in their works (DEWOS).¹⁸ However, the practice in Russia is different: Terëškin and his followers do not use a distinct grapheme to mark the open rounded vowel, and thus in their transcription, the words 'star' and 'twenty' appear as homonyms ($k\varrho s$).

18. As a matter of fact, Karjalainen did not mark consistently the mid status of o and \ddot{o} , therefore I made corrections on the basis of DEWOS whenever it was necessary. In addition, the grapheme used by Karjalainen to mark the mid o of the Vasjugan dialect (ϱ) is transcribed as \check{o} in the Trj data of DEWOS.

Table 6: Vowel system of non-initial syllables in the Tremjugan dialect

	Full		Reduced	
	Back	Front	Back	Front
High	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>i</i>		
Mid	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>ə</i>
Low	<i>a</i>	<i>ä</i>		

Table 7: Vowel system of non-initial syllables in the Vasjugan dialect

	Full		Reduced	
	Back	Front	Back	Front
High	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>i</i>		
Mid			<i>ê</i>	<i>ə</i>
Low	<i>a</i>	<i>ä</i>		

It is apparent from Tables 6 and 7 that vowel harmony was found in both dialects in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The vowels of non-initial syllables matched the backness of the initial syllable, therefore each vowel had a front and a back variant. The mid vowels only appeared in suffixes: the vowels *e*, *ɛ*, for instance, in the second person, objective conjugation form of the imperative paradigm of the Tremjugan dialect.

In the Vasjugan dialect, the vowels *o/ö* appear in the Ablative suffix, and in the 1PL possessive and verb agreement suffixes. The Trj dialect features *-o-* in the marker of the passive voice, while the Vj dialect features *-u-*. Naturally, compounds allow for disharmony.

Table 8: Consonant system of the Tremjugan dialect

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Cacumi- nal	Palatal	Velar	Labio- velar
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>tʰ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k_o</i>
Fricatives	<i>w</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>j</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ɣ_o</i>
Affricates			<i>č</i>			
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ_o</i>
Lateral fricatives		<i>ɬ</i>		<i>ɬ</i>		
Lateral approximant			<i>l</i>			
Trill			<i>r</i>			

Table 9: Consonant system of the Vasjugan dialect

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Cacumi- nal	Palatal	Velar
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>t'</i>	<i>k</i>
Fricatives	<i>w</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>j</i>	<i>ɣ</i>
Affricates			<i>č</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ'</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Lateral approximants		<i>l</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'</i>	
Trill			<i>r</i>		

The established practice in Russia distinguishes the two variants of Eastern Khanty *k* in writing, these variants appearing in complementary distribution (one of them appearing before front, the other before back vowels). I followed the same practice in my Surgut Khanty publications, earlier using the graphemes *k/ḳ*, and more recently the graphemes *k/q*, although I acknowledge that these sounds are not separate phonemes, only allophones of the same phoneme. Karjalainen did not mark the difference between these two *k* sounds in his manuscript. In the dictionary (KT) Toivonen applied the combining left arrowhead below the character *k* (*ḳ*), indicating that the consonant is postvelar, but DEWOS does not follow the same practice. Words with an initial velar or postvelar can be found at separate places in both dictionaries, however, as the postvelar *k* became a fricative in the southern and the northern dialects. The sound *χ* is a distinct phoneme in these dialects, and therefore it requires a separate section in the alphabetical order applied by the dictionaries. In the present publication – following the original transcription developed by Karjalainen – I do not mark the postvelar allophone.

The consonant inventories of the Trj and the Vj dialects differ, on the one hand, in the set of lateral sounds (Trj: lateral fricatives *ɬ*, *ɬ'*, Vj: lateral approximants *l*, *l'*) and, on the other hand, in the presence of a set of labiovelar consonants in Trj. From the point of view of historical linguistics, these sounds emerged in an environment where the corresponding forms of the VVj dialects feature a labial vowel before the sounds *k*, *ɣ*, *ŋ*, e.g. VVj *jök-* ~ Trj *jek-* ‘dance’, VVj *öyi* ~ Trj *äyoi* ‘girl’, VVj *jöŋ* ~ Trj *jeŋ* ‘ten’.

Karjalainen marked the cacuminal *ɲ* relatively consistently, therefore I retain the marker of this feature. Recent descriptions of the Khanty consonant inventory do not consider *ɲ* to be a distinct phoneme.

The consonant inventories of the V and Vj dialects consist of the same sounds, but the frequency of some phonemes differs, as some of the word-initial

l- phonemes of the V dialect correspond to a word-initial *j*- or a vowel in the Vj dialect. These are the words that had a word-initial **s*-/**š*- in Proto-Uralic/Proto-Finno-Ugric (Honti 1982b: 121).

Karjalainen marked the place of articulation of dental consonants (Vj *l*, Trj *l*, Vj, Trj *n*, *r*, *t*) more precisely with the use of the combining left and right arrowheads below the letters (*l* or *l*). As this is not a distinctive feature of the given sounds, I have omitted these markers.

Karjalainen also marked the aspirated articulation of stops (*p*, *t*, *k*) with an apostrophe above the letters, but I omitted marking this feature as well.

Markers of certain phonetic features in the manuscript

Y. H. Toivonen gathered the diacritics used by Karjalainen in the preface to the dictionary (KT 024–031). In the following I summarize the essence of this. The transcription tables (26, 27, 28) can be found in the Appendix (pp. 465–466).

The following diacritics are used with vowels:

- to mark that the vowel is long: macron
- to mark half-long vowels: grave
- both markers: the length of the vowel varied, the informant pronounced it sometimes as long, sometimes as half-long;
- grave in parenthesis: the vowel was generally short in the informant's pronunciation, but sometimes it also occurred as half-long;
- short vowels were marked with a combining inverted breve below;¹⁹
- the front feature of a vowel is marked either with an overdot/umlaut or with the combining right arrowhead;
- the back feature is marked either with a combining breve below or with the combining left arrowhead in the case of the letters *e* and *i*;
- the combining circumflex accent below marks that a given vowel is more close; theoretically, this diacritic should appear below the letters *o*/*ö* marking mid vowels in Vj, but Karjalainen often omits this marker;
- word-final and suffix-final reduced vowels were neutral with respect to vowel harmony. Karjalainen transcribed these with the letter *ε* (e.g. LOC *-nε*, TRA *-yε*, PTC.PRS *-tε*). In the present text edition I substitute this marker with the marker of the reduced vowel that harmonizes with the backness of the stem (*a*/*â*).

19. In the present text edition I only mark short vowels, and long vowels are unmarked according to the traditions of Khanty transcription.

Tremjugan riddles (Trj6, pp. 158–163) are documented in two versions in Karjalainen’s legacy. The transcription of the variant that is independent of the manuscript package differs from the transcription used in the manuscript in several respects.

Marking consonants:

- gemination is marked with the combining macron below;
- Karjalainen used the combining left and right arrowheads below (η , η) to mark the place of articulation of dental consonants (t , n , l , l) more precisely; I have omitted these diacritics;
- Karjalainen marked the occasional aspiration of plosives (p , t , k) with a reversed apostrophe above the given letter (\acute{p}). Therefore, there were instances of the letter t where there was a diacritic both above and below the letter. I omitted these markers.
- Occasionally, Karjalainen put either a vertical bar below or a circle next to the letter l in the Vj texts. I could not decipher the meaning of these symbols.
- the velar voiced fricative γ becomes voiceless before a voiceless consonant and in word-final position; Karjalainen marked this with the letter χ . I use the grapheme γ in these cases as well.
- Karjalainen usually marks the Trj labiovelar consonants with a short superscript u before the given letter (uk , ${}^u\gamma$, ${}^u\eta$). I substituted these with other characters (k_o , γ_o , η_o), the use of which became general after Karjalainen’s time.
- To mark the syllabic consonants l/t , n , η , Karjalainen doubled the given letter and put a ring under the first of them (ηn). I have substituted the underring with the letter marking the palatal or velar reduced vowel ($\hat{a}n/\hat{a}n$, depending on the backness of the environment).

The publishers of manuscript legacies always need to keep it in mind that if authors would have published their collection themselves, they would certainly have made changes with respect to the transcription method, either by making it more homogeneous and consistent or by employing new markers. The task of making the text more homogeneous and consistent fell to the publisher of the legacy, who is by no means infallible, but tries to proceed according to the best of her knowledge.

Karjalainen’s mistakes

In the present edition I will correct those mistakes of Karjalainen that are unambiguous due to inattention. I have left these corrections unmarked: I did not wish to make the Khanty text more difficult to interpret, or to increase the number of notes. Therefore, I made corrections without any marking if

the mid feature of the sounds *o*, *ö* had been unmarked; if the diacritic of the letter *u* marking the bilabial fricative had been omitted; and also when the [+ backness] of the vowel (*â*, *î*) remains unmarked in a subsequent syllable where the preceding syllables featured back vowels.²⁰

In the case of the Vj word *əllə* ‘big’, the gemination of the consonant is sometimes marked, sometimes unmarked. I consider this to be a transcription error similarly to the other cases of omitting a diacritic, and I have corrected them without any further remarks. In certain instances, there are corrections given in square brackets (marked with *ɔ*:) in the texts.

Transcription of phonotactic features

Karjalainen applied two different methods to mark consonant elision in the Vasjuga texts. In the case of a consonant cluster, the elision of the second consonant is marked by a subscript *v* next to the first consonant. As my orthography is etymology-based, I insert the elided consonant in square brackets in order to ease the interpretation of the text for the reader. However, this subscript *v* can also mark devoicing and these cases are left unmarked in the transcription. That is, I omit the subscript *v* similarly to any other diacritic that marks a non-phonemic feature.

In the manuscript:

torâm jəyəmnə ärəy tuntay mań_v tuntay min_v nula pär_vkäl

In the present transcription:

torâm jəyəmnə ärəy tuntay mań[t'] tuntay min[t] nula pär[t]käl

‘My father God ordered us to bring song(s), bring tale(s)’ (Vj1/287–289)

If consonant elision happens in a word-final position after a vowel, Karjalainen marked the lack of the consonant with a superscript *c*-like symbol. In certain cases this can also mark aspiration, a glottal stop, or the gemination of the initial consonant of the following word.

In the manuscript:

karmanoy nu^c wəsim juŋ_v kəlâm sa^c pötj wäy möyər

In the present transcription:

karmanoy nu[k] wəsim juŋ[k] kəlâm sa[t] pötj wäy möyər

‘From my pocket, I have taken out the ghost’s three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon’ (Vj1/424–426)

20. Except for those cases when the shift in backness is probably characteristic of the language of the songs. I mark such cases with [!] (p. 55 in Section 2.2 and the notes to lines 51–52 of Trj3).

In the Tremjugan texts Karjalainen marks consonant elision uniformly with a superscript *c*.

In the manuscript:

moγ!ε^c kũñ^cpi mo^ckuj nõγâs

In the present transcription:

moγ!ε[η] kũñ[č̣]pi mo[k]kuj nõγâs

‘a male sable cub with bent claws’ (Trj4/118–119)

According to the principles of an etymologically based orthography, I also insert in square brackets the vowels that were elided due to prosodic reasons. In songs, the word-final vowel is elided if the next sound has a word-initial vowel, e.g. *kân ik[i] árəγ* ‘the prince’s song’, *məñn[ə] imai* ‘we sat down’ (Trj4). I also insert the (reduced) vowels that were elided in non-initial syllables due to prosodic reasons, e.g. Trj *ən[ə]λ* ‘big’, Vj *jäw[ə]t* ‘seven’.

I follow an etymology-based orthography also in those cases when the word-final consonant would assimilate to the word-initial consonant of the next sound: Trj *kāntâ^c ko* ‘Khanty man’, pronunciation: *kāntāk ko*, written form: *kāntâ[γ] ko*.

Issues pertaining to punctuation

Karjalainen rarely used punctuation marks such as the comma or period. In order to facilitate the segmentation and interpretation of sentences, I will insert periods in square brackets at the end of sentences. In certain instances Karjalainen did mark the end of a sentence with a dash (–). In such cases, I substitute this with a period without the square brackets. In those cases when the use of commas seems to be important for the interpretation of the text, I also add these in square brackets, but I have tried not to overload the transcription with brackets.

Further markers in the manuscript

Karjalainen underlined certain words and phrases, perhaps those for which he needed further explanation. These underlined segments are sometimes accompanied by marginal notes, but there are underlined expressions without any further comments. These must have been important for him for some other reason, or he simply did not get an explanation for the given segment. I have omitted underlining from the transcribed version, but these can be found in the manuscript.

Karjalainen sometimes abbreviated frequently occurring expressions by using the initial letters of the words. I completed these using square brackets, e.g. *jäwt ärəy j. m. s. k.: jäw[ə]t ärəy j[əwət] m[ánt'] s[äyāw] k[öl]* ‘word having the melody of seven songs, seven tales’ (Vj1/92).

In those texts that were performed as songs, Karjalainen used a bar to mark the end of the line in those cases when the last syllables of a word (usually a verb) got segmented to the next line. I have retained this marking in transcription, e.g. *är kǎñčǎ mǎñnǎ wǎřǎn|tǎli* ‘we made many embroideries’ (Trj4/95–96).

In the original performance, the second line starting with the verb was probably filled with meaningless syllables so that the number of the syllables of the lines of the melody and that of the lines of the text would match (Csepregi 1997a: 68; 1997c; 2009b: 28). During dictation, these filler syllables are omitted by the informants, therefore there are no such syllables in the texts.

Karjalainen’s marginal notes

Karjalainen supplemented some of the texts with explanations written in Finnish and Russian, probably during the reviewing phase. These were written on the relatively wide margins. In most instances these explanations or translations appear next to an underlined word or phrase. I suppose Karjalainen’s method of collection probably included a phase when he underlined those expressions in the clear copies which he did not understand, and he asked his informants about these. In the majority of cases, he translated the explanation of the informant on the fly. It also happened that he jotted down the Russian word he heard. In many instances he wrote down mixed Finnish–Russian sentences, e.g.:

выросъ samanlaiseksi

‘he was brought up to be the same as me’ (Vj1/580–581)

hirven askelin – долъгий шагъ

‘with the steps of an elk – a long step’ (Vj1/379)

miten heidän kanssaan будешь обходиться

‘how will you get along with them’ (Vj1/141–142)

Karjalainen added the string *ei nyk.* (probably meaning *ei nykyään* ‘these days not’ or *ei nykykieltä* ‘not from recent language use’) to those words, expressions, or phonetic variants that were obsolete at the end of the 19th century

and only appeared in the language of the songs. In all likelihood, these pieces of information also stem from the informants. In certain instances, the informant also added the corresponding word that was used in the contemporary spoken language, and some phrases are supplemented with the abbreviation *nyk.* ‘contemporary language’.

There occur many words in the texts that were not included in the dictionary (KT). The meaning of these words can be deciphered with the help of these marginal notes, e.g. *jekämtä-* ‘put on’, *koṇâm* ‘wisdom, sense’, *lampäytä-* ‘attack’, etc. An exhaustive list of these words can be found on pp. 191–192 in Section 2.4 and on pp. 424–426 in Section 3.4.

The informants revealed the figurative meaning of some metaphors, which facilitate the interpretation of the songs greatly, e.g. the following ones:

ikäänkuin puuhalko omalla lihallani (ei ole apulaishaltioita)
 ‘with my body, like a log (he has no assistant spirits)’ (Vj1/5)

tiheäsyinen lehtikuusen kanto, sekin halkesi (s.o. hän oli luja mutta sitenkin hänet halkaisin)

‘(it is like) a dense larch trunk, yet it split (in other words, although he was strong, I cut him into two)’ (Vj1/448–449)

äskän syntyneen lapsen itku (jää ritisee)
 ‘a newborn child’s cry (the ice is creaking)’ (Vj1/644)

vasarakätistä viisi metsäläistä takoisivat / kaviot jäähän lyövät
 ‘the five hammer-handed forest-men were hammering / the hoofs kept striking the ice’ (Vj1/646–647)

If only more of these explanations had made it into the margins, it would have eased the work of the publisher greatly. Then again, there are some shorter songs that Karjalainen translated almost word for word, and these translations also appear on the margin (Likr2, Likr3).

Apparently, the informants got weary of providing explanations by the end of the long songs. There are underlined words in the manuscript that lack clarification. The following texts or excerpts of texts feature hardly any or no marginal notes: Vj1/pages 38–50, Vj2, 5–7, 9, Trj1, 3, 4/pages 23–46, Likr4–5.

I publish the marginal notes as footnotes in the text edition, with the literal translation in square brackets.

2. Tremjugan texts

2.1. The circumstances of the data collection

It seems that all of the linguistic material (texts, grammar, and vocabulary) representing the dialect Karjalainen termed Tremjugan stems from a single informant. That is, only a single name appears in the manuscript, at the end of three texts, and this name occurs in two variants: one of the forms is *Al. Kētšämep*, appearing at the end of the second song for waking the bear (Trj2) and at the end of the bear feast song (Trj3); the other variant, *Al. Ketšemep* is found at the end of the heroic song (Trj4). This surname in the form Kečemov or Kečimov is quite frequent among the Trom"egan Khanty. Except for some remarks on the man's attraction to his relatives and to alcohol to be quoted below (also mentioned by Paasonen in his letter to Otto Donner, see Section 1.3), Karjalainen does not provide any information on him.

The full name of Al. Ketšemep can be resolved on the basis of Karjalainen's legacy held in the National Archives of Finland (Kansallisarkisto).²¹ The list of the non-Russian inhabitants of the Sopočin yurts (Сопочинныхъ юрты инородцы) from box No. 282 contains a name, that of Aleksandr Il'in Kečemov (Александръ Ильинъ Кечемовъ), which Karjalainen supplemented with his age (48) and occupation (*kielenkääntäjä*, i.e. 'interpreter, translator'). This man must have been identical to Al. Ketšemep. Karjalainen also collected data from a young man from along the river Agan who, Karjalainen noted, stemmed from the Tremjugan, but his name is unknown.²²

The Tremjugan dialect was named after a right tributary of the Ob, the name of which in Khanty is *tōrəm jāy,ən* (in present-day orthography *tōrəm jāwən*) 'God's river'. This river is known as the Trom"egan/Trom"ėgan (Тромъеган/Тромъėган) in Russian, and this is the name that can be found on the maps as well. As the river Agan joins the Trom"egan shortly before the Trom"egan joins the Ob, the name Trom-Agan/Tromagan is also widespread in present usage (there is also a settlement known as Tromagan at the lower course of the Trom"egan).

21. Wherever Karjalainen turned up, he had copies made of the lists that contained the names of inhabitants or parish members of the given religious or administrative centre. For more details, see Section 1.4.

22. Karjalainen mentioned a younger person besides his informant in his notes on grammar as well (KarjGr 269). Perhaps that refers to the same young man.

The variant Tremjugan stems from Karjalainen (although he used the Tromjugan variant as well), and the material he collected is known in Khanty studies to this day as the Tremjugan variant. After Karjalainen's expedition, almost a century passed without any further information (except for the material of two primers) on this dialect. The next step forward was László Honti's collection from 1976/1977. Between these two points of time the language underwent significant changes. Consequently, the linguistic material that was collected in this region, but at that later time from the second half of the 20th century, is distinguished from the earlier variant by terming the later variant Tromagan (Tra).

Karjalainen collected linguistic material in the town of Surgut, and not in the forest settlements. He traveled through this town several times during his expedition: first when he was on his way to the Vah Khanty in July 1899, and next when he returned from Finland, and traveled to Narym and to the river Vasjugan via Surgut. He stayed for longer in the town twice: for the first time, from December 1899 to 22 March 1900 (between the Vah expedition and his travel to Finland), and, for the second time, he stayed there between October 1900 and July 1901, that is, after collecting materials around the river Vasjugan, and prior to the last phase of his expedition targeting the northern Khanty. During the spring of 1901 he went on a month-long fieldwork journey in the region of the Upper Ob with the help of the Surgut chief constable Jevsejev (the Likrisovo material published in 4.1 is one of the results of this trip), and he also traveled to the Jugan river for a couple of days with Surgut as the starting point.

The first pieces of information about the results of the first phase of collecting in the Tremjugan region can be acquired from Karjalainen's official travel reports that were dated Hamina, 21 May 1900: "I noted down heroic tales, songs, riddles, prayers said at various occasions and phrases as examples. I could not note down the melody of the songs and, occasionally, tales; I'd like to make up for this deficiency in the future" (JSFOu XIX/3: 4).²³ This reveals that Karjalainen started his collection process by noting down the texts (he listed all the genres that occur in the Tremjugan part of the manuscript), and then he worked on collecting lexical material during the second phase that was carried out within a couple of months. He wrote the following to his bride²⁴ on 19 February 1901:

23. Kielelnäytteeksi olen muistiinpannut sankarisatuja, lauluja, arvoituksia sekä eri tiloissa käytettyjä rukouksia ja lauseparsia. Laulujen ja paikottain tavattavia satujen sävelmiä en sitävastoin ole voinut muistiinpanna; tämän vaillinaisuuden toivon voivani vastedes korvata.

24. Elsa Maria Cleve (1878–1939).

I work a lot, because the final checking is yet to come, even though I have already finished working with the man from the Tremjugan. This can easily take a week. According to plan, I will travel to the Upper Ob right after, where I plan to spend about a month. From then on, I will spend a short time at the Jugan, and then at the Lower Ob to find the “linguistic border”. During the thaw period I am going to check my lexical collection from Vah, which I had to lay aside last year because of my illness. There is a man from Vah here, a worker of my host (Karjalainen 1983: 136–137).

He describes the work with the “man from the Tremjugan” on 5 January 1901 as follows:

The work goes well albeit slowly, because naturally my informant feels better in the pub than in my study. Khanty keep coming into Surgut, many of them are “relatives” of my informant who feel compelled to visit me. My informant tells them (partly to please me) that I am a “*jem aiko*” (good young man), and everyone wants to see this rare beast. Naturally, the relatives give my informant something to drink, therefore there are hardly any days on which he would be completely sober. I also gain something from the relatives, as I can listen to different kinds of speech, and, after all, “reputation is worth something”. Thanks to this acquaintance, I had the opportunity to be present at a horse sacrifice, where I took two photos as well (Karjalainen 1983: 130).²⁵

Karjalainen rented a room from a local trader, and as a learned person, it was his duty to participate in the social life of the town. The Christmas–New Year and Easter periods involved obligatory visits and feasting that went on well into the night. No wonder that he states the following in one of the last letters he wrote from Surgut: “The truth is that I would really like to pull up stakes

25. Työ menee hyvin, mutta hiljalleen, sillä kielimestarille tietysti kapakka on mieluisempi kuin minun työhuoneeni. Alituisen vaeltaa Surgutiin ostjakkeja, ja hyvin paljon niissä on mestarini ”sukulaisia”, jotka pitävät velvollisuutenaan käydä minua katsomassa. Kielimestarini, osaksi tietysti minua miellyttääkseen, kertoo että olen ”jem aiko” (hyvä nuori mies), ja jokainen tahtoo nähdä millainen tuo otus on. Tietysti mestarini noilta sukulaisilta saa kestitystä, ja harva se päivä hän maistamaton lieneekin. Noista sukulaisista on kuitenkin minulle hiukan hyötyäkin, sillä saan siten kuulla useampien puhetta, ja ”maksaaahan mainekin jonkun verran”. Tuon tuttavuuden kautta sain hevosuhrinkin nähdä ja pari kuvaa ottaa siitä.

and leave Surgut, as this ‘company’ is a nuisance with its petty scheming and pointless quarrels. Because we should not think that people could live together peacefully, not even in a little town like this” (Karjalainen 1983: 138).²⁶

This letter was written on 27 May 1901, when Heikki Paasonen, who also stayed in Surgut from October 1900, was about to leave for Finland. Perhaps this was a further reason for Karjalainen to become fed up with this provincial life. The two Finnish researchers spent their free time together frequently, for instance, they went hunting together, though by all indications they had little luck:

This is the best part of the shooting season, and Karjalainen and I thought that we would go after wood grouse and black grouse. When we were in the forest the first time, our hunting bag was modest: Paasonen shot a rabbit, while I did not shoot anything. The second time we returned empty-handed. This beginning does not seem to be a very promising one, but one can always hope for good fortune. (Karjalainen 1983: 128)²⁷

However, their travels that were carried out with the help of the local traders and led to observations concerning ethnography can be considered more important. Probably the most significant of these travels was the one where they were able to participate in a bear feast. They both gave detailed descriptions about their experiences, Karjalainen in a letter (1983: 132–135), Paasonen in his official travel report; the following is a quotation from the latter:

It shows the richness of folklore that at a bear feast held in a little village about 25 versts west of Surgut, which I could also attend for an evening, there were over seven hundred scenes with songs performed within a couple of days, mostly playful or sarcastic presentations of fishing and hunting adventures, similar to those that Ahlqvist witnessed among the northern Voguls, as he described in his book *Unter Vogulen und Ostjaken*. (JSFOu XXI/5: 17)²⁸

26. Kyllä minä jo jotenkin mielelläni korjaan luuni Surgutista, sillä alkaa hiukan vaiwata tämä ”seura” pienine intriigeineen ja mitään maksamattomine riitoineen. Sillä ei tarvitse ajatellakaan, että näin pieni paikka pitäisi ihmiset sovussa keskenään.

27. Nyt on paras metsästysaika, ja Paasonen kera olemme tuumineet hiukan metsoja ja teeriä ahdistella. Ensi kerralla kun kävimme metsällä, emme paljoa saalista saaneet. Paasonen ampui jäniksen ja minä en saanut mitään. Toisella kerralla tulimme tyhjin käsin takaisin. Alku ei ainakaan lupaavalta näytä, mutta parempaa onnea sopii toivoa.

28. Osotteeksi folkloren rikkaudesta mainittakoon että karhunpeijaisissa, joita viime tammikuussa vietettiin eräässä 25 virstan päässä Surgut’ista länteen päin sijaitsevassa

We cannot determine exactly how many songs and scenes were performed, as Karjalainen recalls different numbers: “...in our presence there were about 60 songs performed between 5 p.m. and 2 a.m. The bear – whether to its joy or vexation – had to listen to perhaps over 300 songs altogether! And it was said that the real singers weren’t even present” (1983: 135).²⁹

It is a mystery of the history of science why Karjalainen and Paasonen, who collected data at the same time and at the same place from two variants of the Surgut dialect that are highly similar to each other, did not match up their transcription principles, as Karjalainen’s Tremjugan and Paasonen’s Jugan transcription differ markedly. Perhaps they restricted their conversations at their meetings to neutral topics such as hunting in order to keep things friendly.

It is easier to solve the following mystery, however. According to his travel reports, Karjalainen returned to Surgut from his Vah expedition on 10 December 1899 and immediately got down to work (JSFOu XIX/3: 4). However, one can find the date 9 December at the end of the first text. Karjalainen could not have completed the transcription so swiftly! The solution can be found in the use of different calendars. Karjalainen put down the dates in his travel reports following the Gregorian calendar used in Finland, but he followed the Julian calendar used in Russia during his expedition, and the difference between these two calendars is 13 days. That is, if he arrived at Surgut on 10 December, then he could complete writing down the first text 12 days later.

2.2. Grammatical features of the Tremjugan dialect

As mentioned in the Introduction (1.1), the variant spoken along the banks of the river Tremjugan/Trom”egan/Tromagan belongs to that subgroup of the eastern dialect group that is known as the Surgut (Surg) dialect. The river Trom”egan collects the water of the river Agan; besides the Trom”egan, three further rivers flow into the river Ob near Surgut: the rivers Ljamin, Pim, and the Bolšoj Jugan with the Malyj Jugan. The Khanty language area around the banks of these rivers is quite homogeneous, that is, there are minor phonetic and lexical differences but the speakers understand each other.

pikku kylässä ja joissa minäkin eräänä iltana olin läsnä, useampana päivänä peräkkäin esitettiin noin kahdeksatta sataa laulunäytelmää, enimmäkseen leikillisiä tai pilkallisia kuvauksia metsästys- ja kalastusseikkailuista, samantapaisia kuin ne, joita Ahlqvist kirjassaan „Unter Vogulen und Ostjaken“ kertoo nähneensä pohjoisilla voguleilla.

29. ...meidän läsnäollessamme klo viidelta illalla klo kahteen yöllä laulettiin noin 60 laulua. Kaikkiaan lienee karhu saanut huvikseenko vai harmikseen, kuulla yli 300:n laulun! Ja oikeita laulajia ei sanottu vielä mukana olevan.

Karjalainen was the first to collect texts in the Surgut language area in December 1899. M. A. Castrén, who had done fieldwork in this area about half a century earlier, made only lexical and grammatical notes (Castrén 1849; 1858; Forsberg 2018). Karjalainen's copious lexical collection (KT) and grammatical notes (KarjGr 207–298)³⁰ also contribute to the body of knowledge on the variant spoken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. After this, over seven decades passed until further information became available on the Surgut dialect (Honti 1977; 1978a; 1978b; 1979; Honti & Rusvai 1977). Fieldwork efforts gained fresh momentum in the 1990s, and numerous text collections were published also in the area where the language is spoken (pp. 22–24 in Section 1.2).

The Surgut dialect underwent significant changes during the past century. Owing to this, we refer to the variants that were spoken in the very same valley but stem from different periods using different terms: following Karjalainen, the variant spoken at the beginning of the 20th century is known as the Tremjugan variant (Trj), and, following László Honti, the variant spoken at the end of the 20th century is known as the Tromagan variant (Tra). Both variants are well described in the literature.³¹ Based on Karjalainen's grammatical notes, there are several descriptions of the Trj variant (Honti 1984; 1988; 1993; Forsberg 2018), and, owing to the fieldwork efforts carried out at the end of the 20th century, the Tra variant is also well known (Abondolo 1998; Csepregi 1998; 2017; Gugán & Schön 2022; Csepregi 2023). The differences between the two variants have been discussed by several studies (Csepregi 2004b; 2017: 231–241).

The paradigms and grammatical descriptions of the Trj/Tra variant are easily accessible in the works referred to above, so rather than repeating these, I will focus on the phenomena that appear in the texts of the manuscript. The majority of the texts collected by Karjalainen are songs, and the language of the songs has a special grammar distinct from that of spoken language. In what follows, this will be the subject of the discussion.³²

30. Paasonen's Jugan dictionary (Paasonen & Donner 1926) and grammatical notes (Paasonen & Vértés 1965) also add to the accumulated knowledge on Surgut Khanty, but his text collection was published only a hundred years later (Paasonen & Vértés 2001).

31. I have tried to introduce a similar distinction between the two temporally different versions of the Jugan variant. I suggested that the data that stem from the beginning of the 20th century should be marked with J, and those that were collected from the end of the 20th century onwards should be marked with Jg (Csepregi 1998: 11).

32. As for the grammar of the Vj dialect, this will be discussed in more detail, precisely because it is less known (Section 3.2).

Vowel harmony

According to Karjalainen's notes, the Trj variant featured an almost full vowel harmony.³³ The texts show that the front–back vowel pairs occurred in non-initial syllables as well, and most suffixes had allomorphs with front and back vowels.³⁴ The only exception is the marker of the passive voice (-*oj-*), which does not have a variant with a front vowel. When the passive marker is added to a stem containing front vowels, it changes the frontedness feature of the form, that is, the vowels following it are back vowels: *ilə wəlojmân* 'we (the two of us) will be taken away' (Trj4/397), *tõyōđ ələmləjōđyō* 'we will be lifted there' (Trj4/542).³⁵

It cannot be decided whether the following feature can be attributed to the special characteristics of the language of songs, but at certain places the front vowel *ä* appears instead of the expected back vowel *a*: *muulāŋ kät muulālä* 'to the praying wall of the praying house' (Trj1/23–24), *mārālatälän* 'you dampen' (Trj1/92, 96), *ləyō əmsjäləyätäl* 'during his sitting there' (Trj4/547). It is certain, though, that these are not transcription mistakes due to inattention or haste, as the marker of the front feature, i.e. the combining right arrowhead had to be added as an extra marker.

It can be assumed that it is a trait of the language of songs that when a verb crosses the boundary of the lines of the melody, a verb with back vowels continues with front vowels in the next line (see the notes on lines Trj3/51–52 on pp. 108–109). It might be the case that in the middle of the verb, in the third syllable there was a filler syllable that triggered the change in harmony, yet it was omitted by the informant when he dictated the text. It is noteworthy that the present-day Tra variant has only front vowels in non-initial syllables (except for the marker of the passive voice).

Vowel harmony is already becoming less consistent in the contemporary neighboring J dialect. The suffixes preserved harmony only in the case of *a/ä*, e.g. in the markers of INF, LAT and COM. In environments with velar consonants (*k, γ, ŋ* appearing in the markers of TRA, ABE, DU) the back vowel appears, whereas in suffixes with dental consonants (*n, t*) the reduced vowel is always front (Vértes 1999; Csepregi 2003a; 2004a).

33. The tables presenting the vowel and consonant inventory of the Trj dialect (Tables 4, 6, 8) can be found on pp. 39–42.

34. Karjalainen found the word-final reduced vowel to be neutral with respect to vowel harmony, and he used a special character to mark this sound (e.g. LOC -*nε*, TRA -*yε*). In the present edition we substituted this character with the marker of the reduced vowel that is realized as front or back depending on the vowel of the stem (*ə, ä*).

35. When citing examples, I will indicate the code referring to the source text (Trj4) and the number of the line from which the example is taken.

Nominal inflection

The Trj dialect features the following markers of grammatical number: a) in the absolute paradigm (that is, in forms not having a possessive marker) we find DU *-γḗn/-γḗn* (*-kḗn/-kḗn*), PL *-t/-ḗt/-ḗt*, b) in the relative paradigm (in forms where the marker of number precedes the possessive marker) we find DU *-γḗλ-/-γḗλ-* (*-kḗλ-/-kḗλ-*), PL *-λ-*. Each of these forms appears in the texts: *kāt ku-γḗn, kāt niḡ-kḗn* ‘two men, two women’ (Trj1/75–76), *pḗyḡḡ-t* ‘subjects’ in the sense of ‘people who are subjugated, who are dependent on a ruler’ (Trj4/101), *nāsḡ-γḗλ-a* ‘your two shoes’ (Trj2/38), *pḗyḡḡ-λ-am* ‘my subjects’ (Trj4/63).

The plural marker *-t* occurs in the language of the songs very rarely. The use of the quantifier *ār* ‘many, a lot’ is much more frequent, (1)–(3):

- (1) *sōj-ḗḡ ḡḡ-ḗp ār aλḡḡ*
 hoar.frost-ADJ mouth-ADJ many morning
 ‘many mornings with hoarfrosty mouth’ (Trj3/63–64)
- (2) *nāλ jōyḡḗt-λḗy ār ānās*
 arrow arrive-PTC.NEG many row.of.sledges
 ‘row of many sledges unreachable with arrows’ (Trj3/81–83)
- (3) *pāčām oḡ-pḡ ār kḡrḗy, ār jḡḡλ*
 rime.ice mouth-ADJ many sack many box
mā-nḗ pḗnyḗntḗ-λ-i.
 I-LOC put[FREQ]-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘I keep putting many rime ice mouthed sacks and boxes next to each other.’ (Trj3/129–133)

It is worth taking a look at the position of the quantifier *ār* as well: it appears after all the other attributes, left-adjacent to the noun, like a prothetic plural marker.

Out of the Trj text collection comprising 2,838 words, the size of the texts that represent spoken language (prayers and texts of oaths) is only 143 words. These feature almost all of the case markers.³⁶ According to Karjalainen’s notes on grammar, the Trj variant has ten nominal cases: NOM, LOC, ABL, LAT, TRA, INS, COM, ABE, APR, DISTR (KarjGr 207).

36. I prefer drawing examples from these texts to taking examples from the song texts, as the latter are full of complicated sets of attributes and metaphors, but if there are no examples in the former type, then it is necessary to cite from the latter.

The first clause of sentence (4) is a passive construction, the locative suffix marks the agent. This clause is ditransitive as well, its theme being marked with the instructive-final case. The third clause features the translative marker which encodes change of state.

- (4) *wər-əŋ jir-at wär-λ-o tem ko-nê, tūt-pê*
 blood-ADJ offering-INS do-PRS-PASS.2SG this man-LOC that-EMPH
âλ kolânt-a, kut-êλ sāj-săŋki-γê wər-e!
 PROH listen-IMP.2SG house-3SG sand-sand-TRA do-IMP.SG<2SG
 ‘If this man makes a bloody offering for you, do not accept it, reduce his house to ashes!’ (Trj5/8–11)

The LOC marker appears as a marker of spatial relation in the language of songs: *jəŋk-i put-nê* ‘into a watery pot’ (Trj4/148), *lâr jăčə-nê* ‘in the middle of a/the lake’ (Trj3/26–27), *sűjâŋ kut-êŋ-nê* ‘in your noisy house’ (Trj2/122). Lative-marked nouns also appear in the text of the riddles:

- (5) *lăŋkər wöŋk-êλ-a lăŋ-aλ.*
 mouse hole-3SG-LAT enter-PRS.3SG
 ‘The mouse gets into its hole.’ (Trj6/18)

Example (6) is a ditransitive construction with a verbal predicate in the active voice. The recipient (encoded as a personal pronoun) appears in the ACC, and the theme in the INS:

- (6) *mânt wăjêŋ-at məj-â, mânt kuλ-at məj-â!*
 I.ACC game-INS give-IMP.2SG I.ACC fish-INS give-IMP.2SG
 ‘Give me game, give me fish!’ (Trj5/31–32)

The case marker INS also functions as a marker of instruments:

- (7) *nűŋ wöŋo-an-ât əj wăjêŋ wăλ-əm ôlêŋ.*
 you strength-2SG-INS one animal kill-PST.1SG PCL
 ‘If only I could kill one animal with your strength.’ (Trj5/21–22)

Nouns marked with TRA can also encode being in a certain state (and not only change of state), cf. (4):

- (8) *kân iki, mânt tăλ-âŋ-kê těj-a,*
 prince man I.ACC full-ADJ-TRA keep-IMP.2SG
jəm-γê těj-a, âj-aŋ-kê tėja!
 good-TRA keep-IMP.2SG fortune-ADJ-TRA keep-IMP.2SG
 ‘Prince, keep me healthy, keep me well, keep me happy!’ (Trj5/23–25)

Nouns marked with COM function as a marker of a companion, but in example (9), it can also be interpreted metaphorically, encoding being in certain state:

- (9) *mā ček_o-nāt wǎλ-λ-âm.*
 I trouble-COM be-PRS-1SG
 ‘I live a troubled life (lit. live with trouble).’ (Trj5/30)

One can draw examples only of approximative-marked pronouns from the texts of the prayers (10); the example for an approximative-marked noun is from the language of songs (11):

- (10) *tǎγǎ-nām λeγǎλ-á, mǎntemnām koλânt-a.*
 here-APR look-IMP.2SG I.APR listen-IMP.2SG
 ‘Look here, listen to me.’ (Trj5/27–29)

- (11) *wǒnt-âη-pî pǎļǎk-nām λǎγ_o keλγântǎλ-ǎγ.*
 forest-ADJ-ADJ half-APR he arise-PST.3SG
 ‘He went up into the direction of the forest.’ (Trj4/71–75)

The ablative marker can only be found in the language of songs. It is a marker of spatial direction (‘where from?’):

- (12) *sǎγ_oη-an-î nǎñ-nǎ ǎj puļ wǎ-λ-i.*
 birch.bark.pot-2SG-ABL you-LOC one bite take-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘You take a bite from your pot.’ (Trj1/39–43)

It can also encode prolative meaning (‘across, via’):

- (13) *kǒn-âη kǎt kǒn-am-î čoyât sǎm piγt-o.*
 roof.hole-ADJ house roof.hole-1SG-ABL snow eye fall-PST.PASS.2SG
 ‘A snowflake fell on you through the roof hole of my house with a roof hole.’ (Trj1/2, 4)

The ABL suffix of personal pronouns stems from the postposition *niñkti*:

- (14) *mǎ-niñtem áλ wǎγânt-a.*
 I-ABL.1SG PROH ask-IMP.2SG
 ‘Don’t ask from me.’ (Trj5/36)

The abessive case marker *-λǎγ/-λǎγ* does not occur in these texts. The following example is a noun featuring the caritive derivational suffix that is homonymous with the abessive case marker:

- (15) *näj-əλ mən-əm näj-əγ wăč*
 lady-3SG go-PTC.PST lady-ADJ.NEG city
 ‘ladyless city left by its lady’ (Trj4/423–424)

The same string (*-əγ/-əγ̃*) also functions as the marker of the negative participle, as in example (2).

There is no example for the use of the distributive suffix *-pti/-pti* in these texts, either. This is not very surprising, as it is a suffix of limited use, and present-day Surgut Khanty grammars refer to this morpheme not as a case marker, but as a derivational suffix yielding an adverbial form.

The above-cited examples also show that the forms of the possessive paradigm (involving a three-way distinction in the person and the number of the possessor, and the number of the possessee) of the language of the songs are similar to the forms used in the contemporary spoken language.

Unmarkedness as a feature of the language of songs

The language of songs displays a certain tendency towards analytical encoding. An example for this is the above-cited case of using the quantifier *är* ‘many, a lot’ instead of the plural suffix (examples (1)–(3)). This is a case when the singer encodes a grammatical relationship using an independent morpheme – but it also occurs that the singer does not encode the relationship at all, and entrusts the listener with the task of finding the relationship between seemingly incoherent words and phrases. Markers of adverbial relationships are frequently omitted. Suffixes encoding spatial relationship (LOC, LAT) are especially frequently omitted when the stem itself has a locative meaning. Examples of this occur in the riddles, a genre which can also be characterized as featuring fairly invariable texts (16)–(17):

- (16) *jəŋk ɔnt kəməɾ. jəŋk-ə mäj̃ə,t-əm pən.*
 water inner dome water-LAT immerse-PTC.PST fish-trap
 ‘Inside water (= under the water) a concave figure. Fish-trap immersed in water.’ (Trj6/14)
- (17) *jűŋkəλ oγot̃i wăč pir̃ŋi. kűr-pəŋ-ə-əm.*
 fallen.trunk surface five ducks leg-finger-PL-1SG
 ‘Five ducks on the surface of a fallen trunk. My toes.’ (Trj6/8)

It is the LAT marker that is omitted in example (18):

- (18) *lõksaŋ tǎʌ-ä wǎn tǎŋkər nomǎn*
 painted outfit-2SG shoulder shoulder.top above[LOC]
pǎn-ʌ-i.
 put-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘Your painted outfit is put [on] your shoulder above.’ (Trj1/60, 62, 65)

Intransitive verbs the complements of which express location or goal can occur in the passive voice in the language of songs. The locational or goal argument is encoded syntactically as the grammatical subject, and, as such, it is unmarked (19)–(22):

- (19) *ört-ǎŋ wǎč məŋ-nə ʝmʌ-i.*
 hero-ADJ city we-LOC sit-PST.PASS.3SG
 ‘The city of the hero was inhabited by us.’ (Trj4/3–4)
- (20) *tǎŋǎn ʌər tǎŋǎn pǒŋǎl məŋ-nə tǎŋǎn-ɣə ǎmǎs-ʌ-i.*
 silent lake silent side we-LOC silent-TRA sit-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘We sat silently at the silent shore of the silent lake.’ (Trj4/47–49)
- (21) *jǔli-ʌi ʌiy-əp kǎt mǎ-nə ǎmsi-ʌə-ʌ-i.*
 forest.spirit-ADJ beam-ADJ house I-LOC sit-FREQ-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘I sit/live in a house the beams of which are from the forest spirits.’
 (Trj3/49–52)
- (22) *min-nə-pə ənəʌ pǎri pǎn-ǎm kǎt ʝǎkǎn*
 we[DU]-LOC-PCL great feast put-PTC.PST house inside
ʌǎŋ-ʌ-i.
 enter-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘We (the two of us) enter the house where a great feast was made.’
 (Trj4/559, 563–565)

Analytic forms are also characteristic of the verbal paradigm. In the passive conjugation the verb (unless its patient is a first or second person pronoun) is always in the third person singular, its form is nearly fossilized. The agent is encoded as a locative marked personal pronoun which cannot be dropped. Therefore, the person-number features of the agent are encoded with an obligatory pronoun instead of marking it with a verbal suffix. It is also remarkable that the language of songs does not drop personal pronouns even in the active voice. This is a feature that is not characteristic of the spoken language.

Naturally, forms with spatial suffixes occur both with verbs in the active (23) and passive (24) voice:

- (23) *ut wõnt-j pǎlk-əə-ǎ mā jəm keʎəntə-ə-əm.*
 up forest-ADJ half-3SG-LAT I good arise-PRS-1SG
 ‘I go in the direction of the upper forest.’ (Trj3/106–111)
- (24) *kāt əs-yən jəyǎrt-a mə-nə jöyətʃə-ə-i.*
 two large.river-DU crossing-LAT I-LOC arrive-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘I arrived at the confluence of the two rivers.’ (Trj3/205–208)

It seems that the criteria of well-formedness are less strict in the language of songs. Freedom of variability, which helps to achieve the right prosody, that is, matching the lines of the melody with the lines of the text, is more important than morphological well-formedness.

Cohesive elements, that is, anaphoric elements and connectives can also be absent both in the mythical songs and in the riddles. It frequently happens that nothing encodes what is the topic and what is the vehicle of a metaphor – two or more figures are simply juxtaposed. It is for the listener or the solver to figure out what kind of relationship can be established between the stems listed without any marking. Sentence (25) could be phrased as a riddle:

- (25) *soy, nərəy wāt pǎnə məŋ-nə wǎrəntə-ə-i,*
 sturgeon ganion thin sinew.thead we-LOC make-PRS-PASS.3SG
čuy ok-kəŋ ər kǎncə məŋ-nə wǎrəntə-ə-i.
 pointed head-ADJ many embroidery we-LOC make-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘???’ (Trj4/90–96)

Unless the solver realizes that the ganion of the sturgeon appears in this sentence because of its shape (and it is not motivated by e.g. its material, from which one could make buttons or glue), the meaning of the sentence cannot be deciphered. One potential interpretation is the following: ‘[With] thin thread made of sinew we are making [patterns similar to] the ganion of the sturgeon.’ For a listener living along the banks of the Ob and its tributaries who knows the different types of fish well, the image of the wedge-shaped line of cartilages on the back of the sturgeon may come to mind instantly, and thus it is easier to solve the riddle.

Conjugation

Karjalainen's grammatical notes reveal that the Trj dialect featured a rich system of conjugation at the beginning of the 20th century – a richer system than found in modern Surgut variants (KarjGr 268–288). The verbs inflect for three persons (SG, DU, PL), three numbers (1, 2, 3), and there is subjective, objective, and passive conjugation. The forms of the objective conjugation encode the person and the number of the subject, and the number of the object. At the beginning of the 20th century there were two past tenses (one of them was marked with *-s*, the other was morphologically unmarked), whereas in modern Surgut Khanty there is only an unmarked past and a marked present. A hundred years ago there was a complete imperative paradigm, and even passive marked verbs had imperative forms; as opposed to this, modern Khanty has only second person imperative forms.

The texts published below do not contain examples for each and every verb form that is enlisted in Karjalainen's grammatical notes. Apart from a single occurrence (Trj5/33), there are no instances of the *-s* marked past tense. As opposed to this, both tenses occur in the tales from the Jugan dialect that were collected by Paasonen at the same time. On the basis of the patterns of occurrences found in the tales, Gugán (2008) tentatively suggests that in an earlier period, the unmarked form was the marker of the perfect, and the *-s* marked form probably encoded simple past. The change due to which the function of the unmarked form became more general, leading to its use as simple past, and to the loss of the *-s* marked past, was probably in progress in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The almost exclusive use of the unmarked past might be due to the characteristics of the genre.

On top of the marked present and the unmarked past tense forms, the language of the songs also features person-marked participles as predicates (see examples (32)–(33), (36)–(42)). That is, singers, similarly to storytellers, had means to establish a lively style.

Both the songs and the prayers exhibit second person imperative forms; this was exemplified in sentences (4), (6), (7), (10), (14). The following is an example of a 2PL imperative form:

- (26) *kos năptăy nik tuy-ităy*
 twenty reindeer.cow down bring-IMP.2PL
 'bring down 20 reindeer cows' (Trj4/592–593)

Non-second person imperative forms (i.e. hortative/jussive) occur only twice: once in the 3SG (27) and once in the 1PL (28):

- (27) *kos kǎlǎŋ utâ tuy-at*
 twenty reindeer.ox up bring-OPT.3SG³⁷
 ‘let him bring up twenty reindeer oxen’ (Trj4/603–604)
- (28) *kǎlâ mǎn-ǎm jǎŷ-iyǎât mǎŋ kurâmtâ-ǎ-oyǎ.*
 where go-PTC.PST turn.into.sg-OPT.1PL we wait-PRS-1PL
 ‘We are waiting for the chance to go somewhere.’ (Trj4/76–77, 82)

The texts in Karjalainen’s manuscript do not contain examples of the passive imperative that Karjalainen thoroughly documented in his grammatical notes.

The non-finite form marked with *-ŋ* that encoded potentiality was on its way to becoming obsolete already in Karjalainen’s time, being supplanted by finite conditional clauses featuring the conjunction *kuntâ* ‘when, if’ (KarjGr 269, cf. example (30)).

Third person singular of the subjective conjugation is unmarked in spoken language, that is, the verb form consists of the stem and the marker of the present tense. As opposed to this, the form *-ǎn/-âŋ* is frequently stringed to the present tense marker in the songs.

- (29) *âmp küŕ wǎn-i kǎŕâ sǎŷ,ǎs ǎŷǎ tî wǎrǎntǎ-ǎ-ǎn wǎle.*
 dog foot short-ADJ clear autumn he indeed make-PRS-3SG PCL
 ‘He is preparing an autumn with little snow indeed, fit for the feet of dogs.’ (Trj3/55–58)
- (30) *ǎkǎ sǎr jǎŷǎtǎ-ǎ-ǎn kuntâ, ǎŷǎ mǎnt ǎŷǎtǎ-ǎ-ǎn wǎle.*
 he front arrive-PRS-3SG if he I.ACC wait wait-PRS-3SG PCL
 ‘If he arrives sooner, he will surely wait for me.’ (Trj3/219–220, 223–224)

This form also occurs in the mythical songs collected at the end of the 20th century (Csepregi 2003b). It might be the case that the form *-ǎn/-âŋ* is simply a filler, and it is added to the verb to achieve the right prosody, to have the necessary number of syllables. Other than that, the form *-ǎn/-âŋ* marks the 2SG form of the subjective conjugation in the spoken language, therefore the meaning of the form *wǎrǎntǎ-ǎ-ǎn* is ‘you[SG] make’.

It is a thought-provoking parallel that adverbials almost always appear in their *-n* marked, that is, locative-marked form in the songs (*kemǎn* ‘outside’, *jǎkǎn* ‘inside’, *nǎmǎn* ‘down at the bank’, *jǎâŋ* ‘down’, etc.), even if they carry locative meaning (cf. sentences (35), (36), (38), (39)). This can also be a prosodically motivated feature of the language of songs.

37. The verb form *tuy-at* can be parsed in another way as well: bring-PST.PASS.3PL ‘they were brought up’.

Although the special features of derivation in the language of songs are not confined to verbal conjugation, it is worthwhile to make an excursion at this point. The derivational suffixes *-aa/-ai/-ai* that are not used in the spoken language can be added to both verbal and nominal stems. When attached to verbs, the resulting form is homonymous with the present tense passive 3SG form, and its function most resembles that of participles. They do not have temporal reference, not even relative temporal reference (31):

- (31) *auŋk ai-ai tãł-əŋ pu!*
 ghost eat-DER full-ADJ bite
 ‘a full bite to be eaten by a ghost/eaten by a ghost’ (Trj4/313–314)

The Vj dialect features the derivative suffix *-i/-i* in a similar function (cf. p. 225, sentences (155)–(157)). When attached to nouns, the derivative suffix *-aa* merely has the function of marking that the stem it is attached to and the verb or noun following it are related somehow:

- (32) *târâŋ-aa pörmiã-ai kät äs-ŋən*
 crane-DER trod-DER two large.river-DU
 ‘two large rivers trodden by cranes’ (Trj3/203–205)

Appearance of similar forms: Trj4/46, Trj4/122–124.

Questions pertaining to agent marking

The issue of the so-called “ergative” constructions will be discussed in detail in the Vasjugan grammar sketch (pp. 217–220 in Section 3.2). The reason for this is that the use of the locative marked agent is not restricted to passive sentences in the VVj dialects: it can also occur as the subject of active verbs either in the subjective or in the objective conjugation. This phenomenon is rare in the Surgut dialect. The texts collected by Karjalainen feature a single instance of this construction:

- (33) *łãŋ-ïl-em-nə sár-á nŭrtãmtãtã-y.*
 brother-in-law-DIM-1SG-LOC front-LAT run-PST.3SG
 ‘My little brother-in-law ran forward.’ (Trj4/512–513)

Taking a look at the entire sentence, one can see that the subject (*łãŋ-ïlem* ‘my little brother-in-law’) occurred earlier, in line 505. However, it was followed by a complicated attribute that took up six lines, therefore the use of

the locative marker on the subject is motivated, as it functions as the marker of a reoccurring topic³⁸ (Sosa 2017: 191–207).

The locative case also marks the agent of participles. As discussed in the next subsection (pp. 66–68), participles can occur as predicates in the language of Surgut Khanty songs. Apparently, agents of participles can appear either in the nominative (34) or in the locative (35) case.

- (34) *łǎŷo-il-em* *sōj-ōŋ* *ńur-ōł* *łəŷo*
 brother-in-law-DIM-1SG hoar-frost-ADJ leather.strip-3SG he
rǎŷoijə-t-āł.
 shake-PTC.PRS-3SG
 ‘My little brother-in-law is shaking the faded rein.’ (Trj4/492–495)

- (35) *imi-nə* *wər-əŋ* *āŋŷ-ā* *məŋāti* *āmāt-t-aa.*
 woman-LOC blood-ADJ plate-LAT we.DAT place-PTC.PRS-3SG
 ‘The women puts [the food] for us onto a bloody plate.’ (Trj4/307–310)

Sentences (34) and (35) featured nominal agents, which trigger the occurrence of the 3SG marker on the participle – as expected. However, it is a question worth investigating which constituent of the sentence triggers agreement in the case of locative marked pronominal agents. In two, but multiply occurring non-finite temporal subordinate clauses with a locative marked 1SG pronominal agent, the participle is suffixed with the 3SG marker (36)–(37).

- (36) *mā-nə* *łeŷilə-t-āł-nə*
 I-LOC watch-PTC.PRS-3SG-LOC
 ‘while I was looking around’ (Trj3/231–232, Trj4/158, 163, 525)
- (37) *mā-nə* *kolāntā-t-aa-nə*
 I-LOC listen-PTC.PRS-3SG-LOC
 ‘while I was listening’ (Trj4/239, 246, 401)

Presumably the predicate of the non-finite temporal subordinate clause is coreferential with the dropped 3SG patient argument (‘by me watching/listening to this’).

However, it also occurs that the predicative participle agrees with the locative marked agent, and not the patient argument (38):

- (38) *məŋ-nə* *ənəł* *pāri* *wǎr-m-āŷo.*
 we-LOC big feast make-PTC.PST-1PL
 ‘We make a great feast.’ (Trj4/628–630)

38. It is also possible that the form *pǎŷŷiŷitnə* occurring in lines Trj4/97–111 can be parsed similarly, but the predicate is a participle there.

Participles as predicates

In northern Khanty (and northern Mansi), predicative participles grammaticalized as markers of indirect evidence, that is, there is an evidential paradigm in the verbal conjugation (Nikolaeva 1999). Eastern dialects can be divided into two groups. In the VVj dialects, participles do not occur in predicative function; this observation is corroborated by the texts Karjalainen collected from these dialects. As for the Surgut dialects, the spoken language lacks, while the language of the songs features predicative participles. The songs collected more recently seem to show that these predicative participles do not have a distinct function, they are used for making the text more varied (Csepregi 2014b, 2014c).

On the basis of the information accumulated so far, there are two potential grammaticalization paths with respect to the emergence of evidentiality in Khanty:

a) The finite verbs that are of participial origin emerged in the language of songs, and first they did not have a distinct function (e.g. marking of evidentiality), they functioned merely as a stylistic device. Their use was extended later to the northern Khanty and Mansi spoken language with an evidential function. This process could be motivated by the fact that Komi, a language with which the northern Ob-Ugric languages have been in contact, also features evidential mood. In Eastern Khanty songs predicative participles were preserved (as a feature of a grammatical system different from that of spoken language), but only as a stylistic device.

b) The use of evidential mood was general in Khanty (and Mansi) dialects, and its use spread from the spoken language to the language of songs. Later on, the Eastern Khanty spoken language lost the category of evidentiality. Predicative participles are confined to the language of songs as an archaic feature (alongside other archaic features).

The texts published below do not give a straightforward answer to this question, but they help us to get closer to the solution. The heroic song Trj4 consisting of 646 lines features a lot of finite verbs both in the active and passive voice, but the person-marked present participle marked with *-t-*, and the person-marked past participle marked with *-m-* also show up as predicates. Apparently, some of these only appear for the sake of morphological diversity (39)–(40):

- (39) [aɣ] *mok-kuj nōyâs mântem wiyâltâ-t-ia.*
 they cub-male sable I.DAT put.down-PTC.PST-3PL
 ‘They bestow a male sable cub on me.’ (Trj4/119–121)

- (40) *kåt oy_opâ-j-j kemən aiγ_otəγtə-t-ām.*
 house door-EP-ABL outside go.out-PTC.PRS-1SG
 ‘I go out through the door of the house.’ (Trj4/451–453)

In long sentences consisting of several clauses it is only the last predicate that is finite, the previous predicates are non-finite.³⁹ The non-finite predicate can be a past participle, in which case it is obvious that it encodes temporal anteriority as well:

- (41) *łál sām wu-tê är imi-p-łät łál*
 fight eye see-PTC.PRS many woman-ADJ-SUBST fight
sām ojâytê-m-ia māj sām wu-tê är
 eye notice-PTC.PST-3PL wedding eye see-PTC.PRS many
iki-p-łät māj sām ojâytê-m-ia kät
 man-ADJ-SUBST wedding eye notice-PTC.PST-3PL two
ku-γân pāγ kolâm ko pāγ λułâγtê-λ-j.
 man-DU boy three man boy set-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘After the army-foreseeing women who have noticed the army, after the wedding-party-foreseeing men have noticed the wedding party, they set a guard of two men’s sons, three men’s sons’. (Trj4/133–139)

The heroic songs demonstrate that present participles are absolutely suitable to encode immediate anteriority. These sequences of events can be encoded in long sentences that can stretch for dozens of lines. For the sake of simplicity, I will omit the complicated attributive constructions and only list the predicates. The morphological form of the first predicates is verbal stem-PTC.PRS-3SG, whereas the last predicate is a finite passive form (verbal stem-PRS-PASS.3SG). The scheme of the sentence is the following:

- (42) The woman (*imi-nə*) **cuts** the meat into the cauldron (*nāmən sāj_oər-t-äl*), **puts** it into water (*mäl-t-aλ*), **hangs up** the cauldron (*nāmən iyât-t-aλ*), then takes it off the fire (*utêñ wə-λ-i*) (Trj4/283–301).

In certain instances it is also possible to attribute the secondary meaning to the non-finite verb form that the source of evidence is indirect:

39. It must be mentioned that Karjalainen very rarely marked the end of sentences. Ultimately I had to decide where sentences start and end when I was interpreting the texts.

- (43) *ār pǎγ-nə kos kǎλəŋ iλə sǎŋo-m-ja.*
 many boy-LOC twenty reindeer.ox down hit-PTC.PST-3PL
 ‘[It seems] the boys fell the twenty reindeer oxen.’ (Trj4/615, 617, 620)
- (44) *koλəŋm jəŋk kǔt-əλ tir kǒt wən-nə*
 three water space.between-3SG width hand near-LOC
wǎλ-m-aλ.
 be-PTC.PST-3SG
 ‘[It seems] the distance between the three rivers is already at hand.’
 (Trj4/498–501)

Examples (33)–(36) of the previous subsection (pp. 64–65) illustrate the marking of agents of participial predicates. The function of marking the agent with the locative is to distinguish it from the patient argument:

- (45) *λǎŋo-iλ-em kut-əŋm-nə təγə wǎγ-t-aλ.*
 brother-in-law-DIM-1SG ?fianceé-1SG-LOC here call-PTC.PRS-3SG
 ‘My fiancée calls my little brother-in-law here.’ (Trj4/609, 612–613)

The hundred-and-twenty-year-old heroic song Trj4 shows that complex sentences consisting of several clauses contain only one finite verb, and that occurs in the last clause of the sequence; the clauses preceding it all feature non-finite predicates. The situation in the modern spoken language is quite similar, but there is a difference: the predicative participles do not only carry person marking, they are also either suffixed or followed by a postposition. This is a further instance of loose sentence construction that was already exemplified in sentences (19)–(22).

Further syntactic phenomena

The Trj texts published below feature all those subordinate constructions that appear in the modern Tra variant. In what follows, we shall give a brief survey of these.

Temporal subordination encoding cotemporality

- (46) *mǎrə-ŋ put kǒŋo mǎrə-γə əntə jə-tə-nə*
 time-ADJ pot long time-TRA NEG become-PTC.PRS-LOC
λin pǒrəŋm-t-ŋn setə-λ.
 they[the two of them] trod-PTC.PRS-3DU is.audible-PRS.3SG
 ‘Time not enough even for a pot to boil passed when their steps became audible.’ (Trj4/236–238, 244–245)

- (47) *jəy-əλ əj sãpjik puλ-t̃ə-y-i pãŷ-əλ t̃orm-a*
 father-3SG one boot stick-PTC.PRS-EP-ABL boy-3SG sky-LAT
mən.
 go.PST.3SG
 ‘While his father puts on one of his boots, his son went to heaven.’
 (Trj6/20)

Temporal subordination encoding anteriority

- (48) *oy̆ pãñəŷ-m-in p̃irnãkât ört pãk-kân iməλ-yân.*
 head bow-PTC.PST-3DU after two hero boy-DU sit.down-PST.3DU
 ‘After having bowed their heads, the two boy-heroes sat down.’
 (Trj4/273, 275, 281–282)

Reason clauses

- (49) *wãč nãj-yə wãλ-t-am pətàn*
 city lady-TRA be-PTC.PRS-1SG because
pãŷi(ŷi-t-nə) lãŋki mântem wiyãλt̃ə-t-ŷ.
 servant-PL-LOC squirrel I.DAT gift-PTC.PRS-3PL
 ‘As I am the lady of the city, my servants give me a squirrel.’
 (Trj4/103–104)
- (50) *tãrəŋ pənt əntə tãj-t-ay̆-at*
 fighting way NEG have-PTC.PRS-1PL-INS
məŋ-nə tãŷ̆əŋ-yə əmãs-λ-i.
 we-LOC silence-TRA sit-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘As we do not wish to fight, we will sit in silence.’ (Trj4/41–42, 49)

There are also certain patterns in the case of which it is uncertain whether these instantiate biclausal or monoclausal structures. For instance, the following construction consists of a finite main clause, the object of which is modified with a participial clause, but this structure yields a habitual reading.

- (51) *t̃örãs ko kât əs-yən jãŷãrt-a*
 trader man two large.river-DU crossing-LAT
j̃öŷ̆ãt-t̃ə wãř tãj-aλ.
 arrive-PTC.PRS matter have-PRS.3SG
 ‘The merchant usually comes to the confluence of the two rivers.’
 (Trj3/214, 216–218)

The texts published below can serve as a basis for further research discussing other types of phenomena in the future.

2.3. Texts and notes

The title page of the first bundle of the Tremjugan manuscript bears the following title: *Tremjugan. Kielennäytteitä I*. ‘Tremjugan. Language Specimens I’. The bundle contains the manuscript of three songs, two of which are in fact variants of the song for waking up the bear. Karjalainen regarded these as one item. He marked the title of the first with the Roman numeral I, and he added the abbreviation (= *ed*) to the title of the second. The form *ed* probably stands for the word *edellinen* ‘previous’, that is, Karjalainen indicated that the two texts are identical. The third text, which is of the type $\lambda\tilde{\eta}_o\hat{\Delta}\lambda\tilde{\eta}p$ out of the bear feast repertoire, was marked with the number II.

Karjalainen gives a detailed description of the manifestations of the Ob-Ugric bear cult in his monograph on mythology (JugrUsk: 512–539; FFC 63: 193–235; Relig3: 145–175). The given chapter is based on written sources, his own observations, and also on the texts he collected himself; among others, on the two variants of the song for waking up the bear. He summarizes the content of the song as follows:

From the bank of the river Tremjugan, let us mention the song for waking up the bear, the parallels of which apparently can be found among the Voguls. This starts with the warning that its Great-*torem*-father ordered the bear to go to the tent heated by the Ostyak, and then the bear is urged to raise its right ear first, its left ear next in order to listen to what type of music can be heard, open its right, open its left eye to see, take a piece from the birchbark pot in front of its muzzle with the tip of his finger, rise up on its front feet, sit at the edge of the bed, put on shoes and a cloak, belt itself, and go to the man-trodden, treeless place of the “city”, where it can keep tabs on the weather, and may admire the men competing with each other. The bear later goes back to the house where the bear feast is held, the house which is similar to the sound of “the terns of the lakes of the bog, terns of the lakes of the forest” in order to watch the merrymaking, the dance of the boys and the girls. (JugrUsk: 523; FFC 63: 211–212; Relig3: 158)⁴⁰

40. Tremjuganilta mainittakoon esimerkkinä karhun nostatuslaulu, jonka tapaisia näyttään tavattavan voguleillakin. Se alkaa huomautuksella, että Suuri-*toram*-isänsä määräsi karhun tulemaan ostjakkimiehen lämmitettävään kotaan, ja sitten kehoitetaan karhua nostamaan ensin oikea, sitten vasen korvansa kuunnellakseen mikä soitto kaikuu, aukaisemaan oikea, aukaisemaan vasen silmänsä katsomaan, ottamaan sormenpäillä kuonon edessä olevasta tuohisesta palanen, nousemaan etujalkojen varaan,

The content of the two variants is the same, but there are minor differences in the texts. There are also differences with respect to line breaks, which might be due to different melodies. The first variant consists of short lines, the second consists of longer lines which were divided into two or three parts (measures) by the fieldworker. It is an interesting phenomenon that Karjalainen added marginal notes only to the second variant, although it would be logical to expect that he needed explanations in the case of the first variant. It is also possible that the order of the two songs was switched while writing the fair copies. The first variant ends with a date (“10. XII. 1899”), the second variant with the name of the informant: Al. Kētšəmep.

Trj1 – Song for waking the bear I

I. *pupi kiätət[ə] ärəy* [Song for waking the bear]

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. | <i>ən[ə]Δ törəm ko jəyənna</i> | By your great man father God | |
| 2. | <i>könəŋ kät kōnamı</i> | through my roof hole of the
house with a roof hole | |
| 3. | <i>kōmät sämpə</i> | wide-eyed | |
| 4. | <i>čoyät säm piyto[.]</i> | fresh snow-eye is dropped on you. | |
| 5. | <i>jəmsipi</i> | Right-hand side | |
| 6. | <i>läń[t] säŋkip</i> | snow-scraper | |
| 7. | <i>ləyət pələ</i> | sized ear of yours | |
| 8. | <i>onı pələ</i> | your log ear, | |
| 9. | <i>pəyipi</i> | left-hand side | |
| 10. | <i>läń[t] säŋkip</i> | snow-scraper | |
| 11. | <i>ləyət pələ</i> | sized ear of yours, | |
| 12. | <i>onı pələ</i> | your log ear | |
| 13. | <i>nüŋ nomən täyərj təli. [!]</i> | you open up. | |

☞ Great God, your father, let wide flakes of snow, swirling snow fall on you through the roof hole of my house with a roof hole. (1–4)

Your right-hand side snow-scraper sized ear (5–7), your log-like ear (8), your left-hand side snow-scraper sized ear (9–11), your log-like ear (12), you open up. (13)

siirtymään makuulavan reunalle, pukemaan jalkineet ja kauhtana, sitomaan vyö ja menemään ”kaupungin” miesten polkemalle puuttomalle tantereelle, missä saa katsella säätä ja ihailta toisiaan sysiviä (s.o. kisailevia) miehiä. Pihalta karhu sitten astuu takaisin ”tulvalammin tiirojen, järven tiirojen ääniseen” peijaistaloon katsomaan ilonpidäntää, tyttöjen ja poikien tanssia.

14.	<i>kǎj̃ni kōri</i>	Mosquito-like	☞
15.	<i>pǎlam kōri</i>	horsefly-like	☞
16.	<i>tǎt' wǎyj̃</i>	from <i>tǎt'</i> iron	☞
17.	<i>lorǎη sūj</i>	jingling sound,	☞
18.	<i>kām wǎyj̃</i>	from <i>kām</i> iron	☞
19.	<i>lorǎη sūj set'[ǎ]li[.]</i>	jingling sound is audible.	☞
20.	<i>kǎntǎ[γ] ko pǎyannǎ</i>	By your human sons	☞
21.	<i>wǎñǎm pǎļǎk</i>	face side	☞
22.	<i>sijǎl kǎt</i>	house with rafters	☞
23.	<i>mulǎη kǎt</i>	praying house	☞
24.	<i>mulǎlǎ</i>	to its praying wall	☞
25.	<i>wǎñǎm pǎļǎk</i>	face side	☞
26.	<i>pǎr[t] kǎt wǎro (umto).</i>	you were made (erected) a plank house.	☞
27.	<i>kǎntǎ[γ] ko pǎy tǎj̃li</i>	Owned by the son of man	☞
28.	<i>tij̃at pǎtǎ</i>	from the bottom of a leather quiver	☞
29.	<i>ļǎpǎn pǎsǎn –</i>	fork-tipped arrow, sharp-tipped arrow,	☞
30.	<i>kǎntǎ[γ] ko pǎy tǎj̃li</i>	owned by the son of man	☞
31.	<i>sǎkǎη wǎjǎp</i>	hairy handled,	☞
32.	<i>kǎrǎη [wǎjǎp]</i>	crusty handled	☞
33.	<i>ǎn[ǎ]l ǎñǎtǎp</i>	big spear	☞
34.	<i>wǎj̃ǎlǎtǎm ulmǎn</i>	your lulled sleep	☞
35.	<i>kǎntǎ[γ] ko pǎyannǎ</i>	by your human son	☞
36.	<i>tem sij̃[k] wǎlǎtǎη</i>	this sun being	☞
37.	<i>juyǎl tǎrǎm</i>	fair world	☞
38.	<i>tut wǎri tǎli[.] –</i>	it is awakened.	☞
39.	<i>uñkǎtǎp̃i</i>	From in front of a bear head	☞
40.	<i>sǎγ̃.ñani</i>	from a birch-bark bowl	☞
41.	<i>loj tǎj̃i</i>	from the fingertip	☞
42.	<i>pǎñ tǎj̃i</i>	from the tip of thumb	☞
43.	<i>nūñn[ǎ] ǎj pul wǎli[.]</i>	a piece is taken by you,	☞

☞ Similar to [the buzz of] a mosquito (14), similar to [the buzz of] a horsefly (15), a *tǎt'*-iron jingling sound (16–17), a *kām*-iron jingling sound can be heard. (18–19)

By your human sons (20), to the faceward side of the house with rafters, the praying wall of the praying house (21–24), faceward (25), a plank house was made (erected) for you. (26)

Your sleep incurred by a fork-tipped arrow, sharp-tipped arrow from the bottom of a leather quiver, owned by the son of man, a hairy handled, crusty handled big spear owned by the son of man (27–34), it [the bear] is awakened by the son of man into this sunny, fair world. (35–38)

From your birch-bark bowl that is in front of the bear head (39–40), a piece of meat is taken by you from the fingertip, from the tip of the thumb

44.	<i>səmānā</i>	into your heart/intestines,	
45.	<i>nōy_oāji</i>	from the meat	
46.	<i>lāyila pittā[.]</i>	it relishes, it feels good.	
47.	<i>lār sāri</i>	Terns of the lake of the bog	
48.	<i>tōk [sāri]</i>	[terns of the] lake of the forest,	
49.	<i>sūjān kutān</i>	[into] your noisy house	
50.	<i>pitmiā</i>	having entered,	
51.	<i>kōtlā wālī</i>	hand-having being	
52.	<i>kūrā wālī</i>	leg-having being	
53.	<i>juyān tūrsem</i>	pleasant merriment	
54.	<i>nūn leyə lētā[.]</i>	you are watching.	
55.	<i>mulān kāt</i>	Praying house	
56.	<i>mulenī</i>	from your praying wall of the house	
57.	<i>kuj t'āpār nāj ānki</i>	<i>kuj-t'āpār</i> -goddess mother	
58.	<i>wārāntām</i>	made	
59.	<i>suyām kōri</i>	thread-like	
60.	<i>lōksan tālā</i>	your painted outfit	
61.	<i>nūn juy ālī</i>	your wood carrying	
62.	<i>wān tēnkār</i>	[onto your] shoulder shouldertop	
63.	<i>suyām kōri</i>	thread-like	
64.	<i>lōksan tālā</i>	your painted outfit	
65.	<i>nomān pānli.</i>	is put above.	
66.	<i>jān[k] kulī</i>	From water fish	
67.	<i>lāy_otan an[tə]pā</i>	your woven belt	
68.	<i>nomān antək sālī[.]</i>	is belted up.	
69.	<i>wāč kujē</i>	By your man from the city	
70.	<i>pāntmāli</i>	trodden	
71.	<i>juy_o t'āyār</i>	smooth snowy place	
72.	<i>oy_otāja</i>	on its surface	
73.	<i>nūnā kemān pitli[.]</i>	by you outside [it] is fallen.	

☞ into your heart/intestines (41–45), it feels good. (46)

Having entered the noisy house, [the noise of which is similar to the sound of the] terns of the lakes of the bog, terns of the lakes of the forest (47–50), hand-having being (51), leg-having being (52), you are watching a pleasant merriment. (53–54)

From your praying wall of the praying house (55–56), your thread-like painted outfit that was made by the *kuj-t'āpār*-goddess mother (57–60), your thread-like painted outfit is put atop your wood-carrying shoulders. (61–65)

Your woven belt with [patterns of] fish from water is belted. (66–68)

You get out to the surface of a smooth snowy place trodden by your man from the city. (69–73)

74.	<i>aḵwānat soṭṭi</i>	With one shoulder stepping	☞ 41
75.	<i>kāt kuḡān</i>	two men	
76.	<i>kāt niḡkən</i>	two women	
77.	<i>juḡ ālli</i>	wood carrying	
78.	<i>wān tāḡkər</i>	shoulder shouldertop	
79.	<i>ḡulla nəkəkəm təliḡən[.]</i>	clash into each other	
80.	<i>lān[t] mūḡkāl</i>	snow knot	
81.	<i>jāḡo[ko] mūḡkāl</i>	ice knot	
82.	<i>juḡāλ ālāḡ</i>	finally	
83.	<i>lin kirəḡtəlyən[.]</i>	they tumble.	☞
84.	<i>ḡorām wājāy</i>	Animal of the swamp	
85.	<i>jān[t]ḡiko</i>	playful man	
86.	<i>wōn[t] wājāy</i>	animal of the forest	
87.	<i>jān[t]ḡiko</i>	playful man	
88.	<i>wāλta pətān</i>	because of your being	
89.	<i>kānčəḡ sākāp</i>	with colorful cloak	
90.	<i>kujəna</i>	to your man	
91.	<i>kānčəḡ sāk</i>	colorful cloak	
92.	<i>mārāλtāλān[.]</i>	you dampen,	
93.	<i>kānčəḡ ḡirāp</i>	with colorful shoes	
94.	<i>kujəna</i>	to your man	
95.	<i>kānčəḡ ḡir</i>	colorful shoe	
96.	<i>mārāλtāλān.</i>	you dampen.	☞
97.	<i>lār sārj</i>	Terns of the lake of the swamp	
98.	<i>sūjāḡ kāta</i>	into the noisy house	
99.	<i>jākōḡn lāḡi</i>	entering / having entered	
100.	<i>kōtā wāli</i>	hand-having being	
101.	<i>kūrā wāli</i>	foot-having being	
102.	<i>juḡāλ tūrsem</i>	pleasant merriment	
103.	<i>nūḡ leḡə lāλən[.]</i>	you are watching.	

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☞ Two men, two women stepping shoulder to shoulder (74–76), the wood-carrying shoulders clash (77–79), like snow-knot, like ice-knot (80–81), finally, the two of them roll around/tumble. (82–83)

Being a playful man, you, animal of the swamp, being a playful man, you, animal of the forest (84–88), you dampen the colorful cloak of the man with a colorful cloak (89–92), you dampen the colorful shoe of the man with a colorful shoe. (93–96)

Having entered the noisy house the noise of which is similar to the sound of the terns of the lake of the swamp (97–99), hand-having being (100), foot-having being (101), you are watching a pleasant merriment. (102–103)

Notes

This song consists of 103 lines (209 words) written on the first six pages of the manuscript.⁴¹ The singer addresses the bear.

Lines 1–4

- ‘ Through the roof hole of my house with a roof hole your great father,
the God let wide flakes of snow, swirling snow fall on you.

Identical text can be found in Trj2/1–8, but that variant is wordier.

Lines 5–13

- ‘ You open your right-hand side snow-scraper sized ear, your log-like ear,
your left-hand side snow-scraper sized ear.

8, 12. *onj pəʌá* ‘your log ear’. *on* ‘the poles supporting the fishing barrier at the ends of the barrier’ (KT 51; D 108). It is possible that the two poles standing out at the two sides of the fishing barrier evoke the shape of the bear’s ears.

13. *nűŋ nomə̃n tǎy,ri̯təʌi* ‘you open’, literally: ‘you open/close above’. NB. The agent is in the nominative whereas the verb is in the passive voice, that is, the locative marker is missing. The reason for this might be prosodic as well, the second syllable being dropped. Identical text can be found in Trj2/9–15.

tǎy,ri̯|təʌi. The backness feature of the vowels changed after the line break, this is marked with [!]. The corresponding segment of the song marked as Trj2 continues with back vowels in spite of the line break (Trj2/10, 14). Similarly, the backness feature of the vowels changes at several places in Trj3, see the note to lines 51–52 in Trj3.

Lines 14–19

- ‘ A sound similar to the buzz of the mosquito, similar to the buzz of the horsefly, a *tət’*-iron jingling sound, a *kəm*-iron jingling sound can be heard.⁴²

16, 18. *tət’ wǎy, kəm wǎy*. An attributive construction that is widespread in Ob-Ugric bear feast folklore. This denotes, on one hand, the jingling sound meant to entertain the bear, on the other, it refers to the noble nature of the jewels decorating the bear. The original meaning of these attributes is obscure,

41. When deciphering this text, I consulted several times with my Khanty colleague Ljudmila Nikolaevna Kajukova. I mark her explanations with her initials (LNK). In addition, I also built on certain texts belonging to the repertoire of the Surgut Khanty bear ritual (Balalajeva et al. 2021).

42. While singing the song for waking the bear, the singer jiggles a thread that is tied to the bear’s house and at the end of which there is a bell (LNK).

their etymology is disputed. It is Bernát Munkácsi's explanation that seems to be the most likely: Mansi *śēs* ~ *śēns* 'pure; virgin; young' (Munkácsi & Kálmán 1986: 592). The Khanty dialectal cognates (Eastern Khanty *tāt*, Southern Khanty *tīt*, Northern Khanty *śēs*) can also be interpreted similarly. The other attribute appearing in the parallelism (Southern and Eastern Khanty *kām*, Northern Khanty *kem*, Mansi *kami*) could be interpreted as stemming from a toponym, meaning 'from the Kama; stemming from across the Kama' (Hunfalvy 1875: 19), but it can also be derived from a Proto-Uralic stem meaning 'scale [of a fish]' (Widmer 2001). For more details see Csepregi 2018a; 2018b.⁴³

Further occurrences: Trj2/11, 15, 18, 20, 22.

Lines 20–26

↪ Your human sons made a plank house for you at the most precious part of the house with rafters.

wānəm pālək 'the faceward part', *muλəŋ kât* 'that part of the house where the idols of the house are kept', *səməŋ kât* 'house with a heart, that is, the heart of the house, the spiritual centre of the house'. These expressions all have the same meaning, denoting that part of the house that is reserved for men. This is where they build a hut for the bear from slats and planks. They put the bear into this hut, the place from where the bear can watch the events of the bear feast (LNK).

26. *pärt kât wăro*. The grammatical variant would be *pärtəŋ kâtat wăro* 'a house made of planks was made for you' (LNK).

Lines 27–38

↪ We put two arrows from the son of man's leather quiver next to you, the one with the forked end and the one with the sharp end. The son of man's spear with its furry shaft, with its crusty shaft put you to deep sleep, the son of man now wakes you to this sunshiny, lovely world.⁴⁴

Lines Trj1/20–38 do not have corresponding lines in Trj2.

43. This expression occurred as *səl wăyi*, *tām wăyi λorəŋ süj* in a bear feast song collected in 1995, showing that the forms of those words of the language of songs that lack a transparent meaning get easily distorted (Balalajeva et al. 2021: 68).

44. Putting two arrows next to the bear is a custom that is maintained to this very day among the Surgut Khanty (LNK).

Lines 39–46

‘ You take a piece with your forefinger and your thumb from the bowl that is in front of your head, the meat dissolves inside you sweetly.

39. *uŋkâŋ* ‘the head of the bear, a taboo word’ (Csepregi & Kajukova 2011).

A similar, but a bit wordier variant: Trj2/24–30.

Lines 47–54

‘ Getting into your house the noise of which is similar to the sound of the terns from the lakes of the bog, the terns of the lakes of the forests, you can watch a dance performed with hands and feet, a pleasant merriment.

49. *sŷjâŋ kutâŋ*. The word-final consonant changed probably due to the previous word, correctly: *sŷjâŋ kutân* ‘your noisy house’, cf. Trj2/122.

54. *nŷŋ* *λεγαλα-t-â* you watch-PTC.PRS-2SG ‘you watch’. For more information on participles in predicative function, see the subsection on pp. 66–68.

A similar segment from the repertoire of Mansi bear feasts: “They play hand-wriggling grand games in front of me, they play leg-wriggling grand games in front of me” (VNGy III: 210).

kõtââ wăli, *kŷrââ wăli*, *juγââ tŷrsem* – these six words refer to the eventfulness of the feast, the movement of hands and feet. The participants come and go, they discuss the next piece in the repertoire, they drink tea, and then they come in and continue the show (LNK). Identical text appears in Trj1/97–103 and Trj2/120–128.

Lines 55–65

‘ They put on your wood-carrying strong shoulders your painted dress decorated with thread, made by the *tăpâr*-goddess-mother, [the dress] stemming from the holy corner of the house.

57. *kuj tăpâr nâj âŋki*. Similarly to the pair *tât* – *kâm* discussed in connection with lines 16–18, the word *tăpâr* and its dialectal variants (Southern Khanty *tăpâr*, *tăpar* VVj *tăwâr*, Trj *tăpâr*, Northern Khanty *šöpâr*, *šăpâr* Mansi *šöpâr*) are ubiquitous in the lyrics of bear-feast songs. The word has several meanings, its use varies across dialects and cultural groups. *tăpâr nâj âŋki* is the mother of the bear, but *tăpâr/šöpâr* is a toponym as well. There is no example for this in the present text, but it is quite frequent that the attribute *kâm/kemi* appears as a synonym for *tăpâr/šöpâr*⁴⁵ in parallel constructions.

45. According to Éva Schmidt (2011: 30–31), the *šöpâr/kami* woman is mother Earth at the same time, and the notion that the bear stems from her is one of the 27 concepts of the bear of the Ob-Ugric mythology.

The semantic features of the three attributes used in Ob-Ugric folklore can be sketched as follows:

		Place in the parallelism			
		First		Second	
		Noble metal	Name	Noble metal	Name
Southern and Eastern Khanty	<i>tət', tīt'</i>	+	-	-	-
	<i>tăpər</i>	-	+	-	-
	<i>kām</i>	-	-	+	-
Northern Khanty and Mansi	<i>śēs'</i>	+	-	-	-
	<i>šăpər</i>	+	+	-	-
	<i>kem(i)</i>	-	-	+	+

The table shows that the words *śēs'* and *šăpər* are partial synonyms in the northern Khanty and Mansi language area. Both of them can occur as attributes of a noble metal, but only *šăpər* can occur as a personal name and as part of a toponym. The usage of *tət'* and *tăpər* diverges in the eastern and southern Khanty area. The former (*tət' ~ tīt'*) appears only as an attribute of noble metals, while the primary function of the latter (*tăpər*) is toponymic, and as such, it is an attribute of a specific or a mythological person, for instance, a goddess. The attribute *kām ~ kem(i)* appears predominantly in the second position of parallel constructions. The attribute *kām ~ kem(i)* originates as a toponym, and first it served as an attribute of noble metals, then – in order to build parallel constructions – it spread to the second half of the names of goddesses. However, in this function there is nothing that would associate it with its toponymic origin. The attribute emphasizes the nobility (the might, the majesty) of the goddess.

The word *kuj* occurring in the first part of the expression is probably a relic of a longer phrase. The parents of the bear in southern Khanty folklore are *jăwattă ketpe χuj tăpărnenj ankă* 'the man with flinging paws and *tăpăr*-woman mother' (Karjalainen & Vértes 1975: 113). The word *kuj* (> *χuj*) meaning 'man' probably happened to occur before the female name as a result of a wrong line break. For more information, see Csepregi 2018ab.

Same segments: Trj2/37, 41, 94, 98, 110.

Lines 66–68

“ You are belted with your water fish-patterned woven belt.

Same text: Trj2/45–46.

Lines 69–73

“ You come to appear at a smooth place trodden by men from the city.

70. *pānməati*. This verb is presumably derived from the verb *pānməa-* that had not appeared earlier in dictionaries. Karjalainen’s marginal note to line Trj2/53: *polkemaan* ‘to trod’. The context suggests that this is a place that is suitable for doing the traditional Khanty combat sports.

Lines 74–83

“ Two men, two women clash with their wood-carrying strong shoulders, finally they tumble like snowballs, like icy knots (men wrestle, compete against each other to entertain the bear).

74. The stem of *sotl̥i* is *soč-* ‘step’; the previous form features assimilation.

80–81. *mūñkäl̥*. According to the dictionaries, the word meaning ‘knot, tangle’ contains back vowels (*muñkäl̥* KT 518; D 949). Karjalainen marks the front feature of the vowels unambiguously; this can be a characteristic of the language of songs or the special (taboo) language of the bear cult.

A further occurrence: Trj2/66.

Lines 84–96

“ As you, animal of the swamp, are a playful man, animal of the forest, you are a playful man, you dampen the colorful cloaks of your men with colorful cloaks, you dampen the colorful shoes of your men with colorful shoes.

The Mansi song to wake the bear that was collected by Reguly also mentions participants of the bear feast soaking through while rolling in the snow: “The group of young children (...) have long soaked through, similarly to a male squirrel swimming in water” (VNGy III: 203).

Lines 97–103

“ You enter the house the noise of which is similar to the sound of the terns of the lakes of the swamp, the terns of the lakes of the forests, you are watching a sweet merriment performed with hands and feet.

Trj2 – Song for waking the bear II

*pupi kiätät[ə] äräy*⁴⁶ [Bear-waking song]

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 1. | <i>ən[ə]Λ törâm ko jəyənna</i> | By your great man father God |
| 2. | <i>kāntā[γ] ko pāy ũłɣiłi</i> ⁴⁷ | lit by the son of man |
| 3. | <i>təy,ətəy kât pātāη kât</i> | fiery house, not frozen house |
| 4. | <i>ən[ə]Λ törâm ko jəyənna</i> | by your great man father God |
| 5. | <i>kōnāη kât kōnāłi</i> ⁴⁸ | through the roof hole of the house with a roof hole |
| 6. | <i>kōmât sām̄p̄ čoyāt sām̄ </i> | wide-eyed fresh snowflake |
| 7. | <i>pāytiłamā[.]</i> | was made to fall on you |
| 8. | <i>kōmât sām̄p̄ ļōpi sām̄ </i> | wide-eyed wet snowflake |
| | <i>pāytiłamā[.]</i> ⁴⁹ | was made to fall on you. |
| 9. | <i>jāmsipi kân[tʰ]</i> | Right-hand side snow- |
| | <i>sāηkip̄ łōy,jt̄ p̄łā</i> | scraper sized ear of yours |
| 10. | <i>nomān tāy,ri tāłi(-e-)[.]</i> ⁵⁰ | is closed above, |
| 11. | <i>tāt wāyi kām wāyi łorāη sūj</i> | <i>tāt</i> -iron, <i>kām</i> -iron jingling noise, |
| 12. | <i>māy,ə (mūy,ə) sūj set[ə]ł[.]</i> | what kind of noise is audible, |
| 13. | <i>nūy,na pāyipi kân[tʰ] sāηkip̄</i> ⁵¹ | by you left-hand side snow-scraper |
| 14. | <i>onj p̄łā nomān tāy,ri tāłi[.]</i> | your log ear is closed above |
| 15. | <i>tāt wāyi k[ām]w[āyi] łorāη</i> | <i>tāt</i> -iron, <i>kām</i> -iron jingling noise, |
| | <i>sūj m[ūy,ə] s[ūj] set[ə]ł[.]</i> | what kind of noise is audible. |

46. (= ed) ?edellinen [the same as the previous]

47. ihmisen lämmitettävään [warmed up by man]

48. laskeutumaan ikkunanreiästä [to descend through the window hole]





49. palje [?windbag]

50. Nostaa oikean korvansa kuunnellakseen mikä soitto [raises its right ear so that it could hear what kind of music that is]

51. vasemman korvansa [his left ear]

☞ Great God, your father let wide-eyed fresh snowflakes fall on you, let wide-eyed wet snowflakes fall on you through the roof hole of the house with a roof hole, a house lit by the son of man, a fiery house, a non-frozen house. (1–8)

Your right-hand side snow-scraper sized ear is closed above (9–10), *tāt*-iron, *kām*-iron jingling noise, what kind of noise can be heard (11–12), your left hand-side, snow-scraper-size log-like ear is closed above by you (13–14), *tāt*-iron, *kām*-iron jingling noise, what kind of noise can be heard. (15)

16.	<i>jəmsipi kosaipe nomān</i>	Your right-hand side star	
17.	<i>puŋ[č]i (-e)[.]⁵²</i>	open.	
18.	<i>kōλλapā⁵³ tət' w[äy] k[ām] wäy kütəli</i>	In the midst of endless <i>tət'</i> iron <i>kām</i> iron	
19.	<i>puŋ[č]i[.]</i>	it opens.	
20.	<i>pəyipi k[osaipe tət' wäy kām wäy] kütəli puŋ[č]i[.]</i>	Your left-hand side star is opened in the midst of <i>tət'</i> iron <i>kām</i> iron.	
21.	<i>əkəs⁵⁴ juypā ar wōnt ur sočma latna</i>	During your wanderings through dense shrubs, many woods,	
22.	<i>timin[t] tət' w[äy] k[ām] w[äy] [orəŋ] süj nüŋ</i>	such <i>tət'</i> iron <i>kām</i> iron jingling noise you	
23.	<i>əntə kuləŋ[.]</i>	did not hear.	
24.	<i>nüŋnə uŋkətpi säyənani⁵⁵ loj-</i>	By you from birch-bark bowl [being] at the head	
25.	<i>töji pəŋ töji əj pu! wəli[,]</i>	a bite from the end of a finger, the end of the thumb is taken	
26.	<i>səmanā nöy wöji, kār wöji</i>	in your heart elk fat, reindeer stag fat	
27.	<i>läyila⁵⁶ pit[.]</i>	becomes tasty.	
28.	<i>jəmsipi säyənani [oj] t[öji] p[əŋ] t[öji]</i>	From your right-hand side birch- bark bowl from the end of a finger, from the end of the thumb	
29.	<i>əj pu! wəli[,]</i>	a bite is taken,	

52. aukaise oikea silmäsi [open your right eye]

53. loppumatoin (joita on paljo) [endless (out of which there is a lot)]

54. *läŋkəs*, viidakko [jungle]

55. kuonon edessä olevat tuohiset [the birch-bark bowls in front of the bear's head]

56. sydämellesi se on makeaa (?) suloinen [sweet for your heart]

☞ Open your right-hand side star! (16–17) It opens in the midst of endless *tət'* iron *kām* iron. (18–19) You open your left-hand side star in the midst of *tət'* iron *kām* iron. (20)

You did not hear such *tət'* iron *kām* iron jingling noise while wandering through thickets and many woods. (21–23)

A bite is taken by you from the birch-bark bowl in front of your head with the tip of your finger and thumb (24–25), the fat of the elk, the fat of the reindeer stag becomes tasty in your heart. (26–27)

A bite is taken with the tip of your finger, with the tip of your thumb from your right-hand side birch-bark bowl (28–29), the fat of the elk, the fat

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 30. | <i>səm[anā] n[ōy] w[ōjj], k[ār]
w[ōjj] l[āyila] pittáa[.]</i> | in your heart elk fat, reindeer
stag fat becomes tasty, | ↙ |
| 31. | <i>pəyipi s[āy_onanj] ʌ[oj]
t[ōjj] p[āη] t[ōjj] əj p[ul]
wəli, səmānā n[ōy] w[ōjj], kār
w[ōjj] l[āyila] pittáa[.]</i> | from your left-hand side birchbark
bowl from the end of the finger,
from the end of the thumb a bite
is taken, in your heart elk fat,
reindeer stag fat becomes tasty. | ☞ |
| 32. | <i>nūñnə ɔy_oə̄r ʌɔy_oa sātəñ tōj </i> | You to the strong end
of your high bone | ☞ |
| 33. | <i>nomān mǎ̄ləntəli[.]⁵⁷</i> | get up. | |
| 34. | <i>pǎ̄ləñ kāt pǎ̄ləyā
jəñ[k]wāsiki kuñətə⁵⁸</i> | To the floor of the floored house
by the water monster climbed | ☞ |
| 35. | <i>kip̄ləñ ʌjn ɔy_otɪla nāmən</i> | up to the top of the
protruding skirting board | |
| 36. | <i>nūñnə kit̄t̄i[.]</i> | by you left. | |
| 37. | <i>kuj tǎ̄p̄ârñaj əñke wǎ̄rəntəm</i> | By your <i>kuj-tǎ̄p̄âr-</i>
goddess mother made | ☞ |
| 38. | <i>siñ[t'] kántəñ nāsɪyā⁵⁹</i> | your two shoes woven from bast | |
| 39. | <i>nūñnə nórəm wājəy küñčəñ</i> | by you, animal of the
meadow, clawed | |
| 40. | <i>kōt lāyāləñ kōt nomān pułta[.]</i> | hand, palmed hand, put on. | |

57. nouse ylös käsin avustaan / ponnistaen [stand up, helping yourself with your forefeet, struggling]

58. makasi / siirry istumaan makuulavan reunalle [lay / sit there to the edge of the sleeping place]

59. надевай погавицы [put on your shoes]

☞ of the reindeer stag becomes tasty in your heart (30), a bite is taken with the tip of your finger, with the tip of your thumb from the birchbark bowl on your left-hand side, the fat of the elk, the fat of the reindeer stag becomes tasty in your heart. (31)

You get up to the strong end of your high bone. (32–33)

You leave the protruding skirting board climbed by the water monster, and [get on] the floor of the floored house. (34–36)

You, animal of the meadow, clawed hand, palmed hand, put on your two shoes woven from bast, made by your *kuj-tǎ̄p̄âr-*goddess mother. (37–40)

41.	<i>k[uj] t'ǎp̄rnáj] á[ηke]</i> <i>wārəntəm suyəm kōrj</i>	By your <i>kuj-t'ǎp̄r</i> -goddess mother made thread-like	☞ ☞
42.	<i>lōksaŋ tǎl juγ ǎlɪ</i>	painted outfit wood carrying	
43.	<i>wán t'ɪŋkər</i>	[onto] shoulder shouldertop	
44.	<i>nomān rǎy, itá[.]</i> ⁶⁰	up flutter.	
45.	<i>jəŋ[k] kuɪj</i>	With fish from water	☞
46.	<i>lǎytaŋ əntəp</i> ⁶¹	braided belt	
47.	<i>suyəm kōrj</i>	thread-like (woven)	
48.	<i>lōksaŋ tǎl</i>	painted outfit	
49.	<i>nǎŋnə nomān wǎrəksəli[.]</i>	is put on by you.	☞
50.	<i>jǔlɛŋ kát sɪy[ə]l oγ, pɪ</i>	The slatted door of the house with spirits	☞
51.	<i>nǎŋnə kemən puŋ[č]lɪ[.]</i> ⁶²	is opened by you.	☞
52.	<i>wǎč kujɛ</i>	By your man of the city	
53.	<i>pānməɫi</i> ⁶³	trodden	
54.	<i>juɣla tǎyār</i>	smooth snowy place	
55.	<i>oγ, tǎja</i> ⁶⁴	on its surface	
56.	<i>kemən pitɪlɪ[.]</i>	you get out.	☞
57.	<i>wát ɔnləy təlɪ</i>	Wind trying	
58.	<i>səjlār wǎjəy</i>	ember goose	
59.	<i>kōtəŋ mok</i>	[like a] hand-having nestling	
60.	<i>nǎŋnə jirəy təlɪ[.]</i> ⁶⁵	you are turning around.	

60. sipuu (?) [incomprehensible]

61. vyö [belt]

62. avaa ovi ja mene ulos katsomaan rahvasta [open the door and go out to have a look at the people]

63. polkemaan (?) [to tread(?)]

64. на улицу [onto the street (= outside)]

65. katsoo tuulta kääntyillen eri suunnille [to watch the wind turning into different directions]

☞ Don your thread-like painted outfit made by your *kuj-t'ǎp̄r* goddess mother onto your wood-carrying shoulders. (41–44)

You put on a braided belt with fish from water on your woven, painted outfit. (45–49)

You open the slatted door of the house with spirits. (50–51)

You get out to the snowy place trodden smooth by your men of the city. (52–56)

You are turning around like a hand-having ember gosling trying the wind. (57–60)

61.	<i>nũñnə əj wānat soč[č]δ</i>	By you stepping there with one shoulder,	☞ ☞
62.	<i>kāt kuyān</i> ⁶⁶	two men	
63.	<i>juγ äλλi</i>	wood carrying	
64.	<i>wān tĩñkärnät</i> ⁶⁷	shoulder with shouldertop	
65.	<i>núlla nəkkm təliyən[,]</i> ⁶⁸	[the two of them] bump into each other,	
66.	<i>lāñ[t'] mũñkäl</i>	[like] snowy knots	
67.	<i>jāñ_o[k_o] [mũñkäl]</i>	icy knots	
68.	<i>lin kirəγ təlyən[.]</i> ⁶⁹	[the two] are tumbling around.	
69.	<i>kāñčəñ sākəp</i>	With colorful cloak	☞
70.	<i>kujəna</i>	to your man	
71.	<i>kāñčəñ sāk</i>	his colorful cloak	
72.	<i>mārałtāta</i>	to dampen	
73.	<i>kāñčəñ nĩrəp</i>	with colorful shoe	
74.	<i>kujəna</i>	to your man	
75.	<i>kāñčəñ nĩr</i>	colorful shoe	
76.	<i>mārałtāta</i> ⁷⁰	to dampen	
77.	<i>nũñnə əj wānat soł[ı].]</i>	by you with one shoulder is stepped.	
78.	<i>kāt niñkən</i>	Two women	☞
79.	<i>juγ äλλi</i>	wood carrying	
80.	<i>wān tĩñkärnät</i>	shoulder with shouldertop	
81.	<i>n[ulla] n[əkkəm təliyən][,.]</i>	[the two of them] bump into each other,	

66. katsoo toisansa sysiviä (leikkiviä) miehiä (2) [(s)he is watching the men competing (playing) with each other]

67. olalla toisansa sysävinä [jostling each other with their shoulders]

68. (karhu muka hän näkymättömänä) [(as if the bear acted invisibly)]

69. jotta he kierivät lumessa (?) [so that they would roll about in the snow (?)]

70. kastella (miehiltä kengät) [to dampen (the men's shoes)]

☞ You step there with one shoulder, two men with their wood-carrying shoulders bump into each other, they are tumbling around like a snowy knot, like an icy knot. (61–68)

To dampen the colorful cloak of your man with a colorful cloak (69–72), to dampen the colorful shoes of your man with colorful shoes (73–76), you step there with one shoulder. (77)

Two women with their wood-carrying shoulders bump into each





82.	<i>λ[áñt'] m[üñkáł]</i>	[like] snowy knot	☞
83.	<i>j[äñko] [müñkáł]</i>	[like] icy knot	
84.	<i>áλáñ λín kirəy təlyəñ[.]</i>	finally, the two are tumbling around.	
85.	<i>áár sári</i>	Terns of the lake of the swamp,	☞
86.	<i>tök sári</i>	terns of the lake of the forest [similar to the sound of these]	
87.	<i>süjäñ kát⁷¹</i>	noisy house	
88.	<i>nüñnə jákəðñ λäñλí[.]</i>	by you is stepped into.	
89.	<i>áár sári</i>	Terns of the lake of the swamp,	☞
90.	<i>t[ök] s[ári]</i>	terns of the lake of the forest [similar to the sound of these]	
91.	<i>s[üjäñ] k[át]</i>	noisy house	
92.	<i>süjilá</i>	into its noise	
93.	<i>iməλmíλ</i>	having sat,	
94.	<i>kuj t[äpärnáj] á[ñke] wärentəm</i>	by your <i>kuj-täpär-</i> goddess mother made	
95.	<i>jəñ[k] kulí</i>	water fish [patterned]	
96.	<i>láyteñ əntəp</i>	braided belt	
97.	<i>nüñn[ə] iləñ injətλí[.]</i>	by you is taken off	
98.	<i>k[uj] t[äpärnáj] á[ñke] w[ärentəm]</i>	by your <i>kuj-täpär-</i> goddess mother made	
99.	<i>suyəm köri</i>	decorated with thread	
100.	<i>ləksəñ tälá</i>	painted outfit	
101.	<i>juy äáli</i>	wood carrying	
102.	<i>wän tñkər</i>	[from your] shoulder shouldertop	
103.	<i>ilə räy,ilí[.]</i>	taken off.	

71. huone jossa iloa pidetään [the house where merrymaking takes place]

☞ other (78–81), they end up tumbling around like a snowy knot, like an icy knot. (82–84)

You step into the noisy house the sound of which is similar to the terns of the lake of the swamp, the terns of the lake of the forest. (85–88)

Having sat down into the noise of the noisy house the sound of which is similar to the sound of the terns of the lake of the swamp, the terns of the lake of the forest (89–93), you take off the fish-patterned braided belt made by your *kuj-täpär-goddess mother* (94–97), your painted outfit, decorated with thread, made made by your *kuj-täpär-goddess mother*, is taken from your wood-carrying shoulders. (98–103)

104.	<i>μιλλῆη κάτ</i>	Praying house	 
105.	<i>μιλενά</i>	into its sacred corner	
106.	<i>jäy̥li wāt</i>	cold wind	
107.	<i>tət̥əy wāt</i>	rime-frosty wind	
108.	<i>səjət̥yə</i>	into its shadow	
109.	<i>nū̥ηnə p̥ānλi[.]⁷²</i>	by you is put.	
110.	<i>k[uj] t̥[äp̥âr-näj] ä[ηke] w[är̥antəm]</i>	By your <i>kuj-t̥äp̥âr-</i> goddess mother made	
111.	<i>siñ[t̥] k̥āntaη</i>	bast-woven, clinging	
112.	<i>n̥äs̥iy̥äλα</i>	your two shoes	
113.	<i>ñor̥əm w̥äj̥əy</i>	animal of the swamp	
114.	<i>w̥õn[t̥] w̥äj̥əy</i>	animal of the forest	
115.	<i>k̥ū̥ñčəη k̥õt</i>	[from] his clawed hand	
116.	<i>ilən iη̥əta</i>	to pull off	
117.	<i>μιλλῆη κάτ</i>	praying house	
118.	<i>μιλενά</i>	to its sacred corner	
119.	<i>nū̥ηn[ə] iη̥m̥äλλi[.]</i>	by you is sat.	
120.	<i>lār s̥āri</i>	Terns of the lake of the swamp,	
121.	<i>t[õk] s[āri]</i>	[similar to the sound of the] terns of the lake of the forest,	
122.	<i>s̥ū̥j̥āη kut̥ānn̥ä</i>	in your noisy house	
123.	<i>k̥õt̥lä w̥äλλi</i>	hand-having being	
124.	<i>ju̥y̥äλ t̥ursem</i>	pleasant merriment	
125.	<i>nū̥η λeγ̥älət̥ä[,]</i>	you are watching,	
126.	<i>k̥ūr̥lä w̥äλλi</i>	leg-having being	
127.	<i>j[uy̥äλ] t̥[ursem]</i>	pleasant merriment	
128.	<i>n[ū̥η] λeγ̥älət̥ä[,]</i>	you are watching	
129.	<i>m̥əy̥o ärit</i>	how many	

72. pane suojaksi kylmältä tuulelta [protect yourself from the cold wind]

☞ Place yourself into the sacred corner of the praying house, into the shadow of the cold wind, rime-frosty wind. (104–109)

To pull off your bast-woven, clinging shoes, made by your *kuj-t̥äp̥âr-*goddess mother, from your clawed hand (110–116), you sit at the sacred corner of the praying house. (117–119)

In the noisy house the noise of which is similar to the terns of the lake of the swamp, terns of the lake of the forest, you are watching a hand-having pleasant merriment (120–125), you are watching a leg-having pleasant merriment (126–128), how many bare-handed marriageable girls, marriageable

130.	<i>ńárə[γ] kōtəp</i>	bare-handed	☞
131.	<i>urǎ́γ_oinə</i>	marriageable girl	
132.	<i>urpǎ́γnə</i>	marriageable boy	
133.	<i>jek_oλo[.]</i>	dance for you.	
134.	<i>ńorə́m wájə́γ</i>	Animal of the swamp	☞
135.	<i>wə́ŋ nə́msa</i>	your near thoughts	
136.	<i>wə́ŋγ[ə] ə́λ tiλe[.]</i> ⁷³	don't pull near.	
137.	<i>mə́γ_o ə́rit</i>	How many	☞
138.	<i>jek_oλo[.]</i>	dance for you.	
139.	<i>tṓrə́m mǐčə́m</i>	In front of God accused	☞
140.	<i>ur ǎ́γ_oinə</i>	marriageable girl	
141.	<i>mə́γ_o ə́[rit]</i>	how many	
142.	<i>t[ṓrə́m] m[ǐčə́m]</i>	in front of God accused	
143.	<i>ur pǎ́γnə</i>	marriageable boy	
144.	<i>jek_oλo [.]</i>	dance for you.	
145.	<i>ńorə́m wájə́γ</i>	Animal of the swamp	☞
146.	<i>wə́ŋ nə́msa</i>	your short thought	
147.	<i>[wə́ŋ] lǎ́́γ_oá</i>	your short <i>lǎ́́γ_oá</i> (?mood)	
148.	<i>wə́ŋγ[ə] ə́λ tiλe[.]</i>	don't pull short.	
149.	<i>kǎ́ntə́[γ] ko</i>	Khanty man	☞
150.	<i>pǎ́γannə́</i>	by your son	
151.	<i>ǐλi lǐ́tpe</i>	your pre-indulgence	
152.	<i>kǒ́lǐ́ [lǐ́tpe]</i>	your post-indulgence	
153.	<i>juγ lǎ́lǎ́ŋ [ɜ: juγə́l ə́lǎ́ŋ]</i> ⁷⁴	dear end	
154.	<i>pǎ́nλo[.]</i>	you are put.	

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73. не сердись [don't get angry]

74. хвалитъ (?) [praise (?)]

☞ boys dance for you. (129–133)

Animal of the swamp (134), don't pull near your near thoughts. (135–136)

How many dance for you. (137–138)

Marriageable girl accused in front of God, how many marriageable boys accused in front of God dance for you. (139–144)

Animal of the swamp (145), don't pull short your short thought, your short *lǎ́́γ_oá* (?mood). (146–148)

The dear end of your pre-indulgence, your post-indulgence is placed/ is given to you by your son the Khanty man. (149–154)

Notes

This is a song consisting of 154 lines (416 words) on the pages 7–15 of the manuscript. This is an extended version of the previous song, the number of words is nearly double. There are more repetitions in this variant, and there are new motives that did not occur in the previous variant. Perhaps this explains why Karjalainen added marginal notes to this variant (altogether there are 28 instances).

Lines 1–8

- “ Great God, your father, let wide flakes of fresh snow fall on you, let wide flakes of wet snow fall on you through the roof hole of the house with a roof hole, into the fiery house, warm house heated by the son of man.

3. *təγ_otəŋ kât, pātλâŋ kât*. It is possible that the second attribute contains a caritive suffix (*pātλâγ* ‘not frozen’), and the word-final consonant changed owing to analogy, the change being triggered by the first attribute. It is also possible that the two word forms (*pātλâŋ, pātλâγ*) coexist with identical meaning.

Identical text: Trj1/1–4 (a shorter variant).

Lines 9–15

- “ Open your right-hand side, snow-scaper sized ear in order to hear what *tât*-iron jingling sound, *kâm*-iron jingling sound can be heard, you open your left-hand side, snow-scaper sized, log-like ear in order to hear what kind of *tât*-iron jingling sound, *kâm*-iron jingling sound can be heard.

tât wăy, kâm wăy: For explanation, see the notes to lines Trj1/16, 18.

Further occurrences: 15, 18, 20, 22.

12. *məγ_oə (mŷ_oə) sŷj setʼλ*. Karjalainen wrote down first the form *məγ_oə*, and he added the variant *mŷ_oə* later in smaller letters above the previous form. The rounding of the first vowel was triggered by the labial consonant following it. In present-day Surgut Khanty orthography the latter form is used, cf. *təγ_otəŋ* ‘fiery’ (Trj1/3), present-day *tŷwtəŋ, səγ_oəs* ‘autumn’ (Trj3/56), present-day *sŷwəs*. A similar sound change occurred in the verb *jə-/jŷw-* ‘to come’.

14. *onj pəλā nomân tăγ_oritâλj*. For explanation, see the notes to lines Trj1/8, 12, 13.

Nearly identical text: Trj1/9–19.

Lines 16–20

- ‘ You open your right-hand star (= your right eye), you open it in the midst of the endless jingling of *tət*-iron, *kām*-iron, you open your left-hand star (= your left eye) surrounded by the jingling of *tət*-iron, *kām*-iron.

16. *kosajpe* ‘your star’. It is remarkable that the singer uses a taboo-avoidance word to refer to the eyes of the bear, whereas he used a word from the standard language to refer to the ear in lines 9 and 14, even though there are several taboo-avoidance words for the bear’s ear as well in the Surgut Khanty bear-feast folklore language (*āṅkəλ, mǔñli*), cf. Csepregi & Kajukova 2011.

17. *pun[č]li* (-*e*) ‘open (it)’. Karjalainen added the marker of the IMP.2SG form of the objective conjugation (-*e*) in brackets to the PASS.3SG -*i* ending.

17, 19, 20. *pun[č]li, pun[č]le, pun[č]lāλ*. Phonetic changes: the cacuminal *ŋ* triggers a change in the pronunciation of the sound *λ* following it. The sound *č* is dropped from the consonant cluster. Further occurrences of the verb *punč*-featuring assimilation: Trj2/51, Trj4/260.

Lines 21–23

- ‘ When you were wandering through many thick woods with bushy trees, you did not hear such *tət*-iron jingling sound, *kām*-iron jingling sound.

Lines 24–27

- ‘ You take out a piece with the tip of your index finger, with the tip of your thumb from the birchbark bowl in front of your nose, the sweetness of the fat of the elk, the sweetness of the fat of the reindeer diffuses inside you.

Line 31

- ‘ You take out a piece from the left-hand side birchbark bowl with the tip of your index finger, with the tip of your thumb, the sweetness of the fat of the elk, the fat of the reindeer diffuses inside you.

Lines 32–33

- ‘ You rise with the help of your strong, bony front feet.

The verb *mäləntə-* is not documented in any of the dictionaries, the translation was based on Karjalainen’s side-note.

The same expression: Trj4/433–435.

Lines 34–36

- ‘ You rise to the floor of the house with a floor, you sit to the edge of the sleeping place.

jəŋkwäs iki kuŋətlɨ kɨpɫəŋ ɬɨn ‘protruding skirting board climbed by the water monster = the edge of the sleeping place’.

The northern Khanty equivalent of the expression: *wes-əŋən ɬəmləŋ siŋəs* ‘the hooked leg of the bench [similar to] the chin of a water monster’ (BiblPáp II: 102/887), Pápay’s footnote: *nəri siŋəs juɬ* ‘the log holding the bench’. This reveals that the edge of the sleeping place is carved in a way reminiscent of the (imaginary) water monster’s hooked chin. Further occurrence: lines Trj4/276–277.

Lines 37–40

- ‘ Put your two bast-braided shoes made by your mother the *kuj-t’əpâr*-goddess on your clawed paw, on your palmed paw.

For an explanation of *kuj-t’əpâr*-goddess, see the note to line Trj1/57.

38. *nəsɨyðaa* ‘your footwear (DU)’. It is probably a taboo-avoidance word, the dictionaries do not mention the meaning ‘shoe’, but cf. *nəsɨ* ‘slippery’ (KT 640; D 1080).

Lines 41–44

- ‘ Don your painted outfit decorated with thread, made by the *kuj-t’əpâr*-goddess-mother, on your wood-carrying strong shouldertop.

The side-note to line 44 is incomprehensible for me (*sipuu?*).

Identical text: Trj1/57–65.

Lines 45–49

- ‘ You put on a braided belt with a fishbone pattern on top of your woven, painted outfit.

Identical text: Trj1/66–68.

Lines 50–51

- ‘ You open the slatted door of the house with spirits.

jülü ‘forest spirit’. *jülüŋ kät sɨyðɫ oɣopi*. A fixed attributive construction of the language of songs; further occurrences: lines Trj4/256–257, 383–384, 451–452.

Lines 52–56

- “ You get out to the snowy place trodden smooth by your men of the city.

See the note to line Trj1/70. Identical text: Trj1/69–73.

Lines 57–60

- “ Scouring wind direction, you keep turning around like an ember goose or a nestling with hands (or: cygnet)

59. *kõtəŋ mok* ‘a nestling with hand’ – obscure meaning. It might also be the case that a corresponding word form with back vowels would be the appropriate form here, i.e. *kõtəŋ mok* ‘cygnet’

Lines 61–68

- “ You step there with one shoulder, two men with their wood-carrying strong shouldertops bump into each other, they tumble like snowballs, like icy knots.

61. *aj wānat soččə* ‘stepping with one shoulder’. It turns out from Karjalainen’s side-note that the bear here – invisibly – plays a trick on the people, (s)he pushes them over so that they would roll in the snow, their clothes soaking through.

Nearly identical text: Trj1/74–83.

Lines 69–77

- “ So that the colorful cloaks of your men with colorful cloaks would dampen, so that the colorful shoes of your men with colorful shoes would dampen.

77. See the note to line 61.

Nearly identical text: Trj1/74–83, 89–96.

Lines 78–84

- “ Two women with wood-carrying strong shoulders bump into each other, they tumble like snowballs, like icy knots.

Identical text: Trj1/76–83.

Lines 85–88

- ‘ You enter the house the noise of which is similar to the sound of the terns of the lakes of the swamp, the terns of the lakes of the forests.

Identical text: Trj1/97–99.

Lines 89–103

- ‘ Having returned to the house that is as noisy as if terns of the lakes of the swamps, terns of the lakes of the forests were crying inside, the woven belt with the pattern of the fish of the waters, made by your mother the *kuj-tǎpâr*-goddess is taken off, your painted outfit decorated with threads, made by your mother the *kuj-tǎpâr*-goddess is taken off your wood-carrying strong shoulders.

The description of undressing the bear is absent from the variant Trj1.

Lines 104–109

- ‘ They put you at the sacred corner of the house where you are protected from the cold wind, from the icy wind.

105. *mulenâ*. See the vowel harmony subsection (p. 55) in Section 2.2 on the change of the backness feature of the vowels.

Lines 110–119

- ‘ You sit down at the sacred corner of the house to pull off your bark-braided, clingy shoes made by your mother the *kuj-tǎpâr*-goddess.

Lines 120–133

- ‘ You watch a hand-moving, leg-moving pleasant merriment in the noisy house the noise of which is similar to the sound of the terns of the lakes of the swamps, the terns of the lakes of the forest, how many marriageable girls, marriageable boys dance for you!

125, 128. *leyalâtâ* ‘you watch’ – cf. the note to line Trj1/54.

130. *ñarəγ kōt* ‘with bare hand’. The expression *bare hand* might refer to the audience of the performance (and not to the performers themselves): young people who came here to get to know each other, *urt äwi*, *urt pǎγ*, where *urt* alludes to the initial proposal, engagement, and betrothal (but not to marriage). The ending of the song where they ask the bear not to get angry may refer to the state of the participants sitting there bare-handed, and also to the potentially indecent events happening during and after the bear feast (LNK).

Lines 134–136

‘ Animal of the swamp, do not get angry!



Lines 137–138

‘ How many people dance for you!



Lines 139–144

‘ How many marriageable girls accused in front of God, how many marriageable boys accused in front of God dance for you.



tõrâm mičâm ‘accused in front of God’. The basis of the accusation might be that they participate at the feast with bare hands, but it might also be a reason for accusation that they participated in killing the bear – with dancing, they would like to appease the bear and, through the bear, God (LNK).

Lines 145–148

‘ Animal of the swamp, do not get angry!



146–148. *wâṇ ṇâmsa wâṇ lǎṽo.â wâṇṽo âl tiæ. lǎṽo* is a word of unknown origin not appearing in the dictionaries; it must be a synonym for ‘thought’.

Lines 149–154

‘ Your Khanty-man son tries to appease you in all manner of ways.



151–152. *i.âi litpe, kǎ.âi litpe* ‘your indulgence in all manner of ways’. The adverbial pair *i.âi – kǎ.âi* expresses exhaustivity and intensity (see also Trj4/78–80). The noun *litpe* (< **litap*) ‘indulgence, provision’ is not attested in dictionaries, cf. Trj *litpa.â-* ‘to look after, to help’, Kaz *letpi-* ‘take good care of somebody, indulge somebody’.

Trj3 – Bear-feast song

This is the third item in the manuscript bundle containing the Tremjugan collection; Karjalainen marked it second as he considered the two bear-waking songs to be a single opus. The song consists of 284 lines, 525 words, and is found on pages 16–32 of the manuscript. It features the earliest date from among the pieces of the Tremjugan collection, 9 December 1899, and also the name of the informant: *Al. Kētšəmep*. The date is given probably according to the Julian calendar, as Karjalainen mentioned in his travelogue that he arrived at Surgut on 10 December. Therefore, according to the Gregorian calendar, the collection of this song was finished on 22 December (see Section 2.1).

The title of the song defines its genre as well, which Karjalainen describes in his summary on mythology as follows:

The Tremjugan songs named *launəltəp* are most similar to the descriptive parts of the Vogul prayers; this title could be translated literally as “bringing-in song”. These are sung at bear feasts both here and in the northern area. One of the *Kān-iki-launəltəps* collected by me contains a description of the dwelling of the idol, its house, of how gifts are brought to him on reindeer sleighs, and finally, of the visit of the Russian merchant who steals the sacrificial gift; there is no hint in the song either of the current sacrificial ritual nor of the needs of the presenter and the listeners. There is no request in it; it did not want to upset the audience with its way of presentation. (JugrUsk 453; FFC 63: 107; Relig3: 88)⁷⁵

Karjalainen proved to be wrong in this citation both with respect to the genre and the content of *launəltəp*. This is due to the lack of experience and probably also to the fact that he had probably just been recently introduced to his informant, and perhaps there were problems with communication that

75. Lähinnä vogulien rukousten kuvailevia osia ovat tremjuganilaiset *launəltəp*-nimiset, mikä nimitys sananmukaisesti voitaisiin kääntää ”sisääntuontilauluksi”, jollaisia karhunpeijaisissakin lauletaan sekä täällä että pohjoisella alueella. Ne sisältävät, kuten eräs muistiinkirjoittamani *Kān-iki-launəltəp*, kuvauksen haltian asuinpaikasta, asunnosta, siitä, miten hänelle pororaitioin tuodaan uhreja ja lopuksi venäläisen kauppiaan käynnistä uhrilahjoja varastamassa; siinä ei ole vähintäkään viittausta juuri suorituksenalaisena olevaan uhritoimitukseen, ei esittäjän ja läsnäolevien tarpeisiin eikä minkäänlaista pyyntöä; esitystavaltaan se ei myöskään ole mikään kiihottava loitsulaulu.

hindered mutual understanding. A century later there is already enough information at our disposal to rectify the young researcher's mistakes.

Karjalainen was right in identifying the verb *лӓη-* 'to enter' as the stem of the word *лӓηлатар*, and in translating the latter as 'the song of bringing in'. The given deity enters the dwelling via the performance of this song, (s)he is brought into the house hosting the bear feast so that (s)he could participate in the ceremony. Among the Eastern Khanty, *лӓηлатар* is mainly an epic genre, and it covers the deeds and travels of a deity.⁷⁶ The Northern Khanty and Mansi cognates of the very same word refer to a dramatic genre (and not a sung one), the speakers of those languages refer to certain scenes of the bear-feast play with this.

However, Karjalainen misunderstood the content of the song. As the manuscript does not contain any marginal notes, it can be assumed that he did not check the translation afterwards, he only inferred the content from the summary by the informant given in his perhaps patchy Russian. The fact that he made errors in marking word boundaries (in lines 47–48, 119, 150, 281, see below, among the notes) also suggests that he did not understand each and every word of the text.

Collections from the end of the 20th century bring us closer to understanding this single song that Karjalainen noted down in December 1899. I had an opportunity to come across this song that was frequently referred to as *sāt лӓηлатар овал лӓηлатар*, i.e. 'the first song of a hundred mythical songs' along the banks of both the Jugan and the Tremjugan. This longer title reflects the fact that this song is performed first from among the *лӓηлатар*-type songs. This meaning is also carried by the title Karjalainen noted down (*лӓηлатарпӓт тигом лӓηлатар*), which can be translated as the first mythical song that gives birth to all other mythical songs, the one that is followed by all the others. Moreover, performers of this song also refer to it as *kân iki лӓηлатар* ('the prince's song'). This deity, *kân iki* 'Prince' or *sârni kân iki* 'Golden Prince' is none other than the youngest son of the supreme deity, and the main protector of the Surgut Khanty people (Csepregi 1997a: 68; 1997b: 303; 2019b). According to the presenters, this song is about how the Prince teaches the Khanty to hunt and to trade with the Russians. In this endeavor he is accompanied by *kariška päy romänka* 'Griška's son Romeňka', that is, Roman Grigor'evič. He

76. In a song recorded in 1992 at the upper course of the river Jugan, featuring the protagonist *wõntluŋk* 'forest spirit', it is explicitly stated that a deity can have a maximum of seven songs, one cannot make more than that – accordingly, men cannot compose more than seven individual songs for themselves either, as added by the informant, P. V. Kurlomkin.

is probably a real historical figure, a Russian merchant who lived in times of old, who ended up in Eastern Khanty mythology, and has held on to his distinguished position there ever since. There is a song in my collection in which the two good friends, *kân iki* and *kariška pãy romãnka* have some drinks together.

The content of the song

During the creation of the world the Sky God lowered seven brothers, i.e. his seven sons on a rope woven from gold onto the water. A spotted nutcracker flew there, with an elbow-length yellow pine cone in its beak. The bird dropped the pine cone, from which an island, “the size of the bowl of a soup-ladle, the size of the bowl of a mug” formed, overgrown with yellow pine. Life on Earth began with this island (1–48). The hero of the song, who talks in the first person singular, sits in his house with rafters. As soon as autumn, “short as a dog’s leg”, begins with its mornings with “hoarfrosted mouths”, the snow clouds similar to colorful flocks of birds, and the long lines of water-drifted leaves similar to the caravans of the sleighs of the Nenets people, the hunter prepares his bow and arrows, and sets out into the forest, where his bearskin-covered hunting cabin is waiting for him (49–118). He takes many sables and squirrels, and he puts the skins into sacks and the meat into hampers. Upon the arrival of summer, when Sky God “places his tattooed hands onto the water”, the hero pulls the prey on a sledge to the river (119–153). He builds a raft from “bark-bared tree”, and floats his baskets on the river downstream, towards the North (154–202). They settled a meeting with Griška’s son Romeňka at the “crane-trodden” confluence of two rivers in such a way that the one who gets there earlier waits for the other (203–230). Griška’s son Romeňka gets there, and the protagonist trades fur and meat for silk.

They carry the sacks and the hampers onto the water, and the large amount of expensive silk to the shore until the “house of rotten wood, covered with birchbark is full”. After that both of them go home (231–284).

The plot of the song collected a hundred years later is similar, but its structure is more complex. It features two hunts (an autumn and a winter hunt) and two trading events (winter and summer). In addition, the story is made more colorful by the use of descriptive parts rich in tropes, be it about the change of seasons or the equipment of the participants – Roman Grigor’evič arrives at the scene of trading on a snorting and huffing steamer instead of a boat (for details, see Csepregi 1997a: 69–73; 1997b: 304–314; 2019b).

II. *Λῆη, δᾶτᾶρ πᾶτ τιγ, ᾠμ*⁷⁷ *Λῆη, δᾶτᾶρ*
 [That bear-feast song from which all the others derive]
 (*kāniki Λῆη, δᾶτᾶρ*)
 [The prince's (The world-watching man's) bear-feast song]

1.	<i>sāt Λῆη, δᾶτᾶρ</i>	A hundred mythical songs
2.	<i>sāt arəy</i>	Hundred song
3.	<i>t'el ju[k]kəη –</i>	from here wooded –
4.	<i>ən[ə]Δ tōrām ko</i>	great man God
5.	<i>jəm jəγəm</i> ⁷⁸	my good father
6.	<i>ijlām</i> ⁷⁹ <i>ko</i>	mighty man
7.	<i>jākkəη jəηkā</i>	to populated water
8.	<i>kujəη jəηkā</i>	to manned water
9.	<i>sārān səγəl</i>	golden rope
10.	<i>kōγ, tōjnā</i>	at long end
11.	<i>lāpət pāy</i>	seven boys
12.	<i>āsliλəγəl.</i>	lowers.
13.	<i>lāntəη wǎγāλ</i>	Nourishing <i>wǎγāλ</i>
14.	<i>kūtprāλnə</i>	in the middle of
15.	<i>ən[ə]Δ tōrām ko</i>	great man God
16.	<i>jəm jəγəm</i>	my good father
17.	<i>lāpət pāy</i>	seven boys
18.	<i>āsliλəγəl.</i>	lowers.
19.	<i>tem lāntəη wǎγāλ</i>	This nourishing <i>wǎγāλ</i>
20.	<i>jəm jəηkā</i>	to its good water
21.	<i>mānem lāt'i[jəγəl</i> ⁸⁰ [,]	swings me
22.	<i>lāntəη wǎγāλ</i>	nourishing <i>wǎγāλ</i>
23.	<i>kōγ, tōj kān[.]</i>	prince of the distant headwater

77. The title presumably contains a typo, *τιγ, ᾠμ* correctly: *τιγ, ᾠμ*, cf. Trj3/29.

78. ? n ?

79. *ijlām* (?) *jəλəm*?

80. ?

☞ A hundred mythical songs (1), a hundred songs (2), from here, a wooded – (3) Great God, my good father, a mighty man (4–6), lowers seven boys at the long end of a golden rope to a populated water, to an inhabited water. (7–12)

In the middle of the nourishing *wǎγāλ* (13–14), Great God, my good father lowers seven boys. (15–18)

He swings me, the prince of the distant headwater of the nourishing *wǎγāλ*, to the good water of this nourishing *wǎγāλ*. (19–23)






24.	<i>tem säjkõni</i>	This rime-frost edged	☞ ☞
25.	<i>rompâ lâr</i>	grassy lake	
26.	<i>jăčəŋ [lâr]</i>	middle-having lake	
27.	<i>jăčəna</i>	in the middle of	
28.	<i>âlâŋ törâm</i>	first world	
29.	<i>tiy_oam lâtnə</i>	at the time of the birth of	
30.	<i>wõn[t] wârâp</i>	spotted nutcracker of the wood	
31.	<i>iminiŋe</i>	your auntie	
32.	<i>kũŋŋi kõy_oit</i>	elbow-length	
33.	<i>ən[ə]l năyâr</i>	large yellow pine cone	
34.	<i>ləy_o ləyəl</i>	she flew	
35.	<i>ləyəlâtattəy[.]</i>	she made it fly	
36.	<i>wâjâ[γ] kolâm</i>	Animal heard	☞
37.	<i>jiməŋ məyâ</i>	to holy ground	
38.	<i>ilə rəyər-</i>	down drop-	
39.	<i>təttəy wələ[.]</i>	ped, behold.	
40.	<i>wârâp kât'əŋ</i>	Spotted nutcracker, sand martin	☞
41.	<i>əj pāj</i>	a little island	
42.	<i>ləj oγ_o lōy_oit</i>	size of a head of a soup-ladle,	
43.	<i>keγ_o[ə]! oγ_o lōy_oit</i>	size of a head of a mug	
44.	<i>əj pāj</i>	a little island	
45.	<i>liŋ[k] ko juγâr</i>	ghost-man wooded	
46.	<i>ən[ə]l pāj</i>	large island	
47.	<i>tōy_oât ey_oən- [ɔ: tōy_oâ tey_oən-]</i>	there appear-	
48.	<i>təy_olən wələ[.]</i>	ed, behold.	
49.	<i>jũlii</i>	Full of forest spirits	☞
50.	<i>liγər kât</i>	house with rafters	
51.	<i>mānə âmsj-</i>	by me sat a-	
52.	<i>ləlil [!] wələ[.]</i>	round, behold.	

☞ In the middle of this grassy, rime-frost edged middle-having lake (24–27), at the time of the birth of the first world (28–29), your auntie, a spotted nutcracker of the wood, flew, made an elbow-length, large yellow pine cone fly. (30–35)

She dropped it onto the holy ground heard of by animals, behold. (36–39)

Spotted nutcracker, sand martin (40), (on) a little island, the size of the bowl of a soup-ladle (41–42), a little island, the size of the bowl of a mug (43–44), there appeared a large island, wooded by ghost men (= wooded by yellow pine), behold. (45–48)

The house with rafters, full of forest spirits, is sat around by me, behold. (= I am sitting in a house with rafters, full of forest spirits.) (49–52)

53.	<i>ən[ə]Λ tōrām ko</i>	Great man God	
54.	<i>jəm jəγəm</i>	my good father	
55.	<i>āmp kür wāni</i>	short as a dog's leg	
56.	<i>kār[ə] səγəs</i>	autumn with slight snow	
57.	<i>ləγo ti wərən-</i>	he is prepar-	
58.	<i>tələn wələ[.]</i>	ing, behold.	
59.	<i>pā kātla</i>	By the next day	
60.	<i>keλγəntəli[.]</i>	it is stepped across.	
61.	<i>ən[ə]Λ tōrām ko</i>	Great man God	
62.	<i>jəm jəγəm</i>	my good father	
63.	<i>sōjāη ōηāp</i>	with hoarfrosted mouth	
64.	<i>ār āləη</i>	many mornings	
65.	<i>məγo ūrγəλ</i>	how much of it	
66.	<i>wərəntələn[.]</i>	prepares.	
67.	<i>jiləη tōrām</i>	Northern sky	
68.	<i>pālkaλi</i>	from its side	
69.	<i>čōmāēη kōηpi</i>	notched bellied	
70.	<i>jāγlakj⁸¹</i>	<i>jāγlakj</i> (?insect/?bird)	
71.	<i>ār pārē</i>	many swarms/flocks	
72.	<i>tākānla</i>	torn	
73.	<i>səγi nūr</i>	woven rope (= rope woven from the skin of the burbot)	
74.	<i>piγoλi [nūr]</i>	leather rope	
75.	<i>tākānla[.]</i>	is torn.	

81. ?

- ☞ Great God, my good father, is preparing an autumn with slight snow, short as a dog's leg. (53–58)
 By the next day it is stepped across. (59–60)
 Great God, my good father, is preparing a wealth of many mornings with hoarfrosted mouth. (61–66)
 The woven rope, leather rope is torn by many swarms of notched bellied *jāγlakj* from the northern sky. (67–75)

76.	<i>tem lantəŋ wǎγâł</i>	This nourishing <i>wǎγâł</i>	☞ ☞
77.	<i>jəm jəŋkām</i>	my good water	
78.	<i>jāryan āγ_oəŋ</i>	with Nenets girls	☞
79.	<i>[jāryan] pākəŋ</i>	with Nenets boys	
80.	<i>ār kisləmneŋ</i>	much nomadizing	
81.	<i>āγ_oti nāl</i>	split arrow	
82.	<i>jōγ_oətləŋ</i>	unreachable	
83.	<i>ār ānās</i>	many caravans of sleighs	
84.	<i>āγ_oəŋ wālī</i>	being of the northern/ down direction	
85.	<i>āγ_oəŋ jəŋk</i>	northern/down water	
86.	<i>čurâłnam</i>	towards it section	
87.	<i>tutnâ nâpti-</i>	this way is float-	
88.	<i>łali [!] wəle[.]</i>	ed, behold.	
89.	<i>tī matā lātñə wəle</i>	At one time, behold	
90.	<i>wəreŋ kujə</i>	your toiling man	
91.	<i>wərənti[.]</i>	made	
92.	<i>łəγəłā</i>	hardwood	
93.	<i>kutγəłā</i>	softwood	
94.	<i>kāni soγ_o</i>	gluey sturgeon	
95.	<i>əjməŋ kōt</i>	sticky hand	
96.	<i>łəγ_o ti pātī-</i>	he, alas, fro-	
97.	<i>təli [!] wəle[.]</i>	zen, behold.	
98.	<i>jāγ_ołam wər</i>	My bow's thing	
99.	<i>jəm āłəŋ</i>	its good beginning	
100.	<i>mānə wərən-</i>	by me is being do-	
101.	<i>təli wəle[.]</i>	ne, behold,	
102.	<i>nūłəŋ wər</i>	arrow's thing	
103.	<i>jəm āłəŋ</i>	its good beginning	
104.	<i>mānə wərən-</i>	by me is being do-	
105.	<i>təli wəle[.]</i>	ne, behold.	

☞ This nourishing, good *wǎγâł*, water of mine (76–77), (like) nomadic Nenets girls' and Nenets boys' many caravans of sleighs unreachable by a split arrow (78–83), is floated towards its northern section being in the northern direction, behold. (84–88)

At one time, behold, your hardwood, your softwood made by your toiling man is, alas, frozen by him, gluey sturgeon, sticky hand, behold. (89–97)

I am working on the good beginning of my bow, behold (98–101), I am working on the good beginning of my arrow, behold. (102–105)

106.	<i>ut wõnti</i>	Upper forest	☞ ☞
107.	<i>pǎlkələ</i>	towards	
108.	<i>kjntəŋ čõŋ[č]pi</i>	with a basket on its back	
109.	<i>wõn[t] jüli</i>	forest spirit	
110.	<i>má jəm kelʏən-</i>	well I go up-	
111.	<i>tələm wələ[.]</i>	wards, behold.	
112.	<i>ut wõnti</i>	Upper forest	☞
113.	<i>pǎlkələ</i>	at its side	
114.	<i>küŋčəŋ iksõʏo</i>	clawed bearskin	
115.	<i>ləʏmāŋ kât</i>	covered house	
116.	<i>pǎʏoəŋ iksõʏo</i>	frozen bearskin	
117.	<i>ləʏmāŋ kât</i>	covered house	
118.	<i>má tǎjləm[.]</i>	I have.	
119.	<i>kǎti nǎləʏ [ɔ: kǎtʏin ǎləʏ]</i>	Beginning of the day	☞
120.	<i>kelʏəntəli[.]</i>	is stepped across.	
121.	<i>moʏo!ǎ[ŋ] küŋ[č]pi</i>	with bent claws	☞
122.	<i>mokkuj nõʏoǎs</i>	male sable cub	
123.	<i>moʏo!ǎ[ŋ] küŋ[č]pi</i>	with bent claws	
124.	<i>lis lǎŋki</i>	a squirrel ?caught with a noose	
125.	<i>tǎrnialǎ</i>	its ?multitude	
126.	<i>tǎləŋ əntəp</i>	[onto] full belt	
127.	<i>mǎnə rjʏǎt-</i>	by me is hung	
128.	<i>təli [!] wələ[.]</i>	up, behold.	
129.	<i>pǎčəm oŋpi</i>	With hoarfrosted mouth	☞
130.	<i>ǎr kǎŋǎ</i>	many sacks	
131.	<i>ǎr jəŋə</i>	many covered baskets	
132.	<i>mǎnə pǎŋʏǎn-</i>	by me are being	
133.	<i>təli [!] wələ[.]</i>	put, behold.	

☞ I, (like) a forest spirit with a basket on its back, go well up towards the upper forest, behold. (106–111)

I have a house covered by clawed bearskin, frozen bearskin in the upper side of the forest. (112–118)

The beginning of the day is stepped across. (119–120)

A wealth of male sable cubs with bent claws, trapped squirrels with bent claws are hung up [onto] a full belt by me, behold. (121–128)

I am shuffling many sacks, many hampers with hoarfrosted mouths, behold. (129–133)

134.	<i>ən[ə]Λ tōrām ko</i>	Great man God	
135.	<i>jəm jəγəm</i>	my good father	
136.	<i>ǰǰlām ko</i>	mighty man	
137.	<i>jǰkkāη jəηkǰ</i>	onto populated water	
138.	<i>lōηātā ko</i>	man bringing summer	
139.	<i>jəγtən kōtyən</i>	his two tattooed hands	
140.	<i>ləγo ti pǰnyān-</i>	he, alas, is put-	
141.	<i>təlyən [!] wəle[.]</i>	ting, behold.	
142.	<i>lāntəη wǰγāł</i>	Nourishing <i>wǰγāł</i>	
143.	<i>jəm jəηkǰ</i>	onto its good water	
144.	<i>nāmən nāmly-</i>	up it is remem-	
145.	<i>təli [!] wəle[.]</i>	bered, behold.	
146.	<i>pǰčām oηpi</i>	With hoarfrosted mouth	
147.	<i>ār kǰrāγ</i>	many sacks	
148.	<i>pǰčām oηpi</i>	with hoarfrosted mouth	
149.	<i>ār jəηəł</i>	many hampers	
150.	<i>kit kūr pəntǰp [ɔ: kit kūr pəntǰp]</i>	two-legged	
151.	<i>wānəη ǰγođł</i>	shouldered sleigh	
152.	<i>mānə lǰlǰti-</i>	by me load-	
153.	<i>təli wəle[.]</i>	ed, behold.	
154.	<i>lāntəη wǰγāł</i>	Nourishing <i>wǰγāł</i>	
155.	<i>jəm jəηkǰ</i>	onto its good water	
156.	<i>nāmən jōγo ti-</i>	up being arri-	
157.	<i>ləli [!] wəle[.]</i>	ved, behold.	
158.	<i>lāntəη wǰγāł</i>	Nourishing <i>wǰγāł</i>	
159.	<i>jəm jəηkāmna</i>	on my good water	
160.	<i>put oη məłit</i>	with the depth of the	
		mouth of a pot	
161.	<i>ār sǰjām</i>	many streams	
162.	<i>nāηəm wǰjāγ</i>	female bear	

6 Great God, my father, mighty man, the man bringing summer, is putting his two tattooed hands onto the populated water, behold. (134–141)

The nourishing, good water of the *wǰγāł* is remembered, behold. (142–145)

Many sacks with hoarfrosted mouth, many hampers with hoarfrosted mouth are loaded by me onto the two-legged, shoulder-drawn sleigh. (146–153)

The good, nourishing water of the *wǰγāł* is reached, behold. (154–157)

At my good waters of the nourishing *wǰγāł*, the many streams, deep as the mouth of a pot, emit the sound of a bellowing female bear, a bellowing male bear. (158–166)

163.	<i>kááḹy wǎjǎy</i>	male (lit. nephew) bear	☞
164.	<i>lááem tur</i>	breathing throat	
165.	<i>náməṇ wəṛən-</i>	above is being done,	
166.	<i>təḷən wəḷe[.]</i>	behold.	
167.	<i>lántəṇ wǎyǎḷ</i>	Nourishing <i>wǎyǎḷ</i>	☞
168.	<i>jəm jəṅkám</i>	my good water	
169.	<i>ǎy,ǎs wǎḷi</i>	being at the northern/ lower course	
170.	<i>ǎy,ǎs jəṅk</i>	northern water	
171.	<i>čupǎḷnam</i>	to its section	
172.	<i>túḷəy pátəm</i>	frozen by wind	
173.	<i>kǒtəṇ jǎṅ,ko</i>	hand-having ice	
174.	<i>ǎy,ǎs wǎḷi</i>	being at the northern/ lower course	
175.	<i>ǎy,ǎs jəṅk</i>	northern water	
176.	<i>čupǎḷnam</i>	to its section	
177.	<i>ḷəy, tǐ nǎptǐ-</i>	it is floated,	
178.	<i>ḷəḷi [!] wəḷe[.]</i>	behold.	
179.	<i>nǎksám juṅ</i>	Bark-bared tree	☞
180.	<i>jəm toṅǎtḷ</i>	good raft	
181.	<i>mánə wəṛən-</i>	by me made,	
182.	<i>təḷi wəḷe[.]</i>	behold.	
183.	<i>pǎčǎm oṅpǐ</i>	Wet mouthed	☞
184.	<i>ǎr kǐrǎy</i>	many sacks	
185.	<i>ǎr jəṅǎḷ</i>	many hampers	
186.	<i>nǎksám juṅ</i>	bark-bared tree	
187.	<i>jəm toṅǎtḷ</i>	good raft	
188.	<i>náməṇ áḷti[.]</i>	above is carried,	
189.	<i>pǎčǎm oṅpǐ</i>	wet-mouthed	
190.	<i>ǎr kǐrǎy</i>	many sacks	
191.	<i>ǎr jəṅǎḷ</i>	many hampers	
192.	<i>náməṇ áḷti-</i>	above are carried,	
193.	<i>ḷəḷát wəḷe[.]</i>	behold	

☞ Hand-sized pieces of ice, frozen by wind, are floated towards the northern section, being at the northern course of my good water the nourishing *wǎyǎḷ*, behold. (167–178)

A good raft is made by me [from] bark-bared tree. (179–182)

Wet mouthed many sacks, many hampers are carried onto the good raft [made of] bark-bared tree (183–188), wet-mouthed many sacks, many hampers are being carried, behold. (189–193)

194.	<i>lāntəŋ wǎŋǎl</i>	Nourishing <i>wǎŋǎl</i>	
195.	<i>jəm jəŋkāmi</i>	from my good water	
196.	<i>nāksəm juŋ</i>	bark-bared tree,	
197.	<i>jəm toŋǎtlǎ</i>	good raft	
198.	<i>ǎŋōs wǎli</i>	being at the northern/ lower course	
199.	<i>ǎŋōs jəŋk</i>	northern water	
200.	<i>čupǎlnam</i>	to its section	
201.	<i>mānə nǎpti-</i>	by me floa-	
202.	<i>lǎli [!] wǎle[.]</i>	ted, behold.	
203.	<i>tārǎŋla</i>	By cranes	
204.	<i>pōrmǎlǎŋ⁸²</i>	trodden	
205.	<i>kāt ǎsŋən</i>	two rivers	
206.	<i>jǎŋǎrta</i>	to their crossing	
207.	<i>mānə jōŋōti-</i>	by me is arri-	
208.	<i>lǎli [!] wǎle[.]</i>	ved, behold.	
209.	<i>siri tōrǎm</i>	Earlier time	
210.	<i>wǎlǎmnǎ</i>	in (its) being	
211.	<i>kǎriška pǎŋ</i>	Griška's son	
212.	<i>romǎnka</i>	Romeńka	
213.	<i>toŋǎl wǎčǎŋ</i>	one of the city's	
214.	<i>tōrǎs ko</i>	merchant	
215.	<i>loksǎm iki</i>	friend	
216.	<i>kāt ǎsŋən</i>	two rivers	
217.	<i>jǎŋǎrta</i>	to their crossing	
218.	<i>jōŋōttǎ wǎr tǎjal[.]</i>	has a coming business.	
219.	<i>lǎko sār jōŋōti-</i>	He earlier arri-	
220.	<i>lǎlǎn [!] kuntǎ</i>	ves if,	
221.	<i>li lǎŋlǎm</i>	earlier expected	
222.	<i>jəm wǎjǎŋ</i>	good animal	
223.	<i>lǎŋō mǎn[t] lǎŋli-</i>	he is for me wait-	
224.	<i>lǎlǎn wǎle[.]</i>	ing, behold	

82. *por?*

“ I am paddling the good raft [made of] bark-bared tree from my good waters of the nourishing *wǎŋǎl* river towards the northern section being at the northern course. (194–202)

I arrive at the confluence of the two rivers trodden by cranes, behold. (203–208)

Earlier Griška's son Romeńka, a merchant from the city, a friend, usually comes to the crossing of the two rivers. (209–218)

If he, a good animal expected earlier, arrives earlier, then he waits for me, behold. (219–224)




225.	<i>mā sār jōy_otī-</i>	I earlier ar-	
226.	<i>lālam kuntā</i>	rive if,	
227.	<i>ilī lāy_olam</i>	earlier expected	
228.	<i>jəm wājāy</i>	good animal	
229.	<i>tāt jəm lāy_oli-</i>	thus well I am wai-	
230.	<i>lālam wāle[.]</i>	ting, behold.	
231.	<i>mānə leyi-</i>	While I am watch-	
232.	<i>lātālnə</i>	ing,	
233.	<i>kəriškā pāy</i>	Griška's son	
234.	<i>romānka</i>	Romeńka,	
235.	<i>loksām iki</i>	my friend	
236.	<i>lāy_o tī jāy_oi-</i>	thus he is co-	
237.	<i>lālan wāle.</i>	ming, behold.	
238.	<i>kər[iškā] pāy</i>	Griška's son	
239.	<i>rom[ānka]</i>	Romeńka	
240.	<i>loks[ām] i[ki]</i>	my friend	
241.	<i>tinəη tās</i>	expensive products	
242.	<i>pāl_hən kōt</i>	full hand	
243.	<i>kər[iškā] pāy</i>	Griška's son	
244.	<i>rom[ānka]</i>	Romeńka	
245.	<i>l[oksām] i[ki]</i>	with my bud-	
246.	<i>li_hkināt</i>	dy	
247.	<i>tinəη uč</i>	expensive stuff	
248.	<i>pāl_hən kōt</i>	full hand	
249.	<i>minnə luā_ody-</i>	by the two of us is be-	
250.	<i>lāli [!] wāle[.]</i>	ing stood, behold.	
251.	<i>mā tī tuyi</i>	I thus	
252.	<i>lāy_olamāmpə</i>	in my waiting	
253.	<i>pāčām o_hpī</i>	wet mouthed	
254.	<i>ār kīrāy</i>	many sacks	
255.	<i>ār jə_hə_ol</i>	many hampers	
256.	<i>nāmən wiyā_ol-</i>	[from] above is being lower-	
257.	<i>tālāt [!] wāle[.]</i>	ed, behold.	

☞ If I, a good animal expected earlier, arrive earlier, then I wait for him, behold. (225–230)

While I am looking around, Griška's son Romeńka, my friend is coming, behold. (231–237)

Griška's son, Romeńka, my friend, hand full of expensive products (238–242), with Griška's son Romeńka, my buddy, we are standing there, hand(s full of) expensive stuff. (243–250)

While I am waiting (251–252), the wet mouthed many sacks, many hampers are lowered to the ground, behold. (253–257)

258.	<i>kər[išká] pǎy</i>	Griška's son	 
259.	<i>rom[ôńka]</i>	Romeńka	
260.	<i>λ[oksâm] i[ki]</i>	my bud-	
261.	<i>liŋki wəle</i>	dy, behold,	
262.	<i>ləy_o tī tuymal</i>	by him brought	
263.	<i>kolápi</i>	endless	
264.	<i>oyǎl jermák</i>	strand of silk	
265.	<i>kuλiλi</i>	his pieces of filth	
266.	<i>utân álti-</i>	to the shore are be-	
267.	<i>ləyli wəle[.]</i>	ing brought, behold.	
268.	<i>ńál tōntǎy</i>	Birchbark	
269.	<i>ləy_omǎŋ kutâm</i>	my covered house	
270.	<i>təy_orəŋ juǎl</i>	its rotten wood	
271.	<i>tǎki tǎŋát</i>	to bursting	
272.	<i>tǎliá</i>	full	
273.	<i>pǎniłǎmal</i>	having packed	
274.	<i>ńál tōntǎy</i>	birchbark	
275.	<i>l[əy_omǎŋ] k[utâm]</i>	my covered house	
276.	<i>t[əy_orəŋ] j[uyǎl]</i>	its rotten wood	
277.	<i>kərišká pǎy</i>	Griška's son	
278.	<i>r[omôńka]</i>	Romeńka	
279.	<i>λ[oksâm] i[ki]</i>	my bud-	
280.	<i>liŋki wəle</i>	dy, behold	
281.	<i>jǎŋkǎ tǎl [ɔ: jǎŋkǎt i]</i>	on the water downwards	
282.	<i>mǎn[ǎ]m áłǎŋnam</i>	around the beginning of his going	
283.	<i>ləy_o tī mǎni-</i>	alas, he is go-	
284.	<i>ləyλǎn wəle.</i>	ing, behold.	

☞ Behold, Griška's son Romeńka, my friend, the endless many strands of silk brought by him are being taken ashore. (258–267)

Having packed my house of rotten wood, covered with birchbark, full to bursting (268–273), (from) my birchbark-covered house of rotten wood, Griška's son Romeńka, my buddy, behold, is about to go away downstream on the water, behold. (274–284)

Notes

Lines 1–3

☞ A hundred bear feast songs, a hundred songs from here, a wooded...

There is a long horizontal line in the manuscript indicating that the sentence is unfinished. Perhaps this is still part of the title.

Lines 4–12

↪ ↻
 “ Great God, my good father, a mighty man, lowers seven boys/sons on the far end of a golden rope onto a populated water, an inhabited water.

6. *ἰλιᾶθμ κο*. Karjalainen was uncertain in its interpretation, as shown by his marginal note. The word is probably a nonfinite form of the verb *αλι* ‘to rule’.

Lines 13–18

↪
 “ Great God, my father lowers seven boys in the middle of the nourishing *ωᾶγᾶλ*.

13. *ωᾶγᾶλ*. According to the dictionaries, this is the Khanty name of the river Vogulka (KT 215; D 1575; T 515), but perhaps this name does not refer exactly to this river, see the notes to lines 22–23.

Lines 19–23

↪
 “ He lowers me, the prince of the distant headwater of the nourishing *ωᾶγᾶλ*, swinging, to the good water of this nourishing *ωᾶγᾶλ*.

21. *μᾶνem ἰᾶτίγᾶλ*. Karjalainen’s question mark on the margin indicates uncertainty. The verb in this form is not attested in the Trj dialect.

22–23. *ᾶντᾶη ωᾶγᾶλ κῶγῶ τῶγ κᾶν*. This is one of the names of the deity *kān iki*. Karjalainen got the information from the Surgut Khanty that “the deity lives somewhere at the Lower Ob, on the bank of a river named *ωᾶγᾶλ*. This is where his name comes from, ‘the prince of the distant headwater of the nourishing *ωᾶγᾶλ*’, where even a little house was built for him”⁸³ (JugrUsk 255; FFC 44: 187; Relig2: 142).

Lines 24–35

↪
 “ At the time of the birth of the first world, your auntie, a spotted nutcracker of the wood, flew with an elbow-length large yellow pine cone in the middle of this grassy, rime-frost edged middle-size lake.

Lines 36–39

↪
 “ She dropped it onto the holy ground she had already heard of.

38–39. *ἰᾶ ρᾶγᾶπτᾶτᾶτᾶγ ωᾶλε* ‘dropped it, behold’. Fillers that are either semantically empty or lack any kind of lexical meaning play an important role in the language of the Surgut Khanty songs. One characteristic type marks the end of lines having verbs; in this case, it is *ωᾶλε* ‘as [conjunction]; behold [emphatic

83. Haltia asuu jossakin ala-Obilla, *Vayal’* nimisellä joella – siitä nimitys ”viljaisen *Vayal’*in kaukalatvan *kān*” –, jossa hänelle on rakennettuna jurtta.

particle]’. The words *māntā*, *lǎw* can play a similar role (Csepregi 1997c). The word *wāle* appears in the following lines (bracketed numbers indicate cases where the word appears at the end of a non-verbal line): 48, 52, 58, 88, (89), 97, 101, 105, 111, 128, 133, 141, 145, 153, 157, 166, 178, 182, 193, 208, 224, 230, 237, 250, 257, (261), 267, (280), 284.

Lines 40–48

↪ Spotted nutcracker, sand martin – behold, there appeared a little island the size of the bowl of a soup-ladle, the size of the bowl of a mug, a large island wooded by yellow pine.

40. *wārâp kât’an* ‘spotted nutcracker, sand martin’. This is not a part of the current sentence, but a reference to the previous sentence telling that it was a spotted nutcracker who dropped the yellow pine cone, which became a little woodland within the swamp.

45–46. *luŋk ko juŋâp anāl pāj* ‘a large island (wooded by the) tree of the ghost man’. The word *pāj* in itself refers to an island where yellow pines grow. Yellow pine is a sacred tree among the Khanty, they regard it as God’s tree (*luŋk ko juŋ*).

47–48. *tōŋōât eyōantaylan*. Karjalainen inserted a word boundary at the wrong place; correctly it should read *tōŋōâ teŋōantaylan* ‘there (LAT) (= there (LOC)) appeared’

Up to this point, the song was about the creation of world; the following parts contain the plot.

Lines 49–52

↪ Behold, I am sitting/living in my house with rafters and forest spirits.

49. *jūļili*. The forest spirit (*jūļi*) frequently appears in the attributes associated with houses or doors; I do not know the reason for this. I have no information pertaining to the Khanty people ever having some kind of a door idol. As the hero of this song is a supernatural being (*luŋk*), it is possible that its house gets a similar attribute owing to this, although a *luŋk* is a higher-order spirit than a *jūļi*.

51–52. *mānā āmsj- | lāli wāle*. It happens several times in the song that vowels change in verbs occupying two lines: a verb containing back vowels continues with front vowels in the second line, that is, diacritics marking backness are omitted from the second line. The diacritics indicating the articulatory features of the consonants are present, that is, this phenomenon cannot be indicative of a rough, hasty writing type. As it is possible that a verb with originally back vowels indeed continues (in a non-harmonic manner) with front

vowels in the second line, I did not correct these cases, but marked them instead with an exclamation mark [!]. Further such cases in this song are in lines 87–88, 96–97, 127–128, 132–133, 140–141, 144–145, 156–157, 177–178, 201–202, 207–208, 219–220, 249–250. In line 204, where the verb occupies a single line, it contains back vowels throughout: *põrmiλāλi*. In lines 256–257, the last syllable of the verb contains a front vowel in which the front feature is explicitly marked: *wiyāλ- | tāāt*. It is possible that this is the first trace of the disappearance of vowel harmony. See also: Trj2/10, 14, Trj4/547.

Lines 53–58

- “ Great God, my good father created such an autumn in the thin snow of which the hunting dogs can run easily. (This is the beginning of autumn.)

Lines 59–60

- “ A new day began.

Lines 61–66

- “ What a wealth of many mornings with hoarfrosted mouths the Great God, my good father is preparing!

Lines 67–75

- “ From the direction of the northern sky it seems as if a colorful, patchy *jāyλaki* was tearing apart, as if a leather strap, a leather harness was crumbling.

70. *jāyλaki*. Unknown word, Karjalainen also marked it with a question mark. On the basis of the context, this could refer to a swarm of insects or a flock of birds, but it can also be a metaphor of snowclouds.

Lines 76–88

- “ On the bank of my good river, the nourishing *wāyāλ* I see the Nenets girls, Nenets boys moving with such a long caravan of sleighs that a shot arrow would not reach its end; they are floating on the river downstream, towards the North.

It is possible that this is also a metaphor: the above-quoted mythical song from the Jugan also contains a trope in which the silt of a river is compared to the caravans of nomadic Nenets (Csepregi 1997a: 71; 1997b: 310). In the Northern Khanty heroic epic songs it is the ice floes floating one after another, during the time when the ice breaks up, that are compared to the caravans of Nenets sleighs (BiblPáp III: 185/747).

Lines 89–97

- ‘ At one time, behold, the hard wood and the wood of the birch sticks together with the help of the glue cooked from sturgeon owing to the hands of the toiling man.

In these lines the singer summarizes the process of making a compound bow: hardwood (ΛΑΛ), making up the inner arch of the bow, and softwood (*kuť*), usually birch, making up the outer part of the bow, are joined together with glue (cf. Patkanov 1900: 233; VNGy II/1: 0542). On making glue from sturgeon, see Sirelius 1904: 51.

Lines 98–105

- ‘ I am making the good beginning of bow-stuff, I am making the good beginning of arrow-stuff (= I am working on repairing my bow and my arrows).

Lines 106–111

- ‘ I am walking towards the forest like a forest spirit with a basket on its back.

108–109. *kjntâŋ čöŋčpi wönt jŭli*. The attribute meaning ‘with a basket on its back’ hints that the hunt will take a long time (EPS; Balalajeva et al. 2021: 38). In the Šerkaly bear-feast folklore this is one of the attributes of a bear killed: *nj̄p̄an šašp̄a unt tunχ p̄ōχ* ‘son of a basket-backed forest spirit’ (Schmidt 2008: 154.) Further occurrences of this idiom are Trj4/66–67, 73–74.

Lines 112–118

- ‘ In the forest above I have a house covered with clawed bearskin, frozen bearskin.

Lines 119–120

- ‘ A new day began.

119. *kät̄l̄i n̄āl̄aγ*. Perhaps a mistake made during segmenting words; correctly it would read *kät̄l̄in̄ āl̄aγ* ‘the beginning of the day, when the new day breaks’ (LNK).

Lines 121–128

- ‘ I hang up on my belt a wealth of male sable cubs with bent claws, squirrels with bent claws, caught with a noose loop.

121, 123. *moȳol̄âŋ kŭŋčpi* ‘with bent claws’. The base of the adjective is probably the noun *moȳâl̄* ‘turn, curve’. The form of the adjective is *moȳ!eŋ* (Trj4/118) in a further occurrence.

125. *tárniλiλ* unknown meaning; given its morphological form, it is also problematic to figure out how it fits into the sentence. Perhaps it has something to do with the verb Kaz *tarən-* ‘fight, bustle about’ (KT 1021; D 1476). The same phrase occurs in another song as well: *mokkuj nōyâs tárniλiλ* ‘a male sable cub is ?bustling about’ (Trj4/119–120)

Lines 129–133

↻ I am shuffling many sacks, many hampers with hoarfrosted mouths, behold.

129. *páčâm oŋpi* ‘with hoarfrosted mouth’. In lines 146 and 148, the form of this attribute is *páčâm*, whereas it is *páčâm* ‘damp, soaked’ in lines 183, 189, and 253, in the same construction. It is possible that the word *sack* has an epithet, and one of these forms is simply a writing mistake. The other possibility is that the singer keeps alternating these attributes.

Lines 134–141

↻ Great God, my good father, the man bringing summer, behold, put his two tattooed hands upon the waters inhabited by man (= melting began with the ice cracking up and floes floating downriver).

139. *jəytən kōtyən* ‘tattooed hands (DU)’; according to the dictionaries, *jiytəŋ* (KT 150; D 354; T 74).

140–141. *λəyō tī pānyântəλyən*. Perhaps this is an inaccurate verb form, correctly: *pānyântə-λ-ən* put-PRS-3SG; cf. lines 132–133 and the subsection on conjugation (pp. 62–64).

Lines 142–145

↻ The nourishing water of the good *wăyâλ* occurs to me, behold.

Lines 146–153

↻ I am pulling many sacks with hoarfrosted mouths, many baskets with covered tops on my sledge sliding on two runners.

150. *kit kūr̄p əntāp*. This is perhaps a mistake made during segmentation; correctly: *kit kūr̄ pəntāp* ‘with a two-foot runner’. The word *pənt* ‘road’ is also used to refer to the runner of a sledge (LNK).

151. *wānəŋ ăyōðλ*, correctly perhaps: *wānəŋ ăyōðλ* ‘sledge with shoulder’; a sledge into which one harnesses oneself, with the reins on one’s back.

Lines 154–157

↻ I arrive at the good water of the nourishing *wăyâλ*, behold.

Lines 158–166

‘ On my good water of the nourishing *wǎyǎl*, the streams appearing in the river wall, deep as a pot, buzz as loudly as the roar of a female bear or a male bear.

163. *kǎlǎy wǎjǎy* ‘male bear’. *kǎlǎy* ‘nephew’, a hint at the kinship of bears and men. Bears are addressed using kinship terms (little brother, big brother) during the bear feast, especially by the members of the bear clan (LNK).

Lines 167–178

‘ On my good water, the nourishing *wǎyǎl*, the pieces of ice frozen during winter float north.

173. *kǒtǎj jǎŋ_ok_o* ‘? hand-having ice’ – obscure meaning; perhaps a piece of ice that can be grabbed.

Lines 179–182

‘ I make a raft from bark-bared tree.

Lines 183–193

‘ I am lifting many wet-mouthed sacks, many hampers onto the watercraft, I load it with the many wet-mouthed sacks, many hampers.

183. *pǎčǎm oŋpi*. See the note to line 129.

Lines 194–202

‘ On my good water of the nourishing *wǎyǎl* I am floating towards north on the good raft made of bark-bared tree.

Lines 203–208

‘ I arrived at the confluence/crossing of the two rivers trodden by cranes.

Lines 209–218

‘ Earlier a merchant from the city, a friend of mine, Griška’s son Romeńka used to come to the confluence of the two rivers.

215. *loksǎm iki* ‘my friend’. Cf. *loγǎs* ‘friend’. On the basis of the dictionary (D 743) and contemporary use, the form with the possessive affix would be *luksǎm*, but in this case there is no vowel alternation.

218. *jǒy_oǎttǎ wǎr tǎja_l* ‘has (owns) a coming thing’ – a habitual construction (usually comes).

Lines 219–224

‘ If he arrives earlier, he waits for me, behold.

Lines 225–230

‘ If I arrive earlier, I wait for him, behold.

Lines 231–237

‘ While I am looking around, my friend, Griška’s son Romeńka, is coming, behold.

Lines 238–250

‘ My buddy’s hand, Griška’s son Romeńka’s hands are full of expensive merchandise, we exchange the expensive clothes.

Lines 251–257

‘ While I was waiting, I put the many wet-mouthed sacks, many hampers onto the shore, behold.

252. *λᾶγδαμᾶμπᾶ* ‘while I was waiting’. The vowel in the first syllable of the verbal stem is *ā* (*λᾶγδα*). According to Karjalainen’s text, the non-finite form contains a short vowel.

Lines 258–267

‘ My buddy, Griška’s son Romeńka brings the endless amount of expensive silk brought by him ashore, behold.

263. *κολλᾶπι*. Karjalainen underlined the word, indicating that he did not understand it. It might be the same as *κόλλᾶπᾶ* ‘endlessly’ (cf. Trj2/18).

Lines 268–284

‘ Having filled my house of rotten wood, covered with birchbark, full up to bursting, my friend, Griška’s son Romeńka, left on the water along the shore from my house of rotten wood, covered with birchbark, to the place where he had come from, behold.

271. *ṽaki tāṽat* an intensifier meaning ‘extensively, extremely, fully’ documented only in the Southern dialects, cf. Vértes 2004: 172.

273. *pāñiḷmaḷ* ‘having been loaded’. The base is the verb *pāñ-* ‘place, put’. It is possible that the form *pāñiḷ-* is a variant used in the language of songs.

281. *jəṽkə tḷ* wrong segmentation; correctly: *jəṽkət iḷ* ‘downstream on the water’ (cf. Trj4/164).

Trj4 – Heroic song

This is an incomplete heroic song consisting of 646 lines, 1,322 words on pages 33–69 of that part of the manuscript that bears the title page *Tremjugan. Kielennäytteitä II*. ‘Tremjugan. Language Specimens II’.

The title of the song specifies its genre as well, which Karjalainen describes as follows: “*tarnəŋ arəŋ* (or *kāntəŋ arəŋ*) martial song or Khanty epic song: an ancient song, an Ostyak epic song in which heroes always travel by reindeer (these are sung without instrumental music” (KT 1021).⁸⁴

The base (*tārən, terən*) of the attribute *tarnəŋ* is known throughout the territory where Khanty is spoken, it is a name of a deity that causes accidents, injuries, or bloodshed (JugrUsk 363; FFC 44: 356; Relig2: 261).

The subheading is difficult to interpret, as it is difficult to identify any of the heroes appearing in the song with the deity *kān iki*. The person that speaks in first person singular is the female protagonist, the goddess appearing in the appearance of a female sable, a sable cub.

The content of the song

In the beginning of the song a female deity, the “Goddess appearing in the appearance of female sable, a sable cub” (in what follows, Sable-faced-Goddess) tells that the scene of the events to follow is the “prince-like city of the ghost’s leg’s man, ghost’s leg’s man”. This is her seat, this is from where her name spreads throughout the world (1–27). The city becomes quiet by night, where – as the inhabitants have no reason to avenge the deaths’ of their forbears – life is peaceful (28–49). Summer ends, autumn begins (50–61). The subjects of the goddess leave to hunt, some of them towards the direction of the pine forest, some of them towards the deciduous forest (62–75). Women stay at home, waiting (76–82). They work, sew, embroider in the curtain-partitioned part of the room (83–96). The hunters return. Those who went to the pine forest offer squirrels to the goddess, those who went to the deciduous forest offer sables to the goddess (97–121). The singer’s interjection: why on Earth am I telling this song that makes no sense (122–126). In the city, clairvoyant women predict the arrival of foreign armies, clairvoyant men predict the arrival of a group who wish to make a proposal for marriage, and therefore the locals post guards (127–139). Preparation for the attack begins: everyone is bustling about, men and women peer at the surroundings through the nooks of the castle (city). There are two large sleighs approaching from

84. *tarnəŋ arəŋ* (t. *kāntəŋ arəŋ*) vanha laulu, ostj. kertomaruno, jossa aina poroilla sankarit matkustavat (näitä lauletaan ilman säestystä).

the lower course of the river: two sons of God, equal heroes of a similar size are approaching on the sleighs (158–174). The one that comes in front is the goddess's son named "Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater" (in what follows, Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater), his sleigh is drawn by two fine reindeer (175–194). The hero that follows him is also well known all around, his name is "Hard-Mail-Ornamented-with-Animals" (in what follows, Hard-Mail) (195–219). He tells that he comes from the "City of the Clump of Hair of the Braided Idol" (in what follows, City-of-the-Braided-Idol), and the inhabitants of the house run to him (220–227). Behind the curtain, Sable-faced-Goddess prepares for cooking, and a little later she hears the sounds of feet treading on the porch (228–245). The two heroes are coming, the jingling sound of their mail and sabers is audible. They open the door and enter the house (246–267). They bow their heads toward the sacred corner of the house, and sit at the edge of the sleeping place (268–282). The cooking woman puts meat into a handled cauldron, fills it with water, and sets it over the fire (283–295). When the meat is cooked, she pulls the cauldron off the fire and puts the food on wooden plates (296–310). The three deities (the goddess and her two guests) start to eat (311–317). Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater starts to speak, and says that if the Sable-faced-Goddess feels like going to the City-of-the-Braided-Idol, she should comb her hair [these were probably the words of a proposal for marriage, told by the brother of the fiance instead of the fiance himself] (318–347). After the feast they spend as much time in the house as it takes for three cords of chopped firewood to burn in the stove, and then the subjects troop out of the house (348–372). Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater goes to sleep in the watchtower, whereas Sable-faced-Goddess and her fiance lie down in the cozy corner behind the curtain, and they sleep with occasional waking while the stars shine above (373–397). Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater wakes them, saying that they should not leave their city without its ruler for long (398–428). The young couple get up from their sleeping place and the goddess puts on an ornate cloak (429–442). The singer's interjection: what on Earth follows after all this (443). Hard-Mail sits on his sleigh, Sable-faced-Goddess carries the food and drink prepared for the wedding outside and puts them on the sleigh (444–468). The singer's interjection: why on Earth am I telling this song that makes no sense (469–476). Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater goes in front, down along the river, he is shaking the reins, it seems as if the animals were flying, the distance between the three rivers is decreasing (477–501). As Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater looks ahead, he already sees the shining weapons in the City of the Braided Idol (502–524). Sable-faced-Goddess also sees the city walls made of dense iron and stone. Soon they arrive at the city (525–542). They enter their houses, first

Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater into his own, then Hard-Mail and the goddess into theirs that is already prepared for the nuptials (543–565). Sable-faced-Goddess puts the food behind the curtain (566–576). Hard-Mail commands that twenty reindeer cows be brought from the forest with lichen above the city, and twenty reindeer bulls from the grassy shore of the lake (614–627). They prepared a feast worthy of gods, lasting for many days, many nights (627–639). After the passing of seven days, seven nights they return to their original activities: they make wind, they make rain, they iterate last year’s weather (640–646).

The identity of the heroes and the series of events can be deduced from the kinship terms used in this song. Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater addresses Hard-Mail as brother, and Sable-faced-Goddess as sister-in-law (specifically, ‘older brother’s wife’), whereas she calls him brother-in-law (‘husband’s younger brother’). From this we can infer that Hard-Mail came to the city to make a proposal for marriage. The word that is used by the goddess to refer to Hard-Mail (*kutâm*) does not occur in dictionaries, but its meaning might be either ‘suitor’ or ‘fiance’. The speaker almost always speaks in the first person singular in the name of the Sable-faced-Goddess, who does not pay much attention to his suitor. Instead, she makes comments on the deeds of her brother-in-law, Hero-from-the-Velvet-Scoter-Backwater.

***tårnəŋ ărəŋ* [Heroic song]** ㄣ
***kån iki ărəŋ* [The prince’s (The world-watching man’s) song]**

1.	<i>auŋkât kōr ko</i>	Ghost-faced-man,	☞
2.	<i>kālat̄⁸⁵ [kōr ko]</i>	spirit-faced-man,	
3.	<i>ōrtāŋ wāč</i>	[into] its city with a prince,	
4.	<i>məŋŋ[ə] imaij[.]</i>	by us was sat.	
5.	<i>ən[ə] wāč kūt̄p̄ālanə</i>	In the middle of a big city,	☞
6.	<i>kōjəŋ nōŋ_oâs⁸⁶</i>	“Female sable,	
7.	<i>mok [nōŋ_oâs]</i>	sable cub	
8.	<i>kōraŋ nâj[.]</i>	form-having Goddess”,	

85. = *auŋk*

86. *naaras sopuli* [female sable]

☞ We took our seat in the city of the Ghost-faced man, spirit-faced man with a prince. (1–4)

In the middle of a big city, I, “Goddess the form of a female sable, sable

9.	<i>ən[ə]λ wáč kũtpǎ́lnə</i>	in the middle of a big city	☞
10.	<i>[ənəλ] puyðλ [kũtpǎ́lnə]</i>	in the middle of a big village	
11.	<i>mán[ə] ǎmðsλi[.]</i>	by me is sat.	
12.	<i>əj iwλi ǎmðsλi</i>	Together reigned	☞
13.	<i>nájəŋ kut⁸⁷ jəŋk</i>	six waters with a Lady	
14.	<i>örtəŋ [kut jəŋk]</i>	six waters with a Lord	
15.	<i>är məy ǎðkkə⁸⁸ [ɔ: ʎðkkə]</i>	into the corners of many lands	
16.	<i>tú nǎmám tuλi[.]</i>	that name of mine is taken,	
17.	<i>kǔjəy ńðy_ðs</i>	“Female sable	
18.	<i>mok [ńðy_ðs]</i>	sable cub	
19.	<i>kǔraŋ náj</i>	faced Goddess”	
20.	<i>tú n[ǎmám] tuλi[.]</i>	that name of mine is brought,	
21.	<i>məy_ə nǎməλ</i>	which kind of name	
22.	<i>nǎmili[.]</i>	is named,	
23.	<i>λuŋkət kũr ko</i>	“Ghosts’-leg-man,	
24.	<i>káλtət [kũr ko]</i>	spirits’-leg-man,	
25.	<i>örtəŋ wáč</i>	(his) prince-like city”	
26.	<i>məy_ə nǎməλ</i>	what kind of name	
27.	<i>nǎmili[.]</i>	is called.	
28.	<i>λuŋ[k] pətəyλətm</i>	Deity’s dark	☞
29.	<i>sǎrmán jəj⁸⁹</i>	dark night	
30.	<i>wǎrantətə</i>	doing	
31.	<i>látne</i>	in time	
32.	<i>kujǎλ kũr siŋ⁹⁰</i>	the sound of man’s footsteps	
33.	<i>tǎrəm ǎλəŋ</i>	its strong end	
34.	<i>ček_ín kǔryǎjǎλ[.]⁹¹</i>	ceases with difficulties.	

87. kuusi (6) ? [six (6)?]

88. kaikkialla [everywhere]

89. yölläkin [also at night]

90. ihmisten liike [movement of people]

91. tuskin loppuu [hardly finishes]

☞ cub”, sit in the middle of a big city, in the middle of a big village. (5–11)

Into the corners of many lands of six waters with a Lady, of six waters with a Lord, ruled together, my name is spread, the name: Goddess-Appearing-in-the-Form-of-a-Female-Sable-a-Sable-Cub (12–19), that name of mine is brought that is used in the prince-like city of ghosts’-leg-man, spirits’-leg-man, that name is called. (20–27)

At the time when God made the dark night fall (28–31), the sounds of the strong footsteps of men cease with difficulty. (32–34)

35.	<i>mätä jəŋk</i>	Some kind of water	
36.	<i>[mätä] məɣ</i>	some kind of land	
37.	<i>səŋəla</i>	into its corner	
38.	<i>jəɣ wǎləm</i>	father killed	
39.	<i>əs [wǎləm]</i>	mother killed	
40.	<i>tirəŋ nur</i>	martial avenging	
41.	<i>[tirəŋ] pənt</i>	martial road	
42.	<i>əntə təjtay,at[,]</i> ⁹²	as we don't have,	
43.	<i>luŋkət kür ko</i>	“Ghosts’-leg-man,	
44.	<i>kālatət [kür ko]</i>	spirits’-leg-man	
45.	<i>örtəŋ wǎč</i>	his prince-like city”	
46.	<i>wāt kǎjla</i> ⁹³	wind left	
47.	<i>tǎɣəŋ lār</i>	windless lake	
48.	<i>[tǎɣəŋ] pǒŋəla</i>	its silent bank	
49.	<i>məŋnə tǎɣəŋy[ə] əməsli[.]</i> ⁹⁴	is sat silently by us.	
50.	<i>kojəm ku</i>	Spawning fish	
51.	<i>imine</i>	by woman	
52.	<i>mukəl pəytəm</i> ⁹⁵	having spawned	
53.	<i>kǒɣə lǒŋǒɣə</i>	our long summer	
54.	<i>kǒlɪptəl[,]</i> ⁹⁶	finishes	
55.	<i>ŋir kǒri pun</i>	[as] the fur on our boots	
56.	<i>məŋnə kǒlɪptəl[.]</i>	by us is ended.	

92. Missään maan äärissä ei meiltä kukaan vaadi kostoja? ole mitään kostettavaa (?) so. olemme rauhaisan välein emmekä käy sotaa [we aren't required to avenge anything anywhere in the world (?) we don't have anything to avenge (?) that is, we live in peace, we don't go to war]

93. (koste (-ranta)?) [(small calm place in a river (along the shore)?)]

94. мирно живемъ [we live in peace]

95. kun kala synnyttää(?) [when the fish give birth(?)]

96. kesämme loppuun elämme (lopetamme) [we live up to the end of summer (we finish it)]

☞ As we don't have a martial avenging, a martial road into any corners of waters or lands (35–42), the silent bank of the wind-left, windless lake of “the prince-like city of ghosts’-leg-man, spirits’-leg-man” is inhabited silently by us. (43–49)

After the fish have spawned, our long summer ends as the fur on our boots wears away. (50–56)

57.	<i>ən[ə]Λ tōrām ko</i>	Great man God	
58.	<i>jəm jəγəγ_o</i>	our good father	
59.	<i>kār αῶη[k]⁹⁷ kǎñ[t]maη</i>	sticking [to the] hooves of a reindeer bull	☞ ☞
60.	<i>kǎr[ə̃] səγ_oəs</i>	autumn with slight snow	
61.	<i>təγə wǎrən təΛən[.]</i>	prepares here.	
62.	<i>pá əjəη ko</i>	One small man	☞
63.	<i>pǎγi.λi.λam</i>	my sonnies	
64.	<i>jǎγmǎnpi</i>	with pine forest	
65.	<i>pǎləknām</i>	into direction	
66.	<i>kintāη čǎñ[č̣]pi</i>	[as] with a basket on back	
67.	<i>wǎñ[t] jǎli⁹⁸</i>	forest spirit	
68.	<i>α[γ_o] keΛγən təΛtəγ[.]⁹⁹</i>	he went up,	
69.	<i>pá əjəη ko</i>	other small man	
70.	<i>pǎγi.λi.λam</i>	my sonnies	
71.	<i>wǎñtāηpi</i>	with thick forest	
72.	<i>pǎləknām</i>	into direction	
73.	<i>kintāη čǎñ[č̣]pi</i>	[as] with a basket on back	
74.	<i>wǎñ[t] jǎli</i>	forest spirit	
75.	<i>α[γ_o] keΛγən təΛtəγ[.]</i>	he went up there.	
76.	<i>kǎΛ[ə̃] mǎnəm</i>	[Into] somewhere going	☞
77.	<i>jəγiγ_oət</i>	let's become	
78.	<i>ιλi kurēm</i>	in front watched	
79.	<i>ǎλēη wǎjə̃γ</i>	[as] first animal	
80.	<i>kǎλi kurēm</i>	everywhere watched	
81.	<i>ǎλēη wǎjə̃γ</i>	[as] first animal	
82.	<i>məη kurēm tǎΛoy_o[.]¹⁰⁰</i>	we wait.	

97. kavio [hoof]

98. Kylän miehet, toiset palvelijani menevät kangasmaahan päin kontti seljässä [the men of the village, my other servants go towards the pine forest with baskets on their backs]

99. (Ei nyky kiel) [(Not contemporary language)]

100. kaikki (naiset) ovat kotona eivät minnekään menneet, ei ole työtä [every (woman) is at home, they don't go anywhere, there is no work]

☞ Great God, our good father, prepares an autumn with slight snow sticking to the hooves of a reindeer bull here. (57–61)

One half of my little sons (= my subjects) go towards the pine forest like forest spirits with baskets on their backs (62–68), the other half of my little sons (= my subjects) go towards the thick forest like forest spirits with baskets on their backs. (69–75)

Let's turn into [something] somewhere left (76–77), we are waiting like the first animal, being fully alert. (78–82)

83.	<i>kātlena</i>	Daily	
84.	<i>keλayli</i> ¹⁰¹	it is gotten up	
85.	<i>tōyoλāη λuη[k] kōr</i>	feathery ghost image	
86.	<i>pāñλāη [λuηk kōr]</i> ¹⁰²	winged ghost image	
87.	<i>rāpγiλ sājnə</i> ¹⁰³	behind the hanging curtain	
88.	<i>wā[y] kōriḡ</i> ¹⁰⁴	iron/copper shaped	
89.	<i>kos ār[t]nat</i>	with twenty girl-servants	
90.	<i>soyo nārāy</i>	sturgeon ganoin [shaped pattern]	
91.	<i>kāri [nārāy]</i>	sterlet ganoin [shaped pattern]	
92.	<i>wāt pānā</i>	[with] thin thread made of sinew	
93.	<i>māηnə wārən təli[.]</i> ¹⁰⁵	by us is made,	
94.	<i>čuy o[k]kāη</i>	pointy headed	
95.	<i>ār kāncā</i>	many embroideries	
96.	<i>māηnə wārən təli[.]</i>	by us are made.	
97.	<i>jāymānḡi</i>	Pine forest	
98.	<i>pālāknām</i>	into the direction of	
99.	<i>keλyāntām</i>	gone up	
100.	<i>ājəη ko</i>	young man	
101.	<i>pāyiūt</i>	lads	
102.	<i>nāmən wiγāλλāt[.]</i> ¹⁰⁶	descend/come home.	
103.	<i>wāč nājyā</i>	As the lady of the city	
104.	<i>wāltam pātān</i> ¹⁰⁷	because of my being	
105.	<i>puyāλ nājyā</i>	as the lady of the village	
106.	<i>w[āltam] p[ātān]</i>	because of my being	

101. joka päivä nousemme ylös [we wake up every day]

102. makuusi- [at the sleep-]

103. jalla [ing place]

104. одежда [outfit]

105. *ār*t naispalvelija tekevät pieniä askareita [servant girl doing small chores]

106. tulevat kotiin [they come home]

107. minulle emännälle [for me, a housewife]

☞ We wake up every day (83–84), behind the hanging curtain featuring the image of a feathery ghost image, a winged ghost image, we, twenty girl servants, iron/copper shaped (85–89), with thin thread made of sinew, we are making patterns similar to the ganoin of the sturgeon, the ganoin of the sterlet (90–93), many pointy-headed embroideries are made by us. (94–96)

Lads that had left towards the direction of the pine forest return. (97–102)

As I am the lady of the city, the lady of the village (103–106), young

107.	<i>ájəη ko</i> ¹⁰⁸	young man	☞
108.	<i>pǎyǐ(ǎ)tnə</i>	lads	
109.	<i>wərtən pítʰpi</i>	with trip-rod and loop	
110.	<i>nirit ǎŋki</i>	[on] sticks squirrel	
111.	<i>mántəm wiyǎλ tǎtiǎ[.]</i>	to me give.	
112.	<i>wǒntǎŋpi</i>	Forest	☞
113.	<i>pǎlǎknám -----</i>	into the direction of	
114.	<i>[kəlyǎntəm</i>	gone up	
115.	<i>ájəη ko</i>	young man	
116.	<i>pǎyǐ(ǎ)ti</i>	lads	
117.	<i>námən wiyǎλλǎt[.]</i>	come home.	
118.	<i>moγl[e[η] kǎŋ[č]pi</i>	With bent claws	☞
119.	<i>mo[k]kuj ńǒyǎs</i>	male sable cub	
120.	<i>tǎrniǎliǎ</i>	a wealth of	
121.	<i>mántəm wiyǎλ tǎtiǎ[.]</i>	put in front of me for me	☞
122.	<i>ǎrəy niŋe</i>	Your singing woman	☞
123.	<i>ńǎyǎǎmǎi</i> ¹⁰⁹	said by	
124.	<i>wiyǎŋ ǎrəy</i>	false song	
125.	<i>ǎŋtiǎ kǒǎ</i>	read word	
126.	<i>mǎyǎǎliǎ tuǎi[.]</i> ¹¹⁰	its whatever is brought	☞
127.	<i>ǎŋkǎt kǎŋ ko</i>	Ghosts'-leg's-man	☞
128.	<i>ǒrtǎŋ wǎčnǎ</i>	in the prince-like city	
129.	<i>kǎǎtǎt kǎŋ ko</i>	spirits'-leg's-man	
130.	<i>ǒ[rtǎŋ] w[ǎčnǎ]</i>	in the prince-like city	

108. antavat [they give]

109. mutta turha [but in vain]

110. miksi laulan [why am I singing]

☞ men, lads, give me squirrels caught with a trap. (107–111)

Lads that had left towards the direction of the pine forest return.
(112–117)

They put in front of me a wealth of male sable cubs with bent claws.
(118–121)

What is brought of the false song, the read word said by your singing woman? (122–126)

In the prince-like city of the ghosts'-leg's-man (127–128), in the prince-like city of the spirits'-leg's-man (129–130), after the many women

131.	<i>λάλ σάμ wutā</i>	seed of war seeing	☞
132.	<i>ār imip̄lāt</i>	many women	
133.	<i>λάλ σάμ ojāy tām̄iλ[.]</i> ¹¹¹	after they noticed the seed of war,	
134.	<i>māj sām [w]utā</i>	proposal making seed seeing	
135.	<i>ār ikip̄lāt</i>	many men	
136.	<i>māj sām ojāy tām̄iλ[.]</i>	after they noticed the proposal making seed	
137.	<i>kāt kuγān pāy</i>	two men's son,	
138.	<i>kolām ko pāy</i>	three men's son	
139.	<i>λυ(δ)χ̄tāλ̄i[.]</i>	is set [as guard].	
140.	<i>λυη[k] jāčāη kātλ</i>	God middle day	☞
141.	<i>jāčāyā</i> ¹¹²	into its middle	
142.	<i>əntā jatəna</i>	not having reached	
143.	<i>wāč ājəη ko</i>	young man of the city	
144.	<i>ār pāyλam</i>	many sons	
145.	<i>λəγə wārən tām̄iλ[.]</i>	they are getting ready.	
146.	<i>kāčām soγo</i>	[As] hot sturgeon	☞
147.	<i>keγorām [soγo]</i> ¹¹³	warm sturgeon	
148.	<i>jəηki putnā</i>	in a pot with water	
149.	<i>tutnā oγi jām̄iλ[.]</i>	they were turning around.	
150.	<i>urəη kāt</i>	Cornered house	☞
151.	<i>ur̄iλ̄iλa</i>	to its corner	
152.	<i>tōγoδ koγλ̄i λ̄iλ̄i[.]</i>	they run there,	
153.	<i>imp̄al wānč</i>	female face	
154.	<i>sātāη āλāη</i>	its strong end	
155.	<i>kujāλ wānč</i>	male face	
156.	<i>s[ātāη] ā[λāη]</i>	its strong end	
157.	<i>kōλnam wāλ̄i λ̄iγat[.]</i>	where do they turn.	

111. naiset ennustavat että [women foretell that]

112. ei tullut päivä vielä puoleen [it is not yet noon]

113. осетръ [sturgeon]

☞ that had seen the seed of war noticed the seed of war (131–133), after the many men that had seen the seed of proposal noticed the seed of proposal (135–136), two men's sons, three men's sons are posted as guards. (137–139)

The noon of God's day has not come (140–142), young men of the city, my many sons are getting ready. (143–145)

They were turning round like hot sturgeon, like warm sturgeon in a pot filled with water. (146–149)

They run to the corner of the cornered house (150–152), the strong end of the female face, the strong end of the male face keep turning everywhere. (153–157)

158.	<i>mānə</i> левй латаланə	As I watch	
159.	<i>tem put</i> jəŋkəp	this icy watered	
160.	<i>jiməŋ</i> jǎyօđŋ	sacred river	
161.	<i>nim</i> iyօp̄i	lower course	
162.	<i>pǎləknə</i>	in its part,	
163.	<i>mānə</i> левй латаланə	as I watch	
164.	<i>jəŋkət</i> ił	waters downwards	
165.	<i>mən[ə]m</i> ǎłđŋi	from its went end	
166.	<i>mətə</i> nǎj	some kind of goddess	
167.	<i>tǎjđm</i> pǎ[k]kəŋ	borne two sons	
168.	<i>sǎjəŋ</i> pəntǎp	with runners having a curtain	
169.	<i>kǎtəŋ</i> [pəntǎp]	with runners having a house	
170.	<i>ən[ə]ł</i> ǎyօđłnat ¹¹⁴	with a large sleigh	
171.	<i>əj</i> mǎȳi	of the same breed	
172.	<i>əj</i> unt̄i	of the same size	
173.	<i>kǎt</i> őr[t] pǎ[k]kəŋ	two hero sons	
174.	<i>łin</i> jəyօi łłłyən[.]	they are approaching.	
175.	<i>sǎrəŋ</i> lekօi	Ahead being road	
176.	<i>sirəłnə</i>	in the beginning of	
177.	<i>siŋken</i> ur̄i	“From the velvet scoter-backwater	
178.	<i>ǎŋ eŋ</i> ur̄i ¹¹⁵	from the white-headed duck-backwater”	
179.	<i>tǎjđm</i> nǎjpǎy	named prince	
180.	<i>sǎrəŋ</i> lekօ	in the front being road	
181.	<i>sirəłnə</i>	in the beginning of	
182.	<i>p̄it</i> pđŋđł	side of the shank	
183.	<i>siyօđp̄ə</i>	of its beauty	
184.	<i>kǎt</i> nəryemyənnə ¹¹⁶	with two reindeer	
185.	<i>łəyօ</i> tǎłłłłł[.]	he is drawn.	

114. suuri reki [large sleigh]

115. Nimi [name]

116. poroilla (2) [with reindeer (2)]

☞ As I watch, on the lower course of the icy water of this sacred river (158–162), as I watch, from the downstream end of the waters, some goddess’s two sons, two hero sons of the same breed, of the same build are approaching on a large sleigh, covered and having curtains. (163–174)

At the beginning of the road that lies ahead, the goddess’s son named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater” is drawn on a sleigh with two well-shaped reindeer in front. (175–185)

186.	<i>kārāṅ ăyōḍa</i>	Sleigh with reindeer bull	☞ ☞
187.	<i>wāy[ə]a oyoṭinā</i>	on the top of its slats	
188.	<i>kār kitai</i>	reindeer bull driving	
189.	<i>ōntāp sāyit</i>	like manner	
190.	<i>āmādytā jəymāa[.]</i>	started to sit there,	
191.	<i>tārṅə lāṅki</i>	fighting squirrel	
192.	<i>kōlatāṅ [lāṅki]</i>	dead squirrel	
193.	<i>ak sāyo tōja</i>	its tail to the end of his braid	
194.	<i>aj tōyoḍ uanēksāk[.]</i>	to the same place <i>uanēksāk</i> (?he tied).	
195.	<i>tūt juṅḍa</i>	That darling	☞
196.	<i>kolām pīrnā</i>	having passed	
197.	<i>sājəṅ pəntāp</i>	with runners having a curtain,	
198.	<i>kātāṅ [pəntāp]</i>	with runners having a house,	
199.	<i>ən[ə]a ăyoḍa</i>	large sleigh	
200.	<i>pit pōṅḍa</i>	side of the shank	
201.	<i>siyoḍap</i>	of its beauty	
202.	<i>kāt nəryemyənnə</i>	by two reindeer	
203.	<i>tāllai[.]</i>	it is drawn.	
204.	<i>s[ājəṅ] p[əntāp]</i>	With runners having a curtain,	☞
205.	<i>k[ātāṅ] p[əntāp]</i>	with runners having a house,	
206.	<i>ən[ə]a ăyoḍanā</i>	on a large sleigh	
207.	<i>mətā nāj</i>	some goddess	
208.	<i>tājəm pāy</i>	borne son,	
209.	<i>lāyo nāmāa</i>	his name	
210.	<i>nāmīai[.]</i>	is named,	
211.	<i>jəṅkət māyḍa</i>	around waters,	
212.	<i>məyət [māyḍa]</i>	around lands,	
213.	<i>ār konā</i>	by many men	
214.	<i>tū nāmāa</i>	that name of his	
215.	<i>nāmīai[.]</i>	is named,	
216.	<i>kārəṅ wājyāt</i>	“Crusty-(Hard)-Animals	
217.	<i>kāṅ[č]pā lăyḍr¹¹⁷</i>	Ornamented-Mail”	

117. Toisen nimi [the other’s name]

☞ He sat like someone driving a reindeer bull on the slats of the sleigh with reindeer bull (186–190), ?tying the tail of a fighting squirrel, a dead squirrel to the end of his braid. (191–194)

Afterwards there came another large sleigh, with curtains and a covering, drawn by two well-shaped reindeer. (195–203)

On a large sleigh with curtains and a cover there is some goddess’s son (204–208), he is known by the name “Crusty-(Hard)-Animals Ornamented-Mail” by many men around waters, around lands (209–217), he is called by

218.	<i>t̃u ñām̃al</i>	that name of his	↙
219.	<i>n[ä̃m̃il̃i][.]</i>	is named.	
220.	<i>s̃ä̃ỹõam̃ ju[y] ko</i>	“Braided wooden man	↕
221.	<i>p̃õñt̃aλ w̃ä̃č̃i</i>	from its hair clump-city	
222.	<i>k̃ärt̃əm̃ ju[y] ko</i>	iron covered wooden man	
223.	<i>p[õñt̃aλ] w[ä̃č̃i]</i>	from its hair clump-city”	
224.	<i>j̃ä̃ỹõiλi λ̃ä̃ỹλ̃əm̃[.]</i>	I am coming.	
225.	<i>ur̃ä̃η̃ k̃åt̃</i>	Cornered house	↕
226.	<i>ur̃i ä̃i ¹¹⁸</i>	from its corner	
227.	<i>iλ̃ä̃ñ koγ̃λ̃i λ̃ä̃λ̃i[.]</i>	it is run down.	
228.	<i>t̃õ̃ỹõλ̃ä̃η̃ λ̃uη̃[k] k̃õr</i>	Feathery ghost image	↕
229.	<i>p̃ä̃ñ̃.λ̃ä̃η̃ [λ̃uη̃k̃ k̃õr]</i>	winged ghost image	
230.	<i>r̃ä̃p̃γ̃iλ̃ s̃ä̃j̃ä</i>	behind a hanging curtain	
231.	<i>k̃õt̃ä̃η̃ k̃ür̃ä̃η̃</i>	hand-having, legged	
232.	<i>sič̃m̃ä̃η̃[η] k̃õr</i>	<i>sič̃m̃ä̃η̃ k̃õr</i>	
233.	<i>m̃ä̃ñä̃ ä̃j̃ỹä̃ m̃ä̃ñ̃ek̃ s̃ä̃λ̃i[.]</i>	is folded up little by me.	↕
234.	<i>s̃ĩs̃ä̃η̃ p̃ut̃</i>	Lengthy cooking	
235.	<i>k̃õk̃ s̃ĩs̃ỹä̃</i>	into its long duration	
236.	<i>m̃ä̃r̃ä̃η̃ p̃ut̃</i>	long-lasting cooking	
237.	<i>k̃õ̃ỹõ m̃ä̃r̃ä̃ỹä̃</i>	into its long duration	
238.	<i>ä̃nt̃ä̃ j̃ät̃ä̃ñä̃</i>	in its not becoming	
239.	<i>m̃ä̃ñä̃ koλ̃ä̃ñ t̃ät̃ä̃λ̃ñä̃</i>	during my listening	
240.	<i>ñ̃ä̃k̃s̃ä̃m̃ jũỹ k̃õ̃ỹ λ̃ä̃p̃ä̃η̃ñä̃</i>	in the long porch of bare-barked wood	
241.	<i>m̃ät̃ä̃ ñä̃j̃</i>	what kind of lady	
242.	<i>t̃ä̃j̃ä̃m̃ p̃ä̃ỹ</i>	borne son	
243.	<i>λ̃ä̃ỹä̃r̃ k̃ür̃p̃i</i>	heavy legged	
244.	<i>λ̃iñ̃ t̃õr̃ä̃m̃ ñ̃õ̃ỹõ</i>	they (the two of them)	
245.	<i>p̃õr̃ä̃m̃t̃iñ̃ seť[ä̃]λ̃[.]</i>	[similar to the] heavenly elk their pounding can be heard.	

118. jonkunlaisen tähytys. balkonista juoksee alas [some kind of spying. running off a balcony]

☞ that name of his. (218–219)

I am coming from the “city of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the city of the iron-covered idol”. (220–224)

They run down from the corner of the cornered house. (225–227)

I fold up to a small size the hand-having, legged *sič̃m̃ä̃η̃ k̃õr* behind the curtain with the feathery ghost image, winged ghost image. (228–233)

The lengthy cooking not becoming long, the long-lasting cooking not becoming long (234–238), while I am listening, what kind of lady-borne two sons’ heavy legged pounding, similar to the heavenly elk, can be heard on the long porch of bare-barked wood. (239–245)

246.	<i>mānā kolān tātaanā</i>	During my listening	
247.	<i>naksəm [ɔ: nāksəm] juγ</i>	bare-barked wood	
248.	<i>kōy lāpānā</i>	on its long porch	
249.	<i>mātā nāj</i>	some lady	
250.	<i>tājām pākkān</i>	borne two sons	
251.	<i>jām ōr[t] pāy</i>	her good heroic son	
252.	<i>soṭlī[.]</i>	is walking (lit. is being walked).	
253.	<i>lāyār kimā</i>	The edge of his mail	
254.	<i>kōčyi pōrāk</i>	the handle of a saber	
255.	<i>lorāḡ sūj set'ə]l[.]</i>	clinking sound can be heard.	
256.	<i>jūleḡ kāt</i>	House with spirits	
257.	<i>sūy[ā]l oγōpī</i>	its slatted door	
258.	<i>mātā nāj</i>	some lady	
259.	<i>tājām pāyānā</i>	by borne son	
260.	<i>kemān puḡ[č]lī[.]</i>	it is opened.	
261.	<i>mātā n[āj]</i>	Some lady	
262.	<i>t[ājām] pākkān</i>	borne two sons	
263.	<i>mā āmsi lāyālatam</i>	during my sitting	
264.	<i>āj lārī</i>	small lake in a swamp	
265.	<i>āj tōyōi</i>	small lake	
266.	<i>māti kāt</i>	[into] the house of its depth	
267.	<i>jākōān lāḡtīn[.]</i>	enter.	
268.	<i>muāḡ kāt</i>	Praying house	
269.	<i>muālanam</i>	to its praying wall	
270.	<i>sāmāḡ kāt</i>	middle-having house	
271.	<i>sāmālanām</i>	towards its middle	
272.	<i>sākōāḡ oγō</i>	braided head	
273.	<i>optāḡ [oγō]</i>	hairy head	
274.	<i>lāpālāḡi</i>	<i>lāpālāḡi</i>	
275.	<i>pānāymin pīrnā</i>	after having bowed	

☞ While I am listening (246), the good, heroic two sons borne by some lady are walking on the long porch made of bare-barked wood. (247–252)

The clinking sound of the edge of his mail, the handle of a saber can be heard. (253–255)

A son borne by some lady opens the slatted door of the house with spirits. (256–260)

The two sons borne by some lady (261–262), while I am sitting (263), enter the house the size of a small lake in a swamp, the size of a small lake. (264–267)

Having bowed their braided heads, hairy heads towards the praying wall of the praying house, the middle of the house having a middle (268–275),

276.	<i>jəŋ[k] wäs iki</i>	water monster man	ㄤ
277.	<i>kunətləi</i>	climbed	
278.	<i>kɪpləŋ əlɪn</i>	protruding skirting board	
279.	<i>oɣətəja</i>	on its top	
280.	<i>əj məyɪ</i>	of the same breed	
281.	<i>kət ər[t] pākəkən</i>	two hero boys	
282.	<i>iməlxən[.]</i>	sat down.	
283.	<i>kət wär ɔnəlatəm</i>	Housework learned	☞
284.	<i>iminə</i>	by woman	
285.	<i>kətəŋ kūrəŋ</i>	hand-having, legged	
286.	<i>sič wājə[ɣ] kōr</i>	<i>sič wājəy kōr</i> animal	
287.	<i>wəy nōrpi</i>	iron handled	
288.	<i>nōrəŋ putə</i>	handled cauldron	
289.	<i>nəmən səyətətəl</i>	is cut into it,	
290.	<i>mältəl[.]</i>	is cooked.	
291.	<i>ləp nələm</i>	Flapping tongued	☞
292.	<i>tɪpəŋ nəjə</i>	onto blazing fire	
293.	<i>wəy nōrpi</i>	iron handled	
294.	<i>n[ɔrəŋ] put</i>	handled cauldron	
295.	<i>nəmən iyətətəl[.]</i>	is hung up.	
296.	<i>il nıyətəl</i>	Its earlier rawness	☞
297.	<i>il ələŋ</i>	its earlier beginning	
298.	<i>siyiməl pɪrnə</i>	after having turned	
299.	<i>wəy n[ɔrpi]</i>	iron-handled	
300.	<i>n[ɔrəŋ] p[ut]</i>	handled cauldron	
301.	<i>utən wəlɪ[.]</i>	is taken off the fire.	
302.	<i>juɣ pälək</i>	Wooden half	☞
303.	<i>wərəŋ əŋyá</i>	into bloody dish	
304.	<i>kətəŋ kūrəŋ</i>	hand-having, legged	
305.	<i>sič wājə[ɣ] kōr</i>	<i>sič wājəy kōr</i>	
306.	<i>utən lətətəl[.]</i>	serves,	

☞ the two hero boys of the same breed sat down on the protruding skirting board climbed by the water monster. (276–282)

By a woman who learned housework (283–284), the hand-having, legged *sič wājəy kōr* animal is cut up into a handled cauldron with iron handles (285–289), and it is cooked. (290)

She hangs the iron-handled, handled cauldron onto the blazing fire with flapping tongues. (291–295)

After the original rawness has come to an end (296–298), the iron-handled, handled cauldron is taken off the fire. (299–301)

She ladles out the hand-having, legged *sič wājəy kōr* meat into a bloody dish made of wood cut into halves (302–306), the woman puts it for us

307.	<i>imina</i>	by the woman	☞
308.	<i>juγ p[ä]lak</i>	wooden half	
309.	<i>w[əraŋ] ä[ŋyá]</i>	into bloody dish	
310.	<i>məŋáti aməttal[,]</i>	for us put,	
311.	<i>məŋnə əj māyi</i>	by us, of the same rank/origin,	☞
312.	<i>koləm nəjəp örtəp</i>	three lady-like, prince-like,	
313.	<i>luŋ[k] lili</i>	ghost-eaten	
314.	<i>täləŋ puł</i>	full bite	
315.	<i>käl[t] lili</i>	spirit-eaten	
316.	<i>täləŋ puł</i>	full bite	
317.	<i>məŋnə wəjəyli[.]</i>	by us is taken out.	
318.	<i>əj māyi</i>	Of the same breed	☞
319.	<i>koləm nəjəp</i>	three lady-like	
320.	<i>örtəpnə</i>	by prince-like [offspring]	
321.	<i>siŋken uri</i>	“Of velvet scoter-backwater	
322.	<i>əŋleŋ [uri]</i>	of white-headed duck-backwater”	
323.	<i>tájəm nəjprəy</i>	named prince	
324.	<i>läy_oilem</i>	my dear brother-in-law	
325.	<i>tú kólá jəl[,]</i>	comes to that word,	
326.	<i>kos pǎŋ_opi</i>	with twenty teeth	
327.	<i>uŋləŋ lułi</i>	from a mouth with an opening	
328.	<i>tú kólá jətál[:]</i>	comes to that word:	
329.	<i>kǒjəy nǒy_ods</i>	“Female-sable	☞
330.	<i>mok [nǒy_ods]</i>	cub-sable	
331.	<i>kǒraŋ nəj</i>	faced goddess’	
332.	<i>ǎŋki təyə</i>	sister-in-law, here	
333.	<i>kolənta:</i>	listen:	
334.	<i>kuntā säy_oəm ju[γ] ko</i>	When “Braided idol	☞
335.	<i>pǒntal wǎča</i>	onto his clump of hair	
336.	<i>kärtəm ju[γ] ko</i>	iron-covered idol	
337.	<i>p[ǒntal] w[ǎča]</i>	onto his clump of hair”	
338.	<i>tārəm nəmās</i>	strong thought	

☞ onto a bloody dish made of wood cut into halves (307–310), and a ghost-eaten full bite, a spirit-eaten full bite is taken out by us, of the same rank, the three lady-like, prince-like people (311–317)

Among the three of us, three lady-like, prince-like offspring of the same breed (318–320), my dear brother-in-law, the prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, comes to that word (321–325), the following words leave the opening of his mouth with twenty teeth: (326–328)

“Female-sable-cub-faced goddess’, sister-in-law, listen here: (329–333)

When your thoughts turn towards ‘the city of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the clump of hair of the iron-covered idol’ (334–341), ‘Braided

339.	<i>jəm pətə</i>	its good end	ㄨ
340.	<i>əjʏəne</i>	at once	
341.	<i>nǎmsanat pǎnǎn[.]</i>	you put with thoughts,	
342.	<i>sǎʏəm ju[ʏ] ko</i>	‘Braided idol’	
343.	<i>oʏətǔjǐ</i>	[starting] from the top of the head	
344.	<i>sik_oəŋ tǎlǎ[.]</i>	your beautiful fullness [= your hair],	
345.	<i>kǔl opǎt</i>	creek strand of hair	
346.	<i>kǎntǎpa</i>	your untying instrument	
347.	<i>no[k] kǎtǎtɛ [!] –</i>	move!”	
348.	<i>luŋ[k] lǎli</i>	Ghost-eaten	ㄨ
349.	<i>kǎl[t] [lǎli]</i>	spirit-eaten	
350.	<i>tǎlǎŋ puł</i>	full bite	
351.	<i>wǎjəʏtmǎʏ_o pǐrnǎ</i>	after having taken it out	
352.	<i>wǎlǎk sǎt</i>	free/unmarried hundred	
353.	<i>ǎrtǎp kǎtnǎ</i>	house with female servants	
354.	<i>wǎlǎk sǎt</i>	free/unmarried hundred	
355.	<i>lǎʏǎp kǎtnǎ</i>	house with servants	
356.	<i>wǎċ ǎjəŋ ko</i>	young man from the city	
357.	<i>ǎr pǎʏlam</i>	my many sons	
358.	<i>kǎʏrǎm juʏi</i>	wood carried inside	
359.	<i>sǎʏ_orǎm juʏi</i>	cut wood	
360.	<i>kolǎm ǎlnǎt</i>	of three cords [burnt down]	
361.	<i>ǎtmǎsmǎl pǐrnǎ</i>	after their sitting	
362.	<i>wǎċ ǎjəŋ ko</i>	young man from the city	
363.	<i>ǎr pǎʏlam</i>	my many sons	
364.	<i>ǎr kǎtǐ</i>	from many houses	
365.	<i>lǎk_olǎl sǎʏit</i>	alongside their corners	
366.	<i>lǎjǎlǎli</i>	<i>lǎjǎlǎli</i>	
367.	<i>jǎʏ_otǎli[.]</i>	they are discharged	
368.	<i>surtǐ nǔʏ_o</i>	[like a] two-year-old elk	
369.	<i>kol[ǎ]m ǎʏ_onǎ</i>	in its three streams	
370.	<i>ǎr kǎtǐ</i>	from many houses	
371.	<i>lǎk_olǎl sǎʏit</i>	along their corners	
372.	<i>ǎlǎn kǎli/jǎtǐl[.]</i>	they ?appear.	

‘idol’ (342), move your instrument for untying strands of hair through the beautiful fullness starting from the top of your head!” (343–347)

After we took out a ghost-eaten, spirit-eaten full bite (348–351), my many sons, young men from the city, having sat in the house having a hundred unmarried female servants, a hundred male servants as long as three cords of chopped wood that had been carried inside burnt down (352–361), my many sons, young men from the city, rush out from the many houses alongside their corners (362–367), with the three onrushings of a two-year-old elk (368–369), they appear at the corner of many houses. (370–372)

373.	<i>siŋken uri</i>	“Of velvet scoter-backwater,	
374.	<i>ǎŋl[en] u[rj]</i>	of white-headed duck-backwater”	
375.	<i>t[ǎjǎm] nájǎy</i>	named prince	
376.	<i>ǎǎy_oilem</i>	my brother-in-law	
377.	<i>tú kǒllá jətáΛ[:]</i>	comes to that word:	
378.	<i>má urǎŋ kát</i>	“I cornered house	
379.	<i>uriǎinǎ</i>	in its corner	
380.	<i>tǒt kǎllǎm[.]</i>	I sleep there.”	
381.	<i>tú kǒllá</i>	That word of his	
382.	<i>jástá</i>	says he [while]	
383.	<i>jǎleŋ kát</i>	house with spirits	
384.	<i>siŋ[ǎ]Λ oŋ_opǎji</i>	through [its] slatted door	
385.	<i>kemǎn ǎiŋ_oattáΛ[.]</i>	goes outside.	
386.	<i>minnǎpǎ</i>	And the two of us	
387.	<i>ǎj máyi</i>	of the same breed	
388.	<i>nájŋǎn ǒr[t]ŋǎn</i>	a princess, a prince	
389.	<i>sǎrǎn kǎŋ_oi</i>	golden moor	
390.	<i>irǎn kǎŋ_oi</i>	silver moor	
391.	<i>tǎŋlǎŋ ǎtá</i>	to [its] nesting place	
392.	<i>ǎj máyi</i>	of the same breed	
393.	<i>nájŋǎn ǒr[t]ŋǎn</i>	a princess, a prince	
394.	<i>ǎlǎn kǎlǎ ǎǎmǎn[.]</i>	we hide	
395.	<i>nǒ[ŋǎ]s ǒntǎr</i>	sable length	
396.	<i>pǎč ǎlǎmnǎ</i>	in later sleep	
397.	<i>ǎlǎ wǎlǎojmǎn[.]</i>	we fall.	
398.	<i>kos[ǎ]ŋ oŋ_opǎj</i>	Starry headed	
399.	<i>kǒŋ_oat</i>	length	
400.	<i>ǎǎǎmamǎn pǎrnǎ</i>	after our lying	
401.	<i>mǎnǎ kolǎn tǎtǎlǎnǎ</i>	while I listen	
402.	<i>siŋken uri</i>	“Of velvet scoter-backwater	
403.	<i>ǎŋleŋ [uri]</i>	of white-headed duck-backwater”	
404.	<i>tǎjǎm náj pǎy</i>	named prince	

☞ My dear brother-in-law, the prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, says: (373–377)

“I will sleep in the corner of the cornered house.” (378–380) He says these words while he goes out through the slatted door of the house with spirits. (381–385)

And the two of us, a matching princess and prince (386–388), we, a matching princess and prince, hide in the nesting place of a golden moor, silver moor (389–394), we fall into a light sleep, the sleep of a sable. (395–397)

Having lain for some time [its length determined by the course of the stars] (398–400), while I listen to the prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Back-

405.	<i>níaməli</i>	[coming] from his tongue	ㄤ
406.	<i>ár čǎy_oə</i>	many talk	
407.	<i>pǎst pátəm</i>	[like] quickly frozen	
408.	<i>pust ontəy</i>	from below the floor	
409.	<i>tǒyənə tǎyəl təlātəy[:]</i>	he assumed:	
410.	<i>kārəŋ wǎjyət</i>	“‘Crusty-Animals	☞
411.	<i>kǎŋ[č]pə ǎyər</i>	Ornamented-Mail’	
412.	<i>jeji kolənta[!]</i>	brother, listen [here]!	
413.	<i>wǎlta ko</i>	Living man	
414.	<i>ur nǒpətnə</i>	in his finite age	
415.	<i>sǎk_oəŋ ǎy_oi</i>	braided girl	
416.	<i>nǎlŋət ko</i>	<i>nǎlŋət</i> (?cheering up) man	
417.	<i>sǎk_oəŋ pǎy (witəŋ)</i>	braided boy (handsome)	
418.	<i>nǎlŋət ko</i>	<i>nǎlŋət</i> (?cheering up) man	
419.	<i>kǒlənə tiy_omǎ[?]</i>	how did you create?	
420.	<i>sǎy_oəm ju[y] ko</i>	‘Braided-idol	☞
421.	<i>kǎrtəm [juy ko]</i>	iron-covered-idol	
422.	<i>pǒnt’al wuɕmən</i>	its clump of hair’, our city	
423.	<i>nǎjəl mənəm</i>	its princess left	
424.	<i>nǎjləy wǎč</i>	city without a princess	
425.	<i>ǒrtəl mənəm</i>	its prince left	
426.	<i>ǒr[t]lǎy wǎč</i>	a city without a prince	
427.	<i>kǒlǎ mǒčǎ</i>	how long	
428.	<i>kjʹmał – [?]</i>	remains – [?]”	
429.	<i>minnə əj mǎy_i əj unti</i>	And the two of us, of the same	☞
		breed, of the same size,	
430.	<i>nǎjyən ǒr[t]yən</i>	princess and prince	
431.	<i>min sǎrən kǎy_oi irən k[ǎy_oi]</i>	our golden moor, silver moor	
432.	<i>tijlǎŋ lǎti</i>	from nesting place	
433.	<i>ǒy_oər lǒy_omən</i>	our high bone (= our arm)	
434.	<i>sǎtəŋ tǒj</i>	[to] its strong end	
435.	<i>nomən mǎlŋə tələmən[.]</i>	rose.	

☞ water-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater” talking (401–406), it is like freezing air coming from below the floor, he says: (407–409)

“‘Crusty-Animals-Ornamented-Mail’ brother, listen here! (410–412) How did you create a man cheering up braided girls, a man cheering up handsome boys in the finite age of living people? (413–419)

How long will our city ‘of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the clump of hair of the iron-covered idol’ remain a city left by its princess, a city without a princess, a city left by its prince, a city without a prince?” (420–428)

And the two of us, prince and princess of the same breed, of the same size, we rose from our golden moor, silver moor nesting-place to the strong end of our arms. (429–435)

436.	<i>t'u matā</i>	That what-kind-of	
437.	<i>wākkəyən</i>	with two copper buttons	
438.	<i>pōñkapā</i>	fastened	
439.	<i>kos ār[t]nā</i>	[made] by twenty female servants	
440.	<i>čuyi luŋ[k] kōr</i>	with a peaked pattern	
441.	<i>təy_otāŋ nōj (nōjat?)</i>	fiery tweed coat	
442.	<i>lōmtāptātām[.]</i>	I put on.	
443.	<i>məy_oə lōŋtā tuŋj[.]</i>	What kind of a listing is brought?	
444.	<i>tūt juyā</i>	Then	
445.	<i>kolām pīrnā</i>		
446.	<i>wākkəyən</i>	with two copper buttons	
447.	<i>pōñkapā</i>	fastened	
448.	<i>kos ār[t]nā</i>	[cloak made] by twenty female servants	
449.	<i>wāt' kōtām</i>	[in] my thin hand	
450.	<i>tinəŋ sōri</i>	[with] fine beer	
451.	<i>jūleŋ kāt</i>	house with spirits	
452.	<i>siy[ā] ʌ oγ_opāji</i>	through its slatted door	
453.	<i>kemən liy_otəy tātām[.]</i>	I go out.	
454.	<i>kārəŋ wājyāt</i>	'Crusty-Animals	
455.	<i>k[āñčpə] ʌ ǎyār</i>	Ornamented-Mail'	
456.	<i>ləy_o ʌ ǎliŋi ləyəlmā</i>	[after] his sitting up	
457.	<i>sājəŋ pəntāp</i>	with runners having a curtain	
458.	<i>kātāŋ [pəntāp]</i>	with runners having a house	
459.	<i>ən[ə] ʌ ǎy_oā</i>	[onto] a large sleigh	
460.	<i>wā[y] kəyən</i>	with copper buttons	
461.	<i>pōñ[kapā]</i>	fastened	
462.	<i>kos [ārtnā]</i>	[cloak made by] twenty female servants	
463.	<i>wāt' k[ōtām]</i>	[with] my thin hand	
464.	<i>ti sōr</i>	that beer	
465.	<i>sājəŋ pəntāp</i>	with runners having curtains	
466.	<i>kātāŋ [pəntāp]</i>	with runners having a house	
467.	<i>ən[ə] ʌ ǎy_oā</i>	onto the large sleigh	
468.	<i>tōy_oə āmāttām[.]</i>	I put it there.	

6) I put on some fiery tweed cloak, fastened by copper buttons, its peaked pattern made by twenty female servants. (436–442)

What happens next? (443)

Then I go out through the slatted door of the house with spirits, in a cloak fastened with copper buttons, made by twenty female servants, with fine beer in my slender hand. (444–453)

After 'Crusty-Animals Ornamented-Mail' sat down on the large sleigh with curtains and a covering (454–459), I put that beer onto the large sleigh with curtains and a cover with my thin hand, in the cloak fastened with copper buttons made by twenty female servants. (460–468)

469.	<i>tut juγðλ</i>	Then	
470.	<i>kolðm p̄irnð</i>		
471.	<i>árəγ niŋe</i>	your singing woman	
472.	<i>ñǎγ_oðmλi</i>	said	
473.	<i>wj̄jâŋ árəγ</i>	false song	
474.	<i>rǎγp̄âŋ [árəγ]</i>	cunning song	
475.	<i>lōŋtiλ kōλ</i>	word read by them	
476.	<i>məγ_oðliλ tuλi[.]</i>	its whatever is brought.	
477.	<i>siŋken uri</i>	“Of velvet scoter-backwater	
478.	<i>ǎ[ŋ en] [uri]</i>	of white-headed duck-backwater”	
479.	<i>t[ǎjâm] náj pǎγ</i>	named prince	
480.	<i>λǎγ_oi emnð</i>	my dear brother-in-law	
481.	<i>sárəŋ ek_o</i>	road being in front	
482.	<i>áj sirəλ</i>	its small beginning	
483.	<i>ləγ_oð wəjmáλ[.]</i>	he took.	
484.	<i>put jəŋkəp</i>	Icy watered	
485.	<i>jiŋəŋ jǎγ_oŋam</i>	my sacred river	
486.	<i>jəŋkət iλ</i>	its waters downwards	
487.	<i>məγət iλ</i>	its lands downwards	
488.	<i>mən[ə]m ǎlðŋnam</i>	towards the beginning of his march	
489.	<i>siŋk[en] u[ri]</i>	“Of velvet scoter-backwater	
490.	<i>ǎ[ŋ en] u[ri]</i>	of white-headed duck-backwater”	
491.	<i>t[ǎjâm] náj [pǎγ]</i>	named prince	
492.	<i>λ[ǎγ_oi em]</i>	my dear brother-in-law	
493.	<i>kár wátðm</i>	its outer layer dried	
494.	<i>sōjâŋ ŋurðλ</i>	frosty leather strap	
495.	<i>ləγ_o rǎγ_oi jətáλ[.]</i>	he shakes.	
496.	<i>wájjəγλa</i>	Animal	
497.	<i>ləγəlli</i>	flown	
498.	<i>kolðm jəŋk</i>	three waters	
499.	<i>kütəλ tir</i>	distance in between	
500.	<i>köt wánnə</i>	in arm’s reach	
501.	<i>wǎλmaλ[.]</i>	was	

☞ Then the something of the false song, cunning song said by your singing woman is brought. (469–476)

The prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law has already taken some of the road that is in front of us. (477–483)

The prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law, is shaking the frosty leather strap, its outer layer dried, while starting to go towards the downstream waters, downward lands of my black-watered sacred river. (484–495)

The bird-flown distance between three waters was already coming near. (496–501)

502.	<i>s[inken] u[ri]</i>	“Of velvet scoter-backwater	
503.	<i>á[η]len] u[ri]</i>	of white-headed duck-backwater”	
504.	<i>t[ǎjəm] náj [pǎy]</i>	named prince	
505.	<i>λ[ǎy_oilem]</i>	my dear brother-in-law,	
506.	<i>kōraη ǎy_oáλ</i>	ornate sleigh	
507.	<i>kōraλj</i>	from its ornament	
508.	<i>sárán kōη[k]λaη</i>	with golden bell	
509.	<i>nǎmēη nárēy</i>	[with his] famous sword	
510.	<i>tinēη kār</i>	expensive reindeer bull	
511.	<i>páλēn kúti</i>	between his two ears	
512.	<i>λǎy_oilemna</i>	my dear brother-in-law	
513.	<i>sára nūrtəm táatēy[.]</i>	ran forward,	
514.	<i>tú kōlá jətáλ[:]</i>	he comes to that word:	
515.	<i>kōjēy nōy_oás</i>	“‘Female-sable	
516.	<i>m[ok] n[ōy_oás]</i>	sable-cub	
517.	<i>k[ōraη] n[áj]</i>	faced-princess’	
518.	<i>ánáki kolánta:</i>	sister-in-law, listen:	
519.	<i>min sǎy_oəm ju[y] ko</i>	Our ‘Braided idol	
520.	<i>kártəm [juy ko]</i>	iron-covered idol	
521.	<i>pón’táλ wuútmān</i>	its clump of hair’ our city	
522.	<i>ney_o[i] ósāp</i>	light back	
523.	<i>nárēy wǎy</i>	iron of the sword	
524.	<i>tōmnam sáληjλáλ[.]</i>	is faintly visible there”.	
525.	<i>mána leyi latáλna</i>	As I am watching,	
526.	<i>s[ǎy_oəm] ju[y] k[o]</i>	“Braided-idol	
527.	<i>k[ártəm] j[uy ko]</i>	iron-covered idol	
528.	<i>p[ón’táλ] wǎč</i>	its clump of hair” city	
529.	<i>əj tōrēm</i>	the world	
530.	<i>əj pǎłək</i>	at one of its sides	
531.	<i>mōrēy wǎy</i>	hard iron	
532.	<i>mōrē[γ] kǎy_o</i>	hard stone	
533.	<i>jəm kətmər</i>	good dome-shaped [wall]	
534.	<i>əjnám ámās látēy[.]</i>	all erected.	

☞ The prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law (502–505), my dear brother-in-law ran forward from the ornaments of his ornate sleigh with a fine reindeer bull having golden bells between his ears, and bearing a sword with golden bells (506–513), he says: (514) “‘Female-sable, sable-cub-faced-princess’, sister-in-law, listen: (515–518)

In our city ‘of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the iron-covered idol’, the light back of the iron of the sword is faintly visible.” (519–524)

As I am watching, on one side of the city “of the clump of the hair of the braided idol, of the iron-covered idol” there is a good dome-shaped wall of hard iron, hard stone erected. (525–534)

535.	<i>t'u jatäy_o</i>	We, becoming like this	
536.	<i>t'u iy_oäl</i>	after this	
537.	<i>täräm säp_oläp</i>	with strong neck	
538.	<i>nir wäjyät_onä</i>	by animals with poles	
539.	<i>säy_oäm ju[y] ko</i>	“Braided-idol	
540.	<i>k[ärtäm] [ju_o ko]</i>	iron-covered idol	
541.	<i>p[öñtäl] wäčä</i>	into its clump of hair”-city	
542.	<i>töy_oä äläm _oojät_o [.]</i>	we were lifted there.	
543.	<i>si_oken ur_oi</i>	“Of velvet scoter-backwater	
544.	<i>ä[_oñen] [ur_oi]</i>	of white-headed duck-backwater”	
545.	<i>t[äjät_om] n[äj päy]</i>	named prince	
546.	<i>läy_o[ilem]</i>	my dear brother-in-law	
547.	<i>läy_o ämsi läyätäl</i>	while he was sitting	
548.	<i>äj läri</i>	small lake in a swamp	
549.	<i>äj töy_oi</i>	small lake in a forest	
550.	<i>mälti kutäla</i>	into his house of [this] size	
551.	<i>läy_opä jäk_oä mantäl [.]</i>	he also entered.	
552.	<i>kärän w[äjyät]</i>	“Crusty-Animal	
553.	<i>k[änčpä] ä[äjär]</i>	Ornamented-Mail”	
554.	<i>kutäm</i>	my betrothed	
555.	<i>läy_o ämsi läyätäl [!]</i>	his sitting	
556.	<i>äj läri</i>	small lake in a swamp	
557.	<i>[äj] töy_oi</i>	small lake in a forest	
558.	<i>mälti kutäla</i>	into his house of [this] size	
559.	<i>minnäpä</i>	by the two of us also	
560.	<i>äj mäyi</i>	matching	
561.	<i>näjyän ör[t]yän</i>	princess-prince	
562.	<i>än[ä] ä jir</i>	a large blood offering	
563.	<i>än[ä] ä päri</i>	a large food sacrifice	
564.	<i>pänäm kät</i>	[into] a set house	
565.	<i>jäk_oän läñäi [.]</i>	is entered.	

☞ Things being like this, we were taken by the animals with strong necks and poles into the city “of the clump of hair of the braided-idol, iron-covered idol” afterwards. (535–542)

The prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law having sat (543–547), he also entered his house the size of a small lake in a swamp, a small lake in a forest. (548–551)

My betrothed, “Crusty-Animal Ornamented-Mail” having sat (552–555), the two of us as well, a matching princess and prince, enter the house the size of a small lake in a swamp, a small lake in a forest, set for a large blood sacrifice, a large food sacrifice. (556–565)

566.	<i>kāt wār ōnālatām iminā</i>	By a woman who learned housework	☞ ☞
567.	<i>wāt kōtām</i>	my thin hand	
568.	<i>tinəḡ sōrj</i>	expensive beer	
569.	<i>tōḡ_olāḡ luḡ[k] kōr</i>	feathery ghost image	
570.	<i>pāñlāḡ [luḡk kōr]</i>	winged ghost image	
571.	<i>rāpḡā_l sājā</i>	behind a hanging curtain	
572.	<i>sārāñ kāḡ_oj</i>	golden moor	
573.	<i>tijlāḡ lāta</i>	into its nesting place	
574.	<i>irāñ k[āḡ_oj]</i>	silver moon	
575.	<i>t[ij_llāḡ] lāta</i>	into its nesting place	
576.	<i>tōḡ_oā āmāttam.</i>	I put it there.	
577.	<i>kārəḡ wājḡāt</i>	“Crusty-Animals	☞
578.	<i>kāñ[čpā lāḡər]</i>	Ornamented-Mail”	
579.	<i>kutām tū kōlā jətā_l[:]</i>	my betrothed comes to that word:	
580.	<i>wāč ājəḡ ko</i>	“Young man of the city	
581.	<i>ār pāḡa</i>	for many boys	
582.	<i>uñnenāḡki</i>	the mother of the bride	
583.	<i>tuyām pāri</i>	feast brought [by her]	
584.	<i>kātāt lōḡtj</i>	counting days	
585.	<i>ār kāt_oj</i>	many days	
586.	<i>məḡ wār_oḡ_o[:]</i>	we make.	
587.	<i>ājəḡ ko pāḡāt_nā</i>	By young man boys	☞
588.	<i>p[ā] ājəḡ [ko] [pāḡāt_nā]</i>	by other young man boys	
589.	<i>pāḡlāḡ wāč utpīnā</i>	at the upper end of the city with a side	
590.	<i>kār lāntāḡ lek_o jāḡāmnā</i>	a path in a forest with reindeer bull lichen	
591.	<i>lāntəḡ kōñāp</i>	with bellies with lichen	
592.	<i>kos nāptāḡ</i>	twenty reindeer cows	
593.	<i>nik tuyjtāḡ[:]</i>	bring down.”	
594.	<i>pā ājəḡ ko</i>	Other young man	☞
595.	<i>pāḡi_lit</i>	[to] dear boys	

☞ As a woman who learned housework (566), I put the fine beer with my slender hands behind a hanging curtain with a feathery ghost image, winged ghost image, onto the golden moor nesting place, silver moor nesting place. (567–576)

My betrothed, “Crusty-Animals Ornamented-Mail” says: (577–579) “For many days we have been making the feast brought by the mother of the bride for the young man of the city, for many boys. (580–586)

Young men, boys, bring down twenty reindeer cows with bellies full of lichen from the path in the forest with reindeer bull lichen at the upper end of the city with a side!” (587–593)

596.	<i>kārəŋ w[ājyət]</i>	“Crusty-Animals	4
597.	<i>k[ānčpā] lāyār</i>	Ornamented-Mail”	
598.	<i>kutām tū kōlā jətā[,]</i>	my betrothed comes to that word,	
599.	<i>tət nāmən</i>	down here (on the shore)	
600.	<i>poŋ lākisan</i>	covered with thick grass	
601.	<i>lāpət lārj</i>	from seven lakes	
602.	<i>poŋ kōŋp</i>	with bellies with grass	
603.	<i>kos käləŋ</i>	twenty reindeer oxen	
604.	<i>utā tuyat[.]</i>	he should bring/they brought up.	
605.	<i>tōm j l wāč ulηəmnā</i>	At my end of that lower city	1
606.	<i>siŋk[en] u[ri]</i>	“Of Velvet Scoter-Backwater,	
607.	<i>ā[η]en] u[ri]</i>	of White-Headed Duck-Backwater”	
608.	<i>t[ājəm] n[āj pāy]</i>	named prince	
609.	<i>l[āy,ilem]</i>	my brother-in-law	
610.	<i>kārəŋ w[ājyət]</i>	“Crusty-Animals	
611.	<i>k[ānčpā] lāyār</i>	Ornamented-Mail”	
612.	<i>kutāmnā</i>	my betrothed	
613.	<i>təy wāyta[.]</i>	calls here.	
614.	<i>wāč əjəŋ ko</i>	Young men of the city	1
615.	<i>ār pāynā</i>	by its many sons	
616.	<i>poŋ kōŋp</i>	with bellies with grass	
617.	<i>kos käləŋ</i>	twenty reindeer oxen	
618.	<i>kārtəy lājəm</i>	hard ax	
619.	<i>mokkəŋ kōt</i>	[with] butted hand	
620.	<i>j l sāj,mi[.]</i>	it is hit.	
621.	<i>wāč ā[jəŋ] k[o]</i>	Young men of the city	
622.	<i>ār pāynā</i>	by its many sons	
623.	<i>lantəŋ kōŋp</i>	with bellies with lichen	
624.	<i>kos nāptāy -----</i>	twenty reindeer cows	
625.	<i>[kārtəy lājəm</i>	hard ax	
626.	<i>mokkəŋ kōt</i>	[with] butted hand	
627.	<i>j l sāj,mi[.]</i>	it is hit.	

6) My betrothed, “Crusty-Animals Ornamented-Mail” tells the other young men to bring twenty reindeer bulls with bellies full of grass from the lakes covered thickly in grass from down here. (594–604)

My betrothed, “Crusty-Animals Ornamented-Mail” asks the prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law at the lower end of the city to come here. (605–613)

The twenty reindeer oxen, their bellies full of grass, are felled by the many young men of the city with the butts of axes. (614–620) The twenty reindeer cows, their bellies full of grass, are felled by the many young men of the city with the butts of axes. (621–627)

628.	<i>məŋnə luŋ[k] lii</i>	By us ghost-eaten	
629.	<i>ən[ə]Λ pəri</i>	large feast	
630.	<i>wärmäy_o[,]</i>	was made,	
631.	<i>käΛ[t] lii</i>	spirit-eaten	
632.	<i>ən[ə]Λ pəri</i>	large feast	
633.	<i>wärmäy_o[,]</i>	was made	
634.	<i>kätΛi</i>	lasting for days	
635.	<i>är kätΛi</i>	many days	
636.	<i>jəjəli</i>	lasting for nights	
637.	<i>är äti</i>	many nights	
638.	<i>luŋ[k] lii, käΛ[t] lii</i>	ghost-eaten, spirit-eaten	
639.	<i>ən[ə]Λ pəri[.]</i>	large feast.	
640.	<i>läpät kät[ä]Λ</i>	Seven days	
641.	<i>pirem ätnə</i>	in its passing time,	
642.	<i>läpät jəj</i>	seven nights	
643.	<i>p[irem] Λ[ätinä]</i>	in its passing time	
644.	<i>äj jömi, äj wäti</i>	a light rain, a light wind	
645.	<i>päΛp töräm</i>	in last year's time	
646.	<i>məŋnə ti päläytäli[.]</i>	we, behold, carry on working.	

Al. Ketsemep

Loppua ei tiedä, tulee vielä sota _ _ _ _
 [He does not know its end, a war is still coming.]

☞ We made a ghost-eaten large feast (628–630), we made a spirit-eaten large feast (631–633), a ghost-eaten, spirit-eaten large feast lasting from day to day, lasting from night to night. (634–639)

After the passing of seven days (640–641), after the passing of seven nights (642–643), a light rain, a light wind in last year's time (644–645), behold, we carry on working. (646)

Notes

Lines 1–4

- ↪ We settle in the prince-having city of the Ghosts' image/leg, male-ghosts' image/leg.

1–3. *Λυηκât kōr ko, kâlat kōr ko ōrtâη wăč*

The name of the city is very difficult to translate partly because of the obscure nature of the syntactic relationships between the words, and partly because the words do not have a single adequate equivalent in English. As the word *tōrâη* cannot be translated with a single lexical item (see the note to line 13 of Vj1), *Λυηκ* can also mean 'deity, ghost, a protective spirit, an idol, the spirit of a certain place or entity'.

In the Surgut Khanty pantheon, *Λυηκ* is the "soul", the owner of natural phenomena, material goods and places,¹¹⁹ a well-known feature of animistic belief systems. In folklore, the pair of *Λυηκ* is *kâlat*; the latter occurs rarely on its own (JugrUsk 272; FFC 44: 213; Relig2:160; see also the notes to lines 88–89 of Vj1).

Λυηκ is a male, whereas *kâlat* is a female deity. The gender of a deity is revealed by the base the given word modifies: *iki* 'man', *imi* 'woman, female',¹²⁰ *aηki* 'mother', *naj* 'goddess' (Kerezi 1997a: 35; 1997b: 35–36). It is worth mentioning that only the highest god, *tōrâη* is addressed as *atî*, *jəγ* 'father'.

The word *naj* is also polysemous. Besides having the meaning 'fire', it is also the feminine pair of the word *ōrt* 'hero, prince', meaning 'lady, princess', and as such it occurs frequently in heroic songs.

The first occurrence of the name of the city features the word *kōr* 'image, representation', but in what follows, there occurs the word *kūr* 'foot' (23–24, 43–44, 127–129). If the name of the city contains the word *kōr*, this can be interpreted in several ways: a) 'a city [ruled by] a prince, [inhabited by] men [keeping] the images of gods, [keeping] the images of goddesses', b) 'the city, worthy of a prince, of a man similar to gods, similar to ghosts'. If the word *kūr* occurs in the name of the city, that might indicate that the leg (? the messenger) of the gods lives in the city, that is, "Ghosts'-leg-man, spirits'-leg-man's prince-like city".

119. Secondary literature in Russian uses the word *дух*, which is translated into English as *spirit* (Kulemzin 2000: 164–168, 2006: 106–108).

120. In earlier Ob-Ugric folklore texts the Khanty words *imi*, *iki*, and the Mansi words *ēkwa*, *ōjka* were frequently translated as 'granny' and 'gaffer'. Native speaker consultants emphasized many times that these words do not refer to old women and men, they simply mean 'man' and 'woman'.

Lines 5–11

- ‘ I, the “Goddess-Appearing-in-the-Form-of-a-Female-Sable-a-Sable-Cub”,¹²¹ sit (live, rule) in the middle of this big city, this big village.

Lines 12–27

- ‘ My name, the name “Goddess-Appearing-in-the-Form-of-a-Female-Sable-a-Sable-Cub”, is spread all around the world, in the valleys of rivers ruled by princes and princesses – the name that is used in the prince-having city of the Idol’s image/leg, male-ghost’s image/leg.

12. *aj iy_oai* ? ‘continually’ – a word that does not occur in dictionaries.

15–16. *ār māy lōkkā* [ɔ: lōkkā] *tū nāmām tu.ŋ* ‘my name is taken to every corner of the Earth’. Perhaps a writing mistake based on misinterpretation owing to the assimilation of the first consonant of *lōk* ‘corner’ to the word-final fricative in *māy* ‘earth, land’.

It is characteristic of heroic songs that the singer introduces the place and the participants of the actions in the beginning of the song – this is what happens in lines 1–27, where the singer speaks in the first person singular in the name of the goddess.

Line 28–34

- ‘ At nightfall, in the abruptly appearing darkness, the sounds of the footsteps of men have just vanished.

28–29. *auŋk pətəy.əm sārmanj jəj* ‘spirit’s black dark night’. There is a similar expression in Šerkaly Khanty folklore: *tunŋ sem pätlēm nārmanj at, kät sem pätlēm nārmanj at* ‘Spirit’s eye dark black night, Kalt’s eye dark black night’ (Schmidt 2008: 188). Is it possible that the Tremjugan singer uses a Northern Khanty expression in a somewhat distorted form? The meaning of the word *sārmanj* is uncertain.

Lines 35–49

- ‘ As we don’t have to avenge the death of our father, our mother at any land, at any water, as we don’t have to go on a martial road (we don’t have any reasons to wage war), we live peacefully in the city, worthy of a prince, of the ghost-figure-having-man, spirit-figure-having-man, in lee, on the silent bank of a windless lake.

121. The goddess appearing in the form of a sable is probably the protective spirit of the Kazym river (LNK).

42. *antə täjtay,at* have-PTC.PRS-1PL-INSF ‘as we don’t have’.

46. *wât käj,aa* ‘windless’. *käj-* ‘leave’, *-aa* nominalizer; the result is a form similar to participles that does not have any kind of temporal meaning, not even relative time reference (see the subsection on conjugation on pp. 62–64).

Lines 50–56

‘ Our long summer, during which the protecting spirit of spawning fish helped spawning, ended (our lifetimes becoming shorter as well), it wore away like the fur on our boots.

51. *imine* ‘?femalewoman’. A possible compound, cf. *iminiŋe* ‘auntie (lit. woman+woman+PX2SG)’ (Trj3/31), but it can also be a spelling mistake for what would correctly be *iminə*.

Lines 57–61

‘ Great God, our good father prepares for us a harsh autumn, with snow that holds the hooves of a reindeer bull.

57–58. *ənəλ tōrâm ko jəm jəγəγ* ‘great god man our good father’. In lines 35–62, the singer switches to 1PL, that is, the goddess speaks also in the name of the inhabitants of the city. This is the reason for referring to the God *tōrâm* as a father to all of them, as opposed to the hero of Trj3, the deity *kān iki*, who, as a son of God, uses 1SG: *ənəλ tōrâm ko jəm jəγəm* (Trj3/4–5, 15–16, 53–54, 61–62, 134–135).

Lines 62–75

‘ One half of my little sons (= my subjects) go toward the pine forest, another half go towards the thick forest. With baskets on their backs, they look like forest spirits.

74. *wōnt jūli* ‘forest spirit/giant’. *jūli* an anthropomorphic mythological being. “They are like us, only wilder. Their eyes are hairy. They occur in the bear-feast repertoire, but they are not invoked, and people do not sing in their names” (LNK). A further occurrence of the expression is Trj3/108–109; see the notes to those lines as well.

Lines 76–82

‘ We are waiting, prepared for all eventualities, so that we could go somewhere.

A sentence that is difficult to interpret. Karjalainen’s footnote (that every woman is at home, they did not go anywhere, there is no work) is not a translation, it is probably the explanation given by the informant.

77. *kǔl mənəm jəyiy_oat* somewhere go-PTC.PST become-1PL-IMP.

78, 80. *ili kurâm – kǔlij kurâm* ‘very cautious, wary’. The *ili – kǔlij* pair of adverbs encode the intensity of the action, cf. the expression referring to indulging the bear: *ili litpe – kǔlij litpe* (Trj2/151–152).

82. *məŋ kurâmtâłǔy_o* ‘we are waiting, prepared for all eventualities’. Cf. *kurâmtâ-* ‘waits for the commencement of something, preparing for it’ (T 191).

Lines 83–96

‘ We wake up, day by day, behind the hanging curtain depicting the image of the feathery ghost, the image of the winged ghost, we, twenty serving women in dresses adorned with metal ornaments, we are making patterns similar to the ganoin of the sturgeon, the ganoin of the sterlet with thin thread made of sinew.

83–84. *kǔlǔena kelǔli*, cf. *kǔlǔjn âłǔy kelǔntâli* (Trj3/119–120). It may be the case that these are the same expressions, but the form *kǔlǔena* is a deformed variant. See also the note to Trj3/119.

90–96. The forms of the words do not feature the endings that would encode their syntactic roles, therefore it is difficult to decipher the meaning of the sentence. The contemporary audience probably understood and interpreted what they heard based on a metaphoric way of thinking common to all members of the community.

Lines 97–102

‘ The lads that left in the direction of the pine forest return.

102. *nāmən wiyâłâłât* ‘descend towards the shore’. The Khanty settlements are on the waterside (*nāmən*), and compared to that, the forests are above (*utâŋ*).

Lines 103–111

‘ As I am the lady of the city, my servants, the young man give me/offer me squirrels trapped with a loop.

109–110. *wâten pit’pi nirit laŋki* ‘squirrel caught with a loop placed on red willow bush’ (LNK).

☞ 41

☞

☞

Lines 112–117

‘ The lads that left towards the direction of the thick forest return.

Karjalainen marked the three omitted lines (*kealyəntəm ajəŋ ko pǎyǐčūt* ‘young male servants that left’, i.e. the same as lines 99–101) with a dashed line. I added these lines in the transcript, therefore this song is three lines longer than the manuscript version.

Lines 118–121

‘ They bestow on me a wealth of male sable cubs with bent claws.

120. *tārniaila* unknown meaning and morphological form. The same expression appears in lines Trj3/121–125.

Lines 122–126

‘ Why am I singing this lying (wild, frightening) song of the heroine of my song?

In order to capture the attention of the listeners, the singer inserts his own opinion. The attribute *wjǰəŋ* ‘wild, frightening’ can also mean that the song is not comprehensible, therefore it is scary or useless (LNK). The same insert can be found in lines 471–476.

Lines 127–139

‘ After the women that foresaw an army noticed the army, after the men that foresaw a marriage party noticed the marriage party in the prince-like city of the ghost’s leg’s man, spirit’s leg’s man, they set a guard of two men’s sons, of three men’s sons.

131. *lāt sǎm* ‘the seeds/signs of war/army’.

134. *māj sǎm* ‘the signs of a marriage party’.

132, 135. *imipāt* female-ADJ-SUBST ‘female folk’, *ikipāt* male-ADJ-SUBST ‘male folk’. The first morpheme that attaches to the stems *imi*, *iki* derives an adjective, and then the form *lāt* is added to these, the primary meaning of which is ‘time’, but it also grammaticalized as a functional element, that is, as a suffix to derive collective nouns (cf. Tra *jāqqəŋlāt* folk-ADJ-SUBST ‘man-kind’). A similar derivation can be found in the Vj texts below: *öyi-ŋ-lāt* ‘girl folk’ *pǎk-əŋ lāt* ‘boy folk’ (Vj2/5).

Lines 140–145

‘ The noon of God’s day has not yet come, and it seems that the young man of the city, my sons/servants are already getting ready.

Lines 146–149

“ Their hustle and bustle is like a boiling cauldron full of sturgeons.

A simile the perspective of which is really intriguing: as if someone saw the city and the people moving around within it from above. The boiling cauldron full of sturgeons was a commonplace image for the Khanty, as they make glue this way (Sirelius 1904: 51).

Lines 150–157

“ They run to the watchtowers set at the corners of the city, the women and the men look around in all directions.

150–151. *urəŋ kâŋ urjĭ* ‘the corner of a cornered house’. This is probably a place suitable to monitor the surroundings, a watchtower. The same expression occurs in lines 225–227 and 378–379.

Lines 158–174

“ As I am watching, from the lower end of the icy waters of this sacred river, as I am watching, from the lower end of the river two sons born to some goddess, of the same breed, of the same build are approaching on a large sleigh covered with curtains.

159–160. *put jəŋk* ‘icy water’ that flows backward along the riverbank during the breaking up of ice.

168–170. *săjəŋ pəntăp kătəŋ pəntăp ənəŋ äy,əŋ*. Linking these three lines, Karjalainen added the marginal note *suuri reki* ‘big sleigh’. It must be a sleigh that has a roof and curtains.

168. *săjəŋ pəntăp* ‘runners with curtains’. Karjalainen wrote *săjəŋ* at first, then changed the back vowel of the first syllable to a front vowel, but he left the vowel of the second syllable unchanged. This collocation occurs three more times in the song (197, 457, 465), and each occurrence has the form *săjəŋ*.

171–172. *əj mǎyĭ, əj untĭ* ‘fathered at the same time, of the same size’. In the beginning of the song, this is an attribute of the two brothers arriving to propose (see also in line 280). Later however it is the shared attribute of the three deities (311), and from then on it characterizes the betrothed (387, 392, 429, 560). Consequently, the meaning of *əj mǎyĭ* is probably broader, approximately ‘of the same pedigree, rank; fitting’.

Lines 175–185

“ The one that comes in front is the goddess’s son named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, the sleigh is drawn by two well-shaped reindeer in the front.

184. *kāt nāryemyān* ‘two reindeer’. The stem of the noun *nāryem* ‘reindeer’ is the verb *nāryem-* meaning ‘move very quickly with a reindeer-drawn sleigh’ (LNK).

Lines 186–194

‘ He was sitting in the front of the sleigh drawn by a reindeer bull like a real man driving reindeer, there is a red squirrel tail, a gray squirrel tail ?tied to the end of his braid. ?His braid was fluttering like the tail of a squirrel.

191–192. *tārnəḡ lāḡki, kōltāḡ lāḡki* fighting (red), dead (gray) squirrel (LNK).

193. *lək sǎyo tōja*. The word form *lək* can be interpreted in several different ways: *ləḡ* ‘tail’, or – assuming a typo – *ləyo* ‘he’, or *ləḡ* ‘they (PL)’.

194. *əj tōyoḡ* ‘to the same place’, *ulanəksḡk* – unknown meaning, and it is also difficult to parse this form morphologically. Therefore, the translation of lines 193–194 is uncertain.

Lines 195–203

‘ Afterwards there came another covered and curtained large sleigh, drawn by two reindeer harnessed on their sides.

195–196. *tūt juḡḡl kolām pīrnā* an expression used in the language of the songs, meaning afterwards. Further occurrences are 444–445, 469–470.

Lines 204–219

‘ The boy sitting on the large, curtained, covered sleigh, borne by some goddess, is known by the name, called at many shores all around the country “Hard-Mail-Ornamented-with-Animals” – he is called by that name.

Lines 220–224

‘ I come/he comes from “the city of the clump of hair of the braided idol, the city of the clump of hair of the iron-covered idol”.

The basis of the translation of the name of the city is *juḡ ko* ‘wooden man’, that is, idol, that has braids of hair stuck together (*pōnt* ‘clump of hair’) and is covered with iron plates (*sǎyo-* ‘to braid’, *kārt-* ‘to cover with iron’). The city was named probably after these idols. Other interpretations are also possible, but this is the most likely one. Further occurrences of the name of the city in the song are 334–337, 420–422, 519–521, 526–528.

224. *jəγ_oililəγ_oləθ* ‘I am coming [a verb form with frequentative derivative suffixes]’. It is unclear who is talking here in first person singular. Can it be the case that the singer changed his role and speaks in the name of the older prince? It can also be the case that this is a writing error, and the correct verb form is *jəγ_oililəγ_olən* ‘he is coming [a verb form with frequentative derivative suffixes]’ (the marker of third person singular is *-ən* in the conjugation of the language of the songs, cf. the subsection on conjugation on pp. 62–64).

Lines 225–227

↪ ↻
 ‘ Men run down from the watchtowers, surveillance points.

See also: 150–152, 378–379.

Lines 228–233

↪
 ‘ I fold up small the ?image of ?some kind of four-legged animal behind the hanging curtain depicting the image of the feathery ghost, the image of the winged ghost.

231–232. *kōtəŋ kūrəŋ sičmāŋ kōr* – an unfathomable expression. There is no *sič-* stem in any of the dictionaries, nor anything that would sound similar and fit into the context. The form *kōtəŋ kūrəŋ* ‘hand-having, feet-having’ denotes a four-legged animal. There is a similar expression in northern Khanty: *jāšing kuring ses voj nyogi moltal* ‘puts hand-having, feet-having rabbit(?) meat into it’ (OH I: 378/1865).¹²² It is remarkable that this smaller, four-legged animal is cooked when suitors arrive at a house both in Sygva and Tremjugan Khanty heroic songs. It may be the case that *sič-* was a taboo expression, and its form became deformed over time. The expression occurs in a different form later on: *sič wājəy kōr* (286, 305).

233. *mānə əjyə māñəksəli* ‘it is folded up small by me’. Karjalainen underlined the verb in the manuscript, indicating that he either did not understand it, or did not find it fitting into the context. It is difficult to interpret indeed.

Lines 234–245

↪
 ‘ Not even as much time passed that would be enough to boil a pot of water, once I hear the heavenly elk-like pounding of the mail-clad legs of a boy borne by some goddess on the long porch made of bare-barked wood.

122. The expression *ses voj* can be translated as ‘trap[ped] animal’.

Lines 246–252

‘ I hear that two boys borne by some goddess, good princes walk on the long porch made of bare-barked wood.

247. *naksəm juy*. The diacritics are missing in the manuscript, correctly: *nāksâm*; see Trj3/179.

Lines 253–255

‘ The clinking sound of the edge of mail, the handle of a saber can be heard.

Lines 256–260

‘ One of the goddess-borne boys opens the slatted door of the house with spirits.

256–257. *jŭleŋ kât sijΛ oy,pi* ‘the slatted door of the house with spirits’. See the note to line 74. Further occurrences of the expression are lines 383–384, 451–452 and Trj2/50.

260. *puŋčlj*. Cf. the note to lines Trj2/17, 19, 20.

Lines 261–267

‘ While I am sitting here, the two sons borne by the goddess enter the house the size of a small swamp lake, a small lake.

Lines 268–282

‘ Having bowed their braided heads, hairy heads in front of the sacred corner, the two princes of the same breed sat down onto the edge of the sleeping place, the protruding skirting board climbed by the water monster.

274. *łápláni* – unknown meaning.

276–277. *jəŋkwäs iki kuŋätłaj kipləŋ lɪn* ‘protruding skirting board climbed by the water monster’. Cf. notes to lines Trj2/34–36.

Lines 283–290

‘ The woman well used to housework cuts up the four-legged, (unknown) animal into the handled cauldron with iron handles and cooks it.

285–286. *kōtəŋ kūrəŋ sič wājôy kōr*. See the note to lines 231–232.

As the singer uses third person singular here, it is probably one of the servants (and not the lady of the house) who did the cooking.

Lines 291–295

- “ She hangs the handled cauldron with iron handles unto the flames of the blazing fire.

291–292. *λᾶρ ἡάλαμ τῖρῆη νᾶϊ*. The attribute pair *λᾶρ* – *τῖρ* is probably an onomatopoeic pun based on the verb *λᾶρᾶγ*- ‘flap with wings’.

Lines 296–301

- “ After the water boiled away, she took the handled cauldron with iron handles off the fire.

Lines 302–310

- “ The woman served us with the meat of the (unknown) four-legged animal using a bloody bowl made of wood cut into halves.

304–305. *κῶτῆη κῦρῆη σιῆ ᾠᾶϊᾱγ κῶρ*. See the note to lines 231–232.

Lines 311–317

- “ We, the three princely offspring of equal rank, take a large bite meant for God, a large bite meant for a ghost out of the bowl.

Lines 318–328

- “ My dear brother-in-law, one of the princely offspring of equal rank, named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater” says so, his mouth with an opening having twenty teeth opens to these words:

Lines 329–333

- “ Sister-in-law, “Goddess-Appearing-in-the-Face-of-a-Female-Sable-a-Sable-Cub”, listen here:

Lines 334–347

- “ If you are about to go to the city “of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the clump of hair of the iron-covered idol”, – “braided idol” – pull the comb through your beautiful tumble of hair!¹²³

340. *ᾶγᾶνε*. The word-final *-e* is perhaps characteristic of the language of songs. Its spoken-language form is *ᾶγᾶνᾶ* ‘at the same time, simultaneously’.

338–341. ‘you have put your thoughts on the city’ = you are about to go there.

342. *σᾶῖᾶμ ἰυῖ κο* – the first part of the name of the city. It seems it has no role in the sentence.

123. Other interpretations may also be possible, as the meaning of the constituents of the sentence is not entirely clear.

343–344. your beautiful fullness starting at the top of your head ?= your hair.

345. *kǒλ opât > opât kǒλ* ‘the opening between strands of hairs, parting’.

346. *kǎntâp* ?an instrument that can be used for unstitching seams or disentangling braids of hair (= comb) (this word is not attested in dictionaries, one can only find the verb *kǎñ-* ‘open, unstitch, disentangle, solve’).

347. *nok kǎtatę*, cf. *kǎtatə-* ‘move, pull’.

Even if the translation and the interpretation is correct, it is still unclear how this call fits into the context of the song. It may be the case that when the younger brother of the bride-to-be proposes (in the name of his brother) to the lady of the city, he woos her using these words.

Lines 348–372

‘⁹ Having eaten a big bite meant for a ghost, a big bite meant for a spirit, we sat in the house full of unmarried servant girls, full of unmarried servant boys until three cords of dry wood, chopped wood burned up, and then the young men of the city, my servants streamed out of the house like two-year-old elks, they popped up at the corners of the houses with such a speed.

366. *λǎjλǎλi*. The meaning of this word is unknown and its morphological makeup is also unclear. Perhaps it is related to the words *λǎj* 1) ‘pus, gall’, 2) ‘rope woven from the twigs of bird cherry’, but both of these are difficult to fit into the context.

368–369. *surtj ñǒy, kolâm ǎy,nâ* ‘with the three speeds of a two-year-old elk’.

372. *λǎn kǎlj/jǎtjλ* ?‘they appeared, they popped up’. The verb *kǎlj-* does not appear in the dictionaries; the closest match to this string is *kolj-* ‘shine, loom’; see also line 394.

Lines 373–385

‘⁹ My dear brother-in-law, the prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, says, “I am going to sleep in the corner of the cornered house”, he says these words while going out through the slatted door of the house with spirits.

378–379. ‘corner of the cornered house’. The same expression that denoted the place used for keeping watch, perhaps a watchtower, cf. lines 150–152, 225–227.

383–384. *jǎleñ kât sijâλ oγ, pâjji* ‘the slatted door of the house with spirits’. See also lines 253–254, 448–449 and Trj2/50.



Lines 386–397

‘ The two of us, a matching princess and prince, disappear in the comfortable sleeping place similar to a nesting place at a golden moor, a silver moor, and doze off into such a light sleep as the sleep of a sable.

394. *ἰλᾶν κάλιλᾶμᾶν* ‘we disappear’. The same verb with unknown meaning that appeared in line 372, but the preverbal particle is different (*ἰλᾶν* ‘away’ – *ἰλᾶν* ‘down’).

Lines 398–409

‘ After we slept as long as the stars were in the sky, I hear the prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater” talking, and his opinion affects me like a cold flow of air from below the floor.

398–399. *kosḗn oyopī kōyot*. This must be some kind of a period of time related to the course of the stars.

Lines 410–419

‘ Brother named “Hard-Mail-Ornamented-with-Animals”, listen here! In this finite age of the people living today, how did you create a man cheering up braided girls, a man cheering up handsome boys?

410. *kārḗn wājyāt* correctly: *wājyāt*.

416, 418. *ḥālyāt ko* unknown meaning; perhaps it is related to the verb *ḥālyāt* ‘cheer up, entertain’, but the difference between the vowels (front vs. back) needs to be explained.

Lines 420–428

‘ How long will our city “of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the clump of hair of the iron-covered idol” stay a city left by its princess, a city without a princess, a city left by its prince, a city without a prince?

Lines 429–435

‘ And the two of us, a matching princess and prince, got up, leaning on our arms, from our comfortable sleeping place similar to a golden moor, a silver moor.

433–434. *ōyōr ḥōmān sātḗn tōj* ‘the strong end of our high bone’ = our arm.

435. *nomān mālyāntāmān* ‘we rise’. This is not attested in the dictionaries, but the same expression occurs in the song for waking up the bear, and Karjalainen gave a translation for it there (Trj2/32–33).

Lines 436–442

‘ I put on a fiery red tweed cloak, fastened with copper buttons, ornamented by twenty female servants with the image of pointy-headed ghosts.

441. *təy,təŋ nōj* ‘fiery tweed cloak’ – perhaps red.

Line 443

‘ What happens next? (The interjection of the singer.)

Lines 444–453

‘ Then I go out of the house with spirits through its slatted door in my outfit made by twenty female servants, fastened with copper buttons, having the festive food in my thin hands.

450. *tinəŋ sör* literally ‘expensive mead’, but it can also denote food and drink put on the festive table in general. Further occurrences are 464, 568.

Lines 454–468

‘ After “Hard-Mail-Ornamented-with-Animals” quickly sat down on the covered, curtained big sleigh, I put the precious food made by twenty female servants onto the sleigh with my thin hands, wearing the outfit fastened with copper buttons.

456. *lää-ŋilə-γəλ-m-aλ* sit.ON-DIM-FREQ-PTC.PST-3SG ‘after he sat down on the sleigh ?so-so’. The derivative suffix *-ŋil(ə)-* occurs only in the Eastern Khanty dialects, and derives verbs encoding an action that lasts for a short time and happens with low intensity (Ganschow 1965: 60); cf. *sääŋiləλ* ‘become faintly visible’ (line 524).

Lines 469–476

‘ And then... why am I singing this wild, frightening song about the heroine of my song?

(Interjection of the singer; it occurs above in lines 122–125 almost with the same words.)

Lines 477–483

‘ The prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law is riding somewhat before us, and a stretch of road is already behind him.



Lines 484–495

- “ The prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law, is racing downstream towards the lower course of the icy waters of my sacred river, shaking the frosty leather strap, its outer layer dried.

493–494. *kār wātām sōjāṅ nūrā* ‘frosty leather strap, its outer layer dried’ = the reins of the reindeer.

Lines 496–501

- “ It seems that the distance spanning three rivers, a distance that can only be flown across by a bird, seems to be within an arm’s reach.

Lines 502–518

- “ The prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law, ran from the ornaments of his ornate sleigh – there were golden bells hanging on his famous sword and between the ears of his fine reindeer bull – forward, and said, “Sister-in-law, ‘Goddess-Appearing-in-the-Face-of-a-Female-Sable-a-Sable-Cub’, listen here!

Lines 519–524

- “ It is already visible how the iron of swords sparkles in the city “of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the iron-covered idol”.

524. *sāṅjāṅā* ‘is visible now and then’. The derivative suffix *-jā(ā)*- occurs only in the eastern dialects, and derives verbs that encode actions taking place for a short time and with low intensity (Ganschow 1965: 60); cf. the note to line 456.

Lines 525–534

- “ As I look there, I also see the good defensive walls of hard iron, hard stone erected on one side of the city “of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the iron-covered idol”.

Lines 535–542

- “ Things being like this, these harnessed animals with strong necks take us to the city “of the clump of hair of the braided idol, of the iron-covered idol”.

Lines 543–551

- “ The prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law, soon entered his house the size of a small lake in a swamp, the size of a small lake in a forest.

Lines 552–565

- “ After a while we as well, a matching princess and prince, me and “Hard-Mail-Ornamented-with-Animals”, my betrothed, enter the house the size of a small lake in a swamp, a small lake in a forest, there, where a large animal sacrifice, a large food sacrifice has already been prepared.

554. *kuťâm* ‘my family member, ?my betrothed’, cf. Balalajeva et al. 2021: 47. Further occurrences are 579, 598, 612.

555. *лэγ_o âmsj|лэγәлätäл*. Concerning the change in the backness feature of the vowels, see the note to lines Trj3/51–52.

Lines 566–576

- “ As a woman who got accustomed to housework, I put down the precious food and drink with my thin hands behind the hanging curtain ornamented with a feathery ghost image, a winged ghost image, onto the sleeping place similar to the golden moor, silver moor.

Lines 577–586

- “ My betrothed, “Hard-Mail-Ornamented-with-Animals” says, “For several days we have been preparing the feast with which the mother of the bride can regale the young man of the city, the many boys.”

Lines 587–593

- “ Half the young men should bring down twenty reindeer cows, their bellies full of lichen, from the wayside pine forest with lichen for reindeer bulls at the upper end of the city.

589. *pāηλâη wăč utpjinâ* ‘at the upper end of the city with a side’. Perhaps the correct form is *pōηλâη*, if the base is *pōηâл* ‘side’.

593. *nik tuyitâγ* ‘bring down!’ – an imperative form in 2PL. This is not a grammatically well-formed sentence: one would expect a passive verb form due to the locative-marked agent (*âjâη ko pāγâtnâ*) of the clause, and yet the predicate is in the 2PL imperative (*nik tuyitâγ*). It may be the case that something was omitted in between. It can also be the case that the agreement problem is due to the distance of five lines between the beginning and the end of the sentence.

Lines 594–604

‘ My betrothed “Hard-Mail-Ornamented-with-Animals” tells the other young servants to bring up twenty reindeer oxen, their bellies full of grass, from the seven lakes that are thickly covered in grass.

600. *pot lākisaṅ* ‘thickly covered in grass’. The word *lākisaṅ* was only attested in the Kaz dialect (D 737), it is used to denote large quantities of something.

604. *utâ tuyat*. The verb form is ambiguous: it can either be parsed as bring-IMP.3SG ‘he should bring up’ or as bring-PST.PASS.3PL ‘they were brought up’; both of these interpretations fit into the context.

Lines 605–613

‘ My betrothed “Hard-Mail-Ornamented-with-Animals” asks the prince named “Velvet-Scoter-Backwater-White-Headed-Duck-Backwater”, my dear brother-in-law, to come here from the lower end of the city.

Lines 614–627

‘ The many sons of the young men of the city have already felled the twenty reindeer oxen, their bellies full of grass, with the butt of the hard ax, the many sons of the young men of the city have already felled the twenty reindeer cows, their bellies full of lichen, with the butt of the hard ax.

Lines 628–633

‘ As for us, we made a ghost-eaten large feast, a spirit-eaten large feast.

Lines 634–639

‘ [We made] a ghost-eaten large feast lasting the days of many days, the nights of many nights.

Lines 640–646

‘ At the passing of seven days, at the passing of seven nights we bring a light rain, we bring a light wind, we carry on working according to the weather of last year.

It may be the case that these deities are responsible for the weather.

The song is left unfinished here, Karjalainen notes down that *Loppua ei tiedä, tulee vielä sota* ‘He does not know its end, [but] there will be a war’.

Trj5 – Oaths and prayers (with notes)

In the third bundle of the Tremjugan manuscripts, titled *Tremjugan. Kielen-
näytteitä III*. ‘Tremjugan. Language Specimens III’, there are texts of oaths
and prayers (Trj5) and riddles (Trj6). Karjalainen numbered the first two
oaths, but then left the rest of them unnumbered. Above the text, he wrote the
topic of it in Finnish, and he also underlined it. The Finnish version of some of
these texts were published in his monograph on mythology (JugrUsk). As for
the present edition, I publish the original texts with the original line breaks,
but I also supplement them with a literal translation, with Karjalainen’s Finn-
ish translation (if available) and the English translation of the latter.

I) vala karhun päällä [oath on the bear]

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | <i>pupi! kuntâ tem ko râyâp</i> | Bear! If this man cunning [thing] |
| 2. | <i>wâr, tâm aj tîlâs wâlî</i> | did, then in one month being |
| 3. | <i>tîlâs kôltâ latna pit' täytâ,</i> | at the time of the waning of the |
| | | moon, a piece of his thigh, |
| 4. | <i>pâŋkâl täytâ kase!</i> | rip off a piece of his shoulder blade! |

- ↪ Karhu! Jos tämä mies valehtelee, niin yhden kuun oltua, kuun kade-
tessa revi lonkka, revi lavat! (JugrUsk: 500; FFC 63: 176; Relig3: 132).
- ↪ Bear! If this man is lying, then in a month from now, when the moon
is waning, rip off his hip, rip off his shoulder blades!



II) vala tulella [oath at the fire]

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 5. | <i>jimæŋ nâj äÿ,i! kuntâ tem</i> | Sacred daughter of fire! If this |
| 6. | <i>ko лuлâт čâjâ, aj tîlâs</i> | man stole indeed, one month |
| 7. | <i>wâlî kutâl sâjsâŋkijâ wære!</i> | being make into ashes his house! |
| 8. | <i>Sârâŋ jîrat wârlo, wæraŋ</i> | Dry offering makes for you, bloody |
| 9. | <i>jîrat wârlo tem konâ, t'utp[â]</i> | offering this man makes |
| | | for you, that either |
| 10. | <i>âl kolânta, kutâl sâjsâŋ-</i> | do not listen to, his house ashes |
| 11. | <i>kijâ wære!</i> | into make! |




- ↪ Pyhä tuli-äiti! Jos tämän miehen varkaus on totta, yhden kuun ollessa
tee talonsa tuhkaksi! Jos hän tekee kuivan uhrin, jos hän tekee verisen
uhrin, sinä häntä älä kuuntele! Tee talonsa tuhkaksi!
(JugrUsk: 503; FFC 63: 181; Relig3: 136).

- 69 Holy fire mother! If it is true that this man stole, turn his house into ashes within a month! If he makes a dry offering, if he makes a blood offering, don't you listen to him! Turn his house into ashes!

Sārām. Capitalization is probably unintended; Karjalainen only uses lowercase letters in the Khanty texts. A similar error occurs in Likr5/8.  

Kosinta sanoja [A prayer for a marriage proposal]



- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------|
| 12. | <i>tõrām tiy_oam unata,</i> | Since the sky was born, |
| 13. | <i>məy tiy_oam unata</i> | since the earth was born, |
| 14. | <i>nep ätiλnām wǎłtâ koļ äntə wua</i> | neither the woman knows |
| | | the ability to be alone, |
| 15. | <i>kop ätiλnām wǎłtâ koļ äntə wua</i> | nor the man knows the |
| | | ability to be alone. |
| 16. | <i>ilækkənām əj jäsəjät jästä</i> | say a story about the future, |
| 17. | <i>ilækkənām əj kǎłát jästä</i> | say a word about the future, |
| 18. | <i>[məŋ] õnlatay_o wutay_o kim əj</i> | [according to] our learning, |
| | | our knowledge, one |
| 19. | <i>kǎłát jästä mänənām, læy_oənām.</i> | word say to me, to her/him. |


Toisessa toisinnossa: [In another variant:]

... *ilækkənām wǎłtay_o əj* ‘(concerning) the life that’s ahead of us’

- 69 Ever since the sky and the earth were created, neither women nor men have been able to live alone. Say just a word, just a sentence concerning the future. Say as many words to me and to him/her as we are able to grasp, to understand.

Rukous kån iki:lle vaatteuksen tehtyä **[A prayer for *kån iki* while getting dressed]¹²⁴**



- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 20. | <i>mā kǎłəmtəmam əj nõj nü-</i> | A cloth jacket acquired by me |
| 21. | <i>ŋāti wǎrəm, kån iki! nüŋ</i> | made for you, <i>kån iki</i> ! You[r] |
| 22. | <i>wöy_oänät əj wǎjəy wǎłəm ǎłəŋ,</i> | with strength I would |
| | | kill game, if only, |
| 23. | <i>əj kuλ wǎłəm ǎłəŋ! – kån iki!</i> | a fish would catch, if only! <i>kån iki</i> ! |
| 24. | <i>mán[t] tǎłəŋkə tǎja, jəmyə</i> | Keep me healthy, well |
| 25. | <i>tǎja, ǎjanə kǎ tǎja!</i> | keep, keep me in good fortune! |
- 

124. For more information on the deity *kån iki*, see pp. 94–96 in Section 2.3/Trj3.

The prayer has two Finnish translations in the monograph on mythology:

- ↪ Varustamani verkakauhtanan sinulle uhrasin, *kån iki*, jotta sinun voimallasi saisin riistaa, saisin kalaa. *kån iki!* Säilytä minut tervehenä, hyvinvoipana ja onnistuvana! (JugrUsk: 255–256; FFC 44: 187–188; Relig2: 142–143).
- ↪ Hankkimani verkakauhtanan olen sinulle uhrannut, *kån iki*, sinun väelläsi jotta saisin eläintä, kalaa! *kån iki!* Pidä minua kylläisenä, pidä tervennä, pidä onnistuvana! (JugrUsk: 447; FFC 63: 97; Relig3: 80).
- ↪ I have sacrificed to you a cloth jacket that I had acquired, *kån iki!* If only I could kill wild game, catch fish with your power! Keep me healthy, prosperous, and successful!

For further information on textiles meant as offerings, see JugrUsk: 226–227. FFC 44: 142–144. Relig2: 110–111.

22. *wöŷ_oanät* ‘with your strength’. In the manuscript there is a combining left arrowhead below the vowel of the second syllable, indicating the back feature of the vowel. If this is not a mistake, then it is possible that this is a case of assimilation triggered by the preceding back consonant in a front-harmonic word. ↪ ↻

Rukous elukan tapettua: [A prayer after killing an animal:] ↻

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 26. | <i>nüŷät wälləjät wälləm, iəsə</i> | I am killing a reindeer
for you, its soul |
| 27. | <i>wəjät! lår löŷ_oit sämä təŷə-</i> | take away! [With] your
eyes the size of a lake, |
| 28. | <i>nəm leyələ, mântem-</i> | look here, to me |
| 29. | <i>nəm kolānta! mə wöŷ_onät</i> | listen! I with strength |
| 30. | <i>wälləm, ček_onät wälləm män[t]</i> | live, with trouble live, me |
| 31. | <i>wājəŷat məjā, män[t] kuulat</i> | with game give, me with fish |
| 32. | <i>məjā!</i> | give! |

- ↪ Olen sinulle teurastanut poron, ota sen sielu! Tulvajärven suuruinen silmäsi tänne suuntaa, kuule minua! Elän väellä, elän vaivalla, anna minulle eläintä, anna minulle kalaa! (JugrUsk: 447; FFC 63: 97; Relig3: 80).
- ↪ I have slaughtered a reindeer for you, take its soul! Look at me with your eyes the size of a lake in a swamp, listen to me! I live with difficulty, I live with trouble, give me game, give me fish!

For further information on animals meant as offerings, see JugrUsk: 215–218; FFC 44: 124–130; Relig2: 96–100.

Kuolleelle, joka esineen pantua sanotaan:**[To the deceased; this is said after putting down each object:]**

33. *nũĵāti kįjsem, mǎsta* [sic] I left this for you, its need
 34. *ǎtǎ wǎje!* in its time take it!

↪ Jätin tämän sinulle, tarpeesi ajalla käytä...
 (JugrUsk: 79; FFC 41: 116; Religi: 92).

↪ I left this here for you, if he needs it, take it!

mǎsta ǎtǎ ‘if he needs it’. It is possible that the participle should be affixed with a 2SG ending instead of a 3SG. Correctly: *mǎsta ǎtǎ* ‘if you need it’. The Finnish translation also features a 2SG form.

Haudalta lähtiessä: [Upon leaving a grave:]

35. *káčəŋ ət əjnəm kįĵəm,* I left all things desirable,
 36. *mǎniŋtem ǎ wǎyǎnta.* don’t ask from me.

↪ haluesineesi kaikki jätin, älä enää minulta vaadi...
 (JugrUsk: 79; FFC 41: 116; Religi: 92)

↪ I left all [that you asked for] here, don’t ask for anything else from me.

Trj6 – Riddles

There are twenty-five riddles on pages 4–10 in the third bundle of the Tremjugan manuscripts (*Tremjugan. Kielennäytteitä III*). This material differs from the rest of the manuscripts in containing Finnish translations as well. These are the only items of Karjalainen’s Eastern Khanty texts that have already been published (Csepregi 2004/2005).

Khanty dialects can be divided into three groups on the basis of the lexical item used to denote the concept ‘riddle’. The southern and the easternmost dialects use a deverbal noun that ultimately goes back to the PFU verb **muj-* ‘touch, tap’: DN *moĵəptə*, Irt *mijəptə*, Ko *mujəptə*, VVj *mujwətĵ* ‘riddle’ (KT 500; D 896).

One of the lexical items used by the northern dialects is of Mansi origin, and it has the same meaning: Kaz, Ser *ames*, *amamci*, ‘riddle, conundrum’, *amamatsem* ‘my riddle’ (D 107). The Mansi source word is a loan itself from Tatar. In addition, words meaning ‘a piece of a tale, a little tale’ are also used (Kaz *mońsuptə*, Ni *mońsəpsə*).

The Surgut Khanty lexical item *mułkj*, *mułki* (D 931) also derives from the word *mānt* ‘tale’ perhaps via playful word formation. There are two forms of this in the Jugan dialect: J *muńtkem*, *mułkem* ‘my tale, my riddle’ (PD 1280; D 942); that is, this word occurs geographically wedged between the Southern and the Vah-Vasjugan dialects.

Riddles begin with the formulaic expression *mułkemow!* When noting down the texts, Karjalainen wrote down the entire word at its first occurrence, and later on abbreviated this initial question as *m.!* According to my own experience, the person who asks the riddle pronounces the last syllable of the expression *mułkemow!* in a lower tone and in a protracted manner. This is both a question and a request to solve the riddle.

In what follows, I publish the texts of the manuscript. The basis of the English translation is the Khanty original instead of Karjalainen’s Finnish interpretation, which diverges sometimes from the original.¹²⁵

Mułkj – Arvoituksia [Riddles]



1. *mułkemow!:* *jəŋkə suraλəm ko, iλsəλ noməŋ kiŋt. səjəp, wəŋpərt.*
Mies hukkuu veteen, sielunsa jäi ylhäälle. Nuotta, perämerkki.
↪ Behold my riddle! [What is this?] A man drowned in water, his soul/shadow stayed above. Seine, a piece of wood marking the end of the seine.
2. *m.!:* *tem pəłəki ney, i əj riŋətəŋ ko mən[ə]λ, təm pəłəki pəyt[ə] əj riŋətəŋ ko mən[ə]λ. sāməŋ kuλ, sōy.*
Tätä puolta kulkee valkea ruuhinen mies, tuota puolta musta r. m. Njelma, osetra.
↪ A man with a white boat goes on this side, and a man with a black boat goes on that side. European whitefish, sturgeon.
3. *m.!:* *jəy, əttə nəλ kiŋtə pəstə. nəməs.*
Nuolta nopeampi. Ajatus.
↪ Faster than a shot arrow. Thought.
4. *m.!:* *wəntəp jəyəp əŋ[t]nə əŋət jəy, əλ əλəŋ kek, ləλ. lūk nōλ.*
Metsän rahvaan (?) keskessä jousen pää kurkistelee. Metson nokka.
↪ The end of an antler-bow is peeking in the middle of a forest, a pine forest. The beak of a capercaillie.

125. There were two variants of the riddles in the legacy; the description of the second variant is at the end of this chapter.

5. *m.!: sāt ko əj əntəpnāt wārəksəy. pomj muntāl.*
Sata miestä yhdellä vyöllä vyöttäytyy. Heinäsormaus.
↪ A hundred men belt themselves with the same belt. A sheaf of hay.
6. *m.!: kātāt kūti sälləy pirik əlli. sut.*
Talojen väliä kuljetetaan suolaista piirakkaa. Siera.
↪ A salted pirog is carried around between the houses. A whetstone.
7. *m.!: wáčəp pułəp səs miłəp jəynə məyəəllj. ənkəł.*
Kaupunkia kylää ympäröipi горностај-lakkiset miehet. (–)
↪ Cities, villages are surrounded by people with sable-fur hats. A stump.
8. *m.!: jūnkəł oytj wāt pirji. kūrəyłəm.*
Haolla [istuu] viisi sorsaa (чирокъ). Jalka ja varpaat.
↪ Five ducks on a fallen tree. My toes.
9. *m.!: ləyəl tōynə əmp rəpəstə kəy owtəja tər[ə]l. səpərkj wəktə.*
Kesä (?) järvessä koiran haukunta kuuluu. Sammakon kurnutus.
↪ The barking of dogs can be heard up to the top of stones at the lake during summer. The croaking of frogs.
10. *m.!: əyətəy juy əntj sāt wārəp pörəyłəł. tōyəl korj najsuat nōknəm məntə.*
Onton puun sisästä lentää sata närhiä. Tschuvalin piipusta nousee kipunoita (kipunoiden nousu?).
↪ A hundred spotted nutcrackers fly out of a hollow tree. Sparks flying upwards from the chimney of a clay oven.
11. *m.!: jəryan pōnəm kəlj itən wiyəłłj, ələy wiyəłłj. kəjəmə itən ələy mənłəm wəlyəłəm leyəłtəyə.*
(Nuoriin) kiedottua samojeedi vainajaa illoin aamuin katsotaan. (–)¹²⁶
↪ One descends (lit. it is descended) [to] a corpse bound up [in a] Samoyedic [manner] in the evening, in the morning. I go out to the pasture to take a look at my two reindeer.
12. *m.!: səmpəłək koləy[k] wikkətətə lətnə wōn[t] juy nōyət səmət jəłən əməstət. pəçyən sōkkəntə.*
Silmäpuoli korpin huutaessa metsänpuiden oksat suomut istuvat maassa (so. putoovat). Pyssyn paukkaus.
↪ Branches of a tree, scales sit down (= fall down) upon the cry of the one-eyed raven. A gunshot.

126. The Finnish translation of the solution of the riddle appears only in the separate list.

It has to be noted with respect to the form *āmâstât* that the separate list features the form *āmâsâât*; presumably, the latter one is the correct form: sit-PRS-3PL

13. *m.!: aj kâr mesəy sât konâ kâtəλλi. oγopi mǎč.*
Yhden porohärän häntää sata miestä pitelee. Oven „ripa” (so. palikka).
↪ A hundred men hold the tail of one bull. The handle of a door.

41

Karjalainen’s explanation on the separate list: a piece of wood stuck into a hole cut into the door is used as a handle in many places.

14. *m.!: jəŋk ɔn[t] kəməɾ. jəŋkə mǎγotəm pən.*
Veden sisus ontto. Veteen laskettu merta.
↪ A dome-shape within the water. A fishing basket dipped into the water.

15. *m.!: kōtəŋ tōγoðλ kiŋtʼa neγoi əntem,*
koləŋ[k] tōγoðλ kiŋtʼa pəyt[ə] əntem,
əltə kōčə[γ] kiŋtʼa ləγərt əntem.
nipik, sətʼa kuλi, kənikə.
Ei ole valkeampi joutsenen sulkaa
Ei ole mustempi korpin sulkaa
Ei ole raskaampi puukkoa (sapelia?). Paperi, muste, kirja.
↪ It is not whiter than the feather of a swan, it is not blacker than the feather of a raven, it is not heavier than a sword. Paper, ink, book.

16. *m.!: wōntəp jəγəp ɔn[t]nə jəm lənti jəm kuλi sǎγoəŋ. wəsəy tɪγəλ.*
Metsän sisässä on ruoka-, kalavakka. Sorsan pesä.
↪ A birchbark bowl with good food, good fish inside a forest, a pine forest. The nest of a duck.

17. *m.!: wāt wātəm nəγəɾ. lǎpas.*
Tuulen tuultama (kuivaama) käpy. Aitta.
↪ The cone of a yellow pine, blown by the wind. A storehouse standing on legs.

18. *m.!: lǎŋokəɾ pərint, pərint, wōŋkəλλa lǎŋəλ. kōčəγnət juγ nōγəərtə*
sātəpə pułtə.
Hiiri puree (?) koloonsa menee. Veitsellä puuta vuolla, työntää tuppeen.
↪ Mouse prr, prr, goes into its hole. Carving wood with a knife, tucking it into its sheath.

19. *m.!: wōntəp jəγəp ɔn[t]nə pəytə kǎγo əλλəλ. puɾi wōŋ[k]nə əltə.*
Metsässä makaa musta kivi. Karhu makaa pesässään.
↪ A black stone lies inside a thick wood. A bear lying in his den.

20. *m.!: jəγəλ əj sɑpjk puλtəγi pəγəλ torma mən. najsua nõknam məntə.*
Isän yhtä saapasta jalkaan vetäessä poika meni taivaaseen. (-)¹²⁷
↪ While dad puts on one of his boots, his son goes to the sky. A spark going upwards.
21. *m.!: kutəλ wən, ləp̃p̃əλ kōγo. seγo.*
Talo lyhyt, eteinen pitkä. Harakka.
↪ Its house is short, its porch is long. A magpie.
22. *m.!: iλ əλin[t]λ – jəm wəγ əp̃əγ, nõk lɑλ – pəsən. əmp.*
Maatessaan hopealautanen, seisoesaan pöytä. (-)¹²⁸
↪ Lying down – a silver pot, standing up – a table. A dog.
23. *m.!: sɑrtət səγət nua nɑλλət. λin juγət.*
Haut, mateet toisiansa nielevät. Tschuvalin „kehikko”.
↪ Pikes, burbots swallowing each other. Skirting boards [of a clay oven].
24. *m.!: wöntəp̃ jəγəp̃ ɔn[t]nə wərtə nõjəŋ ne lɑλ. kōrəytəm səγo mat.*
Metsän, kankaan sisässä seisoo punaverkkainen nainen. Kiskottu koivu.
↪ A woman with a red coat stands inside a thick wood. A bare-barked birch.
25. *m.!: (vrt. Nro 6) sɑλλəŋ p̃irik tem kɑtə tuλi, tōm kɑtə tuλi. sut.*
Suolaista piirakkaa kannetaan tähän tuohon taloon. Siera.
↪ A salty pirog is taken to this house, is taken to that house. A whetstone. (Cf. nr. 6.)

Notes

There are six riddles (9, 10, 12, 18, 19, 20) that feature an unusual grammatical form, a present participle used as a noun. This is not characteristic of the Surgut dialect: a well-formed construction always features a nominalizing element as well in this variant. These nominalizers are usually nouns with bleached meaning, functioning similarly to derivative suffixes. The corresponding spoken-language expressions would be the following: *səp̃ərkj wōktə s̃ij* ‘the croaking sound of the frog’, *pup̃i wōŋknə əltə t̃əγi* ‘the lying of the bear in the den (its lying place)’, *najsua nõknam məntə w̃r* ‘the upwards flying of a spark (its flying business)’.

127. The solution is not translated into Finnish.

128. The solution is not translated into Finnish.

Riddle 15 illustrates comparison in Surgut Khanty: it features the post-position *kiñtá* ‘compared to’, while the form of the adjective does not change (i.e. there is no comparative form).

The riddles were preserved in two variants in Karjalainen’s legacy: the first variants are a part of the manuscript bundle (variant A), the second can be found on three separate pages (variant B). The order of the questions is the same in both variants, the only difference between them is that there is a comma at the end of the riddles in variant A, and a question mark in variant B. There are several dissimilarities between the Finnish translations of the variants: some of these pertain to word order, some to wording, but their content corresponds to that of the original in each case. The dissimilar variants are the following:

2. Tätä puolta menee valkea ruuhellinen mies, tuota puolta Njelma, osetr. 41
4. Metsän kankaan (?) sisässä luun, jousen pää kurkistelee. Metson nokka.
5. Sata miestä vyöttäytyi yhdellä vyöllä. Heinäsormaus.
6. Talojen väliä kannellaan suolaista piirakkaa. Siera.
8. Haolla (maahan kaatuneella puulla) viisi „чирка” (sorsaa). Jalka ja varpaat.
9. Kesä (?) järvessä koiran haukunta -- „kuuluu”. Sammakko kurnuttaa.
10. Onton puun sisästä lentää sata närhiä. Tšovalin piipusta nousee kipinöitä.
11. Samojeedilaiseen nuoriin kiedottua vainajaa illoin aamuin katsotaan (?). Illoin aamuin menen syöttöpaikkaan poroja katsomaan.
12. Silmäpuoli korpin huutaessa metsän puun oksat, suomut istuvat maassa (so. putoovat). Pyssyn ampuminen.
13. Porohärän häntää pitelee 100 miestä. Oven „ripa” (jona on usein oven läpi tehtyyn reikään sijoitettu palikka).
14. Veden sisus *kəməɾ*. Veteen laskettu merta.
16. Metsän (kankaan) sisässä on ruoka-, kalavakka. Sorsan pesä.
18. Hiiri puree, puree, tunkeutuu koloonsa. Veitsellä puuta vuolla, työntää tuppeen.
20. Isän vetäessä yhtä saapasta jalkaansa poika meni taivaaseen.
25. Suolaista piirasta kannetaan tähän tuohon taloon. Siera.

Karjalainen applied a simplified transcription in variant B. He omitted diacritics marking the place of articulation of dental consonants, and marked the labiovelar consonants differently. As for vowels, he indicated if these are long, but he did not mark shortness. He changed the markers of *á*, *á*, and *ǎ*. There are specimens from both transcription types in the Appendix; one can familiarize themselves with the two transcription systems on the basis of those.

2.4. Tremjugan lexicon

In order to facilitate the co-publication of data from different dialects, the alphabetical order of words is usually based primarily on the consonants in the dialectal dictionaries of the Ob-Ugric languages. As the present lexicon lists words of a single dialect, namely Tremjugan Khanty, I diverge from this tradition. The alphabetical order is the following (sounds that were not differentiated with respect to alphabetical order are within brackets):

â, ă, ǎ, (ǎ, a) č, (e, ɛ, ə, ê), (ɣ, ɣ_o) i, ĭ, j, (k, k_o) ʌ, ʌ, ʎ, m, (n, ŋ) ń, (ŋ, ŋ_o)
(o, ɔ), ǒ, p, r, s, š, (t, ʈ) ʧ, u, ũ, w

The colon following the headword indicates that the headword cannot be interpreted on its own but only as part of a phrase. If a word has several variants, all of them are listed as headwords, separated by commas. Besides their meanings, I also give information on further dictionary entries of the words available in the following three dictionaries: Karjalainen & Toivonen 1948 (KT), Steinitz 1966–1993 (DEWOS, here: D), Terëškin 1981 (T). If a word does not occur in a dictionary, I put the abbreviation of the dictionary in brackets. If a dictionary records a word only from another dialect, I put both the abbreviation and the page number in brackets. The sentences to illustrate the meaning or the syntactic function(s) of the words are quoted from Karjalainen's texts.

Verbs are given as stems (that is, without the marker of the infinitive), with a hyphen marking the end of the stem. Verbs featuring different verbal derivational suffixes are cited within the same entry, similarly to the nominals that have the same stem, e.g. nouns and the adjectives derived from them. If however the stem vowel of a derivation changes due to the derivational process, the derivation gets a separate entry, but I cross-reference the entry of its base.

â

âj small, young KT 3, D 12, T 21 *âjəŋ ko* young man (Trj4/100)

âʌ [prohibitive particle] KT 108, D 55, T 22 *t'utpâ âʌ kolânta* don't listen to him! (Trj5/9–10)

âʌʌ fathom, cord KT 108, D 54, T 23 *săŷ_orəm juŷi kolâŋm âlanât* three cords of chopped firewood (Trj4/359–360)

âʌ-, **âʌt-** carry, take KT 124, D 77, T 23 *âʌtə kôčəŷ* (on the belt) carried knife (Trj6/15) *utân âʌtiʌŷʌi* is taken to the shore (Trj3/266–267)

âʌəm- lift KT 125, D 76, T 23 *tŷ_oâ âʌəmʌojâŷ_o* we are lifted there (Trj4/542)

âʌəŋ morning KT 117, D 83, T 23

âmp dog KT 48, D 101, T 24

ânâs caravan of sleighs KT 53, D 116, T 16

- āṇəy** dish, pot (KT), D 114, T 24 *āṇyā* into the dish (Trj4/303)
āṇki mother KT 36, D 136, T 24 *āṇke* your mother (Trj2/37)
āṇkəλ stump, log KT 38, D 137, T 24
ār many KT 70, D 155, T 25 *məy_o ārit* how many, how much (Trj2/129)
ārəy song KT 73, D 165, T 25
ās big river KT 84, D 184, T 26 *kāt āsyən* two big rivers (Trj3/205)
āt night KT 100, D 199, T 26
ātiλ single, lonely KT 105, D 214, T 26 *ātiλnām* singly, alone (Trj5/14)

ä

- äy_oi** girl KT 16, D 37, T 330
äy_ot- cut, split KT 18, D 50, T 331 *äy_oti náλ* split arrow (Trj3/81)
äλλi see **āλ-** *juy äλλi wān* wood-carrying shoulder (Trj1/61–62)
äsəλ- let KT 91, D 193, T 539

å

- åλj-** endure, be able to, have the strength to KT 122, D 65, T 13 *λiλām ko* ruler (Trj3/6)
åλəm sleep, dream KT 126, D 67, T 15 *uλmān* your sleep (Trj1/34)
åλəṇ 1. first, last 2. a filler in the language of the songs KT 118, D 80, T 15 *åλəṇ tōrəm* first world (Trj3/28), *kujāλ kūr sūj tārəm åλəṇ* the strong end of the sound of steps (Trj4/32–33) *kātλiλn åλəy* the beginning of the day (Trj4/119), *wáč uλəṇmānā* at the end of my city (Trj4/605)
āməs- sit, be somewhere, dwell KT 45, D 103, T 15 *məṇnə åməsλi* we sit [passive] (Trj4/49), *mā åmsiλəyālatam* while I am there (Trj4/263)
āmət- 1. seat [verb] 2. put, place, stand KT 45, D 104, T 16 *tōy_oå åmättam* I put it there (Trj4/468)
åmλəy_tå- sit down (KT 47, D 105, T 15)
åṇəṭ antlers KT 34, D 143, T 32
årt servant KT 84, D 176, (T) *årtəp kāt_nå* in a house full of servants (Trj4/353)

ä

- äy_o** the streamline of a river KT 15, D 28, T 324
äy_oəλ sleigh KT 29, D 39, T 30 *kātəṇ äy_oəλ* covered sleigh (Trj4/466–467)
äy_oəs the lower course of a river (KT 17), D 29, T 30
äjə luck KT 6, D 20, T 30 *mānt äjəṇkə tāja* make me lucky (Trj5/25)
åλ- lie, be KT 126, D 66, T 30 *åλiλmamān pīrnā* after our lie-down (Trj4/400)
λi åλi_ntλ lies down (Trj6/22)

- ǎŋlǐ** white-headed duck (*Oxyura leucocephala*) KT 40, D 141, T 32 *ǎŋlɛn urǐ tǎjǎm nǎjǐǎy* the goddess's son named after the white-headed-duck-backwater (Trj4/178–179)
- ǎńǎkǐ, ǎńkǐ** sister-in-law (the wife of a brother) KT 64, D 130, T 31
- ǎŋ_otǎŋ** hollow KT 34, D 144, T 328
- ǎŋ_otǎp** spear, lance KT 40, D 144, T 328

č

- čǎy_oǎ**: *ńǎlǎm čǎy_oǎ* speech KT 649, D 1049, T 299 *ńǎlǎmǎlǐ ǎr čǎy_oǎ* a lot of talk (Trj4/405–416)
- čǎjǎ** real KT 925, D 245, T 40
- ček_o** problem, misery KT 929, D 255, T 44 *ček_onǎt wǎllǎm* I live miserably (Trj5/30)
- čoyǎt** freshly fallen snow KT 936, D 251, T 43 *čoyǎt sǎm* snowflake (lit. snow eye) (Trj1/4, Trj2/6)
- čǎmǎŋ** notched, striated KT 947, D 277, T 44 *čǎmǎŋ kǎŋpǐ* notched bellied (insect) (Trj3/69)
- čǎŋč** back KT 950, D 282, T 45 *kǐntǎŋ čǎŋčpǐ wǎnt jǔlǐ* forest spirit with a basket on its back (Trj3/108–109, Trj4/66–67)
- čuy** a pointy, peaked pattern used in ornamentation (KT, D, T) (LNK, p.c.) *čuy okkǎŋ ǎr kǎńčǎ* peaked many embroideries (Trj4/94–95)
- čup** the end of a beam; a part, a section KT 252, D 294, T 44 *ǎy_oǎs jǎŋk čupǎlǎnam* the lower course of a river (Trj3/85–86)

ǎ

- ǎj** one KT 7, D 15, T 534 *ǎj pul* a bite, a piece (Trj1/43), *ǎjyǎnǎ* at once, simultaneously (Trj4/340), *ǎjnǎm* all, every (Trj4/534, Trj5/35), *ǎjwǎnat* with one shoulder (Trj1/74), *ǎj mǎyǐ, ǎj untǐ* equals, of the same size (Trj4/171–172), *ǎj tǎrǎm ǎj pǎlǎk* at one part of the world (Trj4/529–530)
- ǎjǎm** (animal or fish) glue KT 12, D 24, T 47 *ǎjmǎŋ kǎt* sticky-handed (Trj3/95)
- ǎnǎl** big KT 61, D 115, T 537
- ǎnt-** gird, dress up, dress someone KT 58, D 117, T 537 *ǎntǎpǎ nomǎn ǎntǎksǎlǐ* your belt is put on you (Trj1/67)
- ǎntǎ** not [negative particle] KT 58, D 121, T 537 *ǎntǎ wul* does not know (Trj5/14) *ǎntem* does not exist [negative existential] (Trj6/15)
- ǎntǎp** belt, waistband KT 58, D 117, T 537
- ǎs** mother KT 86, D 186, T 539

i

- iŷ** bear (KT 22, D 27, T 52) *iksöŷo* skin of the bear (Trj3/114)
iŷoəλ after, from KT 16, D 233, T 52 *tū iŷoəλ* after that (Trj4/536)
iŷoλi: *əj iŷoλi* in the same way, continually KT 23, D 38, T 505 *əj iŷoλi* continually (Trj4/12)
iŷoπi: *jiməŋ jǎŷoəŋ nim iŷoπi pǎləknə* towards the lower wash of the sacred river (Trj4/160–162)
iki man KT 23, D 34, T 52 *kân iki* world-watching man (Trj3, Trj4, Trj5/23) *λoksəm iki* my friend (Trj3/215), *λoksəm ikiŷiŋkinät* with my little friend (Trj3/245–246), *ikipəät* the men, menfolk (Trj4/135)
iλ, iλi forward KT 114, D 58, T 52 *iλ, iλən* away, down *iλ rəŷəptəttəŷ* dropped down (Trj3/38–39), *iλən iŋəta* to pull down (Trj2/116), *iλəkkənām* about the future (Trj5/16)
iλəs shadow, spirit KT 121, D 86, T 54 *iλsəλ* his shadow/spirit (Trj6/1)
imi woman, wife, aunt KT 79, D 97, T 54 *iminiŋe* your aunt (Trj3/31) *imipəät* the women, womenfolk (Trj4/132)
impəλ see **ämp**
irəŋ the attribute that occurs together with *sărəŋ* in parallel constructions (KT 81, D 172, T) *sărəŋ kǎŷoŷ irəŋ kǎŷoŷ* golden marsh, silver marsh (Trj4/389–390)
itən evening KT 104, D 217, T 57

i

- iŷət-** hang KT 26, D 48, T 58
iλ, iλə down, lower KT 112, D 61, T 58 *iλ mənəm əλəŋnam* to its lower end (Trj4/487–488) *iλ wǎč* lower city (Trj4/605) *iλən koŷλiλəλi* run down (Trj4/227)
iλiλəm see **əλi-**
iməλ- sit down KT 46, D 105, T 60 *iməλmiλ* after they sat down (Trj2/93)
iŋət- loosen, put down KT 39, D 142, T 17 *əntəp nǎŋnə iλən iŋətəŷi* your belt is taken off by you (Trj2/97)

j

- jəsəŋ** talk, word KT 190, D 414, T 65 *əj jəsəŋət jəstə* say one word! (Trj5/16)
jəstə- talk KT 190, D 415, T 64
jǎčə the middle of something KT 193, D 314, T 69 *λār jǎčənə* in the middle of a lake (Trj3/26–27), *kätəλ jǎčə* the middle of the day, noon (Trj4/140–141)

- jǎŷai** cold KT 156, D 340, T 84
- jǎŷoət-** throw, shoot KT 135, D 356, T 85 *jǎŷoəttə náa* shot arrow (Trj6/3)
- jǎŷok** ice KT 159, D 391, T 85
- jǎŷ** folk, people KT 141, D 318, T 61 *jǎkkəŋ jəŋk* a land inhabited by people (Trj3/137)
- jǎŷəm** pine forest KT 148, D 343, T 61 *jǎŷmənpi pǎləknəm* towards the pine forest (Trj4/64–65)
- jǎŷərt** the confluence of two rivers, the intersection of roads KT 150, D 342, T 62
- jǎŷoəŋ** river KT 148, D 321, T 78 *jiməŋ jǎŷoənam* my sacred river (Trj4/485)
- jǎŷlakj** unknown meaning, perhaps an insect or a bird (KT, D, T) *čomləŋ kəŋpi jǎŷlakj ar pǎrə* their many groups with their bellies notched (Trj3/69–71)
- jǎŷəla** bow KT 153, D 339, T 78 *jǎŷoəlam* my bow (Trj3/98) *jǎŷəla ələŋ* the end of the bow (Trj6/4)
- jǎkə** home(ward), in(to), back KT 142, D 327, T 79 *jǎkəŋ* at home, inside
- jǎntəŋ** toy KT 174, D 382, T 68 *jǎntəŋjiko* playful man (Trj1/85)
- jǎryan** Samoyedic KT 184, D 405, T 68
- jə-** become something, be (future) KT 196, D 309, T 96 *kǎtəla jǎčəŷa əntə jətəna* it wasn't noon yet (Trj4/140–142)
- jəŷ** father KT 145, D 324, T 89 *jəm jəŷəŷo* our good father (Trj4/58)
- jəŷoəla-** come KT 196, D 309, T 96 *jəŷoəlaəlam* I come (Trj4/224)
- jəŷtən:** *?jijətəŋ* tattooed KT 150, D 354, T 74 *jəŷtən kəŷtəŋ* two tattooed hands (Trj3/139)
- jəj** night KT 133, D 317, T 91 *jəjəli ar əti* during many nights (Trj4/636–637)
- jeji** older brother KT 133, D 317, T 71
- jek-** dance KT 141, D 331, T 85 *məŷo arit jekəlo* how many people dance for you [passive] (Trj2/137–138)
- jəm** good KT 167, D 367, T 91 *mánt jəmŷə təja!* keep me well (Trj5/24–25) *jəmsipi* right-hand side (Trj2/9), *jəmwəŷ* silver (Trj6/22)
- jəŋəla** box KT 158, D 393, T 95
- jəŋk** 1. water, liquid 2. place, land, direction KT 160, D 387, T 94 *jəm jəŋkəmna* at my good riverbank (Trj3/159) *put jəŋkəp jiməŋ jǎŷoəŋ* icy watered sacred river (Trj4/159–160), *jəŋk wəsiki* water monster (Trj2/34), *kujəŋ jəŋk* a land inhabited by men (Trj3/8)
- jermák** silk KT 186, D 409, T 72
- jiə** north KT 200, D 360, T 74 *jiəŋ təŷəm pǎlkəli* from the northern side (Trj3/68)
- jiməŋ** sacred KT 170, D 372, T 74
- jirəŷtə-** ?turn around, tumble (KT, D, T) *nǎŋnə jirəŷtəli* you turn around [passive] (Trj2/60)
- jir** blood offering KT 181, D 399, T 76

- jöy_oät-** come, arrive KT 152, D 355, T 81
jöm rain KT 166, D 375, T 82
juy tree KT 143, D 331, T 87
juy_oλ ?nice, pleasant (KT, D 337, T)
jüli (forest) giant, spirit KT 165, D 364, (T 86) *jüleş kât sıyλ oyo_opi* the slatted door of the house with spirits (Trj2/50), *wönt jüli* forest spirit (Trj4/74)
jühk_oλ fallen tree KT 164, D 392, T 89

k

- káč_oη** every, each KT 447, D 585, T 101
káλt female goddess, the pair of *λuyk* in parallel constructions KT 463, D 622, T 97
kám an attribute of iron in bear-feast songs, appears paired with *tát* in parallel constructions T 923, D 632 *tát wáyü kám wáyü λor_oη süj* clinking sound [*tát*-iron, *kám*-iron jingling noise] (Trj2/11)
kár bark, shell, jacket, crust KT 415, D 659, T 102 *kár_oη wáj_op an_oλ á_otáp* a crusty-handled big spear (Trj1/32–33)
kárt (ingot) iron (KT 433, D 685, T 98) *kárt_oη λáj_om* hard ax (Trj4/618), *kárt_om juy ko* ?ironbound idol (Trj4/222)
kás_oλ- move, nomadize KT 439, D 693, T 104 cf. **kis_oλ_omne_oη**
kát two KT 454, D 695, T 104 *kát kuy_on*, *kát ni_ok_on* two men, two women (Trj1/75–76) *kit kūr p_ontáp áy_oλ* a sleigh sliding on two runners (Trj3/150–151)
kát_oλ- to hold, to catch KT 459, D 699, T 104
käy_o rock KT 385, D 600, T 116
käj_oni mosquito KT 385, D 599, T 117
käl_oη reindeer ox KT 463, D 621, T 106
käri sterlet, sturgeon KT 421, D 673, T 120 *käri nár_oý* the ganoin of the sterlet (Trj4/91)
káč_om hot KT 348, D 427, T 147
káy_or- pick up, take into one's lap KT 292, D 459, T 142 *káy_or_om juy* wood carried inside (Trj4/358)
kál_oý nephew KT 369, D 475, T 143 *kál_oý wáj_oý* male bear (Trj3/163)
kál_omt_o acquire, kill (a beast) KT 371, D 477, T 148 *má kál_omt_omam aj nöj* a cloth jacket acquired by me (Trj5/20)
káλ- spend the night KT 375, D 462, T 143
káli- unknown meaning (KT, D, T) *íλ_on kál_oj_otíλ* (Trj4/372) *íλ_on kál_ol_om_on* (Trj4/394) a similarly sounding word: *kol_oi-* shine, loom KT 301, D 383
kán tsar, king, prince, ruler KT 307, D 503, T 144 *kán iki* world-watching man (the title of Trj3–4)

- kân-**, **kân-** stick, adhere KT 316, D 504, T 171 *kâni soy* sticky, gluey sturgeon (Trj3/94), *siñt' kântaŋ nāsijâla* your two shoes woven from bast (Trj2/38), *kâr lōŋk kântmaŋ kârê səy̯əs* autumn with slight snow sticking to the hooves of the reindeer bull (Trj4/59–60)
- kânôŋ** bank, edge of something KT 310, D 514, T 144
- kâr** (reindeer) bull, male animal KT 328, D 535, T 145 *kârêŋ äy̯ôla* a sleigh pulled by reindeer bulls (Trj4/186)
- kât** house KT 357, D 565, T 146 *kutânnâ* in your house (Trj2/122) *kâtêŋ äy̯ôla* a covered sleigh (Trj4/169–170), *kutâm* my family member, ?my betrothed (Trj4/554, 579, 598, 612)
- käy̯.ǰ** moor KT 288, D 454, T 150
- käj-** leave, abandon KT 283, D 438, T 151 *wât käjla lâr* a leeward lake (Trj4/46–47)
- käjêm** pasture KT 281, D 446, T 151
- käl-** die, perish KT 373, D 469, T 151 *kôlatêŋ lâŋki* a dead squirrel (Trj4/192)
- kälǰ** corpse KT 369, D 471, T 152
- käŋ-** open, rip up KT 314, D 507, T 153 cf. **kântêp**
- kânčê** ornament, drawing, pattern KT 312, D 511, T 154 *kânčaŋ sâk* colorful cloak (Trj1/91), *wâjyât kânčpê lâyâr* mail ornamented with animals (Trj4/216–217)
- kântây** Khanty KT 317, D 517, T 154 *kântêkko* (Khanty) man (Trj1/20)
- kântêp** an instrument for ripping up, disentangling (KT, D, T) *kôla opât kântêpa* your comb (Trj4/345–346) cf. **käŋ-**
- kârê** sparse, thin (of snow) KT 331, D 546, T *kârê səy̯əs* autumn with little snow (Trj3/56)
- kâtêla** day KT 354, D 571, T 175 *pâ kâtla* by the next day (Trj3/59), *kâtêlǰ är kâtǰ* from day to day (Trj4/634–635), *kâtêna* daily (Trj4/83), *jáččaŋ kâtêla* noon (Trj4/140)
- kâtêlatê-** move (something), slide (something) KT 363, D 569, T 159 *kântêpa nôk kâtête* comb yourself! (Trj4/346–347)
- kâtâŋ** sand martin (*Riparia riparia*) (KT 345, D 580, T)
- keŷ.əǰ** cup KT 391, D 604, T 117
- keŷən** button, strip of leather KT 395, D 605, T 136
- keŷ.rəm** warm, hot KT 389, D 610, T 117
- kek.ǰlâl** ?peek (KT, D, T) *jäy̯ôla âlêŋ kek.ǰlâl* the end of the bow is peeking (Trj6/4)
- keləy̯-** step over, tie to, get up, go up (to the riverbank/forest) KT 465, D 617, T 118 *keləyantələm* I go up (Trj3/110–111) cf. **kiä-**
- kemən** outside KT 402, D 636, T 119
- kəmər** (dome-shaped) hiding place, trap KT 403, D 639, T 138
- kənikä** book KT 407, D 651, T 139

- kərišká** Grisha, Grigory (male name) (Trj3/211)
- kəse** cf. **kös-**
- kiλ-** get up KT 465, D 617, T 125 cf. **keλəy-**
- kim** out, outward KT 402, D 636, T 125
- kiməλ** hem of a dress, fronts of a jacket KT 404, D 638, T 111
- kińtá** compared to [a postposition expressing comparison] KT 410, D 652,
T 112 *jäy_oattə náλ kińtá pǎstə* faster than a loosed arrow (Trj6/3)
- kirəytə-** turn over KT 422, D 669, T 113
- kisłəmneŋ** moving, nomadizing (KT, D, T) *ár kisłəmneŋ, ár ǎnǎs* a lot of wandering, a lot of caravans of sleighs (Trj3/80, 83) cf. **kásəl-**
- kit** see **kát**
- kit-** send, chase KT 458, D 697, T 114
- kij-** leave, abandon KT 283, D 438, T 151 *nűjāti kijsem* I left this here for you (Trj5/33)
- kijnt** basket KT 315, D 516, T 162 *kijntəŋ čöŋčpi wönt jűli* forest spirit with a basket on its back (Trj3/108–109)
- kijpəl** hollow, ledge KT 325, D 532, (T) *kijpələŋ əjn* protruding skirting board (Trj2/35)
- kijəy** bag, pouch KT 333, D 550, T 163
- kijt'** remain KT 346, D 576, T 164
- ko** man, male KT 279, D 423, T 187 *kát kuyəŋ* two men (Trj2/62), *wǎč kujə* your men from the city (Trj1/69), *mokkuj nǎyǎs* male sable cubs (Trj3/122), *kujəŋ jəŋk* a land inhabited by man (Trj3/8)
- köy_o** long KT 285, D 450, T 165 *kosəŋ oy_opi köy_oat* while the stars are up (Trj4/398–399), *kűnŋi köy_oit* cubit (lit. elbow-length) (Trj3/32)
- koγλiλ-** go, run KT 294, D 457, T 165
- koj-** spawn KT 285, D 440, T 167 *kojəŋ kuλ* a fish having spawn (Trj4/50)
- koλ-** hear, feel KT 377, D 465, T 168 *koλənt-* listen *koλəntə* listen here! (Trj4/333) *mǎnə koλəntətaλnə* while I listen [passive] (Trj4/239)
- kǎλ** (some)where KT 367, D 442, T 178 *kǎlə məčə* until when (Trj4/427), *kǎλnǎm* where[APPR] (Trj4/157) *kǎλnə* how (Trj4/419), *kǎləj* everywhere (Trj2/151, Trj4/80), *kǎλλapə* nowhere, endlessly (Trj2/18), *koλəpi oyəλ jermǎk* an endless amount of silk (Trj3/262–364)
- kǎλ-** end, finish KT 375, D 473, T 179 *tǎləs kǎlətə lǎtnə* as a month passed (Trj5/3), *kǎlətǎptə-* end (Trj4/54, 56), *tút juyəλ koλəŋ pǎrnə* an expression of the language of songs meaning ‘after’ (Trj4/444–445)
- koλəŋm** three KT 370, D 477, T 168
- koł** ability, knowledge KT 297, D 485, T 169 *ətǎλnǎm wǎlətə kołəntə wuλ* (s)he can't live alone (Trj5/14)
- kołəŋk** raven KT 300, D 487, T 170
- kǎmət** wide KT 304, D 501, T 171

- kõn** roof hole, roof window KT 309, D 508, T 171 *kõnâη kât kõnâli* through the roof hole of the house with a roof hole (Trj2/5)
- kõṅ** belly KT 308, D 509, T 181 *lântâη kõṅâp kos nâptâη* twenty reindeer cows with their bellies full of lichen (Trj4/591–592)
- kõṅki** bell KT 296, D 526, (T) *sârâñ kõṅkλαη* with a golden bell (Trj4/508)
- kõr** 1. treeless wetland, marsh KT 330, D 538, T 183
- kõr** 2. figure, image, sight KT 331, D 539, T 183 *käj̄ηi kõri s̄j̄* similar to [the buzz of] a mosquito (Trj1/14) *mok nõγ_oâs kõraη nâj* a goddess with the face of a sable cub (Trj4/7–8), *kõraη äγ_oâλ* an ornate sleigh (Trj4/506)
- kõrâγλâ-** end KT 335, D 552, T 185 *ček_oin kõrγâjâλ* hardly ends (Trj4/34)
- kos** 1. star 2. the eye of the bear (a taboo-avoidance expression) KT 343, D 561, T 174 *kosâη oγ_opi kõγ_oat* while the stars are visible (Trj4/398), *jâmsipi kosâipe* your right eye (lit. your right-hand side star) (Trj2/16)
- kõtâη** swan KT 362, D 575, T 186
- kõčâγ** knife KT 445, D 593, T 116
- kõčyi** sword, saber KT 446, D 594, T 116
- kõjâγ** female KT 384, D 598, T 117 *kõjâγ nõγ_oâs* female sable (Trj4/6)
- kõλ** word, talk KT 462, D 615, T 118 *tû kõλâ jâλ* he says (lit. (s)he comes to that word) (Trj4/325)
- kõs-** rip KT 439, D 690, T 123 *tâytâ kase* rip it into pieces! (Trj5/4)
- kõt** hand, forefoot, paw KT 452, D 698, T 122 *wõnt wâjâγ kũñčâη kõt* the clawed hand of the animal of the forest (Trj2/114–115), *nârâγ kõtâp urâγ_oi* bare-handed marriageable girl (Trj2/130–131)
- kuj-** see **ko**
- kuλ** fish KT 380, D 466, T 188 *mânt kuλat mäjâ* give me fish! (Trj5/31–32)
- kuλi** dirt, soot KT 299, D 474, T 188 *sât'tâ kuλi* ink (Trj6/15)
- kuntâ** 1. when 2. if KT 310, D 444, T 190
- kuṅâṭ-** climb up, go up, swim up (spawning fish) KT 296, D 528, T 145
- kur-** beware, hope, wait KT 341, D 543, T 191 *kurâmtâλõγ_o* we are waiting (beware of all that may come) (Trj4/82)
- kut** six KT 361, D 570, T 192
- kutâṃ, kutâλ** see **kât**
- kuť** the outer bow of a bonded bow limb, the birchbark cover of a bow KT 321, D 578, T 193 *λâγλâ kuťγâλa* the two types of wood of your bonded bow (Trj3/92–93)
- kũñč** nail, claw KT 408, D 645, T 128 *kũñčâη iksõγ_o* clawed bearskin (Trj3/114) *moγ_olâη kũñčpi λâṅki* a squirrel with bended claws (Trj3/123–124)
- kũñṅi** elbow KT 448, D 647, T 129
- kũr** foot, leg KT 418, D 664, T 130 *kũrâṅλâṃ* my toes (Trj6/8)
- kũt** 1. distance, space in between KT 450, D 701, T 133 *kâtâṭ kũti* between the houses (Trj6/6) *âṃλ wâč kũtrâλnâ* in the middle of the big city (Trj4/5)

Λ

- λḗγḗλ-** wait, oversee, protect T 197 *ίί λḗγḗλḗλ ḗλḗλḗλ my good animal waited for earlier (Trj3/221–222) λḗγḗλḗλḗλḗλ I am waiting (Trj3/223–224), λḗγḗλḗλḗλḗλḗλ while I was waiting (Trj3/252)*
- λḗγḗrt** heavy KT 1056, D 742, T 197
- λḗjḗm** ax KT 1042, D 723, T 197
- λḗλḗm-** breathe KT 1105, D 750, T 197 *κḗλḗλḗλḗλḗλḗλ λḗλḗλḗλḗλ tur the panting of the male bear (Trj3/163–164)*
- λḗnt** flour, lichen, food KT 1076, D 769, T 198 *κḗλḗ λḗntḗλḗ λḗkḗ the road with lichen (Trj4/590), λḗntḗλḗ λḗγḗλḗλ nutritious λḗγḗλḗλ river (Trj3/13)*
- λḗηki** squirrel KT 1067, D 780, T 198
- λḗp:** **λḗpḗγ-** (VT) flap with wings D 788 *λḗp ḗλḗλḗλḗλ ḗλḗλḗλḗλ flames of the blazing fire (lit. a flapping-tongued blazing fire) (Trj4/291–292) (V *lāwsä-* leaves moving in the wind KT 1083, D 791, T 198)*
- λḗpḗt** seven KT 1081, D 793, T 198
- λḗpḗλḗní** unknown meaning (KT, D, T) *optḗη oγḗ λḗpḗλḗní pḗnḗλḗmḗn pḗrnḗ after having ?? bowed their hairy heads (Trj4/273–275)*
- λḗt** time KT 1097, D 810, T 198 *ḗr wḗnt ur sočḗma λḗtnḗ during your wanderings through many forests (Trj2/21), ḗλḗη ḗḗrḗm ḗḗγḗm λḗtnḗ when the first world was born (Trj3/28–29), ḗḗ mḗtḗ λḗtnḗ once (Trj3/89)*
- λḗt-** serve, ladle food out of a pot KT 1101, D 811, T 198
- λḗγḗ** servant KT 1051, D 733, T 213 *sḗt λḗγḗḗp kḗt a house with a hundred servants (Trj4/354–355)*
- λḗḗλ-** sit down in a boat, on a sleigh KT 1110, D 747, T 205 *λḗḗλḗλḗλḗλḗλḗλḗλḗλ after having quickly sat down on a sleigh (Trj4/456)*
- λḗḗkḗr** mouse KT 1068, D 782, T 214
- λḗpḗη** waiting room, porch KT 1080, D 788, T 206 *λḗpḗηḗλ its porch (Trj6/21)*
- λḗkḗsḗη** meaning unknown (KT, D, T) perhaps related to *-laki* (KazSt, folk) collective noun, a great mass of something D 737 *pḗm λḗkḗsḗη* ?thickly covered in grass (Trj4/600)
- λḗr** lake in a swamp KT 1084, D 795, T 196
- λḗr-wḗjḗγ** merganser KT 206, D 1564, T 508
- λḗγ-** weave, loom (KT 1060, D 725, T) *λḗγḗλḗλ / λḗγḗλḗλ ḗntḗp woven belt (Trj2/46, 96)*
- λḗγḗr** mail, hauberk KT 1055, D 742, T 211
- λḗη-** enter KT 1069, D 773, T 201
- λḗηḗλḗtḗp** a song sung at bear feasts KT 1064, D 774, T 202
- λḗpas** a storehouse standing on legs KT 1081, D 790, T 202
- λḗγ** tail KT 1052, D 727, T 220 *λḗk* tail (Trj4/193)
- λḗη** they KT 1045, D 735, T 220

- лəγ_o** (s)he KT 1045, D 735, T 219 лəγ_oрə (s)he too (Trj4/551), лəк_o (s)he (Trj3/219), лəγ_oənām to him/her (Trj5/19)
- лəγəl-** fly KT 1059, D 738, T 221
- лeγəl-** look, watch KT 1057, D 726, T 213 лeγəlлəлəн you are watching (Trj1/103) *mānə лeγilətāлnə* while I am watching [passive] (Trj3/231–232)
- лəj** ladle KT 1041, D719, T 221
- лəл** the hard part of wood, the inner bow of a bonded bow limb D 748, KT 1103, T 221 лəлγəlā *kuťγəлa* the two types of wood of your bonded bow (Trj3/92–93)
- лi-** eat KT 1098, D 713, T 209 лuηk лilil *tāлəη puł* a whole bite for the ghost to eat (Trj4/313–314)
- лiy** rafter, roof-beam KT 1052, D 728, (T) *jūllilil liγəp kāt* a house with rafters from the forest spirits (Trj3/50)
- лiyət-** go out KT 1047, D 746, T 219 *keməн liγətəptātām* I go out (Trj4/453)
- лilətə-** load, fill up KT 1110, D 748, T 207 *mānə lilititəli* loaded by me (Trj3/152–153)
- лin** those two, the two of them KT 1045, D 735, T 208
- лis** net (for catching birds), trap KT 1094, D 808, T 208 *lis lāηki* a squirrel caught with a noose (Trj3/124)
- лin** skirting board KT 1076, D 768, (T) *kipləη lin* the edge of the sleeping place (Trj4/278) *lin juγət* the skirting board of the cooking stove (Trj6/23)
- лoγ_o** the frame of a log-house KT 1050, D 732, T 210
- лəγ_o** bone KT 1044, D 730, T 214 *əγəṛ ləγ_oa sātəη tōj* the strong end of your high bone (= your forelegs) (Trj2/32–33) *лəγ_omān* the bones of the two of us (Tr4/433)
- лəγ_oit** sized KT 1046, D 744, T 80 *lānt' sāηkip ləγ_oit pəłā* your snow-scraper-size ear (Trj2/9), *lār ləγ_oit sāmā* your lake-size eye (Trj5/27)
- лoγəs** friend KT 1056, D 743, T 211 *loksām* my friend (Trj3/215)
- лoj** finger KT 1039, D 719, T 211
- лəkkə** see **lök**
- лəmtəptə-** put on KT 1073, D 762, T 216
- лəη** summer KT 1062, D 772, T 216 *лəηātə ko* summer-bringing man (Trj3/138), *kəγ_o лəηəγ_o* our long summer (Trj4/53)
- лəηk** hoof KT 1066, D 776, T 212 *kār лəηk* hoof of the reindeer bull (Trj4/59)
- лəηtə-** read, count, present KT 1063, D 784, T 216
- лorəγ-** tinkle, ring (the bell), jingle, rattle KT 1088, D 802, T 212 *лorəη sūj* jingling sound (Trj4/255)
- лul** mouth KT 1102, D 753, T 218
- лuηk** ghost, deity, the hero of the mythical song or tale KT 1065, D 777, T 219
- лūjлāli** meaning unknown (Trj4/366), perhaps it is related either to the word *lūj* 'pus, bile' (KT 1040, D 721, T 217) or to the word 'rope woven from the twigs of bird cherry' (KT 1039, D 723, T)

Λ

- Λάλ** fight, war, army KT 1119, D 760, T 222
Λάϣ the younger brother of the husband, brother-in-law KT 1114, D 866, T 224
Λάϣοίλεμ my little brother-in-law (Trj4/324)
Λάλ- stand KT 1120, D 759, T 195 *Λυλάϣτάλι* is placed (Trj3/249–250)
Λάντ snow KT 1117, D 871, T 200
Λανκῶς, Λəkῶς thick forest of mixed trees KT 1116, D 872, T 223 *Λəkῶς जुय्रḍ ár*
wōnt ur many woods with thickets (Trj2/21)
Λek corner KT 1114, D 866, T 225
Λυλάϣτάλι cf. **Λάλ-**

!

- !átí-** wag, swing, wave (KT 492, D 861, T) *!átíjəyθal* swing, rock (Trj3/21)
!äy unknown meaning (KT, D, T) *wən nəmsa wən !äyḥá wənḥə áal tilə* don't
pull near your near thoughts! (= don't get angry!) (Trj2/146–148)
!áyə! palm KT 476, D 824, T 226 *kūñčəḥ kōt !áyə!əḥ kōt* clawed hand, palmed
hand (Trj2/40)
!át place, pit KT 492, D 855, T 227
!äyey tasty KT 476, D 824, T 229 *!äyíla pittaal* it feels good (Trj1/46)
!ek path, way, track KT 472, D 820, T 236
!eḥk- cover, blanket KT 480, D 842, T 237 *!əymən / !əyḥmən kát* covered
house (Trj3/115, 269)
!əp fork-tipped arrow KT 488, D 846, T 241
!itpál- care for, serve, indulge KT 495, D 859, T 233 *!ai !itpe, kōli !itpe जुय्रal*
áaləḥ all types of indulgences (for the bear) (Trj2/151–153)
!oy a steep bank KT 473, D 819, T 235
!ök corner, recess T 237 *ár məy lökkə* [ɔ: !ökkə] *tú nəmám tu!í* my name will
be taken to every corner of the earth (Trj4/15–16)
!öksəḥ ?painted cf. *!uy-* paint KT 478, D 823, T 238 *!öksəḥ tá!á* your painted
outfit (Trj1/60)
!opi damp snow, sleet KT 491, D 847, T 236
!ük capercaillie KT 474, D 819, T 240

m

- má** I KT 523, D 884, T 244 *mánt* me (Trj3/223), *mánə* by me (Trj3/51), *mánem*
to me [lative] (Trj3/21), *mánənám* to me [dative] (Trj5/19), *mántem* to
me [dative] (Trj4/111) *mántemnám* on me, towards me (Trj5/28–29),
mániñtem from me (Trj5/36)

- măč** handle, grip KT 549, D 887, T 253
- măļəntə-** unknown meaning, ?struggle (KT, D, T) *nūŋnə nomən mäləntəli* you struggle to stand up (Trj2/32–33), *nomən mäləntəlamən* the two of us scramble on our feet (Trj4/435)
- mārə** time KT 533, D 956, T 254 *kök sisyđ mārəŋ put kōy mārəyə əntə jətənə* when cooking that takes a long time does not take a long time (Trj4/235–238)
- măyət-** to dip the fishing basket KT 511, D 916, T 264 *jəŋka măyətəm pon* a fishing basket dipped into the water (Trj6/14)
- māj** feast, proposal KT 499, D 893, T 241
- māŋi-** bend KT 530, D 940, T 246 *māŋeksəlŋi* it is bent (Trj4/233)
- mās-** necessary, needed KT 545, D 967, T 243 *māstəl lātənə* when it is necessary (Trj5/33–34)
- măy-** father a child (KT 513, D 898, T) *əj măyi, əj untŋi* of the same breed, of the same build (Trj4/171–172), *əj măyi najyən, örtŋən* a matching heroine and hero (Trj4/387–388)
- măyəλ** around KT 511, D 906, T 248 *jəŋkət măyəλ məyət măyəλ* around the waters, around the lands (Trj4/212–213) cf. **măyəλ-**
- măyəλ-** surround KT 511, D 906, T 248 cf. **măyəλ**
- măλa-** cook in water KT 559, D 923, T 248
- mārəλtə-** dampen KT 543, D 953, T 250
- mə-** give KT 553, D 885, T 276 *mānt kulat məjə* give me fish! (Trj5/31–32)
- məy** earth, land KT 504, D 898, T 272
- məy,** what KT 495, D 878, T 271 *məy, ərit* how many, how much (Trj2/129), *məy, ūrŋəl* how plentifully (Trj3/65), *məy, ə* what, what kind (Trj4/21), *məy, əli* why (Trj4/126)
- məλ** deep, depth KT 556, D 919, T 273 *məlit* of (a given) depth (Trj3/160)
- məλ-** fit KT 560, D 919, T 253 *əj tōy, i məli kutəλa* into his small-forest-lake-size house (Trj4/549)
- mən-** go KT 527, D 931, T 274 *mənλəm* I go (Trj6/11), *tŋi mənīλəyλən* he sets out (Trj3/283–284) *jăk, ə məntəl* he enters (Trj4/551), *nəjsuət nōknam məntə* the upward movement of sparks (Trj6/10)
- məŋ** the many of us D 884, T 275 *məŋāti* to us (Trj4/310), *məŋnə* by us (Trj4/4)
- mesəy** short tail KT 544, D 970, T 245
- mətə** which, what KT 497, D 879, T 276
- mīl** hat KT 520, D 926, T 271 *sās mīləp jəy* people with sable fur hats (Trj6/7)
- min** the two of us D 884, T 255 *minnə* by the two of us (Trj4/429), *minnəpə* by the two of us [emphatic] (Trj4/559)
- mīčə-** accuse, denounce KT 550, D 889, T 259 *tōrəm mīčəm* accused in front of God (Trj2/139)

- mõčä** until [postposition] (KT, D) T 259 *kõlä mõčä* how long, until when (Trj4/427)
- moy** butt (of an ax) *läjəm moy* butt of the ax KT 504, D 901, T 259 *läjəm mokkəŋ kōt* ax-butted hand (= a hand holding an ax) (Trj4/618–619)
- moyə!** corner, band KT 508, D 911, (T) *moyə.ləŋ / moyləŋ kũŋčpi* bent clawed (Trj3/121, Trj4/118)
- mok** cub, nestling, child, egg, spawn KT 503, D 902, T 260 *mokkuj nõyəs* male sable cub (Trj3/122, Trj4/119), *mukə.l pəytəm* having spawned (Trj4/52)
- mörəy** 1. full, whole 2. thick, stout KT 538, D 961, T 267
- mukə.l** see **mok**
- mul** prayer, oath, sacrifice KT 555, D 921, T 268 *muləŋ kät mulə.la* to the praying wall of the praying house (Trj1/23–24)
- mulki** riddle KT 560, D 931, T 268 *mulkemo* my riddle (Trj6)
- muntə!** bundle, sheaf KT 528, D 938, T 265 *potij muntə!* a clump of grass (Trj6/5)
- mũŋkəl** knot KT 518, D 949, T 265 *länt mũŋkəl* snowball (Trj1/80, Trj2/66)

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- naj** fire, goddess, lady KT 561, D 980, T 280 *təpər naj əŋki təpər*-goddess mother (Trj1/57), *wáč naj* the lady of the city (Trj4/103), *nəjəl mənəm nəjləy wáč* ladyless city left by its lady (Trj4/423–424) *nəjpəy* the goddess' son (Trj4/179), *naj əwi* the goddess' daughter (Trj5/5), *nəjsua* spark (Trj6/20)
- námən** at the bank, next to the entrance KT 570, D 986, T 280
- nəŋəm** see **ne**
- nərəy** sword, saber KT 590, D 1019, T 281 *nərəy wəy* iron of the sword (Trj4/523)
- nəm** name KT 579, D 998, T 284 *nəməm* my name (Trj4/16), *məyə nəməl nəməli* what is his name? [passive] (Trj4/21–22), *nəməŋ nəərəy* famous sword (Trj4/509)
- nəyər** cone of the yellow pine KT 572, D 994, T 278
- nəpət-** swim, float with the flow KT 586, D 1008, T 279 *tutnə nəptiləli* it is floated by that (Trj3/87–88)
- nəməs** thought, meaning, memory KT 582, D 1001, T 282 *wən nəmsa wənyə ə.l tiə* don't get angry (lit. don't pull near your near thoughts) (Trj2/135–136)
- nəmłayətə-** remember KT 583, D 1001, T 282
- nəptəy** reindeer cow KT 587, D 1010, T 289
- ne** woman KT 576, D 977, T 285 *kät niŋkən* two women (Trj1/76), *iminiŋe* your aunt (Trj3/31), *nep ... kop* neither woman nor man (Trj5/14–15), *nəjəŋ wəjəy* female bear (Trj3/162)
- neyə!** white, bright KT 562, D 990, T 279

- nəkkəmtə-** bump into, repel KT 575, D 984, T 295
nər- run KT 595, D 1012, T 296 *kāt nəryemyən* two reindeer (lit. two running something) (Trj4/184) cf. **nūr-**
nik down to the water, out of the house KT 569, D 984, T 285
nim lower (course of a river) KT 569, D 985, T 285 *jiməŋ jǎy.əŋ nim iy.ɸi pǎləknə* towards the lower course of the sacred river (Trj4/160–162)
niŋ- see **ne**
nipik paper, book KT 584, D 1007, T 286
nir pole, bar, stick KT 590, D 1016, T 294
nöy branch KT 564, D 987, T 290 *juy nöy.ət* branches of a tree (Trj6/12)
nöj tweed coat, cloak KT 562, D 982, T 292 *wərtə nöjəŋ ne* a woman with a red coat (Trj6/24)
nök up(wards) KT 566, D 988, T 293 *najsua nöknam məntə* the upward movement of the spark (Trj6/20)
nomən above KT 567, D 989, T 289
nöpät period, age, time, generation time KT 585, D 1009, T 290
nör handle, grip KT 588, D 1013, T 289 *wǎy nörɸi nörəŋ put* a handled cauldron with iron handles (Trj4/287–288)
nur revenge KT 589, D 1015, T 294
nūŋ you (KT) D 1004, T 294 *nūŋət* you[ACC] (Trj5/26) *nūŋəti* to you (Trj5/20–21) *nūŋnə* by you (Trj1/43)
nürtəmtə- run KT 595, D 1012, T 292 cf. **nər-**

ń

- ńáləm** tongue KT 649, D 1049, T 299 *łap ńáləm tɸəŋ ńaj* flames of the blazing fire (lit. a flapping-tongued blazing fire) (Trj4/291–292) *ńíłməłi* from his tongue (Trj4/405)
ńárəy 1. raw, unripe 2. bare, bald KT 630, D 1076, T 299 *ńárəy kōtəp urǎy.i* bare-handed marriageable girl (Trj2/130–131)
ńǎł- swallow KT 648, D 1042, T 308
ńǎłŋət unknown meaning (KT, D, T) perhaps related to the word *ńǎłkɸłətə* cheer up, amuse (KT 616, D 1053, T 304), but containing front vowels instead of back ones, and this difference is in need of explanation – *sǎk.əŋ ǎy.i ńǎłŋət ko* a man ?cheering up a braided girl (Trj4/415–416)
ńál arrow KT 644, D 1040, T 297 *ńułəŋ wər* a thing with arrow (Trj3/102)
ńárəy cartilage, fishbone KT 631, D 1075, T 280 *soy. ńárəy, kǎri ńárəy* the ganoin on the back of the sturgeon and the sterlet that consists of triangle-shaped flat bones (Trj4/90–91)
ńǎy.əm- speak KT 605, D 1036, T 302 *árəy niŋe ńǎy.əmłi wijəŋ árəy* false song said by your singing woman (Trj4/122–124)

- ńăŷâs-** peel the bark of a tree KT 608, D 1038, T 302 *ńăksâm juy* peeled tree (Trj3/179)
- ńăŷi** meat KT 603, D 1030, T 312 *ńăŷođji* from meat (Trj1/45)
- ńăsj** ?the footwear of the bear – perhaps a taboo-avoidance word, cf. *ńăsj* slipper, slick KT 640, D 1080, T 306 *śint' kântaŋ ńăsjŷâla* your two shoes woven from bast (Trj2/38)
- ńiy_o** humidity, raw state KT 600, D 1029, T 309 *ia ńiy_oðal* its earlier rawness (Trj4/296)
- ńiɫmæli** see **ńălæm**
- ńir** footwear KT 629, D 1070, T 312 *kăncăŋ ńirâp ko* man with a colorful shoe (Trj1/93)
- ńöŷ_o** elk KT 602, D 1029, T 315
- ńöŷ_oâr**- carve KT 606, D 1037, T 316
- ńöŷâs** sable KT 607, D 1039, T 316
- ńöɫ** nose, beak KT 643, D 1045, T 317
- ńorêm** swamp, tundra woodland KT 633, D 1078, T 315
- ńua** together KT 647, D 1048, T 319 *ńuɫa năkkămtăliŷən* they [the two of them] bump into each other (Trj1/79)
- ńuɫêŋ** see **ńăɫ**
- ńur** cured hide, strap KT 626, D 1072, T 320

o, ö

- oŷ_o** head KT 21, D 30, T 323 *săk_oəŋ oŷ_o* braided head (Trj4/272), *ɫəj oŷ_o ɫöŷ_oit* the size of the bowl of a soup-ladle (Trj3/42), *oŷ_otöjji* from the top of his head (Trj4/343)
- oŷ_oâl**- pour, spill KT 30, D 39, T 325
- öŷ_oâr** high, tall KT 24, D 46, T 325
- oŷi-** sway, swing, overturn KT 16, D 37, T 324 *tutnâ oŷijâmija* they were bustling like that (Trj4/149)
- oŷopi** door KT 15, D 27, T 324 *oŷopâjji* through the door (Trj4/452)
- oŷoti** surface KT 21, D 32, T 325 *ăŷ_oâɫ oŷotinâ* on sleigh (Trj4/186–187) *kăŷ_o oŷ_otâja* on a stone (Trj6/9)
- ojâŷtâ-** notice KT 13, D 22, T 326
- öɫêŋ** [optative particle] (KT), D 84, T 333 *əj wăjâŷ wăɫəm öɫêŋ* if only I could kill wild game (Trj5/22)
- on** the pole supporting the fishing barrier at the end of the barrier KT 51, D 108, T 16 *oni pəɫâ* your log-like ear (Trj1/8)
- önêɫ-** get to know, learn KT 62, D 125, T 327 *kăt wăř öñêɫtâm imi* a woman well used to housework (Trj4/283–284), *wăt öñêɫŷtăɫi səjɫâr wăjâŷ* a merganser getting to know the wind (Trj2/57–58), *məŋ öñɫaw kim* our ability to learn (Trj5/18)

- ōnt** hollow, inside, character KT 56, D 117, T 327 *juγ ōnti* from the hollow of a tree (Trj6/10) *wōntāp jāyāp ōntrā* inside a thick wood (Trj6/16), *pust ōntāy* from below the floor (Trj4/408), *kār kitai ōntāp sāyit* like a real reindeer herder (Trj4/188–189)
- ōntār** duration, distance KT 60, D 127, T 327
- oŋ** opening, mouth, estuary KT 32, D 134, T 334 *sōjāŋ oŋāp ar ālāŋ* many mornings with hoarfrosted mouth (Trj3/63–64), *pāčām oŋpi ar kirāy* many bags with sodden openings (Trj3/129–130), *uŋā* its opening *uŋāŋ* *μμ* a mouth with its opening (Trj4/327)
- opāt** hair KT 67, D 153, T 20 *optāŋ oγ* hairy head (Trj4/273)
- ōrt** hero, prince KT 82, D 177, T 329 *ōrtāŋ wāč* a city with a prince (Trj4/3), *ōrtā* *mānām ōrtāy wāč* a princeless city left by its prince (Trj4/425–426), *nājyān ōrtyān* a lady and a hero (Trj4/388)
- ōs** the inner side of birchbark, backside KT 86, D 190, T 329 *ney_oi ōsāp nārāy wāy* the iron of the sword that is light on its backside (Trj4/522–523)
- ōt** thing, object KT 100, D 205, T 329

p

- pā** other KT 653, D 1084, T 342
- pāyət-** drop (something) KT 673, D 1132, T 343 *čoyāt sām piyto* a snowflake fell on you [passive] (Trj1/4)
- pāj** hill, an island in a swamp KT 654, D 1101, T 343 *μηk ko juγāp ānāl pāj* a large island overgrown by the tree of the God (= by yellow pine) (Trj3/45–46)
- pālŋən:** *pālŋən kōt* ?a hand full (Trj3/242)
- pānməl-** ?do some kind of a combat sport (KT, D, T) *wāč kuje pānməlti juγā tāyār* a place trodden smooth, suitable for the fights of the men of the city (Trj1/69–71, Trj2/52–54)
- pāŋ** finger, thumb KT 685, D 1186, T 345 *kūr pāŋlām* my toes (Trj6/8)
- pāy_o** freeze KT 680, D 1115, T 354 *pāy_oŋ iksōy_o* frozen bearskin (Trj3/116)
- pālə** floor KT 781, D 1149, T 357 *pāləŋ kāt pāləyā* to the floor of the floored house (Trj2/34)
- pāləm** horsefly KT 782, D 1150, T 357
- pāləŋ** cloud KT 781, D 1151, T 390
- pālək** half, side, direction KT 695, D 1159, T 357 *tem pāləki* on this side (Trj6/2), *pālək nām* towards[APPR] (Trj4/65), *pālək nə* on (a given) side, section (Trj4/162), *pālək ā* towards[LAT] (Trj3/107), *pālək āli* from (the direction) (Trj3/68), *pālək ānə* on its side (Trj3/113), *sāmpālək* one-eyed (Trj6/12)
- pāŋ_ok_o** tooth KT 689, D 1188, T 373 *kos pāŋ_opi* having twenty teeth (Trj4/326)
- pärt** plank KT 735, D 1218, T 358

- pǎstə** pointy, sharp, quick KT 744, D 1232, T 358
- páčəm** hoarfrost, rime ice (KT 758, D 1098, T 346) *páčəm oŋpi ár kirâŷ* many rime-ice-mouthed sacks (Trj3/129–130)
- pǎlĭ** of last year, old KT 781, D 1137, T 346
- pǎnĭlǎmǎl** cf. **pǎn-**
- pǎŋkǎl** blade bone KT 691, D 1191, T 339
- pǎŋlǎŋ** see **pǎŋǎl**
- pǎri** food sacrifice, feast KT 723, D 1203, T 340
- pát-** freeze KT 769, D 1233, T 342 *pátitǎlĭ* freeze something (Trj3/96–97), *pátǎm* cold, frozen (Trj3/172), *tǎŷotǎŋ kǎt*, *pátlǎŋ* (?*pátlǎŷ*) *kǎt* fiery house, not frozen house (Trj2/3), *put jǎŋk* icy water (Trj4/159)
- páč-** soak through, dampen KT 754, D 1087, T 353 *páčəm oŋpi ár kirâŷ* many bags with sodden openings (Trj3/183–184)
- pǎŷ** boy, son KT 664, D 1110, T 348 *ár pǎŷlam* my many sons (Trj4/144), *kǎt ǎrt pǎkkǎn* two sons of the prince (Trj4/281), *urpǎŷ* marriageable boy (Trj2/132), *nǎjpǎŷ* the lady's son (Trj4/179), *kǎriškǎ pǎŷ romǎńka* Griska's son Romeńka, Roman Grigor'evič (Trj3/211–212), *pǎŷĭlǎlam* my subjects (Trj4/63)
- pǎnǎ** string, sinew thread KT 705, D 1174, T 351
- pǎn-** 1. put, place, position KT 712, D 1169, T 351 *nǎŋŋnǎ pǎnǎlĭ* lit. it is put [down] by you (Trj2/109), *mǎnǎ pǎnyǎntǎlĭ* it is being put by me (Trj3/132–133), *oŷ pǎnǎŷmĭn pĭrnǎ* after having bowed their head (Trj4/273–275), *ǎnǎl pǎri pǎnǎm kǎt* a house that hosted a huge feast (Trj4/563–564) ?*pǎnĭlǎmǎl* being stacked (Trj3/273)
- pǎńlǎŋ** winged (KT 716, D 1184, T) *tǎŷolǎŋ lǎŋk*, *pǎńlǎŋ lǎŋk* feathery ghost, winged ghost (Trj4/228–229)
- pǎrǎ** flock (of birds) KT 722, D 1204, T 352
- pečŷǎn** gun KT 759, D 1098, T 355
- pǎŷĭ** left KT 686, D 1118, T 387 *pǎŷĭpi* from the left-hand side (Trj2/13)
- pǎŷtǎ** black KT 682, D 1135, T 387
- pǎl** ear T 385, D 1140, KT 775 *pǎlŷǎn* two ears (Trj4/511)
- pǎnt** 1. road, path 2. runners of a sleigh (LNK) KT 712, D 1180, T 391 *tǎrǎŋ pǎnt* military road (Trj4/41), *sǎjǎŋ pǎntǎp ǎnǎl ǎŷolǎl* a large sleigh with curtain-like runners (Trj4/168–170)
- pǎrint** onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of mice scraping (KT, D, T) *lǎŋkǎr pǎrint*, *pǎrint* mouse prr, prr (Trj6/18)
- pǎsǎn** table KT 742, D 1231, T 393
- pǎtǎn** because of, for KT 742, D 1242, T 394 *wǎč nǎjŷǎ wǎltǎm pǎtǎn* as I am the lady of the city (Trj4/103–104)
- pǎtǎ** the depth, bottom, end of something KT 763, D 1240, T 395 *tĭŷot pǎtǎ lǎpŷǎn pǎŷŷǎn* two arrows from the bottom of a leather quiver (Trj1/28, 29)

- pətəʎəm** dark KT 768, D 1243, T 395
- pīʎəʎ** strap, harness, wide rope KT 675, D 1123, T 385 *pīʎəʎi nūr* leather rope (Trj3/74)
- pirik** pirog (< Ru пирог; Russian pie) KT 726, D 1208, T 361
- pirŋi** a type of duck (чирок – *Anas*: the genus of dabbling ducks) (KT, D), T 385
- pit-** fall, end up, get (somewhere) KT 772, D 1236, T 362 *ļāʎiʎa pittāʎ* it tastes good (Trj1/46)
- pit'** trap, knavishness KT 747, D 1251, T 395 *wərten pit'pi nirit lāŋki* a squirrel caught with a trap (Trj4/109–110)
- pit'** thigh, hip (KT 747, D 1251, T 363) *pit' pōŋāʎ* the side of the thigh (Trj4/182)
- pič:** **pičāŋ** later (KT 757, D 1099, T 364) *pič āʎāmnā* in my later sleep (Trj4/396)
- piʎ-** act, work KT 783, D 1150, (T)
- pir** rear, behind KT 721, D 1199, T 365 *lāpət kātāʎ piŋem lātŋa* after seven days (Trj4/640–641), *tāʎəŋ puʎ wəʎəʎmāʎə piŋnā* after having taken out a whole piece (Trj4/350–351), *t'utjuʎāʎ kolāʎm piŋnā* after (Trj4/195–196)
- pom** grass, hay KT 701, D 1165, T 338 *pomi muntāʎ* a clump of grass (Trj6/5), *potpā lār* grassy lake (Trj3/25), *potāŋ kōŋāp kos kāʎəŋ* twenty grassy-bellied (= bellies full of grass) reindeer oxen (Trj4/603–604)
- pon** fish trap KT 708, D 1172, T 369
- pōŋ-** bind together, roll up, connect KT 717, D 1183, T 377 *wākəkəʎəŋ pōŋkapā* fastened with two copper buttons (Trj4/437–438, 446–447)
- pōŋt'** disheveled hair, a clump of greasy hair KT 718, D 1183, T 387 *sāʎəʎəm juʎ ko pōŋt'āʎ wāč* the city of the clump of hair of the braided idol (Trj4/220–221)
- pōŋāʎ** side KT 687, D 1192, T 377 *?pāŋlāŋ wāč utpiŋā* at the upper end of a sided city (Trj4/589)
- pōŋəʎā-** fly away KT 727, D 1211, T 379
- pōŋək** tree trunk KT 725, D 1208, T 379 *kōčʎi pōŋək* the handle of a saber (Trj4/254)
- pōŋəm-** trample, step KT 728, D 1212, T 370 *pōŋəmtiŋ setāʎ* their steps can be heard (Trj4/245)
- pōs** iron-tipped arrow KT 741, D 1226, T 371
- puʎāʎ** village KT 675, D 1122, T 381 *wāčāp puʎāʎp jāʎ* man from cities and villages (Trj6/7)
- puʎ-** tuck in, harness KT 786, D 1147, T 382 *əʎ sāpiʎ puʎtāʎi* while a boot is put on (Trj6/20)
- puʎ** bite, piece KT 693, D 1155, T 382
- pun** a strand of hair KT 706, D 1173, T 383
- puŋč-, puŋčəʎ-** open KT 711, D 1175, T 383
- puŋi** bear KT 718, D 1194, T 384

pus a layer of soil below the floor KT 740, D 1227, (T)
put pot, cauldron KT 761, D 1239, T 384 *sisâṅ put kōk sis* the long period of cooking for some time (Trj4/234–235)

r

răy_oit- shake, flutter, pick up KT 792, D 1266, T 406 *nomân răy_oitâ* pick it up! (Trj2/44)
răyâp fraud, lie KT 798, D 1270, T 397 *răypâṅ arəy* lying song (Trj4/474)
râpâstâ- bark KT 808, D 1281, T 400
râp- ?hang KT 792, D 1278, (T) *răpyiā* ?hanging *răpyiā sâjnâ* behind a hanging curtain (Trj4/87), *răpyâā sâjâ* behind[LAT] a hanging curtain (Trj4/571)
rəyâptâ- drop KT 801, D 1264, T 408
riyâttâ- hang KT 799, D 1260, (T)
riṭ boat KT 812, D 1284, T 404 *riṭâṅ ko* man with a boat (Trj6/2)
româṅka Romeńka, Roman (a male name)

s

sâj 1. curtain, dividing wall 2. the back part of something KT 815, D 1292, T 415
sâjəṅ pântâp ânâā āy_oâā ?large sleigh curtained off (Trj4/168–170)
sâpâā neck KT 866, D 1356, T 417 *târəm sâpâāp wâjyât* strong-necked animals (Trj4/537–538)
sâr front KT 866, D 1360, T 416 *sârâ nŭrtâmtâātəy* ran forward (Trj4/513), *sârəṅ lek_o sirâānâ* at the beginning of a road being afore (Trj4/180), *siri tōrâm* earlier time (Trj3/209)
săy_o braid KT 824, D1307, T 434 *săy_oəm juy ko pōnt'āā wăč* the city of the clump of hair of the braided idol (Trj4/220) *săk_oəṅ āy_oi* braided girl (Trj4/415)
săy_oər- cut, chop KT 827, D 1321 T 424 *săy_orəm juy* chopped wood (Trj4/359)
săm 1. eye 2. seed, sprout KT 855, D 1338, T 426 *čoyât sâm* a flake of snow (Trj1/4), *ââ sâm* the seeds of war, its omen (Trj4/131), *sămpăļək* one-eyed (Trj6/12)
săṅ_ok- hit, beat KT 852, D 1350, T 435
sârə strong, hard KT 869, D 1368, T 427 *sârmâṅ jâj* dark night (Trj4/29)
sârâṅ hardly, with trouble KT 871, D 1374, T 424
sâyṭ like something, according to something KT 840, D 1310, T 419
sâjâm stream KT 819, D 1298, T 411
sâjâp seine KT 820, D 1299, T 411
sâā- glitter KT 891, D 1327, T 411 *sâāṅiāâā* becomes faintly visible (Trj4/524)
sâm scale (of fish) KT 854, D 1337, T 411
sâpik boot KT 864, D 1355, T 413

- sårēm** dry KT 877, D 1359, T 414
sårēn gold KT 874, D 1373, T 474
sårt pike KT 875, D 1355, T 413
sås ermine KT 879, D 1377, T 414
såt hundred KT 884, D 1381, T 414
såtēŋ ?strong KT 884, D 1383, (T) *nūŋnā ōγōār lōγōa sātēŋ tōj nomān* you get up, leaning on the strong end of your high bone (Trj2/32–33)
sātēp scabbard KT 886, D 1385, T 414
sāyōāŋ birchbark bowl T 432 *sāyōānāŋ* from your birchbark bowl (Trj1/40)
sāj rime-frost KT 817, D 1294, T 419 *sājkōnī* ?with rime-frosty edges (Trj3/24)
sāk cloak, coat, fur coat (for women) KT 830, D 1301, T 419
sāλλαη salty KT 886, D 1328, T 420 *sāλλαη pīrik* salty pirog (Trj6/6)
sāŋkī sand KT 850, D 1351, T 421 *sājsāŋkī* ash (Trj5/7)
sāŋkīp ski-pole that has a ring at one of its ends and an angular planchet at the other end KT 851, D 1353, T 417 *lānt' sāŋkīp lōγōit pōlā* your snow-scraper-size ear (Trj2/9)
sāpārki frog KT 865, D 1357, T 423
sārj tern, gull KT 871, D 1367, (T)
səy burbot KT 835, D 1302, T 444 *səyi nūr* rope woven from the skin of the burbot (Trj3/73)
seyō magpie KT 823, D 1309, T 434
səyāλ rope (twined from hay) KT 843, D 1315, T 445 *sārēn səyāλ* golden rope (Trj3/9)
səyōās autumn KT 828, D 1324, T 444
səyōmāt birch KT 860, D 1319, T 444
səj sandy bank KT 817, D 1293, T 425 *səjsāŋkī* ash (Trj5/7), *səjāār* a lake with a sandy beach (Trj2/58)
səjətγə: *wāt səjətγə* into lee (Trj2/108)
səm heart, inner part, the sacred corner of a house KT 857, D 1340, T 446 *səmānā nāyōāji lāyīlā pittāλ* it feels good [to take] from the meat into your heart/intestines (Trj1/44–46), *səmāŋ kāt sēmāλnām* towards the sacred corner of the house (Trj4/270–271)
seť- can be heard, is audible KT 883, D 1386, T 417 *pōrēm̄tīŋ seťāλ* their steps can be heard (Trj4/245)
səť- paint, decorate (KT 883, D 1387, T) *səťtā kuλj* ink (Trj6/15)
sič unknown meaning (KT, D, T) *kōtēŋ kūrēŋ sič wājy kōr* hand-having, legged ?? being (Trj4/304–305), *kōtēŋ kūrēŋ sičmāŋ kōr* hand-having, legged ?? picture (Trj4/231–232)
siyō beauty, charm, decoration KT 835, D 1309, T 443 *sikōēŋ* pretty (Trj4/344), *pit' pōŋāλ siyōāpā kāt nəryemγən* two shapely-bodied reindeer (Trj4/182–184)

- siyi-** rotate, turn KT 836, D 1312, T 428 *siyimáa pírnâ* after having turned (Trj4/298)
- sińt'** woven from bast KT 863, D 1347, T 429
- sińk** 1. velvet scoter (*Melanitta fusca*) KT 849, D 1350, T 429
- sińk** 2. sun KT 849, D 1351, T 443 *tem sińk wǎltaŋ juýða törâm* into this sunny, fair world (Trj1/36–37)
- siri, sirəanə** see **sār**
- siýða** cross bar, rafter *sáýa* KT 842, D 1314, (T) *siýða kát* house with rafters (Trj1/22) *siýða oyopi* door with cross bar (Trj4/257)
- sjs** (a stretch of) time, a period KT 880, D 1378, T 431 *sjsâŋ put kók sjs* the long period of cooking for some time (Trj4/234–235)
- soč-, sočia-** step, go, walk (KT, D) T 432 *ár wönt ur sočma látnə* during your wanderings through many woods (Trj2/21) *soŋli* walk [passive] (Trj4/252)
- soy_o** sturgeon (*Acipenser*) KT 831, D 1307, T 432 *soy_o nárâý* the ganoin of the sturgeon (Trj4/90)
- söy_o** hairy skin, fur, pelt KT 832, D 1304, T 436 *iksöy_o* the skin of bear (Trj3/114) *sökâŋ wǎjəp ənaa äŋətəp* a hairy handled big spear (Trj1/31–33)
- söj** hoarfrost, rime-frost KT 817, D 1294, T 432 *söjâŋ öŋəp ár álaŋ* many mornings with hoarfrosted mouth (Trj3/63–64)
- sökkânt-** shoot (with a gun) (KT, D) T 437
- söŋ** corner, recess KT 846, D 1348, T 438
- sör** mead, festal food and drink KT 866, D 1363, T 438
- soŋli** see **soč-**
- suyəm** thread KT 837, D 1318 T 440
- sur-** die KT 878, D 1366, T 442 *jəŋká suraləm ko* drowned man (lit. man died into water) (Trj6/1)
- surtj** two-year-old (elk) KT 876, D 1376, T 442
- sut** whetstone KT 885, D 1384, T 442
- sűj** sound, noise KT 818, D 1295, T 439 *sűjâŋ kát sűjilá* into the noise of the noisy house (Trj2/91–92)

t

- táa-** pull, draw, drag KT 1037, D 1424, T 457 *kát nəŋemýənnə læý_o táalilá* pulled by two reindeer (Trj4/184–185), *wəŋ nəmsa wəŋýə áa tilə* don't pull near your near thoughts (= don't get angry) (Trj2/135–136)
- təŋát:** *táki təŋat* ?full (to bursting); perhaps related to VVj *təŋit* against KT 993, D 1453, T 457 *kutəm táki təŋat táliá páŋiləma* after having packed my house full to bursting (Trj3/269–273)
- tărəm** 1. strong, hard, durable 2. rigid, brittle (iron) KT 1015, D 1470, T 457

- tārən** evil spirit, unclean force; the spirit of war KT 1020, D 1475, T 457 *tārənəḡ* heroic song (Trj4), *tārən pənt* military road (Trj4/41), *tārənəḡ lāḡki* warrior (red) squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris*) (Trj4/191)
- tārənλə-** fight, combat, strive KT 1021, D 1476, T 455 *mokkuj nōḡās tārniλiλ* a male sable cub ?striving (Trj4/119–120)
- tās** wealth, reindeer herd, furs KT 1027, D 1481, T 457
- tāy_oən** windless KT 972, D 1405, T 464
- tāλ** 1. whole, full, healthy KT 1033, D 1425, T 462 *tāλən əntəp* a full belt (Trj3/126), *tāλəḡ puλ* a whole piece (Trj4/316), *mānt tāλāḡkə tāja* keep me healthy (Trj5/24)
- tāλ** 2. outfit KT 1034, D 1427, T 462 *lōksəḡ tāλə* your painted outfit (Trj1/60)
- tāy_oətā-** assume, predict KT 984, D 1420, (T)
- tār-**, **tāy_or-** echo KT 987, D 1404, T 453 *əmp rāpāstā tārəλ* the dogs' barking can be heard (Trj6/9)
- tār_oy** crane KT 1013, D 1467, T 455
- tāy-**, **tākən-** tear KT 987, D 1403, T 453
- tāy_oər-** lock, close KT 981, D 1418, T 469 *onj pəλə nomən tāy_o.riḡətāḡ* you open up your log-like ear (lit. you close above your log-like ears) (Trj2/14)
- tāy_otā** piece KT 983, D 1422, T 459
- tāja-** own, keep, bear, name KT 969, D 1400, T 460 *kāt tājλəm* I have a house (Trj3/115–118), *mānt ājaḡkə tāja* make me lucky! (Trj5/25), *jōy_oətḡtā wār tājaλ* he usually comes (Trj3/218), *mətā nāj tājəm pākkən* two sons borne by which goddess (Trj4/166–167), *siḡken uri āḡḡen uri tājəm nāj_opāy* the goddess's son named after the velvet scoter-back-water-white-headed duck-backwater (Trj4/177–179)
- tām** then (D 1394, T 454) (KT) *kuntā ... tām* if ... then (Trj5/1–2)
- təy_o** here KT 967, D 1391, T 482 *təy_onām λeyəλə* look here! (Trj5/27–28)
- təy_oər** dry-rot KT 972, D 1418, T 480 *təy_orəḡ juy* rotten wood (Trj3/270)
- təy_oət** fire KT 1029, D 1420 T 480, *təy_otəḡ kāt* fiery (= heated) house (Trj2/3)
- tem** this KT 967, D 1392, T 466 *tem ko* this man (Trj5/1)
- tət** here KT 967, D 1392, T 484
- tətəy-** creak, crunch KT 1027, D 1487, (T) *tətəy wāt* whooshing wind (Trj2/107)
- ti-** be born, create KT 974, D 1395, T 465 *tōrəm tiwəm unλta* since the birth of the world (Trj5/12), *lāḡ_oətāḡpāt tiy_oəm lāḡ_oətāḡp* that bear-feast song from which the others emerged (Trj3) *sāk_oəḡ pāy kōλnə tiy_o.mā* how did you create a handsome boy? (Trj4/417–419), *tey_o.əntəy_oλən* emerged (Trj3/47–48)
- ti** [particle] (KT, D, T) *λəy_o ti pāt_oλāḡ* alas, he freezes (Trj3/96), *ti sōr* that beer (Trj4/464)
- tiy_oət** quiver KT 973, D 1421, T 480

tiale see **táa-**

timint this kind of, such (KT, D, T) *timint súj* such noise (Trj2/22)

tin price KT 1003, D 1443, T 466 *tinəj kâr* expensive reindeer bull (Trj4/510)

tipəŋ blazing (KT, D, T) *láp nálam tipəŋ náj* flames of the blazing fire (lit. a flapping-tongued blazing fire) (Trj4/291–292)

tir the width of a net; distance KT 1012, D 1462, T 467 *koləm jəŋk kütəλ tir* the distance between three rivers (Trj4/498–499)

tjyəλ nest KT 985, D 1412, T 468 *irəŋ kəy_{əj} tjy_əλəŋ lāt* silver moor nesting place (Trj4/390–391)

tjəλs month KT 998, D 1430, T 468 *tjəλs kōlātə lāt_{nə}* when a month passed (Trj5/3)

töy_əə there KT 975, D 1393, T 474 *töy_əə əmättam* I put it there (Trj4/468)

töy_əəλ feather KT 984, D 1412, T 474 *töy_əəλəŋ λuyk* feathery idol (Trj4/85)

toyəλ the one ... the other KT 975 *toyəλ wăčəŋ tōrəs ko* a merchant from one of the cities (Trj3/ 213–214)

töyənə this way, that way KT 975, D 1393, T 474 *töyənə tăy_əəλātəλtăy* he assumed like this (Trj4/409)

toyətəλ raft (KT 984, D 1423, T)

töy_{əj} spring KT 971, D 1410, T 469

tōj tip, top, end KT 966, D 1398, T 478 *əoj tōj* fingertip (Trj1/41), *səy_əəλ tōjnə* at the end of the rope (Trj3/9–10), *ləntəŋ wăy_əəλ kōy tōj* the distant headwaters of the nourishing *wăy_əəλ* (Trj3/22–23), *oy_ətōj_j* from the top of his head (Trj4/343)

tōy, tōk forest lake KT 971, D 1406, T 473

tōm that KT 975, D 1394, T 470 *tōm päləki* on that side (Trj6/2), *tōmnam* in that direction (Trj4/524)

tōntăy birchbark KT 1005, D 1446, T 476

tōrəm sky, god, world, weather KT 1015, D 1472, T 471 *tem siŋk wăłtaŋ tōrəm* this sunny, fair world (Trj1/36–37), *ənəλ tōrəm ko jəyən* your great man father God (Trj2/1), *ələŋ tōrəm tiy_əəm lāt_{nə}* when the first world was born (Trj3/28–29), *siri tōrəm* earlier times (Trj3/209), *tōrma* into the sky (Trj6/20)

tōt there KT 977, D 1394, T 477

tu- bring, take KT 1031, D 1395, T 480 *tú năməm tu_{əj}* that name of mine is spread (Trj4/16), *tuyităy* bring it! (Trj4/593), *tuyat* they should bring [bring.IMP.3PL] (Trj4/604), *ləy_ə tuyməλ jermäk* the silk brought by him (Trj3/262–264)

tur throat, sound KT 1011, D 1464, T 479

tūləy winter KT 1035, D 1429, T 483

ť

- ťaki:** *ťaki tãjat* ?full (to bursting) D 1495, KT 995, (T), perhaps related to *ťik* fully, exceedingly KT 899, D 1496, T 492 *kutãm źaki tãjat tãłıłã pãñıłãmał* after having packed my house full to bursting (Trj3/269–273)
- ťãÿâr** a place trodden smooth KT 901, D 1504, T 488
- ťãpâr** ?place name KT 914, D 1528, (T) *kuj źãpâr nãj ãñki* goddess, the mother of the bear (Trj1/57)
- ťeł** from here (KT, D, T)
- ťãť** an attribute of iron in bear-feast songs KT 923, D 1543, (T) *ťãť wãÿı kãm wãÿı łorãñ sũj* clinking sound (lit. *ťãť*-iron, *kãm*-iron jingling noise) (Trj2/11)
- ťı** 1) this 2) a particle marking the focus KT 895, D 1491, T 491 *ťı mãtã łãtnã* then (Trj3/89), *łãÿo źı mãñıłãÿłãñ* alas, he sets out (Trj3/283–284)
- ťıñkãr, źãñkãr** top of the shoulder KT 906, D 1525, T 491 *juÿ ãłłı wãn źãñkãr* wood-carrying top of the shoulder (Trj1/61–62), *juÿ ãłłı wãn źıñkãr* [the same] (Trj2/42–43)
- ťõÿoal** clay oven KT 900, D 1501, T 494
- ťõrãs** merchant KT 918, D 1539, T 495
- ťu** that (demonstrative determiner) KT 896, D 1492, T 495 *ťu kõłã ĵãł* he says that word (Trj4/325)
- ťursem** interesting; merriment KT 920, D 1539, T 496
- ťut** that KT 897, D 1492, T 496 *ťutpã ãł kolãntã* don't listen to that, either (Trj5/9–10), *ťutnã nãptıłãłı* it is floated by that (Trj3/87–88)

u

- uć** stuff, belongings, clothes KT 98, D 8, T 499
- ułmãñ** see **ãłãm**
- ułneksãk** unknown meaning and word form (KT, D, T) *ã ĵ tõÿoã ułneksãk* (Trj4/194)
- ułñãmnã** see **ãłãñ**
- ułatã** since KT 57, D 124, T 502 *tõrãm tiwãm ułatã* since the birth of the world (Trj5/12)
- unt** size KT 57, D 120, (T) *ã ĵ mãÿı, ã ĵ untı* of the same breed, of the same build (Trj4/171–172),
- uńıe** bride KT 63, D 130, T 502 *uńıenãñki* the mother of the bride (Trj4/582)
- uñkãť** the head of the bear (a taboo-avoidance word) KT 38, D 140, T 502
- uñãł, uñãłñ** see **oñ**

- ur** 1. the (sharp) edge of something; border, ridge 2. dried up river, backwater
3. manner, method KT 71, D 157, T 502 *urəŋ kât urjčjla* to the corner
of the angular house (Trj4/150–151), *ur nöpâtnâ* in the finite ages, in
the age that comes to an end (Trj4/414), *siŋken uri aŋlen uri* velvet
scoter-backwater-white-headed duck-backwater (the name of a hero)
(Trj4/177–178),
- urt** suitor, groomsman KT 83, D 179, T 503 *uräyoi*, *urpäy* marriageable girl,
marriageable boy (Trj2/131–132)
- utâ** from the water towards the shore, off the fire, from the entrance into the
house, upwards KT 267, D 209, T 504 *ut wöntj päčkälâ* towards the
upper forest (Trj3/106–107), *utân âltiäläyali* it is carried to the shore
(Trj3/266, 267), *put utân wäli* the pot is taken off the fire (Trj4/300–
301), *wäč utpinâ* the upper end of the city (Trj4/589)

Û

- üä-** heat (KT, D) T 335 *käntây ko päy üäŋjali täyotəŋ kât* a fiery house lit by the
son of man (Trj2/3)
- ürəy** too much/many, unnecessary (KT 74, D 167, T 335) *məyo üryäl* how
plentifully (Trj3/65)

W

- wäŋ** short, nearby KT 225, D 1595, T 512 *ämp küř wäni kârê säy,as* autumn with
little snow, short as a dog's leg (Trj3/55–56), *wäŋ nâmsa wäŋyâ äli täl*
don't pull near your near thoughts (= don't get angry) (Trj2/135–136),
köt wäŋŋä within arm's reach (Trj4/500)
- wänäm** face KT 230, D 1604, T 513
- wäsəy** duck KT 249, D 1636, T 513
- wät** narrow KT 252, D 1605, T 512
- wäj** the handle of a tool KT 203, D 1559, T 520 *sökəŋ wäjəp ənal aŋotəp*
hairy-handled big spear (Trj1/31–33)
- wäl-** kill KT 275, D 1580, T 521 *jəy wäləm əs wäləm tärəŋ nur* father-killing,
mother-killing [triggered] military revenge (Trj4/38–40)
- wäli** reindeer KT 272, D 1583, T 521 *nünät wäləjat wäləm* I kill reindeer for
you (Trj5/26), *wäljäläm* my two reindeer (Trj6/11)
- wälək** free, unmarried KT 222, D 1587, T 511
- wänč** face, forehead KT 228, D 1596, T 519 *säjəp wänpärt* a piece of wood
marking the end of the seine (Trj6/1)
- wär** thing, issue KT 234, D 1613, T 521

- wǎr-** do, start to do KT 235, D 1614, T 522 *kǎntǎkko pǎḡannâ pǎrt kǎt wǎro* a plank house was made for you by your human sons (Trj1/20, 26)
kutâλ sǎjsǎḡkijǎ wǎre reduce his house to ashes! (Trj5/10–11)
- wǎrǎksǎ-** dress KT 240, D 1615, T 522
- wǎrǎntǎ-, wǎrǎntǎ-** make KT 234, D 1615, T 522 *ǎḡke wǎrǎntǎm nǎsijǎâλa* your two shoes made by your mother (Trj2/37–38) *mǎnǎ wǎrǎntǎλi* made by me (Trj3/100–101)
- wǎritǎ-** wake up (KT 241, D 1617, T 521)
- wǎs** water monster, mammoth KT 246, D 1631, T 522 *jǎḡk wǎsiki* water monster (Trj2/34)
- wǎt** five KT 266, D 1641, T 523
- wǎc** city KT 259, D 1552, T 506 *wuicmǎn* our [the two of us'] city (Trj4/422)
- wǎḡ-** call, ask KT 216, D 1566, T 507
- wǎḡǎλ** stanchion (part of a sleigh) KT 213, D 1574, T 507
- wǎjǎḡ** animal KT 204, D 1562, T 508 *nǎrǎm wǎjǎḡ*, *wǎnt wǎjǎḡ* animal of the swamp, animal of the forest (= bear) (Trj1/84–86), *nǎḡǎm wǎjǎḡ*, *kǎλǎḡ wǎjǎḡ* female bear, male bear (Trj3/162–163), *sǎjǎλǎr wǎjǎḡ* ember goose (Trj2/58), *mǎnt wǎjǎḡat mǎjǎ* give me quarry! (Trj5/30–31)
- wǎn** shoulder KT 226, D 1594, T 508
- wǎrǎp** spotted nutcracker (*Nucifraga caryocatactes*) KT 238, D 1624, T 510
- wǎt** wind KT 263, D 1638, T 510
- wǎt-** dry in wind KT 265, D 1639, 270 *kǎr wǎtǎm sǎjǎḡ nǎr* a frosty leather strap, its outer layer dried (Trj4/493–494)
- wǎḡ** iron, money KT 209, D 1567, T 514 *jǎmwǎḡ* silver (Trj6/22), *wǎkkǎḡǎn* [*wǎḡ kǎḡǎn*] brazen clasp (Trj4/437, 446)
- wǎḡǎλ** the name of a river, ?Vogulka KT 215, D 1575, T 515 *ǎntǎḡḡ wǎḡǎλ* nutritious *wǎḡǎλ* (Trj3/13)
- wǎλ-** live, be KT 128, D 1577, T 516 *wǎḡ, nǎt wǎλλǎm* I live with difficulties (Trj5/29–30), *siri tǎrǎm wǎλλǎmnǎ* with the passing of earlier times (Trj3/209–210), *jǎntḡjiko wǎλta pǎtǎn* as you are a playful man (Trj1/87–88), *siḡk wǎλtaḡ tǎrǎm* sunny world (Trj1/36)
- wǎ-** take KT 268, D 1549, T 533 *wǎjǎ* take! (Trj5/27) *wǎje* take it! (Trj5/34) *mǎḡnǎ wǎjǎḡλi* it is taken by us (Trj4/317)
- wǎλe, wǎλe** 1. as [conjunction] 2. a filler in the language of songs KT 273, D 1584, T 523 *tǎtnǎ nǎptǎλǎλi wǎλe* it is floated by that, alas (Trj3/87–88)
- wǎr** blood KT 236, D 1617, T 532 *wǎrǎḡ ǎḡḡǎ* to a bloody pot (Trj4/303)
- wǎrtǎ** red KT 244, D 1618, T 532
- wǎrtǎn, ?wǎrtǎn** KT 245, D 1629, (T) trip rod (part of a trap) *wǎrtǎn pitǎpi* *nirit ǎḡḡki* a trapped squirrel (Trj4/109–110)
- wikkǎtǎ-** cry out KT 217, D 1570, T 523

- wit** beauty, countenance KT 254, D 1648, T 525 *witəŋ* pretty, handsome (Trj4/417)
- wiyəλ-** descend, come home (from the forest) KT 214, D 1574, T 525 *ar jəŋəλ nāmən wiyəλtəλat* many boxes are put down at the bank (Trj3/255–257), *nāmən wiyəλəλət* they come home (Trj4/102)
- wijəŋ** deceitful, cunning KT 204, D 1560, T 525 *wijəŋ arəŋ* false song (Trj4/124)
- wöj-** sleep KT 207, D 1561, T 515 *ənəλ əŋətəp wöjəλtəm uλmən* your big-spear-lulled sleep (= your sleep incurred by a big spear) (Trj1/33–34)
- wöj** grease, fat KT 6, D 1560, T 526
- wök-** croak KT 216, D 1571, T 526 *səpərkj wöktə* the croaking of frogs (Trj6/9)
- wönt** forest KT 55, D 1600, T 527 *wöntəŋpi pələknām* towards the forest (Trj4/71–72) *wöntəp jəŋəp öntnə* in the middle of a thick forest (Trj6/4, 16, 19, 24)
- wöŋk** den, hole, lair KT 218, D 1610, T 530
- wös-** be [copula] KT 90, D 1630, (T)
- wöŋ**, strength, power KT 211, D 1571, T 528 *nüŋ wöŋənət* with your strength (Trj5/22) *mə wöŋənət wələəm* I live with difficulties, I have to make efforts to live (Trj5/29–30)
- wučmən** see **wáč**
- wu-** see, know KT 268, D 1550, T 531 *ətianəm wələtə kol əntə wuλ* cannot live alone (Trj5/14)

Lexical novelties of the Tremjugan texts

There are many words in the texts published above that were either not recorded earlier from the Trj dialect, or do not occur in the dictionaries at all (KT, D, T). The lists below contain only the most important pieces of information (the form and the meaning of a word). The rest of the data and the references to the dictionaries can be found in the list of words above.

Words that had been recorded only in other eastern dialects (Vj) earlier

áməəytə- sit down	mäy- father a child
iy bear	pit thigh, hip
iyəli: əj iyəli in the same way, continually	pic: picəŋ later
káčəŋ sand martin	pörək tree trunk
koŋli- go, run	siŋk sun
łáp: łápəŋ- flap with wings	táci tənət ?full (to bursting)
łátí- wag, swing, wave	wăritə- wake up

Words that had been recorded only in northern and/or southern dialects earlier

irón the parallel attribute of <i>sárân</i>	pǎnłêŋ winged
juŷâł nice, pleasant	sət' - paint
kárt (ingot) iron	toŷâł the one ... the other
łákisaŋ a great mass of something	toŷâłê raft
łǎŷ- weave, loom	

Words that occur in dictionaries either in a different phonetic form or in a derivation

łátı- wag, swing, wave	sǎj rime-frost
rǎŷıt- shake, flutter, pick up	siŋk sun
sátêŋ ?strong	ťáki táŋat ?full (to bursting)

Words that do not occur in any of the three dictionaries

čuy a pointy, peaked pattern used in ornamentation	łǎŷo unknown meaning, perhaps a synonym of <i>ŋámâs</i> 'thought'
jayłaki ?insect, ?bird	mǎłəŋtə- ?struggle, ?stagger
jiŕəŷtə- ?turn around, tumble	ńǎłŋət ?merry
kǎłi- ?disappear, ?appear	pánməł- ?do some kind of a combat sport
kántêp: kōł opêł kántêp comb	pərint onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of scraping mice
kek,łáł ?peek	sič unknown meaning
kutêm ?my betrothed	tipəŋ blazing
łáŕłání unknown meaning	
łűjłáli unknown meaning	

Words that do not occur in one of the dictionaries

kǎťəŋ sand martin	ťáki táŋat ?full (to bursting)
łátı- wag, swing, wave	űł- heat

3. Vasjugan texts

3.1. On Karjalainen's fieldwork

As mentioned in the Introduction, Karjalainen carried out fieldwork by the River Vasjugan in the summer of 1900, from June to September. There he made reports on the region and the circumstances of his fieldwork for the Finno-Ugric Society, as well as for his bride. In the following, some excerpts from these texts will be presented. As Karjalainen wrote:

The River Vasjugan, like all the rivers around here in general, is immensely long, although its flow is not remarkable, and not comparable with the Vah River. It originates in the large swamps of the frontiers of the Tobol'sk and Tomsk counties, and after making a sweep northward above Narym, it flows into the Ob River at a distance of 50–60 versts from the small town.

The water of swamps in the region gathers and is directed to the main river by numerous small and large tributaries. Shoals of fishes live in the lakes, rivers, and brooks, and also the spacious moors, islands, river valleys serve as a place to live for woodland animals, while the dry headlands abound in berries and *Pinus cembra* trees. The pastures encompassed by river bends are suitable for feeding livestock. However, animal husbandry has just begun, and is limited mainly to horses, especially around the sources of the river. Consequently, it is hunting and fishing that make the Ostyaks' livelihood, complemented each year by some income resulting from gathering berries and pine seeds. (JSFOu XX/4: 1–2)¹²⁹

129. "Vasjugan, kuten yleensä kaikki täkäläiset joet, on pitkän pitkä, vaikka ei kovinkaan vesirikas; suuruudeltaan se ei Vachille vertoja vedä. Alkunsa se saa Tobolskin ja Tomskin läänien rajamailloja olevista suurista soista, ja tehtyään laajan kaaren pohjoiseen, laskee Obiin n. 50–60 virstaa Narymin pienen kaupungin alapuolella.

Lukemattomat suuremmat ja pienemmät sivujoet kokoavat ympäröivien soiden vedet, vieden ne emäjokeen. Järvissä, lammeissa, joissa ja puroissa elää kalaa laumoittain; avarat suot saarineen, jokien varret ja järvien rannat tarjoovat olin- ja

Karjalainen goes on to share his opinion that as far as natural conditions are concerned, they could allow a better life for the Vasjugan Khanty than for their Surgut Khanty relatives. However, due to the fact that taxes and prices in Tomsk Oblast' are higher than those in Tobol'sk Oblast', native people easily get into debt. The creditors then sell them as slaves to large fishing enterprises.

The language situation Karjalainen characterizes as follows:

From the point of view of the language, the Vasjugan "Ostjaks" can be divided into two groups, i.e. the Ostyaks proper and the so-called Ostyak-Samoyeds."¹³⁰ The territory where the Samoyedic dialect is spoken extends from the mouth of the river to the Kargaldaev yurts. Up the river, the people of the next two villages are bilingual, although they consider Ostyak their "mother tongue". Along the Njurelka River, and from its mouth to the sources of the Vasjugan River, it is the Ostyak language that people count as their own, and only a few of them can speak "in the Ob way", i.e. in the Samoyed language. To some extent, the Russian language has also begun to gain ground. (JSFOu XX/4: 4)¹³¹

The texts collected there are described by the young researcher as follows:

Of the Vasjugan dialect, I have a complete word collection, some notes on grammar, as well as some sample texts. As a novelty, I would mention the so-called "trip songs"/"daze songs", originally shaman songs, which were sung after the shaman had ingested some fly-agaric and left for the higher spheres in order to reveal the origin of evil (i.e. the origin of illnesses). By now, the knowledge of consuming fly-agaric has

elättelypaikkoja metsäneläimille; kankaat kasvavat marjaa ja seetriä, Vasjuganin luomat niityt voivat elättää karjaa suuret joukot. Karjanhoito on kuitenkin vasta alkamassa ja rajoittuu enimmäkseen hevosten pitoon, varsinkin latvapuolilla, niin, että ostjakin varsinaisena tulolähteenä voi pitää metsästystä ja kalastusta, jonkunlaisen tulon antavat vuosittain myöskin marjat ja seetrinpähkinät."

130. Namely, the Selkup people (MCs).

131. "Vasjuganin «ostjakit» jakaantuvat kieleltään kahteen kansaan: varsinaisiin ostjakkeihin ja n. s. ostjakkisamojedeihin. Samojeedimurteen ala ulottuu joen suusta Kargaldajevin jurttiin asti. Mainituissa jurteissa puhekielenä on samojeedi, vaikka kaikki asukkaat ostjakkiakin osaavat. Seuraavat kaksi jurttakuntaa ylöspäin ovat myöskin kaksikielisiä, vaikka «äidinkielenä» onkin ostjakki. Njureljka joella ja sen suusta Vasjuganin latvoille on ostjakki rahvaan kielenä, aniharvat vain osaavat puhua «obilaisittain», s. o. samojeedia. Venäjä on myöskin jo jommoisenkin jalansijan saanut."

faded away, and parallel to that, the songs also remain in the earthly sphere, to enrich the earth – namely, the singer himself is said not to know the text but the words are whispered into his ears by the fly-agaric. (JSFOu XX/4: 5)¹³²

Some details of Karjalainen's journey can be learned from the letters written to his bride. On 3 September 1900, after returning from the expedition to the Vasjugan River, he wrote:

My Vasjugan journey turned out fruitful. I am satisfied with the results. I could not finish my work but I continue it in Narym, where I took my informant with me. I will stay here until the end of this month. (...) My informant is their ethnic superior, and I am really satisfied with him, although he is rather hasty. Similarly, I am content with the outcome of my work. I have obtained numerous songs with the phonograph. The Ostyaks behaved companionably with me, and they are satisfied with me. When I said farewell to them, I was given two idols with their "household-men", a leather sack with a fire-making kit, a mouth musical instrument, pieces of Ostyak embroidery, as well as a big birchbark basket. (Karjalainen 1983: 122–123)¹³³

The local headman mentioned by Karjalainen may have been Ivan Madykov. It may be his portrait that can be seen in the book published for the centenary of the Finno-Ugric Society's founding (Korhonen 1983: 109). It was presumably Madykov from whom Karjalainen collected the lexical material. The name of another Vasjugan informant, Isidor Vasil'evič Jurlomgin appears in the text material, following Vj7. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether all the texts belong to him, or Karjalainen had other Vasjugan speakers as well.

132. "Vasjuganin kielimurteesta on minulla täydellinen sanakokoelma, kieliopillisia muistiinpanoja, jonkunverran kielinäytteitä. Uutuuksina voinen mainita «humalalaulut», s. o. alkuaan noidan laulut, joita tämä lauloi kärpässieniä syötyään ja lähdettyään ylhäisiin taivoisiin saamaan selkoa pahan (taudin) alkuperästä. Nykyään on jalo kärpässienien syömistaito vähenemässä ja sen mukana laulutkin jäävät maahan maan hyväksi – laulaja ei muka itse lauluja osaa, vaan hänelle kärpässieni sanat korvaan kuiskii."

133. "Matkani Vasjuganille kävi oikein hyvin ja tyytyväinen olen sen tuloksiin. Työtäni en kyllä loppuun saanut, vaan pitkitän sitä täällä Narymissä, jonne toin kielimestarin mukaan. Täällä viivyn kuun loppuun. (...) Kielimestarini oli ja on heidän staršinansa, johon olen erinomaisen tyytyväinen, vaikka hän onkin pikkuinen hätikkö. Työni tuloksiin olen myös tyytyväinen. Fonograafiin sain joukon lauluja. Ostjakit olivat erittäin ystävällisiä ja tyytyväisiä myöskin minuun. Lähtiessäni sain lahjaksi pari jumalaa «hoviväkineen», tuluslaukun, eräänlaisen huulisoittimen, ostjakkilaisia kirjailuja ja suuren tuohivakan."

3.2. The grammar of the Vasjugan dialect in light of Karjalainen's texts

The grammar of the Vasjugan dialect will be outlined on the basis of Karjalainen's notes (KarjGr 149–206) and the texts presented below. Neither the length nor the genres of the texts make it possible to describe the whole grammatical system of the Vasjugan dialect on the basis of them alone. However, examples of certain grammatical phenomena will be taken from these texts where possible. This description presents the language spoken at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, although it should also be noted that the folklore texts of mythical content can exhibit various archaic features.

The Vj dialect is quite close to the V dialect. As Honti (1982b: 121) writes:

From a phonological point of view, there is only one relevant difference between them, namely the diverse reflexes of the U/FU **s-/*š-*: V *l-* vs Vj *∅* preceding *i*, otherwise *j-*. Regarding morphology, in the V dialect, the 1PL person suffix appears as (labial vowel +) *y*, while it is (vowel +) *w* in the Vasjugan dialect.¹³⁴ As far as morphophonology is concerned, vowel alternation is more common in the V dialect than in the Vj dialect, i.e. if certain conditions are met, then vowel alternation will be triggered, while, as shown in Karjalainen's Vj texts, this alternation does not take place in most cases.

Accordingly, the grammatical descriptions of the V dialect can be used in analyzing Vj grammar (KarjGr 102–148; Terėškin 1961; Gulya 1967).¹³⁵ The texts below will, on the one hand, confirm our traditional knowledge, while on the other hand, they will also complement it.

Phonology and morphology

The vowel and consonant systems of the Vj dialect have been presented in Tables 5, 7, and 9 on pp. 39–42.

According to Karjalainen's notes, vowel harmony was quite extensive in the Vj dialect. As is shown in the texts, one finds palatal–velar vowel pairs

134. In the texts published here, both the 1PL person suffix *-oy/-öy* and the ABL suffix *-oy/-öy* are frequent.

135. I would not include Filchenko's grammar (2010) in this list, firstly because of his unreliable means of transcription, and secondly because he does not properly differentiate the VVj data from the Jugan ones, which latter variant belongs to the Surgut dialect. This procedure represents a serious methodological error.

even in non-first syllables, and most of the affixes have both palatal and velar allomorphs. It is the *-uj-* marker of the passive voice alone that has no palatal equivalent. Attached to a verb stem containing palatal vowel(s), the marker of passive voice transforms the subsequent palatal vowel(s) into velar ones: *siyil-l-uj-âm* rotate-PRS-PASS-1SG 'I am being rotated' (Vj2/86), (*mä äntä*) *pärt-käl-uj-âm* order-PRFH-PASS-1SG 'I was not ordered' (Vj1/546).

Compound words can also have both palatal and velar vowels. The verb meaning 'notice', which came into being from the elements *jöyâ* 'memory' and *tāja-* 'hold, have', turns up in the texts in the following forms: *jäyätāja-l-îm* notice-PRS-SG<1SG (Vj1/663), *männä jöyätāja-l-î* I.LOC notice-PRS-PASS.3SG (Vj1/732). Similarly, in the following example, the word *intä* 'eating' undergoes a progressive assimilation following a word ('fish') containing a velar vowel: *kulîntâ möylâm* 'my fish-eating breast(s)' (Vj1/994).

Paradigmatic vowel alternation, under which low or middle vowels alternate with high ones, appears in both verbal conjugation and nominal inflection. In the case of nouns, vowel alternation operates when attaching possessive suffixes to the stem, and the altering vowel appears in the paradigm of a singular possessee: *jäsəŋ* 'speech', *nŷŋ jisŋän* (Vj1/26), *mä jisŋəm* 'my speech' (Vj1/44); *oy* 'head', *uyâm* 'my head' (Vj2/308), *uyâl jörtâm kijjilam* 'my sons whose head (hair) is cut' (Vj5/6).

This vowel alternation can be optional, e.g. *kat* 'house' *katam/kutâm* 'my house' (KarjGr 156). However, it is not clear under what conditions the alteration actually takes place.

In some cases, the alternation operates in the Surgut dialect, while in the Vj dialect it does not occur, e.g. Vj *lɔyâs* 'friend', *nŷŋ lɔysan* 'your friend' (Vj/1 347) versus Surg *lɔyâs ~ luysan* id.

In regard to verbs, the alternating vowel is expected to occur in zero-Past forms, in the Imperative, as well as in past participles. However, similarly to nominal inflection, in some cases the alteration proves to be unpredictable, e.g. *pärt-* 'order', *way-* 'call':

- (52) *torâm-nâ mänt pirt-iyən*
God-LOC I.ACC order-PRF.3SG
'God ordered me (to seek out all heroes).' (Vj1/100–101)
- (53) *torâm-nâ mänt pärt-iyən nəŋ-ət äntä nuyät-ta.*
God-LOC I.ACC order-PRF.3SG you-ACC NEG spare-INF
'By God, I was ordered not to spare you.' (Vj1/716)
- (54) *t'oras-ku äntä way-î.*
merchant-man NEG invite-PRF.PASS.3SG
'The merchant was not invited.' (Honti 1982b: 151), cf. Surg *wuy-i*

In the Imperative (*jal'* 'stand'):

(55) *nuy jil'a* 'stand up' (Vj1/769)

In past participles (*at-* 'speak, say'):

(56) *mä tem ut-ïm*
 I this say-PTC.PST
 'as I said (ordered)' (Vj5/18)

Nominal inflection

A noun can be marked for number (Num), possession (Px), and case (Cx). The order of the morphemes is as follows: stem + (Num) + (Px) + (Cx).

Table 10: Number markers in the Vj dialect

	SG	DU	PL
Absolute declension	∅	-kən/-kân	-t/-ət/-ât
Possessive declension	∅	-kəl/-kâl/-yl-	-l-

Examples: *jäjəm* 'ax', *jäjəmkən* 'two axes', *jäjmət* 'axes (PL)'; *joyân* 'river', *joyânkân* 'rivers (DU)', *joynât* 'rivers (PL)'.

Possessive suffixes¹³⁶

Table 11: Possessive suffixes in the Vj dialect – *jäjəm* 'ax'

Possessor	Possessee			
	SG	DU		PL
1SG	<i>jäjäm</i>	<i>jäjəm-kəl-äm</i>	<i>jäjmə-yl-äm</i>	<i>jäjəm-l-äm</i>
2SG	<i>-än</i>	<i>jäjəm-kəl-än</i>	<i>jäjmə-yl-än</i>	<i>-än</i>
3SG	<i>-əl</i>	<i>jäjəm-kəl</i>		<i>-əl</i>
1DU	<i>-əmən</i>	<i>-ämən</i>	<i>-ämən</i>	<i>-ämən</i>
2DU	<i>-ətən</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>
3DU	<i>-ətən</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>
1PL	<i>-əw</i>	<i>-öw</i>	<i>-öw</i>	<i>-öw</i>
2PL	<i>-ətən</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>
3PL	<i>-il</i>	<i>jäjəmkəl-äl</i>	<i>jäjməyl-il</i>	<i>-äl</i>

136. KarjGr 154–157.

Nouns with velar vocalism are suffixed with the velar equivalent of the possessive suffixes, e.g. *kat* 'house', *katam* ~ *kutâm* 'my house', *katkâlam* ~ *katâylam* 'my houses (DU)', *katlam* 'my houses (PL)'.

Case marking¹³⁷

Table 12: Case markers in the Vj dialect

Case suffixes		Case suffixes	
NOM	<i>o</i>	ACC (= INS)	<i>-(t)ə/- (t)â</i>
LOC	<i>-nə/-nâ</i>	TRA	<i>-ɣ/-əɣ/-âɣ</i>
LAT	<i>-ä/-a</i>	COM	<i>nä^c/-nä^c</i>
ABL	<i>-(j)öw/-ow</i>	COMP	<i>-niŋə, -niŋâ</i>
CARIT	<i>-ləɣ/-lâɣ</i>		

Notes on Karjalainen's case system:

The locative cases LOC, LAT, ABL express inner and outer spatial relations. Each basic locative case has further functions. Spatial relations more complex than these are expressed by means of postpositions.

The LOC case is also used for expressing possession: *jəɣəmnə loy wälwâl* 'my father has a horse' (KarjGr 152). In addition, it is also used for marking the Agent in passive sentences (see below, in the section discussing verb conjugation).

The LAT suffix also has a dative function, as well as one of purpose. As for the ABL, besides its basic meaning ('from'), it can also have a prolativ one: *məɣöw* '(go) overland' (KarjGr 152). Besides the forms *-öw/-ow* in the texts, we can also find *-öɣ/-oy* forms: *torâm putw-ow* 'from the end of the world' (Vj1/34), *jəŋk-öɣ* 'from the water' (Vj1/38), *kat-oy* 'out of the house' (Vj1/280), *näyi paləŋ jäwət kə!-oy* 'through/from the seven holes of the white cloud' (Vj1/45–46).

In the Khanty dialects, the object is unmarked, in other words, the nominal object is in the nominative. The case which Karjalainen mentioned as accusative is actually the instructive, which is used for marking the Theme element in ditransitive constructions. This is why Karjalainen added *-lla* (*lahjoittaa*) '(to present somebody) with'.

- (57) *mänt ämp-ə majlältä-s.*
I.ACC dog-INS present-IMPF.3SG
'He presented me with a dog.' (KarjGr 153)

137. KarjGr 149–152.

- (58) *mant jĉĉka jĉmānĉk-a əntə mə-l-təy.*
 I.ACC even berry-INS NEG give-PRS-2PL
 ‘(...) you don’t even give me berries.’ (Vj1/726–727)

A further example of adverbial use of the instructive:

- (59) *koy kŭrmä-tə mən-wəl.*
 long step-INS go-PRS.3SG
 ‘He walks with long strides.’ (KarjGr 153)

The translative is basically used for expressing a transformation into something, e.g.:

- (60) *äl ätmə-y jə-wəl*
 PROH bad-TRA become-PRS.3SG
 ‘Let it not become bad’ (Vj1/766)

The suffix *-y/-əy/-əy* also has an essive meaning:

- (61) *möŋəl päki jöyat-əy jayim-lə-m.*
 rag doll size-TRA glide-PRS-1SG
 ‘I am gliding like a rag doll.’ (Vj1/960–961)

Nouns with a LAT or a COM suffix are often completed with an emphatic element (EMPH) *-ti/-tĭ*:

Following a COM suffix:

- (62) *kat jor-a jməl-s-əm, ärəy*
 house middle_part-LAT sit_down-IMPF-1SG song
kənĉ-ĉə nem-əŋ köl-nä-ti.
 look_for-PTC.PRS name-ADJ word-COM-EMPH
 ‘I sat down in the middle of the house, with a true word looking for the song.’ (Vj1/3–5)

It is the very same element as the one following the participle + LAT suffix constructions (63), and it is also added to infinitives (64):

- (63) *mänä mätä jöyat köl ärəy-t-äm-ä-ti*
 I.LAT something size word sing-PTC.PRS-1SG-LAT-EMPH
il əsl-ä.
 down let_down-IMP.2SG
 ‘Let down some words to me to sing.’ (Vj1/20–21)

- (64) *num torâm jäwät öyi-nə pirt-i mənĵ-ä*
upper God seven girl-LOC order-PRF.PASS.3SG we-LAT
i-ntä-ti.
eat-INF-EMPH
'We were ordered to eat it by the seven daughters of the Upper God.'
(Vj₂/20–21)

It was Edit Vértes who first noticed this characteristic feature of the infinitives in the V and Vj dialects (1961). At that time, she could only investigate the KT material. It became evident only later that all suffixes ending in *-a/-ä* can be emphasized with this element.

In the marker of the comparative case (COMP), the postposition *niĵit*, *niĵə* 'from' can still be identified:

- (65) *ti-m-äl niĵə sem-ləy*
be_born-PTC.PST-3SG from eye-ABE
'Since his/her birth he/she has been blind.' (KT 578; D 1006).

In the course of grammaticalization of the postposition *niĵə*, not only a palatal vowel suffix but also a velar one came into being (*-niĵə*). In the texts collected by Karjalainen, no example of a comparative suffix can be found, but an example is found in his grammar: *loy mes-niĵə jəmə-ki* 'a horse is better than a cow' (KarjGr 154). The postposition *niĵkti* with the same ablative meaning is also used in the Trj dialect, cf. *mä niĵktem* 'from me'.

The vocative suffix *-a/-ä*, which is not a member of the traditional case system, appears in the texts in compellative situations: *äĵkä* 'mother/mum!' (Vj₁/207), *äpa* 'father/dad!' (Vj₁/351), *päya* 'son!' (Vj₁/139), *lɔysa* 'my friend!' (Vj₁/348), *kjĵita* 'boys!' (Vj₁/426).

In the Khanty dialects, the genitive is unmarked. In the case of nouns, this relation is expressed by juxtaposition. In genitive constructions the order of the elements is possessor + possessee, e.g. *ku riĵ* 'the man's boat'. When the possessor is expressed with a personal pronoun, the possessed is provided with a possessive suffix that expresses the number and person of the possessor, as well as the the number of the possessee: *mä riĵ-äm* 'my boat', *kjĵi-l-am* 'son-PL-1SG' (Vj₅/6).

Pronouns

Personal pronouns¹³⁸

Personal pronouns distinguish three numbers (SG, DU, PL) and three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd):

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>mä</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>məŋ</i>
2	<i>nŭŋ</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>
3	<i>jŭy</i>	<i>jin</i>	<i>jəy</i>

As opposed to nouns, the accusative is marked on the Vj personal pronouns, in other words, personal pronouns have accusative forms.

Table 13: Case marking on the singular possessive pronouns in the Vj dialect

	1SG	2SG	3SG
NOM	<i>mä</i>	<i>nŭŋ</i>	<i>jŭy</i>
ACC	<i>mänt</i>	<i>nŭŋət</i>	<i>jŭyət</i>
LOC	<i>männə</i>	<i>nŭŋən</i>	<i>jŭyən</i>
LAT-DAT	<i>mänä</i>	<i>nŭŋä</i>	<i>jŭyä</i>
ABL	<i>mänöw</i>	<i>nŭŋöw</i>	<i>jŭyöw</i>
COMIT	<i>männä</i>	<i>nŭŋnä</i>	<i>jŭynä</i>
CARIT	<i>mənləy(təki)</i>	<i>nŭŋləy(təki)</i>	<i>jŭyləy(təki)</i>
COMP	<i>mənniŋə</i>	<i>nŭŋniŋə</i>	<i>jŭyniŋə</i>

The case suffixes attach to dual and plural personal pronouns in a similar way (KarjGr 162–163). In suffixation, the stems of the pronouns remain unchanged with the exception of 1SG, where a *mä-/mə-* alteration can be observed.

In Karjalainen's texts, the variant *männə* proves to be more frequent, i.e. the number of occurrences of *männə* is 59, while *mənnə* appears 17 times. The preference for the form containing a full vowel in the first syllable may be related to articulatory aspects of the language of singing.

Examples of the use of personal pronouns from the texts:

138. KarjGr 162–165.

- (66) *koļ-âη uy-âm nŭŋ-ä năra-l-îm.*
ability-ADJ head-1SG you-LAT bow-PRS-SG<1SG
'I bow my clever head to you.' (Vj1/188)
- (67) *wăy möyər männə nuγ täl-l-i.*
iron bludgeon I.LOC up pull-PRS.PASS.3SG
'I have taken out my (three-hundred-pood) iron bludgeon.'
(Vj1/424-426)
- (68) *num torâm jăwət öyi-nə pirt-i*
upper god seven daughter-LOC order-PRF.PASS.3SG
məŋ-ä i-ntä-ti.
we-LAT eat-INF-EMPH
'We were ordered to eat it by the seven daughters of the Upper God.'
(Vj2/20-21)

As for the form of the ABL suffix, it is the *-ow/-öw* variant that is represented in Karjalainen's grammar (*mänöw* KarjGr 163). However, the texts collected by him also display the *-oy/-öy* forms as well:

- (69) *jəy-l-in nur mänöy kənc-l-ətəy.*
father-PL-2PL revenge I.ABL look_for-PRS-2PL
'You quest for your fathers' revenge on me.' (Vj1/683-684)

Reflexive pronouns

Karjalainen recorded two sets of reflexive pronouns. In one set, the pronouns contain an emphatic ending *-näm*. In the other set, each reflexive pronoun consists of a personal pronoun, an element *-ti-*, and finally the corresponding person suffix (KarjGr 164-165):

<i>mä männäm</i>	<i>mä məntim</i>	'myself'
<i>nŭŋ nŭŋnäm</i>	<i>nŭŋ nŭŋtin</i>	'yourself'
<i>jŭy jŭynäm</i>	<i>jŭy jŭytil</i>	'him/herself'
<i>min minnämən</i>	<i>min mintimən</i>	'ourselves (DU)'
<i>nin ninnäm</i>	<i>nin nintin</i>	'yourselves (DU)'
<i>jin jinnäm</i>	<i>jin jintin</i>	'themselves (DU)'
<i>məŋ məŋnöw</i>	<i>məŋ məŋtiw</i>	'ourselves (PL)'
<i>nəŋ nəŋnäm</i>	<i>nəŋ nəŋtin</i>	'yourselves (PL)'
<i>jəy jəynäm</i>	<i>jəy jəytil</i>	'themselves (PL)'

The forms containing a *-näm* element allow no further suffixation, and they can also have the meaning ‘own’:

- (70) *nəŋ-näm töŋə-ləŋ kɨnt-l-in ɔŋ-ət nəŋ-näm*
 you-EMPH fill-PTC.NEG dorser-PL-2PL opening-PL you-EMPH
kənč-l-əl-in.
 look_for-PRS-PL-2PL
 ‘It is you yourselves who quest for the mouths of your unfilled baskets.’
 (Vj1/698–699)

As for the pronouns containing a *-ti* element, they do not occur in the texts. According to the notes in Karjalainen’s grammar, case suffixes are added to the second element of the construction, e.g. *mä məntimnə* ‘at me myself’, *mä jüŷ jüŷtilnä mənəm* ‘I (will) go with him/her himself/herself’ (KarjGr 165).

Demonstrative pronouns

With respect to the Vj dialect, Karjalainen recorded the very same demonstrative pronoun system as in the rest of the eastern Khanty dialects (V, Trj) (KarjGr 166–167):

Table 14: Demonstrative pronouns in the Vj dialect

	Concrete/visible		Abstract/ invisible	
	Proximal	Distal	Proximal	Distal
Adnominal	<i>tem</i>	<i>tom</i>	<i>t̄i</i>	<i>t̄u</i>
Pronominal	<i>temi</i>	<i>tomi</i>	<i>t̄it</i>	<i>t̄ut</i>

The adnominal demonstrative pronouns do not agree with the head of the phrase. The pronominal demonstrative pronouns can be inflected like nouns.

In the texts, we cannot find examples of the pronominal demonstrative pronouns *temi*, *tomi*. There is one sentence containing the *timi* variant of the pronoun *temi*, in a context of direct inquiry.¹³⁹

- (71) *t̄i m̄üŷəli əla-wəl timi?*
 this what lie-PRS.3SG lo
 ‘What (on earth) is this something lying here?’ (Vj1/316–317)

139. In the Surgut Khanty dialect it is similarly *temi* that performs this function (Csepregi 2014b).

Similarly, the adnominal *tem* also has a variant *tim*:

- (72) *tem al pit-əm nōŋəl nūŋ wel-tä*
this year be_born-PTC.PST stork you kill-INF
kürt-s-in.
not_be_able_to-IMPF-SG<2SG
'You were not able to kill a stork nestling born this year' (Vj1/393–394)
- (73) *tim al pit-əm nōŋəl mək*
this year be_born-PTC.PST stork nestling
'a stork nestling born this year' (Vj1/142–143)
- (74) *tom jar peļək-nə nārka-t tūļ-wālt.*
that lake side-LOC sword-PL glitter-PRS.3PL
'On the other bank of the lake, sky-brink-edged sabers flicker.'
(Vj1/338–339)
- (75) *nin tī mətä tärn-əŋ lək-atən*
you.DU this something war-ADJ path-2DU
'this (some kind of) warpath of yours (DU)' (Vj1/890–891)
- (76) *tū kat jəŋ-peļəŋ-nə*
that house inner-side-LOC
'inside that house' (Vj1/55)
- (77) *tut pīrnə mä t'ä tīŋŋ-s-əm.*
that after I lo say-IMPF-1SG
'Then I said (...)' (Vj1/110–111)

The demonstrative pronoun having also an identifying function is formed with an *əj-* element:

- (78) *mämpi əj tū jīr wə-ntə jīr-əŋ juŋk.*
I.EMPH one that sacrifice take-PTC.PRS sacrifice-ADJ idol
'I am the same (kind of) sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit.'
(Vj1/761–762)

Demonstrative pronominal stems also serve as a base for forming adverbs:

- (79) *num torâm jâwät öyi-nə t'ut-ow joy tutâ-l-uj-âm.*
 upper God seven daughter-LOC that-ABL home bring-PRS-PASS-1SG
 'I am taken home from there by the seven daughters of the Upper God.' (Vj2/283–284).

Further examples: *töl* 'from there, at that time, later', *töya* 'there (thither)', *t'atj/tatj* 'in this way', *t'ittə/t'iti* 'in this way', *t'utj* 'in that way'.

The focus particle *t'ä(γ)* also goes back to a demonstrative pronoun, but it has a palatal vowel:

- (80) *päk-əŋ wajôy männə t'äy kätəl-s-i.*
 bridle-ADJ animal I.LOC lo catch-IMPF-PASS.3SG
 'I took the bridled animal (my horse) indeed.' (Vj1/300–301)
- (81) *as-əm kăŋč-ïm nipik männə jəy-m-ä t'ä*
 mother-1SG write-PTC.PST paper I.LOC father-1SG-LAT lo
mə-s-i.
 give-IMPF-PASS.3SG
 'There, I gave my father the paper written by my mother.' (Vj1/359–360)

Further particles in the text: *t'äpə, t'äppä* 'whether, well/anyway, already', *t'ät* 'lo/there, well/anyway'.

Interrogative pronouns¹⁴⁰

koji 'who', *müyali* 'what, what on earth', *müyi* 'what, what kind of', *müyi käsi* 'who', *müyi köl* 'what', *müyi winčiw*, *müyi šeylaw*, *müyi körasəw* 'what kind of', *müyi t'atj/tatj* 'how, in what way', *məčim* 'how much/many', *mətkürət* 'how many', *məli* 'which', *məyät* 'why', *kot* 'where', *koläpa* 'where to', *kol'* 'from where'.

Indefinite pronouns¹⁴¹

koji kām 'somebody', *müyi kām* 'something', *mätä kāsĵ* 'somebody', *mätä winčiw* 'some kind of'.

140. KarjGr 168–169.

141. KarjGr 169.

Finite verbs

There are two voices in the Vj dialect, active and passive. Within the active voice, there are subjective and objective conjugations. In the subjective conjugation, the suffix expresses the number (SG, DU, PL), as well as the person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the agent. In the verb forms in the objective conjugation, the number of the object can also be indicated. In the passive verb forms, the verbal suffix expresses the number and person of the patient. Verbs have two synthetic tenses, past and present; the number of past tenses is four in the Vj dialect. Similarly, there are two synthetic moods, namely indicative and imperative. Regarding the imperative, there are 2nd and 3rd person forms in this mood. The real and irreal protases are expressed with a participle or with the help of modal participles.

The order of morphemes

In the subjective conjugation: stem + tense suffix + person suffix

In the objective conjugation: stem + tense suffix + suffix indicating the number (DU, PL) of the object + person suffix.

Singular objects are indicated by a special person suffix.

In passive forms: stem + tense suffix + passive suffix + person suffix.

In the 3SG, 3DU, and 3PL there are portmanteau suffixes expressing passive voice as well as person and number.

In imperative forms: stem + a special person suffix expressing also imperative.

Tense

It is characteristic of the VVj dialects that there are four past tenses in them. In this respect, they differ considerably from the rest of the Khanty dialects, which use either only the *s*-past or only the zero-morpheme past tense. In his notes to his grammar, Karjalainen used the following terms for the individual tenses:

Table 15: Tense marking in the Vj dialect

Praesens	Imperfectum	Perfectum	Imperfectum Historicum	Perfectum Historicum
PRS	IMPF	PRF	IMPFH	PRFH
<i>-l-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-o-</i>	<i>-kas/-käs</i> (<i>-yas/-yäs</i>)	<i>-kal/-käl</i> (<i>-yal/-yäl</i>)

The tense system has been investigated by several scholars (Terëškin 1961: 80–83; Gulya 1976; Csepregi 1983). On the basis of the relatively small amount of linguistic material, it has been found that the *s*-suffix past is used for denoting events having taken place not long ago, while the *-kal/-käl* past expresses past narrative, and the zero-morpheme past was used for referring to anteriority, as well as long-lasting events having started in the past (Csepregi 1983: 79). The *-kas/-käs* past was used to express past actions and events repeating steadily at a strong pace, and it was quite rare. In the texts published here this tense does not occur at all.

In the case of verb stems ending in a consonant, the IMPFH, PRFH tense suffixes begin with *-k*, while to vowel stems are attached their allomorphs beginning with *-γ* (*pän-kal-âm* ‘I was placing something’, *tu-γal-âm* ‘I was bringing something’).

Karjalainen documented numerous paradigms. In what follows, some of these will be presented (KarjGr 174–201).

Subjective conjugation

Table 16: The subjective conjugation in the Vj dialect (*mən*- ‘go’)

	Praesens PRS	Imperfectum IMPF	Perfectum PRF	Imp. Hist. IMPFH	Perf. Hist. PRFH
1SG	<i>mən-l-əm</i>	<i>mən-s-əm</i>	<i>mən-əm</i>	<i>mən-käs-əm</i>	<i>mən-käl-əm</i>
2SG	<i>mən-wən</i>	<i>mən-s-ən</i>	<i>mən-ən</i>	<i>mən-käs-ən</i>	<i>mən-käl-ən</i>
3SG	<i>mən-wəl</i>	<i>mən-əs</i>	<i>mən-äyən</i> <i>mən-iyən</i>	<i>mən-käs</i>	<i>mən-käl</i>
1DU	<i>mən-l-əmən</i>	<i>mən-s-əmən</i>	<i>mən-mən</i>	<i>mən-käs-mən</i>	<i>mən-käl-mən</i>
2DU	<i>mən-l-ətən</i>	<i>mən-s-ətən</i>	<i>mən-ətən</i>	<i>mən-käs-ətən</i>	<i>mən-käl-ətən</i>
3DU	<i>mən-l-əkən</i>	<i>mən-s-əkən</i>	<i>mən-kən</i>	<i>mən-käs-kən</i>	<i>mən-käl-kən</i>
1PL	<i>mən-l-əw</i>	<i>mən-s-əw</i>	<i>mən-əw</i>	<i>mənk-äs-əw</i>	<i>mən-käl-əw</i>
2PL	<i>mən-l-ətəγ</i>	<i>mən-s-ətəγ</i>	<i>mən-təγ</i>	<i>mən-käs-təγ</i>	<i>mən-käl-təγ</i>
3PL	<i>mən-wəl-t</i>	<i>mən-s-ət</i>	<i>mən-t</i>	<i>mən-käs-ət</i>	<i>mən-käl-t</i>

In the present tense, in the 2SG, 3SG, and 3PL suffixes, an irregular *-wə*- element also occurs.

As the texts show, *-öγ/-ö̃γ* also appears in 1PL:

- (82) *məŋ kuntâ-nâ amsâ-kâtâ-s-öŷ*
we when-LOC sit-*INCH-IMP*-1PL
'When we started to sit (...)' (Vj1/96–97)

Examples of some verb forms:

- (83) *mä jŷŷ-ä əŷ pänkŷl-s-âŋ mä jəŷ-m-ä*
I he-LAT head bow-*IMP*-1SG I father-1SG-LAT
töŷl-äŷ-l-âŋ.
speak-*PRS*-1SG
'I bowed my head to him, I said to my father.' (Vj1/367–368)
- (84) *töŷ utâ küŷl-l-âŋəŋ, əllə nəŋk əj pörk-a töŷ*
there up get_up-*PRS*-1DU big larch one base-LAT there
jal'-s-âŋəŋ.
stand-*IMP*-1DU
'We get up there, we stood at the base of the pine.' (Vj1/775–776)
- (85) *äpa, nŷŷ mänt onâŷl-wâŋ.*
father.VOC you I.ACC know-*PRS*-2SG
'(...), father, you know me.' (Vj1/351–352)
- (86) *kät näj-kəŋ mänt läŷəl-l-əkəŋ.*
two lady-DU I.ACC watch-*PRS*-3DU
'Two ladies are watching me.' (Vj1/986–987)
- (87) *särŷn-əŷ pun-âw torâŋ weli-t jal'-wâŷt.*
gold-ADJ hair-ADJ heaven reindeer-PL stand-*PRS*-3PL
'Golden-furred heavenly reindeer are standing.' (Vj1/952–953)
- (88) *imi kat-uj-a il jăŷa-s.*
woman house-bottom-LAT down go-*IMP*-3SG
'The woman went down into the cellar.' (Vj1/130–131)
- (89) *nəŷ kol' mänä jöŷ-s-təŷ?*
you(PL) from_where I.LAT come-*IMP*-2PL
'(...) where did you come to me from?' (Vj1/696–697)
- (90) *jäl' jöŷät-t-al kotl-a jöŷt-əŷâŋ.*
troop come-*PTC.PRS*-3SG day-LAT come-*PRF*-3SG
'The day of the troop's arrival has come.' (Vj1/204–205)

- (91) *jəy-öw kuntâ piri-kal-ätân?*
 father-1PL when ask-PRFH-2DU
 ‘When did you ask our father?’ (Vj1/415)
- (92) *nüñ jəy-ən antə nüñ jer-än-nə wäl-kal.*
 you father-2SG NEG you line-2SG-LOC be-PRFH.3SG
 ‘(...) your father was not like you.’ (Vj1/144–145)

Objective conjugation¹⁴²

Table 17: The objective conjugation in the Vj dialect (Present tense, *wə- ‘take’*)

	Object		
	SG	DU	PL
1SG	<i>wə-l-im</i>	<i>wə-l-əyl-äm</i>	<i>wə-l-l-äm</i>
2SG	<i>wə-l-in</i>	<i>wə-l-əyl-än</i>	<i>wə-l-l-än</i>
3SG	<i>wə-l-tə</i>	<i>wə-l-kəl</i>	<i>wə-l-l-əl</i>
1DU	<i>wə-l-imən</i>	<i>wə-l-əyl-əmən</i>	<i>wə-l-l-ämən</i>
2DU	<i>wə-l-ətən</i>	<i>wə-l-əyl-in</i>	<i>wə-l-l-in</i>
3DU	<i>wə-l-ətən</i>	<i>wə-l-əyl-in</i>	<i>wə-l-l-in</i>
1PL	<i>wə-l-iw</i>	<i>wə-l-əyl-öw</i>	<i>wə-l-l-öw</i>
2PL	<i>wə-l-ətən</i>	<i>wə-l-əyl-in</i>	<i>wə-l-l-in</i>
3PL	<i>wə-l-il</i>	<i>wə-l-əyl-äl</i>	<i>wə-l-l-äl</i>

Of the past-tense paradigm, the first person forms are presented:

Table 18: The past tense 1SG verb forms of the objective conjugation in the Vj dialect

	Number of object		
	SG	DU	PL
Imperfectum	<i>wə-s-im</i>	<i>wə-s-əyl-äm</i>	<i>wə-s-l-äm</i>
Perfectum	<i>wəj-im</i>	<i>wəj-əyl-äm</i>	<i>wəji-l-äm</i>
Imperfectum Historicum	<i>wə-yäs-im</i>	<i>wə-yäs-əyl-äm</i> <i>wə-yäs-kəl-äm</i>	<i>wə-yäs-l-äm</i>
Perfectum Historicum	<i>wə-yäl-im</i>	<i>wə-yäl-əyl-äm</i> <i>wə-yäl-kəl-äm</i>	<i>wə-yäl-l-äm</i>

142. KarjGr 182–186.

Examples of verbs in the objective conjugation from the texts:

- (93) *uy-âm nŭŋ-ä năra-l-ïm.*
head-1SG you(SG)-LAT bow-PRS-SG<1SG
'I bow my head to you.' (Vj1/188–189)
- (94) *mă wajk-am kôt-əl kŭr-əl tŏy aritâ-l-tâ.*
I animal-1SG hand-3SG foot-3SG there break-PRS-SG<3SG
'My animal's forefeet and hind legs (almost) broke there.'
(Vj1/665–666)
- (95) *jăwət ärəy săyâ-w kŏl mă ulâŋtâ-s-ïm.*
seven song melody-ADJ word I begin-IMPf-SG<1SG
'I started the word having the melody of seven songs.' (Vj1/1)
- (96) *jəy-əm-nə mänä jl əsəl-s-ətə.*
father-1SG-LOC I.LAT down let-IMPf-SG<3SG
'My father let it down to me.' (Vj1/179–180)
- (97) *wăy möyər tăy jŏyi-mïŋ ulâŋtâ-s-l-am.*
iron bludgeon lo hit-CNV begin-IMPf-PL-1SG
'I started to strike them with the iron bludgeon.' (Vj1/689–690)
- (98) *mă kăst-ä kŭrt-im.*
I look_for-INF not_be_able_to-PRF.SG<1SG
'I cannot find it.' (Vj1/11)
- (99) *ňoyi-l ellä kot ɳoka-l-ïl.*
flesh-3SG whether where pinch-PRS-SG<3PL
'Where is his flesh pecked?' (Vj1/147–148)

Objective and passive conjugations follow each other in the same meaning:

- (100) *karman-oŷ nuy wə-s-im wăy möyər männə*
pocket-ABL up take-IMPf-SG<1SG iron bludgeon I.LOC
nuy täl-l-i.
up pull-PRS-PASS.1SG
'I pulled the iron bludgeon out of my pocket, it is taken out by me.'
(Vj1/424–426)

Imperative, optative

The imperative (IMP) is direct in the second persons, while regarding the third persons, the imperative is indirect and is called an optative (OPT).

Table 19: Imperative verb forms in the Vj dialect

	Subjective conjugation	Objective conjugation		
		SG	DU	PL
2SG	<i>wəj-ä</i>	<i>wəj-i</i>	<i>wəj-iył-ä</i>	<i>wəj-il-ä</i>
3SG	<i>wəj-itä</i>	<i>wəj-äti</i>		
2DU	<i>wəj-itən</i>	<i>wəj-itən</i>		
3DU	<i>wəj-itenä(ti)</i>	<i>wəj-ikənäti</i>		
2PL	<i>wəj-itəy</i>	<i>wəj-itəy</i>		
3PL	<i>wəj-ijilä</i>	<i>wəj-itäti</i>		

In Karjalainen's grammar notes, the imperative forms referring to DU and PL objects are only documented in the 2SG.

In the texts, the most frequent forms of the imperative are 2nd person forms:

- (101) *äpa, nŭŋ mänt äl wəl-ä.*
 father.VOC you I.ACC PROH kill-IMP.2SG
 'Father, don't kill me.' (Vj1/351)
- (102) *əllə məy ti-mə köl nuk mänä löŋt-ı.*
 big earth give_birth-PTC.PST word up I.LAT list-IMP.SG<2SG
 'Enumerate the words born by the great earth to me.' (Vj1/189–190)
- (103) *äŋkä mä köčki-m mänä tuŷ-ı.*
 mother.VOC I sword-1SG I.LAT bring-IMP.SG<2SG
 'Mother, bring my sword to me.' (Vj1/248–249)
- (104) *pojsem winčiw awt-əw kar-am toy jör-itən.*
 hail similar_to hair-ADJ male_animal-1SG there tie-IMP.2DU
 'Bind there my drift-maned horse' (Vj1/121–122)
- (105) *jəmänčk-ə mänt-pə məj-itəy.*
 berry-INS I.ACC-PCL give-IMP.2PL
 'Give berries to me as well.' (Vj1/723–724)

The optative forms are much less frequent in the texts:

- (106) *kəɾəy köl čəkə ä̌l əslil-äti.*
improper word very_much PROH let-OPT.SG<3SG
'Let improper words not be spoken.' (Vj2/165–166)

There is a compound verb form that is not documented in the grammatical notes, but it is worth considering. It occurs in the following sentences:

- (107) *il ti-ntə öy-əŋ lä̌t-l-öy, pāk-əŋ*
away be_born-PTC.PRS daughter-ADJ time-PL-1PL boy-ADJ
lä̌t-l-öy (...) məŋ kūr̃m-im-öy murləŋ lək il ä̌l
time-PL-1PL we step-PTC.PST-1PL snowy trace down PROH
mö̌lkj tu-s-atj.
forget bring-?IMPF-OPT.3PL
'Let our daughters and sons to be born not forget the snowy path
trampled hard by us.' (Vj1/557–560)

- (108) *il ti-ntə öy-əŋ lä̌t, pāk-əŋ*
away be_born-PTC.PRS daughter-ADJ time boy-ADJ
lä̌t (...) mä-tim jir iy-ə̌m-am tä̌yj
time I-myself sacrifice hang-PTC.PST-1SG place
il ä̌l mö̌lkj tu-s-at.
away PROH forget bring-?IMPF-OPT.3PL
'Let the girls coming into the world from this time on, the boys coming
into the world from this time on not forget the place where I hung
up the sacrifice.' (Vj1/617–623)

- (109) *koy ärəy ärəy-tə ku-nə̌ koy mǎnt' mǎnt'-tə̌*
long song sing-PTC.PRS man-LOC long tale tell-PTC.PRS
ku-nə̌ mä jjǐnt'-m-am wej-əŋ nal jir
man-LOC I stick-PTC.PST-1SG shaft-ADJ arrow sacrifice
il ä̌l mö̌lkj-tu-s-at.
away PROH forget-bring-?IMPF-OPT.3PL
'By the men singing long songs, telling long tales, let the shafted-arrow
sacrifice thrust by me, not be forgotten.' (Vj1/658–660)

- (110) *ül wänəm-pəw sat-kan öyi-nə̌*
cold face-ADJ hundred-tsar girl-LOC
lä̌l-tu-s-atj.
breath-bring-?IMPF-OPT.3PL
'Let the hundred cold-faced princess girls blow.' (Vj1/638)

In three of the four occurrences (107)–(109), the verb forms and the contexts are the same. The protagonist would like future generations to remember the sacrifice he made. This phrase begins with a verbal prefix (which is either *il* ‘down’ or *il* ‘away’; as its spelling is inconsistent, one of them must be incorrect), and continues with the prohibitive particle (*äl*), which requires an imperative in what follows. The first element of the compound verb (*molki* ‘remember’) is only represented as a verb stem. The function of the second element (*tu-* ‘bring, carry’) is to convey person suffixes. The role of the element *-s-* is difficult to identify. It would be problematic to consider it a past tense marker, but on the basis of the dictionaries it cannot be a derivational suffix either. The morpheme *-at(i)* is an objective conjugation, imperative, 3SG person suffix. In the margin, these forms were translated into Finnish using imperative mood verbs (in the note to Vj1/559–560, *elköt unhoittako* ‘let them not forget’, at the lines Vj1/622–623, *elkön unhoittako* ‘let him not forget’). Just because this construction occurs in sacred contexts, we can assume that this is a preserved archaism.

The fourth example (110) is not a prohibition but an imperative. Karjalainen found it important to translate it (*tuulkoon* ‘let them blow’). The first element of the compound word has the meaning ‘breathe’, and similarly to the former examples, the second element carries all suffixes. To indicate the grammaticalization of the verb *tu(s)-*, in sentences (109)–(110) Karjalainen wrote the two verbs as one word. It should be noted that in these two sentences the agent is marked with a LOC suffix, which is characteristic of passive constructions.¹⁴³

Passive voice¹⁴⁴

Karjalainen’s informant claimed that the passive is only used in 3rd persons¹⁴⁵ (KarjGr 190). As examples, he listed the 3SG present and past tense forms of the verb *mä-* ‘give’: *jüyan mänä mäsi / mäli / mäji / mäysi / mäyli* ‘it is/was given to me by him/her’. First he said about the present tense, singular passive forms of the verb *pän-* ‘put’ that they existed, but later he denied it.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Karjalainen succeeded in collecting the whole paradigm, which is evidence of this fieldworker’s ingenuity and persistence. However, this whole paradigm does not belong to a transitive verb, as in the case of the neighboring

143. A passive imperative paradigm was documented, by Karjalainen, in the Trj dialect (KarjGr 278, 287–288), but not in the VVj dialect.

144. KarjGr 199–200.

145. “Passiivi muotoja ei sanonut käytettävän muita kuin III personan agenttissisa lausetavoissa” (KarjGr 190).

146. “Ensin sanoi olevan mutta sitten ei” (KarjGr 197).

Vah dialect (*mə-* 'give' KarjGr 140), but it presents the conjugation of a medial verb *pat-*. In the active conjugation, this verb has the meaning 'grow cold, freeze'. With this meaning it only occurs in 3rd persons: *joyə̃n patsi* or *patâs* 'the river has frozen'. In the further persons, the passive conjugation goes together with the other meaning of the verb: Vj *patlujəm*, 'I'm cold' (cf. Trj *pâtəojəm* 'I'm cold' KT 769; D 1233).

Table 20: The passive conjugation in the Vj dialect (*pat-* 'grow cold, freeze'; 'be cold')

	Present PRS	Imperfect IMPF	Perfect PRF	Imperf. Hist. IMPFH	Perf. Hist. PRFH
1SG	<i>pat-l-uj-əm</i>	<i>pat-s-uj-əm</i>	<i>pat-uj-əm</i>	<i>pat-kas-uj-əm</i>	<i>pat-kal-uj-əm</i>
2SG	<i>pat-l-uj-əm</i>	<i>pat-s-uj-əm</i>	<i>pat-uj-əm</i>	<i>pat-kas-uj-əm</i>	<i>pat-kal-uj-əm</i>
3SG	<i>pat-l-ĭ</i>	<i>pat-s-ĭ</i>	<i>pat-ĭ</i>	<i>pat-kas-ĭ</i>	<i>pat-kal-ĭ</i>
1DU	<i>pat-l-uj-mân</i>	<i>pat-s-uj-mân</i>	<i>pat-uj-mân</i>	<i>pat-kas-uj-mân</i>	<i>pat-kal-uj-mân</i>
2DU	<i>pat-l-uj-ătân</i>	<i>pat-s-uj-ătân</i>	<i>pat-uj-ătân</i>	<i>pat-kas-uj-ătân</i>	<i>pat-kal-uj-ătân</i>
3DU	<i>pat-l-akân</i>	<i>pat-s-akân</i>	<i>pat-akân</i>	<i>pat-kas-akân</i>	<i>pat-kal-akân</i>
1PL	<i>pat-l-uj-əw</i>	<i>pat-s-uj-əw</i>	<i>pat-uj-əw</i>	<i>pat-kas-us-əw (!)</i>	<i>pat-kal-uj-əw</i>
2PL	<i>pat-l-uj-tây</i>	<i>pat-s-uj-tây</i>	<i>pat-uj-tây</i>	<i>pat-kas-uj-tây</i>	<i>pat-kal-uj-tây</i>
3PL	<i>pat-l-at</i>	<i>pat-s-at</i>	<i>pat-at</i>	<i>pat-kas-at</i>	<i>pat-kal-at</i>

Although it cannot be found in the above table, in the 3SG imperfect, the person suffix *-us* occurs in the texts several times. In the case of this suffix, the *-u-* element, which can be found in the rest of the persons and hence is associated with the passive voice, might have got into this person as a result of analogy. In numerous cases Karjalainen also wrote another form of the verbal suffix, which he thought possible, near the form ending in *-us*.

- (111) *məy-nä männə tōy jum-us (jum-s-ĭm)*
soil-COM I.LOC thither bury-PASS.3SG.IMPF (bury-IMPF-SG<1SG)
'I buried him there (covering) with soil.' (Vj1/473-474)
- (112) *männə pirim-us*
I.LOC ask_a_question-PASS.3SG.IMPF
'I asked him (a question).'
- (113) *kät näl-kân männə tōy jñt-us (t'əus)*
two arrow-DU I.LOC thither stick-PASS.3SG.IMPF
'Two arrows were thrust there by me.' (Vj1/658-659)

- (114) *jüynäm mæy torâm putâw männä kölä jelkamt-us.*
 foreign land world edge I.LOC all roam-PASS.3SG.IMPF
 ‘I have wandered around the world’s end of all foreign land(s).’
 (Vj1/997–998)
- (115) *kät sïk-kân männä töy nuk jör-us.*
 two skein-DU I.LOC thither up tie-PASS.3SG.IMPF
 ‘The two skeins were tied up there by me.’ (Vj1/616)

Karjalainen comments on the paradigm presented in Table 20 as follows: “These and similar passive forms seldom occur, instead, active constructions are used” (KarjGr 201).¹⁴⁷ It is possible that the retreat of the passive in the Vj dialect, compared to the V dialect, is one of the few differences that can be found between these two dialects.

According to the texts published here, the majority of the passive conjugation verbs in them are 3SG forms:

- (116) *jäwät joyâr männä köl an-s-i.*
 seven armour I.LOC all put_ON-IMPF-PASS.3SG
 ‘All the seven pieces of chain mail were put on by me.’ (Vj1/228–229)
- (117) *torâm nõy ļïk-nä männä t’ä nüyâl-s-at.*
 heaven moose path-LOC I.LOC lo chase-IMPF-PASS.3PL
 ‘I chased them on the path of the heavenly elk.’ (Vj1/379–380)
- (118) *äräy tu-ntâ mañt’ tu-ntâ jak-âñ-lät*
 song bring-PTC.PRS tale bring-PTC.PRS people-ADJ-SUBST
männä töy käl-kal-at.
 I.LOC thither hear-PRFH-PASS.3PL
 ‘I heard the song-bringing-men, tale-bringing men there.’ (Vj1/89–90)

In addition, although quite rarely, we can find 1SG forms as well:

- (119) *kaj-âm pañk-nä willä tuy-uj-âm.*
 dry-PTC.PST agaric-LOC as_if carry.PRF-PASS-1SG
 ‘As if I had been carried by dried agaric.’ (Vj2/301)

The majority of the 1st person passive verbs are medial:

147. “Näitä ja tämántapaisia pass. muotoja käytetään kuitenkin harvoin, ja niiden sijasta aktiivista konstruktionia” (KarjGr 201).

- (120) *sort küł-ät küł ilim-ä t'ät ilim-s-uj-əm.*
inch thick-SUBST thick shame-LAT lo be_ashamed-IMPF-PASS-1SG
'I got disgraced in an inch-thick disgrace.' (Vj8/22–23)
- (121) *nüŋ müyilä woj-uj-əñ?*
you why fall_asleep.PRF-PASS-2SG
'Why did you fall asleep?' (Vj1/320–321)

The above sentences correspond to what we know about the Khanty passive constructions. Namely, the passive verb agrees with the unmarked patient in person and number, and the sentence also contains an agent marked with a LOC suffix. However, it is impossible to determine with regard to a nominal patient whether it is NOM or ACC, because nominal objects are unmarked. At the same time, there are sentences in which the patient is expressed with a personal pronoun in the ACC, and the verb is 3SG.

- (122) *är wajəy-nə mänt äl-käl-i.*
many animal-LOC I.ACC elevate-PRFH-PASS.3SG
'I was carried up by a lot of animals.' (Vj1/48)
- (123) *wajəy əñət kiyəł wəy-na nüŋ-ət nuk aytəysil-l-i.*
animal antler curved iron-COM you.SG-ACC up hang-PRS-PASS.3SG
'You are hung up on a reindeer-antler hook (in a wooden cradle made for you).' (Vj6/12–13)
- (124) *kolām juy al-tj kat-nə tōy nüŋ-ət*
three tree lift-PTC.PRS house-LOC thither you-ACC
koləy-l-i.
dandle-PRS-PASS.3SG
'(...) in the house held together by three balks you are rocked.'
(Vj6/19–20)

These constructions may remind one of the Finnish impersonal constructions, which similarly consist of the ACC form of a personal pronoun and an invariable passive verb form (*minut nostettiin, sinut keinutetaan*).

"Ergative" constructions

In the passive constructions, the logical subject (agent) is marked with a LOC suffix. This is true of all Khanty dialects. However, regarding the VVj dialects, in active sentences the Agent marked with the LOC suffix also frequently occurs. In such sentences, the verb can be of either subjective (125) or objective (126) conjugation.

- (125) *num torâm äj öyi-nə t̄ä jl asəl-wəl.*
 upper God little daughter-LOC lo down lower-PRS.3SG
 ‘[A piece of linen] is lowered by the young daughter of the Upper God.’ (Vj2/352–353)
- (126) *num torâm aj öyi-nə paŋk peļay t̄ä mänä*
 upper God little daughter-LOC agaric half here I.LAT
tu-l-t̄ä.
 bring-PRS-SG<3SG
 ‘The half agaric is being brought to me by the young daughter of the Upper God.’ (Vj2/339–340)

The construction containing a marked agent and an active verb was considered ergative in previous literature (Balandin 1948; Gulya 1970; 1982; Hra-kovskij 1972). As is well known, in the languages belonging to the ergative type, the subject of an intransitive sentence and the object of a transitive sentence take the same case suffix, and the predicate of the sentence agrees with them (Havas 2003: 12–13). This is not the case with the VVj dialects. On the one hand, when the object is a personal pronoun it clearly shows that it is accusative:

- (127) *kəlk̄â-t-n̄ä mänt kām matä noy-wält.*
 raven-PL-LOC I.ACC all something peck-PRS.3PL
 ‘The ravens are pecking me again and again.’ (Vj1/590–591)
- (128) *torâm-n̄ä məŋ-ət p̄ärt-käl j̄äliysə-ntä-γ.*
 God-LOC we-ACC order-PRFH.3SG fight-INF-TRA
 ‘God ordered us to fight.’ (Vj1/94–95)
- (129) *mä əntə kǖt koj-s-əm, torâm-n̄ä mänt*
 I NEG although not_want-IMPF-1SG God-LOC I.ACC
pirt-iyən.
 order.PRF-3SG
 ‘(...) although I did not want it, God ordered me (to seek...)’
 (Vj1/99–101)

On the other hand, the transitive predicate does not agree with the object in person or number but with the agent marked with a locative case suffix:

- (130) *männə t̄öl tayâ-l-a j̄ǖy-ä t̄öļ̄ay-l-əm.*
 I.LOC that place-3SG-LAT he-LAT say-PRS-1SG
 ‘Answering this, I say: (...)’ (Vj1/852–853)

- (131) *min-nə* *tõj-əl* *öyt-əm* *kär-əŋ* *näŋk*
 we.DU-LOC top-3SG cut-PTC.PST bark-ADJ larch
təy *wə-s-imən.*
 hither take-IMPF-SG<1DU
 ‘We took a bark-rich pine, its top cut.’ (Vj1/855–856)

In later publications, this problem was approached in a more efficient way (Honti 1971; 1984: 93–96; Kulonen 1989; 1991; Ruttikay-Miklián 2003). Although the scholars did use the term ergative, they made it clear that it should not be considered a factual ergative construction if the sentence contains a verb of active conjugation and a marked agent. Furthermore, as Kulonen (1989: 297–302; 1991:190–191) observed, in the eastern dialects there are more ergative sentences and fewer passive sentences than in the western dialects, while in the western dialects, there are more passive ones but less ergative sentences; these proportions are (inversely) similar.¹⁴⁸

The previous investigations have not been able to set a clear system of rules governing the use of marked agents in sentences containing active verbs. According to Ruttikay-Miklián, the function of the ergative construction may be the marking of “the switch of role” regarding the subject and object, but she also adds that it is not obligatory if the intended meaning can be expressed with other synonym constructions (2003: 135).

Sachiko Sosa (2017: 191–207) analyzed the problem of the marked agent from an information-structure perspective. She found that the subject takes the LOC suffix if, after some pause, it reappears in the text, and both the subject and the object make topics of the sentence. In the Trj texts published here, there is only one sentence containing a marked agent (Trj4/512–513), as well as in a similar function in example (33) on p. 64.

Karjalainen’s claims cited above, namely that in the Vj dialect the use of the passive conjugation had declined, are of great importance. However, the way of marking the agent was preserved, and it was applied in active sentences. In the VVj dialects, this can be observed even in texts collected later (Terëškin 1958; 1961; Honti 1982b).

148. At the beginning of the 1990s, little linguistic material was available from the Surgut dialect (Tra, Jg, P). Today, thirty years later, on the basis of much more Surgut material, we can claim that concerning the eastern dialect variety, the construction mentioned as ergative is quite rare. This is why it is unfortunate that Andrey Filchenko, in his work discussing this topic, mixes up the data of the VVj and Jg dialects, which differ from each other considerably. The passive sentences are described on the basis of the Jugan subdialect, while he presents the sentences containing active verb forms and subjects marked with the locative case suffix using VVj data (Filchenko 2006).

In (132), there are two agents and one object. Both agents' actions are important, consequently both of them are provided with the emphasizing LOC suffix. The object is regarded to be important in the first phase of the action, which is indicated by the transitive conjugation of the verb. Regarding the second phase, the object is less emphasized, and therefore a passive verb form is used.

- (132) *imi-nə kɨnt mänä nuk čǔčə-tə,*
 woman-LOC back-basket I.LAT up stretched-PRF.SG<3SG
mə-s-tə, männə kayrəmtə-s-i.
 give-IMPF-SG<3SG I.LOC grab-IMPF-PASS.3SG
 'The woman, holding it out, handed the back-basket to me, (and) I caught it.' (Vj1/133–137)

On the basis of the data provided by these texts, we can claim that in a well-formed text the agent is emphasized all along, and, correspondingly, active and passive voices are used in turns:

- (133) *torəm-nə pirt-i mänä säyməl-ta-tj,*
 God-LOC order-PRF.PASS.3SG I.LAT foretell-INF-EMPH
torəm-nə əntə pärt-käl, əntə tōŋ i-l-im,
 God-LOC NEG order-PRFH.3SG NEG PCL eat-PRS-SG<1SG
mä tärəm ni-nə il wart-l-uj-əm.
 I strong woman-LOC down bring_down-PRS-PASS-1SG
 'God ordered me to recite, if he had not ordered me, I would not eat [agaric]; the strong woman would cast me down.' (Vj2/11–13)

Non-finite verb forms

In the Vj dialect non-finite verb forms include an infinitive (INF), a present and a past participle (PTC.PRS, PTC.PST), a converb (CNV), a negative participle (PTC.NEG), and a potential participle (PTC.POT).¹⁴⁹ This system is characteristic of the Eastern dialects, and moreover it is the most complete system considering the whole Khanty language area. The southern dialects do not use a negative participle. From the northern systems, in turn, both the negative and the potential participles are missing.

149. Karjalainen clearly differentiated real conditions (if I go) from unreal conditions (if I went). The former he calls the potential, the latter one he calls the conditional. This practice is followed in the present survey of Vj grammar.

Table 21: The formation of Vj non-finite verb forms and the suffixes attached to them

	Formation	Px	Cx	PP	Num	Emph -ti/-tj
INF	-ta/-tä	-	+	-		+
PTC.PRS	-tə/-tê	+	+	+		+
PTC.PST	-(ə)m/-(ê)m	+	+	+		+
CNV	-min/-mijn	-	-	-	+	-
PTC.NEG	-ləγ/-lêγ	+	+	-		
PTC.POT	-ŋ-	+	-		-	-

In the case of the so-called unstable verb stems, namely *i-/iy-* ‘eat’, *mə-/maj-* ‘give’, *jǒ-/jǒγ-* ‘come’, *jə-/jəγ-* ‘become’, *wə-/wəj-* ‘take’, *u-/uj-* ‘know, see’, and *tu-/tuy-* ‘bring’, the infinitives and the present participles are formed with the allomorphs also containing an additional *-n-*, cf. *-nta/-ntä* and *-ntə/-ntê*.

The person suffixes attached to non-finite verb forms are somewhat different from the ones used with verbs or nouns, cf. Table 22:

Table 22: The Vj non-finite verb forms and the person suffixes attached to them

Person	Number		
	SG	DU	PL
1	-am/-äm	-amân/-ämän	-ow/-öw, -oy/-öy
2	-an/-än	-in/-in	-in/-in
3	-al/-äl	-in/-in	-il/-il

Examples to illustrate the uses of non-finite verb forms:

- (134) *tem al pit-əm nǒŋəl nǚŋ wel-tä*
 this year be_born-PTC.PST stork you kill-INF
kürt-s-in.
 not_be_able_to-IMPF-SG<2SG
 ‘You were not able to kill this stork nestling born this year.’ (Vj1/393–394)

- (135) *jəγ kürm-im-il soj-êŋ lǒk männə nuyêl-ta*
 they step-PTC.PST-3PL hoar-ADJ path I.LOC chase-INF
wer-s-i.
 do-IMPF-PASS.3SG
 ‘I started to chase (them) on the hoary path trampled by them.’
 (Vj1/488–489)

- (136) *num torâm jäwät öyi-nə pirt-i*
 upper God seven daughter-LOC order-PRF-PASS.3SG
məŋ-ä i-ntä-ti.
 we-DAT eat-INF-EMPH
 ‘We were ordered to eat it by the seven daughters of the Upper God.’
 (Vj₂/20–21)
- (137) *torâm jəγ-am-nə ärəγ tu-nta-γ mańt’ tu-nta-γ*
 God father-1SG-LOC song bring-INF-TRA tale bring-INF-TRA
mint nula pärt-käl.
 we.DU.ACC together order-PRFH.3SG
 ‘My eternal iron God father ordered us (to go) together to bring
 song(s), bring tale(s).’ (Vj₁/287–289)
- (138) *nüŋ-ä jö-s-am, koy ärəγ tu-nt-am-a*
 you-LAT come-IMP-1SG long song bring-PTC.PRS-1SG-LAT
koy mańt’ tu-nt-am-a.
 long tale bring-PTC.PRS-1SG-LAT
 ‘I have come to you in order to bring long songs, long tales.’
 (Vj₁/266–269)
- (139) *mänä mätä jöyat köl ärəγ-t-äm-ä-ti*
 I.LAT something the_size_of word sing-PTC.PRS-1SG-LAT-EMPH
il asl-ä.
 down let-IMP.2SG
 ‘Let down some words for me to sing.’ (Vj₁/20–21)
- (140) *jö-nt-äm-nə nöl pült-käl-öy čöymilä-wäl.*
 come-PTC.PRS-1SG-LOC nose hole-DU-ABL blow-PRS.3SG
 ‘(...) when I came to him, [my horse] huffed through its two nostrils.’
 (Vj₁/285–286)
- (141) *mä jńt’-m-am wej-əŋ nal jir il*
 I stick_in-PTC.PST-1SG shaft-ADJ arrow sacrifice away
äl molki-tu-s-at.
 PROH forget-bring-?IMP-OPT.3PL
 ‘(...) let the shafted-arrow sacrifice thrust by me, not be forgotten.’
 (Vj₁/659)

- (142) *ontl-əl kōŋrj-m rjt juy-əl kōŋkri-t-al*
inside-3SG hollow-PTC.PST boat wood-3SG hollow-PTC.PRS-3SG
sät-wəl.
sound-PRS.3SG
'(A Khanty man's) hollowing a hollowed tree for a boat can be heard.'
(Vj8/4)
- (143) *mätä amâs-m-al pjrñä mänä jäsəŋlə-wəl.*
something sit-PTC.PST-3SG after I.LAT speak-PRS.3SG
'After sitting for some time, he says to me.' (Vj1/747-748)
- (144) *männə wăy möyər tăy jəŋi-mjn uləŋtə-s-l-am.*
I.LOC iron bludgeon lo hit-CNV begin-IMPV-PL-1SG
'I started striking them with the iron bludgeon.' (Vj1/689-690)
- (145) *torəm tät-əm weli-pära jal-min kjt-wəlt.*
God create-PTC.PST reindeer-herd stand-CNV remain-PRS.3PL
'The reindeer herd created by God remained standing.' (Vj1/951-952)
- (146) *sem wāla-ləy mörəy kök-kə sal-s-əm*
eye be-PTC.NEG solid stone-TRA seem-IMPV-1SG
'I looked like an eyeless solid rock.' (Vj1/234-235)
- (147) *niŋ-əm-nə iki u-ləy, sünk u-ləy kat*
woman-1SG-LOC moon see-PTC.NEG sun see-PTC.NEG house
uj-nə enəmtə-tə.
bottom-LOC bring_up-PRF.SG<3SG
'My wife brought him up in a cellar that never saw the moon, never
saw the sun.' (Vj1/364-365)
- (148) *tim möyər əj pükäli tim at'il-lə-kə*
this bludgeon one button this encircle-PTC.NEG-TRA
jəy-təy.
become-PRF.2PL
'You have become defenseless at one blow of this bludgeon.'
(Vj1/709-710)
- (149) *koj-ŋ-in mä nəŋ-ä lək pämil-l-əm.*
want-PTC.POT-2PL I you-LAT path show-PRS-1SG
'(...) if you want me to, I will guide you.' (Vj1/684-685)

- (150) *mä lil-im tıyâmtâ-η-an, torâm jəy-əw*
 I soul-1SG tear-PTC.POT-2SG God father-1PL
nāmâs kiŋ'-wəl.
 thought remain-PRS.3SG

‘If you tear my soul, our heavenly father will get angry.’ (Vj1/756–757)

The Khanty dialects do not differentiate the active and passive participles formally. In their cases, the voice can be concluded on the basis of the place the participle occupies in the sentence. If the head of the participial phrase makes the subject of the relative clause, the participle is active:

- (151) *koy ärəy tu-ntâ ku*
 long song bring-PTC.PST man
 ‘long-song-bringing man’ (Vj1/558)

If, in turn, the head of the participial phrase makes the object of the relative clause, the reading of the participle is passive, even if it has no morphological marker:

- (152) *jəy kŭrm-im-il soj-âη lək*
 they trample-PTC.PST-3PL hoar-ADJ path
 ‘the hoary path trampled by them’ (Vj1/488)

It is generally true of the Khanty dialects that the person marker taken by the participle refers to the agent, whether or not it is considered active. However, in the texts published here, there are several sentences in which the person-marking morpheme agrees with the object, in other words, it agrees with the grammatical subject of the passive sentence. Furthermore, the agent marked with the LOC suffix also implies the passive reading.

- (153) *männə kəlaltə-m-il-nə inl-əη köčki*
 I.LOC look-PTC.PST-3PL-LOC edge-ADJ sword
əj pöñək-nä kölä mänä čŭčə-l-äl.
 one tip-COM all I.LAT point_to.PRF-PL-3PL

‘When I noticed them, they all pointed to me with one tip of their sharp swords.’ (Vj1/ 342–344)

- (154) *jŭy-pi jir-âη juŋk, männə wel-η-äl,*
 he-EMPH sacrifice-ADJ spirit I.LOC kill-PTC.POT-3SG
äl ätmə-y jə-wəl.
 PROH bad-TRA become-PRS.3SG

‘(...) he is a sacrifice-accepting spirit, too; if I kill him, let it not be wrong.’ (Vj1/ 763–766)

Participle-like forms

In the texts we can find verb forms that do not fit in the participle system presented above, but they show features related to participles, namely, they correspond to the predicate of relative clauses. One of them is the form derived with the help of *-i/-j* adjective suffixes. This suffix is well-known in the literature (Sauer 1967: 118–125). It is primarily a denominal suffix, but its deverbal derivational function is also documented:

- (155) *torâm putâw käl-i kôs tula-m-al u-s.*
 world end look-ADJ star flash-PTC.PST-3SG see-IMPF.3SG
 ‘He saw the twinkling of the star at the end of the earth.’ (Vj1/374)

- (156) *wet marnəŋ kul mel-i kōyəl*
 five spawn-ADJ fish fit-ADJ cup
 ‘bowl housing five fish full of spawn’ (Vj1/58)

Moreover, this *-i/-j* suffix has the same form as the PASS.3SG verbal person suffix. In the next example (157) it is difficult to decide whether it functions as a derivational suffix of adjectives or it should be identified as a verbal suffix. It can be considered a verbal suffix for the reason that the sentence contains an agent characteristic of passive sentences (*torâm-nâ*), while the clause ending in *tät-i* may be a relative clause.

- (157) *tepä ilän torâm-nâ tät-i, torâm jor*
 lo ahead God-LOC create-PRF.PASS.3SG heaven middle
särri-aŋ kann-ow torâm taräs töy jöyâ-s-âm.
 golden-ADJ coast-ADJ heaven sea there arrive-IMPF-1SG
 ‘Further, I arrived at the mid-heaven, golden-shored heavenly sea created by God.’ (Vj1/964–966)

The problem surrounding the ending *-iyän/-ayän* is similar. This cannot be found in Sauer’s monograph on derivational suffixes, but it is well-known as a PERF.3SG verbal suffix. However, in certain constructions it can be regarded as a deverbal derivational suffix creating adjectives. For instance, in (158), the form *wäl-ayän* can be the predicate of the main clause on the one hand (158a), but on the other hand, it can be interpreted as an element having an adjectivizer function (158b).

- (158a) *jǔŷ-pi čăjaypâ wăl-ayân jĭr wə-ntə*
 he-EMPH indeed be-PERF.3SG sacrifice receive-PTC.PRS
jĭr-âŋ junĭk.
 sacrifice-ADJ spirit
 ‘(...) he was a sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit, indeed.’ (Vj1/763–765)

- (158b) *jǔŷ-pi čăjaypâ wăl-ayân jĭr wə-ntə*
 he-EMPH indeed be-ADJ sacrifice receive-PTC.PRS
jĭr-âŋ junĭk.
 sacrifice-ADJ spirit
 ‘(...) he is a sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit, indeed.’ (Vj1/763–765)

In other constructions, the form *wălayân* is to enable adverbials to function as adjectives:

- (159) *tĭm torm oytĭ wăl-ayân čök-əŋ məŷ*
 this world surface be-ADJ trouble-ADJ land
 ‘the most tormenting field that has ever been in the world’ (Vj1/ 664)

- (160) *tĭm tormoytĭ wăl-ayân čök-əŋ jar*
 this world_surface be-ADJ trouble-ADJ lake
 ‘the most tormenting lake in the world’ (Vj1/ 668)

Otherwise it is the present participle of the *be*-verb (*wăltâ*) that is used for enabling various phrases to function as adjectival ones:

- (161) *i tú wăl-tâ juk-âŋ ăŷət*
 one that be-PTC.PRS tree-ADJ cape
 ‘wooded promontory right there (at the same place)’ (Vj1/296)

- (162) *əj wăl-tâ sŏŷ-əŋ məŷ*
 one be-PTC.PRS fur-ADJ earth
 ‘the only, mossy earth’ (Vj1/815)

- (163) *nəŋ kuntâ wăl-tâ əs-l-in nur mănöŷ*
 you when be-PTC.PRS mother-PL-2PL revenge I.ABL
kəŋč-l-atəŷ?
 search-PRS-2PL
 ‘Which (lit. when being) mothers’ revenge are you looking for from me?’ (Vj1/682–683)

- (164) *tə lil-ə wăl-tâ kotâl-nâ*
 this soul-INS be-PTC.PRS day-LOC
 ‘On this living day (...)’ (Vj2/193)

Besides the *be*-verb, the verb *wer-* 'do, make' may also take the derivational suffix *-iyən*, which builds adjectives:

- (165) *utâ wer-iyən wərtə juɣ-əw juɣ jənk-ä utâ*
landward make-ADJ red tree-ADJ tree ridge-LAT up
kül-s-əm.
get_up-IMPf-1SG
'I went up on the ridge covered with red-wooded trees (pine trees).'
(Vj1/661–662)
- (166) *nämən wer-iyən jalt̃ə ku pəlät*
at_the_shore make-ADJ stand-PTC.PRS man height
müy-əw jar-a t̃ä niy wiɣəl-l-əm.
rush_bed-ADJ lake-LAT sure_enough down descend-PRS-1SG
'I descend on the lake having a bed of rushes, the height of a man, on its bank.' (Vj1/666–667)

These phrases, sometimes not corresponding to the traditional word classes, may be characteristic of the language of songs, and consequently the questions that arise in connection with them can no longer be answered.

Further syntactic features

Numerous syntactical considerations have already been mentioned in connection with morphological phenomena. In what follows, some further syntactic features, which can be illustrated from the texts, will be presented.

Agreement

Generally, the person and number of the subject is indicated on the verbal predicate:

- (167) *kät näj-kən mänt läɣəl-l-əkən.*
two princess-DU I.ACC watch-PRS-3DU
'(...) two ladies are watching me.' (Vj1/986–987)

With numerals above 'two', the noun is singular while the predicate is plural.

- (168) *kələm juɣk t̃unam pot-s-ət̃.*
three spirit there flee-IMPf-3PL
'(...) the three spirits fled there.' (Vj1/518–519)

Non-verbal predicate

It is typical of the VVj dialects that in the nominal predicates a predicate clitic (-*ki*) is also added to the nominal element. This clitic can also take markers of number, e.g. *tem ämp jəmā-ki* ‘this dog is good’, *tem ämp-ät jəmākə-jätət* ‘these dogs are good’ (KarjGr 171). In the texts published here there is one example of this clitic:

- (169) *öyi-m wăy-əl är-ki.*
 daughter-1SG money-3SG much-PRED
 ‘My daughter has much money.’ (Vj1/750)¹⁵⁰

With first and second person subjects the nominal predicates also contain a copula (*wäs-*), agreeing with the subject. This is not identical with the *be*-verb. The above-described construction is characteristic of the VVj and Surg dialects.

- (170) *nəŋ pänt’əy jay wäs-tăy.*
 you mean people COP-2PL
 ‘(...) you are mean people.’ (Vj1/726)

- (171) *tin-əŋ sěj wäs-əm.*
 value-ADJ voice COP-1SG
 ‘I am a precious voice.’ (Vj1/839)

If the 3rd person form of the *be*-verb appears in the sentence, then it cannot be a nominal-predication clause but rather a clause expressing possession.

- (172) *čăjajpâ păy enəmt-äyən, nem-əl-pä wäl-wäl*
 indeed boy bring_up-PRF.3SG name-3SG-EMPH be-PRS.3SG
torəm kəs kōr-aw joyâr.
 heaven star appearance-ADJ chainmail
 ‘(...) for real, a son was brought up, he also had a name: *Celestial-Star-Looking-Chainmail*.’ (Vj1/361–363)

150. Sentences (169) and (172) also illustrate that the verb *tăja*- ‘have’, well known from all Khanty dialects, is not the only way of expressing possession. In the Vj dialect, possession is often expressed with a noun carrying a possessive suffix and the *be*-verb or a predicative clitic.

Negation

As in other Khanty dialects, in the Vj dialect negation is expressed with the help of particles. In constituent negation *əntə* (173) is used, while in prohibitions *äl* (174) is used:

- (173) *mä nüŋ-ət əntə pör-l-âm.*
I you-ACC NEG bite-PRS-1SG
'I won't bite you.' (Vj1/244–245)

- (174) *kəɾəɣ näləm kəɾəɣ köl äł löŋt-itân.*
improper language improper word PROH read-IMP.SG<2PL
'Do not pronounce improper words of an improper language.'
(Vj2/179–180)

The negative existential *əntim* in some cases agrees with the subject (175), but, according to the data, not in an obligatory fashion (176).

- (175) *männə küť üylim-s-im, jay-l-am əntim-ätət.*
I.LOC when look_for-IMPF-SG<1SG people-PL-1SG NEG.PRED-PL
'(...) although I looked for my men, they cannot be found.'
(Vj1/273–274)

- (176) *männə əllə kat putâw küť üɣəl-l-i,*
I.LOC big house end when look_for-PRS-PASS.3SG
əntim jay-l-am.
NEG.PRED people-PL-1SG
'By me, the end of the big house is being looked over, no (sign of) my men.' (Vj1/275–276)

The negative existential element often co-occurs with a negative pronoun. Negative pronouns are formed with a *-p* element attached to an indefinite pronoun (177)–(179).

- (177) *torâm wöy-i lil-əŋ juŋk-l-am kotap əntim.*
God power-ADJ soul-ADJ spirit-PL-1SG nowhere NEG.PRED
'(...) my strong, lively, heavenly spirits/heroes are nowhere.'
(Vj1/465–466)

- (178) *mä jökâ läyəm-s-əm mətä käsip əntim.*
I back look-IMPF-1SG something nobody NEG.PRED
'I looked back, there is nobody.' (Vj1/324–325)

- (179) *kəlām jöŋ kuj-âw jäl' mätälip antim.*
 three ten man-ADJ army nothing NEG.PRED
 '(...) my men's troop of thirty people are (i.e. have become) nothing.'
 (Vj1/703–704)

Conditional sentences

As was mentioned in the discussion of the participles (pp. 220–224), in Vasjugan Khanty, the real condition is expressed with a participle formed with a *-ŋ-* derivational suffix, which Karjalainen calls potential.

- (180) *koj-ŋ-in mä nəŋ-ä lək pämil-l-əm.*
 want-PTC.POT-2PL I you-LAT way show-PRS-1SG
 '(...) if you want me to, I will guide you.' (Vj1/684–685)

The conjunction *kuntâ* 'when, if' can also appear in these sentences:

- (181) *torâm-nâ kuntâ-nâ ärəŋ tu-mâ junkan-âŷ*
 God-LOC when-LOC song bring-PTC.PST idol_prince-TRA
mänt čăjay čöŋlaltâ-ŋ-äl...
 I.ACC really bring_up-PTC.POT-3SG
 'If God brought me up to be an idol-prince bringing songs indeed,
 (...)' (Vj1/635–637)

To express irreal condition, a verb in the indicative mood and the particle *töŋ* are used. According to Karjalainen's notes on grammar, the particle *töŋ*, combined with a present or a past tense verb, expresses the present or past conditionals, respectively, e.g. *mä mänläm töŋ* 'I would go', *mä mänsäm töŋ* 'I would have gone' (KarjGr 174). However, in the texts, the particle *töŋ* with past tense verbs can refer to the past, present, or future tenses. In the Vj3 song, there are numerous conditional sentences in which the protasis is expressed with a PTC.PST+PX+LOC verb form, while the apodosis, in turn, is expressed with a finite verb followed by the particle *töŋ*. This particle comes up seven times altogether, five times following a past tense verb (lines 8, 11, 12, 14, 35), once after a present tense verb form (line 26), as well as once preceding a participle-LOC form (line 33). The sentences (182)–(183) express present tense despite the past tense verbs formed with the *-s* tense suffix:

- (182) *kä lil-kən täja-m-am-nə əj lil-im*
two soul-DU have-PTC.PST-1SG-LOC one soul-1SG
nüŋ-ä mə-s-im tōŋ.
you-LAT give-IMPV-SG<1SG PCL
'If I had two souls, I would give one of my souls to you.' (Vj3/13–14)
- (183) *əj jəj kal-ta torəm-nə tōŋ məŋ-a*
one night sleep-INF God-LOC PCL we-LAT
əsəl-t-äl-nə čəkə tōŋ jəm wäl-əs.
allow-PTC.PRS-3SG-LOC very_much PCL good be-IMPV.3SG
'If God allowed us to spend a night, it would be very good.'
(Vj2/266–267)¹⁵¹

In (184), the predicate taking *-kal/-käl* tense suffix expresses past tense indeed.

- (184) *tupə tōŋ mänä torəm jor köl-əŋ wajəŋ əntə*
only PCL I.LAT heaven centre word-ADJ animal NEG
tōŋ əsəl-käl-i.
PCL let-PRFH-PASS.3SG
'I wish he had not let the mid-heaven speaking animal down to me
(I wish the mid-heaven speaking animal had not been let down to
me).' (Vj1/593–594)

Complex sentences containing more than one finite verb

It is a well-known fact that the Khanty dialects typically express subordination with participial constructions. However, there exist compound sentences containing more than one finite verb, in which conjunctions, in the phase of coming into existence, can also be observed.

- (185) *nüŋ müyi wäl-ta koj-wən, müyi kälä-ta koj-wən?*
you what live-INF want-PRS.2SG what die-INF want-PRS.2SG
'Do you want to live, or do you want to die?' (Vj1/741–742)

In the future, the texts published here can, of course, serve as a basis for further morphological and syntactic observations.

151. Russian influence is also possible, because in the Russian language the conditional particle appears exclusively with past tense verbs (я пошла бы 'I would go, I would have gone').

3.3. Texts and notes

Vj1 – Heroic tale

This song was divided into two parts by Karjalainen, an introductory part (Esilaulu, pages 1–4, lines 1–91), and the actual song (Varsinainen laulu, pages 5–50, lines 92–1017). Instead of a title, he wrote at the top of the page *laulun sanoilla puhuva* ‘speaking with the words of a song’. This may be to express that, although the speaker told the song in prose, he used the phrases of the language of hero’s songs. Karjalainen himself also used the term *sankarisatu* ‘hero’s tale’ when referring to this text (JugrUsk 506; FFC 63: 185; Relig3: 138).

The text is not divided into verse lines. The lines fill the pages but Karjalainen left wide margins for comments. In this publication, the original lines are preserved, i.e. the line-ending words are hyphenated in the same way as they were in the manuscript.

Its genre is a hero’s tale.

Summary of the content

The introductory song is about the way in which the singer acquires the melody and lyrics of the seven songs, seven tales. He turns to the heavenly father for words, and a gust of wind takes him into the sky where the mid-heaven speaking swallow grants him what he asked for.

Then begins the actual song, in which the hero tells his adventures in the first person singular. The protagonist’s name is *Celestial-Star-Looking-Chain-Mail*, and his dwelling space, where he starts his journey and where he returns home, is named as *Snowbound-Sanded-Populous-Cape, White-Rock-Bordered-Cape*. We have no evidence that this appellation referred to an existing geographical place.

When preparing for the fight, the hero is given arms by his mother, as well as wisdom by his father, although he does not long for battle. He is also helped by a horse possessing heavenly strength, which always appears when his help is needed, and the horse flies its rider across many lands. Both the horse and his rider are song-bringing, tale-bringing heroes, i.e. the protagonists of the song and the tale. The hero also has an army, whose epithet is ‘height of a velvet duck’s talons’. Nevertheless, the hero fights his battles alone, which are observed by his supporters only from the distance. He is attacked with arrows and swords but he repels these attacks with his three-hundred-pood bludgeon. The fighters *Solid-Stone-Throwing-Hero, Seven-Hurdles-Overleaping-Hero, Frosty-Pelissed-Clothing-Hero*, who are initially hostile, later join

him. However, he kills *Lively-Snake-Headed-Man*, scalps him, tears out his heart and even eats some of it. Finally, the hero properly buries his beaten enemy so that it could be respected as an idol spirit by those later to be born.

In what follows, the hero's battles have various outcomes. His next enemy, *Heavenly-Power-Lively-Hand* nearly pulverizes him. On the shore of the fiery sea, he suffocates in the smoke. At his request, God freezes the sea, thus he will be able to cross it. As he did not die of smoke, in gratitude hangs two red skeins on a pine for his mother, and on the far shore, in turn, he sticks two arrows in the sand as a sacrifice and a token of remembrance.

On the next hard ground, on a thorny way, among clumps as high as a man, he is attacked again but he alone defeats thirty fighters. Then he encounters two further fighters, *Solid-Stone-Looking-Chain-Mail* and *Red-Stone-Looking Chain-Mail*. Both of them beg him to spare their lives, saying "Do not tear my soul, as thin as a grass-blade." They both offer their daughters in exchange. The hero makes them swear under the golden-branch, heavenly larch that they will send him the girls within a certain period. The name of the second fighter's daughter is *Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress*.

There is one battle left waiting for the hero. After his three-hundred-pood bludgeon turns into a bundle of weak twigs, following his enemy's advice, they fight using larch tree trunks, then begin wrestling. Grabbing each other's belts, they try to bring each other down. Although none of them is successful, they trample the whole earth, dragging it off balance. It is the messenger of the heavenly father who is able to stop them, saying that they have come around the sky along its centre (which is the hole in the ice-ax), so it is time to go home. At this point, the two heroes make peace, even swearing an oath.

The protagonist gets homesick. He summons his horse and they fly home to his town at *White-Rock-Bordered-Cape*, to his house singing seven songs, telling seven tales. He bows his head to the icons, and tells them he has gone round the world. With God's help, he has become familiar with foreign lands' power and wisdom. His two brides also arrive, and he takes a seat between them in the holy corner of the house. The servant covers them with an embroidered blanket decorated also with metal ornaments, and the hero turns into an iron idol, a stone idol. This is where the seven songs, seven tales end.

jäwät ärəy jäwät mañt [Seven songs, seven tales]

Page 1

1. *jäw[ə]t ärəy säyəw köl
mä uləñtəsjm[.]*
2. *koy ärəy koy mañt',
jönəñ¹⁵² ärəy sä-*
3. *yaw kölñäti, peləñ
ka[t] peləñ jora*
4. *iməlsəm, ärə[y] kən[č]čə
neməñ köl-*
5. *näti. mä tōya sayəl juγ ur¹⁵³ no-*
6. *yina mä iməlsəm, mä müyitə*
7. *käslim¹⁵⁴. lañ juγəw torəñ kat*
8. *tüytəñ kat jəypeləyñə məkō no-*
9. *məysilləm, koy turpəw turəñ*
10. *ärəy; köləñ kat jəypeləyñə məkō*
11. *noməysilləm, mä kästə kürtim¹⁵⁵.*
12. *jäw[ə]t ärəy jäwät
mañt' säyəw köl-*
13. *nä wičə¹⁵⁶ latə wəytorəm
jəyət kölənta,*
14. *mä kəntə[y] ku näləm čeyä nüñä*
15. *nuk əsəltə kojläm[.] mänä mətə-*
16. *jöya[t]¹⁵⁷ köl mänä tōñ il əslä. mä*
17. *tepä tem ka[t] jəypeləyñə jayñə*
18. *mənt ärəytät[i] aməšət,
nüñä kölə[t]*
19. *pürəysäləm, sərñəñ cyəw*
20. *jəwjöñ torəm mänä
mətə jöya[t]¹⁵⁸*

I started the word having the melody of seven songs. With the words of a long song, a long tale, an ancient song, I sat down in the middle on the floor of the floored house, with a true word looking for the song. (5) With my body, naked like a log, I sat down, what am I looking for? (7) A house having a torch and a door-gap – inside the fiery house I am thinking indeed, the long sounding sounded song (lit. long-throated throaty song), I am thinking indeed, inside the house with a door, I cannot find.

(12) My eternal iron God father, possessing the words with the melody of seven songs, seven tales, listen, I want to let human speech [fly] up to you. (15) To me, some words I wish you let down! (16) I here, inside this house, people made me sit down to sing, I beseech you for words; golden-headed seventy skies,

152. ~~ikkuinen~~, alituinen, ainainen [everlasting, constant, continuous]

153. ikäänkuin puuhalko omalla lihallani (ei ole apulaishaltioita) [with my body, like a log (he has no assistant spirits)]

154. löydäänköhän [will I find it?]

155. не могу найти [I cannot find it]

156. (wič)

157. скольконибудь [some, a certain amount of something]

158. 70 – скольконибудь [70 – some]

Page 2

21. *köl äräytämäti il əslä[.] männäm*
 22. *wöyäm mä əntə käslim, nüñə wö-*
 23. *yännäti mäta jöya[t] köləñnät*
 24. *wičälätä wä[γ] torəm jəyäm, sār-*
 25. *nəñ əyəw wəytorəm jəyäm. nüñ*
 26. *jisñän¹⁵⁹ nüñ kölän mä məyoγti*
 27. *küləñ jaya löñəttamatj. torəm*
 28. *jäsəñ torəm köl. tem urt amäs-*
 29. *ta öyəñ kata päkkəñ kata mä*
 30. *jäw[ə]t ärəy säyəw*
köl soləñ mañt'
 31. *löñəttamatj.*
 32. *jäw[ə]t ärəy s[äyəw]*
kölnä köla mätim
 33. *peləñ ka[t] pelä jorna köla amäs-*
 34. *läm, üləñ ja[γ]ku torəm putwəw*
 35. *ätəysär wat jöytäs[.] mä čökəñ*
 36. *näləm jönäw kölän kälätä ku*
 37. *näləm čeyäm tärəm wat miñ-*
 38. *kinä əllə kut jönäw*
jəñköy əllə wat
 39. *miñkinä näləm jönä¹⁶⁰ konəñ kat*
 40. *jirəñ töjä t'ä nuk äləmsi[.]*

Page 3

41. *oyəñ juy jirəñ töjä ətəy wat*
 42. *jäw[ət] miñkinä päytə*
pələñ jäwət
 43. *kəla¹⁶¹ nuk äləmli näyi pələñ*
 44. *jəltə pat'a. torəmnə mä jisñəm*
 45. *mä köläm tultä näyi pələñ jäwət*
 46. *kəloy nuypa məntiləm temnä*
 47. *nəməñ mä kəlkalim¹⁶²[.]*
töyləñ sar
 48. *är wajəyñə¹⁶³ män[t]*
älkäli, tem nə-

for me, some words to sing, let down. (21) I, myself cannot find my power, with your power, with some words, my eternal, heavenly father. (25) In order to tell your tale, your word(s) to the clever people on the surface of the earth. (27) Divine tale, divine word. (28) Into this house, (29) inhabited by girls and boys, where suitors are invited to be seated, so that I could perform word(s) having the melody of seven songs, a light tale.

(32) While I myself am sitting on the floor of the floored house, there came a cold wind from the end of the land of northern people. (35) My humble, tongue-root word, my earthborn idiom has been lifted to the root of my tongue, to the top of the smoke-holed house, by a big, strong gust of wind coming from six-rooted waters. To the top of a high tree, by seven gusts of the cold wind, into the seven openings of the black cloud, it was lifted to the moving lining of the white cloud. (44) Up in the sky, above here, I sensed my being carried up through the seven holes of the white clouds that bring my tale, my word(s). (47) I was carried by (48) a lot of speedy, feathered animals, up here, the song of

159. nyk. *jisñən* [now *jisñən*]

160. kielen kanta [the root of the tongue]

161. rakoon [into the opening, into the gap]

162. kuulin [I heard it]

163. *päjiləñ sar är wajəyñə* [by many, speedy, winged animals]

49. *mān jāwət süymət* many speedy, feathered animals
jaltā päi töylāḥ of the hill where seven birch
50. *sar ärəy wajāynā täyrāltā-* trees stand can be heard. (51)
51. *yalī¹⁶⁴[.] kaḡā soḡāw är ikit wāli-* There lived lots of gray-haired
52. *lilāyalt¹⁶⁵, jəy jāsəḡlilmil kö¹⁶⁶* old men, I enumerate the words
53. *männā əjtū löḡālām.* told by them in the same way.
jāwət süymət (53) It is echoing (54)
54. *jaltā päjnā täyrāltāyalil, jāwət* on the hill where seven birch
55. *loḡ niḡtā kat¹⁶⁷; tū* trees stand, (there is a) house
ka[t] jəḡpələknā where seven horses can have a
56. *wālwāl wič[ə] jaltā, är jəy pələt* rest; inside this house, there is a
57. *sārñāḡ aḡkal jirāḡ töjnā* golden column, as tall as many
58. *wet mārñəḡ kul meli köḡā¹⁶⁸[.]* people, standing eternally, at the
59. *köḡā jəḡpələknā torām jor* top of it there is a bowl housing
60. *köləḡ lip¹⁶⁹ töt täyrāltəlil.* five fish full of spawn. (59)
61. *mā köläm tārəm wat* Inside the bowl, the mid-heaven
jāw[ət] miḡ- speaking swallow is twittering.
(61) By the seven gusts of the
62. *kinā jūya jöytāmtəsi. torām jor* strong wind, my word was taken
to it (surprising it). (62) The mid-
63. *köləḡ wajāy ilok läyililəwəl[:]* heaven speaking animal looks
64. *kol' mānā joytās köləḡlät[?] müyi* around: “Where is this speech
65. *kāsīnā mänt čökəḡ näləm töjā* coming from to me?” (64) “What
66. *kojnā mänt säyāmläs¹⁷⁰, müyi kǎ-* human [took] me to the tip of his
67. *sī müyeli jūyā maswəl[.]”. wajək* miserable tongue, what kind of a
68. *irimāḡ¹⁷¹ kāsīnā mänt ereylās¹⁷²[.]* human, what does he need?” (67)
69. *ko[t] müyi kāsīnā won[t]* It mentioned me as a man who
70. *wajāy wərəḡ* does not (cannot) kill wild game.
wālka¹⁷³ mänt wajək irimāḡ ku What man, the bloody place of

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164. sanottiin vanhat ihmiset [it is told by the old]
165. asuivat [(they) lived]
166. heidän puhumiaan sanoja [the words said by them]
167. 7 hevosta voi juosta loppuun (peräkkäin, oli niin pitkä talo) [the house is so long that seven horses can run along it (following one another)]
168. pylvään päässä malja johon mahtuu 5 määhnäis язія [at the top of the column, (there is) a bowl that can house even five ides full of spawn inside it]
169. siinä keskitaivaan (taivaan navan) pääskynen [there sits the mid-heaven (heaven-corner) swallow]
170. nyk ei – mainitsi [today not – he mentioned]
171. onnistumaton metsästysreissu [unsuccessful hunt]
172. mainitsi (minua) [he mentioned (me)]
173. veripaikkaan s.o. missä on eläin tapettu, nyk *wälaka* [to the bloody place, i.e. where the animal was killed, today *wälaka*]

71. *mänt säyâmlâs[.] küļəŋ* wild animals, man who misses the
məy jāwtoytj game, mentioned me?" (71) "On
72. *männə tāt üylimsim*¹⁷⁴. the seven surfaces of the pitted
jü[γ] käsjnâ earth, I have looked for him.
73. *ärə[γ] kənčə näləm čeyänä mänt* (72) He, a man, has mentioned
74. *säyâmlayân, mä tim čökəŋ məy* me with his tongue looking for
75. *jāw[ə]toytj männə küť* songs, although I was looking
*üyälli[.]*¹⁷⁵ *mä* for him on the seven surfaces of
76. *küļəŋ məynə männə əntə käsli. tət* this miserable earth, I cannot
77. *nətmân mä uyalim torâm jor köy* find him on the pitted earth.[""]
78. *pelä, tot köy pelä, jirâŋ tōjnə* (76) Up here, I saw the
79. *wälwâl. köyâ saltj wāya saltj*¹⁷⁶ mid-heaven stone floor, it is at
80. *kōraw kan, tu köyâ saltj kōraw* the top. (79) *Stone-Like-Iron-*
81. *kan jü[γ] kōrəytäl*¹⁷⁷ *Like-Ruler* that *Stone-Like-*
*jōlāw*¹⁷⁸ *torâm* *Ruler*, I cannot see a world for
82. *mä kop əntə ulâm*¹⁷⁹, *jüŷ wičimä*¹⁸⁰ his fall, he is the stone-like,
eternal chain mail. (83) I, song-
bringing, tale-bringing spirit-
ruler, am going to him, he is
shown from the water of the end
of the world's end to the edge
of the endless sky. (87) At the
world's end, (there are) eternal
spirits who accept sacrifices,
song-bringing, tale-bringing
people having chain-mailed
bodies, there I heard them.
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83. *kō[γ] kōraw joyər*¹⁸¹ *]*
mä ärəy tuntā
84. *mañt' tuntā jun[k] kan jüŷä*
85. *mənləm, jüŷ torâm putāw putāw*
86. *jəŋköy putwâl ulāy*¹⁸² *torâm kiməl*
87. *jüŷəŋ ulj. torâm putāwnâ wiči-*
88. *mä jirâŋ jun[kāt joyrəŋ eləw*
89. *ärəy tuntā mañt' tuntā jakkəŋlät*
90. *männə tō[γ] kəlkalat*¹⁸³. *pičəŋ kas-*

174. saada selvää, löytää (?) [find out, find (?)]

175. Varsinainen laulu [The actual song – it starts here]

176. liittyä tarttua kiinni, esim. valokuva syntyy [join, stick to, e.g. a photo comes into being]

177. hänen kaatumapaikkaansa ei missään näe (hän on niin mahtava, ettei missään kaadu) [I cannot see the place where he fell (he is so powerful that he does not fall anywhere)]

178. ikuinen (?) [everlasting (?)]

179. нигде не знаю [I do not know it anywhere]

180. wičemə nyk. p. [wičemə in today's speech]

181. kiventapaiseen rautapaitaan ikuiseksi syntynyt (?) mahtava, „kova” on [he was born forever into chain mail, (he is) ?powerful, “hard”]

182. его границы никто не видалъ [nobody saw his limits]

183. я тамъ ихъ слышалъ [there, I heard them]

91. *kũñ[č] pälät kujâw jâl'na nula jä-*
 92. *litöy kotâl¹⁸⁴. jäw[ə]t äräy j[äwät]*
m[ant'] s[äyâw] k[öl] [.]
 93. *müyälín ka[t] jəpələknə məŋ*
 94. *müyälín¹⁸⁵ amsältälâw¹⁸⁶. torâmnâ*
 95. *məŋət pär[t]käl jäl'ixsəntäy[.] əj*
 96. *ka[t] jəpələknə məŋ kuntânâ*
 97. *amsâkâtäsöy¹⁸⁷ torâmnâ məŋət*
 98. *mičâwâl¹⁸⁸ tim ka[t]*
jəpələkä torâm-
 99. *nâ məŋə təy patältâwâl, mä*
 100. *əntə küt kajsâm torâmnâ*
män[t] pír-
 101. *tüyən torâm mäyäl jirâŋ kant*
 102. *asi mä asi kôlä kurrñäytälím¹⁸⁹[.]*

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103. *katâŋ jaylama¹⁹⁰ mä*
put wertə əllə
 104. *pajartatj jəŋkər wökəŋ mä t'ä*
 105. *tüyäsâm[:] [„]sôsâm kar*
ňoy¹⁹¹ put t'ä[γ]
 106. *käta pāncältitän¹⁹²,*
əllə kar lamj¹⁹³
 107. *pul t'ä käta pāncältitän. mä*
 108. *intänj siyər kul alñänâ semam wa-*

(90) Later, the day of fighting together with the men's troop of the height of a velvet duck's talons. (92) Word having the melody of seven songs, seven tales. Why, in the house, why do we make him sit? (94) God ordered us to fight. (95) When we started to sit in the house, God curses us; inside this house we are frozen by God, although I did not want it, God ordered me to seek out all heroes (rulers who accept sacrifices) all over the world.

(103) I told my best people (i.e. my servants), my big chief servant cooking (in) pots, (whose) shoulders (are) strong, "Come and cook the dish from dry reindeer bull meat, hang up (above the fire) the flat piece of the big reindeer bull. (106) I... my inner parts are longing for the end of the edible *siyər* fish [when]

184. jonakin päivänä sotien yhteen joudumme [someday we will meet in battle]

185. nyk. *müyälä -liw* [today *müyälä -liw*]

186. miksi me turhanpäiten istutamme häntä (pitää ruveta lauluun käsiksi) [why do we make him sit in vain (he must begin singing)]

187. (-səw)

188. nyk. *mičâwâl*, kiroo (vrt. *mičwâl* heiluttaa) [today *mičâwâl* curse (cf. *mičwâl* 'sway')]

189. Jumala on käskenyt käydä (tiedustaa) kysymään kaikkien seutujen sankareja – навѣщать – чтобы [God ordered me to visit the heroes of all lands to inquire – to visit – in order to]

190. у меня въ домѣ живущим [those who live in my house]

191. käskin väkevän pääpalvelijan panna padan tulelle sitkeän porohärän li[haa] [I ordered the strong chief servant to put the cauldron, the reindeer bull's hard meat, on the fire]

192. ну ка ripustakaa [come on, hang it up]

193. nyk. *lamât* [today *lamât*]



- | | |
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| <p>109. <i>yāntāwā¹⁹⁴, mā koy ļōk koy māč</i>
 110. <i>wertāmā¹⁹⁴[.] tū[t]</i>
 <i>pīrnā kat lāyalli</i>
 111. <i>juytumaŋ əllə artāta mā t'ü tīyā-</i>
 112. <i>sām: [„]mā tū torəmjuŋk awtāw</i>
 113. <i>karam mänä nik wänältitän[.]</i>
 114. <i>tuyitän təy, tə[γ] kōmən aləŋ</i>
 115. <i>torəm timənə mā lewŋäm jəy-</i>
 116. <i>peļaknā¹⁹⁵ əj patəm wāyŋkəl köy</i>
 117. <i>aŋkəl. tū wāyŋkəl tim jal'tā</i>
 118. <i>sūŋk torəm peļaknā¹⁹⁶</i>
 <i>jal'wāl, torāmnā</i>
 119. <i>tātkālī¹⁹⁷ jītāŋ köt meli wāyjo¹⁹⁸</i>
 120. <i>tumīn¹⁹⁹ mā jāw[ə]t</i>
 <i>ārəy tuntā waj-</i>
 121. <i>kam[.] pojsəm winčiw awtāw ka-</i>
 122. <i>ram toj jōritən.²⁰⁰ katnā kayā so-</i>
 123. <i>yāw əl[ə] imi, əsəm</i>
 <i>nowtī əl[ə] imi²⁰¹[.]</i></p> | <p>I am getting ready for a long wandering.” (110) Then I said to the big servants guarding my house, carrying firewood, “I..., take my male animal [my horse] having a mane similar to a heavenly spirit, to me. Take it to me, out here, at the birth of the first world, inside my porch, a frozen iron column, a stone column [came into being]. (117) That iron column stands on the side of the standing sun (= south), after bringing an iron ring so big that an arm in a sleeve fits in, my animal bringing seven songs, my drift-maned male animal bind there.”
 (122) In the house [is] a gray-haired old woman, an old woman the age of my mother. I took a look at her. (124) “When living in the previous world, how did you bring me up, me, the one bringing songs, bringing tales, the fish-skin blanket worn by me was created</p> |
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124. *mā jūyā tā lāyəmsəm²⁰²[.]*
[„]sāri torəm
 125. *wālmīnnā ārəy tuntā*
mañ[t'] tuntā²⁰³
 126. *mān[t] t'ittā ka[k]*
warmāltāyaltāy²⁰⁴, ən-

194. nyk. ei sydämeni alkoi vaatia kalan loppua (s. o. nälkä tuli lähtiessäni pitkälle tielle, pitkälle matkalle (туда) [today not – my heart is longing for the end of the edible *sīyər* fish (in other words, I got angry when I left for the long way, long travel)]
 195. eteisessäni [in my foreground]
 196. pylvä seisoo puolipäivän puolella [the column is standing on the southern side]
 197. jumala loi sen [it was created by God]
 198. hihaisen käden menevä rautarengas [an iron loop so big that an arm in a sleeve fits in]
 199. tuokaa ja ---- [bring it and ----]
 200. sitokaa [bind it! tie it!]
 201. harmaa päinen, äidin ikäinen vanha akka [gray-haired old woman, the age of a mother]
 202. katsoin häneen [I took a look at her]
 203. ennen eläessäni minut kulkemaan [in your previous life, me, to walk]
 204. вы меня какъ родили [how did you bring me into the world?]

127. *təm t'opj kural täytam əj tunta tät-*
 128. *kälätən²⁰⁵, mä müyi*
närkeləw woγəl'
 129. *jernäs əj p̄iyər mənəm²⁰⁶ mä mü-*
 130. *yi tat̄²⁰⁷ mənəm[.] imi katuja il*
 131. *jāγas, imi tomnam iləm tiyətal*
 132. *sätəs, kätä²⁰⁸ p̄aya təγ jälä; mä*
 133. *tōy mənəm. iminə sat wajəγ*
 134. *kōraw²⁰⁹ k̄int elän²¹⁰*
əγəw mänä nuk
 135. *əj köt p̄elək čüčətä²¹¹, məstə, männə*
 136. *kayrəmtəsi əj köt p̄elək männə*
 137. *küt kayrəmtəsi, jāγərt, tu pültä*
 138. *kat̄p̄ä tōy kōrəγsəm²¹². imi liškəmäs*
 139. *mänä jäsəγləwəl: [„]oj*
p̄aya, jāw[ə]t ärəγ
 140. *jāwət man't n̄ñ müyi šeylännä²¹³*
 141. *torəm putəw kō[γ] kanlan müyəlin*
 142. *tultəm̄tanat̄²¹⁴, tim al pitəm*
 143. *n̄ñə! mək²¹⁵, jāw[ə]t*
ä[rə]γ säyəw kōl
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144. *n̄ñ jāγən məḅkäl əntə n̄ñ jerän-*
 145. *nə wälkal²¹⁶. tūt ičəkə nörəñ köy²¹⁷*
 146. *putwəl jāḅ[k]nə²¹⁸ tom*
nətmən porəγliltä

205. вы сделаете мнѣ kalaisen (?) tilkun – я [illegible] [you make me a blanket of fish (leather) – I ??]
 206. rupean hienossa paidassa elämään [I start to live in a fine shirt]
 207. этакъ [in this way]
 208. „значит” [so, in other words]
 209. eläinten kuvilla varustettu [decorated with animal figures]
 210. закрытый [closed]
 211. ojensi [held out]
 212. olin vähällä [illegible] [almost ??]
 213. millä voimalla [with what kind of power]
 214. miten heidän kanssaan будешь обходиться [how will you get along with them]
 215. ципленник, linnun poika [chicken, nestling]
 216. ei ollut sinunlaisesi [he was not like you]
 217. mutta hänetkin (также) kuitenkin jyrisevän kiven [but also him still a roaring stone]
 218. rantavedellä [on the water near the bank]

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| 147. | <i>workəʎki²¹⁹ är pärana noyil ellä</i> | flocks of forest ravens who | 4 |
| 148. | <i>ko[t] ɲəkali²²⁰. nüñ
jeriwän²²¹ ärəy</i> | fly above? (148) In your way,
song-bringing, tale-bringing
man, with what kind of shit, | |
| 149. | <i>tuntä ku i mañ[t]
tuntä ku müyi poç-</i> | how did God send the mid- | |
| 150. | <i>tana²²² torâmnâ nüña torâm jor</i> | heaven speaking bird to you? | |
| 151. | <i>köləñ wajəy müyi
tätj nüñä kittə[.]</i> | Boy, (as) I look at you, at this
riverbank, at the landing-place, | |
| 152. | <i>nüñ päya mä nüñat jöyatəjaləm tə</i> | on the dead water of the seven | |
| 153. | <i>nämən²²³ kölnəñə jäw[ə]t
amältiw suril-</i> | the height of a velvet ducks’ | 1 |
| 154. | <i>jəñ[k]nə kaskün[ç]
pəla kujəw jäl kir-</i> | talons has gathered, the day (of
leaving for fighting) has come.” | |
| 155. | <i>kälti²²⁴ əjä jöytayän
kotla jöytayän²²⁵[.]</i> | (156) I am watching | |
| 156. | <i>mä ilə jokä läyilalləm[,]
asəmnə ämp-</i> | back and forth, my mother
hurts me with damned <i>çimi</i> | |
| 157. | <i>ätəm çimi kölnä²²⁶
man[t] wänfəylə-</i> | words. In order to live on (to
escape), I turned to the golden | 1 |
| 158. | <i>wəp²²⁷[.] tu wältay
wiçälata wäyto-</i> | headed seventy heavens of the
eternal iron God, I entered | |
| 159. | <i>räm sārñəñ əyəw jäw[ət]jəñ torma</i> | the good end of my cornered | |
| 160. | <i>lökəñ kat jəm pətämä tã kärim-</i> | house. (161) I turned my head | |
| 161. | <i>təsəm[.] kirkələm är aw-</i> | with abundant hair to the | |
| 162. | <i>təñ uyəm jun[k] nolij²²⁸
ləy wäy wä-</i> | seventy iron faced gods sitting | 1 |
| 163. | <i>ñəmpə jäwjəñ tormätə kul intə</i> | on the rusty bank of waters of | |
| 164. | <i>kuləñ möyläm tã
nokimšim[:] [„]əllə</i> | the idol-spirit, I scratched my
fish-eating fishy chest, indeed: | 1 |
| 165. | <i>toräm nemnät jəyəm kölənta[!]</i> | “Great God, my renowned
father, listen to me! I, look, am
reproached by my mother with | 1 |

219. ylhäällä kulkevat korpit [ravens flying (lit. walking) above]

220. не знаю где nokkivat [I do not know where they are pecking]

221. нук. *jeritəwän* (не по твоemu) [today: *jeritəwän*, not in your opinion]

222. говно [shit]

223. нук. подъ горой, до дорожки [today: at the bottom of the mountain, to the path]

224. ei нук. alkaa, nousee – [today it is not in use; begin, get up]

225. tulee heti – [arrives immediately]

226. koiramaisilla sanoilla [with dog-like words]

227. ei нук. leikkaa [today it is not in use; cut]

228. ei нук. [today it is not in use]

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166. *mä tipä əsəmnə mant amp ütəm*
 167. *ku nemnäti wänt'əyləwəl[.] mä nü-*
 168. *ñä wičälata wäy torəm jəyəm*
 169. *nüñä əy pänlilləm mä jəyəmtəsəm*
 170. *jəyənəy juy pörka²²⁹, kaskün[č] pälä*
 171. *kujəw jäl' täpä mərəm jöyət'il*
 172. *kit'əs, mä nüñä wayəntäləm[.]*
 173. *örəy jör, örə[γ] koñəm²³⁰ mänä il*
 174. *əslä"[.] peləñ ka[t] pelä jörnə köl*
 175. *jal'mam²³¹ əllə ku jirəñ tøjöy willä*
 176. *əllə torəm jöylim²³²,*
willä mänä willä
 177. *jös əllə torəm köl mänä əllə kat*
 178. *jirəñ tøjöy köy wänəmp jäw[at]jəñ*
 179. *torəm jəyəmnə willä mänä il əsəl-*
 180. *sətə[.] mä noyimtelämä*
kələntäləm²³³
 181. *willäpä mä noyimteläm*
kələmtälim²³⁴
 182. *won[t] wajəy noyi kint willä mä*
 183. *kantəmsəm. töl tayəla wičälata*
 184. *söyən məy pəjan məy pəjan məy*
 185. *jəw[t]t oytinə nüñä wayəntäləm[:]*

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186. *[„]əllə məy jönəw²³⁵ köl mänä nuk*
 187. *lönəta[!] nüñä əjt'u söyawə[t] pun*
 188. *koləñ uyəm nüñä nərəlim i lün-*
 189. *kəltəlim. mänä əllə məy timə köl*
 190. *nuk mänä löñtj mä nüñ kölän*
 191. *nüñ jisjənnä[ti] i nüñ näləmče-*

names for damned bad men.
 (167) I bow my head to you,
 eternal iron god, my father,
 I knocked against the trunk
 of a falling tree, the troop the
 height of a velvet duck's talons
 is to arrive immediately, I am
 addressing you. Let down more
 strength, more comprehension
 to me.” (174) While I was
 standing in the middle of the
 floor of the floored house, it
 felt as if the great God was
 coming through the top of a
 big man's head, as if the word
 of the great God was coming
 from the top of a big house,
 as if the seventy stone-faced
 gods had let it down to me. I
 feel it with my whole body, as
 if I felt my whole body, as if I
 had taken a basket full of the
 meat of wild game on my back.

(183) Later on, I cry
 to you standing on the seven
 surfaces of the eternal furry
 earth, cloddy earth, cloddy
 earth. “List ancient words
 rooted in the great earth to me!
 I bow my similar-haired, clever
 head to you, and I also cover
 it. (189) To me, enumerate the

229. *menin ymmälle en tiedä mitä tehdä. nyk. on – tulin kuin kaatuvan puun tyvi*
 [I am helpless, I do not know what to do – it is used today – I am like the trunk of a
 falling tree]

230. *lisää viisautta, ymmärrystä (ei nyk) [more wisdom, sense (today not in use)]*



231. *lattialla seisoessani [standing on the floor]*

232. *kiireeltäni ikäänkuin sain voimaa / tunsin voimaa menevän ruumiiseen [as if I
 was given strength through the top of my head/I felt strength entering my body]*

233. *чувствую [I feel it]*

234. *tuntuu kuin olisin nostonut selkääni (raskaan) lihakontin [it feels as if I had taken
 a meat (filled with meat, i.e. heavy) basket on my back]*

235. *коренныѣ [rooted]*

192. *yännä pörälkam siyäl kölnä* words born by the great earth so 
193. *kaskür pälä kujâw jäl'nä* that, with (the help of) your word, 
194. *mäntäm kotäl mä jäynay juj jö-* your speech, your language, with
195. *läw torma äl pitimä[.]* the words originating in the hole
- nəḡ jörâtân* of the ice-ax, I would not get into
196. *nəḡ koḡmâtân jäw[ə]t* the world similar to fallen trees on
- oytjînä təḡ-* the day of leaving to fight together
197. *läy²³⁶ pam jölâw torma* with the troop the height of a velvet
- äl wänältä²³⁷[.]* duck's talons. (195) On the seven
198. *mä nõḡä nărasâm["]*. surfaces of your wisdom, your
- tim čoyâm* comprehension, do not take me to
199. *săḡki kujâḡ öyät²³⁸. č[oyâm]* the world sparsely grown with grass.
- s[ăḡki] k[ujâḡ] öylämä* I have leaned to you.”
200. *näyi sulâw²³⁹ tor[ə]m* (198) This is the *Snow-*
- öyät jak (jăr?) săḡki* *bound-Sanded-Populous-*
201. *kujâḡ öyät köyâ²⁴⁰* *Promontory.* (199) To my *Snow-*
- saltj[.] männä* *bound-Sanded-Populous-*
202. *jir wântə jirâw juḡk müyi lät* *Promontory,* this divine promontory
203. *torâmnâ män[t] čöḡlältiyân²⁴¹[.]* coruscating white, the familiar
204. *kasküñ[č] pälä kujâw* sanded, populous cape seems to be
- jäl' jöyât[t]jal* stone (= glass). (201) By me, how
205. *kotla jöytayân. jöyrâḡ* long has God brought me, sacrifice-
- elaw torâm* accepting sacrifice idol-spirit, up.
- (204) The day of the arrival
- of the troop the height of a velvet
- duck's talons has come. (205)
- (I am a) heavenly spirit with a chain-
- mailed body. (206) I said to the
- gray-haired old woman, “Mother,
- give me the hairy-eyed minute
- wide thing (lit. width) so that I

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206. *juḡk. mä kayâsoyâw*
- ə! [lə] iməjä t'ä*
207. *tijâsâm: [„]ăḡkä,*
- männä məji sōḡ-*
208. *sempə seməḡ tir²⁴²,*
- mä kirkältämä*

236. жидкий [fluid, thin, sparse]

237. не доведи чтобы меня какъ снѣгъ топтали [do not let them trample me like snow]

238. eräs kaupunki (valkeahiekkainen isorahvainen kaupunki) [a certain town (white-sanded, big, populous town)]

239. lumihiekkanen / kide [snowflake/snow-crystal]

240. näyttää etäältä kuin lasi [from a distance it seems to be glass]

241. [??] меня нарядиль (lähetti nyk. čöḡlältiyän [illegible] [?? I was entrusted (I was sent, today čöḡlältiyän)]

242. (tir leveys) [tir width]

209. *sem wäläläy möräy*
kökkə saltama²⁴³[.]” could transform and seem to be
an eyeless rock.” My mother, in
210. *asəmnə peləŋ kat pelä jora kas-*
turn, spilt the velvet-duck-foot-
211. *kür kəŋčaw il’əŋ kint t’ätül kām-*
patterned basket having a cover
212. *laytätstə²⁴⁴[.] männə*
here, onto the middle of the floor
jöyətəjalij toyi
of the floored house. (212) I can
213. *ku²⁴⁵ samij päj tə[ɣ]*
see she has made a pile in the
ka[t] jora il löŋ-
middle of the house out of flakes
214. *kəmtätstə[.] torəm*
of spring fish. (214) All the faces
mäyäl kan wän-
of God-faced princes are glowing
215. *mət kölä töy saltät willä mänä*
as if they started to speak to me, I
216. *jəy jäsŋəltä jəyət²⁴⁶: mä töy nik*
stepped down there, (and) by me,
217. *kəyälšəm, männə toyi kul samij*
with the tip of my fleshy finger,
218. *päj nöyəŋ jöj əj pönəknä männə*
the pile of spring fish flakes was
219. *nuk təŋrəytəli, männə är awtəŋ*
picked up; by me, with great
220. *awtəŋ əy a əllə torəm*
heavenly words (vowing?) it
mulwäs köl-
was put on (through) my many-
221. *nä männə t’ä nuk*
haired head with abundant hair.
ən[t]li²⁴⁷. juŋ[k] köyi-
(221) By me, the pits of his two
222. *wan kä t’əkälä männə*
shoulder blades, stone-hard like
jejältäləkən²⁴⁸[.]
a spirit’s, are being bent to and
223. *eŋə suyəmpə säwrintäy*
fro. The line (i.e. touch) of linen
jernə əntə
woven of thick thread cannot be
224. *sätwə²⁴⁹. os ma nöyəŋ*
felt. (224) With a tip of my fleshy
jəj əj pönəknə
finger, I put on the hairy-eyed,
225. *söysepə seməŋ tir*
minute wide thing (lit. width),
ən[t]sim, əj püyləw
(then) I put on another one-
226. *kä[t] seməŋ tirkən²⁵⁰*
string, double-eyed chain mail,
küt ən[t]səm mətä
(but) they are worth nothing.

243. pyytää rautapaitaa silmien näkymättömäksi kiveksi muuttua (s. o. pukeutua rautapaitään (sic!)) [he asks for chain mail in order to turn into a stone whose eyes cannot be seen (in other words, so that he could put on chain mail)]

244. сыпала [spilled]

245. keväisen kalan [those of spring fish]

246. kasvot näkyvät ikäänkuin olisivat tulleet minua puhuttelemaan [their faces look as if they wanted to speak to me]

247. puen siunaten (itseni) [I put it on, making vows]

248. huojuuttaen ruumistaan edestakaisin pujottaa vartioilleen [he sticks in his shoulders bending his upper body back and forth]

249. ei tunnu edes kuin pakanasta langat tehty холсть [it does not feel even as thick as linen made from thick yarn]

250. vaikka kyllin puin kaksi yhdenlaista [it is missing from the fair copy] [although I put on two ... of the same kind ???]

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227. *wälāyp[ə] əntə wälwāp²⁵¹.*
əj püyləw jul-
228. *na tiytām²⁵² jāwət joyâr männə*
229. *kōl ənsi. pelāŋ ka[t] pelä jorñə*
230. *märñəŋ köri kă[t] čəwkân mä kö*
231. *kəyāliłlām²⁵³. kəyāliłlamñə ka[t]*
232. *jora jöyətəjalim wiłlä möyrəm*
233. *jəm per[t]läm mäñiwəlt²⁵⁴. män-*
234. *nämät küt kässəm²⁵⁵ sem wälalāy*
235. *mörə[ç] kökkə salsəm.*
ka[t] jəpələy
236. *juy tuntā tōj ar[t]lam*
kü käsəslām²⁵⁶
237. *putwəñ ka[t] putwəloy männə küt*
238. *semnä kö körkəmtəsi²⁵⁷, jaylam*
239. *kōlā mänöy kōlā pəltəmsət²⁵⁸.*
240. *kayəsoyāw əl[ə] əsəm*
männə tū kən-
241. *čimsi: [„]änkä nüñ*
ko[t] wäsən mä
242. *koy ləkä məntämä*
pətä werləmən[!]"
243. *əsəm tomnam löy pətänä*
jiləytayän²⁵⁹[.]
244. *[„]nüñ, änkä, mänä juy wiyla mä*
245. *nüñət əntə pörləm. säñki süñkä*
246. *nüñən män[t] tătəkäl²⁶⁰[„.]*
əsəm mänä

(227) All the one-string, said with a mouth, seven pieces of chain mail were put on by me.

(229) In the middle of the floor of the floored house, I stride like two halves of a sturgeon full of spawn, indeed. (231) As I am walking, I take a look at the middle of the house, like mashed hackberry, my floorboards are bending. (233) I found myself looking like an eyeless rock.

(235) As I notice my chief firewood-bringing household servant, as I looked around from the border of the bordered house, my men (i.e. servants) were all scared off. I was looking for my gray-haired great mother, (241) “Mother, where have you been, I will leave for a long journey, let’s say farewell [to each other]!” My mother had hidden in the depths of the corner. “You, Mother, come on out to me, I won’t bite you!

(245) Into the bright sunlight, it was you who brought me forth.” (246) My mother came to me,

251. *mätä wäləyp* (nyk.) ei maksa mitään [*mätä wäləyp* (today) it costs nothing]
252. *словомъ сказать* (sanalla sanoen) [say with words (said with words)]
253. *kävelen kuin määhnäinen sterletin kaksi puoliskoa* [I am walking like two halves of a sturgeon full of spawn]
254. *kävellessäni huoneen palkit notkuvat kuin жидкий tuomi* [as I am striding, the floorboards of the room are rippling like mashed hackberries]
255. *minä löysin itseni (näin olevani, olin)* [I found myself... (I thought myself ..., I was ...)]
256. *pää-orjani kun olin löytämällani?* [when I almost found my chief servants]
257. *orjani kun katselin* [when I watched my servants]
258. *kaikki olivat menneet* ~~menivät~~ *pakoon* [they have all fled]
259. *спряталась* [(she) hid]
260. *родила* [brought a child into the world]

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247. *nik wiγālwāł; pət'ä wersämən[.]*
 248. *asmä pirāysälām: [„]äñkä mä*
 249. *köčkim mänä tuyi! kälām sat*
 250. *pötj wāγ möyräm mänä tuyi[“.]*
 251. *imi əsəm mänä jäsəŋlawəl[:]*
[„]oi
 252. *pāyalj, mä imini kärisəm*
 253. *untim alja jōγāsäm²⁶¹, kälām sa[t]*
 254. *pötj wāγ möγər männə nñjä*
 255. *əntə jōγtəwtəlji[“.] –*
ma ka[t] putwa
 256. *kōγālsäm[,] torām pat' inlāw köč-*
 257. *kim il tälsim, köčkim pełkämä*
 258. *iγāsım, kälām sa[t]*
pötj wāγ möyräm
 259. *təy nu[γ] kayrāmtāsım, kälām*
 260. *sa[t] p[ötj] w[āγ] möγər*
männə karmana
 261. *il pulsı, mä tormāŋ*
ka[t] lökä t'ä[γ]
 262. *kōγlāmsäm, tor[ä]m il pełkä jösəm*
 263. *torma wayāntälām: [„]wičälätä*
 264. *torām kan jəγəm! tim*
är awä[t] sōyləγ
 265. *uyəm jäw[ə]t ärəγ*
sāγaw kölñə əllə
 266. *torām lanj²⁶², nñjä jösəm, mänä*

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267. *torām sōyāw torām*
wänmaw neməŋ
 268. *mü! koy ärəγ tuntama*
koy mañ[t']
 269. *tuntama[“]. jölä kulj put jəm sıs*
 270. *jal'mam pirnə tormāŋ ka[t] lököy*
 271. *čāwəŋ wāγ sōjäu²⁶³ mülim t'ätıl*
 272. *etməs. är awtəŋ pil awtəŋ oγa t'ä*

we greeted each other, I ask my mother, (248) “Mother, bring my sword to me here. (249) Bring my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon to me here.” My woman-mother says to me: “Oh my little son, I have got old, my powers have failed (= I have come to the end of my knowledge). (253) I cannot get you a three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon.” (255) I went to the side of the house, I pulled down my sky-brink-edged sword and hung it on my side. I picked up my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon, I put my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon in my pocket. (261) I went to the corner of the heavenly house, to the part belonging to God, (and) I beseech God, (263) “My eternal, heavenly ruler father! (264) With this head, lacking many braids, with words having the melody of seven songs, dear, great God *lanj*, I have come to you, for a God-faced cap having divine braids, in order to bring long songs, long tales.” (269) Having stood there for the time of cooking a thawed fish, my cap, sounding like whooshing iron, appeared from the corner of the heavenly house. (272) I put it on (my) hairy ear(s), hairy head although I looked

261. tulin jo vanhaksi tulin matkani päähän [I have got old, I have reached the end of my journey]

262. ei nyk [today not in use]

263. äänisen [having the voice of a...]

273. *nuk jekämtästā²⁶⁴, männə kǖt üy-*
 274. *limsim jaylam əntimätət. männə*
 275. *əllə ka[t] putāw kǖt*
üyəlli əntim jay-
 276. *lam. „oi t’ä jaylam! nəḡ wäsəkəḡ*
 277. *jar put[ə]w üyəl kölāpa jilāy-*
 278. *tāstāy. mä nəḡə pōrtā, nəḡə*
 279. *weltə əntə kirkälləm[.]” mä t’ä tim*
 280. *jir wəntə jirəḡ katoḡ kümpä*
 281. *t’ä kəylāmsəm mä*
kəmən jāw[ə]t ärəḡ
 282. *j[äwət] mañ[t’] tumā*
wajāy tormi junḡ
 283. *awtāw karama täl üyəsəm, tormi*
 284. *junḡ awtāw wajkam mä jüyä,*
 285. *jöntämna nöl pül[t]kälöy cöymj-*
 286. *läwäl²⁶⁵, männə cökin kayrämäsı:*
 287. *„wiçälätä wäy torəm jayəmna*
- for my men, they cannot be found. (274) By me, the end of the big house is being looked over, no (sign of) my men. “Oh you, men of mine! (276) Where did you hide the duck-lake-side trap? (278) I do not turn (back) to bite or kill you.” (279) I went out of the sacrifice-rich house accepting sacrifices, outside, I found my way to my heavenly-spirit-haired bull bringing seven songs, seven tales. (283) My heavenly-spirit-maned animal, when I came to him, huffed through his two nostrils, I held him firmly. “My eternal iron God father ordered us (to go) together to bring song(s), bring tale(s).” (289) I untied my horse, I take him to the gate of the big town, I lead him out. (291) – After I led him out, midday just arrived. (293) I mounted the spine of my long-song-bringing (brought) horse [equipped] with a saddle, I noticed the wooded promontory right there. (297) As I sit there, the populous promontory is covered with thick fog, thick smoke. Immediately, I mounted the animal, I took the bridled animal, onto the dear path of
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288. *nula ärəḡ tuntay mañ[t’] tun-*
 289. *tay min[t] nula pär[t]käl.” loyam*
 290. *männə töy aḡäsı²⁶⁶,*
əllə waç wārata
 291. *tulj küm kəylältäli. – küm kəy-*
 292. *lältämam pırnā lāḡkotäljor juräl*
 293. *jəḡkä jəyiyən²⁶⁷. mä koy ärəḡ*
 294. *tumam (tuntam) wajāy nöyrəḡ²⁶⁸*
 295. *loḡ cöñçur jəḡkä t’ä[y] nuy jelsəm*
 296. *mä i t’u wältä jukəḡ öḡət mä*
 297. *jokä läyəmsəm, t’ä aməsmam*
 298. *kujəḡ öḡət tärəm cüyənə, tärəm*
 299. *pörkin(ə) öḡäli²⁶⁹. mä*
nörəkä wajāy
 300. *oytāja jelsəm päkəḡ wajāy männə*

264. надѣль [he put it on]

265. свистить [hisses]

266. развязаль [I untied it]

267. juuri puolipäivä tuli [noon has just arrived]

268. „сѣдло” [saddle]

269. kuin ankara sumu, ankara savu näkyy [thick smoke looks like thick fog]

301. *tä[γ] kätälsi²⁷⁰ num torâm jay juγâl*
 302. *lökä, torâm jun[k] söyäu²⁷¹*
lököy män[t]
 303. *wajâγnâ tuwâl, päläyläm mä küüt*
 304. *kälântälâm toγi pæη[k]*
täræη²⁷² söjñä
 305. *päläm wiγâγwâl²⁷³. tomnam ilä mä*
 306. *liyäm[,] juγâl säηki*
mæγ pamâl säη-
 307. *ki mæγ kä[t] lök*
pælaknä²⁷⁴ mä läyil-
 308. *tämna juγâl tiyiyæn willä*

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309. *käntä[γ] ku näläm söjjä*
jäsηältäl täγâr-
 310. *wâl. pamâl tiyiyæn, särân pam*
 311. *töyläw²⁷⁵ jar. ma tu*
älä jar jäm put-
 312. *woγ²⁷⁶ nik etlätäläm,*
älä jar jarjornâ
 313. *männä kässi. pör ili²⁷⁷ punâη käl-*
 314. *kät jipâγwält. tom käläk müyâ-*
 315. *li iwäl mä töy mänsäm, männä*
 316. *iläpä jöγätäjälj, ti müyæli äla-*
 317. *wâl timi.*
 318. *joγræη elæw jun[kan] älawâl,*
 319. *jun[k] müyilät kolayæn.*
männä köč-
 320. *ki pönäkñä näkisälli:²⁷⁸*
„nüη müyilä
 321. *wojujæn?”*

the upper heaven people, I am being brought by the animal in the way of the heavenly spirits, in the meantime, with my two ears, I can hear the whistling voice of the spring hazel grouse sounding in my ears.

(305) A little further away I looked, a land having gleaming trees, a land having glimmering grass, as I looked in the direction of the two sides of the paths, a tree was born as if a human-language voice sounded. (310) Grass-grown (lit. its grass born), golden-grass leafed, flood-made lake. (311) I emerged at the good end of that huge lake. (312) In the middle of the huge lake, I found it. (313) Downy scavenger ravens are glinting. (314) From the direction of that raven (or) what I went there, I look forward: lo! there is something lying there. An idol-spirit with armoured body is lying (there), why did the spirit die? (319) I, with the point of my saber, nudged him. (320) “Why are you sleeping?”

270. ohjasin [I lead (him)]

271. одинаковый [of the same kind]

272. *täræn*, нук. *mæræη* [*täræn*, today *mæræη*]

273. kuin keväisen pynn lento korvissa soi [it whistled in my ears like the noise of the flying of a spring hazel grouse]

274. *pæläkänä*

275. lehti [leaf]

276. (*wow*)

277. haaska, raato [carcass, cadaver]

278. kosketin, шевелить [I tapped it; move something]

322. *mä čõñčämna*
 323. *käšinâ jäxær[t] payâl läkâñ²⁷⁹*
 324. *sõjnâ män[t] núyêlwâl, mä jokâ*
 325. *läxæmsæm matä käsip æntim[.]*
 326. *a põjlamnâ käšinâ män[t] čä-*
 327. *yõñnatj, män[t] jõxital sät'wæl[.]*
 328. *a põjlama kõ läxæmsæm matä kã-*
 329. *sip æntim[.] sæmämä*
t'ä[γ] kältämsæm²⁸⁰
 330. *jüy äñtiñ kõr jæpælækna kümpä*

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331. *jõxintâwâl. sæmämä mä tõlêylâm:*
 332. „säri nüñ äl pälä²⁸¹,
noy[i] intä jüyêlñ
 333. *wäynâ pütki møy jöyat*
kulêñ sæmä²⁸²
 334. *jüxepä nüñæt ar[t]wêlt²⁸³.”*
 335. *tim jar peļköy nik etältäläm*
 336. *čäñ[č] päläw wälêw*
jar. tompil jar æj
 337. *peļæk männä tât üylimsi. männä*
 338. *üyælsi, tom jar peļækna*
wiļlä torâm
 339. *pat²⁸⁴ inlæw nârkæt*
t'ulwêlt²⁸⁵. männä
 340. *kälältämilnâ²⁸⁶ torâm*
wöyi lilêñ junjkæt
 341. *kar jal'tê jöñkäl sur jæyæn t'ä*
 342. *porêmlj²⁸⁷. män[t] kälältämilnâ*
 343. *inlêñ köčki æj pönæknä kölâ*

(322) Behind me (in my back), a man is chasing me with the dirty sound of heavy feet, I looked back, there is nobody. On my side, it felt (lit. sounds) like somebody's poking me, hitting me. But as I looked sideways, there is nobody. (329) I was listening to my heart, it, inside its chest, started to beat outward (331) I tell my heart, “Don't be afraid, (with a) meat-eating two-pronged iron, my food-rich heart the size of a nestling, you will be portioned out.”

(335) On this side of the lake I emerge – a lake grown with knee-high willow scrub. (336) I was scanning a part of the other bank of the lake. (337) I noticed that on the other bank of the lake, sky-brink-edged sabers seem to flicker. (339) When they become visible, by the lively fighters having divine power (the ground) is being trampled as if standing reindeer trumped ice. (342) When they noticed me, they all pointed to me with one tip

279. polkee maata [he tramples the ground]

280. sotainto nousee jotta sydän lyö! [the fever of battle is rising so that the heart should beat!]

281. не торопись [do not be in a hurry]

282. linnun pojan kokoinen sydämeni [my heart the size of a nestling]

283. jakaa [portion]

284. kuin taivaan ranta [like the edge of the sky]

285. сабли välkkyu [sabers flicker]

286. Näin että [I saw that]

287. --- olivat polkeneet kuin poron seisova jäätynyt paikka [it was trampled like the frozen standing area of the reindeer]

344. *mänä čučäläl (čütläl)²⁸⁸. mä jəyä* of their sharp swords. (344)
345. *t'ey jöyäsäm, pət'ä wäla ləysät,* I said to them, "Greetings,
346. *mänä köckiläl* friends!", they waved their
- mijlaltällal²⁸⁹, „tä-* swords at me, "Immediately
347. *päy²⁹⁰ nüñ ləysan".* friends to us, indeed!"
- „mörä[y] kəs kō-* "Where are you, friend, *Solid-*
348. *raw jəyâr kol' jöyäsân ləysa?* *Star-Looking-Chain-Mail,*
349. *ilkujin čökəñ tärnä nüñ* from? Why did you come
- məyä jösän²⁹¹?"* to other people's fight?"
350. *männə jəyəm kätälöy kayrâm-* (350) I caught my
351. *tâsi: [„]äpa nüñ män[t]* father by his arm, "Father,
- äl wälä²⁹², – män[t]* don't kill me, father, you know
- me." (352) My father says,
- "When I made a son like this,
352. *apa nüñ onälwân[.] jəyəm töləy-* I was sent by God alone; you
353. *wäl: [„]ma kuntä* turned just to me for a corpse
- t'imin[t] päy wer-* to eat me up." (356) My father
354. *säm, torəmnä män[t] kitkäl ätil-* did not really believe me. I
355. *näm; mänt ili näyalıy nüñpi* took a handbreadth of paper
356. *mänä kirkəlsän²⁹³[?] jəyəm mänä* from my sack beside my thigh,
- čəkə ant[ə] öyläyən. ma pit'pöñäl* a (piece of) paper written by
357. *kirkoy nu[k] wəsim layäl jöyat²⁹⁴* my mother, and gave it to my
358. *nipik täytä, əsəm kəñçim nipik* father. (360) My father took a
359. *männə jəymä t'ä məsi. jəyəmnə* look at it, for real, a son was
360. *jöyə täjaltä čajaypə päy enəm-* born after me, whose name is
361. *täyən mä čöñčämnä²⁹⁵, neməlpä* *Celestial-Star-Looking-Chain-*
362. *wälwäl torəm kəs kōraw jəyâr[.]* *Mail.* He was brought up by my
363. *niñəmnə enəmtətə kat ujnə ik-* woman, she brought him up in
364. *uläy, süñk uläy kat ujnə²⁹⁶ enəm-* a cellar not seen by the moon,
365. *tətə. töl jəyəmnə mänt öymi-* not seen by the sun. (366)
366. *ləs, mä jüyä, əy pänkiłsəm mä* Then my father embraced me,
367. *jəymä töləyləm: „čoyəm säñki* I bowed (?) my head to him,
368. I said to my father, "Father

288. osoittaneet minua [they pointed to me]

289. huiskuttavat [they swish them]

290. *te^cpäki* nyk. [*te^cpäki* today]

291. toisten vaikeaan työhön miksi (sekoituit) tulit [why did you come to the difficult matter of others (meddled with it)]

292. не убей [do not kill me]

293. sinäkin tulit minua syömään kuin karhu eläintä [you also came to eat me like a bear an(other) animal]

294. kämmenen suuruinen [the size of a palm]

295. послѣ меня [following me]

296. kuuttomassa auringottomassa pirtinaluksessa [in a sunless, moonless cellar]

369. *kujāṅ ȳtā, näxi köy sōlw ȳtā* go home to the *Populous-Cape-*
370. *āpa joyra mēnä!*” *jəyəm* *Having Snowbound-Sand,* to
371. *öyləs, paṅkāl kãñčaw torām waj-* the *White-Rock-Bordered-Cape.*
372. *kāl jūya jōs, jələs²⁹⁷ i torām* (370) My father embraced me,
his heavenly animal having
colorful shoulders came to
him, he mounted it, and on
the mid-heaven dear path,
he saw the twinkling of the
star at the end of the earth.
(375) With a tip of my
fighting sword, I drew (probed)
the hoary path, walked by
heavenly, powerful, living
heroes. (378) I was walking like
the animal coming into world
with feet, I chased them in the
traditional way of the heavenly
elk. (380) In front of me, there
was a hill on which a nutcracker
was hopping (?); I arrived at
that hill, I heard *ku sarjaṅkânā*
with my ears, I heard as if a sore-
toothed woodboring big worm
was splitting a tree. “What is
chewing here?” (386) As I notice
the wrong side of the flood-time
fish trap has been demolished.
After it collapsed, a forked arrow
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373. *jor juyal lõköy torām putāw*
374. *kāli kəs tūlamal us²⁹⁸.*
375. *torām wöyi liləṅ juṅkāt*
376. *jəy mənmił sojaṅ lõk*
377. *tärnəṅ köčki əj pönəyṅə*
378. *männə jerimsi²⁹⁹. kürə pitəm*
379. *torām wajəy tū*
kəylāmsəm³⁰⁰, torām
380. *nöy kułmaṅ lõknə männə tū*
381. *nuyəlsat³⁰¹. – mā ilim*
pełəknə war[ə]w-
382. *itāṅ päj, tū w[arəw-itāṅ]*
pāja mā jöyəsəm
383. *mā pələm ku sarjaṅkânā*
männə kəl-
384. *talnə willäpä juyintə*
kəčəṅ pönkəw
385. *əllə soy päčəyṅtal kəlləm³⁰² „müyəli*
386. *titi juṅ[k]rantəwəl?”*
pämi wertamnə³⁰³
387. *seṭ wär iki niwəl kōr*
tä[y] riyəmtəstə³⁰⁴[.]
388. *rakənmäl pīrnə sārəṅjul toyaṅləw³⁰⁵*

297. istuutui [he mounted]

298. näkyi kuin välähtävä tähti [he seemed to be a twinkling of a star]

299. koettelin – sankarien menemää – tietä sapelin karella [I felt/probed the way – walked by heroes – with the tip of my saber]

300. hirven askelin – долгий шагъ [with the steps of an elk – a long step]

301. ajoin takaa [I chased him]

302. kuulin ikäänkuin kipeähampainen toukka kirisee puuta – (hän kuulee jousta viireeseen vedettävän) [it sounded like a woodworm with aching teeth squeezing the tree (he can hear that a bow is just being drawn)]

303. älyttyäni(?) [after I understood (?)]

304. tulvaveden aikaisen saporin väärän ojelmuksen? (päästä ampui (s.o. salaa) [he shot from the wrong side of the flood fish-trap (in other words, surreptitiously)]

305. kalasääsken suun näköinen lentävä(?) nuoli [flying(?) arrow similar to a seagull's beak]

389. *mänä nawê[t]lj. læw
mänä kat' jöytäs*
390. *männä inləŋ köčki pöŋəlnat*
391. *töŋi loŋäsläs³⁰⁶, järəŋ püt är soynəŋ*
392. *töŋ täyläs³⁰⁷. mä jüŋa täləŋtəsəm:*
393. *[„]ləŋsa! tem al pitəm nöŋəl nüŋ*
394. *weltä kür[t]sin, təŋ
jüŋä, müŋi läŋsin-*

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395. *müŋi t'äŋəŋnə nül jöŋəsmän*
396. *täŋälsämän, min[t] torəmnə nula*
397. *pär[t]käl[“]. – tu päjnə
nələ päj putwoŋ*
398. *mänä jöwəlt torəm pat' inləw*
399. *nərəŋläl kölä nuk čütäl, mä-*
400. *nə jöwəlt. [„]tim jar wäsəŋ atəm*
401. *mək, məŋä kol' jösən[“]. – mä*
402. *nərəŋ töŋ ku söŋ üŋəl tä juləm-*
403. *täsəm³⁰⁸. jəŋ mänä jöŋäŋsät,*
404. *man[t] nələ köčki kütäl onta t'a*
405. *löŋəmtəsət³⁰⁹. – juŋ[k]
päŋər tüŋti sulaw*
406. *tel [-] männə küt
üŋəlli [-], čönčəŋ*
407. *ur pełkämna juŋ[k]
küł'əŋki wakkən-*
408. *təntä³¹⁰. möŋləŋ ur jə[m] pełkämna*
409. *juŋ[k] küł' əŋki waytakal,
t'upə män,*
410. *wakəntəwəlt. männə
juŋ[k] tärnəŋ*
411. *köčki jəwət inəllänä
män[t] wakəntə-*

similar to a seagull's beak is flying toward me. (389) The tip of the arrow almost got to me, by me, with the side of my sharp saber it was hit down, it became a birch-bark pot containing perch meal (?). (392) I said to him, “My friend! You were not able to kill a (lit. this) stork nestling born this year. (394) Come here, why (in what fist did we come together) did we start a fight, we were ordered together by God.” (397) – On that hill, from the directions of the hill's four corners, they are coming, pointing their sword having an edge like the brink of the sky to me, they come to me. (400) “Worthless duckling of a lake duck, where did you come from to us? (401) – I stuck my saber into the ground in front of me like a staff. (403) They came to me, they enclosed me among four swords. (405) The hero's clothing, sparking coppery red, I feel, on my back spine, carves (starts to carve) spirit resin. On my good breast side, spirit resin is carved, just I am carved. (410) They keep carving me with the seven edges of their battle sabers. –

306. löin takaisin [I punched back]

307. se meni pirstaleiksi kuin kiiskijauhoja täynnä oleva tuohinen [it broke into pieces like a birch-bark pot full of perch meal]

308. asetin sapelini eteeni sauvaksi? (nojauduin miekkaani) [I put my saber in front of me like a staff? (I leaned on my sword)]

309. sulkivat neljän miekan keskeen [I was enclosed among four swords]

310. seljästäni lähtee kipunoita kuten räiskävästä valkeasta / heidän seljästäni ikäänkuin pihkaa hakatessa? [from my back, sparks arise as they do from crackling fire/ from their back, as if they cut resin]

412. *wält.* – *mä jəyā tōlāylām:*
413. [_„] *nəj tī wič̣ əlatā wāy torām*
414. *jəyōw sārñəŋ oγəw wāytorām*
415. *jəyōw kuntā p̄irikal̄iŋ³¹¹. nəj*
416. *män[t] torām pat̄ inləw wāyŋna*

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417. *män[t] koγə jəyistəy[.] kiṭt̄ə məy*
418. *əllə məy əsöy³¹² nāmās əl*
419. *kiṭat̄i³¹³. kiṭt̄ə torām jəyəm nă-*
420. *mās əl kiṭat̄i³¹⁴[.] tārnəŋ köčki*
421. *jəm pōŋəlnə män[t] koγ wakân-*
422. *tātəy, mənpi ätmöy jəntə*
423. *nāmās kijita, ləγāslam³¹⁵, mäm-*
424. *pi ätməy jəsəm³¹⁶[“].*
karmanoy nu[k]
425. *wəsım juŋ[k] kəlām sa[t]*
pōt̄i wāy möyər
426. *männə nuy tālli:*
[„]kijita, tem kəlām
427. *sa[t] pōt̄i wāymöyərñä*
pət̄ä wəritəy!
428. *əllə məy əsəm kəl̄inta³¹⁷: il ku čökəŋ*
429. *wərə, mä əntə kü[t] köjsəm tärən*
430. *söy, əlləməy tärən mä*
əntə köjsəm³¹⁸,
431. *jəyŋnam wayl̄il, mä num torma*
432. *wāy torām jəyəm kəl̄inta säyta!["]*
433. *tem kas kün[č̣] pələ kujəw jäl̄ kütä*
434. *t̄ä[γ] jəlimtəsəm, nüŋpi mənä wi-*
435. *nawatəy əl wəlati; ilim ku pələknə*
436. *mörə[γ] köy l̄äki³¹⁹ jəyər*
juŋ[k]³²⁰ jəwət

- (412) I say to them,
“When did you ask our eternal iron God father, golden headed iron God father? (415) You, with the iron having an edge like the brink of the sky have been striking me for a long time. (417) Let our eternal terrestrial, great terrestrial mother not get angry. (419) Let my eternal heavenly father not get angry. (420) You were hitting me with the good side of your battle sabers so long that I will get angry, too; my friends, I have already got angry, too.” (424) From my pocket, I have taken out my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon, I take it out: “Boys, greet this three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon! Great terrestrial mother, listen to me: this is your old, messy issue with others, although I did not want a fighting way of life, I did not want the fight of the great earth, they invite it (i.e. hostility) themselves, my iron God father in the upper heaven, come and listen!” Among this troop the height of a velvet duck’s talons I left for war but do not feel guilty toward me; at the

311. *-kalätän*

312. *-əw*

313. *elkөөн сууттуко vihastuko* [let him not get angry, not get annoyed]

314. *kičwəl*

315. *ребята* [children]

316. *suutuın* [I got angry]

317. *kəl̄inta*

318. *En kyllä tahtonut taistella(?) elää (tärən:in lailla)* [I really did not want to fight (live in the *tären* way)]

319. *ampua* [shoot]

320. *nimi* [name]

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437. *miyər wăstâ jun̄k³²¹ / iwəs pələ jun̄-*
 438. *kan, čöñčəm pel̄käm̄nə tuł jun̄-*
 439. *kan äjəp̄il p̄äy üləŋ kori kōraw*
 440. *te³²². os tūtəm̄əl̄ pel̄ək̄nə jay*
 441. *jaləm̄ta³²³ jun̄kan waçoy jüyäl:*
 442. *liləŋ möñkäm̄ çəw̄ ku.*
 443. *mä jun̄[k] koləm̄ sa[t] p[öt̄i] w[äy] möyər män-*
 444. *nə etər pat̄ jöləw̄ tormoy tāt̄ il*
 445. *wayältäl̄i: jun̄[k] p̄äyeli čimän̄*
 446. *kotäl̄ torəm̄n̄ə wersi³²⁴. männə*
 447. *tompil kuj̄in̄ köyi wan əj tākä*
 448. *t̄ä p̄äyəs̄i³²⁵; sōȳjōj p̄əntāw̄ nəŋ-*
 449. *kän̄kal̄ ärəy t̄ä[γ] pel̄kək̄intas³²⁶.*
 450. *uyäl̄ männə tōyi wəli³²⁷ / çysōy*
 451. *ən[t]wä tōkəm̄təli, os är kul̄ intə*
 452. *kul̄əŋ səməl̄ männə küm̄ wəli[.]*
 453. *lam̄ə[t] ñoȳi kəl̄əm̄ pul̄ öyəsəm̄³²⁸[,]*
 454. *inləŋ köčki əj p̄önək̄nə männə*
 455. *tok̄ims̄i[,] əj wōyi kəl̄əm̄ kuja*
 456. *männə jəȳä čöç̄i³²⁹:*
 „*kuj̄lam̄ intän̄*
 457. *siyər kul̄ al̄jəl̄n̄ə səmlin̄ kula*
 458. *wayənt̄əw̄əl̄³³⁰, mä jələ[w] waj̄əy wel-*

side of the man in front of me, they are *Solid-Stone-Throwing-Warrior* and *Seven-Hurdles-Overleaping-Warrior*, *Hero the Height of a Skewer*, behind me, it is the *Crazy-Idol's-Younger-Son*, *Frosty-Pelissed-Clothing*. (440) And, a little way off, here comes *Lively-Snake-Headed-Man* from the town of your idol-accepting guests (lit. seating people).

(443) By me, the idol-spirit, the three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon is let down from the clear-lined, bordered sky – God created a *čimän̄* day suitable for killing heroes. (445) I brought down the other man with the tip of my shoulder hard as stone; a hard trunk of a larch split. I take off his head (i.e. skin his head), I tuck his scalp into my belt, and I cut off his much-fish-eating heart. I cut the flat meat into three, I stuck the tip of my sharp sword into them and held them out to the three people in one motion, (456) “Men, running out of *siyər*

321. 7 itsensä korkuisen hyppyysteen yli hyppäävä [(man) overleaping seven hurdles of his own height]

322. Nimi – pakkänen-turkki-pukuinen Tämä puku päällä hän voi pakkasella tappaa [name – having *Frosty-Pelissed-Clothing*. When he wears it, he can kill with cold]

323. *jay umt̄ə jun̄k* [idol who seats people (makes people sit down)]

324. Jumala teki hyvän päivän sankaria tappaa [God created a good day for killing the hero]

325. löin (pudotin) toisella olalla [I hit (threw him off) with one of my shoulders]

326. tiheäsyinen lehtikuusen kanto, sekin halkesi (s.o. hän oli luja mutta sittenkin hänet halkaisin) [(it is like) a dense larch trunk, yet it split (in other words, although he was strong, I cut him into two)]

327. *tōyi kōräl̄äl̄i* [I (have) skinned it]

328. leikkasin sydämen kolmeen osaan, pistin miekan [illegible] [I cut his heart into three pieces, I pinned them on my sword] [illegible]

329. osoitin kolmelle [I handed them to three (men)]

330. ehkä syödä haluatte [perhaps you want to eat]

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459. *mäm kārana nəŋpi iyitəγ[ʰ]*. –
 460. [*„*]nūŋnäm kǎntāy
*näŋki*³³¹ *ńoyi puł iyi*.
 461. *nūŋ kǎntā[γ] ku ńoyinatı*
enəmmə ku
 462. *wāsəŋ, nūŋnäm kuləŋ*
səmənäti nuγ
 463. *patəŋ*³³²[ʰ]. – *männə*
kos pəŋkəw iləŋ
 464. *jula nuk isim i jəγəlsim. töl*
 465. *mä kö läγəmsəm torəm wöγi liləŋ*
 466. *juŋ[k]lam kotap əntim. pottə ku*³³³
 467. *juγəw lək jəγən təkim təlsi*³³⁴: *mä*
 468. *männə itü welmäm juŋkam*
 469. *torəm näməs əntə kij[tʰ]a, männə*
 470. *wičəlatə pəjaŋ məγ inləŋ köčki*
 471. *jəm pəŋəkŋə lat kinsəm itü pə-*
 472. *γəmäm jırəŋ juŋk männə tū lata*
 473. *töγ il pəŋsim, məγnä männə töγ*
 474. *jumus (jumsim)*³³⁵, *əkəkəŋ alŋa*
 475. *torəm patʰ inləw nārkal männə*
 476. *jūγa töγ jıntus*³³⁶. [*„*]il[ə] *tintə öγəŋ*
 477. *lätnə il[ə] tintə pəkkəŋ*
*lätnə*³³⁷ *nūŋət*
 478. *erəylitilnə jır wəmə jırəŋ juŋk*
 479. *wāsəŋ, mä nūŋə welsəm[,]* *nəmsəŋ*

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480. *äl kītatı[.] tim köčki pörək*
 481. *nīlā[γ] kəγlän*³³⁸ *tärəm wat wertə*
 482. *kotäl*³³⁹ *öγəŋ puγəl, pəkəkəŋ pu-*
 483. *γəlnə aməswəŋ*³⁴⁰, *torəm wat jejäl-*

fish, your hearts must long for fish; as I have killed a new animal, *kārana*, you, too, have some of it.” “You, yourself, eat the flesh of the man from the *näŋki* (larch) clan. You have been brought up eating Khanty man’s flesh, eat it up into your innards consuming fish.” – (463) By me, it was eaten up with my twenty-tooth *iləŋ* mouth, and I chewed it. (464) Then I took a look there, my strong, lively, heavenly spirits are nowhere. (466) The escaping man’s tree-path is drawn in this way: so that God would not get angry for the spirit just killed by me, I dug a pit (in) the eternal, cloddy ground with the good tip of my sharp saber, and I set down the spirit rich in sacrifice just killed by me, I buried him there with soil, at the head I tucked his sky-brink-edged sword. (476) “In the time of girls coming into the world later, in the time of boys coming into the world later, when commemorating you, you are a sacrifice spirit accepting sacrifice, I killed you, do not be angry. (480) The eight bells hung on the hilt of this

331. ?

332. *pistä omaan suuhusi* [put it in your own mouth]333. *pakolainen* [fleeing]334. *убѣжали* [they ran away]335. *obs! заребалъ* [N.B. I buried him]336. *panin miekkansa hänen pääpohjansa* [I put his sword by his head]337. *myöhemmin syntyvät* [those coming into the world later]338. *miekan kädensijan 8 kulkusta* [the eight bells at the hilt of the sword]339. *kovana myrskypäivänä* [on a stormy day]340. *istut kuin kotikylässäsi (kulkuset soivat ja huvittavat)* [you sit as in the village of your birth (bells are ringing to entertain you)]

484. *til kotâl³⁴¹, wiļlä öyi
nowâ[t] lamj*
485. *köl jəyən nūñä löñêl³⁴²[³]. töl*
486. *mä jäwtärəy s[äyêw]
kölnä mä t'ä[γ] kəɣlâm-*
487. *sâm juŋkâ jələm lək männə t'ä[γ]*
488. *kütli, jə[γ] küřmimil sojəñ lək*
489. *männə nuɣəltə wersi[.] sārəñ*
490. *pam tōyləy jarnə kəɣəlləm,*
491. *mätä mänmäm jäw[ə]t
ärəy tumam*
492. *wajka mä t'ä[γ]
nomlāmtāsəm³⁴³, poj[-]*
493. *sem wiñciw torəm
kar jäw[ə]t ärəy*
494. *söyi wajkam sarəy
wəlatij[.] näyi*
495. *pələñ är kölnä mä kəltəm-*
496. *kəlləm[.] wajəy pöñək
ñilə[γ] kəy-*
497. *lām jorəytal sätwəl[.]*
498. *wiļlä kəntə[γ] ku pələm sōjä*
499. *wiļlä jəsñəltil kəlləm[.] torəm*

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500. *awtəw wajkam toyj
pəñkəw tərəm-*
501. *sōjñäti mänä liwəwəl. männə*
502. *ilə čüčəm i[γ] künčəw*
503. *pasəñ telnä läyəltə
weri³⁴⁴[.] mänä*
504. *jöyəmalnə wajəy pöñəy sōyəw*
505. *čəñ[č]koɣ männə
t'ä[γ] kayrəmtəsj.*
506. *mä nöyrəy³⁴⁵ loy čöñč oytəja t'ä*
507. *nuɣ juysəm. mä əl[ə] wajəy čöñč*
508. *oytəja jelmäm pırnə
jäw[ə]t ärəy s[äyêw]*

sword, on a day creating strong wind, you will sit in a village rich in girls, in a village rich in boys, on a day swinging heavenly breeze, as if kind words of girls were told to you." (485) Then I stepped here with the word(s) of the melody of seven songs, I followed the path walked by spirits, I started to chase them on the hoary path trampled by them. (489) I am walking at a golden-grass-leaf lake, while I was going (there), I was thinking here of my animal whom I brought with seven songs, my heavenly male animal similar to drifts, (I wished) my animal similar to the braids of seven songs appeared quickly here. (494) In many holes of the white clouds, the ringing of the eight bells (hung) on my animal's head can be heard, just like a voice of a human mouth, as if I could hear their speech. (499) My heavenly-maned animal flies to me with the whistling voice of the spring hazel grouse. (501) I started to wait (for the horse) with my body stretching forth bear-clawed gloves. When he reached me, I caught the animal by the twisted rope at his jutting muzzle immediately. I mounted the back of the saddled horse. (507) After mounting the back of the enormous animal, I led him with the word of the melody

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341. heiluttaa [sway]

342. ikäänkuin puhuvat tyttöjen laulua (?) [as if they sang the girls' song (?)]

343. думаль [I thought]

344. minä eteenpäin ojennetuin kynsiniekkain kintaiden rupesin odottamaan (hevosta) [I started to wait (for the horse) with bear-clawed gloves stretched forth]

345. satula [saddle]

509. *köl männä t'ä[γ] kajältäsi³⁴⁶, juṅkâ* of seven songs, on the hoary
510. *jältä sojâṅ lōk torâm juṅk awtâw* path walked by the spirits, they
511. *wajâṅnâ nuṅâlta* started to be chased by the
wersät, juṅ[k] sä- heavenly-spirit-maned animal, I
512. *rân pam töylâw jar männä nu-* chase them to the spirit's golden-
513. *ṅâllat³⁴⁷. tom pil jar* grass-leafed, flood-made lake.
peḷəṅnâ juṅ[k] (513) I keep peering at
514. *täräm sem kâli pat'oy männä küt* the spirit's-powerful-eye-visible
515. *üṅalli. mannâ kältalnâ tim-* edge at the other side of the
516. *näm täṅâr wâ³⁴⁸ wiṭ* lake. (515) As I am listening,
ləpəyləm torâm I can hear, I have heard it at
517. *putâwnâ³⁴⁹ mä kälkalim.* the end of the world eternally
kö[γ] kōraw dark. (517) (It is a) town having
518. *soṅaw wač³⁵⁰, əjsöyi³⁵¹* a stone-like coating, the three
käləm juṅ[k] t'u- fighters of the same kind fled
519. *nam potsät. männä* there. (519) I am prodding my
ärəṅ tuntâ söṅäw animal, worthy of bringing
songs, on the good side of his
fleshy legs. (521) I am driving
my long-song-bringing, long-
tale-bringing animal, I should
not let him into the hero (-ruled)
town resembling nothing other
but itself. "You, song-bringing
animal, tale-bringing animal,
run fast! (525) Let them not get
into the princess-ruled, prince-
ruled town resembling nothing
other than itself. Let me come
up with them into the harbor
of the town, on the dead waters
of the seven ice-holes." By me,
their raven black animals were

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520. *wajkam nõṅiṅ kūr jəm pōṅâlnâ*
521. *männä ilä kül'ältäli³⁵². koy är[əṅ]*
522. *koy mañ[t'] tuntam wajəṅ*
pöylim; jüṅnäm
523. *söyitaw juṅkan wača älä kōntâwtâ-*
524. *lim³⁵³[.] [„]nün äräṅ tuntâ*
wajəṅ mañ[t'] tun-
525. *tâ wajəṅ sarək mənä[!] jüṅnäm*
526. *wit'itaw³⁵⁴ näjəṅ ortəṅ*
wača, älä kōntâwti[.]
527. *əllə wač kōlnəṅnâ što*
jäw[ə]t amäl-
528. *tijw suril jəṅ[k]nâ männä*
tö[γ] jöṅâlat³⁵⁵[„]

346. ohjasin [I lead it]

347. ихъ гоняю [I chase them]

348. слышно [can be heard]

349. aina pimeä seutu [land always dark]

350. kivinen kaupunki [stony town]

351. yhdennäköiset [(they are) looking the same]

352. kannustan nyk. on ajan ahdistan [I prod – today it is used – I chase, I stimulate]

353. etten päästäisi omannäköiseen kaupunkiin [so that I did not let him into the town resembling nothing other than itself]

354. omannäköiseen [sic!] [resembling nothing other than itself]

355. чтоб догнать [so that I could come at him]

529. *jä*³⁵⁶ *kə*lāk *söy*äw *waj*äylal *männ*a arranged at my heavenly
 530. *pojsem wi*ñciw *tor*äm *kar p*öñla hail-like stallion's side. (531)
 531. *männ*a *töy lä*mpaytäs³⁵⁷. – “Greetings, my friend! Why
 [„]tarowa *l*yäs! did you leave me, we miss a
 532. *n*əñ *män*[t] *mü*yilä[t] lot of villages to play (in).
*kä*jsätäy, *m*əñ (534) The men of the
 533. *j*əñkamnəñi är *k*ära other side say to me, “The
*t*ä *kä*jlöy³⁵⁸[„.] harbor of this town resembling
 534. *tom p*il *kujt m*änä *tö*läy^wäl[t:] nothing other than itself does
 535. [„]tim *jü*ynäm *söy*taw *nä*ñəñ *w*ač not sway.” (536) Right at the
 536. *k*ölnəñ *ənt*ə *je*jältäy³⁵⁹[„.] bank, the blood-sacrifice spirit
*te*pä *u*tän accepting sacrifice is standing,
 537. *ja*lwäl *jir w*əntə *jir*əñ *ju*ñk, *pa*riñ speaking toward us, toward
 538. *ju*ñk, *m*əñä *ni*pä *tö*läy^wäl[:] the water: “Children, if you
 539. [„]kijjita³⁶⁰ *t*ipə *tö*ñ *nä*msätän *w*äl- happened to want to, do not
 trample on my harbor, keep
 following your war path not
 resembling anything else,
 you yourselves put an end
 to your never-ending spirit's
 fight, do not spit the little
 blood of the Khanty larch
 man on the harbor of my
 town! I was not ordered by
 God for you to fight with.”
 (547) From there,
 from the harbor of our large
 town, we marched here, I am
 the spirit who brought seven
 songs, I started to chase the
 three fighters of the same kind

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540. *t*änä, *m*ä *k*ölnəñäm *äl*pə *tö*ñ *po*rän-
 541. *t*itän, *jü*ynam *söy*taw
*t*ärnəñ [ä]kätän
 542. *t*ät *il*ən *po*rän^titän[,]
*k*ölaläy³⁶¹ *ju*ñ[k]
 543. *t*ärnätən *t*ät *il*ən *n*əñnäm *pe*n-
 544. *lit*ən³⁶², *m*ä *w*ač *k*ölnəñäm *k*ántäy
 545. *n*äñki *kuj* äj *w*ər *äl* *oy*titän³⁶³[.]
 546. *to*rämⁿä *m*än[t] *n*əñäti *ənt*ə
*p*är[t]käl (*m*ä *ənt*ə *p*är[t]kälujäm)
 547. *j*äliysäntäy[„]. *t*öl³⁶⁴ *m*əñ *äl*lə *w*ač
 548. *k*ölnəñöy *t*ä[ç] *n*öyälsäw, *m*ä
*ja*w[ə]t *är*əy *tuma*ñ *ju*ñ[k]
 549. *w*äsäm, *m*ännä *w*ontin *i*y *t*äläm-

356. (= *jän*öyäs) *musta* [black]357. *minun hevoseni asettui poikki heidän hevostensa tiellä* [my horse placed himself
crossed in front of their horses]358. *rupeamme leikkimään jättäen suuren alan (poljetus)* [we begin to play leaving a
large area (trampled)]359. *шевелить* [make something move]360. *ребята* [children]361. *loppumatoin* [endless]362. *jakaa* [to portion]363. *älkää sylkekö verta kaupunkini vesitielle* [do not spit blood on the waterways of
my town]364. *оттуда* [from there]

550. *sõjñä³⁶⁵ männä aj söyi kolām junḵ* with the roaring noise of a
551. *männä t'ä[y] pöyäkätäsät³⁶⁶.* forest bear. (551) We stepped
jüynam sö- up onto a stone resembling
552. *yitaw wiṭ wältä köy oytâja³⁶⁷ t'ä[y]* nothing other than itself. (553)
553. *nuy porâmsöy (ow).* “Children, we stepped on a
„kijjita payäl jây- field trampled hard. (554)
554. *waṅ³⁶⁸ mæya t'ä[y] nuy* Here we will clash with many
porâmsöy. tüt edges of swords sharp at the
555. *oy inlæḵ köçki är inalnä mæḵ* end. (556) An immensely
556. *ñul jçyilöy. kölalây täräm tüyæt[t]* strong fire is sparking. (557)
557. *pöläylâwâ³⁶⁹. il tintä öyæḵ* On the day when our future
lätlöy, päkæḵ lätlöy daughters and sons grow up,
558. *warâmtal kotâl[,] koy äræy tuntâ ku* on the day when long-song-
559. *warâmtal kotâl mæḵ kürmimöy* bringing men grow up, let
560. *murlâḵ jöç il äl mölki tusat³⁷⁰[.]* them not forget the snowy
path trampled hard by us.
With the swords having edges
like the border of the sky, we
kept clashing (with me), as
if an immensely strong fire,
larch fire flared up. (564) As
if each spark of the great fire
flew to the four winds. (566)
If it was a lad from the side
of logs (i.e. a common man),
the twenty-tongued fire girl
would have burnt him. (569)
We are four heavenly-power
spirits having armored bodies.
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561. *torâm pat' inlæw nârkætñä*
562. *män[nä] aj jot' ñul pänsöy³⁷¹, mæḵ*
563. *küütawnä kölalây täräm tüyæt[t] kol*
564. *tüyæt wi||ä wætäyliyæn³⁷²[.]*
ä||ä tüyæt
565. *aj sulloy är torâm pä|æk*
[ç: pe|æk] jæḵkä³⁷³
566. *wi||ä äræy pöyântawäl[.] sayäl juy*
567. *uräs mæç wältalnâ tōḵ kos*
568. *ñälæmpæ näj öyina kuntâ tōḵ*
569. *iḵi³⁷⁴. mæḵ wäsöy[,] joyrâḵ elæw*
570. *torâm wöyi ñälæ jun[k] wäsöy[.] –*

365. metsäkarhun äänellä [with the noise of a forest bear]

366. гнать началь [I started to chase (them)]

367. omannäköselle ikuiselle kivelle [onto a/the stone resembling nothing other than itself]

368. tukevalle kovalle [strong, hard]

369. loppumatoin tuli брызгает [endless fire is sparkling]

370. vasta syntyvät tytöt ja pojat ajastansa noustessaan elkööt unhoittako meidän polkemamme (?) lumista jälkeä [our daughters and sons coming into the world from now on, in their own days, they should not forget the snowy trace(s) trampled(?) by us]

371. lyövät minua alituisen sapeleillaan [they continuously hit me with their sabers]

372. välillämme alituisen tuli palaa [between us the fire is burning all the time]

373. joka suunnalla [in every direction]

374. jos olisi ollut tavallinen ihminen, olisi 20-kielinen tulityttö (hänet) polttanut [if he had been an ordinary man, the twenty-tongued fire-girl would have burned him]

571. *tompil ku joyârsem nîlây täytâ*
 572. *jøyimta kürsim³⁷⁵; säri torâm*
 573. *täxanmälnä joyâr weräm*
 574. *näj köyina seräy tätläti³⁷⁶, torâm*
 575. *pat' inlaw nârəynä männä əj*
 576. *tõjka³⁷⁷ küč jəyilj, kōlalāki*
 577. *tāräm tüyət mərəm pōlāy-*
 578. *lāwâl, torâm wöyi liləj köt³⁷⁸*
 579. *jüjpi torâmnâ əj tu jir wanta*
 580. *jirâñ junj tiyiyən³⁷⁹*
jüjəpā tükim čöj-

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581. *lalti³⁸⁰, ja[y] körəytil jöləñ torâm*
 582. *ma koy ənt[ə] uləm³⁸¹, pičəñ pätäl*
 583. *torâmnâ čän[č] jäləw əllə*
 584. *məy jäw[ə]t oytəja³⁸²*
män[t] jüjə pā-
 585. *yəwält³⁸³; torâm wöyi*
wält[ä] tükim
 586. *änta³⁸⁴; pätäl torâmnâ³⁸⁵ männä*
 587. *küt kulämla[t]³⁸⁶*
män[t] / mä jäwt-
 588. *ärəy tumanj jun[k] ku*
wäsəm³⁸⁷ [.] pätälänä
 589. *män[t] tim jüynäm*
söyitəw näjəñ öytəta³⁸⁸
 590. *mänt pätälänä pör ili*
kəlkänä män[t]

(571) I could not cut the chain mail of the man from the other side into eight; when it was created by God, his armor was formed hard as a stone by the fire that created it, I hack and slash him with the same precision with my sword having an edge like the border of heaven in vain, the endless strong fire only sparks. “*Heavenly-power-lively-hand*”, from God, he was born to be the same kind of sacrifice-spirit accepting sacrifices, he was brought up in that way, too, I cannot see the world in the distance (anywhere) in which it is possible for them to fall, later, [with their] knee(s), onto the seven surfaces of the great, humid earth, they bring me down; his divine power may be like that; later it seems to me I can hear them, me/I am a spirit man bringing seven songs.

(588) Then, the scavenger raven still pecks (and takes) me onto the princess(-ruled) capes resembling nothing other than

375. voi [can, is able to]

376. No, kyllä oli lujaksi [well, it was really hard]

377. tiheään [thickly]

378. „богатырь такъ называется [the hero is known by this name]

379. syntyi samanlaiseksi kuin minäkin [he was born the same kind as me]

380. выросъ samanlaiseksi [he became (lit. was brought up to be) the same as me]

381. En missään näe että he kaatuivat [I cannot see anywhere that they fall]

382. maahan [onto the ground]

383. Myöhemmin he varmaan polvillaan painannut [later they must have... with his knee...he pressed him, brought him down]

384. Heillä oli voimia kuin Jumalalla [they had as much power as God has]

385. когда то myöhemmin [sometime later]

386. (pass.III.p.pl.) [3rd person plural passive]

387. пташка будто бы говорить [as if the little bird spoke]

388. граница будто бы [as if there was a border]

591. *kām matā*³⁸⁹ *ṇṇyāwālt.* – itself (i.e. unknown). (591) 41
mā jūynām I, why does God show me a
592. *sōyitaw nājəṇ ḍyət torāmnā mänā* princess(-ruled) cape resembling
593. *kōlā pāmīlli, tūpā tōṇ* nothing other than itself, I wish
mānā torāmjor he had not let the mid-heaven
594. *kōləṇ wajāy əntā tōṇ* speaking animal down to me.
*asalkāli*³⁹⁰. *mā* (595) Then I (was left) by them
595. *pətālṇa jūynām māy nājəṇ ḍyətəna* as wood cut with their knees,
596. *jəyən mānt čān[č]jālaw jālaw* on the princess(-ruled) cape of
jukkā küləṇ māy jāw[ə]t oytinā the foreign land, on the seven
597. *mərəm tū[γ] jeltīl* surfaces of the thick earth, it is
*kitās*³⁹¹. *teyā nā-* only their visit that remained
598. *mən wətəyləyən wīt* here. (597) Down here, we
wətəyləm tūytaw appeared at the water of the sea
599. *tārās*³⁹² *tōy nik tāt* having fire flaring up, fire having
etəmsōy. wīt wətəyləm been ignited forever. (599) The
600. *iməṇ*³⁹³ *naj pörki məṇā tū lūṇ-* smoke of the holy fire ignited
601. *kāltəstā lāltāp ātəm*³⁹⁴ [.] forever covers us, it is bad to
kāntā[γ] ku breathe. (601) By me, it can
hardly be endured with a fleshy
human body. (603) The other
man’s face could not be seen,
I hack (at him) haphazardly,
(in) this fiery sea resembling
nothing other than itself.
(606) “Mother, listen, for
you, I make two red silk skeins
for you. (608) Do not make me
drown in the smoke. (609) From

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602. *ḥoyiṇ elnā männā čōkin tā-*
603. *jaltī*³⁹⁵. *tompil ku wāṇəm əntə*
604. *kāltəyən, mā milnām*³⁹⁶ *jōyīn[-]*
605. *tālēm tim jūynām sōyitaw*
606. *tūytaw tārās*³⁹⁷. [„] *əsəm kōlānta:*
607. *nūṇā wərtə jermäk kē[t] sikkān*
608. *nūṇā werlim[.] mānt pörkāja āl*
609. *čiyəmtā[”]*³⁹⁸. *tōl tayāla tū kujlam*

389. *однако* [at the same time, yet]

390. *Jumala näyttää erilaisia kaupunkeja, parempi olisi ollut että Jla ei olisi lähettänyt lintua* [God presents various towns, it would have been better if God had not sent a bird]

391. *Minulle jäi vain että he kaatavat minut maahan ja polvillansa painavat kuin hakapuita* [What I could do (lit. what was left to me) is that I am pushed down to the ground, and they press me with their knees as (if I was) firewood cut small]

392. *Tällä alhaalla/ rannalla ikuisesti palava meri* [down here/on the shore, the sea burning forever]

393. *iməṇ?* (< *imi?*)

394. *удариль, дышать нельзя* [it hit me, it is impossible to breathe]

395. *ruumiini vaivoin sitä kestää* [my body can hardly stand it]

396. *umpimähkään* [by haphazardly]

397. *tārāsnā* (?)

398. *tukehuta* [(you) drown me!]

610. *kũ[t] kæn[č]lim antimätə, potsät.*
 611. *mä wərtə jermäk kã[t] sï[k]kân männə*
 612. *nuy wəsi, männə t'ep utân jalwâl*
 613. *wərtə käryəw əñčəy, jir wəntə*
 614. *jirəñ juy torəmnə tãti³⁹⁹,
 mä tōy utā*
 615. *kəyəlsəm männə wərtə jermäk*
 616. *kã[t] sï[k]kân männə
 tōy nuk jorus⁴⁰⁰,*
 617. *il[ə] tintə öyəñ lät warəmtil kotâl*
 618. *il[ə] tintə päkəñ lät
 warəmtil kotâl⁴⁰¹*
 619. *köjməñ kötəw⁴⁰²
 neməñ⁴⁰³ jol warəm-*
 620. *tal kotâl, wet panaw jiyäl juyäl*
 621. *söñətäl⁴⁰⁴ kotâl, panaw kötəw niri*

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622. *jol jöntal kotâl mätim jir iyəmam*
 623. *täyï il äl molki tusat⁴⁰⁵.*
 624. *mä tō[y] nik wiyəlsəm[,]
 juñkə mənəm*
 625. *lōy männə t'ä[y]
 nuyəllat[.] mä əntə*
 626. *ko[k]kə mənsəm[,] torəm
 juñk awtəw karama*
 627. *t'ä[y] tiyəsəm[:] [„]jüynäm
 məy näjəñ öyə[t]nə*
 628. *mä ärəy tumam wajəy
 sarək wälätj⁴⁰⁶[!]*
 629. *mä nuypa kəltəmsəm[:]
 ləwtəñ pələñ*

there, I was looking for my men, they are not anywhere, they have fled. I picked up the two red silk skeins, by me, on the shore, there is a red-bark fir, a sacrifice-accepting sacrifice tree created by God, I went up there, by me, the two red silk skeins were tied up there by me, on the day of the growing up of the girls coming into the world from this time on, on the day of the growing up of the boys coming into the world from this time on, on the day of the growing up of the famous shaman with a drum in his hands, on the day of his hitting the five-string wood of the (Siberian) pine on the day of the coming of the string-handed shaman making music, do not forget the place where I hung up a sacrifice.

(624) I descended

there, I followed them on the path walked by spirits. (625) I did not go far, I said to my heavenly-spirit-maned male animal: (627) “At the foreign-princess-ruled cape, let the animal brought by my song be here at once!” I am listening

399. loi [created]

400. sidoin [I tied (it)]

401. vasta tulevat tytöt pojat, niistä syntyvä noita [the girls and boys coming into the world in the future, the one of them becoming a shaman]

402. noitarumpu käsissä [with a drum in his hands]

403. именной [renowned]

404. soittava [making/playing music]

405. elköön unhoittako [let them not forget]

406. tulkoon nopeasti [let him come quickly]

630. *jəltə pat'nə wajkam* upwards, my animal walking
mänä liwəwə̃l⁴⁰⁷[.] on the moving edge of the
631. *mä kätəlsim[,] wajjəy* rainy clouds is flying to me.
čöñ[č] oytəja nuɣ I caught him, I mounted
632. *jəlsəm[,] wiɣ wə'təyləm* the back of the animal, I
tüɣtəw t'arsa descended, I am standing
633. *mä nik wiɣəlsəm, əllə* at the sea burning with fires
t'arəs kanəñnə ignited forever. (634) I say this
634. *mä jall'əm. tōm t'arəs pełkə mä* to the other side of the sea.
635. *t'ä[ɣ] tiɣəsəm. nemin* (635) If God brought me up
torəmnə kuntənə⁴⁰⁸ to be an idol-prince bringing
636. *ərəɣ tumə juŋkanəy män[t] čəjay* songs indeed, let the hundred
637. *čöñlətəñə̃l⁴⁰⁹; mänə* cold-faced princess girls blow
tōm t'arəs pełkəy to me from the other shore of
638. *ül wənəmpəw satkan* the sea. I did not stand longer
öyina lältusatı⁴¹⁰[.] than the time of cooking a
639. *jölə kulı put jəm sıs* thawed fish, I took a look at the
əntə jəlsəm⁴¹¹[.] water, mere ice frozen in one
640. *mä nik läyəmsəm[,]* night arose (lit. froze). (641) I
əjəj patəm köyäl⁴¹² let down my heavenly-spirit-
641. *jöñk patəs. mä torəm juŋk awtəw* maned male animal there, I am
642. *karam tōy nik wayəltəsım, čöñčəñ* harkening towards the good
- side of my back spine, it sounds
like a newborn boy's cry (lit. as
if I listened to a newborn boy's
cry), ahead, I am harkening
ahead, towards the animal's
two forelegs, as if I heard the
hammer-handed five forest-
spirits hammering. (647) I am
listening to the bridled mouth

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643. *ur jəm pełkämä mä kəłəntələm[,]*
644. *wiļlə jələ[w] päy jəsəntil kəlsəm⁴¹³*
645. *il wajjəy kötkənə mä*
il kəłəntələm[,]
646. *wiļlə käyın kötəw wet səwəs päy-*
647. *ləysəntil kəlləm⁴¹⁴. tinəñ wajjəy*
648. *pəkəñ äyən mä kəltəmləm⁴¹⁵, wa-*

407. (lentää) [flies/is flying]

408. Jos Jumala mala [if God -od]

409. kasvattaa [brings up]

410. tuulkoon, [let her/them blow]

411. täyttä hetkeä en seisonut [I stood there less than a minute]

412. чистый /пук. [clear/today]

413. äsken syntyneen lapsen itku (jäa ritisee) [a newborn child's cry (the ice is creaking)]

414. eteenpäin kuuntelin vasarakätistä viisi metsäläistä takoisivat / kaviot jäähän lyö-
vät [I went on listening, the five hammer-handed forest-men were hammering/the
hoofs kept striking the ice]

415. kuuntelen hevosen suuta [I am listening to the horse's mouth]

649. *jâḡ mək nılâḡ kəḡlâm jorâḡ-*
 650. *tıl kəllâm. kat' äntâ kântâ[y] ku*
 651. *pələm sōjä löḡtantâwêlt⁴¹⁶. mä*
 652. *kəläntälâm nouwtân*
päyäl kuḡäl lökä⁴¹⁷
 653. *[torma] willä: jəḡən*
löḡälj⁴¹⁸: pämi
 654. *wertämnä tompil tarâs əpəlkä*
 655. *kuntâ mänt jöytâwtayân*
əllä tarâs
 656. *kənḡa mä wäḡwəjḡə*
kä[t] nalkân
 657. *männä töḡ jñtus (tâus)⁴¹⁹, pičän*
 658. *koy ärəḡ ärəḡtâ kunâ koy mañt'*
 659. *mañt'â kunâ mä jñ[t']mam wejəḡ*
 660. *nal jir il äl mol'kütusat[?].] mä*
 661. *te[y]pâ utâ weriyən wərtâ juyêw*
 662. *juḡ jöḡkä⁴²⁰ utâ külsəm.*
- of the precious animal, I can hear the ringing of my eight bells of a baby animal. (650) It almost sounds like a voice of human lips. (651) I am harkening, (it sounds) like they were talking on the way walked by grown-up boys, as I notice, when I got to the other side of the sea, two iron-shafted arrows were stabbed by me into the shore of the large sea I arrived at; in the future (lit. later), let my sacrifice, let the man singing long songs, telling long tales, let the shafted-arrow sacrifice stabbed by me, not be forgotten. (660) I, immediately, landed on the ridge covered with red-wooded trees (pine trees). Thorny, (as) I can see it, (the most) difficult, sweaty, and thorny field that has ever been in the world. My animal's forefeet and hind legs (almost) break there, (while) I descend(ed) on the lake having a rush-bed, the height of a man, on its bank. (This is the most) tormenting lake in the world, my song-bringing animal can hardly move forward. (669) As I look around,

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663. *inḡ[š]əksä mä jəḡətâjalim tim*
tor[ə]m oyti wäləyân⁴²¹
 664. *čökəḡ məḡ ätəm pönkəw*
inčəksä⁴²²[.]
 665. *mä wajkam kötäl küräl töḡ ari-*
 666. *tältä, nämən weriyən jal'tä ku pə-*
 667. *lä⁴²³ müḡəw jara t'ä*
niḡ wiḡälläm[.]
 668. *tim tor[ə]moḡti wäləyän čökəḡ*
 669. *jar⁴²⁴, ärəḡ tuntâ wajkam*
čökin mən-

416. soivat melkein kuin ihmisen puhe [they sounded almost like a human voice]

417. pitkäaikaisen pojan astuma tielle [way walked by grown-up (lit. long-time) boys]

418. (kulkuset) [bells]

419. (uhrasi 2 nuolta) [he sacrificed two arrows]

420. (mänty)harjanne [ridge covered with (Scots) pine]

421. näen oli orjantappurainen paikka (jollaista ei ole?) [I can see that it was a thorny place (that cannot exist)]

422. хуже того нѣтъ [there is nothing worse than that]

423. rannalla on seisovan miehen korkuinen [on the bank, there is (a rush-bed) the height of a man]

424. хуже того нѣтъ [there is nothing worse than that]

670. *wəl. mä iläpä kü läyilläm toräm* my deft warriors having divine
671. *wöyi liləŋ juŋ[k]lam* power (can) not (be found)
kotap äntim. mä anywhere. (671) I arrived at the
672. *älä jar juräl jəŋkä niy jöyäsäm* water in the middle of the large
673. *tom jar tom peļäynä männä uli* lake, I can see as if worms were
674. *willä soyi niŋki nõyatay⁴²⁵, willä* bustling on the other bank of
675. *kas küŋ[č] pälä kujäw* the lake, as if my men's troop the
jäl männä t'ä[γ] height of a velvet duck's talons
676. *kälätəsi, julna löntäm koläm jöŋ* appeared so, the thirty people
677. *käsij männä älä jar jurima⁴²⁶ niy* counted with my mouth venture
678. *wäjkältälil[.] mä tinəŋ* down to me to the centre of
wajəy čöŋčur my big lake (lit. to my centre
679. *məyoγ il kümmäytäläm, il wiyäl-* of the big lake). (678) From
680. *säm juŋ[k] koläm sa[t]* the back spine of the precious
pötij wäymöyər animal I got down, dismounted,
681. *männä t'ä[γ] nuy wəsi[,] jəyä iläpä* the idol's three-hundred-pood
682. *kəyälläm: [„]nəŋ kuntä* iron bludgeon was picked up
wältä əslin nur⁴²⁷ by me, I step forth towards
them, (682) “Which (lit. when
being) mothers' revenge are
you looking for from me? (683)
You quest for your fathers'
revenge at me; if you want
me to, I will guide you.”
(685) I came to the
thirty-man battle to them,
they circled me, I am hit by
sabers, I started to strike (lit.
striking) with the idol's three-
hundred-pood iron bludgeon,
and when I punch there once,
three men fall. (691) When I
punched there again, four men
fall, when I punched there

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683. *mänö[γ] kən[č]lətəy⁴²⁸.*
jəylin nur mänöy
684. *kən[č]lətəy; kojŋin⁴²⁹ mä nəŋä lək*
685. *pämilläm[?] mä koläm jöŋ kujäw*
686. *jäl'onta mä t'ä[γ] jəyä jöyäsäm[,]*
687. *mänt jokä⁴³⁰ t'ä[γ] jal'sät[,]*
mänt köčkinä
688. *jəyiwält, männä juŋ[k]*
koläm sa[t] pötij
689. *wäy möyər t'ä[γ] jəyimin uləŋtäs-*
690. *lam, pänä əjpä loyäsältamnä*
691. *koläm käsij körəywəl. pänä loyä-*
692. *sältamnä nələ käsij körəywəl pä-*
693. *nä loyäsältamnä wet käsij kör-*

425. liikkuvat kuin черви [they bustle like worms]

426. Сорь:n keskelläni [to the centre of my lake (lit. to my centre of the lake)]

427. milloin olevan äitinne surmaa [the killing of your mother living anytime (lit. when-living)]

428. minulta etsitte [you look for it from me]

429. jos tahdotte [if you want (me to)]

430. кругъ [circle]

694. *käyən[.] [„]wäsiki jar*
põhālnā⁴³¹ mā once again, five men fell. (694) 41
695. *tim al pītəm nõhəllām mā nəhət* “On the bank of the lake rich
696. *kōlā čäyiləm⁴³², nəh kol mänä* in ducks my storkling(s) born
697. *jöstəy. torəm nāmās əl kītətij[.]* this year, I will gather you all,
698. *nəhnam tōhələ[γ] kin[t]lin ǝhət* where did you come to me
699. *nəhnam kən[č]lalin⁴³³[„]* from? Do not annoy God! It
mā tōhələ(γ) is you yourselves who quest
700. *kin[t]lin ǝhət mā* for the mouth of your unfilled
nəhā⁴³⁴ tōhətəwtə- baskets, I will make you fill the
701. *lim[”]. tōl pāni wertämna⁴³⁵ kas-* mouth of your unfilled basket!”
702. *kūñ[č] pelā[t] kujāw* (701) When I am
jāl kuntā kō- doing so, when I am out of
703. *laγān julna lōhtām⁴³⁶* my men’s troop the height
kōlām jōh ku- of a velvet duck’s talons, the
704. *jāw jāl matālip antim⁴³⁷.* thirty people counted with
my mouth (i.e. loud) are (i.e. have become) nothing. (705)
We stayed together with the
three fighters of the same kind,
then we started to fight with
(using) the 300-pood iron
bludgeon(s). (707) When the
bludgeon punches at the head of
the enemy, the hero is glowing
like (lit. with) coppery red fire.
(708) I say to them, “You, (like)
bird cherries smashed with
my bludgeon, this bludgeon,
(you) have become defenseless
at one blow. (710) First, why
did you come having this
scrawny appearance? (711) I,
you indeed, you beat me, why
do you spare me? (713) You, I

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705. *aj söyi kolām juñk os*
məhñöy nula kītšöy[„]
706. *tōl juñ[k] kolām sa[t] pōti*
wāymōγərnā t’äl[γ] nul
707. *jōγikātšöy. tompil ku*
ɔya konāyilitalnā
708. *juñ[k] päyər tüyti tälwəl. mā*
jəyā jäsəlləm[:] [„]nəh
709. *tim möyər mətim möyräm*
möyrəm jəm əj
710. *pükāli tim at’ülläkē*
jəytəy. aləh t’i jer
711. *kōrlinna müyi likə*
jüytəy[.] mā nəhpi
712. *mānt jəγəjitəy, mānt*
müyil’ä nuγə-

431. seison kuin muka sorsa соръ rannalla [illegible], какъ äskeisiä [I am standing like a wild duck on the bank of a lake (indecipherable), like the wild ducks before]

432. собираю [I collect (you)]

433. te etsitte vajonaisen konttinne [you are looking for your unfilled back-basket]

434. nəhñä

435. kun huomasin [when I noticed]

436. suulla luettuja [counted with the mouth]

437. so[ta]miehet ei ole ketään [no soldiers anywhere]

713. *lätây⁴³⁸ – nəŋ mä wäskitə ku jöyatäl* am the size of a man hunting
714. *män[t]pə wäskajitəy.* ducks, hunt me, too. (714)
mä nəŋət təl ilə From now on, I will not spare
715. *tät əntə nuyät[t]läm[.] mä torəmnə* you. (715) I, by God, was
716. *män[t] pärtiŋən nəŋət* ordered not to spare you. If I
əntə nuyät[t]ta[.] started to spare you, I would
717. *mä nəŋä nuytəkätäläm tim täyâja* be frozen into a frozen, icy
718. *əj patəm tōyŋ əŋ[k]ləy torəmnə* column by God, at this spot.”
719. *män[t] təy patätälwəwä⁴³⁹[”]. –* (719) He, toward the two men
männə jöyĭ- beaten by me, spat a spoonful
720. *lat kät[t] kukkän pelkä* of bloody lump. (721) I ask
pāno[ŋ] kūrät wə- them, “Where did you eat
721. *ripul küm köyänwä⁴⁴⁰.* these red berries (hackberries-
männə pīrilat: rosehips)? You, give me about
722. *[„]nüŋ tim wərtə jəmāncəy* a fistful of berries!” (724) Then
kot isin⁴⁴¹[?”] I say to them, “You lived on
723. *nüŋ käyärtil kūrät* a princess-ruled cape, on a
jömän[č]kə män[t]pə prince-ruled cape, you are
724. *məjitəy[”]. töl mä jəyi tölâyläm:* a mean people, you did not
725. *[„]nəŋ wältin nəjəŋ öy[t]əna,* even give me berries.” (727)
or[tä]ŋ öy[t]əna nəŋ By me, at that place, they were
being beaten with an idol’s
300-pood iron bludgeon.
(729) Then, as I saw,
there is some kind of another
boy sitting on the seven
surfaces of the pitted earth.
(732) I watch him, as if he
had been pulled by a piece of
dried agaric, he kept swaying
back and forth. (734) I asked
him thusly, “My friend, what
kind of dried agaric (is this)
in two bundles, brought from
home; why didn’t you give
me any, why did you eat them

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726. *pāntəy⁴⁴² jəy wästəy,*
mānp[ə] ičəka
727. *jömän[č]kə əntə məltəy[”]. männə*
728. *töl tayäla jun[k] käläm*
sa[t] pötĭ wäy-
729. *möyərnä əj jotə pānsat. iləna*
730. *pāmi kü[t] wersəm[,]*
küləŋ məy jäw[ə]t-
731. *oytĭnə mətä söyi tuyäl päy amäs-*
732. *wäl[.] männə jöyətəjalĭ, jūy kayəm*
733. *paŋk əj pułnə wiłlä pəsi täli*
734. *ilok tejəwliləwəl; männə tū[ŋ]*
735. *pīrimus: [„]ləysa nüŋ müyi jo-*

438. (säälĭä) [feel sorry]

439. säälĭsin (jos alkaisin säälĭä jumala minut tähän patsaaksi jäätäisi) [If I started to feel sorry for him, God would freeze me here]

440. alkoivat verta sylkeä [they started to spit blood]

441. pilkkaa: mistä löysitte niin punaisia marjoja [mockery: where did you find such red berries]

442. скупой [mean, avaricious]

736. *kâlt tuman kayâm paŋki kâ[t]*
 737. *mõŋâ[k]kân mänä məyântə məsin[.]*
 738. *nüŋnäm ätilnäm məyät isin?”*
 739. *lõysa, mänä kâlânta? källin? mä*
 740. *nüŋä jäsŋältäm köl məyät äntə*
 741. *tõŋältälin? nüŋ müyi wâlta koj-*
 742. *wân, müyi kâlata kojwân?*
 743. *tepä lõysa nuypa läyi-*
 744. *lä[.], tim möyrəmjom əj moŋki tepä*
 745. *körəwtäl kiŋ'ayân[.]*
männä wičälätä
 746. *torâm wäya männä nuk äلمي[.”.]*

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747. *mätä amâsmal pirnâ iläna*
mänä jäsŋälə-
 748. *wəl. [„]torâm jor kəli*
kəs kōraw joŋâr
 749. *kalâ[γ][.], kâlânta. amtâ[w]*
pätä enəmtämäm
 750. *öyim wäyäl örkî⁴⁴³[.],*
sa[t] t'öräsna nüŋä
 751. *amâlim mä pam ənät lilim ä*
 752. *tiyämti[.”]. mä jüŋä jäsŋälləm:*
 753. *[„]nüŋ öyin nüŋ wäyan mänä äntə*
 754. *maswâl[.] mä torəmnâ*
män[t] pär[t]käl
 755. *jir wəntə jirəŋ juŋ[k]*
lil tiyämtay[.”.]
 756. *[„]mä pam ənät ätil*
lilim tiyämtəŋan[.],
 757. *kiŋ'tä torâm jəyəw nəmäs kiŋ'wâl[.]*
 758. *küpä nüŋ jäw[ə]t ärəx tuməŋ ku*
 759. *kü[t] wäsən, mänt[.],*
pam ənät sārñəŋ
 760. *lilim ä* *tayəwti[.] əllə*
məy⁴⁴⁴ əsəw nə-
 761. *mäs kiŋ't'ätə jəwəl[.],*
mämpi əj tū jir
 762. *wəntə jirəŋ juŋk[.],*
mämpi tiyäləm[.”.]

up alone? My friend, are you listening to me? Can you hear me? (739) I, why don't you understand my words said to you? (741) Do you want to live, or do you want to die? Well, my friend, look up, this smashed-bird-cherry-pounder, it does not fall. (745) By me, onto the everlasting sky, it has been lifted.” (747) After sitting for some time, he says to me. (748) “Mid-Heaven-Star-Formed-Chain-Mail nephew, listen to me. (749) My daughter, brought up at the bottom of the cradle, has much money (lit. my daughter's money is much), I set her (make her ready) for you with many hundred of thousands (of her money), do not tear my life thin as a blade of grass.” (752) I say to him, “I don't need your daughter, your money. (754) I was ordered by God to tear the soul of a sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit.” “If you tear my only soul thin as a grass-blade, our eternal heavenly father will get angry. Although you are a seven-songs-bringing man, do not tear my golden soul thin as a grass-blade. (761) The great earth mother gets angry, I am the same kind of sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit, I was born to be one.”

443. *ör = är* [much]444. *Maa* [land, country]

763. *mä kölləy jallām,
kəlāntəlīm, jūypi*
764. *čājaypā wālayān jir wəntə jirāṅ*
765. *juṅk, männə neminpə weljäl[,] äl*
766. *ätməy jəwəl, čājaypā nemin*
767. *pəsi tūtj älpa wäləkātəwəl. mä*

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768. *t'ä jūyā tiyāsām[:]*
[„]imältəṅ ontāw iki
769. *nuy jil'a[.] tim nəmān*
wāytorām köy-
770. *torām nūlwās werləmān[.]*
mä tot öyäl-
771. *ləm[,] tepā utān*
weriyān aləṅ torām
772. *tätkäl[.] sārān jorāw sārān lew-*
773. *saw torām nāṅk[,] torāmnā tāti*
774. *jāwət kōtaw torām nāṅk jalwəl[.]*
775. *tōy utā külləmān[,] əllə nāṅk əj*
776. *pörka löy jalsāmān[:]*
[„]torām neməṅ
777. *əllə nāṅk kəlānta: min nūṅä*
778. *külsəmān[,] torām*
nūlwās məy nūl-
779. *wās wertə jösmān[.]*
əllə nāṅk pör-
780. *ka torām wānəm wersəmān məy*
781. *wānəm wersəmān[,] minnə inləṅ*
782. *köčki jā[wət] pōṅəknä[.] pičəṅ ilə*
783. *wältānə ilə kaltānə mörə[γ] kö[γ]*
784. *kōraw joṅārnə kuntānə öyil wä-*
785. *yəlpil wäy t'örāsna näyi köy sil-*
786. *wä əṅət kuntānə əntə kitjān,*
787. *tim wič əlatə torām kannā*
788. *tem sökəṅ məy jāw[ə]t*
uja il pöylati[.]”

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789. *töl tayəla mä juṅkən mənəm sojəṅ*
790. *lək männə nuyəlli kütl'i, pämi*
791. *wertämən əllə wont*
oytīnə kəyəllām[.]
792. *tom jorāṅ juy tom*
peləknə matä snəṅki

(763) I stand wordlessly, I am listening to him; indeed, he is a real (lit. really-existing) sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit, too; if I really kill him, let it not become bad, indeed, let him not start to live in this way. (767) This is what I said to him, “Stand up, tabooized man (man of tabooized inner parts/essence). (769) [To] this upper iron God, stone God, we make a vow. (770) There, I believe he was created by the first god, made now above. (772) There is a heavenly larch having golden pine-needles, a golden centre, a seven-hand (seven-branch?) heavenly larch, created by God, standing there. We go up there, we stood at the base of the great larch, (776) “God’s renowned great larch, listen, we got up to you, we are coming to make a heavenly vow, an earthly vow. (779) Onto the base of the great pine, we two made a heavenly face, an earthly face with the seven tips of the sharp sword. (782) Later, going on living, going on sleeping, if you, *Solid-Stone-Looking-Chain-Mail*, do not send your daughter with her thousands of moneyed money to the White-Rock-Bordered-Cape, this eternal heavenly ruler should blow him (you) onto the seven bottoms of the furry earth.”

(789) From there, I, the frost-laden way walked by spirits is followed by me, chased by me, I notice that I am walking on the surface of a large forest. From the far side of the middle



793. *tuyəl päy piñčäl sät'wəl. mä*
 794. *tö[y] kəyəlsəm männə piri'mus:*
 795. *[„]ləγsa nüñ tī əllə juγ jor oytəja*
 796. *kayəm paŋki əj möñəlnə nüñət*
 797. *t'ät alijjəñ[“]. jüjə*
mänəpä jäsəŋ-
 798. *ləwəl: [„]nüñ torəm*
kəs kōraw joyər
 799. *kaləy[,] mä pam ənät äti lilim äl*
 800. *tijəmti[.] mä nüñä mələm amtə-*
 801. *pətəw čäčtam əj*
öyim[,] möñləŋ
 802. *korj kōraw əjnəj nüñä məlim,*
 803. *əj joyəl čeyäləy əj nal čeyäləy*
 804. *nüñä məlim[.] tim*
tormoyti sükəŋ⁴⁴⁵
 805. *ni koŋməł öрки jöräl*
örki⁴⁴⁶ tiyijən[“.]
 806. *töl torəm kəs kōraw*
joyər köl jal'-
 807. *mam piri'nə männə*
nuy wayli: oyər-
 808. *ləy jirəŋ tōja nuy jil'a. töl tū*
 809. *aməsmal juγ pörka*
torəm wänəm

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810. *məy wänəm wersəmən[,]*
wərtə köy
 811. *kōraw joyər. tem*
wərtə kö[y] kō-
 812. *raw joyər'nə möñləŋ korj kōraw*
 813. *nəj kuntənə mänä əntə kitsətə[,]*
 814. *wič əlatə wəy torəm jəγəmnə*
 815. *əj wältə söγəŋ məy punəŋ*
 816. *məy il jəwət məy pičə il torəm-*
 817. *nə nüñət il pöylatj. töl tayə-*
 818. *la mä torəm wöyi*
liləŋ juŋk männə
 819. *t'ä kəñčimus. männə*
nuyəlli jorəŋ

tree, I can hear some kind of a *snänki*, another boy approaching. (793) I went there, it is asked by me, “My friend, in(to) the middle of this big tree, a bundle of dried agarics has defeated you here.” (797) He says to me, “You, *Celestial-Star-Looking-Chain-Mail* nephew, do not tear my life thin as a grass-blade. (800) I will give you my little daughter collected from the bottom of the cradle, the *Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress*, I will give her without a piece of a bow, a piece of an arrow. (804) There has been much wisdom, much magic created for this ever beautiful woman.” Then, having been standing there for a while, he is summoned by me, the *Celestial-Star-Resembling-Chain-Mail*, “Stand there, at the sacrifice peak of the high cape.” (808) Then to the base of the tree sat by him, a heavenly face, an earthly face was made by the two of us. (811) If this *Red-Stone-Resembling-Chain-Mail* had not sent the *Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress* to me, let him be blown down to the seven bottom earth layers of the real, furry earth, the hairy earth, by the lower God, by my eternal iron God father.

(817) I, then, the living idol having celestial power was looked for by me. (819) By me, he is being followed, I was searching for many trunks of the good trees

445. kaunis [beautiful]

446. хитрый [cunning]

820. *juγ är kǎwǎlčoy kǎñčǎ*
weri[.] jüy lying on the ground. (820) He, having gone, is followed by me
821. *mǎnmǎl sojǎñ lǎk mǎnnǎ nu-*
822. *γǎlli. won[t] jǎñkǎr*
ǎj mǎkkǎ jǎyi- (on) the hoary road. (822) He has become a baby of a forest mouse, it can be heard here, ahead, (that)
823. *γǎn⁴⁴⁷, tǎt ilǎn tǎyǎrwǎl, tǎrnǎñ*
824. *juγǎ mǎγ[,] mǎyǎtǎrnǎñ* the earth rich in the trees of the evil spirit, an earthly evil spirit, the
825. *juñk söγǎw ǎγǎt juγǎl tiγiγǎn[,]*
826. *wǎrtǎ juγ pǎmǎl tiγiγǎn[,] wǎrtǎ* tree of the cape resembling an idol, the land of red tree's grass came
827. *pǎm mǎγǎl tiγiγǎn, kǎntǎy ni*
828. *kǎntǎ[γ] ku wǎr willǎ ilok oγti-*
829. *lǎwǎl. tim tor[ǎ]m*
oγti čǎkǎñ mǎγ into existence, the land of red grass came into existence, as if it spat forth the blood of Khanty women, Khanty men. (829) The miserable earth (existing) in this world, many kinds of trees, many-colored lands were created by God.
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830. *torǎmnǎ tǎti[,] ulwǎñ*
juγ, ulwǎñ (831) (This) mundane, miserable earth is being pressed by the evil earthly God; he led me here.
831. *mǎγ. tim tormoyti čǎkǎñ mǎγ*
832. *payǎltǎli ǎtǎm mǎγ torǎmnǎ*
833. *mǎn[t] tǎ[γ] wǎnǎltǎs.*
tǎl tǎpǎ utǎn (833) Then, at once, I walk up (into) the glittering-wooded forest created above.
834. *weriγǎn sal juγǎw jǎyǎm mǎ*
835. *utǎ kǎyǎllǎm[.] mǎ tomnam ilǎ*
836. *liγǎm[,] torǎm wǎyi lilǎñ juñkǎñ*
837. *kǎltǎyǎn. juñ[k]*
kǎlǎmsǎ[t] pǎti wǎy (835) I looked there, ahead, it seemed to be the (your) fighter having celestial power. (837) With the 300-pood iron bludgeon of an idol, I step towards him, I am someone between your teeth, I am a precious voice. I step towards him with the word of a melody of seven songs, seven tales. (841)
838. *mǎyǎrnǎ jüγǎ kǎyǎllǎm, pǎñkǎn*
839. *kütǎw wǎsǎm tinǎñ sǎj wǎsǎm.*
840. *jǎwǎt ǎrǎy j[ǎwǎt]*
mǎñ[t] sǎγǎw kǎlnǎ (841) From one direction (lit. side), the enemy's fleshy shoulder, the idol's 300-pood iron bludgeon (i.e. on the other side), we two begin to fight, when the idol says the words reciting the untrue song, I notice (that it is) some kind of another man whose message (intended) for me (that) can be heard. (847)
841. *jüγǎ kǎyǎllǎm. tompil ku nǎoyiñ*
842. *wǎñ ǎj pǎñǎlta juñ[k]*
kǎlǎm sǎ[t] pǎti “My friend, what shall we (two) do with this wickered bunch?” (849)
843. *wǎy mǎyǎr minnǎ tǎ[γ] nǎla*
844. *pǎnsǎlamǎn, juñ[k]*
sol[ǎ]ñ ǎrǎy lǎñti As I spot it, the iron bludgeon (I
845. *kǎl kuntǎ lǎñǎli, pǎmi wertǎm-*
846. *nǎ mǎtǎ söyi tuyǎl ku mǎnǎ*
847. *ǎjmǎltǎl sǎtǎwǎl:*
[,]lǎγsǎ tim kǎs-
848. *wǎ sǎγǎl ǎj mǎñǎlǎnǎ minǎ müγi-*
849. *likǎ jǎwǎl[.] mǎ pǎmi*
kü[t] werlǎm[,]

447. meni hiiren poikana (nopeasti) [he moved (fast) as a baby mouse]

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850. *kötä kätlām wäy möyər kotta*
 851. *čäjajpā köswä səḡəl əj möḡloy*
 852. *neminpa jəyāyən. männä töl*
 853. *taḡāla jüyā tölāylām:*
[„]ləḡsa, tō-
 854. *jəl öytəm kärəḡ nāḡ[k]nä nūl jə-*
 855. *ḡilmān[“]. minnä tōjəl öytəm*
 856. *kärəḡ nāḡk təḡ wəsimən jorəḡ*
 857. *juḡ əj pörəḡna. nūl*
 858. *jəḡilmān tū tōjəl öytəm kärəḡ*
 859. *nāḡkət, məram kötnä kätlām*
 860. *əj juḡ täyta məram kiḡayān[.]*
 861. *[„]ləḡsa tə[ḡ] kəlānta:*
i[ḡ] küñčāw pa-
 862. *səḡ telnä, i[ḡ] küñčāw*
ḡirəḡ telnä
 863. *kirlāmən, min on[t] kul pəntāw*
 864. *telim ən[t]wöy min*
nūl kätälləmən[“].
 865. *i[ḡ] küñčāw ḡirəḡ tel kirmāmən*
 866. *pīrnā, i[ḡ] küñčāw*
pasəḡ tel kirsə-
 867. *mən[„] min torām wöyi kät[t]*
 868. *juḡkən wičəm əllə torām jəyə-*
 869. *männä min[t] tim*
jüynām söyitəw

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870. *jirəḡ öḡət jejältäy torəmnā*
 871. *min[t] nūla pärtiyən. min won-*
 872. *tij nik i[ḡ] köḡəḡ sōjnā*
tä[ḡ] nūla kə-
 873. *yəlsəmən. on[t] kul*
pənti telij ən[t]wöy
 874. *tä[ḡ] nūl kätəlsəmən. juyləy täyij*
 875. *porəmlimān[„] seräy*
jəntə ju[ḡ] küt-
 876. *wälöy moriwält, kaləḡ jəntə juḡ*
 877. *jorəlna pəčiwält. – minnä*
 878. *torām wöyi liləḡ juḡkən juyləy*
 879. *jar pamləy jar ilänə mətā torām*
 880. *pələknə kəntəy ni,*
kəntä[ḡ] ku pələm-

grabbed (by me) has somehow become wickered bunches, indeed. (852) Answering this, I say, “My friend, we (will) fight with bark-rich pines, their tops cut.” (855) At the bottom of the tree in the middle, we took bark-rich pine(s), their tops cut by us. (857) We hack those bark-rich pines, their tops cut for so long a time as there only remain splinters held in our hands.

(861) “My friend, listen to me, we put on our clothing with bear-clawed gloves, our clothing with bear-clawed footwear, we clasp together, grabbing each other’s belt of the fish-migration-patterned cloth. After putting on our clothing with bear-clawed footwear, we put on the clothing with bear-clawed gloves, the two of us are ordered by God, by the two spirits having divine power, by our father always great, to rock this sacrifice cape resembling nothing other than itself. (871) We two, descending from the forest, clashed making the growling sound of a bear. (873) By the belts of our fish-migration-patterned cloths, we clasped together. (874) We are trampling a woodless place, hard trees (lit. trees becoming hard) break down the middle, soft trees (lit. trees becoming soft) split down the middle.

(877) By us, the two living idols having divine power in front of the treeless lake, grassless lake, the voice of Khanty women, Khanty men (living) somewhere on

881. *sõj jærwäylakatäs.*
[„]kijjikân torâm
882. *wõyi wäsâtân, liləŋ juŋ[k]kân*
883. *wäsâtân. tim tärən*
juŋ[k] sõyäu
884. *õyat müyilä jejältälätən, – kijtâ*
885. *torâm jæyöw nāmäs kijtäs, tim*
886. *torâm jøy jæpæləŋnə pöräl*
887. *kam siylä torâm mörti*
jelkamtäsi[.] nəŋ kas küñ[č] pə-
888. *lä[t] kujəw jäl'nä jüypə*
koy jejältəsätən[.]
889. *alla torâm jæyöw nāmäs*
tä[γ] kijtākātäs[.]
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890. *nin ti mätä tärnəŋ !ōkatən*
891. *t'ey tōŋ eraltälätən". männə*
892. *oyär juŋ jirəŋ tōjyö küñ kənc'li[.]*
893. *t'i wärtə sōyäu üt'ləŋki jaymon-*
894. *čəy tōj'nə amāswäl i jäsəŋlə-*
895. *wäl minä[:] [„]torām*
wõyi käl[t] juŋkân[.]
896. *kəłntitän: ärəkäri oyär məy*
897. *tepäki jäw[ə]t ärəy*
säyəw köl təl
898. *jok kāriti, təl öрки əj küřəm*
899. *ilə porəmŋan wiŋ wətəyləm*
900. *näj öyina torām kitəw näjnə*
901. *nint kittiwəl. min əjləy pəntäu*
902. *kölləy pəntäu käl[t]*
juŋ[k]kân t'ä[γ] tōy
903. *jal'sāmən, min on[t']kul pəntäu*
904. *teliŋ ən[t']wöy i[γ]*
küñčəw pasəŋ
905. *tel[t] minnə tōy i ləškältäl[.]*
906. *min jüyä är awtəŋ*
çylamən jüyä
907. *t'ä[γ] norəmtäsimən:*
[„]ləçsa wičəm
908. *min pörälkam siylä torām*
909. *minnə öрки porəmsimən, jəyä-*
910. *təji iččəka wič əlata wäy torām[.]*
911. *särnəŋ lusəw torām jəyəm*

a side of the world sounded (was heard). (881) “Boys, you two have divine power, you are living idols. (883) Why do you rock this cape similar to a devastating spirit? – Our eternal heavenly father has got angry, the sky, around this hole in the ice-ax (situated) in the centre of the heavenly circle, has been walked around. (887) You, with your men’s troop the height of a velvet ducks’ talons, have been rocking it for too long a time, our great God father was beginning to get angry. (890) From now on, you (two) would (i.e. should) block this warpath (lit. warful path).” (891) Although I look for him at the sacrifice top of the high tree, this red-furred squirrel is sitting on top of a pine, and says to us, (895) “Fighters having divine power, listen, (from) the song-barked high land, turn (to go) home the word having the melody of seven songs, besides this, if you take one more step forward, the fire girl ignited forever, the heaven-sending mistress will send you.” (901) We, the two idols of the newsless path, of the wordless path, stood here and there, the two of us take off the belts of our fish-migration-patterned cloths, we take off our clothing with bear-clawed gloves, we bow our abundantly haired heads to him. (907) “My friend, the two of us, in the sky around the hole of the ice-ax, we have trampled a lot, look, even my eternal iron God, golden-bearded

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912. *ič̣äka jǖy kurṛñäyḷäs minṇä*
 913. *ič̣äm tim toṛäm j̣əy j̣əyp̣eḷəy min-*
 914. *ṇä kọ̈ḷä poṛänṭäsi. kič̣ä toṛäm*
 915. *j̣əỵäm nạ̈ṃäs ṭä[y]kim kič̣äs[.].*
 916. *ič̣äka toṛäm talmas minä il*
 917. *wiyḷəỵän. min tim ə̣lḷə jūy p̣öṛka*
 918. *wič̣ älaṭä ẉäytoṛäm j̣əỵäm ẉäṇäm*
 919. *ṭəy werliṃän[.], ə̣lḷə məy əṣäm ẉä-*
 920. *ṇäm ṭəy werliṃän. ə̣lḷə toṛäm*
 921. *ṇulẉäs ṭä[y] ṭöy*
werliṃän[.] [̣,]tiṃi
 922. *j̣öy p̣eḷəỵṇä nǖṇ̃ən kunṭä tär-*
 923. *ṇəy ṣöy məyiw näj kunṭäṇä*
 924. *nuk kụ̈ḷälṭəṇ̃än, wič̣ älaṭä*
 925. *ẉäytoṛäṃṇä nǖṇ̃ət mič̣ati[.]*
 926. *ṃä jäw[ə]t äṛəy jäwət mañ[ṭ] tu-*
 927. *mañ ku ẉäṣm[.]. täp̣ä kunṭäṇä*
 928. *ṃä nǖṇ̃ä kas kụ̈n[č̣] p̣äḷä kuj̣əw*
 929. *j̣äḷnä kunṭä nǖṇ̃ä j̣öṣäm[.], ə̣lḷə*
 930. *ḳọ̈lṇəy suṛiḷ j̣əñ[k]ṇä*
kos ṇäḷəmp̣əw

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931. *jūỵäḷ näj mänṭ īỵäti[.]. ṭöl*
 932. *taỵäla toṛäm jūñk awṭəw karama*
 933. *ṃä ṭä[y] tīỵäṣäm,*
j̣äw[ə]t äṛəy jäwət
 934. *mañ[ṭ] tumam waj̣əỵ*
saṛəy ẉäḷati[.]
 935. *ṃä əṣäm ṭäṭəm jūỵəw*
ṃəỵä, j̣əỵäm
 936. *ṭäṭəm jūỵəw məỵä mänṭäṃä*
 937. *ṇäyi köỵ sọ̈lẉäw əỵṭäm ṭä ṇäm-*
 938. *laỵṭəḷim, äṛəḳäri ōỵäṛ məỵoỵ*
 939. *mañ[ṭ] ḳäri j̣öṇəỵ məỵoỵ ṭä*
 940. *j̣oỵpa noṃəỵṣilḷäm [.] toṛäm jūñk*
 941. *awṭəw waj̣kam mäñä j̣öẉəl, tiṇəỵ*
 942. *waj̣əỵ p̣äḳəṇ̃ əj̣ñoỵ mäñṇä ṭä[y]*
 943. *ḳäṭälsi. nöỵṛəỵ lo[y] č̣öñč̣ oyṭäja*
 944. *ṃä ṭä nuk iṃälṣäm, toṛäm jor*
 945. *jūỵaḷ ḷəkōỵ ṃä ṭä[y] nūỵ jaỵim-*
 946. *ṣäm. toỵi p̣əñk ṃəṛəỵ ṣöj̣ṇä ṃä*
 947. *jaỵimḷäm. ə̣lḷə č̣uỵi nȫṛəỵ ṣöj̣ṇä*
 948. *jaỵimḷäm. pämi werṭäm-*

God father, even he doubted,
 the two of us *ič̣äm*, have, inside
 the heavenly circle, roamed.
 (914) My eternal heavenly
 father got angry so much.”

(916) Even the interpreter
 of God descended to us. (917)
 The two of us, onto the bottom
 of this big tree, we will make
 the face of my eternal iron God
 father here, we will make the face
 of my great earth mother here.
 (920) We take (lit. put) a great
 heavenly oath there. (921) “If,
 going home, the goddess of our
 combative land encourages you,
 let the eternal iron God punish
 you. I am a man bringing seven
 songs, seven tales. (927) Hence,
 if I came to you with a men’s
 troop the height of a velvet duck’s
 talons, on the dead water of the
 great port, I should be consumed
 by the twenty-tongued wood fire.

(931) From there, then,
 I told my heavenly spirit mane-
 rich animal, animal of me who
 brings seven songs, seven tales,
 come here at once! I think of the
 land with trees created by my
 mother, of the land with trees
 created by my father, I remember
 our song-barked high land, our
 tale-barked, trunked land. (940)
 My heavenly spirit abundantly
 maned animal is coming to me,
 the bridled rope of the precious
 animal was grabbed by me.
 (943) On the mid-heaven dear
 path, I mounted the back of the
 saddled horse, (946) With the
 whistling noise of the spring
 hazel-grouse, I am gliding. (947)
 With the thundering noise of a
 great rainstorm, I am gliding.



949. *nə torəm jor cünəw küjä mä*
950. *kä[t] ləkən pełkä mä läyiläm-*
951. *nə torəm tätəm weli pära jal'-*

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952. *mijn kiwält, sārnan punəw*
953. *torəm weli[t] jalwält[.]*
mä torəm
954. *juŋk awtəw karnə tulujəm[.]*
955. *kä[t] kukkən pəl peläknə willä*
956. *kortarəy əjəpil päy willä*
957. *təlwəl. tepä ilən weriyən*
958. *torəm jor juyləy jar[.] sārən*
959. *töyləw torəm jar. mä ja-*
960. *yimläm tinəy wajəy čöñčur*
961. *məyə, möñəl päki jöyatəy[.]*
962. *mä jöyämätəm pojsem winčiw*
963. *torəm kar jayimpəl, pämi*
964. *werləm tepä ilən torəmnə*
965. *täti, torəm jor sārnan kanəow*
966. *torəm tarəs töy jöyäsəm. mä*
967. *torəm jor köləy lip[.] männa*
968. *är awtəy cyoy wiñi*
töj är awtətoy
969. *töyi läskältäli, töl torəm jor*
970. *köləy lip pöyalmäl pirnä i wältə*

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971. *wäy torma tää[y]*
nuk jayimäs[.]
972. *torəm putəw keli kos willä*
973. *tulamal.*
974. *torəm juŋk awtəw karnə*
975. *i tu wältə torəm jor juylal*
976. *tarsoy män[t] tää nuk jayim-*
977. *səm tompil tarəs əj pełkä[.]*
978. *willä pojsem winčiw näyi*
979. *wajəy jayimläm. mä timäm*
980. *jukkəñ cyət männə tää[y] kələl-*
981. *tasi. torəm juŋk awtəw*
982. *wajəynə mänt əsi tuwält[.]*
983. *jäw[ə]t ärəy söyi kata jäwət*
984. *man[t] löñti kata män[t] jöy-*
985. *təwtəwəl əj söyi, əj*
986. *wit'i kä[t] näjkən män[t] lä-*

(948) As I notice, when I took a look at the mid-heaven low pine-forest moor towards the two ways, the reindeer herd created by God stayed standing, golden-furred heavenly reindeer are standing. (953) I am being brought by the heavenly-spirit-maned animal. At the side of two men's ears, as if the younger (lit. smaller) nestling of the moor crane cried. (957) There, (there is) a mid-heaven, treeless lake, golden-leafed heavenly lake created earlier. (959) I am gliding on the spine of my dear animal, onto the earth, like a rag-doll (lit. the size of a rag-doll). As I am gliding, the hail-maned heavenly male animal is gliding, I look there, I arrived at the mid-heaven, golden-shored heavenly sea created earlier by God. (966) The mid-heaven speaking swallow, from the many-haired head, along the hairs on the top of the forehead, was let down by me, then, after bathing, the mid-heaven speaking swallow floated up onto the mere iron sky, as if a star at the world's end glittered.

(974) On my heavenly spirit abundantly maned animal, from the mid-heaven wooded sea being there, I floated up to the other shore of the sea; just like an animal white as hail, I am gliding. (979) (Where) I was born, the wooded cape was flashed into my mind (lit. was flickered by me). (981) The heavenly spirit abundantly maned animal is still bringing me. Into the house worthy of seven songs, into the house telling seven tales, two ladies, their form alike, their faces alike (lit. one form, one face), come to me, both of them are watching

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987. *yəlləkən. mə əllə warata*
 988. *jəypelkä jāḡasəm, nöyrəḡ*
 989. *loḡ čöñč oytəjoy il əsəlləm*
 990. *tim küləḡ məḡ jəw[ə]t oytəja*

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991. *il porəmsəm. töl əj söyi*
 992. *kä[t] nəjkənnä jāḡaləm[,]*
 993. *kata jāḡasəm, wəḡ wəhəmpəw*
 994. *jəwjöḡ tormə kulintə möyləm*
 995. *t'ä nəkimsim, səyawə[t] pun*
 996. *koləḡ uḡəm jəyä nəralim[.]*
 997. *jüynəm məḡ torəm putəw⁴⁴⁸*
 998. *männə kölə jəlkəmtus; jüḡ-*
 999. *nəm törəm wöyälə koḡmə-*
 1000. *la torəmnə mänt ältiləs.*
 1001. *mə itəḡwəsö[ḡ] küm liyməmna*
 1002. *torəm werəyən čəḡketər wəḡ lanı*
 1003. *koḡəl torəmnə wersi, mə juḡk(ə)*
 1004. *iməltəm koḡəl torəmnə wersi.*
 1005. *muḡləḡ kori köraw nəj[,] jokəlt*
 1006. *tumam wəḡ eləw nəmtən peləḡ*
 1007. *ka[t] ka[t] jora t'ä[ḡ]*
nəri. töl mə
 1008. *ka[t] lokə utə kəḡəlsəm. torəm*
 1009. *wəhəməḡ wəḡ lüḡ[k]wä*
männə niy
 1010. *wəḡəltəsı, kä[t] niḡkən kütä*

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1011. *mə t'ä iməlsəm, torəm wəhəməw*
 1012. *lüḡ[k]wä juḡ tulı tuḡəl*
ar[t]nə mə-
 1013. *ḡä t'ä[ḡ] nuk löḡsətə, əj patəm*
 1014. *jöləḡ wəkə əj patəm*
jöləḡ kökə t'ä[ḡ]
 1015. *töḡ təḡəlsəm[.] jəw[ə]t*
ärəḡ jəwət
 1016. *manı[t] səḡəw köl əllə ka[t] pelä*
 1017. *jora t'ä[ḡ] töḡ patəs. –*

me. (987) I stepped in through the big gate, I descended from the back of the saddled horse, I stepped onto the seven surfaces of this pitted earth.

(991) Then, I go in with the two ladies alike, I entered the house, I scratched my fish-eating chest toward the iron-faced seventy skies, I bow my furry, hairy head with abundant hair toward them. I have wandered around the world's end of foreign land(s), God has taken me to another heaven's power, wisdom. When I looked out of the window, a God-created, hot, clear day was just being made, the day when I become an idol (lit. sit into an idol) was just being made. *Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress*, your iron-covered felt brought by me was put in the middle of the floor of the floored house. (1007) Then, I went up to the corner of the house. (1008) I let down the God-faced iron blanket, between the two women I took a seat, here, by (i.e. with the help of) a (fire-)wood carrying servant, the God-faced blanket covered us, indeed, I have transformed into frozen, cracked iron, a frozen, splintered stone right there. (1015) The word of the melody of seven songs, seven tales has frozen onto the middle of the floor of the big house. –

448. muiden maiden raja [the border of other countries]

Free translation

☞ Foresong/introductory song⁴⁴⁹

I began to say my words about the seven songs. I sat down on the floor of the floored house with the words of a long song, a long tale, an ancient song with true words looking for the song. I sat there like a log, with bare flesh [without my assisting spirits]. Will I find what I am looking for? In this house having a door gap, where only a torch and the fireplace give light, I think I look for it in vain, I cannot find the loud, long-sounding song. (1–11)

My eternal heavenly father, listen to me, you possess the words of the seven songs, seven tales. Now I address you using human speech. I wish for you to let down some words to me. People made me sit down in this house so that I sing. I ask you for words, golden-headed God of seventy skies, let down some words to me so that I could sing. I have no power, this is why I ask for your power, your words, my golden-headed heavenly father, so that I could tell your tale, your words to these clever people living on earth. Heavenly tale, heavenly words. So that I could tell the flighty tale about the seven songs, in this house, inhabited by girls and boys, where suitors are welcome. (12–31)

While I was sitting on the floor of the floored house, waiting for the melody and the words of seven songs, a cold wind was blowing from the northern end of the world. I, a mortal man, with my humble words born at the root of my tongue, was lifted to the top of the smoke-holed house by a strong gust of wind having six roots and coming from the waters. From there, I was lifted to the top of a high tree by seven gusts of the cold wind, through the opening of a black cloud, to the lining of a white cloud. I sensed my flying upwards through the seven holes of the white clouds. I was carried by a lot of swift-winged, feathered animals. Up here, on the hill where seven birch trees stand, the song of the first bird can be heard. In reply, I enumerate the songs I heard from gray-haired old men who lived earlier. The song is echoing on the hill where seven birch trees stand. (32–54)

There is a house there, so long that seven horses can run down it. In the heart of this house, there has stood a golden column since time immemorial, as tall as numerous people. At its top, there is a bowl that can house even five fish full of spawn. In the bowl, the swallow who speaks mid-heaven

449. This free translation is a kind of interpretation that aims to preserve the formulas of the original text. The comments written by Karjalainen on the margin of the manuscript are given in brackets. The corresponding line numbers of the manuscript are given at the end of the individual paragraphs.

☪ is twittering. My words were lifted to it by seven gusts of the strong wind. The mid-heaven-speaking swallow looks around, “Where is this speech coming from? What human being took me to the tip of his miserable tongue? Who am I mentioned by, what kind of a human being? What does he need?” It talked about me as if I were a man who never has the hunter’s fortune, [asked] what kind of human I can be, it talked about me as if I were unsuccessful in hunting. It went on, “I have searched the seven surfaces of the pitted earth. This man mentioned me with his tongue looking for songs but, although I scan the seven surfaces of the miserable earth, I cannot find him.” (54–76)

Up here, I noticed the mid-heaven stone floor, the stone floor is high above. Here is the *Stone-Like-Iron-Like-Ruler*. No world exists in which the *Stone-Like-Iron-Like-Ruler* could fall, I cannot see a world like this anywhere, he is the *Everlasting-Stone-Like-Chain-Mail*. I, a song-bringing, tale-bringing spirit-ruler, am going to him. He can see everything from the interminable end of the world, from the water of the world’s end to the border of the heaven whose borders cannot be seen. I heard that, at the end of the world, there live the eternal idol-spirits that accept blood-sacrifice, the song-bringing, tale-bringing fighters who have chain-mail-clad bodies. (76–90)

[This is the beginning of the actual song, from this point on, it is the song-bringing, tale-bringing idol-spirit that is speaking.]

Here is the tale having the melody of seven songs, seven tales. The day of battle together with the men’s troop tall as a velvet duck’s talons has come. Why on earth are we sitting inside the house when the God has ordered us to fight? If we go on sitting in the house, God calls down curses upon us and freezes us in this house. So, although I did not want to, according to God’s order, I went in quest of all the heroes that are worthy of blood sacrifice all over the world. (90–102)

I said to my best people having strong shoulders, “Come, bring forth the pot for cooking meat and roast the big, flat piece of dried reindeer bull immediately! Getting ready for the long way, the long journey, I have got hungry.” Then I said to my servants guarding my house, carrying firewood, “Bring me my male animal [my horse] which has a mane similar to a heavenly spirit.” Since the birth of the first world, there has been a frozen iron column, a stone column inside my porch. That iron column stands on the southern side, there is an iron loop on it created by God, so big that an arm in a sleeve could fit inside. Tie my hail-maned horse bringing seven songs to that loop. (103–122)

There was a gray-haired woman, an old woman the age of my mother in the house. I took a look at her, “When living in the previous world, how did you bring me up, me, the hero bringing songs, bringing tales? In times past, you made a fish-skin blanket for me but it has been worn away. I am standing

here naked, how could I set off on a mission?” The woman went down into the cellar, I heard her say, “Come here, boy.” I went there. The woman handed up to me a back-basket on which were drawn a hundred animal figures. She held it out with one of her hands, but as I caught it, it was so heavy that I almost fell into the pit. She slightly laughed and said, “Oh, boy, are you really the hero of seven songs, seven tales? Having only this strength, how will you manage against the stone-hard princes of the world’s end? You are as weak as a stork-nestling born this year. The hero of seven songs, seven tales, your father, has left, he is not like you. Still, who knows where he lies among the riverside stones while his flesh is pecked by many flocks of ravens who fly high above. With what kind of shit, how did God send you the mid-heaven bird who speaks, why did he find a song-bringing, tale-bringing hero like you? Boy, as I can see, in the landing place at the riverside, on the dead water of the seven ice-holes, our men’s troop the height of a velvet duck’s talons has gathered, the day of setting off to war has come.” (122–155)

I am listening to my mother disparaging me with bitter harsh words. In order to get a little peace, I entered the good end of my cornered house, I turned to the God of the golden-headed seventy heavens of the eternal iron God. I turned my head rich in hair to the seventy iron faced gods sitting on the rusty bank of the waters, I scratched my fish-eating chest, indeed, “Great God, my renowned father, listen! I am insulted all the time, I am reproached by my mother with damned bad words. I bow my head to you, my eternal iron god father. I am in trouble, as if I had got stuck under a falling tree. The troop the height of a velvet duck’s talons is to arrive immediately, now I am addressing you. Give me more wisdom, more comprehension.” While I was standing there, in the middle of the floor of the floored house, it felt as if the heavenly power entered into me through the top of my head. As if the word of the great God had been let down to me by the seventy iron-faced gods from the top of the big house. My body felt heavy as if I had taken a basket full of the meat of wild game on my back. (156–183)

Then I cry to you standing on the seven surfaces of the everlasting shaggy earth, the clodded earth, “Lower ancient words rooted in the great earth to me. I bow my clever head rich in hair to you again, and I also cover it in your presence. Enumerate the words born by the great earth so that I would not get into the world of fallen trees [the land of the dead] when I leave to fight with the troop the height of a velvet duck’s talons. Your words, your speech, your language originate in the hole of the ice-ax [the very centre of the sky]. So that I could remain on the seven surfaces of your wisdom and comprehension, do not move me to the world sparsely grown with grass. I have leaned on you.” (183–198)

6) This is the town called *Snowbound-Sanded-Populous-Promontory*. My town, *Snowbound-Sanded-Populous-Promontory*, this divine promontory coruscating white, the familiar sanded populous promontory seems to be glass. I could not myself say how long God was bringing me, idol-spirit accepting sacrifice, up. (198–203)

The day of the arrival of the troop the height of a velvet duck's talons has come. I am a heavenly spirit with a chain-mail-clad body, I said to the gray-haired old woman, "Mother, give me the dense chain mail so that I could transform and seem to be an eyeless rock." My mother, in turn, spilled the covered, velvet-duck-foot-patterned basket onto the middle of the floor of the floored house. It was like she had made a pile out of flakes of spring fish in the middle of the house. The pieces of the armor decorated with faces of princes were glowing as if they wanted to address me. I stepped there, and, with the tip of my fleshy finger, I picked the pieces of the armor from the pile of spring fish flakes one by one. With great heavenly praying words, I got dressed (pulling them) over my head with abundant hair. I flex my two stone-hard shoulder blades. A linen shirt woven from thick thread fits neatly on my body. With the tip of my fleshy finger, I put on the dense chain mail, then I put on another double-layer chain mail, (but) they are worthless. I ultimately dressed in seven chain mails. I stride in the middle of the floor of the floored house like two halves of a sturgeon full of spawn. As I am walking, I take a look at the middle of the house, the floorboards are bending like mashed hackberries. As for me, I looked like an eyeless rock. (204–235)

I looked around, I could not see my servants anywhere, where on earth can they have hidden? I was looking for my gray-haired mother, "Mother, where have you been, I will leave for a long journey, let's say farewell to each other!" My mother hid deep in the corner. "Mother, hey, come on out, I won't bite you. It was you who brought me forth into the bright sunlight." My mother came to me, we greeted each other, and I ask her, "Mother, bring my sword here. Bring my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon to me here." My woman-mother says to me: "Oh my little son, I have grown old, my powers have failed. I cannot bring you a three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon." I went to the side of the house, I took my sky-brink-edged sword with me, and hung it on my side. I picked up my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon, I put my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon in my pocket. I went to the corner of the house, to the part belonging to God, (and) I beseech God: "My eternal, heavenly ruler father! Dear, great God, with this head lacking many braids, with words having the melody of seven songs, I have come to you. Send me a god-faced, renowned helmet made in a heavenly way so that I could bring long songs, long tales." I stood there just for the time it takes to cook a thawed fish, and my helmet sounding like whooshing iron appeared at the corner of the

☞ heavenly house. I put it on my hairy ears, my hairy head. Although I looked for my men, there is no sign of them anywhere. I search the side of the big house, they are not there. “Oh, my men! Where did you hide the duck-lake-side trap [where did you hide]? I do not want to either bite or kill you!” (235–279)

I went out of the sacrifice-rich house accepting sacrifices, outside, I looked for my heavenly-spirit-maned horse bringing seven songs, seven tales. When I stepped up to him, my heavenly-spirit-maned animal huffed through his two nostrils, I held him firmly. “My eternal iron God father ordered us (to go) together to bring song(s), bring tale(s).” I untied my horse, I take him to the gate of the big town, I lead him out. When I led him out it was just midday. I mounted the spine of my long-song-bringing horse (equipped) with a saddle, I noticed a wooded promontory in the distance. I am sitting on the horse, the populous promontory is covered with thick fog, thick smoke. Sitting on the horse, I took the bridle of the bridled animal. On the dear path of the upper heaven people, I am being brought by the animal in the way the heavenly spirits travel. In the meantime, with my two ears, I can hear the screaming voice of the spring hazel grouse sounding in my ears. (279–305)

A little further away, the path took us through a land grown with gleaming trees and glimmering grass. As if some speech of a human voice sounded among the trees. I arrived at a grassy, golden-grass-leafed, flood-made lake, I found the middle of the huge lake. It seemed to me that feathers of scavenger birds gleamed. I went there from the direction of that raven (or what), I examine it: lo! there is something lying there. An idol-spirit with armored body is lying there, he is still alive. I nudged him with the point of my saber, “Why are you sleeping?” (305–321)

Going on, it felt like somebody was chasing me, somebody was approaching with heavy footsteps behind me. I looked back, I saw nobody. It felt as if somebody was poking me, jolting me from the side. I looked sideways, there was nobody there. I figured out that it was my heart beating in my chest. I tell my heart, “My heart the size of a nestling, don’t be in a hurry, or else a fork (two-pronged, meat-eating iron) may cut you in the end.” (322–334)

I stood on this side of the lake – it was a lake grown with knee-high willow scrub. When I was scanning the far bank, I noticed that at the other bank of the lake huge sabers seemed to flicker, their edges reach the sky. Soon, I can see that lively fighters having divine power stand there. Where they are standing, the ground is trampled hard as reindeer hooves’ trace in ice. When they noticed me, they all pointed to me with the tips of their sharp swords. I said to them, “Greetings, friends!” They waved their swords at me, “Immediately friends to us, of course! Where are you, *Solid-Star-Looking-Chain-Mail*, coming from? Why do you interfere in other people’s difficult fight?” (335–349)

6) I caught my father by his arm, “Father, don’t kill me. Father, you know me.” My father says, “I you were my son, I would have been sent alone to you. But you came to eat me up like bears devour their prey” – my father did not really believe me. In turn, I took a handbreadth of paper written by my mother out of my pocket, and I gave it to my father. My father took a look at it, and, for real, it read that a son was born to him, whose name is *Celestial-Star-Looking Chain-Mail*. His mother brings him up in a cellar into which neither the sun nor the moon shines. Then my father embraced me, I bowed my head to him. I say, “Father go home to the *Populous-Cape-Having-Snowbound-Sand*, to the *White-Rock-Bordered-Cape*. My father embraced me, he stepped towards his heavenly animal which had colorful flanks, he mounted it. Soon he traveled on the fine mid-heaven path [Milky Way], at the end of the world, he seemed to be only the twinkling of a star. (350–374)

With the tip of my fighting sword, I drew (probed) the hoary path, walked by heavenly, powerful, living heroes. I chased them with long steps, in the traditional way of the heavenly elk. There was a hill in front of me on which a nutcracker was hopping; when I arrived at the hill and was listening, it sounded like a sore-toothed, wood-boring big beetle splitting the tree: “What is chewing here?” At the same moment, I can see a forked arrow similar to a seagull’s beak fly toward me. The tip of the arrow almost got to me, I struck it down with my sharp saber. The pieces of the arrow flew in all directions as if a birch bark pot containing perch meal had broken. I said, “My friend! You were not able to kill this stork nestling of yours born this year. Come here, why did we start a fight? We met just because we were ordered together by God.” On that hill, I was attacked from the direction of the hill’s four corners, they are coming, pointing their swords having an edge like the brink of the sky to me, “Where are you, pitiable nestling of a lake duck, coming from?” I stuck my saber into the ground in front of me like a staff. They enclosed me, I was wedged among four swords. Soon I feel my body sparking coppery, fiery red, or as if resin was carved on my back spine. On my breast, too, resin is carved, they keep carving me with the seven edges of their fighting sabers. (375–412)

I say to them, “When did you get permission [to attack me] from our eternal iron God father, our golden headed iron God father? You have been striking me enough with the iron having an edge like the brink of the sky. My eternal terrestrial, great terrestrial mother should not get angry, my eternal celestial father should not get angry. You have been hitting me with the good side of your battle sabers for so long that I will get angry, too. My friends, I have already got angry.” I have taken out my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon from my pocket, I take it out: “Kids, greet this three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon! Great terrestrial mother, listen: this is your old, messy issue. I did not want to fight, I did not want the fight of the great earth, they

create hostility themselves. My iron God father in the upper heaven, listen to me! With this troop the height of a velvet duck's talons I left for war, but do not blame me." In front of me are *Solid-Stone-Throwing-Warrior* and *Seven-Hurdles-Overleaping-Warrior*. Behind me is *Crazy-Idol's-Younger-Son*, *Frosty-Pelissed-Clothing*. And a little way off comes *Lively-Snake-Headed-Man* from the town of your idol-housing people (lit. idol-seating people). (412–442)

I, with my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon, which I let down from the clear, round sky – God, created a day suitable for overcoming heroes – I brought down the warrior attacking me with the tip of my stone-hard shoulder; my hit would have split even a hard trunk of a larch. I skin his head, I tuck his scalp in my belt, I cut away his heart eating much fish. I cut the lean-meat into three, I stuck the pieces to the tip of my sharp sword, and held out to the three people at the same time, "Men, you must have got hungry, have your shares of the prey!" – "You, consume the flesh of the man from the larch clan yourself. It is you who was brought up eating the flesh of Khanty men, eat it up, too!" I put it in my twenty-toothed mouth and chewed it up. When I looked around, I noticed that the living, strong, heavenly warriors had disappeared. They ran away on the escaping man's tree-lined path. The fighter killed by me remained here. So that God would not get angry, I dug a pit in the eternal, cloddy ground with the good tip of my sharp saber, and I put the spirit accepting sacrifice into it, I covered him with soil carefully. At the head of the grave I tucked his sky-brink-edged sword: "As you are a spirit accepting sacrifice, you will be commemorated by the future generations of girls and the future generations of boys. I have killed you, do not be angry with me. If the eight bells hung on the hilt of your sword are rung by the wind, you will feel like sitting in a village rich in girls, in a village rich in boys, and listening to the kind speech of girls in the heavenly gust of wind." Then I went on with the word(s) of the melody of seven songs, I followed the path of the warriors, I started to chase them on the hoary path trampled by them. (443–489)

I walk along the golden-grass-leaf lake. While I was going there, I was thinking of my animal bringing seven-songs, (I wished) my drift-maned-stallion appeared quickly there. Through many holes in the white clouds, I could hear the ringing of the eight bells hung on my animal's head as it were human speech. My heavenly-maned animal flies to me with the whistling voice of the spring hazel grouse. I wait for him with my hands outstretched in bear-clawed gloves. When he reached me, I caught the twisted rope at his jutting muzzle immediately, and mounted the back of the saddled horse. After I mounted the back of the enormous animal, the word with the melody of seven songs goes on. On the hoary path walked by the fighters, with my divine-spirit-maned animal, I follow my enemies, I chase them to the golden-grass-leaf lake. (489–513)

6) I am watching the other side (of the lake) (...). As I was listening, I can hear that at the dark end of the world there is a town covered with stone, the three fighters of the same kind fled there. I am prodding my animal, worthy of bringing songs, on the good side of his muscular leg. I am prompting my long-song-bringing, long-tale-bringing animal in this way. Let the three fighters of the same kind not get to the heroes' town resembling nothing other than itself. "You, song-bringing animal, tale-bringing animal, move fast! (So that) they could not get into the town resembling nothing other than itself. So that I could come up with them in the harbor of the town, on the road to the seven ice-holes." They arrange their animals black as a raven in front of my hail-like, snow-white stallion. "Greetings, my friend. Why did you leave me? We have left (missed) a lot of places to play." (513–533)

My enemies say, "The harbor of this princess-ruled-town resembling nothing other than itself does not move." There is a blood-sacrifice-idol-spirit accepting sacrifice, a food-sacrifice-accepting idol-spirit standing at the bank, speaking to us: "Children, you'd better not enter the territory of my harbor but go on along your war path resembling nothing other than itself. Have your endless heroic fight with one another, do not spit on the harbor of my town the little blood of the Khanty men belonging to the larch clan! I was not ordered by God to fight with you." (534–547)

From there, from the harbor of our large town, we marched here – I am the seven-songs-bringing spirit – I started to chase the three fighters of the same kind with the roaring voice of a forest bear. We stepped on the stone resembling nothing other than itself. "Children, look, we have stepped on the path trampled hard. Here we will clash with the many edges of swords sharp at the tip, so it will spark like an immensely powerful fire. When our daughters and sons coming into the world later grow up, when the man bringing long songs grows up, let nobody forget the snowy path trampled hard by us." We clashed with our swords having edges like the border of the sky, (it looks) as if immensely powerful fires, larch fires ignited among us. Sparks of the great fires flew in every direction. If there was a lad from the side of logs (i.e. human) here, the twenty-tongued fire girl would have burnt him. We, however, are four heavenly, powerful spirits with armored bodies. (547–570)

I was not able cut my enemy's chain mail into eight. When he was created by God, his armor was formed as hard as stone. In vain I hack and slash him with my sword having an edge like the border of heaven, only the endless, strong fire sparks. His name is *Heavenly-Power-Lively-Hand*, he was created to be a sacrifice-spirit accepting sacrifices, he was brought up in that way, too. There is no world (anywhere) in which they fall. Later, with their knees, they brought me down onto the seven surfaces of the great, humid earth. They

- ☞ must have divine power. Later, it seems to me, I can hear that I am a hero man bringing seven songs. (571–588)

Later, the scavenger raven caught me and took me onto the princess (-ruled) cape resembling nothing other than itself. Why does God show me this princess(-ruled) cape resembling nothing other than itself? It would have been better if he had not let the mid-heaven speaking animal down to me. They left me on the princess(-ruled) cape of the foreign land as a felled tree. On the seven surfaces of the thick earth, it is only their footprint that remained. Later, we appeared at the water of the sea with its fire ignited forever. The smoke of the sacred fire ignited forever covers me, I cannot breathe. I can hardly move. I cannot see anything, I am stabbing here, there, and everywhere haphazardly, here, on the shore of the foreign, fiery sea. (588–606)

“Mother, listen, I will make two red silk skeins for you but do not drown me in the smoke.” Then I was looking for my men for a long time. They are not anywhere, they have fled. I took the two red silk skeins. On the shore, there is a fir with red bark, God meant it to be a sacrifice-accepting tree. I went up to the tree, I tied the two red silk skeins on it, so that it would be remembered when the girls coming into the world from this time on grow up, when the boys coming into the world from this time on grow up, when the famous shaman with a drum in his hands grows up, and begins to hit the five-string musical instrument made of pine wood, when the string-handed shaman making music arrives. (606–623)

I descended to the water, and I went along the path walked by spirits. After a while, I summoned my heavenly-spirit-maned stallion, “Let the animal brought by my song be here at once, at the foreign-princess-ruled cape.” I am listening upwards, my horse is flying toward me at the crest of the rain clouds. I caught him, I mounted it, I descended to the sea burning with fires ignited forever. Looking toward the far side of the sea, I say, “if, by the God, I was meant to be an idol-prince bringing songs, indeed, let the hundred cold-faced princess girls blow cold from the far shore of the sea [let the water freeze].” I did not stand longer than the time of cooking a thawed fish, I took a look at the water, it was covered by clear ice frozen during one night. I let down my heavenly-spirit-maned stallion there, sitting on his back, I am harkening, it sounds as if a newborn boy was crying [the ice is making noise like that]. I am harkening towards the animal’s two forelegs, [it sounds] as if five hammer-handed forest-spirits were hammering [the hoofs are making clattering sounds]. I am harkening toward the snaffled chin of my precious animal, I can hear the ringing of the colt’s eight bells, it almost sounds like human speech. It sounds as if it invited me on the way walked by grown-up boys. As I look around, I have arrived at the far side of the sea. I stabbed two iron-shafted

☞ arrows into the shore of the large sea. It should not be forgotten later that here I, the man singing long songs, telling long tales, stabbed the shafted-arrow down as a sacrifice. (624–660)

Later on, I climbed the ridge covered with pine trees. I stride across a difficult, thorny field, there is nothing worse than that. My horse almost breaks his legs while I am descending on the lake full of rush-beds the height of a man. I have not seen a lake as eerie as this, my horse can hardly move forward. I look around, my deft warriors with divine power are nowhere. On the bank of the big lake, I went to the water, it looks as if worms bustled on the far bank of the lake, my men's troop the height of a velvet duck's talons appear so. A troop numbering thirty people venture down to me, they are at the centre of the lake already. I dismounted from the back of my precious animal, I took the idol's three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon, I stood in front of them: "What kind of maternal revenge are you looking for from me, what kind of paternal revenge are you looking for from me? If you want me to, I will guide you." (660–685)

I joined the fight against thirty people. I went to them, they circled me, they are hacking and slashing me with their sabers. I started to twirl the fighter's's three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon. At the first punch, three men fall. When I punched there again, four men fall, when I punched there next, five men fell. "My storklings born this year on the bank of a lake rich in ducks, I will gather you all. What kind of creatures are you? Do not ever annoy God! It is you yourselves who quest for the mouth of your unfilled basket, I will make you fill the mouth of your unfilled basket! It was you yourselves who looked for trouble, this is what happens to you! (685–701)

As I am fighting, I ran out of the men's troop the height of a velvet duck's talons, the army numbering thirty people vanished. We only remained with the three fighters of the same kind, we also began fighting. When I gave them a whack with the three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon, their heads sputtered coppery red fire. I say to them, "This bludgeon is my own bludgeon, you are like smashed bird cherries, you have become defenseless at a single blow. Why did you come here with your skinny bodies? And, once you started to beat me, why did you relent? I am also the size of a man hunting ducks, hunt me, too! I will spare you no longer. I was ordered not to spare you by God. If I started to spare you, God would freeze me to this spot, he would turn me into an ice column." The two men I was hitting spat a spoonful of bloody lump. I asked them, "Where did you eat these red berries? Give me a fistful of berries, too!" And I go on, "You lived on a princess-ruled cape, on a prince-ruled cape, what mean people you are that you do not give me even berries." And I went on beating them with the three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon. (701–729)

6) Then, as I look around, I can see that there is some kind of a young man sitting on the seven surfaces of the pitted earth. I watch him, he keeps swaying back and forth as if he were pulled by a piece of the dried agaric. I asked him, “My friend, why did you eat up the two bundles of dried agarics you brought from home alone, why did not you give me any? My friend, are you listening to me? Can you hear me? Don’t you understand what I say? Do you want to live, or do you want to die? Look up, this bird-cherry-smashing pounder almost fell on you. It was me who lifted it to the sky.” After sitting there for some time, he says, “*Mid-Heaven-Star-Formed-Chain-Mail* nephew, listen to me. I have a daughter brought up at the bottom of the cradle, she has much money, I give her to you with hundreds, thousands, in turn, do not tear my life thin as a grass-blade.” I say to him, “I don’t need your daughter, or your money. I was ordered by God to tear the soul of a sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit.” “If you tear my only soul thin as a grass-blade, our eternal heavenly father will get angry. Although you are a man bringing seven songs, do not tear my golden soul thin as a grass-blade. Our great earth mother gets angry, I am the same kind of sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit as you. I was born to be one, too.” (729–762)

I stand wordlessly, I am listening to him. Indeed, he is a sacrifice-accepting sacrifice spirit, too. If I kill him, let it not turn out badly, really, let him go on living, indeed. I said to him, “Respectable uncle, stand up. Let us make a vow for the upper iron God, the stone God. I believe that that was created by the first God. There is a heavenly pine having a golden centre and golden pine-needles, a seven-branched heavenly pine, created by God, standing there. We go up there, we stand at the base of the pine with these words: “God’s renowned great pine, listen! We have come up to you, we are coming to make a heavenly vow, an earthly vow. Onto the base of the great pine, the two of us made a heavenly face, an earthly face with the seven tips of the sharp sword. Later, going on living, going on sleeping, if you, *Solid-Stone-Resembling-Chain-Mail*, do not send your daughter with her plenty of money to the White-Rock-Bordered Cape, this eternal heavenly ruler should blow him onto the seventh layer of the furry earth.” (763–788)

Later, I am going along the frost-laden way walked by spirits, I look around, I am walking in a large forest. From the far side of the middle tree, there is another boy approaching. I went there, I ask him, “My friend, as far as I can see, at this big tree, a bundle of dried agarics has defeated you.” He says, “*Celestial-Star-Resembling-Chain-Mail* nephew, do not tear my only soul thin as a grass-blade. I will give you my youngest daughter scraped together from the bottom of the cradle, I will give you the *Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress* without a piece of a bow, a piece of an arrow [without any bridal price]. She is an ever beautiful woman created to have

“much wisdom, much magic.” Then, after musing for a while, I, the *Celestial-Star-Resembling-Chain-Mail*, say, “Let’s stand up on the sacrifice peak of the high cape.” At the base of the tree standing there, the two of us made a heavenly face, an earthly face. If this *Red-Stone-Resembling Chain-Mail* did not send his daughter, the *Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress* to me, let him be blown down to the seventh bottom layer of the real, furry earth, the hairy earth by my eternal iron God father, let the lower God blow him down.” (789–817)

Then I, the living idol having celestial power, went on searching. I follow my enemy, and among the many trunks of the good trees I have found the passage. I follow the hoary road walked by him. He moves unseen as a baby mouse. There is something roaring ahead, an evil spirit’s forest has come into the world, an evil earthly spirit’s forest, a cape covered with the evil earthly spirit’s forest has come into the world, a forest of red trees, red grass has come into the world, as if Khanty women, Khanty men had spat their blood there. On the miserable earth created by God, there are many kinds of trees, the earth is also many-colored. This miserable earth created by God is tortured by the evil spirit, this is where God led me. (817–833)

Then, I walked even higher and arrived at a forest full of glittering trees. I look ahead, there seemed to be an idol-spirit having celestial power. With the idol’s 300-pood iron fighting bludgeon I stepped towards him: “I am the precious voice between your teeth.” I step to him with the word of a melody of seven songs, seven tales. From one side, my enemy’s muscular shoulders, on the other side, the idol’s 300-pood iron bludgeon meet. I thought it was the idol reciting his untrue song, later I understood that what I heard was another man’s message, “My friend, what good will this wickered bunch do for us? As I take a look at it, I can see that the iron bludgeon in my hands indeed has become wickered bunches. Answering this, I say, “My friend, let’s fight with bark-rich pines, their tops cut.” At the bottom of a tree in the middle, we took two bark-rich pines, their tops cut by us. We kept hacking each other with the bark-rich pines, their tops cut so long as there only remained splinters in our hands. (833–860)

“My friend, listen to me, let’s put on our clothing with bear-clawed gloves, our clothing with bear-clawed footwear, let’s clasp together, catching each other’s fish-migration-patterned belts. After putting on our clothing with bear-clawed footwear, we also put on the clothings with bear-clawed-gloves. The two of us, the two idol-spirits having divine power, are ordered by our eternal great God father to rock this foreign sacrifice cape. The two of us clashed making the growling sound of a bear coming out of the forest. By the belts of our fish-migration-patterned cloths, we clasped together. We are

- ☞ trampling a woodless place, hard trees break down the middle, soft trees split down the middle. (861–877)

We, the two living idols having divine power are standing in front of the treeless lake, the grassless lake when, in some part of the world, the voice of Khanty women, Khanty men sounds: “Boys, both of you have divine power, you are living idols. Why do you rock this cape similar to a devastating spirit? – our eternal heavenly father gets angry. The hole in the ice-ax (situated) in the centre of the heavenly circle, has been walked around. If you, with your men’s troop the height of a velvet duck’s talons, will be rocking it for too long a time, you will annoy our great God father. From now on, you’d rather block your warpath.” I look for him at the sacrifice top of the high tree, but the red-furred squirrel is sitting at the top of a pine and says, “Idol-spirits having divine power, listen to me, from here, the high land covered with songs, turn (to go) home the word having the melody of seven songs. From this time on, if you take one step forward, the fiery girl ignited forever, the God-sending mistress will send you away.” (877–901)

We, the two idol-spirits of the newsless path, of the wordless path, stood here and there, the two of us take off the belts of our fish-migration-patterned clothes, we take off our clothing with bear-clawed gloves, we bow our abundantly haired heads: “My friend, the two of us have traveled around the hole of the ice-ax. Look, although my eternal iron God, golden-bearded God father doubted, the two of us *ičəm*, have roamed inside the heavenly circle. My eternal God father still has got angry. (901–915)

Even the interpreter of the God descended to us. At the bottom of the big tree, the two of us will draw the face of my eternal iron God father here, we will draw the face of my great earth mother here. We take a great heavenly oath, “If, on our way home, the goddess of our combative land encourages you, let the eternal iron God punish you. I am a man bringing seven songs, seven tales. Hence, if I came to you with a troop the height of a velvet duck’s talons, on the dead water of the great port, let me be consumed by the twenty-tongued wood fire.” (916–931)

Then I told my heavenly spirit richly maned animal, “My animal, who brought seven songs, seven tales, come here at once! It is time to return to the land with trees created by my mother, to the land with trees created by my father. I think of our White-Rock-Bordered-Cape covered with songs, our ridge covered with tales. My heavenly spirit maned animal is coming to me, I grabbed the twisted rope of the precious animal. I mounted the back of the saddled horse, I did so on the dear, mid-heaven path. I am gliding with the whistling voice of the spring hazel-grouse, I am gliding with the thundering noise of a great rainstorm. (931–948)

6) As I look around, I take a look at the mid-heaven low pine-forest moor towards the two ways, I caught a glimpse of a reindeer herd created by God, golden-furred heavenly reindeer are standing there. My heavenly-spirit maned animal races with me, from the direction of his two ears, as if the nestling of a moor crane cried. A mid-heaven, treeless lake, golden-leafed heavenly lake appears to me. I am gliding sitting on the back of my dear animal, I seem to be a rag-doll from the earth. As I am gliding on the back of my hail-colored heavenly stallion, I look ahead, I arrived at the mid-heaven, golden-shored heavenly sea created by God. I let down the mid-heaven speaking swallow along the gleaming hairs [along the rays of the sun] onto the water. Having bathed, the mid-heaven speaking swallow floated up into the sole iron sky. After a while, it looked as if a star at the world's end twinkled. (948–973)

On my heavenly spirit mane-rich animal, from the mid-heaven wooded sea, I floated to the other shore of the sea. While I was gliding on my animal white as a hail, the wooded cape where I was born flickered before me. My heavenly spirit mane-rich animal takes me there. I enter the house having the melody of seven songs, into the house telling seven tales, two ladies their faces alike are watching me. I entered the big gate, I descended from the back of my saddled horse, I put my feet onto the seven surfaces of this pitted earth. (974–991)

Then I entered the house where lived the two ladies alike. I scratched my fish-eating chest toward the iron-faced seventy deities, I bowed my clever, abundantly haired head toward them. I have wandered around the ultimate frontiers of foreign land(s), God has taken me to other worlds' power, wisdom. When I looked out of the window, I saw that God created a hot, clear day for us. He prepared the day when I become an idol very well. The *Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress* put her felt brought from home, decorated with metal, in the middle of the floored house. Then I stepped up to the holy corner of the house, I took the blanket decorated with God's face and metal, and I sat down between the two women. One of my (fire-)wood carrying servants covered us with the God-faced blanket. I have become frozen, cracked iron, a frozen, splintered stone right there. Here, the word of the melody of seven songs, seven tales froze onto the middle of the floor of the big house [i.e. ended]. (991–1017)

Notes

Line 2

jõnäŋ ärəŋ ‘ancient song’. According to Karjalainen’s translation ‘everlasting/eternal song’. The stem of the adjective is presumably *jõnä* ‘root, stem’, thus the proper translation of the adjective may be ‘rooted, having a root’, i.e. ‘ancient’ (cf. also lines 36, 38, 186).

Line 7

In the manuscript, *torəŋ* may be an error, cf. *tür* ‘door(gap)’, *türäŋ kat* ‘house with its door opened a crack’. In line 10, *kõlāŋ kat* can similarly be an error; the correct form is *kəlāŋ kat* ‘house with a door’, cf. *kəl* gap, slit, door(way).⁴⁵⁰

Line 13

torām ‘sky, deity, world’. In his monograph on mythology, Karjalainen did not translate this word, he always used its Khanty form. In many instances, it is difficult to decide whether it refers to the sky in the physical sense of the word, or to its personification, i.e. a deity. In the translation, the equivalents *sky*, *god*, or *world* are chosen according to the given context. In the free translation, we have more room to measure. Taking an example, in lines 19–20, in the phrase *sārñāŋ əŋəw jāwjöŋ torām* ‘golden-headed seventy skies’, *sārñāŋ əŋ* can refer to an anthropomorphic head, and at the same time, to the golden sun glowing through seventy celestial layers. In the free translation, it is ‘the golden-headed god of seventy skies’; cf. *sārñāŋ lusəw torām jəŋəm* ‘my golden-bearded god father’ (line 911).

Similarly, it may seem too rigid to differentiate the meanings of the two phrases *wäŋ torām* and *torām wäŋ*. We cannot be sure that the former one is used only in the meaning ‘iron god’, ‘icon’, while the latter refers only to the sky in the material sense of the word. There may be semantic overlap between the two phrases.

wiččä latä wäŋtorām jəŋəm ‘my eternal iron god father’. The adjective of the Heavenly Father seems to consist of the words *wičč* ‘always, forever’ and *latä* ‘time’. The change of palatal vowels into velar in the second element of the compound word was caused by the velar vowels in the first element (an opposite change in the same direction took place in *jöŋə täŋa-*, cf. line 212.) The phrase *wiččä latä*, which is an epitheton ornans not only of *torām* ‘heaven, god’ but also of *məŋ* ‘earth’, is written down in several ways in the manuscript, cf. *wiččälatä* (lines 24, 263, 287, 470, 746), *wiččä lata* (158, 168, 183). Besides these,

450. Typical writing errors are not discussed (cf. Section 1.6, pp. 44–45). Those requiring explanation will be made clear.

the first element can appear with a palatal vowel, as in *wič̣ ālatā* (787, 910, 924) and *wič̣ ālatā* (814). Similarly, in the marginal comment to line 13 the word has a palatal vowel (*wič̣*).

Comments on further adjectives of *torâm* can be read at the first place they occur (*jōlāw*, line 81, *kītā* line 417).

Lines 26–27

nūñ kōlān ma māyoḡti kūļəñ jaya lōñāttamatī ‘in order to tell your word(s) to the ?? people on the surface of the earth’. First, Karjalainen wrote the adjective qualifying the noun *jay* ‘people’ in the form *kuļāñ*, but later this was crossed out and corrected to *kūļəñ* in the margin. The word *kūļ* cannot be found in the dictionaries (? cf. *kōļ* ‘devil’ KT 397; D 624; but these entries do not exhibit VVj data). It is possible that it is the word *koļəñ* ‘clever, skillful’ that should have been written here. The reason why Karjalainen corrected it afterwards may be that later, in numerous cases, the word *kūļəñ* can be found in the text as an adjective qualifying the noun *məy* ‘earth’ (71, 76, 730, 990). The adjective *kūļəñ* is probably a suffixed form of the noun *kūļ* ‘hole, hollow’, so the meaning of the phrase is ‘pitted earth’. Nevertheless, the intervocalic change *l > !* calls for an explanation.

In the dictionaries, the meaning of the verb *lōñāt-* is ‘read, count’. However, in texts Vj1 and Vj2, it is used with the semantics ‘recite (mythical text), tell, chant’. The morphological analysis of the form *lōñāt-t-am-a-tī* is tell-PTC.PRS-1SG-LAT-EMPH ‘so that I can tell (it)’.

Lines 28–29

urt amāsta öyəñ kata pākkāñ kat ‘a house, inhabited by girls and boys, where suitors are invited to be seated’. Another version of the phrase ‘(girls and boys) receiving suitors’ is *urtku amāstā öyiñlāt pākkāñ lāt* ‘boys and girls offering seats to suitors’ (Vj2/5).

Line 36

kōlān ‘your word’. The proper form is probably *kōlām* ‘my word’.

Lines 45–47

näyi pələñ jāwət kəloy nuypa mēntiləm temnām nōmān mā kəlkalīm ‘up in the sky, I heard my going up through the seven holes of the white clouds’.

mēntil-əm. The element preceding the *-əm* possessive suffix is probably a nominalized, suffixed participle (*mən-t-il* go-PTC.PRS-3PL), which can take the *-əm* person-marking suffix.

Line 50

ärəy wajəy ‘song animal’. The proper form is probably *är wajəy* ‘a lot of animals’, cf. line 48.

Lines 54–55

jäwət loy niñtə kat ‘house where seven horses ??’ (lit. seven horse(s) ?? house). The phrase was translated and explained by Karjalainen in the margin, ‘(the house is so long that) seven horses can run one after another within it’. Consequently, the meaning of the verb *niñt-* must be ‘run’, but no such word can be found in the dictionaries. What the dictionaries exhibit in this regard, is the verb *niñt-* ‘have a rest’. For another thing, in other heroes’ songs, the size of buildings is typically described with similar phrases, cf. *χar sosman χow lepəη* ‘long porch walked by reindeer’, i.e. the porch is so wide that a reindeer-sleigh can turn within it (BiblPáp III: 116/58).

Line 60

torəm jor köləη lip ‘mid-heaven speaking swallow’. The bird the singer summons from the sky when he begins singing (KT 1016).

Lines 71, 76

küłəη məy. Cf. lines 26–27.

Lines 81–82

jüy körəytäl jöləw torəm mä koy əntə uləm ‘I cannot see a world for his fall (I cannot see a world sewn in a way that he can fall)’, i.e. there is no world in which he would fall.

Karjalainen interprets the sentence in the following way: ‘I cannot see the place of his fall anywhere (he is so powerful that he does not fall anywhere).’

jöləw. Karjalainen gives the meaning of the word with a question mark: “*ikuinen* (?)”, ‘everlasting (?)’. However, this is a false interpretation, and the word is probably an adjective derived from the noun *jöl* ‘seam’. Its meaning is extended in a metaphysical direction, i.e. it refers to the world system or world order. The same extension can be observed in the texts of the Northern Khanty heroic epic songs, *torəm-jol* ‘seam of God’ (BiblPáp III: 124/137), ‘liked by God’ (PB 23; D 362). Further occurrences of *jöləw* with similar semantics can be found in lines 194, 197, 444, *jöləη*: 582.

Lines 88–89

j̄r̄âṅ jun̄kâṭ joṽr̄âṅ elâw ǟr̄ay tuntâ mañt' tuntâ jakâṅlät ‘spirits who accept sacrifices, song-bringing, tale-bringing men having chain-mailed bodies’. Similarly to the word *torâm*, *jun̄k* also has more than one equivalent in English. The above line gives a relatively precise description of the *jun̄k*’s functions. On the one hand, it is a spirit, a deity who is a subject of a religious cult (entitled to accept blood sacrifice). On the other hand, it is a fighting warrior, the hero of songs and tales, who has supernatural powers. According to Károly Pápai’s interpretation, it is an idol, a devil, a woodland spirit (Hung *bálvány*, *ördög*, *erdei manó*, respectively) (Pápai & Munkácsi 1896: 23). In the present text, as an epitheton ornans, the following phrases are used: *j̄r̄ wəntə j̄r̄âṅ jun̄k* ‘sacrifice accepting, sacrificed spirit’ (579–580), *joṽr̄âṅ elâw torâm jun̄k* ‘heavenly spirit having chain-mailed body’ (205), *torâm wöyi liləṅ jun̄k* ‘lively idol having heavenly powers’ (818). In the English translation, the nouns *spirit*, *idol*, *hero*, *warrior*, and *fighter* are used alternately. A *jun̄k* is a male creature, the female equivalent of which is a *kält*.

Lines 90–91

kas küñč pälät kujêw jäl' ‘the men’s troop of the height of a velvet duck’s talons’ – the army supporting the protagonist. If this interpretation is correct, then this army consists of tiny creatures. Moreover, in this text, tiny and gigantic objects and creatures equally appear side by side.

Line 92

jäwət ǟr̄ay jäwət mañt' säyêw köl ‘word having the melody of seven songs, seven tales’. This is the title of the hero’s song, which stands separately, not organically involved in a sentence structure. Although the comment “*Varsinainen laulu*”, i.e. ‘The Actual Song’, can be read near line 72, it is only later, in line 92, that the singer switches to the role of the protagonist. Lines 93–94 still discuss this role change.

Line 94

məṅ mǖyəl̄in ams̄ältälêw ‘why do we make him sit?’ The verb exhibits subjective conjugation, but in the margin, Karjalainen suggests the possibility of objective conjugation (*-liw*).

Line 94–95

torâmnê məṅət pärtkäl jäl̄iysəntäy ‘God ordered us to fight’. In this sentence structure, which is characteristic of the Vj dialect, it is the subject that is marked with a LOC suffix, and the verb is not in the passive but in the active

mood. This is called an ergative sentence in the literature, cf. pp. 217–220 in Section 3.2.

Lines 106–107

əllə kar lamij pul ‘flat piece of the big reindeer bull’. The word *lami* – which, according to Karjalainen’s marginal note, is *lamât* in the spoken language – is probably identical with the adjective *lamât* ‘flat, not round’. Its meaning is unambiguously positive. Further occurrences in the text are in lines 484, 453 (cf. *lanij*, line 266).

Lines 108–109

intän siyar kul alhânê semam wayântâwâl ‘my inner parts began to long for the end of the edible *siyar* fish (i.e. I’m hungry)’. The word *siyar* ‘chain’ is difficult to integrate into the semantics of the sentence. The same phrase can be found in lines 456–457.

Lines 112, 121

The adjectives of the fabled steed: *torâmjunjk awtâw karam* ‘my male animal [my horse] having a mane similar to a heavenly spirit’ (112), *pojsem winčiw awtâw karam* ‘my drift-maned animal’ (121). The protagonist’s horse is white, his enemy, in turn, has a raven-black one (line 529).

In the Vj dialect, there are three words denoting human hair and animal fur: 1. *awât* ‘hair, mane’, 2. *söy* ‘hair’, ‘pelt’, ‘fur’, but also: *oysoy* ‘scalp’, *kayâ soyâw är ikit* ‘gray-haired many old men’ (51), 3. *pun* ‘hair’, ‘fluff’, *särñan punâw torâm weli* ‘golden-furred heavenly reindeer’ (952), *punâñ kolčkât* ‘downy ravens’ (313). The latter also has metaphoric use: *söyan mæy punâñ mæy* ‘mossy earth’ (815). All the three lexemes can occur within one phrase, *söyawât pun kolâñ uyâm* ‘I bow my furry, hairy head with abundant hair’ (187, 995).

Lines 122–123

kayâ soyâw əllə imi ‘gray-haired old woman’. Besides ‘big’, the word *əllə* also has the meaning ‘old’. If it comes up as an adjective of the nouns *imi* ‘old woman’ or *iki* ‘old man’, the latter meaning is applied in the translation.

Line 137

männə küit kayrâmtâsi, jäyart ‘when I caught it, (it proved to be) heavy’. This represents a well-known literary topos of heroic epic songs, in which an object that is lifted with ease by one of the heroes proves to be immovable for others, cf. Chr 102–103.

Lines 142–143

tim al pitəm nöhə! mək ‘stork-nestling born this year’. A term of reproach referring to the weakness of the antagonist, cf. lines 393, 695.

Line 143

nñj jəyən məŋkäl ‘your father went away’. In the word *məŋkäl* (*mən-käl* GO-PRFH.3SG), an assimilation took place according to the place of articulation, which is reflected in the transcription.

Line 153

jäwət amältiw suril jəŋknə ‘on the dead water of the seven ice-holes (?)’. Neither the meaning nor the functions are clear. It may be a toponym. Further occurrences in lines 527–528.

Line 157

ämp-ätəm čimi kölnä ‘with damned (lit. dog-bad) *čimi* words’. The meaning of *čimi* is unknown, it must be an adjective with some negative connotation. Generally, dogs represent negative qualities in the Ob-Ugric folklore, cf. *ämp-oni kül jeləm* ‘dog-size (lit. dog-big), thick shame’ (BibLPáp II: 22/150).

Line 162

juŋk noliŋ ləy ‘on the rusty high bank of waters of the idol-spirit’. The cult-place of the deity must have been here.

Line 163

wäy wänəmpə jäwjöh tormätê kul intə kuləŋ möyläm t’ä nokimsim ‘to the seventy iron-faced gods, I scratched my fish-eating fishy chest’. This gesture is made to show greetings and honor. Further occurrences in the text are in lines 994–995.

Line 165

nemnät jəyəm ‘my renowned father’. Literally ‘my with-name father’, i.e. it is a noun taking a comitative suffix that functions as an adjective.

Lines 175–176

willä əllə torâm jöylim ‘as if the great God was coming [to me]’. It is not clear why the verb is in the objective conjugation.

Line 192

pörälkam siyäl ‘the hole of the ice-ax’. This phrase probably refers to the pole-star, the centre of the skyscape, where the sky is thought to be supported from below. The centre-pole is inserted into this hole like the shaft into the hole of the ice-ax. This is the centre that the heroes walk around in the sky. As far as we know, this metaphor is not documented anywhere else in Ob-Ugric folklore. Further occurrences in the present text are in lines 887, 908.

Lines 194–197

mä jäynay juj jölâw torma äl pitimä ‘not to get into the world of fallen trees (= land of the dead)’, *täyläy pam jölâw torma äl wänältä* ‘do not take me to the world of sparsely grown grass’. The meaning of both metaphors is ‘so as not to get into trouble or a tight situation’. For *jölâw* cf. line 81.

Line 212

männä jöyatâjali ‘I can see (it), it is seen by me’.

jöyâ täja-, *jöyatâja-* ‘notice, catch sight of something’. Compound word, *jöyâ* ‘memory’, *täja-* ‘have, possess, use’. This is a result of compounding a palatal-vowel word with a velar-vowel one. In some cases, under the influence of the first element, the vowels of the second one also become palatal: *jäyâ-täjä-*. Further occurrences are in lines 232, 316, 732.

Lines 221–222

juj köyi wan kät t’äkälä männä jejältäylällän ‘By me, the pits of my two shoulder blades, stone-hard like a spirit’s, are being bent to and fro’. In this song, the adjective of the shoulders is either *köyi* ‘stone (adj.)’ (447) or *noyij* ‘fleshy, muscly’ (841).

Line 225

söysemþa seməŋ tir ‘hairy-eyed, minute wide thing (lit. width)’ = chain mail.

Line 227

mätä wäläypâ antä wälwâl ‘they are worth nothing (lit. anything non-existent does not exist)’. Karjalainen’s translation is *ei maksa mitään* ‘it costs nothing’. On the basis of the context, this phrase expresses that the hero does not feel any difference after putting on the second chain mail, i.e. he is not convinced that it will give him protection, so he puts on a total of seven pieces of chain mail.

Line 231

kəγəliɫlamnə̄. This is probably a slip of the pen, correctly *kəγəliɫtamnə̄*. If so, the verb will be grammatical, namely *kəγəliɫ-t-am-nə̄* stroll_about-PTC.PRS-1SG-LOC, which can be an equivalent of the Finnish translation (*kävellessäni* ‘while I am strolling about’). The lapse of the pen may have been caused by the present tense finite form *kəγəliɫlām* ‘I am strolling around’ within the same line.

Line 256

torəm pat inləw köčkim ‘my sky-brink-edged sword’. In the song, the epitheton ornans of the sword refers to the cosmic size of the weapon (and the hero).

Line 261

Mä. In the manuscript, Karjalainen did not use capital letters, so this one can be a slip of the pen.

Line 266

əllə torəm lanj: ‘?dear, great (*lanj*) God’. Cf. the notes to lines 106–107.

Line 269

jölə kulj put jəm sis ‘for the time of cooking a thawed fish’ = a short time, a minute. Cf. line 639.

Line 271

čəwə̄r wə̄γ ‘whooshing iron’. The adjective of the helmet. The word is not documented in the VVj dialects, but it may be etymologically related to the Northern Khanty verb *šəwij-* ‘rush, howl (wind)’.

Line 272

är awtə̄ŋ pil awtə̄ŋ oγ ‘many hairy halves (lit. half), hairy head’. *pil* ‘half’, perhaps it is correctly *pəl* ‘ear(s)’, over which the helmet is pulled.

Lines 292–293

lə̄ŋkotəl̄jor jurəl jə̄ŋkə̄ jə̄γiγən ‘?it has arrived at the direction of midday = midday just arrived’. The meaning of the syllable *lə̄ŋ* is unknown, it was underlined also by Karjalainen. It may be related to the V phrase *lə̄ŋalawəl̄ peɫək* ‘south’ (KT 19), and V *lə̄ŋ* was borrowed into the Vj dialect as a deformed

version *lǎŋ*. In this construction, *jǎŋkä* does not mean ‘into the water’, instead, it means ‘in the direction of’, cf. *är torâm peļak jǎŋkä* ‘in many directions (lit. quarters, i.e. points of the compass)’ (565).

Line 296

i tu wǎltâ jukâŋ öyät ‘wooded promontory right there (in the same place)’. Karjalainen first wrote the form *it tu*, but later the letter *t* was crossed out. The numeral ‘one’ sounds as *i* in numerous Khanty dialects, which in this case is a phonetic variant of the Vj *aj*. Further occurrences in the text are in lines 970, 975.

Lines 310–311

sǎrâŋ pam töylâw jar ‘golden-grass leafed, flood-made lake’. Cf. lines 510–511, 489–490.

Lines 313–314

pörili punâŋ kǎkât jipâywâlt ‘downy scavenger ravens are glinting’. The next lines make it clear that it was the dead body of an armor-clad warrior that the protagonist had believed to be a raven.

pörili First, Karjalainen wrote this down as one word, but later he segmented it with a vertical line. The marginal notes *haaska*, *raato* ‘carcass’ show that the first element of the word is identical with the word *pört*, although the deletion of the word-final consonant is not indicated.

jipây- the verb is not known in the dictionaries. It may be related to the verb *jäpä-* ‘burn with flickering flames’ (KT 179). Steinitz discusses this verb in the entry of the noun *jäpä!* ‘shadow’ (*jäplä-* ‘flash, glint’ D 396), but the entry does not contain Vj data. The back-vowel variant may belong to taboo language.

Line 318

junkan – compound word, *jun[k]+kan* ‘spirit+khan’, ‘idol prince’. Further occurrences are in lines 441, 523.

Lines 332–334

säri nŭŋ ä! pälä, nöyi intä jiy!âŋ wǎynâ püt!ki mǎy jöyat kulâŋ sëmäm jüŷäpä nŭŷät artwâlt ‘Don’t be afraid, (with a) meat-eating two-pronged iron, my food-rich heart the size of a nestling, you will be portioned out.’ Neither the syntactic functions nor the congruence in the sentence are clear. If the subject is *jiy!âŋ wǎy* ‘fork’, to which the personal pronoun *jüŷäpä* ‘they too’ refers,

then why is the predicate 3PL? One of the possible interpretations is: ‘My heart the size of a nestling, don’t be in a hurry like this, lest a fork cut you in two!’ In other words, the protagonist is soothing his heart so that it would not race, because it could end very badly.

äl pelä ‘don’t be afraid’. In Karjalainen’s translation it is ‘don’t be in a hurry’.

Line 347

mörây kəs kōraw joyâr ‘Solid-Star-Looking-Chain-Mail’. This may be a slip of the tongue. The name of the protagonist is either *torâm kəs kōraw joyâr* ‘Celestial-Star-Looking-Chain-Mail’ (363, 798, 806), or *torâm jor kälī kəs kōraw joyâr* ‘Mid-Heaven-Star-Looking-Chain-Mail’ (748). Karjalainen’s singer may have contaminated these phrases with the name of another hero, *mörây köy läki joyâr* ‘Solid-Stone-Throwing-Chain-Mail’ (436).

Lines 364–365

ik ulây, süñk ulây kat ujnâ ‘in a cellar that is seen by neither the moon nor the sun’, or: ‘in a cellar where you can see neither the moon, nor the sun’. It is a topos very characteristic of heroic epic songs that the protagonist had a terrible childhood (cf. The Upbringing of the Hero, OH II).

Line 369

näyi köy sōlw öytä ‘to the White-Rock-Bordered Cape’. Further variations of *sōlw* elsewhere are as follows: *näyi köy silwä öyät* (785–786), *näyi köy sōlwäw öytäm* (937).

Lines 372–373

torâm jor juyal lõk ‘mid-heaven dear path’. This is one of the denominations of the Milky Way in the folklore of the northwestern Siberian peoples (Dyekiss 2018: 35). Further occurrences are in lines 944–945.

Line 374

torâm putâw kälī kəs tūlamal us ‘he saw the twinkling of the star at the end of the earth’. This formula is to express that someone disappears into the cosmic distance. In the other instance of the formula, *torâm putâw kälī kəs wiļlä tūlamal* ‘as if the star at the world’s end ... flash’, the predicate is incomplete (972–973).

Lines 379–380

torâm nõy kut'maŋ löknə ‘in the traditional way of the heavenly elk’. In the manuscript, the word *kut'maŋ* was underlined, showing that Karjalainen did not know its meaning. The marginal notes do not reveal its word-by-word meaning, it only refers to the long steps of the elk. This simile may be well known in the whole Khanty-speaking region, cf. *χar χoγälla χõw sõγâm* ‘long steps of a running reindeer’ (BiblPáp II: 52/427). Otherwise, the word *kut'maŋ* can be an adjective derived from the verb *kut'* ‘lure, bait, incite, train’.

Line 383

mä päläm ku sarjaŋkânâ männə koltalnâ ‘?as I kept my ears perked up, I heard (it)’. *ku sarjaŋkânâ*. Unclear, it was underlined by Karjalainen but he could not decipher it.

Line 387

seŋ wär iki ‘month of the tidal fish weir’
ñiwəl kōr – unknown meaning
täy riyâmtâstâ ‘(he/she) demolished, brought down’

According to Karjalainen, the whole metaphor means ‘shot down in ambush’, but its literal meaning cannot be revealed with the help of the dictionaries.

Lines 394–396

On page 19, in line 394, there is a hyphenated word *läysin-*. At the top of the next page, Karjalainen inserted a line posteriorly, which was given the serial number 395. The hyphenated word goes on in line 396, *mü̃yi läysin-täyâlsâmân* ‘why were we fighting’.

Line 402

närəy tōj ku sõy üyäl t'ä jul'âmtâsâm ‘I stuck my saber into the ground in front of me like a staff’. The movement when the hero comes to a stand in front of his enemies is typical of Khanty heroes’ songs, cf. BiblPáp II: 74/633.

Line 405

juŋk päyâr tü̃yti sulaw tel ‘the hero’s clothing, sparking coppery red’. Karjalainen first put down the word *päyâr* ‘island’, then he wrote the version *päyâr* ‘copper-colored’ above it. It is probable that the latter one is correct, this word also appears in line 708.

Lines 413–415

nəŋ tī wič̣latā wǎy torâm jəyöw kuntâ p̣iṛikaḷin ‘When did you ask our eternal iron god father, golden-headed iron god father?’ The verb is in the objective conjugation, in the 2PL. As a marginal note, Karjalainen put down the verbal suffix belonging to the subjective conjugation (*-kalâtân*), although it is not clear whether as a possible version or simply for himself as a reminder.

Lines 417–419

kittâ may asöy ... kittâ torâm jəyəm ‘our remaining (= everlasting, eternal) terrestrial mother ... my remaining (= everlasting, eternal) heavenly father’. Further occurrences of the adjective *kittâ* (< *kijt-* ‘remain’) are in lines 757, 884, 914, cf. *wič̣latā* ‘eternal’ (13).

Lines 429–430

mä antâ kũṭ köjsâm tärən söy, aļļaməy tärəm mä antâ köjsâm ‘although I did not want a fighting way of life, I did not want the fight of the great earth’. On the basis of the Vasjuga hero’s songs, the fighting way of life is called the “*tärən* way of life” by Karjalainen. The adjective of swords is *tärnəŋ* ‘devastating, destroying’ or *juŋk-tärnəŋ* ‘idol-destroying’ (JugrUsk 364; FFC 44: 356–357; Relig2: 262–263). cf. *tärnəŋ söy məyiw naj* ‘the goddess of our combative land’ (922–923).

Line 431

jəynam waylil ‘they invite (hostility) themselves’. It is not clear what agent and object the 3PL personal pronoun and the verb form of objective conjugation refer to. One of the possible interpretations is ‘the fight is forced by themselves’.

Lines 436–442

Here the names of the idol-spirits/idol heroes are listed that attack the protagonist, namely *mörəy köy läki jəyâr* ‘Solid-Stone-Throwing-Chain-Mail’, *jäwat miyəw wästâ juŋk* ‘Seven-Hurdles-Overleaping-Spirit’, *üləŋ kori kōraw tel* ‘Frosty-Pelissed-Clothing’, and *liləŋ möŋkäm oyəw ku* ‘Lively-Snake-Headed-Man’. Seven-Hurdles-Overleaping-Spirit has another name (or characteristic feature), *iwəs palä*, i.e. he is the height of a skewer. In his translation, Karjalainen specifies the hero’s record, namely he is able to jump over seven hurdles as tall as himself (cf. notes to line 91). That is, if he is as high as a skewer, the hurdles are of the same height.

Line 445

juŋk päyali čimäŋ kotäl torâmnâ wersi ‘God created a *čimäŋ* day suitable for killing heroes’. *čimäŋ*. Unknown meaning, Karjalainen translated the sentence as ‘God created a good/appropriate day for killing the hero’.

Line 453

lamât nõyi kälâm puļ öyasəm. Cf. notes to lines 105–107.

Line 457

siyər kul. Cf. notes to lines 108–109.

Lines 458–459

mä jələw wajêy welmäm kārana nəŋpi iyitəy ‘I have killed a new animal, *kārana*, you, too, have some of it’. Karjalainen’s correction is *karanâ* > *kārana*, but neither of them makes the sentence interpretable, cf. *kāra* ‘village, place’.

Line 460

nüŋnäm kântäy nənki nõyi puļ iyi ‘You, yourself, eat the flesh of the *nənki* (larch) man (= you, yourself, eat the flesh of the man from the *nənki* (larch) clan)’. Karjalainen underlined the word *nənki* and also put a question mark beside it. On the one hand, the word *nənki* may refer to belonging to some clan. According to Zoltán Nagy, the phratries of the Vasjugan Khanty are rosin people, fish-abounding-river people, spruce people, *njurolka* people, people coming from the Jugan River (Nagy 2007: 41). A mythical song so far unpublished made it clear that the name of the Great Jugan River in the language of songs is *naŋk jayi kəntəŋ jəŋk* ‘water (river) carrying the people of larch’ (EPS), that is, larch people can mean Jugan people.

On the other hand, the word may be related to the noun *nəŋi* Trj *nəŋi* ‘tinder agaric’. In the Surgut Khanty folklore, the metaphor meaning humans is *nəŋi pəqi*, *pew pəqi* ‘tinder-agaric-puppet-cone-puppet’ (Chr 86). It is possible that the word having a different vowel is a borrowing from the Jugan dialect. In this case, its meaning is ‘you yourself eat the piece of the Khanty puppet’s flesh’.

This phrase occurs also in lines 544–545, *kāntäy nənki kuj wər* ‘Khanty larch or tinder-agaric puppet’s blood’.

Line 478

jir wəmə jirəŋ juŋk wəsən ‘you are a sacrifice spirit accepting sacrifice’. *wə-m-ä* take-PTC.PST-2SG.

Line 514

juŋk tärəm sem kəli pət'oy männə küt üyalli ‘(as) I keep peering at the spirit’s-powerful-eye-visible edge’. The meaning of the sentence is not clear.

Line 518

əjsöyi kəlām juŋk ‘three fighters of the same kind’. Of the four heroes mentioned in lines 436–442, it is Lively-Snake-Headed-Man that the protagonist brutally killed, and of whose flesh he even consumed, although this foe was also decently buried. The remaining three are the ones who are mentioned as ‘three fighters of the same kind’.

Although the head in the phrase *kəlām juŋk* is singular, the predicate, not agreeing formally, is plural, *əjsöyi kəlām juŋk t'unam potsät* ‘the three fighters (Sg) of the same kind fled (Pl) there’ (518–519). If this phrase is the Patient of a passive sentence, the verb takes a 3PL suffix, *əj söyi kəlām juŋk männə täy pöyəkətasät* ‘I started to chase the three fighters of the same kind (lit. the three fighters of the same kind were started to be chased)’ (550–551).

Lines 522–526

jüynäm söyitəw juŋkan wača ... jüynäm wititəw näjəŋ ortəŋ wača ‘into the hero(-ruled) town of the idol-spirit resembling nothing other than itself ... into the princess(-ruled) town of the idol-spirit resembling nothing other than itself’.

jüynäm söyitəw ‘resembles itself, i.e. it does not resemble us, it is not our kind’, in other words, ‘it is strange, different’. Further occurrences are *jüynäm söyitəw näjəŋ öytəta* ‘the princess(-ruled) capes resembling nothing other than itself’ (589), *jüynäm məy näjəŋ öytənə* ‘on the princess(-ruled) cape of the foreign land’ (595, 627), *jüynäm söyitəw tüytəw tarəs* ‘this fiery sea resembling nothing other than itself’ (605), *jüynäm söyitəw jirəŋ öyət* ‘this sacrifice cape resembling nothing other than itself’ (869), *jüynäm məy... jüynäm torəm* ‘another land... another heaven’ (997, 998–999).

Lines 544–545

mə wač kələnəŋäm kəntəy nəŋki kuj əj wər əl oytitən ‘do not spit the little blood of the Khanty larch men on the harbor of my town’. Cf. notes to line 460.

Line 546

torəmnə mant nəŋəti əntə pərtkäl (mə əntə pərtkälujəm) jəliysəntəy ‘I was not ordered by God to fight with you’. Near the sentence containing a subject

taking the locative suffix and a verb in active mood, Karjalainen also wrote the passive verb form in brackets. We do not know whether this form was given by the speaker, or added by the fieldworker. On the use of the marked Agent, cf. pp. 217–220 in Section 3.2.

Line 560

äl mölki tusati ‘let them not forget’. This verb form is discussed on pp. 212–214 in Section 3.2. Further occurrences are in lines 623, 660.

Line 565

är torâm pälak jänkä ‘to the four winds’. *torâm pälak* ‘point of the compass’. Correctly: *pälak*.

Lines 566–567

sayäl juy uräs mäk ‘a lad from the side of logs’ = a common man.

Lines 599–600

wiṭ watäyläm iməṅ naj pörki ‘the smoke of the holy fire that had been ignited for all time’. In the margin, indicating it with a question mark, Karjalainen hypothesizes that the stem of the adjective *iməṅ* may be the noun *imi* ‘woman’. However, this must be the Vj form of the adjective *jiməṅ*, ‘holy, taboo’ which is not documented according to the dictionaries. However, the dictionary contains the verb *imal-* ‘follow the rules of taboo’ (cf. line 768).

Lines 617–618

ilä tintä öyəṅ lät ... ilä tintä päkäh lät ‘girls coming into the world from this time on ... boys coming into the world from this time on’. When Khanty mythical heroes have a decision to make, they often consider the consequences of their acts on the following generations, cf., among other things, Chr 87.

öyəṅ lät, päkäh lät ‘girls, boys’. The element *lät* has transformed from an abstract noun meaning ‘time’ into a derivational suffix of collective nouns through grammaticalization, cf. Surg *jäqqəṅlat* ‘mankind’, cf. lines 557–558, Vj2/62–63.

A collective noun having the *lät* derivational suffix requires plural agreement: *ilä ti-ntä päk-äh lät warâm-t-ül kotäl* fore be_born-PTC.PRS boy-ADJ time grow_up-PTC.PRS-3PL day ‘on the day of the growing up of the boys coming into the world from this time on’.

Line 619

köjməŋ kötäw neməŋ jol ‘shaman with a drum in his hands’. As it becomes clear from a shaman song among the Surgut Khanty, the epitheton ornans of shamans is ‘drum-handed’ (lit. drummed-handed) (Csepregi 2007: 16).

Line 628

mä ärəy tumam wajəy ‘my animal with whom I brought songs’. In the Khanty heroic epic songs, the song-bringing, tale-bringing hero is the protagonist of the song or tale. It is he who creates (brings) the song and the tale, and at the same time, he is created (brought) by the song and the tale in order to preserve his remembrance for the future generations. In the present tale, this adjective is also given to the protagonist’s horse having supernatural powers. The phrase comes up in the text in various forms:

mä ärəy tuntâ mañt’ tuntâ juŋk kan ‘I am a song-bringing, tale-bringing spirit-ruler’ (83).

ärəy tuntâ mañt’ tuntâ jakəŋlät ‘song-bringing, tale-bringing people’ (89).

ma jäwət ärəy tuntâ wajkam ‘my animal bringing seven songs’ (120).

ärəy tuntâ mañt’ tuntâ, mänt ‘me, the one bringing songs, bringing tales’ (125).

koy ärəy tuntama koy mañt’ tuntama ‘so that I could bring long songs, long tales’ (268–269).

wičəlatät wəy torəm jəyəmnə nula ärəy tuntay mañt’ tuntay mint nula pärtkäl ‘my eternal iron god father ordered us (to go) together to bring song(s), bring tale(s)’ (said by the protagonist to his horse) (287–289).

jäwət ärəy tumam wajka mä t’äy nomlămtăsəm ‘I was thinking of my animal with whom I brought seven songs’ (491–492).

ärəy tuntâ soyaw wajkam ‘my song-bringing, hairy animal’ (519–520, 669).

ärəy tuntâ wajəy mañt’ tuntâ wajəy ‘song-bringing animal, tale-bringing animal’ (524–525).

jäwət ärəy tumanə juŋk ‘spirit who brought seven songs’ (548, 588).

koy ärəy tuntâ ku ‘long-song-bringing man’ (558).

mä ärəy tumam wajəy ‘my animal with whom I brought songs’ (628).

ärəy tumâ juŋkan ‘idol-prince bringing songs/brought by songs’ (636).

jäwät ärəy jäwät mańt' tumaŋ ku ‘man who brought seven songs, seven tales’ (926–927).

jäwät ärəy jäwät mańt' tumam wajəy ‘animal with whom I brought seven songs’ (933–934).

Lines 637–638

‘let the hundred cold-faced princess girls blow to me from the other shore of the sea’ = let the sea freeze.

Lines 644–647

By the singer, the crunching of ice is compared to a newborn baby’s cry, the hoofbeats, in turn, to forest spirits’ hammering. The simile was deciphered only in Karjalainen’s marginal notes.

Lines 663–664

inšəksä. On the basis of Karjalainen’s translation we can conclude that it refers to a thorny/bristling place. The noun can be related to the word *änčəy* ‘eglantine, rosehip’, although the ending *-sä* calls for an explanation.

tim torm oytj wəlayəń čəkəŋ məy ‘(the most) miserable field that has ever been in the world’. The morphology and function of the form *wəlayəń* are discussed on pp. 225–227 in Section 3.2. Further occurrences are in lines 763–765.

Lines 674

willä soyj niŋki nõyatay ‘as if worms were bustling’. The army troops seen in the distance are compared to worms also in the Northern Khanty heroic epic songs, cf. they are swarming like many-headed (i.e. a group of) wood-beetles, they are teeming like many-headed (i.e. a group of) maggots (OH I: 230).

Lines 698–701

nəŋnəm təŋələy kintlin əŋət nəŋnəm kəńčləlin, mə təŋələy kintlin əŋət mə nəŋnä tontəwtəlim ‘it is you yourselves who quest for the mouth of your unfilled basket, I will make you fill the mouth of your unfilled basket’. This is said by the protagonist to his enemies. The meaning of these metaphorical sentences may be that his enemies brought this on themselves, i.e. the protagonist actually reciprocates what they wanted to do at his expense.

In the marginal notes, Karjalainen corrected the form *nəŋä* ‘to you’ in the text to *nəŋnä* ‘with you’.

Lines 723–724

nüŋ käŷärtiŋ kūrät jəmānčkə mǎntpə məjitəŷ. ‘You, give me about a fistful of berries.’ In this sentence, there is a 2SG subject, while the predicate is 2PL. This may be a slip of the pen.

Line 731

tuyəl pǎŷ / ku. The word *tuyəl* is not documented in the Eastern dialects. Its meaning may be ‘one of, other, some of’ (cf. Kaz *toŷal* ‘one of..., other’ KT 975), cf. lines 793, 846, 1012.

Lines 734–735

männə tǎŷ piriŋmus ‘I asked him thusly’. This form is discussed on pp. 214–217 in Section 3.2.

Line 737

məŷǎntə ‘why not’. Probably a result of contraction of the words *məŷät əntə*, cf. line 740.

Lines 744–745

tim möŷrəmŷəm əj moŋki tepə körəwtäl kiŷayǎn ‘these smashed bird cherries, a pounder, its falling down did not happen’. The meaning of the sentence is not clear.

Lines 766–767

čǎŷəŷpə nemin pəsi tuti əlpə wǎlǎkǎtǎwǎl ‘let him not start to live in this way, indeed’. The meaning of the word *pəsi* is unknown. It may derive from *neminp(ə) əsi*, in which *-pə* is a negative particle and *əsi* is a conjunction of purpose clauses.

Lines 768

imǎltǎŋ ontǎw iki ‘man of tabooized inner parts/essence’. The word *imǎltǎŋ* refers to rules controlling the contacts among relatives by marriage, cf. Surg *jimǎltəŋ* (Csepregi 1997d: 450; 1999: 78; 2003b: 81). As the enemy of the protagonist offered his daughter for his own life, it is a possibility that the two fighters will become father-in-law and son-in-law to each other. This may be the background to addressing him in this way. The Vj form *imǎltəŋ* is not documented in the dictionaries.

Lines 776–782

əllə nəŋk pörka löy jal'sâmân ‘we stood at the base of the great pine’. *löy ɔ: tōy*. The text of the vow according to Karjalainen’s interpretation and comments: “It is told in a Vasjungan hero’s tale that the protagonist, traveling on horseback, arrives at ‘the bole of a larch created by *tōram*’, saying ‘*tōram*’s magnificent, great larch, listen! We have come to you, we have come to make *tōram*’s vow, to make the earth’s vow, at the bole of the great larch, with the sharp edge of a sword, we have made the face of *tōram*, the face of the earth.’ In this text, probably a vow made to some kind of an icon is repeated” (JugrUsk 506; FFC 63: 185; Relig3: 138).⁴⁵¹

Lines 784–785

wäyâlpil wäy tōrâsna ‘with thousands of moneyed money’ = an extremely large amount of money. Cf. *wäyâl öрки sat tōrâsna* ‘with many hundred of thousands of her money’, in line 750, which similarly means ‘very much money’.

Line 786

kuntânâ antə kitjän ‘if you don’t send’. In all likelihood, correctly *antə kitjäl* ‘if he does not send (her)’. This makes it coherent with the predicate of the following sentence *il pöylati* ‘let her be blown down’. In the same way, in a similar context in line 813, the subject is 3SG.

Line 792

snänki. Perhaps *nänki* ‘belonging to the *nänki* people’, cf. notes on line 460.

Lines 800–804

amtâpatöw čačmam äj öyim ‘my little daughter collected from the bottom of the cradle’. The youngest child, runt, weakling. In the manuscript, the ABL suffix *-öw* seems to have a half-long *-ü* vowel, reflecting its pronunciation.

mäləm (...) *mälim (...)* *mälim* ‘I give (subj. conj.), I give (obj. conj.), I give (obj. conj.)’. In the first clause, the verb takes the subjective suffix although its object is, due to the possessive suffix, definite, because this object bears new information. In the following clauses, the object remains the same, and this, having been mentioned earlier, triggers the objective conjugation.

451. Eräässä vasjunganilaisessa sankarisadussa kerrotaan sankarin saapuvan hevosella ratsastaen «*tōramin* luoman lehtikuusen juurelle» ja sanovan: «*tōramin* mainio suuri lehtikuusi kuule! Tulimme luoksesi, *tōramin* valan maan valan vannontaan tulimme, suuren lehtikuusen tyveen teimme *tōramin* kasvot, maan kasvot teräisen miekan kärjellä». Tässä varmaankin on jonkinlaista pyhimyksenkuvalla vannonnan kaikua.

Lines 801–802

mõñlãñ korj kõraw äjnäj ‘Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress’. Cf. *mõñlãñ korj kõraw näj* (812), *muñlãñ korj kõraw näj* (1005).

Lines 803–804

əj joyäl čeyäləy əj ñal čeyäləy nũñä məlim ‘I will give her without a piece of a bow, a piece of an arrow’. In Northern Khanty folklore, similarly, the bride price can be paid in arrows: “I make preparations for the daughter of my father, without one arrow-price, without two arrow-price (lit. arrowed price)” (OH II: 114–116/1032–1036).

Line 813

näj kuntãnã mänä əntə kitsətə ‘if he had not sent the lady to me’. *kitsətə* must be objective conjugation, past tense 3SG form, i.e. *kit-s-ətə*. For a similar context cf. line 786.

Lines 818–819

torãm wöyi liləñ junjk männə tã kəñčimus ‘the living idol having celestial power was looked for by me’. On the passive verb form, cf. pp. 214–217 in Section 3.2.

Lines 823–825

tärnəñ juyä məy, məytärnəñ junjk söyäu öyət ‘earth rich in the trees of the evil spirit, a cape resembling the earthly evil spirit’.

tärən ‘evil spirit, impure power that can be present in all the three layers of the world’. Cf. *il tärən, məy-tärən, num-tärən* ‘lower(-world)-*tärən*, earthly-*tärən*, upper (heavenly)-*tärən* (JugrUsk 364–365; FFC 44: 356–357; Relig2: 262–263). On its dwelling places and cult, the Khanty told Karjalainen, “It lives by the sea. Its sea is red, its forest is red. It requires red calico mantle, a seven-collared, seven-bordered, seven-sleeved shirt as a sacrifice, which is always hung on a pine tree, anywhere as there is no special place or tree defined for it. Bay horses are also sacrificed for *tärən*” (KT 1020).⁴⁵² The protagonist got to a land dominated by the earthly-*tärən*, where everything is red as if it had been sprinkled with blood all over (lines 826–829).

452. Hän asuu meren luona. Hänellä on punainen meri, punainen metsä. Hänelle on uhrattava punaisesta karttuunista tehty halatti, 7-kauluksinen, 7-reunainen, 7-hihainen paita: ripustetaan aina mäntyyn, mihin tahansa, ei ole erityistä paikkaa tai puuta. Uhrataan myös punainen hevonen.

Lines 830–831

ulwaŋ juŋ, ulwaŋ məy ‘varied trees, colorful land’.

ulwa ‘insert made of different color fabric or fur’, *ulwaŋ juŋ* ‘hybrid tree, below Siberian pine, above spruce, or below spruce, above larch’, *ulwaŋ länki* ‘two-colored squirrel’ (KT 130; D 88).

Lines 838–839

pöŋkən kütəw wäsəm tinəŋ sōj wäsəm ‘I am someone between your teeth, I am a precious voice’. This is probably the singer’s interjection declaring that he transmits the message of God or a spirit.

Line 896

ärəkäri (ärəy käri) oyâr məy. This phrase has two possible interpretations: 1) ‘song-bedecked mountain’, in other words, a mountain covered with songs; 2) ‘song-spinning mountain, mountain spun by song(s)’. Cf. *kär* ‘bark, rind’, *käri-* ‘spin’, cf. lines 938–939.

Line 913

ičəm. Unknown meaning, this may be an emphatic particle.

Lines 922–923

tärnəŋ söy məyiw naj ‘the goddess of our combative land’. Cf. notes to lines 429–430.

Lines 938–939

ärəkäri oyâr məyoŋ, mañt’ käri jönän məyoŋ ‘(I remember) our song-barked high land, our tale-barked, trunked land’.

məyoŋ ‘our land’. The velar vowel of the 1PL possessive suffix cannot be a slip of the pen twice in a row, the back quality of the vowel is rather a result of the influence of the subsequent velar consonant.

Lines 944–945

‘mid-heaven dear path’, cf. notes to lines 372–373.

Lines 968–969

männə ür awtätöy töyǰi läskältäli ‘[the mid-heaven speaking swallow (...)] along the hairs on the top of the forehead, was let down by me’. In the language of Khanty songs, the hair of Mother-Goddess stands metaphorically for the sun’s rays (Ruttkay–Miklián 2008).

Lines 972–973

torâm putâw keli kəs willä tūlamal ‘as if a star at the world’s end glittered’. In this sentence, there seems to be a participle functioning as a predicate, which is not characteristic of the Vj dialect, as opposed to the Trj dialect (see pp. 66–68 in Section 2.2). In the other occurrence of this phrase *kos tūlamal us* ‘he saw the twinkling of a star’ there is a finite verb in the sentence (374).

Lines 1002

čəŋketər?? This word was underlined also by Karjalainen but remained undeciphered. The correct word forms may be *čəŋk* ‘hot’ and *etər* ‘clear’, together ‘hot (sunny), clear sky’. The word *čəŋk* is documented only from the Surgut dialects, but there are no data from the Vasjugan Khanty.

Lines 1005–1007

muŋlâŋ kori kōraw näj jokält tumam wäy eläw nämtän peläŋ kat kat jora t’äy nări. ‘Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress, your (i.e. intended for you) metal-covered felt brought by me from home was put in the middle of the floored house’. Cf. lines 801–804; this lady was promised to the protagonist as a wife requiring no bridal price by Red-Stone-Like-Chain-Mail in exchange for his own life.

The genitive relations are not clear: *tu-m-am* bring-PTC.PST-1SG, *nämt-än* baize-2SG – they may be incorrect forms.

Lines 1008–1013

torâm wänməŋ wäy lüŋkwä männə niŋ wayältäsǰ, (...) torâm wänməw lüŋkwä juŷ tulǰ tuiŋäl artnə məŋä t’äy nuk ləŋsətə ‘I let down the god-faced iron blanket, (...) by (i.e. with the help of) a (fire-)wood carrying servant, the god-faced blanket covered us, indeed’. This may be part of the ceremony of becoming an idol-spirit.

Lines 1013–1015

əj patâm jölâŋ wākə əj patâm jölâŋ kōkə t’äy töy t’äyalsəm ‘I have become frozen, cracked iron, a frozen, splintered stone right there’, in other words, ‘I have become an iron idol, a stone idol’.

Vj2 – Fly-agaric song

The mythological background of the song

During his fieldwork, Karjalainen acquired a thorough knowledge of the beliefs and routines related to the use of fly-agaric, which are quite diverse among the Ob-Ugric groups. During divination ceremonies, the shamans of the Vasjugan region consumed this psychotropic substance more frequently than others. The citations below from Karjalainen present the information given primarily by the Vasjugan Khanty.

The use of fly-agaric, i.e. *paŋk*, as a narcotic is widespread among the Ob-Ugric peoples (...). Of the *paŋk*, it is only the upper part of the cap that is consumed, the stem and the sack are removed. It is either eaten immediately after bringing it home from the forest, or, more frequently, it is dried in the sun or in an oven; along the Tremjugan River, it is used exclusively in the latter way. The reserve for the winter is evidently always dried. When using fly-agaric, due to its relatively high toxicity, one had to take special precautions, which, later were turned into religious prescriptions. When the shaman takes fly-agaric, it is evidently a public ceremony because he acquires assistants by consuming it (...).

According to the Vasjugan Khanty, the effectiveness of fly-agaric originates in it having come into being from the Heavenly Father's spit. It is so strong that, after trying it, the devil lay unconscious for seven days. Consequently, humans cannot have much of it, either. If someone has too much fly-agaric, his jaw will close up, his mouth will foam, his eyes will roll back in the head. The only way to save him is forcing milk or salt in his mouth, because these substances "are not tolerated by the *paŋk*". The strongest fly-agaric is the so-called "king-of-fly-agarics"; it is small with a high stem, and it has only one white dot in the middle of its cap. The common, short stemmed fly-agarics always grow in a circle around it. These ideas of the Vasjugan Khanty are of folkloric origin, but the ceremonies show that, generally, they have cautious attitude toward *paŋk*. When a Vasjugan shaman eats fly-agaric, one half of the last mushroom is hidden. In this way, the *paŋk* cannot use all its strength to destroy the eater. Consuming fly-agaric causes a state similar to drunkenness, and the consumer is

compelled to sing; there are only few people who can refrain from singing. According to a storyteller, the effect lasts “from morning to sunset. (JugrUsk 567–568; FFC 63: 278–279; Relig3: 207–208)⁴⁵³

Karjalainen himself participated in at least one ceremony, and he described the procedure as follows:

The method followed by the Vasjuga divinator is quite simple, much more than the one in the Irtyš region. A man was asked to find the cause of a woman’s insanity. Towards evening, he ate two and a half fly-agarics, fell asleep for a short time, and when he woke up, he sat down in the corner of his lodge and began singing with eyes closed, rocking his upper body back and forth. His intoxication cannot have been strong because he was conversing with the audience and taking snuff. He went on singing till dawn, telling the happenings of his journey in songs, namely, how he was taken far by the *pank*, across many regions and countries, they visited even a church, etc. In spite of the effort which had made into it, he did not reach his goal

453. Kärpässiä, *pank*in käyttäminen huumausaineena on jugralaisilla hyvin laajalle levinnyt tapa (...) *Pank*ista kelpaa syötäväksi ainoastaan varresta ja alustastaan vapautettu lakan yläosa, ja sitä syödään joko raakana, suoraan metsästä poimittuna, useimmin kumminkin, Tremjugaanilla melkein yksinomaan, auringossa tahi uunissa kuivattuna; talvivarastot ovat tietysti aina kuivattuja. Tavallisessa syönnissä on noudatettava erinäisiä varokeinoja, mitkä ovat aiheutuneet sienien verraten suuresta myrkyllisyydestä ja myöhemmin tulleet luonteeltaan uskomuksellisiksi. Noidan syönti on aina menollista, mikä onkin luonnollista, hän kun syömällä hankkii itselleen auttajia (...).

Sienen voima johtuu siitä, sanovat vasjugaanilaiset, että se on syntynyt Taivaan-jumalan syljestä, ja sieni on niin väkevä, että paholainen sitä syötyään makasi tiedottomana seitsemän vuorokautta. Siksi ihmisetkään eivät saisi sitä paljon syödä. Liikaksi syöneellä hampaat puristuvat yhteen, suusta tulee vaahtoa, silmät seisovat päässä, ja hänet voidaan pelastaa ainoastaan maitoa tahi suolaa suuhun tunkemalla, sillä näitä aineita «*pank* ei suvaitse». Voimakkain on eräs «kuningaskärpässiä», pienikokoinen, korkeassa varressa kasvava, vain yksi valkea pilkku lakan keskessä; sen ympärillä kasvaa aina kehässä tavallisia, mataloita kappaleita. Nämä vasjugaanilaiset käsitykset ovat satuaiheisia, mutta menojen perustalla näemme, että *pank*iin yleensä suhtaudutaan varovasti. Kun vasjugaanilainen noita nauttii sieniä, jättää hän aina viimeisen sienien toisen puoliskon syömättä ja piilottaa sen, sillä tämän kautta *pank* ei voi käyttää koko voimaansa syöjää rusikoidakseen. Syönnin seurauksena on humala, jonka kestäessä *pank* pakoittaa syöjän laulamaan, ainoastaan harvat kykenevät pysyttelemään laulamatta. Vaikutus kestää «aamusta auringon laskuun», sanoi eräs kertoja.

where he could have got the relevant information. The cause of this failure was due to the fact that the outsiders showed me the hidden part of the fly-agaric, making the consumed *panyks* angry. (JugrUsk 591; FFC 63: 315; Relig3: 233–234)⁴⁵⁴

The songs performed under the effect of the fly-agaric (*panyklâmnâñ*) is a variant of shaman songs (*jolâmnâñ*). The genre was characterized by Karjalainen as follows:

We can look at the Mansi and northern Khanty songs as incantations, although the majority of them present a conversation between the shaman and the idol spirits. In the Vasjugan region, however, *jolâmnâñ* and *panylâmnâñ* are descriptions of what the shaman can see and hear during the exploration and when the assisting spirits arrive – these songs are, so to speak, reports of the shaman’s experience. (...) In the Vasjugan songs, it is the activity of the shaman, which is otherwise quite irrelevant, that is in focus. There is a reason to assume that it may be due to foreign influence, similarly to the whole system of assisting spirits in general. (JugrUsk 594; FFC 63: 320; Relig3: 237)⁴⁵⁵

454. Vasjuganilaisen kärpässienin ennustajan menettely on aivan yksinkertaista, yksinkertaisempaa kuin esim. Irtyshin alueella. Erästä sellaista miestä on pyydetty ottamaan selko muutaman naisen mielenhäiriön syystä. Hän söi iltapuolella 2½ *panyxia*, nukahti hetkisen, herättyään istuutui tuohijurttansa nurkkaan ja alkoi laulaa, pitäen laulaessaan silmänsä kiinni ja huojutellen ruumistansa edestakaisin. Kova ei huumaus nähtävästi ollut, koska hän kykeni laulannan keskeytettyään selvästi keskustelemaan katsojien kanssa ja vetämään nuuskaa nenänsä. Näin lauleli hän aamuyöhön saakka, lauluissaan kertoen matkansa tapauksista, siitä, miten häntä *panyx* kuljetti kauas, monien seutujen ja erilaisten maiden kautta, käytti kirkossa jne. – Paljosta vaivasta huolimatta hän tällä kertaa ei kuitenkaan päässyt matkansa päähän, sinne, mistä tieto olisi ollut saatavissa. Tämä onneton loppu oli seurauksena siitä, että syrjäiset näyttivät minulle piiloonpannun *panyxin* puoliskon, mistä teosta syödyt *panyxit* suuttuivat.

455. Vogulien ja pohjoisostjakkien lauluja voisimme nimittää manauslukuiksi, vaikka niissä suuri osa esittääkin noidan ja haltijan välistä keskustelua. Vasjuganilla sitä vastoin *jolâmnâñ* ja *panylâmnâñ* ovat tavallisissa tiedustelutilaisuuksissa kertovaisia kuvauksia siitä, mitä noita kuulee ja näkee sekä apulaishaltioiden tullessa että tiedustelumatkallaan, ne ovat siis niin sanoakseni kuvauksia noidan kokemuksista. (...) Vasjuganilaisissa lauluissa on vallalla verraten epäoleellinen noidan toiminnan kuvailu, missä on hyvinkin syytä epäillä vierasta vaikutusta, kuten yleensä koko sikäläisessä apulaishaltialaitoksessa.

Fly-agaric is present in Eastern Khanty culture even today, although it plays only a minor role. One of the lessons given by Ivan Stepanovič Sopočin emphasizes that one must not leave fly-agaric in an uninhabited house, because it makes the spirits moving into it become intoxicated (Csepregi 2011b: 14).

Ljudmila Nikolaevna Kajukova (born 1964) shared with me some information collected from older generations:

The fly-agaric song starts sounding all by itself from within the singer as if he were possessed by some deity, spirit, or some kind of evil power just after the shaman or anybody else (old or young man or woman) has some fly-agaric. At the beginning, he sings in a low voice, incomprehensibly, then more and more loudly and vehemently. The pace and the volume may vary. In the meantime, the drum is beaten rhythmically. Between the structural units, onomatopoetic syllables are repeated, e.g. “*t'o, t'o-t'o, t'o-t'o-t'o...*”, “*č'o-č'o, č'o-č'o, č'o...*”, “*ji-ji-ji... t'o-t'o-t'o*”. They can ask Num Torum Father and the Furry-Hairy Earth-Mother for advice. To my knowledge, it is prohibited to sing fly-agaric songs on bear feasts.

Fly-agaric songs were used in foretelling, soothsaying, healing, and conjuring. According to P. V. Kurlomkin, one must not collect fly-agaric that have many white tiny dots because it makes the song speed up, and the words fly away like little birds. It is also prohibited to use fly-agaric having one continuous white patch on its cap, because it makes words run together. Fly-agaric must be gathered in a clear pine forest, and the song will come easily and sound pleasing. If the fly-agaric is from a sandy river bank, where there are a lot of bushes, then the song will be chaotic, unclear and rough. You must gather fly-agaric in well-defined places where seven agarics make a small group. The smallest of them is always the best.

Fly-agarics are dried in shadow, they are cut into seven parts, and they are cut into seven again before eating, and taken in with little water. Because of those who used fly-agaric, the common people did not eat mushrooms, being afraid of poisonous ones. Besides this, there was no clear water or clean dish for cooking mushrooms. In my childhood, my grandmother always dissuaded me from eating mushrooms, saying “It will make you laugh permanently!” If I laughed too much, she scolded me: “Why do you eat so much mushrooms? You mustn't – she said.” (cited from L. N. Kajukova's letter, March 2017)

Summary of the content

The singer, who says he is “the interpreter of God sharing out game, sharing out fish”, tells us that fly-agaric was sent down to humans by the seven daughters of the Upper God (*num torâm*). The piece just eaten was put in the singer’s mouth by the God’s youngest daughter. The singer and his audience gathered in a house in which numerous fly-agarics had been consumed earlier. In the song, a lot of repetition can be found. The imperative addressed to youngsters is repeated several times: “Clever girl, clever boy, mark my words, do not speak with improper words, improper phrases”. According to the lesson, the gods will provide them with game and fish if this rule is followed. If the improper words have come out of their mouths nevertheless, the gods can be propitiated by lighting candles in the church, “in the house of the three-headed God”; the three heads evidently refer to the bulbous domes of Orthodox churches. The candles have to be lit “in front of my stone-faced father, stone-faced mother”; In the Khanty poetic language these phrases refer to icons.

The singer can refer to himself with the phrase *köräytä ku* ‘spinning man’, which may refer to the effect of the psychotropic substance. The journey for acquiring information arrives at a turning point at line 268 when the fly-agaric starts to take the singer back to the Earth in accordance with the rounds of the Sun and the Moon. The description of the arrival at the crusty earth, at the fat knees of Mother Earth ends at line 307. The youngest daughter of the Upper God goes on giving advice on the proper way of speaking. This is when the time has come for the singer to consume the half fly-agaric that was hidden earlier (337–338). Then the daughter of the Upper God is given the white linen promised to her (347–349), and from this time on, her voice can be heard only from above, repeating the warnings heard many times earlier. The whole song can be characterized by staccato performance, ill-formed sentences, lack of congruence, as well as the rare use of adverbial suffixes.

There is no way to know whether this is the song that was performed in the ceremony in which Karjalainen took part as an observer. The aim of that trance was to reveal the cause of a woman’s insanity. There is no sign of this in the song, but we cannot exclude that the information acquired during the journey would have been announced later.

***Paŋ[k]lâmnâŋ* [Fly-agaric song]**

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 1. | <i>paŋk näläm jäwət čeyä</i> | Seven variants of the fly-agaric's tongue | ☞ |
| 2. | <i>nälwej wiŋčiw wän[t]
juŋ[âw] kat</i> | Log house as narrow as the shaft of an arrow | |
| 3. | <i>juŋ jəŋ jöŋa wiŋčiw paŋk</i> | fly-agaric the size of a wooden hoop | |
| 4. | <i>mä tem säŋâmlântan köləŋläŋ</i> | ...these words to be told by me | |
| 5. | <i>ur[t]ku amâstâ öŋiŋlä[t]
pākâŋ lä[t] kəlântântila[.]</i> | girls and boys, who welcome suitors, listen. | |
| 6. | <i>juŋ[k] soŋi neməŋ paŋk</i> | The famous fly-agaric having a spirit worm | ☞ |
| 7. | <i>kät soŋi neməŋ kīl</i> | the famous, two-worm fly-agaric mushroom | |
| 8. | <i>num torəm jakâŋ jerä</i> | (from) the upper skies to the human world | |
| 9. | <i>nowtâŋ öŋi nowtâŋ pā[ŋ] kaltatī</i> | to lull long-lived girl(s), long-lived boy(s) | |
| 10. | <i>ilə kaltīla jəŋ[.]</i> | (it) came to put them to sleep. | |
| 11. | <i>torâmnâ pīrti mänä säŋmâltatī[.]</i> | It is ordered by God for me to sing | ☞ |
| 12. | <i>torâmnâ äntə pärt[k]äl
äntə tōŋ ilim mä</i> | (if) it is not ordered by God I will not eat | |
| 13. | <i>tärəm päŋ nāmčī ninä
īl war[t]lujäm[.]</i> | by a strong-fingered, nettle-hackle woman, I am cast down. | |

☞ Girls and boys who welcome suitors, listen to me to learn what words I am urged to say by the fly-agaric which speaks seven languages, whose cap is like a wooden hoop, in this log house as narrow as the shaft of an arrow. (1–5)

The famous fly-agaric having a spirit worm, the famous two-worm fly-agaric mushroom have come down from the upper skies to people in order to lull long-lived girls, long-lived boys, in order to put them to sleep. (6–10)

God ordered me to sing, if he had not ordered me, I would not have eaten [agaric]; the strong-fingered nettle-hackle woman casts me down. (11–13)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--|-----|
| 14. | <i>num torâm jakâη jerä</i> | (From) the upper heaven,
among the people | ☞ ☞ |
| 15. | <i>nukâpa paηkâlta</i> | so as to make it possible to
perform shamanism with agaric | |
| 16. | <i>sökâη mæ[γ] kim[ə]loyti</i> | on the edge of the furry earth | |
| 17. | <i>kim[ə]loytâja paη[k]
tiyâyæn[.]</i> | on the edge of it, the fly-
agaric was born. | |
| 18. | <i>num torâm jäw[ə]t
öyin[ə] il əslj</i> | It was let down by the seven
daughters of the Upper God | ☞ |
| 19. | <i>tem küläη məy oytjîñä
sem käsältä[.]</i> | so that his eyes could run
over this thick ground | |
| 20. | <i>num torâm jäw[ə]t öyina
pirti mənä intäti[.]</i> | we are ordered by the seven daughters
of the Upper God to eat (it) | |
| 21. | <i>num torâm jakâη
jernä pirti intäti</i> | we are ordered to eat it by
the mankind (dominated by)
the Upper God to eat it | |
| 22. | <i>tüytəη ka[t], patlêη ka[t]
torâmnâ tutj pirti säymâlta[.]</i> | a fiery house, a frosty house was
ordered by the God for us to sing there. | |
| 23. | <i>əllə paη[k] jam jerä</i> | The good power of the great agaric | ☞ |
| 24. | <i>mänä jöntälñä</i> | when (it) arrives at me | |
| 25. | <i>teyən jar sajä pära</i> | (on a) tranquil lake a
flock of goldeneye | |
| 26. | <i>wiļlä mänä jöwal.</i> | as if (it) came to me. | |
| 27. | <i>mänä jöyâ[t]talñä</i> | When (the fly-agaric) arrives at me | ☞ |
| 28. | <i>köləη paηk əj jam jer
jäyä werəntälj</i> | (by) the talking agaric, good
strength is created | |
| 29. | <i>il tintə öyij lä[t] päkâη
lä[t] kəlñtjila[.]</i> | marriageable girls, boys,
listen (to it), | |
| 30. | <i>mä tem kälät[ə] ku näləm
čeyä nəη kəlñtjila[.]</i> | listen to the language of
me, this mortal man, | |

☞ To make it possible for shamans to perform their shamanism with agaric, it descended (was born) from the upper heaven to the edge of the mossy Earth. (14–17)

It was sent down by the seven daughters of the Upper God so that he could look around the Earth; we are ordered to eat it by the seven daughters of the Upper God, we are ordered to eat it by the mankind dominated by the Upper God; God ordered a fiery house, a frosty house for us to sing there. (18–22)

When the power of the fly-agaric spreads through my body it feels like a flock of goldeneye descending on a tranquil lake. (23–26)

When the fly-agaric arrives within me, it provides me with power and words; marriageable girls, marriageable boys, listen to the speech of this






- | | | | |
|-----|--|--|---|
| 31. | <i>nāmsāṅ ḡyi nāmsāṅ pāy</i> | clever girl, clever boy | ↙ |
| 32. | <i>nāmsa pāntīla,
torām putalatī.</i> | bear it in mind until
the end of the world. | |
| 33. | <i>tem kōlāṅ māy oytājow</i> | In this <i>kōlāṅ</i> world (lit. on the
surface of this <i>kōlāṅ</i> land) | ↕ |
| 34. | <i>num torām pustī
oyār māy[,]</i> | on the high land to be marked
by the Upper God | |
| 35. | <i>oyār māynā kayās
ḡyāw imkārāt'kən</i> | on the high land, gray-haired
mother and father | |
| 36. | <i>a ā paṅk aj jəm jer
jinn[ə] əsəlli[,]</i> | the good strength of the great
agaric was let (down) by them | |
| 37. | <i>ḡyiṅ lā[t] pākāṅ lā[t]nā
sāyta kolānta[.]</i> | so that the flock of girls and the flock of
boys (could) listen to it immediately. | |
| 38. | <i>num torām jakāṅ jernā</i> | In the human line (possessed or
directed by) the Upper God | ↕ |
| 39. | <i>kajām paṅk imā katnā</i> | in the house where the dried agaric is eaten | |
| 40. | <i>kayās ḡyāw imkə rāt'kən</i> | gray-haired old woman and man | |
| 41. | <i>sat paṅk ili neməṅ kat</i> | the famous house where a hundred
dried agarics are eaten | |
| 42. | <i>neməṅ paṅ[k] tōt ili[,]</i> | the famous agaric is consumed there | |
| 43. | <i>sāyāl kōlām pičəw paṅk</i> | the fly-agaric's song having three layers (lit.
the agaric having a three-layer melody) | |
| 44. | <i>tō[γ] sāymālli.</i> | is sung thither. | |
| 45. | <i>kusar paṅkāl'nāṅ
kūt (?) kūtā ?</i> | Among the many ceremonies
(using) strong agaric | ↕ |
| 46. | <i>tārəm paṅ[k] ḡəmčī
nīnā il warlujām[,]</i> | I am shoved down by the strong-
fingered, nettle-hackle woman | |
| 47. | <i>jəm ḡyi jəm pāynā
tō[γ] sāyta kolāntāli.</i> | it is listened to by good girl(s),
good boy(s) immediately. | |

☞ mortal man, ingenious girl, ingenious boy, bear it in mind until the end of the world. (27–32)

In the wide world (lit. earth), on the mountain marked by the Upper God, gray-haired mother and father radiate the good power of the agaric, so that the flock of girls and the flock of boys could listen to it. (33–37)

In the human world prevailed by the Upper God, in the house where the dried agaric is eaten, where a hundred agarics are eaten by the gray-haired mother and father, the famous agaric is consumed there, the agaric's song having three pitches is performed there. (38–44)

Strong-fingered, hackle-woman shoves me down, among the participants of the dangerous, agaric(-eating) ceremony, good girl, good boy listen to the sounds of the song. (45–47)

48.	<i>mä tem körəytə ku näləm čeyä</i>	I, in this spinning-man-language	
49.	<i>nəñä löñälīm[.]</i>	(I) tell you.	
50.	<i>nämsəñ öyi, nämsəñ päy / ? /</i>	Clever girl, clever boy	
51.	<i>nämsa päntiła</i>	put (it) into (your) brains	
52.	<i>torəm aləñ timəna</i>	at the creation of the world	
53.	<i>nämsəñ öyi nämsəñ päynə</i>	(by the) clever girl, clever boy	
54.	<i>nämsa päntiła</i>	put (it) into (your) brains	
55.	<i>nämsəñ öyi nämsəñ päynə</i>	(by the) clever girl, clever boy	
56.	<i>kərəy näləm kərə[γ] köl</i>	improper language's improper word	
57.	<i>čeyä äl tölyati[.]</i>	do not say.	
58.	<i>köy wänəmpəw torəm əsəm</i>	My stone-faced heavenly mother	
59.	<i>köy wänəmpəw torəm jəyəm</i>	my stone-faced heavenly father	
60.	<i>kərəy näləm kərə[γ] köl köl əntə tölyatamnə</i>	when I do not speak an improper language, improper words	
61.	<i>mänä wajəy məwəl kul məwəl</i>	provide me with fish, provide me with game	
62.	<i>öyin lä[t] päkəñ lä[t] məwəl</i>	give daughters and sons	
63.	<i>öyin lä[t] päkəñ lä[t] torəmnə məli[.]</i>	daughters and sons are given by the God	
64.	<i>torma sötüw jñi[t]li[.]</i>	for the God, candles are set.	
65.	<i>nämsəñ öyi nämsəñ päy</i>	Clever girl(s), clever boy(s)	
66.	<i>kərəy näləm kərə[γ] köl köl äl tölyati[.]</i>	(should) not use improper words of an improper language	
67.	<i>torəmnə jəm kalı</i>	after a good night slept well with God's help (lit. by the God)	
68.	<i>äləñ nu[k] külä, torma pırnälä.</i>	in the morning get up, make the sign of the cross to(ward) (the icon of) God.	
69.	<i>tem tormoytınə juy jəy jöya</i>	Upon this globe, (the agaric) the size of a wooden hoop	
70.	<i>weləñ çyəw neməñ pañk</i>	the famous agaric with a smooth cap,	
71.	<i>müyləñ çyəw neməñ pañk</i>	the famous agaric with a dotted cap,	
72.	<i>tuta säymälli[.]</i>	this is how (it is) told.	

- ☞ I tell you all this in the language of the spinning/rolling man. (48–49)
Clever girl, clever boy, remember it because, as a clever girl, a clever boy, you are the main creature of God: do not use improper words, do not speak in a language offending the spirit world. (50–57)
If I do not speak an improper language, improper words, my stone-faced heavenly mother, stone-faced heavenly father will provide me with fish and game, they give daughters and sons, [therefore,] I light candles for God. (58–64)
Clever girl, clever boy, do not use improper words; after a good night's sleep, get up, make the sign of the cross toward (the icon of) God. (65–68)
This is how the famous agaric with a smooth cap, a dotted cap, the size of a wooden hoop chant. (69–72)

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|-----|---|---|-----|
| 73. | <i>tā[y] lilā wāltā nouwtāḡ torām</i> | This lively (lit. living with a soul), aged world | ☞ ☞ |
| 74. | <i>māl[i] öyi, māli pāy</i> | which girl, which boy | |
| 75. | <i>kārəy nālām kārə[y]
köl tōlkās[.]</i> | used (spoke) improper language, improper words. | |
| 76. | <i>nāmsāḡ öyi, nāmsāḡ pāy</i> | Clever girl, clever boy | ☞ |
| 77. | <i>čōḡčā pānīlatī</i> | on (their) back/shoulder... put (it) | |
| 78. | <i>mā kajām paḡ[k] jəḡkəl tur</i> | my throat/voice (triggered by the potion (lit. water) of dried-agaric in this way (it is) told. | |
| 79. | <i>tūta sāymāllī[.]</i> | On this lively day | ☞ |
| 80. | <i>tā lilā wāltā kotāl</i> | clever girl(s), clever boy(s) | |
| 81. | <i>nāmsāḡ öyi, nāmsāḡ pāy</i> | to God... should make the sign of the cross (i.e. pray) | |
| 82. | <i>torma pīrnālāti[.]</i> | God gives you game, gives you fish. | |
| 83. | <i>torām wajāy māwəl
kul māwəl[.]</i> | On the edge of the miserable earth | |
| 84. | <i>čəkəḡ mē[y] kim[ə]l öytīnā</i> | on the edge of the familiar earth | |
| 85. | <i>jākəḡ mē[y] kim[ə]l öytīnā</i> | I, the speaking agaric, am being spun on a mountain. | |
| 86. | <i>köləḡ paḡk əj jōyḡnā
siyillujām[.]</i> | in line with the good moon's rounds | ☞ |
| 87. | <i>jəm iki məntin üyəl</i> | house having logs as narrow as an arrow shaft (lit. arrow-shaft-narrow-logged house) | |
| 88. | <i>nal wejḡnā wān[t'] juyəw kat</i> | inside the fiery house | |
| 89. | <i>tūytəḡ kat jəy peļəyḡnā</i> | freckled ... | |
| 90. | <i>rōtāḡ cypelā</i> | by the famous agaric with a freckled cap | |
| 91. | <i>rōtḡḡ cyəw neməḡ paḡknā</i> | I am being spun. | |
| 92. | <i>siyillujām[.]</i> | Filthy faced people | ☞ |
| 93. | <i>liw wāḡḡmpəw jakəḡ lāt</i> | youngster-doll's ears wearing earrings | |
| 94. | <i>āj ku pākī rəntāḡ pəl</i> | are turning to me. | |
| 95. | <i>mānā siləytil[.]</i> | | |

☞ In the present-day world inhabited by living humans, some girl(s), some boy(s) used improper language, improper words. (73–75)

Clever girl, clever boy, take the chant sung in the voice of the dried-agaric potion. (76–79)

On this day of living humans, clever girls, clever boys should make the sign of the cross before the icon, and then God will provide them with game, with fish. (80–83)

In the house built of logs as thin as an arrow shaft, I am spun in line with the moon's rounds by the famous agaric with the freckled cap. (87–92)

The filthy-faced people are turning their youngster-doll's ears wearing earrings to me. (93–95)

96.	<i>tem torâm jöy jəy peļəynə</i>	Inside this mountain of God	☞ ☞
97.	<i>tōyāl siyər aləŋ wajâ[k]kâ</i>	into the first/last/outside animal of the feather chain	
98.	<i>mä tōŋ jəmämna</i>	if I had grown	
99.	<i>num torâm jakâŋ jerä</i>	among the people [dominat- ed by] the Upper God,	
100.	<i>kuntâ tōŋ jəyimâm[.]</i>	I would have slid down.	
101.	<i>mä tem čökəŋ mə[y] kim[ə]l öytinâ</i>	I, on the edge of this miserable earth	☞
102.	<i>kālat[ə] ku ŋoçij teläm</i>	my fleshy wholeness/ body of a mortal man	
103.	<i>mä körəytäm jəpəļəynə</i>	inside my whirling	
104.	<i>sat kälj kütäkä jaŋnâ il werŋil[.]</i>	among a hundred corpses, by people, if I am put down	
105.	<i>mä tiçəmam näləm čeyä</i>	the language spoken by me	
106.	<i>məl öyi məli pəyñâ lōŋəlī[.]</i>	(by) which girl, by which boy (it) is going to be spoken (i.e. carried on).	
107.	<i>mä tōŋ kajəm paŋk jəm turna</i>	Although I, in the good throat/ voice of dried agaric	☞
108.	<i>wālmam ku nowât ontâr lōŋəsīm</i>	(I) was speaking during the era I was living	
109.	<i>tə[y] lila wältâ nowât ontâr</i>	till the end of this lively-being age	
110.	<i>juç jəy jöya weləŋ paŋk</i>	the agaric, the size of a wooden hoop	
111.	<i>məl öyi məli pəyñâ</i>	(by) which girl, by which boy	
112.	<i>kōjnâ tōŋ lōŋəlī[.]</i>	by whom (it) is going to be chanted (lit. said)?	
113.	<i>mä wālmam ku nowât ontâr</i>	During the era I was living	☞
114.	<i>jəm öyi jəm pəya lōŋəsīm</i>	the good girls, good boys, I was telling	
115.	<i>pä jəj pä kotəl jəməy pänä</i>	one night and the other day	
116.	<i>torəmnä ŋöyälkälli[.]</i>	(what was) urged by God.	☞

☞ If I had turned a feathery-tethered first animal (?bird), I would have slid down to the human world dominated by the Upper God. (96–100)

If people will put down my mortal body among a hundred corpses while I am tumbling at the edge of this miserable earth, which girl, which boy is going to carry on my words? (101–106)

Although I have been chanting in the good voice of dried agaric all my life, in the era of present-day living people, by whom the smooth-stemmed agaric, the size of a wooden hoop, is going to be made speak? (107–112)

All my life, day by day, night by night, I have been telling the good girls, good boys what God made me transmit. (113–116)

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|------|--|---|----|
| 117. | <i>mä tōŋ wälmam ku nowât ontâr</i> | Although during(?) the era I was living | 41 |
| 118. | <i>köy wänämpaw torâm äsmä</i> | to my stone-faced God mother | |
| 119. | <i>köy wänämpaw torâm jəymä</i> | to my stone-faced God father | |
| 120. | <i>söt'iw j'ínl[t']j[.]</i> | candles are posted. | |
| 121. | <i>torâmnâ tə[γ] lilə wältä kotäl</i> | (Ordered) by God, on this lively-being day | 13 |
| 122. | <i>kajâm paŋk säyäl kölnə</i> | with the words of the dried agaric's song | |
| 123. | <i>t'uta nəŋä säymälli[.]</i> | in that way, (it is) told to you | |
| 124. | <i>torâm wajəy məntä kul məntä</i> | God, to give animal(s), to give fish | |
| 125. | <i>liw wänämpaw köləŋ läit</i> | filthy-faced speeches | |
| 126. | <i>liw wänämpaw jakəŋ jerä</i> | filthy-faced mankind | |
| 127. | <i>jəyä säymälli[.]</i> | is told (them). | |
| 128. | <i>torâm wajəy məntaw köl</i> | The word of the God who provides us with game | 13 |
| 129. | <i>mənnə jəyä säymälli[.]</i> | is said to them by me | |
| 130. | <i>liw wänämpaw jakəŋ lä[t]nə</i> | by the filthy-faced mankind | |
| 131. | <i>kəlântälj[.]</i> | it is being listened to. | |
| 132. | <i>mä num torâm jakəŋ məynə</i> | I, on the peopled land of the Upper God, | 13 |
| 133. | <i>körəytə ku näləm čəyäm</i> | the tongue of me, the spinning man | |
| 134. | <i>nomän torâmn[ə] älli,</i> | above, (it) is carried by the God | |
| 135. | <i>kajâm paŋk siyiwnäti</i> | with the whirling of the dried agaric | |
| 136. | <i>torâmnâ nomän älli.</i> | (it) is carried by the God, above. | |
| 137. | <i>körəytə ku nioyŋ teläm</i> | My fleshy wholeness (my body) of the spinning man | 13 |
| 138. | <i>tüytəŋ ka[t] patlən
ka[t] jəpəlkä</i> | into the fiery house,
the frosty house | |
| 139. | <i>il (?) kotəywäl[.] –</i> | slides down. | |






6) So that candles would be lit in front of my stone-faced mother, stone-faced father my entire life. (117–120)

In the period of the people living here the dried agaric sends you this message: so that God shall provide you with game, provide you with fish, all this will be transmitted to the filthy-faced mankind, pockmarked-faced mankind. (121–127)

I will tell them the message that God provides them with game, and the filthy-faced mankind will listen to it. (128–131)

On the land of the upper God, inhabited by humans, I, the spinning man transmit the message of God, which I am given during the whirling caused by the dried agaric. (132–136)

My body of a spinning man slides down into the fiery house, into the frosty house. (137–139)

140.	<i>kajâm paŋk säyiw köl</i>	The word having the melody of the dried agaric	
141.	<i>məŋ il löŋətaŋ tiyəw</i>	we were born to perform (it)	
142.	<i>jəm öyi jəm päynâ</i>	by good girl(s), good boy(s)	
143.	<i>nâmsa pänli[.] –</i>	is put into (their) brains.	
144.	<i>torâm pustaŋ oyâr məy oytinâ</i>	On the surface of the high land marked by God	
145.	<i>kajâm paŋk jəm tur säyi</i>	according to the good throat/ voice of the dried agaric	
146.	<i>tö[γ] siyiləw[.]</i>	we were whirling (spinning) there	
147.	<i>jəm iki mənt üçəl</i>	according to the rounds of the good moon	
148.	<i>tö[γ] siyiləw[.]</i>	we were whirling there.	
149.	<i>juŋ[k] soyi neməŋ paŋk</i>	Famous agaric having a spirit worm	
150.	<i>torâmnâ tö[γ] siyiltəli[.]</i>	is being twisted there by God	
151.	<i>mä körəytə ku näləm čeyäm</i>	the tongue of me, the spinning man	
152.	<i>tö[γ] siyiltəli[.]</i>	is being twisted there.	
153.	<i>čəkät öyi čəkätə päy</i>	Suffering girl, suffering boy	
154.	<i>čəkəŋ torâm num torâm əsmä</i>	to my Upper-God-Mother of this suffering world (lit. my suffering- world-upper-god-mother)	
155.	<i>čəkəŋ torâm num torâm jəymä</i>	to my Upper-God-Father of this suffering world (lit. my suffering- world-upper-god-father)	
156.	<i>pä əj pä kotəl jüyä lilkəlləw[.] –</i>	we get confused from one day to the next.	
157.	<i>čəkät öyiŋ lä[t] päkəŋ lätä</i>	For suffering girls, suffering boys	
158.	<i>torâmnâ əjəj kaltä kotəl kaltä</i>	sleeping one night, sleeping a day	
159.	<i>torâmnâ məŋä əsəlli[.]</i>	(for us) is allowed by God.	

☞ We were born to transmit the word of the dried agaric, so that good girls, good boys memorize it. (140–143)

We were whirling there, on the high mountain marked by God, we were whirling there according to the rounds of the good moon. (144–148)

The famous agaric possessed by spirits is wound there by God, my tongue, the tongue of me, the tongue of the spinning man, is wound there. (149–152)

Girl struggling with difficulties, boy struggling with difficulties, to my Upper-Heaven Mother, to my Upper-Heaven Father, we get confused from one day to the next. (153–156)

We, boys and girls struggling with hardship, were allowed to spend a night, to spend a day (there). (157–159)

160.	<i>kajâm paŋk säyil kölnə</i>	According to the word of the dried agaric	☞ ☞
161.	<i>männə nəŋä werəntəli[.]</i>	(a message) is made by me to you	
162.	<i>jəm öyi jəm päynə</i>	by good girl(s), good boy(s)	
163.	<i>säyta kəläntiləti[.]</i>	let it be listened to.	
164.	<i>čəkəŋ məy oytinə</i>	On the surface of the miserable earth	☞
165.	<i>kərəy näləm kərə[γ] köl</i>	improper word(s) of the improper language	
166.	<i>čəkə əl əsliləti.</i>	should not be allowed (to spread).	
167.	<i>num torəm jakəŋ jernə</i>	In the name of the people (dominated by) the Upper God	☞
168.	<i>kəlat[ə] ku näləm čeyəm</i>	(in) the language of me, a mortal man	
169.	<i>löŋəta kür[t]sim.</i>	(I) was not able to perform (it).	
170.	<i>čəkəŋ məy oytinə</i>	On the surface of the miserable earth	☞
171.	<i>kərəy näləm, kərə[γ] köl</i>	improper words, improper language	
172.	<i>əl čəkə tölkitəy.</i>	you should not pronounce (lit. do not really pronounce).	
173.	<i>kajâm paŋk jəm tur säyi</i>	In the good throat/voice of the dried agaric	☞
174.	<i>löŋəta kür[t]sim[.]</i>	(I) was not able to perform (it)	
175.	<i>torəm puštaŋ oyər məyna</i>	on the high land marked by God	
176.	<i>kəlatə ku näləm čeyəm</i>	the tongue of me, a mortal man	
177.	<i>jəm iki mantin üyəl</i>	according to the rounds of the good moon	
178.	<i>kirkəltä kür[t]sim[.] –</i>	(I) was not able to turn back.	
179.	<i>kərəy näləm kərə[γ] köl</i>	Improper words of an improper language,	☞
180.	<i>əl löŋtītən.</i>	do not pronounce (you two).	
181.	<i>kotəl kaltə əjəj kaltə nowtəŋ torəm</i>	Aged God, spending a day, spending one night	☞
182.	<i>torəmnə tōŋ məŋä əsəlli[.]</i>	if it is permitted for us by God	
183.	<i>torəmnə tōŋ məŋä əsəlli[.]</i>	if it is permitted for us by God	

☞ I will pass you the message of dried agaric, good girls, good boys should listen to it. (160–163)

Over the miserable earth, improper words of the improper language should not be allowed to spread. (164–166)

In the human world dominated by the Upper God, I, mortal man, was not able to tell my words. (167–169)

Over the miserable earth, you should not pronounce improper words of an improper language. (170–172)

I was not able to speak in the proper voice of the dried agaric, I, mortal man, on the mountain marked by God, I was not able to turn back according to the rounds of the good moon. (173–178)

Do not pronounce improper words in an improper language. (179–180)

Although it is permitted by God for us to spend a night, to spend a day, on this living day, the agaric, the smooth-stemmed agaric, the size of a

184.	<i>tə lila wältə kotəlnə</i>	on this lively-being day	☞
185.	<i>kəɾəy nələm, kəɾə[ɣ] kəl</i>	improper word(s), improper language	
186.	<i>paŋ[k]nə töləyta əntə pərti[.]</i>	it is not ordered by the agaric to say...	
187.	<i>juɣ juɣ jəɣa weləŋ paŋ[k]nə əntə pərti[.]</i>	it is not ordered by the smooth agaric, the size of a wooden hoop.	
188.	<i>čəkəŋ məɣ kim[ə]l öytinə</i>	On the edge of the miserable earth	☞
189.	<i>kəl[ə]m əɣəw torəm kata</i>	into the three-bulbous heavenly house	
190.	<i>paŋ[k]nə pirti, sötüw jirtäti[.]</i>	it is ordered by the agaric to post candles.	
191.	<i>torəmnə kəɾəy ń[äləm] k[əɾəɣ] kəl moši əntəli</i>	By God, improper words of the improper language are allowed or not allowed (to say)	☞
192.	<i>prosit werli[.]</i>	it is forgiven (lit. pardon is made).	
193.	<i>tə lila wältə kotəlnə</i>	On this lively-being day	☞
194.	<i>kajəm paŋk səɣaw kölnə</i>	with the words of the dried agaric	
195.	<i>mənnə nəŋə [əwaytəsi[.]</i>	(it) spoke through me to you.	
196.	<i>waj[ə]k ar[t]tə torəm təlmas</i>	Interpreter of the God who distributes game	☞
197.	<i>kul ar[t]tə torəm təlmas</i>	interpreter of the God who distributes fish	
198.	<i>num torəm jakəŋ məynə</i>	on the Upper God's earth (inhabited by) humans	
199.	<i>num torəm jəwət öyina</i>	by the seven daughters of the Upper God	
200.	<i>mənə pirti[.]</i>	I was ordered (to do so).	
201.	<i>tərəm pəŋ nəmči nina</i>	By the strong-fingered, nettle-hackle woman	☞
202.	<i>kusar paŋkəl jəwət oytjow ilə nəkiwəl[.]</i>	it is shoved down from the seven surfaces of the dangerous agaric.	

☞ wooden hoop did not order us to pronounce improper words of an improper language. (181–187)

The agaric ordered us to set candles in the three-bulbous church, on the edge of this miserable earth. (188–190)

The improper words of the improper language may or may not be forgiven by God. (191–192)

On this living day, this is how I transmitted the message of the dried agaric to you. (193–195)

It was ordered by the interpreter of God providing us with game, by the interpreter of God providing us with fish, by the seven daughters of the Upper God on the earth of the Upper God. (196–200)

It is shoved down from the seven surfaces of the dangerous agaric by the strong-fingered, nettle-hackle woman. (201–202)

203.	<i>tə lila wältə kotəlnə</i>	On this lively-being day	
204.	<i>kaĵəm paŋk</i> <i>ĵəŋ[k] turnatĭ</i>	in the throat/voice of the dried agaric potion	☞ ☞
205.	<i>mənnə nəĵä löŋəli[.]</i>	it is told you by me.	
206.	<i>nāmsəŋ öyi, nāmsəŋ päy</i>	Clever girl(s), clever boy(s)	☞
207.	<i>säyta nāmsa päniłati[.]</i>	although put it into (their) brains	
208.	<i>kər[əy] ŋ[äləm] k[ərəy]</i> <i>k[öl] čək əl əslitən[.]</i>	you (two) should not allow improper words of an improper language (to use)	
209.	<i>num torəm jakəŋ</i> <i>məynə əntə pärti[.]</i>	on the human earth of the Upper God (it) is not ordained	
210.	<i>mənnə nəĵä säyməłsi[.]</i>	by me, (it) has been told you.	
211.	<i>paŋ[k] kəri juĵəw</i> <i>məyä(ti)</i>	Onto the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	☞
212.	<i>num torəm jakəŋ məyä</i>	on the Upper God's land (inhabited by) people	
213.	<i>kəlat[ə] ku näləm čeyä</i>	the tongue of mortal men	
214.	<i>tərəm wat əj miŋkiŋə</i>	with one breath of the strong wind	
215.	<i>tərəm paŋ[k] nəmči ninə</i>	by the strong-fingered (strong- agaric?) nettle-hackle woman	
216.	<i>kəlat[ə] ku näləm čeyäm</i>	the tongue of me, a mortal man	
217.	<i>paŋ[k] kəri juĵəw məya</i>	on the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	
218.	<i>irəŋ əŋčəy timə məy</i>	on the land grown (lit. born) silver rosehips	
219.	<i>sərəŋ əŋčəy timə məy</i>	on the land grown (lit. born) golden rosehips	
220.	<i>torəm juŋ[k] jəwət öyinə</i>	by the seven daughters of the heavenly spirit	
221.	<i>kəlat[ə] ku näləm čeyäm</i>	the tongue of me, a mortal man	
222.	<i>paŋ[k] kəri juĵəw</i> <i>məya jəyən tulĭ[.]</i>	on the agaric's bark-rich- wooded land (having bark-rich trees) (it) is brought down.	

☞ On this living day, I am telling this to you in the voice of the dried agaric potion. (203–205)

Clever girl, clever boy, do not forget it, improper words of an improper language should not be allowed to be used; on the human earth of the Upper God it is not ordained, (as) I have told you. (206–210)

On the agaric's land having bark-rich woods, on the Upper God's land inhabited by people, the tongue of mortal men, with a breath of the strong wind (is brought down) by the strong-fingered (agaric?) nettle-hackle woman, the tongue of me, a mortal man, on the agaric's land having bark-rich woods, on the land given silver rosehips, on the land given golden rosehips, the tongue of me, a mortal man, on the agaric's land having bark-rich woods, is brought down, by the seven daughters of the heavenly spirit. (211–222)

223.	<i>mä körəytə ku näləm čeyänə</i>	In the language of the spinning man, I	☞ ☞
224.	<i>näl wejnə wañ[t] juɣəw katnə</i>	in the log house as narrow as the shaft of an arrow	
225.	<i>tüytəŋ kat jəɣ pələynə</i>	inside the fiery house	
226.	<i>liw wänəmpəw jakəŋ lätä</i>	to the filthy-faced (lit. pock- marked-faced) people	
227.	<i>mənnə jəɣä säyməlli[.]</i>	(it) will be told by me.	
228.	<i>äj ku päki rəntəŋ pəl</i>	A young man (wearing) baby earrings (in his) ear(s)	☞
229.	<i>mänä siləytil</i>	turns (his ear) toward me	
230.	<i>nowtəŋ ku kotəl ontər</i>	an aged man, in one day	
231.	<i>sat kälj kəɣləm əj</i>	(at) night visited by a hundred corpses	
232.	<i>kajəm paŋ[k] jəŋ[k] turnatj</i>	in (a) dried-agaric-potion throat/voice	
233.	<i>juɣ jəɣ jəɣa weləŋ paŋk</i>	mushroom with a cap the size of a wooden hoop, with a smooth (stalk)	
234.	<i>jəŋ[k] turnatj</i>	in a (dried-agaric-)potion throat/voice	
235.	<i>mənnə jəɣa kiyilsj[.]</i>	was chanted by me to them.	
236.	<i>paŋ[k] käri juɣəw məɣa</i>	Onto the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	☞
237.	<i>num torəm jäwət öyina</i>	by the seven daughters of the Upper God	
238.	<i>mä kör[əytə] k[u] n[äləm] čeyäm</i>	the tongue of me, the spinning man	
239.	<i>tutow jəɣ tutəli[.]</i>	thence (it) is taken home.	
240.	<i>mä kör[əytə] k[u] n[äləm] čeyänə</i>	In the tongue (language) of me, the spinning man	☞
241.	<i>öyinj lä[t] päkəŋ lätä mənnə tutow läwaytəli[:]</i>	it is told by me to the girls and the boys	
242.	<i>č[ə]kəŋ mə[y] kim[ə]l oytinə</i>	at the edge of the miserable earth	
243.	<i>kər[əɣ] n[äləm] k[ərəɣ] k[öl] əl läwaytətən[.]</i>	do not speak (you two) the improper words of the improper language.	

☞ In the language of the spinning man, in this log house as narrow as the shaft of an arrow, inside the fiery house, I will tell (it) to the pock-marked people. (223–227)

When a young man wearing baby earrings turns his ear toward me, I the aged man sang to him for a whole day about the night that was walked by a hundred corpses, in the voice of the dried agaric potion, in the voice of the potion made of a mushroom with a cap the size of a wooden hoop, with a smooth stalk. (228–235)

On the agaric's land having bark-rich woods, my message is taken home by the seven daughters of the Upper God. (236–239)

I, the spinning man, tell the girls and the boys: at the edge of the miserable earth, do not speak the improper words of the improper language. (240–243)

244.	<i>öyi nowâ[t] wältati</i>	To live the girl-age	☞ ☞
245.	<i>päy [nowât wältati]</i>	to live the boy-age	
246.	<i>kəl[â]m əyâp torâm kata pîrnalitây[.]</i>	to(ward) the three-headed God- house, make the sign of the cross.	
247.	<i>torâm əjəj kalta nowtâñ torâm əsəlwəl</i>	God allows the aged world to spend one night	☞
248.	<i>juç jəç jöya weləñ pañ[k]nati</i>	with the smooth(-stemmed) aga- ric, the size of a wooden hoop	
249.	<i>num torâm jakâñ məynə</i>	on the Upper God's populous earth	
250.	<i>pañ[k] kəri juçâw məynə</i>	on the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	
251.	<i>mənnə nəñə ləñâli[.]</i>	(it) is told by me to you.	
252.	<i>əj siyitaläw pañ[k]nati</i>	With (the help of the) one-turn agaric (i.e. needed for one turn)	☞
253.	<i>mənnə nəñä ləñâsi[.]</i>	(it) has been told you by me	
254.	<i>sat pañ[k] imə neməñ məy</i>	tha famous land having eat- en up a hundred agarics	
255.	<i>mənnə nəñä ləñâsi[.]</i>	(it) has been told by me to you.	
256.	<i>pañ[k] kəri juçâw məy</i>	The agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	☞
257.	<i>torâm pustañ oyâr məy</i>	God-marked high land	
258.	<i>torâmnâ tati[.]</i>	was created by God.	
259.	<i>nowtâñ öyi nowtâñ päy</i>	Long lived girl('s), long-lived boy('s)	☞
260.	<i>ñäləm çeyä jöytiłäwəl</i>	tongue is arriving	
261.	<i>pañ[k] kəri juçâw məyä[.]</i>	at the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees).	

☞ In order to live the girl-age, the boy-age, make the sign of the cross toward the church with three bulbous domes. (244–246)

God allows you to spend a night, this is what I tell you with the smooth-stemmed agaric, the size of a wooden hoop, on the Upper God's earth, inhabited by people, and having bark-rich woods. (247–251)

I spoke to you with the portion of agaric needed for one turn, I have brought the message of a famous land that has eaten up a hundred agarics. (252–255)

The agaric's land having bark-rich trees, the high mountain marked by God were created by God. (256–258)

The word intended for long-lived girls, long-lived boys has arrived at the agaric's land having bark-rich woods. (259–261)

262.	<i>mä paŋ[k] käri juyâw mæynə</i>	I, on the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	☞ ☞
263.	<i>sat paŋ[k] imə näjnə</i>	as a goddess having eaten a hundred agarics	
264.	<i>mənnə nəjü läwaytälj[.]</i>	(it) has been told to you by me.	
265.	<i>əjəj kalta nowtəŋ torəm</i>	To spend one night, aged world	☞
266.	<i>torəmnə tōŋ məjü əsəltälne</i>	if only we were allowed by the God	
267.	<i>čəkə tōŋ jəm wäləs[.]</i>	it would have been very good.	
268.	<i>kajəm paŋ[k] jəŋ[k] tur säyji</i>	According to the throat/voice of the good dried-agaric potion	☞
269.	<i>mənnə tōŋ siyiltəli[.]</i>	although it is spun by me	
270.	<i>kajəm p[əŋk] j[əŋk] t[ur] säyji</i>	according to the throat/voice of the good dried-agaric potion	
271.	<i>mənnə tōŋ siyiltämne[.]</i>	although when it is spun by me	
272.	<i>jəm iki məntin üyəł</i>	according to the rounds of the good moon	
273.	<i>jəm süŋ[k] [məntin üyəł]</i>	according to the rounds of the good sun	
274.	<i>mənnə tōŋ siyitämnə[.]</i>	although when it is spun by me	
275.	<i>sat paŋ[k] käri juyâw məyə</i>	to the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	
276.	<i>torəmnə tōŋ jəy tuləwəl[.]</i>	although God (lit. by God) takes me home.	
277.	<i>s[at] p[əŋk] k[äri] j[uyâw] məyə</i>	To the hundred agarics' bark-rich-wooded land	☞
278.	<i>t[orəmnə] t[öŋ] jəy tutalnə</i>	although when I am taken home by God	
279.	<i>əčəy tōŋ čəkə jəm tōŋ wäləs[.]</i>	it would have been very good.	
280.	<i>mä tōŋ torəma werəm tōŋ[.]</i>	If I would have made... for God	☞
281.	<i>torəm čəyâ winčiw näy[i] olwintəy</i>	white linen similar to God's snow	

☞ On the agaric's land having bark-rich woods, I speak to you as a goddess having eaten a hundred agarics. (262–264)

If God allowed us to spend a night, it would be very good. (265–267)

If I turn toward the voice of the dried-agaric potion, when I turn toward the voice of the dried-agaric potion, when I spin around according to the rounds of the good moon, the good sun, a hundred agarics would take me back to the agaric's land having bark-rich woods. (268–276)

If God took me home to the hundred agarics' land having bark-rich trees, it would have been very good. (277–279)

I would have made white linen similar to heavenly snow, which I would have spread on the ground having a hundred agarics, so I would be

282.	<i>sat paŋk j[uyêw] mæyä töytêŋ werlim[.]</i>	I would make a bridge (of it) to the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	☞
283.	<i>num torêŋ jäwæt öyina tutow joy</i>	by the seven daughters of the Upper God, from there, home	
284.	<i>tutêlujêŋ[.]</i>	I am taken.	
285.	<i>kölêŋ paŋk əj siyiwnə</i>	In the whirl of the talking agaric	☞
286.	<i>tutow siyiltêlujêŋ[.]</i>	from there, I am spun.	
287.	<i>sat paŋ[k] kəri j[uyêw] mæyäti jöyê[t]tamnê</i>	At the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees), when I arrive	☞
288.	<i>noyŋ çäŋç əj oytêja körəytämna</i>	on fleshy knee(s), when I fall	
289.	<i>wajêy pun kolêŋ uyêŋ</i>	my animal-haired, clever head	
290.	<i>to[y] nərəlim[.]</i>	I bow there.	
291.	<i>p[əŋk] k[əri] jujêw mæyna</i>	On the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	☞
292.	<i>əllə ka[t] jəpələyŋə</i>	in the middle of the big house	
293.	<i>warêytê köy çypi</i>	(at) the creaking stone door	
294.	<i>mä jöyê[t]tamnê</i>	when I arrived	
295.	<i>num torêŋ əj öyi</i>	the Upper God's young daughter	
296.	<i>mä kälätê ku näləm çeyäm</i>	the tongue of me, a mortal-man	
297.	<i>jüŋən töy joy tutêli[.]</i>	is brought in by her there	
298.	<i>mä wajêy moy jöya semkö[y]käläm</i>	my two pupils the size of a cub	
299.	<i>to[y] kältiwti[.]</i>	are shown off there.	
300.	<i>num torêŋ jakêŋ mæyä</i>	To the land of the Upper God inhabited by humans	☞
301.	<i>kajêŋ paŋ[k]nê wiłlä tuyujêŋ</i>	as if I was carried by the dried agaric	
302.	<i>mä sat paŋ[k] kəri neməŋ kata</i>	I, into the famous bark-rich house of the hundred dried agarics	

☞ taken home from there by the seven daughters of the Upper God. (280–284)

The speaking agaric hurled me from there at one sweep. (285–286)

When I arrived at the agaric's land having bark-rich woods, when I fell on the fleshy surface of the knee, I bowed my animal-haired (rich in hair) clever head. (287–290)

On the agaric's land having bark-rich woods, in the middle of the big house, when I arrived at the creaking stone door, the Upper God's young daughter brings my mortal-man tongue (i.e. the message for me), and illuminates my pupils the size of a cub. (291–299)

As if it was the dried agaric that takes me to the earth of the Upper God inhabited by humans when I was brought into the famous bark-rich house of a

303.	<i>joy tutâmalnâ</i>	when it is taken back/home	
304.	<i>t'arâyta köy çyþijow</i>	through the creaking stone door	
305.	<i>torâm sât köləŋ lät</i> <i>töl ilä äjmälli[,]</i>	God's hundred words are reported	
306.	<i>noyiŋ çän[ç]kän əj oytija</i>	onto the (lit. one) top of the two fleshy knees	
307.	<i>t'ä tö[y] körəkälləm[,]</i>	there I fall	
308.	<i>wajâŋ pun koŋəŋ uŋâm</i> <i>töl ilä mārakällim[,]</i>	there I bow my animal-haired, clever head.	
309.	<i>num torâm äj öyina</i>	By the young daughter of the Upper God	
310.	<i>kajâm paŋ[k] jəm tur säyi</i>	according to the good throat/ voice of the dried agaric	
311.	<i>tem pil juy juyâw</i> <i>torma löŋäli[,]</i>	it is said to the God having trees of this side	
312.	<i>k[ajâm] p[arək]</i> <i>j[əm] t[ur] s[äyi]</i>	according to the good throat/ voice of the dried agaric	
313.	<i>töy norâysillim[.]</i>	I bowed (my head) there.	
314.	<i>öyi nowtâŋ torâm[,]</i>	Girls' long-lived God	
315.	<i>pây [nowtâŋ torâm,]</i>	boys' long-lived God	
316.	<i>töl ilä jâyä päjəysaləm[.]</i>	I send up prayers to them.	
317.	<i>k[ə]rəŋ näləm k[ə]rəŋ köl</i>	Improper word(s) of an improper language	
318.	<i>torâmnâ antə pärti[,]</i>	were not ordered by God	
319.	<i>tə lila wältannâ, kaltannâ</i>	when you live vigorously, when you spend the night	
320.	<i>k[ə]rəŋ näləm k[ə]rəŋ</i> <i>k[öl] äŋ töŋka[,]</i>	do not speak improper words of an improper language	
321.	<i>çökəŋ məy oytinâ</i>	(or else) on the surface of the miserable earth	
322.	<i>t'uta çökäwən[.]</i>	you suffer in that way.	
323.	<i>tə lila wältannâ</i>	When you live in this way, vigorously	

☞ hundred dried agarics, through the creaking stone door God's hundred words were sent to me, I drop onto the two fleshy knees (of Mother Earth), there I bow my animal-haired head. (300–308)

The young daughter of the Upper God says, in the voice of the dried agaric, to the God having trees of this side, in the voice of the dried agaric – I bowed (my head) there. (309–313)

I send up prayers to the God of long-lived girls, the God of long-lived boys. (314–316)

Improper words of an improper language are not ordered by God, (so) do not speak improper words of an improper language while living in this world, (otherwise) it will make you suffer on this painful earth. While living in

324.	<i>k[əɾəɣ] näləm k[əɾəɣ] köl äl tōlka</i>	do not speak improper words of an improper language.	41
325.	<i>noyij čän[č] jäwət oytinâ</i>	On the seven surfaces of the fleshy knee(s)	10
326.	<i>num torəm jakəŋ məynə</i>	on the human earth of the Upper God	
327.	<i>əj kutəŋ jäwət kotəl</i>	ceaselessly, seven days	
328.	<i>noyij čän[č] jäwət oytinâ aməswəŋ[,]</i>	(you) sit on the seven surfaces of the fleshy knee(s)	
329.	<i>paŋ[k] kəri juɣəw məynə</i>	on the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	
330.	<i>num torəm paŋ[k] kəri juɣəw məynə</i>	on the Upper God('s) agaric's bark-rich- wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	
331.	<i>töt aməswəŋ[.]</i>	(you) sit there.	
332.	<i>tə lilə wältannâ</i>	When you live your soulful life	10
333.	<i>k[əɾəɣ] näləm k[əɾəɣ] köl äl tōlka[.]</i>	do not utter improper words of an improper language.	
334.	<i>sat paŋ[k] kəri neməŋ katnâ</i>	In the bark-rich, famous house of a hundred agarics	10
335.	<i>särnâŋ ɟəw neməŋ paŋ[k] pełkal kən[č]wəl[,]</i>	a golden-headed famous agaric is looking for his half	
336.	<i>mä n[oyij] čänč əj oytinâ aməsləm</i>	I am sitting on the (lit. one) surface of the fleshy knee(s)	
337.	<i>paŋ pełkalä täləytələm: „paŋk əjä, 338. pełkäm təy tuyi!”</i>	I shout to one of the halves: “Agaric, hey... bring my half (i.e. the half intended for me) here!”	
339.	<i>num torəm əj öyina paŋ[k] pełəɣ tä</i>	By the young daughter of the Upper God, the half agaric	10
340.	<i>mänä tultâ[.]</i>	is brought to me.	








☞ this world, do not speak improper words of an improper language. (317–324)

On the seven surfaces of the fleshy knees, on the human earth of the Upper God, you ceaselessly sit seven days on the seven surfaces of the fleshy knees, you sit there, on the Upper God's agaric earth having bark-rich trees. (325–331)

So, in your soulful life, do not utter improper words of an improper language. (332–333)

In the famous, bark-rich house of a hundred agarics, a golden-headed famous agaric is looking for his half, I am sitting on fleshy knees, I shout to one of the halves: Hey, agaric, bring the half (intended for me) here! (334–338)

The half agaric is being brought to me by the young daughter of the Upper God. (339–340)

341.	<i>māna tuntalnê jəmsi</i> <i>peļəy kötnä</i>	While she was bringing it to me, with my right hand-side hand,	 
342.	<i>təyəlä kätläli[.]</i>	(it) is grabbed here.	
343.	<i>mä təyəlä kätəlmämna</i>	When I grabbed it	
344.	<i>kos pöh[k] pəntāw il'əŋ jula</i>	into (my) sipping mouth laid out with twenty teeth	
345.	<i>mənnə t'ä nuɣ rəkətəli[,]</i>	(it) is thrown up by me,	
346.	<i>əllə poyļi jəypeļkā mənnə</i> <i>joɣ ņeləxtəli[.]</i>	into the enormous belly, (it) is swallowed in by me.	
347.	<i>paŋ[k] kəri juɣəw məyə</i>	To the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (land having bark-rich trees)	
348.	<i>torəm čoyə winčiw</i> <i>ņäy[i] olwintəɣ</i>	white linen, similar to heavenly snow,	
349.	<i>mənnə tōy ärilli (ärəxtəli)[,]</i>	is offered (promised) by me	
350.	<i>paŋ[k] kəri juɣəw məyna</i>	on the agaric's bark-rich-wooded land (having bark-rich trees)	
351.	<i>kirkəlli[.]</i>	was turned back.	
352.	<i>num torəm əj öyina</i>	By the young daughter of the Upper God	
353.	<i>t'ä il əsəlwəl[.]</i>	(she) lowers (it) here.	
354.	<i>wälta ku jakəŋ məyə</i> <i>iləpa pičintəli[,]</i>	To the populous earth inhabited by lively men, downward, (it) is floated	
355.	<i>küləŋ məy oytəja iləpa löŋəlil[,]</i>	onto the pitted earth, downward, it is chanted	
356.	<i>kajəm paŋ[k] jəm tur səyi</i>	according to the good throat/ voice of the dried agaric	
357.	<i>iləpa löŋəlil[.]</i>	(it) is chanted downward.	
358.	<i>öyinq lä[t] pəkəŋ lä[t]nə</i> <i>jəyən koləntəli[,]</i>	(By) groups of girls, by groups of boys, (it) is listened to	
359.	<i>tüytəŋ ka[t] patləŋ katnə</i>	(in the) fiery house, in the frosty house,	

☞

When it is brought to me, I grab it with my right hand. (341–342)

When I grabbed it, I threw it into my breathing mouth laid out with twenty teeth and swallowed it into my enormous belly. (343–346)

I offer white linen similar to heavenly snow to the bark-wooded land of the agaric, I turn back in the bark-wooded land of the agaric (i.e. he gives white linen to the local deities as a ritual offering). (347–351)

Thus am I lowered by the young daughter of the Upper God. (352–353)

I am floating down to the earth inhabited by people, I am speaking downward to the thick ground, in the good voice of the dried agaric, I am speaking downward. (354–357)

Groups of girls, groups of boys are listening to it, in the fiery house,

360.	<i>liw wänəmpəw jakəŋ jernə</i>	by the filthy-faced people's race	41
361.	<i>jəyən koləntəli[.]</i>	it is listened to.	
362.	<i>mä körəytə näləm čeyäm</i>	With my skittering tongue	10
363.	<i>mənnə jəyə löŋəli[:]</i>	it is performed to them:	
364.	<i>[„]tə lilə wältə nowtəŋ torəmnə</i>	“In this lively-being, aged world	
365.	<i>num torəm jakəŋ məyna</i>	in the Upper God's human world (lit. land)	
366.	<i>čəkəl ärki[.]</i>	(it) has a lot of troubles (lit. troubles are a lot).	
367.	<i>k[əɾəy] n[äləm] k[əɾəy] k[öl] əl tölka[.]</i>	Do not say improper words of an improper language	
368.	<i>paŋ[k]nə nəŋə löŋəli[.]</i>	(it) is said to you by the agaric.	
369.	<i>nəmsəŋ öyi, nəmsəŋ pəy</i>	Clever girl, clever boy,	
370.	<i>səyta nəmsə pənlati[.]</i>	let (them) put (this) into (their) brains”.	
371.	<i>num torəm jakəŋ məyna</i>	On the human earth of the Upper God	10
372.	<i>paŋ[k] kəri katnə</i>	in the bark-rich house of the agaric	
373.	<i>noyŋ čänč əj oytinə</i>	on the surface of the fleshy knee(s)	
374.	<i>jəwət kotəl aməssəm[.]</i>	I was sitting seven days.	
375.	<i>tə lilə wältinnə</i>	When you live your soulful life	10
376.	<i>k[əɾəy] n[äləm] k[əɾəy] k[öl] əl töljytəy[.]</i>	do not utter improper words of an improper language	
377.	<i>torəm wajəy məwəl kul məwəl</i>	the God gives (you) game, gives (you) fish	
378.	<i>k[əɾəy] n[äləm] k[əɾəy] [köl] əl töljytəy[.]</i>	do not utter improper words of an improper language	
379.	<i>torəmnə ənt[ə] illi[.]</i>	(it) is not consumed (eaten or burnt up) by God.	

☞ the frosty house, filthy-faced people are listening to it. (358–361)

I am performing to them with skittering tongue: “in the present, animated world, in the Upper God's human world, there are a lot of troubles. Do not say improper words of an improper language, this is what the agaric told you. Clever girls, clever boys should remember this.” (362–370)

I was sitting seven days on the peopled earth of the Upper God, in the bark-rich house of the agaric, on my fleshy knees. (371–374)

While you are living your life, do not say improper words of an improper language – God provides you with game, he provides you with fish, do not utter improper words of an improper language, (then) you will not be consumed (eaten or burnt up) by God. (375–379)

Notes

This is a 379-line song on pages 51–70 of the manuscript (1,558 words, 9,344 characters). There are no marginal comments in the manuscript.

Lines 1–5

↻ Girls and boys welcoming suitors, listen to me to learn what words I am urged to say by the fly-agaric which speaks seven languages, whose cap is like a wooden hoop, in this log house as narrow as the shaft of an arrow.

1. *paŋk näləm jüwät čeyä: näləm čeyä* ‘dialect, language variant’. This seems to mean that the fly-agaric speaks seven languages.

2. *nälwej wiŋčiw wänt’ juyêw kat* ‘log house as narrow as an arrow shaft’. The phrase is not easy to interpret. It may be based on the fact that, from the perspective of the sphere of the gods, the beams of the house may look like thin rods. This simile is known in the North Khanty folklore as well, “the ax-shaft-people(?) house, the knife-tang people(?) house” (OH I: 390, 416. Further occurrences of this formula within this song are in lines 88, 224.

3. *juy jöy jöya wiŋčiw paŋk* ‘fly-agaric the size of a wooden hoop’. Later the phrase *juy jöy jöya* ‘the size of a wooden hoop’ appears in the text several times (lines 110, 187, 233, 248), referring most likely to the size of the cap of the agaric.

4. *säyêmlântan*. The word *säyêmlântan* is difficult to understand, it is rather *säyêmlântam* tell-PTC.PRS-1SG ‘to be told by me’.

The verb *säyêmlâ-* cannot be found in the dictionaries. In his marginal notes to Vj1/66, Karjalainen translated it with the verb ‘mention’, and he added that this word is no longer in use.

The verb *säyêmlâ-* occurs in text Vj2 several times, mostly in the meaning ‘tell, sing (?)’ (lines 11, 22, 44, 72, 79, 123, 127, 129, 210, 227). This may be a derivation of the noun *säyâ* ‘melody, motif’.

4–5. *kölənlät* ‘speech, text’, *öyīnlät* ‘girls (lit. girlfolk)’, *pākêŋ lät* ‘boys (lit. boyfolk)’. The word *lät* ‘time’ has become a suffix forming collectives, added always to an adjective formed with an *-əŋ* suffix, cf. Surg *jäqqəŋlät* ‘mankind’ (Chr. 54). Similar derivational collectives are *imi-p-lät* ‘womanfolk’, *iki-p-lät* ‘manfolk’ (Trj4/132, 135). The same meaning in a similar form can be seen in the following expression, *urt amâsta öyəŋ kata pākêŋ kat* ‘a house abounding in girls and boys, which is to welcome suitors’ (Vj1/28–29).

Lines 6–10

- ↪ The famous fly-agaric possessed by a male-spirit, the famous Caesar's mushroom possessed by a female spirit have come down from the upper skies to people in order to put long-lived girls, long-lived boys to sleep, in order to put them to sleep.

6–7. *juŋk soŋi neməŋ paŋk, kät soŋi neməŋ kił*. The heads of the adjective phrases in the parallel lines are names of two mushroom species, *paŋk* 'fly-agaric (*Amanita muscaria*)' and *kił* 'Caesar's mushroom (*Amanita caesaria*)'. Between the first parts of the phrases, the parallelism is hardly plausible (*juŋk* 'spirit', *kät* 'two'). This may be due to the deterioration of the text, and the original parallel words could have been *juŋk – kält*, both meaning 'spirit, deity'. The former is generally male, while the latter refers to a female being. However, according to the dictionaries, this word is not documented in the Vj dialect. The phrase *juŋk soŋ* 'the worm of the spirit, the deity' may allude to the way in which the divine power gets into the agaric.

8. *jakəŋ jer* 'mankind, human race', synonym of *jakəŋ lät*, cf. lines 14, 21, 38, 99, 126, 167, 360.

9. *nəwtəŋ öyi nəwtəŋ päŋ* 'aged girl, aged boy', in other words, long-lived. *nəwtəŋ* 'aged, lifelong, long-lived' – the adjective can represent well-wishing, i.e. 'let the participants of the ceremony live long'. Further appearances of the adjective are: *lił wältə nəwtəŋ torəm* 'aged living world' (73); *koł kaltə əjə kaltə nəwtəŋ torəm* 'day-sleeping, night-sleeping aged God/world' (181); *nəwtəŋ ku* aged man (230); *öyi nəwtəŋ torəm, päŋ nəwtəŋ torəm* 'girl-aged God/world, boy-aged God/world' (314–315).

9–10. *kal-ta-ti* spend_the_night-INF-EMPH; *ilə kal-t-ıl-a* spend_the_night-PTC.PRS-3PL-LAT 'for putting them to sleep / for accommodating them'.

Lines 11–13

- ↪ God ordered me to sing, if he had not ordered me, I would not have eaten [agaric]; the strong-fingered nettle-hackle woman casts me down.

13. *tərəm päŋ nəmči ninə ıl warlujəm* 'I am cast down by the God-fingered raking woman'. Uncertain interpretation. It is not clear what the word *nəmč* 'nettle hackle made of bone or wood' stands for, furthermore, the stem of the verb 'cast down' is *wart-* but there is no sign of *t-*drop in the manuscript. Further occurrences of the phrase *tərəm päŋ nəmči ni* are found in lines 201, 46. With regard to line 46, *päŋ* appears in the form *paŋ[k]*.

Lines 14–17

- ‘ To make it possible for shamans to perform their shamanism with agaric, it descended from the upper heaven to the edge of the mossy Earth.

Lines 18–22

- ‘ It was sent down by the seven daughters of the Upper God so that he could look around the Earth; we are ordered to eat it by the seven daughters of the Upper God, we are ordered to eat it by the mankind dominated by the Upper God; God ordered a fiery house, a frosty house for us to sing there.

19. *küľəŋ məy* ‘thick earth’. A further occurrence is Vj1/596, cf. also the remarks on line 33.

20–21. *num torâm jäwət öyinə pirti məŋä intäti, num torâm jakâŋ jernə pirti intäti*. The parallelism of the seven daughters of the Upper God and the mankind dominated by the Upper God (the human world which is in contact with the heavenly one) leads us to conclude that they complement each other, that they act in accord when decreeing the consumption of fly-agaric.

Lines 23–26

- ‘ When the power of the fly-agaric spreads through my body (it feels like) a flock of goldeneye descending on a tranquil lake.

23. *əllə paŋk jəm jerä*, cf. *köləŋ paŋk əj jəm jer jəyä werəntäli* (28), *əllə paŋk əj jəm jer jinnə əsälli* (36).

Lines 27–32

- ‘ When the fly-agaric arrives within me, it provides me with power and words; (marriageable) girls, boys, listen to the speech of this mortal man, ingenious girl, ingenious boy, bear it in mind until the end of the world.

32. *torâm putalatı* ‘till the end of the world’. Uncertain interpretation, it may be related to the phrase *torâm putâw* ‘end of the world’, or to the verbs *pat-/putlâyâl-* ‘freeze’.

Lines 33–37

- ‘ In the wide world (lit. earth), on the mountain marked by the Upper God, gray-haired mother and father radiate the good power of the agaric, so that the flock of girls and the flock of boys could listen to it.

33. *kõlâη mæy*. The word *kõlâη* is not clear, perhaps the correct form is *kũlâη* ‘porous’, which, within this song, reappears in line 355, and it is often used in Vj1 (cf. the notes on Vj1/26–27).

34. *torâm pusti oyâr mæy* ‘high land to be marked by God’. The stem of *pusti* (34, 144, 175) or *pustanη* (175, 257) can be *pâs-* ‘mark’ (D 1224). However, in the VVj dialects it is not documented as a verb.

35. *kayâs əyâw imkärätkæn* (= *imkæn-rätkæn*) ‘gray-haired mother and father’. Undefined persons, presumably, they are members of the spirit world.

37. *säyta kolânta*. In this text, *säyta* co-occurs with the verbs ‘listen to’ and ‘remember, notice’, especially in the imperative. It may be an interjection, with prompting semantics (47, 163, 207, 370). It also appears elsewhere, cf. *wäy torâm jəyäm kolânta säyta* ‘Iron God Father, come, listen to me’ (Vj1/432). It may be related to the noun *säyâ* ‘melody, motif’: melody-PL-LAT.

Lines 38–44

↻ In the human world prevailed by the Upper God, in the house where the dried agaric is eaten, where a hundred agarics are eaten by the gray-haired mother and father, the famous agaric is consumed there, the agaric’s song having three pitches is performed there.

39. *kajâm paηk* ‘dried agaric’. The basic meaning of the word *kajâm* is ‘ash, rest of fire’. As agaric is dried either in the sun or in an oven (JugrUsk 567), this can be a metonymic adjective of the noun. Further occurrences in this text are in lines 107, 122, 135, 140, 145, 160, 173, 194, 204.

43. *säyâl kolâm pičəw paηk* ‘agaric with a three-layer melody’. Words like *pič*, *pičəw* are not documented in the dictionaries. It seems possible that its stem is identical with *pič* ‘fiber, layer’ (with a velar vowel). In this case, we can translate it as ‘song having three pitches, or song repeated three times’.

Lines 45–47

↻ Strong-fingered, hackle-woman shoves me down, among the participants of the dangerous, agaric(-eating) ceremony, good girl, good boy listen to the sounds of the song.

45. *kusar paηkälñê küüt (?) küütä*. Even Karjalainen himself was not sure which of the two forms *küüt* and *küütä* is correct. The meaning of *kusar* is not clear; it may be a dialectal equivalent of Ni *χusar* ‘strong, sharp’, which is not documented in the dictionaries. If this is indeed the case, it can be translated as ‘dangerous’. Another occurrence of *kusar* in a similar context is found in line 202.



46. *täräm paŋk nāmči ninə il warlujâm*. The very same line appears two more times in this song (13, 201), but not with the velar vowel word *paŋk* ‘fly-agaric’ but the palatal vowel *päj* ‘finger’. Presumably it is *päj* that would be correct here as well.

Lines 48–49

‘ I tell you all this in the language of the spinning/rolling man.

48. *körəytə ku* ‘spinning/rolling man’. This may refer to the shaman; cf. *körəy-* ‘spin, roll’. Further occurrences are in lines 103, 133, 137, 151.

The verb *siyil-* ‘spin, turn, screw, whirl’ also refers to the spinning or rolling which is either real or imagined in the trance caused by the fly-agaric. Further occurrences are in lines 86, 92, 146, 148, 150, 152, 269, 271, 286.

49. *nəŋä löŋälīm* ‘I am reading it to you’. The verb *löŋät-* means ‘read’ and ‘count’. In addition, transmitting all kinds of information from the spheres outside the human world, as well as performing spells and incantations also belong to its semantics. In this song, it will be translated as ‘tell, perform’.

Lines 50–57

‘ Clever girl, clever boy, remember it because, as a clever girl, a clever boy, you are the main creature of God: do not use improper words, do not speak in a language offending the spirit world.

50. *nāmsân öyi, nāmsâŋ päy / ?/*. We do not know what the question mark indicates. It frequently occurs in phrases containing two adjectives formed with an *-ŋ* suffix where the first one ends in *-n*, while the second one ends in *-ŋ* (cf. 62, 63). Karjalainen’s script probably reflects pronunciation and not etymological considerations.

56. *kərəy näləm kərəy köl* ‘improper language, improper word’. *kərəy, krəy* < Ru rpex ‘sin’. This must refer to words as well as way of speaking that sound offensive to the spirit world. The phrase *kərəy näləm kərəy köl* occurs 18 times in the song: 60, 66, 75, 165, 171, 179, 185, 191, 208, 143, 317, 320, 324, 333, 367, 376, 378. The warning saying you should avoid indecent words must be the most important message of this ceremony.

Lines 58–64

‘ If I do not speak an improper language, improper words, my stone-faced heavenly mother, stone-faced heavenly father will provide me with fish and game, they give daughters and sons, [therefore,] I light candles for God.

58–59. *köy wāñāmpaw torām asəm/jāγəm* ‘my stone-faced heavenly mother/father’. According to Karjalainen, stone face means not only an idol but also an icon. Further occurrences: 118–119.

62–63. *öyin lät päkâñ lät* ‘group of girls, group of boys’; cf. notes on line 50.

64. *torma sötïw jïñtli* ‘a candle is set down for God’, i.e. I light a candle at the icon. The word *torām* has the meaning ‘icon’ here and in similar sentences. This phrase also appears in lines 120, 190.

Lines 65–68

↪ Clever girl, clever boy, do not use improper words; after a good night’s sleep, get up, make the sign of the cross toward (the icon of) God.

67. *torāmnâ jəm kalï*. A possible interpretation is ‘after a good night’s sleep’. *kal-i* spend_the_night-PST.PASS.3SG.

Lines 69–72

↪ This is how the famous agaric with a smooth dotted cap, the size of a wooden hoop chants.

69–70. *juγ jγγ jōγa* ‘the size of a wooden hoop’, cf. *jγγ* ‘circle, hoop, ring, loop’. *juγ jγγ jōγa welāñ pañk*: further occurrences in this song are in lines 110, 187, 233, 248.

70–71. *welāñ γγâw – muγlāñ oγâw* ‘smooth headed – dotted headed’. The semantics of *welāñ* is unclear, it is not documented in the dictionaries. If it is related to the word *welāγ* ‘straight trunk with no branches’, then a possible translation is ‘smooth’.

71. *muγlāñ γγâw*. This may be a writing error, correctly *müγlāñ*; cf. *mükal* ‘agaric with spotted cap’.

72. *sāymälli* ‘is being sung’, according to Karjalainen’s comment (JugrUsk 567–568; FFC 63: 278–279; Relig3: 207–208). After the agaric is eaten, it is not the shaman who chants but the agaric in him. Therefore, it can take the role of the subject of the sentence in which the predicate is ‘chant’. Cf. the notes to line 4.

Lines 73–75

↪ In the present-day world inhabited by living humans, some girls, some boys used improper language, improper words.

73. *lilā wältâ*. It mentions the ‘soul-having (lit. being)’ world, i.e. the world that is inhabited by living humans. Further occurrences of the adjective: *lilā wältâ kotâl* ‘vivid day, vital day’ (80, 121, 184, 193, 203), *lilā wältâ nowât* ‘lively epoch, era of living humans’ (109).

Lines 76–79

↪ Clever girl, clever boy, take the chant sung in the voice of the dried-agaric potion.

77. *čõñčä pãñilatj* ‘take it on [your] back’, i.e. heed its advice, learn from it.

78. *kajâm paŋ[k] jəŋkəl tur* ‘dried-agaric potion, throat/voice of the agaric’. According to Karjalainen (JugrUsk 567), the shaman eats agaric in small doses, ingesting it piece by piece, sipping water with it. The metonymic meaning of *tur* ‘throat’ is ‘voice (coming out through the throat)’.

Lines 80–83

↪ On this day of living humans, clever girls, clever boys should make the sign of the cross before the icon, and then God will provide them with game, with fish.

80. *tə lilə wältə kotəl* ‘this soul-living day’; day of living humans. In this song, the phrase *lilə wältə* occurs twelve times.

82–83. The relation of cause and effect is not indicated in the manuscript, therefore the separation and punctuation are defined by the interpreter of the material.

Lines 87–92

↪ In the house built of logs as narrow as an arrow shaft, I am spun in line with the moon’s rounds by the famous agaric with the freckled cap.

This sentence is problematic considering its content, as well as from a syntactic point of view. Considering its content, it probably describes the spinning (dizziness?) caused by eating agaric. The logical subject of the sentence must be the mushroom (*paŋk-nə* agaric-LOC), belonging to the verb in the passive conjugation (*siyil-l-uj-əm* rotate-PRS-PASS-1SG). The further two nouns with a LOC suffix are adverbials of place. The latter of the two (*kat jəy peļəynə* ‘inside the house’) is clear, but in line 88, in the phrase *nal wej-nə wäñt’ juγ-əw kat* (arrow shaft-LOC narrow wood-ADJ house ‘in the house built of logs as thin as an arrow shaft’) it is not the head of the phrase (*kat* ‘house’) the LOC suffix is added to but its adjective. What makes the reader wonder is that the form *wejnə* also appears in line 224, indicating that it cannot be a simple error. On the simile ‘arrow shaft’ cf. the notes to line 2.

In the word *siyillujəm*, although the stem is originally palatal, a velar personal suffix follows the passive suffix *-uj-*.

87. *jəm iki məntin üyəł, cf. KT 30: jəm süŋki mənt üyəł, jəm iki mənt üyəł täy joy kärimtəsəm* ‘in line with the sun’s good rounds, in line with the moon’s good rounds’ (said by the shaman after finishing his visit to the spirit and leaving for home). Further occurrences are in lines 147, 177. Both during the ceremonies and in the ordinary life of the Khanty, it is obligatory to follow the course of the sun and the moon. When the shaman refers to himself he uses the phrase *körəytə ku* ‘spinning man’, which could be related to the fact that during the agaric ceremony, he either goes around the space or turns on his own axis.

90. *oypelä* – unclear form and meaning.

Lines 93–95

↪ ↻
 ‘The filthy-faced people are turning their youngster-doll’s ears wearing earrings towards me.

This vision is probably a part of his hallucination.

93. *liw wänəmpəw jakəŋ lät*. The meaning of the phrase *liw wänəmpəw* ‘?filthy/?pock-marked-faced’ is uncertain as there is no Vj data in the dictionaries, cf. Trj *liy* ‘festering wound between fingers’, as well as Kaz *lix* ‘dirt, grime’ (KT 1053). Further occurrences of the phrase are in lines 125, 126, 130, 226, 360.

94–95. *äj ku päki rəntəŋ pəl mänä siləytil* ‘the dummy of a young man wearing earrings tosses his ears toward me’. Further occurrences are in lines 228–229.

Lines 96–100

↪
 ‘If I had turned a feathery-tethered first animal (?bird), I would have slid down to the human world dominated by the Upper God.

97. *töyäl siyəŋ aləŋ wajəy* ‘feathery-tethered first animal’ – some kind of mythical animal, perhaps a bird.

Lines 101–106

↪
 ‘If people will put down my mortal body among a hundred corpses while I am tumbling at the edge of this miserable earth, which girl, which boy is going to carry on my words?’

Expansive phrases

102. *kälät[ə] ku noyij teläm* ‘my fleshy mortal-man body; my mortal body’

104. *sat kälj kütäkä*. The very same phrase occurs in line 10 of Vj5, where it is undoubtedly a burial that is mentioned.

Lines 107–112

- ‘ Although I have been chanting in the good voice of dried agaric all my life, in the era of present-day living people, by which girl, by which boy, by whom the smooth-stemmed agaric, the size of a wooden hoop, is going to be made speak?

The singer may be worried because he cannot be sure the agaric rituals will go on after his death.

Expansive phrases

108. *wālmam ku nowât ontâr* ‘the length of the period lived by me (the lifespan lived by me, a man)’: all my life.

109. *tāy lilā wāltâ nowât ontâr* ‘the length of the period of those who live now (word by word: here live/vivid living age length)’: in the era of present-day living people.

Lines 113–116

- ‘ All my life, day by day, night by night, I have been telling the good girls, good boys what God made me transmit.

115. *jəmāy pänä* – unclear phrase.

Lines 116–120

- ‘ So that candles would be lit in front of my stone-faced mother, stone-faced father my entire life.

Cf. notes on lines 58–64.

Lines 121–127

- ‘ In the period of the people living here the dried agaric sends you this message: so that God shall provide you with game, provide you with fish, all this will be transmitted to the filthy-faced mankind, pock-marked-faced mankind.

Lines 128–131

- ‘ I will tell them the message that God provides them with game, and the filthy-faced mankind will listen to it.

128. *torâm wajây mântaw köl* ‘word of God who gives us game’. God gives us game, this is why the personal suffix added to the participle is coreferent with the recipient (*mā-nt-aw* give-PTC.PRS-1PL).

Lines 132–136

“ On the land of the Upper God, inhabited by humans, I, the spinning man transmit the message of God, which I am given during the whirling caused by the dried agaric.



Lines 137–139

“ My body of a spinning man slides down into the fiery house, into the frosty house.



Lines 140–143

“ We were born to transmit the word of the dried agaric, so that good girls, good boys memorize it.



Lines 144–148

“ We were whirling there, on the high mountain marked by God, we were whirling there according to the rounds of the good moon.



Lines 149–152

“ The famous agaric possessed by spirits is wound there by God, my tongue, the tongue of me, the tongue of the spinning man, is wound there.



Lines 153–156

“ Girl struggling with difficulties, boy struggling with difficulties, to my Upper-Heaven Mother of the miserable world, to my Upper-Heaven Father of the miserable world, we got confused overnight.



Lines 157–159

“ We, boys and girls struggling with hardship, were allowed to spend a night, to spend a day (there).



Lines 160–163

“ I will pass you the message of dried agaric, let good girls, good boys listen to it.



Lines 164–166

“ Over the miserable earth, improper words of the improper language should not be allowed to spread.



Lines 167–169

“ In the human world dominated by the Upper God, I, mortal man, was not able to tell my words.



Lines 170–172

- ↪ Over the miserable earth, you should not pronounce improper words of an improper language.

Lines 173–178

- ↪ I was not able to speak in the proper voice of the dried agaric, I, mortal man, on the mountain marked by God, I was not able to turn back according to the rounds of the good moon.

Lines 179–180

- ↪ Do not pronounce improper words in an improper language.

Lines 181–187

- ↪ Although it is permitted by God for us to spend a night, to spend a day, on this living day, the agaric, the smooth-stemmed agaric the size of a wooden hoop did not order us to pronounce improper words of an improper language.

182. *torāmnâ tōŋ mənä asalli*. The very same words are repeated in line 183. The background of this hypothetical error may be that line 182 is at the bottom of the page, while line 183 is at the top of the next one. We can suspect that this is a fair-copy made on the basis of an earlier version.

Lines 188–190

- ↪ The agaric ordered us to set candles in the three-bulbous church, on the edge of this miserable earth.

Lines 191–192

- ↪ The improper words of the improper language may or may not be forgiven by God.

Generally, there are no Russian loanwords in this song, but in these two lines we can find three borrowings. The word *moši* ‘may, can’ < может expresses probability. The element *-li* following the negative particle *antä* seems to correlate with Russian *ли* ‘whether’, but it functions as a conjunction ‘or’ (cf. Russian *или*). The word *prosit* is in fact a borrowing of the Russian verb *простить* ‘forgive’. However, for using it as a verb, a conjugatable Khanty verb is also needed, cf. *prosit werli* ‘is forgiven’.

Lines 193–195

- ↪ On this living day, this is how I transmitted the message of the dried agaric to you.

Lines 196–200

- ‘ It was ordered by the interpreter of God providing us with game, by the interpreter of God providing us with fish, by the seven daughters of the Upper God on the earth of the Upper God.

The interpreter is the assistant of God (JugrUsk: 331; FFC 44: 305; Relig2: 225).

Lines 201–202

- ‘ It is shoved down from the seven surfaces of the dangerous agaric by the strong-fingered, nettle-hackle woman.

Cf. line 13.

Lines 203–205

- ‘ On this living day, I am telling this to you in the voice of the dried agaric potion.

Lines 206–210

- ‘ Clever girl, clever boy, do not forget it, improper words of an improper language should not be allowed to use; on the human earth of the Upper God this is not ordained, (as) I have told you.

Lines 211–222

- ‘ On the agaric’s land having bark-rich woods, on the Upper God’s land inhabited by people, the tongue of mortal men, with a breath of the strong wind, (is brought down), by the strong-fingered (agaric?) nettle-hackle woman, the tongue of me, a mortal man, on the agaric’s land having bark-rich woods, on the land given silver rosehips, on the land given golden rosehips, the tongue of me, a mortal man, on the agaric’s land having bark-rich woods, is brought down, by the seven daughters of the heavenly spirit.

215. *tärəm paŋk nāmči ninə* ‘strong fingered (or: agaric?) nettle-hackle woman’. In the rest of its occurrences (lines 13, 46, 201), instead of *paŋk*, we can find *päŋ* ‘finger’, i.e. this phrase probably refers to a strong-fingered woman. Presumably, in this sentence, the correct form would again be *päŋ*, and the diacritical mark indicating the palatal vowel was accidentally forgotten.

According to this sentence, the ‘strong fingered (agaric?) nettle-hackle woman’ is identical with the seven daughters of the heavenly spirits, as they are the ones who bring down the tongue of mortal men onto the earth, i.e. it is their words that are transmitted with the help of the agaric.

Lines 223–227

- “ In the language of the spinning man, in this log house as narrow as the shaft of an arrow, inside the fiery house, I will tell (it) to the pock-marked people.

Lines 228–235

- “ When a young man wearing baby earrings turns his ear toward me, I, the aged man sang to them for a whole day about the night when I was walking among a hundred corpses, in the voice of the dried agaric potion, in the voice of the potion made of agaric with a cap the size of a wooden hoop, with a smooth stalk.

231. *sat kälj̄ koylām əj*. Originally Karjalainen separated the elements of this phrase in another way, *sat kälj̄ koylâ məj*, but he later corrected it. The meaning is unclear, the interpretation ‘night walked by a hundred corpses’ is only one of the possible explanations, and refers to the way of acquiring information.

235. *männə jəya kiȳilsj̄*. No verb *kiȳil-* can be found in the dictionaries; its meaning may be ‘tell, chant’.

Lines 236–239

- “ Onto the agaric’s land having bark-rich woods, my message is taken home by the seven daughters of the Upper God.

Lines 240–243

- “ I, the spinning man, tell the girls and the boys: at the edge of the miserable earth, do not speak the improper words of the improper language.

Lines 244–246

- “ In order to live the girl-age, the boy-age, make the sign of the cross toward the three-bulbous-dome church.

Lines 247–251

- “ God allows you to spend a night, this is what I tell you with the smooth-stemmed agaric, the size of a wooden hoop, on the Upper God’s earth, inhabited by people, and having bark-rich woods.

Lines 252–255

- “ I spoke to you with the portion of agaric needed for one turn, I have brought the message of a famous land that has eaten up a hundred agarics.

252. *aj siyitalāw paṅknaṭi* ‘with the portion of agaric needed for one turn’. Spinning, whirling come up again and again in connection with agaric, as well as chanting under the influence of agaric, referring presumably to a trance state.

Lines 256–258

‘ The agaric’s land having bark-rich trees, the high mountain marked by God were created by God.

Lines 259–261

‘ The word intended for long-lived girls, long-lived boys has arrived at the agaric’s land having bark-rich woods.

Lines 262–264

‘ On the agaric’s land having bark-rich woods, I speak to you as a goddess having eaten a hundred agarics.

263. *sat paṅk imā nāj* allows two interpretations, ‘a goddess having eaten a hundred agarics’, or ‘fire having consumed a hundred agarics’.

Lines 265–267

‘ If God allowed us to spend a night, it would be very good.

Lines 268–276

‘ If I turn toward the voice of the dried-agaric potion, when I turn toward the voice of the dried-agaric potion, when I spin around according to the rounds of the good moon, the good sun, God would take me back to the hundred agaric’s land having bark-rich woods.

Lines 277–279

‘ If God took me home to the agaric’s land having bark-rich trees, it would have been very good.

Lines 280–284

‘ I would have made white linen similar to heavenly snow, which I would have spread on the ground having a hundred agarics, so I would be taken home from there by the seven daughters of the Upper God.

Lines 285–286

‘ The speaking agaric hurled me from there at one sweep.

Lines 287–290

“ When I arrived at the agaric’s land having bark-rich woods, when I fell on the fleshy surface of the knee, I bowed my animal-haired (rich in hair) clever head.

288. *noyij čāñč aj oytāja kōrəytāmnə* ‘fat/fleshy surface of the knee’ – Mother Earth’s knee, i.e. the ground (the surface of the earth).

289. *wajāy pun koļəŋ uyām* ‘my clever head having locks’, cf. *koļ* ‘ability, knowledge’. According to Karjalainen, the translation of the phrase is *moni-hiuksisen lomakkaan pääni taivutan* ‘I bow my holey head, rich in locks’ (JugrUsk 589). The formula often occurs in the hero’s songs collected by Antal Reguly, but it is translated in a different way: *ar seui koläng och* ‘my head rich in many locks’ (OH II/287).

Lines 291–299

“ On the agaric’s land having bark-rich woods, in the middle of the big house, when I arrived at the creaking stone door, the Upper God’s young daughter brings my mortal-man tongue (i.e. the message for me), and illuminates my two pupils the size of a cub.

Lines 300–308

“ As if it was the dried agaric that takes me to the earth of the Upper God inhabited by humans when I was brought into the famous bark-rich house of a hundred dried agarics, God’s hundred words were sent to me through a creaking stone door, I drop onto the two fleshy knees (of Mother Earth), there I bow my animal-haired clever head.

305. *torām sāt koləŋ lät töl ilə äjməlli* ‘God’s hundred words were sent there’. This is an error on Karjalainen’s part; according to the dictionaries, no word like *sāt* is documented, the correct form is *sat* with the meaning ‘hundred’. The word *äjməlli* must have been problematic even for Karjalainen because it is underlined. The verb *äjməl-* does not exist in the dictionaries, but it may stem from the noun *äj* ‘message, news’, meaning ‘send a message, report on something’, cf. *äjməltäl sāt’wəl* ‘his/her reporting can be heard’ (Vj1/847).

308. *wajāy pun koļəŋ uyām töl ilə mārakəllim* ‘there I bow my animal-haired head’. The form *mārakəllim* ‘I moisten (it)’ is probably an error and it should be *nārakəllim* ‘I bow my head’ instead (cf. line 289).

Lines 309–313

“ The young daughter of the Upper God says, in the voice of the dried agaric, to the God having trees of this side, in the voice of the dried agaric – I bow (my head) there.

311. *tem pil juy juyâw torâm* ‘God having trees of this side’. It may be some kind of a mundane deity.

Lines 314–316

“ I send up prayers to the long-lived god of girls, the long-lived god of boys.

Lines 317–324

“ Improper words of an improper language are not ordered by God, (so) do not speak improper words of an improper language while living in this world, (otherwise) it will make you suffer on this painful earth. While living in this world, do not speak improper words of an improper language.

Lines 325–331

“ On the seven surfaces of the fleshy knee, on the human earth of the Upper God, you ceaselessly sit seven days on the seven surfaces of the fleshy knee, you sit there, on the Upper God’s agaric earth having bark-rich trees.

Cf. line 288.

Lines 332–333

“ So, in your soulful life, do not utter improper words of an improper language.

Lines 334–338

“ In the famous, bark-rich house of a hundred agarics, a golden-headed famous agaric is looking for his half, I am sitting on fleshy knees, I shout to one of the halves: Hey, agaric, bring the half (intended for me) here!

Lines 339–340

“ The half agaric is being brought to me by the young daughter of the Upper God.

num torâm aj öyina paṅk peḷay tä mänä tultê. On the problem of a marked Agent, cf. pp. 217–220 in Section 3.2.

Lines 341–342

“ When it is brought to me, I grab it with my right hand.

Lines 343–346

- ‘ When I grabbed it, I threw it into my breathing mouth laid out with twenty teeth and swallowed it into my enormous belly.

Lines 347–351

- ‘ I offer white linen similar to heavenly snow to the bark-wooded land of the agaric, I turn back in the bark-wooded land of the agaric.

In other words, he gives white linen to the local deities as a ritual offering.

Lines 352–353

- ‘ Thus am I lowered by the young daughter of the Upper God.

On marking the Agent, cf. pp. 217–220 in Section 3.2.

Lines 354–357

- ‘ I am floating down to the earth inhabited by people, I am speaking downward to the thick ground, in the good voice of the dried agaric, I am speaking downward.

Lines 358–361

- ‘ Groups of girls, groups of boys are listening to it, in the fiery house, the frosty house, filthy-faced people are listening to it.

Lines 362–370

- ‘ I am performing to them with skittering tongue: in the present, animated world, in the Upper God’s human world, there are a lot of troubles. Do not say improper words of an improper language, this is what the agaric told you. Clever girls, clever boys should remember this.

Lines 371–374

- ‘ I was sitting seven days on the peopled earth of the Upper God, in the bark-rich house of the agaric, on fleshy knees.

Lines 375–379

- ‘ While you are living your life, do not say improper words of an improper language – God provides you with game, he provides you with fish – do not utter improper words of an improper language, (then) you will not be consumed (eaten or burnt up) by God.

379. *torâmnâ antâ illi* ‘you will not be consumed (eaten or burnt up) by God’. The correct PRS.PASS.3SG form of the verb *i-* is *ili*.

Draft of the beginning of the song

There is a crossed out section in the text on pages 83–89 of the manuscript, which is a draft of lines 1–157 of the song. The finalized version of the manuscript from line 183 on seems much more confused and rough. The way that rows are divided up in the fair copy, in some places, differs from that in the draft.

As opposed to the attentive transcription in the fair copy, the diacritical marks are missing in the draft from several words. In the case of numerous words, only the initial letter is represented, but in general they are resolved in the fair copy. Occasionally, parallel lines are represented by the first one, but the missing ones are later added in the fair copy. In what follows, the most important modifications are given in a table (the corrections of the transcription mentioned above are not included).

Table 23: Corrections made by Karjalainen in the fair copy of Vj2⁴⁵⁶

Fair copy	Draft
	Following line 29
–	<i>werəntäli</i>
	Line 48
<i>mä tem körəytə ku näləm čeyä</i>	<i>mä körəytə ku näləm čeyä</i>
	Lines 56–57
<i>kəɾəy näləm kəɾə[ɣ] köl čeyä äĭ töl̥yatĭ</i>	<i>kəɾəy näləm čeyä äĭ töl̥yatĭ</i>
	Lines 56–68
<i>köy wänəmpəw torəm əsəm köy wänəmpəw torəm jəyəm kəɾəy näləm kəɾə[ɣ] köl əntə töl̥əytəmnə</i>	<i>köy wänəmpəw torəm əsəm kəɾəy näləm əntə tōŋ töl̥əytəmnə</i>
<i>mänä wajəy məwəl kul məwəl öyĭn lä[t] pākəŋ lä[t] məwəl öyĭn lä[t] pākəŋ lä[t] torəmnə məli torma söt̥iw jĭn[t̥]lĭ nāmsəŋ öyĭ nāmsəŋ pǎy</i>	<i>torəm əsəm, torəm jəyəm mänä wajəy məwəl kul məwəl öyĭn lä[t] pākəŋ lä[t] məwəl öyĭn lä[t] pākəŋ lä[t] torəmnə məli torma söt̥iw jĭn[t̥]lĭ n[āmsəŋ] öyĭ n[āmsəŋ] pǎy</i>

456. Numbers refer to lines in the fair copy.

Fair copy	Draft
<i>kəɾəɣ näləm kəɾə[ɣ] köl äl töl̥yatj</i> <i>torâmnâ jəm kalj</i> <i>äləŋ nu külä, torma pirnälä.</i>	<i>kəɾəɣ näləm kəɾə[ɣ] köl äl töl̥yatj</i> <i>torâmnâ jəŋkalj</i> <i>äləŋ nu külä, torma pirnälä.</i>
	Line 70
<i>weləŋ ɔɣəw neməŋ paŋk</i>	<i>weləŋ paŋk</i>
	Line 74
<i>məl öyi, məli pəy</i>	<i>məli öyi pəy</i>
	Line 85
<i>jäkəŋ mə[ɣ] kimlöytjɲə</i>	<i>jäkəŋ mə[ɣ] öytjɲə</i>
	Line 107
<i>mä tōŋ kajəm paŋk jəm turna</i>	<i>mä tōŋ kajəm paŋk jəŋ turna</i>
	Line 113
<i>mä wälmam ku nowət ontâr</i>	<i>mä wälmam ontâr</i>
	Lines 115–116
<i>pä jəj pä kotəl jəməɣ pänä</i> <i>torâmnâ nõyälkällj</i>	<i>päjəj pä kotəl torâmnâ</i> <i>jəməɣ pänä nõyälkällj</i>
	Lines 118–119
<i>köy wänəmpəw torəm əsmä</i> <i>köy wänəmpəw torəm jəymä</i>	<i>köy wänəmpəw torəm əsmä</i>
	Lines 124–127
<i>torəm wajəy məntä kul məntä</i> <i>liw wänəmpəw köləŋ läť</i> <i>liw wänəmpəw jakəŋ jerä</i> <i>jəyä säymällj</i>	<i>torəm wajəy məntä kul məntä</i> <i>köləŋ läť</i> <i>liw wänəmpəw jakəŋ jerä</i> <i>jəyä säymällj</i>
	Line 133
<i>körəytə ku näləm čeyäm</i>	<i>körəytə näləm čeyäm</i>
	Line 139
<i>il kotəywəl</i>	<i>kör[əytə] n[oyjɲ] teləm j kotəywəl</i>
	Lines 154–155
<i>čökəŋ torəm num torəm əsmä</i> <i>čökəŋ torəm num torəm jəymä</i>	<i>čökəŋ torəm num torəm əsmäti</i>

Vj3–Vj9 – Private songs

Among Karjalainen’s records, there are three songs that were given the title *Rakkauslaulu* ‘love song’. By Bernát Munkácsi, this improvisational Ob-Ugric genre related to well-known or definable persons was denominated “sorsének” i.e. ‘fate song’ in Hungarian (cf. *Fi kohtalolaulu*, Ger *Schicksalslied*). The modern time folklore studies use the term *individual song* (cf. Ru *личная песня*) (Csepregi 1997: 62–68).

Vj3 – Individual song I

Rakkauslaulu I. [Love Song I]

Tyttö [Girl]: Югинская
mies [Man]: Njuureljskij⁴⁵⁷

aj moyitêw kä[t] kukân
min wermämän äräy
*mäyälêy puýâl kolwalan*⁴⁵⁸

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|---|
| 1. | <i>aj moyitêw kä[t] kukân</i> | Two persons of the same age | ☞ |
| 2. | <i>jäh[k] jöhkär jöya kä[t] mo[k]kân</i> | two children the size of a water rat | |
| 3. | <i>min wermämän äräy</i> | a song made by the two of us | |
| 4. | <i>jayi puýâl kolwalan</i> | under the spruce trees of
<i>jayi puýâl</i> (Njurel’ka) | ☞ |
| 5. | <i>tixli rät’ päyâl öyi[,]</i> | Daughter of the son of
Uncle Garrulous | ☞ |
| 6. | <i>öymäl petos</i> ⁴⁵⁹ <i>turim äjni[,]</i> | little girl Fedos’ja, my
dear little sister, | |
| 7. | <i>mänä čänč alêy atj piläy jömänna</i> | if you married me (if you came to
be my companion by my knee) | |
| 8. | <i>tem tor[â]m oyti wälsâmän</i>
<i>töj köwayâl[.]</i> | we would have lived long in
this world (we would live). | |








457. [The girl is from Jugin’, the man is from Njurel’ka]

458. [These three lines are crossed out with vertical lines.]

459. (Федосья)

☞ (This is) a song made by the two of us, two persons of the same age, two children the size of a water rat, under the spruce trees of *jayi puýâl*. (1–4)






Daughter of the son of Uncle Garrulous, little girl Fedos’ja, my dear little sister, if you married me (if you came to be my companion by my knee), we would have lived long in this world (we would live). (5–8)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|
| 9. | <i>mä tem wermäm nälkäm
sayäl pajløy tur</i> | Here is the smooth neck of the
barkless, peeled rod prepared by me. |   |
| 10. | <i>warêw jöya nöyêh telnə
käsəmkən täjamamnə⁴⁶⁰</i> | If I had two hearts in this body
the size of a nutcracker |  |
| 11. | <i>əj səmäm nüjä⁴⁶¹
məsim tōh[.]</i> | I would have given one of my
hearts to you (would give) | |
| 12. | <i>tem torəm pu'alatij
wälsəmân tōh[.]</i> | we would have lived together till
the end of the world (would live). | |
| 13. | <i>kä lilken täjamamnə</i> | If I had two souls |  |
| 14. | <i>əj lilim nüjä məsim tōh[.]</i> | I would have given one soul
to you (would give). | |
| 15. | <i>jayi puçäl kolwalanə</i> | Under the spruce trees of
<i>jayi puçäl</i> (Njurel'ka) |  |
| 16. | <i>kät əskälän jə[k]kälänə</i> | your two parents (your
mother and your father) |  |
| 17. | <i>jäwət mes öhləm loy</i> | on the high bank where seven cows moo | |
| 18. | <i>mü[y] koyə läyälli[.]</i> | how long do they wait? | |
| 19. | <i>jäwət loy niñtî löy</i> | on the high bank where
seven horses have a rest | |
| 20. | <i>mü[y] koyə läyälli[.]</i> | how long do they wait? | |
| 21. | <i>kät əskälän jə[k]kälänə</i> | To your two parents (your
mother and your father) |  |
| 22. | <i>näyi kan werəh wäynə</i> | the money meant for the
white tsar as tribute | |
| 23. | <i>männə moyälli[.]</i> | is offered by me. | |

460. *käsəmkən löñtätjamamnə ki əj səməməmə tōhə məsimə* [If I had (lit. counted) two hearts, I would give one of them to you]

461. *niñəhə nüjä ä ä* [?no-no to you, a married man]

- ☞ Here is the smooth neck of the barkless, peeled rod prepared by me. (9)
If I had two hearts in this body the size of a nutcracker, I would have given one of my hearts to you (would give), we would have lived together till the end of the world (would live). (10–12)
If I had two souls, I would have given one soul to you (would give). (13–14)
Under the spruce trees of *jayi puçäl*, how long do your two parents (your mother and your father) wait on the high bank where seven cows moo, how long do they wait on the high bank where seven horses have a rest? (15–20)
I offer to your two parents (your mother and your father) the money meant for the white tsar as tribute. (21–23)

24.	<i>perəy məy näləm čeyä</i>	[From] the tongue of foreign lands	
25.	<i>tü wäləy pottä ni, juyäl lökä</i>	woman always fleeing, to the lovely path,	 
26.	<i>əjəy tōŋ mənłəmən[.]</i>	I wish we went together.	
27.	<i>tem tor[ə]m oyti jəpələynə</i>	In this earthly world	
28.	<i>kōwayäl wälsəmān[.]</i>	we have lived much.	
29.	<i>tem wajəy pun koləŋ uyəm</i>	My smart head rich in animal's hair (like fur)	
30.	<i>torma norəysəlji[.]</i>	(now) I raise to heaven.	
31.	<i>öymäl petos turim əjni</i>	Dear girl Fedos'ja, my dear little sister,	
32.	<i>kəlmjən əjəw torəm kata</i>	the house of God with three heads	
33.	<i>əjəy tōŋ lajälmamānnə</i>	if we (two) enter	
34.	<i>kələm sötüw jijn[t]mamānnə</i>	if we (two) set three wax candles	
35.	<i>čəkə tōŋ jam wäləs[.]</i>	that would be very nice (would have been).	

☞ Woman, always fleeing from the tongue of foreign lands, I wish we left together on the lovely path! (24–26)

In this earthly world, we could live much (we have lived much). (27–28)

(Now) I raise my smart head rich in animal's hair (having a fur cap?) to heaven. (29–30)

Dear girl, Fedos'ja, my dear little sister, if we (two) enter the house of God with three heads, if we (two) lit three wax candles, that would be very nice (would have been). (31–35)

Notes

This is a 35-line song on pages 71–72 of the manuscript. The villages where the song's authors lived were also recorded: the girl is from Jugin' by the Vasjugan River, the boy is from the Njurel'ka River. Jugin' is a Selkup village, its Khanty denomination is *məyaləŋ puγäl* (KT 505). The Khanty name of Njurel'ka is *jarəŋ jay joyəŋ*, and the inhabitants, accordingly, are called *jarəŋ jay³ jay* (KT 141, 184; Nagy 2007a: 44, 48–49).

In the manuscript, the first three lines of the song are crossed out. The singers may have got confused with the lyrics and they restarted their dictation. Two of the deleted lines appear in the 1st and 3rd lines of the final version. The third line contains the name of the girl's village. However, in the finalized version we can find the village name *jayj puγäl*, which refers to the boy's dwelling.

Lines 1–3



The protagonists introduce themselves. They grew up together, from their youth. The “water rat” simile may refer to their childhood stature. Although according to the 3rd line, the song was created by the two protagonists, the subsequent lines rather describe a proposal, and it is the boy who addresses the girl all along.

Line 4



jayĭ puyâł kolwalanâ (also in line 15). *jayĭ puyâł* is the denomination of the boy’s village on the Njurel’ka River. A probable morphological segmentation of *kolwalanâ* is spruce-space-LOC, which can denote a grove, or even a wooden floor. This form only appears in this song.

Lines 5–8



↻ Daughter of the son of Uncle Garrulous, dear little girl Fedos’ja, my dear little sister, if you married me (if you came to be my companion by my knee), we we would live (would have lived long) in this world.

5. Presumably, *tĭylĭ rät’* is a person’s name, or a nickname. The possible base of the derivation *tĭylĭ* is *tĭyât-* ‘say, tell, make up’, so the name can be translated either as Uncle Garrulous or Uncle Inventive. Another etymological explanation could be based on *tĭyâł* ‘nest’, but this word is not documented in the VVj dialects.

pətos < Федосья. Borrowing of the Russian female name Федосья, with phonological adaptation.

turĭm. Some kind of endearing form of address. In northern Khanty folklore texts, one can find two words in parallel wording with the meaning ‘younger brother’ (*išem ... turem* D 1465). However, the second element of *turĭm äjni* makes it clear that it is about a woman (cf. Vj5/2).

7. *mänä čänč alêĭ atĭ piləy jömmännə*. In the manuscript, Karjalainen modified the word order after the fact in the following way: *čänč alêĭ atĭ piləy mänä jömmännə*. Although, according to the script, the element *atĭ* is undoubtedly a separate word, it can hardly be interpreted. For this reason it may still belong to the previous word (end-LAT-EMPH): *čänč alêĭatĭ piləy mänä jömmännə* ‘if you married me (if you came to be my companion by my knee)’. Possibly, it was the secondary stress in the third syllable or the stress structure defined by the melody that made the singer pronounce the element *atĭ* as a separate word.

There are four conditional sentences in this song, in which the protasis appears in the form PTC.PST+PX+LOC and the apodosis is expressed with a past-tense verb and the particle *tõη*, although they express a wish or a condition concerning the future. According to Karjalainen's grammatical notes (KarjGr 174), with present- and past-tense verbs, the particle *tõη* expresses present or past conditional, respectively, cf. *mä mänləm tõη* 'I would go', *mä mänsəm tõη* 'I would have gone'. In this song, the particle *tõη* occurs seven times: five times after a past-tense verb (in lines 8, 11, 12, 14, 35), once following a present-tense verb (line 26), and in one sentence, it precedes a participle+LOC form (line 33).

Line 9

↪ Here is the smooth neck of the barkless, peeled rod prepared by me.

This may be a reference to the marriage-proposal ritual during which, at least among the Surgut Khanty, the suitor holds a rod decorated with ribbons in his hand (Kerezsi 1997a: 51; 1997b: 53). Furthermore, the attribute of vodka bottles is also "having a smooth neck" (D 1464), and, similarly, it also has its part in the course of the proposal. The very same figurative wording occurs in line 29, Vj4, but there the context indicates a bottle neck instead.

Lines 10–12

↪ If I had two hearts of the size of a nutcracker, I would have given one of my hearts to you, we would have lived together till the end of the world.

In line 10, *ńoyâη telnə* 'in (this) body' was inserted later.

In line 10, the only way the element *käsəmkən* can be interpreted is *kät səmkən* two heart-DU 'two hearts'. It must have been pronounced under one word stress. Karjalainen usually indicates when a consonant is deleted for phonetic reasons but in this case he gives no explanation.

In line 11, the original word order was *tõη məsim nũñä*, which Karjalainen later corrected to *nũñä məsim tõη*, similarly to line 14.

In the marginal notes to lines 11–12, there are forms that are morphologically hardly analyzable (*səməmamə tõηə məsimə*). They may have been impossible to solve even for Karjalainen himself, and this is why they remained in the margin in the fair copy.

Line 13–14

↪ If I had two souls, I would have given one soul to you.

Line 15

Cf. line 4, however, here the vowel of the LOC suffix is indicated: *kolwalanê*.

Lines 16–20

- “ ...how long do your two parents (your mother and your father) wait on the high bank where seven cows moo, where seven horses have a rest?

as, jāy ‘mother, father’, *askälän-jäkkälän* ‘your parents’.

The adjectives of ‘high bank’ can actually refer to some kind of a place name. The verb *läyäl-* also has the meaning ‘look to, guard’, so the sentence has two interpretations, either “How long will your parents wait on the high bank?” or “How long will your parents guard the high bank?”

Lines 21–23

- “ I offer to your two parents the tax meant for the white tsar / the money meant for the white god (?) as a sacrifice gift.

These lines may be about a bride-price. As *werəŋ wäy* can mean ‘tax’ and ‘sacrifice’ as well, we cannot decide what the money (*wäy*) was intended for. From a syntactic point of view, the sentence is difficult to analyze, because it is not clear which of the three forms with a LOC suffix (*kät askälän jäkkälännə, wäynə, männə*) denotes the Agent belonging to the verb in the passive.

Lines 24–26

- “ Woman, leaving the tongue of foreign lands gradually, I wish we left together on the lovely path!

This sentence may inform us that the girl lives among the Selkup people, i.e. in a village where a different language is spoken. *pottä ni* ‘fleeing woman’, the woman runs away from her family, and the groom does not pay any bride price (Cf. Schmidt 2008b: 55). This is the only sentence in the song in which the particle *töŋ* is accompanied by a present-tense verb.

Lines 27–28

- “ In this earthly world, we could live (have lived) much.

Lines 29–30

- “ (Now) I raise my smart head rich in animal’s hair (having a fur cap) to heaven.








Lines 31–35

- “ Dear friend, Fedos’ja, if we enter the house of God with three heads (having three bulbous domes) together, and lit three candles, that would be very nice.

32. The formula *kälmin cyäw toräm kat* ‘the house of God with three heads’ must refer to an Orthodox church having three bulbous domes. This phrase occurs also elsewhere (Vj2/189).

Vj4 – Individual song II

II *äj jiyâl puyâl*⁴⁶² Rakkauslaulu [Love Song]⁴⁶³

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|
| 1. | <i>tem äj jiyâl puyâl woyâl' nirna</i> | At this narrow foot-
bridge of <i>äj jiyâl puyâl</i> |  |
| 2. | <i>tem janhkän jiyâl woyâl' nirna</i> | at this narrow footbridge
of the watery rivulet |  |
| 3. | <i>tem keräs weräm keräs öyi[.]</i> | this (is) <i>keräs</i> -girl fathered by <i>keräs</i> . | |
| 4. | <i>mä tem wermäm äräy[.]</i> | This (is a) song made by me |  |
| 5. | <i>tem janhkän jiyâl woyâl' nirna</i> | at this narrow footbridge
of the watery rivulet | |
| 6. | <i>kuja wermäm äräy[.]</i> | a song made by me for a man. | |
| 7. | <i>won[t] wajäy mäčəŋ lōkä</i> ⁴⁶⁴ | For wanderings aiming
at forest animals |  |
| 8. | <i>tatta mänsən[.]</i> | so you have left. | |
| 9. | <i>ku čöŋčəŋ pil kol pelkä</i> | Man, companion having a
strong back, eastward, |  |
| 10. | <i>män[t] rəkätəsən</i> ⁴⁶⁵ [.] | you threw me. | |
| 11. | <i>pilläy ontäw lōy sär kuläy</i> | (On) the mateless way, ahead,
without a companion |  |
| 12. | <i>nüynäm mänsən</i> ⁴⁶⁶ [.] | you walked alone. | |
| 13. | <i>tem äj jiyâl woyâl' nirä</i> | At the narrow footbridge
of this little rivulet |  |
| 14. | <i>jal'min kičsəm[.]</i> | I remained standing. | |

462. ['small rivulet village' is a village by the Čertala (Черта́ль) River (KT 4)]

463. Tyttö teki laulun [The song was made up by the girl]

464. (mies) menit metsään [(man) you left for the forest]

465. jätit minut [you have left me]

466. (yksin menit) [you went off alone]

- ☞ This (is a) *keräs*-girl fathered by *keräs* at this narrow footbridge of *äj jiyâl puyâl*, at this narrow footbridge of the watery rivulet (rivulet rich in water). (1–3)

This (is a) song made by me, a song made by me for a man at this narrow footbridge of the watery rivulet. (4–6)

So you have left for wanderings to hunt. (7–8)

Man, my mate having a strong back you threw me eastward. (9–10)

You walked, without a companion, ahead on the mateless way. (11–12)

At the narrow footbridge of this little rivulet, I remained standing. (13–14)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|-----|
| 15. | <i>tem čöncəŋ pil kol peļaynə</i> | On the eastern side of the
(strong-)backed companion | ☞ ☞ |
| 16. | <i>won[t] wajāy māčəŋ
ļəy jaltannə⁴⁶⁷</i> | when wandering aiming
at forest animals | |
| 17. | <i>won[t] kul ili turinna⁴⁶⁸</i> | with your throat having forest fish | |
| 18. | <i>ärpä nomlāmtāwān⁴⁶⁹[.]</i> | you may often think of me | |
| 19. | <i>mā tem jəŋkən jįyāļ
woyāļ nirnə</i> | At this narrow footbridge
of the watery rivulet | ☞ |
| 20. | <i>tū wālay läyalləm⁴⁷⁰[,]</i> | I wait all the time, | |
| 21. | <i>jujūn sōltā počka läyalləm⁴⁷¹[,]</i> | I wait for a wooden strapped barrel, | |
| 22. | <i>weli semköy jōya rumka</i> | a shot glass the size of
a reindeer's pupil | |
| 23. | <i>läyalləw⁴⁷²[.]</i> | we wait (for). | |
| 24. | <i>wat kātān ku torām peļkōw</i> | From the direction of the
west wind (the Tatars) | ☞ |
| 25. | <i>mānā jōy tutāntilnə</i> | If ... was brought to me | |
| 26. | <i>weli semköy köy rumka</i> | a reindeer's pupil shot glass | |
| 27. | <i>mānā mēntilnə</i> | and ...was given me, | |
| 28. | <i>mānn[ə] intālnə[,]</i> | I would drink it up, | |
| 29. | <i>nālləm sayāļ pājļay tur</i> | the smooth throat of the peeled log, | |
| 30. | <i>tāt āl kəlli.</i> | let it not be visible here. | |

467. kulkiessasi metsässä [while you are roaming the forest]

468. syödessäsi kalaa [while you are eating fish]

469. monesti ajattelet/ehkä minua [you may think of me a lot]

470. katselen asuinsijaa [I am looking for dwelling places]

471. katselen viinalakkeria [I am watching a barrel of firewater]

472. katselemme [we are gazing about]

☞ On the eastern region of you, the (strong-) backed companion, when wandering aiming at forest animals, you may often think of me while having fish provision (prepared for hunting). (15–18)

At this narrow footbridge of the watery rivulet I keep waiting, I wait for a wooden strapped barrel, we wait (for) a shot glass the size of a reindeer's pupil. (19–23)

If, from the direction of the west wind/the Tatars, you brought a reindeer's pupil shot glass to me, and gave it to me, I would drink it up, may the smooth throat of the peeled log (the smooth neck of the vodka bottle) not be visible here! (24–30)

Notes

This is a 30-line song on pages 72–73 of the manuscript. The village in its title, *äj jiyâl puyâl* ‘little rivulet village’, is situated near the Čertala River (KT 4; Nagy 2007a: 23). In this song, a girl longs for her lover, who went off hunting alone. She is looking forward to his return.

Lines 1–3

“ At this footbridge of the village *äj jiyâl puyâl*, at this narrow footbridge of the watery rivulet, I, daughter of *keräs*, am standing.

nir ‘plank, footbridge’. According to KT, in the VVj dialects it is *nür*, but it would sound *nir* in the Trj dialect (D 1016; KT 590b); it is part of the fishtrap, set horizontally and battened to hold the fishtrap together. The word *woyâl* ‘thin, narrow’ is used with flat objects, and therefore *nir* can be translated as ‘plank’ or ‘footbridge’ (a fishtrap also serves as a bridge).

keräs. Probably a person’s name, the name of the girl’s father, which is the Khanty version of the Russian name Gerasim. It is typical of the individual songs that the author introduces himself/herself at the beginning (*keräs*-girl fathered by *keräs*). Otherwise, the meaning of the word *keräs* is documented only in the Ni dialect ‘pillar supporting the bars of the bird net’ (KT 430).

Lines 4–6

“ This (is a) song made by me, at this narrow footbridge of the watery rivulet, a song made for a man.

Lines 7–8

“ You went off hunting.

Lines 9–10

“ You, the man with whom we worked shoulder to shoulder, you left eastward, you left me.

čöñčəŋ pil ‘shoulder fellows’. Mates who work shoulder to shoulder

kol-pełək. Eastward direction (in the dictionaries *köl* ‘sunrise’); as a point of the compass it is documented only in the Kazym dialect (KT 696).

rəkata- ‘throw, fling’ (KT 801).



Lines 11–12

↪ You left alone, ahead on the mateless way.

11. *pilləy ontəw lək* ‘way of lonely interior (= character)’.

pilləy, kuləy ‘alone, without a companion’. They seem to be synonyms.

Lines 13–14

↪ At the narrow footbridge of this little rivulet, I remained standing.

kjtsəm, correctly: *kjtsəm*.

Lines 15–18

↪ When wandering in the east, aiming at forest animals, while having fish provision (prepared for taking along when hunting) you may think of me.

17. *won[t] kul ili turinna* ‘with your throat having forest fish’. The second meaning of the word *kul* is ‘food’. In all probability, it refers to fish prepared for hunting.

Lines 19–23

↪ At this narrow footbridge of the watery rivulet, I keep waiting, I wait for a wooden strapped barrel, we wait (for) a shot glass the size of a reindeer’s pupil.

On the basis of the marginal notes one can conclude that Karjalainen translated the verb *läyäl-* as ‘stare’. However, judging by the context, it is the other meaning of the verb, namely ‘wait (for)’ that fits here. Another possible misunderstanding on Karjalainen’s part is that he mistook the word *wäläy* ‘permanently’ (KT 273) for *wälä* ‘bed, place occupied by something’ (KT 271), and it was translated as ‘dwelling’.

The phrase ‘the size of a reindeer’s pupil’ as an attribute of a vodka glass is also known in Surgut Khanty folklore.

Lines 24–30

↪ If, from the west, some vodka was brought, and you were offered some in a reindeer’s pupil shot glass I would drink it up, may the smooth throat of the peeled log (= neck of the vodka bottle) not be visible! (Cf. Vj3/9).

24. *wat kätän ku torəm pelək* ‘quarter (point of compass) of the Tatar man’. On the basis of the geographic location of the Vasjugan Khanty and the Siberian Tatars, this may refer to the South or Southwest, cf. *kätän äs* ‘Irtyš’.

Vj5 – Individual song III

III Rakkauslaulu [Love Song]

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| 1. | <i>kalšam, kälšam kalšam aṇṇa</i> | <i>kalšam, kälšam kalšam aṇṇa</i> | |
| 2. | <i>turiṃ äjni</i> | Young girl, you, relative of mine! | |
| 3. | <i>watəṅ päsäl un[č]mamnâ</i> | When I crossed a windy tributary | |
| 4. | <i>kat'pâ komlâyintâsâm[.]</i> | I almost overturned. | |
| 5. | <i>mä kälamamnâ</i> | If I die | |
| 6. | <i>uyäl jörtäm mir kijilam</i> | you, cut-headed men, ... my sonnies | |
| 7. | <i>nälä jayärtâw watəṅ is</i> | (to) cry four-fold tear-flow | |
| 8. | <i>äl wayälti[.]</i> | do not let! | |
| 9. | <i>mä kälamamnâ</i> | If I die | |
| 10. | <i>sat kälj kütäkä</i> | among a hundred corpses | |
| 11. | <i>män[t] päñjin[,]</i> | if you put me, | |
| 12. | <i>mänt erkältin kotâl</i> | on the day you remember me | |
| 13. | <i>ni ontâriṅ mayi päjäm</i> | on the mound of soil the
length of a woman | |
| 14. | <i>mänt erkältinnâ</i> | when you remember me | |
| 15. | <i>ärəṅ peļkâyintəwəl[.]</i> | the song is interrupted. | |
| 16. | <i>tem torəm ku pu'alati</i> | Till the end of this world | |
| 17. | <i>tū nemäm ütältitəy[.]</i> | you pass my name on. | |
| 18. | <i>mä tem utiṃ peļkâ weräyən</i> | What I ordered to do | |
| 19. | <i>jäwət jöṇəṅ weräyən</i> | (of) the seven mountains | |
| 20. | <i>taṅ pil läyilkälləm[.]</i> | ... from the far side (of) ...
I will see after (it). | |
| 21. | <i>wərtä kürä sal jayəm</i> | A red-legged (boled), shining forest, | |
| 22. | <i>werəntiṅən</i> | if there was ... | |
| 23. | <i>sat näləmpə intə näjnâ</i> | by the hundred-tongued blazing fire | |
| 24. | <i>nälamün kölä tuṅj[.]</i> | is lost (consumed by the fire) | |

☞ *kalšam, kälšam kalšam|aṇṇa* (1)

Young girl, you, relative of mine! (2)

When I crossed a windy tributary, I almost overturned. (3–4)




If I die, you, short haired (cut headed) men, do not let my sonnies cry four-fold tear-flow (much). (5–8)

If I die, if you put me among a hundred corpses, on the day you remember me, on the mound of soil the length of a woman (at my tomb), when you remember me, the song is interrupted. (9–15)

Pass my name on till the end of this world. (16–17)

I will watch what I ordered to do from the far side of the seven mountains. (18–20)

If there was a red-legged, shining forest, (even it) is consumed by the hundred-tongued blazing fire. (21–24)

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| 25. | <i>tem torâm ku pu'alatî</i> | Till the end of this world | |
| 26. | <i>künčəŋ länki ütä käläy</i> | (as) the clawed squirrel
capered to the forest |   |
| 27. | <i>tü nemäm tuŋitây[.]</i> | may my name be passed on. | |
| 28. | <i>jäm tüñ päntäw</i> | (For a) good, lucky journey |  |
| 29. | <i>kul pari kijlama wersäm[.]</i> | for my sons, I have made
the fish sacrifice. | |

☞ Till the end of this world may my name be passed on (as) the clawed squirrel capered to the forest. (25–27)

For the sake of a good, lucky (life-)journey, for my sons, I have made the fish sacrifice. (28–29)

Notes

This is a 29-line song on pages 74–75 of the manuscript, without marginal notes. It concentrates on enumerating the things to be done should the singer suffer an accidental death. There are many Khanty individual songs in which the singer makes a will e.g. concerning who is to bring up his or her children (cf. Csepregi 1997: 63–66).

Line 1

kalšam, kälšam kalšamaŋŋa. These may be filler words with no meaning, and the song starts with crooning them. Their function is to help the singer get into the mood of the song and try out the melody. Originally, Karjalainen wrote the letter *š* in the first syllable, which was corrected to *a* later. The filling word may be related to the verb *käl-* ‘die’, and to the topic of the song as well. The word is a modified version of the participle *käl-am-am-nâ* die-PTC.PST-1SG-LOC ‘when/if I die’ in lines 5 and 9 (i.e. insertion of the consonant, as well as the cacuminalization of the nasal *n*). Karjalainen separated, by means of a vertical line, the penultimate and last syllables of the word from the rest of the word. The lines in this song may have consisted of four measures, and a border may have been marked with this line.

Line 2

turim äjni. The meaning of the word *turim* is not clear, perhaps ‘a relative of mine’, cf. Vj3/6, 31. The author of the song may have been addressing a younger female relative of hers.

Lines 3–4

↻ When I crossed a windy tributary, I almost overturned.

The danger she experienced earlier, the possibility of accidental death, makes the singer think about how things should be arranged in the event of her death.

Lines 5–8

↻ If I die, you, fellow villagers, short-haired (lit. cut-headed) men, do not let my sonnies cry four-fold tear-flow (cry much).

oy jört- ‘cut hair (lit. head)’, (KT 1092) *uyäl jörtäm* ‘short-haired (lit. cut-headed)’ is a stock epithet of boys and men in Khanty folklore.

‘cry four-fold tear-flow’. In the genre of hero’s songs, this phrase is used to express that the hero is begging for his life (KT 253). Among the (Surgut) Khanty, intense keening over a corpse is forbidden, as it is believed that the deceased has to count each teardrop shed for him or her, so too much crying would impose a burden on the dead person (Kerezsi 1997a: 54; 1997b: 54).

Lines 9–15

↻ If I die, if you put me among a hundred corpses, on the day you remember me at the mound of soil the length of a woman (at my tomb), the song stops.

10–11. *sat kälj kütäkä mänt pännjin* ‘if you put me among a hundred corpses’. This phrase tends to appear in a conditional participle structure, cf. *sat kälj kütäkä jaynâ il wernil* ‘if he is put among a hundred corpses by the people’ (Vj2/104).

12. *mänt erkäl-t-in kotäl* I.ACC remember-PTC.PRS-2PL day ‘on my commemorative day’.

14. *mänt erkäl-t-in-nä* I.ACC remember-PTC.PRS-2PL-LOC ‘when you remember me’.

Lines 16–17

↻ Pass my name on till the end of this world.

ütältitay ‘carry it on, pass it on’. In this meaning, the word does not appear in the dictionary. It may be explained as a metaphorical usage of the verb *üt-*, *ütäytä-* ‘spring from tree to tree’, which describes the motion of squirrels. If this is the case, the singer would like her name to be passed in the land of the living from mouth to mouth, from person to person.

Lines 18–20

A possible interpretation:

‘ What I ordered to do I will see after from the far side of seven mountains.

18. *utīm* ‘what I ordered’ (PTC.PST form of the verb *at-* ‘order, call, say’).

18, 19. *wer-äyən* ‘make’ + derivational suffix in the language of folklore songs with unclear meaning. It seems to have an attributive function rather than a predicative one (cf. line 22: *werəntiyən*).

Lines 21–24

A possible interpretation:

‘ Even a red-legged, shining forest would be consumed in the flames of the hundred-tongued blazing fire.

The singer may refer to a possible punishment on the living if her will is not followed.

21. *wərtä kūrā sal jayām* ‘red-legged, shining forest’. This refers to the red trunk of trees in a fir forest.

22. *werənt-iyən* ‘begin doing’ + derivational suffix in the language of folklore songs with unclear meaning, cf. lines 18, 19.

24. *kölā tu-* lit. take something somewhere, ruin somebody (D 1396).

Lines 25–27

A possible interpretation:

‘ Pass on my name till the end of this world, (just like) the clawed squirrel capers to the forest.

26. *ütä käläy*. This may be a writing error; correctly it would be a derivation of *kül-* ‘get up’: *köläy* ‘turn into’ (KT 465), *ütä köläy* ‘get going toward the forest’. Another possible interpretation arises if we treat them as one word: *ütäkäläy*. This form may correlate with the verb *üt-*, *ütəytə-* ‘spring from tree to tree’, but from the point of view of the sound form, this solution is also problematic.

Lines 28–29

‘ For my sons, for the sake of a lucky journey, I have made the fish sacrifice.

Vj6 – Cradle song

IV. Lapsen kehtolaulu⁴⁷³ [Cradlesong, lullaby of a child]

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | <i>pä lu lu lu lu lu lu</i> | <i>pä lu lu lu lu lu lu</i> | |
| 2. | <i>öyi nüytäm əj wäləy</i> | I was rocking a daughter on and on | |
| 3. | <i>päy nüytäm əj wäləy</i> | I was rocking a son on and on | |
| 4. | <i>männäm nüñə[t] nüyäləm[.]</i> | I am rocking you myself. | |
| 5. | <i>jämsi peļəy janəñ kötnä</i> | With my sinewy right hand | |
| 6. | <i>männäm nüñə nüyäləm[.]</i> | I am rocking you myself, | |
| 7. | <i>jämsi peļəy janəñ küñnä</i> | With my sinewy right foot | |
| 8. | <i>männäm nüñə koläyläm[.]</i> | I am swinging you myself. | |
| 9. | <i>kätəñ käylän apylännä</i> | by your two fathers, your dual two | |
| 10. | <i>nüñä werəm juỵ amtāw</i> | wooden cradle, made for you | |
| 11. | <i>komā[t] nurnä werəm amtāw</i> | cradle made with broad leather strap | |
| 12. | <i>wajəy äñə[t] kiyał wäyna</i> | with an animal antler hook | |
| 13. | <i>nüñə[t] nuk aytəysilij[.]</i> | you are hung up. | |
| 14. | <i>jämsi peļəy kötnə janna</i> | With my handed right sinew | |
| 15. | <i>tä tōy nüyäl[i,]</i> | it is rocked to and fro | |
| 16. | <i>jämsi peļəy janəñ küñnä</i> | With my sinewy right foot | |
| 17. | <i>tä[γ] tōy koläyl[i,]</i> | it is swung to and fro. | |
| 18. | <i>tä rut' jājəm wej wiñ[t]wäl kat</i> | This house with a roof-ridge | |
| | | built with a Russian ax | |
| 19. | <i>kolām juỵ altij katnä</i> | in the house held together | |
| | | by three trees | |
| 20. | <i>tö[γ] nüñə[t] koläyl[i,]</i> | thus you are rocked | |
| 21. | <i>semkən küñəw tärmalāmnä</i> | as I follow you with my two eyes | |
| 22. | <i>tä[γ] tōy nārimtəli[.]</i> | it is swung to and fro. | |

473. [(Phonograafissa toinen) (another one in the phonograph)]

☞ *pä lu lu lu lu lu lu* (1)

I was rocking a daughter, I was rocking a son, now I am rocking you. (2–4)

With my sinewy right hand, I am rocking you myself, with my sinewy right foot, I am swinging you myself. (5–8)

You are hung up on a reindeer-antler hook in a wooden cradle made for you, in a cradle made with broad leather strap by your two fathers (parents) your dual two. (9–13)

It is rocked to and fro with my handed right sinew, it is swung to and fro with my sinewy right foot. (14–17)

In this house with a roof-ridge built with a Russian ax, in the house held together by three trees thus you are rocked, as I follow you with my two eyes, it is swung to and fro. (18–22)

Notes

This is a 22-line cradle-song on pages 75–76 of the manuscript. The song is not identical with the one recorded with a phonograph. There is no information regarding the singer.

So far, we have had information on the genre of cradlesong concerning only the Surgut Khanty region. According to speakers of that variety, a mother makes an individual cradlesong for each one of her babies, which is sung while nestling and lulling the child. It is characteristic of this genre that meaningless endearing syllables are often repeated, e.g. *aw-lu-lu-lu-lu-lu-lu*; *ku-ka-ka-ka-ma-ma* or *maj-maj-maj-maj*. Cradlesongs can also be made by elder siblings (Lázár & Csepregi 1997–1998).

Line 1

pä lu lu lu lu lu lu – endearing words.

Lines 2–4

“ I have been rocking daughters and sons, now I am rocking you.

nŷyä- ‘rock, swing, sway (intr)’, *nŷyät-* ‘rock, swing, sway, shake (tr)’ (KT 565; D 991; T 292). According to the dictionaries KT and D, the word-initial nasal is cacuminal (*ŋ*), but this is not confirmed by the manuscript. The use of a verb as transitive or intransitive is not strictly defined, i.e. within one and the same sentence both forms appear, and in both cases they are used as transitive verbs. In line 2, *nŷytəm* is an unmarked past-tense form, and this tense is appropriate for expressing durativity. From semantic point of view, the adverb *əj wälaj* ‘time and again, permanently, at the same low speed’ is perfectly compatible with it.

Lines 5–8

“ I am rocking you with my sinewy right-hand side hand, I am swinging you with my sinewy right-hand side foot.

The cradle of a Khanty baby is hung up on a tent-pole or rafter of the house. A leather strap dangles from it, and this is used to rock the cradle until the child falls asleep. The mother can attach this strap to her foot to swing the cradle so that her hands are free to work on sewing, softening leather, etc.

nŷyä-, *koləy-*: synonyms, which alternate in parallel lines (6–8, 15–17)

Lines 9–13

‘ This wooden cradle, which is hung up on a reindeer-antler hook, and is equipped with a broad leather strap, was made for you by your parents.

9. *kät-əŋ kä-yl-än api-yl-an-nâ* two-ADJ two-DU-2SG father-DU-2SG-LOC – uncertain interpretation: ‘by your two fathers, your dual two’. It is difficult to explain the marker of dual possession (-yl-) with the numeral ‘two’, but it may be a playful device in the language of songs. The dual marker may refer to the parents (your two fathers > your father and mother > your parents). The making of a cradle can just as well be a common task since among the Khanty, woodwork is typically associated with men while leather is worked by women.

12. *kiyâł’* correctly: *kiyâl’* ‘hook’ (KT 394). At first, Karjalainen wrote both vowels velar. Later the diacritical mark of velar *i* was deleted but the reduced velar vowel in the second syllable was not modified.

13. *nüŋət nuk aytâysïlli* is literally ‘you (2SG.ACC) are hung up (3SG)’. The 3SG passive verb form probably agrees with the word ‘cradle’, and this is why the pronoun in the ACC does not fit in the sentence. It may function as an inorganic filler element. One finds a similar clause in line 20 (*nüŋət kolâylï* lit. you.ACC are being rocked).

Lines 14–17

‘ I am rocking you to and fro with my right-hand side handed sinew, I am swinging you to and fro with my right-hand side sinewy foot.

This is a playful variation of words and constructions seen in lines 5–8.

Line 5: *janâŋ kötnä* ‘with sinewy hands’, line 14: *kötəŋ janna* ‘with handed sinew’. In lines 6 and 8, we can see active-voice verbs (*nüŋə-l-əm* rock-PRS-1SG, *kolâŷ-l-əm* swing-PRS-1SG), while in lines 15 and 17, the very same verbs appear in the passive voice (*nüŋə-l-i* rock-PRS-PASS.3SG, *kolâŷ-l-i* swing-PRS-PASS.3SG).

Lines 18–22

‘ In this house with a roof-ridge built with a Russian ax, in the house held together by three trees, thus you are being rocked, while I am following you with my two eyes, it is swinging to and fro.

Vj7 – Individual song IV

V. Мукутавск. юрт

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. | <i>tem mŭkätäj oġâr lɔŋnâ</i> | On this high peak of <i>mŭkätaj</i> village |
| 2. | <i>tem jäntəŋ pöy surj ku</i> | this man of the fish-brook-people |
| 3. | <i>sänəŋ juŋkâ jän wajəŋ</i> | ...the spirit-of-birch-bracket animal ... |
| 4. | <i>kuntâ tōŋ jöŷəwâŋ[,]</i> | when would (he) come, |
| 5. | <i>juŷin söltäw počka</i> | ...the wooden strapped barrel... |
| 6. | <i>kuntâ tōŋ jöŷ tutälil[.]</i> | when would (it) be brought back? |

jne⁴⁷⁴Исидоръ Васильевич Юрломгинъ
юрты Юрломгины

474. jne [and so on]

- ☞ On this high peak of *mŭkätaj* village, when would the fish-brook-people's man, the spirit-of-birch-bracket animal come, when would the wooden strapped barrel be brought back? (1–6)

Notes

This is a 6-line fragment on page 76 of the manuscript. The title and the first line reveal that the scene is the village Mukutaev/Mogutaev by the Vasjugan River (KT 510). Its Khanty name is *tŷŷat imə puŷəl* 'village-consumed-by-fire' (D 1421). The name of the village was interpreted as 'fire-mother-village' by local speakers at the end of the 20th century (Nagy 2007a: 49). The fragmental character of the song is indicated by Karjalainen's comment: *jne* 'and so on'.

Lines 1–6

One of the possible interpretations:

- ☞ Onto this high peak of *mŭkätaj* village, when would the man belonging to the Fish-brook-people, the *Spirit-of-birch-bracket-flour animal* come, when would the wooden strapped barrel be brought here?
2. *jäntəŋ pöy* 'brook full of fish'. In the Vj dialect, *pöy* is a 'small, narrow creek rising in a moor, in which fish rushing towards fresh water can easily be caught with a fish-trap' (KT 664). This is why the adjective 'rich in food' is used with it.

jäntəŋ pöy suri ku: man belonging to the people of the brook full of fish. Perhaps line 3 refers similarly to him and it may be a nickname. We can only guess whether *sänəy jurk* ‘spirit of birch bracket’ refers to the fact that ground birch bracket is an additive in snuff (KT 861), which this man provides also to others.

Lines 4 and 6 begin with the words *kuntā tōŋ* ‘when + conditional particle’ and similarly, both end in a present-tense verb. Their meaning is ‘I wonder when he would come’, ‘I wonder when it would be brought back’ or ‘I wish he would come already’, ‘I wish they would bring it’. The verb *tutā-l-ijl* is objective conjugation, bring-PRS-SG<3PL.

5. ‘wooden strapped barrel’, cf. Vj4/21.

In the whole packet of Vasjuga manuscripts, this is the only note on an informant: Исидоръ Васильевич Юрломгинъ, юрты Юрломгины (Isidor Vasilévič Jurlomkin, Jurlomkin yurts/village). The Khanty name for Jurlomkin village is *ноуâšjay³ пууâл* ‘village of the sable people’ (KT 607; Nagy 2007a: 23, 44, 48). Unfortunately, there is no way to know which were the songs presented by Isidor Vasilévič.

Vj8 – Bear song for children

Karhulaulu (lapsille) [Bear Song (for children)]

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|---|
| 1. | <i>mä närsəŋ</i> ⁴⁷⁵ <i>won[t] kiwâlnâ</i> | I, on the hillside grown by
young deciduous wood | 🔊 |
| 2. | <i>kolâŋ won[t] kiwâlnâ
mesəlkal̄təlim</i> ⁴⁷⁶ [.] | on the hillside grown by young
pine wood, (I am) plodding | 🔊 |
| 3. | <i>kāntə[γ] ku jəŋətpăŋ</i> | a Khanty man’s, my sibling’s | 🔊 |
| 4. | <i>ontlâl kōŋ[k]riŋ ri[t] juŋəl
kōŋ[k]riŋtal sät’wəl</i> ⁴⁷⁷ [.] | hollowing of a tree for a boat of
hollowed interior can be heard. | |

475. (*näras* sanaa ei ole) [the word *näres* does not exist]

476. *astelen* (nyk.puh. myös) [I walk (also in today’s speech)]

477. *kuuluu ostjakin venheen sisusta hakkaaminen* (*kōŋkriŋta* hakata ontevaksi venhepuuta) [the hollowing of a tree for a dugout can be heard (*kōŋkriŋta* ‘hollow a tree for a dugout’)]

- ☞ I am plodding on the hillside where a young deciduous wood grows, on the hillside where a young pine wood grows. (1–2)
A Khanty man’s, my sibling’s, hollowing a tree for a boat can be heard.
(3–4)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|-----|
| 5. | <i>kä[t] ju[k]kân säjäl kasow</i> | From behind the back of two trees | ☞ ☞ |
| 6. | <i>kɔlɛm juj säjäl kasow</i> | from behind the back of three trees | |
| 7. | <i>männä t'ä[y] kätimkali⁴⁷⁸[.]</i> | I sneak there. | |
| 8. | <i>kä[t] ju[k]kân säjäl kasow</i> | From behind of the back of two trees | ☞ |
| 9. | <i>kɔlɛm juj säjäl kasow</i>
<i>kätam säyi</i> | from behind of the back of three
trees, while I am sneaking | |
| 10. | <i>käntä[y] ku jəɣəmpäynə</i> | The Khanty man, my sibling... | |
| 11. | <i>ontäl köŋ[k]rjɛm rj[t] jujäl</i>
<i>asi⁴⁷⁹ köŋ[k]rjltä[.]</i> | the tree hollowed out for a boat of hol-
lowed interior ...is still hollowing out. | |
| 12. | <i>ätıl juj säjäl kasa⁴⁸⁰</i> | Behind the back of a lonely tree | ☞ |
| 13. | <i>männä t'ä[y] päyəsı[.]</i> | I threw myself. | |
| 14. | <i>käntä[y] ku jəɣəmpäynə</i> | The Khanty man, my sibling... | ☞ |
| 15. | <i>o[ntläl] k[öŋkrjɛm] r[jt]</i>
<i>j[ujäl] asi köŋ[k]rjltä[.]</i> | the tree hollowed out for a boat of hol-
lowed interior ...is still hollowing out. | |
| 16. | <i>waɬ imäm əllə sōjnə</i> | With a town-eating (lit. eaten) loud roar | ☞ |
| 17. | <i>pujäl imäm əllə sōjnə⁴⁸¹</i> | with a village-eating (lit. eaten) loud roar | |
| 18. | <i>t'ä læmpəytəsım⁴⁸²[.]</i> | (I) attacked him. | |
| 19. | <i>männä t'ä læmpəytəmäm pırnə</i> | After I attacked him | ☞ |
| 20. | <i>kərəm kərəm čəŋjık</i> | <i>kərəm kərəm čəŋjık</i> | |
| 21. | <i>[kərəm kərəm] pəŋjık⁴⁸³[.]</i> | <i>[kərəm kərəm] pəŋjık.</i> | |

478. alan hiipiä luo [I start to sneak there]

479. (yhä) [continuously, all the time]

480. pääsin yksinäisen puun suojaan (s.o. viimeisen puun, johon hypätä voi) [I got behind the back of the only tree (i.e. the last tree I can jump behind)]

481. kaupungin syömällä, kylän s. suurella äänellä [with a loud roar as if a town or a village was eaten]

482. hyökätä päälle (nyk. puh. on) *læmpəytəntä jüjət* [hit someone on the head (today's phrasing) *læmpəytəntä jüjət* to attack him]

483. (ääntää) *čəŋjık pəŋjık* [make the sound *čəŋjık pəŋjık*]

☞ I sneak there from behind the back of two trees, from behind the back of three trees. (5–7)




While I am sneaking from behind the back of two trees, from behind of the back of three trees, the Khanty man, my sibling, is still hollowing out the tree hollowed out for a boat. (8–11)

I threw myself behind the back of a lonely tree. (12–13)

The Khanty man, my sibling, is still hollowing out the tree hollowed out for a boat. (14–15)

I attacked him with a town-eating loud roar, with a village-eating loud roar. (16–18)

After I attacked him, *kərəm kərəm čəŋjık*, *[kərəm kərəm] pəŋjık*. (19–21)

-
- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|
| 22. | <i>sor[t] külä[t] küll ilimä</i> ⁴⁸⁴ | In an inch-thick disgrace |   |
| 23. | <i>tät ilimsujäm[.]</i> | (I) got disgraced. | |
| 24. | <i>won[t] wäjə[γ] kä[t] lakikəñ</i> ⁴⁸⁵ | My two forest animal paws |  |
| 25. | <i>närsəm won[t] jirəñ tōjä</i> ⁴⁸⁶ | to the utmost end of the
deciduous forest, | |
| 26. | <i>koləñ won[t] [jirəñ tōjä]</i> | to the utmost end of the pine forest, | |
| 27. | <i>tinäm utə röyimsäkən</i> ⁴⁸⁷ [.] | aimed at over there. | |

484. vaaksan paksuiseen paksuun häpeään [in an inch-thick disgrace]

485. etukäpäläni (nostin) [(I raised) my two forepaws]

486. metsän latvaan [onto the top of the forest]

487. hyökkäsin metsään [I attacked the forest]

-
- ☞ I got disgraced, falling into an inch-thick disgrace. (22–23)
My two paws (forelegs) raised, I headed for the forest. (24–27)
-

Notes

This is a 27-line song on pages 77–78 of the manuscript. In marginal notes Karjalainen made comments in Finnish on 11 lines.

The bear, as the protagonist of this song, tells us that on his way he heard an ax ring because a man was hollowing out a tree trunk in order to make a dugout. The bear, intended to attack the man, sneaked up to him, but after the encounter he had to leave defeated, with the shame of fleeing.

This genre is meant for children, in other words, it cannot have been part of the bear feast. It conveys a lesson, namely that, according to the Khanty worldview, humans share the forest with the bear but both sides have to show respect toward the territory of the other. This is why, when people are in the forest, they make noise in order to forewarn the bear that it should avoid the paths used by humans. If a man indicates his presence with loud ax strokes and the bear still attacks him, no luck will come of it for the bear.

Lines 1–2

- ☞ I am plodding on the hillside where a young deciduous wood grows,
on the hillside where a young pine wood grows.

närsəñ, ?närsəñ. For Karjalainen, the word must have been unknown and this is why he commented in the margin that the word *näräs* does not exist. On the basis of the second part of the parallelism, *koləñ* ‘grown by spruce’, we can conclude that it denotes some kind of wooded land. Although it is documented only in the Trj dialect, it is possible that it is a derivation of the stem *när* ‘thickly grown young deciduous forest’ (KT 628) that was later deformed

(*närsəŋ* > *närsəŋ*). This explanation is supported by the fact that lines 25–26 also contain this parallelism, but the adjective appears in the form *närsəm*.

mesalkätaŋim. Although according to Karjalainen’s comment, the word was used in the spoken language, he did not record it in his glossary. However, in KT, we can find a river name *mesäl jŋjŋi* (Vj), which Karjalainen translates as ‘bear walk’ (KT 545). Thus, the verb may evoke the plodding so characteristic of bears. The verb is objective conjugation, cf. the suffix (*-im*), which does not seem grammatical considering the word ‘hillside’ that cannot function as the object of the verb because of its LOC suffix.

Lines 3–4

↻ A Khanty man’s, my sibling’s hollowing a tree for a boat can be heard.

käntäŋ ku jəŋəmpäŋ. – ‘Khanty man, my kindred (lit. Khanty man, son of my father)’. The bear mentions the man as his/her sibling. It is a very important element in the Ob-Ugric worldview and bear cult that humans and the bear are considered to be descended from the same ancestor, and therefore related to each other.

ontl-əl kōŋkrj-m rj̄t: inner_part-3SG hollow_out-PTC.PST boat ‘boat whose inside parts have been hollowed out’; *juŋ-əl kōŋkrj-t-al sät-wəl*: tree-3SG hollow_out-PTC.PRS-3SG sound-PRS.3SG ‘the hollowing out can be heard’.

Although the verb is not recorded in KT, its meaning is given in a marginal note in the manuscript: *kōŋkrj-* ‘hollow out a trunk meant for a boat’. This verb may be etymologically related to the adjectives Ni *χunχarə*, Kaz *χonχart*, O *χonkar* ‘hollow, concave’ (KT 296; D 527).

The Khanty use dugouts that are hollowed out of a single tree (a poplar or Siberian pine). After the tree is felled, the trunk is hollowed out on the spot. This is motivated by not only practical reasons, i.e. so that there is less burden to carry, but also out of respect toward trees. According to Josif Ivanovič Sopočin, if a cut tree is left in the forest it will think that it has been destroyed in vain. In contrast, if the tree can see that the making of the boat has begun, then it is glad to serve humans in its new life.

In lines 10–11 and 14–15 variations of lines 3–4 are repeated. The difference is that in the latter incidences the agent is marked with a LOC suffix and the conjugation is objective. This sentence type is discussed on pp. 217–220.

Lines 5–7

↻ I sneak there from behind the back of two trees, from behind the back of three trees.

kätjmkalj: *kät-ŋmka-l-j* sneak-INCH-PRS-PASS.3SG ‘I begin sneaking’. This is written in two words in the manuscript, which is, in all probability, an error.



Lines 8–11

- “ While I am sneaking from behind the back of two trees, from behind the back of three trees, the Khanty man, my sibling is still hollowing out the tree for a hollowed boat.

Cf. lines 14–15.

Lines 12–13

- “ I threw myself behind the back of a lonely tree.

Lines 14–15

- “ The Khanty man, my sibling is still hollowing out the tree hollowed out for a boat.

Cf. lines 10–11.

Lines 16–18

- “ I attacked him with a loud roar as if I aimed at eating up a whole town or a whole village.

The attributes ‘town-eating, village-eating’, which convey the volume of the shout, also appear in the northern Khanty hero’s songs collected by Antal Reguly, cf. *vuos leti äming turr, kort leti äming turr* ‘town-eating painful cry (lit. throat)’, ‘village-eating painful cry’ (OH I. 366/1772–1773).

Lines 19–21

- “ After I attacked him, bang-bang [noises of the encounter or skirmish].

kəram kəram čäŋjik, kəram kəram päŋjik – meaningless onomatopoetic words conveying the noise of the encounter.

Lines 22–23

- “ I got disgraced falling into an inch-thick disgrace.

sort küläť küľ ilimä tät ilimsujəm ‘I got disgraced in an inch-thick disgrace’. This is a typical example of *figura eymologica*. The same phrase exists also in northern Khanty folklore, e.g. *amp-oni küľ jeləm jeləmsajəm* ‘I got disgraced in a disgrace as huge as a dog’ (BiblPáp II: 22/150).

Lines 24–27

- “ My two paws (forelegs) raised, I headed for the forest.

On the adjectives of the forest, cf. the notes to line 1.

Vj9 – The beginning of a heroic song







***jäwät äräy* [Seven Songs]**

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| 1. | <i>jäwät äräy</i> | ...(Of) seven songs | |
| 2. | <i>säyaw kölnä pelän kat</i> | with the word of the melody
(of)... (of) the floored house | |
| 3. | <i>ka[t] jöra sayäl juḡ</i> | like a log in the middle of the house | |
| 4. | <i>ur nöyınä imälsäm[.]</i> | with bare flesh (I) sat down | |
| 5. | <i>oyâr päsän jırâḡ töjä imälsäm[.]</i> | at the far end of the high
table, (I) sat down. | |
| 6. | <i>urt amâstâ öyäh kata</i> | Into the daughtered house where
suitors are seated (lit. suitor-
seating daughtered house) | |
| 7. | <i>telkäl jähäm jayi kata</i> | Into the crowded house (lit.
into the house that so many
people entered that it is full) | |
| 8. | <i>äräkkän[č]li jönän məy</i> | ...(of) the rooted earth
looking for songs | |
| 9. | <i>jäwät öytinä</i> | on the seven surfaces (of)... | |
| 10. | <i>mä imälsäm[.]</i> | I sat down. | |
| 11. | <i>älə məy säyâw kölnä</i> | With a word having the
melody of the great earth | |
| 12. | <i>wičê latê norâḡ məy</i> | everlasting tabbed earth | |
| 13. | <i>awtâḡ loḡ jırâw məy</i> | maned-horse-sacrificed earth | |
| 14. | <i>älə məy jönâw kölnä</i> | with a word having roots
in the great earth | |
| 15. | <i>ärä[ḡ] käh[č]li sōyäh məy</i> | ...(of) the furry earth
looking for a song | |
| 16. | <i>jäw[ə]t öytinä</i> | on the seven surfaces (of)... | |
| 17. | <i>är torâm putâw jähkōḡ</i> | of the waters of the end
of many worlds | |
| 18. | <i>männä käḡälli kö nuk löḡälli[.]</i> | I, a simple man recite (it) upwards. | |

☞ With words of the melody of seven songs, in the middle of the floored house, I sat down alone. (1–5)

I am sitting in the house having [marriageable] girls, where suitors are received, on the seven surfaces of the rooted earth. (6–10)

My song is about the seven-fold great earth, about the everlasting tabbed earth, it is about the mossy earth looking for songs, and about waters at the end of the world. (11–18)

19.	<i>pöyæη tüyti sulaw katoγ</i>	From the house having hot, spreading sparks	 
20.	<i>kāntâ ku näläm čeyä</i>	in a human language	
21.	<i>mä tem kat jæγ peļəynə</i>	I... .. inside this house	
22.	<i>männə köl löηälj[.]</i>	by me a word is read.	
23.	<i>mä mākâ jantä näläm jönäm</i>	My tongue root coming for a long time	
24.	<i>mä tem ka[t] jæγ peļəynə tiyâmam</i>	I, in this house, have told,	
25.	<i>köləη lät ka[t] jiræη tøjöy</i>	from the utmost end of the worded period house	
26.	<i>täræη wat miŋkiŋâ mä kälätj näläm čeyäm</i>	by a strong wind, my earthborn idiom	
27.	<i>oyâr juγ jiræη tøjöy</i>	from far end (= top) of a high tree	
28.	<i>nuk tät älamsi[.]</i>	has been raised high.	
29.	<i>näyi paləη jäwət kəltsoy</i>	Through seven holes of the white cloud	
30.	<i>mä kāntâ[γ] ku näläm čeyäm</i>	my earthborn human idiom	
31.	<i>ärə[γ] kəŋ[č]li oyâr məyâ</i>	to the high earth looking for songs	
32.	<i>juγäl säŋki [oyâr] məyâ</i>	to the dear sky, high earth,	
33.	<i>är wat miŋkiŋâ nuγpa i tulj[.]</i>	by many winds, is carried upwards.	
34.	<i>mä kälätâ ku noyij teläm</i>	I, the whole body of an earthborn man	
35.	<i>əļə ka[t] pelä jornâ amâsmiŋ kičäm[.]</i>	remained sitting in the middle of the floor of the big house.	
36.	<i>mä čökâ näläm, näləmluj siyäl</i>	My poor language, bunch of songs,	
37.	<i>i köläm jäw[ə]t äræy löŋti kata</i>	and word, into the house where seven songs are read	
38.	<i>torâm jor jäwət süymət i jal'tə päj</i>	in the centre of the sky, (a) seven-birch-trees-standing hill	

☞ The words said by me in the language of humans spread in this house like hot sparks do from a fire. (19–22)

My ancient sentences told in this house were raised high above the top of the high tree by a strong wind. (23–28)

Through seven holes of the white cloud, my human speech is carried upwards by many winds, to the high earth looking for songs, to the dear heavenly lands. (29–33)

I, the mortal man, in my physical presence, remained seated in the middle of the house. (34–35)

My humble language, my songs, and words are carried by God into the house where the seven mid-heaven songs are sung, onto the hill where seven birch trees stand. (36–38)

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|-----|
| 39. | <i>torâmnâ tōy cōḥlalti[.]
jäwät äräy niñtī kat</i> | is planted (lit. grown) there by God.
House for seven songs to rest in | ☞ ☞ |
| 40. | <i>ələ ka[t] pələ jorñâ är jay
pələ[t] wäy äḥkəl[.]</i> | in the middle of the big house's
floor, many iron columns the
height of many people, | |
| 41. | <i>kōy äḥkəl torâmnâ tōy pattli[.]</i> | stone column is frozen there by God. | |
| 42. | <i>särñi äḥkəl jirəḥ tōjñä</i> | At the far end (utmost tip)
of the golden column | ☞ |
| 43. | <i>wet märñəḥ kul meli kōyəl</i> | a bowl housing five fish full of spawn | |
| 44. | <i>särñäḥ pajäw toräm wäñməḥ</i> | a divine faced, having a golden aspen, | |
| 45. | <i>ñeməḥ kōləḥ lip</i> | famous speaking swallow | |
| 46. | <i>jəyḥpələyñä toräm jor</i> | inside it, middle-heaven | |
| 47. | <i>kōləḥ lip särñəḥ kōyəl</i> | speaking swallow... (inside)
the golden bowl | |
| 48. | <i>jəyḥpələyñä amâswäl[.]</i> | inside (the golden bowl) sits. | |
| 49. | <i>är toräm pəlkä putäw jəḥkä</i> | Toward many worlds over
the edge of waters | ☞ |
| 50. | <i>jüḥḥän löḥäli[.]</i> | (it) is read by him. | |
| 51. | <i>toräm jor kōləḥ lipñä</i> | Mid-heaven speaking swallow | ☞ |
| 52. | <i>jüḥḥän löḥäli putwäl uläy</i> | endlessly sings | |
| 53. | <i>toräm putäw kōlə kōt
sannä kōt jəlkəmtäntä</i> | end of the world..., circles ..., spins... | |
| 54. | <i>jäwät äräy säyaw kōl kō ?</i> | word having the melody
of seven songs ... | ☞ |
| 55. | <i>jäw[ət] äräy säyaw kōlnä
mänñä putwäl uläy</i> | With a word having the melody
of seven songs, I, endless | |
| 56. | <i>toräm putäw</i> | ...(of) the end-of-the-world | |
| 57. | <i>toräm säḥki juḥän mäyñä ...</i> | ...on the wooded land of the sky... | |

Vasjungan

☞ In the seven-song, resting house, in the middle of the big house's floor, there is an iron column as high as many people, and a stone column frozen there by God. (39–41)

At the utmost tip of the golden column, there is a bowl housing five fish full of spawn, inside it, a divine faced, famous, mid-heaven speaking swallow having golden aspens. (42–48)

In every direction, its song gets to the lands and waters at the end of the world. (49–50)

?The mid-heaven speaking swallow walks around the endless world. (51–53)

I take [with me] the word having the melody of seven songs to the end of the endless world, to the wooded lands of heaven. (54–57)

Notes

This is a 57-line fragment on pages 79–82 of the manuscript. It is unfinished and seems rather a draft; especially the last lines seem incoherent. It is a song version of the beginning of the hero's tale recorded on pages 1–50. The two texts have a similar content and also employ the same poetic techniques and phrases.

Lines 1–5

“ With words of the melody of seven songs, in the middle of the floored house, I sat down alone.

3–4. ‘as a log, with bare flesh’: ‘without my protective spirits’, cf. Vj1/5.

Lines 6–10

“ I am sitting in the house having [marriageable] girls, where suitors are received, on the seven surfaces of the rooted earth.

Lines 11–18

“ My song is about the seven-fold great earth, about the everlasting tabbed earth, it is about the mossy earth looking for songs, and about waters at the end of the world.

12. ‘everlasting tabbed earth’. In Ob-Ugric mythology, the Earth is depicted as a cauldron turned upside down and having looped handles.

15. *ärəy kəŋli sōyaŋ məy* ‘furry earth looking for a song’. From the consonant cluster in the word *kəŋli* (*kəŋč-l-i* look_for-PRS-PASS.3SG) the affricate was dropped, then assimilation (*ŋl > ŋ!*) took place, the result of which was indicated by Karjalainen.

Lines 19–22

“ The words said by me in the language of humans spread in this house like hot sparks do from a fire.

Lines 23–28

“ My ancient sentences told in this house were raised high above the top of the high tree by a strong wind.

Lines 29–33

“ Through seven holes of the white cloud, my human speech is carried upwards by many winds, to the high earth looking for songs, to the dear heavenly lands.

29. *kəltsoy* – correctly perhaps *kəloy*, cf. *näyi pələŋ jäwət kəloy nuypa məntiləm* ‘I am walking upwards through seven holes of the white cloud’ (Vj1/45–46).

Lines 34–35

‘ I, the mortal man, in my physical presence, remained seated in the middle of the house.

35. *kjčəm*. The spelling of the verb ‘stay, remain’ is *kjt’* elsewhere in the manuscript. It is possible that in the Vj dialect, similarly to the present-day situation in the Tra and Ag dialects, *-t’* is sometimes pronounced as *-č’*, cf. Csepregi 2017: 46.

Lines 36–39

‘ My humble language, my songs, and words are carried by God into the house where the seven mid-heaven songs are sung, onto the hill where seven birch trees stand.

36. *luj* ‘song of birds, twittering of birds’ (KT 1043), *näləmluj* ‘(human) song’. At page 80, at the bottom, in lines 36–37 the script is rough, we can find *naləmluj* instead of *näləmluj*, *iawlarəy* instead of *jəwət ärəy*. – I have corrected these evident errors.

38. ‘hill where seven birch-trees stand (lit. seven-birch-trees-standing hill)’, cf. Vj1/49.

Lines 39–41

‘ In the seven-song, resting house, in the middle of the big house’s floor, there is an iron column as high as many people, and a stone column frozen there by God.

40, 41, 42. iron, stone, gold – mutual synonyms

Lines 42–48

‘ At the utmost tip of the golden column, there is a bowl housing five fish full of spawn, inside it, a divine faced, famous, mid-heaven speaking swallow having golden aspens.

There are a lot of repetitions in these six lines, and Karjalainen made efforts to rearrange the word order, but he seems to have been confused.

45, 47, 51. In these lines of the manuscript, we can find *lip*, though the correct form is *lip* ‘swallow’ (KT 488; Vj1/60).

Lines 49–50

- ‘ In every direction, its song gets to the lands and waters at the end of the world.

Lines 51–53

- ‘ ?The mid-heaven speaking swallow walks around the endless world.

Lines 54–57

- ‘ I take [with me] the word having the melody of seven songs to the end of the endless world, to the wooded lands of heaven.

3.4. Vasjugan lexicon

In the Khanty dialectal dictionaries, in order to seek an optimal way to compile the data from the various dialects, it is the alphabetical order of consonants on which the arrangement of lexemes is primarily based. However, as this glossary contains words from only one dialect, the method of ordering entries differs from the above tradition. The lexemes are listed according to the following order of characters (those in brackets are treated as the same):

(a, ä), ä, č, (e, ə, ê), ʏ, i, ĭ, j, k, l, l', l̄, m, (n, ŋ) n, ŋ, (o, ɔ, ɔ), (ö, ǒ, ȓ), p, r, s, š, t, t', u, (ü, ŷ), w

The colon following the headword indicates that the headword cannot be interpreted on its own but only as part of a phrase. If a word has several variants, all of them are listed as headwords, separated by commas. Besides the meaning of the words, their places in the following dictionaries are also given: Karjalainen & Toivonen 1948 (KT), Steinitz 1966–1993 (D, elsewhere also DEWOS), Terėškin 1981 (T). If a word does not appear in one of the dictionaries, the abbreviation of the dictionary is still given, albeit in brackets. If a word is only documented in dialects other than Vj, the abbreviation of the dictionary is given in brackets along with the page number. The examples illustrating the meaning or syntactic function of the word are evidently taken from Karjalainen's texts.

Verbs are given as stems, ending in a hyphen, without the infinitive suffix. Verbs belonging to the same stem but formed with various derivational suffixes, and likewise the lexemes, e.g. nouns and adjectives, belonging to the same nominal stem, are listed in the same entry. In the case of derivational vowel alternation, i.e. when a vowel within the word changes in the course of derivation, for practical reasons, the words involved are listed according to the alphabetical order, always referring to the etymologically related word(s).

a, ä

- a but, however (< Ru a) D 1, T 11 *a pöhlama kō läyamsəm* but as I looked sideways (Vj1/328)
- ayät-** vomit KT 26, D 48, T 12
- aytäyäl-** hang up KT 26, D 49, T 11 cf. **iyät-**
- āja** luck KT 6, D 20, T 30
- al** year KT 109, D 53, T 13
- alöh** end, edge, first, last KT 118, D 80, T 15
- ali-** 1) can, be able to, have strength for 2) defeat (KT 122, D 65, T 13)
- alt-** set up, add, append KT 130, D 87, T 14
- alt** autumn fishtrap (KT 110, D 89, T 14)
- altiw** base, elongation KT 131, D 88, T 14
- amältiw** leak KT 48, D 106, T 15
- amäs-** sit, be located, stay KT 45, D 103, T 15 *urt amästa öyäh kat* house inhabited by girls, where suitors are invited to be seated (Vj1/28–29), *matä amäsmal pïrnä* after sitting for some time (Vj1/747)
- amät-** seat KT 45, D 104, T 16
- amtâw** cradle KT 59, D 105 (!*antâw*), T 15 *amtâw* (Vj1/749), *amtâpätöw* from the bottom of the cradle (Vj1/800)
- änta** certainly, perhaps (KT 59, D 121, T 31) *kat' äntä kântây ku pälam söjü löhtantâwält* it almost sounds like a voice of human lips (Vj1/650)
- ähät** antler KT 34, D 143, T 32
- ahät-** unloose, unfasten, unburden, take down KT 39, D 142, T 17
- ähij** rib *ähij kor* chest KT 40, D 144, T 32
- äpi** father KT 66, D 146, T 32 *äpa* father [appellative] (Vj1/351, 370)
- ari-** break (tr, intr), cleave KT 75, D 161, T 18
- art-** divide, portion KT 243, D 174, T 18
- art** servant (KT 84, D 176) *juy tuntâ töj artlam* my chief firewood-bringing household servants (Vj1/236)
- at-** order, call, say KT 101, D 198–199, T 19 speak, say *mä tem utim* this is what I ordered to do (Vj5/18)
- atül-** fence, build a fence (KT), D 221, T 20 *näh atülläkê jätây* you have become defenseless (Vj1/710)
- awät** hair, mane KT 67, D 153, T 20 *awtâw* -haired, -maned *pojsem winčiw awtâw karam* my drift-maned male animal (Vj1/121), *awtäh loy* maned horse (Vj9/13)

ä

- äyən** chin KT 33, D 43, T 21
- äj** 1) small, young KT 3, D 12, T 21 *äjni* little girl (Vj3/6), *pəkəŋ äjnoy* twisted rope (Vj1/942)
- äj** 2) news, newspaper, announcement, notice KT 5, D 14, T 21
- äjməł-** send word, report on something (KT, D, T) *äjməłtäl sät'wəl* his message can be heard. (Vj1/847), *torəm sat köləŋlät töl ilä äjməlli* God's hundred words are sent down to me (Vj2/305)
- äl** 1) lap, cuddle, embrace, knee KT 108, D 54, T 23
- äl** 2) do not! [prohibition] KT 108, D 55, T 22 *äl töl'yitəy* do not talk! (Vj2/378)
- äləm-** elevate KT 125, D 76, T 23
- äləŋ** morning KT 117, D 83, T 23
- ält-** carry, take KT 124, D 76, T 23 *torəmnə mänt ältiläs* God took me (Vj1/1000)
- ämp** dog KT 48, D 101, T 24
- änčəy** hedge-rose, rosehip KT 54, D 112, T 24 *jəmənčəy* berry (Vj1/722) cf. **inčəksä**
- änkəl** stub, column KT 38, D 137, T 24
- änki** mother KT 36, D 136, T 24 *änkä* mother [form of addressing one's mother] (Vj1/240)
- är** many, much KT 70, D 155, T 25 *öyim wäyäl ärki* my daughter has much money (Vj1/750), *ärəy* apart, into fragments (Vj1/449)
- ärəy** song, *ärəy-* sing KT 73, D 165, T 25 *ärəytati* sing (Vj1/18), *ärəytämäti* (in order) to sing (Vj1/21)
- ärəytə-** offer, promise KT 79, D 171, T 26
- äs** great river, the Ob River KT 84, D 184, T 26 *məŋ isöy* our Ob
- ätəm** bad, stupid, rude KT 103, D 215, T 27
- ätil** sole, alone KT 105, D 214, T 26 *pam ənät ätil lilim* my only soul thin as a grass-blade (Vj1/756)
- ät'əysär** cold (KT 102, D 214, T 539) cf. **ətəy**

č

- čač-** sweep up, dust, reject KT 960, D 236, T 39 *amtəpətöw čačmam äj öyim* my little daughter collected from the bottom of the cradle (Vj1/800–801)
- čäy-** tuck in, push in, bump KT 936, D 246, T 40
- čäyən** ?shove, hit (KT, D, T) *čäyənnaŋi* ?with a push (Vj1/326–327) ?cf. **čäy-**
- čäjə** true, authentic, genuine (KT 925, D 245, T 40) *čäyapə nemin* really, indeed (Vj1/766)
- čäwər** ?? *čäwər wäy sōjāw mülim* my cap, sounding like whirring iron (Vj1/271) [onomatopoeic?], cf. Ni Kaz O *šöwij-* rush (wind) KT 928, D 306.

- čäy-** suffocate (tr, intr), drown (tr) KT 933, D 247, T 39
- čäyi-** 1) collect 2) hide 3) bury KT 927, D 259, T 39 *čäyiläm* I will gather (Vj1/696)
- čäñč** knee KT 949, D 281, T 39 *čäñč päläw wäləw jar* lake grown with knee-high willow scrub (Vj1/336) *mänä čänč alənatj piləy jömannə* if you married me (if you came to be my companion by my knee) (Vj3/7)
- čeyä** bud, sprout, piece KT 926, D 260, T 41 *näläm čeyä* (language) variant, manner of speech, dialect KT 649, D 1049, T 299 *aj joyäl čeyäləy aj näl čeyäləy nüñä məlim* I will give to her without a piece of a bow, a piece of an arrow (Vj1/803–804)
- čəŋk** hot, heat (KT 940, D 287, T 47) *čəŋk etər* hot, clear day (Vj1/1002)
- čiyəm-** suffocate (tr) KT 933, D 247, T 42
- čim-** turn sour, (dough) rise KT 949, D 271, T 42
- čiməŋ** ?? (KT, D, T) *juŋk päyəli čiməŋ kotəl* day suitable for killing spirits (Vj1/ 445)
- čiməl** small, few KT 948, D 276, T 42
- čimi** ?? (KT, D, T) *asəmnə ämp-ätəm čimi kölnä mant wəntəyləwəl* my mother hurts me with damned *čimi* words (Vj1/156–158)
- čoy** (fallen) trunk (KT 929, D 252, T) *kəwəłčoy* trunks of trees lying on the ground (Vj1/820)
- čoy-** snow KT 938, D 251, T 43
- čəy-** whistle KT 937, D 253, T 43 *čəyäm-* give a whistle, *nöl pültkəlöy čəymiləwəl* huffed through the nostrils (Vj1/285–286)
- čəŋčəy** rope KT 952, D 285, T 44 *səyəl čəŋčəy* plaited (?twisted) rope
- čəw** end of balk, of beam; piece, part, half KT 252, D 294, T 44
- čöč-** offer one's hand KT 963, D 239, T 45 *čöčil-* point, show around cf. **čüčəmt-**
- čök** misfortune, misery KT 929, D 255, T 44 *čökəŋ* sad, miserable *čökin* firmly (Vj1/286)
- čöñč** back KT 950, D 282, T 45 *mä čöñčämmə* behind me, following me (Vj1/362), *čöñčänpä mänä* go backward (IMP), *loy čöñč oytəjoy il asəlləm* I descended from the back of the horse (Vj1/988–989)
- čöŋkəl-** grow, grow ripe KT 941, D 288, T 45 *čöŋlältə-/čöŋlältə-* bring up, grow (tr) *mənt čöŋlältiyən* brought me up (Vj1/203)
- čuyi** thundering, lightning, storm KT 932, D 262, T 45
- čüčəmt-** direct, stretch, aim at T 45 *čüčəläl, čütläl* point to (Vj1/344) *mänä nuk əj köt pełək čüčətə* held it out with one of her hands (Vj1/134) cf. **čöč-**
- čüy** fog KT 927, D 258, T 46
- čün** low pine-tree growing in marshland KT 949, D 280, T 46

ə, e

- əčəy** [interjection with unclear function], ?indeed (KT, D, T) *əčəy tōŋ čəka jəm tōŋ wālās* it would have been very good (Vj2/279)
- əj** (i) one KT 7, D 15, T 534 *əj wōyi* at the same time, in a single motion (Vj1/455), *əjsōyi* alike, equal, uniform, of the same kind (Vj1/518), *i tū wältā jukāŋ əyət* wooded promontory right there (Vj1/296) cf. **i** 2.
- əjä** hey! [interjection] (KT 7, D 15, T)
- el** body KT 111, D 56, T 47
- elä** 1) simple, transient KT 109, D 68, T 47
- elä** 2) roof, cover, covering KT 116, D 70, T 48 *wāy elāw* iron-covered (Vj1/1006) *elāŋ kint* (Vj1/134) *ilāŋ kint* back basket having a cover (Vj1/211) cf. **ilāŋ**
- ellä** [conjunction], whether, either, ...or KT 131, D 75, T 46
- əllə** big KT 42, D 115, T 536 *əlləpuyəl* a village named Čerimovy near the Njurel'ka River KT 43
- əŋät** thickness KT 52, D 110, T 537
- ənt-** put on (clothes) KT 58, D 117, T 537
- əntə** no KT 58, D 121, T 537 *nūŋət əntə pōrlām* I won't bite you! (Vj1/245), *əntim* there is not, there are not, *mätä käsip əntim* there is nobody (Vj1/325), *jaylam əntimätət* my men cannot be found (they are not anywhere) (Vj1/274)
- əntəw** belt, waistband KT 58, D 117, T 537 *əntwä* in(to) the belt (Vj1/451)
- erəyəl-** mention, talk about somebody KT 81, D 166, T 49 *erkältä* 1) remember 2) speak, tell, *mānt erkältinnə* when you remember me (Vj5/14)
- ərəl-** hold up, delay, repress, stop (tr), stand against somebody KT 79, D 171, T 50
- əs** mother KT 86, D 186, T 539 *kät əskälän jəkkälän* your two parents (your mother and your father) (Vj3/16, 21)
- əsəl-** let KT 91, D 193, T 539 *il əslä* let down (some words to sing) (IMP) (Vj1/21)
- əsi** in order to, so as to; on and on (KT), *əsipə* immediately D 192, (T 538), *mä əsi kōlā kurnātəlim* to seek out all (heroes) (Vj1/102) *riŋ juyəl əsi kōŋriltə* is still hollowing out the tree for a boat (Vj8/11)
- et-** come out, appear KT 106, D 201, T 50, *etəltə-* appear *etəm-* rise out (of water)
- etər** clear, cloudless sky/weather KT 104, D 218, T 50
- ətəy** cold (KT, D), T 539, *ətəy wat* cold wind (Vj1/41) cf. **ätəysär**

i

- i** 1) and (< Ru и) KT 3, D 2, (T)
- i** (*aj*) 2) one (KT, D, T) *i wältâ wăy torâm* the only sky (Vj1/970–971) cf. **əj**
- i-** 1) eat 2) burn KT 1098, D 714, T 209 *intəkul* food *intāŋ* edible (Vj1/108), *iŋitəy* eat! (2PL) (Vj1/459), *iŋi* eat! (2SG) (Vj1/460), *isim* I ate (Vj1/464), *ilim* I eat (Vj2/12), *sat näləmpə intə nāj* hundred-tongued blazing fire (Vj5/23)
- ičəy** good, kind KT 99, D 10, T 51
- ičəm** [?emphatic particle] (KT, D, T) *minnə ičəm kōlā porəntāsj* the two of us have roamed indeed (Vj1/912–914) cf. **ičəkā**
- iŋ** bear KT 22, D 27, T 52 *iŋ künčəw pas* bear-clawed gloves (Vj1/502–503)
- iŋwəs** food KT 1099, D 716, T 206
- iki** 1) man 2) uncle, old man 3) moon, month KT 23, D 34, T 52
- il** fore- KT 114, D 58, T 52 *il jay* ancestors, *ilə* forward, *ilə-jokā*, *ilok* back and forth, round, in circles *kōləŋ wajəy ilok ləyililəwəl* the speaking animal looks around (Vj1/63)
- iləy** hungry KT 1101, D 715, T 207
- ili-**: *iləytə-* drink, sip KT 165, D 364, T 74
- ilim** shame KT 119, D 79, T 53 *ilim-* feel shame *ilimsujəm* I got disgraced (Vj8/23)
- ilt-** load, mount somebody (tr; on sleigh, in boat) KT 1111, D 748, T 207
- il'əŋ** ?having a cover (KT, D, T) *kos pōŋkəw il'əŋ jula* into my twenty-tooth *il'əŋ* mouth (Vj1/463) cf. **eləŋ**
- iməŋ** sacred, restricted by taboo (*jiməŋ* KT 170, D 371, T 74) *iməl-* maintain a taboo restriction, e.g. covering one's face *iməltəŋ ontəw iki* tabooized man (man of tabooized inner parts/essence) (Vj1/768)
- imi** woman KT 79, D 97, T 54
- in** just now KT 51, D 3, T 55
- iŋčəksä** area growing thorny plants (KT, D, T) *ätəm pōŋkəw iŋčəksä* difficult, sweaty, and thorny field (Vj1/664) cf. **əŋčəy**
- inəl** cutting edge (of knife, ax) KT 61, D 124, T 55 *inləŋ köčki* sharp saber (Vj1/343)
- irəmə-** bypass, side-step, dodge (KT 79, D 156) *wajək iriməŋ kəsij* man who does not (cannot) kill wild game (Vj1/68)
- irt** end of a period, deadline KT 82, D 176, (T)
- is-** cry KT 189, D 412, T 75 *nələ jayərtəw wat'əŋ is* cry four-fold tear-flow (Vj5/7) cf. **jäsemtil**
- it** now KT 101, D 3, T 57
- iwəs** spit, skewer (KT, D, T 75 *jiwəs iwəs pələ junkan* [name of a spirit] hero the height of a skewer (Vj1/437)

j

ičâkâ moreover, even (KT) (D 10, T 58) cf. **ičâm**
iyât- hang KT 26, D 48, T 58 cf. **aytâyâl-**
il down, bottom KT 112, D 61, T 58 *il jāŋ-* downwards, he goes in
imâl- sit down KT 46, D 105, T 60 *imâlsâm* I sat down (Vj1/3)

j

jay people KT 141, D 318, T 61 *jayi puyâl* Khanty village on the Njurel'ka River (Vj3/4, 15)
jayâm pine forest KT 148, D 343, T 61
jayârt crossroads, river fork, confluence KT 150, D 341, T 62 *nâla jayârtâw wataŋ* is cry four-fold tear-flow (Vj5/7)
jayim-, **jaylim-** wave one's hand, dab KT 136, D 338, T 61 *jayimlâm* I am gliding (Vj1/947), *kuntâ tōŋ jayimâm* I would have slid (Vj2/100)
jāynāytâ- hurt KT 155, D 346, T 67 *jāynay juŋ* falling tree (Vj1/170)
jāywan trampled hard (KT, D, T) *payâl jāywan mōya* onto the field trampled hard (Vj1/553–554)
jāl place between two beams in a boat KT 1102, D 746, T 201
jāl- get wet, become damp KT 1110, D 747, T 201 *jālaw aļļa mōy* great, humid earth (Vj1/583–584)
jal- stand KT 1120, D 759, T 195 *jāwæt sūymæt jal'tâ pāi* hill where seven birch trees stand (Vj1/49) *nuy jīla* stand up (Vj1/769, 808)
jan sinew KT 1075, D 768, T 195
jāŋa- enter KT 1069, D 773, 201
jāŋkamnōŋ play, game KT 175, D 382, T 68
jar retention pool after flood KT 1084, D 795, T 196
jarōŋ-jayâ jay the Khanty living along the Njurel'ka River, *jarōŋjay joyân* Njurel'ka River KT 141, 184
jāyort heavy, hard, painfully KT 1056, D 742, T 197
jāyil- eat and drink, dine KT 1099
jāj dark(-furred) sable KT 133, D 718, (T)
jälimtâ- go to war (KT, D, T) *tāy jälimtâsâm* I left for war (Vj1/434), *jäl'na nula jälitōy kotâl* the day of fighting together (Vj1/ 91–92)
jäl' fight, war, troop KT 1119, D 760, T 222 *jäl'na* with a troop (Vj1/ 91)
jälīysâ- fight KT 1119, D 761, (T) *torâmnâ mōŋæt pärtkäl jälīysântāy* God ordered us to fight (Vj1/ 95)
jānt flour, grain, nourishment KT 1076, D 769, T 198
järəy perch KT 1087, D 800, T 198

- jäsemtil** cry (KT, D, T) *jäləw päy jäsemtil* newborn boy's cry (Vj1/644) cf. **is-jäsəŋ** legend, dictum, figure of speech KT 190, D 414, T 65 *nüŋ jisŋän* your tale (Vj1/25–26)
- jäsəŋəl-** speak KT 190, D 415, T 66 *jäsəŋlil-* speak, keep saying, *jəy jäsəŋlilmil köl* the words told by them (Vj1/52)
- jäwət** seven KT 1081, D 793, T 198 *jäwtärəy* seven songs (Vj1), *köŋəŋ məy jäwtoyti* seven surfaces of the pitted earth (Vj1/71)
- jäwjöŋ** seventy, D 386 *jäwətjöŋ* KarjGr 159 *jäwjöŋ torəm* seventy gods (Vj1/20)
- jə-** become (KT 196, D 309, T 96) *wont jöŋkər əj məkkə jəyiyən* he has become a baby forest mouse (Vj1/822–823) cf. **jö-**
- jəy 1)** father KT 145, D 324, T 89 *wəytorəm jəyəm* my iron God father (Vj1/918) *əllə torəm jəyöw* our great God father (Vj1/889)
- jəy 2)** they KT 1045, D 735, T 220
- jəy 3)** inner part KT 1080, D 727, T 90 *kat jəypeŋəynə* inside the house (Vj1/8)
- jəj, əj** night KT 133, D 317, T 91 *jəjyən-kotlyən* all day long, *əjəj patəm köyəl' jöŋk* mere ice frozen in one night (Vj1/640) *əjəj kalta nowtəŋ torəm* world suitable for spending one night (on it) (Vj2/247, 265) *sat käljə koylām əj* night when I was walking among a hundred corpses (Vj2/231)
- jejäl-** be swayed (by wind), blow (wind) (KT, D, T) *torəm wat jejältil kotäl* on a day swinging (lit. blowing) heavenly breeze (Vj1/483–484) *wan kät t'äkälä männə jejältäläkən* by me, the pits of its two shoulder blades are being bent to and fro (Vj1/222) *kölnəŋ əntə jejältäy* the harbor does not sway (Vj1/536)
- jekəmtə-** put on (KT, D, T) *är awtəŋ oya t'ä nuk jekəmtəstə* I put it on (my) head rich in hair (Vj1/273)
- jel-** embark (in a boat), mount (sleigh, horse) KT 1110, D 747, T 205 *mä nöräka wajəy oytəja jelsəm* immediately, I mounted the animal (Vj1/300)
- jəl-** come, go, walk KT 202, D 360, T 91 *junəkə jəltə sojəŋ lək* hoary path walked by the spirits (Vj1/509–510)
- jələw** new KT 201, D 358, T 91
- jelkəmtə-** 1) circle, come round, 2) roll, spin KT 165, D 365, T 71
- jəm** good KT 167, D 367, T 91
- jəŋk 1)** water, juice 2) place, region, direction KT 160, D 387, T 94 *əllə jar juräl jəŋkä niy jöyäsəm* I arrived at the water in the middle of the large lake (Vj1/672), *paŋk jəŋk* dried agaric potion (Vj2/204), *är torəm pelək jəŋkä* to the four winds (Vj1/565)
- jəŋkər** shoulder KT 1068, D 782, T 222
- jəpə-** burn with flashing flames KT 179, (D 396, T) cf. **jipəy-**
- jer 1)** strength, shape, ability KT 181, (D, T)
- jer 2)** root, line, strip, row KT 1086, D 797, T 205

- jeri-**: *jerim-* draw a line, scratch KT 186, D 404, T 72
- jərwäyəl-** 1) loosen 2) melt KT 1091, D 803, T 222 *jərwäytä-* undo, unfold
käntäk ku paläm söj jərwäyläkätäs a human voice was heard (Vj1/881)
- jÿäl** Siberian pine KT 1059, D 739, T 208
- jÿi, jÿali, jÿäl** small river KT 146, D 321, T 76
- jÿli** branching, forking KT 147, D 341, T 76 *jÿläh wäy* fork (Vj1/332–333)
- jiläh** in secret KT 1108, D 758, T 209
- jilähytä-** hide (tr, intr) (KT 1108, D 758, T 209)
- jint-** 1) stick in, install (e.g. a column) 2) sew around the brim of a birch-bark container with thin roots in order to make it more stable KT 1118, D 771, T 209
- jipäh-** ?glint (KT, D, T) *pörili punäh kolkat jipähwält* downy scavenger ravens are glinting (Vj1/313–314) cf. **jöpä-**
- jir** 1) edge, corner, side of something KT 181, D 398, T 75 *jiräh töj* top, peak of something, summit (T 77)
- jir** 2) animal sacrifice KT 181, D 399, T 76 *jiräh juy* sacrifice tree (Vj1/614), *jir wäntä jiräh junk* sacrifice-spirit accepting sacrifices (Vj1/579–580)
- jit** sleeve KT 1098, D 812, T 210
- joy** thin roots used for making fish traps KT 142, D 330, T 77
- jöy** circle, ring, (metal or wicker) ring KT 1050, D 732, T 210 *juy jöy* wooden ring (Vj2/3)
- jöy** 1) mountain (KT 142, D 330, T 80)
- jöy** 2) ski(s) KT 1051, D 730, T 80
- jöya(t)** size of KT 1046, D 744, T 80
- joyäl** bow KT 153, D 339, T 78
- joyäl-** bite, chew (up) KT 1057, D 739, T 211
- joyär-** spin (tr), twist (tr), mix (tr), turn (tr), wind (tr), jumble (tr) KT 138, D 347, T 79
- joyär** chain-mail KT 1055, D 742, T 211, *joyräh elaw toräm junk* heavenly spirit with a chain-mailed body (Vj1/205)
- jöyät-** 1) come, arrive 2) be enough, fall on KT 152, D 355, T 81 *läw mänä kat' jöytäs* the tip of the arrow almost got to me (Vj1/389), *jöytämt-* take somebody or something somewhere, *mä köläm täräm wat minkinä jÿä jöytämtäsi* by the (seven gusts of the) strong wind, my word was taken to it (Vj1/61–62), *jöytäwtä-* get to a destination, reach *tompil taräs äpplkä mänt jöytäwtayän* it got to me to the other side of the sea (Vj1/654–655)
- jöyi-** strike, beat KT 151, D 335, T 77 *joyim-, jöyäm-* strike, whisk, *jöyin-* hack, chop *näh mant köyäh jöyistây* you have been striking me for a long time (Vj1/417)

- joj** finger KT 1039, D 719, T 211
- jok** home, into, back KT 142, D 327, T 79 *ilə jokâ* back and forth (Vj1/156), *jokâlt* from home (Vj1/1005), *mânt jokâ jal'sât* they circled me (Vj1/687)
- jol** shaman KT 199, D 361, T 79
- jöl** 1) sewing, seam, jointing; world order 2) border, edge; place near something 3) rift, split, splint, splinter KT 198, 200, D 361, T 81 *jäynay juy jölâw torâm* the world similar to fallen trees (Vj1/194), *jölâη köy* splintered stone (Vj1/1014)
- jöl-** repair, sew together, patch KT 199, D 362, T 82
- jölä** unfrozen, melted, wet KT 1106, D 754, T 215, *jölâ kuli put jam sis* time of cooking a thawed fish (Vj1/269, 639)
- jəm** bird cherry KT 166, D 354, T 79 *jəmānčəy* berry (Vj1/722)
- jor** centre, middle part of something KT 180, D 400, T 80 *jurâl jar jurjma* the centre of my big lake (lit. my centre of the big lake) (Vj1/677) *kat jor* floor *torâm jor kos* mid-heaven star, pole star KT 1016
- jör** 1) knowledge, magic power, 2) commission, charge KT 179, D 401, T 83 *örəy jör, örəy koñâm mänä il aslä* let down more strength, more comprehension to me (Vj1/173–174), *nəη jörâtân* your wisdom (Vj1/195)
- jör-** cut (hair) KT 1092, D 806, T 217, *əy jört-* cut hair
- jorəy-** ping, ring (bell), clatter (armor) KT 1088, D 802, T 212
- jorəylä-** forget (KT 185, D 405, T 83)
- jorəη:** *jorəη juy* column holding gutters KT 184, T 80 *jorəη juy* the middle tree in the forest (Vj1/792)
- joč:** *aj joč'* permanently, continuously (KT, D, T), *aj joč' nul pänsöy* we kept clashing (Vj1/562)
- jö-** come KT 196, D 309, T 87, *nəη kol' mänä jöstəy* from where did you come to me (Vj1/695–696), *willä əllə torâm jöylim* as if the great God was coming (Vj1/176) cf. **jə-**
- jöyə:** *jöy-köl* memory (faculty of mind), memory (what is remembered from the past) KT 1059, D 734
- jöyə-täja-** look (at), glance, pick up on something KT 1057, D 734, T 213
- jöj** 1) pus 2) bile (fluid) KT 1040, D 721, T 217
- jöj:** *jöj pänt* age ring (KT, D, T) *söyjöj päntäw näηk äηkəl* a hard trunk of a split larch (Vj1/448–449)
- jönä** bowstring of a crossbow KT 173, D 378, T 86 *näləm jönä* tongue-root (Vj1/36)
- jönəη** permanent(ly), continuously KT 174, D 379, T 86
- jönək** ridge, drum (mountain) KT 173, D 379, T 85 *juy jönkä* to the ridge covered with trees (Vj1/662)
- jəη** ten KT 156, D 385, T 85 *kəlam jəη* thirty (Vj1/676), *jäwjöη* seventy (Vj1/20)

- jöŋk** ice KT 159, D 391, T 85
jöŋkær mouse KT 1068, D 782, T 214 *wont jöŋkær* forest mouse (Vj1/822) *jəŋk jöŋkær* water rat (Vj3/2)
jör- tie on, harness (horse) KT 188, D 202, T 86
juy tree KT 143, D 331, T 87 *sal juyâw jayâm* glittering-wooded forest (Vj1/834), *jukâŋ əyət* wooded promontory (Vj1/296), *kät jukkân säjəl kasow* from behind the back of two trees (Vj8/5), *juytumaŋ* carrying firewood (Vj1/111)
jul mouth KT 1102, D 753, T 218 *julna tiytâm* said with a mouth (word) (Vj1/227–228)
jum- cover (with snow, soil), bury KT 1071, D 763, T 219
juŋk idol (spirit), deity, hero of a mythic song or tale KT 1065, D 777, T 219 *jir wântə jirəŋ juŋk* sacrifice-spirit accepting sacrifices (Vj1/579–580), *torâm wöyi liləŋ juŋk* living idol having celestial power (Vj1/818), *əj söyi kolâm juŋk* three fighters of the same kind (Vj1/705), *sänəy juŋk* the spirit of birch bracket (Vj7/3)
juŋkrantə- chew, chew on something (KT 164, D 392) *müyalı tıt juŋkrantəwâl* what is chewing here? (Vj1/386)
juŋksur home place of the idol/spirit, holy grove in which the sacrificial offerings are placed KT 1066
jüy he, she KT 1045, D 735, T 219 *jüynäm* own, him-/herself, *jüynäm söyıtaw* resembling nothing other than itself, strange (Vj1/589, 605) *jüynäm məy, jüynäm torəm* foreign land, foreign heaven (Vj1/997, 999)
jük- throw oneself, spring (KT 1061, D 735, T 220)

k

- kay, kayəs** gray-haired KT 290, D 449, T 142 *kayâ* (Vj1/51) *kayâm* grown gray, parched
kay- dry KT 290, D 449, T 142 *kayâm-* shrivel (intr), *kayât-* dry (tr), *kijyta* dry! (IMP)
käyälli simple, warmhearted (KT 295, D 458, T 150) *männə käyälli kö nuk löŋälı* I, a simple man, recite (it) (Vj9/18)
käyâr fist KT 292, D 459, T 150
käyâr-, *käyrâmtä-* 1) grab, grasp, catch 2) get hung up KT 292, D 459, T 142
kaj- 1) hit, reach one's destination, get somewhere, 2) get ill, get hurt, fade, wither KT 284, D 437, T 143
käj- leave (behind); catch up KT 283, D 438, T 151 *nämäs käj-* make somebody angry *mäntpi nämäs kijita* to make me angry, too (Vj1/423), *kajältä-* move, shift *männə kajältäsı* I led him [the horse] (Vj1/509)

- kajəm** 1) ash 2) metal annealed to sparkle KT 281, D 446, T 143 *kajəm jəŋk* lye, *kajəm paŋk* dried agaric (dried in the sun or in a stove) (Vj2/39)
- kak** how (< Ru как) (KT, D, T) *mänt tittə kak warməltəyaltəy* how did you bring me up (Vj1/126)
- kal** weak, fragile KT 365, D 462, T 143
- kal-** sleep somewhere, spend the night somewhere KT 375, D 462, T 143
kaltatj spent the night (Vj2/9) *kaltjla* spend the night! (IMP) (Vj2/10)
- kāla-** die, perish KT 373, D 469, T 151 *kālatə ku* mortal person *mä kālati näləm čeyäm* my language of humans (Vj9/26), *juŋk müyilät kolayən* why did the hero/spirit die (Vj1/319) cf. **koləmt-**
- kaləy** 1) nephew 2) grandchild 3) niece 4) stepson 5) son-in-law (husband of one's daughter or one's younger sister) KT 369, D 475, T 143
- kälj** dead, dead body KT 369, D 471, T 152
- kalšam** [meaningless filler element in songs] (Vj5/1)
- kam** dent, hollow in something KT 302, D 493, T 144
- kām** 1) [emphatic particle] 2) whether, or [in questions] KT 302, D 494, T 153
kām matä yet still (Vj1/591)
- kāmlytə-** turn inside out, be overturned (intr) KT 304, D 499, T 153
- kan** tsar, king, prince KT 307, D 503, T 144 *tuļ juŋkan äjəpil päy* Crazy-Idol's-Younger-Son (Vj1/438–439)
- kāŋčj** ornament, drawing, pattern KT 312, D 511, T 154
- kāntəy** Khanty KT 317, D 517, T 154 *kāntəy ku* person
- kantəm-** take something on one's back, carry something on one's back KT 319, D 516, T 144
- kar** reindeer bull, male animal KT 328, D 535, T 145
- kāra, kārj** village KT 327, D 544, T 157 *kārə* place, room, area
- karman** pocket (< Ru карман) KT 340, D 555, (T) *karmanoy nuy wəsim* from my pocket, I have taken out [my three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon] (Vj1/424)
- kas** 1) place behind something KT 342, D 560, T 146
- kas** 2) duck species with sharp beak, velvet duck (*Melanitta fusca*) KT 342, D 559, (T)
- kas** 3) aquatic plant with edible roots KT 342, D 559, (T)
- kāsi** person KT 344, D 562, T 158
- kat** house KT 357, D 565, T 146
- kāt-, kätjł-, kätkəl-** sneak, approach furtively, creep, crawl somewhere KT 363, D 569, T 158
- kätəm-** slide, slip, *kätəylə-* slide down, glide downhill (skiing, by sledge) KT 363, D 569, T 159
- kātaŋ** Tatar KT 362, D 575, T 158 *kātaŋ-əs* Irtyš, *kataŋ ku torəm peļkōw* from the direction of the Tatars (?west wind) (Vj4/24)

- katuj** underground chamber, cellar KT 357, D 565, T 147
- kat' (pâ)** almost KT 345, D 576, T 147
- kăwəł** leak, place between two objects, recess, hollow KT 324, D 532, T 160
kăwəłčoy roadblock made from a fallen tree (Vj1/820)
- kăyər-** stick, catch in KT 393, D 607, T 142 *kăyrəmtə-* catch (tr), get caught
- kăyi** hammer KT 387, D 602, T 101
- käləy-** drop in, land, dock (*köləy-*) KT 465, D 617, T 118 cf. **kül-**
- kält** female spirit, parallel of *juŋk* (KT 463, D 622, T 97)
- kälyil-** chew (KT), D 621, T 102
- kär** bark, skin, blanket, cover, case, covering KT 415, D 659, T 102 *ärəkäri oyâr məy, mańt' käri jönäy məy* song-barked high land, tale-barked foothill (Vj1/938–939)
- käri-** keep turning about, squirm KT 422, D 668, T 102 *kärim-* turn round, *kärimtə-* turn (tr)
- käs-** find, notice KT 438, D 689, T 104, *männäm wöyäm mä əntə käslim* I cannot find my own power (Vj1/21–22)
- kät** two KT 454, D 695, T 104 *kät kukân* two men (Vj3/1), *kät əskälän jəkkälän* your two parents (your mother and father) (Vj3/16)
- kätəl-** take, catch KT 459, D 699, T 104
- kəčän** ill, sore KT 446, D 592, T 135
- kəyəl** bell KT 387, D 603, T 136
- kəl-** to be visible, appear KT 464, D 613, T 136 *torəm-jor-kəli-kos-köraw-joyâr* *Mid-Heaven-Star-Formed-Chainmail* (= name of a hero) (Vj1/748), *mánt kəłəltəmilnə* when they noticed me (Vj1/342), *toy kəltiwti* (it) was shown off (Vj2/299)
- kənč-** look for, search KT 411, D 644, T 138 *ärəy kənččə köl* word looking for the song (Vj1/4) *kujlam kənčlim* I am looking for my men (Vj1/609–610) *kənčim-* remember (all of a sudden), come to one's mind (suddenly)
- kərəy, krəy** 1) sin, trouble 2) guilty, improper, indecent (< Ru rpex) KT 469, D 676, T 124 *kərəy näləm kərəy köl* improper language, improper words (Vj2/56)
- keräs** ?a man's name (Gerasim) (KT, D, T) *keräs werəm keräs öyi keräs*-girl fathered by *keräs* (Vj4/3)
- kəs** run KT 438, D 690, T 140 *kəs-* run, run away *kəsil-*, *kəsəl-* run to and fro, run around something *sem kəsəl-* eyes flying around/across, look around (Vj2/19)
- kiyəł** sharp turn, hook KT 394, D 606, T 110 *kiyəł way* hook (for a cradle) (Vj6/12)
- kiməl** (wide) trim of a dress, wing of coat KT 404, D 638, T 111
- kir-** put on (shoes, gloves) KT 434, D 662, T 113

- kirkəl-** turn, turn back KT 423, D 669 *ma kirkältämä* so that I could transform (Vj1/208) *kirkältä kūrtsim* I was not able to turn back (Vj2/178)
- kit-** send, chase KT 458, D 697, T 114 *mänä äntä kitsətə* he did not send it to me (Vj1/813), *kuntânə äntə kitjän* if you do not send her (Vj1/786)
- kijyl-** ?tell, sing (KT, D, T) *männə jəya kijylsɨ* I sang to them (Vj2/235)
- kijit** children, boys KT 281, D 426, T 161 *kijlama* to my sons (Vj5/29), *kijita* (my) sons! [appellative] (Vj1/426)
- kijl**, *paŋk kijl* species of agaric, small cap on high stalk KT 366, D 463, T 161
- kijn-** dig (out) KT 318, D 508, T 162
- kint** dorser KT 315, D 516, T 162
- kirəy** sack KT 333, D 550, T 163 *pit'pöŋəl kirəy* pocket (lit. sack near the thigh) (Vj1/358)
- kirkəl-** start, get up (KT, D, T) *kirkältil* their getting up/ready (Vj1/154–155)
- kit'** stay, remain KT 346, D 576, T 164 *kit'am* past, last, remains, *kit'tə torəm jəyəm* my eternal God father (Vj1/419), *nämäs kit'* get angry, fired up, *əllə məy əsəw nämäs əl kit'atj* let our great terrestrial mother not get angry (Vj1/418–419)
- kjwəl** 1) protrusion, 2) downward slope T 164, D 523: *V juy kjwəl* forest edge, *VVj jayəm kjwəl* hillside covered with pine-wood KT 325
- koj** long KT 285, D 450, T 165
- kojəl-** trod, run KT 294, D 457, T 166 *sat kälj kojläm əj* the night that was walked by a hundred corpses (Vj2/231)
- köyäl'** clear (KT, D, T) *əjəj patəm köyäl'jönk* mere ice frozen in one night (Vj1/640)
- köyän-** ?spit (KT, D, T) *wəripul küm köyänwəl* spit blood (Vj1/721)
- kojläl-** take, lead (e.g. horse) KT 294, D 457, T 165
- koj-** want KT 285, D 440, T 167, *əllə məy tärən mä äntə köjsəm* I did not want the fight of the great earth (Vj1/430)
- koji** who KT 280, D 441, T 166
- kol** 1) spruce, pine tree 2) cough KT 366, D 467, T 167
- kəl-** hear, feel KT 377, D 465, T 168 *nuypa məntiləm kəlkalim* I sensed my being carried up (Vj1/46–47), *kəlânt-* listen to, *torəm jəyəm*, *kəlânta* my God father, listen! (Vj1/432), *kəltə-* emit sound, *kəltəm-* eavesdrop, *kəltəwtə-* sound, make a sound
- köl** 1) sunrise (KT 696, D 464, T) *kol-pełkä* eastward (Vj4/9)
- köl** 2) what, where *köl möčə* how long? KT 367, D 442, T 178 *köla* still, until, *köla tu-* lose (Vj5/24)
- kəläm** three KT 370, D 477, T 168 *kəläm jöŋ* thirty, *kəläm sat* three hundred
- koləmt-** die (mom.) KT 374, D 470, T 169 cf. **käla-**
- kölə** all, every (KT) D 442, (T) *kölə mänä čüčəläl* they all point to me (Vj1/343–344)

- kōlōpa** where to? wither? KT 367, D 442, T 179
- kōltān** morning, tomorrow KT 370, D 465, T 179
- kolwala** *jaɣi puɣəl kolwalanā* under the spruce trees of *jaɣi puɣəl* (Njurelka) (Vj3/4, 15)
- kol'** whence KT 367, D 443, *kol' jōɣāsēn* where did you come from? (Vj1/348)
- kol** ability, knowledge KT 297, D 485, T 169 *kolōn* expert, smart *kolan uɣām* clever head (Vj2/289)
- kəl** gap, doorway KT 298, D 484, T 169
- kolōy-** rock, nestle KT 301, D 488, T 170
- kəlōk** raven KT 300, D 487, T 170, *workəlki är pārana* by many flocks of forest ravens (Vj1/147)
- komāt** wide KT 304, D 501, T 171
- komlōkint-** overturn, go over (boat) KT 305, D 499, T 170
- kon** smoke-hole (in the roof) KT 309, D 508, T 171 *konəŋ kat* house having a smoke-hole
- koŋāk** warm, warmth KT 310, D 510, T 172
- koŋām** wisdom, mind, intelligence (KT, D, T) *koŋmātān* your comprehension (Vj1/196)
- konāmātān-** hit (the target) KT 316, D 505, T 172
- koŋyāl-** roast (tr, intr), bake (tr, intr), warm KT 310, D 510, T 171 *tompil ku oya koŋāyliltalnā* when he punches at the head of the enemy (Vj1/707)
- kōnt-** run away, escape KT 319, D 517, T 182 *kōntāwtā-* let somebody run away, let go (KT, D, T) *wača äl kōntāwtālim* I should not let him into the town (Vj1/523)
- kōŋkri-** hollow a tree to make a boat (KT, D, T) *ontlāl kōŋrim rīt juɣəl kōŋrital sāt'wəl* the hollowing of the tree hollowed out for a boat can be heard (Vj8/4). – Cf. Ni *χυηχαρά*, Kaz *χονχαρά*, O *χονκαρά* 'hollow, concave' (KT 296, D 527)
- kor** treeless marshland KT 330, D 538, T 183
- kōr** 1) river section between two bends KT 330, D 541, T 183
- kōr** 2) figure, picture, sight, spectacle KT 331, D 539, T 183
- korī** fur coat made of castor, beaver KT 332, D 548, T 173
- kos** twenty KT 343, D 560, T 174
- kəs** star KT 343, D 561, T 174
- kot** where KT 367, D 444, T 174 *kotaɸ* nowhere *kotaɸ əntim* can be found nowhere (Vj1/466)
- kotāy-** ?slide down (*kāt-*, *kātāylā-* KT 363, D 569, T 159) *il kotāywəl* slides down (Vj2/139)
- kotāl** day KT 354, D 571, T 175 *pā əj pā kotāl* from day to day (lit. other night, other day) (Vj2/156)
- kōwayəl** along, for a long time KT 286, D 451, (T) *tem torm oɣti wālsāmən tōŋ kōwayəl* we would live long in this world (Vj3/8)

- kõ** [emphatic clitic] KT 383
- kõčki** sword, saber KT 446, D 593, T 116
- kõjəm** shaman's drum KT 384, D 596, T 118 *kõjməŋ kötəw neməŋ jol* famous shaman with a drum in his hands (Vj1/619)
- köy** stone KT 385, D 600, T 116 *torəm jor köy* mid-heaven stone, ?pole star
- köyəl** cup KT 391, D 604, T 117
- köl** word, words, speech KT 462, D 615, T 118 *ärəy kəncčə neməŋ kölnäti* with a word looking for a song (Vj1/2–3), *nüŋ köläŋ* your tale, your word(s) (Vj1/26), *köläŋläť* text (Vj2/4)
- kölləŋ** harbor KT 467, D 619, T 118 (here *kölnəŋ*), *aməltiw kölləŋ* waterway to the ice-fishing hole KT 467
- kõl** devil, evil ghost (KT 397, D 624)
- kõlə, küli** skiddy, glib, easily sliding (sleigh, boat, way), quick of foot, light-heeled, swift-tongued KT 397, D 625, T 127
- kõləy** open, treeless marshland, unfrozen place in the moor KT 398, D 627
- kömən** outside KT 402, D 636, T 119
- kõŋəy-** growl, grumble, roar (animal) KT 407, D 648, T 120 *kõŋəy sõj* growling sound (Vj1/872)
- körəy-** 1) fall (down), drop KT 431, D 676, T 121 *katpâ tøy körəysəm* I almost fell there (Vj1/138), *jəy körəyťil mä əntə uləm* I cannot see them fall (Vj1/581–582)
- körəy-** 2) spin, roll (along) KT 424, D 671, T 121 *körəyťə ku* spinning man (man under the influence of the fly-agaric) (Vj2/223), *körəyťə köy* round whetstone
- körək** round (noun, adverb) KT 424, D 671, T 121
- kõri** sturgeon KT 421, D 673, T 120 *märnəŋ kõri* sturgeon full of spawn (Vj1/230)
- körkəm-** wind (tr, intr), walk around, curve (tr) KT 424, D 671, T 120 *männə semnä körkəmtəsi* I looked around (Vj1/237–238)
- kõswä** bird-cherry switch for wattling a fish-trap KT 437, D 694, T 122
- kõt** hand, front leg, (tree) branch KT 452, D 698, T 122 *männə jəyəm kötəlöy kayrəmtəsi* I caught my father by his arm (Vj1/350–351) *kõjməŋ kötəw neməŋ jol* famous shaman with a drum in his hands (Vj1/619) *jəwəť kötəw torəm nənjk* seven-arm (seven-branch) heavenly pine (Vj1/774), *mä wajkam kötəl kürəl tøy arjťəltə* my animal's forefeet and hind legs (almost) broke there (Vj1/665–666)
- ku** man, male KT 279, D 423, T 187
- kul** 1) fish KT 380, D 466, T 188 *pəntəm kul* dried fish *kuləŋ* having fish, abundant in fish
- kul** 2) grain, bread KT 366, D 468, T 188
- kuntə** 1) when 2) if KT 310, D 444, T 190

- kurnäylä-** find out, discover, doubt KT 340, D 555, T 191
- kusar** ?dangerous (KT, D, T), maybe related to Ni *χusar* strong, bitter (of wind) *χusar wət* stiff wind D 565 *kusar paŋkâlnâŋ* dangerous, agaric(-eating) ceremony (Vj2/45)
- kusâŋ** lightheaded, loose, false-hearted KT 343, D 562, T 192
- kut** six KT 361, D 570, T 192
- kuť** birchbark coating on a bow KT 321, D 578, T 193 *kuťâŋ* compound, assembled *aj kuťâŋ jäwət kotâł* ceaselessly, seven days (Vj2/327)
- kuť-** lure, allure, incite, train KT 346, D 578, T 193 *torâm nõy kuťmanj lõkna* (Vj1/380)
- kũj** moor KT 383, D 597, T 126
- kül-** get up KT 465, D 617, T 125 *utâ kül-* step ashore, go to the forest cf. **käläy-kül**, **külâŋ** thick KT 461, D 616, T 127
- küläy-** 1) itch, scratch oneself 2) fidget, fuss, not be able to remain still KT 468, D 631, T 127
- kũlâŋ:** *kũlâŋ jay* (Vj1/27, corrected; orig.: *kuļâŋ*) perhaps *kolâŋ* smart, *kũlâŋ mæy* cf. **koļ**, **kũl**
- kũl** hole in reindeer skin due to a horsefly bite KT 467, D 631, T 125 *kũlâŋ* bitten by a horsefly, having a hole *kũl' çŋk* drop of resin (appearing on bark). Maybe related to *kũlâŋ mæy* pitted earth (Vj1/71, 76, 730, 990, Vj2/355)
- kũlältä-** urge, encourage (KT, D, T), *wajkam männä ilä kũlältäli* I am prodding my animal (Vj1/520–521) *naj kuntânâ nuk kũlältâŋän* if the goddess (of our combative land) encourages you (Vj1/923–924)
- küm** out(ward) KT 402, D 636, T 125
- kũŋč** nail, claw KT 408, D 645, T 128
- kũŋŋi** elbow KT 448, D 647, T 129
- kũr** leg KT 418, D 664, T 130 *kũrâ* on foot
- kũrät** approximately, something like KT 430, D 687, T 130
- kũräm**, **kũrmä** step, footprint, KT 426, D 665, T 132
- kũrmäytä-** strode KT 426, D 666, T 130
- kürt-** not be able to KT 435, D 687, T 131, *nũŋ weltä kürtsin* you were not able to kill (him) (Vj1/393–394)
- küt** 1) distance, space between 2) period, season, age KT 450, D 701, T 133 *kütä* (in) between, among(st), *sat kälj kütäkä* among a hundred corpses (Vj2/104, Vj5/10)
- küt** 2) although, even (KT, D, T) *mä äntä küt kojsâm* although I did not want it (Vj1/100)
- kütä** geez! now then! surprise! (KT, D 704, T)
- kütwälöy** in the middle, in half KT 452, D 703, T 134
- küt'** follow the trail of an animal KT 442, D 707, T 134

I

- layätlâ-** 1) enter 2) visit KT 1058, D 744, T 194
- läysintäyäl-** see **löysintäyäl-**
- lami, lamät** [adjective with undefined positive meaning] (KT, D, T), cf. *älä kar lamij puł* ?sizable piece of the big reindeer bull (Vj1/106), *öyi nowät lamij köl* ?kind words of the girl age (Vj1/484), *lamät nöyi* ?precious meat (heart) (Vj1/453)
- lanij** [word of address reflecting a positive attitude] (KT, D, T) cf. *jäwät ärəy säyaw kölñä älä toräm lanij, nüñä jösäm* with words having the melody of seven songs, dear, great God *lanij*, I have come to you (Vj1/266)
- läyäl-** wait for, guard; watch KT 1047, D 725 T 197 *läyäm-* give something a glance, *läyiläləwəl* keep looking (Vj1/63) cf. **liy-**
- lält-** breath KT 1106, D 750, T 197 cf. **lil**
- lältäp** breathing (KT, D, T) *lältäp ätəm* it is bad to breathe (Vj1/601)
- läñki** squirrel KT 1067, D 780, T 198
- lät** time KT 1097, D 810, T 198 suffix of abstract and collective nouns: *köləñläät* language, speech (Vj2/4) *öyijläät päkəñ läät* girls and boys (lit. people of girls, people of boys) (Vj2/5)
- lewəñ** hallway, porch KT 1080, D 788, T 206
- lewəs** pine needle, pine bough KT 1045, D 790, T 206
- liy-** 1) watch, look on 2) guard, look to 3) aim for KT 1047, D 725, T 206 cf. **läyäl-**
- lil** life, breath, soul KT 1105, D 749, T 207 *tə lila wältä kotälñä* on this living day (Vj2/193) cf. **lält-**
- lilyäl-** mingle (intr) KT 1111, D 751, T 207 *lilkəlləw* we get confused (Vj2/156)
- liw** ?festered wound, pockmark, ?dirt, splotch (KT 1053, D 729, T 206) *liw wänəmpəw jakəñ läät* ? filthy-faced people (Vj2/93)
- lijwä-** fly, glide (KT, D, T) *wajkam mänä lijwəwəl* my animal flies to me (Vj1/500–501, 630)
- loy** horse KT 1043, D 730, T 210 *awtəñ loy* maned horse (Vj9/13)
- löy** bone KT 1044, D 730, T 214
- löyäs** friend KT 1056, D 743, T 211 *nüñ löysan* your friend (Vj/1 347) *löysa!* (my) friend! [compellative] (Vj1/348)
- löyäsäl-** snap, plump down KT 1056, D 743, T 201
- löysintäyäl-** fight (KT 1060, D 744, T 201) *müyi läysintäyälsämän* why did we start a fight? (Vj1/394–396)
- loj-** cuckoo, chirp, give a bird sound KT 1043, D 720, T 211 *näləm luj* song (Vj9/36)
- löñkämätä-** heap up (KT, D, T) *kul samij päj təy kat jora il löñkämätästä* she has made a pile in the middle of the house out of flakes of spring fish (Vj1/213) cf. Surg *luñtämätä-* prod, install KT 1118, D 771, T 219

lõḡāt- read, count, perform KT 1063, D 784, T 216 *solāḡ mañt' lõḡātamatj* so that I could perform a light tale (Vj1/30–31), *kat' äntâ kăntây ku pälâm sōjä lõḡtantâwâlt* it almost sounded like a voice of human lips (Vj1/651)
luj birdsong, chirping (KT, D, T) *nälâm luj* song (Vj9/36)
lus beard KT 1094, D 809, T 219

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lāḡ: ?? *lāḡkotâljor* noon, middle of the day (Vj1/292)
lāḡa- ring, clang *lāḡalt-*, *lāḡaḡ-* ring KT 1116, D 872, T 223 *lāḡj* bell (hung on the cradle of a baby girl)
lāk- shoot, throw, fling KT 1115, D 864, T 222
lök corner KT 1114, D 866, T 225

!

lāk dirt, filth, garbage, litter KT 472, D 815, T 229 *lākəḡ* dirty, littered
laki paw KT 475, D 823, T 226 *köt laki* front paw
lamät' flat, not bulging or gibbous (KT 483, D 835) *aļļə kar lamj pul* ?sizable piece of the big reindeer bull (Vj1/106)
lāmpaytâ- post, station (KT, D, T) *männə tōy lāmpaytâsj* I arranged [my horse] there (Vj1/530–531) cf. **lāmpəytâ-**
laḡ sliver, chip, torch (KT 479, D 841, T 227)
lāskāmt- unhitch, let loose, release KT 491, D 855, T 230 *lāskāltâ-* undress (intr)
lat pit, hole, place KT 492, D 855, T 227
lāwaytâ- speak, say (D 862) *lāwaytâsj* it was said (Vj2/195) *kəḡəy nälâm kəḡəy köl äl lāwaytātân* do not speak the improper words of the improper language! (Vj2/243)
lāwät' rain KT 470, D 852, T 231 *lāwtāḡ* rainy
lāmpəytâ- attack (KT, D, T) *tü lāmpəytāsim* I attacked it/him/her (Vj8/18) cf. **lāmpaytâ-**
lāpəyləm dark (KT, D, T) *wiḡ lāpəyləm torām putâw* end of the world eternally dark (Vj1/516)
lāw forked arrow, two-pronged arrowhead KT 488, D 846, T 222
lip swallow KT 488, D 847, T 233 *torām jor köləḡ lip* mid-heaven speaking swallow (inspiration for the singer) KT 1016, (Vj1/59–60, 969–970)
liskām- give a short laugh KT 491, D 854, T 234
lōy high bank of a river KT 479, D 819, T 235
lōḡkältânt- knock KT 482, D 844, T 238
lōy- be fragrant, smell KT 479, D 819,

- löyam-** tuck, plug, shove (KT 477, D 826, T 240) *nälä köčki kütäl onta tá löyamtasät* they enclosed me among four swords (Vj1/405)
- lök** way, path, track KT 472, D 820, T 236
- löŋ-**: *löŋkil-* cover KT 480, D 842, T 237 *naj pörki məŋä tä lünkältästä* the smoke covered us (Vj1/600–601) *uyəm nöŋä lünkältälim* before you, I cover my head (Vj1/188)
- lünkwə** blanket KT 480, D 842, T 240 cf. **löŋ-**

m

- măč** traveling, wandering KT 548, D 886, T 264 *măčöŋ lök* wandering
- măyəl** circle, environs, setting, surroundings KT 511, D 906, T 248
- mañt'** tale, *mañt'*- tell a tale KT 531, D 942, T 243 *mañt' mañttä ku* man telling tales (Vj1/658–659)
- măra-** get wet, soak through KT 543, D 953, T 250
- mas-** must, have to, be necessary KT 545, D 967, T 243 *măyəli jüyă maswəl* what does he need? (Vj1/67)
- mä** I, me KT 523, D 884, T 244 *mänä* to me, *mänt* me, *männə* by me, *mänöy* from me, *männäm* I, solely, *mätim* I myself, *mäkö* I/me indeed (Vj1/8)
- măŋi-** fold, turn in, bend down, flex KT 524, D 933, T 245
- mărən** spawn, eggs KT 540, D 963, T 245, *mărənəŋ* having spawn, *mărənəŋ kul* female fish
- mə-** give KT 553, D 885, T 276
- məy** earth KT 504, D 898, T 272 *məyoyti* ground (surface)
- məyaləŋ puyəł** [Selkup village on the Vasjugan River; Ru Juginy] KT 505 (Vj3)
- mel-** fit KT 560, D 919, T 253 *wet mărənəŋ kul meli këyəl* a bowl housing five fish full of spawn (Vj1/58)
- məli** which, what kind of KT 499, D 878, T 274
- mən-** go KT 527, D 931, T 274 *nuypa məntiləm mä kəlkalim* I sensed my being carried (going) up (Vj1/45–47) *nüŋ jəyən məŋkal* your father away (Vj1/144)
- məŋ** we (PL) D 884, T 275
- mərəy-** roar, shriek KT 537, D 959, T 276 *toyj pəŋk mərəŋ söjŋə* with the whistling noise of the spring hazel-grouse (Vj1/946)
- mərəm** only KT 540, D 963, T 276
- mesəlkalətə-** stroll, plod (KT, D, T) *koləŋ wont kiwälnə mesəlkalətəlim* I am plodding on the hillside where a young pine wood grows (Vj8/2) cf. *mesəl jiyj* [river name evoking bears' shuffle] (KT 545)
- mətä** something KT 497, D 879, T 276 *mətä-jöyat* some (Vj1/20)
- mətčim** how much KT 498, D 876, T 277
- miyəŋ** wattled hurdle used in jump sports KT 510, D 915, T 255

- milnäm** accidentally, at random, with one's eyes closed KT 557, D 924, T 255
- min** we (DU) D 884, T 255
- mijč** sin KT 549, D 889, T 257
- mijki** waft, blast KT 517, D 948, T 258
- mijlaltô-** wave (hand) (KT, D, T) K. *mijlaltâllal* they wave (to me) (Vj1/346)
cf. **mijki**
- mijr** people, population KT 534, D 952, T 258
- mijčâ-** accuse, threaten KT 550, D 889, T 259
- møy** = *møk* fledgling, child, egg KT 503, D 902, T 260
- moyâl-** 1) turn, roll (tr, intr) KT 512, D 906, T 260
- moyâl-** 2) offer, proffer KT 514, D 908, (T) *männə moyâlli* I offer (Vj3/23)
- moyit** ?relatives, relations, kith and kin (KT 510, D 916, T) *aj moyitâw* coeval, of the same age, of the same height *aj moyitâw kät kukân* two persons of the same age (Vj3/1) ?cf. **møy**
- möļây-** burble, grunt, growl KT 521, D 929, T 265
- molki-** forget *molkimtâ-* forget to do KT 522, D 926, T 249 *il äl mölki tusati* let them not forget (Vj1/560, 623)
- mõņâl** bundle, gavel, bouquet, bunch KT 528, D 938, T 266
- moņki** stub, nub (KT 502, D 948, T 261)
- mõrây** 1) whole, full 2) solid, stout, gross KT 538, D 961, T 267
- mori-** break, snap KT 536, D 957, T 262
- mörti** 1) wholly, totally, absolutely 2) strong, healthy KT 542, D 961, T 266
- moši** be possible, be allowed (< Ru может) (KT, D, T) *torâmnə kəray köl moši antâli prosit werli* the improper words of the improper language may or may not be forgiven by God (Vj2/191–192)
- möyâl** 1) breast, bosom KT 514, D 909, T 264
- möyâl** 2) part, share, line, volition, 3) side, direction KT 513, D 908, T 264
- möyâl** lake fish, ide KT 513, D 910, T 264
- möyâl** the youngest kid or cub KT 514, D 912, T 264
- möyær** bludgeon, cub, mace KT 510, D 915 T 264
- möyær-** smash, mash (esp. the berries of bird-cherry trees) (KT, D, T) *möyæram jəm* mashed hackberry (Vj1/232, 709, 744)
- möyærfi** part of a trap, handle of a latch KT 515, D 915, T 263
- mõņkäm** snake KT 518, D 948, T 264
- muyti** across KT 515, D 917, T 267
- mul-** say prayers, make an oath, perform sacrifices KT 556, D 921, T 268
mulwâs praying, prayer (Vj1/220)
- muņkâl** button KT 519, D 950, T 269 *mõjļāņ kori kōraw nāj* *Buttoned-Castor-Coat-Resembling Little Mistress* (person name) (Vj/1 801, 812, 1005)

- murlāṅ** **ļōk** beaten path in the snow, footprints of humans in the snow KT 544, D 962, T 269
- mūy** mound, rush-bed, tussock KT 504, D 903, T 255
- mūyi**, **mūyūli** what KT 495, D 878, T 271 *mūyi tati* how, in what way (Vj1/151), *mūyilikə* to what purpose (Vj1/711), *mūyilä* why (Vj1/320, 712)
- mūkəļ** fly-agaric with white spots KT 508, D 911, (T) *mūyļəṅ əγəw* [agaric] with a smooth dotted cap (Vj2/71)
- mūļ** cap KT 520, D 926, T 271

n

- nāy** carcass of an animal hit by a bear KT 566, D 984, T 281 *mānt ili nāyaliy nūṅpi mānā kirkalsən* you turned just to me for a corpse to eat up (Vj1/355–356)
- nāmās** mind, memory KT 582, D 1001, T 282 *nāmsəṅ* clever, smart, apprehensive *nāmās kiť* - get angry (Vj1/419), *mānpi atmoy jāntə nāmās kijita* to make me angry, too (Vj1/422–423) *torəṁ nāmās äl kiťati* do not annoy God (Vj1/697) *tōṅ nāmsətān wāltānə* if you, too, happened to want to (Vj1/539–540)
- nāra-** bridge (across), cover, lay down a footbridge, build a road KT 596, D 1016, T 238
- nawāt-** swim, drift with the stream KT 586, D 1008, T 279
- nāyi** white, light (colored) KT 562, D 990, T 279
- nāj** fire, lady, goddess KT 561 D 980, T 280 *sat nāləmpə intə nāj* hundred-tongued blazing fire (Vj5/23), *kāt nājkan* two ladies (Vj1/986)
- nāmən** up on the bank KT 570, D 986, T 280
- nāmət** felt, pincushion KT 580, D 1003, T 280
- nāṅk** Siberian larch KT 578, D 1005, T 280
- nārəy** sword KT 590, D 1019, T 281 *nārkat* swords
- nārsəṅ** ?young deciduous forest (KT, D, T) *nārsəṅ wont kiwəlnə* on a hillside where a young deciduous wood grows (Vj8/1) *nārsəm* (Vj8/25) ?cf. **nār**
- nəki-** push, poke, stab (KT) D 991, T 295
- nəkislə-** poke, be poked (KT 576, D 984, T 295)
- nem** name KT 579, D 998, T 284 *nemä* very much, *nemə* [particle of superlative] (KarjGr 173–174) *neməṅ paṅk* reputed agaric (Vj2/6), *nemin* really, in fact, correctly, indeed,
- nəṅ** you (pl) (KT) D 1004, T 295
- ni**, **niṅ-** woman KT 576, D 977, T 285 *ājni* girl (Vj3/6), *kāt niṅkan* women (Du) (Vj1/1010)

- nik** down to the water KT 569, D 984, T 285
- nipik** paper, letter, book KT 584, D 1007, T 286
- nir-** play a musical instrument KT 593, D 1012, T 287
- nir** footbridge, plank, batten holding together a fishtrap KT 590, D 1016,
T 294 *tem jəŋkən jɣjəl woyəl' nirnə* at this narrow footbridge of the
watery rivulet (rivulet rich in water) (Vj4/2)
- niwəl** ?? (KT, D, T) *seṭwäriki niwəl kōr* ?river section in the month of high
waters (Vj1/387)
- niñ-** ?? run (KT, D, T) *jäwət loy niñtê kat* house in which seven horses can run
(Vj1/55) ?cf. **niñt'**-
- noy** horse shackle (KT 569, D 988) *päkəŋ äjñoy* horse halter (Vj1/942)
- noka-** peck KT 575, D 987, T 288 *no kaltê-* peck (with beak), *kulêŋ möyläm t'ä*
no kimsim I pecked my fish-eating chest (Vj1/164)
- nomân** above, on top KT 567, D 989, T 289
- nomlâm-** think, *nomâysil-* think, cogitate KT 581, D 1001, T 288 *nomâysillâm*
I am thinking (Vj1/11)
- nor-**: *norâysil-*, *norâm tê-*, *nära-* bend, nod (one's head) (KT 595, D 1015, 1016,
T) *mä nõjä nârasâm* I have leaned to you (Vj1/198), *är awtêŋ çylamân*
jüyä norâm têsîmân we bowed our abundantly haired heads to him
(Vj1/907), *töy norâysillim* I bow (my head) there (Vj2/313)
- nor** shaft, handle, knob, stem KT 588, D 1013, T 289 *norêŋ* having a handle,
norêŋ møy (Vj9/12)
- nörây-** growl, rumble, thunder KT 591, D 1019, T 292, *nörêŋ* roaring (Vj1/145,
947)
- nöräk** straight KT 591, D 1019, T 292 *nörêkkê* straight, directly, without
stopping
- nowât** period, time, age, generation KT 585, D 1009, T 290 *nowtî* of the pe-
riod, *nowtêŋ* aged, long-lived *nowât ontâr* life KT 930, *nowtêŋ öyi*
nowtêŋ päy long-lived girls, long-lived boys (Vj2/9)
- nöyär** saddle (KT 573, D 996, T 290) *nöyrêŋ loy* saddled horse (Vj1/506)
- nöñi** 1) female mythical figure 2) bracket fungus, shelf fungus KT 577, D 1004,
T 290
- nuyât-** defend, guard, look to, feel pity for KT 574, D 997, T 293
- nuk, nuy, nuypa** up(ward) KT 566, D 988, T 293 *nukâpa paŋkâl-* (shaman)
charm using fly-agaric (Vj2/15)
- nukal-** knock T 293 (KT, D)
- nur** revenge KT 589, D 1015, T 294
- nüyä-** swing, cradle, rock (intr) KT 565, D 991, T 292 *nüyât-* to rock (tr), *nüjät*
nüyäläm I am rocking you (Vj6/4), *öyi nüytäm* I was rocking a daugh-
ter (Vj6/2)
- nüj** you (KT) D 1004, T 294 *nüjä* to you, *nüjə* by you

ń

- ńal** arrow KT 644, D 1040, T 297 *ńalwej* shaft of an arrow T 520
- ńal-** peel the bark off a tree KT 644, D 1041, T 303
- ńála-** lick KT 650b, D 1047, T 303
- ńálij** rusty KT 646, D 1044, T 303
- ńáləm** tongue KT 649, D 1049, T 299 *ńáləm čeyä* language of humans (spoken language, dialect, way of speaking) (Vj9/20), *ńáləm jöñə* root of tongue (Vj1/36), *ńáləm luj* song (Vj9/36)
- ńärəy** 1) raw, unripe 2) naked, bald KT 630, D 1076, T 299 *ńärkeləw* having a naked body (Vj1/128)
- ńärək:** *ńärək ont* stomach (abdominal cavity) KT 633, D 1077, T 300
- ńələ** four KT 647, D 1048, T 321
- ńeləytə-** swallow (suddenly) KT 648, D 1042, T 309
- ńəməč** bone or wooden tool for processing nettle KT 620, D 1055, T 322
- ńər-** pull KT 637, D 1067, T 322 *ńərimtə-* give a pull
- ńər** thick deciduous forest (Trj KT 628, D 1066, T 322) ?cf. **ńärsəŋ**
- ńijəy** eight KT 649, D 1048, T 311
- ńińtə-** have a rest KT 625, D 1062, T 312 cf. **ńińt-**
- ńijr** footwear KT 629, D 1070, T 312
- ńöy** moose KT 602, D 1029, T 315
- ńöyəl-** 1) move, stir, 2) move (tr), cradle 3) take to the road, set out for somewhere KT 609, D 1031, T 316 *torəmnə ńöyəlkkälli* (it is) urged by God (Vj2/116)
- ńoyi** flesh KT 603, D 1030, T 312 *ńoyimteläm* my whole body (Vj1/180), *ńoyij wan* fleshy (muscular) shoulder (Vj1/841–842)
- ńol** 1) bear blood, 2) rust color in spring water or on the bank/shore KT 644, D 1044, T 317 *ńolij ləy* rust-colored high bank (of a river) (Vj1/162)
- ńöl** nose, beak KT 643, D 1045, T 317 *ńöl-pült* nostril (Vj1/285)
- ńolt-** take an oath KT 652, D 1046, T 313 cf. **ńultəwtə-**
- ńöŋk** stork, black stork, wading bird KT 614, D 1063, T 315 *ńöŋk tarəy* heron, gib *ńöŋəl mok* stork fledgling (Vj1/134)
- ńuyəl-** follow, chase, run-down KT 611, D 1034, T 319
- ńula** together, with each/one another, to each/one another KT 647, D 1048, T 319
- ńultəwtə-** swear (tr) KT 653, D 1046, T 314 cf. **ńolt-**
- ńulwəs** vow, curse KT 653, D 1046, T 320
- ńur** tanned leather KT 626, D 1072, T 320

O, Ǫ, Ö

- oŷ** streamline KT 15, D 28, T 324
oŷ head KT 21, D 30, T 323 *sǎrnâŷ* *oŷâw* golden-headed, *oŷ sōŷ* hair, *oŷ pǎn-*
bow (head), *uŷâm* my head (Vj1/162)
oŷâl- pour, scatter (Surg KT 30, D 39, T 325)
oŷâr high KT 24, D 46, T 325
oŷât isthmus KT 27, D 49, T 326 *oŷât-* draw a boat through an isthmus
oŷpǫ doorway KT 15, D 27, T 324
oŷti-, aŷât- spit, vomit KT 26, D 48, T 12 *kǎntâŷ ku wǎr wiļļä ilok oŷtilǎwǎl* as
 if it spat forth the blood of Khanty men (Vj1/828–829)
oŷti surface of something KT 21, D 32, T 325
olwintâŷ drape, tucker, wipes KT 122, D 85, T 326 *nǎŷǎ olwintâŷ* linen
 (Vj2/281)
oŷčōŷ fir KT 55, D 113, T 327
onâl- find out, come to know, learn KT 62, D 125, T 327
ont inner parts, innards, guts KT 56, D 117, T 327
ontâr length, time-span, distance KT 60, D 127, T 327
onít, onítkul fish migration (from sea to river) KT 64, D 132, T 328
ōŷ hole, mouth, influx KT 32, D 134, T 334
oŷk resin KT 35, D 135, T 328
ort hero KT 82, D 177, T 329
os yet, even, again, following KT 86, D 189, T 329
ot matter, thing, object KT 100, D 205, T 329

Ö, Ǫ, Ö

- öŷâl-** believe KT 19, D 40, T 331
öŷâl- gorge oneself, eat one's fill KT 19, (D 40), T 331
öŷâm-, öŷmil- kiss, cosset KT 17, D 42, T 331
öŷæt high promontory, crag KT 18, D 50, T 47 *čoyâm sǎŷki kujâŷ öŷæt* *Snow-*
bound-Sanded-Populous-Promontory (name of a town) (Vj1/198)
öŷæt- cut KT 18, D 50, T 331
öŷi girl KT 16, D 37, T 330 *öŷâŷ kat* house rich in girls, house inhabited by girls
öræŷ overmuch, redundant, spare KT 74, D 167, T 335
ötâl-: *lǎŷki ötǎlwǎl* spring (squirrel) KT 108, D 204, T 331 cf. **üt-**

p

- păčəy-**, **pačəytə-** rip, fell (tree, moving and swinging it back and forth) KT 755, D 1091, T 348 *aļļa soy păčəyʔtal kolləm* I heard (lit. hear) as if a sore-toothed wood-boring big worm was splitting a tree (Vj1/385)
- pəy** boy, son KT 664, D 1110, T 348 *păkəŋ kat* house rich in boys, house inhabited by boys
- paɣəl** 1) sole (of a foot) 2) the place for the foot on the ski KT 673, D 1108, T 336
- paɣəl-** 1) press, constrict, compress 2) coerce KT 678, D 1127, T 337
- pəyər** ?yellow, copper (-colored) (KT 767, D 1128, T 349) *pəyər tūyʔti təlʔwəl* [the hero] is glowing like (lit. with) coppery red fire (Vj1/708)
- paɣər** island (KT 671, D 1128, T 346)
- paj** 1) rich, well-to-do KT 656, D 1101, T 337 *pajartati* to the chief servant (Vj1/104)
- paj** 2) poplar KT 658, D 1100, T 337
- pəjə** knot, nub KT 659, D 1105, T 349 *pəjan* knotty, craggy
- pəjlaŋ** wing KT 660, D 1106, T 349
- pəki** doll KT 665, D 1117, T 349
- pam** grass, hay KT 701, D 1165, T 338
- pən-** 1) put, lay, place 2) thrash, hit KT 712, D 1169, T 351 *männə möyərnä əjjoʔə pənsat* by me, they were being beaten with an [idol's 300-pood iron] bludgeon (Vj1/729)
- pənaŋ juɣ** stringed instrument KT 706, D 1175, T 350
- pəncəltə-** ripen, bake, dry (meat, fish) KT 711, D 1177, T 351
- pənə** chord, string KT 705, D 1174, T 351
- paŋk** fly-agaric KT 688, D 1187, T 339, *paŋkəl-* (shaman) charm using fly-agaric, *paŋləmnəŋ* agaric song (song created under the influence of the agaric) (Vj2) *paŋkəlnəŋ* agaric(-eating) ceremony (Vj2/45)
- pərə** group, flock (of birds), herd KT 722, D 1204, T 352 *sajə pəra* flock of goldeneye (Vj2/25)
- pari** offerings, feast, conviviality KT 723, D 1203, T 340
- pas** 1) glove, 2) wasp 3) mark, spot KT 738, D 1222, T 340
- pas-** mark (D 1224) *torəm pusti/pustaŋ oyər məy* mountain (high land) marked by God (Vj2/34, 144, 175, 175, 257)
- pəsəl** tributary, watercourse, channel KT 741, D 1229, T 353
- pasəm-** dribble, drip KT 743, D 1227, T 341
- pat-** freeze KT 769, D 1233, T 342 *patəm* frozen, *patil-* freeze, *patəl-* freeze (tr, intr)
- patər-** pick up, tuck, plug KT 767, D 1249, T 342

- pať** edge, end, border of something KT 747, D 1250, T 342 *tem torâm ku puťalati* till the end of this world (Vj5/16) 343
- päyäl-** forge, cast (iron) KT 676, D 1120, T *päyäläysäntil* hammering (Vj1/646–647)
- päyät-, päyø-** drop, let slip, lose KT 673, D 1132, T 343 *mäy oytäja mänt päyäwält* they bring me down (Vj1/ 584–585), *junĵk päyäli kotäl* day suitable for killing heroes (Vj1/ 445)
- päj 1)** mound, hill 2) thundercloud KT 654, D 1101, T 343 *jäwät süymät jalťä päj* hill where seven birch trees stand (sacred place) (Vj1/49)
- päjäysø-** pray, say prayers, make offerings, do sacrifices (KT 659, D 1106, T 344) *töl ilä jöyü päjäysäläm* I send up prayers to them (Vj2/316)
- päk** bridle KT 663, D 1111, T 344 *päk püyäl* rein, leading rein
- päm(il)-** teach, show KT 705, D 1166, T 344 *pämi wertamnø* as I notice (Vj1/386)
- pänt-** dry (tr, intr) KT 714, D 1178, T 344
- päntäy** mean, avaricious KT 717 (*pänčäk*), D 1185, T 345 *nəj päntäy jay wästäy* you are mean people (Vj1/726)
- pärt-** order, coerce KT 737, D 1218, T 345 *torämnä pirti* ordered by God (Vj2/11)
- päči-, päčäyäl-** take apart, disassemble, tear, rip off KT 757, D 1100, T 387
- päytø** black KT 682, D 1135, T 387
- päl** ear T 385, D 1140, KT 775 *är awtän pil awtän oy* hairy ear(s), hairy head (Vj1/272)
- päl-** be afraid of KT 778, D 1142, T 389 *pältäm-* get frightened, be scared away
- pel** well-formed birch bark for sewing tent coating KT 781, D 1138, T 356
- pelä** forested hillside KT 775, D 1148, T 356
- pälät** height, size KT 777, D 1143, T 388
- pelø** (wooden) panel KT 781, D 1149, T 357 *kat pelø* floor *pelänj kat* floored house (Vj1/3)
- päläm** lip(s) KT 782, D 1150, T 390 *päläm söj* speech (Vj1/498)
- pälänj** cloud KT 781, D 1151, T 390
- peľäk** half, side, direction KT 695, D 1159, T 357 *kat jəpəlĵä* into the house (Vj1/98), *töm taräs peľĵä* to the other side of the sea (Vj1/634), *kät ľöĵän peľĵä* towards two paths (Vj1/950)
- peľĵäyint-** split, rive, crack, be interrupted KT 698, D 1161, T 357
- pent-** close, lock, barricade, block, cover KT 714, D 1179, T 357
- pənt 1)** way, path 2) ornament of sewn beads on a dress (KT 712, D 1180, T 391)
- pəń** spoon, ladle KT 716, D 1183, T 391
- pəńĵk** hazel-grouse KT 690, D 1188, T 391
- pəřəy** foreign KT 727, D 1208, *pəřəy mäy* foreign land, *pəřəy peľäk* wrong side of something
- pert** (wooden) board KT 735, D 1218, T 358 *pertläm* my boards (Vj1/233)

- pəs** awl, punch KT 741, D 1225, T 393
- pəs, pəsəɣ** (V) *pəš* (Vj) oh, alas, uh KT 741, D 1225, T 393
- pəs-** fall/go silent, petrify, become paralyzed, go/get numb, KT 745, D 1226,
T 394 *jüŷ kaɣəm paŋk əj pułnə wiłlä pəsi* as if he had been pulled by a
piece of dried agaric (Vj1/732)
- pətə** end, depth, bottom of something KT 763, D 1240, T 395 *amtəw pətə*
enəmtəmäm öyim my daughter, brought up at the bottom of the cra-
dle (Vj1/749) *pətäl torəmnə* later (Vj1/582, 586) *pətälne* later (Vj1/588,
590, 595)
- petä** greeting, bowing, *pətä wer-* say hello KT 748, D 1253, T 395
- pil** companion, friend, fellow KT 779, D 1144, T 359 *pil-ku* friend, *pilləɣ* alone
- pil** toward, in the direction of, from the direction of KT 789, D 1145, *äjə-pil*
younger T 22
- piltə-** help KT 788, D 1144, T 360
- piŋč-, piŋč-** 1) two trees fall on each other, giving a gritting noise, graze 2)
move slowly KT 756, D 1090, T 366
- pirnä** cross KT 733, D 1214, T 362
- pirnält-** cross oneself, make the sign of the cross, pray KT 734, D 1215, T 362
- pit-** 1) get, be born 2) fall, drop, molt KT 772, D 1236, T 362 *tim al pitəm nöŋəl*
mək stork-nestling born this year (Vj1/142–143)
- piť** thigh, hip KT 747, D 1251, T 363
- pič** 1) thread, fiber, yarn 2) layer 3) time, times KT 752, D 1089, T 363
- pič-** move slowly KT 756, D 1090, T 366
- pičəŋ** later, then KT 757, D 1099, T 364 *pičəŋ pətäl torəmnə* later (Vj1/582)
- pijər** layer KT 671, D 1129, T 364 *kipijər wökkəŋ* double as strong as
- pirəɣsə-** ask, ask for KT 724, D 1205, T 365 *asmä pirəɣsələm* I keep asking my
mother (Vj1/248)
- pirnə** after KT 721, D 1199, T 365
- poč** 1) back part of shoes or clothes 2) scrag, back of the neck, heel 3) genus,
kin, tribe, generation KT 751, D 1091, T 367
- počka** barrel (< Ru бочка) (KT, D, T)
- pöɣəl-** blow KT 661, D 1114, T 374
- poɣər** hollow stem plant KT 670, D 1129, T 368
- poɣət** feces, droppings, dung KT 672, D 1135, T 368
- poɣli** stomach, belly, paunch, pot belly KT 679D 1126, T 367
- pojsem** hail KT 657, D 1103, T 368
- pöl-, pöləɣlə-** 1) splurge, spatter 2) smoke KT 785, D 1146, T 376
- pöŋəl** side KT 687, D 1192, T 377
- pör** drill KT 720, D 1200, T 377
- pör-** bite, chew KT 736, D 1202, T 378
- porəɣlil-** fly away KT 727, D 1211, T 370

- põræk** foot of a tree KT 725, D 1208, T 379
- põrêl** icepick KT 730, D 1201, T 379
- põrêlkam** hole on the ice-ax for a handle KT 302, D 493, T 144 (the thicker end of the handle)
- porâm-** trod, stomp KT 728, D 1212, T 370 *porânt-* step on *tärnəŋ lōkətən tāt ilan porântitāt* keep following your war path (Vj1/ 541–542)
- põrki** smoke KT 731, D 1209, T 378
- põrt** carcass (prey of a bear) KT 720, D 1202, T 378 *põr ili* necrophagous (Vj1/313, 590)
- pos-** 1) wash clothes 2) blow nose KT 744, D 1226, T 371
- pot-** run away, escape, refuge KT 769, D 1238, T 371 *pottê ni* fleeing woman (Vj3/25)
- põt** pood (old Russian unit of measurement) KT 760, D 1239, T 384
- põy** spring, brook, rivulet KT 664, D 1117, T 372
- põy-** drive away, oust KT 681, D 111, T 372 *põyəkətə-* start to chase (Vj1/551) *põyântə-* fly away (spark), *põyəŋ tüyti sulaw kat* from the house emitting hot spark (Vj9/19)
- põyäl-** have a bath KT 678, D 1122, T 372
- põnæk** end, tip or point of something, beak, muzzle KT 709, D 1178, T 381
- põŋk** tooth KT 689, D 1188, T 373 *kos põŋk pəntāw jul* mouth laid out with twenty teeth (Vj2/344)
- põŋkäl-** get warm, get sweaty (caused by work, brisk walk) KT 692, D 1192, T 381
- prosit** pardon, condonance (< Ru простить) (KT, D, T) *torâmna kərəy näləm kərəy kōl prosit werli* The improper words of the improper language may be forgiven by God (Vj2/191–192)
- puyäl** village KT 675, D 1122, T 381
- pul-** tuck (in) KT 786, D 1147, T 382
- pun** a hair, feather KT 706, D 1173, T 383 *punəŋ məy* hairy (mossy) earth (Vj1/815–816) *wajəy pun koļəŋ uyəm* animal-haired (fur capped) head (Vj2/308)
- put** cooking pot KT 761, D 1239, T 384
- putäl jəŋk** frozen surface of water KT 761, D 1235, T 385
- putâw** brim KT 766, D 1247, (T) *kat putâw* place beside the wall of the tent, *torâm putâw* end of the world, edge of the sky (Vj1/516), *putwâl uläy torâm putâw* end of the endless world (Vj9/52–53)
- putlâyäl-** freeze over KT 771, D 1234, T 385
- püyäl** girth, belt, cord KT 675, D 1123, T 385
- pükäli** trigger of a trap, release catch, trigger of a weapon KT 667, D 1127, T 386
- pülki** duck species KT 732, D 1149, T 355

pült hole, opening KT 780, D 1153, T 385 *nöl pültkälöy* through his two nostrils (Vj1/285)

püt fish meal KT 762, D 1240, T 386

pütki bird, sparrow KT 750, D 1254, T 386

r

rat hearth (KT 811, D 1284, T 399)

rät' old man KT 809, D 1288, T 400

räy- fly away, spring away, splurge KT 801, D 1263, T 408

räyäm- drop, to let fall, slip KT 801, D 1264, T 408

räkätə- throw, fling KT 799, D 1264, T 409

riyäm- hew down KT 796, D 1259, T 404

riṭ boat KT 812, D 1284, T 404

rōnt earring KT 805, D 1273, T 405

rōt freckle (KT 811, D 1286, T 406)

röyim- 1) shake, shake something from something 2) wave KT 792, D 1266, T 406 *kät lakikân üt röyimsäkən* my two forest-animal paws waved over there (Vj8/27)

rumka shot glass (< Ru рюмка) T 407 (KT 804, D)

s

säyê melody, tune KT 827, D 1310, T 419 *jäwət äräy säyêw köl* word having the melody of seven songs (Vj1, Vj8) cf. ?**säyṭa**

sayêl log, the type of batten of which the fishtraps are made KT 842, D 1314, T 410

säyêmlê- mention, say, speak, sing (KT, D, T) *kojnê mänt säyêmlêš* who mentioned me? (Vj1/66) *torêmnê pirti mänä säyêmlätṭi* it is ordered by God for me to sing (Vj2/11)

säyṭi in the way of, along, according to [postposition] KT 840, D 1310, T 419 *aj säyṭi* in the same way

säyṭi clayey mud KT 826, D 1311, T 418

säyṭa ?come!, immediately (KT, D, T) [interjection expressing urge with verbs in imperative] *wäy torêm jəyäm kolânta säyṭa!* my iron God father, come and listen (Vj1/432), *nämsêṭ öyi, nämsêṭ päy säyṭa nämsa päñilatṭi* clever girl, clever boy, do not forget it (Vj2/206–207) cf. ?**säyê**

saj arctic duck KT 817, D 1291, T 410 *sajê pärê* flock of goldeneye (Vj2/25)

sal- reflect, show, fluoroscope, take a photo KT 891, D 1327, T 411 *sem wäläläy möräy kökkə salsâm* I looked like an eyeless rock (Vj1/234–235) *sal jayêṭ* shining forest (Vj5/ 21)

sam fish scale KT 854, D 1337, T 411

- sänki** sand KT 850, D 1351, T 421
- sarök, saröy** rapid, quick KT 869, D 1360, T 413 *töylâñ sar är wajây* many speedy, feathered animals (Vj1/47–48)
- säri** seagull KT 871, D 1367, (T) *särâñjul toyañlaw* forked arrow similar to a seagull's beak (Vj1/388)
- särnâ** gold KT 874, D 1373, T 474 *särnâñ äñkäl* golden column (Vj1/57) *särân pam* golden grass (Vj1/310, 511–512) *särnâñ oyâw wäytorâm jâyöw* our golden headed iron God father (Vj1/414–415)
- sat** hundred KT 884, D 1381, T 414 *kälâm sat pötj wäy möyräm* three-hundred-pood iron bludgeon (Vj1/249–250)
- säwrintây** linen KT 830, D 1390, (T) *eñä suyâmpâ säwrintây* linen woven of thick thread (Vj1/223)
- säj** 1) curtain, bulkhead 2) back of something KT 815, D 1292, T 415 *kälâm juy säjal kasow* from behind of the back of three trees (Vj8/9)
- sänöy** tinder fungus on birch trees KT 861, D 1345, T 416 *sänöy junjk* spirit of birch bracket (Vj7/3)
- sänki** light, bright, deity KT 850, D 1351, T 416 *juyâl sänki mäy* land having gleaming trees (Vj1/306)
- sär** fore- KT 866, D 1360, T 416
- säri** hold on!, wait! KT 869, D 1367, T 416
- sät**- sound, chatter KT 883, D 1386, T 417
- səyäl** rope (made of hay) KT 843, D 1315, T 445
- sem** 1) eye 2) seed KT 855, D 1338, T 426 *semköy* pupil, eyeball *semköykaläm* my two pupils (Vj2/298)
- säm** heart, inner parts KT 857, D 1340, T 446 *mä sämäm welli* I am hungry
- serä** strong, enduring, hard KT 869, D 1368, T 427 *seräy jantä juy* tree becoming hard (Vj1/875)
- seṭ**: *seṭ wär* fish trap for flood season (KT, D, T) *seṭ wär iki* month of high water (Vj1/387)
- səwəs** forest spirit KT 865, D 1358, T 448
- siyər** chain, ply, headrope (Surg KT 839, D 1322, T 428) *siyər kul* chain of fish (Vj1/109, 457)
- siyi-**, **siyil-** turn, go round, twist (intr), curl, screw (intr), rotate, swirl KT 836, D 1312, T 428 *pörälkam siyäl* the hole of the ice-ax (middle of the sky) (Vj1/192, 887, 908)
- siyiw**: *öy siyiw* whirl, *juy siyiw* node in wood KT 836, D 1313, T 428
- sil** place near something (KT 888, D 1328, T 429)
- silöytə-** cant, tilt, turn, slant KT 888, D 1329, T 429 *siläk* bent, slanting, curved, curve
- silwä, sölw** ?neighboring (< **sil**) / cut (past participle) (< **sölt**) *näyi köy silwä äyat* (Vj1/785–786), *näyi köy sölw äyat* (Vj1/369) *White-Rock-Bordered-Cape* [place name in the language of folklore]

- sij** ball of string, bundle, scroll, coil KT 834, D 1303, T 430 *sij-* screw up, wind (tr) *nälamluj sijal* ? bunch of songs (Vj9/36)
- sjs** period, persistence, patience KT 880, D 1378, T 431 *jölâ kulj put jam sjs* for the time of cooking a thawed fish (Vj1/269)
- soy** wood-borer, worm, caterpillar KT 923, D 1304, T 432
- söy** surgeon KT 831, D 1307, T 432
- söy** 1) fur skin, fur coat KT 832, D 1304, T 436 *oysoy* scalp, *kayâ soyâw är ikit* lots of gray-haired old men (Vj1/51) *söyan may* shaggy/hairy (mossy) earth (Vj1/815)
- söy** 2) staff, stick, rod KT 826, D 1305, (T)
- söy** 3) having taut, dense fabric KT 826, D 1306, T 436 *söyjöj päntâw näjk änkäl* larch trunk showing dense annual rings (Vj1/448–449)
- soyân** birchbark bowl KT 848, D 1319, T 432
- soj** hoarfrost, rime-frost KT 817, D 1294, T 432 *sojan lõk* hoary path (Vj1/376)
- solâh** 1) empty, void 2) mendacious KT 890, D 1329, T 433 *jäwtäræy säyâw köl solâh mañt* word(s) having the melody of seven songs, a light tale (Vj1/30) *soljäræy* untrue song (Vj1/844) *solâh köl* rigmarole (Mogutaev 1996: 252)
- sor** uppers of boots or shoes, leg, shank, lower arm KT 867, D 1363, T 433
- sort** span KT 876, D 1374, T 434
- sosâm** hard, tough, dry KT 882, D 1379, T 434
- söy** magpie KT 823, D 1309, T 434
- söy** 1) plait, braid 2) -shaped, worthy, similar KT 824, D 1307, T 434 *torâm junjk söyâw lõk* in a way similar to the braid of the heavenly spirits (Vj1/302) *jäwtäræy söyi wajkam* my animal similar to the braid of seven songs (Vj1/493–494) *ajsöyi kolâm junjk* three fighters of the same kind (Vj1/518, 550, 705) *matä söyi tuyâl päy* some kind of other boy (Vj1/731) *jäwat äræy söyi kat* house worthy of seven songs (Vj1/983)
- söj** voice, noise KT 818, D 1295, T 439
- sölt** straps (on barrel) KT 891, D 1333, T 440 *juyin söltâw počka* wooden strapped barrel (Vj7/5)
- sölt-** cut (bread, leather) KT 892, D1330, (T)
- söñə-** strike, beat KT 852, D 1350, T 435
- sötîw** wax candle KT 883, D 1389, T 436
- suyâm** yarn KT 837, D 1318 T 440
- sul** sparkle KT 888, D 1329, T 441 *näyi sulâw torâm öyät* divine promontory coruscating white (name of a town) (Vj1/200)
- sur** 1) herd of moose or wild reindeer KT 867, D 1365, T 441
- sur** 2) clan, sort, kind KT 868, D 1364, T 441 *kar jaltâ jöñkäl sur* (the ground) is being trampled as if standing reindeer trampled ice (Vj1/341)

- sur-** die KT 878, D 1366, T 442 *suriljəŋk* ?deadwater (due to low oxygen conditions) *jäwət amältiw suriljəŋknə* on the deadwaters of the seven ice-holes (Vj1/153, 528) *əllə kölnəŋ suriljəŋknə* on the deadwater of the great port (Vj1/929–930)
- süymət** birch tree KT 860, D 1319, T 444
- sül-** chop up KT 892, D 1330, T 443
- sünk** sun KT 849, D 1351, T 443 *jəm sünk məntin üyəl* rounds of the good sun (Vj2/273)

š

- šeyəl** ability, skill KT 935, D 263, T 449 *müyi šeylännä* with what strength of yours, how (Vj1/140)
- što** in order to [conjunction in purpose clauses] (< Ru что) (KT 966, D 304, T) *što männə töy jöyälät* let me come up with them (Vj1/527–528)

t

- tay-** tear (intr), rip (intr), burst (intr), split (intr) KT 987, D 1403, T 452
tayəwtä- tear (tr), tear apart (tr), *tjyämätä-* tear (tr)
- tayəla** thither, over there KT 977, D 1394, T 452
- täyär-** can be heard, sound KT 981, D 1417, T 460 *jäsŋältäl täyärwäl* a human-language voice sounds (Vj1/309–310), *täyrältä-* make sound, *köləŋ lip töt täyrältälil* mid-heaven speaking swallow is twittering (Vj1/60)
- täyi** place KT 976, D 1408, T 459
- taypil** to the far side KT 967, D 1393, T 452 *tay pil läyilkəlləm* I will see after from the far side (Vj5/20)
- täyta** 1) reindeer skin 2) piece, piece of paper (KT 983), D 1422, T 459
- täja-** have, hold, carry, handle KT 969, D 1400, T 460
- tälmas** interpreter, assistant (KT 1037, D 1430, T) *wajäk artə torəm tälmas*, *kul artə torəm tälmas* interpreter of God providing us with game, interpreter of God providing us with fish (Vj2/196–197)
- tamjnt** that kind of KT 977, D 1393, T 454
- tarəy** crane KT 1013, D 1467, T 455 *kortarəy* moor crane (Vj1/956)
- tarowa** Greetings! (< Ru здарова) (KT, D, T)
- tatj** in this way KT 977, T 456 cf. **ťatj**
- täyäl-** be evolving, be formed (KT, D, T) *täy töy täyəlsəm* I have become (Vj1/1015), *järəy püt är soynəy töy täyləs* it became a birch-bark pot containing perch meal (Vj1/392), *täyən-* develop (tr), form (tr) *täyənmälnə* when he was created (Vj1/573)
- täyləm** look, appearance, color (of humans or animals) KT 990, D 1413, T 456
- täl-** pull, draw, drag KT 1037, D 1424, T 457

- täl-** ?glow (cf. Surg *täləy*- KT 997, D 1435, T 462) *päyâr tüyti tälwəl* [the hero] is glowing like (lit. with) coppery red fire (Vj1/708)
- täräm** 1) strong, hard, enduring 2) rigid, brittle (iron) 3) agile, swift (person) KT 1015, D 1470, T 457 *täräm wat mījkī* strong gust of wind (Vj1/37–38), *täräm sem* powerful eye (Vj1/514)
- täräm-** go over, pass across, clime over KT 1019, D 1471, T 457
- tärən** evil spirit, impure power KT 1020, D 1475, T 457 *tärnəy juḡâ məy* earth rich in the trees of the evil spirit (Vj1/823), *tärnəy köčki* fighting sword (Vj1/377)
- tärmälə-** be in a hurry, aim at (KT 1023, D 1474, T) *semkən kütaw tärmälə-* follow somebody/something with eyes (Vj6/21)
- tät-** create, produce KT 1032, D 1485, T 458 *jirəḡ juḡ torāmnâ tāti* the sacrifice tree was created by God (Vj1/614), *torām tätəm welipārə* reindeer herd created by God (Vj1/951)
- tät** finished, ready (D 1485, KT 1029) T 458
- təy, teyä, təyəlä** hither KT 967, D 1391, T 482
- teyən** quiet, windless KT 972, D 1415, T 464 *teyən jar* tranquil lake (Vj2/25)
- təyläy** liquid, thin (of liquids), scant (KT, D, T) *təyläy pam* sparsely grown grass (Vj1/196)
- təj-** tie up (fishnet) KT 970, D 1398, T 482
- tejəwli-** swag, swing (KT, D 1401, T) *ilok tejəwlilawəl* he kept swaying back and forth (Vj1/734)
- tel** full, whole [as posterior part of compound words] KT 1033, D 1425, T 464 *noȳmtelām* my whole body (Vj1/180, 181) *noȳḡ telām* (Vj2/102, Vj9/34)
- tel** clothes, clothing KT 1034, D 1427, T 464
- təl** 1) from here 2) then, later KT 968, D 1391, T 483
- telkäl** full KT 1034, D 1426, T 464 *telkäl jāḡam jayī kat* crowded house (lit. into the house that so many people entered that it is full) (Vj9/7)
- tem** this KT 999, D 1392, T 466 *tem kat jāḡpeləynə* inside this house (Vj1/17), *tem al pitəm nōḡəl* stork-nestling born this year (Vj1/393) cf. **tim**
- təḡrāytə-** 1) **tōḡər-**
- tepä** immediately, just, well, there! KT 1007, D 1456, T 465 *täpäyi* (Vj1/346–347)
- tət** here KT 967, D 1392, T 484
- ti-** be born KT 974, D 1395, T 465
- tim, timi** this (one) (KT 999, D 1392, T 466) *tim kat jāḡpelkä* into this house (Vj1/98), *tim al pitəm nōḡəl mək* stork-nestling born this year (Vj1/142–143), *tim jar pelköy* from this side of the lake (Vj1/335), *tī müyälī ālawâl timi* what's this lying here? (Vj1/316–317) cf. **tem**
- tini-** sell (out) KT 1002, D 1443, T 466 *tintə-* pay (for)
- tir** width of a fishnet, width KT 1012, D1462, T 467 *söysemḡə seməḡ tir* chain mail (Vj1/225)

- tijät-** 1) say, tell, 2) make up KT 984, D 1420, T 468 *tijätül-* speak, tell (tale, story), make up *mä t'ä tijäśâm* I said so (Vj1/105), *tijli rät'* ?Uncle Garulous (person name) (Vj3/5)
- töy** small pool in the swamp KT 971, D 1426, T 473
- töyäl** 1) wing or tail feather 2) caudal fin 3) longish leaves of grasses KT 984, D 1412, T 474 *töylâw* leaf (Vj1/310); *töylâη wajây* bird (animal with feathers or wings) (Vj1/47–48) *toyay læw:* forked (lit. winged) arrow (Vj1/388)
- töyât** boat batten KT 983, D 1420, T 474
- töyi, tayôla** thither KT 977, D 1394, T 474 cf. **töya**
- toyj** spring KT 971, D 1410, T 469 *toyj päηk mæraη sôjna* with the whistling noise of the spring hazel-grouse (Vj1/946)
- töylây, töylâk?** tame, quiet (animal) KT 986, D 1414, T 474 *sârân pam töylây jar* golden-grass-leaf still lake (Vj1/489–490)
- tokimt-** poke (KT, D, T) *inlæη kôčki aj pônækna männa tokimsi* I stuck the tip of my sharp sword (into them) (Vj1/454–455) cf. **tökämt-**
- töl** thence, therefrom, later (KT 976, D 1394, T 475)
- tölyy-** speak KT 997, D 1436, T 475 *tölyäl-* tell
- tom, tomi** that (one) KT 975, D 1394, T 470 *tompil* the other (one)
- töη** if, if only [conditional particle] (KT), D 1448, (T) *čakä töη jam wälâs* that would be very nice (would have been) (Vj3/35)
- töηkâ** directly, accurately, just KT 990, D 1448, T 476 *männä aj töηka küč jöyili* as I hack and slash him with my sword having an edge like the border of heaven with the same care/precision in vain (Vj1/575–576)
- tor** offal timber for lighting fire KT 1010, D 1463, T 471
- torâm** heaven, god, world, weather KT 1015, D 1472, T 471 *torâm putâw* end of the world (Vj1/85), *wâytorâm jayam* my iron God father (Vj1/13), *torâmnä tütj pirti* it was ordered (so) by God (Vj2/22), *torâmpat'* brink of the sky, horizon (Vj1/256), *torâm wây* sky, cope of heaven (Vj1/746), *torâm pelæk* wind, quarter (point of compass) (Vj1/565), *torâm jor köläη lip* mid-heaven speaking swallow (Vj1/969–970), *patäl torâmnâ* then (Vj1/586)
- töt** there, then KT 976, D 1394, T 477
- töj** tip, end or top of something KT 966, D 1398, T 478
- tökämt-** plug, lock up; jab, stab KT 979, D 1406, T 473 cf. **tokimt-**
- töηær-** peck, pluck, tear, keep dragging KT 992, D 1453, T 473 *männä nuk täηraytâli* I put it on (Vj1/219)
- töηæt-** get filled, eat one's fill KT 993, D 1454, T 473 *töηälæy* not entirely full, incomplete, *töηæwtæ-* fill, have something filled *mä töηälæy kintlin ôηât mä næñnä töηtæwtälim* I will make you fill the mouth of your unfilled basket (Vj1/699–701)

- tu-** bring, carry KT 1031, D 1395, T 480 *tultâ-* bring, take *mä köläm tultâ näyi päləŋ* white clouds bringing my word(s) (Vj1/45–46) *köla tu-* lose (Vj5/24)
- tuyâl** ?other (KT, D, T) *tuyâl päy* (Vj1/731, 793) *tuyâl ku* (Vj1/846) cf. *toyâl* one..., the other... (KT 975)
- tuļ** fool, silly T 479, D 1433, KT 995
- tur** ?close relative (KT, D 1465, T) *turim äjni* a female relative of mine (Vj3/6, 31, Vj5/2)
- tur** throat, voice KT 1011, D 1464, T 479 *koy turpâw turəŋ ärəy* loud, long-sounding song (lit. long-throated throaty song) (Vj1/9–10)
- tüyət** fire KT 1029, D 1420, T 480 *tüytəŋ kat, patlāŋ kat* fiery house, frosty house (Vj2/359), *tüyət imə puyâl Village-Consumed-by-Fire* (name of the village Mukutaev) (Vj7/1)
- tür** doorway KT 1012, D 1465, T 480 *türəŋ kat* house having a door-gap (Vj1/7)

t

- täyən** fist KT 900, D 1503, T 488
- tärəy-** make a sharp sound, roar (KT, D, T) *tärəytâ köy oypijow* through the creaking stone door (Vj2/304) cf. **warəy-**
- tärəs** sea KT 872, D 1538, T 485
- tä, tāt** there! lo! well? (KT, D), T 487
- täk** protruding, jutting tip, end, border of something; piece KT 897, D 1495, T 487 *wan kät tākälä* on the tips of my two shoulder blades (Vj1/221–222)
- täpə, täppä** [particle] whether, well then, already (D 1491, T 487)
- tati** in this way (KT, D, T) *müyi tati* in what way? (Vj1/151) cf. **tati**
- təl** permanently KT 907, D 1509, T 490
- təl-** cry, howl KT 909, D 1509, T 498 *təl-süj* cry KT 910, D 1510, T 497 *tələmsüj* howl (Vj1/549–550)
- tər** tweet, chirping (KT 920, D 1522, T 498)
- tī** this (one) KT 895, D 1491, T 491 *tīti* in this way, here *müyeli tīti junkrantâwâl* what is chewing here? (Vj1/385–386)
- timint** this kind of KT 895, D 1491, T 491
- tipə** now, immediately (KT 895, D, T) *tipə tōŋ nāmsâtən wältânâ* if you, too, happened to want to (Vj1/539)
- toy** drift ice, ice jam KT 898, D 1497, T 493 *əj patâm tōyŋ äŋkləy torâmna mänt təy patältâwâl* I would be frozen into a frozen, icy column by God (Vj1/718–719)
- töya** thither (KT, D, T) *mä tōya iməlsəm* sat down there (Vj1/6) cf. **töyi**

- ťopj:** *ťopj kul* fish species (KT, D, T) *ťopj kulal täytam* my fish-skin blanket (Vj1/127)
- ťörâs** thousand KT 918, D 1539, T 495
- ťu** that (one) KT 896, D 1492, T 495 *ťutow* from there (Vj2/283, 286), *torâmma źuti pirti* it was ordered (so) by God (Vj2/22)
- ťul-** shine, glare, glint, gleam (KT 909, D 1512, T 493) *nârkâť ulwâlt* sabers seem to flicker (Vj1/339) *kos źulamal us* he saw the twinkling of the star (Vj1/374)
- ťuń** luck, welfare KT 913, D 1521, T 496

U

- u-** 1) see, know KT 268, D 1550, T 531 *mâ uyalim tot köy pelä* I saw that stone floor (Vj1/77–78) *untim alŋa jöyâsâm* my powers have failed (lit. I have arrived at the end of my knowledge) (Vj1/253)
- u-** 2) bark KT 57, D 4, T 501
- uč** belongings, property, clothes KT 98, D 8, T 499
- uj** place under something, *uj-kat* cellar KT 7, D 20, T 499
- ul** berry KT 272, D 64, T 499
- ulâk** mixed forest bordering on water KT 117, D 73, T 500
- ulâŋtâ-** start KT 119, D 82, T 501 *ulâŋtâsim* I started (Vj1/1)
- ulwa** insert (in dress, fur coat) of different colored felt or fur KT 130, D 88, T 500 *ulwan juŋ, ulwan maŋ* many kinds of trees, many-colored lands (Vj1/830–831)
- unč-** cross a river KT 54, D 111, T 501
- ur** cutting edge, sharp edge of something, border, ridge (of mountain) KT 71, D 157, T 502
- urj** dry riverbed KT 74, D 163, T 503
- urt** request, order KT 83, D 179, T 503
- urtku** suitor, best man KT 83, D 179, T 503
- utâ** from the water toward the bank, down from the fire(place), from the entrance into the house KT 267, D 209, T 504 cf. **ütä**

Ü

- üŋäl, üŋäl** 1) tool, instrument, trap KT 17, D 41, T 505
- üŋäl** 2) near something, along KT 30, D 41, (T) *jâm iki mântin üŋäl, jâm süŋk mântin üŋäl* [I spin around] according to the rounds of the good moon, the good sun (Vj2/272–273)
- üŋäl-, üŋlim-** find out, find (trace) KT 30, D 41, (T) *männä küt üŋälli* when I find him (Vj1/406, 514)

ül, üļ North KT 110, D 361, 754, T 505 *üləŋ* cold, northern
üt-, ütəytə- spring from tree to tree (squirrel) KT 108, D 204, T 57 *läŋki ötwəl* squirrel springs, *ütəlt-* spread the word *tem torəm ku pu'alati t'u nemäm ütəltitəy* pass my name on till the end of this world (Vj5/16–17)
ütä upwards, toward the bank or the forest D 209 *künčəŋ läŋki ütä käläy* the clawed squirrel capered to the forest (Vj5/26) cf. **utə**

W

wač town KT 259, D 1552, T 506
way- 1) call, ask (for permission to do something) KT 216, D 1566, T 507
wayän- call, *wayəntə-* ask for permission
 way- 2) carve, grave KT 220, D 1570, T 507 *wakənt-* carve, grave
wäy iron KT 209, D 1567, T 514 *wäytorəm* icon, *torəmwäy* cope of heaven
wayəl sideward board of a sleigh KT 213, D 1574, T 507
wayəl- climb, land, descend, go from the forest to the water (river, lake) KT 214, D 1574, T 507 *wayəltə-* let down *torəm wänməŋ wäy lünkwä männə niy wayəltəsi* I let down the God-faced iron blanket (Vj1/1008–1010)
waja-, woj- sleep, be asleep KT 207, D 1561, T 515 *nün müyilä wojujən* why are you sleeping? (Vj1/320–321)
wajəy animal KT 204, D 1562, T 508 *töyləŋ wajəy* bird (Vj1/47–48)
wäl- live, be KT 128, D 1577, T 516 *mətä wäləyḫə əntə wälwəl* they are worth nothing (Vj1/227), *kayə soyəw är ikit wäliləyalt* there lived lots of gray-haired old men (Vj1/50–51), *pətä wälə* Greetings! (Vj1/345), *mä ärəy tumam wajəy sarək wälətj* let the animal brought by my song be here at once (Vj1/628), *säri torəm wälminnə* when living in the previous world (Vj1/124–125), *sem wälaləy mörəy köy* eyeless rock (Vj1/209)
wäla 1) bed, doss, bench 2) place occupied by something KT 271, D 1581, T 516
katwäla place for a house, building site
wäləy permanently, gradually, slowly KT 273, D 1584, T 516 *əj wäləy* on and on, steadily (Vj6/2, 3)
wälək curved, slanting KT 223, D 1587, T 517
wäləy- flow KT 224, D 1587, T 517
wan shoulder KT 226, D 1594, T 508 *wan əj təkä* tip of my shoulder (Vj1/447)
höyŋ wan fleshy shoulder (Vj1/841–842)
wärata gate (< Ru вoрoтa) (KT, D, T) *əllə wač wärata* to the gate of the big town (Vj1/290)
warəy- 1) seem, show through, show up KT 237, D 1621, T 510
 warəy- 2) ?creak (KT, D, T) cf. Trj *wiryəltə-* rush, howl (wind) KT 237 D 1622, T 526 *warəytä köy oypi* creaking stone door (Vj2/293) cf. **tarəy-**
warəm- grow, spring up (from earth), live, appear KT 238, D 1623, T 510

- warêw** nutcracker KT 238, D 1624, T 510 *warwitäj päj* a hill on which a nutcracker was hopping (?) (Vj1/381–382) cf. *ütäytä-* spring from tree to tree (squirrel)
- warmältä-** bring up (D 1623) *mänt warmältäyaltäy* you brought me up (Vj1/126)
- wart-** shove, push KT 245, D 1628, T 510
- wäs-** spring KT 25, D 1634, T 528
- wäs-** [copula] KT 90, D 1630, (T)
- wat** wind KT 263, D 1638, T 510 *watäh päšäl* windy tributary (Vj5/3), *wat miŋki* gust of wind (Vj1/37–38)
- waʼaŋ** tear KT 253, D 343, (T) *ňälä jayärtäw waʼaŋ* is cry four-fold tear-flow (Vj5/7)
- wäjkältä-** ?? (KT, D, T) *älä jar jurima niy wäjkältälil* (they) ?venture down to me to the centre of my big lake (lit. to my centre of the big lake) (Vj1/678)
- wäl** willow shrub, thin stick KT 277, D 1591, T 511
- wän** short, near KT 225, D 1595, T 512
- wänältä-** lead (blind person, horse) (KT 229, D 1598, T) *täyläy pam jöläw tormä älä wänältä* do not take me to the world sparsely grown with grass (Vj1/196–197)
- wänim-** approach KT 226, D 1596, T 512
- wänäm** face KT 230, D 1604, T 513 *köy wänäm päwätjöh toräm* seventy stone-faced gods (Vj1/178)
- wänʼ** - cut KT 231, D 1606, T 512 *wänʼäyläwäl* keeps cutting (hurting) (Vj1/157)
- wänʼ** thin, narrow, tight KT 252, D 1605, T 512
- wär** fish trap KT 232, D 1613, T 513
- wäsəy** duck KT 249, D 1636, T 513
- wäski-** hunt for duck (KT), D 1636, T 513
- wə-** take KT 268, D 1549, T 533 *jir wəntä jirəŋ juŋk* sacrifice-spirit accepting sacrifices (Vj1/579–580)
- wej** shaft of a tool, handle, *jäjəm wej* big ax KT 203, D 1559, T 520
- wel-** kill, catch (game) KT 275, D 1580, T 521 *nüŋ mänt älä wälä* do not kill me (Vj1/351)
- weli** reindeer KT 272, D 1583, T 521
- weləy** strong, solid tree with upstanding trunk, having no branches KT 278, D 1593, T 521
- weləŋ** ?smooth (KT, D, T) *weləŋ əyäh neməŋ paŋk, muŋləŋ əyäh neməŋ paŋk* famous agaric with a smooth cap, a dotted cap, the size of a wooden hoop (Vj2/70–71), *juy jəy jöya weləŋ paŋk* smooth[-stemmed] agaric, the size of a wooden hoop (Vj2/110, 187, 233, 248)

- wer-** do, make, start doing something KT 235, D 1614, T 522 *pat'ä werlāmən* say farewell [to each other] (Vj1/242), *pāmi wertamnə* as I notice (Vj1/386), *tārəm wat wertə katəl* day creating strong wind (Vj1/481–482), *männə läyaltə weri* I started to wait (Vj1/503)
- wer** 1) matter, business KT 234, D 1613, T 521
- wer** 2) debt, common sacrifice KT 236, D 1616 *werəŋ wäy* tax (to pay), money meant for the white tsar as tribute (Vj3/22)
- wər** blood KT 236, D 1617, T 532 *wont wajəy wərəŋ wäläka* bloody place of wild animals (Vj1/69–70)
- wərtə** red KT 244, D 1618, T 532
- wet** five KT 266, D 1641, T 523
- wətəȳlə-** ignite (intr) KT 257, D 1646, T 533 *wiṭ wətəȳləm iməŋ naj* holy fire ignited forever (Vj1/599–600)
- willä** as if KT 225, D 1589, T 524
- wināwät** guilty (person) (< Ru виноват) (KT 227, D 1603, T 524)
- wiṇčiw**, **wiṇčiw** similar, having the shape of KT 228, D 1598, T 524
- wiṇt'wä** ridge (of roof) KT 231, D 1607, T 524
- wiç**, **wiç** always, forever KT 260, D 1554, T 523 *wiçə latə wäytorəm jəyəm* my eternal iron God father (Vj1/13), *wiṭ læpəȳləm torəm putəw* end of the world eternally dark (Vj1/516)
- wiṇi** forehead KT 230, D 1603, T 526 *wiṇi tōj är awtət* hair on the top of the forehead (Vj1/968)
- wiṛyəl-** rush, howl (wind) (KT 237, D 1622, T 526) *pələm wiṛəȳwəl* [the whistling voice of the spring hazel grouse] sounds in my ears (Vj1/305)
- woyəl**, **woyəl** narrow, thin (about flat objects) KT 30, 214, D 1575, T 526
- wojəmt-** fall asleep KT 207, D 1562, T 527
- wont** forest KT 55, D 1600, T 527
- wor** grove, coniferous forest growing on the high banks of rivers KT 71, D 1620, T 528
- wöy** strength KT 211, D 1571, T 528 *wöyäm* my strength (Vj1/22), *wöyännäti* with your power (Vj1/22–23), *əj wöyi* in one motion (Vj1/455) *torəm wöyi liləŋ juṅkət* lively fighters having divine power (Vj1/340)

Lexical novelties of the Vasjugan texts

There are a number of lexemes in the manuscript that are otherwise undocumented or not mentioned in the dictionaries (KT, D, T). The meaning of these previously unknown words are given in the marginal notes in some cases, but in all other cases we can only detect them on the basis of the context in which they appear. Nevertheless, there are some words of unknown or uncertain semantics, which is indicated with question marks (? , ??). The list below only contains the basic information (word form and meaning) on these items. Further data and references can be found in the main glossary.

Words documented in other Eastern dialects (Surg, V)

ali- 1) can, be able to, have strength for 2) defeat	nöyər saddle
alt autumn fishtrap	oyäl- pour, scatter
änta certainly, perhaps	öyäl- gorge oneself, eat one's fill
čäjê true, authentic, genuine	pas- mark
čəŋk hot, heat	päjəysə- pray, say prayers, make offerings, perform sacrifices
čäjê true, authentic, genuine	pənt 1) way, path 2) ornament of sewn beads on a dress
jəpä- burn with flickering flames	röt freckle
jiləytê- hide (tr, intr)	siyər chain, ply, headrope
jorəylê- forget	sil place near something
juŋkrantê- chew, chew on something	tärən evil spirit, impure power
jük- throw oneself, spring	töl thence, therefrom, later
käyälli simple, warmhearted	tər tweet, chirping
kält female spirit, parallel of <i>juŋk</i>	típə now, immediately
köl devil, evil ghost	tul- shine, glare, glint, gleam
kütä geez! now then! surprise!	warəy- ?creak Trj <i>wiryäl-</i> rush, howl (wind)
liw ?festering wound, pockmark, ?dirt, splotch	wänəltə- lead (blind person, horse)
löysintəyäl- fight	werəŋ tax (to pay)
laŋ sliver, chip, torch	winəwät guilty (person) (< Ру вино-ват)
löyəm- tuck, plug, shove	
moŋki stub, nub	

Words documented only in the northern and/or southern dialects

čāwâr ?? [onomatopoetic?], cf. Ni Kaz O <i>šōwij-</i> rush (wind)	ļāwaytā- speak, say NKha <i>law-</i> say
čoy (fallen) trunk	nāra- bend, nod (one's head)
ātāysār cold	tālmas interpreter, assistant
jəŋk place, region, direction	tārmalə- be in a hurry, aim at
kōŋkri- hollow a tree to make a boat	tejəwli- swag, swing (may be related to KoP <i>tojəγ-</i> , <i>tojə-</i> swing to and fro)
kusar ?dangerous	tur ?close relative
liw ?festering wound, pockmark, ?dirt, splotch	

Words in previously unknown phonetic or derivational form

əntim there is not, there are not	kūtākā among
ətəγ cf. <i>ətəγ</i> , <i>ātāysār</i> cold, NKha <i>ātāk</i> bad weather	lāltāp breathing
ilāŋ ?having a cover (<i>elāŋ</i>)	ļāskāltā- undress (intr)
iməŋ sacred, restricted by taboo (V <i>jiməŋ</i>)	ļūŋkāltā- cover
iwəs spit, skewer (V <i>jiwəs</i>)	miŋlaltā- wave (hand)
kəlāltā- become visible (<i>kālt-</i>)	mōγər- smash, mash (esp. the berries of bird-cherry trees)
kəlānt- hear, listen to, feel (<i>kālant-</i>)	tokimt- poke (<i>tökamt</i>)
kōntāwtā- elope, let somebody run away, let go (<i>kōnt-</i> run away, escape)	tuyəl one – other

Words not present in any of the three dictionaries

ājmal- send word, report on something	kūlāltā- urge, encourage
ičəm ?emphatic particle	liwā- fly, glide
jalimtā- go to war	ļāmpaytā- post, station
jejal- be swayed, blow (wind)	ļəmpəytā- attack
jekəmtā- put on	ļəpəyləm dark
joť: <i>əjjoť</i> permanently, continuously	moši be possible, be allowed (< Ru можно, может)
kijyl- ?tell, sing	niwəl ???river section
kirkāl- start, get up	počka barrel (< Ru бочка)
kōyāl clear	prosit excuse me (< Ru просить 'ask for', простить 'forgive')
kōyān- ?spit	sāyāmlā- mention, say, speak, sing
kōŋəm wisdom, mind, intelligence	

tarowa Greetings! (< Ru здорова 'health')	ʔarəy- make a sharp sound, roar
täyəl- be evolving, be formed	waʔaŋ tear
təyʔäy liquid, thin (of liquids), scant	wäjkəltə- ?dare, venture
	weləŋ ?smooth

Words missing from one of the three dictionaries

aʔil- fence, build a fence	rumka shot glass
i and	səri seagull
irt end of a period, deadline	söy staff, stick, rod
ičəkə moreover, even	täyta 1) reindeer skin 2) piece, piece of paper
jäj dark(-furred) sable	töŋ if, if only
karman pocket	ʔä, ʔät there! lo! well
nəki- push, poke, stab	üyəl near something, along
nəŋ you (PL) (KT instead of KarjGr)	wäs- [copula]
nukal- knock	wäski- hunt for ducks
nüŋ you (SG) (KT instead of KarjGr)	

Russian loanwords

In these manuscripts we find relatively few Russian loanwords. On the one hand, this can be explained from the fact that in the late nineteenth century, along the middle course of the Ob and environs, Russian influence was not as strong as along the Irtyš and its tributaries. We are well aware that Karjalainen's Southern Khanty materials contain numerous Russian loanwords and borrowed Russian patterns. On the other hand, borrowings do not easily find their way into the text of archaic genres, which are typically made up of more or less fixed formulas.

The Russian loanwords occurring in the texts are as follows:

a but, however < a 'but, and'	prosit pardon, condonation < просить 'ask for', простить 'forgive'
i and < и 'and'	
kak how < как 'how'	rumka shot glass < рюмка 'vodka glass'
kərəy, krəy 1) sin, trouble 2) guilty, improper, indecent < грех 'sin'	tarowa Greetings! < здорова 'health'; greeting formula
karman pocket < карман 'pocket'	wärata gate < ворота 'gate'
moši be possible < можно, может 'be possible, be allowed'	winäwät guilty (person) < виноват 'guilty person'
počka barrel < бочка 'barrel'	

4. Likrisovo texts

4.1. The circumstances of the fieldwork

As mentioned in the Introduction (1.3, 1.4), Karjalainen regularly sent reports on his expedition, and these reports were published in the Finno-Ugrian Society's journal. The last of these, numbered the fourth, was dated 15 November 1902, that is, after his return. This reads as follows:

I finished the Tremjugan lexicon by February 1901, and later in the spring I traveled on a horse-drawn sleigh up to the eastern border of the Surgut district, about 600 versts from the city. During this voyage I made notes on the Upper Ob dialect, and at two places between the estuary of the Vah river and Surgut. I brought the informant from one of these places to Surgut with me (JSFOu XXI/6: 3).⁴⁸⁸

Within this same report he also informs about the following:

Concerning what I have brought back from my travels, I can briefly mention that I have eight larger and eight smaller lexical collections. Within this latter group, there is a dialect variant spoken in the Surgut district, somewhat west of the estuary of the Vah, that is worthy of special attention, because it is fairly independent of the dialects spoken in its vicinity (JSFOu XXI/6: 5).⁴⁸⁹

Karjalainen's field notes and his letters written to his fiancée were published in 1983 by the Finno-Ugrian Society. One of these letters, written on 20 May 1901 in Surgut, contains the following passage:

488. Helmikuuhun v. 1901 mennessä lopetin Tremjuganin murteen sanaston ja myöhemmin keväällä tein hevoskyydillä matkan Surgutin piirin itärajalalle n. 600 virstan päähän itse kaupungista. Tällä matkalla tein muistiinpanoja ylä-obilaisesta murteesta, sekä kahdessa paikassa Vach-joen suun ja Surgutin välillä, toisesta näistä paikoista otin vielä kielimestarin mukaan Surgutiin.

489. Matkasaaliista voin lyhyesti mainita, että minulla on kahdeksan suurempaa sanakokoelmaa, sekä kahdeksan pienempää. Erityistä huomiota näistä viimemainituista olisi ansainnut Surgutin piirissä, Vachin suusta vähän länteen puhuttu ”murrevivahdus”, sillä se osoittaa suurta itsenäisyyttä ympäröiviin puheparsiiin nähden.

I wrote my last letter when I was about to leave for the Upper Ob, therefore you don't know yet how I fared. Fairly well. We rode approximately up to the border of the Tomsk county with the *ispravnik* [chief constable],⁴⁹⁰ and we returned together to Alexandrovo, where I spent a week. The roads were passable usually only during the night; the snow melted fast during the daytime. I was afraid I would be stuck there. Still, I stopped at the estuary of the Vah, working for two days at the Vartovskija yurts. I even brought an informant from the proximity of this place with me to Surgut, and allowed him to return home yesterday. (Karjalainen 1983: 137)⁴⁹¹

The informant mentioned in this letter is probably a speaker of the Likrisov dialect, and the texts covering seven pages that have the toponym *Likrisov* on the title page stem from him. When Károly Pápai, who had traveled around the entire area of the Ob a bit more than ten years earlier, recorded the names of the Khanty, Mansi, Komi, Selkup, and Russian villages he came across underway, he does not mention this settlement. Pápai's maps were published by Béla Kálmán in the second volume of *Vogul Népköltési Gyűjtemény IV* [A Collection of Mansi Folklore IV]. In the section entitled "Ethnographic Map of the Eastern Ob Region" (Munkácsi & Kálmán 1963: 66), there is a Khanty village marked at the place under discussion, but its name is missing. There is a settlement named Lekrysovo (Лекрысово) between Nižnevartovsk and Megion, on the left bank of the river Ob, on the most recent detailed map published about the Tjumen' country, but the map does not give information on its present inhabitants.

The introduction to Karjalainen's dialectological dictionary contains the following passage in the listing of the survey points: "Likrisovskija yurts, or Likrisovskoje, Lokosov parish, Surgut dialect, about 30–35 versts from the Vartovskija yurts downwards. "This is also a transitional dialect between the Vah and Ob dialects, but it already differs to some extent from the Vartovskoje

490. In his report written to the Finno-Ugrian Society, Karjalainen also mentioned him by name as a person who helped him a lot: his name was Jevsejev (JSFOu XXI/6:6).

491. Viime kirjeeni kirjoitin Ylä-Obille lähtiessäni, joten et siis tiedä miten sieltä suoriuduin. – Matka meni aika hyvin. Ispravnikan kera ajoimme jotenkin Tomskin läänin rajalle asti, ja yhtä matkaa palasimme vielä Aleksandrovoon, johon jäin viikkokaudeksi. Tie oli enimmäkseen ajokuntoista vain öisin, päivillä lumi jo sulii aika vauhtia. Pelkäsin jo tielle jääväni. Kuitenkin pysähdyin vielä Vahin suulla, tehden työtä kaksi päivää Vartovskija-jurtissa. Sieltä läheltä otin vielä Surgutiin kielimestarin, jonka eilen päästin kotiin menemään.

dialect. It is spoken only in two villages, in the Likrisovo and the Majonskija jurts” (KT 015).⁴⁹²

In describing the collection, the following information was presented by the editor of the dictionary, Y. H. Toivonen: “Seven pages of quarto format, bear-feast ritual and bear songs. The first page is in Finnish, the rest is in Khanty, without a translation, only with a few explanations” (KT 017).⁴⁹³

The editor of the dictionary gives an account of Karjalainen’s notes on phonetics as well: “From the Demjanka, 12 pages on the DN dialect and 11 pages on the DT dialect, one page from Krasnojarsk, 7 pages from the Kaminskija jurts, 4 pages from Vah, 16 pages from Vasjugan, about one page from the jurts at Verhne-Kalim, two pages from the Vartovskija jurts, about 35 pages from the Likrisovskija jurts, three pages from Pim, half a page from Agan...”.

It is quite eye-catching that while Karjalainen was content with a couple of pages (16 at most) on phonetics in the case of the other dialects, he discussed the phonetic features of the variant spoken by his Likrisovo informant over 35 pages. What could be the reason for this?

The motivation for this special attention can be found in the introduction to the dialectal dictionary, which gives the following bits of information regarding the Likrisovo informant: “Karjalainen had an old man as his language master, who was 78 years old according to his own words, but 69 according to the parish register. ‘He pronounced the sounds *l* and *s* in a lisping manner while talking (he pronounced them as *ʎ* and a sharp *s*), I haven’t heard anyone talk like that (or did he have an archaic way of articulation, while others in these villages were all younger?)” (KT 015)⁴⁹⁴

By the spring of 1901, Karjalainen had already familiarized himself with the sound system of several Khanty dialects and had investigated these also from a diachronic point of view. He observed that the reflexes of the PFU **s* and **l* sounds were *t* in the southern dialects, *ɹ* in the Surgut dialect, *l* in

492. Likrisovskija jurty bzw. Likrisovskoje, gemeinde Lokosov, kreis Surgut, etwa 30–35 werst unterhalb von Vartovskija jurty. „Auch ist noch ein Übergangsdialekt zwischen dem Vach- und Ob-dialekt, obwohl er sich schon z.t. vom Vartovskoje-dialekt unterscheidet. Er wird nur in zwei dörfern, in Likrisovo und Majonskija jurty, gesprochen.“

493. Aus Likrisovskoje sind 7 seiten von quartformat „bärensitten“ und bärenlieder, von den ersteren reichlich eine seite auf finnisch und der rest ist ostjakische sprach, ohne übersetzung, nur mit geringen erklärungen.

494. Als sprachmeister hatte Karjalainen einen alten mann, nach seinen eigenen worten 78, aber nach den kirchenbüchern 69 jahre alt. „Beim sprechen von *l*- und *s*-lauten ‚lispelte‘ seine zunge (er sprach *ʎ* und scharfes *s*), andere habe ich nicht so sprechen hören (oder sollte er nur eine ältere artikulationsart haben, denn alle leute in diesen dörfern sind jünger?)“

the Vah dialect, and *j/o* and *l* in the Vasjugan dialect. As opposed to this, his Likrisovo informant pronounced an interdental voiceless fricative (denoted with the Greek letter theta [θ]) in place of the voiceless alveolar fricative *ɬ* of the Surgut dialect. Similarly, its palatal pair (ɬ) sounded like θ' or ž. This was thought to be a “more archaic articulation”, and later on this observation found its way into numerous works on Finno-Ugric historical phonology as a proof of the sound *θ reconstructed for Proto-Ugric (Collinder 1960: 58; Hajdú 1966: 105; Lakó 1968: 51, 52; Steinitz 1980: 131). The Likrisovo data containing the sound θ also appear in DEWOS, although Wolfgang Steinitz strictly followed the principle of phonematic writing when editing his dictionary.

That the interdental voiceless fricative of Likrisovo is not a relic was first pointed out by László Honti when referring to the informant's manner of articulation as a speech disorder (1981: 101). Later on, he repeated this observation several times (1999: 101; 2019: 83). Hartmut Katz ruled out the putatively archaic nature of the Likr θ sound on a general-linguistics basis in his works on the history of fricatives (1972; 1973). I have also written several times about this amusing episode in the history of Finno-Ugristics (Csepregi 2011c; 2014a). According to my own fieldwork experience, my impression is that the pronunciation of the fricative *ɬ* is fairly versatile, one can hear all types of voiceless spirants besides perceiving an initial release burst as well.⁴⁹⁵ The pronunciation of many speakers features only a stop, that is, the *ɬ > t* change characteristic of the southern dialects may also happen.

The name of the Likrisovo speaker does not occur in printed sources, but it probably appears in the parish enumerations that Karjalainen carefully collected during his travels.⁴⁹⁶ There were two Khanty villages registered within the territory of the Lokrosovo parish: Maënskie jurty and Likrisovyh jurty (Маёнские юрты, Ликрисовых юрты). Karjalainen also recorded the Khanty names of these villages, writing these toponyms next to the Russian ones with a pencil: *măjŋ puŋâł* and *wonłoy puŋâł*. The former had 33, the latter 18 inhabitants, with a man called Aleksey Ni[ki]forov Čerkasov (Алексе́й Ни[ки]фо́ровъ Черкасо́въ), aged 65, among them. He was probably Karjalainen's informant, as, on the one hand, and just as stated by Karjalainen, he was 69 in 1901, four years after the enumeration, on the other hand, everyone was much younger than him in the village that had 18 inhabitants, which was noted by Karjalainen as well (Csepregi 2011c, 2014a).

495. The transcription of the fricative *ɬ* was also problematic for ethnographers: F. Martin represented the features of this sound with the letter combination *-stl-* (Larsson 2002: 234), whereas János Jankó tried using the combinations *-χl-*, *-tlχ-*, *-tlχ-*, and *-tl-* (Csepregi 2000: 382).

496. For more details, see 1.4.

4.2. The grammatical features of the Likrisovo dialect

Besides the glossary, the Likrisovo dialect is represented by seven pages of texts related to the bear cult. The first page features the description of the ritual following the killing of the bear written in Finnish, and the next pages contain five shorter songs (15–22 lines), altogether 91 lines of text (303 words, 1,917 characters).

As mentioned above, Karjalainen carried out a very thorough study of phonetics. The manuscript describing this is not accessible to me, but pages xxix–xxxi of the KT dictionary display a presentation of the special Likr sounds. The 21 special graphemes encode ten vowel variants, eight labialized velar consonants (variants of k_o , γ_o , and η_o), and three allophones of the lateral sounds. On the basis of the description it can be assumed that the sounds attested in the Likrisovo variant differ only slightly from the corresponding sounds of the Surgut dialect, and this can also be an effect of the idiosyncratic features of the articulation of A. N. Čerkasov.

It has to be noted that while the Likr words containing a ϑ were quoted from KT without any change by the editors of DEWOS, they omitted those words that contained complicated graphemes marking vowels, for instance, the word meaning ‘fox’ (KT 212; D 1573). In the texts published below, I substitute the grapheme ϑ with λ which was also used in the Trj texts. As far as it is possible concerning printing, I retain Karjalainen’s graphemes marking vowels.

The Likrisovo dialect differs from the Trj dialect and is nearer to the VVj dialect in lacking the rounded vowel \hat{a} – Karjalainen marked the corresponding sound consistently with an a designating an unrounded back a (Likr *wajâγ* ~ Trj *wâjâγ* ‘animal’, Likr *kat* ~ Trj *kât* ‘house’, Likr *ńaa* ~ Trj *ńâa* ‘arrow’, etc.). This phonetic feature confirms Karjalainen’s observation that the Likr variant is transitional between the Surgut and the Vah dialect. The vowel of some words is the same as the corresponding vowel of the VVj dialect, e.g. VVj, Likr *ku* ~ Trj *ko* ‘man’, VVj, Likr *ântim* ~ Trj *ântem* ‘not.exist [= the negative existential verb]’, VVj, Likr *tim* ~ Trj *tem* ‘this’, VVj, Likr *wer-* ~ Trj *wâr* ‘do, make’.

Karjalainen did not ask for grammatical information from the Likrisovo speaker. The size and the genre of the texts do not allow for a complete description of the grammatical features of this dialect, instead one can only make a few observations.

Concerning morphology, the Likrisovo variant is almost identical to the Surgut dialect, that is, the Trj variant described by Karjalainen. In what follows, I list those morphemes that occur in the texts.

As for nominal inflection, the following case suffixes are attested: LAT *-â/-a*, LOC *-nâ/-nâ*, ABL *-i/-j*, INS-FIN *-ât/-at*, TRA *-yâ*, ABE *-aây*. There are no front-vowel variants of the TRA and ABE suffixes, and the APR and COM-INSTR markers of the Surgut dialect do not occur at all in these short texts.

Concerning number markers, only the dual is attested (DU *-yân*), plural forms do not occur in the texts. As for the possessive markers, there are examples of 2SG (*-ân*) and 2PL forms (*-in*). The paradigm of the personal pronouns is represented by two forms only: you[SG].DAT (*nŷjâti*) and you[SG]-LOC (*nŷj-nâ*).

Concerning verbal morphology, there are examples of the marker of the present (*-a*), the unmarked past, and the *-s* marked past. The latter was still in use in the Surgut area when Karjalainen did his fieldwork, but it became obsolete by the end of the 20th century (Csepregi 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2017). As for conjugation, the following forms appear in the texts: subjective conjugation 1SG (*-âm*), 2SG (*-ân/-ân*), 3SG (*o*), 1DU (*-amân/-âmân*), imperative 2SG (*-â*), passive 3SG (*-i/-j*). The objective conjugation features forms akin to their equivalents in the VVj dialect: 2SG *-jn* denoting a singular object (cf. Surg *-e*), and 1SG *-âyâam* denoting a dual object (cf. Surg *-yâam*).

Markers of non-finites are identical to those of Surgut Khanty: PTC.PRS *-tâ/-tâ*, PTC.PST *-(â)m/-(â)m*, INF *-tâyâ*; there is no converb in these texts. Participles can be suffixed with personal markers (PTC.PST-2SG *-m-ân*, PTC.PRS-3SG *-t-âa*) and case suffixes (PTC.PRS-LOC *tâ-nâ*).

There is a single instance of predicate negation: *ântim wăăâs* ‘there wasn’t [existential negation]’. The *i* of the second syllable is again a feature shared with VVj (cf. Surg *ântem*).

4.3. Texts and notes

Likrisov [the cover of the given fascicle of the manuscript]

Page 1

Karhutapaja [in Finnish]

41

Karhun tapettua se tappopaikalla nyljetään. Ennen nylkemistä pannaan rinnalle 5 ohutta tikkua (uroskarhulle, 4 naaraalle).⁴⁹⁷ Nylkiessä veitsellä sitten viskataan tikut yksi kerrallaan eteenpäin, siellä seisovat miehet koettavat saada ne kiinni, siitä onnea. – Pää jätetään nahkaan.

497. *kəyən* [button]

Nylkiessä vieressä ei lauleta. Pirtissä tehdään hänelle lava, *kat*, peräseinän vierelle niin että karhu muka katsoo oveen. Uroksella kaulalla kaulahuivi, naaraalla huivi päähän, sormuksia sormiin. Itse nahka peitetään jollakin vaatteella. – Nylkiessä katsotaan, onko „hiuksia” vatsassa: jos on, merkitsee se, että karhu on syönyt ihmisen. Sellaisen karhun lihaa ei syödä. – Nahka tulee pesän löytäjän omaksi. Lihaa syödään.⁴⁹⁸

Page 2



Makuulavalla asetettuaan pääkarvat silitetään „kammalla”,⁴⁹⁹ puisella tikulla, jossa on pykäliä. Nenän eteen pannan leipää, rasvaa, kalaa, tuohisissa. --

Translation

↻ The traditional customs related to the bear

The bear having been killed, it is skinned at the location of the kill. Before skinning, they place five thin branches (in the case of a male; in the case of a female, four branches) on its chest – *kəγən* ‘button’. While the bear is being skinned, they toss away the branches with the knife one by one, and the men standing nearby try to catch them, as these are supposed to bring luck. – They leave the skin on the head. They don’t sing while skinning. They make a place for it in the hut, *kat*, next to the back wall in a way that it looks as if the bear was looking towards the door. The male gets a scarf on its neck, the female on its head, and they get rings on their fingers. The skin itself is covered with some kind of cloth. – While skinning, they check if there is human hair in its stomach; if there is, that means that the bear had eaten a human. They do not consume the flesh of such bears. – The person who found the den of the bear can have the skin of the bear. They eat the flesh. They do not crush the head.

Having placed the bear on a bench, the fur on its head is smoothed with a “comb”, that is, with a stick that has notches in it (*kuntšip*). They put a bowl made of birch bark in front of it, and they put bread, grease, and fish into it.

498. Päättä ei rikota. [They don’t smash the head.]

499. *kūñčip* [comb]

Likr1 – Bear-feast song

Karhulauluja [Songs of the bear feast]**лаһодалтйр**

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>kəjəŋkem jojâŋ</i> | <i>kəjəŋkem jojâŋ</i> |
| 2. | <i>tim torma wārəytəγlā[.]</i> | Wake up to this world! |
| 3. | <i>kāntā[γ]ku lāγər[t] lājəm tōj[.]</i> | The man had a heavy ax. |
| 4. | <i>lāγər[t] lājəm mīŋtānā⁵⁰⁰</i> | With a blow of the heavy ax |
| 5. | <i>mūγə kōγ tōymān[.]</i> | how far you are brought. |
| 6. | <i>waj[āγ] sāŋki sāŋki</i> | The animal was being hit, hit, |
| 7. | <i>waj[āγ] weri weri[.]</i> | the animal was being done, done. |
| 8. | <i>kāntā[γ] ku sāγə kōr</i> | Human braid-shaped |
| 9. | <i>tūnāŋ liγpəs⁵⁰¹</i> | delicious food |
| 10. | <i>nūŋāti umtj[.]</i> | was sat for you. |
| 11. | <i>kəjəŋkem jojâŋ</i> | <i>kəjəŋkem jojâŋ</i> |
| 12. | <i>nālām seγāl</i> | Barked slat |
| 13. | <i>ōŋlāw kat</i> | mouthed house |
| 14. | <i>tōγ tāt imlān[.]</i> | there, behold, you sat. |
| 15. | <i>asku pəγ</i> | Son of the man from the Ob |
| 16. | <i>wuulāγ tūrsem</i> | unknown/unseen festivity |
| 17. | <i>tū kolātāmlān[.]</i> | behold, you listen to. |
| 18. | <i>kəj[əŋkem] joj[âŋ]</i> | <i>kəjəŋkem jojâŋ</i> |
| 19. | <i>āt mēntā⁵⁰² əntā wuuljŋ[,]</i> | You don't see the passing |
| | | of the night, |
| 20. | <i>kāt[ā]l [mēntā⁵⁰² əntā wuuljŋ]</i> | you don't see the passing of the day, |
| 21. | <i>asku pəγ wuulāγ tūrsem</i> | festivity not seen by the son |
| | | of the man from the Ob |
| 22. | <i>anāmmāli[.]</i> | is being watched. |

Kts. myöhemmin! [see later!]

500. laul. sana. [a word used only in the language of songs]

501. хорошая еда [good food]

502. laul.: *mentāy* [in the song: *mentāy*]

- ☞ *kəjəŋkem jojâŋ* (1) Wake up to this world! (2) The man had a heavy ax. (3) How far you are brought with a blow of the heavy ax. (4–5) The animal was being hit, hit, the animal was being done, done. (6–7) Human braid-shaped delicious food was presented for you. (8–10)

kəjəŋkem jojâŋ (11) Barked slat-mouthed house, there, behold, you sat. (12–14) Behold, you listened to a festivity unknown/unseen by the son of the man from the Ob. (15–17)

kəjəŋkem jojâŋ (18) You don't see the passing of the night, you don't see the passing of the day, a festivity not seen by the son of the man from the Ob is being watched. (19–22)

The content of the song

The singer tells the bear that it got into this state owing to the swing of the heavy ax of a man, that is, into the house hosting the bear feast (2–5). The animal was beaten heavily (6–7). The rest of the lines tell about the placement of the bear: fine food is placed in front of its mouth (8–10), and the bear is put into a house built of slats (12–14). This way, the bear can be a witness to such a festivity that has never been seen before by the son of the man of the Ob (15–22), when it seems that the day and the night converge (19–20).

Notes

This song consists of 22 lines, crossed out with a vertical line, and with a comment at the end: *kts. myöhemmin!* ‘see later’. Accordingly, this variant was a draft version, waiting to serve as the basis for the final version. At the very end of the manuscript, following the song numbered V, there is a number VI, but without any text. Perhaps this is where Karjalainen would have wanted to write down the final copy. The fact that the first two songs were numbered using Arabic numerals, while the rest by using Roman numerals, also suggests that the manuscript bundle was left unfinished.

The text of the song can also be reconstructed from the draft, but it may be that Karjalainen would have corrected or altered the text during the process of finalization, similarly to the procedure he followed, for instance, in the case of the Fly-agaric song (Table 23, pp. 354–355). Karjalainen probably wrote down lines 6–7 and 10 later, as these were inserted next to the text of the song, in between the lines.

The genre of the song is *лӓηοδλτι̇п*, that is, bear-feast song. It differs from the song Trj3, also representing the genre *лӓηοδλτ̇п*, in that the singer does not speak in the name of some deity, but rather he addresses the bear that was brought into the house where the bear feast takes place, in the name of the participants of the feast.

Lines 1, 11, and 18

kajəŋkem jojəŋ – filler.

Fillers in Khanty songs have three types of functions: they help to encode phonological, syntactic, and contentwise partitioning (Csepregi 1997c). The singer uses fillers of one or two syllables so that the accents of the lines of text and the accents of the lines of the melody would fall on the same positions. Certain words, already void of lexical meaning, also encode the boundaries of syntactic units: being placed after the verb, these designate the end of long sentences that may continue over several lines (one example for this is e.g. the particle *wəle* ‘as’, see the notes to lines Trj3/38–39). Refrain-like lines



consisting of meaningful and meaningless elements help contentwise partitioning. The refrain sets the mood of the song, and it gives the singer a chance to think over the next part of the song, and the listener a chance to relax during longer songs. In a situation when the singer does not sing the song, but rather dictates it for the researcher, the fillers that partition phonologically are omitted, but those that help syntactic and contentwise division are parts of the texts without the melody as well.

The filler *kəjəŋkem jojəŋ* is characteristic of bear songs. The same can be heard in a bear feast recorded in 1993, performed by Ivan Seměnovič Sopočin, who lived on the bank of the Tromagan. He sang this line five times before starting to sing the song itself. In Likr5, it is the refrain characteristic of crane songs that is repeated.

Line 4

mijətānā ‘at swishing’. This verb is not attested in the dictionaries, one can only infer its meaning based on the note to line Vj1/346.

Line 5

mǔyə kōy tōymān ‘how far you have been brought’. The most likely parsing for *tōymān* is bring-PTC.PST-2SG, but there may be an error both in the stem and in the vowel of the second syllable, as the latter does not harmonize with the vowel of the first syllable. Correctly, it would probably be *tuy₁man*.

Lines 6–7

waj səŋki səŋki, waj weri weri. Inserted next to the text, in between the lines. The segment *waj* is perhaps a shortened variant of the word *wajəy* ‘animal’. The sentence itself does not fit into the content of the song.

Line 19

āt mənt[ā]l əntə wuλjn ‘you don’t see the passing of the night’. *əntə wuλjn* ‘you don’t see’. The question is whether the verb form features subjective or objective conjugation. If it is of the subjective conjugation, then it differs from both the Trj form *wuλəŋ* and the VVj form *wuwəŋ*. If it is of the objective conjugation, then it differs from the Trj form *wuλe*, but it is identical to the VVj *wuλjn* form.

Line 22

ānāmmāli ‘by you is stared at’. This form does not exhibit vowel harmony: the first two syllables contain back vowels, the last two front ones (see also Likr4/10–11, 13, 15). A similar phenomenon can be observed in the song Trj3, see the notes to lines 51–52.

Likr2 – Hunter’s song I

„Karhulauluja”

2)

1.	<i>wajəy arttə juyəλ torəm</i>	Game-distributing kind god,
2.	<i>tormin jöyət, jöyət</i>	your god has come, has come,
3.	<i>[tormin] jöytəs, jöytəs.</i>	your god came, came.
4.	<i>[tormin] jöytəm kārənə</i>	At the place where your god arrived
5.	<i>pə kujin pəy məλλi⁵⁰³</i>	some of you is given
6.	<i>jeŋə wökəjə[t] [məλλi.]⁵⁰⁴</i>	with ten foxes is given.
7.	<i>wajəy arttə juyəλ torəm</i>	Game-distributing kind god
8.	<i>tormin jöytəm kārənə</i>	at the place where your god came
9.	<i>pə kujin pəy məλλi⁵⁰⁵</i>	some of you is given,
10.	<i>əj əŋkəjə[t] [məλλi.]⁵⁰⁶</i>	with one squirrel is given,
11.	<i>əj sasa[t] [məλλi.]⁵⁰⁷</i>	with an ermine is given.
12.	<i>w[ajəy] a[rttə] j[uyəλ] torəm</i>	Game-distributing kind god,
13.	<i>t[ormin] j[öytəm] kārənə</i>	at the place where your god came
14.	<i>pə k[ujin] pəy⁵⁰⁸</i>	some of you
15.	<i>əλə mərəm kətə[t] wot[əj].]⁵⁰⁹</i>	is only waved at with his hand.

503. muutamalle antaa [gives to some]

504. antaa 10 kettua [gives 10 foxes]

505. muutamalle antaa [gives to some]

506. yhden oravan [one squirrel]

507. yhden näädän [one marten]

508. muutamalle [to some]

509. vain kädellä viittaa (so. ei anna mitään) [only waves with his hand (that is, does not give anything)]

☞ Game-distributing kind god, your god has come, has come, your god came, came. (1–3)

At the place where your god arrived, to some of you it is given, ten foxes are given. (4–6)

Game-distributing kind god, at the place where your god came, to some of you it is given, one squirrel is given, an ermine is given. (7–11)

Game-distributing kind god, at the place where your god came, to some of you he only waves with his hand. (12–15)

Notes

The content of the song was summarized by Karjalainen himself in his monograph on mythology: “In the song that I heard further up along the Ob, the deity *Vajəy-ərttə-juyəλ-torəm* was depicted as someone who distributes his gifts highly unevenly: ‘he gives ten foxes to some, a squirrel or a marten to others, and he

only waves his hands at some people’ (this latter expression is a Russian calque, and it means that he gives nothing)” (JugrUsk 329; FFC 44: 303; Relig2: 223).⁵¹⁰

In another place Karjalainen also publishes the literal translation of the text: “Songs are very simple in those regions, e.g. ‘*torəm*, your *torəm* distributing games, is coming, is coming, your *torəm* has come. Your *torəm* gives to some at the place of his arrival, he gives ten foxes, your *torəm* gives to some at the place of his arrival, he gives a fox, he gives a marten... to some, he only waves his hand’” (JugrUsk 534; FFC 63: 228; Relig3: 170).⁵¹¹

Line 1

wajj̄y artt̄a torəm ‘god distributing game’. The deity who is responsible for good luck in hunting. According to Karjalainen’s information, he is the son of the supreme deity, he lives in heaven, and he must be offered white-colored male animals (JugrUsk 329). He is an important figure of the Surgut Khanty pantheon to this very day (*wajj̄y artt̄a iki* or *törəm*), one of the Sky God’s seven sons (Kerezsi 1997a: 35; 1997b: 36).

Lines 2–4

torm̄jn. In Karjalainen’s Finnish translation *torəmisi* ‘your[SG] god’, that is, according to Karjalainen, the word bears a 2SG possessive affix. The form of the 2SG possessive affix is *-ən/-ân* in the Trj dialect, and the *-in/-jn* possessive affix occurs in the second person dual and plural, and in the third person dual slots of the paradigm (KarjGr 232–233). The V dialect does not feature possessive suffixes of the form *-in/-jn* (KarjGr 105–109). Therefore, the correct translation is ‘your(PL) god’.

2–3. Based on the manuscript, it seems as if the two lines contained the repetition of a verb of two different past tense forms: unmarked and *s*-marked past tense (*jöj̄ât*, *jöjt̄s*). However, Karjalainen translated the first of these with the present tense (*torəmisi tulee* ‘your god is coming’). It is possible that the present tense marker (that has the form *-a* in the Surgut dialect) appeared as *ʒ* in the Likrisovo pronunciation (that is, it was *jöj̄âtʒ* instead of *jöj̄âtʌ*), went through assimilation (to the stem-final consonant of the verb), and it could not be heard, but the informant used a present tense form when he explained the song for Karjalainen.

510. Ylempänä Obilla kuulemassani laulussa *Vajj̄y-artt̄a-j̄j̄yäl-torəm* kuvattiin hyvinkin epätasaiseksi anneissaan: ”muutamalle antaa kymmenen kettua, muutamalle yhden oravan, yhden nädän, muutamalle vain kädellä viittaa” (viimemainittu lausumatapa, venäläisiltä omistettu, merkitsee: ei anna ensinkään).

511. Laulut noilla tienoilla ovat mitä yksinkertaisimpia laadultaan, esim.: ”Eläimiä jakava *torəm*, *torəmisi* tulee, tulee, *torəmisi* tuli, tuli. *Torəmisi* tulopaikalla muutamalle antaa, kymmenen kettua antaa, *torəmisi* tulopaikalla muutamalle antaa, yhden oravan antaa, yhden nädän antaa... muutamalle vain kädellä viittaa.”

The past tense marked *-s-* became obsolete by the end of the 20th century in Surgut Khanty, but it was still used in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It is used in the northern and the easternmost (VVj) dialects. Further occurrences are Likr4/17, 19.

Lines 5, 9, and 14

pā kujin pæy ‘some of you’. This construction probably features a pair of pronouns, *pā ... pā*, in different phonetic forms. When used once, the pronoun *pā* means ‘other’, but in the previous type of use, it means ‘one ... other’ (KT 653; D 1085). In a structure with ‘one ... other’, the base of the construction had to be used after both pronouns, e.g. Trj *pā ko ... pā ko* ‘one man ... the other man’ (KT 653). The present-day Surgut dialect has a third construction as well, in which it is only the pronoun *pā* that is repeated, while the base of the construction is not: *pā weli pā* ‘some reindeer’, *pā lätñə pā* ‘sometimes, occasionally’ (Csepregi 2017: 120–121). This is the construction that occurs here as well, the translation of which is *muutamalle* ‘to some’ according to Karjalainen’s marginal note. The phonetic form of the construction is also worthy of attention: the ending of the second *pā* is aspirated, and Karjalainen perceived this as a consonant. The vowel *æ* of this word form is an allophone characteristic of the pronunciation of the Likrisov informant, and Karjalainen refers to it as “wide *ä*”.

kuj-in man-2PL. The possessive suffix refers to the singer’s audience, out of whom some will be lucky during hunting, and some will be unlucky.

Line 6

wōkājät ‘with a fox’ (KT 212). The vowel of the first syllable has a very complicated grapheme featuring four diacritics. The word does not exhibit vowel harmony either: the second syllable contains a back vowel, while the third a front vowel.

Lines 6, 10–11

In ditransitive constructions, the theme (*wōki* ‘fox’, *länki* ‘squirrel’, *sas* ‘ermine’) are suffixed with the INS marker *-ät*, but the word-final *t* is deleted due to phonetic reasons. We can only guess on the basis of the Surgut case system that this marker is indeed of the form *-ät*, as there are no further occurrences of INS in the Likrisovo texts, but there is an example of word-final *t*-deletion: *kā[t] nälγän* ‘two arrows’ (Likr3/5).

Line 11

əj sasat məłli. According to the dictionaries, *sas* is ‘ermine (*Mustela erminea*)’ (KT 879; D 1377), but Karjalainen translated it with the Finnish *näätä* ‘marten (*Martes martes*)’.

Likr3 – Hunter’s song II

III).

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 1. | <i>wajâγ ājλâγ⁵¹² juγâλ lek_oi</i> | On the dear road void
of hunting luck |
| 2. | <i>kôλâ mōčâ λuλij[.]⁵¹³</i> | how long [it] is stood. |
| 3. | <i>jâγam jâtm jîr pânâm mâγâ⁵¹⁴</i> | To my father’s good
sacrifice-offering place |
| 4. | <i>ipât λâηki kat mâγâ⁵¹⁵</i> | to the land of the flying squirrel |
| 5. | <i>jâtm tōγλâp kâ[t] náλγân⁵¹⁶</i> | good-feathered two arrows |
| 6. | <i>tōγâ tuλâm[.]⁵¹⁷</i> | I take there. |
| 7. | <i>jâγam jâtm jîr p[ânâm] m[âγâ]</i> | To my father’s good
sacrifice-offering place |
| 8. | <i>i[pât] λ[âηki] k[at] mâγâ</i> | to the land of the flying squirrel |
| 9. | <i>jâtm t[ōγλâp] k[ât] náλγân</i> | the good-feathered two arrows |
| 10. | <i>tōγâ λîñ[t] λâγλam[.]⁵¹⁸</i> | I stick there. |
| 11. | <i>jâγam j[âtm] j[jîr] p[ânâm] mâγnâ</i> | At my father’s good
sacrifice-offering place |
| 12. | <i>i[pât] λ[âηki] k[at] [mâγnâ]</i> | at the land of the flying squirrel |
| 13. | <i>oγ_o pânγiλi⁵¹⁹</i> | the head is bowed |
| 14. | <i>wajâγ ājâηkâ jâtâγâ.</i> | to become lucky with prey. |

512. (saalista saamatta) [(without capturing any prey)]

513. kauanko seison [how long I stand]

514. isäni uhripaikkaan [to my father’s place of sacrifice]

515. yökön asuinmaahan [to the habitat of the bat/flying squirrel]

516. hyväsulkaiset 2 nuolta [good-feathered 2 arrows]

517. sinne tuon [I take there]

518. pystytän [I set]

519. kumarran [I bow]

☞ On the dear road void of hunting luck how long I stood. (1–2)

I take two good-feathered arrows to my father’s place for offering a sacrifice, to the land of the flying squirrel. (3–6)

I stick the good-feathered two arrows in my father’s good place for offering a sacrifice, in the land of the flying squirrel. (7–10)

I bow my head at my father’s place for offering a sacrifice to become lucky with prey. (11–14)

Notes

This hunter’s song consists of 14 lines. Karjalainen also published its literal translation: “How long shall I stand on an empty road without finding an animal? I bring two good-feathered arrows to my father’s place for offering a sacrifice, to the dwelling of the bat (?). I place two good-feathered arrows to my father’s place for offering a sacrifice, to the dwelling of the bat(?). I bow my head at my father’s place for offering a sacrifice, at the dwelling of the bat(?) to become lucky during hunting” (JugrUsk 535; FFC 63: 228; Relig3: 170).⁵²⁰

The song consists of four sentences. The voice of the verbal predicates is noteworthy. The use of the passive in the first and the last line suggests a universal agent: in line 2, *luuŕi* stand-PST.PASS.3SG (Karjalainen translated this with a present tense active person-marked form: *seison* ‘I stand’); in line 13 *oŕo pãnyŕi-ŕ-i* head bow-PRS-PASS.3SG ‘the head is bowed’ (Karjalainen translated this form with an active person-marked verb as well, *kumarran* ‘I bow’). The two sentences in between feature active verbs. The object of both is ‘two arrows’. In line 6, this is new information, therefore the verb is in the subjective conjugation: *tu-ŕ-ãm* bring-PRS-1SG ‘I bring’. In line 10, ‘two arrows’ is already discourse-old, that is, the object is topical, therefore the verb is in the objective conjugation, agreeing with the dual object as well: *ŕiŕt’-ŕ-ãŕŕ-ãm* stick-PRS-DU-1SG ‘I stick those two’. There is a non-finite purpose clause with an infinitive as its predicate in line 14, following its matrix verb in line 13: *wajãŕy äj-ãŕ-kãjã-tãŕã* animal luck-ADJ-TRA become-INF ‘to become lucky in hunting’.

Line 4

The word *ipãt lãŕki* occurring in lines 4, 8, and 12 means flying squirrel (KT 47; D 154). There is no LikŔ form in the dictionaries, the most similar form is Trj *jipãt lãŕki*. Karjalainen’s translation (*yökkö* ‘a type of bat’) is perhaps wrong. It might be the case that this word was also used to refer to flying squirrels in a Finnish dialect, as it is also a nocturnal animal, similarly to bats (the flying squirrel is *liito-orava* in standard Finnish). As the flying squirrel prefers spruce forests, it can be assumed that the place of sacrifice was also in a spruce forest.






















Lines 9–10

The arrow as a gift offering appears in other areas as well where the Khanty live, cf. Vj1/656–660; JugrUsk 228; FFC 44: 145; Relig2: 111–112.

520. Eläintä löytämättä mihin asti seison tyhjällä tiellä? Isäni hyvän uhrin panentamaahan, yökön asuntomaahan hyväsulkauset kaksi nuolta tuon. Isäni hyvän uhrin panentamaahan, yökön asuntomaahan hyväsulkauset kaksi nuolta sinne pystytän. Isäni hyvän uhrin panentamaassa, yökön asuntomaassa kumarran päätä eläinnolliseksi tullakseni.

Likr4 – Song to the Fire Goddess

IV.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|
| 1. | <i>nājən, nājən aηkəli</i> | Your fire, your fire, little mother, |  |
| 2. | <i>[nājən], [nājən] äy_oəli</i> | your fire, your fire, little daughter |  |
| 3. | <i>λυη[k] kūrmanη pītām lek_o</i> | ghost's frozen path |  |
| 4. | <i>μαηη_o[k_o] kūrmanη pītām lek_o</i> | forest spirit's frozen path |  |
| 5. | <i>min nüγāλλāmān[.]</i> | the two of us follow. |  |
| 6. | <i>nājən, nājən aηkəli</i> | Your fire, your fire, little mother |  |
| 7. | <i>nājən, nājən äy_oəli</i> | your fire, your fire, little daughter |  |
| 8. | <i>λυη[k] kūrmanη lek_o pətālä</i> | to the end of the path of the ghost |  |
| 9. | <i>μαηη_o[k_o] [kūrmanη]
[lek_o] [pətālä]</i> | to the end of the path
of the forest spirit |  |
| 10. | <i>nāj tūnāpə pītāmən</i> | the two of us get into the
wealth of heroines, |   |
| 11. | <i>or[t] [tūnāpə] [pītāmən.]</i> | the two of us get into the
wealth of heroes. |   |
| 12. | <i>min tōm mənə pāļəkə</i> | On the way there |  |
| 13. | <i>nāj tūnāāly pītāmən</i> | we will lack the wealth of heroines |  |
| 14. | <i>min tōm mənə pāļəkə</i> | on the way there |  |
| 15. | <i>or[t] tūnāāly pītāmən[.]</i> | we will lack the wealth of heroes |  |
| 16. | <i>min tōm mənə pāļəkə</i> | On the way there |  |
| 17. | <i>jəm nāj[ə] əntim wāāds</i> | there was no good heroine |  |
| 18. | <i>min tōm mənə pāļəkə</i> | on the way there |  |
| 19. | <i>jəm or[t]p[ə] əntim wāāds –</i> | there was no good hero. |  |

☞ Your fire, your fire, little mother, your fire, your fire, little daughter, the two of us follow the ghost's frozen path, the forest spirit's frozen path. (1–5)

Your fire, your fire, little mother, your fire, your fire, little daughter, the two of us get into the wealth of heroines, the two of us get into the wealth of heroes by the end of the ghost's path, by the end of the forest spirit's path. (6–11)

If we go in a different direction, we will lack the wealth of heroines, if we go in a different direction, we will lack the wealth of heroes. (12–15)

There was no good heroine for us on the other side, there was no good hero for us on the other side. (16–19)

Notes

This song consisting of 19 lines is probably addressed to the Fire Goddess, *näj aņki*. Karjalainen did not make marginal notes in this song.

Fire is worshiped as a female goddess among all the Ob-Ugric peoples. In Karjalainen’s categorization, she belongs to that group of deities that are bound to the forces of nature, like the sun and wind. The Fire Goddess is worthy of respect and gift offerings because she provides homes with warmth, and defends people walking in the forest from cold (JuġrUsk 420–427; FFC 63: 58–68; Relig3: 50–58).

The message of the song can probably be summarized as follows: if we follow the path of the deities, we will live in wealth, whereas if we do not, we will face poverty. The song consists of four sentences, the following is an alternative free translation:

↺ Your fire, your fire, little mother, your fire, your fire, little daughter, the two of us are walking on the freezing path of the ghost, on the freezing path of the forest spirit. (1–5)

Your fire, your fire, little mother, your fire, your fire, little daughter, by the time we walk through the path of the ghost, the path of the forest spirit, we will get to the wealth of princesses and princes. (6–11)

If we go in a different direction, we do not get to the wealth of princesses and princes. (12–15)

There wasn’t a good princess/heroine on the other side of the road, there wasn’t a good prince/hero on the other side of the road. (16–19)

Lines 1–2, 6–7

näjən, näjən aņkəli, näjən, näjən äyöäli ‘your fire, your fire, little mother, your fire, your fire, little daughter’. This is probably an address form, and it is not the case that a mother and her daughter are the protagonists of the song, and that they are the ones referred to by the use of the 1DU forms of the following sentences.

Lines 3–4, 8–9

kürmän ĵekö ‘well-trodden path, track’, *pitäm ĵekö* ‘frozen path’, although it is the *a ~ u* vowel alternation that would be expected to occur in the participle of the verbal stem *pat-* (KT 769; D 1233), and *i* occurs only in imperative forms. The perfective participle *pitäm* ‘frozen’ can be a form of the language of songs, but it can also be the case that vowel alternation worked differently either in the Likr dialect or in the idiolect of the informant.



λυηκ ‘idol, ghost, deity’ *μαρηοκο* ‘forest spirit’. These two supernatural beings often co-occur in parallel lines. The former belongs to the upper layer of the tripartite world, and the latter to the middle layer where people live (JugrUsk 373–376).

Lines 10, 11, 13, 15

τυν ‘wealth, well-being, luck, happiness’ (KT 913; D 1521). It must be mentioned that in the form *τυνᾶπρ* in lines 10–11 there is no vowel harmony – the occurrence of front vowels is perhaps the result of assimilation triggered by the palatal *ν*. In line 13, the word features only back vowels (*τυνᾶλλᾶγ*), but then in line 15, the form is non-harmonic again. As only limited data is available, it cannot be determined whether this is the effect of a sound change in progress, or it is simply a writing error.

Lines 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19

νᾶj ‘princess/heroine’ *οrt* ‘prince/hero’. These forms occur in parallel lines, similar co-occurrences appeared in the Trj and Vj heroic songs as well.

Lines 17, 19

ωᾶλᾶs ‘was’. Cf. the note to line Likr 2/3.

The structure of the song is determined by the parallel lines. The changing parts of the parallel lines are in a close semantic relationship: *ᾶηki* – *ᾶγ*ο*i*, *λυηκ* – *μαρηοκο*, *νᾶj* – *οrt*. Predicates are also repeated: the verb *πιλαμαθ* ‘we get into’ occurs four times, and the negated verb *αντιμ ωᾶλᾶs* ‘wasn’t’ twice. It is only the verb *ἠυγαλλᾶμᾶν* ‘we follow’ that is not repeated, that is why the number of lines is odd (19).



Likr5 – The song of the crane

V.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>tarâjo, tari!</i> | Crane, crane! |
| 2. | <i>[tarâjo], [tari!]</i> | Crane, crane! |
| 3. | <i>martimä[γ] ku tōrâm pǎlki</i> | Southern man from the sky |
| 4. | <i>tōγâλ tāni αλêη wajâγ</i> | first animal floating on wings, |
| 5. | <i>nūy jayeyśâλ.</i> | soared upwards. |
| 6. | <i>âtâr kâñçâ λâpât lâra</i> | Into the seven layers drawn |
| | | on the clear skies |
| 7. | <i>tî nuγ pitλan.</i> | behold, you rise up |
| 8. | <i>sipâr mǎ[γ]ku jakkêη mǎγâ</i> | About the Siber-land man's homeland, |
| 9. | <i>mǎγ, çǎñ, kâλtâ jimêη mǎγâ</i> | about the nestling-growing holy land |
| 10. | <i>nūñnâ tî nǎmλayti.</i> | was thought by you. |
| 11. | <i>tarâjooo, tari! t[arâjo], t[ari]!</i> | Crane, crane! Crane, crane! |
| 12. | <i>sipâr mǎ[γ]ku jakkêη mǎγâ</i> | To the Siber-land man's homeland, |
| 13. | <i>mǎγ, çǎñ, kâλtâ jimêη mǎγâ</i> | to the nestling-growing holy land |
| 14. | <i>nūñnâ tî λiti.</i> | it was flown down by you. |
| 15. | <i>tarâjo, t[ari]! t[arâjo], t[ari]!</i> | Crane, crane! Crane, crane! |
| 16. | <i>sipâr mǎ[γ]ku jakkêη mǎγnâ</i> | On the Siber-land man's homeland, |
| 17. | <i>mǎγ, çǎñ, kâλtâ jimêη mǎγnâ</i> | on the nestling-growing holy land |
| 18. | <i>nâr kasj</i> | of sedge |
| 19. | <i>λuy[k] mǎγy⁵²¹</i> | ghost-sized |
| 20. | <i>λuy[k] mǎγy kolâm pul</i> | ghost-sized three pieces |
| 21. | <i>tari nūñnâ wêli tari.</i> | crane by you taken crane. |

521. haltian suuruinen [of the size of a ghost]

- ☞ Crane, crane! Crane, crane! (1–2) A southern man from the sky, first animal gliding/floating on wings, soared upwards. (3–5) Behold, you rise into the seven layers drawn on the clear skies. (6–7) You thought about the Siberian man's homeland, about the nestling-growing holy land. (8–10)

Crane, crane! Crane, crane! (11) You descended to the Siberian man's homeland, to the nestling-growing holy land. (12–14)

Crane, crane! Crane, crane! (15) On the Siber-land man's homeland, on the nestling-growing holy land, ghost-sized, ghost-sized three pieces of sedge are taken by you, crane. (16–21)

Notes

This song consists of 21 lines, the topic of which is the crane.

The crane is an important character in the bear-feast ceremony. It usually enters the scene around the end of the feast. The performer personifying the crane wears a huge scarf that completely conceals his figure, and he imitates the crane's beating of its wings by flapping his arms. Under the scarf, he has a long stick attached to his head, imitating the bird's beak. The crane tumbles over the bowls containing food placed in front of the bear with this stick. The song of the crane is about the return of the crane to the north in the spring where it makes a nest, but the bear ravages this nest. To get revenge, the crane swoops into the house hosting the bear feast and attacks the bear, scattering its food. Crane songs usually employ attractive, figurative language to illustrate the longing of migrating birds for their home and their joy when they can set out toward their homeland again in the spring. This crane scene was recorded by Lennart Meri as well in his documentary *The Sons of Torum*.

Karjalainen writes about cranes as follows: "According to Kannisto, there is a remarkable performance involving several animals on the last day of the Vogul bear feast, with the appearance of mosquitoes, the crane, the eagle-owl, and the firefox (...) The crane is a man dressed up in a big scarf, who harasses people and the bear as well with his long beak made of wood" (JugrUsk 531; FFC 63: 222; Relig3: 166).⁵²²

The song in the manuscript is a fragment, it is left unfinished. The lines of the refrain that are repeated several times recall the name of the crane (*tarây*) in a somewhat altered form fitting the lines of the melody (lines 1, 2, 11, 15: *tarâjo, tarj!*). Other variants of the song also have a line *kuriw-riw-riw kuriw-riw* that imitates the sound of the crane (Rimma Russkina, river Tromagan, 1993). The following is an alternative free translation:

“ Crane, crane! Crane, crane! (1–2)

First bird arriving from the southern lands, gliding on its wings stretched out, flies higher up with strong flapping of its wings. (3–5)

You fly higher up than the seven layers drawn on the clear skies. (6–7)

522. Vogulien karhunpeijaisissa on, kertoo Kannisto, viimeisenä iltana huomattava vielä eräänlaiset ”eläinnäytelmät”, hyttysten, kurjen, huuhkaajan ja tuliketun esiintymiset. (...) Kurki, suurhuiviin peittäytynyt mies, ahdistelee pitkällä puunokallaan ihmisiä ja karhuakin.

You thought about the Siberian homeland, the nestling-growing holy land (= where the nestlings grow up). (8–10)

Crane, crane! Crane, crane! (11)

Behold, you landed on the Siberian homeland, on the holy land of raising nestlings. (12–14)

Crane, crane! Crane, crane! (15)

In the Siberian homeland, on the holy land where nestlings grow up, you take three idol-sized bites from aquatic plants. (16)

Line 3

martiməy ‘southern lands, the place where migrating birds spend the winter’ (JugrUsk 399; FFC 63: 26; Relig3: footnote 25).

The expressions *martiməy ku* ‘man from the south’ and *sipər məy ku* ‘man from Siberia’ refer to the two homelands of migrating birds, and the use of *ku* ‘human, man’ personifies the birds.

Line 4

təŋi. This is probably related to the verb V *təŋimtə-* ‘float, glide (on wings stretched out)’ (KT 991; D 1452), there is no Likr item in the dictionaries.

Line 5

nuy jəyeyəşəl. Probably related to the Vj *jəyislə-* ‘fly with large flaps of wings’ (KT 136; D 338), but there is no Likr item in the dictionaries. The singer evokes truly expressively the two different phases of flying: gliding with wings still and soaring upwards with a heavy fluttering of the wings.

Line 8

Sipər məy ‘Siberia’. Although Karjalainen only uses lowercase letters in the texts written in Khanty, in this instance he capitalizes the word, probably because he also interpreted it as a toponym. He uses lowercase letters for the further occurrences of this word (lines 12 and 16). The word *sipər* is not attested in dictionaries.

Lines 9, 13, 17

məy. čăŋəkəlatə jiməŋ məy ‘nestling growing holy land’. The verb *čăŋəkəl-* ‘grow, grow up’ is intransitive, so the meaning of the non-finite relative clause is ‘the land where the nestling grows up’.

Lines 10, 14

nŭŭnā tī nāmlaytj ‘remembered by you, you remembered’; *nŭŭnā tī liti* ‘descended by you, you descended’. The two predicates are in the passive voice, and the agent is the bird addressed using the 2SG. The internal argument of these verbs occurs in the lative, that is, intransitive verbs can also be passivized.

Line 18

ńārkas ‘grass growing in the lake, its root is edible’ (KT 626; D 1066). Its function is unclear. Perhaps this is the food of the crane.

Line 21

nŭŭnā wəli ‘by you is taken, you take’. This is also a verb in the passive voice, but it is a transitive one.



4.4. Likrisovo lexicon

a, ä

äjê luck KT 6, D 20 *äjjan* lucky (Likr3/14), *äjjê* unfortunate, without luck (Likr3/1)

alêŋ first KT 118, D 81

amêŋ- put, place, seat, stand KT 45, D 104 *túnêŋ liçpəs niçati umti* delicious food was put in front of you (Likr1/9–10)

añêŋ- ?stare, gaze (KT, D) Jg *añêŋ*- stare (T 28) *añêŋmâli* is being stared at (Likr1/22)

art- share, distribute KT 243, D 174

as big river, Ob KT 84, D 184 *asku* man from the Ob (Likr1/15)

â, ä, ă

äyoi girl KT 16, D 37 *äyoi* little girl (Likr4/2)

älê only (KT 109, D 68)

âŋki mother KT 36, D 136 *âŋkai* little mother (Likr4/1)

ât night (KT 100, D 199)

ătêr clear (sky) (KT 104, D 218)

č

čăŋkêl- grow, be growing (KT 941, D 288)

ə

əj one (KT 7, D 15)

əntê not (KT 58, D 121) *əntim wălêš* there wasn't (Likr4/19)

i, j

ipêŋ-lâŋki flying squirrel (KT 47, D 154)

imêl- sit down (KT 46, D 105)

j

jayçysêl- fly with beating its wings (KT 136, D 338)

jakê home, inside (KT 142, D 327) *jakêŋ məyâ* to the homeland (Likr5/8)

jê- become something KT 196, D 309 *äjjanê jêŋtəyê* to become lucky (Likr3/14)

jəy father KT 145, D 324 *jəyêŋ jêŋ jir* my father's good sacrifice (Likr3/3)

jəm good KT 167, D 367
jeŋ ten (KT 156, D 385)
jiməŋ holy (KT 170, D 372)
jiŋ blood offering KT 181, D 399
jöyät- come, arrive KT 152, D 355 *tormiŋ jöytäm kārânâ* at the place where
 your god arrived (Likr2/4)
juyâł kind (KT, D 337)

k

kăŋčâ ornament, drawing, pattern (KT 312, D 511)
kăntây Khanty KT 317, D 517 *kăntâkku* man (Likr1/3)
kârâ area, place KT 327, D 544
kat house (KT 357, D 565)
kât two (KT 454, D 695) *kât náłyân* two arrows (Likr3/5)
kătâł day, daytime (KT 354, D 571)
kəyəŋ button (KT 395, D 605)
kəj- to present a shaman's song KT 384, D 596 *kəjəŋkem-jojəŋ* the refrain of a
 bear song (Likr1/1)
köy long KT 285, D 450
kołəm three (KT 377, D 477)
kōlâ mōčâ until when (KT 367, D 442)
kołtəm- hear (KT 378, D 466)
kōr figure, image, sight (KT 331, D 539)
kōt hand KT 452, D 698
ku man KT 279, D 423 *pâ kujin pəy* some people (Likr2/5)
kūŋčip comb KT 409, D 646
kūr leg KT 418, D 664 *kūrman̄ lek* path (Likr4/3)

ł

łăŋəłatip bear-feast song KT 1064, D 774
łăyært heavy KT 1056, D 742
łăjəm ax KT 1042, D 723
łăŋki squirrel KT 1067, D 780 *əj łăŋkəjät məłłi* to give a squirrel (Likr2/10)
łăpəł seven KT 1081, D 793
łăr line, stripe, layer KT 1086, D 797
łât- descend KT 1101, D 811 *nŷŋnə tí łiti* you descended (Likr5/14)
łi- eat KT 1098, D 713 *łiypəs* food (Likr1/9)
łiŋt'- insert, stick, stand (tr) (KT 1118, D 771) *kât náłyân tōyâ łiŋt'łəyłam*
 I stick the two arrows there (Likr3/9–10)
łiti see **łât-**
łuŋk ghost, deity KT 1065, D 777

Λ

λαλ- stand KT 1120, D 759 *kōlā mōčā luλi* how long we stood (Likr3/2)

!

!ek, way, footprint KT 472, D 820

m

māy, nestling KT 503, (D 902)

martimāy the place where the migrating birds spend the winter (KT 543, D 966)

māη, k, forest spirit (KT 516, D 946) *māη, k, kūr māη !ek,* the path of the forest spirit (Likr4/9)

mə- give (KT 553, D 885) *əj sasat məλλi* an ermine is given (Likr2/11)

məy land, place KT 504, D 898 *jir pānām məy* a place for offering a sacrifice (Likr3/3) *sipər məyku jakkəη məynə* in the Siber-land man's homeland (Likr5/16)

mən- go (KT 527, D 931) *ət məntāλ əntə wuλin* you don't see the going (passing) of the night (Likr1/19), *tōm mənṗə pālakṗə* on the way there (Likr4/12)

mərəm only (KT 540, D 963)

min the two of us (KT, D 884)

mīη- ?strike, swipe (*mīηki* very strong blowing of the wind KT 517, D 948) *łāyart łājəm mīηtānā* when a blow is made with a heavy ax (Likr1/4)

mūyə what (KT 495, D 878)

n

nāj fire, goddess KT 561 D 980

nāmλaytā- think, remember (KT 583, D 1001)

nuy up(wards) (KT 566, D 988)

nūη you[SG] (KT, D 1004) *nūηāti* to you (Likr1/10), *nūηnə* by you (Likr5/10)

ń

ńaal arrow KT 644, D 1040 *kāt ńaalayān* two arrows (Likr3/5)

ńāl- peel (the bark of a tree) KT 644, D 1041 *ńālām seyāλ* barked slat (Likr1/12)

ńārkas a type of grass growing in lakes, its roots are edible KT 626, D 1066

ńuyəλ- follow, chase (KT 611, D 1034) *ńuyəλλāmān* the two of us follow (Likr4/5)

o, ǒ

- oŷ** head KT 21, D 30 *oŷo-pānylali* the head is bowed (Likr3/13)
ǒŋā mouth, opening (KT 34, D 140) *nālām seŷā* *ǒŋāw kat* barked slat-mouthed house (Likr1/12–13)
ort hero, prince KT 82, D 177 *jām ortpā antim wālās* there was no good hero (Likr4/19)

p

- pā ... pā** the one ... the other KT 653, D 1085 *pā kujin pæŷ* some people (Likr2/5)
pæŷ boy, son KT 664, D 1110
pālāk half, side KT 695, D 1159 *pālki* from (the direction of) (Likr5/3), *tōm mānpā pālākpā* on the way there (Likr4/12)
pān- put, place KT 712, D 1169
pātə the bottom, end of something KT 763, D 1240 *kūrmāŋ lekō pātā* to the end of the path (Likr4/8)
pat- freeze KT 769, D 1233 *kūrmāŋ pītām lekō* frozen path (Likr4/3)
pit- end up, get (KT 772, D 1236) *nuy pītān* you rise up (Likr5/7) *pītāmən* the two of us get into (Likr4/10)
puļ bite, piece (KT 693, D 1155)

s

- sas** ermine (KT 879, D 1377) *əj sasat māli* they give an ermine (Likr2/11)
sāŷ braid KT 824, D 1307
sāŋk- hit, beat KT 852, D 1350
seŷā slat KT 842, D 1313
sipər ?Siberia (KT, D) *sipər māŷku* Siber-land man (Likr5/16)

t

- tāja-** own KT 969, D 1400 *kāntākku lāŷart lājəm tōj* the man had a heavy ax (Likr1/3)
tarəŷ crane KT 1013, D 1467 *tarəjo, tari* the refrain of the song of the crane (Likr5/1–2)
tāŋimtə- float, slide, glide (KT 991, D 1452) *tōŷā tāŋi alāŋ wajəŷ* the first animal gliding on wings (Likr5/4)
tim this (KT 999, D 1392)
tōŷ, tōŷā there (KT 975, D 1393)

töyâλ feather, wing KT 984, D 1412 *jəm töyâλp kät náλyân* two good-feathered arrows (Likr3/5)

töymân, tuymân see **tu-**

těj see **tāja-**

tõm that (KT 975, D 1394)

torəm sky, god, world, weather KT 1015, D 1472 *torma* to the world (Likr1/2), *tormijn* your god (Likr2/2)

tu- bring, take (KT 1031, D 1395) *töyâ tuλâm* I take there (Likr3/6), *müyâ köy töymân* how far they have brought you (Likr1/5)

ť

ťä, řät here, behold (KT, D) *töy řät imλân* there, behold, you sat (Likr1/14), *ťursem řä koλtâmλân* you listen to the festivity here (Likr1/17)

ťi behold [particle] (KT 895, D 1491) *nüñnâ ři λiti* you, behold, descended (Likr5/14)

ťuñ wealth, delicacy KT 913, D 1521 *ťuñλâγ pitλəmân* we became poor (lit. wealth-less) (Likr4/13), *ťuñâη λiγpâs* delicious food (Likr1/9)

ťursem interesting (thing), amusement (KT 920, D 1539)

u

umtj see **amât-**

w

wajây animal, game KT 204, D 1562 *wajây arttâ juyâλ torâm* game-distributing kind god (Likr2/1)

wărăyıtäyλä- wake up, awaken (KT 241, D 1617) *wărăyıtäyλä* wake up (Likr1/2)

wä- take, take away KT 268, D 1549

wer- do KT 235, D 1614

wät' - wave (KT 255, D 1645) *kõtät wot'ij* waves with his hand (Likr2/15)

wõkj fox KT 212, (D 1573)

wu- see, know KT 268, D 1550 *ät mântâλ äntâ wuλijn* you don't see the passing of the night (Likr1/19), *asku päy wuλâγ řursem* a festivity unknown to the son of the man from the Ob (Likr1/15–16)

5. The texts' contribution to ethnographic research⁵²³

Karjalainen's text collection from the eastern Khanty linguistic area is relatively small (approximately 65,000 characters), and yet it is a truly variegated ensemble of texts, featuring a representative of almost all genres. This diversity can be the result of the researcher's conscious endeavors, but it could have also emerged spontaneously, depending on the knowledge of the informants and their mood at the given moment.

5.1. Genres of Ob-Ugric folklore

Ob-Ugric folklore genres can be categorized based on different types of criteria. We can distinguish sung and spoken genres, or we can identify representatives of prose, drama, and poetry, but it is evident that there are no clear-cut boundaries between these categories. There are many instances of overlapping and mixture – as would be expected in the case of a living, constantly changing, and self-renewing tradition (Csepregi 1997a).

Table 24: The system of genres of Ob-Ugric folklore

Categories based on form	Categories based on content	
	Profane genres	Sacral genres
Genres that are sung	individual song cradle song	bear-feast songs (bear song, songs to evoke deities, animal song) heroic song songs of the shamanic ceremony
Mixed		tales that are sung
Prose	tale, legend riddle, nursery rhyme	mythical tale, sacred legend, heroic tale prayer of sacrifice, oath
Dramatic genre		bear-feast play

523. The notes on the texts contain a wealth of observations pertaining to ethnography. Here I only discuss issues pertaining to genres and stylistics.

If we insert the codes of the texts published in this volume, hardly any cells remain empty. As a matter of fact, only tales and legends are unrepresented. At the same time, we do not lack Surgut Khanty texts from the early 20th century, as Paasonen collected some of these (Paasonen & Vértes 2001).

The table below also shows that texts of sacred content are represented by more items, and these are also of larger size, even though there are more prohibitions imposed on the performance and perception of sacred songs than on genres of profane content. It may be the case that Karjalainen was searching for these genres specifically. It is also evident that his informants were not only talented in conveying lexical and grammatical information, but they were also competent bearers of tradition.

Table 25: The categorization of the items of Karjalainen's text collection according to genre (the name of the given item in the Trj or Vj dialect is set in italics and the code of the item in boldface)

Categories based on form	Categories based on content	
	Profane genres	Sacral genres
Genres that are sung	individual song (<i>arəy</i>): <i>Vj3, Vj4, Vj5, Vj7</i> cradle song: <i>Vj6</i> children's song: <i>Vj8</i>	bear-feast songs bear song (<i>pupj arəy</i>): <i>Trj1, Trj2, Likr1</i> deity-evoking song (<i>Λāηātāp</i>): <i>Trj3, Likr4</i> animal song: <i>Likr5</i> heroic song (<i>tārnəη arəy</i>): <i>Trj4, Vj9</i> songs of the shamanic ceremony: the shaman's song (<i>Trj t'artta arəy, Vj jolāmnāη</i>), fly-agaric song (<i>paηklāmnāη</i>) <i>Vj2</i>
Mixed	tales that are sung (-)	
Prose	tale (<i>mānt'</i>), legend (<i>jis jāsəη</i>) (-) riddle (<i>muλki</i>): <i>Trj6</i> , nursery rhyme (-)	heroic tale (<i>tārnəη mānt'</i>): <i>Vj1</i> prayer of sacrifice (<i>muλ</i>), oath (<i>noattā kōλ</i>): <i>Trj5</i>
Dramatic genre	bear-feast play (<i>t'ursemət</i>): <i>Likr2, Likr3</i>	

5.2. Genres of sacred content

Genres related to the bear cult

Karjalainen managed to collect texts related to the bear cult from each of the three dialect areas (Trj, Vj, Likr). He recorded two variants of the song for waking the bear (Trj1, Trj2) that is performed on the morning of the bear feast. The first song of the Likrisovo collection (Likr1) also addresses the bear. In this song the singer lets the bear know how (s)he ended up in the house hosting the bear feast, and what is going to happen to him/her. According to the informant, the genre of this song is *λᾶηδᾶτιψ*, that is, the same as the genre of Trj3. The protagonist of Trj3 is a deity, *kân iki*, who introduces the participants of the bear feast to the art of hunting and trade. In the text ensemble there is a song about another deity, the Fire Mother (*nāj ānki*), who is also a part of the bear-feast repertoire (Likr4). Animal songs are represented by the song of the crane (Likr5).

Karjalainen did not record a bear-feast play proper, although he did witness such performances when he visited a bear feast in the vicinity of Surgut on one occasion (Section 2.1). Still, he recorded such texts that substitute for dramatic scenes. He writes about this as follows in his monograph on mythology: "As far as one can judge based on the available information, among the Ostyaks who live along the eastern bank of the Ob, the only types of performances other than bear songs are short fragments of songs of very simple content, which are performed moving the body, especially the head and the hands" (JugrUsk 534).⁵²⁴ Likr2 and Likr3 are such songs, probably performed moving the body, and both are about unsuccessful hunts.

There is also a bear oath among the brief prose texts (Trj5/1–4). This is not part of the bear-feast repertoire, but it is related to the bear cult in that it builds on the assumption that the bear can punish people for e.g. not telling the truth.

Heroic epic genres

Items representing the heroic epic genres (heroic songs and heroic tales) could be presented both at bear feasts and at other festivities of the community. Performing these long mythical songs and tales meant a way to pass the night during those tribal or seasonal offerings of sacrifices that could occasionally last for days, as it was prohibited to perform such songs during the

524. Obinrantaisilla itäostjakeilla, mikäli saatavissa olevista tiedoista voidaan päätää, ovat karhulaulujen ohella, ainoita esitettäviä lyhyet, sisällöltään aivan yksinkertaiset laulunpätkät, joita säestetään ruumiin, etenkin pään ja käsien liikkeillä.

daytime to avoid disturbing the gods, the daily routine of whom is different from that of people: they sleep during the daytime and are awake at night (Csepregi 1997a: 62; 1997b: 62, 288).

As eastern Khanty texts representing the heroic epic genre have not been published before, the three texts published (Trj4, Vj1, Vj9) in the present volume are of special significance. There may be lurking recordings made with some kind of voice-recording equipment somewhere, but these have not been transcribed and published.⁵²⁵ Although it is quite likely that it would be difficult to collect classic heroic songs these days, folk memory has still retained the image of heroes fighting in mail. One imprint of this is a short tale from the bank of the river Agan, the protagonist of which is *Masajiki* (Csepregi 2015: 44–48). As for the area of the Malyj and the Bolšoj Jugan, it is the hero Tonja fighting against the Russian invaders around whom an epic tradition emerged, featuring a lot of mythical elements as well (Balalajeva et al. 2021: 56–62, 127–135).⁵²⁶

It is well known that it was Antal Reguly who collected the largest amount of heroic songs from a single dialect (and even from one speaker) – these texts were published later in four volumes (OH). These and some other northern Khanty heroic songs were analyzed by István Pál Demény. He reached the conclusion that the typical topics of heroic songs are getting a wife, blood feud, repelling an attack by foreign heroes, and the hero's growing up (Demény 1977: 40). The investigation of Mansi and southern Khanty heroic epic genre confirmed this typology (Demény 1977; 1978; 1983; 1984; 1992). Consequently, the survey of the eastern Khanty heroic songs will be based on this typology as well.

The Trj4 text, although unfinished, fits into Demény's typology. There are two heroes (brothers) coming to propose. The older brother is granted the lady of the city's hand in marriage, who then sets out with her newlywed husband and her brother-in-law into their city. They celebrate the wedding, and at this point, the story is left unfinished. The informant claimed that he does not know the rest of the story, only that there would be a war later on. The singer performs the song from the point of view of the female protagonist. Still, the theme is not of the type of getting a husband, but rather getting a wife, as the bride participates in the events passively all through the story; she does not shape the actions, these only happen to her.

The Vj1 text is a heroic song performed in prose, according to Karjalainen's own words, *laulun sanoilla puhuva* 'talking with the words of the song'.

525. L. N. Kajukova is a descendant of the Jugan Khanty who migrated to the area of the river Salim. She recalled that her father knew heroic songs, and these were recorded by N. V. Lukina with a tape recorder in the 1970s. The fate of these recordings is unknown (LNK).

526. Ol'ga Kornienko shot a film about this in the 2010s, and this film was also screened in Hungary in the autumn of 2019.

This is described by Bernát Munkácsi as follows: “the heroic song of prince XY, told like a legend” (VNGy II/2: 19, 94). Concerning the content of this heroic tale, it does not fit into any of the above types. Although the protagonist sits down in between two goddesses at the end of the song when he turns into a ghost, he does not have an intention either to marry or to fight during the song. He repeats several times that he does not know why he was sent to fight, he does not have anyone or anything to revenge. Although he is cruel (he cuts out the heart of his defeated opponent and eats it, and puts the opponent’s scalp on his belt), he also gives the opponent a decent burial: he puts the dead body into the ground and sticks the deceased’s sword at his head, hanging bells on it. He makes peace with some other opponents, then they make an oath together under a huge larch, pledging that they would never fight each other again. Then again, he fights another foe by putting on bearskin (by turning into a bear?), and mountains and valleys collapse under their feet.

The characters of Northern and southern heroic songs are frequently aided by (fictional) animals. The characters of the Trj4 song move around either on foot or by a reindeer-drawn sleigh, but the protagonist of the Vj1 story owns a magic steed. When he calls him, he appears instantly and carries the hero wherever his mother or father ordered him to go. They go across fiery seas and untraversable mountains, they travel even the sky around the “hole of the ice ax”, that is, the centre of the sky, probably the Pole Star. The protagonist settles down at the end of this cosmic voyage (Csepregi 2019a).

In her foreword to the anthology presenting the Ob-Ugric epic tradition, N. V. Lukina states, inter alia, that there are three ages of the world appearing in the folklore texts: 1) the age of myths, when the world emerged and the gods were active; 2) the age of heroes; 3) the age of the Khanty and Mansi people (Lukina 1990: 30). The heroic songs and heroic tales belong to the second age, but the heroes are tightly connected to the deities. In the story of Vj1, the parents of the protagonist are the great Mother Earth and Father Sky, and he is a *jun̄k*, that is, a ghost determining the destiny of the world.

Karjalainen recorded the sung version of the beginning of text Vj1 as a fragment consisting of merely 57 lines (Vj9). This reveals that text Vj1 indeed “talks with the words of songs”, the same expressions occur in it, but it can be assumed from the line breaks that the text is adjusted to fit the lines of the melody.

Songs of the shamanic ceremony

The shaman needs to enter a trance state to be able to act as a mediator, that is, to be able to go on trips to acquire information from the different spheres of the world. There are local differences in the method of inducing a trance, the

shaman does it either by drumming or strumming his instrument. Researchers also reported that the shaman either sings or whistles during the ceremony. The song of the shaman is called *t'artta arəy* among the Tremjugan Khanty, and *jolāmnāŋ* among the Vasjugan Khanty. A text of a shaman song recorded among the eastern Khanty is already available in print, this stems from the bank of the Tromagan (Csepregi 2007). To the best of my knowledge, it was only Karjalainen who managed to record a song that was composed under the influence of fly-agaric (*paŋklāmnāŋ*), and this song is published first in the present volume (Vj2). As a matter of fact, *paŋklāmnāŋ* is a subgenre, it belongs to the group of songs that are performed in a trance.⁵²⁷ Karjalainen describes this genre as follows: “Along the Vasjugan River, *jolāmnəŋ*, and *paŋylāmnəŋ* are simply accounts of what the shaman sees and hears at the time when the helping spirits arrive, or during his explorations carried out to acquire information, these are then, so to say, reports on the shaman’s own experiences” (JugrUsk 594; FFC 63: 320; Relig3: 237).⁵²⁸

Unfortunately, there is no information concerning the circumstances under which Karjalainen recorded the song published in the present volume, that is, whether he made notes during an actual ceremony or a sober informant dictated the text. Both of these scenarios would require extraordinary abilities: the former on behalf of the fieldworker, the latter on behalf of the informant.

Prayers and oaths

The most outstanding feature of the prayers and oaths surviving in Karjalainen’s records (Trj5) is their laconism. It seems that the Tremjugan Khanty expressed their wishes using only a few sentences, or a few words even. They show no sign whatsoever of the truly poetic features that are characteristic of e.g. the Mansi invocations recorded by Bernát Munkácsi (VNGy II/2: 311–431). These texts consisting of 36 lines contain such things as asking for the punishment of a guilty person by bear and fire, a supplication on the occasion of proposing, a prayer said on the occasion of a gift offering, and a fragment of a conversation with the dead. These texts contain fewer of those expressions that are characteristic of the language of the songs, their lexicon and syntax are closer to spoken language.

527. For more information on the use of the fly-agaric, see pp. 313–316.

528. Vasjuganilla *jolāmnəŋ* ja *paŋylāmnəŋ* ovat tavallisissa tiedustelutilaisuuksissa kertovaisia kuvauksia siitä, mitä noita kuulee ja näkee sekä apulaishaltioiden tullessa että tiedustelumatkallaan, ne ovat siis niin sanoakseni kuvauksia noidan kokemuksista.

5.3. Genres with profane content

Private songs

Karjalainen recorded private songs along the banks of the Vasjogan, and he gave three of these the title *Rakkauslaulu* 'love song' (Vj3, Vj4, Vj5). The first two of these are indeed about the relationship of a man and a woman. In the first, it is a man who talks about his feelings ("if I had two souls, I would give one of those to you") and about his intent to get married ("if we two entered the house of God, if we two lit three wax candles, that would be very nice"). In the second one, the singer is a woman waiting for the return of her beloved who had gone hunting. The singer of the third is a woman who survived the crossing of a river in a storm, and her song tells how her memory should be preserved after her death. Vj6 is a cradle song with its standard fillers of meaningless endearing syllables. The mother puts her baby to sleep, singing about rocking the cradle in the house in which everything is to the credit of the father's workmanship. Vj7 is a fragment. The title of Vj8 is *Karhulaulu lapsille* 'Bear song for children'. It probably has didactic motivations: it tells that bears and men walk along different paths in the forest, and both have to respect the other's territory.

Riddles

Riddles are easy to collect, as they consist of short prose text with fixed wording. Almost all the researchers who visited the Khanty recorded a number of these (Pápay 1995: 158–165; Patkanov 1900: 216–217; Karjalainen & Vértes 1975: 255–256; Honti 1978c). The largest amount was collected by Wolfgang Steinitz in the 1930s with the help of his students when he lived in Leningrad as an emigrant (Steinitz & Honti 1989). Many collections of riddles were published in Russia from the 1990s on (Csepregi 2004/2005). It is no accident that Karjalainen also recorded 25 riddles in the eastern Khanty language area, some variants of which can be recorded nowadays as well (Trj6).

The riddle as a genre lives on among the Khanty, and its representatives occur in elementary education as well (as opposed to the longer epic genres). Having entered the curriculum, its survival seems to be more likely than the survival of the other genres. It also differs from the other prose genres in another way: there are no prohibitions concerning the presentation of these. Children can also participate in solving riddles, moreover, telling riddles is a means of education. Riddles encompass traditional knowledge and teach metaphorical thinking.

5.4. Trans-national motifs in Ob-Ugric folklore

When reading Ob-Ugric folklore texts, one finds the same or similar attributes at every turn. Attributes like “nutritious Ob run by twenty reindeer bulls”, “ten-toothed toothy sleigh”, “my many-braided hairy head”, or “I go out to the square of my spacious village” could emerge even independently of one another, as the conceptual bases for these are the similar environment, anthropological identity, and the similar structural characteristics of the languages.

However, there are tropes that probably do not come naturally to every Ob-Ugric person in Western Siberia. Their expressiveness and poetic beauty suggest that these spread from community to community throughout the area of the Ob. They have a long history behind them, as the area where the Ob-Ugric languages are spoken is vast. In what follows, I illustrate the occurrence of the same tropes in the northern and eastern Khanty folklore, spanning thousands of kilometers. I shall cite the northern Khanty excerpts from the volumes of *Osztyák hőseinek* [‘Khanty Heroic Songs’ – abbreviated as OH] and from József Pápay’s collection (*Bibliotheca Pápayensis II–III*, Debrecen, 1990; Pápay & Csepregi 2010).

The movement with which the protagonist stops in front of his foes is the same: “I stuck my saber into the ground in front of me like a staff”. (Vj1/402, cf. BiblPáp II: 74/633).

The army visible in the distance is compared to crawling vermin in a similar manner: “I can see as if worms were bustling on the other bank of the lake” (Vj1/674), “moves like the dense heads of woodworms, crawls like the dense heads of maggots” (OH I: 230).

The attribute expressing the strength of roaring is also shared: “town-eating, village-eating” (Vj8/16–18), cf. *vuos leti äming turr, kort leti äming turr* ‘town-eating painful roar (*turr* lit. throat), village-eating painful roar’ (OH I: 366).

The epithet of shame is “thick”, and falling into shame is expressed through a beautiful *figura etymologica*: *sort küläť küľ ilimä tät ilimsujäm* ‘I got disgraced in an inch-thick disgrace.’ (Vj8/22–23), cf. *amp-oni küľ jeläm jelämsajäm* ‘I was in dog-large thick shame’ (BiblPáp II: 22/150).

Long strides are measured by the steps of the elk among the eastern Khanty (Vj1/379–380), and the steps of the reindeer among the northern Khanty, cf. *χar χoyälla χöw söyäm* ‘reindeer-running long step’ (BiblPáp II: 52/427).

The silt of the river, be it a bunch of leaves or pieces of ice, evokes the image of nomadic Nenets for the Khanty (Trj3/76–88, cf. BiblPáp III: 185/747).

There are tropes used all around the Khanty language area that are difficult to interpret. The attribute of houses is “as narrow as the shaft of an arrow” (Vj2/2) among the Vasjungan speakers, and “ax-handled, knife-handled” (OH I: 390, 416) among the northern Khanty, whatever that may mean.

When interpreting the Tremjungan songs, the expression *jəŋkwäs iki kuŋätəj kipləŋ* ‘protruding skirting board climbed by the water monster’, referring to the edge of the sleeping place, was truly puzzling (Trj2/34–36, Trj4/276–277). I found the verb *kuŋätəj* ‘climbed’ especially intriguing. How did the water monster end up at the edge of a sleeping place? There is a line in the “Song of the People of the Ice City” that reads as follows: *wes-əŋəŋ χāmləŋ siŋəs* ‘the hooked leg of the bench [similar to] the chin of a water monster’ (BiblPáp II: 102/887), Pápay’s footnote is *nəri siŋəs juχ* ‘the log holding the bench’. The shape of the skirting board of the sleeping place must have reminded the northern Khanty singer of old of the hooked chin of a mythological being, the water monster, as shown evidently by Pápay’s remark. As for the eastern Khanty folklore, the metaphor was adapted into the songs in a somewhat deteriorated form.

6. Afterword

Yrjö Wichmann (1868–1932), K. F. Karjalainen’s compatriot and peer, was also commissioned by the Finno-Ugrian Society to carry out fieldwork first among the Udmurts, and later among the Komi, the Mari, and the Moldavian Csángó peoples.⁵²⁹ He carried on a lively correspondence with several Hungarian researchers of Finno-Ugristics. On 13 July 1911 he wrote the following to József Pápay: “I belong to those who greatly appreciate the publication of texts. Let’s not forget that everything we linguists publish will become outdated in time, except for the texts and the dictionaries. So these deserve that great work and toil we devote to them”⁵³⁰ (Pápay & Fazekas 1934: 036).

Karjalainen took part indeed in this great work and toil. It is we, the later followers who can truly appreciate his achievements, knowing the present situation and the research history of Khanty dialects.

There aren’t many available sources on the eastern Khanty dialects, therefore this collection consisting of 10,317 words has special importance. The texts represent three variants, which differ from one another both concerning their position in the system of Khanty dialects and their role played in Khanty studies.

The Surgut dialect (the Tremjugan variant is an early representative of this) has come to the forefront of research again during the last thirty years. In the meantime, there emerged a new social group, that of the Khanty native-speaker intelligentsia who are able to research their language and traditional culture. As this variant is still spoken, the Trj texts are significant from the point of view of language history and folklore history.

The significance of the Vasjugan text collection lies in its age and its unique nature. It consists of items that are remarkable also from the point of view of folklore studies. It also increases the value of these texts that this collection can no longer be extended: the Vasjugan Khanty have undergone a language shift without having an opportunity to document their Khanty cultural heritage.

529. An external member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences from 1921.

530. Minä kuulun niihin, jotka panevat suurta arvoa tekstijulkaisuille. Muistakaamme, että siitä, mitä me kielentutkijat julkaisemme, kaikki muu, aikaa myöten vanhenee, paitsi kielitekstimme ja sanakirjamme. Ne ovat siis sen suuren työn ja vaivan arvoiset, minkä niihin uhraamme.

All the above is particularly true of the Likrisovo texts. There isn't even a settlement that bears this name anymore. The descendants of those eighteen people that lived there when Karjalainen visited them have dispersed. This variant, known only from Karjalainen's collection, is a transitional one between the Surgut and the VVj dialects both with respect to phonology and morphology. This also proves that the Khanty dialects once formed a contiguous dialect chain in spite of the fact that, compared to the vast area, the number of speakers was relatively low.

I compiled the lists of words that occur in the texts per dialect. Out of the 623 Tremjugan lemmas, 49 had not been recorded before, and out of the 949 Vasjugan lemmas, 115. There were 42 such items out of the 102 Likrisovo lemmas that were not attested in dictionaries themselves, only their cognates from other eastern dialects.

I sincerely hope that the present work is a convincing testimony of the time-proven nature of Karjalainen's text collection.

Appendix

Table 26: The representation of Tremjugan vowel phonemes

Phonemes	Karjalainen's transcription
<i>i</i>	<i>i, i̇, ī</i>
<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ĩ, i̇, ī</i>
	<i>i, i̇</i> (in non-initial syllables)
<i>u</i>	<i>u, u̇, ū</i>
<i>ũ</i>	<i>u, u̇</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e, ė, ē</i>
<i>ę</i>	<i>ę</i> (in non-initial syllables)
<i>ə</i>	<i>ə, ɛ</i> (word-finally)
<i>ê</i>	<i>ê, ɛ</i> (word-finally)
<i>o</i>	<i>o, ȯ, ō</i>
<i>õ</i>	<i>o, u</i>
<i>ö</i>	<i>ö</i>
<i>á</i>	<i>a, ȧ, ā</i>
<i>â</i>	<i>â, â</i>
<i>ã</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>ä</i>	<i>ä, ä, ä</i>

Table 27: The representation of Vasjugan vowel phonemes

Phonemes	Karjalainen's transcription
<i>i</i>	<i>i, i̇, ī</i>
<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ĩ, i̇, ī</i>
	<i>i, i̇</i> (in non-initial syllables)
<i>u</i>	<i>u, u̇, ū</i>
<i>ũ</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ę</i>	<i>ę, ė, ē</i>
<i>ə</i>	<i>ə, ɛ</i> (word-finally)
<i>ê</i>	<i>ê</i> (in non-initial syllables)
	<i>ɛ</i> (word-finally)
<i>o</i>	<i>o, ȯ, o, ō, ȯ</i>
<i>õ</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o, ō, ȯ</i>
<i>ö</i>	<i>ȯ, ȯ, ȯ, ȯ</i>
<i>õ</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ö</i>	<i>o, ȯ</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>a, à, ā</i>
<i>ã</i>	<i>ê</i> (in initial syllables)
<i>ä</i>	<i>ä, ä, ä, ä, ä</i>

Table 28: The representation of Tremjuga and Vasjuga consonant phonemes

Phonemes	Karjalainen's transcription
<i>p</i>	<i>p, ṗ</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t, ṫ, ẗ, ẗ́</i>
<i>t'</i>	<i>t'</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>k, k̇</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>u, w, w</i>
<i>j</i>	<i>i̇</i>
<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ, ʃ</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>š</i>	<i>ṧ</i>
<i>l</i> (Vj)	<i>l, l_o, l̇</i>
<i>l</i> (Trj)	<i>l, l̇, l̈</i>
<i>l'</i> (Vj)	<i>l'</i>
<i>l'</i> (Trj)	<i>l'</i>
<i>l̇</i>	<i>l̇</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>r, ṙ, r̈</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n, ṅ, n̈</i>
<i>ṅ</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
<i>n̈</i>	<i>n̈</i>
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>k_o</i> (Trj)	<i>^uk</i>
<i>ʃ_o</i> (Trj)	<i>^uʃ, ^uʃ</i>
<i>ŋ_o</i> (Trj)	<i>^uŋ</i>

Abbreviations

Codes of the texts published in the present volume

Tremjugan texts

Trj1	Song for waking the bear I	Trj4	Heroic song
Trj2	Song for waking the bear II	Trj5	Oaths and prayers
Trj3	Bear-feast song	Trj6	Riddles

Vasjugan texts

Vj1	Heroic tale	Vj6	Cradle song
Vj2	Fly-agaric song	Vj7	Individual song IV
Vj3	Individual song I	Vj8	Bear song for children
Vj4	Individual song II	Vj9	The beginning of a heroic song
Vj5	Individual song III		

Likrisovo texts

Likr1	Bear-feast song	Likr4	Song to the Fire Goddess
Likr2	Hunter's song I	Likr5	The song of the crane
Likr3	Hunter's song II		

Abbreviations of the languages

FU	Finno-Ugric	PFU	Proto-Finno-Ugric
Fi	Finnish	Ru	Russian
Ger	German	U	Uralic
Hung	Hungarian		

Eastern Khanty dialects

J	Jugan (Paasonen's collection)	Tra	Tromagan (texts collected from the end of the 20th century onwards)
Jg	Jugan (texts collected from the end of the 20th century onwards)	Trj	Tremjugan (Karjalainen's collection)
Mj	Malyj Jugan (Karjalainen's collection)	V	Vah
Surg	Surgut	Vj	Vasjugan

Northern Khanty dialects

Ber	Berëzovo	O	Obdorsk
Kaz	Kazym	Šer	Šerkaly
Ni	Nizjam	Šur	Šuryškary

Southern Khanty dialects

DN	Upper Demjanka	Kr	Krasnojarsk along the Konda
DT	Lower Demjanka	Sav	Savodnija along the Irtyš
Irt	Irtyš	Ts	Cingala along the Irtyš

Markers and abbreviations of grammatical phenomena⁵³¹

-	morpheme boundary	Cx	case marker
.	separator of distinguishable meanings of fusional grammatical morphemes	DAT	dative
		DER	derivative suffix found in the language of songs (Trj)
<	separator of the person-number features of the subject and the number feature of the object argument (verbal conjugation)	DISTR	distributive
		DU	dual
		EMPH	emphatic particle
		EP	epenthetic sound
		FREQ	frequentative
		IMP	imperative
1	1st person	IMPF	imperfective past marked with -s- (Vj, Likr)
2	2nd person		
3	3rd person	IMPFH	imperfective past (imperfectum historicum) marked with -kas- / -käs- (Vj)
ABE	abessive		
ABL	ablative		
ACC	accusative		
ADJ	adjectivizer	INCH	inchoative suffix
ADJ.NEG	caritive	INF	infinitive
ADV	adverbial suffix	INS	instructive-final (Trj) / instrumental (Vj)
APR	approximative		
CNV	converb	intr	intransitive
COM	comitative	LAT	lative
COMP	comparative (Vj)	LOC	locative
COP	copula	NEG	negative marker

531. Sample sentences are glossed following the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>). These abbreviations (printed in small capitals) are also used in the main body of the text when referring to the given grammatical feature.

NEG.PRED	negative existential	PROH	prohibitive
NOM	nominative	PRS	present
Num	number	PST	past (Trj)
OPT	optative (jussive / imperative in third person)	PTC.NEG	negative participle
		PTC.POT	conditional (potential) participle
PASS	passive	PTC.PRS	imperfective participle
PCL	particle	PTC.PST	perfective participle
PL	plural	Px	possessive marker
PP	postposition	SG	singular
PRED	predicative clitic	SUBST	nominalizer
PRF	perfective past marked with <i>-o-</i> (Vj)	tr	transitive
PRFH	perfective past (perfectum historicum) marked with <i>-kal-/-käl-</i> (Vj)	TRA	translative
		VOC	vocative
		Vx	verbal agreement marker

Abbreviations of frequently used reference works

BiblPáp II	Pápay 1990a	KarjGr	Karjalainen & Vértes 1964
BiblPáp III	Pápay 1990b	KT	Karjalainen & Toivonen 1948
Chr	Csepregi 1998		
D	Steinitz 1966–1993 (DEWOS)	LNK	Ljudmila Nikolaevna Kajukova, personal communication
EPS	Jelena Petrovna Surlomkina, personal communication	OH I, II	Reguly & Pápay & Zsirai 1944–1951
FFC 41	Karjalainen 1921: <i>Die Religion der Jugravölker I</i>	OH III	Reguly & Pápay & Zsirai & Fokos 1963–1965
FFC 44	Karjalainen 1922: <i>Die Religion der Jugravölker II</i>	PB	Pápay & Beke 1959
FFC 63	Karjalainen 1927: <i>Die Religion der Jugravölker III</i>	PD	Paasonen & Donner 1926
JSFOu XVII/1, XVIII/1, XX/2		Relig1	Karjalainen 1994: <i>Религия югорских народов 1</i>
	Karjalainen 1900–1902	Relig2	Karjalainen 1995: <i>Религия югорских народов 2</i>
JSFOu XIX/3, XX/4, XXI/6		Relig3	Karjalainen 1996: <i>Религия югорских народов 3</i>
	Karjalainen 1901–1903		
JSFOu XXI/5		T	Terëškin, N. I. [Терёшкин, Н. И.] 1981
	Karjalainen 1903		
JugrUsk	Karjalainen 1918	VNGy	Munkácsi 1892–1921

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Text Collection
(1899–1901)

Trenjugan.

Kielenkäyttötä

I.

I. Päpi kikkat ärs

41.

1. ont torim ko isyomne
2. konon kat | konami
3. komat sämpz
4. tööt säm | piyto
5. ismisi pa
6. tan' sankip
7. kuyit psta
8. oni psta
9. piyipi
10. tan' sankip
11. kuyit psta
12. oni psta
13. nuy nomim lau ne | tsta -
14. käini kuri
15. pätom "
16. t'at' uayi

10

17. tōrōng sūi
18. kām uayī
19. tōrōng sūi sētī —
20. kants'ko payannē
21. uānōm pātsk
22. sūyāt kāt
23. mūtōng kāt
24. mūtōtā
25. uānōm pātsk
26. pār' kāt uāro (umtō) —
27. kants'ko pay | taiti
28. tūyāt pōts
29. hōpōng pōsōng —
30. kants'ko pay | taiti
31. sū'kōng uāisō
32. kārōng "
33. sūt aūngtōp

- 34. uoiaattim utomim
- 35. kantätko payannz
- 36. tem' sin' uattay
- 37. iust toräm
- 38. tutt uari-|tosti-
- 39. unkäst pi
- 40. sau nani
- 41. toi tu ii
- 42. pañ tu ii
- 43. nuyñ si pul resti
- 44. somana
- 45. nuyñ si
- 46. lajika | pi⁽¹⁾tät
- 47. tar' sari
- 48. tok "
- 49. suiañ kütöy
- 50. pitmit

68. nō mōm on tōk | sōtē
69. uātō kuie
70. pāimōtti
71. iuytē tōyōr
72. oytōsia
73. muōmō kemōn | gōitti
74. sinuānāt sōtli
75. kāt kūōm
76. kāt niyōm
77. iuy ātti
78. uān tōyōr
79. nūta nō kōm | tōtōōm -
80. tān muōkāl
81. iāōm muōkāl
82. iūōt āōm
83. tūn kōōm | tōtōōm

32

84. n^or^os^om uai^os^ox
85. ian^oni^ok^o
86. uon^o uai^os^ox
87. ian^oni^ok^o
88. uat^ota p^ost^oan
89. kant^osan sak^oo^op^o
90. k^ui^oena
91. kant^osan sak^o
92. mar^oatt^ost^om
93. kant^osan n^or^oo^op^o
94. k^ui^oena
95. kant^osan n^or^o
96. mar^oatt^ost^om —
97. tar^o sari
98. si^oian k^ota
99. i^oak^om k^ont^o
100. k^ott^ota uati
101. k^ort^ota uati
102. i^ust^o t^ur^osem
103. nun t^ost^ost^om

10/xii. 1899.

1. snt' lörin kö | isyynnä

2. kantä' kö pay | itäiti

ihminen lämmitettävä

3. tsuytoy kät | pättöy kät

4. snt' lörin kö | isyynnä

5. kōnōy kät | kōnōti

laskentimien ill-

6. kōnōt sämpö | tsō'ōt sämpö

kunareista

7. päytilōmä

8. kōnōt sämpö | kōpō sämpö | päytilōmä

palje

9. ismisiipi | kōn' sanykip | kōyit pōdä

Nostaa oikean kor-

10. nōmōn tau ri | tōsti (ä)

vansa kunnollal-

seen millä soillo

11. tōt' uayi | kām uayi | tōtōy'sōi

12. mōyō } sōi sēt'

13. nōmōn pōyipi | kōn' sanykip

vaseman korvan

sa -

14. ōni pōtā nōmōn tau ri | tōsti

15. tōt' uayi | kō u | tōrōy'sōi | m. s. sēt'

- 16. isänsipi | kōstipē | nōmōn aukkaise oikea sil-
- 17. pūnli (-e) māsi
- 18. kōstipē | t'st'u | k. nagi | kōtsti loppumaton (joita on
- 19. pūnll puljo)
- 20. pōyipi k = = kōtsti pūnli
- 21. lōkōs iuppi | ar uontur | sōtōma (= lōy kōs; viidalle)
- 22. timin t'st'u | k.u | t.sia nuy kätms
- 23. onto kūtōm
- 24. nuyōs nykōtpi | sau nani | koi kuonun edessä ole-
- 25. tōii | poy tōii | si pul usti vut tuohiseb
- 26. samana | nuy uoi | kār uoi sydämällesi se un
- 27. lōyika pītē malleca (?), sulois
- 28. isänsipi sau nani | t. t. | p. t.
- 29. si pul usti
- 30. sōm. n. u. k. u. l. pītāt
- 31. pōyipi | s. pītāt pītāt
- 32. nuyōs ou sō luyā | sātōn tōi | (nouse ylös käsini } ponnit-
- 33. nōmōn mālōmōstki taen --) avus-
- 34. pātōy kēt | pātōyā | isōreāsiki Malesi (sivvy istu-

35. kūn^ostä maan makuunlandan
reunalle)
36. n^oynn^o kitti
37. kuit^oap^oonai^o anke | u^oärs^ont^oom (nagrabai korabuyto)
38. sin^o k^oantay^o n^oäsi^ostä
39. n^oynn^o n^oööm^o u^oäiss^o | k^ou^ont^oim^o
40. k^oöt | l^oäy^ol^oim^o k^oöt | n^oöms^on^o p^outtä
41. k^o.t^o a | u^oärs^ont^oom | s^ou^oim^o k^ou^ori
42. l^ouks^oay^o t^oät | i^ou^o ätti | u^oänt^ol^oim^o } siipuu
43. u^oärs^ont^oom | s^ou^oim^o k^ou^ori | l^ouks^oay^o t^oäta
44. n^oöms^on^o r^oäy^oitä
45. is^oim^o k^outi } uyo
46. k^oay^ot^oay^o k^oay^ot^oay^o im^ots^op
47. s^ou^oim^o k^ou^ori
48. l^ouks^oay^o t^oäta
49. u^oärs^ont^oom | n^oöms^on^o u^oärs^ont^oom | s^oti
50. i^ou^ol^oay^o k^oät | s^oiy^o & o^oy^opi (avaa ovi ja mene
ulos katsomaan vastasta)
51. n^oynn^o k^oem^oan^o p^oun^oitä

- 52. uats kuie
- 53. panimsti
- 54. iuyta tayor
- 55. oytzia
- 56. kemnon pitte
- 57. uat ontty|tisti
- 58. sessitar uairx
- 59. kioton mok
- 60. nuyne iiroy|tisti
- 61. nuyne si uanat sotsa
- 62. kat kuisim
- 63. iu' ätti
- 64. uan linyksomat
- 65. nuta nsikom|tisti'm
- 66. kani' muykal
- 67. iaiy " "
- 68. sin kiroy|tistyom
- 69. kantsay' saksip
- 70. kuizna

poikeman (?)

Haymuyy

} katsoo tuulta kaim-
tyjellen eri suun-
nille

} katsoo torjansa

Syuvia

(leikkiviia)

miehia (2)

} otalla Toisiansa
systviciina (karlu
mulla han nallymälönä

} jotta he kievivat
lunessa (?)

- 71. kantsay saii
- 72. maratista
- 73. kantsay niroj
- 74. kuiena
- 75. kantsay nir
- 76. maratista
- 77. nuymsa si uanat sotti
- 78. kat nuykon
- 79. iu itti
- 80. uantinykonat
- 81. n n
- 82. k m
- 83. i u
- 84. atiny kin kiroj/Estyon

Kastella (miehitta
kengät)

- 85. (muymsa) tar sari
- 86. tok sari
- 87. sian kat
- 88. iankon tayti

(kuone pasa iloa pidetaan)

~~här sari
 t. s
 s. k.~~

- 89. här sari
- 90. t. s
- 91. s. k
- 92. sūita
- 93. imistmit
- 94. kui t. a. | rāontom
- 95. isy kūtī
- 96. kaften rontop
- 97. nomy iton āyātta
- 98. k. t. a. | ru.
- 99. sūim ku ri
- 100. luksay tāta
- 101. iū ätti
- 102. rān t'ingr
- 103. ito rāy itī
- 104. mūdoy kāt

105. m̄ibena

106. iäȳti uät

107. t̄ot̄ax uät

108. s̄s̄ist̄ys

109. nuq̄ns p̄anti

110. k̄. l̄. o. | m̄.

111. sin̄i k̄ant̄an

112. n̄asīst̄ä

113. n̄or̄om̄ ūais̄x

114. uon̄i ūais̄x

115. k̄unt̄s̄oȳ k̄ät

116. it̄om̄ īn̄ist̄ä

117. m̄up̄m̄ uät

118. m̄ibena

119. nuq̄m̄ īm̄st̄ti

120. k̄ar̄i s̄ari

121. t̄. s̄.

122. s̄iaȳ k̄ut̄s̄m̄s̄

pane suojaksi
Kylmältä tuulelta

- 123. köttä uatti
- 124. iu^oat t^usem
- 125. nu^o t^estata
- 126. k^urtä uatti
- 127. ä t
- 128. n t^estata
- 129. mu^o arit
- 130. nä^o kö^otp
- 131. i^ou i^oau^ome
- 132. i^orp^oap^o
- 133. i^okt^o
- 134. i^oo^om u^ois^o
- 135. u^oan n^oam^osä
- 136. u^oany ä^ot t^oit^o
- 137. mu^o arit
- 138. i^okt^o
- 139. t^oo^om mi^ot^oo^om
- 140. i^ou^o au^ome

} ne ceppues

141. m^uny a.

142. t m.

143. irp^uay^una

144. ie^u k^uo

145. n^or^om u^o i^ost

146. u^on n^oam^osa

147. " l^oay^o

148. u^ony a^ot t^oib^oe

149. k^oant^os k^o

150. p^oay^oann^os

151. i^ot^os l^oit^ope

152. k^oki "

153. i^ong^ot^oat^oom

154. p^oant^o

ab^oar^oum^o (i?)

M. K^oets^o me^op.

13
II. kaññastāpāt tññim kaññastāp

(kāmiki kaññastāp)

1. sāt kaññastāp

2. sāt āra

3. ket iññakññ →

4. sāt torim kō

5. ism isom (iññ?)

6. itātsom kō

- isom?
iññ - isom (?)

7. iññakññ isñka

8. kññiññ isñka

9. sārññ sārññ

10. kōy twins

11. kāpāt pax

12. āstātsārññ -

13. kaññom kaññāt

14. kññipātññ

15. sāt torim kō

16. ism isom

17. tājst pav
18. ästitsyst -
19. tem tantoy rayst'
20. ism isynkä
21. mämum läti-isyet
22. tantoy rayst
23. köytv kän
24. temi saikomi
25. pömpö tär
26. iätöy "
27. iätösmz
28. ätöy torösm
29. tiusm katne
30. uon värsöp
31. iminijē
32. künqi kuyit
33. ont nä'st

34. $\dot{t} \dot{s} \dot{m} \dot{t} \dot{a} \dot{y} \dot{a} \dot{t}$
35. $\dot{t} \dot{a} \dot{y} \dot{a} \dot{t} \dot{s} \dot{t} \dot{s}$
36. $\dot{u} \dot{a} \dot{i} \dot{s} \dot{k} \dot{o} \dot{t} \dot{a} \dot{m}$
37. $\dot{i} \dot{t} \dot{m} \dot{s} \dot{m} \dot{s} \dot{y} \dot{a}$
38. $\dot{i} \dot{t} \dot{s} \dot{r} \dot{s} \dot{y} \dot{s} \dot{p} =$
39. = $\dot{t} \dot{s} \dot{t} \dot{s} \dot{y} \dot{r} \dot{s} \dot{t} \dot{e}$
40. $\dot{r} \dot{a} \dot{r} \dot{s} \dot{p} \dot{k} \dot{a} \dot{t} \dot{a} \dot{y}$
41. $\dot{s} \dot{i} \dot{p} \dot{a} \dot{i}$
42. $\dot{t} \dot{s} \dot{i} \dot{o} \dot{y} \dot{t} \dot{o} \dot{u} \dot{i} \dot{t}$
43. $\dot{k} \dot{e} \dot{y} \dot{l} \dot{o} \dot{y} \dot{t} \dot{o} \dot{u} \dot{i} \dot{t}$
44. $\dot{s} \dot{i} \dot{p} \dot{a} \dot{i}$
45. $\dot{t} \dot{u} \dot{y} \dot{k} \dot{o} \dot{i} \dot{u} \dot{s} \dot{p}$
46. $\dot{s} \dot{m} \dot{t} \dot{p} \dot{a} \dot{i}$
47. $\dot{t} \dot{o} \dot{y} \dot{s} \dot{t} \dot{e} \dot{u} \dot{s} \dot{m} =$
48. = $\dot{t} \dot{s} \dot{y} \dot{t} \dot{o} \dot{m} \dot{r} \dot{s} \dot{t} \dot{e}$
49. $\dot{i} \dot{u} \dot{l} \dot{i} \dot{t} \dot{i}$
50. $\dot{t} \dot{i} \dot{s} \dot{p} \dot{k} \dot{a} \dot{t}$
51. $\dot{m} \dot{a} \dot{n} \dot{s} \dot{a} \dot{m} \dot{s} \dot{i} =$

[67]

52. = k^ostⁱ u^ost^e
53. s^ont^e t^or^osⁱm^e k^o
54. i^om^e i^og^om^e
55. ? a^om^p k^or^e u^oni
56. k^ori s^om^po^s
57. ? t^om^pti u^oroⁿ =
58. ? = t^ost^on u^ost^e
59. p^oä k^ott^a
60. k^oty^ont^ost^e
61. s^ont^e t^or^osⁱm^e k^o
62. i^om^e i^og^om^e
63. s^oi^os^on^e o^ost^ep
64. ä^or^e ä^ot^on
65. m^ou^o u^ory^ot
66. u^oroⁿnt^ost^on
67. ä^ot^on t^or^osⁱm^e
68. p^oäl^ok^oti
69. t^oo^ont^on k^om^op^o

- 70. iäyläki
- 71. är päre
- 72. tākōntā
- 73. soyi nūr
- 74. piykti "
- 75. tākōntā
- 76. tem tantry rayst'
- 77. ism ismkan
- 78. raryan äyky
- 79. " pākky
- 80. är kislomney
- 81. äyti nät
- 82. ivyšttsē
- 83. är ānas
- 84. ayss uati
- 85. ayss isyk
- 86. tšūpstnam

87. tūt^onō nāpti =
 " " " "
88. = tōti rōstē
 " " " "
89. ? tē mōtā tāt^onā rōstē
 " " " "
90. usōmō kūiē
 " " " "
91. usōmōti
 " " " "
92. tōstōstā
 " " " "
93. ? kūt^ostā
 " " " "
94. kāmī sōx
 " " " "
95. sōmōmō kōt
 " " " "
96. tōst^oti pāt^oti =
 " " " "
97. ? = tōst^oti rōstē
 " " " "
98. iāutām usō
 " " " "
99. isōm ātōm
 " " " "
100. māns usōmōn-
 " " " "
101. tōst^oti rōstē
 " " " "
102. iāutōm usō
 " " " "
103. iāam ātōm
 " " " "
104. māns usōmōn =
 " " " "
105. = tōst^oti rōstē
 " " " "

- 106. ut uonti
- 107. pätkstä
- 108. kintön tsönpä
- 109. uon iili
- 110. mä ism ketym =
- 111. = taton ruste
- 112. ut uonti
- 113. pätkstäm
- 114. kintön iksu
- 115. löymän kat
- 116. päinän iksu
- 117. löymän kat
- 118. mä taitom
- 119. katti nätäx
- 120. ketymtsti
- 121. möylä kumpä
- 122. mökui nuys

123. möy^ulä^e k^unⁱpi
 124. tⁱst^aanⁱki
 125. t^arⁱti^t
 126. t^alm^en^e s^ant^ap
 127. m^ans^e rⁱst^e =
 128. = t^ati^t r^ust^e
 129. p^at^sön^e o^ypi
 130. ä^r kⁱrⁱs^t
 131. ä^r i^syt
 132. m^ans^e p^any^sön^e =
 133. = t^ati^t r^ust^e
 134. s^ant^a t^or^sön^e k^ö
 135. i^sm^e i^sym^e
 136. ä^ti^tön^e k^ö
 137. i^a k^uny^sön^e k^ö
 138. t^uny^sön^e k^ö
 139. i^syt^en^e k^öty^sön^e

140. *tan ti panyim =*

141. = *totyom ruste*

142. *tantoy uayst'*

143. *isom isyka*

144. *nāmsom nāmtax =*

145. = *toti ruste*

146. *pätösm onpi*

147. *ar kiošx*

148. *pätösm onpi*

149. *ar isyot*

150. *hit korp ontap*

151. *uānsy ayšt*

152. *māns titti =*

153. = *toti ruste*

154. *tantoy uayst'*

155. *isom isyka*

156. *nāmsom iwtyti =*

157. t̄at̄a r̄est̄e
 158. t̄ant̄on r̄aȳst̄'
 159. is̄m is̄ȳk̄am̄m̄
 160. p̄ūt̄on m̄ot̄at̄
 161. ar̄ s̄āim̄
 162. n̄āȳson r̄āis̄x
 163. k̄āts̄y r̄āis̄x
 164. t̄āt̄om t̄ur̄
 165. n̄āȳson r̄āis̄m̄=
 166. t̄āt̄om r̄est̄e
 167. t̄ant̄on r̄aȳst̄'
 168. is̄m is̄ȳk̄am̄
 169. aūis̄ r̄ati
 170. aūis̄ is̄ȳk̄
 171. t̄s̄ūp̄ist̄nam̄
 172. t̄īts̄y p̄āt̄m̄
 173. k̄ōt̄on īǟis̄ȳk̄
 174. aūis̄ r̄ati
 175. aūis̄ is̄ȳk̄

- 176. tsüp̄ s̄t nam
- 177. tsu ti naps̄ ti =
- 178. = ts̄ti ust̄i
- 179. n̄p̄p̄p̄ n̄aks̄s̄m iux
- 180. ism̄ t̄ō s̄t̄k̄z
- 181. m̄ans̄ uar̄s̄m =
- 182. = ts̄ti ust̄i
- 183. p̄ats̄s̄m oyp̄i
- 184. ar̄ k̄ir̄s̄z
- 185. ar̄ is̄q̄st
- 186. n̄aks̄s̄m iux
- 187. ism̄ t̄ō s̄t̄k̄z
- 188. n̄āms̄m ātti
- 189. p̄ats̄s̄m oyp̄i
- 190. ar̄ k̄ir̄s̄z
- 191. ar̄ is̄q̄st
- 192. n̄āms̄m ātti =
- 193. = ts̄t̄at̄ ust̄i

194. kanton naybt'
 195. ism isykanmi
 196. maksom iux
 197. ism tösttē
 198. auyss uati
 199. auyss isykē
 200. tsūpätnam
 201. māns näpti =
 202. = toti uste
 203. täröytä
 por? 204. pormi tōti
 205. kat asyom
 206. iärirtä
 207. māns iw-yti =
 208. = toti uste
 209. sivi torōm
 210. uatōmms
 211. kōrisika pax

212. rōmōnka

213. tōst uātsōy ?

214. tōrōs kō

215. tōksim iki ?

216. kāt asyōm

217. iā'ōrtā

218. iōy'stō uār tairat

219. tōksār iōy'ti =

220. = tōstōm kuntē

221. itī tōy'tōm

222. iōm uāisō

223. tōy mān tōy'ti =

224. = tōstōm uōtē

225. mā sār iōy'ti =

226. = tōstōm kuntē

227. itī tōy'tōm

228. iōm uāisō

229. tōt iōm tōy'ti =

230. = taton ruste
231. māns tēyi =
232. = tstātne
233. kōvīškā pav
234. rōmōnka
235. lōksīmiki
236. tsu ti isuyi
237. taton ruste.
238. kōv. pav
239. rōm.
240. lōks. i
241. tīnsy tās
242. pālγsn kōt
243. kōv. pav
244. rōm.
245. l. i.
246. līy kinat
247. tīnsy itō

248. pällyön köt

(027-8

3

249. minna küt'sx =

amer-lan!)

250. kati ruste

251. mäti tü'i

252. käyätmämpz

253. patšim onpi

254. är kūrōx

255. är isyot

256. nāmsn rē'st =

257. tštat ruste

258. kor. pax

259. rom.

260. t. a.

261. linyki ruste

262. tsu ti luymat

263. kočapi

264. o'st iermak

265. k^utⁱtⁱt
266. u^tm a^ttⁱ =
267. k^oy^ti u^st^e
268. n^at t^un^to^x
- 2 269. l^oy^ma^y k^ut^om
- 3 270. ~~l^oy^ma^y i^utⁱt~~
271. ~~l^akⁱ t^an^at~~
272. t^at^at^a
273. p^anⁱt^om^at
274. n^at t^un^to^x
275. l. u.
276. t. i.
277. k^ri^st^a p^au
278. r. -
279. t. a.
280. lⁱy^ki u^st^e
281. i^oy^ks t^ab
282. m^om^at^oy^ma^m

283. *hoy ti momi =*

21.

284. *hoytom rusti.*

9/11 1899

Al. Kētšomep.

Fremjugaw.

Kielennäytteitä

II

tarnoy ärs

känik ärs

- 1. kuyköt kuv kö
- 2. kallot " " atuyk-
- 3. ortoy uats
- 4. mason imti
- 5. ont uats kutpäms
- 6. köisy nouyös naaras saju
- 7. mok " "
- 8. kuvay nai
- 9. ont uats kutpäms
- 10. " puist " "
- 11. män ämski
- 12. si iuti ämski
- 13. näisy kut ioyk kullsi(6) ?
- 14. ortoy " "
- 15. ar moy kö^{*}ke^c kullsi

16. tū nāman tūti

17. kōisy nōy'ss

18. mōk "

19. kūrāy nāi

20. tū n. tūti

21. mōy's nāmst

22. nāmīti

23. kuykōt kōr kō

24. kaktst "

25. ootōy uātō

26. mōy's nāmst

27. nāmīti

28. kuy' pōt'sy tōm

29. sārmay' isī

} yōllākin

30. nār'sōt'st

31. tātus "

32. kūist kōr' sūi

ihmisten liike

33. tār'im ātōy

- 34. tse^ukin ku^ory^osist
- 35. msta^e i^oryk
- 36. " m^ox
- 37. sun^osta
- 38. isy^o ri^oatsm
- 39. ss "
- 40. t^ory^o m^or
- 41. " p^omt
- 42. s^onts^o t^oit^oat
- 43. h^ory^ost^o k^or^o k^o
- 44. k^oakt^ost
- 45. ort^ony^o n^oati
- 46. ri^oat^o k^oaita
- 47. t^oay^oon^o t^oar
- 48. " p^ory^ost
- 49. m^ory^o t^oay^ony^o a^om^osski
- 50. k^oo^oim^o kut
- 51. i^omi^one

Tuskin loygun

Missään maan
 ääri^ossä ei meillä
 kukaan vau^odi k^ostoa?
 Ole mitään k^ortella
 vau^ol^o (so. olemme
 h^ou^oh^ojaa välle em.
 mekä k^ory^o sotua

(Koste (-saute)!)

Смърно пулсето

52. mükist päytm

Hunkala syntyään (?) / 3

53. höy tujōx

Kesämme loppumme

54. höttip tōk

elämme (lojjetämme)
fful cūb

55. nir kuri pun

56. mōmōs kuttip tōti

57. snt tōrsm ko

58. isom isyōuz

59. kāritōy kārīmāy

lavis -

60. kār sōuzs

61. tōys uārsm | tōtōm

62. pāisōy kō

Kytän miehet,
toijet palvelijani

63. pāyititām

menivät kangas-

64. iāymōnpi

maahan päin kont.

65. pālōknam

li seljässä

66. kintōy tōmipi

67. uon iōti

68. tō ketyōm | tōtōx

(Ei myhä kieli)

- 69. pa aiso^{ko}
- 70. paⁱ ki^tam
- 71. uont^o nⁱ pi
- 72. paⁱ kⁱ nam
- 73. kint^o nⁱ pi
- 74. uont^o iⁱ li
- 75. lo^o k^e k^e y^o nⁱ | tⁱ s^t o^u x
- 76. k^u t^o m^o n^o m
- 77. isⁱ nⁱ a^t
- 78. i^t i^o k^u r^o m
- 79. a^t i^o nⁱ nⁱ s^t
- 80. k^u t^o k^u r^o m
- 81. a^t i^o nⁱ nⁱ s^t
- 82. m^o n^o k^u r^o m | tⁱ s^t o^u x
- 83. k^a t^t eⁿ a
- 84. k^e t^s y^t i
- 85. t^o y^t oⁿ t^u n^o k^u r^o m
- 86. p^a n^k oⁿ " "

(maifst)
 kailli ovat kotona
 eivät minnekään
 menneet

ei ole työtä

joka päivä nautimme
 ylös

maunsi-

- 87. rapyitsains
- 88. ua korip
- 89. kos ärrat
- 90. soymärst
- 91. käri "
- 92. uat pans
- 93. msyma uarson / tisti
- 94. tsu o'kmy
- 95. är kantse
- 96. msyma uarson / tisti
- 97. iäymömpi
- 98. pälsknam
- 99. hekysntm
- 100. äisy kö
- 101. päyitit
- 102. nämon uä'itköt
- 103. uäts nays (nais)
- 104. uattam pötän
- 105. püföt nays
- 106. u. p.

jalla

ogpqa

ärr, nais palvelija

(tellevät pieniä as-
kareita)

tulevat kotiin

minulle emännälle

- 107. āis̄ȳh̄ō
- 108. ṣ̄aȳi'it̄ns
- 109. us̄rt̄en ṣ̄it̄pi
- 110. n̄irit̄ taȳki
- 111. man̄tem ūi'ṣ̄t̄ | t̄st̄it̄
- 112. uont̄ṣ̄pi
- 113. ṣ̄āi'ru nam - - - - -
- [-116.]
- 117. n̄āman ūi'ṣ̄t̄it̄
- 118. moyle' ku'ṣ̄pi
- 119. mok̄ui' n̄ou'ṣ̄s
- 120. t̄ārnit̄it̄
- 121. man̄tem ūi'ṣ̄t̄ | t̄st̄it̄ —
- 122. ārs̄ȳ n̄iṣ̄e
- 123. n̄au'ṣ̄mt̄i
- 124. ūi'ṣ̄ȳ ārs̄x
- 125. ku'ṣ̄t̄it̄ k̄ōt̄
- 126. ms̄ȳst̄it̄ | t̄ūt̄i

antavat

multa
turkhat

miksi laulaa

127. kuyk^ost^o kuy^oko

128. ont^ooy^o uat^osu^o

129. kat^otst^o kuy^oko

130. o u

131. kat^osäm^o ut^o

naipet enustant
etta ---

132. ar^oimip^oat

133. kat^osäm^o ois^oy^o | ts^omit

134. mai^osäm^o ut^o

135. ar^okip^oat

136. mai^osäm^o ois^oy^o | ts^omit

137. kat^o kuy^oin^o pax

138. kat^o kuy^oin^o kopax

139. kut^osy^o ts^ohi

140. kuy^o iat^osy^o kat^ot

141. iat^osy^o

ei tullut päivä vielä
puoleen

142. snt^o ist^osu^o

143. uat^o ai^osy^oko

144. ar paj tam
145. boyo uarom / tomit
146. kätšom so^u oceanpt
147. kelyrom "
148. isyki putne
149. tütne öⁱ | ismit
150. ~~so~~ wim kat
151. woi tika
152. tyy^s koyti | t^sti
153. impt uänts
154. sätön ätön
155. küist uänts
156. s. ä
157. kotonam uaki | tiyat
158. mäns keyi | t^stätne
159. tem put isykos
160. imoy iayon
161. nim iu pi

- 162. päälkäntz
- 163. mäs leji | kstänns
- 164. isyüst it
- 165. monmälsyzi
- 166. mota nai
- 167. tairmpa'kän
- 168. säisy prntap
- 169. kätöy + "
- 170. ont au stmat
- 171. si mayi
- 172. si unti
- 173. kat or'pa'kän
- 174. kin isuyi | kstyan
- 175. bäsny leki
- 176. särstns
- 177. sinken uiri
- 178. ayden uiri

Suuri rekki -

} kinn

- 179. laison naipax
- 180. sarsy leuk
- 181. sarstms
- 182. pit' puqst
- 183. sinaps
- 184. kat nsryemyoms
- 185. tsuy tali tsti
- 186. karoy ay st
- 187. nasytins
- 188. kar kitti
- 189. onsp sariit
- 190. antsyftsi isymat
- 191. tarmsy tayki
- 192. kotrom "
- 193. ksk saytura
- 194. oi toyo intneksik
- 195. tuit mst

poroilla (e)

196. kätösm piorns

197. Säisy pöntap

198. kätöy "

199. smt auy st

200. pit' puy st

201. si n a p e

202. kät n s y e m y m m e

203. tatti

204. s. p

205. k p

206. s. auy st m e

207. msta nai

208. laism par

209. tou nämet

210. nämiti

211. isykt mät st

212. mst "

213. ai koms

214. lü namat

215. namiti

216. karon nairöt

217. karpö kaysr

} Toisen nimin

218. lü namat

219. n.

220. säyön in^oko

221. puirtap nätsi

222. kartom in^oko

223. p. ru.

224. isuyäki | kuytom

225. wron kat

(jonkuklaiset tähtylp.
ballonista pioreaa
alas)

226. wrikiki

227. itön koykä | kötki

228. kuytön kuy^okur

229. pankön "

230. rapyit saia

231. kötom kuy^oron

Li⁽¹⁾

- 232. sälöma kur
- 233. māns ayo mānek | sōti
- 234. sāsōy put
- 235. kōk sisye
- 236. māray put
- 237. kōy māra⁽⁻⁾
- 238. sōts istōms
- 239. māns kōlōn | tōtatms
- 240. naksōm ^(iux) kōy tōpōms
- 241. mōta nai
- 242. tōism pax
- 243. kōor^c kōrpi
- 244. kō^c tōrōm iu^x
- 245. pōrōmtin sētē
- 246. māns kōlōn | tōtalms
- 247. naksōm iux
- 248. kōy tōpōms
- 249. mōta nai
- 250. tōism pākōm

10-11

251. ism or^c pa^v

252. sötliⁱ

253. layör kīms^t

• 254. kötye pu^rōk

• 255. kōron^c sūi | sētlⁱ

256. iūley kāt

257. syt o^c pⁱ

258. msta nai

259. laiōm p^ayn^e

• 260. kēmsⁿ | punⁱli

• 261. msta n

262. tⁱ pa^c kōm

263. maⁱ āmisi | kōyō^t tam

264. ai kārⁱ

• 265. ai tūyⁱ

• 266. msta kāt

267. iāⁿ kōm k^aytin

268. mūtⁱ kāt

269. mūtⁱ k^anam

270. samay kat

271. samānān

272. sā^uck^uṅṅ o^ux

273. optōṅ

274. kāptāni

275. pānōymin | pīrnz

276. isṅ uāsiti

277. kūṅātdi

278. kiplāṅlin

279. oṅtsiā

280. oimayz

281. kat or'pā'kōn

282. imōtyōn

283. kat uār onltōm

284. imins

285. kōtōṅ kōṅṅ

286. sītō uāiō'kōr

287. uay norpi
 288. noron puuta
 289. nāmon säyrtat
 290. mattat
 291. tap nāton
 292. tipsy nāia
 293. uay norpi
 294. n puut
 295. nāmon i stāt
 296. it niurrt
 297. it ätin
 298. sijimat | piirns
 299. uay n
 300. n p.
 301. ütmm usti
 302. iuy pälok
 303. uoran anva
 304. kōton koron
 305. sitš u äis kor

325. tū kōta ist
326. kōs pā^uŋⁱpi
327. un^ton tūti
328. tū kōta | istal
329. kōisy nūy^ss
330. mōk "
331. kōray mai
332. anⁱki t^ug^e
333. kōtāntā :
334. kunt^z | sāy^{om} iu^{ko}
335. p^unt'at uātsā
336. k^urtom iu^{ko}
337. p. u.
338. t^ursom nam^ss
339. isom p^ut^z
340. sigⁿⁱ
341. nam^s sanat pan^som
342. sāy^{om} iu^{ko}

p^ount. väⁱä
 kart. i.
 p. u.
 si^one m
 nam^oat
 t^orom

- 343. o^utuⁱ
- 344. si^uky^o l^utä
- 345. kut^o p^ot
- 346. kant^opa
- 347. n^o k^ott^e -
- 348. t^uki^o titi
- 349. k^o u
- 350. t^o t^o p^ol
- 351. us^oym^o / p^oms
- 352. u^o s^ot
- 353. ä^o k^ot^o

- 354. uäl^urk^u sät
- 355. käu^usp^u kät^uns
- 356. uät^u ai^umkö
- 357. är^u pay^utam
- 358. kää^usm^u i^uxi
- 359. sä^uu^usm^u i^ui
- 360. kō^usm^u at^umat
- 361. ä^um^uō^usm^uit^u pi^ums
- 362. uät^u ai^usm^ukö
- 363. är^u pay^utam
- 364. är^u kät^ui
- 365. k'ē^untal^u sät^uit
- 366. pūt^uat^ui
- 367. iä^uyt^uit^ui
- 368. sūt^ui^u nū^ux
- 369. kō^usm^u au^ums
- 370. är^u kät^ui
- 371. k'ē^untal^u sät^uit

372. iton käläristik
373. syken iiri
374. angl. u.
375. t. nairpax
376. läytilen
377. tu kōta ristal
378. ma iirōn kät
379. iiritine
380. tut kälton
381. tu kōtst
382. iastst
383. iudōn kät
384. siyt oypōii
385. kēmon tūystät
386. minnspe
387. si mayi
388. nairōn forōm
389. särōn kauē

390. *irōn kauri*
u r y
391. *tiytōn lāta*
392. *sā mayi*
u r y
393. *naiyon oryon*
u r y
394. *itōn kālītōmōn*
u r y
395. *nokōntōr*
u r y
396. *pītō ātōmōn*
u r y
397. *itō rustōimōn*
u r y
398. *kōsō ōy pī*
u r y
399. *kōu at*
u r y
400. *atit mānōn / pīnōn*
u r y
401. *mānō kōtōn / tōtātōn*
u r y
402. *sin ken uōi*
u r y
403. *and*
u r y
404. *laisōn nai pax*
u r y
405. *nit mōti*

406. är tsäy²
 407. päst päätöm
 408. pust ontöx
 409. taysön₂ tääst^c töst^c töx
 410. kärsön₂ mayst
 411. känpö taysön
 412. ieiin kö töntä
 413. uatta kö
 414. iirnopöstns
 415. sä^uky^u äyⁱ
 416. nälyst kö
 417. sä^uky^u päx (uⁱtsön)
 418. nälyst kö
 419. kö tön₂ tiuymä
 420. säyön₂ iu kö
 421. kätön₂ "
 422. p^unt'at^u p^ut^usmön

440. tsū'i kuykuv
441. touy tan nu'i (nuiat?)
442. kumtōptōtam
443. mouy kuytōt tūtī
444. tūt iū'it
445. kōtōm piōnz
446. uā'koyon
447. pu'kaps
448. kōs ar'nz
449. uat' kōtām
450. tinoy sori
451. iū'koy kāt
452. siy kōy pō'ii
453. kēmōm kuy tōptōtam
454. kōy uāy'it
455. u. tayir
456. kōy tāt'ni | kōy stmal
457. sōy'oy pōntōp
458. kātōy

459. ont au^ost

460. ra^og^oryon

461. pu^on --

462. k^os --

463. rat'k --

464. ti so^or

465. sa^oisy p^ontap

466. ka^otiy "

467. ont au^osta

468. l^ouy's | a^oms^ota^om

469. tut i^ost

470. ko^oti^om p^ons

471. ar^osy ni^oje

472. na^ouy s^ombi

473. u^oisy ar^oss

474. ra^og^oryon "

475. pu^ontil ko^ol

476. mo^ouy^oskit tuti

- 477. sin ken uoi
- 478. a u
- 479. t. naipau
- 480. häy i lemms
- 481. säröy leik
- 482. ai sirost
- 483. kony ruiimat
- 484. pit isy kop
- 485. iimoy iau nam
- 486. isykt it
- 487. moyt it
- 488. monom ätsy man
- 489. syx - u
- 490. a u
- 491. t. mai
- 492. l. - -
- 493. kär mat sm
- 494. so isy h irost
- 495. kony räu ä | istat

496. uäiäy^äka^ä
497. k^äry^äö^ätti
498. k^äö^ät^äm^ä i^äoy^äk
499. k^äu^ät^ätt^ä t^äir
500. k^äö^ät^ä u^ää^än^än^äe
501. u^ää^ät^äm^äa^ät
502. s. u^är
503. a. u
504. t. n^äp^äk
505. l.
506. k^äu^är^äa^äy^ä a^äu^äy^äst
507. k^äu^är^äa^ät^äi
508. s^ää^är^äi^än^ä k^äu^äy^ät^äa^äy
509. n^ää^äm^äo^äy^ä n^ää^är^äo^äa
510. t^äi^än^äo^äy^ä k^ää^är
511. p^äo^ät^äy^äm^ä k^äu^ät^äi
512. l^ää^äy^äi^äl^äe^äm^äu^äs
513. s^ää^är^äa^ä n^äu^är^ät^äo^äm^ä/t^äo^ät^äo^äs.

514. tⁿⁱu kōta | istat
 < ? | ? ? ?

515. kōisy nuyos
 < ? ? ? ?

516. m m

517. k. nai
 ? ? ?

518. anōki kōkanta:
 ? ? ? ? ?

519. min^e sāyom iu^e kō
 ? ? ? ? ?

520. kartsom

521. pōntat^(y) mtsimōn
 ? ? ? ? ?

522. neyosōp
 ? ? ? ? ?

523. nāros^uax
 ? ? ? ? ?

524. tumnam sātqitāt^(y)
 ? ? ? ? ?

525. māne kēⁱftatāt^m
 ? ? ? ? ?

526. s. in^e k

527. k. u

528. p. riātō

529. si torōm
 ? ? ?

530. si pālsk

531. murōy^uax
 ? ? ? ?

532. mu^ori^okä^ody
-^ost
533. is^om^o k^oo^om^or
534. si^ona^om^o ä^om^oö^os|k^oö^ost^oö^o
535. t^u i^ost^oä^ony^o
536. t^u ä^ony^ost
537. t^är^os^om^o s^oap^oty^op
538. ni^or^o u^oai^oy^ost^om^o
539. sä^ou^oo^om^o i^ou^oko
540. k. "
541. p. u^oä^ot^os^oa
542. tou^ou^os^oi^oä^ot^os^om|t^oö^oi^ov^ou^ox
543. si^ony^onen i^ou^o
544. a. "
545. t. n.
546. k^oä^ony^o
547. tou^o ä^om^osi^oft^oö^oy^oö^ot^ot^o
548. ai lä^ori
549. ai tou^ou^o

ai tou^ou^o

550. m^skti k^ut^tä

~~ta^u~~

551. k^ou^yps i^aä^hko m^ontat

~~naiss^ta~~

552. k^ao^yu.

553. k. A

554. k^ut^om

555. k^ou^y ä^msi² f^lo^yst^tal

556. ai k^ari

557. u k^ou^yi

558. m^skti k^utⁱstä

559. minn^ops

560. si m^ayi

561. nai^om orⁱo^m

562. ont i^or

563. ont p^ari

564. paⁿo^m k^at

~~si m^ayi~~

maijon

- 565. iā^u kām kaṃti
- 566. kāt uār onttām imins
- 567. uat sori kōtam
- 568. tinsy sori
- 569. tuṃtṃṃ kury^c kor
- 570. paṃkṃṃ "
- 571. rapsyt sāia
- 572. sārōn kaupē
- 573. tiṃtṃṃ lātā
- 574. ī rri k.
- 575. t. lātā
- 576. tu^u sō amōtām -
- 577. karsy u.
- 578. kaṃ - -
- 579. kūtām tū kōka istal
- 580. uātō āisy kō
- 581. ar pāyā

582. u n n e n a n k i

583. t u t o m p a r i

584. k a t k i t k u n t i

585. a r k a t k i

586. ~~o s a m~~ m o n u a r t o m

587. a i s o n k o | p a y i t t o

588. p a i s o n " | "

589. p a n t o n u a t s | i t p i n s

590. k a r k a n t o n | l e u k i a s m a r

591. k a n t o n k u n o p

592. k o s n a p t o x

593. n i k t u i t o x

594. p a a i s o n k o

595. p a y i t i t

"

596. k a r n y u.

597. k. a a j o r

598. k u t o m t u k o l a i s t a t

599. t a t n a m o n

600. poma kākāsan

601. tāpat kāri

602. pōmōy kūmōp

603. kōs kātōy

604. uti tūkat

~~uimōpōs uaiōp~~

~~kānōy kōb~~

605. tōit tom it uāts / utōmōmō

606. sōpō. u.

607. a. u.

608. t. npx.

609. l.

610. kāōy u.

611. k. t.

612. kūtōmōmō

613. tōyō māytak

614. uāts āōy kō

615. ar pōpōmō

616. pōmōy kūmōp

617. kōs kātōy

618. kārṭṭy tāism

619. mō kṃṃ kōt

620. itō sāuṃmit

621. uāts ā k.

622. ar papṃ

623. laṃṃ laṃṃ kārṭṭy kṃṃṃp

624. kōs nāptīx ----- sāuṃmit

627. mōṃṃṃ kṃṃṃ tīti

628. sōṃt pāri

629. uārmāy

630. kāt tīti

631. sōṃt pāri

632. uārmāy

633. kāt tīti

634. ar kātī

635. isīstī

636. ar ātī

637. kṃṃṃ tīti, kāt tīti

638. sōṃt pāri

640. k̄ap̄st k̄at̄l

641. p̄irem k̄at̄ms

642. k̄ap̄st isi

643. p. t.

644. ai iumi, ai uati

645. p̄at̄ij̄tor̄im

646. moym̄ ti p̄t̄ōyt̄ōti

Al. Ketsenep.

Loppua ei tiedä, tu-
lee vielä sota - - -

Tremjugan.

Kielennäyttöt

III.

I) Vala karkun päällä

1. pūpi! kunto tem kō rā'op
2. uār, tam si tūtis uati
3. tūtis kūtis tātma qit' tātē,
4. pāy'kōst tātē kōse!

II) Vala tuleen

5. iāmsynai äyri! kunto tam
6. kō kūtīm tōaiē, si tūtis
7. uati kūtist sōi'say'kōs' usre!
8. Sārīm iirat uārto, usroy
9. iirat uārto tem kōnē, tūt'op[?]
10. at kōtōntā, kūtist sōi'say-
11. kōs' usre!

Kosinta sanoja

12. tōrīm tūy'm unktā
13. moy " "

14. nep̄ ālitnam uatti kol onto uūt

15. kōjī " " " "

16. it̄s̄ k̄snam si iās̄yat iasta

17. " " kōkat "

18. [mōy] onttau uūta k̄im si

19. kōkat iasta māsnam, tsusnam.

Toisessa toisinnossa:

--- it̄s̄ k̄snam uattau si ---

Rukous Käniki: Ue vaatteuksen
tehtyjä

20. mā k̄ät̄im̄ts̄mam si nui nu-

21. n̄ati uārem, k̄äniki! nōy

22. uōu anat si uāis̄y uät̄om ot̄y,

23. si k̄ut̄ uät̄om ot̄y! - k̄äniki!

24. mān̄ l̄ät̄ayks̄ laia, isomys

25. t^oiaⁱ, aia^oisⁱ t^oiaⁱ !

3

Rukous elukan tapellua :

26. n^onatⁱ r^ottⁱatⁱ r^ottⁱm, it^ostⁱ

27. usⁱaⁱ ! t^or^o t^oytⁱ s^om^a t^oys-

28. nam k^ot^ont^a t^est^a, man^otem^o

29. nam k^ot^ont^a ! m^a r^oun^atⁱ

30. r^ottⁱm, t^oe^okn^atⁱ r^ottⁱm man^o

31. r^ottⁱstⁱ usⁱaⁱ, man^o k^ott^atⁱ

32. usⁱaⁱ !

Kuolleelle, joka esineen pantua
sanotam :

33. --- n^onatⁱ kⁱis^em, m^ast^atⁱ

34. t^ottⁱstⁱ usⁱaⁱ !

Haudatta lähtiessä :

35. k^ottⁱstⁱ sin^am kⁱis^em, m^a =

36. niy^ctem at uā^cntā^c

4

Mutki.

Arvailuksia

1. 1)

mutkemo! :

isykä^c suratōm^c kō, itsot^c
nōmsn^c kit^c.

sāisp^c, uānpärt^c

Mies hukkuu veden
sielunsa jäi ylhäällä
kuotta, perämerellä

2. 2). m. ! :

tem pälski^c ney ai nētōm^c
kō mont^c, tuon pälski^c
jōst ai nētōm^c kō mont^c.

sāmsōy^c kut^c, so^cux

Tätä puolta kulkee
valkeasent ruuhi.
nen mies, tuota
puolta musta r. m.

Njelma, osotra.

3. 3) m. !

iauy^c ts nāt^c kintā^c pāstē^c

namōs^c

Muolta nopeampi.

Ajatus.

4. 4) m.!

uon^ol^os^o i^oa^os^o on^ono^o a^ons^ot^o
ia^ost^o a^ots^o ke^okl^oat

lu^okn^out

Metsän rahoan(?)
kestessä
joufu pää kurkhis-
telee.

Metsän nouha.

5. 5) m.!

säl^o kö^o si^o snt^osp^onat^o reä^o
nsk^oss^o.

romi^o munt^osil^o

tata miestä yhdellä
vyölli vyöläytty.

Uleinätoorman.

6. 6) m.!

kät^ost^o koti^o sattu^oay^o piri^ok^o
atti^o

sut^o

Talojen väliä kul-
jeltatua suolaista
piirakkaa -

Siera.

7. 7) m.!

uä^ots^oip^o ju^ost^oip^o säb^o mäl^osp^o
iä^ons^o mau^ost^otti^o

ay^oks^ot

Kaupunkia kylän
ympäristöä roppa-
mau - lakkiset mie-
het.

8. 8) m. !:

6

ioqk^cst^c o^cyti^c u^cät^c p^cir^cni^c
hurp^cant^cam

Haolla [istuu] vii-
si sorsaa [tupou^u]
falle ja varpaat.

9. 9) m. !:

tu^cmat^c tu^cyn^co^c am^c r^cäp^cö^cst^cö^c
kä^cu^c o^cyt^cö^cia^c t^cä^crt^c
s^cäp^cö^cr^cki^c u^co^ckt^ce^c

Kesä-[-?] järnessä koi-
ran hautunta
kuulun
Sammallon kuornitu

10. 10) m. !:

a^cnt^cöy^c i^cu^canti^c s^cät^c u^cä^cr^cö^cp^c
p^cu^cö^cyt^cö^ct^c

ontan juna sisä^u
tä lantäi sata nä^u
hiä

tu^cu^cal^c k^co^cri^c n^cai^cs^cut^ct^c
n^cö^cl^cnam^c m^cö^cnt^ce^c

Tshuvalin piiput
nousee kipunöitä.
(kipunöiden nousu?)

11. 11) m. !:

i^can^cyan^c p^cö^cn^cö^cm^c k^cati^c i^cl^cnu^c
u^cä^cö^cst^cti^c ä^cty^c u^cä^cö^cst^cti^c
k^cai^cs^cma^c i^cl^cnu^c ä^cty^c m^cö^c
l^csm^c u^cä^cti^cö^cst^cam^c k^cö^cst^cä^c

(Kuorin) kiedotuu
samajeedi vainajaa
illoin aamun katto
tam.

12. 12) m.!

säm pälök kōlōy ruikstoto

tätōz uon'ing nuyst sāmst

itōn ämōstōt

pietsyan' sukōntz

4
silmäjuoli kor-
pin huutaessa
metsänpuiden ohjat
suonut istuvat
maassa (so. jultaa-
vat)

Pyyssyn paukaus.

13. 13) m.!

si kār mēssx sāt kōns

kātktti

oypī mātō

Yhden porohärän
kātän sata mies-
tä pitelee.

oven "riipa" (so. palikka)

14. 14) m.!

isynk on' kōmōr

isynka māyfnm pōn

veden sisus onllo

veteen laskettu
menta. —

15. 15) m.!

kōtōy tōyyst kintā neysi
ontem

kōlōy tōyyst kintā pōyt
ontem

Ei ole valkeampi jout-
pnen fullkan

Ei ole mustampi
hoopin fullkan

ättä kötsö kintä täst
ontem

Si ole ras kaampi
puntekka (sagelia?)

nipuk, ssta kuiti, ksmika Paperi, muste, kirja.

16. 16) m. !:

Montsp iäsp onns ism tanti Metsän sisäsp

ism kuiti saunon on ruoka, kalavak
ka

uäsytäst

torran pesä.

17. 17) m. !:

uat uatm näst

Tuulen tuultama (kui-
vaama) näpy.

kapas

ailla.

18. 18) m. !:

täykyör pörint, pörint, uoy- kieri guree (?)
kosta layat koloonsa menel

kötsynat iey nöyrtz

sätipa pntz.

veitsellä pntä
vuolla, työntäin
Tyyteen. -

19. 19) m.!

uontop^c iä^c sp^c on^c ns^c p^coyt^c

Metsässä makua
musta kivi.

käy^c at^cat

p^cup^ci uoy^cns^c att^c

Kuohu makua pe-
ssään. -

20. 20) m.!

isyt^c si^c säpik^c jutt^csi^c p^coyt^c

Isän yntä saapasti
vammaan vetäessä, poi-
ka meni Taimiäpes

torma^c mon^c

nai^csut^c nökinam^c mont^c

21. 21) m.!

k^cut^cst^c uan^c, k^cäp^cyt^c k^co^cx

Talo lyhyt, eläimen
pitkä

seu^c

harakka.

22. 22) m.!

it^c at^cint^c - ism^c uay^cä^cns^ct^c

mauteensa hopea-
lantanen

nök^c t^cät^c - p^cssan

Seisovessaan jöyfiä

amp^c.

23. 23) m. !:

10

särtst sst nüt nättst

Vanit maaleet toi-
siansa mielevät
"tuhvalin keliello."

hinuist

24. 24) m. !:

uontsp iä sp onns usrtis no-

isyn ne tāt

kuostom suumst

25. 25) m. !: (vri. nr. 6)

sattay pirkk tem kätä tūti

Suolais pirakkaa
Kannetaan tähän
Tuohon Taloon.

tem kätä tūti

sūt

Siera.

Mitki:

1. 1) mitkemo: isyka sukabom ko ipost
nomon kit? - säisip, uanipart
Mies hukkuu sataan, se
kunpa joi ylkäälle.
Mrotha; perämervak
2. 2) mitkemo: tem pälski neu ai ritön ko
mont, tom pälski post ai ritön ko mont?
sämön kit, sox;
Tata puolta men
vapaa muuhellin
mies, tuota puolta
--- a Njelmä, oselo
3. 3) mitkemo: iau^uste näk kinta paste?
namis.
Nuolta nojeampi?
Ajatus
4. 4) mitkemo: uontsa iä^usp onne anst iau^ust
äkön kēuklät? =
luknot.
Melsän, kankaan
sisassa lunn, jouse
pää kurkistatse.
Metsonnokka.
5. 5) m. : sat ko si soutsponä narskiss?
pomi muntat.
Sata mieh vyötytyi yf
lelä vyölä.
Heinäsoormaus
6. 6) m. : kälst kuti sabbän pivik ätki?
süt.
Tatojan väliä kannellaan
sälolait pivikkua,
sierra

7.

m. : uätsip puhtip säs miltip iäpne
mau^ustki. ankst.

{ Kaupunkia Kytäin ym.
pärsipi roproemän kat.
Kiset miehet }.

8.

m. : iun^ukst öyti uät piirgi?
kürpän^utäm

Maolla (maailman kaatuneet
la puulla) viisi tupka
(soosaa). Falla ja var
paat. -

9.

m. : k^uqäl toym^u äm rāpōstē k^uuoytōiä
tärt s^upōrki^u uoktē.

Kesä, järvenä koiran
haukunta -- kuuluu
sammakko kuumilla

10.

m. : a^untōy i^ug ont^u sät uärsip perōyktē?
toyal kōri mai sikt
nōkinām montē. -

ontōn puun sisäb
lentää sata märkiä
tōuvälän piipusta
nousee kipinäitä. -

11.

m. : raryan puism kati itnā u^ustki,
äbōy u^ustki.

Samojeedilainu uuoiti
kiedotun väinajaa illan
aamun katsotaan (?)

kaiōmä itnā äbōy mōntōm
uäti^ustām hē^usttē^u?

Illoin aamun aineen
syöttöparannuksen paraja
katsomany.

12. Silmäpuoli korppa, huutaessa metsän puun oksat, suonaat istuvat maassa (s.o. putoavat). Epm. : sam pälsk kōlōn̄ä rikkōstōtē kätne uon̄ iūy noȳst s̄an̄st̄ iks̄n̄ ām̄ss̄ō pētōx̄n̄ sok̄āntē. (st?)

13. porohärän häntäci pi. 13) m. telce wo mieb - si k̄ar mēssy s̄at kōn̄e k̄ätk̄i? oven "ripa" (jona on usein oven läpi tehtyyn reikään sijiteltu palikka). öppi mätō

14. veden sisus kōmst 14) m. : isykon̄ kōmst? Veteen laskettu merita isyka māntom por̄

15. Ei ole valkeampi joutsenesullkaa 15) m. : kōlōn̄ toyst̄ kintā n̄eui sntēm, Ei ole mustampi kōyinsullkaa kōlōn̄ " " poyt̄ sntēm Ei ole varkeampi puukkaa. äktē kōtōsk " h̄ärr̄t̄ sntēm? paperi, muste, kirja nipik, sok̄ā k̄itē nipikkōnikā.

16.

16) m. uontōp iāsp onnr ism kanti ism
kūki saun?

Metsän, kankaan sisällä on ruoka,
la vakka. -

uassy tiist, sorsan pes

(kirvaama)

17.

tuntien tuultama häpy
aitta.

17) m. uat uatōm nāsōr?

tapas

18.

luri puree, puree, tun. 18) m.
Kuntun koloonsa

käytker porint, porint, uoytkit
kayät?

veitseeleä puuta uollen,
työntää tuppees

kötösynät iuy nuyōrtē, sātō
pä pūtē. -

19.

19) m. uontōp iāsp onnr psyts kau aitat
pupi uoyōn aitte

20.

fän petacisō yttā sau.
pah yllkaangr, poikka
meni tarvaasee

20) isyōt si sāpik pūtōyōi payōt tormā
mon? nauōit nokkām mōntō

21.

alo lyyt
alo pūtēt, elemer pūtēt

21) kūtōt uān, kōpōst kōv -

seyt (harakku)

Vasquezan Kielemäytleitä.

Esilaulu:

"laulun sanoille puhuva"

1. iäut ärsx säysu kol mä elöytösine
 2. koy ärsx koy mant' ismāy ärsx so-
 3. jau kolnāti, pelāy kā pelāy rōrā
 4. imislōm, ärsx kstātis nēmoy kol-
 5. nāti. Ma toya säyöl. iuy ur nō-
 6. yinā mä imislōm, mä muyitā
 7. käslim. laq iuyssu torāy kät
 8. tuytoy kät isypēlsone mäki nō-
 9. mōksillōm, koy tiropsu tūriy
 10. ärsx, kolāy kät isypēlsone mäki
 11. nōmōksillōm, mä kästā kstātim. kemoy saangum.
 12. iäut ärsx iäut mant' säysu kol-
 13. mā nitsōlātē usytōrōm isyom kolnātā (niti)
 14. mā kōntskū mälōm tsēyā nuyā
 15. nūk ssōltā kolōm mānā mstā-
 16. ioyāt kol mānā tōy il. sstā mā
 17. tēpā lēm kā isypēlsone iäpne
 18. mant' ärsytāt āmōsst, nuyā kolā
 19. pūssōslōm, ~~sōmā~~ sōrōmōy oysu
 20. iävioy tōrōm mānā mstā ioyā

skäinonen, aliläinen
ainainen.

Itämeren puolesta
(omalla leikkimällä) (ei
ole apulaiskallioita).
Löydänkötön -

skäinokokoukset

70 - skäinokokoukset

- ilosta
21. kol arstamati ~~ilosta~~ miannam
 22. uoyam na sote kaslim, nuy ro.
 23. yannati msta roja koloy mat
 24. mitsotata uot torim isyon, sör.
 25. nuy ayru uot torim isyon nuy
 26. risman nuy kolän ma madjotti
 27. ~~Kolän~~ kolän iaya loyotamata torim
 28. iassy torim kol. tem ut amss.
 29. ta ayoy kata psokoy kata ma
 30. iäutärrä säyru kol soloy mant
 31. loyotamati.
 32. iäutärrä s. kolna kola matim
 33. pelän kat pela iorna kola amss.
 34. lsm, uloy iä kü torim pätuoy
 35. ätoxrar uat ioytis ma tsokoy
 36. nälom iöman kolän kiläte kü
 37. nälom löeyäm tärrm uat so miy.
 38. kims slo kat iöman ioykox slo uat
 39. miykims nälom iöna kony kat
 40. iroytoia lä nuk älsusi

(exp. 2000)

kolän

keel-kanta

41. öpör iux iermy töia stoy uat
 42. iaw miy kine psöts psöty ääust
 43. Kolä nuik älsömi näpi psöty aakoon
 44. istte päte töörömmz mä iermy
 45. mä koläm lultz näpi psöty ääust
 46. Kolox nuipa mon tilsm töörömmz
 47. nönisa mä koläkalim töpöty sär
 48. är uäisyne manp ätkäli, tem nö-
 49. min ääust suymst iälte päi töpöty
 50. ser ässe uäisyne löpöty tsyröltö-
 51. yäli, Käyö sörösu är iket uäli-
 52. tilöy ält, isy iässöylömil Kol
 53. manne sätö löpöty. ääust suymst
 54. iälte päine tsyröltöy äli; ääust
 55. löx nintä kat; tu Käyö psötyne
 56. uälust, nits iälte, är iäy psöty
 57. ~~soy~~ söröny änköl iermy töörömmz
 58. uäl manny kol meli Köyöl
 59. Köyöl isy psötyne töörömmz iäy
 60. Koloy lip löpöty tsyröltöy äli.
 61. Ho mä koläm töörömmz uat iäy miy-

kuulim.
 psötyne sär är uä-
 isyne
 (sanottiin (van-
 nat itämiset)
 asuivat
 heidän puhumiansa
 sanoja
 7. hevosta voi juosta
 loppuun (parikymmän; oli
 niin pitkä tulo).
 pytvän päissä malja
 johon mahtuu 5 miäkä
 näis rziä.
 Siinä kestikälä-
 vaan (toirvaan ma-
 van) pöytäkyse

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81.
82.

L 3

Minä myy iostouttia. Törmä ior
 Kälön läise ilok läytiläms.
 Kol' mäni iostis Kälöyät myy
 Kösine mänt löökön nälon töia
 Kaine mänt söyömlis, myy Kös-
 si myyde iyyä mämsil. uäisk
 a irimay Kösine mänt ersylos
 Kol' myy Kösine non uäise usroy
 uälöke mänt uäisk irimay Kū
 mänt söyömlis Kälönmyy räutofti
 mämsi lät iylinsim. iyy Kösine
 ärs' kntsa nälon tseyäni mänt
 söyömläyön. mä tim löökönmyy
 räutofti mämsi kut iyyölli mä
 Kälön myyne mämsintä Käsli. tot
 nömön mä iyyälim törmä ior Kög
 pälä, tot Kög pälä iyyä törmä
 uälöyil. Kögä sälti uäyä sälti
 Kuraukan, lu Kögä sälti Kurau-
 kan iyy Kälöyät * iökyä törmä
 mä Kögöntä uälön, iyy uälösimä

myy se mainitai

ommitunator (metras)
tyyressä -
mainitai (minne)

ven-paikkaan (somer)
sä on olin Tapella, myy
uälöke

saada selvi, löytää (?)

lillei Tarttus kinnin
on valkomaapla
"ältä inf"

kuinen (?)

arsinunnes laulu.
itsime myy p.

kurpa re mare

* hänen laulumia paikkaansa en missä
gään mäc (hän on niin maistava, ellei
mistään sen. tu -) ~~maida~~

83. Kō korau iōyōr mā ārsy luntā
 84. mānt luntā iuy kār AIA iuyā
 85. mōnlōm, iuy tōrom pūtōu pūtōu
 86. iuykōi pūtōu, ulōx tōrom kēmōl
 87. iuyōn uli, tōrom pūtōu nūtōi =
 88. mā iōyōn iuykōi iōyōy ēlsu
 89. ārsy luntā mānt luntā iākōy lāt
 90. mānne tōt kōkōlāt. pūtōy kās-
 91. kōn pōlāt kōisū iālā nūlā iā-
 92. litōy kōtō. iāut ārsy i. m. s. k.
 93. mōyōlōn mā iōy pēlōnē mōy
 94. mōyōlōn ārsōtōlōn. tōromnē
 95. mōyōt pākōl iālix sōlōx si
 96. mā iōy pēlōnē mōy kōntōnē
 97. ārsō kōtōsōx tōromnē mōyōt
 98. mūtōsōlōn tōm mā iōy pēlōnē tōrom
 99. mā mōyōt tōy pātōlōtōsōlōn mā
 100. sōlō kōtō kōisōm tōromnē mān pōt
 101. tōyōn tōromnē mōyōt iōyōn kōnt
 102. sōi mā sōi kōlō kōisōtōlōn

kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn
 kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn
 kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn

220 kōisōtōlōn
 kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn
 kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn

a mānt iōyōn kōisōtōlōn

[litōy] pōnākōm pōi
 nōi ē sōlōx iōyōn
 kōisōtōlōn

mōisōi mōi kōisōtōlōn
 kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn
 kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn

(-sōn)

mōyōt mūtōsōlōn kōisōtōlōn
 (mōyōt mūtōsōlōn kōisōtōlōn)

jōmālōn mān
 kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn
 kōisōtōlōn kōisōtōlōn

aadu

124. mä ruyä tä läyomson sari töröm *Katsoin tansan*
 125. uslominne ärsä tuntu man, tuntu *lunen läsisanne*
 126. man litto nä uarmältiyältöx, *Minne Kulkemaan*
 127. tom loji kullal tōrtäm si tuntu tät. *sakt,*
 128. kälstun, mä muji nävkelöu yösel *bo mendjoguru*
 129. rennis si pyör onson, mä mu- *bu nojor cyranan*
 130. ji tälä ^{imi} mslman häluia il *muu kalaini til*
 131. isyäs, imi tonnam ilm työtäl *kuu - si paivi*
 132. säts, stä pōya toy islä; mä *rupean kienossa*
 133. tēx msonom imine sat väisx *paivassa elinät*
 134. kuran kint eläy ojuu mäni mill *myy smakt*
 135. si kät pēlōk tētōstē, onstē, mām, ajusi *zuaruom"*
 136. kārōmtoni si kät pēlōk manne *Adäntē kivillo*
 137. kint kārōmlōssim, iäpōt, tu pitlä *koristēllē*
 138. kälpōstōx kōssom imi liskōmiss *gaxpōimōin*
 139. mäni iäsoylōusl, oi pōya, äutāro
 140. iäust mänt nuy ⁿⁱ ⁿⁱ siplānnä *millē vaimalla*
 141. töröm pūtōu kō kanlan muyslin *miten heidän*
 142. tultō tunati, tim ä l pitōm so *kannaan Syppēst*
 143. nōysel mök, iäut ä - x sajōu kōl *adäoqumbē*
ajunsenot, linna
hōika

144. ei ollut sinun laire
 Si, muutta kändlein
 145. (maaga) ditonin
 jopuowan kiven oag
 146. Tuvohella yllästä kul.
 leuat,
 147. korgit
 148. puzuan rovi nohaint
 up. ievitsuan / keno
 149. mboony)
 150. robono
 151. Kälöy näise muystati muya kiltä,
 152. muyn pöyö mä muyst koptoaloin to
 153. myp.
 neyropoi, yoyopopoi nämsy / kälmsyör iäut ämölttiy siiril:
 154. isyör kaskun polä kuisu iäl kir-
 155. sink + alkoo, roupe -- kältit oia ioytöyön kättä ioytöyön.
 156. tälä kättä -
 157. kovanaisia sinulle
 sink - kättä
 158. uol, lu uältäx uittsälätä usytö-
 159. mäm söröy öyöy iäw ioy törmä
 160. l'äksy kät ismpstämä t'ä k'arim-
 161. törmä, k'irästämä ~~to k'irä~~ ää au-
 162. t'öy ioyöy iuy mölylox usy mä-
 163. nomy iäw ioy törmästä k'ulente
 164. k'ulöy möy l'äm t'ä näkimsim, oia
 165. törmä nemmät isyör kälöntä

166.
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183.
184.
185.

mä tipä ssaune mant ampätsni
ku neminati väntöyltust ma nu-
na metsälata uupätsim isyim
nuna oy pöntillim ma töyöntötsim
isyimäx iux perhä, kas kun, polat
kuisu iäl täpä ^{oyy qull} möröm isyöttil
kiltös, mä nuna väyöntötsim
öörx iux, öör kōnsim manä il
ostä. peläy kää pelä öörx. kōl
salman slōki ävry tiiox uilä
slō törsim isylim, uilä manä uilä
öör slō törsim kōl manä slōkät
ävyntötsim kōy uänsmäp, ävry
törsim isyomur uilä manä il ööl
söts. mä nöyinteläimä kōlntötsim
uiläpä ma nöyinteläimä kōlntötsim
non väisx siöy kint uilä ma
kiantötsim. - tel täyölä metsälata
soyän moy pōtäy moy - pōtäy moy
äut öytim nuna väyöntötsim

menin ymmälle
ku tiedä mitä tek

tä. nyst on 1-
tulu kuin kaatuva puun
tyvi

lisiä viis autta, ym.
määrystä (ei nyst).

lattiaa seroosissa
kivessä ^(mitä) ikkänkin
sain naima-astunin
vaiman menevän oon
museen -

Zybenlygo

tuntuu kun olisi
nostanut sellä
ni (narkaa-) lila

kontin.

186.
187.
188.
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200.
201.
202.
203.
204.
205.

Koparunsi

alamy iianau kol manä nikk
loqsta nuyä ritü soxaušpun
koling iym nuyä nöralim e liep
koltselim manä alamy timä kol
nikk manä koltyx mä nuyä kolcin
nuyä isyonna[ti] i nuyä nälsontse
yänna perälkäm sijäl kolnä
käskypala küisü ialnä ~~astam~~
montam kötlä mä isynaxiux iu-
löu törmä al pitimi noy iorotun
noy kon mstun i autoptine tsy-
läppam iulöu törmä al manstta
mä nuyä nörašim timä tsöšim
ššmki küisy öyot ts. s. k. optäma
näpi sulöu törmöyot iaxššmki
küisy öyot kojā sälti manna
iir usntq iiršu iuyk nuyä lat
töšimne man tsöyölštijim
käskun polä küisü ial ioyštal
köllä ioytäšim ioyšöy elsu töšim

muut zaid crano
monmanu
pupin
ke ybaay mod)

Was kaupunki
kita sata kiviakke
(vallaakkeinen no.
rahvainen kaupunki)
Lunichin kunnan
(kita
näytetästä kuin
lali

zargab vandy
(Koparunsi (kääntä
nyf. tsöy lötti puu

206. iunh. ma kayssoysu sl imosa la
 207. tyosom : anka, mana mosi sov=
 208. sempe semoy tir, ma kikkaltama (tir levey) pyytai
 209. sem us taloy murik koke saltama, ^{hantapaitan -}
 210. osomns pelay kat pela iora kas. <sup>Silmien näkömatonak-
si kivekri muuttua
(3.0. puheena hantapaitan)</sup>
 211. kur kontsau ilay hint katil kom - cunasa -
 212. lastste manns ioystakali toyi ^{kevaissa kalan -}
 213. kil sami pai toka iora il lon-
 214. komstste tosom moyil kan van. ^{kasvat näkyvät}
 215. mst kula fox saltst uila mana ^{ikäänkin kisivat}
 216. isy iasoylto ioyst : ma toyrik <sup>tulleet minna per-
huttelunsa.</sup>
 217. koy slsom, manne toyi kil sami
 218. pai nöyoy ioy si pinnena manns
 219. nikk toyrasteli, manne ar autoy
 220. alltoy oya sda tosom müluss kol- ^{puen siunaten}
 221. na manns la nikk soti. iunhoyi- ^{(Ateeni).}
 222. kan ka taksla manne ieraltyläim <sup>en ruumistaan
huojuttat edesta-
kaisin p puyussa
nartioilleen</sup>
 223. ens suympe sautintoy ierny onto <sup>tantaa kuin pakkas-
ai tunnu edes</sup>
 224. salust. osma nöyoy ioy si pinnena <sup>langat
tehty elonemä -</sup>
 225. sovsempe semoy tir onsim, si piyloa ^{vainna kyllin}
 226. ka semoy tiokan kut onsom msta <sup>puin kassi oytisim
kattait yfdenlasta</sup>

227. *metä uolopp (usk.).*
 228. *si mallea mitein*
 229. *erokant elosen (sa-*
nalle sanon).
 230. *kävelen kuin määlä*
 231. *männe sterlelin kull.*
Si puolekkoa kävel.
 232. *lessani huoneen*
 233. *pallit milttenvat*
kuin fugiun tuomi
 234. *minä löysin itämi*
(näin olevani, oliin)
 235. *pää orjani kuin*
 236. *olin käytmälläni orjani*
 237. *kun katselin kaikkei*
menivät
 238. *olivat menneet joo-*
noon
 239. *empimäni*
 240. *poquira*
 241. *poquira*
 242. *poquira*
 243. *poquira*
 244. *poquira*
 245. *poquira*
 246. *poquira*

uslopp onto uslust. si puylsu sil
 nä tyhtöm hänt jöjör mään
 kol nsi. pelay ka pela rörn
 marnoy kovi ka tsöwkon mä ki
 köyö sillim köyö sillämmä ka
 rora röyöstäläm silä möyrom
 lom perlam mäniust. man =
 nämät kut kassom som uslölsy
 muos köpö sälsöm. Käköy pelsx
 iux tunte löi arlam kö kasslam
 putuoy ka putuöloy mään kut
 semnäki karksmtsi jaylam
 kulle mänoy kulle poltomst
 käyö röyöu slossom mään tä kon.
 tsimsi äykä mny kö ussöm mä
 köy lökä msonlämä psta uertsmn
 som tonnam löxptänq ilsetäyön
 mny äykä mäni iux uiflä mä
 mnyst onto perlam. Säykä syykä
 mnyson mäni tätkäl. som mäni

267. tööm soyan tööm uainmou nēmön
 268. miil köy äroy tuntäma köy man,
 269. tuntäma: iulo kuli piit ison sis
 270. iälman pioms töömäy käl' lököy
 271. tsöu^uso^uny^u s^uia^u miilim tälil
 272. etnss äi autöypil autöy oya täl
 273. miik i^ukk^uontöste, manne köy iy-
 274. linsim iäpläm ontimätöt. manne
 275. oho käl' pütöy köy iysli ontim iäy-
 276. läm, oi täl' iäpläm! ony uässöy
 277. iäy pütöy iysl köyöy iälökö-
 278. tsöste, mä nogy puote, nogy
 279. melte onto kirkollom mä täl' len
 280. i^uo^u onto i^usoy kätöy kiimpä
 281. täl' köylömsöm mä kömm iäutöy
 282. i. man^u tums uäisy tööm i^uoyk
 283. autöy karamä täl' i^uosom, tööm
 284. i^uoyk autöy uaitäm # mä i^uyäy
 285. i^uontämm^u i^ulpi^ulkslöy tsöyomi-
 286. löyöl, manne trökin k^uay^uontösu:
 287. i^uitö släte i^uoy tööm i^uoyom^u

ääniseen

oaypö -

ebucumt

288.
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307.
308.

mis nula arsy tuntay man, tum-
 tay mint nula par, kal. loyam
 manne loy ayari, slo uatsi ⁽³⁾ uakata parbrant
 tuli, kium koyalstoli. - kium koy-
 loltomam piomz loykottlior aivisl ^(juuri) puoli paiva tuli.
 isyha isyiron. ma ~~koy~~ ^{koy} arsy
 tumam (tuntam) uaisy noysoy "cragso"
 lox tsontsiur isyha la nux ielom
 ma ittu uistta iukny oyst ma
 iode layomson, lapsa amissam
 kuisy oyst tarom tsuyn, tarom ^{kuin ankaran}
 porhimp oysti. ma ne rike uaisy ^{sumu, ankara}
 oystia ielom paky uaisy manne ^{suva malky.}
 la katlesi x num torom iay iupsl ^{ohjasin}
 loka, torom iuyk soyan lokoz man, ^{agrom akoban}
 uaisyom tumsl, pelsylam ma kut
 kolintolom toy poytt loroy soina ^{kuin devaikan pyppu}
 pslam uisyyisl. tonnam ila ma ^{pentu korvissa soitto}
 lipom iupsl sayki moy pamsl say. ^{toron, myp. msoyoy}
 ki moy, ka lok pelskoy ma layil ^{pelskoma}
 tanne iupsl lipom uila

352.
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370.
371.
372.

sinäkin Teitit mi-
nea jomian kuin
karhu eläintä

noone nany

huullomassa au-
ringollomassa juttin-
alikkessa -

istecutai...

apa nuy onsluun, isyom tuloy-
ust: ma kunte timin, poy | uer-
som, torimne man, kikkal, atil-
nam, manteli noyalis, nuypi
mana kirkolsen - isyom mana
tiske ont oylayon. ma gaitpoyst
kirkoy nu ussim layst ioyat
nijk tysty, osom kointsim nijk
mann isy ma la ussi. isyomne
roystiaite tsaiapp poy ensom-
layon ma tsintsimne, nenspa
ustust torimkos kovan royst
nigomne ensimste katvine ik.
ulst, siyk ulst katvine enom-
tote. tol isyomne mantoymi-
lss, ma ioyä, oy pombilom ma
isy ma tuloytim: "tsoyom siykä
kuisy oyla, näyi koy silu oyla
apa ioxpa usna." isyom
oylss, paykäl kointsau ^{torim} ~~noisy~~ mai
kol ioyä iis, ielss i torim

373. ior iuyal lokox töröm pütöu

374. kshli kos lülämäl us.

näkyi kuin välelä
Tävi Tähti.

375. ~~ma~~ töröm uoyi liloy iuyköt

376. isy mormmil soian lok

377. ma tarvony kätöski si pönöskmä

Kohtelin -- san
kavien menemäs

378. manne ierimä. Mure pitom

Titä sajeelin Karella

379. töröm uäisy lä köylömsöm, töröm

380. nöx kutmäy löxne manne lä

hirven askelin
goubuu mart
ajoin tallas-

381. nuyölsät. - mä ilim pölöne uäre:

382. itäy päi, tu u u. päia mä uoyösim

383. mä pöläm kus sariayköne manne köl.

Kuulin ikään

384. talne uilaya iuyinta kstiyän pönöskmä

Kuin kipeäham-
Kirisee
painei taulkka

385. shö sox pötöskäl köllim, muyöli lä

(muuta) - (kän kur-

386. läti iuyrantimil? Pämi uertamuz

lee pouta oveeseen
vedettäväm!
älyttämil (?)

387. set uariki niust kor lä riyöntisä

tuuva veden aikaisen
saporin väärän oyl-
muksen? (päästi am-
pui (s.o. salab).
Kalasaäsken saam-
näköine. Cantävä(?)
muoli

388. räkömmäl pörne sorsilil tojanylöu

389. mäna näuöli. löu mäna kat ioytös

390. manne iuloy kätöski pönöskmä

391. toyi löyöslös, uäisy püt är söymöy

löin tällaisin
se meni piostaleik-
si kuin kiiskijau-
hoju täynnä oleva tuo-
hinen -

392. toj täylos. mä ueyä lölöxtösim:

393. löösa! länäl pitom nöyöl muy

394. ueltä Mursind, löy ueyä, muyä löösin.

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416.

myösi työnsä nult ~~sojennus~~

työoloisimien, min törmäse nult
pärkäl-^{tu} paine nols päi pituox
mäni isust törm pat insu
mänsydät kols nult tölläl, mä-
nä isust . lim iär yässy äton
mök, msyä kol isson, - ma
mänsy tiikku soy isyl lä äülösm-
tösm. msy isy mäni isyst,
mäni nols kotski kutäl ontä lä
löysontsyst. - iuy päyör tnyti stläu
käl mänsy änt isylli, tsintsoy
no pälkämsy iuy kül onki uäkön
tuntäx. Mögölyin iä pälkämsy
iuy kül onki uästävääl, tups mäni
uäkön isust. mämsy iuy tärnsy
kotski isust isylläl mäni uälisnt
isust - mä isyä töl isylön:
msy ti nits stäte isytörön
isyon isömsy isyon isytörön
isyon kunte pirikälön. msy
mäni törön pat insu isynä

asetin sapeleini
eteeni saunvaksi
? (nopeudun mielt-
kaani)-
silläin ~~ottamat~~ neljän
miellan keskeen
seljätän) lätkec
Kynnöitä kiten häis
kär ästä valkeasta
heidän seljätän
akvankun pihlän kello
Tero?

-kälätön]

417. man, kojo jojistä kitä moj P 21
 418. ~~ssa~~ sla moj ssux u sa al ellioon
[som] (suuttuko)
 419. kitati, kitä taron isyon no vikaustu-
 420. mo al kitati tarnny katäki (kittäisil)
 421. im pujälne man, koj uakön
 422. töstisä, mämpi ätmoy isntä suuttuin
 423. no miss kiitä, löy öslän, man pedoma-
 424. pi ätmoy issom. karmänoy ni
 425. ussim iny kölsm sä puti u ny major
 426. männr nux tälli: kiitä, lem kölsm
 427. sä puti u gnöy ronä polä u oritx!
 428. slomoy ssom kölöntä: il ku lökoy (kölöntä)
 429. no ra, mä onts ku koisom, taron En dyllä taltonut
 430. söy, slomoy taron mä onts koisom, taistella (3) elän
(taron in lailla)
 431. isynän u aplil, mä nun töomä
 432. u ytörim isyon kölöntä söytä!
 433. lem käs ku, polä kuisö ial ku tä
 434. tä ialimtasom, nunpi mänä ni
 435. nänätöy al u slati; ilim ku pälsonz
 436. mu ro koj läki isyon iny räust nimm

ampua

459. miam ^{ka/} ~~karana~~ noppa ivitx. -
 460. myniam kōntōymānki uōgi pūl ixi, ?
 461. myy kōntō'ki nōpinati ēnōmme kii
 462. uōssōn, myniam kūtōy sōmānati nix
 463. pātri. - māmms kōs pōymkōu ilāy
 464. iūla nūll isim i iōyōlsim. tul
 465. mā kii lāyōmson tōōm uōgi lilyōy
 466. iūylām kōtāp sōntim, pōttr kii (pallolaimen)
 467. iūyōu lōk iōvōn lākīm|tālsi. mā vōtōfiam
 468. māmms itū uelēmām iūyōām
 469. tōōm nōmōs sōntō kītā, māmms
 470. uētō slātē pōiāy mōf iūyōy kātōki
 471. iōm pōmōmē lāt kōmōm itū pā
 472. yōmām iūyōy iūyō māmms tū lātā
 473. tōy il pōmōm, mōy mā māmms tōy
 474. iūmōms^{ais} (iūmōsim), kōtōr okyōy ālyā
 475. tōōm pāt iūlōu nēvōlōl māmms
 476. iūyātōf iūntōms^{is}. iūltintē iōyōy
 477. lātōr iūltintē pōkyōy lātōr nūyōt
 478. ēryōlittilōr, iūx nōmō iūyōy iūyōy
 479. uōssōn, mā nūyō uelōm nōmōmān

pūstā omām sūhōsi

(pallolaimen)

vōtōfiam

obs!
 sarpēdant?

panin niellōm
 sa hāven pāpōh
 obs!

pūssa
 myōhemmin
 sūntōpāt

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499.

mickin kälensijon
kulttuurin kovana
myrsky päivän
istut kuin koti
kylässäsi (Kullun
jet soivat ja kunnat
Tasat)
kalluttua
kälänkämmen puhuvat
Köy - laulaa (5)

äl kitäti tim kätäki porok
nälä köylän tärsm uat uente
kötll öyön päryöl, pököny ju-
yölny ämssuun, törm uat ieiä
til kätll, uilä öyi nöust läni
käl isyon muryä loyöli. tol
mä nautary s. Kolna mä tä köylom
söm myrke islom lok mäännä tä
kütll, iskuunimil söiöy lok
mäännä myröltä uersi söiöy
pam toylöy iarnu köyöllim,
mstä mäännäm jättäry timän
uainä mä tä nömlöm tössöm, poi
sem uintsin törm kar iäutäry
söyi uainäm säröx uöläti näyi
pöly äi kolna mä költöm
küllim uaiöy pönsk nälä köy-
läm sox ~~to~~ iörytal sätyel
uilä kälntöku polon siäi
uilä iäryöltel köllim, törm

10

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519.

autou uai kām löyji pöy^kou töös-
 siināti mäni läusūsl. mäni
 ilo töötööm ~~männ~~ i kunn^tau
 päsoy telnä läyötte ueri mäni
 ioy^smalne uaiisy pömre soyan
 tsonkox mäni lä kälömtösi.
 mä nöyry löx tööntö oytöia lä
 nur i^tööm. mä slo uaiisy tööntö
 öytöia ielmän jironz iäutäsoy s.
 kol mäni lä u^ai^stöisi i iuykö
 i^tte soiy löx tööm iuyk autou
 uaiisymä iuyötte ueriat, iuy sä-
 röni gam teylöu ier mäni i^t-
 yollät. kom päl ier pälööm iuy
 täröni sem kōli pälöu mäni kut
 i yollä. mäni kältälne tim-
 näni löyöyösl iitlöpyölon tööm
 pütööm mä kälkälim, kö kōran
 soyan uatöi sisöy kōlöm iuyk tu-
 näni pötsit. mäni äry tunte soyan

minä eteenpäin
 ajoneuvon kassan
 kynsiätkäin kinn
 Taiden rupeisin
 odottamaan
 (hevosta)

Salula

oljasiin

ner roudro

Alueuro

= aina pimeä seutu
 Rivinen kaupunki
 yhdenväkötiset

540. tōne ma kolnosyam alpe tuq pōrim.
 541. titan uynan sōpitsu tannu lōkstum
 542. tāt ilon pōrimtitan kolalōy uyn loppumatoin
 543. tannstun tāt ilon nosyam pen- jakas
 544. litin, ma uatō kolnosyam kōntōy *elkēs sylkēs
verta kōngun
kiri vertiessa*
 545. māyki kii ai usō il oxtitun tōross.
 546. ne mān nosyati sōnta pārkāl [mā sōnta pārkātuisim]
 547. iāliksōntax ^{tā nosyōssu} tol ~~ma~~ nosy oltō uatō onnygga-
 548. kolnosyama sōnt arsy tūmāy iynk
 549. uōssim, mānne uōntiōyij kolom = *metsäkentun äs
nellä*
 550. sōins mānne sōsōy kolom iynk
 551. mānne tā pōyōstōsēt uynan sō- *esamē mōssēt*
 552. yitōu uūt uōttē kōy oytōiā tā *(kōruisella kōruilla
mānne kōruilla)*
 553. nix pōrimsox. *ku* kii itā pāyōl iōy- *tukevalla, kōvalla*
 554. uay mōyā tā nux pōrimsox. tūt
 555. ox iynk kōtski ar iynlōnā onny
 556. nix iōyō lux. kolalōy tannu tannu } *loppumatōin tūli
Spuzsaant*
 557. pu lōyōlōy il tintā oyon lēt lōy, pōkōy lēt lōy
 558. uārimtal kōllē kōy arsy tūntē kii *vāllē sytyōyēt lōyōt ja
pōyōt ajastōn a
nōustōssan, elkōt*
 559. uārimtal kōllē nosy kōrmi māy *uhoittako onn
dan pōdēmān*
 560. mūrōy lōk il il mōlkitōst *(?) ma kōrmiōn
jälkē.*
 [-tōy?] tūssēt

561. lyöväi nunnat } töörin. pat' ~~at~~ inlou narsy^{ma}
 562. atilunsa sape } man, si iot' nül pömsux, mny
 leilloan }
 563. välttönnä at } Kutoannu kolälätkä tärin tyyt' kol.
 564. tunnetuli pa } tyyt' nülä us'lytiron slo tyyt'
 laa }
 565. yoka suunnelle } si sieldox ar töörin polst' iorika
 566. yos alia allut } nülä ärsy pöyönts' us' säpötiing
 567. tavalline ihmi } uss' mok' us'kalne tory kös
 nen olivonni }
 568. 22-kelven tuli } nälomp' näi pöyöns' kunte tory
 tytti (hänet) paltta }
 569. mut. }
 570. } töörin nölä inle iuy us'ux.
 571. } tompil ku. ioy'ossem nülöy täytä
 572. } ioyimta Kurssim, säri töörin
 573. } käyonmälnä ioy'ot' nerron
 574. } näi pöyöns' sävay tättelti, töörin
 575. } pat' inlou narsy^{ma} nänne si
 576. } tuykä ku ioy'ili, kolälätkä
 577. } tärin tyyt' ~~man~~ msvom pölöy-
 578. } lsuul, töörin nölä lily kat
 579. } iuyppi töörinns' si tu iir us'nta
 580. } ierroy'imp' iuyppi tukim tšoy
 }

572. }
 573. }
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 577. }

576. }
 577. }

578. }
 579. }
 580. }

581. lsetä, is' köörytil. is' löy' tööm²⁹
 582. mä köp ontä, uelom, pitöry postal
 583. töömme läm lään, is' lau s'ls
 584. moy säut aytia mänt iuyi pä-
 585. guselt; tööm uoyi uolt tukim
 586. sinta; postal töömme manne
 587. kyt kütömlät män/ma säut-
 588. äry tumay iuy k'k' uessim postalne
 589. mänt lom iuy nään söyitöu näisyöytä
 590. mänt postalne porfäli kol k'öu mä
 591. k'öu m'öta nöy uolt. - mä iuy nään
 592. söyitöu näisyöyt töömme mäni
 593. k'öu pämilli, tiypt. toy mäni töömme
 594. k'öu näisy ontä toy is' ölkäli mä
 595. postalne iuy nään moy näisyöytöu
 596. mänt bändöläu iuy k'öu moy iäutyöytine
 597. mööm läp ieltit k'öu, läp mä
 598. möm uelöyöläm nit uelöyöläm tuym
 599. läress toy nik läp itömsöu. nit uelöyöläm
 600. tö imoy mäi por k'öu moyä lä liuy-
 601. k'öu läp ätom als k'öu tök'ä

En misään ma
 että he kanturisi
 vat.
 Myöhemmin he
 vurmaan mi-
 polvillasa panna
 mut kaalau
 maahan
 neillä oli voimia
 kuin pumppalla
Köyga mo
 myöhemmin.
 (mukaan syönnö
 s'ä robogunt;
 (spannusa
 syönnö
 s'ä
 puolel näyhtä
 erilaisii k'öu
 pumppa,
 parempi
 oli ollut että
 se ei olisi lä
 heittänyt lentä
 mihulle
 tai saim
 että he kantavat
 minut maahan ja
 pohdillausa pumppalla
 kuin k'öu
 tässä al
 haasta pum
 aalla pum
 ihminen pum
 meri

ygapuit, qu'amant k'öu
 imoy? (iimi?)

602. ruumiani väveri möyry elua määne tsökin tö-
 603. sitä kestäi iälti lömpilke uänson sante
 604. unginäkkin koltäyon & mä milnäm röyri^m
 605. tsölm tim iynnam söitöu
 606. tarione(?) tuyston tärss. sson kolontä
 607. nuyä usotä iermäk kä säkön
 608. nuyä ierlim mänt peroksiä al
 609. tukeluta tsiyontä. tod täytilä tu kuulam
 610. ke kkonlim sntimätr, pötoöt.
 611. mä usotä iermäk kä säkön määne
 612. nix ussi, määne tēp uton iälust
 613. usotä kary^{rou} ontösy, iir usntä
 614. koi iermyne töromne tati, mä toy utä
 615. köyölsön määne usotä iermäk
 616. kidaie kä säkön määne toy nix iükus.
 617. Grotte liden työt il tinte äyry lat uärömtil köttl
 618. pojat, muota äyry il tinte pököny lat uärömtil köttl
 619. Tyvä noita Käimöny kötsu nemy iöl uärön.
 620. noitamyä kääntä tal köttl, uet panian nypsl iuysl
 621. soittava söyptäl köttl, panäny kötsu & niri

622. iol iental kotte matim ior iysmiam
623. toxi il al molki tusat. elleon unhoilla
120 -
624. ma to nikk uyselssom iuyke monom
625. lox manne ta' nuyssiat ma sote
626. koke monsom toom iuyk autsu karania
627. ta' tyssom iuynam moy naisy ~~HH~~ oysing
628. ma arsy tumam uaisy sarok uelati tulkoon noye
629. ma nuyppa koltomom loutoy potoy asti.
630. isste patris uaikam mana laususl (lentaa)
631. ma kallsim uaisy timent optsia nikk
632. ielom iit uostyplom tuystou tarisa
633. ma nikk uyselssom, st taris kanoyne
634. ma iallom. tom taris pelka ma
635. ta' tyssom. nemin toomne kintomne Jos jumala
636. arsy tumme iuykanoy man, tsosiax mala
637. tsongestoyak; mana tom taris pelkoy kasvattaa
638. il uansamprou sathkan opine liltusati. (tunulkoon,
639. iole kili güt ism sis sote iallom. tuyta uetkaa
640. ma nikk layomson sissi patom kuyss' eu seisonat
641. ioyk patiss. ma toom iuyk autsu uunmari (om my)
642. karani toy nikk uaystissim, tsimtoy (2)

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662.

ärken
Egyle
Laska itku
(joo itku)
Stempain kuvatteli
asunnokkain
viki kalsalasta
kalkinint (kavio)
jokien työt
kuvattelen keuo.
ja jouta
sainat melkein
kun skunnen
joka -
pitäminen pojan
antama talle
(alkajit) lökä
(kuvain 2 mallia)

ur ism pelkämä mä ködöntilom
uila isls pöx iässmtil kälssom
ilväisy kötkemä mä il ködöntilom
uila käyij kötsu uet souss päy.
lksⁿtil köllim. tinoij väisy
paksom ässom mä ködöntilom, mä
isy nok uilöy köplän toy iöröy-
til köllim. käftöte köntö kü
pölm sörä luqtantöuist. mä
ködöntilom möulöy pöyöl köyöl
[tooma] uila isyon löyöli: pämi
uertämne tömpil täris sipelkä
kuntä mänt iöytsutäyön sör täris
känny mä uöyusips käl mä köllön
mäny toy iintüs (tius), päitöy
köy ärsy ärsyt künne köymänt
mänt künne mä iinöman uöyöy
mä il il ä l molkitusät mä
töpä ütöyt uerizon uotk iinöy
iiny iinöy iönkä ütö köll köllom.

663. intressä ^{ingotäälime} mä ^{inän} tim tommasti ^{oli orjantapa-} ueläyön ^{purainen part}
 664. tšokky myy ätom pönkou et intressä ^{ka (völlchö ta ei ole?) -}
 665. mä uaiham kötsel p kuroil toyt äri- ^{kyffe morokoum}
 666. tšelta, nämon uerigon iälta kü po- ³³
 667. lat müyön iäri tä nix müyöllöm ^{raamalla}
 668. tim toor tommasti ueläyön tšokky ^{an sassoan}
 669. iäri, ämy tunte uaiham tšokim onsu. ^{mehe kor-}
 670. uel. mä ilspä kü täyillöm toym ^{kuimer}
 671. uoytiloy iuglam köttap ontim, mä ^{kyffe moro}
 672. slo iäri iuröl isyhä nix uoyssöm ^{noemb}
 673. tom iäri tom jëlönä manni ueli
 674. uilä söji ^{liikkuwat kuim} niyhi noyatay, uilä ^{teplem -}
 675. Kus Run, pslä kuisu iäl mannylä
 676. kötseltssi, uilä luytöm kolimioy
 677. kössi manä slo iäri iurima nix ^{Opö:n keskellä}
 678. uäikötsölil. mä tinnu uaihy tšontöur ^{ni -}
 679. myyoy il kurrmäxtölm & il uoyd-
 680. söm iuyh kölon sä peti uoymäyör
 681. manny lä nix uysi isyä ilspä ^{suurmaa}
 682. köyöllöm: noy kunte uelty oslin nur <sup>milloin ole-
vau äilinne</sup>
Suurmaa

683.
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704.

minulta oleilla
(34)
josta on otettu

Kykyä

Sa. sorkkimilla
Sorsacopt. rannalla
S. baed, K. K. S. S.
K. S. S. S.

Co. Dupero

Vajonaisessa
Tajetsille Kont.
tinne

noyua

Kun huomaan
määrätyksi
suullasti puhuttu
somenheit ei ole
kukaan

mänöy ksm. lotox. isylin nui mänd
Ksm. lotox. Ksm. lotox. ma nnyä lok
pämillom. ma kolom ion kuisu
ialonta ma ta nnyä q iugssom
mantiöke ta ialost mant kotsikina
ioyiuist, manne Kuy kolomsa peti
nyymoyor ta ioyimin ulsytts.
lam, pana sipa loyssoltamane
kolom kisi koryyusl. pana loy.
soltamane nola kisi koryyusl pa
na loyssoltamane uel kisi kor.
Kaysn, masti ior poryslne ma
lim al pitom noyollam ma noyot
Kole tsayilom, nny kol manä
iistox. torom nsonss al kitati
noynam loyolsq kintlin uoyt
noynam ksm. lotox ma loyolsq
Kintlin uoyt ma [nyy] loytsllto.
lim. tel panu vertamur kas.
Kun, polat kuisu ial kente ku.
layon iilma loyton kolom ion ku
isu ial motalis ontim.

705. I' si soji kolm iunh os mnyroa nula kiltse
 706. tul iun kolm sa peti, uapmoopona la' mit
 707. ioyi kstssux. toupid ku oya konnylytalmu.
 708. iun poysootyti talust. ma isya naspolom mny
 709. tim mnyor matim mnyoram mnyoram ionu si
 710. pokali tim atillike ioytse. alsy ti rer
 711. kuolinna mnyu like ioytse ma mnypi
 712. mant ioyi itse, mant mnyula mnyu. [saalia]
 713. lotse - mny ma uarkitruku ioyatse
 714. manpe uarkitruku. ma mnyot lafite
 715. lat onte mnyatim ma toromur
 716. man partion mnyot onte mnyota
 717. ma mnyu mnyot kstslom tim tygia
 718. si patim loyin ayly toromur
 719. manntsy patlltsusl. - manne ioyi.
 720. lat ka kukon pelka pamiop kuyat us-
 721. ripul kim kuyomul. manne pivilat.
 722. mny tim usote ionantisy kol isin
 723. mny kuyotet kuyat ionanke manpe
 724. mny mnyitoy. tul ma isya tuloylom.
 725. mny uoltin mny ayong, ornyoyong mny

Saalisim,
 [ws alkaisin saa
 lie jumala
 minut tathan
 patsaaksi jaa-
 taisi]
 alkoimut vertu
 sykkia
 pillekaa muste
 loyille min pumai
 ee mnyoye

726. päntty jäy uistty, män pu itsöka
 727. iöman, ke sote molutte. männe
 728. tol täyölä myy kölm sä potti uoy.
 729. möyönnä si iäte pänsät. iläns
 730. pämi ku uerson ku loy mo aut-
 731. optine msta söfi tuföl pöyämös
 732. uöl, männe iöyötiäli myy käyöm
 733. paqk sä pulne uila possi tälä
 734. iläc teisulilsusl, männe tä
 735. piriurus : lössä myy myy iö-
 736. költ tumän käyöm paqki kä #
 737. myyöllön mänä myyöntä mösin
 738. myyänäm ätilnäm myyät ibin ?
 739. lössä, mänä kölöntä ? köllimä ? mä
 740. myyä iämyöllämyy köl myyät oute
 741. toymöntelin ? myy myy iöltä köy-
 742. ön, myy köläti köriön ? myy
 743. uöltä ~~ko~~ lepä lössä myyä läpi-
 744. lä tim möyösmiön si möyki lepä
 745. körsutal kötäön männe uitsläte
 746. lörsön uyyä männe nikälmi

747. ³ Msta amssmal qiron ilanq manä iassyla
 748. usl. törmior keli kos kerau iöjöt
 749. Kälä kälntä. ämti psta ensmismäm
 750. öjim usyl öski sät l'ossna nuyä
 751. amslim mä pämf smät lilim al
 752. t'ijömti. mä nuyä iassollsm.
 753. nuy öjim nuy usyan manä onto
 754. masust mä törmior man päkäl
 755. iir usntä iiröy iuy lil t'ijömtax
 756. mä pämf smät ätil lilim t'ijömtöyan
 757. kiltä törmior isyön nömäs kiltä
 758. köpö nuy iautäroy tumay kü
 759. kö ussön, mant pämf smät söröy
 760. lilim al t'ijömti ölsmy össuy nō-
 761. mäs kiltä usust mämpi silti iir
 762. usntä iiröy iuyk mämpi t'ijälön
 763. mä kolloy iällön, kälöntölim, iuyppi
 764. t'ösiäppä usläyön iir usntä iiröy
 765. iuyk, manne nemiäppä ueljal al
 766. älmöy isust, t'ösiäppä nemiin
 767. posi t'uti älpä uslököstönst. mä

ir = ar

Maa

768. Kā nūjā tūjōrōm īmoltāy ontōsu ikē
 769. nux iilā tim nōmōm uōytōrōm kōy-
 770. tōrōm nūlūs nērlōmōm mā tōt oysl-
 771. lom tēpā utm nēriyōm ālōy tōrōm
 772. lātkāl sōrōn iōy iōrōsu sōrōn lēw-
 773. sōy tōrōm mā nāyā tōrōmōy tātē
 774. raust kōtsu tōrōm māyā iāl'ūst
 775. loy utz Kūllsōmōm sōs māyā sē
 776. pōrkā loy iāl'sōmōm tōrōm nēmōy
 777. sōlō māyā kēlōntā: min nūjā
 778. Kūllsōmōm tōrōm nūlūs mōy nūl-
 779. ūs nērtē iōsōmōm sōlō māyā pōr-
 780. kā tōrōm nānsōm nērsōmōm mōy
 781. nānsōm nērsōmōm mīntē inlōy
 782. kōtskē iāy pēnōxniā pētjōy itz
 783. ūstōmōy itz kōltōmōm mōrō kōy
 784. kōrōm iōyōmōm kōntōmōy oyt ūs-
 785. jōlpil ūy tōrōmōm nāyē kōy sēl-
 786. uāt oyst kōntōmōm sōtō kōtyān.
 787. tim nūts sōlō tōrōm kōmōy
 788. tōm sōkōy mōy iāntēiā il pōylātē

789. 5) tul täyslä ma iunhän monom söin
 790. lok männer nuyšelli kytli, pami
 791. uertamur als uontoptine kōyslōm
 792. lom sox iōvny iux lom pēlōne mstā snānki
 793. tūyāl pōx pōntšāl sātusl. mā
 794. tuq kōyslōm mānne pirimūs :
 795. lōxia nuy ti sō iux iōvōstōiā
 796. kōysōm payki si mēyōlne ~~u~~ mēypt
 797. tāt ali iōvōn. iuxā mānāyā iāsōy-
 798. lsusl : nuy tōvōm kōs kōvōu iōvōt
 799. kālōy mā pām snāt āti lilim āl
 800. tūyōnti mā nuyā mōslom antō.
 801. pōlā tōātīmām āiōvīm mēyptōy
 802. kōvō kōvōu āināi nuyā mōslim,
 803. si iōvōl tšēyālsy si nāt tšēyālsy
 804. nuyā mōslim tīm tōvōmōpti sūkny kannis
 805. ni kōvōmōl iōvōl iōvōm kumpōm
 806. tul tōvōm kōs kōvōu iōvōt kōl iāl-
 807. mān pōvōne pāmānne nūx nāpti : āyōt-
 808. lōy iōvōntōiā nūx iōlā. tul tu
 809. āmōssmāl iux pōvōkā tōvōm iānōm |

6

810.
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829.

usjuaism uerossuon, usrtä köy
 korau röjöt. ten usrtä köy ke-
 rau röjörne meylöy köri korau
 mäi kuntuine mäni ontr kitzöste
 uiti slätr usj torim isyomne
 si usltä stöyane moy il pünöy
 moy il iäust moy pitsä il torim
 ne nuyot il puyläti. tol täyö-
 lä mä torim röji lilöy unyt männä
 tä kontsämäs. männä nüyölli röjy
 ixy är häusltöox kontsär ueri ixy
 msonmääl säry löx männä nü-
 yölli. non röjör si mäki isy-
 yon, tol älon löpöjöl, tärensä
 ixyö moy ~~meftläm~~ moy tärensä
 ixyk säyän öyöt ixyöl lixyyon
 usrtä ixt pämsöl lixyyon usrtä
 päms moyöl lixyyon, kšntöyön
 kšntö kš usrtä nilä ilök öyli-
 löust. tim toomoyti trökny moy

men kiire
 poikane (oyent)

7
 830. lōōmme tati uluay inu, uluay
 831. moy. linn loomoyti tōōkyymoy.
 832. päyölt'ōli äton moy tōōmmy
 833. miant'ä' nänstas. tol tepä utnu
 834. meriyon sät uyoou iäyōm mä
 835. utte kōyōllōm mä tomnam ilu
 836. liyōm tōōm uōji tilon uoykinn
 837. koltäyōm - iuy Kolmsä' poti, uoy
 838. möyōmni uya kōyōllōm, pōykon
 839. kutsu uōōm tūoy sōi uōōm.
 840. iant'ä'roy i. mant' säyau Kolna
 841. uya kōyōllōm. tōuykil kii nōyōn
 842. uan si puoyōltä iuy Kolmsä' poti
 843. uoy ~~uoy~~ möyōt minne t'ä' nūlä
 844. pōnōstämōn, iuy sōlyärsy loyti
 845. käl kunte loyti, pämi uertäm-
 846. me mōtä sōji tūyōl kii mäni
 847. äimōltäl sät'ust : lössä linn kōs.
 848. uä sōyōl si muoyōlnä minä muji :
 849. lika isust, mä pämi kō uerlōm

850. kōtā kätlōm nōy mōyōr kōtā
 851. tōsōiāyōr kōsōiā sōyōl sī mōyōlōr
 852. nēmīnōr iōyāyōn. mānne tul.
 853. tājōlā nūyā tōlōyōm. lōssā tō-
 854. iōl oytōm kārōy nāyōnā nūl iō-
 855. yilmōn. minne tōiōl oytōm
 856. kārōy nāyōt tōy uōsīmōn iōyōy
 857. iux sōiōm sī pōrōxōnā. nūl
 858. iōyilmōn tū tōiōl oytōm kārōy
 859. nāyōt, mōrōm kōlōyō kātōm
 860. sī iuytōyōtā mōrōm kītāyōn
 861. lōssā tō kōlōntā i kuntōyō pā-
 862. sōy tēlnā, i kuntōyō nōyōy tēlnā
 863. kīrlōmōn, min oñ kīl pōntōy
 864. tēlim sōwōx min nūl kātōmōm
 865. i kuntōyō nōyōy tēl kīrmāmōn
 866. pōrōn, i kuntōyō pāsōy tēl kīrōs-
 867. mōn ~~pōrōn~~ min tōrōm nōyōi kē
 868. iuyōnōn nūtōm sō tōrōm iōyō-
 869. mōnōy min tēim iuyōnām sōyōtōm

890. min li' nista tärnny lökstun
 891. t'ey tuq ertl tsolstun. "mannu
 892. öpör my r'isny tuiox ku' kson li
 893. ti uarta s'öyau utlayki i'ay mon
 894. tsöy töins ämsöyil i' äsnyls-
 895. usl minä törmu möyi ka' i'nykän
 896. kolontitun: ärskari öpörmy
 897. t'epäki näut ärsy s'öyau kol tsd
 898. iök k'ariti, tsol i'oki si k'urson
 899. ilr p'öörmyan nit ustsylom
 900. näi öyiner törmu k'itsem näins
 901. nint k'itiusl. min äilsoy p'ontau
 902. k'ölsoy p'ontau ka' i'nykän t'ä' tox
 903. i'älsömn, min on'kul p'ontau
 904. t'eliq on'wax i' k'unt'öyau p'äson
 905. t'elt minns toyi lösköltölat
 906. min i'ya är autsoy öplämn i'ya
 907. t'ä' närsömlösömn: lössa i'itsem
 908. min p'örsölkäm siyla törmu
 909. minns i'oki p'öörmsömn, isya
 910. tsia i'tsöka i'itö släte usytörmu
 911. s'öönöy l'usöu törmu isyon

912. itsooka iox kurnisyls. minne
 913. itson tim torom iox isyplax min-
 914. e kule pöontasi. kite torom
 915. syom nomis ta' kim kits
 916. tsoka torom talmas minä il
 917. iylayon. min tim sloing porkä
 918. itz slate uoy torom isyom uansom
 919. sy uerlimon sloing ssom uä-
 920. lom sy uerlimon. slo torom
 921. uluss ta' tux uerlimon timi
 922. of pelsone nuyon kunte tar-
 923. sy sy mayin vai kunte
 924. uk kolältsyan, uitz slate
 925. sytoromny nuyot mitrati
 926. a iaut aroy saust mant' tu-
 927. ay ku ussom layä kunte
 928. ä nuyä käs kun polä tuusu
 929. elnä kunte nuyä ussom slo
 930. olny sivil isyom kös mälsompu

931. iijäl nai mant iyati. tol
932. tājōlā tōrom iijyk autsu karamā
933. mā tā^c tūyssōm, iaut āryy rāust
934. mant tumān uāisy sārōx uelati
935. mā sōmtātm iijōu moyā, isyom
936. tātm iijōu moyā mōntāmā
937. nāyi kōy sēluau oylāna tā nōm-
938. lāxtslim, ārskāri oyo^c moyōx
939. mān kārī iōnāy moyōx tā
940. iōyā nō mōx siltōm, tōrom iijyk
941. autsu uāikām mānā iōust, tōyoy
942. uāisy pākny āy nōx mānā tā^c
943. kātllōi. nōyoy lōp tsūnts oylāi
944. mā tā nūk imēlōm, tōrom iōr
945. iijäl lōkōx mā tā^c nūk iāyim-
946. sōm. tōyoy iijyk mōyoy sōinā mā
947. iāyimlōm. sō tsūyi nōyoy sōinā
948. ~~ssō~~ iāyimlōm. pāmī uelāim-
949. mē tōrom iōr tsūnsu kūrā mā
950. kā lōkōn pēlkā mā lāyilām.
951. mē tōrom tātm ueliparā iāl.

952. #¹³ min kit'uslt, sšonāy pūnsu
 953. tōrōm uelift) zāluslt mā tōrōm
 954. iunp' autsu kāmng tūtūim
 955. kā' kullōn pōl pēlsenz uilā
 956. kōrtārisx aiispil pōy uilā
 957. lōl'usl. tēpā ilon ueriyon
 958. tōrōm ior iūplēy ior sšonā
 959. loylōy tōrōm ior. mā iā
 960. jūmlōm lēny uaiōy tōntōis
 961. moyā, muqōl pōtki ioyātōx
 962. mā iōyōmtōm pōisem uintsūy
 963. tōrōm kār iayimpōl, pāmē
 964. uerlōm tēpā ilon tōrōmōr
 965. tātē, tōrōm ior sšonāy kāmngou
 966. tōrōm tārōs tōy ioyōsōm. mā
 967. tōrōm ior kōlsy lip mānne
 968. ar autōy oyoōy ninitōi ar autōtor
 969. tōyē lōsskōltōli, tōl tōrōm ior
 970. kōlsy lip pōyōlmal pōrnz iūstōz

15. il pörmsim. tol si söyi
 Kä näikkonna isqälöm
 Käta isqässöm, usy uänömpsu
 iau ioy törmä kilitte möyläm
 lä nökimsim, soy äus per
 kölsy usöm isyä nsralim
 iey nämpsy törmön pütöu
 männe kole ielkomsus; iey-
 nam törmön möyslät konnös-
 lä törmönne mänt ältis.
 mä itn^u ussöfikim liymänne
 törmön ueräyon tömketo usy läni
 Kätle törmönne uersi, mä iuyk(2)
 imsiläm Kätle törmönne uersi.
 mnylöy köri korau näi iökilt
 tunam möyeläu nämtän qeläy
 Kätk Kä rövä lä nsri. tol mä
 Kä loka ite köyslööm törmön
 uänansy usy liyua männe nit
 uäpöltösi; Kä niykon kuta

munde mauden
 raje. -

991.
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 993.
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 995.
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 997.
 998.
 999.
 1000.
 1001.
 1002.
 1003.
 1004.
 1005.
 1006.
 1007.
 1008.
 1009.
 1010.

1011. mā tā īmālsim, tōrīm uānmae
 1012. lūnua iūy tūlī tūyōl arnā ma-
 1013. mā tā^c nūx lōy sōte, si pātīm
 1014. iulōy uškā si pātīm iulōy kō^{kr} tā^c
 1015. tōy tāy sōsom saut arsy iāust
 1016. mant sajan kōl sō kāt pēlā
 1017. sox iōrā tā^c tōy pātīs. -

Paŋlōm nōy.

ny. 1.

51

hts. 83-90

1. paŋe nālōm iāust tšeyä
2. nāl uci uintsii uān iuy kät
3. iuy ioy ioyä uintsii paŋk
4. mā tem sšyōmlōntān kōlōmlät
5. urkü āmōstš öyiny lä pōkyŋ lä
kōlōntāntilä
6. iuy sōyi nēmōy paŋk
7. kät sōyi nēmōy kil
8. num tōrōm iākny ierä
9. noutrōy öyi, noutrōy pō kältätä
10. ils kältilä isä
11. tōrōmne pirtti mānā sšyōmlōttä
12. tōrōmne onto pärtäl, onto tōy ilim mā
13. tōrōm paŋ, nōmōtšä nins il uärtuōm
14. num tōrōm iākny ierä
15. nūkišpa paŋkōlta

16. sukun m^o kimloysti
17. kimloystöia paq tiy äyon
18. num tööm iäut öyin il ssi
19. tem kölsy msy oytins sem kossalta
20. num tööm iäut öyins pirti msqä
intäti
21. num tööm iäkyn ierns pirti intäti
22. tupton kä^e, pätlön kä töösms
tuti pirti söymöltä
23. s^o paq ism ierä
24. mänä i^ontälns
25. t^oym iar säis p^ora
26. milä mänä i^oust -
27. mänä i^oystälns
28. kölsy paqk sa ism ier ioyä uersmläli
29. il tinto öyiny lä^e p^oskyn lä^e kölsntilä
30. mä tem köslät kü nälsom t^oeyä
msy kölsntilä

31. nōmsōy öyi nōmsōy pōy. S
32. nōmsa pōntilä, tōrōm pūtälätē -
33. tem kulōy msy oytōiou
34. num tōrōm pūsti oytō mox
35. oytō msy nē kāyōs oytō imkōrätkōm.
36. sō paṅk si iōm ier iinn sōlli -
37. öyiy lä pōstōy lānz sōyta kōlōntā
38. num tōrōm iälōy iernē
39. kāiōm paṅk imē kätms
40. kāyōs oytō imkōrätkōm -
41. sät paṅk ili nēmsy kät
42. nēmsy paṅ tot ili
43. sōyäl kōlōm pātōs paṅk
44. tō sōymōlli -
45. kūsār paṅkōlōnōy kut (?) kutā?
46. tōrōm paṅ, nōmsōi nēnz il uarlūiōm
47. iōm öyi iōm pōy nē tō sōyta kōlōntōli -
48. mä tem kōrsōyts kō mālōm tōyā

- 67. tōrāmmē isom kälē
- 68. äloy nu^o kälä, tōrmä pīrnälä -
- 69. tem tōrmoytine iuy ioy ioyä
- 70. ueloy öyöu nēmsy paykē
- 71. muylōy öyöu nēmsy paykē
- 72. tūtä sōymōlli.
- 73. ts^o lile uōltō noutōy tōrōm -
- 74. mōstf öyi, mōli pōk
- 75. kōse nälom kōs käl tul^o kōs -
- 76. nōmsōy öyi, nōmsōy pōk
- 77. tō üntōä pōmälätē
- 78. mä kälōm pay ioykōl tur,
- 79. tūtä sōymōlli
- 80. ts^o lile uōltō kōllē
- 81. nōmsōy öyi, nōmsōy pōk
- 82. tōrmä pīrnälätē
- 83. tōrōm uāisy mōust, käl. mōust, -
- 84. tōōkōy mō^o kimloytine,
- 85. iōkōy mō^o kimloytine,

86. kōlon panyk si ioyne sij^uill^uiom^u
87. ism iki mantin i^ugol
88. näl u^uei^une uän i^uyo^uu kät
89. t^uy^utoy kät isy p^uelsy^une
90. rot^uoy p^uelä
91. rot^uoy^u oy^uu n^uemy p^uany^une
92. sij^uill^uiom^u
93. li^uv wänamp^usu iäl^uky^u kät
94. äi^uki p^uöki rot^uoy p^uol
95. mä^unä sil^usetil -
96. tem t^uör^um ioy isy p^uelsy^une
97. t^uyo^ul säy^uor ä^uloy uäi^us^uke
98. mä t^uoy is^umäm^une
99. num t^uör^um iäl^uky^u i^uerä
100. k^untä t^uoy iäy^uim^um
101. mä tem t^uöky^u ne kiml^uopt^uine
102. k^uläl^u ki n^uoy^uin telä^um.
103. mä k^uroytäm isy p^uelsy^une
104. sä^ul] k^uli k^utäkä iäy^une il u^uer^uyl

105. mä tiysmä^mm nälm^m t^heyä
106. msl öyi mslⁱ p^hyr^h luq^hli -
107. mä tu^h käi^m pa^h i^m tu^hriä
108. u^hlm^m kü nou^t ont^h - luq^hsim^h
109. to^h lils u^hlti nou^t ont^h
110. i^hy i^hy i^hyä u^hl^h pa^h
111. msl öyi mslⁱ p^hyr^h
112. köi^h tu^h luq^hli
113. mä u^hlm^m kü nou^t ont^h
114. i^hm öyi i^m p^hyä luq^hsim^h
115. pä i^hi pä kö^hll i^hmoy p^hä^h
116. tö^hms^h nöyälkö^hlli
117. mä tu^h u^hlm^m kü nou^t ont^h -
118. köy u^häns^hmpou tö^him is^hmä
119. köy u^häns^hmpou tö^him is^hymä
120. sö^hti^h i^hi^hli
121. tö^hms^h to^h lils u^hlti kö^hll
122. käi^m pa^h säyäl kö^hl^h
123. t^htä noy^h säy^hlli
124. tö^him u^häi^h m^hntä kü^h m^hntä
125. li^h u^häns^hmpou kö^hl^h lät

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126. liw wänömpsu iäkny ierä
 127. isyā sōymōlli
 128. tōrōm uāisy mōntsu kōl
 129. mōmns isyā sōymōlli
 130. liw wänömpsu iäkny lāns
 131. kōlōntili.
 132. mā num tōrōm iäkny mōyrs
 133. kōrsyt^{ku} nālōm tōyām
 134. nōmōn tōrōmōn älli
 135. kōisōm paṅ sōyiu nāti
 136. tōrōmōns nōmōn älli -
 137. kōrsyt^{ku} nōyiy telām
 138. tōytoy kōi pātōy kōi isy pelkō
 139. il (!) kōtōy^usl -
 140. kōisōm paṅ sōyiu kōl
 141. mōy il lōyōtay tōyōu
 142. ism oyi ism pōyrs
 143. mōmsā pōmli -
 144. tōrōm pūstōy oyiō mōyōytōr
 145. kōisōm paṅ ism tōr sōy^l

146. to' sijilso_w
147. ism iki msnt uysl
148. to' sijilso_w
149. iuy soya nēmsy payk
150. torōmne to' sijiltōli
151. mā kōrsyts kō nālsn tōeyām
152. to' sijiltōli
153. tōökät öyi tōökäts pōx
154. tōökny torōm num torōm osmä
155. tōökny torōm num torōm isymä
156. pä si pä kötlö iuyä lilkollso_w -
157. tōökät öyiny lä' pōkny lälä
158. torōmne sisi kälts kötlö kälts
159. torōmne msyā ssōlli -
160. kōiōm pay sōyil kōlnr
161. msnnr msyā uērsntōli
162. ism öyi ism pōyne
163. sōytä kōlōntilätē
164. tōökny msy oytine

165. k^oo^x n^äl^öm k^oo^o k^öl
166. t^ös^ök^ö ä^l o^slⁱl^ätⁱ.
167. n^um t^ör^öm i^äl^lö^y i^er^on^s
168. k^öl^ät k^u n^äl^öm t^öe^yä^m
169. l^uq^öt^ä k^ur^ösⁱm^ä -
170. t^öö^öky^ä m^öy^ö o^ytⁱn^ä
171. k^oo^x n^äl^öm, k^oo^o k^öl
172. ä^l t^ös^ök^ö t^ul^ki^tö^x -
173. k^äi^öm p^an^u t^ur^u s^öyⁱ
174. l^uq^öt^ä k^ur^ösⁱm^ä
175. t^ör^öm p^us^tl^äy ö^ys^ör m^ös^yn^ä
176. k^öl^ät^ä k^u n^äl^öm t^öe^yä^m
177. i^öm i^ki m^ös^tiⁿ n^öy^s
178. kⁱr^ko^st^ä k^ur^ösⁱm^ä -
179. k^oo^x n^äl^öm k^oo^o k^öl
180. ä^l l^uq^ti^töⁿ -
181. k^öt^tl^ä k^äl^tö sⁱsⁱ k^äl^tö n^ou^tö^y t^ör^öm
182. t^ör^öm^{me} m^ös^yä o^slⁱ

- 183. tōrimme tōy nōyā sōlli
- 184. tō tē nēlta kōllene
- 185. kōss nālon kōs kōl
- 186. payne tōlōsta ontē pārti
- 187. iūy iōy iōyā nēlōy payne ontē pārti
- 188. tōkōy nōi kimloftine
- 189. kōssōyōu tōrōm kātā
- 190. payne pārti, sōtin iintātē
- 191. tōrimme kōss n. k. kōl mōi ontēli
- 192. gressit nēli
- 193. tō tē nēlta kōllene
- 194. kātōm pay sōyōu kōlne
- 195. nōmme nōy nōyā lōuastōsi
- 196. kōlō artē tōrōm tōlmas
- 197. kōlō artē tōrōm tōlmas
- 198. nūm tōrōm iāky nōyōne
- 199. nūm tōrōm iāntōyōne
- 200. mānā pōrti
- 201. tōrōm pāy nōntōsi nōne
- 202. kōssōr paykōl iāntōyōyōu ilō nōkōnd

223. mä kōy kōroyts ku iälön tšeyäns
224. näl uēions nän iūyōu kätuz
225. lūptōy kät iōy pels pōr
226. liu nānsōyōu iāky lätä
227. mōmōr iōyā sōyōm slli
228. ai kii pōki rontōy pōl
229. mänä siltstīl
230. nou tōy kii kōllontōr
231. sät kōli kōy lō mōsi
232. kōiōm pōy, iōy, tuonāti
233. iūy iōy iōyā uēlōy pōy k
234. iōy, tuonāti
235. mōmōr iōyā kii jilsi
236. pōy, kōi iūyōu mōyā
237. mōm tōrōm iāut āgins
238. ma kōr. k n. tšeyāns
239. l'utou iōx tūtōli
240. ~~mōm~~ mä kōr. k n. tšeyāns
241. iōy iā pōky lätä mōmōr l'utou
lō uāxtōli

63

242. tš. usz kimlojtins
243. ko n. ko kol al lšuarlitins
244. oyi nouš uštati
245. pšy " "
246. kolmōjsu tōšm kälä purnälitsx
247. tōšm sasi kalte noušoy tōšm
sšolusl
248. iuy ioy iuja ueloy paynati
249. num tōšm iäkyz uszms
250. paykari iūšm uszms
251. mšms uszä loyši
252. si sšjias^{tolä} paynati
253. mšms uszä loyši
254. šat paykime nēmoy mšx
255. mšms uszä loyši
256. paykari iūšm usz
257. tōšm puštay ofor moy
258. tōšmms tati
259. noušoy oyi, noušoy pšy
260. uälom tšeya iuytilšusl
261. paykari iūšm uszä

262. mä paykäri rüüsu masnu
 263. sätpayk imz näinz
 264. musnu moja l. suakteli
 265. siisi kalte nautiy törom
 266. töromuz toy moja sooltäluz
 267. töks toy ism ušl^{as}
 268. kaq ism pay, soytur söpi
 269. musnu te toy sijilteli
 270. u. im p. a. t. söpi
 271. musnu toy sijiltämuz
 272. som iki musnu üyöl
 273. som säiq, " "
 274. musnu toy sijintäpuz
 275. sätpaykäri rüüsu moja
 276. töromuz toy iox tütäust.
 277. s p. k. i. moja
 278. t. l. iox tütäluz
 279. stöy toy töks ism toy ušl^{as}
 280. mä toy töromä uersom toy
 281. törom töyö uint^u näy olu int^{is}
 282. sätpayk i moja tuxtöy uerlim

283. num tōrom säht ajine tūtou rof
 284. tūtōluisim
 285. kolon parx si sijune
 286. tūtou sifiltōuisim
 287. sat parx kārī i. mōyātē iuystānne
 288. nöyij tsāntō si oxtōia kōvstānne
 289. uāisy pū kolāy iuōm
 290. tō nō rālin
 291. p. k. iuōm mōyne
 292. sōkāt isy pēlōyne
 293. uārōytr kōyōppi
 294. mā iuystānne
 295. num tōrom aiōji
 296. mā kōlātē ku nālm tōyām
 297. iuōm tōy iuō tūtōlōi
 298. mā uāisy mōx iōyā sem kōllōlām
 299. tō kōltiūtē
 300. num tōrom gālōy mōyā
 301. kōm parx ne uilā tūy iuōm
 302. mā sat parx kārī nēmōy kātōy
 303. iōy tūtōmalne
 304. tārōytr kōyōppi iōy

305. tōrōm sāt kōlōy lāt tul ilē ai mōllē
 306. nōyiy tōankōn sāt optiā
 307. tā tō kōrōkōllōm
 308. nāisōpōn kōlōy nōyōm tul ilē mōrā
 kōllim
 309. nēm tōrōm ai oiyō
 310. nāisōm pōy rōm tūr sōyī
 311. kēm pīl & iūy iūyōm tōrōmā lōyōlē
 312. k p r. t. s.
 313. tōy nōrōx sällim
 314. oyi nōutōy tōrōm
 315. pōy " " " " " "
 316. tul ilē pōrōkōllōm
 317. kōrō nāōm kō. kōl
 318. tōrōmā nōtē pāntē
 319. tō lītē nōltānne, kōllānne
 320. kō. nāōm kō. k. ai tōl kō
 321. tōrōy nōy optiā
 322. tūtā tōnāōm
 323. tō lītē nōltānne
 324. kō nāōm kō. kōl ai tōl kō

67

tolkā

325. nöyry¹¹ tsän¹¹ iäul¹¹ optins
326. num¹¹ töröm¹¹ iäkyn¹¹ myyn¹¹
327. oi¹¹ kütöy¹¹ iäust¹¹ kätll¹¹
328. nöyry¹¹ tsän¹¹ iäul¹¹ optins¹¹ ämissuon¹¹
329. pay¹¹ käri¹¹ ryy¹¹ myyn¹¹
330. num¹¹ töröm¹¹ pay¹¹ käri¹¹ ä¹¹ myyn¹¹
331. tot¹¹ ämissuon¹¹
332. ts¹¹ lile¹¹ uoltäun¹¹
333. k¹¹ m¹¹ k¹¹ k¹¹öl¹¹ ä¹¹ t¹¹ykä¹¹
334. sät¹¹ pay¹¹ käri¹¹ n¹¹emy¹¹ kätur¹¹
335. ~~säm~~ s¹¹önäy¹¹ öy¹¹ n¹¹emy¹¹ pay¹¹ p¹¹el¹¹ ^{kol}
- k¹¹ m¹¹ u¹¹l¹¹.
336. mä¹¹ n¹¹. t¹¹änt¹¹ s¹¹i¹¹ optins¹¹ ämissuon¹¹
337. pay¹¹ p¹¹elk¹¹olä¹¹ t¹¹l¹¹st¹¹ ^{lom} ¹¹pay¹¹ k¹¹ s¹¹iä¹¹,
338. pelkän¹¹ tsy¹¹ t¹¹yyi¹¹!"
339. num¹¹ töröm¹¹ äi¹¹ öyins¹¹ pay¹¹ p¹¹elox¹¹ t¹¹ä
340. mä¹¹ n¹¹ä¹¹ t¹¹l¹¹ts¹¹
341. mä¹¹ n¹¹ä¹¹ t¹¹untäl¹¹ ismsi¹¹ p¹¹elox¹¹ kätinä¹¹
342. tsy¹¹slä¹¹ kätll¹¹i

343.
344.
345.
346.
347.
348.
349.
350.
351.
352.
353.
354.
355.
356.
357.
358.
359.
360.

mä tsyolä kätllmannu
 köspöy, psatäu ilän iula
 monne lä nux rokstoli
 slo poyli isyppelkä monne ioy
 nälsetäli
 paykari nuyou moynä
 töröm tröyö uintrau näy oluintor
 monne ley ävilli (ärsätoli)
 paykari nuyou moynä
 kirkalli
 num töröm ai ävibe
 lä il ssolust
 usltä kü iukuy moynä ilöpa pitsäntöli
 kulöy moynä optäriä ilöpa löyöli
 kairim pay, ion tur söyi
 ilöpa löyöli
 öyiy lä psökyä läne isyon kolomöli
 tetytykä patlöy kätör
 liw uänsmoyou iäkyä ieron

361. isyon kälömlöli
362. mä korostu äälom tšeyans
363. munnä isya loqšli
364. ts liltz ušltä noultöy töörömmä
365. num tööröm iäknyy ansyru
366. tšökol ärtki
367. ko. n. ko. v. ät tulka
368. payru noya loqšli
369. nomsoy äyi nomsoy pšä
370. sšyftä nomsi pšöniläti
371. num tööröm iäknyy ansyru
372. paykärä kätur
373. noyry tšäntšä siäytlur
374. iäust kottl ämšššöm
375. ts liltz ušltinnä
376. ko. n. ko. v. ät tulpšitšä
377. tööröm väisy mousl käl mousl
378. ko. n. ko. ät tulpšitšä
379. töörömmä ont illi

nöyäm telur

[m] 30

[m] 35

num täröm rakkyy ieruz pirtti intäti
tu ytoy kät pätty kät tärömmä tätti pirtti
söymöltä

ols pay ism ier
mäinä iöntälne
teyso iar säis para
et uilä mäinä ierust
mäinä ioyätälne
kölöy pay sä ^{ism} ier isyä uerontli
il tinta öyry kät pöföy kät kölöntilä
uerontli

mä hem kölätkie nälm töyä
ny kölöntilä

nömsöy öyri, nömsöy pöy
nömsä pöntilä

töröm pütäläti

tem kölöy myy öyöyöy

num täröm püsti öyör myy

öyör myyne käys söyöy imkscätöy

ols pay ~~##~~ sä ism ier iinnssalli

öyrylä pöföy läne säytä kölöntä

mun töron näkyy ierue
 käismpayk jime katse
 käyö: öyön jime räkön
 sat paykili nemy kat
 nemy pay tutili
 söyal hälm pilson payk
 tu^u söymölli
 kü sar paykilmoy kyt
 töron pay noutsi ni älsuärtuison
 im äji im pöyrs tö soyla kolonteli
 mä to koorste kü nälm tsyvä
 arya le gölön
 nomy äji nomy pöy
 noma postila
 töron äly timone
 nomy äji nomy pöyrs
 noma postila
 m. äji n. pöyrs

k^o r^o x k^o r^o x nälm tsyvä al tuljati
 köy nälmpe töron s^o m
 k^o r^o x nälm outu tu y tulstatamur
 töron s^o m ^{töron s^o m mäni} väisy mousl, kul mousl,
 töron s^o m

L'öyylä pörkytät mousl.

öyylä p. l. törmä moli

törmä söli ienti

n. öy n. jör

Kross nälsom ~~h~~ kross'kol ät toljati

törmä isykalä

älöy nu'k kida törmä pinnälä

tem törmäyline uuy ioyioya

uälöy paayk

muy! öyön nemy paayk lütä söymölli

ts. lilsuälts noutöy törmä

moli öy pör

Krossnälsom kross'kol tolkis

nomy öy näwssöy pör

tröntä pinnälä

mä kaisom paayk isykalä tur

lütä söymölli

ts. lilsuälts köll

nomy öy n. jör

törmä pinnälä

törmä uälöy mousl käl mousl

tröntä ~~h~~ mous'kimlöyline

Dupl.
Dupl.
y.H.T.

istämyy myy optine

Kölyy payk si royn sijittuism

ismi iki muntin upol

näl uoisna aa jän iyyse kat

tu ytoy kat uoy pelsane

rotty appslä

rottyy oyou nemy payk sijittuism

liuuanompaan iakyy lat

ai ku poki rontty pol

mänä silsyttilä

tem tonim uoy ioy pelsane

toyäl siyot aloy uaiske

mä toy smämmu

nun töröm iakyy iere

kunte toy iayimim

mä ten töökyy mo kimloytine

kolatku noyiy teläm

mä köroyläm ioy pelsane

sät keli kotaka iayne il ueryäl

mä tiyomäm uälom troyä

msl öyi msl jöyus loyöli

Lä 1 k

1 (x)
u

me luy paissim par' isy tyerna
 uolman ku noutontor luysim
 to lile uolte nout ontor
 iuy isya uoloy paryk
 mol isy mol poysu
 koinu toy toyole
 ma uolman ontor
 ism isy ism poysa luysim
 paissi pa koelle toimim ismy pana
noyolekosti
 ma toy uolman ku nout ontor
 koy naissompu toim saad ^{ma[ti]}
sotiu ainli
 toimim to lile uolte koelle
naissompu pary sosyol kolme
luta noya sosymolli
toim naissompu monta ku monta
koloy lut liu naissompu iaakoy iera
isy sosymolli
toim naissompu monta kol monta isy sosy-
molli
liu naissompu iaakoy la ne koelintoli

mä nunn töörin ^{gätky} ^{noyru}
 kōroyts nälom tšeyä
 nōmōn töörōmū älli
 Käimōn paṅk s̄ij̄imati
 töörōmū nōmōn älli
~~Koy~~ Kōroyts k̄i nōj̄in telām
 lōytr̄y k̄at p̄at̄l̄y k̄at is̄y p̄ell̄i
 Kōr. n̄ telām i k̄at̄ s̄ȳūs̄l
 Käimōn paṅ s̄ij̄iū k̄ol
 moy il lōyōtax t̄iyau
 r̄om̄ ōji r̄om̄ p̄ōyru
 nom̄ s̄ä p̄ōm̄li
 töörōm̄ p̄ust̄aȳ ōyōr moyōst̄ins
 Käimōn paṅ r̄om̄ t̄ur̄ s̄ōȳi t̄u s̄ij̄ils̄u
 r̄om̄ i k̄i m̄s̄ot̄ īyōd t̄u s̄ij̄ils̄u
 īȳȳ s̄ōȳi n̄m̄oȳ paṅk
 töörōm̄ t̄u s̄ij̄ilt̄yli
 mä kōroyts k̄i nälom tšeyä
 t̄u s̄ij̄ilt̄yli
 tšōk̄at̄ ōji, tšōk̄at̄e p̄ox
 tšōk̄ȳȳ töörōm̄ nunn töörōm̄ s̄m̄ati
 p̄ä s̄ä p̄ä k̄at̄ll̄ īȳȳä l̄ilt̄k̄oll̄ou
 tšōk̄at̄ ōj̄in̄ l̄ä p̄ōk̄ȳȳ l̄äl̄ä

töörinnä ^{oisi} kalta ^{koell}
töörinnä ^{noyā} sooli
kaiim ^{pay} ^{saxil} köluz
moinn ^{noyā} ^{uērsntali}
ism ^{oisi} ^{ism} ^{pōyuz}
sōyta ^{kālōntilali}
tōōyymoy ^{oxtine}
koss ^{malon} ^{koss} ^{köl}
tōōkō ^{äl} ^{sohilali}
num ^{tōōm} ^{iakny} ^{seone}
kōlāt ^{kū} ^{mālon} ^{tōeyām}
loytā ^{kōssim}
loony ^{moy} ^{oxtine}
koss ^{köl} ^{koss} ^{mālon}
äl ^{tōōkō} ^{tōōkōtōō}
kaiim ^{pay} ^{tōōsōy} ^{kōssim}
tōōim ^{puetay} ^{ōjōr} ^{moyuz}
kōlāt ^{kū} ^{mālon} ^{tōeyām}
som ^{iki} ^{montin} ^{ūyōl}
kirkolta ^{kōssim}
kō. ^{ū.} ^{kō.} ^{köl} ^{äl} ^{loytitōō}
koll ^{kalta} ^{oisi} ^{kalta} ^{noutōy} ^{tōōim}

kät eskoläm

21. näzi kân ueroy uoyne
22. manne möyölli
23. pery myy niälän tiejä
24. tu uolax pätös ni, iijöl lökä
25. sisij(moulomun
26. tem toomopti isyypölyne
27. kuaijöl uolöömön
28. tem uaijypun kolän uym
29. lormä nöressäli
30. öymäl jätös turim äini
31. kolmin öysu törim kätä
32. syy toy läyslmämönne
33. kolömsätie iinjämämönne
34. töskö toy ism uolös

II äi iijöl püyöl. Rakkauslaulu.

Tyttö talle laulun

1. tem äi iijöl püyöl uoyöl nionne
2. tem isykon iijöl uoyöl nionne
3. tem keräs uerimöyji
4. mä tem uermäm ärsx
5. tem isykon iijöl uoyöl nionne
6. mä kiiä uermäm ärsx

7. uon, uäisy mätsöy lökä
8. to^{to} msonon
9. kü tröntöy pil kol pelkä
10. män, uskotson
11. pillöy ontou löx sär külöx
12. noymän msonon
13. tem äi iäyöl uöyöl nira
14. ialmin kütöön
15. tem tröntöy pil kol pälöyön
16. uon, uäisy mätsöy löx ialtänne
17. uon, kul ili tivinnä
18. ärpä nöm löntöyön
19. mä tem ioykän iäyöl uöyöl nira
20. tu uölöy läyöllön
21. iüyön siltä^u pätsöka läyöllön
22. ueli senköy^{iäy} köy rumka
23. läyöllön
24. uät kitan kü töön pil köy
25. mänä ioy tütöntilne
26. ueli senköy köy rumka
27. mänä möntilne
28. mson intälne
29. nöllön säyöl päy löy tur
30. tät öl kalli

(Fines) menit metsään U. 0
B

jätit minit

(yksin menit)

kulkiessasi metsään

Syödessasi kalua

monesti ajattelit (että minua)

(minua)

Katsoen peräsiin siipä

Katsoen viina leikkaria

kätsälemme

kalli.

III Rakkauslaulu

1. käl'sam, käl'sam käl'samanna
2. tuiim äini
3. uätim pässäl un, mämme
4. kätpe kom! öyintösöm
5. mä käl'amamme
6. upsl iortöm miö kiüläm
7. nslz iäyötsu uätan is
8. ä! uäyälti
9. mä käl'amamme
10. sät käl'i kutakä
11. män, pönjin
12. mänt'erkstlin kätll
13. ni ontovi msyipäiam
14. mänt' ~~pa~~ erkstlinne
15. äros pelkä) ^{rint} ~~su~~ ^{su}
16. tem tösöm ku pitäläti
17. tui nemägn ielltitox
18. mä tem ulim pelkä uerägn
19. ääust iönsx uerägn
20. laypil läyil kullom
21. uonts kure ^{säl} säyff iäyäm
22. ueräntiön
23. sät uälompstH intsmäins

24. islämin kolo tugi
 25. lem tarim du pitäläti
 26. kuntson länki itä kälax
 27. lu nemäm tugi^{ts}
 28. kiilämiä uerom ism tün, pontäu
 29. kiilpäri

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IV. Lapsen kehälaulu (Phonografissa laimen)

1. pä lu lu lu lu lu lu
2. öyi n^{si}u^{si}tom u^{si}slax
3. p^{si}öy n^{si}u^{si}tom si u^{si}slax
4. m^{si}nnäm n^{si}u^{si} n^{si}u^{si}slom
5. is^{si}mi p^{si}els^{si} i^{si}änn^{si} k^{si}ölnä
6. m^{si}nnäm n^{si}u^{si} n^{si}u^{si}slom
7. is^{si}mi p^{si}els^{si} i^{si}änn^{si} k^{si}önnä
8. m^{si}nnäm n^{si}u^{si} n^{si}u^{si}slom k^{si}öls^{si}yl^{si}l^{si}m
9. k^{si}ät^{si}m k^{si}äyl^{si}än ap^{si}yl^{si}anne
10. n^{si}u^{si}ä u^{si}erom i^{si}uy^{si}am^{si}tsu
11. k^{si}öms^{si} i^{si}u^{si}rne ~~si~~ u^{si}erom am^{si}tsu
12. u^{si}äis^{si}y s^{si}u^{si} k^{si}iy^{si}ö^{si}l^{si} u^{si}öy^{si}nä
13. n^{si}u^{si}ä n^{si}ik^{si} ä^{si}ts^{si}s^{si}illi
14. is^{si}mi p^{si}els^{si} k^{si}ät^{si}m i^{si}ännä
15. lä t^{si}oy n^{si}u^{si}slä

16. isom si pelsy iänny kurnä
17. tä' toy' kölöyli
18. tä' rut' iäism' uci uin' uäl' uat
19. kölöy^m iuy' alti' kätne
20. tö' nuy' qo' kölöyli
21. semkon kölöy' tarmätsmne
22. tä' toy' no' rinteli

V. Mykymabek. kopm.

1. tem' mykstai' öyör' loyns
2. tem' iäntöy' pöx' sivi' kü
3. sänsy' iuy' kö' iän' uäist
4. kunte' toy' iuy' suäl'
5. iuyin' siltä' potška
6. kunte' toy' ioy' tütölil

jne

Усуготъ Вачуабельзъ Копроммундъ

Копма Копроммундъ.

1. mä närsöy uon kiüslns
2. kälöy uon kiüslns mässtköstlim
3. kōntō ku isyompōt
4. ontll kōyrim ri iūsäl kōyritäl, sätust
5. kä iüksn säisl kāsou
6. kōlōm iux säisl kāsou
7. mōmō tā kōstim kälē
8. kä iüksn säisl kāsou
9. kōlōm iux säisl kāsou kōstām sōyē
10. kōntō ku isyompōyō
11. ontll kōyrim ri iūsäl ssi kōyritē (yhä)
12. ätil iux säisl kāsā
13. mōmō tā pāyssi
14. kōntōku isyompōyō
15. o. k. n. i. ssi kōyritē
16. uät imām sō sūnz
17. pūyäl imām sō sūnz
18. tā lōmpōstssim
19. mōmō tā lōmpōstssimän piirne
20. kōrom kōrom tōyētē
21. " " pōyētē

astelen (musk. puh. myös)

Kuulun ostyakin ven. keu sruusta halkkaa. mōmō (kōyritä, halkata ontēvaksi ventepunte)

alan hiipia luo.

pääsin yksinäisen puun sōyōm (s.o. vi. meiser puun, jō on hypätēs)

kaupungin sōyōmällä Rylän reku äänellä

hyökätä päälle (myös) (lōmpōstssimä isyōst)

(ääntöä) tōyētē pōyētē

vaakajan paksuiseen
paksuun kapeaan

22.

sok^o k^el^a k^ulⁱlⁱm^a

23.

u^asⁱ l^at i^lmⁱsⁱsⁱmⁱ

24.

u^an u^ai^si k^a l^akⁱlⁱsⁱn

- tuk^ag^al^amⁱ

25.

n^arⁱs^sm u^an i^rs^y lⁱn^a

(nostin) m^et^rin l^at

26.

k^ol^sm u^an

u^an u^aj^ak^asⁱn

m^et^rin -

27.

lⁱn^am i^ts^e r^oyⁱn s^ak^sm

1. iaust ärss
2. s̄yau kōlur gelay kat
3. ka iōra s̄ayōl m̄x
4. ur nōyinq̄ im̄s̄lōm
5. āyōr p̄ss̄an, iōyōy tuia im̄s̄lōm
6. urt ām̄s̄s̄ta āyōy k̄atā
7. t̄l̄k̄al iōyān iāyī k̄atā
8. ārs̄k̄on̄li iōm̄āy m̄y.
9. iaust opt̄ins
10. mā im̄s̄lōm
11. s̄l̄s̄ m̄y s̄yōs̄u kōlur
12. iūt̄r̄ l̄at̄r̄ n̄āyōy m̄x
13. aut̄ōy l̄ox iōrs̄u m̄x
14. s̄l̄s̄ m̄y iōn̄āw kōlur
15. ārs̄ k̄on̄li s̄ōyāy m̄x
16. iaūt̄ōy t̄ins
17. ārs̄ t̄ōr̄m̄ p̄ūt̄s̄u iōy k̄ōx
18. mān̄n̄z̄ k̄ōyōll̄i k̄on̄n̄k̄i l̄ōyōll̄i

19. pörön luyti sielau kätör
20. kōntē kū nälom tšeyä
21. mä tem kätisypälöyne
22. mäne kōt löyöli,
23. mä mökr iōntä nälom iōn^m
24. mä tem kätisypälöyne tšeyäm,
25. kälöy käl kätisypälöyne
26. tšeyämät miykinge mä käläti nälom tšeyäm
27. tšeyäm me iōn tšeyäm
28. nuk tāt älömsi
29. mäsi pölöy iäust kōttōx
30. mä kōntē kū nälom tšeyäm
31. ärs kōntē tšeyäm miykinge
32. tšeyäm tšeyäm miykinge
33. ärs tāt miykinge miykinge i tšeyäm
34. mä käläti kū iōn tšeyäm
35. ärs kät pälä iōn tšeyäm käläti
36. mä tšeyäm nälom, nälom lūi tšeyäm
37. i käläm saularox löyti kätä

38. toron ior iant syymot i ialte pai 81
 39. toronur lux tyonketti iant arax niinti
 40. slakka pila i iorur ar iaypola royaykka
 41. Royaykka toronur lux patti
 42. Sironi aykka iroyntuina net mannoy kiil
 43. mieli Royol sironoy paisu toron ianmoy
 44. i nemoy
 45. iroykelaene toron ior koloy i lip
 46. i koloy lip
 47. Sironoy Royol
 48. iroykelaene amisiid
 49. ar toron i palka i putoy iroyka
 50. iroyon i loyali
 51. toron ior koloy lipne
 52. iroyon loyali pituist ulse
 53. toron pitou koki kot sironi kot ielkmittehti
 54. iant arax sroyau kol ke
 55. iant arax sroyau kolne manur pituist ulse
 56. toron pitou

57. töörin sanki iunon moyn

~~57~~

5

Vaspuksen

Lillrisov.

Karkun tapetina se tappopaimon myy-
 täin. Ennen myyhemistä paimon rin-
 nalle 5 ohut liikku (uroskartulle, 4 k^{ns} -
 naaraalle). Myyhemissä veitrellä sitten
^{ylle kerrallaan} viikotään liikut telegain, siellä seis-
 vat miehet kokevat sata na kinn-
 ni, sitä onca. - Pää jätetään nah-
 kian. Viiden & myyhemissä ei lauleta.
 Pirtissä tehdään häneen laava, kat, perä-
 seinä vierelle niin että karkun muk-
 kaita oviin. Urospuole kaulaan kaula-
 huivi; naaraalle huivi päntään, sormuk-
 sin sormiin. Ille nahka peitetään joku-
 kin vaatteeseen. - Myyhemissä katsotaan
 onko "hiuksia" vätrassa: jos on, merkitsee
 se, että karkun on syönyt ihmisen. Sella-
 sen karkun lihan ei syödä. - Nahka
 tulee pedän lämpäjän ovrin, lihan syö-
 lään. - ^{käte ei rikota.}

kuntäip,

Katunlauralla asettuessa pääkannat sil-
tettiin "kammalla", puisella tikulla, jossa
on pyykkiä. —

Menän eteen palkkarame leipäns, kalas,
Anokisissa. —

Karhulauluja.

Jämsätip.

1. k¹is¹ym¹kem i¹ö¹is¹y
2. tim¹ to¹oma n¹ä¹r¹ö¹ty¹ä
3. k¹ant¹ä¹ku¹ d¹ä¹y¹or d¹ä¹is¹m¹ t¹vi
4. d¹ä¹y¹or d¹ä¹is¹m¹ m¹ij¹t¹ä¹ne
5. m¹u¹y¹ k¹u¹y¹ t¹u¹y¹m¹än
6. nais¹ä¹y¹ki s¹ä¹y¹ki
7. n¹ai¹n¹en¹ n¹eri
8. k¹ant¹ä¹ku¹ s¹ä¹k¹ k¹ur
9. t¹u¹n¹is¹y¹ d¹ij¹pp¹as
10. n¹u¹y¹ä¹ti n¹enti
11. k¹is¹ym¹kem i¹ö¹is¹y
12. n¹is¹im¹ s¹ä¹y¹ä¹t
13. n¹u¹y¹ä¹ti n¹enti
14. t¹u¹y¹ t¹ä¹t i¹m¹ä¹is¹m

laul.sane,

kopomant roga

- 15. asku pax
- 16. uidsy tursemat
- 17. tu kottimdon
- 18. koi ioi
- 19. at montat ~~ontou~~ uidin [laul.: mentay
- 20. kott " " " " "
- 21. asku pax uidsy tursem
- 22. anismari Kts myöhemmin!

"Karkulauluja."

- 1. uais arto iuyot torim
- 2. tormin iuyot iuyot
- 3. " iuytos, iuytos -
- 4. " iuytom karone
- 5. ja kuun pax mseli muutamalla aut
- 6. iein uukia autaa lo ketena

7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

näisy äiti iunjet toron

tormin iustom karone

muutamalle autu pä kuum pax mseli

yhdessä oravan si läjksia "

yhdessä näiden si sasa "

u. a. i. toron

t. i. karone

muutamalle pä k. pax

vain kahdeksan v. (so. ei äls mrom kölä uolvi (-2) wikkua - anna mitään).

(sualista saamalla) III). näisy äitsy iunjet leiki

harvanko seison - kvels motis elizi (-el)

isäni ukripankkaan isyom ism iiv panom moya

työn asuinmaahan ipst elyki kat moya

hyväjalkaiset & nuolki ism toylop ka narjon

siuna tuon toyö tuelom

- 7. isyom ism iir p. m.
- 8. i. d. k. moya
- 9. ism t. k. narlyon
- 10. toyo din d'aytam
- 11. isyom i. i. p. moyne
- 12. i. d. u.
- 13. ~~au pan~~ ay panyidi
- 14. naisy aiayko istaye -

pytytan - -

kumarran

IV.

- 1. naisn, naisn aykole
- 2. " " ayole
- 3. duy kurmay pitim lekk
- 4. moy " " "
- 5. min nayodlismisn
- 6. naisn naisn aykole
- 7. " " ayole

8. Iuy' k'ormay le'k potärlä¹¹
9. ma'ng' " " "
10. nai' tunäps potärlän¹¹
11. or' " "
12. min' tom' masnpa pälskpe
13. nai' tunärläx potärlän¹¹
14. min' tom' masnpa pälskpe
15. or' tunärläx potärlän¹¹
16. min' tom' masnpa pälskpe
17. ism' näip' ontim' uarläs¹¹
18. min' tom' masnpa pälskpe
19. ism' or'p' ontim' uarläs¹¹ -

1. V. täröio, kari!

2. " "

3. mārtimo k̄u | tor̄sm p̄älki^(u)

4. tōȳs̄l̄ tā̄i^(u) | ā̄v̄s̄ȳ ū̄ā̄īs̄x

5. nūx īā̄x̄s̄s̄īd̄.

6. ā̄t̄s̄r̄ k̄ā̄nt̄s̄ | jā̄p̄st̄ jā̄r̄ā^(u)

7. t̄ī nūx p̄r̄t̄v̄s̄m̄.

8. S̄ā̄p̄s̄r̄ m̄s̄ k̄u | īā̄ k̄ȳȳ m̄s̄ȳā^(u)

9. m̄ā̄x̄ t̄īā̄ȳ k̄s̄t̄s̄ | īīm̄s̄ȳ m̄s̄ȳā^(u)

10. nūȳn̄s̄ t̄ī n̄ā̄m̄v̄ā̄ȳt̄ī.

11. t̄ā̄r̄s̄īōs̄, t̄ā̄r̄ī | t̄. t̄.

12. s̄ā̄p̄s̄r̄ m̄s̄ k̄u | īā̄ k̄ȳȳ m̄s̄ȳā^(u)

13. m̄ā̄x̄ t̄īā̄ȳ k̄s̄t̄s̄ | īīm̄s̄ȳ m̄s̄ȳā^(u)

14. nūȳn̄s̄ t̄ī v̄īt̄ī^(u)

15. t̄ā̄r̄s̄īō, t̄. | t̄. t̄.

16. s̄ā̄p̄s̄r̄ m̄s̄ k̄u | īā̄ k̄ȳȳ m̄s̄ȳn̄z̄

17. m̄ā̄x̄ t̄īā̄ȳ k̄s̄t̄s̄ | īīm̄s̄ȳ m̄s̄ȳn̄z̄

nar kasi

duy magi

duy magi | kōlism pul

tari nuyms | usdi tari

halkia suuruisen

VI.

18.

19.

20.

21.