

# Aŋaqa Sisike — The Wingless Gosling

Traditional Folk tale

July 26, 2022

This story is one of the most well-known of the traditional Itelmen tales, and versions have been published with Russian and English translations in previous collections. The version presented here reflects the Sedanka-Tigil dialect group and was told by †Tatjana Nikolaevna Bragina (Tigil), recorded 10 April 1994 in Tigil by Nina Tolman and the author, and transcribed and translated with the assistance of Ljudmila E. Pravdoshina (Sedanka). This version incorporates light edits by Pravdoshina such as replacing a handful of Russian lexical borrowings with corresponding Itelmen forms (noted in [brackets]) and editing out false starts and other evident disfluencies. I am also grateful to the late Alexandr P. Volodin and Valentina I. Uspenskaja for additional suggestions and corrections, and to Irina Monich for her assistance in preparing the online text. To some extent, these edits include some regularization of points of phonetic uncertainty to respect consensus pronunciations, which may thus gloss over some points of individual variation. The recording with an earlier transcription is available via [itelmenslovar.org](http://itelmenslovar.org).

- (1) k-zun<sup>1</sup>†-qu-kne-ʔn qsə-ʔn  
PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL goose-PL  
‘There lived some geese.’
- (2) qsə-ʔn k’-ənsxt-ʔeʔn tʃi-ʔn p’e-ʔn i miʔ qsə-ʔnk  
goose-PL PRT-give.birth-TRNS.PRT.PL 3PL-PL child-PL and all 3PL.LOC  
sisi-ʔn-č k-sk-kna-ʔn  
wing-PL-DIM PRT-make-PRT-PL  
‘The geese gave birth to their children, and they all grew wings.’ (lit: ‘... and wings grew/made to all of them.’)
- (3) a kniŋ-i-čχ-enk qaʔm sk-kaq  
but one-V-DIM-LOC NEG make-NEG.PRT  
‘But one little one didn’t grow any.’ (lit: ‘But to one little one they didn’t grow.’)

- (4) lamɫ k-peskes-knen  
summer PRT-go.by-PRT  
'Summer went by.'
- (5) qat laq-aq k-le-qzu-knen.  
already cold-ADV PRT-become-ASP-PRT  
'Already it was becoming cold.'
- (6) qsə-ʔn miɫ k-siŋ-qzu-kne-ʔn  
goose-PL all PRT-fly-ASP-PRT-PL  
'The geese all flew (away).'
- (7) enu-ʔn qaʔm siŋ-kaq [k-ɫ-qzu-kne-ʔn]  
DEM-PL NEG fly-NEG.PRT PRT-AUX-ASP-PRT-PL  
'Those ones didn't fly.'
- (8) k-kɫuli-qu-ʔin qaʔm sisi-k'in  
PRT-pity-ASP-PRT.TRANS NEG wing-NEG  
'They pitied the/their wingless one.'<sup>1</sup>
- (9) "xaɫč" enu k-xejne-knen qaʔm sisi-k'in qsas-čax  
EXHORT DEM PRT-say-PRT NEG wing-NEG goose-DIM  
'"It's time" said that one, the wingless gosling.'
- (10) "tuza-ʔn q-siŋ-qzu-sx, kma [q']-oms-qzu-βum-sx  
2PL-PL 2IRR-fly-ASP-2PL, 1SG 2.IRR-leave-ASP-1SG.OBJ-2PL  
'"You (should) fly away (and) leave me.'
- (11) a to tuza-ʔn miɫ xte-ank qetit-aɫ-sx"  
otherwise 2PL-PL all here-LOC freeze-FUT-2PL  
'"Otherwise you will all freeze."
- (12) k-siŋ-qzu-kne-ʔn qsə-ʔn  
PRT-fly-ASP-PRT-PL goose-PL  
'The geese flew (away).'
- (13) xaɫč k-siŋ-qzu-kne-ʔn βaa-nk, enu qsas-čax min qaʔm sisi-k'in  
TEMP PRT-fly-ASP-PRT.PL high.up-LOC, DEM goose-DIM REL.PRON NEG wing-NEG  
k-čaća-qzu-knan i k-ŋrep-qzu-knen:  
PRT-cry-ASP-PRT and PRT-sing-ASP-PRT  
'When they were flying high up, that gosling which was without wings began to cry and to sing.'

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<sup>1</sup>In the audio recording, there is a 3PL subject pronoun between V and O.

- (14) “aṇaqa sisike ipʔelin sisike”  
[The gosling’s song]<sup>2</sup>
- (15) qneṅ enu-ʔn qsə-ʔn k’-əlizi-kne-ʔn, k-k’oʔ-kne-ʔn  
right.then DEM-PL goose-PL PRT-return-PRT-PL PRT-come-PRT-PL  
‘Right then those geese returned (and) came (back).’
- (16) qsas-čax k-xejne-qzu-knen:  
goose-DIM PRT-say-ASP-PRT  
‘The gosling said.’
- (17) “əṇqanes tuza-ʔn əlizi-sx?  
why 2PL-PL return-2PL  
“‘Why have you returned?’
- (18) q-siṅ-qzu-sx  
2IRR-fly-ASP-2PL  
‘Fly (away)!’
- (19) a to qat miʔ siṅ-qu-in, em tuza-ʔn qaʔm siṅ-kaq”  
otherwise already all fly-ASP-3SG only 2PL-PL not fly-NEG.PRT  
‘Otherwise all have already flown, only you haven’t flown.’”
- (20) qsə-ʔn li pəl-q k-kʔuli-qzu-ʔan qaʔm sis-k’in, k-xene-kne-ʔn  
goose-PL very big-ADV PRT-pity-ASP-PRT.TRANS NEG wing-NEG PRT-say-PRT-PL  
‘The geese very much pitied the wingless one, and said.’
- (21) “q-kzeʔ-xč. nt’-oms-qza-aʔ-in.  
2SG.IRR-stay-2SG 1PL-leave-ASP-FUT-2SG.OBJ  
“‘Stay. We will leave you (behind).’
- (22) tol’ko esli k’oʔ-aʔ-in knank jimsx [čāča-laχ] qoβsk’el-čax  
only if come-FUT-3SG 2SG.DAT woman red-ADJ parka-DIM

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<sup>2</sup>The plaintive song of the gosling is left unglossed as the words here are no longer transparent in Itelmen. In the version of the story collected by Jochelson in 1910-1911 (K2.6), the song is translated as ‘Mother, mother, you have abandoned me without wings.’ The source of the song here may be a similar expression, but in Koryak: A. P. Volodin (personal communication 1996) suggests that *ipʔelin* is a rendition of Koryak rendition *ye-pela-len* ‘PRT-abandon-PRT, while *sisike* is presumably from the Itelmen root *sisi-* ‘wing’, but the form suggests the Chukchi privative ending *-ke*, rather than the Itelmen analogue *-k’in* or *-aq*. Jochelson gives the first word of the song as *xex(e)qe*, glossed as ‘mother’, but all contemporary speakers treat *aṇaqa sisike* as the gosling’s name.

- tzəl-əz-nin, n-oč'z-ał-in, zaq piki-kaq  
wear-PRES-3>3SG N-call-FUT-2SG.OBJ NEG.IMP go-NEG.PRT  
‘Only, if a woman comes to you wearing a red parka, calling you, do not go (to her).’
- (23) a esli jimsx k'oł-ał-in atx-laχ qoβsk'el-čaχ tzəl-əz-nin,  
but if woman come-FUT-3SG white-ADJ parka-DIM wear-PRES-3>3SG  
q-piki-xč.”  
2SG.IRR-go-2SG.SUBJ  
‘But if a woman comes to you wearing a white parka, go (to her).’”
- (24) k-siη-qzu-kne-ʔn  
PRT-fly-ASP-PRT-PL  
‘They flew (away).’
- (25) njaačił aŋaqa-čχ k-φti-knen, k-ηrep-qzu-knen  
alone Angaqa-DIM PRT-remain-PRT PRT-sing-ASP-PRT  
‘Angaqa remained alone, and sang.’
- (26) “aŋaqa sisike ipʔelin sisike”  
[The gosling’s song]
- (27) k-čača-qzu-knan. k'-βit-qzu-knen kołx<sup>w</sup>-čχ-ank βu'n  
PRT-cry-ASP-PRT PRT-swim-ASP-PRT lake-DIM-LOC DEM  
‘He cried. He swam there on that little lake.’
- (28) k'-əłčku-in=(n)in tsxal-astas k-k'oł-knen  
PRT-see-TRNS.PRT=3CL fox-AUGM[?] PRT-come-PRT  
‘He saw a fox come.’<sup>3</sup>
- (29) qneη i k-χejne-knen  
right.away and PRT-say-PRT  
‘Right away she (the fox) said.’
- (30) “q-k'oł-č kəma-nk-əη !  
2SG.IRR-come-2SG.SUBJ 1SG-DAT-DAT  
“‘Come to me!’

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<sup>3</sup>The distribution of the clitic element (*n*)*in* is not described in previous works and appears to be characteristic of the Sedanka-Tigil dialect. Impressionistically, it most commonly occurs following a transitive verb with a third person subject and is optional, in that speakers will assent to the same sentences without the clitic in the same contexts. The clitic was not considered a separate element for the purposes of the word order analysis.

- (31) kməɫβun m-txunt-qzu-in kza”  
1SG.EMPH 1SG.IRR-raise-ASP-2SG.OBJ 2SG  
‘I will raise you.’
- (32) qsas-čax k-χejne-knen:  
goose-DIM PRT-say-PRT  
‘The gosling said.’
- (33) “kma xenč knank m-piki-kičen  
1SG NEG.FUT 2SG.DAT 1SG.IRR-go-1SG.SUBJ  
“‘I won’t go to you.’
- (34) knin qoβsk’el [čāča-lax]”  
2SG.POSS parka red-ADJ  
‘Your parka is red.’
- (35) tsxal k-χaqane-knen  
fox PRT-be.angry-PRT  
‘The fox became angry.’
- (36) “qa’m k’oɫ-aɫ-k-aq s-ič?  
NEG come-DESID-INTR-NEG AUX.PRES-2SG  
“‘You don’t want to come?’
- (37) kma miɫ knin i? t’-il-aɫ-čen.”  
1SG all 2SG.POSS water 1SG-drink-FUT-1>3SG  
‘I will drink up all your water.’
- (38) k’-il-ʔin-(n)en miɫ kəɫx<sup>w</sup>-čax, ul<sup>l</sup>u-l<sup>l</sup>ax kəɫx<sup>w</sup>-čax em qsas-čax  
PRT-drink-TRANS.PRT-3CL all lake-DIM little-ADJ lake-DIM only goose-DIM  
βu’n k-βit-qzu-knen  
there PRT-swim-ASP-PRT  
‘She drank up all the little lake. Only a little pond (was left) and there the gosling swam.’
- (39) miɫ nin k’-il-ʔin.  
all 3CL PRT-drink-PRT.SG.OBJ  
‘She drank all (of it).’
- (40) qneɲ i k-pčinti-t-knen  
right.away and PRT-burst-T-PRT  
‘Then she (the fox) burst.’

- (41) k-əłćku-ʔin-(n)in jimsx-čax k-k'ot-knen atx-lax qoβsk'el-čax  
 PRT-see-TRNS.PRT-3CL woman-DIM PRT-come-PRT white-ADJ parka-DIM  
 tzəl-əz-nin  
 wear-PRES-3>3SG  
 'He (the gosling) saw a woman coming, wearing a white parka.'
- (42) qneŋ k-χejne-knen:  
 right.away PRT-say-PRT  
 'Right away she (the woman) said.'
- (43) "oj, kza, qsas-čax, ljaβał kza qa'm siŋ-k-aq ł-ič?"  
 INTERJ 2SG goose--DIM why 2SG NEG fly-INTR-NEG AUX-2SG  
 "Oh you, little gosling, why did you not fly away?"
- (44) qsas-čax k-čača-qzu-knan, k-χejne-knen  
 goose-DIM PRT-cry-ASP-PRT PRT-say-PRT  
 'The gosling cried (and) said.'
- (45) "kəma-'n sisi-'n-č n'etu  
 1SG-POSS.PL wing-PL-DIM NOT.HAVE  
 "I don't have (little) wings.'
- (46) kma n-oms-qzu-βum  
 1SG N-leave-ASP-1SG  
 'I was left behind.'
- (47) tixt tsxal-enk mił i? kəłx<sup>w</sup>-čχ-enk n-γil-čen  
 So fox-LOC all water lake-DIM-LOC N-drink-3SG.OBJ  
 'So all the water in the little lake was drunk by the fox.'
- (48) ne'n kma ma? i m-βit-kičen?"  
 now 1SG where and 1SG.IRR-swim-1SG.SUBJ  
 'Now where should I swim?'"
- (49) enu atx-lax qoβsk'el-čax enu k-ł-qzu-knen qus[k]łnequ ənin p'eč,  
 DEM white-ADJ parka-DIM DEM PRT-be-ASP-PRT Kutkh 3SG.POSS child  
 sinajeβit  
 Sinangewt  
 'That (one with the) white parka, that was Kutkh's child Sinangewt.'
- (50) qneŋ k-χejne-knen:  
 right.away PRT-say-PRT  
 'Right away she said.'

- (51) “mən-piki-k kəma-nk  
1PL.IRR-go-1subj 1SG-DAT  
‘Let’s go to me (my place)’
- (52) kməɬβum m-č’et-qzu-in zunɬ-ki.”  
1SG.EMPH 1SG.IRR-be.together-ASP-2SG.OBJ live-INFII  
‘We can live together.’”
- (53) k’-əlφča-knan qsas-čaχ  
PRT-agree-PRT goose-DIM  
‘The gosling agreed.’
- (54) k-piki-kne-ʔn χok-əŋ  
PRT-go-PRT-PL there-DAT  
‘They went there.’
- (55) enu sinəŋβit k-ɬ-qzu-knen, qus[k]ɬnequ-ʔin p’eč  
DEM Sinangewt PRT-be-ASP-PRT Kutx-POSS child  
‘That was Sinangewt, Kutx’s child.’
- (56) li č’in-aq k’-om-qzu-knen i k-ɬen-nu-qu-ʔan-(n)in, i  
very pretty-ADV PRT-warm-ASP-PRT-3CL and PRT-CAUS-eat-ASP-TR.PRT-3CL and  
miɬ anqle k-peskes-knen  
all winter PRT-go.by-PRT  
‘He warmed up well, and she fed him and the whole winter went by.’
- (57) qsas-čaχ βu’n i sinəŋβit-enk i k-zunɬ-qzu-knen  
goose-DIM DEM and Sinangewt-LOC and PRT-live-ASP-PRT  
‘The gosling lived at Sinangewt(’s).’
- (58) anqle k-peskes-qzu-knen  
winter PRT-go.by-PRT  
‘The winter went by.’
- (59) anoq xaɬč k’-le-qzu-knen, qsə-ʔn k-k’ot-qzu-kneʔn  
spring WHEN PRT-become-ASP-PRT goose-PL PRT-come-ASP-PRT  
‘When it became spring, the geese came (back).’<sup>4</sup>
- (60) sinəŋβit sisi-ʔn-č nβen k-sk-ʔa-ʔn  
Sinangewt wing-PL-DIM LOC PRT-make-PRT-PL  
‘Sinangewt made little wings then.’

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<sup>4</sup>This second part of this sentence is out of sequence in the story, and comes after a break for tea that has been edited out.

- (61) k-łən-tłi-ʔin-(n)i'n                      qsas-čχ-ank    i    k-t'ə-nin-(n)in  
 PRT-CAUS-wear-TR.PRT-3CL.PL goose-DIM-DAT and PRT-take-3>3SG-3CL  
 əz-ank  
 outside-DAT  
 'She put the wings on him and took him outside.'
- (62) k-χejne-knen:  
 PRT-say-PRT  
 'She said.'
- (63) "q-taβoŋ-xe'n    tinu'n    sisi-ʔn-č"  
 2.IRR-try-2>3PL DEM.PL wing-PL-DIM  
 "Try these wings."
- (64) qsas-čaχ    k-siŋ-qzu-knen  
 goose-DIM PRT-fly-ASP-PRT  
 'The gosling flew.'
- (65) ul'u-q    k-siŋ-qzu-knen  
 little-ADV PRT-fly-ASP-PRT  
 'He flew a little.'
- (66) tenaq li    niča-q    k-k'oł-knen  
 back very quickly-ADV PRT-come-PRT  
 'He came back very quickly.'
- (67) k-pəŋlo-an    sinəŋeβit-enk  
 PRT-ask-TR.PRT Sinangewt-LOC  
 'He was asked by Sinangewt.'
- (68) "nu mank-s?    taβoŋ-e?n    sisi-ʔn-č?"  
 well how-PTCL try-3PL.OBJ wing-PL-DIM  
 "Well, how was it? Did you try the wings?"
- (69) "e.    t-taβoŋ-čeʔn.  
 yes 1SG-try-1>3PL  
 "Yes, I tried them.'
- (70) nado qula-ʔn    sisi-ʔn-č    sk-əs"  
 need other-PL wing-PL-DIM make-INF  
 '(You) need to make other wings.'

- (71) sinanǝβit ek'n-iʔn sisi-ʔn-č k-sk-[ʔa-ʔn],  
 Sinangewt different-PL wing-PL-DIM PRT-make-[TR.PRT-PL]  
 k-ʔən-tʔi-ʔin  
 PRT-CAUS-wear-TR.PRT  
 'Sinangewt made different wings and put them on him.'
- (72) "tinuʔn q-taβoŋ-xeʔn"  
 DEM.PL 2.IRR-try-3PL.OBJ  
 "Try these."
- (73) k-ʔən-tʔi-ʔi'n-(n)in qsas-čax  
 PRT-CAUS-wear-TR.PRT.PL-3CL goose-DIM  
 'She put them on the goose.'
- (74) k-siŋ-qzu-knen  
 PRT-fly-ASP-PRT  
 He flew.
- (75) li meč'a-ŋ k-siŋ-qzu-knen  
 very far-DAT PRT-fly-ASP-PRT  
 'He flew very far.'
- (76) k'-joβa-ʔa-ʔn-(n)in qsə-ʔn k'oʔ-kilat  
 PRT-meet-TR.PRT-PL-3CL goose-PL come-NOM.PL  
 'He met geese coming.'
- (77) k-pəŋlo-ʔa-ʔn:  
 PRT-ask-TR.PRT-PL  
 'He asked them.'
- (78) "kəma-ʔn isx, laχsx, zlatumx-eʔn, lilixʔ-eʔn əʔčku-sx-eʔn?"  
 1SG-POSS.PL father mother brother-PL sister-PL see-2PL-3PL.OBJ  
 "Have you seen my father, mother, brothers and sisters?"
- (79) "χejneʔ zal-k siŋ-əz-iʔn  
 DEM behind-LOC fly-PRES-3PL  
 "There, they are flying (along) behind.'
- (80) taʔi q-jaβna-xeʔn."  
 PRTC 2.IRR-meet-2SG>3PL  
 'Go meet them.'

- (81) k-siŋ-qzu-knen qsas-čax k'-joβa-ʔa-ʔn-(n)in əna-ʔn isx i  
 PRT-fly-ASP-PRT goose-DIM PRT-meet-TR.PRT-PL-3CL 3SG-POSS.PL father and  
 laχsx i zlatumx-eʔn i lilixt-eʔn  
 mother and brother-PL and sister-PL  
 'The gosling flew and met his father and mother and brothers and sisters.'
- (82) enu-ʔn li pəl-q k-γənkiβi-kne-ʔn  
 DEM-PL very big-ADV PRT-rejoice-PRT-PL  
 'Those ones rejoiced very much.'
- (83) k-ʔo-qzu-an tχi-ʔn k-qetit-knen da i k'-isx-knen  
 PRT-think-ASP-TR.PRT 3PL-POSS.PL PRT-freeze-PRT PRTC and PRT-die-PRT  
 'They thought he had frozen and died.'
- (84) a na əŋki-s seŋ-zo-z-[in] k-χejne-knen eny:  
 BUT 3SG for.then-? fly-AROUND-PRES-[3SG] PRT-say-PRT thus  
 'But he is then flying around, and says:'<sup>5</sup>
- (85) "sinəŋβit-enk kma n-txunt-qzu-βum anqle  
 Sinangewt-LOC 1SG N-raise-ASP-1SG.OBJ winter  
 "I was raised by Sinangewt in the winter.'
- (86) kma qaʔm qetit-k-aq t-ʔ-qzu-kičen  
 1SG NEG freeze-INTR-NEG 1SG-AUX-ASP-1SG.SUBJ  
 'I did not freeze.'
- (87) [n-ŋite-qzu-βum] i sise-ʔn-č n-sk-če-ʔn  
 N-raise-ASP-1SG.OBJ and wing-PL-DIM N-make-3.OBJ-PL  
 'I was raised and wings were made.'<sup>6</sup>
- (88) mən-siŋ-kas, m-ənksxli-t-sxineʔn təzβ-ank enu sinəŋβit"  
 1PL.IRR-fly-INF 1SG.IRR-show-T-2PL 2PL-DAT DEM Sinangewt  
 'Let's fly, I can show you this Sinangewt.'
- (89) k'-ənksxle-ʔin-(n)in sinəŋβit  
 PRT-show-TR.PRT.PL-3CL Sinangewt  
 'He showed them Sinangewt.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup>The recorded verb may be *seŋ-zo-s-č*, representing a known sub-dialect variant in the form of the 3sg present.

<sup>6</sup>Sentence rephrased by native speaking editor. The first verb is evidently a Koryak borrowing.

<sup>7</sup>False start and brief lines in Russian omitted here. The geese thank Sinangewt.

- (90) qsə-ʔn k-χejne-kneʔn n(β)eʔn:  
 goose-PL PRT-say-PRT.PL then  
 ‘The geese said then.’
- (91) “muza-ʔn x<sup>w</sup>tean-k nt-ləmst-qza-aʔ-kiče-ʔn  
 1PL-POSS.PL here-LOC 1PL-spend.summer-ASP-FUT-1.SUB-PL  
 “‘We will spend the summer here.’
- (92) xaʔč txle le-aʔ-in, siŋ-qza-aʔ-č χu om-laχ-aʔn mesta-ʔn-kəŋ  
 WHEN autumn become-FUT-3SG, fly-FUT-2SG there warm-ADJ-PL place-PL-DAT  
 ‘When it will become autumn, you will fly there, to the warm places.’
- (93) aŋaqaʔin sisikeʔin i nt'-ənksxla-aʔ-č[en]”  
 Angaqa Sisike and 1PL-show-FUT-1>3SG  
 ‘And we will show them to Angaqa Sisike.’”
- (94) qat aŋaqa sisike li p-laχ qsas k'-le-knen, li čina-q  
 ALREADY Angaqa Sisike very big-ADJ goose PRT-become-PRT very pretty-ADV  
 k-seŋ-zo-t-qzu-knen  
 PRT-fly-AROUND-T-ASP-PRT  
 ‘Angaqa had already become a very big goose, and flew around very beautifully.’
- (95) ti'n-nu t-penʔfi-s-čen  
 DEM-PRTC 1SG-finish-PRES-1>3SG  
 ‘Here I have finished it (the story).’