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Ivan Stepanovich Sopochnin: Biography of a Shaman

Ivan Stepanovich Sopochnin (1910–1992) was an outstanding Khanty epic-singer, healer and fortune-teller. He was born around 1910 on the River Agan, Surgut District. In fact, no one knows the exact date of his birth. He himself believed that he was 10 years older.

In this article, I would like to sketch out a history of his clan and his life, as it was told to me by him during my field work in 1989–1991. Unfortunately, that is not much; in my collection, there are only six short stories out of about 150, told by Ivan Stepanovich Sopochnin about his family.

As a rule, the attention of investigators is mainly focused on the shaman's skills and supernatural abilities, but not on the personality of the shaman. My aim is to fill in this gap in our knowledge of his personality. The main part of this article represents the text, told by Ivan Sopochnin, about receiving his shaman's gift and song.

Settling on the Trom Agan River

The Sopochnins lived first on the river Vakh, in Nizhnevartovsk District. The reason to move to Agan was a plague and the resulting death of all the members of the family. Only one man has survived, and it was him who settled in a new place. There exists a sacred song, describing this event, though I did not manage to record it. Ivan Stepanovich Sopochnin has only briefly retold its content.

Once Sopochnin went to the city, and on his way back he spent the night at the mouth of the Trom Agan River. To make a fire, he went for firewood. Coming back, he saw a man in black clothes near his boat. He was frightened to death and stopped.

The man said, "Don't be afraid, come closer. I am Kyn' iki, a man who sends disease. It was me who has brought all this disaster to your family. Your family was big, there

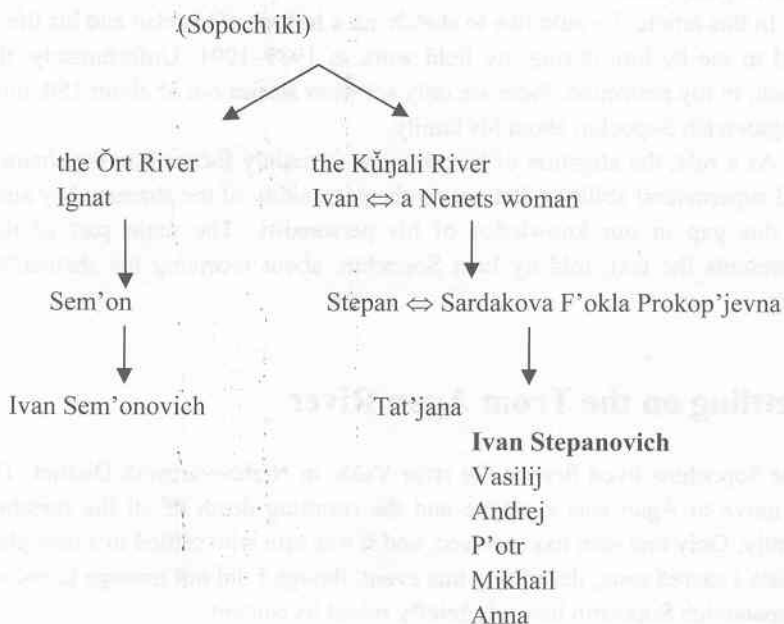
were a lot of people in your family. Now you are an orphan. I have taken the lives of your relatives. I was told to do this. I feel sorry for you. People beat you. They don't permit you to come into the house, they push you out. I regret this. Stay here. Make a fire in this place. When you return home, migrate to another place, to the Agan River. There's a place downstream with good reindeer moss, it is called *lantəŋ loy*. Make a settlement over there, get married, have many children. When you move to this place, let your clan be very big, let one of your clan be very rich, let another one be a powerful shaman. Live like this.

In this passage, *Kyń iki*, an evil deity, acts in a strange way. It is not usual for him to help people and to express regrets about his deeds.

Then the family moved to the Trom Agan River. Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin's grandfather, whose name was also Ivan, was told to move to this place because he was chosen to be a keeper of *əvət iki*, a master of the holy River *əvət*.

As Ivan Sopochin told it, "his grandfather was called to this land by spirits".

Table 1: FAMILY TREE



The name of Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin's great-grandfather is unknown. In Table 1 he is named conditionally Sopoch iki – a man from the Sopoch clan. Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin mentioned only two of this man's sons – *Ivan* from the Kūjali River ('landing-net river'), who was his grandfather, and Ignat from the Őrt River ('the river of the leader'), who was the eldest brother.

Ivan was married to a Forest Nenets woman, who was a shaman. Ivan Stepanovich remembered her strange behavior, when she went away to the forest, spent a lot of time there alone, wandering through the forest, speaking with someone and gesticulating. Most probably, Ivan Stepanovich has inherited his gift of clairvoyance (second sight) from her. He used to say that he has had three shaman songs, and one of them is from his grandmother. It's important to mention that Ivan Stepanovich could speak the Nenets language fluently, and he knew many Nenets epic songs, fairy tales, etc. Unfortunately, this part of his heritage was not recorded. Nenets features in the family were very strong.

Ivan was killed by his elder brother Ignat. One time Ignat had eaten all his reindeers and came to the land where Ivan lived. In a quarrel, he beat Ivan to death with a wooden hammer and tried to hide the traces of the murder.

The story about this cruel episode obviously represents the mixing of two different stories. One of them was told by the Ivan's wife and describes how had she found her dead husband. The other is about the investigation of the murder and the evidence of witnesses. It seems that Ivan Stepanovich simply repeated what he had heard from different people, not changing much in their stories.

After Ivan's death, Stepan was taken to Ignat's family to live with them. His life was very hard, and all the members of the family, especially Ignat, were very cruel to the orphan. He often went hungry and, still a little boy, had to hunt by himself to get some food. Though Ivan Stepanovich cried as he told this story about all his father's troubles, the story is not sad – I'd rather say that it reminds us of the tales about resourceful people who find their way out of any situation. And this little boy, Stepan, appears in the story as a lucky hunter.

Stepan married a Khanty woman – Sardakova F'okla Prokop'jevna from the Agan River. They had seven children. Two of them died in early childhood. Five children reached adulthood. Ivan Stepanovich was the eldest brother in the family. His brother Vasilij was one year younger. He was a reindeer herder who was thrown into prison because a bear killed a reindeer from his herd. He eventually died there.

The three youngest brothers, being experienced hunters and sharpshooters, were taken into the Soviet Army during World War II and didn't return home. Ivan Stepanovich didn't know exactly what happened to them, but he felt sorry for them, for they did not know Russian, and he wondered how they could understand what they were expected to do.

Ivan Stepanovich was persecuted as well. He was put in prison for being a shaman, but soon after that, since it was known that he never took money for this, he

was released on the condition that he would practice shamanism only for his own family members. And for his honesty, he was even nominated as “the red shaman”.

Shamanic terminology

Ivan Stepanovich spoke the Trom Agan subdialect of the Surgut dialect, which belongs to the Eastern group of the Khanty dialects. He himself didn't use the word ‘shaman’ – he was even angry, when people called him a shaman. He called himself *t̄art=t̄ə k̄o* ‘a knowing man; a man, who can see’. The noun *t̄ər* means ‘vision’. He also used the words *uləm w̄ər=t̄ə k̄o* ‘a man doing a dream’, *mulək̄sə=t̄ə k̄o* ‘a praying man; a man, who swears’. The word *mul* has two meanings: (1) the front part of a house, considered to be sacred, where women are not allowed to enter; (2) an oath, spoken during a sacrifice; a curse. Obviously, these meanings are metaphorically connected with each other. The verb *mul=ta*, derived from this noun, means ‘to ask a deity to accept a sacrifice; to curse; to conjure’. Ter'oshkin¹ mentions two other verbs with the same root: *mulək̄sə=ta* ‘to swear an oath; to pray’ and *muləytə=ta* ‘to curse’. Describing offering up his own prayer, Ivan Stepanovich used the word *pajeksə=ta* ‘to believe, to pray’.

There is another term for people with extraordinary abilities – *šepanəj k̄o*. Its meaning isn't clear enough. Ter'oshkin gives a very generalized translation of the word *šepan/čipan* as ‘sorcery’, correspondingly *šepanəj/čipanəj k̄o* – ‘a man, knowing sorcery’. From the explanations given by our informants, it is possible to interpret this word as ‘clairvoyant’.

One more similar term, mentioned in the Ter'oshkin's dictionary is *jol=ta* ‘conjure, tell fortunes, practise shamanism’. It derives, obviously, from the noun *jol* ‘sorcery, shaman's fortune-telling.’ It may well be that it is connected with the words *joləj=ta* ‘murmur, mumble’ and *joləmnəj* ‘song, performed during the shaman's séance’.

Receiving the shaman's gift and song

The following passage represents the story of receiving the shaman's song and gift, in Khanty transcription, with glosses and an English translation. The story is represented as it was told, without any deletions, and is accompanied by brief comments, clarifying the situation in which it was recorded.

(1)

[Eremej Ivanovich²:]*tərnə jöyətəyə wərma latnə, kəlnə tərənə jöyto?*

tər=nə jöyət=təyə wər=m=a latnə kəlnə tər=nə jöyt=Ø=o

vision=LOC come=INF make=PP=2/Sg when how vision=LOC

come=PAST=PASS/2/Sg

'When you were approaching by the vision, how did the vision come to you?'

(2)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*ələn latnə tūmint ura jəyəm.*

ələn latnə tūmint ur=a jəy=Ø=əm

at-first when such thing=LAT happen=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'Once such a thing happened to me.'

(3)

*wājəy kənčəyə mənəm.*wājəy³ kənč=(t)əyə mən=Ø=əm

animal look-for=INF go=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I went hunting for animals.'

(4)

wājəy kənčəyə mənəm.

wājəy kənč=(t)əyə mən=Ø=əm

animal look-for=INF go=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I went hunting for animals.'

(5)

panə wājəy kənčəyə māv tūnəy pərlət lan̄ki mətli wəlləm.

panə wājəy kənč=(t)əyə māv tūnəy par=l=ət lan̄ki mətli

wəll=əm

and animal look-for=INF very strongly order=PR=SUBJ/3/Pl squirrel

something kill=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'And (they) insist on looking for animals, squirrel or some other animal I'll kill.'

(6)

panə jlə ōlintəm kōrənam atnə.

panə jlə ōlint=Ø=əm kōrə=nam at=nə

and down lie=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg open-place=APPR night=LOC

'And at night I lay down in the open air.'

(7) *luŋk lār t'i wātəl.*
 luŋk lār t'i wāl=əl=Ø
 sacred lake there be=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'There is a sacred lake.'

(8) *luŋk lār wōntətənə wāltamnə jlə ōlintəm.*
 luŋk lār wōnt=ət=nə wāl=t=am=nə jlə ōlint=Ø=əm
 sacred lake forest=Pl=LOC be=PrP=1/Sg=LOC down
 lie=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'When I was in the forests of the sacred lake, I lay down (to sleep).'

(9) *əjlatnə kələŋk wiγəl atnə.*
 əjlatnə kələŋk wiγ=əl=Ø at=nə
 once crow cry=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg night=LOC
 'Suddenly at night, a crow is crying.'

(10) *kələŋk wiγtəγə jəγ.*
 kələŋk wiγ=təγə jəγ=Ø=Ø
 crow cry=INF begin=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'The crow began to cry.'

(11) *pəltəγə jəγəm.*
 pəl=təγə jəγ=Ø=əm
 fear=INF begin=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'I began to be afraid.'

(12) *ōntamnə nōməksələm.*
 ōnt=am=nə nōməksə=l=əm
 inside=POSS/1/Sg=LOC think=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'I think to myself.'

(13)

panə tʉ jlə ɔ̄lɪntəm.

panə tʉ jlə ɔ̄lɪnt=Ø=əm

and here down lie=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'And I lay down again.'

(14)

panə kʉlɪttə mənəm.

panə kʉlɪttə mən=Ø=əm

and without sense go=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'And I fell asleep soundly.'

(15)

welilam jūrmin tōjtəlam.

weli=lam jūr=min tōj=l=əlam

reindeer=my⁴ attach=GER hold=PR=OBJ/1/Sg/3/Pl

'I keep my reindeers attached.'

(16)

wōjəmtəjəm panə...

wōjəmt=Ø=oj=əm panə

fall-asleep=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg and

'So I fell asleep...'

(17)

panə tʉkə əjlatnə nōk tʉ kʉnt'əkintəm.

panə tʉkə əjlatnə nōk tʉ kʉnt'əkint=Ø=əm

and well once up here wake up=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'And then suddenly I woke up.'

(18)

māləpsi əntəm, mətli əntəm.

māləpsi əntəm mətli əntəm

malitsa⁵ no something no

'There is no fur coat, there is no something else.'

(19)

əj jārnas pījər.

əj jārnas pījər

one shirt layer⁶

'Only one shirt.'

(20)

ənəl naŋk.

ənəl naŋk

big larch

'There is a big larch.'

(21)

naŋk pörəknə tāt āməsləm.

naŋk pörəknə=tə tāt āməs=təm

larch lower part=LOC there sit=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I am sitting there, near the larch.'

(22)

tāt temi t'i āməsləm.

tāt temi t'i āməs=təm

there this this sit=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I am sitting there like this.'

(23)

ōntamnə nōməksəlam.

ōnt=am=nə nōməksə=təm

inside=my=LOC think=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I think to myself.'

(24)

os āwlam kōtti?

os āw=təm kōtti

still sledge=my where

'Still where is my sledge?'

(25)

weli əntəm, āwəl əntəm

weli əntəm āwəl əntəm

reindeer no sledge no

'There is no reindeer, there is no sledge.'

(26)

munt āwlam ōsəm pətənə.

munt āw=təm ōsəm pətənə

before sledge=my pillow behind

'Before the sledge (was) behind the pillow.'

(27)

[Eremej Ivanovich:]*ķōrānam ķulmāytān?*

ķōrā=nam ķulmāyt=Ø=ən

open-place=APPR spend-the-night=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'Did you spend the night in the open air?'

(28)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*ķōrānam.*

ķōrā=nam

open-place=APPR

'In the open air.'

(29)

mūw tāyi t'u nōpātā wātł sōy uč, tuyrəj lāt tōjləm.

mūw tāyi t'u nōpāt=nə wātł sōy uč tuyrəj lāt tōj=I=əm

where from that time=LOC cabin skin thing coniferous pit

have=SUBJ/1/Sg

'There was no tarpaulin for a tent (lit.: cabin skin) at that time, I had only a pit, covered with coniferous branches.'

(30)

temi mūw ūrnə māləpsēm ilə wəjəm, əntə wuləm.

temi mūw ūrnə māləps=em ilə wəj=Ø=əm əntə

this how malitsa=my down take-off=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg no

wu=I=əm

know=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I do not know how this happened, that I took off my fur coat.'

(31)

temi jārnas piyər.

temi jārnas piyər

this shirt layer

'Only one shirt.'

(32)

mañ nənķa nōraltələm.

ma=nt nənķ=a nōraltə=I=əm

I=ACC larch=LAT rub=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I rub myself against the larch.'

(33)

mayəlti t'u arit lek-t'äyər pörəntəməmə t'äyi.

mayəlti t'u arit lek t'äyər pörəntə=m=am t'äyi
 around = so many path walk trample down=EVID=1/Sg turn out
 'It turned out that I have trampled down a lot of paths all around.'

(34)

likəm t'i kənčyəmə.

lik=əm t'i kənčyəmə=Ø=əm
 path=my this look for=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'I began to look for my path.'

(35)

likəm tätti.

lik=əm tätti
 path=my here
 'Here is my path.'

(36)

likəm pəryi t'i nüyləm.

lik=əm pəryi t'i nüyl=əm
 path=my backwards there lead=EVID
 'It turned out that the path led backwards.'

(37)

atnə likəm tätti.

at=nə lik=əm tätti
 night=LOC path=my here
 'At night, here is my path.'

(38)

nüytama, wätl kārəmə jöytəm.

tüyt=am=a wätl kār=am=a jöyt=Ø=əm
 fire=my=LAT tent place=my=LAT come=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'I came to my fire, to the place where my tent was.'

(39)

hüw ar juy tutə wär tōjləm.

hüw ar juy tu=tə wär tōj=I=əm
 well many (fire)wood bring=PrP affair have=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'Well, I have brought a lot of firewood here.'

(40)

ənəl pewərtəŋ juɣət li'atəm temi.

ənəl pewərt=əŋ juɣ=ət li'at=∅=əm temi
 big timber=ADJ tree=Pl prepare=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg this
 'It turned out that I had prepared big trees to use for logs.'

(41)

tūwtam wət'imtəl, kopləmtəl.

tūwt=am wət'imt=ət=∅ kopləmt=ət=∅
 fire=my blaze up=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg go out=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'My fire blazes up, goes out.'

(42)

t'et manə juɣət ti tāyi, juɣət ūləm.

t'et ma=nə juɣ=ət ti tāɣ=∅=i juɣ=ət
 here I=LOC tree=Pl there throw=PAST=PASS/3/Sg tree=Pl
 ūl=∅=əm
 make fire=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'Here are trees, chopped down by me, I made a fire.'

(43)

māləpsəm nōk ti āmtəm.

māləps=em nōk ti āmt=∅=əm
 malitsa=my up there put=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'I put on my fur coat.'

(44)

t'et təl sâyit tū, ālə pə kōlnə jastəli, tulɣə-pulɣə ti jəɣəm.

t'et təl sâyit tū ālə pə kōlnə jastə=I=i
 here from here according-to here only also how speak=PR=PASS/3/Sg
 tul=ɣə pul=ɣə ti jəɣ=∅=əm
 stupid=TRLAT fool=TRLAT there become=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'From that time, how can I say it, I became as if I was in stupor.'

(45)

jlə ōlintləm, kəpətlələm, kūč əntəm, nōk lūkləm, nūrəytələm.

jlə ōlint=I=əm kəpətlə=I=əm kūč əntəm
 down lie=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg become darkened=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg though no
 nōk lūk=I=əm nūrəytə=I=əm
 up rush aside=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg run=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg
 '(When I) lay down, I had a nightmare, even if not, I rush aside or break into a run.'

(46)

tõγanə ti wõlləm.

tõγanə ti wõl=I=əm

so there be=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I live like this.'

(47)

Əjmətə latnə t'et norəkkə wār wutayə ti jəγəm.

Əjmətə latnə t'et norəkkə wār wu=tayə ti jəγ=Ø=əm

Once when here really thing know=INF there

begin=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'Once I even began to know some things'.

(48)

mətə pəkət wārəm wuləm ulmitam tãγinə.

mətə pəkət wār=əm wu=I=əm ulmi=t=əm tãγinə

some sort affair=my know=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg dream=PrP=1/Sg when

'When I dream, I get to know some things.'

(49)

temi nõknam tuyoγəm, əj mətənə tuyoγəm nãknam.

temi nõk=nam tuy=Ø=oj=əm

this up=APPR bring=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg

əj mətə=nə tuyoγ=Ø=oj=əm nãk=nam

one someone=LOC bring=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg up=APPR

'I was taken upward, I was taken upward by someone.'

(50)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]*čojə mūw kim əlγə jəγən tu latnə?*

čojə mūw kim əl=γə jəγ=Ø=ən t'u lat=nə

really how many year=TRLAT become=PAST=SUBJ/2/Sg this

time=LOC

'Well, how old were you then?'

(51)

toγə ənəl kəγə jəγən tu latnə?

toγə ənəl kəγə jəγ=Ø=ən t'u lat=nə

probably big man=TRLAT become=PAST=SUBJ/2/Sg this time=LOC

'You were an adult man then, weren't you?'

(52)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*čāŋkləm kəyə jəyəm.*

čāŋkl=əm kə=yə jəy=∅=əm

grow up=PP man=TRLAT become=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I was an adult man.'

(53)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]*temi kōtti jəyən?*

temi kōti jəy=∅=ən

this what become=PAST=SUBJ/2/Sg

'What happened to you?'

(54)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*imija əntə tōjləm t'u latnə.*

imij=a əntə tōj=I=əm t'u lat=nə

wife=LAT not have=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg this time=LOC

'I didn't have a wife then.'

(55)

Aŋkin kōlɣa mantem əntə jōyət.

Aŋki=n kōlɣa ma=nt=em əntə jōyət=∅=∅

□other=your not-yet I=OBL¹=DAT not come=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'Your mother hadn't come to me yet then.'

(56)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]*os nōknam wāyɬə wārmana kōlnə?*

os nōk=nam wāy=ɬə wār=m=an=a kōlnə

yet upward=APPR call=INF do=PP=2/Sg=LAT how

'How were you invited upward?'

(57)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*ja, t'it ja jastələy wār.*

ja t'it ja jastə=ləy wār

well this well tell=ABESS affair

'It is forbidden to tell about this affair.'

(58)

lǔw wəle ma mətə pəkət wār əntə wārəntəyələm.

lǔw wəle ma mətə pəkət wār əntə wārəntəyəl=Ø=əm
 well you-see I some sort thing not do=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'Well, you see, I did not do things of some sort.'

(59)

it wəle tʰu mətə wǔy=am=at tʰi wǔlləm, wǔlləm temi kǎtl mǔčə.

it wəle tʰu mətə wǔy=am=at tʰi wǔl=I=əm
 now you see this some power=my=INSTR there live=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg
 wǔl=I=əm temi kǎtl mǔčə
 live=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg this day until
 'Now, you see, my power lives on, so far.'

(60)

lǔw temi jǎy wəle kǔjajinə wārɫal wujat

lǔw temi jǎy wəle kǔjajin=nə wār=ɫal wuj=Ø=ət
 well this people you see who=LOC thing=their
 know=PAST=SUBJ/3/Pl
 'Well, these people, who knows about their deeds.'

(61)

Nəŋ pə wəle kǔjajinə wuli.

Nəŋ pə wəle kǔjajin=nə wu=I=i
 You(2/Pl) also you see who=LOC know=PR=PASS/3/Sg
 'Who knows about you.'

(62)

Nəŋ pə pə jǎy uləm mətli wārɫətəy.

Nəŋ pə pə jǎy uləm mətli wār=I=ətəy
 You(2/Pl) also other people dream something do=PR=SUBJ/2/Pl
 'You are different people, you see dreams or do something else.'

(63)

pə jǎy ma kiŋtʰayəm ičək kǔkǔkənam jǎŋkiltə wār tǔjlət.

pə jǎy ma kiŋtʰay=əm ičək kǔkǔkənam jǎŋkilt=tə wār tǔj=I=ət
 other people I except=my sacred far go=PrP thing
 have=PR=SUBJ/3/Pl
 'Other people besides me can go to the distant sacred places.'

(64)

inam manə, temi liłəŋkə wōłmam latnə, jastətayə əntə mustəl.

inam ma=nə temi liłəŋ=kə wōł=m=am latnə jastə=tayə əntə mustəl
 now I=LOC this alive=TRLAT live=PP=1/Sg when tell=INF
 not possible

'Now, while I am living alive like this, it is forbidden to tell.'

(65)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]*əj mətə kɯja pə nōk əntə ərəyləyle?*

əj mətə kɯj=a pə nōk əntə ərəyləyl=Ø=e
 one some man=LAT also PRVB not tell=PAST=OBJ/3/Sg

'Did you tell this to someone?'

(66)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*ma mūwat ərəyləylem, əntə ərəyləylem.*

ma mūwat ərəyləyl=t=em əntə ərəyləyl=t=em
 I why tell=PR=OBJ/1/Sg not tell=PR=OBJ/1/Sg

'Why should I tell, I shall not tell.'

(67)

əntə mustəl.

əntə mustəl
 not possible

'It is not possible.'

(68)

nōmsam, nəŋ t'i wičə jōŋətmin latnə, nōmsam t'i mən.

nōms=am nəŋ t'i wičə jōŋət=m=in latnə nōms=am t'i
 thought=my you(2/Pl) there always come=PP=2/Pl when thought=my
 there
 mən=Ø=Ø

go=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'My mind, every time when you came, my thought went there.'

(69)

ma it t'u mətə tāyitnə.

ma it t'u mətə tāyi=t=nə
 I now here some place=Pl=LOC

'Now I am in those places.'

(70) *nõmsam älä-mäta tåtti, tåt jähkiläl.*
 nõms=am älä-mäta tåtti tåt jähkil=äl=Ø
 thought=my as if there there go=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'As if my mind is over there, it is wandering over there.'

(71) *ma tət ämäs-l=əm.*
 ma tət ämäs=l=əm
 I here sit=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'I am sitting here.'

(72) *tət as tājnə rut' imi, t'ärtəm.*
 tət as tāj=nə rut' imi t'ärt=Ø=əm
 here Ob' upper-end=LOC Russian woman shamanize=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'There is a Russian woman in the Upper Ob⁷, I performed a shaman's séance (for her).'

(73) *rut' iminə t'ärtältojəm.*
 rut' imi=nə t'ärt=t=ält=Ø=oj=əm
 Russian woman=LOC shamanize=CAUS=IMPF=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'I was forced by the Russian woman to perform a shaman's séance.'

(74) *a tū rut' imem it mättə newrəm tōjəl.*
 a tū rut' im=em it mättə newrəm tōj=äl=Ø
 and this Russian woman=my now they say child
 have=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'They say this Russian woman now has a child.'

(75) *kānt'tə wār tōjəl, müw wār tōjəl.*
 kānt'=tə wār tōj=äl=Ø müw wār tōj=äl=Ø
 be sick=PrP thing have=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg what thing
 have=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg
 '(At that time) she (was) sick, there (was) something wrong with her.'

(76)

mantem jöytılamal latnə kıt'əm pır jastəl.

ma=nt=em jöyt=ılə=m=ał latnə kıt'əm pır jastə=ı=∅

I=OBL¹=DAT come=IMPF=PP=3/Sg when last time

tell=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'When she came to me for the last time, (she) asked me.'

(77)

nıñ məñ wältə tãyiwa jãñkilma latnə, t'ertəmanə, t'it kōlnə wujla kačəñ wãr?

nıñ məñ wãł=tə tãγ=iw=a jãñkil=m=a latnə

you(2/Sg) we(1/Pl) live=PrP place=our=LAT go=PP=2/Sg when

t'ər=əłtə=m=a=nə t'it kōlnə wuj=ı=a kačəñ wãr

shamanize=IMPF=PP=2/Sg=LOC this how know=PR=OBJ/2/Sg every

thing

'When you came to the place where we live, performing the shaman's séance, how did you know everything?'

(78)

ma inam jəmγə jəγəm.

ma inam jəm=γə jəγ=∅=əm

I now good=TRLAT become=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I have recovered now.'

(79)

nıñ ılta jãñkilən mıw noməłta jãñkilən?

nıñ ılta jãñkil=∅=ən mıw noməłta jãñkil=∅=ən

you(2/Sg) along the ground go=PAST=SUBJ/2/Sg or above

go=PAST=SUBJ/2/Sg

'Do you go along the ground or above it?'

(80)

mantemnam jastəl.

ma=nt=em=nam jastə=ı=∅

I=OBL¹=OBL²=APPR tell=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'(She) told me.'

(81)

ma mantem: "mıw tãyił ılta jãñkilləm?"

ma ma=nt=em mıw tãyił ılta jãñkil=ı=əm

I I=OBL¹=DAT what why along the ground go=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I (speak) to myself: "Why should I go along the ground?"'

(82)

uləm wǎrtə ʒo, muləksətə ʒo ʒutəl təppinə əməsl...
 uləm wǎr=tə ʒo muləksə=tə ʒo ʒut=ət=∅ təppinə əməs=I=∅
 dream do=PrP man pray=PrP man house=his inside sit=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'A man, having a dream, a praying man is sitting inside his house...'

(83)

... hǔw ma ǎlə nǔmsam jǎŋʒilləy, nǔmsam ti jǎŋʒilləy.
 hǔw ma ǎlə nǔms=am jǎŋʒil=ləy nǔms=am ti jǎŋʒil=ləy
 you see I just thought=my go=ABESS thought=my there
 go=ABESS
 ... while my mind is just wandering over there.'

(84)

It nəŋ jastəltəy:
 It nəŋ jastə=I=təy
 Now you(2/Pl) tell=PR=OBJ/2/Pl
 'Now you tell.'

(85)

"jǐrəŋ lek, pǎrəŋ lek".
 jǐr=əŋ lek pǎr=əŋ lek
 bloody sacrifice=ADJ path offering=ADJ path
 'A road of bloody sacrifice, a road of offering.'

(86)

nəŋati jastəli:
 nəŋ=at=i jastə=I=i
 you(2/Pl)=OBL¹=DAT tell=PR=PASS/3/Sg
 'It is told to you.'

(87)

it čǎl kima jəy, al kima jəy.
 it čǎl kima jəy=∅=∅ | al kima jəy=∅=∅
 now border up to become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg end up to
 become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'Now it reached the border, it reached the end.'

(88)

jjs iki, jjs imi t'artjlam t'ayit inam wölləy tuyat mǎŋi, t'u mułəksətə jǎy.

jjs iki jjs imi t'artj=əm t'ayi=t

ancient man ancient woman shamanize=PP time=Pl

inam wōl=əy tuy=Ø=at mǎŋi t'u mułəksə=tə jǎy

now be=ABESS take away=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg long ago this pray=PrP

people

'Long ago, ancient man, ancient woman now completely took away those times of practicing shamanism, those praying people.'

(89)

ilt nəŋ jələp kǎti ättin möčə...

it nəŋ jələp kǎt=i ät=t=in möčə

now you(2/Pl) new house=ABL appear=PrP=2/Pl until

'Now you, until you were born in new houses...'

(90)

lūw wəle ma t'i lekət.

lūw wəle ma t'i lek=ət

well you-see I there road=Pl

'Well, you see, there are my roads.'

(91)

*nəŋ kǎntəy jǎy wǎstəy.*nəŋ kǎntəy⁸ jǎy wǎs=Ø=təy

you(2/Pl) Khanty people be=PAST=SUBJ/2/Pl

'You are people.'

(92)

jyrəŋ lek, pǎreŋ lek čǎl kima jəy, at kima jəy, t'i kima jəy nirmal pjrna.

jyr=əŋ lek pǎr=əŋ lek čǎl kima jəy=Ø=Ø

Bloody-sacrifice=ADJ road offering=ADJ road limit up to

become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

at kima jəy=Ø=Ø t'i kima jəy=Ø=Ø

border up to become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg there up to

become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

nir=m=at pjrna

insult=PP=3/Sg after

'A road of bloody sacrifice, a road of offering reached the border, reached the end, it has become like this, after it was insulted.'

(93)

tât əjlatnə t'ərttə jâj ättə latnə...

tât əjlatnə t'ərt=tə jâj ät=tə latnə...
 there once shamanize=PrP people appear=PrP when
 'Once, when shamanizing people appear...'

(94)

tōrəm wələ wələl.

tōrəm wələ wələ=əl=Ø
 god you see be=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'You see, God exists.'

(95)

tōrəmnə äsəltin latnə t'u lekət öjəytəllən.

tōrəm=nə äsəl=t=in latnə t'u latnə t'u lek=ət öjəytə=l=lən
 God=LOC let=PrP=2/Pl when this when this road=Pl
 find=PR=OBJ/2/Pl
 'When it will be allowed by God, you will find these roads.'

(96)

öjəytəllən t'i lüw!

öjəytə=l=lən t'i lüw
 find=PR=OBJ/2/Pl there you see
 'You see, you will find them!'

(97)

lapət kâr wintpəs lek, kut kâr wintpəs lek,

lapət kâr wintpəs lek kut kâr wintpəs lek
 seven he reindeer rein of a bridle road six he reindeer rein of a bridle
 road

'A road, left by reins of a bridles of seven male reindeers, of six male reindeers.'

(98)

nüjati pə jastəlem.

nüj=at=i pə jastə=l=em
 you(2/Sg)=OBL¹=DAT also tell=PR=OBJ/1/Sg
 'I shall tell you.'⁹

(99)

t'i lapət k̄ār wintpəs lek, k̄ut k̄ār wintpəs lek inam pətəl mǎčə nəŋati jastətə k̄ātəl əntə wuli.

t'i lapət k̄ār wintpəs lek k̄ut k̄ār wintpəs lek inam
this seven he reindeer rein of a bridle road six he reindeer rein of a
bridle road now

pət=əl mǎčə nəŋ=at=i jastə=tə k̄āt=əl əntə
bottom=its up to you(2/Pl)=OBL¹=DAT tell=PrP possibility=its not
wu=I=i

know=PR=PASS/3/Sg

'It is not possible now to tell you everything about this road, left by rein of bridles of seven male reindeers, six male reindeers.'

(100)

t'i lekət ǒjəytəlat.

t'i lek=ət ǒjəytə=I=ət

this road=Pl find=PR=SUBJ/3/Pl

'(Everybody) will find these roads.'

(101)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]

mǔwli əntə mustəl al jaste.

mǔwli əntə mustəl əl jast=e

what not possible not tell=IMP/OBJ/2/Sg

'Don't tell what is forbidden (to tell).'

(102)

ǎlə t'u tǎyi p̄iri.

ǎlə t'u tǎyi p̄iri=I=i

For-no this place ask=PR=PASS/3/Sg

'It is asked for no particular reason.'

(103)

nūŋ nǎknam altilo?

nūŋ nǎk=nam alti=I=o

you(2/Sg) up=APPR guide=PR=PASS/2/Sg

'Were you taken upward?'

(104)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*altiŋoŋəm t'i, ičəkələm.*alti=I=oj=əm t'i i čək=ələm
guide=PR=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg there dear=PI/my

'I was taken, my dear children.'

(105)

*t'u jastəli, t'u lapət k̄ār jūrəm aŋkəl, k̄ut k̄ār jūrəm aŋkəl t'ōrəmtələt, p̄änəmtələt.*t'u jastə=I=i t'u lapət k̄ār jūr=əm aŋkəl k̄ut k̄ār
this tell=PR=PASS/3/Sg this seven he reindeer attach=PP pillar six
he reindeer jūr=əm aŋkəl t'ōrəmtə=I=ət p̄änəmtə=I=ət
attach=PP pillar straighten up=PR=SUBJ/3/PI bow=PR=SUBJ/3/PI

'It is said, these seven male reindeers, six male reindeers, attached to the pillar, are straightening themselves up, are bowing.'

(106)

*p̄āj sām miłəp lapət j̄əŋk k̄ār wičə t̄ätti.*p̄āj sām miłəp lapət j̄əŋk k̄ār wičə t̄ätti
ice eye flashing seven ice he reindeer always there

'Seven white male reindeers, flashing as thin ice crust, are always there.'

(107)

*k̄āt ləp̄ija āsləŋləŋəlməmnə...*k̄āt ləp̄ij=a āsləŋləŋəl=m=am=nə
house inside=LAT let in=PP=1/Sg=LOC

'When I was allowed to enter the house for a while...'

(108)

*sar, t'u k̄āt.*sar t'u k̄āt
wait this house

'Wait, such a house.'

(109)

*l̄əp̄əŋ l̄əpəl jəm w̄əŋ anəŋ lapət kūrəm.*l̄əp̄əŋ l̄əpəl jəm w̄əŋ anəŋ lapət kūr=əm
enter=ADJ inner porch good iron bowl seven foot=my

'There is the inner porch and seven traces of a silver bowl.'

(110)

t'u lǎpəŋ lǎpəl, jəm wǎy anəy ləpət kūrəmi turojəm.

t'u lǎpəŋ lǎpəl jəm wǎy anəy ləpət kūr=əm=i
 this inner porch good iron bowl seven foot=my=ABL
 tur=∅=oj=əm

lead=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg

'This inner porch, I was lead along these seven traces of the silver bowl.'

(111)

panə k̄āt ləp̄ija pitəma, k̄āt ləp̄ilnə punəŋ k̄āt muləl k̄āj̄ni weli aj čiw̄nə čakinə awətli.

panə k̄āt ləp̄ij=a pit=əm=a k̄āt ləp̄i=I=nə pun=əŋ k̄āt
 and house inside=LAT find-oneself=PP=LAT house inside=its=LOC
 fur=ADJ house

mul=əl k̄āj̄ni weli aj čiw̄nə čiki=nə ayət=I=i.
 sacred part=its mosquito reindeer little haze=LOC fog=LOC

curl=PR=PASS/3/Sg

'When I entered the house, in the sacred part of the house there is as if the breathing of reindeers curling like haze, curling like fog.'

(112)

Sārni k̄ān iki tōȳləŋ lāt̄nə.

Sārni k̄ān iki tōȳl=əŋ lāt̄=nə
 golden khan man feather=ADJ place=LOC

'Sārni k̄ān iki is on the place, (beautifully) ornamented with big wing feathers.'

(113)

Törəm jəyiw, h̄uw tāt əməsl.

Törəm jəy=iw h̄uw tāt əməs=I=∅

Törəm father=our he there sit=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'Our father Törəm, he is sitting over there.'

(114)

k̄āt ləp̄i jăčənə newi wǎjəp kat nāt̄yən.

k̄āt ləp̄i jăčə=nə newi wǎjəp kat nāt̄=yən
 house inside center=LOC white shaft two arrow=D_u

'In the center of the house there are two arrows with white shafts.'

(115)

tāl sâyt sara pāsłəj pālək əj kūrəm kūr mǎytətə k̄āl əntə wuli.

tāl sâyt sar=a pās=łəj pālək əj kūr=əm kūr mǎytə=tə
 from here along front=LAT sign=ABESS side one foot=my foot
 step aside=PrP

k̄āl əntə wu=ł=ı

possibility not know=PR=PASS/3/Sg

'It is not possible to step even one step forward from there without permission.'

(116)

lek pətəm tǎtti ti.

lek pət=am tǎtti ti
 road end=my there that

'There is the end of my road.'

(117)

k̄āt ləypija wəjɔjəm.

k̄āt ləypij=a wəjɔ=Ø=oj=əm

house inside=LAT bring in=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I was taken to the house (many times for a while).'

(118)

tǎrtıləməm lətnə arəy k̄ōl ǎytinə pǎyətlat tetti ti.

tǎrtılə=m=am lətnə arəy k̄ōl ǎytinə pǎyət=ł=at tetti ti
 shamanize=PP=1/Sg when song word in advance=PR=SUBJ/3/Pl
 there that

'When I practice shamanism, I advance up to this place in the words of my song.'

(119)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]*tǎrtanə ti wiča ti jöytəylələn?*

tǎr=t=a=nə ti wiča ti jöytəylə=ł=ən

shamanize=PrP=2/Sg=LOC there up to there reach=PR=SUBJ/2/Sg

'Do you always reach this place, when you shamanize?'

(120)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*jöytəylələm, jöytəylələm*

jöytəylə=ł=əm jöytəylə=ł=əm

reach=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg reach=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'(I) reach (this place), (I) reach (this place).'

(121)

it kũntə mətə mǎyəla əntə tulət čəkət jöyətta piti.

it kũntə mətə mǎyəl=a əntə tu=l=ət čək=ət jöyət=ta

now if some lies=LAT not bring=PR=SUBJ/3/Pl trouble=Pl

come=INF

pit=Ø=i

happen=PAST=PASS/3/Sg

'Now, if they are planning some lies¹⁰, troubles may happen.'

(122)

kat pǎk=ķalam=Ø inam jöyt=ət=γən.

kat pǎk=ķalam inam jöyt=ət=γən

two son=Du/my now come=PR=SUBJ/3/Du

'Two of my sons now has come.'

(123)

wǒŋkat tət tǒjləm.

wǒŋ=kət tət tǒj=l=əm

son-in-law=Du here have=PR=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I have here two sons-in-law.'

(124)

it kũjəpat sar katləptətəγ kũntə, ma sar nəγat t'ursemat lejəltəm.

it kũjəp=at sar katləptə=Ø=təγ

now drum=INSTR would hand over=PAST=OBJ/3/Sg

kũntə ma sar nəγ=at t'ursem=at lejəlt=Ø=əm

if I would you(2/Pl)=ACC fun=INSTR show=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'If I had got a drum now, I'd show you fun.'

(125)

əj ətəm kũntə ətəm.

əj ət=əm kũntə ət=əm

one thing=my if thing=my

'That's the way!'

(126)

uləm pətənə uləm wǎrantəm.

uləm pətənə uləm wǎrant=Ø=əm

dream behind dream do=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I have seen a dream at the end of a dream.'

(127)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]*mūw tāyin wəjəm f'ərtə arəyla?*

mūw tāyi=n wəj=əm f'ərtə arəy=la
 what place=LOC take=PP shaman song=your/Pl

'Where from are your shamans' songs?'

(128)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*wāntər mǎnčəyə rəjipmən welit pətan tuyəm ətammət.*

wāntər mǎnč=(t)ayə rəjip=Ø=mən weli=t pətan tuy=əm
 otter trace=INF begin=PAST=SUBJ/1/Du reindeer=Pl because of
 take=PP ət=am=nat
 thing=my=COMIT

'We began to trace an otter with my brother, who was put (in prison) because of reindeers.'

(129)

jəkkələw-əŋkəyələw əyānnam mənγən.

jək=kələw əŋkə=γələw əyən=nam mən=Ø=γən
 father=our/Du mother=our/Du Agan=APPR go=PAST=SUBJ/3/Du

'Our father and mother went to the Agan River.'

(130)

wāntər tōjləw, kat moqkən təjtə wāntər.

wāntər tōj=ləw kat moq=kən təj=tə wāntər
 otter have=PR=SUBJ/1/Pl two cub=Du have=PrP otter

'We have (we have already traced) an otter, having two cubs.'

(131)

mǎnčmin əməsləmən luŋkət jəwən pāləknə.

mǎnč=min əməs=ləmən luŋk=ət jəwən pāləknə
 trace=GER sit=PR=SUBJ/1/Du spirit=Pl river near

'We are sitting near the sacred river luŋk, tracing for the otter.'

(132)

ātər at.

ātər at

serene night

'Serene night.'

(133)

tāka jastəl.

tāka jastə=I=Ø

here tell=PR=Ø

'He says like this.'

(134)

temi atnə nomən āməsləmən, tām ātlət.

temi at=nə nomən āməs=I=əmən tām āt=I=ət

this night=LOC above sit=PR=SUBJ/1/Du here

appear=PR=SUBJ/3/Pl

'This night we shall sit up-stream, (the otter with her cubs) will appear here.'

(135)

tū āməstəmən.

tū āməst=Ø=əmən

here sit=PAST=SUBJ/1/Du

'We sat like this.'

(136)

kat tāyija iməlman.

kat tāyij=a iməl=Ø=mən

two place=LAT sit down=PAST=SUBJ/1/Du

'We sat down in two (different) places.'

(137)

əj kujəm jī pāləkna.

əj kuj=əm jī pālək=nə

one man=my lower side=LOC

'One man (sat down) downstream.'

(138)

ma num pāləkna

ma num pālək=nə

I up side=LOC

'I (sat down) up-stream.'

(139)

kūtīmən kat māḡəlyən panə kat jāwən k̄ārəs čopḡən.

kūt=imən kat māḡəł=ḡən panə kat jāwən k̄ārəs čop=ḡən
 space=our two bend=Du and two river swamp
 piece=Du

'There are two river bends and two little river swamps between us.'

(140)

tōḡənə wōltimənnə wāntər mǎnčtimənnə...

tōḡənə wōł=t=imən=nə wāntər mǎnč=t=imən=nə...
 so be=PrP=1/Du=LOC otter trace=PrP=1/Du=LOC

'Living like that, tracing the otter...'

(141)

panə əjməta latnə tū wōltənnə arəḡ sūj tī sūjməḡtəḡ.

panə əjməta latnə tū wōł=t=am=nə arəḡ sūj tī sūjməḡ=Ø=təḡ
 and once when here be=PrP=1/Sg=LOC song sound there be
 heard=PAST=OBJ/3/Sg

'...and then, while I was like this, a sound is heard.'

(142)

arəḡ sūj set'əl.

arəḡ sūj set'=əł=Ø
 song sound is heard=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'The sound of a song is heard.'

(143)

ānta mūwli tīt arəḡ?

ānta mūwli tīt arəḡ=ł=Ø
 why what this sing=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'I wonder, who is singing?'

(144)

kōləntətəḡə mustəmin tī jəḡəm.

kōləntə=təḡə mustəmin tī jəḡ=Ø=əm
 listen=INF properly there begin=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I began to listen attentively.'

(145)

temi nāḡnam set'əl.

temi nāḡnam set'=əl=Ø

this above be heard=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'It is heard above.'

(146)

temi noməḡta əj pa tjrəs čāḡkəlmal.

temi noməḡta əj pa tjrəs čāḡkəl=m=əl

this above one time full moon arise=EVID=3/Sg

'It turned out, that the moon arised.'

(147)

tjrəs saḡki wāḡnə.

tjrəs saḡki wāḡ=nə

moon light iron=LOC

'The moon is on the sky.'

(148)

nōḡnam set'əl.

nōḡnam set'=əl=Ø

above be heard=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'It is heard above.'

(149)

panə nāwem tārəḡlətaḡə t'i jəḡ.

panə nāw=em tārəḡlə=taḡə t'i jəḡ=Ø=Ø

and body=my shiver=INF there begin=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'And my body began to shiver.'

(150)

nāwem tārəḡlətaḡə t'i jəḡ.

nāw=em tārəḡlə=taḡə t'i jəḡ=Ø=Ø

body=my shiver=INF there begin=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'My body began to shiver.'

(151)

tāḡnə āməstammə, əj ɪlɪnam, əj ɪlɪnam jũl.

tāḡnə āməs=t=am=nə əj ɪl=nam əj ɪl=nam jũ=t=∅
 while sit=PrP=1/Sg=LOC one down=APPR one down=APPR
 approach=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'While I am sitting, (the song) approaches lower and lower.'

(152)

koləm arəḡ kōritə wjča t'i jəḡət.

koləm arəḡ kōritə wjča t'i jəḡ=∅=ət
 three song become-clear up to there become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Pl

'Three songs became clear.'

(153)

əjlatnə əj ɪlɪnam, əj ɪlɪnam jũl.

əjlatnə əj ɪl=nam əj ɪl=nam jũ=t=∅
 at that time one down=APPR one down=APPR approach=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'At that time (the song) approaches lower and lower.'

(154)

əjlatnə t'i kima jəḡ.

əjlatnə t'i kima jəḡ=∅=∅
 once that up to become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'Once it became like this.'

(155)

ōḡər juḡət kūtəp pālə t'i jōḡət.

ōḡər juḡ=ət kūtəp pālə t'i jōḡ=∅=ət
 high tree=Pl middle up to there come=PAST=SUBJ/3/Pl

'(The songs) have reached the middle of high trees.'

(156)

nāḡəl juḡət tōjətə t'i jōḡət.

nāḡəl juḡ=ət tōj=ət=a t'i jōḡ=∅=ət
 low tree=Pl top=Pl=LAT there come=PAST=SUBJ/3/Pl

'(The songs) have reached tops of low trees.'

(157)

t'i pə t'i jōγət nāγəl juyət tōjətə.

t'i pə t'i jōγ=Ø=ət nāγəl juy=ət tōj=ət=a

here also there come=PAST=SUBJ/3/Pl low tree=Pl top=Pl=LAT

'So it reached tops of low trees.'

(158)

*panə ma jəmat tārəγlətəγə jəγəm.*panə ma jəmat tārəγlə=təγə jəγ=Ø=əm
and I strongly shiver=INF begin=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'And I began to shiver strongly.'

(159)

pātlojəm kōti jəγəm.

pāt=I=oj=əm kōti jəγ=Ø=əm

become frozen=PR=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg as if become=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'As if I became to freeze.'

(160)

panə t'u wičə jōγətmam latnə, panə əj kuxəm t'i jūtəl set'əl.

panə t'u wičə jōγət=m=am latnə panə əj kux=əm t'i jūt=t=əl

and that up to come=PP=1/Sg when and one man=my there

approach=PrP=3/Sg

set'=ət=Ø

be heard=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'And when I reached this place, one can hear, that my brother is coming.'

(161)

t'u kuxəm əj wanγə, əj wanγə jōγəttəγə jəγməł latnə, t'et pōčəŋ pālkami jūł.

t'u kux=əm əj wanγə əj wanγə jōγət=təγə jəγ=m=əl latnə

this man=my one nearer one nearer come=INF

become=PP=3/Sg when

t'et pōč=əŋ pālk=am=i jūł=I=Ø

this back=ADJ side=my=ABL approach=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'Coming closer and closer, this man approaches me from my back side.'

(162)

panə tākə tʰu sʲjəl əj ajγə tʰi pit, tʰi pit.

panə tākə tʰu sʲj=əl əj aj=γə tʰi pit=∅=∅ tʰi

and well this sound=his one little=TRLAT there become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg
there

pit=∅=∅

become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'And well this sound became lower and lower.'

(163)

nāγəl juγ tōjətə pit.

nāγəl juγ tōj=ət=a pit=∅=∅

Low tree top=Pl=LAT become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'(The sound) reached the tops of low trees.'

(164)

tʰu sʲjəl tōyi tʰi tərəm.

tʰu sʲj=əl tōyi tʰi tərəm=∅=∅

this sound=its away there finish=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'This sound has stopped.'

(165)

mantem niməl ālə tōjγəl tʰi ātγən.

ma=nt=em niməl ālə tōj=γəl tʰi āt=∅=γən

I=OBL¹=DAT ski just end=Du there appear=PAST=SUBJ/3/Du

'Ski tops revealed to me.'

(166)

jastəl: "tākə, ma panam kʰolat jəγəm.

jastəl=I=∅ tākə ma panam kʰol=at jəγ=∅=əm

speak=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg well I : strange possibility=INSTR

become=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'(He) says: "Well, something strange has happened to me.'

(167)

jākənam məntimən mūw atəm?"

jākə=ənam mən=t=imən mūw atəm

home=APPR go=PrP=1/Du what bad

'Let us better go home.'

(168)

t'äḵa mampə mantem pättaḡə wäroḡəm.

t'äḵa mampə ma=nt=em pät=taḡə wär=Ø=oj=əm
 well I too I=OBL¹=DAT freeze=INF do=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg
 'Well, I also began to become frozen.'

(169)

"jäḵənam mənəm öləḡ".

jäḵ=ənam mən=Ø=əm öləḡ
 home=APPR go=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg would
 'I'd better go home.'

(170)

panə t'u jäḵənam t'i mənəm.

panə t'u jäḵ=ənam t'i mən=m=əm
 and here home=APPR there go=EVID=1/Sg
 'And I went home.'

(171)

t'i irḡəm ma t'i tōḡəm t'i.

t'i irḡ=əm ma t'i tōḡ=Ø=əm t'i
 that song=my I there have=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg there
 'I've got my song like this.'

(172)

os t'i ḵujəm əntə tōḡəm ḵuntə, t'utə sāmama t'i pit öləḡ.

os t'i ḵuj=əm əntə tōḡ=Ø=əm ḵuntə t'utə sām=am=a
 yet there man=my not have=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg if already
 eye=my=LAT
 t'i pit=Ø=Ø öləḡ
 there become=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg would
 'If it were not for my friend, I would have seen (that singing person).'

(173)

müwli pə wät=Ø=Ø?

müwli pə wät=Ø=Ø
 what also be=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg
 'Who could it be?'

(174)

tem arit jəm jekəl čəŋk əntə wujəm, ruť kǎntəy čəkati.

tem arit jəm jekəl čəŋk əntə wuj=Ø=əm ruť kǎntəy
 so much good dance heat not know=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg Russian
 people čəkətə=t=i
 torment=PrP=ABL

'I would not have seen so much trouble, because Russian people tormented me.'

(175)

ma ja ruť kǎntəynə əntə čəkatojəm.

ma ja ruť kǎntəy=nə əntə čəkət=Ø=oj=əm
 I well Russian people=LOC not torment=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I would not have been tormented by Russian people.'

(176)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]*wutanə sǎmat wuje kǎntə tū məti jəm wōl?*

wu=t=a=nə sǎm=at wuj=Ø=e kǎntə tū məti jəm
 know=PrP=2/Sg=LOC eye=INSTR see=PAST=OBJ/2/Sg if this

something good wōl=Ø=Ø

be=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'Do you think, that if you have seen this with your own eyes, it would have been good to you?'

(177)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*jəm t'i wāl, jəm-jəm t'i wāl.*

jəm t'i wāl=Ø=Ø jəm-jəm t'i wāl=Ø=Ø

good that be=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg good good that be=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg

'It would have been good, it would have been very good.'

(178)

lǎw jəm t'i wāl sǎmama pit kǎntə.

lǎw jəm t'i wāl=Ø=Ø sǎm=am=a pit=Ø=Ø kǎntə

you see good that be=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg eye=my=LAT

appear=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg if

'You see, it would have been very good, if (this man) have appeared to my eyes.'

(179)

čāpəŋkə tōmpajləy t'ərtə kəyā t'i jəyām ōləŋ.

čāpəŋ=kə tōmpajləy t'ər=tə kə=γə t'i jəy=Ø=əm

true=TRLAT properly shamanize=PrP man=TRLAT there

become=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg ōləŋ

would

'Then I would have become a real shaman.'

(180)

tem jāy wəle toya a'ti jastələt rut' məyənə wəle a'ti čipənət tōjlətəy.

tem jāy wəle toya a'ti jastə=t=ət rut' məy=nə

this people you see probably also tell=PR=SUBJ/3/Pl Russian

land=LOC

wəle a'ti čipən=ət tōj=t=ətəy

you see probably sorcerer=PL have=PR=OBJ/3/Pl

'This people will also tell that there are people knowing sorcery in Russian land, too.'

(181)

nūŋ pə mo'et čipən wōsən.

nūŋ pə mo'et čipən wōs=Ø=ən

you(2/Sg) also probably sorcerer be=PAST=SUBJ/2/Sg

'May be you are a man knowing sorcery, too.'

(182)

a't ū't pītəmta.

a't ū't pītəmt=a

not get angry=IMP/SUBJ/2/Sg

'Don't be angry.'

(183)

nin t'u wār pə mūwat kənčləttən.

nin t'u wār pə mūwat kənč=t=əttən

you(2/Du) this affair also why look for=PR=OBJ/2/Du

'Why are you asking about this?'

(184)

māki militsayətnə āslojəm.

māki militsay=ət=nə ās=t=Ø=oj=əm

long ago militsia=PL=LOC release=PAST=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg

'Long ago I was released by militsia.'

(185)

ilə pitəm.

ilə pit=Ø=əm

down become=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'(These times) have gone away.'

(186)

mant al pə nōyaltatayə, mičəŋ xoyə altayə.

ma=nt al pə nōyaltə=tayə mičəŋ xoyə al=tayə

I=ACC not also disturb=INF guilty man=TRLAT hold=INF

'Do not disturb me, do not regard me as a criminal.'

(187)

māxi ləwət xōl pə xuləm.

māxi ləwət xōl pə xul=Ø=əm

long ago wicked word also hear=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'Long ago I heard wicked words.'

(188)

šumanəŋ xolət pirəltə xorəytəyələt.

šuman=əŋ xolət=ət pirəltə xorəytəyələt=Ø=ət

shaman=ADJ word=Pl from behind shout=PAST=SUBJ/3/Pl

'(People) shouted shaman behind me.'

(189)

wiytil xoliləyləm.

wiy=t-il xoliləy=l-əm

cry=PrP=3/Pl hear=Pr=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I constantly hear, that they cry.'

(190)

it əjmətə xonə pə əntə wiylojəm.

it əjmətə xonə pə əntə wiy=l-oj=əm

now once man=LOC also not cry=PR=PASS=SUBJ/1/Sg

'Now nobody cries to me.'

(191)

[Jeremej Ivanovich:]*it ja, kǝjajinǝ kǝnčli?*it ja kǝjajinǝ=kǝnč=I-i
now well who=LOC look for=PR=PASS/3/Sg

'Well, who will investigate this?'

(192)

*os əj ma tɨγǝtǝ arəγ tǝjǝŋ tʉt t'eʃaŋkemi kɨt'ǝm arəγ?*os əj ma tɨγǝt=tǝ arəγ tǝj=əŋ tʉt t'eʃaŋk=em=i kɨt'=ǝm
still one I guess=PrP song have=ADJ turn out
grandmother=my=ABL be left=PP

arəγ

song

'It turns out that the song we are talking about is a song left from my grandmother?'

(193)

[Ivan Stepanovich:]*t'eʃaŋki kɨjǝm arəγ, inam kǝlǝm arəγ tǝjǝl.*t'eʃaŋki kɨj=ǝm arəγ inam kǝlǝm arəγ tǝj=ǝl=SUBJ/3/Sg
grandmother leave=PP song now three song
have=Pr=SUBJ/3/Sg

'A song, left from the grandmother, now there are three songs.'

(194)

*panǝ t'i nomǝlta jǝγtǝm irγǝm.*panǝ t'i nomǝlta jǝγt=ǝm irγ=ǝm
and here from above come=PP song=my

'And my song, which came from above.'

(195)

*mǝw tǝγil kǝŋitiγǝlli?*mǝw tǝγil kǝŋitiγǝl=I-i
what for hide=PR=PASS/3/Sg

'What for to hide?'

(196)

nəŋati wəle t'i totəyləm tōrəm aŋki pajəksəm.

nəŋ=at=i wəle t'i totəyl=Ø=əm tōrəm aŋki
 you(2/Pl)=OBL¹=DAT you see this bring=Ø=SUBJ/1/Sg heaven mother
 pajəks=Ø=əm
 pray=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg

'I brought for you, I prayed Heavenly Mother.'

(197)

tōrəm aŋki wəle lapət jəm wāy aŋkləm k̄ātə lejləm wəle.

tōrəm aŋki wəle lapət jəm wāy aŋkləm k̄āt=a
 heaven mother you see seven good iron pillar house=LAT
 lejlə=Ø=əm wəle
 look=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg you see

'You see, I have seen the house of Heavenly Mother, standing on seven silver pillars.'

(198)

t'u latnə lūw āsəlmə arəy t'i.

t'u latnə lūw āsəlmə=at arəy t'i
 this time he/she release=PP=3/Sg song this

'This is the song, given me at that time.'

(199)

k̄untə t'i əj k̄ujəm əntə t'enə jətə wuli.

k̄untə t'i əj k̄uj=əm əntə t'enə jə=t=at wu=l=i
 when this one man=my not so become=PrP=3/Sg
 know=PR=PASS/3/Sg

'Apparently, it was already known, when this man die.'¹¹

(200)

wəs lūw k̄ōti wārli?

wəs lūw k̄ōti wār=l=i
 or you see what do=PR=PASS/3/Sg

'There's nothing to be done.'

(201)

k̄āntək̄ k̄o jətə k̄ol əntə wul.

k̄āntək̄ k̄o jə=tə k̄ol əntə wu=l=Ø
 Khanty man become=PrP possibility not know=PR=SUBJ/3/Sg

'A man can't change anything.'

(202)

t'ut ma tōmpajləy t'ərtə kəyə t'i jəyəm öləŋ, sāmama pit kuntə.

t'ut ma tōmpajləy t'ər=tə kəo=yə t'i jəy=Ø=əm öləŋ

already I properly know=PrP man=TRLAT here

become=PAST=SUBJ/1/Sg would

sām=am=a pit=Ø=Ø kuntə

eye=my=LAT appear=PAST=SUBJ/3/Sg if

'I would have become a real shaman, If he had appeared to my eyes.'

Vocabulary to the text

a

aj

small, little

ał I

border, limit

ał II

not (in imperative mood)

ał=

carry

alti=

carry; guide

anəy

bowl

aŋkəł

stump, post, pole

aŋki

mother

ar

many

arəy (a/i)

song

arəy=

sing

as

big river; the *Ob'* river

at

night

atəm

bad

ä

äł

year

ämtə=

put

äməs=

sit

ä

änta

but; you see; why

äwəł

sledge

ǎ

ǎlə	only, just; for no
ǎlə-məta	as if
ǎrəyləyələ=	mention, tell
ǎsləyləyələ=	let in for a while
ǎsələ= (ǎ//ə)	let; release
ǎt=	come out; appear
ǎtər	serene, fine (weather)

č

čápəŋ	true, right, honest
čāl	border, limit
čāŋkəl=	grow up; arise
čik	fog
čipan	a man, knowing sorcery
čiw	mist, haze
čojə	really, indeed
čop	part, half; piece
čək	trouble
čəkət=	torment
čəŋk	heat

i

ičək	good, dear; sacred
imi	woman, wife
in, inam	now
it	now

j

jł	lower
jłta	along the ground
jłə	down
jmələ=	sit down

j

ja	well (particle)
----	-----------------

jastə=	speak, tell
jâγ	people
jākənam	home
jāŋkɪl=	go
jāwən	river
jăčə	middle part, center
jăŋk	ice
jărnas	shirt
jek=	dance
jir	bloody sacrifice
jis	ancient
jöγtjə=	come (imperfective)
jöγtəγtə=	come (multiplicative)
jöγət=	come
juγ	tree
jũ=	approach
jũr=	attach
jə= (jəγ=)	become
jəγ (γ//k)	father (a head of a clan)
jələp	new
jəm	good
jəmat	very, strongly
k	
kačəŋ	every
kat	two
katləptə=	hand over
kăjŋi	mosquito
kima	up to
kiŋt'a	except
kũč	though
kũjəp	shaman's drum
kũr	foot, leg
kũt	interval, space
kũtəp	middle
kəŋč=	look for
kəŋčəγəm=	begin to look for (inchoative)

к

к̄álməytə= (á//u)	spend the night
к̄án	khan, tsar
к̄áánʹ= (á//u//i)	be sick
к̄ár	he-reindeer
к̄árəs	swamp, marsh
к̄át (á//u)	house
к̄ántəy	khanty; people; man
к̄áánʹəkint=	wake up
к̄ātł	sun; day
к̄ij=	leave
к̄ijʹ=	be left, remain
к̄ijʹəm	last
к̄ijʹəm p̄ir	for the last time
к̄o (kuj=)	man
к̄ok̄k̄ənam	far
к̄ol	possibility
к̄olj̄ttə	unconscious
к̄oləŋk̄	crow
к̄ol= (o//u)	hear, feel
к̄oləm	three
к̄oləntə=	listen to
к̄op̄ləmt=	become dim, go out
к̄op̄ətlə=	go out; become darkened; have nightmare
к̄orəytəyət=	shout
к̄ōjaj̄i	who
к̄ōłya	still, not yet
к̄ōłnə	how
к̄ōñitiyət=	hide, keep to oneself
к̄ōrə (ō//ā)	open place
к̄ōti	as if
к̄ōti wār=ta	there's nothing to be done
к̄ōtti	where;
к̄ōł	word
к̄untə	when; if
к̄ut	six

I

lăt	pit, hole
lek (e//i)	path, road

I

lənki	squirrel
lənət	seven
lăt	time
lătne	when
lăr	lake
lăr=	enter
lărən	inner porch
lējət=	look
lējəlt=	show
hələn	alive
hən	sacred; deity, spirit
hūk=	rush aside
hūw I	he, she
hūw II	let; you see (parenthesis)
ləpji	inner side (of a house)
ləpjiə	inside (POSTP; describing direction – where to?)
ləpjiə	inside (POSTP; describing location – where?)

P

l'atə=	prepare
l'əwət	wicked

m

ma	I (1/Sg)
mayəltj	around
mampə	me too
mākji	long ago
măləpsi	<i>Malitsa</i> , a sort of a fur coat
măw	very

măytə=	step aside
măyəl	circle; bend; lies; trickery, ruse
mănč=	wait; trace
mjčəŋ	guilty
mok	cub
moʔet	probably (<Russian <i>mozhet</i>)
mōčə	until
muʔ	1) a front part of a house, considered to be sacred, where women are not allowed to enter; 2) an oath, pronounced during a sacrifice; curse.
muʔəksə= (u//o)	swear; pray
munt	before
mustəl	it is possible
mustəmin	properly
mŭw, mŭwli	1) what; 2) or
mŭw kim	how many
mŭw tãyi	where from
mŭw ũrnə	how
mŭwat	why; for what
məy	land, country
mən=	go
məŋ	we (1/Pl)
məta	some
mətahi, mətli	something
məttə	they say (parenthesis)
n	
naŋk	larch
năməs (ã//õ)	thought
newi	white
niməl	ski
noməʔta	from above
nomən	above
norəkəkə	really, exactly
nōk	up
nōknam	above
nōməkəsə=	think
nōpət	time
nōraʔtə=	rub oneself

num	upper
nũj	you (2/Sg)
nũræytə=	run
n	
nãγəł	low
nãł	arrow
nãwi	meat; body
nəwrəm	child
nĩr=	defile, insult
nũγəłtə=	disturb
nũγəł=	lead
o	
oyti	upper side
oytinə	on the upper side
os	still, yet
õ	
õγər	high
õjəytə=	find
õlint= (Tep., c. 31)	lay
õłəj	should, would
õnt	inner part
õnta	in the heart of smth
õsəm	pillow
õt	thing; affair
p	
pa	other, another, different
pajəksə=	pray; believe
panam	other, different; strange
panə	and
part= (a/i)	order, force
pãj	thin crust of ice over snow
pãri	sacrifice, offering
pãs (ã//u)	sign

pāt= (â//i//u)	become frozen
pāγ (γ//k)	boy, son
pānəmtə=	put (momentary); bow
pāγət=	move forward, advance
pālə	up to
pālək	side
pāləkənə	near ; at
pəwərt (e//i)	log
pəwərtəŋ	timbered
pit=	find oneself; appear; become
pīγər	layer
pīr	back, rear
pīri=	ask
pīrnə	after
pīrəhta	from behind
pītəmt=	get angry
pōč	back
pōrək	lower part
pə	also (PRTCL)
pəkət	kind, sort
pəl=	fear
pəγi	backwards
pətan	because of
pətə	bottom; dead end
pətənə	behind
r	
raŋip=	begin
rut'	Russian
s	
saŋki	light
saŋki wāγ	sky
sar I	front
sar II	wait (parenthesis)
sāγit	along; according to
sārni	golden
sām	wye
pāj sām	snowflake

set'=	be heard
sōγ	skin, fell
šuman	shaman
sūj	sound
sūjməγ=	be heard, sound
t	
tāyi (tāyij=)	place; time
tāyinə	when (postposition)
tāi	from here
tām	this
tārəylə=	tremble, shake, shiver
tāt, tātti	there
tāj= (ā//ō)	hold, to have
tāγ=	throw
tem	this
tem arit	so much, so many
temi	this
tijət=	tell; guess
tjɾəs	full moon
toγa	probably
totəyəl=	bring (multiplicative)
tōyi	away
tōγləŋ	winged
tōγəl	big wing feather
tōγənə	so, like this
tōj	end; top
tōmpajləγ	properly; real
tōrəm	God; nature; universe; heaven
tu= (tuγ=)	bring; take away
tuγrəŋ	coniferous
tul-pul	stupid; be in a state of stupor
tūγət (γ//w)	fire
təj	upper course
tərəm=	finish
tət, tətti	here
t'	
t'äka	though; well

t'enə	so
t'et, t'etti	here
t'ef'an'ki	grandmother
t'i	there, that
t'it	this
t'u	here; this
t'u arit	so many
t'u latnə	then
t'ursem	fun
t'ut, t'uta	turn out; already
t'ər=	vision
t'ərt=	practice shamanism
t'ərtjɪ=	practice shamanism (durative)
t'ərtəlt=	be forced to practice shamanism
t'ərəltə=	practice shamanism (imperfective)
t'uńəŋ	rich; strongly, very
u	
ułmi=	dream
ułəm	dream
ũ	
ũł=	make fire
w	
wat'	thin
wāγ= (ā//u)	call, to invite
wājəγ	animal
wāγ	iron; money
jəm wāγ	silver (lit.: good iron)
wāł= (ǎ//ō)	be; live
wāntər	otter
wāł	cabin, tent
wājəp	shaft
wāł= (ǎ//ə)	kill, hunt
wār	thing, affair
wār=	do
wārənt=	do

weli	reindeer
wiča	always
wiγ=	cry
wintpəs	rein of a bridle
wiča	up to
wōjəmt=	fall asleep
wōnt	forest
wōs=	be (copula)
wōγ	power
wōj	son-in-law, brother-in-law
wu= (wuj=)	know; see
wə= (wəj=)	take
jlə wə=	take off
wəjəγ=	take, bring in (multiple)
wəs	or; may be
wəle	you see
wəfimt=	blaze up

ə

əj	one
əjlatnə	once; at that time
əjməta	once
əntə	not
əntəm	there is no
ənəl	big
əfi	the same; also, as well, too

Abbreviations

∅	Zero suffix
=	Morpheme boundary
1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 ^d person
ABESS	Abessive
ABL	Ablative
ADJ	Adjective
APPR	Approximative
CAUS	Causative

COMIT	Comitative
Du	Dual
EVID	Evidentialis
GER	Gerund
IMP	Imperative mood
IMPF	Imperfective
INCH	Inchoative
INF	Infinitive
INSTR	Instrumentalis
LAT	Lative
LOC	Locative
NOM	Nominative
OBJ	Objective conjugation
OBL ¹	Oblique stem of personal pronouns (=Accusative) to form Dative
OBL ²	Oblique stem of personal pronouns (=Dative) to form locative cases
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past
PI	Plural
POSS	Possessive
POSTP	Postposition
PP	Past participle
PR	Present
PrP	Present participle
PRTCL	Particle
PRVB	Preverb
Sg	Singular
SUBJ	Subjective conjugation
TRLAT	Translative

Notes

- 1 N. I. Ter'oshkin. *Slovar' vostochno-khantyjskikh dialektov* (Eastern-Khanty Dictionary). Leningrad, 1981.
- 2 Eremej Ivanovich Sopochnin – one of Ivan Stepanovich's sons, who helped us with the translation from Khanty into Russian.

- 3 In Khanty, nominative and singular of nouns have zero suffixes. This word must be glossed as $w\acute{a}j\acute{o}y = \emptyset = \emptyset$ 'animal=Sg=NOM'. Further, in order to simplify the description, these positions will not be marked and such a form will be represented simply as $w\acute{a}j\acute{o}y$ 'animal'.
- 4 Possessive suffixes in Khanty indicate person and number of a subject and 3rd person and number of an object. Correspondingly the gloss for this word should look like this: reindeer=POSS/1/Sg/3/Pl=NOM. To simplify, the possessive suffixes will be substituted by the possessive pronouns 'my', 'your', 'his', etc.
- 5 *Malisa* – outer clothing with fur inside.
- 6 To keep warmth, Khanty put on several shirts or dresses under the fur coat, so there could be two or three layers of clothes under it. He means, that he has taken off not only the fur coat, but also all the shirts which he was wearing except one.
- 7 Ivan Stepanovich means Regina Nazarenko, an ethnomusicologist from the Institute of Philology, Novosibirsk, who has recorded a shaman's séance in 1987.
- 8 *kāntāy* means not only 'a Khanty', but also simply 'a man'.
- 9 Ivan Stepanovich addresses his son.
- 10 Ivan Stepanovich is not sure whether to tell us about some sacred things or not, because in Soviet times practicing shamanism was strictly forbidden and many shamans were persecuted. He suspected that newcomers may try to find out something in order to betray him to the authorities.
- 11 Ivan Stepanovich means, that the date of death of his companion was already known to the God. That's why his youngest brother, who was later put in prison, was not allowed to hear this sacred song, for if he had heard it, he would have died immediately, but the day of his death had not yet come in that time. This unexpected witness had prevented Ivan Stepanovich from getting the shaman's skill in full measure.