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CHUKCHEE

BY

WALDEMAR BOGORAS

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

The following grammatical sketch of the Chukchee group of languages is based on a manuscript by Mr. Bogoras, in which all the main facts presented here are contained. Since the principal object of the series of sketches presented in this Handbook is an elucidation of the grammatical categories found in the present condition of each language treated, I thought it best to re-arrange the material on the basis of an analytical study. I am therefore responsible for the essential form of arrangement and presentation here given. The re-arrangement was, however, made in consultation with Mr. Bogoras, the final form being given to the description of the grammar in accordance with his criticisms and suggestions. The references to the Chukchee and Koryak Texts have also been added by me in order to prove the statements contained in the grammar. These also were revised, supplemented, and corrected by Mr. Bogoras. Finally I have added sample texts with explanatory notes. These have also been revised by Mr. Bogoras.

It seemed important to add the Chukchee to the sketches contained in the Handbook, because it proves conclusively that those features which are most characteristic of many American languages are found also on the Asiatic continent. It seemed essential, furthermore, to present material for determining the position of the Eskimo language in relation to all its neighbors.

The war has delayed the publication of this work beyond expectation, and the final revision had to be made by the editor.

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, *December, 1921.*





# CHUKCHEE

By WALDEMAR BOGORAS

## INTRODUCTION

The material for the following study was collected by me in 1895-97, when I was a member of the Sibiryakov Expedition of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society; and in 1900-01, when I was engaged in anthropological researches for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History.

The group of languages treated in this sketch includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of these, the first two are closely related, while the Kamchadal shows markedly divergent forms. Its phonetics are more complicated than those of the other two languages, and it seems to have preserved some ancient traits. Its morphology, however, is obscured by the recent process of Russianization, which has had a marked influence upon the language of the people.

Since I spent several years among the Chukchee on the Kolyma and Anadyr, and attained full command of the language in a practical manner, my Chukchee material is much fuller and also more accurate than that collected in the other languages. The work on the Chukchee is also facilitated by the fact that the language has no dialects, the dialect of the maritime Chukchee of the Pacific coast being almost identical with that of the reindeer-breeders of the Kolyma river.

Besides grammatical and lexicographic data, I have collected a large number of texts. I have also collected texts from the Asiatic Eskimo,<sup>1</sup> with literal translation into Chukchee, made by natives and carefully revised with their aid, as a means of avoiding inexactness in the translation of the Eskimo material.

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<sup>1</sup> Some of these have been published in my paper, "The Eskimo of Siberia" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, part III). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1913.

My work on the Koryak was done during the months from December, 1900, to March, 1901. While Mr. Waldemar Jochelson studied the ethnology of the Koryak on behalf of the Jesup Expedition, the morphological study of the language was assigned to me on account of my familiarity with the Chukchee. I left the Anadyr in November, 1900, joined Mr. Jochelson at Kamenskoye, and spent about a month with him. From there I proceeded to Kamchatka and studied the Kamchatka Koryak and the Kamchadal. On account of the necessity of devoting some time to the Eskimo of Indian Point, I could not devote more time to the study of these dialects.

The Koryak is spoken in a number of dialects, which may be classed in two groups, the western and the eastern. The western group includes the maritime villages on Penshina Bay of the Sea of Okhotsk,<sup>1</sup> some of which are the largest of the Koryak settlements, and the reindeer breeders on the rivers flowing into the Pacific Ocean. Here belong, for instance, the villages of Qa'yılın, Čimi'tqa, and Po'qač.<sup>2</sup> The eastern group includes all the maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the villages of the Pacific shore, mainly around Alutor Bay. The Kerek may form a third group, which, although situated farthest to the east, is more closely related to the western branch.

I shall call the western group "Koryak I;" the eastern group "Koryak II." Since the majority of the former group are reindeer breeders who live north from the maritime villages, and, along the northern border of the country, come into contact with the Chukchee, I have elsewhere called the Koryak I the northern group; the Koryak II, the southern group.

The bulk of my Koryak material and all the texts are principally from the village Kamenskoye on Penshina bay, and also from Paren, 50 miles farther to the west. I have marked this material, respectively, "Kor. Kam." and "Kor. Par." All words and forms marked simply "Kor." are common to the various dialects. The chief difference between the dialects of Kamenskoye and Paren—both members of the eastern branch—lies in the rules governing the harmony of vowels. My material on the Koryak of Kamchatka is not extensive.

<sup>1</sup> See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (*Ibid.*, vol. vi), pp. 437 et seq. Leyden, E. J. Brill.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 440. See also map at end of volumes VI and VII of the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

The Kamchadal material that I have been able to collect is not very full. The study of this dialect is at present very difficult on account of its corruption by the introduction of Russian elements.

In Krasheninnikoff's time there were three dialects of the Kamchadal—a southern, an eastern (spoken on the Kamchatka river), and a western. The first two are extinct, the language of the natives having been replaced by Russian. The eastern dialect is spoken in 13 villages on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. The largest of these is Kharghiusova (Kamchadal, Pló'xón), where I stayed 20 days. Another dialect is spoken in the village Sedanka, on the upper course of the Tighil river. Apart from phonetic differences, the chief features of this dialect are due to a strong Koryak influence. This, however, is also quite strong in the dialect of the Sea of Okhotsk. During the last 50 years, Koryak reindeer breeders have been living on the tundras of the eastern part of Kamchatka. The Kamchadal visit them, and purchase from them reindeer meat and skins for clothing. These Koryak are not Christianized, and speak only their own language. Thus it happens that the Kamchadal of the eastern shore, as far south as the village Kol, speak more or less the western Koryak dialect (I); and that among the half-Russianized Kamchadal, remnants of Koryak have almost completely replaced the old, native Kamchadal. In a few folk stories, fragments of which I was able to collect, the Kamchadal names have been forgotten, and Koryak names have taken their places. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with Kamchadal or with Koryak terms. In the Sedanka dialect the influence of Koryak is felt even more markedly. The people are in the habit of using whole Koryak sentences, or begin a sentence in Kamchadal and end in Koryak. The dialect that has influenced the Sedanka people is the Kamchatka Koryak II.<sup>1</sup> Besides, there is a strong intrusion of Russian into both dialects. The Kamchadal has lost many of its numerals, several pronouns, and a considerable number of nouns and adjectives, all of which have been replaced by Russian terms. These have not been assimilated so as to conform with the morphology of Kamchadal, but remain unaltered. A Russianization may also be observed in the grammatical structure.

Nevertheless the Russian spoken by the Russianized natives of Kamchatka also bears evidence of the influence of the Kamchadal.

<sup>1</sup> Sedanka Kamchadal *g'ava'tel'kal* THEY PERISHED (-*ik* inchoative in Koryak II, -*ñivo* in Koryak I) *sqi'titi* HE WILL FREEZE TO DEATH (*sq-* future prefix Koryak II, *sq-* in Koryak I).

The Russian suffixes for case and gender do not occur, and all nouns and adjectives are used in the nominative singular masculine. All vowels are strongly marked as long, short, or obscure.

In the following study I have confined myself to the main points of the morphology. The description is based mainly on Chukchee and on a comparison of Chukchee and the western Koryak of Kamenskoye. Kamchadal has been utilized only so far as to indicate the peculiar characteristics of this dialect.

Notes on the Koryak are indicated by a single, those on the Kamchadal by a double marginal vertical rule. Examples without reference are taken from field notes.

All references for the Chukchee indicated by page and line (for instance, 21.3) are to my Chukchee texts contained in the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition; those marked R, followed by page and line (for instance, R 23.5) are to my collection of texts published by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. All references to Koryak (marked, for instance, Kor. 27.6) are to my Koryak Texts published by the American Ethnological Society. The following previous publications on this family of languages may be mentioned:

L. RADLOFF, Ueber die Sprache der Tschuktschen (Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, 1861, Series VII, vol. III, No. 10).

В. Г. Богоразъ, Образцы матеріаловъ поизченію чукотскаго дѣякаго фольклора, собраніихъ въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Отгискъ изъ Извѣстій Императорской Академіи Наукъ Т. X. No. 3 (Мартъ 1899).

[WALDEMAR BOGORAZ, Sample Text for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District. Reprint from the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, vol. X, no. 3 (March, 1899).]

Матеріалы по изученію чукотскаго языка и фольклора, собраніе въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Изданіе Императорской Академіи Наукъ. В. 1. С.-Петербургъ 1900.

[Materials for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District, Part I. Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1900. Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, Part 1). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1910.

Koryak Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. V). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1914.

IGNACY RADLINSKY, Ze zbiogow Prof. B. Dybowskiego. Słowniki Nazzeczy Ludów Kamczackich, 5 parts, Krákov, 1891-94.

С. Крашенинниковъ Описание земли Камчатки. С.-Петербургъ 1819. Т. 1. II. [S. KRASHENINNIKOFF, Description of the Land Kamchatka, vols. I and II. St. Petersburg, 1819.]

В. Н. Тюшовъ, По хзападному берегу Камчатки, С. П. В., 1906.

[W. N. TUSHOFF, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka. St. Petersburg, 1906.]

## PHONETICS (§§ 1-24)

### Chukchee (§§ 1-13)

#### § 1. Vowels

The vowels of the Chukchee language may be divided into three classes:

- (1) Weak vowels: *ɛ̃ i e ä u*
- (2) Strong vowels: *ê a œ o*
- (3) Neutral vowels: *ɪ ɛ ʌ ʏ*

The vowels of the first and second classes are always long.

*i, e, u*, have their continental values.

*ä* is a long obscure vowel, in rest position of all the muscles of the oral cavity, posterior nares closed, teeth and lips slightly opened.

*ɛ̃* is a glide from *e* to *i*, with long, accented *i*. It is always combined with a glottal stop.

*ê* is the open *e* of *hell*, but long.

*a* has its continental value.

*o* like *o* in *nor*.

*œ* a *u* with very slight rounding of lips, with the acoustic effect of a sound between *o* and *u*.

*ɪ, ɛ, ʌ*, obscure, short vowels corresponding to the respective long vowels.

*ʏ* an *i* with rounded lips, short; somewhat like the Russian *ы*.

Unusual length or shortness of vowels is indicated by the macron and breve respectively (*ā, ă*).

Diphthongs are formed by the combination of any of the vowels with following *i* and *u*:

*ai* like *i* in *hide*.

*au* like *ow* in *how*.

*ei* like *ei* in *vein*.

*eu* like *eu* in Italian *leucojo*.

*oi* like *oi* in *choice*.

The *i* and *u* of diphthongs belong to the neutral vowels. Combinations of the vowels with the weak vowels *i* and *u* do not form diphthongs.

The *i* and *u* of true diphthongs must be considered as voiced consonants, because, in all intervocalic positions where they are not lost, and in proper position before certain consonants, they have consonantic character; and because they often modify following consonants in the manner of the preceding consonants *y* and *w* (see §§ 5, 9).

Generally the accent of diphthongs is on the first vowel, although it is often placed on the second vowel.

*qailo'qrm* indeed      *ūpari'ma* while drinking

When the diphthong is followed by a consonantic cluster, the terminal vocalic sound of the diphthong is lengthened. This gives the effect of an accent on the first vowel.

*ūpa'urkin* thou drinkest

Before vowels, the *u* of the diphthong becomes *w*.

*nɾpa'w-ê-ūm* I am drinking (stem *ūpari*)

NOTE.—In many cases *i* neutral, which does not form diphthongs, originates from contraction of *yi* (see § 10).

Doubled vowels are also of frequent occurrence, particularly

*ii* in *ti'rkiir* (male pronunciation <sup>1</sup>) sun

*ee* in *e'ek* lamp

*uu* in *mtu'ulpirr* son-in-law

*êê* in *êê'thūpū* from the skin intended for clothing

*aa* in *pa'arkin* thou ceasest

*oo* in *ro'olqal* food

*ii* in *taiñ'i'rgin* sinful action

After the loss of *i*, *y*, or *g*, between two vowels (see § 10), clusters of three repetitions of the same vowel may appear.

*mrya'aa<sup>k</sup>* < *mrya'aga<sup>k</sup>* I will use

A comparison with Koryak suggests that whenever two vowels appear in contact, an elision of a consonant has occurred. Examples of this are given in § 16, no. 18, p. 670. It would seem that in all these cases the Chukchee has the tendency to assimilate the vowels (see § 13, p. 665).

§ 2. Consonants

	Stop		Affricative		Nasal		Continued.	Lateral			Trill
	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Sonant	Surd		Affricative		Continued	
								Surd	Sonant		
Labial . .	<i>p</i>	—	—	—	<i>m</i>	—	<i>v</i>	—	—	—	—
Alveolar .	<i>t</i>	— [d]	( <i>š</i> ), <i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	—	<i>ʎ</i>	<i>ʟ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i> , <i>f</i>
Palatalized alveolar	<i>t'</i>	— [d']	<i>č'</i>	<i>č'</i>	<i>n'</i>	—	<i>s'</i>	—	—	—	—
Palatal . .	<i>k</i> , <i>wkw</i> *	—	—	—	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Velar . . .	<i>q</i>	<i>g</i> <i>g(u,o)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glottal . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

*h, w, y*

<sup>1</sup> See § 13.

\* Written *kw* before and after *u*.

*p*, *m*, as in English.

*v* bilabial.

*t* as in English.

ʒ like *z* in German *Zeit*, used only in female pronunciation.

č like English *ch* in *choice*.

ǰ like English *j* in *joy*.

*n* as in English.

*ʌ* stop produced by the tip of the tongue touching the upper alveoli, back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate, and sudden lateral release with slightly continued stricture.

ɹ like *ʌ*, but sonant.

*l* as in German.

*r* as in French (hard trill, *roue*).

ʀ dental *r* with weak trill.

*t*, *d*, *s*, *ǰ*, *n*; the corresponding consonants strongly palatalized, similar to *ty*, *dy*, *sy*, *ǰy*, *ny*.

č strongly palatalized, intermediate between *t* and č, but weaker than either.

*k* as in English.

*wkw* labialized *k*.

ñ like *n* in *singing*. Voiceless ñ is always terminal, and appears after terminal *ʌ, ɛ*.

*q, g* } velars corresponding to *k* and *g*; *g* in this combination  
*g* (*u, o*) } is often labialized.

*h, w, y*, consonantic, as in English. Initial *w* is sometimes pronounced nasally, as in *wotqan* THIS ONE. In my Russian publications I have indicated this nasalization; but it has not been indicated here, since it is not morphologically significant, and seems to be a characteristic feature of the sound, which appears, however, of varying strength.

*d* and *d*, which are bracketed in the table of consonants, appear only as the development of a strong palatalization of *n*, as in

*ta'nd'an* < *ta'n-yan* a good one

In only one case is initial *d* found,—*di'ndin* FIRE (from stem *yn*; compare *gay'nla'n* THE ONE THAT HAS FIRE). The reduplicated form *yinyin* changes to *yind'm*, from which develops—by assimilation, *d'ind'm*; and by intensification of the obscure vowel, *di'ndin*.

NOTE.—Examples of the importance of the glottal stops are—

*i'rirkin* he comes across

*re'irkin* he rejoices

*yo'irkin* thou overtakest

*ye'irkin* the sky becomes  
overcast

*čč'čč'* cold

*čč'pürkin* it shows itself

*i'rirkin* he hits

*re'irkin* he brings

*yo'irkin* thou putttest in

*ye'irkin* thou comest

*čč'čč'* lengthwise

*čč'pürkin* it grows damp

The consonants *l* and *č* are intimately related, and frequently replace each other, sometimes with a slight change of meaning (see § 122).

*vêčča'rkim* and *vêčča'rkim* (from *vêč-la'rkim*, see § 7, no. 17, p. 654),  
 he stands  
*vilu'ččim* and *vičv'ččim* (from stem *vilu-* ear) ear-bone  
*čei'wurkim* he walks; *lei'wurkim* he wanders about  
*lâč'leñ* winter; *čâč'čeñ* cold

Initial *ti* is sometimes replaced by *či*.

*tili-tto'oča* > *čičičo'oča* in front of the entrance

NOTE.—In words borrowed from the Russian, the following substitutions occur:

For Russian б (*b*), Chukchee *v* is substituted.

For Russian ф (*f*), Chukchee *p* or *g* is substituted.

For Russian х, Chukchee *k* or *g* is substituted.

For Russian с, ш (*s, sh*), Chukchee *č* is substituted.

For Russian с (*s*), Chukchee *t* is substituted.

Examples:

Chukchee	Russian
<i>čai'van</i>	сѣба (storehouse)
<i>Apo'n</i>	Афонька (Athanasius)
<i>Gč'čhan</i>	Федька (Teddy)
<i>ča'qar</i>	сахаръ (sugar)
<i>čol</i>	соль (salt)
<i>trê'n'non</i>	среде (middle)

### § 3. *Vocalic Ablaut*

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by  $\wedge$ , the strong ones by  $\circ$ . A word, simple or compound, must contain only strong vowels and neutrals, or only weak vowels and neutrals, or only vowels of one of the three classes. When, in composition, weak vowels and strong vowels come together in the same word, the former are changed by the ablaut into strong vowels.

$\underset{\wedge}{e}$  and  $\underset{\wedge}{i}$  into  $\underset{\circ}{ê}$   
 $\underset{\wedge}{e}$  and  $\underset{\wedge}{ä}$  into  $\underset{\circ}{ä}$   
 $\underset{\wedge}{u}$  into  $\underset{\circ}{ö}$  or  $\underset{\circ}{ø}$

The sound  $\underset{\circ}{g}$  differs in origin, therefore, from  $\underset{\circ}{g}$ , the latter being the ablaut of  $\underset{\wedge}{g}$  or  $\underset{\wedge}{ä}$ . This process is not confined to preceding or following vowels, but pervades the whole word. Elements containing only weak vowels are combined without ablaut. The same is true of elements containing either neutral vowels alone or neutral and weak



vowels. A polysyllabic stem which contains a single strong vowel must have all its vowels strong.

Examples of such compositions are—

Weak vowels or weak vowel and neutral vowel:

<i>p̄i'ri-rkin</i> he takes	<i>äq̄äini-twi'rkin</i> the weather grows
<i>teñ-teki'čhin</i> good meat	warm
<i>mei'ni-ti'mkitim</i> great	<i>piñe'pi</i> snowstorm
hummock 145.1	<i>nu'nun</i> blade of knife
<i>iul-u'ttuut</i> long wood	

Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:

<i>pêrê'ygo</i> (from <i>piri-ygo</i> ) taken
<i>pêñä'ipü</i> (from <i>piñe-ïpü</i> ) from a snowstorm
<i>noño'ipü</i> (from <i>nu'ny-ïpü</i> ) from the blade of knife
<i>aq̄ainē'nmā</i> (from <i>äq̄äinēt-mā</i> ) while the weather is growing
warm
<i>awkwä'tiñgk</i> (from <i>awkwet-ñg</i> ) at the beginning of leaving
<i>eu'lu-wg'lat</i> (from <i>iul-vlā</i> ) long knives 15.2
<i>tañ-ma'ni-mē'mil</i> good, big seal
<i>gile'-aq̄ä'ñ-ggr</i> greedy <sup>1</sup> right-hand driving-reindeer

There are a number of words with neutral, probably auxiliary vowels (see § 8), which produce the ablaut, as *tim* TO KILL; and quite a number of suffixes of the same phonetic character that have the same effect. In these cases it is therefore conceivable either that a strong vowel has been lost or that the phonetic effect is primarily due to other reasons. I give here a list of strong stems of this character:<sup>2</sup>

<i>im</i> rising of water	<i>wurg</i> dwarf birch
<i>iñ</i> glue	<i>wukw</i> stone 68.36
<i>ipriñ</i> first dawn	<i>pitw</i> doubled
<i>yip</i> to put on 37.8	<i>piril</i> (- <i>mñil</i> ) news 78.4
<i>yit</i> (- <i>gti</i> ) to get	<i>pilil</i> ripples, to bubble 41.1
<i>yin</i> fire	<i>pilwint</i> iron, metal
<i>yimř</i> steep bank	<i>pilm</i> darkness produced by a
<i>yikirg</i> mouth 18.12	storm
<i>yiggi</i> bountiful	<i>pilhrr</i> flat, flattened 84.25
<i>wüt</i> leaf	<i>püg</i> float of sealskin
<i>wülh</i> thin, with short hair	<i>pügl</i> large, round, wooden
102.12	bowl
<i>wulhip</i> to fling	<i>ming</i> hand
<i>wur</i> branching	<i>mil</i> nimble

<sup>1</sup> Greedy for urine given in a small vessel. See W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, VII, 85).

<sup>2</sup> Forms preceded by a hyphen are those in which stems appear when in medial position (see § 12)

*miliñ* five 107.23  
*tim* (-*nm*) to kill 23.5  
*timg* (-*mg*) to choke  
*timli* to get near to 44.1  
*tinp* to stab  
*til* door  
*tirk* testicle  
*tuw* (-*tvu*) word, promise 49.6  
*-tkim* to crouch  
*čimy* bitter  
*čuw* bruise  
*lip* neck (bone)  
*lim* something kept in reserve, spare material  
*ligüp* deadfall (trap)  
*lu<sup>s</sup>w* to vanquish  
*-lpinř* (*pimř*) to give  
*-lpil* (*pil*) to drink  
*rithil* bridge of nose.  
*rimn* tusk, antler R 3.31  
*rimnim* gums  
*ring* shy  
*rim<sup>n</sup>* to whittle (moving knife toward body)

*ril* (-*l*) to enter the sleeping-room  
*rilh* finger 22.7, 47.2  
*rir* to hunt down; (*rir* [-*rrl*] TO UNTIE has a weak stem)  
*rirrit* sinew-thread  
*rig* hair  
*riggit* to be too narrow, to have no room.  
*ruv* (-*nv*) to scrape; (*ruv* [-*nv*] TO PUSH OFF is a weak stem)  
*-rkipl* (*kripl*) to strike 45.12  
*kit* hard  
*kitči* to hatch (eggs)  
*kilt* middle part of sternum  
*king* dry  
*kingil* fibrous  
*git* thin, sparse  
*git* lake  
*gilh* skin  
*giml* (*kiml* 33.12) marrow  
*rim<sup>n</sup>* stanchion of sledge  
*nil* smoke R 32.38  
*nikil* shame.

Prefixes of the same character are—

*gm*- all  
*kgt*- (-*gtj*-) much, strongly

There are also a number of suffixes with neutral vowel, that are strong:

*-gtj*, *-čtj*, *-wtj*, allative (§ 41)  
*-ipčj*, *-čpčj*, *-güpčj*, ablative (§ 42)  
*-l<sup>h</sup>(m)*, *-l<sup>n</sup>(m)*, substantival suffix (§ 52)  
*-čh(m)*, *-č<sup>n</sup>(m)*, substantival suffix (§ 53)  
*-č<sup>n</sup>-*, *-č<sup>n</sup>m*, augmentative (§ 98, 1)  
*-g<sup>g</sup>rg(m)* verbal noun (§ 106, 44)  
*-tkim* surface (§ 101, 19)  
*-s<sup>q</sup>*, *-s<sup>q</sup>än* over, top of (§ 101, 20)  
*-nv*, *-n*, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

*-(r)ng* allative of personal nouns (§ 41)  
*-ngg* ablative, adverbial (§ 43)  
*-gg* augmentative, (§ 98, 3)  
*-l<sup>g</sup>g<sup>n</sup>m*, *-l<sup>g</sup>g<sup>n</sup>m*, space of, (see § 101, 20.)

- liño* diminutive (§ 98, 7)  
*gq—mq* comitative (§ 100, 15)  
*-mqči* comitative (§ 100, 17)  
*-qgč*, *-qal*, by the side of (§ 101, 26)  
*-ygnv*, *-ygn*, provided with (§ 104, 38)  
*-yğčh*, *-ğğčh*, receptacle (§ 105, 40)  
*-yğ* passive participle (§ 107, 47)  
*ñño*, *-ño*. inchoative (§ 110, 63)  
*-čhat*, verbal suffix expressing contempt (§ 110, 66)

In the following sketch the symbols  $\wedge$  and  $\circ$  have been used wherever clearness seemed to require the exact statement of the character of the vowels. Wherever the character of the vowel is irrelevant or the changes due to harmony of vowels are obvious, the symbols have been omitted.

In a few words, *i* is apparently a neutral vowel; as in

- yā'tirgin* (stem *yē't*) the act of coming  
*kañka'čirgin* (stem *kenkel-*) the act of descending

In these cases the *i* has originated through palatalization of the preceding consonant and the elision of *g*, which, after *t* and  $\wedge$ , has hanged to *h* (see §§ 7 and 10).

- yā'tirgin* < *yā't-hirgin* < *yā't-qirgin*  
*kañka'čirgin* < *kañka'č-hirgin* < *kañka'č-girgin*

In pronunciation,  $\epsilon$ , and  $\hat{\epsilon}$ ,  $\hat{\xi}$ , differ very little. The pronunciation of the last two is, of course, identical. The manner in which the ablaut occurs with  $\epsilon$ , while it is absent in  $\hat{\xi}$ , demonstrates, however, their etymological difference.

- elere'rkın* he feels dull  
*alara'mq* while feeling dull } (stem *elere*)  
*mêrêmêr* tear  
*mêrê'gtı* to a tear } (stem *mêrê*)  
*piñe'pil* snowstorm  
*pēna-ı'pı* from a snowstorm } (stem *piñe*)  
*kêto'rkın* (stem *kêto*) he remembers

In most cases  $\ddot{a}$  precedes or follows *q*, or is followed by the glottal stop  $\epsilon$ , which has probably originated through a loss of *qe*. With few exceptions,  $\ddot{a}$  is a weak vowel.

- $\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}q\ddot{a}'-m\ddot{i}'mıl$  bad water, brandy  
 $\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}'q\ddot{a}lp\epsilon$  quick! hurry!  
 $q\ddot{a}'\ddot{a}'$  fawn  
 $\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}lq\epsilon'p$  nail  
 $\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}m\ddot{u}'lın$  workingman

This *ä* is probably developed from *ɛ* under the influence of the following glottal stop.

In several suffixes *ä* appears without connection with *q* or *ɛ*.

*vihu'tä* by means of an ear

*vā'ā'tä* by means of a knife

In a few cases *ä* belongs to the group of strong vowels, and is probably derived from *ê* under the influence of the glottal stop.

*ä'ɛ'ɔ'* day

*ä'ttwê' - nān* interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

In several compounds *ä* appears as connecting vowel instead of *i*. This happens also generally before or after *q*. The sound of *ä* in these cases is short, and it belongs to the neutral vowels.

In the words *a'ttin* DOG, *a'ttin* BONE, the *a* replaces the weak *ä*, and is therefore also weak.

*u* of diphthongs is generally a nequivalent of *w*, vocalized when preceding a consonant. Therefore it is neutral, even if the accent is on the first part of the diphthong, which increases the vocalic character of the *u*.

*tɛrkɛ'urkin* he wrestles

*tɛrkɛ'urkɛ'pɔ'* from the wrestler

*üpq'urkin* he drinks

In other cases *u* is by origin vocalic, and therefore changes to *o* or *ø*.

*ü'u'rkim* it thaws

*ê'ø'mq* while thawing

but consonantic

*ü'urkim* he speaks

*ê'u'mq* while speaking

This *ü'u* may be explained as originating from *i'yu*, where, according to the rule, the intervocalic *y* dropped out, strengthening at the same time *i* to *ü*.

Consonantic *w*, especially when initial, requires a *u* preceding it. This *u*, which is simply a strong glottal intonation, is neutral, and drops out after prefixes.

*uwü'rkim* he cooks

*uwü'mq* while cooking

*ëuwü'rkim* he cuts it off

*ëuwü'mq* while cutting

*q'ëvilin* he cut it

*lwwä'urkim* he can not

*qä'vqulên* being unable to do something

Russian loan-words also conform to the rules of vocalic harmony.

*vi'lken* fork (Kor. Kam. *vi'lka*); stem *vi'lke*; Russian *вилка*  
*č'u'men* bag (Kor. Kam. *č'u'ma*); stem *č'u'me*; Russian *сума*  
*k'o'ma'k* paper; stem *k'o'mak*; Russian *бумага*  
*mu'lenul* soap (Kor. Kam. *mu'la*); stem *mu'le*; local Russian *мыло*,  
 instead of *мыло*  
*yekū'tilm* Yakut; stem *yekūt*; Russian *Якуть*  
*prəkā'čik* commercial agent (Kor. *preka'ssek*); Russian *приващикъ*  
 (Kor. Kam. *čai'n'ek*) teakettle;<sup>1</sup> Russian *чайникъ*

Compositions conform to the rules of harmony, with very few exceptions. The particles *elo'n* and *nan* enter into close combination with other particles without affecting their vowels: *emi'lo'n* < *emi' elo'n* where is he? *čunā'n* < *čun nan* so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative *emi'lonā'nim* ?where is he then? 43.6.

In *pič'e'g-tuwa'rkin* THOU TAKEST OFF THE BOOTS, the second part alone has the ablaut.

In *čēq-a'mninēn* IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms *čiq* and *emnin* would be expected.

The separate words of the sentence are not affected by these rules.

#### § 4. Initial and Terminal Consonants

All sounds occur in initial position, except the consonants *l*, *l̄*, *č̄*, *č̄'*, which are not found in uncompounded stems, but seem to be due throughout to assimilation (see § 7).

<i>l</i> < <i>t+l</i>	<i>č̄</i> < <i>t'+y</i>
<i>l̄</i> < <i>l+l</i> or <i>r+l</i>	<i>č̄'</i> < <i>d'+y</i>

All sounds occur as terminals except

*l*, *l̄*, *t'*, [*d*], [*d'*], *č̄*, *č̄'*, *č̄'*, *wkw*, *ř*  
*v*, *h*

I presume the absence of the former group is due to the fact that they are by origin double consonants (see § 5).

Voiceless *n* and *n̄* appear only as terminal sounds after *i* and *e*.

No clusters of more than two consonants occur. Terminal consonantic clusters are not admissible, and are broken either by the introduction of an obscure vowel or by being placed in medial position by the addition of a terminal obscure vowel. It is important to note that the glottal stop does not count as a consonant in these clusters. It always follows a long vowel.

<sup>1</sup> Chukchee *pi'htkuk* throat-kettle.

Terminal *ñ*, particularly after *r*, becomes voiceless, and hence very weak.

*keñu'neñ* STAFF ends in voiceless *ñ*, but in the plural *keñu'neñt* the *ñ* is voiced

This may account for the slight nasal character of unaccented terminal *r*.

§ 5. Medial Consonantic Clusters

The following consonants never appear in clusters:

*ɬ, ʌ, t',<sup>1</sup> [d], [d'],<sup>2</sup> ɛ', ʃ, ʃ', wkw*

This proves again that all of these must be considered as double consonants (see § 4).

Besides this, the following do not occur as the first member of a medial cluster:

*k,<sup>3</sup> q,<sup>4</sup> ʃ, h.*

The medial cluster *tr* occurs in some derivations of the loan-word *tré'n·non* (Russian *сре́дне*).

*gatré'n·nonta'len* they went to Sredne Kolymsk

The following do not occur as second member of a cluster:

*s', n',<sup>6</sup>*

The consonantic medial clusters that have been found are contained in the following table, in which dashes indicate inadmissible clusters.

	p	t	k	q		č	m	n	ñ	v	l	r, ʃ	y	w	h
p	pp	pt	pk	pq	pp	pč	—	—	—	—	pl	pr	py	—	—
t	—	tt	tk	tq	—	tč	—	—	—	tv	—	(tr) —	ty	tw	th
q	—	qt	qk	qq	—	qč	—	qn	—	—	ql	qr	qy	—	—
ʃ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ɛ	—	—	—	—	—	čč	—	—	—	čv	—	—	—	—	čh
s	sp	—	sk	sq	—	—	—	s·n	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
m	mp	mt	mk	mq	mč	mm	mn	mñ	—	—	ml	mr	my	mw	—
n	np	nt	nk	nq	—	nč	nn	nñ	—	nv	nl	(nr)nʃ	ny	—	—
n'	n'p	—	n'k	n'q	—	—	n'm	n'ñ	n'v	—	—	—	—	—	—
ñ	—	—	ñk	ñq	—	—	—	—	ññ	—	—	—	—	—	—
r	rp	rt	rk	rq	—	—	rm	—	—	rv	—	rr	—	rw	rh
y	yp	—	—	—	—	—	ym	—	yñ	—	—	—	—	—	—
w	—	wt	(wk)	wq	wq	—	wm	wn	—	—	—	wʃ	—	wʌ	—

<sup>1</sup> Except t'h.

<sup>2</sup> Except n'd.

<sup>3</sup> Except kk, and in one case kr, which is probably an affricative q.

<sup>4</sup> Except qq.

### § 6. Vocalic Contraction

When sounds that form inadmissible combinations come into contact through composition, phonetic changes occur.

(1) Of two weak or strong vowels in contact, the first one is elided.

*qaL-aa'êêk* < *qaLê'-aa'êêk* lazy boy  
*ä<sup>ε</sup>q-u'ttuut* < *ä<sup>ε</sup>qä-u'ttuut* bad wood

(2) Obscure *ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, ɹ, ä, a<sup>ε</sup>*, following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.

*añqa-nna'n* < *añqa'-Enna'n* sea-fish  
*gəpəu'lên* < *gə-äpə'u'lên* he drank  
*êé'ri<sup>ε</sup>l* < *êé'ri-ä<sup>ε</sup>l* Lel muddy snow  
*ñeu<sup>ε</sup>ttrn* < *ñé'u-a<sup>ε</sup>ttrn* female dog

### § 7. Medial Consonantic Processes

When two consonants come into contact, certain changes occur. The consonants given on the left-hand side form, when followed by the consonants at the head of the columns, the following combinations:

	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>g</i>	
<i>p</i> forms with					<i>mn</i>					<i>mñ</i>					
<i>v</i> forms with											<i>wkw</i>				
<i>w</i> forms with				<i>wkw wkw</i>					<i>wg</i>					{ <i>wkw</i> <i>wg</i>	
<i>t</i> forms with			<i>nm</i>		<i>nn</i>		<i>ɛ</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>L</i>		<i>nñ</i>			{ <i>lh</i> <i>ly</i>	
<i>n</i> forms with								<i>nä</i>	{ <i>nr</i> <i>nf</i>		<i>nñ</i>			<i>n'g</i>	
<i>ɛ</i> forms with	<i>s'p</i>	{ <i>s'm</i> <i>nm</i>			<i>tt</i>	{ <i>s'n</i> <i>nn</i>			<i>rr</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>s'k</i>	<i>ɛk</i>	<i>s'q</i>	<i>ɛh</i>	
<i>y</i> forms with					<i>pt</i>	<i>gn</i>	<i>pɛ</i>	<i>gr</i>	<i>gl</i>						
<i>r</i> forms with					<i>tt</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	{ <i>t</i> <i>ɛ</i>						
<i>l</i> forms with							{ <i>ly</i>	<i>rr</i>	{ <i>l</i> <i>ɛ</i>			<i>lh</i>	{ <i>lq</i> <i>s'q</i>	<i>lh</i> <i>ly</i>	
<i>k</i> } form with	<i>wp</i>	<i>wm</i>	<i>wkw</i>	<i>wkw</i>	<i>pt</i>	<i>gn</i>	<i>gp</i>	<i>pr</i>	<i>pl</i>		<i>pk</i>	{ <i>pñ</i> <i>nñ</i>	<i>gq</i> <i>qq</i>	<i>wkw</i> <i>gp</i>	
<i>ñ</i> forms with	<i>mp</i>	<i>wm</i>	<i>mv</i>	<i>mw</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>gn</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	{ <i>nä</i> <i>ny</i>	{ <i>nr</i> <i>nf</i>	<i>nl</i>					
<i>q</i> forms with	<i>ɛ'p</i>	<i>ɛ'm</i>	<i>ɛ'v</i>	<i>ɛ'w</i>	<i>ɛ't</i>	<i>ɛ'n</i>	<i>ɛ'ɛ</i>	<i>ɛ'y</i>	<i>ɛ'r</i>	<i>ɛ'l</i>	<i>ɛ'k</i>	<i>ɛ'ñ</i>	<i>(ɛ'q)</i>	<i>ɛ'g</i>	

These changes may be summarized in part as follows:

- (1) Voiceless labial and dental stops before nasals become nasals.
- (2) *k* and *g* before labials become *w*; with *v* and *w*, they form a labialized *k*.
- (3) *k*, *g*, and *y* before dentals become *g*.

- (4) *g* before consonants becomes  $\epsilon$ ; only *qq* occurs.  
 (5)  $\tilde{n}$  before labials becomes *m*; before dentals, *n*.  
 (6)  $\epsilon$  before labials, palatals, and *n*, becomes *s*. When *l* replaces  $\epsilon$ , it is treated in the same manner.  
 (7) Dentals before palatals are palatalized.  
 (8) *w* with following *v*, *w*, and sometimes also with *g*, forms labialized *k*.  
 (9) *y* following *v*, *w*, and *g*, becomes *g*.  
 (10) *t* ( $\epsilon$ ), and *r* with following *y*, form  $\epsilon$ .  
 (11) *l* with following *y* forms  $\check{y}$ , or *ly*.  
 (12) *t*,  $\epsilon$ , and (*r*) with following *r* form *rr*.  
 (13) (*t*),  $\epsilon$ , and *r* with following *t* form *tt*.  
 (14)  $\tilde{n}$  with following *n* and  $\tilde{n}$  forms *gn* and *gñ*.  
 (15) *n* and  $\tilde{n}$  with following *y* form *nd*.  
 (16) *n* and  $\tilde{n}$  with following *r* form often *nř*.  
 (17) *t*,  $\epsilon$ , *r*, and *l* with following *l* form *l*. The last two with following *l* also form *l*.  
 (18) *l* with following *r* forms *rr*.  
 (19) *l* with following  $\tilde{n}$  forms *lh*.  
 (20) *r* with following *n* forms *nn*.  
 (21) *r* with following  $\epsilon$  forms *tč*.  
 (22) *k* with following *k* and *q* form *gk* and *gq*.  
 (23) *k* and *g* with following  $\tilde{n}$  form *nñ*.  
 (24) *k* with following *g* forms *gg*; with following *gu*, *wkw* (*u*).  
 (25) *g* with following *q* forms *qq*.  
 (26) *l* and *t* with following *g* form *lh*, *ly*, and *th*, *ty*.

## Examples:

- pn* > *mn* (1) *g $\epsilon$ mn $\epsilon$ 'l $\tilde{y}$ n* whetted < *g $\epsilon$ -pn $\epsilon$ '-l $\tilde{y}$ n*  
*v $\epsilon$ l $\epsilon$ anna' $\tilde{y}$ ln* < *v $\epsilon$ l $\epsilon$ -pn $\epsilon$ ' $\tilde{y}$ ln* the knife-whetters  
 44.4  
*rrm $\tilde{n}$  $\epsilon$ 'p $\check{y}$*  from the inner skin (*rr'p $\tilde{m}$*  inner skin)  
*pn* > *mñ* (1) *g $\tilde{t}$ tt $\epsilon$ 'mñ $\epsilon$ w* < *g $\tilde{t}$ tt $\epsilon$ 'p-ñ $\epsilon$ w* clever woman  
*n $\tilde{a}$ mñ $\tilde{y}$ l $\epsilon$ ' $\tilde{a}$  $\epsilon$ n* < *n $\tilde{a}$ -pñ $\tilde{y}$ l $\epsilon$ '- $\tilde{a}$  $\epsilon$ n* they asked him  
 66.24  
*tm* > *nm* (1) *m $\tilde{y}$ n $\tilde{y}$ 'nm $\tilde{y}$ k* < *m $\tilde{y}$ n- $\tilde{y}$ 't-m $\tilde{y}$ k* let us be! 57.1  
*n $\tilde{y}$ 'lq $\tilde{a}$ n-m $\tilde{y}$ r $\tilde{y}$*  < *n $\tilde{y}$ - $\tilde{y}$ 'lq $\tilde{a}$ t-m $\tilde{y}$ r $\tilde{y}$*  we slept  
*n $\tilde{a}$ 'nm $\tilde{y}$  $\tilde{a}$  $\epsilon$ 'n* < *n $\tilde{a}$ -tm $\tilde{y}$ - $\tilde{a}$  $\epsilon$ 'n* they killed it 8.2  
*mñ $\epsilon$ 'wkw $\epsilon$ nm $\tilde{y}$ k* < *mñ- $\epsilon$ 'wkw $\epsilon$ t-m $\tilde{y}$ k* let us go  
 away! 17.8  
*tn* > *nn* (1)  *$\epsilon$ 'm $\tilde{y}$ nn $\tilde{y}$ n* <  *$\epsilon$ 'm $\tilde{y}$ t-n $\tilde{y}$ n* he took it 117.9  
*tñ* > *nñ* (1, 7) *r $\epsilon$ 'lq $\tilde{a}$ n'ñ $\tilde{y}$ t* < *r $\epsilon$ - $\tilde{y}$ 'lq $\tilde{a}$ t'ñ $\tilde{y}$ t* they will sleep  
*g $\tilde{y}$ n'ñ $\tilde{y}$ ' $\tilde{y}$ l $\tilde{y}$ n* < *g $\tilde{y}$ -tñ $\tilde{y}$  $\tilde{y}$ -l $\tilde{y}$ n* he sent it 104.10 (cf.  
 19.1; 104.3)  
*kp* > *wp* (2) *m $\tilde{a}$ wp $\epsilon$ 'n $\tilde{v}$ el* < *m $\tilde{a}$ kp $\epsilon$ 'n $\tilde{v}$ el* many two-year-old  
 reindeer-bucks



- km* > *wm* (2) *măwmq'ogqor* < *măk-mq'ogqor* many pack-reindeer
- kv* > *wkw* (2) *prăawkwa'glrĭm* < *pră'k-vă'glrĭm* boot-grass (i. e., grass insole)
- kw* > *wkw* (2) *măwkwê't'haŋ* < *măk-wê't'haŋ* (too) many words
- gp* > *wp* (2) *êw-pêrq'rkim* < *êg-pêrq'rkim* he looks wolf-like
- gm* > *vm* (2) *elê'w-mi'tqămit* < *elê'g-mi'tqămit* sweet blubber (honey)
- gv* > *wkw* (2) *êê'wmak* < *êêg-mak* egg-shell
- gw* > *wkw* (2) *alâ'wkwă'ngau* < *alâ'g-vă'ngau* chewing-gum (lit. sweet gum)
- qw* > *wkw* (2) *alarkwê't'haŋ* < *alag-wê't'haŋ* sweet talk
- kt* > *gt* (3) *uwi'g trmĭnê'n* < *uwi'k trmĭnê'n* she killed herself
- kn* > *gn* (3) *măg-nê'nnet* < *măk-nê'nnet* many otter (skins)
- kr* > *gr* (3) *măg-rê'w* < *măk-rê'w* many whales
- kl* > *gl* (3) *măg lĭ'glig* < *măk-lĭ'glig* many eggs
- yt* > *gt* (3) *êag-tăi'ôchĭn* < *cai-tăi'ôc-hĭn* tea-bag
- yn* > *gn* (3) *mă'gni* < *măi'-ni* property piled up outside of house.
- ñê'gni* < *ñêi'-ni* mountain
- ye* > *ge* (3) *vê'g-êu'rmin* < *vê't-êu'rmin* grass border
- yr* > *gr* (3) *vă'grăn* < *vă'i-răn* grass house
- yl* > *gl* (3) *vă'glrĭm* < *vă'i-lrĭm* grass
- q* before consonants > *ε* (4) *nărkô'gŭpŭ* < *nêrkăq-gŭpŭ* from the swan
- gă'nê'pŭ* < *gă'qn-êpŭ* from the fish-hook
- mă'mê'ŭpŭ* < *măqmê-ŭpŭ* from the arrow
- gê'lĭ'kêlĭn* < *gê-qlĭ'kêl-lĭn* he has married

A few stems, when preceding consonants, change *q* to *ε*, and their vowels become subject to ablaut.

- tε* < *tĭq* to cast metal
- yε* < *yĭq* quick
- mε* < *mĭq* small

For instance:

- ti'qirkim* he casts metal
- tε'ăn* he has cast it
- ñp* > *mp* (5) *tămpêră'ê* < *tăñ-pêră'ê* he appeared well
- ñv* > *mv* (5) *gêmpe'lĭn* < *gê-ñpe'lĭn* they landed 12.9
- tan-vă'irgin* < *tăñ-vă'irgin* good being, good state of things
- ñw* > *mw* (5) *tăm-wăñê'irgin* < *tăñ-wăñê'irgin* good work
- ñt* > *nt* *răntô'a<sup>st</sup>* < *ră-ñtô'-a<sup>st</sup>* they went out 56.8
- ñê* > *nê* *tăñ-êai* < *tăñ-êai* good tea

<i>ñy</i> > <i>ny</i>	<i>tele' n-yé' p</i> < <i>tele' ñ-yé' p</i> long time ago
<i>ñr</i> > <i>nř</i>	<i>tele' n-řemkɪn</i> < <i>tele' ñ-řé' mkɪn</i> ancient people
	<i>tan-řa' n</i> < <i>tañ-ra' n</i> a good house; but <i>tan-roglgal</i> < <i>tañ-ro' glgal</i> good food
<i>ñl</i> > <i>nl</i>	<i>ten-lé' ut</i> < <i>teñ-lé' ut</i> good, clever head
<i>é p</i> > <i>s' p</i> (6)	<i>mas-pá' gêé</i> < <i>mač-pá' gêé</i> he seemed to cease
<i>*m</i> > <i>s' m</i> (6)	<i>mēs-kirpí' s'-míč</i> < <i>mēs-kirpí' č-míč</i> of about the size of a cake of brick tea; but also <i>mēs-kirpí' n-míč</i>
<i>én</i> > <i>s' n</i> (6)	<i>mēs-ní' mpäqin</i> < <i>mēč-ní' mpäqin</i> somewhat slow; but also <i>menni' mpäqin</i>
<i>ék</i> > <i>s' k</i> (6)	<i>kirpí' s' kin</i> < <i>kirpí' čkin</i> belonging to a cake of brick-tea; but from <i>va' ēñqač</i> THERE is derived the adjective <i>va' ēñqač' tkēn</i>
<i>é q</i> > <i>s' q</i> (6)	<i>kirpí' s' qāi</i> < <i>kirpí' č-qāi</i> small piece of brick-tea (see 29.8)
<i>nñ</i> > <i>n' ñ</i> (7)	<i>qun-ñé' ekik</i> < <i>qun-ñé' ekik</i> single daughter (see, however, <i>qun-ñé' ekik</i> 29.8)
<i>ng</i> > <i>n' g</i> (7)	<i>qon-qrka' ta</i> < <i>qon-qrka' ta</i> one-legged
<i>lq</i> > <i>s' q</i> , when <i>l</i> replaces a <i>č</i>	<i>wu' s' quus'</i> < <i>wu' lquul</i> darkness
<i>wv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (8)	<i>raana' wkwā' irgin</i> < <i>raa' naw-va' irgin</i> straight acting
	<i>lau' lawkwā' irga</i> < <i>lau' lau'-va' irga</i> by mischievous being 117.21
<i>wv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (8)	<i>ñawkwāñé' irgin</i> < <i>ñaw-wañé' irgin</i> female work
<i>wg</i> > <i>wkw</i> (8)	<i>trmārgā' wkwā' k</i> < <i>trmārgā' -gā' k</i> I quarreled
	<i>ēime' wkwé</i> < <i>ēime' u-gié</i> it approached 9.12
<i>vy</i> > <i>vg</i> (9)	<i>nuvgé' ntogēnat</i> < <i>n-vyī-ñto-qinēt</i> their breath went out 34.6
<i>wy</i> > <i>wg</i> (9)	<i>awgō' lika</i> < <i>ä-wyōl-kä</i> without assistant 124.5
	<i>ñā' wgēl</i> < <i>ñaw-yēl</i> female cousin
<i>gy</i> > <i>gg</i> (9)	<i>ēggā' ilhin</i> < <i>ē' g-yā' ilhin</i> wolf's paw
	<i>āla' ggān</i> < <i>āla' gyan</i> the sweet one
<i>ty</i> > <i>č</i> (10)	<i>yī' lqāč' an</i> < <i>yī' lqat-yān</i> the sleeper
<i>ry</i> > <i>č</i> (10)	<i>ko' č' o</i> < <i>ko' r-yō</i> the one bought
<i>ly</i> > <i>č'</i> or remains unaltered (11)	<i>a' lkič' o</i> < <i>a' lkičyō</i> the one recognized. The unaltered form occurs also.
<i>tr</i> > <i>rr</i> (12)	<i>gir-ra' ttam</i> < <i>qr-rra' ttam</i> thin curried reindeer-skin
<i>čr</i> > <i>rr</i> (12)	<i>marra' ēñki</i> < <i>mač-ra' ēñki</i> somewhat back of you
<i>čt</i> > <i>tt</i> (13)	<i>mat-tōrč' tu-wā' lin</i> < <i>mač-tōrč' tu-wā' lin</i> somewhat crazy
	<i>ma' nēnqat-tāč'</i> < <i>ma' nēnqat-tāč'</i> in what direction he moved on

<i>rt</i> > <i>tt</i> (13)	<i>tut-tei'krik</i> < <i>tur-tei'krik</i> newly made
<i>ññ</i> > <i>gn</i> (14)	<i>teg-ne'lhñ</i> < <i>teñ-ne'lhñ</i> good skin
<i>ññ</i> > <i>gñ</i> (14)	<i>teg-ñe'us'güt</i> < <i>teñ-ñe'us'güt</i> good woman 62.13
<i>ny</i> > <i>nd</i> (15)	<i>mind'i'lgänmik</i> < <i>mínyi'lgänmik</i> let us go to sleep!
<i>ñy</i> > <i>ñd</i> (15)	<i>ä<sup>ε</sup>'ndilhä<sup>ε</sup>n</i> < <i>ä'nyilhä<sup>ε</sup>n</i> let us give it to him!
<i>nr</i> > <i>nř</i> (16)	<i>tand'a'n</i> < <i>tañ-ya'n</i> a good one
	<i>ñu'nři</i> < <i>ñu'nri</i> there (to the right or to the left side from the speaker)
<i>tl</i> > <b>L</b> (17)	<i>ge'lgälñ</i> < <i>gg'-lgät-ñ</i> he departed
<i>čl</i> > <b>L</b> (17)	<i>maLü'mñuñ-va'lin</i> < <i>mač-lü'mñuñ-va'lin</i> somewhat lazy
<i>rl</i> > <b>L</b> (17)	<i>tuLü'<sup>ε</sup>k</i> < <i>tur-lü'<sup>ε</sup>k</i> just on seeing it
<i>ll</i> > <b>L</b> (17)	<i>a<sup>ε</sup>tto'ola'ut</i> < <i>a<sup>ε</sup>tto'ol-la'ut</i> front head (the star Arcturus)
	<i>gene'lin</i> < <i>ge-ne'l-ñ</i> he has become 116.21
<i>lr</i> > <i>rr</i> (18)	<i>grrgo'r-ra'mkin</i> < <i>grrgo'l-ra'mkin</i> "upper people" (i. e., the beings supposed to live in the world above)
<i>lñ</i> > <i>lh</i> (19)	<i>ge'lhñlin</i> > <i>ge'lñlin</i> (auxiliary verb, active)
<i>rn</i> > <i>nn</i> (20)	<i>tun-ne'lhñ</i> < <i>tur-ne'lhñ</i> new skin
<i>rč</i> > <i>tč</i> (20)	<i>tät-čai</i> < <i>tər-čai</i> new tea
	<i>walka'tčñin</i> < <i>walka'r-čñin</i> the jaw-bone house 59.8
<i>kk</i> > <i>gk</i> (22)	<i>müg-kuke'ñi</i> < <i>mük-kuke'ñi</i> numerous kettles, a number of kettles
<i>kq</i> > <i>gq</i> (22)	<i>müg-gora'ñi</i> < <i>mük-gora'ñi</i> a number of reindeer
<i>kñ</i> > <i>ññ</i> (23)	<i>pe'ččvañ-ñal'vñl</i> < <i>pe'ččvak-ñal'vñl</i> one-year reindeer-herd
<i>gñ</i> > <i>ññ</i> (23)	<i>ččñ-ñito'rkm</i> < <i>ččg-ñito'rkm</i> egg goes out; i. e., young bird hatches
<i>kq</i> > <i>wkw</i> (24)	<i>mükwui'gun</i> < <i>mük-gui'gun</i> many block-houses
<i>kq</i> > <i>gq</i> (24)	<i>müg-ga'LE</i> < <i>mük-ga'LE</i> many birds
<i>gq</i> > <i>qq</i> (only in suffixes) (25)	<i>ei'qqäi</i> < <i>ei<sup>ε</sup>g-qäi</i> little wolf; but <i>ei<sup>ε</sup>g-quli'gul</i> wolf's voice
<i>lg</i> > <i>ly</i> (26)	<i>ne'lyi<sup>ε</sup></i> it became 9.11
<i>tq</i> > <i>ty</i> (26)	<i>rityä<sup>ε</sup></i> thou shalt be

### § 8. Auxiliary Vowels

(1) When clusters of more than two consonants are formed by composition, the clusters are broken up by an auxiliary vowel, ordinarily *i*.

Before *w*, *v*, the auxiliary vowel is *u*.

Before or after a *p* which forms part of a consonantic cluster, the auxiliary vowel is *ü*.

Before or after *q*, the auxiliary vowel is *ä*.

- tɪ'ṃk-ɪ-le'ut* (*tɪ'ṃkɪlqɪ-le'ut* R 278) hummock-head  
*ɨ'tt-ɪ-pɪlvɪ'ntɪn* precious metal (i. e., gold)  
*gɛl-ɪ-tkɪn-ɪ-k* on the top of the sea-ice 9.1  
*ṃä'lvül-ɪ-ɛhɪn* the herd 79.6, see also *ṃä'lvülɪɛhɪn* 32.11  
*ɛlɛ'u't-ɪ-kä* without head 47.8 (< *ɛ-lewt-kä*)  
*ɨ'tt-u-wül* precious ware  
*ɛül-u-wɔ'lät* long knives 15.2 (< *ɨwl+valät*)  
*n-ɪ-np-ä-qin* old one  
*n-ä-plu'qin* small one 10.2  
*lɛlänpɪnɔ'ɛhüqäi* eyes (had) the small old man  
*n-ɨ'tt-ä-qin* heavy, dear

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like *z*, *ʒ*, *wkw*, *d*, *d'*, *t*, *ɛ*, *ʃ*, *ʃ'*—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

- mɪ'limul* blood 117.12  
*tɪ'l-ɪ-tɪl* the entrance 105.15  
*mɪngɪ'limɪn* hand 57.10  
*gɔ'lɪlɛn* he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22  
*gɛ'wkwulɪn* they have tied him up 20.10 (< *ge-wkut-lin*)

(3) When two consonants forming a cluster come to stand in final position, an auxiliary vowel is introduced.

- pɪ'nɪl* news  
*pɨ'kɪl* big bowl  
*ɛvɪ'rit* dresses 7.8

In some cases, however, there is a terminal obscure vowel, which is derived from an older, stronger vowel.

- gɔ'LE* bird (stem *gɔlhɔ*)  
*rɨ'rki* walrus (stem *rɨrkɔ*)  
*vɛ'LE* raven (stem *vɛlvɛ*)  
*kɪ'rɨɪ* buck, male (stem *kɪrɨɛ*)

### § 9. *u*, *w*

Short, obscure *u* may change to *w* or *v*.

- |                                 |                                   |  |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>tɔ'urkɪn</i> thou sayest     | <i>tɔ'wtɪw</i> word               | <i>gɔ'tvilɛn</i> he has said           |
| <i>gɔ'urkɪn</i> thou splittest  | <i>gɔ'wɔgɔ</i> the split one      | <i>gɔ'rvilɛn</i> he has split          |
| <i>ru'urkɪn</i> thou scrapest   | <i>ru'wɔgɔ</i> the scraped<br>one | <i>gɔ'nyɪlɛn</i> he has<br>scraped     |
| <i>ru'urkɪn</i> thou displacest | <i>ru'wɔgɔ</i> displaced          | <i>gɛ'nyɪlɪn</i> he has dis-<br>placed |
| <i>rg'orkɪn</i> thou pluckest   | <i>rg'wɔgɔ</i> plucked            | <i>gɛ'igo'lɛn</i> he has<br>plucked    |

### § 10. Intervocalic Elision

(1) Intervocalic *w*, *y*, (*i*), and *g* are either much weakened or drop out altogether. This happens particularly when the vowels preceding and following these sounds are alike. After an elision, the two vowels are often assimilated.

*ñé'ekik* < *ñew-ekik* daughter  
*gagla'lên* < *gagala'lên* he has passed by  
*gaa'lhilên* < *gaya'lhilên* he has moved away  
*müwa'qoa'k* < *müwa'qoga'k* let me sit down!  
*ya'ilhm* and *ya'gilhm* foot  
*mit'nmüt* < *mit-i-tmä-git* we killed thee 10.12  
*pé'gtu-u'rgirgin* < *pé'gti-wu'rgirgin* runner-noise 32.10  
*éim'erkin* < *éim'tirkin* thou creakest

(2) *i*+*y* followed by a vowel, and *y*+*i* preceded by *e* and *i*, form neutral *i* (see § 2, p. 644). The preceding *i* is assimilated by this neutral *i*.

*ge'iliin* < *ge'yiliin* given  
*tiq'lhim* < *tiyq'lhim* vein  
*qia'lhim* and *qiyq'lhim* heel  
*ge'ilqälin* < *ge-yilqälin* he slept  
*mü'illhit* < *mü'yillhit* I will give thee

### § 11. Phonetic Influences between Words

The changes described in §§ 6-10 occur not only in word composition, but also between the end and beginning of words that form parts of a syntactic unit.

*gümnü'n evkwewkwala'ê* < *gümnü'n ewkwew gagla'ê* my left-hand driving-reindeer passed by  
*ya'ran mü'ri nan'ñênai'pü-mö'rê* < *ya'rat mü'ri* we grew too angry (*ya'rat* too much; *mü'ri* we; *an'ñênai'pü* to become angry)  
*enne'n üm ä'lqe'm ñitg'ê* < *ä'lqe'p ñito'ê* a nail went out (*enne'n* one; *ä'lqe'p* nail; *ñitg*, *-ñitg* to go out; *-i'ê* 3d per. sing.)  
*nü'mnrimj'-a'lhitya't* < *nü'mnrimt ya'lhityä't* the neighboring camp moved away

Sometimes *ñ* or *t* is inserted between two vowels—one terminal, the next initial—that come together in a sentence.

*tele'g-vi'tä-ñ-i'irkin* gradually dying he is

Such insertions, as well as the assimilation of sounds belonging to different words, are used with a great deal of freedom.

### § 12. Initial Consonantic Clusters

I have found the following initial consonantic clusters:

Initial sound	Second sound					
	ɔ	m	n	ñ	r	l
p	<i>pɔ</i>		<i>pn</i>	<i>pñ</i>	<i>pr</i>	<i>pl</i>
t			<i>tn</i>	<i>tñ</i>	<i>tr</i>	
k		<i>km</i>			<i>kr</i>	<i>kl</i>
q				<i>qñ</i>	<i>qr</i>	<i>ql</i>
g					<i>gr</i>	
m			<i>mn</i>	<i>mñ</i>	<i>mr</i>	<i>ml</i>
n					<i>nr</i>	
ñ						<i>ñl</i>

It appears from this table that the stops and nasals, with following nasal *r* and *l*, are the only admissible classes of initial clusters, and not all the combinations of these are found. The combination *pɔ* seems exceptional in this series. Combinations which occur in initial but not in medial position are printed in italics.

Examples:

*pr* interjection 88.17

*pré'rem* meat pudding

*pläq'i* that is all 107.21

*plä'kilhin* boot

*pčëqtuwa'rkín* thou takest off the boots

*pné'rkín* thou whettest it

*pño'rkín* thou imbibest

*tní'rkín* thou sewest

*tñarrgê'ti* to the dawn 135.16

*traya'aa'n* shall I use it? 93.19

*trennike'wkwä'n* I shall do to it 99.10

*kmi'ñäqäi* small son 126.11

*kri'tkin* upper course of a river

*kloka'lhín* a kind of berry

*gra'qu* to the disowning 94.30

*gres'qi'wkwí' gít* enter! 102.35

*qla'ulqai* little man 9.6

*gró'é'* she brought forth 104.8

*mle'rkín* thou breakest

*mñe-ēñe'ñilín* sacrificing-shaman 42.5

*mne'wkwēnmik* let us go away! 17.8

*mra'gtia'k* I shall go home 99.2

*mra'yo'ñín* shall we visit him? 108.10

*nre'q-i-ǵit* what dost thou want? 125.6

*nle'n'ñlet* flame

*ǵñaurra'ǵtatyč'* take wife home 115.8

Since many stems consist of consonantic clusters that are not admissible either medially or initially, a great number of very curious phonetic changes of stems occur, either by consonantic assimilation or dissimilation, or by the insertion of auxiliary vowels. Since these changes are not so frequent in Koryak, the latter dialect often shows the original form of the stem, which can not be recognized from the Chukchee forms alone. I will give here examples of a series of phonetic changes of this type.

(1) Medial modifications.

Initial cluster of stems		
Initial form	Probable stem	Medial form
<i>pn</i>	* <i>pn</i>	<i>mn</i>
<i>tn</i>	* <i>tn</i>	<i>nn</i>
<i>tñ</i>	* <i>tñ</i>	<i>n'ñ</i>
<i>km</i>	* <i>km</i>	<i>wm</i>
<i>ql</i>	* <i>ql</i>	<i>i</i>

(2) In the second group the stem, when in initial position, loses the first sound of the consonantic cluster.

Initial form	Probable stem	Medial form
<i>k</i>	* <i>rk</i>	<i>rk</i>
<i>p</i>	* <i>lp</i>	<i>lp</i>
<i>k</i>	* <i>lk</i>	<i>lk</i>
<i>q</i>	* <i>lq</i>	<i>lq</i>
<i>l</i>	* <i>ll</i>	<i>til</i>
<i>k</i> and <i>tk</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>trk</i>
<i>w</i>	* <i>wkw</i>	( <i>wkw</i> )
<i>v</i>	* <i>tv</i>	( <i>tv</i> )

(3) In a few cases a substitution of sounds occurs, partly due to the phonetic laws described before.

Initial	Probable stem	Medial
<i>r</i>	* <i>r</i>	<i>n<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>ǵ</i>	* <i>ǵ</i>	<i>h, y</i>

<sup>1</sup> Not in all cases.

(4) In a great many cases an auxiliary vowel is introduced between the members of the cluster.

Initial	Probable stem	Medial
<i>pr</i> and <i>ptr</i>	* <i>pr</i>	<i>pr</i>
<i>pūk</i>	* <i>pk</i>	<i>pk</i>
<i>prā</i>	* <i>pñ</i>	<i>mñ</i>
<i>r</i> and <i>tuw</i>	* <i>tr</i>	<i>tr</i>
<i>titt</i>	* <i>tt</i>	<i>tt</i>
<i>k</i> and <i>tik</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tk</i>
<i>tit</i>	* <i>tl</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>kit</i>	* <i>kt</i>	<i>gl</i>
<i>yrt</i>	* <i>yt</i>	<i>gt</i>
<i>kty</i>	* <i>ky</i>	<i>gg</i>
<i>tm</i>	* <i>tn</i>	<i>nm</i>
<i>git</i>	* <i>gt</i>	<i>gt</i>
<i>mük</i>	* <i>mk</i>	<i>mk</i>
<i>ñp</i>	* <i>ñp</i>	<i>mp</i>
<i>ñt</i>	* <i>ñt</i>	<i>nt</i>
<i>ño</i>	* <i>ñv</i>	<i>ng</i>
<i>rig</i>	* <i>rg</i>	<i>rg</i>
<i>gil</i>	* <i>gl</i>	<i>gl</i>
<i>tr</i> or <i>rir</i>	* <i>rr</i>	<i>rr</i>
<i>qiy</i>	* <i>qy</i>	<i>ey</i>
<i>vā(i)</i>	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vg</i>
<i>wiy</i>	* <i>wy</i>	<i>wg</i>
<i>lil</i>	* <i>ll</i>	<i>L</i>
<i>yu</i>	* <i>yg</i>	<i>lg</i>
<i>čuw</i>	* <i>čv</i>	<i>čv</i>
<i>lñ</i>	* <i>lñ</i>	<i>lh</i>

Stem			
* <i>pne</i>	<i>pne'rkın</i>	t h o u	<i>ninemne'gın</i> she whetted it 44.4 whettest it
* <i>tñi</i>	<i>tñi'rkın</i>	thou sew-	<i>ge'nñilin</i> he sewed est it
* <i>tñi</i>	<i>tñi'wrkın</i>	t h o u	<i>gen'ñiu'lin</i> he sent it sendest it
* <i>kmiñet</i>	<i>kmiñe'trkın</i>	s h e	<i>gewmi'ñezin</i> she brought forth brings forth
<i>qli'kkin</i>	twenty (lit., that of a man)		<i>elikkeu'këlin</i> nineteen (lit., one lacking to a man)
* <i>rkile</i> or } * <i>rkele</i> }	<i>kile'nnin</i>	he fol-	<i>gerkele'lin</i> she followed him 37.1 lowed them 50.8
* <i>rkur</i>	<i>ku'rırkın</i>	t h o u	<i>ge'rkunin</i> he bought buyest it
* <i>rkipl</i>	<i>ki'plınên</i>	s h e	<i>gar'kiplilen</i> he had struck 86.7 struck her 86.5
* <i>lpinr</i>	<i>pi'nřrkın</i>	t h o u	<i>galpi'nřlên</i> he gave givist to him <i>nilpi'nřgênat</i> they gave them 14.3



	Stem		
* <i>lpinit</i> or	}	<i>pin'i rkin</i> t h o u	<i>nelpin'i tyä'n</i> they bound him 8.1
* <i>lpnit</i>		bindest him	
* <i>lqät</i>		<i>qä't y i<sup>ε</sup></i> h e l e f t	<i>g'e'lqälin</i> he left 59.1 100.16
* <i>lqäin</i>		<i>qäineu'nin</i> h e s h o t	<i>nılqäineu'nin</i> they shot 78.10 at it 78.13
* <i>tku</i>		<i>ku'rkin</i> t h o u c o n - s u m e s t i t	<i>g'e'tkulin</i> he consumed it 7.2
* <i>wkut</i>		<i>wuti'lhın</i> t y i n g	<i>g'e'wkułın</i> they had tied him 20.10 stick 104.24
* <i>tva</i>		<i>vq'rkin</i> h e i s	125.2 <i>qatva'rkin</i> s t a y ! 57.3
* <i>twëtä</i>		<i>vê t ê a' r k i n</i> h e s t a n d s	<i>qatvê'tälên</i> h e s t o o d
		<i>wëtä'lm</i> s t a n d i n g	<i>nıtvê'tëaqên</i> h e s t o o d 48.1 48.3
* <i>pr</i>		<i>pr'rgä'n</i> t h o u h a s t p l u c k e d i t	<i>g'e'prilin</i> p l u c k e d o u t
		<i>pr'rkin</i> h e t e a r s o u t	<i>né'priä'n</i> t h e y t o r e o f f 30.7
* <i>pkir</i>		<i>päki'rgä't</i> t h e y c a m e	64.2 <i>g'e'pkılin</i> h e c a m e 8.6
* <i>prılo</i>		<i>pinlo'nên</i> h e a s k e d h i m	80.3 <i>namñılo'a'n</i> t h e y a s k e d h i m 66.24
* <i>tvu</i>		<i>tu'wnên</i> s h e p r o m i s e d i t	49.6 <i>g'a'tvulên</i> h e p r o m i s e d 101.21
* <i>ttu</i>		<i>tıttu'rkin</i> h e b l o w s	<i>g'ettu'lin</i> h e b l o w e d
* <i>tle</i>		<i>tile'ät</i> t h e y m o v e d	64.9 <i>mınlé'gıt</i> l e t m e m o v e t h e e ! 89.7
* <i>tkê</i>		<i>tikê'rkin</i> t h o u s m e l l e s t o f	<i>g'a'tkêlên</i> h e s m e l l e d
* <i>yto</i>		<i>yıtö'nên</i> h e p u l l s i t o u t	45.2 <i>g'agto'lên</i> h e h a d b e e n p u l l e d o u t 42.8
* <i>kyeu</i>		<i>kıye'wkwi<sup>ε</sup></i> h e a w o k e	55.8 <i>g'eggeu'lin</i> h e a w o k e 55.3
* <i>tḡ</i>		<i>trmnê'n</i> h e k i l l e d h i m	43.11 <i>na'nmua'n</i> t h e y k i l l e d h i m 8.2
* <i>gtiñ</i>		<i>gıti'i'n-lu'lqäl</i> p r e t t y f a c e	<i>nı'gtiñqin</i> h e i s p r e t t y
* <i>mk</i>		<i>mü'kicin</i> m o r e n u m e r o u s	12.3 <i>nü'mküqin</i> n u m e r o u s 12.7
* <i>ñpe</i>		<i>ñipe'ät</i> t h e y c a m e a s h o r e	7.8 <i>g'empe'lin</i> t h e y l a n d e d 12.9
* <i>ñto</i>		<i>ñıtö'e<sup>ε</sup></i> h e w e n t o u t	<i>g'antö'lên</i> h e h a s g o n e o u t 8.4 56.4

Stem		
* <i>ñt</i>	<i>ñiti'rkɪn</i> it detaches itself	<i>q'entɪlɪn</i> it has detached itself
* <i>ñvo</i>	<i>ño'orkɪn</i> he begins	<i>gamqə'lɛn</i> he has begun
* <i>rg</i>	<i>ri'qɪrkɪn</i> he digs out	<i>q'rgɪlɪn</i> he has dug out
* <i>g'lo</i>	<i>gɪlo'lɛn</i> the onesor-rowing 27.12	<i>nɪglo'qɛn</i> she sorrowed 27.10
* <i>rr</i>	<i>ri'riq</i> untying 63.12	<i>nerrɪ'net</i> they were untied 63.11
* <i>rrl</i>	<i>ri'ri'li'rkɪn</i> he puts down	<i>gerrɪ'lɪn</i> he has put down
	<i>ri'ri'li'nɪn</i> he let him go 121.33	<i>nerrɪ'lhä'n</i> they set him free 8.2
* <i>vya</i>	<i>vɪa'arkɪn</i> he lets go (an animal)	<i>gavgə'lɛn</i> he has let go
* <i>wyʔ</i>	<i>wi'yowi</i> sling	<i>gavgə'ta</i> with a sling
* <i>llep</i>	<i>lilɛ'pɪi<sup>ε</sup></i> he looked 7.6	<i>qälɛ'pɪi<sup>ε</sup></i> look! 79.11 (stem <i>lilɛ</i> eye; - <i>p</i> to put on)
* <i>ygu</i>	<i>yu'urkɪn</i> thou bitest it	<i>q'ɪgɪlɪn</i> he has bitten it
* <i>ɛvi</i>	<i>ɛwɪ'pɪt</i> piece cut off 72.19	<i>nɪnɛ'ɛvɪqɪn</i> they cut it 72.18
* <i>lñ</i>	<i>li'ñrkɪn</i> he has him as	<i>ti'lhɪqɪt</i> I have you as 15.8

The change from initial *r* to medial *n* occurs only in transitive verbs:

<i>re'urkɪn</i> thou piercest it	<i>geneu'lɪn</i> he pierced
<i>ru'rkɪn</i> thou eatest it	<i>geneu'lɪn</i> he ate

but *ri'ñe'rkɪn* he flies *gerɪ'ñelɪn* he flew

Initial *tr* is sometimes replaced by *ɛr* (see § 2, p. 646).

*ɛr'ɛr-ɛo'oɛa* before the entrance (lit., entrance before), instead of *ti'li-tto'oɛa*.

In a number of cases stems seem to be reduplicated when initial, and lose this reduplication in medial position.

<i>mɛ'ri'nɛɛ</i> slow	<i>ni'nɛqɪn</i> the slow one (stem <i>nɛɛ</i> )
<i>yɑrɔ'ñi</i> house	<i>gɑrɔ'lɛn</i> having a house (stem <i>rɔ</i> )
<i>yɔrɔ'ñi</i> sleeping-room	<i>gɑrɔ'lɛn</i> having a sleeping-room (stem <i>rɔ</i> )

Perhaps the initial *y* of the last two examples is derived from *r*, as in Koryak it replaces *r*.

Irregular is—

*i<sup>h</sup>rerkin* he arranges a rein-deer driving-match.     *geri<sup>h</sup>lelin* he has arranged a rein-deer driving-match

When a stem consisting of a consonantic cluster stands alone, auxiliary vowels are introduced after the initial and before the terminal consonant.

*pr<sup>h</sup>ñil* news (stem *pñl*)  
*ku<sup>h</sup>kil* one-eyed man (stem *kkl*)

§ 13. *Pronunciation of Men and Women*

The pronunciation of the women<sup>1</sup> differs from that of the men. Women generally substitute *š* for *č* and *r*, particularly after weak vowels. They also substitute *šš* for *rč* and *čh*. The sounds *č* and *r* are quite frequent; so that the speech of women, with its ever-recurring *š*, sounds quite peculiar, and is not easily understood by an inexperienced ear. Women are quite able to pronounce *č* and *r*, and when quoting the words of a man,—as, for instance, in tales,—use these sounds. In ordinary conversation, however, the pronunciation of men is considered as unbecoming a woman.

Examples are—

Men's pronunciation	Women's pronunciation	
<i>ra'mkičhin</i>	<i>ša'mkiššin</i>	people
<i>Pa'rkala</i>	<i>Pa'ššala</i>	by Parkal
<i>čümña'ta</i>	<i>šümña'ta</i>	by a buck
<i>Čaivu'urgin</i>	<i>Šaivu'uššin</i>	(a name)

The men, particularly in the Kolyma district, drop intervocalic consonants, principally *n* and *t*. In this case the two adjoining vowels are assimilated.

*nitva'qaat* < *nitvø'qênat*  
*gei'miLeet* < *gei'miLinet*  
*tì'rkivir* < *tì'rkiritir*

<sup>1</sup> An example of woman's pronunciation is given in my *Chukchee Mythology* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, VIII, pp. 144, 145); and more fully in my *Chukchee Materials* pp. 121-126, Nos. 26, 27, 28.

It would seem that this process of elimination of intervocalic consonants has been very important in the development of the present form of the Chukchee (see § 10).

Among the maritime Chukchee, the men use both the fuller and shorter forms. Among all the branches of the tribe, women use only the fuller forms.

### Koryak (§§ 14-18)

#### § 14. Vowels

The system of vowels of the Koryak is considerably reduced. Corresponding to the Chukchee, we may distinguish three classes of vowels:

(1) Weak vowels	<i>i</i>		<i>ä</i>	<i>u</i>
(2) Strong vowels	<i>e</i>			<i>o, ø</i>
(3) Neutral vowels	$\left\{ \begin{array}{cccc} & & a & \\ I & E & a & \check{u} \end{array} \right.$			

In this series, *ø* and *ä* are rare

*ø* is generally replaced by *o*

*ä* is generally replaced by *I* or *u*

A comparison of the table of Koryak vowels with that of the Chukchee vowels shows that the glide *i* is missing, *e* has taken the place of *ê*, and *a* neutral that of *e* weak and *a* strong (see § 3).

Diphthongs formed with terminal *i* and *u* occur, but the *u* of the Chukchee is often replaced by *w* or *v*.

Kor. Kam. *apq'vekrn*                      Chukchee *äpq'urkrn*

In the dialect of the Kerek, *i* often replaces strong *e*, and is a strong vowel.

Kor. Kam.	Kerek	Chukchee
<i>m'e'mil</i> thong-seal	<i>m'i'mil</i> thong-seal	<i>m'ë'mil</i> spotted seal
<i>taññg'ti</i>	<i>taññi'ti</i>	<i>taññë'ti</i> to a <i>taññrn</i>

I have observed that the Asiatic Eskimo, when speaking Chukchee, also have a tendency to replace *ê* by *i*. They say—

*m'i'mil* instead of Chukchee *m'ë'mil* spotted seal

*tirga'arkrn* instead of Chukchee *têrga'arkrn* he cries

I do not know whether this peculiarity of the Eskimo is related to that of the Kerek.

## § 15. Consonants

	Stop		Affricative		Nasal		Continued	Lateral	Trill
	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant			
Labial . . . . .	<i>p</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	—	—
Alveolar . . . . .	<i>t</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>n</i>	<i>s, c</i>	(L) <i>l</i>	—
Palatalized alveolar	<i>t'</i>	<i>d'</i>	—	—	—	<i>n'</i>	<i>s', č</i>	—	—
Palatal . . . . .	<i>k</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>ñ</i>	—	—	—
Velar . . . . .	<i>q</i>	<i>g</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>x</i>	—	—
Glottal . . . . .	—	<i>ε</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

*h, w, y,*

## § 16. Comparison with Chukchee

The principal differences between this system and that of the Chukchee are found in the series of affricatives, laterals, and trills. The laterals and trills are absent in the Koryak of Kamenskoye.

(1) *č* is often replaced by *c* (in Kor. II, pronounced like English *sh*).

Koryak II *oid'kocik* Kor. 96.22 (Chukchee *wwa'qočé'gti* Kor. 95.6)

*ora'ček* Kor. 102.17 (Koryak I *oya'ček* Kor. 101.1)

(2) *č'* and *č''* are replaced by a strong and long *yy*.

*ko'yyon* the one bought (Chukchee *ko'č'o*)

(3) As in Chukchee, *l̥* is closely related to *č*, *s'*, *s*, (see § 2).

*la'xlañ* winter

*čE'xčex* cold

*gayi'sqata* sleep! Kor. 31.8 *tyyoyi'l̥qatñ* I will sleep Kor. 31.8

*pipi'kalñin* mouse Kor. 58.7 *pipi'kča-ñaw* Mouse-Woman Kor. 23.3

*valvi'mtla'nañ* to Raven-Man Kor. 12.4 *va'čvi-ñau't* Raven-Woman Kor. 18.4

Correspondences of Koryak *l̥* and Chukchee *č*, *s'*, *s*, and *vice versa*, are also not rare.

Koryak *yalqi'wikin* he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee *resqi'wkwie* 11.2)

*vos'qé'ti* to darkness Kor. 57.6 (Chukchee *wu'lqik* 126.1)

(4) Koryak *l̥* is pronounced almost like Polish *ł* (Russian *л*), the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, the posterior part of the back of the tongue being depressed at the same time. The tip of the tongue is a little farther back than in the corresponding Polish sound. This sound may be recognized even preceding an *i*.

*gavi'yalin* he has died (Chukchee *gevi'lin*)

The ordinary post-alveolar *l* is also found.

*ñaw'ānpil* little woman.

*milya'qpil* small shell Kor. 23.8

(5) The Chukchee *ɮ* and *ɮ̣* are replaced by a sonant sound produced by contact between the tip of the tongue and the upper teeth and between the back of the tongue and the palate. The sound is continued, and accompanied by a slight trill of the back of the tongue. Although this sound replaces both *ɮ* and *ɮ̣* of Chukchee, I have retained for it the second Chukchee symbol, *ɮ̣*.

(6) The Chukchee *r* is replaced in Koryak I by *y*, which, with preceding vowels, forms diphthongs.<sup>1</sup>

The *y* of the Koryak is always pronounced with a raising of the tip of the tongue, which gives it a somewhat sibilant, strongly aspirated effect. In Paren it sounds sometimes almost like *ɕ*.

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
<i>koi'ñin</i>	<i>koi'ñin</i> cup
<i>va'ykin</i> Kor. 13.10	<i>va'rkin</i> there is
<i>ñito'ykin</i> Kor. 12.5	<i>ñito'rkin</i> he goes out
<i>yalqi'wikin</i> Kor. 13.9	<i>resqi'wkwie</i> 11.2, 19.3 he entered
<i>ya'qykin</i> Kor. 66.14	<i>re'qärkin</i> 18.6 what has happened to you?
<i>tryayai'triñ</i> I'll go home	<i>ra'gtiê</i> he goes home 122.7
Kor. 30.5	
Paren	
<i>ye'li</i> Kor. 60.1., 64.14	<i>êe'li</i> there
<i>ya'lviiñnen</i>	<i>êe'lviiñnin</i> he will vanquish him;
	but <i>ya'lvuñnen</i> Kor. 92.20

In a number of cases *r* is replaced by *s*, *s*, *t*, or *ɕ*.

Koryak	Chukchee
<i>gayi'êêalin</i> Kor. 17.3	<i>geyirre'lin</i> 96.21 it was full
<i>ga'êêilin</i> Kor. 15.10	<i>ge'lhilin</i> 64.4 he had him for
<i>grêgola'i'ti</i> to a high place	<i>girgo'lgên</i> 124.1 from above
Kor. 20.1	
<i>ñatñin</i> Kor. 60.9	<i>ña'rgin</i> 49.7 outside
<i>gapi's'qalin</i> Kor. 84.11	<i>gepi'rqilin</i> she fell down
<i>yi'ssik</i> Kor. 39.2	<i>ri'rik</i> to untie something
<i>gi'ssa</i> Kor. 18.7	<i>gir</i> thou
<i>ina'ssinañ</i> Kor. 24.10	<i>ine'rrine</i> marline spike, awl (instrument to untie with)
<i>wi'ssiñ</i> Kor. 30.3	<i>wü'rrü</i> on the back
<i>-gitiñ(in)</i>	<i>-giriq(in)</i> abstract noun
<i>palqa'thitñin</i>	<i>palqa'tirgin</i> old age

<sup>1</sup> I have written the *i* corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with *i*, while for the sound corresponding to *r* I have retained *y*.

The sound *r* appears in Koryak I folk-lore as characteristic of several monsters and evil spirits. It is also used in Russian loan-words.

*ka'rman* pocket (from карма<sup>нь</sup>)

*preka'ssek* commercial agent (from прикащикъ)

*ša'qar* sugar (from сахаръ)

In the last of these the *r* is palatalized.

(7) In Koryak II, *r* is used in the same way as in Chukchee, and also sometimes replaces the *ʃ* of Koryak I.

*ka'mak-ru* (village Reki'n<sup>nok</sup>) } small image of a guardian  
*ka'mak-ʃu* (Kamenskoye) }

In other cases *r* is replaced by *t*, *s*, *š*, as in Koryak I.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Voyampolka, Kamchatka
<i>t'i'rkɪtɪr</i> sun	<i>t'i'ykɪtɪy</i> Kor. 19.3	<i>t'i'tkɪtɪt</i>
<i>e'ñer</i> star	<i>a'ñay</i>	<i>e'ñer</i>
<i>m'u'ri</i> we	<i>m'u'yi</i> (dual)	<i>m'u'ri</i> (dual)

(8) The Chukchee *ř* is replaced by *y* or by palatalization of the preceding consonant in Koryak I, by *t* in Koryak II.

Koryak I, *gape'nyɪlen* he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee *pé'nřiněn* Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, *gape'ntɪɪen*, Kor. 96.26)

(9) In the dental series, *s* appears chiefly in place of Chukchee *r*; *š* sometimes replaces *y*; *tš* often replaces *tk*.

*mɪssaa'ʃomɪ* we shall hear (Chukchee *mɪrraa'ʃomɪ*)

*šɪ'ʃɪɪɪ* tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee *yɪ'ʃɪɪɪ* 7.10)

*gɪtša't* legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee *gɪtka't* 51.4)

*qɪɪ'u'tšu* drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee *qɪɪ'u'tkwi*<sup>š</sup>)

(10) *y* often replaces Chukchee *g*.

*yɪkša'vekɪn* he makes haste (Chukchee *gajša'urkɪn*)

*tayyeñwo'ykɪn* he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee *təgqɪ* 102.35)

(11) *v* often replaces Chukchee *w*. Initial *v* is much more frequent than initial *w*.

*vaʃo'm* Kor. 55.7 (Chukchee *walo'm* 32.7) to hear.

(12) *d* of the Kamenskoye dialect is analogous to the same sound in Chukchee, and appears after palatalized *n*.

Kor. Kam. *ñaw-ɪ'nd'ula<sup>en</sup>* < *ñaw-ɪ-nyu-la<sup>en</sup>* the one serving for a wife (stems *ñaw* woman; *nyu* to watch the herd)

Chukchee *ñeund'u'ɪɪn* < *ñeu-nyu-ɪɪn* (stems *ñəw*, *-nyu* [*riɪ*])

The Paren *n* in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word *ñewr'nn'ula<sup>n</sup>*.

In the same way,—

Kamenskoye *ñá'nd'en*, or even *ñá'n'jen* (from *ñá'nyen*)

Paren *ñá'n'en* that one

(13) *h* is almost a velar continuant, and after consonants sounds similar to *g*.

*pálqa'theñin* and *pálqa'tgeñin*

*qya'thi* Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee *qäye'ty<sup>i</sup>e* 15.11)

(14) *wg* or *g<sup>u</sup>* (labialized *g*) replaces Chukchee labialized *k*, (*wkw*).

*yiwgréi'ta* Kor. 32.1

*iwkuč'i'tä* 37.3 drinking

*gawgu'xin* Kor. 23.4

*ga'wkuzin* 20.10 they tied him

*qakya'wgi* Kor. 28.9

*qäggé'wkw<sup>i</sup>e* 75.31 wake up!

(15) *x* often replaces Chukchee *q*.

(16) In place of the glottal stop of Chukchee, when due to the elision of *q*, the older *q* is often retained or replaced by *x*.

*čE'xčex* cold (Chukchee *čä'<sup>e</sup>čeñ*)

*ma'qmít* arrows (dual) (Chukchee *mä'<sup>e</sup>mít*, plural)

The glottal stop of Koryak is always stronger than the corresponding sound of Chukchee, and has a tendency to lengthen the preceding vowel.

*yō'<sup>e</sup>ekin* he overtakes (Chukchee *yo'<sup>e</sup>rkin*)

(17) ' indicates a pause (glottal stop), which does not occur in Chukchee. *vrin'ali'nin* he kicked him

(18) The marked tendency of Chukchee to lose intervocalic consonants like *y*, *g*, and *w* — a tendency which in the men's speech affects also *n* and *t* — is absent in Koryak; and consequently many fuller forms occur which presumably explain the frequent vocalic clusters of Chukchee. In all those cases in which the Chukchee loses intervocalic consonants, these are found in Koryak.

Kor. Kam. *tyō'<sup>e</sup>ga'an* I overtook him (Chukchee *tyō'<sup>e</sup>a'n*)

Other words that retain no trace of the intervocalic consonant in Chukchee have it in Koryak.

*vai'am* river (Chukchee *v'en*)

*yawa'ykin* he uses it (Chukchee *ya'arkin*)

*a'<sup>e</sup>l'a<sup>e</sup>l'* axe (Chukchee *a'<sup>e</sup>al'*, but also *a'<sup>e</sup>lha'ttr*, *a'<sup>e</sup>l-ga'ttr*, *ga'ttr* hatchet)

*uyičvat* to play Kor. 32 7 kchee *wučvet* 43.3)



These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren <i>e'ek</i> lamp	<i>intu'welpry</i> son-in-law
Kor. Kam. <i>a'ak</i>	<i>intu'ulpry</i>
Chukchee <i>e'ek</i>	<i>intu'ulpir</i>

The Chukchee cluster *lh* is replaced by *l̄ñ* in Kamenskoye.

Kor. Kam. *ke'nml̄ñm* root (Chukchee *ke'nml̄hm*)

§ 17. *Vocalic Ablaut*

The range of the ablaut is more restricted in the Koryak of Kamenskoye than in Chukchee.

*i* changes into *e*,

*y* changes into *o*;

<i>gi'wlinat</i> they said Kor. 21.2	<i>ge'wñrvog'len</i> he said Kor. 14.4
<i>nu'tanut</i> country, land	<i>ya'nya-nota'lo</i> foreigners

but *a* as ablaut of *e* does not occur, both sounds being represented by a neutral *a*. The Chukchee *ê* is replaced by *e*, the same sound that represents the ablaut of *i*.

The neutral *a* is exemplified in the following words of the Kamenskoye dialect:

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
<i>kal'iykin</i> (stem <i>kal'i</i> )	<i>kel'irkm</i> (stem <i>kel'i</i> )
<i>nu'tanut</i> land (stem <i>nut'a</i> )	<i>nu'tenut</i> (stem <i>nut'e</i> )
<i>a'kkat</i> sons (stem <i>a'kka</i> )	<i>e'kkeet</i> (stem <i>e'kke</i> )
<i>aima'wikm</i> thou approachest (stem <i>aimaw</i> )	<i>eime'urkm</i> (stem <i>eimeu</i> )
<i>kama'na</i> dish (stem <i>kama</i> )	<i>keme'ni</i> (stem <i>keme</i> )

Since *a* is neutral, these stems are also combined with weak vowels. For instance,

*i'ter-kama'na* heavy dish (from *i'ter* heavy, dear)

There are, however, cases in which the *a* represents the type *a*, which requires the ablaut,

<i>e'vir'-ta'mtam</i> goitre, long tumor (stems <i>i'vir'</i> long, <i>ta'mtam</i> tumor); Chukchee <i>ta'mtam</i>
<i>qata'p-e'mat</i> load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17 (stems <i>qatap</i> fish for winter use; <i>imat</i> load); Chukchee <i>qata'p-e'mat</i>

An example of the occurrence of *e*, corresponding to Chukchee *ê*, is—

<i>me'yemy</i> tear (stem <i>meye</i> ); Chukchee <i>me'rême'rê</i> (stem <i>mêrê</i> )
<i>gape'nyilen</i> she attacked her, Kor. 96.8 (stem <i>peny</i> ); Chukchee <i>pe'nrenen</i> Kor. 95.10 (stem <i>penr</i> )

Since the vowel-pair *ɛ-a*, and the vowels *ɛ̃* and *a* of Chukchee, are much more common than the *i̇* and *u̇* groups, the ablaut is not as striking a feature of Koryak as it is of Chukchee.

In the Kamenskoye dialect the ablaut of *i̇* and *u̇* is not as rigidly required as in Chukchee. Particularly in word composition the weak vowels often remain uninfluenced by the strong vowels with which they come into contact. We find, for instance,—

*nəpɛ̃!a'-mɯ'yɯ* instead of *nəpɛ̃!a'-mɔ'yɔ* we are left.

The weak *i* of Chukchee, which is due to the contraction of *thi* and *ɛhi* into *ti* and *ɛi*, does not occur, since the consonantic cluster remains unchanged.

*palqa'thit̃ñ* or *palqath̃e'ññ* old age (compare Chukchee *palqa'tirgin* < *palqa'thrgin*)

Initial *u* inserted before *w*, labialized *k* (*wkw*), and *y*, occurs here as in Chukchee, and is neutral.

Koryak	Chukchee
<i>uwat'tikñ</i> he kisses (stem <i>wat</i> )	<i>ukwɛ'ɛrkñ</i> (stem <i>ukwɛt</i> )
<i>uyä'quɛ</i> husband (stem <i>uya'quɛ</i> )	<i>wwä'quɛ</i> (stem <i>wwä'quɛi̇</i> )

Several dialects of both groups of the Koryak have retained the vowels *ɛ* and *ɛ̃*. These have the ablaut analogous to that of the Chukchee.

Kor. Kamenskoye <i>gatai'kiliñ</i>	(stem <i>taikri</i> )	} he has made
Kor. Paren <i>gete'i'kiliñ</i>	(stem <i>teikri</i> )	
Chukchee <i>gɛte'i'kiliñ</i>	(stem <i>teikri</i> )	

§ 18. Other Phonetic Processes

*Lack of Vocalic Contraction.*—When two vowels come together, contraction rarely occurs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>añqa'-nna'n</i> < <i>añqa'-enna'n</i>	<i>añqa'-enna'n</i> sea-fish
<i>ñew'ttiñ</i> < <i>ñew-a'ttiñ</i>	<i>ñaw-a'ttiñ</i> she-dog

*Medial Consonantic Processes.*—The alveolars *t* and *ɛ* are not palatalized by following *ɟ* or *h* (see § 7, 26).

Chukchee	Koryak
<i>palqa'ti-rgiñ</i> < <i>palqat-girgiñ</i>	<i>palqath-e'-ññ</i> old age

*ñ* generally remains unchanged before other consonants.

Chukchee	Koryak
<i>tam-pera'rk̃ñ</i> < <i>tañ-pera'rk̃ñ</i>	<i>tañ-peye'ykiñ</i> he looks well
<i>qinere'mpei'</i> take meat out of kettle for me (stem <i>mpɛ</i> )	<i>kokañpalai'ke</i> they take meat out of kettle Kor. 27.5

*k* before other consonants occurs.

Chukchee  
*nigtäqên* < *ni* < *kt-qên*

Koryak  
*niktä'qen* hard

The medial clusters *km*, *pñ*, *pn*, which are absent in Chukchee, occur in Koryak.

Chukchee  
*gewmiñē'lin* < *ge-kmiñel-lin*

Koryak  
*gakmi'nalin* she brought forth  
 a child

*amñilka* < *a-pñl-ka*  
*namñila'tinat* 78.4 < *na-pñl-*  
*atinat*

*apñilka* no news  
*gapñilañvo'lenau* they told  
 about Kor. 26.1

*Auxiliary Vowels.*—The most frequent auxiliary vowel is *i*; but *a*, which replaces Chukchee *ä*, also occurs.

Chukchee  
*yara'ñi*  
*nitläqin*

Koryak  
*yaya'ña* house  
*ni'tlaqin* heavy

The terminal vowel *i* in Koryak often assumes a more perceptible nasalisation than the corresponding Chukchee sound (see § 2, p. 645).

*ee'ti* and *ee'tiñ* to the sky Kor. 14.9, 10.

(Compare Chukchee *añga-čormē'ti* to the seashore 67.17)

*Initial Consonantic Clusters.*—I have found the following initial clusters in the Koryak of Kamenskoye:

Initial sound	Second sound						
	č	m	n	ñ	y	ı	v
p	pč		pn	pñ	py	pı	
t			tn	tñ	ty		tv
k		km			ky	kı	
q					qy	qı	
ğ							
m						mı	
n						nı	
ñ							

It will be seen that this table agrees well with the corresponding table in Chukchee (*r* being throughout replaced by *y*), except that *tv* occurs, which is impossible in Chukchee.

Kor. Kam.  
*tv'i'tikın* he stands  
*čotta'i'nik-tvę'tekın* he stands  
 on the outer part of the  
 house Kor. 43.5  
*gatv'i'lin* he stood

Chukchee  
*vëtč'a'rkrn* (stem *-tvëtča*)  
*gatv'č'alên*

However, *va'ykin* Kor. 13.10 < *tva-ykin* loses its initial *t*.

The changes that occur in consonantic stems in medial and initial position are quite analogous to those of the Chukchee, except that *k* appears with following consonant in initial position. Other differences are shown in the following table:

Chukchee			Koryak		
Initial	Stem	Medial	Initial	Stem	Medial
<i>pn</i>	* <i>pn</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>pn</i>	* <i>pn</i>	<i>pn</i>
<i>km</i>	* <i>km</i>	<i>wm</i>	<i>km</i>	* <i>km</i>	<i>km</i>
<i>k</i> or <i>ttk</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tk</i>	<i>k</i> or <i>ttk</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tē</i>
<i>k</i>	* <i>rk</i>	<i>rk</i>	<i>k</i>	* <i>yk</i>	<i>yk</i>
<i>g</i>	* <i>lg</i>	<i>lg</i>	<i>g</i>	* <i>lg</i>	<i>lg</i>
<i>v</i> or <i>tuv</i>	* <i>tv</i>	<i>tv</i>	<i>v</i> or <i>tv</i>	* <i>tv</i>	<i>tv</i>
<i>piñ</i>	* <i>pñ</i>	<i>mñ</i>	<i>piñ</i>	* <i>pñ</i>	<i>pñ</i>
<i>ño</i>	* <i>ñv</i>	<i>mg</i>	<i>ñiv</i>	* <i>ñv</i>	<i>nv</i>
<i>riq</i>	* <i>rg</i>	<i>rg</i>	<i>sh</i> or <i>yig</i>	* <i>sh</i>	<i>sh</i>
<i>tr</i> or <i>rtr</i>	* <i>rr</i>	<i>rr</i>	{ <i>yiy</i>	* <i>yiy</i>	<i>yiy</i>
<i>vū</i> ( <i>i</i> )	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vg</i>	{ <i>yiss</i>	* <i>ss</i>	<i>ss</i>
<i>yu</i>	* <i>yg</i>	<i>ig</i>	<i>viy</i>	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vy</i>
			<i>yig</i>	* <i>ig</i>	<i>ig</i>

### Examples:

*pna'ikin* he whets  
*tni'ikin* thou sewest it  
*tñi'vikin* thou sendest it  
*kmiñ'a'tikin* she brings forth

*ku'yikin* thou buyest it  
*pnye'ikin* thou givest to him  
*gati'* you left Kor. 18.5  
*ku'ikin* thou consumest it  
*ki'plik* striking Kor. 62.4

*va'ikin* he is  
*vañvo'ykin* he begins to stay  
 Kor. 13.6

*tv'i'tikin* he stands  
*tv'e'tik* to stretch Kor. 38.8

*pyr'ikin* thou tearest it out  
*piñlo'ikin* thou askest him  
*tittu'ikin* he blows  
*tila'ikin* he moves

*tike'ikin* thou smellest of

*gapna'lin* he has whetted  
*ganni'lin* he has sewed it  
*ganñiv'lin* he has sent it  
*gakmi'ñalin* she has brought  
 forth

*gaiku'ylin* he has bought it  
*galpi'nyelen* he has given  
*ga'lqaxin* he has left Kor. 17.3  
*ga'teulin* he has consumed it  
*gaykyp!a'gitea* strike him! Kor.  
 23.8

*ga'tvalen* he has been  
*gatvañvo'lenau* they began to  
 stay Kor. 23.1

*ga'tvilin* he stood  
*ga'tvelen* they stretched it Kor.  
 38.8

*gapyi'lin* he has torn it out  
*gapñilo'len* he has asked  
*gett'u'lin* he has blowu  
*gala'lin* he has moved Kor.  
 14.9

*ga'tde'len* he smelled of

*yito'ikin* he pulls out  
*time'kin* thou killest it

*ñito'ykin* he goes out  
*ñivo'ikin* he begins

*yigv'kin* or *shri'kin* he digs out  
*yi'yikin* thou untiest it  
*yi'ssik* to untie Kor. 39.2

*yissi'likin* thou puttest down  
*vrya'tekin* he lets go (an animal)

*vryalanñivo'ykin* a snow-storm set in Kor. 13.10

*yigu'kem* thou bitest it  
*ya'wikin* thou piercest it  
*yu'kka* to eat Kor. 57.1

*yu'ikin* he eats  
*yin'a'ikin* he flees

*lɛlapitčonvo'ykin* he looks up Kor. 42.8

Irregular is—

*iya<sup>ε</sup>'ikin* he arranges a reindeer driving-match

*gaïto'len* he has pulled out  
*ga'nmi'len* he has killed it  
Kor. 43.6

*ganto'len* he went out Kor. 48.6  
*ganvo'lɛn* he has begun Kor. 48.3

*ga'shilin* he has dug out  
*gayyi'lin* he has untied it  
*nassi'ñvogüm* they are untying me Kor. 39.3

*gassi'lin* he has put down  
*gavya'len* he has let go

*gawya'lyo'len* there was a snow-storm Kor. 13.1

*gaigu'lin* he has bitten  
*gana'wlin* he has pierced it  
*ganu'linat* they have eaten (transitive) Kor. 57.2

*gayi'ñalin* he has fled (intransitive)

*ayaɫapñivo'ykin* he looks bad Kor. 13.8

*galii'ya<sup>ε</sup>'lin* he has arranged a reindeer driving-match

*Dropping of Suffixes.*—It may be mentioned here that all dialects of the Koryak tend to drop the last syllables or sounds—mostly suffixes—when these are not accented

Kor. Kam. *mni'lqanmk* or *mni'lqat* (Chukchee *mni'lqänmk*)  
let us go!

Kor. Kam. *qa'lin*, Kor. II (village Qare'nin) *geye'lin* or *geye'li* (Chukchee *ge'elin*), he has come

Kor. Kam. *vi'tvitpili*, Kor. II (village Voyampolka) *vi'tvitpi*,  
small seal

## Kamchadal (§§ 19–23)

### § 19. Vowels

- (1) Weak vowels *i i e u ü Ē*  
(2) Strong vowels *ē ê a o ö õ U*  
(3) Neutral vowels *ī ē ī ä A ũ*  
                          *a o u*

The symbols designate the same sounds as those in Chukchee.

*i* almost like a diphthong *ie*, long; a glide from long *i* to long *o*.  
*ē* like English *a* in *make*, long, lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

*ɛ* French *eu* in *beurre*.

*ö* German *ö* in *öffnen*.

*ü* French *u* in *lune*, but harder; more like the Yakut *ŷ*.

*ō* English short *o* in *not*.

*υ* English *u* in *hut*.

*ü* as in Chukchee.

*a*, *o*, *u* indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in *k!tɔ<sup>a</sup>l kōju<sup>o</sup>i<sup>u</sup>n*.

Unusual length and shortness are expressed by the macron and breve respectively.

§ 20. Consonants

	Stop			Affricative		Nasal	Continued		Lateral	Trill
	Surd	Fortis	Sonant	Surd	Fortis		Surd	Sonant		
Labial.....	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	---	---	---	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>v</i>	---	
Alveolar.....	<i>t</i>	---	---	---	---	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʎ l</i>	<i>r</i>
				<i>č</i>	<i>č'</i>		<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>		
Palatized alveolar.....	---	---	---	---	---	<i>n'</i>	<i>s'</i>			
Anterior palatal.....	---	---	---	---	---	---	<i>x'</i>			
Palatal.....	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	---	---	---	<i>ʃ</i>	---			
Velar.....	<i>q</i>	<i>q'</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	---	---	---	<i>x</i>			
Glottal.....			<i>ʔ</i>							

*w, y, h*

*f* is rather rare; for instance, in *ʃlič* a fish of the genus *Coregonus*.

*x* German *ch* in *Bach*.

*x'* German *ch* in *ich*.

*j* French *j* in *jour*, but with a weak preceding trill, somewhat like Polish *rz* in *rzeka*.

*z* sonant *s*, as in French *rose*.

*ʎ* as in Koryak.

*w, y*, always consonantic.

*ʔ, ʔ'*, glottal stops, the former only after short vowels, the latter after consonants, as in *viʔvil*.

*ʎ', č', n'*, are pronounced with strong initial aspiration.

*j*, *c*, *č*, are often pronounced with the tip of the tongue in dental position, so that they attain a lisping character,—

*j* between *z'* and *z*

*c* between *s'* and *s*

*č* between *š'* and *š*

I am inclined to attribute this mannerism, which is affected by many individuals, to the influence of the speech of the Russian creoles and half-bloods, who have this peculiarity in the whole area between the Kolyma and the Sea of Okhotsk. In Krasheninnikoff's records there are only slight indications of this tendency.

It may be, however, that some of the older dialects had this tendency. Thus Krasheninnikoff writes (in my transcription)—

<i>cemt</i> (Western dialect)	} earth, ground
<i>semt</i> (Southern dialect)	

At present in the western dialect, the only one surviving, the word is pronounced both *cimt* and *simt*.

### § 21. Comparison with Chukchee and Koryak

(1) Chukchee *r*, Koryak I *ž*, *č*, *s*, or *t*, is replaced in most cases by *j*,

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
<i>grt</i> , <i>grr</i>	<i>kr'ja</i>	thou
<i>mu'ri</i>	<i>mu'ja</i>	we

(2) Chukchee and Koryak *g* is replaced by *k* or *x*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
<i>güm</i>	<i>güm</i>	<i>kr'mma</i>	I
<i>g'i'ürngi</i>	<i>yigr'ngin</i>	<i>x'i'liqriñ</i>	fish-net

(3) Initial *g* of the comitative and verbal prefix (see §§ 48, 64, 66) is replaced by *k!*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
<i>geñe'wänä</i>	<i>gañä'wana</i>	<i>k!ñe'čum</i>	with a wife
<i>genu'lin</i>	<i>ganu'lin</i>	<i>k!nu'kñiñ</i>	he has eaten

(4) Chukchee *gw* (Koryak *gv*) is replaced by *xv*.  
*xo'xval* thence

(5) Chukchee and Koryak *w* and *v* are replaced by *hv*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
<i>watta'p</i>	<i>vata'p</i>	<i>hvata'pč</i>	reindeer-moss
<i>va'le</i>	<i>va'la</i>	<i>hvalč</i>	knife
<i>wi'ut</i>	<i>viut</i>	<i>hivt</i>	whalebone
<i>vi'n'vi</i>	<i>vi'nva</i>	<i>hvi'nve</i>	secretly

(6) The glottal stop following the initial vowel of Chukchee and Koryak is often replaced by *x* or *k* preceding the vowel.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>ɛj<sup>ʰ</sup>tin</i>	<i>i<sup>ʰ</sup>nmɪn</i>	<i>æi<sup>ʰ</sup>ten</i>	neck
<i>ɛj<sup>ʰ</sup>ni</i>	<i>i<sup>ʰ</sup>gr, ɛ<sup>ʰ</sup>gr<sup>ʰ</sup>l<sup>ʰ</sup>ɪn</i>	<i>æi<sup>ʰ</sup>hɪnɪ</i>	wolf
<i>ä<sup>ʰ</sup>Lel</i>	<i>ɔ<sup>ʰ</sup>ʎa<sup>ʰ</sup>ʎ</i>	<i>ko<sup>ʰ</sup>ʎol</i>	snow
<i>ɛ<sup>ʰ</sup>le<sup>ʰ</sup>l</i>	<i>alä<sup>ʰ</sup>al</i>	<i>ke<sup>ʰ</sup>ʎal</i>	excrement

(7) Chukchee *ɫ* and *ɮ* are replaced by *tl* and *tɛ*.

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
<i>tlɮ<sup>ʰ</sup>ä<sup>ʰ</sup>k</i>	<i>tɛk</i>	I entered
—	<i>tle</i>	there!

(8) In Kamchadal, *l*, *ɛ*, *e*, and *j* often replace one another (see § 2, p. 646).

<i>ɛh<sup>ʰ</sup>j<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛ</i> thou art	<i>l<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛ<sup>ʰ</sup></i> thou wert
<i>tæj<sup>ʰ</sup>m</i> I strike him	<i>tɛl<sup>ʰ</sup>ɪn</i> I struck him

(9) In the Sedanka dialect, *e* changes to *j*; *s* changes to *z*; and sometimes *k*, *k'* change to *q*, *q'*

Examples:

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
<i>cuncj<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛr<sup>ʰ</sup>n</i>	<i>juncj<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛr<sup>ʰ</sup>n</i>	they live
<i>sönk</i>	<i>zönk</i>	into the wood
<i>c<sup>ʰ</sup>ʎa-tumx</i>	<i>z<sup>ʰ</sup>ʎa-tomx</i>	brother
<i>k<sup>ʰ</sup>öni<sup>ʰ</sup>n̄</i>	<i>q<sup>ʰ</sup>öni<sup>ʰ</sup>n̄</i>	one
<i>k<sup>ʰ</sup>ʰ'lkri<sup>ʰ</sup>n̄in</i>	<i>q<sup>ʰ</sup>ʰ'lkri<sup>ʰ</sup>n̄in</i>	he has come

(10) In the Sedanka dialect there is also a tendency to drop the last syllables of suffixes. Not as many auxiliary vowels occur as in other dialects, and of double consonants one is always omitted.

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
<i>a<sup>ʰ</sup>tin<sup>ʰ</sup>n̄</i>	<i>a<sup>ʰ</sup>tnom</i>	village
<i>t<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛsæɛjk</i>	<i>t<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛsæis</i>	I ascend
<i>kr<sup>ʰ</sup>mma</i>	<i>kr<sup>ʰ</sup>ma'</i>	I

(11) Instead of the pure *n*, we find an *n* with somewhat lateral pronunciation.

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
<i>E<sup>ʰ</sup>nn̄</i>	<i>E<sup>ʰ</sup>nn̄u</i>	then

## § 22. *Vocalic Ablaut*

In Kamchadal the ablaut affects almost all the vowels, which are much more numerous than those of either Chukchee or Koryak.

<i>ĩ</i> changes to <i>ǣ</i> .	<i>ȳ</i> changes to <i>ɔ</i> .
<i>î</i> changes to <i>ê</i> or <i>ä</i> .	<i>ÿ</i> changes to <i>ö</i> .
<i>ē</i> changes to <i>ä</i> .	<i>ÿ</i> changes to <i>ö</i> or <i>ȳ</i> .



## Examples:

<i>k'istənk</i> at the house	<i>k'istənk</i> to the house (stem <i>k'ist</i> house)
<i>sünk</i> in the wood	<i>sünk</i> to the wood (stem <i>sün</i> )
<i>təi'ink</i> by them	<i>təi'ənk</i> to them (stem <i>təi'</i> )
<i>k'əpənk</i> in the trough	<i>k'əpənk</i> to the trough (stem <i>k'əpə</i> )
<i>k'əxənk</i> in the river	<i>k'əxənk</i> to the river (stem <i>k'əx</i> )
<i>k'ək'ə-hūmnən</i> he cooked it	<i>k'ək'ə-jə-hūmnən</i> he began to cook it

The obscure vowels *ɪ*, *ɛ*, *ɑ*, *ʊ*, are neutral, as are also *e*, *a*, *o*. In this respect Kamchadal differs from Chukchee, in which dialect vowels that are hard or weak never appear as neutral.

In Kamchadal the initial vowels of suffixes, and auxiliary vowels, are also subject to the ablaut, their form being determined by the vocalic character of the stem, which is generally monosyllabic. Thus a system develops which is somewhat similar to the vocalic harmony of the Ural Altaic languages.

<i>k'istənk</i> at the house	<i>k'istənk</i> to the house (stem <i>k'ist</i> )
<i>k'ə'l'ənk</i> at the lake (stem <i>k'ə'l'</i> )	<i>k'ə'pənk</i> at the trough <i>k'ə'pənk</i> to the trough (stem <i>k'ə'pə</i> )
<i>tisünül'ot'jk</i> I always live in the woods ( <i>tɪ</i> I; <i>sün</i> wood; <i>ü</i> auxiliary vowel; <i>lo</i> to live; <i>t</i> always; <i>-jk</i> I)	

## § 23. Other Phonetic Processes

*Consonantic Clusters*.—In Kamchadal consonantic clusters are of frequent occurrence. I have found, for instance, *ktət*, *təej*, *təejh*, *təctə*, *ntəejh*, *k!lkñ*.

Sometimes auxiliary vowels are inserted, or some of the consonants have a decided vocalic resonance, but more often the clusters are free from vocalic elements. The peculiar consonantic character of pronunciation may be observed also among the Russianized Kamchadal; and the natives are taunted by the Russian creoles, and even in the intercourse of various villages, on account of this peculiarity of their speech. Nevertheless not all consonantic clusters are admissible.

*l* changes to *nl*.

*ko'lol'* (absolute form), *ko'l'nl'* < *ko'lol'-l'* (instrumental), snow  
*e'lhern'* (absolute form), *inl* < *il-l* (instrumental), ear (pl. *i'el*)

Note, however,

*lül* (absolute form), *lüle'l'* < *lül-l'* (instrumental), eye

*Auxiliary Vowels.*—Auxiliary vowels are introduced to avoid consonantic clusters originating by composition, although the corresponding clusters may be admissible in the stem itself. All neutral vowels perform this function. Although *i* is more frequent than all the others, *ü*, *ε*, *e*, (*a*), are also found rather often.

*lüle'l'* < *lül-l'* eye

*tweta'tɣjk* < *tweta't-jk* I work

*Initial Clusters.*—The prefix *k!* is omitted before *k* and *k!*

*k!ö'łkrñin* he has come

The prefix *k* before initial *k* and *k!* changes to *x*.

*xke'jæčrk* accept him

The prefix *t* of the first person singular is dropped before verbal stems with initial *t*.

*txlin* < *ttxlin* I struck him

The prefix *t* of the first person singular changes to *č* before verbal stems with initial *čr* or *čr*.

*kr'mma črč'i'niñɣjk* < *t-činiñ-jk* I sew

Compare also

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>č'tqñ</i>	<i>a'ččrñ</i>	<i>č'čkeläx</i>	the bad one
<i>wuwčélka'łhrn</i>	<i>četčč'lñin</i>	<i>č'i'xčax</i>	shrew

Stems with the initial clusters *łk* and *rčk*, when appearing at the beginning of a word, add a preceding vowel.

*i'łkarujč* < *łk-r-jč* (Chukchee *qätr'rkrn* < *łqät-rkrn*) he leaves

In other cases the Chukchee *ł* or *r* of these clusters is replaced by *č* and *c* respectively.

*čklä'ujk* < *čkläw-jk* (Chukchee *krła'wrkrn* < *rčkläw-rkrn*) e runs

### § 24. Accent

In all three languages the accent usually recedes to the beginning of the word, even as far as the fourth or fifth syllable from the end.

Chukchee *pa'riłrñm* shoulder-blade

Kor. Kam. *niqe'shqenat* those two that have been bought

Kamchadal *k!ta'tılkaɣukñan* they began to perform the ceremonial

To give emphasis to the word, the accent may be thrown upon the last syllable, the vowel of which then changes to *o*.

Chukchee	<i>tipênřırko'n</i>	<	<i>tipê'nřırkm</i>	} I attack him
Kor. Kam.	<i>tipenn'eko'n</i>	<	<i>tipé'nn'ekm</i>	
Kamchadal	<i>tipencijo'n</i>	<	<i>tipé'ncijn</i>	

## MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25-129.)

### §25. Morphological Processes

The Chukchee group of languages uses a great variety of morphological processes for expressing grammatical relations. The unity of the syntactic group which forms a close unit is maintained by a law of vocalic harmony which requires that if one vowel of the unit is strong, all the others, that may be either weak or strong, must also take the strong form. This law does not act in any particular direction; but whenever a strong vowel appears in any part of the word, it strengthens all the other preceding and following vowels. In the present condition of the language, this law is not quite strictly confined to certain vowels; but a few stems and endings that have no vocalic element except auxiliary vowels are always strong. It may be, of course, that here strong vocalic elements have been lost.

Stems appear almost always with morphological affixes. Only particles and a number of nouns occur as independent members of the sentence in the form of the simple stem, their independence being indicated by their failure to modify their weak vowels in conformity with the strong vowels of those words with which they are most closely associated. The general occurrence of nominal affixes, and the restriction of stem forms occurring independently to certain phonetic types of nouns, make it plausible that we are dealing here also with a loss of older affixes. If this view should be correct, there would be no forms of nouns or verbs and related classes of words without affixes. Either the stems consist of consonantic clusters or they are monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Only predicative stems consist of  $\frac{2}{2}$ consonantic clusters. Denominative stems have fuller phonetic values. In all polysyllabic stems a certain symmetry of form is required by the laws of vocalic harmony; so that in the same stem we find, besides neutral vowels, only strong vowels or only weak vowels.

Owing to the inadmissibility of extended consonantic clusters, and to the avoidance of initial consonantic clusters, stems undergo important changes due to the insertion of auxiliary vowels, to elision of consonants, or modification of consonants, according to the position and connections of the stems in the word.

Composition of stems is of extended use; and we find many types of composition of denominative, predicative, and of denominative with predicative stems, which form firm units. Owing to the significance of some of these stems, they never appear outside of such compounds, and therefore take on the aspects of elements that are no longer free, although their phonetic character and general appearance are such that they might appear as independent elements. Certain particles are also incorporated in the word complex. The stems which are united in such synthetic groups influence one another according to the laws of vocalic harmony and by contact phenomena, which often modify the terminal sound of the first member of a compound, and the initial sound of the following member, or cause the introduction of auxiliary vowels. Although ordinarily these compounds originate by a simple juxtaposition of stems, there are cases in which certain formative elements may be recognized.

The function of a simple or compound nominal or verbal unit in the sentence is further determined by reduplication, prefixes, and suffixes.

Reduplication is confined to denominating concepts, and is of peculiar character, the first part of the stem being repeated at the close of the stem as far as the first consonant following the first vowel. This gives the impression of a partially suppressed repetition of the stem: for instance, stem *or-go* SLEDGE, reduplicated *or-go-or*.

Both prefixes and suffixes are numerous. The same phonetic laws that cause a differentiation of the forms of the stem cause differentiation in the manner of joining affixes to the stems or to the compounds. In some cases a distinction between compounds and words with affixes is difficult to draw, neither is it possible to carry through a rigid distinction between nominal and verbal affixes. There is great freedom in the use of stems for either predicative or denominative purposes.

In the Chukchee language nominal concepts are classified as common nouns and proper names. A nominal singular and plural occur, but in Koryak we find besides these a dual. As in many

American languages, the relation between subject and predicate is conceived differently in the case of the transitive and of the intransitive verb.

The relation between noun and verb is expressed by inflection of the noun. A subjective form of the noun expresses the subject of the transitive verb and an absolute form designates the subject of the intransitive and the object of the transitive verb. The subjective form is primarily instrumental. It expresses also the object which is used in the performance of an action as: COOKING (WITH) MEAT. It would seem that the transitive verb has primarily a passive significance, but this view does not satisfactorily explain many of the forms.

Locative ideas—in, at, towards, from—are expressed by means of nominal postpositions. These are given extended meanings and are applied to express a variety of relations between verb and indirect object. The genitive relation is not ordinarily expressed by postpositions and is not analogous to a case form, but is rather expressed by derivatives which signify, PERTAINING TO, BELONGING TO. These elements are even added to the personal pronoun to express possessive relations. The characteristic American incorporated possessive pronoun is not found. Demonstrative ideas are expressed with great nicety particularly in the Chukchee dialect. The syntactic forms of the personal demonstrative and indefinite pronouns are analogous to the corresponding forms of proper names.

In the predicate are expressed singular and plural, (in Koryak also dual), tense and modality. There is no distinction made between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. Declarative and interrogative have the same forms. Among the tenses only the future is derived from the verb theme in a manner analogous to the formation of modes. A continuative is expressed by a derived form, the verbal theme being expanded by the suffix-*irkm*. Other temporal concepts are expressed by nominal derivatives, and temporal subordination is often expressed by syntactic forms of the verbal noun. Other modes are a subjunctive, expressing conditional and other subordinate clauses—which, however, is very rarely used,—an exhortative and an imperative.

The verb complex consists of pronominal prefixes which enter into combination with temporal and modal prefixes. These are followed

by the verbal theme which takes additional temporal and modal suffixes. The end of the verbal complex is a pronominal suffix. In the transitive verb, the pronominal prefix designates the subject, the pronominal suffix the object. There is a strong tendency to express the predicate in the form of a predicating noun analogous to a relative clause. For instance, instead of I KILL THE REINDEER, the Chukchee will say, THE REINDEER ARE THE ONES WHOM I KILLED. These forms receive a treatment different from that of the true verb.

Stems may be developed by affixing subordinate elements. There are a number of attributive elements of this class such as LARGE, SMALL, NUMEROUS. Furthermore, we find locative terms such as, WHAT IS ON, WITH, ON TOP OF, NEAR, INSIDE OF SOMETHING ELSE and also, WHAT IS SIMILAR TO, WHAT IS USED FOR, WHAT IS PROVIDED WITH SOMETHING, A RECEPTACLE FOR SOMETHING. Nominal forms derived from verbs are abstract nouns, results of actions, instruments. The verb is developed by adverbial suffixes expressing for instance, reciprocity, a desiderative, single action, intensity, beginning, duration, causation, negation and also ideas like, to FEEL LIKE SOMETHING or the bad temper of the speaker. Verbs derived from nouns are TO BRING, TAKE OFF, LOOK FOR, CONSUME SOMETHING. Prefixes are quite numerous and are largely of an attributive or adverbial character as, A LITTLE, QUITE, ALL, ENTIRELY, MERELY, SOMEWHAT, TRULY, NOT.

Furthermore, words may be compounded quite freely, adverbs with verbs, verbal stems among themselves, nouns among themselves. Nouns are also incorporated in the verbal complex, both as the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. Such incorporated themes are used both for habitual and single actions.

### § 26. Comparison of Dialects

The chief differences between Chukchee and Koryak lie in the lesser amount of consonantic decay of stems in Koryak, the modification of stems due to phonetic processes being considerably less extended in the latter dialect; in the lesser extent of the occurrence of the ablaut in the Koryak; and in the substitution of other consonants for the Chukchee *r*, which process is more pronounced in Koryak I than in Koryak II. Besides this, Koryak I is characterized by the restriction of the forms of the Chukchee plural to the dual, while a distinct form

is used by all the Koryak dialects, even those that have no dual for expressing the plural.

Chukchee and Koryak are so much alike, that the languages, are mutually intelligible at least in part. On the northern border of the Koryak territory a considerable amount of lexicographic borrowing may be noticed, which extends even as far as the Anadyr country. Thus we find—

Kolyma Chukchee	<i>tegge'ñirrkın</i>	he desires
Anadyr Chukchee	<i>tegge'ñirrkın</i> or <i>gaima'tirrkın</i>	
Koryak, Kamenskoye	<i>tajja'ñikın</i> or <i>gaima'tekın</i>	

Of these words, the first one is common to Chukchee and Koryak, while the second is Koryak and is borrowed from them by the Anadyr Chukchee.

Kolyma Chukchee	<i>wêtha'wrkın</i>	he speaks
Anadyr Chukchee	<i>wêtha'wrkın</i> and <i>vanava'tirrkın</i>	
Koryak, Kamenskoye	<i>vettha'vekın</i> and <i>vanava'tekın</i>	

The lexical differences between Koryak and Chukchee are considerable. Still certain Chukchee words that do not occur in the Kamenskoye dialect re-appear in other dialects, some even in remote villages in the valleys of Kamchatka.

	AGAIN	NEGATION (refusal)	WHALE
Chukchee . . . . .	<i>lū'mña</i>	<i>garé'm</i>	<i>re<sup>6</sup>w</i>
Koryak, Kamenskoye	<i>gū'mla</i>	<i>gayé'm</i>	<i>yū'ñi</i> (stem <i>yūñyu</i> )
Koryak II Qare'ñim .	<i>i'nnik</i>	<i>i'hut</i>	<i>yū'ñi</i> (stem <i>yūñyu</i> )
Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka). . . . .	<i>liqr'mmen</i>	<i>gate'mmi</i>	————
Kerek . . . . .	————	————	<i>ya<sup>6</sup>w</i>
Kamchadal . . . . .	————	————	<i>yū'ñyu</i> (stem <i>yūñyu</i> )

On the whole, however, all branches of the Koryak, even in their most distinct dialects,—like those of the Kerek near Cape Anannon on Bering Sea, and of Voyampolka on the Sea of Okhotsk,—are much more closely related among themselves than to the Chukchee.

In the pronunciation of men of the Kolyma district many intervocalic consonants are dropped (see § 13). This is not so common among the men of the Anadyr Chukchee, who use both the fuller forms and those with dropped consonants. Among the Kolyma people the difference between the pronunciation of men and that of women is so regular that the use of the fuller forms by the eastern people lays them open to ridicule as using the speech of women.

## Nouns (§§ 27-55).

### § 27. *General Remarks*

The noun appears in a number of forms and with a number of suffixes, the interpretation of which is not easy. A few of these have clearly purely syntactic meaning, while others appear rather as post-positions which are somewhat loosely connected with the noun. Some elements of this group seem to form compound nouns, while I suspect that others may have a verbal character.

The forms which are clearly syntactic are—

(1) The absolute form, which expresses the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb.

(2) The absolute form, plural.

(3) The subjective form, which expresses the subject of the transitive verb, and the instrument with which an action is performed. In several cases our indirect object appears as direct object, while our direct object appears as instrument, somewhat as in the two expressions I GIVE IT TO HIM and I BESTOW HIM WITH IT. In Kamchadal this form is not used for the subject of the transitive verb, but the locative-possessive. In Koryak sometimes the one form is used, sometimes the other.

(4) The locative possessive expresses the place where an event happens or where an action is performed. With terms designating living beings it expresses possession.

Suffixes which express the allative and ablative form a second group. These are not so distinctively syntactic forms, but give the impression of post-positions, particularly since they appear sometimes in composition with syntactic forms of the first group.

A third class, quite distinct from the first two in form as well as in function, comprises derivations of nouns and verbs which express WHAT BELONGS TO, WHAT PERTAINS TO, THAT WHICH HAS THE QUALITY OF SOMETHING, THE POSSESSOR OF, THE MEASURE OF BEING IN A CERTAIN CONDITION. These are frequently used to express the relations between two nouns or between an adjective and a noun.

The fourth class expresses mainly various types of emphatic forms of the noun.

We shall first take up the syntactic forms.



*The Absolute Form* (§§ 28-32).

## § 28. ABSOLUTE FORM EXPRESSED BY STEM

The absolute form of the noun serves to express the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. It shows a great variety of formations.

The absolute form is expressed by the nominal stem. This form can occur only in those cases in which the terminal sound is a vowel or a single consonant. Since no ending occurs, the stem has no ablaut. Examples are—

## (1) Stems with terminal vowels:

*kitvé'yu* old walrus 8.12, 14  
*ɛla'* mother 30.6  
*qé'li* cap  
*lǒ'lǒ* penis 45.1

*rí'lu* carcass 65.14  
*ä's'qé'ku* a barren doe 97.17  
*veñké'nǎu* a mother doe

(2) Stems or compounds with single terminal consonant (including diphthongs in *i* and *u*). To this class belong words ending in *y*, *w*, *p*, *m*, *t*, *n*, *k*, *č*, *r*, *q*, *l*.

*ɛlǒ'qai* little mother 35.5  
*ñí'nqai* little child 37.14  
*mír'qew* a suit of armor 116.24  
*re's'w* whale 73.4  
*inpiñé'w* old woman 19.5  
*tinu'p* blue fox 96.17  
*re'lup* quid  
*vé'em* river 37.3 (Koryak *vǒ-yem*, *vá'yam* Kor. 17.6, according to dialect)  
*rét* trail 37.1  
*lé'ut* head 44.11 (Koryak *la-wut* Kor. 82.11)  
*ñé'wǎn* wife 36.3 (Koryak *ña-wan*)  
*Ai'wan* the Ai'wan 7.1  
*na'nqan* belly 43.9  
*wá'quč* husband 105.12  
*ke'per* wolverene 78.2, *qé'per* 92.21 (*ke'perä* 78.11) (Koryak *qapay*)  
*kri'mqor* three-year-old doe 117.9  
*wañqa'sqor* two-year-old doe 117.10

*é'har* polar fox 92.19  
*intv'ulpir* son-in-law 80.6  
*u'nel* thong-seal 70.7  
*pe'nvel* two-year-old buck 117.12  
*mé'mil* seal 96.4 (Koryak *mé-mil* Kor. 90.6)  
*lú'mñil* story 61.5  
*pe'kul* butcher-knife 85.23 (Kor. *pa'qul* Kor. 78.23)  
*ñé'lvul* herd 49.3  
*qé'ptiril* backbone 51.3  
*qla'ul* man 43.1 (Kor. *qla'wil* Kor. 17.4)  
*wi'k* body 35.11 (Kor. 32.5)  
*ka'mak* evil spirit 61.6 (Kor. 35.5)  
*ai'mak* carcass 81.17  
*ginni'k* game 84.28 (Koryak *grynik* Kor. 61.8)  
*č'ek* lamp 68.12, 106.18  
*pi'req* white whale 96.9  
*č'laq* sea-lion 65.16

(3) Stems ending in two consonants generally insert a vowel in the terminal consonantic cluster.

- qe'pɪl* football (stem *qepɪ*); (Kor. Kam. *qa'pɪl*; Kor. Par. *qepɪ*)  
*mä<sup>ε</sup>'qɪm* arrow 75.23  
*lo'ñɪl* walrus-blubber 47.4  
*pr'ñɪl* tidings 61.5  
*ε<sup>ε</sup>'ñɪl* trunk 96.3

### § 29. REDUPLICATED FORMS

Some stems are reduplicated.

(1) Monosyllabic stems are doubled. When the contact between the last consonant of the repeated word and of the stem form an inadmissible cluster, the usual changes occur.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
<i>nɪm</i>	<i>nɪ'mnɪm</i> settlement 7.7
<i>kɛr</i>	<i>kɛ'rɪkɛr</i> combination-suit 37.8
<i>ɣɪn</i>	<i>dɛ'ndɪn</i> <sup>1</sup> fire 39.11
<i>ε<sup>ε</sup>l</i>	<i>ε<sup>ε</sup>'le<sup>ε</sup>l</i> excrement 80.11; ( <i>ε<sup>ε</sup>'lu</i> 81.12)
<i>lɪg</i>	<i>li'glɪg</i> (Kor. <i>ɪgɪɪg</i> ) egg
<i>rɪg</i>	<i>rr'grɪg</i> hair
<i>om</i>	<i>o'mom</i> (Kor. <i>o'mom</i> ) heat
<i>liñ</i>	<i>li'ñli</i> heart (see § 31, 3)
<i>poñ</i>	<i>po'mpo</i> fly agaric (see § 31, 3)
<i>twɔ</i>	<i>tu'wtwɔ</i> word
<i>oɛ</i>	<i>o'ɛoɛ</i> chief
<i>ɛot</i>	<i>ɛo'tɛot</i> bag-pillow 29.5
<i>wüt</i>	<i>wü'twüt</i> leaf
<i>gɪl</i>	<i>gɪlgɪl</i> sea ice 8.14 ( <i>ε<sup>i</sup>'tit</i> Anser segetum)

Koryak:

<i>kiɫ</i>	<i>ki'ɫkiɫ</i> navel string Kor. 63.10
<i>pɪp</i>	<i>pɪ'pɪp</i> comb Kor. 78.9
<i>vit</i>	<i>vi'tvit</i> ringed seal Kor. 17.12
<i>ñai</i>	<i>ñai'ñai</i> mountain Kor. 42.2
<i>wɪɣ</i>	<i>wɪ'ɣwɪ</i> breath Kor. 33.8

(2) Stems ending in a consonantic cluster always insert an auxiliary vowel (§ 8), and therefore appear in dissyllabic form. The reduplication consists in the repetition of the beginning of the word at the

end, including the initial consonant, vowel, and the first consonant following the first vowel.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
<i>pilh</i>	<i>pi'lhpih</i> famine
<i>qêrg</i>	<i>qê'rgiqêr</i> light
<i>tirk</i>	<i>tî'rkîtir</i> sun
<i>têrg</i>	<i>tê'rgîtêr</i> crying 20.12
<i>tirg</i>	<i>tî'rgîtîr</i> meat 48.8
<i>tumg</i>	<i>tu'mgîtum</i> companion 103.35
<i>mitk</i>	<i>mi'tkämît</i> blubber 47.4
(Kor.) <i>ye'lk</i>	<i>ye'lkryel</i> pudding Kor. 34.2
<i>muɹ</i> 19.3	<i>mu'ɹumul</i> 25.3 blood
* <i>wilq</i>	<i>wî'lquul</i> 22.7 coal (Kor. Kam. <i>wü'lküul</i> , cf. Kor. 31.9)
* <i>qêrg</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>qesh</i> )	<i>qê'rgiqêr</i> light (Kor. Kam. <i>qê'shiques</i> )
<i>vryl</i> (Kor. <i>vyil</i> )	<i>vi'yilvryl</i> image ( <i>vi'yilvryil</i> Kor. 32.3)

A number of words of this group, particularly those beginning with a vowel, repeat the stem vowel before the repeated syllable.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
<i>org</i>	<i>o'rgoor</i> sledge
<i>omk</i>	<i>o'mkoom</i> 79.5 willow
<i>wus'q</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>vus'q</i> )	<i>wu's'quus</i> (Kor. <i>vu's'quvus</i> cf. Kor. 57.6) darkness
<i>el</i>	<i>e'leel</i> summer (Kor. Kam. <i>a'laal</i> )
<i>il</i>	<i>i'liil</i> rain (Kor. Kam. <i>mu'qamuq</i> )
<i>yäq</i>	{ <i>yäqä'q</i> } nose
( <i>yil</i> ) <i>yi'liil</i> language 7.10	
<i>yir</i>	<i>yî'riir</i> a full one 86.29
Related to this group are—	
<i>eiv</i>	<i>ei'veei</i> part of meat given to neighbors, alms (Kor. Kam. <i>ai'vaai</i> cf. Kor. 63.12)
<i>enn</i>	<i>ennë'n</i> fish (Kor. Kam. <i>ennä'n</i> )

(3) Some bases which end in inadmissible sound-clusters have initial or terminal reduplication, and insert auxiliary vowels.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form.
<i>iml</i> (Kor. <i>iml</i> )	<i>mi'mil</i> water (Kor. <i>mi'mil</i> )
<i>mlü</i> (Kor. <i>mlü</i> )	<i>mü'mil</i> louse (Kor. <i>mü'mil</i> ; <i>mi'mirë</i> Kor. 55.1)
<i>elw</i> , <i>ilw</i> (see <i>elwë'tulä</i> 89.32; <i>qel-</i> <i>vulin</i> 88.1)	<i>ilwüw'</i> wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor. Kam. <i>ilhu'lu</i> , <i>elhu'lu</i> )

(4) Dissyllabic words repeat the first syllable at the end of the word:

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
<i>mêrê</i>	<i>mê'rêmêr</i> tears 116.8
<i>qo<sup>l</sup>lé</i> 41.5	<i>qo<sup>l</sup>lé'qo<sup>l</sup></i> snuff 41.4
<i>yile</i> (see 90.2)	<i>y'i'leil</i> marmot 89.33
<i>yili</i> (Kor. <i>êrl</i> )	<i>y'i'liil</i> tongue 48.8 (Kor. <i>êr'liil</i> Kor. 56.4)
<i>quli</i>	<i>quli'qul</i> voice 44.7
<i>nute</i>	<i>nu'tenuit</i> land
<i>y'lqä(t)</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>yilqa[t]</i> )	<i>y'lqäil</i> sleep (Kor. Kam. <i>yrl'-qayil</i> )

Koryak:

<i>mi'tqa</i>	<i>mi'tqamit</i> oil Kor. 90.17
<i>qanga</i>	<i>qa'ngagan</i> fire Kor. 30.8
<i>ki'lka</i>	<i>ki'lkakil</i> shell-fish Kor. 70.2

(5) Some polysyllabic words double the whole word.

*ẽñe'neñen* southeast wind

In Kamchadal analogous forms are derived principally from adjective stems:

<i>o'mlax</i> warm	<i>o'mom</i> heat
<i>a'tax<sup>a</sup>lax</i> bright	<i>a'taxax</i> light
<i>taw'nläx</i> dark	<i>taw'ntawin</i> darkness
<i>tpilhe'trijk</i> I suffer from hunger	<i>pi'lhripil</i> and <i>pê'lhêpêl</i> famine

Other Kamchadal forms of duplication and reduplication for the absolute forms are:

<i>ẽu'xẽux</i> rain (stem <i>ẽux</i> )
<i>pa'lapol</i> leaf (stem <i>pal</i> )
<i>kõ'mlokõm</i> marrow (Chukchee <i>ki'mil</i> ; Kor. Kam. <i>ki'mil</i> )
<i>lu'ñukuhñulê</i> heart (Chukchee <i>l'ñli</i> ; Kor. <i>l'ñliñ</i> )

NOTE 1.—A number of stems which in Koryak form their absolute form by duplication have different forms in Chukchee.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>go'pki</i> elk	<i>ve'pkavep</i>
<i>ri'rki</i> walrus	<i>y'rykayik</i>

Presumably the Koryak has retained here the older forms.

NOTE 2.—In a few cases the reduplicated or doubled form is used not only in the absolute form, but also with other suffixes and in composition.

*kê'rkêr* combination-suit (stem *kêr*); Kor. I *key'key* (stem *key*);  
*kêrkê'rgüpü* and *kê'rgüpü* from the combination-suit; *kê'rkêrik*  
 in the combination-suit

*ñá'wêkêr* woman's suit

*nîmnî'mgüpü* from the settlement 10.12

*gêlgêl'tkrnik* on the ice fields 7.3; *gêl'tkrnik* on the sea-ice 9.2

*mêmlr'tkrnik* on top of the water 9.3

NOTE 3.—It is not impossible that the forms

<i>yara'ñr</i> house	}	(see § 30)
<i>yoro'ñr</i> sleeping-room		
<i>ya'rar</i> drum		

contain reduplicated stems in which the initial *r* has changed to *y*.

### § 30. SUFFIXES *-n*, *-ñr*

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffixes, in Chukchee *-n*, *-ñr*, in Koryak *-ñe*, *-ña*, according to dialect.

*Iu'metun* name of a spirit 22.6

*kuke'ñr* kettle (*ku'kek* 75.13); Kor. Kam. *kuka'ña*; Kor. Par.

*kuke'ñe*

*yoro'ñr* sleeping-room 107.9

*yara'ñr* house 7.8; 30.11 (Kor. *yaya'ña* Kor. 22.4)

*keme'ñr* dish 86.23; 87.31, 33 (*kama'gti* to a dish 88.24) (Kor.

*kama'ñr* Kor. 64.3)

*gora'ñr* reindeer 51.6

*ripe'ñr* stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. *yipa'ña* Kor. 43.2)

*é'ñr* wolf 78.2, 96.28

*špa'ñr* broth (Kor. *ipa'ña* Kor. 28.6)

Stems ending in two consonants, or in consonants that can not form clusters with the terminal *n*, take the ending *-n* with a connective vowel, *i*, *e*; after *q* the connective vowel is *ä* (Kor. Kam. *a*).

*poi'gin* spear 97.27 (*poi'gø* 117.29) (Kor. *poi'gin*)

*na'ngan* belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. *na'ngän*)

*riqgo'lgrn* cellar 36.8 (*riqgolgê'ti* to the cellar 36.10)

*re'mkin* people 8.8, 10 (*re'mku* 107.20) (Kor. *ya'mkin* Kor. 39.7)

*tu'mgrn* companion 38.12 (*tu'mgä* 37.7)

*gr'thin* lake 37.4 (*gî'thik* in a lake 37.5)

*üpa'lhrn* tallow 87.4 (*üpa'ha* 86.23)

*gî'lhrn* skin 23.9

*gêla'rgrn* gray fox 96.14

*é'çrn* fat (Kor. *a'çrn* Kor. 15.4)

*ELI'grn* father 73.10 (stem *L*)

- ke'ñiévín* boy 11.7  
*kopa'lhín* walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'łha* 14.11)  
*y'i'lgín* month 7.2  
*a'e'ttín* dog 135.20 (*a'e'ttu* 135.20) (Kor. *a'e'tta<sup>en</sup>* Kor. 48.8)  
*kei'ñín* brown bear 78.3 (*kei'ñu* 136.20) (Kor. Kam. *kai'ñín*)  
*rêłoi'ñín* big old carcass 136.19  
*kokai'ñín* big kettle 33.10  
*i'rin* fur shirt 83.24 (*i'ru* 116.26)  
*wu'kwun* stone (stem *wukw* R 3.19) (Kor. *vu'gvín*)  
*ñi'łhín* thong 41.10 (Kor. *ñi'ł'ñín* Kor. 40.5, 8)

To this group belong the endings *-łhín*, *-yñín*, *-ėhín*, *-gírigin*, *-yírín* *-łín* (see § § 52; 53; 98; 1,99,8; 106, 44)

### § 31. ABSOLUTE FORM WITH LOSS OF PHONETIC ELEMENTS

(1) Stems ending in a vowel weaken their terminal vowel or lose it entirely. Those ending in *ɛ* often change it to *ɪ* slightly nasalized.

- va'łɛ* knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem *va'ła*)  
*ri'rkɪ* walrus 8.5  
*ke'łɛ* an evil spirit 61.6  
*ėa'mñi* buck (stem *ėumñi*)  
*krimi'nti* three-year-old buck 117.11  
*u'mkɪ* bear 110.11  
*wi'ur* scraping board (stem *wiurɪ*)  
*e'wiɛ* small bag (stem *ewiɛu*)

In case the loss of terminal vowel results in an inadmissible terminal cluster, auxiliary vowels are introduced:

- e'kik* son (stem *ekke*)  
*e'rim*, *e'rem* chief (stem *erme*)  
*ku'kil* one-eyed (stem *kuwle* < \**kukle*)  
*lu'kil* driving-reindeer, not properly broken in; (stem *luwle*  
 < \**lukle*?)

(2) Stems ending in *-nv* lose their terminal *v*.

- ė'wgan* incantation 129.18 (stem *ėwganv*)  
*ė'tin* master 122.38 (stem *ėtrinv*)

(3) Stems ending in *ñ* with preceding vowel drop the terminal *ñ* or at least reduce its pronunciation to a voiceless *ñ*. This occurs particularly in Chukchee.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>éna'nvina</i> scraper (stem <i>éna'n-vina'ñ</i> )	<i>ena'nvina</i> (stem <i>enanvinañ</i> )
<i>keñu'ne</i> staff (stem <i>keñu'neñ</i> ) 101.9	
<i>li'ñli</i> heart (stem <i>li'ñ</i> )	<i>li'ñliñ</i>
<i>po'mpo</i> mushroom (stem <i>poñ</i> )	<i>po'npo<sup>ε</sup>n</i>
<i>pi'mpi</i> powder (stem <i>piñ</i> )	

(4) A number of stems with consonantic ending have a double form of the stem, one ending with the consonant, another one ending in *a*, *e*, or *i*, which are suffixed to the stem. The absolute form is the stem form without terminal vowel.

*Ai'wan* an Asiatic Eskimo (stems *ai'wan* and *aiwana*)  
*intu'ulpir* son-in-law (stems *intuulpir* and *intuulpre*)  
*uwä'quč* husband (stems *uwä'quč* and *uwä'quči*)  
*ilir* island (stems *ilir* and *iliri*)

(5) Irregular forms are—

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>éi'ni</i> wolf (stem [ <i>l</i> ]. <i>éi<sup>ε</sup>g</i> )	<i>i<sup>ε</sup>yry</i> (stem <i>i<sup>ε</sup>y</i> )
<i>éi'tin</i> neck (stem <i>éi<sup>ε</sup>nn</i> )	<i>i<sup>ε</sup>nnrin</i> (stem [ <i>l</i> ]. <i>i<sup>ε</sup>nn</i> , <i>i<sup>ε</sup>nn</i> )
<i>elū'ž</i> nephew (stem <i>eluwgo</i> )	<i>ilo'yo</i> (stem <i>iloj</i> )
<i>intž'</i> daughter-in-law (stem <i>intryo</i> )	
<i>a'kan</i> fishhook (stem <i>a<sup>ε</sup>n</i> < * <i>agn</i> ?)	
<i>ga'LE</i> bird (stem <i>galha</i> )	
<i>ve'LE</i> raven (stem <i>velve</i> )	
<i>éi'tit</i> anser segetum (stem <i>éi<sup>ε</sup>tu</i> )	
<i>tu'mgin</i> stranger (stem <i>tumäk</i> ); compare, however, the reduplicated form <i>tu'mgrum</i> COMPANION formed from <i>tu'mgin</i> (in compounds - <i>tu'mgin</i> , as <i>yičé'mit-tu'mgin</i> BROTHER) <i>tu'mäk</i> serves also as possessive form.	

### § 32 SPECIAL FORMS

A number of pronouns form the absolute form in a special manner.

(1) Personal pronouns.

*güm* I (Kor. *gümma*; Kamch. *kr'mma*)

*git* thou (Kor. *gr'ssa*; Kamch. *kr'ja*)

(2) The personal pronoun *éna'n* (Kor. *e'nnu*; Kamch. *éna'*) HE is formed from the stem *en-*.

(3) The personal pronouns of the plural are formed with the suffix *-i*. In Koryak the dual has the suffix *-i*; the plural, *-u*. In Kamchadal we find *-a* for the first and second persons.

*mu'ri* (Kor. dual *mu'yi*, pl. *mu'yu*; Kamch. *mu'ja*) we (stem *murg-* [Kor. *mučh-*, Kamch. *mijg-*])

*tu'ri* (Kor. dual *tu'yi*, pl. *tu'yu*; Kamch. *tu'ja*) ye (stem *turg-* [Kor. *tučh-*, Kamch. *tijg-*])

*ɛ'rri* (Kor. dual *a'čči*, pl. *a'čču*; Kamch. *itə*) they (stem *erg-* [Kor. *ačh-*, Kamch. *tə-*])

(4) Interrogative personal pronoun.

*mé'nin* who (stem *mik-*) (Kor. *ma'ki* [stem *mik*])

(5) Indefinite pronoun.

*rä'nut* what (stem *req*) (Kor. *yu'nna* [stem *yaq*])

*ni'rkiñut* a certain one (stem *nĩrkę*) (Kor. *ni'yka*, *ni'ykrñut* [stem *niyka*])

*ni'kiñut* a certain thing (stem *nĩkę*)

### *Dual and Plural* (§§ 33-35).

#### § 33. GENERAL REMARKS

Chukchee, Koryak II, and Kamchadal have only two numbers; while Koryak I has also a dual, which corresponds in form to the plural of the Chukchee. The plural of the Koryak, both I and II, presents a set of distinct forms.

#### § 34. PLURAL OF COMMON NOUNS

The plural of common nouns occurs only in the absolute form. In Chukchee it is formed by the suffix *-t*. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *n*, *č*, *y*, *t*, take *-ti* instead.

*lile't* eyes

*e'kket* sons

*qu'tti* the others 115.17

*qla'ultę* men 121.9

*yičemre'tti* brothers 64.3

*ñę'wüñti* women 50.4, 6

*ñeus'qä'tti* women 112.5

*pe'kulti* butcher-knives 84.21

*ñi'ngäiti* children 112.10, 15;  
113.12

*ñi'ngägti* 51.10

*a'ttirägti* pups 122.18

*mpĩñe'wqägti* little old women  
45.1

*le'utti* heads 86.8

Words which have a double stem form (see § 31, 4), have also double forms in the plural.

*Ai'wan* an Asiatic Eskimo (stems *aiwan*, *aiwana*); plural *ai'wantę*,  
*ai'wanat*

*uwä'quč* husband (stems *uwäquč*, *uwäquči*); plural *uwä'qutti*,  
*uwä'qučit*

*i'liř* island (stems *iłir*, *iłiri*); plural *iłi'tti*, *i'liřit*



## Koryak:

The dual of Koryak I has the same suffix.

*l̥il̥a't* two eyes

*qo'yat* two reindeer (Chukchee *qa'at* reindeer)

*vai'amit* two rivers (*vai'amti* Kor. 17.1, Chukchee *ve'emit* rivers)

The plural is formed in many Koryak dialects by *-y* after terminal consonants, *-wgi*, *-vvi* (according to dialect), after terminal vowel.

*qla'wulu* men Kor. 44.3

*ñawitqatu* women Kor. 44.2

*qai-pipi'kalñu* little mice Kor. 25.6

*ñawa'kku* daughters Kor. 27.1

*a'gimu* bags Kor. 28.5

*kmi'ñu* children Kor. 44.7

*vai'amu* rivers (stem *vaiam*)

*l̥il̥a'wgi* eyes

*mimlu'wgi* lice Kor. 25.4

*imčanalá'wge* ermines Kor. 66.18

*qoyg'wge* reindeer (stem *qoya*; *qoya'we* Kor. 22.4)

*qapa'au* wolverenes (< *qapay-u*) Kor. 12.7

*u'kkamaru* vessels Kor. 28.5

*ki'plau* mortars Kor. 51.5 (*kipla'wi* Kor. 53.8)

## Kamchadal:

The plural suffix of Kamchadal is *-(i)<sup>ε</sup>n*.

*u<sup>ε</sup>h* tree

*u<sup>ε</sup>hri<sup>ε</sup>n* trees

*kocx* dog

*kcxo<sup>ε</sup>n* dogs

*kist* house

*ki'sti<sup>ε</sup>n* houses

Stems ending in *n* or *l* take the glottal stop before the terminal consonant, and take no ending, but may modify the last vowel of the stem.

*l̥il̥* eye

*l̥il̥<sup>ε</sup>* eyes

*k̥l̥i'l̥an* spotted seal

*k̥l̥i'l̥i<sup>ε</sup>n* spotted seals

*me'mil̥* ground-seal

*me'mi<sup>ε</sup>l̥* ground-seals

In the material collected by Dybowsky<sup>1</sup> in southern Kamchatka, *t* and *d* occur as plural endings.

*iarvin* ear

*ivut* ears

*kosch* dog

*kosgrut* dogs

*uan* stone

*uad* stones

<sup>1</sup> Słowniki Narzeczy Ludow Kamczackich Rozprawy Widziatu filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvii, pp. 107, 113, 120.

The Kamchadal dialect of Sedanka also has the ending *-t*.

<i>veta'tılan</i> workman	<i>veta'tilat</i> workmen
<i>sü'nkil</i> the one who flies	<i>sü'nkilat</i> those who fly

This can not be due to the influence of the neighboring Koryak II, which has no dual, and uses only the *u* ending of the plural.

### § 35. PLURAL OF PERSONAL NOUNS.

*-(I)nti* (Kor. Kam. the same) [*-(I)n + ti* ; for *-(I)n* see § 39], expresses a group of people belonging to and including a person of the name to which the suffix is added. In Koryak Kamenskoye the ending designates two persons only. This form is also used with the interrogative pronoun.

*Yç'tılnti* Yetılın and his family  
 (Kor. *Aççe'pınnti*) Aççe'pın and his wife  
*ñe'wánti* their wives  
*má'kinti* (Kor. Kam. *ma'kinti*) who? (see p. 726)

Koryak Kamenskoye:

*Valvırtıla<sup>e</sup>'ninti* Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1  
*Yini'a-ñawgıtinti* Yini'a-ñawgut and her husband Kor. 19.5

A group of more than two is expressed in Koryak Kamenskoye by the plural ending *-wgi*, but also by *-inu*.

*Aççe'pınawgı* Aççe'pın and his family.  
*Quyqınn'agı'wgi* Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10  
*Amamqu'tınu* Ememqut's people Kor. 43.7  
*pıpi'kča-ñawgıtınu* mouse-women Kor. 23.3

### § 36. Exclamatory Form of Nouns

Nouns may be given an exclamatory form by transferring the accent to the end of the stem, especially with the last word of the sentence.

*kımılhi'n* worms 39.3

When the accentuation is stronger, the last vowel is changed to *o*. In this case, proper names lose their suffixes, and have the accent on the last vowel of the stem.

<i>Yçto'l</i>	O Ye'tılın!	<i>remkıro'n</i> a guest! 111.19
<i>Quto'w</i>	O Qutu'wgi!	

Koryak:

*mıko'n vannılño'n!* whose tooth Kor. 34.4  
*ñawako'k!* daughter! Kor. 22.7  
*tılaço'n!* I found! Kor. 24.1

In some cases, when the noun ends in a vowel, an *-i* is added, and the accent thrown upon the end of the word.

<i>Araroi'</i>	O Ara'ro!
<i>Upenkei'</i> R 72.15	O Upe'nke!
<i>Mitei'</i> 83.12 Kor. 37. 2	O Miti!
Kor. <i>Quqe'</i> ! Kor. 74.29	O Quyqinn'a'qu
Kor. <i>Yiñei'</i> Kor. 88.1	O Yini'aña'wgut
also <i>qlei</i>	O man! (from <i>qlik</i> , which otherwise is used only in compounds)

### § 37. Subjective Form

*-e*, *-tā*, *ā* (Chukchee). Instrumental; used in place of object when the verb is intransitive (e. g., she cooked with meat=she cooked meat); subject of transitive verb.<sup>1</sup>

(a) After terminal vowel *-tā*:

<i>ekke'tā</i> by the son 18.9	<i>vala'ta</i> with knives 16.4
<i>temu'netā</i> with shell-fish 9.8	<i>ri'rkata</i> by walrus 9.9; 10.6
<i>uwä'quñitā i'unin</i> the husband told her	<i>tar-qa'ata ge'rkuLin</i> bought with how many reindeer
<i>lile'tā</i> with an eye	

(b) After terminal consonant *-ä*:

<i>eñe'nälä</i> by a shaman 7.5; 14.12; 15.9	<i>evirä</i> clothing (obj.) 13.6
<i>wu'lqä</i> by darkness 18.12	<i>y'ttä</i> with wood
<i>ēli'gä</i> by the father 18.4	<i>ēli'gä re'nnin</i> the father brought it
<i>rä'yipä</i> with a drill 8.1; 11.2	<i>poi'ga</i> with a spear 12.9
<i>y'i'lqä</i> by sleep 10.6, 7	<i>kopa'lha</i> with walrus-blubber 14.11
<i>a'ttwrlä</i> by the boat's crew 10.9; 12.4	<i>Aiwkuyanpina'ēha</i> by an old St. Lawrence man 13.9
<i>re'rlä</i> by the bow-man 10.10	<i>Eiwkue'lä</i> by the St. Lawrence people 11.10; 12.3, 11; 17.1
<i>eñe'nä</i> with the spirits 16.3	

(c) After terminal consonant *-e*. This *e* may be part of the stem that drops out on the absolute form.

*e'ēe wwi'ie* with fat she cooked (i. e., she cooked fat)

(d) After terminal *n* often, after *r* sometimes, *-etä*. Words of this group are those with double-stem forms § 31.4

*gēlētkmā'ta* along the ice-top 13.7  
*rimne'tä* and *ri'mnä* with the inner skin

<sup>1</sup> For proper names, see § 39. Compare nominal forms of verbs, No. 3, § 64.

*aiwana'ta* the Aiwan 46.6; 49.2

*intu'ulpirētū* by the son-in-law 80.22 and *intu'ulpirä*

**-ta, -a** (Kor. Kam). Instrumental and subject of transitive verbs (as in Chukshee).

*lila'ta* with an eye

*u'tta* with the wood

*a'la'ta* with excrement Kor. 12.5

*čak'eta* by the sister Kor. 18.10

*ñi'ñä* with a line Kor. 41.3

*yiča'myi-tu'mga* by the brother Kor. 20.6

*ña'wrtqata* by the woman Kor. 21.5

*ya'mka* by the people Kor. 39.7

*yipna* with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

With these endings are also found, formed from locatives (see §§ 38, 58) —

Chukshee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>minka'tä</i>	<i>minka'ta</i>	by which place
<i>wutke'tä</i>	<i>wutča'ta</i>	by this place
<i>en'ke'tä</i>	<i>enka'ta</i>	by that place
<i>vä'añkata</i>	<i>vaičä'ta</i>	by that place (midway)
<i>niki'tä</i> 12.9; 14.10	<i>niki'ta</i>	at night
<i>gino't-a'lo'</i>	<i>gino't-a'lo'</i>	at mid-day
<i>ñunqe'tä</i> there, by itself		
<i>ño'tinqata</i> there, behind the speaker		
<i>ño'onkata</i> there, farther on		
<i>ñenke'tä</i> there, far off		

Here belong also the Chukshee forms—

*ñunqe'tä* there, by itself

*ño'triñqata* there, behind speaker

*ño'onganata* there, farther on

*ñenke'tä* there, far off

**-l'** Kamchadal. Instrumental.

*u<sup>ε</sup>l'* with wood (from *u<sup>ε</sup>h* wood)

*läle'l'* with the eye (stem *lä*)

### Locative Form (§§ 38-39)

#### § 38. COMMON NOUNS

**-(i)lc, -lcI, -qI** (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.<sup>1</sup>

*ve'emik nitvq'qēn* he lives on the river

*ela'qi nitvq'qēn* he lives with the mother

*nu'tgk* (Kor. *nu'tak*) on the land

The forms *-kʲ* and *-qʲ*, also *-ekʲ* and *-eqʲ* are used after some stems, but no definite rule in regard to their use can be laid down.

*gü'mük* and *gü'muqʲ* in my possession

*yo'oqʲ* in the wind (from *yo'o* WIND)

*ELA'qi* at the mother's (from *ELA'* MOTHER)

*ñel'vüle'kʲ* at the herd (from *ñel'vül* HERD)

*vël'r'tkø-laula'ki* at the merchant's (from *vël'r'tkø-la'ul* MERCHANT)

Stems with the terminal clusters *lh*, *čh*, *th*, *rg*, *ng* may drop the terminal sound in the locative:

*pi'lhın* throat

*pi'lık* in the throat

*gi'thın* lake

*gi'tık* at the lake

*mi'ngıllıñın* hand

*mi'nik* at the hand

The forms *pi'lhık*, *gi'thık*, *mi'ngık*, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix *-gʲrgʲ(ın)* (§ 106.44) have in the locative *-ınrıor* *-rik*:

*kañka'čirgin* descent

*kañka'čirınrı* and *kañka'čirık*

*tıttat'irgin* climbing up

*tıttat'irınrı* and *tıttat'irık*

NOTE.—These two forms appear with distinctive meaning in the locative of *gıto'lhın* SIDE:

*gıto'lınrı* on the side of the mountain

*gıto'lhık* on the side of a person

This suffix is often weakened to *-g*, or even disappears entirely.

Thus we find *nu'tek*, *nu'teg*, and *nu'te* IN THE COUNTRY; *ya'rak* and *ya'ra* AT HOME; the *k* may also be replaced by *ı*. The *leu'tı* ON THE HEAD 44.5; *a'ñqa-čo'rmı* ON THE SEASHORE 12.4

*walqa'rik* in the jawbone house, 44.14

*nute's'qak* on the ground, 15.5

*rag-čo'rmık* on the house border, 12.12

*a'ñgak* on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7

*gi'lgılık* on the sea ice, 13.3

*tu'wkık* on the ice-floe, 13.3

*tı'mkık* on a hummock, 62.7

*qä'čekričhık* on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8

*lıle'k* (Kor. *lıla'k*) in the eye

Koryak:

*va'amık* in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2

*čičhəñık* in the armpits Kor. 18.9

*ya'yak* in the house Kor. 19.9

*ulqu'vık* in the cache Kor. 80.10

*yaqa'lık* in the porch Kor. 80.13

*č'ya'g* in the sky Kor. 19.3

*qas'wuge'ñık* at the foot of the stone-pine bushes Kor. 21.7

With nouns designating animate beings, the suffix *-k* expresses the possessor.

*e'kkek va'rkin* (Kor. Kam., *a'kkak va'ykin*) it is the son's

*naa'lik va'rkin* in the neighbor's (house) he is 19.2

*ge'mge-ni'kek* whosoever 20.7

Kor. *a'al tu'yik va'ykin* have you an axe? Kor. 63.5

Kor. *Tike'vuyik va'ykin* With-Smell-Pusher-Away has it Kor. 63.4

Personal pronouns also have this ending, while proper names and personal demonstrative pronouns have the ending *-(i)nä* (see § 41).

The personal pronoun is used with the ending *-k*, particularly when the noun to which it is attached with possessive significance has a suffix (*-tä*, *-gti*, etc.), while in the absolute form the suffix *-in* BELONGING TO OR MADE OF IS used (see § 46 and also § 47). In similar cases nouns designating animate beings are often used with the ending *-k*.

*gümä'k e'kkeg nalvül'e'pü qäi'mithin* take from my son's herd

*gümä'k akka'ipü* from my son (*güm* I; *-k* possessive; *ekke* son;

*-ipü* from [§ 42])

*en'g-nu'tek ne'rmeqin ke'le* in his own country the kele is strong

123.25

*mö'rêg-rak* in our houses 84.16

Kor. *mama'nak tetei'tin* on mamma's needle Kor. 25.2

Kor. *Miti'nak çai'uçhu* into Miti's work-bag Kor. 38.4

Here belong—

*wu'tku* (Kor. *wu'tçuk*) here

*e'n'ki* (Kor. *ä'nki*, Kamchadal *e'nki*) there

*va'äñki* (Kor. *va'i'eñ*) there (midway to)

*no'onki* there (farther on)

*ra'äñki* there (behind the person addressed)

*no'tiñki*, *no'tiñqi*, there (behind the speaker)

*nu'nki* (Kamchadal *no'nke*) (aside by itself)

*mi'ñki* (Kor. *mi'nki*) where

*ne'n'ku* there (far off)

All these form allative, ablative, and instrumental, see § 58.

**-nk** (Kamchadal); after terminal *n*, **-k**, also in some other cases. Locative, and subject of transitive verbs.

*bü'lenk* on the eye

*tau'ntaunk* in the darkness  
(from *tau'ntaun*)

*ci'mtenk* on the land.

*a'tinük* and *a'tinük* in the  
village (from *atinüm*)

With nouns designating animate objects, the suffix *-nk* designates the possessor.

*p!i'ē!ink ēhi'zkinin* it is the son's

The suffixes expressing DIRECTIONS TO AND FROM of the Kamchadal also contain the ending *-nk*, while in Chukchee and Koryak they are formed by the endings *-gt*, and *-gǫpǫ* (see §§ 40-43). The distinct origin of these elements may still be recognized in Kamchadal by the fact that the termination for TOWARD always, that for FROM generally, causes ablaut, while the *-nk* of the locative is neutral. For DIRECTION FROM we find, for instance—

<i>kist</i> house	<i>ki'stenk</i> in or from the house
	<i>kē'stank</i> to the house
<i>kix</i> river	<i>ki'x'enk</i> in or on the river
	<i>kē'x'ank</i> to or from the river
<i>tax'ntaun</i> darkness	<i>tax'ntaunk</i> in the darkness
	<i>tax'ntaonk</i> to the darkness
<i>a'tinäm</i> village	<i>a'tinünk</i> or <i>a'tinük</i> in, to, or from the village

These forms may be related to the possessive form of the Koryak proper names (see § 39).

### § 39. PERSONAL NOUNS

-(*I*)**nä**. Subjective and possessive of proper names of persons and of a few appellative nouns.

*Yē'tilnā* Yetiln's

*a'tēnā* father's (*a'tē* FATHER, in the language of children)

*apa'i'nā* grandfather's (*apa'i'nin* < *epē-yñin* GRANDFATHER, in the language of children)

*epēqä'yinä* grandmother's (*epē'qäi* < *epē-qäi* GRANDMOTHER, in the language of children)

*tumg'i'inä* friend's (*tumg'i'ninä*, in the pronunciation of women)

*Tēlpūñē'nä lo'o* things seen by Tēlpūñē R 379, no. 142 title

*Tño'tirgina t'lqätyäk* I go to Tño'tirgin 120.36

*n'i'rke*—a certain one, *qut* another one (§ 60), all personal demonstratives and interrogatives (§ 58) have the same forms.

-(*I*)**nak** (Kor. Kam.). Probably formed from the suffix *-(i)na* and the possessive *-k*.

*Miti'nak* Miti's Kor. 15.11

*Pti'i'qala'nak* Bird-Man Kor. 16.4

*Ačče'pınak* Ačče'pin's

*wu'tininak* this one's

*mi'kinak* who Kor. 12.7

NOTE.—The subjective of the personal pronoun in *-nan* may be related to this form. The possessive form of these pronouns, however, is formed in *-n* (see § 56)

*Allative and Ablative* (§§ 40-43.)

§ 40. ALLATIVE OF COMMON NOUNS, CHUKCHEE AND KORYAK

*-gtɿ*, *-ĕtɿ*, *-wtɿ* (Chukchee); *-itɿ* (*n̄*), *-ctɿ* (*n̄*) (Koryak), expresses THE DIRECTION TO, also THE INDIRECT OBJECT, ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

In Chukchee *-gtɿ* is used after vowels, except *o*;  
*-ĕtɿ* after consonants;  
*-wtɿ*, after *o*.

Examples of *-gtɿ* after vowels:

*qaa'gtɿ tr'iqätyä<sup>s</sup>k* I went to the reindeer  
*añqa'gtɿ eiñe'utkui<sup>s</sup>* he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5  
*qñqañqäĕq'gtɿ* to the seaside 49.6  
*nöta'gtɿ* to the country 51.2  
*ĕavũuwa'gtɿ* to the reindeer-breeder 48.9  
*yqarq'gtɿ* to the house 105.27  
*lĕla'gtɿ* to the eye  
*a<sup>s</sup>la-qopla'gtɿ* on an excrement-pile 45.5  
*käläl'gtɿ* to a kele 97.12  
*gırgola'gtɿ* upward 16.5  
*gırgoĕa'gtɿ* upward 47.4  
*anvĕ<sup>s</sup>'nauka'gtɿ* to an unbroken one 50.12 (*ä*—*kä* not)  
*ta'lva-pa'lko-vĕ<sup>s</sup>'gtɿ* to one merely dying of old age 21.7  
*akka'gtɿ tre'tyã<sup>s</sup>n* I brought it for the son  
*qaa'gtɿ* on account of the reindeer 48.12  
*uwaqoĕĕ'gtɿ* on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of *-ĕtɿ* after consonants:

*kaltĕ'tɿ* to the bottom 9.7  
*naranĕntıtko'n̄n̄oñın notas'qĕ'tɿ* it shall be thrown on the ground  
 25.3; also 16.7  
*mĕmlĕ'tɿ* to the water 48.5  
*ra<sup>s</sup>ulĕ'tɿ* to the whaler 46.5  
*a<sup>s</sup>qa'kamaanvĕ'tɿ* to the owners of bad dishes 96.7  
*rımnĕ'tı* to the inner skin  
*n̄oĕĕ'tı* to the poor ones 96.26  
*ELıqĕ'tı qätı'* he went to the father 109.3  
*yĕ<sup>s</sup>ĕamĕt-to'mgĕtı qätı'* he went to the brothers 110.1  
*tñarrqĕ'tı* to the dawn 41.7  
*yĕ<sup>s</sup>lhĕ'tı* to the moon 41.11



*pényolhê'ti* on to the hearth 32.7

*gino'nêti* to the middle 10.7; 16.8

*ergip-ya'lhêti* on account of the bright moon 14.11

Examples of *-uti*, *-uti*, after *o*

*qaaračikou'ti* under the sledge-cover 110.8

*yorou'ti* to the sleeping-room 39.10

*mêmlîčikou'ti* into the water 17.4

**-îti, -eti** (Koryak)

*-îti* used after all vowels.

*yaya'iti* to the house (*yai'te'ti* verbal, from *yai'te'kin* Kor. 17.3)

*yoyo'iti* to the sleeping-room

*lêla'iti* to the eye

*gičgolai'ti* to the upper part Kor. 20.1

*yino'iti* to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6

*-eti* after consonants.

*yipnê'ti* to the inner skin

*olhrwê'tiñ* to the cache Kor. 36.3

*yinootñ'e'ti* into the vent-hole Kor. 43.3

Here belong the allatives of the locative demonstratives and interrogatives, which take *-ri* in Chukchee.

	Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadel
whither	<i>mi'ñkri</i>	<i>menkei'ti</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>
hither	—	<i>wotčai'ti</i>	
thither	<i>eñkri</i>	{ <i>änkai'tiñ</i>	
		{ <i>enkai'ti</i> Kor. 17.2	
thither (midway)	<i>va'änřê</i>	<i>vaiëñai'ti</i>	
thither	<i>ñe'nri</i>	<i>ñankai'ti</i>	

#### § 41. ALLATIVE OF PERSONAL NOUNS

**-(I)na** TO, TOWARDS. Used only with proper names, personal demonstratives, and with a few appellative nouns.

*Yâ'tilna* to Yetil in

*a'têng* to father (*a'te* FATHER, in the language of children)

*apa'ñna* to grandfather (*apa'ñin* [*<epe-yñin*], GRANDFATHER in the language of children)

*apaqâ'yna* to grandmother (*epê'qâi* [*<epe-qâi*] GRANDMOTHER in the language of children)

*tomgê'êna* to the friend (*tê'mgrina*, in the pronunciation of women)

*wo'tqanêna* (Kor. Kam. *wo'tenena*) to this one

*mê'kêna* (Kor. Kam. *mê'kena*) to whom

**-(I)na(ñ)** (Kor. Kam.) TOWARDS, TO. Used only with proper names. Pronouns belonging to this group have *na* like the corresponding Chukchee form.

*Aččep'ina(ñ)* to Аччепина

*Met'e'na* to Miti Kor. 43.2

The related suffix, *-(i)ñ* or *-na(ñ)*, may be used with a few appellative nouns; *-itri* (see § 40) occurs as well.

*ta'tañ* or *ta'tanañ* to father; *ta'tuna* Kor. 74.15 (*ta'ta* FATHER, in the language of children); but *ila'i'tri* to the mother

#### § 42. ABLATIVE IN *-gũpũ*

*-ĩpũ*, *-ê'pũ*, *-gũpũ* (Chukchee) FROM, OUT OF, ACROSS, ALONG.  
*-ĩpũ* with stems ending in a vowel.

*lêla'ipũ* from the eye

*pottirñai'pũ* by the holes 47.2

*Roltannêna'i'pũ* from Rulte'n-  
nin 124.8 (see § 31, 4)

*añqañqađai'pũ* from the seaside  
49.8 (see § 31, 4)

*qaai'pũ* *le'i'wulin* along the  
reindeer (herd) the walking  
one

*qaatiko'i'pũ* from the herd 51.2  
*pagtalkoi'pũ* along the crevices  
22.6

*ñargino'i'pũ* from outside  
12.10 (see § 31, 4; of *ñargi-  
no'lin* that staying in the  
outer tent)

*čottagničiko'i'pũ* from the outer  
tent 131.5

*golê-notai'pu* from another  
land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21

*êuđai'pũ* from below 131.5

*notai'pũ* *nilei'vuqinet* they  
walked along the (open)  
land 17.9

*en'kêčikoi'pũ* from there (inside)  
131.12

*-gũpũ* mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

*va'amgũpũ* from the river

*nimni'mgũpũ* *ni'pkir-mu'ri* we came from the settlement 10.12

*pêpê'ggũpũ* by the ankle 50.11

*-ê'pũ* mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

*orgê'pu* from the sledge

*lautê'pũ* *kr'plinên* he struck him across the head (see 8.1)

*ronmê'pũ* from under the outer tent-cover 12.9

*yikirgê'pu* across its mouth 115.1

*čot-tagnê'pũ* from the outer tent

*gamga-va'irgê'pũ* among all beings 22.2

*ranmê'pũ* from the border of the house 130.16

*êpi'nmêpũ* from under the wall 130.16

*-e'pu* (only in Koryak II, in a number of dialects; for instance, in the village of *Ki'čhn* in Kamchatka).

*nute'pu* *galai'vulin* he walked along the open land

§ 43. POST-POSITIONS IN *-nk*, *-nq*, *-ñq*, *-(n)qo*, *-ñqorI*

**-ñqo** (Koryak I) FROM, OUT OF (not with the meaning ACROSS, ALONG).

*lɛla'ñqo* from the eye

*ɛga'ñko* from heaven Kor. 33.4

*kɪpla'gɪgɪñko* out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3

*mɛnka'ñqo* (*mañe'nko* Kor. 33.7) whence

*wotɛa'ñqo* from here

*ñanka'ñqo* thence

*ña'nakañqo* Kor. 42.3

*änka'nqo* from there

*va'i'ēñqo* from there (not very far)

**-nqo**, **-ñqorI** (Chukchee) FROM, not free; only in the following adverbs:

*mɛ'nqo* and *mɛñqorI* whence (*mɛ'ñko* 113.19)

*ño'onqo* and *ño'oñqorI* from there (far off) (*ño'onko* 76.5; 131.8)

*va'ɛnqo* *va'äñqo* and *va'änqorI* from there (not very far)

*ño'tɛnqo* and *ño'tɪñqorI* from behind the speaker

*va'ɛnqo* from behind the person addressed

*ñu'nqu* and *ñunqu'ri* from there

*ɛ'ñqo*, 86.18 *ɛn'qo'ro* 65.18 and *ɛnqorI* from there 125.3;

*wot'tqo*, *wotqoro* 124.10 and *wotqorI* from here

(*ña'nqo* means, however, simply HERE)

*ña'nko* 12.7 From this is formed the ablative *ñan'ko'pɪ*.

*ña'niko* there Kor. 32.1

*qoro'* COME HERE! (Kor. *qoyo* is probably the exclamatory form for *ña'nqorI* HITHER. The latter form is rarely used. Kor.

Kam. *qo'yɪm* HITHER is perhaps the ablative of the same form.

*qoro' ña'nko* then come here! R 73.76 *qo'ro* 101.3

**-nk** (Kamchadal). Used in most oblique cases. Since all Kamchadal stems end in consonants, this suffix requires a connecting vowel which corresponds in character to the vowel of the stem.

*ï*, *ĩ*, *ɛ*, *ʉ*, *ü*, *ɤ*, are found in this position.

The allative always has the strong form of the connecting vowel.

The suffix often takes the termination *-e*.

*sün* the wood

*sünk* from the wood

*sö'nke* to the wood

*kix* the sea

*kix'xenk* from the sea

*kix'xanke* to the sea

*lül* the eye

*lül'lank* from the eye

*lül'lank* to the eye

*ɛ'nki* there

*ño'nke* there, thus

*ma'nke* whence, whither, how

### § 44. Post-positions of Plurals of Personal Nouns

The plurals of personal nouns form their locative, allative, ablative (§§ 39, 41), and possessives (p. 709) by adding the stem of the pronoun (*i*)*rg* THEY (Kor. Kam. [*i*]y) to the stem. The allative and ablative forms differ, however, somewhat, from the forms of the independent pronoun.

#### stem (*i*)*rg* THEY

	Independent pronoun.	Suffix of plural of personal noun.
absolute	<i>E'rrī</i>	—
allative	<i>Erika'gtī</i>	— <i>Erik</i>
ablative	<i>Erikai'pū</i>	— <i>i'rgūpū</i>
<i>qla'ul</i> man		<i>qlauli'rgūpū</i> from the people
<i>ora'wêlan</i> person		<i>orawêla'rgên</i> belonging to men
<i>Tiña'p</i> (a name)		<i>Tiña'perik</i> with <i>Tiña'p</i> and his family (locative and allative) <i>Tiña'pirgên</i> belonging to <i>Tiña'p</i> 's family, belonging to <i>Tiña'p</i> <sup>1</sup>

Kor. Kam.:

<i>Pipi'kêa-ña'wgut</i> Mouse-Woman	<i>Pipi'kêa-ña'wgutiyik</i> by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1
<i>Annimaya't</i> Frost-Man	<i>Annimaya'tryik</i> by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9
<i>Ai'ginvī</i> With-Odor - Pushing-Away	<i>Ai'ginvīyikīn</i> to the people of With-Odor - Pushing-Away Kor. 63.6
<i>Quyqinn'aqu</i> Big-Raven	<i>Quyqinn'aqoyikai'ti</i> to the Big-Raven's people Kor. 19.9; 35.6

The *k* in the suffixes of these forms is evidently related to the *k* which appears in the allative and ablative of the independent pronoun derived from the stem (*i*)*rg* (Chukchee), as given in § 56.

*Miti's'hin* belonging to Miti Kor. 28.7

*Quyqinn'aqu'êhin* belonging to Big-Raven Kor. 28.7

Here Koryak *s'h* and *êh* are analogous to Chukchee *rg*.

<sup>1</sup>In cases of this kind the plural is often used to refer to the person himself.

§§ 45-50. *Form in -in*

## § 45. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of forms ending in  $-in$  occur, which are seminominal in character. I have found—

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
$-in$	$-in$	$-in$	possessive
$-kin$	$-kin$	$-in, -n$	pertaining to
$-lin$	$-la^n n$		measure of a
			quality
$ni-qin$	$ni-qin$		quality of
$ge-lin$	$ga-lin$		possessor of

All of these form their plural and post-positional forms by adding the vowel  $\xi$  before the affix added to  $-in$ . For example:

	Chukchee	Koryak Kam.
Absolute . . . . .	$nime'iqin$	$nima'iqin$
Subjective . . . . .	$nime'iqine'tä$	$nima'iqina'ta$
Locative . . . . .	$nime'iqinek$	$nima'iqinak$
Plural-Dual . . . . .	$nime'iqinet^1$	$nima'iqinat$
Plural . . . . .		$nima'iqinaw$

On the whole, forms of this type with post-positions are rare.

*mi'nikri-va'lit' ple'kit tegge'nu nime'lqigt? Nime'yiñqinet me'i-mitinet.* How do you want your boots? I want large ones (*mi'nikri* how; *va'lit* being, pl. (§ 54); *ple'kit* boots pl.; *teggeñ* desire; *-u* serving for; *ni-* prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; *-nelq* to have; *-git* thou; *ni-qinet* nominalized form of verb, pl.; *me'iñ* large, *m-* 1st per. exhortative; *eimit* to take; *-net* [I]—them, exhortative)

To the question *rä<sup>s</sup>-ne'lhä gerkulin?* With what kind of skins has it been bought? (*req* what; *ne'lhin* skin; *-ä* instrumental; *ge-lin* nominalized verb [§ 73]; *-rkur* to buy) one may answer—

*niteñqine'tä* with good ones (*ni-qin* nominalized verb; *ni-qine'tä* instrumental of this form; *teñ* good);

but it is better to avoid the nominalized form with suffix, and to say, *ten-ne'lhä* with a good skin

*em-te'n'ñila nike'i<sup>s</sup>.* the sportful people teased him (*em-* mere; *te'n'ñila* subjective form of *te'n'ñilin* sportful [the corresponding verb with the suffix *-eu* is *ten'ne'urkin* TO LAUGH]; *nike'i<sup>s</sup>* indefinite pronominal verb, *nike'rkin* TO DO SOMETHING)

<sup>1</sup> Men's pronunciation *nime'lqegst*.

These forms, however, have definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

<i>teñ</i> good	<i>nite'ngin</i>	definite form <i>nitanqê-na'chin</i> (see § 53)
	<i>te'ñiçin</i> (see § 55)	augmentative form <i>tañiç'i'yñin</i> (see § 98, no. 1)
	<i>ta'ñum-val'in</i> (see § 76)	augmentative form <i>ta'ñum-val'i'yñin</i>
	<i>tand'ya'n</i> (see § 104.38)	diminutive form <i>tand'ya'novuai</i>

In Koryak these forms are not found, as a rule.

#### § 46. SUFFIX *-in*.

*-in* (Kor. *-in*; Kamchadal *-in*) expresses material of which an object is made, and possession.

(a) Material.

- u'ttin* wooden (Kor. *u'ttin*)
- gq'lgên im evi'rit* bird dresses 7.8
- gq'lhên i'rin* bird clothes 14.3
- qg'rên ne'lhyn* reindeer-skins 14.4
- e<sup>e</sup>le<sup>e</sup>lin qlg'ul* man of excrement 39.6
- ygrq'ni wu'kwên* house of stone 92.5
- kg'nên* made of horse (hair) (stem *kg'nê* from Russian конь)
- ri'grigên* made of hair

Koryak:

- | *kuka'kin gatai'kilin* it is made of a kettle Kor. 78.1
- | *mi'mçin* (made) of a louse Kor. 78.1

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

- | *ga'lga-na'lhyn* bird-skin
- | *u'tti-yu'ni* wooden whale Kor. 40.9

(b) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

- e'kkin* the son's (Kor. Kam. *a'kkin*)  
(Kamchadal *i'çvin* the father's)
- qg'rên* the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. *qo'yen*; Kamchadal *k!o'jan*)
- çgu'çuwên ne'wän* the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6
- e'kkin ygrq'ni* the son's sleeping-room 53.8
- inpinç'çhêên eli'ginên yoro'ni* the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9
- tu'mgin* stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9
- grq'wêçên aimaki'yñin* a man's big body 90.14

- ñays'qa'tēñinên* ELA' the woman's father 85.22  
*ñē'ekkin ya'nra yorō'ñi* daughter's separate sleeping-room 28.3  
*ñē'ekkin šo'tšot* the daughter's bag pillow 29.4  
*ora'wēlēn qa'mqa-te'čyrgin* man's every source of illness 24.3  
*kē'le-ñē'us'qätin kē'rkēp* the combination-suit of the kele-woman  
 85.33  
*qla'ulqaiēn i'rin* the man's suit 85.35  
*ñinqa'yin evi'rin* the child's clothes 25.8  
*Ku'urkilin e'kik* Ku'urkil's son 79.23  
*Tño'tirginên* Tño'tirgin's 120.16  
*Umqäqäi'in* U'mqäqäi's 63.12

## Koryak:

- tami'nñi-qla'wulen ñawa'kak* an artisan's daughter Kor. 24.10  
*awa'ñi-ñawin ñawa'kak* the daughter of a seamstress Kor. 25.2  
*tumginau kawa'ssochu* other people's wallets Kor. 46.1  
*qo'yen gitä'lñin* reindeer-leg Kor. 53.3

Proper names form their possessives of this type also with the suffix *-(i)n*, especially when the terminal sound of the stem is a vowel.

- A'nna* (a name)      *A'nnan* belonging to *A'nna*  
*Qutu'wgi* (a name)      *Qutu'wgin* belonging to *Qutu'wgi*  
*Aiñanwa't* (a name)      *Aiñanwa'tin* and *Aiñanwa'tēn* belonging  
*Upe'nken* belonging      to *Aiña'nwat*.  
     to *Upenke* R72.13  
*Ñiro'nēn* belonging  
     to *Ñiro'n* R377,  
     141 title.

In Koryak the suffix *-in*, characteristic for the postpositional forms of proper names, is sometimes inserted before the possessive suffix *-in*.

- Amamqu'trin ña'witqat* Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.  
*Quyqinn'aku'nin ñawa'kak* Brig Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14

The plural takes the regular plural ending *-et* (Kor. Kam. *-at* dual, *-au* plural, Kamchadal *-e'ēn* instead of *-in*)

- ē'kkineṭ* those of the son (Kor. Kam. *a'kkinat* dual, *a'kkinau* pl.)  
     (Kamchadal *i'cāēn* those of the father)

Often, however, the singular is used instead of the plural.

The possessive forms of proper names have no plural.

The possessive pronoun is evidently based on this suffix. It has, however, somewhat irregular forms.

	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.		Kamchadal	
	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.
1st per. sing.	<i>güm</i>	<i>gümnî'n</i>	<i>gümma</i>	<i>gümnî'n</i>	<i>ki'nma</i>	<i>ki'ma'n</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>git</i>	<i>gini'n</i>	<i>gi'ssa</i>	<i>gini'n</i>	<i>ki'ja</i>	<i>ki'mi'n</i>
3d per. sing.	<i>Ena'n</i>	<i>Eni'n</i>	<i>E'nuu</i>	<i>ani'n</i>	<i>Ena'</i>	<i>Ena'n</i>
1st per. pl.	<i>mu'ri</i>	<i>mu'rgin</i>	<i>mu'yu</i>	<i>mu'ehin</i>	<i>mu'ja</i>	<i>mi'jgin</i>
2d per. pl.	<i>tu'ri</i>	<i>tu'rgin</i>	<i>tu'yu</i>	<i>tu'ehin</i>	<i>tu'ja</i>	<i>ti'jhin</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>E'rri</i>	<i>E'rgin</i>	<i>a'ëcu</i>	<i>a'ehin</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>ta'i'in</i>

The Koryak dual has no possessive forms.

Plural and dual are formed in the same way as in all attributive terms in *-in*:—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
my . . . .	<i>gümnî'net</i> (pl.)	<i>gümnî'nat</i> (dual) <i>gümnî'nav</i> (pl.)	<i>ki'ma<sup>e</sup>n</i> (pl.)

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

*gümninätä* (Kor. Kam. *gümninätä*) with mine.

It is, however, more customary to use the personal pronoun with the suffix instead.

*gomokai'pü qäi'mityin* TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM MINE) (*gomokai'pü* see § 56; *q—gin* imperative; *eimit* to take)

Demonstrative pronouns form two possessive forms:

<i>wo'tqan</i>	{ <i>wo'tqanên</i> and <i>wo'tqanEnên</i>	} belonging to this
this	{ (men's pronunciation <i>wo'tqänên</i> and <i>wo'tqänEnên</i> )	
<i>enqa'n</i>	{ <i>enqa'nên</i> and <i>E'nqanEnên</i>	} belonging to that
that	{ (men's pronunciation <i>enqä'ên</i> and <i>enqaEnên</i> )	

The forms in —*enin* may be considered as compounded with the possessive of the third person singular personal pronoun *eni'n*, so that they would be parallel to the plural forms of the demonstrative possessives discussed in § 58, p.729: *wo'tqanergên* (man's pronunciation *wo'tqäergên*) and *E'nqanergên* (man's pronunciation *E'nqäergên*).

The possessives of proper names in Koryak are formed in the same manner; as

*Quyqrnaqu'nin nawa'kak* Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.

*Amamqu'trinin na'witgat* Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

*ki'ma'nl'inl'* with my ears (*ki'man* my; *-l'* instrumental; *in* ear)

*mi'nenl' x'ed'nl'* with which knife ?

*i'kninl' kcx'ol'* with other dogs



§ 47. SUFFIX *-kin*

*-kin* (Kor. Kam. *-kin*; Kamchadal *-in, -n*) PERTAINING TO. This suffix is added to all kinds of stems,—nominal, pronominal, verbal, and adverbial.

*añga'kên* of the sea 69.9 (Kor. Kam. *añga'qen* Kor. 76.17)  
*tele'nkîn* pertaining to the remote past (*tele'n-yep* long ago); Kor.

Kam. *ankrye'pkin* (stem *ankr-ye'p*)

*erga'tkin* pertaining to to-morrow (Kor. Kam. *miti'wkin*)

*pi'lhikin* pertaining to the throat 9.3

*a'ttwile'kin* pertaining to the people of the boats 11.9; 12.1

*a'ttwukin* pertaining to the boat 14.6

*qe'ptikin* pertaining to the back 16.10

*tile'kin* pertaining to motion 16.10

*mê'ṛlikên* pertaining to water 25.6

*kele'kin* pertaining to spirits 104.26

*g'rgukên* pertaining to a sledge 62.11

*qo'i-ma-ro'kên* pertaining to the rear sleeping-room 55.8

*nute's'qâkin ti'mkîlhin* a ground hummock 62.5

*telenye'pkin* belonging to olden times 61.5

*mênko'kên* whence belonging? 113.20

*wanê'ken* working, referring to work (from *wanê*)

*yilqâ'tkin* referring to sleep

Forms with post-positions are rare.

*grgolkênâ'ta* by the one belonging above 126.6

The possessive of the personal and of some demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, with the suffix *-kin* (Kor. Kam. *-kin*) expresses THAT PERTAINING TO—

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>murike'kin</i>	<i>muyka'kin</i> (dual)	—	{ one being with us, one of ours { one of our country
	<i>mučka'kin</i> (pl)	—	
<i>tite'kin</i>	<i>tita'kin</i>	<i>ite'an, ite'nan</i>	{ from what time being
<i>miñke'kin</i> } <i>mênko'kên</i> }	<i>miñkakin</i> Kor. 66.11	<i>mi'nein</i>	from where being, belonging to what country
<i>wutke'kin</i>	<i>wuča'kin</i>	<i>ta'nin</i>	belonging here
—	<i>minka'kinau</i>	—	whose? Kor. 60.4
—	<i>ya'qkinau</i>	—	of what kind (pl.) Kor. 64.14
—	<i>ñanka'kenat</i>	—	the two belonging there Kor. 70.22

Here belong also the following Chukchee forms:

- en'ke'kin* belonging there  
*nen'ku'kin* belonging there (farther on)  
*raɛŋqa'kên* belonging there (not very far, midway to)  
*vaɛŋqa'kên* belonging there (behind the person addressed)  
*notɪŋqa'kên* belonging there (behind the speaker)

Such Koryak forms as *minka'kila<sup>ɛn</sup>* BELONGING TO WHAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), *ganka'kila<sup>ɛn</sup>* BELONGING TO THAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), combine two suffixes, *-kin* and *-la<sup>ɛn</sup>*, and refer to persons.

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>i'gɪtkin</i>	<i>a'êhɪkin</i>	what belongs to the present
<i>tite'kin</i>	<i>tita'kin</i>	belonging to which time

Numeral predicates with the ending *-kɪn* express ordinal numbers.

*mɪlɪnkau'kên* or *mɪlɪnka'ulɪn* the fifth

#### § 48. SUFFIX *-lɪn*

*-lɪn* (Kor. Kam. *-la<sup>ɛn</sup>*) (oblique cases formed from *-l*, Kor. *-l*) expresses the measure of a quality.

*mɪn̄ke'mil qɛ'tvulɪn* what likeness strong? (i. e., how strong?);  
 Kor. Kam. *menke'mič qa'tvula<sup>ɛn</sup>*; Kor. Par. *menke'mis' qe'tvula<sup>ɛn</sup>*

*en'ke'mil gɪtte'pɪlɪm* that likeness I am sensible (i. e., I am so sensible) (*en'ke* that; *-iim* [§73])

With the prefix *qɛ-* it indicates the possessor of an object.

*qɛ-lɪn* (Chukchee), *qa-lɪn* (Kor. Kam). This is identical with the verbal forms given in § 73. It expresses possession.

*qɑ-qɑ'q-lɛn* (Kor. Kam. *qa-qɔyɑ'-lɛn*) he who has reindeer

*q-ekke-lɪn* (Kor. Kam. *q-akka'-lɪn*) he who has sons

*garai'-gɪt* thou who hast a home 89.7 (see § 73).

*qa-pêla'-i-gɪm* I have left

*qa-qaɑ'-i-gɪm* I who have reindeer.

Koryak:

| *gavagrɪn̄n̄a'len* with nails Kor. 24.2

| *qaɫa'lin* with eyes Kor. 24.2

§ 49. SUFFIX *-q̄in*

*n(I)*—*q̄in* and *-lIn* (Chukchee), *n(I)*—*q̄in* (Kor. Kam.), are added to stems, most of which express a quality. Many of these are also bases of intransitive and transitive verbs which are formed with the suffixes *-eu* or *-et* (see p. 810). Some verbs, however, are formed without these suffixes.

The attributive terms in *n(I)*—*q̄in* are identical in form with the verbal mode in *n(I)*—*q̄in*, discussed in § 73. When the verb has no verbifying suffix *-eu* or *-et*, the verbal form and the attributive term are the same, and the verbal form seems to assume nominal functions. It may even take post-positions.

Examples of stems that are verbified by means of the suffixes *-eu* or *-et*:

Stems <i>têrg-</i> ; <i>têrgat</i> to weep	<i>nI-tê' r-ä-q̄ên</i> or <i>te'rg-I-lIn</i>	} tearful
Stem <i>kIm-</i> ; <i>kImē'u</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>kima'w-</i> [ <i>ikIn</i> ])	<i>nI-kī'm-ä-q̄in</i> <i>nI-kī'm-a-q̄in</i>	
Stem <i>ayIlh-</i> ; <i>ayIlhay</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>ayIlhav</i> )	<i>n-ayI'l-ä-q̄ên</i> <i>n-ayIl-a-qen</i>	} fearful

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

Stem *ño-*; *nI-ño'-q̄ên* poor, needy

Stem *tam-pêra*; *nI-tam-pêra'q̄ên* pretty

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in *nI*—*q̄in*.

*üplI'lI* (stem *üplil*); (Kor. Kam. *IpI'l'I* [stem *IpI'lI*]), yellowish  
*e' tqiñ* (stem *ē' tqiñ* and *äqä*); (Kor. Kam. *a' tēiñ* [stem *a' tēa*];

Kor. Par. *e' tqēñ* [stem *äqä*]); bad

*gümnñi' n qa'at e' tqiñit* my reindeer are bad

also *wwe'lI* (stem *wwele*) and *nu'uqin* (stem *wu'*) Kor. Kam. *nu'qin* [stem *w̄*]), black

When used in nominal form, such adjectives take the usual suffixes.

*e' tqiñ* a bad one

*e' tqi'ñiēIn* or *äqä'ēIn* a worse one

*a' tqē'ñiñ-va'lIn* or *aqa'm-va'lIn* a bad or worse one

*a' tqēnd'ya'n* or *aqaya'n* one who is bad

Examples of forms in *-lIn* are given in § 54.

For other adjective forms see § 76.

<sup>1</sup> This stem consists of two consonants *wu* < *wv* which form a vocalic unit.

## § 50. KAMCHADAL SUFFIXES

*-lāx, -lāx*, is added to stems expressing qualities:

*ō'm-lax* (from *ōm*) deep (cf. Chukchee *num-qin* broad)

*iulāx* (from *iul*) long (cf. Chukchee *n-iu'l-ā-qin*)

*o'lo-lax* (from *olo*) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix *-(i)ʷn*

*ololax-iʷn ki'stiʷnē* small little houses.

In post-positional forms the attribute forms a compound with the noun:

*o'lolax-kē'stēanke* to the small houses.

Several adjectival forms borrowed from Russian and Koryak II are also used.

*vo'stoi' xvalē, ni'ruqin xvalē* a sharp knife.

*nvē'thaqên uʷh* a straight tree.

Here *vo'stoi* is Russian, *ni'ruqin* and *nvē'thaqên* are Koryak II. The last forms the Kamchadal plural *nvē'thalāʷn uʷhrʷn*.

*k!-in* (*-ffan*) corresponds to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *n(i)-qin* (§ 49), and is used with verbal themes expressing qualities as well as with intransitive verbs.

*k!-ni'ta-in* (Chukchee *ni-git'ep-qin*) clever

*k!-nu'-in* (from *nu* TO EAT) voracious

*k!-vêta't-an* (from *vêtat* TO WORK) laborious

*k!-kiñin* seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *ge-lin* (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.

*k!-nu'-kiñin* (from *nu* TO EAT) the one who ate

Both of these suffixes are also used with the transitive verb, *k!-in* with verbs of Type I (see § 70, p. 744), *k!-kiñin* with verbs of Type II (see § 71, p. 746). These forms have a passive meaning,

*-kił'*, pl. *-kił'aʷn*, forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.

*nu'kil'*, pl. *nu'kil'aʷn*, the one who is eating

*vêta'tkal'*, pl. *vêtatkal'aʷn*, the one who busies himself

*colkêł'*, pl. *colkêł'aʷn*, the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.

*txkil'* the one who beats

*ke'jkil'* the one who keeps

### Suffixes in *-I(n)* §§ 51-55

#### § 51. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of nominal suffixes have the termination *-n* in the absolute form. Some of these occur only in the absolute form.

*-lhin* (Kor. *-lin*)

*-linin, -linin* (Kor. *-linin*)

*-ghin* (Kor. *-gin*)

-*éŷĩn* (Kor. -*éŷĩn*)

-*ŷĩn* augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)

-*gŷrgĩn* (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. -*geŷĩn*, -*gĩtĩn* -*gĩčĩn*) abstract noun

-*čĩn*

-*lĩn*

-*tkĩn* (Kor. Kam. -*tčĩn*) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES -*lh*- and -*lĩ*-

-*lh* (*lĩn*) (Kor. -*lĩn* *lĩn*), the absolute form of a suffix -*lh*-, which occurs with great frequency as the absolute form of certain words. In most cases it is not retained with other suffixes, although cases of its retention are also numerous.

*lêlâ'lhĩn* eye (stem *lile*)

*tĩ'mkĩlhĩn* (and *tĩ'mkĩtĩn*) hummock 79.2 (stem *tmk* 62.7; but *tmkĩlhê'tĩ* 62.5)

*mêlotâ'lhĩn* hare 78.24 (stem *mĩlutê* 78.15)

*rêqôqâ'lhĩn* fox 78.3 (stem *riqûqê* 78.12)

*wũ'kwulhĩn* stone 35.11 (stem *wukw* 35.11)

*kĩ'mĩlhĩn*<sup>1</sup> worm 37.3 (stem *kĩm* 36.11)

*tãmonâ'lhĩn* a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem *temune* 9.8)

Koryak:

*lêlâ'lĩn* eye Kor. 49.5

*gĩtê'lĩn* leg Kor. 53.3

*pĩpĩ'kalĩn* mouse Kor. 58.7

*vãnnĩlĩn* tooth Kor. 34.3,4

-*lĩ* (*lĩn*) (Kor. -*lĩ* [*lĩn*], sometimes -*lĩlĩ* [*lĩn*] is used in the same way as the preceding suffix.

*na<sup>é</sup>glĩĩn* (stem *ve<sup>é</sup>g*) (Kor. Kam. *va<sup>é</sup>y-lĩĩn* [stem *ve<sup>é</sup>y*]) grass

It is not always easy to determine whether the -*lh* belongs to the stem or not.

*ũpâ'lhĩn* tallow 86.23 (*ũpâ'lhã* 87.4)

*kopa'lhĩn* walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'lhã* 14.11)

*rêpa'lhĩn* walrus-hide 13.13

*pênyo'lhĩn* hearth 31.13

*ñawgo'lhĩn* old woman 39.5; 40.1

*vamĩlqa'lhĩn* lip 14.5

*pênaka'lhĩn* tassel 16.10

*auta'lhĩn* obsidian scraper 39.12

*pêrka'lhĩn* boulder 129.6

*rĩ'lhĩ'liĩn* and *rêliĩliĩn* wing (stem *riľh*, *riľ*) 15.2

Of these, the first five stems retain the suffix *lh* with post-positions. The primary stem, however, is without this suffix: for instance,

<sup>1</sup> The text has *kĩmĩhĩn* because emphasis is laid on the word which is the last in the sentence. If there had been more stress this form would have been *kĩmĩho'n* (see § 36).

*pěnyo'lhın* hearth (stem *pin*, absolute form *p'i'mpi* powder, ashes)

The following have weak vowels, and it may be assumed that the *lh* belongs to the stem.

*p'i'lhın* throat (stem *p'ilh*); (Kor. Kam. *p'i'lhın* [stem *p'ilh*]). Locative: *p'i'lhik'*, *p'i'lik*; (Kor. Kam. *p'i'lhik*)

*ñi'lhın* thong 48.4

*ne'lhın* skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES *-éh-* and *-éiñ-*

*-éh(In)*, *-éiñ(In)* (Kor. *-éñ[In]*, *éiñ[In]*; *-tñ[In]*; *-s'ñ[In]*,— according to dialect). This suffix seems to express an emphatic form. Sometimes it corresponds to the definite article or designates an object as referred to before. In other cases it might be translated as A PARTICULAR ONE, in contradistinction to other objects of the same or other classes. Some words seem to have the suffix throughout.

Etymologically it may be related to the suffix *-lh-*, since *é* and *l* (Kor. *é* and *l*) replace each other frequently (see § 122).

*valq'èhın* knife (stem *valq*, absolute *va'lɛ*); Kor. Kam. *valq'èñın* (stem *valq*, absolute *va'lq*)

*ra'mkrièhın* people (stem *remk*, absolute *re'mkın*); Kor. *ya'mkrièñın* (stem *yank*, absolute *ya'mkın*)

*ELI'grièhın* the aforesaid father 19.11

*ora'wêlāèhın* the aforesaid man 18.11

*pěnyo'lhrièhın* the aforesaid hearth 32.9

*yè'lièhın* the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12

*lêlā'lhrièhın* the aforesaid eye 106.19

*qolq-a'è'lièhın* a particular kind of dog 121.11

*kala'èhın* a particular kele 105.14

*va'amrièhın* a particular river 40.12

*lolo'èhın* a particular penis 26.8

*ña'lvülièhın* a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:

*qoqlō'wièñın* hole Kor. 15.8

*lavtikr'lièñın* head-band Kor. 17.12

*-éiñ(In)*.

*ñawa'néyñın* a particular wife 38.4

*ñaus'qa'téyñın* the aforesaid woman 39.7

*pako'liyñın* a particular kind of woman's knife 44.3, 5

NOTE 1.—A number of stems end in *éh*, and are not related to this class.

*ta'v'qèhrièhın* the bag mentioned before (stem *teivèh*, absolute *te'v'ùèhın*); Kor. Kam. *çai'qèhrièñın* (stem *çai'vèh*, absolute *çai'v'ùèhın*)

NOTE 2.—In words which have the absolute form in *-lh-*, *-lyñ-*, the suffix *-čh-*, *-čyñ-*, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes *-lh-*, *-lyñ-*.

*lələ'lhčhym* 106.19, or *lələ'čhym* eye (stem *lylə*, absolute *lələ'lym*);  
Kor. Kam. *lələ'lyčhym* or *lələ'čhym*, (stem *lylə*, absolute *lələ'lym*)

§ 54. SUFFIXES *-li-* (*-le<sup>en</sup>*, *-če<sup>en</sup>*)

*-li-*, *-le<sup>en</sup>*, (Kor. Kam. *-la<sup>en</sup>*, *-[a][a<sup>en</sup>*, *-[i][a<sup>en</sup>* are similar to the participle of the intransitive verb. As suffixes of substantives, they indicate a person related in some more or less direct way to the object.

After stems with terminal vowel *-lin* is used; after the terminal consonant of a stem (except *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*) the auxiliary vowel *i* is inserted before *-lin*. After terminal *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*, the suffix *-le<sup>en</sup>* is used, which forms with terminal *l* or *r* the ending *-lč<sup>en</sup>*, with terminal *t* the ending *-le<sup>en</sup>*. With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>r'i'lyen</i> (< <i>r'il</i> + <i>-le<sup>en</sup></i> ; base <i>r'il</i> )	<i>y'i'la<sup>en</sup></i> (base	winged
<i>re'li'lyñin</i>	<i>yl</i> ) <i>yel'lyñin</i>	wing
<i>ñaw-kê'la<sup>en</sup></i> (< <i>kêr-le<sup>en</sup></i> )	<i>ñaw-ke'ila<sup>en</sup></i>	clad in woman's dress
<i>yá'a'la<sup>en</sup></i> (< <i>yá'al-la<sup>en</sup></i> )	<i>yá'a'la<sup>en</sup></i>	that in the rear
<i>ve'čmilin</i>	<i>vaya'mila<sup>en</sup></i>	River man
<i>a'ñqalin</i>	<i>a'ñqala<sup>en</sup></i>	Maritime man
<i>na'čhila genpelqu'wlin</i>		by a left-handed man was he vanquished

Numeral terms with the ending *-lin* express ordinal numbers.

*milyinka'wlin* or *milyinkau'kên* the fifth

With intransitive verbs this suffix forms the expression THE ONE WHO —.

*ypa'wlin* the one who drinks (stem *ypau* to drink) (Kor. *apa'ula<sup>en</sup>*  
[stem *apau*])

Here belong also

*e'čelin* the one who is fat (Kor. Kam. *gača'lin*)

*gai'mičilin* the rich one<sup>1</sup>

Plural, dual, and oblique cases are formed like those of the adjective in *-lin* (§ 49).

Verbal stems terminating in *l* and *r* are contracted with this suffix, and form *-lč<sup>en</sup>*.

*wñe'le<sup>en</sup>* < *wñel-lin* wood-carrier 27.5

*te'le<sup>en</sup>* < *tel-lin* the suffering one 34.7

*ritê'la<sup>en</sup>* one who is lying there 28.6

<sup>1</sup> See §§48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in *n(t)-gn*.

*i<sup>ε</sup>L<sup>ε</sup>n* < *i<sup>ε</sup>r-lin* the one who crosses over  
*a<sup>t</sup>toot<sup>ε</sup>'ti* *qi'wkw<sup>i</sup>ε* say to the one in front!

In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.

*t<sup>ε</sup>l<sup>a</sup>n* the suffering one  
*ε<sup>ε</sup>'yla<sup>n</sup>* the one crossing over

In Koryak the same suffix is used with transitive verbs to express the actor.

*p<sup>ε</sup>la'la<sup>n</sup>* the one who leaves

In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs, requires the prefix *inε-* or the suffix *-tku<sub>ε</sub>*.

*εnap<sup>ε</sup>la'lin* } the one who leaves  
*p<sup>ε</sup>la'tk<sup>ε</sup>lin* }

In some cases both forms in *-lin* and in *-k<sub>ε</sub>in* (see § 47) are used indiscriminately.

*n<sup>a</sup>'εh<sub>ε</sub>lin* (Kor. Kam. *n<sup>a</sup>'εhala<sup>n</sup>*) or *n<sup>a</sup>'εn·k<sub>ε</sub>n* that to the left  
*mra'lin* (Kor. Kam. *mya'la<sup>n</sup>*) or *mra'k<sub>ε</sub>n* that to the right

Similar forms in *-la<sup>n</sup>* occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due however, to the influence of the Koryak.

*ki'stila<sup>n</sup>* and *ki'strin* that of the house  
*atino'la<sup>n</sup>* and *atino'an* that of the village

#### § 55. SUFFIX *-εim-* (*-εε<sup>n</sup>*)

**-εIN** (*-εε<sup>n</sup>*) (Kor. Kam. *-εa<sup>n</sup>*, Kor. Par. *-sa<sup>n</sup>*) is used principally to express the comparative. The form *-εε<sup>n</sup>* is used after the single terminal consonants *n*, *r*, *l*. With this ending, the object of the comparison assumes the locative form.

*mε'l<sup>ε</sup>n* the better one (Kor. Kam. *ma'l<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*)

*mei'ni<sup>ε</sup>n* the larger one (Kor. Kam. *mai'ni<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>n</sup>*; Kor. Par. *mei'ni<sup>ε</sup>sa<sup>n</sup>*)

*ia'm mi'ki<sup>ε</sup>n inε'ilirkin ta'aq*, *mei'ni<sup>ε</sup>n im qine'ilhi<sup>ε</sup>* why do you give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one (*ia'm* why; *mk* large; *inε-yil-i-rkin* you give me [§ 67]; *ta'aq* tobacco; *mεi'ni<sup>ε</sup>* large; *im* particle expressing slight emphasis; *q-inε-yil-gi<sup>ε</sup>* give me! [§ 67]); (Kor. Kam. *me'nganqač iphu'εa<sup>n</sup> inε'yil ta'waq*, *mai'ni<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>n</sup> qine'yil*; Kor. *a'εi'ni<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>n</sup>* the worst Kor. 30.7)

*qa'mqa-qla'ulik qε'tv<sup>ε</sup>εim* I am stronger than all others (*qεmge* every; *qla'ul* man; *-k* locative; *qε'tvu* strong; *-i<sub>ε</sub>im* [§ 73]); Kor. Kam. *qa'mqa-qla'wulak ma'n qa'tv<sup>ε</sup>εim*)

It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to *-εhin* THE PARTICULAR ONE. We find, for instance,



*ǰ'rmǰč'rn* the strong man (stem *ǰrmǰ*)

*ñǰ'č'rn* the poor man (stem *ñǰ*)

This ending has oblique cases:

*ya<sup>č</sup>č'pü qäč'vi'gin č'rmqük* cut off some rawer part (*ya<sup>č</sup>* raw; *-č'pü* from; *qäč'vi-gin* [stem *č'vi*] to cut [§ 67]; *č'rmqük* some)

*armačč'ri* to the strong man

*armačč'pü* from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

*i'npič-akkäi'pü* from the elder son (*np* old; *ekke* son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the suffix *-č'rn* or *va'lin* (Kor. Kam. *-č'a<sup>č</sup>n* or *i'ta<sup>č</sup>a<sup>č</sup>n*) expresses our superlative.

*ena'n mai'ñič'rn* (Kor. Kam. *ina'n-mai'ñič'a<sup>č</sup>n*)

*ena'n-ma'yinku-wa'lin* (Kor. Kam. *ina'n-ma'yinč'riñ*) } the largest one  
*i'ta<sup>č</sup>a<sup>č</sup>n*

**-č'ei** (Kamchadal) expresses the emphatic comparative form of the adjective, and replaces the ending *-la<sup>č</sup>x*. As in Chukchee and Koryak, the object of comparison is expressed in the locative form.

*ki'mma kini'nk č'inrič'ei'* I am prettier than you (*ki'mma' I*;  
*kini'nk* on thee; *č'inrič'ei'* pretty)

### Pronouns (§§ 56-60).

#### § 56. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are —

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
I . . .	<i>güm</i>	<i>gümma, güm</i>	<i>ki'mma</i>
thou . . .	<i>git</i>	<i>gi'ssa,<sup>1</sup> gi<sup>č</sup></i>	<i>ki'ja</i>
he . . .	<i>ena'n<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>a'nnu</i>	<i>enā'</i>
we . . .	<i>mu'ri</i>	<i>mu'yi</i> (dual)	<i>mu'ja</i>
		<i>mu'yu</i> (plural)	
ye . . .	<i>tur'i</i>	<i>tu'yi</i> (dual)	<i>tu'ja</i>
		<i>tu'yu</i> (plural)	
they . . .	<i>E'rrr</i>	<i>a'čči</i> (dual)	<i>itx</i>
		<i>a'čču</i> (plural)	

From these absolute forms, forms analogous to those of the noun are derived. The locative, subjective, and possessive are derived from the stems; while the forms in *-gti*, *-ipu*, of Chukchee, require the suffix *ka* after the pronominal stem. Thus we find the following forms:

<sup>1</sup>The Koryak of Paren has *gič'a*, although ordinarily *č'i* is characteristic of Kamenskoye, *ss* of Paren.

<sup>2</sup>The particle *elo'n* is also used in the absolute form of the pronoun. Otherwise its meaning is generally weakly concessive, like that of German *doch*.

CHUKCHEE

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute . . . . .	gũm	gĩt, gĩr	Ena'n	ma'ri	tu'rė	E'rii
Locative . . . . .	gũmãk, gũmã'q	gĩnãk, gĩnã'q	Enã'k, Enã'q	ma'rik, ma'riq	tu'rik, tu'riq	E'rik, E'riq
Subjective . . . . .	gũmã'ki	gĩnã'ki	Enã'ki	ma'riki	tu'riki	E'riki
Possessive . . . . .	gũmna'n	gĩna'n	Ena'n	møgina'n	tergina'n	Ergina'n
Allative . . . . .	gũmni'n	gĩni'n	Eni'n	ma'rigin	tu'rigin	E'rigin
	gũmãka'gĩ	gĩnãka'gĩ	Enãka'gĩ	møřeka'gĩ	terřega'gĩ	Erika'gĩ
	gũmãgka'gĩt					
	gũmãkãt'pũ	gĩnãkãt'pũ	Enãkãt'pũ	møřekãt'pũ	terřekãt'pũ	Erikãt'pũ
	gũmãgkãt'pũ					

KORYAK

Absolute . . . . .	gũmma	g'issa, g'i	E'nna	ma'yi	ma'yu	a'čči a'čču
Locative . . . . .	gũ'mik	g'naik	I'nik	ma'yik	tu'yik	a'ččik
Subjective . . . . .	gũmna'n	g'na'n	I'na'n	møčhna'n	točhna'n	ačhna'n
Possessive . . . . .	gũmni'n	g'ni'n	an'n	mu'čhin	tu'čhin	a'čchin
Allative . . . . .	gũmka'ti	g'na'ka'ti	I'na'ka'ti	møika'ti, mōčiti	toika'ti, toka'ti	ačca'ti
	gũ'mkã	g'ni'kã	I'ni'kã	mo'kã	to'kã	a'ččã
Ablative . . . . .	gũmka'ňqo	g'na'ka'ňqo	I'na'ka'ňqo	møika'ňqo, mōčka'ňqo	toika'ňqo, točka'ňqo	ačca'ňqo, ačã'ňqo

## KAMCHADAL

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute . . . . .	<i>ki'mma</i>	<i>ki'ja</i>	<i>Enā'</i>	<i>ma'ja</i>	<i>tu'ja</i>	<i>Itz</i>
Locative . . . . .	<i>ki'mma'nk</i>	<i>ki'ni'nk</i>	<i>Enā'nk</i>	<i>mi'gi'nk</i>	<i>ti'gi'nk</i>	<i>tzi'ink</i>
Subjective . . . . .	<i>ki'mlu'n</i>	<i>ki'lu'n</i>	<i>xunā'a</i>	<i>ngilu'n</i>	<i>ti'lu'n</i>	<i>tuun</i>
Possessive . . . . .	<i>ki'ma'n</i>	<i>ki'ma'n</i>	<i>Enā'n</i>	<i>mi'gin</i>	<i>ti'jin</i>	<i>tzi'in</i>
Allative . . . . .	<i>ki'mma'nte</i>	<i>ki'ma'nte</i>	<i>Enā'nte</i>	<i>mi'ga'nte</i>	<i>ti'go'nte</i>	<i>lza'anke</i>
Ablative . . . . .	<i>ki'mma'nk</i>	<i>ki'ni'nk</i>	<i>Enā'uki</i>	<i>mi'gi'nk</i>	<i>ti'gi'uki</i>	<i>tzi'ink</i>

In Chukechee and Koryak there is also a form expressing the aequalis i. e. similar to, of the same size as, according to the wants of.—They are generally used with this suffix—*mîé*,—*mîl* (§ 102, 30).

	Chukechee	Koryak
similar to me	<i>gŭ'muŭ</i>	<i>gŭ'muŭ</i>
similar to thee	<i>g'nrŭ</i>	<i>g'nrŭ</i>
similar to him	<i>é'nrŭ</i>	<i>a'nrŭ</i>
similar to us	<i>ma'ruŭ</i>	} not known
similar to you	<i>tu'ruŭ</i>	
similar to them	<i>é'rŭ</i>	

In both Chukechee and Koryak the plural forms of the first and second persons are often used in place of the singular, without, however, conveying the idea of respect.

*amto'*, *geyi'lgät-tu'ri* well, have you slept? (singular or plural)

| In Koryak the dual and plural forms are not sharply distinguished.

In Chukechee the plural subjective forms are, in the pronunciation of men, as follows:

*mørgäa'n*, *tørgäa'n*, *ergäa'n*

| In several dialects of Korak II the following forms of the third person plural occur:

Absolute *ethu*

Locative *ethik*

Subjective *ethina'n*

The Kamchadal forms in *itx*, and the Chukechee forms derived from *erg.*, are evidently related to this series.

In both Chukechee and Koryak of Kamenskoye the subjective form is used in some compounds.

*gŭmna'n éini't* myself (Ch. and Kor. Kam.)

In other cases the possessive forms are used:

*gŭmni'n éini'tkin* (Kor. *gŭmni'n éini'nkin*) my own.

The idea of SELF, however, is expressed differently in oblique cases.

*kata'm-gomø ka'gti* (Chukechee) just to me (i. e., to myself)

*éini't wwi'k gä'nmi'lên* he killed himself, (lit. his own body; *wwi'k* body)

Kor. *u'wik qu'u'non* he consumed himself (literally, his body)

| Kor. 56.10.

| Kor. *gitëa't wwi'kinat ganu'linat* he consumed his own legs, lit. legs body belonging to he consumed them Kor. 57.2

The term *wwi'kin* BELONGING TO THE BODY is thus used to express OWN.

We find, however, in Koryak, the pronoun also used in oblique cases to express OWN:

*gǔ'mkrñ ěini'nkina* with my own.

Personal pronouns have also definite, augmentative and diminutive forms, which take the suffix *-onaiolh* following the possessive form of the pronoun.

*gǔmǔk-onaiolh-rĕh-ě-ĭm* big I

These forms are used in jesting, in children's play, etc.

**Demonstrative and Interrogative (Indefinite) Pronouns**  
(§§ 57-58)

§ 57. PARTICLES AND ABSOLUTE FORMS

The idea of position is expressed with great nicety, and in Chukchee there are nine terms expressing the position of an object in relation to the speaker. In Koryak there are only five, and in Kamchadal I have found only two. The exact relation to the speaker is not quite clear in all of these. In Chukchee the independent form of all of these is formed by the suffix *-qan* (with *n* belonging to the suffix); only one has the ending *-qin*. In Koryak a few have the corresponding endings *-kin*, *-qen*, *-qala'ken*.

	Particles	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
		Stem	Independent form		
this . . . . .	<i>vai</i>	<i>wy't-</i>	<i>wq'tqan</i> , 65.22; 137.1; 133.4	<i>wu'ssin</i> <i>wu'tcin</i> (Paren)	<i>nu't, tĭ'n</i>
that . . . . .	<i>{ñan</i> <i>{Enqan</i>	<i>{EN-ñ-</i>	<i>Enqg'n</i> 115.21; 71.13, 29; 63.7, 10	<i>ñā'nyen</i>	<i>hĕ'nñin</i>
that yonder . . . . .	<i>ñoon</i>	<i>ñg'gn-</i>	<i>ñg'gnqan</i> 70.22; also as adverb	<i>Enka'kin</i>	
that yonder . . . . .		<i>ñg'gn-</i> , less frequently <i>ñg'n-</i>	<i>ñā'anqan</i>		
that there (not very far)	<i>ñan</i>		<i>ñā'nqan</i> 133.3		
there (quite far) . . .	<i>gan</i>		<i>ga'nqan</i> 63.13		
that there (midway to some other object)	<i>{vai</i>	<i>{vǔ'EN-</i> <i>{va'EN</i>	<i>va'ENqan</i> 121.24	<i>va'yenqen</i>	
that behind the person addressed . . . . .	<i>{rai</i>	<i>ra'EN-,ra'EN</i>	<i>ra'ENqan</i>		
that behind the person speaking . . . . .	<i>{ño'tt</i>	<i>ño'ttñ</i> 70.21	<i>ño'ttinqan</i>	<i>ñottinqala'ken</i>	
that apart from the speaker . . . . .	<i>{ñun</i>	<i>ñy'n-</i>	<i>ñū'nqin</i> 137.3		
who, somebody . . . .	—	( <i>mik-</i> )	<i>me'ñin</i> 11.4		<i>min-</i>

It may be noted that all demonstratives, except *wut-*, *en'ñ-*, and *ñó'tiñ*, end in *-n* which remains in all forms.

The demonstrative stems have strong vowels, except *wut-*, *en'ñ-*, and *ñun*. The last of these is treated more frequently as an unchangeable stem; for instance,—

*ñy'nin-notai'pü* from that land,—

although the two vowels *u* and *i* belong to the weak, changeable group.

When the demonstratives enter into composition, they take the ending *-in*, except *ñó'tiñ*. The same ending is found in the interrogative *mé'ñin*, which, according to the forms with suffixes, must be derived from a stem *mik-* (see §58, p. 1726). These forms appear in adjectival form in oblique cases.

*wó'tiñ-notanqa'tkên* that one belonging to this country 7.1

*wó'tin-irgíro'k* that (morning) dawn 10.3

*wu'tin-nu'tek* (Kor. Kam. *wu'tin-nu'tak*) in that country

*mañé'n-notai'pü* (Kor. Kam. *ma'ñen-nota'ñqo*) from what country.

Kor. *ma'ñin-ni'kli-ye'lkryel* which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor.

34.2

Kor. *ma'ñin-qai-ña'wis'qatik* to which small woman? Kor. 34.5

For greater emphasis the independent, absolute forms of the demonstrative may be used with the corresponding particle, as given on p. 723, or with repetition of independent form, connected by the particle *üm* (see also p. 726).

*ñó'onqan üm ñoon*

*enqa'n üm enqa'n* 130.9, etc.

The particles are, however, used also independently or combined with various other forms.

*rai* 61.8

*vai* 61.9; 62.7; 63.6; 66.30, 35;

71.15; 76.25, 30

*ñan* 71.3, 16; 62.4, 8; 65.1; 66.32

*ñ'an* 63.13

*ñó'on* 64.1

*wot* 81.12

*wó'tên-rai* 29.1

*elo'n üm vai* 66.29

*elo'n vai* 67.33

*vai üm ñ'a'n(i)* 131.3, 10

*e'nme ñan* 66.32

*enqa'n üm vai* 130.7

*wó'tqanm üm vai* 45.12

*vai ñan* 62.9

*wu'tku-m vai* 120.11

NOTE.—The Koryak form in *-qala'ken* given in the preceding table of demonstratives is derived from the post-position *-qal*, *-qaé* (Chukchee *-qal*, *-qaé*) CLOSE TO, BY THE SIDE OF. The Koryak suffix *-qala'ken* cor-

responds to the Chukchee form *-qutkên*, which is used to form a great many derivatives. The following forms derived from demonstrative pronouns may serve as examples:—

Adverbial form *va'enqač* (Kor. Kam. *va'yenqal*) by the side, half-way

Independent form *vaenqa'tkên* (Kor. Kam. *vayenqala'ken*)

Adverbial form *wo'tênqač* (Kor. Kam. *wo'tenqal*) here

Independent form *wotinqa'tkên* 14.2 (Kor. Kam. *votenqala'ken*)

*wotqani'rgüpü* (pronunciation of men *wotqač'rgüpü*) from those

§ 58. PLURAL AND POST-POSITIONAL FORMS

Plural and suffix forms are derived from the forms in *-qan* adding the *-č* (Kor. Kam. *-a*) to the terminal *n* that is found in all words with terminal *n* of the stem (§§ 31, 4; 34). For personal forms the connective vowel is *i*.

As examples may serve,—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Absolute . . . . .	<i>wq'tqan</i>	<i>wy'ssɪn</i> Kor. 49.9
Plural (Dual Kor.) . . . . .	<i>wq'tqanč<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>wy'tissat</i>
Plural (Koryak) . . . . .	—	<i>wy'tɪssau</i> Kor. 32.2
Subjective, not personal . . . . .	<i>wqtqanq'tq</i>	<i>wytissa'ta</i>
Subjective, personal . . . . .	<i>wo'tqanêna<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>wy'tinɪnak</i>
Locative, not personal . . . . .	<i>wo'tqanak</i>	<i>wy'tissak</i>
Allative, not personal . . . . .	<i>wqtqana'gtɪ</i>	<i>wotessa'tɪ</i>
Allative, personal . . . . .	<i>wq'tqanêna<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>wq'tɛnɛnɛ</i>
Ablative, not personal . . . . .	<i>wotqana'i'pü</i>	<i>wotessa'ñqo</i>
Ablative, personal . . . . .	<i>wotqana'i'pü</i>	<i>wotɛnɛna'ñqo</i>

<sup>1</sup> Pronunciation of men *wq'tqaat*.

<sup>2</sup> Pronunciation of men *wo'tqaena*.

Also *enqa'nat* 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; *enqad't* those 62.10; *enqa'nêna* by that one 44.8; *wo'tqana* this time 76.18

Koryak:

*ñä'nyen* that one (absolute) Kor. 17.5, 9; 51.2, 5

*ñä'nyeu* (pl.) Kor. 21.1; 44.6; 62.4; *ñä'nyau* 25.6, 9; 42.4

*ñä'nyenata* (subjective, not personal) Kor. 43.5

*ñä'nenenak* (subjective, personal) Kor. 34.11; *ñä'nyenena* Kor. 76.16

The plural of the demonstrative is used in nominal, adjectival, and predicative expressions.

*enqa'nat qäni'ntɪnɪnet* throw away those! 49.5

*wo'qaat qänu'utkɪ* eat these! 33.12

*enqa'at qa'at* those reindeer

Kor. Kam. *ñä'nyenau a'ttu* those dogs

In some cases the singular form is used when we should expect the plural:

*enqa'n gittile'ti nine'l-i-üm* there I give to those who are hungry  
96.24 (cf. 96.9, 12, 17).

*enqa'n orawêlat* these men 63.5

*enqa'n Umqäqäi'nti* these people of Umqäqäi 63.10

*erqa'n ñi'räq ora'wêlat* these two men 7.10

The corresponding forms of the personal interrogative WHO, SOME-BODY, and of the Kamchadal impersonal interrogative, are—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	Kamchadal
			WHO	WHAT
Absolute . . . . .	<i>me'ñin</i>	<i>ma'ki</i> Kor.17.6	<i>ke</i>	( <i>min</i> )
Plural (Dual Koryak) . . . . .	<i>mi'kinti</i>	<i>ma'kinti</i>	<i>ke'n</i>	<i>mi'ni'n</i>
Plural (Koryak) . . . . .	—	<i>maku'wgi</i>	—	—
Subjective . . . . .	<i>mi'kinä</i>	<i>mi'kinak</i> Kor. 76.16	<i>ke'ink</i>	<i>mi'nen'</i>
Allative. . . . .	<i>me'kena</i>	<i>me'kena</i>	<i>ke'anke</i>	<i>me'nank</i>
Ablative . . . . .	<i>mékëna'pü</i>	<i>mkenä'üqo</i>	<i>ke'ink</i>	<i>mi'nenk</i>

#### Examples:

*me'ñin üm ela'* who is (your) mother? 113.14

*mi'kin yaarkinë'tki kanë'i'irgin* whose lullaby are you singing?  
120.14

*mi'kinä ganto'lën* by whom born? 142.1

In Kamchadal the form corresponding to the stem *mik-* signifies the inanimate interrogative.

Nominal forms of the plural, when appearing with suffixes, have, instead of the regular plural, forms compounded with the third person plural personal pronoun (see p. 706).

In Chukchee we find also *ma'kirgin*, pl. *ma'kirgintë*, WHOSE HOUSE'S, WHOSE FAMILY'S; related to the Koryak stem *mak-*, and formed with the stem *-erg* of the personal pronoun third person plural (see § 44).

These particles doubled, and connected by *üm*, are also used as exclamations.

*ñan üm ñan!* you there! *ña'an üm ñan* 95. 35 yonder

*vai üm vai!* halfway there!

*ñoon üm ñoon!* far off there!

They occur in the same way with interrogative pronouns.

*me'ñin ñan ye'tirkim?* who comes there?

*rä'e'nun ñot wurre'erkim?* what is visible behind there?

*mi'ñkri rai ne'lhie?* how then became he? 29.7

*mi'ñkri ñot a'qa-ras'që'um-va'lit?* why! those are bad ones to



Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs are derived from the particle stems by means of the locative endings. From these are derived others by means of nominal suffixes (see examples below).

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
here . . . . .	<i>wu'tku</i> 7.5	<i>wu'tëuk, ä'nki</i>	<i>nuz, te'a</i>
there . . . . .	<i>E'n'ki</i> 119.31	<i>ña'nko, ña'nako, ñe'niko</i>	<i>E'n'ki, x'u, (xo'xval</i> therefrom)
there (midway to some object) .	<i>va'änki</i>	<i>va'eñ</i>	
there (behind the person ad-dressed) . . . . .	<i>ra'änki</i>		
there (behind the speaker) . . .	<i>ño'tiñki</i>		
there (away from the speaker) .	<i>ñu'nki</i>		
where . . . . .	<i>mi'ñki, me'ñki</i> 12.2	<i>mi'ñki, Kor. 20.1</i>	<i>ma, mas</i>

In Chukchee two forms in *-qan* are also used as adverbs.

- there (some distance away) . . . . . *ño'onqan*
- there (far away) . . . . . *gã'nqan*

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

- |                |                       |                          |               |
|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
|                | Chukchee              | Kor. Kam.                | Kamchadal     |
| thus . . . . . | <i>En'ñi'n</i> 63.13; | <i>Enñä'an</i> Kor.13.1, | <i>ño'nke</i> |
|                | 65.22                 | 10                       |               |

Adverbs with suffixes derived from the locative forms are the following:

	HERE		THERE		WHERE		
	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
Stem . . . . .	<i>wut</i>	<i>wulë</i>	<i>En</i>	<i>ñan, äñ</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>ma</i>
Instrumental	<i>wutke'tä</i>	<i>wutëa'ta</i>	<i>enke'tä</i>	<i>ña nka'ta, äñka'ta</i>	<i>miñke'tä</i>	<i>minka'ta</i>	—
Allative . . . . .	—	<i>wotëai'ti</i>	<i>Eñkri</i>	<i>ñankai'ti, äñkai'tiñ</i>	<i>miñkri</i> 60.6, 61.8	<i>menkei'ti</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>
Ablative . . . . .	<i>wo'tqori</i>	<i>wotëa'ñqo</i>	<i>E'ñ q o, Eñqo'ri, Eñ qo'ro</i> 65.24	<i>ñanka'ñqo, äñka'ñqo</i>	<i>më'ñqo</i> 60.5, 11; 71.26; 72.12 <i>mëñ-qo'ri</i>	<i>menka'ñqo</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>

Also in the same way Chukchee *va'änkata, va'änrê, va'änqo* or *va'änqori*; Koryak *vaiëña'ta, vaiëñai'ti, vai'eñqo* from stem *vai*.

Examples:

- wo'tko* from here 43.1; *wo'tqo* thence 49.2; 65.18, 24
- 121.20; 131.14; *wu'tqu* here *en'ke'ggi* thither 71.23
- 73.14 *en'ñata'l* from that time on, after
- en'ke'ëiku* in there 73.20 that 64.19; 65.31
- en'no't* 64.7; 66.3; 72.6 *ño'onrê* thither 76.20
- en'qe'kin* one from there 67.3 *ña'nko* hither 137.13

## Koryak:

*wū'ttu* this time Kor. 41.2*ñá'ńko* there Kor. 41.6*ñé'ńako* there Kor. 19.11*ñá'ńiko* there Kor. 32.1; see  
Kor. 62.7*ñanika'triñ* thither Kor. 36.5*ñá'ńakango* from that one Kor.  
42.3*e'ńke* here (vocative form) Kor.  
13.7; 58.7*enka'ta* at that place Kor. 21.8, 9  
*enka'i'ti* to that place Kor. 17.2;  
19.1*meńkeito'* whither (vocative  
form § 36) Kor. 64.21*mańé'ngo* whence Kor. 60.10

The forms *mi'ńkri* (Chukchee), *me'ńkañ* (Kor. Kam.), *ma'ńke* (Kamchadal), also signify HOW.

Derivatives with suffixes are—

*měńko'kénat* where are you from 65.10*mińke'-míl* 66.34*menke'mič*, *mañ'nn'ač* (Kor. 66.1)*men'ke'ml'*, also *lač* (Kamchadal)

} to what degree, in what  
manner

Demonstrative elements with the verbal noun *va'lin* (Kor. Kam. *i'tala'n*) THE ONE WHO IS—, are also used to express demonstrative terms.

*en'ñá'n-va'lin* 128.24 (Chukchee), *enna'a'an i'tala'n* (Kor. Kam.),  
one being thus; i. e., such a one*enñá'o't-va'lin* (Chukchee) being near here thus; i. e., such a one  
nearer to the speaker than the preceding*en'ñu-wa'lin* such a one (expressing reproach)*en'ñu'-wa'lé-grt* such a one art thou 21.11*mi'ńkri-va'lin* (Chukchee 14.4), *me'ńkañ itala'n* (Kor. Kam.) what  
kind of (also in oblique cases)

In Kamchadal only a few forms of the demonstrative survive, and these take the nominal suffixes.

	THIS	THIS HERE	WHICH, WHAT
Absolute . . . . .	<i>ny<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>tí<sup>ε</sup>n &lt; tí<sup>ε</sup>nu</i>	<i>min (&lt; minu)</i>
Plural . . . . .			<i>mi'ni<sup>ε</sup>n</i>
Possessive . . . . .	<i>ny<sup>ε</sup>he'ńk</i>	<i>tí<sup>ε</sup>nuhenk</i>	<i>mi'nenk</i>
Subjective . . . . .	<i>ny<sup>ε</sup>he'ńk</i>	<i>tí<sup>ε</sup>nuhenk</i>	<i>mi'nenk</i>
Instrumental . . . . .	<i>ny<sup>ε</sup>heł</i>	<i>tí<sup>ε</sup>nuheł</i>	<i>mi'nenł</i>
Allative . . . . .	<i>ny<sup>ε</sup>ha'ńk</i>	<i>tí<sup>ε</sup>nohank</i>	<i>m<sup>ε</sup>'nank</i>
Ablative . . . . .	<i>nu<sup>ε</sup>he'ńk</i>	<i>tí<sup>ε</sup>nuhenk</i>	<i>mi'nenk</i>

Most of the other forms are replaced by the corresponding Russian forms, which are usually taken in the nominative singular masculine; such as *e'koi* (экой), *edakoi* (эдакой).

As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in syntactical form *mǎ'nən*, which corresponds to Chukchee *mǎ'nin* (see p. 726.)

*mǎ'nan-ktəoj-qol* which road along?

but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

*mǎ'nenl' hvanl' ckan* with which knife have you made it?

From the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns verbal forms are derived in the same manner as from nouns. I give here a number of examples. The verbal forms will be found discussed in § 82.

*enqanaǐ'-gít* this art thou 20.7.

*wotqanaǐ'-gǔm* this am I 43.5, 121.14

*wotqana'-mǎ'rǎ* here we are 69.5

*mǎ'k-i-ǔm* who am I

*mǎ'k-i-gít* who art thou; *mǎ'k-i-or* 127.11

*mǎ'w-mu'ri* who are we

*mǎ'g-tu'ri* who are ye 120.9

| Kor. Kam. *wutrnalaǐ'-gǔm* this am I Kor. 22.1

Possessives:

*eni'n* his 17.13

*enqa'nen* of this one 50.10

*mǎ'kin* whose (possessor sing., object possessed sing. and pl.);

Kor. Kam. *mǎ'kin*, dual *mǎ'kinat*, pl. *mǎ'kina'wgi* (possessor sing.; object possessed sing., dual, pl.), vocative *mǎ'ko'n* (§ 36)

Kor. 34.4

*mǎ'kingin* (possessor pl., object possessed sing.), *mǎ'kinginet*

(object possessed pl.), whose; Kor. Kam. *mǎ'kičhin*, dual *mǎ'kičhinat*, pl. *mǎ'kičhinau* (§ 34); Kamchadal *k!en*, pl. *k!e'n*

### § 59. Indefinite Pronoun *rǎq*

The non-personal interrogative and indefinite pronoun is, Chukchee *rǎq*; Kor. Kam. *ya(q)*, *yax*; Kor. II *ta(q)*; Kamchadal *seq*.

The following are the forms with post-positions:

	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.
Stem . . . . .	<i>rǎq</i>		<i>yaq</i>
Absolute . . . . .	<i>rǎǎ'nut</i>		<i>ya'anna</i>
Plural (dual Kor.) . . . . .	<i>rǎǎ'nuti</i>	<i>rǎǎ'nutel<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>ya'qat</i>
Plural Kor. . . . .	—		<i>yaqa'wgi</i>
Instrumental . . . . .	<i>re'qǎ</i>	<i>rǎǎ'nute'tǎ</i>	<i>ya'qa</i>
Locative . . . . .	<i>re'qǎk</i>	<i>rǎǎ'nutek</i>	<i>ya'qak</i>
Allative . . . . .	<i>raqǎ'ti</i>	<i>raǎ'nota'gtr<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>yaqe'ti</i>
Ablative . . . . .	{ <i>ra'gǎpǎ</i> }	<i>raǎ'notai'pǎ<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>yaqǎ'ñoqo</i>
	{ <i>raqǎ'pu</i> }		
Designative (see § 94) . . . . .	<i>re'qu</i>		<i>ya'qu</i>
Comitative (see § 100) . . . . .	<i>garaǎ'ma</i>		<i>gaya'qa</i>

<sup>1</sup> Men's pronunciation *rǎǎ'net*.

<sup>2</sup> *raǎ'naa'gtr*.

<sup>3</sup> *raǎ'naai'pǎ*.

The set of forms derived from *rä<sup>s</sup>nut*, except the plural, are not often used.

- i'me-rä<sup>s</sup>nut* whatsoever; i. e., of every kind 13.13; 133.18  
*rä<sup>s</sup>nut* what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5  
*rä<sup>s</sup>nut* *üm* what was it then? 34.1  
*rä<sup>s</sup>nu'* *üm qin'ilh<sup>s</sup>* give me something  
*rä<sup>s</sup>nutet* whatever kind of things obj. 32.5; intr. subj. 58.2  
*reqä* by what means? 22.1; 23.5; 14.2  
*re'qä* what? 34.8, 9; whatever 32.5  
*ra'qa-ñot* with what there 139.8  
*re'qäk* at what? 26.1  
*re<sup>s</sup>qäm* why 88.7  
*re<sup>s</sup>qu* how 17.5, 7; why 23.1  
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qa* with what Kor. 46.9  
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qkin-ki* what for Kor. 26.10  
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qin-yaq* what then? Kor. 45.9

These forms are also used in composition:

- ra<sup>s</sup>-qa'at* (Chukchee), *ya<sup>s</sup>-qoya'wge* (Kor. Kam.), *seq-ko'j<sup>s</sup>n*  
 (Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer  
*rüg-a<sup>s</sup>ttä ge'e<sup>s</sup>in* (Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?  
*ra<sup>s</sup>-ni'mnim* what settlement, obj. 33.7  
*ra<sup>s</sup>-pi'ñil* what tidings? 11.2  
*rä<sup>s</sup>nota'çhit* what kind are 14.3

#### Koryak I:

- ya'qlau* what are they doing Kor. 24.5  
*yaqlaikne'tik* what are you (pl.) doing? Kor. 24.8

Koryak II has the same forms as Koryak Kamenskoye, derived from the stem *taq*.

Verbs derived from these stems are used with great frequency (see § 82); for instance,—

- re'qarkin* (Chukchee), *ya'qykin* Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), *ta'qatkin*  
 (Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?  
*re<sup>s</sup>i<sup>s</sup>* what is the matter 19.11  
*re'qarkin* what is the matter with thee 18.9  
*re'q-i-git* what do you want? 18.12  
*riraqa'unvø* what for? 19.1, 6  
*re'qälit* which ones 139.9  
*re'qäl-i-git* what do you want? 22.8  
*nre'q-i-git* what are you doing? 33.1  
 Kor. Kam. *nrya'qi-gi* what are you doing? Kor. 39.5

Kamchadal has another form for WHAT, SOMETHING, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in *enk-*.

Absolute . . . . .	<i>E'nka</i>
Instrumental . . . . .	<i>E'nkal'</i>
Locative . . . . .	<i>Enka'nk</i>
Allative . . . . .	<i>Enka'nk</i>
Ablative . . . . .	<i>Enka'nk</i>

Verbs derived from this stem are formed as in Chukchee and Koryak.

*enka'nejč* what are you doing?

Under Russian influence, these forms are going out of use, and are being replaced by post-positional forms and verbs.

*enka'nke k!öjč* why, or for what do you come?

§ 60. Other Indefinite Pronouns

1. The stem *nirk-* (Kor. Kam. *niyk-*) expresses a certain well-known person, THE ONE WE THINK OF, THE ONE REFERRED TO; *nĭk-* A CERTAIN WELL-KNOWN THING OR ACT WE THINK OF, OR REFERRED TO.

These form post-positional forms analogous to demonstrative pronouns.

PERSONAL

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Absolute . . . . .	<i>nĭ'rkĭñut</i>	<i>nĭ'yka, nĭ'ykĭñrut</i>
Plural (dual Koryak) . . . . .	<i>nĭ'rkenti</i>	<i>nĭ'ykanti</i>
Plural Koryak . . . . .	—	<i>nĭyka'wgi, nĭ'ykau Kor.</i> 50.4
Subjective . . . . .	<i>nĭ'rkensä</i>	<i>nĭ'ykanak</i>
Allative . . . . .	<i>nĕ'rkana</i>	<i>nĕ'ykana</i>
Ablative . . . . .	<i>nĕrkai'pü</i>	<i>neyka'ñqo</i>
Designative (see § 94) . . . . .	<i>nĭrke'nu</i>	<i>nĭyka'nu</i>

NON-PERSONAL

Absolute . . . . .	<i>nĭ'krĭñut</i>	
Plural . . . . .	<i>nĭ'ket</i>	
Subjective . . . . .	<i>nĭke'tä</i>	
Locative . . . . .	<i>nĭ'kek</i>	
Allative . . . . .	<i>nĕka'gtĭ</i>	
Ablative . . . . .	<i>nĕkai'pü</i>	
Comitative (see § 100) . . . . .	<i>{ganĕka'ma</i> <i>{genike'tä</i>	
Designative (see § 94) . . . . .	<i>nĭke'nu</i>	

Examples:

*n'rkēnut* a certain one 90.20; 119.12

*n'kek* somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as

*n'irken* (Kor. Kam. *niyka'nen*) belonging to the one referred to or thought of

*n'ikin* belonging to the thing referred to or thought of 20.8

*a'vε nērkai'pū qora'ni tei'mityä<sup>ε</sup>n* yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

Verbal forms are also derived from this pronoun; for instance,—

*nike'rkın* (Kor. Kam. *nika'ykın*) he does the thing referred to or thought of

*rinike'wrkın* whatsoever shall be 21.10

Kor. Kam. *mnikak* I'll do something Kor. 42.1

Kor. Kam. *nekañvo'ykın* he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, *sw'zıjč* YOU DO A CERTAIN THING is used in the same way.

2. *qol* (Chukchee), *qoll'a'* (Kor. Kam.), *k'ola'* (Kamchadal) OTHER.

In Chukchee the synthetic stem *quli* is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

*quli'-nikek* afterwards (=at another certain one)

*qolē't-a<sup>ε</sup>lo'* some future day (=in the other day)

*qol yara'čhın* a house 86.17

*qol yi'lgın* another month 7.2

Post-positional forms occur only with personal nouns, while in Koryak these are used for all kinds of nouns.

	Chukchee—Personal	Koryak		Kamchadal
		Personal	Non-personal	
Absolute . . . . .	<i>qol</i>		<i>qoll'a'</i>	<i>k'ola'</i>
Plural (dual Koryak) . . . . .	<i>qu'tti</i>		<i>qu'tti</i>	
Plural Koryak . . . . .	—		<i>qu'tsau</i>	
Subjective . . . . .	<i>quti'(n)inā<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>qutinina'ta</i>	
Possessive (locative) . . . . .	<i>quti'(n)inā<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Allative . . . . .	<i>qotē'(n)ēnā<sup>1</sup></i>		<i>qotē'ninañ</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Ablative . . . . .	<i>qotē'(n)ēnai'pū<sup>1</sup></i>		<i>qotenina'ñqo</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Designative . . . . .	<i>quti'(n)inu<sup>1</sup></i>		<i>qutinina'nu</i>	

<sup>1</sup> Without *n* in *meu's* pronunciation.

*qol eli'gin* another father, a certain father 107.22

*qol im na'nmirkın* they kill the other one 8.1 (see also 8.12; 15.6; 14.9; 17.1)

*qu'tti* others (subj. intr.) 12.5

*qu'tti'inä* by one of them 8.11 (see also 7.4; 15.3), on one of them 8.13

| Kor. Kam. *qo'lla* another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:

*golê-notai'pu* from another land 14.12

*golê-ra'gti* to another house 12.11

*golê-tke'unvuk* on another sleeping 13.5

3. *elwē* (Chukchee), *alva* (Kor. Kam.), *êknên* (Kamchadal), OTHER, occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—

*elve'lin* (Chukchee), 117.7, *elve'linet* 113.3, *alva'lin* (Kor. Kam.) Kor. 76.19.

| *êk-a'lvam-va'lin* how differently it is Kor. 80.9 (Kor. Kam).

| *a'iva titva'nvok* I was in a different way Kor. 18.6

4. A number of prefixed particles express also ideas related to the indefinite pronoun (see § 113, nos. 6, 7, 14, 24):

*im-* all

*gemge-* every

*em-* mere

*ter-* how much

Most of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns take the definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms, the same as nouns, and some of these are used with great frequency.

*mañêna'chın* that one, who is he (from *mé'ñin* WHO)

*rä'snutqäi* (from *rä'snut* WHAT) OR

*rä'qqäi*

*ya'xpil* (Kor. Kam.)

} some little thing

*qo'lai'ñin* another big one

*qu'leqäi* another little one } are used quite often

## The Predicate (§§ 61–82)

### § 61. Introductory Remarks

The predicate appears in two distinct forms, according to the character of the word forming the predicate. The first class is formed by verbs; the latter, by nominal terms which are used as predicate. While all verbs may appear in nominalized forms, and therefore may take the form of the noun as predicate, nouns can not readily be transformed into verbs—except by the use of verbalizing suffixes, which give the compound stem a verbal character. Thus we find that true verbal forms are confined to verbal stems, to the numerals (except ONE), and

to the indefinite (or interrogative) pronouns, which may be used as nouns as well as verbs.

The structure of the first class of predicative forms is quite complex. We have to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs. The following structural elements may be recognized. We have—

- |                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| I. Intransitive verbs:       | II. Transitive verbs:            |
| 1. Pronominal prefix.        | 1. Pronominal subjective prefix. |
| 2. Temporal or modal prefix. | 2. Temporal or modal prefix.     |
| 3. Verbal theme.             | 3. Verbal theme.                 |
| 4. Temporal or modal suffix. | 4. Temporal or modal suffix.     |
| 5. Pronominal suffix.        | 5. Pronominal objective suffix.  |

The following simple modes and tenses may be distinguished:

Indicative . . . . .	without prefix,	no suffix
Subjunctive:		
(a) Exhortative . . .	with the prefix <i>n(i)</i>	the suffix <i>gI</i>
(b) Subjunctive . . .	with the prefix $\epsilon$	the suffix <i>gI</i>
Imperative . . . . .	with the prefix <i>q</i>	the suffix <i>gĭ</i>
Future . . . . .	with the prefix <i>rĕ</i>	the suffix $\tilde{n}(i)$

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in *-nkin* (Koryak I *-rykin*, *-ĭkin*; Koryak II *-itkin*, Kamchadal *-jk*), the pronominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal *-n*, as is done in all forms in Kamchadal.

The second class, predicative nominal terms, consists either of nouns or of verbal stems, which are nominalized by certain prefixes, and which take suffixes expressing the terminal relations. The simple nominalized forms are used as predicative terms of the third person. These have been discussed before. They are the nominalized forms in *-in*, *-kin*, *-lin*, *n(i)-gin* (§§ 45-49). In the first and second persons singular these take a suffix *-ĭ-*, which may be derived from the verb *-it<sup>1</sup>* TO BE. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized form appears in composition with the personal pronouns *myrĭ* WE, and *turĭ* YOU; so that the whole complex represents in the same way a nominal form with predicative function, as in the third persons. The nominalized form has no true tenses.

<sup>1</sup> I consider this unlikely, since in Koryak the *t* should be preserved, although in Chukchee it might disappear according to the phonetic laws governing the pronunciation of men. Mr. Bogoras points out that the *ĭ* can not be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be *i*. — F. BOAS.



## § 62. Structure of the Intransitive Verb

1. The pronominal prefixes of the intransitive verb are confined to the first person, singular and plural: *t-* for the singular, *mt-* for the plural. The *m* of the plural may perhaps be related to the same element in *muri* we, while the *t* of singular and plural may be the same. The element *mt-* conveys the idea of plurality of the first person with such energy, that, in Koryak at least, the suffix *-mik*, which repeats the same idea, may be omitted; the same omission occurs rarely in Chukchee.

2. The temporal and modal elements enter into close relation with the pronominal prefixes. Most of these follow the ordinary phonetic laws. Thus

$t + r\check{e}$  becomes  $tr\check{e}$ -  
 $mt + r\check{e}$  becomes  $mirr\check{e}$ -  
 $mt + \epsilon$  becomes  $min(i)\epsilon$ -

The last of these is not quite regular, since  $mit(i)\epsilon$  would also seem to be possible. The forms of the exhortative can not be explained by phonetic laws. Here we find that the expected

$t + n$  becomes  $m$   
 $mt + n$  becomes  $min$

In the subjunctive (*b*), when the verb begins with a vowel, the auxiliary vowel disappears, and the glottal stop follows the initial vowel of the stem. This occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak:

$tu^\epsilon wi' \check{a}^k$  (stem  $wi\check{a}$ ) I should cook

3. The verbal themes may be simple or compound. The former undergo peculiar phonetic changes according to their position, the forms in initial position differing from those found in medial position. This subject has been discussed in § 7 and § 12. A number of formations, however, are irregular, and not due to the action of phonetic laws.

$q\check{a}mi-plitku$  eating finishing (stem  $q\check{a}mi$ , from  $gamitva$ )  
 $tara' \check{n}ga^\epsilon t$  they built a house (from  $teiki$  to make,  $yara$  house)  
 $k\check{in}mi' rkin$  he kills children ( $kmi\check{u}in$   $timirk\check{in}$ )  
 $kwi^\epsilon rkin$  he has dead children ( $kmi\check{u}in$ ,  $vi^\epsilon rkin$ )

The vocalic elements of prefixes, personal and modal, are modified by the vowels of the stem (see § 3).

The terminal phonetic character of the stem also influences the temporal, modal, and the pronominal suffixes (see § 72).

4. The temporal and modal suffixes have been mentioned before. Through contraction between them and the pronominal suffixes originate forms the historical development of which is not by any means clear. It would seem that there is also a suffix *-gi-* which appears in many forms, and does not seem to form part of the pronominal element. This, however, has undergone so many changes that its character and function are not clear.

5. The pronominal suffixes do not show a very close relation to the personal pronoun, and, furthermore, are somewhat differentiated in different modes of the verb. A comparison of the various forms suggests the following as the essential elements of the suffixed pronominal verbal forms:

INTRANSITIVE

I . . . .	-k	we	-mk
thou . . . .	?	ye	-tk
he . . . .	—	they	-t

It may be that the *m* and *t* of the first and second persons plural are related to *muri* and *turi*, which may contain the same endings as *erri* (see pp. 706, 719, 726). The second person singular is quite doubtful; but it is conceivable that it may contain by origin a form in *-gi* related to the pronoun *git*. In the intransitive verb the second and third persons singular are, in their present forms, identical. The third person plural has clearly the element *t*,<sup>1</sup> which is not the same as the *t* of the second person plural.

### § 63. Structure of the Transitive Verb

The structure of the transitive verb is, on the whole, analogous to that of the intransitive.

1. For the first persons singular and plural, the same pronominal prefixes as in the intransitive appear, as subjects. The transitive forms of the third person, singular and plural, have the prefix *ne-*. The clearness of the picture is obscured by the fact that the transitive forms

THOU—US; YE—ME, US and

THOU, YE, HE—ME

do not exist, and generalized intransitive forms are used in their place. These are formed with the prefix *ine-* or with the suffix *-tku* (see p. 819, no. 28; p. 808, no. 67). It is possible that the peculiar form YE—HIM, THEM has the same origin (see p. 809). I presume this

<sup>1</sup> See plural of nouns, p. 694.

form has originated from *-tku-tik* and is parallel to *-tku<sub>2</sub>i<sup>s</sup>* THOU—US. The *g* of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms THOU—US because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

*-tku-gi<sup>s</sup>* becomes *-tkui<sup>s</sup>*

2. The temporal and modal prefixes are the same as those of the intransitive.

3. The stems are treated like those of the intransitive verb.

4. The temporal and modal suffixes enter into compound forms with the pronominal suffixes. The intransitive *g* is apparently absent, owing to its frequent intervocalic position.

5. The analogy between the transitive pronominal suffixes and the intransitive suffixes is fairly clear, if we consider only those forms which have true pronominal suffixes. We find then the object

*-grt* thee      *-mirk* us      *-tik* you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: *-grt* may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun *-g<sub>2</sub>i* (pp. 719 et seq.; p. 710).

The third person object shows forms in *-n* which recall the nominal forms in *-in* (§§ 45–49), and, like these forms, form their plurals in *-et*. In a way these forms seem related to the nominal predicate. To the same group belongs the form in *-im* THEY—ME, which contains the pronoun *güm*, like the nominal forms.

Attention may be called to the fact that the number of the pronominal suffix, which designates the object, is naturally determined by the number of the object.

*qa'at tɪp'lanat* (Kor. Kam. *qoya'wge tɪp'lanau*) I left the reindeer

For the first person object the intransitive form with *in<sub>1</sub>e-* is used.

*rä<sup>s</sup>'nutqäi gine'ilä* give me something

The Koryak forms resemble the Chukchee forms. The Koryak dual corresponds to the Chukchee plural. The plural *-la-* of the Koryak is always placed immediately following the stem. It indicates plurality of subject or object, but occurs only in each form, even if both subject and object are plural.

Certain verbal stems may be used both as transitive and as intransitive, generally with a slight change in meaning.

*tuwalo'märkin* I know, hear, obey (intransitive)  
*tuwalo'märkinegit* I know thee (transitive)  
*tuwa'lomgä<sup>ε</sup>k* I heard  
*tuwa'lomga<sup>ε</sup>n* I knew him

**The Forms of the Intransitive Verb (§§ 64-66)**

§ 64. CHUKCHEE

PRINCIPAL MODES

Person	Past I	Subjunctive			Imperative	Future
		Prefixes		Suffixes		
		(a)	(b)			
2d pl. . . .	-- <i>tk</i>	*	<i>n</i> ( <i>r<sup>ε</sup>, u<sup>ε</sup>, ü<sup>ε</sup></i> )	-- <i>tk</i>	<i>q</i> ( <i>l, ä, a</i> )-- <i>pitik</i>	<i>rε--ñitik</i>
3d pl. . . .	-- <i>gät</i>	<i>n</i> ( <i>l, u, ü</i> )	<i>n</i> ( <i>r<sup>ε</sup>, u<sup>ε</sup>, ü<sup>ε</sup></i> )	-- <i>nt</i>		<i>rε--ñit</i>
2d, 3d sing. .	{ -- <i>pit<sup>ε</sup></i> -- <i>!</i>	{ * <i>n</i> ( <i>l, u, ü</i> )	<i>n</i> ( <i>r<sup>ε</sup>, u<sup>ε</sup>, ü<sup>ε</sup></i> )	{ -- <i>gän</i> -- <i>tn</i>	<i>q</i> ( <i>l, ä, a</i> **)-- <i>pit</i>	<i>rε</i> { -- <i>gä<sup>ε</sup></i> -- <i>!</i>
1st sing. . . .	<i>ti</i> { -- <i>gä<sup>ε</sup>k</i> -- <i>tk</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>t</i> ( <i>r<sup>ε</sup>, u<sup>ε</sup>, ü<sup>ε</sup></i> )	{ -- <i>gä<sup>ε</sup>k</i> -- <i>tk</i>		<i>trε</i> { -- <i>gä<sup>ε</sup></i> -- <i>!</i>
1st pl. . . .	<i>mit--mik</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i> ( <i>r<sup>ε</sup>, u<sup>ε</sup>, ü<sup>ε</sup></i> )	-- <i>mitk</i>		<i>mitrrε--gä<sup>ε</sup></i>

\*No 2d person.

\*\*No 3d person.

DERIVED MODES IN *-rkin* (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

2d pl. . . .	-- <i>tk</i>	—	—	-- <i>tk</i>	-- <i>tk</i>	-- <i>ntik</i>
3d pl. . . .	-- <i>t*</i>	—	—	-- <i>t</i>	—	-- <i>ñit</i>
Other forms .	—	—	—	—	—	—

\**t* takes the place of final *n*: *rkit*.

The prefix *t-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel when it forms an admissible cluster with the initial sound of the verbal theme.

The derived form *-rkin* is used after vowels. After terminal consonants an auxiliary *l* is inserted between stem and suffix:

*gami'tva-rkin* he eats  
*walo'm-l-rkin* he knows

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	-- <i>ti</i>	
2	-- <i>tk, l</i>	
3	-- <i>(t) ä</i>	<i>gε--(t) ä</i>
4	-- <i>ma</i>	
5	-- <i>ma'ti</i>	

§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive			Impera- tive	Future	Present indefi- nite
		Prefixes.		Suffixes.			
		(a)	(b)				
2d dual . . . .	— <i>tik</i>	*	<i>na<sup>ε</sup></i>	— <i>tik</i>	<i>q—(gʷ)tik</i>	<i>ya—ñitik</i>	<i>ky-***</i>
2d pl. . . . .	— <i>ʔa'tik</i>	*	<i>na<sup>ε</sup></i>	— <i>ʔatik</i>	<i>q—ʔatik</i>	<i>ya—ʔantik</i>	<i>ky-</i>
3d dual . . . .	— <i>gʷ</i>	<i>n(I)</i>	<i>na<sup>ε</sup></i>	— <i>nat</i>		<i>ya—ñʔ</i>	<i>ky-</i>
3d pl. . . . .	{ — <i>ʔal</i> or — <i>ʔage</i>	<i>n(I)</i>	<i>na<sup>ε</sup></i>	— <i>nau</i>		<i>ya—ʔañe</i>	<i>ky-</i>
2d, 3d sing. . .	— <i>ʔ</i>	* <i>n</i>	<i>na<sup>ε</sup></i>	— <i>in</i>	<i>q**—(gʷ)</i>	<i>ya—I</i>	<i>ky-</i>
1st sing. . . .	<i>ti—tik</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ta<sup>ε</sup></i>	— <i>ik</i>		<i>tya—I</i>	<i>tiky-</i>
1st dual . . . .	<i>mit—mik</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>mina<sup>ε</sup></i>	— <i>mik</i>		<i>miſsa—mik</i>	<i>mitky-</i>
1st pl. . . . .	<i>mit—ʔamiʔ</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>mina<sup>ε</sup></i>	— <i>ʔa(mik)</i>		<i>miſsa—ʔa(mik)</i>	<i>mitky-</i>

( ) May be omitted.

\* No 2d person.

\*\* No 3d person.

\*\*\* Also *qu*. This form does not exist in Koryak II.

DERIVED MODES IN *-irkin* (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

2d dual . . . .	— <i>ikni'tik</i>	— <i>ikni'tik</i>	— <i>ikni'tik</i>	— <i>in'tik</i>
2d pl. . . . .	— <i>ʔaiknetik</i>	— <i>ʔaĩne'tik*</i>	— <i>ʔaiknetik</i>	— <i>ʔaiknetik</i>
3d dual . . . .	— <i>iki</i>	— <i>ikinat</i>		— <i>ikinñʔ</i>
3d pl. . . . .	— <i>ʔaike</i>	— <i>ikni'nau**</i>		— <i>ʔaikneñe</i>
1st, 2d, 3d sing.; 1std ual]	— <i>ikni</i>	— <i>ikni</i>	— <i>ikni</i>	— <i>ikni</i>
1st pl. . . . .	— <i>ʔaikni</i>	— <i>ʔaiknemik*</i>		— <i>ʔaikniñmik</i>

\* Subjunctive (b) has *ʔa-ʔ* instead of *ʔa*.

\*\* Subjunctive (b) has *au* instead of *ʔnau*.

The prefix *ti-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel whenever it forms an admissible cluster with the first sound of the verb.

The ending *-ikni* (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as *waló'm-ekni* HE KNOWS. After terminal vowel the *ʔ* changes to a neutral *ʔ*, as *va-ikni* HE IS. In many cases, however, the *ʔ* is also weakened to *ʔ* or *y* after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary *I* is inserted preceding it, as in *ya'qiykin* WHAT ART THOU? Kor. 29.1; *ʔ'irykin* ART THOU? Kor. 29.2

NOMINAL FORMS

	(a)	(b)
1 } 2 } 3 } 4 } 5 }	-ik	ga-a
	-mači	

§ 66. KAMCHADAL

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive		Imperative
		(a) Exhortative	(b) Conditional	
2d sing. . . . .	-č		k!-č̄nɪ <sup>ɛ</sup> n or un	k-xč
2d pl. . . . .	-cx		k!-cx	k-jcx
3d pl. . . . .	{č̄ɪn or u <sup>ɛ</sup> n	xan- {č̄nɪ <sup>ɛ</sup> n or un	k!-un	
3d sing. . . . .	-č	xan- {č̄nɪ <sup>ɛ</sup> n or un	k!-un	
1st sing. . . . .	t- {k or kič̄n	m- {k or kič̄n	tk!-k	
1st pl. . . . .	n- {k or kič̄n	mɪn- {k or kič̄n	nk!-k	

The subjunctive (b) of modern Kamchadal takes in all forms the terminal particle *-br*, which is the Russian conjunction бы.

*tk!nukbr* if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb *ɔl*, (*ɔ*) TO DESIRE, which may form modes and tenses like the others; the present, with the terminal verb (or suffix) *j*. The third person plural of this form is *-jč̄n* or *jɪ<sup>ɛ</sup>n*.

The numerous Kamchadal verbs ending in *-l* change this to *-c* in the derived present. This occurs both in intransitive and transitive verbs (see § 122).

*tilk* I left

*tñuklk* I slept

*tcolk* I lay

*tičjk* I leave

*tñukčjk* I sleep

*tcō'locjk* I lie

VERBAL NOUN

1	-kōj <sup>1</sup>
2	
3	
4	k!-enk

*tujuk nu'kōj* I began eat-beginning; i. e., I began to eat (*t-* I; *uju* to begin; *-k* I; *nu* to eat)

<sup>1</sup> This is the inchoative terminal verb (see p. 808, no. 63). The verbal noun never appears without it.

*The Forms of the Transitive Verb (§§ 67-71)*

## § 67. CHUKCHEE

## Transitive Suffixes

## TRANSITIVE FORMS

## FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

Object	Indicative I: Subjunctive Ia	Impera- tive II	Future III	Derived Modes in - <i>irkin</i> IV
(1) thee . . . . .	- <i>pit</i>	—	- <i>pit</i>	- <i>ipit</i>
(2) you . . . . .	- <i>tik</i>	—	- <i>ntik</i>	- <i>itik</i>
(3) us (except thou, ye—us) . . . . .	- <i>mitk</i>	—	- <i>mitk</i>	- <i>imik</i>

## THIRD PERSON FORMS

(4) him (except he, ye—him) . . . . .	- <i>gätēn</i>	- <i>pin</i>	- <i>ñin</i>	(no ending)
(5) them (except he, ye—them) . . . . .	- <i>net</i>	- <i>pinet</i>	- <i>ñinet</i>	- <i>ēt</i>
(6) he—him . . . . .	- <i>nin</i>	—	- <i>ñinñin</i>	- <i>in</i>
(6') he—them . . . . .	- <i>ninet</i>	—	- <i>ñinñinet</i>	- <i>inet</i>

## INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indica- tive I	Subjunctive Ia	Impera- tive II	Future III	Derived Modes in - <i>irkin</i> IV
(7) he—me . . . . .	- <i>pit</i> <sup>1</sup>	- <i>ätēn</i>	- <i>pit</i>	- <i>güt</i>	(no ending)
(8) thou—me, us . . . . .		- <i>tik</i>	- <i>tik</i>	- <i>ntik</i>	- <i>itik</i>
(9) ye—me, us <sup>1</sup> . . . . .		- <i>tik</i>	- <i>tik</i>	- <i>ntik</i>	- <i>itik</i>
(10) ye—him, them . . . . .		- <i>tiki</i>	- <i>tiki</i>	- <i>pitiki</i>	- <i>ñitiki</i>

<sup>1</sup> With -*tku* preceding pronominal suffix.

## NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

(11) they—me <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	- <i>üm</i>	- <i>üm</i>	—	- <i>üm</i>	- <i>ium</i>
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<sup>2</sup> See § 73. This form takes the prefix *ne*.

## Transitive Prefixes

## TRANSITIVE FORMS

Subject	Indicative I	Subjunctive Ia		Imperative II	Future III
		(a)	(b)		
I . . . . .	-( <i>i</i> )-	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	—	<i>trg-</i>
we . . . . .	<i>mit-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>mit-</i>	—	<i>mitrrg-</i>
he . . . . .	<i>ng-</i>	<i>ätēn-</i>	<i>nänit-</i>	—	<i>ngrg-</i>

## INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object me . . . . .	-( <i>ing</i> )-	-( <i>n'ing</i> )-	-( <i>n'itng</i> )-	<i>q-ine</i>	-( <i>ritng</i> )-
Other forms . . . . .	—	<i>ni-</i>	<i>nit-</i>	<i>q-</i>	<i>rg</i>

The form *-gi<sup>2</sup>* (I7; II7) is rarely abbreviated to *-ž*.

*qênapêlaê<sup>2</sup>* and *qênapêla'* leave me!

This shortening is quite frequent in Koryak I (see below).

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	—* <i>gti</i>	
2	— <i>k</i>	
3	— <i>tü</i>	<i>ge-tü</i>
4	— <i>mg</i>	
5	— <i>mgët</i>	

Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

Future . . . . .	<i>rg-n</i>
Exhortative, sing. . .	<i>ni-a<sup>2</sup>n</i>
pl. . . . .	<i>ni-nat</i>
Exhortative, derived	
sing. . . . .	<i>ni-rkin</i>
pl. . . . .	<i>ni-rkinat</i>

§ 68. KORYAK, KAMENSKOYE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in <i>-ykin</i> IV
(1) thee . . . . .	— <i>gi<sup>1</sup></i>	—	— <i>gi</i>	— <i>!gi</i>
(2) you . . . . .	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>tik</i>	—	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>ntik</i>	—( <i>!a</i> )— <i>!tik</i>
(3) us . . . . .	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>mik</i>	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>tik</i>	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>mik</i>	—( <i>!a</i> )— <i>!mik</i>

THIRD PERSON FORMS.

(4) him (except he, ye—him) . .	— <i>gatn<sup>2</sup></i>	— <i>gin</i>	— <i>nin</i>	no ending
(5) them dual (except he, ye—them)	— <i>nat</i>	— <i>ginat</i>	— <i>ninat</i>	— <i>!nat</i>
(5') them pl.(except he, ye—them) .	— <i>nau</i>	— <i>ginau</i>	— <i>ninau</i>	— <i>!nau</i>
(6) he, they—him, them . . . . .	— <i>nin</i>	—	— <i>ninin</i>	—( <i>!n</i> )

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in <i>ykin</i> IV
(7) he—me . . . . .	— <i>i</i> — <i>gatn</i>	—	no ending	no ending
(8) thou—me . . . . .	— <i>gi</i> — <i>gatn</i>	—( <i>gi</i> )	no ending	no ending
(9) ye—me . . . . .	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>tik</i>	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>tik</i>	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>ntik</i>	—( <i>!g</i> )— <i>!tik</i>
(9') ye—us . . . . .	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>mik</i>	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>mik</i>	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>mik</i>	—( <i>!g</i> )— <i>!mik</i>
(10) ye—him, them . . . . .	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>tën</i>	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>gitëa</i>	—( <i>!a</i> ) <i>nitëa</i>	—( <i>!g</i> )— <i>!tëa</i>



NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORM

(11) they—me . . . . .	-güm <sup>1</sup>	—	-güm	igüm
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<sup>1</sup> we—thce -lage

<sup>2</sup> we—him -lage<sup>2</sup>n

In the derived modes, *la* occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding *-ikm*.

The suffixes *-gĩ* and *-ga<sup>ε</sup>n* (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to *-ĩ* and *-n*. The former is similar to an intransitive form.

*qenapela'e<sup>ε</sup>* and *qenapelai'* leave me!

In Chukchee these forms are quite rare (see p. 741)

PREFIXES

	Indicative I	Subjunctive		Imperative II	Future III
		I (a) Exhort.	I (b) Subj.		
I . . . . .	<i>t</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ta<sup>ε</sup>.</i>		<i>tya-</i>
we . . . . .	<i>mit-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>mina<sup>ε</sup>.</i>		<i>mi<sup>ε</sup>sa-</i>
thou, ye, he—me . . .	<i>tna-</i>	<i>nina-</i>	<i>na<sup>ε</sup>ina-</i>	<i>qina -</i>	<i>yi<sup>ε</sup>na-</i>
they, he—thce, you, us	} <i>na-</i>	<i>a<sup>ε</sup>n-</i>	<i>nana<sup>ε</sup>.</i>		<i>naya-</i>
thou, ye—us					
he—him, them	} no prefix	<i>ni-</i>	<i>na<sup>ε</sup>.</i>	<i>qa-</i>	<i>ya-</i>
thou, ye—him, them					

The second indefinite of Koryak has the prefix *qu-*, *ku-* (*k-* before vowels) and the future endings, except that

he, thou—me has the ending *-ñ*

I, he—you (dual, pl.) has the ending *-ñtik*

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	<i>-k</i>	
2	<i>-k</i>	
3	} missing	<i>ga—ta</i>
4		
5	<i>-maçt</i>	

As in Chukchee there occur also a number of impersonal forms.

Future . . . . .	<i>ya-n̄</i>
Exhortation, sing . . . . .	<i>ni-a'ta</i>
Dual . . . . .	<i>ni-nat</i>
Exhortation, period, pl. . . . .	<i>ni-nou</i>
Sing. . . . .	<i>ni-łkɪn</i>
Dual . . . . .	<i>ni-łkɪnat</i>
	<i>ni-łkɪnau</i>

**KAMCHADAL (§§ 69-71)**

**§ 69. Types of Transitive Verb**

The Kamchadal transitive verb shows peculiarities of structure similar to those of the Chukchee and Koryak. Only the forms with the objects **THEE, YOU, US**, are formed with the pronominal forms corresponding to the intransitive suffixes. The combination **YE—US** is here also excepted, although no indication of a change of the verb into an intransitive form by means of a special suffix is found. Instead of that, the forms **THOU, YE—ME** have the ending *-mɪŋk*, which does not occur in the intransitive verb, but seems to correspond to *-mɪk* **WE** of Chukchee-Koryak. It may be mentioned here again that in Koryak this ending tends to be dropped. In the Kamchadal forms here discussed it may express the intransitive first person plural, as though we had, for instance, instead of **THOU LEAVEST ME, WE PART**. When used for the singular **THOU—ME**, the ending is often pronounced *-mɪñ*, which may be an older form. The form **YE—ME, US** takes, in addition to *-mɪŋk*, the ending *-cx* **YE**, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has *-ɛn*. The nominal-predicative form is used here for both singular and plural of the third person with the object **ME**.

The forms of a second type of conjugation are not quite so clear.

**§ 70. Type I**

**TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES**

**TRANSITIVE FORMS**

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thee . . . . .	<i>-hɪn</i> { <i>he, -ɛn</i>	} <i>-hɪn</i>	—	<i>-hɪn</i> he, they, -n
you . . . . .	<i>-cxɪn</i>		—	<i>-cxɪn</i>
us (except ye—us) . . . . .	<i>-mɪŋk</i>	<i>-mɪŋk</i>	<i>-mɪŋk</i>	<i>-mɪŋk</i>

## THIRD PERSON FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
him (except he, they, ye—him) .	-n	-n	-x	-n
them (except he, they, ye—them)	- <sup>h</sup> n	- <sup>h</sup> n	-xIn	- <sup>h</sup> n
he, they—him . . . . .	-nin	-nin	—	-nin
he, they—them . . . . .	-ni <sup>h</sup> n	-ni <sup>h</sup> n	—	-ni <sup>h</sup> n

## INTRANSITIVE FORMS

thou—me . . . . .	-miñk	—	-miñk	-miñk
ye—me, us . . . . .	-miñkcx	—	-miñkcx	-miñkcx
ye—him . . . . .	-cxIn	—	-cx	-cxIn
ye—them . . . . .	-cxI <sup>h</sup> n	—	-cxI <sup>h</sup> n	-cxI <sup>h</sup> n

## NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

he—me . . . . .	-humni'n	humni'n	—	humni'n
they—me . . . . .	-humni'n	humni'n	—	humni'n

## PREFIXES

Subject	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
I . . . . .	t-	n-	—	t-
we . . . . .	n-	mi'n or x'an-	—	n-
he . . . . .	—	x'an	—	—
they . . . . .	ān-	x'an	—	ān-
thou, ye . . . . .	—	—	k-	—

A comparison between this table and the one on p. 740 shows that all the prefixes, except *ān-* of the third person plural, are the same as those of the intransitive verbs.

An example of this type of verb is the stem *taxl-* (present *taxc-*) TO BEAT. In verbs beginning with *t*, the prefix *t* of the first person singular is dropped.

Indicative forms have the theme *taxli-*.

Subjunctive forms have the theme *taxli-*.

Present forms have the theme *taxc(j)(r)-* with auxiliary vowel *r* before terminal *n* and before glottal stop.

Indicative:

*taxli'hi'n* I beat thee

*taxli<sup>h</sup>'n* he beat thee

*taxli'hi'mni'n* he beat me

*taxli'miñk* you beat me, us; he beat us

*āntaxli'cxIn* they beat you

*ntaxli'n* we beat him

*āntaxli'nin* they beat him

Subjunctive :

- mtæli'hin* let me beat thee
- x'antæli'nin* let him beat him
- x'antæli'miñk* let him, them, beat us
- x'antæli'hümnin* let him, them, beat me
- mmtæli'cæin* let us beat you

Imperative:

- ktæli'miñk* beat thou me, us
- ktælimi'ñkæ* beat ye me, us
- ktæliæ* beat him
- ktæliæ* beat ye him

Present :

- tæcjhin* I am beating thee
- ntæcjhin* we are beating thee
- tæcji<sup>en</sup>* thou art beating them
- tæcjinin* he is beating him
- ântæcjcæi'n* they are beating you
- ntæcjin* we are beating him

§ 71. Type II

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thee . . . . .	{ I - <i>xkin</i> he - <i>ëiñin</i>	- <i>xkin</i>	—	- <i>xkin</i>
you . . . . .	{ I - <i>xkiszin</i> he - <i>cæiñin</i>	- <i>xkiszin</i>	—	- <i>xkiszin</i>
us (except ye—us) . . . . .	{ they - <i>xkmiñk</i> he - <i>xkimiñk</i>	- <i>xkmiñk</i>	- <i>xkmiñk</i>	- <i>xkmiñk</i>

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

I—him . . . . .	{ - <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiëin</i>	- <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiëin</i>	—	- <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiëin</i>
thou—him . . . . .	- <i>ëiñin</i>		- <i>xëik</i>	- <i>ñin</i>
we—him . . . . .	- <i>ñin</i>	{ - <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiëin</i>	—	- <i>ñin</i>
I—them . . . . .	{ - <i>ñi<sup>en</sup></i> - <i>kiëi<sup>en</sup></i>	- <i>ñi<sup>en</sup></i> - <i>kiëi<sup>en</sup></i>	—	- <i>ñi<sup>en</sup></i> - <i>kiëi<sup>en</sup></i>
thou—them . . . . .	- <i>ëiñi<sup>en</sup></i>	—	{ - <i>xëkin</i> - <i>xëñi<sup>en</sup></i>	- <i>ñi<sup>en</sup></i>
we—them . . . . .	- <i>ñi<sup>en</sup></i>	- <i>ñi<sup>en</sup></i> - <i>kiëi<sup>en</sup></i>	—	- <i>ñi<sup>en</sup></i>
he—him . . . . .	- <i>ëiñnin</i>	- <i>ëiñnin</i>	—	- <i>nin</i>
they—him . . . . .	- <i>iñnin</i>	- <i>iñnin</i>	—	- <i>iñnin</i>
he—them . . . . .	- <i>ëiñni<sup>en</sup></i>	- <i>ëiñni<sup>en</sup></i>	—	- <i>ni<sup>en</sup></i>
they—them . . . . .	- <i>iñni<sup>en</sup></i>	- <i>iñni<sup>en</sup></i>	—	- <i>iñni<sup>en</sup></i>

## INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thou—me . . . . .	-zkmiñk	—	-zkmiñk	-zkmiñk
ye—me, us . . . . .	-zkmiñkcx	—	-zkmiñkcx	-zkmiñkcx
ye—him . . . . .	-čcziñin	—	-čcziñin	-čcziñin
ye—them . . . . .	-čcziñi <sup>ε</sup> n	—	-čcziñi <sup>ε</sup> n	-čcziñi <sup>ε</sup> n

## NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

he, they—me . . . . .	-zkumñi <sup>ε</sup> n	-zkumñi <sup>ε</sup> n	—	-zkumñi <sup>ε</sup> n
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Evidently these forms are closely related to those of Type I, but the symmetry is disturbed by a number of peculiar contractions, some of which seem to be due to misunderstandings. The prefixes are the same as those of Type I.

As an example may be given forms of the stem *kej* TO ACCEPT.

Indicative and subjunctive have the theme *kej-*.

Present has the theme *kejij-*.

Indicative:

*tke'jækin* I accepted thee  
*ke'jčriñin* he accepted thee  
*änke'jækimñik* they accepted us  
*nke'jñin* we accepted him  
*tke'jñi<sup>ε</sup>n* or *tke'jkicri<sup>ε</sup>n* I accepted them  
*ke'jčcziñi<sup>ε</sup>n* ye accepted them

Subjunctive:

*mke'jækin* let me accept thee  
*x'ankejækümn<sup>ε</sup>i<sup>ε</sup>n* let him accept me  
*minke'jñi<sup>ε</sup>n* or *minke'jkicri<sup>ε</sup>n* let us accept them  
*x'anke'jækin* let him, them, accept thee

Imperative:

*jkejæčri<sup>ε</sup>k* accept him  
*jkejæčri<sup>ε</sup>n* or *xkejæčñi<sup>ε</sup>n* accept them (*k* before *k* changes to *x*)  
*xkejækm<sup>ε</sup>ñik* accept me, us  
*xkejækm<sup>ε</sup>ñikcx* accept ye me, us  
*xke'jčcziñin* accept ye him  
*xke'jčcziñi<sup>ε</sup>n* accept ye them

Present:

*tkejijæki<sup>ε</sup>szi<sup>ε</sup>n* I am accepting you  
*nke'jijñin* we are accepting him  
*änke'j-ij-iñnin* they are accepting him  
*ke'jijni<sup>ε</sup>n* he is accepting them  
*ke'jijñi<sup>ε</sup>n* thou art accepting him, them

The nominal forms of these two types are—

	Type I	Type II
1	. . . -ic, -il	-čwč
2		
3		

As in the intransitive verb, the future is expressed by the present of the desiderative.

*twlawrn* I shall beat thee  
*twlabrn* I shall beat him

*tkeja'čkrn* I shall accept thee  
*tkejalčrn* or *tkejalčkrčrn* I shall accept him

The two types of conjugation depend upon suffixes which precede the pronominal elements. Some verbal stems are used with and without these suffixes, with a modification of meaning.

*tčalč'jin* (Type I) I take away my boots

*tčalč'jčrn* (Type II) I take away something from the table

The loss of modes in Kamchadal may be due to Russian influence. There are a number of Kamchadal forms, evidently remains of older forms, which resemble the Chukchee even more closely than the forms just described. Thus we find—

Kamchadal	Chukchee	
<i>jiljin</i>	<i>y'lrkrn</i>	thou givest him
<i>j'ljhäm</i>	<i>ne'yilhm</i>	they gave me
(ä)njr'ljimäk	<i>ne'yilmik</i>	they gave us

## § 72. Examples of Verbal Suffixes

### CHUKCHEE

The phonetic rules discussed in §§ 1-23 bring about frequent changes in the verbal suffixes. As a matter of convenience I will summarize here the most common modifications, a few of which can not be explained by the general phonetic laws.

1. Verbal stems terminating in a vowel add the verbal suffix without auxiliary vowel. Whenever the initial *g* of the suffix stands in intervocalic position, it is either dropped or pronounced very weakly.

*telere'äek* < *t-eler'-gäek* I felt lonesome

*na<sub>2</sub>yo<sup>e</sup>'ññg<sub>2</sub>é<sup>e</sup>* < *ne-yg<sup>e</sup>'ññg-gi<sup>e</sup>* he began to be overtaken 10.7

In stems ending in a double vowel this may lead to trivocalic clusters, which are never contracted.

*tıpa'aaek* < *tı-pg'g-gäek* I ceased 21.1

*tıya'aaek* < *tı-yg'g-gäek* I used

2. When stems ending in consonants would form consonantic clusters of more than two consonants, when combined with suffixes, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before the suffix.

*pě'nřmên* < *pęnr-nin* he attacks him  
*teĩ'krnin* < *teik-nin* he made it  
*qęna'nmiê* < *qęna-tm-gi* kill me!

3. In a few cases auxiliary vowels are also introduced when two consonants come into contact that would form inadmissible clusters.

*pegtim'e'tilin* < *pegti-met-lin* hauling a sledge 15.3

Among the types of assimilation of sounds may be mentioned —

4. Stems with terminal *u* diphthong transform the combination *ug* into *wkw*. The following auxiliary vowel is *u*.

*třma'rawkwa*<sup>ε</sup>*k* < *tř-ma'rau-gä*<sup>ε</sup>*k* I quarreled.  
*třmara'wkwut* < *tř-ma'rau-git* I blamed thee  
*i'wkwie* < *i'u-gi* he spoke 8.14  
*res'qi'wki*<sup>ε</sup> < *res'qiu-gi* he entered 11.2

When the diphthong is accented, and followed by a consonant with which *w* would form an admissible cluster, the *u* has a vocalic character.

*mara'wrkin* he quarrels

With those stems in which *u* is by origin a weak vowel or an unchangeable vowel, the *g* of the suffix, being an intervocalic sound, drops out.

*i'wrkin* he rows (perhaps from *i'ru*)  
*tę'wrkin* he shakes  
*třtę'ug*<sup>ε</sup>*n* I shook

5. Stems ending in *t* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y*.

*ewkwe'tyi*<sup>ε</sup> < *ewkwet-gi* he left 8.7  
*trye'tyä*<sup>ε</sup>*k* < *tř-yet-gä*<sup>ε</sup>*k* I came 124.11  
*tawkwe'tjä*<sup>ε</sup>*k* < *t-ewkwe't-gä*<sup>ε</sup>*k* I left

6. Stems ending in *l* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y* or *h*.

*uñe'lyä*<sup>ε</sup>*t* < *uñel-gä*<sup>ε</sup>*t* they gathered fuel 30.6  
*ne'lyä*<sup>ε</sup>*t* < *nel-gä*<sup>ε</sup>*t* it became 12.2  
*quñe'lhie* < *q-uñel-gi* gather fuel! 27.1  
*mi'ilhit* < *mř-yil-git* let me give thee 121.24

7. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *č*, *t*, with following *l*, form *L* or *Ł*.

*gi*<sup>ε</sup>*Łin* < *g-i*<sup>ε</sup>*r-lin* he has gone across  
*gene'Łin* < *ge-nel-lin* he became 10.8

*ge'lgälin* < *ge-lgät-lin* he left 59.1

*gaki'timalên* < *ga-ki'timät-lên* he had his hand extended 47.6

8. Terminal *ñ* of the stem before *l* changes to *n*.

*gatgagonlên* < *ga-taaronlên* he has brought sacrifice

9. In the pronunciation of men, among the Reindeer Chukchee, *t* and *n* between vowels are dropped, and the vowels are assimilated to *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, and after preceding *q* to *äe*.

*ewkwé'erkrn* < *ewkwé't-r-krn* he leaves

*gênatva'Laat* < *ge-ine-tvat-lîngt* they promised 71.4 (see § 73)

*ninenlrpe'tgäet* < *n-ine-r-lip-et-qinet* he broke them 20.11

I give here a series of examples of the forms described before.

#### INTRANSITIVE VERB

Past I:

2d pl. *pr'ntiqättik* you appeared 74.21

3d pl. *püki'rgä<sup>é</sup>t* they came 64.2

*tara'nga<sup>é</sup>t* they pitched a tent 56.9

*ñipe'ä<sup>é</sup>t* < *ñipe-gä<sup>é</sup>t* they came ashore 7.8

*tile'ä<sup>é</sup>t* < *tile-gä<sup>é</sup>t* they walked 64.9

*qam'tvaa<sup>é</sup>t* < *qam-tva-gä<sup>é</sup>t* they ate 87.32

*yilgä'tyä<sup>é</sup>t* < *yilgät-gä<sup>é</sup>t* they slept 8.4

2d sing. *ye'tyi<sup>é</sup>* < *yet-gi<sup>é</sup>* thou hast come 37.6

*qät'r* thou art going 82.23

*gitte'wkw<sup>ié</sup>* < *gittu-gi<sup>é</sup>* thou art hungry 9.13

3d sing. *e'gripyi<sup>é</sup>* she felt pain 63.8

*i<sup>é</sup>rgi<sup>é</sup>* he crossed over 13.13

*püki'ri* he came 90.26

*ñä'wtrngä<sup>é</sup>* he married 58.8

*püki'rgi<sup>é</sup>* he arrived 57.8; 58.1

*lilé'pgi<sup>é</sup>* he looked 7.6

*ké'rgüpgä<sup>é</sup>* she dressed up 52.9

*eñe'utkui<sup>é</sup>* < *eñe'u-tku-gi<sup>é</sup>* he called 8.5

*wa'qö<sup>é</sup>* < *wagö-gä<sup>é</sup>* he sat down 15.7

*eñö'ö<sup>é</sup>* < *ñu-ñö-gi<sup>é</sup>* he began to say 117.25

*ra'gti<sup>é</sup>* < *ragti-gi<sup>é</sup>* he came home 122.7

*ewkwé'tyi<sup>é</sup>* < *ewkwet-gi<sup>é</sup>* he left 8.7

*têrga'tyê<sup>é</sup>* < *têrg-et-gi<sup>é</sup>* he cried 7.6

*kiiyé'wkw<sup>ié</sup>* < *kiiyu-gi<sup>é</sup>* he awoke 9.4

*ki'wkw<sup>ié</sup>* < *kiu-gi<sup>é</sup>* he passed a night 8.4

*notas'qa'wkwé<sup>é</sup>* < *nute-s'qeu-gi<sup>é</sup>* land approached 8.8

1st sing. *te'gripgä<sup>k</sup>* I felt pain 101.17

*trye'tyä<sup>k</sup>* < *t-yet-gä<sup>k</sup>* I came 124.11

*teiv'ä<sup>k</sup>* < *t-eiv-gä<sup>k</sup>* I revived 83.14

*tilva'wkwä<sup>k</sup>* < *t-lvau-gä<sup>k</sup>* I could not 16.9



- 1st pl. *mityl'greumik* we are thirsty 71.14  
*mitv<sup>ε</sup>'mik* we died 64.15

## Subjunctive (a):

- 3d pl. *nrylqä'tinet* < *n-yilqät-1-net* let them sleep  
 3d sing. *ni'lqätyä<sup>ε</sup>n* < *n-lqät-gä<sup>ε</sup>n* let him go! 13.12  
*niča'atvaa<sup>ε</sup>n* < *n-čaa-tvā-gä<sup>ε</sup>n* let her be a castaway 39.3  
*nryl'lqätyä<sup>ε</sup>n* < *n-yilqät-gä<sup>ε</sup>n* let him sleep 9.1  
 1st sing. *mīlimala'ññoa<sup>ε</sup>k* < *mī-limālgā-ññō-gä<sup>ε</sup>k* let me obey 21.10  
*mī'lqätyä<sup>ε</sup>k* < *mī-lqät-gä<sup>ε</sup>k* let me go 125.5  
*muanla'a<sup>ε</sup>k* < *mī-anlā-gä<sup>ε</sup>k* I may ask (for help) 135.19  
*mīnē'etyä<sup>ε</sup>k* < *mī-neet-gä<sup>ε</sup>k* let me turn black 23.6  
 1st pl. *mne'wkwēn ik* < *mn-ewkwet-mik* let us go away 17.8  
*mīnuñ'lmik* let us gather fuel 30.6  
*mīnra'gtimük* let us go home 126.4  
*mra'gtia<sup>ε</sup>k* let me go home 99.2  
*mītx'aqəa<sup>ε</sup>k* let me smoke 99.26

## Subjunctive (b):

- ni<sup>ε</sup>tva'nat* if they had stayed 68.27  
*nu<sup>ε</sup>wi'ä<sup>ε</sup>n* < *ni<sup>ε</sup>-vi<sup>ε</sup>-gä<sup>ε</sup>n* she would die 37.12

## Imperative:

- quwi<sup>ε</sup>'trik* die ye! 64.16  
*qälē'tik* walk ye! 65.29  
*qāmñi'v<sup>ε</sup>* < *q-mñi-gi<sup>ε</sup>* celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 60.5  
*qanto'* < *q-ntō-gi<sup>ε</sup>* come out! 26.3  
*qāgnō'pḡē<sup>ε</sup>* sit with head bent down! 32.4

## Future:

- 2d pl. *revi<sup>ε</sup>'ntrik* ye will die 64.20  
 3d pl. *rē'pkirgä<sup>ε</sup>* they will come 10.5 (sing. used as plural)  
 2d sing. *rečipe'tyā<sup>ε</sup>* < *re-čip-et-gä<sup>ε</sup>* thou wilt dive 114.22  
*revi<sup>ε</sup>'i<sup>ε</sup>* < *rē-vi<sup>ε</sup>-gi<sup>ε</sup>* thou wilt die 65.6 (cf. 21.12 *revi<sup>ε</sup>'ä<sup>ε</sup>* 37.8)  
*ra'tvaa<sup>ε</sup>* < *rē-tvā-gä<sup>ε</sup>* thou wilt live 108.25  
 3d sing. *remñi'ä<sup>ε</sup>* < *re-mñi-gä<sup>ε</sup>* he will celebrate a thanksgiving ceremonial 118.12  
*ratopa'wkwā<sup>ε</sup>* < *rē-topāu-gä<sup>ε</sup>* she will be pregnant 104.5  
*rara'lččetyā<sup>ε</sup>* < *rē-rālč-čit-gä<sup>ε</sup>* he will slide down 114.15  
*reurre'tyi<sup>ε</sup>* < *re-urr-et-gi<sup>ε</sup>* it will appear 119.10  
 1st sing. *trara'gtia<sup>ε</sup>* < *t-rē-rāgti-gä<sup>ε</sup>* I shall go home 99.14  
*trevi<sup>ε</sup>'ä<sup>ε</sup>* < *t-re-vi<sup>ε</sup>-gä<sup>ε</sup>* I shall die 108.1  
*trenē'lhä<sup>ε</sup>* < *t-re-nel-gä<sup>ε</sup>* I shall turn to 24.12  
 1st pl. *mīrreyl'lqätyä<sup>ε</sup>* < *mīrre-yilq-ät-gä<sup>ε</sup>* we shall sleep 9.3

Derived Modes in *-rřkin*.

## Past I:

- inenreqeurřkĩnĩ' tĩk* < *ine-r-req-eu-rřkin-ĩtik* what are you doing with me 10.10  
*ewkwẽ' erřkĩt* < *ewkwet-rřkĩt* they leave 13.6  
*mĩĩ' rřkĩt* they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29  
*pĩlqũ' erřkin* he dived 9.7  
*vũ' rřkin* he is 19.2  
*řĩqamĩtvũ' urřkinẽn* he was made to eat  
*kĩmẽ' urřkin* thou causest delay 18.6  
*re' gũrřkin* how art thou? 18.9  
*tĩnqũ' erřkin* I refuse 19.7  
*mĩttegĩmĩ' n' nĩrřkin* we suffer 32.2  
*mĩtteĩĩĩ' erřkin* we feel merry 69.8  
*mĩnqamĩ' tvũrřkin* let us eat 65.4  
*qatvũ' rřkin* stay! 57.3; 67.23  
*remeĩĩẽ' erřkin* he will grow up 21.7

## Koryak:

## Past I:

- 3d pl. *ĩs' hĩmlũvũĩ' nĩlũĩ* they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6  
 2d sing. *ĩ' yĩ* thou hittest Kor. 26.1  
*ĩ' tĩ* thou wert Kor. 16.3  
*yũ' tĩ* thou camest Kor. 68.12  
*qatĩ'* you went away Kor. 18.5  
 3d sing. *vũnnĩntũ' tĩ* she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1  
*ũ' wyeĩĩvũĩ* he begins to eat Kor. 20.7  
*vĩ' gĩ* he is dead Kor. 22.1  
 1st sing. *trvĩ' yũk* I died Kor. 84.14  
*tĩtvũ' nĩvũk* I began to be Kor. 18.6  
*tvũ' nĩnĩntũtũtũk* I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1  
*tapkũ' vũk* I could not Kor. 35.2  
*tĩ' yũk* I hit Kor. 26.2  
*tĩnũ' lũk* I remained Kor. 16.2  
 1st dual. *mĩtqũgũtũ' t* we are hungry Kor. 74.17

## Subjunctive (a):

- 2d sing. *nĩnũ' lũn* may it become Kor. 20.2  
 3d sing. *ne' wũĩvũn* he would begin to say Kor. 27.6  
 1st sing. *mĩlqũ' tũk* let me go! Kor. 33.10  
*mũs' hĩ' nũtũlũk* I'll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19  
*mĩnũn' ũ' ũ' mũk* let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20  
 1st dual *mĩnũ' lqũt* let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62,1)  
*mĩnũ' wũyĩ* let us eat! Kor. 28.9

- 1st pl. *minilqala'mik* let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6  
*minno'yiévala* let us play! Kor. 32.7  
*minikya'wla* let us get up! Kor. 39.4.  
*mina'wyela* let us eat! Kor. 27.7  
*minno'tantala* let us go for a walk! Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (*b*):

- ni'tva'an* it should be Kor. 34.12  
*nani'win* one could say Kor. 24.10  
*ti'wik* I should say 45.9

## Imperative:

## sing.

- quv<sup>é</sup>yas·qi'wgi* die! Kor. 35.1  
*qa'lqathi* go away! Kor. 35.3  
*qimla'we* dance! Kor. 37.6  
*qamla'wge* dance! Kor. 45.9  
*qita'pañ* cook soup! Kor. 42.10  
*qawas'vu'gi* look in! Kor. 27.3

## dual

- qamalitva'thitik* make it better! Kor. 13.2  
*qantó'tik* go out! Kor. 74.15  
*qiyai'titik* go ye two home Kor. 21.1  
*qi'thitik* be ye two! Kor. 21.2

## pl.

- qawas'vila'tik* look ye in! Kor. 27.1  
*qikyawla'tik* awake ye! Kor. 39.3  
*qaiivilala'tik* carry ye meat as a present! Kor. 63.12  
*qalqala'tik* go away! Kor. 14.7

## Future:

## 3d pl.

- yewñivola'ñe* they shall tell Kor. 22.5

## 1st sing.

- tyavi'yañ* I shall die Kor. 33.1  
*tiyaya'i'tiñ* I will go home Kor. 30.5

## 1st pl.

- missavi'yala* we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in *-iykin*:

## 2d' pl.

- yaqlaikne'tik* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8

## 3d dual

- vai'ke* they two are Kor. 48.7

## 3d pl.

- krya'wla'ike* they awoke Kor. 12.6  
*vañvola'i'ke* they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.  
*kokaivilai'ke* they are cooking Kor. 27.4  
*enkayala'i'ke* they are snoring Kor. 28.4

## 3d sing.

- lélapittëoñvo'ykin* he looks up Kor. 42.8  
*kañna'trykin* he is fishing Kor. 45.1  
*va'ykin* he lives Kor. 18.4

## 1st sing.

- tiqitta'trykin* I am hungry Kor. 35.5  
*tryañlanñivo'ykin* I shall feel smoky Kor. 37.10

## 1st pl.

- mititvañvola'i'kin* we remain Kor. 17.11

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Subjunctive:

1st sing. *mañinmıla'trykın* I should feel elated Kor. 84.17

Imperative:

2d sing. *qiwrykın-ı'-gi* say! Kor. 25.4

### TRANSITIVE VERB

#### Transitive Forms

#### FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

*tı'lıhı-gıt* I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1\*)

*ne'ntı-gıt* they bid thee 19.5 (I 1)

*mınleté'ttik* let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2)

*ne'ntıttık* he bid you 74.24 (I 2)

*nayo<sup>ε</sup>mük* they visit us 34.6 (I 3)

*nantımla'nımık* they press on us 63.9 (I 3)

Future:

*nara'nmügıt* they will kill thee 37.10 (III 1)

*nara'nmüntık* it will kill you 70.12 (III 2)

Derived modes:

*nayo<sup>ε</sup>rkın-ê-gıt* they visit thee 52.4 (IV 1)

*nanmırkınê'mık* let them kill us! 67.33 (IV 3)

#### THIRD-PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

*tre<sup>ε</sup>tyä<sup>ε</sup>n* I brought it 20.1 (I 4)

*tré'lıhı'ä<sup>ε</sup>n* if I should do for it 38.12 (Ia 4)

*mılu<sup>ε</sup>ä<sup>ε</sup>n* let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (Ia 4)

*mıpê'nıra<sup>ε</sup>n* let me catch him 66.16 (Ia 4)

*mıtlıu<sup>ε</sup>ä<sup>ε</sup>n* we saw it 33.7 (I 4)

*napêla'a<sup>ε</sup>n* they left it 30.12 (I 4)

*mınpê'lua<sup>ε</sup>n* let us leave him 29.11 (I 4)

*gına'n lı'ngä<sup>ε</sup>n* thou hast put it 38.11 (I 4)

*tule'tinet* thou hast stolen them 18.1 (I 5)

*nenu'net* they ate it 14.8 (I 5)

*ä<sup>ε</sup>nlu<sup>ε</sup>'net* they might see it 62.1 (Ia 5)

*yopa'nnên* he visited him 7.4 (I 6)

*lu<sup>ε</sup>'nin* he saw it 18.11 (I 6)

*nı<sup>ε</sup>yo<sup>ε</sup>'nên* they would visit it 53.1 (Ia 6)

*tımnê'nat* he killed them 34.1 (I 6')

*prnl's'nênat* he asked them 13.9 (I 6')

*iü'nînet* he said to them 8.10 (I 6')

\* Numbers in parentheses refer to the table of forms on pp. 741-743.

## Imperative:

- qägr'gin* fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)  
*qärr'i'lhın* put it down 40.6 (II 4)  
*qai'pügün* put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)  
*qätei'kigınet* make them! 49.4 (II 5)  
*qr'e'tinet* fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

## Future:

- tre'ntiñın* I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)  
*mırraio'e'ñın* we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)  
*mırrı'wkuł-hıt* we shall bind thee 23.8 (III 1)  
*repl'tkuñınet* thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)  
*ra'nmugnên* he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

## Derived modes:

- qoi'pitkoı'vürkin* thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)  
*tılı'rkinet* I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)  
*nata'rkinat* they left them 68.17 (IV 5)  
*tımı'rkinên* he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)  
*te'grırkinin* he threw him 10.10 (IV 6)  
*tımı'rkinênat* they kill them 44.8 (IV 6')  
*nelu'rkin* they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

## Intransitive Forms.

## Past I, and derived form:

- ine'łhi<sup>ε</sup>* thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)  
*gin'a'n inelu<sup>ε</sup>i<sup>ε</sup>* thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)  
*ênapêlarkınê'tik* ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)  
*inenregeurkinı'tik* what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)  
*inente'e'urkin* thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)  
*mıtıwku'tırkin-i-gıt* we bind thee (IV 1)

## Imperative:

- qıne'ıłhi<sup>ε</sup>* give me! 15.12 (II 8)  
*qênata'gê* move to me! 37.10 (II 8)  
*qênankêrgıpa'tyê* dress me! 48.9 (II 8)  
*qıgıte'tkuı<sup>ε</sup>* look at us! 35.7 (II 8)  
*qeiñê'tkutık* carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)  
*qınerrı'łhıtık* (*qınerrı'ltık* 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)  
*qênagta'tyıtık* haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)  
*qınelu<sup>ε</sup>tık* look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)  
*qaiıvalponaurkinê'tkı* hit ye them on the head! 69.32 (IV 10)  
*qänw'utkı* eat ye it! 14.7; 33.12 (II 10)  
*qata'gıtıkı* pass it! 70.10 (II 10)  
*qata'lınyı'tkı* answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)  
*qänrnle'wku'tkı* light ye them 68.13 (II 10)

## Future:

*raala'ñitkɪ* ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)

*relu'ñitkɪ* ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)

## Nominal Predicative Forms

*napêla'-ïm* they left me 31.9 (I 11)

*nanêaatwa'wkim* they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)

*nanlimalawa't-ê-ïm* they make me obey 21.3 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

## KORYAK

1. Stems with terminal vowel form a diphthong with the ending *-ykin* of the derived forms.

*tɪ-tva'ïkin* < *tɪ-tva'-ykin* I am

*tɪ-čvi'ïkin* < *tɪ-čvi'-ykin* I cut

*va'ykin* he lives Kor. 18.4

2. The *g* of the suffix is never dropped.

*tɪ-čvi'-gän* I cut off

3. Stems with terminal consonant have for the derived forms in *-ykin* the form *-ïkin*, an auxiliary vowel being introduced on account of the formation of a triconsonantic cluster.

*tɪvalo'mękin* (Chukchee *tuwalom'ırırkin*) < *tɪ-valom-ykin* I hear

*tapatekin* (Chukchee *tapatırırkin*) < *t-üpat-ykin* I cook

*tɪ'vıkin* (Chukchee *tıırırkin*) < *t-iv-ykin* I say

4. Terminal *v* of the stem (which corresponds to Chukchee *u*) is not regularly assimilated by the initial *g* of the suffix.

*tɪ'vgä<sup>ε</sup>k* I said

In other cases *vg* is changed to *wg*, which corresponds to the Chukchee *wkw*.

*tɪ'wgı* (Chukchee *trı'wkwı*) < *t-y-iv-gı* (Chukchee < *t-r-ıu-gıt*)  
I shall say to you

*qvr<sup>ε</sup>yas'qı'wgı* die! Kor. 35.1

5. Terminal *t* does not influence the *g* of the suffix.

*pɛlqa'tgi* he grew old

6. Stems in terminal *ı* of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in *r* of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in *-ïkin* (Chukchee *-rırırkin*).

Камenskoye  
*tı<sup>ε</sup>'yıkin*

Chukchee  
*tı<sup>ε</sup>'rırırkin* I cross over

7. Terminal *t* before *l* either forms the Koryak analogue of *ɫ* or drops out.

*gapa'len* < *ga-pat-len* he has cooked

*gape'lqal'in* < *ga-pe'lqat-l'in* he has grown old

Examples:

*tryanu'wgi* I shall swallow thee Kor. 78.18; 84.24 (I 1)

*miti'mtingi* I shall carry thee Kor. 21.4 (Ia 1)

*mininyai'tala-ge* let us take thee home Kor. 33.3 (Ia 1)

*a<sup>h</sup>ntai'ki-gi* one should make thee Kor. 38.4 (Ia 1)

*nalñilaikine'tik* they do to you Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)

*minya'i'tatik* I'll carry you two home Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63<sup>1</sup>(Ia 2)

*nenenela'mik* he appears to us Kor. 29.9 (I 3)

*nana<sup>h</sup>yiva'wmik* he is reproaching us Kor. 74.19 (I 3)

*nalñilaikine'mik* they do us Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)

*lu<sup>h</sup>'wa<sup>h</sup>n* thou sawest it Kor. 23.8 (I 4)

*mıyo<sup>h</sup>'ogan* let me visit him Kor. 20.7 (Ia 4)

*mitla<sup>h</sup>'wla<sup>h</sup>n* we found it Kor. 26.9 (I 4)

*qıya<sup>h</sup>'thin* bring it here! Kor. 29.4 (II 4)

*minu'mkawın* I will lay it aside Kor. 49.10 (I 4)

*tryai'lıñın* I'll give him Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)

*tryanñawtrıña'nñın* I'll give you your wife Kor. 13.3 (III 4)

*ya'nmiñın* you will kill it Kor. 76.7 (III 4)

*natalaikine'mik* it has caught us Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)

*tr'nmın* I killed him Kor. 20.5 (I 4)

*lu<sup>h</sup>'nin* she found it Kor. 24.3 (I 6)

*tai'kinin* he made them Kor. 20.9 (I 6)

*nayo<sup>h</sup>'onau* ye visit them Kor. 24.7 (I 10)

*qutei'kiñınau* you are making them Kor. 50.7 (I 10)

*qıpkawñunenau* it could not do them Kor. 40.2 (I 6<sup>1</sup>)

*nayo<sup>h</sup>'ıwo'ykinenau* they visit them Kor. 61.8 (IV 5<sup>1</sup>)

*yıleñvo'ykimen* she turns him Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)

*yawa'ykimen* she has him for Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)

*ına'nui* he swallowed me Kor. 84.13 (I 7)

*tenanıkyo'nñıvoı* he wants to awaken us Kor. 39.4 (I 7)

*nınanvda<sup>h</sup>'an* let him swallow me! Kor. 84.15 (Ia 7)

*yenda'nmi* she will kill us Kor. 96.14 (III 8)

*gına'nu* swallow me! Kor. 84.22 (II 8)

*qınanu'wgi* swallow me! Kor. 84.24 (II 8)

*qenanyaikını'gi* cheer me up! Kor. 84.27 (II 8)

*qınam!ıla'tik* ye louse me! Kor. 24.9 (II 9)

*qınatınwñla'tik* prepare ye provisions for me Kor. 13.4 (II 9)

*qwuza'gıtča* tie ye her! Kor. 23.4 (II 10)

<sup>1</sup> Waldemar Johelson, The Koryak. Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI.

*qi'wqutča* tell ye him! Kor. 74.20 (II 10)

*qiyō'ōlā'qtča* visit ye her! Kor. 23.7 (II 10)

*nryanñepñirvo'güm* they will keep me back Kor. 60.5 (I 11)

*naya'nw-güm* they will eat me Kor. 78.21 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

### §§ 73-74. *Predicative Form of Nominalized Verb*

#### § 73. FORMS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVE VERB

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are combined with the suffixed personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and thus express the idea TO BE ——. Verbal stems are nominalized in the same manner. In the third person such verbs take the affixes—

1. sing. *ni-qin̄* } one who is in a condition or performs an action  
pl. *ni-qin̄et̄* }
2. sing. *ge-lin̄* } one who has attained a condition or who has  
pl. *ge-lin̄et̄* } performed an action

The second form may also be used with nouns, and expresses ONE WHO HAS ——. In the singular a connective *i* occurs between the verbal stem and the suffixed pronoun. In the first person singular of verbs ending in a consonant the connective *i* forms a syllable and the initial *g* of the suffix *güm* drops out. In Koryak, on the other hand, it is retained. When the stem ends in a vowel, the *i* forms a diphthong with it and the *g* of *güm* is retained. The following table illustrates these forms.

	Prefix		Suffix			
	Noun	Nominalized Verbs		Noun	Nominalized Verbs	
		(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
3d sing. . . . .				—	<i>-qin̄</i>	<i>lin̄</i>
3d pl. . . . .				<i>-et̄, -i, -ti</i>	<i>-qin̄et̄</i>	<i>lin̄et̄</i>
1st sing. . . . .	—	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ge-</i>		<i>-i-üm</i>	
2d sing. . . . .					<i>-igit</i>	
1st pl. . . . .					<i>-myri</i>	
2d pl. . . . .					<i>-turi</i>	



## KORYAK

	Prefix			Suffix		
	Noun	Nominalized Verb		Noun	Nominalized Verbs	
		(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
3d sing. . . . .				—	-qin	-lin
3d dual . . . . .				-at, -t, -tʃ	-qinat	-linat
3d pl. . . . .				-au, u, -u wʲ, -u gʲ	-qinau	-linau
1st sing. . . . .					-igüm	
2d sing. . . . .					-iʃ	
1st dual . . . . .	—	ni			-muyi	
2d dual . . . . .					-muyy, muy, mu <sup>1</sup>	
1st pl. . . . .					-tuyi	
2d pl. . . . .					-tuyy, tuy, ty <sup>1</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> The contracted forms *mu* and *tu* do not change their vowels in harmony with hard vowels of the stem.

## Examples:

## Nouns:

1st sing. *o'rgukäl-ê-üm* I am one who has no sledge 78.6.

*ke'lei-(g)üm* < *kele-i-güm* I am a kele

*qä'ul-ê-üm* I am a man 116.32

2d sing. *ne'us'qät-i-gır* thou art a woman 136.15.

*ke'lei-gıt* thou art a kele 15.11

1st pl. *ili'lä-mu'ri* we are islanders 11.11.

## Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing. *nıgnopıva'qên* he was one who remained crouching 7.4.

*nine'lqın* he is one who becomes a — 8.7.

3d pl. *nımitva'qênat* they were those who lived in a camp 13.3.

1st sing. *nı'lqät-i-üm* I am one who was there 66.36.

*nä<sup>2</sup>laioi'güm* < *n-ä<sup>2</sup>laio-i-(g)üm* I defecated 76.5

2d sing. *wu'tku nitvai'-gır* you are one who stays here 7.5.

*nine'l-i-gıt* you are one who becomes a — 10.11.

1st pl. *nı'pkır-muri* we are those who came 11.1.

2d pl. *me'nkı ni't-turi* where are you? 12.2.

## Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing. *ganto'lên* he was one who had gone out 8.4.

*ge'tkulın* he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl. *gi'ulinet* they were those who had said 11.11.

*gene'ıinet* they were those who had become — 9.4.

1st sing. *gene'l-i-üm* I am the one who has become a — 17.6.

*gele<sup>2</sup>re'i-güm* < *g-elere-i-(g)üm* I was feeling dull

1st pl. *ge'lıı-muri* we were the ones to whom it happened 65.11.

## Koryak:

## Nouns:

- 1st sing. *q̄la'wul-e-ḡim* I am a man Kor. 22.1.  
 1st pl. *kmi'ñi-mu'yi* we are children Kor. 70.20.

## Nominalized verbs (a):

- 3d sing. *na<sup>s</sup>čañvoqen* he was the one who was urinating  
 Kor. 14.2.  
*n̄qahaiañvoqen* he was the one who began to  
 cry aloud Kor. 78.10.  
 3d du. *nalñiqatvuginet* they were the ones who were  
 quite successful Kor. 88.21.  
 3d pl. *nanyamča'čagenau* they are those that taste of  
 fat Kor. 25.5.  
 1st sing. *nanñičvina'w-ḡim* I am one who is getting  
 angry Kor. 31.2.  
 2d sing. *ni<sup>t</sup>a'wikñi-gi* you are one who is doing mis-  
 chief Kor. 82.9.

## Nominalized verbs (b):

- 3d sing. *gaya'iqwlin* he was the one who had entered  
 Kor. 14.1.  
 3d du. *gata'wañlenat* they were the ones who had  
 moved on Kor. 19.9.  
 3d pl. *gaqi'tilinau* they were the ones who were frozen  
 Kor. 14.2.  
 1st sing. *gatuyirkmiña't-i-ḡim* I am the one who has  
 given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.  
 1st pl. *gano'l-mu'yu* we are the ones who have be-  
 come — Kor. 37.4.  
 2d sing. *galu'tai-gi* you are the one who has urinated  
 Kor. 66.6.

## § 74. FORMS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB

The nominalized form of the transitive verb has in the *n(i)*-form throughout the prefix *iñg-*, which makes the verbal theme passive.

	Prefix		(a)	(b)	
	(a)	(b)			
3d sing. . . . .			(iñg)—q̄in	(iñg)—liu	
3d pl. . . . .			(iñg)—q̄inçet	(iñg)—liñçet	
1st sing. . . . .			(iñg)—i-ḡim	—i (g)um	
2d sing. . . . .	<i>n(i)</i>	<i>gç</i>	(iñg)—içit	(iñg)—içit	<i>-tçy-içit</i>
1st pl. . . . .			(iñg)—muçi	—muçi	
2d pl. . . . .			(iñg)—tuçi	(iñg)—tuçi	<i>-tçy-tuçi</i>

## KORYAK

	Prefix		(a)	(b)
	(a)	(b)		
3d sing. . . . .	n(i)	ga	<i>ina-gin</i>	<i>-lin</i>
3d dual. . . . .			<i>ina-ginat</i>	<i>-linat</i>
3d pl. . . . .			<i>ina-ginau</i>	<i>-linau</i>
1st sing. . . . .			<i>ina-igüm</i>	<i>-igüm</i>
2d sing. . . . .			<i>ina-igıt</i>	<i>-igıt</i>
1st dual. . . . .			<i>ina-muyü</i>	<i>-muyü</i>
1st pl. . . . .			<i>ina-tuyü</i>	<i>-tuyü</i>
2d dual. . . . .			<i>ina-muyi</i>	<i>-muyi</i>
2d pl. . . . .			<i>ina-tuyi</i>	<i>-tuyi</i>

In meaning this form agrees with the intransitive nominalized verb. It may be translated THE ONE WHOM I —, etc.

*elo'n nēnapēla'igüm* he is the one whom I leave  
*gıt nēnapēlai'güm* you are the one whom I leave  
*qa'at ninei'mitüüm* the reindeer are the ones whom I take  
*nēna'nmē-gıt* they are the ones whom you kill 23.4

Accordingly, when the object of the verb is in the plural, the nominal third person appears also in the plural.

The third person plural subject occurs also without *ing-* and has active sense.

*qa'at nıpēla'qēnat* the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or, perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).

*qa'at nıneı'mıtqınet* the reindeer are the ones whom he takes  
*nınmügēn ora'wēlan Eıwhue'lü* the St. Lawrence people were the ones who killed the men 12.11

*pipe'kilkin nēna'nmügēn* a mouse was killed by him 89.24  
*nı'ugınet qu'tti* several were the ones who said to them 59.2

*nıni'ugınet* they were told by him 73.13

*tr'lık neıme'ngäet* they were those who were approaching (to) the entrance (intransitive) 103.1

*nıneımeu'qın wa'lqar* he was one who approached the house 57.6

*tayo'lhıt nēnaıimē'qēnat* he was one who hung up the needlecases 82.10

The nominalized transitive verb in *ge-* has two forms—one the passive, meaning I, THE ONE WHO HAS BEEN—, etc.; the other active, derived from those forms of the transitive verb which are replaced by intransitive forms (see p. 741), except *-lki*.

The third person, with or without *ing-* may be used in an active or passive sense.

*gapê'lalên* he was leaving him, or he was left  
*genlete'n-muri* he was the one who took us away 74.23  
*geniggewgu'ulinet* he was the one who awakened them 12.12

Examples, Koryak:

- (a) *nenaaĩñawñivo'gen* she was the one who called him Kor. 74.29  
*nenanuñvo'genau* she was the one who ate them Kor. 59.9  
*ninataikriñvo'genau* she was the one who made them Kor. 59.5  
*nassi'ñvo-gũm* they are the ones who are untying me Kor. 39.3  
*nenemeye'ye-ge* art thou the one who is seeking it? Kor. 49.9  
*nenavo<sup>s</sup>'ñvo-mau'yu* we are those who find them Kor. 59.9
- (b) *gêwñivo'lenat* they were the two whom he told Kor. 13.2  
*ga'nmiłenau* they were the ones whom they had killed Kor. 12.8  
*ganta'witkriñau-mu'yi* we are the ones whom they have defiled  
 Kor. 29.6  
*ganta'witkriñaw-i-g-i* thou art the one whom they have defiled  
 Kor. 31.1

§§ 75-81. Notes on Certain Verbs

§ 75. To be, —*it*

The Chukchee verbal stem *-it*, Kor. Kam. *-it*, expresses the idea TO BE. In the pronunciation of men the *t* is lost in Chukchee in intervocalic position. The women say instead of *i'irkın* of the men *i'tișșın*. In other words with terminal *t* of stem they may drop it, as in *yılqaeșșın* he sleeps.

*i'irkın*, Kor. Kam. *it'i'ykin* he is  
*mêñki nit-turi?* where are you?  
*mîñkri nî'tqin?* how was he? 17.12

It is used with the verbal noun in *-tâ*, and with the noun in *-nu* (see § 95, p. 784, § 103, no. 34).

*čaučuvd'-va'rat či'mqũg vir'itâ-ñ i'irkın* the Reindeer Chukchee  
 people are partly self-destroying  
*Ta'n-ñičhit ūm em-vi'tâ nî'tqinet* the Russians are just dying  
*leñ-qami'tvata i'tyî<sup>s</sup>* he could not eat 80.7  
*aqami'tvaka qit'yitık* don't ye eat (of it) 64.19  
*e'rmu ti'tyâ<sup>s</sup>k* I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)  
*ga'vmičilo trit'yâ<sup>s</sup>* I am going to be rich  
*qarêmêna'nê rit'yâ<sup>s</sup>* thou shalt not be it 23.6  
*li'ê-ñarav'tile mmi'nmik* (< *mim-it-mik*) let us really try to get  
 wives 57.1  
*êna'nmiču i'tkâl-i-ũm* I am not a murderer 24.8

It seems possible that the element  $\dot{i}$  in the nominalized verbs is derived from this stem (see note 1 p. 734).

*nu-wa'lom-ê-um* I am hearing

*ni-yi'lqät-i-üm* I am sleeping

§ 76. TO LIVE, TO BE -*tva*

This stem occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak. It expresses a longer duration than *it*.

*äqäliñe'tä t'i'tyä'k* I was in fear

*em-äqäliñe'tä t'itva'a'k* I was continually just in fear

*va'rkin* (Chukchee), *va'ykin* (Kor. Kam.) he lives

*awqo'lika t'itva'rkin* I remain without an assistant 124.5

*ni'mnim vai ê'i'mçeqäi va'rkin* a settlement then quite near is 7.7

*i'lukä gatva'rkin* remain without motion! 57.3

*mi'ñkri mititva'rkin* how shall I be? 124.3

*em-nu'ñiçin mi'ñkri ni'tvaqên* how are those from the mainland?

13.9

*wu'tku nitvai'gir* you stay here 7.5

It is used as a synthetic element in many verbs.

*ratva'rkin* (<*ra-tva*) he house-lives (i. e., he is at home)

*oratva'rkin* (<*ora-tva*) he stays long

*waqotva'lik* (*waqo-tva*) he (remained) seated 102.24

*a'ñgak nimitva'qênat* (<*nim-tva* settlement remains) they lived on the sea 13.3

*nawkotitva'qên* (<*wkot-tva*) he was tied

*gawkotitva'ta* being tied 122.24

*qamitva'* to eat

*êulêt'êl-va'lin* being of elongated form 91.15

In Koryak the stem *it* occurs much more frequently than *tva* in independent form.

*en'ñi'n va'lin* (Chukchee), *enñä'çan i'tala'çn* (Kor. Kam.) one being thus

Still in compounds the stem *tva* occurs with great frequency.

*vaha'le-tva'ykin* (Kor. Kam.) he is seated

Some stems when combined with *va'lin* do not take the *ablaut*:

*mi'ñkri-va'lin* of what kind

*me'çen'ku-wa'le-üm* I am a fairly good one

A number of stems expressing qualities form adjectival forms by composition with *-tva-* (*it-* Koryak), in the form *va'lin* (*i'tala'çn* Koryak) (see p. 814).

*koulo'qu-wi'lin* (stem *koulo'qi*) round  
*wi'čhiñ-vi'lin* (stem *wi'čhiñ*) flat

Koryak:

*qo'loñ-i'ta'x<sup>n</sup>* (stem *qo'loñ*) round  
*vičhryiñ-i'ta'x<sup>n</sup>* (stem *vičhryiñ*) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—(i)ñ, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as *ta'ñum-wa'lin* a good one, from *ta'ñiñ-wa'lin*.

The stem in composition with *va'lin* may also take postpositions.

*é'mpum-wa'lin* or *émpa'qu-wa'lin* (stem *imp*) the one who is downcast  
*vičha'qu-wa'lin* flat

This form frequently expresses the comparative:

*qa'tvum-wa'lin* (stem *q<sub>tv</sub>*) the stronger one  
 Kor. *qa'tviñ-i'ta'x<sup>n</sup>* (stem *q<sub>tv</sub>*) the stronger one  
*ga'mga-qla'ulik qa'tvum-wa'l-é-üm* I am stronger than all (the other) men  
*güm gini'k mai' enku-wa'l-é-üm* I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with *va'lin* signifies possession of a quality to a slight degree.

*čéuté'tu-wa'lin* (stem *č<sub>ut</sub>*) somewhat low  
*tañé'tu-wa'lin* (stem *teñ*) somewhat good, moderately good

#### § 77. TO BECOME *neł*

The stem Chukchee *neł*, Kor. Kam. *nał* is used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak. It is combined with the noun in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

*gü'mük émnō'l-tō'mgo qine'łhi<sup>s</sup>* become ye what serves as my spleen companions<sup>1</sup> (i. e., became ye my friends)  
*rirkā'nō nine'ligit* you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)  
*ginnī'ku ne'lyä<sup>t</sup>* they became the quarry 12.2  
*ñé'us'qātu gene'lin* he became a woman 116.21  
*mī'mbu gene'lin* it became water 101.27  
*a<sup>s</sup>qa'-rkila gene'liüm* I became one to be pursued hard 17.6  
*em-gimū'n-niki'tā ne'lyi<sup>s</sup>* it came to be just midnight 9.11  
*girgo'l gene'linet* they came to be high 9.4  
*a<sup>s</sup>ttō'ōca nine'lqin* he came to be in front 8.7  
*ne'likin* (Chukchee), *na'likin* (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.

<sup>1</sup> See The Chukchee, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 563, Note 2.

§ 78. TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS ——— *lñ*

The Chukchee stem *lñ* (medial *lh*), Kor. Kam. *lñ*, signifies TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

*l'ñrkm* (Chukchee), *l'ñrykm* (Kor. Kam.) you take him for  
*gitta'p-qla'ulo mi'lhigit* let me take you for a clever man  
*giu ni'lhäqinet ne'lhut* as unknown ones they had their skins (i. e.,  
 they did not know them)  
*pu'relu nahlrññ'o'a<sup>n</sup>* they began to have him for a slave 8.2  
*va'lat ri'ltho niné'lhäqin* he has knives as wings 15.2  
*wi'yolu qinelhr'rkim* have me as a servant 95.7  
*leule'wu iné'lhiv<sup>s</sup>* he has me as something to be wronged 25.1

With nouns expressing emotions this verb is used throughout as indirect object, to express emotional conditions.

*yei'veču l'ñrkm* (Chukchee), *yaira'ču l'ñrykm* (Kor. Kam.) as  
 one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him  
*té'ññu l'ñrkm* (Chukchee), *ta'ññu l'ñrykm* (Kor. Kam.) as one  
 serving as laughing-stock you have him  
*re'qä leule'wu g'elhräm* what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19  
*pegé'ñu tr'lhigit* I have thee as an object of interest 15.8  
*pegé'ñu iné'lhiv<sup>s</sup>* you have meddling interest in me 22.9; also 15.8

§ 79. TO MAKE SOME ONE SOMETHING *rté*

The stem, Chukchee *rté* (medial *tě*), Kor. Kam. *ytě* (medial *tě*), Kor. Par. *yss* (medial *ss*), signifies TO MAKE SOMETHING INTO SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

*ritér'rkim* (Chukchee), *yitér'ykim* (Kor. Kam.), *yiss'ykim* (Kor. Par.) you make him into  
*enqa'n vai rawku'téñim moo-qa'anə mitér'rkim* that here doe, one  
 serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her  
*elqu'tkä ritérnin* he made him not standing 115.4  
*en'i'ngäikä neré'témük* they will make us childless 39.4  
*pai'wakə ri'téñim* he rejects it 136.28

§ 80. TO HAVE SOME ONE FOR SOMETHING *rt*

The stem, Chukchee *rt* (medial *nt*), Kor. Kam. *yt* (medial *nt*) takes the direct object in the absolute case, the indirect object with the ending *-nu*.

*ekke'nu tr'nti<sup>s</sup>n R'nto* I have Ri'nto as what serves as a son

It is often combined with the verbal noun of transitive verbs in *-tä* to express the same idea, thus forming a periphrastic expression. The verb *rt* is referred directly to the object of the transitive verb, to the nominal form of which it is joined.

*gümnä'n ěini't lu'ä tä trenti'ñinet qa'at* myself as something to look on I shall have the reindeer (i. e. I myself shall look on the reindeer)

*luñ-lu'ä tä ni'ntäqinet* not having seen they had them (i. e., they had not seen them) 11.9

*riti'rkim* (Chukchee), *yiti'ykim* (Kor. Kam.) you have him for *en'ñe' gindä'n enne'kä qänti'ginet* do not you carry them out 88.3

*imgêta'ta nîne'nti-äm* I have them to look after 92.36

*tulê'tä nîne'nti-äm ora'wêlat* I also treat the people as something to steal (i. e., I can steal people) 93.14

*gindä'n tulê'tä nîne'nti-git* you steal them 93.15

*em-ginri'tä nîne'nti-git* you lay in ambush for them 93.21

#### § 81. NOTES ON CERTAIN KAMCHADAL VERBS

The special verbs discussed in the preceding pages are represented in Kamchadal by a number of very irregular forms of a number of evidently related stems: *ěh*, *ck*, for the present or derived forms; *l'*, *lh*, *lk*, for the indicative and exhortative. The forms with *k* correspond, on the whole, to the transitive forms of the paradigm on pp. 744-745, although not all the forms can be interpreted in this manner. The derived form of the intransitive form is defective, only the second person singular and the third person plural being found. The verb, when relating to objects or animals (i. e., not to persons), has forms which recall the transitive forms. Their use corresponds to the use of the Chukchee stem *tva*.

Kamchadal	Chukchee	
<i>kirma'nk ěhi'jin</i>	<i>gü'mik va'rkim</i>	it is (belongs) to me
<i>kirma'n l'in</i>	<i>gümnä'n va'ž'</i>	it was mine

Both constructions, with the locative-possessor's and with the possessive cases, are found.

The personal form is transitive, but has peculiar endings.

*tcki'nin p!e'ki* I am to him (as) a son



VERBAL STEM *əh, ək, l', lh, lk*

## PRESENT

	Intransitive TO BE	Non-personal		Personal	
		TO ME } MINE }	IT IS, etc.	TO BE TO HIM (AS) A—	TO BE TO THEM (AS) A—
1st sing. . . .	—	<i>kɪma'n(k) əh'i'jɪn</i>		<i>tcki'nin</i>	<i>tcki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>əhəjə</i>	<i>kɪm'i'n(k) əh'i'jɪn</i>		<i>cki'nin</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	—	<i>əna'n(k) əh'i'jkinen</i>		<i>c'in</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>
1st pl. . . . .	—	<i>mɪ'jhɪn(k) əh'i'jɪn</i>		<i>ncki'nin</i>	<i>ncki'pnin</i>
2d pl. . . . .	—	<i>tɪ'jhɪn(k) əh'i'jkɪsɛɪn</i>		<i>c'isɛ</i>	<i>c'isɛ</i>
3d pl. . . . .	<i>əhəjɛ'n</i>	<i>tɛ'i'n(k) əh'i'jkɪpnɪn</i>		<i>c'in</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>

## PAST

1st sing. . . .	<i>t'ik</i>	<i>kɪma'n(k) l'in</i>	<i>tki'nin</i>	<i>tki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>l'ie</i>	<i>kɪm'i'n(k) l'in</i>	<i>lki'nin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	<i>l'ie</i>	<i>əna'n(k) l'in</i>	<i>l'in</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>
1st pl. . . . .	<i>n'ik</i>	<i>mɪ'jhɪn(k) l'in</i>	<i>nki'nin</i>	<i>nki'pnin</i>
2d pl. . . . .	<i>l'icɛ</i>	<i>tɪ'jhɪn(k) lk'ɪsɛɪn</i>	<i>l'isɛ</i>	<i>l'isɛ</i>
3d pl. . . . .	<i>l'ɛ'n</i>	<i>tɛ'i'n(k) l'ki'pnɪn</i>	<i>l'in</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>

## EXHORTATIVE (ALSO FUTURE)

1st sing. . . .	<i>m'ik</i>	<i>kɪma'n(k) xal'i'htn</i>	<i>mlki'nin</i>	<i>mlki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>k'ɛɛ</i>		<i>klki'nin</i>	<i>klki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	<i>xanl'i'htn</i>	<i>əna'n(k) xanlki'nin</i>	<i>xanlhi'n</i>	<i>xanlki'pnin</i>
1st pl. . . . .	<i>mɪm'ɪk</i>		<i>mɪnki'nin</i>	<i>mɪnki'pnin</i>
2d pl. . . . .	<i>k'ɛɛ</i>		<i>kl'isɛ</i>	<i>kl'isɛ</i>
3d pl. . . . .	<i>xanl'i'htn</i>	<i>tɛ'i'n(k) xanlki'pnin</i>	<i>xanlhi'n</i>	<i>xanlki'pnin</i>

VERBAL STEM *le*

The auxiliary verb *le* TO BECOME has also an intransitive and a personal transitive form, like the last stem.

*tlejk* I become something

*tle'jkɪpnin* I become something for them

VERBAL STEM *sɪ*

The stem *sɪ* TO BE lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

*sɪɛ* you were

VERBAL STEM *is, il*

The stem *is, il* corresponds to the Chukchee *l̄n-*, and *rt-*. It is used often with the nominalized verb 2, 3 (see p. 748). With the intransitive verb it has intransitive forms, while the corresponding Chukchee verbs are always transitive.

- xē k'ō'łki* milk not coming I will be  
*älətalka t̄s̄jhn* I like thee (*älətalka* modalis of LIKING; *t-* I; *t̄s* stem; *-j-* present; *-hn* thee); compare Chukchee *älhu-tlhr̄k̄n̄'git* (*älhu* as object of LIKING; *t-* I; *lh-* to have for—; *-rk̄n* present; *-igit* thee)  
*l'a'mal m̄'lin* I will kill him (*l'a'mal* to killing; *m-* let me; *l̄* stem; *-in* him); compare Chukchee *qm-tm̄' m'ntiä'n* (*qm-* merely; *tm̄-* to kill; *-a* modalis; *m-* let me; *-nt* medial stem; *-ä'n* him)

VERBAL STEM *issi*

This stem corresponds to Chukchee *tē-*, Kor. Kam. *ssi-*, and expresses nearly the same idea as the last verb.

- gam ke'jkek t̄'ssihn* I do not accept you (*gam* not; *kej* to accept; *-kek* negative ending; *t-* I; *issi* stem; *-hn* thee) compare Chukchee *ehn-ei'mitkä t̄'t̄igit* (*ehn—kä* negation; *ei'mit* to take; *t-* I; *tē* stem; *-git* thee)

VERBAL STEM *tel*

The stem *tel* has a meaning similar to the last two, but expresses prolonged action. It follows Type II of the transitive verbs.

- xtel t̄te'lijñin* I came to fear him (*xtel* fear; *t-* I; *tel* stem; *-j-* present; *-ñin* [I]—him)

## THE PERSONAL TRANSITIVE FORMS.

A number of intransitive verbs have forms analogous to the personal transitive of the auxiliary verb (p. 767), which are used to express relations to a personal object.

- tvetatköju'jk̄ipn̄n* I am busying myself on their behalf (*t-* I; *vetat* to be busy; *-köju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *-k̄ipn̄n* see p. 767.  
*i'sæ t̄xi'in n̄' nul' int̄l̄itk̄öju'jk̄ipn̄'n* they always bring food to their father (*i'sæ* father; *t̄xi'in* their; *n̄' nul'* modalis, with food; *int̄l̄* to bring; *-t* durative; *-köju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *k̄ipn̄n* as before)

The Chukchee sentence

- t̄u'mgr̄tum e'če m̄wi'ä'n* I will cook fat for my companion (*t̄u'mgr̄tum* absolute form, COMPANION; *e'če* modalis; WITH FAT; *m-* LET ME; *wi* TO COOK; *-ä'n* HIM) is quite comparable to this (see p. 741).

§ 82. *Predicative Forms of Pronouns and of Numerals*

Indefinite (interrogative) pronouns and numerals are frequently used in predicative form, and take all verbal forms. They may also take verbal affixes, but of these only a few are in frequent use.

Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	
<i>req</i>	<i>yaq</i> <sup>1</sup>	WHAT
<i>re'qärkin</i> ( <i>req</i> + <i>rkin</i> )	<i>ya'qikın</i> <sup>1</sup> ( <i>yaq</i> + <i>ikın</i> )	what do you do,
	<i>ya'qıykin</i> Kor. 28.10	want?
<i>rıreq'urqın</i> ( <i>rı</i> — <i>eu</i>	<i>yıyaqawikın</i>	what do you make
to cause)		him do?
<i>raqın̄g'rkin</i> ( <i>-ññg</i> to	<i>yaqñıv'ikın</i>	what do you begin
begin)		to want? (expres-
		sive of annoyance)
<i>raqıññ'a'tırkin</i> ( <i>-ññat</i>	<i>yaqıññ'a'tekın</i>	what do you want?
annoyance)		(expression of
		strong annoy-
		ance)
<i>nike</i>	<i>nika</i> Kor. 80.9	SOMETHING
<i>nike'rkin</i>	<i>nika'ikın</i>	you do a certain
		thing
<i>rinike'wrkin</i>	<i>nika'ikın</i>	you make him do a
		certain thing
<i>ñıreq</i>	<i>ñıyeg</i>	TWO
<i>ñıreq'wrkin</i>	<i>ñıyeg'wikın</i>	you are the second
<i>mı'lıññ</i>	<i>mı'lıññ</i>	FIVE
<i>mılınkau'kin</i>	<i>mılınka'wekin</i>	you are the fifth
Here belongs also		
<i>terke'wrkin</i>	<i>ta'ıka'wikın</i>	what number in the
		series are you?

## Koryak:

*ya'qlau* what are they doing? Kor. 24.5

*yaqlaikıné'tik* what are you doing Kor. 24.8

*qaya'qlınat* what happened to them Kor. 30.9

*nıya'qi-gı* what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs.

*günni'n e'kik kıtı'r mıngıtka'wkw*<sup>2</sup> (Chukchee) my son last year ten reached (*günni'n* my; *e'kik* son; *kıtı'r* last year; *mıngıt* ten — *kıu* verbal suffix of numerals; *gı*<sup>2</sup> 3d sing.)

*kıu'kı tımılınka'wkw*<sup>2</sup> I stayed there five nights (*kıu'kı* passing nights; *t* — I; *mılın* five; *-kıu* verbal suffix of numerals; *-gı*<sup>2</sup> 1st sing.)

<sup>1</sup> Koryak II *taq* WHAT; *ta'qatın* WHAT DO YOU DO, WANT?

## KAMCHADAL

The indefinite (interrogative) pronouns of Kamchadal occur also in predicative form. At present only a few forms of the present tense are used.

*enka'nejč* what are you (sing.) doing?

*enka'nejca* what are you (pl.) doing?

*lač* how are you (sing.)?

*la'jč<sup>n</sup>* how are they?

*swuzijč* you (sing.) do a certain thing

*ñu<sup>n</sup> swu'sijč<sup>n</sup> Čija'l-ku'txa<sup>n</sup>* there the people of Čija'l-kutx live (ñu<sup>n</sup> there; *swu'sijč<sup>n</sup>* they do a certain thing; -*a<sup>n</sup>* plural)

The use of pronouns or pronominal adverbs is much more common, perhaps due to Russian influence.

*enka'nkê k!öjč* for what do you come?

*lač cunljč* how do you live?

Sentences which contain the verbalized and the nonverbal pronoun also occur, and are probably the result of a mixture of Kamchadal and Russian syntax.

*enka'j kimma te'nij<sup>n</sup>* what now have I done to him?

*e'nkaj e'nin* what now has he done to him?

*e'nkaj enk!ö'läiñ<sup>n</sup>* why did you (sing.) come to him?

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:

*enkan!<sup>n</sup>ö'läiñ<sup>n</sup>* = *enka'nke k!ö'läiñ<sup>n</sup>* (cf § 59, p. 731)

There are also two demonstrative verbs:

*tea* here

*te'a-sijk* here I am

*hei* look here!

*he'yisijk* here I am (close to the person addressed)

Both contain the auxiliary verb *si* (see p. 767).

## §§ 83-90. Syntactic Use of Tenses and Modes

## § 83. Declarative Mode

Declarative forms of the simple, derived, and nominalized forms are used to express the predicate in declarative and interrogative sentences.

Simple forms:

*ñawanê'ti i'wkwi<sup>e</sup>* he said to his wife 83.23

*gi'thin lu'<sup>n</sup>nin* he saw a lake 37.4

- ñi'ngäi ra'nmügnên* she will kill the child 37.14  
*ralaulawa'tiñoa<sup>ε</sup>* thou wilt do wrong 21.5  
*kuwi'čın tre<sup>ε</sup>tyä<sup>ε</sup>n* I brought children's death 20.1

## Derived forms:

- mıč'ımğumğe'erkın* we are terrified 63.4  
*tıngäe'rkın* I refuse 19.7  
*čı'mğuk pēla'arkın* some are leaving 8.9

## Nominalized forms:

- näg'älilē'tqın re'mkın* the people were at war 97.23  
*nrē's'qiuqın ñe'us'qät* the woman entered 63.3  
*čêğ-a'lvam-vu'lı-tō'rē* ye are quite strange 63.4  
*evı'rü getulē'Leet* they have stolen clothing 13.6  
*elere'ı<sup>ε</sup>* dost thou feel lonesome? 96.2

## Examples of interrogative sentences are—

## Simple forms:

- ēñeñtvı'ı<sup>ε</sup>* hast thou become a shaman? 18.4  
*mē'nko pi'ntıqättik* whence did ye appear? 74.21  
*m'ñkı-m ra'tvaa<sup>ε</sup>* where wilt thou live? 108.25

## Derived forms:

- re'gärkın* what are you? 18.9  
*re'gü tımr'rkınên* what has killed him? 23.5

## Nominalized forms:

- mı'ñkri gewkwē't-i-gıt* where have you gone?  
*mı'ñkri nı'tvaqên* how is he? 13.10  
*re'q-i-gıt* what do you want? 18.12  
*gei'čemit-tu'mğı-gır* hast thou brothers? 99.18

## Koryak:

## Simple forms:

- ñawa'kak naya'tın* they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20  
*tapka'vik olñaga'tik* I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2  
*tıyayı'lqatrñ* I shall sleep Kor. 31.8  
*tıqa'payuk* I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1  
*Miti'nak ena'nme, enapa'te* Miti has killed me and cooked me  
 Kor. 96.7

## Derived forms:

- tıgıtta'tıykın* I am hungry Kor. 35.5  
*enñä<sup>ε</sup>an Amamqu'tınu vañvolai'ke* thus Eine'mqut and his people were living Kor. 45.5  
*penye'kınen talai'vik* he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3  
*mılu'ykınınau* she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4  
*pelhanñivolai'ke* they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17

Nominalized forms:

*va<sup>ε</sup>yuk gayo<sup>ε</sup>olen vai'amn'agu* then they found a large river  
Kor. 21.3

*gala<sup>ε</sup>wkal'i'lin wū'lka* they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9  
*gagqaika'makata gana<sup>ε</sup>l-mu'yu* we came to be with (to have) a  
small kamak Kor. 37.4

*ñā'cñin nenanyopanñivo'genau* outside they were hung up Kor.  
60.9

*atar' ñā'no enñā<sup>ε</sup>an nitva'ñvoegen* that one was living thus  
Kor. 61.3

*ñā'no nitnma'tgen* that one is telling lies Kor. 62.3

In the indefinite nominalized predicate the subject pronoun may be repeated to emphasize the question.

*geet-tu'ri tu'ri* have you come?

Impersonal verbs do not differ from the ordinary intransitive verbs.

*ile'erken* (Kor. Kam. *muqa'tikrn*; Kamchadal *čavujin* or *čavjč*) it  
is raining

*ile'tyi<sup>ε</sup>* (Kor. Kam. *muqa'thi<sup>ε</sup>*; Kamchadal *čavun*) it has been  
raining

*lä<sup>ε</sup>leuru'<sup>i</sup>* winter came 14.9

*čélhiro'<sup>ε</sup>* it becomes red 23.9

#### § 84. Tenses

Tenses are not clearly distinguished. The declarative form of the verb, unless modified by the future prefix, is used to express a past action, although cases occur in which only a present can be meant.

*tiqêwgañño'a<sup>ε</sup>k* I begin to be called 94.31

In Koryak the declarative form is rarely used in narrative, while it is in common use in direct discourse.

*mai, ya'ti* halloo, have you come? Kor. 68.12

*Val'vr'mtīlā<sup>ε</sup>n tr'nmrn* I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

*e'nmen niki'ru<sup>i</sup>* then night came 36.12

*lu'ur wêthau'ño<sup>ε</sup>* then he began to speak 31.11

The derivative is generally used to express a present continued action, but it occurs also frequently in narrative. This use is more frequent in Koryak than in Chukchee (see § 87).

The nominalized verb (*a*) expresses a continuative regardless of time. When coordinated with another verb it expresses contempo-

raneity (see § 88). The nominalized verb (*b*) is used commonly in narrative to express the progress of an action. When coordinated with another verb, it expresses an antecedent (see § 88).

The future is formed by the prefix *re-* and the correlative pronominal forms. Quite commonly the future is given the form of an exhortative.

### § 85. *The Subjunctive*

The subjunctive (*a*) and (*b*) are, the former an exhortative form, the latter the form used in conditional and other subordinate clauses. The former is frequently used for expressing the future, particularly when it implies the idea of intention.

Subjunctive (*a*):

*nuwa'lomga<sup>ε</sup>n* let him know

*va'nivan nuwa'lomga<sup>ε</sup>n* he would not hear anything

*mewkwe'ty<sup>ε</sup>k* let me depart 17.10

*milmala'n<sup>ε</sup>noa<sup>ε</sup>k* let me begin to obey 21.4

*minranto'mik* let us leave the town 56.8

*niry'lq<sup>ε</sup>ty<sup>ε</sup>n* let him sleep 9.1

*ni<sup>ε</sup>a'atvaa<sup>ε</sup>n* let her be cast away 39.3

*mi'ihir* let me give thee 15.13

*mimata'gir* let me marry thee 77.1

*minlete'itik* let us carry you away 74.15

*niro'q ya'rat va'n<sup>ε</sup>van a<sup>ε</sup>nlu<sup>ε</sup>'net* three houses, not at all they could see them 61.10

*neuvi'rit a<sup>ε</sup>nei'mity<sup>ε</sup>n* she would take the soul of the woman 37.11

Koryak:

*minyaitila'mik* let us go home! Kor. 26.8

*nayanva'n<sup>ε</sup>inin* let them skin it! Kor. 26.10

*minilqala'mik* let us go! Kor. 28.5

*mikrplis'gewla'tik* I will stun them with blows Kor. 29.7

*ya'qu-yak quwai'matn a<sup>ε</sup>ntai'ki-gi* into what desirest thou one should make thee? Kor. 38.4

Subjunctive (*b*) does not appear very often in the texts.

*e'ur en'ni'n ni<sup>ε</sup>'ty<sup>ε</sup>n, qora'ni minr<sup>ε</sup>'yilhit* if you were like this, we should give you reindeer

*enqa'n nr<sup>ε</sup>gite'nin, nu<sup>ε</sup>wi'<sup>ε</sup>n* if she should look upon that one, she would die 37.12

*ia'm leule'wu tr<sup>ε</sup>lh'<sup>ε</sup>n* why should I harm her? 38.12

*va'n<sup>ε</sup>van nute's'qan nr<sup>ε</sup>yo'<sup>ε</sup>n<sup>ε</sup>n* he would not at all reach the ground 52.12

*enqa'n ora'wêlat ê'êda ni'tva'nat, ni'êvitkui'vunet vi'uta* if the men had stayed on the surface, the whalebone would have cut them down 68.26 (*enqa'n* THAT; *ora'wêlan* MAN; *-tva* TO REMAIN; *ni'*-for full form *nani'*-; *êvi-* TO CUT; *-tku* suffix ALL; *-tv* suffix GREAT QUANTITY; *vi'ut* WHALEBONE; *-a* subjective)

*êitê'un im gûmna'n wu'tku ti'nri'qâ'n* if only I could keep it  
R 45.21

*êitê'un kinta'rrga memilqa'a ne'na'lpinri'e* if only good luck would give me seals R 46.42

*êitê'un vê'wgênto'ê'* in order that he should give up his breath  
R 49.15

*ekêna'n gûmna'n trêpi'reâ'n* I wish I would (rather) take it

Koryak:

*mê'ñqañ ni'tva'an* how could she be? Kor. 34.12

*nani's'wm* one might say Kor. 25.2

### § 86. *The Imperative*

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

*nota's'qêti qâêrpe'tyi'e* into the ground plunge! 17.2

*qineti'ñui'e* haul me up! 131.22

*ñê'lvül qagtr'gıtkı* bring ye the herd! 129.19

*qmılhe'tyıtki* lower ye me! 131.15

Koryak:

*appa', qakya'wgrı* grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9

*qawa'ñılat* open your mouth! Kor. 34.7

*qa'lqathi* go away! Kor. 35.3

*ne'nako qıyo'oge êaç'a me* then you will find an old woman Kor  
51.1

*Quyqınn'aqu'nak qıyaıpıla'tık* live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2

*qantot'ık* go ye outside! Kor. 74.12

*qı'wgutêa* tell ye him! 74.20

### § 87. *Derived Forms*

The derived forms express continued action. For this reason they are found most frequently in direct discourse when a continuous condition is described.

*ia'm têrga'arkın* why art thou weeping? 48.12

*gûm ñê'uk tıle'rkin* I am walking about to get a wife 57.2

*mıthıtte'urkin* we are hungry 70.24

*kele'tü nayo'rkin-ê-gıt* the kele are visiting thee 52.4



## Koryak—

- mitpa<sup>ε</sup>lai'kmen* we are thirsty Kor. 16.9  
*yaqlaikme'tik* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8  
*kokaiivilai'ke* they are cooking it Kor. 27.4  
*tita<sup>ε</sup>l'ivykn* I am feeling unwell Kor. 84.26

In Chukchee the derived forms are not often used in narrative as an historical present, while in Koryak this use is quite common.

- temyu'nirkm ELA'* she was deceiving her mother 29.2  
*pükirgi<sup>ε</sup>. Aiwana'čhin ūm ničvi'tkurkm re<sup>ε</sup>w.* He arrived. The  
 Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10  
*e'nmen yč'gichm rinri'rkmin* he was carrying about a walrus  
 penis 67.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3

- golč-tke'unvuk evkwe'erkit, evi'rä getule'Leet.* *E'nmen evkwe'tyč<sup>ε</sup>t*  
 during another night they were about to leave, having stolen  
 clothing. Then they left (*gul* ANOTHER; *tkiu* TO PASS THE NIGHT;  
 -*nv* PLACE OF [§ 109, 50], -*k* LOCATIVE; *evkwe't* TO LEAVE;  
*evirit* CLOTHES; -*ä* subjective [§ 37]; *tulet* TO STEAL; *getule'Leet*  
 < *ge-tulet-linet*) 13.5

## Koryak—

- gaimanñivo'ykn* he had a desire Kor. 12.2  
*lümñeua'ykn* she was following Kor. 23.3  
*vañvolai'ke* they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor.  
 43.7  
*nanoñvo'ykmenau* they were beginning to consume them Kor.  
 42.7

This form is used even when it is difficult to conceive of the action as continued:

- ñito'ykn* he went out Kor. 12.5; 72.15  
*ñvo'ykn* she began Kor. 72.16  
*yaqlr'wikn* he entered Kor. 13.9  
*newñvo'ykmenat* they began to say to both of them Kor. 12.7

A habitual action is expressed in the following example:

- ča'mañ enqa'nēna grnñig-gili'liqä'gti tirmi'rkminēnat* also by this  
 one are the little game-procurers killed (i. e. he is in the  
 habit of killing the hunters) 44.8

With the imperative the derived forms express a continued condition, or a repeated action.

- ilu'kü qatva'rkkn* stay without motion! 57.3  
*qaiñvalponaurknč'tki* you will hit (the children) upon the head  
 69.32  
*quwalo'mirrkkn* listen! 32.1

Koryak—

*aqalhai'aka qitr'ykrn-i'-g'i* do not cry! (not be without crying)  
Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

*miqamr'tvaa<sup>ε</sup>k* I shall eat now

*miqamr'tvarkrn* I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)

*inenroqeurkni'tik* what are you going to do with me? 10.10

*tr'gtrkrn* I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

*tryanto'ykrn* I shall go out Kor. 14.5

*trya<sup>n</sup>lan<sup>n</sup>rvo'ykrn* I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

*trêrêvilitku'<sup>n</sup>rkrn* I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

*minqamr'tvarkrn* let us continue to eat! 65.4

*miniwkurkni'git* let us tie thee! 20.9

### § 88 *Nominalized Verb (a)*

The nominalized form (*a*) of the verb, *ne—qin* expresses the condition of an object or a person, or the condition of performing an action. Its use is not confined to intransitive verbs which in this form often have the meaning of an attributive term (see p. 713), but it is also used with transitive verbs. When the noun to which the nominalized verb stands in an attributive relation is the subject of a clause, the nominalized verb often indicates that the two verbs express contemporaneous conditions or actions and may be translated by the conjunction WHILE. Examples of the attributive use of this form have been given on p. 713. Additional examples are the following:

*u'nel va'rkrn nime'yenqin* (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7

*nit'u'uqin kè'rgäqai* a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

*nepplu'qin* a small one Kor. 15.2

*gatai'kilin nima'yinqin* he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4

*nima'yinqin nai'nai* the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (*a*) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

*qaäa'ken lə<sup>ε</sup>'qač nu'uqin, qol im nrič'e'Loqên lə<sup>ε</sup>'qač* one-half was black, the other half was red 88.15,16

- niv'läqin* it was long 91.24  
*yara'ñi nite'ñqin* the house is good 92.9  
*mi'nkri ni'tvaqên* how (of what kind) are they 13.10  
*wu'tku nitvai'-gır* you are staying here 7.5  
*nıgqi'ngin mörêqa'gtı* they are eager for us 8.9  
*ınpınađı'yñın neıñe'tqin* the old man was the one who called out  
 86.13  
*nınei'mitqin u'nelti* he was taking thong-seals 67.18

## Koryak:

- nılhıkyu'qin* it is watchful Kor. 39.9  
*nıma'lqin* it is good Kor. 64.24  
*nanñıévına'w-gım* I am angry Kor. 31.2  
*nıtrñpuvaqa'tqen* she is one who is striding and pecking Kor.  
 47.11  
*Tañño nigala'genau* the Chukchee were the ones who passed  
 by Kor. 66,12.

## Examples of relative clauses:

- ınpıñawqa'qérının . . . pako'lérının nıne'nraqin* it was an old  
 woman . . . who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21  
*gıt kele'tü nayo<sup>s</sup>'ıkrın-ê-gıt* you are one who is being visited by the  
 kelet 52.4  
*yara'qai . . . kele'tü nêna'yo<sup>s</sup>qên* it was a small house . . . which  
 was visited by the kelet 51.9

## Koryak:

- vel'ıñu nenataıkrıñvo'genau* (those are) thimbles that had been  
 made Kor. 60.8,9  
*Miti'nak nenaaiñawñvo'qen; e'wañ* it was Miti who called him  
 she said Kor. 74.29  
*nıqalhai'agen* he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1  
*nınnıpñvo'qen* they were the ones who began to keep it Kor.  
 41.9

## Examples of temporal coordination:

- tı'tıl nênarıkıpçeu'qên, e'nk'i ñe'wän ure'wkwı<sup>s</sup>* (at the time)  
 when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6  
*qän'ver ñi'ngäi nıtê'rgılatqên, qän'ver i'wkwı<sup>s</sup> uwa<sup>s</sup>'quê* when  
 the child cried, the husband said 38.3  
*qaia'qañ e'ur neımeu'qın, êwkurga nıgmteu'qın* whenever he  
 was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14  
*nıtrıncê'tqênat . . . ın:qa'm . . . qolê-ra'gtı qä'tyã<sup>s</sup>t* while  
 they were stabbing them . . . then . . . to another house  
 he went 12.9, 10

## Koryak:

*nenavo<sup>s</sup>ñvo-mu'yu e<sup>s</sup>en ganu'linau* when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10

*mi'mla nnu'gen, galñe-key gate'wlalen* when a louse bit (ate) her, then they shook her combination suit Kor. 76.4,5

On the whole the forms in *ne—gin* are used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak, in which dialect the progress of the narrative is more prominent.

§ 89. *Nominalized Verb (b)*

The nominalized verb (*b*) *ga—lin* expresses a completed transition and may often be translated by TO HAVE BECOME.

*ya'rat qaño'twe<sup>s</sup>len* she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22  
*ño'č-e-um gene'l-i-um* poor (I) I had become R 45.28

## Koryak:

*gama'lalin* it had grown better, Kor. 14.11

*gagi'tilinau* they had become frozen Kor. 14.3

In narrative it expresses the progress of action, but apparently not with the same intensity as the verbal forms.

*gûmni'n pe'nin-ñe'w gëwi<sup>s</sup>'lin* my former wife died R. 45.29.

*yičemre'tti gettwile'linet* a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3

*e'ur gırgıronta'lên a<sup>s</sup>'ttwilä* then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

## Koryak:

*va<sup>s</sup>'yak gaya'lqrwlin* afterwards he entered Kor. 14.1

*ga'lqazın* he went Kor. 16.3

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

*e'nmen gequ'pqäntelin i'wkwi<sup>s</sup>* after she was quite starved she said 39.1

*Ai'wan-a'kkata ñi'lhın gečheıulu'ulin a'ñqa-čo'rmı, enña'q üm ñi'lhın getiñus'qiče'lin e'ur üm nêčhëtau'gên mêmle'tı* the Aiwan's son had hidden a thong on the sea-shore, then (when) he had tugged the thong, then he made him fall into the water 48.3-5

*gitte'ulıt üm ñan, ki'pu-ri'lu nelu<sup>s</sup>'ä<sup>s</sup>n* after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1

*gaa'lomle<sup>s</sup>n, i'wkwi<sup>s</sup>* after he had heard it he said 56.12

*ganto's'gëulên e'ur enqa'n . . . ninerkile'gin* after he had rushed out he was being pursued 57.11

Koryak:

*mīti'w gečha'Len enka'ta tilai'vrkin ne'Ła* next day, after it had dawned, at that place a herd was walking Kor. 21.8

With nouns the form *ga—lin* expresses possession (see p. 712.)

### § 90. *Negative Forms*

Negative forms are partly expressed by adverbs with the ordinary forms of the verb, partly by the derivative in *ε—kǎ*, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

*va'nēvan* not at all (see p. 882)

*ga'rēm* always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)

*ča'mam* always with the future (see p. 883)

See also *e'Łe*, *en'ñe*, *u'ñü* (p. 883).

The forms in *ε—kǎ* and in *egn-* will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in *x'ē—ki* for intransitive verbs, *x'ē—kic* (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

*x'ēnu'ki ml'ik* I will not eat

*x'ēnu'ki ksr'xč* do not eat!

### §§ 91-94. Syntactic Use of Nominal Forms

#### § 91. *The Absolute Form*

The absolute form of the noun and pronoun is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb. Independent pronouns may be added to the verb in this form for the purpose of emphasis.

Subject of intransitive verb:

*yaa'pū ye'tyi<sup>ε</sup> ri'rki* from afar a walrus came 8.5

*kitvə'yu i'wkw<sup>ε</sup>* the old walrus spoke 8.14

*mu'ri . . . mirrey'lqätyü<sup>ε</sup>* we shall sleep 9.3

*rirkanpina'čhın pilqäe'rkin* the old walrus dived 9.6

*re'mkin n'lqätyä<sup>ε</sup>n* the people shall go 13.12

*i<sup>ε</sup>rgi<sup>ε</sup> re'mkin* the people crossed over 13.13

*ri'rki ge'pkilın* a walrus arrived 8.6

*nite'rmečinqın ramkr'yñın* the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3

## Koryak:

*atta<sup>s</sup>yol-ya<sup>s</sup>mkrñ galai'virvōlen* people (from) down the coast walked about Kor. 41.1

*Ama'mqut e'wañ* Eme'mqut said Kor. 40.7

*i'npi-qla'wul gewñivo'len* the old man said Kor. 47.1

*ñalvrla'n'aqu . . . galañvo'ykm* a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9

*ñawis'gat va'ykm* a woman was there Kor. 52.1

## Object of transitive verb:

*u'ttuut tivvi'ä<sup>s</sup>n* I cut wood

*yo'nên lauti'yñin* she pushed the big head into it 28.6

*wi'lkan qätei'kigin* make a woodpile! 31.12

*wü'rgirgin walo'miñonên* she heard a noise 32.10

*kokai'ñin yire'nin* she filled the kettle 33.10

*ñewwi'rit a'nei'mityä<sup>s</sup>n* she would take the woman's soul 37.11

*mač-žwga'n titvu'rkm* I tell it as an incantation 39.13

*u'ttuut ne'npüä<sup>s</sup>n* they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9

## Koryak:

*tryo<sup>s</sup>'an i'npi-qla'wul* I found an old man Kor. 52.4

*gaqa'yričulin lo<sup>s</sup>'lqal* he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6

*qai-mi'mič gayo'olen* she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1

*črlil' čvitču'ykmnin* he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4

*eni'n kmü'ñipil gaqułumti'lin* he carries his son Kor. 57.9

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object.

*tumgitum muw'än* let me cook for (my) friend

*gümnü'n e'kik kel'tulä ml'lpin'riğa<sup>s</sup>n* I will give money to my son

§ 92. *The Subjective*

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs.

*wotqan ñan a'ččk eni'k-eli'gä krl'plinên* the father struck this young man (*wotqan* this; *ñan* here; *a'ččk* youth; *eni'k* subjective third person singular pronoun; *eli'gin* father; *rčpl* to strike; *-nin* he—him)

*imilo re'mkä nap'laa<sup>s</sup>n ni'mnim* the whole people left the camp

*čou'rgin tilo'mnên kel'tä* the kele opened the door-flap 106.16

*kitvé'yuta i'unin* the old walrus said to him 8.7

*Aiwhuyanpina'čha pinlo'nênat* a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9

*Ta'n-ña gaiō<sup>s</sup>'laat* the Ta'n-ñit attacked them 97.25

*morgina'n mo'rëg-ra'k ñe'wänti gi'wä* we in our houses to our wives say 84.16

## Koryak:

*atta' yol-ya' mka gava' lomlen* the people down the coast heard it

Kor. 39.7

*Amamqu' trnak u'tti-yu' nri gatai' kilin* Eme'mqut made a wooden whale Kor. 40.8

*iḷa' ga ini'wi* mother told me Kor. 46.1

*an' a' nak ini'wi* grandmother<sup>1</sup> told me Kor. 46.2

*i' npi-qla' wula gai' liḷin ki' plau* the old man gave him mortars Kor. 51.5

*kmī' nā gama' taḷen* the son married her Kor. 80.1

*mī' mla nriwagin* the louse ate her Kor. 76.4.

*gūmna' n nāwa' kak tryai' lriḷin* I will give (him) the daughter Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with *-ine*, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

*Ta' n' nā nini' ugin* she was told by the Ta' n' nri 98.8

The subjective is used with some transitive verbs to express the object with which something is done to some one. In these cases the person to which something is done is given the absolute form. Such verbs are *-(l)pinr̄* TO GIVE, *o' nri* TO REFUSE.

*gūmna' n e' kik kel' tulā mī' lpinr̄ iqa' n* I presented my son with money

*tek' ḷhā qēna' lpinr̄ iqa' e'* I present thee with meat

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

*tu' mgitum e' ḷe muwi' ā' n* I shall cook for (my) companion (with) fat

*qla' ulqai riqamitva' urkinēn tenm' netā* he made the little man eat (with) a shellfish 9.8

In Kamchadal also the subjective form is used with transitive verbs to express the object that is used in the performance of the action expressed by the verb.

*he' uli' akoka-ju' jca* (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee *e' nri-leu' tā quwi' tik*

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

*añqa' ta leule' wu ge' lhi- mu' ri* by the sea we were badly treated 65.27

*genibule' nriḷin keñuneñe' tā* he moved it with the staff 101.8

*e' tin yiki' rga pi' rinin* it took its master with the mouth 104.33

*qriḷi' tkui vala' ta* move about with the knives! 16.4

*mu' Lü gakañoi' pūlēn* with blood he is besmeared 19.3

<sup>1</sup> Treated here like a personal name.

## Koryak:

- va'ga tyančima'wiłkriñĩm* I shall tear him with (my) nails Kor. 84.16  
*tui-ñi'ñā gata'kyilĩn* they throw (it) with the harpoon line Kor. 41.3  
*ma'qmāta tuva'nnĩntatĩk* I lost a tooth by means of an arrow Kor. 33.1  
*a'la'ta awyeñvo'ykrĩn* he eats (with) excrements Kor. 12.5  
*ai'krĩpa gapr'wyalĩn* she threw about (with) fly-eggs Kor. 45.2  
*vala'ta gaqa'yĩčulĩn* he chopped it up with a knife Kor. 53.6  
*vai'čita gatha'ai* they two went on foot Kor. 22.8

§ 93. *Locative, Allative, and Ablative.*

The locative expresses the place where something is or happens.

- čotta'gnĩk* in the outer tent 52.7  
*ro'čėn'kĩ natva'qėn* it stays on the other shore 52.11  
*ėnno'tkriĩk tara'ngat* they pitched their tent on the slope of a hill 56.9  
*Telqā'pĩk . . . gėke'ñĩlit* in the Telqā'p country they were driving reindeer 61.8  
*em-ñi'łhĩn nuwotitva'qėn tr'mkĩk* only the thong remained tied to the hummock 62.7  
*ñe'wāĩk pėla'nėn* he left him with the wife 105.7  
*re'mkĩk oratva'ė* he stayed long with the people 54.2  
*gĩr'k čauču g'e'łĩn* a reindeer-breeder came to thee 46.11

## Koryak:

- i'ya'g ga'plĩn* to the sky it was fastened Kor. 19.3  
*gũmni'n ya'yak vala'ĩke* my things are in the house Kor. 19.9  
*gũ'mma a'ñqak ti'yak* I hit (on) the sea Kor. 26.2  
*ñā'nĩko va'amĩk yĩwgrĩč'ita* there in the river have a drink! Kor. 32.1  
*gał'a'lin va'amĩk* he arrived at the river Kor. 32.2  
*gawga'len ena'tĩk* he was caught in the snare Kor. 36.6

The allative expresses—

## 1. The direction toward.

- a'ga'-kamaanvė'tĩ niñe'ĩl-i-ĩm* I give them to the possessors of bad dishes 96.7  
*kala'gtĩ gaiñe'utkurkrĩn* call to your kele 102.5  
*kala'gtĩ nĩpėnřĩčė'tqėn* it rushed at the kele 104.25  
*čėi'vutku'ė nimniĩm'e'tĩ* he went to a camp 105.5  
*notas'qačĩkou'tĩ ničĩpe'tqĩn* he dives into the interior of the surface of the ground 131.7  
*Tñairrgė'tĩ, gĩrgola'gtĩ nuwėthau'qėn* he talks to the Dawn, the One on High 135.16



## Koryak:

*ga'lqal'in é'e'ti* he went to the sky Kor. 14.9  
*é'e'trñ gani'nñal'in* he threw it to the sky Kor. 14.10; 15.7  
*qalt'e'nñin ganqu'ñin yayačiko'i'trñ* the stopper was thrust out  
 into the house-interior Kor. 15.2  
*panenai'trñ gayi'nñal'in* to the same place he flew Kor. 15.5  
*yait'e'ti ga'lqal'in* he went to the house Kor. 17.3  
*gata'wañlenat Qoyqinn'aqoyikai'ti* they moved to Big-Raven's  
 Kor. 19.9

## 2. For, on account of.

*gaa'gti gilo'lën* sorrowful on account of the reindeer 48.12  
*uwagočé'gti gilo'rkin* do you sorrow on account of the husband  
 48.12  
*nitvai'qên ERGIP-ya'lhêti* he was tired on account of the bright moon  
 14.11

The allative is often used to express the indirect object, corresponding to our dative, even if in the incorporated pronoun the direct object is used.

*gũ'muk-akka'gti kel'i'tulti mi'ilinet* I will give moneys to my son.

The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

*qêti-notas'qê'pũ nipi'u'riqin* from the frozen ground he emerged  
 102.18  
*golé'-notai'pũ nuu'lomga<sup>en</sup>* I heard it far and wide 104.14  
*têrkra'irgêpũ nryé'tqin* he came from sunset 105.14  
*yoročiko'i'pũ nuwa'lomqên* he heard from the sleeping-room 106.13  
*éučai'pũ miñño'a<sup>en</sup>* let us begin from below 131.5  
*pêpêggüpũ nei'mityä<sup>en</sup>* they took him by the ankle 35.3  
*pottrñai'pũ eimi'nnin* he took it by the holes 47.2

## Koryak:

*ega'nko nalqaine'w-gũm* from the sky have I been shot Kor.  
 33.4  
*kıpla'gıgıñko gače'pñitolen* out of the mortar it peeped Kor. 53.3  
*mañe'nqo yatha'an? nuta'nqo.* Whence did you bring her?  
 from the country Kor. 60.10

## §§ 94. Designative.

On account of its nominal character I have not included in the list of post-positional suffixes the element *-nu* (see § 103.34), which, however, is used syntactically very much like the suffixes treated in the last section.

*Taaro'n̄-Va'irgu ūm q̄n've'r* he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9  
*Va'irgu ne'p̄en* (destined) to (be) a "Being" he became 41.10  
*yara'n̄o ne'lyi<sup>ε</sup>* it became a house 43.5  
*r̄irra'nn̄en . . . taikaus'gi'o'lvu* he spread it for a place to wrestle  
 47.4  
*wi'yol̄o mi'lh̄iḡit* let me have thee as assistant 124.2  
*gaqanqa'an̄o n̄iya'anat* let him use them for driving reindeer  
 124.8

## Koryak:

*mal-i<sup>ε</sup>'yu n̄ina<sup>ε</sup>'l̄in* a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2  
*ya'qu m̄intaik̄il̄a'-gi* into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9  
*km̄ēn̄a't̄rvu no'tañ̄ n̄ilai'-ḡam* for delivery in the country I  
 went away Kor. 60.6  
*i'ssu gana<sup>ε</sup>'l̄inau* they became dresses Kor. 60.10  
*a'nku nal̄ñ̄il̄aik̄ine'm̄ik* we are rejected (put to refusal) Kor. 62.5

## § 95. Verbal Nouns

As stated under the sections dealing with various post-positions nominalized verbs appear often with these endings. Following is the series of forms observed.

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye
Allative . . . . .	- <i>ḡti</i>	-( <i>i</i> )k, -( <i>ä</i> )k, -ka, kka
Locative . . . . .	-( <i>i</i> )k, -k( <i>i</i> )	
Subjective . . . . .	- <i>t̄ā</i> , - <i>ā</i>	-ta, -a
Comitative I . . . . .	- <i>ma</i>	
Comitative II . . . . .	- <i>maḡi</i>	- <i>maḡi</i>

Among these forms, the last one does not correspond to a nominal post-position; the Comitative I is analogous to the nominal suffix, which, however, has the prefix *ga-*, which is absent in the verbal noun.

## ALLATIVE

In Chukchee the allative of the verbal noun is used with verbs expressing attempt, desire, preparation.

*awkwat̄e't̄i t̄igaiḡa'urk̄in* I make haste to depart (*ewkwet* to leave;  
*t̄-I*; *gaiḡau* to hasten; *-rk̄in* present)  
*le<sup>ε</sup>'y't̄i l̄ile'pḡi<sup>ε</sup>* he looked to see; (*ly<sup>ε</sup>* to see; *l̄ile* eyes; *-p* to put on;  
*-ḡi<sup>ε</sup>* he)  
*nen'ñi'uä<sup>ε</sup>n tak̄ēḡh̄e't̄i* they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

| *penye'k̄nen tal̄ai'vik* he rushes to strike it Kor. 53.3

It expresses temporal coordination:

*kile'nin e'ur vai têrgatê'ti* he pursued, however, while he (the pursuer) was crying 57.9

*e'ur Enqa'n têrgatê'ti ni'nerkile'qin* while he was crying he pursued him 57.11

*gevin'vuten:ne'ulin nitou'ti* he laughed secretly as he went out 71.30

*nitou'ti ki'tkit niten'new-i-üm* as I was going out I laughed a little 72.13

*a'un-tipainhou'ti niçu'uqin kê'rgäqai wurre'tyi<sup>ε</sup> girqo'l* while she was singing, a little hole appeared above 74.2

*le'utti nitou'ti ri'nřninet* he carried the heads going out 86.8

*a'un-wêihawê'ti* . . . while they were talking, he . . . 100.9

#### LOCATIVE

In Chukchee and Koryak the locative seems to signify AT THE PLACE, AT THE TIME.

*qaiñê'i yi'lqaññok* roar at the time of beginning to sleep 10.6

*geri'nelin pukê'rñok* he flew up when (the other one) arrived 15.4

*pukê'rñok riçrpeu'nin* when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive 19.12

*awkwa'trñok nmeiñeu ga'tvülên a<sup>ε</sup>'ttrin* when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog 101.21

*a'mkrn-wolqatvê'rñok* every time when it began to be evening 104.12

*qaa'gtri qa'tik qa'laka i'tyi<sup>ε</sup>* he had no knife while going to the reindeer (*qaa'* reindeer; *-gtri* to; *qat* to go; *a--ka* without; *va'la* knife; *it-* to be; *-gi<sup>ε</sup>* he)

*e'mkrn -kiyeu'ki nênaio'gên* whenever she awoke, she shoved it in 29.2

*gemi'-pl'kkuk* at the time of having finished eating 33.11

Koryak.

*gas's'alvrye'lin vr<sup>ε</sup>ya'tvik* she remained all day, being dead Kor. 64.9

The stems *lvau* NOT TO BE ABLE, *nkä* TO REFUSE, always govern the verbal locative:

*lv<sup>ε</sup>k nãlva'w-ê-üm* I could not be seen 22.9

*nênalvau'qên lv<sup>ε</sup>k* he could not find her 38.7

*üpa'u'ki tlvwa'urkrn* I can not drink (*üpa'u'* to drink; *t-* I; *lvau* to be unable; *-rkrn* present)

*qüi'rik tlvwa'urkrn* I can not seek for her 38.8

*vele'rkilek lvwa'wkw<sup>ε</sup>* he could not pursue him 15.6

*taq-aimê'tik pñlò'tkø mñtlva'urkin* we can not divine how to get provisions 101.13

*pñrtiqä'tik nñlvaí'qên* he could not disengage himself 101.34

*qlike'tik nñnkäqin* she refused to marry 26.1

*nñkää'tqinet pñki'rik* they refused to come 106.3

*qlike'tik aa'lomkêlên* not (listening) consenting to marry 26.2

In Koryak the verbs *ñvo* TO BEGIN, *pñl* TO FINISH, *nkau* TO CEASE, *pkau* NOT TO BE ABLE, always govern the verbal locative.

*gañvo'lên gñya'pçak* she began to sing Kor. 16.10

*gañvo'lên êilala'tik* it began to bubble Kor. 17.2

*gañvo'lên ñawa'kak kitai'ñak* they began to scold the daughter Kor. 17.8

*gañvo'lên tenma'witçuk* she began to prepare Kor. 18.3

*gana'nkaulên tñalä's'tik* they ceased to carry it out Kor. 41.8

*ganka'wlinau tułat'ik* they stopped to steal Kor. 41.9

*quqka'wñunenau yanıkya'wñak* it could not awaken them Kor. 40.2

*tapka'vik olñaya'tik* I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2

*napkawñro'ykin tułat'ik* they could not steal it Kor. 39.8

*taw'tkrñik gava'nñntalen* when pilfering she lost a tooth Kor. 34.3

*gana'linau pa'yittok* they came to be eating blackberries Kor. 41.6

*gapñl'têulin kukai'vik* she finished cooking Kor. 51.2

*gañvo'lenau yu'kka* he began to eat them Kor. 57.1

It serves also as iterative of numeral verbs.

Chukchee

*ñäreqew'kr* the second time

*ñiroqaw'kr* the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

*valo'mık tñgaima'tekin* I want to know (*valo'm* to know; *t- I*; *gaimat* to want; *-ekin* present)

### THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

*wg'qçta tuwañe'rkın* I work sitting (*wa'qç* to sit; *t- I*; *wañe* to work; *-rkın* present)

*am-ıpa'wa nitvai'güm* I was just drinking (*am-* merely; *ıpa'u* to drink; *nı-* indefinite tense; *tva* to live, be; *-ıgüm I*)

*luñ-ıwkuç'i'tä i'tyiç* not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink) 37.3

*luñ-ı'rü i'tyiç* not crossing it was 41.5

*luñ-lu's'tä n'ntäqinet* not seen they had them 11.9  
*wêtha'wa qäntr'gin* speaking do to her (i. e. speak to her!) 29.12  
*k'en äq-eñe'wa quli'tä* only badly crying (and) sounding 57.6

The analogy between this form and the nominal subjective appears very closely in those cases where the adverbial idea expresses instrumentality.

*taçai'wêwa lautr'yün nineninuteu'gin* by means of striking he made the big head swollen 48.10  
*ettir-kripçe'wa* by striking with a stick 48.10

The verbal noun in *q̄*—*t̄ä* is often used both in Chukchee and in Koryak as an imperative.

*qanto'ta, q'i'wä* go out and say!  
*q'i'wä* say! 21.11  
*qaa'neta* he shall go first! 84.13

In other cases it has the meaning of a present.

*mergina'n q'i'wä* we are wont to say 84.16

Koryak:

*gayi's'qata* sleep! Kor. 31.8  
*qala'atata wu'tëav, qā'a'nñrvota* take these along, haul them away!  
 Kor. 51.6

The corresponding forms of the transitive verb occur in the past, future, exhortative, and in the derived present and exhortative (see § 68, p. 741). They are also used impersonally.

*amtó', m'i'ñkri re'ntin, ra'nmiñ* well, how will it be done? will there be killing?  
*qā'nma* killed  
*rā'nut gelu'tä* whatever seen  
*tu'mgitum ra'nutqäiä qā'lpinča* give something to (your) companion

#### COMITATIVE I AND II

These forms express an action done while the subject of the sentence performed another action. Comitative I is used when the subject of both actions is the same; Comitative II, when the two subjects are distinct.

Examples of comitative I:

*têga'nma ninegepçiygi'ugin* weeping she kicked it 31.8  
*wê'ma takrmla'gnënat* when cooking she prepared marrow for them 33.11

*gɪ'nmiɫ yɪ'lkama ɢarêtêlai'gũm* recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (*gɪ'nmiɫ* recently; *yɪlqa* to sleep; *ɢa—iɢũm* I; *rêtêla* to dream)

*kɪy'wkwɪ<sup>ɛ</sup> ɛaamyɑ'ma* he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:

*ɪpau'maɛi equ'likä* while (the others) are drinking, be silent (*ɪpau* to drink; *e—kä* negative; *quli* noise)

Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, when used in verbal forms, may have the Comitative II, which is used when the subject is the same as well as when two distinct subjects are concerned.

*mĩñke'kin lu<sup>ɛ</sup>'ä<sup>n</sup> ñaus'ɢatɪma'ɛi* when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23

*equ'likä rolma'ɛi* be silent, since you are weak (*e—kä* negation; *quli* noise; *rol* weak)

*mĩñke'kin poi'ɢɪn lu<sup>ɛ</sup>'ä<sup>n</sup> ñaus'ɢatɪma'ɛi* where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

*nikəmaɛi* at night 56.8

Kamchadal has only two forms.

*-kõj* (intransitive); *-c, -l* (transitive) and *k!—enk*

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.

*qɛ'ɛɛl nu'kõj* enough to eat

*tutun tɛlil* I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending *-kõj* is not used.

*xə nu'ki* it is impossible to eat (*xə—ki* negative, p. 826)

*xə tɛl'kic* it is impossible to beat him (*xə—kic* negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)

*xə nu'õlki* it is impossible to eat (*-õl* to desire, p. 808, no. 64.)

The second form expresses an action done at the same time with the one expressed by the predicate of the sentence. It is derived from the *k!-* prefix of the corresponding form of the noun, and the suffix of the possessive.

*k!-nu'enk ɢam qɛ'lkek* while eating I do not talk (*nu* to eat; *ɢam* not)

§§ 96-129. COMPOSITION

§ 96. Introductory Remarks

We have seen that in the formation of grammatical forms both prefixes and suffixes occur. Their use is much more extended, and they

serve to express a great many modifications or amplifications of the meaning of the stem. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between the grammatical endings and those that add new significance to the word. From a purely morphological point of view the two classes merge into each other; and neither can a sharp line be drawn between the nominal post-positions treated before, and others of similar meaning, like *-nu* (p. 798, no. 34), *-míl* (p. 798, no. 30), *-in* (see below); nor can the nominalizing endings in *-in* and *-n* be sharply separated from other, analogous forms. For this reason I repeat the nominal endings here in their proper places with reference to the sections in which they are more fully treated.

Neither is the line of demarcation clear between affixes and compounds of independent elements. This appears most clearly in those cases in which the same element may appear either as a prefix or as a suffix, like *qái* and *míl*; and also in those cases in which an element appears rarely alone. The line of demarcation between particle and incorporated adnominal or adverbial element is indicated through the occurrence or non-occurrence of vocalic harmony in the group.

The use of affixes is very extended, and a series of prefixes as well as of suffixes may appear combined.

*gamitva-éhat-i-ño'-rkin* he begins to gobble down

*ru-wako-s'qê-éhat-a'u-rkin* he makes him sit down once with great force.

### §§ 97-112. Suffixes

#### §§ 97-109. Nominal Suffixes

#### §§ 97-105. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

##### § 97. Nouns in *-in* and *-n*

These have been discussed in §§ 45-49, pp. 707-713, and in §§ 51-55, pp. 714-719. Here belong also the nominalized verbs (*a*) and (*b*), which have been discussed in §§ 73, 74, pp. 758-762.

##### § 98. Augmentative and Diminutive

1. *-ñm-*, subjective *-ñm*, AUGMENTATIVE. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.<sup>1</sup>

*vá'lx* knife

*á'ttin* dog

*ré'mkin* people 13.10

*valay'ñm* large knife

*á'tti'yñm* large dog

*á'ttiyñé'pu* from the large dog

*rámkí'yñm* big people 11.3

*Aiwluayanpináčhí'yñm* old big

St. Lawrence man 13.11

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to *méñm*. This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel *e* of this word is weak.—F.B.

Some words do not take the suffix *-ĩñ-*, but use the definite form in its place.

<i>ñe'wān</i> woman	<i>ñawq'ncjñin</i> the woman, the
Kor. Kam. <i>iñwi'ñin</i>	large woman
big nose Kor. 72.12	

2. **-n'a'ku, -n'aku** AUGMENTATIVE (Kor. Kam.).

<i>va'la</i> knife	<i>vala'n'aku</i> large knife
<i>a'ttan</i> dog	<i>atta'n'aku</i> large dog
<i>qlawul</i> man	<i>qlawul'n'a'quñgo</i> from the
<i>vai'ann'aqu</i> big river Kor. 21.3	big man
<i>Quyqinn'a'qu</i> Big Raven Kor. 24.5	
<i>kuka'-yicrn'a'qu</i> a big kettleful Kor. 43.1	

3. **-qo** AUGMENTATIVE.

*ñawqo'lhın* the big wife 39.5; 40.1  
*pëtti-walkac'olhê'ti* to the big old jaw-bone house 59.8

4. **-qäi** DIMINUTIVE. Plural, oblique cases, and definite, are formed from this freely. This is evidently related to the stem *qäi* SMALL. It may also precede the noun, and be used in both positions at the same time. When preceding the noun it means THE YOUNG OF AN ANIMAL; compare also *qäin* FAWN; *ge'yigei* FLEDGELING.

*kuke'-qäi* a little kettle  
*gi'lgı-qäi* a small skin 45.6  
*qla'ul-qäi* a small man  
*wq'lqara-qäi* small jaw-bone house 44.13  
*ınpı'ñe'w-qäyık* to the little old woman 45.2  
*ñi'nqäi* child 42.8  
*ñınqäetılé'kı* to those with children 20.7  
*ınpıñawqa'gëñın* the small woman  
*qäi-u'nel* young thong-seal 70.26  
*gäi-a'ttigäi* pup  
*gäi-ı-lıe'gäi* cub of wolf

**qai** (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective. Its use is very frequent.

*qai-qla'wul-pel* a very small man  
*qai'-ñawis'qat* little woman Kor. 33.10  
*qai-ka'mak* little kamak Kor. 38.9  
*qai-pipi'kalñu* little mice Kor. 25.6  
*qai-ka'mak-pel* little kamak Kor. 37.2



**-ai** SMALL AND MISERABLE (Kamchadal).

*ki'stai* a miserable little house (*kist* house)

*kecai* a miserable little dog (*kocx* dog)

5. **-p̄il** DEAR LITTLE.

*ekke'p̄il* sonny

*tu'mḡap̄il* dear little friend

Koryak:

**-p̄il** (Kor. Kam.) dual and pl. **-p̄ilaq** (with the endings **-t** and **u**); **-pi** (Kor. II),—express the DIMINUTIVE.

*ñawan-p̄il* small woman (Kor. Kam.)

*ñawan-p̄ila'qit* two small women (Kor. Kam.)

*ñawan-p̄ila'qu* small women (Kor. Kam.)

*q̄l̄q'wul-pel* small man

*milya'qpil* a little shell Kor. 23.8

*va'ḡil̄n̄ip̄el* a small nail Kor. 23.7

*vi'tvit̄p̄il* a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4

**-p̄il̄iñ** (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix **-p̄il** with the additional suffix **-in**—conveys the sense of ENDEARMENT.

*atta'p̄il̄iñ* doggy

*vai'amp̄il̄iñ* a little river Kor. 17.2

*il̄u'e'p̄il̄iñ* little (shaman's) wand Kor. 27.7

*ni'ñ̄ip̄il̄iñ* little thong Kor. 39.4

6. **-čax, -čex, -cx** DIMINUTIVE (Kamchadal). The diminutive of the plural is formed by the suffix **-č** added to the plural form.

	Singular	Diminutive	Plural	Diminutive
dog	<i>kocx</i>	<i>ko'cxčax</i>	<i>kcoč<sup>o</sup>n</i>	<i>kcoč<sup>o</sup>nč</i>
game	<i>hu'ruik</i>	<i>hu'ruikčax</i>	<i>hu'ruik<sup>o</sup>n</i>	<i>hu'ruik<sup>o</sup>nč</i>
village	<i>a'tin̄am</i>	<i>a'tnocx</i>	<i>a'tinoč<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>a'tinoč<sup>n</sup>č</i>

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used in a doubled form.

*atmo'cxičax* a very small village

*a'tmoxanč* very small villages

7. **-l̄iñō** TINY. It always precedes the diminutive **-q̄ai** (No. 4 of this section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

*qaa-l̄iñō'-q̄ai* tiny reindeer

*ñ̄aw̄an-l̄iñō'-q̄ai* tiny woman

## § 99. Collectives

8. **-yir̥in** or **-yIr̥In** a company; (Kor. Kam. **-yIssan**) the stem of the noun *yir̥ir̥* or *yir̥ir̥* FULLNESS, CONTENTS.  
*n̥ewä'nyir̥in* a company of women  
*ra'yir̥in* a houseful 45.13  
 Kor. Kam. *nimyi'ssa<sup>en</sup>* people of a village Kor. 70.9  
 Compare *walqa'čir̥ir̥* a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.
9. **-gin̥iw** GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. **-gin̥iu**).  
*raġē'n̥eu* (Kor. Kam. *ra-gē'n̥eu*) group of houses (i. e., village)  
*yaraġ'-gē'n̥eu* a group of houses 111.15  
*u'mqä-gi'n̥iw* a set of polar bears 113.29  
*yir̥'čemit-tu'mgr̥-gi'n̥iw* a set of brother-companions 113.28  
*wwi'ritqäi-gi'n̥iw* a lot of little souls 122.31  
 Kor. Kam. *qañd'tila-gi'n̥iw* a lot fishing with drag-nets Kor. 70.10
10. **-ril̥** (Kor. Kam. **-yil̥**) set, collection (used only for inanimate objects).  
*o'rgur̥el̥* a caravan of sledges  
*a<sup>ε</sup>'mr̥il̥* (Kor. *a<sup>ε</sup>'m-yil̥*) a set of bones, i. e. a skeleton  
 Koryak *mu'u-yil̥* a line of sledges, a caravan Kor. 78.5
11. **-ret̥** SET, LITTER (Kor. Kam. **-yat̥**).  
*vaġ'rat̥* (Kor. Kam. *va'yat̥*) a group of beings (i. e., family group)  
*yičemre'tti* a set of brothers 64.3  
*ple'gret̥* a pair of boots  
*li'liret̥* a pair of mittens
12. **-tku** INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.  
*ne'łhitkun* all kinds of skins  
*gr̥'nnik̥itkun* various kinds of game  
*orawêla'tkøn* men living in various places, people  
 This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:  
*mainrya'nitkøn* everything big  
*rä<sup>ε</sup>'nutetkun* (*rä<sup>ε</sup>'neetkun*) all kinds of things  
*čične'waq panra'tkeqaiä tei'mityä<sup>en</sup>* somehow with all kinds of  
 small leg-skins I bought it (i. e. I succeeded in buying it  
 with a small number of leg-skins, i. e., cheaply).
13. **-mk̥** NUMEROUS (Kor. Kam. **-mk̥**) is used to express plurality.  
*yara'mk̥in* (Kor. Kam. *yaya'mk̥in*) a cluster of houses (collective)  
*rir̥ka'mk̥ičhin* several walrus 102.17.  
*a<sup>ε</sup>ttwili'mk̥ičhin* the great assembly of boatmen 11.5

Compare the stem *mk* in the independent forms

*mūkīčī'yñin* the more numerous ones 11.7

*nū'kīčīn* more numerous 12.3

*nū'mkägīn* numerous 12.7

and in the compound form

*mäg-gitka'k* with many legs 119.9

14. **-ffrg**, the stem of the third person plural pronoun *E'rrI*, serves to form the plural of proper names and of some other words designating persons, when these appear with the suffixes *-güpü* and *-k* and with the particle *re'en* TOGETHER (p. 794, no. 18). (See § 44, p. 706.)

*qlaul'rgüpü* < *qlaul-rrg-güpü* from the men

*qla'ulirrk* < *qla'ul-rrg-k* by the men, with the men

*qla'ulirrg-re'en* < *qla'ul-rrg-k-re'en* with the men

The possessive form *E'rgīn* is used in the same manner.

*orawëla'rgēn* that belonging to the (human) people

#### § 100. Comitatives

15. **ga—ma** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. *awun—ma*) not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* is used.

*galëla'ma* (Kor. Kam. *a'wunëla'ma*) with the eye

*gō'rguma* with the sledge 15.4

*gata'ttrwalmā* with the splinters of thigh-bone 33.11

*gamø'lima* with blood 43.8

*gāñēngai'ma* with children 50.6

*gaprō'rma* with the aorta R 2.2

*ga'twuma* with the boat 71.4

*galau'tima* with the head; i. e., the whole body 137.8

Kor. Kam. *awun-gama'ma* with the dish 64.7

Kor. Kam. *a'wun-e'ñvelma* with the nostrils

Compare the nominal derivatives of verbs, in *-ma* (§64, p. 738; § 95, p. 787).

|| **k!—m** (Kamchadal). Comitative.

*k!kü'lām* with the eye

16. **ge—(t)ä** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. **ga—[t]a**); not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* (p. 794, no. 18) is used. (Compare § 37, p. 697.)

*gelile'tä* (Kor. Kam. *galila'ta*) with the eye

*inpinä'čhin geñe'wänü* an old man with his wife 28.1 (subject)

*ELI'git geñe'wänü* the fathers with the wife, i. e. the parents 28.4 (subject); 39.11; 33.9

- Kor. Kam. *gaqqaika'makata* with a small spirit Kor. 37.3  
 Kor. Kam. *ga'ttata* with a hatchet Kor. 56.3  
 Kor. Kam. *gaqla'wula* with her husband Kor. 68.7

## Verbal:

- ñe'us'qät genutegçi'tä, notai'pü geleivä* the woman while walking in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she—28.5  
*notai'pü geleivä ñe'usqät, vai'ELA'*—while the woman was walking in the country, her mother—29.4  
*en'qam ELI'hin gette'tä gi'wä*—then the father with sudden doing, with saying—29.11

17. **-mačI** verbal noun expressing MEANWHILE (Kor. Kam. **-ma'čI**) (see pp. 738, 788.)  
 18. **-re'en** added to the locative, TOGETHER. It is used principally with nouns designating persons, and replaces the comitative. Its vowel does not form an ablaut.

- gümü'g re'en* together with me  
*Omru'wgëna-re'en* together with Omru'wgë  
*tu'mug-re'en* with the strangers 59.1  
*ni'lhı-re'en* together with the thong 44.12

## § 101. Locatives

19. **-tkIn** SURFACE (Kor. Kam. **-tkIn, -tčIn**); used chiefly in oblique cases.  
*orgu'tkInik* on the sledge  
*orgutkIna'ta* along the surface of the sledge  
*wëkë'tkInik* on the body 8.11  
*gël'tkInik* on the sea-ice 9.1, 2  
*gëlqël'tkInik* on the sea-ice 7.3, 5  
*kano'tkIngüpu* on the crown of the head 8.2  
*mëml'tkInik* on the water 9.3  
*čö'titkInik* on the top of the pillow 44.2

In the absolute form the suffix designates THE POINT OF.

- yäqa'tkIn* point of nose  
*ričhi'tkIn* finger-tip (stem *rihh*)  
*yëčr'tkičhin* tip of tongue 40.4 (stem *yil*)

## Koryak:

- va'gıtënu yu'kka* eating points of nails Kor. 57.1  
*o'pıtënik* on the point of a beam Kor. 72.13

20. **-s'q-** absolute form **-s'qän**; **-čäq** absolute form—**čäqan** TOP OF; OVER, ON TOP OF (Kor. Kam. **-lq**, absolute form **-lqan**)

*ətti's'qān* tree-top

*ətti's'qā'k* on the top of the tree

*tɪlɪ's'qāk* over the door

*qɪ'this'qā-notqɪ'ŋɪn* lake-top-big-land, i. e., the land over (near)  
the lake 144.3

*tñe's'qä-re'mkin* people of top of dawn R 2.11

*nute's'qāk* on top of ground, i. e., on the ground 98.24

### Koryak:

*ñá'nkəlqak* the top of it Kor. 78.15

*vá'yamılqak* on top of river Kor. 25.8

*wu'gwılqak* on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8

*yas'qalkai'trñ* (*ya-s'qa-lqa-ê'ti*) to the house top Kor. 36.1

*ya's'qalqak* on the house top Kor. 84.12

*wapıs'qalqak* on top of slime Kor. 25.7

### 21. **-qi, -qin** THE BASE OF; in oblique cases, UNDER

*utti'qin* base of the tree

*ətti'qē'ngǫpǫ* from under the tree

*utti'qin'ki* under the tree

*əp'hē'ñki* under the pillow (< *əp't-qin-ki*)

*nute's'qäqǫ'ñki* underground

*notas'qayē'ngǫpǫ* from underground 143.6

### Koryak:

*e'n'migenka* under a cliff Kor. 13.6

*qas'wugē'ñki* at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7

*plakgeñe'trñ* into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6

*qankageñe'ti* into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9

*atvigeñe'ti* into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5

### 22. **-ggit** TOWARD; not in oblique cases

*qñqǫ'ggēt* toward the sea

*utti'ggit* toward the wood

*yǫkǫ'ggēt* noseward 45.2

*tɪlɪ'ggē* toward the entrance 62.9

*é'ekəggit* toward the lamp R 2.6

### 23. **-yi'wkwɪ** (absolute form **-yi'wkwɪn**) THE SPACE ALONG —.

*qñqǫyē'wkwēn* the space along the sea

*a'ñqa-əormıyē'wkwɪ* along the seashore 66.12

*qñqǫyēwkwē'ta* along the sea, on the sea

*notas'qäč'iye'ki* along underground 44.12

I have found also the form—

*rečē'wkwä* < *ret-yē'wkwē* along the tracks

(See *rêč'əu'ki* 106.24.)

24. **-ĕlku** (Chukchee, Kor. Kam.) INSIDE OF; also with neutral *u*.

- u'tĕiku* in the wood  
*utti'ĕiku* within the tree  
*yara'ĕiku* or *ra'ĕiku* within the house  
*kegrĭ'ĕiku* inside of palm 20.3  
*kona'rgiĕiku* inside of leg of breeches 28.6  
*wus'qū'mĕiku* in the dark 34.5  
*yilhi'ĕiku* in the moon 41.8  
*plĕ'kiĕiku* in a boot 43.4

This suffix appears often combined with locative elements.

- o'nmiĕikou'ti* (Kor. Kam. *aninkaĕiko'iti* from *aninka-ĕiku*)  
 inward, into the inside  
*o'nmiĕiko'ipū* from within  
*ĕriĕikou'ti* into the clothes 32.4  
*dinĕikou'ti* into the fire 31.13  
*yoroĕikou'ti* into the sleeping-room 28.7; also 28.8, 35.3  
*yikrrgiĕikou'ti* into the mouth 50.3  
*qaĕiko'pū* from the reindeer-herd 51.2  
*mĕmlĕikou'ti* into the water 17.4  
*notas'qaĕikou'ti* into the ground 18.7  
*notas'qaĕiko'pū* from underground 44.12

Koryak:

- wus'qū'mĕiku* in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17.5  
*yayaĕiko'itīn* into the house Kor. 15.2  
*qayd'ĕiku* in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1  
*aia'ĕiku* in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal *ĕĕk* INSIDE corresponds to Chukchee *ĕiku*. It is used as an independent adverb.

*ci'mtenk ĕĕk* in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal *ĕ<sup>a</sup>ce'* INWARD.

25. **-liku** AMONG THE MULTITUDE, one of the suffixes of plurality.

- qaa'liku* among the reindeer  
*utti'-liku* among the trees  
*muri'g-liku* among us

26. **-qaĕ, -qal** BY THE SIDE OF (Kor. Kam. **-qal**)

**-qaĕi** near, close to (Kor. Kam. **-qaĕa**)

- qa'ptenqaĕ* by the side of the back 11.8  
*ya'alriñqaĕ* by the rear side 12.3  
*t'i'lnqaĕ* by the side of the entrance 53.3  
*gika'ñqaĕ* (Kor. Kam. *gika'ñqal*) at the feet  
*mo'riqqaĕ* (Kor. Kam. *mo'riqqal*) by our side  
*ginkqa'ĕ* by thy side 9.3

*gɪtkaqa'ɛɪ* near the foot

*məɾɪqqa'ɛɪ* near us

*Notɑ'rmenqaɛɑ* near Notarmen 121.10

*ra-gro'lmɪnqɑl* from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.

*wɑ'tɪŋqɑɛ* (Kor. Kam. *wɑ'teŋqɑl*) on this side

*vɑ'ɛŋqɑɛ* (Kor. Kam. *vɑ'eŋqɑl*) halfway on this side

All forms with *-qaɛ* (Kor. Kam. *-qɑl*) may also form oblique cases.

*məɾɪqqaɛɑi'pʉ* (Ch.) from our side

Kor. Kam. *woteŋqɑlɑi'tɪ* to this side

*aŋqɑŋqɑɛɑ'gɪ* to the seaside 49.6

*aŋqɑŋqɑɛɑi'pʉ* from the seaside 49.8

*yɑ'alɪnqɑɛɑi'pʉ* from the rear side 12.4

*yɑrau'-lɪhɑ'nɪnqɑɛ-vɑ'lɪn* being from the other side of the houses 11.7

*qɑɛɑ'kɛn* the other one of a pair

*qɑɛɑ'kɛnata* with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix *-kɪn* they form adjectives which are in frequent use.

*məɾɪqqa'ɪkɛn* being at my side

*wɑ'tɪnqɑ'ɪkɛn* being from this side 14.2

Kor. Kam. *wɑ'teŋqɑlɑ'kɛn* being at this side

Kamchadal:

|| **qo'liŋ** NEAR TO, CLOSE BY, corresponds to Chukchee *qa'ɛɪ*, Kor.

Kam. *qɑ'ɛɑ*. It is also treated as an independent adverb.

|| *kɪ'mank qo'liŋ* (Chukchee *gʉmʉ'k-qa'ɛɪ*) near me

27. **-tul** PART OF, PIECE OF (Kor. Kam. **-tul**).

*mɛnɪqɪ'tul* (Kor. Kam. *manɪqɪ'tol*) a piece of calico

*qɑ'ɑtɔl* (Kor. Kam. *qoɪɑ'tol*) a piece of reindeer (meat)

*mɪ'mɪɪtʉlqɑi* a little particle of water 134.17

*teki'ɛhitʉlqɑi* a little piece of meat 134.31

Kor. Kam. *pɛl'hɪnɔlɪn'i'tɔlɑ* piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

|| The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.

|| *a'ncɛɑx tɛɑ'l'tɛɑlɪn* a small piece of meat (*anc-* piece; *-ɛɑx* small;

*tɛɑ'l'tɛɑlɪn* [adjective] of meat)

28. **-kɪt** (Kamchadal) INSTEAD, IN PLACE OF.

|| *vɪ'le-kɪt* in place of payment

29. **-xǝl** (Kamchadal) ALONG.

- |                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| c̣ēmt-xǝl            | along the ground (stem c̣imt ground)         |
| ẹ̄ <sup>ε</sup> -xǝl | along the water (stem ị <sup>ε</sup> water) |
| ktwǝ'j-xǝl           | along the road                               |

## § 102. Similarity

30. **-mīl** IN THE SIZE OF, AT THE DISTANCE OF (Kor. Kam. **-mīč** **-mīs**). (Compare § 113.10,11); also § 105, 42 **-mīč** which is a variant of this stem.)

*ñēi'mīl* as far as the mountain

*mīñke'mīl* (Kor. Kam. *menke'mīs*) of what size? how much?

94.32

*eri'wmīl* like them 14.9

*muru'wmīl* like us 10.6; 16.7

*gumu'wmīl* like me 16.13

*utte'mīl* size of a tree 20.2

*rǝrǝ'mēl* size of reindeer-fly 23.3

*ǝrǝwǝlǝ'-mēl* like men 64.11

*rirkǝ'mēl* like a walrus 10.8; 12.1

*qǝǝ'mēl* size of a reindeer 122.23

Possessive forms with the suffix—*kin* added to the suffix—*mīl* are

*gūmuwmi'tkin* according to my wants

*muruwmi'tkin* according to our wants

31. **-wurrin** SIMILAR TO, LIKE.

*pin-wurrin* flour (literally CINDER-LIKE)

See *ēn'a'n ēini't wu'rri nitqin* thus she was 26.9

32. **-wǝ<sup>ε</sup>t** SIMILAR TO.33. **-čhičǝ** SIMILAR TO (Kor. Kam. **-čhina**).

*ǝčǝiki'čhēčǝ* (Kor. Kam. *ǝlǝ'wul'ičhē'na*) similar to a man (i. e., transformed shaman<sup>1</sup>)

## § 103. Purpose

34. **-nu**, **-u** MATERIAL FOR; WHAT SERVES AS SOMETHING; SERVING A PURPOSE; SERVING AS SOMETHING.

*plē'ku ǝi'mit'kin* take it for boots (i. e., to make boots of it)

This suffix is used with various verbs to express the idea TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF, TO CONSIDER AS SOMETHING, TO BECOME SOMETHING.

*ekke'nu mi'lhigt* let me have thee as a son

<sup>1</sup> *ǝčǝik* or *ǝlik* is an obsolete form for *ǝlǝ'ul* MAN.



-*nu* after stems ending in a vowel.

*lil'nu* serving as an eye

*rirk'a'nø* as a walrus 10.8

*qaqanq'a'anø* for a driving reindeer 124.8

*qar'ēmēn'a'nø* *ri'tyü*<sup>ε</sup> you will not be the one to serve this purpose 23.6

*ko'ñkon-ra'nø* serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22

*ke'ñi'ēvnu* that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9

*a<sup>ε</sup>qa'-g'ē'lēnø* that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10

*tør-irga't-palo<sup>ε</sup>ta'nø* what serves as a beaver that has just shed hair 137.2

-*u* after stems ending in a consonant.

*ñe'wānu* for a wife

*taikaus'qio'luu* for a place to wrestle 47.4

*Iumetu'nu* *ri'tyü*<sup>ε</sup> you will be for me like Iumetun 23.7

*kei'ñu* what represents a bear 136.20

*qorarn'ē'tilø* to be used as herdsmen 50.9

*le'nvø* for looking on 19.2; 23.1

*rirraqa'unvø* what for? 19.1

*ēnagya'gtačhø* *v'irgø* what serves as life-giving being 21.6

*wi'yolø* for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoyc:

-*ny*, -*y*. The use of this suffix is the same as in Chukchee.

*lil'a'ny* as an eye

*akka'ny* as a son

*ña'wanu* as a wife

*qoid'a'nø* as a reindeer

*tomñena'ñu* as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9

*kulipčina'ñu* as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1

*qanqekrplena'ñu* as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7

*ya'qu* into what Kor. 38.4

*čai'učhu* into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. -*kj* (*ka*) (Kamchadal) corresponds to -*ny*, -*y* (No. 34) of Chukchee.

*pl'ki* as a son

*ñi'ki* as a wife

*ol'ēnaka* as a reindeer (*ol'ēn* from Russian олень; the old Kamchadal word *koj* is also still in use)

*lil'ēki* as an eye

36. -*sx* (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

*pl'ēsx* as a son

*ñēsx* as a wife

37. **-lqäl** DESTINED FOR —, MATERIAL FOR —, (Kor. Kam. **-lqał**).

This suffix implies the future.

*pl'e'kılqäl* (Kor. Kam. *pla'kılqal*) material for boots

*wwä's'qıılqäl* bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband

*ELA'lqäl* stepmother, serving as a mother

Kor. Kam. *nawa'nılqal* bride to be, destined to be a wife

*lu<sup>s</sup>lqäl* (Kor. Kam. *lo<sup>s</sup>'lqał* Kor. 53.5) a face (perhaps; something destined to be looked on) 88.14

*rëpa'lıılqäl* destined to be a dried walrus hide 46.11

With verbal stem, in most cases with the passive participle **-(y)o:**

*taı'krıyolqäl* material (for work)

*rrrrë'lyolqäl* destined to be put down R 2.5

*yımë'yolqäl* destined to be hung R 2.6

*ro'olqäl* food R 44.11

*malë'ëlıılqal* means of getting well 135.10

*trıyo'lqal* (Kor. Kam. *trıyo'lqał*) destined to be killed (epithet used like SCOUNDREL.)

## § 104. Possession

38. **-yanv-**, absolute form **yan** PROVIDED WITH (Kor. Kam. **yanv-**, absolute form **yana**)

(a) As a nominal suffix, **yanv** means PROVIDED WITH.

*ëq'g-gan* (Kor. Kam. *ëai-ya'na*) one who has tea, rich in tea

*qa'a-yän* (Kor. Kam. *qoya-ya'na*) one who has reindeer

*tañ-kamaanvë'ti* to those provided with good dishes (*teñ* good; *keme* dish) 92.21

(b) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an act once or habitually.

*üpa'w-gan* (Kor. Kam. *apaw-ya'na*) the one who drinks

*gamı'twa-yän* (Kor. Kam. *awye-ya'na*) the one who eats

(c) With transitive verbs it indicates the object of the action, and has a passive meaning.

*yı'l-yän* (Kor. Kam. *yıl-ya'na*) what has been given

*ro'mkaw-gan* (Kor. Kam. *yomkaw-ya'na*) what has been hidden

(d) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

*qatvu-yä'n* the one who has strength

*maññı-yä'n* that which is big

*a'tqend'an* (Kor. Kam. *a<sup>s</sup>'ëen-ya'na*) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form. In Koryak these forms are not of frequent occurrence.

*maññıya'nvuk* at the big one (Koryak the same)

*ınpıya'nvırt* the older ones 108.12

39. **-lq(än)** ABOUNDING IN (Kor. Kam. **-lq[än]**)  
*mi'mlilqän* (Kor. Kam. *mi'mlilqän*) place abounding in water  
*wata'pilqän* (Kor. Kam. *wata'pilqän*) place abounding in  
 reindeer-moss

§ 105. Miscellaneous

40. **-yöčh, -göčh** RECEPTACLE (Kor. Kam. **-yöčh**); perhaps from  
 the verbal stem *yo-* TO PUT INTO, *yo'rkrn* (Kor. Kam. *yo'ykrn*)  
 HE PUTS INTO.  
*mitq'očhrn* (Kor. Kam. *mitqr'yöčhrn*) blubber-bag (stem *mitq*  
 blubber)  
*tai'očhr-poka'tkrnk* in bottom of bag 29.3  
 Kor. Kam. *kawa'ssočhu* for wallets Kor. 46.2
41. **-ñit** a space of time (Kor. Kam. **-ñit**).  
*g<sup>ε</sup>lq'ñêt* the whole day 21.1 (stem *g<sup>ε</sup>lo* day)  
 (Kor. Kam. *gi'wiñit*) the whole length of the year (from *giwik*  
 [only in the locative] in the year)
42. **-mič** A CERTAIN AMOUNT, with nominal and pronominal stems  
 indicating persons; also with verbal stems (compare § 102, 30  
 to which the suffix is clearly related).  
*gä'ineu'mič* at the distance of a shot  
*gümü'wmič* as much as I need  
*gümüwmi'tkin* it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to  
 spare)
43. **-kwu, -wkw-** PROTECTOR, AVERTOR  
*muču'kwun* shirt made of calico (lit. louse-avertor, because the  
 Chukchee think that the shirt is worn to collect lice from  
 the body).  
*taiñikwut* charm-strings (lit. misfortune avertor)

§§ 106-109. DERIVED FROM VERBS

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. **-gīrgīn**. If the base contains an *l*, it is often changed to *č*.  
 ABSTRACT NOUN; CAUSE, SOURCE, OBJECT OF AN ACTION (Kor.  
 Kam. **-geñin, -gitñin**; Kor. Par. **-geñin, -gičñin**).

Note that the initial *g* follows the phonetic rules § 7.

*t + gr > ti; č + gr > či; u + gr > wkw; u, o + gr > ou*

*qalhlō'urgēgrt* you are source of sorrow 20.7

*palqa'tirggn* (from *palqät*) old age (Kor. Kam. *palqathe'ñin* or  
*palqa'thitñin* [from *palqat*])

- pêrê'rgin* the place which he had taken 23.9  
*tê'lhırgın* or *tê'çirgin* 24.3 (from *têl*) illness, pain, cause of pain  
*yaıva'çirgin* (from *yeıveç*) (Kor. Kam. *yaıva'çhitñın* [from  
*yai'vač*]) compassion, cause or object of compassion  
*lımvıttê'rgın* object of pity 11.3  
*wü'rgırgın* noise 32.10  
*vê'ırgın* death 22.1  
*vê'ırgê-gıt* thou art source of death 22.7  
*gınta'wķurgê'gıt* (from *gınteu*) (Kor. Kam. *gınta'whıtñege*) thou  
art the cause of my flight (i. e., you have frightened me)  
*tê'çırgı-tê're* (from *têl*) ye are the source of my pain (i. e., you  
have hurt me) (Kor. Kam. *tê'çhitñe-to'o*)  
*yê'mgumgı'rgın* object of fear 29.8  
*añā'çirgê-gıt* thou art source of trouble 21.2; 23.11

## Koryak:

- | *vantıgê'ñın* dawn Kor. 18.1  
| *vetke'gıçñın* annoyance Kor. 20.9

This suffix may be added either to the simple verbal stem or to the verbal stem with added suffixes. The latter form expresses more particularly the process of an action. The former is sometimes used to express the object or the source of the action.

- ñırkıla'tirgin* the feeling of shame  
*ñırkı'çirgin* the object of shame  
*wü'rgırgıçhın* noise 15.1  
*am-vıyê'ırgā* only by breathing 24.4

With the stem *tva* TO BE, this suffix expresses the idea of QUALITY.

- Yai'vač-va'ırgın* quality, substance of compassion; Merciful  
Being  
(Kor. Kam. *vage'ñın* or *va'gıtñın*) being, mode of life, sub-  
stance, deity

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.

- atqê'ñgırgın* (from *ç'tqıñ*) (Kor. Kam. *a'çqe'ngıtñın* [from  
*a'ççıñ* or *a'tqıñ*]) badness, spite  
*çüçü'rgın* (from *ıu'l*) length  
*ınpı'ırgın* (from *ınp[ü]*) old age

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.

- a'mgırgın* (from *a'ttım* bone) condition of the bones (i. e.,  
of the body)  
*ettı'ırgın* (from *u'ttuut* wood) degree of woodiness

The range of abstract nouns compounded with these nominal suffixes is quite considerable, and these are in common use.

*va'irgin* (Kor. Kam. *vage'nin*) being, substance, custom, benevolent being, deity

*yai'vač-vairgin* (Kor. Kam. *yai'vač-vage'nin*) compassion-being, merciful deity

*a'nān-vg'irgin* (Kor. Kam. *a'nān-vage'nin*) shaman's spirit deity

*tam-va'irgin* goodness, condition of goodness

*taiñi'irgin* (Kor. Kam. *taiñige'nin*) sin

*gas'mu'irgin* (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

*yiki'rgin* (Kor. Kam. *čiki'tin* Kor. 56.8) mouth

Kor. Kam. *pča'ggitin* (*plak* boot) boot-string Kor. 59.3

45. **-j, -l** (Kamchadal) form abstract nouns of simpler and more limited sense than those of Chukchee and Koryak. This suffix is probably identical with the *c, l*, of the transitive verbal noun I (p. 748) which has the sense of the infinitive.

*co'nlej* life

*teuncjk* I live

*ča'kalej* song

*tčakacjk* I sing

*o'jrlaj* blow

*tujiljin* I strike him

*noj*<sup>1</sup> food

*tnujk* I eat

*pilhetej* hunger

*tpilhe'tijk* I suffer from hunger

*pé'lhetej* and } famine  
*pi'lhripil* }

46. **-nñ**, absolute form **-nñm** (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

*no'nñm* (stem *ny*) food

*hél'nñm* (stem *híl*) drink

*conlnñm* (stem *cunc, cunl*) life

#### § 107. Passive Participle

47. **-yğ** (Kor. **-yğ**, absolute form **-yğn**) expresses the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

*pēlğ'yğ* the one who is left (Kor. Kam. *pēlğyğn* the one to be left)

In Chukchee the suffix is contracted with terminal consonants, and elided after vowels, according to the phonetic rules given in §§ 6-10.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

*tai'kiğ* < *tai'ki-yğ* the one made      *tai'kiyğn* that to be made

*y'i'łğ* < *y'i'l-yğ* the one given      *y'i'lyğn* that to be given

<sup>1</sup> This word is applied almost exclusively to dried fish as the food *par excellence*.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

<i>ipa'wgo</i> < <i>ipa'w-yo</i> that which has been drunk	<i>apa'vyon</i> that which is to be drunk.
<i>ko'j'o</i> < <i>kor-yo</i> that which has been bought	<i>ko'ryon</i> that to be bought
<i>yito'ot</i> born ones 42.7	
<i>oraid'erinat</i> born ones 21.2	
<i>a'n'neño l'nyo</i> made to be the object of anger 42.3	
<i>timyo'</i> one killed 43.8	
<i>ripalqa'wgo</i> one drowned 49.9	

NOTE.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix *em-* MERE, ENTIRE, and the suffix *-lin*, express the passive participle, the same as *-yo*.

*em-re'tilin* (stem *ret* to buy) what has been brought; or  
*ra'j'o* or *am-ra'j'o* all that has been brought

(*-yanv*, see § 104, No. 38.)

#### § 108. Instrumentality

48. *-ineñ*, suffixed to verbal stems, expresses INSTRUMENT (Kor. Kam. *-inañ*).

*tewê'nañ* (stem *têu*) (Kor. Kam. *tewê'nañ* [stem *tew*]) paddle,  
oar 73.11

*qeli'neñ* (stem *qeli* to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam.  
*qalich'i'neñ* [stem *qalich'it*]): pen

*te'kineñ* (K. K. *inataik'i'nañ*) instrument (for work)

*wqñ'nañ* instrument for work

*lê'ê-têwênañ'd'ta* with a genuine paddle 31.4

(Kor. Kam. *tomñena'nu* as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix *ine-* (Kor. Kam. *ina-*)

See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

*êná'nvênañ* (stem *nv* [initial *ruu*]; *tinvi'rkin* I scrape); (Kor.  
Kam. *êná'nvênañ* [stem *nv*; *tinve'kin* I scrape]) scraper

49. *-ieh* instrument (Kor. Kam. *-itñ*).

*gitté'wichin* (stem *gittêu* to wipe, *-in* absolute form); (Kor.  
Kam. *gitta'witñin* [stem *gittaw*]) wiping-cloth

*uneé'i'chin* thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from *unel thong*  
seal)

*mêmich'êchin* thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from *memil* seal)

Kor. Kam. *ymootñe'ngo* from the vent-hole Kor. 54.7

## § 109. Place

50. **-nv** PLACE OF (absolute form **-n**) (Kor. Kam. **-nv** [absolute form **-nu**]).

*van* (stem *tva-*); (Kor. Kam. *va'na* [dual, plural, *va'nvit*]) place of being

*wakotva'n* (stems *wako* and *tva*); (Kor. Kam. *vagalitva'na* [stems *vaga'li* and *tva*]) place of sitting

*notagčénvč'pu* while walking in the wilderness 29.4

*ralqa'n̄nvuk* on the house-site 31.6

*ralčya'n* sliding-place 114.16

*tila'n* (Kor. Kam. *tila'n*) place of moving, trail

*tila'nvun* place of trail 36.12

*tila'nvuk* on place of traveling 43.1

*taikaus'qio'lvu* for a place to wrestle 47.4

*oočvč'nvipü* (better *oočvi'nvipü*) from the playground 74.17

*oočvi'nvik* on the playground 74.18

*oočvinvč'ti* to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—*y*.

*čtrnva'trnvø trye'tjäsk* I came to get the position of house-master R 287, footnote 1.

*yaqqai' am yaqta'linvø trye'tjäsk* did I come for the sake of living? R 239, footnote 2.

*rraqa'unvø* for what purpose? 19.1

Koryak:

*kmeña'trnvu nilai'-güm* I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6

*kriplo'nvu* for the purpose of striking them Kor. 31.3

## §§ 110–111. Verbal Suffixes

## § 110. ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

51. **-wulhI** expresses RECIPROCITY (Kor. Kam. **-vI/ñI**).

*pênñuu'lhirkit* (stem *pênñi* to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam.

*penn'i'vilñirkit* [stem *penn'*, dual] they close for wrestling

*lu<sup>č</sup>ulhirkit* (stem *lu<sup>č</sup>* to see) (Kor. Kam. *lu<sup>č</sup>'vilñirkit* [stem *lu<sup>č</sup>*])

they see each other, they meet

*gale<sup>č</sup>olhiočna'-mø'rč* we have seen each other 121.15

52. **-s'qiu** expresses AN ACTION PERFORMED ONCE ONLY (Kor. Kam.

**-s'qiw**).

*ygtis'qi'urkin* (Kor. Kam. *yatis'qi'wikin*) he comes once

*tymis'qč'urkin* (Kor. Kam. *tymis'qč'wekin*) he kills once

*taikaus'qio'lvu* for a place to wrestle once 47.4  
*gäniggeus'qiwkutkī* make them wake up all at once 56.3  
*gantó's'qêulên* rushed out 57.11

## Koryak:

*minêiatīs'qīwnau* I'll look at them once Kor. 33.10  
*qwrī'yas'qī'wgi* go and die! Kor. 35.1  
*gawyīs'qī'wa* eat! Kor. 36.1  
*mintu'las'qewlan* let us steal it! Kor. 39.1  
*myalítêus'qī'wak* I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1

Also in the form—*lqiu*

*qatomñalqī'wlinat* they stopped the smoke-hole Kor. 57.7

53. **-let** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE, DURATIVE, or more generally INTENSITY OF ACTION (Kor. Kam. **-lat**, less frequently **-cat**).

*ñitqla'tirkīn* (Kor. Kam. *ñitq-la'tēkīn*) he goes out often  
*tymilā'tirkīn* (Kor. Kam. *tymilā'tēkīn*) he kills many  
*nīnlelele'tqīn* it flashed out always 32.8  
*gulilē'tyē* gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8  
*nīqulilē'tqīn* they are noisy 60.9  
*nītē'rgilatqēn* he cries aloud 38.3  
*nīteplēññilē'tqīn* she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek*-boots; *te*—*ñ* to make [§ 113, 2, p. 821])

## Koryak:

*gañvo'len ðilala'tik* it began to bubble Kor. 17.2  
*yīyikulā'ti* you were soft Kor. 26.7  
*galalāññivo'ykīn* she passed by often Kor. 84.19  
*nīqulilā'tqīn* he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17

54. **-yw(u)**, **-yv(u)** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-yvī**),

*tala'iwurkīn* (Kor. Kam. *tala'ivekīn*) he strikes many times  
*nīnemīlkr'ywunīn* let it bite him! 104.29  
 Kor. Kam *gaitoi'vīlenau* she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. **-t** (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.

|| *tī'ntilē'tjīn* I bring it always (*t*- I; *intilē* to bring; *-t* always;  
 || *-i* auxiliary vowel; *-jīn* I it)

56. **-čēt** weakens the intensity of the action, A LITTLE, RARELY.

*ñitqčā'tirkīn* or *ñitqčā'arkīn* he goes out rarely  
*tēn'ñēučē'tirkīn* or *tēn'ñēučē'erīkīn* he laughs on the sly  
*maraučā'arkīn* he fights rarely  
*pēnñīčā'arkīn* he wrestles rarely  
*mīnpo'ntočēta* let us eat liver! 43.7  
*maraučētīno'čē* he began to chide 56.1



57. **-čij** expresses a frequentative or intensive.

*ten'neuč'i'rirkin* he laughs all the time  
*walomčē'rirkin* he gathers news continually  
*maraučē'ērkin* he fights always  
*pēnričē'ērkin* he rushes at him

Kor. Kam. *qułumtičitalat* they carry something large on their shoulders (*qułu* large; *imti* to carry) Kor. 57.9

58. **-ntet** indicates INCREASED ACTION, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. **-ntat**).

*čuwirkin* (Kor. Kam. *čvi'č-kin*) thou cuttest it  
*čuwintē'tirkin* (Kor. Kam. *čvinta'tikin*) it is cut through in several places; it is divided into several parts

*rg'orkin* (Kor. Kam. *čho'č-kin*) he tears out hair  
*rg'iro'k* at dawn 10.4  
*qu'pqālin* lean 80.5  
*rgōntā'arkin* (Kor. Kam. *čhōnta'tekin*) he becomes bald  
*g'irg'ironta'Len* dawn came 10.9  
*gequpqānte'Lin* she has been quite starved

59. **-s'qi-čēt**—a compound suffix formed of **-s'qi** SINGLE ACTION, **-čēt** homologous to **-let** INTENSIVE ACTION—expresses an action performed suddenly with great force and rapidity.

*qu'tirkin* he stands up  
*qu'tis'qičē'tirkin* he jumps up  
*ni'to'rkın* he goes out  
*ni'tos'qēčā'tirkin* he rushes out  
*gāntō's'qāčāLen* he rushed out 57.11<sup>1</sup>  
*gāpē'nri's'qičāLen* he rushed on 44.4  
*getiñus'qičē'Lin* he gave a sudden tug 48.4  
*gerel'i's'qičēLin* she suddenly pushed it in 89.4

60. **-aļa** (Kamchadal) weakens the intensity of the action.

|| *tnu'alajk* I eat but little (*t* I; *nu* to eat; *-jk* I)  
 || *thē'lalajk* I drink but little (*t* I; *hēl* to drink)

61. **-qāet**, with verbs, expresses ENDEARMENT and DIMINUTION; evidently related to **-qūi** (§ 98,4).

*ma'ñēn-notaj'pū yetqāeti* from what country hast thou come, my dear?

62. **-keu**, with transitive verbs, gives them a PASSIVE meaning, and conveys the idea of DERISION of the subject.

*kēma'wkuḡēum ré'tkewiūm* I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here  
*vālg'mkautē'rē, eq'likā* they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise

<sup>1</sup> Evidently better, *gānto's'qēčāLen*.

63. **-ñño**, **-ño** expresses the INCHOATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-ñvo**; Kamchadal **-kqju**, **-kqj**, **-kju**, **-ju**). Since these elements occur independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The independent stem in initial position is *ño*, in medial position *-mgo*, (Kor. Kam. *ñvo-*, Kamchadal *uju-*)

*ño'orkin* (Kor. Kam. *ñvo'ikin*, Kamchadal *ujujk*) he begins

In all three dialects the idea of the beginning of an action is expressed with precision, and the inchoative forms are therefore very common.

*yilqañño'rkín* (Kor. Kam. *yilqannvo'ikin*, Kamchadal *ñükcrkj'jk*) he goes to sleep

*tipa'ña'ññož'* he begins to sing 59.9

*nimñé'ññgê* he begins to take part in the thanksgiving ceremonial 59.3

*gaplitko'ñño'lênat* they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:

*gewñvo'lénau* they began to say Kor. 22.7

*ga<sup>a</sup>d'nñivota* haul them away! Kor. 51.6

*gepiñvołai'ke* they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. **-öl**, **-ö** (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs **-al**, **-a**, expresses the desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.

*tñükcrölk* } (stem *ñükc*) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep

*tñükcrojk* }

*teč'ajk* (stem *teč'j*; I leave *teč'ijk*) I wish to leave

65. **-vato** (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of an action.

*tülčkvat'ojin* (stem *ülčk*) I am going to have a look at him

*tno'vatojk* (stem *ny* to eat) I am going to eat

66. **-čhat** expresses ANGER OF THE SPEAKER. (Kor. Kam. **-čñat**)

*gamitvačha'tirkin* or *gamitvačha'arkin* confound him! he eats

*printqačha'tya<sup>n</sup>* the bad one appeared 27.3

*qaraqčeq'čha' Lén* what has the bad one done 31.9

*véčha'tyž'* the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5

*timr'čhannên* he killed the bad one 44.5

*am-ravéčha'n'ña naličha'tyž'* you bad one want to die 65.23

Kor. Kam. *ñitočña'tekin* he lumbers forth

67. **-tky**. This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. **-tčy**). *pëla'tkolit* those who had left her 33.8

This suffix also transforms transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. The subject is then placed in the absolute form; the object, in the possessive form. These forms, however, are used only with personal pronouns.

*gümü'krí gít pëla'tkorkin* you leave me

The suffix *-tku* (Kor. Kam. *-tčü*) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

*vili'urkin* (Kor. Kam. *vil'vikin* he makes peace with) he buys

*vili'tkurkin* (Kor. Kam. *vil'itčükin*) he trades

*geilitkoivulin u'kkäm* they distributed vessels 14.1

*trmitkoivuk* slaughtering 49.3

*timi'tkonênat* he killed all 61.4; 112.3

*minranmütiko'ñmat* let us slay them all 101.19

*ve'tkoča'a't* they all died 112.2

*trmitkorkin* (Kor. Kam. *trmi'tčökin*) he kills many

Koryak:

*gačvi'tčulinau* they are all cut entirely Kor. 47.7

*gaplitčü'linau* they finished it Kor. 50.1

*ləlapitčöñvo'ykin* he looks up Kor. 42.8

*gačapitčöñvo'len* she looked around Kor. 44.9

*yenotčöñvo'ykin* he is eating Kor. 13.6

*gaganñitčöñvo'len* she was jealous Kor. 96.1

Paren *qigitetkr'grn* look at it! Kor. 101.11

*tigilñu-čü'čü-ñaw-i-ñm* snow-shoe-strings-veryly-eating-woman  
am I (*tigilñin* snowshoe-string; *-u* to consume *-čü'čü* [*<tku-*  
*tku*] verily; *ñaw* women) Kor. 59.7

The suffix *-tku* is always used in the transitive verb to indicate the forms THOU—US; YE—ME, US (see § 63). It gives the verb a generalized form. For instance:

*pěla'tkœš* thou leavest a number (meaning us)

*pěla'tkötik* ye leave a number (meaning ME OR US)

The element *inê-* has the same sense, but the two are never used together (see § 113, 28).

68. *-tvi* TO ATTAIN A CERTAIN QUALITY, TO BECOME (Kor. Kam. *-tvi*).

*u'mitvi'rkin* (stem *u'm*) (Kor. Kam. *umitvi'kin* [stem *um*]) he becomes broad.

*gřitvė'rkin* (stem *gřt*) (Kor. Kam. *gřitvė'řkin*) he becomes thin

*eñe'ñetvriš* he acquired shamanistic power 19.12; 18.4

*eñe'ñitvi-turi* you acquired shamanistic power 18.3

*nämqřtvi'qin* it diminished 20.2, 4

*nüplu'tvi'qin* it becomes small 20.3

*wulqätvi'iš* it grew dark 54.9

Kor. Kam. *qamalıtva'thitik* cause it to become better Kor. 13.2

Kor. Kam. *vršya'tvik* to fainting Kor. 64.9

69. *-čät* with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. *-čät*).

*mitteñiče'erkin* we feel good 69.8

*teñrič'třrkin* (*teñ* good) (Kor. Kam. *tañiča'třkin*) he feels good

*tañičč'tingčš* he began to feel well 33.5

*gmičč'třrkin* (Kor. Kam. *gmičč'tekin*) he feels warm

70. *-ew*, *-et*, are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

<i>eimeç'u</i> to approach	<i>eimet</i> to take
<i>eiñeu</i> to call	<i>eiñet</i> to roar
<i>ureu</i> to appear 53.6	<i>ureut</i>
<i>omau</i> to get warm	<i>gr'tteu</i> hungry
<i>ulveu</i> to remain motionless 37.2	<i>gittkau</i> guide
<i>yigrçeu</i> thirsty	<i>ginteu</i> to flee
<i>wêthau</i> to talk	<i>lpuuret</i> to exchange
<i>puulçeu</i> to float	<i>ewkwet</i> to depart
<i>ptkeu</i> to hit	<i>eret</i> to fall
<i>marau</i> to quarrel	<i>ergewet</i> to be submerged 17.4
<i>meteu</i> to be unable	<i>yirret</i> full
<i>teikeu</i> to wrestle	<i>yopat</i> to visit
<i>teñ'ñeu</i> to laugh	<i>ywulet</i> alive
<i>tumgeu</i> to become friendly	<i>wêttat</i> to tear with antlers
<i>numekeu</i> to gather	<i>ventet</i> to be open
<i>notas'qau</i> land approaches	<i>vinret</i> to help
<i>limald'u</i> to obey	<i>pelqântet</i> to return
<i>lvau</i> unable	<i>pêkagtat</i> to fall down
<i>lqäineu</i> to shoot	<i>peñet</i> tired
<i>kryeu</i> to be awake	<i>tautauat</i> to bark
<i>kimeu</i> to cause delay	<i>têrgat</i> to cry
<i>korgau</i> to be glad	<i>tulet</i> to steal
<i>yllhau</i> fear	<i>ëipet</i> to plunge
<i>terkeu</i> to be a certain number on a series	

Possibly related to the preceding is *nI—çeu* (Kor. Kam. *-au*) adverbial suffix. The Koryak form is not used very frequently (see p. 842).

- nime'leu qatvq'êç* be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer  
*nite'leu tirkipli'açn* I struck him painfully (*teç* to suffer, *to* have pain)  
*niglau qatv'rkin* be sorrowful! (*glo* SORROWFUL, here contracted with *au*; *tva* to be)  
*nime'leu* well (*mal* good); (Kor. Kam. *nimal'leu* [*mal* good])  
*ni'tçeu* heavily (*itç* heavy); (Kor. Kam. *ni'tçau*)

Some adverbs are formed in an irregular manner.

<i>aç'tqêuma</i> (from <i>e'tqiñ</i> bad; stem <i>äqä'</i> R) 62.72)	} badly
Kor. Kam. <i>a'tçiañau</i> (from <i>a'tçin</i> bad; stem <i>aqä</i> )	
Kamchadal <i>hä'qäç</i> (from <i>e'ç'kelaw</i> bad)	

*me'ēen'ki* (Chukchee *meč* < *mel* good; *en'ki* thus) well  
*i'na<sup>ε</sup>* (Koryak *ni'naqin* quick) quickly

71. **-ru** forms the INCHOATIVE of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. **-yu**).

*ilē'erkim* it is raining

*ilru'rkim* it is beginning to rain

*yga'arkim* (Kor. Kam. *yoyoa'tekim*) the wind is blowing

*yogro'rkim* (Kor. Kam. *yoyoyo'ekim*) the wind begins to blow

*lä<sup>ε</sup>lenru'<sup>iε</sup>* winter came 14.9

*ai<sup>v</sup>é'irrok* in the evening 26.3

*irgīro'ññok* (stem *irg* 27.13) at the beginning of dawn 26.9

*la<sup>ε</sup>la<sup>ε</sup>nroma* at the beginning of cold 33.6

*gītharo'k* in the beginning of the autumn 33.6

*irgīro'ka* not dawning 56.9

*ilīru'<sup>iε</sup>* it begins to rain 116.8

*ga<sup>ε</sup>lqtrygīro'lēn* the snow began to drift 94.28

The same suffix is used with stems of different character.

*čēlhiro'ē* it becomes red 23.9

*nitēgīro'qēn* he began to cry 55.3

Koryak:

*gawyalyo'len* a snowstorm set in Kor. 15.1

*laqlaño'ykin* winter came Kor. 72.5

*piña'tikim* it is snowing

*peñayo'ekim* it is beginning to snow

72. **-ru** is used also to express GREAT NUMBER. This suffix is different from the preceding.

*gürru'ä<sup>t</sup>* they came in great numbers 67.16

*waqero'a<sup>t</sup>* they were sitting in great numbers 68.29

Kor. Kam. *gawya'lyolen* a strong snowstorm came Kor. 15.1

*laqlaño'ykin* winter came strongly Kor. 72.5 (see above).

#### § 111. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

73. **-ñita** TO FETCH (Kor. Kam. the same).

*rañ-ñita'rkim* what are you going to fetch? why do you come?

*añañalñita'lit* shaman fetchers 45.7

Koryak:

*yax-ñita'ykin* what are you going to fetch?

74. **-tuwe, -tv** TO TAKE OFF (clothing) (Kor. Kam. **-tIva**).

*kê'ttuwa'ê<sup>é</sup>* he took off his clothes 109.15

*kêttuwa'nnên* he undressed her 50.11

*ničvituve'qin* he took off his outer coat 57.3

*wuri'čhrtvuê* he took off his overcoat 35.5

*mêrêgtuwa'ê* he brushed away the tears 49.9

*ninečinqetuwe'qin* (*n-ine-čirke-tuwe-qin*, *čirke* saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

## Koryak:

*nrmeyeytva'gen* he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10

*gatamtiva'len* he spit out bones Kor. 56.8

*pčai-tivai'* he took off his boots

75. **-ip<sub>o</sub> (-êp<sub>o</sub>, -gūp<sub>o</sub>)** TO PUT ON CLOTHING; **-ip<sub>o</sub>** after vowels; **êp<sub>o</sub>** after consonants; **-gūp<sub>o</sub>** after diphthongs ending in **i** and **in** a few other cases (compare the ablative **-ipū** § 42, p. 704)

*tīqalēi'pūa<sup>é</sup>k < t(r) -qēlī -ip<sub>o</sub> -(ū) -ā<sup>é</sup>k* I put on my cap

*tērēpūa<sup>é</sup>k < t -ir -êp<sub>o</sub> -(ū) -ā<sup>é</sup>k* I put on my fur-shirt

*tikonai'gūp<sub>o</sub>gā<sup>é</sup>k < t(r) -kōnai-gūp<sub>o</sub>-gā<sup>é</sup>k* I put on my breeches

*kêrêgūp<sub>o</sub>gē<sup>é</sup> < kêr-gūp<sub>o</sub>-gi<sup>é</sup>* she put on her dress 52.9

76. **-gīlī-** TO SEARCH FOR (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).

*kulte'-ilī'rkit* they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide

*qinni'g-gīlī'liqāgti* little game-procurers 44.8

*pīlqīlī'lit* food-procurers 44.9

*qinni'g-gīlī'lit* game-procurers 44.9

77. **-y** TO CONSUME, TO EAT (Kor. Kam. **-y**) (perhaps related to the verb **ny** [initial **ry**], Kor. Kam. **y** [initial **ny**]).<sup>1</sup>

*ennyrkin* (Kor. Kam. *enny'ikrn*) he eats fish

*pōntō'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *pōntō'ikrn*) he eats liver

*kīmlu'ā<sup>é</sup>t* they ate marrow 33.12

*mīmpo'ntōčēta* let us eat a little liver 43.7

*nīpo'ntōqēn* he ate liver 43.9

*qapōnto'tik* eat liver! 64.21

also

*gamēmelo'lēn* he caught a seal 43.2

## Koryak:

*mita<sup>é</sup>tayr'pnūla* we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9

*tīya'yīlku* I'll eat pudding Kor. 30.2

also

*tīqa'payuk* I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1

<sup>1</sup> *ru'rkīn* (Kor. Kam. *yu'ykrn*) he eats it.

§ 112. *Adjective and Adverb*

## ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. *-lāx* (sometimes *-lax*)

*ö'mlāx* deep (cf. Ch. *um* broad)

*iu'lāx* long (cf. Ch. *iul* long)

*o'lolax* small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix *-(i)<sup>ε</sup>n*.

*o'lolaxi<sup>ε</sup>n ki'stri<sup>ε</sup>ně* small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.

*gai-yaraqa'qtê* (Chukchee) small houses

In forms with post-positions the adjective in *-lax* is placed before the noun.

*o'lolax-kê'stčanke* to the small house (diminutive allative)

It seems not unlikely that the synthetic use of attributive stems has disappeared under Russian influence. Russian and Koryak adjectives are often used by the Kamchadal, in their foreign form, almost without change.

*niru'qin xvalë* a sharp knife (*niru'qin* is Koryak)

*n'mi'tqin k!ča'mjanl'* a wary man (*n'mi'tqin* is Koryak)

*nve'thaqen u<sup>ε</sup>h* a straight tree (*nve'thaqen* is Koryak)

*nve'thal<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>ε</sup>n u<sup>ε</sup> hi<sup>ε</sup>n* straight trees (*nve'thal<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>ε</sup>n* is a Koryak form)

*vo'stroi xvalë* a sharp knife (*vo'stroi* is Russian)

There is no phonetic assimilation of any of these adjectives.

A few predicative forms correspond to the Chukchee-Koryak forms in *ni-qin*.

*k!ni'tain* the clever one (from *ni'ta* sense, wit); cf. *ni-gitte'p-qin* (Chukchee) the clever one.

79. *-q*, *-aq*, are sometimes found with attributive stems. These forms are generally compounded with verbs. This form is probably identical with the locative form of the stem.

*wičha'qu-wa'lin* the flat one

*koulo'qu-wa'lin* the round one

*ēmpa'qu-wa'lin* the downcast one

*koulo'qī qātei'kriqin* (Kor. Kam. *qo'loñ qatai'kriqin*) make it round

*em ebula'q re'mkin ralai'vūñnoë* only in a different manner  
people shall begin to walk about 86.14

80. *-yut* DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS (K. K. *-yut* dual, *-yūwgi* pl.)

(See also § 123, p. 839)

CHUKCHEE	KOR. KAM.		
	Dual	Plural	
<i>Enne'nyut</i>	<i>Ena'nyut</i>	<i>Ennanyu'wgi</i>	one each
<i>ñire'yut</i>	<i>ñiye'yut</i>	<i>ñiyeyu'wgi</i>	two each
<i>ñiro'yot</i>	<i>ñiyo'yot</i>	<i>ñiyoyo'wgi</i>	three each
<i>ñira'yot</i>	<i>ñaya'yot</i>	<i>ñayayo'wgi</i>	four each
<i>mili'nyot</i>	<i>mili'nyot</i>	<i>mili'nyo'wgi</i>	five each
<i>mingi'tjot</i>	<i>mingi'yot</i>	<i>mingiyo'wgi</i>	ten each

The Chukchee distributives have also the prefix *em-* (see § 113, no. 7, p. 816; § 123, p. 839).

*em-ñire'yuta qanpirtvaark'e'etki* just two each make it double (the clothing)

These forms take post-positions, definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

*ennanyou'ti* to one each

*ennanyoi'pü* from one each

81. *-čə, -čä* NUMERAL ADVERBS (Kor. Kam. *-čə*).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>qun'e'čä</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>enna'nčə, qu'n'əč</i> <sup>1</sup>	Kor. once
	53.2	
<i>ñire'čä</i>	<i>ñiye'čə</i>	twice
<i>ñiro'čə</i>	<i>ñiyo'čə</i>	three times
<i>ñira'čə</i> 12.8	<i>ñaya'čə</i>	four times
<i>mili'nčə</i>	<i>mile'nčə</i>	five times
<i>mingi'tčə</i>	<i>mingi'tčə</i>	ten times

Kor. Kam. *exune'čə* all the time Kor. 92.19

82. *-(I)ñ* (Chukchee and Koryak) is a suffix which is often added to the stems of adjectives when compounded, in Chukchee with the form *va'lin* (< *tva+lin*) THE ONE WHO IS, in Koryak with *i'tala<sup>a</sup>n* (*i't + la<sup>a</sup>n.*<sup>2</sup>) (see p. 764)

In Chukchee the *ñ* before *v* generally changes to *m*. In other cases the suffix is dropped entirely. The connective vowel then changes to *u* before the *v*, which in turn changes to *w*.

*qa'tvum-və'lin* (Kor. Kam. *qa'tvun-i'tala<sup>a</sup>n*) being strong

*ta'ñum-və'lin* or *ta'ñu-wə'lin* (Kor. Kam. *ta'ñn-i'tala<sup>a</sup>n*) being good

<sup>1</sup> Derived from *qun* single.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Chukchee form *i'ulin* THE ONE WHO IS is not used in compounds of this type.



A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in *-lɪn* (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in *-(i)ñ* compounded with *vəlɪn*.

*vɪ'čhɪm-və'ɫɪn* (Kor. Kam. *vɪ'čhɪyɪñ-i'talə<sup>ɛ</sup>n*) the flat one

*ɛ'mpɪm-və'ɫɪn* the one downcast

Kor. Kam. *qo'ləñ-italə<sup>ɛ</sup>n* the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending *-q* or *-aq* (see this section, No. 79). The compounds with *və'ɫɪn*, when referred to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used frequently in this connection.

*qə'mqə-qlə'ulɪk qə'tvɪm-və'lə'ɪm* I am stronger than everybody  
(*qə'mqə-* every; *qlə'ul* man; *-k* possessive; *qətv* strong; *-ɪ-  
m* I [§ 73, p. 758])

### § 113. Prefixes

#### 1. *ɛto-* A LITTLE.

*ɛto'-qai'a'qañ* a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (*ɛto'* 51.4)

*mač-ɛto'pəl* a little better 135.7

#### 2. *ɛ'mkɪn-* EVERY.

*ɛ'mkɪn-aiwəčhə'tɪ* every evening 28.9

*ɛ'mkɪn-kɪyeu'kɪ* at every awaking 29.2

#### 3. *tɪlv-* QUITE.

*tɪlv-am-qina'n* quite you only 30.4

*tɪlv-a'mɪnan* quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9

*tɪlv-ai'ñä* quite nothing 56.4; 60.1

#### 4. *tɪñkɪ*—JUST is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory meaning.

*tɪnk-am-gümna'n* just I only

*tɪnk-ai'ñä* just nothing

*tɪnk-ai'ñä rānut* he has nothing at all R 63.88

*tɪnk-a'tqəuma* quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

#### 5. *pɪč-* only, merely.

#### 6. *ɪm-* (Kor. Kam. *ɪmɪñ-*, Kamchadal *mɪñi't*) ALL.

*i'me-rä<sup>ɛ</sup>'nut* all kinds 111.28

*i'mu-qɪnni'kä* all kinds of game 128.9

#### Koryak

*ɪmɪ-pl'a'ku* all boots

*i'miñ noo'wqe* all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6

*i'miñ qai-va'amtɪ* all little rivers Kor. 17.1

The form *ɪmɪlo'* 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with noun and without; *ɪmɪ'ɫɪn* takes the same kinds of forms as nouns in *-lɪn* (see p. 717).

The Kamchadal form *mn̄i'l* forms—

|| Allative *minela'nke*

|| Allative, possessive, instrumental *m̄ni'link*, less often *mi<sup>ē</sup>l*.

7. *em-* MERE (Kor. Kam. *am-*, Kamchadal *em-*). The prefix is always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

*em-n̄e'us'qätti* (Kor. Kam. *a<sup>ē</sup>m-n̄a'wis'qatu*, Kamchadal *em-n̄i'm c̄x̄r<sup>ē</sup>n*) mere women

*em-a<sup>ē</sup>ttim* mere bones 35.5

*em-mu'Litä* all with blood 40.10

*em-n̄e'n̄i* all these 41.10

*em-nu'n̄iēt* those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26

*ēiq-em-nu'n̄qi* far inland 114.25

*em q̄inu'n-n̄ki'tä* midnight 9.11

*am-n̄q̄n̄ē'ti* just inland 67.19; 114.24

*am-q̄ina'n* only thou 30.3

*am-taaro'n̄a* with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9

*am-rav̄ē'ēha'n̄na* merely to die 65.23

*am-ya'ata* only by using it 143.3

Koryak:

| *am-čerepro'nau* entirely silver Kor. 22.10

| *am-ma'kil-n̄ē'eta* only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5

| *am-ma'na* just in different directions Kor. 25.6

8. *pli-* (with nouns) EVERY.

*q̄aplikoi'n̄ilēn* every one has a tea-cup

*n̄plitañtē'nm̄üq̄ēn* they were applying everything 41.3

9. *mē<sup>ē</sup>-*, *miq-* SMALL.

10. *mēč-* SOMEWHAT.

*met-ki'it* somehow 40.7

*mēč-telenyē'pkin* somewhat of old 61.5

*mač-ya'a* far enough 62.12

*mač-ēwga'n* as an incantation 39.13

*mēč-ä<sup>ē</sup>'qälpe* somewhat quick 45.10

11. *mel-* LIKE (Kor. Kam. *maļ-*).

*mel-uwä<sup>ē</sup>'quč* it seems like a husband 49.9

12. *mite-* ACTUALLY.

*mite'-vilrn* actually dead

*mite'-ḡinn̄i'k* actually game 84.28

13. *tim̄ñe'-* ANY (Kor. *paļa'*).

*tim̄ñe'-mē'n̄in* whosoever

*tim̄ñe'-rā<sup>ē</sup>'nut* whatsoever

*tümñ-alva'lag* wheresoever 24.11

*tü'mñê-mé'mlikên grinnik* any kind of water game 25.6

*tümñ-añqa'gti* somewhere to seaward 13.1

14. **ter-** HOW MANY (Kor. Kam. *ta'y-*).

*tar-ga'ata ewkwe'tyis* with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. **čiq-** EXCESSIVELY.

*čeqi-ya'ga* too far

*čeq-a'lvam-valag* how very strange! 76.5; 63.4

*čiq-em-nu'ñqi* far inland 114.25

*čeq-a'lvam valin* being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27

*čiq-etuwäk* all at once 43.10

16. **čhi-** HARDLY, always used with the negative (probably from *grčhi*, as in *nigr'čhiqin* RARE).

*ačhëqamitvaka* almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. **li-** (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) EVERY.

*li-mé'niki* everywhere

*li-mé'ñko* from everywhere

18. **lii-, lhi-, lli-, lhi-** TRULY (Kor. Kam. *liqi-, lhi-*).

*li'i-teñ-evi'rälin* really well closed 33.3

*li'é-taničé'tinoê* she began to feel truly well 33.5

*nilhinü'mkäqin* really quite numerous 111.16

*lê'é-têwënaña'ta* with a genuine paddle 31.4

*li'é-ñarau'tilo* really wife seeking 57.1

*li'i-i'ppe* quite truly 57.2

Kor. Kam. *nilhëni'ktagen* a very hard one

19. **pil-** (Kamchadal) quickly.

|| *xpil-nu'wë* you eat quickly

20. **x'i-** (Kamchadal) quite, very.

|| *x'é-plqax* very large

|| *x'i-čini'ñläx* very pretty, very good

21. **lhi-, lii-** (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

|| *t-l'i-tpr'lijk* I really shake myself (i. e., I can shake myself properly)

22. **kigt-** (after prefixes **-gti-**) VERY (Kor. Kam. **kitt-** [after prefixes **-ktt-**]).

*nigtılqula'u'qên* he mocked much 143.1; 144.4

*gaqtan'ñina'i'pülën* she was very angry 89.3

*gaqti-palka'La'n* very decrepit 111.26

*gaqtiqami'tvatik* eat ye enough! 65.16

When this prefix is used with the nominalized verb in *ni-qin*, *kit* either precedes the prefix *ni-*, or the *ni-* may be repeated initially

*kim-nimai'ēñqēn* or *niḡti-nimai'ēñqēn* it is quite large

23. **qun-** SINGLE (Kor. Kam. **qun-**).

*qon-mi'nga* with a single hand 67.19

*qon-qa'a* with a single reindeer

*qon-ra'lin* with a single house 34.1

*qona'ēnkina* with nine (i. e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. **gemge-** EVERY (Kor. Kam. **ga'mga-**).

*ge'mge-ginnik* every kind of game 41.11

*ge'mge-nūkin* everybody 66.28

*ga'mga-ni'mḡpū* from every settlement 36.1

*ge'mge-nute'qin* from every land 11.5

Koryak:

| *ga'mga-qai-ñawis'qat* every little woman Kor. 34.9

| *ga'mga-olgrwe'triñ* to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. **paḷa-** (Koryak) ANY (Chukchee **timñ'e-** (see No. 13, p. 816) ).

| *paḷa'-ma'ki* whosoever

| *paḷa'-yi'nna* whatever

26. **luñ-** NEGATIVE PARTICLE, always used with nominal forms of the verb. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

*luñ-i'ra* not crossing 41.5

*luñ-iwkuč'tä* not drinking 37.3

*luñ-res'qi'wäi'tyüt* they did not want to enter 115.19

*luñ-lu<sup>ε</sup>tä* not seen 11.9

*teḡge'ñu luñ-i'lhilm* has no desire 93.32

*luñ-čei'vä* without walking

*loñ-ēna'tvata* without promises 101.23

*loñ-īpa'ulim* not drinking

*loñ-wa'loma* not heeding 21.13

With the auxiliary verb *-nt-* (initial *rit-*), it is the usual form of expressing the negative of the transitive verb.

*luñ-lu<sup>ε</sup>tä ti'ntiḡit* I had thee an unseen one (i. e., I did not see thee)

27. **əgn-** sometimes replaces the negative particles *wi'ñä*, *e'le*, and *en'ñe'*.

*əgn-əḡami'tvaka* do not eat!

*əgn-a'nmūka* without killing R 44.11

28. *ine-* transforms transitive verbs into intransitives, either without other change of meaning or with the significance TO DO ON BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF. The object, when retained, is expressed in the locative.

*tinenlete'erkin ki'mitik* I take the load away for myself (*t-* I; *nlete* to take away; *-rkin* present; *ki'mit-* load)

The use of *ine-* in the transitive verb has been discussed in § 63, p. 736.

Examples are:

*enapêla'ê* thou leavest some one (namely, me)  
*enapêla'tik* ye leave some one (namely, me)

See, also, § 110, 67.

29. *inen-* TRANSITIVE (see *te*—*n(i)*, § 114, 2, p. 821).

30. *lalk-* (Kamchadal) HOW MANY, SOME; used independently in the plural.

|| *la'li<sup>ε</sup>n kcxo<sup>ε</sup>n* how many dogs?  
 || *lalî<sup>ε</sup>n klxôl olaxta'tockepñin* he passed there a few days

### § 114. Inclusive Affixes

1. To cause to.

(a) With intransitive verbs.

	Chukchee.	Kor. Kam.
<i>r(i)</i>	— <i>u</i> (after terminal vowel)	<i>y(i)</i> — <i>v</i>
<i>r(i)</i>	— <i>eu</i> (after terminal consonant)	<i>y(i)</i> — <i>aw, av</i>
<i>r(i)</i>	— <i>et</i> (after terminal <i>u</i> diphthong <i>iu, eu, au</i> )	<i>y(i)</i> — <i>at</i>

After verbal prefixes, the *r(i)*, *y(i)*, changes to *n(i)*.<sup>1</sup>

*ri-qamitva'-u-rkin-ên* he was made to eat 9.8 (from *qamitva*)  
*ri-tel-e'-u-rkin* you cause to be unwell (from *tel*)  
*ri-ñelkiwe'-n-nin* he was made to sit on it 8.11  
*ri-gg-eu'-nin* he awakened him 7.5  
*ni-nto-w'-nên* he made him go out 60.3  
*ri-pintik-eu'-nin* he made it appear 9.8  
*ga-n-êchêt-au'-lên* he made it jump off 47.7  
*riyirrau'nênat* they caused them to be anointed 74.33  
*ineqäli'kenki* (we) induced her to marry 26.5  
*gantô'mgaulên* has been created 42.1  
*anintoña'tkelên* she does not make it go out 54.6  
*qanintoña'tyê* cause him to go out! 54.7

<sup>1</sup>See also p. 735.

## Koryak:

- y-awy-a't-ikm* you cause to eat (from *awy*)  
*yī-tal'-a'w-ikm* you cause to be unwell (from *tal*; *ta'ŷ-l'-ikm*  
 you are unwell)  
*yryigrēha'wik* tickling (him) Kor. 18.9  
*qinathliew'* make it warm! Kor. 29.3  
*qanva'd'kyintat* tear him up Kor. 30.7  
*tenaniky'o'nñrooi* it begins to awaken us Kor. 39.4  
*ganipga'wlenau* he made them climb up Kor. 43.4  
*ganvaqyil'a'wlen* she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20

## (b) With transitive verbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>r(ɪ) — ñet</i>	<i>y(ɪ) — w, v</i>
<i>rɪ-kêto-ñā't-ɪ-rkɪn</i> you re- mind him (from <i>kêto</i> to remember)	<i>yɪ-keto-v-e'kɪn</i> you remind him (from <i>keto</i> )

(c) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix *r(ɪ)*-Kor.Kam. *y* [ɪ]-

- r-er'e'er'kɪn* you cause it to fall down (from *er'e*)  
*ra'tvunên* she carried it in 28.7  
*reimeu'ninet* it approached them 41.4  
*rɪntrɪninet* she threw them out 87.30  
 Kor. Kam. *yɪ-kimaw-w-ikm* you detain him (from *kimaw* to be

## (d) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (a) become transitive.

- ru-wêthaw-a't-ɪ-rkɪn* you speak to him (from *wêthaw* to speak)  
*ru-wêt-hawau'nên* it talked to her 32.3

In Kamchadal two prefixes are found, *n-* and *lin-*. Of these, the former corresponds to the Chukchee-Koryak forms—  
*t-ɪ-n-kil'le-j-ɪn* I surround him (from *kile*; *t-kil'le-jk* I turn around)  
*t-li'-nu-j-ɪn* I feed him (from *nu* to eat; *t-nu-jk* I eat)  
*t-lin-hil'l-ɪ-j-ɪn* I give him to drink (from *hil*; *t-hil'l-ɪ-jk* I drink)  
*t-o-n-cl-ɪ'-j-ɪn* I cause him to lie down (from *cl*; *t-col-o-jk* I lie down)

NOTE.—Certain verbs may be used both intransitive and transitive:

- tŭpa'urkɪn* I drink *ñi'räg äa'gtê napa'unea* they have  
drunk two pieces of bark tea  
*ñe'us-gät gi'ulin* the woman said 98.7 *Ta'n'ña gi'ulin* the *Tan'ñit* told  
him 98.5

2. *tē*—*ñ(I)* TO MAKE SOMETHING (Kor. Kam. *ta*—*ñ(I)*). This may be related to the verb *tēiki* (Kor. Kam. *taiki*) TO MAKE.

*tirvu'ñirkin* he makes sharp things, i. e., arms (stem *irv*);

Kor. Kam. *tisvi'ñikin*

*nitepleññile'tqin* she made boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek*-boots; -*let* frequentative [§ 110.53])

When this prefix is used with verbs, the additional prefix *inen-* (Kor. Kam. *inan-*) is generally inserted. It indicates the transitive. The meaning of the compound is causative.

*tinēnyē'nñirkin* (Kor. Kam. *tinanya'nñikin*) you make him come

*tēnantemgi'ñirkin* you cause it to create itself, and from this the noun *Tēnanto'mgin<sup>1</sup>* (Kor. Kam. *Tēnanto'mviñ*) one who causes things to create themselves (i. e., Creator)

*tēnany'i'lñ-ora'wēlan* a person who causes one to give (i. e. beggar)

3. *rē*—*ñ(I)* expresses the desiderative (Kor. Kam. *ya*—*ñ(I)*). The prefix and suffix of these forms are identical with those of the future, but the suffix is placed immediately following the stem and is itself followed by the suffixes belonging to the tenses.

*rapa'wñirkin* (Kor. Kam. *yapa'wñekin*) he desires to drink (stem: Ch. *īpan*, Kor. Kam. *apaw*)

*rerku'rñirkin* (stem *rkur*) (Kor. Kam. *yaiku'yñikin* [stem *ikuy*]) he desires to buy

*rāntō'ñiñgi* he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem *ntō* to come out; -*ñho* to begin)

*ravē<sup>ε</sup>ēhg'a'n-ñā* do you want to die? 67.1 (stem *vi<sup>ε</sup>* to die; -*ēhgt* [§ 110.66])

*nire'vi<sup>ε</sup>ñgin* he wants to die 99.27

*nerelu'ñirkin-i-git* they want to see thee 19.6

Koryak:

*triyayl'iqatñ* I want to sleep Kor. 30.3

*triyayai'trñ* I want to go home Kor. 30.5

*ganka'wlinau ya's-qanñik* they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2

4. *e*—*ki*, *e*—*kā* (Kor. Kam. *a*—*ki*, *a*—*ka*; Kor. Par., *e*—*ki*, *a*—*ke*; Kamchadal —*ki* —*k*, —(*ñ*)*kñin*, *ñkan*) NEGATION, expressing WITHOUT —.

<sup>1</sup>This form is different from the form for HE CREATES THEM. The "Creator" is therefore, even in grammatical form, only a "Weltgestalter."

The compounds formed with  $\xi$ - $k_i$  are nominal. They are formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

*anvênauka'gti gëwku'lin* he tied her to an unbroken (reindeer)  
50.12 (*nvineu* to break a reindeer; *-gti* allative [§ 40]; *gë-*  
*lin* [§ 74]; *wkut* to tie)

*elile'ki* eyeless

*aa'lakê* a person without knife

*enu'nniki* nameless one (=fourth finger)

Koryak:

| *a'xgike kuma'ti* the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8

The compounds formed with  $\xi$ - $kä$  are used as complements of the verb.

*equ'likä qän'lhitik* make yourselves voiceless 60.10

*i'mlikä titva'a<sup>ε</sup>k* I was without water

*akê'rika ne'ly<sup>ε</sup>* it became lightless 94.11

*ênî'ngäikä nere'tërmäk* we shall be made childless 39.4

*res'qi'wkw<sup>ε</sup> a'kërka* he entered without clothing 35.10

*a'kërka nan ra'gti<sup>ε</sup>* he came home without clothing 35.10

*qäwä'nka mitin'el* we came to be without an Aiwan 47.12

*aqami'tvaka titva'ak* not eating I was

*awgëtkinka* not saying anything 26.6

*e'le e'lgätä* not going 46.8

*aurrikê'gti* not appearing 66.10

*aa'lomka* heedless 67.9

*e'le eu'rretkä* not appearing 62.1

*akêrkiv<sup>ε</sup>at* they took off clothes (they became without clothing) 47.5

*e'grip<sup>g<sup>ε</sup></sup>* awgëntoya'nvuka she felt pain the breathless one 63.8  
(*e'grip* to feel pain; *-g<sup>ε</sup>* [§ 64]; *wg<sub>2</sub>*- breath; *ñito* to go out;  
*-yanv* verbal noun [§10+38])

*eqänñe'tkä gene'lin* he had become without moaning (i.e., he had ceased moaning) 34.7

*ete'lkä nin'eqin* he came to be without suffering 25.11

Koryak:

| *akmi'nika qi'linat* childless they were Kor. 43.8

| *aqalhav'aka qitr'ykin-i-gi* not crying be! Kor. 37.1

| *akle'woka trna<sup>ε</sup>'lik* without bread I remained Kor. 16.2

| *ava'leika yana<sup>ε</sup>'lantik* you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13

| *gümna'n ui'ña yi'nna ei'lika tr'ntiga<sup>ε</sup>n* (Chukchee *gümna'n*  
*e'le rä<sup>ε</sup>'nut e'ilkä tr'ntiä<sup>ε</sup>n*) I not anything (not) given I had to  
him

In some cases, particularly with *ui'ña* NOTHING, THERE IS NOTHING, the forms in *-ka* appear apparently predicative, presumably with



omission of a predicate of existence. More frequently the forms in *-kälın* are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

*wi'ñä aa'raka* nothing, houseless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a house) 31.7

*wi'ñä eleu'tikä* nothing, headless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a head) 47.8

*wi'ñä epi'ñkä* (Kor. Par. *e'le epi'ñke*) there is no powder

#### Koryak:

*wi'ña aña'wtrñka* he had no wife Kor. 50.5

*wi'ña a'nvilka* he did not stop Kor. 51.8

*wi'ña awa'leika?* is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12

*wi'ña kama'kanu ana'ka* (I) did not become a kamak Kor. 88.10

*wi'ña ane'lhryipnuka* (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding *e—kä* to the stem, have a passive meaning; with the prefix *ine-* placed immediately preceding the stem, they have active meaning.

#### Passive:

*anuntoña'tka r'rtrkrın* you make him one who is not caused to go out (i. e., you do not make him go out) 54.10

*evegr'tkukä tēu'lanēn* he shook what was not dug out with the nails 47.2

*enñi'ukä mi'ni'ntmet* let us have them not sent over (i. e. I wish we had not sent them) 58.2

*e'le enu'ka* not being eaten 48.8

*alo'ka'gtı va'le-üm* I am not seen 22.10

*elw'kä* not seen ones 62.1

*e'le a'lomka* it was not heard 60.10

#### Koryak:

| *wiña i'wka ga'ntılēn* he was not told so Kor. 62.3

#### Active:

*ēna'nmūka rine'ntri<sup>e</sup>* thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9

*inenventē'tkäl-i-gıt* thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27

*inenu'kälı-muri* we are those who do not consume it 35.1

*gūmna'n ēnalwau'käl-ē-üm* I am not unable to do it 92.30

*inelu'kälinet* he has not seen them 70.33

*inegite'kälın, e'le* she does not look at me 88.31

The form *e—kä* is always used for the negative imperative, with the particle *en'ñe'*.

*en'ñe' eze'pkä* do not look 32.6

*en'ñe' inegite'kä* do not look at her 37.9

*en'ñe' ai'pūka* do not put it on 37.8

- en·ñe' aa'qəka* do not sit down 37.13  
*en·ñe' a'tvirkoka* do not tell 66.29  
*en·ñe' aqami'tvaka q'i'tyitik* do not be without eating 64.19  
 (without verb 65.30)  
*en·ñe' rrowa'ta ata'ka qantir'girkı* do not pass it at a distance 70.9  
*en·ñe' gi'ınu e'lhıkä* do not attock it 70.14  
*en·ñe' êna'nmüka* don't kill me! 103.30  
*en·ñe' ineqe'plukä* do not kick me! 31.12 (31.11 is the same form without *en·ñe'*)

## Koryak:

- | *kitta' atawa!ñıla'ka* do not look back! Kor. 51.6  
 | *kitt-a'wyika q'i'thié* do not eat!

## Kamchadal:

- || *jak-nu'kek (ksıæc)* do not eating (be)!

Without *en·ñe'*, we find—

- atê'rgatka* do not cry! 7.6  
*ineqe'plukä* do not kick me! 31.11

## Koryak:

- | *annwai'ka* do not leave anything! Kor. 46.2

Here also the auxiliary verb is usually omitted.

Apparently in the form of an adjective, we find—

- na'qam üm e'un aqora'ınrêtkä Ai'wan* then, however, the Aiwan, careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6  
*qora'ñı envıneukä yılhe'nnın* he attached an unbroken reindeer 50.11

Derived from the negative suffix *-kä* are *-kêlin*, *-kälın* (Kor. Kam. *-kälä<sup>en</sup>*), formed with the suffix *-lin* (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This form, in accordance with the character of *-lin*, is more markedly predicative.

- ımlı'kêlin* he is waterless

## Koryak Kamenskoye:

- | *wotta'kin ake'ykiłä<sup>en</sup>* that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14

## Kamchadal:

- || *ılêilkin* without tongue  
 || *qaqe'kan* without nose  
 || *ki'mma qam ni'kin* I am not wifeless

The verbal character appears most clearly with pronouns of the first and second person.

- qantö'kêl-ê-gıt* you do not go out 54.10  
*qä'lomkêl-ê-gıt* you do not hear 54.11

- alimq'lkël-ê-git* you do not obey 54.11  
*é'Le êna'nmiéu i'tkäl-i-üm* I do not become a murderer 24.8  
*é'Le enpilk'u'wkäl-i-üm* I am not vanquished 15.9  
*inenventé'tkäl-i-git* thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27  
*gümna'n ênabwau'kël-ê-üm* I am not unable 92.30  
*eiwulé'tkëli-mu'ri* we do not know it 34.8  
*inenu'küli-muri* we do not eat 35.1  
*é'Le agami'tvakäl-ê-üm* I did not eat

## Koryak Kamenskoye:

- | *u'ña awyikalai'güm* I did not eat, but *u'ña a'wyika t'it'ik* not eating I was  
 | *u'ña ap'i'ñkälai'güm* I am without powder

## Kamchadal:

- || *gam nu'kek tsik* not eating I was  
 || *gam nuké'ñkin (ki'mma)* I did not eat

## Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

- é'Le alimq'la'këlen* he is one who does not heed 15.12  
*aqla'ulkëlen* she was without a man 28.2  
*amata'këlen* she was unmarried 28.2  
*aa'lomkëlen* she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2  
*éit evi'käl'in rë'mkin* formerly people were death-less 42.2  
*En'ra'q üm ELA' evi'käl'in* now the mother was immortal 41.12  
*é'Le antq'këlen* she did not go out 54.9 (without *é'Le* 54.5)  
*va'nëvan antq'këlen* not at all she went out 54.8  
*emité't-üm atq'ankëlen t'ërgilin* since she did not touch the crying one 56.6  
*va'nëvan ev'rrekëlin* it does not appear at all 62.2  
*eres'qiu'käl'in ENA'n éini't* he himself did not want to enter 103.17  
*emitkätvu'këlin* the blubber was not scraped off 47.1  
*nene'negäi anntoña'tkëlen* she did not cause the child to go out 54.6  
*aa'lomkëlenat* they did not listen 13.5  
*ey'lqakëlinet* they were not sleeping 34.3  
*inelu'kälinet* he has not seen them 70.33  
*ineqite'käl'in* she did not look at me 88.31

A few constructions of *-käl'in* with *u'ña* seem quite analogous to forms in *-kä* with this particle (see p. 823).

- u'ña aa'lomkëlen* they do not listen 56.2  
*u'ña akë'rikälën* there was nothing, without light 40.9

*enqa'n u'i'ñä äit eñe'ñkälín* that one was nothing, before not  
with guardian spirits 60.1

Kor. *u'i'ña ama'yíñkälé-i-güm* I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

*elile'kēlāqāgti* little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix *-lax* (§112, 78) before the negative changes to *-līx*.

*k'i'mma gam ulul'i'xkin* I am not small

Kamchadal *x'ë—ki* with intransitive verbs, *x'ë—kic* with transitive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms, which are given predicative forms by means of auxiliary verbs (see p. 779).

*x'ënu'ki* impossible to eat

*x'ëtælekic* impossible to beat him

*x'ë* is presumably of the same origin as the particle *x'ënc*.

## §§ 115–121. Word-composition

### § 115. Introductory Remarks

Stems may be compounded in such a manner that one stem which qualifies another is placed before it. The two stems together form a unit which takes morphological affixes as a whole—prefixes preceding the first stem, suffixes following the second stem. The first stem, therefore, always terminates without morphological suffixes, the second one begins without morphological prefixes. If in the complex of stems a strong vowel or syllable occurs, the whole complex takes the ablaut.

*maiñ-a'čī-kalē'lī-čū'mñī* (Kor. Kam. *maiñ-a'čī-kalē'lī-čū'mñā*) a  
big fat speckled buck

Each stem may retain the word-forming suffixes or prefixes enumerated in §§ 97–114.

Composition is used particularly for the following purposes.

1. When the second stem is a noun, the first element is an attribute of the second.

2. When the second element is a verb, the first element is an adverbial qualifier of the second. Here belongs particularly the case that when the first stem is a noun, the second a verb, the former is the object of the latter.

§ 116. *Attributive Composition*

Attributive composition of two nouns is used when the first noun expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second noun. These are used in the absolute form as well as with postpositions.

1. The first element expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second term.

- ga' lga-na' lhin* bird-skin 7.9  
*ri'rka-ka' la* walrus spirit 8.4  
*pa'nvar-ri'rkat* two-year-old walrus 8.10  
*ri'rka-npina' ēhin* walrus old man 9.6  
*a'whua'-npina' ēhāqai* Eiw hue old man 11.10  
*ē'whue'-ora'wēlan* Eiw hue person 12.4  
*ē'whue'-ñe' ut* Eiw hue woman 12.5  
*wo'lqi-vairgē' ti* to the Darkness-Being 18.11  
*ora'wēr-ra' mka* by human people 21.8  
*a'nga-va' irgin* sea-being 25.4  
*ke'le-ñe' wän* kele wife 38.11  
*a'ēl-qla' ul* excrement man 39.9  
*poig-ō'ttōt* (Kor. Kam. *poig-ō'ttōt*) spear wood  
*pilvi'nti-pna'wkun* iron file  
*ra'ē-pi'ñil* (Kor. Kam. *yaq-pi'ñil* or *yaqa'-pñil*) what news 11.2  
*lilē-ēv'rmitā* on the sight border (= just out of sight) 11.8  
*ra'g-ēō'rmik* on the house border 12.12

Koryak:

- ñawd'kak* daughter Kor. 12.4  
*pilvi'nti-yi'nmala'ēn* with iron antlers Kor. 21.8  
*yi'lhilru* finger-gloves Kor. 22.2  
*lawti-ki'lēiēñin* head-band Kor. 17.12  
*vai-ki'ltipilrñ* little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words *qlgyl* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) MAN, *ñēw* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) WOMAN, are used to express the idea of the *nomen actoris*, and are compounded with verbs as well as with nouns. Thus we find—

- tu'li-ñēw* (Kor. Kam. *tu'lī-ñaw*) stealing-woman (= female thief)  
*vi'n'vi-ñāw* (Kor. Kam. *vi'n'vu-ñaw*) secretly-acting woman  
 (= female lover)

Kor. Kam. *tala'-qla'wul* striking-man (= blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

- pilvi'nti-qla'ul* iron-man (= blacksmith)

The stems *qlaul* and *qlik* (Koryak *qlik*) in first position express also MALE.

*qla'ul-keiñm* (Kor. Kam. *qlik-kai'ñm*) male bear

For most animals the word *ëü'mña* (Kor. Kam. *ëü'mña*) is used to express the male.

*ëumña-r'rki* male walrus

Kor. Kam. *ëümña'-me'mil* male thong-seal

For females the stem *ñew* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) is used.

*ñe-e'kik* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kik*) daughter 28.2

*ñew-kei'ñm* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-kai'ñm*) she-bear

*ñeww'rit* female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtala<sup>en</sup>* (Kamchadal *mtilx'*) is a contraction of *oya'mtavila<sup>en</sup>* PERSON (*qla'wul* in Koryak designates a male adult person), and means literally THE ONE WHO WALKS OPENLY, and is meant to designate man as walking visibly, while the spirits walk about invisibly.<sup>1</sup> The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'wêlan*, which has the same derivation. Compositions with *-mtala<sup>en</sup>* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

*enni'-mtala<sup>en</sup>* Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

*Valvi'-mtala<sup>en</sup>* Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *qlayl*.

*ë'nni-qla'yul* Fish-Man

*ë'nni-ñew* Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in *-mtilx'* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

*ëlr'he-mtilx'* (Koryak *ilve'-mtala<sup>en</sup>*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

*têpa'-mtalx'* (Koryak *kitepa'-mtala<sup>en</sup>*) Wild-Sheep-Man

2. In nouns with suffixes, composition is used to express a number of relations.

(a) The material of which an object is made.

*rä<sup>ë</sup>-kupre'tä t<sub>i</sub>'mnên* with what kind of a net did he kill it? (*rä<sup>ë</sup>* what; *kupre* net; *t<sub>i</sub>m* to kill)

*kô<sup>g</sup>'nê-kupre'tä t<sub>i</sub>'mnên* he killed it with a net of horse-hair (*kô<sup>g</sup>'nê* horse [from Russian конь])

(b) The idea PERTAINING TO.

*talä'n-ramkê'pü tuwô'lomga<sup>en</sup>* I heard it from people of past times (*telenyep* long ago; *remk-* people; *wôlom* to hear)

<sup>1</sup> The Koryak have also the term *oya'mya* for PERSON, which is supposed to be used by the hostile spirits only, and designates man as the game pursued by the spirits. In Chukchee myths the term *ora'wêr-va'ral* BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (=MANKIND) is used

## (c) Parts of a whole.

*ya'al-ḡitka'ta geggīl-ḡéptīlin* he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot (*ya'al* hind; *ḡitka* foot; *-ḡgīl* heel)

## (d) Possession.

*ḡümük e'kke-ñalwülē'pū ḡāimi'tym* take it from my son's herd (*ḡümük* my [possessive]; *e'kke* son; *ñalwül* herd; *-ḡūpū* from [§ 42, p. 704])

NOTE.—In Koryak the possessor may take the same suffixes as belong to the possessed object. This seems to be always the case in the locative.

*ḡümü'k kme'ñiñqo ñalwūla'nqo qakmi'tin* take it from my son's herd

3. An intransitive verb (adjective) may be combined with a nominal stem so that it qualifies the latter. These compositions are used particularly in oblique cases.

*īul-u'ttā* (Kor. Kam. *īwī-u'tta*) with a long stick

*mēñi-lilē't* (Kor. Kam. *maiñi-līla't*) big eyes

Kamchadal *plēx-ki'-stenk* in the large house

*tañ-qlaul*, pl. *tañ-qla'ultē* (Kor. Kam. *malqla'wul*, dual *mal-qla-wulte*) good man

*ta'ñ-ūm-vḡ'lin* good one

*maiñu-wa'l* a large knife 16.1

*pū'gli-lauti'yñin* big bare head 27.13

*ä'ḡä-ke'le-ñe'us'ḡāt* bad kele woman 37.11

*ä'ḡä-ḡre'pḡäi* bad little song 59.5

*teḡ-ñe'us'ḡāt* a nice woman 62.13

*ñito'-ēū'mñi* a shy buck 49.5

*korga'-ēa'ut* a lively man 40.3

*lii-teñ-ēvi'rālin* really good cloths having 33.3

*riḡ-a'ttin* a shaggy dog 72.28

*ēlh-u'kwut* a flat stone (= anvil) 77.12

*yitko'mk-u'kwun* divining-stone 101.3

## Koryak:

*ē'nnu mal-ñā'wrtkata* this is a good woman Kor. 19.1

*mal-qla'wul* a good man Kor. 19.10

*tañ-ē'yū* to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2

*ka'li-ḡa'nyan* ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2

*ḡai-ñā'wis'ḡat* little woman Kor. 25.1

*ḡai-ka'mak* little kamak Kor. 35.5

*mal-kal-yeko'i'ḡu-wa'l* knife with well ornamented handle Kor. 46.8.

4. When the theme of a transitive verb appears as the first part of a compound, it has a passive meaning:

*teik-evi'rin* (ready) made clothing 86.22

*a'tti-yño-kamaanvê'ti* to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10

*tot-tai'ka-kamaanvê'ti* to newly made dishes 96.18

*tor-igt'o'-qaiø'nø* to a newly born fawn 129.13

### § 117. *Incorporation of Noun*

A nominal stem may be incorporated in the verbal complex, and then forms a unit with the verbal stem which it precedes. The incorporated noun may express the subject of intransitive verbs, the object or instrument with transitive verbs.

(a) Intransitive verbs which incorporate an inanimate noun as subject express a verbal concept relating to a person.

*uwi'k pl'itkurkin* the body becomes ready

but *twuwi'k-ü-pê'itkurkin* I become body-ready (i. e., I am grown up)

*va'li ñito'rkim* (Kor. Kam. *va'la ñito'ykim*) the knife comes out but *vala-nto'rkim* (Kor. Kam. *va'la-nto'ykim*) he is knife-coming-

out (i. e., he draws his knife)

*nuwgê'ntogên* he is one whose breath goes out 126.9

*awgêntoya'nvuka* he is without breath going out 63.8

*niqolênto'a'n* his voice goes out 127.8

(b) Verbs with incorporated nominal object. It is hardly feasible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between verbs with incorporated object and the verbal suffixes which form derivatives of nouns (§ 111, Nos. 73-77). These are *-ñita* TO FETCH, *-tuve* TO TAKE OFF, *ÿp* TO PUT ON *-gili* TO SEARCH FOR, *-u* TO CONSUME, TO EAT. Owing to their meaning, these would hardly be expected to occur without object, and they are always suffixed to it—or the object is always incorporated with them. In the texts the incorporated object is used most frequently in phrases in which the action is performed habitually on a certain object, although incorporated forms that express single actions that are not performed habitually are not absent. On the whole, this process does not appear very frequently in the texts.

*tıqaanmá'tırkin* (Kor. Kam. *tıqoyanmá'tekin*) or *I slaughter rein-*  
*trınmı'rkın qa'at* (Kor. Kam. *trınmé'kın qoya'wge*) } deer

*qêna-takê'êlı-lpı'nrıgê'* me meat give!

*gümnı'n êkık qâ-kalê'tel-lpı'nrı-gın* my son money-give him!

*u'tti-mle'rkın* (Kor. Kam. *u-m'la'ykim*) he breaks a stick



- ri'łhi-čvi'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *yı'łhi-čvi'ykin*) he cuts a finger  
*kalé-ıpürkin* (Kor. Kam. *pañka-ıpe'kin*) he puts on a cap  
*gaa-nma'arkin* (Kor. Kam. *goya-nma'tekin*) he slaughters reindeer  
*tikoĩñinto'rkin* I take out glasses  
*tileu'tıprı'gtırkin* I have a headache  
*geleu'tilvilin* he cut off her head 86.7  
*nilautıpa'tğên* she boiled heads 43.12  
*načıpa'tınat* they boiled fat 14.7  
*nênavêrıpa'tğên* he put cloths on him 127.1  
*mınpêçarê'ra* let us search for food 119.18  
*valamna'lin* knife-whetter (*vala* knife) 44.4  
*nıqad'nmātğên* he slaughtered reindeer 48.8, 11  
*nıquımevirıu'qın* he turned the upper part of his trousers outside  
 (*gu'yım* upper part of trousers; *virıu* to turn out) 46.7  
*geleutırgı'tkutä* scratching the head 126.7  
*nênavêrıwanla'qên* he asks for clothing 126.10  
*kê'rgüpgê* he put on the dress 52.9  
*qärê'thüpgê* follow the trail! 52.8  
*tılı-lo'k* looking for the entrance 131.1  
*nıtılarê'rqên* searching for the entrance 131.1  
*qñauñra'gtatyê* take your wife home! 115.8  
*va'la-ri'nıra* knife holding 106.13  
*gına'n inenmulıgırele't-i-ğıt* thou art the cause of blood-vomiting  
 93.11  
*omqa-pênıra'tyê* they attacked the bears 115.12

## Koryak:

- gayuñyupe'nyılınau* they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3  
*gaqoleya'wage* (*qole* voice; *ıya'wa* to use) use your voice! Kor. 48.7  
*gangekıplena'ñu* (to be used) to strike the fire with Kor. 30.7  
*gavannıntalen* she lost a tooth (*va'nmiñın* tooth) Kor. 32.8

The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

- tı-maiñi-lau'tı-prı'gtırkin* (Kor. Kam. *tı-mai'ñi-ławtı-prı'ktıkin*) I  
 much head suffer

Verbs with incorporated object are intransitive. They may be made transitive, however, when they are referred to a new object.

- qaanma'arkin* he slaughters reindeer  
*qaanmi'rkin* he slaughters reindeer for him  
*tıri'łhičvi'ğıt* (Kor. Kam. *tıyı'łhičvi'ğı*) I finger-cut thee (i. e., I cut  
 your finger)

In a number of Koryak examples verbs with incorporated object appear as elements of incorporated complexes. In these cases they are always treated as intransitive verbs.

*qim-a<sup>h</sup>lu-éu' éu-naw-i-üm* hard-excrement-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

*tig'i lñu-ná'w-iy-üm* snowshoe-strings-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

(c) Verbs with incorporated noun expressing instrumentality.

*otti-kipčé'wa* by striking with a stick 48.10

*ni-ke'g-teqiliniñiku'qinet* groping about with the palms 73.26

*gamolêtiño'laat* they are covered with blood 91.27

Koryak:

*éilimmlulá'tikín* he licked with the tongue Kor. 56.3

### § 118. Composition of Verbal Stems

Compounds consisting of two verbal stems are quite common. In all of these the first stem appears as qualifier of the second stem.

*tê'rgi-pli'tkø* finished crying 27.11

*a'un-ré'na-tíla'gti* with easy flying motion 16.8

*nu-waqø-tva'qênat* sitting they were 62.9

*qämi-pli'tkuk* (Kor. Kam. *a'wyi-plittük*) eating finishing (i. e. after the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb *gami-tva* TO EAT.

*vr'yi-tiui'wunin* breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:

*ga-mława-nka'w-len* she ceased to dance Kor. 48.6

*g-awya'-nkaw-len* he refused to eat Kor. 51.3

*gen'aëixčat-paa-nvø'-lenat* to send them away ceased began they Kor. 72.2

### § 119. Adverbial Composition

Intransitive verbs are combined with verbal stems in the same manner as they are with nouns, and then assume adverbial functions. Stems expressing modality, quality, quantity, appear frequently in this position. The forms are quite analogous to those treated in § 116.3.

*ine-teñ-mpi'lkuum* thou hast well vanquished me 17.7

*qa-tan-yoro-tukwa't-yê* arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6

*tur-q'i'tilm* newly frozen 13.7

*tur-uré'tilm* newly born 21.6

*tør-kalênño'qênat* newly adorned ones 29.1

*liê-narau'tilø* truly wife-seeking 57.1

*a<sup>h</sup>qa'-rkíla* badly pursued 17.6

*tur-ewkwé'tyi<sup>s</sup>* he departed just now

*tí-teñ-yilqä'tyä<sup>k</sup>* (Kor. Kam. *tí-mal-yilqa'tík*) I slept well

## Koryak:

- aqalapñivo'ykin* looks badly Kor. 13.8  
*ga-agai'paLen* it fitted badly Kor. 34.9  
*ga-qayičhīlanñivo'len* it began to be a little light Kor. 18.1  
*ga-qa'yī-čulin* he chopped it small Kor. 53.6  
*tañ-a'wyeñvoi* he began to eat well Kor. 20.7  
*ga-mal-īnai'vulen* he bit well Kor. 41.4  
*ga-mal-hinta'wlen* he fled well Kor. 41.7  
*ga-tuyī-kmiñā' t-i-gūm* I have recently given birth Kor. 64.13

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

*a'ričhī-tva'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *a'yitñi-tva'ykin*) you are lying on the side

### § 120. Multiple Composition

Compound terms may include more than two elements of the classes described in the preceding sections.

*ä'qä'-lū'mñi-ñe'us'qät* (Kor. Kam. *aqā'-lū'mñā-ñā'wrs'qat*) a bad, lazy woman

*čaubwā'-gā'i'miči-lau'lčrñm* reindeer-breeder-rich-man R59.4.

*tañ-č'lčr-tčñ-po'gñm* a good, heavy ice-spear

*tī-me'ñi-leu'ti-piqtirkm* (Kor. Kam. *tī-maiñi-lau'ti-pi'ktirkm*) I greatly head am aching

*qine-č'i'in-mi'mli-i'łhič* give me warm water!

*iču-wgi-ne'lrrkm* heavily breathing he becomes (i. e. he sighs)

*nčl-čp-rilhi'līñm* thimble-put-on-finger, the second finger

*t-uwä'quči-lqār-re'thrt* I husband-destined for brought to thee (i. e. I brought you a suitor)

Other examples have been given before.

### § 121. Composition in Kamchadal

The composition of words in Kamchadal is quite similar to that of Chukchee and Koryak.

*ke'li-yū'nyučx* (Chukchee *ke'li'li-re'w*) spotted whale

However, the collected texts show that the use of compounds is much more restricted. Besides, constructions are found that do not agree with the synthetic method of Chukchee and Koryak.

*ñi'mcx'in p'ič!* child being a woman (i. e., daughter)

(Chukchee *ñe'kik*, Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kak* woman-child)

In Kamchadal *ololaxi<sup>en</sup> k'i'sti<sup>en</sup>č* SMALL LITTLE HOUSES the adjective remains an independent word, as is indicated by its being in the plural form.

## § 122. Consonantic Shifts

It has been stated before that the consonants *l* and *č* are closely related. A comparison of the parallel forms in *l* and *č* show that the former sound applies often to generalized terms and continued actions, while the latter expresses the special term and single momentary action. This explanation applies well enough in some of the following examples, but not by any means in all of them.

It would seem as though this process were no longer free. Still, a few times I heard the change introduced as though it were still functional:

*palomtč'lrkin* and *pačomtč'lrkin* he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

*leivu*, *čeivu* TO WALK

*l* forms:

*ga'mga-notai'pū nilei'vuqinet* they traveled through every country  
17.9

*gamga-vairgč'pū nilei'vuqin* he traveled to every being 18.5

*nutč's'qāk pagtalkoi'pū nilei'vuqin* he traveled through the clefts  
of the ground 22.6

*yei'velqāi ku'likū ralai'virñoi* an orphan child shall (from now on)  
travel alone 24.10

*keimi'tilā lei'vuk rāč'nutqāiti ge'ilā* to traveling shaman small  
things must be given 25.9

*gūmna'n atčā'ta lei'wukin mi'ilhr* ' give you the means of trav-  
eling secretly 93.4

*atčā'ta qālei'wuič* walk about in secret! 93.5

*notai'pū lei'wulit luč'ninet* he saw them walking about in the coun-  
try 113.11

*id'm nilei'vutku-i-gir* why don't thou wander about (all the time)?  
87.18

*č* forms:

*lautitkma'ta čei'wutkuč* he walked (for a little while) on the heads  
8.6

*kita'm mičei'vutkučk* let me go 79.27; 80.10

*qla'ul pūki'rgič čeivutkulin* a man arrived walking 86.26

*irga'tik ččei'vutkukū mi'tyčk* tomorrow not walking let me be!,  
i. e., tomorrow I shall not go 87.9

*nēme čei'vutkuč* again he went 87.25; 88.1

*nēme čvei'vutkurkin* again he was going (for a short while and  
once only) 88.7

*luwi* (initial), *lvi* (medial); *ɛuwi* (initial), *ɛvɪ* (medial) TO CUT

*l* forms:

*gelew'tilvilin* the head was cut off 86.7

*ɛ* forms:

*nečvilkui'vuä<sup>n</sup>* they cut it off 27.3

*nine'ɛviqin*, *nine'nuqin* he cut it and ate it 43.10 (see also 72.18)

*ničvi'tkurkin re<sup>w</sup>* he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)

*ləla'lhričhin gečvi'lin* he cut the eye 106.19

*ginonə'ti ɛuwi'nin* he cut it in the middle 109.33

*kile* (initial), *rkile* (medial); *kɪɛ* (initial), *rkɪɛ* (medial) TO FOLLOW

*a<sup>q</sup>q<sup>a</sup>-rkila* difficult to be pursued 17.6

*kileu' milva'wka<sup>n</sup>* I should not be able to follow 17.5

*kila'wkə<sup>ɛ</sup>* she followed 31.2 (here a single act)

*kile'nin* he gave pursuit to him 57.8

*ɛ* form:

*kɪčauča'tyč<sup>ɛ</sup>* he ran off quickly 57.5

*kɪpl* (initial), *rkɪpl* (medial); *kɪpɛ* (initial), *rkɪpɛ* (medial) TO STRIKE

*l* forms:

*ki'plnən ɔm leu'tik* he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26

*ga'rkɪplilən* he struck her (until she let go) 31.4

*ɛ* forms:

*ɛ'nikit kɪpɛ'ɪ'tkenən* suddenly he struck it 35.11

*ninenimnuteu'qin ɔtti-kɪpɛč'wa* he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10

*nənarkɪpčeu'qin* he gave it a push 53.5

*lilep* (initial), *lep* (medial); *ɛičep* (initial), *čep* (medial)

*l* forms:

*lile'pgi<sup>ɛ</sup>* she looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14

*qäle'pgi<sup>ɛ</sup>* look up! 79.11; see also 107.14

*lile'pürkm<sup>ɪ</sup>* he looks on

*ɛ* form:

*ɛiče'pgi<sup>ɛ</sup>* they looked about 86.22

*riiče'urkin* he inspects

*talaɪwu*, *tačaiwu* to strike

*nitalai'wuqən* they strike him 59.7

*natačai'wuan* they struck him once 59.5

*pli*, *pčɪ* to finish

*uwi'k pli'tkurkin* his body becomes ready

*tuwi'k-i-pčɪ'tkurkin* I become ready-bodies, i. e., grown up

*-lqiu* verbal suffix expressing requested action; *-s'qiu* verbal suffix expressing single action

*l* form:

*nitul'e'lqiuqinet* they would come to steal 13.4

*é* (*s'*) forms:

*qantó's'qêulên* he rushed out 57.11

*qânıggeus'qi'wkutkı* go and wake them up at once 56.3

*-lıku* AMONG A NUMBER; *-êıku* INSIDE

*l* form:

*uttı'lıku* among the trees

*é* forms:

*plé'kırıku* in a boot 43.4

*wus'qũ'mêıku* in the darkness 34.5

*-qal*, *-qaé* by the side of

*ragro'lmıngal* from the rear side of the house 51.10

*grınkqa'é* by thy side 9.3

*-lqân*, *-s'qân* TOP<sup>1</sup>

*l* form:

*koivı'lqan* top of glacier 91.16

*é* form:

*grı'thıs'qân* surface of lake 144.3

*nute's'qân* surface of ground 98.24

*meł-*, *meé* LIKE TO

*l* form:

*meł-wwä's'qué* it seems my husband 49.9

*é* forms:

*meé-ü's'qälpe* somewhat quick 45.10

*maé-êto'pêl* somewhat a little better 135.7

A number of nouns show generally the *l* forms, but have in cases when parts of the object or special forms of the object are named *é* forms.

*yê'lıéhın* tongue 40.10

*rı'lıhın* fingers

(*qlık*) man

*u'nel* thongseal

*mêmil* seal

*yêrı'tkıréhın* tip of tongue 40.4

*rıéhı'ıtkın* finger-tips

*qäčıkrı'êhêčq* the man transformed (similar to a man)<sup>2</sup>

*uncêv'êhın* thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30

*mêmičê'êhın* thong of seal skin 134.31

<sup>1</sup> See also *-lqân* AROUNDING IN (§104.39).

<sup>2</sup> See Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 449.

*mulɪ* blood*gamodé'pılén* full of dried blood  
68.2

Also:

*tɛl* sick*tɛ'čirgin* disease 133.7*lä'ɫɛ* winter*čä'čɛ* cold

To this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:

*lu'rkın* he sees*čuv'-tu'mgin* or *lu'-tu'mgin* old acquaintance (= seeing companion)*lél'łhın* mitten*čé-mıngı'lıñın* glove (=mitten hand)*li'gıg* egg*čıg-ı'-ttım* egg-shell (=egg-bone)*vél'łhın* ear*vilu'-ttım* or *viču'-ttım* auricular bone*vilu'ptırkın* he marks the ear (of the reindeer)*eviču'ptiki* (reindeer) without ear-mark

Attention may also be called to the relation between the nominal endings *-čhın* and *-łhın*, which have been treated in §§52, 53, and which may also be considered from this point of view, *-łhın* being used in nouns with indefinite meaning, *-čhın* in those indicating particular representation of the class of object.

In other cases the forms in *l* and *č*, while related, do not differ in their more or less specific character, but in other ways:

*qulılé'erkın* he cries*qučičé'erkın* he shouts, makes a noise*gemlé'tın* it is broken*gemčé'tkulın* broken to pieces*ũmı'lın* *ũ'lo'ñét* the whole day*ũmı'čı-čó'ñét* or *ũmı'č-ũ'čó'ñét*  
a long time*añqa'lı-ı'ra'mkın* maritime people*añqa'čı-ı'ra'mkın* reindeer-breeders who come in summer to the seashore*lı'ñılın* the hearty one, avenger (from *lı'ñılın* heart, *lıñılé'erkın* he avenges)*čıñé'erkın* he yearns for something

## §§ 123-124. Numerals

### § 123. Introductory Remarks

The system of numbers is derived from manual concepts. Even the expression TO COUNT really means TO FINGER (Chukchee *ri'łhırkın*, Kor. Kam. *yılñé'kın*, HE COUNTS [from stem *rilh-*, Kor. Kam. *yılñ*, FIN-

GER]). In a number of cases the relations between the numerals and manual concepts can easily be given.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.		From stem
<i>mi'Liñên</i>	<i>mi'Liñên</i>	five	<i>ming</i> HAND (CONTRACTED FROM THE ABSOLUTE FORM <i>mingi'Liñin</i> )
<i>am-ñiro'otkên</i>	---	eight	<i>am-ñiro'kên</i> JUST THE THIRD (i. e., OF THE SECOND HAND)
<i>gon'a'ëñkên</i>	<i>gonya'aëñin</i>	nine	<i>gon-ya'aëi</i> (KOR. KAM. <i>gon-ya'waëi</i> PROBABLY ONE BEHIND i. e., ONE FINGER LEFT OVER)
<i>mingi'tkên</i>	<i>mingi'tcên</i>	ten	BELONGING TO THE HANDS, REFERS EVIDENTLY TO THE COMPLETION OF THE COUNT ON TWO HANDS
<i>kilhi'nkên</i>	---	fifteen	MAY BE DERIVED FROM STEM <i>gítka'lh</i> FOOT, REFERRING TO THE FIVE TOES OF THE FIRST FOOT, ADDED TO THE TEN FINGERS
<i>qli'kkin</i> BELONG- ING TO A MAN	<i>qlik</i>	twenty	A MAN, REFERS TO ALL THE FINGERS AND TOES. THE FORM <i>qlik</i> IS OBSOLETE IN BOTH LANGUAGES.

Larger numbers are composed with *qli'kkin* or with the ordinary modern word *qla'ul* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) MAN.

The term *qliq-qli'kkrit* or *qli'kkin qla'ul* FOUR HUNDRED is the highest term of the older Chukchee numeration. Every number higher than four hundred is called *gryeu'-te'gin* LIMIT OF KNOWLEDGE. In modern times this term, under Russian influence, has been applied to express the idea of ONE THOUSAND. This recalls the old Russian term for TEN THOUSAND ТМА (Greek *μύριας*), which literally signifies DARKNESS.



In Chukchee, 11, 12, 13, etc., contain the particle *pa'rol* (also pronounced *pa'roč*) BESIDES. This element, however, may be omitted. It is not used in Koryak. The numbers 9, 14, 19, 99, are negative verbal forms containing the negative prefix and suffix  $\epsilon$ -*kĕlĕn* (see § 114, 4).

*amngɪtkaw'kĕlĕn* not being the tenth

*akɪlhrnkaw'kĕlĕn* not being the fifteenth, etc.

When used as nouns, all numerals may take post-positions. When numerals stand with nouns with post-positions, they form compounds with the nouns for which the stems without affixes are used.

*mɪngɪt-kalĕ'tola tačrĕn-plĭ'tkœ'k* I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (*mɪngɪt* ten; *kalĕ'tol* scratched one; *-a* instrumental; *t-* I; *ačrĕn* debt; *plĭtko* to finish)

Numerals are also compounded with personal pronouns.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>ñire-mu'ri</i>	<i>ñi'ye-mu'yi</i>	we two
<i>ñiro'-męre</i>	<i>ñiyo'-mu'yu</i>	we three
<i>ñi're-tu'ri</i>	<i>ñi'ye-tu'yi</i>	ye two
<i>ñire'ngeri</i>	<i>ñiye'čhe'i'ti</i>	they two

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, *-čę*, *-čĕ* (Kor. Kam. *-ča*) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except *qunę'čĕ* ONCE (Kor. *qu'n'ač* Kor. 53.2), which is derived from *qun* SINGLE.

*ñira'ča giwi'kinek* on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix *-yut*; (Kor. Kam. *-yut* [dual], *-yü'wgr* [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix *ęm-* JUST (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except ONE.

*ñireqe'urkrn* (Kor. Kam. *ñiyeqr'wikrn*) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, *-nĕñ* (Kor. Kam. *-lañ*) (see § 124, p. 841).

The Kamchadal numerals have almost been lost, and their place has been taken by Russian numerals. Only the first four numerals are still in use, side by side with their Russian equivalents. The word *büne'jrn* HE COUNTS is also derived from the stem *lüx* FINGER (absolute form *lüxlüxĕ*).

Numerals	Cardinal	Iterative	Ordinal
1	<i>kõn'i'n</i>	<i>qun</i>	—
2	<i>kasx, ka'cix</i>	<i>ntel</i>	<i>nte'lñin</i>
3	<i>ëok</i>	<i>ëol</i>	<i>ëo'laña</i>
4	<i>ëak</i>	<i>ëal</i>	<i>ëa'laña</i>

*ka'cix kcxo<sup>ε</sup>n* two dogs

*ka'cxo<sup>ε</sup>n li<sup>ε</sup>l* two mittens

*ëo'ka<sup>ε</sup>n kcxo<sup>ε</sup>n* three dogs

Kamchadal *qun* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *qun* SINGLE.

Kamchadal *ëok* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *ñiyó'x* THREE.

Kamchadal *ëak* may be compared with Kor. Paren *ñiya'x* FOUR.  
(perhaps from an older form *ñiëa'x*)

### § 124. Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	Koryak Paren
1	<i>Enné'n', n'ëé<sup>ε</sup>n</i>	<i>Enna'n</i>	<i>Enné'n'</i>
2	<i>ñi'räq</i>	<i>ñi'yax</i>	<i>ñi'ëax</i>
3	<i>ñiro'q</i>	<i>ñiyó'x</i>	<i>ñiyó'x</i>
4	<i>ñira'q</i>	<i>ña'yax</i>	<i>ñiya'x</i>
5	<i>mi'LIñên</i>	<i>mi'LIñen</i>	<i>mi'LIñen</i>
6	<i>Enna'n mi'LIñên</i>	<i>Enna'n-mi'LIñen.</i>	
7	<i>ñëra'-mi'LIñên</i>	<i>ña'a-mi'LIñen</i>	
8	<i>am-ñiro'otkên</i>	<i>ñiyó'-mi'LIñen</i>	
9	{ <i>qon'a'ëiñkên</i> <i>amingitka u'k ë-</i> <i>lên</i>	<i>qonya'aëiñin</i>	
10	<i>mingi'tkên</i>	<i>mingi'tëen</i>	<i>mingi'tken</i>
11	<i>mingi'tik</i> <i>En-</i> <i>ne'n: pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik Enna'n</i>	
12	<i>mingi'tik</i> <i>ñi'rä</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik ñi'yax</i>	
13	<i>mingi'tik</i> <i>ñiro'</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik ñiyó'x</i>	
14	{ <i>mingi'tik</i> <i>ñira'</i> <i>pa'rol</i> <i>akihink a u'k ë-</i> <i>lên</i>	<i>mingi'tik ña'yax</i>	
15	<i>kilhi'nkên</i>	<i>mingi'tik mi'LIñen</i>	

	Chukchee.	Koryak Kamenskoye.
16	<i>kilhi'nikenne'n'</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik enna'n mi'</i> <i>Liñen</i>
19	{ <i>kilhi'nik ñira'</i> <i>pa'rol</i> <i>elikkeu'këlin</i> }	<i>mingi'tik qonya'añiñin</i>
20	<i>qli'kkin</i>	<i>qlik</i>
21	<i>qli'kkik enne'n'</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	
30	<i>qli'kkig mingi'</i> <i>ikên pa'rol</i>	{ <i>qli'kik mingi'tên</i> <i>ñiyox mi'ngitu</i>
40	<i>ñi'râq-qli'kkin</i>	{ <i>ñi'yax qli'kit</i> <i>ñi'yax mi'ngitu</i>
50	<i>ñi'râq-qli'kkig</i> <i>mingi'tkên</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	{ <i>ñi'yax qli'kit e'n'ki</i> <i>mingi'tên</i> <i>mi'Liñen mi'ngitu</i>
60	<i>ñiro'q-qlé'kkên</i>	{ <i>ñiyox qli'ku</i> <i>enna'n miLiñen mi'n-</i> <i>gitu</i>
80	<i>ñira'q-qlé'kkên</i>	{ <i>ñi'yax qli'ku</i> <i>ñiyox mi'Liñen mi'n-</i> <i>gitu</i>
99	<i>amiliñqlêkkau'</i> <i>këlin</i>	
100	<i>milinglê'kkên</i>	{ <i>miLiñen qli'ku</i> <i>mingi'tên mi'ngitu</i>
200	<i>mingitqlê'kkên</i>	<i>mingi'tên qli'ku</i>
400	<i>qliq-qli'kkin</i>	<i>qlik-qli'ku</i>

Numerals are verbalized by the suffix *-eu* (Kor. Kam. *-aw*, *-(i)w*).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>ñireq'urkin</i>	<i>ñiyeqi'wikin</i>	he is double, he is the second
<i>ñiroqa'urkin</i>	<i>ñiyoga'wekin</i>	he is threefold, he is the third

**-nleñ** (Kor. Kam. **-lañ**) with numerals form collective terms.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>Enne'nleñ</i>	<i>Enna'nlañ</i>	a single one
<i>ñire'nleñ</i>	<i>ñiya'glañ</i>	two together
<i>ñirg'nlañ</i>	<i>ñiyog'glañ</i>	three together
<i>ñira'nlañ</i>	<i>ñayag'glañ</i>	four together

## § 125-131. Adverbs.

## § 125. MODAL ADVERBS.

Modal adverbs are formed by means of the inclusive affix  $n(r)$ -eu, (Kor. Kam.  $n(r)$ -au) (see p. 810.) These forms are parallel to the adjective form  $n(r)$ -qin (see § 49).

*nɾme'leu* well (Kor. Kam. *nɾma'lau*) stem Ch. *mel* (Kor. Kam. *maɭ*)  
*nɾme'leu qatva'ê* be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer.

*nɾmei'neu ga'tvülên a'ttɾn* he made a great promise, a dog 101.21  
*nü'mkeu ki'wkiw ni'nelqin* the nights passed (there) became  
 many 108.8 (*ki'wkiw* is sing.; *nü'mkeu* adverb).

These forms however are not used very frequently, especially in Koryak. In most cases they are replaced by adverbial composition (see § 119, p. 832).

Kamchadal -q designates adverbs.

*öm̄q* deeply (adjective *ö'mläx* deep)

*mé'ëaq* far (adjective *mé'ëalax* distant)

*k!i'jhıq* shallowly (adjective *k!i'jhılax* shallow)

NOTE.—I have found a few forms in Kamchadal which correspond to Koryak forms:

*n'mi'ta* (Kor. Kam. *n'mi'tau*) warily (adjective *n'mi'tqin*)

*nu'ra<sup>ε</sup>* far.

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

*a'tqêuma* (Kor. Kam. *atêinau* regular) badly R 62.72 (stem *ä<sup>ε</sup>qü*,  
 Kor. Kam. *a<sup>ε</sup>qa*; adjective form *e'tqin*, Kor. Kam. *a'têrñ*)

*mé'ëEN'ki* (*méč < mel* good; *EN'ki* there) well 67.22

*mé'ëEN'ku-wa'l-ê-üm* I am a fairly good one 114.34. Here *mé<sup>ε</sup>*  
 does not assume ablaut (see p. 763)

*mé'rinře* slowly (stem-*nř*; adjective form *ni'nřäqin* slow)

A number of synthetical bases are used as adverbs, either without any change or mostly with added -i, -qi, -aki, -êti which are locative and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with *va'ln* (Kor. Kam. *i'tal<sup>ε</sup>n*), (see § 76).

As adverbs they always have the ablaut, those without suffix as well as those with the suffix -i, -qi, although the locative generally is used without ablaut.

Adverbs without suffixes are —

*o'ra* openly 121.30; stem *urę* (Kor. Kam. *o'yañ*) (see p. 862.)

*oma'ka* (Kor. Kam. *oma'ka* Kor. 61.2) together; stem *umęke*

*yé'ta* in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem *yítə*  
*a'lvá* (Kor. Kam. *a'lváŋ*) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem *əlvə*  
 (Kor. Kam. *alva*)

With suffix *-kɪ*, *-qɪ*

*té'kɪ* of cylindrical form; stem *tík*.

*koulo'qɪ* (Kor. Kam. *ko'lon*) round; stem *kuwl*.

*a'rkičɪ* (Kor. Kam. *aykičə*) aslant, stem *arkič* (Kor. Kam. *aykičə*)

*a'rkičɪ qata'é* (Kor. Kam. *ay'kičə qata'waŋ*) more aslant!

*vé'tɪ* truly 120.24 (*vé'té* 107.8); stem *véth*

*vé'tiré* straight (irregular); stem *véth* (adjective form *nuwé'thəqên*)

*gə'mə* without my knowledge; *gə'mu* 103.5 (Kor. Kam. *a'mu*  
 Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem *-(t)hém* not to  
 know.

*rathéma'un* without my knowledge 11.9. The affix *re—əu* is  
 causative.

*gəwé'tɪ* without my knowledge 120.37; stem *-(t)hiu* not to know;  
 allative.

*pulhirra'kɪ* flatly; stem *pɪlhirri*

*apaqa'ɫɪ(ŋ)* (Kor. Kam. *apaqa'éɪ*) face downward; stem *apaqalɪ*.

*pɪ'tvɪ*, *pɪtva'kɪ* double; stem *pɪtv*

*é'mpü(ŋ)*, *émpa'kɪ* downcast; stem *imp*

*tɪ'mla*, *tɪmla'kɪ* close to; stem *tɪml*

*yɪ'éhɪ(ŋ)*, *yɪéha'kɪ* uninterrupted, stem *yɪéh*

and several others.

Those with the suffix *-étɪ*, *-gɪ* express a diminished intensity of  
 the adverbial term:

*čeuté'tɪ* somewhat low; stem *čɪut*

*qalé'gɪ* somewhat lazy; stem *qälɪ*

*yərgé'tɪ* somewhat foolish; stem *yurg*<sup>1</sup>

*qəwré'gɪ* somewhat hasty; stem *qəwrɪ*

*tañé'tɪ* somewhat better; stem *teñ*

All these forms combined with *-va'ɫɪn* (Kor. Kam *i'talan*) are com-  
 monly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix  
*ti'nkɪ* quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

*ti'nk-a'tqəuma* quite badly

*ti'nk-ä'qälpe* with great hurry

*ti'nkɪ-me'rɪnře* quite slowly

<sup>1</sup> See also *yərgətu-wa'ɫiéhɪn* a foolish one 65.3.

Some others may form diminutives, as—

- kitkinn'u'qäi* very little 118.6  
*qariagan'ə'qai* a trifle more 106.6.  
*ɛr'məeqäi* very near 100.15  
*vi'n'vEqäi* very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

Chukchee.	Koryak Kam.
<i>ɛr'məɛ</i> 103.9 near .....	<i>ɛei'mɪk</i>
<i>ya'a</i> 113.20 far.....	<i>ya'wak</i>
<i>ya'al</i> , <i>ya'ai</i> 119.29 in the rear.....	<i>ya'wał</i>
<i>aŋo'ol</i> in the front, earlier; <i>aŋo'oča</i> 8.7 in the front, down the coast.....	<i>aŋa'yol</i> Kor. 39.7
<i>gɪrgo'l</i> 68.35; <i>gɪrgo'gča</i> 123.7 above.....	<i>gɪcho'ł</i> , <i>gɪcho'ča</i>
<i>iu'ɪl</i> below.....	<i>i'wɪł</i>
<i>ɛ'uča-ɛuči'pü</i> from below 131.5.....	
<i>mra'</i> on the right hand.....	<i>mɪya'</i>
<i>ña'ɛɛn-ki</i> , <i>ñaɛ(h)-e'n-ki</i> ; stem <i>ñaɛh</i> , on the left side.....	<i>ña'ɛñiñ-gač</i> , <i>ñaɛñe'ɪ</i> ; stem <i>ñačñ</i>
<i>ro'ɛɛn-ki</i> 52.11; stem <i>ročh<sup>1</sup></i> , on the other shore.....	<i>yočñe'ɪ</i> ; stem <i>yočñ</i>
<i>ña'rgɪn</i> ; stem <i>ña'rgɪn</i> outside.....	<i>ña's'hɪn</i> Kor. 64.8
<i>o'nmɪ</i> inside.....	<i>anɪnka'ɛɪku</i> Kor. 60.9
<i>onmɪɛkoi'pü</i> from within 59.9.....	
<i>e'mi</i> where (is it) 81.16.....	
<i>ɛ'čča</i> , <i>ɛ'ččaŋ</i> near the surface.....	
<i>ɛ'čča nɪtu'nai</i> if they had remained on the surface 68.27.....	
<i>ra'nau</i> straight ahead.....	(K. K. <i>ya'nau</i> , Kamchadal <i>čñil</i> )
<i>ɪ'mla</i> close by.....	(K. K. <i>ɪr'mɪa</i> , Kamchadal <i>ti'mal</i> )
<i>ña'ñil</i> on both sides, on all sides 129.24.....	<i>pa'łñɪ</i> Kor. 58.2
<i>rɪma'gɪ</i> farther on, beyond.....	<i>ɪrmai'ɪ</i>
<i>a'čhɪɪ</i> side by side.....	<i>a'čñita</i>
<i>em-nu'ñki</i> inland 112.6.....	<i>am-nuñik</i>
<i>wü'rrɪ</i> on the back.....	<i>wü'ssɪñ</i> Kor. 30.3
<i>ya'gna</i> in the presence.....	
<i>riagnau'ki</i> ( <i>ri-yagna-u-ki</i> ; <i>ri-u</i> causative) opposite to 100.28.....	
<i>kamle'ɪ</i> around.....	
<i>am-ɪga'nɪ</i> back to back.....	
<i>ye'tir</i> half-way 109.1.....	
<i>rɪnere'</i> askance.....	
<i>woɪva'ki</i> across; stem <i>wuɪv</i> .....	<i>mał-vołve'ɪ</i> , <i>vołva'ki</i>
<i>ɛulɛɛ'ɪ</i> lengthwise.....	<i>eu'ɪetñ</i>
<i>ɛe'če</i> along.....	
<i>qa'ɛɪ</i> , <i>qa'ča</i> close to (see § 100.26).....	
<i>ai'gəpü</i> windward 111.10 ( <i>gɪg</i> odor coming with the wind; <i>-ɛpü</i> ablative).....	

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and verbal stems, or with the locative of the noun.

<sup>1</sup> The form *ročh'ɪ* to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

*nuwolvênaña'vragên* across sitting was carried 145.3 (*n(u)*—*qin* nominalizing prefix; *wulv* across; *ineñe* to sit on a sledge; *va* to be)

*gãmüggag'gna* in my presence

*êulêté'l-va'lrn* of elongated shape 91.15

*ya'rau-liha'nlrnqač-va'lrn* to the houses from the other side being 11.7

*tê'rki-rgo'l* at sunrise 104.16

*va'am-girgogča'gti* up river 119.14

*kamlê'lr -ya'rak* around the tent 104.20

*yoro'wti kamlê'lr* sleeping room all around 12.10 (*yoro'wti* allative)

*ve'emik va'ê<sup>s</sup> qa'ča* he lived close to the river 122.8

*Nota'rmêñqača* close to *Nota'rmeñ* 121.10

### § 127. Temporal Adverbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>tí'te</i>	<i>tí'ta</i> Kor. 27.7	<i>i'te</i>	when
<i>é'n'kí</i>	<i>é'nki</i> Kor. 39.2	<i>kna<sup>é</sup>n, ñur</i>	then
<i>én'ñite'q</i>	—	—	of late
<i>li'mña</i> 19.1	<i>gü'mlañ</i> Kor. 84.11	<i>té'nax</i>	again
<i>pi'tkä-lumña</i>	—	—	double again, i. e. the third time
<i>ya'not</i> 43.9	<i>ya'not</i>	—	at first
<i>yep</i>	<i>ye'ppe</i>	—	still
<i>te'le</i> 7.1	—	—	in olden times
<i>telenye'p</i> 112.20	<i>ankryep</i>	—	long ago
<i>tite'ep</i>	<i>titoo'n</i>	—	from what time on, after a long time Kor. 57.5
<i>gr'nnil</i> 83.19	—	<i>i<sup>é</sup>ne</i>	recently
<i>grnmrye'p</i>	—	—	from recent time on
<i>i'gít</i> 21.1; 36.9	<i>a'čhi</i> Kor. 30.9	<i>ne<sup>é</sup>n</i>	now, at present
<i>a'vε</i>	<i>ai'grve</i> Kor. 78.26	<i>a'činčk</i>	yesterday
<i>aivend'a'p</i>	—	—	from yesterday
( <i>arvεñ-yép</i> )	—	—	on
<i>ai'go'on</i>	—	<i>qlank</i>	lately
<i>ai'goond'a'p</i>	—	—	from late times
( <i>ai'goon-yép</i> )	—	—	on
<i>irga'tik</i>	<i>miti'w</i> Kor. 21.8	<i>a'jujk</i>	to-morrow
<i>kitu'r</i>	<i>vo'tin-ai'ñun</i>	<i>i'xiltu</i>	last year
<i>kituje'p</i>	—	—	from last year on
( <i>kitur-yép</i> )			

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>kitur-ño'on</i>	—	—	many a year ago
<i>yawri'nak</i>	<i>ya'wyrin</i>	<i>tal'a'nank</i>	next year
<i>pe'le</i> 20.2	—	—	soon
<i>pi'tkä-yawnak</i>	—	—	the year after next
<i>ët</i> 17.6	—	—	before this
<i>pa'nëna</i> 54.9	<i>pa'nenä</i> Kor. 15.6	—	another time
<i>ï'ne, ï'neñ</i> 113.11	—	—	early
<i>quli'ninek</i>	<i>quli'nikak</i>	—	
<i>aiök</i> 118.20	<i>va'yuk</i> Kor. 21.3 <i>va'ak</i> Kor. 56.5	—	afterwards
<i>ñä'nenqač</i>	—	—	} day after to-mor- row
<i>qolê-t-a'lo'</i>	<i>qolê'-a'lo'</i>	—	
<i>ai've ñä'nen- qač</i>	<i>aigrv-ai'gi- večña</i>	—	day before yes- terday
<i>imičičeo'ñët</i>	<i>a'mñuč</i> , Kor. 53.1, <i>a'wun</i> <i>a'mñut</i> Kor. 54.5	<i>könčpol</i>	always
<i>a'mkınıčeo</i> 112.8	—	—	all the time
( <i>e'mk</i> in every)	—	—	
<i>čeo</i> probably analogous to <i>čę</i> nu- meral ad- verbial; a suffix)			
—	<i>ai'num</i> Kor. 61.1	—	long ago
—	<i>a'mliřn</i>	—	after that Kor. II
<i>quli'-thi'wik</i>	—	—	in future years
<i>čiq-čtuwä'k</i> 44.4	—	—	all at once ( <i>čiq</i> see 113.13)
—	<i>yu'laq</i> Kor. 16.2; 64.10	—	for a long time
<i>wü's'tku</i>	<i>wü's'tku</i> Kor. 31.2; 41.2; 47.9; 80.2	—	just then
—	<i>wo's'twañ</i> Kor. 96.8		



Chuckchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>un<sup>ε</sup>'tku</i>	<i>itu<sup>ε</sup>'pil</i>	—	after a while (see <i>êto'pel</i> Ch.)
—	<i>akila<sup>ε</sup>'ê</i> Kor. 27.4; 28.3	—	just now
—	<i>akila<sup>ε</sup>'t</i> Kor. 27.5	—	
—	<i>vê'tha-go'nom</i> Kor. 56.10	—	just now
—	<i>pičê'</i> Kor. 14.11	—	for a while
—	<i>qo<sup>ɫ</sup>a</i> Kor. 70.14	—	after a while
—	<i>qu'lin</i> Kor. 60.2	—	afterwards
—	<i>ñinvo'q</i> Kor. 13.5	—	many a time

A number of these are adverbial phrases:

*qulí'nínek* at something else (from *qulí* some, *ní'kek* see p. 731).  
*qolê-t-a<sup>ε</sup>lo'* another day  
*rimíêréo'ñêti* all days  
*irga'irk* on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

*irgat'iti* towards to-morrow  
*irga'thüpi* from to-morrow

Others, like *lümña* AGAIN, *yanot* AT FIRST, do not take post-positions.

Seasons of the year, sections of the day and night are expressed by the locative—

*wulqätvi'k* in the evening time 120.3 (*wu'lq* darkness -*tví* to attain a certain quality §110, 68)  
*lä<sup>ε</sup>le'nikí* in the winter 51.1 (stem *lä<sup>ε</sup>leñ*)  
*irgiro'k* at dawn (*irg* dawn; -*ru*: phenomena of nature (§110, 71))

Following are some examples of their use.

**yep** still

*yep wu'kwu ya'rañi na'qam* but the tent was still stone 107.11  
*yep irgiro'ka* while (the day) was not yet dawning 56.8  
*mí'nkri re'lqu va'ma yep* while he is still in the inner room 135.15  
*telen-ye'p* in olden times 61.5  
*telen-ye'pkin* belonging to olden times 61.5  
*yep e'čhi* not yet

**gI'nmIlkin** lately

*e'nmen lu'ur gI'nmilkin ro'o* then there was the one who had lately been eaten 35.9

*me'mēlqai gI'nmilkin eni'n tmyo' yarro'nēn* the seal he had lately killed, he put in his bosom 43.8

*gI'nmilkin lo'o* the one recently seen 104.8-

**pe'nin(e)** as before

*pe'nin nima'yenqanačhın* of large size as before 20.5

*pe'nin eni'n i'gitkin lu'elqäl* it was his face as before 77.14

*pe'nin tautawa'tilin* as before he barked 104.13

*peninei'-git lei'wul-i-git* from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12

*pa'nēna releulewe'urkin* will you as before do wrong? 20.12-21.1

*pa'nēna nikitima'tgen* he was as before extending his hands 47.8

*qün've'r e'nmen rga'tik pa'nēna wulqätvi'ie* at this time then in the morning it became as before dark 54.9

*go'onqan panēna'gti genlete'tä* that to the former (place) is carried 133.2

**Koryak:**

*assa'kin pa'nin gayo'olen* the one of the other day (who) before had found him Kor. 52.6

*pa'nenā . . . ga'npilen* another time he stuffed it in Kor. 15.6

*qa'wun pan'i'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge* though some time thou wilt marry some one Kor. 78.17

*pa'ninau vača'pgrčnu . . .* the scars of former times Kor. 86.1

**čit** FORMERLY

*a'men čit gūmu'w-čei'mgutä a<sup>e</sup>qa'-rkila gene'l-i-üm* before this, in my own mind, I have become one who can hardly be pursued 17.6

*enqa'n wi'nä čit eñe'ñkälın* that one formerly had no spirits 60.1

*čit vai ke'le eččaka'ta nilei'wuqin* formerly there ke'le wandered outside 61.6

*qailo'qum čit kime'k me'čēn'ku-wa'l-ēum* in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34

*čit ūm wutkekinei'-gūm* formerly I belonged to this place 97.10

*guwēle'li'n čit* one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11

*čit mitu'ren'mik ēli ge'nu ni'rā-mu'ri* before we were born to father, we two R44.2-3

The following example seems to refer to the future:

*čit eliḡiqai'gūpū ta'a<sup>t</sup> e'un wi'na* after some time they passed by the father's place and (there was) nothing 109.34-35

**tele** in olden times

*te'le e'nmen . . . nāqāliči'tqinet* in olden times, then they were at war 7.1

**pe'Le** soon

*naqa'm pe'Le nãmqriv'i'qin* but soon it decreased in size 20.2  
*pe'Le ñeu's'ttrn topa'wkwê<sup>s</sup>* soon the bitch was 104.7

**a'ĕhi va'n** this time

*aĕhi va'n qo'npũ maĵa'ti* this time it grew much better Kor.  
 20.5-6

*e'ĕhi-van ti'nmin* this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13

*aĕhi va'n qaye'm* this time not Kor. 54.3 (see also Kor. 20.5;  
 54.3)

**a'ĕhi** just now (i. e. before a little while)

*a'ĕhi ni'w-i-gi qanga'tiykrn* now you said, "it burns" Kor 30.9

*aĕhi'kin nenenaye'ye-ge?* wert thou looking for it just now?  
 Kor. 49.8-9

*aĕhikr'ĕu-ai'naka* now do not cry! Kor. 60.7

See also Kor. 68.13

## §128. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions, Chukchee.

On the following pages I give a list of adverbs and conjunctions without attempting to differentiate between the two groups. The meaning of many of the adverbial or connective particles is so uncertain that a division seems hardly possible. Many of them have such nice shades of meaning that they can not be rendered adequately in English.

The use of such particles is much more extended in Chukchee than in Koryak. In Kamchadal most of the particles, particularly most conjunctions have been lost and replaced by Russian loan-words.

The particles occur frequently in groups as will be seen for instance in the use of *ũm*, *elo'n*, *a'men*, etc. Some are always postpositional and tend to unite phonetically with the word they modify (see examples under *ũm*)

**ũm, Im, -m** an emphatic adverb. It is always postpositional and seems to emphasize the word to which it is attached

Following nouns:

*en'a'q ñe'us'qät ũm . . . ganra'gtalên* then the woman . . .  
 took it home 28.5-6

*pënyo'lhri ũm nlete'tyi<sup>s</sup>* the hearth blazed up 32.3

*wũ'rgirgin ũm vai ge'pkilin* the noise reached there 32.13

*nrpina'ĕhin ũm eli'gin geñe'wänä* the old father and his wife 33.9

*enqa'n* *e'n'ki erre'ë ñe'us'qät*, . . . *gora'k üm uwä's'quë* there was only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the husband 51.9-10

*uwä's'quëitü üm* by the husband 39.6

*yorou'ti üm* to the sleeping room 39.10

Following pronouns:

*wo'tqan üm vai* this one here 45.12

*enqa'n üm vi'n'vi te'rgilin* this one who was weeping secretly 49.1

*gümna'n üm* I 137.1

Following verbs:

*teqe'lignin üm a'mi* she made a cap too 28.8

*ye'tti-m vai* she came there 29.13

*qaplëta't üm gora'ni* the reindeer fell down 51.6

*guq, gemi's'qälün üm, a'ni* it is deep! 53.1

*mimpëla'a<sup>en</sup> üm* let us leave it 53.1

The emphatic *üm* appears frequently in combination with other particles. Examples of these will be found on the following pages.

*I'mI* also, furthermore,

*i'mi am-vryë'irgä gi'lhin naranauño'ñin* furthermore, by only breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4-5

*i'git i'mi yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'viññoi* furthermore, from now on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10

*imi ñouñou'lin in e'le wu'tku epki'rkälün q ü'nurk* not even a hair here would reach me 93.6

*i'gir i'mi Nota's'qa-Va'irgin narataaro'ñiñoñin* from now on, furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

*enqa'at gei'lqäleet i'min* they also were sleeping 55.2

*Ina'n* exhortative particle

*pu'ru ina'n wo'tqan va'le mi'ilhir* in exchange let me give thee this knife 15.12 (see also 93.30; 103.31; 104.3)

*ina'n am-taaro'ña qätër'gıtkı no'ta-mla'irgıtkon* only with sacrifices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2

*le'uti-te<sup>en</sup> ina'n nanwa'qea<sup>en</sup>* let the head-sufferer be seated! 45.11

In the following example *ina'n* appears with the future:

*ina'n tre'etyä meë-ä's'qälpe* I shall come quickly 45.9-10

The following are probably derived from the demonstrative stem *en-*

*E'nikit* all at once

*na'qam E'nikit poi'ga nıti'npügên üm* but all at once they struck him with a spear 36.2

In most cases *E'nikit* appears in coordinate clauses and may be translated AS SOON AS

*e'nmen E'nikit rilu'tku* then all at once he moved 16.5

*E'nikit uwi'k kipër'tkônên* (as soon as) he struck the body (i. e. himself) 35.11

*E'nikit ùm naramata'git* (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9–10

*E'nikit gai'mi'èin nigite'ä<sup>s</sup>n* (as soon as) they looked upon the wealth 107.16

*E'nikit reèipe'tyä<sup>s</sup>* (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22

*E'nikit ne'rgiä<sup>s</sup>n ilule'tyi<sup>s</sup>* as soon as he was loose he stirred 102.25

*E'nikim gite'nin* . . . as soon as he looked on it 23.9

**Enna'nI** in like manner

**Enña'q** then (see under *e'nmen*)

**Enqana'ta** therefore (instrumental of *enqa'n*, BY THAT)

*enqana'ta E'nqu tilgı'rkınêt* therefore I gave them up R46.39

*enqana'ta ño'è-e-ùm gene'l-i-ùm* therefore I become poor R45.28

*gaño'twey-güm enqana'ta qo'n'pu* therefore I became quite poor R45.28

*enqana'ta ilva'-nota'gtı titêggê'ñırkın* therefore I wish for the wild reindeer country R46.52

*enqana'ta çauçuwa'-ra'mkîçha a<sup>s</sup>'ttın niggi'pqın* therefore the reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

**En'ke'mır, En'qe'mır, En'ke'mır e'ur** moreover (see also *açhê'mıra*)

*en'qe'mır e'ur a<sup>s</sup>qa'-ra'mkîçhın ya'rat* moreover, they are very bad people R 53.20–21

**En'qam** then (see under *e'nmen*)

**En'ñata'l** THIS TIME.

*en'ñata'l ùm li'itı'lıı-gır* from now on I shall know thee 93.21

*en'ñata'l enqa'n ru'nin* this time she ate 90.6

*en'ñata'l añañaqáčagtı . . . ri'ntımınêt* this time she threw them seaward 49.6

*en'ñata'l kırıvete'ru qınetei'kıtık* from now on jostle me! (literally with elbow jostling do me) 61.3

*en'ñata'l ùm revı<sup>s</sup>'ntık* this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19

*en'ñata'l ùm qalhêqamı'tvatık* of that you may eat your fill 65.31

*en'ñata'l ùm qa's'qäçe'wkwi<sup>s</sup>* this time he did it in earnest 83.20

*en'ñata'l ùm lu-ora'wêłan* this time they were real people 84.29

*en'ñata'l ùm i'ppe gına'n i'me rä<sup>s</sup>'nut em-gıñı'itä nıne'ntı-gıt* this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20

*en'ñata'l ùm na'nmırkın-ê-gıt* this time he will kill you 114.32

*en'ñata'l enqa'n êrrêttêgın* this time it is ended R4.50

**'nkri** gratis**EN·ñi'n** thus

*nignopitva'qên EN·ñi'n iri'èiku* he remained crouching thus in his coat 7.4

*EN·ñi'n ùm ñan nipi'u'riqin* thus that one plunged along 8.11-12

*qagno'pgê* . . . *EN·ñi'n* crouch down thus 32.4

*e'Le EN·ñi'n va'la inenu'küli-muri* not of [thus being] such we eat 34.9-35.1

Also 9.4; 15.4; 90.1, 10; 94.1; 95.34; 105.17

**EN·ñu** thus

*E'n·ñu-wa'l-ê-git* such a one art thou 70.25

*EN·ñu-wa'li-tê'rê* such are you 106.28

**E'n·ñot** thus

*ni'wkwä<sup>s</sup>n E'n·ñot* they spoke thus 78.4

*ti'wkwä<sup>s</sup>k E'nñot* I say thus 15.8

**ELO'n** emphatic particle

*gik ELO'n* oh! 10.1

*ELO'n ginni'ku ne'lyä<sup>s</sup>t* now they became (our) game 12.2

*gik, e'nmen ñipe'ä<sup>s</sup>t. ELO'n re'mkin tumge'wkwä<sup>s</sup>* oh, they landed.

Now the people became friendly 14.1

*ELO'n EN·ñu'-wa'lê-git* such a one art thou 21.11

*ELO'n mirri'wkut-hit* let us bind thee 23.8

*ia'm ELO'n ten·ñe'urkin* why doest thou laugh? 30.3

*ELO'n nara'nmägit* they will kill thee 37.10

*ELO'n vai tryi'lrkin-i-git* this one I give thee 104.1

*ELO'n gina'n ELO'n Piti'yñ-i-git* thou art Rheum 103.21

*i'git ùm ELO'n* but now! 123.18

Here belongs also—

*e'miLon* somewhere 97.23; 121.1 (< *emi-ELO'n*)

*e'miLonai'ñin* (augmentative of *e'miLon*) 43.6

**awe'tuwaq** suddenly, at once

*awe'tuwaq êwkwê'tyi<sup>s</sup>* suddenly he left R 13.27

*yilg-awe'tuwaq ñaus'gati'yñin orgü'tkiri kenema'nmen* at once he tied the girl to the sledge R 13.23

**a'MEN ùm ELO'n** expresses displeasure, somewhat like German

“aber doch” without disjunctive meaning.

*gik, a'MEN ùm ELO'n notas'qa'wkwê<sup>s</sup>* Oh, the land is near 8.8 (“aber das Land ist doch nahe”)

*guq, a'MEN ùm ELO'n èi'mquk pêla'arkin* oh, some are leaving 8.9.

*guq, a'MEN ùm ELO'n . . . re'mkin qäiñunre'lqiä* oh, the people will come 10.3-4

*guq, a'MEN ùm ELO'n minrwwurkin-i'-git* let us tie thee 20.9; see also 23.13

*a'mEN ðm ELO'n e'tqi nintewimin:ge't-i-um* I was badly tortured by them 21.9

*a'mEN ðm ELO'n Nota's'qa-Va'irga ini'wkwie* I am told by the Ground-Beings 23.11-12

*guq, ELO'n ðm a'mEN ga'mga-varrge'pü timete'wkwäk* among all beings I could not do it 18.9

*ELO'n ðm a'mEN, wotqanai'nin ELO'n garaqêcha'Lên* that big one, what has the bad one done! 31.9

*amEN ðm ELO'n wot uwä's'quçitä ai'mak em e'lu getei'kilin* this husband made the whole carcass into excrement 81.11

*a'mEN ðm ELO'n ñe'us'gät-i-gir* so you are the woman 136.15

***a'mEN*** seems to introduce an unexpected event—AND THEN UNEXPECTEDLY—or to introduce an entirely new idea, to which emphasis is given 40.4; 41.12.

*a'mEN ðm e'nmen pënyo'lhin nuurgirge'tqin* and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8

*e'nmen ðm uwä'quç gla'ul a'mEN ðm nitvétëa'qên wülh-ê'räqaiä a'mEN ðm vai li'i-teñ-ewirälän* then the man, the husband, was standing there unexpectedly with a little thin fur shirt, unexpectedly really well clothed 33.2

also 24.1; 29.11; 33.11; 39.3, 4, 5; 38.9, 11; 81.1; 88.8

*am, a'mEN* oh! (another idea) 56.8

—, *a'mEN-!* 58.7

*a'mEN-ðm* 8.10; 9.5; 13.10; 9.13; 39.3; 58.5; 65.20; 77.29; 80.25; 89.9; 93.31; 99.1; 101.2

*a'mINam* (= *amEN-ðm* 15.10)

*a'mEN ðm ñot!* such a one 98.33

*a'mEN ðm ELO'n* 8.8, 9; 10.3; 39.1, 13; 41.6; 64.1; 81.11; *ELO'n ðm a'mEN* 31.9 (see under *ELO'n*) it should not be expected, but

*a'mEN ðm qarê'm* 16.9; *a'mEN qarêm* but I will not! 16.1

*a'mEN ðm naqa'm* 39.4; *na'qam a'mEN* 63.11; however

*venli'i ðm a'mEN* 40.7

### ***a'mI***

*tepe'lignin ðm a'mI* she made a cap too 28.8

*nananaga'gëñin ðm a'mI geggeu'lin* the little child awoke 55.3

*telenye'p ðm a'mI* long ago 61.5-6

*kirga'm ðm a'mI* . . . well (if you had found him) 121.4

***a'nI*** an emphatic particle (?)

*e'nmen a'ni qänu'r qun nute's'qän* then certainly just like ground 8.6

*e'nmen a'ni gïlu'tkulin* then she practised shamanism 39.7 (see also 39.8, 9; 40.4; 102.15; 104.35; 105.2, 15; 109.32)

*geçenite'lin ðm a'ni* she was startled 29.6-7

*genpeu'lin ïm a'ni* he became quite decrepit 107.26  
*a'ni,geilrtkoi'vulin u'kkäm* so they distributed vessels 14.1  
*a'ni,gilu'tkulin* he beat the drum 107.9  
*a'ni,getrpeiñe'lin* he continued to sing 102.17  
*a'ni a'ttau* for no particular object 30.4  
*a'ni qu'num,qanto'êe* oh, look here! come out! 81.27

**atau'** without purpose; for no particular reason; it does not matter  
*atau',li'en re'qärkin* (you went to no purpose) what is the matter  
 with thee? 18.6

*atau',le'nvö* (to no purpose, only) in order to be looked at 19.2  
 (also 19.6; 23.1; 30.4; 48.12; 125.1,6)

*ata'um ni'rgipa'tqên* to no purpose was he discussed 15.7

*g<sup>ei</sup>ñkeli'y-gir, a'ttau* it is your (own) tattooed face; (you act) to  
 no purpose 77.8

*attau' grrgo'l-qla'ulo nine'lhäqin* for no particular reason he  
 takes it for the man above 124.6-7

*guq, attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'taqätêr'gin* just get (your) sledge ready  
 105.20 (see also 119.18)

*e, qu'nä, a'ttau* oh, well, it does not matter 78.7

*guk, attau' gumik* oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down) 78.24

**açhê'mIra, açhê'mIra-ñ-e'ur** moreover (see also *en'ke'mr*)

**a'limI** disjunctive

*a'limI alo<sup>e</sup>ka'gti va'le-ïm* although I am invisible 22.10

*a'limI va'le ra'qalqal* however, there is no need of the knife 57.4

*ka'ko, a'limI inelu'kälinet* he has not seen them anyway 70.32

*ya'am tile'lit a'limI lu'ur ñan titqä'nninet* but it swallowed them  
 71.3

*a'limI quwalo'märkrn ïm vê'ti* do obey! 88.10

*a'limI eñe'ñilrn* however, he was a shaman 105.1

*a'limI kamagra'ñnoi* he really gave a start 101.16-17

**a-lü'mña** expresses surprise (see *lü'mña*)

*g.uq, a-lü'mña qai've git* oh, is that so, is it thou? 97.13

*a-lü'mña* is that so? 121.1; 125.7

*a-lü'mña ño'on me'ñin* who was here? 109.21

**a'qälpe** quickly 122.2

**ei'uk, ai'ök**

*ma'n ai'ök neu'tte'pik trenurete'ur* let me in due time make it  
 appear (be born) through a female dog 121.31

*gik,gimik ei'uk ekälu'k* oh, in due time (I see) thee at last 19.4

*en'qa'm ma'n ai'ök . . . re'etyäe* then after a while . . . he shall  
 come 83.5-7

Also 118.20



*e'un* seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.

*má'ñkri, e'nmen, ge'mge-ná'kin ñá'ngái nêna'gtoqên, e'un navi'e'qin*  
how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8  
*ñi'lhá ge'wkuLin e'un ninenlpe'tqäet* with thongs he is tied and  
he breaks them 20.9

*e'ur pükirgîe e'un nelki'nkü<sup>st</sup>* then she came and they had gone  
abroad 31.2

*e'ur enqa'n ä<sup>st</sup>twet geti'neñelin, e'un gepli'tkuleet* and that boat  
was loaded and they had finished 31.1

*qagno'pgêe . . . e'un ele'pkä* sit with head bent down . . . and  
do not look 32.4-5

"*en'ñe' ele'pkä,*" *e'un walo'mgêe* "Do not look!" and she obeyed  
*e'un nine'évigin* and they cut it 72.18

*e'un gepelqäruçu'linet ñe'wanti* and their wives had become de-  
crepit with age 72.29

*ëq-älvam-val'lit, e'un r'pe kele'tä gayo<sup>e</sup>'laat* how very extraordi-  
nary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8

*e'nmen e'un e'n'ki ntvá'qên i'me-rä<sup>e</sup>'nut* and then there was  
everything 106.32

*e'un yara'nø nine'lqin* and it became a house 107.14

*gik, rpe't üm e'un!* (now they are coming!) 11.10

*gik, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gik* oh, but it was not there 27.11

*gai'müin nigite'ü<sup>n</sup>, e'un kukwa't-koko'nalhin* they looked at the  
wealth and all was turned into dry leaves 107.16

NOTE: Not to be confounded with the prefix *e'un-* ACTUAL, PRIN-  
CIPAL, as in *e'un-ñe'lvül* PRINCIPAL HERD; *a'un-gêta'gti* JUST IN THEIR  
SIGHT 83.28

*eur, eur-üm* is connective AND with the added connotation AT  
THAT TIME; it always refers to two events taking place at the  
time.

*ra'gtia<sup>st</sup>, en'qa'm e'ur lünnêna'êe* they went home, and at the same  
time he also followed 120.26

*e'ur girgironat'lên, a<sup>st</sup>ttwilä niëamitaqên* at that time the dawn  
came, (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9

*e'ur rirka'ta i'unân,* "E'ur y'lqä narayo<sup>e</sup>gît, muru'wmil qaiñe'i"  
at that time the walrus said to him, "At the time when sleep  
overtakes you, roar like we (do)" 10.6

*e'ur üm qo<sup>e</sup>laro'a<sup>st</sup>, Aiwahuanpina'ëhäqai gi'ulin* at the time when  
they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island  
man said 11.10

*a<sup>st</sup>ttwu-yê'ñki nigite'qin, e'ur üm geyi'reLin* they looked into the  
canoe and at that time it was full 67.6

*e'ur* is used also quite frequently as conditional.

*e'ur Iumetu'nu ri'tyã<sup>s</sup>, rine'newkwã<sup>s</sup>* at the time when you are *Iumetun*, you shall make me black 23.6 (= if you are the same); also 24.2

*kita'm e'ur li'ê-va'irriñki gañau'tiñ-ê-git, vai u'mki qagti'gin* this time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring a polar bear 110.5

*ie'tik e'ur tegge'ñirkin, gina'n êi'mñutã* if actually you want it, do as you please

*ewi'ũ'mña < e'ur lü'mña* or, or again

*ewi'ũ'mña e'kik* or again the son R 23.88

but *e'ur lü'mña* 98.9

Before the initial *n* of the following word *e'ur* changes to *e'un* (see § 7.20; § 11). See 20.8; 72.18

Still *e'un* and *e'ur* are not identical, *e'ur* being used as connective AND between separate nominal (or verbal) forms while *e'un* is not so used.

*gettu'tã e'ur geleu'tirgitkutã* with blowing or with scratching the head 126.7

*ilh-a<sup>s</sup>ttin e'un, e'ur ñm uneci'chin* also the white dog and the thong-seal 102.29; also 97.18

also 8.7; 9.2; 21.6; 31.1, 2, 3; 98.9

NOTE: Between proper names, instead of the connective *e'ur*, the plurals of the personal pronouns may be used.

*Gi'thulin e'rri Tña'irgin geñewtu'mgã* Sunset and Dawn are connected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they Dawn)

*mu'ri Qla'ul* I and *Qla'ul* (lit. we *Qla'ul*)

### *eple'un*

*ki'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñtvi'e<sup>s</sup>* well, did he really obtain shamanistic power? 18.4

### *ewkurga, ewkurga-m* however

*ê'wkurga tu'mgitum wi'ñã* however, companion none (i. e. my companion is not with me) 11.1

*ê'wkurga ginenceññitew-i-git* however, you have frightened me 15.10

*ê'wkurga tilv-a'minan trene'lhã* (if I do so) however, I shall be all alone 31.13-32.1

*ê'wkurga Nota's'qa-Va'irga nēnanwēthawa'tgēn* however, the Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9

*egei', ê'wkurga ča'mam* all right, however, (it will be) in vain 108.30

*ê'wkurga-m čotolēu' o'čē nīne'lh-i-ñm*, however, that under my pillow I have for my leader 128.13

*êwkurga-m* *ɪLO'n vai nitermeče'nqin* however, he does much violence 66.26

See also 45.7; 66.14; 79.20; 84.6; 85.8

*e'pte* likewise, in the same manner

*qän've'r kime'k êna'nmuê<sup>s</sup> e'pte güm* at this time almost you killed me likewise 121.16, 17

*attau' a<sup>s</sup>'ttu milhı'a<sup>n</sup> e'pte güm* simply as a dog I'll use it (I) likewise 135.20-21

*e'pte grnni'g-gül'lit ne'mägäi gına'n nêna'n<sup>mê</sup>-gt* likewise the game procurers also thou has killed 44.9-10

*a'mEN üm ɛLO'n e'pte güm mñau'trıga<sup>s</sup>k* let me likewise take a wife R12.8

*emİte't* at once, just now

*emİte't üm muwê'nñıtaaq* I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see 32.2 *emİte't üm* in final position)

*emİte't üm tê'rgılın ra'qal ñan* even thus crying for what? 27.12  
*quq, emİte't üm evı'rrıt qätei'krıqınet* oh, at once clothing make! 49.4

*emİte't-üm tıpêla'nat nıme'lqınet* I just left them in safety (= good ones) 53.4

*emİte't-üm ataa'nkêlin tê'rgılın* they did not touch the one who cried, (so at once . . .)

*emİte't üm qagtı'grn* bring it at once 111.3

*emİte'tım tıgıte'ä<sup>n</sup>* I looked on her 88.30

*e'tI* evidently, probably.

*e'tım vai nıpa'tqênat vên'va'kı* evidently they cooked them secretly 9.9

*e'tım nu'tenut mırneı'meukwä<sup>n</sup>* evidently we are approaching land 9.11

*e'tım am gemge-nute'qın* evidently from every country 11.4

*e'tım a'mEN kuwı'ên tre<sup>s</sup>'tyä<sup>n</sup>* evidently I brought Children's Death 20.1

*e'tım ke'lek qäli'ketyi<sup>s</sup>* evidently thou wilt marry a kele 26.2

*ê'tım wu'tku* evidently he is here! 125.2

*e'tım ñıro'rgarı* there many have been three 97.26

*ɛLO'n üm ê'tım* evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) 31.10; 108.22

*ê'tİİIn* necessarily

*êto—*

*eto'qaiä'qañ rıpkire'nnın* after a while he brought her back 51.4

*e'nmen êto'qaiä'qañ üm gre'lgı<sup>s</sup>* after a while he vomits 136.24-25

*qai've-mäê-êto'pêl* indeed I am a little better 135.7-8

*erre'è git êto'pêl* thou art most fit 135.19

*êto'pêl en'ki iwku'ê'i<sup>s</sup>* she better drank then (i. e. she could drink then) 37.4

*ê'togon wo'tqan qâimi'tgm* will you take this one?

*ê'togon mirrenu'tergî-gît* shall we bury thee rather in the ground?

R 60.23

*e'nmen*, *EN'qam*, *EN'ra'q* THEN, coordinating conjunctions. Of these *enme'n* seems to express the most definite temporal sequence, *EN'qa'm* a closer temporal connection, while *EN'ra'q* should be translated *in turn* and indicates a still closer connection. It seems to depend upon the liveliness of the narrative which of these three is used. The first one is the most frequent connective conjunction, although a constant use of *EN'qam* is not rare 62.6 et seq.

The difference between *e'nmen* and *EN'qa'm* appears most clearly when their use alternates; as in the following examples.

*EN'qa'm ENqa'n Umqâqâi'imâ rilhîndigîwe'nnîn ñe'us'qât. e'nmen lu'ur e'grîpgî<sup>s</sup>* At that time U'mqâqâi pointed with his finger at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7-8

*EN'qa'm ENqa'n Umqâqâi'ntî gegînteu'înet; e'nmen qu'ttîrgîn qa'at nerrî'net* at that time U'mqâqâi and his people fled; then the others untied the reindeer 63.10-11

*EN'qa'm nite'gîñqîn . . . e'nmen nîten'ñe'w-i-âm . . . EN'qa'm gî'ulîn* At that time she sniffed . . . then I laughed a little; . . . then she said 72.11-13

*e'nmen ya'yak qamîtvâçâ'qên mî'tqak, EN'qa'm ENqa'n rîyîrrai'-nênat* then the gulls ate all the blubber and at that time they anointed them

*en'men wî'lkan qâteî'kîgîn . . . EN'qa'm dîncîkou'tî qînenî'ntrî-* then make a woodpile and throw me into the fire! 31.12-13

In all these examples, the impression is conveyed that *EN'qa'm* signifies a closer connection than *e'nmen*.

The form *EN'ra'q* is parallel to *mø'rgîn-raq* WE NEXT 69.22 and *gûm-raq* I NEXT 77.21 Its meaning IN TURN THIS TIME appears clearly 17, 23, 96.11.

*EN'ra'q* appears also together with *e'nmen*

*e'nmen nute's'qân EN'ra'q nuwêthau'qên* then this time he spoke to the ground 15.9-10

*e'nmen EN'ra'q ya'yakit namîngukwa'arkînat* then in turn he rewarded the gulls 74.28-29

In the beginning of a story *e'nmen* means ONCE UPON A TIME.

**e'nmeč** because

*va'nêvan ni'tvinên, e'nmeč ūm nayilhau'nên* she did not tell him anything because she feared his anger 88.22-23

*e'nmeč ūm e'un pūki'rgi<sup>ε</sup> ya'rak garančēmau'lên uwä<sup>ε</sup>quč* when she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10-11

*e'nmeč ūm ñan e'čhi wulgätvi'i<sup>ε</sup>, keñkele'nnin* because of this, before evening came, he made her descend 97.5-6

*e'nmeč ä'qälpe* because of this, hurry up!

*e'nmeč gepli'tkulin* and already it is finished

*e'nmeč qui'mik ta'la'iorkin* already I soil my trousers 94.19

*e'nmeč wi'yolu qi'nelhi'rkin* already you shall have me for a servant 95.7, also 95.15

**eče'nur eču'ur**

*eče'nur vintuwi'lin* it shall be (this way) a well trained one 24.6

*eče'nur . . . veime'nu nere'lhırın* it shall be (this way) one who is kindly treated 25.8-9

*guq, eče'nur ye'ta qäle'tik* it shall be this way! (you shall) move on slowly 65.28

*eču'ur yep vai atêvga'tka vai yepte'Le<sup>ε</sup>t* it shall be this way! as yet without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40

**ečhi** before

*e'čhi ras'gêuño'a<sup>ε</sup>t čit nepi'rirkın qla'ulqai* before they could enter they attacked the man 85.15

*e'čhi yilqä'tyüt ganto'lên* before they had gone to sleep he went out 8.4

*e'čhi eime'wkwı<sup>ε</sup> irgiro'ñnoi* before it approached the dawn came 9.12

See also 10.9, 12.10, 11; 13.3; 20.3; 31.3; 55.6, 8; 97.20

Followed by *-rkin* WHEN ABOUT TO—

*e'čhi pelqänte'erkin . . . gapêkaqta'lên* when about to come back, she fell down 97.20

*e'čhi čit qamı'tvarkın lu'ur pi'rinin* when she was about to eat, after that he caught her 87.12

*e'nmen e'čhi re<sup>ε</sup>nılä te'grırkının lu'ur i'wkwı<sup>ε</sup>* then, when the bow-man was about to fling the harpoon, after that he said 10.10

**elhile'ñki** in case, if

*elhile'ñki relu<sup>ε</sup>'nin* in case you should see him

**erre'č** only

*erre'č qun ñe'ekik* an only daughter R 12.10

*erre'č enqa'n ñe'ekik* (there was) only that daughter 28.2

*erre'č ñiro'rgarı* there were only three of them 34.3

*na'gam erre'č yi'lül ru'rkinin* he eats only tongues 49.3

*erre'č ūm am-gitka't gegnu'linet* only just the legs were left 51.4  
*erre'č ai'kolak molı'yñın ūm* on the bedskins was only blood 56.4-5  
*erre't-te'grn* limit of end (i. e. it is the end); from *-tegn* limit (only  
 in compounds) 64.2

*erre'č mi'mıl, ya<sup>s</sup>rat mi'mıl nıne'uğın a'mkıncö* only water,  
 verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

***eke'In*** but (weaker than *naqa'm*)

*eke'in git nrıu'l-r-gıt; gi'newän ūm gümna'n me'čen'kı tre'ntıñın*  
 but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well

***ekälu'k***

*gırık ei'uk ekälu'k* at last for thee 19.4

***ekeña'n, ečena'n*** I wish I could (with subjunctive *b*)

*ekeña'n gümna'n tr<sup>s</sup>pi'reä<sup>s</sup>n* I wish I could take it

***eke'upčI*** and now, but now

*eke'upči tıplı'tkurkın* and now I am finishing it

***ia'm > İyam*** why 19.5

*ia'm ELO'n ten'ne'urkın* why are you laughing 30.3

*ia'm peğči'ñu nıne'lhi-gır ora'wêlan* why doest thou meddle with  
 man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11

*ia'm gemge'-gırni'k qo'nmu<sup>s</sup>an* why do you kill all the game?  
 92.32

***iu'kä*** oh if! I wish—

*guq, iu'kä qaiä'qañ mınqamı'tvarkın* I wish we could eat more  
 65.4

*guq, iu'kä mınpontorkın-ê-gıt* I wish I could eat of your liver!  
 95.19

*iu'kä ño'onqan mırı'nmärkın* I wish we might kill this one 70.22

***i'ppe, yI'pe*** actually

*en'qa'm i'ppe mükiçer'yñın . . . gata'lên* then actually very  
 many . . . moved 11.7

*en'ñata'l ūm i'ppe gına'n* this time it is really thou 93.20

*e'un r'pe kele'tä gayo<sup>s</sup>'laat* now really kele visit them 106.8

*i'pe-qun* really 45.3

*güm, gu'nä li'i-i'ppe ti'urkın* I, indeed, quite truly say 57.2

***i'tik***

*i'tik a'men ärunte'erkın* in reality thou desirest 24.11

*garê'mên ora'wêlan, i'tik ūm ke'lê* (she is) not a human being,  
 in reality she is a ke'lê 29.9

*garê'mên i'tik lü'mñıl* this is not a real myth 61.5

*gık, attau' i'tik ūm ti<sup>s</sup>lu<sup>s</sup>'ä<sup>s</sup>n* in vain, if in reality I had seen  
 him 121.6

*galê<sup>s</sup>oçrıa'-mê<sup>s</sup>ê i'tik ūm* in reality we have met 121.23

*Nota's-ga-Va'irga leule'wu ine'lhri<sup>ε</sup> li'en i<sup>ε</sup>'tik* the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1

*li'en i<sup>ε</sup>'tik amñi'čvirñla gū'mik rñvike'urkin qarê'm mĩlmala'ñ-ñoa<sup>ε</sup>k* just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10

*i<sup>ε</sup>'tig lū'mña Tño'tirgê-git* in reality again, thou art Tño'irgin  
*i<sup>ε</sup>'tig lū'mña qarilñna'n-gê<sup>t</sup> eñe'ñetvii* in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11-12

***i<sup>ε</sup>'ngun*** lest

*nēnaio'qên i<sup>ε</sup>'ngun nere'lu<sup>ε</sup>ñin* she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3

· · · *i<sup>ε</sup>'ñgun vai kintaya'n ragno'urkin vê'ti gĩnni'k* lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3

*nĩni'uqinet, titi't remle'gitki, i'ngun nere'lu<sup>ε</sup>ñin* he said to them, "You will break the needles!" lest they should look at them 82.12

***i'git*** now

*i'gir i'mi Nota's-ga-Va'irgin narataaro'ñiñofin* now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

*qu'num i'git ãm minra'gtatya<sup>ε</sup>n* let me now take it home 121.28

*i'git-ãm-ilo'n o'ra tryo<sup>ε</sup>'wkut* now I have come to thee openly 123.18

***ya'net*** first

*go,gũm ãm ya'net* oh, I first 43.9

***ya'nña*** separately, alone

*nĩkiu'qin ya'nña* she passes the nights by herself 28.3

***ya<sup>ε</sup>'rat*** very (sometimes *ya<sup>ε</sup>'čat*)

*nĩhi'lqinet ya<sup>ε</sup>'rat* very hot ones 9.9

*ya<sup>ε</sup>'rat nite'nqinet* very good ones 14.8

*nite'ñqin ya<sup>ε</sup>'rat* a very pretty one 36.3

*eñeñtvi'i<sup>ε</sup> ya<sup>ε</sup>'rat* he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10

*ya<sup>ε</sup>'ran niglo'qên* she sorrowed very much 27.10

*a'men ãm ya<sup>ε</sup>'rat* verily! 85.2

***yaka'n-kIn*** probably 9.13

***yäqqäi*** a particle giving a slightly emphatic shade to the phrase, like German "ja"

*yäqqäi' en'qa'm pe'Le tre'etyä<sup>ε</sup>* I'll soon be back (ich werde ja bald wiederkommen) 30.8

*yäqqäi' ãm qu'num tu'ri qarê'mēna-torê* ye are not (human beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4-5

*m'i'ñkri-m-e'un yäqqäi' gũmna'n mĩlu<sup>ε</sup>'a<sup>ε</sup>n tuwēlvača'arKin* how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll ihn ja finden) 124.3

*yäqqäi' -nan qit tratara'nna<sup>s</sup>* for thee I'll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38

*yäqqäi' ora'wēḷa-tainatiḥa'til-ê-git* you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6

*yäqqäi' ūm rä<sup>s</sup>'nut* what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3

*yäqqäi' ūm yaḡtalê'n'vo trye'tyä<sup>s</sup>k* have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26

***ye<sup>s</sup>li'i*** (evidently containing the element *li'i* TRULY, REALLY, see also *u<sup>s</sup>li'i*, *venli'i*, *mitel'i*, *qäli'i*, *quli'i*)

*e'nmen ye<sup>s</sup>li'i enqa'n* is he the only one? 21.13

*ye<sup>s</sup>li'i ḡümna'n* rather (let) me (be the one)

Also R 12.7

***yu'raq*** perhaps.

***opo'pə*** exhortative

*opo'pə garai'-git minle'git* thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7

*opo'pü minpa'awkut* let us stop! 98.6

*opo'pə mitalai'ruut* let me give thee a beating R 61.50

***optI<sup>s</sup>ma*** like (see Koryak Kamenskoye *opta*)

***o'ra*** openly

*ḡina'n qanra'ḡtatya<sup>s</sup>n o'ra* if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30

*i'ḡit-ūm-ilo'n o'ra tryo<sup>s</sup>'w<sup>s</sup>kut* I have come to thee openly 123.18-19

***uru'ur*** it seems that

***u'rr<sup>s</sup>i*** thus, so

*u'rr<sup>s</sup>i nūplu<sup>s</sup>tvi'qin* it was so small 20.3

*u'rr<sup>s</sup>i li'ḡki nūmqitvi'qin* thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4

*qagno'pḡ<sup>s</sup> ēriēikou'ti u'rr<sup>s</sup>i eḡ'ḡi'n* sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4

*u'rr<sup>s</sup>i minḡi'LININ ri'nnin* thus he did (with) his hand 57.10

*u'rr<sup>s</sup>i ḡan ḡini'n . . .* thus it is yours . . . 93.9-10

***wu'rr<sup>s</sup>I*** thus

*na'qam ūm neyule'tqin wu'rr<sup>s</sup>i* still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3

*e'nmen vai wu'rr<sup>s</sup>i enqa'n ḡama'tiḡolēn* there thus that one dragged her 51.1

*enqa'n ena'n ēini't wu'rr<sup>s</sup>i ni'tqin* that one there herself was thus 26.9

*e'nmen wu'rr<sup>s</sup>i puulqe'wkw<sup>s</sup>i* then he floated thus 77.23

*e'nmen e'nikit rilu'tku wu'rr<sup>s</sup>i ḡirḡola'ḡti* there at once he moved thus upward 16.5

***u'nnūk*** greatly, strongly



**uLi'i** in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye<sup>e</sup>li'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *qāli'i*, *quLi'i*)

*uLi'i yara'ni qamata'gin wu'kwên* then take also my stone-house 92.4 (in the same way 92.14, 24; 93.3, 8, 18, 26)

**ve'tI** really, truly, very, at once; an intensifying particle

*ve'ti veime'nu nere'lhriin* truly friendly he will be treated 25.9

*vêti ginni'k um a'men nenankêttuwa'tgên* truly they made game scarce by means of magic 42.4

*vê'ti nime'i'enqin* he was very large 73.9

*vê'ti niqe'twüqin* he was very strong 47.3

*vê'ti nara'nmüntik* it will kill you at once 70.12

*vê'ti-m re<sup>e</sup>w nêna'nmüqên* he killed really (many) whales 73.3

*a'limi quwalo'mürkin um vê'ti* but obey me strictly 88.10-11

*trañauti'nrkin vê'te qun* I shall marry at once 57.2

*nire'vi<sup>e</sup>ñqin vê'ti* he really wanted to die 99.27

*vê'ti, qaya'arknat nan* do sing it again! 120.24

**vetči'in um, velči'in** for my part granted!

**vê'nom**

*vê'nom ergina'n* let them (be) 55.11

Also 56.1

**vên·va'kI** secretly (see *vi'n·vi*)

**venli'i** unexpectedly 60.7; 61.2; 69.33 (Bogoras: still, meanwhile, notwithstanding), (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye<sup>e</sup>li'i*, *uLi'i*, *miteli'i*, *qāli'i*, *quLi'i*)

*qän·ve'r met·ki'it venli'i um a'men rima'gti nine'lqin* at this time somehow unexpectedly to the other side it came (i. e. nevertheless it came across somehow) 40.7

*venli'i leu'ti ki'plnên* unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12

*qai'vê teñele'erkın, venli'i aa'lomka i'irkin* indeed, I blame him; unexpectedly he does not obey

*na'qam pa'nêna venli'i nuurğeimeu'qin* but unexpectedly more thunder approached 69.30

*ne'me êuvi'pit nime'i'netqin venli'i* unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18

*venli'i nituu'qin* unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15

Also 74.4; 137.13

**vele'r, vele'r-um, vele'r um ñau** AT LEAST (Kor. Kam. *va'lan*) limited qualification of action)

*gailo'kim mi'ñkri, vele'r-um wo'tqan* indeed, how then, at least this one?

*vele'r-um mi'ëaqaro'a<sup>e</sup>k* at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124

*vele'r-im yara'ni ga'vata* although a house had been there (lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

*vele'r čirmče'tä qênata'gê<sup>ε</sup>* at least move near! 37.10 (see also 37.9,13)

*vele'rrm mitwêt'ha'urkɪn* at least I can talk with thee 32.1

*vele'r-gun, vele's'-gun* at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

**vien** < **vijen** just, simply

*tikimiče'erɪkɪn am, vi'en mewkwe'tyäk* I am staying too long, just let me depart

*vi'en pŭki'rgi<sup>ε</sup> êuño'a<sup>ε</sup>t* he just arrived (and) they began to speak 110.3

*go, vi'en gra'gɪtik* just go home! 45.9

*vi'en aa'lomkël-ê-gɪt* thou just doest not listen 54.11

**vi'n·vi**, **vên·va'ki** secretly 108.14

**pila'**, **pila'q** apparently, pretending

*pila' vi<sup>ε</sup>lɪn* pretending death 82.4; 124.6

**plägi'** that is all! 107.21 (from stem *pl-* to finish)

**mël**, **měč**, like, somewhat like (see § 113.10, 11).

**mei**

*ka'ko mei oho*, there! 14.5

**met-ki'tkit**, **met-ki'it** (?)

**me'čiču** besides

*i'tkenɪn ūm me'čičü êrga'wkwê<sup>ε</sup>* he robbed him and ridiculed him besides

**mač** exhortative particle

*mač gümna'n* let me be the one!

*mač ɪrgɪna'n* let them be the ones! R 62.70

*ma'čɪnan* < *mač-ena'n* let it be (impersonal)

*ma'čɪnan čei'vä* let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

**mite'** of course 121.6

**miteli'i** undoubtedly (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye<sup>ε</sup>li'i, uli'i, venli'i, qäli'i, quli'i*)

*miteli'i tɪla'nvu va'rkɪn riɪu* undoubtedly there is a stranded carcass 64.18

*miteli'i ranto'a<sup>ε</sup>* undoubtedly she will come out 82.21

*miteli'i kɪtkɪn'u'qai rakêrga'tya<sup>ε</sup>* undoubtedly a small bright spot will appear 118.6

**mitiu'** (perhaps *mithiu'*) I thought—

*mitiu' eñe'nɪli-gɪt* I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3

*mitiu' ke'le-i-gɪt* I thought thou wert a kele 15.11

*miti'ŭm ELO'n qäig'i'pe viri'ɪrkɪn* we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

*tam, tagam* all right!

*ge, tam!* oh, all right! 121.28

*gi, tam, a'men!* oh, all right then! 84.14

*i, tam!* yes, all right 84.19

*te'naq* if perhaps (always with future)

*te'naq nara'nmi-üm* if perhaps they should kill me

*te'če-ñ* how many times

*ne'me te'če-ñ giivi'is* again how many times a year passed (i. e. after several years) 12.8

*naqa'm* however, but

*utte'mil nımayengana'čhın naqa'm pe'le nımqıtvı'qın* like a tree was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2

*nara'nmiñqên na'qam . . . nênalwau'qên* they wanted to kill him, but . . . they could not do it 36.1-2.

*na'qam nıv'ni'uqın ne'me* but they ordered him again 59.6

*u'ttäqai—na'qam enqa'n gelelu'qäglın* it is little piece of wood!—But it has whiskers 75.4-5

*na'qam čemı'ngıt yito'nenat* but (this time) she pulled out a pair of gloves 111.5-6; also 76.4, 6, 24

*na'qam üm* is more strongly adversative

*guq, naqa'm üm re'qä* but with what then? 34.9

*naqa'm üm ño'onqan* but this one 35.1

*na'qam üm tew-mu'Lılın* but this one's blood was good 117.14

*na'qam üm nıqe'tvuqın* but this one was strong 66.20

With *a'men* it is strongly adversative

*e'nmen qu'ttırgın qa'at pe'leqäi nerrı'net, na'qam a'men Umqäqäi'in . . . nênalwau'qên* then the others' reindeer quickly were untied, but on the other hand *Umqäqäi's . . .* could not 63.11-12

*a'men üm naqa'm inpılu'tkul-i-ğıt* you on the other hand, are an old shamanistic practitioner 39.4

*naqa'm lımña* (literally *but again*). In this complex the adversative meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean AFTER ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED.

*naqa'm lımña ña'wıngêe* after all, he married 58.7-8

*naqa'm lı'mña qaa'qolên* after all he sat down 98.24

*na'qam lı'mña inennıke'wkwi* after all I am treated thus 98.28-29

*na'qam lı'mña čeq-ê'ččaq* after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25-26

*inenpelqu'utkälın üm vot, naqa'm lı'mña* he can not be vanquished, after all 114.27

*na'qam lı'mña i'lıl wi'nä ne'lyi* after all, the rain stopped 116.11-12

*naqa'm lü'mña grnni'k reurre'tyä* after all that has been done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:

*naqa'm lü'mña awgê'tkinka* nevertheless they did not say anything 26.6

*e'nmen im-nikê'rê't nikamagra'qên, naqa'm lü'mña va<sup>ε</sup>glirîn no'mräqên* then the whole night he struggled, however the grass (with which he was tied) was (too) tough (to be torn) 20.10-11.

It is also used before nominal forms, pronouns, and nominalized verbs

*kicariča'tyê* *na'qam wus'qü'mçiku, na'qam niki'tä* he galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwithstanding the nighttime 57.5

*na'qam yo'yo qän've'r . . . naa'lomga<sup>n</sup>* notwithstanding the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4

*eñe'ñilîn naqa'm go'rgulên* but the shaman had a sledge 14.10

*naqa'm am-gina'n* but only thou (i. e., but you are all alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:

*gapê'nñilên na'qam, ganmitkoï'vulên* but they were attacked, they were slaughtered 12.4

*ni'näqin ñm naqa'm* but this one was swift 40.4-5

**ne'me** again

*ne'me gitte'wkwî* again thou art hungry 9.13

*ne'me çipe'tyi* again he dived 10.1

*gu, ne'me* oh, again 36.6!

**ne'mäqäi** also

*e'nmen ñm Ai'wanat ñm ne'mäqä'i* they are also Aiwan 7.9

*e'nmen ne'mäqäi, geri'ñelîn* then he also had flown up 15.3

*e'pte grnni'g-gili'lit ne'mäqäi gina'n nêna'n<sup>mê-git</sup>* likewise the game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9-10

*nemäqäi gümna'n* I also 93.13

*ne'mäqäi enqa'n eñe'ñilîn nipe'gtimet* also that shaman is hauling a sledge 14.12-15.1

**neqe'm** but, nevertheless

*gik, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gik* oh, but it was not there 27.11

*neqe'm ñm li'v-ñelîn niqtaqin vè<sup>ε</sup>-re'mkä* nevertheless having just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

**ËI'mqūq** partly, somewhat

*ËI'mqūq nü'mkäqin re'mkin nimitva'lin* somewhat many people were encamped 58.9

*či'mqūg* *enqa'n niqulile'tqin* in part they were noisy 60.9  
*či'mqūk kuke'ėiku e'ret nıva'qēn* partly in the kettle boiled meat  
 was (left) 75.11  
*e'nmen vai yė'tvuē<sup>s</sup> či'mqūk* then it grew somewhat brighter  
 94.22-23

**ča'ma** also

*ča'ma enqa'n mač-ėwga'n titvu'rkrn* also this is an incantation I  
 tell 39.13  
*ča'ma mu'ıa e'ur* also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11  
*ča'ma li'en' ai'makık na'lai'oqēn* he also defecated on the carcass  
 81.6  
*ča'ma qu'tti ga'nmılaat* also the others were killed 98.3  
*tının-la'lı-mo'rē vai ča'ma* we come here also carrying antlers  
 121.20  
*ča'ma nuwēthau'gaat orawēıa'-mēl* they also talk like men 64.10  
*guq, a'men ūm na'gam ūm gai'miē-ai'wan ča'ma* oh, he was how-  
 ever a rich Aivan 50.7

See also 42.3

**če'mit** therefore

*če'mit gū'muk ēna'tvat epki'rka nıva'qen* therefore to me prom-  
 ised gifts do not come 93.16  
*go, e'ur qu'num če'met li'i iulule'tyi<sup>s</sup> li'mna walqa'lıñın* oh, and  
 therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8

**čē'nēt** since, because

*čē'nēt im vınřē'tilit nū'mqāqāet* since there are many helpers  
 R 4.44  
*čē'nēt ūm gaalvılu'en'ni'n nū'rri nıva'qen* since the buck is there  
 on its back R 4.34  
*čē'nēt vē<sup>s</sup>lıčım, ia'm mınyo<sup>s</sup>'a<sup>n</sup>* since he is dead, why should  
 we visit him? 108.13-14  
*čē'nēt ūmennē'n-mi'mlä giwkuči'tä* since they drink one water  
 R 45.13-14  
*čē'nēt gumni'n E'nnı-ku'prēn u'iñä enmēga'eti tralva'wñın* since  
 I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47-48  
*gu, čē'nēt ūm ili'ıä-muri* oh, since we are on an island! (an  
 exclamatory phrase) 11.11

**čite'un**

*čit gūmık ga'tvalen, čite'un ta'n'nik titva'rkrn ūm i'git* before it  
 was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying  
 now R 45.19  
*čit ai'vanana me'tal rınrırkrın . . . čite'un ūm gūmna'n wu'tku*  
*tı'nri'qā<sup>s</sup>n* before the Aivan kept the medal, . . . and later  
 (now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20-21

*éite'un akka'gti titéggé'nrkrn* and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38

*éite'un krinta'irga memilqa'a na<sup>n</sup>na'lpinn<sup>r</sup>ie<sup>s</sup>* later on (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42

*éite'un a'ttilu a'lvāngan nita'qénat* and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38

*mprič-ekke'tā riri'lpinnên éite'un vé<sup>s</sup>-wgénto'é<sup>s</sup>* the eldest son was with him later on then he gave up his breath (i. e. that he might die an easier death) R 49.15

**le'nItaq** already (?)

*le'nitaq ūm napéla'an ūm vai ne'ekik* already they had left this daughter 30.12

*le'nita'q ūm . . . éūmāa'ēhrn na'nmuga<sup>n</sup>* already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7

**li'en** and simply, and only; restricted action

*nineimeu'qinet, li'en a'ttā gape'nrčilên* they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21

*li'en élhipe<sup>r</sup>a'rkrn e'če* it is simply white with fat 81.27

*ta'yolhrn ūm lo'lo li'en* the needle-case was simply his penis 82.13

See also 67.19; 81.6; 86.8, 12, 25; 87.1, 28.

**li'en i<sup>s</sup>'tik** (see *i<sup>s</sup>'tik ūm*) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1

*li'en i<sup>s</sup>'tik kēma'wkurgē-git* and let me tell you that you are causing delay

*li'en i<sup>s</sup>'tik ra'nāitā<sup>s</sup>* and may I ask you what do you want here?

*li'en ūm i<sup>s</sup>'tik e<sup>s</sup>'tqi* and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3

*attau' li'en* utterly in vain (see *atau'* p. 854)

**luu**, before vowels *lu'un* just, just like

*loen-ai've* just yesterday

**li'i** really

*en'nata'l ūm li'i ti'lh-gir* from now on I shall really know thee 93.21-22

*li'i eneñitvi'i<sup>s</sup>* he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4

**lu'ur** AFTER THAT, THEREUPON always refers back to a preceding event.

*e'nmen ai'gēpū eiñe'utkui<sup>s</sup>, goq, lu'ur qa'at ye'tyā<sup>s</sup>t* and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32

*ačau' luwan'nen, lu'ur yopa'tyē<sup>s</sup>* she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13

*lu'ur wēthau'noē<sup>s</sup>* thereupon he began to speak 31.11

*lu'ur pintigoro'a<sup>s</sup>t* thereupon they began to emerge 102.23

*krye'wkwā<sup>s</sup>t. e'nmen lu'ur gla'ul ye'tyi<sup>s</sup>* they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11

*rihĩndĩgĩwẽnnĩn; e'nmen lu'ur e'gripgi<sup>ε</sup>* he pointed at her with a finger; thereupon she felt pain 63.7

See also 8.5; 10.8, 10; 15.1; 29.6; 61.9; 68.11; 70.27

*lu'un matali'yĩn eũnoi'* thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

**lũ'mña** again

*gu, mẽ'nko lũ'mña pi'ntĩqãtyi<sup>ε</sup>* oh, whence doest thou appear again? 10.12

*ra'ɛnota'ẽhit lũ'mña* what are these again? 14.3-4

*naga'm lũ'mña . . . ergewe'tyi<sup>ε</sup>* but again he dived 17.4

See *a-lũ'mña* p. 854.

**ripe't** even

*ripe't tẽrga'tyẽ<sup>ε</sup>* he even began to cry

*eyi'lqakẽlinet ripe't eli'gĩt* without sleep were even the parents 34.3-4

*lile'-mi'mlũ nĩpyũi'tqĩn ripe't* the eye fluid even spurted out 106.19

*ripe't ge'mu li'ngã<sup>ε</sup>n* you did not even mind it 109.25

*e'nmen ripe't tẽna'lai'okwut* I even eased myself over you 109.23

**rattãn-ñauñIn** enough 65.6

**re'en** I confess

**-řam** with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < *enřaq* ũm, *gũm-ra'q* ũm it is my turn)

*e'ũn nĩpampĩẽ'tegen enřa'm e'i'ẽhĩnẽiku aũnra'lin* he puts on tufts of reindeer hair in their turn in the armpits of the owner (i. e. the owner puts on . . .) R 4.46

*enřa'm řimne'tũ gaikola'Leet* this time they spread the skins the inside upward R 59.13

*enřa'm nĩmtu'mqãqãĩ eĩnqã'ikẽlin* on his part their camp companion has no child R 12.11-12

**kĩme'l, qĩme'l** at once (?)

*kĩme'l e'lhu ine'tẽiĩ<sup>ε</sup>* at once he has a liking for me 137.14 (see also 137.5, 11)

*enqa'm ñaus'qatẽ'ti qĩme'l* then at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

**kĩme'k** almost

*kĩme'k mĩti'nmuut* almost we killed thee 10.11

*a'men-ũm-ilo'n ti'nma ine'ntri<sup>ε</sup> kĩme'k* but now you did almost kill one 123.17-18

*qãn've'r kĩme'k eñanmũẽ<sup>ε</sup> e'pte gũm* this time you have almost killed me 121.16-17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

**kĩta', kĩa'm, kĩaũ**

*kĩaũ'*

*kĩaũ'qun, mi'ñkri ni'tqĩn* now then! how was he? 17.12 (*kĩa'm qun* 18.1)

*kitau' qun a'tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmik* well then! the big dog  
saved us 106.26

*kita'*

*kita' na'nko* go ahead! (bring him) here! 20.1

*kita'm* 46.4; 79.1; 80.10; 87.8; 94.9; 110.20; 113.21; 124.2; *kita'm qun* 16.6; 18.4; *kita'm qu'num* 21.5 well then!

*kita'm nu'nri* now then (bring home) here! 23.2

*guq, kita'm lu'mna* well! now then again! 68.17

It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

*kita'm e'ur li'e-va'irinkı gañau'triñ-ê-gıt qailhına'n'gêt, vai u'mkı qaqtı'gıñ* now then, if among real being (gods) thou hast married really, here a polar bear bring! 110.5-6. Compare 110.9-10.

***kiTa'tkE*** unfortunately 25.12

***ki'tvil-qun*** notwithstanding

***ki'nmal*** together (?)

*ki'nmal mınauñe'lmik* let us go for fuel! 30.6

*ki'nmal . . . pilıgılı'lıt . . . gına'n nêna'nmê-gıt* thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9. See also 83.26

***kiRqa'm üm a'mEn, kiRqa'm üm a'mi*** well now! 121.4

***kite'*** seldom

***ki'tkit*** a little

*ki'tkit nıten'ñe'w-i-üm* I laughed a little 72.13

*ki'tkit qänve'ntetyi<sup>ε</sup>* open it a little 94.21, 34

*ki'tkit nuurre'tqinet* they were a little visible 95.30

***ku'vikä*** alone 24.10.

***qai'a'qañ*** a while

*e'nmen qai'a'qañ tile'üst* they walked a while 64.8. See also 66.8.

*guk,iu'kä qai'a'qañ mınqamı'tvarkın* I wish we could eat a while 65.4

*qai'a'qan e'ur neimeu'qın* for a while he approached 66.13

*qai'a'qan e'üli-gêlêñño'ê<sup>ε</sup> ven-çümñ'a'chın* for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26

*eto'-qai'a'qañ rıpkire'nnin* after a while he brought her back 51.4

*qäli'i êto'-qai'a'qañ gewkwe'lin* after a while he departed 45.11

***qai've*** indeed, truly, really.

*qai've qine'ilhi<sup>ε</sup>* really, give (it) to me 16.1

*enqa'n qai've Iu'metwi-gır* thou art really Iu'metun

*qai've-m i'mı yei'velqäi nu'tek tümñ-alva'lag rayı'lqañño* indeed, also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10-11



*guq, qai'VE-m nan me'éEN'ki tre'nti'ñin* oh, indeed, I shall be able to manage him 67.22

Also 23.6; 80.27; 85.3; 92.23; 97.14

**qailo'kim**

*gik, qailo'kim re'qä qäta'Liñitki* with what will you answer 14.2

*qailo'kim mi'ñkri miñi'ntin* how shall we act 53.1

*qailo'kim wu'tku mi'nti-gir* how should I keep thee here 109.30

*qailo'kim pe'nin wolvitva'lin* before he was motionless 125.4

*qailo'kim eXe'nyutä riri'lpinnen* the younger brother accompanied him R 50.22-23

**qailhina'ngêt, qaglêna'ngêt** and actually

*qailhina'n'gêt li'é-taniêê'trñoê* and actually, he began to feel quite well 33.5

*guq, qailhina'ngêt ïm ne'luen* and indeed, they saw it 10.3

*qailhina'ngêt ni'rqipatqên* and actually, he was talked about 17.5, 7

Also, 15.7; 18.3; 67.22; 80.27; 104.9

**qa'tin** just so 127.10

**qalêle** vertically

**qäi-I'pe, qäigi'pe** really, in truth

*qäi-i'pe li'é-va'irriñki qañau'tin-ê-git* really among the gods (real beings) you married 110.30-31

*miti'ïm ELO'n qäigi'pe viri'irkin* we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

**qäi'ñun** it seems (Kor. II, Pallen *qa'ïnun* Kor. 90.2)

*qä'ïnun tu'rgin re'mkin e'e'tqi* it seems your people are bad 8.9-10

*tu'rgin re'mkin qä'ïnun re'lqiä* it seems your people will appear 10.4

*qä'ïnun meti'u rine'lhriê* certainly I shall not be believed by them 19.8

Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

**qänu'r** like, as

*gene'zi'net qänu'r pe'weltsi* they became like bladders 9.4

*mi'ñkri va'lit qänu'r a'e'ttwukin pu'ttinet* how big! like holes of a boat (cover) 14.6

*naqa'm lä'mña qänu'r mëmliçikou'ti ergewe'tyiê* but again as into [the inside of] water he dived 17.4

*qänu'r vêsle'ti gilo'lên* as for a dead one she mourned 27.12

*e'nmen qänu'r a'e'ttin arê'ta ni'ntäqin* then like a dog they held him back 66.17

*kele'tä va'nêvan elu'e'kä qänu'r mërgina'n i'git ka'mak va'nêvan eu'rrekêlin* to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an evil spirit is invisible 62.1-2

. . . *qānu'r vai mu'rgin re'mkin* like our people here 61.6  
*e'nmen a'ni qānu'r qun nute's'qān* then it was just like earth 8.6  
*qānu'r qun wi'lquul* just like coal 22.7  
*qānu'r qun nithi'lqinet* they were like hot ones 9.10  
*e'nmen qol qānu'r inpina'čhin ge'ne'wānā* then another one, like  
 the last (namely in the preceding story) an old man with his  
 wife 28.1  
*qānu'r li'en ne'ntiān* just as though simply they did to him 35.4  
*e'nmen qānu'r qun ničite'ruqin* then it was as though they were  
 heated 9.8

***qān've'r*** the fundamental meaning seems to be AT THIS MOMENT,  
 AT THIS TIME

*qān've'r qale'olhiočina'-mō'rē* just at this moment we have met  
 121.15  
*qān've'r qinmi'lkinēk til-eime'wani'tqinet* at this time they drew  
 nearer 103.8  
*qān've'r qitte'pīčim kele'kin i'wkwī* at that moment the leader of  
 the kelet said 104.26  
*e'nmen qān've'r neime'wkwān qān've'r ūm a'ttr'yūn ūm*  
*wēthau'noē* at that moment they approached and at that  
 moment the dog began to speak 103.19  
*Taaro'n-Va'irgu ūm qān've'r . . . Va'irgu ne'čēn* a Sacrifice-  
 (receiving-) Being at that time . . . a (spiritual) Being he  
 became 41.9-10

Often it may be translated *therefore*.

*qān've'r ūm tērgila'trnoē* therefore (at this moment) she began  
 to cry 31.7  
*lu'ur wo'tqan qān've'r wū'rgirgin walo'mīnonēn* afterwards, there-  
 fore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines,  
 however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)

***qāčI'-qu'num*** as you like it (?) R 54.36

***qāLi'i*** (<*qā[t]-li'i*) but in fact (containing the element *li'i* REALLY,  
 TRULY; see also *ye'li'i*, *uli'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *quzi'i*)

*nī'mnim vai č'i'mēqāi va'rkin*, *Eiwuhue'n qāLi'i* a settlement is  
 quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7  
*qāLi'i qit* but in fact, it is you 23.5  
*qāLi'i Re'kkeñit* but in fact, they were Rekken 34.5  
*qāLi'i čto'-qai'a'qañ gewkwe'lin* in fact after a short time he de-  
 parted 45.11  
*qāLi'i ri'č'lin* in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2  
*qāLi'i enqa'n . . . č'tin ye'tyi* in fact this was the master  
 70.28-30  
*qāLi'i pinlō'nēnat* in fact, he asked them 70.30

*qäli'i notas qa'urkit* in fact they were digging the ground 71.9  
*qäli'i qun enqa'nat tei'n-ñiçit* in reality they were murderous  
 68.20

*qäli'i ïm qun qäi-a<sup>s</sup>ttiqäi* in fact it was (only) a pup 80.4  
*qäli'i enqa'n . . . ELA'* in fact that was the mother 85.21-22  
*qäli'i pala'wkun yara'ñi* in fact a funeral circle 108.17

**qeteu'** even now

*garaqêcha'lên qeteu'* what has the bad one been doing, even  
 now 31.9

**qete'm, qette'm, kete'm** just, just like

*qette'm gü'mnïn yara'ñi* just like my house  
*kete'm pli'tku* just as it is finished R 3.24

**qo'nIrI, qo'nIrI-m, qo'nIrI e'ur** (contracted also *qi'en-e'ur*)  
 since

*qol qoi'maron wü'thüçi, tu'mgin enqa'n qo'nırım qeñewtu'mgeleet*  
*enqa'nat* the other rear sleeping room was in the middle, a  
 strange person's (not a member of the family) that, because  
 they were wife-companions (lived in group-marriage), these  
 53.9-10

*qo'nırım ça'ma qo'çer-qla'ül-e-ïm enqana'ta ño'o-e-ïm gene'l-i-ïm*  
 because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became  
 R 45.27-28

*qo'nırım gumni'n i'gıt i'rälqäl u'inä . . . tré'lqätya<sup>s</sup>q Velew-*  
*kwaygo'ütı* because my now clothing material nothing . . .  
 I'll go to Merchants Point (i. e. because I have no material)  
 R 46.43-44

*qo'nırı tıw-e'tqin-i-gıt* since you are utterly bad

*qo'nırım e'un ELI'gin i'mi viri'tägi'lan* since (the) father has also  
 died a voluntary death R 49.11. See also R 32.37

*qo'nırım Eñe'neñe eiñe'wä ça'ma i'liil ïm, qa'ko* because he calls  
 the East wind, it rains 132.20-21. Also R 13.21

**qo'n-pü** quite

*qo'n-pü vi<sup>s</sup>'i<sup>s</sup>* he was quite dead 83.21

*qo'n-pü nımi'tvañño'a<sup>s</sup>t* they began to be quite a camp 107.19  
*gık, qoñpü nınenmelewe'tgin* he is made quite well 127.3; 135.12-13

**qun, qu'num, qun-üm** probably an emphatic particle, stronger  
 than *ïm* (p. 849) and *elo'n* (p. 852). It stands in second posi-  
 tion, generally following another particle

*qänu'r qun wi'lquul* just like coal 22.7

*e'nmen qänu'r qun niçiite'ruqin* they were just as though they  
 had been heated 9.8-9

*qänu'r qun niñi'lqinet* just as though they were hot 9.10

*qä'nur qun mi'mlık* just as though (they were) in water 101.32

*e'nmen a'ni qānu'r qun nute's:qān* they were just like land 8.6  
*a'ni qun qriļu'tkui valata* thus it is! they move about with the  
 knives 16.4

*a'ni qun li'en re'pkiṛgä<sup>ε</sup> ratopa'wkwä<sup>ε</sup>* thus it is! simply you will  
 come home, she will be pregnant 104.4

*a'ni qu'num te'kičhın qānu'utki* thus it is! then eat the meat!  
 14.6

*a'ni qu'num qanto'ê<sup>ε</sup>* come out! 81.27

*a'ni qun, i'ppe qun* thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3

*tērga'tyē<sup>ε</sup> qun ūm* he cried 116.7

*ki'tam qun eple'un li'i eñēñitvi'i<sup>ε</sup>* did he this time attain shaman-  
 istic power? 18.4

*kita'm qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin* how is he this time? 18.1

*kita'm qun ê<sup>ε</sup>nričhın qai'pūgun* this time put on the necklace  
 16.6

*kita'm qu'num mırırri'l-hit* this time we will let thee go 21.5-6

*kita'm qu'num ineze'tti qatvu'gınat* this time what shall there be  
 for payment? 102.11

*kitau'qun a'tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmık* this time the big dog saved  
 us 106.26-27.

*kitau' qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin* how is he this time 17.12

*attau'-qun ñon ūm Tño'tirgına mırpêčarê'ra* we are just going to  
 Tño'tirgin for food 119.18

*attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'ta qätčı'gın* just get the sledge ready 105.20

*e'nmen -qun ra'gtie<sup>ε</sup> eia'* then the mother went home 30.10

*qäL'i'i ūm qun qäi-a<sup>ε</sup>ttiqäi* in fact, it was only a small pup 80.4

In the following examples *qun* follows verbs, verbal nouns and  
 pronominal forms.

*ñıpe'ät qu'num ɛ'n'ki* they went ashore there 71.12

*pančä'tık nımpē'qinet qu'num gı* leaping it went ashore, indeed!  
 122.16

*a'un -gêta'gtı pılıırra'tyä<sup>ε</sup> qu'num* he makes himself flat before  
 them 83.28-84.1

*ti'ñunın qu'num* he pulled it out 84.7

*eı'miunın ūm qun* he caught him 121.13

*vı<sup>ε</sup>lin ūm qu'num enqa'n nıne'lqın* dead that one had become  
 (he had died) 125.10

*yı<sup>ε</sup>lhın ūm qu'num, rā<sup>ε</sup>'nut* it was the moon, what was it? 86.26-27

*rā<sup>ε</sup>'nut qu'num lo'ñıl* what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4

*i'me-rā<sup>ε</sup>'nut qu'num* everything 107.2

*mi'ñkri qu'num mıtıtıtte'urkın* it is because we are hungry 70.24

*čei'vutkui<sup>ε</sup>nımnımeiti, qu'num a'tto'rguqaia* he went to the camp  
 with a dog sledge 105.5

According to punctuation *qunum* is in initial position in the following example

*ge, tam! qu'num i'gitüm mirura'gatyas<sup>n</sup>* let us take it home now!  
121.27

It seems, however, that instead of *ge, tam* we might read *kita'm* as p. 21.5

**quLi'i** in this case indeed (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye<sup>s</sup>li'i, uli'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäli'i*)

*quLi'i va'añgan a<sup>s</sup>tlin ni'ilhit* in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

**gečeu'ki** together.

**githite'** against one's will

**gi'newän** besides

**ñe'wäq** strong emphasis

*ñe'wäq gi'wä* you do say 21.11

*ñe'wäq ninemirke'w-i-üm* I have been working hard 81.9

*qai'VE ñe'wäq Ena'n čini't mini'uqin* indeed, he himself did say it R 50.23

*ñe'wäq qai'VE* and indeed

### §129. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions; Koryak

**ImI** also

*i'mi gaaqai'paLEN* also it fitted badly Kor. 34.9

*i'min yuqya'nu gana<sup>s</sup>'linau* they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3

*imn gayai'tilen* nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8

*i'min . . . pla'ku wu'gwa gayi'lin* also (her) boots they filled with stones Kor. 28.7

Also adj. Kor. 66.8, 72.14, 76.19

**Ina'n-awi'wut** quickly Kor. 70.12

**Enna'n** that one alone

*enna'n koro'wapel gana<sup>s</sup>'lin* only the cow was left Kor. 78.12

**Enna'niku** from that time on Kor. 80.7

**Enqa'ta**

*enka'ta tilai'vikin ñe'La* then a herd was walking about Kor. 21.8

*enqa'ta gassa'len qata'p-vai'am* then he dragged a net along the bottom of the river Kor. 70.11

**E'nki** then, at that very moment

*E'nki yu'la<sup>s</sup>n gaplitėu'linau* then they finished what was to be eaten Kor. 50.1

*E'nki tryanu'wgi* then I shall eat you Kor. 78.18

*E'nki ENNI'mti!a<sup>n</sup> pipi'tčuykɪn E'nki qata'p-e'mat va'ykɪn* then  
Fish-Man was combing his hair; then a load of winter-fish  
was (there) Kor. 86.16

*enke' ENNI'mti!a<sup>n</sup>* then (there was) Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

**Eñna<sup>e'</sup>an** thus

*enña<sup>e'</sup>an* thus it is! Kor. 78.2

*galqaiɪn qaičayiči'ña enña<sup>e'</sup>an wūs'qū'mēiku* she went groping  
thus in the dark Kor. 16.9-10

*enña<sup>e'</sup>an vañvolai'ke* thus they lived Kor. 43.7

*enña'an gayi!telñivo'lenat* thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

*gɪna'n enña<sup>e'</sup>an ina'nti* thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

*qo'ła enña<sup>e'</sup>nač Yayo'ča-ñawgut gai'liɪn* after a while they  
gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

*enña<sup>e'</sup>nvot gani'kalimau* all at once something happened Kor.  
70.17-18

Dual forms:

*enña<sup>e'</sup>anet gana'tvilen* thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

*enña<sup>e'</sup>anet patta'ła mani'ti gayi'ssalinat* thus the two filled  
with dried meat two bags Kor. 70.21

**ayi'kvan** at least Kor. 18.1

**Ina'n-awi'wut** quickly Kor. 70.12

*avi'ut* Kor. 44.5

**a'wun** (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna *e'wun* Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

*a'wun gaya'lgrwlinau* and so they entered Kor. 80.18-19

*a'wun im-ła'wtalin* and so his head became hairless Kor. 82.13

*a'wun ui'ña* and then there was no one Kor. 96.12 (= *e'wun*  
*i'tka* Kor. II, Kor. 96.30; *e'wune'ze* Paren, Kor. 97.17)

**awnu'p** (?) Kor. 64.11

**a'wgi** falsely Kor. 88.14

**am** (Paren *im*)

*qun-am nu'tak ui'ña ane'lhryɪpnuka* even in the open country  
we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

*pe'nin qun-im Uwe'ñpiliñ* the same (former) little U'weñ  
(Paren) Kor. 92.7

**a'men**

*a'men gawgu'ɪn* and they tied her Kor. 23.4

*a'men e'wañ* and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

*a'men yi'na* and now what! Kor. 28.2

*a'čhi a'men gū'mkriñ ni'wi-gi* just now like me thou wert talk-  
ing Kor. 29.2

**a'mu** I do not know Kor. 55.3

**atau** vainly Kor. 61.3

*ata'mtɪm* in vain Kor. 30.8

**as's'o'** since

*as's'o' qati'* since you went away Kor. 18.5

**a'ččIč, aččo'č** (Ch. *erre'č*) that is all, only, no more Kor. 62.8;  
70.8 *aččo'č* Kor. 66.19; 68.19

**a'nam** then, and so

*me'ñqañ a'nam gi'Linau* how then did they become? Kor.  
61.9-10

*a'nam . . . ga'la'tin* then he came to him Kor. 63.6

Also Kor. 66.6; 78.1

*a'nam-e'en* all right then! Kor. 30.5; 31.8

*e'en a'nau* all right then! Kor. 32.1

*a'naqun* and so Kor. 36.10

**anuva't** just as, just when

*anuva't nryati'lqi'wgin, E'nki mityi'lqala* just when he was  
about to come, we went to sleep

**a'limI** I wish it were!

*a'limI vai'čita* I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2-3

*gina'n a'limiñ qeti'gin* I wish thou wouldst take it Kor.  
72.24-74.1

**a'va'** other

*a'va'tin* it is of different material Kor. 76.23

**a'kyeł** also

*gayo'olenan, a'kyeł ipa'ña* they put it into it, also into the  
soup, Kor. 28.6

**e'en** (Ch. *e'ur*) then, and

*gayo'e'olen, e'en gavr'e'yalin* he visited him and he was dead  
Kor. 20.8

*ya'nya e'en ña'wrtqatu* partly also women Kor. 44.2

*e'en . . . gamlawanka'wlen* and she ended her dance Kor. 48.6

*gakya'wlinau e'en yaq ñi'lñin ni'trn* they awoke and what  
thong was there? (*i. e.* and there was no thong) Kor. 40.5

**e'enač** once upon a time Kor. 58.4

**e'wun** (see *a'wun*)

*matula'trn e'wun missaiti'la'ñrn* they stole it but we shall bring  
it back Kor. 40.8

**i'pa** really; indeed Kor. 37.8

*i'pa a'nam gi'ssa* but really thou Kor. 66.6

Also as adjectives:

*i'pa kmi'ñrn* the real child Kor. 68.11

*gimni'n i'pa gla'wul vi'e'gi* my real husband died Kor. 21.10-22.1

*i'pa lr'ge-ta'ta* our real father Kor. 74.20

**i'na<sup>e</sup>** quickly Kor. 39.2

*qaye'm i'n'a nrya'tin* he did not come back quickly Kor. 72.19

*i'n'ač* enough! Kor 30.4; 86.11, 18; 88.15

*inya'wut* (?) Kor 16.5

*i'nmIq* really, in truth

*i'nniq tapañañvo'ykrn* in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8

*i'nniqu'nim* all right! Kor. 28.1-2.

Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3

*iñi'nninIk* in this manner Kor. 14.3 (from *iñi'nñin* such)

*o'ya* openly

*wi'na o'ya a'tvaka* she was not (there) openly Kor. 76.14

*o'pta* also (Lesna: THE WHOLE; Kamchadal *o'ptrma* THE WHOLE);

Chukchee *o'ptrma* LIKE)

*a'črn o'pta ge'i'ližin* he also gave him fat Kor 15.4-5

*qla'wul' o'pta enk'a'ta tīlai'vīkrn* a man also was walking there  
Kor. 21.9

*Quyqrnn'a'qu o'pta e'wañ* Big-Raven also said Kor. 29.5

*go'za ai'ak o'pta . . . gayo'olen* an other one she also put into  
the storeroom Kor. 55.1

See also Kor. 56.5

*oma'ka* together

*Ama'mqut a'nke o'maka kaña'trykrn* Ememqut was fishing  
together (with them) Kor. 44.10

*e'en ña'nyeu oma'ka i'ssa* and then together they (were her  
children) Kor. 61.2

*o'nnen* verily, indeed, Kor. 59.9

*u'nni* (?) Kor. 74.10

*ya'wač* (?) Kor. 64.9

*y'anya* (Ch. *ya'n'a*) partly, separately

*yaq* (indefinite pronoun, see § 59) and now

*wu'tėrn yaq y'i'nnā* and this now, what is it? Kor. 36.9

*ame'yaq ña'wis'gat* well, how is the wife Kor. 68.2

*grn-ya'q* thy turn Kor. 46.7 (See *yaq*, § 59, p. 729)

*ya'qam* only

*ya'qam ai'kīpa gapr'wyalin* only (with) fly-eggs she scattered  
Kor. 45.2

*ve'lo ya'qam ninataikrvo'qenau* she was only making thimbles  
Kor. 59.5

*ya'qañ* why

*ya'qañ ya'ti* why hast thou come Kor. 64.1

*yaqqai'-qun* (Paren *yäqqai'-qun* Kor 92.5) then

*ye'li*

*ye'li gayi'nalin* and so she flew away Kor. 46.5

*e'en ye'el gañeke!a'žen* and so she felt ashamed Kor. 60.1



**vi'yañ, ve'eñ** (?)

*vi'yañ iskula'ti* (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2

*vi'yañ lelapi'teõñvo'ykm* nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8

*ña'no vi'yañ kisva'čik va'ykm* of course, it is there on the cross-pole Kor. 68.5

*vi'yañ gapanqai'pilen* (without clothes) but with a cap Kor. 76.22

**vi'n'va, vi'n'vi** secretly Kor. 61.1; 76.14

**va<sup>ε</sup>'yuk** afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5

**va<sup>ε</sup>'ak** Kor. 56.5; 64.9

**van** (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee demonstrative particle *ñan* which is also used adverbially).

*wi'ña-van minka'kila* not by anybody else Kor. 40.6-7

*qaye'm ña'no-van minutñana'wge* not those I shall be able to eat Kor. 55.8-9

*a'mliñ-van kitve'-li'ga penč'i'ykm* after that he rushed at her every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10

**pa'la** perhaps Kor. 60.5

**mači** maybe

*ma'či wu'tėuk* mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7

*ma'čči vi'łka va'ykm* mayhap a fork is there Kor. 19.7

*me'če mima'tage* mayhap I'll marry thee Kor. 32.6

**mal** well

*mal-kit* properly Kor. 15.6; 74.6; 88.9

*mal-ki'til* very well! Kor. 21.5

Also *met-ki'tkit*

**male'ta** quietly Kor. 54.7

**ma'kiw** somewhere Kor. 80.9

**me'ñqañ** how Kor. 82.4; 84.21; 88.1

*me'ñqač mi'qun mai'mik* how indeed shall I get water? 16.7-8

*me'ñqan mi'qun* how, indeed? Kor. 17.12

**mi'qun** (Paren *mu'qun* Kor. 92.23) indeed; an intensifying particle

*mi'qun naña'nqin* indeed he is a shaman Kor. 42.9

*mi'qun Ama'mqut e'wañ* Ememqut said even (this) Kor. 64.11

*ya'qu mi'qun qatai'kiqin* what indeed will you do? Kor. 76.7

Also 16.3, 8; 17.12; 39.10; 84.21; 86.12

(**ti'wgak** [literally: I SAY] it seems Kor. 57.9)

**ti'ta** when

*ilu<sup>ε</sup>'pilirñ ti'ta minelo<sup>ε</sup>'čola* when we find a shaman's wand Kor. 27.7

*ti'ta gũ'mma tra'tik* when was I at home? Kor. 68.13

*ti'ta o'pta ninanuva<sup>ε</sup>'an* let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15

*ti'taq mu'yu mita<sup>ε</sup>tayir'pnała* when did we feed on inner skin of dogs Kor. 48.9

**tito-o'n** after a long time Kor. 57.5

**nIme'** very; very much Kor. 16.1, 8

**ča'myeq** indeed Kor. 24.2

*čemya'q* really Kor. 56.1

**čemeče's'n** it is so! Kor. 46.4

**čini't** since

*čini't enña's'an qi'ti* since thou art so Kor. 56.9-10

**lI'gIqai** much less Kor. 49.1

**lI'gan** simply

*lI'gan mirmtelhyalai'ke* simply they were resplendent Kor. 44.3

**kI'ma'k** almost Kor. 21.7; 84.13

**kalê'LE, qalê'LE** vertically

**ke'nam** Kor. 39.3; *kena'm* Kor. 40.3 already

**ki'wan** truly Kor. 26.9

**kit, ki'til** see *mal-kit*

**ki, kIč** (never in initial position) and

*ya'qkin-ki* and what for? Kor. 26.10 (for *ya'qkin* see §§ 47, 59)

**ki'tañ; kItta'** then (?)

*ki'tañ amyaqalheñe'trñ taya'nikrñ* then she wanted to go to the porch Kor. 33.8-9

*gü'mma kitta' tu'kwak* I am caught Kor. 36.10

*kitta' atawalñiqa'ka* do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6; 52.10

*kr'tta* negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. *en'ne*)

**ki'tkit** a little

**ki'kit; ki'kič** as soon as 84.3

*ki'kit gayr'ltiñ* as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3

*ki'kič गया'lqrwñ* as soon as they entered Kor. 72.21

**qai'gut** indeed Kor. 84.23

**qa'wun** though

*qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge* though later on thou wilt marry someone Kor. 78.17

**qačI'n**

*qačI'n plakgeñe'trñ na's'čañvoqen* for he had passed water into the boots Kor. 14.2

*qačI'n qo'npü niki'ta gana's'len* therefore altogether it became night Kor. 16.6

*qa'črn milya'qpil* because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8

*gayo's'olen, qačrn vi'tvitpil* they visited her, for there was a small ringed seal Kor. 24.4

*qačI'n ena'n tawi'tkirñik* for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3

*ñá'nyeu qačír'n Yaqyamtilá'nu* for those were Bumble-Bee-Men Kor. 44.6

*qa'čín wí'ña ana'luka gati'kalén* for without chewing he swallowed her Kor. 84.1

**qa'čIk**

*gí'ssa qa'čik wí'ña a'lva a'tvaka* for this reason will you be (feel) wrong Kor. 18.7

*gü'mma qa'čik oyamyá'-gum* for am I human game Kor. 42.6

**qun, qun-am**

*gína'n qun nita'witkiñi-gi'* so thou art playing mischief Kor. 82.9  
*qu'nam nu'tak wí'ña ane'lhi-yipnuka* even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

*pe'nín qun-im Uwe'ñpilirñ* the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

*qu'nam mu'yi . . . oya'myañ miti'nmin* even we too (alone) have killed a man Kor. 68.3

*qu'nam qun* Kor. 74.17

*vé'tha-go'nom* just now Kor. 56.10

**qo'npü** very, quite (*qon'pu* Chukchee; *xë* Kamchadal); Kor. 13.10; 15.8; 41.8, etc.

**gümłañ** again Kor. 15.8; 18.8; 19.8 etc.

**ñá'nyen** then 63.10; 72.8; 74.3 etc.

§130. KAMCHADAL CONJUNCTIONS

Most of the Kamchadal conjunctions have been replaced by the Russian (local) forms.

*i, dai* (и, даи) and

*je* (же) but

*tolko* (только) merely, only

*dotopera* (до топера) until now

*potom* (потомъ) after that

Other conjunctions of Kamchadal origin are still in use. Among these I mention

*hălč, hălčëq* it is time! then, now, altogether Kor. 99.5

This particle is used quite frequently with a great variety of meanings. Its use has even influenced the local Russian dialect inasmuch as the Russian adverb *пора* IT IS TIME is used also as a conjunction, although this does not agree with Russian usage.

*-ilme, -me* (never initial) AND, AND NOW, corresponds to the Chukchee *-üm* K. K. *-am*.

*-ke* (never initial) AND, AND NOW, but more emphatic than *-me*.

-*ven* (never initial) Kor. 98.9. This emphatic particle corresponds to K. K. *van*, and may have been borrowed from Koryak.

*kat* THEN in the beginning of tales corresponds to Chukchee *e'nmen*.

*e'wun* AND, AND SO corresponds to Ch. *e'un*, K. K.; *a'wun*, K.

Paren *e'wun*, but may also have been borrowed from Koryak. *lact* HOW IS IT, WHEREFORE.

### §131. NEGATIVE ADVERBS

#### 1. *va'nêvan* negative particle, NOT AT ALL (stem probably *vanê*).

This occurs either alone or with other negative elements.

*va'nêvan ninutewurre'erkinen* not at all land appears 7.3

*va'nêvan nuwa'lomnên* he would not hear anything

*va'nêvan gına'n li'i qälhr'gın?* have you no knowledge at all? 38.4

*y'ilil rurkinin te'kiçhin va'nêvan* tongues he eats, meat not at

all 49.4

*va'nêvan nuté's'qän ni<sup>ε</sup>yo<sup>ε</sup>nên* they did not at all reach the ground 52.12

*va'nêvan ne<sup>ε</sup>nlu<sup>ε</sup>'rkinet kele'tä* the kele could not see them at all 100.29

*va'nêvan na<sup>ε</sup>nayılhav'nên a<sup>ε</sup>'ttin* they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25

*va'nêvan anto'kêlên ñe'us'qät* the woman did not go out at all 54.8

*va'nêvan qarê'm nuwa'lomnên* he would not hear anything

*va'nêvan ä<sup>ε</sup>nlu<sup>ε</sup>'net* they could not see them at all 61.10

*va'nêvan eLe a'lomka* they did not hear anything 60.10

*va'nêvan elu<sup>ε</sup>'kü* they are invisible 62.1

*va'nêvan eu'rrekêlin* it is not visible 62.2

#### 2. *qarê'm*; Kor. Kam. *qayê'm*; Kor. Par., *qeyê'm*; Kor. II

(village Qare'ñin and others in Kamchatka *i'gut*); Kamchadal.

*x'êně, x'ě*. Used always with the exhortative, or alone with exhortative meaning, and ignifying negative future.

*qarê'm minı'nmitik* we shall not kill you 13.4

*qarê'm mine'etyä<sup>ε</sup>k* I shall not become black 23.6

*qarê'm milhrñño'a<sup>ε</sup>n* I shall not treat him 24.10

*qarê'm minmu'ut* I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7

*qarê'm mra'gtia<sup>ε</sup>k* I will not return home 99.2, 24

*qarê'm ELI'gü rinenyegtele'tyä<sup>ε</sup>* father will not allow me to live 99.15

*qarê'm mü'ilhä<sup>ε</sup>n* I will not do it 99.20

*qarê'm mü'ilhit* I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9

*qarê'm miye'tyä<sup>ε</sup>k* I will not come

*a'mEN qarê'm!* but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

*qarê'm i'git!* not now! (i. e., I shall not do so from now on) 21.1

*qarê'm!* no! (i. e., I shall not do it) 99.13

Kor. Kam. *qarê'm mlâ<sup>ε</sup>k*, Kor. II. *i'hut mlê<sup>ε</sup>k*, Kamchadal *x'ênê mnuk* I will not eat

Koryak.—

*âshiva'n qaye'm* this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3

*qaye'm ña'no-van minutñana'wge* I shall not be able to eat them Kor. 55.8

*qaye'm enalha'!mik* he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.

*qarê'm quwi'ε'tik* do not die! (i. e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from *qarê'm* is the verbal form *qarê'mên* (Kor. Kam. *qymé'en* Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. *qismé'nen*) it is not so, not true.

*qarê'mên i'ε'tik lü'mñil* it is not really a story 61.5

*qarê'mênai'-güm* I am not this one 23.5

*qarê'mên ora'wêlan* he is not a human being 29.9

*qarê'mênai'igüm qla'ulêüm* I am not a man

*qarê'mênai'igit qla'ülêgit* thou art not a man

*qarê'mênai'igüm nirü'liüm* I am not feeble

*qarê'mênai'igit nirü'ligit* thou art not feeble

*qarê'mên nirü'lqin* he is not feeble

*qarê'mênai'güm ñe'usqätium* I am not a woman 116.31

Kor. Kam. *qyime'w un* impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. *ewñe* Kor. Kam. *ki'tta*, Kamchadal *jak*, *x'ê* do not! (see § 114 p. 823)

4. *êlo'* NO *eļo'* (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9

*eļe* no 30.8

*rä<sup>ε</sup>t'uri?-êlo'* what is the matter with you?—nothing 53.6

4a. *ča'mam* NO! I DO NOT WANT TO (referring to future events) 78.6; used with future indicative. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

*ča'mam* I do not want to 98.5, 8

*ča'mam tré'ihut* I shall not give thee

5. *e'le* NOT, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. *e'le*, Reindeer Kor. *e'le*, Kor. II., village Qarëñin and others in Kamchatka *eļla*, Kamchadal *qam* Kor. Kam. *ui'ñä* instead (see below). See 15, 12, 21.3, 24.8

6. *ui'ñä* NONE (with nouns; substantives and adjectives). (Kor. Kam., *ui'ña*, Kor. Par., *ui'ña e'le*, Kor. II., village Qarëñin and others in Kamchatka *em*, *e'mma* NOT. The Kamchadal uses *qam* (see above, under *e'le*). Kor. Par. uses also *e'le* alone

*ui'ñä* *ɣp'i'ñkã* I have no powder

See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative prefix-suffix we find—

*čai ui'ñä, ta'aq ui'ñä, tam-va'irgin gümni'n* no tea, no tobacco,  
mine is a good life!

(Kor. Par.) *e'ɬe epi'ñke* I have no powder

Derived from this particle is *ui'ñilrn* HAVING NONE.

*ui'ñilivüm ɣp'i'ñkëlivüm* I have none, I am without powder 59.2

### § 132. Interjections

Chukchee and Koryak are rich in interjections. These may be divided into several groups; namely, *a*) ejaculations expressing a state of strong emotion, without definite tone; *b*) exclamations expressing assent, disapproval, surprise, fear, pain, question, call, and answer, etc.; *c*) onomatopoeic interjections, sound pictures, imitations of sounds, such as singing of birds, thumping of stones, swishing of rapidly moving slabs, etc.; *d*) words and phrases used as exclamations. Some of these are derived from pronominal or conjunctive stems, while others can not be reduced to such sources, at least not at present.

#### a. Ejaculations

*a!* 45.3 (Kor. *a!* *A!* Kor. 55.5) oh!

*ga!* R 104.48 oh!

*o!* 63.9 oh!

*e!* 85.12; 90.6; 91.7 ah!

*e!* 101.20 all right

*go, go!* R 65.119 (call)

*ga, ga!* 122.1 call

*gi, gi!* R 72.16 ah, ah!

*gei!* 69.4 oh!

*ggg!* (Kor. *ggg!*) yes!

*guq!* 10.3; 52.3; 53.1; (Kor. *gek!* Kor. 50.4) ugh! oh!

*goq!* 24.1 108.32; *gik!* 10.1; 11.2; *gi!* 68.30; R 69.35; Kor.  
51.1, 5; 58.6

*gu!* 26.4; *go!* 69.7; 108.19

*ogogogogoi!* 70.2 oh, oh, oh!

*ugugugugu!* 29.7 uhuhuh!

#### Koryak

*e!* oh! Kor. 47.1

*ye!* ah! Kor. 49.2

*eñi!* oh! Kor. 64.19

*añe!* Kor. 49.3 *iñe!* Kor. 27.6

## b. Exclamations

Their stems are independent and some of them form derivatives.

*go!* expresses ignorance: I DO NOT KNOW!

*goña'arkin* to speak always of one's ignorance; to answer: "I do not know."

Assent:

*i!* 9.6, 13; 66.25; 84.10 (Kor. *o!* Kor. 30.2; 38.6) yes.

*i!* 84.19 ah!

*egei'!* 133.24 R 71.5; R 73.34 (Kor. *uga'*) all right!  
assent and approval.

*egei'!* 75.30 oh!

*taga'm!* R 59.9, 16; R 66, 134 (Kor. *toq!* *to!* Kor. 35.3;  
Kor. 45.8) come! well!

*taga'm* is used also as the usual leave taking.

*taga'm tewkwe'erkin!* R 41.98 (in Koryak *toq* is used as  
leave taking) good-bye! I am going.

The usual greeting is *ye'ti?* or less frequently *ge'et-i-git*;  
R 62.62; R 76.25 (Kor. *yati?* HAVE YOU COME? as  
greeting)

The answer is *i!* yes! or *i, trye'tyäs'k!* yes, I have come!

Greeting borrowed from Russian, *toro'ma* (здорово) (Kor.  
*toro'va*) how do you do?

*tam* contracted from *taga'm*, mostly with an ejaculation  
preceding, COME! WELL!

*ee, tam!* 30.9; 89.23; *e tam!* 90.3.

*i, tam!* 84.19.

*gi, tam!* 84.14.

Assertion:

*gu'nä!* 82.16; 85.6; R 76.27 sure!

*gu'nä, qai've* 24.8 indeed, yes!

Calls:

*mei!* 76.22 R 73.32; R 59.11, from man to woman 53.6;

Kor. *mai!* Kor. 64.24 *amei!* Kor. 63.6; *mei!* Kor.

32.5; here addressed from a man to a woman; *me!* Kor.

100.5 K. Paren *ve!* Kor. 101.13; Koryak II Qareñin

*mei* Kor. 102.4 there, you! you! halloo!

*ña'ul* 45.3 (Kor. *nā'wāl*) call among women

*wui'!* 83.13; R 72.15; *goi* 60.2 (Kor. *goi'!*) answer to call

*yago'!* 67.8 (Kor. *yawo'!* Kor. 33.9) halloo

*wago'!* R 125.22 halloo! there, take it!

Disapproval:

*e'wi!* 120.10 so!

*ee'!* 81.17; 83.14; is it? (doubt and disapproval)

*eei'!* 108.19 aha! (doubt and disapproval)

## Surprise:

Used by men

*ka'ko'*! generally reduplicated *kako, kako!* 8.5; 12.6; 68.31  
*oho!*; *qako!* 84.10; *qako, qako!* 77.26; 104.14; *ga'ko* 21.4  
*kako, mei'!* 14.7; R 64.93. *ga'ko mei!*, *go'bo mei!*

Used by women

*ke'ke'*! 52.2; 71.26.*ke'ke, ña'ul!**keke', keke', keke'!* 29.7 great surprise and fear

Koryak, for both sexes.

| *če* Kor. 47.6 (surprise and disapproval) ugh.| *qe'e* Kor. 82.14 surprise

Fear:

*gokkoi'!* 63.1 oh, oh!; *goqoi'!* 18.8*kokkoi'!* 22.5 surprise and fear*akakaka!* 87.14 sudden fright

Question:

*wa?* (Kor. *va?* Kor. 46.10) would you?

*amto'?* 13.9; 80.4; R 92.18 (Kor. *amto'?*) well? what news?  
 also used as a conjunction: *amto' gitka'lhın?* how is  
 your leg?

Pain:

*gı, gı, gı* R 74.46 (Kor. *mıkıkıkık!* Kor. 29.1) sudden acute  
 pain

*ge, ge, ge!* 63.8 (Kor. *igigi'!* Kor. 23.9) crying

Warning:

*ga, ga, ga!* 85.17, 28 (Kor. *got!*) off! look out!

Laughing:

*ga, ga, ga!* R 79.10*gigi'!* 30.2*gm!* 30.2 laughing of a skull.

Anger:

*gm!* R 72.20 (Kor. *gm!* Kor. 31.2)*güm!* (terminal) 61.2*taga'm, qapa'ae, güm!* 61.2 well, cease, will you!

Miscellaneous:

*go!* (Kor. *go!* Kor. 49.6) I do not know*yau yau!* 66.17; R 73.35 wait a while! (Kor. *ya'wo*)

## c. Onomatopoeic Interjections

*qa, qa, qa!* R 140.10; R 277.8, yapping of fox*gm, gm!* 105.27 barking of dog*m-m!* 106.15 mumbling of ke'le (hence derived a noun*mü'ümgrn* KELE'S MUMBLING)*kabeu', kabeu'!* R 307.8 cackling of ptarmigan



*aña', aña', aña'!* 84.8 crying of small infant  
*ew, ew, ew!* R 104.47 singing of thanksgiving ceremonial  
*éig, éig!* 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone  
*píw, píw!* 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground  
*píg, píg!* 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground  
*pr!* 88.17 sound produced with lips  
 (Koryak) *vakíkiki'!* Kor. 46.1 jabbering of magpie

## Shaman's calls

*egegegei'!* 15.7; 68.28; (Kor. *ogogogogoi'!*); 66.35 (here merely fatigue, though borrowed also from shamanistic practice)

*otototototoi'!* 59.4

*otatatatatái'!* 59.4

## Answer to shaman's call

*git, git, git, gíge't!* 39.9

*ge'we, gewe!* R 306.1 raven's shamanistic song

*go'oñ-kale', go'oñ-kale'* R 314.23 (Kor. *go'oñ, go'oñ* Kor. 48.2; *ann, ann!* Kor. 47.2; Koryak, *umyu'm* Kor. 90.15; Kor. II Pallan, raven's cawing) raven's shamanistic song

*ge'we, egegegei'!* R 122.2 mosquito's shamanistic song  
 R 306.7

*qai'a'qañ, qai'a'qañ!* foxes shamanistic song (a little more! at the same time onomapoetic)

*ge'wye, ge'wye ko'onm* R 315.31 polar bear's shamanistic song

## Calls of reindeer-herders

*go, go, go, goq, goq, goq!* 32.11 for driving the herd

*ga, ga, ga, gaq, gaq, gaq!*

*eia', eia', eia'!* R 307.13 for calling a broken reindeer (chiefly in offering it urine)

*qrr!* R. 4.38 the same; also reindeer's snorting, onomatopoeic

## Interjections are often used in groups

*guq, í!* 9.13; *gik, í'!* 65.26 oh, yes!

*ee, ta'm!* (see before)

*gei, gu'nä!* 69.4 oh, indeed!

## d. Words and phrases used as interjections

*ma'nkên, ma'nkên ïm* 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!

*tte'net!* 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in compounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form

*tte'net-i-git* it is wonderful with you

*tte'net-tu'ri* (plur.) it is wonderful with you

*tte'net-ve'rin* it is wonderful with him (stem *verin* unknown otherwise)

- i, tu'n-nikek!* oh, my! sudden surprise; (*tur* new; *nikek* verbal noun of indefinite verb *nike* (§82))
- ēhinre'wän!* 80.23 oh, goodness!
- am no't amēn!* R. 73.27 (surprise and anger; *em* mere §113.5) *not* demonstrative particle (§57) *amēn* adversative conjunction p. 853) how is it then!
- ēēq-a'lvam va'lin!* 76.5 (§113.15) how very strange!
- vē'nom* wonder and blame; in compounds with subjective form of personal pronoun
- vēnom gīna'n* 55.11; 109.24 something like OUT WITH YOU!
- alū'mña!* 120.16,23 (*a* ah, *lūmña* again) only think of it! sudden surprise (see also p. 854)
- nire'qin-ūm!* I do agree! 84.19; R 62.58; R 65.112 regular nominalising form of indefinite verb *req* (§82)
- rere'q-ūm* R 75.6 I do agree! (causative *re-reqūm*)
- re'qu lū'mña* the same! R 73.24 (*re'qu* designative of *req* what; *lūmña* again)
- ra'qal* 80.25 what of that; (*req* what; *al* otherwise unknown)
- u'nmuñ a'ni, u'nmuñ a'ni-m e'un* 84.26; 87.7 Oh, how bad it is! (*u'nmuñ* very, *a'ni-m* even so; *e'un* and so)

## KAMCHADAL

<i>tea</i> there!	<i>qu</i> call; ha lloo!
<i>tle</i> there, take it!	<i>hē, hei</i> answer to call
<i>nux</i> here!	<i>qa</i> what do you want?
<i>ee</i> yes	<i>xi</i> surprise

## § 133. Euphemism

For diseases, dangerous animals, and unfortunate events or conditions, euphemistic phrases are in use, some of which express the idea to be stated by the opposite idea.

*nigittē'pqin* (literally, clever) fool

*ēikayē'tu-wa'lin* (from *ēika'yoñ-va'lin* intelligent) silly

*ermē'urkin* (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness

also

*emtrne'urkin* (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger

*uulvrlu'* (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear

*lei'wulin* (literally, the one who walks about) wolf

*re'gätkurkin* (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading

*va'rrgītörkin* (from *va'rrgin* being) disease

## § 134. New Words.

On the whole, Chukchee and Koryak have not borrowed many terms from the Russian, but have rather coined new words for new ideas. Following are a few examples of these.

Chukchee	Kor. Kamenskoye	
<i>e'rem</i>	<i>a'yim</i>	commander (literally, strong man)
<i>te'genañ</i>	<i>ta'gana</i>	tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with)
<i>teq-e'rem</i>	<i>taqa'-a'yim</i>	chief officer of district (literally, tribute-strong-man)
<i>añañ-ra'n</i>	<i>añañ-ya'n</i>	church (literally, spirit-house)
<i>tin-koi'ñim</i>	<i>e'tti-koi'ñim</i>	glass (literally, ice-cup)
<i>wui'gun</i>	<i>gui'vin</i>	fortified log-house
<i>tin-u'kkäm</i>	<i>puti'kan</i>	bottle (Russian бутылка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel)
<i>äq-i'mil</i>	<i>a'qa'-mi'mil</i>	brandy (literally, bad water)
<i>keli'kel</i>	<i>kali'kal</i>	letter, book, writing (literally, carving)
<i>keli'tul</i>	<i>kali'tul</i>	ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving)
<i>ta'ag-koi'ñim</i>	<i>ka'nča</i>	tobacco-pipe (local Russian рача, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup)
<i>ëmtë'-gal</i>	—	(one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side)
<i>yara'r-ø'kkam</i>	—	flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vesse')
<i>aïma'lqal</i>	—	long brandy-keg (literally, thigh-bone)
<i>ilh-u'kkäm</i>	—	plate (literally, white vessel)

Russian loan-words are always modified to suit the phonetic character of the language. The Koryak, even those that have no *r*, retain, however, the Russian *r*.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Russian	
<i>ča'gar</i>	<i>ča'gar</i>	сахаръ	sugar
<i>ta'ag</i>	<i>ta'wax</i>	табакъ	tobacco
<i>čai</i>	<i>čai</i>	чай	tea
<i>ko'nekon</i>	<i>ko'n'e</i>	конь	horse
<i>ko'ërr</i>	<i>ko'ërr</i>	козырь (trump)	cards

<i>ɛol</i>	<i>ɛol</i>	СОЛЬ	salt
<i>toro'ma</i>	<i>toro'wa</i>	здорово	how is your health?
<i>ɛé'ɛver</i>	<i>ɛé'ɛver</i>	четверть	quarter
<i>koro'walhin</i>	<i>koro'wa</i>	корова	cow
<i>ka'ɛak</i>	<i>ka'sak</i>	казакъ	cossock
<i>etto'l</i>	<i>sto!</i>	столъ	table
<i>toré'lyan</i>	<i>toré'!ka</i>	тарелка	plate

## CHUKCHEE TEXT

### THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE MOON<sup>1</sup>

E'nmen<sup>2</sup> qol<sup>3</sup> yara'čhin,<sup>4</sup> ñe'us'qät<sup>5</sup> ūm<sup>6</sup> qol<sup>3</sup> ora'wela-  
 Once a certain house, woman certain human  
 ña'us'qat<sup>7</sup> uwä<sup>8</sup>qučitä<sup>8</sup> E'niku<sup>9</sup> ge'tčilin,<sup>10</sup> e'nmen<sup>2</sup> gequ'pqälin,<sup>11</sup>  
 woman the husband to rejection used her, then she was starving,  
 elvetiñe'tä<sup>12</sup> gene'lin<sup>13</sup> em-qu'pqätä.<sup>14</sup> E'nmen<sup>2</sup> grite'.<sup>15</sup> Qän've'r  
 crawling on all-fours she became just by starving. Then she was hungry. After that  
 ūm<sup>6</sup> yara'čhin<sup>4</sup> lu<sup>8</sup>'nin,<sup>16</sup> res'qi'wkwie,<sup>17</sup> čiče'pgi<sup>8</sup>,<sup>18</sup> e'ur<sup>19</sup> teik-  
 a certain house she saw it, she entered she looked at the made  
 about same time  
 evi'rin<sup>20</sup> gaimēi'vülēn,<sup>21</sup> e'ur<sup>19</sup> ūpa'lha<sup>22</sup> keme'ñi<sup>23</sup> geyi'relin,<sup>24</sup>  
 garments were hanging, at the with tallow a dish was full,  
 same time  
 niqam'tvaqēn<sup>25</sup> ūm<sup>6</sup> e'nmen,<sup>2</sup> li'en' nripl'tkuqin,<sup>26</sup> niqinteu'qin<sup>27</sup>  
 she eats and then, just she finished, she fled  
 nota'gti.<sup>28</sup>  
 to the country.

<sup>1</sup> From W. Bogoras, *Chukchee Texts; Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Vol. VIII*, pp. 86-89.

<sup>2</sup> ONCE UPON A TIME, also connective AND THEN, THEN; always in narrative (p. 858).

<sup>3</sup> Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic *qučitä* is also used (§ 60, p. 732).

<sup>4</sup> Stem *ra* HOUSE; *yara* probably reduplication from *rara*; -č<sup>h</sup>*in* A PARTICULAR ONE (§ 53, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense THERE WAS A PARTICULAR HOUSE.

<sup>5</sup> Stem *ñeu* FEMALE; -s'qät a suffix, probably related to others in -s'q-, but not free. Absolute form as before.

<sup>6</sup> Particle, indicating that the whole story is well known to the narrator, and is supposed to be known to the hearer (§ 128, p. 849).

<sup>7</sup> *ora'wer+lačn* WHAT BELONGS TO THE HUMAN RACE (§ 54, p. 717); *r+l* in contact form *L* (§ 7, 17, p. 654) the strong vowels of the word produce ablaut in the second part of the compound (§ 3, p. 646) The first part of the compound has dropped the suffix -*n* of the absolute form (§ 116, p. 826).

<sup>8</sup> Subjective form in -*ta* (§§ 37, p. 697); here as subject of transitive verb (§ 92, p. 780).

<sup>9</sup> *E'niku*; verbal stem *enk* TO REJECT, TO REFUSE; -*u* suffix (§103.34) expressing purpose, depending upon the following verb.

<sup>10</sup> *ričiči'rkIn* or *ričiči'rkIn* to make some one something (§ 79, p. 765); stem *rič*-initial; *ič* medial; *ge-lin* nominalized verb (b) (§ 73, p. 758).

<sup>11</sup> Stem *qupq(ät)* TO STARVE; *ge-lin* SHE WHO HAD ATTAINED A STARVING CONDITION (§ 73); *l<l+l* (§ 7).

<sup>12</sup> Stem *elvetiñ*, -*et* adverbial suffix (§ 110.70, p. 810); ä Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95, p. 786).

<sup>13</sup> Stem *nel* (§ 77); *ge-lin* (see note 10); *l<l+l* (§ 7).

<sup>14</sup> *em*- MERE (§ 113, 7, p. 816); *qupqät* TO STARVE (see note 11); -ä Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95).

<sup>15</sup> *griteu* TO BE HUNGRY.

<sup>16</sup> Stem *lu*\* TO SEE; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67, p. 741).

<sup>17</sup> Stem *res'qiu* TO ENTER; -*gi*\* HE (§ 64, p. 738); *wkw<u+g* (§§ 7.2, 72.4).

<sup>18</sup> Stem *čičep* related to *čičep* TO LOOK (§§ 2, 122, p. 834), also *čiče* TO LOOK; -*gi*\* HE (§ 64).

<sup>19</sup> § 128, p. 855.

<sup>20</sup> Stem *teik* TO MAKE; *evi'rin* GARMENT, absolute form (§ 30, p. 691), here subject of intransitive verb (§ 91, p. 779); composition see § 116, 4, p. 830.

<sup>21</sup> Stem *yim* TO HANG; suffix -*yv(u)* frequentative or intensive (§110.54); *gg-lēn* (§ 74, p. 760); with ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>22</sup> *ūpp'lhn* TALLOW; subjective form in -ä expressing modality (§§ 37, 92); with ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>23</sup> *keme'ñi* DISH, absolute form in -ñi (§ 30); absolute form as subject of intr. verb (§ 91).

<sup>24</sup> Stem *yir* FULL; with suffix -*et* (§ 110, 70); *ge-lin* (see note 10); *l<l+l*.

<sup>25</sup> Stem *qäm*, compounded with *tvq* to be; *n-qin* ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73, p. 758); with ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>26</sup> Stem *pl* and suffix -*tku* (§ 110, 67), compare *plägi* it is ended; *n-qin* see note 25.

<sup>27</sup> Stem *qint*; with suffix -*eu* (§ 110, 70); *n-qin* see note 25.

<sup>28</sup> Stem *nylg*; -*gti* after vowel, allative (§ 40); ablaut (§ 3).

Qla'ul <sup>29</sup>	pūki'rgi <sup>ε 30</sup>	čei'vutku'lin. <sup>31</sup>	Yi <sup>ε</sup> lhin <sup>32</sup>	ūm <sup>6</sup>	qu'num,	rā <sup>ε</sup> 'nut. <sup>35</sup>
A man	came	walking.	The moon	really,	what.	
"Guq,	čêq-a'lvam-va'lin, <sup>34</sup>	rā <sup>ε</sup> 'nut <sup>33</sup>	lei'vurkin <sup>35</sup>	qamitvala'arkin, <sup>36</sup>		
"Oh,	quite extraordinary being,	what	is walking	is eating much,		
u'kkām-yi'riir <sup>37</sup>	te'lpirkin. <sup>38</sup> "	Ne'me	irga'tik <sup>39</sup>	ewkwe'tyi <sup>ε 40</sup>		
vessel-full	is finished."	Again	in the morning	he started.		
Elve'lin <sup>41</sup>	li'en.	ple'kit <sup>42</sup>	nênai'pūqênat, <sup>43</sup>	na'qam	eu'rrekēlin <sup>44</sup>	
Other ones	just	boots	he put on,	however	not appeared	
ñe'wān. <sup>45</sup>	Ne'me	qāti' <sup>46</sup>	e'ur <sup>19</sup>	Enqa'n <sup>47</sup>	ñe'us'qāt <sup>5</sup>	pūki'rgi <sup>ε 30</sup>
a wife.	Again	he went,	at the same	then	the woman	came,
			time			
ūpa'lhin <sup>22</sup>	ne'me	lu <sup>ε</sup> 'nin. <sup>18</sup>	Qamirtvala'tyê <sup>ε 48</sup>	qān've'r	gin'kew'kwi <sup>ε 49</sup>	
the tallow	again	she saw it.	She ate much,	after that	she grew fatter.	
Qla'ul <sup>29</sup>	ūm <sup>6</sup>	ne'me	ragtîê <sup>ε 50</sup>	"Guq,	u'nmuñ a'ni. <sup>51</sup>	Čêq-a'lvam-
The man	again	came home.	"Oh,	how bad!	Quite extraordinary	
va'lin. <sup>34</sup>	Rā <sup>ε</sup> 'nut <sup>33</sup>	ilo'n <sup>52</sup>	qamitvala'arkin <sup>30</sup>	Kita'm	e'ur <sup>19</sup>	irga'tik <sup>39</sup>
being.	What	then	is eating much?	Well then	this	in the
					time	morning
ečei'vutkukā <sup>53</sup>	mi'tyā <sup>ε k</sup> !" <sup>54</sup>	Ne'me	am-gimotilo <sup>55</sup>	ne'lyi <sup>ε 56</sup>	Lu'ur <sup>57</sup>	
not going	let me be!"	Again	meré mid-day	it became.	Thereupon	
ne'me	ño'ti <sup>58</sup>	ye'tyi <sup>ε 59</sup>	res'qi'wkwi <sup>ε 17</sup>	ūm <sup>6</sup>	ne'me,	takêčhê'tri <sup>60</sup>
again	behind there	she came,	she entered	again,	to the meat	she went.

<sup>29</sup> Probably reduplicated absolute form from a stem *qla* (*qlat*) (§ 29); *q* before consonant becomes  $\epsilon$  (§ 7); absolute form as subject of intransitive verb (§ 91).

<sup>30</sup> Stem *pūkir* in initial position; *pkir* in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).

<sup>31</sup> Stem *čei'vu*, related to *leivu* (§§ 2, 122); *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *-lin* ONE WHO (§ 54). See note 35.

<sup>32</sup> Absolute form; predicative.

<sup>33</sup> See § 59 p. 729; absolute form.

<sup>34</sup> *čiq-* EXCESSIVELY (§ 113, 15); *qltê* DIFFERENT; *alvam-va'lin* EXTRAORDINARY (§ 112, 82, p. 814) stem *va-* TO BE, initial *va-* (§ 12.2, p. 661); *-lin* (§ 54).

<sup>35</sup> Stem *leivu*, related to *čei'vu* (note 31); *-rkin* derived form (§§ 64, 87).

<sup>36</sup> See note 25; derived form (§§ 64, 87); *-let* FREQUENTATIVE, (§ 110.53 with *t* dropping out in intervocalic position (§ 10).

<sup>37</sup> *u'kkām* DISH, stem *yir* FULL, here reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

<sup>38</sup> Stem *te'lp*; derived form (see note 35).

<sup>39</sup> Stem *irg* dawn; a locative form (§ 38). Compare *irgiro'ññoi* IT BEGAN TO DAWN 9.13; *irgiro'k* at dawn 10.3.

<sup>40</sup> Stem *ewkw* with suffix *-et* (§ 110, 70); *ty < t + g* (§ 7, 26, p. 654).

<sup>41</sup> *elve* DIFFERENT, OTHER; *-lin* absolute form (§ 60.3); singular and instead of plural (§ 46, p. 709). The strong form *alva* signifies AWAY!

<sup>42</sup> Plural.

<sup>43</sup> Stem *ipñ*; prefix *ine-* making transitive verb intransitive, here passive (§ 113, 28); *n-gin*, ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73), plural because referring to *ple'kit*: THOSE THAT ARE BEING PUT ON (§ 74); with ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>44</sup> Stem *urr(ew)* often medially *wurr*; *e-kēlin* negation (§ 114, 4; p. 824).

<sup>45</sup> Derived from *ñeu* FEMALE.

<sup>46</sup> Stem medially *qāti*; 3d person past, more frequently *qāti'ti*; *ty < t + g* (§ 7, 26, p. 654).

<sup>47</sup> Demonstrative (§ 67).

<sup>48</sup> See note 36, *ty < t + g* (§ 7, 26, p. 654).

<sup>49</sup> Stem *gin-k+eu* (§ 110, 70); *wkw < u + g* (§ 7.2).

<sup>50</sup> From *ra* house, probably the allative form *ragti* which serves here as verbal stem: *trê < t-gtê* with ablaut (§§ 3, 7).

<sup>51</sup> Particles (§ 128, p. 853).

<sup>52</sup> § 128, p. 852.

<sup>53</sup> Stem *čei'vu*, see notes 31 and 35; *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *e-kā* negation (§ 114, 4), see also note 44.

<sup>54</sup> Stem *it* to be, 1st person subj. (a); *ty < t + g* (§ 7, 26).

<sup>55</sup> *em-* MERE (§ 113, 7); *gino'n* middle; *ilo'-, a'lo'* DAY.

<sup>56</sup> Stem *nel-* TO BECOME; *ty < t + g* (§ 7); see Note 13.

<sup>57</sup> § 126, p. 868.

<sup>58</sup> Demonstrative particle (§ 57).

<sup>59</sup> Stem *yet-* TO COME.

<sup>60</sup> *teki'čhin* MEAT; allative form in *-ėti* (§§ 53, 40).

Ne'me eëhi ÷it<sup>61</sup> qamit'varkin,<sup>62</sup> lu'ur<sup>57</sup> pi'rinin.<sup>63</sup>

Again before as be- she ate, thereupon he took her.  
fore

“Akakaka! ilu'kã<sup>64</sup> a'lva!<sup>741</sup> niqama'graqên.<sup>65</sup> “Gu, e'uñan<sup>66</sup>  
“Ah, ah, ah! motionless away!” she struggled. “Oh, so

gina'n.<sup>707</sup>—“Gu'nã, a'lva,<sup>41</sup> qine'rrihi<sup>ε</sup>!<sup>168</sup>—“Gu'nã, ilu'kã.<sup>64</sup> Qarê'm<sup>69</sup>  
thou.” — “Oh, away! let me go!” — “Oh motionless. Not

mmre'qewkur,<sup>70</sup> mmmñilo'ur.<sup>71</sup> Gik, ia'm nilei'vutku-ï-gir?<sup>72</sup>  
I shall do anything to thee, I will question thee. Oh, why art thou walking about?

Qai've gêtivnê-gir?<sup>73</sup>—“U'iñã.”<sup>74</sup>—“E'mim?”<sup>75</sup>—“Uwã<sup>ε</sup> quçitã<sup>8</sup> E'nku<sup>9</sup>  
Indeed thou hast a master?” — “No.” — “Where is he?” — “My husband to rejection

gine'töilin,<sup>75</sup> gënançaatvau'lên,<sup>76</sup> ginenqu'pqueulin.<sup>77</sup> — “En'qa'm<sup>78</sup>  
used me, he cast me off, he let me starve.” — “Then

va'nêvan<sup>79</sup> wu'tku<sup>80</sup> yara'çiku<sup>81</sup> re'qän<sup>82</sup> qinelu<sup>ε</sup>'rkin.<sup>83</sup>—“Va'nê-  
not at all here inside of the something thou hast seen.” — “Nothing.”  
house

van.<sup>79</sup> “Guq, a'mên<sup>84</sup> ÷m, mmata'git.<sup>85</sup>

“Oh, then let me marry thee.”

Ma'tanên.<sup>86</sup> Ne'me çeiv'vutku<sup>ε</sup>.<sup>87</sup> Wulqätvi'k<sup>88</sup> ÷m<sup>6</sup> pükiri.<sup>89</sup>  
He married her. Again he walked. In the evening he came.

<sup>61</sup> Before, formerly (§ 127, p. 848).

<sup>62</sup> See notes 25, 36, 48; here *qamitva*, derived tense in *-rkin* (§§ 64, 87).

<sup>63</sup> Stem *piri* to take; *-nin* he—him (§ 67).

<sup>64</sup> *ilu* TO MOVE; *e—ka* negation (§ 114, 4). The initial *e* is contracted with the *i* of the stem.

<sup>65</sup> Stem *qama'gra*; *n—qên* (§ 73); with ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>66</sup> § 126, p. 855.

<sup>67</sup> Subjective form (§ 56); presumably as subject of an idea like YOU HAVE EATEN IT.

<sup>68</sup> Stem initial *rrihi*, medial *rrihi*; *ine-* (§§ 67; 113, 28); *q—gir* imperative 2d person sing.

<sup>69</sup> Negation with exhortative meaning (§ 131.2).

<sup>70</sup> Medial form of the causative prefix—*n*; stem *raq* WHAT, SOMETHING;—*eu* (§ 110.70); predicative form of the indefinite pronoun; *m—git* LET ME—THEE, subjunctive (§ 67); *wku < u + g*; in place of *git* we have here and in the next word the alternating form *gir*.

<sup>71</sup> Stem \**pñilo*; initial form *pñilo*; medial form *-mñilo*; *m—git* LET ME—THEE, see note 70.

<sup>72</sup> Stem *leivu*, see notes 31, 35, 53; *-tku* (§§ 110, 67); predicative form of nominalized verb (§ 73).

<sup>73</sup> Stem *ëttiv* MASTER (§§ 48, 73).

<sup>74</sup> NO (§ 131.6).

<sup>75</sup> See note 10; here with the prefix *-ine-* referring to the first person (§ 73).

<sup>76</sup> See note 75, the same form; stem *-ëgätv-*; *r—qu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

<sup>77</sup> See note 75, the same form; stem *qupqa* TO STARVE (see note 11); *r—qu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

<sup>78</sup> Conjunction (§ 128, p. 858).

<sup>79</sup> § 131.1.

<sup>80</sup> Demonstrative (§ 57); as particle *vai*; stem *wyt*; locative in *-k*.

<sup>81</sup> See note 4; *-çiku* inside of, nominal (§ 101, 24).

<sup>82</sup> *çiq* SOMETHING; here absolute form (irregular) used as object with the verbs *iu* TO SAY, *lu<sup>ε</sup>* TO SEE

<sup>83</sup> Stem *lu<sup>ε</sup>* TO SEE; derived tense in *-rkin* (§ 64); *ine-* (§ 113, 28); *q-* imperative (§ 64); here used as a past (§ 85).

<sup>84</sup> Conjunction (§ 128, p. 853).

<sup>85</sup> Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; subjunctive (*a*), *m—git* LET ME—THEE (§ 67).

<sup>86</sup> Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; *-nin* HE—HER (§ 67).

<sup>87</sup> Stem *leivu +tku*, see notes 31, 35, 53. The *g* of the ending *-gir* has dropped out on account of its intervocalic position.

<sup>88</sup> Stem *wulq* EVENING, compare *wu'siq* DARKNESS; a locative form (§ 38); *-tvi* to become (§ 110, 68)

<sup>89</sup> Initial stem *pükir*, medial *pükir*; abbreviated termination for *-gir*.

I'wkwī<sup>60</sup> EN·ñō't<sup>61</sup> ñawané'ti,<sup>92</sup> " EN·ñē'<sup>63</sup> a'ntoka<sup>64</sup> ralkoōrkor'pū.<sup>95</sup>  
He said thus to his wife, "Don't not going out from the inside of the inner room.

Minre's'qtumik,<sup>96</sup> li'en· çot-tagné'ti<sup>97</sup> ple'kit<sup>42</sup> qāni'ntñinet.<sup>98</sup>  
Let us enter, just pillow edge to boots throw them.'

E'nmen<sup>2</sup> ri'ntñinet.<sup>99</sup> E'nmen<sup>2</sup> lu'ur<sup>57</sup> vai<sup>100</sup> keme'ñi<sup>23</sup>, em-keme'ñi<sup>55</sup>  
Then she threw them. Then there-upon here a dish, a mere dish

res'qi'wkwī<sup>17</sup>, e'un<sup>101</sup> ere'tā<sup>102</sup> geyr'relin.<sup>103</sup> Qami'tvaa<sup>6t</sup>,<sup>104</sup> ne'me  
came in, then with being full. They ate, again  
boiled meat

li'en· ne'nvua<sup>6n</sup><sup>105</sup> keme'ñi,<sup>23</sup> irga'tik<sup>39</sup> ūm<sup>6</sup> kiye'wkwā<sup>6t</sup>.<sup>106</sup> E'un<sup>101</sup>  
just they put out the dish, in the morn- ing they awoke. At that time

keme'ñi<sup>23</sup> gite'nin<sup>107</sup> ñē'us'qātā,<sup>108</sup> genu'mkeulin<sup>109</sup>.  
the dish she saw it the woman, it was put in its proper place.

Ne'me çei'yutkui<sup>6t</sup>.<sup>87</sup> Ge'lvulin,<sup>110</sup>—"Çik,irga'tik<sup>39</sup> ūm<sup>6</sup> minine'tōmīk<sup>111</sup>  
Again he went. He obtained a wild reindeer,— Oh, to-morrow let us have a thanks-giving ceremonial.

Tai'ñikwut<sup>112</sup> en·ñē'<sup>63</sup> gina'n<sup>67</sup> enne'kā<sup>113</sup> qānti'ginet.<sup>98</sup><sup>114</sup> E'un<sup>101</sup>  
The charm-strings don't thou not carry out have then for ones being thus.' And so

nayopa'tya<sup>6n</sup><sup>115</sup> êna'tōyo<sup>116</sup> ilv'ilu,<sup>117</sup> e'un<sup>101</sup> tai'ñikwut<sup>112</sup> gene'linet.<sup>118</sup>  
they went to it made to be the thanksgiving ceremonial wild rein-deer, and so the charm-strings were on it.

Guq, yilqā'tyā<sup>6t</sup>.<sup>119</sup> Irga'tik<sup>39</sup> ūm<sup>6</sup> kiye'wkwā<sup>6t</sup>,<sup>106</sup> ne'me  
Oh, they slept. Next morning they awoke, again

<sup>60</sup> Stem *iw*; suffix *-gī*; *wkw* < *u + g* (§ 7).

<sup>61</sup> See § 58, p. 727.

<sup>62</sup> Stem *ñewān* wife; *-ñē* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

<sup>63</sup> § 131.3.

<sup>64</sup> Initial stem *ñito*, medial *nto* TO GO OUT; *g--kā* not (§ 114.4).

<sup>65</sup> Stem *relku*; *-ēiku* interior (§ 101.24); *-ipū* ablative (§ 42).

<sup>66</sup> Stem *res'qiu* TO ENTER; subjunctive (*a*), *min--mik* LET US (§ 64); see Note 17.

<sup>67</sup> çot PILLOW; *te'gin* edge; *-ēti* ALLATIVE (§ 40); PILLOW-EDGE I. e. THE OUTER TENT.

<sup>68</sup> Stem *ñet*; *r-* to CAUSE to (§ 114.1 c); *qā--ñinet* THOU--THEM, imperative (§ 67).

<sup>69</sup> Stem and prefix as in note 98; *-ñinet* HE--THEM (§ 67).

<sup>100</sup> Demonstrative particle; stem *wut-* (§ 57, p. 723). See note 80.

<sup>101</sup> § 128, p. 855.

<sup>102</sup> *e'ret* boiled meat; *-ā* instrumental (§ 37).

<sup>103</sup> Stem *ytr* FULL. See note 24.

<sup>104</sup> See notes 25, 36, 48, 62; here 3d per. plur. ending *-gā<sup>6t</sup>*, with intervocalic *g* dropping out; ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>105</sup> Stem *nvu*.

<sup>106</sup> Initial stem *kry + eu*, medial *gg + eu*, suffix *-eu*; *wkw* < *u + g* (§ 7).

<sup>107</sup> Stem *gite* TO SEE, *-nin* HE--HIM (§ 67).

<sup>108</sup> See note 5, *-ā* SUBJECTIVE as subject of transitive verb.

<sup>109</sup> Transitive prefix *r-*, in medial position *-n-* (§ 114.1); Stem *umk + eu* (§ 110.70); *ge--lin* (§ 73).

<sup>110</sup> Stem *ilv* WILD REINDEER, *-u* to CONSUME (§ 111, 71); *ge--lin* (§ 73).

<sup>111</sup> Stem *inetē* TO HAVE A THANKSGIVING CEREMONIAL (perhaps *ine + tē* but never used without *inet*; cf. Kor. Kam. *ina-čarč-at*); subjunctive (*a*), *min--mik* LET US (§ 64).

<sup>112</sup> *tai'ñikulhñ* pl. *tai'ñikut* MISFORTUNE-PROTECTOR; Stem *taiñu* TO TRESPASS; *-kwk* protector (§ 105.43).  
<sup>113</sup> *e--kā* negation (§ 114.4). If it were affirmative this would be a verbal noun in *-t* (*t*) dependent upon following verb (§ 80, p. 766); stem, initial *rne*, medial *ne*.

<sup>114</sup> Initial stem *rt*, medial *nt*; *qā--ginet* THOU--THEM, imperative (§ 67).

<sup>115</sup> Stem *yggqt* to VISIT; *ng--gā<sup>6n</sup>* THEY--HIM (§ 67).

<sup>116</sup> Stem *inetē*, see note 111; *-yo* past participle (§ 107, 47); ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>117</sup> Stem *ilv*, absolute reduplicated form (§ 29).

<sup>118</sup> Stem *nel*; *ge--linet*, 3d person plural (§ 73).

<sup>119</sup> Stem *yilqāt* TO SLEEP; *ty* < *t + g* (§ 7).



čei'vutkurkin. <sup>87</sup>	“Re <sup>ε</sup> qūm <sup>82</sup>	a'mên <sup>84</sup>	i'unin, <sup>120</sup>	‘Nō'onqan <sup>121</sup>	če'nīl <sup>122</sup>
he was going.	“What	then	he said to her,	“That	trunk
en'ñe <sup>93</sup>	enve'ntetkâ <sup>123</sup>	qânti'rkin. <sup>124</sup>	En'ñe <sup>93</sup>	pegčr'ñu <sup>125</sup>	e'lhikâ. <sup>126</sup>
don't	not opened	have it for one that is thus.	Don't	for object of concern	not having it as one.
A'limi <sup>127</sup>	quwalomürkin <sup>128</sup>	üm <sup>6</sup>	vê'ti. <sup>129</sup>		
However	obey		truly.		
Çık,	e'nmen <sup>2</sup>	čei'vutkui <sup>ε</sup> , <sup>87</sup>	če'nīl <sup>122</sup>	ruwentečewiu'nin. <sup>130</sup>	E'un <sup>101</sup>
Oh,	then	he went,	the trunk	she opened it.	And so
E'n'ki <sup>131</sup>	ñe'usqât <sup>5</sup>	nēnanva'tqên, <sup>132</sup>	en'men <sup>2</sup>	lu'iqâl <sup>133</sup>	čmā'ta <sup>134</sup>
there	a woman	was placed	then	destined to be a face	split being
qača'kên <sup>135</sup>	le'qač <sup>136</sup>	nu'uqin, <sup>137</sup>	qol <sup>138</sup>	üm <sup>6</sup>	ničé'Loqên <sup>139</sup>
one side	side of face	black,	the other		red side of face.
E'nmen <sup>2</sup>	ñe'us'qât <sup>5</sup>	yiki'rga <sup>140</sup>	puke'nñin: <sup>141</sup>	“Pr.!”	
Then	the woman	with mouth	made a noise at her:	“Pr!”	
E'nmen <sup>2</sup>	gite'nin, <sup>107</sup>	e'ui <sup>19</sup>	ñan <sup>142</sup>	vai <sup>100</sup>	vi'ε; <sup>ε</sup> , <sup>143</sup>
Then	she saw her,	at that time	that one	here	died, she fell down.
E'nmen <sup>2</sup>	rinēnnoma'nñên, <sup>145</sup>	mīñkri <sup>146</sup>	nayilhau'qên, <sup>147</sup>	gailo'qim. <sup>14</sup>	
Then	she closed it,	how	she was afraid	of course.	
Pūki'rgi <sup>ε</sup> -m <sup>149</sup>	uwā <sup>ε</sup> 'quč. <sup>150</sup>	Res'qi'wkwā <sup>ε</sup> t. <sup>151</sup>	Va'nēvan <sup>79</sup>	nī'tvmên, <sup>152</sup>	
He came	the husband.	They entered.	Nothing	she told him,	

<sup>120</sup> Stem *iu* TO SAY; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).<sup>121</sup> THAT YONDER, independent form (§ 57, p. 723).<sup>122</sup> Absolute form (§ 28).<sup>123</sup> Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r-εt* CAUSEATIVE (§ 114, 1); *e-kā* negation (§ 114, 4).<sup>124</sup> Stem *rt*, see note 114; derived form (§ 67).<sup>125</sup> *pegčr'ñu* CONCERN; -*nu* SERVING FOR (§ 103. 34).<sup>126</sup> Stem -*ñi* (§ 78); *e-kā* negation (§ 114, 4).<sup>127</sup> Disjunctive conjunction (§ 128, p. 854).<sup>128</sup> Stem *walom* TO HEAR; imperative of derived form (§ 64).<sup>129</sup> Particle (§ 128, p. 863).<sup>130</sup> Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r-εt* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); -*čewiu* contracted from -*čet-yw(u)*, (§100.54,56); she opened with great care and after several attempts; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).<sup>131</sup> Locative.<sup>132</sup> *n-čnq-n-vg-t-qčn* (§ 74; also § 114.1).<sup>133</sup> § 103.37.<sup>134</sup> Stem *črñ*; suffix -*at*; verbal noun in -(*t*)*ā* dependent on the following participle *va'lin*.<sup>135</sup> *qččq'kčn* belonging to one side (§ 47).<sup>136</sup> *ly<sup>ε</sup>* FACE; -*qač* SIDE OF (§ 101, 26).<sup>137</sup> See § 49.<sup>138</sup> See § 60, p. 732.<sup>139</sup> *n-qin* (§ 49)<sup>140</sup> *yiki'rgin* MOUTH; -*a* subjective (§ 37).<sup>141</sup> -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).<sup>142</sup> Demonstrative (§ 57).<sup>143</sup> Stem *vi<sup>ε</sup>* TO DIE, *vi'ε<sup>ε</sup>* < *vi'ε'gi<sup>ε</sup>* with loss of intervocalic *g* (§ 10).<sup>144</sup> Stem *pekagt-*; suffix -*at*<sup>145</sup> Stem *om(r)*; *r-at* (§114.1); *n-ēn-n* prefixes, *n-n* transitive, *ēn-* intransitive (?).<sup>146</sup> Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 727)<sup>147</sup> *ayilhau*; *n-qin* (§ 73).<sup>148</sup> Particle (§ 128, p. 871).<sup>149</sup> Contraction of *ñm*.<sup>150</sup> Absolute form (§ 28).<sup>151</sup> Ending *wkwā<sup>ε</sup>t* < *u-gā<sup>ε</sup>t*.<sup>152</sup> Initial stem *twu*, medial *twu*; *nī-nēn* (§67, Ia 6).

e'nmeč <sup>153</sup>	üm <sup>6</sup>	nayil'hai'nên. <sup>154</sup>	Ple'kit <sup>42</sup>	ri'ntininet <sup>99</sup>	čot-tagñê'ti, <sup>97</sup>
because		she feared him.	The boots	she threw them out	pillow-edge to,
e'nmen <sup>2</sup>	a'tčak- <sup>155</sup>	luwa'wkwat <sup>156</sup>	kama'gti. <sup>157</sup>		
then	to wait	they were unable	for the dish.		
Guq,	uwä <sup>158</sup> /quč <sup>150</sup>	ure'wkwie <sup>158</sup>	"Guq,	qa'ko.	Tite'ñet-ve'rin. <sup>159</sup>
Oh,	the husband	appeared,	"Oh		It is wonderful
En'ra'q <sup>160</sup>	e'mi? <sup>161</sup>	Qai'VE e'Le <sup>162</sup>	če'ñil <sup>122</sup>	i'nenvente'tkal-i-git? <sup>163</sup>	—
Now	where is it?	Indeed not	the trunk	not you opened it?"	—
"E'Le." <sup>162</sup>	—	"Na'qam	üm e'mi?	Gu'nä	quwalo'mürkin, <sup>164</sup>
"No."	—	"However	where is it?	Do	listen,
qatvu'gun! <sup>165</sup>	Qän've'r	tu'wnên, <sup>166</sup>	"Emite'tim <sup>167</sup>	tigite'ä <sup>168</sup> n. <sup>164</sup>	
tell!"	After that she told him,		"Namely	"I saw her,	
Inegite'kalin, <sup>169</sup>	e'Le. <sup>162</sup>	Yiki'rga <sup>140</sup>	tipuke'tyä <sup>170</sup> k, <sup>170</sup>	lu'ur <sup>171</sup>	
She did not see me,	no.	With the mouth	I made a noise,	thereupon	
kaplêta'tyê. <sup>171</sup>					
she fell down."					
Guq,	č'êq-a'lvam-va'l-ê-git. <sup>172</sup>	Ia'm	agêro'lkäl-ê-git? <sup>173</sup>	Atta'um <sup>174</sup>	
Oh,	quite extraordinary you are.	Why	dost thou not obey?	With reason	
e'un <sup>101</sup>	uwä <sup>158</sup> /qučitā <sup>8</sup>	E'nku <sup>9</sup>	ge'têrgit. <sup>175</sup>	Ya'rar <sup>176</sup>	rai qine'ilhi." <sup>177</sup>
and so	the husband	from there	deserted thee.	Drum behind	there give me."
E'nmen <sup>2</sup>	riri'rgirgeu'nin. <sup>178</sup>	E'nmen <sup>2</sup>	ei'ui <sup>179</sup>	En'qa'm <sup>78</sup>	lu'ur <sup>171</sup>
Then	he drummed on it.	Then	she revived.	Then	there-upon
gagtan'ñinai'pülên, <sup>180</sup>	keme'ñi <sup>23</sup>	gereli's'qičêlin. <sup>181</sup>			
she was quite angry,	the dish	she pushed in strongly.			

<sup>153</sup> See § 128, p. 859.

<sup>154</sup> See note 147, transitive form; *n-nên* (67, Ia 6).

<sup>155</sup> *a'tča* TO WAIT (§ 95, p. 786).

<sup>156</sup> Initial stem *luw+au*, medial *lv+au* TO BE UNABLE; 3 p. pl.

<sup>157</sup> From *keme'ñi* dish; -*gti* ALLATIVE; with ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>158</sup> Initial stem *ur+eu*.

<sup>159</sup> It is a wonder! (Interjection).

<sup>160</sup> From demonstrative stem *en*.

<sup>161</sup> Interrogative adverb.

<sup>162</sup> Negation (§ 131.5).

<sup>163</sup> Stem *vent*, see notes 123, 130; *r-et* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); *i-kälän* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person verbalized noun (§ 73).

<sup>164</sup> Stem *walom* TO HEAR, LISTEN, OBEY, see note 128; derived tense, imperative.

<sup>165</sup> Stem *tuv*, see note 152; imperative.

<sup>166</sup> Stem *tuv*; -*nin* HE—HIM; with ablaut (§ 3).

<sup>167</sup> *em-te't-um* (§ 128, p. 857).

<sup>168</sup> Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ti-gä'n* I—HIM.

<sup>169</sup> Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ine-* (§ 67); *i-kälän* negation (§ 114, 4).

<sup>170</sup> Stem *puket*; *ti-gä'sk* I—, intransitive (§ 64).

<sup>171</sup> 3d person sing.

<sup>172</sup> See note 34; 2d person, nominatized verb (§ 73).

<sup>173</sup> Stem *gerel* TO OBEY; *e-kälän* negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person sing.

<sup>174</sup> *atau'-üm* BUT WITH SOME REASON (§ 128, p. 854).

<sup>175</sup> 2d person nominatized verb (§ 73).

<sup>176</sup> Absolute form, perhaps for *rar-rar* (§ 29).

<sup>177</sup> Stem *yii*; *q-ine-gi<sup>2</sup>* THOU—ME, imperative; transitive form.

<sup>178</sup> *r-eu* TO CAUSE; -*nin* HE—HIM.

<sup>179</sup> Stem *ei'u*, with vocalic *u*; therefore with loss of intervocalic *g* of the suffix -*gi<sup>2</sup>*.

<sup>180</sup> -*gti* very (§ 113, 22); stem *an'ñin* ANGER; *ipü* TO PUT ON; *ge-lin* (§ 73).

<sup>181</sup> Stem *reli*; -*s'qičet* INTENSITY (§ 110, 59); *ge-lin* (§ 73).

<b>Irga'tik</b> <sup>180</sup>	<b>üm</b> <sup>6</sup>	<b>kiye'wkwä</b> <sup>5t, 100</sup>	<b>rile'rkini</b> . <sup>182</sup>	<b>I'unin</b> , <sup>120</sup>	<b>"Atta'um"</b> <sup>174</sup>
In the morning		they awoke,	he carried her (back).	He said to her,	"With reason"
<b>uwä'</b> qučitä <sup>8</sup>	<b>E'nku</b> <sup>9</sup>	<b>ge'törgit</b> . <sup>175</sup>	<b>Opo'po</b> <sup>183</sup>	<b>ğarai'-ğit</b> , <sup>184</sup>	<b>minle'ğit</b> . <sup>185</sup>
the husband	from there	he deserted thee.	Let!	thou hast a house,	let me carry thee (back)."
<b>ELI'ğêti</b> <sup>186</sup>	<b>rile'nin</b> , <sup>187</sup>	<b>ripkire'nin</b> , <sup>188</sup>	<b>mata'lin</b> <sup>189</sup>	<b>i'unin</b> , <sup>120</sup>	<b>"Guq,</b>
To the father	he carried her (back),	he took her,	to the father-in-law	he said to him,	"Oh,
<b>a'mên</b> <sup>84</sup>	<b>üm</b>	<b>ğümna'n</b> <sup>190</sup>	<b>i'etik</b> <sup>191</sup>	<b>ğin'i'tik</b> <sup>192</sup>	<b>tilva'wkwä</b> <sup>en, 193</sup>
then	I	indeed	watching	I could not do her."	

<sup>182</sup> Stem \**rle*; initial *rle*, medial *nle*; derived form; *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).

<sup>183</sup> An exhortative particle (§ 128, p. 862).

<sup>184</sup> Stem *ra* HOUSE; *ğara'lin* HE WHO HAS A HOUSE; 2d person sing. (§ 73).

<sup>185</sup> Stem \**rle*, see note 182; *min-ğit* LET ME—THEE.

<sup>186</sup> *ELI'ğin* FATHER; allative (§ 40).

<sup>187</sup> Stem \**rle*, see note 182; *-nin* HE—HIM.

<sup>188</sup> Stem *pkir* to come; *ri-cu* causative (§114, 1); *-nin* HE—HIM.

<sup>189</sup> From *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; absolute form.

<sup>190</sup> Subjective form (§ 56).

<sup>191</sup> Adverbial.

<sup>192</sup> *ğin'i* TO WATCH verbal noun in *-k* depending on the verb *lavu*.

<sup>193</sup> Initial stem *lav+au*, medial *lv+au* cannot; *ti-ğa'n* I—HIM.

## KORYAK TEXT

### LITTLE-BIRD-MAN AND RAVEN-MAN<sup>a</sup>

Valvımtıla<sup>e</sup>ninti<sup>1</sup> e'čči<sup>2</sup> Pıci'qala<sup>e</sup>n<sup>3</sup> ñawınoñvo'yke<sup>4</sup> Quayqınn'a  
 Raven-Man the two they Little-Bird-Man wanted for a wife at Great-  
 qu'yık.<sup>5</sup> Quayqınn'a'qu Pıče'qala<sup>e</sup>nañ<sup>6</sup> gaimannıvo'ykın,<sup>7</sup> e'wañ,<sup>8</sup>  
 Raven's. Great-Raven to Little-Bird-Man had desired, he said,  
 Ğümna'n<sup>9</sup> ñawa'kak<sup>10</sup> Pıče'qala<sup>e</sup>nañ<sup>6</sup> tiyai'lıñım."<sup>11</sup> Miti' e'wañ,<sup>8</sup>  
 "I daughter to Little-Bird-Man I shall give her." Miti said,  
 "Ğümna'n<sup>9</sup> ñawa'kak<sup>10</sup> Valvı'mtıla<sup>e</sup>nañ<sup>6</sup> tiyai'lıñım."<sup>11</sup> Va<sup>e</sup>yuk Val-  
 "I daughter to Raven-Man I shall give her." Afterwards Raven-  
 vı'mtıla<sup>e</sup>n<sup>3</sup> vı'n'va ñıtoi'kın,<sup>12</sup> a'la'ta<sup>13</sup> awyeñvo'ykın,<sup>14</sup> atta<sup>e</sup>wawa<sup>15</sup>  
 Man secretly went out, with excre- he ate, with dog carrion  
 ment  
 awyeñvo'ykın.<sup>14</sup> Kıyaw'laike,<sup>16</sup> e'nkrı<sup>17</sup> vañvolai'ke<sup>18</sup> qapa'au<sup>19</sup> qu'tti<sup>20</sup>  
 he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine some  
 (skins)  
 i<sup>e</sup>u'wi.<sup>21</sup> Newñıvo'ykınenat,<sup>22</sup> "Mi'kinak<sup>23</sup> ga'nmılenu?"<sup>24</sup> Valvı'm-  
 wolf (skins). They began to say to both, "Who killed them?" Raven-  
 tıla<sup>e</sup>n,<sup>3</sup> "Ğümna'n."<sup>9</sup>  
 Man, "I."

<sup>a</sup> From W. Bogoras, Koryak Texts; Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. V, pp. 12-19.

<sup>1</sup> -ıa<sup>e</sup>n HAVING THE QUALITY OF (§ 48); -ıntı dual of personal nouns (§ 35).

<sup>2</sup> Personal pronoun, 3d person dual, absolute form.

<sup>3</sup> -ıa<sup>e</sup>n as in note 1;

<sup>4</sup> ñaw WOMAN; *i* auxiliary vowel; -nyı TO WORK AS A HERDSMAN; -ñıvo TO BEGIN (§ 110, 63); -yke derived form, 3d person dual (§ 65). See Publications Jesup Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 579.

<sup>5</sup> Quayqın RAVEN; used only in augmentative; -n aqı AUGMENTATIVE (§ 98.2); y(i) personal plural suffix for -ıpi (§ 35); -k LOCATIVE (§ 38).

<sup>6</sup> -nañ ALLATIVE used with personal nouns (§ 41).

<sup>7</sup> gaimai TO DESIRE; -ñıvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykın derived form (§ 65).

<sup>8</sup> Stem *ıu* TO SAY. Irregular adverbial form, used as a quotative, SAYS HE.

<sup>9</sup> Subjective form (§ 56).

<sup>10</sup> ñaw FEMALE; akak SON.

<sup>11</sup> *ıı*-*i*; *yı*-FUTURE; *yıı*-stem TO GIVE; -ñın HIM, future (§ 68).

<sup>12</sup> ñıto TO GO OUT; -ıkın derived form, 3d person singular.

<sup>13</sup> Subjective here as instrumental; stem a' EXCREMENT.

<sup>14</sup> Stem *awyı*; -ñıvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykın derived form, 3d person sing. (§ 68).

<sup>15</sup> atta<sup>e</sup> DOG; awaw CARRION; subjective here as instrumental.

<sup>16</sup> Stem *kıyau* TO AWAKE; -ıaike 3d. per. plural, derived form.

<sup>17</sup> Locative adverb.

<sup>18</sup> Stem *tva* TO BE, in initial position *va* (§ 18, p. 674); -ñıvo TO BEGIN; -ıaike 3d per. pl., derived form.

<sup>19</sup> qapa'au, plural in *u* (§ 34, p. 732).

<sup>20</sup> Non-personal form, dual (§ 60, p. 695).

<sup>21</sup> For *i'ı'ıyı* plural (§ 34).

<sup>22</sup> Stem *ıu* TO SAY; -ñıvo TO BEGIN; *n*-*ykınenat* derived form, 3d per. dual (§ 68, p. 744).

<sup>23</sup> Subjective form (§ 39).

<sup>24</sup> Stem *ıım*, in medial position *nıı* TO KILL (§ 18); *ga*-*ıınau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d per. pl. (§ 74).

Va<sup>e</sup>yuk gawya<sup>l</sup>lyolen,<sup>25</sup> qo<sup>n</sup>npū enñā<sup>e</sup>an<sup>26</sup> ama<sup>l</sup>latča.<sup>27</sup> Quyqinn'a-  
 Afterwards a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting better. Great-

qu<sup>n</sup>nak<sup>28</sup> gewñivo<sup>l</sup>lenat,<sup>29</sup> "Toq, qama<sup>l</sup>itva<sup>l</sup>thitik!<sup>30</sup> Ma<sup>l</sup>ki<sup>31</sup> yama<sup>l</sup>i-  
 Raven told the two of them, "There, ye two make it better! Who makes it  
 tva<sup>l</sup>tiñ,<sup>32</sup> ñā<sup>n</sup>nyen<sup>33</sup> tiyanñawtiñā<sup>n</sup>nñin."<sup>34</sup> Valvi<sup>l</sup>mti<sup>l</sup>ja<sup>n</sup>, "Gū<sup>l</sup>mma<sup>35</sup>  
 better, to that one I shall give the wife." Raven-Men, "I

mima<sup>l</sup>itva<sup>l</sup>tik."<sup>36</sup> E<sup>l</sup>wañ<sup>8</sup> "Qinatinuñ<sup>l</sup>atik!"<sup>37</sup> Ñinvo<sup>l</sup>q pla<sup>l</sup>kiñū<sup>38</sup>  
 shall make it better." He said, "Prepare the provisions for A number of boots  
 me!"

gatai<sup>l</sup>kilinau.<sup>39</sup> Ga<sup>l</sup>lqarin.<sup>40</sup> E<sup>n</sup>nkri<sup>17</sup> vañvo<sup>l</sup>ykin<sup>41</sup> e<sup>n</sup>n<sup>l</sup>migenka,<sup>42</sup>  
 they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff,

yenotčoñvo<sup>l</sup>ykin.<sup>43</sup> Piči<sup>l</sup>qala<sup>n</sup>ñitoñvo<sup>l</sup>ykin,<sup>44</sup> enke<sup>l</sup>vañvo<sup>l</sup>ykin,<sup>41</sup>  
 he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out, there he stayed,

awyeñvo<sup>l</sup>ykin.<sup>14</sup> Čemya<sup>l</sup>q Pičeqalanai<sup>l</sup>tiñ<sup>45</sup> Valvi<sup>l</sup>mti<sup>l</sup>ja<sup>n</sup> aqa<sup>l</sup>lapñi-  
 he ate. Of course on Little-Bird-Man Raven-Man badly

vo<sup>l</sup>ykin.<sup>46</sup> Piči<sup>l</sup>qala<sup>n</sup> ya<sup>l</sup>qri<sup>l</sup>wikin,<sup>47</sup> ui<sup>l</sup>ñā i<sup>l</sup>wka<sup>48</sup> enñvo<sup>l</sup>ykin.<sup>49</sup>  
 looked. Little-Bird-Man entered, not saying he was.

Valvi<sup>l</sup>mti<sup>l</sup>ja<sup>n</sup> E<sup>n</sup>nkri<sup>17</sup> va<sup>l</sup>ykin.<sup>41</sup> Enñā<sup>e</sup>an<sup>26</sup> qo<sup>n</sup>npū vuyalanñivo<sup>l</sup>ykin,<sup>50</sup>  
 Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm,

ui<sup>l</sup>ñā ama<sup>l</sup>latča.<sup>27</sup> Go, va<sup>e</sup>yuk gaya<sup>l</sup>lqiwlin,<sup>51</sup> i<sup>l</sup>mi<sup>l</sup>pla<sup>l</sup>ku<sup>52</sup> gaqi<sup>l</sup>tilinau,<sup>53</sup>  
 not not it became Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen,  
 better.

qači<sup>n</sup> plakgeñe<sup>l</sup>tiñ<sup>54</sup> na<sup>e</sup>čañvoqen,<sup>55</sup> iñi<sup>n</sup>nñinrk pla<sup>l</sup>ku<sup>52</sup> gaqi<sup>l</sup>tilinau.<sup>53</sup>  
 mean- into the boots he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.  
 while

"Qi<sup>l</sup>yime<sup>l</sup>wun, i<sup>l</sup>ya<sup>n</sup>71 gači<sup>l</sup>malin." Va<sup>e</sup>yuk Piči<sup>l</sup>kala<sup>n</sup> gewñivo<sup>l</sup>len,<sup>56</sup>  
 "Impossible, heaven is broken." Then Little-Bird-Man they said to him,

<sup>25</sup> Stem in initial position *vyaq* medial *wyq*; *yy* verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811)  
*ga-łin* nominalized form of intransitive verb (§ 73).

<sup>26</sup> Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 876).

<sup>27</sup> Stem *mał* GOOD; *a-łta* negative (§ 114, 4).

<sup>28</sup> Subjective in *-nak* (§ 39).

<sup>29</sup> Stem *iu* TO TELL; *-ñivq* TO BEGIN; *ga-łinat* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. dual (§ 74).

<sup>30</sup> Stem *mał* GOOD; *tva* TO BE; *q-ğitik* imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).

<sup>31</sup> Absolute form (§ 58, p. 726).

<sup>32</sup> *ya-* future.

<sup>33</sup> Absolute form of demonstrative (§ 57).

<sup>34</sup> *łrya-* 1st pers. sing. future; *-ñin* 3d pers. sing. object.

<sup>35</sup> Absolute form (§ 56).

<sup>36</sup> 1st person sing. exhortative, intransitive.

<sup>37</sup> *qina-łatik* imperative, *ye-me*; *ł(a)-ñ* TO MAKE (§114.2); *inu* PROVISIONS.

<sup>38</sup> Stem *plak* BOOT; *-łñin* (§ 52); *-u* PLURAL; more frequently *pla<sup>l</sup>ku*.

<sup>39</sup> Stem *taikr* TO MAKE; *ga-łinau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 74).

<sup>40</sup> Stem *lqał* TO GO; nominalized form, 3d pers. sing. (§ 73).

<sup>41</sup> Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO STAY; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

<sup>42</sup> *-ğit* BASE (§ 101.21), locative.

<sup>43</sup> *ye-* DESIDERATIVE; *nu* TO EAT; *-łtu* intensive action § 110.67; *-ñivq* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

<sup>44</sup> Stem *ñito* TO GO OUT; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

<sup>45</sup> *-łi* allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).

<sup>46</sup> Stems *aga* BAD; *łiqa* TO SEE; *yp* TO PUT ON; *ñvo-ykin* as in note 44.

<sup>47</sup> *ya<sup>l</sup>lqiu*, Ch. *re's qiw* TO ENTER; derived form.

<sup>48</sup> Stem *iu* TO SAY; *a-ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *a* contracted with *ı* to *f*.

<sup>49</sup> Stem *it*; *-ñvo-ykin* as in note 44.

<sup>50</sup> Stem *vuyq* in medial position *wyq*; *-at* (§ 110.70) (see note 25).

<sup>51</sup> *ya<sup>l</sup>lqiw* TO ENTER (see note 47); *ga-łin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

<sup>52</sup> *imi* ALL (§ 113.6); *-u* plural (§ 34).

<sup>53</sup> *qit* FROZEN; *ga-łinau* nominalized verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 73).

<sup>54</sup> *plak* BOOT; *ğit* BOTTOM; *-łi* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

<sup>55</sup> *a<sup>l</sup>ča* URINE; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *n-ğin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

<sup>56</sup> Compare note 29; here 3d pers. sing.

“Toq, gmya’q<sup>57</sup> qmalatva’t!<sup>58</sup>—“Qiyime’<sup>e</sup>en, gi’niw<sup>59</sup> gū’mma<sup>35</sup>  
 “Oh, thou now make it well!” — “Impossible, like to thee I  
 tiyanto’ykin,<sup>60</sup> plakgeñe’tiñ<sup>54</sup> tiyaa’<sup>e</sup>čaño’ykin?<sup>61</sup> Gewñivo’lenau<sup>62</sup>  
 shall go out, into the boots shall I urinate?” He said to them  
 Quyqinn’aqu’nak,<sup>28</sup> “Qalqala’<sup>trk</sup>,<sup>63</sup> kitta’ñ aña’wtiñka!<sup>704</sup> Va’yuk  
 Big-Raven “Go away, there unmarried!” Then  
 gewñivo’len,<sup>62</sup> “Atau’-qun.” Qo’<sup>ra</sup><sup>65</sup> ača’pil<sup>66</sup> ga’knuil<sup>in</sup>,<sup>67</sup> qalte’nñin,<sup>68</sup>  
 he said, “Well now.” Some small fat he took,” He said to them,  
 wūlpa’pel,<sup>69</sup> ga’lqa<sup>in</sup><sup>70</sup> e’e’ti,<sup>71</sup> gayi’ñalin,<sup>72</sup> gala’lin,<sup>73</sup> iya’<sup>e</sup>kin<sup>74</sup>  
 a little shovel; he went to the sky, he flew up, he came, the sky’s  
 čema’tħitñin<sup>75</sup> qalte’nña<sup>76</sup> gai’pilen,<sup>77</sup> ača’pil<sup>66</sup> ee’<sup>e</sup>tiñ<sup>71</sup> gani’ñalin;<sup>78</sup>  
 cleft with the stopper he closed, little fat to the sky he threw;  
 pñe’<sup>e</sup> gama’lalin.<sup>79</sup>  
 for a while it grew better.

Gū’młañ gayai’<sup>tr</sup>len,<sup>80</sup> gū’młañ gawyaljo’len.<sup>25</sup> Ña’nyen<sup>33</sup>  
 Again he went home, again there was a snowstorm. That  
 qalte’nñin<sup>68</sup> ganqu’<sup>lin</sup><sup>81</sup> yayačiko’<sup>tiñ</sup>,<sup>82</sup> nepplu’<sup>qin</sup><sup>83</sup> mi’qun. E’wañ,<sup>8</sup>  
 stopper came out into the house, small one even. He said,  
 “Qiyime’wun. I’ya<sup>n</sup><sup>71</sup> gač’<sup>malin</sup>.” Quyqinn’aqu’nak<sup>28</sup> qalte’nñin<sup>68</sup>  
 “Impossible. The sky is broken.” Big-Raven the stopper  
 va’sqin gatai’<sup>kilin</sup><sup>39</sup> nima’yñqin<sup>83</sup> gei’<sup>lin</sup><sup>in</sup>,<sup>84</sup> a’<sup>čm</sup><sup>66</sup> o’pta nima’yñqin<sup>83</sup>  
 another one he made a large one he gave it, fat also large  
 gei’<sup>lin</sup><sup>in</sup>.<sup>84</sup> Ga’lqa<sup>in</sup><sup>70</sup> gū’młañ, panenai’<sup>tr</sup>ñ<sup>85</sup> gayi’ñalin.<sup>72</sup> Gala’lin,<sup>73</sup>  
 he gave. He went again to the former place he flew. He came,  
 pa’<sup>nena</sup><sup>85</sup> ña’nyen<sup>33</sup> qalte’nñin<sup>68</sup> mal-<sup>ki</sup><sup>86</sup> ga’n<sup>pilen</sup>,<sup>87</sup> tala’<sup>wga</sup><sup>88</sup>  
 that time that stopper well he closed it, with a mallet

<sup>57</sup> *gin-* thou; *-yaq* indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.

<sup>58</sup> Stems *mal*, *twa* WELL, TO BE; imperative.

<sup>59</sup> Second person personal pronoun *gin-* (§ 56; 129, p. 873 under *yaq*).

<sup>60</sup> *tiya-* I, future; stem *ñito*, medial *nto*; derived form.

<sup>61</sup> See note 55, 1st pers. sing. future, derived form.

<sup>62</sup> See notes 29, 56; here 3d pers. pl. instead of dual.

<sup>63</sup> Stem *lqat* TO GO; *qa-* *-latak* imperative, dual.

<sup>64</sup> *a-* *-ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *ñaw* WOMAN.

<sup>65</sup> Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).

<sup>66</sup> *ača* FAT; *-pil* SMALL (§ 100.15).

<sup>67</sup> Stem *akmit*; *ga-* *-lin* nominalized verb (§ 74).

<sup>68</sup> Absolute form (§ 30).

<sup>69</sup> *-pil* small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.

<sup>70</sup> Stem *lqat* TO GO (see note 63); *ga-* *-lin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

<sup>71</sup> Absolute form *i’ya<sup>n</sup>* SKY; *-ti* allative.

<sup>72</sup> Stem *yñia* TO FLY UP; *ga-* *-lin* nominalized verb.

<sup>73</sup> Stem initial *ñla*, medial *la* TO MOVE, TO GO; *ga-* *-lin* as before.

<sup>74</sup> Belonging to the sky (§ 47).

<sup>75</sup> Absolute form.

<sup>76</sup> Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92).

<sup>77</sup> Stem *atp* TO STOP UP, CLOSE; *ga-* *-lin* as before, here with ablaut.

<sup>78</sup> Stem *ñla* (Ch. *ñat*) TO THROW; *ga-* *-lin* nominalized verb.

<sup>79</sup> Stem *mał* GOOD.

<sup>80</sup> Stem *yait* (allative of *ya* HOUSE) TO GO HOME.

<sup>81</sup> Stem *yiqu*, medial *nqu* TO COME LOOSE, TO COME OUT (like a plug out of a hole).

<sup>82</sup> Stems *yaya-* HOUSE; *-tiku* INSIDE; *-iti* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

<sup>83</sup> *plu* SMALL; *n-* *-qin* (§ 49) *ma’y* (I)ñ LARGE.

<sup>84</sup> Stem *yil*, medial *yli* TO GIVE; *gei’<sup>lin</sup>* instead of *gai’<sup>lin</sup>* irregular.

<sup>85</sup> *panina* before, former; absolute form *pa’nin*; adverb *pa’nena* AGAIN, ANOTHER TIME; *iti* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

<sup>86</sup> *ma’-ki* WELL, ALL RIGHT (Ch. *met-ki’tkit*, *met-ki’it* SOMEHOW); *mal* (Ch. *meč*, *meł*) see § 113.10 and 11; (Ch. *ki’tkit*, adverb, A LITTLE).

<sup>87</sup> *yip*, medial *-np* TO STICK INTO, TO STUFF INTO; *ga-* *-lin* with ablaut.

<sup>88</sup> Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem *tała* TO STRIKE.

gata'lalen,<sup>88</sup> nā'nyen<sup>83</sup> a'čín<sup>68</sup> e<sup>ε</sup>e'tiñ<sup>71</sup> gani'n̄lalin,<sup>78</sup> gū'mlañ ä<sup>ε</sup>'lälä<sup>89</sup>  
 he struck it, that fat to the sky he threw it, again with snow

ga<sup>ε</sup>'lmelin<sup>90</sup> qoqlo'wičñin,<sup>91</sup> qo'npū gama'lalen.<sup>92</sup>  
 he shoveled the hole; altogether it became better.

Ğala'lin;<sup>73</sup> nā'nyen<sup>83</sup> Valvi'mti<sup>ε</sup>'an aqa'nn'u<sup>93</sup> ga'ččilin.<sup>94</sup> Miti'nak<sup>95</sup>  
 He came; that Raven-Man to hate they had. At Miti's

eñyei'nā vaga'lekin,<sup>96</sup> newñivo'ykin<sup>22</sup> Valvi'mti<sup>ε</sup>'an, "Meñqañqa'če<sup>97</sup>  
 near he was sitting, she said to Raven-Man, "How

enñivo'ykin,<sup>49</sup> nime' a<sup>ε</sup>'latč'iñvo'ykin?<sup>98</sup>—"Mi'qun,<sup>99</sup> ui'nā yu'laq<sup>100</sup>  
 it happens to thee, quite thou smallest of excrement?"—"Why, not a long time

akle'woka<sup>101</sup> tina<sup>ε</sup>'lik."<sup>102</sup> Ğewñivo'len<sup>56</sup> "I'n'ač, ga'lqata!<sup>103</sup> U'i'nā  
 without bread I have been." She said, "Enough, go away! Not

mi'qun ama<sup>ε</sup>latva'tča<sup>104</sup> i'ti!"<sup>105</sup> Ğa'lqalin.<sup>70</sup> Pič'i'qala'nak<sup>28</sup> nā'nyen<sup>83</sup>  
 even not making better thou wert!" He went. Little-Bird-Man that

Yini'a-ñawgut ğama'talen.<sup>106</sup>  
 Yini'a-ñawgut married.

Toq, ğalai'ulin,<sup>107</sup> inya'wut ğamuqai'ulin.<sup>108</sup> Valvi'mti<sup>ε</sup>'an  
 Oh, summer came, then it was raining. Raven-Man

ti'ykitiy<sup>109</sup> ğaya'luplin.<sup>110</sup> Qači'n qo'npū niki'ta ğana<sup>ε</sup>'len.<sup>111</sup>  
 the sun took in mouth. So altogether night it became.

Va<sup>ε</sup>'yuk ğewñivo'len,<sup>56</sup> "Čan'ai', qaimū'ge!"<sup>112</sup>—"Me'ñqač mi'qun  
 Then they said, "Čan'ai', fetch water!"—"How even

mai'mik?<sup>113</sup> Va<sup>ε</sup>'yuk ğewñivo'len,<sup>56</sup> "Me'ñqan nime' mti-  
 let me draw water?" Then they said, "Why quite we

pa<sup>ε</sup>'lai'kinen.<sup>114</sup> Va<sup>ε</sup>'yuk missavi<sup>ε</sup>'yala."<sup>115</sup> Ğa'lqalin<sup>70</sup> qaičayiči'nā,<sup>116</sup>  
 are thirsty. Then we shall die." She went groping,

Enñā<sup>ε</sup>'an wūs'qū'mčiku,<sup>117</sup> va<sup>ε</sup>'yuk ğa'n̄vilin,<sup>118</sup> ğañvo'len<sup>119</sup>  
 thus in the dark, then she stopped, she began

<sup>88</sup> Subjective as instrumental; absolute form ä<sup>ε</sup>'lälä, a<sup>ε</sup>'a<sup>ε</sup>'

<sup>89</sup> Stem a<sup>ε</sup>'me.

<sup>90</sup> Absolute form as object.

<sup>92</sup> Stem ma<sup>ε</sup> GOOD.

<sup>93</sup> aqa'nn'in hate, stems probably a<sup>ε</sup>q BAD, a'n-ñin ANGER; designative form in -u (§ 94).

<sup>94</sup> See § 114.4.

<sup>96</sup> Locative form (§ 42).

<sup>98</sup> Stem vaga<sup>ε</sup>, medical tvağa<sup>ε</sup> TO SIT DOWN.

<sup>97</sup> Stem mik WHERE; -qača NEAR (§ 101.28).

<sup>98</sup> Stem a<sup>ε</sup>' EXCREMENT; -ič TO SMELL OF.

<sup>99</sup> Stem mik (§ 58, p. 726).

<sup>100</sup> Stem yu<sup>ε</sup> LONG; -aq adverbial suffix (§ 112, 79).

<sup>101</sup> a-ka negation (§ 114, 4).

<sup>102</sup> Stem na<sup>ε</sup> TO BECOME (§ 77).

<sup>103</sup> Verbal noun in -a used as imperative (§ 95, p. 787).

<sup>104</sup> From a-ka negation (§ 114, 4); ma<sup>ε</sup> GOOD; tva TO BE.

<sup>105</sup> Stem it TO BE (§ 75).

<sup>106</sup> Stem mata TO TAKE, TO MARRY.

<sup>107</sup> a<sup>ε</sup>'a SUMMER; -yu suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71).

<sup>108</sup> muqa RAIN; -yu as in note 107.

<sup>109</sup> Reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

<sup>110</sup> ya<sup>ε</sup>'u TO CHEW; yop TO PUT ON (see Note 46); ya<sup>ε</sup>'up A QUID.

<sup>111</sup> Stem na<sup>ε</sup> TO BECOME (§ 77); ga-<sup>ε</sup>lin nominalized verb (§ 78);  $\zeta < l + l$  (§ 18).

<sup>112</sup> Stem a<sup>ε</sup>'m TO DRAW WATER; q-ge imperative.

<sup>113</sup> Subjunctive (a), 1st pers. sing.

<sup>114</sup> Derived form, 1st person pl.

<sup>115</sup> Future, without ending -mik (§ 65).

<sup>116</sup> Verbal noun in -a expressing modality (§ 95).

<sup>117</sup> Stems wūs DARKNESS; čiku INSIDE (§ 101.24); čm is an unusual form of the connective vowel (see § 18, 1); the parallel form wūs-qū'mčiku is found in Chukchee.

<sup>118</sup> Stem ñuv, medial ñv TO STOP.

<sup>119</sup> Stem ñvo TO BEGIN.

<i>giya'pčak.</i> <sup>120</sup> singing.	<i>E'wañ.</i> <sup>8</sup> "All the little rivers are stingy."	<i>121</i> <i>aiñ'we'ye.</i> <sup>122</sup> Then	<i>Va'eyuk</i>
<i>gani'kalin</i> <sup>123</sup> it did so	<i>Enkai'ti</i> <sup>124</sup> to that place	<i>vai'ampilñ.</i> <sup>125</sup> a small river	<i>gañvo'len</i> <sup>119</sup> began
<i>Gay'ččalin</i> <sup>127</sup> She filled	<i>milh-u'kkam.</i> <sup>128</sup> a Russian vessel,	<i>yaite'ti</i> <sup>129</sup> to the house	<i>ga'lqañ.</i> <sup>70</sup> she went,
<i>gemte'přlin;</i> <sup>130</sup> she carried on her back;	<i>qla'wul</i> a man	<i>gala'lin.</i> <sup>73</sup> came.	<i>Gapkau'len.</i> <sup>131</sup> She could not
<i>gũmna'n</i> I	<i>mi'mtin.</i> <sup>132</sup> will carry it."	<i>Gayai'tilen</i> <sup>80</sup> She came home	<i>wũs'qũ'mčeku.</i> <sup>117</sup> in the dark.
<i>galmñena'len</i> <sup>133</sup> followed	<i>vai'am.</i> the river.	<i>Gewñivo'len.</i> <sup>56</sup> She was told,	"Eni'n ma'ki?" "That one who?"
<i>gũ'mma</i> <sup>35</sup> "I	<i>Vaiamenai'-gũm.</i> <sup>134</sup> am the River.	<i>Gũmna'n</i> <sup>9</sup> I	<i>yai'vaču</i> <sup>135</sup> pity
<i>giya'pčala'n.</i> <sup>137</sup> singer."	<i>gañvo'len</i> <sup>119</sup> They began	<i>ñawa'kak</i> <sup>10</sup> daughter	<i>kitai'ñak.</i> <sup>138</sup> scolding.
<i>Vaia'minak</i> <sup>28</sup> River	<i>gama'talen.</i> <sup>106</sup> married her.		<i>Na'nyen</i> <sup>33</sup> That one
To,	<i>va'eyuk</i> Oh, then	<i>qo'npũ</i> then altogether	<i>wũs'qũ'mčeku</i> <sup>117</sup> in the dark
<i>Vai'am,</i> River,	"Me'ñqañ" <sup>97</sup> "Why	<i>niki'ta</i> <sup>140</sup> in the night	<i>miřtvañvolai'kin?</i> <sup>141</sup> we remain?"
<i>mi'qun?</i> <sup>72</sup> indeed?"	<i>Lawtiki'čičñim</i> <sup>142</sup> Head-band	<i>vi'tvitin</i> <sup>143</sup> of ringed seal thong	<i>gai'přlen,</i> <sup>144</sup> he put on,
<i>kvan</i> least	<i>gaqayičhiñanřvo'len;</i> <sup>146</sup> a small light began to be;	<i>vantige'ñim</i> <sup>147</sup> dawn	<i>gato'mwalen.</i> <sup>148</sup> was created.
<i>yuk</i>	<i>gewñivo'len;</i> <sup>56</sup> they talked,	"Me'ñqañ" <sup>97</sup> "How	<i>mi'ntin?</i> <sup>149</sup> shall we do it?"
			<i>Yini'a-ña'wgut</i> Yini'a-ña'wgut

<sup>120</sup> Stem *giyapča*; verbal noun, locative form (§ 95, p. 785).

<sup>121</sup> *qai*-SMALL, related to Chukchee suffix *-qai* (§ 98.4); *-nti*, after terminal *m* of *vaiam*, *-ti* dual (§ 34).

<sup>122</sup> 3d pers. dual (§ 65) instead of plural; stem *aiñ* STINGY.

<sup>123</sup> *nika* SOMETHING (§ 60); *ga-ñin* verbalized.

<sup>124</sup> *-iti* allative (§ 58).

<sup>125</sup> Diminutive in *-pi*, absolute form in *-ñi* (§ 30).

<sup>126</sup> Stem *čilal+at* TO BUBBLE; verbal noun, in *-k*, dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 138, 150).

<sup>127</sup> Stem *yičč* TO BE FULL.

<sup>128</sup> *miłh* STRIKE-A-LIGHT, FIRE (see Publ. Jesup Exp. Vol. VII, p. 18); *u'kkam* VESSEL.

<sup>129</sup> *yait* TO GO HOME (see § 95); verbal noun allative.

<sup>130</sup> Stem *imt*, *řmi* TO CARRY; *-yop* TO PUT TO; *ga-ñin* with ablaut.

<sup>131</sup> Stem *pkau* TO BE UNABLE.

<sup>132</sup> Stem *imt* TO CARRY; subjunctive (a) 1st pers. sing. subject, 3d pers. sing. object.

<sup>133</sup> Stem *řimñena* TO FOLLOW.

<sup>134</sup> Stem *vaiam* RIVER; *-ena* suffix for living being; nominalized verb, 1st pers. sing. (§ 73).

<sup>135</sup> *yai'vaču* TO HAVE PITY WITH; designative in *-u* (§ 94).

<sup>136</sup> *t-ñ* I—HIM (§ 65); stem *-č* (§ 79).

<sup>137</sup> Compare note 120.

<sup>138</sup> Verbal noun in *-k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 150).

<sup>139</sup> Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO BE; *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-laike* 3d pers. pl., derived form.

<sup>140</sup> Stem *niki* night; probably verbal noun in (*t*)*č*, although the verb has usually the suffix *yũ* expressing phenomena of nature. (Ch. *niki-ru'-rkñ* NIGHT COMES).

<sup>141</sup> Stem *tva* TO BE; 1st pers. pl., derived form.

<sup>142</sup> Compound noun *lawł* HEAD, *ki'řičñain* BAND (from *kiřit* TO TIE (§ 53; 106.44)).

<sup>143</sup> Reduplicated form retained in a derived form in *-in* (§ 29, p. 690, note).

<sup>144</sup> Stem *yop* TO PUT ON.

<sup>145</sup> Stem *ñto*, in initial position *ñto* TO GO OUT.

<sup>146</sup> *qai*-SMALL; *ičh* TO DAWN, TO LIGHT *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *ga-ñin* nominalized verb.

<sup>147</sup> Stem *vant* TO DAWN; *pe'ñin* (§ 106.44).

<sup>148</sup> *tomwa* TO BE CREATED.

<sup>149</sup> Stem *yř*, in medial position *nt* TO DO, MAKE (§ 50).



- gañvo'len<sup>110</sup> tenma'witčuk,<sup>150</sup> Valvımtıla<sup>ε</sup>yıkıñ<sup>151</sup> gala'lin.<sup>73</sup> "Mai,  
 began preparing, to Raven-Man she reached. "Halloo,  
 Valvı'mtıla<sup>ε</sup>n va'ykin?"<sup>152</sup> Va'čvi-ña'ut<sup>153</sup> e'wañ,<sup>8</sup> "Va'ykin."  
 Raven Man is staying!" Raven-Woman said, "He is."  
 Geñvo'len Valvı'mtıla<sup>ε</sup>n, "As's'o' qatı',<sup>154</sup> qo'npü a'lva tıtvı'ñvok."<sup>155</sup>  
 He was told Raven-Man, "Since you left, altogether wrong I was."  
 Gayo'olen<sup>156</sup> Valvı'mtıla<sup>ε</sup>n, geñvo'len, "Gı'ssa<sup>157</sup> qa'čık uı'ña  
 She found Raven-Man, he was told, "Thou really not  
 a'l'va a'tvaka?<sup>148</sup> Qe'nūivo?"<sup>158</sup> Qa'pten<sup>159</sup> gayı'ltilen,<sup>160</sup> yai'na<sup>161</sup>  
 wrong wert? Wilt thou stay so?" The back he turned, to the front  
 yılı'ykımın.<sup>162</sup> Gū'mļañ qa'pten lı'ykin.<sup>163</sup> Va<sup>ε</sup>yuk gañvo'len<sup>110</sup>  
 she turned him. Again the back he turned. Then she began  
 čičhi'ñık<sup>164</sup> yiyıgčha'wik,<sup>165</sup> gaččeñqatvıñvo'len,<sup>166</sup> čake'ta<sup>167</sup>  
 in the armpits tickling, putting her hands in his armpits; the sister  
 geñvo'len,<sup>168</sup> "Quya'qı?<sup>168</sup> I'nač! n'nnu mał-ña'witkata."<sup>169</sup> Va<sup>ε</sup>yuk  
 said, "What is the matter with thee? Enough! This one a good woman." Then  
 enkaı'tı<sup>124</sup> gañvo'len,<sup>119</sup> "Gm, gm, gm!" Qo'yıñ<sup>170</sup> yıleñvo'ykımın.<sup>171</sup>  
 there to he began, "Gm, gm, gm!" To the other side she turned him.  
 Va<sup>ε</sup>yuk gaktacı'čhalen,<sup>172</sup> "Ga, ga, ga!" Tı'ykitıy<sup>169</sup> gačep'pūtołen,<sup>173</sup>  
 Then he laughed aloud, "Ga, ga, ga!" The sun peeped out,  
 i'ya<sup>ε</sup>g<sup>174</sup> ga'plin,<sup>175</sup> qo'npü gečha'len.<sup>176</sup>  
 to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

<sup>150</sup> Stem *tenm* TO PREPARE; verbal noun in -*k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 138); -*čuk* in-tensity of action.

<sup>151</sup> -*yıkıñ* a personal allative form (see §§ 41 and 44).

<sup>152</sup> Derived form of stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO BE.

<sup>153</sup> *Va'čvi* < *Valvı* (§§ 16.3; 122).

<sup>154</sup> Stem *qat* TO WALK, in initial position *qat*; 2d pers. sing.

<sup>155</sup> Stems *tva-ñvo* TO BE-TO BEGIN, *tr*-*k* 1st pers. sing.

<sup>156</sup> Stem *yo<sup>ε</sup>* TO VISIT.

<sup>157</sup> Absolute form (§ 56).

<sup>158</sup> Stem *it* TO BE *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *q* (*u*)- (§ 68), no personal ending.

<sup>159</sup> Absolute form.

<sup>160</sup> *yıłt* TO TURN; *ga-łın* nominalized verb.

<sup>161</sup> *yaina* TO MEET; adverbial: face to face.

<sup>162</sup> *yı*—causative; *lı* TO TURN; derived form, HE—HIM.

<sup>163</sup> Stem *lı* TO TURN; derived form.

<sup>164</sup> Locative.

<sup>165</sup> *yı*—*aw* causative; *yıgıčh* TO ITCH.

<sup>166</sup> Stems *čičhiñı* ARMPITS; *qatv* TO PUT IN; -*ñvo* TO BEGIN.

<sup>167</sup> Subjective as subject of transitive verb.

<sup>168</sup> *yag* WHAT; predicative form (§ 82); second person (§ 68).

<sup>169</sup> *mał* GOOD; *ñaw* + *ıqat* WOMAN; here subjective.

<sup>170</sup> *qo'yıñ* allative of *qoyo'*. (See § 43, p. 705.)

<sup>171</sup> See note 162; the same form with added *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

<sup>172</sup> Prefix *kt*—VERY (§ 113.22); *ačacıat* TO LAUGH; *ga-łın* with ablaut.

<sup>173</sup> Stem *ılep*, medial *čep*; for *čep*, see § 16.3; 122. *ñıto* TO GO OUT.

<sup>174</sup> Locative (see note 71).

<sup>175</sup> Stem *ap* TO FASTEN ITSELF.

<sup>176</sup> Stem *ğch*, *ıch* TO DAWN (see note 146).