
CHUKCHEE

BY

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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 Sibirjakov 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,¹ 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.

¹ 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,¹ 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'yılm, Čimi'tqa, and Po'qač.² 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.

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

² *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, Plǒ'xǒn), 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.¹ 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.

¹ Sedanka Kamchadal *g'ava'tel'kal* THEY PERISHED (-*ik* inchoative in Koryak II, -*ñivo* in Koryak I) *sq'qtiti* HE WILL FREEZE TO DEATH (*sq-* future prefix Koryak II, *yg-* 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 материаловъ поизученію чукотскаго дзыкаи фольклора, собранныхъ въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Оттискъ изъ Извѣстій Императорской Академіи Наукъ Т. X. No. 3 (Мартъ 1899).

[WALDEMAR BOGORAS, 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).]

Материалы по изученію чукотскаго языка и фольклора, собранніе 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 I). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1910.

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

IGNACY RADLINSKY, Ze zbiorow Prof. B. Dybowskiiego. 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. Туюшовъ, По хзападному берегу Камчатки, С. П. Б., 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: *e* *i* *e* *ä* *u*

(2) Strong vowels: *ê* *a* *ø* *o*

(3) Neutral vowels: *ɪ* *ɛ* *ɤ* *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.

e 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*.

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

ɪ, *ɛ*, *ɤ*, 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'qim indeed *ÿpari'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.

ÿpa'urkim thou drinkest

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

nri'w-ê-ÿm I am drinking (stem *ÿpari*)

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'rkii*r (male pronunciation ¹) sun

ee in *e'ek* lamp

wu in *mtu'ulpir* son-in-law

ÿÿ in *ÿÿ'thÿÿpÿ* from the skin intended for clothing

aa in *pa'arkin* thou ceasest

oo in *ro'olgal* food

ii in *taiñ'i'rgin* sinful action

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

mrya'aa²k < *mrya'aga²k* 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]	(š), č	č̣	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	—	<i>ʎ</i>	<i>ʎ̣</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r, ʃ</i>
Palatalized alveolar	<i>t'</i>	— [d']	č'	č̣'	<i>n'</i>	—	<i>s'</i>	—	—	—	—
Palatal . .	<i>k, kw</i> ²	—	—	—	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ñ</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Velar . . .	<i>q</i>	ğ <i>q(u,o)</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glottal . .	—	ʔ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

h, w, y

¹ See § 13.

² Written *kw* before and after *u*.

p, m, as in English.

v bilabial.

t as in English.

š 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.

ɮ 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.

ɮ̣ like *ɮ*, but sonant.

ł as in German.

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

ř dental *r* with weak trill.

ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ǰ̣, ṇ, the corresponding consonants strongly palatalized, similar to *ty, dy, sy, ǰy, ny*.

č̣ strongly palatalized, intermediate between *ṭ* 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 *ɮ, 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 *wo'tqan* 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 *ḍ*, which are bracketed in the table of consonants, appear only as the development of a strong palatalization of *ṇ*, as in

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

In only one case is initial *ḍ* found,—*ḍi'ndin* FIRE (from stem *ym*; compare *gay'nla^{en}* THE ONE THAT HAS FIRE). The reduplicated form *ymym* changes to *ymḍ'm*, from which develops—by assimilation, *ḍ'nḍ'm*; and by intensification of the obscure vowel, *ḍi'ndin*.

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

i^e'rirkin he comes across
re^e'tirkin he rejoices
yo^e'rkin thou overtakest
ye^e'tirkin the sky becomes
overcast

i^r'rirkin he hits
re^r'tirkin he brings
yo^r'rkin thou putttest in
ye^r'tirkin thou comest

č^e'č^e cold
e^e'č^e'pürkin it shows itself

č^e'č^e lengthwise
eč^e'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).

vêčá'rkín and *vêLá'rkín* (from *vêt-la'rkín*, see § 7, no. 17, p. 654),
he stands

vilu' ttim and *vičú' ttim* (from stem *vilu-* ear) ear-bone

čei'wurkin he walks; *lei'wurkin* he wanders about

lä'leñ winter; *čä'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 *q* 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'ran</i>	сaiба (storehouse)
<i>Apo'n</i>	АФонька (Athanasius)
<i>Gž'čhan</i>	Федька (Teddy)
<i>ča'qar</i>	сахаръ (sugar)
<i>čol</i>	соль (salt)
<i>trž'n'non</i>	средне (middle)

§ 3. *Vocalic Ablaut*

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by *^*, the strong ones by *o*. 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.

*e*ⁱ and *i*ⁱ into *ê*ⁱ
e^e and *ä*^e into *ā*^e
u^u into *ô*^u or *q*

The sound *q* differs in origin, therefore, from *ā*, the latter being the ablaut of *e* or *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>p̣i'ri-ṛkm</i> he takes	<i>äq̣äiṇi-tṿi'ṛkm</i> the weather grows
<i>tēn-tēki'č̣hm</i> good meat	warm
<i>mēi'ni-ti'mkitim</i> great	<i>p̣iñē'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>p̣êṛé'yo</i> (from <i>p̣iri-yo</i>) taken
<i>p̣ēñā'ip̣ü</i> (from <i>p̣iñē-ḡp̣ü</i>) from a snowstorm
<i>ṇonō'ip̣ü</i> (from <i>nu'nu-ḡp̣ü</i>) from the blade of knife
<i>aq̣äiṇé'nma</i> (from <i>äq̣äiṇit-ma</i>) while the weather is growing warm
<i>q̣wkwā'tiñg̣h</i> (from <i>ewkwet-ñg̣</i>) at the beginning of leaving
<i>eu'lu-wā'lat</i> (from <i>iul-wāla</i>) long knives 15.2
<i>tañ-māiñi-mē'mil</i> good, big seal
<i>g̣ilē'-āq̣ā'ñ-g̣gr</i> greedy ¹ 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:²

<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>pitv</i> doubled
<i>yip</i> to put on 37.8	<i>priñl</i> (- <i>mñil</i>) news 78.4
<i>yit</i> (- <i>g̣ti</i>) to get	<i>p̣ilil</i> ripples, to bubble 41.1
<i>yim</i> fire	<i>p̣ilvint</i> iron, metal
<i>yim̄</i> steep bank	<i>*p̣ilm</i> darkness produced by a storm
<i>yiḳirg</i> mouth 18.12	<i>p̣ilhirr</i> flat, flattened 84.25
<i>yig̣gi</i> bountiful	<i>p̣üg</i> float of sealskin
<i>wüt</i> leaf	<i>p̣ügl</i> large, round, wooden bowl
<i>wülh</i> thin, with short hair 102.12	
<i>wulhip</i> to fling	<i>ming</i> hand
<i>wur</i> branching	<i>mil</i> nimble

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

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

miliŋ five 107.23
tim (-*nm*) to kill 23.5
timq (-*mq*) 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 re-
 serve, spare material
ligüp deadfall (trap)
lu^sw to vanquish
-lpinř (*pınř*) to give
-lpil (*pil*) to drink
rithil bridge of nose.
rinn tusk, antler R 3.31
rinnim gums
ring shy
rin'ñ to whittle (moving knife
 toward body)

ril (-*l*) to enter the sleeping-
 room
rilh finger 22.7, 47.2
rir to hunt down; (*rir* [-*rrr*] 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)
-rkıpl (*kıpl*) to strike 45.12
kit hard
kitër to hatch (eggs)
kilt middle part of sternum
kırg dry
kırgıl fibrous
gıt thin, sparse
gıt lake
gılh skin
qıml (*kıml* 33.12) marrow
ñın'ñ stanchion of sledge
ñil smoke R 32.38
ñirkıl shame.

Prefixes of the same character are—

ım- all
kıt- (-*gıt-*) much, strongly

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

-gıtı, *-ęıtı*, *-wıtı*, allative (§ 41)
-ıpų, *-ępų*, *-gųpų*, ablative (§ 42)
-ıh(in), *-ıñ(in)*, substantival suffix (§ 52)
-ęh(in), *-ęñ(in)*, substantival suffix (§ 53)
-ıñ-, *-ıñin*, augmentative (§ 98, 1)
-gıg(in) verbal noun (§ 106, 44)
-tkim surface (§ 101, 19)
-s'q, *-s'qän* over, top of (§ 101, 20)
-nv, *-n*, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

-(i)ng allative of personal nouns (§ 41)
-ngq ablative, adverbial (§ 43)
-gq augmentative, (§ 98, 3)
-lqañin, *-lqañin*, space of, (see § 101, 20.)

- lĩŋ* diminutive (§ 98, 7)
- gā*—*mā* comitative (§ 100, 15)
- māčĩ* comitative (§ 100, 17)
- qāč*, -*qāl*, by the side of (§ 101, 26)
- yānv*, -*yān*, provided with (§ 104, 38)
- yōčh*, -*gōčh*, receptacle (§ 105, 40)
- yō* passive participle (§ 107, 47)
- ññō*, -*ñō*. 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'tirgĩn* (stem *yē't*) the act of coming
- kañka'čirgĩn* (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'tirgĩn* < *yā't-hĩrgĩn* < *yā't-gĩrgĩn*
- kañka'čirgĩn* < *kañka'č-hĩrgĩn* < *kañka'č-gĩrgĩn*

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

- elere'rkm* he feels dull
 - alana'mā* while feeling dull
 - mêrêmêr* tear
 - mêrê'gtĩ* to a tear
 - piñe'pĩl* snowstorm
 - pêna-čpũ* from a snowstorm
 - kêtg'rkm* (stem *kêtg*) he remembers
- } (stem *elere*)
- } (stem *mêrê*)
- } (stem *piñe*)

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

- $\overset{\epsilon}{a}q\overset{\epsilon}{a}'-m\overset{\epsilon}{i}'m\overset{\epsilon}{l}$ bad water, brandy
- $\overset{\epsilon}{a}'q\overset{\epsilon}{a}lp\overset{\epsilon}{e}$ quick! hurry!
- $q\overset{\epsilon}{a}'i\overset{\epsilon}{u}'$ fawn
- $\overset{\epsilon}{a}'lq\overset{\epsilon}{e}'p$ nail
- $\overset{\epsilon}{a}'m\overset{\epsilon}{u}'l\overset{\epsilon}{i}n$ workingman

This \ddot{a} is probably developed from \underline{e} under the influence of the following glottal stop.

In several suffixes \ddot{a} appears without connection with q or ϵ .

$v\dot{\lambda}u't\ddot{a}$ by means of an ear

$v\dot{q}l\dot{a}'t\ddot{a}$ by means of a knife

In a few cases \ddot{a} belongs to the group of strong vowels, and is probably derived from \hat{e} under the influence of the glottal stop.

$\ddot{a}^\epsilon l\dot{q}'$ day

$\ddot{a}^\epsilon ttw\hat{e}i' - \tilde{n}an$ interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

In several compounds \ddot{a} appears as connecting vowel instead of r . This happens also generally before or after q . The sound of \ddot{a} in these cases is short, and it belongs to the neutral vowels.

In the words $a^\epsilon ttin$ DOG, $a^\epsilon ttim$ BONE, the a^ϵ replaces the weak \ddot{a}^ϵ , 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 .

$teik\dot{e}'urkin$ he wrestles

$taikaul\hat{e}'p\ddot{u}$ from the wrestler

$\dot{u}p\dot{a}'urkin$ he drinks

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

$\dot{u}'u^\epsilon rkin$ it thaws

$\hat{e}o^\epsilon m\dot{a}$ while thawing

but consonantic

$\dot{u}'urkin$ he speaks

$\hat{e}u'm\dot{a}$ while speaking

This $\dot{u}'u^\epsilon$ may be explained as originating from $r'y\ddot{u}^\epsilon$, where, according to the rule, the intervocalic y dropped out, strengthening at the same time r to i .

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.

$w\dot{u}'rkin$ he cooks

$\hat{e}w\dot{u}'rkin$ he cuts it off

$lw\dot{u}q'urkin$ he can not

$w\dot{u}\hat{e}'m\dot{a}$ while cooking

$\hat{e}w\hat{e}'m\dot{a}$ while cutting

$g\dot{e}'\hat{e}v\dot{u}l\dot{u}n$ he cut it

$g\dot{a}l\dot{v}a\dot{u}l\dot{e}n$ being unable to do something

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

vi'lkən fork (Kor. Kam. *vi'łka*); stem *vi'łkə*; Russian *вилка*

č'u'mən bag (Kor. Kam. *č'u'ma*); stem *č'umə*; Russian *сума*

kəmə'k paper; stem *kəmək*; Russian *бумага*

mu'lemul soap (Kor. Kam. *mu'la*); stem *mulə*; local Russian *мыло*, instead of *мыло*

yək'u'tilm Yakut; stem *yəkut*; Russian *Якут*

prəkə'č'ik commercial agent (Kor. *prek'a'ssek*); Russian *прикащик*

(Kor. Kam. *čai'n'ek*) teakettle;¹ Russian *чайник*

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: *emilo'n* < *emil' elo'n* where is he? *ewna'n* < *ewn nan* so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative *emilongai'nin* ?where is he then? 43.6.

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

In *č'əq-a'mniñən* IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms *č'iq* 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 *ɮ*, *ɮ̣*, *č̣*, *č̣'*, which are not found in uncompounded stems, but seem to be due throughout to assimilation (see § 7).

ɮ < *t+l*

č̣ < *t'+y*

ɮ̣ < *l+l* or *r+l*

č̣' < *d'+y*

All sounds occur as terminals except

ɮ, *ɮ*, *t'*, [*d*], [*d'*], *č̣*, *č̣'*, *č̣*, *č̣'*, *wkw*, *ʃ*

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 *ñ* appear only as terminal sounds after *l* and *ɮ*.

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.

¹ Chukchee *pi'łtikuk* throat-kettle.

Terminal \tilde{n} , particularly after r , becomes voiceless, and hence very weak.

keñu'neñ STAFF ends in voiceless \tilde{n} , but in the plural *keñu'neñit* the \tilde{n} 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:

$\underset{\cdot}{l}$, $\underset{\cdot}{L}$, $\underset{\cdot}{t}$,¹ $[\underset{\cdot}{d}]$, $[\underset{\cdot}{d'}$],² $\underset{\cdot}{c}$, $\underset{\cdot}{j}$, $\underset{\cdot}{j'}$, 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 ,³ q ,⁴ $\underset{\cdot}{r}$, $\underset{\cdot}{h}$.

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^{\cdot} , n^{\cdot} ,⁵

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

	p	t	k	q		$\underset{\cdot}{c}$	m	n	\tilde{n}	v	l	$r, \underset{\cdot}{r}$	y	w	h
p	pp	pt	pk	pq	$p\underset{\cdot}{c}$	$p\underset{\cdot}{c}$	—	—	—		pl	pr	py		
t		tt	tk	tq	$t\underset{\cdot}{c}$	$t\underset{\cdot}{c}$	—	—	—	tv	—	(tr) —	ty	tw	th
q	—	qt	qk	qq	$q\underset{\cdot}{c}$	$q\underset{\cdot}{c}$	—	qn	—	—	ql	qr	qy	—	
$\underset{\cdot}{c}$	—	$\underset{\cdot}{c}t$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}k$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}q$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}\underset{\cdot}{c}$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}\underset{\cdot}{c}$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}m$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}n$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}\tilde{n}$		$\underset{\cdot}{c}l$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}r$			
$\underset{\cdot}{c}$	—	—	—	—	$\underset{\cdot}{c}\underset{\cdot}{c}$	$\underset{\cdot}{c}\underset{\cdot}{c}$	—	—	—	$\underset{\cdot}{c}v$	—	—	—		$\underset{\cdot}{c}h$
s^{\cdot}	$s^{\cdot}p$		$s^{\cdot}k$	$s^{\cdot}q$				$s^{\cdot}n$							
m	mp	mt	mk	mq	$m\underset{\cdot}{c}$	$m\underset{\cdot}{c}$	mm	$m\tilde{n}$	$m\tilde{n}$		ml	mr	my	mw	
n	np	nt	nk	nq	—	$n\underset{\cdot}{c}$	nm	$n\tilde{n}$	—	nv	nl	$(nr)n\underset{\cdot}{r}$	ny		
n^{\cdot}	$n^{\cdot}p$		$n^{\cdot}k$	$n^{\cdot}q$	$n^{\cdot}\underset{\cdot}{c}$		$n^{\cdot}m$		$n^{\cdot}\tilde{n}$	$n^{\cdot}v$		—	—		
\tilde{n}	—	—	$\tilde{n}k$	$\tilde{n}q$	$\tilde{n}\underset{\cdot}{c}$	—	—	—	$\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$	—	—	—	—	—	
	lp	lt	lk	lq	—		lm	—	—	lv	—	—	ly	lw	lh
r	—	—	rk		$r\underset{\cdot}{c}$	—	—	—	—	rv	—	rr	—	rw	
y	yp	—		yq			ym	—	$y\tilde{n}$	—	—	—	—		
w	—	wt	(wk)	wq	$w\underset{\cdot}{c}$		wm	$w\tilde{n}$	—	—	—	wr	—	ww	

¹ Except $t^{\cdot}h$.

² Except nd^{\cdot} .

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

⁴ 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-a'a'čĕk < *qaLĕ'-a'a'čĕk* lazy boy
ä^εq-u'ttuut < *ä^εqä-u'ttuut* bad wood

(2) Obscure *I, E, ũ, A, ä, a^ε*, following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.

añqa-nna'n < *añqa'-enna'n* sea-fish
gapa'u'lĕn < *ga-ũpa'u'lĕn* he drank
čĕ'ri^εl < *čĕ'ri-ä^εl* Lel muddy snow
ñeu^εttim < *ñe'u-a^εttim* 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 m v w</i>	<i>t n č y r l</i>	<i>k ñ q g</i>
<i>p forms with</i>		<i>mn</i>	<i>mñ</i>
<i>v forms with</i>			<i>wkw</i>
<i>w forms with</i>	<i>wkw wkw</i>	<i>wg</i>	<i>{wkw wg}</i>
<i>t forms with</i>	<i>nm</i>	<i>nn č rr L</i>	<i>nñ {tñ tŷ}</i>
<i>n forms with</i>		<i>nä {nr nř}</i>	<i>nñ n^εq</i>
<i>č forms with</i>	<i>s^εp {s^mm nm}</i>	<i>{t {sⁿn nn} rr L</i>	<i>s^εk čñ s^εq čñ</i>
<i>y forms with</i>		<i>gt gn gč gr gl</i>	
<i>r forms with</i>		<i>tt nn tč č {L L}</i>	
<i>l forms with</i>		<i>{ŷ } rr {L L}</i>	<i>ññ {lq s^εq} lh ly</i>
<i>k } form with</i>	<i>wp wm wkw wkw</i>	<i>gt gn gq gr gl</i>	<i>gk {gñ ññ} gq qq wkw gq</i>
<i>ñ forms with</i>	<i>mp wm mv mw</i>	<i>nł gn nč {nđ nr ny nř} nł</i>	
<i>q forms with</i>	<i>*p *m *v *w</i>	<i>*t *n *č *y *r *l</i>	<i>*k *ñ (*q) *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) *q* before consonants becomes *ε*; only *qq* occurs.
 (5) *ñ* before labials becomes *m*; before dentals, *n*.
 (6) *č* before labials, palatals, and *n*, becomes *s*'. When *l* replaces *č*, 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* (*č*), and *r* with following *y*, form *č*'.
 (11) *l* with following *y* forms *č*', or *ly*.
 (12) *t*, *č*, and (*r*) with following *r* form *rr*.
 (13) (*t*), *č*, and *r* with following *t* form *tt*.
 (14) *ñ* with following *n* and *ñ* forms *gn* and *gñ*.
 (15) *n* and *ñ* with following *y* form *nd*'.
 (16) *n* and *ñ* with following *r* form often *nř*.
 (17) *t*, *č*, *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 *ñ* forms *lh*.
 (20) *r* with following *n* forms *nn*.
 (21) *r* with following *č* forms *tč*.
 (22) *k* with following *k* and *g* form *gk* and *gq*.
 (23) *k* and *g* with following *ñ* form *ññ*.
 (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) *gεmnε'lin* whetted < *gε-pnε'-lin*
valamna'lin < *valo-pna'lin* the knife-whetter
 44.4
rimnε'pū from the inner skin (*ri'pin* inner skin)
- pn* > *mñ* (1) *gittε'mñεw* < *gittε'p-ñεw* clever woman
namñilg'a'n < *na-pñilg'-a'n* they asked him
 66.24
- tm* > *nm* (1) *min'i'nmik* < *min-i't-mik* let us be! 57.1
ni'lqän-mur'i < *ni-yi'lqät-mur'i* we slept
na'nmua'n < *na-tmu-ä'n* they killed it 8.2
mne'wkwεnmik < *mn-ε'wkwεt-mik* let us go
 away! 17.8
- tn* > *nn* (1) *εi'minnin* < *εi'mit-nin* he took it 117.9
- tñ* > *nñ* (1, 7) *rei'lqän-ñit* < *re-yi'lqät-ñit* they will sleep
gen-ñi'ulin < *gε-tñū-lin* he sent it 104.10 (cf.
 19.1; 104.3)
- kp* > *wp* (2) *mūwpe'wel* < *mūkpe'wel* many two-year-old
 reindeer-bucks

<i>km</i> > <i>wm</i> (2)	<i>müwmog'ogor</i> < <i>mük-mog'ogor</i> many pack-rein-deer
<i>kv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2)	<i>pičawkva'qlrñin</i> < <i>piča'k-va'qlrñin</i> boot-grass (i. e., grass insole)
<i>kw</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2)	<i>müwkwê't'haqu</i> < <i>mük-wê't'haqu</i> (too) many words
<i>gp</i> > <i>wp</i> (2)	<i>êw-pêrg'rkim</i> < <i>êg-pêrg'rkim</i> he looks wolf-like
<i>gm</i> > <i>wm</i> (2)	<i>êlê'w-mi'tqämıt</i> < <i>êlê'g-mi'tqämıt</i> sweet blubber (honey)
<i>gv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2)	<i>čê'wmak</i> < <i>čêg-mak</i> egg-shell
<i>gw</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2)	<i>älä'wkwə'nəu</i> < <i>älä'g-wə'nəu</i> chewing-gum (lit. sweet gum)
<i>kt</i> > <i>gt</i> (3)	<i>äləwkwê't'hau</i> < <i>äləg-wê't'hau</i> sweet talk
<i>kn</i> > <i>gn</i> (3)	<i>üwı'g tımñê'n</i> < <i>üwı'k tımñê'n</i> she killed herself 72.27
<i>kr</i> > <i>gr</i> (3)	<i>müg-ne'nnet</i> < <i>mük-ne'nnet</i> many otter (skins)
<i>kl</i> > <i>gl</i> (3)	<i>müg-re'w</i> < <i>mük-re'w</i> many whales
<i>yt</i> > <i>gt</i> (3)	<i>müg lı'glıg</i> < <i>mük-lı'glıg</i> many eggs
<i>yn</i> > <i>gn</i> (3)	<i>čəg-tai'oc'hın</i> < <i>caı-tai'oc'hın</i> tea-bag
	<i>mə'gni</i> < <i>mai'-ni</i> property piled up outside of house.
	<i>ñe'gni</i> < <i>ñeı'-ni</i> mountain
<i>yč</i> > <i>gč</i> (3)	<i>ve'g-čurmin</i> < <i>veı'-čurmin</i> grass border
<i>yr</i> > <i>gr</i> (3)	<i>va'grən</i> < <i>vaı'-rən</i> grass house
<i>yl</i> > <i>gl</i> (3)	<i>va'glrñin</i> < <i>vaı'-lrñin</i> grass
<i>q</i> before consonants > ^ε (4)	<i>nar'ko'güpy</i> < <i>nerkuq-güpy</i> from the swan
	<i>g'ne'py</i> < <i>g'gn-êpy</i> from the fish-hook
	<i>ma'mê'ıpy</i> < <i>măqmê-ıpy</i> from the arrow
	<i>ge'lı'ketin</i> < <i>ge-qlı'ket-łin</i> he has married

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

te^ε < *tiq* to cast metal

ye^ε < *yiq* quick

me^ε < *miq* small

For instance:

ti'qırkim he casts metal

te'ınin he has cast it

ñp > *mp* (5)

tampêra'ê < *tañ-pêra'ê* he appeared well

gempê'lın < *ge-ñpe'lın* they landed 12.9

ñv > *mv* (5)

tăm-və'ırgın < *tañ-və'ırgın* good being, good state of things

ñw > *mw* (5)

tăm-wañê'ırgın < *tañ-wañê'ırgın* good work

ñt > *nt*

rantə'a'et < *ra-ñto'-a'et* they went out 56.8

ñč > *nč*

tañ-čai < *tañ-čai* good tea

- ñy* > *ny* *tɛlɛ' n-yɛ' p* < *tɛlɛ' ñ-yɛ' p* long time ago
ñr > *nř* *tɛlɛ' n-řemkin* < *tɛlɛ' ñ-řɛ' mkin* ancient people
tan-řa'n < *tañ-ra'n* a good house; but *tan-roogqal* < *tañ-ro'olqal* good food
- ñl* > *nl* *ten-le'ut* < *teñ-le'ut* good, clever head
- ɛp* > *s'p* (6) *mas'-pa'gɛ'ɛ* < *mač-pa'gɛ'ɛ* he seemed to cease
- ɛm* > *s'm* (6) *mɛs'-kirpi's'-mič* < *mɛs'-kirpi'č-mič* of about the size of a cake of brick tea; but also *mɛs'-kirpi'n-mič*
- ɛn* > *s'n* (6) *mɛs'ni'mpäqin* < *meč-ni'mpäqin* somewhat slow; but also *mennu'mpäqin*
- ɛk* > *s'k* (6) *kirpi's'kin* < *kirpi'čkin* belonging to a cake of brick-tea; but from *va'eñqač* THERE is derived the adjective *va'eñqa'tkên*
- ɛq* > *s'q* (6) *kirpi's'qäi* < *kirpi'č-qäi* small piece of brick-tea (see 29.8)
- nñ* > *n'ñ* (7) *qun'ñe'ekik* < *qun-ñe'ekik* single daughter (see, however, *qun-ñe'ekik* 29.8)
- ng* > *n'g* (7) *qon-ğitka'ta* < *qon-ğitka'ta* one-legged
- lq* > *s'q*, when *l* replaces a *č* *wu's'quus'* < *wu'lquul* darkness
- wv* > *wkw* (8) *raanawkwä'irgin* < *raa'naw-wä'irgin* straight acting
lau'laukwä'irga < *lau'lau'-wä'irga* by mischievous being 117.21
- wv* > *wkw* (8) *ñawkwäñɛ'irgin* < *ñaw-wäñɛ'irgin* female work
- wg* > *wkw* (8) *timarä'wkwä'k* < *timaräu'-gä'k* I quarreled
ɛime'wkwɛ'ɛ < *ɛime'u-gɛ'ɛ* it approached 9.12
- vy* > *vg* (9) *nuvgɛ'ntogqɛnat* < *n-vy'ñtö-qɛnet* their breath went out 34.6
- wy* > *wg* (9) *awgo'lika* < *ä-wyöl-kä* without assistant 124.5
ñä'wgɛl < *ñaw-yɛl* female cousin
- gy* > *gg* (9) *ɛgga'ilhin* < *ɛ'g-ya'ilhin* wolf's paw
qäa'ggan < *qäa'gyan* the sweet one
- ty* > *č* (10) *yi'lqač'an* < *yi'lqat-yan* the sleeper
- ry* > *č* (10) *ko'č'o* < *ko'r-yo* the one bought
- ly* > *ř* or remains unaltered (11) *a'lkıř'o* < *a'lkılyo* the one recognized. The unaltered form occurs also.
- tr* > *rr* (12) *ğır-ra'ttam* < *ğit-ra'ttam* thin curried reindeer-skin
- ɛr* > *rr* (12) *marrä'eñki* < *mač-ra'eñki* somewhat back of you
- čt* > *tt* (13) *mat-torɛ'tu-wä'lin* < *mač-torɛ'tu-wä'lin* somewhat crazy
ma'ñênqat-tä'ɛ < *ma'ñênqäč-tä'ɛ* in what direction he moved on

<i>rt</i> > <i>tt</i> (13)	<i>tut-tei'kik</i> < <i>tur-tei'kik</i> newly made
<i>ñn</i> > <i>gn</i> (14)	<i>teg-ne'lhın</i> < <i>teñ-ne'lhın</i> good skin
<i>ññ</i> > <i>gñ</i> (14)	<i>teg-ñe'us'qät</i> < <i>teñ-ñe'us'qät</i> good woman 62.13
<i>ny</i> > <i>nd</i> (15)	<i>mındı'lqänmık</i> < <i>mınyı'lqänmık</i> let us go to sleep!
<i>ñy</i> > <i>ñd</i> (15)	<i>ä's'ndılhäs'n</i> < <i>ä'nyılhäs'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'nřı</i> < <i>ñu'nřı</i> there (to the right or to the left side from the speaker)
<i>tl</i> > L (17)	<i>ge'lqälın</i> < <i>ge'-lqät-lın</i> he departed
<i>čl</i> > L (17)	<i>maLü'mñuñ-va'lin</i> < <i>mač-lü'mñuñ-va'lin</i> somewhat lazy
<i>rl</i> > L (17)	<i>tuLü's'k</i> < <i>tur-lü's'k</i> just on seeing it
<i>ll</i> > L (17)	<i>a'tto'ol'd'ut</i> < <i>a'tto'ol-la'ut</i> front head (the star Arcturus)
	<i>gene'lın</i> < <i>ge-ne'l-lın</i> he has become 116.21
<i>lr</i> > <i>rr</i> (18)	<i>gırgo'r-ra'mkın</i> < <i>gırgo'l-ra'mkın</i> "upper people" (i. e., the beings supposed to live in the world above)
<i>lñ</i> > <i>lh</i> (19)	<i>ge'lhılın</i> > <i>ge'lñılın</i> (auxiliary verb, active)
<i>rn</i> > <i>nn</i> (20)	<i>tun-ne'lhın</i> < <i>tur-ne'lhın</i> new skin
<i>rč</i> > <i>tč</i> (20)	<i>tət-čqai</i> < <i>tqr-čqai</i> new tea
	<i>walka'tčiñın</i> < <i>walka'r-čiñın</i> the jaw-bone house 59.8
<i>kk</i> > <i>gk</i> (22)	<i>müg-kuke'ni</i> < <i>mük-kuke'ni</i> numerous kettles, a number of kettles
<i>kq</i> > <i>gq</i> (22)	<i>müg-gora'ni</i> < <i>mük-gora'ni</i> a number of reindeer
<i>kñ</i> > <i>ññ</i> (23)	<i>pe'čevañ-ña'lvul</i> < <i>pe'čevak-ña'lvul</i> one-year reindeer-herd
<i>gñ</i> > <i>ññ</i> (23)	<i>čēñ-ñito'rkın</i> < <i>čēg-ñito'rkın</i> egg goes out; i. e., young bird hatches
<i>kq</i> > <i>wkw</i> (24)	<i>mükwu'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'qqai</i> < <i>ei'g-qai</i> little wolf; but <i>ei'g-quli'qul</i> wolf's voice
<i>lg</i> > <i>ly</i> (26)	<i>ne'lyi</i> it became 9.11
<i>tg</i> > <i>ty</i> (26)	<i>ri'tyü</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*.

- ti'mk-I-le'ut* (*ti'mkilgi-le'ut* R 278) hummock-head
i'të-I-pilvri'ntin precious metal (i. e., gold)
gêl-I-tkin-I-k on the top of the sea-ice 9.1
ñä'lvül-I-ëhm the herd 79.6, see also *ñä'lvüliëhm* 32.11
q̄l̄u't-I-kä without head 47.8 (< *q̄-lewt-kä*)
i'të-u-wil precious ware
êul-u-wa'lat long knives 15.2 (< *i'wl+va'lat*)
n-I-np-ü-qin old one
n-ü-plu'qin small one 10.2
lêlanpina'ëhäqai eyes (had) the small old man
n-i'të-ä-qin heavy, dear

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like *L*, *l*, *wkw*, *d*, *d'*, *t'*, *ë'*, *ǰ*, *ǰ'*—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

- mu'LImul* blood 117.12
ti'L-I-til the entrance 105.15
minqi'LInin hand 57.10
qa'Lilên he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22
q̄'wkuzin they have tied him up 20.10 (< *q̄-wkut-lin*)

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

- pi'nul* news
pü'kil big bowl
evi'rit dresses 7.8

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

- ga'LE* bird (stem *galh̄q̄*)
ri'rki walrus (stem *rirk̄q̄*)
ve'LE raven (stem *velv̄q̄*)
ki'rñi buck, male (stem *kirñ̄q̄*)

§ 9. *u*, *w*

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

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>ty'urkin</i> thou sayest | <i>ty'wtuw</i> word | <i>qa'tvilên</i> he has said |
| <i>ru'urkin</i> thou splittest | <i>ru'wgo</i> the split one | <i>qa'rvilên</i> he has split |
| <i>ry'urkin</i> thou scrapest | <i>ru'wgo</i> the scraped
one | <i>qa'nyvlên</i> he has
scraped |
| <i>ry'urkin</i> thou displacest | <i>ru'wgo</i> displaced | <i>qe'nyilin</i> he has dis-
placed |
| <i>rg'orkin</i> thou pluckest | <i>rg'wgo</i> plucked | <i>geigo'lên</i> he has
plucked |

§ 10. Intervocalic Elision

(1) Intervocalic *w*, *y*, (*ɨ*), 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.

ñe'ekik < *ñew-ekik* daughter
gəlgə'lên < *gəgəlgə'lên* he has passed by
gə'alhlên < *gəy'alhlên* he has moved away
muwa'qəək < *muwa'qəgəək* let me sit down!
yə'ilhin and *yə'gilhin* foot
mit'nmuut < *mit-ɪ-tmũ-git* we killed thee 10.12
pə'gtu-u'rgirgin < *pə'gti-wu'rgirgin* runner-noise 32.10
ɛim'erkin < *ɛim'tirkin* thou creakest

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

gə'ɪlɪn < *gə'yɪlɪn* given
ɪg'lhɪn < *ɪyɪg'lhɪn* vein
qɪg'lhɪn and *qɪyɪg'lhɪn* heel
gə'ɪlqälɪn < *gə-yɪ'lqälɪn* he slept
mɪ'ɪlhit < *mɪ'yɪlhit* 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.

gümnɪ'n ewkwewkɪwala'ɛ < *gümnɪ'n ɛ'wkwew gəlgə'ɛ* my left-hand driving-reindeer passed by
yə'ran mu'ri nan'ñənai'pü-mə'rê < *yə'rat mu'ri* we grew too angry (*yə'rat* too much; *mu'ri* we; *an'ñənai'pü* to become angry)
enne'n' üm ä'lqə'm ñitɔ'ɛ < *ä'lqə'p ñitɔ'ɛ* a nail went out (*enne'n'* one; *ä'lqə'p* nail; *ntɔ*, *-ñitɔ* to go out; *-ɪ* 3d per. sing.)
nɪ'mnɪmɪj'-a'lhityə't < *nɪ'mnɪmit yə'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'ä-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					
	é	m	n	ñ	r	l
p	pé		<i>pn</i>	<i>pñ</i>	pr	pl
t			<i>tn</i>	<i>tñ</i>	tr	
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 *pé* seems exceptional in this series. Combinations which occur in initial but not in medial position are printed in italics.

Examples:

- pr* interjection 88.17
pre'rem meat pudding
plägi' that is all 107.21
pla'kilhn boot
pčəqtwa'rkin thou takest off the boots
pné'rkín thou whettest it
pñó'rkin thou imbibest
tní'rkin thou sewest
tñarrg'ə'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
qres'qi'wkwí'ε *grt* enter! 102.35
qla'ulqai little man 9.6
gró'ε' she brought forth 104.8
mle'rkín thou breakest
mñe-ēñ'ñilín sacrificing-shaman 42.5
mne'wkwénmík let us go away! 17.8
mra'gtia'εk I shall go home 99.2
mra'yo'ε'ñín shall we visit him? 108.10

nre'q-i-git what dost thou want? 125.6

nle'n'nlet flame

qñaurra'gtatyé 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>el</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>tl</i>	<i>tl</i>
<i>k</i> and <i>tk</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tk</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>n¹</i>
<i>g</i>	* <i>g</i>	<i>h, y</i>

¹ 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>pir</i>	* <i>pr</i>	<i>pr</i>
<i>pūk</i>	* <i>pk</i>	<i>pk</i>
<i>piñ</i>	* <i>pñ</i>	<i>mñ</i>
<i>v</i> and <i>tuw</i>	* <i>tv</i>	<i>tv</i>
<i>titt</i>	* <i>tt</i>	<i>tt</i>
<i>k</i> and <i>tik</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tk</i>
<i>tıl</i>	* <i>tl</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>kıl</i>	* <i>kt</i>	<i>gt</i>
<i>yıl</i>	* <i>yt</i>	<i>gt</i>
<i>kıy</i>	* <i>ky</i>	<i>gg</i>
<i>tım</i>	* <i>tm</i>	<i>nm</i>
<i>gıt</i>	* <i>gt</i>	<i>gt</i>
<i>mñk</i>	* <i>mk</i>	<i>mk</i>
<i>ñıp</i>	* <i>ñp</i>	<i>mp</i>
<i>ñıt</i>	* <i>ñt</i>	<i>nt</i>
<i>ño</i>	* <i>ñv</i>	<i>ng</i>
<i>rıg</i>	* <i>rg</i>	<i>rg</i>
<i>gıl</i>	* <i>gl</i>	<i>gl</i>
<i>tr</i> or <i>rır</i>	* <i>rr</i>	<i>rr</i>
<i>qıy</i>	* <i>qy</i>	<i>gy</i>
<i>vü(i)</i>	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vg</i>
<i>wıy</i>	* <i>wy</i>	<i>wg</i>
<i>lil</i>	* <i>ll</i>	<i>L</i>
<i>yıw</i>	* <i>yğ</i>	<i>yg</i>
<i>čuw</i>	* <i>čv</i>	<i>čv</i>
<i>lıñ</i>	* <i>lñ</i>	<i>lh</i>

Stem

- **pne* *pnε'rkın* t h o u *ninemne'qın* she whetted it 44.4
whettest it
- **tni* *tni'rkın* thou sew- *ge'nnilin* he sewed
est it
- **tñi* *tñi'wrkın* t h o u *gen'ñiu'lin* he sent it
sendest it
- **kmĩñet* *kmĩñe'tırkın* s h e *gewm'i'ñeLin* she brought forth
brings forth
- qli'kkin* twenty (lit., that *ε'lıkkeu'kēlin* nineteen (lit., one
of a man) lacking to a man)
- **rkte* or } *kıl'nnin* he fol- *gerkele'lin* she followed him 37.1
**rkele* } lowed them 50.8
- **rkur* *ku'rırkın* t h o u *ge'rkurın* he bought
buyest it
- **rkipl* *kı'plınēn* s h e *ga'rkiplılēn* he had struck 86.7
struck her 86.5
- **łpınř* *pı'nřrkın* t h o u *galpı'nřılēn* he gave
givest to him *nılpı'nřıqēnat* they gave them 14.3

Stem

* <i>lpinit</i> or	<i>pini'irkin</i> t h o u	<i>nelpini'tyä^εn</i> they bound him 8.1
* <i>lpinit</i> }	bindest him	
* <i>lqät</i>	<i>qä'ty i^ε</i> he left	<i>ge'lqäzin</i> he left 59.1
	100.16	
* <i>lqäin</i>	<i>qäineu'nin</i> he shot	<i>nrlqäineu'nin</i> they shot 78.10
	at it 78.13	
* <i>tku</i>	<i>ku'rkin</i> thou con-	<i>ge'tkulin</i> he consumed it 7.2
	sumest it	
* <i>wkut</i>	<i>wuti'lhin</i> t y i n g	<i>ge'wku_zlin</i> they had tied him 20.10
	stick 104.24	
* <i>tva</i>	<i>vgr'kin</i> he is 125.2	<i>qatva'rkin</i> stay! 57.3
* <i>tvêtä</i>	<i>vê t'č a' r k i n</i> he	<i>qatvê'téalên</i> he stood
	stands	
	<i>wêtä'lin</i> standing	<i>nrtvê'téaqên</i> he stood 48.1
	48.3	
* <i>pr</i>	<i>pr'rgü^εn</i> thou hast	<i>ge'prilin</i> plucked out
	plucked it	
	<i>pri'rkin</i> he tears	<i>né'priä^εn</i> they tore off 30.7
	out	
* <i>pkir</i>	<i>pükir'rgü^εt</i> t h e y	<i>ge'pkir_zlin</i> he came 8.6
	came 64.2	
* <i>pnlo</i>	<i>pinlo'nên</i> he asked	<i>namñilo'a^εn</i> they asked him 66.24
	him 80.3	
* <i>tvu</i>	<i>ty'wnên</i> she prom-	<i>gä'tvulên</i> he promised 101.21
	ised it 49.6	
* <i>ttu</i>	<i>tittu'rkin</i> he blows	<i>gettul'in</i> he blowed
* <i>tte</i>	<i>tile'ä^εt</i> they moved	<i>minle'git</i> let me move thee! 89.7
	64.9	
* <i>tkê</i>	<i>tikê'rkin</i> t h o u	<i>ga'tkêlên</i> he smelled
	smellest of	
* <i>yto</i>	<i>yitö'nên</i> he pulls it	<i>gagto'lên</i> he had been pulled out
	out 45.2	42.8
* <i>kyeu</i>	<i>krye'wkw i^ε</i> he	<i>geggeu'lin</i> he awoke 55.3
	awoke 55.8	
* <i>tmo</i>	<i>timnê'n</i> he killed	<i>na'nmua^εn</i> they killed him 8.2
	him 43.11	
* <i>gtiñ</i>	<i>g i t i ' n - l u ' l q ä l</i>	<i>nrgtiñqin</i> he is pretty
	pretty face	
* <i>mk</i>	<i>nü'kičm</i> more nu-	<i>nü'mkäqin</i> numerous 12.7
	merous 12.3	
* <i>npe</i>	<i>ñipe'ä^εt</i> they came	<i>gēmpel'in</i> they landed 12.9
	ashore 7.8	
* <i>ñto</i>	<i>ñito'e^ε</i> he went out	<i>ganto'lên</i> he has gone out 8.4
	56.4	

	Stem		
* <i>ñt</i>	<i>ñiti'rkɪn</i> it de-	<i>ge'ntɪlɪn</i> it has detached itself	taches itself
* <i>ñvo</i>	<i>ño'orkɪn</i> he begins	<i>gamgə'lɛn</i> he has begun	
* <i>rg</i>	<i>ri'gɪrkɪn</i> he digs	<i>ge'rgɪlɪn</i> he has dug out	out
* <i>g'lo</i>	<i>gɪlo'lɛn</i> the onesor-	<i>nɪglo'qɛn</i> she sorrowed	27.10
	rowing 27.12		
* <i>rr</i>	<i>ri'riɣ</i> u n t y i n g	<i>nerrɪ'net</i> they were untied	63.11
	63.12		
* <i>rrl</i>	<i>ri'rrɪ'lrɪkɪn</i> he puts	<i>gerrɪ'lin</i> he has put down	down
	<i>ri'rrɪ'lnɪn</i> he let	<i>nerrɪ'lhä'n</i> they set him free	8.2
	him go 121.33		
* <i>vya</i>	<i>vüia'arkɪn</i> he lets	<i>gavga'lɛn</i> he has let go	go (an animal)
* <i>wyo</i>	<i>wi'yowi</i> sling	<i>gawgo'ta</i> with a sling	
* <i>llep</i>	<i>lile'pqi*</i> he looked	<i>gälé'pqi*</i> look! 79.11 (stem <i>lile</i> eye;	7.6
		-p to put on)	
* <i>ygu</i>	<i>yu'urkɪn</i> thou	<i>ge'igulɪn</i> he has bitten it	bitest it
* <i>ɛvi</i>	<i>ɛwvi'pit</i> piece cut	<i>nine'ɛviqɪn</i> they cut it	72.18
	off 72.19		
* <i>lñ</i>	<i>li'ñrkɪn</i> he has	<i>ti'lhɪɣit</i> I have you as	15.8
	him as		

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

re'urkɪn thou piercest it *geneu'lin* he pierced

ru'rkɪn thou eatest it *genu'lin* he ate

but *riñe'rkɪn* he flies *geri'ñelɪn* he flew

Initial *ti* is sometimes replaced by *ɛi* (see § 2, p. 646).

ɛi'ɛi-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.

mɛ'riñɛ slow

yaɣa'ñi house

yogog'ñi sleeping-room

ni'nɛqɪn the slow one (stem *nɛɛ*)

gaɣa'lɛn having a house (stem *ra*)

gaɣo'lɛn having a sleeping-room
(stem *ro*)

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

Irregular is—

i^εrerkm he arranges a reindeer driving-match. *geri^ε'lelin* he has arranged a reindeer driving-match

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

pɪ'ñil news (stem *pñl*)

kɪ'kil one-eyed man (stem *kkl*)

§ 13. Pronunciation of Men and Women

The pronunciation of the women¹ differs from that of the men. Women generally substitute *ʂ* for *ɕ* and *r*, particularly after weak vowels. They also substitute *ʂʂ* for *rk* and *ɕh*. The sounds *ɕ* and *r* are quite frequent; so that the speech of women, with its ever-recurring *ʂ*, sounds quite peculiar, and is not easily understood by an inexperienced ear. Women are quite able to pronounce *ɕ* 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

ra'mkičhin

Pa'rkala

čümñ'a'ta

Čaivv'urgm

Women's pronunciation

ša'mkiššin

Pa'ššala

šümñ'a'ta

Šaivv'uššin

people

by Parkal

by a buck

(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 < *nitva'qênat*

gei'mileet < *gei'milinet*

tì'rkiir < *tì'rkitir*

¹ 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 *ÿ* are rare

ø is generally replaced by *o*

ÿ is generally replaced by *I* or *a*

A comparison of the table of Koryak vowels with that of the Chukchee vowels shows that the glide *ʲi* 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. *ap̄a'vekin* Chukchee *ÿp̄a'urkin*

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

Kor. Kam.	Kerek	Chukchee
<i>m̄e' m̄il̄</i> thong-seal	<i>m̄i' m̄il̄</i> thong-seal	<i>m̄ê' m̄il̄</i> spotted seal
<i>taññ̄ḡ'ti</i>	<i>taññ̄i'ḡ'ti</i>	<i>taññ̄ê'ḡ'ti</i> to a <i>taññ̄in</i>

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

m̄i' m̄il̄ instead of Chukchee *m̄ê' m̄il̄* spotted seal

t̄irga'arkin instead of Chukchee *t̄êrga'arkin* 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>	(<i>L l</i>) <i>l̥ 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>z</i>	—	—
Glottal	—	<i>ʔ</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^εqočé'gti* Kor. 95.6)

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

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

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

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

la'xlañ winter *čE'xčex* cold

gayr'sqata sleep! Kor. 31.8 *trygyr'lqatñ* I will sleep Kor. 31.8

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

valvi'mtila^εnañ to Raven-Man Kor. 12.4 *va'čvi-ñaw'ut* Raven-Woman Kor. 18.4

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

Koryak *yalqr'wikin* he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee *resqi'wkwie^ε* 11.2)

vos'qel'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^ε'yalin he has died (Chukchee *gevi^ε'lin*)

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

ñaw'ānpil little woman.

milya'qpil small shell Kor. 23.8

(5) The Chukchee *l* and *ɮ* 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 *l* and *ɮ* of Chukchee, I have retained for it the second Chukchee symbol, *ɮ*.

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

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 *ɛ*.

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>nito'ykin</i> Kor. 12.5	<i>ñito'rkin</i> he goes out
<i>yalqr'wikin</i> Kor. 13.9	<i>resqi'wkwi</i> ^ε 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>triyayi'triñ</i> I'll go home	<i>ra'gtiê</i> ^ε he goes home 122.7
Kor. 30.5	
Paren	
<i>ye'li</i> Kor. 60.1., 64.14	<i>ɛ'li</i> there
<i>ya'lviiñnen</i>	<i>ɛ'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 *ɛ*.

Koryak	Chukchee
<i>gayr'ččalin</i> Kor. 17.3	<i>geyrrre'lin</i> 96.21 it was full
<i>ga'ččilin</i> Kor. 15.10	<i>ge'lhilin</i> 64.4 he had him for
<i>gričgola'i'ti</i> to a high place	<i>girgo'lqên</i> 124.1 from above
Kor. 20.1	
<i>ñačñin</i> Kor. 60.9	<i>ña'rgin</i> 49.7 outside
<i>gapr's'qalin</i> Kor. 84.11	<i>gepr'rqilin</i> she fell down
<i>yi'ssik</i> Kor. 39.2	<i>ri'rik</i> to untie something
<i>qr'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>wu'ssiñ</i> Kor. 30.3	<i>wü'rrri</i> on the back
<i>-gitñ(in)</i>	<i>-girg(in)</i> abstract noun
<i>palqa'thitñin</i>	<i>palqa'tirgin</i> old age

¹ I have written the *ɮ* corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with *ɮ*, 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 карманъ)
preka'ssek commercial agent (from прикащикъ)
ča'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'nnok) } small image of a guardian
ka'mak-ʃu (Kamenskoye) }

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

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Voyampolka, Kamchatka
<i>t'i'rkitiŕ</i> sun	<i>t'i'ykitiy</i> Kor. 19.3	<i>t'i'tkitit</i>
<i>e'ñer</i> star	<i>a'ñay</i>	<i>e'ñer</i>
<i>mu'ri</i> we	<i>mu'yi</i> (dual)	<i>mu'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'nyřlen* he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee *pé'nřrnên* Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, *gape'ntiřlen*, Kor. 96.26)

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

missaa'łomi we shall hear (Chukchee *mirraa'łomi*)
či'liił tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee *yi'liil* 7.10)
gičča't legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee *gitka't* 51.4)
qi'łu'tču drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee *qilu'tku'ič*)

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

yikča'vekri he makes haste (Chukchee *gaiča'vrkri*)
tayyeñivo'ykri he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee *tęgęę* 102.35)

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

valo'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-i'nd'ułačn* < *ñaw-i-nyu-łačn* the one serving for a wife (stems *ñaw* woman; *nyu* to watch the herd)
 Chukchee *ñeund'u'łm* < *ñeu-nyu-łm* (stems *ñęw*, *-nyu* [*riyu*])

The Paren *n* in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word *ñewi'nn'ul'a^εn*.

In the same way, —

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

Paren *ñá'n'en* that one

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

palqa'theñin and *palqa'tgeñin*

qıya'thi Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee *qäye'tyi^ε* 15.11)

(14) *wg* or *g^u* (labialized *g*) replaces Chukchee labialized *k*, (*wkw*).

Koryak

Chukchee

yiwgıç'i'ta Kor. 32.1

iwkuç'i'tä 37.3 drinking

gawqu'İin Kor. 23.4

ga'wkuİin 20.10 they tied him

qakya'wgi Kor. 28.9

qägg'e'wkwı^ε 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^ε'čeñ*)

ma'qmıt arrows (dual) (Chukchee *mä^ε'mıt*, 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^ε'ekın he overtakes (Chukchee *yō^ε'rkın*)

(17) ' indicates a pause (glottal stop), which does not occur in Chukchee. *upın'al'i'nın* 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^ε'ga^εan* I overtook him (Chukchee *tryō^ε'a^εn*)

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

vai'am river (Chukchee *vē'em*)

yawa'ykın he uses it (Chukchee *ya'arkın*)

a^ε'la^ε' axe (Chukchee *a^ε'al*, but also *a^ε'lha'ttı*, *a^ε'l-ga'ttı*, *ga'ttı* hatchet)

uyıřvat to play Kor. 32 7 kchee *uučvet* 43.3)

These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren *e'ek lamp* *intu'welpry* son-in-law

Kor. Kam. *a'ak* *intu'ulpry*

Chukchee *e'ek* *intu'ulpir*

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

Kor. Kam. *ke'nmiñin* root (Chukchee *kê'nmiłhin*)

§ 17. *Vocalic Ablaut*

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

i changes into *ɛ*,

u changes into *o*;

gî'wlinat they said Kor. 21.2 *gɛwñivg'len* he said Kor. 14.4

nu'tanut country, land *ya'nya-nota'lo* foreigners

but *a* as ablaut of *e* does not occur, both sounds being represented by a neutral *a*. The Chukchee *ê* is replaced by *ɛ*, 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>kalî'ykin</i> (stem <i>kalî</i>)	<i>kɛlî'rkın</i> (stem <i>kɛlî</i>)
<i>nu'tanut</i> land (stem <i>nut̃a</i>)	<i>nu'tenut</i> (stem <i>nut̃ɛ</i>)
<i>a'kkat</i> sons (stem <i>a'kk̃a</i>)	<i>ɛ'kkɛt</i> (stem <i>ɛkk̃ɛ</i>)
<i>aima'wikin</i> thou approachest (stem <i>aim̃aw</i>)	<i>ɛimɛ'urkin</i> (stem <i>ɛimɛu</i>)
<i>kama'ña</i> dish (stem <i>kam̃a</i>)	<i>kɛmɛ'ni</i> (stem <i>kɛmɛ</i>)

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

î'tër-kama'ña heavy dish (from *î'tër* heavy, dear)

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

ɛ'vil-t̃a'mt̃am goitre, long tumor (stems *ɛ'vil* long, *t̃a'mt̃am* tumor); Chukchee *t̃a'mt̃am*

qat̃a'p-ɛ'mat load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17 (stems *qat̃a'p* fish for winter use; *im̃t* load); Chukchee *qata'p-ɛ'mit*

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

mɛ'yemɛy tear (stem *mɛyɛ*); Chukchee *mê'rêmêr* (stem *mêrê*)
gapɛ'nyilɛn she attacked her, Kor. 96.8 (stem *peny*); Chukchee
pɛ'nñinɛn Kor. 95.10 (stem *pɛññ*)

Since the vowel-pair $e-a$, and the vowels \hat{e} and \hat{a} of Chukchee, are much more common than the i and u groups, the ablaut is not as striking a feature of Koryak as it is of Chukchee.

In the Kamenskoye dialect the ablaut of i and u 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,—

napelq'-mu'yü instead of *napelq'-mo'yö* we are left.

The weak i of Chukchee, which is due to the contraction of thi and $\check{e}hi$ into ti and $\check{e}i$, does not occur, since the consonantic cluster remains unchanged.

palqa'thrtñin or *palqath'eñin* 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>wwa'tikn</i> he kisses (stem <i>wat</i>)	<i>ukwe'erkn</i> (stem <i>ukwet</i>)
<i>uyä'quë</i> husband (stem <i>uyä'quë</i>)	<i>wwä'quë</i> (stem <i>wwä'quë</i>)

Several dialects of both groups of the Koryak have retained the vowels e and \hat{e} . These have the ablaut analogous to that of the Chukchee.

Kor. Kamenskoye <i>gatai'kilin</i>	(stem <i>taiki</i>)	} he has made
Kor. Paren <i>gete'v'kilin</i>	(stem <i>teiki</i>)	
Chukchee <i>gete'v'kilin</i>	(stem <i>teiki</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'ttin</i> < <i>ñew-a'ttin</i>	<i>ñaw-a'ttin</i> she-dog

Medial Consonantic Processes.—The alveolars t and \check{c} are not palatalized by following g or h (see § 7, 26).

Chukchee	Koryak
<i>palqa'ti-rgin</i> < <i>palqat-girgin</i>	<i>palqath-e'-ñin</i> old age
\tilde{n} generally remains unchanged before other consonants.	

Chukchee	Koryak
<i>tam-pera'rkin</i> < <i>tañ-pera'rkin</i>	<i>tañ-peye'ykin</i> he looks well
<i>qinere'mpei</i> take meat out of kettle for me (stem <i>mpe</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'gen hard

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

Chukchee
gewmiñē'lin < *ge-kmiñel-lin*
amñilka < *a-pñl-ka*
namñila'tmat 78.4 < *na-pñl-*
atmat

Koryak
gakmi'nalin she brought forth
 a child
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
nitčäqin

Koryak
yaya'ña house
ni'tčaqin 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 *añqa-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						<i>v</i>
	<i>č</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>!</i>	
<i>p</i>	<i>pč</i>		<i>pn</i>	<i>pñ</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>p!</i>	
<i>t</i>			<i>tn</i>	<i>tñ</i>	<i>ty</i>		<i>tv</i>
<i>k</i>		<i>km</i>			<i>ky</i>	<i>k!</i>	
<i>q</i>					<i>qy</i>	<i>q!</i>	
<i>ř</i>							
<i>m</i>						<i>m!</i>	
<i>n</i>						<i>n!</i>	
<i>ñ</i>							

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.
tvi'tikrn he stands
čottai'nik-tvč'tekrn he stands
 on the outer part of the
 house Kor. 43.5

Chukchee
vëtč'a'rkrn (stem *-tvëtča*)
gatvč'tčälên

gatvi'lin he stood

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>tk</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tk</i>	<i>k</i> or <i>tk</i>	* <i>tk</i>	<i>tč</i>
<i>k</i>	* <i>rk</i>	<i>rk</i>	<i>k</i>	* <i>yk</i>	<i>yk</i>
<i>q</i>	* <i>lq</i>	<i>lq</i>	<i>q</i>	* <i>lq</i>	<i>lq</i>
<i>v</i> or <i>tuw</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>mq</i>	<i>ñiv</i>	* <i>ñv</i>	<i>nv</i>
<i>riq</i>	* <i>rq</i>	<i>rq</i>	<i>sh</i> or <i>yIq</i>	* <i>sh</i>	<i>sh</i>
<i>tr</i> or <i>rIr</i>	* <i>rr</i>	<i>rr</i>	{ <i>yIy</i>	* <i>yIy</i>	<i>yIy</i>
<i>vü</i> (<i>i</i>)	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vg</i>	{ <i>yIss</i>	* <i>ss</i>	<i>ss</i>
<i>yu</i>	* <i>yq</i>	<i>iq</i>	<i>vIy</i>	* <i>vy</i>	<i>vIy</i>
			<i>yIq</i>	* <i>iq</i>	<i>iq</i>

Examples:

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

ku'yikin thou buyest it
pinye'kin thou givest to him
qat'i' 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

pyi'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
ganñiu'lin he has sent it
gakmi'ñalin she has brought
 forth

gaiku'ylin he has bought it
galpr'nyelen he has given
ga'lqaxin he has left Kor. 17.3
ga'tčulin he has consumed it
qaykırpla'gıtča 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
gañilo'len he has asked
gettul'in he has blown
gala'lin he has moved Kor.
 14.9

ga'tčelen he smelled of

yito'ikın he pulls out
time'kın thou killest it

ñito'ykın he goes out
ñivo'ikın he begins

yıgı'kın or *shı'kın* he digs out
yı'y'kın thou untiest it
yı'ssik to untie Kor. 39.2

yıssi'l'ikın thou putttest down
vıya'tekın he lets go (an animal)

vuyalanñivo'ykın a snow-storm set in Kor. 13.10

yıgıw'ikın thou bitest it
ya'wikın thou piercest it
yu'kka to eat Kor. 57.1

yu'ikın he eats
yıñna'ikın he flees

lelapıtboñvo'ykın he looks up Kor. 42.8

Irregular is—

iya'e'ikın he arranges a reindeer driving-match

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

ganto'len he went out Kor. 48.6
ganvo'l'en he has begun Kor. 48.3

ga'shilin he has dug out
gayyı'lin he has untied it
nassi'ñvoğüm they are untying me Kor. 39.3

gassı'lin he has put down
gavya'len he has let go

gawya'lyolen there was a snow-storm Kor. 13.1

gayıgı'lin he has bitten
gandıvlin he has pierced it
gamı'linat they have eaten (transitive) Kor. 57.2

gayı'ñalin he has fled (intransitive)

agaıapñivo'ykın he looks bad Kor. 13.8

galı'ya'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. *minı'lqanmık* or *minı'lqat* (Chukchee *minı'lqänmık*)
let us go!

Kor. Kam. *gaa'lin*, Kor. II (village Qare'nin) *geye'lin* or *geye'lı* (Chukchee *ge'e'lin*), he has come

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

Kamchadal (§§ 19–23)

§ 19. Vowels

- (1) Weak vowels *ĩ i e u ü E*
(2) Strong vowels *ë ê a o ö õ U*
(3) Neutral vowels *ĩ E I ü A ü*
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*.
ë like English *a* in *make*, long, lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

È French *eu* in *beurre*.

ö German *ö* in *öffnen*.

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

ø English short *o* in *not*.

υ English *u* in *hut*.

ũ as in Chukchee.

^a, ^o, ^u indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in *k!tʰax^al kǝju' i^on*.

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>	ʎ ʎ	<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>ŋ</i>	—			
Velar.....	<i>q</i>	<i>q'</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	—	—	—	<i>x</i>			
Glottal.....			<i>ʔ</i> , <i>ʔ'</i>							

w, y, h

f is rather rare; for instance, in *fič* 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 *vi'ʎvi'ʎ*.

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>gr</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'ñing'i</i>	<i>yig'ngin</i>	<i>x'i'liqrñ</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>gaña'wana</i>	<i>k!ñe'čum</i>	with a wife
<i>genu'lin</i>	<i>ganu'lin</i>	<i>k!nu'k!ñin</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'lε</i>	<i>va'la</i>	<i>hvalč</i>	knife
<i>wi'ut</i>	<i>vi'ut</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>eʲi'tin</i>	<i>i's'nnin</i>	<i>æi'ten</i>	neck
<i>eʲi'nI</i>	<i>i's'gɪr, e'gɪ'lɯn</i>	<i>æi'hini</i>	wolf
<i>ä's'Leł</i>	<i>a's'l̥a'ɛl̥</i>	<i>ko'l̥o'l̥</i>	snow
<i>e's'le'ɛl̥</i>	<i>ał'a's'ał̥</i>	<i>ke's'l̥ał̥</i>	excrement

(7) Chukchee *ɫ* and *L* are replaced by *tl* and *tĕ*.

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
<i>tɪL'e'ä'k</i>	<i>tĕek</i>	I entered
—	<i>tĕe</i>	there!

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

<i>ĕhijĕ</i> thou art	<i>l'ič</i> thou wert
<i>tæcjm</i> I strike him	<i>tɔlin</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>cuncjĕr'ɛn</i>	<i>juncjĕr'ɛn</i>	they live
<i>sönk</i>	<i>zönk</i>	into the wood
<i>ci'l̥a-tumæ</i>	<i>zł̥a-tomæ</i>	brother
<i>köni'ñ</i>	<i>qŭni'ñ</i>	one
<i>k!ö'lkriñin</i>	<i>q!ö'lkriñin</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'tinän</i>	<i>a'tnom</i>	village
<i>t'vsæicjk</i>	<i>t'vsæis</i>	I ascend
<i>kɪ'mma</i>	<i>kɪma'</i>	I

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

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
<i>E'nu</i>	<i>E'l̥nu</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>ï̇</i> changes to <i>ĕ̇</i> .	<i>u</i> changes to <i>o</i> .
<i>î̇</i> changes to <i>ĕ̇</i> or <i>ȧ</i> .	<i>ü̇</i> changes to <i>ö̇</i> .
<i>ē̇</i> changes to <i>ȧ</i> .	<i>ɛ̇</i> changes to <i>ö̇</i> or <i>ɥ̇</i> .

Examples:

<i>k'istənk</i> at the house	<i>k'əstənk</i> to the house (stem <i>k'ist</i> house)
<i>s'ünk</i> in the wood	<i>s'önk</i> to the wood (stem <i>s'ün</i>)
<i>tə'ink</i> by them	<i>tə'ə'ənk</i> to them (stem <i>tə</i>)
<i>k'əpə'ənk</i> in the trough	<i>k'ə'pə'ənk</i> to the trough (stem <i>k'əpə'</i>)
<i>k'əwə'ənk</i> in the river	<i>k'ə'wə'ənk</i> to the river (stem <i>k'əw'</i>)
<i>kukə'-hümnin</i> he cooked it	<i>kəkə'jə'-hümnən</i> he began to cook it

The obscure vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *ü*, are neutral, as are also *e*, *a*, *ö*. 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'əstənk</i> to the house (stem <i>k'ist</i>)
<i>k'ə'və'ənk</i> at the lake (stem <i>k'ə'v</i>)	<i>k'ə'pə'ənk</i> at the trough <i>k'ə'pə'ənk</i> to the trough (stem <i>k'ə'pə'</i>)
<i>tisün'ülo'tijk</i> I always live in the woods (<i>ti</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*, *tə'ej*, *tə'ejh*, *tə'tə*, *ntə'ejh*, *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'lo'nl* < *ko'lol-l* (instrumental), snow
e'therñ (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, e, e, (a)*, are also found rather often.

lüle'l' < lül-l' eye

tveta'tijk < tveta't-jk I work

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

k!ö'krñin he has come

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

xke'jæik accept him

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

tælin < ttælin I struck him

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

kr'mma čič'niñijk < t-činiñ-jk I sew

Compare also

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>e'tqiñ</i>	<i>a'ččrñ</i>	<i>e'čkeläx</i>	the bad one
<i>wuwččlka'lhın</i>	<i>četčel'ñin</i>	<i>č'xčax</i>	shrew

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

v'lkaruje < lk-r-je (Chukchee *gät'rkin < lqät-rkin*) he leaves

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

čkl'a'ujk < čkl'au-jk (Chukchee *krla'urkin < rkl'au-rkin*) he 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'rılıñin* shoulder-blade

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

Kamchadal *k!ta'tilkajukñan* 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>tipênŋrko'n</i>	<	<i>tipê'nŋrkin</i>	} I attack him
Kor. Kam.	<i>tipenn'eko'n</i>	<	<i>tip'e'nn'ekin</i>	
Kamchadal	<i>tipencijo'n</i>	<	<i>tip'e'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 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 *orgo* SLEDGE, reduplicated *orgo-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-*irkin*. 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'ñirkin</i> he desires
Anadyr Chukchee	<i>tegge'ñirkin</i> or <i>gaima'tirkin</i>
Koryak, Kamenskoye	<i>tajja'ñikin</i> or <i>gaima'tekin</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'urkin</i> he speaks
Anadyr Chukchee	<i>wêtha'urkin</i> and <i>vanava'tirkin</i>
Koryak, Kamenskoye	<i>vetha'vekin</i> and <i>vanava'tekin</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>li'mña</i>	<i>garê'm</i>	<i>re^εw</i>
Koryak, Kamenskoye	<i>gï'mla</i>	<i>gayê'm</i>	<i>yu'ñi</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</i>)
Koryak II Qare'ñm .	<i>i'nnik</i>	<i>i'hut</i>	<i>yu'ñi</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</i>)
Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka). . .	<i>liqr'mmen</i>	<i>gate'mmï</i>	—
Kerek	—	—	<i>ya^εw</i>
Kamchadal	—	—	<i>yu'ñyu</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</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 postpositions 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*ELa'* mother 30.6*qe'li* cap*lg'lg* penis 45.1*rî'Lu* carcass 65.14*ä's'qe'ku* a barren doe 97.17*veñke'nřu* 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*.

ELg'qai little mother 35.5*ñi'nqai* little child 37.14*mi'rgew* a suit of armor 116.24*re's'w* whale 73.4*inpiñe'w* old woman 19.5*tinu'p* blue fox 96.17*re'lup* quid*ve'em* river 37.3 (Koryak *ve'-yem*, *va'yam* Kor. 17.6, according to dialect)*rêt* trail 37.1*le'ut* head 44.11 (Koryak *la'-wut* Kor. 82.11)*ñe'wän* wife 36.3 (Koryak *ña'-wan*)*Ai'wan* the Ai'wan 7.1*na'nqan* belly 43.9*uwä's'quč* husband 105.12*ke'per* wolverene 78.2, *qe'per* 92.21 (*ke'perä* 78.11) (Koryak *qapay*)*kri'mqor* three-year-old doe 117.9*wañqa's'qor* two-year-old doe 117.10*é'har* polar fox 92.19*int'u'ulpir* son-in-law 80.6*u'nel* thong-seal 70.7*pe'nvel* two-year-old buck 117.12*mč'mil* seal 96.4 (Koryak *me'-mil* Kor. 90.6)*lä'mñil* story 61.5*pe'kul* butcher-knife 85.23 (Kor. *pa'quł* Kor. 78.23)*ñe'lvul* herd 49.3*qe'ptiril* backbone 51.3*qla'ul* man 43.1 (Kor. *qla'wuł* Kor. 17.4)*uwi'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 *qi'ynik* Kor. 61.8)*e'ek* lamp 68.12, 106.18*pu'req* white whale 96.9*o'Laq* sea-lion 65.16

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

- qe'pɪl* football (stem *qepl*); (Kor. Kam. *qa'pɪl*; Kor. Par. *qepɪl*)
mä^ε'qɪm arrow 75.23
lo'ñɪl walrus-blubber 47.4
pɪ'ñɪl tidings 61.5
če'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>kêr</i>	<i>kê'rkêr</i> combination-suit 37.8
<i>yɪm</i>	<i>dɪ'ndɪn</i> ¹ fire 39.11
<i>ɛl</i>	<i>ɛ'leɛl</i> excrement 80.11; (<i>ɛ'lu</i> 81.12)
<i>lɪq</i>	<i>lɪ'qlɪq</i> (Kor. <i>lɪqlɪq</i>) egg
<i>rɪq</i>	<i>rɪ'grɪq</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>tuw</i>	<i>tu'wtuw</i> word
<i>oč</i>	<i>o'čoč</i> chief
<i>čot</i>	<i>čot'čot</i> bag-pillow 29.5
<i>wüt</i>	<i>wü'twüt</i> leaf
<i>qɪl</i>	<i>qɪlgɪl</i> sea ice 8.14 (<i>ɛi'ɛ'tit</i> Anser segetum)

Koryak:

<i>kił</i>	<i>ki'łkił</i> navel string Kor. 63.10
<i>pip</i>	<i>pi'pip</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>wɪy</i>	<i>wɪ'yɪwɪ</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

pilh
qêrg
tirk
têrg
tirg
tumg
mitk
 (Kor.) *ye'lk*
muL 19.3
 **wilq*

**qêrg* (Kor. Kam. *qesh*)

vryil (Kor. *vyil*)

Reduplicated absolute form

pi'lhripil famine
qê'rgiqêr light
tir'rkiritir sun
tê'rgitêr crying 20.12
tir'rgitir meat 48.8
tu'mgitum companion 103.35
mi'tkämıt blubber 47.4
ye'lkryel pudding Kor. 34.2
mu'zumul 25.3 blood
wi'lquul 22.7 coal (Kor. Kam.
wi'lkruul, cf. Kor. 31.9)
qê'rgiqêr light (Kor. Kam.
qe'shıqes)
vr'yilvryil image (*vr'yilvryil*
 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

org
omk
wus'q (Kor. Kam. *vus'q*)

el

il

yäq

(*yil*) *yi'liil* language 7.10

yir

Related to this group are—

eiv

Enn

Reduplicated absolute form

o'rgoor sledge
o'mkoom 79.5 willow
wu's'quus (Kor. *vu's'quvus*
 cf. Kor. 57.6) darkness
e'leel summer (Kor. Kam.
a'laal)
i'liil rain (Kor. Kam. *mu'qamuq*)
 { *yäqä'q* }
 { *yäqä'aq* } nose
y'rriir a full one 86.29

ei'veei part of meat given to
 neighbors, alms (Kor. Kam.
ai'vaai cf. Kor. 63.12)

ennē'n fish (Kor. Kam. *ennā'n*)

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

Stem

iml (Kor. *iml*)
mlū (Kor. *mlū*)

elv, *ilv* (see *elvē'tulä* 89.32; *qel-*
vulin 88.1)

Reduplicated absolute form.

mi'mil water (Kor. *mi'mil*)
mū'mil louse (Kor. *mū'mil*;
mi'mirē Kor. 55.1)
ilvilu' wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor.
 Kam. *il'hu'lu*, *el'hu'lu*)

(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^êlê</i> 41.5	<i>qo^êlê'qo^êl</i> snuff 41.4
<i>yile</i> (see 90.2)	<i>yil'leil</i> marmot 89.33
<i>yili</i> (Kor. <i>êil</i>)	<i>yil'ilil</i> tongue 48.8 (Kor. <i>êr'li!</i> Kor. 56.4)
<i>quli</i>	<i>qul'i'qul</i> voice 44.7
<i>nute</i>	<i>nu'tenut</i> land
<i>yr'lqä(t)</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>ylqa[t]</i>)	<i>yr'lqäil</i> sleep (Kor. Kam. <i>yr'!</i> <i>gayi!</i>)

Koryak:

<i>mr'tqa</i>	<i>mr'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.

eñe'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^alax</i> bright	<i>a'teatx</i> light
<i>tax'nläx</i> dark	<i>tax'ntaxun</i> darkness
<i>tpilhe'tijk</i> I suffer from hunger	<i>p'ilhipil</i> and <i>pê'lhêpêl</i> famine

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

<i>êu'xêux</i> rain (stem <i>êux</i>)
<i>pa'lupal</i> leaf (stem <i>pal</i>)
<i>kö'mloköm</i> marrow (Chukchee <i>kr'mil</i> ; Kor. Kam. <i>kr'mil</i>)
<i>lu'ñuluñulê</i> heart (Chukchee <i>li'ñli</i> ; Kor. <i>li'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>qo'pki</i> elk	<i>ve'pkavep</i>
<i>ri'rkil</i> walrus	<i>yr'ykayik</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'rgÿpÿ and *kê'rgÿpÿ* from the combination-suit; *kê'rkêrik*
 in the combination-suit

nâ'wkêr woman's suit

nimni'mgÿpÿ from the settlement 10.12

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

mêml'tkînik on top of the water 9.3

NOTE 3.—It is not impossible that the forms

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

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

§ 30. SUFFIXES *-n*, *-nî*

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

Iu'metun name of a spirit 22.6

kuke'nî kettle (*ku'kek* 75.13); Kor. Kam. *kuka'nâ*; Kor. Par.

kuke'ñe

yoro'nî sleeping-room 107.9

yara'nî house 7.8; 30.11 (Kor. *yaya'nâ* Kor. 22.4)

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

kama'nî Kor. 64.3)

gora'nî reindeer 51.6

rip'e'nî stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. *yipa'nâ* Kor. 43.2)

e'ei'nî wolf 78.2, 96.28

ÿpa'nî broth (Kor. *ipa'nâ* 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'nqan belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. *na'nqän*)

riggo'lgîn cellar 36.8 (*riggolgê'tî* to the cellar 36.10)

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

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

gi'thin lake 37.4 (*gi'thik* in a lake 37.5)

ÿpa'lhîn tallow 87.4 (*ÿpa'ha* 86.23)

gi'lhîn skin 23.9

gêla'rgîn gray fox 96.14

e'ÿin fat (Kor. *a'ÿin* Kor. 15.4)

ELI'gin father 73.10 (stem *l*)

- k'eñiēvin* boy 11.7
kopa'lhın walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'la* 14.11)
y'i'lqın month 7.2
a'etın dog 135.20 (*a'etı* 135.20) (Kor. *a'etta'n* Kor. 48.8)
keiñın brown bear 78.3 (*keiñı* 136.20) (Kor. Kam. *kai'ñın*)
rêŁoi'ñın big old carcass 136.19
kokai'ñın big kettle 33.10
i'rin fur shirt 83.24 (*i'ru* 116.26)
wu'kwın stone (stem *wukw* R 3.19) (Kor. *vu'gvın*)
ñi'lhın thong 41.10 (Kor. *ñi'lñın* Kor. 40.5, 8)

To this group belong the endings *-lhın*, *-yñın*, *-ēhın*, *-qırqın*, *-yırın* *-lın* (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 *ę* often change it to *ı* slightly nasalized.

- va'lE* knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem *va'la*)
rı'rki walrus 8.5
k'e'lE an evil spirit 61.6
ēu'mñı buck (stem *ēumña*)
krimı'ntı three-year-old buck 117.11
u'mki bear 110.11
wi'ur scraping board (stem *wiuri*)
e'wiē small bag (stem *ewiču*)

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 *lwle*
 < **lukle*?)

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

- ē'wgan* incantation 129.18 (stem *ēwganv*)
ē'tın master 122.38 (stem *ētrınv*)

(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>êna'nvina</i> scraper (stem <i>êna'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>liñ</i>)	<i>li'ñliñ</i>
<i>po'mpo</i> mushroom (stem <i>poñ</i>)	<i>po'npo^εn</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.

<i>Ai'wan</i> an Asiatic Eskimo (stems <i>ai'wan</i> and <i>aiwana</i>)
<i>intu'ulpir</i> son-in-law (stems <i>intuulpir</i> and <i>intuulpire</i>)
<i>uwä^ε'quč</i> husband (stems <i>uwä^ε'quč</i> and <i>uwä^ε'quči</i>)
<i>ilir</i> island (stems <i>ilir</i> and <i>iliri</i>)

(5) Irregular forms are—

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>ei^ε'ni</i> wolf (stem [<i>l</i>]. <i>ei^εg</i>)	<i>i^ε'yiy</i> (stem <i>i^εy</i>)
<i>ei^ε'tin</i> neck (stem <i>ei^εnn</i>)	<i>i^ε'nnin</i> (stem [<i>l</i>]. <i>i^εnn</i> , <i>i^εnn</i>)
<i>ELu'ê</i> nephew (stem <i>ELuwgo</i>)	<i>ILo'yo</i> (stem <i>ILoy</i>)
<i>int'ê</i> daughter-in-law (stem <i>intryo</i>)	
<i>a'kan</i> fishhook (stem <i>a^εn</i> < * <i>aqn</i> ?)	
<i>ga'LE</i> bird (stem <i>galha</i>)	
<i>ve'LE</i> raven (stem <i>velve</i>)	
<i>ei^ε'tit</i> anser segetum (stem <i>ei^εtu</i>)	
<i>tu'mgin</i> stranger (stem <i>tumük</i>);	
compare, however, the reduplicated form <i>tu'mgitum</i> COMPANION formed from <i>tu'mgin</i> (in compounds <i>-tu'mgin</i> , as <i>yiče'mit-tu'mgin</i> BROTHER) <i>tu'mük</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. *ki'mma*)

gIt thou (Kor. *gI'ssa*; Kamch. *ki'ja*)

(2) The personal pronoun *ena'n* (Kor. *e'nnu*; Kamch. *ena'*) 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 *muṛg-* [Kor. *mučh-*, Kamch. *miĵg-*])

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

ε'rrī (Kor. dual *a'čči*, pl. *a'čču*; Kamch. *itā*) they (stem *εrg-* [Kor. *ačh-*, Kamch. *tā-*])

(4) Interrogative personal pronoun.

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

(5) Indefinite pronoun.

rä^εnut what (stem *req*) (Kor. *yr'nna* [stem *yaq*])

ni'rkirnut a certain one (stem *nirkε*) (Kor. *ni'yka*, *ni'ykirvut* [stem *niyka*])

ni'kirnut a certain thing (stem *nirkε*)

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 *-t̄*. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *n*, *č*, *y*, *t*, take *-t̄* instead.

lilēt eyes

ε'kket sons

qu'tti the others 115.17

gla'ult̄ε men 121.9

yičemrē'tti brothers 64.3

ñε'wänti 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'^εttrqägti pups 122.18

inprñē'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'wantē*, *ai'wanat*

wwä^ε'quč husband (stems *wwä^ε'quč*, *wwü^ε'quči*); plural *wwä^ε'quitti*, *wwä^ε'qučit*

i'lır island (stems *ılır*, *ılıri*); plural *ılı'tti*, *i'lırit*

Koryak:

The dual of Koryak I has the same suffix.

l̥l̥a't two eyes

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

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

The plural is formed in many Koryak dialects by *-u* 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

km'i'ñu children Kor. 44.7

vai'amu rivers (stem *vaiam*)

l̥l̥a'wgi eyes

mimlu'wgi lice Kor. 25.4

imčanalā'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 *-(r)^εn*.

u^εh tree

u^εhr^εn trees

kocx dog

kcox^εn dogs

kist house

ki'str^εn 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.

l̥l̥ eye

l̥l̥^ε eyes

kɛli'lan spotted seal

kɛli'li^εn spotted seals

mɛ'mil ground-seal

mɛ'mi^εl ground-seals

In the material collected by Dybowsky¹ in southern Kamchatka, *t* and *d* occur as plural endings.

iauin ear

ivut ears

kosch dog

kosgut dogs

uan stone

uad stones

¹ Słowniki Narzeczy Ludow Kameczackich Rozprawy Widzialu filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvii, pp. 107, 113, 120.

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

veta'tılın workman

veta'tılat workmen

sü'nkıl the one who flies

sü'nkılat 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) [*-(r)n + ti* ; for *-(r)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.

Ye'tılinti Yetılın and his family

(Kor. *Ačče'pıninti*) Ačče'pın and his wife

ñe'wänti their wives

mi'kinti (Kor. Kam. *ma'kinti*) who? (see p. 726)

Koryak Kamenskoye:

Valvımtıla's'ninti Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1

Yini'a-ña'wgutinti 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 *-ınu*.

Aččepına'wgı Ačče'pın and his family.

Quyqınn'aqu'wgi Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10

Amamqu'tınu Ememqut's people Kor. 43.7

pıpi'kča-ña'wgutınu 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.

kimılh'e'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.

Ye'to'l

O Ye'tılın!

remkılo'n a guest! 111.19

Quto'w

O Qutu'wgi!

Koryak:

miko'n vannılño'n! whose tooth Kor. 34.4

ñawako'k! daughter! Kor. 22.7

tılago'n! I found! Kor. 24.1

In some cases, when the noun ends in a vowel, an *-ɨ* 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>Yinei'</i> Kor. 88.1	O Yini'aña'wgut
also <i>glei</i>	O man! (from <i>qlik</i> , which otherwise is used only in compounds)

§ 37. Subjective Form

-ɛ, *-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.¹

(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>rr'rkata</i> by walrus 9.9; 10.6
<i>wwā's'qučitā</i> <i>v'unin</i> the husband told her	<i>tar-qa'ata</i> <i>qe'rkul'in</i> bought with how many reindeer
<i>lile'tā</i> with an eye	

(b) After terminal consonant *-ā*:

<i>eñe'nälā</i> by a shaman 7.5; 14.12; 15.9	<i>evirā</i> clothing (obj.) 13.6
<i>wi'lqā</i> by darkness 18.12	<i>u'ttā</i> with wood
<i>ELI'gā</i> by the father 18.4	<i>ELI'gā</i> <i>re'nnin</i> the father brought it
<i>rā'yipā</i> with a drill 8.1; 11.2	<i>po'i'ga</i> with a spear 12.9
<i>y'i'lqā</i> by sleep 10.6, 7	<i>kopa'lha</i> with walrus-blubber 14.11
<i>a'ttwilā</i> by the boat's crew 10.9; 12.4	<i>Aiwhuyanprna'cha</i> by an old St. Lawrence man 13.9
<i>re's'rilā</i> by the bow-man 10.10	<i>Eiwhuelā</i> by the St. Lawrence people 11.10; 12.3, 11; 17.1
<i>eñe'nū</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'ce wwi'ie with fat she cooked (i. e., she cooked fat)

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

gəlētkrna'ta along the ice-top 13.7
rimne'tā and *ri'mnā* with the inner skin

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

aiwana'ta the Aiwān 46.6; 49.2

intu'ulpirētā by the son-in-law 80.22 and *intu'ulpirā*

-tā, -a (Kor. Kam). Instrumental and subject of transitive verbs (as in Chukchee).

lila'ta with an eye

u'tta with the wood

ā^εlā'ta with excrement Kor. 12.5

čakē'ta by the sister Kor. 18.10

ñi'lñā with a line Kor. 41.3

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

ñā'witqata by the woman Kor. 21.5

ya^ε'mka by the people Kor. 39.7

yi'pna with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

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

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>minka'tā</i>	<i>minka'ta</i>	by which place
<i>wutke'tā</i>	<i>wučē'ta</i>	by this place
<i>en'ke'tā</i>	<i>enka'ta</i>	by that place
<i>vā'añkata</i>	<i>vaiēñā'ta</i>	by that place (midway)
<i>nik'i'tā</i> 12.9; 14.10	<i>nik'i'ta</i>	at night
<i>gino't-a^εlo'</i>	<i>gino't-a^εlo'</i>	at mid-day
<i>ñunqe'tā</i> there, by itself		
<i>ño'tinqata</i> there, behind the speaker		
<i>ño'onkata</i> there, farther on		
<i>ñenke'tā</i> there, far off		

Here belong also the Chukchee forms—

ñunqe'tā there, by itself

ño'tinqata there, behind speaker

ño'onqanata there, farther on

ñenke'tā there, far off

-l' Kamchadal. Instrumental.

u^εl' with wood (from *u^εh* wood)

lūle'l' with the eye (stem *lūl*)

Locative Form (§§ 38-39)

§ 38. COMMON NOUNS

-(i)k, -kI, -qI (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.¹

ve'emik nitvq'qēn he lives on the river

ela'qi nitvq'qēn he lives with the mother

nu'tək (Kor. *nu'tak*) on the land

The forms *-kɨ* and *-qɨ*, also *-ekɨ* and *-eqɨ* are used after some stems, but no definite rule in regard to their use can be laid down.

qǔ'mǔk and *qǔ'muqɨ* in my possession

yo'oqɨ in the wind (from *yo'o* WIND)

ELa'qɨ at the mother's (from *ELa'* MOTHER)

ñelvǔl'ekɨ at the herd (from *ñel'vǔl* HERD)

vêl'itkə-la'ul'kɨ at the merchant's (from *vêl'itkə-la'ul* MERCHANT)

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

p'lhɨn throat

p'lik in the throat

q'thɨn lake

q'tik at the lake

m'ngɨl'ñɨn hand

m'nik at the hand

The forms *p'lhik*, *q'thik*, *m'ngik*, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix *-gɨrg(ɨn)* (§ 106.44) have in the locative *-ɨnkɨor -rik*:

kañka'č'irgɨn descent

kañka'č'irɨnkɨ and *kañka'č'irik*

titta'tirgɨn climbing up

titta'tirɨnkɨ and *titta'tirik*

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

gɨto'lrñkɨ on the side of the mountain

gɨto'lhik 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 *l*. The *leu'tɨ* ON THE HEAD 44.5; *a'ñqa-č'o'rmɨ* ON THE SEASHORE 12.4

walqa'rik in the jawbone house, 44.14

nute's'qak on the ground, 15.5

rag-č'o'rmik on the house border, 12.12

a'ñqak on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7

q'ilgɨlik on the sea ice, 13.3

tu'wkɨk on the ice-floe, 13.3

ti'mkɨk on a hummock, 62.7

qǔ'č'ekɨč'ɨk on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8

lil'ek (Kor. *lil'a'k*) in the eye

Koryak:

va'amɨk in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2

č'ič'hñɨk in the armpits Kor. 18.9

ya'yak in the house Kor. 19.9

ulgu'vɨk in the cache Kor. 80.10

yaqa'lɨk in the porch Kor. 80.13

i'ya'g in the sky Kor. 19.3

qas'wuge'ñkɨ 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
inaa'lik va'rkin in the neighbor's (house) he is 19.2
qe'mge-ni'kek whosoever 20.7

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

Kor. *Tike'nvryik 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 *-(r)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*.

gümü'k e'kkeg ñalvülé'pü qäi'mithin take from my son's herd
gümü'k akka'ipü from my son (*güm* I; *-k* possessive; *ekke* son;
-ipü from [§ 42])

enu'g-nu'tek ne'rmeqin ke'læ in his own country the kele is strong
 123.25

mø'rêg-rak in our houses 84.16

Kor. *mama'nak tetei'trñ* 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

ε'n'ki (Kor. *ü'nki*, Kamchadal *ε'nki*) there

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

ño'onki there (farther on)

ra'äñki there (behind the person addressed)

ño'trñki, *ño'trñqi*, there (behind the speaker)

ñu'nki (Kamchadal *ño'nke*) (aside by itself)

mi'ñki (Kor. *mi'nki*) where

ñe'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.

lä'lenk on the eye

tau'ntxunk in the darkness
 (from *tau'ntxun*)

ci'mtenk on the land.

a'trñnk and *a'trñk* in the
 village (from *atrñm*)

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

p'í'č'ínk čhí'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 *-gǔpǔ* (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>kíst</i> house	<i>ki'stenk</i> in or from the house
	<i>ké'stank</i> to the house
<i>kíx'</i> river	<i>ki'x'enk</i> in or on the river
	<i>ké'x'ank</i> to or from the river
<i>txu'ntxun</i> darkness	<i>txu'ntxunk</i> in the darkness
	<i>txo'ntxonk</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.

Ye'tilinä Yetilin's

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

apaí'ñina grandfather's (*apaí'ñin* < *epē-yñin* GRANDFATHER, in the language of children)

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

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

Telpūñē'nä lo'ō things seen by Telpūñe R 379, no. 142 title

Tñō'tirgina tr'lqätyä'k I go to Tñō'tirgin 120.36

n'rk- a certain one, *gut* another one (§ 60), all personal demonstratives and interrogatives (§ 58) have the same forms.

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

Mit'nak Miti's Kor. 15.11

Pič'qala'nak Bird-Man Kor. 16.4

Aččē'pinak Aččē'pin's

wu'tinīnak 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

-gtI, *-êti*, *-wtI* (Chukchee); *-ÿtI* (*ñ*), *-etI* (*ñ*) (Koryak), expresses THE DIRECTION TO, also THE INDIRECT OBJECT, ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

In Chukchee *-gtI* is used after vowels, except *o*;

-êti after consonants;

-wtI, after *o*.

Examples of *-gtI* after vowels:

qaa'gtI tI' lqätyä^εk I went to the reindeer

añqa'gtI eiñe'utkui^ε he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5

qñqñqñqñqñqñqñqñq'gtI to the seaside 49.6

nota'gtI to the country 51.2

čaučuwwa'gtI to the reindeer-breeder 48.9

yara'gtI to the house 105.27

lêla'gtI to the eye

ä^εlä-qoplä'gtI on an excrement-pile 45.5

kälä'gtI to a kele 97.12

gîrgola'gtI upward 16.5

gîrgogča'gtI upward 47.4

anvê'nauka'gtI to an unbroken one 50.12 (*ä—kä* not)

ta'lva-pa'lko-vê^ε'gtI to one merely dying of old age 21.7

akka'gtI tre'tyä^εn I brought it for the son

qaa'gtI on account of the reindeer 48.12

wvaqočê'gtI on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of *-êti* after consonants:

kaltê'tI to the bottom 9.7

naranêntitko'ñiññiñ notas'qê'tI it shall be thrown on the ground
25.3; also 16.7

mêmlê'tI to the water 48.5

ra^εulê'tI to the whaler 46.5

a^εqa'kamaanvê'tI to the owners of bad dishes 96.7

rîmnê'tI to the inner skin

ñočê'tI to the poor ones 96.26

ELIGê'tI qäti' he went to the father 109.3

yê'čamêt-to'mgêti qäti' he went to the brothers 110.1

tñarrgê'tI to the dawn 41.7

yê^εlhê'tI to the moon 41.11

- pên-yolhê'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 *-wti*, *-uti*, after *o*

- qaaračikou'ti* under the sledge-cover 110.8
yorou'ti to the sleeping-room 39.10
mêmličikou'ti into the water 17.4

-ïti, -eti (Koryak)

-ïti used after all vowels.

- yaya'ïti* to the house (*yaite'ti* verbal, from *yaite'kin* Kor. 17.3)
yoyo'ïti to the sleeping-room
lêla'ïti to the eye
gîçgôlai'ti to the upper part Kor. 20.1
yinoi'ti to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6

-eti after consonants.

- yipnê'ti* to the inner skin
ôhrwê'tiñ to the cache Kor. 36.3
yinootñê'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>mî'ñkri</i>	<i>menkei'ti</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>
hither	—	<i>woičai'ti</i>	
thither	<i>eñkri</i>	{ <i>änka'i'tiñ</i> <i>enka'i'ti</i> Kor. 17.2	
thither (midway)	<i>va'änřê</i>	<i>vaieñai'ti</i>	
thither	<i>ñe'nři</i>	<i>ñanka'i'ti</i>	

§ 41. ALLATIVE OF PERSONAL NOUNS

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

- Ya'tilna* to Yetil in
a'têna to father (*a'tê* FATHER, in the language of children)
apa'ä'ñina to grandfather (*apa'ä'ñin* [*<epê-yñin*], GRANDFATHER in the language of children)
apaga'yina to grandmother (*epê'qäi* [*<epê-qäi*] GRANDMOTHER in the language of children)
tômge'êna to the friend (*tô'mginina*, 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'pina(ñ) to Aččepina
Met'e'na to Miti Kor. 43.2

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

ta'tañ or *ta'tanañ* to father; *ta'tana* Kor. 74.15 (*ta'ta* FATHER, in the language of children); but *ıŁai'tı* to the mother

§ 42. ABLATIVE IN *-gũpũ*

-ğpũ, *-êpũ*, *-gũpũ* (Chukchee) FROM, OUT OF, ACROSS, ALONG.
-ğpũ with stems ending in a vowel.

<i>lêla'ı'pũ</i> from the eye	<i>pottıñai'pũ</i> by the holes 47.2
<i>Roltannênai'pũ</i> from Rulte'n-nin 124.8 (see § 31, 4)	<i>añqañqabai'pũ</i> from the seaside 49.8 (see § 31, 4)
<i>qaai'pũ lei'wulın</i> along the reindeer (herd) the walking one	<i>qaacıkoi'pũ</i> from the herd 51.2
<i>ñargınoı'pũ</i> from outside 12.10 (see § 31, 4; of <i>ñargıno'lın</i> that staying in the outer tent)	<i>ğottagnıçıkoi'pũ</i> from the outer tent 131.5
<i>golê-notai'pu</i> from another land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21	<i>êuçai'pũ</i> from below 131.5
<i>notai'pũ nılei'vuğinet</i> they walked along the (open) land 17.9	<i>en'kêçıkoi'pũ</i> from there (inside) 131.12

-gũpũ mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

va'amğũpũ from the river
nımnı'mğũpũ nı'pkır-mu'ri we came from the settlement 10.12
pêpê'gğũpũ by the ankle 50.11

-êpũ mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

orgê'pu from the sledge
łautê'pũ kı'plınên he struck him across the head (see 8.1)
ronmê'pũ from under the outer tent-cover 12.9
yıkırgê'pu across its mouth 115.1
çot-tagnê'pũ from the outer tent
gamga-va'ırgê'pũ among all beings 22.2
ranmê'pũ from the border of the house 130.16
êprı'nmêpũ from under the wall 130.16

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

nute'pu gałai'vulın 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).

lela'ñqo from the eye

ega'ñko from heaven Kor. 33.4

kɪplá'gɪgɪñko out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3

menka'ñqo (*mañe'ñko* Kor. 33.7) whence

wotča'ñqo from here

ñanka'ñqo thence

ña'nakañqo Kor. 42.3

änka'nqo from there

vai'eñqo from there (not very far)

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

mé'nqo and *mêñqorI* whence (*mé'ñko* 113.19)

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

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

ño'tENqo and *ño'tiñqorI* from behind the speaker

ra'ENqo from behind the person addressed

ñu'nqu and *ñunqu'ri* from there

E'ñqo, 86.18 *EN'qo'ro* 65.18 and *ENqorI* from there 125.3;

wotqo, *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'pü*.

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'yin* 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*, *ʊ*, *ü*, *ɛ*, 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

kixenk from the sea

kixanke to the sea

lül the eye

lül'lank from the eye

lül'lank to the eye

E'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' rri</i>	—
allative	<i>Erika' gi</i>	— <i>Erik</i>
ablative	<i>Erikai' pü</i>	— <i>i' rgü pü</i>
<i>qla' ul</i> man		<i>qlauli' rgü pü</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> ¹

Kor. Kam.:

<i>Pipi' kč̄a-ña' wqut</i> Mouse-Woman	<i>Pipi' kč̄a-ña' wqutiyik</i> by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1
<i>Annimaya' t</i> Frost-Man	<i>Annimaya' tiyik</i> by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9
<i>Ai' ginvi</i> With-Odor - Pushing - Away	<i>Ai' ginvi' yikiñ</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*.

¹ 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 ^ε 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 ε before the affix added to -in. For example:

	Chukchee	Koryak Kam.
Absolute	nime'lqin	nima'lqin
Subjective	nime'lqine'tä	nimalqina'ta
Locative	nime'lqinek	nima'lqinak
Plural-Dual	nime'lqinet ¹	nima'lqinat
Plural		nima'lqinaw

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

mi'ñkri-va'lit ple'kit tegge'ñu ninelqigit? Nime'yñqinet mei-mitnet. How do you want your boots? I want large ones (*mi'ñkri* how; *va'lit* being, pl. (§ 54); *ple'kit* boots pl.; *teggeñ* desire; -u serving for; *ni-* prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; *-nelg* 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^ε-ne'lhä gerku^εlin?* 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^ε 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'ñe'urkin* TO LAUGH]; *nike'i^ε* indefinite pronominal verb, *nike'rk^εin* TO DO SOMETHING)

¹ Men's pronunciation *nime'lq^εet*.

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

<i>tɛ̃n</i> good	<i>nít'e'nqin</i>	definite form <i>nítanqê-na'čhin</i> (see § 53)
	<i>té'ñičin</i> (see § 55)	augmentative form <i>tañiči'yñin</i> (see § 98, no. 1)
	<i>ta'ñum-val'in</i> (see § 76)	augmentative form <i>ta'ñum-vali'yñin</i>
	<i>tand'ya'n</i> (see § 104.38)	diminutive form <i>tand'ya'nouqai</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*)
qə'lgên ñm evi'riɥ bird dresses 7.8
qə'lhên i'riɥ bird clothes 14.3
qə'rên nê'lhin reindeer-skins 14.4
ɛ̃le'lin qlə'ul man of excrement 39.6
yaqə'ni wɥ'kwên house of stone 92.5
kə'nên made of horse (hair) (stem *kə'nê* from Russian конь)
ri'grigên made of hair

Koryak:

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

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

- qa'lga-na'lhin* bird-skin
u'tti-yu'ni wooden whale Kor. 40.9

(b) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

- ɛ̃kkin* the son's (Kor. Kam. *a'kkin*)
 (Kamchadal *i'čvin* the father's)
qə'rên the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. *qə'yen*; Kamchadal *k'o'jan*)
ɛ̃qə'uwên ñe'wän the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6
ɛ̃kkin yəqə'ni the son's sleeping-room 53.8
mpina'čhêên ELI'ginên yorə'ni the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9
tu'mgin stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9
qə'wêlên aimaki'yñin a man's big body 90.14

- ñaws'qa'tērñinên* ELA' the woman's father 85.22
ñe'ekkin ya'nra yorō'ñi daughter's separate sleeping-room 28.3
ñe'ekkin čo'tčot the daughter's bag pillow 29.4
orō'wēlên qa'mqa-tē'čirgin man's every source of illness 24.3
kēlę-ñe'us'qätin kē'rkęr the combination-suit of the kele-woman
 85.33
qla'ulqaiên 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'wülen ñawa'kak* an artisan's daughter Kor. 24.10
awa'ñi-ña'win ñawa'kak the daughter of a seamstress Kor. 25.2
tu'mginau kawa'ssočhu other people's wallets Kor. 46.1
qo'yen gitča'lñin reindeer-leg Kor. 53.3

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

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>A'nna</i> (a name) | <i>A'nnan</i> belonging to A'nna |
| <i>Qutu'wgi</i> (a name) | <i>Qutu'wgin</i> belonging to Qutu'wgi |
| <i>Aiñanwa't</i> (a name) | <i>Aiñanwa'tin</i> and <i>Aiñanwa'tën</i> belonging |
| <i>Upe'nken</i> belonging | to Aiña'nwat. |
| to Upenke R72.13 | |
| <i>Ñiro'nên</i> 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*.

- Amamqut'inin ña'witqat* Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.
Quyqinn'acqu'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'en* instead of *-in*)

- e'kkinet* those of the son (Kor. Kam. *a'kkinat* dual, *a'kkinau* pl.)
 (Kamchadal *i'cxe'en* 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>güm̄ma</i>	<i>gümnî'n</i>	<i>ki'mma</i>	<i>ki'ma'n</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>gīt</i>	<i>gini'n</i>	<i>gi'ssa</i>	<i>gini'n</i>	<i>ki'ja</i>	<i>ki'ni'n</i>
3d per. sing.	<i>Ena'n</i>	<i>Eni'n</i>	<i>E'nnu</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'čhin</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'čhin</i>	<i>tu'ja</i>	<i>ti'jkin</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>E'rri</i>	<i>E'rgin</i>	<i>a'čču</i>	<i>a'čhin</i>	<i>itx</i>	<i>txi'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>gumni'nat</i> (dual) <i>gumni'nau</i> (pl.)	<i>ki'ma^εn</i> (pl.)

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

gümnine'tä (Kor. Kam. *gümnina'ta*) with mine.

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

gõmõkaï'pü qäi'mityin TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM MINE) (*gõmõkaï'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'tqäên</i> and <i>wo'tqäENên</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

Quyqinnaqu'nin ñawa'kak Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.

Amamqu'tinin ña'witqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

ki'ma'n^tin^t with my ears (*ki'ma* my; *-t* instrumental; *in* ear)

mi'nen^t x'va'n^t with which knife?

i'knin^t kcx'ol^t 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.

- añgq'kên* of the sea 69.9 (Kor. Kam. *añgq'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*)
p'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'mlikên pertaining to water 25.6
kele'kin pertaining to spirits 104.26
g'rgukên pertaining to a sledge 62.11
qoi'ma-rg'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
mênkô'kên whence belonging? 113.20
wañê'ken working, referring to work (from *wañê*)
yîlqâ'tkin referring to sleep

Forms with post-positions are rare.

gîrgôlkênâ'tâ 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>wutča'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)

raenqa'kên belonging there (not very far, midway to)

vaenqa'kên belonging there (behind the person addressed)

notinqa'kên belonging there (behind the speaker)

Such Koryak forms as *minka'kila^{en}* BELONGING TO WHAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), *ganka'kila^{en}* BELONGING TO THAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), combine two suffixes, *-kin* and *-la^{en}*, and refer to persons.

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

Chukchee
i'gitkin

Kor. Kam.
a'ehikin

what belongs to the
present

tite'kin

tita'kin

belonging to which
time

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

milinkau'kên or *milinka'ulîn* the fifth

§ 48. SUFFIX *-lîn*

-lîn (Kor. Kam. *-la^{en}*) (oblique cases formed from *-l*, Kor. *-l*) expresses the measure of a quality.

miñke'mil g₂'tvulîn what likeness strong? (i. e., how strong?);
Kor. Kam. *menke'miç qa'tvula^{en}*; Kor. Par. *menke'mis'
ge'tvula^{en}*

en'ke'mil gitte'piliüm that likeness I am sensible (i. e., I am so
sensible) (*en'ke* that; *-iüm* [§73])

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

ge-lîn (Chukchee), *ga-lîn* (Kor. Kam). This is identical with the verbal forms given in § 73. It expresses possession.

ga-ga'g-lên (Kor. Kam. *ga-ggya'-lên*) he who has reindeer

g-ekke'-lîn (Kor. Kam. *g-akka'-lîn*) he who has sons

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

ga-pêla'-i-güm I have left

ga-qaq'-i-güm I who have reindeer.

Koryak:

| *gavaginña'len* with nails Kor. 24.2

| *gaŋa'lin* with eyes Kor. 24.2

§ 49. SUFFIX *-qin*

n(I)—*qin* and *-lin* (Chukchee), *n(I)*—*qin* (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)*—*qin* are identical in form with the verbal mode in *n(I)*—*qin*, 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-qên</i> or } tearful
	<i>tê'rg-l-lin</i> }
Stem <i>kim-</i> ; <i>kime'u</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>kima'w-</i> [<i>ikim</i>])	<i>ni-ké'm-ä-qin</i> } slow-going
	<i>ni-ké'm-a-qin</i> }
Stem <i>ayilh-</i> ; <i>ayilhau</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>ayil'hav</i>)	<i>n-ayil'-ä-qên</i> } fearful
	<i>n-ayil'-a-qen</i> }

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

Stem *no-*; *ni-no'-qên* poor, needy

Stem *tam-pêra-*; *ni-tam-pêra'qên* pretty

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in *ni-qin*.

üpl'l'i (stem *üplil*); (Kor. Kam. *ipl'l'i* [stem *iplil*]), yellowish

é'tqin (stem *é'tqin* and *äqä*); (Kor. Kam. *a'téin* [stem *a'téa*];

Kor. Par. *é'tqên* [stem *äqä*]); bad

gümn'i'n qa'at é'tqin my reindeer are bad

also *uwé'l'i* (stem *uwéle*) and *nu'uqin* (stem *uu'*) Kor. Kam. *nu'qin* [stem *ü*], black

When used in nominal form, such adjectives take the usual suffixes.

é'tqin a bad one

é'tqin'in or *äqä'in* a worse one

a'tqé'nin or *aqá'm-va'lin* a bad or worse one

a'tqên'dya'n or *aqaya'n* one who is bad

Examples of forms in *-lin* are given in § 54.

For other adjective forms see § 76.

¹ This stem consists of two consonants *uu* < *wu* 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-ä-qin*)

o'lo-lax (from *olo*) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix $-(i)^{en}$

ololax-iⁿ ki' strⁿē small little houses.

In post-positional forms the attribute forms a compound with the noun:

o'lolax-kê' stčanke to the small houses.

Several adjectival forms borrowed from Russian and Koryak II are also used.

vo'stroi' xvalč, ni'ruqin xvalč a sharp knife.

nvê'thaqên u^h a straight tree.

Here *vo'stroi* is Russian, *ni'ruqin* and *nvê'thaqên* are Koryak II. The last forms the Kamchadal plural *nvê'tha^laⁿ u^h'hrⁿ*.

k!-in ($-ffān$) 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'e^p-qin*) clever

k!-nu'-in (from *nu* TO EAT) voracious

k!-vêta't- an (from *vêtat* TO WORK) laborious

k!-kīñin seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *gē-lin* (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.

k!-nu'-kīñin (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!-kīñin* with verbs of Type II (see § 71, p. 746). These forms have a passive meaning.

-kīl', pl. **-kīl'aⁿ**, forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.

nu'kil', pl. *nu'kil'aⁿ*, the one who is eating

vêta'tkal', pl. *vêtatkal'aⁿ*, the one who busies himself

colkêl', pl. *colkêl'aⁿ*, the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.

tal'kil' 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. $-lñin$)

$-lñin$, $-lñin$ (Kor. $-lñin$)

$-ġhin$ (Kor. $-ġñin$)

-ĕŷñin (Kor. -ĕñin)

-ŷñin augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)

-gŷrŷin (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. -gĕñin, -gītñin -gīĕñin) abstract noun

-ĕin

-lin

-tkin (Kor. Kam.-tĕin) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES -lh- and -lñ-

-lh(ĭn) (Kor. **-lñĭn**), 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.

lĕlā'lhĭn eye (stem *lile*)

tī'mkīlhĭn (and *tī'mkītim*) hummock 79.2 (stem *timk* 62.7; but *timkīlhĕ'tī* 62.5)

mĕlōtā'lhĭn hare 78.24 (stem *mīlutĕ* 78.15)

rĕgōgā'lhĭn fox 78.3 (stem *rīgūgĕ* 78.12)

wū'kwulhĭn stone 35.11 (stem *wukw* 35.11)

*kī'mīlhĭn*¹ worm 37.3 (stem *kīm* 36.11)

tamōnā'lhĭn a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem *temune* 9.8)

Koryak:

lĕlā'lñin eye Kor. 49.5

gītĕā'lñin leg Kor. 53.3

pīpī'kalñin mouse Kor. 58.7

vā'nñilñin tooth Kor. 34.3,4

-lñ(ĭn) (Kor. **-lñ[ĭn]**, sometimes **-llīñ[ĭn]**) is used in the same way as the preceding suffix.

vā'ē'glīñin (stem *vē'g*) (Kor. Kam. *vā'ē'y-lñin* [stem *vĕ'ē'y*]) grass

It is not always easy to determine whether the -lh belongs to the stem or not.

ūpa'lhĭn tallow 86.23 (*ūpa'la* 87.4)

kopa'lhĭn walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'la* 14.11)

rĕpa'lhĭn walrus-hide 13.13

pĕnyo'lhĭn hearth 31.13

ñawgo'lhĭn old woman 39.5; 40.1

vāmīqā'lhĭn lip 14.5

pĕnaka'lhĭn tassel 16.10

auta'lhĭn obsidian scraper 39.12

pĕrka'lhĭn boulder 129.6

rī'lhā'lñin and *rĕlīlīñin* wing (stem *rīlh*, *rīl*) 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,

¹ The text has *kīmīlhĭn* 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 *kīmītho'n* (see § 36).

pēnyo'lhın hearth (stem *pin*, absolute form *pi'mpi* powder, ashes)

The following have weak vowels, and it may be assumed that the *lh* belongs to the stem.

pi'lhın throat (stem *pi'lh*); (Kor. Kam. *pi'lhın* [stem *pi'lh*]). Locative: *pi'lhik'*, *pi'lik*; (Kor. Kam. *pi'lhik*)

ñi'lhın thong 48.4

ne'lhın skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES *-čh-* and *-čIñ-*

-čh(Iın), *-čIñ(Iın)* (Kor. *-čũ* [Iın], *čIñ* [Iın]; *-tũ* [Iın]; *-s'ũ* [Iın],— 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 *č* and *l* (Kor. *č* and *l*) replace each other frequently (see § 122).

vəlg'čhın knife (stem *vəlg*, absolute *va'le*); Kor. Kam. *vəlg'-čñın* (stem *vəlg*, absolute *va'lg*)

rə'mkičhın people (stem *rəmk*, absolute *rə'mkin*); Kor. *ya'mkičñın* (stem *yamk*, absolute *ya'mkin*)

ELI'gričhın the aforesaid father 19.11

oŕə'wêlāčhın the aforesaid man 18.11

pēnyo'lhıčhın the aforesaid hearth 32.9

yē'ličhın the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12

lēlā'lhıčhın the aforesaid eye 106.19

qoŕo-a^ettričhın a particular kind of dog 121.11

kālā'čhın a particular kele 105.14

vā'qmičhın a particular river 40.12

lolō'čhın a particular penis 26.8

ñā'lvūličhın a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:

| *qoŕlō'wičñın* hole Kor. 15.8

| *lawtikr'lēičñın* head-band Kor. 17.12

-čIñ(Iın).

ñāwā'nēñın a particular wife 38.4

ñāus'qa'tēñın the aforesaid woman 39.7

pako'lēñın a particular kind of woman's knife 44.3, 5

NOTE 1.—A number of stems end in *čh*, and are not related to this class.

ta'i'qčhıčhın the bag mentioned before (stem *teiučh*, absolute *te'i-učhın*); Kor. Kam. *čai'qčhıčñın* (stem *čaiučh*, absolute *čai'učhın*)

NOTE 2.—In words which have the absolute form in *-lh̄-*, *-lyñ-*, the suffix *-čh̄-*, *-čyñ-*, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes *-lh̄-*, *-lyñ-*.

l̄l̄a'lh̄o'čh̄in 106.19, or *l̄l̄a'čh̄in* eye (stem *l̄l̄e*, absolute *l̄l̄a'lh̄o'm*);
Kor. Kam. *l̄l̄al̄h̄yčh̄in* or *l̄l̄a'čh̄in*, (stem *l̄l̄a*, absolute *l̄l̄a'lh̄in*)

§ 54. SUFFIXES *-li-* (*-l̄e^εn*, *-če^εn*)

-li-, *-l̄e^εn*, (Kor. Kam. *-la^εn*, *-[a][a^εn*, *-[i][a^εn* 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^εn* is used, which forms with terminal *l* or *r* the ending *-l̄e^εn*, with terminal *t* the ending *-le^εn*. With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>r̄i'l̄e^εn</i> (< <i>r̄il</i> + <i>-l̄e^εn</i> ; base <i>r̄il</i>)	<i>yi'la^εn</i> (base	winged
<i>r̄el̄i'liñin</i>	<i>yi'l̄) ye'l̄i'liñin</i>	wing
<i>ñaw-kêl̄a^εn</i> (< <i>kêr-le^εn</i>)	<i>ñaw-ke'ila^εn</i>	clad in woman's dress
<i>ya'al̄a^εn</i> (< <i>ya'al-la^εn</i>)	<i>ya'al̄a^εn</i>	that in the rear
<i>v̄e'ḡmilin</i>	<i>vaya'mila^εn</i>	River man
<i>ḡ'ñqalin</i>	<i>a'ñqala^εn</i>	Maritime man
<i>ñ'a'čhila genpelqu'vlin</i>		by a left-handed man was he vanquished

Numeral terms with the ending *-lin* express ordinal numbers.

m̄ilinka'ulin or *m̄ilinkau'kên* the fifth

With intransitive verbs this suffix forms the expression THE ONE WHO —.

ÿpa'ulin the one who drinks (stem *ÿpau* to drink) (Kor. *apa'ula^εn*
[stem *apau*])

Here belong also

e'čelin the one who is fat (Kor. Kam. *gačal'in*)

gai'miçilin the rich one¹

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 *-l̄e^εn*.

uñe'l̄e^εn < *uñel-lin* wood-carrier 27.5

te'l̄e^εn < *tel-lin* the suffering one 34.7

riltê'l̄a^εn one who is lying there 28.6

¹ See §§48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in *n(t)-gin*.

i^εɬe^εn < *i^εr-lin* the one who crosses over
a^εttoolɛ^εʔi *qⁱwkwⁱε* say to the one in front!

In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.

t^εɬa^εn the suffering one
e^εʔyla^εn the one crossing over

In Koryak the same suffix is used with transitive verbs to express the actor.

pɛɬa^εʔa^εn the one who leaves

In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs, requires the prefix *ɨnɛ-* or the suffix *-tku*.

ɛ^εnapɛɬa^εʔlin } the one who leaves
pɛɬa^εʔkɛɬlin }

In some cases both forms in *-lin* and in *-kɨn* (see § 47) are used indiscriminately.

ñā'ɛhɨlin (Kor. Kam. *ñā'ɛhala^εn*) or *ñā'ɛɛn·kɛn* that to the left
mra'lin (Kor. Kam. *mya'ɬa^εn*) or *mra'kɛn* that to the right

Similar forms in *-la^εn* occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due however, to the influence of the Koryak.

kⁱstila^εn and *kⁱstirⁱn* that of the house
atino'la^εn and *atino'an* that of the village

§ 55. SUFFIX *-ɛIn-* (*-ɛɛ^εn*)

-ɛIn (*-ɛɛ^εn*) (Kor. Kam. *-ɛa^εn*, Kor. Par. *-sa^εn*) is used principally to express the comparative. The form *-ɛɛ^εn* is used after the single terminal consonants *n*, *r*, *l*. With this ending, the object of the comparison assumes the locative form.

mɛ^εʔlɛ^εn the better one (Kor. Kam. *ma^εʔɛa^εn*)

mei^εñiɛ^εn the larger one (Kor. Kam. *mai^εñiɛa^εn*; Kor. Par. *mei^εñisa^εn*)

ia'm mi^εkɨɛ^εn in^εilrkin ta'aq, mei^εñiɛ^εn ɨm qine'ilhi^ε why do you give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one (*ia'm* why; *mk* large; *ɨnɛ-yil-ɨ-rkin* you give me [§ 67]; *ta'aq* tobacco; *mɛ^εʔñ* large; *ɨm* particle expressing slight emphasis; *q-ɨnɛ-yil-qⁱε* give me! [§ 67]); (Kor. Kam. *me^εnqanqaɛ ɨplu'ɛa^εn in^εyilɨ ta'waq, mai^εñiɛa^εn qine'yil*; Kor. *a^εɛ'ɛciñiɛa^εn* the worst Kor. 30.7)

qā'mqā-qlā'ulik q^εtvüɛvüm I am stronger than all others (*qɛmɛ* every; *qlā'ul* man; *-k* locative; *q^εtvu* strong; *-vüm* [§ 73]); Kor. Kam. *qā'mqā-qlā'wulak ina'n qā'tvuɛqüm*)

It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to *-ɛhin* THE PARTICULAR ONE. We find, for instance,

ε'rmεĕin the strong man (stem *εrmε*)

ñg'ĕin the poor man (stem *ñg*)

This ending has oblique cases:

ya^εĕĕ'pü qäĕvi'gin ĕimqük cut off some rawer part (*ya^ε* raw; *-ĕpu* from; *qä-ĕvi-gin* [stem *ĕvi*] to cut [§ 67]; *ĕ'imqük* some)

armaĕĕ'ti to the strong man

armaĕĕ'pü from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

i'npriĕ-akkai'pü from the elder son (*np* old; *ekke* son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the suffix *-ĕin* or *vā'lin* (Kor. Kam. *-ĕa^εn* or *i'tala^εn*) expresses our superlative.

ena'n mai'ñiĕin (Kor. Kam. *ina'n-mai'ñiĕa^εn*)

ena'n-ma'yinku-wa'lin (Kor. Kam. *ina'n-ma'yinñkiñ-* } the largest one
i'tala^εn)

-ĕĕi (Kamchadal) expresses the emphatic comparative form of the adjective, and replaces the ending *-la^εx*. As in Chukchee and Koryak, the object of comparison is expressed in the locative form.

ki'mma kini'nk ĕiniñĕi' I am prettier than you (*kimma' I*;
kini'nk on thee; *ĕini'ñlā^εx* pretty)

Pronouns (§§ 56-60).

§ 56. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are —

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
I . . .	<i>güm</i>	<i>gümna, güm</i>	<i>ki'mma</i>
thou . . .	<i>git</i>	<i>gi'ssa,¹ gi</i>	<i>ki'ja</i>
he . . .	<i>ena'n²</i>	<i>a'nnu</i>	<i>enā'</i>
we . . .	<i>mu'ri</i>	{ <i>mu'yi</i> (dual) <i>mu'yu</i> (plural)	<i>mu'ja</i>
ye . . .	<i>tur'i</i>	{ <i>tu'yi</i> (dual) <i>tu'yu</i> (plural)	<i>tu'ja</i>
they . . .	<i>ε'rrī</i>	{ <i>a'ĕĕi</i> (dual) <i>a'ĕĕu</i> (plural)	<i>itx</i>

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:

¹The Koryak of Paren has *giĕa*, although ordinarily *tĕ* is characteristic of Kamenskoye, *εs* of Paren.

²The particle *εlō'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	<i>güm</i>	<i>güt, güt</i>	<i>Ena'n</i>	<i>mu'ri</i>	<i>tu'ri</i>	<i>E'ri</i>
Locative	<i>{gümä'k, gümä'g}</i>	<i>gümä'k, gümä'g</i>	<i>Eni'k, Eni'g</i>	<i>mu'rik, mu'rig</i>	<i>tu'rik, tu'rig</i>	<i>E'rik, E'rig</i>
Subjective	<i>{gümä'ki}</i>	<i>gümä'ki</i>	<i>Eni'ki</i>	<i>mu'riki</i>	<i>tu'riki</i>	<i>E'riki</i>
Possessive	<i>güma'n</i>	<i>güma'n</i>	<i>Ena'n</i>	<i>møgina'n</i>	<i>tøgina'n</i>	<i>E'gina'n</i>
Allative	<i>gümi'n</i>	<i>gümi'n</i>	<i>Eni'n</i>	<i>mu'rigin</i>	<i>tu'rigin</i>	<i>E'rigin</i>
	<i>gümäka'güt</i>	<i>gümäka'güt</i>	<i>Enika'güt</i>	<i>mørika'güt</i>	<i>tørika'güt</i>	<i>E'rika'güt</i>
	<i>gümøka'güt</i>	<i>gümøka'güt</i>	<i>Enika'pü</i>	<i>mørika'pü</i>	<i>tørika'pü</i>	<i>E'rika'pü</i>
Ablative	<i>gümäka'pü</i>	<i>gümäka'pü</i>	<i>Enika'pü</i>	<i>mørika'pü</i>	<i>tørika'pü</i>	<i>E'rika'pü</i>

KORYAK

Absolute	<i>gümma</i>	<i>güt'ssa, güt</i>	<i>E'nauu</i>	<i>mu'yi</i>	<i>tu'yu</i>	<i>a'tëi</i>
Locative	<i>gü'mik</i>	<i>güt'nik</i>	<i>I'nik</i>	<i>mu'yik</i>	<i>tu'yik</i>	<i>a'tëik</i>
Subjective	<i>gümna'n</i>	<i>güna'n</i>	<i>Ina'n</i>	<i>møhina'n</i>	<i>toöhina'n</i>	<i>aöhina'n</i>
Possessive	<i>gümi'n</i>	<i>gümi'n</i>	<i>ami'n</i>	<i>mu'ëhin</i>	<i>tu'ëhin</i>	<i>a'ëhin</i>
Allative	<i>{gümka'üt}</i>	<i>gümka'üt</i>	<i>Inka'üt</i>	<i>moika'üt, moëaut</i>	<i>toika'üt, toëka'üt</i>	<i>aëka'üt</i>
	<i>{gümka'pü}</i>	<i>güt'nikä</i>	<i>I'nikä</i>	<i>møë'kä, mø'ëün</i>	<i>toë'kä, to'ëün</i>	<i>a'ëkä</i>
Ablative	<i>gümka'ägo</i>	<i>gümka'ägo</i>	<i>Inka'ägo</i>	<i>moika'ägo, moëka'ägo</i>	<i>toika'ägo, toëka'ägo</i>	<i>aëka'ägo, aëä'ägo</i>

KAMCHADAL

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute	<i>ki'nma</i>	<i>ki'ja</i>	<i>Enā'</i>	<i>mu'ja</i>	<i>tu'ja</i>	<i>tlx</i>
Locative	<i>krma'nk</i>	<i>krn'nk</i>	<i>Ena'nk</i>	<i>mi'gi'nk</i>	<i>ti'gi'nk</i>	<i>tzi'ink</i>
Subjective	<i>krmlu'n</i>	<i>krlu'n</i>	<i>xunā'a</i>	<i>mji'lu'n</i>	<i>tji'lu'n</i>	<i>tlum</i>
Possessive	<i>krma'n</i>	<i>krn'n</i>	<i>Ena'n</i>	<i>mi'jpin</i>	<i>ti'jin</i>	<i>tzi'in</i>
Allative	<i>{krma'нке</i>	<i>krna'нке</i>	<i>Ena'нке</i>	<i>mi'ga'нке</i>	<i>ti'go'нке</i>	<i>tza'anke</i>
Abiative	<i>krma'nk</i>	<i>krn'nk</i>	<i>Ena'nkl</i>	<i>mi'gi'nk</i>	<i>ti'gi'nkrl</i>	<i>tzi'ink</i>

In Chukchee 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—*mīč*,—*mīl* (§ 102, 30).

	Chukchee	Koryak
similar to me	<i>gū'muw</i>	<i>gū'muw</i>
similar to thee	<i>gī'nīw</i>	<i>gī'nīw</i>
similar to him	<i>ē'nīw</i>	<i>a'nīw</i>
similar to us	<i>mu'ruw</i>	} not known
similar to you	<i>tu'ruw</i>	
similar to them	<i>ē'rīw</i>	

In both Chukchee 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', *gey'lqät-tu'ri* well, have you slept? (singular or plural)

| In Koryak the dual and plural forms are not sharply distinguished.

In Chukchee the plural subjective forms are, in the pronunciation of men, as follows:

mērgäa'n, *tērgäa'n*, *ērgäa'n*

| In several dialects of Korak II the following forms of the third person plural occur:

Absolute *ēthu*

Locative *ēthik*

Subjective *ēthina'n*

The Kamchadal forms in *itw*, and the Chukchee forms derived from *erg.*, are evidently related to this series.

In both Chukchee and Koryak of Kamenskoye the subjective form is used in some compounds.

gūmna'n čini't myself (Ch. and Kor. Kam.)

In other cases the possessive forms are used:

gūmnin čini'tkin (Kor. *gūmni'n čini'nkin*) my own.

The idea of SELF, however, is expressed differently in oblique cases.

kata'm-gōmō ka'gti (Chukchee) just to me (i. e., to myself)

čini't wwi'k ga'nmlèn he killed himself, (lit. his own body; *wwi'k* body)

Kor. *u'wik qnu'nvon* he consumed himself (literally, his body)

Kor. 56.10.

Kor. *gītčä'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:

gŭ'mkɪŋ ěinŭ'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.

gŭmŭk-onaiolh-ɪĕh-ê-ŭm 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*, *-gen*, *-qala'ken*.

	Particles	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
		Stem	Independent form		
this	<i>vai</i>	<i>wy't-</i>	<i>wg'tqan</i> , 65.22; 137.1; 133.4	{ <i>wu'ssɪn</i> <i>wu'tcɪn</i> (Paren)	} <i>nuɫ, tiɫn</i> <i>hĕ'nŋɪn</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>ñan'nyen</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>ñan'ngan</i>		
that there (not very far)	<i>ñan</i>		<i>ñan'ngan</i> 133.3		
there (quite far) . . .	<i>gan</i>		<i>ga'ngan</i> 63.13		
that there (midway to some other object)	<i>vai</i>	{ <i>vɟ'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'tɪ</i>	<i>ño'tɪñ</i> 70.21	<i>ño'tɪnqan</i>	<i>ño'tɪnqala'ken</i>	
that apart from the speaker	<i>ñun</i>	<i>ñy'n-</i>	<i>ñu'nqin</i> 137.3		
who, somebody . . .	—	(<i>mik-</i>)	<i>mĕ'ñin</i> 11.4		<i>mĭn-</i>

It may be noted that all demonstratives, except *wut-*, *en'ñ-*, and *ño'trñ*, 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,—

ñu'nin-notai'pũ 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 *ño'trñ*. The same ending is found in the interrogative *me'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.

wo'trñ-notanqa'tkên that one belonging to this country 7.1

wo'tin-irgiro'k that (morning) dawn 10.3

wu'tin-nu'tek (Kor. Kam. *wu'tin-nu'tak*) in that country

mañê'n-notai'pũ (Kor. Kam. *ma'ñen-nota'ñqo*) from what country.

Kor. *ma'ñin-ni'klr-ye'lkryel* which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor.

34.2

Kor. *ma'ñin-qai-ñawis'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 *ũm* (see also p. 726).

ño'onqan ũm ñoon

enqa'n ũm enqa'n 130.9, etc.

The particles are, however, used also independently or combined with various other forms.

vai 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'a'an 63.13

ño'on 64.1

wot 81.12

wó'tên-vai 29.1

elo'n ũm vai 66.29

elo'n vai 67.33

vai ũm ñ'a'n(i) 131.3, 10

e'nme ñan 66.32

enqa'n ũm vai 130.7

wo'tqanm ũm 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*, *-qač* (Chukchee *-qal*, *-qač*) 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'engač* (Kor. Kam. *va'yenqal*) by the side, half-way

Independent form *vaenga'tkên* (Kor. Kam. *vayenqala'ken*)

Adverbial form *wo'tênqáč* (Kor. Kam. *vo'tenqal*) here

Independent form *wotinqa'tkên* 14.2 (Kor. Kam. *votenqala'ken*)

wotqani'rgǔpǔ (pronunciation of men *wotqaE'rgǔpǔ*) from those

§ 58. PLURAL AND POST-POSITIONAL FORMS

Plural and suffix forms are derived from the forms in *-qan* adding the *-ǣ* (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>wǔ'tqǎn</i>	<i>wy'ssin</i> Kor. 49.9
Plural (Dual Kor.)	<i>wǔ'tqǎqt</i> ¹	<i>wy'tissat</i>
Plural (Koryak)	—	<i>wy'tissau</i> Kor. 32.2
Subjective, not personal	<i>wǔ'tqǎǧ'tǧ</i>	<i>wy'tissa'ta</i>
Subjective, personal	<i>wǔ'tqǎnǧna</i> ²	<i>wy'tinǧnak</i>
Locative, not personal	<i>wǔ'tqǎnak</i>	<i>wy'tissak</i>
Allative, not personal	<i>wǔ'tqǎǧ'gtǧ</i>	<i>wǔ'tssǧ'tǧ</i>
Allative, personal	<i>wǔ'tqǎnǧnǧ</i> ²	<i>wǔ'tǧnǧnǧ</i>
Ablative, not personal	<i>wǔ'tqǎnai'pǔ</i>	<i>wotessa'nǧo</i>
Ablative, personal	<i>wǔ'tqǎnai'pǔ</i>	<i>wotenenai'nǧo</i>

¹ Pronunciation of men *wǔ'tqaat*.

² Pronunciation of men *wǔ'tqaǧna*.

Also *enga'nat* 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; *engaat* those 62.10; *enga'nǧna* by that one 44.8; *wo'tqana* this time 76.18

Koryak:

nǧa'nyen that one (absolute) Kor. 17.5, 9; 51.2, 5

nǧa'nyeu (pl.) Kor. 21.1; 44.6; 62.4; *nǧa'nyau* 25.6, 9; 42.4

nǧa'nyenata (subjective, not personal) Kor. 43.5

nǧa'nenenak (subjective, personal) Kor. 34.11; *nǧa'nyenena* Kor. 76.16

The plural of the demonstrative is used in nominal, adjectival, and predicative expressions.

enga'nat qǧni'ntǧnǧinet throw away those! 49.5

wo'qaat qǧnu'utkǧ eat these! 33.12

enga'at qa'at those reindeer

Kor. Kam. *nǧa'nyenau a^e'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'inti 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, SOMEBODY, 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>k'e</i>	(<i>mìn</i>)
Plural (Dual Koryak)	<i>mi'kinti</i>	<i>ma'kinti</i>	<i>k'le'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>k'ink</i>	<i>mi'neul'</i>
Allative.	<i>me'këna</i>	<i>me'kena</i>	<i>k'a'nke</i>	<i>me'nank</i>
Ablative	<i>mëkënai'pü</i>	<i>mekëna'ñoqo</i>	<i>k'ink</i>	<i>mi'nenk</i>

Examples:

me'ñin üm ELA' who is (your) mother? 113.14

mi'kin yaarkinë'tki kanç'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 *mi'k-* 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'tirkin? who comes there?

rä'nun ñot wurre'erkın? what is visible behind there?

mi'ñkri rai ne'lhi? how then became he? 29.7

mi'ñkri ñot a'qa-ras'që'um-va'lit? why! those are bad ones to

§ 58 pass! 130.3

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'tčuk, ä'nki</i>	<i>nuz, te'a</i>
there	<i>E'n'ki</i> 119.31	<i>ña'nko, ña'nako, ñe'nko</i>	<i>E'nki, x'u, (xo'zval therefrom)</i>
there (midway to some object) .	<i>va'änki</i>	<i>va'eñ</i>	
there (behind the person addressed)	<i>ra'äñki</i>		
there (behind the speaker) . . .	<i>ño'liñki</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) *gä'nqan*

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

- | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal |
| thus . . . | <i>En'ñi'n</i> 63.13;
65.22 | <i>Enñä'an</i> Kor.13.1,
10 | <i>ño'nke</i> |

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>wul</i>	<i>wulč</i>	<i>En</i>	<i>ñan, äñ</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>ma</i>
Instrumental	<i>wutke'tä</i>	<i>wučä'ta</i>	<i>Enke'tä</i>	<i>ñanka'ta, äñka'ta</i>	<i>miñke'tä</i>	<i>minka'ta</i>	—
Allative . .	—	<i>wolčai'ti</i>	<i>Eñkri</i>	<i>ñankai'ti, äñkai'tiñ</i>	<i>miñkri</i> 60.6, 61.8	<i>menke'tt</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>
Ablative . .	<i>wo'tqori</i>	<i>wolča'ñqo</i>	<i>E'ñ q o, Eñqo'ri, Eñ qo'ro</i> 65.24	<i>ñanka'ñqo, äñka'ñqo</i>	<i>mč'ñqo</i> 60.5, 11; 71.26; 72.12 <i>mčñ-qo'ri</i>	<i>menka'ñqo</i>	<i>ma'nke</i>

Also in the same way Chukchee *va'äñkata, va'änrê, va'äñqo* or *va'äñqori*; Koryak *vaiëña'ta, vaiëña'i'ti, vai'eñqo* from stem *vai*.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>wo'tko</i> from here 43.1; <i>wo'tqo</i> 121.20; 131.14; <i>wu'tqu</i> here 73.14</p> <p><i>En'ke'čiku</i> in there 73.20</p> <p><i>En'no't</i> 64.7; 66.3; 72.6</p> <p><i>En'qe'kin</i> one from there 67.3</p> | <p><i>En'qo'ro</i> thence 49.2; 65.18, 24</p> <p><i>En'ke'ggi</i> thither 71.23</p> <p><i>En'ñata'l</i> from that time on, after that 64.19; 65.31</p> <p><i>ño'onrê</i> thither 76.20</p> <p><i>ña'nko</i> hither 137.13</p> |
|--|---|

Koryak:

<i>wü'tëu</i> this time Kor. 41.2	<i>e'nke</i> here (vocative form) Kor. 13.7; 58.7
<i>ñá'nko</i> there Kor. 41.6	
<i>ñé'nako</i> there Kor. 19.11	<i>enka'ta</i> at that place Kor. 21.8, 9
<i>ñá'niko</i> there Kor. 32.1; see Kor. 62.7	<i>enkai'ti</i> to that place Kor. 17.2; 19.1
<i>ñanikai'trñ</i> thither Kor. 36.5	<i>meñkeito'</i> whither (vocative form § 36) Kor. 64.21
<i>ñá'nakango</i> from that one Kor. 42.3	<i>mañé'ngo</i> whence Kor. 60.10

The forms *mí'ñkri* (Chukchee), *me'ñkañ* (Kor. Kam.), *ma'nke* (Kamchadal), also signify HOW.

Derivatives with suffixes are—

mêñko'kênat where are you from 65.10

mí'ñke'-míl 66.34

menke'mič, *mañ'nn'ač* (Kor. 66.1) } to what degree, in what manner

men'ke'ml', also *lact* (Kamchadal)

Demonstrative elements with the verbal noun *va'lin* (Kor. Kam. *i'tala^εn*) THE ONE WHO IS—, are also used to express demonstrative terms.

en·ñá'n·va'lin 128.24 (Chukchee), *enna^ε'an i'tala^εn* (Kor. Kam.), one being thus; i. e., such a one

enñó'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'lê-git such a one art thou 21.11

mí'ñkri·va'lin (Chukchee 14.4), *me'ñkañ i'tala^εn* (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^ε</i>	<i>tš^εn<ti^εnu</i>	<i>min(<minu)</i>
Plural			<i>mí'ní^εn</i>
Possessive	<i>ny^εhe'nk</i>	<i>tš^ε'nuhenk</i>	<i>mí'nenk</i>
Subjective	<i>ny^εhe'nk</i>	<i>tš^ε'nuhenk</i>	<i>mí'nenk</i>
Instrumental	<i>ny^ε'hel'</i>	<i>tš^ε'nuhel'</i>	<i>mí'nenl'</i>
Allative	<i>ny^εha'nk</i>	<i>tš^ε'nohank</i>	<i>mí'nank</i>
Abative	<i>ny^εhe'nk</i>	<i>tš^ε'nuhenk</i>	<i>mí'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), *eda^εkoi* (эдакой).

As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in syntetical form *mǎ'nɛn*, which corresponds to Chukchee *mɛ'nin* (see p. 726.)

mɛ'nan-ktɔj-qol which road along?

but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

mi'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.

ɛnqanaɪ'-git this art thou 20.7.

wotqanaɪ'-gǔm this am I 43.5, 121.14

wotqana'-mɔ'rɛ here we are 69.5

mi'k-i-ǔm who am I

mi'k-i-git who art thou; *mi'k-i-or* 127.11

mi'w-mu'ri who are we

mi'g-tu'ri who are ye 120.9

| Kor. Kam. *wutɪnnaɪai-gǔm* this am I Kor. 22.1

Possessives:

ɛni'n his 17.13

ɛnqa'nen of this one 50.10

mi'kin whose (possessor sing., object possessed sing. and pl.);

Kor. Kam. *mi'kin*, dual *mi'kinat*, pl. *mikina'wqi* (possessor sing.; object possessed sing., dual, pl.), vocative *miko'n* (§ 36)

Kor. 34.4

mi'kirgin (possessor pl., object possessed sing.), *mi'kirginet* (object possessed pl.), whose; Kor. Kam. *mi'kičhin*, dual *mi'kičhinat*, pl. *mi'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)*, *yaɔ*; 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>rǎɛ'nut</i>	<i>yi'nna</i>
Plural (dual Kor.)	<i>rǎɛ'nuti</i>	<i>ya'qat</i>
Plural Kor.	—	<i>yaqu'wqi</i>
Instrumental	<i>re'qǎ</i>	<i>ya'qa</i>
Locative	<i>re'qǎk</i>	<i>ya'qak</i>
Allative	<i>raqɛ'ti</i>	<i>yaqe'ti</i>
Ablative	{ <i>ra'gǔpǔ</i> <i>raqɛ'pu</i> }	<i>yaqi'nqo</i>
Designative (see § 94)	<i>re'qu</i>	<i>ya'qu</i>
Comitative (see § 100)	<i>garaɛ'ma</i>	<i>gaya'qa</i>

¹ Men's pronunciation *rǎ'ɛnect*.

² *raɛ'naa'gti*.

³ *raɛ'naai'pǔ*.

The set of forms derived from *rä^εnut*, except the plural, are not often used.

- i'me-rä^ε'nut* whatsoever; i. e., of every kind 13.13; 133.18
rä^ε'nut what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5
rä^ε'nut ūm what was it then? 34.1
rä^ε'nut ūm qin'e'ilhi^ε give me something
rä^ε'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^εqäm why 88.7
re^εqu 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^ε-qa'at* (Chukchee), *yax-qoya'wge* (Kor. Kam.), *seq-ko'j^εn*
 (Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer
räq-a'^εttä ge'e^εin (Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?
ra^ε-ni'mnim what settlement, obj. 33.7
ra^ε-pi'ñil what tidings? 11.2
rä^εnota'ehit what kind are 14.3

Koryak I:

- ya'qlau* what are they doing Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikine'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'qrykin* Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), *ta'qatkin*
 (Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?
re^εi^ε 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
rraqa'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'nkał'</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'rkiñut</i>	<i>nĭ'yka, nĭ'ykiñvut</i>
Plural (dual Koryak)	<i>nĭ'rkenti</i>	<i>nĭ'ykanti</i>
Plural Koryak	—	<i>niyka'wgi, ni'ykau</i> Kor. 50.4
Subjective	<i>nĭ'rkenä</i>	<i>nĭ'ykanak</i>
Allative	<i>nĭ'rkana</i>	<i>ne'ykana</i>
Ablative	<i>nĭrkaipü</i>	<i>neyka'ñqo</i>
Designative (see § 94)	<i>nirke'nu</i>	<i>niyka'nu</i>

NON-PERSONAL

Absolute	<i>nĭ'kiñut</i>	
Plural	<i>nĭ'ket</i>	
Subjective	<i>nĭke'tä</i>	
Locative	<i>nĭ'kek</i>	
Allative	<i>nĕka'gti</i>	
Ablative	<i>nĕkaipü</i>	
Comitative (see § 100)	<i>ganĕka'ma</i> <i>genike'tä</i>	
Designative (see § 94)	<i>nĭke'nu</i>	

Examples:

nî'rkeñut a certain one 90.20; 119.12

nî'kek somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as

nî'rken (Kor. Kam. *nîyka'nen*) belonging to the one referred to or thought of

nî'kin belonging to the thing referred to or thought of 20.8

a'vε nêrka'pū qora'ñi tei'mityä'n yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

Verbal forms are also derived from this pronoun; for instance,—

nîke'rkin (Kor. Kam. *nîka'ykin*) he does the thing referred to or thought of

rinîke'urkin whatsoever shall be 21.10

Kor. Kam. *mnîkak* I'll do something Kor. 42.1

Kor. Kam. *nekañvo'ykin* he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, *sæu'zîjč* 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 *qulî* is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

qulî'-nîkek afterwards (=at another certain one)

qolê't-a'lo' some future day (=in the other day)

qol yara'êhin a house 86.17

qol yî'lgîn 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'teau</i>	
Subjective	<i>quti'(n)inã</i> ¹	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>qutinina'ta</i>	
Possessive (locative) .	<i>quti'(n)inã</i> ¹	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>quti'ninak</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Allative	<i>qolê'(n)êna</i> ¹		<i>qolê'ninañ</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Ablative	<i>qolê(n)êna'pū</i> ¹		<i>qotenina'ñqo</i>	<i>k'ola'nk</i>
Designative	<i>quti'(n)inu</i> ¹		<i>qutinina'nu</i>	

¹ Without *n* in men's pronunciation.

qol eli'gîn another father, a certain father 107.22

qol ùm na'nmirkrin 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'ŋa* another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:

golê-notai'pu from another land 14.12

golê-ra'gti to another house 12.11

golê-ike'unvuk on another sleeping 13.5

3. *elvē* (Chukchee), *a'va* (Kor. Kam.), *êknên* (Kamchadal), OTHER, occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—

elvē'lin (Chukchee), 117.7, *elvē'linet* 113.3, *a'va'lin* (Kor. Kam.) Kor. 76.19.

| *ček-a'lvam-va'lin* how differently it is Kor. 80.9 (Kor. Kam).

| *a'va 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.

mañëna'chin that one, who is he (from *mé'ñin* WHO)

rä's'nutqäi (from *rä's'nut* WHAT) or

rä'qqäi

ya'xpil (Kor. Kam.)

} some little thing

qo'la'i'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:

1. Pronominal prefix.
2. Temporal or modal prefix.
3. Verbal theme.
4. Temporal or modal suffix.
5. Pronominal suffix.

II. Transitive verbs:

1. Pronominal subjective prefix.
2. Temporal or modal prefix.
3. Verbal theme.
4. Temporal or modal 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 $n(t)$	the suffix gI
(b) Subjunctive . . .	with the prefix ϵ	the suffix gI
Imperative	with the prefix q	the suffix $g\ddot{I}$
Future	with the prefix $r\epsilon$	the suffix $\ddot{n}(t)$

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in *-irkin* (Koryak I *-iykin*, *-ik̄in*; Koryak II *-itkin*, Kamchadal *-jk̄*), the pronominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal *-in*, 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*, $n(t)$ -*qin* (§§ 45-49). In the first and second persons singular these take a suffix *-ī*, which may be derived from the verb *-it*¹ TO BE. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized form appears in composition with the personal pronouns *nūr̄ī* WE, and *tūr̄ī* 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.

¹ 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 *ɨ* can not be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be *ɪ*. — 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 *mur̄i* 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 + r̄ε becomes *tr̄ε-*
mt + r̄ε becomes *mirr̄ε-*
mt + ε becomes *min(i)ε-*

The last of these is not quite regular, since *mit(i)ε* 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^εwi'ä^εk (stem *uw̄i*) 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.

q̄ami-pl̄itku eating finishing (stem *q̄ami*, from *qamitva*)
tara'ñga^εt they built a house (from *t̄ε̄iki* to make, *yara* house)
kinmi'rk̄in he kills children (*kmiñ̄in timirk̄in*)
kuwi^ε'rk̄in he has dead children (*kmiñ̄in, vi^εrk̄in*)

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 $-g\dot{\lambda}$ - 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 $m\dot{u}r\dot{\lambda}$ and $t\dot{u}r\dot{\lambda}$, which may contain the same endings as $err\dot{\lambda}$ (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 $-g\dot{\lambda}$ related to the pronoun $g\dot{r}t$. 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 ,¹ 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 $in\dot{e}$ - or with the suffix $-tk\dot{u}$ (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

¹ See plural of nouns, p. 694.

form has originated from *-tku-tik* and is parallel to *-tku²i²* THOU—US. The *g* of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms THOU—US because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

-tku-gi² becomes *-tkui²*

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

-git thee *-mik* us *-tik* you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: *-git* may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun *-gi²* (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 *gim*, 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 tip²lanat (Kor. Kam. *qoya'wge tip²lanau*) I left the reindeer

For the first person object the intransitive form with *ing-* is used.

rä²'nutqäi gin²ilä 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 once 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.

tuvalo'märkin I know, hear, obey (intransitive)

tuvalo'märkinegit I know thee (transitive)

tuwa'lomgä^εk I heard

tuwa'lomga^εn 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. . . .	-tik	*	<i>n</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>)	-tik	<i>q</i> (<i>ɪ, ä, a</i>)-g ^ε tik	<i>r_ε-ñitik</i>
3d pl. . . .	-g ^ε t	<i>n</i> (<i>ɪ, u, ü</i>)	<i>n</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>)	-n ^ε t		<i>r_ε-ñit</i>
2d, 3d sing. .	{ -g ^ε t -i }	{ * <i>n</i> (<i>ɪ, u, ü</i>) }	<i>n</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>)	{ -g ^ε n -in }	<i>q</i> (<i>ɪ, ä, a</i> **)-g ^ε t	<i>r_ε</i> { -g ^ε -i }
1st sing. . .	<i>ɪɪ</i> { -g ^ε k -ik }	<i>mɪ</i>	<i>ɪ</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>)	{ -g ^ε k -ik }		<i>ɪr_ε</i> { -g ^ε -i }
1st pl. . . .	<i>mit-mik</i>	<i>mɪn</i>	<i>mɪn</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>)	-m ^ε k		<i>mɪrr_ε-g^ε</i>

*No 2d person.

**No 3d person.

DERIVED MODES IN -*ɪrkitn* (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

2d pl. . . .	- <i>ɪtik</i>	—	—	- <i>ɪtik</i>	- <i>ɪtik</i>	- <i>ɪntik</i>
3d pl. . . .	- <i>t*</i>	—	—	- <i>ɛt</i>	—	- <i>ñit</i>
Other forms .	—	—	—	—	—	—

**t* takes the place of final *n*: *ɪrkit*.

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 *ɪ* is inserted between stem and suffix:

gamɪ'tva-rkin he eats

walo'm-ɪ-rkin he knows

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	- <i>ɛ'ɪ</i>	
2	- <i>ik, -ɪ</i>	
3	-(<i>t</i>) <i>ä</i>	<i>g_ε-(t) ä</i>
4	- <i>ma</i>	
5	- <i>ma'ɛi</i>	

§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive			Imperative	Future	Present indefinite
		Prefixes.		Suffixes.			
		(a)	(b)				
2d dual	-tik	*	na ^ε	-tik	q-(gɪ)tik	ya-ñitrik	ky-***
2d pl.	-la'tik	*	na ^ε	-latik	q-latik	ya-lantrik	ky-
3d dual	-gʲ	n(I)	na ^ε	-nat		ya-ñiʲ	ky-
3d pl.	{ -laʲ or -lage	n(I)	na ^ε	-nau		ya-laʲne	ky-
2d, 3d sing. . .	-i	*n	na ^ε	-in	q**-(gʲ)	ya-I	ky-
1st sing. . . .	ti-ik	mi	ta ^ε	-ik		tya-I	tiky-
1st dual	mit-mik	min	ma ^ε	-mik		miſsa-mik	mitky-
1st pl.	mit-lamtk	min	ma ^ε	-la(mik)		miſsa-la(mik)	mitky-

() 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	-ikini ^ʲ tk	-ikini ^ʲ tk	-ikini ^ʲ tk	-inttk
2d pl.	-laikinetik	-laaine'tik*	-laikinetik	-laikinentik
3d dual	-iki	-ikin ^ʲ at		-ikini ^ʲ ñiʲ
3d pl.	-laike	-ikini ^ʲ nau**		-laikineñe
1st, 2d, 3d sing.; 1st dual]	-ikin	-ikin	-ikin	-ikin
1st pl.	-laikin	-laikinemik*		-laikini ^ʲ mik

* Subjunctive (b) has la-i instead of la.

** Subjunctive (b) has au instead of inau.

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 *-ikin* (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as *waʲo'm-ekin* HE KNOWS. After terminal vowel the *i* changes to a neutral *ɨ*, as *va-ikin* HE IS. In many cases, however, the *i* is also weakened to *ɨ* or *y* after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary *i* is inserted preceding it, as in *ya'grykin* WHAT ART THOU? Kor. 29.1; *ʲ'trykin* ART THOU? Kor. 29.2

NOMINAL FORMS

	(a)	(b)
1	} - <i>Ik</i>	<i>ga-a</i>
2		
3		
4		
5	- <i>mači</i>	

§ 66. KAMCHADAL

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive		Imperative
		(a) Exhortative	(b) Conditional	
2d sing.	- <i>č</i>		<i>k!</i> { <i>čnI^{en}</i> or <i>un</i>	<i>k-xč</i>
2d pl.	- <i>cx</i>		<i>k!</i> - <i>cx</i>	<i>k-jcx</i>
3d pl.	{ <i>čIn</i> or <i>u^{en}</i>	<i>xan</i> { <i>čnI^{en}</i> or <i>un</i>	<i>k!</i> - <i>un</i>	
3d sing.	- <i>č</i>	<i>xan</i> { <i>čnI^{en}</i> or <i>un</i>	<i>k!</i> - <i>un</i>	
1st sing.	<i>t</i> { <i>k</i> or <i>kičn</i>	<i>m</i> { <i>k</i> or <i>kičIn</i>	<i>tk!</i> - <i>k</i>	
1st pl.	<i>n</i> { <i>k</i> or <i>kičIn</i>	<i>mIn</i> { <i>k</i> or <i>kičIn</i>	<i>nk!</i> - <i>k</i>	

The subjunctive (b) of modern Kamchadal takes in all forms the terminal particle *-bI*, which is the Russian conjunction *бы*.

tk!nukbI if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb *öl*, (*ö*) 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 *-jčrn* or *jI^{en}*.

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
tñükIk I slept
tcolk I lay

trejk I leave
tñükčjk I sleep
tčö'locjk I lie

VERBAL NOUN

1	} - <i>köjⁱ</i>
2	
3	
4	

tujuk nu'köj I began eat-beginning; i. e., I began to eat (*t-* I; *uju* to begin; *-k* I; *nu* to eat)

¹This is the inchoative terminal verb (see p. 508, 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>git</i>	—	- <i>git</i>	- <i>git</i>
(2) you	- <i>tik</i>	—	- <i>ntik</i>	- <i>itik</i>
(3) us (except thou, ye—us)	- <i>nik</i>	—	- <i>nik</i>	- <i>inik</i>

THIRD PERSON FORMS

(4) him (except he, ye—him)	- <i>gū^εn</i>	- <i>gin</i>	- <i>ñin</i>	(no ending)
(5) them (except he, ye—them)	- <i>net</i>	- <i>ginet</i>	- <i>ñinet</i>	- <i>et</i>
(6) he—him	- <i>nin</i>	—	- <i>ñinin</i>	- <i>in</i>
(6') he—them	- <i>ninet</i>	—	- <i>ñininnet</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>gi^ε</i>	- <i>ū^εn</i>	- <i>gi^ε</i>	- <i>gū^ε</i>	(no ending)
(8) thou—me, us		- <i>tik</i>	- <i>tik</i>	- <i>ntik</i>	- <i>itik</i>
(9) ye—me, us ¹	- <i>tki</i>	- <i>tki</i>	- <i>gitki</i>	- <i>ñitki</i>	- <i>itki</i>
(10) ye—him, them	- <i>tki</i>	- <i>tki</i>	- <i>gitki</i>	- <i>ñitki</i>	- <i>itki</i>

¹ With -*tku* preceding pronominal suffix.

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

(11) they—me ²	- <i>ūm</i>	- <i>ūm</i>	—	- <i>ūm</i>	- <i>ium</i>
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² 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>l(I)-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ti^ε-</i>	—	<i>trg-</i>
we	<i>mit-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>minit^ε-</i>	—	<i>mirrg-</i>
he	<i>ng-</i>	<i>ū^εn-</i>	<i>nū^εni^ε-</i>	—	<i>nerg-</i>

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object me	(<i>ing</i>)-	(<i>n^εng</i>)-	(<i>n^εing</i>)-	<i>q-ine</i>	(<i>ring</i>)-
Other forms	—	<i>ni-</i>	<i>nit^ε-</i>	<i>q-</i>	<i>r^ε</i>

The form *-gi^s* (I7; II7) is rarely abbreviated to *-ĭ*.

qênapêlai^s and *qênapêlai'* leave me!

This shortening is quite frequent in Koryak I (see below).

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	—* <i>giĭ</i>	
2	— <i>k</i>	
3	— <i>tĭ</i>	<i>ge-tĭ</i>
4	— <i>mg</i>	
5	— <i>mgĭt</i>	

Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

Future	<i>re-nĭ</i>
Exhortative, sing. . .	<i>ni-a^sn</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^t</i>	—	— <i>gi^t</i>	— <i>ĭgi^t</i>
(2) you	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tik</i>	—	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>ntik</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>)— <i>ĭtik</i>
(3) us	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mik</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tik</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mik</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>)— <i>ĭmik</i>

THIRD PERSON FORMS.

(4) him (except he, ye—him) . .	— <i>ga^sn^s</i>	— <i>gin</i>	— <i>nĭn</i>	no ending
(5) them dual (except he, ye—them)	— <i>nat</i>	— <i>ginat</i>	— <i>nĭnat</i>	— <i>ĭnat</i>
(5') them pl.(except he, ye—them) .	— <i>nau</i>	— <i>ginau</i>	— <i>nĭnau</i>	— <i>ĭnau</i>
(6) he, they—him, them	— <i>ntn</i>	—	— <i>nĭntn</i>	—(<i>ĭn</i>)

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in <i>ykin</i> IV
(7) he—me	— <i>ĭ</i> — <i>ga^sn</i>	—	no ending	no ending
(8) thou—me	— <i>gi^t</i> — <i>ga^sn</i>	—(<i>gi^t</i>)	no ending	no ending
(9) ye—me	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tik</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tik</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>ntik</i>	—(<i>ĭg</i>)— <i>ĭtik</i>
(9') ye—us	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mik</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mik</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mik</i>	—(<i>ĭg</i>)— <i>ĭmik</i>
(10) ye—him, them	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tĕa</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>gi^ttĕa</i>	—(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>nĭtĕa</i>	—(<i>ĭg</i>)— <i>ĭtĕa</i>

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORM

(11) they—me	—gūm ¹	—	—gūm	igūm
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¹ we—thee -*lage*² we—him -*лагаⁿ*

In the derived modes, *la* occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding *-ikın*.

The suffixes *-g²* and *-gaⁿ* (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to *-ı* and *-n*. The former is similar to an intransitive form.

genapel¹a'e^s and *genapel¹ai'* 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>ni-</i>	<i>ta^s-</i>		<i>tya-</i>
we	<i>mit-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>mina^s-</i>		<i>missa-</i>
thou, ye, he—me . . .	<i>ina-</i>	<i>nina-</i>	<i>na^sina-</i>	<i>qina -</i>	<i>yina-</i>
they, he—thee, you, us	} <i>na-</i>	<i>aⁿ-</i>	<i>nana^s-</i>		<i>naya-</i>
thou, ye—us					
he—him, them	} no prefix	<i>ni-</i>	<i>na^s-</i>	<i>qa-</i>	<i>ya-</i>
thou, ye—him, them					

The second indefinite of Koryak has the prefix *qu²-*, *ku²-* (*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>mačI</i>	

As in Chukchee there occur also a number of impersonal forms.

Future	<i>ya-n̄</i>
Exhortation, sing	<i>nI-a^εn</i>
Dual	<i>nI-nat</i>
Exhortation, period, pl.	<i>nI-nou</i>
Sing.	<i>nI-<i>lkIn</i></i>
Dual	<i>nI-<i>lkInat</i></i>
	<i>nI-<i>lkInau</i></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 *-miñk*, which does not occur in the intransitive verb, but seems to correspond to *-mik* **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 *-miñ*, which may be an older form. The form **YE—ME, US** takes, in addition to *-miñk*, the ending *-cx* **YE**, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has *-^εn*. 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>-hIn</i> { <i>he, -^εn</i>	} <i>-hIn</i>	—	<i>--hIn</i> he, they, -n
you	<i>-cxIn</i>		<i>-cxIn</i>	—
us (except ye—us)	<i>-miñk</i>	<i>-miñk</i>	<i>-miñk</i>	<i>-miñk</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)	- ^ε n	- ^ε n	-xIn	- ^ε n
he, they—him	-nin	-nin	—	-nin
he, they—them	-ni ^ε n	-ni ^ε n	—	-ni ^ε n

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

thou—me	-miñk	—	-miñk	-miñk
ye—me, us	-miñkcx	—	-miñkcx	-miñkcx
ye—him	-cxIn	—	-cx	-cxIn
ye—them	-cxI ^ε n	—	-cxI ^ε n	-cxI ^ε 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	ǎn-	x'an	—	ǎn-
thou, ye	—	—	k-	—

A comparison between this table and the one on p. 740 shows that all the prefixes, except *ǎn-* 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 *tax-*) 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 *taxj(i)-* with auxiliary vowel *i* before terminal *n* and before glottal stop.

Indicative:

taxli'hin I beat thee

taxli^εn he beat thee

taxlihumni'n he beat me

taxli'miñk you beat me, us; he beat us

ǎntaxli'cxin they beat you

ntaxlin we beat him

ǎntaxli'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'antælihümmi'n* let him, them, beat me
- mintæli'cæin* let us beat you

Imperative:

- ktæli'miñk* beat thou me, us
- ktælimi'ñkceæ* beat ye me, us
- ktæliæ* beat him
- ktæliæ* beat ye him

Present:

- tæcjhin* I am beating thee
- ntæcjhin* we are beating thee
- tæcji^εn* 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>xktin</i> he - <i>ëiñin</i>	- <i>xktin</i>	—	- <i>xktin</i>
you	{ I - <i>xkiszin</i> he - <i>czinñin</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^εn</i> - <i>kiëi^εn</i>	- <i>ñi^εn</i> - <i>kiëi^εn</i>	—	- <i>ñi^εn</i> - <i>kiëi^εn</i>
thou—them	- <i>ëiñi^εn</i>	—	{ - <i>xëktin</i> - <i>xëñi'n</i>	- <i>ñi^εn</i>
we—them	- <i>ñi^εn</i>	{ - <i>ñi^εn</i> - <i>kiëi^εn</i>	—	- <i>ñi^εn</i>
he—him	- <i>ëiñinin</i>	- <i>ëiñinin</i>	—	- <i>nin</i>
they—him	- <i>iñinin</i>	- <i>iñinin</i>	—	- <i>iñinin</i>
he—them	- <i>ëiñini^εn</i>	- <i>ëiñini^εn</i>	—	- <i>nini^εn</i>
they—them	- <i>iñini^εn</i>	- <i>iñini^εn</i>	—	- <i>iñini^εn</i>

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thou—me	-xkmIñk	—	-xkmIñk	-xkmIñk
ye—me, us	-xkmIñkcx	—	-xkmIñkcx	-xkmIñkcx
ye—him	-čcxIñIn	—	-čcxIñIn	-cxIñIn
ye—them	-čcxIñI ^ε n	—	-čcxIñI ^ε n	-cxIñI ^ε n

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

he, they—me	-xkumni'n	-xkumni'n	—	-xkumni'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'jčIñIn he accepted thee
änke'jækImIñk they accepted us
nke'jñIn we accepted him
tke'jñI^εn or *tke'jkIčI^εn* I accepted them
ke'jčcxIñI^εn ye accepted them

Subjunctive:

mke'jækIn let me accept thee
x'ankejækümni'n let him accept me
mInke'jñI^εn or *mInke'jkIčI^εn* let us accept them
x'anke'jækIn let him, them, accept thee

Imperative:

xkejxčI'k accept him
xkejxčki'n or *xkejxčñI'n* accept them (*k* before *k* changes to *x*)
xkejækmi'ñk accept me, us
xkejækmi'ñkcx accept ye me, us
xke'jčcxIñIn accept ye him
xke'jčcxIñI^εn accept ye them

Present:

tkejijækI'sxIn I am accepting you
nke'jIjñIn we are accepting him
änke'j-Ij-Iñnin they are accepting him
ke'jIjni^εn he is accepting them
ke'jIjñI^εn thou art accepting him, them

The nominal forms of these two types are—

Type I		Type II
1 } 2 } 3 }	. . . -ic, -il . . . -êka (rare)	-êxê -êxêka (rare)

As in the intransitive verb, the future is expressed by the present of the desiderative.

təlxəɪn I shall beat thee
təlxəlɪn I shall beat him

tkeja'əxkɪn I shall accept thee
tkejalnɪn or *tkejalɪkɪn* 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.

təxl'jɪn (Type I) I take away my boots

təxl'jɪnɪn (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>jɪlɪn</i>	<i>yɪ'ɪr'kɪn</i>	thou givest him
<i>jɪ'ɪj'hʌm</i>	<i>nə'yɪlhʌm</i>	they gave me
<i>(ä)nɪ'l'jɪmʌk</i>	<i>nə'yɪlmɪk</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.

telerə'ä^εk < *t-elerə'-gä^εk* I felt lonesome

nəy^oə'ññ^og^ε < *nə-y^oə'ññ^o-g^ε* he began to be overtaken 10.7

In stems ending in a double vowel this may lead to trivocalic clusters, which are never contracted.

tɪpə'aa^εk < *tɪ-pə'a-gä^εk* I ceased 21.1

tɪya'aa^εk < *tɪ-yə'a-gä^εk* 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.

pé'nřinên < *pĕnr-nĭn* he attacks him
te'i'kinin < *teik-nin* he made it
qĕna'nmiĕ^ε < *qĕna-tĕ-gi^ε* 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*.

tima'rawkwa^εk < *ti-ma'rgu-gă^εk* I quarreled.
timara'wku^t < *ti-ma'rgu-git* I blamed thee
i'wkw^{iε} < *iu-gi^ε* he spoke 8.14
res'qi'wki^ε < *res'qiu-gi^ε* 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'urkin 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'urkin he rows (perhaps from *iyu*)
tĕ'urkin he shakes
titĕ'uă^εn I shook

5. Stems ending in *t* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y*.

ewkwe'tyi^ε < *ewkwet-gi^ε* he left 8.7
tıye'tyă^εk < *tı-yet-gă^εk* I came 124.11
tewkwe'tyă^εk < *t-ewkwe't-gă^εk* I left

6. Stems ending in *l* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y* or *h*.

uñe'lyă^εt < *uñel-gă^εt* they gathered fuel 30.6
ne'lyă^εt < *nel-gă^εt* it became 12.2
quñe'lh^{iε} < *q-uñel-gi^ε* gather fuel! 27.1
mi'illhit < *mi-yil-git* let me give thee 121.24

7. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *ĕ*, *t*, with following *l*, form *L* or *Ľ*.

gi^ε'Lĭn < *g-i^εr-lĭn* he has gone across
gene'Ľin < *ge-nel-lĭn* he became 10.8

ge'lgäzin < *ge-lgät-lin* he left 59.1

gakr'timazên < *ga-kr'timat-lên* he had his hand extended 47.6

8. Terminal *ñ* of the stem before *l* changes to *n*.

gatagargonlên < *ga-taaron-lên* 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'erkín < *ewkwé't-r-rkín* he leaves

gênatva'laat < *ge-inë-tvat-lînet* they promised 71.4 (see § 73)

ninenlîp'tqûet < *n-ine-r-lîp-et-qînet* he broke them 20.11

I give here a series of examples of the forms described before.

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Past I:

2d pl. *pi'ntiqättik* you appeared 74.21

3d pl. *pükî'rgä^t* they came 64.2

tara'ngä^t they pitched a tent 56.9

ñipe'ä^t < *ñipe-gä^t* they came ashore 7.8

tîle'ä^t < *tîle-gä^t* they walked 64.9

qami'tvaa^t < *qami-tva-gä^t* they ate 87.32

yilqä'tyä^t < *yilqät-gä^t* they slept 8.4

2d sing. *ye'tyi^e* < *yet-gi^e* thou hast come 37.6

qätti' thou art going 82.23

gitté'wkwî^e < *gittéu-gi^e* thou art hungry 9.13

3d sing. *e'gripgi^e* she felt pain 63.8

i^e'rqi^e he crossed over 13.13

pükî'ri he came 90.26

ñg'wtngê^e he married 58.8

pükî'rgi^e he arrived 57.8; 58.1

lile'pgi^e he looked 7.6

kê'rgüpgê^e she dressed up 52.9

eiñé'utkui^e < *eiñé'u-tku-gi^e* he called 8.5

wa'qgê^e < *wagqg-gê^e* he sat down 15.7

euñó'ê^e < *iu-ññog-gi^e* he began to say 117.25

ra'gtîê^e < *ragti-gi^e* he came home 122.7

ewkwé'tyi^e < *ewkwet-gi^e* he left 8.7

têrga'tyé^e < *têrg-ét-gi^e* he cried 7.6

kîye'wkwî^e < *kîyeu-gi^e* he awoke 9.4

kî'wkwî^e < *kîu-gi^e* he passed a night 8.4

notas'qa'wkwê^e < *nute-s'qeu-gi^e* land approached 8.8

1st sing. *te'gripgä^k* I felt pain 101.17

tyé'tyä^k < *t-yet-gä^k* I came 124.11

teiv'ä^k < *t-eiv-gä^k* I revived 83.14

tîlva'wkwä^k < *t-lvau-gä^k* I could not 16.9

1st pl. *mityi'greumik* we are thirsty 71.14
mitvi^ε'mik we died 64.15

Subjunctive (a):

3d pl. *niyilqä'tinet* < *n-yilqät-ı-net* let them sleep
 3d sing. *ni'lqätyä^εn* < *n-lqät-gä^εn* let him go! 13.12
ničä'atvaa^εn < *n-čaa-tvā-gä^εn* let her be a castaway 39.3
niyi'lqätyä^εn < *n-yilqät-gä^εn* let him sleep 9.1
 1st sing. *mılmala'ññoa^εk* < *mı-lımlā-ññō-gä^εk* let me obey 21.10
mı'lqätyä^εk < *mı-lqät-gä^εk* let me go 125.5
muanla'a^εk < *mı-ānlā-gä^εk* I may ask (for help) 135.19
mıne'etyä^εk < *mı-neet-gä^εk* let me turn black 23.6
 1st pl. *mne'wkwen ik* < *mı-ewkwet-mik* let us go away 17.8
mınuñ'lmik let us gather fuel 30.6
mınrä'gtımük let us go home 126.4
mra'gtia^εk let me go home 99.2
mıta'aqəa^εk let me smoke 99.26

Subjunctive (b):

ni^εtva'nat if they had stayed 68.27
ni^εwi'ä^εn < *ni^ε-vi^ε-gä^εn* she would die 37.12

Imperative:

quwi^ε'tik die ye! 64.16
qäle'tik walk ye! 65.29
qāmñi'ı^ε < *q-mñi-gı^ε* celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 60.5
qanto' < *q-ntō-gı^ε* come out! 26.3
qāqno'pğē^ε sit with head bent down! 32.4

Future:

2d pl. *revi^ε'ntik* ye will die 64.20
 3d pl. *rē'pkıngä^ε* they will come 10.5 (sing. used as plural)
 2d sing. *rečipe'tyä^ε* < *re-čip-et-gä^ε* thou wilt die 114.22
revi^ε'ı^ε < *rē-vı^ε-gı^ε* thou wilt die 65.6 (cf. 21.12 *revi^ε'ä^ε* 37.8)
ra'tvaa^ε < *rē-tvā-gä^ε* thou wilt live 108.25
 3d sing. *remñi'ä^ε* < *re-mñi-gä^ε* he will celebrate a thanksgiving ceremonial 118.12
ratopa'wkwa^ε < *rē-topāu-gä^ε* she will be pregnant 104.5
rara'lêčetya^ε < *rē-ralē-čit-gä^ε* he will slide down 114.15
reurre'tyi^ε < *re-urr-et-gı^ε* it will appear 119.10
 1st sing. *trara'gtia^ε* < *t-rē-rağtı-gä^ε* I shall go home 99.14
trevi^ε'ä^ε < *t-re-vı^ε-gä^ε* I shall die 108.1
trenel'hä^ε < *t-re-nel-gä^ε* I shall turn to 24.12
 1st pl. *mırreyi'lqätyä^ε* < *mırre-yılq-ät-gä^ε* we shall sleep 9.3

Derived Modes in *-irkin*.

Past I:

- inenreqeurkini'tik* < *ine-r-req-eu-rkin-itik* what are you doing with me 10.10
ewkwé'erkít < *ewkwet-irkit* they leave 13.6
mñi'rkít they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29
pilqä'erkín he dived 9.7
va'rkín he is 19.2
riqamítva'urkinên he was made to eat
kimé'urkin thou causest delay 18.6
re'qärkin how art thou? 18.9
tinqä'é'rkín I refuse 19.7
mittegi'mi'n-ñi'rkín we suffer 32.2
mitteñičé'erkín we feel merry 69.8
minqami'tvarkín let us eat 65.4
qatva'rkín stay! 57.3; 67.23
remeiñé'erkín he will grow up 21.7

Koryak:

Past I:

- 3d pl. *is'hımlavai'ñal'ai* they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6
 2d sing. *i'yi* thou hittest Kor. 26.1
i'tı thou wert Kor. 16.3
ya'ti thou camest Kor. 68.12
qati' you went away Kor. 18.5
 3d sing. *vannınta'tı* she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1
a'wyeñvoi he begins to eat Kor. 20.7
vi'qi he is dead Kor. 22.1
 1st sing. *trvi'ç'ıyak* I died Kor. 84.14
titva'ñvok I began to be Kor. 18.6
tuva'nnıntatik I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1
tapka'vık I could not Kor. 35.2
ti'ıyak I hit Kor. 26.2
trna'ç'lık I remained Kor. 16.2
 1st dual. *mitqugıta't* we are hungry Kor. 74.17

Subjunctive (a):

- 2d sing. *nına'ç'lın* may it become Kor. 20.2
 3d sing. *ne'wñıvon* he would begin to say Kor. 27.6
 1st sing. *mılqa'tık* let me go! Kor. 33.10
mas'hı'ntılık I'll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19
mınan'aç'o'mık let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20
 1st dual *mınr'lıqat* let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62,1)
mına'wıyi let us eat! Kor. 28.9

- 1st pl. *mɪnɪlqala'mɪk* let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6
mɪno'yiɛvala let us play! Kor. 32.7
mɪnikya'wɪa let us get up! Kor. 39.4.
mɪna'wyɛla let us eat! Kor. 27.7
minno'tantala let us go for a walk! Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (b):

- nɪ^ɛtva^ɛan* it should be Kor. 34.12
nani^ɛ'win one could say Kor. 24.10
ti^ɛ'wik I should say 45.9

Imperative:

- sing. *quvi^ɛyas'qi'wgi* die! Kor. 35.1
qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3
qɪmla'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 *qamaɪtva'thitik* make it better! Kor. 13.2
qanto'tik go out! Kor. 74.15
qɪyaɪ'titik go ye two home Kor. 21.1
qi'thitik be ye two! Kor. 21.2
- pl. *qawas'vɪla'tik* look ye in! Kor. 27.1
qɪkyawla'tik awake ye! Kor. 39.3
qai'vɪlala'tik carry ye meat as a present! Kor. 63.12
qalqala'tik go away! Kor. 14.7

Future:

- 3d pl. *yewñɪvɔla'ñe* they shall tell Kor. 22.5
 1st sing. *tyavi^ɛ'yañ* I shall die Kor. 33.1
tryayaɪ'tɪñ I will go home Kor. 30.5
 1st pl. *missavi^ɛ'yala* we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in *-ɪykin*:

- 2d pl. *yaqlai'kine'tik* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
 3d dual *vai'ke* they two are Kor. 48.7
 3d pl. *kɪya'wɪaike* they awoke Kor. 12.6
vañvɔlai'ke they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.
kokaivɪlai'ke they are cooking Kor. 27.4
enkayal'ai'ke they are snoring Kor. 28.4
- 3d sing. *ləlapɪtɛoñvo'ykin* he looks up Kor. 42.8
kañ'a'trykin he is fishing Kor. 45.1
va'ykin he lives Kor. 18.4
- 1st sing. *trɪtta'trykin* I am hungry Kor. 35.5
tryañlanñvo'ykin I shall feel smoky Kor. 37.10
- 1st pl. *mɪttɪvañvɔlai'kɪn* we remain Kor. 17.11

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Subjunctive:

1st sing. *mañinmıla'trykın* I should feel elated Kor. 84.17

Imperative:

2d sing. *qiwırykın-i'-gi* say! Kor. 25.4

TRANSITIVE VERB

Transitive Forms

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

tr'lıhı-ğıt I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1*)

ne'ntı-ğıt they bid thee 19.5 (I 1)

mınleté'ttik let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2)

ne'ntıtik he bid you 74.24 (I 2)

nayo^émük they visit us 34.6 (I 3)

nantımla'nmik they press on us 63.9 (I 3)

Future:

nara'nmügıt they will kill thee 37.10 (III 1)

nara'nmüntik it will kill you 70.12 (III 2)

Derived modes:

nayo^érkın-ê-ğıt 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^étyäⁿ I brought it 20.1 (I 4)

tr'lıhı'äⁿ if I should do for it 38.12 (Ia 4)

mılu^éäⁿ let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (Ia 4)

mıpê'nrıaⁿ let me catch him 66.16 (Ia 4)

mıtlı^éäⁿ we saw it 33.7 (I 4)

napêla'aⁿ they left it 30.12 (I 4)

mınpê'laaⁿ let us leave him 29.11 (I 4)

ğına'n lr'ngäⁿ 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)

äⁿlu^é'net they might see it 62.1 (Ia 5)

yopa'nnên he visited him 7.4 (I 6)

lu^é'nin he saw it 18.11 (I 6)

nı^éyo^é'nên they would visit it 53.1 (Ia 6)

tımnê'nat he killed them 34.1 (I 6')

pınlo'nênat he asked them 13.9 (I 6')

iu'ninet he said to them 8.10 (I 6')

* Numbers in parentheses refer to the table of forms on pp. 741-743.

Imperative:

- qäqtı'gın* fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)
qärrı'lın put it down 40.6 (II 4)
qai'pügün put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)
qäte'kiginet make them! 49.4 (II 5)
qrətinet fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

Future:

- tr'ntıñın* I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)
mirraio'ñın we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)
mirrı'wkut-ıt we shall bind thee 23.8 (III 1)
repli'tkuñinet thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)
ra'nmugnên he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

Derived modes:

- goi'pıtkoi'vürkin* thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)
tılhi'rkinet I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)
nata'rkınat they left them 68.17 (IV 5)
tım'rkinên he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)
tégrırkının he threw him 10.10 (IV 6)
tım'rkinênat they kill them 44.8 (IV 6')
nelu'rkın they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

Intransitive Forms.

Past I, and derived form:

- ine'łhi^ε* thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)
gına'n inelu'^ε thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)
ënapëlarkın'ıtık ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)
inenreqeurkını'ıtık what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)
inentE'^εurkin thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)
ıtırwku'tırkın-i-gıt we bind thee (IV 1)

Imperative:

- qıne'ıłhi^ε* give me! 15.12 (II 8)
qênata'g^ε move to me! 37.10 (II 8)
qênankêrgıpa'ty^ε dress me! 48.9 (II 8)
qıgıte'tku'^ε look at us! 35.7 (II 8)
qeiñ'ıtıkutık carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)
qınerrı'lıhtık (*qınerrı'ltık* 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)
qênagta'tyıtık haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)
qınelu'^εıtık look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)
qaiwalponaurkını'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'Lıñ,ı'ıkı answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)
qänımlé'wku'ıkı light ye them 68.13 (II 10)

Future:

raala'ñitki ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)

relu'ñitki ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)

Nominal Predicative Forms

napêla'-üm they left me 31.9 (I 11)

nančaatwa'wküm they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)

nanlimalawa't-ê-üm 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.

tī-tva'ikīn < *tī-tva'-ykin* I am

tī-čv'ikīn < *tī-čv'-ykin* I cut

va'ykin he lives Kor. 18.4

2. The *g* of the suffix is never dropped.

tī-čv'-gän I cut off

3. Stems with terminal consonant have for the derived forms in *-ykin* the form *-ikīn*, an auxiliary vowel being introduced on account of the formation of a triconsonantic cluster.

tivalg'mēkīn (Chukchee *tuwalo'mirkin*) < *tī-valom-ykin* I hear

tapgātēkīn (Chukchee *tapgātirkin*) < *t-ūpat-ykin* I cook

t'iv'ikīn (Chukchee *tiurkin*) < *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.

t'ivgäk I said

In other cases *vg* is changed to *wg*, which corresponds to the Chukchee *wkw*.

tyi'wgi (Chukchee *tri'wkut*) < *t-y-iv-gi* (Chukchee < *t-r-iu-git*)

I shall say to you

quv'iyas'qi'wgi die! Kor. 35.1

5. Terminal *t* does not influence the *g* of the suffix.

pēlqa'tgi he grew old

6. Stems in terminal *i* of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in *r* of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in *-i'ikīn* (Chukchee *-rirkin*).

Kamenskoye
t'is'yikīn

Chukchee
ti^rrirkin I cross over

7. Terminal *t* before *ʔ* either forms the Koryak analogue of *ɬ* or drops out.

gapa'ɬen < *ga-pat-ɬen* he has cooked

gapɛ'lqal'in < *ga-pɛ'lqat-l'in* he has grown old

Examples:

tɪyanu'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^εntai'kr-gi one should make thee Kor. 38.4 (Ia 1)

nal^εñil^εai^εkine'tik they do to you Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)

minyai'tatik I'll carry you two home Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63¹ (Ia 2)

neneñe^εla'mik he appears to us Kor. 29.9 (I 3)

nana^εyiva'wmik he is reproaching us Kor. 74.19 (I 3)

nal^εñil^εai^εkine'mik they do us Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)

ɬu^ε'wa^εn thou sawest it Kor. 23.8 (I 4)

miyo^ε'ogan let me visit him Kor. 20.7 (Ia 4)

mitla^ε'wla^εn we found it Kor. 26.9 (I 4)

qɪya^ε'thin bring it here! Kor. 29.4 (II 4)

minu'mkawin I will lay it aside Kor. 49.10 (I 4)

tryai'ɬiñin I'll give him Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)

tryanñawtiñā'nñin I'll give you your wife Kor. 13.3 (III 4)

ya^εnmñin you will kill it Kor. 76.7 (III 4)

natalai^εkine'mik it has caught us Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)

ti^εnmñin I killed him Kor. 20.5 (I 4)

ɬu^ε'nin she found it Kor. 24.3 (I 6)

tai^ε'kinin he made them Kor. 20.9 (I 6)

nayo^ε'onau ye visit them Kor. 24.7 (I 10)

qutei^ε'kiñin^εau you are making them Kor. 50.7 (I 10)

qupka^ε'wñunenau it could not do them Kor. 40.2 (I 6')

nayo^εñvo'ykinenau they visit them Kor. 61.8 (IV 5')

yileñvo'ykinen she turns him Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)

yawd'ykinen she has him for Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)

ina^ε'nui he swallowed me Kor. 84.13 (I 7)

tenanikyō'nñivoi he wants to awaken us Kor. 39.4 (I 7)

ninanuvd^ε'an let him swallow me! Kor. 84.15 (Ia 7)

yend^ε'nmɪ she will kill us Kor. 96.14 (III 8)

qina^ε'nu swallow me! Kor. 84.22 (II 8)

qinanu'wgi swallow me! Kor. 84.24 (II 8)

qenanyai^εkin^ε'gi cheer me up! Kor. 84.27 (II 8)

qinam^εɬil^ε'tik ye louse me! Kor. 24.9 (II 9)

qinatinuñla^ε'tik prepare ye provisions for me Kor. 13.4 (II 9)

qwu^εɬa^ε'gitea tie ye her! Kor. 23.4 (II 10)

¹ Waldemar Jochelson, The Koryak. Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI.

qi'wqutča tell ye him! Kor. 74.20 (II 10)

qiyō^εo'la' qitča visit ye her! Kor. 23.7 (II 10)

nryanñepñivoi' güm they will keep me back Kor. 60.5 (I 11)

naya'nuw-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. <i>ni-qin</i> | } | one who is in a condition or performs an action |
| pl. <i>ni-qinet</i> | | |
| 2. sing. <i>ge-lin</i> | } | one who has attained a condition or who has performed an action |
| pl. <i>ge-linet</i> | | |

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>ni-</i>	<i>gē-</i>	—	<i>-qin</i>	<i>-lin</i>
3d pl.				<i>-el,-i,-ti</i>	<i>-qinet</i>	<i>-linet</i>
1st sing.	—	<i>ni-</i>	<i>gē-</i>	<i>-i-üm</i>		
2d sing.				<i>-igt</i>		
1st pl.				<i>-myri</i>		
2d pl.				<i>-tyri</i>		

KORYAK

	Prefix			Suffix		
	Noun	Nominalized Verb		Noun	Nominalized Verbs	
		(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
3d sing.				—	-qin	-lin
3d dual				-at,-t,-ti	-qinat	-linat
3d pl.				-au, y, -wwi,-wgi	-qinaw	-linaw
1st sing.					-igüm	
2d sing.					-igï	
1st dual	—	ni	ga		-muyi	
2d dual					-muyy, myy, mu ¹	
1st pl.					-tuyi	
2d pl.					-tuyy, tuy, ty ¹	

¹ 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

qla'ul-ê-üm I am a man 116.32

2d sing. *ñe'us'qät-i-gir* thou art a woman 136.15.

ke'lei-gït thou art a kele 15.11

1st pl. *ili'lä-mu'ri* we are islanders 11.11.

Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing. *nignopitva'qên* he was one who remained crouching 7.4.

nine'lqin he is one who becomes a -- 8.7.

3d pl. *nimitva'qênat* they were those who lived in a camp 13.3.

1st sing. *ni'lqät-i-üm* I am one who was there 66.36.

na^εlαιοi'güm < *n-a^εlαιο-i-(g)üm* I defecated 76.5

2d sing. *wu'tku nitvai'-gir* you are one who stays here 7.5.

nine'l-i-gït you are one who becomes a — 10.11.

1st pl. *ni'pkir-muri* we are those who came 11.1.

2d pl. *me'ñki 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'tkulin he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl. *gi'ulinet* they were those who had said 11.11.

gene'ïinet they were those who had become — 9.4.

1st sing. *gene'l-i-üm* I am the one who has become a — 17.6.

gelere'i'-güm < *g-elere-i-(g)üm* I was feeling dull

1st pl. *ge'lhı-muri* we were the ones to whom it happened 65.11.

Koryak:

Nouns:

1st sing. *q̄la'wul-e-gũm* 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^sčañvoqen* he was the one who was urinating
Kor. 14.2.

nıqahaiañvoqen he was the one who began to
cry aloud Kor. 78.10.

3d du. *nalñıqat'vruqinet* they were the ones who were
quite successful Kor. 88.21.

3d pl. *nanyamča'čaqenau* they are those that taste of
fat Kor. 25.5.

1st sing. *nanñiėvına'w-gũm* I am one who is getting
angry Kor. 31.2.

2d sing. *nıta'wikriñi-gi* you are one who is doing mis-
chief Kor. 82.9.

Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing. *gaya'lqırvlin* he was the one who had entered
Kor. 14.1.

3d du. *gata'vanlenat* they were the ones who had
moved on Kor. 19.9.

3d pl. *gagi'tilinau* they were the ones who were frozen
Kor. 14.2.

1st sing. *gatuyıkmıña't-i-gũm* I am the one who has
given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.

1st pl. *gano^s'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 *inε-*, which makes the verbal theme passive.

	Prefix		(a)	(b)	
	(a)	(b)			
3d sing.			(inε)—q̄in	(inε)—liñ	
3d pl.			(inε)—q̄inεt	(inε)—liñεt	
1st sing.			(inε)—i-gũm	—i(g)um	
2d sing.	<i>n(i)</i>	<i>q̄ε</i>	(inε)—ıqt	(inε)—ıqt	-tky-ıqt
1st pl.			(inε)—mıyrı	—mıyrı	
2d pl.			(inε)—tıyrı	(inε)—tıyrı	-tky-tıyrı

KORYAK

	Prefix		(a)	(b)
	(a)	(b)		
3d sing.			<i>ina-qin</i>	<i>-l̥in</i>
3d dual.			<i>ina-qinat</i>	<i>-l̥inat</i>
3d pl.			<i>ina-qinau</i>	<i>-l̥inau</i>
1st sing.			<i>ina-ig̃um</i>	<i>-ig̃um</i>
2d sing.	<i>n(i)</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ina-igrt</i>	<i>-igrt</i>
1st dual.			<i>ina-muyu</i>	<i>-muyu</i>
1st pl.			<i>ina-tuyu</i>	<i>-tuyu</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'ig̃um he is the one whom I leave

g̃it nēnapēlai'g̃um you are the one whom I leave

qa'at n̥inei'mit̃um the reindeer are the ones whom I take

nēna'n̄mē-g̃it 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 *in̄e-* and has active sense.

qa'at n̄p̄l̄g̃'q̄n̄at the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or, perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).

qa'at n̄in̄e'uit̃iq̄net the reindeer are the ones whom he takes

n̄in̄m̄q̄n̄ ora'w̄l̄an Eiv̄huel̄l̄ä the St. Lawrence people were the ones who killed the men 12.11

pip̄e'k̄l̄kin nēna'n̄m̄q̄n̄ a mouse was killed by him 89.24

n̄i'ug̃inet qu'tti several were the ones who said to them 59.2

n̄in̄i'ug̃inet they were told by him 73.13

tr'lik neime'n̄q̄et they were those who were approaching (to) the entrance (intransitive) 103.1

n̄ineimeu'q̄in wa'l̄q̄ar he was one who approached the house 57.6

tayo'l̄hit nēna'im̄ē'q̄n̄at he was one who hung up the needlecases 82.10

The nominalized transitive verb in *g̃e-* 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 *-tk̄i*.

The third person, with or without *in̄e-* 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) *nenaināwānivo'qen* she was the one who called him Kor. 74.29
nenanuñvo'qenau she was the one who ate them Kor. 59.9
ninataikriñvo'qenau she was the one who made them Kor. 59.5
nassi'ñvo-gūm 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^s'ñvo-mu'yu we are those who find them Kor. 59.9
- (b) *gēwānivo'lenat* they were the two whom he told Kor. 13.2
ga'nmiļenau they were the ones whom they had killed Kor. 12.8
ganta'witkiñau-mu'yi we are the ones whom they have defiled
 Kor. 29.6
ganta'witkiñaw-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'irkin* of the men *i'tiššin*. In other words with terminal *t* of stem they may drop it, as in *yilqaeššin* he sleeps.

i'irkin, Kor. Kam. *it'ykin* he is
mēñki nit-turi? where are you?
mīñkri nī'tqin? how was he? 17.12

It is used with the verbal noun in *-tä*, and with the noun in *-nu* (see § 95, p. 784, § 103, no. 34).

ēauēwa'-va'rat ēi'mqūg viri'tā-ñ i'irkin the Reindeer Chukchee
 people are partly self-destroying

Tā'n-ñičht ūm em-vi'tā nī'tqinet the Russians are just dying

leñ-qami'tvata i'ty^s he could not eat 80.7

aqami'tvaka q'ityitk don't ye eat (of it) 64.19

e'rmu tī'tyā^sk I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)

gai'mičrlø trī'tyā^s I am going to be rich

qarēmēnd'nø rī'tyā^s thou shalt not be it 23.6

lī'ē-ñaraw'tilø min'nmik (< *min-it-mik*) let us really try to get
 wives 57.1

ēnd'nmīēu i'tkäl-i-ūm I am not a murderer 24.8

It seems possible that the element *ĩ* 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*.

ägäliñē'tä ti'tyäk I was in fear

em-ägäliñē'tä titva'a^εk I was continually just in fear

va'rkin (Chukchee), *va'ykin* (Kor. Kam.) he lives

awgo'lika titva'rkin I remain without an assistant 124.5

ni'mnim vai č'i mčeqäi va'rkin a settlement then quite near is 7.7

i'lukä qatva'rkin remain without motion! 57.3

ni'ñkri mititva'rkin how shall I be? 124.3

em-nu'ñičin 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

wagotva'lik (*wago-tva*) he (remained) seated 102.24

a'ñgak nimitva'qênat (<*nim-tva* settlement remains) they lived on the sea 13.3

nwwkotitva'qên (<*wkot-tva*) he was tied

gawkotitva'ta being tied 122.24

qamitva' to eat

êulêtê'l-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), *enñā'^εan i'tala^εn* (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 *vg'lin* do not take the *ablaut*:

mi'ñkri-vg'lin of what kind

me'čen'ku-wg'lê-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^εn* Koryak) (see p. 814).

koulo'qu-wa'lin (stem *koulo'qi*) round
wi'čhiñ-vx'lin (stem *wi'čhiñ*) flat

Koryak:

qo'loñ-i'talaⁿ (stem *qo'loñ*) round
vičhryñ-i'talaⁿ (stem *vičhryñ*) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—(*i*)ñ, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as *ta'num-wa'lin* a good one, from *ta'ñiñ-wa'lin*.

The stem in composition with *va'lin* may also take postpositions.

ē'mpum-wa'lin or *ēmpa'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 *qetv*) the stronger one
 Kor. *qa'tviñ-i'talaⁿ* (stem *qatv*) the stronger one
qa'mja-qla'ulik qa'tvum-wa'l-ē-ūm I am stronger than all (the other) men
gūm gini'k mai'eñku-wa'l-ē-ūm I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with *va'lin* signifies possession of a quality to a slight degree.

čēutē'tu-wa'lin (stem *čūt*) somewhat low
tañē'tu-wa'lin (stem *teñ*) somewhat good, moderately good

§ 77. TO BECOME *nel*

The stem Chukchee *nel*, Kor. Kam. *nal* is used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak. It is combined with the noun in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

gū'mūk ēmño'l-tə'ngo qinē'li^ē become ye what serves as my spleen companions¹ (i. e., became ye my friends)
rirkā'nə ninē'ligit you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)
ginnē'ku ne'lyä^t they became the quarry 12.2
ñē'us'qātu genē'lin he became a woman 116.21
mī'mbu genē'lin it became water 101.27
a^ēqa'-rkila genē'liūm I became one to be pursued hard 17.6
em-ginu'n-nik'i'tä ne'lyi^ē it came to be just midnight 9.11
girqo'l genē'linet they came to be high 9.4
a^ētto'oča ninē'lqin he came to be in front 8.7
ne'lirkin (Chukkee), *na'likin* (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.

¹ 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'ññrkın (Chukchee), *l'ññykin* (Kor. Kam.) you take him for
gıttá'p-gla'ulə m'l'hıgıt let me take you for a clever man
giu n'l'hüqinet n'l'hıt as unknown ones they had their skins (i. e.,
 they did not know them)

pu'relu nalhıñño'aⁿ they began to have him for a slave 8.2

va'lat r'l'hə nin'lhügin he has knives as wings 15.2

wı'yolu qinelhı'rkin have me as a servant 95.7

leuléwu in'lhıi^s 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'ññrkın (Chukchee), *yaira'ču l'ññykin* (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him

té'ññu l'ññrkın (Chukchee), *ta'ññu l'ññykin* (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as laughing-stock you have him

re'qü leuléwu g'elhrım what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19

pegč'i'ñu t'l'hıgıt I have thee as an object of interest 15.8

pegč'i'ñu in'lhıi^s you have meddling interest in me 22.9; also 15.8

§ 79. TO MAKE SOME ONE SOMETHING *rtč*

The stem, Chukchee *rtč* (medial *tč*), Kor. Kam. *ytč* (medial *tč*), 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).

ritč'rkin (Chukchee), *ytč'ykin* (Kor. Kam.), *yıssi'ykin* (Kor. Par.) you make him into

enqa'n vai rawku'tčrın moo-qa'anə mıtč'rkin that here doe, one serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her

elqu'tkä ritčrın he made him not standing 115.4

čv'ngäikä neré'tčmük they will make us childless 39.4

pai'wakə rı'tčrın 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 tı'ntiäⁿ Rı'nto I have Rı'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.

gümna'n ċin'it lu'ä'tä trenti'ninet 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'rkin (Chukchee), *yiti'ykin* (Kor. Kam.) you have him for *en'ñe' ginda'n enne'kü qänti'gnet* do not you carry them out 88.3

imqëta'ta nine'nti-üm I have them to look after 92.36

tule'tä nine'nti-üm ora'wêlat I also treat the people as something to steal (i. e., I can steal people) 93.14

ginda'n tule'tä nine'nti-git you steal them 93.15

em-ginri'tä nine'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: *ċh*, *ċk*, 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>kima'nk ċhi'jin</i>	<i>gü'mik va'rkin</i>	it is (belongs) to me
<i>kima'n l'in</i>	<i>gümnin va'é</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!éki I am to him (as) a son

VERBAL STEM *čh, ck, 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) ɛh'i'jɪn</i>		<i>tcki'nin</i>	<i>tcki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>ɛhijč</i>	<i>kɪni'n(k) ɛh'i'jɪn</i>		<i>cki'nin</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	—	<i>ɛna'n(k) ɛh'i'jkinen</i>		<i>c'in</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>
1st pl.	—	<i>mɪ'jhin(k) ɛh'i'jɪn</i>		<i>ncki'nin</i>	<i>ncki'pnin</i>
2d pl.	—	<i>tɪ'jhin(k) ɛh'i'jkɪsɪn</i>		<i>c'isɪ</i>	<i>c'isɪ</i>
3d pl.	<i>ɛhijci'n</i>	<i>tɪ'in(k) ɛh'i'jkɪpnin</i>		<i>c'in</i>	<i>cki'pnin</i>

PAST

1st sing. . . .	<i>t'ik</i>	<i>kɪma'n(k) l'in</i>		<i>lki'nin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>l'ič</i>	<i>kɪni'n(k) l'in</i>		<i>lki'nin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	<i>l'ič</i>	<i>ɛna'n(k) l'inin</i>		<i>lhin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>
1st pl.	<i>n'ik</i>	<i>mɪ'jhin(k) l'in</i>		<i>nki'nin</i>	<i>nki'pnin</i>
2d pl.	<i>l'icɪ</i>	<i>tɪ'jhin(k) l'isɪn</i>		<i>l'isɪ</i>	<i>l'isɪ</i>
3d pl.	<i>l'ičin</i>	<i>tɪ'in(k) l'ki'pnin</i>		<i>lhin</i>	<i>lki'pnin</i>

EXHORTATIVE (ALSO FUTURE)

1st sing. . . .	<i>m'ik</i>	<i>kɪma'n(k) xanli'hin</i>		<i>mlki'nin</i>	<i>mlki'pnin</i>
2d sing. . . .	<i>kl'ixč</i>			<i>klki'nin</i>	<i>klki'pnin</i>
3d sing. . . .	<i>xanl'i'hin</i>	<i>ɛna'n(k) xanlki'nin</i>		<i>xanlhi'n</i>	<i>xanlki'pnin</i>
1st pl.	<i>mɪnl'k</i>			<i>mɪnlki'nin</i>	<i>mɪnlki'pnin</i>
2d pl.	<i>kl'icɪ</i>			<i>kl'isɪ</i>	<i>kl'isɪ</i>
3d pl.	<i>xanl'i'hin</i>	<i>tɪ'in(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.

tlejčk I become something

tlejčkipnin I become something for them

VERBAL STEM *si*

The stem *si* TO BE lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

sič you were

VERBAL STEM *is, il*

The stem *is, il* corresponds to the Chukchee *lñ-*, 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.

æë k!ö'łki milk not coming I will be

älxtalka tšjhrn I like thee (*älxtalka* modalis of LIKING; (*t- I; ĩs* stem; *-j-* present; *-hrn* thee); compare Chukchee *älhutiłhrkinö'grt* (*älhu* as object of LIKING; *t- I; lh-* to have for—; *-rkin* present; *-igrt* thee)

l'a'mal mäl'in I will kill him (*l'a'mal* to killing; *m-* let me; *il* stem; *-in* him); compare Chukchee *qm-tmä' m'ntiä^εn* (*qam-* merely; *t₀-* to kill; *-a* modalis; *m-* let me; *-nt* medial stem; *-ä^εn* him)

VERBAL STEM *issi*

This stem corresponds to Chukchee *tč-*, Kor. Kam. *ssi-*, and expresses nearly the same idea as the last verb.

qam ke'jekek t'issrhrn I do not accept you (*qam* not; *kej* to accept; *-kek* negative ending; *t- I; issr* stem; *-hrn* thee) compare Chukchee *ehn-ei'mitkä tr'tčigrt* (*ehn—kä* negation; *ei'mit* to take; *t- I; tč* stem; *-grt* 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 tite'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'jkipnên I am busying myself on their behalf (*t- I; vetat* to be busy; *-köju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *-kipnên* see p. 767.

i'sx tš'in no'nul' intılıtköju'jkipni'n they always bring food to their father (*i'sx* father; *tš'in* their; *no'nul'* modalis, with food; *intıl* to bring; *-t* durative; *-köju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *kipnin* as before)

The Chukchee sentence

tu'mgitum e'če muwi'ä^εn I will cook fat for my companion (*tu'mgitum* absolute form, COMPANION; *e'če* modalis; WITH FAT; *m-* LET ME; *wi* TO COOK; *-ä^εn* 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	WHAT
<i>rɛq</i>	<i>yaq</i> ¹	
<i>rɛ'qürkɪn</i> (<i>req</i> + <i>rɪkɪn</i>)	<i>ya'qikɪn</i> ¹ (<i>yaq</i> + <i>ikɪn</i>)	what do you do,
	<i>ya'qɪyɪkɪn</i> Kor. 28.10	want?
<i>rɪreqe'urqɪn</i> (<i>rɪ</i> - <i>eu</i> to cause)	<i>yɪyaqa'wikɪn</i>	what do you make him do?
<i>raqiñg'rkɪn</i> (-ñg to begin)	<i>yaqñivo'ikɪn</i>	what do you begin to want? (expres- sive of annoyance)
<i>raqičñä'tɪrkɪn</i> (-čñät annoyance)	<i>yaqičñä'tekɪn</i>	what do you want? (expression of strong annoy- ance)
<i>nike</i>	<i>nika</i> Kor. 80.9	SOMETHING
<i>nike'rkɪn</i>	<i>nika'ikɪn</i>	you do a certain thing
<i>rɪnike'urkɪn</i>	<i>nika'ikɪn</i>	you make him do a certain thing
<i>ñireq</i>	<i>ñiyeq</i>	TWO
<i>ñireqe'urkɪn</i>	<i>ñiyeqɪ'wikɪn</i>	you are the second
<i>mɪ'LIñēñ</i>	<i>mɪ'LIñen</i>	FIVE
<i>mɪLɪnkau'kɪn</i>	<i>mɪLɪnka'wekɪn</i>	you are the fifth
Here belongs also		
<i>terke'urkɪn</i>	<i>ta^εika'wikɪn</i>	what number in the series are you?

Koryak:

- ya'qlau* what are they doing? Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikɪne'tik what are you doing Kor. 24.8
gayd'qlinat what happened to them Kor. 30.9
nɪya'qi-gi what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs.

gümnü'n e'kik kitu'r mɪngɪtka'wkwε^ε (Chukchee) my son last year
 ten reached (*gümnü'n* my; *e'kik* son; *kitu'r* last year; *mɪngɪt*
 ten -*kɛu* verbal suffix of numerals; *gɪ^ε* 3d sing.)

kiu'ki tɪmɪLɪnka'wkwε^εk I stayed there five nights (*kiu'ki* passing
 nights; *t*- I; *mɪLɪn* five; -*kɛu* verbal suffix of numerals; -*gä^εk*
 1st sing.)

¹ Koryak II *taq* WHAT; *ta'qatkɪn* 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'nejčx what are you (pl.) doing?

lajč how are you (sing.)?

la'jčr^{en} how are they?

saxuzijč you (sing.) do a certain thing

ñuⁿ saxusijčrn Čija'l-kut^{aen} there the people of Čija'l-kutx
live (*ñuⁿ* there; *saxusijčrn* they do a certain thing; *-aⁿ* 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?

lact 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'nijin what now have I done to him?

e'nkaj e'nin what now has he done to him?

e'nkaj enk!ö'lčrñin why did you (sing.) come to him?

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:

enkank!ö'lčrñin = enka'nke k!ö'lčrñin (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'wkwî^e he said to his wife 83.23

g1'thrn lu^enin he saw a lake 37.4

ñi'ngäi ra'nmägnên she will kill the child 37.14
ralaulawa'trñoa^ε thou wilt do wrong 21.5
kuwi'çin tre^εtyä^εn I brought children's death 20.1

Derived forms:

miç'imqumge'erkın we are terrified 63.4
tinqäe'rkın I refuse 19.7
çir'mquk pêla'arkın some are leaving 8.9

Nominalized forms:

näg^εülilê'tqın rê'mkın the people were at war 97.23
nre's'qiuqın ñe'us'qät the woman entered 63.3
çêq-a'lvam-va'lı-tø'rê ye are quite strange 63.4
evi'rä getulê'Leet they have stolen clothing 13.6
elere'i^ε dost thou feel lonesome? 96.2

Examples of interrogative sentences are—

Simple forms:

eñeñitvi'i^ε hast thou become a shaman? 18.4
mê'nko pi'ntiqättik whence did ye appear? 74.21
mi'ñkri-m ra'tvaa^ε where wilt thou live? 108.25

Derived forms:

rê'qärkın what are you? 18.9
rê'qä timi'rkinên what has killed him? 23.5

Nominalized forms:

mi'ñkri gewkwê't-i-gıt where have you gone?
mi'ñkri ni'tvaqên how is he? 13.10
rê'q-i-gıt what do you want? 18.12
gei'çemit-tu'mgi-gır hast thou brothers? 99.18

Koryak:

Simple forms:

ñawa'kak naya'tın they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20
tapka'vik olñaqat'ik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
ttyayr'lqatıñ I shall sleep Kor. 31.8
tıqa'payuk I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1
Mit'i'nak end'nme, enap'te Miti has killed me and cooked me
 Kor. 96.7

Derived forms:

tıgıtta'trykın I am hungry Kor. 35.5
enña^ε'an Amamqu'tinu vañvolai'ke thus Eine'mqut and his people were living Kor. 45.5
penye'kimen talai'vik he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3
milu'ykırınınu she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4
pêhanñivolai'ke they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17

Nominalized forms:

va^s'yuk gayo^s'olen vai'amn'agu then they found a large river
Kor. 21.3

gaḷa^swkali'lin wū'ḷka they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9
gaggaika'makata gana^s'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'an nitva'ñvoqen that one was living thus
Kor. 61.3

ñā'no nitinma'tqen 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'erkin (Kor. Kam. *muqa'tikin*; Kamchadal *čxu'jin* or *čxujč*) it is raining

ile'ty^s (Kor. Kam. *muqa'thi^s*; Kamchadal *čxun*) it has been raining

lä^sleuru'i^s winter came 14.9

čəlhiro'č^s 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^sk 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

Valvi'mtiḷa^sn tr'nmin I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

e'nmen niki'ru^si^s then night came 36.12

lu'ur wêthau'ño^sč^s 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-

rancity (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 *ne-* 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*):

nwɔ'lomga^εn let him know

va'nivan nwɔ'lomga^εn he would not hear anything

mewkwē'tyā^εk let me depart 17.10

mɪrlmala'ñnoa^εk let me begin to obey 21.4

mɪnranto'mɪk let us leave the town 56.8

nɪyɪ'łqätyä^εn let him sleep 9.1

nɪca'atvaa^εn let her be cast away 39.3

mɪ'ılhr let me give thee 15.13

mɪmata'gɪr let me marry thee 77.1

mɪnlete'ttik let us carry you away 74.15

ñɪr'o'q ya'rat va'nēvan ä^εnlu^ε'net three houses, not at all they could see them 61.10

ñewwi'rit a^εnei'mityä^εn she would take the soul of the woman 37.11

Koryak:

mɪnyaitıla'mɪk let us go home! Kor. 26.8

nayanva'nñɪmɪn let them skin it! Kor. 26.10

mɪnılqala'mɪk let us go! Kor. 28.5

mɪkɪpłɪs'qewla'tik I will stun them with blows Kor. 29.7

ya'qu-yak quwaɪ'matɪn a^εntai'kr-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'ñi'n nɪ^ε'tyä^εn, qora'ñɪ mɪnɪ^ε'yılhrɪ if you were like this, we should give you reindeer

enqa'n nɪ^ε'gite'nɪn, nu^εwi'ä^εn if she should look upon that one, she would die 37.12

ia'm leule'wu tɪ^εłhr'ä^εn why should I harm her? 38.12

va'nēvan nute's'qän nɪ^εyo^ε'nēn he would not at all reach the ground

enqa'n ora'wêlat ê'čča nī'tva'nat, nī'čvitku'vunet viū'ta 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; *nī'* -for full form *nani'*; *čvi-* TO CUT; *-tku* SUFFIX ALL; *-v* SUFFIX GREAT QUANTITY; *viūt* WHALEBONE; *-a* subjective)

čitē'un im gūmna'n wu'tku ti'nri'qā'n if only I could keep it
R 45.21

čitē'un kīnta'irga memilqa'a ne'na'lpīnri' if only good luck would give me seals R 46.42

čitē'un vē'wgēnto'ē' in order that he should give up his breath
R 49.15

ekēna'n gūmna'n tī'pī'reā'n I wish I would (rather) take it

Koryak:

me'ñqañ nī'tva'an how could she be? Kor. 34.12

nani'win one might say Kor. 25.2

§ 86. The Imperative

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

nota'sqēti qāčipe'tyi' into the ground plunge! 17.2

qīneti'ñwi' haul me up! 131.22

ñe'lvūl qagti'gītki bring ye the herd! 129.19

qīnilhe'tyitki lower ye me! 131.15

Koryak:

appa', qakya'wgi grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9

quwa'ñilāt open your mouth! Kor. 34.7

qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3

ne'nako qīyo'oqe čača'me then you will find an old woman Kor
51.1

Quyqinn'aqu'nak qīyaipīla'tik live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2

qanto'tik go ye outside! Kor. 74.12

qī'wgutča 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 tērga'arkīn why art thou weeping? 48.12

gūm ñe'uk tīl'rkīn I am walking about to get a wife 57.2

mīthittē'wrkīn we are hungry 70.24

kele'tā nayo'rkin-ē-gīt the kele are visiting thee 52.4

Koryak—

mitrpa^slai'kinen we are thirsty Kor. 16.9

yaqlaikne'tik what are you doing? Kor. 24.8

kokaivilai'ke they are cooking it Kor. 27.4

tita^s'liykrn 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'ñirkn ELA' she was deceiving her mother 29.2

pūkirgi^s. Aiwana'čhin ūm ničvi'tkurkn re^sw. He arrived. The Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10

e'nmen yē'gīčhrn rinñi'rkinin he was carrying about a walrus penis 67.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3

qolē-tkē'unvuk ewkwe'erkit, evi'rā getulē'Leet. *E'nmen ewkwe'tyā^st* during another night they were about to leave, having stolen clothing. Then they left (*qul* ANOTHER; *tkiu* TO PASS THE NIGHT; *-nv* PLACE OF [§ 109, 50], *-k* LOCATIVE; *ewkwet* TO LEAVE; *evirit* CLOTHES; *-ā* subjective [§ 37]; *tulet* TO STEAL; *getulē'Leet* < *ge-tulet-linet*) 13.5

Koryak—

gaimanñivo'ykrn he had a desire Kor. 12.2

lūmñeua'ykrn she was following Kor. 23.3

vañvolai'ke they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor. 43.7

nanoñvo'ykrnenau 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'ykrn he went out Kor. 12.5; 72.15

ñivo'ykrn she began Kor. 72.16

yalqr'wikrn he entered Kor. 13.9

newñivo'ykrnenat 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'liqā'gti tīmi'rknēnat 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.

ilū'kā gatva'rkrn stay without motion! 57.3

qaiivalponaurkrnē'tki you will hit (the children) upon the head 69.32

quwalo'mrrkrn listen! 32.1

Koryak—

aqalhai'aka qitr'ykrm-i'-gi do not cry! (not be without crying)
Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

mıqamı'tvaa^εk I shall eat now

mıqamı'tvarkın I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)

inenregeurkını'tık what are you going to do with me? 10.10

tı'gtırkın I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

tryanto'ykrm I shall go out Kor. 14.5

tryañlanñıvo'ykrm I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

trêrêvilitku'ñırkın I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

mınqamı'tvarkın let us continue to eat! 65.4

mınıwkurkını'gıt let us tie thee! 20.9

§ 88 *Nominalized Verb (a)*

The nominalized form (*a*) of the verb, *ne—qın* 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'rkrın nıme'yεñqın (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7

nıεu'uqın kē'rgāqai a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

nepplu'qın a small one Kor. 15.2

gatai'kılın nıma'yırñqın he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4

nıma'yırñqın ñai'ñai the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (*a*) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

qača'ken lē^ε'qač nu'uqın, qol ñm nıče'Loqēn lē^ε'qač one-half was black, the other half was red 88.15,16

nīu'lāqin it was long 91.24

yara'ñi nite'ñqin the house is good 92.9

mi'nkri nī'tvaqên how (of what kind) are they 13.10

wu'tku nitvai'-gīr you are staying here 7.5

nīggi'nqin mōrēqa'gti they are eager for us 8.9

īnpīnačī'yñīn neiñe'tqin the old man was the one who called out
86.13

nīnci'mitqin u'nelti he was taking thong-seals 67.18

Koryak:

nīlhīkyu'qin it is watchful Kor. 39.9

nīma'lqin it is good Kor. 64.24

nāñīčīvīna'w-gūm I am angry Kor. 31.2

nītrīpūvaqa'tqen she is one who is striding and pecking Kor.
47.11

Tāñō nīgala'qenau the Chukchee were the ones who passed
by Kor. 66,12.

Examples of relative clauses:

īnpīñawqa'gčīrnīn . . . pako'lčīrīrn nīne'nřaqin it was an old
woman . . . who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21

gīt kele'tā nayo'e'ikīrn-ē-gīt you are one who is being visited by the
kelet 52.4

yara'qai . . . kele'tā nēna'yo'e'qên it was a small house . . . which
was visited by the kelet 51.9

Koryak:

velī'lñu nenataikīrīñvo'qenau (those are) thimbles that had been
made Kor. 60.8,9

Miti'nak nenaciñawñvo'qen; e'wañ it was Miti who called him
she said Kor. 74.29

nīgalthai'agen he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1

nīnnīpñvo'qen they were the ones who began to keep it Kor.
41.9

Examples of temporal coordination:

tī'ttīl nēnarkīpčeu'qên, e'nk'i ñe'wān ure'wkwi^ε (at the time)
when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6

qān'vér ñi'ngāi nītē'rḡīlatqên, qān've'r i'wkwi^ε uwa^εquč when
the child cried, the husband said 38.3

qai'aqañ e'ur neimeu'qin, ēwkurya nīḡnteu'qin whenever he
was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14

nītrīpčē'tqēnat . . . ēn'qa'm . . . qolē-ra'gti qā'tyā^εt while
they were stabbing them . . . then . . . to another house
he went 12.9, 10

Koryak:

nenavo^snvo-mu'yu e^sen ganu'linau when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10

mi'mla nınu'gen, qalñe-key gate'włalen when a louse bit (ate) her, then they shook her combination suit Kor. 76.4,5

On the whole the forms in *ne—qin* 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^slen she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22
ño'ë-e-um gene'l-i-um poor (I) I had become R 45.28

Koryak:

gama'łalin it had grown better, Kor. 14.11

gaqi'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.

gũmni'n pe'nin-ñe'w gẽwi'^slin my former wife died R. 45.29.

yicẽmre'tti gettwile'Linet a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3

e'ur girgrıonta'lẽn a^sttwilä then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

Koryak:

va^s'yak gaya'łqrwlin afterwards he entered Kor. 14.1

ga'łqazın he went Kor. 16.3

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

e'nmen gegu'pqänteLin i'wkwı^s after she was quite starved she said 39.1

Ai'wan-a'kkata ñi'łhin geçheivulu'ulin a'ñga-čo'rmı, enñaq'q ñm ñi'łhin getiñus'qiçe'Lin e'ur ñm nẽçhẽtau'gẽn mẽmlẽ'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 ñm ñan, ki'pu-ri'ıu nelu^s'ä^sn after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1

gaa'lomlẽ^sn, i'wkwı^s after he had heard it he said 56.12

qanto's'gẽulẽn e'ur enqa'n . . . nınerkile'qin after he had rushed out he was being pursued 57.11

Koryak:

miti'w gečha'Len enka'ta tlar'vikin ñe'la 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.)

§ 0. Negative Forms

Negative forms are partly expressed by adverbs with the ordinary forms of the verb, partly by the derivative in *ε—kü*, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

va'nêvan not at all (see p. 882)

ga'rêm always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)

ča'mam always with the future (see p. 883)

See also *e'le*, *en'ñe*, *u'ñä* (p. 883).

The forms in *ε—kü* and in *εgn-* will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in *x'ë—ki* for intransitive verbs, *x'ë—kie* (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

x'ënu'ki ml'ik I will not eat

x'ënu'ki ksi'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'i'pü ye'tyi^ε ri'rki from afar a walrus came 8.5

kitv'e'yu i'wkw^ε the old walrus spoke 8.14

nu'ri . . . mirrey'lqätyä^ε we shall sleep 9.3

rirkanpina'čhin pilqäe'rkin the old walrus dived 9.6

re'mkin nr'lqätyä^{εn} the people shall go 13.12

i^{εt}rgi^ε re'mkin the people crossed over 13.13

ri'rki ge'pkiLin a walrus arrived 8.6

nite'rmečinqin ramki'yñin the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3

Koryak:

atta^εyol-ya^εmkiñ galai'viñvolen 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

ñalvila'n'aqu . . . galañvo'ykin a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9

ñawis'gat va'ykin a woman was there Kor. 52.1

Object of transitive verb:

w'ttuut tičvi'ä^εn I cut wood

yo'nên lauti'yñin she pushed the big head into it 28.6

wwi'łkan qätei'kiğin make a woodpile! 31.12

wü'rgirgin walo'miñonên she heard a noise 32.10

kokaï'ñin yire'nnin she filled the kettle 33.10

ñeuwi'rit a'nei'mityä^εn she would take the woman's soul 37.11

mač-êwga'n titvu'rkin I tell it as an incantation 39.13

w'ttuut ne'npüä^εn they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9

Koryak:

tiyo^ε'an i'npi-qla'wul I found an old man Kor. 52.4

qaqa'yičulin lo^ε'lqał he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6

qai-mi'mič gayo'olen she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1

čir'lił čvitču'ykinin he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4

eni'n kmi'ñipil qaqułumti'lin he carries his son Kor. 57.9

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object.

tu'mgitum muwi'än let me cook for (my) friend

gümnin'e'kik kelit'ulä mi'lpinriğa^εn I will give money to my son

§ 92. The Subjective

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs.

wo'tqan ñan a'äčëk eni'k-eli'gü ki'plinên the father struck this young man (*wo'tqan* this; *ñan* here; *a'äčëk* youth; *eni'k* subjective third person singular pronoun; *eli'gin* father; *rkpl* to strike; *-nin* he—him)

imilo re'mkä nap'laa^εn ni'mnim the whole people left the camp

čou'rgin tilo'mnên kel'tä the kele opened the door-flap 106.16

kitve'yuta i'unin the old walrus said to him 8.7

Aiwhuyanpında'ča pinlo'nênat a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9

Ta'n'ña gao^ε'laat the Ta'n-ñit attacked them 97.25

mergina'n mo'rëg-ra'k ñe'wänti gi'wä we in our houses to our wives say 84.16

Koryak:

atta^ε yol-ya^ε mka gava'lomlen the people down the coast heard it

Kor. 39.7

Anamqu'tinak u'tti-yu'ni gatai'kilin Eme'mqut made a wooden whale

Kor. 40.8

iḷa^ε ga ini'wi mother told me

Kor. 46.1

an'a'nak ini'wi grandmother¹ told me

Kor. 46.2

i'npri-ql'a'wula gai'liḷin ki'plau the old man gave him mortars

Kor. 51.5

km'i'na gama'talen the son married her

Kor. 80.1

mi'mla ninugin the louse ate her

Kor. 76.4.

gūmna'n nawa'kak tryai'liḷin I will give (him) the daughter

Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with *-ine*, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

Ta'n'na nini'ugin she was told by the Ta'n'niḷt 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)pinḥ* TO GIVE, *o'nti* TO REFUSE.

gūmni'n e'kik keli'tulā mi'lpinḥiga^εn I presented my son with money

teki'čhā qēna'lpinḥig^ε I present thee with meat

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

tu'mqitum e'če muwi'ä^εn 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'ulil' akoka-ju'jca (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee
e'nni-leu'tā quwi'tik

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

aḅqa'ta leule'wu ge'lhī-mu'ri by the sea we were badly treated 65.27

genilule'niḷin keḅuneḅe'tā he moved it with the staff 101.8

č'tin yiki'rga pi'rinin it took its master with the mouth 104.33

qrihu'tkui vala'ta move about with the knives! 16.4

mu'lā gakaḅoi'pālēn with blood he is besmeared 19.3

¹Treated here like a personal name.

Koryak:

va^s'ga tyančima'wikiniñin I shall tear him with (my) nails
Kor. 84.16

tui-ñi'lña gata'kyilin they throw (it) with the harpoon line Kor.
41.3

ma'qmīta tuva'nrintatik I lost a tooth by means of an arrow
Kor. 33.1

a^sla'ta awyeñvo'ykin he eats (with) excrements Kor. 12.5

ai'kirpa gapr'wyalin she threw about (with) fly-eggs Kor. 45.2

vala'ta gaqa'yičulin he chopped it up with a knife Kor. 53.6

vai'čita qatha'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'gnik in the outer tent 52.7

ro'čen'ki nitva'qēn it stays on the other shore 52.11

ēnno'tkinik tara'nqa^st they pitched their tent on the slope of a
hill 56.9

Telqä'prik . . . gekēñilit in the Telqä'p country they were driv-
ing reindeer 61.8

em-ñi'lhin nuwotitva'qēn tr'mkik only the thong remained tied to
the hummock 62.7

ñe'wänik pēla'nēn he left him with the wife 105.7

re'mkik oratva'ē he stayed long with the people 54.2

gyn'k čauču qe'eḷin a reindeer-breeder came to thee 46.11

Koryak:

i'ya^sg ga'plin to the sky it was fastened Kor. 19.3

gūmnñn ya'yak valai'ke my things are in the house Kor. 19.9

gū'mma a'nqak ti'yak I hit (on) the sea Kor. 26.2

ña'niko va'amik yiwqič'i'ta there in the river have a drink! Kor.
32.1

gaḷa'lin va'amik he arrived at the river Kor. 32.2

gawga'len ena'tik he was caught in the snare Kor. 36.6

The allative expresses—

1. The direction toward.

a^sqa'-kamaanvō'ti niné il-i-üm I give them to the possessors of bad
dishes 96.7

kala'gti qaiñe'utkurkin call to your kele 102.5

kala'gti nipēñričē'tqēn it rushed at the kele 104.25

čei'vulkui^s nimnime'ti he went to a camp 105.5

notas'gačikou'ti ničipe'tqin he dives into the interior of the surface
of the ground 131.7

Tñairgē'ti, gīrgola'gti nuwēthau'qēn he talks to the Dawn, the One
on High 135.16

Koryak:

- ga'lqaɫin ɛ'e'tɪ* he went to the sky Kor. 14.9
ɛ'e'tɪn̄ gani'n̄lalin he threw it to the sky Kor. 14.10; 15.7
qaɫte'n̄in ganqu'lin yayačiko'i'tɪn̄ the stopper was thrust out
 into the house-interior Kor. 15.2
panenai'tɪn̄ gayi'n̄alin to the same place he flew Kor. 15.5
yait'e'tɪ ga'lqaɫin he went to the house Kor. 17.3
gata'wañlenat Qoyqinn'agoyika'i'tɪ they moved to Big-Raven's
 Kor. 19.9

2. For, on account of.

- qaa'gtɪ gɪlo'lɛn* sorrowful on account of the reindeer 48.12
uwaqočɛ'gtɪ gɪlo'rkin do you sorrow on account of the husband
 48.12
nɪwan'qɛn ɛrgɪp-ya'lhɛti 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.

gü'muk-akka'gtɪ keli'tulti mi'ilinet I will give moneys to my son.

The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

- qɛti-notas'qɛ'pü nɪpiu'riqin* from the frozen ground he emerged
 102.18
golɛ'-notai'pü nuw'lomqaɛn I heard it far and wide 104.14
tɛrkɪra'irgɛ'pü nɪye'tqin he came from sunset 105.14
yoročiko'i'pü nuwa'lomqɛn he heard from the sleeping-room 106.13
ɛuɛai'pü miñño'aɛn let us begin from below 131.5
pêpêgğü'pü nei'mityäɛn they took him by the ankle 35.3
potɪñai'pü eim'i'nnin he took it by the holes 47.2

Koryak:

- ɛga'ñko nalqaine'w-güm* from the sky have I been shot Kor.
 33.4
kɪpla'gɪqin̄ko qačɛ'pñitoɫɛn out of the mortar it peeped Kor. 53.3
mañe'nqo yatha^ɛ'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 qän've'r he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9
Va'irgu ne'ɫɛ'n (destined) to (be) a "Being" he became 41.10
yard'nø ne'lyi^ε it became a house 43.5
ririra'nnên . . . taikaus'qio'lvu he spread it for a place to wrestle
 47.4
wi'yolø mi'llhigıt let me have thee as assistant 124.2
gaqanqa'anø nrya'anat let him use them for driving reindeer
 124.8

Koryak:

mal-i^ε'yu nina^ε'lin a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2
ya'qu mrintaikı'la'-gi into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9
kmênã'tinvu no'tañ nilai'-gãm for delivery in the country I
 went away Kor. 60.6
i'ssu gana^ε'linau they became dresses Kor. 60.10
a'nku nalñılai'kiné'mık 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>tı</i>	-(<i>t</i>)k, -(<i>ä</i>)k, -ka, kka
Locative	-(<i>t</i>)k, -k(<i>t</i>)	
Subjective	- <i>tı̄</i> , - <i>ä</i>	-ta, -a
Comitative I	-ma	
Comitative II	-mačı	-mačı

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.

awkwatê'tı tıgaičã'urkin I make haste to depart (*ewkwet* to leave;
t-ı; *gaičãu* to hasten; *-rkin* present)

lø^εy'tı lile'pgi^ε he looked to see; (*ly^ε* to see; *lile* eyes; *-p* to put on;
-gi^ε he)

nen'ni'uä^εn takêčhê'tı they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

| *penye'kinen talai'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-tirpaiñou'ti niçu'uqin kê'rgäqai wurre'tyi^s girqo'l while she was singing, a little hole appeared above 74.2

le'utti nitou'ti ri'nñrinet he carried the heads going out 86.8

a'un-wêthawê'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

pükê'rñok riçrepu'nin when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive 19.12

awkwa'tñok nimeñeu ga'tvülên a^sttin when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog 101.21

a'mkrn-wolqatvê'ññok every time when it began to be evening 104.12

qaa'gti qa'tik qg'lakq i'tyi^s he had no knife while going to the reindeer (*qaa'* reindeer; *-gti* to; *qa* to go; *a—ka* without; *va'la* knife; *it-* to be; *-gi^s* he)

e'mkrn -kiyeu'ki nênaio'gên whenever she awoke, she shoved it in 29.2

gemî'-plî'tkuk at the time of having finished eating 33.11

Koryak.

| *gas's'alvrye'lin vr^sya'tvik* she remained all day, being dead Kor.
64.9

The stems *lvan* NOT TO BE ABLE, *nkä* TO REFUSE, always govern the verbal locative:

lu^sk nilva'w-ê-üm I could not be seen 22.9

nênalvau'gên lu^sk he could not find her 38.7

üpa'u'ki tilva'urkrn I can not drink (*üpa'u'* to drink; *t-* I; *lvan* to be unable; *-rkrn* present)

qäi'rik tilva'urkrn I can not seek for her 38.8

velê'rkrlek lva'wkwê^s he could not pursue him 15.6

taq-aim'et'rik pml'et'ke mitlva'urkin we can not divine how to get provisions 101.13

pntiqü'tik nilvai'qên he could not disengage himself 101.34

qlike'tik ni'nküqin she refused to marry 26.1

ninkä'tqinet püki'rik they refused to come 106.3

qlike'tik aa'lomkëlên not (listening) consenting to marry 26.2

In Koryak the verbs *ñvo* TO BEGIN, *płi* TO FINISH, *nkau* TO CEASE, *pkau* NOT TO BE ABLE, always govern the verbal locative.

gañvo'len grya'pčak she began to sing Kor. 16.10

gañvo'len čilala'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2

gañvo'len ñawa'kak kita'ñak they began to scold the daughter Kor. 17.8

gañvo'len tenma'witčuk she began to prepare Kor. 18.3

gana'nkaulen tinala'tik they ceased to carry it out Kor. 41.8

ganka'wlinau tuła'tik they stopped to steal Kor. 41.9

quqka'wñunenau yanikya'wñak it could not awaken them Kor. 40.2

tapka'vik olñaga'tik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2

napkawñivo'ykin tuła'tik they could not steal it Kor. 39.8

tawi'tkirnik gava'nnrintalen when pilfering she lost a tooth Kor. 34.3

gana'linau pa'yittok they came to be eating blackberries Kor. 41.6

gapłi'tčulin 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

ñiregeu'ki the second time

ñiroqau'ki the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

vało'mik tıgaima'tekin I want to know (*vało'm* to know; *t-* I; *gaimat* to want; *-ekin* present)

THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

wq'qeta tuwañe'rkin I work sitting (*wa'qø* to sit; *t-* I; *wañe* to work; *-rkin* present)

am-ıpa'wa nitvai'güm I was just drinking (*am-* merely; *ıpau* to drink; *ni-* indefinite tense; *tva* to live, be; *-igüm* I)

luñ -iwkuči'tä i'tyi^ε not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink) 37.3

luñ-i'rä i'tyi^ε not crossing it was 41.5

luñ-lu'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
li'en' äq-eiñe'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'yñin nineninnuteu'gin by means of striking he made the big head swollen 48.10
ottir-kipçe'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

The verbal noun in *gē—tä* is often used both in Chukchee and in Koryak as an imperative.

gantó'ta, gi'wä go out and say!
gi'wä say! 21.11
gaa'neta he shall go first! 84.13

In other cases it has the meaning of a present.

mörgina'n gi'wä we are wont to say 84.16

Koryak:

gayr's'qata sleep! Kor. 31.8
gala'atata wu'tçau, gā^sa'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.

amto', mi'ñkri re'ntin, ra'nmiñ well, how will it be done? will there be killing?

ga'nma killed

rä'nut gelu'tä whatever seen

tu'mgıtum rä^s'nutqäiä ga'lpinra 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:

têrga'nma ninegpciygi'ugin weeping she kicked it 31.8

wê'ma takmla'gnênat when cooking she prepared marrow for them 33.11

g'nmil y'lkama garêtêlai'güm recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (*g'nmil* recently; *yilqa* to sleep; *ga—igüm* I; *rêtêla* to dream)

krye'wkwî^ε zaamyama he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:

ipau'maçi equ'likä while (the others) are drinking, be silent (*ipau* 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.

minke'kin lu^ε'ä^εn naus'gatıma'çı when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23

equ'likä rolma'çı be silent, since you are weak (*e—kä* negation; *quli* noise; *rol* weak)

minke'kin poi'gın lu^ε'ä^εn naus'gatıma'çı where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

nikêmaçı at night 56.8

Kamchadal has only two forms.

-*köj* (intransitive); -*e*, -*l* (transitive) and *k!—enk*

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.

qe'čel' nu'köj enough to eat

tu'tun tälil I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending -*köj* is not used.

xë nu'ki it is impossible to eat (*xë—ki* negative, p. 826)

xë tälé'kic it is impossible to beat him (*xë—kic* negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)

xë nu'ölki it is impossible to eat (-*öl* 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 qam qe'lkek while eating I do not talk (*nu* to eat; *qam* 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), *-mil* (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 *qāi* and *mīl*; 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.

qamitva-čhat-r-ŋo'-rkim he begins to gobble down

ru-wako-s-qê-čhat-a'u-rkim 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. *-iñ-*, subjective *-iñin*, AUGMENTATIVE. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.¹

vā'lE knife

a^s'ttin dog

re'mkim people 13.10

vala'iñin large knife

a^s'ttr'yñin large dog

a^s'ttr'yñē'pu from the large dog

vāmkī'yñin big people 11.3

Aiwhuyanpinačh'yñin old big

St. Lawrence man 13.11

¹ Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to *mēiñ*. This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel *e* of this word is weak. —F.B.

Some words do not take the suffix *-ŷñ-*, but use the definite form in its place.

<i>ñe'wän</i> woman	<i>ñawä'nëŷñin</i> the woman, the
Kor. Kam. <i>i'ñwi'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'tian</i> dog	<i>atta'n'aku</i> large dog
<i>qlawul</i> man	<i>qlawul'n'a'quñgo</i> from the
<i>vai'amn'aku</i> big river Kor. 21.3	big man
<i>Quyqinn'a'qu</i> Big Raven Kor. 24.5	
<i>kuka'-ŷrēm'a'qu</i> a big kettleful Kor. 43.1	

3. *-qo* AUGMENTATIVE.

<i>ñawqo'lhın</i> the big wife 39.5; 40.1
<i>pêtti-walkkäç'qlhê'tı</i> 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'u* 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'yıgei* FLEDGELING.

<i>kuke'-qäi</i> a little kettle
<i>gr'lgı-qäi</i> a small skin 45.6
<i>qla'ul-qäi</i> a small man
<i>wq'lqarq-qäi</i> small jaw-bone house 44.13
<i>ınpı'ñe'w'qäyık</i> to the little old woman 45.2
<i>ñi'nqäi</i> child 42.8
<i>ñınqäetıle'kı</i> to those with children 20.7
<i>ınpıñawqa'gëñın</i> the small woman
<i>qäi-u'nel</i> young thong-seal 70.26
<i>gäi-a'ttigäi</i> pup
<i>gäi-ı-lı'e'ggäi</i> cub of wolf

qai (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective. Its use is very frequent.

<i>qai-qla'wul-pel</i> a very small man
<i>qai'-ña'wis'qat</i> little woman Kor. 33.10
<i>qai-ka'mak</i> little kamak Kor. 38.9
<i>qai-pipi'kalñu</i> little mice Kor. 25.6
<i>qai-ka'mak-pel</i> little kamak Kor. 37.2

|| -*ai* SMALL AND MISERABLE (Kamchadal).

ki'stai a miserable little house (*kist* house)

kcxai 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.

ñawa'n-p̄il small woman (Kor. Kam.)

ñawan-p̄ila'qit two small women (Kor. Kam.)

ñawan-p̄ila'qu small women (Kor. Kam.)

ql̄q'wul-pel small man

milya'qpil a little shell Kor. 23.8

va'qil̄ripel a small nail Kor. 23.7

v̄i'tvitpil a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4

-*p̄iliñ* (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix -*p̄il* with the additional suffix -*in*—conveys the sense of ENDEARMENT.

atta'p̄iliñ doggy

vai'amp̄ilr̄ñ a little river Kor. 17.2

il̄w̄'p̄ilr̄ñ little (shaman's) wand Kor. 27.7

ñi'l̄ñip̄ilr̄ñ little thong Kor. 39.4

6. -*čax*, -*čx*, -*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>kcxo'n</i>	<i>kcxo'nč</i>
game	<i>hu'rnik</i>	<i>hu'rnikčax</i>	<i>hu'rnikr̄n</i>	<i>hu'rnikr̄nč</i>
village	<i>a'tin̄m</i>	<i>a'tinocx</i>	<i>a'tino'n</i>	<i>a'tino'nč</i>

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used in a doubled form.

atino'cxčax a very small village

a'tinocxanč very small villages

7. -*liñq̄* TINY. It always precedes the diminutive -*q̄qi* (No. 4 of this section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

qaa-liñq̄'-q̄qi tiny reindeer

ñaw̄an-liñq̄'-q̄qi tiny woman

§ 99. Collectives

8. **-yir̄in** or **-yIrIn** a company; (Kor. Kam. **-yIssan**) the stem of the noun *yi'riir* or *yi'riir* FULLNESS, CONTENTS.

ñewä'nyir̄in a company of women

ra'yir̄in a houseful 45.13

Kor. Kam. *nmyr'ssa^{en}* people of a village Kor. 70.9

Compare *walqa'čriir* a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.

9. **-ḡin̄iw** GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. **-ḡin̄iu**).

raġē'nēu (Kor. Kam. *ra-ge'nēw*) group of houses (i. e., village)

yaraġ'-gē'nēw a group of houses 111.15

u'mqä-gi'n̄iw a set of polar bears 113.29

yi'čemit-tu'mgr̄-gi'n̄iw a set of brother-companions 113.28

uwi'ritqäi-gi'n̄iw a lot of little souls 122.31

Kor. Kam. *qaña'tıla-gi'n̄iw* a lot fishing with drag-nets Kor. 70.10

10. **-rīl** (Kor. Kam. **-yīl**) set, collection (used only for inanimate objects).

o'rgurēl a caravan of sledges

a^{en}'mrīl (Kor. *a^{en}'m-yīl*) a set of bones, i. e. a skeleton

Koryak *mu'u-yīl* a line of sledges, a caravan Kor. 78.5

11. **-r̄et** SET, LITTER (Kor. Kam. **-yat**).

va'r̄at (Kor. Kam. *va'yat*) a group of beings (i. e., family group)

yičemre'tti a set of brothers 64.3

plē'gret a pair of boots

li'l̄iret a pair of mittens

12. **-tku** INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.

ne'łhtkun all kinds of skins

gr̄'nnikrkun various kinds of game

orawêLa'tkēn men living in various places, people

This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:

mainrya'n̄tkēn everything big

rä^{en}'nutetkun (*rä^{en}'neetkun*) all kinds of things

čične'waq panřa'tkēqaiia tei'mityä^{en} 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. **-mk** NUMEROUS (Kor. Kam. **-mk**) is used to express plurality.

yara'mkin (Kor. Kam. *yaya'mkin*) a cluster of houses (collective)

rirkā'mkičhin several walrus 102.17.

a^{en}ttwili'mkičhin the great assembly of boatmen 11.5

Compare the stem *mk* in the independent forms

mūkīr'ynin the more numerous ones 11.7

mū'kičīn more numerous 12.3

nū'mküqin numerous 12.7

and in the compound form

müg-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-irg-güpü* from the men

qla'ulirik < *qla'ul-irg-k* by the men, with the men

qla'ulirig-re'en < *qla'ul-irg-k-re'en* with the men

The possessive form *E'rgin* is used in the same manner.

orawêla'rgên 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.

galêla'ma (Kor. Kam. *a'wunlêla'ma*) with the eye

gō'rgumga with the sledge 15.4

gata'ttrwalma with the splinters of thigh-bone 33.11

gamg'limga with blood 43.8

gāñênqai'ma with children 50.6

gāprō'rmga with the aorta R 2.2

ga'e'twuma with the boat 71.4

galaw'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!lū'lūm 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.)

gelilē'tä (Kor. Kam. *galila'ta*) with the eye

inpinā'čhin geñe'wänä an old man with his wife 28.1 (subject)

ELI'git geñe'wänä 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'usqät genuteqçi'tä, notai'pü gelei'vä the woman while walking in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she — 28.5

notai'pü gelei'vä ñe'usqät, vai ELA'—while the woman was walking in the country, her mother—29.4

en'qam ELI'hın 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'wgêna-re'en together with Omru'wgê

tu'mug-re'en with the strangers 59.1

ni'lhi-re'en together with the thong 44.12

§ 101. Locatives

19. **-tkIn** SURFACE (Kor. Kam. **-tkIn, -tčIn**); used chiefly in oblique cases.

orgu'tkɨnik on the sledge

orgutkina'ta along the surface of the sledge

uwêkê'tkɨnik on the body 8.11

gêli'tkɨnik on the sea-ice 9.1, 2

gêlgêli'tkɨnik on the sea-ice 7.3, 5

kano'tkɨngüpu on the crown of the head 8.2

mêmli'tkɨnik on the water 9.3

čot'tkɨnik on the top of the pillow 44.2

In the absolute form the suffix designates THE POINT OF.

yäqa'tkɨn point of nose

rıčhi'tkɨn finger-tip (stem *rılh*)

yêčir'tkičhın tip of tongue 40.4 ((stem *yil*))

Koryak:

va'gıtérnu yu'kka eating points of nails Kor. 57.1

o'pıtérnik 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'qän tree-top

ətti's'qä'k on the top of the tree

tɪlɪ's'qäk over the door

gɪ'this'qä-ŋətaɪ'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'qäk on top of ground, i. e., on the ground 98.24

Koryak:

ñä'nkalqak the top of it Kor. 78.15

va'yamilqak on top of river Kor. 25.8

wu'gwulqak on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8

yas'qalkai'trñ (*ya-s'qa-lqa-ëtɪ*) to the house top Kor. 36.1

ya's'qalqak on the house top Kor. 84.12

wapis'qalqak on top of slime Kor. 25.7

21. -*gɪ*, -*gɪñ* THE BASE OF; in oblique cases, UNDER

ətti'gɪñ base of the tree

əttigɪɛ'ngüɸɸ from under the tree

uttigɪ'ñkɪ under the tree

əɸthɛ'ñkɪ under the pillow (< *əɸt-gɪñ-kɪ*)

nute's'qäqɪ'ñkɪ underground

notas'qayɛ'ngüɸɸ from underground 143.6

Koryak:

e'n'migenka under a cliff Kor. 13.6

qas'wuge'ñkɪ at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7

ɸlakgeñe'trñ into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6

gankageñe'tɪ into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9

atvigeñe'tɪ into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5

22. -*ggɪt* TOWARD; not in oblique cases

qñqə'ggɛt toward the sea

ətti'ggɪt toward the wood

yakə'ggɛt noseward 45.2

tɪlɛ'ggɛ toward the entrance 62.9

e'ekəggɪt toward the lamp R 2.6

23. -*yɪ'wkwɪ* (absolute form -*yɪ'wkwɪn*) THE SPACE ALONG —.

qñqayɛ'wkwɛn the space along the sea

a'ñqa-čormɪyɛ'wkwɪ along the seashore 66.12

qñqayɛwkwɛ'ta along the sea, on the sea

notas'qačɪyɛu'kɪ along underground 44.12

I have found also the form—

rečɛ'wkwä < *ret-yɛ'wkwɛ* along the tracks

(See *rêč'əu'kɪ* 106.24.)

24. **-ĖIKU** (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

kegr'i'ĕiku inside of palm 20.3

kona'rgĕiku inside of leg of breeches 28.6

wus'qŭ'mĕiku in the dark 34.5

yilhi'ĕiku in the moon 41.8

ple'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'ipŭ 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

yikiriĕikou'ti into the mouth 50.3

qaaĕiko'ipŭ from the reindeer-herd 51.2

mĕmliĕikou'ti into the water 17.4

notas'qaĕikou'ti into the ground 18.7

notas'qaĕiko'ipŭ from underground 44.12

Koryak:

wus'qŭ'mĕiku in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17.5

yayaĕiko'itriñ into the house Kor. 15.2

qaya'ĕiku in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1

aia'ĕiku in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal *ĕäck* INSIDE corresponds to Chukchee *ĕiku*. It is used as an independent adverb.

ci'mtenk ĕäck in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal *ĕacæ'* 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. **-QAĖ, -QAL** BY THE SIDE OF (Kor. Kam. **-QAL**)

-QAĖI near, close to (Kor. Kam. **-QAĖA**)

qa'ptenqaĖ by the side of the back 11.8

ya'alriñqaĖ by the rear side 12.3

i'LINGqaĖ by the side of the entrance 53.3

gĕtka'ñqaĖ (Kor. Kam. *gĕtka'ñqal*) at the feet

mø'riqqqaĖ (Kor. Kam. *mø'riqqal*) by our side

gĕnikqa'Ė by thy side 9.3

gɪtkaqa'ɛi near the foot

mɛriqqa'ɛi near us

Nota'rmənqača near Notarmen 121.10

ra-gr'o'lmɪnqal from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.

w'o'tɪnqač (Kor. Kam. *w'o'teñqal*) on this side

va'ɛñqač (Kor. Kam. *vaieñqal*) halfway on this side

All forms with *-qač* (Kor. Kam. *-qal*) may also form oblique cases.

mɛriqqačai'pü (Ch.) from our side

Kor. Kam. *woteñqal'ai'tɪ* to this side

añqañqača'gtɪ to the seaside 49.6

añqañqačai'pü from the seaside 49.8

ya'alɪnqačai'pü from the rear side 12.4

yaraw'-liha'nɪnqač-va'lin being from the other side of the houses 11.7

qača'kɛn the other one of a pair

qača'kɛnata with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix *-kɪn* they form adjectives which are in frequent use.

mɛriqqa'tkɛn being at my side

w'o'tɪnqa'tkɛn being from this side 14.2

Kor. Kam. *w'o'teñqala'ken* being at this side

Kamchadal:

|| **qo'UIN** NEAR TO, CLOSE BY, corresponds to Chukchee *qa'ɛi*, Kor. Kam. *qa'ɛa*. It is also treated as an independent adverb.
|| *ki'mank qo'liñ* (Chukchee *gümuk-qa'ɛi*) near me

27. **-tul** PART OF, PIECE OF (Kor. Kam. **-tul**).

mɛnigɪ'tul (Kor. Kam. *manigɪ'tol*) a piece of calico

qa'atol (Kor. Kam. *qoya'tol*) a piece of reindeer (meat)

mi'mɪtulqäi a little particle of water 134.17

teki'čhitulqäi a little piece of meat 134.31

Kor. Kam. *pêlhɪnolñi'tola* piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

|| The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.

a'nčɛax txa'ltxaɪɪn a small piece of meat (*anc-* piece; *-ɛax* small;

txa'ltxaɪɪn [adjective] of meat)

28. **-kɪt** (Kamchadal) INSTEAD, IN PLACE OF.

|| *v'i'le-kɪt* in place of payment

29. **-xǝl** (Kamchadal) ALONG.

- || *c̣əmt-xǝl* along the ground (stem *c̣imt* ground)
 || *ǝ̣^ε-xǝl* along the water (stem *ǝ̣^ε* water)
 || *ktǝǝj'-xǝl* along the road

§ 102. Similarity

30. **-m̄il** IN THE SIZE OF, AT THE DISTANCE OF (Kor. Kam. **-mič** **-mis**). (Compare § 113.10,11); also § 105, 42 **-m̄ič** which is a variant of this stem.)

ñǝi'm̄il as far as the mountain

m̄iñkē'm̄il (Kor. Kam. *menkē'mis*) of what size? how much?

94.32

eri'wmil like them 14.9

muru'wmil like us 10.6; 16.7

gumu'wmil like me 16.13

utte'mil size of a tree 20.2

rorg'mêl size of reindeer-fly 23.3

ǝ̣ǝwǝ̣lǝ̣'-mêl like men 64.11

rirkǝ'mêl like a walrus 10.8; 12.1

qǝǝ'mêl size of a reindeer 122.23

Possessive forms with the suffix—*k̄in* added to the suffix—*m̄il* are

ǝ̣m̄uwm̄i'tkin according to my wants

muruw̄m̄i'tkin according to our wants

31. **-wurrin** SIMILAR TO, LIKE.

pin-wurrin flour (literally CINDER-LIKE)

See *Ena'n ċini't wu'rri nitq̄in* thus she was 26.9

32. **-wǝ̄^εt** SIMILAR TO.33. **-čh̄ičǝ̄** SIMILAR TO (Kor. Kam. **-čh̄ina**).

qǝ̄č̄ȳk̄i'č̄h̄ēč̄ǝ̄ (Kor. Kam. *q̄lǝ̄wūl̄ič̄h̄ē'na*) similar to a man (i. e., transformed shaman¹)

§ 103. Purpose

34. **-nu**, **-u** MATERIAL FOR; WHAT SERVES AS SOMETHING; SERVING A PURPOSE; SERVING AS SOMETHING.

p̄l̄'ku qǝ̄v̄'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.

ǝ̄kke'nu mi'lh̄iq̄it let me have thee as a son

¹ *q̄ǝ̄č̄k̄* or *q̄ik̄* is an obsolete form for *q̄l̄'ul* MAN.

-*nu* after stems ending in a vowel.

lil'e'nu serving as an eye

rirkq'nø as a walrus 10.8

qagqanqq'anø for a driving reindeer 124.8

qqr'emênq'nø r'i'tyä you will not be the one to serve this purpose 23.6

ko'nkoñ-ra'nø serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22

ke'ñi'vri'nu that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9

a'qa'-g'el'cino that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10

ter-irga't-palø'ta'nø what serves as a beaver that has just shed hair 137.2

-*u* after stems ending in a consonant.

ñe'wänu for a wife

taikaus'qio'lvu for a place to wrestle 47.4

Iumetu'nu r'i'tyä you will be for me like Iumetun 23.7

kei'ñu what represents a bear 136.20

qorarnr'e'tilo to be used as herdsmen 50.9

lø'nvø for looking on 19.2; 23.1

riraqa'unvø what for? 19.1

ênagya'qtaçhø va'irgø what serves as life-giving being 21.6

wi'yolø for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoye:

-*ny*, -*y*. The use of this suffix is the same as in Chukchee.

lila'ny as an eye

akka'ny as a son

ña'wanü as a wife

qoia'nø as a reindeer

tomñena'ñu as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9

kulipçina'ñu as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1

qangekiplena'ñu as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7

ya'qu into what Kor. 38.4

çai'uçhu into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. -*kî* (*ka*) (Kamchadal) corresponds to -*ny*, -*y* (No. 34) of Chukchee.

p'i'ki as a son

ñi'ki as a wife

ol'e'naka as a reindeer (*ol'e'n* from Russian олень; the old Kamchadal word *koj* is also still in use)

lüle'ki as an eye

36. -*sx* (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

p!ēsx as a son

ñesx as a wife

37. **-lqäl** DESTINED FOR —, MATERIAL FOR —, (Kor. Kam. **-lqał**).

This suffix implies the future.

plé'kılqäl (Kor. Kam. *pla'kılqal*) material for boots

uwä'quılqäl bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband

ELa'lqäl stepmother, serving as a mother

Kor. Kam. *ñawa'nılqal* bride to be, destined to be a wife

lw'qäl (Kor. Kam. *ło'lqal* 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:**

ta'kryolqäl material (for work)

rırrë'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'ëhılqal means of getting well 135.10

tımyo'lqal (Kor. Kam. *tımyo'lqal*) 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.

ëg'g-gan (Kor. Kam. *ëai-ya'na*) one who has tea, rich in tea

qa'a-yan (Kor. Kam. *qoya-ya'na*) one who has reindeer

tañ-kamaanvë'ti to those provided with good dishes (*tëñ* good; *keme* dish) 92.21

(b) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an act once or habitually.

ÿpa'w-gan (Kor. Kam. *apaw-ya'na*) the one who drinks

gamr'twa-yan (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.

yıl-yan (Kor. Kam. *yıl-ya'na*) what has been given

ro'nkaw-gan (Kor. Kam. *yomkaw-ya'na*) what has been hidden

(d) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

qatvu-ya'n the one who has strength

maĩñı-ya'n that which is big

a'tqend'an (Kor. Kam. *a'ëëen-ya'na*) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form. In Koryak these forms are not of frequent occurrence.

maĩñıya'nvuk at the big one (Koryak the same)

ınpıya'nvıt 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. **-yogčh, -ogčh** RECEPTACLE (Kor. Kam. **-yogčh**); perhaps from
 the verbal stem *yo-* TO PUT INTO, *yo'rkın* (Kor. Kam. *yo'ykın*)
 HE PUTS INTO.
mitqo'očhın (Kor. Kam. *mitqı'yočhın*) blubber-bag (stem *mitq*
 blubber)
tai'očhı-poka'tkırık in bottom of bag 29.3
 Kor. Kam. *kawa'ssočhu* for wallets Kor. 46.2

41. **-ñit** a space of time (Kor. Kam. **-ñit**).
a^εlō'ñét the whole day 21.1 (stem *a^εlo* 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).

qäinə'mič at the distance of a shot
güm'wmič as much as I need
gümüwmi'tkın it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to
 spare)

43. **-kwu, -kw-** 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).

taiñkwut charm-strings (lit. misfortune avertor)

§§ 106-109. DERIVED FROM VERBS

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. **-gırgın.** 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 + gı > ti; *č + gı > či*; *u + gı > wkw*; *u, o + gı > ou*

qalhlō'urgęgıt you are source of sorrow 20.7

palqa'tirgın (from *pəlqät*) old age (Kor. Kam. *palqathe'ñın* or
palqa'thıtñın [from *palqat*])

- pêrê'irgin* the place which he had taken 23.9
tê'lhrgin or *tê'čirgin* 24.3 (from *têl*) illness, pain, cause of pain
yaivá'čirgin (from *yeivêč*) (Kor. Kam. *yaiva'čhitñin* [from
yai'vač]) compassion, cause or object of compassion
limvitté'irgin object of pity 11.3
wü'rgirgin noise 32.10
vê'irgin death 22.1
vê'irgê-git thou art source of death 22.7
gintá'wkyrgê'git (from *ginteu*) (Kor. Kam. *ginta'whitñege*) thou
art the cause of my flight (i. e., you have frightened me)
tê'čirgi-tê're (from *têl*) ye are the source of my pain (i. e., you
have hurt me) (Kor. Kam. *tê'čhitñe-to'o*)
yé'mgumgi'irgin object of fear 29.8
añá'čirgê-git thou art source of trouble 21.2; 23.11

Koryak:

- vantige'ñin* dawn Kor. 18.1
vetke'gicñin 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.

- ñirkila'tirgin* the feeling of shame
ñirki'čirgin the object of shame
wü'rgirgicñin noise 15.1
am-viyé'irgä only by breathing 24.4

With the stem *tva* TO BE, this suffix expresses the idea of QUALITY.

- Yai'vač-va'irgin* quality, substance of compassion; Merciful
Being
(Kor. Kam. *vage'ñin* or *va'gitñin*) being, mode of life, sub-
stance, deity

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.

- atqê'ngirgin* (from *q'tqiñ*) (Kor. Kam. *a'tqe'ngitñin* [from
a'čciñ or *a'tqiñ*]) badness, spite
čučy'rgin (from *ču'l*) length
inpu'yrgin (from *inp[ü]*) old age

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.

- a'émgrgin* (from *a'ttim* bone) condition of the bones (i. e.,
of the body)
ottr'irgin (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'ñin*) being, substance, custom, benevolent being, deity

yai'vač-va'irgin (Kor. Kam. *yai'vač-vage'ñin*) compassion-being, merciful deity

a'ñgñ-va'irgin (Kor. Kam. *a'ñañ-vage'ñin*) shaman's spirit deity

tam-va'irgin goodness, condition of goodness

taiñi'irgin (Kor. Kam. *taiñige'ñin*) sin

qas'mu'urgin (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

yiki'rgin (Kor. Kam. *čiki'tñin* Kor. 56.8) mouth

Kor. Kam. *pča'ggitñin* (*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

tcuncjck I live

ča'kalej song

tčakacjk I sing

o'jilaj blow

tujiljin I strike him

*noj*¹ food

tnujk I eat

pilhetej hunger

tpilhe'tijk I suffer from hunger

pě'lhétel and } famine
pi'lhripil }

46. **-nŷ**, absolute form **-nŷm** (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

no'nŷm (stem *ny*) food

hě'lnŷm (stem *hıl*) drink

conlnŷm (stem *cunc, cunl*) life

§ 107. Passive Participle

47. **-yŷ** (Kor. **-yŷ**, absolute form **-yŷn**) expresses the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

pęłq'yŷ the one who is left (Kor. Kam. *pęłayon* 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.

ta'i'kiŷ < ta'i'ki-yŷ the one made

ta'i'kiyŷn that to be made

yi'lŷ < yi'l-yŷ the one given

yi'lyŷn that to be given

¹ This word is applied almost exclusively to dried fish as the food *par excellence*.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

ipa'wgo < *ipa'w-yo* that which has been drunk *apa'vyon* that which is to be drunk.

ko'j'o < *kor-yo* that which has been bought *ko'ryon* that to be bought

yito'ot born ones 42.7

oraio'imat born ones 21.2

a'n-nêno li'nyo made to be the object of anger 42.3

tmyo' one killed 43.8

ripalqa'wgo one drowned 49.9

NOTE.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix *em-* MERE, ENTIRE, and the suffix *-ln*, express the passive participle, the same as *-yo*.

em-re'tiln (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*).

têwê'nañ (stem *têu*) (Kor. Kam. *têwê'nañ* [stem *têw*]) paddle, oar 73.11

qeli'neñ (stem *qeli* to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam. *qaliči'neñ* [stem *qaličit*]): pen

te'kineñ (*K. K. inataik'i'nañ*) instrument (for work)

wañê'nañ instrument for work

lê-ê-têwênañ'a'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4

(Kor. Kam. *tomñend'nu* as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix *in-* (Kor. Kam. *ina-*)

See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

êná'nvênañ (stem *nv* [initial *ruu*]; *tinvi'rkln* I scrape); (Kor. Kam. *êná'nvênañ* [stem *nv*; *tinve'kln* I scrape]) scraper

49. *-ičh* instrument (Kor. Kam. *-itñ*).

gitté'wichln (stem *gittêu* to wipe, *-ln* absolute form); (Kor. Kam. *gitta'witñln* [stem *gittaw*]) wiping-cloth

uneči'čhln thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from *unel* thong seal)

mêmičê'čhln thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from *memil* seal)

Kor. Kam. *yinootñe'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
- wakətvá'n* (stems *wakə* and *tva*); (Kor. Kam. *vagalitva'na* [stems *vaga'li* and *tva*]) place of sitting
- notagčēnvē'pu* while walking in the wilderness 29.4
- ralqá'ñinvuk* on the house-site 31.6
- ralēya'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
- oočv'nvipü* (better *oočvi'nvipü*) from the playground 74.17
- oočvi'nvik* on the playground 74.18
- oočvrvē'ti* to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—*u*.

étinvá'tinvə trye'tyä^εk I came to get the position of house-master R 287, footnote 1.

yaqqai' ūm yagta'linvə trye'tyä^εk did I come for the sake of living? R 239, footnote 2.

rraqa'unvə for what purpose? 19.1

Koryak:

kmeña'tinvu nılai'-güm I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6

kıpl'o'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**).
- pēñru'lhırkit* (stem *pēñri* to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam. *penn'ı'vılñııkit* [stem *penn'*], dual) they close for wrestling
- lu^εulhırkit* (stem *lu^ε* to see) (Kor. Kam. *lu^ε'vılñııkit* [stem *lu^ε*]) they see each other, they meet
- gale^εolhıočına'-mə'rê* we have seen each other 121.15
52. **-s'qıu** expresses AN ACTION PERFORMED ONCE ONLY (Kor. Kam. **-s'qıw**).
- yętis'qı'urkın* (Kor. Kam. *yatis'qı'wikın*) he comes once
- tymis'qé'urkın* (Kor. Kam. *tymis'qé'wėkın*) he kills once

taikaus'qio'lvu for a place to wrestle once 47.4
qäniggeus'qivkutki make them wake up all at once 56.3
qanto's'qêulên rushed out 57.11

Koryak:

minčičatis'qivnau I'll look at them once Kor. 33.10
quvr^εyas'qi'wgi go and die! Kor. 35.1
gawyis'qi'wa eat! Kor. 36.1
mintu'las'qewlan let us steal it! Kor. 39.1
myalitčus'qi'wak I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1

Also in the form—*lqiu*

gatomñalqi'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 **-čat**).

ñitq̄la'tirkın (Kor. Kam. *ñitq̄-la'tekın*) he goes out often
tymila'tirkın (Kor. Kam. *tymila'tekın*) he kills many
nınletele'tqin it flashed out always 32.8
qulile'tyi^ε gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8
niqulile'tqin they are noisy 60.9
nitê'rgilatqên he cries aloud 38.3
nitepleññile'tqin she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek-* boots; *te*—*ñ* to make [§ 113, 2, p. 821])

Koryak:

gañvo'len čilala'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
yiykula'ti you were soft Kor. 26.7
qałalanñivo'ykın she passed by often Kor. 84.19
nıqulıla'tqin he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17

54. **-yw(u)**, **-yv(u)** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-yvi**),

tala'iwurkın (Kor. Kam. *tała'ivekın*) he strikes many times
nınemilkr'ywunin let it bite him! 104.29
 Kor. Kam *qaitoi'vilenau* she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. **-t** (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.

|| *ti'ntil^εtijn* I bring it always (*t-* I; *intil^ε* to bring; *-t* always;
 || *-i* auxiliary vowel; *-jin* I it)

56. **-čēt** weakens the intensity of the action, A LITTLE, RARELY.

ñitq̄ča'tirkın or *ñitoča'arkın* he goes out rarely
ten'ñeučē'tirkın or *ten'ñeučē'erkin* he laughs on the sly
marauča'arkın he fights rarely
pênřiča'arkın he wrestles rarely
mınpo'ntočêta let us eat liver! 43.7
maraučêtimo'čē^ε he began to chide 56.1

57. **-čir** 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. *qulumtičitalat* they carry something large on their shoulders (*qulu* large; *imti* to carry) Kor. 57.9

58. **-ntet** indicates INCREASED ACTION, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. **-ntat**).

čuwir'kin (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'or'kin (Kor. Kam. *čhō'č-kin*) he tears out hair
rgontā'arkin (Kor. Kam. *čhōnta'tekin*) he becomes bald
irgīro'k at dawn 10.4
girgironta'Lēn dawn came 10.9
qu'pqālin lean 80.5
gequppqānte'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
qutis'qičē'tirkin he jumps up
nitō'rkīn he goes out
nitōs'qēčā'tirkin he rushes out
qantō's'qāčāzēn he rushed out 57.11¹
gāpē'nri's'qičāzēn he rushed on 44.4
getiñus'qičē'Lin he gave a sudden tug 48.4
gereli'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 **-qāi** (§ 98,4).

ma'ñēn-netaj'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'wkurgēum rē'tkēwiim I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here
vālo'mkautē'rē, equ'likä they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise

¹ Evidently better, *qantō's'qičāzēn*.

63. **-ññg, -ño** expresses the INCHOATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-ñvo**; Kamchadal **-køjy, -køj, -kju, -ju**). Since these elements occur independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The independent stem in initial position is *ñoo*, 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.

yilqaññg'orkin (Kor. Kam. *yilqannvo'ikin*, Kamchadal *ñükci-kju'jk*) he goes to sleep

tipaiña'ññgê he begins to sing 59.9

nimñê'ññgê he begins to take part in the thanksgiving ceremonial 59.3

gaplitko'ññg'lênat they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:

gewñvo'lenau they began to say Kor. 22.7

ga'a'nñvota haul them away! Kor. 51.6

gepiñvo'ai'ke they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. **-õl, -õ** (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs **-al, -a**, expresses the desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.

tñükciõlk } (stem *ñükci*) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep

tñükciõjk }

tce'ajjk (stem *tce'j*; I leave *tce'jijk*) I wish to leave

65. **-vatg** (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of an action.

tülčkvatgjin (stem *ülčk*) I am going to have a look at him

tnõ'vatgjk (stem *nõ* to eat) I am going to eat

66. **-čhat** expresses ANGER OF THE SPEAKER. (Kor. Kam. **-čñat**)

gamitvačha'tirkın or *gamitvačha'arkın* confound him! he eats

pintirqačha'tya'n the bad one appeared 27.3

garagqêčha'Lên what has the bad one done 31.9

vêčha'tyê the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5

tımı'čhannên he killed the bad one 44.5

am-ravêčha'n'ña naličha'tyê you bad one want to die 65.23

Kor. Kam. *ñitočña'tekın* he lumbers forth

67. **-tky**. This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. **-tčy**).

pêla'tkolıt 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'kı gıt pêla'tkørkın you leave me

The suffix *-tku* (Kor. Kam. *-tĕu*) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

vil'i'urkin (Kor. Kam. *vil'i'vikin* he makes peace with) he buys

vil'i'tkurkin (Kor. Kam. *vil'itĕu'ikin*) he trades

geilitko'i'vulin u'kkäm they distributed vessels 14.1

timitko'i'vuk slaughtering 49.3

timi'tkonĕnat he killed all 61.4; 112.3

minranmütko'ñinat let us slay them all 101.19

ve'tkoĕa'a't they all died 112.2

tim'tkorĕkin (Kor. Kam. *tim'tĕo'ikin*) he kills many

Koryak:

gaĕvi'tĕulinau they are all cut entirely Kor. 47.7

gaplitĕu'linau they finished it Kor. 50.1

lelapitĕoñvo'ykin he looks up Kor. 42.8

gaĕlapitĕoñvo'len she looked around Kor. 44.9

yenotĕoñvo'ykin he is eating Kor. 13.6

gaqanñitĕoñvo'len she was jealous Kor. 96.1

Paren *qigitetkin'gin* look at it! Kor. 101.11

tigilñu-ĕu'ĕu-ñaw-i-üm snow-shoe-strings-veryly-eating-woman
am I (*tigilñin* snowshoe-string; *-u* to consume *-ĕu'ĕu* [*< 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:

pĕla'tkĕĕ thou leavest a number (meaning US)

pĕla'tkĕtik ye leave a number (meaning ME or US)

The element *inĕ-* 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**).
uĕmitv'i'rkĕin (stem *uĕm*) (Kor. Kam. *umitv'i'kin* [stem *um*]) he becomes broad.

qitvĕ'i'rkĕin (stem *qit*) (Kor. Kam. *qitvĕ'i'kin*) he becomes thin

eñ'e'ñetvriĕ he acquired shamanistic power 19.12; 18.4

eñ'e'ñitvri-turi you acquired shamanistic power 18.3

nümqitv'i'qin it diminished 20.2, 4

nüpluĕtv'i'qin it becomes small 20.3

wulqätv'i'vĕ it grew dark 54.9

Kor. Kam. *qamaĕitva'thitik* cause it to become better Kor. 13.2

Kor. Kam. *viĕya'tvik* to fainting Kor. 64.9

69. **-ĕĕt** with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. **-ĕat**).

mitteñiĕe'erĕkin we feel good 69.8

teñiĕe'trĕkin (*teñ* good) (Kor. Kam. *tañiĕa'tiĕkin*) he feels good

tañiĕe'tingĕĕĕ he began to feel well 33.5

qmiĕe'trĕkin (Kor. Kam. *qmiĕa'tekĕin*) he feels warm

70. *-eu*, *-et*, are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

ei̇me'u to approach
ei̇ñeu to call
ureu to appear 53.6

ei̇met to take
ei̇ñet to roar
ureut

omȧu to get warm
ulvėu to remain motionless
 37.2

gi̇t̄teu hungry
gi̇ttekau guide
gi̇nteu to flee

yiḡrėu thirsty
wêth̄au to talk
puul̄q̄eu to float
pi̇kėu to hit
mar̄au to quarrel
metėu to be unable
tēikėu to wrestle
teñ·ñeu to laugh
tum̄gėu to become friendly
numėkėu to gather
notas·q̄au land approaches
l̄imala'u to obey
lvau unable
lq̄äineu to shoot
kryeu to be awake
kimeu to cause delay
korḡau to be glad
ȳl̄h̄au fear
ter̄keu to be a certain number on a series

l̄puuret to exchange
ewkwet to depart
eret to fall
ergewet to be submerged 17.4
ȳret full
yopat to visit
ywulet alive
wêttat to tear with antlers
ventet to be open
vin̄ret to help
pelq̄ântet to return
pêkagtat to fall down
peñet tired
tautaruat to bark
têrgat to cry
tulet to steal
çipet to plunge

Possibly related to the preceding is *nI—eu* (Kor. Kam. *-au*) adverbial suffix. The Koryak form is not used very frequently (see p. 842).

nime'leu qatvq'ê̄ be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer
nite'leu tirkipli'ān I struck him painfully (*têl* to suffer, to have pain)
niḡlau qatva'rkin be sorrowful! (*q̄lo* SORROWFUL, here contracted with *au*; *tva* to be)
nime'leu well (*m̄l* good); (Kor. Kam. *nima'leu* [*mal* good])
ni't̄eu heavily (*it̄e* heavy); (Kor. Kam. *ni't̄eau*)

Some adverbs are formed in an irregular manner.

<i>a'tq̄euma</i> (from <i>e'tqiñ</i> bad; stem <i>äq̄ä'</i> R)	} badly
62.72)	
Kor. Kam. <i>a't̄er̄nau</i> (from <i>a't̄er̄ñ</i> bad; stem <i>aqa</i>)	
Kamchadal <i>hä'q̄ǟ</i> (from <i>e'č'kelax</i> bad)	

me'čen'ki (Chukchee *meč* < *mel* good; *en'ki* thus) well
i'na^ε (Koryak *ni'naqin* quick) quickly

71. **-ru** forms the INCHOATIVE of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. **-yu**).

ilē'erkın it is raining

iliru'rkın it is beginning to rain

yogə'arkın (Kor. Kam. *yoyoa'tekin*) the wind is blowing

yogro'rkın (Kor. Kam. *yoyo-yo'ekın*) the wind begins to blow

lä^εlenru'ie winter came 14.9

aivē'čirok in the evening 26.3

irgıro'ñnok (stem *irg* 27.13) at the beginning of dawn 26.9

la^εla^ε'nroma at the beginning of cold 33.6

gıtharo'k in the beginning of the autumn 33.6

irgıro'ka not dawning 56.9

iliru'ie it begins to rain 116.8

ga^εlıgıtrygıro'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

nıtērgıro'qēn he began to cry 55.3

Koryak:

gawyalıyo'lēn a snowstorm set in Kor. 15.1

laqlañyo'ykın winter came Kor. 72.5

pıñ'a'tıkın it is snowing

peñayo'ėkın it is beginning to snow

72. **-ru** is used also to express GREAT NUMBER. This suffix is different from the preceding.

qärru'ü^εt they came in great numbers 67.16

waqero'a^εt they were sitting in great numbers 68.29

Kor. Kam. *gawya'lyo'lēn* a strong snowstorm came Kor. 15.1

laqlañyo'ykın winter came strongly Kor. 72.5 (see above).

§ 111. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

73. **-ñıta** TO FETCH (Kor. Kam. the same).

rañ-ñıta'rkın what are you going to fetch? why do you come?

añañalınta'lıt shaman fetchers 45.7

Koryak:

yax-ñıta'ykın what are you going to fetch?

74. **-tuwe, -tv** TO TAKE OFF (clothing) (Kor. Kam. **-tiva**).

kê'ttuwa'â^ε he took off his clothes 109.15

kê'ttuwa'nnên he undressed her 50.11

nîêvituvê'qîn he took off his outer coat 57.3

wutî'êhitvûê he took off his overcoat 35.5

mêrêgtuwa'ê he brushed away the tears 49.9

nîncêinqetuwe'qîn (*n-ine-êiñke-tuwe-qîn*, *êiñke* saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

Koryak:

nîmeyeyitva'qen he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10

qatamtrva'len he spit out bones Kor. 56.8

pçai-trvai' he took off his boots

75. **-îp_o (-êp_o, -gûp_o)** TO PUT ON CLOTHING; **-îp_o** after vowels; **êp_o** after consonants; **-gûp_o** after diphthongs ending in **i** and in a few other cases (compare the ablative **-îp_ü** § 42, p. 704)

tîqalêi'püa^εk < t(r) -qêlî -îp_o -(ü) -â^εk I put on my cap

têrêpüa^εk < t -îr -êp_o -(ü) -â^εk I put on my fur-shirt

tikonai'gûpğa^εk < t(r) -kçnai-gûp_o-gâ^εk I put on my breeches

kêrêgûpğê^ε < kçr-gûp_o-gî^ε she put on her dress 52.9

76. **-gîlî-** TO SEARCH FOR (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).

kulte'-ilî'rkit they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide

qînnî'g-gîlî'lîqâgtî little game-procurers 44.8

pîlîqîlî'lit food-procurers 44.9

qînnî'g-gîlî'lit game-procurers 44.9

77. **-u** TO CONSUME, TO EAT (Kor. Kam. **-u**) (perhaps related to the verb *nu* [initial *ru*], Kor. Kam. *yu* [initial *nu*]).¹

ennurkin (Kor. Kam. *ennu'ikin*) he eats fish

pontô'rkîn (Kor. Kam. *pontô'ikin*) he eats liver

kîmbu'â^εt they ate marrow 33.12

mînpô'ntoçêta let us eat a little liver 43.7

nîpô'ntoçên he ate liver 43.9

qaponto'tik eat liver! 64.21

also

gamêmezê'lên he caught a seal 43.2

Koryak:

mîta^εtayî'pnûla we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9

tîya'yîlku I'll eat pudding Kor. 30.2

also

tîqa'payuk I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1

¹ *ru'rkîn* (Kor. Kam. *yu'ykîn*) he eats it.

§ 112. *Adjective and Adverb*

ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. *-lāx* (sometimes *-lax*)

ō'mlāx deep (cf. Ch. *um* broad)

iū'lāx long (cf. Ch. *iul* long)

o'lolax small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix *-(i)^εn*.

o'lolaxi^εn ki'sti^εnč small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.

qai-yaraqa'gtê (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 xvalč a sharp knife (*niru'qin* is Koryak)

n'mi'tqin k'ča'mjanl' a wary man (*n'mi'tqin* is Koryak)

nve'thagen w^εh a straight tree (*nve'thagen* is Koryak)

nve'thalā^εn w^ε h^εn straight trees (*nve'thalā^εn* is a Koryak form)

vo'stroi xvalč 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'tajin 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'qi qātei'kriqn (Kor. Kam. *qo'loñ qatai'kriqn*) make it round

em elvula'q re'mkri ralai'vūñnoē only in a different manner people shall begin to walk about 86.14

80. *-yut* DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS (K. K. *-yut* dual, *-yuwgi* 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 qanpıtvaark'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. *-čē, -čä* NUMERAL ADVERBS (Kor. Kam. *-ča*).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
<i>qun'e'čä</i> ¹	<i>enna'nča, qu'n'ač</i> ¹	Kor. once
	53.2	
<i>ñire'čä</i>	<i>ñiye'ča</i>	twice
<i>ñIro'ča</i>	<i>ñIyo'ča</i>	three times
<i>ñIra'ča</i> 12.8	<i>ñaya'ča</i>	four times
<i>mILI'nča</i>	<i>mIL'e'nča</i>	five times
<i>mingi'tča</i>	<i>mingi'tča</i>	ten times

Kor. Kam. *exune'če* 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 *ič'tala^εn* (*ič + la^εn*.²) (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*.

qā'tvum-vā'lin (Kor. Kam. *qā'tvuñ-ič'tala^εn*) being strong
tā'ñum-vā'lin or *tā'ñu-wā'lin* (Kor. Kam. *ta'ñiñ-ič'tala^εn*) being good

¹ Derived from *qyn* single.

² The corresponding Chukchee form *i'tilin* THE ONE WHO IS is not used in compounds of this type.

A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in *-lın* (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in *-(i)n̄* compounded with *vǫlın*.

wi'čhrm-vǫ'lın (Kor. Kam. *wi'čhryrñ-i'tala^εn*) the flat one
č'npum-vǫ'lın the one downcast

Kor. Kam. *qo'loñ-itala^εn* the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending *-q* or *-aq* (see this section, No. 79). The compounds with *vǫ'lın*, when referred to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used frequently in this connection.

qǫ'mǫ-qǫ'ulık qǫ'tvum-vǫ'lǫm I am stronger than everybody
 (*qǫ'mǫ-* every; *qǫ'ul* man; *-k* possessive; *qǫtv* strong; *-ǫ-*
um I [§ 73, p. 758])

§ 113. Prefixes

1. *čto-* A LITTLE.

čto'-qai'a'qañ a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (*čto'* 51.4)
mač-čto'pěl a little better 135.7

2. *č'mkIn-* EVERY.

č'mkIn-aiwččh'č'ti every evening 28.9
č'mkIn-kryeu'ki at every awaking 29.2

3. *tılv-* QUITE.

tılv-am-gında'n quite you only 30.4
tılv-a'mınan quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9
tılv-ı'ñä quite nothing 56.4; 60.1

4. *tıñki-*—JUST is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory meaning.

tınk-am-gǫmna'n just I only
tınk-ı'ñä just nothing
tınk-ı'ñä rānut he has nothing at all R 63.88
tınk-a'tqēuma quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

5. *pıč-* only, merely.

6. *Im-* (Kor. Kam. *ImIñ-*, Kamchadal *mİni'l*) ALL.

i'me-vä'nut all kinds 111.28
i'mu-gınni'kü all kinds of game 128.9

Koryak

ımr-pǫ'a'ku all boots
i'miñ noo'wge all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6
i'miñ qai-va'i'anti all little rivers Kor. 17.1

The form *ımılo'* 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with noun and without; *ımı'lın* takes the same kinds of forms as nouns in *-lın* (see p. 717).

The Kamchadal form *mīni'l* forms—

|| Allative *mīnela'nke*

|| Allative, possessive, instrumental *mīni'link*, less often *mī'l*.

7. **em-** MERE (Kor. Kam. **am-**, Kamchadal **em-**). The prefix is always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

em-ñe'us'qätti (Kor. Kam. *a^em-ñä'wis'qatu*, Kamchadal *em-ñi'm cær^en*) mere women

em-a^ettrm mere bones 35.5

em-mu'Litü all with blood 40.10

em-ñe'nñi all these 41.10

em-nu'ñiñit those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26

čiq-em-nu'ñqi far inland 114.25

em qinu'n-niki'tä midnight 9.11

am-nōñg'ti just inland 67.19; 114.24

am-qina'n only thou 30.3

am-taar'o'ña with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9

am-ravē^ečha'n'ña merely to die 65.23

**am-ya'ata* only by using it 143.3

Koryak:

| *am-čerepro'nau* entirely silver Kor. 22.10

| *am-mä'kil-ñe'eta* only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5

| *am-mä'na* just in different directions Kor. 25.6

8. **pli-** (with nouns) EVERY.

qaplikoi'ñilën every one has a tea-cup

ñiplitañte'nmüqên they were applying everything 41.3

9. **mē^e-**, **miq-** SMALL.

10. **mēč-** SOMEWHAT.

met'-ki'it somehow 40.7

mēč-telenye'pkin somewhat of old 61.5

māč-ya'a far enough 62.12

māč-ēwga'n as an incantation 39.13

mēč-ä^e'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

11. **mēl-** LIKE (Kor. Kam. **maļ-**).

mēl-wwä^e'quč it seems like a husband 49.9

12. **mīte-** ACTUALLY.

mīte'-vilin actually dead

mīte'-qinni'k actually game 84.28

13. **tīmñe'-** ANY (Kor. **paļa'**).

tīmñe'-mēñin whosoever

tīmñe'-rā^e'nut whatsoever

tümñ-alva'lag wheresoever 24.11

tü'mñê-mé'mlikên qinní'k any kind of water game 25.6

tümñ-añqa'gti somewhere to seaward 13.1

14. **ter-** HOW MANY (Kor. Kam. *ta^εy-*).

tar-qa'ata ewkwé'tyi^ε with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. **čiq-** EXCESSIVELY.

cêqī-yq'q too far

čêq-a'lvam-va'lag how very strange! 76.5; 63.4

čiq-em-nu'ñqi far inland 114.25

čêq-a'lvam va'lin being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27

čiq-etuwä'k all at once 43.10

16. **čhî-** HARDLY, always used with the negative (probably from *qičhî*, as in *nigri'čhîqin* RARE).

ačhêqamitvqka almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. **li-** (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) EVERY.

li-mê'nki everywhere

li-mê'ñko from everywhere

18. **liî-, lihî-, lii-, lih-** TRULY (Kor. Kam. *!igî-, !hî-*).

li'î-teñ-evi'rälin really well closed 33.3

li'ê-taničê'tinoê^ε she began to feel truly well 33.5

nilhinü'mkäqin really quite numerous 111.16

lê'ê-têwênaña'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4

li'ê-ñarau'tilê really wife seeking 57.1

li'i-i'ppe quite truly 57.2

Kor. Kam. *nilhêni'ktaqen* a very hard one

19. **pil-** (Kamchadal) quickly.

|| *xpil-nu'xê* you eat quickly

20. **xî-** (Kamchadal) quite, very.

|| *x'ê-plôx* very large

|| *x'î-čini'ñläx* very pretty, very good

21. **lihî-, liî** (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

|| *t-li-tpr'lijk* I really shake myself (i. e., I can shake myself properly)

22. **kî-** (after prefixes *-gtî-*) VERY (Kor. Kam. *kî-* [after prefixes *-ktî-*]).

nigtīlāulāu'qên he mocked much 143.1; 144.4

gagtan'ñinaï'pülên she was very angry 89.3

gagti-palka'la^εn very decrepit 111.26

qagtiqami'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'Enqên or *niqti-nimai'Enqên* 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'ênkrna with nine (i. e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. **gemge-** EVERY (Kor. Kam. **ga'mga-**).

ge'mge-qinni'k every kind of game 41.11

ge'mge-ni'kin everybody 66.28

ga'mga-ni'mgÿpÿ from every settlement 36.1

ge'mge-nute'qin from every land 11.5

Koryak:

ga'mga-qai-ña'wis'qat every little woman Kor. 34.9

ga'mga-olgrwe'tiñ to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. **paġa-** (Koryak) ANY (Chukchee **timñ'e-** (see No. 13, p. 816)).

paġa'-ma'ki whosoever

paġa'-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'rä not crossing 41.5

luñ-iwkué'tä not drinking 37.3

luñ-res'qi'wä'tyät they did not want to enter 115.19

luñ-lu^étä not seen 11.9

tégge'ñu luñ-i'lhilm has no desire 93.32

luñ-éi'vä without walking

loñ-éna'tvata without promises 101.23

loñ-ġpa'ulin 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^étä tr'ntġrit I had thee an unseen one (i. e., I did not see thee)

27. **egn-** sometimes replaces the negative particles *wi'ñä*, *e'Le*, and *en'ñe'*.

agn-aqami'tvġka do not eat!

agn-a'nmüka 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.

tinenlet'er'kin 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. *ialk-* (Kamchadal) HOW MANY, SOME; used independently in the plural.

|| *la'li^εn kcxo^εn* how many dogs?

|| *lalⁱεn klxol olata'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>iü, eu, au</i>)	<i>y(i)</i> — <i>at</i>

After verbal prefixes, the *r(i)*, *y(i)*, changes to *n(i)*.¹

ri-qamitva'-u-r'kin-en he was made to eat 9.8 (from *qamitva*)

ri-tel-e'u-r'kin you cause to be unwell (from *tel*)

ri-nêlkiwe'-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'keukı (we) induced her to marry 26.5

gantø'mgarulên has been created 42.1

anintoñä'tkelên she does not make it go out 54.6

qanintoñä'tyê^ε cause him to go out! 54.7

¹See also p. 735.

Koryak:

- y-awy-a't-ikın* you cause to eat (from *awyı*)
yı-tal'-a'w-ikın you cause to be unwell (from *tal*; *ta^εl'-ı'-ikın*
 you are unwell)
yıyırıçha'wik tickling (him) Kor. 18.9
qınathıleu' make it warm! Kor. 29.3
qanva'kyıntat tear him up Kor. 30.7
tenaniky'o'nñıvoı it begins to awaken us Kor. 39.4
ganıpqa'wlenau he made them climb up Kor. 43.4
ganvaqyıl'a'wlen she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20

(b) With transitive verbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
<i>r(ı) — ñęt</i>	<i>y(ı) — w, v</i>
<i>rı-kêto-ñ'a't-ı-rkın</i> you re- mind him (from <i>kêto</i> to remember)	<i>yı-keto-v-ı'kın</i> you remind him (from <i>keto</i>)

(c) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix *r(ı)*-Kor.Kam. *y* [ı-]

- r-er'éerkın* you cause it to fall down (from *er'ée*)
rd'tvunên she carried it in 28.7
reımeu'ninet it approached them 41.4
rintıninet she threw them out 87.30
 Kor. Kam. *yı-kıma'w-ikın* you detain him (from *kıma* to be

(d) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (a) become transitive.

- ru-wêthaw-a't-ı-rkın* you speak to him (from *wêthau* to speak)
ru-wêt-hawáu'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-ı-n-k'ıle-j-ın I surround him (from *kıle*; *t-k'ıle-jk* I turn around)
t-lı'-nu-j-ın I feed him (from *nu* to eat; *t-nu-jk* I eat)
t-lın-hı'l-ı-j-ın I give him to drink (from *hıl*; *t-hı'l-ı-jk* I drink)
t-o-n-cl-ı-j-ın 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:

<i>tüpa'urkın</i> I drink	<i>ñı'räq ča'gtê nap'a'unea</i> they have drunk two pieces of bark tea
<i>ñe'us.gät gi'ulin</i> the woman said 98.7	<i>Ta'n'na gi'ulin</i> the <i>Tan'ñıt</i> told him 98.5

2. **te**—**ñ(I)** TO MAKE SOMETHING (Kor. Kam. **ta**—**ñ[I]**). This may be related to the verb **teiki** (Kor. Kam. *taiki*) TO MAKE.

tirvu'ñirkin he makes sharp things, i. e., arms (stem *ivv*);

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.

inenye'ñirkin (Kor. Kam. *tinanya'nñikin*) you make him come

tēnantomgi'ñirkin you cause it to create itself, and from this the noun *Tēnanto'mgrñ*¹ (Kor. Kam. *Tēnanto'mvriñ*) one who causes things to create themselves (i. e., Creator)

tēnanyi'lñ-ora'wēlan a person who causes one to give (i. e. beggar)

3. **re**—**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. *ipau*, Kor. Kam. *apaw*)

rerku'rñirkin (stem *rkur*) (Kor. Kam. *yaiku'yñikin* [stem *ikuy*]) he desires to buy

rānto'ñiñgi he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem *nto* to come out; -*ñño* to begin)

rāv^εēhg'n'ñā do you want to die? 67.1 (stem *vi^ε* to die; -*ēhgt* [§ 110.66])

nire'vi^εñqin he wants to die 99.27

nerelw^εñirkin-i-git they want to see thee 19.6

Koryak:

triyayl'lgatñ I want to sleep Kor. 30.3

triyayai'trñ I want to go home Kor. 30.5

qanka'wlinau ya's'qanñik they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2

4. **e**—**ki**, **e**—**kä** (Kor. Kam. **a**—**ki**, **a**—**ka**; Kor. Par., **e**—**ki**, **a**—**ke**; Kamchadal —**ki** —**k**, —(**ñ**)**kñ**, **ñkan**) NEGATION, expressing WITHOUT —.

¹This 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 ϵ - k_i are nominal. They are formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

anvênauka'gti gawku'lin he tied her to an unbroken (reindeer)
50.12 (*nvineu* to break a reindeer; $-gti$ allative [§ 40]; ge -
lin [§ 74]; *wkut* to tie)

elile'ki eyeless

aa'lakê a person without knife

enr'nniki nameless one (=fourth finger)

Koryak:

| *a'xgike kuma'ti* the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8

The compounds formed with ϵ - $k_ä$ are used as complements of the verb.

eqv'likä qäne'lhutik make yourselves voiceless 60.10

i'mlikä titva'a'k I was without water

akê'rika né'lyi' it became lightless 94.11

ênî'ngäikä neré'tëimäk we shall be made childless 39.4

res'qi'wkwî' a'kêrka he entered without clothing 35.10

a'kêrka ñan ra'gtîê' he came home without clothing 35.10

giwg'nka mitiné'l we came to be without an Aiwan 47.12

aqamr'tvaka titva'ak not eating I was

awgêtkinka not saying anything 26.6

e'le e'lqätä not going 46.8

aurrikê'gti not appearing 66.10

aa'lomka heedless 67.9

e'le eu'rretkä not appearing 62.1

akêrkitvî'e'at they took off clothes (they became without cloth-
ing) 47.5

e'gripqi' awgêntoya'nvuka she felt pain the breathless one 63.8
(*e'grip* to feel pain; $-gi'$ [§ 64]; *wgi-* breath; *ñito* to go out;
 $-yanv$ verbal noun [§10+38])

eqäññé'tkä gené'lin he had become without moaning (i.e., he
had ceased moaning) 34.7

et'lkä niné'lqin he came to be without suffering 25.11

Koryak:

| *akmî'ñika gi'linat* childless they were Kor. 43.8

| *aqalhai'aka qitr'ykin-i'-gi* not crying be! Kor. 37.1

| *aklé'woka trna'lik* without bread I remained Kor. 16.2

| *ava'leika yana'la'ntik* you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13

| *gümna'n uî'ña yî'nnä eî'lika tr'ntigã'n* (Chukchee *gümna'n*
e'le rä'e'nut e'ilkä tr'ntiã'n) I not anything (not) given I had to
him

In some cases, particularly with *uî'ñä* NOTHING, THERE IS NOTHING, the forms in $-ka$ appear apparently predicative, presumably with

omission of a predicate of existence. More frequently the forms in *-kälín* are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

u'ñä aá'raka nothing, houseless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a house) 31.7

u'ñä eleu'tiká nothing, headless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a head) 47.8

u'ñä epí'ñkä (Kor. Par. *e'le epí'ñke*) there is no powder

Koryak:

u'ña aña'wtrñka he had no wife Kor. 50.5

u'ña a'nvilka he did not stop Kor. 51.8

u'ña ava'leika? is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12

u'ña kama'kanu ana'ka (I) did not become a kamak Kor. 88.10

u'ña ane'lhyrypnuka (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding *g—kä* to the stem, have a passive meaning; with the prefix *ine-* placed immediately preceding the stem, they have active meaning.

Passive:

anintoña'tka ri'trñkn you make him one who is not caused to go out (i. e., you do not make him go out) 54.10

evęgr'tkukä tēu'lanēn he shook what was not dug out with the nails 47.2

enñ'u'kä mi'ni'ntinet 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'gti va'le-üm I am not seen 22.10

elvu'kä not seen ones 62.1

e'le a'lomka it was not heard 60.10

Koryak:

| *u'ña i'wka ga'nti!en* he was not told so Kor. 62.3

Active:

ēna'nmūka rine'nti'ē thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9

inenventē'tkäl-i-git thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27

inenu'kālī-muri we are those who do not consume it 35.1

gūmna'n ēnalwau'kēl-ē-üm I am not unable to do it 92.30

inču'kālīnet he has not seen them 70.33

inegitē'kālīn, 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' e'le'pkä do not look 32.6

en'ñe' inegitē'kä do not look at her 37.9

en'ñē' ai'pūka do not put it on 37.8

en·ñe' ad'qeka do not sit down 37.13

en·ñe' d'tvitkoka 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 qanti'giki do not pass it at a distance 70.9

en·ñe' gi'innu e'lhikä do not attock it 70.14

en·ñe' ênd'nmäka 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' atawal'ñila'ka* do not look back! Kor. 51.6

| *kitt-a'wyika q'i'thi^ε* do not eat!

Kamchadal:

|| *jak-nu'kek* (*ksixε*) 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:

| *annuwai'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'gam ðm e'un aqora'nrêtkä Ai'wan then, however, the Aiwan, careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6

gora'ñi envineukä yilhe'nnin he attached an unbroken reindeer 50.11

Derived from the negative suffix *-kä* are *-këlin*, *-kälîn* (Kor. Kam. *-kälä^εn*), formed with the suffix *-lîn* (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This form, in accordance with the character of *-lîn*, is more markedly predicative.

iml'i'këlin he is waterless

Koryak Kamenskoye:

| *wotta'kin ake'ykiä^εn* that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14

Kamchadal:

|| *ilëilkin* 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'kël-ê-git you do not go out 54.10

qä'lomkël-ê-git you do not hear 54.11

- alimq'lkĕl-ê-grt* you do not obey 54.11
é'le éna'nmiĕu i'tkäl-î-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-grt thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27
gümna'n énalwau'kĕl-ê-üm I am not unable 92.30
eiwule'tkĕli-mu'ri we do not know it 34.8
inenu'kăli-muri we do not eat 35.1
é'le aqami'tvakäl-ê-üm I did not eat

Koryak Kamenskoye:

- ui'na awyikal'ai'güm* I did not eat, but *ui'na a'wyika t'i'tik* not eating I was
ui'na api'nikălaigüm I am without powder

Kamchadal:

- gam nu'kek tsik* not eating I was
gam nuke'nkin (kr'mma) I did not eat

Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

- é'le alimqlau'kĕlĕn* he is one who does not heed 15.12
aqłq'ulĕlĕn she was without a man 28.2
amiata'kĕlĕn she was unmarried 28.2
aa'lomkĕlĕn she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2
ĕit evi'kălin re'mkin formerly people were death-less 42.2
enĕ'a'q ūm éla' evi'kălin now the mother was immortal 41.12
é'le antq'kĕlĕn she did not go out 54.9 (without *é'le* 54.5)
va'nĕvan antq'kĕlĕn not at all she went out 54.8
emitĕt-üm ataq'nkĕlĕn tĕrgĭlin since she did not touch the crying one 56.6
va'nĕvan eu'rrekĕlin it does not appear at all 62.2
eres'qiu'kălin éna'n ĕinĕt he himself did not want to enter 103.17
emitkătvu'kĕlin the blubber was not scraped off 47.1
nene'negăi anintoĕna'tkĕlĕn she did not cause the child to go out 54.6
aa'lomkĕlĕnat they did not listen 13.5
eyl'qakĕlinet they were not sleeping 34.3
inelu'kălinet he has not seen them 70.33
inegĕtĕkălin she did not look at me 88.31

A few constructions of *-kălin* with *ui'nă* seem quite analogous to forms in *-kă* with this particle (see p. 823).

- ui'nă aa'lomkĕlĕn* they do not listen 56.2
ui'nă akĕ'rikălĕn there was nothing, without light 40.9

enqa'n u'i n̄ä čit eñe'n̄käl̄in that one was nothing, before not with guardian spirits 60.1

Kor. *u'i n̄ä ama'yin̄käl̄e-i-güm* I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

elile'käl̄läq̄gti little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix *-law* (§112, 78) before the negative changes to *-l̄ix*.

ki'mma qam ulul̄i'xkin I am not small

Kamchadal *x'ě—ki* with intransitive verbs, *x'ě—kie* with transitive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms, which are given predicative forms by means of auxiliary verbs (see p. 779).

x'ěnu'ki impossible to eat

x'ět̄olekie impossible to beat him

x'ě is presumably of the same origin as the particle *x'ěnc*.

§§ 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'č̄i-kal̄e'l̄i-č̄y'mñ̄i (Kor. Kam. *maiñ-a'č̄i-kal̄e'l̄i-č̄y'mñ̄a*) 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'lgā-na'lhīn bird-skin 7.9

ri'rka-ka'la walrus spirit 8.4

pa'nvar-ri'rkat two-year-old walrus 8.10

ri'rka-npīna'ēhīn walrus old man 9.6

āiwhua'-npīna'ēhāqai Eiw hue old man 11.10

ēiwhue'-ora'wēlan Eiw hue person 12.4

ēiwhue'-nē'ut Eiw hue woman 12.5

wō'lqi-vairgē'ti to the Darkness-Being 18.11

ora'wēr-ra'mka by human people 21.8

a'nqa-va'irgin sea-being 25.4

ke'le-nē'wān kele wife 38.11

a'l-qla'ul excrement man 39.9

poiḡ-ō'ttōt (Kor. Kam. *poiḡ-ō'ttōt*) spear wood

pilvr'nti-pna'wkun iron file

ra'ē'-pi'nīl (Kor. Kam. *yaq-pi'nīl* or *yaqa'-pñīl*) 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:

nāwa'kak daughter Kor. 12.4

pilvr'nti-yi'nna'ān with iron antlers Kor. 21.8

yi'lhīru finger-gloves Kor. 22.2

lawti-ki'lēičēnīn head-band Kor. 17.12

vai-ki'ltipilīn little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words *qla'wul* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) MAN, *nēw* (Kor. Kam. *naw*) 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-nēw (Kor. Kam. *tu'li-naw*) stealing-woman (= female thief)

vi'n'vu-nāw (Kor. Kam. *vi'n'vu-naw*) secretly-acting woman
(= female lover)

Kor. Kam. *talā'-qla'wul* striking-man (= blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

pilvr'nti-qla'ul iron-man (= blacksmith)

The stems *qlaul* and *qlik* (Koryak *qlik*) in first position express also MALE.

qla'ul-keiñin (Kor. Kam. *qlik-kai'ñin*) male bear

For most animals the word *čü'mñā* (Kor. Kam. *čü'mñā*) is used to express the male.

čumñā-rī'rki male walrus

Kor. Kam. *čümñā'-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-ke'ñin (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-kai'ñin*) she-bear

ñeww'rit female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtala^{en}* (Kamchadal *mti^lx'*) is a contraction of *oya'mtavila^{en}* 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.¹ The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'wêlan*, which has the same derivation. Compositions with *-mtala^{en}* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

ennü'-mtala^{en} Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

Valvü'-mtala^{en} Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *qlayl*.

E'nni-qla'yul Fish-Man

E'nni-ñew Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in *-mti^lx'* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

eli'he-mti^lx' (Koryak *ilve'-mtala^{en}*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

têpa'-mti^lx' (Koryak *kitepa'-mtala^{en}*) 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^ε-kupre'tä tⁱ'mnên with what kind of a net did he kill it? (*räq* what; *kupre* net; *tⁱm* to kill)

kô'nê-kupre'tä tⁱ'mnên he killed it with a net of horse-hair (*kô'nê* horse [from Russian конь])

(b) The idea PERTAINING TO.

tala'n-ramkê'p^y tuwô'lomga^{en} I heard it from people of past times (*telenyep* long ago; *ramk-* people; *walôm* to hear)

¹ 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'rat* BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (=MANKIND) is used

(c) Parts of a whole.

ya'al-gıtk'a'ta geggil-ge'ptılın he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot (*ya'al* hind; *gıtk'a* foot; *-ggil* heel)

(d) Possession.

gūmū'k e'kke-ñalvūl'ē'pū qūim'i'tym take it from my son's herd (*gūmū'k* my [possessive]; *e'kke* son; *ñalvūl* herd; *-gūpū* 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.

gūm'i'k kme'ñırıŋo ñalvıla'ngo qakm'i'tın 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.

ıul-u'ttū (Kor. Kam. *ıwı'-u'tta*) with a long stick

mıñır-lılē't (Kor. Kam. *maıñır-lılā't*) big eyes

Kamchadal *pıčx-kı'-stenk* in the large house

tañ-qlarul, pl. *tañ-qla'ultē* (Kor. Kam. *mał'qla'wul*, dual *mał-qla'-wulte*) good man

ta'ñ-ūm-vg'lın good one

maıñıu-wa'l a large knife 16.1

pū'gı-lautı'yñın big bare head 27.13

äsqä'-ke'le-ñe'us'qät bad kele woman 37.11

äsqä'-gre'pqäi bad little song 59.5

teg-ñe'us'qät a nice woman 62.13

ñıto'-čū'mñır a shy buck 49.5

korga'-ča'ut a lively man 40.3

lıi-teñ-evi'rälin really good cloths having 33.3

rıg-a'ettın a shaggy dog 72.28

ēlh-u'kwut a flat stone (= anvil) 77.12

yıtko'mk-u'kwun divining-stone 101.3

Koryak:

ε'nnu mał-ñā'wıtkata this is a good woman Kor. 19.1

mał-qla'wul a good man Kor. 19.10

tañ-ı's'yu to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2

ka'lı-ga'nyan ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2

qai-ñā'wis'qat little woman Kor. 25.1

qai-ka'mak little kamak Kor. 35.5

mał-kal-yekoı'gu-wał 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^s'tti-yño-kamaanvé'ti to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10

tot-tai'ka-kamaanvé'ti to newly made dishes 96.18

tər-ıgto'-qaiə'nə 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.

wwi'k plı'tkurkin the body becomes ready

but *twuwi'k-ü-pər'tkurkin* I become body-ready (i. e., I am grown up)

va'lı nıto'rkin (Kor. Kam. *va'la nıto'ykin*) the knife comes out
but *vala-nto'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *vala-nto'ykin*) he is knife-coming-out (i. e., he draws his knife)

nwıgə'ntoqên he is one whose breath goes out 126.9

awgëntoya'nvuka he is without breath going out 63.8

nıqolënto'a^sn 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 *-nıta* TO FETCH, *-tuwe* TO TAKE OFF, *ıp* TO PUT ON *-gılı* 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.

tıqaanma'tırkin (Kor. Kam. *tıqoyanma'tekin*) or } I slaughter rein-
tınmı'rkin qa'at (Kor. Kam. *tınme'kin qoya'wqe*) } deer

qêna-také'çhi-lpi'nrıgê^s me meat give!

gümnı'n e'kık qü-kalé'tel-lpi'nrı-gın my son money-give him!

u'tti-mlé'rkin (Kor. Kam. *u-m!a'ykin*) he breaks a stick

- ri'łhi-čvi'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *yil'łhi-čvi'ykin*) he cuts a finger
kale'čpürkin (Kor. Kam. *pañka-čpe'kin*) he puts on a cap
qaa-nma'arkin (Kor. Kam. *qoya-nma'tekin*) he slaughters reindeer
tikoñintó'rkin I take out glasses
tileu'tip'gtirkin I have a headache
geleu'tilvilin he cut off her head 86.7
nilautipa'tqên she boiled heads 43.12
načipa'tinat they boiled fat 14.7
nênavêripa'tqên he put cloths on him 127.1
minpêčarê'ra let us search for food 119.18
valamna'lin knife-whetter (*vala* knife) 44.4
niqaa'nmatqên he slaughtered reindeer 48.8, 11
niquimeviriu'qin he turned the upper part of his trousers outside
 (*qu'yim* upper part of trousers; *viriu* to turn out) 46.7
geleutirgi'tkutä scratching the head 126.7
nênavêruwanla'qên he asks for clothing 126.10
kê'rgüpgê he put on the dress 52.9
qürê'thüpgê follow the trail! 52.8
tili-lo'k looking for the entrance 131.1
nitilarê'rqên searching for the entrance 131.1
qñavunra'gtatyê take your wife home! 115.8
va'la-ri'nra knife holding 106.13
gina'n inenmuzigrelê't-i-git thou art the cause of blood-vomiting
 93.11
omqa'-pênra'tyê they attacked the bears 115.12

Koryak:

- gayuñyupe'nyilenau* they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3
qagoleya'wage (*gole* voice; *iya'wa* to use) use your voice! Kor. 48.7
qangekiplenda'ñu (to be used) to strike the fire with Kor. 30.7
gavannintalen she lost a tooth (*va'nñilñin* tooth) Kor. 32.8

The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

- ti-maiñi-lau'ti-pi'gtirkin* (Kor. Kam. *ti-mai'ñi-ła'wtri-pi'ktikim*) 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
tiri'łhičvi'git (Kor. Kam. *tiryil'łhičvi'g'i*) 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'lu-ču'ču-ñaw-i-üm* hard-excrement-eating-woman am I Kor.

47.4

| *tigil'ñu-ñaw-iy-üm* snowshoe-strings-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

(c) Verbs with incorporated noun expressing instrumentality.

otti-kpčč'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

ni-ke'g-tegil'ñitku'qinet groping about with the palms 73.26

gamolêtiño'laat they are covered with blood 91.27

Koryak:

| *čil'ñmıl'ula'tikın* 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.

tč'rgı-pli'tkø finished crying 27.11

a'un-rč'ña-tıla'gtı with easy flying motion 16.8

nu-waqø-tva'qênat sitting they were 62.9

qämi-pli'tkuk (Kor. Kam. *a'wyi-plitčuk*) eating finishing (i. e. after the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb

qamı-tva TO EAT.

vr'yi-tiui'wunin breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:

| *ga-mława-nka'w-łen* she ceased to dance Kor. 48.6

| *g-awya'-nkaw-len* he refused to eat Kor. 51.3

| *gen'abixčat-paa-ñvo'-łenat* 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-ınpı'lkuum thou hast well vanquished me 17.7

qa-tan-yoro-tukwa't-yê arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6

tur-qı'tılın newly frozen 13.7

tur-ur'e'tılın newly born 21.6

tør-kalêñno'qênat newly adorned ones 29.1

liê-ñarau'tilø truly wife-seeking 57.1

a^εqa'-rkıla badly pursued 17.6

tur-ewkwé'tyi^ε he departed just now

tı-teñ-yılqä'tyä^εk (Kor. Kam. *tı-mal-yılqa'tık*) I slept well

Koryak:

aqaḷapñivo'ykɪn looks badly Kor. 13.8
ga-aqai'paḷen it fitted badly Kor. 34.9
ga-qayičhiḷanñivo'ḷen it began to be a little light Kor. 18.1
ga-qa'yɪ-čulin he chopped it small Kor. 53.6
tañ-a'wyeñvoi he began to eat well Kor. 20.7
ga-maḷ-ɪnai'vulen he bit well Kor. 41.4
ga-maḷ-hinta'wlen he fled well Kor. 41.7
ga-tuyɪ-kmiñā't-i-güm I have recently given birth Kor. 64.13

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

a'ričhi-tva'rkin (Kor. Kam. *a'yitñi-tva'ykɪn*) 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^εqä^ε-lū'mñi-ñe'usqät (Kor. Kam. *aqā'-lū'mñā-ñā'wisqat*) a bad, lazy woman

čaučuwā'-gai'miči-lau'ličin reindeer-breeder-rich-man R59.4.

tañ-č'čiči-tēñ-poi'gin a good, heavy ice-spear

ti-me'iñi-leu'ti-pigtirkɪn (Kor. Kam. *ti-maiñi-lau'ti-pi'ktikɪn*) I greatly head am aching

gine-č'i'in-m'mlɪ-i'łhi^ε give me warm water!

iču-wgi-ne'likɪn heavily breathing he becomes (i. e. he sighs)

nêl-êp-rilhi'ličin thimble-put-on-finger, the second finger

t-wwä^ε'quči-lqār-re'thit 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-yu'nyučw (Chukchee *ke'li'li-re^εw*) 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 *ñee'kik*, Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kak* woman-child)

In Kamchadal *ololaxi^εn k'i'stri^εnč* 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:

palomte'lrkin and *pačomte'lrkin* he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

leivu, čeivu TO WALK

l forms:

ga'mga-nótai'pū nilei'vuqinet they traveled through every country
17.9

gamga-vairgê'pū nilei'vuqin he traveled to every being 18.5

nute's'qāk pagtalkoi'pū nilei'vuqin he traveled through the clefts
of the ground 22.6

yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'vrñnoi an orphan child shall (from now on)
travel alone 24.10

keimi'tilä lei'vuk rä^ε'nutqäiti g'e'ilä to traveling shaman small
things must be given 25.9

gūmna'n atč'a lei'wukin mi'ilhr ' give you the means of trav-
eling secretly 93.4

atč'a ta qūlei'wui^ε walk about in secret! 93.5

notai'pū lei'wulit lu^ε'ninet he saw them walking about in the coun-
try 113.11

ia'm nilei'vutku-i-gir why don't thou wander about (all the time)?
87.18

č forms:

lautitkina'ta čei'wutku^ε he walked (for a little while) on the heads
8.6

kita'm mičei'vutkuä^εk let me go 79.27; 80.10

qla'ul pūki'rg^ε *čeivutkuln* a man arrived walking 86.26

irg'd'tik ečei'vutkukä mi'tyä^εk tomorrow not walking let me be!,
i. e., tomorrow I shall not go 87.9

ne'me čei'vutku^ε again he went 87.25; 88.1

ne'me čvei'vutkurkin again he was going (for a short while and
once only) 88.7

luwi (initial), *lvi* (medial); *čuwī* (initial), *čvi* (medial) TO CUT

l forms:

geleu'tilvilin the head was cut off 86.7

č forms:

nečvitkuī'vuū^ēn they cut it off 27.3

nine'čviqin, *nine'nuqin* he cut it and ate it 43.10 (see also 72.18)

ničvi'tkurkin rē^w he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)

lēla'lhričhⁿ gečvi'lin he cut the eye 106.19

gⁿonē'ti čuwī'nin he cut it in the middle 109.33

kīle (initial), *rkīle* (medial); *kīč* (initial), *rkīče* (medial) TO FOLLOW

a^ēqa'-rkīla difficult to be pursued 17.6

kīleu' mīlva'wkwa^ēn I should not be able to follow 17.5

kīla'wkē^ē she followed 31.2 (here a single act)

kīle'nin he gave pursuit to him 57.8

č form:

kīčauča'tyē^ē he ran off quickly 57.5

kīpl (initial), *rkīpl* (medial); *kīpč* (initial), *rkīpč* (medial) TO STRIKE

l forms:

kī'plīnēn ūm leu'tik he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26

ga'rkīplīlēn he struck her (until she let go) 31.4

č forms:

ē'nīkī^t kīpčī'tkēnēn suddenly he struck it 35.11

nīnēnīnnuteu'qin ēttī-kīpčē'wa he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10

nēnarkīpčēu'qin he gave it a push 53.5

līlep (initial), *lep* (medial); *čīčep* (initial), *čep* (medial)

l forms:

līlē'p^{giē} she looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14

qālē'p^{giē} look up! 79.11; see also 107.14

līlē'pūrkin he looks on

č form:

čīčē'p^{giē} they looked about 86.22

rīčīčē'urkin he inspects

talaiwu, *tačaiwu* to strike

nītalai'wuqēn they strike him 59.7

natačai'wuan they struck him once 59.5

plī, *pčī* to finish

wū'k plī'tkurkin his body becomes ready

tuwī'k-ī-pčī'tkurkin I become ready-bodies, i. e., grown up

-*lqiu* verbal suffix expressing requested action; -*s'qiu* verbal suffix expressing single action

l form:

nitulē'lqiuqinet they would come to steal 13.4

ĕ (*s'*) forms:

gantō's'qêulên he rushed out 57.11

qänriqgeus'qi'wkutki go and wake them up at once 56.3

-*liku* AMONG A NUMBER; -*ĕiku* INSIDE

l form:

utti'liku among the trees

ĕ forms:

plē'kiĕiku in a boot 43.4

wus'qū'mĕiku in the darkness 34.5

-*qal*, -*qaĕ* by the side of

ragro'lminqal from the rear side of the house 51.10

qinikqa'ĕ by thy side 9.3

-*lqän*, -*s'qän* TOP¹

l form:

koivi'lqan top of glacier 91.16

ĕ form:

qi'this'qän surface of lake 144.3

nute's'qän surface of ground 98.24

mel-, *mē* LIKE TO

l form:

mel-uwä's'quĕ it seems my husband 49.9

ĕ forms:

mēĕ-ä's'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

maĕ-ĕto'pēl 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 ĕ forms.

yē'liĕhin tongue 40.10

ri'lhın fingers

(*qlik*) man

u'nel thongseal

mēmıl seal

yēĕi'tkiĕhin tip of tongue 40.4

riĕhi'tkın finger-tips

qäĕykr'ĕhĕĕa the man transformed (similar to a man)²

uneĕi'ĕhin thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30

mēmıĕĕ'ĕhin thong of seal skin 134.31

¹ See also *lqän* ABOUNDING IN (§104.39).

² See Publications of the Jesup. North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 449.

mulI blood*gamočč'pılēn* full of dried blood
68.2

Also:

tEl sick*tE'čirgin* disease 133.7*lä'łE* winter*čä'čE* cold

To this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:

lu'rkın he sees*čü'-tu'mgin* or *lu'-tu'mgin* old acquaintance (= seeing companion)*lél'łhın* mitten*čē-mıngı'lıñın* glove (= mitten hand)*lı'gıg* egg*čıg-ı'-ttım* egg-shell (= egg-bone)*vélč'łhın* ear*vılu'-ttım* or *vıču'-ttım* auricular bone*vılu'ptırkın* he marks the ear (of the reindeer)*vıču'ptıki* (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:

qulıl'erkın he cries*qučič'e'erkın* he shouts, makes a noise*gemle'lın* it is broken*gemč'e'tkulın* broken to pieces*čımı'lın* *ä'lo'ñēt* the whole day*čımı'čı-č'o'ñēt* or *čımı'č-ä'č'o'ñēt* a long time*añqa'lı-ra'mkın* maritime people*añqa'čı-ra'mkın* reindeer-breeders who come in summer to the seashore*lı'ñılın* the hearty one, avenger (from *lı'ñılın* heart, *lıñıl'e'erkın* he avenges)*čıñ'e'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 *rı'łhırkın*, Kor. Kam. *yılñ'e'kın*, HE COUNTS [from stem *rıłh-*, 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>qon'a'ëiñkên</i>	<i>qony'a'aëiñin</i>	nine	<i>qon-ya'aëi</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>qon-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>gitka'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'kkit* 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 ξ -*kĕlĭn* (see § 114, 4).

amingĭtkau'kĕlĕn not being the tenth

akĭlhĭnkau'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.

mingĭt-kal'ĕtola tačĭrĭnĭ-plĭ'tkœa^εk I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (*mingĭt* ten; *kal'ĕtol* scratched one; *-a* instrumental; *t-* I; *ačĭrĭn* 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>ñĭro'-mġrġ</i>	<i>ñĭyo'-mu'yu</i>	we three
<i>ñi're-tu'ri</i>	<i>ñi'ye-tu'yi</i>	ye two
<i>ñare'rġeri</i>	<i>ñiye'čheč'ti</i>	they two

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, *-čġ*, *-čä* (Kor. Kam. *-ča*) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except *qunġ'čä* ONCE (Kor. *qu'n ač* Kor. 53.2), which is derived from *qun* SINGLE.

ñĭra'ĕa ġiwi'kĭnek on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix *-yut*; (Kor. Kam. *-yut* [dual], *-yü'wġi* [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix ξ *m-* JUST (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except ONE.

ñireqġ'urkĭn (Kor. Kam. *ñiyeqġ'wikĭn*) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, *-nleñ* (Kor. Kam. *-lan*) (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 *lĭne'ġĭn* HE COUNTS is also derived from the stem *lĭx* FINGER (absolute form *lĭxlĭxč*).

Numerals	Cardinal	Iterative	Ordinal
1	<i>kčōn'i'ñ</i>	<i>gun</i>	_____
2	<i>kasx, ka'cix</i>	<i>ntel</i>	<i>nté'lñin</i>
3	<i>čok</i>	<i>čol</i>	<i>čol'aña</i>
4	<i>čak</i>	<i>čal</i>	<i>čal'aña</i>

ka'cix kčwo^ēn two dogs

ka'čwa^ēn li^ēl two mittens

čol'ka^ēn kčwo^ēn three dogs

Kamchadal *gun* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *gun* SINGLE.

Kamchadal *čok* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *ñiyox* THREE.

Kamchadal *čak* may be compared with Kor. Paren *ñiya'x* FOUR.

(perhaps from an older form *ñiča'x*)

§ 124. Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	Koryak Paren
1	<i>Enné'n', n'čē^ēn</i>	<i>Enné'- Enna'n</i>	<i>Enné'n'</i>
2	<i>ñi'räq</i>	<i>ñi'yax</i>	<i>ñi'čax</i>
3	<i>ñiro'q</i>	<i>ñiyox</i>	<i>ñiyox</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>ñiyox'-mi'LIñen</i>	
9	{ <i>qon'a'čirñkên</i> <i>amingitka u'k ě-</i> <i>lên</i>	<i>qonya'ačirñin</i>	
10	<i>mingi'tkên</i>	<i>mingi'tčen</i>	<i>mingi'tken</i>
11	<i>mingi'tik En- ne'n' pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik Enna'n</i>	
12	<i>mingi'tik ñi'rä pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik ñi'yax</i>	
13	<i>mingi'tik ñiro' pa'rol</i>	<i>mingi'tik ñiyox</i>	
14	{ <i>mingi'tik ñira' pa'rol</i> <i>akihinkau'k ě-</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'aëiñin</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>tkên pa'rol</i>	{ <i>qli'kkik mingi'tçen</i> <i>ñiyox mi'ngitu</i>
40	<i>ñi'räq-qli'kkin</i>	{ <i>ñi'yax qli'kit</i> <i>ñaya'ax mi'ngitu</i>
50	<i>ñi'räq-qli'kkig</i> <i>mingi'tkên</i> <i>pa'rol</i>	{ <i>ñi'yax qli'kit e'n'ki</i> <i>mingi'tçen</i> <i>mi'Liñen mi'ngitu</i>
60	<i>ñiro'q-qlé'kkên</i>	{ <i>ñiyox qli'ku</i> <i>Enna'n mi'Liñen mi'n-</i> <i>gitu</i>
80	<i>ñira'q-qlé'kkên</i>	{ <i>ñaya'ax qli'ku</i> <i>ñiyox mi'Liñen mi'n-</i> <i>gitu</i>
99	<i>amiliñqlêkkau'-</i> <i>këlên</i>	
100	<i>miliñqlé'kkên</i>	{ <i>miliñen qli'ku</i> <i>mingi'tçen mi'ngitu</i>
200	<i>mingitqlé'kkên</i>	<i>mingi'tçen 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'qlañ</i>	two together
<i>ñiro'nlañ</i>	<i>ñiyox'qlañ</i>	three together
<i>ñira'nlañ</i>	<i>ñaya'qlañ</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).

nime'leu well (Kor. Kam. *nima'lau*) stem *Ch.mel* (Kor. Kam *ma!*)
nime'leu qatva'é be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer.

nime'i'neu ga'tvülén a'ttrn 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.

ömq deeply (adjective *ö'mläx* deep)

me'ëaq far (adjective *me'ëalax* distant)

k!i'jhıq shallowly (adjective *k!r'jhııax* 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^s far.

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

a'tqêuma (Kor. Kam. *atciñau* regular) badly R 62.72 (stem *ä^sqä*,

Kor. Kam. *a^sqa*; adjective form *e'tqin*, Kor. Kam. *a'tciñ*)

me'ëen'ki (*meë* < *mel* good; *en'ki* there) well 67.22

me'ëen'ku-wa'l-ê-üm I am a fairly good one 114.34. Here *meë* does not assume ablaut (see p. 763)

me'rinre 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 *-ı, -qı, -akı, -êtı* which are locative and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with *va'lın* (Kor. Kam. *i'tala^sn*), (see § 76).

As adverbs they always have the ablaut, those without suffix as well as those with the suffix *-ı, -qı*, 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*

yê'ta in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem *yîte*
a'lva (Kor. Kam. *a'lvañ*) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem *elvé*
 (Kor. Kam. *a'lva*)

With suffix *-kɪ*, *-gɪ*

tê'kɪ of cylindrical form; stem *tîk*.

koulo'gɪ (Kor. Kam. *ko'loñ*) round; stem *kuwl*.

a'rkičɪ (Kor. Kam. *aykiča*) aslant, stem *arkič* (Kor. Kam. *aykič*)

a'rkičɪ gata'ê (Kor. Kam. *ay'kiča gata'wañ*) more aslant!

vê'tɪ truly 120.24 (*vê'tê* 107.8); stem *vêth*

vê'tirê straight (irregular); stem *vêth* (adjective form *nuwê'thâgên*)

gê'mø without my knowledge; *ge'mu* 103.5 (Kor. Kam. *a'mu*

Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem *-(t)hêm* not to know.

rathêma'un without my knowledge 11.9. The affix *re*—*ɛu* is causative.

gêwê'tɪ without my knowledge 120.37; stem *-(t)hiu* not to know; allative.

pulhirra'kɪ flatly; stem *pîlhirri*

apaqa'li(ñ) (Kor. Kam. *apaqa'čɪ*) face downward; stem *apaqali*.

pɪ'tvi, *pɪtva'kɪ* double; stem *pɪtv*

ê'mpû(ñ), *êmpa'kɪ* downcast; stem *împ*

tɪ'mla, *tɪmla'kɪ* close to; stem *tîml*

yɪ'čhi(ñ), *yičha'kɪ* uninterrupted, stem *yičh*

and several others.

Those with the suffix *-êti*, *-gɪ* express a diminished intensity of the adverbial term:

čeutê'tɪ somewhat low; stem *čîut*

qalê'gɪ somewhat lazy; stem *qâlî*

yergê'tɪ somewhat foolish; stem *yîrg*¹

qêwrêgɪ somewhat hasty; stem *qîwri*

tañê'tɪ somewhat better; stem *teñ*

All these forms combined with *-va'lin* (Kor. Kam *i'talan*) are commonly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix *ti'ñkɪ* quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

ti'ñk-a'tqêuma quite badly

ti'ñk-ä's'qâlpe with great hurry

ti'ñkɪ-me'rînre quite slowly

¹ See also *yorgêtu-wa'ličhɪn* a foolish one 65.3.

Some others may form diminutives, as—

- kitkinn'u'qäi* very little 118.6
qaiagan'ə'qai a trifle more 106.6.
čir'mčeqäi very near 100.15
vi'n'veqäi very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

Chukchee.	Koryak Kam.
<i>čir'mčE</i> 103.9 near.....	<i>čei'mik</i>
<i>ya'a</i> 113.20 far.....	<i>ya'wak</i>
<i>ya'al, ya'ačI</i> 119.29 in the rear.....	<i>ya'wał</i>
<i>atto'ol</i> in the front, earlier; <i>atto'oča</i> 8.7 in the front, down the coast.....	<i>atta'yoł</i> Kor. 39.7
<i>gIrgo'l</i> 68.35; <i>gIrgo'gča</i> 123.7 above.....	<i>gIčho'l, gIčho'ča</i>
<i>iu'til</i> below.....	<i>i'wıl</i>
<i>š'uča-šučai'pü</i> from below 131.5.....	
<i>mra'</i> on the right hand.....	<i>mya'</i>
<i>ña'šEñ'ki, ñač(h)-e'n'ki</i> ; stem <i>ñach</i> , on the left side.....	<i>ña'šñiñ-gač, ñačñe'ti</i> ; stem <i>ñachñ</i>
<i>ro'čEñ'ki</i> 52.11; stem <i>ročh'</i> , on the other shore.....	<i>yočñe'ti</i> ; stem <i>yočñ</i>
<i>ña'rgin</i> ; stem <i>ña'rgin</i> outside.....	<i>ña's'hIn</i> Kor. 64.8
<i>o'nmi</i> inside.....	<i>anInka'šiku</i> Kor. 60.9
<i>onmičEñko'i'pü</i> from within 59.9.....	
<i>e'mi</i> where (is it) 81.16.....	
<i>š'čča, š'ččağ</i> near the surface.....	
<i>š'čča niva'nat</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>r'mla</i> close by.....	(K. K. <i>ti'mļa</i> , Kamchadal <i>ti'mal</i>)
<i>ña'lñil</i> on both sides, on all sides 129.24.....	<i>ga'l'ñil</i> Kor. 58.2
<i>rIma'gti</i> farther on, beyond.....	<i>yImai'ti</i>
<i>a'čñiä</i> side by side.....	<i>a'čñiä</i>
<i>em-nu'ñki</i> inland 112.6.....	<i>am-nu'ñik</i>
<i>wü'rrI</i> on the back.....	<i>wü'ssiñ</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'li</i> around.....	
<i>am-liga'nli</i> back to back.....	
<i>ye'tir</i> half-way 109.1.....	
<i>rInere'</i> askance.....	
<i>wołva'ki</i> across; stem <i>wulv</i>	<i>mał-vołve'ti, vołva'ki</i>
<i>šulšeti'li</i> lengthwise.....	<i>ew'łetiñ</i>
<i>če'če</i> along.....	
<i>qa'čI, qa'ča</i> close to (see § 100.26).....	
<i>ai'gšpü</i> windward 111.10 (<i>gig</i> odor coming with the wind; <i>-špü</i> ablative).....	

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and verbal stems, or with the locative of the noun.

¹ The form *ročč'e'ti* to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

nwolvênaña'vraqên across sitting was carried 145.3 (*n(u)*—*qin* nominalizing prefix; *wulv* across; *ineñe* to sit on a sledge; *tva* to be)

gãmügg'a'gna in my presence

êulêtê'l-va'lin of elongated shape 91.15

ya'rau-liha'nlinqač-va'lin to the houses from the other side being 11.7

tê'rki-irgo'l at sunrise 104.16

va'am-girgogča'gti up river 119.14

kamlê'li -ya'rak around the tent 104.20

yoro'wti kamlê'li sleeping room all around 12.10 (*yoro'wti* al-
lative)

ve'emik va'êš qa'ča he lived close to the river 122.8

Nota'rmêñqaca close to *Nota'rmeñ* 121.10

§ 127. Temporal Adverbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>tî'te</i>	<i>tî'ta</i> Kor. 27.7	<i>i'te</i>	when
<i>ê'n'ki</i>	<i>ê'nki</i> Kor. 39.2	<i>kna^εñ, ñur</i>	then
<i>en'ñite'q</i>	—	—	of late
<i>lû'mña</i> 19.1	<i>gû'mlañ</i> Kor. 84.11	<i>te'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'nmił</i> 83.19	—	<i>i^εne</i>	recently
<i>grnmrye'p</i>	—	—	from recent time on
<i>i'gıt</i> 21.1; 36.9	<i>a'čhi</i> Kor. 30.9	<i>ne^εn</i>	now, at present
<i>ai'vε</i>	<i>ai'grve</i> Kor. 78.26	<i>a'činčk</i>	yesterday
<i>aivend'a'p</i>	—	—	from yesterday
(<i>gıvεñ-yép</i>)	—	—	on
<i>aiğo'on</i>	—	<i>qlank</i>	lately
<i>aiğoond'a'p</i>	—	—	from late times
(<i>aiğoon-yğp</i>)	—	—	on
<i>irğa'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-yğp</i>)			

Chuckchee	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 20.2</i>	—	—	soon
<i>pr'tkä-yawnak</i>	—	—	the year after next
<i>ët 17.6</i>	—	—	before this
<i>pa'nêna 54.9</i>	<i>pa'nenä</i> Kor. 15.6	—	another time
<i>ï'ne, ï'neñ 113.11</i>	—	—	early
<i>qulï'ninek</i>	<i>quli'nikak</i>	—	
<i>aiök 118.20</i>	<i>va^εyuk</i> Kor. 21.3 <i>va^εak</i> Kor. 56.5	—	afterwards
<i>ñä'nenqač</i>	—	—	} day after to-mor- row
<i>qolê-t-a^εlo'</i>	<i>qolê-a'lo'</i>	—	
<i>aivε ñä'nen- qač</i>	<i>aigrv-ai'gr- večña</i>	—	day before yes- terday
<i>imičičo'ñêt</i>	<i>a'mñuč</i> , Kor. 53.1, <i>a'wun</i> <i>a'mñut</i> Kor. 54.5	<i>könëpol</i>	always
<i>a'mkimičo 112.8</i>	—	—	all the time
(<i>e'mkin</i> every)	—	—	
<i>čo</i> probably analogous to <i>čę</i> nu- meral ad- verbial; a suffix)			
—	<i>ai'ñum</i> Kor. 61.1	—	long ago
—	<i>a'mlirñ</i>	—	after that Kor. II
<i>quli'-thi'wik</i>	—	—	in future years
<i>čiq-etuwä'k 44.4</i>	—	—	all at once (<i>čiq</i> see § 113.13)
—	<i>yu'laq</i> Kor. 16.2; 64.10	—	for a long time
<i>wü^ε'tku</i>	<i>wü^ε'tëu</i> Kor. 31.2; 41.2; 47.9; 80.2	—	just then
—	<i>wo^ε'vañ</i> Kor. 96.8		

Chuckchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
<i>un^s'tku</i>	<i>itu^s'pil</i>	—	after a while (see ' <i>êto'pel</i> Ch.)
—	<i>akîla^s'č</i> Kor. 27.4; 28.3	—	just now
—	<i>akîla^s't</i> Kor. 27.5	—	
—	<i>vê'tha-qo'nom</i> Kor. 56.10	—	just now
—	<i>pičē'</i> Kor. 14.11	—	for a while
—	<i>qo'la</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:

quli'ninek at something else (from *quli* some, *ni'kek* see p. 731).

qolê-t-a^slo' another day

imîçičo'ñêt all days

irga'ik on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

irgatê'ti towards to-morrow

irga'thüpü 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—

wulgätvi'k in the evening time 120.3 (*wu'lq* darkness -*tvi* to attain a certain quality §110, 68)

lä^sle'ñki in the winter 51.1 (stem *lä^sleñ*)

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

mi'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'melqai gI'nmilkin eni'n timyo' yarro'nên 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'gıtkin lu'lqäl it was his face as before 77.14

pe'nin tautawa'tılın as before he barked 104.13

peninei'-gıt lei'wul-i-gıt from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12

pa'nêna releulewe'wrkin will you as before do wrong? 20.12-21.1

pa'nêna nikıtma'tqen he was as before extending his hands 47.8

qän've'r e'nmen ırğa'tık pa'nêna wulqätvi'i^s at this time then in the morning it became as before dark 54.9

go'onqan panêna'gıtı genlete'tä that to the former (place) is carried 133.2

Koryak:

assa'kin pa'nin gayo^solen the one of the other day (who) before had found him Kor. 52.6

pa'nenä . . . ga'npilen another time he stuffed it in Kor. 15.6

qa'wun panı'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though some time thou wilt marry some one Kor. 78.17

pa'ninäu vača'pğıčnu . . . the scars of former times Kcr. 86.1

čit FORMERLY

a'men čit gümü'w-či'mgütä a^sqa'-rkıla 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'nkälın that one formerly had no spirits 60.1

čit vai ke'le eččaka'ta nılei'wuqın formerly there ke'le wandered outside 61.6

qailo'qum čit kime'k me'čen'ku-wa'l-êum in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34

čit üm wutkekinei'-güm formerly I belonged to this place 97.10

guıwele'lı'n čit one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11

čit mitu'ren'mık êlı ge'nu ni'rä-mu'ri before we were born to father, we two R44.2-3

The following example seems to refer to the future:

čit eliğiqai'güpü ta'a^t e'un wi'nä 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 . . . näqälıči'tqinet in olden times, then they were at war 7.1

pe'Le soon

naga'm pe'Le nãmqıtvı'qın but soon it decreased in size 20.2
pe'Le ñeu's'ttın topa'wkwê^ε soon the bitch was 104.7

a'čhi va'n this time

ačhi va'n qo'npũ mała'tı this time it grew much better Kor.
 20.5-6

e'čhi-van tı'nmrın this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13

ačhi va'n qaye'm this time not Kor. 54.3 (see also Kor. 20.5;
 54.3)

a'čhi just now (i. e. before a little while)

a'čhi ni'w-i-gı qanga'tıykrın now you said, "it burns" Kor 30.9
ačhi'kin nenenaıe'ıe-ge? wert thou looking for it just now?

Kor. 49.8-9

ačhıkrı'čü-ai'ñaka 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:

enřa'q ñe'us'qät ũm . . . qanra'gtalên then the woman . . .
 took it home 28.5-6

pênyo'lıın ũm nlete'tıyıs the hearth blazed up 32.3

wü'rgırgın ũm vai ge'pkılın the noise reached there 32.13

ınpına'čhın ũm eli'gın geñe'wänä the old father and his wife 33.9

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enqa'n E'n'ki erre'č̣ ñe'us·qät, . . . qora'k ũm uwä's'quč there was only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the husband 51.9-10

uwä's'qučitä ũm by the husband 39.6

yorou'ti ũm to the sleeping room 39.10

Following pronouns:

wo'tqan ũm vai this one here 45.12

enqa'n ũm vi'n'vi te'rgilın this one who was weeping secretly 49.1

gũmna'n ũm I 137.1

Following verbs:

teqe'lignın ũm a'mı she made a cap too 28.8

ye'tti-m vai she came there 29.13

qaplēta't ũm qora'ni the reindeer fell down 51.6

guq, gemı's'qälın ũm, a'ni it is deep! 53.1

mınpēla'a'n ũm let us leave it 53.1

The emphatic *ũm* appears frequently in combination with other particles. Examples of these will be found on the following pages.

I'mı also, furthermore,

i'mı am-vıyē'irgä gi'lhın narananıno'nın furthermore, by only breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4-5

i'gıt i'mı yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'vinnoı furthermore, from now on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10

ımi nounou'lıñ in e'le wu'tku epi'rkälın g ũ'nurk not even a hair here would reach me 93.6

i'gır i'mı Nota's'qa-Va'ırgın narataaro'nınoñın from now on, furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

enqa'at gei'lqäleet i'mıñ they also were sleeping 55.2

İna'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 qätē'i'gıtki no'ta-mla'ırgıtkon only with sacrifices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2

le'uti-tele'n ina'n nanwa'qoa'n let the head-sufferer be seated! 45.11

In the following example *ina'n* appears with the future:

ina'n tre'etyä's meč-ä's'qälpe I shall come quickly 45.9-10

The following are probably derived from the demonstrative stem *en-*

E'nıktı all at once

na'qam E'nıktı poi'ga nıtı'npüqên ũm 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 kipčer'tkenên (as soon as) he struck the body (i. e. himself) 35.11

e'nikit ūm naramata'git (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9-10

e'nikit gai'mi'čēn nigite'ä^εn (as soon as) they looked upon the wealth 107.16

e'nikit rečipe'tyü^ε (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22

e'nikit ne'rgiä^εn ilule'tyi^ε 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

Enřa'q then (see under *e'nmen*)

Enqana'ta therefore (instrumental of *enqa'n*, BY THAT)

enqana'ta e'nqu tilgi'rkinēt therefore I gave them up R46.39

enqana'ta ŋo'č-e-ūm gene'l-i-ūm therefore I become poor R45.28

gaño'twey-gūm enqana'ta qo'n'pu therefore I became quite poor R45.28

enqana'ta ilva'-neta'gri titēggē'ñirkin therefore I wish for the wild reindeer country R46.52

enqana'ta čaučwa'-ra'mkičha a^εttrin niggi'pqiñ therefore the reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

En'ke'mIr, En'qe'mIr, En'ke'mir e'ur moreover (see also *ačhē'mira*)

en'qe'mir e'ur a^εqa'-ra'mkičhin ya^ε'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 ūm li'itri'łhi-gir 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 aŋqaŋqačagti . . . ri'ntininet this time she threw them seaward 49.6

en'ñata'l kirvete'ru qinetei'kitik from now on jostle me! (literally with elbow jostling do me) 61.3

en'ñata'l ūm rev^ε'ntik this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19

en'ñata'l ūm qalhêqami'tvatik of that you may eat your fill 65.31

en'ñata'l ūm qa's'qäčē'wkwi^ε this time he did it in earnest 83.20

en'ñata'l ūm lu-ora'wêłan this time they were real people 84.29

en'ñata'l ūm i'ppe gina'n i'me rä^ε'nut em-ginři'tä nine'ntri-git this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20

en'ñata'l ūm na'nmirkin-ê-git this time he will kill you 114.32

en'ñata'l enqa'n êrrêttêginqin this time it is ended R4.50

'nkri gratis**EN·ñi'n** thus

nignopitva'qên EN·ñi'n iri'êiku 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'kâli-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-to'rê such are you 106.28

E'n·ñot thus

nî'wkwâ^sn E'n·ñot they spoke thus 78.4

tî'wkwâ^sk E'n·ñot I say thus 15.8

ELO'n emphatic particle

gîk ELO'n oh! 10.1

ELO'n ginnî'ku ne'lyâ^st now they became (our) game 12.2

gîk, e'nmen ñipe'â^st. ELO'n re'mkin tumge'wkwî^s 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'nmuqit they will kill thee 37.10

ELO'n vai tîyi'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^s suddenly he left R 13.27

yîlg-awe'tuwaq ñaus'qatr'yñin orgü'tkinî kenema'nnen 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.

gîk, a'mEN ùm ELO'n notas'qa'wkwê^s Oh, the land is near 8.8
("aber das Land ist doch nahe")

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n êi'mquk pêla'arkin oh, some are leaving 8.9.

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n . . . re'mkin qâiñunre'lqiâ oh, the people will come 10.3-4

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n miniwkurkin-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-varrgê'pü tmete'wkwäsk* 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'quçitâ 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* *pênnyo'lhin nuurgirge'tqin* and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8

e'nmen ðm *wä'quç gla'ul a'mEN* ðm *nitvêtëa'qên wülh-ê'räqäia a'mEN* ðm *vai li'i-teñ-ewirälin* 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 qarê'm* but I will not! 16.1

a'mEN ðm *naqa'm* 39.4; *na'qam a'mEN* 63.11; however

venl'i ðm *a'mEN* 40.7

a'mI

tepe'lignin ðm *a'mI* she made a cap too 28.8

nanaanaga'gçin 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 gilutkulin 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 ūm a'ni he became quite decrepit 107.26
a'ni,geilitkoi'vulin u'kkām so they distributed vessels 14.1.
a'ni,gilu'tkulin he beat the drum 107.9
a'ni,getpeiñe'lin he continued to sing 102.17
a'ni a'ttau for no particular object 30.4
a'ni qu'num,qanto'ê^s oh, look here! come out! 81.27

atau' without purpose; for no particular reason; it does not matter
atau',li'en re'qārkin (you went to no purpose) what is the matter
 with thee? 18.6

atau',le^snvø (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'tqēn to no purpose was he discussed 15.7
g^si^sñkeli'y-gır, a'ttau it is your (own) tattooed face; (you act) to
 no purpose 77.8

attau' gırgo'l-gla'ulø nine'lhäqin for no particular reason he
 takes it for the man above 124.6-7

guq, attau'-qun o'rgoor yē'taqätē'gın 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' gumı'k oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down) 78.24

ačhē'mIra, ačhē'mIra-ñ-e'ur moreover (see also *en'ke'mır*)

a'limI disjunctive

a'limı alo^ska'gtı va'le-ūm although I am invisible 22.10

a'limı va'le ra'galqal however, there is no need of the knife 57.4

ka'ko, a'limı inelu^skälinet he has not seen them anyway 70.32

ya'am tile'lit a'limı lu'ur ñan titqä'nninet but it swallowed them
 71.3

a'limı quwalo'mürkin ūm vē'tı do obey! 88.10

a'limı eñe'ñılın however, he was a shaman 105.1

a'limı 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 gıt 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'ñın who was here? 109.21

a^sqälpe quickly 122.2

ei'uk, ai'øk

ma'n ai'øk ñew^stte'pık trenurete'ur let me in due time make it
 appear (be born) through a female dog 121.31

gık,gımı'k ei'uk ekälu'k oh, in due time (I see) thee at last 19.4

en'qa'm ma'n ai'øk . . . re'etyä^s then after a while . . . he shall
 come 83.5-7

Also 118.20

e'un seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.

mi'ñkri, e'nmen, ge'mge-ni'kin ñi'ngäi nëna'gtoqên, e'un navi's'qin
how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8
ñi'lhä ge'wkuLin e'un ninenlpe'tqäet with thongs he is tied and
he breaks them 20.9

e'ur pükirgi's e'un nelki'nkä'st then she came and they had gone
abroad 31.2

e'ur enqa'n äs'ttwet geti'neñelin, e'un gepl'itkuleet and that boat
was loaded and they had finished 31.1

qagno'pgê's . . . e'un ele'pkä sit with head bent down . . . and
do not look 32.4-5

"*en'ñe' ele'pkä,*" *e'un walo'mgê's* "Do not look!" and she obeyed
e'un nine'ëvigin and they cut it 72.18

e'un gepelqäruçeu'linet ñe'wanti and their wives had become de-
crepit with age 72.29

ëq-älvam-va'lit, e'un r'pe kele'tä gayo'laat how very extraordi-
nary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8

e'nmen e'un e'n'ki nitva'qên i'me-rä's'nut and then there was
everything 106.32

e'un yara'nö nine'lqin and it became a house 107.14

gik, ripe'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'mičin nigite'ä'sn, e'un kukwa't-koko'ñalhin 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'lväl* 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'gtiä'st, en'qa'm e'ur lünnëna'ê's they went home, and at the same
time he also followed 120.26

e'ur gırgıronta'lên, a's'ttwilä niçamitaqên at that time the dawn
came, (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9

e'ur rırka'ta i'unın, "E'ur y'lqä narayo's'git, muru'wmıl qaiñ'e'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'laro'a'st, Aiwhuanpına'ëhüqai gi'ulin at the time when
they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island
man said 11.10

a's'ttwu-yê'ñki nigite'qin, e'ur üm geyr'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^ε, rine'newkwã^ε 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'iriñki gañau'tiñ-ê-git, vai u'mkɪ qagtr'gɪn this time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring a polar bear 110.5

i^εtik e'ur tegge'ñirkɪn, gɪna'n çi'mñutü if actually you want it, do as you please

eulü'mña < e'ur lü'mña or, or again

eulü'mña e'kik or again the son R 23.88

but *e'ur lümña* 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'tü e'ur geleu'tirgɪtkutü with blowing or with scratching the head 126.7

ilh-a^εttin e'un, e'ur ũm unëçi'çhɪn 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'thɪɪn e'rri Tña'irgɪn geñewtu'mgä Sunset and Dawn are connected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they Dawn)

ma'ri Qla'ul I and *Qla'ul* (lit. we *Qla'ul*)

eple'un

ki'tam qun eple'un li'i eñëñtvi'^ε well, did he really obtain shamanistic power? 18.4

êwkurğa, êwkurğa-m however

ê'wkurğa tu'mgɪtum ui'nä however, companion none (i. e. my companion is not with me) 11.1

ê'wkurğa ginençëññitew-i-git however, you have frightened me 15.10

ê'wkurğa tɪlv-a'mɪnan trene'lhä (if I do so) however, I shall be all alone 31.13-32.1

ê'wkurğa Nota'sqa-Va'irğa nênanwêthawa'tgên however, the Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9

egei', ê'wkurğa êa'mam all right, however, (it will be) in vain 108.30

ê'wkurğa-m çotolëu' o'çə nine'lh-i-ũm, however, that under my pillow I have for my leader 128.13

êwkurga-m ilo'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^ε e'pte güm at this time almost you killed me likewise 121.16, 17

attau' a^εttu milhr'a^εn e'pte güm simply as a dog I'll use it (I) likewise 135.20-21

e'pte qinni'g-gili'lit ne'mäqäi gına'n nêna'nmê-gıt likewise the game procurers also thou has killed 44.9-10

a'mEN ðm ELO'n e'pte güm miñau'tingas'k let me likewise take a wife R12.8

emItte't at once, just now

emite't ðm muwê'nñıtaaq I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see 32.2 *emite't ðm* in final position)

emite't ðm tê'rgılın ra'qal ñan even thus crying for what? 27.12
quq, emite't ðm evi'ritt gätei'kıgınet oh, at once clothing make! 49.4

emite't-ðm tıpêla'nat nıme'lqinet I just left them in safety (=good ones) 53.4

emite't-ðm ataa'nkêlin tê'rgılın they did not touch the one who cried, (so at once . . .)

emite't ðm qagtı'gırn bring it at once 111.3

emite'tım tıgıte'ä^εn 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 mırñnei'meukwä^εn evidently we are approaching land 9.11

e'tım am gemge-nute'qın evidently from every country 11.4

e'tım a'mEN kuwi'çın tre^εtyä^εn evidently I brought Children's Death 20.1

e'tım ke'lek qäli'ketyi^ε 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

ELO'n ðm ê'tım evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) 31.10; 108.22

ê'tıllın necessarily

êto—

êto'qai'a'qañ rıpkire'nnın after a while he brought her back 51.4

e'nmen êto'qai'a'qañ ðm gre'lgı^ε after a while he vomits 136.24-25
qai'vE-mač-êto'pêl indeed I am a little better 135.7-8

erre'č gıt êto'pêl thou art most fit 135.19

êto'pêl en'ki iwkuč'i'is she better drank then (i. e. she could drink then) 37.4

ê'toqon wo'tqan qäimi'tgin will you take this one?

ê'toqon mirrenu'tergı-gıt shall we bury thee rather in the ground?
R 60.23

e'nmen, *en'qam*, *enřa'q* THEN, coordinating conjunctions. Of these *enme'n* seems to express the most definite temporal sequence, *en'qa'm* a closer temporal connection, while *enřa'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 Umqäqäi'inä rılındıgıwe'nnin ne'us'qät. e'nmen lu'ur e'gripgi's At that time U'mqäqäi pointed with his finger at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7-8

en'qa'm enqa'n Umqäqäi'inti gegınteu'lınet; e'nmen qu'ttırgın qa'at nerri'net at that time U'mqäqäi and his people fled; then the others untied the reindeer 63.10-11

en'qa'm nıte'gıñqın . . . e'nmen nıten'ne'w-i-üm . . . en'qa'm gi'ulin At that time she sniffed . . . then I laughed a little; . . . then she said 72.11-13

e'nmen ya'yak qamıtvača'qên mı'tqak, en'qa'm enqa'n rryırrai'nênat then the gulls ate all the blubber and at that time they anointed them

en'men uwi'łkan qätei'kıgın . . . en'qa'm dıncıkou'tı qıneni'ntri 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 *enřa'q* is parallel to *mø'rgın-řaq* WE NEXT 69.22 and *güm-řaq* I NEXT 77.21 Its meaning IN TURN THIS TIME appears clearly 17, 23, 96.11.

enřa'q appears also together with *e'nmen*

e'nmen nute's'qän enřa'q nuwêthau'qên then this time he spoke to the ground 15.9-10

e'nmen enřa'q ya'yakit namıngukwa'arkınat 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'tvînên, e'nmeč ūm nayılhau'nên she did not tell him anything because she feared his anger 88.22-23

e'nmeč ūm e'un pŭki'rgi^s ya'rak garančêmau'lên uwä's'quč when she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10-11

e'nmeč ūm nân e'čhi wulqätvi'i^s, keñkele'nmin because of this, before evening came, he made her descend 97.5-6

e'nmeč ä'qälpe because of this, hurry up!

e'nmeč gepłi'tkulin and already it is finished

e'nmeč qui'mık ta^sla'iorkin already I soil my trousers 94.19

e'nmeč wi'yolu qi'nelhi'rkın 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'łhiñin it shall be (this way) one who is kindly treated 25.8-9

guq, eče'nur yê'ta qäle'tık it shall be this way! (you shall) move on slowly 65.28

eču'ur yep vai atêvga'tka vai yegte'Łe^t it shall be this way! as yet without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40

ečhi before

e'čhi ras'qêuño'a^st čit nepi'rirkın gla'ulqai before they could enter they attacked the man 85.15

e'čhi yilqä'tyät ganto'lên before they had gone to sleep he went out 8.4

e'čhi eime'wkwı^s 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 *-rkın* WHEN ABOUT TO—

e'čhi pelqänte'erkin . . . gapêkagta'Łên when about to come back, she fell down 97.20

e'čhi čit qami'tvarkın lu'ur pi'rinin when she was about to eat, after that he caught her 87.12

e'nmen e'čhi re^s'nilä te'grırkinin lu'ur i'wkwı^s then, when the bow-man was about to fling the harpoon, after that he said 10.10

elhİle'ñki in case, if

elhile'ñki relu^s'ñin in case you should see him

erre'č only

erre'č qun ñe'ekık an only daughter R 12.10

erre'č enqa'n ñe'ekık (there was) only that daughter 28.2

erre'č ñıro'rgarı there were only three of them 34.3

na'qam erre'č yi'lııl ru'rkınin he eats only tongues 49.3

erre'ë üm am-gitka't gegnu'linet only just the legs were left 51.4
erre'ë ai'kolak molı'yñın üm on the bedskins was only blood 56.4-5
erre't-te'gın limit of end (i. e. it is the end); from *-tegn* limit (only
 in compounds) 64.2

erre'ë mi'mıl, ya's'rat mi'mıl nine'uqın a'mkırıço only water,
 verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

eke'ın but (weaker than *naqa'm*)

eke'ın gıt nıru'l-ı-gıt; gi'newän üm gümna'n me'çen'kı tre'ntrın
 but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well

ekälu'k

gırn'k ei'uk ekälu'k at last for thee 19.4

ekeña'n, eçena'n I wish I could (with subjunctive *b*)

ekeña'n gümna'n trıpi'reä'n I wish I could take it

eke'upçı and now, but now

eke'upçı trıplı'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 pegçi'nu nine'lır-gır ora'wêlan why doest thou meddle with
 man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11

ia'm gemçe'-gırnı'k qo'nmu'an why do you kill all the game?
 92.32

ıu'kä oh if! I wish—

guq, ıu'kä qaiä'qañ mınqamı'tvarkın I wish we could eat more
 65.4

guq, ıu'kä mınpontorkın-ê-gıt I wish I could eat of your liver!
 95.19

ıu'kä no'onqan mırı'nmärkın I wish we might kill this one 70.22

i'ppe, yI'pe actually

en'qa'm i'ppe mükür'yñın . . . gata'lên then actually very
 many . . . moved 11.7

en'ñata'l üm i'ppe gına'n this time it is really thou 93.20

e'un i'pe kele'tä gayo's'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's'tık

i's'tık a'men ärunte'erkın in reality thou desirest 24.11

qarê'mên ora'wêlan, i's'tık üm ke'le (she is) not a human being,
 in reality she is a ke'le 29.9

qarê'mên i's'tık lü'mñıl this is not a real myth 61.5

gık, attau' i's'tık üm ti's'wü's'ä'n in vain, if in reality I had seen
 him 121.6

galö'öçrna'-mörê i's'tık üm in reality we have met 121.23

Nota's'qa-Va'irga leule'wu ine'lhri^s li'en i^s'tik the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1

li'en i^s'tik amñi'čvñla gū'mik rñike'urkin qarê'm mĩlmala'n-ñoa^sk just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10

i^s'tig lĩ'mña Tño'tirgê-git in reality again, thou art Tño'irgin
i^s'tig lĩ'mña qaiłhna'n'gê^t eñe'ñetvii in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11-12

i^s'nqun lest

nēnaio'qēn i^s'nqun nere'lu^sñrn she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3

· · · *i^s'ñqun vai kintaya'n ragno'urkin vê'ti gĩnni'k* lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3

nini'uqinet, titi't remle'gĩtki, i'ñqun nere'lu^sñrn he said to them, "You will break the needles!" lest they should look at them 82.12

i'git now

i'gir i'mr Nota's'qa-Va'irgin narataaro'ñrñoñrn now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

qu'num i'git ùm mĩnra'gtatya^sn let me now take it home 121.28

i'git-ùm-ILO'n o'ra troye^swkut now I have come to thee openly 123.18

ya'net first

go,gũm ùm ya'net oh, I first 43.9

ya'nña separately, alone

nĩkiu'qin ya'nña she passes the nights by herself 28.3

ya^s'rat very (sometimes *ya^s'čat*)

nĩthi'lqinet ya^s'rat very hot ones 9.9

ya^s'rat nite'nqinet very good ones 14.8

nite'nqin ya^s'rat a very pretty one 36.3

eñeñitvi'i^s ya^s'rat he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10

ya^s'ran niğlo'qēn she sorrowed very much 27.10

a'mēn ùm ya^s'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^s I'll soon be back (ich werde ja bald wiederkommen) 30.8

yäqqäi' ùm qu'num tu'ri qarê'mēna-torê ye are not (human beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4-5

mĩ'ñkri-m-e'un yäqqäi' gũmna'n mĩlu'a^sn tuwēlvāča'arkin how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll ihn ja finden) 124.3

yäqqäi'-nan gıt trataranā for thee I'll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38

yäqqäi' ora'wêla-tainatichatıl-ê-gıt you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6

yäqqäi' um räs'nut what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3

yäqqäi' um yaqtalê'n'vo trye'tyäs'k have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26

ye^li'i (evidently containing the element *li'i* TRULY, REALLY, see also *ui'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *qäli'i*, *quli'i*)

e'nmen ye^li'i Enqa'n is he the only one? 21.13

ye^li'i gümna'n rather (let) me (be the one)

Also R 12.7

yu'raq perhaps.

opo'pə exhortative

opo'pə garai'-gıt minle'gıt thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7

opo'pə minpa'awkut let us stop! 98.6

opo'pə mitalai'ruut let me give thee a beating R 61.50

o'ptI ma like (see Koryak Kamenskoye *opta*)

o'ra openly

gina'n qanra'gıatyas'n o'ra if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30

i'gıt-üm-ılo'n o'ra tryo'wku I have come to thee openly 123.18-19

uru'ur it seems that

u'rrı thus, so

u'rrı nüplustvi'qin it was so small 20.3

u'rrı l'ñki nümqıtvı'qin thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4

qagno'pgê^s êričikou'tı u'rrı eñ'ñi'n sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4

u'rrı mingı'linın ri'nnın thus he did (with) his hand 57.10

u'rrı ñan gını'n . . . thus it is yours . . . 93.9-10

wu'rrı thus

na'qam um neyule'tqin wu'rrı still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3

e'nmen vai wu'rrı Enqa'n gama'trñolên there thus that one dragged her 51.1

Enqa'n Ena'n ãini't wu'rrı ni'tqin that one there herself was thus 26.9

e'nmen wu'rrı puulqe'wkwı^s then he floated thus 77.23

e'nmen E'nikıt rılu'tku wu'rrı gırgola'gıtı there at once he moved thus upward 16.5

u'nmăk greatly, strongly

uLi'i in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^εli'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'lhriñin truly friendly he will be treated 25.9

vêti ginni'k ùm a'mEN nenankêttuwa'tqên truly they made game scarce by means of magic 42.4

vê'ti nime'i'ENqin he was very large 73.9

vê'ti nige'tvûqin he was very strong 47.3

vê'ti nara'nmüntik it will kill you at once 70.12

vê'ti-m re'w nêna'nmûqên he killed really (many) whales 73.3

a'limi quwalo'mürkin ùm vê'ti but obey me strictly 88.10-11

trañauti'ñirkin vê'tE qun I shall marry at once 57.2

nire'vi'ñqin vê'ti he really wanted to die 99.27

vê'ti, qayja'arkinat ñan do sing it again! 120.24

vet'i'in ùm, vel'i'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^εli'i*, *uLi'i*, *miteli'i*, *qāli'i*, *quLi'i*)

qân've'r met-ki'it venli'i ùm 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 kr'plnên unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12

gai'vE teiñele'erkin, venli'i aa'lomka i'irkin indeed, I blame him; unexpectedly he does not obey

na'qam pa'nêna venli'i nuurgeimeu'qin but unexpectedly more thunder approached 69.30

ne'me çuwi'pit nime'i'ñetqin venli'i unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18

venli'i ntiu'qin unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15

Also 74.4; 137.13

vele'r, vele'r-ùm, vele'r ùm ñau AT LEAST (Kor. Kam. *va'lan*) limited qualification of action)

gailo'kim mi'ñkri, vele'r-ùm wo'tqan indeed, how then, at least this one?

vele'r-um miçaqaro'a^εk at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124

vele'r-ım yara'ni ga'tvata although a house had been there (lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

vele'r êrmče'tä qênata'gê^ε at least move near! 37.10 (see also 37.9,13)

vele'rim mitwêt'ha'urkin at least I can talk with thee 32.1

vele'r-qun, vele's'-qun at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

vien < **viyen** just, simply

tikimiče'erkin am, vi'en mewkwe'tyä^εk I am staying too long, just let me depart

vi'en pūki'rgi^ε êuño'a^εt he just arrived (and) they began to speak 110.3

go, vi'en gra'gtitik just go home! 45.9

vi'en aa'lomkêl-ê-grit thou just doest not listen 54.11

vi'n·viI, vên·va'kI secretly 108.14

pILa', pILa'q apparently, pretending

pILa' vi^εlin pretending death 82.4; 124.6

plāgi' that is all! 107.21 (from stem *pl*— to finish)

mēl, mēč, 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'tkenin ūm me'čičū êrga'wkwê^ε he robbed him and ridiculed him besides

mač exhortative particle

mač gūmma'n let me be the one!

mač irgina'n let them be the ones! R 62.70

ma'čīnan < *mač-ēna'n* let it be (impersonal)

ma'čīnan čei'vā let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

mīte' of course 121.6

mītelī'i undoubtedly (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^εli'i, uli'i, venli'i, qāli'i, quli'i*)

mītelī'i tila'nvu va'rkin riļu undoubtedly there is a stranded carcass 64.18

mītelī'i ranto'a^ε undoubtedly she will come out 82.21

mītelī'i kīkin'u'gai rakêrga'tya^ε undoubtedly a small bright spot will appear 118.6

mītiu' (perhaps *mīthiu'*) I thought—

mītiu' eñe'nīli-grit I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3

mītiu' ke'le-i-grit I thought thou wert a kele 15.11

mīti'ūm ELO'n qāigi'pe viri'irkin 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 giwi'is again how many times a year passed (i. e. after several years) 12.8

naqa'm however, but

utte'mil nımayenqana'čhın naqa'm pe'le nımqıtvı'qın like a tree was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2

nara'nımüñgên na'qam . . . nênalwau'qên they wanted to kill him, but . . . they could not do it 36.1-2.

na'qam nın'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 nerri'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 lümña (literally *but again*). In this complex the adversative meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean AFTER ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED.

naqa'm lümña ña'wtıngê after all, he married 58.7-8

naqa'm lü'mña gaa'qolên after all he sat down 98.24

na'qam lü'mña inennıke'wkwi after all I am treated thus 98.28-29

na'qam lü'mña čeq-ê'ččağ after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25-26

inenpelqu'utkälın üm wot, naqa'm lü'mña he can not be vanquished, after all 114.27

na'qam lü'mña i'lııl ui'ñä ne'lyi after all, the rain stopped 116.11-12

naga'm lü'mña gınni'k reurre'tyä^ε after all that has been done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:

naga'm lü'mña awgê'tkrnka nevertheless they did not say anything 26.6

e'nmen im-nikê'rêt nikamagra'qên, naga'm lü'mña va^εglıñın 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

kııauča'tyê^ε *na'qam wus'qü'mëiku, na'qam niki'tä* he galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwithstanding the nighttime 57.5

na'qam yo'yo qän've'r . . . naa'lomgaⁿ notwithstanding the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4

eñe'ñılın naga'm go'rgulên but the shaman had a sledge 14.10

naga'm am-gına'n but only thou (i. e., but you are all alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:

gapê'nřılên na'qam, ganmıtkoi'vulên but they were attacked, they were slaughtered 12.4

nı'näqın im naga'm but this one was swift 40.4-5

ne'me again

ne'me gıtte'wkwı^ε again thou art hungry 9.13

ne'me çıpe'tyi^ε again he dived 10.1

gu, ne'me oh, again 36.6!

ne'mäqäi also

e'nmen im Ai'wanat im ne'mäqä'i they are also Aiwan 7.9

e'nmen ne'mäqäi, geri'ñelin then he also had flown up 15.3

e'pte gınni'g-gıli'lıt ne'mäqäi gına'n nêna'nmê-gıt likewise the game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9-10

nemäqäi gımna'n I also 93.13

ne'mäqäi enqa'n eñe'ñılın nıpe'gtımet also that shaman is hauling a sledge 14.12-15.1

neqe'm but, nevertheless

gık, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gık oh, but it was not there 27.11

neqe'm im lı'ı-vêññolın nıqtaqın vê^ε-re'mkä nevertheless having just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

çı'mqüq partly, somewhat

çı'mqüq nü'mkäqın re'mkın nımtva'lın somewhat many people were encamped 58.9

ɛr'mq̄q ɛnqa'n n̄iqulile'tq̄n in part they were noisy 60.9
ɛr'mq̄k kuke'ɛku e'ret n̄tva'q̄n partly in the kettle boiled meat
 was (left) 75.11
e'nmen vai yē'tvuē^s ɛr'mq̄k then it grew somewhat brighter
 94.22-23

ča'ma also

ča'ma ɛnqa'n mač-êwga'n titvu'rkin also this is an incantation I
 tell 39.13

ča'ma mu'ɫa e'ur also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11

ča'ma li'en ai'makik na'lai'oq̄n he also defecated on the carcass
 81.6

ča'ma qu'tti qa'nmilaat also the others were killed 98.3

t̄n̄n̄-la'li-mō'rē vai ča'ma we come here also carrying antlers
 121.20

ča'ma nuwêthau'qaat orawêɫa'-mêl they also talk like men 64.10
quq, a'men ūm na'qam ūm gai'mič-a'i'wan ča'ma oh, he was how-
 ever a rich Aiwan 50.7

See also 42.3

če'mit therefore

če'mit q̄'muk êna'tvat epki'rkū n̄tva'q̄n therefore to me prom-
 ised gifts do not come 93.16

go, e'ur qu'n̄um če'met li'i iulule'tyi^s li'm̄na walqa'liñ̄n oh, and
 therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8

čē'nēt since, because

čē'nēt im vinrē'tilit n̄'mq̄q̄aet since there are many helpers
 R 4.44

čē'nēt ūm qaalv̄lu'ɛn-ñi'n nu'rri n̄tva'q̄n since the buck is there
 on its back R 4.34

čē'nēt vē^slič̄n, ia'm minyo^sa^sn since he is dead, why should
 we visit him? 108.13-14

čē'nēt ūmennē'n-mi'mlā giwkuč̄i'tā since they drink one water
 R 45.13-14

čē'nēt gumni'n ɛ'n̄ni-ku'pr̄n u'iñā ɛnm̄qa'eti tralva'wñ̄n since
 I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47-48

qu, čē'nēt ūm ili'ɫā-muri oh, since we are on an island! (an
 exclamatory phrase) 11.11

čite'un

čit ḡm̄ik ga'tvalen, čite'un ta'n-ñik tr̄tva'rkin ūm i'ḡit before it
 was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying
 now R 45.19

*čit ai'vanana me'tal rinr̄r̄kin̄n . . . čite'un ūm ḡm̄na'n wu'tku
 t̄n̄r̄i'q̄a^sn* before the Aivan kept the medal, . . . and later
 (now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20-21

ëite'un akka'gti titëggê'nirkrn and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38

ëite'un krnta'irga memilqa'a na^ena'lpinr^e later on (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42

ëite'un a^ettilu a'lvañqan nita'qênat and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38

mprië-ekke'tä riri'lpinnên ëite'un vê^e-wgênto'ê^e 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 ïm napêla'an ïm vai ñe'ekik already they had left this daughter 30.12

leñita'q ïm . . . ëïmña'ëhrn na'nmuga^en already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7

li'en and simply, and only; restricted action

nineimeu'qinet, li'en a^että gape'nrëilên they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21

li'en êlhipêra'rkrn e'ëe it is simply white with fat 81.27

ta'yolhrn ïm 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^etIk (see *i^etk ïm*) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1

li'en i^etk këma'wkurgê-gt and let me tell you that you are causing delay

li'en i^etk ra'nñitaê^e and may I ask you what do you want here?

li'en ïm i^etk e^etqi and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3

attau' li'en utter in vain (see *attau'* p. 854)

lu, before vowels *lu'un* just, just like

loen-ai'vE just yesterday

li'i really

en-ñata'l ïm li'i t'lhr-gir from now on I shall really know thee 93.21-22

li'i eñeñtvi'i^e he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4

lu'ur AFTER THAT, THEREUPON always refers back to a preceding event.

e'nmen a'gêpü eiñé'utku^e, goq, lu'ur qa'at ye'tyä^et and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32

atëau' luwau'nen, lu'ur yopa'tyê^e she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13

lu'ur wêthau'ñoê^e thereupon he began to speak 31.11

lu'ur pñtqoro'a^et thereupon they began to emerge 102.23

krye'wkwä^et. e'nmen lu'ur qla'ul ye'ty^e they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11

rihĩndigiwénnin; é'nmen lú'ur é'gripigíé 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

lú'un matali'yñin éuñoi' thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

lú'mña again

gu, mé'nko lú'mña pĩ'ntiqätyié oh, whence doest thou appear again? 10.12

ra'énota'čhit lú'mña what are these again? 14.3-4

naga'm lú'mña . . . ergewe'tyié but again he dived 17.4

See *a-lú'mña* p. 854.

ripe't even

ripe't tērga'tyéé he even began to cry

eyi'lqakēlinet ripe't ELI'gīt without sleep were even the parents 34.3-4

lile'-mi'mlä nipyuči'tqin ripe't the eye fluid even spurted out 106.19

ripe't ge'mu li'ngäé you did not even mind it 109.25

é'nmen ripe't tēna'lai'okwut I even eased myself over you 109.23

rattan'ñauñIn enough 65.6

re'en I confess

-řam with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < *enřaq ům, gům-ra'q ům* it is my turn)

e'ün nĩpampičé'tegen enřa'm či'čhĩnčiku 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 rimne'tä gaikola'Leet this time they spread the skins the inside upward R 59.13

enřa'm nĩmtu'mqäqäi eñĩngä'ikēlin on his part their camp companion has no child R 12.11-12

kime'l, qime'l at once (?)

kime'l e'ľhu ine'tčiié at once he has a liking for me 137.14 (see also 137.5, 11)

enqa'm řaus'qatē'ti qime'l then at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

kime'k almost

kime'k mĩti'nmuut almost we killed thee 10.11

a'mEN-ũm-ilo'n ti'nma ine'ntrié kime'k but now you did almost kill one 123.17-18

qũn've'r kime'k énanmũéé 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, kitau

kĩtau'

kĩtau'qun, mi'nkri ni'tqin now then! how was he? 17.12 (*kĩa'm qun* 18.1)

kita' qun a'tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmik well then! the big dog saved us 106.26

kita'

kita' ña'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 ñu'nri now then (bring home) here! 23.2

guq, kita'm lü'mña well! now then again! 68.17

It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

kita'm e'ur li'ê-va'irriñki gañau'triñ-ê-grt qailhina'n'gêt, vai u'mki qagti'grn 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 minuñe'lmik let us go for fuel! 30.6

ki'nmal . . . piligili'lit . . . gina'n nêna'nmê-grt thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9. See also 83.26

ki'rga'm ñm a'mEn, ki'rga'm ñm a'mi well now! 121.4

kite' seldom

ki'tkit a little

ki'tkit niten'ne'w-i-ñm I laughed a little 72.13

ki'tkit qänve'ntetyi^s open it a little 94.21, 34

ki'tkit nuurre'tqinet they were a little visible 95.30

ku'likä alone 24.10.

qai'a'qañ a while

e'nmen qai'a'qañ tile'ä^st they walked a while 64.8. See also 66.8.
guk,iu'kä qai'a'qañ minqami'tvarkin I wish we could eat a while 65.4

qai'a'qan e'ur neimeu'qin for a while he approached 66.13

qai'a'qan e'üli-gêlêñño'ê^s ven-ñümñ'a'chin for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26

eto'-qai'a'qañ ripkire'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^s really, give (it) to me 16.1

enqa'n qai've Iu'metwi-gir thou art really Iu'metun

qai've-m i'mi yei'velqäi nu'tek tñmñ-alva'lag rayi'lqañño indeed, also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10-11

guq, qai've-m nan me'čen'ki tre'nti'nin 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'nkri 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 wolviva'lin before he was motionless 125.4

qailo'kim ele'nyutä riri'lpinnen the younger brother accompanied him R 50.22-23

qailhina'n'gêt, qaglëna'ngêt and actually

qailhina'n'gêt li'ê-taničë'triñoë and actually, he began to feel quite well 33.5

guq, qailhina'ngêt ñm ne'lu'en and indeed, they saw it 10.3

qailhina'ngêt ni'rgipatqên 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, qäig'i'pe really, in truth

qäi-I'pe li'ê-va'irriñki gañau'tiñ-ê-git really among the gods (real beings) you married 110.30-31

miti'ñm ELO'n qäig'i'pe viri'irkin we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

qäi'ñun it seems (Kor. II, Pallen *qa'iñun* Kor. 90.2)

qäi'ñun tu'rgin re'mkin e'stqi it seems your people are bad 8.9-10

tu'rgin re'mkin qäi'ñun re'lqiä it seems your people will appear 10.4

qa'iñun meti'u rine'lhrië certainly I shall not be believed by them 19.8

Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

qänu'r like, as

gene'Li'net qänu'r pe'welti they became like bladders 9.4

mi'nkri va'lit qänu'r a'stturukin pu'ttinet how big! like holes of a boat (cover) 14.6

naqa'm li'mña qänu'r mëmlëikou'ti ergewe'tyië but again as into [the inside of] water he dived 17.4

qänu'r vë'lë'ti gilo'lën as for a dead one she mourned 27.12

e'nmen qänu'r a'sttrin arê'ta ni'ntägin then like a dog they held him back 66.17

kele'tä va'nëvan ëlu'kä qänu'r mörgina'n i'git ka'mak va'nëvan eu'rrekëlin to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an evil spirit is invisible 62.1-2

- . . . *qānu'r vai mu'rgin re'mkɪn* like our people here 61.6
e'nmen a'nɪ qānu'r qun nute's'qān then it was just like earth 8.6
qānu'r qun wɪ'lqʷul just like coal 22.7
qānu'r qun nɪthɪ'lqɪnet they were like hot ones 9.10
e'nmen qol qānu'r ɪnpɪna'čhɪn geñe'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'ntiäsn just as though simply they did to him 35.4
e'nmen qānu'r qun nɪčiite'ruqɪn 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^solhiočrna'-mərê* just at this moment we have met
 121.15
qān've'r qɪnmɪ'lkɪnek tɪl-eime'wani'tqɪnet at this time they drew
 nearer 103.8
qān've'r qɪtte'pɪčɪn kele'kɪn i'wkwi^s at that moment the leader of
 the kelet said 104.26
e'nmen qān've'r neime'wkwäsn qān've'r ūm a^stti'yñɪn ūm
wêthau'noê at that moment they approached and at that
 moment the dog began to speak 103.19
Taaro'n-Va'ɪrgu ūm qān've'r . . . Va'ɪrgu ne'ɫe^sn 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 tērgɪla'tɪnoê^s* therefore (at this moment) she began
 to cry 31.7
lu'ur wo'tqan qān've'r wü'rgɪrgɪn walo'mɪñonēn afterwards, there-
 fore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines,
 however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)

qāčɪI'-qu'num as you like it(?) R 54.36

- qāLi'i*** (<*qā[ɬ]-li'i*) but in fact (containing the element *li'i* REALLY,
 TRULY; see also *ye^sli'i*, *uli'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *quli'i*)
nɪ'mnɪm vai čɪ'mčeqäi va'rɪkɪn, *Eiwhue'n qāLi'i* a settlement is
 quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7
qāLi'i qɪt but in fact, it is you 23.5
qāLi'i Re'kkeñɪt but in fact, they were Reken 34.5
qāLi'i êto'-qai'a'qañ gewkwe'lin in fact after a short time he de-
 parted 45.11
qāLi'i ri's'lin in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2
qāLi'i enqa'n . . . ê'tɪn ye'tyi^s in fact this was the master
 70.28-30
qāLi'i pɪnlø'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'niçit in reality they were murderous
 68.20

qäli'i ñm qun qäi-a'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'ni in fact a funeral circle 108.17

qeteu' even now

garaqêçha'Lên qeteu' what has the bad one been doing, even
 now 31.9

qetë'm, qettë'm, kete'm just, just like

qette'm qü'mnin yara'ni just like my house

kete'm plitku 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'thiçi, tu'mgin enqa'n qo'nirim geñewtu'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'nirim ça'ma qo'çer-qla'ül-e-üm enqana'ta ño'o-e-üm gene'l-i-üm
 because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became
 R 45.27-28

*qo'nirim gumni'n i'gıt i'rälqäl u'inä . . . trê'lqätya^εq 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'niri tılv-e'tqin-i-gıt since you are utterly bad

qo'nirim e'un eli'gin i'mı viri'tägi'lin since (the) father has also
 died a voluntary death R 49.11. See also R 32.37

qo'nirim Eñe'neñe eiñe'wü ça'ma i'liil ñm, 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^εi^ε he was quite dead 83.21

qo'n.pü nımi'tvañño'a^t they began to be quite a camp 107.19

gık, qoñpü ninenmelewe'tqin he is made quite well 127.3; 135.12-13

qun, qu'num, qun-ñm probably an emphatic particle, stronger
 than *ñm* (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 niçüite'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 mı'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'tkwi valata thus it is! they move about with the
 knives 16.4

a'ni qun li'en' re'p'kirgäs ratopa'wkwa^s thus it is! simply you will
 come home, she will be pregnant 104.4

a'ni qu'num te'kičhin qānu'utki thus it is! then eat the meat!
 14.6

a'ni qu'num qanto'ê^s come out! 81.27

a'ni qun, i'ppe qun thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3

têrga'tyê^s qun ūm he cried 116.7

ki'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñtvi'i^s did he this time attain shaman-
 istic power? 18.4

ki'ta'm qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time? 18.1

ki'ta'm qun ê^snñičhin qai'pūgun this time put on the necklace
 16.6

ki'ta'm qu'num minirri'l-ki this time we will let thee go 21.5-6

ki'ta'm qu'num inele'tti qatvu'gīnat this time what shall there be
 for payment? 102.11

ki'tau'qun a'tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmik this time the big dog saved
 us 106.26-27.

ki'tau' qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time 17.12

attau'-qun ñon ūm Tño'tirgina minpêčarê'ra we are just going to
 Tño'tirgin for food 119.18

attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'ta qätči'gin just get the sledge ready 105.20

e'nmen -qun ra'gtie^s ELA' then the mother went home 30.10

qāĭ'i'i ūm qun qāi-a^sttiqāi in fact, it was only a small pup 80.4

In the following examples *qun* follows verbs, verbal nouns and
 pronominal forms.

ñipe'ä^st qu'num E'n'ki they went ashore there 71.12

panča'tik nñmpe'qinet qu'num gi leaping it went ashore, indeed!
 122.16

a'un -gêta'gti pilhırra'tyä^s qu'num he makes himself flat before
 them 83.28-84.1

ti'ñunin qu'num he pulled it out 84.7

ei'miunin ūm qun he caught him 121.13

vü^slın ūm qu'num enqa'n nine'lqin dead that one had become
 (he had died) 125.10

yi^slhin ūm qu'num, rä^s'nut it was the moon, what was it? 86.26-27

rä^s'nut qu'num lo'ñil what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4

i'me-rä^s'nut qu'num everything 107.2

mi'ñkri qu'num mithitte'urkin it is because we are hungry 70.24

čei'vutkwi^snıñnımeiti, qu'num a'tto'rguqaiia 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'gıtüm mrura'gıatya^{en} let us take it home now!
121.27

It seems, however, that instead of *ge, tam* we might read *kıta'm* as p. 21.5

quLi'i in this case indeed (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^eli'i, uli'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäli'i*)

quLi'i va'añqan a^tttin ni'ilhit in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

geçeu'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 ninemırke'w-i-üm I have been working hard 81.9

qai'vE ñe'wäq ena'n çini'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'miñ yuqya'nu gana^e'linau they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3

imiñ gayai'tilen nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8

i'miñ . . . pıa'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^e'lin only the cow was left Kor. 78.12

Enna'nıku from that time on Kor. 80.7

Enqa'ta

enka'ta tılai'vıkin ñe'ıa 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'ıaⁿ gaplıtėu'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'mtɪla^sn 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'mtɪla^sn then (there was) Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

Eñna^san thus

enña^s'an thus it is! Kor. 78.2

galqaɪɪn qaičayiči'ña enña^s'an wūs'qū'mčɪku she went groping thus in the dark Kor. 16.9-10

enña^s'an vañvolai'ke thus they lived Kor. 43.7

enña'an gayiɪtɛl'ñivo'lenat thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

gina'n enña^s'an ina'ntɪ thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

qo'ɪa enña^s'nač Yayo'ča-ñawgut gai'ɪɪɪn after a while they gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

enña^s'nvot gani'kalimau all at once something happened Kor. 70.17-18

Dual forms:

enña^s'anet gana'tvɪlen thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

enña^s'anet patta'la mani'ti gayɪ'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

awi'ut Kor. 44.5

a'wun (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna *e'wun* Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

a'wun gaya'lqrwɪlinau and so they entered Kor. 80.18-19

a'wun im-la'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'ɪe* Paren, Kor. 97.17)

awnu'p (?) Kor. 64.11

a'wgi falsely Kor. 88.14

am (Paren *ɪm*)

qun-am nu'tak ui'ña ane'lhryɪpnuka even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nin qun-ɪm Uwe'ñpɪɪɪñ the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

a'men

a'men gawgu'ɪin and they tied her Kor. 23.4

a'men e'wañ and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

a'men yɪ'nna and now what! Kor. 28.2

a'čhi a'men gū'mkɪɪñ ni'wi-gi just now like me thou wert talking Kor. 29.2

a'mu I do not know Kor. 55.3

atau vainly Kor. 61.3

ata'mtrm 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'ňqañ a'nam gi'łinau how then did they become? Kor.
61.9-10

a'nam . . . qała'lin 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 nryatılqi'wqin, E'ňki mityr'lqała just when he was
about to come, we went to sleep

a'łimI I wish it were!

a'łımı vai'čita I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2-3

gina'n a'łımñ qeti'gin I wish thou wouldst take it Kor.
72.24-74.1

ałva' other

ałva'lin 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'olen, e'en gavr'e'yalin he visited him and he was dead
Kor. 20.8

ya'nya e'en ña'witqatu partly also women Kor. 44.2

e'en . . . gamławanka'wlen and she ended her dance Kor. 48.6

gakya'wlinau e'en yaq ñi'łın ni'tın 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'tın e'wun missaitıla'ñın 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'ñın the real child Kor. 68.11

gümni'n i'pa qła'wul vi's'gi my real husband died Kor. 21.10-22.1

i'pa lr'ge-ta'ta our real father Kor. 74.20

i'na^e quickly Kor. 39.2

gaye'm i'n'a nrya'tın 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'nmīq really, in truth

i'nmīq tapañañivo'ykrn in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8

i'nmīqu'nīm 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

ui'ña 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 gei'liḷin he also gave him fat Kor. 15.4-5

qla'wul o'pta enka'ta tḷai'vikrn a man also was walking there
Kor. 21.9

Quyqrnn'a'qu o'pta e'wañ Big-Raven also said Kor. 29.5

qo'ḷa ai'ak o'pta . . . gayo'oḷen 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'nmi (?) Kor. 74.10

ya'wač (?) Kor. 64.9

y'anya (Ch. *ya'n'a*) partly, separately

yaq (indefinite pronoun, see § 59) and now

wu'tčrn yaq yr'нна and this now, what is it? Kor. 36.9

ame'yaq ña'wis'qat 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'krpa gapr'wyalin only (with) fly-eggs she scattered
Kor. 45.2

ve'lo ya'qam ninataikriwo'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'l gañekeḷa'ḷen and so she felt ashamed Kor. 60.1

vi'yañ, ve'eñ (?)

vi'yañ iskuła'ti (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2

vi'yañ lełapi'teoñvo'ykrn nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8

ña'no vi'yañ kisva'čik va'ykrn 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^s'yuk afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5

va^s'ak Kor. 56.5; 64.9

van (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee demonstrative particle *nan* which is also used adverbially).

wi'ña-van minka'kiła 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'mlirñ-van kitve'-li'ga penči'ykrn after that he rushed at her every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10

pa'ła perhaps Kor. 60.5

mači maybe

ma'či wu'tėuk mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7

ma'čči vi'łka va'ykrn 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'kiqrn 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^s'pilirñ ti'ta minelo^s'čola when we find a shaman's wand Kor. 27.7

ti'ta qũ'mma tra'tik when was I at home? Kor. 68.13

ti'ta o'pta ninanuva^s'an let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15

ti'taq mu'yu mita^sttayi'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 mmtelhyalai'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' atawalñi'a'ka do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6; 52.10
ki'tta negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. *en-ñe*)
- ki'tkit* a little
- ki'kit; ki'kič* as soon as 84.3
ki'kit gayi'ltiñ as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3
ki'kič gaya'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*
qačr'n plakgeñe'trñ na's'čañvoqen for he had passed water into the boots Kor. 14.2
qačr'n qo'npñ niki'ta gana's'zen therefore altogether it became night Kor. 16.6
qačr'n mi'lya'qpil because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8
gayo's'oñen, qačr'n vi'tvitpil they visited her, for there was a small ringed seal Kor. 24.4
qačr'n ena'n tawi'tkiñik for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3

ña'nyeu qač'i'n Yaqyamtila's'nu for those were Bumble-Bee-Men
Kor. 44.6

qa'č'in wi'ña ana'luka gatr'kač'en for without chewing he swal-
lowed her Kor. 84.1

qa'čIk

gr'ssa qa'čik wi'ña a'lva a'tvaka for this reason will you be
(feel) wrong Kor. 18.7

gũ'mma qa'čik oyamya'-gum for am I human game Kor. 42.6

qun, qun-am

grina'n qun nita'witkiñi-gi' so thou art playing mischief Kor. 82.9
qu'nam nu'tak wi'ña ane'lh-yipnuka 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

qu'nam mu'yi . . . oya'myañ mitr'nmin even we too (alone)
have killed a man Kor. 68.3

qu'nam qun Kor. 74.17

vê'tha-go'nom just now Kor. 56.10

qo'npũ very, quite (*qon'pu* Chukchee; *xë* Kamchadal); Kor.
13.10; 15.8; 41.8, etc.

gũmłañ again Kor. 15.8; 18.8; 19.8 etc.

ña'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 mean-
ings. 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 *-äm* К. К. *-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.

Parent *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 ġina'n li'i ġälhi'ġin? have you no knowledge at all? 38.4

yi'liil rurkinin te'kičhin va'nêvan tongues he eats, meat not at all 49.4

va'nêvan nute's'ġän ni'yo'e'nên they did not at all reach the ground 52.12

va'nêvan ne'nlu'e'rkinet kele'tä the kele could not see them at all 100.29

va'nêvan na'nayilhau'nên a'ttin they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25

va'nêvan anto'kälên ne'us'ġät the woman did not go out at all 54.8

va'nêvan ġarê'm nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan ä'nlu'e'net they could not see them at all 61.10

va'nêvan ele d'lomka they did not hear anything 60.10

va'nêvan elu'e'kä they are invisible 62.1

va'nêvan eu'rrekëlin it is not visible 62.2

2. *ġarê'm*; Kor. Kam. *ġaye'm*; Kor. Par., *ġeye'm*; Kor. II

(village *Qare'nin* and others in Kamchatka *i'ġut*); Kamchadal:

x'ënč, x'ë. Used always with the exhortative, or alone with

exhortative meaning, and ignifying negative future.

ġarê'm min'nmritik we shall not kill you 13.4

ġarê'm mine'etyä'k I shall not become black 23.6

ġarê'm milhriñso'a'n I shall not treat him 24.10

ġarê'm minmu'ut I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7

ġarê'm mra'ġtia'k I will not return home 99.2, 24

ġarê'm eli'ġä rinenyegtele'tyä' father will not allow me to live 99.15

ġarê'm mi'ilhä'n I will not do it 99.20

ġarê'm mi'ilhit I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9

ġarê'm miye'tyä'k I will not come

a'men ġarê'm! but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

qarê'm i'gít! 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 mlá'ek*, Kor. II. *i'hut mlé'ek*, Kamchadal *x'ênê mnuk* I will not eat

Koryak.—

ačhiva'n qaye'm this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3

qaye'm ña'no-van mīnutñana'wge I shall not be able to eat them Kor. 55.8

qaye'm enalħa'lmik he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.

qarê'm quwi'etik do not die! (i. e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from *qarê'm* is the verbal form *qarê'mên* (Kor. Kam.

qıyme'en Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. *qısmé'nen*) it is not so, not true.

qarê'mên i'etik lü'mñıl it is not really a story 61.5

qarê'mênai'-güm I am not this one 23.5

qarê'mên ora'wêłan he is not a human being 29.9

qarê'mêná'igüm qlá'ulêüm I am not a man

qarê'mêná'igıt qlá'ülêgıt thou art not a man

qarê'mêná'igüm nıru'lüüm I am not feeble

qarê'mêná'igıt nıru'lügıt thou art not feeble

qarê'mên nıru'lqın he is not feeble

qaremênai'güm ñe'usqätüüm I am not a woman 116.31

Kor. Kam. *qıyme'w un* impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. *er'ñe* Kor. Kam. *kı'tta*, Kamchadal *jak*, *x'ê* do not! (see § 114 p. 823)

4. *êlo'* NO *eło'* (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9

ełe no 30.8

nä'st'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 tre'ilħıt I shall not give thee

5. *e'le* NOT, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. *e'le*, Reindeer Kor. *e'le*, Kor. II., village Qare'ñın and others in Kamchatka *ełla*, 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 Qare'ñın and others in Kamchatka *em*, *e'mma* NOT. The Kamchadal uses *qam* (see above, under *e'le*). Kor. Par. uses also *e'le* alone

u'ñä ep'i'ñkã I have no powder

See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative prefix-suffix we find—

čai u'ñä, ta'aq u'ñä, tam-vq'igrgin gümni'n no tea, no tobacco,
mine is a good life!

(Kor. Par.) *e'le ep'i'ñke* I have no powder

Derived from this particle is *u'ñiln* HAVING NONE.

u'ñilüm ep'i'ñkëliüm 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 uhuhuhuh!

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!

goñá'ar'kin 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. *uqa'*) 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'er'kin! 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:

qu'nä! 82.16; 85.6; R 76.27 sure!

qu'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. *nä'wal*) call among women

wüi'! 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'ëo 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.

| *ëe* 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:

gi, gi, gi R 74.46 (Kor. *mikrikirik!* 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*gi gi!* 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'ümgm 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
ëig, ëig! 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone
piw, piw! 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground
piq, piq! 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground
pr! 88.17 sound produced with lips
 (Koryak) *vakikiki'!* Kor. 46.1 jabbering of magpie

Shaman's calls

egegegegei'! 15.7; 68.28; (Kor. *ogogogogoi'!*); 66.35 (here merely fatigue, though borrowed also from shamanistic practice)

otototototoi'! 59.4

otatatatatatai'! 59.4

Answer to shaman's call

git, git, git, gige'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'onrn 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, i! 9.13; *gik, i'!* 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 ũm 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!

tite'net! 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in compounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form

tite'net-i-git it is wonderful with you

tite'net-tu'ri (plur.) it is wonderful with you

tite'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))
- ečhinre'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)
- nīre'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'pqiñ (literally, clever) fool

ēikayē'tu-wa'lin (from *ēika'yōñ-wa'lin* intelligent) silly

ermē'urkin (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness

also

emtinē'urkin (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger

wulwūw' (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear

lei'wūlin (literally, the one who walks about) wolf

re'qātkurkin (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading

va'irgītkōrkin (from *va'irgin* 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>érem</i>	<i>a'yim</i>	commander (literally, strong man)
<i>téqenañ</i>	<i>ta'qana</i>	tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with)
<i>teq-érem</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>étti-koi'ñim</i>	glass (literally, ice-cup)
<i>wui'qun</i>	<i>gui'vin</i>	fortified log-house
<i>tin-u'kkäm</i>	<i>puti'lkan</i>	bottle (Russian бутылка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel)
<i>äsq-i'mil</i>	<i>a^εqa'-mi'mil</i>	brandy (literally, bad water)
<i>keli'kel</i>	<i>kali'ka!</i>	letter, book, writing (literally, carving)
<i>keli'tul</i>	<i>kal'i'tul</i>	ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving)
<i>ta'aq-koi'ñim</i>	<i>ka'nča</i>	tobacco-pipe (local Russian ганза, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup)
<i>émté'-qal</i>	—	(one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side)
<i>yara'r-é'kkam</i>	—	flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vesse')
<i>aima'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'aq</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'čir</i>	<i>ko'čir</i>	козырь (trump)	cards

<i>čol</i>	<i>čol</i>	СОЛЬ	salt
<i>toro'ma</i>	<i>toro'wa</i>	здорово	how is your health?
<i>čé'čver</i>	<i>čé'čver</i>	четверть	quarter
<i>koro'walhin</i>	<i>koro'wa</i>	корова	cow
<i>ka'čak</i>	<i>ka'sak</i>	казакъ	cossack
<i>ettó'l</i>	<i>stol</i>	столъ	table
<i>toré'lqan</i>	<i>toré'lka</i>	тарелка	plate

CHUKCHEE TEXT

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE MOON¹

E'nmen² qol³ yara'čhin,⁴ ñe'us'qät⁵ üm⁶ qol³ ora'weLa-
 Once a certain house, woman certain human
 ña'us'qat⁷ uwä⁸'qučitä⁸ E'nku⁹ ġe'tčilin,¹⁰ e'nmen² ġequ'pqälin,¹¹
 woman the husband to rejection used her, then she was starving,
 elvetiñe'tä¹² ġene'lin¹³ em-qu'pqätä.¹⁴ E'nmen² ġite'.¹⁵ Qän've'r
 crawling on she became just by starving. Then she was After that
 all-fours hungry.
 üm⁶ yara'čhin⁴ lu⁸'nin,¹⁶ res'qi'wkwie,¹⁷ čiče'pġie,¹⁸ e'ur¹⁹ teik-
 a certain house she saw it, she entered she looked at the made
 about same time
 evi'rin²⁰ ġaimēi'vülēn,²¹ e'ur¹⁹ üpa'lha²² keme'ñi²³ ġeyr'relin,²⁴
 garments were hanging, at the with tallow a dish was full,
 same time
 nıqam'tvaqēn²⁵ üm⁶ e'nmen,² li'en nıplı'tkuqin,²⁶ nıqınteu'qin²⁷
 she eats and then, just she finished, she fled
 nota'gti.²⁸
 to the country.

¹ From W. Bogoras, *Chukchee Texts*; Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Vol. VIII, pp. 86-89.

² ONCE UPON A TIME, also connective AND THEN, THEN; always in narrative (p. 858).

³ Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic *qułı* is also used (§ 60, p. 732).

⁴ Stem *ra* HOUSE; *yara* probably reduplication from *rara*; -*čhin* A PARTICULAR ONE (§ 53, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense THERE WAS A PARTICULAR HOUSE.

⁵ Stem *ñeu* FEMALE; -*qät* a suffix, probably related to others in -*sq-*, but not free. Absolute form as before.

⁶ Particle, indicating that the whole story is well known to the narrator, and is supposed to be known to the hearer (§ 128, p. 849).

⁷ *ora'wer+la'n* WHAT BELONGS TO THE HUMAN RACE (§ 54, p. 717); *r+l* in contact form *ı* (§ 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 (§ 115, p. 826).

⁸ Subjective form in -*ta* (§§ 37, p. 697); here as subject of transitive verb (§ 92, p. 780).

⁹ *E'nku*; verbal stem *enk* TO REJECT, TO REFUSE; -*u* suffix (§103.34) expressing purpose, depending upon the following verb.

¹⁰ *ričiči'rkın* or *ričiči'rkın* to make some one something (§ 79, p. 765); stem *rič*—initial; *ič* medial; *ġe—lin* nominalized verb (b) (§ 73, p. 758).

¹¹ Stem *qupq(äl)* TO STARVE; *ġe—lin* SHE WHO HAD ATTAINED A STARVING CONDITION (§ 73); *ı<t+l* (§ 7).

¹² Stem *elvetiñ*, -*et* adverbial suffix (§ 110.70, p. 810); *ä* Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64; 95, p. 786).

¹³ Stem *nel* (§ 77); *ġe—lin* (see note 10); *ı<l+l* (§ 7).

¹⁴ *em-* MERE (§ 113, 7, p. 816); *qupqät* TO STARVE (see note 11); -*ä* Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95).

¹⁵ *ġitteu* TO BE HUNGRY.

¹⁶ Stem *lu⁸* TO SEE; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67, p. 741).

¹⁷ Stem *res'qiu* TO ENTER; -*qi⁸* HE (§ 64, p. 733); *wkw<u+y* (§§ 7.2; 72.4).

¹⁸ Stem *čičep* related to *lılep* TO LOOK (§§ 2; 122, p. 834), also *čiče* TO LOOK; -*qi⁸* HE (§ 64).

¹⁹ § 128, p. 855.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ Stem *yım* TO HANG; suffix—*yv(u)* frequentative or intensive (§110.54); *ġe—lén* (§ 74, p. 760); with ablaut (§ 3).

²² *üpg'lıın* TALLOW; subjective form in -*ä* expressing modality (§§ 37, 92); with ablaut (§ 3).

²³ *keme'ñi* DISH, absolute form in -*ñi* (§ 30); absolute form as subject of intr. verb (§ 91).

²⁴ Stem *yır* FULL; with suffix -*et* (§ 110, 70); *ġe—lin* (see note 10); *ı<t+l*.

²⁵ Stem *qım*, compounded with *tvg* to be; *n—qin* ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73, p. 758); with ablaut (§ 3).

²⁶ Stem *pl* and suffix -*tku* (§ 110, 67), compare *plġi* it is ended; *n—qin* see note 25.

²⁷ Stem *qınt*; with suffix -*eu* (§ 110, 70); *n—qin* see note 25.

²⁸ Stem *nyıg*; -*ptġ* after vowel, allative (§ 40); ablaut (§ 3).

Qla'ul ²⁹	püki'rgi ³⁰	čei ³¹ vtuku'lm.	Yi'lhin ³²	üm ⁶	qu'num,	rä ³³ 'nut.
A man	came	walking.	The moon	really,	what.	
“Guq,	čêq-a'lvam-va'lm, ³⁴	rä ³⁵ 'nut ³³	lei'vurkin ³⁵	qamitvala'arkin, ³⁶		
“Oh,	quite extraordinary being,	what	is walking	is eating much,		
u'kkâm-yi'riir ³⁷	te'lpirkin. ³⁸ ”	Ne'me	irga'tik ³⁹	ewkwe'tyi ⁴⁰ .		
vessel-full	is finished.”	Again	in the morning	he started.		
Elve'lin ⁴¹	li'en	ple'kit ⁴²	nênai'pügênat, ⁴³	na'qam	eu'rrekêlin ⁴⁴	
Other ones	just	boots	he put on,	however	not appeared	
ñe'wän. ⁴⁵	Ne'me	qäti' ⁴⁶	e'ur ¹⁹	Enqa'n ⁴⁷	ñe'us'qät ⁵	püki'rgi ³⁰
a wife.	Again	he went,	at the same time	then	the woman	came,
üpa'lhim ²²	ne'me	lu ¹⁸ 'nin.	Qamitvala'tyê ⁴⁸ ,	qän've'r	gm'kew'kwi ⁴⁹ .	
the tallow	again	she saw it.	She ate much,	after that	she grew fatter.	
Qla'ul ²⁹	üm ⁶	ne'me	ragtê ⁵⁰	“Guq,	u'nmu'ni a'ni. ⁵¹	Čêq-a'lvam-va'lin. ³⁴
The man	again	came home.	“Oh,	how bad!	Quite extraordinary	
being.	What	then	is eating much?	Well then	this time	in the morning
ečei'vutkukä ⁵³	mi'tyäk! ⁷⁵⁴	Ne'me	am-ginotilo ⁵⁵	ne'lyi ⁵⁶	Lu'ur ⁵⁷	
not going	let me be!”	Again	merê mid-day	it became.	Thereupon	
ne'me	ño'tri ⁵⁸	ye'tyi ⁵⁹	res'qi'wkwi ⁶¹⁷	üm ⁶	ne'me,	takêčhê'tri ⁶⁰
again	behind there	she came,	she entered	again,	to the meat	she went.

²⁹ Probably reduplicated absolute form from a stem *qla* (*qla'tl*) (§ 29); *q* before consonant becomes *č* (§ 7); absolute form as subject of intransitive verb (§ 91).

³⁰ Stem *pükir* in initial position; *pkir* in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).

³¹ Stem *čei³¹vu*, related to *leivu* (§§ 2, 122); *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *-ltn* ONE WHO (§ 54). See note 35.

³² Absolute form; predicative.

³³ See § 59 p. 729; absolute form.

³⁴ *čiq*- EXCESSIVELY (§ 113, 15); *čivg* DIFFERENT; *alvam-va'lm* EXTRAORDINARY (§ 112, 82, p. 814) stem *va*- TO BE, initial *va*- (§ 12.2, p. 661); *-ltn* (§ 54).

³⁵ Stem *leivu*, related to *čei³¹vu* (note 31); *-rkin* derived form (§§ 64, 87).

³⁶ See note 25; derived form (§§ 64, 87); *-let* FREQUENTATIVE, (§ 110.53 with *t* dropping out in intervocalic position (§ 10).

³⁷ *u'kkâm* DISH, stem *yir* FULL, here reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

³⁸ Stem *te³⁸lp*; derived form (see note 35).

³⁹ Stem *irg* dawn; a locative form (§ 38). Compare *irg³⁹iro'ññoi* IT BEGAN TO DAWN 9.13; *irg³⁹iro'k* at dawn 10.3.

⁴⁰ Stem *ewkw* with suffix *-et* (§ 110, 70); *ty < t + g* (§ 7.26, p. 654).

⁴¹ *elve* DIFFERENT, OTHER; *-lin* absolute form (§ 60.3); singular and instead of plural (§ 46, p. 709). The strong form *alva* signifies AWAY!

⁴² Plural.

⁴³ Stem *ipü*; 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).

⁴⁴ Stem *urr(cu)* often medially *wurr*; *e-kêlin* negation (§ 114, 4; p. 824).

⁴⁵ Derived from *ñeu* FEMALE.

⁴⁶ Stem medially *qät*; 3^d person past, more frequently *qä'tyit*; *ty < t + g* (§ 7.26, p. 654).

⁴⁷ Demonstrative (§ 57).

⁴⁸ See note 36, *ty < t + g* (§ 7.26, p. 654).

⁴⁹ Stem *gin'k + eu* (§ 110, 70); *wkw < u + g* (§ 7.2).

⁵⁰ From *ra* house, probably the allative form *ragt⁵⁰* which serves here as verbal stem: *tiê < t-giê* with ablaut (§§ 3, 7).

⁵¹ Particles (§ 128, p. 853).

⁵² § 128, p. 852.

⁵³ Stem *čei³¹vu*, see notes 31 and 35; *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *e-kü* negation (§ 114, 4), see also note 44.

⁵⁴ Stem *ü* to be, 1st person subj. (*a*); *ty < t + g* (§ 7.26).

⁵⁵ *em-* MERE (§ 113, 7); *gino'n* middle; *ilo'*, *a'to'* DAY.

⁵⁶ Stem *nel-* TO BECOME; *ty < l + g* (§ 7): see Note 13.

⁵⁷ § 126, p. 868.

⁵⁸ Demonstrative particle (§ 57).

⁵⁹ Stem *yet-* TO COME.

⁶⁰ *teki'čhin* MEAT; allative form in *-ėti* (§§ 53, 40).

Ne'me eči čit⁶¹ qamir'tvarkm,⁶² lu'ur⁵⁷ pi'riniu.⁶³

Again before as be- she ate, thereupon he took her.
fore

'Akakaka!' ilu'kā⁶⁴ a'lva!⁷⁴ nrqama'graqên.⁶⁵ 'Çu, e'uñan⁶⁶
"Ah, ah, ah! motionless away!" she struggled. "Oh, so

gına'n."⁶⁷—"Çu'nä, a'lva,⁴¹ qine'rrihi!⁶⁸—"Çu'nä, ilu'kä.⁶⁴ Qarê'm⁶⁹
thou." — "Oh, away! let me go!" — "Oh motionless. Not

minre'qewkur,⁷⁰ mimñilo'ur.⁷¹ Çık, ia'm nilei'vutku-ï-gr⁷²
I shall do anything to thee, I will question thee. Oh, why art thou walking about?

Qai've gêtir'nvê-gr?⁷³—"Ui'nä."⁷⁴—"E'mim?"—"Uwä'⁶quçitâ⁸ E'nku'⁹
Indeed thou hast a master!" — "No." — "Where is he?" — "My husband to rejection

gine'tçilin,⁷⁵ gşnançaatvau'lên,⁷⁶ ginenqu'pçeuilin."⁷⁷—"en'qa'm"⁷⁸
used me, he cast me off, he let me starve." — "Then

va'nêvan⁷⁹ wu'tku⁸⁰ yara'çiku⁸¹ re'qän⁸² qinelu'rkim."⁸³—"Va'nê-
not at all here inside of the something thou hast seen." — "Nothing."

van."⁷⁹ "Çuq, a'mên⁸⁴ ùm, mimata'gıt."⁸⁵
"Oh, then let me marry thee."

Ma'tanên.⁸⁶ Ne'me çei'vutku!⁸⁷ Wulqätvi'k⁸⁸ ùm⁸ pükir'i.⁸⁹
He married her. Again he walked. In the evening he came.

⁶¹ Before, formerly (§ 127, p. 848).

⁶² See notes 25, 36, 48; here *qamitva*, derived tense in *-rkin* (§§ 64, 87).

⁶³ Stem *piri* to take; *-nin* he—him (§ 67).

⁶⁴ *ilu* TO MOVE; *e—ka* negation (§ 114, 4). The initial *e* is contracted with the *i* of the stem.

⁶⁵ Stem *qama'gra*; *n—qên* (§ 73); with ablaut (§ 3).

⁶⁶ § 126, p. 855.

⁶⁷ Subjective form (§ 56); presumably as subject of an idea like YOU HAVE EATEN IT.

⁶⁸ Stem initial *rriiri*, medial *rrii*; *ine-* (§§ 67; 113. 28); *q—gi²* imperative 2d person sing.

⁶⁹ Negation with exhortative meaning (§ 131.2).

⁷⁰ 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*.

⁷¹ Stem **pñilo*; initial form *ptñlo-*; medial form *-mñilo-*; *m—git* LET ME—THEE, see note 70.

⁷² Stem *leivu*, see notes 31, 35, 53; *-tku* (§§ 110, 67); predicative form of nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁷³ Stem *çitmv* MASTER (§§ 48, 73).

⁷⁴ NO (§ 131.6).

⁷⁵ See note 10; here with the prefix *-ine-* referring to the first person (§ 73).

⁷⁶ See note 75, the same form; stem *-çgätv-*; *r—qu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

⁷⁷ See note 75, the same form; stem *qupq* TO STARVE (see note 11); *r—qu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

⁷⁸ Conjunction (§ 128, p. 858).

⁷⁹ § 131. 1.

⁸⁰ Demonstrative (§ 57); as particle *vai*; stem *wut-*; locative in *-k*.

⁸¹ See note 4; *-tku* inside of, nominal (§ 101, 24).

⁸² *rñq* SOMETHING; here absolute form (irregular) used as object with the verbs *iu* TO SAY, *lu⁸* TO SEE

⁸³ Stem *lu⁸* TO SEE; derived tense in *-rkin* (§ 64); *ine-* (§ 113. 28); *q-* imperative (§ 64); here used as a past (§ 85).

⁸⁴ Conjunction (§ 128, p. 853).

⁸⁵ Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; subjunctive (*a*), *m—git* LET ME—THEE (§ 67).

⁸⁶ Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; *-nin* HE—HER (§ 67).

⁸⁷ Stem *çevu+tku*, see notes 31, 35, 53. The *g* of the ending *-gi²* has dropped out on account of its intervocalic position.

⁸⁸ Stem *wulq* EVENING, compare *wu'sq* DARKNESS; a locative form (§ 38); *-tvi* to become (§ 110, 68)

⁸⁹ Initial stem *pükir*, medial *pkir*; abbreviated termination for *-gi²*.

I'wkwī ⁹⁰	en'ñō't ⁹¹	ñawanê'ti, ⁹²	“En'ñē ⁹³	a'ntoka ⁹⁴	ralkoçrkor'pū. ⁹⁵
He said	thus	to his wife,	“Don't	not going	from the inside of the
				out	inner room.
Minre's'qumik, ⁹⁶	li'en'	çot-tagnê'tr ⁹⁷	ple'kit ⁴²	qāni'ntrñinet. ⁹⁸	
Let us enter,	just	pillow	edge to	boots	throw them.”
E'nmen ²	ri'ntminet. ⁹⁹	E'nmen ²	lu'ur ⁵⁷	vai ¹⁰⁰	keme'ñr ²³ , em-keme'ñi ⁵⁵
Then	she threw them.	Then	there- upon	here	a dish, a mere dish
res'qi'wkwī ^ε , ¹⁷	e'un ¹⁰¹	ere'tā ¹⁰²	geyr'relin. ¹⁰³	Qamr'tvaa ^{εt} , ¹⁰⁴	ne'me
came in,	then	with boiled meat	being full.	They ate,	again
li'en'	ne'nvuā ^{εn} ¹⁰⁵	keme'ñr, ²³	irga'trk ³⁹	üm ⁶	kiye'wkwā ^{εt} . ¹⁰⁶ E'un ¹⁰¹
just	they put out	the dish,	in the morn- ing	they awoke.	At that time
keme'ñr ²³	gite'nin ¹⁰⁷	ñe'us'qātā, ¹⁰⁸	genu'mkeulin ¹⁰⁹ .		
the dish	she saw it	the woman,	it was put in its proper place.		
Ne'me	çei'vutkui ^ε . ⁸⁷	Ge'lvinin, ¹¹⁰	“Gik,irga'trk ³⁹	üm ⁶	minine'tçimik ¹¹¹
Again	he went.	He obtained a wild reindeer,—	Oh, to-morrow	let us have a thanks- giving ceremonial.	
Tai'ñikwut ¹¹²	en'ñē ⁹³	gīna'n ⁶⁷	enne'kā ¹¹³	qāntr'ginet. ⁹⁹ ¹¹⁴	E'un ¹⁰¹
The charm-strings	don't	thou	not carry out	have them for ones being thus.”	And so
nayopa'tya ^{εn} ¹¹⁵	ēna'tçyio ¹¹⁶	ilvilu', ¹¹⁷	e'un ¹⁰¹	tai'ñikwut ¹¹²	gene'çinet. ¹¹⁸
they went to it	made to be the thanksgiving ceremonial	wild rein- deer,	and so	the charm- strings	were on it.
Çuq,	yilqā'tyā ^{εt} . ¹¹⁹	Irga'trk ³⁹	üm ⁶	kiye'wkwā ^{εt} , ¹⁰⁶	ne'me
Oh,	they slept.	Next morning		they awoke,	again

⁹⁰ Stem *iu*; suffix *-gē*; *wkw* < *u+g* (§ 7).

⁹¹ See § 58, p. 727.

⁹² Stem *ñewān* wife; *-çti* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

⁹³ § 131.3.

⁹⁴ Initial stem *ñito*, medial *nlo* TO GO OUT; *ç-kā* not (§ 114.4).

⁹⁵ Stem *relku*; *-çtku* interior (§ 101.24); *-tpū* ablative (§ 42).

⁹⁶ Stem *res'qū* TO ENTER; subjunctive (*a*), *min-mik* LET US (§ 64); see Note 17.

⁹⁷ ÇOT PILLOW; *te'gin* edge; *-çti* ALLATIVE (§ 40); PILLOW-EDGE I. E. THE OUTER TENT.

⁹⁸ Stem *int*; *r-* TO CAUSE TO (§ 114.1 c); *qā-ñinet* THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).

⁹⁹ Stem and prefix as in note 98; *-ninet* HE—THEM (§ 67).

¹⁰⁰ Demonstrative particle; stem *wut-* (§ 57, p. 723). See note 80.

¹⁰¹ § 128, p. 855.

¹⁰² *e'ret* boiled meat; *-ā* instrumental (§ 37).

¹⁰³ Stem *yir* FULL. See note 24.

¹⁰⁴ See notes 25, 36, 48, 62; here 3d per. plur. ending *-gāçt*, with intervocalic *g* dropping out; ablaut (§ 3).

¹⁰⁵ Stem *nvu*.

¹⁰⁶ Initial stem *kry+eu*, medial *gg+eu*, suffix *-eu*; *wkw* < *u+g* (§ 7).

¹⁰⁷ Stem *gite* TO SEE, *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).

¹⁰⁸ See note 5, *-ā* SUBJECTIVE as subject of transitive verb.

¹⁰⁹ Transitive prefix *r-*, in medial position *-n-* (§ 114.1); Stem *umk+eu* (§ 110.70); *ge-lin* (§ 73).

¹¹⁰ Stem *lv* WILD REINDEER, *-u* TO CONSUME (§ 111.71); *ge-lin* (§ 73).

¹¹¹ Stem *inetç* TO HAVE A THANKSGIVING CEREMONIAL (perhaps *ine+ç* but never used without *ine*; cf. Kor. Kam. *ina-çaxç-at*); subjunctive (*a*), *min-mik* LET US (§ 64).

¹¹² *tai'ñikulhñ* pl. *tai'ñikut* MISFORTUNE-PROTECTOR; Stem *taiña* TO TRESPASS; *-kwk* protector (§ 105.43).

¹¹³ *ç-kā* negation (§ 114.4). If it were affirmative this would be a verbal noun in *-t(ā)* dependent upon following verb (§ 80, p. 766); stem, initial *rne*, medial *nne*.

¹¹⁴ Initial stem *rt*, medial *nt*; *qā-ginet* THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).

¹¹⁵ Stem *yopqt* to visit; *ne-gāçn* THEY—HIM (§ 67).

¹¹⁶ Stem *inetç*, see note 111; *-yo* past participle (§ 107, 47); ablaut (§ 3).

¹¹⁷ Stem *lv*, absolute reduplicated form (§ 29).

¹¹⁸ Stem *net*; *ge-linet*, 3d person plural (§ 73).

¹¹⁹ Stem *yilqāt* TO SLEEP; *ty* < *t+g* (§ 7).

čei'vutkurkin. ⁸⁷	“Re ^ε qũm ⁸²	a'mên ⁸⁴	i'unin, ¹²⁰	‘N'o'onqan ¹²¹	če'ñil ¹²²	
he was going.	“What	then	he said to her,	“That	trunk	
en'ñe' ⁹³	enve'ntetkã ¹²³	qãntri'rkin. ¹²⁴	En'ñe' ⁹³	pegč'i'ñu ¹²⁵	e'lhikã. ¹²⁶	
don't	not opened	have it for one that is thus.	Don't	for object of concern	not having it as one.	
A'Imr ¹²⁷	quwalo'mürkin ¹²⁸	ũm ⁶	vê'ti. ¹²⁹			
However	obey		truly.			
Çik,	e'nmen ²	čei'vutkui ^ε , ⁸⁷	če'ñil ¹²²	ruwentečewiu'nin. ¹³⁰	E'un ¹⁰¹	
Oh,	then	he went,	the trunk	she opened it.	And so	
E'n'ki ¹³¹	ñe'usqãt ⁵	nênanva'tqên, ¹³²	en'men ²	lu'iqãl ¹³³	čĩna'ta ¹³⁴	va'Im, ³⁴
there	a woman	was placed	then	destined to be a face	split	being
qačã'kên ¹³⁵	le'qač ¹³⁶	nu'uqin, ¹³⁷	qol ¹³⁸	ũm ⁶	ničê'Loqên ¹³⁹	le'qač. ¹³⁶
one side	side of face	black,	the other		red	side of face.
E'nmen ²	ñe'us'qãt ⁵	yĩki'rgã ¹⁴⁰	puke'nmin: ¹⁴¹	“Pr.!”		
Then	the woman	with mouth	made a noise at her:	“Pr!”		
E'nmen ²	gite'nin, ¹⁰⁷	e'ur ¹⁹	ñan ¹⁴²	vai ¹⁰⁰	vi'ε ¹⁴³	pêkãgta'tyê. ¹⁴⁴
Then	she saw her,	at that time	that one	here	died,	she fell down.
E'nmen ²	rnênnomã'nên, ¹⁴⁵	mĩnkri ¹⁴⁶	nayilhau'qên, ¹⁴⁷	qailo'qim. ¹⁴		
Then	she closed it,	how	she was afraid	of course.		
Pũki'rgi'ε-m ¹⁴⁹	uwã'ε'quč. ¹⁵⁰	Res'qiwkwã'εt. ¹⁵¹	Vã'nêvan ⁷⁹	n'r'tvinên, ¹⁵²		
He came	the husband.	They entered.	Nothing	she told him,		

¹²⁰ Stem *iu* TO SAY; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).¹²¹ THAT YONDER, independent form (§ 57, p. 723).¹²² Absolute form (§ 28).¹²³ Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r-et* CAUSEATIVE (§ 114, 1); *e-kã* negation (§ 114, 4).¹²⁴ Stem *rt*, see note 114; derived form (§ 67).¹²⁵ *pegč'iñ* CONCERN; -*nu* SERVING FOR (§ 103. 34).¹²⁶ Stem -*lñ* (§ 78); *e-kã* negation (§ 114, 4).¹²⁷ Disjunctive conjunction (§ 128, p. 854).¹²⁸ Stem *walom* TO HEAR; imperative of derived form (§ 64).¹²⁹ Participle (§ 128, p. 863).¹³⁰ Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r-et* 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).¹³¹ Locative.¹³² *n-čnã-n-vg-t-qčn* (§ 74; also § 114.1).¹³³ § 103.37.¹³⁴ Stem *čĩñ*; suffix -*at*; verbal noun in -(*t*)*ã* dependent on the following participle *va'Im*.¹³⁵ *qãčã'kên* belonging to one side (§ 47).¹³⁶ *ly'ε* FACE; -*qač* SIDE OF (§ 101, 26).¹³⁷ See § 49.¹³⁸ See § 60, p. 732.¹³⁹ *n-qin* (§ 49)¹⁴⁰ *yĩki'rgin* MOUTH; -*a* subjective (§ 37).¹⁴¹ -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).¹⁴² Demonstrative (§ 57).¹⁴³ Stem *vi'ε* TO DIE, *vi'ε'ε'ε* < *vi'ε'gi'ε* with loss of intervocalic *g* (§ 10).¹⁴⁴ Stem *pêkãgt*; suffix -*at*¹⁴⁵ Stem *om(r)*; *r-at* (§114.1); *n-čn-n* prefixes, *n-n* transitive, *čn-n* intransitive (?).¹⁴⁶ Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 727)¹⁴⁷ *ayilhau*; *n-qin* (§ 73).¹⁴⁸ Participle (§ 128, p. 871).¹⁴⁹ Contraction of *ũm*.¹⁵⁰ Absolute form (§ 28).¹⁵¹ Ending *wkwã'εt* < *w-gã'εt*.¹⁵² Initial stem *tuv*, medial *tvu*; *ni-nčn* (§67, Ia 6).

e'nmeč¹⁵³ ūm⁶ nayil'hai'nên.¹⁵⁴ Ple'kit⁴² ri'ntninet⁹⁹ čot-taḡñê'ti,⁹⁷
 because she feared him. The boots she threw
 them out pillow-edge to,

e'nmen² a'tčak-¹⁵⁵ luwa'wkwa^{εt}¹⁵⁶ kama'gti.¹⁵⁷
 then to wait they were unable for the dish.

Ḡuq, uwä^ε'quč¹⁵⁰ ure'wki^ε,¹⁵⁸ "Ḡuq, qa'ko. Tite'ñet-ve'rin.¹⁵⁹
 Oh, the husband appeared, "Oh It is wonderful

enra'q¹⁶⁰ e'mi?¹⁶¹ Qai've e'le¹⁶² če'ñil¹²² i'nenvente'tkäl-i-git?¹⁶³ —
 Now where is it? Indeed not the trunk not you opened it?" —

"E'le."¹⁶² — "Na'qam ūm e'mi? Ḡu'nä quwalo'mürkin,¹⁶⁴
 "No." — "However where is it? Do listen,

qatvu'gun!¹⁶⁵ Qän've'r tu'wnên,¹⁶⁶ "Emite'tim¹⁶⁷ tigite'ä^εn.¹⁶⁴
 tell!" After that she told him, "Namely "I saw her.

Inegite'kälın,¹⁶⁹ e'le.¹⁶² Yikr'rga¹⁴⁰ tipuke'tyäk,¹⁷⁰ lu'ur⁵⁷
 She did not see me, no. With the mouth I made a noise, thereupon

kaplêta'tyê.^{ε7}¹⁷¹
 she fell down."

Ḡuq, é'êq-a'lvam-va'l-ê-git.¹⁷² Ia'm aḡêro'lkäl-ê-git?¹⁷³ Atta'um¹⁷⁴
 Oh, quite extraordinary you are. Why dost thou not obey? With reason

e'un¹⁰¹ uwä^ε'qučitā⁸ E'nku⁹ ge'tégit.¹⁷⁵ Ya'rar¹⁷⁶ rai qine'ilhi.¹⁷⁷
 and so the husband from there deserted thee. Drum behind there give me."

E'nmen² rinrgirgeu'nin.¹⁷⁸ E'nmen² ei'ui^ε.¹⁷⁹ En'qa'm⁷⁸ lu'ur⁵⁷
 Then he drummed on it. Then she revived. Then there-
 upon

ḡaḡtan'ñinai'pülên,¹⁸⁰ keme'ñr²³ ḡereli's'qičelin.¹⁸¹
 she was quite angry, the dish she pushed in strongly.

¹⁵³ See § 123, p. 859.

¹⁵⁴ See note 147, transitive form; *n-nên* (67, Ia 6).

¹⁵⁵ *a'tča* TO WAIT (§ 95, p. 786).

¹⁵⁶ Initial stem *luw+au*, medial *lv+au* TO BE UNABLE; 3 p. pl.

¹⁵⁷ From *keme'ñi* dish; -*gti* ALLATIVE; with ablaut (§ 3).

¹⁵⁸ Initial stem *ur+eu*.

¹⁵⁹ It is a wonder! (Interjection).

¹⁶⁰ From demonstrative stem *en*.

¹⁶¹ Interrogative adverb.

¹⁶² Negation (§ 131.5).

¹⁶³ Stem *vent*, see notes 123, 130; *r-et* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); *i-kälın* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person verbalized noun (§ 73).

¹⁶⁴ Stem *walom* TO HEAR, LISTEN, OBEY, see note 123; derived tense, imperative.

¹⁶⁵ Stem *tuw*, see note 152; imperative.

¹⁶⁶ Stem *tuw*; -*nin* HE—HIM; with ablaut (§ 3).

¹⁶⁷ *em-ite't-um* (§ 128, p. 857).

¹⁶⁸ Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ti-gi^εn* I—HIM.

¹⁶⁹ Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ine-* (§ 67); *i-kälın* negation (§ 114, 4).

¹⁷⁰ Stem *puket*; *ti-gi^εk* I—, intransitive (§ 64).

¹⁷¹ 3d person sing.

¹⁷² See note 34; 2d person, nominatized verb (§ 73).

¹⁷³ Stem *gérql* TO OBEY; *e-kälın* negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person sing.

¹⁷⁴ *atau'-üm* BUT WITH SOME REASON (§ 123, p. 854).

¹⁷⁵ 2d person nominatized verb (§ 73).

¹⁷⁶ Absolute form, perhaps for *rar-rar* (§ 29).

¹⁷⁷ Stem *yil*; *q-ine-gi^ε* THOU—ME, imperative; transitive form.

¹⁷⁸ *r-eu* TO CAUSE; -*nin* HE—HIM.

¹⁷⁹ Stem *ei'u*, with vocalic *u*; therefore with loss of intervocalic *g* of the suffix -*gi^ε*.

¹⁸⁰ -*gti* very (§ 113, 22); stem *an'ñin* ANGER; *ipü* TO PUT ON; *ge-lin* (§ 73).

¹⁸¹ Stem *reli*; -*s'qičet* INTENSITY (§ 110, 59); *ge-lin* (§ 73).

Irga'tik ¹⁸⁰	üm ⁸	kiye'wkwä ^{8t} , ¹⁰⁸	rile'rkimin. ¹⁸²	I'unin, ¹²⁰	"Atta'um ¹⁷⁴
In the morning		they awoke,	he carried her (back).	He said to her,	"With reason
uwä'qučitä ⁸	E'nku ⁹	ge'tčigıt. ¹⁷⁵	Opo'pe ¹⁸³	ğarai'-ğit, ¹⁸⁴	minle'ğit. ¹⁸⁵
the husband	from there	he deserted thee.	Let!	thou hast a house,	let me carry thee (back)."
ELI'ğêtr ¹⁸⁶	rile'nmin, ¹⁸⁷	ripkire'nmin, ¹⁸⁸	mata'lm ¹⁸⁹	i'unin, ¹²⁰	"Çuq, ¹⁹⁰
To the father	he carried her (back),	he took her,	to the father-in-law	he said to him,	"Oh,
a'mên ⁸⁴	üm	ğümna'n ¹⁹⁰	i ⁸ 'tik ¹⁹¹	ğınrı'tik ¹⁹²	tılva'wkwa ⁸ⁿ . ¹⁹³
then	I	indeed	watching	I could not do her."	

¹⁸²Stem *rile; initial rīle, medial nle; derived form; -nin HE—HIM (§ 67).

¹⁸³An exhortative particle (§ 128, p. 862).

¹⁸⁴Stem ra HOUSE; gara'lin HE WHO HAS A HOUSE; 2d person sing. (§ 73).

¹⁸⁵Stem *rile, see note 182; min-ğit LET ME—THEE.

¹⁸⁶ELI'ğın FATHER; allative (§ 40).

¹⁸⁷Stem *rile, see note 182; -nin HE—HIM.

¹⁸⁸Stem pkitr to come; ri-cu causative (§114, 1); -nin HE—HIM.

¹⁸⁹From mata TO TAKE, TO MARRY; absolute form.

¹⁹⁰Subjective form (§ 56).

¹⁹¹Adverbial.

¹⁹²ğınrı to WATCH verbal noun in -k depending on the verb lwau.

¹⁹³Initial stem lw+au, medial lv+au cannot; ti-ğas n I—HIM.

KORYAK TEXT

LITTLE-BIRD-MAN AND RAVEN-MAN^a

Valvımtıla^{ε'}ninti¹ E'čči² Piči'qala^{ε'n}3 ñawınoñvo'yke⁴ Quyqınn'a
 Raven-Man the two they Little-Bird-Man wanted for a wife at Great-
 qu'yık.⁵ Quyqınn'a'qu Piče'qala^{ε'nañ}6 ğaimanñıvo'ykın,⁷ e'wañ,⁸
 Raven's. Great-Raven to Little-Bird-Man had desired, he said,
 Ğımna'n⁹ ñawa'kak¹⁰ Piče'qala^{ε'nañ}6 tıyai'lıñın.¹¹ Miti' e'wañ,⁸
 "I daughter to Little-Bird-Man I shall give her." Miti said,
 "Ğımna'n⁹ ñawa'kak¹⁰ Valvı'mtıla^{ε'nañ}6 tıyai'lıñın.¹¹ Va^{ε'}yuk Val-
 "I daughter to Raven-Man I shall give her." Afterwards Raven-
 vı'mtıla^{ε'n}3 vı'n'va ñıtoi'kın,¹² a'la'ta¹³ aweñvo'ykın,¹⁴ atta^{ε'}wawa¹⁵
 Man secretly went out, with excre- he ate, with dog carrion
 ment
 aweñvo'ykın.¹⁴ Kıyaw'laıke,¹⁶ E'nkrı¹⁷ vañvolai'ke¹⁸ qapa'au¹⁹ qu'tti²⁰
 he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine some
 (skins)
 i^{ε'}u'wi.²¹ Newñıvo'ykınenat,²² "Mi'kinak²³ ğa'nmlenau?²⁴ Valvı'm-
 wolf (skins). They began to say to both, "Who killed them?" Raven-
 tıla^{ε'n},³ "Ğımna'n."⁹
 Man, "I."

^a From W. Bogoras, Koryak Texts; Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. V, pp. 12—19.

¹ -ıa^{ε'n} HAVING THE QUALITY OF (§ 48); -inti dual of personal nouns (§ 35).

² Personal pronoun, 3d person dual, absolute form.

³ -ıa^{ε'n} as in note 1;

⁴ ñaw WOMAN; I auxiliary vowel; -nyu TO WORK AS A HERDSMAN; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110, 63); -yke derived form, 3d person dual (§ 65). See Publications Jesup Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 579.

⁵ Quyqın RAVEN; used only in augmentative; -n'au AUGMENTATIVE (§ 98.2); y(r) personal plural suffix for -wgi (§ 35); -k LOCATIVE (§ 38).

⁶ -nañ ALLATIVE used with personal nouns (§ 41).

⁷ ğaimaı TO DESIRE; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykın derived form (§ 65).

⁸ Stem iu TO SAY. Irregular adverbial form, used as a quotative, SAYS HE.

⁹ Subjective form (§ 56).

¹⁰ ñaw FEMALE; akak SON.

¹¹ ti- I; ya- FUTURE; yıı- stem TO GIVE; -ñın HIM, future (§ 68).

¹² ñıto TO GO OUT; -ıkn derived form, 3d person singular.

¹³ Subjective here as instrumental; stem a'ı EXCREMENT.

¹⁴ Stem awyi; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykın derived form, 3d person ing. (§ 68).

¹⁵ atta^{ε'} DOG; awaw CARRION; subjective here as instrumental.

¹⁶ Stem kıyau TO AWAKE; -ıaıke 3d. per. plural, derived form.

¹⁷ Locative adverb.

¹⁸ Stem tva TO BE, in initial position va (§ 13, p. 674); -ñvo TO BEGIN; -ıaıke 3d per. pl., derived form.

¹⁹ qapa'au, plural in u (§ 34, p. 732).

²⁰ Non-personal form, dual (§ 60, p. 695).

²¹ For i^{ε'}u'wgi plural (§ 34).

²² Stem iu TO SAY; -ñvo TO BEGIN; n-ykınenat derived form, 3d per. dual (§ 68, p. 744).

²³ Subjective form (§ 39).

²⁴ Stem tım, in medial position nım TO KILL (§ 18); ğa-ıınau nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d per. pl. (§ 74).

- Va^εyuk gawya'lyolen,²⁵ qo'npū enña^ε'an²⁶ ama'latča.²⁷ Quyqinn'a-
 Afterwards a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting better. Great-
- qu'nak²⁸ gewñivo'lenat,²⁹ "Toq, qamałitva'thitik!³⁰ Ma'ki³¹ yamałi-
 Raven told the two of them, "There, ye two make it better! Who makes it
 tva'tiñ,³² ña'nyen³³ tiyanñawtiña'nñin."³⁴ Valvi'mtiła^εn, "Ğū'mma³⁵
 better, to that one I shall give the wife." Raven-Men, "I
 mimalitva'tik."³⁶ E'wañ,⁸ "Qinatinuñla'tik!"³⁷ Ñinvo'q pla'kiñu³⁸
 shall make it better." He said, "Prepare the provisions for A number of boots
- gatai'kilinau.³⁹ Ğa'lqalin.⁴⁰ E'nki¹⁷ vañvo'ykin⁴¹ e'n'migenka,⁴²
 they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff,
 yenotčoñvo'ykin.⁴³ Piči'qala^εn³ ñitoñvo'ykin,⁴⁴ enke¹⁷ vañvo'ykin,⁴¹
 he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out, there he stayed,
 aweyeñvo'ykin.¹⁴ Čemya'q Pičeqałanai'tiñ⁴⁵ Valvi'mtiła^εn³ aqa-łapñi-
 he ate. Of course on Little-Bird-Man Raven-Man badly
 vo'ykin.⁴⁶ Piči'qala^εn yałqı'wikin,⁴⁷ ui'ñä i'wka⁴⁸ enñivo'ykin.⁴⁰
 looked. Little-Bird-Man entered, not saying he was.
- Valvi'mtiła^εn E'nki¹⁷ va'ykin.⁴¹ Enña^ε'an²⁶ qo'npū vuyalanñivo'ykin,⁵⁰
 Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm,
 ui'ña ama'latča.²⁷ Ğo, va^εyuk ğaya'lqiwlin,⁵¹ i'mi-pla'ku⁵² ğaqi'tilinau,⁵³
 not not it became better. Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen,
- qači'n plakgeñe'tiñ⁵⁴ na^ε'čañvoqen,⁵⁵ iñi'nñinik pla'ku⁵² ğaqi'tilinau.⁵³
 meanwhile into the boots he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.
- "Qıyime'wun, i'ya^εn⁷¹ ğači'malin." Va^εyuk Piči'kala^εn gewñivo'len,⁵⁶
 "Impossible, heaven is broken." Then Little-Bird-Man they said to him,

²⁵ Stem in initial position *vuyal* medial *wyql*; *vy* verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811)
ga—lin nominalized form of intransitive verb (§ 73).

²⁶ Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 876).

²⁷ Stem *mał* GOOD; *a—tča* negative (§ 114, 4).

²⁸ Subjective in *-nak* (§ 39).

²⁹ Stem *iu* TO TELL; *-ñivg* TO BEGIN; *ga—linat* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. dual (§ 74).

³⁰ Stem *mał* GOOD; *tva* TO BE; *q—gıtik* imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).

³¹ Absolute form (§ 58, p. 726).

³² *ya-* future.

³³ Absolute form of demonstrative (§ 57).

³⁴ *tiya-* 1st pers. sing. future; *-ñin* 3d pers. sing. object.

³⁵ Absolute form (§ 56).

³⁶ 1st pers. sing. exhortative, intransitive.

³⁷ *qina—latik* imperative, YE—ME; *i(a)—ñ* TO MAKE (§114.2); *inu* PROVISIONS.

³⁸ Stem *plak* BOOT; *-ñin* (§ 52); *-u* PLURAL; more frequently *pla'ku*.

³⁹ Stem *talki* TO MAKE; *ga—linau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 74).

⁴⁰ Stem *iqat* TO GO; nominalized form, 3d pers. sing. (§ 73).

⁴¹ Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO STAY; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴² *-gıñ* BASE (§ 101.21), locative.

⁴³ *ye-* DESIDERATIVE; *nu* TO EAT; *-tçu* intensive action § 110.67; *-ñivg* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴⁴ Stem *ñito* TO GO OUT; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴⁵ *-iti* allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).

⁴⁶ Stems *aqa* BAD; *hıa* TO SEE; *yp* TO PUT ON; *ñivo-ykin* as in note 44.

⁴⁷ *ya'lqiu*, Ch. *re's'qiw* TO ENTER; derived form.

⁴⁸ Stem *iu* TO SAY; *a—ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *a* contracted with *i* to *f*.

⁴⁹ Stem *it*; *-ñivo-ykin* as in note 44.

⁵⁰ Stem *wyql* in medial position *wyql*; *-at* (§ 110.70) (see note 25).

⁵¹ *yałqiw* TO ENTER (see note 47); *ga—lin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁵² *imi* ALL (§ 113.6); *-u* plural (§ 34).

⁵³ *qit* FROZEN; *ga—linau* nominalized verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 73).

⁵⁴ *plak* BOOT; *gıñ* BOTTOM; *-iti* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

⁵⁵ *a'tča* URINE; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *n—qin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁵⁶ Compare note 29; here 3d pers. sing.

"Toq, gɪnyɑ'q⁵⁷ qmɑlɑtvɑ'ti"⁵⁸—"Qiyime⁵⁹en, grɪniw⁵⁹ gũmma³⁵
 "Oh, thou now make it well!" — "Impossible, like to thee I
 tiyɑnto'ykin,⁶⁰ plakgeñe'tiñ⁵⁴ tiyaa⁵⁹čɑñvo'ykin?⁷⁶ Gewñivo'lenau⁶²
 shall go out, into the boots shall I urinate?" He said to them
 Quyqɪnnu'aqu'nak,²⁸ "Qalqala'tik,⁶³ kitta'ñ aña'wtiñka!"⁶⁴ Va⁵⁹yuk
 Big-Raven "Go away, there unmarried!" Then
 gewñivo'len,⁶² "Atau'-qun." Qo'la⁶⁵ ača'pil⁶⁶ ga'kmɪlin,⁶⁷ qalte'nñin,⁶⁸
 he said, "Well now." Some small fat ga'he took," qalte'nñin,⁶⁸
 wũlpɑ'pel:⁶⁹ ga'lqɑlin⁷⁰ e⁵⁹e'ti,⁷¹ gɑyɪ'ñalin,⁷² gɑla'lin,⁷³ iya⁵⁹kin⁷⁴
 a little shovel; he went to the sky, he flew up, he came, the sky's
 čema'thiñin⁷⁵ qalte'nña⁷⁶ gɑi'pɪlen,⁷⁷ ača'pil⁶⁶ ee⁵⁹tɪñ⁷¹ gɑni'ñalin;⁷⁸
 cleft with the stopper he closed, little fat to the sky he threw;
 pɪče' gɑmɑ'lalin.⁷⁹
 for a it grew better.
 while
 Gũ'mlañ gɑyɑi'tɪlen,⁸⁰ gũ'mlañ gawyaɪyo'len.²⁵ Nɑnyen³³
 Again he went home, again there was a snowstorm. That
 qalte'nñin⁶⁸ gɑnqu'lin⁸¹ yayačikoi'tiñ,⁸² nɛpplu'qin⁸³ mi'qun. E'wañ,⁸
 stopper came out into the house, small one even. He said,
 "Qiyime'wun. I'ya⁵⁹n⁷¹ gɑči'malin." Quayqɪnnu'aqu'nak²⁸ qalte'nñin⁶⁸
 "Impossible. The sky is broken." Big-Raven the stopper
 vɑ'sqɪn gatai'kɪlin³⁹ nima'yɪñqin⁸³ gɛi'liɪlin,⁸⁴ a'čɪn⁶⁶ o'pta nima'yɪñqin⁸³
 another one he made a large one he gave it, fat also large
 gɛi'liɪlin.⁸⁴ Gɑ'lqɑlin⁷⁰ gũ'mlañ, panenai'tiñ⁸⁵ gɑyɪ'ñalin.⁷² Gɑla'lin,⁷³
 he gave. He went again to the former place he flew. He came,
 pɑ'nena⁸⁵ nɑnyen³³ qalte'nñin⁶⁸ mal-kit⁸⁶ gɑ'nɪlen,⁸⁷ taɫɑ'wga⁸⁸
 that time that stopper well he closed it, with a mallet

⁵⁷ *gɪn*- thou; *-yaq* indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.

⁵⁸ Stems *mal*, *tva* WELL, TO BE; imperative.

⁵⁹ Second person personal pronoun *gɪn*- (§ 56; 129, p. 878 under *yaq*).

⁶⁰ *ɪya*- I, future; stem *ñito*, medial *nto*; derived form.

⁶¹ See note 55, 1st pers. sing. future, derived form.

⁶² See notes 29, 56; here 3d pers. pl. instead of dual.

⁶³ Stem *lqat* TO GO; *qa-łatik* imperative, dual.

⁶⁴ *a-ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *ña* WOMAN.

⁶⁵ Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).

⁶⁶ *ača* FAT; *-pil* SMALL (§ 100.15).

⁶⁷ Stem *akmit*; *ga-lin* nominalized verb (§ 74).

⁶⁸ Absolute form (§ 30).

⁶⁹ *-pil* small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.

⁷⁰ Stem *lqat* TO GO (see note 63); *ga-lin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁷¹ Absolute form *i'ya⁵⁹n* SKY; *-łti* allative.

⁷² Stem *yɪña* TO FLY UP; *ga-lin* nominalized verb.

⁷³ Stem initial *tiña*, medial *ła* TO MOVE, TO GO; *ga-lin* as before.

⁷⁴ Belonging to the sky (§ 47).

⁷⁵ Absolute form.

⁷⁶ Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92).

⁷⁷ Stem *aip* TO STOP UP, CLOSE; *ga-lin* as before, here with ablaut.

⁷⁸ Stem *ñiña* (Ch. *ñnt*) TO THROW; *ga-lin* nominalized verb.

⁷⁹ Stem *mal* GOOD.

⁸⁰ Stem *yaii* (allative of *ya* HOUSE) TO GO HOME.

⁸¹ Stem *yɪqu*, medial *nqu* TO COME LOOSE, TO COME OUT (like a plug out of a hole).

⁸² Stems *yaya*- HOUSE; *-łiku* INSIDE; *-łti* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

⁸³ *plu* SMALL; *n-qin* (§ 49) *ma'y(ɪ)ñ* LARGE.

⁸⁴ Stem *yɪl*, medial *yli* TO GIVE; *gɛi'liɪlin* instead of *gɑi'liɪlin* irregular.

⁸⁵ *panina* before, former; absolute form *pɑ'nin*; adverb *pɑ'nena* AGAIN, ANOTHER TIME; *łti* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

⁸⁶ *ma'l-kit* 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).

⁸⁷ *yɪp*, medial-*np* TO STICK INTO, TO STUFF INTO; *ga-lin* with ablaut.

⁸⁸ Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem *taɫa* TO STRIKE.

gata'lalen, ⁸⁸ he struck it,	ñā'nyen ³³ that	a'čim ⁶⁶ fat	e ^ε 'tiñ ⁷¹ to the sky	gani'ñlalin, ⁷⁸ he threw it,	gū'mlañ again	ä ^ε 'läla ⁸⁹ with snow
ga ^ε 'lmelin ⁹⁰ he shoveled	qoql'o'wičñin, ⁹¹ the hole;	qo'npü altogether	gama'lalen. ⁹² it became better.			
Ğala'lin; ⁷³ He came;	ñā'nyen ³³ that	Valvı'mti ^ε an Raven-Man	aga'nn'u ⁹³ to hate	ga'ččilin. ⁹⁴ they had.	Miti'nak ⁹⁵ At Miti's	
eñyei'ña near	vaga'lekın, ⁹⁶ he was sitting,	newñivo'ykın ²² she said to	Valvı'mti ^ε an, Raven-Man,	“Meñqañqa'če ⁹⁷ “How		
enñ'ivo'ykın, ⁴⁹ it happens to thee,	nime' quite	a'latčñivo'ykın? ⁹⁸ thou smellst of excrement?”—	“Mi'qun, ⁹⁹ “Why,	ui'ña not	yu'laq ¹⁰⁰ a long time	
akle'woka ¹⁰¹ without bread	tina ^ε 'lık.” ¹⁰² I have been.”	Ğewñivo'len ⁵⁶ She said,	“I'n'ač, “Enough,	ga'lqata! ¹⁰³ go away!	Ui'ña Not	
mi'qun even	amalatva'tča ¹⁰⁴ not making better	i'ti!” ¹⁰⁵ thou wert!”	Ğa'lqalın. ⁷⁰ He went.	Piči'qala ^ε nak ²⁸ Little-Bird-Man	ñā'nyen ³³ that	
Yini'a-ñawgıt Yini'a-ñawgıt	gama'talen. ¹⁰⁶ married.					
Toq, Oh,	ğalai'ulin, ¹⁰⁷ summer came,	inya'wut then	gamuqai'ulin. ¹⁰⁸ it was raining.	Valvı'mti ^ε an Raven-Man		
ti'ykıtiy ¹⁰⁹ the sun	ğaya'luplin. ¹¹⁰ took in mouth.	Qači'n So	qo'npü altogether	niki'ta night	ğana ^ε 'len. ¹¹¹ it became.	
Va ^ε 'yuk Then	ğewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ they said,	“Čan'ai', “Čan'ai',	qaimü'ge!” ¹¹² fetch water!”	—	“How	even
mai'mık? ⁷⁷ ¹¹³ let me draw water?”	Va ^ε 'yuk Then	ğewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ they said,	“Me'ñqan “Why	nime' quite	mitti- we	
pa ^ε 'lai'kinen. ¹¹⁴ are thirsty.	Va ^ε 'yuk Then	missavi ^ε 'yała.” ¹¹⁵ we shall die.”	Ğa'lqalın ⁷⁰ She went	qaičayiči'ña, ¹¹⁶ groping,		
Enña ^ε 'an thus	wüs'qū'mčıku, ¹¹⁷ in the dark,	va ^ε 'yuk then	ğa'ñvılın, ¹¹⁸ she stopped,	ğañvo'len ¹¹⁹ she began		

⁸⁸ Subjective as instrumental; absolute form *ä'lälä*, *a'la^ε*⁸⁹ Stem *a'le*.⁹¹ Absolute form as object.⁹² Stem *mał* GOOD.⁹³ *aga'nn'in* hate, stems probably *a^εq* BAD, *a'n-ñin* ANGER; designative form in -u (§ 94).⁹⁴ See § 114.4.⁹⁵ Locative form (§ 42).⁹⁶ Stem *vagał*, medical *tvagał* TO SIT DOWN.⁹⁷ Stem *mik* WHERE; -*qada* NEAR (§ 101.26).⁹⁸ Stem *a'le* EXCREMENT; -*č* TO SMELL OF.⁹⁹ Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 726).¹⁰⁰ Stem *yuł* LONG; -*aq* adverbial suffix (§ 112, 79).¹⁰¹ *a-ka* negation (§ 114, 4).¹⁰² Stem *nał* TO BECOME (§ 77).¹⁰³ Verbal noun in -*a* used as imperative (§ 95, p. 787).¹⁰⁴ From *a-ka* negation (§ 114, 4); *mał* GOOD; *va* TO BE.¹⁰⁵ Stem *it* TO BE (§ 75).¹⁰⁶ Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY.¹⁰⁷ *ała* SUMMER; -*yu* suffix. phenomena of nature (§ 110.71).¹⁰⁸ *muga* RAIN; -*yu* as in note 107.¹⁰⁹ Reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).¹¹⁰ *yału* TO CHEW; *yop* TO PUT ON (see Note 46); *yałup* A QUID.¹¹¹ Stem *nał* TO BECOME (§ 77); *ga-lin* nominalized verb (§ 73); *ı < l + l* (§ 13).¹¹² Stem *aim* TO DRAW WATER; *q-ge* imperative.¹¹³ Subjunctive (*a*), 1st pers. sing.¹¹⁴ Derived form, 1st person pl.¹¹⁵ Future, without ending -*mik* (§ 65).¹¹⁶ Verbal noun in -*a* expressing modality (§ 95).¹¹⁷ Stems *wüs* DARKNESS; -*ėku* INSIDE (§ 101.24); *ũm* is an unusual form of the connective vowel (see § 18, 1); the parallel form *wüs'qū'mčıku* is found in Chukchee.¹¹⁸ Stem *ñuv*, medial *ñv* TO STOP.¹¹⁹ Stem *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

grya'pčak. ¹²⁰ singing.	E'wañ, ⁸ "I'min qai-vai'amti ¹²¹ aļña'we ^ε ye." ¹²² Va ^ε yuk She said, "All the little rivers are stingy." Then
gani'kalin ¹²³ it did so	Enkai'ti ¹²⁴ vai'ampiliñ, ¹²⁵ gañvo'len ¹¹⁹ čilala'tik. ¹²⁶ to that place a small river began bubbling.
Gayr'ččalin ¹²⁷ She filled	milh-u'kkam, ¹²⁸ yaite'ti ¹²⁹ ga'lqaLin, ⁷⁰ milh-u'kkam ¹²⁸ a Russian vessel, to the house she went, a Russian vessel
gemtei'přilin; ¹³⁰ she carried on her back;	qla'wul gaļa'lin. ⁷³ Gapkau'len, ¹³¹ e'wañ, ⁸ "Gümna'n, ⁹ a man came. She could not (carry), he said, "I,
gümna'n mi'mtin." ¹³² I will carry it."	Gayai'tilen ⁸⁰ wüs'qũ'mčiku. ¹¹⁷ Na'nyen ³³ She came home in the dark. That one
galimñena'len ¹³³ followed	vai'am. Gevñivo'len, ⁵⁶ "eni'n ma'ki?" [?] E'wañ, the river. She was told, "That one who?" He said,
"Gümna ³⁵ Vaiamenai'-gũm. ¹³⁴ "I am the River.	Gümna'n ⁹ yai'vaču ¹³⁵ tr'tčēn ¹³⁶ Ena'n I pity had that
grya'pčala ^ε n." ¹³⁷ singer."	Gañvo'len ¹¹⁹ ñawa'kak ¹⁰ křtai'ñak. ¹³⁸ Na'nyen ³³ They began daughter scolding. That one
Vaia'minak ²⁸ River	gama'talen. ¹⁰⁶ married her.
To, va ^ε yuk qo'npũ wüs'qũ'mčiku ¹¹⁷ Oh, then altogether in the dark	vañvoļai'ke. ¹³⁹ Gevñivo'len ⁵⁶ they remained. He was told
Vai'am, "Me'ñqañ ⁹⁷ niki'ta ¹⁴⁰ mi'titvañvoļai'kin?" ¹⁴¹ River, "Why in the night we remain?"	E'wañ, ⁸ "Men'qañ ⁹⁷ He said, "Why
mi'qun?" [?] Lawtki'lčēñin ¹⁴² vi'tvitin ¹⁴³ gai'přilen, ¹⁴⁴ ganto'len, ¹⁴⁵ ayi'- indeed?" [?] Head-band of ringed seal thong he put on, he went out at	
kvan gaqayičhilañivo'len; ¹⁴⁶ vantige'ñin ¹⁴⁷ gato'mwalen. ¹⁴⁸ Va ^ε - least a small light began to be; dawn was created. Then	
yuk gevñivo'len, ⁵⁶ "Me'ñqañ ⁹⁷ mi'ntin?" ¹⁴⁹ Yini'a-ña'wgut they talked, "How shall we do it?" Yini'a-ña'wgut	

¹²⁰ Stem *gryapča*; verbal noun, locative form (§ 95, p. 785).

¹²¹ *qai*- SMALL, related to Chukchee suffix *-qai* (§ 98.4); *nti*, after terminal *m* of *vaiam*, *-ti* dual (§ 34).

¹²² 3d pers. dual (§ 65) instead of plural; stem *aļñ* STINGY.

¹²³ *nika* SOMETHING (§ 60); *ga-ñin* verbalized.

¹²⁴ *-it* allative (§ 58).

¹²⁵ Diminutive in *-pi*, absolute form in *-ri* (§ 30).

¹²⁶ Stem *čilal-at* TO BUBBLE; verbal noun, in *-k*, dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 138, 150).

¹²⁷ Stem *yičč* TO BE FULL.

¹²⁸ *miļh* STRIKE-A-LIGHT, FIRE (see Publ. Jesup Exp. Vol. VII, p. 18); *u'kkam* VESSEL.

¹²⁹ *yaiit* TO GO HOME (see § 95); verbal noun allative.

¹³⁰ Stem *imt*, *imiit* TO CARRY; *-yop* TO PUT TO; *ga-ñin* with ablaut.

¹³¹ Stem *pkau* TO BE UNABLE.

¹³² Stem *imt* TO CARRY; subjunctive (*a*) 1st pers. sing. subject, 3d pers. sing. object.

¹³³ Stem *ļimñena* TO FOLLOW.

¹³⁴ Stem *vaiam* RIVER; *-ena* suffix for living being; nominalized verb, 1st pers. sing. (§ 73).

¹³⁵ *yai'vaču* TO HAVE PITY WITH; designative in *-u* (§ 94).

¹³⁶ *t-ñ* I—HIM (§ 65); stem *-ič* (§ 79).

¹³⁷ Compare note 120.

¹³⁸ Verbal noun in *-k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 150).

¹³⁹ Stem *va*, in initial position *va* TO BE; *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-laike* 3d pers. pl., derived form.

¹⁴⁰ Stem *niki* night; probably verbal noun in (*i*)*č*, although the verb has usually the suffix *yu* expressing phenomena of nature. (Ch. *niki-ru-řkin* NIGHT COMES).

¹⁴¹ Stem *va* TO BE; 1st pers. pl., derived form.

¹⁴² Compound noun *lawt* HEAD, *kr'ičičēñin* BAND (from *kr'iit* TO TIE (§§ 53; 106.44)).

¹⁴³ Reduplicated form retained in a derived form in *-in* (§ 29, p. 690, note).

¹⁴⁴ Stem *yop* TO PUT ON.

¹⁴⁵ Stem *nto*, in initial position *ñito* TO GO OUT.

¹⁴⁶ *qai*- SMALL; *ičh* TO DAWN, TO LIGHT *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *ga-ñin* nominalized verb.

¹⁴⁷ Stem *vant* TO DAWN; *ge'ñin* (§ 106.44).

¹⁴⁸ *tomwa* TO BE CREATED.

¹⁴⁹ Stem *yt*, in medial position *nt* TO DO, MAKE (§ 80).

ḡaṅvo'len ¹¹⁹	tenma'witčuk, ¹⁵⁰	Valvımtıla ^ε yıkiñ ¹⁵¹	ḡala'lin. ⁷³	“Mai, began preparing, to Raven-Man she reached. “Halloo,
Valvı'mtıla ^ε n	va'ykin? ¹⁵²	Va'čvi-ñā'ut ¹⁵³	e'wañ, ⁸	“Va'ykin.” Raven-Man is staying?” Raven-Woman said, “He is.”
ḡewñıvo'len	Valvı'mtıla ^ε n,	“As's'o' qatı', ¹⁵⁴	qo'npü a'ıva	tıtva'ñvok.” ¹⁵⁵ He was told Raven-Man, “Since you left, altogether wrong I was.”
ḡayo ^ε 'olen ¹⁵⁶	Valvı'mtıla ^ε n,	ḡewñıvo'len,	“Ḡı'ssa ¹⁵⁷	qa'čık ui'ña She found Raven-Man, he was told, “Thou really not
a'ıva a'tvaka? ¹⁴⁸	Qe'nñıvo? ¹⁵⁸	Qa'pten ¹⁵⁹	ḡayı'tılen, ¹⁶⁰	yai'na ¹⁶¹ wrong wert? Wilt thou stay so?” The back he turned, to the front
yılı'ykinın. ¹⁶²	ḡü'młañ	qa'pten	lı'ykin. ¹⁶³	Va ^ε 'yuk ḡaṅvo'len ¹¹⁹ she turned him. Again the back he turned. Then she began
čičhi'ñık ¹⁶⁴	yıyıḡčha'wik, ¹⁶⁵	ḡačēcheñqatvıñvo'len; ¹⁶⁶	čake'ta ¹⁶⁷	in the armpits tickling, putting her hands in his armpits; the sister
ḡewñıvo'len, ⁵⁶	“Quya'qı? ¹⁶⁸	I'nač!	E'nnu mał-ñā'witkata.” ¹⁶⁹	Va ^ε 'yuk said, “What is the matter with thee? Enough! This one a good woman.” Then
Enkai'tı ¹²⁴	ḡaṅvo'len, ¹¹⁹	“Ḡm, ḡm, ḡm!”	Qo'yıñ ¹⁷⁰	yıleñvo'ykinen. ¹⁷¹ there to he began, “Ḡm, ḡm, ḡm!” To the other side she turned him.
Va ^ε 'yuk ḡaktača'čha'len, ¹⁷²	“Ḡa, ḡa, ḡa!”	Tı'ykıtıy ¹⁶⁹	ḡačē'pñıtolen, ¹⁷³	Then he laughed aloud, “Ḡa, ḡa, ḡa!” The sun peeped out,
i'ya ^ε ḡ ¹⁷⁴	ḡa'plin, ¹⁷⁵	qo'npü	ḡečha'len. ¹⁷⁶	to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

¹⁵⁰ Stem *tenm* TO PREPARE; verbal noun in *-k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 138); *-tū* in-tensity of action.

¹⁵¹ *-yikiñ* a personal allative form (see §§ 41 and 44).

¹⁵² Derived form of stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO BE.

¹⁵³ *Va'čvi* < *Valvi* (§§ 16.3; 122).

¹⁵⁴ Stem *ıqat* TO WALK, in initial position *qat*; 2d pers. sing.

¹⁵⁵ Stems *tva-ñvo* TO BE-TO BEGIN, *ti-k* 1st pers. sing.

¹⁵⁶ Stem *yo^ε* TO VISIT.

¹⁵⁷ Absolute form (§ 56).

¹⁵⁸ Stem *ıt* TO BE *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *q (u)*—(§ 68), no personal ending.

¹⁵⁹ Absolute form.

¹⁶⁰ *yıł!* TO TURN; *ga-lin* nominalized verb.

¹⁶¹ *yaina* TO MEET; adverbial: face to face.

¹⁶² *yı*—causative; *lı* TO TURN; derived form, HE—HIM.

¹⁶³ Stem *lı* TO TURN; derived form.

¹⁶⁴ Locative.

¹⁶⁵ *yı*—*aw* causative; *yıḡčh* TO ITCH.

¹⁶⁶ Stems *čičhiñı* ARMPITS; *qatv* TO PUT IN; *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

¹⁶⁷ Subjective as subject of transitive verb.

¹⁶⁸ *ıaq* WHAT; predicative form (§ 82); second person (§ 68).

¹⁶⁹ *mał* GOOD; *ñaw + ıqat* WOMAN; here subjective.

¹⁷⁰ *qo'yıñ* allative of *qoyo'*. (See § 43, p. 705.)

¹⁷¹ See note 162; the same form with added *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

¹⁷² Prefix *kt*—VERY (§ 113.22); *ačačhat* TO LAUGH; *ga—lin* with ablaut.

¹⁷³ Stem *lılep*, medial *lep*; for *čep*, see § 16.3; 122. *ñıto* TO GO OUT.

¹⁷⁴ Locative (see note 71).

¹⁷⁵ Stem *ap* TO FASTEN ITSELF.

¹⁷⁶ Stem *ḡčh, ıčh* TO DAWN (see note 146).