CHUKCHEE

BY

WALDEMAR BOGORAS
CONTENTS

Page.

Editor's preface ............................................................................................................ 637
Introduction ................................................................................................................... 639
§§ 1–24. Phonetics ....................................................................................................... 643
  §§ 1–13. Chukchee .................................................................................................... 643
    § 1. Vowels ............................................................................................................. 643
    § 2. Consonants ....................................................................................................... 644
    § 3. Vocalic ablaut .................................................................................................. 646
    § 4. Initial and terminal consonants ...................................................................... 651
    § 5. Medial consonantic clusters .......................................................................... 652
    § 6. Vocalic contraction ......................................................................................... 653
    § 7. Medial consonantic processes ....................................................................... 655
    § 8. Auxiliary vowels ............................................................................................. 657
    § 9. u, w .................................................................................................................. 658
    § 10. Intervocalic elision ....................................................................................... 659
    § 11. Phonetic influences between words ............................................................... 659
    § 12. Initial consonantic clusters ........................................................................... 660
    § 13. Pronunciation of men and women ................................................................. 665
  §§ 14–18. Koryak ...................................................................................................... 666
    § 14. Vowels ........................................................................................................... 666
    § 15. Consonants ..................................................................................................... 667
    § 16. Comparison with Chukchee ......................................................................... 667
    § 17. Vocalic ablaut ............................................................................................... 671
    § 18. Other phonetic processes ............................................................................. 672
  §§ 19–23. Kamchadal ............................................................................................... 675
    § 19. Vowels ........................................................................................................... 675
    § 20. Consonants .................................................................................................... 676
    § 21. Comparison with Chukchee and Koryak ....................................................... 677
    § 22. Vocalic ablaut ............................................................................................... 678
    § 23. Other phonetic processes ............................................................................. 679
    § 24. Accent ............................................................................................................. 680
  §§ 25–129. Morphology ............................................................................................. 681
    § 25. Morphological processes .............................................................................. 681
    § 26. Comparison of dialects ................................................................................ 684
  §§ 27–55. Nouns ....................................................................................................... 686
    § 27. General remarks ........................................................................................... 686
    §§ 28–32. The absolute form ................................................................................ 687
      § 28. Absolute form expressed by stem ............................................................... 687
      § 29. Reduplicated forms ................................................................................... 688
      § 30. Suffix -n, -n’ .............................................................. ................................. 691
      § 31. Absolute form with loss of phonetic elements ......................................... 692
      § 32. Special forms ............................................................................................. 693

633
CONTENTS

§§ 33–35. Dual and plural ........................................ 694
§ 33. General remarks ............................................ 694
§ 34. Plural of common nouns .................................... 694
§ 35. Plural of personal nouns ................................... 696
§ 36. Exclamatory form of nouns ................................ 696
§ 37. Subjective forms ............................................ 697
§§ 38–39. Locative form ........................................... 698
§ 38. Common nouns ............................................... 698
§ 39. Personal nouns .............................................. 701
§§ 40–43. Allative and ablative .................................. 702
§ 40. Allative of common nouns, Chukchee and Koryak .... 702
§ 41. Allative of personal nouns .................................. 703
§ 42. Ablative in –ŋŋŋ ............................................. 704
§ 43. Post-positions in –nk, –nq, –ng .................................. 705
§ 44. Postpositions of plurals of personal nouns ............ 706
§§ 45–50. Forms in –in ............................................. 707
§ 45. General remarks ............................................. 707
§ 46. Suffix –iŋ ..................................................... 708
§ 47. Suffix –iŋn ..................................................... 711
§ 48. Suffix –iŋi ..................................................... 712
§ 49. Suffix –iŋi ..................................................... 713
§ 50. Kamchadal suffixes ........................................... 714
§§ 51–55. Suffixes in –j(n) ........................................ 714
§ 51. General remarks ............................................. 714
§ 52. Suffixes –iŋ– and –iŋn– .................................... 715
§ 54. Suffixes –iŋn (–iŋn, –iŋn) ................................ 717
§ 55. Suffix –iŋn (–iŋn) ........................................... 718
§§ 56–60. Pronouns ................................................ 719
§ 56. Personal pronoun .......................................... 719
§§ 57–58. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns ....... 723
§ 57. Particles and absolute forms ................................ 723
§ 58. Plural and post-positional forms ......................... 725
§ 59. Indefinite pronoun rūq .................................... 729
§ 60. Other indefinite pronouns .................................. 731
§§ 61–82. The predicate ........................................... 733
§ 61. Introductory remarks ...................................... 733
§ 62. Structure of the intransitive verb ......................... 735
§ 63. Structure of the transitive verb .......................... 736
§§ 64–66. The forms of the intransitive verb .................. 738
§ 64. Chukchee ..................................................... 738
§ 65. Koryak ....................................................... 739
§ 66. Kamchadal .................................................... 740
§§ 67–71. The forms of the transitive verb ..................... 741
§ 67. Chukchee ..................................................... 741
§ 68. Koryak, Kamenskoye ....................................... 742
§§ 69–71. Kamchadal ............................................... 744
§ 69. Types of transitive verb .................................. 744
§ 70. Type I .......................................................... 744
§ 71. Type II ........................................................ 746
§ 72. Phonetic changes of verbal suffixes ...................... 748
EDITOR'S PREFACE

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

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

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

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, December, 1921.
CHUKCHEE

By WALDEMAR BOGORAS

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

Besides grammatical and lexicographic data, I have collected a large number of texts. I have also collected texts from the Asiatic Eskimo,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, 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'yilin, Čimi'tqa, and Po'qač. 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.

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, Pló’xón), where I stayed 20 days. Another dialect is spoken in the village Sedanka, on the upper course of the Tighil river. Apart from phonetic differences, the chief features of this dialect are due to a strong Koryak influence. This, however, is also quite strong in the dialect of the Sea of Okhotsk. During the last 50 years, Koryak reindeer breeders have been living on the tundras of the eastern part of Kamchatka. The Kamchadal visit them, and purchase from them reindeer meat and skins for clothing. These Koryak are not Christianized, and speak only their own language. Thus it happens that the Kamchadal of the eastern shore, as far south as the village Kol, speak more or less the western Koryak dialect (I); and that among the half-Russianized Kamchadal, remnants of Koryak have almost completely replaced the old, native Kamchadal. In a few folk stories, fragments of which I was able to collect, the Kamchadal names have been forgotten, and Koryak names have taken their places. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with Kamchadal or with Koryak terms. In the Sedanka dialect the influence of Koryak is felt even more markedly. The people are in the habit of using whole Koryak sentences, or begin a sentence in Kamchadal and end in Koryak. The dialect that has influenced the Sedanka people is the Kamchatka Koryak 11.1 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 ʤa'awtekal this perish (y-inchoative in Koryak II, i’Ino in Koryak I) ʧqdzi he will freeze to death (ʧq future prefix Koryak II, ʧq 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. RADOFF, Ueber die Sprache der Tschuktschen (Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, 1861, Series vii, vol. iii, No. 10).

B. P. WOROSCH, Образцы материала, предназначенные для изучения чукотского языка, собранных в Колымском округе. Оттиски из Известий Императорской Академии Наук, Т. X. No. 3 (Март 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 для изучения чукотского языка и фольклора, собранные в Колымском округе. Издания Императорской Академии Наук. B. 1. С.-Петербург 1900.


IGNACY RADLINSKY, Ze zbiorow Prof. B. Dybowskiego. Slowniki Nazzeczy Ludow Kamczackich, 5 parts, Krakow, 1891-94.

C. KRAMSCH, Описание земли Камчатки. С.-Петербург 1819. T. 1. ii.

[S. KRAMSCH, Description of the Land Kamchatka, vols. i and ii. St. Petersburg, 1819.]

В. Н. ТЮМОНОВ, По западному берегу Камчатки, С. П. Б., 1906.

[W. N. TUSSOFF, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka. St. Petersburg, 1906.]
The vowels of the Chukchee language may be divided into three classes:

1. *Weak vowels:* ė, ē, ē, ā, ē
2. *Strong vowels:* Ą, ē, ē, ā
3. *Neutral vowels:* ī, ē, ē

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

- ē, ē, ē, have their continental values.
- ā is a long obscure vowel, in rest position of all the muscles of the oral cavity, posterior nares closed, teeth and lips slightly opened.
- ė is a glide from ē to ē, with long, accented ē. It is always combined with a glottal stop.
- Ą is the open ē of *hell*, but long.
- ē has its continental value.
- o like o in *nor*.
- ā a ē with very slight rounding of lips, with the acoustic effect of a sound between o and ē.
- ī, ē, ē, obscure, short vowels corresponding to the respective long vowels.
- ā an ē with rounded lips, short; somewhat like the Russian ĕ.

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

Diphthongs are formed by the combination of any of the vowels with following ā and ē:

- ai like ē in *hide*.
- ei like ēi in *vein*.
- oi like ēi in *choice*.
- au like ow in *how*.
- eu like eu in Italian *leucojo*.

The ī and ē of diphthongs belong to the neutral vowels. Combinations of the vowels with the weak vowels ē and ē do not form diphthongs.

The ē and ē 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 consonant 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  upau'ma while drinking

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

*upa'urkin thou drinkest

Before vowels, the u of the diphthong becomes u.

*nipa'w-ê-um I am drinking (stem *upa*)

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 türkiir (male pronunciation) sun
ee in e'ek lamp
wu in mta'ulpr son-in-law
i in ištšköpu from the skin intended for clothing
aa in pa'arkin thou ceasest
oo in ro'olqal food
u in tain'irgin sinful action

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

*miya'aa k < miya'aqag k 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Affricative</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalized</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>g, uku</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) See § 13.
\(^2\) Written kw before and after u.

\(\text{§ 2.} \)
p, m, as in English.
v bilabial.
t as in English.
š like ə in German Zeit, used only in female pronunciation.
č like English ch in choice.
j like English j in joy.
n as in English.
l 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.
x like ə, but sonant.
l as in German.
r as in French (hard trill, roue).
ɾ dental r with weak trill.
t, d', s', j', n', the corresponding consonants strongly palatalized,
similar to ty, dy, sy, jy, ny.
č strongly palatalized, intermediate between t' and č, but weaker
than either.
k as in English.
wkw labialized k.
č like n in singing. Voiceless č is always terminal, and appears
after terminal i, e.
g, g velars corresponding to k and g; g in this combination
q (u, o) is often labialized.
h, w, y, consonantic, as in English. Initial w is sometimes pro-
nounced nasally, as in wo'tqan THIS ONE. In my Russian pub-
lications I have indicated this nasalization; but it has not been
indicated here, since it is not morphologically significant, and
seems to be a characteristic feature of the sound, which appears,
however, of varying strength.

d and d', which are bracketed in the table of consonants, appear
only as the development of a strong palatalization of n', as in
ta'n'd'an < ta'n-y an a good one

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

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

i'rirkin he comes across  i'rirkin he hits
re'rirkin he rejoices re'rirkin he brings
yo'rk in thou overtakest yo'rk in thou puttest in
ye'rirkin the sky becomes ye'rirkin thou comest
overcast
e'ee cold  e'ee lengthwise
e'ee pur'kin it shows itself e'ee pur'kin it grows damp

§2.
The consonants л and ё are intimately related, and frequently replace each other, sometimes with a slight change of meaning (see § 122).

\( \text{бёка'рkm} \) and \( \text{вёд'ка'ркн} \) (from \( \text{вёд-la'ркн} \), see § 7, no. 17, p. 654), he stands

\( \text{виlrтkm} \) and \( \text{виlrтirm} \) (from stem \( \text{виlr-} \) ear) ear-bone

\( \text{ pérd'вуркн} \) he walks; \( \text{лё'вуркн} \) he wanders about

\( \text{lë'леn} \) winter; \( \text{ё'леn} \) cold

Initial \( t \) is sometimes replaced by \( ч \).

\( \text{тил-тд'oба} \) > \( \text{чилд'oба} \) in front of the entrance

**Note.** In words borrowed from the Russian, the following substitutions occur:

- For Russian 6 (б), Chukchee \( в \) is substituted.
- For Russian 9 (р), Chukchee \( п \) or \( q \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( x \), Chukchee \( k \) or \( q \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( c \), \( m \) (с, ш), Chukchee \( ч \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( s \), Chukchee \( т \) is substituted.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>чай'ван</td>
<td>сайба (storehouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Апо'н</td>
<td>Федька (Athanasius)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Гё'чан</td>
<td>Федька (Teddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ч'al</td>
<td>сахар (sugar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ч'al</td>
<td>соль (salt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trэ'н'нон</td>
<td>средне (middle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### § 3. Vocalic Ablaut

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by \( \acute{\alpha} \), the strong ones by \( \alpha \).

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.

- \( \varepsilon \) and \( \bar{\varepsilon} \) into \( \acute{\varepsilon} \)
- \( \varepsilon \) and \( \bar{\varepsilon} \) into \( \acute{\varepsilon} \)
- \( \eta \) into \( \acute{\eta} \) or \( \bar{\eta} \)

The sound \( \acute{\eta} \) differs in origin, therefore, from \( \alpha \), the latter being the ablaut of \( \eta \) or \( \bar{\eta} \). 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.
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:

- \( p'i'ri\)-\( rkin \) he takes
- \( deq'i\)-\( ni\)-\( tw\)rkin the weather grows warm
- \( ne\/\)r-\( ch\in \) good meat
- \( m\)r-\( ti\)-\( m\)k\( t\)m\( t\) great
- \( m\)nu\( n\) great
- \( pr\)-\( p\) snowstorm
- \( n\)u\( n\) blade of knife
- \( q\)i\( u\)-\( ti\)-\( w\) long wood

Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:

- \( p\)r\( gy\) (from \( p\)r\( y\)g) taken
- \( p\)n\( y\) (from \( p\)n\( g\)) from a snowstorm
- \( n\)o\( y\) (from \( n\)y\( y\)) from the blade of knife
- \( q\)a\( q\)n\( m\)g (from \( q\)a\( q\)n\( m\)) while the weather is growing warm
- \( w\)k\( w\) (from \( w\)k\( w\)) at the beginning of leaving
- \( w\)u\( g\) (from \( w\)u\( g\)) long knives
- \( t\)n\( m\) (from \( t\)n\( m\)) good, big seal
- \( q\)i\( a\) (\( q\)) right-hand driving-reindeer

There are a number of words with neutral, probably auxiliary vowels (see § 8), which produce the ablaut, as \( t\)m\( t\) to \( k\)ill; 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

- \( m\) rising of water
- \( n\) glue
- \( p\)r\( m\) first dawn
- \( y\) to put on 37.8
- \( y\) to get
- \( y\) fire
- \( y\)n\( t\) steep bank
- \( y\)k\( y\) mouth 18.12
- \( y\)g\( r\) bountiful
- \( w\)l thin, with short hair
- \( w\)h to fling
- \( w\)r branching


2 Forms preceded by a hyphen are those in which stems appear when in medial position (see § 12)
miliñ five 107.23

tim (-nm) to kill 23.5

timq (-mq) to choke

timli to get near to 44.1

tinp to stab

til door

tirk testicle

tuw (-teu) word, promise 49.6

-tkim to crouch

diwy bitter

diuv bruise

lip neck (bone)

lm something kept in reserve, spare material

lrigup deadfall (trap)

luqw to vanquish

-lpinr (pinjr) to give

-lpil (pil) to drink

ritih ridge of nose.

rinn tusk, antler R 3.31

rinnim gums

rinq shy

rinñña to whittle (moving knife toward body)

rul (-l) to enter the sleeping-room

rulh finger 22.7, 47.2

rrr to hunt down; (rrr [-rr] to untie has a weak stem)

rrrrnt sinew-thread

rrg hair

rrggit to be too narrow, to have no room.

rru (-nu) to scrape; (ruv

[-nu] to push off is a weak stem)

-serpil (kripil) to strike 45.12

kit hard

kitër to hatch (eggs)

kitel middle part of sternum

kitq dry

kirgil fibrous

git thin, sparse

git lake

gilb skin

qirm (kirm 33.12) marrow

ñun1 stanchion of sledge

nil smoke R 32.38

nirkil shame.

Prefixes of the same character are—

mii all

ktt- (-qti-) much, strongly

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

-qti, -qti, -wti, allative (§ 41)

-qpy, -qpy, -qpyq, ablative (§ 42)

-ðh(m), -ðn(m), substantival suffix (§ 52)

-qh(m), -qmi(m), substantival suffix (§ 53)

-ðni, -ðmi, augmentative (§ 98, 1)

-qirg(m) verbal noun (§ 106, 44)

-skin surface (§ 101, 19)

-s'q, -s'qim over, top of (§ 101, 20)

-nor, -m, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

-(i)ng allative of personal nouns (§ 41)

-nqg ablative, adverbial (§ 43)

-gg augmentative, (§ 98, 3)

-lgm, -lgm, space of, (see § 101, 20.)
-leng diminutive (§ 98, 7)
-qa—mq comitative (§ 100, 15)
-mąt comitative (§ 100, 17)
-qqe, -qal, by the side of (§ 101, 26)
-yamv, -yan, provided with (§ 104, 38)
-yqeh, -qel, receptacle (§ 105, 40)
-yg passive participle (§ 107, 47)
-neng, -np. inchoative (§ 110, 63)
-chat, verbal suffix expressing contempt (§ 110, 66)

In the following sketch the symbols and 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

ya'tirgn (stem ye't) the act of coming
kaňka'ẽirgn (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 , has hanged to h (see §§ 7 and 10).

ya'tirgn < ya't-hyrgn < ya't-yrng
kaňka'ẽirgn < kaňka't-hyrgn < kaňka't-yrng

In pronunciation, e, and ê, differ very little. The pronunciation of the last two is, of course, identical. The manner in which the ablaut occurs with e, while it is absent in ê, demonstrates, however, their etymological difference.

elere'ẽrm he feels dull
alarg'mq while feeling dull (stem eleræ)
mërẽmër tear (stem mërë)
mërẽqiq to a tear (stem mërë)
pĩne'ẽrm snowstorm (stem pĩne)
pêna-ẽpra from a snowstorm (stem pêna)
kêter'ẽrm (stem kêter) he remembers

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

c̆ğ-mi₃mul bad water, brandy
c̆ğlpğ quick! hurry!
c̆gï̊aw fawn
c̆ğle'p nail
c̆mů'in workingman
This $\dd$ is probably developed from $\dd$ under the influence of the following glottal stop.

In several suffixes $\dd$ appears without connection with $q$ or $t$.

$v\dd v\dd t$ by means of an ear
$\dd v\dd t$ by means of a knife

In a few cases $\dd$ belongs to the group of strong vowels, and is probably derived from $\dd$ under the influence of the glottal stop.

$\dd \dd \dd \dd$ day
$\dd t\dd t\dd t\dd -\dd n\dd n\dd$ interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

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

In the words $a^e t\dd t\dd m\dd DOG$, $a^e t\dd t\dd m\dd BONE$, the $a^e$ replaces the weak $\dd a^e$, 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 $u$.

$\dd t\dd k\dd \dd \dd u\dd r\dd k\dd m\dd$ he wrestles
$\dd t\dd k\dd o\dd u\dd \dd t\dd p\dd \dd$ from the wrestler
$\dd w\dd \dd u\dd r\dd k\dd m\dd$ he drinks

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

$\dd u^e r\dd k\dd m\dd$ it thaws $\dd e^o m\dd \dd$ while thawing
but consonantic

$\dd u^e r\dd k\dd m\dd$ he speaks $\dd e^u m\dd \dd$ while speaking

This $\dd u^e$ may be explained as originating from $t^i y^e$, where, according to the rule, the intervocalic $y$ dropped out, strengthening at the same time $t$ to $i$.

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

$u w\dd u^e r\dd k\dd m\dd$ he cooks $w\dd e^o m\dd \dd$ while cooking
$\dd e w\dd u^e r\dd k\dd m\dd$ he cuts it off $\dd e w\dd e^o m\dd \dd$ while cutting
$\dd w\dd o\dd u^e r\dd k\dd m\dd$ he can not $\dd g\dd e^o v\dd u\dd l\dd e\dd n\dd$ being unable to do something

§3
Russian loan-words also conform to the rules of vocalic harmony.

vi'lkn fork (Kor. Kam. vi'lka); stem vi'l/; Russian вилка
e'y'men bag (Kor. Kam. e'u'ma); stem e'un; Russian сумка
kong'k paper; stem kong'; Russian бумага
m'łemyl soap (Kor. Kam. mu'la); stem mu'le; local Russian мыло, instead of мыло
yel'kut Yakut; stem yel'kut; Russian ЯКУТ
pré'kqë'kik commercial agent (Kor. preka'sek); Russian прикасник (Kor. Kam. dai'n'ek) teakettle;¹ Russian чайник

Compositions conform to the rules of harmony, with very few exceptions. The particles elo'n and ńan enter into close combination with other particles without affecting their vowels: emilo'n<gm ę elo'n where is he? euńa'n<qun ńan so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative gmłongąń in ?where is he then? 43.6.

In pię'g-tuńg'rkın THOU TAKEST OFF THE BOOTS, the second part alone has the ablaut.

In čęq-ą'mnśńn IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms čęq and emnśńn would be expected.

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

§ 4. Initial and Terminal Consonants

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

\[ l < t + l \quad \text{Č' } < t + y \]
\[ t < b + l \text{ or } r + l \quad ʒ' < d + y \]

All sounds occur as terminals except

\[ t, l, t', [d], [d'], ĕ', ʒ', ʒ', wkw, r \]
\[ v, h \]

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 ň appear only as terminal sounds after i and e.

No clusters of more than two consonants occur. Terminal consonant 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 piłłkuk throat-kettle.
Terminal ŋ, particularly after r, becomes voiceless, and hence very weak.

*kešu'nėš* staff ends in voiceless ŋ, but in the plural *kešu'nēš* the ŋ 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:

\[l, \ell, t, [d], [d'], ʃ', ŋ', wkw\]

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:

\[k, q, ŋ, h\]

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

*gātρ'ex'nonatall'en* they went to Sredne Kolymsk.

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

\[s', n', ŋ\]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>ě</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>l, ŋ</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>pt</td>
<td>pk</td>
<td>pq</td>
<td>pě</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ě</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'</td>
<td>sp</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mp</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>np</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'</td>
<td>np</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>tp</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>vp</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
<td>wp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Except *t*.
2 Except *k*.
3 Except *nd*.
4 Except *q*.

§5
§ 6. Vocalic Contraction

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

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

\[ qaL-aa'ëêk < qaLê'-aa'ëêk \text{ lazy boy} \]
\[ ã5q-u'ttuut < ã5qā-u'ttuut \text{ bad wood} \]

(2) Obscure \( i, e, ā, ā, a^c \), following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.

\[ aŋqa-nna'n < aŋqa'-enna'n \text{ sea-fish} \]
\[ qapu'lêm < qa-ipg'ulm \text{ he drank} \]
\[ ẽ'ri5l < ẽ'ri-ä5'Lel \text{ muddy snow} \]
\[ ņew'ittin < ņe'u-aër'ittin \text{ female dog} \]

§ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>forms with</th>
<th>forms with</th>
<th>forms with</th>
<th>forms with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( v )</td>
<td>( w )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( v )</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( v )</td>
<td>( w )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( w )</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( v )</td>
<td>( w )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( ē )</td>
<td>( y )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( ē )</td>
<td>( y )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ē )</td>
<td>( s_p )</td>
<td>( s_m )</td>
<td>( s_m )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( y )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( ē )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( r )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( ē )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( ē )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( ē )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( ē )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( q )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( ē )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These changes may be summarized in part as follows:

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

§6, 7
(4) $q$ before consonants becomes $c$; only $qq$ occurs.
(5) $\bar{n}$ before labials becomes $n$; before dentals, $n$.
(6) $\check{c}$ before labials, palatals, and $n$, becomes $s'$. When $l$ replaces $\check{c}$, it is treated in the same manner.
(7) Dentals before palatals are palatalized.
(8) $w$ with following $v$, $w$, and sometimes also with $q$, forms labialized $k$.
(9) $y$ following $v$, $w$, and $g$, becomes $g$.
(10) $t$ (č'), and $r$ with following $y$, form $\check{c}$.
(11) $l$ with following $y$ forms $\check{y}$, or $by$.
(12) $t$, $\check{c}$, and ($r$) with following $r$ form $rr$.
(13) ($\check{c}$), $\check{e}$, and $r$ with following $t$ form $tt$.
(14) $\bar{n}$ with following $n$ and $\bar{n}$ forms $\bar{g}n$ and $\bar{g}\bar{n}$.
(15) $n$ and $\bar{n}$ with following $y$ form $nd'$.
(16) $n$ and $\bar{n}$ with following $r$ form often $nr$.
(17) $t$, $\check{c}$, $r$, and $l$ with following $l$ form $l$. The last two with following $l$ also form $\check{x}$.
(18) $l$ with following $r$ forms $rr$.
(19) $l$ with following $\bar{n}$ forms $\bar{lh}$.
(20) $r$ with following $n$ forms $nn$.
(21) $r$ with following $\check{c}$ forms $\check{tc}$.
(22) $k$ with following $k$ and $q$ form $gk$ and $qq$.
(23) $k$ and $g$ with following $\bar{n}$ form $\bar{nn}$.
(24) $k$ with following $g$ forms $\bar{q}g$; with following $gu$, $wko$ ($u$).
(25) $g$ with following $y$ forms $gg$.
(26) $l$ and $t$ with following $q$ form $lt$, $ly$, and $th$, $ty$.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$pn &gt; mn$ (1)</th>
<th>$\check{g}m\check{m}ne'\check{t}in$ whetted &lt; $\check{g}e-pn\check{e}'\check{t}in$ the knife-whetter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$v\check{g}l\check{a}m\check{a}'\check{t}in$ &lt; $v\check{g}la-pn\check{a}'\check{t}in$ the knife-whetter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$r\check{m}\check{m}n\check{e}'p\check{u}$ from the inner skin ($rr'pn$ inner skin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| $pn > m\bar{n}$ (1) | $gi\check{t}\check{g}e\check{m}\check{w}o$ < $gi\check{t}\check{g}e\check{p}-\check{m}\check{w}o$ clever woman |
| $n\check{m}\check{m}n\check{g}e'\check{a}'n$ < $n\check{g}-\check{p}\check{m}n\check{g}e'\check{a}'n$ they asked him |
| $66.24$ |

| $tm > nm$ (1) | $m\check{m}m\check{n}m\check{n}ik$ < $m\check{m}-\check{m}t\check{m}ik$ let us be! |
| $n\check{n}l\check{a}n-m\check{m}r\check{u}$ < $n\check{u}-y\check{r}l\check{t}-m\check{m}r\check{u}$ we slept |
| $n\check{a}n\check{m}n\check{u}'\check{a}'n$ < $n\check{a}-k\check{m}u-\check{u}'\check{a}'n$ they killed it |
| $8.2$ |
| $m\check{m}e'wko\check{m}w\check{m}mik$ < $m\check{m}-\check{e}'wko\check{m}w\check{m}mik$ let us go away! |
| $17.8$ |

| $tn > nn$ (1) | $\check{g}i\check{m}m\check{n}n\check{n}in$ < $\check{g}i\check{m}n\check{t}-n\check{n}in$ he took it |
| $117.9$ |

| $t\bar{n} > n\bar{n}$ (1, 7) | $r\check{g}i\check{\check{g}}\check{m}n\check{t}\check{\check{u}}$ < $r\check{g}-y\check{r}l\check{t}\check{\check{u}}\check{\check{t}}$ they will sleep |
| $\check{g}\check{e}n\check{\check{n}}\check{n}\check{u}'\check{t}in$ < $\check{g}e-\check{t}\check{m}n\check{u}-\check{t}in$ he sent it |
| $104.10$ (cf. $19.1$; $104.3$) |

| $kp > wp$ (2) | $m\check{w}\check{m}\check{p}\check{e}\check{m}n\check{w}e\check{t}$ < $m\check{w}k\check{p}\check{e}\check{m}n\check{w}e\check{t}$ many two-year-old reindeer-bucks |

§7
A few stems, when preceding consonants, change q to e, and their vowels become subject to ablaut.

For instance:  
\[ \text{tr'gir'in} \] he casts metal  
\[ \text{te's} < \text{tig} \] to cast metal  
\[ \text{ye's} < \text{yiq} \] quick  
\[ \text{me's} < \text{miq} \] small

\[ \text{q before consonants} > \epsilon \]

\[ \text{na'k'o'g'yp'y} < \text{nerkuq-g'yp'y} \] from the swan
\[ \text{ga'm'q'yp'y} < \text{ma'q'm'q'yp'y} \] from the arrow
\[ \text{ge'li'ker'in} < \text{ge'li'ker'in} \] he has married

\[ \text{yr} > \text{g} \]
\[ \text{ya'q'gran} < \text{va'q'g'ran} \] grass border
\[ \text{yr} > \text{gr} \]
\[ \text{va'q'gran} < \text{va'q'g'ran} \] grass house

\[ \text{yr} > \text{gr} \]
\[ \text{va'q'gran} < \text{va'q'g'ran} \] grass house

\[ \text{yr} > \text{gr} \]
\[ \text{ma'q'm'q'yp'y} < \text{ma'q'm'q'yp'y} \] from the arrow
\[ \text{ge'li'ker'in} < \text{ge'li'ker'in} \] he has married

\[ \text{yr} > \text{gr} \]
\[ \text{va'q'gran} < \text{va'q'g'ran} \] grass house

\[ \text{yr} > \text{gr} \]
\[ \text{ma'q'm'q'yp'y} < \text{ma'q'm'q'yp'y} \] from the arrow
\[ \text{ge'li'ker'in} < \text{ge'li'ker'in} \] he has married

\[ \text{yr} > \text{gr} \]
\[ \text{ma'q'm'q'yp'y} < \text{ma'q'm'q'yp'y} \] from the arrow
\[ \text{ge'li'ker'in} < \text{ge'li'ker'in} \] he has married
long time ago ancient people tan-ra'n a good house; but tan-rogqal good food
ten-le'ut good, clever head
he seemed to cease of about the size of a cake of brick tea; but also mes-kirpi'n-mič
mes'nîmpâqin somewhat slow; but also mennu'ımpâqin
 kirpi's'kin belonging to a cake of brick-tea; but from va'nîngâ there is derived the adjective va'nîngâ'kên
kirpi's'gâ small piece of brick-tea (see 29.8)
single daughter (see, however, qufl-le'elcik 29.8)
somehow slow;
but also nleflnl'mpaq2fl
irpi'sqai belonging to a cake of brick-tea; but from va'Enqat there is derived (see 29.8)
small piece of brick-tea
by mischievous being
female work I quarreled without assistant
their breath went out
without assistant
female cousin wolf's paw
the sweet one
the one bought
the one recognized.
The unaltered form occurs also.
thin curried reindeer-skin
somewhat back of you
somewhat back of you
in what direction he moved on
§ 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 u.
Before or after q, the auxiliary vowel is ā.

\[ t'i'nk-1-le'ut (t'i'nakalgi-le'ut R 278) \] hummock-head
\[ i'te-1-plo'r'nin \] precious metal (i.e., gold)
\[ gēl-1-im-kən \] on the top of the sea-ice 9.1
\[ nā-1-lo'wë-1-chin \] the herd 79.6, see also nā'lo'wëchin 32.11
\[ xlq'ut-1-kù \] without head 47.8 (<xlqw-it-kù)
\[ i'te-u-wil \] precious ware
\[ 'ul-u-wo'g'lat \] long knives 15.2 (<'ul+wa'glat)
\[ n-1-np-1-gin \] old one
\[ n-1-plu'qin \] small one 10.2
\[ lē'gānprnq'èhàgqài \] eyes (had) the small old man
\[ n-1-1e-1-a-gin \] heavy, dear

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like l, t, wkw, d, t, ē, ķ, ū—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

\[ mu'limul \] blood 117.12
\[ t'i'zi-1-til \] the entrance 105.15
\[ mng'1-min \] hand 57.10
\[ gā'rilën \] he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22
\[ gg'w'kulin \] they have tied him up 20.10 (<gg-wkut-lin)

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

\[ p'i'nil \] news
\[ p'i'k'il \] 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.

\[ gā'lz \] bird (stem gā'lhà)
\[ rē'rkil \] walrus (stem rē'rkà)
\[ ve'ls \] raven (stem vē'lsà)
\[ kr'ńil \] buck, male (stem kr'nà)

§9. u, w

Short, obscure u may change to w or v.

\[ ty'w'kmin \] thou sayest
\[ ry'w'kmin \] thou splittest
\[ ry'w'kmin \] thou scraped
\[ ry'w'kmin \] thou displacest
\[ rg'orkin \] thou pluckest

\[ ty'welw \] word
\[ ry'welw \] the split one
\[ ry'welw \] the scraped one
\[ ry'welw \] displaced
\[ rg'wgo \] plucked

\[ ga'tvilën \] he has said
\[ ga'tvilën \] he has split
\[ ga'tvilën \] he has scraped
\[ ge'wqìn \] he has displaced
\[ ge'qo'qën \] he has plucked

§9
§ 10. Intervocalic Elision

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

\begin{align*}
\text{ně'ēkik} & < \text{něw-ēkik} \quad \text{daughter} \\
\text{gala'len} & < \text{gagala'len} \quad \text{he has passed by} \\
\text{gaa'lhizên} & < \text{gaya'lhizên} \quad \text{he has moved away} \\
\text{muwa'qeq} & < \text{muwa'qeqa'k} \quad \text{let me sit down!} \\
\text{ya'ikhm} & \text{and ya'gie'khm} \quad \text{foot} \\
\text{mī'tnmuut} & < \text{mī-t-tnmu- QtGui} \quad \text{we killed thee 10.12} \\
\text{pe'gtu-w'qirgmn} & < \text{pe'gtu-wn'qirgmn} \quad \text{runner-noise 32.10} \\
\text{čime} & < \text{čime'tirkm} \quad \text{thou creakest}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
\text{ge'izin} & < \text{ge'yi'zin} \quad \text{given} \\
\text{tiq'ilm} & < \text{tiyg'ilm} \quad \text{vein} \\
\text{qiq'ilm} & \text{and gryg'ilm} \quad \text{heel} \\
\text{ge'ylqāzin} & < \text{ge'-yi'lqāzin} \quad \text{he slept} \\
\text{mi'illit} & < \text{mi'yi'lit} \quad \text{I will give thee}
\end{align*}

§ 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.

\begin{align*}
\text{gūmnī'n evkveovkwalla'c} & < \text{gūmnī'n evkveovgallc'} \quad \text{my left-hand driving-reindeer passed by} \\
\text{ya'ran mu'ri nan'nēnai'pū-me'rē} & < \text{ya'rat mu'ri we grew too angry (ya'rat too much; mu'ri we; an'nēnai'pū to become angry)} \\
\text{ennel'ā am ēlqē'm ēnto'c' < ēlqē'p ēnto'c' a nail went out (ennel'ā one; ēlqē'p nail; ēnto'c' to go out; -c' 3d per. sing.)} \\
\text{nu'mn'ara'la-lhityat' < nu'mn'mit ya'allityat' the neighboring camp moved away}
\end{align*}

Sometimes \(n\) or \(t\) is inserted between two vowels—one terminal, the next initial—that come together in a sentence.

\(tēl'd g-vi'tā-nā-t'irkm\) 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.

§§ 10, 11
§ 12. Initial Consonantic Clusters

I have found the following initial consonantic clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial sound</th>
<th>Second sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d  m  n  ñ  r  l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>péd  pn  pñ  pr  pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tm  tä  tr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>km  kr  kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qñ  qr  ql</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mn  mñ  mr  mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>ñl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 péd seems exceptional in this series. Combinations which occur in initial but not in medial position are printed in italics.

Examples:

pr interjection 88.17
prérem meat pudding
plägi' that is all 107.21
pla'kilhin boot
pëgtwawi'kin thou takest off the boots
pnerkin thou whettest it
phö'rkin thou imbibest
tnërkin thou sewest
țnarqé'ta to the dawn 135.16
traya'adn shall I use it? 93.19
trenniko'wkwä'n I shall do to it 99.10
kmì'ñägï small son 126.11
krr'tkin upper course of a river
kloka'lhin a kind of berry
gra'qu to the disowning 94.30
gres'qi'wkwâ' gït enter! 102.35
qla'ulgai little man 9.6
gro'ë she brought forth 104.8
mlë'rkin thou breakest
më-e'ñä'nlin sacrificing-shaman 42.5
më'dhiwKENMÎK let us go away! 17.8
mra'gtiaw I shall go home 99.2
mra'yoßhin shall we visit him? 108.10
nre'q-i-git what dost thou want? 125.6
Hle'n Hled flame
qânwunra'gtatyâ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial cluster of stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial form</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>*rk</td>
<td>rk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>*lp</td>
<td>lp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>*lk</td>
<td>lk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>*lq</td>
<td>lq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>*li</td>
<td>li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k and tsk</td>
<td>*tk</td>
<td>tsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>*ukw</td>
<td>(ukw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>*tv</td>
<td>(tv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>*r</td>
<td>n¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>*g</td>
<td>h, y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Not in all cases.
(4) In a great many cases an auxiliary vowel is introduced between the members of the cluster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$pr$ and $pr$</td>
<td>$*pr$</td>
<td>$pr$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$pțk$</td>
<td>$*pțk$</td>
<td>$pk$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$pțt$</td>
<td>$*pțt$</td>
<td>$mt$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$v$ and $twv$</td>
<td>$*tv$</td>
<td>$tv$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tt$</td>
<td>$*tt$</td>
<td>$tt$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k$ and $tk$</td>
<td>$*tk$</td>
<td>$tk$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$lt$</td>
<td>$*lt$</td>
<td>$l$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kt$</td>
<td>$*kt$</td>
<td>$gl$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$yț$</td>
<td>$*yț$</td>
<td>$gt$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kty$</td>
<td>$*kty$</td>
<td>$gg$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tmt$</td>
<td>$*tmt$</td>
<td>$nm$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$gț$</td>
<td>$*gț$</td>
<td>$gt$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$măk$</td>
<td>$*măk$</td>
<td>$mk$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ąp$</td>
<td>$*ąp$</td>
<td>$mp$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ăt$</td>
<td>$*ăt$</td>
<td>$nt$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ńo$</td>
<td>$*ńo$</td>
<td>$mq$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$țg$</td>
<td>$*țg$</td>
<td>$rg$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$gțl$</td>
<td>$*gțl$</td>
<td>$gl$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$tr$ or $țtr$</td>
<td>$*țtr$</td>
<td>$rr$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$qțy$</td>
<td>$*qțy$</td>
<td>$gy$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$wō(i)$</td>
<td>$*wō$</td>
<td>$gq$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$wețy$</td>
<td>$*wețy$</td>
<td>$gq$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$lt$</td>
<td>$*lt$</td>
<td>$l$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ųś$</td>
<td>$*ųś$</td>
<td>$gq$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$țsw$</td>
<td>$*țsw$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$lt$</td>
<td>$*lt$</td>
<td>$Th$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stem

$\astpne$: $pńg'ırkn$ thou ninemng'gîn she whetted it 44.4

$\asttni$: $tni'ırkn$ thou sewest it $qen-nilin$ he sewed

$\asttı$: $tı'ııırkn$ thou $gen-nilin$ he sent it sendest it

$\astkmę':$ $kmı'ııırkn$ she $\text{genmî-nilin}$ she brought forth brings forth

$qbį'kın$: twenty (lit., that $člīkkıı'kělin$ nineteen (lit., one lacking to a man)

$\astrkıle$: $kıle'nnın$ he followed $ŋerkele'lin$ she followed him 37.1

$\astrkıle$: $kı'ıırkn$ thou $gérkųți$n he bought buyst it

$\astrkıpl$: $kı'ııplın$n she $ga'rkıplên$ he had struck 86.7

$\astlpııř$: $pıııırkn$ thou $galpııńlên$ he gave givest to him $nılıpııńqgę'ną$t they gave them 14.3
nelpini'fy ayn they bound him 8.1
ge'lqa'Ln he left 59.1
nilqäineu'nin they shot 78.10
ge'ticulin he consumed it 7.2
ge'wkvn they had tied him 20.10
qatva'rkin stay! 57.3
gatv't&&len he stood
nitvê'tcaqem he stood 48.1
ge'prilin plucked out
ndpriän they tore off 30.7
ge'pkiLin he came 8.6
narnffilo'an they asked him 66.24
gagto'liz he had been pulled out
42.8
geggeu'lin he awoke 55.3
namuaen they killed him 8.2
ni'gti'flqin he is pretty
n'mkäqin numerous 12.7
yempe'Zn they landed 12.9
ganto'lm he has gone out 8.4
§12
\[\text{Stem}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*nt} & \quad \text{ntirkin it detaches itself} \\
\text{*nvo} & \quad \text{norkin he begins} \\
\text{*rg} & \quad \text{rgirkin he digs} \\
\text{*g\'lo} & \quad \text{g\'olen the one sor-rowing} \\
\text{*rr} & \quad \text{rray untying} \\
\text{*rrl} & \quad \text{rerrirkin he puts down} \\
\text{*vya} & \quad \text{v\'i\'arkin he lets go (an animal)} \\
\text{*wy} & \quad \text{wyowsi sling} \\
\text{*lep} & \quad \text{lilepqi\' he looked} \\
\text{*yqu} & \quad \text{yurkin thou bitest it} \\
\text{*boi} & \quad \text{boi\'ipt piece cut} \\
\text{*li} & \quad \text{li\'arkin he has} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{The change from initial } r \text{ to medial } n \text{ occurs only in transitive verbs:}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{re\'urkin thou pierces it} & \quad \text{gene\'ulin he pierced it} \\
\text{ru\'urkin thou eatest} & \quad \text{gene\'ulin he ate it} \\
\text{but ri\'erkin he flies} & \quad \text{ger\'\'elin he flew} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Initial \(t\) is sometimes replaced by \(\text{\'t}\) (see § 2, p. 646).

\(\text{\'t\'\'i\'\'t\'o\'o\'a} \text{ before the entrance (lit., entrance before), instead of } \text{ti\'\'i\'\'t\'o\'o\'a}.\)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mel\'in\'e slow} & \quad \text{nul\'in\'ef the slow one (stem n\'e)} \\
\text{yarga\'\'i house} & \quad \text{garga\'\'i1 having a house (stem rg)} \\
\text{yarga\'\'i sleeping-room} & \quad \text{garga\'\'i1 having a sleeping-room} \\
\end{align*}
\]

§12
Perhaps the initial $y$ of the last two examples is derived from $r$, as in Koryak it replaces $r$.

Irregular is—

$\ddot{e}$\textsuperscript{r}erkm he arranges a rein- $\ddot{g}$er\textsuperscript{\textael}lin he has arranged a rein-
deer driving-match. deer driving-match

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

$p\ddot{r}\ddot{u}l$ news (stem $p\ddot{h}l$

$k\ddot{u}k\ddot{t}l$ one-eyed man (stem $kk\ddot{t}$)

§ 13. Pronunciation of Men and Women

The pronunciation of the women\textsuperscript{1} differs from that of the men. Women generally substitute $\ddot{s}$ for $\ddot{c}$ and $r$, particularly after weak vowels. They also substitute $\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ for $rk$ and $\ddot{ch}$. The sounds $\ddot{c}$ and $r$ are quite frequent; so that the speech of women, with its ever-recurring $\ddot{s}$, sounds quite peculiar, and is not easily understood by an inexperienced ear. Women are quite able to pronounce $\ddot{c}$ 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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men's pronunciation</th>
<th>Women's pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra'\textsuperscript{m}k\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{\textk}h\textsuperscript{m}</td>
<td>\textsuperscript{\textsa}'\textsuperscript{m}k\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{\texts}\textsuperscript{\textk}h\textsuperscript{s}\textsuperscript{\textm}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park\textsuperscript{\textk}ala</td>
<td>Pa'\textsuperscript{s}\textsuperscript{\textk}ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b\textsuperscript{\texts}\textsuperscript{\textm}n\textsuperscript{\textm}\texta\textt\texta\texta</td>
<td>\textsuperscript{\texts}\textsuperscript{\texts}\textsuperscript{\textm}n\textsuperscript{\textm}\texta\textt\texta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{	extacutec}ai\textsuperscript{n}u'\textsuperscript{\textg}\textsuperscript{\textv}\textsuperscript{\textg}\textsuperscript{\textm}</td>
<td>Saai\textsuperscript{n}u'\textsuperscript{\textn}\textsuperscript{\text supplement}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| n\textsuperscript{\textacutec}\textsuperscript{\texta}\textsuperscript{\textv}\textsuperscript{\textg}\textsuperscript{\textm}\textsuperscript{\texta}\textsuperscript{\textt} < n\textsuperscript{\textacutec}\textsuperscript{\texta}\textsuperscript{\textv}\textsuperscript{\textg}\textsuperscript{\textm}\textsuperscript{\texta}\textsuperscript{\textt} | ge\textsuperscript{\textacutem}\textsuperscript{\texti}\textsuperscript{\texte}\textsuperscript{\texte} < ge\textsuperscript{\textacutem}\textsuperscript{\texti}\textsuperscript{\texte}\textsuperscript{\texte} | ti'\textsuperscript{\textr}ki\textsuperscript{\texti}\textsuperscript{\texti} < ti'\textsuperscript{\textr}k\textsuperscript{\texti}\textsuperscript{\texti}\textsuperscript{\texti}

\textsuperscript{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, 29.
It would seem that this process of elimination of intervocalic con-
sonants 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  \( i \),  \( ā \),  \( u \)
2. Strong vowels  \( e \),  \( o \),  \( ə \)
3. Neutral vowels \( \{ i, e, a, ŋ \} \)

In this series,  \( e \) and  \( ŋ \) are rare

\( e \) is generally replaced by  \( o \)

\( ŋ \) is generally replaced by  \( i \) or  \( ə \)

A comparison of the table of Koryak vowels with that of the
Chukchee vowels shows that the glide \( ĕ \) is missing,  \( e \) has taken the
place of  \( ĕ \), 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  \( v \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>app' veken</td>
<td>ṭupa' yrkın</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me' mi'</td>
<td>m' mi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tани'ті</td>
<td>таи'ті</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have observed that the Asiatic Eskimo, when speaking Chuk-
chee, also have a tendency to replace  \( ĕ \) by  \( i \). They say—

\( m' i' mî \) instead of Chukchee  \( m' e' mî \)
\( tīrga' yrkın \) instead of Chukchee  \( tīrga' yrkın \)

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

§14
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. Koryak ài 9oi'kocik Kor. 96.22 (Chukchee uvav'goche'gti Kor. 95.6)
   ord'cek Kor. 102.17 (Koryak I oya'cek Kor. 101.1)
2. 9ë and çë are replaced by a strong and long yy.
   ko'yyon the one bought (Chukchee ko çj o)
3. As in Chukchee, 9 is closely related to ç, s', s, (see § 2).
   la'xlañ winter  ÷ê'xëex cold
gayi'sqata sleep! Kor. 31.8 tiviyi'lqatïn I will sleep Kor. 31.8
   pipi'kalin mouse Kor. 58.7 pipi'këa'ñaw Mouse-Woman Kor. 23.3
   va'vi-1a'ut Raven-Woman Kor. 18.4
   Man Kor. 12.4
   Correspondences of Koryak 9 and Chukchee ç, s', s, and vice versa, are also not rare.
   Koryak yalqi'wikin he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee resqi'wikwi 11.2)
   vos'qe'ti to darkness Kor. 57.6 (Chukchee wu'ltik 126.1)
4. Koryak 9 is pronounced almost like Polish 1 (Russian 1), 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 9.
   gawi'yalin he has died (Chukchee geov'lin)
The ordinary post-alveolar 1 is also found.

*naw’anpil* little woman.

*milya*’qpil small shell Kor. 23.8

(5) The Chukchee 1 and 1 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 1 and 1 of Chukchee, I have retained for it the second Chukchee symbol, 1.

(6) The Chukchee 1 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 č.

Kor. Kam. Chukchee

ko’ifiń *ko’ifiń* cup
va’ykin Kor. 13.10 *va’rik* there is
nito’ykin Kor. 12.5 *nito’rik* he goes out
yalglywkin Kor. 13.9 *resqi’wokwi* 11.2, 19.3 he entered
ya’qykin Kor. 66.14 *re’qarkin* 18.6 what has happened
to you?

*tiyayai’tin* I’ll go home *ra’qitè* he goes home 122.7
Kor. 30.5
Paren
ye’li Kor. 60.1., 64.14 *è’li* there
ya’viiñen *è’viiñin* he will vanquish him;
but ya’viiñen Kor. 92.20

In a number of cases 1 is replaced by s, t, or č.

Koryak Chukchee

gayi’ècalin Kor. 17.3 *geyurre’zin* 96.21 it was full
gai’ècalin Kor. 15.10 *gèlhilin* 64.4 he had him for
gi’golai’ti to a high place *girgo’lgèn* 124.1 from above
Kor. 20.1

na’çin Kor. 60.9 *na’çin* 49.7 outside
gapi’s’qalin Kor. 84.11 *gepi’qalin* she fell down
yi’ssik Kor. 39.2 *ririk* to untie something
gi’ssa Kor. 18.7 *gir* thou
*ima’ssinań* Kor. 24.10 *inèrrine* marline spike, awl (in- 
strument to untie with)

wu’ssin Kor. 30.3 *wù’rri* on the back
-�n(ìn) *-gèn(ìn)* abstract noun
palga’thinnin *palga’tèrin* old age

1 I have written the i corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with i, while for the sound corresponding to 1 I have retained y.

§16
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 кармань)
- preka'ssek commercial agent (from прикащикъ)
- ba'gar sugar (from сахарь)

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 l of Koryak I.

- ka'mak-ru (village Rekr'nnok) small image of a guardian
- ka'mak-lu (Kamenskoye)

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

Chukchee  |   Kor. Kam.  |   Voyampolka, Kamchatka
---|---|---
č'rkći'ir sun | č'yktity Kor. 19.3 | č'tkitič
č'ñer star | č'ñay | č'ñer
ču'ri'c we | ču'yi (dual) | ču'ri'c (dual)

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

Koryak I, gape'nyiflen he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee pê'nîrnên Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, gape'ntiflen, Kor. 96.26)

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

- missac'omi we shall hear (Chukchee mirrál'omi)
- č't'irîl tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee y'il'îl 7.10)
- qitc'a't legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee gktk'a't 51.4)
- čil'tc'u drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee qilu'tku')

(10) y often replaces Chukchee g.

- yitka'vekrn he makes haste (Chukchee gaiča'urkn)
- tayyeviov'ckn he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee têgq 102.35)

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

- valo'm Kor. 55.7 (Chukchee valo'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. ńaw-i'nd'ula*n < ńaw-i-nya-łä'n the one serving for a wife (stems ńaw woman; nya to watch the herd)

Chukchee ńeund'ul'ìn < ńeu-nya-łìn (stems ńew, -nya [rîy])
The Paren n in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word țewr'n'nn-ulăn'n.

In the same way,—

Kamenskoye ța'n'd-en, or even ța'n'jen (from ța'n'yen)

Paren ța'n'en that one

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

palqa'țhef'n and palqa'țgef'n
qiya'thi Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee qûye'tyi' 15.11)

(14) wq or gˀ (labialized g) replaces Chukchee labialized k, (wkw).

Koryak
yiwgbo'xa Kor. 32.1
qawgu'li'in Kor. 23.4
qalxa'wq'i Kor. 28.9

Chukchee
iwkubi'itä 37.3 drinking
gâ'wkräli'in 20.10 they tied him
gâgger'wikwi' 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.

ëx'xeex cold (Chukchee êx'xeën)
ma'qmiti arrows (dual) (Chukchee mà'qmit, plural)

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

yô'ekm he overtakes (Chukchee yo'ekm)

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

(18) The marked tendency of Chukchee to lose intervocalic consonants like y, q, 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. tyô'ga'ran I overtook him (Chukchee tryô'ga'n)

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

vai'am river (Chukchee ve'èm)
yawa'ýkin he uses it (Chukchee ya'arkm)
ä'x'le'x' axe (Chukchee ä'al, but also ä'lha'ttr, ä'l-ga'ttr, ga'ttr hatchet)
uyrêvat to play Kor. 32 7

kchee uuëvet 43.3)
These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren e'ek lamp
Kor. Kam. a'ak
Chukchee e'ek

The Chukchee cluster lth is replaced by lth in Kamenskoye.

Kor. Kam. ke'nmilhin root (Chukchee ke'nmilhin)

§17. Vocalic Ablaut

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

i changes into ĝ,
\( \bar{u} \) changes into ĝ;

\( g'\text{wilinat they said Kor. 21.2} \)
\( g\text{wunug'len he said Kor. 14.4} \)
\( n\text{u'tanut country, land} \)
\( ya'nya-nota'lo foreigners \)

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

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

Kor. Kam.
ka'iykin (stem a?)
nu'tanut country, land
a'kkat sons (stem a'kka)
aima'wikin thou approachest (stem ĝime'urkin)
a'kkat sons (stem a'kka)
aima'wikin thou approachest (stem ĝime'urkin)
Kor. Kam.
Chukchee
keli'rkin (stem keli')
nu'tenu (stem nu'te)
\( \bar{g}'kkat \) (stem \( \bar{g}'kk\) )
aima'wikin thou approachest (stem ĝime'urkin (stem ĝime'u))

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

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

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

\( g'\text{orl-}\text{tg'mt}\text{am goitre, long tumor (stems g'orl long, tg'mt}\text{am tumor); Chukchee tg'mt}\text{am} \)
\( q\text{gtap} \)p-\( \bar{g}'\text{mat load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17} \) (stems q\text{gtap} fish for winter use; \( \bar{g}'\text{mat load); Chukchee q}\text{ata'p-}\text{z'mt} \)

An example of the occurrence of ĝ, corresponding to Chukchee ĝ, is—

m'g'ymny tear (stem m'gyn); Chukchee m'g'\text{r}\text{m'g} (stem m'g'\text{r})
\( \text{gapnuylen she attacked her, Kor. 96.8} \) (stem p\text{gny}); Chukchee p\text{g'nikin Kor. 95.10} (stem p\text{g'nr})
Since the vowel-pair `a`–q, and the vowels `e` and q 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,—

\[
\text{npelq'–m`a`yyu} \quad \text{instead of npelq'–m`a`yo} \quad \text{we are left.}
\]

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

\[
\text{palqa'‐thit} \text{ nin or palqath} \text{ en\'in old age (compare Chukchee palqa'‐tirgin < palqath'rin)}
\]

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

Koryak

Chukchee

\begin{align*}
\text{uwat} & \text{kin he kisses (stem uwat) } & \text{ukwet} & \text{gkin he has made (stem ukwei)} \\
\text{uy`i`q`e` husband (stem uy`i`q`e}) & \text{w`u`i`q`e` (stem uw`i`q`e})
\end{align*}

Several dialects of both groups of the Koryak have retained the vowels \( `a` \) and ̀e.` These have the ablaut analogous to that of the Chukchee.

\begin{align*}
\text{Kor. Kamenskoye gatai'kil`in} & \text{ (stem taki)} \\
\text{Kor. Paren ggeti'kil`in} & \text{ he has made (stem tekiki)} \\
\text{Chukchee ggeti'kil`in} & \text{ (stem tekiki) }
\end{align*}

§ 18. Other Phonetic Processes

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

\begin{align*}
\text{Chukchee} & \text{ Kor. Kam.} \\
\text{aŋqa'‐nna'n < aŋqa'‐enna'n} & \text{aŋqa'‐enna'n sea‐fish} \\
\text{neu`ti`in < nei`u`ti`in} & \text{nei`i`u`ti`in she‐dog}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
\text{Chukchee} & \text{ Koryak} \\
\text{palqa'‐tir} & \text{gin < palqat‐girgin} \\
\text{a} & \text{generally remains unchanged before other consonants.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Koryak} & \text{ Chukchee} \\
\text{palqath`‐e`‐nin old age} & \text{tam‐pera`rkin < tan‐pera`rkin} \\
\text{ta`n‐peye`ykin he looks well} & \text{giner`e`mpe`i` take meat out of} \\
\text{koker`pala`i`ke they take meat out of kettle Kor. 27.5}
\end{align*}

\( k \) before other consonants occurs.
The medial clusters *km, pn, pn*, which are absent in Chukchee, occur in Koryak.

Chukchee

\[\text{nigtäqn} < \text{ni} < \text{kt-qën}\]

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

Koryak

\[\text{niktä'gen} \text{ hard}\]

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

Chukchee

\[\text{yara'ni}\]

\[\text{nitśaqin}\]

Koryak

\[\text{yaya'ña} \text{ house}\]

\[\text{ni'tsaoqin} \text{ heavy}\]

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

\[\text{edtri} \text{ and edtri} \text{ to the sky Kor. 14.9, 10.}\]

(Compare Chukchee *anqa-tormə'ti* to the seashore 67.17)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial sound</th>
<th>Second sound</th>
<th>[\text{tv}]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[\text{p}]</td>
<td>[\text{pē}]</td>
<td>[\text{pn}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[\text{t}]</td>
<td>[\text{tn}]</td>
<td>[\text{tā}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[\text{k}]</td>
<td>[\text{km}]</td>
<td>[\text{ky}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[\text{q}]</td>
<td>[\text{qv}]</td>
<td>[\text{qā}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[\text{m}]</td>
<td>[\text{ml}]</td>
<td>[\text{tv}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[\text{n}]</td>
<td>[\text{nl}]</td>
<td>[\text{tv}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\[\text{tvē'tikrin} \text{ he stands}\]

\[\text{čottas'nik-tev'ıkrin} \text{ he stands on the outer part of the house Kor. 43.5}\]

\[\text{gatvē'tčalen} \text{ he stood}\]

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—43

§18
However, va'ykin Kor. 13.10 < tvā-ykın 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pn</td>
<td>*pn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>km</td>
<td>*km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k or tik</td>
<td>*tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>*rk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>*lg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v or tv</td>
<td>*tv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prk</td>
<td>*prk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>*nw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vip</td>
<td>*ry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr or trr</td>
<td>*rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vü (i)</td>
<td>*vü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu</td>
<td>*uy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- *pna'tkin he whets*
- *tni'ñisin thou sewest it*
- *tńi'vikin thou sendest it*
- *kmīnā'tikin she brings forth*
- *ku'vakin thou buyest it*
- *pmye'kin thou givest to him*
- *qati' you left Kor. 18.5*
- *ku'vin thou consumest it*
- *kī'plik striking Kor. 62.4*
- *va'ikin he is*
- *vaño'vakin he begins to stay Kor. 13.6*
- *tvē'tikin he stands*
- *tvē'tik to stretch Kor. 38.8*
- *pyi'tkin thou tearest it out*
- *piñlo'kin thou askest him*
- *titu'kin he blows*
- *tila'kin he moves*
- *tike'tkin thou smellest of*

- *gapna'lin he has whetted*
- *gannu'lin he has sewed it*
- *gannu'lin he has sent it*
- *gakmi'nalin she has brought forth*
- *ga'tkvin he has bought it*
- *ga'lqa'lin he has given*
- *ga'taqin he has left Kor. 17.3*
- *ga'tčulin he has consumed it*
- *ga'qapla'qitča strike him! Kor. 23.8*
- *ga'tvalen he has been*
- *ga'vvalen they began to stay Kor. 23.1*
- *ga'tvalin he stood*
- *ga'tvalen they stretched it Kor. 38.8*
- *gapnu'lin he has torn it out*
- *gapnu'lin he has asked*
- *gettu'lin he has blown*
- *ga'lwin he has moved Kor. 14.9*
- *ga'tqelen he smelled of*
§19. Vowels

Weak vowels: ı i e u ü E

Strong vowels: ç ç a o ö ü V

Neutral vowels: ı E I ā ā A ù 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 \( o \).

\( e \) like English \( a \) in \( make \), long, lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

\( e \) French \( eu \) in \( beurre \).

\( ö \) German \( ö \) in \( öffnen \).

\( ü \) French \( u \) in \( lune \), but harder; more like the Yakut \( ý \).

\( o \) English short \( o \) in \( not \).

\( u \) English \( u \) in \( hat \).

\( û \) as in Chukchee.

\( a', o', u' \) indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in \( k!twal \ kójwü'vn \).

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

**§ 20. Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Affricative</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Trill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Fortis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial.............</td>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>( p' )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar...........</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatized alveolar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal...</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( k' )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal............</td>
<td>( q )</td>
<td>( q' )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar................</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal.............</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( f \) is rather rare; for instance, in \( flieč \) a fish of the genus \( Coregonus \).

\( v \) German \( ch \) in \( Bach \).

\( w \) 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 \( rose \).

\( l \) as in Koryak.

\( w, y, h \), always consonant.

\( č', č', ň' \), glottal stops, the former only after short vowels, the latter after consonants, as in \( vítvil \).

\( l', č', ň' \), are pronounced with strong initial aspiration.

§20
$j$, $c$, $č$, 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 \( ś^* \) and \( ś \)

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)—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cemt} & \quad \text{(Western dialect)} \\
\text{semt} & \quad \text{(Southern dialect)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

earth, ground

At present in the western dialect, the only one surviving, the word is pronounced both \textit{cemt} and \textit{semt}.

§ 21. Comparison with Chukchee and Koryak

(1) Chukchee \textit{r}, Koryak I \( ž \), \( č \), or \( t \), is replaced in most cases by \( j \),

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g\textit{t}, g\textit{r}</td>
<td>( \text{kr'ja} )</td>
<td>thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu\textit{r}</td>
<td>( \text{mu'ja} )</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Chukchee and Koryak \( q \), is replaced by \( k \) or \( x \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g\textit{um}</td>
<td>( \text{g\textit{um}} )</td>
<td>( \text{kr'mma} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g\textit{\textit{v}n\textit{g}i}</td>
<td>( \text{y\textit{g\textit{r}n\textit{g}n}} )</td>
<td>( \text{x\textit{\textit{g}r\textit{t}n}} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ge\textit{\textit{h}e\textit{w}n\textit{d}n}</td>
<td>( \text{ga\textit{\textit{n}a\textit{\textit{w}n}a}} )</td>
<td>( \text{k\textit{n}e\textit{\textit{\textit{d}n}m}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge\textit{\textit{n}u\textit{\textit{l}n}i}</td>
<td>( \text{ga\textit{n\textit{u\textit{l}n}i}} )</td>
<td>( \text{k\textit{n\textit{u\textit{k\textit{n}\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{n}}}n}}}} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Chukchee \textit{gw} (Koryak \textit{g\textit{v}}) is replaced by \textit{x\textit{v}}.

\textit{x\textit{\textit{v}}\textit{\textit{w}n\textit{u\textit{\textit{d}}}n} thence

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w\textit{\textit{a\textit{\textit{t}a\textit{\textit{p}}}p}}</td>
<td>( \text{v\textit{\textit{a\textit{\textit{t}a\textit{\textit{p}}}p}} )</td>
<td>( \text{hv\textit{\textit{a\textit{\textit{t}a\textit{\textit{p}}}c}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v\textit{\textit{\textit{v}h\textit{t}}}</td>
<td>( \text{v\textit{\textit{\textit{w}l}}} )</td>
<td>( \text{h\textit{v\textit{\textit{a\textit{\textit{t}a}}}n}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v\textit{\textit{\textit{v}h\textit{t}}}</td>
<td>( \text{v\textit{\textit{v}h\textit{n}}t} )</td>
<td>( \text{h\textit{v\textit{\textit{v}h}}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v\textit{\textit{v}h\textit{t}}</td>
<td>( \text{v\textit{\textit{v}h\textit{n}n}} )</td>
<td>( \text{h\textit{v\textit{\textit{v}h\textit{n}v}} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(6) The glottal stop following the initial vowel of Chukchee and Koryak is often replaced by x or k preceding the vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ę'ō 'tin</td>
<td>ę'innin</td>
<td>ę'ənten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ę'ō 'nə</td>
<td>ę'ə 'gr</td>
<td>ę'ə 'hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ą'leł</td>
<td>ą'la'l</td>
<td>ą'la'l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Chukchee Ł and Ł are replaced by tl and tč.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tŁełä'k</td>
<td>tček</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i entered</td>
<td>there!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) In Kamchadal, ļ, ļ, c, and j often replace one another (see § 2, p. 646).

či'jič thou art
i'će thou wert

txeţin I strike him
txlin I struck him

(9) In the Sedanka dialect, c changes to j; s changes to z; and sometimes k, k! change to q, q!

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okhotsk dialect</th>
<th>Sedanka dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cunc'jör'n</td>
<td>junc'jör'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səŋk</td>
<td>zəŋk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cə'la-tumx</td>
<td>zə'la-tomx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kən'n</td>
<td>qən'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k!ə'lkı'nın</td>
<td>q!ə'lkı'nın</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okhotsk dialect</th>
<th>Sedanka dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'tinnım</td>
<td>a'tinom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'vesncjk</td>
<td>te'vesncj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kı'mma</td>
<td>kı'mma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okhotsk dialect</th>
<th>Sedanka dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ę'nu</td>
<td>ę'nu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 22. Vocalic Ablaut

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

ı changes to ɨ.

ı changes to ɨ or ɨ.

ę changes to ə.

ɨ changes to ɨ or ɨ.
Examples:

- kɪ'ʃtnk at the house
- sɪ'ŋk in the wood
- txɪ'ŋk by them
- kɪ'px'ŋk in the trough
- kɪ'x'ŋk in the river
- kʊk'-hʊmnïn he cooked it

- kê'stank to the house (stem kïst house)
- sönk to the wood (stem sun)
- txa'nk.
- k'psnk to the trough (stem kpx)
- txa'nk to the river (stem kïw)
- kʊk'-jg-hʊmnïn he began to cook it

The obscure vowels ɪ, ɛ, ã, ɨ, are neutral, as are also ɛ, ɑ, ɔ. 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.

- kɪ'ʃtnk at the house
- kɪ'θ'ŋk at the lake
- k'psnk to the trough

- ɪsɪ'në'l'tɪŋk I always live in the woods (ɪ I; sɪ'n wood; ɪ  auxiliary vowel; ɪo to live; ɪ always; ɪ-I)

§ 23. Other Phonetic Processes

Consonantic Clusters.—In Kamchadal consonantic clusters are of frequent occurrence. I have found, for instance, ktæt, txæj, txæjï, txætæ, ntxæjï, ᱠlkn.

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.

- ɪl changes to nl.

  - ko'lo (absolute form), ko'lo'nï < ko'lo-l (instrumental), snow
  - ɬ'he:nï (absolute form), ɪnl < ɪ-l (instrumental), ear (pl. ɪ'ɪl)

§23
Note, however,

\( \text{vul} \) (absolute form), \( \text{vul} \text{e'l'} \) \( < \text{vul'-} \) (instrumental), eye

**Auxiliary Vowels.**—Auxiliary vowels are introduced to avoid consonant 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, \( u, e, e, (a) \), are also found rather often.

\( \text{vul} \text{e'l'} < \text{vul'-} \) eye

\( \text{tveta'tijk} < \text{tveta't'-} \text{jk} \) I work

**Initial Clusters.**—The prefix \( k' \) is omitted before \( k \) and \( k' \)

\( k'\text{rk} \text{rj} \text{rin} \) he has come

The prefix \( k \) before initial \( k \) and \( k' \) changes to \( a \).

\( \text{axe'jx} \text{e'ik} \) accept him

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

\( \text{tx} \text{lin} < \text{ttxlin} \) I struck him

The prefix \( t \) of the first person singular changes to \( c \) before verbal stems with initial \( \text{bi} \) or \( \text{b} \).

\( \text{kr'mma} \text{c} \text{bi}' \text{n} \text{i'n} \text{j} \text{jk} < \text{t-} \text{c} \text{i} \text{n} \text{i} \text{n} \text{j} \text{k} \) I sew

Compare also

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( e'\text{ti'n} )</td>
<td>( a'\text{c} \text{i'n} )</td>
<td>( e'\text{k} \text{el} \text{a} \text{x} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{wuv} \text{t} \text{e'k} \text{a} \text{l} \text{h} \text{i} \text{n} )</td>
<td>( \text{c} \text{e't} \text{c} \text{e'l} \text{n} \text{i} \text{n} )</td>
<td>( \text{ti'x} \text{a} \text{x} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the bad one</td>
<td></td>
<td>shrew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stems with the initial clusters \( \text{lk} \) and \( \text{rk} \), when appearing at the beginning of a word, add a preceding vowel.

\( \text{v'karu'j} \text{c} < \text{l} \text{k-r-jc} \) (Chukchee \( q\text{at}' \text{r} \text{km} < \text{lq} \text{at}' \text{r} \text{km} \) he leaves

In other cases the Chukchee \( l \) or \( r \) of these clusters is replaced by \( c \) and \( e \) respectively.

\( \text{ckl} \text{a'uj} < \text{cklau} \text{-} \text{jk} \) (Chukchee \( \text{ki} \text{l} \text{a'} \text{ur} \text{r} \text{kin} < \text{rki} \text{l} \text{a'} \text{ur} \text{r} \text{kin} \) 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 \( \text{pa'ri} \text{r} \text{lin} \text{in} \) shoulder-blade
Kor. Kam. \( \text{nu} \text{ge'shi} \text{genat} \) those two that have been bought
Kamchadal \( \text{k} \text{ta'ti} \text{k} \text{ajuk} \text{n} \text{an} \) they began to perform the ceremonial

§24
To give emphasis to the word, the accent may be thrown upon the last syllable, the vowel of which then changes to o.

Chukchee  trpēn̥rk̡o'n < t̥pê'n̥rk̡m
Kor. Kam. t̥pēn̥′ko'n < t̥pē'n̥'ek̡m
Kamchadal trpēnc̡io'n < t̥pē'n̥s̡'i̊n

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-\textit{rkrn}. 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 adverbal 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 adverbal 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 consonantie 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  *teg'ẽ'rkin* he desires
Anadyr Chukchee  *teg'ẽ'rkin* or *qaima'tirkin*
Koryak, Kamenskoye  *tajja'nikin* or *qaima'tekin*

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  *wẽtha'urkin* he speaks
Anadyr Chukchee  *wẽtha'urkin* and *vanava'tirkin*
Koryak, Kamenskoye  *wẽtha'vekin* and *vanava'tekin*

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{AGAIN} & & \text{NEGATION} & & \text{WHALE} \\
\text{Chukchee} & & \text{la'mnä} & & \text{qare'm} & & \text{reaw} \\
\text{Koryak, Kamenskoye} & & \text{gu'mla} & & \text{qay'em} & & \text{yu'ni (stem yu'nyu)} \\
\text{Koryak II Qare'fim} & & \text{i'nnik} & & \text{i'hu't} & & \text{yu'ni (stem yu'nyu)} \\
\text{Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka)} & & \text{liq'immem} & & \text{qate'imm} \\
\text{Kerek} & & & & \text{yu'ow} \\
\text{Kamchadal} & & & & \text{yu'nyu (stem yu'nyu)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 Voyampiloka 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.

§26
§ 27. General Remarks

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

The forms which are clearly syntactic are—

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

(2) The absolute form, plural.

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

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

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

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

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

We shall first take up the syntactic forms.

§27
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:

- *kitve'yu* old walrus 8.12, 14
- *mà' mother* 30.6
- *qeli* cap
- *lglo̞ penis* 45.1

(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, č, r, q, l*.

- *ke'per wolverene* 78.2, *qe'per 92.21 (ke'perú 78.11) (Koryak qapay)
- *kri'mgor* three-year-old doe 117.9
- *wañqa'sgor* two-year-old doe 117.10

Examples are—

- *rů'lyu* carcass 65.14
- *ás'ge'ku* a barren doe 97.17
- *veńke'nru* a mother doe

- *é'lihar polar fox* 92.19
- *ntwu'ulpir son-in-law* 80.6
- *u'nel thong-seal* 70.7
- *pe'wel two-year-old buck* 117.12
- *mömil seal* 96.4 (Koryak me'-mil Kor. 90.6)
- *la'mul story* 61.5
- *pe'kul butcher-knife* 85.23 (Kor. pa'qu'l Kor. 78.23)
- *né'lul herd* 49.3
- *güpitiril backbone* 51.3
- *qá'ul man* 43.1 (Kor. qla'wuł Kor. 17.4)
- *wu'k body* 35.11 (Kor. 32.5)
- *ka'mak evil spirit* 61.6 (Kor. 35.5)
- *a'imak carcass* 81.17
- *gümní'k game* 84.28 (Koryak qri'ynik Kor. 61.8)
- *e'k lamp* 65.12, 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.

\[
\text{qe'pil football (stem qepl); (Kor. Kam. qa'pil; Kor. Par. qepi)}
\]

\[
\text{mâ'qim arrow 75.23}
\]

\[
\text{lo'ñil walrus-blubber 47.4}
\]

\[
\text{pi'iil tidings 61.5}
\]

\[
\text{5e'ñil trunk 96.3}
\]

§ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nim</td>
<td>ni'mnim settlement 7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kêr</td>
<td>kê'r kêr combination-suit 37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yin</td>
<td>ì'nìn fire 39.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'il</td>
<td>e'le'ì excrement 80.11; (e'ilu 81.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liq</td>
<td>li'glìg (Kor. Iqliq) egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rìq</td>
<td>rì'grìg hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om</td>
<td>o'mom (Kor. o'mom) heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lìn</td>
<td>lì'nì heart (see §31, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poñ</td>
<td>po'mpo fly agaric (see §31, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuw</td>
<td>tu'wtuw word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oč</td>
<td>o'bot chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čot</td>
<td>čot'bot bag-pillow 29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wüt</td>
<td>wù'twùt leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gil</td>
<td>gìl gìl sea ice 8.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e'è'tit Anser segetum)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kil</td>
<td>ki'lkil navel string Kor. 63.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pip</td>
<td>pi'pip comb Kor. 78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vit</td>
<td>vi'vìt ringed seal Kor. 17.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>näi</td>
<td>näi'ñai mountain Kor. 42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wry</td>
<td>wry wry breath Kor. 33.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[\text{§29} \quad \text{1 Compare §2, p 645.}\]
end, including the initial consonant, vowel, and the first consonant following the first vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilh</td>
<td>pi’lhpil famine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qërg</td>
<td>qërg’qërg light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>têrg</td>
<td>tê’rgitir crying 20.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>têrg</td>
<td>tê’rgitir meat 48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>têrg</td>
<td>tê’rgitir crying 20.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>têrg</td>
<td>tê’rgitir meat 48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumg</td>
<td>tu’mgirum companion 103.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëtk</td>
<td>më’tkëmit blubber 47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kor.) ye’lk</td>
<td>ye’lkryel pudding Kor. 34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muz</td>
<td>muz’num 25.3 blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wilq</td>
<td>w’ilqquad 22.7 coal (Kor. Kam. w’lkuid, cf. Kor. 31.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qërg (Kor. Kam. gesh)</td>
<td>qërg’qërg light (Kor. Kam. qe’shiqes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vryil (Kor. vyil)</td>
<td>vry’vryil image (vry’vryil Kor. 32.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>org</td>
<td>o’rgoor sledge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omk</td>
<td>o’mkoom 79.5 willbw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wus’q (Kor. Kam. vus’q)</td>
<td>wus’qus (Kor. vu’s’qusus cf. Kor. 57.6 darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el</td>
<td>e’leel summer (Kor. Kam. a’laal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il</td>
<td>i’liil rain(Kor.Kam.mu’qaumq)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yäq</td>
<td>yäga’q, yäga’aq nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(yil) yil’liil language 7.10</td>
<td>y’riir a full one 86.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Related to this group are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eiv</td>
<td>eiv’væi part of meat given to neighbors, alms (Kor. Kam. aiv’vaai cf. Kor. 63.12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>īml</td>
<td>mi’milil water (Kor. mi’mili)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mlù</td>
<td>mì’mil louse (Kor. mi’mil; mi’miri Kor. 55.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


eiv, ilv (see elv’tulü 89.32; ge’l-vulin 88.1) | ilv’ilu’ wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor. Kam. ilv’ilu, ilv’ilu)
(4) Dissyllabic words repeat the first syllable at the end of the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>më rê</td>
<td>më'rëmër tears 116.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo’ë 41.5</td>
<td>qo’ëqo’ë snuff 41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yile (see 90.2)</td>
<td>yileil marmot 89.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yili (Kor. ēl)</td>
<td>yiliil tongue 48.8 (Kor. ēlîl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quli</td>
<td>quli’qul voice 44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nute</td>
<td>nù’tenut land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yî’lqä(t) (Kor. Kam. yîlqa[t])</td>
<td>yîlqäil sleep (Kor. Kam. yîl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak:

- mîtqa
- qanga
- kîlka

(5) Some polysyllabic words double the whole word.

eneden’en southeast wind

In Kamchadal analogous forms are derived principally from adjective stems:

- o’mlox warm
- a’txołax bright
- tao’nlaa dark
- tpil/te’tijk I suffer from hunger

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

- čil’wux rain (stem čux)
- pa’lapal leaf (stem pal)
- kö’mlokõm marrow (Chukchee kr’mil; Kor. Kam. kr’mil)
- li’nulunulë heart (Chukchee li’ñli; Kor. li’ñli)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go’pki</td>
<td>ve’pkavep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r’rki</td>
<td>yi’ykayik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

§29
kërkër combination-suit (stem kër); Kor. I key'key (stem key); kërkgüpë and kërgüpë from the combination-suit; kërkerëk in the combination-suit
nà'ukër woman's suit
nimnàngüpë from the settlement 10.12
gël'gël'tkimik on the ice fields 7.3; gël'tkimik on the sea-ice 9.2
mémëltkimik on top of the water 9.3

Note 3.—It is not impossible that the forms

\[\begin{align*}
yara'nì & \text{ house} \\
yoro'nì & \text{ sleeping-room} \\
yâ'rar & \text{ drum}
\end{align*}\]

contain reduplicated stems in which the initial \( r \) has changed to \( y \).

§ 30. SUFFIXES -n, -un

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Iv'metun} & \text{ name of a spirit 22.6} \\
kuke'nì & \text{ kettle (ku'kek 75.13); Kor. Kam. kuka'ña; Kor. Par. kuke'nì} \\
yoro'nì & \text{ sleeping-room 107.9} \\
yara'nì & \text{ house 7.8; 30.11 (Kor. yaya'ña Kor. 22.4) ke'mënì dish 86.23; 87.31, 33 (kama'gì to a dish 88.24) (Kor. kama'nì Kor. 64.3) } \\
gora'nì & \text{ reindeer 51.6} \\
ripè'nì & \text{ stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. yipa'ña Kor. 43.2) } \\
\text{qì'nì} & \text{ wolf 78.2, 96.28 } \\
vapa'nì & \text{ broth (Kor. ipa'ña Kor. 28.6) }
\end{align*}\]

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 \( ë \) (Kor. Kam. a).

\[\begin{align*}
poi'qìn & \text{ spear 97.27 (poi'ge 117.29) (Kor. poi'qìn) } \\
nà'ngan & \text{ belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. na'ngìn) } \\
rìqgò'qìn & \text{ cellar 36.8 (rìqgòqëti to the cellar 36.10) } \\
rë'mkin & \text{ people 8.8, 10 (rëmkù 107.20) (Kor. ya'mkin Kor. 39.7) } \\
tu'mgìn & \text{ companion 38.12 (tu'mgà 37.7) } \\
qì'thin & \text{ lake 37.4 (qì'thik in a lake 37.5) } \\
vapa'lhìn & \text{ tallow 87.4 (vapa'ilha 86.23) } \\
vìlhi'n & \text{ skin 23.9 } \\
gëla'rqìn & \text{ gray fox 96.14 } \\
e'dìn & \text{ fat (Kor. a'èm Kor. 15.4) } \\
èlì'qìn & \text{ father 73.10 (stem l) }
\end{align*}\]
§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 ρ often change it to ı slightly nasalized.

- `va'le' knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem va'la)
- `rr'eki' walrus 8.5
- `ke'le an evil spirit 61.6
- `bů'mu buck (stem bůmnu)
- `kýrmı'ntı' three-year-old buck 117.11
- `u'mkı' bear 110.11
- `wů'ur scraping board (stem wůiru)
- `e'wič small bag (stem ewiču)

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

- `e'kıč son (stem eke)
- `e'rem, `e'rem chief (stem erme)
- `ku'kılı one-eyed (stem kuwele <*kukle)
- `lu'kılı driving-reindeer, not properly broken in; (stem luwele <*lukle?)

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

- `e'wgan' incantation 129.18 (stem e'wganv)
- `e'tın master 122.38 (stem e'tınv)

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

§31
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.

\[ \text{Al'wan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems ai'wan and aiwana)} \]
\[ \text{mtul'uprr son-in-law (stems mtuluprr and mtulupre)} \]
\[ \text{uu'we'qüc husband (stems uu'we'qü and uu'we'qüi)} \]
\[ \text{ilir island (stems ilir and iliri)} \]

(5) Irregular forms are—

Chukchee

\[ \text{eie'ni wolf (stem \( \text{e}^n \), \( \text{e}^i \))} \]
\[ \text{eie'nm neck (stem \( \text{e}^n \text{n} \))} \]
\[ \text{elu'a nephew (stem \( \text{elu}^\text{a} \))} \]
\[ \text{mti' daughtern-in-law (stem \( \text{mti}^\text{a} \))} \]
\[ \text{e'kan fishhook (stem \( \text{e}^\text{a} \text{n} \text{< *aqn} \))} \]
\[ \text{ga'le bird (stem \( \text{ga}^\text{a} \text{lha} \))} \]
\[ \text{ve'le raven (stem \( \text{ve}^\text{a} \text{l} \))} \]
\[ \text{e'ii'it anser segetum (stem \( \text{e}^\text{i} \text{t} \))} \]
\[ \text{tu'mqin stranger (stem \( \text{tu}^\text{a} \text{mäk} \));} \]
\[ \text{compare, however, the reduplicated form \( \text{tu}'mgi\text{tum} \) Companion} \]
\[ \text{formed from \( \text{tu}'mqin \) (in compounds -\( \text{tu}'mgni \), as \( \text{yie'emt-tu}'mgni \) \text{BROTHER}) \text{tu}'mäk serves} \]
\[ \text{also as possessive form.} \]

\[ \text{§ 32 SPECIAL FORMS} \]

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

(1) Personal pronouns.

\[ \text{güm I (Kor. gümma; Kamch. kr'mna)} \]
\[ \text{git thou (Kor. gr'ssa; Kamch. kr'ja)} \]

(2) The personal pronoun \text{ena'n (Kor. E'nnu; Kamch. ena')} \text{HE} is formed from the stem \text{enn-}.

(3) The personal pronouns of the plural are formed with the suffix \text{-i}. In Koryak the dual has the suffix \text{-i}; the plural, \text{-u}. In Kamchadal we find \text{-a} for the first and second persons.
mu'rî (Kor. dual mu'yi, pl. mu'yu; Kamch. mu'ja) we (stem murg- [Kor. muχh-, Kamch. mujg-])
tu'ri (Kor. dual tu'ye, pl. tu'yu; Kamch. tu'ja) ye (stem turg- [Kor. tuχh-, Kamch. tiχg-])
t'rrî (Kor. dual a'ēē, pl. a'ēchu; Kamch. ttw) they (stem erq- [Kor. aχh-, Kamch. tw-])

(4) Interrogative personal pronoun.
me'nin who (stem mik-) (Kor. ma'ki [stem mik])

(5) Indefinite pronoun.
räenut what (stem req) (Kor. yi'nna [stem yaq])
ni'rkînut a certain one (stem nrkî) (Kor. ni'yka, ni'ykiwut [stem niykî])
ni'kînut a certain thing (stem nîkg)

**Dual and Plural (§ 33-35).**

§ 33. GENERAL REMARKS

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

§ 34. PLURAL OF COMMON NOUNS

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lî'lît} & \quad \text{eyes} \\
\text{č'kît} & \quad \text{sons} \\
\text{qu'ttî} & \quad \text{the others 115.17} \\
\text{qî'dultî} & \quad \text{men 121.9} \\
\text{yî'emrêtti} & \quad \text{brothers 64.3} \\
\text{û'twîntî} & \quad \text{women 50.4, 6} \\
\text{nu'wqä'ttî} & \quad \text{women 112.5} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{pe'kultî butcher-knives 84.21} \]
\[\text{ni'ngqîtti children 112.10, 15; 113.12} \]
\[\text{ni'ngqîtti 51.10} \]
\[\text{a'ttîngqîtti pups 122.18} \]
\[\text{ni'ngqîtti little old women 45.1} \]
\[\text{le'ultî heads 86.8} \]

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

\[\text{A'ivan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems aiwan, aiwana); plural ai'wantê, ai'wanat} \]
\[\text{uwa'qüç husband (stems uwa'qüç, uwa'qübi); plural uwa'qütî, uwa'qüçit} \]
\[\text{i'ilîr island (stems ilîr, ilîrî); plural ilîtti, i'ilîrî} \]

§§33-34
Koryak:

The dual of Koryak 1 has the same suffix.

- \( \text{lila't} \) two eyes
- \( \text{qo'yat} \) two reindeer (Chukchee \( \text{qa'at} \) reindeer)
- \( \text{va'amit} \) two rivers (Chukchee \( \text{ve'emit} \) rivers)

The plural is formed in many Koryak dialects by \(-y\) after terminal consonants, \(-\text{wgj}_2^1\), \(-\text{vvi}_2^1\) (according to dialect), after terminal vowel.

- \( \text{qla'wulu} \) men Kor. 44.3
- \( \text{na'witiqatu} \) women Kor. 44.2
- \( \text{qai-pi\'i\'kal\'nu} \) little mice Kor. 25.6
- \( \text{na\'wac\'ku} \) daughters Kor. 27.1
- \( \text{a'qimu} \) bags Kor. 28.5
- \( \text{km\'i\'nu} \) children Kor. 44.7
- \( \text{va\'amu} \) rivers (stem \( \text{va\'iam} \))
- \( \text{lila'wgj\'i} \) eyes
- \( \text{mr\'m\'i'\'wgj\'i} \) lice Kor. 25.4
- \( \text{im\'c\'a\'n\'a\'l\'a'\'wgj\'} \) ermines Kor. 66.18
- \( \text{qo'ya'wgj\'e} \) reindeer (stem \( \text{qoya}; \text{qoya'we} \) Kor. 22.4)
- \( \text{qapa'a\'u} \) wolverenes (< \( \text{qapay-u} \) Kor. 12.7)
- \( \text{u'kkama\'u} \) vessels Kor. 28.5
- \( \text{ki'plau} \) mortars Kor. 51.5 (\( \text{kipla'wi} \) Kor. 53.8)

Kamchadal:

The plural suffix of Kamchadal is \(-n\).

- \( \text{v\'h} \) tree \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{v\'hi\'n} \) trees
- \( \text{koca} \) dog \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{kco\'n} \) dogs
- \( \text{kist} \) house \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{ki'str\'n} \) houses

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

- \( \text{lai\'l} \) eye \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{lai\'l} \) eyes
- \( \text{keli'\'lan} \) spotted seal \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{keli'li\'n} \) spotted seals
- \( \text{me\'mi\'l} \) ground-seal \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{me\'mi\'l} \) ground-seals

In the material collected by Dybowsky\(^1\) in southern Kamchatka, \( t \) and \( d \) occur as plural endings.

- \( \text{iau\'i\'n} \) ear \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{i\'\'nu\'t} \) ears
- \( \text{kosch} \) dog \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{kos\'qu\'t} \) dogs
- \( \text{wan} \) stone \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{u\'ad} \) stones

\(^1\) Słownik Narzęczy Ludów Kamczackich Rozprawę Widyta Filologicznego Akademii Umě

\footnote{\text{jętności w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvii, pp. 107, 113, 120.}}

§34
The Kamchadal dialect of Sedanka also has the ending -t.

\textit{veta'tilan} workman  \hspace{1cm}  \textit{veta'tilat} workmen
\textit{sü'nkil} the one who flies  \hspace{1cm}  \textit{sü'nkilat} those who fly

This can not be due to the influence of the neighboring Koryak II, which has no dual, and uses only the 2 ending of the plural.

\textbf{§ 35. PLURAL OF PERSONAL NOUNS.}

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

\textit{Ye'tilinti} Yetilin and his family
(Kor. \textit{Ačče'prninti}) Ačče'pm and his wife
\textit{ñe'winti} their wives
\textit{mi'kinti} (Kor. Kam. \textit{ma'kinti}) who? (see p. 726)

\textbf{Koryak Kamenskoye:}

\textit{Valvrinti}Laninti Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1
\textit{Yini'anawgut'nti} Yini'a-ńawgnt and her husband Kor. 19.5

A group of more than two is expressed in Koryak Kamenskoye by the plural ending -\textit{wg}, but also by -\textit{inu}.

\textit{Ačče'pmawg} Ačče'pm and his family.
\textit{Quyqmnawg} Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10
\textit{Amamqütinu} Ememqnt's people Kor. 43.7
\textit{pipi'kča-ńawgutinu} monse-women Kor. 23.3

\textbf{§ 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.

\textit{kimilhi'n} worms 39.3

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

\textit{Ye'til} O Ye'tilm! \hspace{1cm} \textit{remkilo'n} a gnest! 111.19
\textit{Qnto'w} O Qntn'wgi!

\textbf{Koryak:}

\textit{miko'n} vanniln'o'n! whose tooth Kor. 34.4
\textit{ńawako'k!'} daughter! Kor. 22.7
\textit{tilago'n}! I found! Kor. 24.1

\textbf{§§35-36}
In some cases, when the noun ends in a vowel, an -t is added, and the accent thrown upon the end of the word.

-2, -tä, (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 -tä:

- ečče'tä by the son 18.9 - vala'ta with knives 16.4
temč'netä with shell-fish 9.8 - rır'kata by walrus 9.9; 10.6
uwät'qčitä 'unin the husband told her
lištštä with an eye

(b) After terminal consonant -ä:

- eńčuńilä by a shaman 7.5; - evirä clothing (obj.) 13.6
14.12; 15.9 - y'tšë with wood
wu'lqä by darkness 18.12 - eńčuńilä by the father 18.4
éńčuńilä by the father 18.4 - poi'ga with a spear 12.9
rā'yipä with a drill 8.1; 11.2 - kopa'ňha with walrus-blubber 14.11
yölqä by sleep 10.6, 7 - Aiwhuyanpmandha by an old
aś'tšölä by the boat's crew St. Lawrence man 13.9
10.9; 12.4 - Eiwhue'ld by the St. Lawrence
re'ršlä by the bow-man 10.10 people 11.10; 12.3, 11; 17.1
eńčuńna 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'če uωil'v with fat she cooked (i.e., she cooked fat)

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

- qetkitma'5ta along the ice-top 13.7
- rìnne'tä and r'ınna with the inner skin
aiwand'at'a the Aiwan 46.6; 49.2
intulprirə by the son-in-law 80.22 and intulprirə
-tə, -a (Kor. Kam). Instrumental and subject of transitive verbs
(as in Chukchee).

lila'ta with an eye
y'ıta with the wood
āq'ta with excrement Kor. 12.5
cak'eta by the sister Kor. 18.10
n̥iʔn̥a with a line Kor. 41.8
yika'myinu'ma by the brother Kor. 20.6
n̥a'wirqata by the woman Kor. 21.5
ya'inka by the people Kor. 39.7
y'ıpna with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minkel'ta</td>
<td>minka'ta</td>
<td>by which place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wotkel'ta</td>
<td>wuka'ta</td>
<td>by this place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en'ke'ta</td>
<td>enka'ta</td>
<td>by that place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vül'änkata</td>
<td>vaienha'ta</td>
<td>by that place (midway)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niki'ta 12.9; 14.10</td>
<td>niki'ta</td>
<td>at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grnot-afl'o</td>
<td>grnot-afl'o</td>
<td>at mid-day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nunqet'a there, by itself
no'itnqata there, behind the speaker
no'onkata there, farther on
nenkel'ta there, far off

Here belong also the Chukchee forms—

nunqet'a there, by itself
no'itnqata there, behind speaker
no'onqanata there, farther on
nenkel'ta there, far off

-t' Kamchadal. Instrumental.

| -t' with wood (from w'h wood) |
| -l' with the eye (stem lül)  |

Locative Form (§§ 38-39)

§ 38. COMMON NOUNS

-(k), -kl, -qi (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.¹
ve'emik nitog'qen he lives on the river
el'a'qi nitog'qen he lives with the mother
mu'lik (Kor. mitak) on the land

¹ See also Nominal Forms of Verb, §§ 64, 65,
The forms -kį and -qį, also -ekį and -eqį are used after some stems, but no definite rule in regard to their use can be laid down.

*gu'muk* and *gu'mug* in my possession
*yo'og* in the wind (from *yo'o wind*)
*ela'q* at the mother's (from *ela' mother*)
*nelvo'el* at the herd (from *nelvo'ul herd*)
*věl'tko- laula'ki* at the merchant's (from *věl'tko-la'ul merchant*)

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

- **pi'lhin** throat
- **pi'lik** in the throat
- **gr'thin** lake
- **gi'tik** at the lake
- **m'ŋi'ln** hand
- **mi'nik** at the hand

The forms *pi'lhid*, *gri'tik*, *m'i'nik*, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix -*qrg*(m) (§ 106.44) have in the locative **-mko-r-rik:**

- **kaŋka'čir'm** descent
- **kaŋka'čir'mki** and **kaŋka'čir'ik**
- **ttta'čir'm** climbing up
- **ttta'čir'mki** and **ttta'čir'ik**

**Note.**—These two forms appear with distinctive meaning in the locative of *gito'lıhn* side:

- **gito'lıh'ki** on the side of the mountain
- **gito'lıh** on the side of a person

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

Thus we find *nu'tek*, *nu'teg*, and *nu'te* in the country; *ya'rak* and *ya'ra* at home; the *k* may also be replaced by ı. The *leu'ti* on the head 44.5; *a'ńqa-čo'rm* on the seashore 12.4

- **walqa'rik** in the jawbone house, 44.14
- **nuťe's'ıqak** on the ground, 15.5
- **raq-čo'rmik** on the house border, 12.12
- **a'ńqak** on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7
- **q'lıl'ıik** on the sea ice, 13.3
- **tu'wār'ik** on the ice-floe, 13.3
- **tt'nik** on a hummock, 62.7
- **q'čeki'čik** on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8
- **lile'č** (Kor. *lila'č*) in the eye

**Koryak:**

- *vo'amik* in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2
- *čči'ňik* in the armpits Kor. 18.9
- *ya'yak* in the house Kor. 19.9
- *ulgu'wik* in the cache Kor. 80.10
- *yaqa'lik* in the porch Kor. 80.13
- *q'ya'q* in the sky Kor. 19.3
- *gas-wu'qëŋki* at the foot of the stone-pine bushes Kor. 21.7

§38
With nouns designating animate beings, the suffix -k expresses the possessor.

*e'kkekte va'rkin (Kor. Kam., *ekak va'ykin) it is the son's
maal'ik va'rkin in the neighbor's (house) he is 19.2
*ge'ntae-nittkek whatsoever 20.7
Kor. *a'al tu'yik va'ykin have you an axe? Kor. 63.5
Kor. Tike'noruyik va'ykin With-Smell-Pusher-Away has it Kor. 63.4

Personal pronouns also have this ending, while proper names and personal demonstrative pronouns have the ending -(i)nű (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 (-t, -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.

güma'k e'kkoko na'wul'p guq'mithin take from my son's herd
güma'k akka'ipu from my son (güm I; -k possessive; ekke son;
-ipu from [§ 42])
en'i'g-nu'tek ne'rmeqin kele in his own country the kele is strong
123.25
mo'reg-rak in our houses 84.16
Kor. mama'nak tete'its on mamma's needle Kor. 25.2
Kor. Miti'nuk ba'i'uchu into Miti's work-bag Kor. 38.4.

Here belong—

wu'tku (Kor. wu'töuk) here
*e'nsi (Kor. e'nsi, Kamchadal e'nsi) there
va'änksi (Kor. va'änń) there (midway to)
no'onsi there (farther on)
ra'änksi there (behind the person addressed)
no'tönki, no'tönqi, there (behind the speaker)
no'nsi (Kamchadal no'nsi) (aside by itself)
mi'nsi (Kor. mi'nsi) where
ne'nsi 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bą'lenk on the eye</th>
<th>təu'nəu̯nk in the darkness (from təu'nəu̯n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cı'mtenk on the land.</td>
<td>a'trınč in the village (from a'trınč)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With nouns designating animate objects, the suffix -nk designates the possessor.

$p!\text{i}'\text{e}!\text{ink} \text{ch}u'zkinin$ 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 -gî', and -gî'pî (see §§ 40–43). The distinct origin of these elements may still be recognized in Kamchadal by the fact that the termination for TOWAR D always, that for FROM generally, causes ablaut, while the -nk of the locative is neutral. For DIRECTION FROM we find, for instance—

- $kís't$ house $\rightarrow ki'stenk$ in or from the house
- $kís'w$ river $\rightarrow ki'swenk$ in or on the river
- $təw'ntwun$ darkness $\rightarrow təw'ntwunk$ in the darkness
- $a'tinän$ village $\rightarrow a'tinänk$ or $a'tinäk$ 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
- $q'i'nnä$ father’s (a’te father, in the language of children)
- $apə'i'nnä$ grandfather’s (apai'in < ēq-e-yün grandfather, in the language of children)
- $geq'qünä$ grandmother’s (geq'qü < ēq-e-qüi grandmother, in the language of children)
- $tuq'qünä$ friend’s (tuq'qünä, in the pronunciation of women)
- $Telpu'ñenä$ lo'o things seen by Telpuñe R 379, no. 142 title
- $Tño'tirgin$ tli'gätäyäk I go to Tño'tirgin 120.36
- $niz'rkä$ a certain one, qut another one (§ 60), all personal demonstratives and interrogatives (§ 58) have the same forms.

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

- $Miti'nak$ Miti’s Kor. 15.11
- $Pte'qala'nak$ Bird-Man Kor. 16.4
- $Ačče'p'ınak$ Ačče'p'in’s
- $wut'tininak$ this one’s
- $mi'kinak$ who Kor. 12.7
Note.—The subjective of the personal pronoun in -nan may be related to this form. The possessive form of these pronouns, however, is formed in -n (see § 56)

Allative and Ablative (§§ 40–43.)

§ 40. Allative of Common Nouns, Chukchee and Koryak

-allative of common nouns, Chukchee and Koryak

-qt, -tt, -wt (Chukchee); -it (n), -et (n) (Koryak), expresses THE DIRECTION TO, also THE INDIRECT OBJECT, ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

In Chukchee -qt is used after vowels, except o;
-êt after consonants;
-wt, after o.

Examples of -qt after vowels:

qaa'qt ti'1qdtya/c I went to the reindeer
aŋqa'qt eiuie'utkui he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5
gĩkœng'qt to the seaside 49.6
nota'qt to the country 51.2
čaunwe'qt to the reindeer-breeder 48.9
yarq'qt to the house 105.27
lëla'qt to the eye
a'laq'qopla'qt on an excrement-pile 45.5
kala'qt to a kele 97.12
qirgola'qt upward 16.5
qirgğa'qt upward 47.4
avn̂e'nakwa'qt to an unbroken one 50.12 (q̂—k̂ not)
ta'iva-pa'liko-vîqt to one merely dying of old age 21.7
akka'qt tr'iyd'n I brought it for the son
qaa'qt on account of the reindeer 48.12
uwaqotê'qt on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of -êt after consonants:

kalte'qt to the bottom 9.7
narmen'kaka'nino'm notas'qet'ty it shall be thrown on the ground 25.3; also 16.7
mënle'qt to the water 48.5
ra'ule't to the whaler 46.5
a'qakamaanvet'qt to the owners of bad dishes 96.7
ramnët't to the inner skin
noq'ti to the poor ones 96.26
elıq'ti qati' he went to the father 109.3
ye'kamät-lo'mqeti qati' he went to the brothers 110.1
tnæragit'i to the dawn 41.7
ye'hiit'i to the moon 41.11
pënyollë'ti on to the hearth 32.7
qino'nëti to the middle 10.7; 16.8
erqip-yalhëti on account of the bright moon 14.11

Examples of -wëti, -wëti, after o
qoaračikou'ti under the sledge-cover 110.8
yorou'ti to the sleeping-room 39.10
mëmlëtkou'ti into the water 17.4

-ëti, -eti (Koryak)
-ëti used after all vowels.
  yaya'iti to the house (yaite'iti verbal, from yaite'kin Kor. 17.3)
  yoyo'iti to the sleeping-room
  lela'iti to the eye
  gięgołai'iti to the upper part Kor. 20.1
  ynoi'iti to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6
-eti after consonants.
  jipnë'ti to the inner skin
  ol/iwe'tii to the cache Kor. 36.3
  ynoobë'ti into the vent-hole Kor. 43.3

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whither</td>
<td>më'ńkri</td>
<td>menke'i'ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>wotcai'ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither</td>
<td>eñkri</td>
<td>[ānkai'ti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither (midway)</td>
<td>va'änré</td>
<td>vaieñai'ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither</td>
<td>ne'nři</td>
<td>ēnakai'ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 41. ALLATIVE OF PERSONAL NOUNS

-(I)nag to, towards. Used only with proper names, personal demonstratives, and with a few appellative nouns.

Ya'tulna to Yetul in
qëgen to father (a'te FATHER, in the language of children)
apaj'ína to grandfather (apaj'yän [<-ęp-yän], GRANDFATHER in the language of children)
apajq'yina to grandmother (apajq'qī [<-ęp-qī] GRANDMOTHER in the language of children)
themjë'na to the friend (te'mgrina, in the pronunciation of women)
wo'tqanëna (Kor. Kam. wo'tenena) to this one
më'këna (Kor. Kam. me'keña) to whom

-(I)na(n) (Kor. Kam.) towards, to. Used only with proper names. Pronouns belonging to this group have na like the corresponding Chukchee form.
The related suffix, -(i)ñ or -na(ñ), may be used with a few appellative nouns; -tti (see § 40) occurs as well.

ta'tañ or ta'tamina to father; ta'tana Kor. 74.15 (ta'ta father, in the language of children); but itai'ti to the mother

§ 42. ABLATIVE IN -qûpû

-ûpû, -øpû, -ûpû, -ûpû (Chukchee) FROM, OUT OF, ACROSS, ALONG.

-ûpû with stems ending in a vowel.

lala'pû from the eye
Rollannénai'pû from Rulte'n-nin 134.8 (see § 31, 4)
qaq'û le'wulin along the reindeer (herd) the walking one
nargwû from outside 12.10 (see § 31, 4; of nhargwûlm that staying in the outer tent)
gole-notai'pû from another land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21
notai'pû nilei'vuginet they walked along the (open) land 17.9

-qûpû mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

vo'qamqûpû from the river
nimnî'mqûpû nr'pker-mu'ri we came from the settlement 10.12
pëp'qûpû by the ankle 50.11

-øpû mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

org'pû from the sledge
lautm'pû kr'pînên he struck him across the head (see 8.1)
ronnê'pû from under the outer tent-cover 12.9
yrkrê'pû across its mouth 115.1
bot-tagnî'pû from the outer tent
gamq'-nr'rgê'pû among all beings 22.2
ronnê'pû from the border of the house 130.16
êpr'nemêpû from under the wall 130.16

-e'pû (only in Koryak II, in a number of dialects; for instance, in the village of Kî'chîn in Kamchatka).

nute'pû qaî'ai'vulîn he walked along the open land
§ 43. POST-POSITIONS IN -nk, -nj, -nq, -(n)go, -nqorī

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

lele'ṅgo from the eye
ega'nko from heaven Kor. 33.4
kipla'giq'nko out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3
menka'ṅgo (mane'nko Kor. 33.7) whence
wotča'ṅgo from here
nänka'ṅgo thence
na'nakaṅgo Kor. 42.3
änka'ṅgo from there
va'eqo from there (not very far)

-ngo, -ṅgo'rī (Chukchee) FROM, not free; only in the following adverbs:

mē'ṅgo and mēṅgo'rī whence (mē'nko 113.19)
ño'ṅgo and nño'ṅgo'rī from there (far off) (ño'onko 76.5; 131.8)
va'ęngo va'āṅgo and va'āṅgorī from there (not very far)
ño'ęngo and nño'tiṅgorī from behind the speaker
ra'ęngo from behind the person addressed
nū'ṅqu and nūnq'urī from there
e'ṅgo, 86.18 engo'ro 65.18 and engo'ṛī from there 125.3;
wot'go, wotg'oro 124.10 and wotg'oi from here
(na'ṅko means, however, simply HERE)
na'nko 12.7 From this is formed the ablative nān'ko'pû.
na'niko there Kor. 32.1

goro' COME HERE! (Kor. qogyo is probably the exclamatory form for na'ṅgorī HITHER. The latter form is rarely used. Kor.
Kam. qo'yn HITHER is perhaps the ablative of the same form.
goro' na'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.

ί, ϋ, ε, ι, υ, ε, are found in this position.
The allative always has the strong form of the connecting vowel.
The suffix often takes the termination -e.

sūn the wood
sūnk from the wood
sō'ṅke to the wood
kēx the sea
kēxenk from the sea
kēxanke to the sea
lūl the eye
lū'lank from the eye
lū'lank to the eye
ū'ngi there
nō'ṅke there, thus
ma'nke whence, whither, how

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12——45

§ 43
§ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent pronoun</th>
<th>Suffix of plural of personal noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absolute</td>
<td>e'rrí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>erika'gtí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>erika'gípú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| gla'ul man | qlaulis'rgípú from the people |
| ord'võtan person | oravéla'rgén belonging to men |
| Tiña'p (a name) | Tiña'perik with Tiña'p and his family (locative and allative) |
|            | Tiña'pirgen belonging to Tiña'p's family, belonging to Tiña'p¹ |

Kor. Kam.:

* Pipi'kta-na'wqut Mouse-Woman Pipi'kta-na'wqutiyik by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1
* Annimaya't Frost-Man Annimaya'tiyik by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9
* A'ginvi With-Odor-Pushing-Away A'ginvi'yik to the people of Away Kor. 63.6
* Quyginn'aq Big-Raven Quyginn'aqoyi'ti 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
* Quyginn'aq'ehin belonging to Big-Raven Kor. 28.7

Here Koryak *s'h* and *ch* 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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kin</td>
<td>-kin</td>
<td>-kin, -n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iën</td>
<td>-aën</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ni—qin

qi—lin

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>nime'laqin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>nime'laqinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>nime'laqinæk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural-Dual</td>
<td>nime'laqinet²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nime'laqinat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

mi'ñkri-valit ple'kit tegge'nu nime'laqinat? Nime'laqinet mei'-mitinet. How do you want your boots? I want large ones (mi'ñkri how; va'lit being, pl. (§ 54); ple'kit boots pl.; tegge' desire; -u serving for; ni- prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; -nelg to have; -git thou; ni—qinet nominalized form of verb, pl.; me'lin large, -l 1st per. exhortative; eim'it to take; -net [I]— them, exhortative)

To the question rët-ne'lhë qerkušìn? With what kind of skins has it been bought? (rëg what; nel'hin skin; -ä instrumental; qi—lin nominalized verb [§ 73]; -rkur to buy) one may answer—

niqinet with good ones (ni—qin nominalized verb; ni—qinet nominalized form of verb, pl.; me'lin large, -l 1st per. exhortative; eim'it to take; -net [I]— them, exhortative)

but it is better to avoid the nominalized form with suffix, and to say,

ten-ne'lhë with a good skin

eim-të'nñila nike'ë the sportful people teased him (em- mere; tënñila subjective form of tënñilin sportful [the corresponding verb with the suffix -eu is tënñurkin to laugh]; nike'ë indefinite pronominal verb, nikërkin to do something)

¹ Men's pronunciation nime'laqet.
These forms, however, have definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te'ñëin</td>
<td>definite form</td>
<td>nitangë-na'čhin (see § 53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ñëin (see § 55)</td>
<td>augmentative form</td>
<td>tañići'yënn (see § 98, no. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'ñum-valin (see § 76)</td>
<td>augmentative form</td>
<td>ta'ñum-vali'yënn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tand'ya'n (see § 104.38)</td>
<td>diminutive form</td>
<td>tand'ya'n vuqai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

§ 46. SUFFIX -in.

-\text{in} (Kor. -\text{in}; Kamchadal -\text{in}) expresses material of which an object is made, and possession.

(a) Material.

- \text{u'ttin} wooden (Kor. \text{u'ttin})
- \text{gq'lgën \text{ùm} \text{gvi'rt}} bird dresses 7.8
- \text{gq'lhën} \text{y'rëm} bird clothes 14.3
- \text{gg'rën} \text{g'i'lhin} reindeer-skins 14.4
- \text{gg'rlin} \text{gq'yl} man of excrement 39.6
- \text{ygq'řn} \text{wu'kowën} house of stone 92.5
- \text{kg'ñën} made of horse (hair) (stem kg'ñë from Russian \text{koñ})
- \text{rg'grig'ñ} made of hair

Koryak:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{kuka'kin gata'k'ilin} it is made of a kettle Kor. 78.1
  \item \text{mi'meën} (made) of a house Kor. 78.1
\end{itemize}

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

- \text{gq'lg-a-na'lhin} bird-skin
- \text{u'tti-yu'ñi} wooden whale Kor. 40.9

(b) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

- \text{g'k'kin} the son's (Kor. Kam. a'k'kin)
- \text{qg'rq'ën} the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. qo'yen; Kamchadal k'o'jan)
- \text{c̱u'bwën} \text{në'wën} the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6
- \text{c'k'kin ygr'ñi} the son's sleeping-room 53.8
- \text{imping'čhën eli'qinën yoro'ñi} the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9
- \text{tu'mqim} stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9
- \text{gr'wët'ín} \text{aimakri'yënn} a man's big body 90.14
BOAS’ HANDBOOK OF INDIAN LANGUAGES—CHUKCHEE 709

ñaqs'qé'érinjén ela' the woman’s father 85.22
ñé'gkkén yá'nra yorg'ni daughter’s separate sleeping-room 28.3
ñé'gkkén bo'ttot the daughter’s bag pillow 29.4
qó'wáxén qa'mog-te'té[r]qgn man’s every source of illness 24.3
kélibrary qalín kérkér the combination-suit of the kele-woman
85.33
qó'wáqén i'rrn the man’s suit 85.35
ño'gëyin eip'rrn the child’s clothes 25.8
Ku'urkúkén e'kik Ku'urkúk’s son 79.23
Tño'tirqgnèn Tño'tirqgn’s 120.16
Umqáqájin U’mqáqáji’s 63.12

Koryak:

tami'ní-qla'wulen náwa'kak an artisan’s daughter Kor. 24.10
awa'ní-na'win náwa'kak the daughter of a seamstress Kor. 25.2
tu'mqinâu kawa'ssóchù other people’s wallets Kor. 46.1
go'yen gíte'li'min 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.

A’nna (a name) A’nnan belonging to A’nna
Qutu’wgi (a name) Qutu’wgin belonging to Qutu’wgi
Aiínwa't (a name) Aiínwa'tin and Aiínwa'tén belonging
Upe'niken belonging to Upe'nke R72.13
Niro'nén belonging to Niro’n R377, 141 title.

In Koryak the suffix —rn, characteristic for the postpositional forms of proper names, is sometimes inserted before the possessive suffix —rn.

Amamqu'tînin na'wítqat Ememqut’s woman Kor. 45.1.
Qeeyqin'agü'ñín náwa'kak Brig Raven’s daughter Kor. 76.14

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

e'kkînet those of the son (Kor. Kam. a'kkînat dual, a'kkînau pl.)
(Kamchadal i'ce've'n 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.
The Koryak dual has no possessive forms.

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

Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal
---|---|---
1st per. sing. | гун гүннин | гүмма гүннин | кima'н
2d per. sing. | гит гиннин | гисса гиннин | ки'ян
3d per. sing. | энан энин | энну анин | ena'
1st per. pl. | мури му'рэгин | му'ру му'чэгин | му'я ми'жин
2d per. pl. | тэри тэрэгин | тэ'ру тэ'чэгин | тэ'я тэ'жин
3d per. pl. | эрри эргин | а'тун а'чэгин | тэв тэв'ин

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

gүмнинэ'тэ (Кор. Кам. gүмнинэ'ta) with mine.

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

gомо'ка'р пя'ни митя'ин TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM MINE) (gомо'ка'р see § 56; q— gin imperative; eимит to take)

Demonstrative pronouns form two possessive forms:

wo'tqan (men's pronunciation wo'tкэн and wo'tкэ'нен) [belonging to this

энга'н (men's pronunciation энга'н and энга'нэ'нэн) [belonging to that

The forms in —енэн may be considered as compounded with the possessive of the third person singular personal pronoun энэн, so that they would be parallel to the plural forms of the demonstrative possessives discussed in § 58, p.729: wo'tqанэ'гэн (man's pronunciation wo'tкэ'гээн) and энга'нэ'гэн (man's pronunciation энга'нэ'гэн).

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

Quyqиннану'нин нава'ка'к Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.

Амамку'тмин на'ритяк Emem'ят's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

kima'н'ин'л with my ears (kiman my; -л' instrumental; в ear)
mол'нэ'л 'ва'нл' with which knife?

§46
§ 47. SUFFIX -kin

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murike'kin</td>
<td>muiýka'kin (dual)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muička'kin (pl)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titel'kin</td>
<td>titâ'kin</td>
<td>itê'an, itê'nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minkë'kin</td>
<td>mînkakin Kor. mi'nein</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëňko'kën</td>
<td>66.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wutke'kin</td>
<td>wutóa'kin</td>
<td>ta'nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minka'kinau</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya'qkinau</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nanka'kenat</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms with post-positions are rare.

girggoll'këna'ga' 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. -kïn) expresses THAT PERTAINING TO—
Here belong also the following Chukchee forms:

-\textit{en'ke'kin} belonging there
-\textit{nen'ku'kin} belonging there (farther on)
-\textit{vaenqa'kên} belonging there (not very far, midway to)
-\textit{vaenqa'kên} belonging there (behind the person addressed)
-\textit{notina'qâ'kên} belonging there (behind the speaker)

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

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Chukchee & Kor. Kam. & \\
\textit{i'gitkin} & \textit{a'chikin} & what belongs to the present \\
\textit{tite'kin} & \textit{tiita'kin} & belonging to which time
\end{tabular}

Numeral predicates with the ending \textit{-kin} express ordinal numbers.

\textit{milinkau'd'kên} or \textit{milinka'ulîn} the fifth

\section*{§48. \textbf{SUFFIX -\textit{lin}}}

\textit{-\textit{lin}} (Kor. Kam. \textit{-la'n}) (oblique cases formed from \textit{-l}, Kor. \textit{-l}) expresses the measure of a quality.

\textit{mimêkemîl qe'tvulîn} what likeness strong? (i. e., how strong?); Kor. Kam. \textit{menkê'mîc qa'tvula'n}; Kor. Par. \textit{menkê'mis': qe'tvula'n}.

\textit{en'ke'mîl gite'tplî'am} that likeness I am sensible (i. e., I am so sensible) (\textit{en'ke} that; \textit{-î'am} [§73]).

With the prefix \textit{ge-} it indicates the possessor of an object.

\textit{ge-\textit{lin}} (Chukchee), \textit{ga-\textit{lin}} (Kor. Kam). This is identical with the verbal forms given in §73. It expresses possession.

\textit{ga-ga'a-lên} (Kor. Kam. \textit{ga-gqya'-lên}) he who has reindeer
\textit{g-ekkê-lîn} (Kor. Kam. \textit{g-akka'-lîn}) he who has sons
\textit{garav'-qít} thou who hast a home 89.7 (see §73).
\textit{ga-pêla'-gūm} I have left
\textit{ga-qaat'-gûm} I who have reindeer.

Koryak:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{gavagmîna'len} with nails Kor. 24.2
  \item \textit{gaq'a'lin} with eyes Kor. 24.2
\end{itemize}

\section*{§48}
§ 49. SUFFIX -qín

$n(i)$—qín and -lín (Chukchee), $n(i)$—qín (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. 510). Some verbs, however, are formed without these suffixes.

The attributive terms in $n(i)$—qín are identical in form with the verbal mode in $n(i)$—qín, 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 têrg-; têrgat to weep
- ni-têr-r-â-gên or têr-r-lín tearful

Stem kîm-; kîm'e (Kor. Kam. kîma'w [kîm])
- ni-kî'm-m-â-qín slow-going
- ni-kî'm-a-qín slow-going

Stem ayîl/-a (Kor. Kam. ayîl/tav)
- n-ayîl-l-â-qên fearful

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

Stem no-; ni-no'-qên poor, needy
Stem tam-pra; ni-tam-pra'qm pretty

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in $n(i)$—qín.

üplî'li (stem üplîlî); (Kor. Kam. üplîlî [stem üplîlî]), yellowish
é'tqî'în (stem é'tqî'în and âqî); (Kor. Kam. â'tî'în [stem â'tî'în];
Kor. Par. é'tqen [stem âqî]); bad
qûmnî'n qa'at é'tqî'în my reindeer are bad
also uwelî (stem uwelî) and nu'qîn (stem uuî) Kor. Kam. nu'qîn
[stem uuî], black

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

é'tqî'în a bad one
é'tqî'în or âqî'în a worse one
â'tqên-va'în or aga'm-va'în a bad or worse one
â'tqên-ya'n or aga'a'n one who is bad

Examples of forms in -lín are given in § 54.

For other adjective forms see §76.

---

1 This stem consists of two consonants uu < sow which form a vocalic unit.
§ 50. KAMCHADAL SUFFIXES

-\text{lax},-\text{gax}, is added to stems expressing qualities:

ö'm-lax (from öm) deep (cf. Chukchee num-qin broad)

\text{vulax} (from \text{vul}) long (cf. Chukchee \text{n-}\text{iul}-\text{a-qin}

o'lo-lax (from \text{olo}) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix -(i)\text{s}n.

0l0lax-\text{is}n \text{ki'st}i\text{s}c small little houses.

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

o'lo\text{lax-ki'st}c\text{aneke} to the small houses.

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

\text{vo'str}i\text{q} xvalc, \text{ni'ruq}in xvalc a sharp knife.

\text{nv'thaq}in \text{u'ni} a straight tree.

Here \text{vo'str}i is Russian, \text{ni'ruq}in and \text{nv'thaq}in are Koryak.

The last forms the Kamchadal plural \text{nv'thala}n u'\text{hr}n.

\text{k!-}\text{in} (\text{fef}in) corresponds to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in \text{n(i)-}\text{qin} (§ 49), and is used with verbal themes expressing qualities as well as with intransitive verbs.

\text{k!-ni'ta-in} (Chukchee \text{nI-gite'pqin}) clever

\text{k!-nu'-in} (from \text{nu TO EAT}) voracious

\text{k!-veta't- an} (from v\text{etaat TO WORK}) laborious

\text{k!-krin} seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in \text{ge-}\text{in} (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.

\text{k!-nu'-krin} (from \text{nu TO EAT}) the one who ate

Both of these suffixes are also used with the transitive verb, \text{k!-}\text{in} with verbs of Type I (see § 70, p. 744), \text{k!-krin} with verbs of Type II (see § 71, p. 746). These forms have a passive meaning.

-\text{kil'}, pl. -\text{kil'\text{a}s}, forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.

\text{nu'kil'}, pl. \text{nu'kil'\text{a}s}, the one who is eating

\text{veta'tkal'}, pl. \text{vetaatkal'\text{a}s}, the one who busies himself

\text{colkil'}, pl. \text{colk'il'\text{a}s}, the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.

\text{telkil'} the one who beats

\text{ke'jkil'} the one who keeps

Suffixes in -\text{i(n)} §§ 51-55

§ 51. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of nominal suffixes have the termination -\text{n} in the absolute form. Some of these occur only in the absolute form.

-\text{hin} (Kor. -\text{hin})

-\text{lin}, -\text{ilin} (Kor. -\text{lin})

-\text{chin} (Kor. -\text{chin})

§§ 50, 51
-гин (Kor. -гін)
-ъин augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)
-ъин (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. -геін, -гитін, -гін) abstract noun
-еін
-ін
-ікін (Kor. Kam.-іеін) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES -ъі and -уі.

-ъі (ін) (Kor. -уі [ін]), the absolute form of a suffix -ъі, 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.

лідлін eye (stem lіл.)
tімкілін (and tімкітін) hummock 79.2 (stem tімк 62.7; but tімкілігі 62.5)
mілідлін hare 78.24 (stem mілут 78.15)
rіпгілін fox 78.3 (stem rіпгі 78.12)
wулкілін stone 35.11 (stem wулк 35.11)
kіріліні worm 37.3 (stem kір 36.11)
tамногаілін a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem тенуне 9.8)

Koryак:

лелалін eye Kor. 49.5
gіткілін leg Kor. 53.3
ріпкілін mouse Kor. 58.7
va'рралін tooth Kor. 34.34

-уі (ін) (Kor. -уі [ін], sometimes -шім[ін] is used in the same way as the preceding suffix.

вауі (stem вауі) (Kor. Kam. вауі-уін [stem вауі]) grass

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

упуілін tallow 86.23 (упуілі 87.4)
kоіпуілін walrus-blubber 12.6 (kоіпуілі 14.11)
rіпуілін walrus-hide 13.13
pінгілін hearth 31.13
навоілін old woman 39.5; 40.1
ванілілін lip 14.5
pенакілін tassel 16.10
ауалілін obsidian scraper 39.12
піркілін bowlder 129.6
ріллілін and реллілін wing (stem рілл, ріл) 15.2

Of these, the first five stems retain the suffix -уі with post-positions. The primary stem, however, is without this suffix: for instance,

1 The text has крмліпі on 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 крмліпі. (see § 36.)
pênyolhîn hearth (stem pin, absolute form pi mápı powder, ashes)
The following have weak vowels, and it may be assumed that the lh belongs to the stem.

pîlhîn throat (stem pilh); (Kor. Kam. pîlòhin [stem pilh]). Locative: pîlîhîk', pîlîhîk; (Kor. Kam. pîlîhîk)

nîlîhîn thong 48.4

neîlîhîn skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES -êh- and -êîn-

ZH(IN),-ZH(IN) (Kor.-êh[IN], ên[IN]; -tê[IN]; -sê[IN],— according to dialect). This suffix seems to express an emphatic form. Sometimes it corresponds to the definite article or designates an object as referred to before. In other cases it might be translated as a particular one, in contradistinction to other objects of the same or other classes. Some words seem to have the suffix throughout.

Etymologically it may be related to the suffix -lèles-, since ê and l (Kor. ê and l) replace each other frequently (see § 122).

vîlâ'êhîn knife (stem vîlâ, absolute vîlêE); Kor. Kam. vîlâ-êhîn (stem vîlâ, absolute vîlâ)

rê'mkêëîn people (stem rêmK, absolute rêmKîn); Kor. ya'mkîëîn (stem yamk, absolute ya'mKîn)

ELI'êîhîn the aforesaid father 19.11

gor'wëêtâêîhîn the aforesaid man 18.11

pênyolhîcîhîn the aforesaid hearth 32.9

yêlîêîhîn the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12

lêlîlîhîcîhîn the aforesaid eye 106.19

qolò-a'a'sîtêîhîn a particular kind of dog 121.11

kàlô'êhîn a particular kele 105.14

va'amîkêîhîn a particular river 40.12

lolo'êîhîn a particular penis 26.8

nà'loùîhîhîn a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:

| qolò'wëîhîn hole Kor. 15.8 |
| lâwëîk'ëîhîn head-band Kor. 17.12 |

-ZH(IN).

nàwàg'neîhîn a particular wife 38.4

nàgà'ga'têhîn the aforesaid woman 39.7

pàkô'lëhîn a particular kind of woman's knife 44.3, 5

Note 1.—A number of stems end in êh, and are not related to this class.

ta'âjòtîhîcîhîn the bag mentioned before (stem teiuch, absolute têh'-
éhîn); Kor. Kam. ca'âjòtîcîn (stem caunu, absolute ca'âjëcîn)

§ 53
NOTE 2.—In words which have the absolute form in -li, -lñ, the suffix -êli, -êlñ, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes -li, -lñ.

lêla'liëiin 106.19, or lla'in eye (stem lêli'liin, absolute lêli'liin); Kor. Kam. lêlalhiëiin or lêla'ëiin, (stem lêli'a, absolute lêli'liin)

§ 54. SUFFIXES -li, -lñ, -êli, -êlñ

Kor. Kam. -laëni, -[a]laëni, -[i]laëni 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 -li, is used; after the terminal consonant of a stem (except l, r, n, and t) the auxiliary vowel i is inserted before -li. After terminal l, r, n, and t, the suffix -êli, -êlñ is used, which forms with terminal l or r the ending -liën, with terminal t the ending -êliën. With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

Numeral terms with the ending -liën express ordinal numbers.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rî'liën (&lt;rîi + -lëni; base rîi)</td>
<td>yî'laën (base yîi) winged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rëlî'liën</td>
<td>yëlî'liën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîw-këwaën (&lt;kër-laën)</td>
<td>nîw-ke'laën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâ'ataën (&lt;yâ'al-laën)</td>
<td>yâ'ataën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vë'ëmaën</td>
<td>vaya'milaën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ñqalën</td>
<td>a'ñqalaën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâ'êhila genpelqu'êlin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

Plural, dual, and oblique cases are formed like those of the adjective in -liën (§ 49).

Verbal stems terminating in l and r are contracted with this suffix, and form -lëni.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uñê'ëniën &lt; uñel-liën wood-carrier 27.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ëniën &lt; tel-lien the suffering one 34.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri'lêlaëni one who is lying there 28.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See §§ 48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in n(t) — çim.
In the one who crosses over
a'ettoo'lê!i q'wokwi say to the one in front!
In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.
te'ja'n the suffering one
e'ytla'n the one crossing over
In Koryak the same suffix is used with transitive verbs to express the actor.
pe'la'la'n the one who leaves
In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs, requires the prefix in- or the suffix -tku.
ênapelga'lin
pe'lag'tksin
In some cases both forms in -un and in -kin (see § 47) are used indiscriminately.
na'clâin (Kor. Kam. na'chala'n) or na'ken'kên that to the left
mra'lin (Kor. Kam. mya'la'n) or mra'kên that to the right
Similar forms in -la'n occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due however, to the influence of the Koryak.
ki'stinan and ki'stin that of the house
atino'la'n and atino'an that of the village
§ 55. SUFFIX -ên- (-ćên)
-ćin (-ćên) (Kor. Kam. -ća'n, Kor. Par. -sa'n) is used principally to express the comparative. The form -ćên is used after the single terminal consonants n, r, l. With this ending, the object of the comparison assumes the locative form.
meštîen the better one (Kor. Kam. ma'lba'n)
meštîen the larger one (Kor. Kam. ma'ũrba'n; Kor. Par. meštîa'n)
ida'm mskićin ine'ûrkin ta'ag, meštîcin ûm gine'ilkî why do you give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one (ida'm why; mk large; in-yl-r-kin you give me [§ 67]; ta'ag tobacco; meštîn large; ûm particle expressing slight emphasis; q-in-yl-gi' give me! [§ 67]); (Kor. Kam. m'ngangać splu'ba'n ine'yili ta'waq, maštîa'n gine'yil; Kor. a'eištîa'n the worst Kor. 30.7)
qa'mga-qla'ulîk qe'tvûčiûm I am stronger than all others (qemge-
every; qla'ul man; -k locative; qe'tvû strong; -iûm [§ 73]);
Kor. Kam. qa'mga-qla'wulak ma'n qa'tvûçeqûm)
It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to
-ćin THE PARTICULAR ONE. We find, for instance,
§ 55
This ending has oblique cases:

- *yač'čę'pą qäč'vi'gin čimqük* cut off some rawer part (*yač* raw; *-ępu* from; *qä-čvi-gīn* [stem *čvi*] to cut [*§ 67*]; *čimqük* some)
- *armač'čti* to the strong man
- *armač'pą* from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

*ɪ'npɪč-ąkkaşi'pą* from the elder son (*np* old; *ękke* son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the suffix *-čın* or *qč'lın* (Kor. Kam. *-čan* or *qčala'n*) expresses our superlative.

- *ɪna'n mač'ńčın* (Kor. Kam. *mač'ńčiça'n*).
- *ɪna'n-mač'ńńyńku-wa'lın* (Kor. Kam. *mač'ńńyńkiña'n* - the largest one *qčala'n*).

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

- *kı'mma kını'ńk činińčei* I am prettier than you (*kimma' I; kını'ńk on thee; činińčei pretty*)

**Pronouns (§§ 56-60).**

**§ 56. Personal Pronouns**

The personal pronouns are —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ĝım</td>
<td>ĝımma, ĝım</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>ĝıt</td>
<td>ĝı'ssa, ĝı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>īna'n²</td>
<td>ā'llnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>mu'ɾi</td>
<td>[mu'yı (dual)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[mu'yı (plural)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>tur'ı</td>
<td>[tu'yı (dual)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[tu'yı (plural)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>ē'rri</td>
<td>[a'ę'či (dual)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[a'ę'ču (plural)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *-qtı, -ıpu*, of Chukchee, require the suffix *ka* after the pronominal stem. Thus we find the following forms:

1. The Koryak of Paren has *qte*, although ordinarily *te* is characteristic of Kamenskoye, *ę* of Paren.
2. The particle *ęn'ın* is also used in the absolute form of the pronoun. Otherwise its meaning is generally weakly concessive, like that of German *doch*.  

**§ 56**
### CHUKCHEE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>2d person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image1.png&quot; alt=&quot;image1&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image2.png&quot; alt=&quot;image2&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image7.png&quot; alt=&quot;image7&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image8.png&quot; alt=&quot;image8&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image13.png&quot; alt=&quot;image13&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image14.png&quot; alt=&quot;image14&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image19.png&quot; alt=&quot;image19&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image20.png&quot; alt=&quot;image20&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image25.png&quot; alt=&quot;image25&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image26.png&quot; alt=&quot;image26&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image31.png&quot; alt=&quot;image31&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image32.png&quot; alt=&quot;image32&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### KORYAK

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>3d person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image37.png&quot; alt=&quot;image37&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image38.png&quot; alt=&quot;image38&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image39.png&quot; alt=&quot;image39&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image40.png&quot; alt=&quot;image40&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image41.png&quot; alt=&quot;image41&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image42.png&quot; alt=&quot;image42&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image43.png&quot; alt=&quot;image43&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image44.png&quot; alt=&quot;image44&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image45.png&quot; alt=&quot;image45&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image46.png&quot; alt=&quot;image46&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image47.png&quot; alt=&quot;image47&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image48.png&quot; alt=&quot;image48&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image49.png&quot; alt=&quot;image49&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image50.png&quot; alt=&quot;image50&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image51.png&quot; alt=&quot;image51&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image52.png&quot; alt=&quot;image52&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image53.png&quot; alt=&quot;image53&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;img src=&quot;image54.png&quot; alt=&quot;image54&quot; width=&quot;500&quot; /&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Kamchadal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>k&quot;mma</td>
<td>k'ja</td>
<td>Ena'</td>
<td>mu'ja</td>
<td>tu'ja</td>
<td>te'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>kmma'nk</td>
<td>knt'nk</td>
<td>Ena'nk</td>
<td>mji'nt</td>
<td>ti'jnt</td>
<td>te'nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>kmitu'n</td>
<td>klu'n</td>
<td>xun'a</td>
<td>mji'nt</td>
<td>ti'jnt</td>
<td>te'nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>kma'n</td>
<td>knt'n</td>
<td>Ena'n</td>
<td>mji'nt</td>
<td>ti'jnt</td>
<td>te'nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>kmma'ntke</td>
<td>knnt'ke</td>
<td>Ena'ntke</td>
<td>mji'nt</td>
<td>ti'jnt</td>
<td>te'nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>kmma'nk</td>
<td>knnt'k</td>
<td>Ena'nki</td>
<td>mji'nt</td>
<td>ti'jnt</td>
<td>te'nt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Chukchee and Koryak there is also a form expressing the aequa-
lus i.e. similar to, of the same size as, according to the wants of.—
They are generally used with this suffix—mič, mič (§ 102, 30).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>similar to me</td>
<td>gū'muw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to thee</td>
<td>gi'nuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to him</td>
<td>ē'nuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to us</td>
<td>mu'ruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to you</td>
<td>tu'ruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to them</td>
<td>ē'tiuw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both Chukchee and Koryak the plural forms of the first and
second persons are often used in place of the singular, without, how-
ever, conveying the idea of respect.

amto', geyi'lgät-tu'ri well, have you slept? (singular or plural)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>morga'n, torga'n, erga'n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

Absolute ethu

Locative ethik

Subjective ethina'n

The Kamchadal forms in it, and the Chuckchee 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. gūnni'n čini'nkin) my own.

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

kata'n-gomg ka'gti (Chukchee) just to me (i.e., to myself)
čini't uwi'k gūnmiln he killed himself, (lit. his own body;

Kor. 56.10.

Kor. gricä't uwi'kinat gnu'linat he consumed his own legs, lit.

legs body belonging to he consumed them Kor. 57.2

The term uwi'kin Belonging to the body is thus used to express

OWN.

§ 56
We find, however, in Koryak, the pronoun also used in oblique cases to express own:

\[ \text{gi'mk} \text{ín'cina} \]

Personal pronouns have also definite, augmentative and diminutive forms, which take the suffix \(-\text{onaiolh}\) following the possessive form of the pronoun.

\[ \text{gi'muk-\text{onaiolh-ích-ë-üm}} \]

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 \(-\text{qan}\) (with \(n\) belonging to the suffix); only one has the ending \(-\text{qin}\). In Koryak a few have the corresponding endings \(-\text{kin}\), \(-\text{gen}\), \(-\text{qala'ken}\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particles</th>
<th>Chukchee Stem</th>
<th>Independent form</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>vai</td>
<td>wa'g'-</td>
<td>wa'q'un, 65.22; 137.1, 133.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>[fan]</td>
<td>ñn-</td>
<td>ñn'q'un 115.21; 71.13, 29; 63.7, 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that yonder</td>
<td>[ñngan]</td>
<td>ñng'-</td>
<td>ñng'q'un 70.22; also as adverb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that yonder</td>
<td>[ñoon]</td>
<td>ñg'-q'-, less frequently ñg'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that there (not very far)</td>
<td>[fan]</td>
<td>ñnq'un 133.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (quite far)</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td>ga'q'un 63.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that there (midway to some other object)</td>
<td>vai</td>
<td>va'q'un 121.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that behind the person addressed</td>
<td>[rai]</td>
<td>ra'q'un-ra'q'un</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that behind the person speaking</td>
<td>[ño'tt]</td>
<td>nó'ttq' 70.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that apart from the speaker</td>
<td>[fan]</td>
<td>ñng'-q'-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who, somebody</td>
<td>(mik)</td>
<td>mé'kín 11.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It may be noted that all demonstratives, except wut-, en'ñ-, and ŋo'tiñ, end in -n which remains in all forms.

The demonstrative stems have strong vowels, except wut-, en'ñ-, and ŋun. The last of these is treated more frequently as an unchangeable stem; for instance,—

ŋu'nin-notaj'pë 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 ŋo'tiñ. 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'tin-notanga'tkën that one belonging to this country 7.1
wo'tm-mqiro'k that (morning) dawn 10.3
wu'tin-mu'tek (Kor. Kam. wu'tin-mu'tak) in that country
mañê'n-notav'pà (Kor. Kam. mañen-nota'ñgo) from what country.
Kor. mañin-nî'kîl-yel'kyeł] which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor.
34.2
Kor. mañin-gai-ña'wis'qatik to which small woman? Kor. 34.5

For greater emphasis the independent, absolute forms of the demonstrative may be used with the corresponding particle, as given on p. 723, or with repetition of independent form, connected by the particle îm (see also p. 726).

ŋo'onqan îm ŋo'on
enqa'n îm enqa'n 130.9, etc.

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

rai 61.8
vai 61.9; 62.7; 63.6; 66.30, 35;
71.15; 76.25, 30
ña'ñ 71.3, 16; 62.4, 8; 65.1; 66.32
ña'an 63.13
ño'on 64.1
wot 81.12
wotèn-rai 29.1
elo'n îm vai 66.29
elo'n vai 67.33
vai îm ña'ñ(ï) 131.3, 10
c'ême ñan 66.32
enqa'n îm vai 130.7
wo'tqanm îm vai 45.12
vai ñan 62.9
wu'tku-n vai 120.11

Note.—The Koryak form in -qala'ken given in the preceding table of demonstratives is derived from the post-position -qal,- qae (Chukchee -qal,- qeç) close to, by the side of. The Koryak suffix -qala'ken cor-
responds to the Chukchee form -qat-kên, which is used to form a great many derivatives. The following forms derived from demonstrative pronouns may serve as examples:

Adverbial form *va'enqaqt* (Kor. Kam. *va'yeŋqat*) by the side, halfway

Independent form *varvaŋqa'ikên* (Kor. Kam. *voyeŋqala'ken*)

Adverbial form *wo'ttæŋqaqt* (Kor. Kam. *wo'tæŋqat*) here

Independent form *wotvaŋqa'ikên* 14.2 (Kor. Kam. *votvaŋqala'ken*)

*wo'tqani'rŋu* (pronunciation of men) *wotqar'ŋu* from those

§ 58. PLURAL AND POST-POSITIONAL FORMS

Plural and suffix forms are derived from the forms in -qan adding the -e (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,—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Dual Kor.)</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Koryak)</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective, not personal</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective, personal</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative, not personal</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative, not personal</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative, personal</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative, not personal</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative, personal</td>
<td><em>wotqan</em></td>
<td><em>wotqen</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Pronunciation of men *wotqen*

Also *enqa'nat* 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; *enqaat* those 62.10; *enqa'nêna* by that one 44.8; *wo'tqana* this time 76.18

Koryak:

- *ña'nyen* that one (absolute) Kor. 17.5, 9; 51.2, 5
- *ña'nyeu* (pl.) Kor. 31.1; 44.6; 62.4; *ña'nyau* 25.6, 9; 42.4
- *ña'nyenata* (subjective, not personal) Kor. 43.5
- *ña'nemenak* (subjective, personal) Kor. 34.11; *ña'nyenena* Kor. 76.16

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

*enqa'nat qaini'ntiniqet* throw away those! 49.5

*wo'qaat qainu'ult'k* eat these! 33.12

*enqa'at qa'at* those reindeer

Kor. Kam. *ña'nyenau o'tbu* those dogs

§ 58
In some cases the singular form is used when we should expect the plural:

\textit{enqa'n gittile'ti ninel'i-um} there I give to those who are hungry 96.24 (cf. 96.9, 12, 17).

\textit{enqa'n oranve'tat} these men 63.5

\textit{enqa'n Umqaqâi'iinti} these people of Umqqâi 63.10

\textit{erga'n ni'râq ora'vêtat} these two men 7.10

The corresponding forms of the personal interrogative \textit{who}, \textit{somebody}, and of the Kamchadal impersonal interrogative, are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me'kën</td>
<td>ma'ki Kor.17.6</td>
<td>kë/n</td>
<td>(më'nën)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Dual Koryak)</td>
<td>mi'kïnti</td>
<td>ma'kïnti</td>
<td>më'këg</td>
<td>më'nën'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Koryak)</td>
<td></td>
<td>më'këgi</td>
<td>më'kïnä Kor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>mi'këna</td>
<td>më'këna Kor. 76.16</td>
<td>kë'a'ne</td>
<td>më'neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>më'këna'pë</td>
<td>më'këna'a'qo</td>
<td>kë'ink</td>
<td>më'nenk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

\textit{me'kën um el'} who is (your) mother? 113.14

\textit{mi'këna yarkmëkti kanë'irgin} whose lullaby are you singing? 120.14

\textit{mi'këna ganto'lëni} by whom born? 142.1

In Kamchadal the form corresponding to the stem \textit{mik-} signifies the inanimate interrogative.

Nominal forms of the plural, when appearing with suffixes, have, instead of the regular plural, forms compounded with the third person plural personal pronoun (see p. 706).

In Chukchee we find also ma'kîrin, pl. ma'kîrin'të, \textit{whose house's}, \textit{whose family's}; related to the Koryak stem \textit{mak-}, and formed with the stem \textit{-erg} of the personal pronoun third person plural (see § 44).

These particles doubled, and connected by \textit{um}, are also used as exclamations.

\textit{ñan um ñan!} you there! \textit{ña'an um ñan} 95. 35 yonder

\textit{vai um vai!} halfway there!

\textit{noon um noon!} far off there!

They occur in the same way with interrogative pronouns.

\textit{me'ñiñ ñan yë'tirkin?} who comes there?

\textit{rö'ñin ñot wurre'erkin?} what is visible behind there?

\textit{mi'ñkri rai nëlhi'?} how then became he? 29.7

\textit{mi'ñkri ñot ñga'ras'që'um-valit?} 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Here</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchatadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>there (m/c)</td>
<td>va'ântki</td>
<td>va'ânkI</td>
<td>va'ântki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (behind p.)</td>
<td>ra'ântki</td>
<td>ra'ântki</td>
<td>ra'ântki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (away)</td>
<td>mi'tântki, mi'tântki</td>
<td>mi'tântki, Kor. 20.1</td>
<td>ma, mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (far)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ga'ngan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (far from)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Chukchee two forms in -qan are also used as adverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Here</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchatadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>there (some distance)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (far)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Here</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchatadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thus</td>
<td>en'âh'n</td>
<td>en'âh'n</td>
<td>en'âh'n 63.13; en'nâ'ạn Kor.13.1, ēn'ō'nke 65.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adverbs with suffixes derived from the locative forms are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERE</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchatadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>wot</td>
<td>wut</td>
<td>wut'ka 7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>wotgori</td>
<td>wotka'ågo</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in the same way Chukchee va'ântkatå, va'ântê, va'ângo or va'ângori; Koryak vai'enâ'ta, vai'enâ'ti, vai'enâgo from stem vai.

Examples:

- **wo'tko** from here 43.1; **wo'tgo** en'go'ro thence 49.2; 65.18, 24 121.20; 131.14; **wo'tqu** here en'ke'ggi thither 71.23 73.14
- **en'ke'çiku** in there 73.20
- **en'no't** 64.7; 66.3; 72.6
- **en'qê'kin** one from there 67.3

§ 58
Koryak:

wu'tën this time Kor. 41.2  
na'ñko there Kor. 41.6  
ñë'ñako there Kor. 19.11  
ña'ñko there Kor. 32.1; see  
Kor. 62.7  
ñañiku'łtín thither Kor. 36.5  
ña'ñkango from that one Kor. 42.3

The forms mi'ñkri (Chukchee), me'ñkañ (Kor. Kam.), ma'ñke (Kamchadal), also signify how.

Derivatives with suffixes are—

mëñko'kënat where are you from 65.10

miñke'mil 66.34
menke'miç, mañi'nn'ač (Kor. 66.1) to what degree, in what manner
men'ke'mil', also lact (Kamchadal)

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

en'ñu'va'ln 128.24 (Chukchee), enna't'an i'tala'ın (Kor. Kam.), one being thus; i. e., such a one
enño't-va'ln (Chukchee) being near here thus; i. e., such a one nearer to the speaker than the preceding
en'ñu-wa'ln such a one (expressing reproach)
en'ñu'wa'le-git such a one art thou 21.11
mi'ñkri-va'ln (Chukchee 14.4), me'ñkañ itala'ın (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>This</th>
<th>This Here</th>
<th>Which, What</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>nje'ń</td>
<td>ti'ñ=ti'nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nje'ńke'ń</td>
<td>ti'ñuhenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>nje'ńke'ń</td>
<td>ti'ñuhenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>nje'ńke'ń</td>
<td>ti'ñuhenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>nje'ńke'ń</td>
<td>ti'ñuhenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>nje'ńke'ń</td>
<td>ti'ñuhenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>nje'ńke'ń</td>
<td>ti'ñuhenk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (э́ко́й), edakoï (эдако́й).

§ 58
As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in synthetic form \( m'i'n \), which corresponds to Chukchee \( m'i'n \) (see p. 726.)

\( m'e'n-an-ktsoj-qol \) which road along?

but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

\( m'i'n-\) \( hvanl' \) \( okan \) 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.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{engana't}-\text{git} & \text{ this art thou } 20.7. \\
\text{wotqana't}-\text{gum} & \text{ this am I } 43.5, 121.14 \\
\text{wotqana't}-\text{mo'rê} & \text{ here we are } 69.5 \\
\text{mi'k-i-\text{tin}} & \text{ who am I } \\
\text{mi'k-i-git} & \text{ who art thou; } \text{mi'k-i-or } 127.11 \\
\text{mi'w-mu'ri} & \text{ who are we} \\
\text{mi'q-tu'ri} & \text{ who are ye } 120.9 \\
\text{Kor. Kam. wutmnalai'-gum} & \text{ this am I Kor. 22.1}
\end{align*} \]

Possessives:

\( \text{en'i'n} \) his 17.13

\( \text{enqa'n'en} \) of this one 50.10

\( \text{mi'kin} \) whose (possessor sing., object possessed sing. and pl.);

Kor. Kam. \( \text{mi'kin} \), dual \( \text{mi'kinat} \), pl. \( \text{mi'kinat} \) (possessor sing.; object possessed sing., dual, pl.), vocative \( \text{miko'n} \) (§ 36) 

Kor. 34.4

\( \text{mi'kirgin} \) (possessor pl., object possessed sing.), \( \text{mi'kirginet} \) (object possessed pl.), whose; Kor. Kam. \( \text{mi'kirgin} \), dual \( \text{mi'kirginat} \), pl. \( \text{mi'kirginat} \) (§ 34); Kamchadal \( \text{klen} \), pl. \( \text{klen} \)

§ 59. Indefinite Pronoun \( räq \)

The non-personal interrogative and indefinite pronoun is, Chukchee \( räq \); Kor. Kam. \( ya(q) \), \( yax \); Kor. II \( ta(q) \); Kamchadal seq.

The following are the forms with post-positions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( räq )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( rä'\text{nut} )</td>
<td>( yaq )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( rä'\text{nutat} ) 1</td>
<td>( y\text{mna} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( rä'\text{qat} )</td>
<td>( yaqat )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( rä'\text{wuq} )</td>
<td>( yaq\text{wui} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( rä'\text{qat} )</td>
<td>( ya'qak )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( rä'\text{qat} )</td>
<td>( yaqc\text{t} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( rä'\text{qat} )</td>
<td>( yaqc\text{qo} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Men's pronunciation \( rä'\text{nutat}. \) 2 Kamchadal pron. \( rä'\text{nutat}. \) 3 Kamchadal pron. \( rä'\text{nuqut} \)
The set of forms derived from ränut, except the plural, are not often used.

i'me-ränut whatsoever; i. e., of every kind 13.13; 133.18
ränut what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5
rånut åm what was it then? 34.1
rånut åm qinė'ilhi give me something
rånutet whatever kind of things obj. 32.5; intr. subj. 58.2
reqä by what means? 22.1; 23.5; 14.2
reqä what? 34.8, 9; whatever 32.5
raqänt with what there 139.8
reqäk at what? 26.1
reqäm why 88.7
reqqä 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:

råq-s'at (Chukchee), yax-qoya'wge (Kor. Kam.), seq-ko'je to
(Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer
råq-a'ltä ge'ëtin (Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?
råq-m'nmim what settlement, obj. 33.7
råq-pr'ñil what tidings? 11.2
råqnota'chit what kind are 14.3

Koryak I:

ya'qlau what are they doing Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikme'tik what are you (pl.) doing? Kor. 24.8

Koryak II has the same forms as Koryak Kamenskoye, derived from the stem taq.

Verbs derived from these stems are used with great frequency (see § 82); for instance,—

re'qarkin (Chukchee), ya'qykin Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), ta'qatkin
(Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?
re'që what is the matter 19.11
re'qärkin what is the matter with thee 18.9
re'q-i-git what do you want? 18.12
rraga'uvve what for? 19.1, 6
re'qailt 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'gi-qi what are you doing? Kor. 39.5

§59
Kamchadal has another form for what, something, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in *enk*.

- **Absolute** : *e'inka*
- **Instrumental** : *e'inka'l*
- **Locative** : *enka'nk*
- **Allative** : *enka'nk*
- **Ablative** : *enka'nk*

Verbs derived from this stem are formed as in Chukchee and Koryak.

*enka'nejë* 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'nce k'löjë* 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; *nik*- a certain well-known thing or act we think of, or referred to.

These form post-positional forms analogous to demonstrative pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONAL</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td><em>ni'rktñut</em></td>
<td><em>ni'ya</em>, <em>ni'yktñut</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (dual Koryak)</td>
<td><em>ni'rknenti</em></td>
<td><em>ni'ykantii</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Koryak</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>niyka'wpi</em>, <em>ni'yka'nu</em> Kor. 50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td><em>ni'rkenä</em></td>
<td><em>ni'ykanak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td><em>nërknä</em></td>
<td><em>ne'ykana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><em>nërken'pä</em></td>
<td><em>negka'nog</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative (see § 94)</td>
<td><em>nirke'nu</em></td>
<td><em>niyka'nu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NON-PERSONAL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td><em>ni'rktñul</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td><em>ni'kc</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td><em>nike'lä</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>nî'kek</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td><em>nêka'plt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><em>nêka'pä</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative (see § 100)</td>
<td><em>janêka'na</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative (see § 94)</td>
<td><em>nike'nu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§60
Examples:

\( \text{ni'rkehu}t \) a certain one 90.20; 119.12
\( \text{ni'rke}k \) somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as
\( \text{ni'rken} \) (Kor. Kam. \( \text{niyka'nen} \)) belonging to the one referred to or thought of
\( \text{ni'kin} \) belonging to the thing referred to or thought of 20.8
\( \text{ai'ne nérka'pū gora'ți teimitya'n} \) yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

Verbal forms are also derived from this pronoun; for instance,—
\( \text{ni'ke'r}k \) (Kor. Kam. \( \text{nika'ykin} \)) he does the thing referred to or thought of
\( \text{rni'ke'ur}k \) whatsoever shall be 21.10
Kor. Kam. \( \text{mnikak} \) I'll do something Kor. 42.1
Kor. Kam. \( \text{neca'no'ykin} \) he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, \( \text{sek'zj} \) \( \text{YOU DO A CERTAIN THING} \) is used in the same way.

2. \( \text{qol} \) (Chukchee), \( \text{qolla'} \) (Kor. Kam.), \( \text{k'ola'} \) (Kamchadal) \text{OTHER}.

In Chukchee the synthetic stem \( \text{quli'} \) is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

\( \text{quli'-ni'ke} \) afterwards (= at another certain one)
\( \text{qol'est-a'lo'} \) some future day (= in the other day)
\( \text{qol yara'čhin} \) a house 86.17
\( \text{qol v'gın} \) another month 7.2

Post-positional forms occur only with personal nouns, while in Koryak these are used for all kinds of nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee—Personal</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute . . . . .</td>
<td>( \text{qol} )</td>
<td>( \text{qoli'a} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (dual Koryak)</td>
<td>( \text{qu'tti} )</td>
<td>( \text{qu'tti} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Koryak . . .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective . . . .</td>
<td>( \text{quli'(n)tnā} )</td>
<td>( \text{qu'tnīna'k} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive (locative)</td>
<td>( \text{quli'(n)tnā} )</td>
<td>( \text{qu'tnīna'k} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative . . . . .</td>
<td>( \text{qulī'(n)tnā} )</td>
<td>( \text{qu'tnīna'k} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative . . . . .</td>
<td>( \text{qolē(n)tnā'pū} )</td>
<td>( \text{qoli'nīna'nu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative . . . .</td>
<td>( \text{qulī(n)tnū} )</td>
<td>( \text{qoli'nīna'nu} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \text{qol eli'gin} \) another father, a certain father 107.22
\( \text{qol um na'nmirkin} \) they kill the other one 8.1 (see also 8.12; 15.6; 14.9; 17.1)

§60
quitti others (subj. intr.) 12.5
quittinä by one of them 8.11 (see also 7.4; 15.3), on one of them 8.13
Kor. Kam. go'lla another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:
golë-notai'pu from another land 14.12
golë-ra'gti to another house 12.11
golë-tek'unvuk on another sleeping 13.5

3. elve (Chukchee), alva (Kor. Kam.), eknën (Kamchadal), other, occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—
elve'lin (Chukchee), 117.7, elve'linet 113.3, alva'im (Kor. Kam.) Kor. 76.19.
elve'lin how differently it is Kor. 80.9 (Kor. Kam).
elva titva'vok 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
et- 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.

mana'c/iin that one, who is he (from me'Yin who)
rä'nutqäi (from rä'nut what) or
rä'qqäi
ya'xpil (Kor. Kam.)
qo'tainin another big one
qo'teqqäi another little one

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.

The following simple modes and tenses may be distinguished:

Indicative . . . without prefix, no suffix
Subjunctive:
(a) Exhortative . with the prefix n(t) the suffix qι
(b) Subjunctive . with the prefix e the suffix qι
Imperative . . . with the prefix q the suffix qι
Future . . . with the prefix rι the suffix n(t)

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in -irkin (Koryak I -rykin, -kιrin; Koryak II -itkin, Kamchadal -jk), the pronominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal -m, 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)-gin (§§ 45-49). In the first and second persons singular these take a suffix -ι, which may be derived from the verb -ιτι to be. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized form appears in composition with the personal pronouns μυρι we, and τυρι 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.

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 t can not be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be t. — F. Boas.

§61
§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 \( myri \) 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

\[
\begin{align*}
t + r & \rightarrow trg- \\
m + r & \rightarrow mrrg- \\
mt + r & \rightarrow mtrg- \\
mt + e & \rightarrow mni(r)g-
\end{align*}
\]

The last of these is not quite regular, since \( mt(r)e \) would also seem to be possible. The forms of the exhortative cannot be explained by phonetic laws. Here we find that the expected

\[
\begin{align*}
t + n & \rightarrow m \\
mt + n & \rightarrow mn
\end{align*}
\]

In the subjunctive \((h)\), 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:

\[tuwi'ak \ (stem \ uw\) \ 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.

\[\begin{align*}
qami-pltiku & \text{ eating finishing (stem } qami, \text{ from } qamitva) \\
tara'ga't & \text{ they built a house (from } tgikr \text{ to make, yara house)} \\
kimmr'kin & \text{ he kills children (kmiin timirkin)} \\
kuvv'kin & \text{ he has dead children (kmiin, v'kkin)}
\end{align*}\]

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 origi-
nate forms the historical development of which is not by any means
clear. It would seem that there is also a suffix 
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 pro-
nominal verbal forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-mk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be that the m and t of the first and second persons plural are
related to myr and tynr, which may contain the same endings as arri
(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 -q which
related
the pronoun git. In the intransitive verb the second and third per-
songs singular are, in their present forms, identical. The third person
plural has clearly the element t, 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 ng.
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 ing- or with the suffix -tky
(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 -iky-tilk and is parallel to -ikyi² thou—us. The q of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms thou—us because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

-iku-qi² becomes -ikyi²

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 q 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

-qit thee  -miik us  -tiik you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: -qit may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun -qiy (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 -um they—me, which contains the pronoun qam, 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.

qadat tipëlanat (Kor. Kam. qoyda'wge tipëlanau) I left the reindeer

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

rëmnutqëi ginëlë 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.
The prefix *No 3d person.

No 2d person.

The derived form -rk in is used after vowels. After terminal consonants an auxiliary * is inserted between stem and suffix:

* gami'tva-rkin he eats
* walo'm-i-rkin he knows

** The prefix * 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 -rk in is used after vowels. After terminal consonants an auxiliary * is inserted between stem and suffix:

* gami'tva-rkin he eats
* walo'm-i-rkin he knows

### Nominal Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-e'tu</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-tk, *</td>
<td>g-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>ma'et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ma'et</td>
<td>ma'et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past I</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d dual</td>
<td>—ttk</td>
<td>* na²</td>
<td>—ttk</td>
<td>q-(gt)ttk</td>
<td>ya—nttk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>—ta’ttk</td>
<td>na²</td>
<td>—ätik</td>
<td>q—ätik</td>
<td>ya—anttk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d dual</td>
<td>—pl</td>
<td>n(t) na²</td>
<td>—nat</td>
<td>ya—ät</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>—tai or —lape</td>
<td>na²</td>
<td>—nau</td>
<td>ya—læhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d, 3d sing.</td>
<td>—l</td>
<td>*na</td>
<td>—in</td>
<td>q**-(gt)</td>
<td>ya—l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>ti—tk</td>
<td>mt</td>
<td>to²</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>tya—t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st dual</td>
<td>mit—mik</td>
<td>mtn</td>
<td>mina²</td>
<td>—mik</td>
<td>mika—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>mit—lamik</td>
<td>mtn</td>
<td>mina²</td>
<td>—la(mik)</td>
<td>mika—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) May be omitted. *No 2d person. **No 3d person.
***Also qa. This form does not exist in Koryak II.

DERIVED MODES IN -irkin (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d dual</td>
<td>—kinlțtk</td>
<td>—kinlțtk</td>
<td>—kinlțtk</td>
<td>—lțtk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>—lțkinlțtk</td>
<td>—lțkinlțtk*</td>
<td>—lțkinlțtk</td>
<td>—lțkinlțtk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d dual</td>
<td>—lț</td>
<td>—lțnal</td>
<td>—lțnal</td>
<td>—lțnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>—lțke</td>
<td>—lțnau**</td>
<td>—lțnau**</td>
<td>—lțnau**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st, 2d, 3d sing.; 1st dual</td>
<td>—lț</td>
<td>—lț</td>
<td>—lț</td>
<td>—lț</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>—lțkin</td>
<td>—lțkinemik*</td>
<td>—lțkin</td>
<td>—lțkin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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 -îtrekin (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as walo’m-îtrekin he knows. After terminal vowel the i changes to a neutral i, as va-îtrekin he is. In many cases, however, the i is also weakened to i or y after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary l is inserted preceding it, as in ya’qitykin what art thou? Kor. 29.1; sl’trykin art thou? Kor. 29.2

§65
The subjunctive (b) of modern Kamchadal takes in all forms the terminal particle -bi, which is the Russian conjunction бы.

*tk!nu'kbi if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb öl, (a) 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 -jörn or jřn.

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).

*tīlk I left
tī'uklk I slept
to'olk I lay

tī'uk nu'kōj I began eat-beginning; i. e., I began to eat (t- I; ujango to begin; -k I; ny to eat)

---

1This is the inchoative terminal verb (see p. 808, no. 63). The verbal noun never appears without it.

§66
### THIRD PERSON FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive I</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(4) him (except he, ye—him)</td>
<td>-gurn</td>
<td>-gurn</td>
<td>-gurn</td>
<td>-gurn</td>
<td>(no ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) them (except he, ye—them)</td>
<td>-ngl</td>
<td>-ngl</td>
<td>-ngl</td>
<td>-ngl</td>
<td>-ngl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) he—him</td>
<td>-mfn</td>
<td>-mfn</td>
<td>-mfn</td>
<td>-mfn</td>
<td>-mfn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6') he—them</td>
<td>-mngl</td>
<td>-mngl</td>
<td>-mngl</td>
<td>-mngl</td>
<td>-mngl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INTRANSITIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive I</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7) he—me</td>
<td>-girt</td>
<td>-girt</td>
<td>-girt</td>
<td>-girt</td>
<td>(no ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) thou—me, us</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) ye—me, us¹</td>
<td>-dkt</td>
<td>-dkt</td>
<td>-dkt</td>
<td>-dkt</td>
<td>-dkt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) ye—him, them</td>
<td>-fl6</td>
<td>-fl6</td>
<td>-fl6</td>
<td>-fl6</td>
<td>-fl6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ With -tku preceding pronominal suffix.

**NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive I</th>
<th>Imperative I</th>
<th>Future III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>((a))-</td>
<td>((b))-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>mtn-</td>
<td>mtn-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSITIVE PREFIXES**

**TRANSITIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive I</th>
<th>Imperative I</th>
<th>Future III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>((a))-</td>
<td>((b))-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>mtn-</td>
<td>mtn-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INTRANSITIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive I</th>
<th>Imperative I</th>
<th>Future III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>((ng))-</td>
<td>(ning)-</td>
<td>q-tne</td>
<td>(r ingr)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other forms</td>
<td>ntr-</td>
<td>ntr-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>r-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Exhortative, sing.</th>
<th>Exhortative, derived</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni—a'n</td>
<td>ni—nat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni—rkinat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 68. KORYAK, KAMENSKOYE

**Transitive Suffixes**

**FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I: Subjunctive la</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in —ykin IV.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) thee</td>
<td>—go'nm</td>
<td>—gin</td>
<td>—flin</td>
<td>no ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) you</td>
<td>—nat</td>
<td>—gnat</td>
<td>—nat</td>
<td>—nat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) us</td>
<td>—nau</td>
<td>—gnau</td>
<td>—nau</td>
<td>—nau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) him (except he, ye—him)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) them dual (except he, ye—them)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) he, they—him, them</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INTRANSITIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I: Subjunctive la</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in —ykin IV.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7) he—me</td>
<td>—I—go'nm</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>no ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) thou—me</td>
<td>—gl—go'nm</td>
<td>—gl</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>no ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) ye—me</td>
<td>—(la)tk</td>
<td>—(la)mk</td>
<td>—(la)</td>
<td>—(la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9') ye—us</td>
<td>—(la)mk</td>
<td>—(la)</td>
<td>—(la)</td>
<td>—(la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) ye—him, them</td>
<td>—(la)tk</td>
<td>—(la)mlk</td>
<td>—(la)</td>
<td>—(la)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form -g'qa (17; II7) is rarely abbreviated to -q.
q'ena and q'ena leave me!

This shortening is quite frequent in Koryak I (see below).
In the derived modes, \( l_a \) occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding \(-\text{i}k\text{in} \).

The suffixes \(-q^2_1\) and \(-q^2_a^n\) (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to \(-i\) and \(-n\). The former is similar to an intransitive form. \( q^2_1\text{en}a\text{e}^* \) and \( q^2_1\text{enapela}^v \) leave me!

In Chukchee these forms are quite rare (see p. 741)

### Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I . . . . . .</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>tya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we . . . . .</td>
<td>mit-</td>
<td>min-</td>
<td>mina-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou, ye, he—me .</td>
<td>fna-</td>
<td>n(\text{i}n)a-</td>
<td>n(\text{i}n)a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they, he—thou, you, us</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>a(n)-</td>
<td>n(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou, ye—us</td>
<td>no prefix</td>
<td>nt-</td>
<td>qa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he—him, them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou, ye—him, them</td>
<td>no prefix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second indefinite of Koryak has the prefix \( qu^- \), \( ku^- \) (\( k^- \) before vowels) and the future endings, except that

he, thou—me has the ending \(-n\)
I, he—you (dual, pl.) has the ending \(-n\text{tik} \)

### Nominal Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(-k)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(-k)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>missing</td>
<td>(ga)-(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(-m\text{a}t)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\S 68\)
As in Chukchee there occur also a number of impersonal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>$\text{ya} - \hat{n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhortation, sing</td>
<td>$\text{ni} - \hat{\text{a}}\hat{n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>$\text{ni} - \hat{\text{a}}\hat{n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhortation, period, pl.</td>
<td>$\text{ni} - \text{no}'\text{u}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>$\text{ni} - \text{i} \text{k}\text{i}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>$\text{ni} - \text{i} \text{k}\text{i}n\text{at}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{ni} - \text{i} \text{k}\text{i}n\text{au}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 -mi\text{n}k, 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 -mi\text{n}k, which may be an older form. The form YE—ME, US takes, in addition to -mi\text{n}k, the ending -cx YE, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has -\text{en}. 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-\text{hin}</td>
<td>-\text{hin}</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-\text{hin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[he, -\text{in}]</td>
<td>[he, -\text{in}]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>[he, they, -\text{n}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>-\text{cin}</td>
<td>-\text{cin}</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-\text{cin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-mi\text{n}k</td>
<td>-mi\text{n}k</td>
<td>-mi\text{n}k</td>
<td>-mi\text{n}k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(except ye—us)</td>
<td>-mi\text{n}k</td>
<td>-mi\text{n}k</td>
<td>-mi\text{n}k</td>
<td>-mi\text{n}k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§69, 70
A comparison between this table and the one on p. 740 shows that all the prefixes, except an- of the third person plural, are the same as those of the intransitive verbs.

An example of this type of verb is the stem txl- (present txc-) to beat. In verbs beginning with t, the prefix t of the first person singular is dropped.

Indicative forms have the theme txli-.

Subjunctive forms have the theme txli-.

Present forms have the theme txci(t)- with auxiliary vowel i before terminal n and before glottal stop.

Indicative:

\[ \text{txli'an} \] I beat thee
\[ \text{txli'n} \] he beat thee
\[ \text{txli'humni'n} \] he beat me
\[ \text{txli'min} \] you beat me, us; he beat us
\[ \text{antxli'cin} \] they beat you
\[ \text{ntxli'n} \] we beat him
\[ \text{antxli'cin} \] they beat him
Subjunctive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-zkin</td>
<td>-zkin</td>
<td>-zkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>-ëtin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative:

|            |                |            |         |
|            |                |            |         |

Present:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-zmirûk</td>
<td>-zmiûk</td>
<td>-zmiûk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>-zmirûk</td>
<td>-zmiûk</td>
<td>-zmiûk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 71. Type II

**Transitive Suffixes**

**Transitive Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-fin</td>
<td>-fin</td>
<td></td>
<td>-fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>-kiûn</td>
<td>-kiûn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-kiûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>-xhemûn</td>
<td>-xhemûn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-xhemûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (except ye-us)</td>
<td>-xhemûn</td>
<td>-xhemûn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-xhemûn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Third-Person Forms**

| I—him       | -fin       | -fin        |            | -fin    |
| thou—him    | -kiûn      | -kiûn       |            | -kiûn   |
| we—him      | -fin       | -kiûn       | -xik      | -kiûn   |
| I—them      | -kiûn      | -kiûn       |            | -kiûn   |
| thou—them   | -xhemûn    | -xhemûn     |            | -xhemûn|
| we—them     | -xhemûn    | -xhemûn     |            | -xhemûn|
| he—him      | -kiûn      | -kiûn       | -nûn      | -kiûn   |
| they—him    | -xhemûn    | -xhemûn     |            | -xhemûn|
| he—them     | -xhemûn    | -xhemûn     |            | -xhemûn|
| they—them   | -xhemûn    | -xhemûn     |            | -xhemûn|
NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he, they—me</td>
<td>-xkumni'n</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-xkumiňk</td>
<td>-xkumiňk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—me, us</td>
<td>-xkumīńk</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-xkumīńkcz</td>
<td>-xkumīńkcz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—him</td>
<td>-čxčrīńn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-čxčrīńn</td>
<td>-čxčrīńn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—them</td>
<td>-čxčrīńn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-čxčrīńn</td>
<td>-čxčrīńn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[ \text{tkē'jxokin} \text{ I accepted thee} \]
\[ \text{kejxčrīn} \text{ he accepted thee} \]
\[ \text{nkē'jxakimīńk} \text{ they accepted us} \]
\[ \text{nkejxčrīn} \text{ we accepted him} \]
\[ \text{īkejxčrīn} \text{ or } \text{īkejxkrīčn} \text{ I accepted them} \]
\[ \text{kejxčxčrīxčrīn} \text{ ye accepted them} \]

Subjunctive:

\[ \text{mkē'jxokin} \text{ let me accept thee} \]
\[ \text{x-ānkejxakimīńkn} \text{ let him accept me} \]
\[ \text{minkē'jxčrīn} \text{ or } \text{minkē'jxkrīčn} \text{ let us accept them} \]
\[ \text{x-ankejxakimīńkn} \text{ let him, them, accept thee} \]

Imperative:

\[ \text{xkejxčxčxč} \text{ accept him} \]
\[ \text{xkejxčxč} \text{ or } \text{xkejxčxčn} \text{ accept them (k before k changes to ŋ)} \]
\[ \text{xkejxakimīńk} \text{ accept me, us} \]
\[ \text{xkejxakimīńkn} \text{čx accept ye me, us} \]
\[ \text{mxkejxčxčxč} \text{ accept ye him} \]
\[ \text{xkejxčxčxčn} \text{ accept ye them} \]

Present:

\[ \text{īkejxakimīńkn} \text{ I am accepting you} \]
\[ \text{nkejxčxčn} \text{ we are accepting him} \]
\[ \text{ānkē'j-ī-tānnin} \text{ they are accepting him} \]
\[ \text{kejxčrīn} \text{ he is accepting them} \]
\[ \text{kejxčxčn} \text{ thou art accepting him, them} \]
The nominal forms of these two types are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I</th>
<th>Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 }</td>
<td>-ic, -il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 }</td>
<td>-čva (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 }</td>
<td>-čveka (rare)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

tələxən I shall beat thee  
tələln I shall beat him

təko'xəkn I shall accept thee  
təkojalən or təkojalkən 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.

təxəl'i'jn (Type I) I take away my boots  
təxəl'i'jən (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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jirijən</td>
<td>yr'il'irkn</td>
<td>thou givest him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jir'il'ijəm</td>
<td>ne'yil'ijim</td>
<td>they gave me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə)nej'irmək</td>
<td>ne'yilmək</td>
<td>they gave us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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:

tələrədək < t-ələr-gət k I felt lonesome  
nəyəg'ənəgə < nə-g'yəg-nəg-gi'ə he began to be overtaken 10.7

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

tərpa'aarək < t-rəg'a-gət k I ceased 21.1  
trəyəaarək < t-rəg'a-gət k I used
2. When stems ending in consonants would form consonant clusters of more than two consonants, when combined with suffixes, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before the suffix.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pe'nr-nen} & < \text{penr-nin} \quad \text{he attacks him} \\
\text{te'i-krinin} & < \text{teik-nin} \quad \text{he made it} \\
\text{qena'nm} & < \text{qena-m-n-gi} \quad \text{kill me!}
\end{align*}
\]

3. In a few cases auxiliary vowels are also introduced when two consonants come into contact that would form inadmissible clusters.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{peg'timeta-ln} & < \text{peg-ti-met-lin} \quad \text{hauling a sledge 15.3}
\end{align*}
\]

Among the types of assimilation of sounds may be mentioned —

4. Stems with terminal \( u \) diphthong transform the combination \( uq \) into \( wkv \). The following auxiliary vowel is \( u \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{trma'rawwak} & < \text{tr-margw-qit-k} \quad \text{I quarreled.} \\
\text{trmara'wkut} & < \text{tr-margw-git} \quad \text{I blamed thee} \\
\text{v'wkw} & < \text{iu-gi} \quad \text{he spoke 8.14} \\
\text{res'qi'wkt} & < \text{res'qiw-gi} \quad \text{he entered 11.2}
\end{align*}
\]

When the diphthong is accented, and followed by a consonant with which \( v \) would form an admissible cluster, the \( u \) has a vocalic character.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mara'urkin} & \quad \text{he quarrels}
\end{align*}
\]

With those stems in which \( u \) is by origin a weak vowel or an unchangeable vowel, the \( q \) of the suffix, being an intervocalic sound, drops out.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i'urkin} & \quad \text{he rows (perhaps from iyu)} \\
\text{tik'} & \quad \text{he shakes} \\
\text{titk'} & \quad \text{I shook}
\end{align*}
\]

5. Stems ending in \( t \) change the initial \( g \) of suffixes into \( y \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ewkwe'ty} & < \text{ewkwet-gi} \quad \text{he left 8.7} \\
\text{trye'ty} & < \text{tr-yet-gi} \quad \text{I came 124.11} \\
\text{tewkwet'yt} & < \text{t-ewkwet'-gii} \quad \text{I left}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uno'lyi} & < \text{unel-gii} \quad \text{they gathered fuel 30.6} \\
\text{nel'yi} & < \text{nel-gii} \quad \text{it became 12.2} \\
\text{qu'ne'lh} & < \text{qunel-gi} \quad \text{gather fuel! 27.1} \\
\text{mi'ilhi} & < \text{mi-yil-gi} \quad \text{let me give thee 121.24}
\end{align*}
\]

7. Stems ending in \( l, r, č, t, \) with following \( l \), form \( l \) or \( r \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{q} & < \text{g-r-lin} \quad \text{he has gone across} \\
\text{gene'lin} & < \text{genel-lin} \quad \text{he became 10.8}
\end{align*}
\]
ge’lqälin < qeq⁻lqät-liñ he left 59.1
qak⁻tmaṭæn < qeq⁻kiṭmaṭ-liñ he had his hand extended 47.6
8. Terminal ŋ of the stem before l changes to n.
gqatgarønglen < ga-tdarñ-liñ 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 ae.

ewkwe’erkin < evkwet⁻t⁻rkin he leaves
genatva’laat < qeq⁻ing⁻tvøt-liŋt they promised 71.4 (see § 73)
ninéntqe’tqønt < n-e-ne⁻r⁻lip⁻et-qinet he broke them 20.11
I give here a series of examples of the forms described before.

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Past I:
2d pl. pëntrqättik you appeared 74.21
3d pl. pëk'irgæt< thay came 64.2
tara’naqt< they pitched a tent 56.9
niqetët< niqge-qæt< they came ashore 7.8
tileqæt< tile-qæt< they walked 64.9
qøna’tvøt< qømë⁻tvøt-qæt< they ate 87.32
yiqæt< yiqæt-qæt< they slept 8.4
2d sing. ye'yi< ye-gi< thou hast come 37.6
qäter< thou art going 82.23
gitte’wkwø< gitew-gi< thou art hungry 9.13
3d sing. e’gripp< she felt pain 63.8
i’rgɨ< he crossed over 13.13
pëk’iri< he came 90.26
niqætæng< he married 58.8
pëk’irgɨ< he arrived 57.8; 58.1
tile’pga< he looked 7.6
ke’rgʉpgɨ< she dressed up 52.9
eiñe’rkiçu< eiñe’-u-kvi-gi< he called 8.5
wa’qeqɨ< wøqeq-gi< he sat down 15.7
euⁿøqeqɨ< nu⁻nøqeq-gi< he began to say 117.25
ra’qeqɨ< raqeq-gi< he came home 122.7
ewkwe’yeqɨ< evkwet-gi< he left 8.7
teqeqɨ< teqeq-gi< he cried 7.6
kiye’wkwø< kiyeu-gi< he awoke 9.4
ki’wkwø< kiu-gi< he passed a night 8.4
notas’qavkwø< nu⁻te⁻seu-gi< land approached 8.8
1st sing. te’gripp< I felt pain 101.17
tye’tvu< t⁻ye⁻gä< I came 124.11
tev’än< te⁻iu⁻gä< I revived 83.14
tiwa’wkwø< t⁻ko⁻seu-gi< I could not 16.9

§72
1st pl.  
mityi'greunik we are thirsty 71.14  
mitev'nik we died 64.15

Subjunctive (a):

3d pl.  
nyrilgä'tmet < n-ylqät-r-net let them sleep
3d sing.  
nir'läqätyn < n-lqät-gät'net let him go! 13.12  
nir'läqätyn < n-lqät-gät'net let her be a castaway 39.3  
nyrilgä'tyn < n-ylqät-gät'net let him sleep 9.1

1st sing.  
mílmal'dä'ñoòg'k < mi-lmal'dä-ñoò-g'k let me obey 21.10

ni'läqätyn < ni-lqät-gät'k let me go 125.5

muinl'a'k < mi-gnl'a-g'k I may ask (for help) 135.19

miñe'ktyä'k < mi-neet-gät'k let me turn black 23.6

1st pl.  
mne'wkwem' < m<i-k < m-nekwet-mik let us go away 17.8

mi'nuñel'mik let us gather fuel 30.6

mira'qtimiik let us go home 126.4

mira'qtiak let me go home 99.2

mi'ta'qgeoak let me smoke 99.26

Subjunctive (b):

nitva'nat if they had stayed 68.27

nu'wi'ta' < nu'-vi'i-gät'net she would die 37.12

Imperative:

quwietik die ye! 64.16

gületik walk ye! 65.29

qamñ'i' < q-mñ-g' celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 60.5

qanto' < q-ntg-g' come out! 26.3

qag'qo'g' sit with head bent down! 32.4

Future:

2d pl.  
revi'ntik ye will die 64.20

3d pl.  
ré'piqiòg' they will come 10.5 (sing. used as plural)

2d sing.  
reçipë'iyä' < re-tip-i-gät' thou wilt dive 114.22

revi'ë' < re-vi'i-göt' thou wilt die 65.6 (cf. 21.12 revi'i'ë 37.8)

ratvaa' < r-tgpau-gä' she will be pregnant 104.5

ratopa'wka' < r-topau-gä' she will slide down 114.15

rauwre'byä' < r-wrr-et-gät' it will appear 119.10

1st sing.  
trava'Ñigya' < t-re-ngt-i-gä' I shall go home 99.14

trév'i'ë' < t-re-vi'i-gät' I shall die 108.1

tréne'lhä' < t-re-nel-gät' I shall turn to 24.12

1st pl.  
miryi'lqätyn < mirre-ylqät-gät' we shall sleep 9.3
Derived Modes in -\textit{erkîn}.

Past I:

- \textit{inenreqeurkînî'tik} < \textit{ine-r-req-ev-erkîn-itik} what are you doing with me 10.10
- \textit{ewkwe'erkît} < \textit{ewkwet-erkît} they leave 13.6
- \textit{mâ'erkît} they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29
- \textit{pi\textalpha'erkîm} he dived 9.7
- \textit{va'erkîm} he is 19.2
- \textit{riqamitva'urkîn-en} he was made to eat
- \textit{kim'urkîn} thou causest delay 18.6
- \textit{re'qûrkîn} how art thou? 18.9
- \textit{tingârkerkîn} I refuse 19.7
- \textit{mittegim'\textalpha'urkîn} we suffer 32.2
- \textit{mitte\textalpha'le'erkîn} we feel merry 69.8
- \textit{mingam'\textalpha'varkîn} let us eat 65.4
- \textit{qatva'erkîn} stay! 57.3; 67.23
- \textit{remei\textalpha'le'erkîn} he will grow up 21.7

Koryak:

Past I:

3d pl. \textit{is'hìnîvavai'nâlai} they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6
2d sing. \textit{\textalpha'yi} thou hittest Kor. 26.1
\textit{\textalpha'ti} thou wert Kor. 16.3
\textit{ya'ti} thou camest Kor. 68.12
\textit{qati'} you went away Kor. 18.5
3d sing. \textit{vanninta'ti} she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1
\textit{\textalpha'\textalpha'voi} he begins to eat Kor. 20.7
\textit{\textalpha'v'yi} he is dead Kor. 22.1
1st sing. \textit{tvôd'v'ak} I died Kor. 84.14
\textit{tit\textalpha'vok} I began to be Kor. 18.6
\textit{tvôd'\textalpha'v\textalpha'tatik} I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1
\textit{tapka'vik} I could not Kor. 35.2
\textit{tô'v'ak} I hit Kor. 26.2
\textit{tm\textalpha'\textalpha'tik} I remained Kor. 16.2
1st dual. \textit{mit\textalpha'\textalpha'gista't} we are hungry Kor. 74.17

Subjunctive (\textit{a}):  
2d sing. \textit{\textalpha'na'\textalpha'tm} may it become Kor.20.2
3d sing. \textit{\textalpha'\textalpha'\textomega'v\textomega}on he would begin to say Kor. 27.6
1st sing. \textit{mil\textalpha'\textalpha'tik} let me go! Kor. 33.10
\textit{mas'hr\textalpha'tilîk} I'll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19
\textit{mian'\textalpha'\textalpha'o'mîk} let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20
1st dual \textit{mir'l'gat} let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62,1)
\textit{min'\textomega'yî} let us eat! Kor. 28.9

§72
1st pl.  
minilqala'mik let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6  
mino'yibala let us play! Kor. 32.7  
minelyawla let us get up! Kor. 39.4.  
minawa'yela let us eat! Kor. 27.7  
minnotantala let us go for a walk! Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (b):

nir'ev'an it should be Kor. 34.12  
nani'ev'ow one could say Kor. 24.10  
ti'ev'ik I should say 45.9

Imperative:

sing.  
qurir'yas'qi'wgi die! Kor. 35.1  
qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3  
qimala'de dance! Kor. 37.6  
qamla'wge dance! Kor. 45.9  
qita'pan cook soup! Kor. 42.10  
qawas'wi'gi look in! Kor. 27.3

dual
qamaltes'hitik make it better! Kor. 13.2  
qanto'tik go out! Kor. 74.15  
qyai'titik go ye two home Kor. 21.1  
quthitik be ye two! Kor. 21.2

pl.
qawas'wi'atik look ye in! Kor. 27.1  
qikyowlatik awake ye! Kor. 39.3  
qawida'atik carry ye meat as a present! Kor. 63.12  
qalqalatik go away! Kor. 14.7

Future:

3d pl.  
yewi'roda'ne they shall tell Kor. 22.5  
1st sing.  
trya'yan I shall die Kor. 33.1  
tryayati'tin I will go home Kor. 30.5  
1st pl.  
missawa'yala we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in -rykin:

2d pl.  
yaqalakine'titik what are you doing? Kor. 24.8  
3d dual  
va'ke they two are Kor. 48.7  
3d pl.  
kryawalaie they awoke Kor. 12.6  
vanvolai'ke they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.  
kokaindalke they are cooking Kor. 27.4  
encyalake they are snoring Kor. 28.4

3d sing.  
laapritono'rukyn he looks up Kor. 42.8  
ka'natrykyn he is fishing Kor. 45.1  
daykyn he lives Kor. 18.4

1st sing.  
trqry'trykyn I am hungry Kor. 35.5  
tryanlanrykyn I shall feel smoky Kor. 37.10

1st pl.  
mitteva'volaykyn we remain Kor. 17.11
### Subjunctive:

1st sing.  
*mañinniš'la'tryk̑m* I should feel elated Kor. 84.17

### Imperative:

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

---

### TRANSITIVE VERB

#### Transitive Forms

**FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS**

**Past I and subjunctive:**
- *ti'lhr-git* I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1*)
- *ne'nti-git* they bid thee 19.5 (I 1)
- *mnileš'tik* let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2)
- *ne'ntittik* he bid you 74.24 (I 2)
- *nayo'o'mik* they visit us 34.6 (I 3)
- *nantimala'nmik* they press on us 63.9 (I 3)

**Future:**
- *nara'nmä'git* they will kill thee 37.10 (III 1)
- *nara'nmäntik* it will kill you 70.12 (III 2)

**Derived modes:**
- *nayo'o'rk̑m-i'-git* they visit thee 52.4 (IV 1)
- *nämrrk̑m̑e'mik* let them kill us! 67.33 (IV 3)

**THIRD-PERSON FORMS**

**Past I and subjunctive:**
- *tret'tyan* I brought it 20.1 (I 4)
- *ťťhli'-a'nt* if I should do for it 38.12 (Ia 4)
- *milw'o'nt* let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (Ia 4)
- *mřp̌ňf̌ra'nt* let me catch him 66.16 (Ia 4)
- *milw'o'nt* we saw it 33.7 (I 4)
- *nap̌la'a'nt* they left it 30.12 (I 4)
- *mm̌p̌la'a'nt* let us leave him 29.11 (I 4)
- *q̌na'nt* b̌ľnǧ'nt* thou hast put it 38.11 (I 4)
- *ťľš̌ťš̌ť net* thou hast stolen them 18.1 (I 5)
- *nňu'net* they ate it 14.8 (I 5)
- *a'nťlu'net* they might see it 62.1 (Ia 5)
- *yopa'nňnt* he visited him 7.4 (I 6)
- *lu'nťň* he saw it 18.11 (I 6)
- *nťyo'nňnt* they would visit it 53.1 (Ia 6)
- *ťm̌m̌eňnat* he killed them 34.1 (I 6')
- *pňlo'nňnat* he asked them 13.9 (I 6')
- *i'lu'net* he said to them 8.10 (I 6')

---

* Numbers in parentheses refer to the table of forms on pp. 741-743.
Imperative:
qägṭ'gin fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)
gärr'lıhin put it down 40.6 (II 4)
gäp'ųgųn put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)
gäte'kįgnet make them! 49.4 (II 5)
gre'ṭinet fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

Future:
tre'ntičin I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)
mirraio'lıhin we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)
mirra'wokut-hit we shall bind thee 28.8 (III 1)
repli'kučinet thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)
ra'nmuqget he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

Derived modes:
gol'pųk'ıvųčin thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)
tili'rkınet I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)
nat'ırkınat they left them 68.17 (IV 5)
tim'i'rkınań he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)
tę'ąrkinin he threw him 10.10 (IV 6)
tim'i'rkınańat they kill them 44.8 (IV 6')
nebu'ırkin they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

Intransitive Forms.

Past I, and derived form:
inenlhi'z thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)
gın'a'ın inelu'ı thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)
enapêlarkınańtik ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)
inenreqerkińtıńtik what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)
inente'lwurkin thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)
mıti'wuku'ırkin-i-gıt we bind thee (IV 1)

Imperative:
gin'elhi'z give me! 15.12 (II 8)
gınata'go'z move to me! 37.10 (II 8)
gınankęrgipa'yę dress me! 48.9 (II 8)
gi'ke'lkuń look at us! 35.7 (II 8)
geiňelkutıń carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)
ginerrı'lıhtıń (ginerrı'lıttıń 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)
gınagta'yıitung haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)
ginelu'tıńtik look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)
gai'valponawırkinę'tıń hit ye them on the head! 69.32 (IV 10)
gınu'ıtik eat ye it! 14.7; 33.12 (II 10)
gata'yıtıń pass it! 70.10 (II 10)
gata'ıną'ęčki answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)
gınınle'wkuńtıń light ye them 68.13 (II 10)

§72
Future:  
raala’ñitki ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)  
relu’añitki ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)  

**Nominal Predicative Forms**  
napeła’-üm they left me 31.9 (I 11)  
nanćaatwa’ułküm they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)  
nanlimalawa’-t-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.  
ti-tvā’kin < ti-tvā’-ylcin I am  
ti-ëv’ikin < ti-ëv’-ykin I cut  
va’ykin he lives Kor. 18.4  
2. The q of the suffix is never dropped.  
ti-ëv’-qān I cut off  
3. Stems with terminal consonant have for the derived forms in -ykin the form -ïkin, an auxiliary vowel being introduced on account of the formation of a triconsonantic cluster.  
tivalo’mækın (Chukchee tuvalo’mirkın) < ti-valom-ykin I hear  
tapətyekin (Chukchee tapətyirkın) < t-äpat-ykin I cook  
t’vkin (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 q of the suffix.  
ti’vqāk I said  
In other cases vg is changed to wg, which corresponds to the Chukchee wkw.  
tyë’wgi (Chukchee tri’wukut) < t-iy-iv-qi (Chukchee < t-r-iu-git)  
I shall say to you  
gvur’yas’qiwgi die! Kor. 35.1  
5. Terminal t does not influence the q of the suffix.  
pelqa’tqì he grew old  
6. Stems in terminal t of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in r of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in -ykin (Chukchee -rrkin).  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamenskoye</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’ì’yikin</td>
<td>t’ìrrkin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. Terminal \( t \) before \( l \) either forms the Koryak analogue of \( t \) or drops out.

\[
\begin{align*}
gapə'len & < ga-pat-len \text{ he has cooked} \\
gapə'lqalən & < ga-prlqat-lin \text{ he has grown old}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tryanu'vəgi} & \text{ I shall swallow thee} \quad \text{Kor. 78.18; 84.24 (I 1)} \\
mətə'mtəngi & \text{ I shall carry thee} \quad \text{Kor. 21.4 (Ia 1)} \\
mənnəyi'təla-ge & \text{ let us take thee home} \quad \text{Kor. 33.3 (Ia 1)} \\
ənta'vəri-qi & \text{ one should make thee} \quad \text{Kor. 38.4 (Ia 1)} \\
nənləaləkinə'tik & \text{ they do to you} \quad \text{Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)} \\
mənəyi'tətətik & \text{ I'll carry you two home} \quad \text{Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63'Ia 2)} \\
nənənədə'nənik & \text{ he appears to us} \quad \text{Kor. 29.9 (I 3)} \\
nənəyəyədənənik & \text{ he is reproaching us} \quad \text{Kor. 74.19 (I 3)} \\
nənləaləkinə'm Nik & \text{they do us} \quad \text{Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)} \\
lu'təwa'ən & \text{ thou sawest it} \quad \text{Kor. 23.8 (I 4)} \\
məyu'əqan & \text{ let me visit him} \quad \text{Kor. 29.7 (Ia 4)} \\
mətə'ləvəθə'ən & \text{ we found it} \quad \text{Kor. 26.9 (I 4)} \\
qiyə'təthin & \text{ bring it here!} \quad \text{Kor. 29.4 (II 4)} \\
mənəməkəvən & \text{ I will lay it aside} \quad \text{Kor. 49.10 (I 4)} \\
tryənə'lənin & \text{ I'll give him} \quad \text{Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)} \\
tryanənəwətə'nənin & \text{ I'll give you your wife} \quad \text{Kor. 13.3 (III 4)} \\
yənənənin & \text{ you will kill it} \quad \text{Kor. 76.7 (III 4)} \\
nədaləkinə'm Nik & \text{ it has caught us} \quad \text{Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)} \\
tənənin & \text{ I killed him} \quad \text{Kor. 20.5 (I 4)} \\
lu'tənənin & \text{ she found it} \quad \text{Kor. 24.3 (I 6)} \\
tələkinən & \text{ he made them} \quad \text{Kor. 20.9 (I 6)} \\
nəyə'dəmənau & \text{ ye visit them} \quad \text{Kor. 24.7 (I 10)} \\
qutei'kərinənu & \text{ you are making them} \quad \text{Kor. 50.7 (I 10)} \\
qupka'vənənənu & \text{ it could not do them} \quad \text{Kor. 40.2 (I 6')} \\
nəyə'dənəyə'kəninənu & \text{ they visit them} \quad \text{Kor. 61.8 (IV 5')} \\
ye'lənəvə'yəkənənu & \text{ she turns him} \quad \text{Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)} \\
yəvə'yəkənənu & \text{ she has him for} \quad \text{Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)} \\
ina'nui & \text{ he swallowed me} \quad \text{Kor. 84.13 (I 7)} \\
tenənikyə'ndənənu & \text{ he wants to awaken us} \quad \text{Kor. 39.4 (I 7)} \\
ninənənuə'ən & \text{ let him swallow me!} \quad \text{Kor. 84.15 (Ia 7)} \\
yənda'nənu & \text{ she will kill us} \quad \text{Kor. 96.14 (III 8)} \\
qina'nui & \text{ swallow me!} \quad \text{Kor. 84.22 (II 8)} \\
qinanəvə'vəgi & \text{ swallow me!} \quad \text{Kor. 84.24 (II 8)} \\
qenənyəikənə'qı & \text{ cheer me up!} \quad \text{Kor. 84.27 (II 8)} \\
qinəmələ'tətik & \text{ ye louse me!} \quad \text{Kor. 24.9 (II 9)} \\
qinətənələ'tətik & \text{ prepare ye provisions for me} \quad \text{Kor. 13.4 (II 9)} \\
qəvə'ləqətətik & \text{ tie ye her!} \quad \text{Kor. 23.4 (II 10)}
\]

§§ 73-74. Predicative Form of Nominalized Verb

§ 73. FORMS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVE VERB

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are combined with the suffixed personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and thus express the idea to be ——. Verbal stems are nominalized in the same manner. In the third person such verbs take the affixes—

1. sing. *ni-qi'n*  
   pl. *ni-qi'negt* one who is in a condition or performs an action

2. sing. *ge-lin*  
   pl. *ge-lin* performed an action

The second form may also be used with nouns, and expresses one who has ——. In the singular a connective *i* occurs between the verbal stem and the suffixed pronoun. In the first person singular of verbs ending in a consonant the connective *i* forms a syllable and the initial *g* of the suffix *gum* 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 *gum* is retained. The following table illustrates these forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Nominalized Verbs</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Nominalized Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§73
The contracted forms mu and tu do not change their vowels in harmony with hard vowels of the stem.

Examples:

Nouns:

1st sing.  
-o'rgulkul-ê-äm I am one who has no sledge 78.6.  
-ke'lei-(g)äm I am a kele  
-qla'ul-ê-äm I am a man 116.32

2d sing.  
-n'e'sqät-i-gir thou art a woman 136.15.  
-ke'lei-git thou art a kele 15.11

1st p1.  
-ili'iä-mu'ri we are islanders 11.11.

Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing.  
-nignopitva'qêm he was one who remained crouching 7.4.  
-nine'lqin he is one who becomes a 8.7.

3d pl.  
-nimutva'qenat they were those who lived in a camp 13.3.

1st sing.  
-ni'lpqät-i-äm I am one who was there 66.36.  
-ngslaio'qäm < n-agslaio-i-(g)äm I defecated 76.5

2d sing.  
-wu'tku nitvai'-gir you are one who stays here 7.5.  
-nine'l-qit you are one who becomes a 10.11.

1st pl.  
-li'pä-mu'ri we are islanders 11.11.

Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing.  
ganto'len he was one who had gone out 8.4.  
-ge'tkulin he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl.  
-qi'ulinet they were those who had said 11.11.

1st sing.  
-gene'tinet they were those who had become 9.4.

1st sing.  
-gene'-i-äm I am the one who has become a 17.6.

1st pl.  
-ge'lhi-mu'ri we were the ones to whom it happened 65.11.
Koryak:

Nouns:
1st sing. *qla'wul-e-qûm* I am a man Kor. 22.1.
1st pl. *kmi'ni-mu'yi* we are children Kor. 70.20.

Nominalized verbs (a):
3d sing. *na'câñvoqen* he was the one who was urinating Kor. 14.2.
3d du. *niqhaiañvoqen* he was the one who began to cry aloud Kor. 78.10.
3d pl. *nanyañqâ'tuqinet* they were the ones who were quite successful Kor. 88.21.
1st sing. *nanyiçurna'w-qûm* I am one who is getting angry Kor. 31.2.

Nominalized verbs (b):
3d sing. *gaya'ługwlin* he was the one who had entered Kor. 14.1.
3d du. *gata'wanqênat* they were the ones who had moved on Kor. 19.9.
3d pl. *gazî'tilinau* they were the ones who were frozen Kor. 14.2.
1st sing. *gatuyqêkmiñâ't-i-qûm* I am the one who has given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.
1st pl. *gano's'mu'yu* we are the ones who have become — Kor. 37.4.

§ 74. FORMS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB

The nominalized form of the transitive verb has in the *n(r)*-form throughout the prefix ʼ*ing*, which makes the verbal theme passive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td><em>(Ing)</em>—qûm</td>
<td><em>(Ing)</em>—lmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td><em>(Ing)</em>—qîngît</td>
<td><em>(Ing)</em>—lmuqînt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td><em>(In)</em>—qûm</td>
<td><em>(In)</em>—lmuqûm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td><em>(In)</em>—tûqûm</td>
<td><em>(In)</em>—lmuqûm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td><em>(Ing)</em>—mu'rl</td>
<td><em>(Ing)</em>—mu'rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td><em>(Ing)</em>—trîl</td>
<td><em>(Ing)</em>—trîl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§74
In meaning this form agrees with the intransitive nominalized verb. It may be translated THE ONE WHOM I —, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$3d$ sing.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-qin</td>
<td>-Un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3d$ dual.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-qinat</td>
<td>-linat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3d$ pl.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-qinau</td>
<td>-linau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-tqom</td>
<td>-tqom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-aqg</td>
<td>-aqg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st dual.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-aqgi</td>
<td>-aqgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-aqyu</td>
<td>-aqyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d dual.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-aqyi</td>
<td>-aqyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td><em>ina</em>-aqy</td>
<td>-aqy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accordingly, when the object of the verb is in the plural, the nominal third person appears also in the plural.

The third person plural subject occurs also without *ing- and has active sense.

*qa'at nipêla'qênat* the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or, perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).

*qa'at nîne'qiniqnet* the reindeer are the ones whom he takes

$nîne'nqîqnet$ they were told by him 73.13

$tri'lik nêne'nqüqet$ they were those who were approaching (to) the entrance (intransitive) 103.1

$ninei'míqin wa'lnar$ he was one who approached the house 57.6

$tayol'hit nêneimíqêqênat$ he was one who hung up the needlecases 82.10

The nominalized transitive verb in *gê- 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 -tki.

The third person, with or without *ing- may be used in an active or passive sense.
gapē’lālēn he was leaving him, or he was left
_genete’n-murī he was the one who took us away 74.23
_genīggegwu’u nineta he was the one who awakened them 12.12

Examples, Koryak:

(a) nenaiñawirvo’gen she was the one who called him Kor. 74.29
nenanuñvo’genaū she was the one who ate them Kor. 59.9
ninatakiñuñvo’genaū she was the one who made them Kor. 59.5
nassi’ñvo-gām 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’ñvo-nu’yu we are those who find them Kor. 59.9

(b) gewirvo’lenat they were the two whom he told Kor. 13.2
‘gna’mnienau they were the ones whom they had killed Kor. 12.8
ganta’witirnau-mu’yi we are the ones whom they have defiled
Kor. 29.6

ganta’witirnau-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’tiśśin. In other words with terminal t of stem they may drop it, as in yilqaeśśin he sleeps.

i’irkin, Kor. Kam. iti’ykin he is
me’ñki nit-turi? where are you?
mi’ñiči 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).

caučuwa’-va’rat ñrmqag virvē-tä-ñ i’irkin the Reindeer Chukchee people are partly self-destroying
Ta’n’ñiśhit ām em-vē-tä nī’tqinet the Russians are just dying
ber-gamitvata i’tyī he could not eat 80.7
aqamitvaka qī’tyītik don’t ye eat (of it) 64.19
ërmi tī’tyīk I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)
gai’mrīčlo trī’tyīk I am going to be rich
garēmēnd’no rū’tyīk thou shalt not be it 23.6
‘rē-narav’Tid’lo mmi’nµnik (<mm-it-mik) let us really try to get wives 57.1
ēnd’nmībū i’tkāl-i-ūm I am not a murderer 24.8

§75
It seems possible that the element \( i \) in the nominalized verbs is derived from this stem (see note 1 p. 734).

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{nu-wa'loin-\( \delta \)-um} & \quad \text{I am hearing} \\
\text{ni-yi'\( \bar{g} \)-at-i-\( \ddot{u} \)-um} & \quad \text{I am sleeping}
\end{align*} \]

§ 76. TO LIVE, TO BE -tv\( \ddot{a} \)

This stem occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak. It expresses a longer duration than \( it \).

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{\( \ddot{a} \)g\( \ddot{a} \)i\( \ddot{n} \)-te'\( t \)-\( \ddot{a} \)-t\( \ddot{i} \)-\( \ddot{a} \)-\( \ddot{k} \) \text{ I was in fear} \\
\text{em-\( \ddot{a} \)g\( \ddot{a} \)i\( \ddot{n} \)-t\( \ddot{a} \)-\( \ddot{t} \)-\( \dddot{a} \)-k} \text{ I was continually just in fear} \\
\text{va'\( \ddot{r} \)kin (Chukchee), va'\( \ddot{y} \)kin (Kor. Kam.) he lives} \\
\text{awqo'\( \ddot{l} \)ika ti\( \ddot{t} \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( \dddot{r} \)kin \text{ I remain without an assistant} 124.5 \\
\text{\( n \)-\( m \)-\( n \)-i\( \ddot{m} \)-vai \( \ddot{e} \)-\( m \)-\( \ddot{e} \)-\( q \)-\( \ddot{a} \)-va'\( \ddot{r} \)kin a settlement then quite near is} 7.7 \\
\text{\( \ddot{e} \)-luk\( \ddot{a} \) qat\( \ddot{v} \)-\( a \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( r \)-kin \text{ remain without motion!} 57.3 \\
\text{m\( \ddot{e} \)-\( n \)-\( k \)-\( r \)-m\( n \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( r \)-kin \text{ how shall I be?} 124.3 \\
\text{em-m\( \ddot{e} \)-\( n \)-\( n \)-\( \ddot{e} \)-\( n \)-\( k \)-\( r \)-m\( n \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( \ddot{g} \)-\( \ddot{e} \)\( \ddot{m} \)-\( r \)\( n \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)\( \ddot{g} \)-\( \ddot{m} \)-\( r \) \text{ how are those from the mainland?} 13.9 \\
\text{wu'\( \ddot{k} \)-ku \( \ddot{n} \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( g \)-\( r \) you stay here} 7.5 \\
\end{align*} \]

It is used as a synthetic element in many verbs.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ra\( t \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( r \)kin (<ra-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( t \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( r \)kin \text{ he house-lives (i. e., he is at home})} \\
\text{ora\( t \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( r \)kin (<ora-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( t \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( r \)kin \text{ he stays long})} \\
\text{waqo\( t \)-ti\( \ddot{k} \) (waqo-tv\( \ddot{a} \) \text{ he (remained) seated} 102.24} \\
\text{\( d \)-\( q \)-\( k \)ak \( n \)-\( n \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( \dddot{g} \)-\( \ddot{e} \)\( \ddot{n} \) (<\( n \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \) \text{ settlement remains}) \text{ they lived on the sea} 13.3} \\
\text{n\( w \)-\( k \)-\( o \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( \dddot{g} \)-\( \ddot{e} \)\( \ddot{n} \) (<\( w \)-\( k \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \) \text{ he was tied} } \\
\text{\( g \)-\( w \)-\( k \)-\( e \)-\( k \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \) \text{ being tied} 122.24} \\
\text{\( g \)-\( m \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \) \text{ to eat}} \\
\text{\( \ddot{e} \)-\( u \)-\( \ddot{t} \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( l \)-\( i \)-\( m \) \text{ being of elongated form} 91.15} 
\end{align*} \]

In Koryak the stem \( it \) occurs much more frequently than \( tv\( \ddot{a} \) \) in independent form.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{\( \ddot{e} \)-\( n \)-\( n \)-\( \ddot{e} \)-\( n \)-\( v \)-\( a \)-\( l \)-\( m \) (Chukchee), \( \ddot{e} \)-\( n \)-\( n \)-\( \ddot{e} \)-\( n \)-\( i \)-\( t \)-\( a \)-\( a \)-\( n \) (Kor. Kam.) \text{ one being thus}} \\
\text{Still in compounds the stem \( tv \) \text{ occurs with great frequency.}} \\
\text{\( \ddot{a} \)-\( h \)-\( a \)-\( l \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( k \)in (Kor. Kam.) \text{ he is seated}} \\
\text{Some stems when combined with \( v \)\( \ddot{a} \)-\( l \)-\( m \) \text{ do not take the ablaut:}} \\
\text{\( m \)-\( n \)-\( k \)-\( r \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( l \)-\( m \) \text{ of what kind}} \\
\text{\( m \)-\( e \)-\( n \)-\( k \)-\( r \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-tv\( \ddot{a} \)-\( \dddot{a} \)-\( m \) \text{ I am a fairly good one}} \\
\text{A number of stems expressing qualities form adjectival forms by composition with -\( tv \)- (\( it \)- Koryak), in the form \( v \)-\( a \)-\( l \)-\( m \) (\( i \)-\( t \)-\( a \)-\( a \)-\( n \) Koryak) (see p. 814).} 
\end{align*} \]
koulo'qu-wa'lin (stem koulo'qr) round
wr'čhin-wa'lin (stem wr'čhin) flat

Koryak:
go'lońi-tala'n (stem go'loń) round
vičhryń-tiala'n (stem vičhryń) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—(r)n, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as ta'ńum-va'lín a good one, from ta'ńum-va'lín.

The stem in composition with va'lin may also take postpositions.
ê'mpuńn-va'lin or êmpå'qu-wa'lin (stem imp) the one who is downcast
vičha'qu-wa'lin flat

This form frequently expresses the comparative:
qa'tvum-va'lín (stem qtv) the stronger one
Kor. qa'tvń-cn-tala'n (stem qtv) the stronger one
qa'nqo-qla'ulr1c qa'tvum-va'l-cn-én I am stronger than all (the other) men
qūm gińk.cn mai'ńku-wa'lp-l-én I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with va'lin signifies possession of a quality to a slight degree.
čenńtu-wa'lín (stem čińt) somewhat low
tańeltu-wa'lín (stem ten) somewhat good, moderately good

§ 77. TO BECOME nał

The stem Chukchee nał, Kor. Kam. nał is used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak. It is combined with the noun in -nu (see § 103, no. 34).

qū'mińk čińśoł-to'mgo qinėlți become ye what serves as my spleen companions1 (i. e., became ye my friends)
rrkā'ne ninėlįgiti you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)
qmnę́kun nelįyįtı they became the quarry 12.2
ńęńusqäťu gene'lín he became a woman 116.21
męńmu gene'lín it became water 101.27
aśqa'ińlā gene'lıńım I became one to be pursued hard 17.6
em-ginęń-nčińrťa nelįyįt it came to be just midnight 9.11
qrońl gene'lıńet they came to be high 9.4
aśkińońa ninęlqini he came to be in front 8.7
nelirriń (Chuckee), nałlikın (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.


§77
§ 78. TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS —— lů

The Chukchee stem lů (medial lů), Kor. Kam. lů, 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).

lů'ńūrkīn (Chukchee), lůńūrkīn (Kor. Kam.) you take him for gī'tök'qāl'ul'ō mī'ľhūqīt let me take you for a clever man  șiū nīľhūqīnēt nēľhūt as unknown ones they had their skins (i. e., they did not know them)
pū'ēlū nālīnūnō'ăn they began to have him for a slave 8.2
vā'ālē rī'līhō ni'nēľhūqīn he has knives as wings 15.2
wō'yu quēńēlēr'ıklīn have me as a servant 95.7
lełāwū ńinēlēhīv 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.

ye'lvečū lů'ńūrkīn (Chukchee), yaiťé'ō lińńēlę'ękīn (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him
tē'nūnū lů'ńūrkīn (Chukchee), tā'nūnū lińńēlę'ękīn (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as laughing-stock you have him
rē'qē lełēwū ńelēhūm what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19
pećē'ńu tī'ľhūqīt I have thee as an object of interest 15.8
pećē'ńu ńinēlēhīv 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. ytc (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).

rtčēr'ıkīn (Chukchee), yitčē'ıkīn (Kor. Kam.), yisstčē'ıkīn (Kor. Par.) you make him into
enq'ān vai rawku'ńtērńūn moo-qā'āne mītčēr'ıkīn that here doe, one serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her
eńq'uńčēkū nēnēńtērmūk they will make us childless 39.4
paś'wāko rtčērńīn 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.

ēkčēnu ti'ntūń Rīnto I have Rīnto as what serves as a son

§§ 78, 79, 80
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.

\[
gümna'n \ cìnë\'t \ lu²'tä \ trent'rë\'ñinet \ qa'at \ myself \ as \ something \ to \ look \ on \ I \ shall \ have \ the \ reindeer \ (i. \ e. \ I \ myself \ shall \ look \ on \ the \ reindeer)
\]

\[
lùñ-lu²'tä \ nu'ntä\'ginet \ not \ having \ seen \ they \ had \ them \ (i. \ e., \ they \ had \ not \ seen \ them) \ 11.9
\]

\[
rit'rkzn \ (Chukchee), \ yiti'\'ykin \ (Kor. \ Kam.) \ you \ have \ him \ for \ en\'né \ gina'n \ ennè\'kä \ qânti'ginet \ do \ not \ you \ carry \ them \ out \ 88.3
\]

\[
\text{enqëta'ta} \ \text{nine'nti-\'üm} \ I \ have \ them \ to \ look \ after \ 92.36
\]

\[
tule\'tä \ nine'nti-\'üm \ orë\'wë\'qat \ I \ also \ treat \ the \ people \ as \ something \ to \ steal \ (i. \ e., \ I \ can \ steal \ people) \ 93.14
\]

\[
\text{gina'n} \ \text{tule\'tä} \ \text{nine'nti-\'git} \ you \ steal \ them \ 93.15
\]

\[
\text{em-gin\'ë'tä} \ \text{nine'nti-\'git} \ you \ lay \ in \ ambush \ for \ them \ 93.21
\]

§ 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: ēh, ūk, for the present or derived forms; ī, īh, īk, 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 tev.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kima'nk éhì'jìn</td>
<td>gümìk væ'rkìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kima'n l'in</td>
<td>gümì'n và'ë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both constructions, with the locative-possessor's and with the possessive cases, are found.

The personal form is transitive, but has peculiar endings.

\[
tekì'ñin \ p'i\'ëki \ I \ am \ to \ him \ (as) \ a \ son
\]
The auxiliary verb le TO BECOME has also an intransitive and a personal transitive form, like the last stem.

**tiejic** I become something

**tle'knin** I become something for them

**VERBAL STEM si**

The stem si TO BE lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

**siič** you were

**VERBAL STEM 1s, 1l**

The stem 1s, 1l corresponds to the Chukchee 1a-, and 1r-. 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.

§81
xek'olkimilk not coming I will be  
älxalkalitshin I like thee (älxtalka modalis of LIKING; (t- I;  
is stem; -j- present; -hrn thee); compare Chukchee älhu-
tlithirkim'git (älhu as object of LIKING; t- I; lh- to have for—;  
-rkn present; -igt thee)  
l'a'mal mäl'lin I will kill him (l'a'mal to killing; m- let me; îl  
stem; -in him); compare Chukchee am-tma' m'ntiä'n (am-  
merely; tm- to kill; -a modalis; m- let me; nt medial stem;  
ä'n him)

**VERBAL STEM issi**

This stem corresponds to Chukchee tê-, Kor. Kam. ssi-, and ex-
presses nearly the same idea as the last verb.  
qam kejkek tissihin I do not accept you (qam not; kej to  
accept; -kek negative ending; t- I; issi stem; -hrn thee)  
compare Chukchee ehn-eimtkâ tî'türgit (ehn—kâ nega-
tion; ei'mit to take; t- I; tê stem; -igt 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 titelijin I came to fear him (xtel fear; t- I; tel stem; -j-  
present; -un [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.  
tvetatkju'jkipnäI am busying myself on their behalf (t- I;  
vetat to be busy; -kju inchoative; -j- present; -kipnä see  
p. 767.  
ä'sxatv'in no'nut intiłitkju'jkipnäI they always bring food  
to their father (ä'sx father; tv'in their; no'nut modalis,  
with food; intıl to bring; -t durative; -kju inchoative; -j-  
present; kipnin as before)

The Chukchee sentence  
tu'mgıtun e'ce muwi'ä'n I will cook fat for my companion  
(tu'mgıtun absolute form, COMPANION; e'ce modalis; WITH  
FAT; m- LET ME; muwi TO COOK; -ä'n HIM) is quite comparable  
to this (see p. 741).  
§81
§ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kamenskoye</th>
<th>WHAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>req</td>
<td>yaq&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>what do you do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>req'gärkin (req + rkin)</td>
<td>ya'qikin&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;(yaq + ikin)</td>
<td>want?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrireq'urgin (ri - eu</td>
<td>yriyaqa'wikin</td>
<td>what do you make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cause)</td>
<td></td>
<td>him do?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rqaq'g'rk in (-ñiño</td>
<td>yaq ningún'kin</td>
<td>what do you begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to begin)</td>
<td></td>
<td>to want? (expressive of annoyance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rqičča'tirkin (-čnat</td>
<td>yaqičča'tekin</td>
<td>what do you want?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annoyance)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(expression of strong annoyance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| nike                      | nika Kor. 80.9                    | SOMETHING                                 |
| nika'rk in               | nika'i kin                       | you do a certain thing                    |
| nika'rk in               | nika'i kin                       | you make him do a                        |
|                          |                                   | certain thing                             |

| nīreq                     | nīyeq                            | TWO                                       |
| nīreq'urkin               | nīyeq'wikin                      | you are the second                        |
| m'tlinēn                 | m'tlinen                         | FIVE                                      |
| milihka'wikin            | milihka'we kin                   | you are the fifth                         |

Here belongs also

| terked'urkin             | ta'ika'wikin                     | what number in the series are you?       |

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ya'qâu, what are they doing? Kor. 24.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaqlaikme'tik, what are you doing Kor. 24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaya'qinat, what happened to them Kor. 30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ya'qi-gi, what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gümni'n e'kik kitu'r mgingitka'wikowe</th>
<th>(Chukchee) my son last year ten reached (gümni'n my; e'kik son; kitu'r last year; mgingit ten -keu verbal suffix of numerals; -ye 3d sing.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiw'ki timilinka'wikowak</td>
<td>(Koryak) I stayed there five nights (kiw'ki passing nights; t-I; milin five; -keu verbal suffix of numerals; -gik 1st sing.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Koryak II tag what; ta'qaltin 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'nejö what are you (sing.) doing?
ENka'nejöQ what are you (pl.) doing?
lajö how are you (sing.)?
lö'jö'n how are they?
sxuzejö you (sing.) do a certain thing
njö'n sxu'sijön Þija'l-kutx live(nö'n there; sxu'sijön they do a certain thing; -ö'n plural)

The use of pronouns or pronominal adverbs is much more common, perhaps due to Russian influence.

enka'nke k!öjö for what do you come?
lækæ cunljö 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 kimmo te'nejin what now have I done to him?
E'nakaj E'nin what now has he done to him?
E'nakaj enk:ö'lö'nin why did you (sing.) come to him?

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:
enkank!ö'lö'nin = enka'nke k!ö'lö'nin (cf § 59, p. 731)

There are also two demonstrative verbs:
tëa here
tæ-ajö'ik here I am
hei look here!
thë-ysijk 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:

nawanö'itj i'wkwö'it he said to his wife 83.23
q'ithin luö'nin he saw a lake 37.4

§83
ñ'i7nqäi ra'nmügnên she will kill the child 37.14
derived forms:

mr'rmgumgderkm we are terrified 63.4
tmqäderkm I refuse 19.7
et'mquk péla'arkm some are leaving 8.9

Nominalized forms:

näqälile'tqin rê'mkm the people were at war 97.23
ne's'qiqin ñe'us'qät the woman entered 63.3
bëq'âvam-val'to'rë ye are quite strange 63.4
ev'ru getulê'est they have stolen clothing 13.6
ele'et dóst thou feel lonesome? 96.2

Examples of interrogative sentences are—

Simple forms:

eñenstvi'î hast thou become a shaman? 18.4
më'nko pr'ntqättïk whence did ye appear? 74.21
më'nhki-n ra'tvad where wilt thou live? 108.25

Derived forms:

re'qärkm what are you? 18.9
re'qä tms'rkrmên what has killed him? 23.5

Nominalized forms:

më'nhkri gewkwe't-i-git where have you gone?
më'nhkri m'tvaqên how is he? 13.10
re'q-i-git what do you want? 18.12
gë'tenit-të'mq-tgr hast thou brothers? 99.18

Koryak:

Simple forms:

ñawa'kak naya'tm they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20
tapka'vik ol'ñaga'tik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
tiyuyr'qatri I shall sleep Kor. 31.8
tiq'payuk I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1
Miti'nak ena'nme, enapâ'te Miti has killed me and cooked me Kor. 96.7

Derived forms:

trigittatrykri I am hungry Kor. 35.5
enïå'an Amangu'tïnu vañvolai'ke thus Eme'mqut and his people were living Kor. 45.5
penyê'kri men tatâ'vik he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3
miw'qkrimäu she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4
péñanñrvolai'ke they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17

§83
Nominalized forms:
va'untu'k ga'ya'o'len vai'amnu'agu then they found a large river
Kor. 21.3
gala'vkalilin wi'lika they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9
gaqqaika'makata gana'y'1-mal'yu we came to be with (to have) a
small kamak Kor. 37.4
na'enin enanyopan'in'qenau outside they were hung up Kor.
60.9
atau' na'no enina'an nitva'nuqen that one was living thus
Kor. 61.3
na'no nitromdat'gen 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.
idle'erkin (Kor. Kam. muqat'ikin; Kamchadal ëxun'jin or ëxujë) it
is raining
idle'tyië (Kor. Kam. muqat'hië; Kamchadal ëxun) it has been
raining
lë'leuru'ië winter came 14.9
cëlhirro'ië 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.

trjewgani'o'ak 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
Valv'mti'ano'nu'm I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

e'nmen niki'ruië then night came 36.12
lw'ur wethauiio'ë 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 Chuckchee (see § 87).

The nominalized verb (a) expresses a continuative regardless of
time. When coordinated with another verb it expresses contempo-
raneity (see § 88). The nominalized verb (b) is used commonly in narrative to express the progress of an action. When coordinated with another verb, it expresses an antecedent (see § 88).

The future is formed by the prefix re- and the correlative pronominal forms. Quite commonly the future is given the form of an exhortative.

§ 85. The Subjunctive

The subjunctive (a) and (b) are, the former an exhortative form, the latter the form used in conditional and other subordinate clauses. The former is frequently used for expressing the future, particularly when it implies the idea of intention.

Subjunctive (a):

| nu'wa'lomgatn | let him know |
| va'nrvan nu'wa'lomgatn | he would not hear anything |
| meowkwe'tyäk | let me depart 17.10 |
| melimala'ññoa'tk | let me begin to obey 21.4 |
| mimmanta'mik | let us leave the town 56.8 |
| ni'yu'ldätyä'n | let him sleep 9.1 |
| nico'atvaa'n | let her be cast away 39.3 |
| mi'ilhir | let me give thee 15.13 |
| mimmata'gir | let me marry thee 77.1 |
| minleletik | let us carry you away 74.15 |
| ñiro'q ya'rat va'nëvan ä'nlu'nënet three houses, not at all they could see them 61.10 |
| ñëwëiriit a'ñëvë'mityä'n | she would take the soul of the woman 37.11 |

Koryak:

| miñyaitila'mik | let us go home! Kor. 26.8 |
| nayanëva'ñmin | let them skin it! Kor. 26.10 |
| minlgala'mik | let us go! Kor. 28.5 |
| mikripis'geval'tik | I will stun them with blows Kor. 29.7 |
| ya'gu-yak qewa'matn a'ntair'i-gi into what desirest thou one should make thee? Kor. 38.4 |

Subjunctive (b) does not appear very often in the texts.

| d'ur en'ni'n | re'tyä'n, qord'ñi min'lyilhit if you were like this, we should give you reindeer |
| enqa'n nri'gite'nin, nu'wë'ñ if she should look upon that one, she would die 37.12 |
| ia'm leule'wu t'ilhi'ä'n why should I harm her? 38.12 |
| va'nëvan nute's'qän nri'yo'nëñ he would not at all reach the ground 52.12 |
enqa'n orà'wèlät è'čča nτtvə'nat, nτ'èvítirku'vunet viu'd'ia if the men had stayed on the surface, the whalebone would have cut them down 68.26 (enqa'n THAT; orà'wèlàn MAN; -tvə TO REMAIN; nτ-for full form nani2'-; èvii- TO CUT; -tku suffix ALL; -tv suffix GREAT QUANTITY; viu' WHALEBONE; -a subjective)

citě'un im gümna'n wu'íku ti'-nři'qū'n if only I could keep it R 45.21

citě'un kintau'irga mema'qa'a nę'na'lpinrve if only good luck would give me seals R 46.42

citě'un vę'wqents'q in order that he should give up his breath R 49.15

ekena'n gümna'n ti'-pi're̮'e'n I wish I would (rather) take it

**Koryak:**

me'nqan nτtva'an how could she be? Kor. 34.12

nani2'-win one might say Kor. 25.2

§ 86. The Imperative

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

nota'sqēti qärpe'čiyi² into the ground plunge! 17.2

gineb'ńiwi² haul me up! 121.22

ńelowul qaqrq̓itiq̓iki bring ye the herd! 129.19

qinilhe'tyitki lower ye me! 131.15

**Koryak:**

appa', qakyar̲g̓i grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9

quavka'ńlat open your mouth! Kor. 34.7

q̓alq̓ati̲ go away! Kor. 35.3

nentako qiyo'oqe bačame then you will find an old woman Kor 51.1

Quyqinnan'qo'nak qiyaipili'atik live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2

qanto'tik go ye outside! Kor. 74.12

qi'wqut̓ča 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'arkm why art thou weeping? 48.12

güm ńel̲i̲ ῃ'τẽ'rkm I am walking about to get a wife 57.2

mitchir̲te'arkm we are hungry 70.24

kèle'ta nayo'rkm̲-ẽ'git the kele are visiting thee 52.4

§§86, 87
Koryak—
mitripa li'kmen we are thirsty Kor. 16.9
yaqlaikmen' tik what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
kokaiwila'ke they are cooking it Kor. 27.4
titi'liykin 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.
temuya'urkin eza' she was deceiving her mother 29.2
pükirgi. Aiwna'òhin úm niwi'tkurkin re= w. He arrived. The Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10
e'nmen yè'giihii rinri'rrkinin he was carrying about a walrus penis 67.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3
goll-ike'unvuk evkwer'erkst, evi'ru getulée. E'nmen evkwer'yyët during another night they were about to leave, having stolen clothing. Then they left (gul another; tkuiv to pass the night; -nv PLACE of [§ 109, 50], -k LOCATIVE; evkweret TO LEAVE; eviri Clothes; -ë subjective [§ 37]; tulet TO STEAL; getulée <ge-tulet-linet) 13.5

Koryak—
gaimanuovo'ykin he had a desire Kor. 12.2
šamneuov'ykin she was following Kor. 23.3
vanvoi'ke they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor. 43.7
nanoivo'ykenenau 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:
avo'ykin he went out Kor. 12.5; 72.15
uovo'ykin she began Kor. 72.16
yalgi'wikin he entered Kor. 13.9
newuovo'ykenenat they began to say to both of them Kor. 12.7

A habitual action is expressed in the following example:
ça'mañ enga'nëna qrniq-qili'liqá'gti tmi'rrkenët also by this one are the little game-procurers killed (i. e. he is in the habit of killing the hunters) 44.8

With the imperative the derived forms express a continued condition, or a repeated action.
ilu'kii qatva'rkin stay without motion! 57.3
qaivalponaurkiné'tki you will hit (the children) upon the head 69.32
quvalo'mirkin listen! 32.1

§87
Koryak—

agahlai'aka git'ýkin-i'-qi do not cry! (not be without crying)
Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

miqamstvaatk I shall eat now
miqamstvarkm I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)
inrengeurkmi'itik what are you going to do with me? 10.10
bi'qtrrk I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

tryanto'ykin I shall go out Kor. 14.5
tryanlanävvo'ykin I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

trérevilitlku'urk I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

minqamstvarkm let us continue to eat! 65.4
miniwlcurkini'git let us tie thee! 20.9

§ 88 Nominalized Verb (a)

The nominalized form (a) of the verb, ne—qin expresses the condition of an object or a person, or the condition of performing an action. Its use is not confined to intransitive verbs which in this form often have the meaning of an attributive term (see p. 713), but it is also used with transitive verbs. When the noun to which the nominalized verb stands in an attributive relation is the subject of a clause, the nominalized verb often indicates that the two verbs express contemporaneous conditions or actions and may be translated by the conjunction WHILE. Examples of the attributive use of this form have been given on p. 713. Additional examples are the following:

u'nel va'rkin nreme'ynqin (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7
nibu'qin kë'rogäqai a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

nepplu'qin a small one Kor. 15.2
qataikilin nema'yrñqin he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4
nema'yrqin nai'nai the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (a) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

qača'ken le'qač nu'uqin, qol üm nite'zogén le'qač one-half was black, the other half was red 88.15,16

§88
niu'laqin it was long 91.24
yara'nî nite'ngin the house is good 92.9
mi'nkri ni'twaqên how (of what kind) are they 13.10
wu'tku nitvai'-gêti you are staying here 7.5
nîggi'nqin môregâ'gêti they are eager for us 8.9
impradî'yqîn nei'netqin the old man was the one who called out
86.13
ninei'mitqin u'netî he was taking thong-seals 67.18

Koryak:
nilhikyu'qîn it is watchful Kor. 39.9
nima'qîn it is good Kor. 64.24
nannicêwa'n-qêm I am angry Kor. 31.2
nitnîpwaqatqên she is one who is striding and pecking Kor.
47.11
Tanâq nîgala'qenau the Chukchee were the ones who passed
by Kor. 66.12.

Examples of relative clauses:
imprâwaqatqên . . . pako'lênin nine'netqin it was an old
woman . . . who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21
qêti kele'tâ nayoost'ikîn-ê-gêti you are one who is being visited by the
kelet 52.4
yara'qai . . . kele'tâ nêna'yoqên it was a small house . . . which
was visited by the kelet 51.9

Koryak:
veî'nu nenataikînvo'genau (those are) thimbles that had been
made Kor. 60.8,9
Mîti'nak nenaaînawînvo'gen; e'wàn it was Miti who called him
she said Kor. 74.29
nîqadhaî'agen he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1
nîsâmînînvo'qên they were the ones who began to keep it Kor.
41.9

Examples of temporal coordination:
t'î vote'î nênarâckpêeuqên, e'nk'i nei'wàn ure'ukwië (at the time)
when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6
qân'vër nî'ngûi nît'ráqilâqên, qûn'vër i'wukwië uwa'qu'e when
the child cried, the husband said 38.3
qaia'gân e'ur neimeqû'qin, èwurbagi nîgineuqû'qin whenever he
was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14
nitnîpiê'tqênit . . . en'gà'm . . . qolê-ra'gêti qû'tyâ't while
they were stabbing them . . . then . . . to another house
he went 12.9, 10

§88.
Koryak:

nenavo-wvo-mu'yu e'len ganu'linau when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10
mi'mla nmu'gen, qalhe-key gate'wlalen when a louse bit (ate) her, then they shook her combination suit Kor. 76.4, 5

On the whole the forms in ne-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 qano'twelen she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22
no'ë-e-um gene'l-i-um poor (I) I had become R 45.28

Koryak:

qama'falin it had grown better, Kor. 14.11
qagti'linau 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.

gãmnî'n pe'nin-ñe'w qëwi'lin my former wife died R. 45.29.
yièmmre'tti gettwile'linet a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3

e'ur gîrgironta'len a'esttwîlâ then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

Koryak:

va's'jak gaya'lgwilin afterwards he entered Kor. 14.1
gâ'lga'jîn he went Kor. 16.3

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

e'nmen gequ'qântezin i'wkwiz after she was quite starved she said 39.1
Ai'wan-a'kkata ni'lhin getheindu'ulin a'qqa-ðo'rmí, mnu'a'q ñm ni'lhin getiins'qiðe'lin e'ur ñm nêchêtau'qên mëmlê'ti 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
giðe'ulit ñm ñan, ki'pu-ri'yu nelus'ö'n after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1
gaa'lomilö'n, i'wkwiz after he had heard it he said 56.12
ganto's'qûdîn e'ur enqa'n . . . ninerkile'qin after he had rushed out he was being pursued 57.11

§ 89
Koryak:

miti'w gecha'zen enka'ta tilai'vikin he'ta next day, after it had dawned, at that place a herd was walking Kor. 21.8

With nouns the form qa—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 $k$, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

va'n€van not at all (see p. 882)

qa'r€m always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)

d'amam always with the future (see p. 883)

See also e'Le, en'he, u'€n (p. 883).

The forms in $k$ and in $eqn$- will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in $v$—ki for intransitive verbs, $v$—kio (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

$w'€nu'ki ml'ik$ I will not eat

$w'€nu'ki ks'u'€c$ 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:

$yaa'i pù ye'tiyi' s r'rkì$ from afar a walrus came 8.5

$kivoe'yu d'wikowi$ the old walrus spoke 8.14

$mu'ri . . . mirreyi'lgàty$ we shall sleep 9.3

$rirkanpìna'chim pilgàe'rkm$ the old walrus dived 9.6

$remkin ni'lgàty$ the people shall go 13.12

$ì'rgì remkin$ the people crossed over 13.13

$r'rkì ge'pikì$ a walrus arrived 8.6

$nìte'rmìe'nqin ramki' y$h$ the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3

§§ 90, 91
Koryak:

| atta'yol-yat'mkniñ gaala'i'nivo'len people (from) down the coast walked about Kor. 41.1 |
| Amama'qut éwaan Eme'mqut said Kor. 40.7 |
| i'npri-qa'wuñ gevñivo'len the old man said Kor. 47.1 |
| ñalvital'a'agu ... gaalaño'vikin a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9 |
| ña'wis'qat va'ykin a woman was there Kor. 52.1 |

Object of transitive verb:

u'ttuut titov'tän I cut wood
yo'nèn lautí'yñin she pushed the big head into it 28.6
uw'ilkan gäte'kigin make a woodpile! 31.12
wù'rqirgin valo'minonèn she heard a noise 32.10
koki'qin yirë'nnin she filled the kettle 33.10
ñeuwi'rit o'neim'ityä'ñ she would take the woman's soul 37.11
maç-ëwañ'ñ tröv'vikin I tell it as an incantation 39.13
u'ttuut ne'nr₃'än they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9

Koryak:

troyi'ñan i'npri-qa'wuñ I found an old man Kor. 52.4
gaqar'bitulm l'o't'gal he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6
gai'mi'miç gajono'len she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1
e'i'liü evit'çik'vkin in he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4
en'ñ kmi'urpiñ gäqulunt'ilin he carries his son Kor. 57.9

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object.

tr'mqitum muwi'än let me cook for (my) friend
gi'mni'ñ d'kik kelë'tulä m'ïpnu'tiga'ñ I will give money to my son

§ 92. The Subjective

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs.

wo'tqan ñan a'ãëk eni'k-ëli'gä k'pli'ñen the father struck this young man (wo'tqan this; ñan here; a'ãëk youth; eni'k subjective third person singular pronoun; ëli'gin father; k'pl to strike; -ñin he—him)

imilo rê'mkä napat'aqon n'm'ñim the whole people left the camp êo'urgin tiko'mnën kelë'tä the kele opened the door-flap 106.16
kr'tv'ynuta i'unin the old walrus said to him 8.7
Aivônuyanapnëcha pîntol'ñenat a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9

Ta'n'ña gaio'laat the Ta'n'ñit attacked them 97.25
morqna'ñ më'reg-raqe'ñe'wànti gi'và we in our houses to our wives say 84.16

§ 92.
Koryak:

- **atta' yol-ya'mka qava' lomlen** the people down the coast heard it  
  Kor. 39.7
- **Amamqu'tinak u'tti-yyu'nii gatai' kilin** Eme'mqut made a wooden whale  
  Kor. 40.8
- **i.ta' gya ini' wi** mother told me  
  Kor. 46.1
- **an' da' nak ini' wi** grandmother  
  Kor. 46.2
- **i npi' g'a'du'la qai'li xl' in kr' plau** the old man gave him mortars  
  Kor. 51.5
- **kmi' naqamda' talen** the son married her  
  Kor. 80.1
- **mi'mla nnuqin** the louse ate her  
  Kor. 76.4
- **gümna'n nawa' dak tryai' irin** I will give (him) the daughter  
  Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with **-ine**, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

- **Ti'n'na nini' ugin** she was told by the Ta'n' nif 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)pint** TO GIVE, **o'nti** TO REFUSE.

- **gümna'n e'kik kelitlul mi'l pint'ga'n** I presented my son with money
- **teki' chā gēnadl pint' qe** I present thee with meat

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

- **tu'mqitum e'ce muwi' o'n** I shall cook for (my) companion (with) fat
- **gla'ulqai riqamiva urkinën 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 xko'ka-ju' jox** (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee
- **e'nni-leu'tā quvī tik**

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

- **ąnq' ta leule wu gëhtri- mu' ri** by the sea we were badly treated 65.27
- **genilulë nni'lin ke'numenli té** he moved it with the staff 101.8
- **e' tin yik' rga po' rinin** it took its master with the mouth 104.33
- **griil' tku' val'da ta** move about with the knives! 16.4
- **mu' lā qakañoi' pālēn** with blood he is besmeared 19.3

1Treated here like a personal name.
Koryak:

va"ga tyančma'wiñnikini I shall tear him with (my) nails Kor. 84.16
tru-ni'nan gata'kylin they throw (it) with the harpoon line Kor. 41.3
ma'qmita tuva'min̂kat I lost a tooth by means of an arrow Kor. 33.1
a'la'ta anyeñoov'qen he eats (with) excrements Kor. 12.5
a'krapa gapi'wyalin she threw about (with) fly-eggs Kor. 45.2
val'la qaqa'yelin he chopped it up with a knife Kor. 53.6
val'eita qaqa'ayelin they two went on foot Kor. 22.8

§ 93. Locative, Allative, and Ablative.

The locative expresses the place where something is or happens.

kottcilgnik in the outer tent 52.7
ro'ëEnkr nitva'qen it stays on the other shore 52.11
énéthkinik tarad'ngat they pitched their tent on the slope of a hill 56.9
Telqä'pik ... gëkel'nilit in the Telqä'p country they were driving reindeer 61.8
em-đil'kën nuwotitva'qen ti'mkik only the thong remained tied to the hummock 62.7
nëwänik pëla'nën he left him with the wife 105.7
ra'ëmkik oratva' he stayed long with the people 54.2
gir'k éanu gëe'tin a reindeer-breeder came to thee 46.11

Koryak:

'ya'y ga'pihin to the sky it was fastened Kor. 19.3
gümni'ni'ya yak valam'ke my things are in the house Kor. 19.9
gùl'mma a'riqak ti' yak I hit (on) the sea Kor. 26.2
hùlard'o'va'mamk jiwgripëta there in the river have a drink! Kor. 32.1
gala'lin va'amik he arrived at the river Kor. 32.2
garaqal'en endö'tik he was caught in the snare Kor. 36.6

The allative expresses—

1. The direction toward.

a'ga'-kamaaneti nine'il-i-am I give them to the possessors of bad dishes 96.7
kala'qtr qaiñe'utkurkin call to your kele 102.5
kala'qtr nirenpérë'tqen it rushed at the kele 104.25
çë'vulkitë nimnimetë'ti he went to a camp 105.5
notas'qaikou'ti nìipe'tqen he dives into the interior of the surface of the ground 131.7
Tnarrêtë'ti, girgola'qtr nuwëthau'qen he talks to the Dawn, the One on High 135.16

§ 93
Koryak:

**ga'lgatín ě'ě ti** he went to the sky Kor. 14.9

**ē'ě ćèn gani'ñalín** he threw it to the sky Kor. 14.10; 15.7

**qalé'nín gani'ñalín yayačikov'ćťn** the stopper was thrust out
to the house-interior Kor. 15.2

**panenai'ćń gani'ñalín** to the same place he flew Kor. 15.5

**yaiteťi ga'lgatín** he went to the house Kor. 17.3

**qata'walčenat Qoyqin'uqoyikar'iť** they moved to Big-Raven's
Kor. 19.9

2. For, on account of.

**qaq'gti gilol'én** sorrowful on account of the reindeer 48.12

**uwaqoë'iti gilol’kriń** do you sorrow on account of the husband 48.12

**nilvau'gën ergip-yāl'qet'** 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.

**gā'muk-akka'gti keliv'tulti mii'ilinet** I will give moneys to my son.

The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

**qēťi-notas'qē'pa' nipiu'riqin** from the frozen ground he emerged 102.18

**qolę'-notai'pü nu'awol'omqen** I heard it far and wide 104.14

**tērkra'rgēp'ę niyel'tqin** he came from sunset 105.14

**yorosikoi'pü nu'awol'omqen** he heard from the sleeping-room 106.13

**ēnuar'i'pu mińəno'aę'nen** let us begin from below 131.5

**pēpēqgup'ę nei'mityćen** they took him by the ankle 35.3

**potlāhaim'pi' eimi'nnin** he took it by the holes 47.2

Koryak:

**ega'ńko nalgain'ew-qām** from the sky have I been shot Kor. 33.4

**kipla'gįqįńko gacak'pūtolen** out of the mortar it peeped Kor. 53.3

**mańęnga yathai'ang? nuta'ngo.** 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'- Va'irgu um qän-ve'r he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9
Va'r'gu ne'xän (destined) to (be) a “Being” he became 41.10
yara'no nèle'vi it became a house 43.5
rrrra unnén . . . taikaus quo'luu he spread it for a place to wrestle
47.4
wr'yolo milhigt let me have thee as assistant 124.2
gaganga'anö nrya'anat let him use them for driving reindeer
124.8

Koryak:

mal-ë'yu nna'li'lin a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2
ya'gu muntaikila'-qi into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9
kmëna'tinvi no'ta'n nílai'-gëm for delivery in the country I
went away Kor. 60.6
i'ssu gana'linau they became dresses Kor. 60.10
'änku na'nílaikne'nik 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kamenskoyas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ë'i, -(i)k, -k(i)</td>
<td>-(i)k, -(a)k, -ka, kka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-(i)k, -(a)k, -ka, kka</td>
<td>-la, -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>-la, -a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative I</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-mäi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative II</td>
<td>-mäi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ex-
pressing attempt, desire, preparation.

awkwatê'ti trgaia'ca wrkin I make haste to depart (ewkwet to leave;
t-1; gaičau to hasten; -rkin present)
le'yël'ëm lilë pqi'ë he looked to see; (by to see; lilë eyes; -p to put on;
-gë he)
neu'ni'wän takëčhê'tri they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

| penyel'men talai'vik he rushes to strike it Kor. 53.3 |

§ 95.
It expresses temporal coordination:

\[
\text{kile'nin } e'ur \text{ vai } \text{têrgatê't}i \text{ he pursued, however, while he (the pursuer) was crying} \quad 57.9
\]

\[
e'ur \text{ enqa'n } \text{têrgatê'ti } \text{ni'nerkile'qin while he was crying he pursued him} \quad 57.11
\]

\[
\text{gevin' \text{vuten} ne'ulin } \text{nîtou'ttri he laughed secretly as he went out} \quad 71.30
\]

\[
\text{nîtou'ttri } \text{ki'tkit nîten'new-i-um as I was going out I laughed a little} \quad 72.13
\]

\[
\text{a'un-trpayônou'ti } \text{nîou'ugin } \text{kê'rëqqai wurre'tyi'z } \text{girgo'1 while she was singing, a little hole appeared above} \quad 74.2
\]

\[
\text{le'utti } \text{nîtou'ttir } \text{ri'nëmïnet he carried the heads going out} \quad 86.8
\]

\[
\text{a'un-wëlhwë'ttri } \ldots \text{ while they were talking, he } \ldots \quad 100.9
\]

**LOCATIVE**

In Chukchee and Koryak the locative seems to signify **AT THE PLACE, AT THE TIME**.

\[
\text{qainë'i } \text{yr'läqannok } \text{roar at the time of beginning to sleep} \quad 10.6
\]

\[
\text{geri'nelin } \text{pukë'rrnok he flew up when (the other one) arrived} \quad 15.4
\]

\[
\text{pukë'rrnok } \text{re'tpeu'nin when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive} \quad 19.12
\]

\[
\text{awkwâ'trînok } \text{nîmeiñeu } \text{ga'tvûlên } \text{a't' tín when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog} \quad 101.21
\]

\[
\text{a'mkrn-wolqatvë'ñnok } \text{every time when it began to be evening} \quad 104.12
\]

\[
\text{gaq'gti } \text{ga'tîk } \text{aq'lgkâ } \text{i'tyi'z } \text{he had no knife while going to the reindeer (qaë' reindeer; -gti to; gat to go; a—ka without; va'la knife; it- to be; -gi'z he)}
\]

\[
\text{e'mkrn } \text{-kiyew'kt } \text{nënaio'gën whenever she awoke, she shoved it in} \quad 29.2
\]

\[
\text{gemî'-pl'î'tkuk } \text{at the time of having finished eating} \quad 33.11
\]

Koryak.

\[
\text{gas's'alroyel'lin } \text{ur'ya'twik she remained all day, being dead Kor.} \quad 64.9
\]

The stems \text{lvaau} **NOT TO BE ABLE, nkâ TO REFUSE, always govern the verbal locative**:

\[
\text{luc' } \text{nîlva'w-i-um I could not be seen} \quad 22.9
\]

\[
\text{nëna}lvaau'gën \text{luc' he could not find her} \quad 38.7
\]

\[
\text{uqau'kti } \text{tîwa'urkin I can not drink (uqau' to drink; t- I; lvaau to be unable; -nktn present)}
\]

\[
\text{qëi'rik } \text{tîwa'urkin I can not seek for her} \quad 38.8
\]

\[
\text{vel'riktek } \text{lwa'dwkwò'z he could not pursue him} \quad 15.6
\]
taq-aime'tik prdon'tke mtralva'urkin we can not divine how to get provisions 101.13
pintraq'tik nivlva'q7on he could not disengage himself 101.34
qlike'tik n'inkqhin she refused to marry 26.1
nnk'aiqinet puki'rik they refused to come 106.3
qlike'tik aa'lomkelen not (listening) consenting to marry 26.2

In Koryak the verbs ñvo TO BEGIN, p7 TO FINISH, nkau TO CEASE,
phau NOT TO BE ABLE, always govern the verbal locative.

gañvo'leen giya'p6ik she began to sing Kor. 16.10
gañvo'leen éilala'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
gañvo'leen nawa'kak kitai'nak they began to scold the daughter Kor. 17.8

gañvo'leen tenma'wituk she began to prepare Kor. 18.3
gana'nkauen tr nale'tik they ceased to carry it out Kor. 41.8
ganka'wlinau tula'tik they stopped to steal Kor. 41.9

gu'kka'wchenau yanikya'w7ak it could not awaken them Kor. 40.2
tapka'vik olñaqatik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2

napkawñiro'yi'k7n tula'tik they could not steal it Kor. 39.8
tawiltki1ik gava'nnintalen when pilfering she lost a tooth Kor. 34.3

gana'lienau pa'yittok they came to be eating blackberries Kor. 41.6

gapi'tbqulin kuka'wik 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'k7r the second time
ñiroganu'kr the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

valo'mik tgaime'tek7m I want to know (val6m to know; t- I;
gaimat to want; -ek7 present)

THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

wa'q7t7a twawañerkin I work sitting (wa'q7 to sit; t- I; wañe to work; -rkin present)
am-rpa'wa ntvao'g7am I was just drinking (am- merely; ûpau to drink; n- indefinite tense; tva to live, be; -ig7am I)

lun-ì'/k77i'7a ì'7yi= not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink)

37.3

lun-ì'rä ì'7yi= not crossing it was 41.5

§ 95
The analogy between this form and the nominal subjective appears very closely in those cases where the adverbial idea expresses instrumentality.

The verbal noun in *g*—*t* is often used both in Chukchee and in Koryak as an imperative.

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.

Examples of comitative I:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comitative I</th>
<th>Comitative II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>terga'nama ninegepiy 'gin</td>
<td>tu'ngwin ra'nutqiia ga'lpinra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeping she kicked it</td>
<td>give something to (your) companion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comitative I</th>
<th>Comitative II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>terga'nama ninegepiy 'gin</td>
<td>tu'ngwin ra'nutqiia ga'lpinra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeping she kicked it</td>
<td>give something to (your) companion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 95
gi'nmil y'ilkama garëtelai'gëm recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (gi'nmil recently; y'ilqa to sleep; ga—i'gëm I; rëtelai to dream)

dreamed it (gi'nmil recently; y'ilqa to sleep; ga—i'gëm I; rëtelai to dream)

kryëwëwëkë ëanq' ëama he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:

rpau'maçi equ'likë while (the others) are drinking, be silent (i'pau to drink; e—kë 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.

mi'ke'kin lu's'ën nau's'qatma'ët when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23

equ'likë rolma'ët be silent, since you are weak (e—kë negation; quli noise; rol weak)

mi'ke'kin poi'gin lu's'ën nau's'qatma'ët where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

nükëmaçi at night 56.8

Kamchadal has only two forms.

-köj (intransitive); -c, -ł (transitive) and k!-enk

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.

qe'ëlë' wuköj enough to eat
tu'tun tälil I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending -köj is not used.

xë nu'köj it is impossible to eat (xë—köj negative, p. 826)
xë tu'le'lcic it is impossible to beat him (xë—lcic negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)
xë nu'ötki it is impossible to eat (-ötki negative, 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'ënk qam qelkek 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 § 96.
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 qii and mil; 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.

$qamivn\text{-}chat'r-n\text{-}nu\text{-}rkm$ he begins to gobble down
$ru\text{-}wako\text{-}s\text{-}q\text{-}chat\text{-}a\text{-}ru\text{-}rkm$ he makes him sit down once with great force.

§§ 97-112. Suffixes

§§ 97-109. Nominal Suffixes

§ 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. -iin-, subjective -iin, AUGMENTATIVE. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.\(^1\)

\begin{align*}
q'le & \text{ knife} & valay\text{-}iin & \text{ large knife} \\
q^{u}\text{tim} & \text{ dog} & a\text{-}tti\text{-}yinm & \text{ large dog} \\
re\text{-}mkm & \text{ people 13.10} & a\text{-}tny\text{-}nu\text{-}pu & \text{ from the large dog} \\
& & ramk\text{-}yinm & \text{ big people 11.3} \\
& & Aiwohwnyanyina\text{-}k\text{-}yinm & \text{ old big} \\
& & & \text{ St. Lawrence man 13.11}
\end{align*}

\(^{1}\) Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to m\(\text{ti}n\). This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel e of this word is weak.—F.B.
Some words do not take the suffix -’ñ-, but use the definite form in its place.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ñaw’ñ } & \text{woman} \\
\text{ñaw’nñ } & \text{the woman, the}
\end{array}
\]

Kor. Kam. 2-nuí’n finally big nose Kor. 72.12

2. -wa’ku, -waQU Augmentative (Kor. Kam.).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{va’la } & \text{knife} \\
\text{va’la’nu } & \text{large knife} \\
\text{a’ttan } & \text{dog} \\
\text{a’ata } & \text{large dog} \\
\text{glawul } & \text{man} \\
\text{glawul’u } & \text{from the}
\end{array}
\]

vai’am’nu a big river Kor. 21.3  big man

Quyqmn’a’qu Big Raven Kor. 24.5

kuka’-yiim’a’qu a big kettleful Kor. 43.1

3. -qq Augmentative.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ñawqq’ln } & \text{the big wife 39.5; 40.1} \\
pétti-waglqg’lhi’ti to the big old jaw-bone house 59.8
\end{array}
\]

4. -qai Diminutive. Plural, oblique cases, and definite, are formed from this freely. This is evidently related to the stem qai 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 gi’tn FAWN;

ge’yig’i FLEDGELING.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kukd-qai & \text{a little kettle} \\
q’lq’i-qai & \text{a small skin} 45.6 \\
ql’ul-qai & \text{a small man} \\
wa’qarg-qai & \text{small jaw-bone house} 44.13 \\
rqi’nq’i-qai & \text{to the little old woman} 45.2 \\
ni’qüi & \text{child} 42.8 \\
unq’i-nk’ti & \text{to those with children} 20.7 \\
rqi’nawqi’qti’n the small woman \\
qai-u’nel & \text{young thong-seal} 70.26 \\
qai-ar’tig’i & \text{pup} \\
qai-t’i’qg’si & \text{cub of wolf}
\end{array}
\]

qai (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective. Its use is very frequent.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
gai-qla’nu-pel & \text{a very small man} \\
gai’-na’wqat & \text{little woman Kor. 33.10} \\
gai’-ka’mak & \text{little kamak Kor. 38.9} \\
gai-pipi’kalñu & \text{little mice Kor. 25.6} \\
gai’-ka’mak-pel & \text{little kamak Kor. 37.2}
\end{array}
\]
-ai SMALL AND Miserable (Kamchadal).

ki'stai a miserable little house (kist house)
ko'xai a miserable little dog (ko'x dog)

5. -pił DEAR LITTLE.

ekke'pił sonny
tu'mqapił dear little friend

Koryak:

-pił (Kor. Kam.) dual and pl. -piłaq (with the endings -t and u); -pił (Kor. II),—express the diminutive.

ñawa'n-pił small woman (Kor. Kam.)
ñawan-piłaqit two small women (Kor. Kam.)
ñawan-piła'gü small women (Kor. Kam.)
gil'wul-pel small man
mil'aqpił a little shell Kor. 23.3
va'qiñpielpel a small nail Kor. 23.7
vi'tvi'tpił a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4

-piliñ (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix -pił with the additional suffix -in—conveys the sense of endearment.

atta'piñiñ doggy
va'iampiñ a little river Kor. 17.2
a'ñu'piñiñ little (shaman’s) wand Kor. 27.7
ñi'ñiñiñiñ little thong Kor. 39.4

6. -çax, -çx, -cx diminutive (Kamchadal). The diminutive of the plural is formed by the suffix -ç added to the plural form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>koçe</td>
<td>ko'çax</td>
<td>ko'çen</td>
<td>ko'çenq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>game</td>
<td>hu'rnik</td>
<td>hu'rnikeax</td>
<td>hu'rnikren</td>
<td>hu'rnikrenq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td>a'tmeñ</td>
<td>a'tmece</td>
<td>a'tmeñ</td>
<td>a'tmeñq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used in a doubled form.

a'tmeñçax a very small village
a'tmeñçenq very small villages

7. -lñq tiny. It always precedes the diminutive -qäi (No. 4 of this section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

qaa-lñq'-qäi tiny reindeer
ñawan-lñq'-qäi tiny woman
§ 99. Collectives

8. **-yirin** or **-yIrIn** a company; (Kor. Kam. **-yIssan**) the stem of the noun **yir’ir** or **yir’ir** FULLNESS, CONTENTS.

   - **nyirin** a company of women
   - **ra’yirin** a houseful 45.13
   - Kor. Kam. **nymyir’issan** people of a village Kor. 70.9
   - Compare **wa’laq’ettrir** a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.18.

9. **-giniw** GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. **-giniu**).

   - **r’g’nëw** (Kor. Kam. **rq-g’eg’unw**) group of houses (i. e., village)
   - **ygrq’-g’ënew** a group of houses 111.15
   - **u’mqä-qi’nîw** a set of polar bears 113.29
   - **yi’cemit-tu’myi-gi’nîw** a set of brother-companions 113.28
   - **nuw’iriqwi-gi’nîw** a lot of little souls 122.31
   - Kor. Kam. **qana’tila-gi’nîw** a lot fishing with drag-nets Kor. 70.10

10. **-ril** (Kor. Kam. **-yil**) set, collection (used only for inanimate objects).

    - **o’rgurël** a caravan of sledges
    - **a’remril** (Kor. **a’mr-g’il**) a set of bones, i. e. a skeleton
    - Koryak **mu’v-yil** a line of sledges, a caravan Kor. 78.5

11. **-ret** SET, LITTER (Kor. Kam. **-yat**).

    - **va’rat** (Kor. Kam. **va’yat**) a group of beings (i. e., family group)
    - **yi’cemretti** a set of brothers 64.3
    - **ple’qret** a pair of boots
    - **li’lret** a pair of mittens

12. **-tky** INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.

    - **ne’hitkun** all kinds of skins
    - **gi’niktikun** various kinds of game
    - **orawëza’tkon** men living in various places, people

This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:

    - **mainiya’nitkon** everything big
    - **rää’nutetkun** (raä’neetkun) all kinds of things
    - **e’ne’wag panëa’tkoqaia tei’mityi’n** 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)
    - **rrka’mkîchîn** several walrus 102.17.

§99. **a’ttwi’l’mkîchîn** the great assembly of boatmen 11.5
Compare the stem mk in the independent forms

\[ \text{mukiči'γin} \text{ the more numerous ones 11.7} \]
\[ \text{mukičin} \text{ more numerous 12.3} \]
\[ \text{nū'mkāgın} \text{ numerous 12.7} \]

and in the compound form

\[ \text{mūq-gitka'k} \text{ with many legs 119.9} \]

14. -ѓѓрн, the stem of the third person plural pronoun ε'ρι, serves to form the plural of proper names and of some other words designating persons, when these appear with the suffixes -qūpū and -k and with the particle re'en together (p. 794, no. 18). (See § 44, p. 706.)

\[ \text{qlauí'rgūpū < qlaul-irg-qūpū from the men} \]
\[ \text{qlauí'urik < qlaul-irg-k by the men, with the men} \]
\[ \text{qlauí'urq-re'en < qlaul-irg-k-re'en with the men} \]

The possessive form ε'ρgin is used in the same manner.

\[ \text{orawēla'rgēn} \text{ that belonging to the (human) people} \]

§ 100. Comitatives

15. ga—mg comitative (Kor. Kam. awun—mg) not used with names of persons, for which re'en is used.

\[ \text{galīl'a'nga} \text{ (Kor. Kam. a'wunel'a'ma) with the eye} \]
\[ \text{gg'ŋumga} \text{ with the sledge 15.4} \]
\[ \text{qalā'ttwalma} \text{ with the splinters of thigh-bone 33.11} \]
\[ \text{gam'tlma} \text{ with blood 43.8} \]
\[ \text{gānēq'q'mg} \text{ with children 50.6} \]
\[ \text{gāp'rmng} \text{ with the aorta R. 2.2} \]
\[ \text{ga'ttwuma} \text{ with the boat 71.4} \]
\[ \text{qalau'ttma} \text{ with the head; i. e., the whole body 137.8} \]
\[ \text{Kor. Kam. awun-gama'ma} \text{ with the dish 64.7} \]
\[ \text{Kor. Kam. a'wun-e'ñolma} \text{ with the nostrils} \]

Compare the nominal derivatives of verbs, in -mg (§64, p. 738; § 95, p. 787).

16. ge—(t)ā 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.)

\[ \text{galīl'ītā} \text{ (Kor. Kam. galīl'a'ta) with the eye} \]
\[ \text{mpina'ęhin gene'wūnd} \text{ an old man with his wife 28.1 (subject)} \]
\[ \text{elīq'gti gene'wūnd} \text{ the fathers with the wife, i. e. the parents} \]

28.4 (subject); 39.11; 33.9

§ 100.
Kor. Kam. *gaggaika'makata* with a small spirit Kor. 37.3
Kor. Kam. *qa'ttata* with a hatchet Kor. 56.3
Kor. Kam. *gagla'wu'la* with her husband Kor. 68.7

**Verbal:**

\[ \text{ne'usqät genutegi'tä, notai' pu' gele'i'vä } \text{the woman while walking in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she — 28.5} \]
\[ \text{notai' pu' gele'i'vä ne'usqät, vai ELa'whule } \text{the woman was walking in the country, her mother—29.4} \]
\[ \text{en'qam el'hin gette'tä gi'wä } \text{then the father with sudden doing, with saying—29.11} \]

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.

\[ \text{gümul'g re'en together with me} \]
\[ \text{Omru'wóna-re'en together with Omru'wê} \]
\[ \text{tu'mug-re'en with the strangers 59.1} \]
\[ \text{ni'lhi-re'en together with the thong 44.12} \]

§ 101. **Locatives**

19. **-tkën** surface (Kor. Kam. *-tkën, -tëI*n); used chiefly in oblique cases.

\[ \text{grguitkënik on the sledge} \]
\[ \text{grguitkëna'ta along the surface of the sledge} \]
\[ \text{uwéki'tkënik on the body 8.11} \]
\[ \text{gëli'tkënik on the sea-ice 9.1, 2} \]
\[ \text{gelgel'tkënik on the sea-ice 7.3, 5} \]
\[ \text{kano'tkëngëpu on the crown of the head 8.2} \]
\[ \text{mëmlitkënik on the water 9.3} \]
\[ \text{čëtikënik on the top of the pillow 44.2} \]

In the absolute form the suffix designates the **POINT OF**.

\[ \text{yagat'kën point of nose} \]
\[ \text{rëhi'tkën finger-tip (stem rëll)} \]
\[ \text{yët'kërihëm tip of tongue 40.4 (stem yël) } \]

**Koryak:**

\[ \text{va'gitëmu yu'kka eating points of nails Kor. 57.1} \]
\[ \text{o'pitëmik on the point of a beam Kor. 72.18} \]

20. **-sqë** absolute form **-sqën**; **-qëq** absolute form—**qëqan** top of; over, on top of (Kor. Kam. *-Iq*, absolute form **-Igan**)
§ 101

etti'gän tree-top
etti'gän'k on the top of the tree
tir's'qäk over the door
qə'ths'qä-notas'ryn lake-top-big-land, i.e., the land over (near)
the lake 144.3
the's'qä-rə'mkin people of top of dawn R 2.11
nutə's'qäk on top of ground, i.e., on the ground 98.24

Koryak:

| na'ŋkalqak the top of it Kor. 78.15 |
| va'ya'milqak on top of river Kor. 25.8 |
| wu'qyulqak on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8 |
| yas'qalkva'ti (ya-s'qa-lqa-əti) 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. -gï, -gïn THE BASE OF; in oblique cases, UNDER

utti'gï base of the tree
etiti'gïnqë from under the tree
utiti'gïnki under the tree
cothi'gïnki under the pillow (<qôt-gïn-ki)
nutë's'qä-qgi'nki underground
notas'qay'gïpë from underground 143.6

Koryak:

| e'n'migenka under a cliff Kor. 13.6 |
| qas'wigenqë at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7 |
| plakgenet'i into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6 |
| gankagenet'i into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9 |
| atvigenet'i into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5 |

22. -ggit TOWARD; not in oblique cases

qëna'ggit toward the sea
utti'ggit toward the wood
yaka'ggit noseward 45.2
tir'ggit toward the entrance 62.9
e'keqgit toward the lamp R 2.6

23. -yï'wkwï (absolute form -yï'wkwïn) THE SPACE ALONG —

qëna'yï'wkwïn the space along the sea
a'qwa-bormiy'wkwï along the seashore 66.12
gënyï'wkwï'ta along the sea, on the sea
notas'qaci'yü'kti along underground 44.12

I have found also the form—

rečë wkwï < ret-yï'wkwï along the tracks
(See reč ën'kti 106.24.)
24. -čiku (Chukchee, Kor. Kam.) inside of; also with neutral u.

*čiku in the wood

*čiku within the tree

*yarčiku or rđčiku within the house

*keqvičiku inside of palm 20.3

*konarqčiku inside of leg of breeches 28.6

*vsuq'čiku in the dark 34.5

*yilhčiku in the moon 41.8

*pleqčiku in a boot 48.4

This suffix appears often combined with locative elements.

*Korčiku (Kor. Kam. aninkačiku from aninkačiku)

inward, into the inside

*Korčiku from within

*dinčiku into the clothes 32.4

*yoručiku into the fire 31.13

*yikirčiku into the sleeping-room 28.7; also 28.8, 35.3

*qačikop from the reindeer-herd 51.2

*mamčiku into the water 17.4

*notasqalčiku into the ground 18.7

*notasqalčiku from underground 44.12

Koryak:

*vsuq'čiku in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17,5

*yayačiku into the house Kor. 15.2

*qačiku in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1

*aiačiku in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal ččk inside corresponds to Chukchee čiku. It is used as an independent adverb.

*cčmenč ččk in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal čččexčč εncward.

25. -čiku among the multitude, one of the suffixes of plurality.

*qačiku among the reindeer

*utčiku among the trees

*marqčiku among us

26. -qač, -qal by the side of (Kor. Kam. -qal)

*qač near, close to (Kor. Kam. -qača)

*qačpennač by the side of the back 11.8

*yačirčač by the rear side 12.3

*tčirčač by the side of the entrance 53.3

*gitkačqač (Kor. Kam. gitkačqal) at the feet

*mečirčqal (Kor. Kam. mečirčqal) by our side

*ginikqčač by thy side 9.3

§ 101.
qitkaga'či near the foot
moriqqa'či near us
Nota'rmengača near Notarmen 121.10
ra-gro'lminggal from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.
wo'tiñqač (Kor. Kam. wo'teŋqal) on this side
va'Enqač (Kor. Kam. vaeŋqal) halfway on this side

All forms with -gač (Kor. Kam. -gal) may also form oblique cases.
moriqqa'čai'pù (Ch.) from our side
Kor. Kam. woteŋqa'čai'ti to this side
aŋqaŋqa'čai'gti to the seaside 49.6
aŋqaŋqa'čai'pù from the seaside 49.8
ya'altiŋqa'čai'pù from the rear side 12.4
yarau'-liha'nlínqač-val'in being from the other side of the
houses 11.7
qača'kèn the other one of a pair
qača'kènata with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix -kìn they form adjectives which are in
frequent use.
moriqqa'chtèn being at my side
wo'tiñqač'tèn being from this side 14.2
Kor. Kam. wo'teŋqal'kèn being at this side

Kamchadal:

qo'liń near to, close by, corresponds to Chukchee qa'či, Kor.
Kam. qa'ča. It is also treated as an independent adverb.

kr'mank qo'liń (Chukchee qumul'k-qa'či) near me

27. -tül part of, piece of (Kor. Kam. -tül).
mengi'tül (Kor. Kam. manigi'tol) a piece of calico
qg'atol (Kor. Kam. goya'tol) a piece of reindeer (meat)

m'áltulqäi a little particle of water 134.17
tek'i'élulqäi a little piece of meat 134.31
Kor. Kam. pěrômolni'tola piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.

a'ncax twa'llixalin a small piece of meat (anc- piece; -cax small;
twa'llixalin [adjective] of meat)

28. -kít (Kamchadal) instead, in place of.
vîlo-kít in place of payment

§ 101.
§ 102. Similarity

30. -mil IN THE SIZE OF, AT THE DISTANCE OF (Kor. Kam. -mič -mis). (Compare § 113.10,11; also § 105, 42 -mič which is a variant of this stem.)

-mel as far as the mountain
mičke'mil (Kor. Kam. menke'mis) of what size? how much?
94.32
eri'vmil like them 14.9
muruv'mil like us 10.6; 16.7
gumuv'mil like me 16.13
utte'mil size of a tree 20.2
vrgvé'mil size of reindeer-fly 23.3
grwé'tqé-mé1 like men 64.11
rrke'mil like a walrus 10.8; 12.1
qgá'mil size of a reindeer 122.23
Possessive forms with the suffix—kin added to the suffix—mil are
gimuwmi'tkin according to my wants
muruwmi'tkin according to our wants

31. -wurrin similar to, like.

pin-wurrin flour (literally cinder-like)
See ena'n činé't wurrí nitqin thus she was 26.9

32. -wé1 similar to.

33. -čhičá similar to (Kor. Kam. -čhína).

čgíčkič'čáčá (Kor. Kam. čla'wulčhe'na) similar to a man (i. e., transformed shaman1)

§ 103. Purpose

34. -nu, -ny MATERIAL FOR; WHAT SERVES AS SOMETHING; SERVING A PURPOSE; SERVING AS SOMETHING.

ple'ku gá'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.
čkke'nyu mr'lhigit let me have thee as a son

1 gáč or gák is an obsolete form for qla'ul man.
-nu after stems ending in a vowel.

lile'nu serving as an eye

rirk'a no as a walrus 10.8

gag'qang'ang for a driving reindeer 124.8

gar'kem'ang'ang ritya you will not be the one to serve this purpose 23.6

ko'loko na no serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22

ke'nu that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9

akq'a-qelline that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10

to'rra'p-palata'no what serves as a beaver that has just shed hair 137.2

-u after stems ending in a consonant.

ne'wa nu for a wife

taikaus'go'leu for a place to wrestle 47.4

lumetun ri'tya you will be for me like lumetun 23.7

ko'nutu what represents a bear 136.20

gorra'ntile to be used as herdsmen 50.9

lo's'nu for looking on 19.2; 23.1

rraga'nuu what for? 19.1

na'gya'qatbte wa'rrgo what serves as life-giving being 21.6

wi'yole for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoye:

-ny, -yu. The use of this suffix is the same as in Chukchee.

lila'nu as an eye

akka'nu as a son

na'wanu as a wife

goia'nu as a reindeer

tomhena'nu as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9

kulipkina'nu as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1

gangelepme'na'nu as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7

ya'qu into what Kor. 38.4

cai'uchu into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. -ki (ka) (Kamchadal) corresponds to -ny, -yu (No. 34) of Chukchee.

pl'iki as a son

ni'ki as a wife

ol'nak as a reindeer (ol'en from Russian олен; the old Kamchadal word koj is also still in use)

lu'le'ki as an eye

36. -sx (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

pl'sx as a son

ne'sx as a wife

§ 103
37. -lqâl DESTINED FOR — , MATERIAL FOR — , (Kor. Kam. -lqal).

This suffix implies the future.

ple'kilqâl (Kor. Kam. pla'kilqal) material for boots  
wwâ'sqcalqâl bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband  
exa'lqâl stepmother, serving as a mother  
Kor. Kam. ńawa'nîlqal bride to be, destined to be a wife  
lu'pâlqâl (Kor. Kam. lo'pîlqal Kor. 53.5) a face (perhaps; something destined to be looked on) 88.14  
rîpa'lhilqâl destined to be a dried walrus hide 46.11

With verbal stem, in most cases with the passive participle -(y)o:


ta'keryolqâl material (for work)  
rrrr'lyolqâl destined to be put down R 2.5  
yim'qolqâl destined to be hung R 2.6  
ro'olqâl food R 44.11  
mâl'é'hîrîlqal means of getting well 135.10  
timyo'lqâl (Kor. Kam. timyo'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.

çq'g-gan (Kor. Kam. çai-ya'na) one who has tea, rich in tea  
qa'a-yan (Kor. Kam. qoya-ya'na) one who has reindeer  
ta'n-kamaanvê'ti to those provided with good dishes (îqî good; keme dish) 92.21

(b) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an act once or habitually.

çpa'w-gan (Kor. Kam. apaw-ya'na) the one who drinks  
qamî'tiva-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.

yr'l-yan (Kor. Kam. yrl-ya'na) what has been given  
rô'mkaw-gan (Kor. Kam. yomkaw-ya'na) what has been hidden

(d) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

qatnu-ya’n the one who has strength  
mâïî-ya’n that which is big  
a'tqenâ’an (Kor. Kam. a’tqen-ya’na) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form. In Koryak these forms are not of frequent occurrence.

mâïîya’ñmuk at the big one (Koryak the same)  
impya’ñmît the older ones 108.12

§ 104.
39. -lq[än] abounding in (Kor. Kam. -lq[än])
   mi'lmlqän (Kor. Kam. mi'lmlqän) place abounding in water
   wata'pilqän (Kor. Kam. wata'pilqan) place abounding in
   reindeer-moss

§ 105. Miscellaneous

40. -yoëch, -yoëch receptacle (Kor. Kam. -yoëch); perhaps from
   the verbal stem yo- to put into, yo'rkñ (Kor. Kam. yo'ykin)
   he puts into.
   mtgo'oëchñ (Kor. Kam. mtq'yoëchñ) blubber-bag (stem mtq
   blubber)
   tai'oëhr-poka'tknik in bottom of bag 29.3
   Kor. Kam. kawa'ssoëh for wallets Kor. 46.2

41. -ñit a space of time (Kor. Kam. -ñit).
   g'ugo'ñit the whole day 21.1 (stem a'lo day)
   (Kor. Kam. gi'wñit) the whole length of the year (from giwik
   [only in the locative] in the year)

42. -mië a certain amount, with nominal and pronominal stems
   indicating persons; also with verbal stems (compare § 102, 30
   to which the suffix is clearly related).
   gâineum'mië at the distance of a shot
   gümüw'mië as much as I need.
   gümüwwm'kin it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to
   spare)

43. -kwo, -wkwo- protector, averter

   muco'kwoon shirt made of calico (lit. louse-avertor, because the
   Chukchee think that the shirt is worn to collect lice from
   the body).
   tanikwut charm-strings (lit. misfortune averter)

§§ 106-109. Derived from Verbs

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. -giâin. If the base contains an l, it is often changed to ě.

   Abstract noun; cause, source, object of an action (Kor.
   Kam. -geñnu, -gitñnu; Kor. Par. -geñnu, -gičñnu).

   Note that the initial q follows the phonetic rules § 7.
   t + q>i; č + q>i; u + q>kw; u, o + q>ou
   qalhilo'urqëgit you are source of sorrow 20.7
   palgä'tirñ (from palqñ) old age (Kor. Kam. palqathè'ñn or
   palqä'thñn [from palqat])
përe'irgin the place which he had taken 23.9

të'irgin or te'irgin 24.3 (from tel) illness, pain, cause of pain

ya'va'irgin (from yge'ë) (Kor. Kam. yaiva'čhëtën [from ya'va]) compassion, cause or object of compassion

limettë'irgin object of pity 11.3

wa'irgin noise 32.10

vë'irgin death 22.1

vë'irgin object of fear 29.8

a'annë'irgin object of trouble 21.2; 23.11

Koryak:

vantë'irgin dawn Kor. 18.1

vetke'irgin 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.

uirkë'irgin the feeling of shame

uirkë'irgin the object of shame

wë'irgin noise 15.1

am-vë'irgin only by breathing 24.4

With the stem tevä to be, this suffix expresses the idea of QUALITY.

Ya'va'va'irgin quality, substance of compassion; Merciful Being

(Kor. Kam. vage'ëm or va'gëtën) being, mode of life, substance, deity

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.

atë'irgin (from a'tën) (Kor. Kam. a'tegë'ngëtën [from a'čtëm or a't'qëm]) badness, spite

ëvë'irgin (from i'vë) length

inpë'irgin (from inpë) old age

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.

a'të'më'irgin (from a'të'tëm bone) condition of the bones (i. e., of the body)

ëtti'irgin (from u'ttëm wood) degree of woodiness

§ 106
The range of abstract nouns compounded with these nominal suffixes is quite considerable, and these are in common use.

- **va’r'gin** (Kor. Kam. *vage’nin*) being, substance, custom, benevolent being, deity
- **yai’va’va’r'gin** (Kor. Kam. *yai’va-vage’nin*) compassion-being, merciful deity
- **a’nän-vä’r'gin** (Kor. Kam. *a’nän-vage’nin*) shaman’s spirit deity
- **täi’r’r’gin** (Kor. Kam. *tai'nge’nin*) sin
- **qasmu’r'gin** (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

- **yik’r’zin** (Kor. Kam. *tiki’tin* Kor. 56.8) mouth
- **Kor. Kam. pèa’ggitnim** (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 *e, l* of the transitive verbal noun (p. 748) which has the sense of the infinitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>co’nlej</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ča’kałej</td>
<td>song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’jilaj</td>
<td>blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noj</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilhetej</td>
<td>hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilhpil</td>
<td>famine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46. **-nį’**, absolute form **-nįm** (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no’nįm</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé’lnįm</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogmɨnįm</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 107. Passive Participle

47. **-yg** (Kor. -yg, absolute form -ygn) expresses the passive participle; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

- **pêlq’yq** the one who is left (Kor. Kam. *pêlayôn* 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tai’kig</td>
<td>the one made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yit’ig</td>
<td>the one given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chukchee

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

rpa'wgo < rpa'w-yg that which has been drunk
ko'j'ro < kor-yg that which has been bought
yito'ot born ones 42.7
oraio'tinat born ones 21.2
d'nëne l'i'nyo made to be the object of anger 42.3
timyo' one killed 43.8
ripalga'wgo one drowned 49.9

NOTE.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix  ça- MERE, ENTIRE, and the suffix -lin, express the passive participle, the same as -yo.

 ça-m'r'tšlin (stem ret to buy) what has been brought; or ra'j'o or ça-ra'j'o all that has been brought

(-yau, see § 104, No. 38.)

§ 108. Instrumentality

48. -ïneñ, suffixed to verbal stems, expresses INSTRUMENT (Kor. Kam. -ïnañ).

tew'nañ (stem tew) (Kor. Kam. tew'nañ [stem tew]) paddle, oar 73.11

geliñeñ (stem geli to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam. qaliç'theñ [stem qaliç]) pen
tei'kineñ (K. K. intako'kañ) instrument (for work)
wqañeñ instrument for work
lë'ë-tewênañata with a genuine paddle 31.4
(Kor. Kam. lomhenañ as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix ın- (Kor. Kam. ın-)

See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

ìng'nosnañ (stem nv [initial ruv]; tinuir'kin I scrape); (Kor. Kam. gna'nosnañ [stem nv; tinuir'kin I scrape]) scraper

49. -ičh instrument (Kor. Kam. -ičñ).

-gitewiçhn (stem gitew to wipe, -in absolute form); (Kor. Kam. gitew'içhn [stem gitew]) wiping-cloth
unëç'čhin thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from unel thong seal)
mëmiç'čhin thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from memil seal)
(Kor. Kam. yinooth'e'ngqo from the vent-hole Kor. 54.7.

§ 108
§ 109. Place

50. **-nv** Place of (absolute form -n) (Kor. Kam. **-nv** [absolute form **-nue**]).

- **van** (stem **tva**); (Kor. Kam. **va'na** [dual, plural, **va'nvit**]) place of being
- **waktova'n** (stems **wake** and **tva**); (Kor. Kam. **vagaitva'na** [stems **vaga'li** and **tva**]) place of sitting
- **nolagčéenév'pu** while walking in the wilderness 29.4
- **ralqa'ninvuk** on the house-site 31.6
- **ræëya'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'len** for a place to wrestle 47.4
- **ooëvi'nvip** (better **ooëvi'nvipu**) from the playground 74.17
- **ooëvi'nvuk** on the playground 74.18
- **ooëvinv'ëti** to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—y.

- **êtinya'tinvvo tye'tyä'k** I came to get the position of house-master R 287, footnote 1.
- **yaqqai' inm yagta'linvo tye'tyä'k** did I come for the sake of living? R 239, footnote 2.
- **rirqa'unvo** for what purpose? 19.1

Koryak:

- **kmeña'tinvu nilai'-qüm** I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6
- **kriplo'nvu** for the purpose of striking them Kor. 31.3

§§ 110–111. Verbal Suffixes

§ 110. Adverbial Suffixes

51. **-wulhî** expresses reciprocity (Kor. Kam. **-vilhî**).

- **pënhu'vihrik** (stem **pën** to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam. **penn'i'vilhrik** [stem **penn'**], dual) they close for wrestling
- **lu'sulhrik** (stem **lu'c** to see) (Kor. Kam. **lu'c'ivilhrik** [stem **lu'c**]) they see each other, they meet
- **galešoolhiočína'-me'ra** we have seen each other 121.15

52. **-sqw** expresses an action performed once only (Kor. Kam. **-sqw**).

- **yatis'qis'yrkin** (Kor. Kam. **yatis'qiwikin**) he comes once
- **tymis'qës'yrkin** (Kor. Kam. **tymis'qëwikin**) he kills once

§§ 109, 110
taikaus'qio'lou for a place to wrestle once 47.4
güniggeus'qinukuki make them wake up all at once 56.3
ganto's'qéulm rushed out 57.11

Koryak:

* mincičatís'qiwnau I'll look at them once Kor. 33.10
* qwri'qas'qí'wgi go and die! Kor. 35.1
* qawýis'qí'wa eat! Kor. 36.1
* mntuskás'qévaln let us steal it! Kor. 39.1
* myalitíssus'qí'wak I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1

Also in the form—*lpón

* gawomnaalqí'wlinat they stopped the smoke-hole Kor. 57.7

53. -*lgt expresses a FREQUENTATIVE, DURATIVE, or more generally
INTENSITY OF ACTION (Kor. Kam. -*lat, less frequently -*cat).

* níptóla'tirkm Kor. Kam. níptó-laťtkm he goes out often
* tímila'tirkm Kor. Kam. tímilačtkm he kills many

* unmletelé'qtn it flashed out always 32.8
* quíléťtyú gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8
* niquuílé'tqìn they are noisy 60.9
* níťgúlačqtn he cries aloud 38.3
* niteplënči'tqtn she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem plek-
  boots; te—nī to make [§ 113, 2, p. 821])

Koryak:

* qanovəlen čilalačṭik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
* yúkulačti you were soft Kor. 26.7
* qalalanánvo'ylkm she passed by often Kor. 84.19
* niquuílačqtn he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17

54. -*yu(u), -*yu(u) expresses a FREQUENTATIVE (Kor. Kam. -*yv),

* tala'ivwemkm Kor. Kam. tala'ivekm he strikes many times
* ninemílkı'rywunin let it bite him! 104.29

Kor. Kam gaiòivmleau she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. -*t (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.

* ti'ntileťqìn I bring it always (*t- I; intileč to bring; -*t always;
  -I auxiliary vowel; -jm I it)

56. -*çlt weakens the intensity of the action, A LITTLE, RARELY.

* níptóla'tirkm or nítoča'arkm he goes out rarely
* ten'nuččé'tirkm or ten'nuččé'erkm he laughs on the sly
* marauča'arkm he fights rarely
* pëntiča'arkm he wrestles rarely
* mënpó'ntočétta let us eat liver! 43.7
* marauččétimó'z he began to chide 56.1

§ 110
57 -čir expresses a frequentative or intensive.

\[tən\text{-}nə\text{'či-rirkin he laughs all the time}
\]

\[wə\text{lom-či-rirkin he gathers news continually}
\]

\[mə\text{ravu-či-rarkin he fights always}
\]

\[pə\text{nə-či-rarkin he rushes at him}
\]

Kor. Kam. quulu\text{-}mīčita\text{t}at they carry something large on their shoulders (quulu large; imii to carry) Kor. 57.9

58. -ntat indicates increased action, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. -ntat).

\[ču\text{wii-rarkin (Kor. Kam. ču\text{'i}-}
\]

\[ču\text{wintč̞-tarkin (Kor. Kam. ču\text{nta-tarkin it is cut through in several places); it is divided into several parts}
\]

\[ṛg\text{̣o-rarkin (Kor. Kam. čhọ-t-}
\]

\[rgörtč̞-arkin (Kor. Kam. čhon-ta\text{tēk̞-k̞in) he becomes bald}
\]

\[ṛg̣iro\text{̣ḳ at dawn 10.4}
\]

\[g̣iṛg̣ṛontč̞-ta\text{̣n dawn came 10.9}
\]

\[gu\text{̣p̣q̣āṭlin lean 80.5}
\]

\[g̣eq̣ụp̣q̣ānṭε̣ẓịn she has been quite starved]

59. -sqi-čet—a compound suffix formed of -sqi single action, -Čet homologous to -let intensive action—expresses an action performed suddenly with great force and rapidity.

\[gu\text{̣ṭiṛkin he stands up}
\]

\[gụṭiṣqịčẹṭiṛkin he jumps up]

\[ṇịṭo\text{̣ṭkin he goes out}
\]

\[ṇịṭə̣q̣ẹṭa\text{̣ṭiṛkin he rushes out}
\]

\[g̣aṇṭo\text{̣ṣq̣ạṭẹṇ he rushed out 57.11}
\]

\[g̣ap̣ẹṇṛịṣq̣ịlạṭẹṇ he rushed on 44.4
\]

\[g̣etịṇụṣq̣ịẹṭẓịṇ he gave a sudden tug 48.4
\]

\[g̣ẹṛẹḷọṣq̣ịẹṭẓịṇ she suddenly pushed it in 89.4
\]

60. -aj} (Kamchadal) weakens the intensity of the action.

\[tn\text{ụṿạḷạj̣k I eat but little (t I; nu to eat; -j}k I)
\]

\[θ̣ḥẹḷạḷạj̣k I drink but little (t I; hēl to drink)
\]

61. -qāg}t, with verbs, expresses endearment and diminution; evidently related to -qāi (§ 98.4).

\[mə\text{nụṇ-nəṭq̣ịp̣̣ị̣g̣ yε̣ṭq̣ịẹtị from what country, hast thou come, my dear?}
\]

62. -keu, with transitive verbs, gives them a passive meaning, and conveys the idea of derision of the subject.

\[κ̣ẹṃạẉḳụg̣ụẉε̣ṃ ṛε̣ṭḳẉịụm I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here
\]

\[ṿə̣ḷg̣ṃkụg̣ụṭg̣ṛ̣, ẹg̣ḷịḳ̣̣ they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise
\]

\[1\text{ Evidently better, panto-gyečaṭ.}
\]

§ 110
63. - mão, -no expresses the inchoative (Kor. Kam. -mão; Kamchadal -máo, -máo, -máo, -máo). Since these elements occur independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The independent stem in initial position is mão, in medial position -máo, (Kor. Kam. mão-, Kamchadal mão-)

máoorkim (Kor. Kam. mãoorkim, Kamchadal mãojik) 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.

yilgannáoírkim (Kor. Kam. yilgannáoírkim, Kamchadal nócker-kjúj) he goes to sleep
tipaiñaünoég he begins to sing 59.9
nmáñoüngé he begins to take part in the thanksgiving ceremonial 59.3

gapúiíkoünóg'lenat they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:

gewúívo'lenau they began to say Kor. 22.7
gá'ánaúvota haul them away! Kor. 51.6
gepnúvolai'ke they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. -ö, -ö (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs -al, -a, expresses the desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.

(tñückerjk) (stem tñüke) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep
tñückerj (stem tñük; I leave tñük) I wish to leave

tce'jajlk (stem tcej; I leave tce'j) I wish to leave

65. -vató (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of an action.

tulikvosta'jin (stem útil) I am going to have a look at him
tná'vatoj (stem nút to eat) I am going to eat

66. -čhat expresses anger of the speaker. (Kor. Kam. -čhat)
gamtvácha'arkin or gamtvácha'arkin confound him! he eats
prntiqačha'tya'n the bad one appeared 27.3
garaqčha'len what has the bad one done 31.9
vešha'tye the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5
trmi'taman he killed the bad one 44.5
am-ravšečha'nu nałičha'tye you bad one want to die 65.23
Kor. Kam. ųtotoxickeń he lumbers forth

67. -tčy. This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. -tčy).
pélatalolst 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.

gumwki qit pélatalkerkin you leave me

§ 110
The suffix -tku (Kor. Kam. -tòu) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

vil'b'urkin (Kor. Kam. vil'b'vikin) he makes peace with) he buys
vil'b'tkuriin (Kor. Kam. vil'b'tvikin) he trades

gëiitkoi'vul'in u'kkäm they distributed vessels 14.1
tëmitkoi'vuk slaughter ing 49.3
tëmit'kqen'enat he killed all 61.4; 112.3

mërrëmëtko'ënnat let us slay them all 101.19

we'tkoko'ët they all died 112.2

tëmit'tko'kin (Kor. Kam. tëmit'tëokin) he kills many

Koryak:

| qëbo'v'tbulinau they are all cut entirely Kor. 47.7 |
| gëplëtëv'linnau theyfinisheditKor. 50.1 |
| tëlapitëño'vo'yk'm he looks up Kor. 42.8 |
| gëapitëño'vo'len she looked around Kor. 44.9 |
| yenotëño'vo'ycm he is eating Kor. 13.6 |
| gëganërtëño'vo'l'en she was jealous Kor. 96.1 |

Përen qigitetëkin'q'm look at it! Kor. 101.11
tigilu'ë'u'cu-haw-i-äm snow-shoe-strings-verily-eating-woman

am I (tigil'üm snowshoe-string; -u to consume -çu'cu [< tku-tku] verily; haw 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:

pëlã'tikë rotary thou leavest a number (meaning US)
pëlã'tëkitik ye leave a number (meaning ME or US)

The element 'inë- has the same sense, but the two are never used together (see § 113, 28).

88. -tvì TO ATTAIN A CERTAIN QUALITY, TO BECOME (Kor. Kam. -tvì).

\( \text{umitvì'kin} \) (stem yìm) (Kor. Kam. umitvì'kin [stem ym]) he becomes broad.

\( \text{qëtiitvì'kin} \) (Kor. Kam. qëtiitvì'ikm) he becomes thin

eñë'netvì'ë he acquired shamanistic power 19.12; 18.4
eñë'nutvi-turì you acquired shamanistic power 18.3

\( \text{nämgtvì'qin} \) it diminished 20.2, 4

\( \text{nëpëhu'tvì'qìn} \) it becomes small 20.3

\( \text{wulqëtu'tvì'ë} \) it grew dark 54.9

Kor. Kam. gamañëtva'ëntik cause it to become better Kor. 13.2
Kor. Kam. wëya'twik to fainting Kor. 64.9

89. -ët with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. -ët).

\( \text{mittënët'erkin} \) we feel good 69.8

\( \text{tënët'erkin} \) (tënk good) (Kor. Kam. tënët'ëkin) he feels good

\( \text{tënët'ëtnët'ë} \) he began to feel well 33.5

\( \text{qëmët'ërkin} \) (Kor. Kam. qëmët'ëtëkin) he feels warm

§110
70. -gu, -et, are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

- gu to approach
- gu to call
- ngu to appear

omgu to get warm 37.2
ulgu to remain motionless
yirgu thirsty
wehanu to talk
puulgu to float
pikgu to hit
margu to quarrel
meteu to be unable
tgeku to wrestle
ten reu to laugh
tumgeu to become friendly
numkeu to gather
notas gu land approaches
limala'u to obey
loau unable
lqaineu to shoot
kiveu to be awake
kimeu to cause delay
korgau to be glad
yikauu to be thirsty

Possibly related to the preceding is nIu (Kor. Kam.-au) adverbial suffix. The Koryak form is not used very frequently (see p. 842).

numeleu qatog’as be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer
ttлеgu tirkipla'ен I struck him painfully (tgal to suffer, to have pain)
nqaku qatorg’km be sorrowful! (glo sorrowful, here contracted with au; tqa to be)
nimeleu well (mel good); (Kor. Kam. nima’leu [mal good])
nnteko heavily (tte heavy); (Kor. Kam. n’teko)

Some adverbs are formed in an irregular manner.

a’tquma (from e’tqi bad; stem aq R)

Kor. Kam. a’tenkau (from a’ten bad; stem badly aqa)

Kamchadal häl’qaz (from c’hekelaw bad)
me'len'ki (Chukchee meł < mel good; en'ki thus) well

71. -ry forms the INCHOATIVE of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. -yy).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilg'erkin</td>
<td>it is raining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ygg'arkin</td>
<td>the wind is blowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yggro'rkin</td>
<td>the wind begins to blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lälenru'ki</td>
<td>winter came 14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiw'irok</td>
<td>in the evening 26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irgro'ñ'ok</td>
<td>at the beginning of dawn 26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qitharo'k</td>
<td>at the beginning of cold 33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irgro'ka</td>
<td>at the beginning of the autumn 33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iliru'ki</td>
<td>it begins to rain 116.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'ightygro'lek</td>
<td>the snow began to drift 94.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same suffix is used with stems of different character.

tëthiro'ë it becomes red 23.9

nitëgro'qën he began to cry 55.3

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gawyalyo'len</td>
<td>a snowstorm set in Kor. 15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laqlaño'ykin</td>
<td>winter came Kor. 72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piña'likin</td>
<td>it is snowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peñayo'ekin</td>
<td>it is beginning to snow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72. -ru is used also to express GREAT NUMBER. This suffix is different from the preceding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gääru'ašt</td>
<td>they came in great numbers 67.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waqoro'ašt</td>
<td>they were sitting in great numbers 68.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kor. Kam. gawyalyo'len a strong snowstorm came Kor. 15.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laqlaño'ykin</td>
<td>winter came strongly Kor. 72.5 (see above).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§111. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

73. -nita to fetch (Kor. Kam. the same).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rañ-nita'rkin</td>
<td>what are you going to fetch? why do you come?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>añañalinta'lit</td>
<td>shaman fetchers 45.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yax-nita'ykin</td>
<td>what are you going to fetch?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§111
74. -tuwe, -tv to take off (clothing) (Kor. Kam. -tiva).

kə’ttuwɑ’ɸ he took off his clothes 109.15
kə’tuwɑ’nnɛn he undressed her 50.11
nɨcətuwe’qɨn he took off his outer coat 57.3
wʊtɨ’thɨtuwɛ he took off his overcoat 35.5
mɛrəgtuwe’ɛ he brushed away the tears 49.9
nɨncɨntuwe’qɨn (nɨte-čɨnke-tuwe-qɨn, čɨnke saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

Koryak:

nɨməyɨtvo’dɛn he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10
ɡaṭamɛnɛlɛn he spit out bones Kor. 56.8
pʰɛi-tvɛl he took off his boots

75. -yɡ (-ɛR, -ɡɨR) to put on clothing; -yɡ after vowels; ɛR after consonants; -ɡɨR after diphthongs ending in i and in a few other cases (compare the ablative -ɛpū § 42, p. 704)

trqala’pɑək-t(i) -qɡɪ -ɛpʊ -t(i) -yɡɛk I put on my cap
tɛrɛpɑɛk-t -ɛpʊ -t(i) -yɡɛk I put on my fur-shirt
ɪkənəqɨpɡɑɛk-t(i) -kənəqɨpɡ-ɡɨɛk I put on my breeches
kɛrɛqɡɛpɡɛk-kɛr-ɡɨpɡ-ɡɨɛk she put on her dress 52.9

76. -ɡiľ- to search for (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).
kulte’-ɨli’rkit they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide
ɡɨnɛq-ɡiľ-ɨqɡti little game-procurers 44.8
pɨiɡiľ-ɨt food-procurers 44.9
ɡɨnɛq-ɡiľ-ɨt game-procurers 44.9

77. -u to consume, to eat (Kor. Kam. -u) (perhaps related to the verb nu [initial nu], Kor. Kam. yu [initial ny]).

enmρrɛk (Kor.Kam. enn’PUk) he eats fish
pŋtɡ’rɛk (Kor. Kam. pŋtɡ’uk) he eats liver
kmɛlɛ’tɛt they ate marrow 33.12
mɛnpo’ntoɛtɛta let us eat a little liver 43.7
nɛpο’ntoɡɛn he ate liver 43.9
qɑponent’ɪtik eat liver! 64.21

also

ɡəmɛmɛlɛ’lɛn he caught a seal 43.2

Koryak:

mɛtə’tayɛpɛulə we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9
trya’qɑɨku I’ll eat pudding Kor. 30.2
also
trqa’payuk I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1

§111 1 ɛnρrɛk (Kor. Kam. yu’qk) he eats it.
§ 112. Adjective and Adverb

ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. -l̪ax (sometimes -l̪ax)

-ł̪oml̪ax deep (cf. Ch. um broad)
-ł̪iu̲ł̪ax long (cf. Ch. iul long)
-ł̪ol̪ol̪ax small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix -(i)n.
-ł̪ol̪ol̪ol̪ax-i'n ki'stítnë small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.
_qai-yaraqa'qitë (Chukchee) small houses

In forms with post-positions the adjective in -l̪ax is placed before the noun.
-ł̪ol̪ol̪ax-kë'stóanke 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 xva'lec a sharp knife (niru'qin is Koryak)
_n'mi'tqin k'ča'mjanlë a wary man (n'mi'tqin is Koryak)
_nve'thagen u'èh a straight tree (nve'thagen is Koryak)
_nve'thalqè'n u'èh hi'n straight trees (nve'thalqè'n is a Koryak form)
_vo'stroi xvalè 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!nì'tain the clever one (from ni'ıta 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.

_wr̪qha'qu-wa'lìn the flat one
_koul'qu-wa'lìn the round one
_èmpa'qu-wa'lìn the downcast one
_koul'qi gîte'kîqin (Kor. Kam. qo'lon qata'kîqin) make it round
_em dowl'aq r'alìn ralai'vînñòë only in a different manner

people shall begin to walk about 86.14
80. -yut DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS (K. K. -yut dual, -yuwxiri pl.)

(See also § 123, p. 839)

The Chukchee distributives have also the prefix qm- (see § 113, no. 7, p. 816; § 123, p. 839).

em-nire'yuta qanpitaarkelki just two each make it double (the clothing)

These forms take post-positions, definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

ennanyou'tI to one each
ennanyo'pü from one each

81. -čę, -čę NUMERAL ADVERBS (Kor. Kam. -ča).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rnna'n&amp;g, qu'maé Kor. 92.19</td>
<td>one each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiyo'éa</td>
<td>three times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'1aya'&amp;</td>
<td>five times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mILe'n&amp;g</td>
<td>ten times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mIngI'ta</td>
<td>all the time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

82. -(I)n (Chukchee and Koryak) is a suffix which is often added to the stems of adjectives when compounded, in Chukchee with the form va'lin (<tva-lin) THE ONE WHO IS, in Koryak with i'tala'n (i + ła'n) (see p. 764)

In Chukchee the n before v generally changes to m. In other cases the suffix is dropped entirely. The connective vowel then changes to u before the v, which in turn changes to w.

qa'toum-va'lin (Kor. Kam. qa'toum-i'tala'n) being strong
ta'ñum-va'lin or ta'ñu-va'lin (Kor. Kam. ta'ñin-i'tala'n) being good

1 Derived from qan single.
2 The corresponding Chukchee form i'tula is not used in compounds of this type.

§112
A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in -lin (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in -(i)in compounded with v'lin.

vr'chm-v'lin (Kor. Kam. vr'chyn-i'tala'n) the flat one
q'mpun-v'lin the one downcast
Kor. Kam. qo'lo-i'tala'n the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending -q or -aq (see this section, No. 79). The compounds with v'lin, when referred to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used frequently in this connection.

gq'mya-qla'ulik qa'tvum-vq'leum I am stronger than everybody (gqm'- every; qla'ul man; -k possessive; qtv strong; -i-

§ 113. Prefixes

1. éto- A LITTLE.

éto'-qai'aqan a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (eto' 51.4)
ma-éto'pèl a little better 135.7

2. q'mkin- EVERY.

q'mkin-aivèèhi'í every evening 28.9
é'mkin-kyeu'kí at every awaking 29.2

3. tilv- QUITE.

tilv-am-qina'n quite you only 30.4
tilv-a'mman quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9

4. tiñki—JUST is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory meaning.

tiñk-am-gümna'n just I only
tiñk-ui'ñi just nothing
tiñk-ui'ñi rım'ut he has nothing at all R 63.88
tiñk-a'tqëuma quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

5. pë- only, merely.

6. Im- (Kor. Kam. i'mih-, Kamchadal mîn'l) ALL.

í'me-rù'nut all kinds 111.28
í'mu-qinni'ká all kinds of game 128.9

Koryak

i'mi-pl'akú all boots
i'miñ noo'v'ge all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6
i'miñ qai-vai'ambi all little rivers Kor. 17.1

The form imlo' 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with noun and without; i'milin takes the same kinds of forms as nouns in -im (see p. 717).
The Kamchadal form *mínîl* forms—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allative <em>mínelâ'nde</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allative, possessive, instrumental <em>mínîl</em>ink, less often <em>mîl</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. *em*- mere (Kor. Kam. *am*-, Kamchadal *xm*). The prefix is always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

- *em-nêus'gâtti* (Kor. Kam. *a*m-nâ'wîs'gatu, Kamchadal *êm-nî*m èr*n*) mere women
- *em-a*tîttm* mere bones 35.5
- *em-mu'litâ* all with blood 40.10
- *em-nê'endi* all these 41.10
- *em-nê'nîcit* those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26
- *em-em-nu'gni* far inland 114.25
- *em-gmu'n-ni'vââ* midnight 9.11
- *em-mônê'ti* just inland 67.19; 114.24
- *am-gmâ'n* only thou 30.3
- *am-laaro'n* with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9
- *am-ravî'cha'n* merely to die 65.23
- *am-yâ'ata* only by using it 143.3

Koryak:

| *am-erêpro'nau* entirely silver Kor. 22.10 |
| *am-ma'kîl-nê* eta only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5 |
| *am-ma'na* just in different directions Kor. 25.6 |

8. *pi*— (with nouns) EVERY.

- *gaplikoi'nilên* every one has a tea-cup
- *niplitane'te*nitqên* they were applying everything 41.3

9. *me*—, *miq*— SMALL.

10. *meĉ*— SOMEWHAT.

- *meč-kî'it* somehow 40.7
- *meč-telenye'pîin* somewhat of old 61.5
- *mač-yâ'a* far enough 62.12
- *mač-êvga'n* as an incantation 39.13
- *meč-asta'gâlpe* somewhat quick 45.10

11. *meîl*— LIKE (Kor. Kam. *maî*—).

- *meîl-revû*quîc it seems like a husband 49.9

12. *mite*— ACTUALLY.

- *mite-vîlin* actually dead
- *mite-gînîik* actually game 84.28

13. *timne*— ANY (Kor. *paLa*).

- *timne'-me'nîn* whosoever
- *timne'-rît*nüt* whatsoever

§113
tümä-alvalaq wheresoever 24.11

t'ämë-më'mikên gënnik any kind of water game 25.6

tümä-añqa'gí somewhere to seaward 13.1

14. tgr- how many (Kor. Kam. ta'y-).

tar-ga'ata evkwed'gyi with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. čiq- excessively.

cèqi-y0a'0a too far

ciq-alväva'lag how very strange! 76.5; 63.4

ciq-em-na'iqi far inland 114.25

ciq-alväva'alin being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27

ciq-stumâk all at once 43.10

16. čhi- hardly, always used with the negative (probably from qëchë, as in niga'čhiqin rare).

ak'ëggamtoqêqa almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. li- (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) everywhere.

li-më'nki everywhere

li-më'nko from everywhere

18. liqi-, lih-, liI-, lihI- truly (Kor. Kam. liqi-, lih-).

liqi-tsh-ev'i'râli really well closed 33.3

li'të-tsh'é'tinöö she began to feel truly well 33.5

niitxni'mkâqin really quite numerous 111.16

li'të-tshëvâqan'ata with a genuine paddle 31.4

li'të-naráu'tîlo really wife seeking 57.1

li'i'ippe quite truly 57.2

Kor. Kam. nílhëmri'taqqen a very hard one

19. põl- (Kamchadal) quickly.

põl-nu'xë you eat quickly

20. x'it- (Kamchadal) quite, very.

x'it-plas very large

x'it-sin'i'tâs very pretty, very good

21. lih--, lih- (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

lih-i'tžp'lëjk I really shake myself (i.e., I can shake myself properly)

22. kìit- (after prefixes -qìf-) very (Kor. Kam. kìt- [after prefixes -kît-]).

ngïtliggalu'qën he mocked much 143.1; 144.4

gaqtan nina'pûlën she was very angry 89.3

gaqti-palka'xân very decrepit 111.26

qagtigami'tvatik eat ye enough! 65.16

3045—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12——52

§113
When this prefix is used with the nominalized verb in ni—qin, kyt either precedes the prefix ni-, or the ni—may be repeated initially kim-nrmoi'ëgën or nipt-nrmoi'ëgën it is quite large

23. qyn- single (Kor. Kam. qyn-).
   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'ënki'na with nine (i. e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. gemge- every (Kor. Kam. ga'mga-).
   gë'mga-ginni'k every kind of game 41.11
   gë'mga-në'kin everybody 66.28
   ga'mga-ni'mqupë from every settlement 36.1
   ge'mge-nute'qin from every land 11.5

Koryak:
   ga'mga-qai-nawis'qat every little woman Kor. 34.9
   ga'mga-olqAvë'tin to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. pa'la- (Koryak) any (Chukchee timë'e- (see No. 13, p. 816) ).
   pa'la'-ma'ki whosoever
   pa'la'-yi'nnen whatever

26. lyn- negative particle, always used with nominal forms of the verb. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.
   lyn-i'rä not crossing 41.5
   lyn-ivkëtä not drinking 37.3
   lyn-res'qu'wë'tyät they did not want to enter 115.19
   lyn-le'tä not seen 11.9
   tegge'l/lu'na'lin has no desire 93.32
   lyn-eo'va without walking
   lyn-ëna'lvata without promises 101.23
   lyn-pa'ulim not drinking
   lyn-wa'oma not heeding 21.13

With the auxiliary verb -nt- (initial rnt-), it is the usual form of expressing the negative of the transitive verb.
   lyn-le'tä tr'ntiqat I had thee an unseen one (i. e., I did not see thee)

27. egn- sometimes replaces the negative particles u'ënä, ële, and en'ëd.
   egn-aqam'ëteqqa do not eat!
   egn-ënmükä without killing R 44.11

§113
28. *ing*- 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.

\[ \text{tineni}\text{t}\text{e}\text{r}k\text{m} \text{ki}’\text{mit}k \] I take the load away for myself (*i- I; \text{nilete to take away}; \text{r-kin present}; \text{ki}’\text{mit- load})

The use of *ing*- in the transitive verb has been discussed in §63, p. 736.

Examples are:

\[ \text{enapēla’tik} \] thou leavest some one (namely, me)
\[ \text{enapēla’ti}k \] ye leave some one (namely, me)

See, also, §110, 67.

29. *ingn*- TRANSITIVE (see *tg*-\(\text{n}(i)\), §114, 2, p. 821).

30. *laik*- (Kamchadal) how many, some; used independently in the plural.

\[ \text{laî’f’n koxo’n} \] how many dogs?
\[ \text{laî’k’n klool oleta’tockep’ihn} \] he passed there a few days

§114. Inclusive Affixes

1. To cause to.

(a) With intransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(r(i)) — <em>u</em> (after terminal vowel)</td>
<td>(y(i)) — <em>v</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(r(i)) — <em>eu</em> (after terminal consonant)</td>
<td>(y(i)) — <em>aw, av</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(r(i)) — <em>et</em> (after terminal <em>u</em> diphthong)</td>
<td>(y(i)) — <em>at</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iu, eu, av)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After verbal prefixes, the \(r(i)\), \(y(i)\), changes to \(n(i)\).\(^1\)

\[ \text{ri-} \text{gamitva’-} \text{u-} \text{rkin-} \text{en} \] he was made to eat 9.8 (from \text{gamitva})
\[ \text{ri-} \text{tel-} \text{d’u-} \text{rkin} \] you cause to be unwell (from \text{tel})
\[ \text{ri-} \text{neltiwe’-} \text{n-} \text{nin} \] he was made to sit on it 8.11
\[ \text{ri-} \text{gq-} \text{eu’-} \text{n-} \text{nin} \] he awakened him 7.5
\[ \text{ri-} \text{nito-} \text{w’-} \text{n-} \text{n} \] he made him go out 60.3
\[ \text{ri-} \text{pmtik-} \text{eu’-} \text{n-} \text{n} \] he made it appear 9.8
\[ \text{ga-} \text{n-} \text{bchêt-} \text{av’-} \text{lên} \] he made it jump off 47.7
\[ \text{rryrrau’nenat} \] they caused them to be anointed 74.33
\[ \text{ineqâλi’keukr} \] (we) induced her to marry 26.5
\[ \text{ganto’mgaulen} \] has been created 42.1
\[ \text{anintoña’tkelen} \] she does not make it go out 54.6
\[ \text{ganintoña’tyyn} \] cause him to go out! 54.7

\(^1\)See also p. 735.
Koryak:

- \(y\)-awy-a't-ikin you cause to eat (from awyi)
- \(y\)-tal-a'w-ikin you cause to be unwell (from tal; ta!'-ikin you are unwell)
- yryyigêha'wik tickling (him) Kor. 18.9
- qinathilev' make it warm! Kor. 29.3
- qanwa'kyintat tear him up Kor. 30.7
- tenaniKyo'nîwvov it begins to awaken us Kor. 39.4
- ganpga'wlenau he made them climb up Kor. 43.4
- ganvaqyiqda'wlen she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20

(b) With transitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(r(i)) — ñgt</td>
<td>(y(i)) — w, v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(r)-kêto-n(i)-t-(i)-rkîn you remind him</td>
<td>(y)-kêto-v-e'kîn you remind him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix \(r(i)\)-Kor.

Kam. \(y\ [i]\)-)

- r-e're'erkin you cause it to fall down (from ere'e)
- ra'tv'unen. she carried it in 28.7
- ri'meu'ninet it approached them 41.4
- riniminet she threw them out 87.30

Kor. Kam. \(y\)-kîma'w-ikîn you detain him (from kimaw to be)

(d) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (a) become transitive.

- ru-wethaw-g't-i-rkin you speak to him (from wethau to speak)
- ru-wêt'hawaw'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—

- \(t\)-\(i\)-n-kîl'le-j-\(m\) I surround him (from kîle; t-kî'le-jk I turn around)
- \(t\)-li'-nu-j-\(m\) I feed him (from nu to eat; t-nu-jk I eat)
- \(t\)-lin-hîl-\(i\)-j-\(m\) I give him to drink (from hîl; t-hî'lh-jk I drink)
- \(t\)-g-n-cl-r'-j-\(m\) 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:

- tâpa'us'kin I drink
- \(n\)i'râq ca'g'te napâ'unea they have drunk two pieces of bark tea
- \(n\)e'us'qät gî'ulîn the woman
- Ta'n'na gî'ulîn the Tan'ñît told him

said 98.7

98.5

§114
2. **ṣ—'))** TO MAKE SOMETHING (Kor. Kam. **tu—'))). This may be related to the verb **ṭikī** (Kor. Kam. *taikī*) to make.

- *tiwun'ikīrkin* he makes sharp things, i. e., arms (stem *ī*);
- *Kor. Kam. ṭīsw೯'ṅikīn*

- *niteplōnīlē'țpin* she made boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek*-boots; - işletme frequentsate [§110.53])

When this prefix is used with verbs, the additional prefix **ịn̄n̄—)** (Kor. Kam. *ịnan—*) is generally inserted. It indicates the transitive. The meaning of the compound is causative.

- *tiṃnḡn̄'iikīrkin* (Kor. Kam. *tin̄n̄ya'ṅīkīn*) you make him come

- *tiṃn̄tōm̄ą'į̄rkin* you cause it to create itself, and from this the noun *Tēn̄n̄tō'm̄n̄* (Kor. Kam. *Tēn̄n̄tō'm̄vīn*) one who causes things to create themselves (i. e., Creator)

- *tiṃn̄n̄ȳl̄-mana'̄w̄ītan* a person who causes one to give (i. e. beggar)

3. **rg—'))** expresses the desiderative (Kor. Kam. **ya—'))). 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.

- *rāp̄a'w̄n̄iikīrkin* (Kor. Kam. *yapa'w̄n̄ēkin*) he desires to drink (stem: Ch. *āpau, Kor. Kam. a*p aw*)

- *rēk̄u'r̄iikīrkin* (stem *rkur*) (Kor. Kam. *yaīku'ȳīn̄ikin* [stem *ik̄u]*) he desires to buy

- *rọn̄t̄p̄'īn̄ḡdoi* he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem *nt̄p̄* to come out; -ṅ̄nḡ to begin)

- *rān̄ḡ'ēn̄ḡ'n̄nḡ* do you want to die? 67.1 (stem *nḡ* to die; -h̄ḡt [§110.66])

- *nir̄ēn̄ēn̄īīnḡ* he wants to die 99.27

- *nerel̄īn̄īīī-ḡī̄* they want to see thee 19.6

**Koryak:**

- *tīyaq̄īl̄q̄in̄* I want to sleep Kor. 30.3
- *tīyaq̄īl̄q̄in̄* I want to go home Kor. 30.5

- *gânk̄̄q̄ōm̄n̄ vās̄q̄an̄* they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2

4. **e—kī, e—kō** (Kor. Kam. *a—kī, a—kō*; Kor. Par., *e—ki*, *a—ke*; Kamchadal *—kī —k̄*; *—(nx)k̄in̄, 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—k̂i are nominal. They are formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

\( \text{ano} \text{dnauka'qti ge} \text{wku'lin} \) he tied her to an unbroken (reindeer)
50.12 (\( \text{nv} \text{ineu} \) to break a reindeer; \( -\text{qti} \) allative [§ 40]; \( \text{ge} \)—
lin [§ 74]; \( \text{wku} \) to tie)

elile'ki eyeless
aad'ak a person without knife
eni'nniki nameless one (= fourth finger)

Koryak:
| a'xgike kuma'ti the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8

The compounds formed with ε—k̂i are used as complements of the verb.

\( \text{eq} \text{u'ilik u} \text{nine'lhitik} \) make yourselves voiceless 60.10
\( \text{i'mlik} \text{a trivu'a} \text{sk} \) I was without water
\( \text{a'k̂i'naq ne'lyi} \) it became lightless 94.11
\( \text{a} \text{nq̂i} \text{k̂i} \text{nervetmik} \) we shall be made childless 39.4
\( \text{res} \text{q'okwín} \text{a} \text{kérka} \) he entered without clothing 35.10
\( \text{a} \text{kérka} \text{ńan ra'gti'z} \) he came home without clothing 35.10
\( \text{gi} \text{wé'ny} \text{k} \text{mitmél} \) we came to be without an Aiwan 47.12
\( \text{aqam} \text{t'vaká trivu'ak} \) not eating I was
\( \text{awg} \text{é'kink} \text{ka} \) not saying anything 26.6
\( \text{e'le} \text{élqutá} \) not going 46.8
\( \text{awr} \text{iké'gti} \) not appearing 66.10
\( \text{a'allomka} \) heedless 67.9
\( \text{e'le} \text{é'uerká} \) not appearing 62.1
\( \text{a} \text{kérk} \text{i'not'at} \) they took off clothes (they became without clothing) 47.5
\( \text{e'grip} \text{t} \text{awg'éntoida'nuku} \) she felt pain the breathless one 63.8
(e'grip to feel pain; \( -\text{q} \) [§ 64]; \( \text{w} \) breath; \( \text{nito} \) to go out;
\(-\text{yané} \) verbal noun [§104.38])
\( \text{eq} \text{ánně'tik} \text{gin'é} \text{qin} \) he had become without moaning (i.e., he
had ceased moaning) 34.7
\( \text{e't} \text{'é'lká niné'lqin} \) he came to be without suffering 25.11

Koryak:
| akmü'niká qit'ínat childless they were Kor. 43.8
\( \text{aqalha'aka qitr'ýkn}-\text{i'-} \text{qj} \) not crying be! Kor. 37.1
\( \text{akle'woka tná'lik} \) without bread I remained Kor. 16.2
\( \text{a} \text{va'leika yane'la'ntik} \) you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13
\( \text{gü} \text{mnán} \text{ün} \text{n} \text{ja} \text{yinma} \text{e'liká} \text{tn} \text{nté} \text{qan} \) (Chukchee gümnä'n
\( \text{e'le r'é} \text{nut e'ilka} \text{tn} \text{nti} \text{t} \text{qan} \) I not anything (not) given I had to
him

In some cases, particularly with ü'nuá NOTHIng, THERE IS NOTHING, the forms in -ka appear apparently predicative, presumably with §114
omission of a predicate of existence. More frequently the forms in
-kālin are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

- ā'ñā ad'raka nothing, houseless (i.e., there was nothing, not
[even] a house) 31.7
- ā'ñā ēle'tikā nothing, headless (i.e., there was nothing, not
[even] a head) 47.8
- ā'ñā ēpi'ñkā (Kor. Par. ē'le epī'ñke) there is no powder

Koryak:

- ā'ñā āna'wutnā he had no wife Kor. 50.5
- ā'ñā ān'uvnika he did not stop Kor. 51.8
- ā'ñā avā'leika? is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12
- ā'ñā kama'kanu anā'ka (I) did not become a kamak Kor. 88.10
- ā'ñā āne'khrynpuka (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding ĝ—kā to the stem, have a passive
meaning; with the prefix ine- placed immediately preceding
the stem, they have active meaning.

Passive:

- āninto'ňa'čka rī'tirken you make him one who is not caused to
go out (i.e., you do not make him go out) 54.10
- ēve ēgi'tkukā tēulānēn he shook what was not dug out with the
nails 47.2
- ēnti'ukā mī'ni'ntinet let us have them not sent over (i.e., I
wish we had not sent them) 58.2
- ē'le ēnvrī'ka not being eaten 48.8
- alō'ča'gti va'le-ūm I am not seen 22.10
- ēlō'kā not seen ones 62.1
- ē'le a'lomka it was not heard 60.10

Koryak:

- ā'ñā īwika ga'ntilen he was not told so Kor. 62.3

Active:

- ēn'nmūka rinēnti+r thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9
- ēnenventēkāl-i-gt thou art one who has not caused it to be
open 88.27
- ēnver'kūli-muri we are those who do not consume it 35.1
- ēn'ur'mnānēn kālē-ūm I am not unable to do it 92.30
- ēnver'kālēni+cēt he has not seen them 70.33
- ēnegi'tēkālin, ē'le she does not look at me 88.31

The form ĝ—kā is always used for the negative imperative, with the
particle en'ňē.

- ēn'ňē' ēxe'pūkā do not look 32.6
- ēn'ňē ēnegi'tēkā do not look at her 37.9
- ēn'ňē' ēipī'luca do not put it on 37.8

§114
enñe' atz'eka do not sit down 37.13
enñe' a'tviticolca do not tell 66.29
enñe' agamìtvaka qityitik do not be without eating 64.19
(without verb 65.30)
enñe' rirova'ata ata'ka qanti'gitki do not pass it at a distance 70.9
enñe' qí'ínu e'lhiikä do not attack it 70.14
enñe' éna'mmùka don't kill me! 103.30
enñe' ineg̕e'plukä do not kick me! 31.12 (31.11 is the same form without enñe')

Koryak:

| kitta' atawalič'ka do not look back! Kor. 51.6
| kritt-a'wyika qí'thi do not eat!

Kamchadal:

jak-nu'kek (ksixc) do not eating (be)!
Without enñe', we find—

eštergatóka do not cry! 7.6
ineq̕é plukà 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—

da'qam ám e'un aqora'inrélka Ai'wan then, however, the Aiwan,
careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6
gora'nù envinevkä yilhe'nnïn he attached an unbroken reindeer 50.11

Derived from the negative suffix -ka are -k̕elin, -kâlin (Kor. Kam.
-kâla'n), formed with the suffix -lin (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This
form, in accordance with the character of -lin, is more mark-
edly predicative.
iml̕i'k̕elin he is waterless

Koryak Kamenskoye:

| wotta'kin ake'yki̊la'n that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14
Kamchadal:

| ilčilkin without tongue
| qal̕ekan 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.

ganq̕i'k̕elin-ε-git you do not go out 54.10
q̕al̕ım̕ek̕elin-ε-git you do not hear 54.11
§114
§114

Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

\[\text{e'Le qimnau'kEl-kérln he is one who does not heed 15.12}\]
\[\text{aqld'wiklén she was without a man 28.2}\]
\[\text{amata'kélén she was unmarried 28.2}\]
\[\text{a'olomkélén she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2}\]
\[\text{bi't qvi'kélín rë'mkin formerly people were death-less 42.2}\]
\[\text{en'ad' um el' qvi'kélín now the mother was immortal 41.12}\]
\[\text{e'Le qntg'kélén she did not go out 54.9 (without e'le 54.5)}\]
\[\text{va'nëvan qntk'kélén not at all she went out 54.8}\]
\[\text{ere's qvi'kélín ena' n cin't he himself did not want to enter 103.17}\]
\[\text{emtkät'viklén the blubber was not scraped off 47.1}\]
\[\text{nen'énoqái anintóna'kélón she did not cause the child to go out 54.6}\]
\[\text{aal'mkélénat they did not listen 18.5}\]
\[\text{e'liqakélénet they were not sleeping 34.3}\]
\[\text{ine's'kélénet he has not seen them 70.33}\]
\[\text{ineqité'kélén she did not look at me 58.31}\]

A few constructions of -kélín with u'ñä seem quite analogous to forms in -kä with this particle (see p. 823).

ui'nä a'olomkélén they do not listen 56.2
ui'nä ak'riqkélén there was nothing, without light 40.9
Enga'n u'a'ñä bit eñel'ñäliñ that one was nothing, before not
with guardian spirits 60.1
Kor. u'a'ñä ama'yeñkälç-i-gäm I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

eñe'käläqäti little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix -lax (§112, 78) before the negative
changes to -lix.

k'ë'mma qam uñu't'äkin I am not small

Kamchadal x'ë—ki with intransitive verbs, x'ë—kic with transitive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms,
which are given predicative forms by means of auxiliary verbs (see p. 779).

x'enul'ki impossible to eat
x'enolekic impossible to beat him

x'ë is presumably of the same origin as the particle x'ené.

§§ 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 com-
plex of stems a strong vowel or syllable occurs, the whole complex
takes the ablaut.

ma'iñ-a'ë-kañiñ (Kor. Kam. mañ-a'ë-kalêl-eñb'ë'mëna) 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.

§115
§ 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ga'lgct-nalhin} & \quad \text{bird-skin 7.9} \\
\text{ri'rka-ka'la} & \quad \text{walrus spirit 8.4} \\
\text{pa'nvar-ri'rkat} & \quad \text{two-year-old walrus 8.10} \\
\text{ri'rka-npina'chkin} & \quad \text{walrus old man 9.6} \\
\text{giwhu'a'-npina'chäges} & \quad \text{Eiwhue old man 11.10} \\
\text{giwhu'e'-ora'wežan} & \quad \text{Eiwhue person 12.4} \\
\text{giwhu'e-n'è'ut} & \quad \text{Eiwhue woman 12.5} \\
\text{wo'lqi-varryë'ti} & \quad \text{to the Darkness-Being 18.11} \\
\text{ora'wer-ra'mka} & \quad \text{by human people 21.8} \\
\text{a'ngo-va'trign} & \quad \text{sea-being 25.4} \\
\text{ke'le-n'è'wän} & \quad \text{kele wife 38.11} \\
\text{a'nl-qla'uł} & \quad \text{excrement man 39.9} \\
\text{poig'-ø'ttoet} & \quad \text{(Kor. Kam. poig'-ø'ttoet) spear wood} \\
\text{pi'erti-nni-pna'w'kun} & \quad \text{iron file} \\
\text{ra'ñ-p'ñil} & \quad \text{(Kor. Kam. yaq-p'ñil or yaga'-p'ñil) what news} 11.2 \\
\text{lile'-ç'w'mitä} & \quad \text{on the sight border (= just out of sight) 11.8} \\
\text{ra'g-ç'o'rmik} & \quad \text{on the house border 12.12}
\end{align*}
\]

Koryak:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ñawa'kak} & \quad \text{daughter Kor. 12.4} \\
\text{pi'erti-nni-yi'nnala'n} & \quad \text{with iron antlers Kor. 21.8} \\
\text{yi'ñ'lu} & \quad \text{finger-gloves Kor. 22.2} \\
\text{lawti-k'li'čen} & \quad \text{head-band Kor. 17.12} \\
\text{vai-k'ri'tpi'liñ} & \quad \text{little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8}
\end{align*}
\]

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words *qla'wul* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) *man*, *ñaw* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) *woman*, are used to express the idea of the nomen actoris, and are compounded with verbs as well as with nouns. Thus we find—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tu'li-ñaw} & \quad \text{(Kor. Kam. tu'li-ñaw) stealing-woman (= female thief)} \\
\text{vi'n'vi-ñaw} & \quad \text{(Kor. Kam. vi'n'vi-ñaw) secretly-acting woman (= female lover)}
\end{align*}
\]

Kor. Kam. *ta'la'-qla'wul* striking-man (= blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pi'erti-nni-qla'uł} & \quad \text{iron-man (= blacksmith)}
\end{align*}
\]
The stems *qlaul* and *qlïk* (Koryak *qlïk*) in first position express also MALE.

*qla'ul*-kei'jïn (Kor. Kam. *qlïk*-kei'jïn) male bear

For most animals the word *ël'mïa* (Kor. Kam. *ël'mïa*) is used to express the male.

*ël'mïa*-ne'rkï male walrus
Kor. Kam. *ël'mïa*-me'mïl male thong-seal

For females the stem *naw* (Kor. Kam. *naw*) is used.

*ñe'-ël'kïk* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kïk*) daughter 28.2

*ñeu-kïi'jï* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-kei'jïn*) she-bear

*ñeuwi'ri*t female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtalã'n* (Kamchadal *mtïlë*) is a contraction of *oya'mtavila'n* 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. The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'wëta*n, which has the same derivation. Compositions with -*mtalã'n* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

*ënni*-mtalã'n Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

*Valni*-mtalã'n Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *qlaqul*.

*ënni-qlaj'yl* Fish-Man

*ënni-ñeu* Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in -*mtïlë* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

*ël'he-mtïlë* (Koryak *uov-mtalã'n*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

*tëpa'-mtalã'ë* (Koryak *kitepa'-mtalã'n*) 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.

*rë'-kupre'tï* *tï* *rmën* with what kind of a net did he kill it? (*rëq* what; *kupre* net; *tïm* to kill)

*ke'në'-kupre'tï* *tï* *rmën* he killed it with a net of horse-hair (*ke'ñë* horse [from Russian *kønï*])

(b) The idea PERTAINING TO.

*talã'n-ramkë'pë* *tuaw* *łomqa*n I heard it from people of past times (*tælenyep long ago; *ramkë- people; *wälgm* 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'wëta*n BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (-MANKIND) is used.

§116
(c) Parts of a whole.

*ya'ol-gitka'ta geggil-ge'ptilin* he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot (*ya'ol* hind; *gitka* foot; *-ggi'il* heel)

(d) Possession.

*gümil'k e'kke-ňalovil'pü qäimi'tyn* take it from my son's herd (*gümilk* my [possessive]; *e'kke* son; *ňalovil* herd; *-gupü* 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.

*gümil'k kemii-ňyno halovil'nqo qakmi'tyn* 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.

*źul-útta* (Kor. Kam. *źul-u'tta*) with a long stick

*mein-i'il'det* (Kor. Kam. *maeir-i'lla't*) big eyes

Kamchadal *plëz-ki'-stenk* in the large house

*tañ-qla'ul,* pl. *tañ-qla'ulë* (Kor. Kam. *malqla'wul,* dual *mal-qla'-wu'te*) good man

*tañ-uni-vq'ilin* good one

*ma'ñu-wal' a* large knife 16.1

*pü-gli-laüti'yin* big bare head 27.13

*äh-gë'-kele-ne'us'qät* bad kele woman 37.11

*äh-gë-qrë-pqâi* bad little song 59.5

*teg-ñe'us'qät a* nice woman 62.13

*niito-ed'mâni a* shy buck 49.5

*korga'-ča'ut a* lively man 40.3

*lii-teñ-evi'râlin* really good cloths having 33.3

*rig-a'x'ttin a* shaggy dog 72.28

*iłh-u'kwut a* flat stone (= anvil) 77.12

*yitko'mmk-u'kwun* divining-stone 101.3

Koryak:

*żnu mal-ña'wrikata* this is a good woman Kor. 19.1

*mal-qla'wul* a good man Kor. 19.10

*tañ-ź'yu* to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2

*ka'li-ga'nyan* ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2

*qai-ña'wis'qat* little woman Kor. 25.1

*qai-ka'mak* little kamak Kor. 35.5

*mal-kal-yekov'gu-wal* 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:

- *teek-evkwrn* (ready) made clothing 86.22
- *atutty-an-ka-aamaanvtr* to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10
- *tot-taivka-kamaanvtr* to newly made dishes 96.18
- *tor-iqolqao'no* 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.

- *wvvik phtkwrkin* the body becomes ready
  - but *wuwvkk-ù-phtkwrkin* I become body-ready (i.e., I am grown up)
- *vali nito'rkin* (Kor. Kam. vala nito'ykin) the knife comes out
  - but *vala-nito'rkin* (Kor. Kam. vala-nito'ykin) he is knife-coming-out (i.e., he draws his knife)
- *nuwqèntogèn* he is one whose breath goes out 126.9
- *awqèntoyadnuka* he is without breath going out 63.8
- *nigolento'axn* 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 -*nita* TO FETCH, -*tuwe* TO TAKE OFF, -*p to put on* -*gili* TO SEARCH FOR, -*u* TO CONSUME, TO EAT. Owing to their meaning, these would hardly be expected to occur without object, and they are always suffixed to it—or the object is always incorporated with them. In the texts the incorporated object is used most frequently in phrases in which the action is performed habitually on a certain object, although incorporated forms that express single actions that are not performed habitually are not absent. On the whole, this process does not appear very frequently in the texts.

- *trqananma'trkin* (Kor. Kam. trqoyanma'tekin) or I slaughter rein-
  - *trkumtrkin qa'at* (Kor. Kam. trkmekin qo'yadego) deer
- *qena-taki'chi-lpr'niq* me meat give!
- *qymn n'kik qã-kãlètol-lpr'niq-gm* my son money-give him!
- *u'tti-mlèrkin* (Kor. Kam. u-mlaykin) he breaks a stick

§ 117
ri'lh-čiwi're'kin (Kor. Kam. yi'lh-čiwi'y'kin) he cuts a finger
kalé-tpi'rkin (Kor. Kam. paňka-ipe'kin) he puts on a cap
qaa-nma'arkin (Kor. Kam. qoya-nma'tekin) he slaughters reindeer
šiko'inšinto'rkin I take out glasses
tišči'tpi'gtirkin I have a headache
gleušščibilin he cut off her head 86.7
nilautšpa'tqen she boiled heads 43.12
natčpa'tnat they boiled fat 14.7
něnavěripa'tqen he put cloths on him 127.1
minpěčar'ra let us search for food 119.18
valamna'lìn knife-whetter (vala knife) 44.4
nigaa'nmatqen he slaughtered reindeer 48.8, 11
niqu'mеnčiri'guin he turned the upper part of his trousers outside
(qu'quimin upper part of trousers; viriu to turn out) 46.7
geleutryg'i'khutä scratching the head 126.7
něnavěruwanla'qen he asks for clothing 126.10
kärə'ɾuŋgə he put on the dress 52.9
qəɾə'tuŋgə follow the trail! 52.8
țił-ło'k looking for the entrance 131.1
nitišla'rqeqn searching for the entrance 131.1
qhaunrd'gatiyə take your wife home! 115.8
vala-w'ınna knife holding 106.13
qma'n inenmuširele't-i-gıtı thou art the cause of blood-vomiting 98.13
omqa'pěnq'a'tyj they attacked the bears 115.12

Koryak:

gaynhyup'e'nylenau they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3
gaqoleya'wage (qole voice; iya'wa to use) use your voice! Kor. 48.7
ganščeklplena'nu (to be used) to strike the fire with Kor. 30.7
gavannintalen she lost a tooth (va'nniśin tooth) Kor. 32.8

The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

ți-maiči-lauští-pi'gtirkin (Kor. Kam. ti-mač'iš-ti-lat'pi'kt'kɪ̂n) I much head suffer

Verbs with incorporated object are intransitive. They may be made transitive, however, when they are referred to a new object.

gaanma'arkin he slaughters reindeer
gaanma'rkin he slaughters reindeer for him
tiri'ltučov'gü (Kor. Kam. tiyirlučov'gè) 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.

§117
§ 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.

\[ t'rgi-pl'tke \] finished crying 27.11
\[ a'un-rə'ni-trla'g\j \] with easy flying motion 16.8
\[ nu-waqe-tva'q \] sitting they were 62.9
\[ qami-pl'tiku (Kor. Kam. a'wyi-plituk) \] eating finishing (i.e. after the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb \[ qami-tva \] TO EAT.

\[ vi'yi-tiu'wunin \] breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:

\[ ga-mlawa-nka'v.len \] she ceased to dance Kor. 48.6
\[ g-awya'-nkaw-len \] he refused to eat Kor. 51.3
\[ gen'adixat-paa-\text{ñoo}'-lenat \] to send them away ceased began they Kor. 72.2

§ 119. Adverbial Composition

Intransitive verbs are combined with verbal stems in the same manner as they are with nouns, and then assume adverbial functions. Stems expressing modality, quality, quantity, appear frequently in this position. The forms are quite analogous to those treated in § 116.3.

\[ i\text{-n\text{-t\text{-en}}-t}pl'tku\text{\text{-um}} \] thou hast well vanquished me 17.7
\[ qa-txn-yoro-tukwa't-yë \] arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6
\[ tur-qì'tîlm \] newly frozen 13.7
\[ tur-wı\text{-d}'tîlm \] newly born 21.6
\[ tor-kalë\text{\text{-n}}oa'gënat \] newly adorned ones 29.1
\[ lië\text{-na\text{\text{-ra}}}tılë \] truly wife-seeking 57.1
\[ a\text{-q}a'\text{-\text{-rik}la} \] badly pursued 17.6
\[ tur-ewkwa'\text{-ty}ë \] he departed just now
\[ ti\text{-\text{-te}n-\text{-y}lqû\text{-ty}â'k} \] (Kor. Kam. ti-mal-yilqo'tik) I slept well

§§118, 119
Koryak:

- *aqaapîivo'ykin* looks badly Kor. 13.8
- *ga-agai'paten* it fitted badly Kor. 34.9
- *ga-qayînhîlanîvo'len* it began to be a little light Kor. 18.1
- *ga-qa'yî-bulin* he chopped it small Kor. 53.6
- *ta'n'-awye'nvoi* he began to eat well Kor. 20.7
- *ga-mal-mai'vûlen* he bit well Kor. 41.4
- *ga-mal-hin'ta'w'len* he fled well Kor. 41.7
- *ga-tuvi-ki'mi'n'a't-i-gûn* I have recently given birth Kor. 64.13

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

- *a'rîchî-twa'rkîn* (Kor. Kam. *a'yuñi-twa'ykin*) you are lying on the side

§ 120. *Multiple Composition*

Compound terms may include more than two elements of the classes described in the preceding sections.

- *a'qâ'i-ka'mi'n'à-ns'quq* (Kor. Kam. *aqâ'-l'ma'ni'na'wis'qat*) a bad, lazy woman
- *čarin-ka'mi'n à-lau'le'rin* reindeer-breeder-rich-man R59.4
- *ta'n'-le'i-tôi-poi'gîm* a good, heavy ice-spear
- *tit-ni'mi'-le'u-ti-pï'cërkin* (Kor. Kam. *ti-ma'i'nî-lau'ti-pr'k'tîkin*) I greatly head am aching
- *qine-tï'in-mi'mi'lî-t'i'li* give me warm water!
- *i'bi-woqî-ne'lîrkin* heavily breathing he becomes (i.e. he sighs)
- *nêt-é-pi-rîhî'le'rin* thimble-put-on-finger, the second finger
- *t-wa'qî-qi'cî-lqîr-rê'thî* 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'lë-yu'nyuč* (Chukchee *ke'li-rew*) 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.

- *ni'mëc-yin p'ê* child being a woman (i.e. daughter) (Chukchee *ne'lek*, Kor. Kam. *ñas-û'kak* woman-child)

In Kamchadal *ololâx'n ke’stri'nê* small little houses the adjective remains an independent word, as is indicated by its being in the plural form.

---

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—53  

| §§120, 121 |
§ 122. Consonantic Shifts

It has been stated before that the consonants $l$ and $\ell$ are closely related. A comparison of the parallel forms in $l$ and $\ell$ 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:

palonte'$lirkin and palonte'$lirkin he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

leivu, $e$eivu TO WALK

$l$ forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
gam'nga-nota'i'p'ii nile'i'vuginet & \text{ they traveled through every country} \quad 17.9 \\
gam'nga-varg'et pù nile'i'vugin & \text{ he traveled to every being} \quad 18.5 \\
\text{nutu's'qük pag'talkoi'p'ii nile'i'vugin} & \text{ he traveled through the clefts of the ground} \quad 22.6 \\
ye'völgä'ku'likä ralai'vniñoi & \text{ an orphan child shall (from now on) travel alone} \quad 24.10 \\
keim'i'tlä'le'i'vük rü'nutqäitü ge'ilä & \text{ traveling shaman small things must be given} \quad 25.9 \\
güm'na'n atta'ta le'i'wukin më'ilhü & \text{ give you the means of traveling secretly} \quad 93.4 \\
atta'ta qäle'i'vui & \text{ walk about in secret!} \quad 93.5 \\
notai'p'ii le'i'wuktü lu'ninet & \text{ he saw them walking about in the country} \quad 113.11 \\
ia'm nile'i'vuktü-i'qir & \text{ why don't thou wander about (all the time)?} \quad 87.18
\end{align*}
\]

$\ell$ forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
lautška'ntä'che'i'vukvü' & \text{ he walked (for a little while) on the heads} \quad 8.6 \\
kräftam ničei'vukvük & \text{ let me go} \quad 79.27; \quad 80.10 \\
qal'ul püki'ri'gi'che'i'vukulim & \text{ a man arrived walking} \quad 86.26 \\
r̷qa'tik eche'i'vukukä mi'tyi'k & \text{ tomorrow not walking let me be!, i.e., tomorrow} \quad \text{I shall not go} \quad 87.9 \\
ne'me kei'vukvü' & \text{ again he went} \quad 87.25; \quad 88.1 \\
ne'me čeoi'vuktürkin & \text{ again he was going (for a short while and once only)} \quad 88.7
\end{align*}
\]
luwi (initial), loi (medial); èuwi (initial), èvi (medial) TO CUT
l forms:
geleu'tilvin the head was cut off 86.7
c forms:
nebvitkui'vuâ'n they cut it off 27.3
nine'nquin, nine'nqiqin he cut it and ate it 43.10 (see also 72.18)
nibvitkurkin re'éw he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)
lelé'thirêm gévîlîn he cut the eye 106.19
gi'nonttî ëuwi'nin he cut it in the middle 109.33
kile (initial), rkile (medial); krî (initial), rkrî (medial) TO FOLLOW
a'qa'-rkîla difficult to be pursued 17.6
kileu', mi'la'vbâ'ên I should not be able to follow 17.5
kîla'vîkâ' she followed 31.2 (here a single act)
kîle'nin he gave pursuit to him 57.8
c form:
krîcâwê'd'tyê' he ran off quickly 57.5
kipîl (initial), rkipîl (medial); kîpî (initial), rkipî (medial) TO STRIKE
l forms:
kr'plînên um leu'tîk he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26
qa'rkîplîlên he struck her (until she let go) 31.4
c forms:
E'nîkat kîpî'r'tkonên suddenly he struck it 35.11
ninemnuteu'qin ettî-kîpî'wâ'a he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10
nânakîpîeu'qin he gave it a push 53.5
lilep (initial), lep (medial); cîlep (initial), cîp (medial)
l forms:
lîle'pqî' she looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14
gâle'pqî' look up! 79.11; see also 107.14
lîle'pûrkîn he looks on
c form:
cîle'pqî' they looked about 86.22
rîcîcê'urkîn he inspects
talaiwu, taîtaiwu to strike
ntalai'wugên they strike him 59.7
nataîâ'wuan they struck him once 59.5
pîl, pî to finish
uwi'k pî'tkurkin his body becomes ready
tuwî'k-r-pî'tkurkin I become ready-bodies, i. e., grown up
-lqiu verbal suffix expressing requested action; -s'qiu verbal suffix expressing single action
l form:
  ni'tul'e'lqiuqinet they would come to steal 13.4
č (s') forms:
  gánto's'qáulên he rushed out 57.11
  qánigge's'q'iwkukî go and wake them up at once 56.3

-liku among a number; -čiku inside
l form:
  utti'liku among the trees
č forms:
  ple'ki'liku in a boot 43.4
  wus'qí'mčiku in the darkness 34.5

-qal, -qač by the side of
  ragro'lmāngal from the rear side of the house 51.10
  gínirkač by thy side 9.3

-lgān, -s'qān top¹
l form:
  ko'iw'lgān top of glacier 91.16
č form:
  gu'this's'qān surface of lake 144.3
  nü'tes's'qān surface of ground 98.24

-mel-, meč like to
l form:
  mel-uuwā'quč it seems my husband 49.9
č forms:
  mel-á'gülpē somewhat quick 45.10
  máč-ētō'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 č forms.

ye'lčîchînm tongue 40.10
ye'dil'kîchîn tip of tongue 40.4
ri'ličînm fingers
ri'čîrîkm finger-tips
(qlik) man
qá'clyčîkčî the man transformed (similar to a man)²
u'nel thongseal
unečîčînm thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30
mémîl seal
mënîmîčînm thong of seal skin 134.31

¹ See also -lgān ABOUNDING IN (§104.39).

§122.
mulu blood

Also:
tel sick
tä'zn winter

to this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:
lü'ærkin he sees
lēlē'lhin mitten
lē'gilg egg
vē'glhyn ear
vēlu'ptärkin he marks the ear (of the reindeer)

Attention may also be called to the relation between the nominal endings -t̂in and -lhin, which have been treated in §§52, 53, and which may also be considered from this point of view, -lhin being used in nouns with indefinite meaning, -t̂in 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:

quēlē'ærkin he cries

gemēl̄in it is broken
ūmër̄in älo'nët the whole day
aŋgā'le-r̄a'mkën maritime people

vē'nl̄in the hearty one, avenger (from vē'nl̄in heart, lilmē'ær-kin he avenges)

§§ 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 r̄l̄härkin, Kor. Kam. yilê'kin, he counts [from stem rilh-, Kor. Kam. yiln, FIN.
In a number of cases the relations between the numerals and manual concepts can easily be given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>From stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mi’ve’n</em></td>
<td><em>mi’ve’n</em></td>
<td><em>ming</em> hand (contracted from the absolute form <em>mingi’e’n</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>am-niro’otkën</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qon’a’erikën</em></td>
<td><em>qonya’aðirin</em></td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mingi’otkën</em></td>
<td><em>mingi’tiën</em></td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kihi’erkën</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>fifteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qil’kkin</em></td>
<td><em>qilik</em></td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Larger numbers are composed with *qil’kkin* or with the ordinary modern word *qila’ul* (Kor. Kam. *qla’wul*) man.

The term *qilq-qil’kkit* or *qil’kkin qila’ul* four hundred is the highest term of the older Chukchee numeration. Every number higher than four hundred is called *gryew-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 *tma* (Greek *μῖα*) which literally signifies darkness.

§123
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 *ɛ̱*—*këlin* (see § 114, 4).

*aminigitka'këlin* not being the tenth  
*akilhinkau'këlin* 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.

*mingit-kalė'tola tacrni-plitko'këk* I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (*mingit* ten; *kalė'tol* scratched one; *-a* instrumental; *t*- I; *akr* debt; *plitko* to finish)

Numerals are also compounded with personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1i'ye-m'ri</td>
<td>1i'ye-mu'yi</td>
<td>we two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i'ro'-mërg'</td>
<td>1i'ro'-mu'yu</td>
<td>we three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i're-tu'ri</td>
<td>1i're-tu'yi</td>
<td>ye two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i'ro'-t'ar'</td>
<td>1i'ro'-che'xi</td>
<td>they two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, *-ēx, -ēy* (Kor. Kam. *-ēa*) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except *qi'we'n* single once (Kor. *qu'n'ac* Kor. 53.2), which is derived from *qu'n* single.

*nira'ēa gi'wé'kinek* on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix *-put*; (Kor. Kam. *-put* [dual], *-yu'wgi* [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix *em*- just (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except one.

*nireq'we'rkjin* (Kor. Kam. *niyeq'we'rikjin*) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, *-nlēn* (Kor. Kam. *-lën*) (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 *lënc'jin* he counts is also derived from the stem *lëx* finger (absolute form *lëxlëx*).
ka'cix  keaonii  two dogs
ka'exaCn  lie!  two mittens
oica  kexomn  three dogs

Kamchadal  qun may be compared with Kor. Kam.  qun  single.
Kamchadal  ëok may be compared with Kor. Kam.  ëiyax  three.
Kamchadal  ëak may be compared with Kor. Paren  ëiyax  four.

(perhaps from an older form  ëi'ca')

§ 124. Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kamenskoye</th>
<th>Koryak Paren</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ennë'än</td>
<td>ennë'än</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ennë'</td>
<td>ennë'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n'ëcn</td>
<td>n'ëcn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ëi'ráq</td>
<td>ëi'ráq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ëi'ro'q</td>
<td>ëi'ro'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ëi'ra'q</td>
<td>ëi'ra'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mi'liñën</td>
<td>mi'liñën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>enna'n, mi'liñën</td>
<td>enna'n-mi'liñën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ëi'ra'-mi'liñën</td>
<td>ëi'ra'-mi'liñën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>am-ëi'ro'olkën</td>
<td>am-ëi'ro'olkën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>amingitika'uke</td>
<td>qonyay'acrën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qonyay'acrën</td>
<td>qonyay'acrën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mingit'kën</td>
<td>mingit'kën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>mingit'ik enne'än</td>
<td>mingit'ik enne'än</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ne'n' pa'rol</td>
<td>ne'n' pa'rol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mingit'ik ëi'rá</td>
<td>mingit'ik ëi'rá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ëi'rá'pa'rol</td>
<td>ëi'rá'pa'rol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>mingit'ik ëi'ro'</td>
<td>mingit'ik ëi'ro'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ëi'ro'pa'rol</td>
<td>ëi'ro'pa'rol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>akilhink au'kën</td>
<td>akilhink au'kën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ëi'ra'pa'rol</td>
<td>ëi'ra'pa'rol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kilh'ünkën</td>
<td>mingit'ik mi'liñën</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§124
Chukchee.  

16 kilhi'nikkenn' - mingitik enn' m'i-  
aparol  
\{kilhi'nik ni'ra\}  
19 \{parol elikkeu'kelen\}  
20 qli'kkk enne'n'  
parol  
30 qli'kkig mingi' - qli'kik mingi'tken  
tken parol  
\{ni'yax m'ngitu\}  
40 ni'rag-qli'kkk  
\{ni'yax qli'kit\}  
50 ni'rag-qli'kkk  
\{ni'yax qli'kit en'ki\}  
parol  
\{m'ngi'tken m'ngitu\}  
60 nirov'q-qli'kkk  
\{niyo'x m'ngitu\}  
80 nirov'q-qli'kkk  
\{niyo'x m'ngi'ten m'ngitu\}  
99 amilingqelkkau' - kelen  
100 milingqelkk  
\{m'ngi'ten qli'ku\}  
200 mingqelkk  
\{m'ngi'ten qli'ku\}  
400 qlig-qli'kkk  
\{qliq-qli'ku\}  

Numerals are verbalized by the suffix -eu (Kor. Kam. -aw, -(i)w).

Chukchee  

Kor. Kam.  
nireq'urkin  
niyeq'urkin  
he is double, he is the second  
niroga'urkin  
niyoga'wekin  
he is threefold, he is the third  

-nleñ (Kor. Kam. -lan) with numerals form collective terms.

Chukchee  

Kor. Kam.  
enne'nleñ  
enna'nlan  
a single one  
nire'nleñ  
niya'glañ  
two together  
nirga'nleñ  
niya'glañ  
three together  
nira'nlañ  
naya'glañ  
four together  

§ 124
 Modal adverbs are formed by means of the inclusive affix \( n(i)-eu \) (Kor. Kam. \( n(i)-au \)) (see p. 810.). These forms are parallel to the adjective form \( n(i)-qin \) (see § 49).

\( nime'l eu \) well (Kor. Kam. \( nma'l au \)) stem Ch.\( m el \) (Kor. Kam \( ma'l \)) \( nime'l eu \) \( qava'\text{ê} \) be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer.

\( nime'i\text{'eu} \ ga'ivul\text{'en} \ a't\text{ttn} \) he made a great promise, a dog 101.21 \( n'\text{'mkeu} \ ki'wkiw \ ni'nel\text{qin} \) the nights passed (there) became many 108.8 (\( ki'wkiw \) is sing.; \( n'\text{'mkeu} \) 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.

\( omq \) deeply (adjective \( ô'mlæx \) deep)
\( me'taq \) far (adjective \( me'talæx \) distant)
\( kli'jhiq \) shallowly (adjective \( k'l'jhi\text{liæx} \) 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 \( n'mi'tqin \)) \( nu'\text{r}'a\text{z} \) far.

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

\( a'tqëuma \) (Kor. Kam. \( at\text{'i}nau \) regular) badly R 62.72 (stem \( a'gqå \), Kor. Kam. \( a'ga \); adjective form \( e'tqin \), Kor. Kam. \( a't\text{tin} \))
\( me'\text{çen'ki} \) (\( me'\text{ç}<\text{m}e'l \) good; \( en'ki \) there) well 67.22
\( me'\text{çen'ku-wa'l-e-\text{im} } \) I am a fairly good one 114.34. Here \( me' \) does not assume ablaut (see p. 763)
\( me'\text{rin'ke} \) slowly (stem-\( nt' \); adjective form \( n'i'n\text{ร'qin} \) slow)

A number of synthetical bases are used as adverbs, either without any change or mostly with added \(-i,-q\text{i},-ak\text{t},-\text{e}t\text{t} \) which are locative and and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with \( va'lin \) (Kor. Kam. \( i'tal\text{a}n \)), (see § 76).

As adverbs they have the ablaut, those without suffix as well as those with the suffix \(-i,-q\text{i} \), although the locative generally is used without ablaut.

Adverbs without suffixes are—

\( o'ra \) openly 121.30; stem \( ure \) (Kor. Kam. \( o'ya\text{n} \)) (see p. 862.)
\( oma'ka \) (Kor. Kam. \( oma'ka \) Kor. 61.2) together; stem \( yng\text{ke} \)
yê’ta in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem yîtq
a’'la (Kor. Kam. a’qwa) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem qhôq
(Kor. Kam. a’‘la)

With suffix -ki, -qi

tê’ki of cylindrical form; stem tîk.
kouló’qi (Kor. Kam. ko’lôn) round; stem kuyôl.
a’rkiôi (Kor. Kam. aykiôa) aslant, stem arôkî (Kor. Kam. aykîô)
a’rkiôi qata’ê (Kor. Kam. ay’kîôa qata’wañ) more aslant!
vê’ti truly 120.24 (vê’tê 107.8); stem vêth
vê’tirô straight (irregular); stem vêth (adjective form nuwê’thôqên)
gê’me without my knowledge; ge’mu 103.5 (Kor. Kam. a’mu
Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem -(t)hêm not to know.
rathêmâ’a’un without my knowledge 11.9. The affix rô—gô is
causative.
gêwê’ti without my knowledge 120.37; stem -(t)hiu not to know;
allative.
pulhirra’ki flatly; stem pylhirri
apaqa’’ri(n) (Kor. Kam. apaqa’’ë) face downward; stem apaqalı.
pî’tvi, pitva’ki double; stem pîtv
ê’mpû(n), émpa’ki downcast; stem împ
î’timû, timû’ki close to; stem tîml
yî’ëhi(n), yîch’a’ki uninterrupted, stem yîch
and several others.

Those with the suffix -êtô, -gôi express a diminished intensity of
the adverbial term:
êcoutë’ti somewhat low; stem çiût
qaë’gûi somewhat lazy; stem qüzi
yôrgê’ti somewhat foolish; stem yîrg¹
qêwrû’ti somewhat hasty; stem qûrî
tauë’ti somewhat better; stem têñ

All these forms combined with -va’lın (Kor. Kam i’talan) are com-
monly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix
ti’âki quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

trîk-â’tiôuma quite badly
trîk-ô’qülpe with great hurry
trîkî-mé’rînê quite slowly

¹ See also yôrgû-towit thin a foolish one 65.3.
Some others may form diminutives, as—
*kitkinn' u'qai* very little 118.6
*qaraqan' e'qai* a trifle more 106.6.
*č'ı'ncęqgi* very near 100.15
*vi'nvęqgi* very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ċt'meq 103.9 near</td>
<td>čt'meqk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'a 113.2 far</td>
<td>qa'vak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'al, qa'atr 119.29 in the rear</td>
<td>qa'wal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atto'ol in the front, earlier; atto'ol 8.7 in the front, down the coast</td>
<td>atto'ol Kor. 39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grpo'el 68.35; grpo'epa 123.7 above</td>
<td>pšho'el, pšho'ea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in'tii below</td>
<td>i'wil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ę'uša-čučča'pd from below 131.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mra' on the right hand</td>
<td>mra'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'ëm-k, fač(h)-čn-k; stem fačh, on the left side</td>
<td>fa'čh-qač, faščet'; stem fašča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro'ëm-k 52.11; stem ročk, on the other shore</td>
<td>roč'k; stem roč'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'ręrn; stem fa'ręrn outside.</td>
<td>o'nmɪ inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'nmɪ inside</td>
<td>o'nmɪ inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em'me'ti; stem em'me'ti</td>
<td>em'me'ti; stem em'me'ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'qču where (is it) 81.16</td>
<td>e'qču where (is it) 81.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ę'tča, ę'tčąq near the surface</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'kna nita'uqai if they had remained on the surface 68.37</td>
<td>(K. K. ya'nau, Kamchadal čalil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'nau straight ahead</td>
<td>(K. K. ya'nau, Kamchadal čalil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ċm'la close by</td>
<td>(K. K. ti'mla, Kamchadal čalil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'﨑ii on both sides, on all sides 120.24</td>
<td>ga'نزل Kor. 58.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rima'pt farther on, beyond.</td>
<td>yrmait'ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'čitśa side by side</td>
<td>a'čitśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em-nu'ńk-innerland 112.6</td>
<td>am-nuńńk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wul'rt on the back</td>
<td>wul'rt on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'gına in the presence</td>
<td>ya'gına in the presence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riagnau-k (rt-yagna-u-k; rt—u causative) opposite to 100.28</td>
<td>riagnau-k (rt-yagna-u-k; rt—u causative) opposite to 100.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamle't'ı around</td>
<td>kamle't'ı around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am-lępa'nńt back to back</td>
<td>am-lępa'nńt back to back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye'tir half-way 109.1</td>
<td>ye'tir half-way 109.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rinere' ashance</td>
<td>mal-volvet'ı, volvet'ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wule'a'kő across; stem wule'ta</td>
<td>wule'a'kő across; stem wule'a'kő</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bőččel'ı longitudewise</td>
<td>eu'leńńa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'ęs along</td>
<td>č'ęs along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'čś, qa'čś close to (see § 100.26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai'qępę windward 111.10 (qęp odour coming with the wind; -ępę ablative)</td>
<td>ai'qępę windward 111.10 (qęp odour coming with the wind; -ępę ablative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and verbal stems, or with the locative of the noun.

1 The form roč'k to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

§ 126
nuwolvenana'tvagên: across sitting was carried 145.3 (n(u)—qin
nominalizing prefix; wulv across; inêne to sit on a sledge; tva
to be)
gümâgga'qna: in my presence 
éulêtêl-va'lin: of elongated shape 91.15
ya'raw-liha'nlingaq-va'lin: to the houses from the other side
being 11.7
têrêri-irgo'î: at sunrise 104.16
va'am-girgoqêa'qti: up river 119.14
kamle'lî-ya rak: around the tent 104.20
yorow'ti kamlle'lî: sleeping room all around 12.10 (yorow'ti al-
lative)
ve'emik va'ë: qa'ê:a he lived close to the river 122.8
Nota'rêmêngâçâ: close to Nota'rmen 121.10

§ 127. Temporal Adverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tî'te</td>
<td>tî'ta Kor. 27.7</td>
<td>ò'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ë'n'ki</td>
<td>ë'ni Kor. 39.2</td>
<td>kna'ñ, mûr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ên'hitêq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1'h'mna 19.1</td>
<td>gu'mlañ Kor. 84.11</td>
<td>te'naw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi'tkâ-lumna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'not 43.9</td>
<td>ya'not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yep</td>
<td>ye'ppe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tê'te 7.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telenye'p 112.20</td>
<td>ankryep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tite'ep</td>
<td>tîto'o'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qir'mil 83.19</td>
<td></td>
<td>ñêne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gin'nry'ép</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'git 21.1; 36.9</td>
<td>d'ëhi Kor. 30.9</td>
<td>ne'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'vve</td>
<td>a'qvîve Kor. 78.26</td>
<td>a'cînêk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avoiend'a'p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(qvên-yêp)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aigo'ôn</td>
<td></td>
<td>glank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aigoond'a'p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(qgûon-yêp)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rîga'tik</td>
<td>mîtîw Kor. 21.8</td>
<td>a'jujik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitu'r</td>
<td>vo'dîn-ai'nun</td>
<td>ñêxîtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kituje'p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kitûur-yêp)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

when
then
of late
again
double again, i.e. the third time
at first
still
in olden times
long ago
from what time on, after a long time Kor. 57.5
recently
from recent time on
now, at present
yesterday
from yesterday on
lately
from late times on
to-morrow
last year
from last year on
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chuukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitur-no'on</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yavuri'nak</td>
<td>ya'wyin</td>
<td>tal'a'nank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'Le 20.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr'tkd-yawnak</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čit 17.6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'nëna 54.9</td>
<td>pa'nena</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'ne,i'nen 113.11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quli'ninek</td>
<td>quli'nikak</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aisk 118.20</td>
<td>va'yuq</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor. 21.3</td>
<td>va'ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor. 56.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇa'nengaqe</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gol't-a'lo'</td>
<td>gol't-a'lo'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aive ṇa'nemгaqe</td>
<td>aigru-ai'gi-veča</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imičeо nēt</td>
<td>a'mnūa, Kor. 53.1, a'wun</td>
<td>kūnepol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a'mnūt Kor.54.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'mkiničo 112.8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e'mki revery)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čo probably analogous</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to ču numeral adverbial; a suffix)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ai'nūm Kor. 61.1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>a'mličh</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quli'-thi'wik</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čiq-etuwa'k 44.4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu'laŋ Kor.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>16.2; 64.10</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wü't'iku</td>
<td>wü't'iču Kor. 31.2; 41.2; 47.9; 80.2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>wot'vaŋ Kor. 96.8</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many a year ago</td>
<td>next year</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soon</td>
<td>the year after next</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before this</td>
<td>another time</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afterwards</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± day after to-morrow</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± day before yesterday</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all the time</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after that Kor. II</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in future years</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± all at once</td>
<td>± (čiq see § ± 113.13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± for a long time</td>
<td>± (čiq see § ± 113.13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± just then</td>
<td>± (čiq see § ± 113.13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chuckchee     Kor. Kam.     Kamchadal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chuckchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>un't'ku</td>
<td>itu'pil</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akila'ë Kor.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27.4;28.3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akila'ë Kor.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vë'tha-go'nom</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>just now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pîce' Kor. 14.11</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go'za Kor. 70.14</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qu'lin Kor. 60.2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñnnvo'q Kor. 13.5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of these are adverbial phrases:

- *qu'lin* at something else (from *qu'li* some, *ni'kek* see p. 731).
- *qol-t-alo' another day
- *mičído'nêt* all days
- *irga'iik on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

- *irga'ëti* towards to-morrow
- *irga'thapê* from to-morrow

Others, like *bûmnêa* again, *yanot* at first, do not take post-positions.

Seasons of the year, sections of the day and night are expressed by the locative—

- *wulqàtvîk* in the evening time 120.3 (*wu'lq* darkness -tvî to attain a certain quality §110, 68)
- *lûle'nêki* in the winter 51.1 (stem lûlen)
- *irgiro'k* at dawn (grg dawn; -ru: phenomena of nature (§110, 71)

Following are some examples of their use.

**yep** still

- *yep wu'kwu ya'ra'nî na'gam* but the tent was still stone 107.11
- *yep irgiro'ka* while (the day) was not yet dawning 56.8
- *mi'nêki re'l'gu va'ma yep* while he is still in the inner room 135.15
- *telen-ye'p* in olden times 61.5
- *telen-ye'pêni* belonging to olden times 61.5
- *yep e'cîri* not yet

§ 127
qi’nmilikin lately

e’nmen lu’ur qi’nmilikin ro’o then there was the one who had lately been eaten 35.9
me’msiqai qi’nmilikin sni’ n tmyo’ yarro’nên the seal he had lately killed, he put in his bosom 43.8
qi’nmilikin 104.8–

pe’nin(e) as before

pe’nin urma’yenganada’chin of large size as before 20.5
pe’nin sni’i’qitkin lu’lqâil it was his face as before 77.14
pe’nin tandawa’qetilin as before he barked 104.13
peninei’qit lei’wul-i-qit from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12
pa’nêna releuwewurkin will you as before do wrong? 20.12-21.1
pa’nêna ni’kirtma’qen he was as before extending his hands 47.8
qâwe’r e’nmen irga’tik pa’nêna wulqatvi’ê at this time then in the morning it became as before dark 54.9
go’ongan pa’nêna’qti genlete’tâ that to the former (place) is carried 133.2

Koryak:

assa’kin pa’nin gayo’olen the one of the other day (who)
before had found him Kor. 52.6
pa’nena . . . ga’nplilen another time he stuffed it in Kor. 15.6
qa’wun pani’ta mi’kinak nayamata’ge though some time thou wilt marry some one Kor. 78.17
pa’ninau vâo’ungichu . . . the scars of former times Kor. 86.1

ëit FORMERLY

a’men ëit gëmu’w-ëi’mgu’la a’qa’-rkila gene’l-i-um before this, in my own mind, I have become one who can hardly be pursued 17.6
zaqâ’ un ui’na’ ëit ene’nkalin that one formerly had no spirits 60.1
ëit vai ke’le êôaka’ta nilei’wuqin formerly there ke’le wandered outside 61.6
qâilo’qum ëit kime’l’ mé’ên’ku-wal-i’um in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34
ëit um wutikeinei’’-gum formerly I belonged to this place 97.10
guivele’ti’ên ëit one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11
ëit muw’ren’miik ëli ge’n’u ni’râ-mu’ri before we were born to father, we two R44.2–3

The following example seems to refer to the future:

ëit eziqigai’gûpû ta’ ast e’un ui’na’ after some time they passed by the father’s place and (there was) nothing 109.34–35

tele in olden times

tele e’nmen . . . nágâliči’qinet in olden times, then they were at war 7.1

§ 127
pe'Le soon
naqa'm pe'le nümgiqvi'gin but soon it decreased in size 20.2
pe'le neuv'tim topa'wkwë soon the bitch was 104.7

a'čhi va'n this time
achì va'n go'npü mała'ti this time it grew much better Kor. 20.5-6
e'čhi-van ti'nmin this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13
achì 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-gi gansa'tiykin now you said, "it burns" Kor 30.9
ačhi'kin nenénaye'ye-ge? wert thou looking for it just now?
Kor. 49.8-9
ačhikī'čw-ai'ūnaka now do not cry! Kor. 60.7
See also Kor. 68.13

$\S 128$. 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 un-
certain that a division seems hardly possible. Many of them have
such nice shades of meaning that they can not be rendered ade-
quately 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 in-
stance in the use of ım, elo'n, a'men, etc. Some are always post-
positional and tend to unite phonetically with the word they modify
(see examples under ım)

ım, ım, -ım an emphatic adverb. It is always postpositional
and seems to emphasize the word to which it is attached

Following nouns:
Enra'q ne'us'gitt ım ... ganra'qtalen then the woman ... 
took it home 28.5-6
Pënyo'thin ım nleteti'yi the hearth blazed up 32.3
Wë'rgirgin ım vai ge'pki'lin the noise reached there 32.13
Inpina'čhin ım eli'qin gehe'wänü the old father and his wife 33.9
3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—54

§ 128
Engaq'n e'n'ki erre't ne'us'güt, . . . gora'k üm uwü'güeq there was only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the husband 51.9-10
uwü'güeq tätä üm by the husband 39.6
yorou'ti üm to the sleeping room 39.10

Following pronouns:
wo'tqan üm vai this one here 45.12
Engaq'n üm vi'n'vi te'rqi'lin this one who was weeping secretly 49.1
gumna'n üm I 137.1

Following verbs:
teqe'llignin üm a'mi she made a cap too 28.8
ye'tti-m vai she came there 29.13
gaplëta't üm gora'ni the reindeer fell down 51.6
guq, gem'r's'qulin üm, a'ni it is deep! 53.1
mnpëla'a'æn üm let us leave it 53.1

The emphatic üm appears frequently in combination with other particles. Examples of these will be found on the following pages.

I'mi also, furthermore,
i'mi am-vejë'irgä gi'lnin naranaunó'æn furthermore, by only breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4-5
i'git i'mi yei'velqäi ku'likä ra'ai'vi'n'voor furthermore, from now on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10
mi nouñou'lín in e'le wu'kku epki'r'kälin q ü'nurk not even a hair here would reach me 93.6
i'gir i'mi Nota's'ga-va'r'qin narataaro'ü'nó'æn from now on, furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2
Engaq'at gei'qäleet i'mi'æn they also were sleeping 55.2

Engaq'n exhortative particle
pu'ru ina'n mai'æn va'ke mi'îhîr in exchange let me give thee this knife 15.12 (see also 93.30; 103.31; 104.3)
a'n' am-taaro'na qäti'gitki nota'-ma'r'qitkon only with sacrifices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2
le'utî-tele'æn ina'n nanwa'go'æn let the head-sufferer be seated! 45.11

In the following example ma'n appears with the future:
ma'n tre'etyä's meq-ä's'qulpe I shall come quickly 45.9-10

The following are probably derived from the demonstrative stem en-

E'nikit all at once
na'qam e'nikit poi'ga nüri'npüqen üm but all at once they struck him with a spear 36.2

§128
In most cases ᵇ’nikit appears in coordinate clauses and may be translated as soon as

e’nmen ᵇ’nikit rilu’tdku then all at once he moved 16.5
ᵉ’nkit uwi’k krip’tkenën (as soon as) he struck the body (i.e. himself) 35.11
ᵉ’nkit ⁶m naramata’git (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9-10
ᵉ’nkit gai’mi’čm nigit’e’čn (as soon as) they looked upon the wealth 107.16
ᵉ’nkit reci’pe’tyi’es (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22
ᵉ’nkit ne’qgi’čn ilule’tyi’es as soon as he was loose he stirred 102.25
ᵉ’nkim qite’nin . . . as soon as he looked on it 23.9

Enna’nI in like manner

Enā’q then (see under e’nmen)

Engana’ta therefore (instrumental of enga’n, by that)
Engana’ta s’ngu tilq’rkmē therefore I gave them up R46.39
Engana’ta no’č-e-⁶m gene’l-i-⁶m therefore I become poor R45.28
gano’twey-güm Engana’ta qo’n’pu therefore I became quite poor R45.28
Engana’ta ilva’-nota’gti ttēggē’nirkin therefore I wish for the wild reindeer country R46.52
Engana’ta dauwua’-ra’mki’cha aś’ttrn niggi’pqin therefore the reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

En’ke’mIr, En’ge’mIr, En’ke’mIrc e’ur moreover (see also achē’mIra)
En’ge’mIrc e’ur a’ga’-ra’mki’cẖin ya’rat moreover, they are very bad people R53.20-21

En’qam then (see under e’nmen)

En’ñata’l THIS TIME.

En’ñata’l ⁶m li’it’li’-girt from now on I shall know thee 93.21
En’ñata’l enga’n ru’nin this time she ate 90.6
En’ñata’l anqangacagti . . . ri’ntninet this time she threw them seaward 49.6
En’ñata’l kirvete’ru qinete’š’tik from now on jostle me! (literally with elbow jostling do me) 61.3
En’ñata’l ⁶m revi’ntik this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19
En’ñata’l ⁶m qalhegami’twatik of that you may eat your fill 65.31
En’ñata’l ⁶m qa’s’qae’wewi’es this time he did it in earnest 83.20
En’ñata’l ⁶m lu-ora’wēlan this time they were real people 84.29
En’ñata’l ⁶m i’ppe gna’n i’me rż’nvit em-ginři’ta nine’nti-git this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20
En’ñata’l ⁶m na’nmirκin-⁶-girt this time he will kill you 114.32
En’ñata’l enga’n errēttēgirt this time it is ended R4.50

§128
'nkri gratis

En·féi'n· thus
	nignopitva'qèn en·féi' n· iri'èiku he remained crouching thus in his coat 7.4
	en·féi'n· ūm nan niriw'riqin thus that one plunged along 8.11–12
gagno'pqè . . . en·féi'n· crouch down thus 32.4
e'le en·féi'n· va'la inenu'kùlì-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

x'ñu-wa'lı-ð-git such a one art thou 70.25
en·ñu-wa'lı-to're such are you 106.28

E'n·ñot thus

ni'wkwàè'n e'n·ñot they spoke thus 78.4
ti'wkwàèk e'nñot I say thus 15.8

ELO'ñ emphatic particle

gik ELO'ñ oh! 10.1
elO'ñ grmi'kù ne'lyàt now they became (our) game 12.2
gik, e'nmen irlep'èt. ELO'ñ r'emkin tumge'wkwàe oh, they landed.
Now the people became friendly 14.1
ELO'ñ en·ñu'wàlè-git such a one art thou 21.11
ELO'ñ mirri'wkuł-hit let us bind thee 23.8
ia'm eLO'ñ ten'ne'urkin why doest thou laugh? 30.3
ELO'ñ nara'nmùgìt they will kill thee 37.10
ELO'ñ vai tri'irkin-i-git this one I give thee 104.1
ELO'ñ gina'ñ eLO'ñ Piti'ýn-i-git thou art Rheum 103.21
i'git úm eLO'ñ but now! 123.18

Here belongs also—
e'mìlon somewhere 97.23; 121.1 (<emi-eLO'ñ)
e'mìlonai'nin (augmentative of e'mìlon) 43.6

awe'tuwaq suddenly, at once
awe'tuwaq èwkwàètyì suddenly he left R 13.27
yiq-awe'tuwaq naus'qati'ýnìn orgù'tkini kenema'nnen at once
he tied the girl to the sledge R 13.23

a'men ùm ELO'ñ expresses displeasure, somewhat like German
"aber doch" without disjunctive meaning.
gik, a'men ùm eLO'ñ notas'qa'wkwàe Oh, the land is near 8.8
("aber das Land ist doch nahe")
guq, a'men ùm eLO'ñ cr'mgik péla'arkin oh, some are leaving 8.9.
guq, a'men ùm eLO'ñ . . . r'emkin qànu'nre'ljà ò, the people will come 10.3–4

guq, a'men ùm eLO'ñ minwurkin-i'-git let us tie thee 20.9;
see also 23.13

§128
a’men ûm elo’n e’tqi nintewimin’get-i-ûm I was badly tortured by them 21.9
a’men ûm elo’n Nota’s-qa-Va’irga ini’wkwis I am told by the Ground-Beings 23.11-12
guq, elo’n ûm a’men ga’mqa-va’irgê’pû tmete’wkwâk among all beings I could not do it 18.9
elo’n ûm a’men, votqanai’ûn elo’n garaqêha’lên that big one, what has the bad one done! 31.9
amen ûm elo’n vot uuśi’gu’citû ai’mak em e’tlu gete’kilin this husband made the whole carcass into excrement 81.11
a’men ûm elo’n ne’un’gu’üt-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 ûm e’nmen pênyo’lûn nuurqirget’qin and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8
e’nmen ûm uuśi’gu’qê qal’ul a’men ûm nitvêtêga’gên wûl’h-râqaia a’men ûm vai li’i-leñ-evirâlín 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-ûm 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
d’minam (= a’men-ûm 15.10)
a’men ûm not! such a one 98.33
a’men ûm elo’n 8.8, 9; 10.3; 39.1, 13; 41.6; 64.1; 81.11; elo’n ûm a’men 31.9 (see under elo’n) it should not be expected, but a’men ûm garê’m 16.9; a’men garêm but I will not! 16.1
a’men ûm naq’ûm 39.4; na’qam a’men 63.11; however venli’i ûm a’men 40.7

a’mi
tepe’lignîn ûm a’mi she made a cap too 28.8
nananaga’qëriin ûm a’mi geggu’lin the little child awoke 55.3
telenye’p ûm a’mi long ago 61.5-6
kirga’m ûm a’mi . . . well (if you had found him) 121.4

a’nI an emphatic particle (?)
e’nmen a’ni quànu’r gun nute’s qän then certainly just like ground 8.6
e’nmen a’ni qilu’thulîn then she practised shamanism 39.7 (see also 39.8, 9; 40.4; 102.15; 104.35; 105.2, 15; 109.32)
ге’ente’lîn ûm a’ni she was startled 29.6-7

§128
genpeu'lin üm a'ni he became quite decrepit 107.26
a'ni,geitlko'vulin u'kkám so they distributed vessels 14.1
a'ni,gilw'tkulin he beat the drum 107.9
a'ni,geitpeine'lin he continued to sing 102.17
a'ni a'ttau for no particular object 30.4
a'ni qu'num,qanto'è oh, look here! come out! 81.27

atau' without purpose; for no particular reason; it does not matter
atau', li'en re'gärkin (you went to no purpose) what is the matter
with thee? 18.6
atau', le'wov (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'grap'tqên to no purpose was he discussed 15.7
gr-i'keliy-gr, a'ttau it is your (own) tattooed face; (you act) to
no purpose 77.8
attau' gírgol-gla'ulo nine'lhâgin for no particular reason he
takes it for the man above 124.6-7
quq, attau'-qun o'rgoor ye'taqatši'gin just get (your) sledge ready
105.20 (see also 119.18)
e, gu'nä, a'ttau oh, well, it does not matter 78.7
quk, attau' qumi'k oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down) 78.24

achè'mira, achè'mira-ñ-e'ur moreover (see also en'ke'mír)

a'lími disjunctive

a'lími alo'ka'qüv va'le-üm although I am invisible 22.10
a'lími va'le ra'galgal however, there is no need of the knife 57.4
ka'ko, a'lími ine'ls'kâlinet he has not seen them anyway 70.32
ya'am tile'lit a'lími lu'ur nan titqâ'nninet but it swallowed them
71.3
a'lími gúwalo'márkin üm vé'tt do obey! 88.10
a'lími ehe'nûlin however, he was a shaman 105.1
a'lími kamagra'nnoi he really gave a start 101.16-17

a-lù'mña expresses surprise (see lù'mña)

guq, a-lù'mña gai've qit oh, is that so, is it thou? 97.13
a-lù'mña is that so? 121.1; 125.7
a-lù'mña no'on me'nîn who was here? 109.21

a'qâlpe quickly 122.2

eî'uk, aî'ok

ma'n aî'ok nevitte'pik trenwre'te'ur let me in due time make it
appear (be born) through a female dog 121.31
qûk,nmî'k eî'uk ekâlu'k oh, in due time (I see) thee at last 19.4
en qa'm ma'n aî'ok . . . re'etyè then after a while . . . he shall
come 83.5-7

Also 118.20

§128
"e'ün" seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.  
mi'ňkři, e'ünmen, ge'ngge-ni'kin ńi'ńqäi něña'gto.gen, e'ün navii'qin how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8 ńi'ľhä ge'wukulín e'ün ninenlirpe'tqäet with thongs he is tied and he breaks them 20.9  
e'ur řlki'rgi̱ e'ün nelki'ńkäet then she came and they had gone abroad 31.2  
e'ur enqa'ñ ö'ťťtwet geti'ne'ñætin, e'ün gepli'kuleet and that boat was loaded and they had finished 31.1  
qagno'pgë ... e'ün eze'pkä sit with head bent down ...; and do not look 32.4–5  
"en-he' eze'pkä," e'ün valo'mqe' "Do not look!" and she obeyed e'ün nine'ōviqe'ñin and they cut it 72.18  
e'ün geplqærüseülinet ne'wanti and their wives had become decrepit with age 72.29  
čeq-alvam-va'lt, e'un t'pe kele'inqä gayo'laat how very extraordinary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8  
e'nmen e'ün e'nki nituq'gën i'me-räšt'nut and then there was everything 106.32  
e'ün yara'ñe nine'i'qin and it became a house 107.14  
gik, rpe't ňã e'ün! (now they are coming!) 11.10  
gik, nçe'ẽm e'ün gare'm e'ün, gik oh, but it was not there 27.11  
gai'mrin ngite'śn, e'ün kukwa't-koko'ñalin they looked at the wealth and all was turned into dry leaves 107.16  

Note: Not to be confused with the prefix e'un- actual, principal, as in e'ün-ńe'łvüł principal herd; a'ün-gëta'amenti 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'g'šëz, en'qô'm e'ur lâmnänæ'ñi they went home, and at the same time he also followed 120.26  
e'ur giirgronta'len, astwilo ničamitauqen at that time the dawn came, (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9  
e'ur rirko'ta t'unin, "E'ur yîlqä narayo'gït, muru'wmîl qaĩqei'i" at that time the walrus said to him, "At the time when sleep overtakes you, roar like we (do)!" 10.6  
e'ur řm gólârd'ñt, Aivihuanpind'ñhăqai gi'ulín at the time when they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island man said 11.10  
a'ttwu-yëñki niqiteqin, e'ur řm gepl'quteñin they looked into the canoe and at that time it was full 67.6  
e'ur is used also quite frequently as conditional.  

§128
e'ur Iumetun'nu ritya', rine'newkwä at the time when you are Iumetun, you shall make me black 23.6 (=if you are the same); also 24.2
kra'm e'ur li'e-va'irrñ1ci ganau'tun-è-git, vai u'mki qaqtí'gin this time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring a polar bear 110.5
ix'tik e'ur teqge'airkin, gina'n ñi'mhütä if actually you want it, do as you please
euw'mña < e'ur lâm'mña or, or again
euw'mña e'kik or again the son R 23.88
but e'ur lâm'mña 98.9

Before the initial n of the following word e'ur changes to e'un (see § 7.20; § 11). See 20.8; 72.18
Still e'un and e'ur are not identical, e'ur being used as connective and between separate nominal (or verbal) forms while e'un is not so used.

gethu'tä e'ur gel eu'tirgitkuta with blowing or with scratching the head 126.7
ilh-a'ttin e'ur, e'ur 'um une'ñ'chin also the white dog and the thong-seal 102.29; also 97.18
also 8.7; 9.2; 21.6; 31.1, 2, 3; 98.9

NOTE: Between proper names, instead of the connective e'ur, the plurals of the personal pronouns may be used.

G'i'thilin e'rri Tha'rgin genew't'a'mga Sunset and Dawn are connected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they Dawn)
mu'ri Qla'ul I and Qla'ul (lit. we Qla'ul)

epel'un

ki'tam qin eple'un li'i eñeñtvi'e well, did he really obtain shamanistic power? 18.4

ëwkurga, ëwkurga-m however

ë'wkurga tu'mgitun ui'nä however, companion none (i. e. my companion is not with me) 11.1
ë'wkurga ginen'ññññevi-git however, you have frightened me 15.10
ë'wkurga tilv-æ'minan trenelthä (if I do so) however, I shall be all alone 31.13-32.1
ë'wkurga Nota'sqa-Va'rarga nénanwethawa'tqen however, the Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9
egei', ë'wkurga ñam'mam all right, however, (it will be) in vain 108.30
ë'wkurga-m ñotolëw' o'co nine'lhi-tnm, however, that under my pillow I have for my leader 128.13
\[ \text{ewkurga-m \text{lo'n voi uitermeche'ngin however, he does much vio-} } \\
\text{lence 66.26} \\
\text{See also 45.7; 66.14; 79.20; 84.6; 85.8} \\
\]

c'pte likewise, in the same manner \\
\text{gänvve'k \text{kime'k \text{éna'nmu'\text{e'pte güm at this time almost you} } } \\
\text{killed me likewise 121.16, 17} \\
\text{attau' \text{a'\text{tu mihi'sa'\text{n \text{e'pte güm simply as a dog I'll use it (I) } } } } \\
\text{likewise 135.20–21} \\
\text{e'pte güm \text{eq} \text{gülili'lit ne'mägöi \text{gina'n \text{näna'nmë-git likewise the} } } \\
\text{game procurers also thou has killed 44.9–10} \\
\text{a'men \text{um elo'n \text{e'pte güm miña'utnga'k let me likewise take a} } } \\
\text{wife R12.8} \\
\]

emite't at once, just now \\
\text{emite't um muwè'\text{nàttaaq I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see} \\
\text{32.2 emite't um in final position} \\
\text{emite't um tè'rgilim ra'gal \text{nan even thus crying for what? 27.12} \\
\text{gug, emite't um evi'rit qotëi'kiginet oh, at once clothing make!} \\
\text{49.4} \\
\text{emite't-um tré'lo'nat nime'\text{lginet I just left them in safety (=good} \\
\text{ones) 53.4} \\
\text{emite't-um ataa'\text{nkë'tim tè'rgilim they did not touch the one who} } \\
\text{cried, (so at once . . . )} \\
\text{emite't um gägni'qin bring it at once 111.3} \\
\text{emite'tum tigite'\text{w'n I looked on her 88.30} } \\
\]

e'tI evidently, probably. \\
\text{e'tm vai nipa'tqënat vën-va'kti evidently they cooked them} \\
\text{secretly 9.9} \\
\text{e'tm nu'tenut mëmrëmeukwë'n evidently we are approaching} \\
\text{land 9.11} \\
\text{e'tm am gemge-nute'gìn evidently from every country 11.4} \\
\text{e'tm a'men kwës'ti'm tret'\text{tyä'n evidently I brought Children's} } \\
\text{Death 20.1} \\
\text{e'tm ke'lek gälë'ketyi'\text{evidently thou wilt marry a kele 26.2} } \\
\text{e'tm wu'tku evidently he is here! 125.2} \\
\text{e'tm niro'rgari there many have been three 97.26} \\
\text{elo'\text{n um e'tm evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) } } \\
\text{31.10; 108.22} \\
\text{e'tillø necessarily} \\
\text{eto—} \\
\text{eto'qai'a'qan ripkire'n nin after a while he brought her back} \\
\text{51.4} \\
\text{e'nmen \text{eto'qai'a'qan um gëq'\text{gi after a while he vomits 136.24–25} } } \\
\text{qai'\text{ve-maë-eto'pèl indeed I am a little better 135.7–8} } \\
\text{§ 128} \]
erréè git èto'pèl thou art most fit 135.19
èto'pèl en'ki iwukũi'is she better drank then (i. e. she could
drink then) 37.4
è'togon wo'tgan gàimi'tgn will you take this one?
è'togon mirrenu'terg'ìgit shall we bury thee rather in the ground?
R 60.23
e'nmen, en'qa'm, en̄a'q then, coordinating conjunctions. Of
these enme'n seems to express the most definite temporal
sequence, en'qa'm a closer temporal connection, while en̄a'q
should be translated in turn and indicates a still closer con-
nection. It seems to depend upon the liveliness of the narra-
tive which of these three is used. The first one is the most
frequent connective conjunction, although a constant use of
en'qa'm 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 Umqágái'innà rihhindigwe'ennen ñe'us'qút. e'nmen
lu'ur e'gripqis At that time U'mqágái pointed with his finger
at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7-8
en'qa'm enqa'n Umqágái'inti geqnteu'linet; e'nmen qu'ttirgin
qà'at nerrì'net at that time U'mqágái and his people fled; then
the others untied the reindeer 63.10-11
en'qa'm nite'gùqìqin . . . e'nmen niten ñe'w-i-ììì . . . en'qa'm
qì'ùlin At that time she sniffed . . . then I laughed a
little; . . . then she said 72.11-13
e'nmen ya'yak gamitvoa'qìn mì'tqak, en'qa'm enqa'n ryrirrai'-
nénat then the gulls ate all the blubber and at that time they
anointed them
en'men wu'likan qitie'kirgin . . . en'qa'm dinčiku'ti qineni'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 sig-
nifies a closer connection than e'nmen.

The form en̄a'q is parallel to me'rgin-4aq we next 69.22 and
gùm-τaq i next 77.21 Its meaning in turn this time appears
clearly 17, 23, 96.11.

en̄a'q appears also together with e'nmen
e'nmen nute'sqìn en̄a'q nukwéthau'qèn then this time he spoke
to the ground 15.9-10
e'nmen en̄a'q ya'yakìt naminukwu'arikinat then in turn he re-
warded the gulls 74.28-29

In the beginning of a story e'nmen means once upon a time.

§ 128
e'nmec because
va'nêvan ni'tvë'nèn, e'nmec úm nayïhau'nèn she did not tell him anything because she feared his anger 88.22-23
e'nmec úm e'un pâki'rgi' ya'rak garanëçmaun'lën uwat'guç when she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10-11
e'nmec úm ñan e'chi wulqäti'i', keñkele'nñin because of this, before evening came, he made her descend 97.5-6
e'nmec a'gilpe because of this, hurry up!
e'nmec gepli'tkulin and already it is finished
e'nmec qui'mik tašla'iorkin already I soil my trousers 94.19
e'nmec wi'jolu gi'nelhi'irkin already you shall have me for a servant 95.7, also 95.15

ece'nur eçu'ur
ece'nur vintuwi'lën it shall be (this way) a well trained one 24.6
ece'nur . . . veime'nu nere'thinin it shall be (this way) one who is kindly treated 25.8-9
guq, ece'nur yë'ya qäle'tik it shall be this way! (you shall) move on slowly 65.28
eçu'ur yep vai atëvqä'tka vai yeqte'let it shall be this way! as yet without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40

e'chi before
e'chi ras'gëwòno'rët ëit nepi'iorkin gla'ulgai before they could enter they attacked the man 85.15
e'chi yilqäi tyüt ganto'lën before they had gone to sleep he went out 8.4
e'chi eime'vukwi' irogro'ñoi 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 -rkim WHEN ABOUT TO—
e'chi pelqante'erkin . . . gapëkagta'lën when about to come back, she fell down 97.20
e'chi ëit qam'i'varkin lu'ur pi'rinin when she was about to eat, after that he caught her 87.12
e'nnen e'chi ret'nilä te'grrikmin lu'ur i'vukwi' then, when the bow-man was about to fling the harpoon, after that he said 10.10

elhile'ñki in case, if
elhile'ñki relu'nin in case you should see him

erre'ë only
erre'ë qun ñe'ekik an only daughter R 12.10
erre'ë engo'n ñe'ekik (there was) only that daughter 28.2
erre'ë ñiro'rgari there were only three of them 34.3
na'gam erre'ë yi'lili ru'rkinin he eats only tongues 49.3

§ 128
erre'ë um am-giska't gegen'linet only just the legs were left 51.4
erre'ë aikokal nokal yin u'm on the bedskins was only blood 56.4-5
erre't-te'gin limit of end (i.e. it is the end); from -tegn limit (only
in compounds) 64.2
erre'ë mi'mil, yu'rat mi'mil nine'uqin a'mkiniso only water,
verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

eke'tin but (weaker than naqa'm)
eke'in git nurul'i-git; gi'nawân um gümna'n me'chen'ki tre'nthun
but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well

ekâlu'k

gim'il ei'uk ekâlu'k at last for thee 19.4

ekeña'n, eçena'n I wish I could (with subjunctive b)
ekeña'n gümna'n ti'pi'restn I wish I could take it

eke'upèrI and now, but now

eke'upèr tiplitkurkn and now I am finishing it

ia'm > Iyam why 19.5

ia'm elo'n ten'ne'urkin why are you laughing 30.3
ia'm peghi'nu nine'Thu-grr ora'wezan why doest thou meddle with
man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11
ia'm gemge'gimnik qo'nmunan why do you kill all the game?
92.32

iu'kâ oh if! I wish—
guq, iu'kâ qaia'gañ mingami'twarkin I wish we could eat more
65.4
guq, iu'kâ mimpontorkin-e-git I wish I could eat of your liver!
95.19

iu'kâ no'onqan mnin'mürkin I wish we might kill this one 70.22

i'ppe, yi'pe actually
en'ga'nm i'ppe mûkiti'yin then actually very
many . . . moved 11.7
en'ñata'lm i'ppe grin' this time it is really thou 93.20
e'on i'pe keleti'gaya'tlaat now really kele visit them 106.8
i'pe-qun really 45.3

güm, gu'nâ hî'i-i'ppe ti'urkin I, indeed, quite truly say 57.2

i'tik

i'tik a'men âruntime'erkin in reality thou desirest 24.11
garê'men ora'wezan, i'tik um ke'le (she is) not a human being,
in reality she is a ke'le 29.9
garê'men i'tik lû'mûl this is not a real myth 61.5
gik, atta' i'tik um tîlu'q'n in vain, if in reality I had seen
him 121.6
galeoçima'-morë i'tik um in reality we have met 121.23

§ 128
Nota's qa- Va'irga leule'wu ine'li'en ei'tik the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1. 

li'en ei'tik amnih'nora gû'mik rûmke'urkin qarè'm mulimala'n- 
noa'k just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10. 

i's'tig lû'mnà Tûo'tirgè-git in reality again, thou art Tûo'irgûn 
i's'tig lû'mnà qalitka'n'qet ehotnetuì in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11–12.

i'nqun lest. 
nênaio'qên i'nqun nere'lu'wàm she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3. 

'... i'nqun vai kintaya'n rango'urkin vë'ti grnî'k lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3. 
nini'uqinet, titì'r remle'gitki, i'nqun nere'lu'wàm he said to them, "You will break the needles!" lest they should look at them 82.12.

i'git now. 
i'gir i'm Nota's qa- Va'irgin narataaro'nñonin now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1–2. 
qu'num i'git im mlnra'gtata'em let me now take it home 121.28. 
i'git-ûm-lio'n o'ra tryo'erkuì now I have come to thee openly 123.18.

ya'not first. 
go,gûn ûm ya'not oh, I first 43.9. 

ya'nà separately, alone 
ntikiv'gin ya'nà she passes the nights by herself 28.3.

ya'rat very (sometimes ya'cat) 
nuthu'lqinet ya'rat very hot ones 9.9. 
nye'rat nite'ñqinet very good ones 14.8. 
nite'ñqin ya'rat a very pretty one 36.3. 
enehitvi'ët ya'rat he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10. 
yâ'tran nìglo'qên she sorrowed very much 27.10. 
amen ûm ya'rat verily! 85.2. 

yalea'n-kin probably 9.13. 

yæqqäi a particle giving a slightly emphatic shade to the phrase, like German "ja". 
yæqqäi' en'qua'm pe'le tre'etyä I'll soon be back (ich werde ja 
bald wiederkommen) 30.8. 
yæqqäi' ûm qu'num tu'ri qarè'mena-tëre ye are not (human 
beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4–5. 
mû'kri-m-e'ûn yæqqäi' gûmna'n muli'as'ûn tûwëlvoqa'arkin how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll 
ihn ja finden) 124.3.

§ 128.
yäqqäi'-nan git tratara'näa for thee I'll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38
yäqqäi' ora'wëza-tainatśha'til-é-git you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6
yäqqäi' um rëz' nut what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3
yäqqäi' um yagatlä'n'vo tye'tyä'k have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26
yeli'i (evidently containing the element li'i TRULY, REALLY, see also uzi'i, venli'i, miteli'i, gäzi'i, quzi'i)
e'nmen yeli'i enqa'n is he the only one? 21.13
yeli'i gümna'n rather (let) me (be the one)
Also R 12.7
yu'raq perhaps.
opo'pe exhortative
opo'pe gorait-git minle'git thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7
opo'pu minpa'awkut let us stop! 98.6
opo'pe metalai'ruut let me give thee a beating R 61.50
o'pta\n\na like (see Koryak Kamenskoye opta)
o'ra openly
gina'n qanra'gtaya'n o'ra if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30
i'git-äm-ilo'n o'ra tya's'wkut I have come to thee openly 123.18–19
uwr'ur it seems that
u'rrri thus, so
u'rrri näplu'tvi'qin it was so small 20.3
u'rrri li'ñki nümqvi'qin thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4
gaqno'pgë' éričikouti u'rrri en'ni'n sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4
u'rrri mnüq'žünun ri'nün thus he did (with) his hand 57.10
u'rrri näq gini'n . . . thus it is yours . . . 93.9–10
wu'rrri thus
na'qam 'um neyule'tqin wu'rrri still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3
e'nmen vai wu'rrri enqa'n gama'tñolën there thus that one dragged her 51.1
enqa'n ena'n čini't wu'rrri nï'tqin that one there herself was thus 26.9
e'nmen wu'rrri puulge'wkwi then he floated thus 77.23
e'nmen e'nikit riču'ku wu'rrri girgola'qü there at once he moved thus upward 16.5
uñmük greatly, strongly
§ 128
**ul*i'i** in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element li'i REALLY, TRULY; see also ye-li'i, ven-li'i, miteli'i, qashi'i, gashi'i)

ul'i' yara'ni gamata'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'lhun truly friendly he will be treated 25.9

vëti qinni'k üm a'men nenankettuwa'tqên truly they made game scarce by means of magic 42.4

vëti nmei'engin he was very large 73.9

vëti nuqetuvügin he was very strong 47.3

vëti nara'nmuntik it will kill you at once 70.12

vëti-m re'twu nena'nmüqên he killed really (many) whales 73.3

a'lmi quvalo'märkin üm vë'ti but obey me strictly 88.10–11

trañautui'ürkin vë'te qun I shall marry at once 57.2

nre'vi'nëqin vë'ti he really wanted to die 99.27

vë'ti, qaya'arkmat han do sing it again! 120.24

**vetçi'in üm, velçi'in** for my part granted!

**vë'nom**

vë'nom ergina'n let them (be) 55.11

Also 56.1

**vënva'ki** secretly (see vi'nvi)

ven-li'i unexpectedly 60.7; 61.2; 69.33 (Bogoras: still, meanwhile, notwithstanding), (containing the element li'i REALLY, TRULY; see also ye-li'i, uli'i, miteli'i, qashi'i, gashi'i)

gän've'ert met-ki'it venli'i üm 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

ven-li'i leu'ti ki'plinën unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12

gai'vse teinele'erkin, venli'i aa'tomka 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 àwu'pit nmei'netqin venli'i unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18

ven-li'i ntiiv'qin unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15

Also 74.4; 137.13

**vele'r, vele'r-üm, vele'r üm ñau** AT LEAST (Kor. Kam. va'lan) limited qualification of action)

gai'lokim mi'ükrí, vele'r-üm wo'tqan indeed, how then, at least this one?

vele'r-üm miqagaro'ak at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124

vele'r-üm yara'ni ga'twata although a house had been there (lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

§ 128
vele'r cämë'tá qênata'gë at least move near! 37.10 (see also 37.9,13)
vele'trm mitwët'ha'urkìn at least I can talk with thee 32.1
vele'r-gun, vele's'-gun at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

viën' < viyen just, simply

tkimëc'ërkım am, vi'en: mewkwe'tyä'k I am staying too long, just let me depart

vi'en pükï'rqi'ë ĕuňo'ast he just arrived (and) they began to speak 110.3
go, vi'en gra'qatuk just go home! 45.9
vi'en aal'tomkël-ë-git thou just doest not listen 54.11

vi'nvi', vën-v'a'ki secretly 108.14

pïla', pîla'q apparently, pretending

pîla' vi's'imm pretending death 82.4; 124.6

plägi' that is all! 107.21 (from stem pl—to finish)

meq, meqë, like, somewhat like (see § 113.10, 11).

mei

ka'ko mei oho, there! 14.5

met-ki'tkit, met-ki'it (?)

me'qiçu besides

i'tkenin üm me'qiçu erga'wkwë he robbed him and ridiculed him besides

mač exhortative particle

mač qümna'n let me be the one!

mač irgin'a'n let them be the ones! R 62.70

ma'ëșinan< mač-ëna'n let it be (impersonal)

ma'ëșinan sei'vä let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

mite' of course 121.6

miteli'i undoubtedly (containing the element li'í REALLY, TRULY; see also ye'li'i, uxi'i, venli'i, gäli'i, quli'i)

miteli'i tïla'nun va'ërkım ri'ëi undoubtedly there is a stranded carcass 64.18

miteli'i ranto'as undoubtedly she will come out 82.21

miteli'i kitkin'ù'gai rakërga'tyoas undoubtedly a small bright spot will appear 118.6

mitiu' (perhaps mitišiu') I thought—

mitiu' eñe'nilr-git I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3

mitiu' ke'le-i-git I thought thou wert a kele 15.11

miti'ëm aëlo'n qägi'pe viri'ërkım we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

§ 128
tam, tagam all right!
ge, tam! oh, all right! 121.28
gr, 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’nm-i-ùm if perhaps they should kill me
te’ce-ù how many times
ne’mè te’ce-ù giivi’i again how many times a year passed (i. e. after several years) 12.8

naqa’m however, but
utte’m’il nimaȳr̄qana’ch in naqa’m pe’le nêmqitu’qin like a tree was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2
nara’nmüŋgèn na’gam . . . nênalwau’qèn they wanted to kill him, but . . . they could not do it 36.1-2.
na’gam nni’ü’qin ne’mè but they ordered him again 59.6
u’tütäqä—na’gam enga’n gelelu’qäglin it is little piece of wood!—
But it has whiskers 75.4-5
na’gam čemr̄’ngit yito’nenat but (this time) she pulled out a pair of gloves 111.5-6; also 76.4, 6, 24
na’gam üm is more strongly adversative
guq, naqa’m üm re’qä but with what then? 34.9
naqa’m üm no’ongan but this one 35.1
na’gam üm tew-mu’ü’iln but this one’s blood was good 117.14
na’gam üm nge’ttuqin but this one was strong 66.20

With a’men it is strongly adversative
e’nmen qu’ttírgan qa’at pe’legäi nerri’net, na’gam a’men
Umñiqäígäi’in . . . nênalwau’qèn then the others’ reindeer quickly were untied, but on the other hand Umñiqäígäi”s . . . could not 63.11-12
a’men üm naqa’m inpi’il-ik-i-git you on the other hand, are
an old shamanistic practitioner 39.4
naqa’m lùmña (literally but again). In this complex the adversative meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean after all that has happened.
naqa’m lùmña na’wtingë after all, he married 58.7-8
naqa’m lù’mña qa’a’qoln after all he sat down 98.24
na’gam lù’mña inennike’eqwi after all I am treated thus 98.28-29
na’gam lù’mña ñeg-q’ècàq after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25-26
inennpelgu’uktälin üm wot, naqa’m lù’mña he can not be vanquished, after all 114.27
na’gam lù’mña i’liil vi’nä ne’lyı’i after all, the rain stopped 116.11-12
naqa’m lu’mna gnnî’t’k reurre’tyä after all that has been
done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:

naqa’m lu’mna awg’é’tknka nevertheless they did not say
anything 26.6
e’nmen m-miké’rët nikamagra’gën, naqa’m lu’mna va’gliîn
no’mrûgên 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 nomi-
nalized verbs

kiçaua’tyë na’qam wus’qû’mîku, na’qam niki’tä he
galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwith-
standing the nighttime 57.5

na’qam yo’yo qan’vër’ . . . naa’lomga’n notwithstanding
the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4

eñe’nilm naga’m go’rgûlën but the shaman had a sledge
14.10

naga’m am-gina’n but only thou (i. e., but you are all
alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:

gapë’nûlën na’qam, ganmitko’vûlën but they were at-
tacked, they were slaughtered 12.4

ni’nûgîn um naga’m but this one was swift 40.4–5

ne’me again

ne’me qëte’vûkwi’ again thou art hungry 9.13

ne’me qipe’tiyi’ again he dived 10.1

gu, ne’me oh, again 36.6!

ne’mûqäi also

e’nmen ûm Di’wanat ûm ne’mûqä’i they are also Aiwan 7.9

e’nmen ne’mûqäi, geri’nêlin then he also had flown up 15.3

e’pte gnnî’t’gët’tët ne’mûqäi gina’n nêna’nûmë-qët likewise the
game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9–10

ne’mûqäi gûmma’n I also 93.13

ne’mûqäi enqa’n eñe’nilm nîpe’q’tmet also that shaman is hauling
a sledge 14.12–15.1

neqe’m but, nevertheless

gik,neqe’m e’un qare’m e’un, gik oh, but it was not there 27.11

neqe’m ûm li’-vënhûlën nîgtaqin vë ç-re’mkû nevertheless having
just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

ê’mrûq partly, somewhat

ê’mrûq wû’mkäqin re’mkên nûmitvo’lën somewhat many people
were encamped 58.9

§128
i'miqiq Enqa'n niqulile'tqin in part they were noisy 60.9
i'miqquk kuke'èiku e'ret nitva'qen partly in the kettle boiled meat
was (left) 75.11
e'nmen vai yè'touvè e'rmiqk then it grew somewhat brighter
94.22–23

ca'ma also
ca'ma enqa'n maè-èwoq'a'n titvu'rkin also this is an incantation I
tell 39.13
ca'ma mu'la e'ur also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11
c'a'ma li'èn' ai'makik na'lai'ogèn he also defecated on the carcass
81.6
c'a'ma qu'tti ga'nmilaat also the others were killed 98.3
tin-la'ul-me'rè vai ca'ma we come here also carrying antlers
121.20
c'a'ma nuwethau'qaat orawèta'-mèl they also talk like men 64.10
guq, a'men um na'qam um gai'mic-ai'wan ca'ma oh, he was how-
ever a rich Aiwan 50.7

See also 42.3

c'emit therefore
c'emit ga'muk ènà'tvat epki'rkà nitva'gen therefore to me prom-
gised gifts do not come 93.16

go, e'ur gu'nun ca'ëmet li'i iulule'tyi bà'mìna valqa'ùm oh, and
therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8

c'è'net since, because
c'è'net im vinë'tilit nà'mqùqàet since there are many helpers
R 4.44

c'è'net um gaalivh'èn'ni'n' nhu'ri nitva'gen since the buck is there
on its back R 4.34

c'è'net vë'lictìn, ia'm minyo'a'n since he is dead, why should
we visit him? 108.13–14

c'è'net umënne'n'-mi'mlà giwku'ëtì since they drink one water
R 45.13–14

c'è'net gumni'n è'nù-ku'préñ u'iñà enmöga'èti tralva'wèn since
I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47–48

gu, c'è'net um iltà-muri oh, since we are on an island! (an
exclamatory phrase) 11.11

c'ité'un

cit gùmìk qa'tvalen, c'ité'un ta'nìk tutva'rkin èm i'grt before it
was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying
now R 45.19

c'ité'un ai'vanana me'ñal rmìrìrkinin . . . c'ité'un èm gùmìna'n wu'tku
trìñì'qièn before the Aivan kept the medal, . . . and later
(now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20–21

§128
cite'un akka'gir ti'tegge'nirkir and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38
cite'un kinta'irgu memu'a'a na'na'lmnir later (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42
cite'un a'it'itulu a'loongan nita'gênat and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38
mpî-eke'tü riri'lmnînö cite'un vê-agênå'ö 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'nîtaq already (?)
le'nîtaq um napêla'an um vai ne'ekir already they had left this daughter 30.12
tenta'q um . . . cûmna'cmd na'nmuga'n already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7
li'en and simply, and only; restricted action
nineimow'qinet, li'en ac'itü gapor'nmên they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21
li'en élhipérar'km e'êe it is simply white with fat 81.27
ta'yolhm um bo'lo li'en' the needle-case was simply his penis 82.13
See also 67.19; 86.8, 12, 25; 87.1, 28.
li'en ists'îk (see ists'îk um) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1
li'en ists'îk kemow'kurgê-gir and let me tell you that you are causing delay
li'en ists'îk ra'nîta'ës and may I ask you what do you want here?
li'en' um ists'îk e'qêq and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3
atauu li'en, utterly in vain (see atau' p. 854)
luu, before vowels lu'un just, just like loen-ai've just yesterday
li'i really
en'ntall'um li'i tr'ili-gir from now on I shall really know thee 93.21-22
li'i enenüvi'ë he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4
lu'ur after that, thereupon always refers back to a preceding event.
enmen a'gëpû eîn'letkwir, goq, lu'ur qa'ät ye'tyût and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32
aïdan luwaran'en, lu'ur yopa'tyë she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13
lu'ur wîthau'nôë thereupon he began to speak 31.11
lu'ur pniqorö'at thereupon they began to emerge 102.23
krye'kwiröli. enmen lu'ur gli'ul ye'tyë they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11
§128
rithun digwennin; e'nmen lu'ur e'gripqi; he pointed at her with a finger; thereupon she felt pain 63.7
See also 8.5; 10.8, 10; 15.1; 29.6; 61.9; 68.11; 70.27
lu'un matai'yunin eunoi thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

lū'mña again
gu, mē'ńko lū'mña p'ntqātyi; oh, whence doest thou appear again? 10.12
ra'znota'čišt lū'mña what are these again? 14.3-4
naga'm lū'mña . . . ergweeneyi; but again he dived 17.4
See a-lū'mña p. 554.

ripet even

ripet terqatyi; he even began to cry
ey'taqakelinet ripet e'tīgi; without sleep were even the parents 34.3-4
lik'-mi'mlä nipyučitiqin ripet the eye fluid even spurted out 106.19
ripet ge'mu li'nqān you did not even mind it 109.25
e'nmen ripet tēnaflai'okwuit I even eased myself over you 109.23

rattqanīauńin enough 65.6

re'en I confess

-řam with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < ēntaq ūm, qūm-ra'q ūm it is my turn)
e'i'n nīpampiričte'gen ēntam čī'činchiku ańnra'ln 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
ēntam nīmničtā gaıkoka'leet this time they spread the skins the inside upward R 59.13
ēntam ni'mnu'mqāgdi enqāŋičińlin on his part their camp companion has no child R 12.11-12

kime'l, qime'l at once (†)
kime'l e'luu ine'ćii; at once he has a liking for me 137.14 (see also 137.5, 11)
enqam naušqatē'lu qime'l then at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

kime'k almost
kime'k mit'nmunii almost we killed thee 10.11
a'men-ūm-iło'n ti'nma ine'ntri; kime'k but now you did almost kill one 123.17-18
qūnve'r kime'k ēnanmvūk e'pte qūm this time you have almost killed me 121.16-17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

kita', kita'm, kita'au

kita'au
kita'au'gun, mi'ńkri ni'tqin now then! how was he? 17.12 (kita'm gun 18.1)
kitau' qun øtti'yna ninenyegtele'nmik well then! the big dog saved us 106.26

kitau'

kitau' ńa'ńko 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 ńu'nři now then (bring home) here! 23.2

qug, kita'm lā'ınña well! now then again! 68.17

It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

kita'm e'ur li'è-vu'arrñkí qañau'trin-e-git qailkna'ñqet, vai u'mki qugî'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'twil-qun notwithstanding

ki'nmal together (?)

ki'nmal minuñe'lmik let us go for fuel! 30.6

ki'nmal . . . pïlqîglî'ilî . . . qına'n nêna'nmê-git thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9. See also 83.26

ki'rmâm úm a'mên, ki'rmâm úm a'mi well now! 121.4

kite' seldom

ki'tkit a little

ki'tkit niten'ne'w-i-úm I laughed a little 72.13

ki'tkit qünwe'ntetyi 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'øt they walked a while 64.8. See also 66.8.

quk,ju'kä qai'a'qañ mîngami'tvarkin I wish we could eat a while 65.4

qai'a'qañ e'ur neimeu'gın for a while he approached 66.13

qai'a'qañ e'uli-qëllëño'ëven-bámn'a'chm for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26

eto'-qai'a'qañ ripk'ire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4

qai'i êto'-qai'a'qañ gewkwe'vin after a while he departed 45.11

qai'vë indeed, truly, really.

qai'vë qine'ñbihës really, give (it) to me 16.1

enqa'n qai'vë lu'metun-gir thou art really Lu'metun

qai'vë-m i'mi yei'velgüi nu'tek tumë-alva'lag rayi'loqañño indeed,

also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10–11

§128
guq, qai've-m nan me'ten'ki tre'nti'nm oh, indeed, I shall be able to manage him 67.22
Also 23.6; 80.27; 85.3; 92.23; 97.14

qailo'kim
qik, qailo'kim re'gd gäta'lnitki with what will you answer 14.2
qailo'kim mi'ñkri mi'ntin how shall we act 53.1
qailo'kim uu'tku mi'nti-gir how should I keep thee here 109.30
qailo'kim pe'nm in velutva'lm before he was motionless 125.4
qailo'kim ele'nyutä riri'lpinnen the younger brother accompanied him R 50.22-23

qailhina'ngêt, qaglêna'ngêt and actually
qailhina'ngêt li'ë-tanicetanië and actually, he began to feel quite well 33.5
guq, qailhina'ngêt ãm ne'lu'n and indeed, they saw it 10.3
qailhina'ngêt ni'rgipatqin 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
qaletëe vertically

qäi-i'pe, qäigi'pe really, in truth
qäi-i'pe li'ë-va'rinink gänu'.tm-e-gt really among the gods (real beings) you married 110.30-31
miti'äm elo'n qägi'pe viri'irkin we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

qäi'lnun it seems (Kor. II, Pallen qa'inun Kor. 90.2)
'qäi'lnun tu'rgin re'mkin e'tiqi it seems your people are bad 8.9-10
tu'rgin re'mkin qäi'lnun re'lqiu it seems your people will appear 10.4
qa'inun meti'u rine'Thiri certainly I shall not be believed by them 19.8
Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

qänu'r like, as
gene'ti'net qänu'r pe'welti they became like bladders 9.4
mi'ñkri va'lit qänu'r a's'twukin pu'tinet how big! like holes of a boat (cover) 14.6
naga'm lü'änna qänu'r mënëk'ënu'r ergewe'yi but again as into [the inside of] water he dived 17.4
qänu'r vëlë'tu qilo'lnen as for a dead one she mourned 27.12
e'nmen qänu'r a's'tin arë'ta ni'ntuqin then like a dog they held him back 66.17
kele'tä va'nëvan elu'k'ä qänu'r mërgina'n i'git ka'mak va'nëvan eurerek'lin to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an evil spirit is invisible 62.1-2

§128
872  BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY [BULL. 40

... gân'nu'r vai mu'rgin re'mkín like our people here 61.6
e'nmen a'ni gân'u'r quín nute's'gân then it was just like earth 8.6
gân'u'r quín wîlquîl just like coal 22.7
gân'u'r quín nîtshí'lgìnet they were like hot ones 9.10
e'nmen qöl gân'u'r inpu'na'chím gene'wànd then another one, like
the last (namely in the preceding story) an old man with his
wife 28.1
gân'u'r li'en ne'nti'án just as though simply they did to him 35.4
e'nmen gân'u'r quín nîcîtu're'ruqin then it was as though they were
heated 9.8

qân've'r the fundamental meaning seems to be AT THIS MOMENT,
AT THIS TIME
qân've'r gâlo'olhóó'ma'-mo're just at this moment we have met
121.15
qân've'r gin'mi'lkìnek tìl-eîme'wâni'tqìnet at this time they drew
nearer 103.8
qân've'r gitte'pîm eke'kìn i'wkwi at that moment the leader of
the kelet said 104.26
e'nmen qân've'r neîme'wkwà'n gân've'r ìm âttì'yu'n àm
wÎthau'n'noè at that moment they approached and at that
moment the dog began to speak 103.19
Taaro'n-VA'ìrgù ìm gân've'r . . . VA'ìrgû ne'tè'en a Sacrifice-
(receiving-) Being at that time . . . a (spiritual) Being he
became 41.9-10

Often it may be translated therefore.
qân've'r ìm tèrnîla'tûnoè therefore (at this moment) she began
to cry 31.7
lu'ur wo'tgan qân've'r wà'rgîrgîn walo'mîñonèn afterwards, there-
fore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines,
however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)

qâč'í'-qu'nûm as you like it(?) R 54.36

qâli'i (<qâl[i]-li'i) but in fact (containing the element li'i REALLY,
TRULY; see also ye'li'i, uii'i, venli'i, miteli'i, quii'i)
nî'mnîm vai é'mchëgâi va'rkîn, Eiwîwî'n qâli'i a settlement is
quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7
qâli'i gît but in fact, it is you 23.5
qâli'i Re'kkënt but in fact, they were Rekken 34.5
qâli'i éto'-qaí'a'qàn gewkwè'lin in fact after a short time he de-
parted 45.11
qâli'i ré'lin in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2
qâli'i enqa'n . . . ë'tîn ye'tyîs in fact this was the master
70.28-30
qâli'i ping'o'nènat in fact, he asked them 70.30

§128
qä'ii'i notas'qa'urkít in fact they were digging the ground 71.9
qä'ii'i qun enqa'nat tei'n'ńiцит in reality they were murderous 68.20
qä'ii'i äm qun qäi-as'tiqa'i in fact it was (only) a pup 80.4
qä'ii'i enqa'n . . . ela' in fact that was the mother 85.21–22
qä'ii'i pala'ukun yara'ņi in fact a funeral circle 108.17

qeteu' even now
garagécha'čen qeteu' what has the bad one been doing, even now 31.9

qete'm, qette'm, kete'm just, just like
qette'm gi'mnin yara'ņi just like my house
kete'm plu'tku just as it is finished R 3.24

qo'niri, qo'niri-m, qo'niri e'ur (contracted also qi'en-e'ur) since
gol goi'maron wi'thiči, tu'mqin enqa'n qo'nirm geňewtu'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'nirm ca'ma go'čer-gla'ul-e-üm enqa'nata no'o-e-üm gene'l-i-üm
because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became
R 45.27–28
qo'nirmqumní'n i'git i'rlqúl u'ņná . . . tré'Iqátyaq Veleu-
kwaygo'ńti because my now clothing material nothing . . .
I'll go to Merchants Point (i. e. because I have no material)
R 46.43–44
qo'nirlb-e'tqin-i-git since you are utterly bad
qo'nirm e'un e'ri'gim i'mi viři'tqiťi'ťin since (the) father has also
died a voluntary death R 49.11. See also R 32.37
qo'nirm Ené-nehe e'nė'wá ča'ma i'liil ūm, go'ko because he calls
the East wind, it rains 132.20–21. Also R 13.21

qo'n'pú quite
qo'n'pú vi'i' he was quite dead 83.21
qo'n'pú nirm'twaňčo'ast they began to be quite a camp 107.19
qil, gohpú ninennmeleve'tqin he is made quite well 127.3; 135.12–13
qun, qu'num, qun-ūm probably an emphatic particle, stronger
than ūm (p. 849) and elo'n (p. 852). It stands in second posi-
tion, generally following another particle
qänúr qun wiľqunl just like coal 22.7
e'nmen qänúr qun nįčiti'ruqin they were just as though they
had been heated 9.8–9
qänúr qun nĩthi'liqinet just as though they were hot 9.10
qänúr qun mi'mlik just as though (they were) in water 101.32

§128
e'nmen a'ni qînu'r qun nute's'gän they were just like land 8.6
a'ni qun qirîu'tkui valata thus it is! they move about with the
knives 16.4
a'ni qun li'en' re'pîngqâ' ratopaw'kwa'z thus it is! simply you will
come home, she will be pregnant 104.4
a'ni qu'num te'kîchîn qânu'utki thus it is! then eat the meat! 14.6
a'ni qu'num qantô'ëz come out! 81.27
a'ni qun, i'ppe qun thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3
têrga'tyê' qun ûm he cried 116.7
kî'tam qun eple'un li'i e'neûstôv'i'iô did he this time attain shaman-
istic power? 18.4
kîta'm qun mî'nkri ni'tqin how is he this time? 18.1
kîta'm qun ê'nnîchîn qai'pûqun this time put on the necklace 16.6
kîta'm qu'num mnrîrî't-hit this time we will let thee go 21.5–6
kîta'm qu'num ineze'ttî qatou'qînat this time what shall there be
for payment? 102.11
kîtau'qun astî'yuña ninenyeqtele'nmîk this time the big dog saved
us 106.26–27.
kîtau' qun mî'nkri ni'tqin how is he this time 17.12
attau'-qun non ûm Thô'tirgina mînpêçâr'e'ra we are just going to
Thô'tirgm for food 119.18
attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'ta qatî'qîn just get the sledge ready 105.20
e'nmen -qun ra'qîûc' ëla' then the mother went home 30.10
qatî'i'i ûm qun qai-a's'tîtqâ'i in fact, it was only a small pup 80.4
In the following examples qun follows verbs, verbal nouns and
pronominal forms.

In the following examples qun follows verbs, verbal nouns and
pronominal forms.

nîpe'dît qu'num e'n'ki they went ashore there 71.12
pançâ'tik nimpe'qînet qu'num gi' leaping it went ashore, indeed! 122.16
a'un'-gêta'qgu pilhirra'tyâ' qu'num he makes himself flat before
them 83.28–84.1
ti'nunin qu'num he pulled it out 84.7
e'i'mi'nunin ûm qu'nun he caught him 121.13
vi's'în ûm qu'num enqa'n nine'lgîn dead that one had become
(had died) 125.10
yi's'ûnîn ûm qu'num, râ'nut it was the moon, what was it? 86.26–27
râ'nut qu'num lo'nîl what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4
i'me-râ'nut qu'num everything 107.2
mî'nkri qu'num mîtîtte'urkîn it is because we are hungry 70.24
èei'vutkîw'nmnrâmeit, qu'num ast'ûtquoqaia he went to the camp
with a dog sledge 105.5

§128
According to punctuation quum is in initial position in the following example

gæ, tam! qu'num i'gitåm mrura'gatyån let us take it home now!

121.27

It seems, however, that instead of ge, tam we might read ktra'm as p. 21.5

quL'ì in this case indeed (containing the element li'i REALy, TRULy; see also ye'li'i, uzi'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäzi'i)
quL'ì va'angån a'ittin n[i]l[å]t in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

gœcœu'kì together.
githite' against one's will
gi'nævån besides

ńe'wåq strong emphasis

ńe'wåq gi'wå you do say 21.11
ńe'wåq ninemirke'n-i-im I have been working hard 81.9
qai've ńe'wåg ena'n čini't mini'uqim indeed, he himself did say it R 50.23
ńe'wåq qai've and indeed

§129. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions; Koryak

ImI also

r'mi qoaqai'pañen also it fitted badly Kor. 34.9
r'mn yuqa'nui gana'linau they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3
r'mn qayai'tiлен nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8
r'mn . . . pla'ku wu'qwa qayi'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'lin only the cow was left Kor. 78.12

Enna'niku from that time on Kor. 80.7

Enqa'ta

enka'ta tilai'vikin ńe'ta 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

Én'ñì then, at that very moment

èn'ñì yu'lañ gäpli'ttu'linau then they finished what was to be eaten Kor. 50.1

èn'ñì tryanu'wgi then I shall eat you Kor. 78.18

§129
Fish-Man was combing his hair; then a load of winter-fish was (there) Kor. 86.16
Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

**Eñna'a'ñ thus**

*Eñna'a'ñ* thus is! Kor. 78.2

*Galqatín qaqayiči'na* *Eñna'a'ñ* *wús'qú'méiku* she went groping thus in the dark Kor. 16.9-10

*Eñna'a'ñ* *vañvolai'ke* thus they lived Kor. 43.7

*Eñna'a'ñ* *gayiltelirvo'lenat* thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

*Gina'n* *Eñna'a'ñ* *ina'nti* thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

*Qa'la* *Eñna'a'ñ* Yayo'ka-hawgut *gai'litín* after a while they gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

*Eñna'a'ñ* *wot* *gani'kalima'ñ* all at once something happened Kor. 70.17-18

**Dual forms:**

*Eñna'a'ñet* *gana'tvilen* thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

*Eñna'a'ñet* *patta'la* *maní'ti* *gaiy'ssalínat* thus the two filled with dried meat two bags Kor. 70.21

**ayi'kvan** at least Kor. 18.1

**Ina'n-awi'wut** quickly Kor. 70.12

*Avi'ut* Kor. 44.5

**a'wun** (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna *e'wun* Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

*a'wun* *gaya'lyrvi'nau* and so they entered Kor. 80.18-19

*a'wun* *im-la'a'wta'lin* and so his head became hairless Kor. 82.13

*a'wun* *ui'na* and then there was no one Kor. 96.12 (=*e'wun i'tka* Kor. II, Kor. 96.30: *e'wune'le* Paren, Kor. 97.17)

**awnu'p (?)** Kor. 64.11

**a'wgi** falsely Kor. 88.14

**am** (Paren *im*)

*Gun-am* *nu'tak* *ui'na* *ane'lhiynuka* even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

*Pe'nín* *gun-im* *Uwe'nyipín* the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

**a'men**

*a'men* *gawgu'tín* and they tied her Kor. 23.4

*a'men* *e'wah* and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

*a'men* *yi'ña* and now what! Kor. 28.2

*a'chi* *a'men* *gú'mkín* *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

§129
as'so' since
as'so' qati' since you went away Kor. 18.5
a'čči č, 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'ngan a'nam gi'zinau how then did they become? Kor. 61.9–10
a'nam ... qala'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 nuyatilgi'wquin, e'nskí matyi'lqala just when he was about to come, we went to sleep

a'limi I wish it were!
a'limi vai'ččita I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2–3
gina'n a'limn geti'gin I wish thou wouldst take it Kor. 72.24–74.1

alva' other
alva'lin it is of different material Kor. 76.23

a'kye] also
gayo'olenan, a'kye] ipa'na they put it into it, also into the soup, Kor. 28.6

e'en (Ch. e'ur) then, and
gayo'olen, e'en gavr'yalin he visited him and he was dead Kor. 20.8
ya'nya e'en na'vragatu partly also women Kor. 44.2
e'en ... gamlawanka'wlen and she ended her dance Kor. 48.6
gaka'vlinau e'en yaa ni'línn ní'tnn 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'tin e'wun missaita'ñin 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'ñin the real child Kor. 68.11
gümni'n i'pa qla'wul vi'gi my real husband died Kor. 21.10–22.1
i'pa l'te-ta'ta our real father Kor. 74.20

i'na' quickly Kor. 39.2
gaye'm i'n'a nuya'tin he did not come back quickly Kor. 72.19

§129
i'nač enough! Kor 30.4; 86.11, 18; 88.15
inya'wut (?) Kor 16.5
i'nmiŋq really, in truth
  i'nmiŋq tapa'naŋrvo'yrkn in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
  i'nmiŋu'nil all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.

inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'wut (I) Kor 16.5
inya'wut really, in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
inya'wut all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
vi'yan, ve'eň (?)
vi'yan iskułaťi (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2
vi'yan lelap'tkōnvo'ykm nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8
na'no vi'yan kisva'čik va'ykm of course, it is there on the
cross-pole Kor. 68.5
vi'yan gapanqai'pilen (without clothes) but with a cap Kor. 76.22

vi'n'va, vi'n'vi secretly Kor. 61.1; 76.14
va'yuk afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5
va'ak Kor. 56.5; 64.9

van (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee
demonstrative particle nan which is also used adverbially).
vi'na-van minka'kiča not by anybody else Kor. 40.6-7
gayem na'no-van minuñana'wge not those I shall be able to
eat Kor. 55.8-9
a'mlīn-van kīte'-l'gu penči'ykm after that he rushed at her
every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10

pa'ła perhaps Kor. 60.5
mači maybe
mači wu'tčuk mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7
mači vi'čka va'ykm mayhap a fork is there Kor. 19.7
meči mmamtaqe mayhap I'll marry thee Kor. 32.6

mal well
mal-kiči properly Kor. 15.6; 74.6; 88.9
mal-kiči til very well! Kor. 21.5
Also met-kičkič

male'ta quietly Kor. 54.7
ma'kiw somewhere Kor. 80.9
me'nqan how Kor. 82.4; 84.21; 88.1
me'nqač mi'qun mai'mik how indeed shall I get water? 16.7-8
me'nqan mi'qun how, indeed? Kor. 17.12

mi'qun (Paren mu'qun Kor. 92.23) indeed; an intensifying particle
mi'qun naha'nqin indeed he is a shaman Kor. 42.9
mi'qun Ama'mqut e'wan Ememqut said even (this) Kor. 64.11
ya'qu mi'qun qatai'kičin what indeed will you do? Kor. 76.7
Also 16.3, 8; 17.12; 39.10; 84.21; 86.12

(t'i'wjak [literally: I SAY] it seems Kor. 57.9)
ti'ta when
išu'piln ti'ta minkela'čola when we find a shaman's wand Kor. 27.7
ti'ta qumma tra'tik when was I at home? Kor. 68.13
ti'ta o'pta ninnuwa'čan let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15
ti'taq mu'yu matošdayι'pnača when did we feed on inner skin of
dogs Kor. 48.9

§129
tito-o'ñ after a long time Kor. 57.5
ime' very; very much Kor. 16.1, 8
da'myecq indeed Kor. 24.2
cemya'q really Kor. 56.1
cemeèèe'n it is so! Kor. 46.4
cini't since
cini't enna's'an qi'ti since thou art so Kor. 56.9–10
li'gqiqai much less Kor. 49.1
li'gnan simply
li'gnan mimtelhryalai'ke simply they were resplendent Kor. 44.3
kima'k almost Kor. 21.7; 84.13
kale'le, qale'le vertically
kenam Kor. 39.3; kena'm Kor. 40.3 already
ki'wan truly Kor. 26.9
kit, kì'tìl see mal-kit
ki, kÌë (never in initial position) and
ya'qkin-ki and what for? Kor. 26.10 (for ya'qkin see §§ 47, 59)
ki'taiñi; kitta' then (?)
ki'tañ amyaqalheñe'tin taya'ñikin then she wanted to go to the porch Kor. 33.8–9
qi'mma kitta' tu'kwak I am caught Kor. 36.10
kittà atawalñila'ka do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6; 52.10
ki'tta negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. en'ne)
kì, kìt a little
ki'kit; kì'kìë as soon as 84.3
ki'kit gaya'litlen as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3
ki'kìë gaya'lqwilin 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
qa'ri'n
qa'ri'n plakgene'tin nañ'canwogen for he had passed water into the boots Kor. 14.2
qa'ri'n go'niñi niki'ta gana't'en therefore altogether it became night Kor. 16.6
qa'eriñi milya'qpiñ because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8
gayo's'olen, qa'eriñ vi'tvi'tpiñ they visited her, for there was a small ringed seal Kor. 24.4
qa'ri'n ena'n tawiti'tkòñik for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3
§129
na'nyeu qa'c'i'Yaqamyattr'nu for those were Bumble-Bee-Men
Kor. 44.6
qa'č'i'n v'i'na ana'luka gati'kałen for without chewing he swal-
lowed her Kor. 84.1

qa'č'i:k
q'a:ssa qa'č'i:k v'i'na a'fwa a'tvaka for this reason will you be
(feel) wrong Kor. 18.7
q'a:mma qa'č'i:k oyamyar'-qum for am I human game Kor. 42.6

qun, qun-am
q'na'n qun ni'la'wilki-ni-gi' so thou art playing mischief Kor. 82.9
q'un'am nu'tak v'i'na anel'hi-yrpnuka even in the open country
we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1
pe'nin qun-rm Uwe'npi11n the same (former) little U'weñ
(Paren) Kor. 92.7
q'un'am mu'yi . . . oya'myan miti'nmin even we too (alone)
have killed a man Kor. 68.3
q'un'am qun Kor. 74.17
ve'tha-go'nom just now Kor. 56.10

qo'npû very, quite (qon'pu Chukchee; xe Kamchadal); Kor.
13.10; 15.8; 41.8, etc.

gümfâñ again Kor. 15.8; 18.8; 19.8 etc.
na'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, да) and
je (еже) but
tolko (только) merely, only
dotopera (до топера) until now
potom (потом) after that

Other conjunctions of Kamchadal origin are still in use. Among
these I mention
hâlê, hâleq 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 noapa IT IS TIME is used also as a conjunction,
although this does not agree with Russian usage.
-ilmê, -me (never initial) AND, AND NOW, corresponds to the
Chukchee -ım K. K. -am.
-ke (never initial) AND, AND NOW, but more emphatic than -me.

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—56

§130
-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'nnen.

e'wun and, and so corresponds to Ch. e'un, K. K.; a'wun, K. Paren e'wun, but may also have been borrowed from Koryak.

lact how is it, wherefore.

§131. NEGATIVE ADVERBS

1. va'névan negative particle, not at all (stem probably vanè).

This occurs either alone or with other negative elements.

va'névan minuetoewerre'erkinen not at all land appears 7.3
va'névan nuva'lonmnèn he would not hear anything
va'névan qina'n li'i qálido'gin? have you no knowledge at all? 38.4
yi'liil wurkinin te'kikhin va'névan tongues he eats, meat not at all 49.4
va'névan nute's'qän nu'yo'onen they did not at all reach the ground 52.12
va'névan ned'nur'erkinet keletà the kele could not see them at all 100.29
va'névan na'nayilhaid'nèn a'ttin they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25
va'névan ante'kšlèn nd us'qät the woman did not go out at all 54.8
va'névan qarè'm nuva'lonmnèn he would not hear anything
va'névan ä'nur'net they could not see them at all 61.10
va'névan eze a'lo'mka they did not hear anything 60.10
va'névan eul'kà they are invisible 62.1
va'névan eu'rrekélín it is not visible 62.2

2. qarè'm; Kor. Kam. qaye'm; Kor. Par., qye'em; Kor. II (village Qare'nim and others in Kamchatka v'gut); Kamchadal: x'enè, xè. Used always with the exhortative, or alone with exhortative meaning, and ignifing negative future.

qarè'm minsnístuk we shall not kill you 13.4
qarè'm miñe'tyà'k I shall not become black 23.6
qarè'm mišinño'an I shall not treat him 24.10
qarè'm minn'mut I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7
qarè'm mra'gtà'k I will not return home 99.2, 24
qarè'm eli'gå rinenyegteletetyà' father will not allow me to live 99.15
qarè'm mi'ilhà' I will not do it 99.20
qarè'm mi'ilhut I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9
qarè'm miye'tyà'k I will not come a'men qarè'm! but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

§131
qarê'm d'git! not now! (i. e., I shall not do so from now on) 21.1
qarê'm/ no! (i. e., I shall not do it) 99.13
Kor. Kam. qarê'm mlo'k, Kor. II. v'hat mlo'k, Kamchadal w'enê
mnuk I will not eat

Koryak.—

ačhiva'n qayem this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3
qayem na'no-van mnuthãna'wge I shall not be able to eat
them Kor. 55.8
qayem enaňha'išmik he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.

qarê'm qarêm'tik do not die! (i. e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from qarê'm is the verbal form qarêmên (Kor. Kam.
qyremên Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. qismên) it is not so, not true.

qarê'men ḍ'tik bâmũnil it is not really a story 61.5
qaremēnâ'qûm I am not this one 23.5
qarêmên ord'weťan he is not a human being 29.9
qaremēnâ'gûm qad'ulēgûm I am not a man
qaremēnâ'gît qal'ulêgît thou art not a man
qaremēnâ'gûm niry'liqûm I am not feeble
qarêmênâ'gît niry'liqît thou art not feeble
qarê'm nûm niry'liqûm he is not feeble
qaremēnai'gûm ṅe'usgatiqûm I am not a woman 116.31
Kor. Kam. qyrem'éw un impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. erwē Kor. Kam. ki'tta, Kamchadal jāk, xē do not! (see § 114
p. 823)

4. ēlo' no ēlo' (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9
ēle no 30.8
râ't'uris-ēlo' what is the matter with you?—nothing 58.6

4a. ca'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.
cāmam I do not want to 98.5, 8
cə'mam tʹelhîrî I shall not give thee

5. e'le not, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. e'e, Reindeer Kor.
e'e, Kor. II., village Qare'ān and others in Kamchatka e'Haa,
Kamchadal qam Kor. Kam. uǐñā instead (see below). See 15,
12, 21.3, 24.8

6. uǐñā none (with nouns; substantives and adjectives). (Kor.
Kam., uǐñā, Kor. Par., uǐñā e'e, Kor. II., village Qare'ān
and others in Kamchatka em, em'ma not. The Kamchadal uses
qam (see above, under e'le). Kor. Par. uses also e'e alone

§131
ui'íñä ępi'íñkä I have no powder
See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative prefix-suffix we find—
cai ui'íñä, ta'aq ui'íñä, tæm-εg'irgin gümnë'n no tea, no tobacco, mine is a good life!
(Kor. Par.) e'xe epí'ñke I have no powder

Derived from this particle is ui'nilin HAVING NONE.

ui'n'iluin ępi'íñkëliam 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) onomatopoetic 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 conjunctival 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!

gæ! R 104.48 oh!

got 63.9 oh!

e! 85.12; 90.6; 91.7 ah!

e! 101.20 all right

go, go! R 65.119 (call)

gæ, ga! 122.1 call

gi, gi! R 72.16 ah, ah!

gi! 69.4 oh!

ggg! (Kor. ggg!) yes!

guq! 10.3; 52.3; 53.1; (Kor. gekt! 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

gul 26.4; got 69.7; 108.19

ogogogogoi! 70.2 oh, oh, oh!

uguuguugu! 29.7 uhuhuhuh!

Koryak

e! oh! Kor. 47.1

ye! ah! Kor. 49.2

ehi'! oh! Kor. 64.19

§132

ahe'! Kor. 49.3 ihe'! Kor. 27.6
b. Exclamations

Their stems are independent and some of them form derivatives.

*qo!* expresses ignorance: *I DO NOT KNOW!*

*gon'a'arkin* to speak always of one’s ignorance; to answer: “I do not know.”

**Assent:**

1. *i! 9.6, 13; 66.25; 84.10 (Kor. o! Kor. 30.2; 38.6) yes.
   
   *i! 84.19 ah!

2. *egei'! 133.24 R 71.5; R 73.34 (Kor. uga') all right! asent and approval.

3. *egei'! 75.30 oh!

**taga'm!** R 59.9, 16; R 66, 134 (Kor. toq! to! Kor. 35.3; Kor. 45.8) come! well!

*taga'm* is used also as the usual leave taking.

**taga'm tewkwe'erkin!** R 41.98 (in Koryak toq is used as leave taking) good-bye! I am going.

The usual greeting is *ye'ti?* or less frequently *ge'et-ì-git*;

R 62.62; R 76.25 (Kor. *yatì? HAVE YOU COME?* as greeting)

The answer is *i! yes!* or *i, trye'tyåesk! yes, I have come!*

Greeting borrowed from Russian, *toro'ma* (здорово) (Kor. *toro'va*) how do you do?

**tam** contracted from *taga'm*, mostly with an ejaculation preceding, *COME! WELL!*

**ee, tam!** 30.9; 89.23; **e tam!** 90.3.

**i, tam!** 84.19.

**gi, tam!** 84.14.

**Assertion:**

*gu'nä! 82.16; 85.6; R 76.27 sure!*

*gu'nä, qaivë 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 *Qareflin mei* Kor. 102.4 there, you! you! halloo!

*ñå'ul 45.3 (Kor. nå'wal) call among women wui'! 83.13; R 72.15; goi 60.2 (Kor. goi'!) answer to call* yago'! 67.8 (Kor yawo'! Kor. 33.9) halloo wago'! R 125.22 halloo! there, take it!

**Disapproval:**

*e'wi! 120.10 so! *

*ee'! 81.17; 83.14; is it? (doubt and disapproval) eei'! 108.19 aha! (doubt and disapproval) §132*
Surprise:
Used by men
ka'ko'! generally reduplicated kak<o, kak<o! 8.5; 12.6; 68.31
oho!; qak<o! 84.10; qako, qako! 77.26; 104.14; qa'ko 21.4
kako, mei'! 14.7; R 64.93. qa'ko mei!, go'co mei!

Used by women
ke'ke'! 52.2; 71.26.
ke'ke, na'ul!
keke', keke', keke'! 29.7 great surprise and fear

Koryak, for both sexes.
   | de Kor. 47.6 (surprise and disapproval) ugh.
   | ge'e Kor. 82.14 surprise

Fear:
gok'oi'! 63.1 oh, oh!; gogo'! 18.8
kok'oi'! 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' qrika'lhin? how is your leg?

Pain:
gr,gr,gr R 74.46 (Kor. mikikikik! Kor. 29.1) sudden acute pain
g<e, ge, gel 63.8 (Kor. iigi'! Kor. 23.9) crying

Warning:
g<e, ga, ga! 85.17,28 (Kor. gotl) off! look out!

Laughing:
ga, ga, ga! R 79.10
iigi'! 30.2
qm! 30.2 laughing of a skull.

Anger:
qm! R 72.20 (Kor. qm! 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. Onomatopoetic Interjections
qa,qa,ga!' R 140.10; R 277.8, yapping of fox
qm, qm! 105.27 barking of dog
m-m! 106.15 mumbling of ke'le (hence derived a noun
mit'üm grin kele's mumbling)
kabeu', kabeu'! R 307.8 cackling of ptarmigan

§132
aña', añ América', añ añ! 84.8 crying of small infant
ew, ew, ew! R 104.47 singing of thanksgiving ceremonial
dig, dig! 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone
piw, piw! 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground
pig, pig! 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground
pr! 88.17 sound produced with lips
(Koryak) vakikikiri! 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)
ohotototototoi! 59.4
otatatatatai! 59.4
Answer to shaman’s call
git, git, git, gige’t! 39.9
ge’we, ge’we! R 306.1 raven’s shamanistic song
go’on-kale’, go’on-kale’ R 314.23 (Kor. go’on, go’on 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
qaia’qan, qaia’qan! foxes shamanistic song (a little more! at the same time onomapoetic)
ge’wye, ge’wye ko’onin R 315.31 polar bear’s shamanistic song
Calls of reindeer-herders
go, go, go, goq, goq, goq! 32.11 for driving the herd
gqa, qa, qa, qgq, qgq, qaq!
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, onomapoetic
Interjections are often used in groups
gug, 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’nkën, ma’nkën um 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!
tte’net! 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in compounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form
tte’net-i-git it is wonderful with you
tte’net-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 amat! R. 73.27 (surprise and anger; em mere §113.5) nit demonstrative particle (§57) amat adversative conjunction p. 853) how is it then!
cég-a'voam va'lin! 76.5 (§113.15) how very strange!
vé'nom wonder and blame; in compounds with subjective form of personal pronoun
vé'nom ginä'ñiñ 55.11; 109.24 something like out with you!
alü'mäa! 120.16,23 (a ah, lümäa again) only think of it!
sudden surprise (see also p. 854)
nure'gin-ñum! I do agree! 84.19; R 62.58; R 65.112 regular nominalising form of indefinite verb req (§82)
ra'qal 80.25 what of that; (req what; al otherwise unknown)
u'nmuñ a'nu; u'nmuñ a'nu-m e'un 84.26; 87.7 Oh, how bad it is! (u'nmuñ very, a'nu-m even so; e'un and so)

KAMCHADAL

| tea there! | gu call; ha lloo! |
| ile there, take it! | he, hei answer to call |
| nux here! | qa what do you want? |
| ee yes | xi 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.

ngittp'gin (literally, clever) fool
tikay'tu-wa'lin (from tikay'yoh-wa'lin intelligent) silly
erme'urkin (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness

also
emtrné'urkin (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger
wul EVENTS (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear
lei'wülin (literally, the one who walks about) wolf
re'gätkurkin (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading
va'irtükurkin (from va'irtuq being) disease

§133
§ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kamenskoye</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e'rem</td>
<td>a'ym</td>
<td>commander (literally, strong man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'genaŋ</td>
<td>ta'qana</td>
<td>tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teq-e'rem</td>
<td>taqa'-a'ym</td>
<td>chief officer of district (literally, tribute-strong-man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aña₃-ra'n</td>
<td>aña₃-yal'n</td>
<td>church (literally, spirit-house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin-koi'um</td>
<td>e'ti-koi'um</td>
<td>glass (literally, ice-cup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wui'qun</td>
<td>gui'vn</td>
<td>fortified log-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin-₁'kkäm</td>
<td>put'ikan</td>
<td>bottle (Russian бутылка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'q-em i̯l</td>
<td>a'qa'-m' i̯l</td>
<td>brandy (literally, bad water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel'kel</td>
<td>kal'i'kal</td>
<td>letter, book, writing (literally, carving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel'i'tul</td>
<td>kal'i'tul</td>
<td>ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'aq-koi'um</td>
<td>ka'na</td>
<td>tobacco-pipe (local Russian rana, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëmi'²'gal</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yara'r-e'kkam</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vešse')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aima'lqal</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>long brandy-keg (literally, thigh-bone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìlh-₁'kkäm</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>plate (literally, white vessel)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Han</th>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṝol</td>
<td>ṝol</td>
<td>salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toró'ma</td>
<td>toró'wa</td>
<td>здорово</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>če'över</td>
<td>če'över</td>
<td>четверть</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koró'walhin</td>
<td>koró'wa</td>
<td>корова</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ëak</td>
<td>ka'sak</td>
<td>казакъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>štet'öl</td>
<td>štol</td>
<td>столъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torë'lgan</td>
<td>torel'ka</td>
<td>тарелка</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How is your health?
Once a certain house, a woman the husband used her, then she was starving, crawling on she became just by starving. Then she was hungry.

After that she saw it, she entered she looked about the made time she was hungry.

Garments were hanging, at the same time with tallow a dish was full.

She eats and then, just she finished, she fled.

to the country.

---

1 From W. Bogoras, Chukchee Texts; Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Vol. VIII, pp. 88-89.

2 Once upon a time, also connective and then, then; always in narrative (p. 888).

3 Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic qiit is also used (§ 60, p. 732).

4 Stem ré house; yara probably reduplication from ōra; -qat a particular one (§ 58, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense there was a particular house.

5 Stem liu female; -sqdt a suffix, probably related to others in -sq-, but not free.

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 The first part of the compound has dropped the suffix -n of the absolute form (§ 115, p. 826).

8 Subjective form in -la (§ 57, 37, p. 697); here as subject of transitive verb (§ 92, p. 780).

9 Stems phan; verbal stem raph to reject, to refuse; -u suffix (§ 79, p. 765); free.

10 Absolute form; with suffix -n; note 25.

11 Subjective form in -m expressing modality (§ 37, 92); with ablaut (§ 3).

12 Stem tep to make; e'ur garment, absolute form (§ 30, p. 961), here subject of intransitive verb (§ 91, p. 779); composition see § 116, 4, p. 830.

13 Stem phin to hang; suffix -phu(e) frequentative or intensive (§ 110.54); phu (§ 74, p. 700); with ablaut (§ 3).
A man came walking. The moon really, what.

"Guq, čeq-a'lvm-va'lim, ra's'tnut 33 lei'vurkin 35 qamitvala'arkin, 36 what is walking is eating much, vessel-full is finished." Again in the morning he started.

Elve'lin 41 li'en 42 ple'kkt 42 nena'i'püqenat, 43 na'qam eu'rrêkêlin 44 other ones just boots he put on, however not appeared ne'wan 45 Ne'me qâti', 46 e'ur 19 Enqa'n 47 ne'usqâ'qâ' pûkî'rigi 30 a wife. Again he went, at the same time the woman came, time

Qla'u12° ne'lu'nin. 18 Qamitvala'atyâ' 48 qân'ver 49 pûkewkwì'kî' 49 The tallow again she saw it. She ate much, after that she grew fatter. 12.2, p. 661)

Qla'ul20 um 6 ne'me ragfried. 50 "Guq, u'nmuñ a'nì. 51 Čeq-a'lvm-va'lim. 34 Ra's'tnut 34 lo'n 52 qamitvala'arkin 26 Kita'm e'ur 19 irga'trk 49 being. What is eating much? Well then this morning ecei'vutkukà 53 mi'tyâ'kì' 55 Ne'me am-gnûutol' 55 ne'lýi 5. 56 Lu'ur 57 not going let me be!" Again mere mid-day it became. Thereupon ne'me no'ôr 58 ye'tyì 59 res'qì'kwì'kî' 47 um 6 ne'me, tâkêchê't 40 qâti', 46 again behind there she came, she entered again, to the meat she went.

23 Probably reduplicated absolute form from a stem qa (qlates) (§ 29); q before consonant becomes z 12.2, p. 661)

24 Stem pûkîr in initial position; pûkîr in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).

25 Stem leivu, related to leivu (§§ 2, 122); ëknu (§ 110, 67); -In one who (§ 54). See note 35.

26 Absolute form; predicative.

27 See § 59 p. 729; absolute form.

28 Stem qati', 4° e'ur 19 Enqa'n 47 ne'usqat 5 pûkî'rigi 30 Again in the morning he started.

29 Probable reduplicated absolute form from a stem qa (qlates) (§ 29); q before consonant becomes z

30 Stem yir in initial position; yir in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).

31 Stem qati', 4° e'ur 19 Enqa'n 47 ne'usqat 5 pûkî'rigi 30

32 See note 25; derived form (§ 59, 87); -let FREQUENTATIVE, (§110.53 with t dropping out in intervocalic position) (§ 10).

33 Stems'kENN DRESH, stem yir FULL, here reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

34 Stem telp; derived form (see note 35).

35 Stem yep dawn; a locative form (§ 38). Compare irgyro'ññoi it began to dawn 9.13; irgyro'k at dawn 10.3.

36 Stems" with suffix -et (§ 110, 70); ty< t+ in (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

37 Stems" other; -In absolute form (§ 60.3); singular and instead of plural (§ 46, p. 709). The strong form ates signifies AWAY!

38 Plural.

39 Stem ipas; prefix me- making transitive verb intransitive, here passive (§ 113, 28); s-qañ, one who is performing an action (§ 73), plural because referring to ple'kkt: THOSE THAT ARE BEING PUT on (§ 74); with ablaut (§ 3).

40 Stem arr(eu) often medi ally wurr; e-kElln negation (§ 114, 4 p. 824).

41 Derived from ne female.

42 Stem medi ally qatâ; 3d person past, more frequently qatyvâ; ty< t+g (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

43 Demonstrative (§ 57).

44 See note 66, ty< t+ in (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

45 Stem prov-tca (§ 110, 70); wkw<u-t+g (§ 7.2).

46 From ra house, probably the allative form ragîr which serves here as verbal stem: tê< t+g with ablaut (§§ 3, 7).

47 Particles (§ 126, p. 853).

48 § 126, p. 852.

49 Stem eivu, see notes 31 and 35; ëknu (§ 110, 67); e-kElln negation (§ 114, 4), see also note 44.

50 Stem t to be, 1st person subj. (a); ty<t+ in (§ 7. 26).

51 Stem me- MERN (§ 113, 7); gino'm middle; ëko'a, a'lo' DAY.

52 Stem nel- TO BECOME; ty<t+ in (§ 7); see Note 13.

53 § 126, p. 808.

54 Demonstrative particle (§ 57).

55 Stem tê- TO COME.

56 Stems'kENN meat; allative form in ñ (§§ 55, 40).
Ne’mè echí čit81 qamí’tvarkin,62 lu’ur57 pi’rinin.63

Again before as be before she ate, therupon he took her.

“‘A’kakaka’av ilu’kä’64 a’ilva!”74 niqama’graqên.65 “Gu, e’uñän66

“Ah, ah, ah! motionless away!” she struggled. “Oh, so 
guña’n.767—“Gu’ña, a’ilva,41 qine’reřîlihi68—“Gu’ña, ilu’kä.64 Qaré’m69

thôn.” “Oh, away! let me go!” “Oh motionless. Not 
mäře’qewkur,79 mimnîlo’ur.71 Gîk, ia’am nilei’vutku-y-gîr72
I shall do anything to thee, I will question thee. Oh, why art thou walking about?

Qâi’vè gêt’ňvè-gîr77—“Ui’nà.77—“E’min77—“Uwî6”quchtãvä E’nku9

Indeed thou hast a master!” “No.” “Where is he?” “My husband to rejection 
gine’têlin,75 gênančaatva’lên,76 ginenqu’pqenin.”77—“En’qa’m78
used me, he cast me off, he let me starve.” — “Then 
va’nèvan79 wu’tku80 yara’čiku81 re’qân82 qinelu’rkin.”83—“Va’nè-
not at all here inside of the something thou hast seen.” — “Nothing.”

van.”79 “Guq, a’mên64 tim, munata’gyt.”85

“Oh, then let me marry thee.”

Ma’tanên.86 Ne’mè čei’vutkuvisão.87 Wulqátvi’k88 üm6 pükí’ri.89
He married her. Again he walked. In the evening he came.

Before, formerly (§ 127, p. 848).

See notes 25, 36, 48; here qamathä, derived tense in -rktm (§§ 64, 87).

Stem pi’rî to take; -mîn he—him (§ 67).

ili to move; -êka negation (§ 114, 4). The initial ê is contracted with the i of the stem.

Stem qama’rá; n—qên (§ 73); with ablaut (§ 3).

§ 126, p. 856.

Subjective form (§ 56); presumably as subject of an idea like YoU slAvE EATEN IT.

Stem initial rîrîl, medial rrxl; me- (11 67; 113. 28); imperative 2d person sing.

Negation with exhortative meaning (1 131.2).

Medial form of the causative prefix—n; stem raq WHAT, SOMETHING; -m (§ 110.70); predicative form of the indefinite pronoun; m—qit let me—thee, subjunctive (§ 67); uku<u+g; in place of qit we have here and in the next word the alternating form gîr.

Stem *phlo; initial form pîmlo; medial form -mîhlo; m—qit let me—thee, see note 70.

Stem leînî, see notes 31, 35, 53; -thu (§§ 110, 67); predicative form of nominalized verb (§ 73).

Stem etuv master (§§ 45, 73).

§ 125 (§ 131.5).

See note 10; here with the prefix -înc referring to the first person (§ 73).

See note 75, the same form; stem -ôgôla; -ô gu causalitive (§ 114, 1).

See note 75, the same form; stem guqyq to starve (see note 11); r—gu causalitive (§ 114, 1).

Conjunction (§ 128, p. 858).

§ 131.1.

Demonstrative (§ 57); as particle var; stem wev; locative in -k.

See note 4; -čiku inside of, nominal (§ 101, 24).

év something; here absolute form (irregular) used as object with the verbs in to say, lu’ to see

Stem lu’ to see; derived tense in -rktm (§ 64); -înc (§ 113. 28); q— imperative (§ 64); here used as a past (§ 85).

Conjunction (§ 128, p. 853).

Stem mata to take, to marry; subjunctive (a), m—qit let me—thee (§ 67).

Stem mata to take, to marry; -mîn he—her (§ 67).

Stem etwv-e-thu, see notes 31, 35, 63. The g of the ending -qîv has dropped out on account of its intervocalic position.

Stem wulq evening, compare wu’â-yq darkness; a locative form (§ 88); -tē to become (§ 110, 68)

Initial stem pákîr, medial phîr; abbreviated termination for -phī.
The charm-strings I'wki59° Enfioft° fIawanê'ti,'° En 1Ie'° aFntokase ralkoëikoi'pu.°

He said thus to his wife, "Don't not going from the inside of the inner room.

Let us enter, just pillow edge to boots throw them.

Then there—here a dish, a mere dish upon

ros qi'wkiw6°, 17 e'un101 ere'ta102 gey'r'relin.103 Qamrt'vaaft,104 ne'ne'me came in, then with being full. They ate, again

just they put out the dish, in the morn-
ing

keme'ñi23 gite'nin107 ne'us'qata,108 genu'mkeulin109.

Again he went. He obtained a wild reindeer,—

Oh, to-morrow let us have a thanks-
giving ceremonial,

they went to it made to be the wild rein-

Guq, yilaq'tyaf't.118 Irga'trik38 um6 kiy'wkwat,106 ne'me

Oh, they slept. Next morning they awoke, again

°Stem fu; suffix -gi; wkw<u+t+g (§ 7).
°°See § 98, p. 727.
°°°Stem hewoln wife: -eti iLLATIVE (§ 40).
°°°°See § 131.3.
°°°°°Initial stem fito, medial no to go out; -li not (§ 114.4).
°°°°°°Stem rokhu; -tku interior (§ 101.24); -tpu ablative (§ 42).
°°°°°°°Stem rer/lo to enter; subjunctive (a), min—mik let us (§ 64); see Note 17.
°°°°°°°°Stem pilow; lokin edge; -eti ALLATIVE (§ 40); PILLOW-EDGE I. e. THE OUTER TENT.
°°°°°°°°°Stem iht; r- to cause to (§ 114.1 c); qati—fiket thou—them, imperative (§ 67).
°°°°°°°°°°Stem and prefix as in note 98; -ninet them (§ 67).
°°°°°°°°°°°Demonstrative particle; stem wut- (§ 57, p. 723). See note 80.
°°°°°°°°°°°See § 128, p. 855.
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem e'ted boiled meat; -d instrumental (§ 57)
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem yfr FULL. See note 24.
°°°°°°°°°°°See notes 25, 56, 48, 62; here 3d per. plur. ending -pid, with intervocalic g dropping out; ablaut (§ 3).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem now. Initial stem kyu+eu, medial g+eu, suffix -eu; wkw<u+t+g (§ 7).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem git to see, -m he—him (§ 67).
°°°°°°°°°°°See note 5, -u subjective as subject of transitive verb.
°°°°°°°°°°°Transitive prefix r-, in medial position -x (§ 114.1); Stem wuk+k+eu (§ 110.70); ge—lin (§ 73).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem tle wild reindeer, -s to consume (§ 111.71); ge—lin (§ 73).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem imel to have a thanksgiving ceremonial (perhaps ine+i but never used without ine; cf. Kor. Kam. ina-bu2-2; subjunctive (a), min—mek let us (§ 64).
°°°°°°°°°°°tai'fikwut pl. tai'fikulri MISFORTUNE-PROTECTOR; Stem talka to trespass; "kek protector (§105.43).
°°°°°°°°°°°e—kä negation (§114.4). If it were affirmative this would be a verbal noun in -(t)ä dependent upon following verb (§ 80, p. 766); stem, initial me, medial me.
°°°°°°°°°°°Initial stem rt, medial ni; qata—fiket thou—them, imperative (§ 67).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem yppet to visit; ng—fiket they—him (§ 67).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem imel, see note 111; -go past participle (§ 107, 47); ablaut (§ 3).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem irs; absolute reduplicated form (§ 29).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem nel; ge—linet, 3d person plural (§ 73).
°°°°°°°°°°°Stem yileät to sleep; ty<u+t+g (§ 7).
he was going. "What then he said to her, "That trunk don't not opened 'have it for one. Don't for object of concern not having it as one.

However

Oh, then he went, the trunk she opened it. And so there a woman was placed then destined to split being a face

one side side of face black, the other red side of face.

Then she closed it, how she was afraid of course. Then she saw her, at that that one here died, she fell down.

Then she closed it, bow she was afraid of course. Then she saw her, at that that one here died, she fell down.

He came the husband. They entered. Nothing she told him,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

Because she feared him, the boots she threw pillow-edge to, then to wait they were unable for the dish. Oh, the husband appeared, "Oh, It is wonderful Now where is it? Indeed not the trunk not you opened it."

Qai've e'le' će'n112 i'nenvente'kål-i-grt? će'n112 i'nenvente'kål-i-grt?

"Na'q ěm î? Gu'ña quwalo'mürkîn, će'n112 i'nenvente'kål-i-grt? će'n112 i'nenvente'kål-i-grt?"

"No." "However is what it? Do listen, qtavu'gùn? Qán've'r tu'wînê? "Emite'tîm tígite'â'n. After that she told him, "Namely I saw her.

She did not see me, no. With the mouth I made a noise, thereupon she fell down."

Guq, čeq-a'lvam-va'l-é-grt. La'm agêro'lkâl-é-grt? ćeq-a'lvam-va'l-é-grt. ćeq-a'lvam-va'l-é-grt.

Oh, quite extraordinary you are. Why dost thou not obey? With reason e'un112 ěwâq'jaqitâ čen112 e'ntógt1.75 Ya'rar117 rai qine'ilhi.117

and so the husband from deserted thee. Drum behind there give me."

E'nmen2 rîmirge'winî. E'nmen2 rîmirge'winî. E'nmen2 rîmirge'winî.

Then he drummed on it. Then she revived. Then thereupon

 ECS

she was quite angry, the dish she pushed in strongly.

---

135 See § 128, p. 859.
136 See note 147, transitive form; n—nîn (67, Is 6).
137 që to wait (§ 95, p. 786).
138 Initial stem la+w+u, medial le+au to be unable; 3 p. pl.
139 From keme'în dish; gît allative; with ablaut (§ 3).
140 Initial stem ur+au.
141 It is a wonder! (Interjection).
142 From demonstrative stem e'n. ćeq-a'lvam-va'l-é-grt.
143 Interrogative adverb.
144 Negation (§ 131.5).
145 Stem sam, see notes 123, 130; r—t causative (§ 114, 1); t—kîlîn negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person verbalized noun (§ 73).
146 Stem seudn to hear, listen, obey, see note 128; derived tense, imperative.
147 Stem teun, see note 152; imperative.
148 Stem teun; nîn re—him; with ablaut (§ 3).
149 cm-te't-um (§ 128, p. 857).
150 Stem pëte to see; li—pëtên I—him.
151 Stem pëte to she; iene- (§ 67); t—kîlîn negation (§ 114, 4).
152 Stem puken; li—pëtên I—. Intransitive (§ 64).
153 3d person sing.
154 See note 34; 2d person, nominative verb (§ 73).
155 Stem gëgë to obey; e—kîlîn negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person sing.
156 csau'-lîm but with some reason (§ 128, p. 854).
157 2d person nominative verb (§ 73).
158 Absolute form, perhaps for rar-rar (§ 29).
159 Stem pët; q'ëte—pët thou—him, imperative; transitive form.
160 q'ë to cause; më re—him.
161 Stem c'ë, with vocative u; therefore with loss of intervocalic g of the suffix -gë.
162 pët very (§ 118, 22); stem an'âm anJër; pët to put on; ge—lîn (§ 73).
163 Stem rell; s'qîqet intensity (§ 110, 59); ge—lîn (§ 73).
In the morning they awoke, he carried her (back). He said to "With reason the husband from he deserted thee. Let I thou hast a house, let me carry thee (back)."

To the father he carried her he took her, to the father-in-law he said to "Oh, he carried her (back)."

I indeed watching I could not do her."

125 Stem *rie; initial rile, medial rile; derived form; -nie he—him (§ 67).
126 Stem *ra HOUSE; *garai he who has a house; 2d person sing. (§ 73).
127 Stem *rie, see note 126; -nie—gir let me—thine.
128 Stem *eli'girt father; allative (§ 40).
129 Stem *rie, see note 126; -nie he—him.
130 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
131 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
132 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
133 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
134 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
135 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
136 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
137 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
138 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
139 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
140 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
141 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
142 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
143 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
144 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
145 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
146 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
147 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
148 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
149 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
150 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
151 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
152 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
153 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
154 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
155 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
156 Stem *rei, see note 126; -nie he—him.
Little-Bird-Man and Raven-Man

Valvimtla⁴ⁿ'inti¹ e'čë³ Pîč'e'qala'n⁴ Quyqm'ná a
Raven-Man the two they Little-Bird-Man wanted for a wife at Great-
qu'yík.⁸ Quyqm'ná'a'qu Pîč'e'qala'nán⁶ Quyqm'ná a
Raven's. Great-Raven to Little-Bird-Man had desired, he said,
Gûmna'n⁶ ñawa'kak¹⁰ Pîč'e'qala'nán⁶ Gâimâ'nâ'wî'yní,⁷ e'wañ,⁸
"I daughter to Little-Bird-Man I shall give her." Mití' e'wañ,⁸
"Gûmna'n⁶ ñawa'kak¹⁰ Valvimtla'nán⁶ Gâimâ'nâ'wî'yní,⁷
"I daughter to Raven-Man I shall give her." Afterwards Raven-
v'ímtl'a'n³ v'î'n va'hîto'î'mín,¹² a'la'ta¹³ awyênô'î'mín,¹⁴
Man secretly went out, with excrement
awyeñô'î'mín.¹⁴ Kiyaw'laïke,¹⁶ w'uk'r'ë va'ño'la'i'ke¹⁸ gâpa'au¹⁹ qu'ttí²⁰
he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine skins
i'tú'wi.²¹ Newñô'î'mínat,²² "Mi'kinak²³ gâ'nmênan?²⁴ Valv'í-
tila'n,³ "Gûmna'n.⁷⁹
Man. "I."

---

² HAYING THE QUALITY OF (§ 48); -înti dual of personal nouns (§ 35).
³ Personal pronoun, 3d person dual, absolute form.
⁴ As in note 1;
⁵ ñaw I auxiliar vowel; -yny to work as a herdsmen; -isô to begin (§ 110, 53); -îte derived form, 3d person dual (§ 65). See Publications Jesup Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 579.
⁶ ñawa'kak'¹⁰; used only in augmentative; -ow'î' augmentative (§ 96.2); -y (i) personal plural suffix for-sît (§ 35); -k locative (§ 38).
⁷ gâimâ'nâ'wî'yní,⁷ subject here as instrumental; stem of excrement.
⁸ Gîmâ'nâ'wî'yní; wolverine (skins). They began to say to both, "Who killed them?"
⁹ Valvimtla'n³; "Gûmna'n.⁷⁹ Raven-Man.
¹¹ "I."
¹² Vâyô'î'mín; he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine skins
¹³ a'la'ta³; "Gûmna'n.⁷⁹ kiyaw'laïke,¹⁶ w'uk'r'ë va'ño'la'i'ke¹⁸ gâpa'au¹⁹ qu'ttí²⁰
he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine skins
¹⁴ Kiyaw'laïke,¹⁶ w'uk'r'ë va'ño'la'i'ke¹⁸ gâpa'au¹⁹ qu'ttí²⁰
he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine skins
¹⁵ Newñô'î'mínat,²² "Mi'kinak²³ gâ'nmênan?²⁴ Valv'í-
tila'n,³ "Gûmna'n.⁷⁹
Man. "I."
Vayuk gawya’lyolen,25 qa’npu enña’an26 ama’latça.27 Quyqinn-a-
Afterwards a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting
better.
qu’nak28 gewñvo’lenat.29 “Toq, qamaļtva’thitk!30 Ma’ki31 yamaļ-
Raven told the two of them, “There, ye two make it better! Who makes it
tva’tín33 na’nyen33 tiyanñawtía’nyin.34 Valvr’tm’tla’n, “G’åmma35
better, to that one I shall give the wife.” Raven-Man, “I
mimáltva’tik.36 E’wañ, “Qatinunña’tik!37 Ñinvq’ pla’kíñu38
shall make it better.” He said, “Prepare the provisions for A number of boots
mel”
gatai’kííliau.39 Ga’jqarin.40 e’nk117 vañvo’ykin41 e’n’mugenka,42
they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff,
yenotñoño’ykin.43 Pći’qala’n8 ñitoño’ykin,44 Enko’7 vañvo’ykin,41
he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out, there he stayed,
awyño’ykin.14 Çemya’q Pçeqalanmai’tín45 Valvr’tm’tla’n8 aqa’lapñi-
he ate. Of course on Little-Bird-Man Raven-Man badly
vo’ykin.46 Pći’qala’n yaq’twiñkin,47 ui’ña i’wka48 enñvo’ykin.49
looked. Little-Bird-
Valvr’tm’tla’n e’nk117 va’ykin.41 Enña’e36 qa’npu vuyaλanñvo’ykin,50
Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm,
ui’ña ama’latça.27 Go, va’yuk gawya’liñwin,51 i’mi-plañku52 gaqitílinhau,53
not it became Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen,
qaña plagqeno’tín54 na’çañvoqen,55 ini’ñinirk pla’ku56 gaqitílinhau.55
meanwhile he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.
“QyImewun, i’ya5n” gaèi’malin.” TaE’yuk Piéilkalamn gewñvo’én,
Impossible, heaven is broken.” Then Little-Bird-Man they said to him,

25 Stem in initial position wyaŋl medial wyaŋ; ya verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811)
pa—its nominalized form of intransitive verb (§ 79).
26 Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 876).
27 Stem mal Goon; a—ma negative (§ 114, 4).
28 Subjective in -nak (§ 29).
29 Stem is to TELL; -Arq to BEGIN; pa—its nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. dual (§ 74).
30 Stem mal Goon; ça to BE; qgitik imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).
31 Absolute form (§ 58, p. 729).
32 ya—future.
33 Absolute form of demonstrative (§ 57).
34 tya—a 1st pers. sing. future; -Arn 3d pers. sing. object.
35 Absolute form (§ 56).
36 1st person sing. exhortative, intransitive.
37 qina—to atik imperative, TE—ME; (a)—à to make (§114.2); înu PROVISIONS.
38 Stem plak boot; -jírn (§ 32); -a plural, more frequently plak’ka.
39 Stem isák to MAKE; pa—its nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 74).
40 Stem leq to go; nominalized form, 3d pers. sing. (§ 73).
41 Stem is, in initial position va to STAY; -Aro to BEGIN; -ykin derived form.
42 -giñ base (§ 101.21), locative.
43 -ye—desiderative; na to EAT; -eñu intensive action § 110.67; -Aro to BEGIN; -ykin derived form.
44 Stem sňź to go out; -Aro to BEGIN; -ykin derived form.
45 -it allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).
46 Steums aqa’add; wa to SEE; yx to PUT ON; aro-ykin as in note 44.
47 ya’qxu, Ch. être qui to ENTER; derived form.
48 Stem is to SAY; a—ka NEGATION (§ 114, 4); a contracted with i to i.
49 Stem is; aro-ykin as in note 44.
50 Stem wyaŋ in medial position wgaŋl; at (§ 110.70) (see note 25).
51 yagqwe to ENTER; -Aro to BEGIN; -ykin derived form.
52 Stem is; aro-ykin as in note 44.
53 Stem vaŋwi in medial position wyaŋl; -at (§ 110.70) (see note 25).
54 Stem is; aro-ykin as in note 44.
55 Stem is; aro-ykin as in note 44.
56 Stem in; aro-ykin as in note 44.
57 Stem is; aro-ykin as in note 44.
58 Stem in; aro-ykin as in note 44.
"Toq, ginya'q57 qmalatva'ti"58; "Qifyme56'en, gi'niw59 gu'mma55
"Oh, thou now
do it well?" — "Impossible.
I shall go out,
into the boots
I shall urinate?!"
He said to them
Quyqin aqu'nak,28 "Qalqalatr'k,63 kitta'n ansha'w'tanka?164 Va'7 yuk Big-Raven
"Go away," Some small fat
he took," a stopper,
with ablaut.
a little shovell;
he went
to the sky;
he flew up,
came,
the sky's
left
with the stopper
he threw.
flow better.
Gü'mlañ gayaitlen,80 gu'mlañ gawalqeyo'len.25 Na'nyen32
he went home,
there was a snowstorm.
That
"Impossible.
The sky
is broken."
Big-Raven
the stopper
va'sqin gataik'tlin89 nma'yi'qin83 geil'in,84 a'cin66 o'pta nma'yi'qin83
another one
he made
a large one
he gave it,
fat also
large
Ga'lqalin70 gu'mlañ, pana'saitlin85 gayi'nalin.72 Gala'lin,73
he gave.
He went
to the former place
he flew.
He came,
pa'lena85 na'nyen32 qaltein_SEI66 mal-kit86 gu'npilen,87 tala'wga88
that time
that
well
he closed it,
with a mallet

57 gin- thou; -yoq indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.
58 Stem mal, tea WELL, TO BE; imperative.
59 Second person personal pronoun gin- (§ 56; 129, p. 873 under yoq).
60 trya-1, future; stem 4too, medial ato; 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 [gut] to go; ga-[atik] imperative, dual.
64 4—a LITTLE (§ 114, 4); saw woman.
65 Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).
66 Gati- PAT: -gil SMALL (§ 100.15).
67 Stem scukil; ga—lin nominalized verb (§ 74).
68 Absolute form (§ 73).
69 -gil small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.
70 Stem gut to go (see note 63); ga—lin nominalized verb (§ 73).
71 Absolute form tya'gqin sky; -gil allative.
72 Stem y'lin to FLY UP; ga—lin nominalized verb.
73 Stem initial itla, medial [a] to MOVE; go; ga—lin as before.
74 Belonging to the sky (§ 47).
75 Absolute form.
76 Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92).
77 Stem eip to STOP UP, CLOSE; ga—lin as before, here with ablaut.
78 Stem itla (Ch. [a]) to THROW; ga—lin nominalized verb.
79 Stem mal GOOD.
80 Stem yuki (allative of pu HOUSE) to GO HOME.
81 Stem yuki, medial ngu to COME LOOSE, to COME OUT (like a plug out of a hole).
82 Stem yuwa' HOUSE; -tiku INSIDE; -ti allative, with terminal nasalization.
83 gu Small; -gim (§ 49) ma'y(i)ii LARGE.
84 Stem y'lin to GIVE; geiltin instead of geiltin irregular.
85 panina before, former; absolute form pa'sin; adverb pa'lena AGAIN, ANOTHER TIME; -ti allative, with terminal nasalization.
86 Mal-ki' well, ALL RIGHT (Ch. met-ki'tik, met-ki'tt somehow); mal (Ch. me, me) see § 118.10 and 11; (Ch. ki'tik), adverb, a LITTLE.
87 Styp, medial-up to STICK INTO, TO STUFF INTO; ga—lin with ablaut.
88 Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem a'a to STRIKE.
Gata'lalen,38 na'nyen33 a'chin66 e'e'tin71 gani'ñalala'n,78 gu'mlañ äë'tala88 he struck it, that fat to the sky he threw it, again with snow ga'ëmelina'100 qoqo'wičii'n91 qo'npu' gama'talen.92

Gala'in;75 na'nyen33 Valv'rmtla'n aqa'n'nu'93 ga'ëčitlin.94 Miï'tnak95 he came, that Raven-Man to hate they had. At Miï't's

Eîyor'na vag'alekin,96 newñivo' ykin52 Valv'rmtla'n, "Meñqaaña'ce 97 near he was sitting, she said to Raven-Man. "How

Eînor'vo' ykin,49 nîme' a'latëño'v' ykin? 98—"Mi'qun,90 ui'ñana yu'laq100 it happens to thee, quite thou smellest of excrement—".

Akle'woka101 tina"Llk.102 Gewñivo'len56 "I'nač, ga'qlata'103 U'i'ña without bread I have been."

Yini'a-ñawgut gama'talen.106 Yini'a-ñawgut married.

Toq, gala'ulirin,107 inya'wut gamuqai'ulirin.108 Valv'rmtla'n the sun took in mouth. So altogether night it became.

Va'yuk gewñivo'len,56 "Cañai, qaimù'gel"112—"Me'shaq mi'qun then they said, "Cañai', fetch water!" — "How even mai'vik?"111 Va'yuk gewñivo'len,56 "Me'shâq qa'nmé' let me draw water!" then they said, "Why quite we

Pa'laï'kînen.114 Va'yuk missav't'yla.115 Ga'ñarlin.70 qaiçay'i'na,116 are thirsty. Then we shall die." She went grooping.

Enna'an wüs'qu'métku,117 va'yuk ga'ñu'lin,118 ga'ñvo'len118 thus in the dark, then she stopped, she began

---

88 Subjective as instrumental; absolute form ñà'çaí, a'ña'1
89 Stem a'qme.
90 Absolute form as object.
91 aq'wa'n' hate, stems probably a'q bad, a'ñ'wən anger; designative form in -a (§ 94).
92 See § 114.4.
93 Locative form (§ 42).
94 Stem rag, medical tungal TO SIT DOWN.
95 Stem mëk WHERE; -qaña NEAR (§ 101.26).
96 Stem a'q EXCREMENT; -të TO SMALL OP.
97 Stem mëk (§ 58, p. 720).
98 Stem yul LONG; -yaq adverbial suffix (§ 112, 73).
99 a-ku negation (§ 114, 4).
100 Stem naq TO BECOME (§ 77).
101 Verbal noun in -a used as imperative (§ 95, p. 767).
102 From a-ku negation (§ 114, 4); meq' good; tøq TO BE.
103 Stem ñe TO BE (§ 75).
104 Stem mates TO TAKE, TO MARRY.
105 ga' SUMMER; -yu suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71).
106 Poles rain; -yu as in note 107.
107 Reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).
108 ña'to CHEW; yop TO PUT ON (see Note 46); yep'mp A QUID.
109 Stem naq TO BECOME (§ 77); ga-ñna nominalized verb (§ 73); l< l+1 (§ 18).
110 Stem ñm TO DRAW WATER; -ge imperative.
111 Subjective (a), 1st pers. sing.
112 Derived form, 1st person pl.
113 Future, without ending -mëk (§ 65).
114 Stem ña, medial ñu TO STOP.
115 Stem ñe TO BEGIN.
2'stem iiya'pakia verbal noun, locative form (95, p. 785). 21 qa1 SMALL, related to Chukchee suffix -qäi (98.4); -nIl, after terminal vs of valam, -ti dual (34).

III 3d pers. dual (65) instead of plural; stem alfi STINGY.

lnnjka S0ME'rarNG (60); gaito verbalized.

124 iti allative (5 58).

in -psi, absolute form in -Ill (5 30).

'Stem til+tä TO BUBBLE; verbal noun, in -Ic, dependent on llvo TO BEGIN (see notes 138, 150).

121 TO BR FULL.

8mZH STRIKE-A-LIGHT, FIRE (See Publ. Jesup Exp. Vol. VII, p. 18); 'hkSm VESSEL.

'yait TO GO ROME (see § 95); verbal noun allative.

'80fltem (ml, imt( TO CABBY; -sop TO PUT TO; a-__.Zin with ablaut.

B Stem plcau TO BE UNABLE.

132 Stem Imf TO CARRY; subjunctive (a) 1st pers. sing. subject, 3d pers. sing, object.

133 Stem Zimnencs TO FOLLOW.

134 Stem vaiam luvan; -ena suffix for living being; nominalized verb, 1st pars. sing. (5 73).

'3lpai'va? TO HAVE PITY WITH, designative in -u (5 94).

'861in ImM (565); stem -t (579).

137 note 120.

180 Verbal noun in -Ic dependent on ilvo TO BEGIN (See notes 126, 150).

15 Stem tva TO HE; let pars. p1., derived form.

141 Stem tva TO HE; let pars. p1., derived form.

'43 Reduplicated form retained in a derived form in -in (5 29, p. 690, note).

144 op TO PUT ON.

'46 qa1 SMALL; ifS TO DAWN, TO LIGHT llvo TO BEGIN; gaUn nominalised verb.

147 Stem vent TO DAWN; ge'dln (5 106.44).

'8iomwa TO BE CREATED.

14 Stem p1, in medial position 'P0 DO, KAKE (580).

145 niki night; probably verbal noun in (t)ä, although the verb has usually the suffix p'u expressing phenomena of naturc(Ch. nikirss'r kIn NIGHT COMES).

146 qai- SMALL; 5D TO DAWN, TO LIGHT llvo TO BEGIN; ge— in nominalized verb.

148 Stem sun TO DAWN; ge— in (106.44).

149 formed TO BE CREATED.

150 Stem 3d, in medial position n't TO DO, MAKE (§ 80).
gān'vō'len\textsuperscript{13} tenma'witčuk,\textsuperscript{150} Valv'mtla'ýkniñ\textsuperscript{151} gaša'lin.\textsuperscript{73} "Mai, began preparing, to Raven-Man she reached. "Halloo, Valv'mtla'n va'ykin?\textsuperscript{152} Val'či'n'a'ut\textsuperscript{153} e'wañ,\textsuperscript{8} "Va'ykin."

Raven Man is staying?" Raven-Woman said, "He is."

Gew'n'vō'len Valv'mtla'n, "As's-o' qati',\textsuperscript{154} qo'nō' a'lyva trtva'ńvok.\textsuperscript{191}

He was told Raven-Man, "Since you left, altogether wrong I was,"

Gayō'ñō'len\textsuperscript{156} Valv'mtla'n, gew'n'vō'len, "Gr'ssa\textsuperscript{157} qa'čik u'ńa she found Raven-Man, "Thou really not al'va a'tvaka?\textsuperscript{158} Qe'nńvō'\textsuperscript{159} Qa'pten\textsuperscript{160} ga'yń'ěłen,\textsuperscript{161} yai'na\textsuperscript{162} wrong wert? Will thou stay so?" The back he turned, to the front yil'i'yñin,\textsuperscript{163} Ga'mlā añ q'a'pten li'ýčin,\textsuperscript{164} Va'yuk gān'vō'len\textsuperscript{119} she turned him, Again the back he turned. Then she began čičh'i'ńč\textsuperscript{166} yi'yni'čha'wik,\textsuperscript{105} gačečheńqatvįn'vō'len,\textsuperscript{166} čāke'ta\textsuperscript{167} in the armpits tickling, putting her hands in his armpits; the sister gew'n'vō'len,\textsuperscript{56} "Quya'q?\textsuperscript{168} I'nač! e'nńu mał-ńa'wrtkata.\textsuperscript{169} Va'yuk said, "What is the matter with thee?" Enkai'ťu\textsuperscript{124} gān'vō'len,\textsuperscript{119} "Gm, gm, gm!" Qo'yń\textsuperscript{170} yi'ńvō'ýktnen.\textsuperscript{171} there to he began, "Gm, gm, gm!" To the other side she turned him. Va'yuk ga'tkača'ča'ñen,\textsuperscript{72} "Ga, ga, ga!" Ti'ńk'tůy'\textsuperscript{110} gače'ptiñölen,\textsuperscript{173} Then he laughed aloud, "Ga, ga, ga!" The back he turned. y'Ia'w\textsuperscript{174} ga'plin,\textsuperscript{175} qo'nō' geča'łen.\textsuperscript{176} to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

\textsuperscript{13} Stem tenma'witčuk; verbal noun in -k dependent on li'wyi co BEGUS (see notes 126, 188); -t8u Intensity of action.

\textsuperscript{150} Derived form of stem tva in initial position va to BE.

\textsuperscript{151} Vā'či'n'a'ut (§ 16.3; 122).

\textsuperscript{152} Vā'či'n'a'ut (§ 16.3; 122).

\textsuperscript{153} Vā'či'n'a'ut (§ 16.3; 122).

\textsuperscript{154} Vā'či'n'a'ut (§ 16.3; 122).

\textsuperscript{155} Vā'či'n'a'ut (§ 16.3; 122).

\textsuperscript{156} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{157} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{158} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{159} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{160} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{161} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{162} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{163} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{164} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{165} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{166} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{167} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{168} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{169} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{170} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{171} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{172} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{173} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{174} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{175} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{176} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{177} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.

\textsuperscript{178} Stem iqat To WALR, in initial position gal; 2d pers. sing.