CHUKCHEE

BY

WALDEMAR BOGORAS

CONTENTS

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[2] Ibid., p. 440. See also map at end of volumes VI and VII of the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

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

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

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[1] Sedanka Kamchadal *ǧ'ava'teḷkal* THEY PERISHED (-ḷk inchoative in Koryak II, -ñɪvo in Koryak I) *seqɪ'tɪtɪ* HE WILL FREEZE TO DEATH (*se*- future prefix Koryak II, *ye*- in Koryak I).

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

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

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

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

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

В. Г. Богоразъ, Образцы матеріаловъ поиэченію чукотскаго дзыкаи фольклора, собраииыхъ въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Оттискъ изъ Извѣстій Императорской Академіи Наукъ Т. Х. No. 3 (Мартъ 1899).

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

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

[Materials for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District, Part I. Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1900.

Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, Part I). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1910.

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

IGNACY RADLINSKY, Ze zbiorow Prof. B. Dybowskiego. Słowniki Nazzeczy Ludów Kamczackich, 5 parts, Krákow, 1891–94.

С. Крашенинниковъ Описаніе земли Камчатки. С.-Петербургъ 1819. Т. 1. II.

[S. KRASHENINNIKOFF, Description of the Land Kamchatka, vols. I and II. St. Petersburg, 1819.]

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

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

PHONETICS (§§ 1–24)

Chukchee (§§ 1–13)

§ 1. *Vowels*

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

(1) Weak vowels: $^e i$ i e $\ddot{a}$ u
(2) Strong vowels: $\hat{e}$ a θ o
(3) Neutral vowels: $ı$ $ᴇ$ $ᴀ$ $\breve{u}$

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

i, e, u, have their continental values.

$\ddot{a}$ is a long obscure vowel, in rest position of all the muscles of the oral cavity, posterior nares closed, teeth and lips slightly opened.

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

$\hat{e}$ is the open e of *hell*, but long.

a has its continental value.

o like o in *nor*.

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

$ı$, $ᴇ$, $ᴀ$, obscure, short vowels corresponding to the respective long vowels.

$\breve{u}$ an i with rounded lips, short; somewhat like the Russian ы.

Unusual length or shortness of vowels is indicated by the macron and breve respectively ($\bar{a}$, $\breve{a}$).

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

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

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

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

§1

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

qailo'qɪm indeed   *ŭpau'ma* while drinking

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

ŭpa'urkɪn thou drinkest

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

nɪpa'w-ê-ŭm I am drinking (stem *ŭpau*)

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

Doubled vowels are also of frequent occurrence, particularly

ii in *ti'rkiir* (male pronunciation [1]) sun
ee in *e'ek* lamp
uu in *ɪntu'ulpɪr* son-in-law
ĕĕ in *ĕĕ'thŭpŭ* from the skin intended for clothing
aa in *pa'arkin* thou ceasest
oo in *ro'olqal* food
ɪɪ in *taiñɪ'ɪrgin* sinful action

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

mɪya'aaᵉk < *mɪya'agaᵉk* I will use

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

§ 2. Consonants

| | Stop | | Affricative | | Nasal | | Contin-ued. | Lateral | | | | Trill |
| | Surd | Sonant | Surd | Sonant | Sonant | Surd | | Affricative | | Contin-ued | | |
								Surd	Sonant			
Labial . .	p	—	—	—	m	—	v	—	—	—	—	—
Alveolar .	t	— [d]	(š), č	ǰ	n	n	—	L	Ɫ	l	r, ř	
Palatalized alveolar	t·	—[d·]	č·	ǰ·	n·	—	s·	—	—	—	—	
Palatal . .	k, wkw²	—	—	—	ñ	ñ	—	—	—	—	—	
Velar . . .	q	ɡ ɡ(u,o)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Glottal . .	—	ʻ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

h, w, y

§2.

p, m, as in English.

v bilabial.

t as in English.

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

č like English *ch* in *choice.*

ǰ like English *j* in *joy.*

n as in English.

ʟ 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.

ʟ̣ like *ʟ,* but sonant.

l as in German.

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

ř dental *r* with weak trill.

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

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

k as in English.

wkw labialized *k.*

ñ like *n* in *singing.* Voiceless *ñ* is always terminal, and appears after terminal *ɪ,ᴇ.*

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

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

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

    ta'nd·an < ta'n-yan a good one

In only one case is initial *d* found,—*di'ndin* ꜰɪʀᴇ (from stem *yɪn;* compare *qayɪ'nlaᵉn* ᴛʜᴇ ᴏɴᴇ ᴛʜᴀᴛ ʜᴀs ꜰɪʀᴇ). The reduplicated form *yɪnyɪn* changes to *yɪnd·ɪn,* from which develops—by assimilation, *d·ɪnd·ɪn;* and by intensification of the obscure vowel, *di'ndin.*

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

iᵋ'rɪrkɪn he comes across	*i'rɪrkɪn* he hits
reᵋ'tɪrkɪn he rejoices	*re'tɪrkɪn* he brings
yoᵋ'rkɪn thou overtakest	*yo'rkɪn* thou puttest in
yeᵋ'tɪrkɪn the sky becomes overcast	*ye'tɪrkɪn* thou comest
čeᵋ'čeᵋ cold	*če'če* lengthwise
eᵋče'pŭrkɪn it shows itself	*eče'pŭrkɪn* it grows damp

§2.

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

> *vêtča'rkın* and *vêLa'rkın* (from *vêt-la'rkın*, see § 7, no. 17, p. 654), he stands
>
> *viluᵉ'ttım* and *vičuᵉ'ttım* (from stem *vilu-* ear) ear-bone
>
> *čeï'wurkın* he walks; *leï'wurkın* he wanders about
>
> *läᵉ'leñ* winter; *čäᵉ'čeñ* cold

Initial *tı* is sometimes replaced by *čı*.

> *tıLı-tto'oča* > *čıčıčo'oča* in front of the entrance

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

> For Russian б (*b*), Chukchee *v* is substituted.
>
> For Russian ф (*f*), Chukchee *p* or *g̣* is substituted.
>
> For Russian x, Chukchee *k* or *q̣* is substituted.
>
> For Russian c, ш (*s*, *sh*), Chukchee *č* is substituted.
>
> For Russian c (*s*), Chukchee *t* is substituted.

Examples:

Chukchee	Russian
čaï'van	сайба (storehouse)
Apo'n	Афонька (Athanasius)
G̣ê'čhan	Федька (Teddy)
ča'qar	сахаръ (sugar)
čol	соль (salt)
trê'n·non	средне (middle)

§ 3. *Vocalic Ablaut*

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by ʌ, the strong ones by ₀. 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.

> ᵉi̯ and i̯ into ê̯
>
> e̯ and ä̯ into a̯
>
> u̯   into o̯ or o̯

The sound *a̯* differs in origin, therefore, from *a̯*, the latter being the ablaut of *e̯* or *ä̯*. This process is not confined to preceding or following vowels, but pervades the whole word. Elements containing only weak vowels are combined without ablaut. The same is true of elements containing either neutral vowels alone or neutral and weak

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

Examples of such compositions are—

Weak vowels or weak vowel and neutral vowel:

pi̯'ri̯-rkɪn he takes   ȧqȧini̯-tvi̯'rkɪn the weather grows
te̯ñ-teki̯'čhɪn good meat   warm
me̯i'ñɪ-tɪ'mkɪtɪm great   pi̯ñe̯'pi̯ snowstorm
    hummock 145.1   nu̯'nu̯n blade of knife
i̯ul-u̯'ttu̯ut long wood

Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:

pê̯rê̯'yo̯ (from pi̯ri̯-yo̯) taken
pêña'ipŭ (from pi̯ñe̯-i̯pŭ) from a snowstorm
no̯no̯'i̯pu̯ (from nu̯'nu̯-i̯pŭ) from the blade of knife
aqaine̯'nmo̯ (from ȧqȧini̯t-mo̯) while the weather is growing
    warm
awkwa'ti̯ño̯k (from e̯wkwe̯t-ño̯) at the beginning of leaving
e̯u'lu-wo̯'lo̯t (from i̯ul-vo̯lo̯) long knives 15.2
tañ-maiñɪ-mê̯'mɪl good, big seal
ɡɪʟê̯'-aqa'ñ-qo̯r greedy[1] right-hand driving-reindeer

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

ɪm rising of water	wurɡ dwarf birch
ɪñ glue	wukw stone 68.36
ɪprɪñ first dawn	pɪtv doubled
yɪp to put on 37.8	pɪñl (-mñɪl) news 78.4
yɪt (-ɡtɪ) to get	pɪlɪl ripples, to bubble 41.1
yɪn fire	pɪlvɪnt iron, metal
yɪnř steep bank	pɪlm darkness produced by a
yɪkɪrɡ mouth 18.12	storm
yɪɡɡɪ bountiful	pɪlhɪrr flat, flattened 84.25
wŭt leaf	pŭɡ float of sealskin
wŭlh thin, with short hair	pŭɡl large, round, wooden
102.12	bowl
wulhɪp to fling	mɪnɡ hand
wur branching	mɪl nimble

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

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

mɪlɪñ five 107.23

tɪm (*-nm*) to kill 23.5

tɪmɡ (*-mɡ̣*) to choke

tɪmlɪ to get near to 44.1

tɪnp to stab

tɪl door

tɪrk testicle

tuw (*-tvu*) word, promise 49.6

-tkɪm to crouch

čɪmy bitter

čuw bruise

lɪp neck (bone)

lɪm something kept in reserve, spare material

lɪɡŭp deadfall (trap)

luᵉw to vanquish

-lpɪnř (*pɪnř*) to give

-lpɪl (*pɪl*) to drink

rɪthɪl bridge of nose.

rɪnn tusk, antler R 3.31

rɪnnɪm gums

rɪnɡ shy

rɪn·ñ to whittle (moving knife toward body)

rɪl (*-l*) to enter the sleeping-room

rɪlh finger 22.7, 47.2

rɪr to hunt down; (*rɪr* [*-rrɪ*] TO UNTIE has a weak stem)

rɪrrɪt sinew-thread

rɪɡ hair

rɪɡɡɪt to be too narrow, to have no room.

ruv (*-nv*) to scrape; (*ruv* [*-nv*] TO PUSH OFF is a weak stem)

-rkɪpl (*kɪpl*) to strike 45.12

kɪt hard

kɪtčɪ to hatch (eggs)

kɪlt middle part of sternum

kɪrɡ̣ dry

kɪrɡɪl fibrous

ɡɪt thin, sparse

ɡɪt lake

ɡɪlh skin

qɪml (*kɪml* 33.12) marrow

ñɪn·ñ stanchion of sledge

ñɪl smoke R 32.38

ñɪrkɪl shame.

Prefixes of the same character are—

ɪ̨m- all

kɪ̨t- (*-ɡɪ̨-*) much, strongly

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

-ɡtɪ̨, *-ĝtɪ̨*, *-wtɪ̨*, allative (§ 41)

-ĭpŭ, *-êpŭ*, *-ɡŭpŭ*, ablative (§ 42)

-ɪ̨h(*ɪn*), *-ɪ̨ɪñ*(*ɪn*), substantival suffix (§ 52)

-čh(*ɪn*), *-čɪñ*(*ɪn*), substantival suffix (§ 53)

-ĭñ-, *-ĭñɪn*, augmentative (§ 98, 1)

-ɡɪ̊rɡ(*ɪn*) verbal noun (§ 106, 44)

-tkɪn surface (§ 101, 19)

-s·q, *-s·qä̈n* over, top of (§ 101, 20)

-nv, *-n*, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

-(ɪ)nɡ̣ allative of personal nouns (§ 41)

-nqọ ablative, adverbial (§ 43)

-ɡọ augmentative, (§ 98, 3)

-lɡ̣añɪn, *-lqañɪn*, space of, (see § 101, 20.)

-lɪñǫ diminutive (§ 98, 7)
gǫ—mǫ comitative (§ 100, 15)
-mǫčɪ comitative (§ 100, 17)
-qǫč, -qǫl, by the side of (§ 101, 26)
-yǫnv, -yǫn, provided with (§ 104, 38)
-yǫčh, -ǫǫčh, receptacle (§ 105, 40)
-yǫ passive participle (§ 107, 47)
ññǫ, -ñǫ. inchoative (§ 110, 63)
-čhat, verbal suffix expressing contempt (§ 110, 66)

In the following sketch the symbols ˄ and ₒ 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'tĭrgɪn (stem *yę't*) the act of coming
kañkạ'čĭrgɪn (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'tĭrgɪn < ya't·-hɪrgɪn < yǫ't-gɪrgɪn
kañkạ'čĭrgɪn < kañkạ'č·-hɪrgɪn < kañkạ'č-gɪrgɪn

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

ęlęrę'rkɪn he feels dull   ⎫
alara'mǫ while feeling dull   ⎬ (stem *ęlęrę*)
mȩ̂rȩ̂mȩ̂r tear   ⎫
mȩ̂rȩ̂'gtɪ to a tea͏ʳ   ⎬ (stem *mȩ̂rȩ̂*)
piñę'pil snowstorm   ⎫
pȩ̂na-ɪ̧pŭ from a snowstorm   ⎬ (stem *piñę*)
kȩ̂tǫ'rkɪn (stem *kȩ̂tǫ*) he remembers

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

aᶜqä'-mɪ̧'mɪl bad water, brandy
ä̧ᶜ'qälpę quick! hurry!
qäi̧ǫ' fawn
ä̧ᶜlqę'p nail
ä̧ᶜmǫ'lɪn workingman

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

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

    vilu'tä by means of an ear
    vąlą'tą by means of a knife

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

    ä̈ᵋlǫ' day
    äᵋttwę̂i'-ñan interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

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

In the words *aᵋ'ttɪn* DOG, *aᵋ'ttɪm* BONE, the *aᵋ* replaces the weak *ä̈ᵋ*, 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*.

    tęɪkę'urkɪn he wrestles
    tąikąulę̂'pŭ from the wrestler
    ŭpą'urkɪn he drinks

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

    i'yᵋrkɪn it thaws   *ę̂ǫᵋmą* while thawing

but consonantic

    i'urkɪn he speaks   *ę̂u'mą* while speaking

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

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

    uwi'rkɪn he cooks   *uwę̂'mą* while cooking
    čuwi'rkɪn he cuts it off   *čuwę̂'mą* while cutting
                       ge'čvilin he cut it
    luwą'urkɪn he can not   *gąlvąulę̂n* being unable to do
                           something

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

vi̯'lkẹn fork (Kor. Kam. *vi̯'lka*); stem *vi̯'lkẹ;* Russian вилка

ču'mẹn bag (Kor. Kam. *ču'ma*); stem *čụmẹ;* Russian сума

kọmạ'k paper; stem *kọmak;* Russian бумага

mụ'lẹmụl soap (Kor. Kam. *mu'la*); stem *mụlẹ;* local Russian муло, instead of мыло

yẹkụ'tɪlɪn Yakut; stem *yẹkụt;* Russian Якутъ

prẹkạ'čɪk commercial agent (Kor. *preka'ssek*); Russian прикащикъ (Kor. Kam. *čai'n·ek*) teakettle;[1] Russian чайникъ

Compositions conform to the rules of harmony, with very few exceptions. The particles ᴇʟo'n and *ñan* enter into close combination with other particles without affecting their vowels: *emiʟo'n<ẹmi̯ ᴇʟo'n* where is he? *euña'n<ẹun ñạn* so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative *ẹmi̯ʟọnạiñɪn* ?where is he then? 43.6.

In *pɪčẹ'g-tuwạ'rkɪn* ᴛʜoᴜ ᴛᴀᴋᴇsᴛ oғғ ᴛʜᴇ ʙooᴛs, the second part alone has the ablaut.

In *čẹq-ạ'mnɪñẹn* ɪɴ ᴅɪғғᴇʀᴇɴᴛ ᴅɪʀᴇᴄᴛɪoɴs, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms *čiq* and *emnɪmin* 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 ʟ, ʟ̣, *č·*, *ǰ·*, which are not found in uncompounded stems, but seem to be due throughout to assimilation (see § 7).

ʟ < *t+l*   *č· < t·+y*
ʟ̣ < *l+l* or *r+l*   *ǰ· < d·+y*

All sounds occur as terminals except

ʟ̣, ʟ, *t·*, [*d*], [*d·*], *č·*, *ǰ*, *ǰ·*, *wkw*, *ř*
v, *h*

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

Voiceless *n* and *ñ* appear only as terminal sounds after *ɪ* and *ᴇ*.

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

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[1] Chukchee *pi'lhɪkuk* throat-kettle.   §4

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

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

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

§ 5. *Medial Consonantic Clusters*

The following consonants never appear in clusters:

ʟ, ʟ, *t·*,[1] [*d*], [*d·*],[2] *č·*, *ǰ*, *ǰ·*, *wkw*

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

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

k,[3] *q*,[4] *ř*, *h*.

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

> *gatrê'n·nonta'len* they went to Sredne Kolymsk

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

s·, *n·*, ᵋ

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

	p	t	k	q		č	m	n	ñ	v	l	r, ř	y	w	h
p	pp	pt	pk	pq	pg	pč		—	—		pl	pr	py		
t		tt	tk	tq		tč		—	—	tv		(tr) —	ty	tw	th
g	—	gt		qq	gg	gč	—	gn	—			gl	gr	gy	—
ᵋ		ᵋt	ᵋk	ᵋq	ᵋg		ᵋm	ᵋn	ᵋñ		ᵋl	ᵋr			
č	—	—	—	—		čč	—	—		čv		— —			čh
s·	s·p		s·k	s·q				s·n							
m	mp	mt	mk	mq	mg	mč	mm	mn	mñ		ml	mr	my	mw	
n	np	nt	nk	nq	—	nč	nm	nn	—	nv	nl	(nr) nř	ny		
n·	n·p		n·k	n·q	n·g		n·m		n·ñ	n·v		— —			
ñ	—		ñk	ñq	ñg	—			ññ	—	—	— —			
l	lp	lt	lk	lq	—		lm			lv			ly	lw	lh
r		—	rk		rg	—				rv		rr		rw	
v	vp	—		yg			ym		yñ			— —			
w		wt	(wk)	wq	wg		wm	wn				wr		ww	

[1] Except *t·h*. [3] Except *kk*, and in one case *kr*, which is probably an affricative *q*.
[2] Except *nd·*. [4] Except *qq*.

§ 6. Vocalic Contraction

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

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

qaʟ-aa'ček < qaʟê'-aa'ček lazy boy
äᵉq-u'ttuut < äᵉqä-u'ttuut bad wood

(2) Obscure *ɪ, ᴇ, ŭ, ᴀ, ä, aᵉ*, following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.

añqa-nna'n < añqa'-ᴇnna'n sea-fish
gapqu'lên < ga-ŭpq̇a'ulên he drank
če'riᵉl < če'ri-äᵉ'ʟel muddy snow
ñeuᵉ'ttɪn < ñe'u-aᵉ'ttɪn 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:

		p	m	v	w	t	n	č	y	r	l	k	ñ	q	g
p	forms with						mn						mñ		
v	forms with											wkw			
w	forms with			wkw	wkw				wg						{wkw / wg}
t	forms with		nm				nn	č·		rr	ʟ		n·ñ		{th / ty}
n	forms with								nd·{nr / nř}				n·ñ		n·g
č	forms with	s·p	{s·m / nm}			} tt	{s·n / nn}			}rr	ʟ	s·k	čh	s·q	čh
y	forms with					gt	gn	gč		gr	gl				
r	forms with					tt	nn	tč	č·		{ʟ / ʟ}				
l	forms with							{ž / ly}		}rr	{ʟ / ʟ}	lh	{lq / s·q}	lh	ly
k}	form with	wp	wm	wkw	wkw	gt	gn		gg	gr	gl	gk	{gñ / ñ ñ}	gq / qq	wkw / gg
ñ	forms with	mp	wm	mv	mw	nt	gn	nč	{nd· nr / ny nř} nl		nl				
q	forms with	ᵉp	ᵉm	ᵉv	ᵉw	ᵉt	ᵉn	ᵉč ᵉy		ᵉř / ᵉr	ᵉl	ᵉk	ᵉñ	(ᵉq)	ᵉg

These changes may be summarized in part as follows:

(1) Voiceless labial and dental stops before nasals become nasals.

(2) *k* and *g* before labials become *w;* with *v* and *w,* they form a labialized *k.*

(3) *k, g,* and *y* before dentals become *g.*

(4) *q* before consonants becomes *ᵋ;* only *qq* occurs.

(5) *ñ* before labials becomes *m;* before dentals, *n.*

(6) *č* before labials, palatals, and *n*, becomes *s·.* When *l* replaces *č,* it is treated in the same manner.

(7) Dentals before palatals are palatalized.

(8) *w* with following *v, w,* and sometimes also with *g,* forms labialized *k.*

(9) *y* following *v, w,* and *g,* becomes *g.*

(10) *t* (*č·*), and *r* with following *y,* form *č·.*

(11) *l* with following *y* forms *ǰ·,* or *ly.*

(12) *t, č,* and (*r*) with following *r* form *rr.*

(13) (*t*), *č,* and *r* with following *t* form *tt.*

(14) *ñ* with following *n* and *ñ* forms *gn* and *gñ.*

(15) *n* and *ñ* with following *y* form *nd·.*

(16) *n* and *ñ* with following *r* form often *nř.*

(17) *t, č, r,* and *l* with following *l* form *ʟ.* The last two with following *l* also form *ʟ̣.*

(18) *l* with following *r* forms *rr.*

(19) *l* with following *ñ* forms *lh.*

(20) *r* with following *n* forms *nn.*

(21) *r* with following *č* forms *tč.*

(22) *k* with following *k* and *q* form *gk* and *gq.*

(23) *k* and *g* with following *ñ* form *ññ.*

(24) *k* with following *g* forms *gg;* with following *gu, wkw* (*u*).

(25) *g* with following *q* forms *qq.*

(26) *l* and *t* with following *g* form *lh, ly,* and *th, ty.*

Examples:

pn > *mn* (1)	*gemnę'lin* whetted < *ge-pnę'-lin*	
	valamna'lın < *vąla-pna'lım* the knife-whetter 44.4	
	rımnę'pŭ from the inner skin (*rı'pın* inner skin)	
pn > *mñ* (1)	*gıttę'mñęw* < *gıttę'p-ñęw* clever woman	
	namñılǫ'aᵋn < *na-pñılǫ'-aᵋn* they asked him 66.24	
tm > *nm* (1)	*mıni'nmık* < *mın-i̯'t-mık* let us be! 57.1	
	nü'lqän-mųrį < *nı-yı'lqät-mųrį* we slept	
	na'nmuaᵋn < *na-tmu-ä̯ᵋn* they killed it 8.2	
	mnę'wkʻwęnmık < *mn-ę'wkwęt-mık* let us go away! 17.8	
tn > *nn* (1)	*ęi'minnįn* < *ęi'mit-nįn* he took it 117.9	
tñ > *n·ñ* (1, 7)	*reį'lqän·ñıt* < *rę-yı'lqät'ñıt* they will sleep	
	gen·ñı'ulin < *ge-tñįu-lįn* he sent it 104.10 (cf. 19.1; 104.3)	
kp > *wp* (2)	*mŭwpe'nvel* < *mŭkpe'nvel* many two-year-old reindeer-bucks	

km > wm (2)	*mйwmo̱'o̱qo̱r < mйk-mo̱'o̱qo̱r* many pack-rein-deer
kv > wkw (2)	*pıčawkwa'glıñın < pıča'k-va'glıñın* boot-grass (i. e., grass insole)
kw > wkw (2)	*mйwkwê̱'t·ha̱u < mйk-wê̱'t·ha̱w* (too) many words
gp > wp (2)	*ê̱w-pê̱ra̱'rkın < ê̱g-pê̱ra̱'rkın* he looks wolf-like
gm > wm (2)	*ɛʟɛ̱'w-mı'tqämıt < ɛʟɛ̱'g-mı'tqämıt* sweet blub-ber (honey)
	čê̱'wma̱k < čê̱g-ma̱k egg-shell
gv > wkw (2)	*aʟa̱'wkwa̱'na̱u < aʟa̱'g-va̱'na̱u* chewing-gum (lit. sweet gum)
gw > wkw (2)	*alawkwê̱'t·ha̱u < alag-wê̱'t·ha̱u* sweet talk
kt > gt (3)	*u̱wı̱'g tımnê̱'n < u̱wı̱'k tımnê̱'n* she killed herself 72.27
kn > gn (3)	*mйg-nɛ̱'nnet < mйk-nɛ̱'nnet* many otter (skins)
kr > gr (3)	*mйg-rê̱'w < mйk-rê̱'w* many whales
kl > gl (3)	*mйg lı̱'glıg < mйk-lı̱'glıg* many eggs
yt > gt (3)	*čag-tai̱'očhı̱n < ca̱i-tai̱'oč-hı̱n* tea-bag
yn > gn (3)	*ma̱'gnı < ma̱i'-nı* property piled up outside of house.
	ñɛ̱'gnı < ñɛ̱i'-nı mountain
yč > gč (3)	*vê̱g-ču̱'rmın < vê̱i-ču̱'rmın* grass border
yr > gr (3)	*va̱ᵋgra̱n < va̱ᵋı-ra̱n* grass house
yl > gl (3)	*va̱ᵋ'glı̱ñın < va̱ᵋ'ı-lı̱ñın* grass
q before conso-nants *> ᵋ* (4)	*narko̱ᵋ'gйpй < nɛrku̱q-gйpй* from the swan
	a̱ᵋnê̱'pu̱ < a̱'qn-ê̱pй from the fish-hook
	ma̱ᵋmê̱'ı̱pй < mäqmê̱-ı̱pй from the arrow
	gɛ̱ᵋli̱'kɛʟı̱n < gɛ̱-qli̱'kɛ̱t-lı̱n he has married

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

tɛ̱ᵋ < tıq	to cast metal
yɛ̱ᵋ < yıq	quick
mɛ̱ᵋ < mıq	small

For instance:

	tı'qırkın he casts metal
	tɛ̱ᵋ'nı̱n he has cast it
ñp > mp (5)	*tampêra'ê < tañ-pêra'ê* he appeared well
	gɛmpɛ̱'lı̱n < gɛ̱-ñpɛ̱'-lı̱n they landed 12.9
ñv > mv (5)	*ta̱m-va̱'ırgın < ta̱ñ-va̱'ırgın* good being, good state of things
ñw > mw (5)	*ta̱m-wa̱ñɛ̱'ırgın < ta̱ñ-wa̱ñɛ̱'ırgın* good work
ñt > nt	*ra̱nto̱'a̱ᵋt < ra-ñto̱'-a̱ᵋt* they went out 56.8
ñč > nč	*ta̱n-ča̱i < ta̱ñ-ča̱i* good tea

§7

ñy > ny	*tᴇlᴇ'n-yᴇ'p < tᴇlᴇ'ñ-yᴇ'p* long time ago
ñr > nř	*tᴇlᴇ'n-řᴇmkɪn < tᴇlᴇ'ñ-řᴇ'mkɪn* ancient people
	tan-řa'n < tañ-ra'n a good house; but *tan-roolgal < tañ-ro'olgal* good food
ñl > nl	*ten-lé'ut < teñ-lé'ut* good, clever head
čp > s·p (6)	*mᴀs-pᴀ'aᵉ͜ᵉ < mač-pᴀ'aᵉ͜ᵉ* he seemed to cease
ᶦm > s·m (6)	*mᴇs·-kɪrpɪ's·-mɪ̆č < mᴇs·-kɪrpɪ'č-mɪ̆č* of about the size of a cake of brick tea; but also *mᴇs·-kɪrpɪ'n-mɪ̆č*
čn > s·n (6)	*mes·nɪ'mpäqɪn < mečnɪ'mpäqɪn* somewhat slow; but also *mennɪ'mpäqɪn*
čk > s·k (6)	*kɪrpɪ's·kɪn < kɪrpɪ'čkɪn* belonging to a cake of brick-tea; but from *va'ᴇñqač* THERE is derived the adjective *vaᴇñqa'tkᴇn*
čq > s·q (6)	*kɪrpɪ's·qäi < kɪrpɪ'č-qäi* small piece of brick-tea (see 29.8)
nñ > n·ñ (7)	*qun·ñé'ekɪk < qun-ñé'ekɪk* single daughter (see, however, *qun-ñé'ekɪk* 29.8)
ng > n·g (7)	*qon-gɪtka'ta < qon-gɪtka'ta* one-legged
lq > s·q, when *l* replaces a *č*	*wu's·quus· < wu'lquul* darkness
wv > wkw (8)	*raanawkwᴀ'ɪrgɪn < raa'naw-vᴀ'ɪrgɪn* straight acting
	lau'lawkwᴀ'ɪrga < lau'lau'-vᴀ'ɪrga by mischievous being 117.21
ww > wkw (8)	*ñawkwañᴇ̂'ɪrgɪn < ñaw-wañᴇ̂'ɪrgɪn* female work
wg > wkw (8)	*tɪmarᴀ'wkwᴀᵉk < tɪmarᴀu'-gᴀᵉk* I quarreled
	ᴇimᴇ'wkwɪ̊ᵉ < ᴇimᴇ'u-gɪᵉ it approached 9.12
vy > vg (9)	*nuvgᴇ̂'ntoqᴇ̂nat < n-vyɪ-ñto-qɪnᴇt* their breath went out 34.6
wy > wg (9)	*awgo'lɪkᴀ < ᴀ-wyol-kᴀ* without assistant 124.5
	ña'wgᴇ̂l < ñaw-yᴇ̂l female cousin
gy > gg (9)	*ᴇ̂gga'ɪlhɪn < ᵉᴇg-ya'ɪlhɪn* wolf's paw
	aʟa'ggan < aʟa'gyan the sweet one
ty > č· (10)	*yɪ'lqač·an < yɪ'lqat-yan* the sleeper
ry > č· (10)	*ko'č·o < ko'r-yo* the one bought
ly > ǰ· or remains unaltered (11)	*a'lkɪǰ·o < a'lkɪlyo* the one recognized. The unaltered form occurs also.
tr > rr (12)	*gɪr-ra'ttam < gɪt-ra'ttam* thin curried reindeer-skin
čr > rr (12)	*marra'ᴇñkɪ < mač-ra'ᴇñki* somewhat back of you
čt > tt (13)	*mat-toᴇ̂'tu-wᴀ'lɪn < mač-toᴇ̂'tu-wᴀ'lɪn* somewhat crazy
	ma'ñᴇ̂nqat-taᴇ̂ᵉ < ma'ñᴇ̂nqᴀč-tᴀᴇ̂ᵉ in what direction he moved on

$rt > tt$ (13)   *tut-tei'kık < tur-tei'kık* newly made

$ñn > gn$ (14)   *teg-ne'lhın < teñ-ne'lhın* good skin

$ññ > gñ$ (14)   *teg-ñe'us·qät < teñ-ñe'us·qät* good woman 62.13

$ny > nd·$ (15)   *mındi'lqạnmık < mınyı'lqạnmık* let us go to sleep!

       ä³'ndilhä³n < ä'nyılhä³n let us give it to him!

$ñy > ñd·$ (15)   *tand·a'n < tañ-ya'n* a good one

$nr > nř$ (16)   *ñụ'nř̦ < ñụ'nr̦* there (to the right or to the left side from the speaker)

$tl > ʟ$ (17)   *gẹ'lqạʟin < gẹ'-lqät-lin* he departed

$čl > ʟ$ (17)   *maʟŭ'mñuñ-va'lın < mač-lŭ'mñuñ-va'lın* somewhat lazy

$rl > ʟ$ (17)   *tuʟụ³'k < tur-lụ³'k* just on seeing it

$ll > ʟ$ (17)   *a³tto'oʟa'ut < a³tto'ol-la'ut* front head (the star Arcturus)

       gẹnẹ'ʟin < gẹ-ne'l-lin he has become 116.21

$lr > rr$ (18)   *gırgọ'r-ra'mkın < gırgo'l-ra'mkın* "upper people" (i. e., the beings supposed to live in the world above)

$lñ > lh$ (19)   *ge'lhılin > ge'lñılin* (auxiliary verb, active)

$rn > nn$ (20)   · *tun-nẹ'lhın < tur-nẹ'lhın* new skin

$rč > tč$ (20)   *tọt-čại < tọr-čại* new tea

       walka'tčiñın < walka'r-čiñın the jaw-bone house 59.8

$kk > gk$ (22)   *mŭg-kuke'ñı < mŭk-kuke'ñı* numerous kettles, a number of kettles

$kq > gq$ (22)   *mŭg-qora'ñı < mŭk-qora'ñı* a number of reindeer

$kñ > ññ$ (23)   *pe'êčvañ-ña'lvŭl < pe'êčvak-ña'lvul* one-year reindeer-herd

$gñ > ññ$ (23)   *čêñ-ñıto'rkın < čêg-ñıto'rkın* egg goes out; i. e., young bird hatches

$kg > wkw$ (24)   *mŭkwui'gun < mŭk-gui'gun* many block-houses

$kg > gg$ (24)   *mŭg-ga'ʟɛ < mŭk-ga'ʟɛ* many birds

$gq > qq$ (only in suffixes) (25)   *e³qqäi < e³g-qäi* little wolf; but *e³g-qulı'qul* wolf's voice

$lg > ly$ (26)   *ne'lyi³* it became 9.11

$tg > ty$ (26)   *ri'tyä³* thou shalt be

§ 8. *Auxiliary Vowels*

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

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

Before or after a *p* which forms part of a consonantic cluster, the auxiliary vowel is *ŭ*.   §8

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

tı′mk-ı-lé′ut (*tı′mkılgi-le′ut* R 278) hummock-head
i′tč-ı-pılvı′ntın precious metal (i. e., gold)
ĝêl-ı′-tkın-ı-k on the top of the sea-ice 9.1
ña′lvŭl-ı-čhın the herd 79.6, see also *ña′lvîlîčhın* 32.11
ẹlẹu′t-ı-kạ̈ without head 47.8 (< *ẹ-lẹwt-kạ̈*)
i′tč-u-wil precious ware
ẹul-u-wạ′lạt long knives 15.2 (< *iwl+vạlạt*)
n-ı′-np-ŭ-qin old one
n-ŭ-plu′qin small one 10.2
lệlanpmạ′čhäqại eyes (had) the small old man
n-i′tč-ä-qin heavy, dear

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like *ʟ*, *ʟ̦*, *wkw*, *d*, *d·*, *t·*, *č·*, *ǰ*, *ǰ·*—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

mu′ʟımul blood 117.12
tı′ʟ-ı-tıl the entrance 105.15
mıngı′ʟımın hand 57.10
ga′ʟılên he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22
gẹ′wkuʟın they have tied him up 20.10 (< *ge-wkut-lin*)

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

pı′ñıl news
pŭ′kıl big bowl
evi′rıt dresses 7.8

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

ga′ʟʙ bird (stem *gạlhạ*)
ri′rkı walrus (stem *rırkạ*)
ve′ʟʙ raven (stem *vẹlvẹ*)
kı′rñı buck, male (stem *kırñẹ*)

§ 9. *u, w*

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

tẙ′urkın thou sayest	*tẙ′wtuw* word	*gạ′tvılện* he has said
ṛu′urkın thou splittest	*ṛu′wgọ* the split one	*gạ′rvılện* he has split
rẙ′urkın thou scrapest	*ru′wgọ* the scraped one	*ga′nỵ̊lện* he has scraped
rẙ′urkın thou displacest	*ru′wgọ* displaced	*gẹ′nẙılin* he has displaced
rọ′orkın thou pluckest	*rọ′wgo* plucked	*gẹigo′lện* he has plucked

§ *10. Intervocalic Elision*

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

ñe'ekɪk < *ñew-ekɪk* daughter
gaₐlₐ'lên < *gₐgₐlₐ'lên* he has passed by
gaa'lhɪʟên < *gaya'lhɪʟên* he has moved away
muwa'qₒaᵉk < *muwa'qₒgaᵉk* let me sit down!
ya'ɪlhɪn and *ya'gilhɪn* foot
mɪtɪ'nmuut < *mɪt-ɪ-tmŭ-gɪt* we killed thee 10.12
pe'gtu-u'rgɪrgɪn < *pe'gtɪ-wu'rgɪrgɪn* runner-noise 32.10
čime'erkɪn < *čime'tɪrkɪn* thou creakest

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

gₑ'iʟịn < *gₑ'yɪʟịn* given
tiₒ'lhɪn < *tɪyₒ'lhɪn* vein
qiₐ'lhɪn and *qɪyₐ'lhɪn* heel
gₑi'lqäʟin < *gₑ-yɪ'lqäʟin* he slept
mi'ilhɪt < *mɪ'yɪlhɪt* I will give thee

§ *11. Phonetic Influences between Words*

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

gₐmni'n ewkwewkwala'êᵉ < gₐmnį'n ₑ'wkwₑw gₐlₐ'êᵉ my left-hand
  driving-reindeer passed by
yaᵉ'ran mų'ri nan·ñênai'pŭ-mₒ'rê < yaᵉ'rat mų'ri we grew too
  angry (*yaᵉ'rat* too much; *mų'ri* we; *an·ñênai'pŭ* to become
  angry)
ᴇnne'n· ŭm äᵉlqe'm ñɪtₒ'êᵉ < äᵉlqe'p ñɪto'êᵉ a nail went out (ᴇnne'n·
  one; *äᵉlqe'p* nail; *nɪtₒ, -ñɪtₒ* to go out; -*i̯ᵉ* 3d per. sing.)
nɪ'mnɪmɪj̆'-a'lhɪtyaᵉt < nɪ'mnɪmɪt   ya'lhɪtyäᵉt the neighboring
  camp moved away

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

tele'g-viᵉ'tä-ñ-i'irkɪn gradually dying he is

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

§ 12. *Initial Consonantic Clusters*

I have found the following initial consonantic clusters:

Initial sound	Second sound					
	ð	m	n	ñ	r	l
p	pð		pn	pñ	pr	pl
t			tn	tñ	tr	
k		km			kr	kl
q				qñ	qr	ql
ǥ					ǥr	
m			mn	mñ	mr	ml
n					nr	
ñ						ñl

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

Examples:

pr interjection 88.17

pré'rem meat pudding

plägi' that is all 107.21

pla'kɪlhɪn boot

pðêgtuwa'rkɪn thou takest off the boots

pné'rkɪn thou whettest it

pño'rkɪn thou imbibest

tni'rkɪn thou sewest

tñaɪrgê'tɪ to the dawn 135.16

traya'aaᵋn shall I use it? 93.19

trennike'wkwäᵋn I shall do to it 99.10

kmi'ñäqäi small son 126.11

krɪ'tkɪn upper course of a river

kloka'lhɪn a kind of berry

qra'qu to the disowning 94.30

qres·qi'wkwiᵋ qɪt enter! 102.35

qla'ulqai little man 9.6

gro'êᵋ she brought forth 104.8

mlé'rkɪn thou breakest

mñe-eñé'ñɪlɪn sacrificing-shaman 42.5

mné'wkwenmɪk let us go away! 17.8

mra'gtiaᵋk I shall go home 99.2

mra'yoᵋñɪn shall we visit him? 108.10

nre'q-i-gɪt what dost thou want? 125.6
ñlĕ'n·ñlet flame
qñaunra'gtatyĕ⁵ take wife home 115.8

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

(1) Medial modifications.

Initial cluster of stems		
Initial form	Probable stem	Medial form
pn	**pn*	*mn*
tn	**tn*	*nn*
tñ	**tñ*	*n·ñ*
km	**km*	*wm*
ql	**ql*	*ᵉl*

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

Initial form	Probable stem	Medial form
k	**rk*	*rk*
p	**lp*	*lp*
k	**lk*	*lk*
q	**lq*	*lq*
l	**tl*	*tɪl*
k and *tɪk*	**tk*	*tɪk*
w	**wkw*	(*ᵘkw*)
v	**tv*	(*tv*)

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

Initial	Probable stem	Medial
r	**r*	*n*[1]
g	**g*	*h, y*

[1] Not in all cases.

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

Initial	Probable stem	Medial
pr and *pɪr*	*pr*	*pr*
pŭk	*pk*	*pk*
pɪñ	*pñ*	*mñ*
v and *tuw*	*tv*	*tv*
tɪtt	*tt*	*tt*
k and *tɪk*	*tk*	*tk*
tɪl	*tl*	*l*
kɪt	*kt*	*gt*
yɪt	*yt*	*gt*
kɪy	*ky*	*gg*
tɪm	*tm*	*nm*
gɪt	*gt*	*gt*
mŭk	*mk*	*mk*
ñɪp	*ñp*	*mp*
ñɪt	*ñt*	*nt*
ño	*ñv*	*mg*
rɪg	*rg*	*rg*
gɪl	*gl*	*gl*
tr or *rɪr*	*rr*	*rr*
qɪy	*qy*	*ᵉy*
vŭ(i)	*vy*	*vg*
wɪy	*wy*	*wg*
lɪl	*ll*	*ʟ*
yu	*yg*	*ᶦg*
čuw	*čv*	*čv*
lɪñ	*lñ*	*lh*

Stem

pne   pnę'rkɪn   t h o u   ninemnę'qịn she whetted it 44.4
    whettest it

tni   tni'rkɪn thou sew-   ge'nnilin he sewed
    est it

tñi   tñi'urkɪn   t h o u   gen·ñiu'lin he sent it
    sendest it

kmiñet   kmiñe'tɪrkɪn   s h e   gewmi'ñeʟin she brought forth
    brings forth

qli'kkin   twenty (lit., that   eᵉlikkeu'kᴇlin nineteen (lit., one
    of a man)   lacking to a man)

rkɪle or⎫   kɪle'nnin   he   fol-   gerkele'lin she followed him 37.1
rkele ⎭   lowed them 50.8

rkur   ku'rɪrkɪn   t h o u   ge'rkuʟin he bought
    buyest it

rkipl   kɪ'plɪnên   s h e   ga'rkɪplɪlên he had struck 86.7
    struck her 86.5

lpɪnȓ   pɪ'nȓɪrkɪn   t h o u   galpɪ'nȓɪlên he gave
    givest to him   nɪlpɪ'nȓịqênạt they gave them 14.3

Stem

*lpinit or *lpɪnit	pini'irkɪn t h o u bindest him	nelpini'tyäᵋn they bound him 8.1
*lqät	qä'tyiᵋ he left 100.16	ge'lqäʟin he left 59.1
*lqäin	qäineu'nin he shot at it 78.13	nɪlqäineu'nin they shot 78.10
*tku	ku'rkɪn thou con- sumest it	ge'tkulin he consumed it 7.2
*wkut	wuti'lhin t y i n g stick 104.24	ge'wkuʟin they had tied him 20.10
*tva	va̰'rkɪn he is 125.2	qatva'rkɪn stay! 57.3
*tvêtča	vêtča'rkɪn he stands	gatvê'tčalên he stood
	wêtča'lɪn standing 48.3	nɪtvê'tčaqên he stood 48.1
*pr	pɪ'rgäᵋn thou hast plucked it	ge'prɪlin plucked out
	prɪ'rkɪn he tears out	ne'priäᵋn they tore off 30.7
*pkir	pŭki'rgäᵋt t h e y came 64.2	ge'pkiʟin he came 8.6
*pñlo	pɪnlo'nên he asked him 80.3	namñɪlo'aᵋn they asked him 66.24
*tvu	tṵ'wnên she prom- ised it 49.6	ga̰'tvulên he promised 101.21
*ttu	tɪttu'rkɪn he blows	gettu'lin he blowed
*tle	tɪle'äᵋt they moved 64.9	mɪnle'git let me move thee! 89.7
*tkê	tɪkê'rkɪn t h o u smellest of	ga'tkêlên he smelled
*yto	yɪto̰'nên he pulls it out 45.2	gagto'lên he had been pulled out 42.8
*kyeu	kɪye'wkwiᵋ he awoke 55.8	geggeu'lin he awoke 55.3
*tm̥	tɪmnê'n he killed him 43.11	na'nmuaᵋn they killed him 8.2
*gtiñ	gɪti'n-lu'lqäl pretty face	nɪ'gtiñqin he is pretty
*mk	mŭ'kɪčm more nu- merous 12.3	nŭ'mkäqin numerous 12.7
*ñpe	ñipe'äᵋt they came ashore 7.8	gempe'lin they landed 12.9
*ñto	ñɪto̰'eᵋ he went out 56.4	ganto'lên he has gone out 8.4

§12

Stem		
*ñt	ñɪtɪ'rkɪn it detaches itself	ge'ntɪlɪn it has detached itself
*ñvo	ño'orkɪn he begins	gamgo'lên he has begun
*rg	ri'gɪrkɪn he digs out	ge'rgɪlin he has dug out
*g'lo	gɪlo'lên the one sorrowing 27.12	nɪglo'qên she sorrowed 27.10
*rr	rɪ'rɪg untying 63.12	nerri'net they were untied 63.11
*rrl	rɪrrɪ'lɪrkɪn he puts down	gerri'ʟin he has put down
	rɪrrɪ'lnin he let him go 121.33	nerri'lhäᵉn they set him free 8.2
*vya	vŭia'arkɪn he lets go (an animal)	gavga'ʟên he has let go
*wyo	wɪ'yowi sling	gawgo'ta with a sling
*llep	lile'pgiᵉ he looked 7.6	qäʟe'pgiᵉ look! 79.11 (stem lilę eye; —p to put on)
*ygu	yu'urkɪn thou bitest it	ge'ɪgulin he has bitten it
*ĉvi	ĉuwi'pɪt piece cut off 72.19	nine'ĉviqin they cut it 72.18
*lñ	lɪ'ñɪʳkɪn he has him as	tɪ'lhɪgɪt I have you as 15.8

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

	re'urkɪn thou piercest it	geneu'lin he pierced
	ru'rkɪn thou eatest it	genu'lin he ate
but	riñe'rkɪn he flies	geri'ñelin he flew

Initial *tɪ* is sometimes replaced by *ĉɪ* (see § 2, p. 646).

ĉɪ'ĉɪ-ĉo'oĉa before the entrance (lit., entrance before), instead of tɪ'ʟɪ-tto'oĉa.

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

mę'rɪnr̆ę slow	nɪ'nr̆eqin the slow one (stem nr̆ę)
ygrg'ñɪ house	gg̱rg̱'lễn having a house (stem rg̱)
ygrg'ñɪ sleeping-room	gg̱rg̱'lễn having a sleeping-room (stem rǫ)

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

Irregular is—

i'rerkɪn he arranges a rein-
deer driving-match.

gerⁱˢ'lelin he has arranged a rein-
deer driving-match

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

pɪ'ñɪl news (stem *pñl*)
ku'kɪl one-eyed man (stem *kkl*)

§ 13. Pronunciation of Men and Women

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

Examples are—

Men's pronunciation	Women's pronunciation	
ra'mkɪčhɪn	*ša'mkɪššɪn*	people
Pa'rkala	*Pa'ššala*	by Parkal
čŭmña'ta	*šŭmña'ta*	by a buck
Čaivu'urgɪn	*Šaivu'uššɪn*	(a name)

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

nɪtva'qaat < *nɪtva'qênat*
geï'miʟeet < *geï'miʟinet*
tï'rkiir < *tï'rkɪtir*

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

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

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

Koryak (§§ 14–18)

§ *14. Vowels*

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

(1) Weak vowels	*i*		*ä*	*u*
(2) Strong vowels	*e*			*o,* *θ*
(3) Neutral vowels {			*a*	
	ɪ	ᴇ	*a*	*ŭ*

In this series, *θ* and *ŭ* are rare

θ is generally replaced by *o*

ŭ is generally replaced by *ɪ* or *a*

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

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

Kor. Kam.   *apạ'vekɪn*   Chukchee *ŭpạ'ụrkɪn*

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

Kor. Kam.	Kerek	Chukchee
me' mɪḷ thong-seal	*mi'mɪḷ* thong-seal	*mê'mɪl* spotted seal
taññẹ'tɪ	*taññɏ̣'tɪ*	*taññẹ'tɪ* to a *taññɪn*

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

mi' mɪl instead of Chukchee *mê'mɪl* spotted seal

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

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

§14

§ *15. Consonants*

	Stop		Affricative		Nasal		Contin-ued	Lateral	Trill
	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant			
Labial	p	—	—	—	—	m	v	—	—
Alveolar	t	—	—	—	—	n	s, c	(ʟ ʟ̣) ʃ l	—
Palatalized alveolar	t·	d·	—	—	—	n·	s·, č	—	—
Palatal	k	—	—	—	—	ñ	—	—	—
Velar	q	ǥ	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
Glottal	—	ε	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

h, w, y,

§ *16. Comparison with Chukchee*

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

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

> Koryak II *oia'kocik* Kor. 96.22 (Chukchee *uwaᵉqočeʹgtɪ* Kor. 95.6)
>> *ora'cek* Kor. 102.17 (Koryak I *oya'ček* Kor. 101.1)

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

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

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

la'xlañ winter	*čɛ'xčex* cold
ǥayɪ'sqata sleep! Kor. 31.8	*tɪyǥyɪ'ḷqatɪñ* I will sleep Kor. 31.8
pɪpi'kalñɪn mouse Kor. 58.7	*pɪpi'kča-ñaw* Mouse-Woman Kor. 23.3
vaḷvɪ'mtɪlaᵉnañ to Raven-Man Kor. 12.4	*va'čvɪ-ña'ut* Raven-Woman Kor. 18.4

Correspondences of Koryak *ḷ* and Chukchee *č*, *s·*, *s*, and *vice versâ*, are also not rare.

> Koryak *yaḷqɪ'wikɪn* he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee *resqi'wkwiᵉ* 11.2)
>> *vos·qe'tɪ* to darkness Kor. 57.6 (Chukchee *wu'ḷqɪk* 126.1)

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

> *ǥaviᵉ'yalin* he has died (Chukchee *ǥeviᵉ'lin*)

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

ñaw'anpil little woman.

milya'qpil small shell Kor. 23.8

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

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

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

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
koi'ñın	*koi'ñın* cup
va'ykın Kor. 13.10	*va'rkın* there is
nıto'ykın Kor. 12.5	*ñıto'rkın* he goes out
yalqı'wikın Kor. 13.9	*resqi'wkwiᵉ* 11.2, 19.3 he entered
ya'qıykın Kor. 66.14	*re'qärkın* 18.6 what has happened to you?
tıyayai'tıñ I'll go home Kor. 30.5	*ra'gtiêᵉ* he goes home 122.7

Paren	
ye'ļı Kor. 60.1., 64.14	*če'ļı* there
ya'ļviñnen	*če'ļviñnin* he will vanquish him; but *ya'ļvuñnen* Kor. 92.20

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

Koryak	Chukchee
gayı'ččalin Kor. 17.3	*geyırré'ʟ̣in* 96.21 it was full
ga'ččilin Kor. 15.10	*ge'lhılin* 64.4 he had him for
gıčgolai'tı to a high place Kor. 20.1	*girgo'lqên* 124.1 from above
ñačñın Kor. 60.9	*ña'rgın* 49.7 outside
gapı's·qalin Kor. 84.11	*gepı'rqılin* she fell down
yı'ssık Kor. 39.2	*rı'rık* to untie something
qı'ssa Kor. 18.7	*gır* thou
ina'ssınañ Kor. 24.10	*ine'rrıne* marline spike, awl (instrument to untie with)
wu'ssıñ Kor. 30.3	*wü'rrı* on the back
-gıtñ(ın)	*-gırg(ın)* abstract noun
palqa'thılñın	*palqa'tirgın* old age

[1] I have written the *ı* corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with *i*, while for the sound corresponding to *r* 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 loanwords.

> *ka'rman* pocket (from карманъ)
> *preka'ssek* commercial agent (from прикащикъ)
> *ča'qar·* sugar (from сахаръ)

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

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

> *ka'mak-ru* (village Rekɪ'nnok) }
> *ka'mak-ļu* (Kamenskoye)   } small image of a guardian

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

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Voyampolka, Kamchatka
ti'rkɪtir sun	*ti'ykɪtiy* Kor. 19.3	*ti'tkɪtit*
e'ñer star	*a'ñay*	*e'ñer*
mu'ri we	*mu'yi* (dual)	*mu'ri* (dual)

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

> Koryak I, *gape'nyɪļen* he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee *pê'nřɪnên* Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, *gape'ntɪļen*, Kor. 96.26)

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

> *mɪssaa'ļomɪ* we shall hear (Chukchee *mɪrraa'ļomɪ*)
> *čɪ'ļɪɪļ* tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee *yi'ļiiļ* 7.10)
> *gɪtča't* legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee *gɪtka't* 51.4)
> *qiļu'tču* drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee *qilu'tkuiᵋ*)

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

> *yɪkča'vekɪn* he makes haste (Chukchee *gaɪča'urkɪn*)
> *tayyeñɪvo'ykɪn* he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee *têggɪ* 102.35)

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

> · *vaļo'm* Kor. 55.7 (Chukchee *walo'm* 32.7) to hear.

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

> Kor. Kam. *ñaw-ɪ'nd·uļaᵋn* < *ñaw-ɪ-nyu-ļaᵋn* the one serving for a wife (stems *ñaw* woman; *nyu* to watch the herd)
> Chukchee *ñeund·u'lɪn* < *ñeu-nyu-lɪn* (stems *ṇ̃ew*, *-nyu̯* [*ri̯u̯*])

The Paren *n* in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word *ñewɪ'nn·ula^ɛn*.

In the same way,—

    Kamenskoye *ña'nd·en*, or even *ña'njen* (from *ña'nyen*)
    Paren *ña'n·en* that one

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

    palqa'theñɪn and *palqa'tgeñɪn*
    qɪya'thi Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee *qäye'tyi^ɛ* 15.11)

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

Koryak	Chukchee
yiwgɪči'ta Kor. 32.1	*iwkuči'tä* 37.3 drinking
gawgu'ʟin Kor. 23.4	*ga'wkuʟin* 20.10 they tied him
qakya'wgi Kor. 28.9	*qägge'wkwi^ɛ* 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*.

    čɛ'xčex cold (Chukchee *čä^ɛ'čeñ*)
    ma'qmit arrows (dual) (Chukchee *mä^ɛ'mit*, plural)

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

    yō^ɛ'ekɪn he overtakes (Chukchee *yo^ɛ'rkɪn*)

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

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

    Kor. Kam. *tyō^ɛ'ga^ɛan* I overtook him (Chukchee *tɪyo^ɛ'a^ɛn*)

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

    vai'am river (Chukchee *ve'em*)
    yawa'ykɪn he uses it (Chukchee *ya'arkɪn*)
    a^ɛ'la^ɛl axe (Chukchee *a^ɛ'al*, but also *a^ɛlha'ttɪ*, *a^ɛl-ga'ttɪ*, *ga'ttɪ* hatchet)
    uyɪčvat to play Kor. 32 7   kchee *uučvet* 43.3)

§16

These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren *ei'ek* lamp	*ɪntu'welpɪɣ* son-in-law
Kor. Kam. *a'ak*	*ɪntu'ulpɪɣ*
Chukchee *e'ek*	*ɪntu'ulpɪr*

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

Kor. Kam. *ke'nmɪḷñɪn* root (Chukchee *kê'nmɪlhɪn*)

§ 17. Vocalic Ablaut

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

i̯ changes into *ę*,

u̯ changes into *o̧;*

gi̯'wlinat they said Kor. 21.2	*gęwñɪvo̧'len* he said Kor. 14.4
nu̯'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 *ệ* is replaced by *ę*, the same sound that represents the ablaut of *i̯*.

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

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
kali̯'ykɪn (stem *kali̯*)	*kęli̯'rkɪn* (stem *kęli̯*)
nu̯'tanut land (stem *nuta*)	*nu'tęnut* (stem *nutę*)
a'kkat sons (stem *a'kka*)	*ę'kkęl* (stem *ękkę*)
aima'wikɪn thou approachest (stem *aimaw*)	*ęimę'urkɪn* (stem *ęimęu*)
kama'ña dish (stem *kama*)	*kęmę'ni* (stem *kęmę*)

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

i̯'tčɪ-kama'ña heavy dish (from *i̯tčɪ* heavy, dear)

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

ę'vɪḷ-to̧'mto̧m goitre, long tumor (stems *i̯'vɪḷ* long, *to̧'mto̧m* tumor); Chukchee *to̧'mto̧m*

qato̧'p-ę'mat load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17 (stems *qato̧p* fish for winter use; *i̯mt* load); Chukchee *qata'p-ê'mɪt*

An example of the occurrence of *ę*, corresponding to Chukchee *ệ*, is—

mę'yęmęy tear (stem *męyę*); Chukchee *mệ'rệmệr* (stem *mệrệ*)

gapé'nyɪḷen she attacked her, Kor. 96.8 (stem *pęny*); Chukchee *pê'nřɪnên* Kor. 95.10 (stem *pệnř*)

§17

Since the vowel-pair ɛ̯–a̯, and the vowels ê̯ and a̯ of Chukchee, are much more common than the i̯ and u̯ groups, the ablaut is not as striking a feature of Koryak as it is of Chukchee.

In the Kamenskoye dialect the ablaut of i̯ and u̯ 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,—

> ṇap̣ɛlạ'-mu̯'yu̯ instead of ṇap̣ɛlạ'-mọ'yọ we are left.

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

> palqa'thɪtñɪn or palqathé'ñɪn old age (compare Chukchee
>   palqa'tirgɪn < palqa'thɪrgɪn)

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

Koryak	Chukchee
uwa'tikɪn he kisses (stem uwat)	ukwɛ̯'ɛrkɪn (stem ukwɛ̯t)
uyä͡ᵉ'qu̯č husband (stem uya͡ᵉ'qu̯č)	uwä͡ᵉ'qu̯č (stem uwä͡ᵉ'qu̯čị)

Several dialects of both groups of the Koryak have retained the vowels ɛ̯ and ê̯. These have the ablaut analogous to that of the Chukchee.

> Kor. Kamenskoye gatai'kɪlịn   (stem taikɪ) ⎫
> Kor. Paren gɛ̯tɛ̯i'kɪlịn   (stem tɛ̯ikɪ) ⎬ he has made
> Chukchee gɛ̯tɛ̯i'kɪlịn   (stem tɛ̯ikɪ) ⎭

§ 18. Other Phonetic Processes

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

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
añqa'-nna'n < añqa'-ɛnna'n	añqa'-ɛnna'n sea-fish
ñeu͡ᵉ'ttin < ñeu-a͡ᵉ'ttin	ñaw-a͡ᵉ'ttɪn she-dog

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

Chukchee	Koryak
palqa'ti-rgɪn < palqat-gɪrgɪn	palqath-e'-ñɪn old age

ñ generally remains unchanged before other consonants.

Chukchee	Koryak
tam-pera'rkɪn < tañ-pera'rkɪn	tañ-peye'ykin he looks well
qineré'mpei͡ᵉ take meat out of	kokañpalai'ke they take meat
kettle for me (stem mpe)	out of kettle Kor. 27.5

k before other consonants occurs.

Chukchee   Koryak

$nigtäqên < ni < kt$-$qên$ $nıktä'qen$ hard

The medial clusters km, $p\tilde{n}$, pn, which are absent in Chukchee, occur in Koryak.

Chukchee   Koryak

$gewmiñe'ʟin < ge$-$kmiñel$-lin $gakmi'ñalin$ she brought forth
                                                 a child

$am\tilde{n}ılka < a$-$p\tilde{n}l$-ka $ap\tilde{n}ılka$ no news

$nam\tilde{n}ıla'tınat$ 78.4 $< na$-$p\tilde{n}l$- $gap\tilde{n}ıla\tilde{n}vo'ḷenau$ they told
$atınat$ about Kor. 26.1

Auxiliary Vowels.—The most frequent auxiliary vowel is $ı$; but a, which replaces Chukchee $\ddot{a}$, also occurs.

Chukchee   Koryak

$yara'\tilde{n}i$ $yaya'\tilde{n}a$ house
$nitčäqin$ $ni'tčaqin$ heavy

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

$ee'tı$ and $ee'tı\tilde{n}$ to the sky Kor. 14.9, 10.

(Compare Chukchee $a\tilde{n}qa$-$čormê'tı$ to the seashore 67.17)

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

Initial sound	Second sound						v
	$č$	m	n	$\tilde{n}$	y	$ḷ$	
p	$pč$		pn	$p\tilde{n}$	py	$pḷ$	
t			tn	$t\tilde{n}$	ty		tv
k		km			ky	$kḷ$	
q					qy	$qḷ$	
g							
m						$mḷ$	
n						$nḷ$	
$\tilde{n}$							

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.   Chukchee

$tvi'tikın$ he stands $vêtč'a'rkın$ (stem -$tvêtča$)

$čottai'nık$-$tvḝ'tękın$ he stands $gatvê'tčalên$
  on the outer part of the
  house Kor. 43.5

$gatvi'lin$ he stood

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12——43   §18

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

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

Chukchee			Koryak		
Initial	Stem	Medial	Initial	Stem	Medial
pn	**pn*	*mn*	*pn*	**pn*	*pn*
km	**km*	*wm*	*km*	**km*	*km*
k or *tɪk*	**tk*	*tɪk*	*k* or *tɪk*	**tk*	*tč*
k	**rk*	*rk*	*k*	**yk*	*yk*
q	**lq*	*lq*	*q*	**lq*	*lq*
v or *tuw*	**tv*	*tv*	*v* or *tv*	**tv*	*tv*
pɪñ	**pñ*	*mñ*	*pɪñ*	**pñ*	*pñ*
ño	**ñv*	*mg̣*	*ñɪv*	**ñv*	*nv*
rɪg̣	**rg*	*rg̣*	*sh* or *yɪg̣*	**sh*	*sh*
tr or *rɪr*	**rr*	*rr*	{ *yɪy* / *yɪss* }	**yy* / **ss*	*yy* / *ss*
vŭ (*i*)	**vy*	*vg̣*	*vɪy*	**vy*	*vy*
yu	**yg̣*	*ĭg̣*	*yɪg̣*	**ĭg̣*	*ĭg̣*

Examples:

pna'ĭkɪn he whets　　　　*g̣apna'lin* he has whetted

tni'ĭkɪn thou sewest it　　*g̣anni'lin* he has sewed it

tñi'vĭkɪn thou sendest it　*g̣anñiu'lin* he has sent it

kmiña'tĭkɪn she brings forth　*g̣akmi'ñalin* she has brought forth

ku'yĭkɪn thou buyest it　　*g̣aĭku'ylin* he has bought it

pɪnye'kɪn thou givest to him　*g̣alpɪ'nyel̩en* he has given

qati' you left Kor. 18.5　　*ga'lqaᴌin* he has left Kor. 17.3

ku'ĭkɪn thou consumest it　*ga'tčulin* he has consumed it

ki'pl̩ɪk striking Kor. 62.4　*g̣aykɪpl̩a'g̣ɪtča* strike him! Kor. 23.8

va'ĭkɪn he is　　　　　　*g̣a'tval̩en* he has been

vañvo'ykɪn he begins to stay Kor. 13.6　*g̣atvañvo'l̩enau* they began to stay Kor. 23.1

tvi'tĭkɪn he stands　　　*g̣a'tvilin* he stood

tve'tɪk to stretch Kor. 38.8　*g̣a'tvel̩en* they stretched it Kor. 38.8

pyɪ'ĭkɪn thou tearest it out　*g̣apyɪ'lin* he has torn it out

piñlo'ĭkɪn thou askest him　*g̣apñilo'l̩en* he has asked

tɪttu'ĭkɪn he blows　　　*g̣ettu'lin* he has blown

tɪl̩a'ĭkɪn he moves　　　*g̣al̩a'lin* he has moved Kor. 14.9

tɪke'ĭkɪn thou smellest of　*g̣a'tčel̩en* he smelled of

yıto'ĭkın he pulls out

tıme'kın thou killest it

ñıto'ykın he goes out

ñıvo'ĭkın he begins

yıgi'kın or *shı'kin* he digs out

yı'yĭkın thou untiest it

yı'ssik to untie Kor. 39.2

yıssı'ḷikın thou puttest down

vıya'tekın he lets go (an animal)

vuyaḷanñıvo'ykın a snowstorm set in Kor. 13.10

yıgu'ĭkın thou bitest it

ya'wikın thou piercest it

yu'kka to eat Kor. 57.1

yu'ĭkın he eats

yiña'ĭkın he flees

ḷeḷapıtčoñvo'ykın he looks up Kor. 42.8

Irregular is—

iya͛'ĭkın he arranges a reindeer driving-match

gaŭto'ḷen he has pulled out

ga'nmıḷen he has killed it Kor. 43.6

ganto'ḷen he went out Kor. 48.6

ganvo'ḷên he has begun Kor. 48.3

ga'shilin he has dug out

gayyı'lin he has untied it

nassi'ñvogŭm they are untying me Kor. 39.3

gassı'lin he has put down

gavya'ḷen he has let go

gawya'ḷyoḷen there was a snowstorm Kor. 13.1

gaigu'lin he has bitten

gana'wlin he has pierced it

ganu'linat they have eaten (transitive) Kor. 57.2

gayı'ñalin he has fled (intransitive)

aqaḷapñıvo'ykın he looks bad Kor. 13.8

gali'ya͛lin he has arranged a reindeer driving-match

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

Kor. Kam. *mını'lqanmık* or *mını'lqat* (Chukchee *mını'lqänmık*) let us go!

Kor. Kam. *gaa'ḷin*, Kor. II (village Qare'ñin) *geye'ḷin* or *geye'ḷı* (Chukchee *ge'eʟin*), he has come

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

Kamchadal (§§ 19-23)
§ *19. Vowels*

(1) Weak vowels   *ı̯   i   e   u   ü   E*

(2) Strong vowels   *ë   ê   a   o   ö   ŏ   u*

(3) Neutral vowels   *ı   E   ɪ   ä   ʌ   ŭ*
                     a   o   u

The symbols designate the same sounds as those in Chukchee.

ī almost like a diphthong *ie*, long; a glide from long *i* to long *o*.

ë like English *a* in *make*, long, lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

ɛ̈ French *eu* in *beurre*.

ö German *ö* in *öffnen*.

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

ŏ English short *o* in *not*.

ʋ English *u* in *hut*.

ŭ as in Chukchee.

ᵃ, ᵒ, ᵘ indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in *k!tᵃl kŏju'i͡ᵉn*.

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

§ 20. Consonants

	Stop			Affricative		Nasal	Continued		Lateral	Trill
	Surd	Fortis	Sonant	Surd	Fortis		Surd	Sonant		
Labial..............	*p*	*p!*	—	—	—	*m*	*f*	*v*	—	
Alveolar..........	*t*	—	—	—	—	*n*	*s*	*z*	*! l*	*r*
				č	*č!*		*c*	*j*		
Palatized alveolar.	—	—	—	—	—	*n·*	*s·*			
Anterior palatal...	—	—	—	—	—	—	*x·*			
Palatal	*k*	*k!*	—	—	—	*ñ*				
Velar..............	*q*	*q!*	*ꞡ*	—	—	—	*x*			
Glottal			*ᵋ, '*							

w, y, h

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

x German *ch* in *Bach*.

x· German *ch* in *ich*.

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

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

l̦ as in Koryak.

w, y, always consonantic.

ᵋ, ', glottal stops, the former only after short vowels, the latter after consonants, as in *vi'l̦'vil̦*.

l̦·, č·, n·, 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 *š·* and *š*

I am inclined to attribute this mannerism, which is affected by many individuals, to the influence of the speech of the Russian creoles and half-bloods, who have this peculiarity in the whole area between the Kolyma and the Sea of Okhotsk. In Krasheninni-koff'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)—

cemt (Western dialect) }
semt (Southern dialect) } earth, ground

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

§ 21. Comparison with Chukchee and Koryak

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

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
gɪt, gɪr	*kɪ'ja*	thou
mu'ri	*mu'ja*	we

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

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
gŭm	*gŭm*	*kɪ'mma*	I
gi'ñɪngi	*yigɪ'ngɪn*	*xi'lɪgɪñ*	fish-net

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

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
geñe'wänä	*gaña'wana*	*k!ñe'čum*	with a wife
genu'lin	*ganu'lin*	*k!nu'kɪñin*	he has eaten

(4) Chukchee *gw* (Koryak *gv*) is replaced by *xv*.

xo'xval thence

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

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
watta'p	*vata'p*	*hvata'pč*	reindeer-moss
va'lɛ	*va'la*	*hvalč*	knife
wi'ut	*viut*	*hivt*	whalebone
vi'n·vɪ	*vi'nva*	*hvi'nve*	secretly

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

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
eĭ ͥ ᵉ′tin	*i ͥ ᵉ′nnɪin*	*xeĭ′ten*	neck
eĭ ͥ ᵉ′nɪ	*i ͥ ᵉ′gɪr, e ͥ ᵉgɪ′lñɪn*	*xeĭ′hinɪ*	wolf
ä ͥ ᵉ′Lel	*a ͥ ᵉ′l̦a ͥ ᵉl̦*	*ko′l̦ol̦*	snow
e ͥ ᵉ′le ͥ ᵉl	*al̦a ͥ ᵉ′al̦*	*ke ͥ ᵉ′l̦al̦*	excrement

(7) Chukchee ʟ̣ and ʟ are replaced by *tl* and *tč*.

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
tɪʟe′ä ͥ ᵉk	*tček*	I entered
——	*tle*	there!

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

čhijč thou art   *l ͑ ič* thou wert
txcjɪn 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:

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
cuncjčɪ ͥ ᵉn	*juncjčɪ ͥ ᵉn*	they live
sönk	*zönk*	into the wood
ci′l̦a–tumx	*zl̦a–tomx*	brother
kŏni′ñ	*qŭni′ñ*	one
k!ö′lkɪñin	*q!ö′lkɪñin*	he has come

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

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
a′tinŭm	*a′tnom*	village
te′vsxicjk	*te′vsxis*	I ascend
kɪ′mma	*kɪma′*	I

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

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
E′nu	*E ͡ l nu*	then

§ 22. *Vocalic Ablaut*

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

$ị$ changes to $ë̦$. u changes to $ọ$.
i changes to $ê̦$ or $a̦$. $ü$ changes to $ö̦$.
$e̦$ changes to $a̦$. $ẹ$ changes to $ŏ̦$ or $y̦$.

Examples:

ki̯'stęnk at the house	*kê'stąnk* to the house (stem *ki̯st* house)
sü̦nk in the wood	*sö̦nk* to the wood (stem *sü̦n*)
txi̯' ink by them	*txa'ankᴇ* to them (stem *ɪtx*)
kᴇ'px·ᴇnk in the trough	*kŏ̆'px·ǫnk* to the trough (stem *kᴇpx·*)
ki̯'x·ęnk in the river	*kë'x·ank* to the river (stem *ki̯x·*)
ku̯kę'-hŭmni̯n he cooked it	*kǫka·jǫ-hŭmnên* he began to cook it

The obscure vowels *ɪ, ᴇ, ᴀ, ŭ,* are neutral, as are also *e, a, ŏ.* 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.

ki̯'stęnk at the house	*kê'stąnk* to the house (stem *ki̯st*)
kŏ̆'l·xǫnk at the lake (stem *kŏ̆l·x*)	*kᴇ'px·ᴇnk* at the trough
	kŏ̆'px·ǫnk to the trough (stem *kᴇpx·.*)

tɪsü̦nü̦lo'tɪjk I always live in the woods (*tɪ* I; *sü̦n* wood; *ü̦* auxiliary vowel; *lo* to live; *t* always; *–jk* I)

§ 23. *Other Phonetic Processes*

Consonantic Clusters.—In Kamchadal consonantic clusters are of frequent occurrence. I have found, for instance, *ktxt, txcj, txcjh, txctx, ntxcjh, k!lkñ.*

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

ll changes to *nl.*

ko'lol (absolute form), *kolo'nl‘ < kolol-l‘* (instrumental), snow
e'ℓheɪñ (absolute form), *i̯nl < il-l* (instrumental), ear (pl. *i̯ᵉl*)

Note, however,

lŭl (absolute form), *lŭle'l̒* < *lŭl-l̒* (instrumental), eye

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

lŭle'l̒ < *lŭl–l̒* eye
tveta'tɪjk < *tveta't–jk* I work

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

k!ö'lkɪñin he has come

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

xke'jxčɪk accept him

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

txlin < *ttxlin* I struck him

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

kɪ'mma čɪči'niñɪjk < *t-činiñ-jk* I sew

Compare also

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
eᵉ'tqiñ	*a'ččɪñ*	*e'čkeläx*	the bad one
wuwčêlka'lhɪn	*četče'lñin*	*čɪ'xčax*	shrew

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

i'lkarujc < *lk-r-jc* (Chukchee *qătɪ'rkɪn* < *lqät-rkɪn*) he leaves

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

ckḷa'ujk < *ckḷau-jk* (Chukchee *kɪla'urkɪn* < *rkɪlau-rkɪn*) he runs

§ 24. Accent

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

Chukchee   *pa'rɪlɪñɪn* shoulder-blade
Kor. Kam.   *nɪqe'shɪqenat* those two that have been bought
Kamchadal   *k!ta'tɪlkajukñan* they began to perform the ceremonial

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

Chukchee　*tɪpênr̂ɪrko'n* < *tɪpê'nr̂ɪrkɪn*⎫
Kor. Kam.　*tɪpenn·eko'n* < *tɪpe'nn·ekɪn*⎬ I attack him
Kamchadal　*tɪpencɪjo'n* < *tɪpe'ncɪjɪn*⎭

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.

§25

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

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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 genetive 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-*ɪrkɪn*. Other temporal concepts are expressed by nominal derivatives, and temporal subordination is often expressed by syntactic forms of the verbal noun. Other modes are a subjunctive, expressing conditional and other subordinate clauses—which, however, is very rarely used,—an exhortative and an imperative.

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

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

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

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

§ 26. Comparison of Dialects

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

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

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

Kolyma Chukchee   *tegge'ñɪrkɪn* he desires
Anadyr Chukchee   *tegge'ñɪrkɪn* or *gaima'tɪrkɪn*
Koryak, Kamenskoye *tajja'ñɪkɪn* or *gaima'tekɪn*

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   *wêtha'urkɪn* he speaks
Anadyr Chukchee   *wêtha'urkɪn* and *vanava'tɪrkɪn*
Koryak, Kamenskoye *vetha'vekɪn* and *vanava'tekɪn*

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

	AGAIN	NEGATION (refusal)	WHALE
Chukchee	*lŭ'mña*	*qarê'm*	*re^εw*
Koryak, Kamenskoye	*gŭ'mla*	*qayé'm*	*yu'ñi* (stem *yuñyu*)
Koryak II Qare'ñɪn .	*i'nnɪk*	*i'hut*	*yu'ñi* (stem *yuñyu*)
Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka). . .	*lɪgɪ'mmen*	*qate'mmɪ*	———
Kerek	———	———	*ya^εw*
Kamchadal	———	———	*yu'ñyu* (stem *yuñyu*)

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

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

§26

Nouns (§§ 27–55).

§ 27. General Remarks

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

The forms which are clearly syntactic are—

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

(2) The absolute form, plural.

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

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

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

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

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

We shall first take up the syntactic forms.

§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
ᴇ*La'* mother 30.6
qe'li cap
lo̦'lo̦ penis 45.1

ri̦'Lu carcass 65.14
ä͇ᵉs·qe'ku a barren doe 97.17
veñke'nřu a mother doe

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

ᴇ*La̦'qai* little mother 35.5
ñi̦'nqai little child 37.14
mi̦'rg̦ew a suit of armor 116.24
reᵉ'w whale 73.4
ɪnpɪñe'w old woman 19.5
tɪnu'p blue fox 96.17
re'lup quid
ve'em river 37.3 (Koryak *ve̦'-yem̦*, *va'yam* Kor. 17.6, according to dialect)
reț trail 37.1
le'ut head 44.11 (Koryak *la̦'-wut* Kor. 82.11)
ñe'wän wife 36.3 (Koryak *ña̦'-wan*)
Ai'wan the Ai'wan 7.1
na'nqan belly 43.9
uwä͇ᵉ'quč husband 105.12
ke'per wolverene 78.2, *qe'per* 92.21 (*ke̦'perä* 78.11) (Koryak *qapay*)
krɪ'mqor three-year-old doe 117.9
wañqa's·qor two-year-old doe 117.10

ê'lhar polar fox 92.19
ɪntu'ulpɪr son-in-law 80.6
u'nel̦ thong-seal 70.7
pe'nvel two-year-old buck 117.12
me̦'mɪl seal 96.4 (Koryak *me'-mɪl* Kor. 90.6)
lŭ'mñɪl story 61.5
pe'kul butcher-knife 85.23 (Kor. *pa'qul̦* Kor. 78.23)
ñe'lvul herd 49.3
qe'ptiril backbone 51.3
qla'ul man 43.1 (Kor. *qla'wul̦* Kor. 17.4)
uwi̦'k body 35.11 (Kor. 32.5)
ka'mak evil spirit 61.6 (Kor. 35.5)
ai'mak carcass 81.17
gɪnni̦'k game 84.28 (Koryak *gɪ'ynik* Kor. 61.8)
e'ek lamp 68.12, 106.18
pu'req white whale 96.9
o'Laq sea-lion 65.16

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

> *qe'pɪl* football (stem *qepl*); (Kor. Kam. *qa'pɪl;* Kor. Par. *qepɪl*)
> *mäɛ'qɪm* arrow 75.23
> *lo'ñɪl* walrus-blubber 47.4
> *pɪ'ñɪl* tidings 61.5
> *če'ñɪl* trunk 96.3

§ 29. REDUPLICATED FORMS

Some stems are reduplicated.

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

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
nim	*nɪ'mnim* settlement 7.7
kêr	*kê'rkêr* combination-suit 37.8
yɪn	*dɪ'ndin*[1] fire 39.11
eᵉl	*eᵉ'leᵉl* excrement 80.11; (*eᵉ'lu* 81.12)
lig	*lɪ'glig* (Kor. *lɪglɪg*) egg
rɪg	*rɪ'grɪg* hair
om	*o'mom* (Kor. *o'mom*) heat
liñ	*li'ñli* heart (see § 31, 3)
poñ	*po'mpo* fly agaric (see §31, 3)
tuw	*tu'wtuw* word
oč	*o'čoč* chief
čot	*čo'tčot* bag-pillow 29.5
wŭt	*wŭ'twŭt* leaf
ɩgil	*gilgil* sea ice 8.14
	(*eᵢᵉ'tit* Anser segetum)

Koryak:

kiḷ	*ki'ḷkiḷ* navel string Kor. 63.10
pip	*pi'pip* comb Kor. 78.9
vit	*vi'tvit* ringed seal Kor. 17.12
ñai	*ñai'ñai* mountain Kor. 42.2
wɪy	*wɪ'yɪwɪ* breath Kor. 33.8

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

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¹ Compare § 2, p 645.

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

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
pilh	*pi'lhɪpil* famine
qêrg	*qê'rgɪqêr* light
tirk	*ti'rkɪtir* sun
têrg	*tê'rgɪtêr* crying 20.12
tɪrg	*tɪ'rgitɪr* meat 48.8
tumg̣	*tu'mg̣ɪtum* companion 103.35
mɪtk̇	*mɪ'tk̇ämɪt* blubber 47.4
(Kor.) *ye'ḷk*	*ye'ḷkɪyeḷ* pudding Kor. 34.2
muʟ 19.3	*mu'ʟumul* 25.3 blood
wɪlq	*wɪ'lquul* 22.7 coal (Kor. Kam. *wŭ'ḷkuuḷ,* cf. Kor. 31.9)
qêrg (Kor. Kam. *qesh*)	*qê'rgɪqêr* light (Kor. Kam. *qe'shɪqes*)
vrɪyɪl (Kor. *vyiḷ*)	*vɪ'yɪlvɪyɪl* image (*vɪ'yiḷvɪyiḷ* Kor. 32.3)

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

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
org̣	*o'rgoor* sledge
omk	*o'mkoom* 79.5 willow
wus·q (Kor. Kam. *vus·q*)	*wu's·quus* (Kor. *vu's·quvus* cf. Kor. 57.6) darkness
el	*e'leel* summer (Kor. Kam. *a'ḷaaḷ*)
il	*i'liil* rain (Kor. Kam. *mu'qamuq*)
yäq	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} yäqā'q \\ yäqa'aq \end{matrix} \right\}$ nose
(*yil*) *yi'liil* language 7.10	
yɪr	*yɪ'riir* a full one 86.29

Related to this group are—

eiv	*ei'veei* part of meat given to neighbors, alms (Kor. Kam. *ai'vaai* cf. Kor. 63.12)
ɛnn	*ɛnnē'n* fish (Kor. Kam. *ɛnnā'n*)

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

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form.
i̯ml (Kor. *i̯mḷ*)	*mi'mɪl* water (Kor. *mi'mɪḷ*)
mlŭ (Kor. *mḷŭ*)	*mŭ'mɪl* louse (Kor. *mŭ'mɪḷ; mɪ'mɪč* Kor. 55.1)
elv, ɪlv (see *elve'tulä* 89.32; *ge'l-vulin* 88.1)	*ɪlvɪlu'* wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor. Kam. *ɪḷhu'ḷu, eḷhu'ḷu*)

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

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
merê	*mê'rêmêr* tears 116.8
qo^εlê 41.5	*qo^εlê'qo^εl* snuff 41.4
yile (see 90.2)	*yi'leil* marmot 89.33
yili (Kor. *čıl*)	*yi'liil* tongue 48.8 (Kor. *čr'ḷıḷ* Kor. 56.4)
quli	*quli'qul* voice 44.7
nute	*nu'tenut* land
yı'lqä(t) (Kor. Kam. *yılqa[t]*)	*yı'lqäil* sleep (Kor. Kam. *yı'ḷqayı*)

Koryak:

mı'tqa	*mı'tqamıt* oil Kor. 90.17
qanga	*qa'ngaqan* fire Kor. 30.8
ki'lka	*ki'lkakil* shell-fish Kor. 70.2

(5) Some polysyllabic words double the whole word.

eñe'neñen southeast wind

In Kamchadal analogous forms are derived principally from adjective stems:

o'mlax warm	*o'mom* heat
a'tx^alax bright	*a'txatx* light
txu'nläx dark	*txu'ntxun* darkness
tpilhé'tıjk I suffer from hunger	*pi'lhıpil* and *pê'lhêpêl* famine

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

ču'xčux rain (stem *čux*)
pa'lapal leaf (stem *pal*)
kö'mloköm marrow (Chukchee *kı'mıl*; Kor. Kam. *kı'mıl*)
lu'ñuluñulč heart (Chukchee *li'ñli*; Kor. *li'ñliñ*)

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

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
go'pkı elk	*ve'pkavep*
rı'rkı walrus	*yı'ykayık*

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

kĕ'rkĕr combination-suit (stem *kĕr*); Kor. I *key'key* (stem *key*) ; *kĕrkĕ'rgŭpŭ* and *kĕ'rgŭpŭ* from the combination-suit; *kĕ'rkĕrɪk* in the combination-suit

ña'wkĕr woman's suit

nimni'mgŭpŭ from the settlement 10.12

gĕlgĕlɪ'tkɪnɪk on the ice fields 7.3; *gĕlɪ'tkɪnɪk* on the sea-ice 9.2

mĕmlɪ'tkɪnɪk on top of the water 9.3

NOTE 3.—It is not impossible that the forms

yara'ñɪ house
yoro'ñɪ sleeping-room } (see § 30)
ya'rar drum

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

§ 30. SUFFIXES –*n*, –*ñɪ*

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

Iu'metun name of a spirit 22.6

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

yoro'ñɪ sleeping-room 107.9

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

keme'ñɪ dish 86.23; 87.31, 33 (*kama'gtɪ* to a dish 88.24) (Kor. *kama'ñɪ* Kor. 64.3)

qora'ñɪ reindeer 51.6

rɪpe'ñɪ stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. *yɪpa'ña* Kor. 43.2)

ᵉiᵉ'nɪ wolf 78.2, 96.28

ŭpa'ñɪ broth (Kor. *ipa'ña* Kor. 28.6)

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

poi'gɪn spear 97.27 (*poi'gɵ* 117.29) (Kor. *poi'gɪn*)

na'nqan belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. *na'nqän*)

rɪggo'lgɪn cellar 36.8 (*rɪggolgĕ'tɪ* to the cellar 36.10)

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

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

gɪ'thɪn lake 37.4 (*gɪ'thɪk* in a lake 37.5)

ŭpa'lhɪn tallow 87.4 (*ŭpa'lha* 86.23)

gɪ'lhɪn skin 23.9

gĕla'rgɪn gray fox 96.14

e'čɪn fat (Kor. *a'čɪn* Kor. 15.4)

ᴇLɪ'gɪn father 73.10 (stem *L*)

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ke'ñɪ̌cvɪn boy 11.7
kopa'lhɪn walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'lha* 14.11)
yi'lgɪn month 7.2
aᵋ'ttɪn dog 135.20 (*aᵋ'ttu* 135.20) (Kor. *aᵋ'ttaᵋn* Kor. 48.8)
keiñɪn brown bear 78.3 (*keiñu* 136.20) (Kor. Kam. *kai'ñɪn*)
rêʟoi'ñɪn big old carcass 136.19
kokai'ñɪn big kettle 33.10
i'rɪn fur shirt 83.24 (*i'ru* 116.26)
wu'kwun stone (stem *wukw* R 3.19) (Kor. *vu'gvɪn*)
ñɪ'lhɪn thong 41.10 (Kor. *ñɪ'l̩ñɪn* Kor. 40.5, 8)

To this group belong the endings *-lhɪn, -yñɪn, -čhɪn, -gɪrgɪn,*
-yɪrɪn -lɪn (see §§ 52; 53; 98; 1,99,8; 106, 44)

§ 31. ABSOLUTE FORM WITH LOSS OF PHONETIC ELEMENTS

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

va'lᴇ knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem *va'la*)
rɪ'rkɪ walrus 8.5
ke'lᴇ an evil spirit 61.6
čū'mñɪ buck (stem *čumña*)
krɪmɪ'ntɪ three-year-old buck 117.11
u'mkɪ bear 110.11
wi'ur scraping board (stem *wiuri*)
e'wič small bag (stem *ewiču*)

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

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

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

ê'wgan incantation 129.18 (stem *êwganv*)
ê'tɪn master 122.38 (stem *êtɪnv*)

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

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
êna'nvɪna scraper (stem êna'n-vɪna'ñ)	ena'nvɪna (stem enanvɪnañ)
keñu'ne staff (stem keñu'neñ) 101.9	
li'ñli heart (stem liñ)	li'ñliñ
po'mpo mushroom (stem poñ)	poᵋ'npoᵋn
pi'mpi powder (stem piñ)	

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

Aï'wan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems aï'wan and aiwana)
ɪntu'ulpɪr son-in-law (stems ɪntuulpɪr and ɪntuulpɪre)
uwäᵋ'quč husband (stems uwäᵋ'quč and uwäᵋquči)
ilir island (stems ilir and iliri)

(5) Irregular forms are—

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
ᵉįᵋ'nɪ wolf (stem [l].ᵉįᵋg)	iᵋ'yɪy (stem iᵋy)
ᵉįᵋ'tɪn neck (stem ᵉįᵋnn)	iᵋ'nnɪin (stem [l]iᵋnn, iᵋnn)
ᴇʟu'ê nephew (stem ᴇʟuwgo)	iʟo'yo (stem iʟoy)
ɪntê' daughter-in-law (stem ɪntɪyo)	
a'kan fishhook (stem aᵋn <*aqn?)	
ga'ʟᴇ bird (stem g̩aʟḫa̩)	
ve'ʟᴇ raven (stem ve̩lve̩)	
ᵉįᵋ'tit anser segetum (stem ᵉįᵋtu̩)	
tu'mgɪn stranger (stem tumŭk); compare, however, the redupli-cated form tu'mgɪtum companion formed from tu'mgɪn (in com-pounds -tu'mgɪn, as yiče'mit·tu'-mgɪn brother) tu'mŭk serves also as possessive form.	

§ 32 SPECIAL FORMS

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

(1) Personal pronouns.

gŭm I (Kor. gŭmma; Kamch. kɪ'mma)
gɪt thou (Kor. gɪ'ssa; Kamch. kɪ'ja)

(2) The personal pronoun ᴇna'n (Kor. ᴇ'nnu; Kamch. ᴇna') HE is formed from the stem ᴇn-.

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

mu'rị (Kor. dual *mu'yi*, pl. *mu'yu;* Kamch. *mu'ja*) we (stem *mu̧rg*-
[Kor. *muč̆h*-, Kamch. *mɪjg*-])

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

ɛ'rri (Kor. dual *a'č̆či*, pl. *a'č̆ču*; Kamch. *ɪtæ*) they (stem *ɛ̧rg*- [Kor.
ač̆h-, Kamch. *tæ*-])

(4) Interrogative personal pronoun.

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

(5) Indefinite pronoun.

rä̆ᵉnut what (stem *req*) (Kor. *yɪ'nna* [stem *yaq*])

ni'rkɪñut a certain one (stem *ni̧rkᶒ*) (Kor. *ni'yka, ni'ykɪñvut* [stem
niykᴀ])

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

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, č̆, y, t,*
take *-ti̧* instead.

lilé't eyes	*pe'kulti* butcher-knives 84.21
e'kket sons	*ñi'nqäiti* children 112.10, 15;
	113.12
qu'tti the others 115.17	*ñi'nqägti* 51.10
qla'ultȇ men 121.9	*aᵉ'ttɪqägti* pups 122.18
yič̆emré'tti brothers 64.3	*ɪnpɪñe'wqägti* little old women
ñᶒ'wä̧nti̧ women 50.4, 6	45.1
ñeus·qä̆'tti women 112.5	*le'utti* heads 86.8

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

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

uwä̆ᵉ'quč̆ husband (stems *uwä̆ᵉquč̆, uwä̆ᵉquč̆i*); plural *uwä̆ᵉ'qutti,*
uwä̆ᵉ'quč̆it

i'lir island (stems *ilir, iliri*); plural *ili'tti, i'lirit*

Koryak:

The dual of Koryak I has the same suffix.

liḷa't two eyes
qo'yat two reindeer (Chukchee *qa'at* reindeer)
vai'amɪt two rivers (*vai'amti* Kor. 17.1, Chukchee *ve'emɪt* rivers)

The plural is formed in many Koryak dialects by *-u̯* after terminal consonants, *-wgi̯*, *-vvi̯* (according to dialect), after terminal vowel.

qḷa'wuḷu men Kor. 44.3
ña'wɪtqatu women Kor. 44.2
qai-pipi'kalñu little mice Kor. 25.6
ñawa'kku daughters Kor. 27.1
a'gɪmu bags Kor. 28.5
kmi'ñu children Kor. 44.7
vai'amu rivers (stem *vaiam*)
ḷiḷa'wgi eyes
mɪmlu'wgi lice Kor. 25.4
imčanaḷa'wge ermines Kor. 66.18
qoyɑ'wgę reindeer (stem *qoya; qoya'we* Kor. 22.4)
qapa'au wolverenes (< *qapay-u*) Kor. 12.7
u'kkamau vessels Kor. 28.5
ki'plau mortars Kor. 51.5 (*kipla'wi* Kor. 53.8)

Kamchadal:

The plural suffix of Kamchadal is *-(ɪ)ᵉn*.

uᵉh tree	*uᵉ'hɪᵉn* trees
kocx dog	*kcxoᵉn* dogs
kist house	*ki'stɪᵉn* houses

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

lŭl eye	*lŭᵉl* eyes
kᴇli'lan spotted seal	*kᴇli'lɪᵉn* spotted seals
me'mɪl ground-seal	*me'mɪᵉl* ground-seals

In the material collected by Dybowsky[1] in southern Kamchatka, *t* and *d* occur as plural endings.

iauin ear	*ivut* ears
kosch dog	*kosgut* dogs
uan stone	*uad* stones

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[1] Słowniki Narzeczy Ludow Kamczackich Rozprawe Widziału filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvii, pp. 107, 113, 120.

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

veta'tɪḷan workman	*veta'tɪḷat* workmen
sü'nkil the one who flies	*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 *ṳ* ending of the plural.

§ 35. PLURAL OF PERSONAL NOUNS.

-(ɪ)ntṳ (Kor. Kam. the same) [-(ɪ)n + tṳ ; for -(ɪ)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.

Yę'tɪlɪnti Yetɪlɪn and his family
(Kor. *Ačče'pɪnɪnti*) Ačče'pɪn and his wife
ñe'wänti their wives
mi'kinti (Kor. Kam. *ma'kinti*) who? (see p. 726)

Koryak Kamenskoye:

Vaḷvɪmtɪḷaᵉ'ninti Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1
Yini'a-ña'wgutinti Yini'a-ñawgut and her husband Kor. 19.5

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

Aččepɪna'wgę Ačče'pɪn and his family.
Quyqɪnn·aqu'wgi Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10
Amamqu'tinu Ememqut's people Kor. 43.7
pipi'kča-ña'wgutinu mouse-women Kor. 23.3

§ 36. *Exclamatory Form of Nouns*

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

kimilhi'n worms 39.3

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

Yęto'l	O Ye'tɪlɪn!	*remkɪlo'n* a guest! 111.19
Quto'w	O Qutn'wgi!	

Koryak:

miko'n vannɪlño'n! whose tooth Kor. 34.4
ñawako'k! daughter! Kor. 22.7
tɪḷago'n! I found! Kor. 24.1

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

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

§ 37. Subjective Form

-*ę̆*, -*tę̆*, *ę̆* (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 -*tę̆*:

ekke'tä by the son 18.9	*vala'ta* with knives 16.4
temu'netä with shell-fish 9.8	*rī'rkata* by walrus 9.9; 10.6
uwä͞ᵉ'qučitä ĭ'unin the husband told her	*tar-qa'ata qe'rkuḻin* bought with how many reindeer
lilę̆'tę̆ with an eye	

(*b*) After terminal consonant -*ę̆*:

eñe'ñɪlä by a shaman 7.5; 14.12; 15.9	*evirä* clothing (obj.) 13.6
wu'lqä by darkness 18.12	*u'ttä* with wood
ĕʟɪ'gä by the father 18.4	*ᴇʟɪ'gä re'nnin* the father brought it
rä'yipä with a drill 8.1; 11.2	*poi'ga* with a spear 12.9
yî'lqä by sleep 10.6, 7	*kopa'lha* with walrus-blubber 14.11
aᵉ'ttwɪlä by the boat's crew 10.9; 12.4	*Aiwhuyanpɪna'čha* by an old St. Lawrence man 13.9
reᵉ'rɪlä by the bow-man 10.10	*Eiwhue'lä* by the St. Lawrence people 11.10; 12.3, 11; 17.1
eñe'ñä 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 uwi'iᵉ with fat she cooked (i. e., she cooked fat)

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

gêlêtkɪna'ta along the ice-top 13.7
rɪmne'tä and *rɪ'mnä* with the inner skin

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

aiwana'ta the Aiwan 46.6; 49.2

ıntu'ulpıretä by the son-in-law 80.22 and *ıntu'ulpırä*

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

> *lila'ta* with an eye
> *u'tta̧* with the wood
> *a͡ᵉla̧'ta* with excrement Kor. 12.5
> *čake'ta* by the sister Kor. 18.10
> *ñi'lña* with a line Kor. 41.3
> *yiča'myi-tu'mga* by the brother Kor. 20.6
> *ña'wıtqata* by the woman Kor. 21.5
> *yaᵉ'mka* by the people Kor. 39.7
> *yı'pna* with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

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

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
minke'tä	*minka'ta*	by which place
wutke'tä	*wutča'ta*	by this place
ɛn·ke'tä	*ɛnka'ta*	by that place
vä'añkata	*vaieña'ta*	by that place (midway)
nıki'tä 12.9; 14.10	*nıki'ta*	at night
gıne̦'t-aᵉlo'	*gıno't-aᵉlo̧'*	at mid-day

ñunqe'tä there, by itself
ño'tınqata there, behind the speaker
ño'onkata there, farther on
ñenke'tä there, far off

Here belong also the Chukchee forms—

ñunqé'tä there, by itself
ño'tıñqata there, behind speaker
ño'onqanata there, farther on
ñenke'tä there, far off

-lʿ Kamchadal.   Instrumental.

> *u̧ᵉlʿ* with wood (from *u̧ᵉh* wood)
> *ḷüle'lʿ* with the eye (stem *ḷül*)

Locative Form (§§ 38-39)

§ 38. COMMON NOUNS

-(ı̧)k, -kı, -qı (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.[1]

ve'emık nıtva̧'qḛn he lives on the river
ɛla'qı nıtva̧'qḛn he lives with the mother
nu̧'te̦k (Kor. *nu'tak*) on the land

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[1] See also Nominal Forms of Verb, §§ 64, 65,

The forms -*kɪ* and -*qɪ*, also -*ekɪ* and -*eqɪ* are used after some stems, but no definite rule in regard to their use can be laid down.

> *gŭ'mŭk* and *gŭ'muqɪ* in my possession
> *yo'oqɪ* in the wind (from *yo'o* WIND)
> *ɛLa'qɪ* at the mother's (from *ɛLa'* MOTHER)
> *ñelvŭle'kɪ* at the herd (from *ñe'lvŭl* HERD)
> *vêlɪ'tkə-laula'kɪ* at the merchant's (from *vêlɪtkə-la'ul* MERCHANT)

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

pi'lhɪn throat	*pi'lɪk* in the throat
gɪ'thɪn lake	*gɪ'tɪk* at the lake
mɪ'ngɪlɪñɪn hand	*mɪ'nɪk* at the hand

The forms *pi'lhɪk, gɪ'thɪk, mɪ'ngɪk*, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix -*gɪrg(ɪn)* (§ 106.44) have in the locative -*ɪnkɪ* or -*rɪk:*

kañka'čɪrgɪn descent	*kañka'čɪrɪnkɪ* and *kañka'čɪrɪk*
tɪtta'tɪrgɪn climbing up	*tɪtta'tɪrɪnkɪ* and *tɪtta'tɪrɪk*

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

> *gɪto'lɪñkɪ* on the side of the mountain
> *gɪto'lhɪk* on the side of a person

This suffix is often weakened to -*g*, or even disappears entirely. Thus we find *nu'tek, nu'teg*, and *nu'te* IN THE COUNTRY; *ya'rak* and *ya'ra* AT HOME; the *k* may also be replaced by ɪ. The *leu'tɪ* ON THE HEAD 44.5; *a'ñqa-čo'rmɪ* ON THE SEASHORE 12.4

> *walqa'rɪk* in the jawbone house, 44.14
> *nute's·qak* on the ground, 15.5
> *rag-čo'rmɪk* on the house border, 12.12
> *a'ñqak* on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7
> *gi'lgilɪk* on the sea ice, 13.3
> *tu'wkɪk* on the ice-floe, 13.3
> *tɪ'mkɪk* on a hummock, 62.7
> *qä'čekɪčhɪk* on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8
> *lile'k* (Kor. *lɪla'k*) in the eye

Koryak:

> *va'amɪk* in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2
> *či'čhiñɪk* in the armpits Kor. 18.9
> *ya'yak* in the house Kor. 19.9
> *ulgu'vɪk* in the cache Kor. 80.10
> *yaqa'lɪk* in the porch Kor. 80.13
> *i'ya·g* in the sky Kor. 19.3
> *qas·wuge'ñkɪ* at the foot of the stone-pine bushes Kor. 21.7

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

e'kkek va'rkɪn (Kor. Kam., *a'kkak va'ykɪn*) it is the son's
ɪnaa'lɪk va'rkɪn in the neighbor's (house) he is 19.2
ge'mge-ni'kek whosoever 20.7
Kor. *a'al tu'yɪk va'ykɪn* have you an axe? Kor. 63.5
Kor. *Tɪke'nvɪyɪk va'ykɪn* 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 -(ɪ)*nä* (see § 41).

The personal pronoun is used with the ending -*k*, particularly when the noun to which it is attached with possessive significance has a suffix (-*tä̆*, -*gtɪ*, 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*.

gŭmŭ'k e'kkeg ñalvŭlê'pŭ qäi'mithɪn take from my son's herd
gŭmŭ'k akka'ɪpŭ from my son (*gŭm* I; -*k* possessive; *ekke* son;
  -*ɪpŭ* from [§ 42])
ɛnɪ'g-nu'tek ne'rmeqin ke'lɛ in his own country the kele is strong
  123.25
mə'rêg-rak in our houses 84.16
Kor. *mama'nak tetei'tɪñ* on mamma's needle Kor. 25.2
Kor. *Miti'nak čai'učhu* into Miti's work-bag Kor. 38.4.

Here belong—

wu'tku (Kor. *wu'tčuk*) here
ɛ'n·kɪ (Kor. *ä'nki*, Kamchadal *ɛ'nki*) there
va'äñkɪ (Kor. *vai'eñ*) there (midway to)
ño'onkɪ there (farther on)
ra'äñkɪ there (behind the person addressed)
ño'tɪñkɪ, ño'tɪñqɪ, there (behind the speaker)
ñu'nkɪ (Kamchadal *ño'nke*) (aside by itself)
mi'ñkɪ (Kor. *mi'nki*) where
ñe'n·ku there (far off)

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

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

lŭ'lenk on the eye	*txu'ntxunk* in the darkness (from *txu'ntxun*)
ci'mtenk on the land.	*a'tɪnŭnk* and *a'tɪnŭk* in the village (from *atɪnŭm*)

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

>*p!i'č!ink či̯i'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 -*gtɪ̯*, and -*gŭpŭ* (see §§ 40–43). The distinct origin of these elements may still be recognized in Kamchadal by the fact that the termination for TOWARD always, that for FROM generally, causes ablaut, while the -*nk* of the locative is neutral. For DIRECTION FROM we find, for instance—

ki̯st house	*ki̯'stenk* in or from the house
	kê'stank to the house
ki̯x· river	*ki̯'x·enk* in or on the river
	kê'x·ank to or from the river
txu'ntxun darkness	*txu'ntxunk* in the darkness
	txo'ntxonk to the darkness
a'tɪnŭm village	*a'tɪnŭnk* or *a'tɪnŭk* in, to, or from the village

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

<h3 style="text-align:center">§ 39. PERSONAL NOUNS</h3>

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

>*Yẹ'tɪlɪnạ̈* Yetɪlɪn's
>*ạ'tệnạ* father's (*a'tE* FATHER, in the language of children)
>*apai̯'ñɪnạ* grandfather's (*apai̯'ñin* < *ẹpẹ-yñɪn* GRANDFATHER, in the language of children)
>*ẹpẹqä'yɪnä* grandmother's (*ẹpẹ'qäi* < *ẹpẹ-qäi* GRANDMOTHER, in the language of children)
>*tumgi'inä* friend's (*tumgɪ'nɪnä*, in the pronunciation of women)
>*Têlpŭñe'nä* lo^ε'o things seen by Telpŭñe R 379, no. 142 title
>*Tño'tirgɪna tɪ'lqätyä^εk* I go to Tño'tirgɪn 120.36

ni̯'rkẹ- 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
>*Pɪči'qaḷa^εnak* Bird-Man Kor. 16.4
>*Ačče'pɪnak* Ačče'pɪn's
>*wu'tininak* this one's
>*mi'kinak* who Kor. 12.7

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

Allative and Ablative (§§ *40–43*.)

§ 40. ALLATIVE OF COMMON NOUNS, CHUKCHEE AND KORYAK

-gtɪ̆, *-ê̝tɪ̆*, *-wtɪ̆* (Chukchee); *-ĭtɪ(ñ)*, *-etɪ(ñ)* (Koryak), expresses THE DIRECTION TO, also THE INDIRECT OBJECT, ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

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

       -ê̝tɪ̆ after consonants;

       -wtɪ̆, after *o*.

Examples of *-gtɪ̆* after vowels:

qaa'gtɪ̆ tɪ'lqätyä⁸k I went to the reindeer

añqa'gtɪ̆ eiñe'utkuiⁱ⁸ he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5

g̣ñg̣añg̣ag̣a'gtɪ̆ to the seaside 49.6

nọta'gtɪ̆ to the country 51.2

čaučuwa'gtɪ̆ to the reindeer-breeder 48.9

yg̣rg̣'gtɪ̆ to the house 105.27

lê̝la'gtɪ̆ to the eye

a⁸la-qọpla'gtɪ̆ on an excrement-pile 45.5

k̂al̂a'gtɪ̆ to a kele 97.12

gɪrgola'gtɪ̆ upward 16.5

gɪrgogča'gtɪ upward 47.4

anvê̝'nauka'gtɪ̆ to an unbroken one 50.12 (*ä̤—k̂ä̤* not)

ta'lva-pa'l̂ko-vê̝⁸'gtɪ to one merely dying of old age 21.7

akka'gtɪ trê'tyä⁸n I brought it for the son

qaa'gtɪ̆ on account of the reindeer 48.12

uwaqočê̝'gtɪ̆ on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of *-ê̝tɪ̆* after consonants:

kaltê̝'tɪ̆ to the bottom 9.7

naranêntɪtko'ñɪñoñɪn notasʹqê̝'tɪ̆ it shall be thrown on the ground 25.3; also 16.7

mê̝mlê̝'tɪ̆ to the water 48.5

ra⁸ulê̝'tɪ̆ to the whaler 46.5

a⁸qa'kamaanvê̝'tɪ̆ to the owners of bad dishes 96.7

rɪmnê̝'tɪ to the inner skin

ñočê̝'ti to the poor ones 96.26

ᴇʟɪgê̝'ti qätɪ' he went to the father 109.3

yê̝'čamêt-to'mg̣êtɪ qätɪ' he went to the brothers 110.1

tñaɪrgê̝'tɪ to the dawn 41.7

yê̝⁸lhê̝'tɪ to the moon 41.11

pênyolhệ'tɪ on to the hearth 32.7

gɪno'nệtɪ to the middle 10.7; 16.8

ᴇrgɪp-ya'lhệtɪ on account of the bright moon 14.11

Examples of *-wtɪ, -utɪ,* after *o*

qaaračĭkou'tɪ under the sledge-cover 110.8

yorou'tɪ to the sleeping-room 39.10

mêmlɪčɪkou'tɪ into the water 17.4

-ĭtɪ, -etɪ (Koryak)

-*ĭtɪ* used after all vowels.

yaya'ĭtɪ to the house (*yaite'tɪ* verbal, from *yaite'kɪn* Kor. 17.3)

yoyo'ĭtɪ to the sleeping-room

lẹla'ĭtɪ to the eye

gĭčgolạĭ'tɪ to the upper part Kor. 20.1

yɪnoĭ'tɪ to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6

-*etɪ* after consonants.

yɪpnệ'tɪ to the inner skin

olhɪwẹ'tɪñ to the cache Kor. 36.3

yɪnootñe'tɪ into the vent-hole Kor. 43.3

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

	Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadel
whither	*mi'ñkri*	*menkei'tɪ*	*ma'nke*
hither	——	*wotčai'tɪ*	
thither	*ᴇñkri*	$\begin{cases} \textit{änkai'tɪñ} \\ \textit{ᴇnkai'tɪ} \text{ Kor. 17.2} \end{cases}$	
thither (midway)	*va'änřê*	*vaieñai'tɪ*	
thither	*ñe'nři*	*ñankai'tɪ*	

§ 41. ALLATIVE OF PERSONAL NOUNS

-(ɪ)na ᴛᴏ, ᴛᴏᴡᴀʀᴅs. Used only with proper names, personal demonstratives, and with a few appellative nouns.

Ya'tɪlɪna to Yetɪl ɪn

a'tẹna to father (*a'tᴇ* ꜰᴀᴛʜᴇʀ, in the language of children)

apaĭ'ñɪna to grandfather (*apaĭ'ñin* [< *ẹpẹ-yñɪn*], ɢʀᴀɴᴅꜰᴀᴛʜᴇʀ in the language of children)

apaqa'yɪna to grandmother (*ẹpẹ'qäi* [< *ẹpẹ-qäi*] ɢʀᴀɴᴅᴍᴏᴛʜᴇʀ in the language of children)

tөmgệ'êna to the friend (*tө'mgɪnɪna,* in the pronunciation of women)

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

mệ'kêna (Kor. Kam. *me'keŋa*) to whom

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

> *Ačče′pɪna*(ñ) to Aččepɪna
> *Mete′na* to Miti Kor. 43.2

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

> *ta′tañ* or *ta′tanañ* to father; *ta′tana* Kor. 74.15 (*ta′ta* FATHER, in the language of children); but *ɪ̣ɪai′tɪ* to the mother

§ 42. ABLATIVE IN *-gŭpŭ*

-ɪ̆pŭ, -ê′pŭ, -gŭpŭ (Chukchee) FROM, OUT OF, ACROSS, ALONG.
-ɪ̆pŭ with stems ending in a vowel.

lêla′ɪ̆pŭ from the eye

Roltannênai′pŭ from Rulte′nnin 124.8 (see § 31, 4)

qaaɪ̣′pŭ lei′wulɪn along the reindeer (herd) the walking one

ñargɪnoi′pŭ from outside 12.10 (see § 31, 4; of *ñargɪno′lɪn* that staying in the outer tent)

qolê-notai′pu from another land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21

notai′pŭ nɪlei′vuqinet they walked along the (open) land 17.9

pottɪñai′pŭ by the holes 47.2

añqañqačai′pŭ from the seaside 49.8 (see § 31, 4)

qaačɪkoi′pŭ from the herd 51.2

pagtalkoi′pŭ along the crevices 22.6

čottagnɪčɪkoi′pŭ from the outer tent 131.5

êučai′pŭ from below 131.5

ɛn·kêčɪkoɪ′pŭ from there (inside) 131.12

-gŭpŭ mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

va̧′amgŭpŭ from the river

nɪmnɪ′mgŭpŭ nɪ′pkir-mu′ri we came from the settlement 10.12

pêpê′ggŭpŭ by the ankle 50.11

-êpŭ mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

orgê′pu from the sledge

la̧utȩ̂′pŭ kɪ′plɪnên he struck him across the head (see 8.1)

ronmê′pŭ from under the outer tent-cover 12.9

yɪkɪrgê′pu across its mouth 115.1

čot-tagnê′pŭ from the outer tent

gamga-va′ɪrgê′pŭ among all beings 22.2

ranmê′pŭ from the border of the house 130.16

*êpɪ′nmêpŭ·*from under the wall 130.16

-e′pu (only in Koryak II, in a number of dialects; for instance, in the village of *Kĭ′čhɪn* in Kamchatka).

nute′pu ga̧lai′vuḷin he walked along the open land

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

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

> *leḷa'ñqo* from the eye
> *ega'ñko* from heaven Kor. 33.4
> *kɪpla'gɪgiñko* out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3
> *menka'ñqo* (*mañe'nko* Kor. 33.7) whence
> *wotča'ñqo* from here
> *ñanka'ñqo* thence
> *ña'nakañqo* Kor. 42.3
> *änka'nqo* from there
> *vai'eñqo* from there (not very far)

-*nqǫ*, -*ñqo'r*ɪ (Chukchee) FROM, not free; only in the following adverbs:

> *mê'nqo* and *mêñqo'rɪ* whence (*mê'ñko* 113.19)
> *ño'onqo* and *ño'oñqo'rɪ* from there (far off) (*ño'onko* 76.5; 131.8)
> *va'ɛnqo va'äñqo* and *va'änqorɪ* from there (not very far)
> *ño'tɛnqo* and *ño'tɪñqorɪ* from behind the speaker
> *ra'ɛnqo* from behind the person addressed
> *ñu'nqu* and *ñunqu'ri* from there
> *ɛ'ñqo*, 86.18 ɛn'qo'ro 65.18 and ɛnqo'rɪ from there 125.3;
> *wo'tqo*, *wotqoro* 124.10 and *wotqo'rɪ* from here
> (*ña'nqo* means, however, simply HERE)
> *ña'nko* 12.7 From this is formed the ablative *ñan·koi'pŭ*.
> *ña'nɪko* there Kor. 32.1
> *qoro'* COME HERE! (Kor. *qoyo* is probably the exclamatory form
>   for *ña'nqorɪ* HITHER. The latter form is rarely used. Kor.
>   Kam. *qo'yɪn* HITHER is perhaps the ablative of the same form.
> *qoro' ña'nko* then come here! R 73.76 *qo'ro* 101.3

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

> *i̭*, *ĭ̭*, *ę ṷ*, *ṷ̈*, *ɛ̭*, are found in this position.
> The allative always has the strong form of the connecting vowel.
> The suffix often takes the termination -*e*.

sün the wood	*lŭl* the eye
sünk from the wood	*lŭ'lank* from the eye
sö'nke to the wood	*lŭ'lank* to the eye
kĭx the sea	*ɛ'nki* there
kĭ'xenk from the sea	*ño'nke* there, thus
kĕ'xanke to the sea	*ma'nke* whence, whither, how

§ 44. Post-positions of Plurals of Personal Nouns

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

stem (*ı*)*rg* THEY

	Independent pronoun.	Suffix of plural of personal noun.
absolute	*ɛ'rrı*	———
allative	*ɛrıka'gtı*	—*ɛrık*
ablative	*ɛrıkai'pŭ*	—*ı'rgŭpŭ*

qla'ul man	*qlaulı'rgŭpŭ* from the people
ora'wêʟan person	*orawêʟa'rgên* belonging to men
Tıña'p (a name)	*Tıña'pɛrık* with Tiña'p and his family (locative and allative)
	Tıña'pırgên belonging to Tiña'p's family, belonging to Tiña'p [1]

Kor. Kam.:

Pipi'kča-ña'wgut Mouse-Woman	*Pipi'kča-ña'wgutiyık* by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1
Annımaya't Frost-Man	*Annımaya'tıyık* by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9
Ai'gınvı With-Odor-Pushing-Away	*Aigınvı'yıkıñ* to the people of With-Odor-Pushing-Away Kor. 63.6
Quyqınn·aqu Big-Raven	*Qoyqınn·aqoyıkai'tı* 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 (*ı̣*)*rg̣* (Chukchee), as given in § 56.

Miti's·hin belonging to Miti Kor, 28.7
Quyqınn·aqu'čhin belonging to Big-Raven Kor. 28. 7

Here Koryak *s·h* and *č h* are analogous to Chukchee *rg*.

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[1] In cases of this kind the plural is often used to refer to the person himself.

§§ 45-50.　Form in -ịn

§ 45. GENERAL REMARKS

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

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
-ịn	-ịn	-ịn	possessive
-kịn	-kịn	-ịn, -n	pertaining to
-lịn	-la͑ᵉn		measure of a quality
nɪ—qịn	nɪ—'qịn		quality of
gᴇ—lịn	ga—lịn		possessor of

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

	Chukchee	Koryak Kam.
Absolute	nɪmᴇ'lqịn	nɪma'lqịn
Subjective	nɪmᴇlqịnᴇ'tä	nɪmalqina'ta
Locative	nɪmᴇ'lqịnᴇk	nɪma'lqịnak
Plural-Dual	nɪmᴇ'lqịnᴇt [1]	nɪma'lqinat
Plural		nɪma'lqinaw

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

> mi'ñkri-va'lɪt ple'kɪt tegge'ñu nɪne'lgɪgɪt?　Nɪme'yɪñqinet mei'-mitɪnet.　How do you want your boots?　I want large ones (mi'ñkri how; va'lɪt being, pl. (§ 54); ple'kɪt boots pl.; teggeñ desire; -u serving for; nɪ- prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; -nelg to have; -gɪt thou; nɪ—qinet nominalized form of verb, pl.; mᴇ'iñ large, m- 1st per. exhortative; eimit to take; -nᴇt [I]— them, exhortative)

To the question rä͑ᵉ-nᴇ'lhạ̈ gᴇrkuʟịn?　With what kind of skins has it been bought?　(rᴇq what; ne'lhin skin; -ä instrumental; ge—lịn nominalized verb [§ 73]; -rkur to buy) one may answer—

> nɪtᴇ́ñqịnᴇ'tä with good ones (nɪ—qin nominalized verb; nɪ—qinᴇtä instrumental of this form; tᴇñ good);

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

> ten-ne'lhạ̈ with a good skin

> em-te'n·ñɪla nike'i͑ᵉ the sportful people teased him (em- mere; te'n·ñɪla subjective form of te'n·ñɪlɪn sportful [the corresponding verb with the suffix -eu is ten·ñe'urkin TO LAUGH]; nike'i͑ᵉ indefinite pronominal verb, nike'rkin TO DO SOMETHING)

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[1] Men's pronunciation nɪmᴇ'lqᴇᴇt.

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

tɛ̃ñ good	*nɪte'nqin*	definite form *nɪtanqê-na'čhɪn* (see § 53)
	te'ñɪčin (see § 55)	augmentative form *tañɪčɪ'yñin* (see § 98, no. 1)
	ta'ñum-va'lɪn (see §76)	augmentative form *ta'ñum-valɪ'yñin*
	tand·ya'n (see §104.38)	diminutive form *tand·ya'nvuqai*

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

§ 46. SUFFIX -*in*.

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

(*a*) Material.

u'ttịn wooden (Kor. *u'ttịn*)
ga'lgên ŭm ɛvị'rɪt bird dresses 7.8
ga'lhên ị'rɪn bird clothes 14.3
qo̯o'rên nɛ'lhɪn reindeer-skins 14.4
ɛᵉlɛᵉ'lin qlạ'ụl man of excrement 39.6
yạrạ'ñɪ wụ'kwên house of stone 92.5
ko̯o'nên made of horse (hair) (stem *ko̯o'nɛ̂* from Russian конь)
rị'grɪgên made of hair

Koryak:

kuka'kin gatai'kɪlin it is made of a kettle Kor. 78.1
mɪ'mčin (made) of a louse Kor. 78.1

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

ga'lga-na'lhɪn bird-skin
u'ttɪ-yu'ñɪ wooden whale Kor. 40.9

(*b*) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

ɛ'kkịn the son's (Kor. Kam. *a'kkin*)
         (Kamchadal *i'cxin* the father's)
qo̯o'rên the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. *qo'yen;* Kamchadal *k!o'jan*)
čạu'čuwên ñe'wän the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6
ɛ'kkin yo̯ro̯'ñɪ the son's sleeping-room 53.8
ɪnpɪnạ'čhɛ̂ɛ̂n ɛlɪ'gɪnɛ̂n yoro'ñɪ the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9
tu'mgɪn stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9
o̯rạ'wɛᴌ̣ɛ̂n aimakɪ'yñin a man's big body 90.14

ñaᵤs·qạ'tčɪñɪnện ELA' the woman's father 85.22

ñẹ'ẹkkịn ya'nŕa yọrọ'ñɪ daughter's separate sleeping-room 28.3

ñẹ'ẹkkịn čo'tčot the daughter's bag pillow 29.4

ọrạ'wệɪẹn gạ'mɡa-tE'čịrgịn man's every source of illness 24.3

kẽ'lẹ-ñẹ'us·qätin kệ'rkệr the combination-suit of the kele-woman
        85.33

qlạ'ᵤlqaiện i'rɪn the man's suit 85.35

ñinqa'yin evi'rɪn the child's clothes 25.8

Ku'urkɪlin e'kɪk Ku'urkɪl's son 79.23

Tño'tirgɪnên Tño'tirgɪn's 120.16

Ūmqäqäi'in U'mqäqäi's 63.12

Koryak:

> tami'nñɪ-qlạ'wuḻen ñawa'kak an artisan's daughter Kor. 24.10
>
> awa'ñɪ-ña'win ñawa'kak the daughter of a seamstress Kor. 25.2
>
> tu'mɡɪnau kawa'ssočhu other people's wallets Kor. 46.1
>
> qo'yen ɡɪtča'ḻñɪn reindeer-leg Kor. 53.3

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

A'nna (a name)	A'nnan belonging to A'nna
Qutu'wgi (a name)	Qutu'wgin belonging to Qutu'wgi
Aiñanwa't (a name)	·Aiñanwa'tɪn and Aiñanwa'tên belonging
Upe'nken belonging	to Aiña'nwat.
to Upenke R72.13	
Ñiro'nên belonging	
to Ñɪro'n R377,	
141 title.	

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

Amamqu'tɪnin ña'wɪtqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Quyqinn·aqu'nin ñawa'kak Brig Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14

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

ẹ'kkịnẹt those of the son (Kor. Kam. a'kkinat dual, a'kkinau pl.)
                    (Kamchadal i'cxēᵋn 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.

§46

	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.		Kamchadal	
	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.
1st per. sing. .	gŭm	gŭmni′n	gŭmma	gŭmni′n	kı′mma	kıma′n
2d per. sing. .	gıt	gıni′n	gı′ssa	gıni′n	kı′ja	kıni′n
3d per. sing. .	ɛna′n	ɛni′n	ɛ′nnu	ani′n	ɛna′	ɛna′n
1st per. pl. . .	mu′ri	mu′rgin	mu′yu	mu′chin	mu′ja	mı′jgin
2d per. pl. . .	tu′ri	tu′rgin	tu′yu	tu′chin	tu′ja	tı′jhin
3d per. pl. . .	ɛ′rri	ɛ′rgin	a′ččhu	a′chin	ıtx	txi′in

The Koryak dual has no possessive forms.

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

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
my	gŭmni′net (pl.)	gumni′nat (dual)	kıma^ɛ n (pl.)
		gumni′nau (pl.)	

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

gŭmnine′tä (Kor. Kam. *gŭmnina′ta*) with mine.

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

gọmọkaĭ′pŭ qäi′mityın TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM MINE) (*gọmọkaĭpŭ* see § 56; *q—gın* imperative; *eimit* to take)

Demonstrative pronouns form two possessive forms:

wo′tqan { wo′tqanên and wo′tqanɛnên } belonging
  this   { (men's pronunciation wo′tqäen and wo′tqäɛnên) } to this

ɛnqa′n { ɛnqa′nên and ɛ′nqanɛnên } belonging
  that   { (men's pronunciation ɛnqä′ên and ɛnqaɛnên } to that

The forms in —ɛnin may be considered as compounded with the possessive of the third person singular personal pronoun ɛni′n, so that they would be parallel to the plural forms of the demonstrative possessives discussed in § 58, p.729: *wo′tqanɛrgên* (man's pronunciation *wo′tqäɛrgên*) and *ɛ′nqanɛrgên* (man's pronunciation *ɛ′nqäɛrgên*).

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

Quyqınnaqu′nin ñawa′kak Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.
Amamqu′tınin ña′wıtqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

kima′nlˋinlˋ with my ears (*kiman* my; -*lˋ* instrumental; *in* ear)
mi′nenlˋ x·va′nlˋ with which knife?
i′kninlˋ kcx·olˋ with other dogs

§ 47. SUFFIX -*kin*

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

gñqa'kẹn of the sea 69.9 (Kor. Kam. gñqa'qẹn Kor. 76.17)

tele'nkin pertaining to the remote past (tele'n-yep long ago); Kor. Kam. ankɪye'pkin (stem ankɪ-ye'p)

ɛrga'tkɪn pertaining to to-morrow (Kor. Kam. miti'wkin)

pi'lhɪkin pertaining to the throat 9.3

aᵉttwɪle'kin pertaining to the people of the boats 11.9; 12.1

aᵉ'ttwukin pertaining to the boat 14.6

qe'ptikin pertaining to the back 16.10

tile'kin pertaining to motion 16.10

mê'ŋlɪkẹn pertaining to water 25.6

kele'kin pertaining to spirits 104.26

o'rgukẹn pertaining to a sledge 62.11

qoi'ma-ro'kẹn pertaining to the rear sleeping-room 55.8

nute's·qäkin tɪ'mkɪlhɪn a ground hummock 62.5

telenye'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5

mênko'kẹn whence belonging? 113.20

wañê'kẹn working, referring to work (from wañê)

yɪlqä'tkin referring to sleep

Forms with post-positions are rare.

gɪrgolkẹna'ta by the one belonging above 126.6

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

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

Here belong also the following Chukchee forms:

ᴇn·ke'kin belonging there
ñen·ku'kin belonging there (farther on)
raᴇnqa'kên belonging there (not very far, midway to)
vaᴇnqa'kên belonging there (behind the person addressed)
ñotᴉnqa'kên belonging there (behind the speaker)

Such Koryak forms as *minka'kiḷaᵉn* BELONGING TO WHAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), *ganka'kᴉḷaᵉn* BELONGING TO THAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), combine two suffixes,-*kin* and-*ḷaᵉn*, and refer to persons.

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
i'gᴉtkin	*a'čhᴉkin*	what belongs to the present
tite'kin	*tita'kin*	belonging to which time

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

mᴉʟᴉnkau'kên or *mᴉʟᴉnka'ulᴉn* the fifth

§ 48. SUFFIX -*lᴉn*

-*lᴉn* (Kor. Kam. -*ḷaᵉn*) (oblique cases formed from -*l*, Kor. -*ḷ*) expresses the measure of a quality.

miñke'mil qᴇ'tvulᴉn what likeness strong? (i. e., how strong?); Kor. Kam. *menke'mič qa'tvulaᵉn*; Kor. Par. *menke'mis· qe'tvulaᵉn*

en·ke'mil gᴉtte'pᴉliŭm that likeness I am sensible (i. e., I am so sensible) (*en·ke* that; -*iŭm* [§73])

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

gᴇ—lᴉn (Chukchee), *ga—lᴉn* (Kor. Kam). This is identical with the verbal forms given in § 73. It expresses possession.

ga-qa'a-lên (Kor. Kam. *ga-qoya'-lᴇn*) he who has reindeer
g-ekke'-lin (Kor. Kam. *g-akka'-lᴉn*) he who has sons
garai'-gᴉt thou who hast a home 89.7 (see § 73).
ga-pêla'-i-gŭm I have left
ga-qaa'-i-gŭm I who have reindeer.
Koryak:

gavagᴉnña'ḷen with nails Kor. 24.2
gaʟa'lin with eyes Kor. 24.2

§ 49. SUFFIX -qịn

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

The attributive terms in $n(I)$—$qịn$ are identical in form with the ver-
bal mode in $n(I)$—$qịn$, 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-*; *têrgạt* to weep	*nɪ-têʹr-ä-qên* or *teʹrg-ɪ-lɪn*	tearful
Stem *kɪm-*; *kịmẹ'u* (Kor. Kam. *kima'w-* [*ịkɪn*])	slow	*nɪ-kịʹm-ä-qịn* *nɪ-kịʹm-a-qịn*	slow-going
Stem *ayɪlh-*; *ạyɪlhạụ* (Kor. Kam. *ayɪḷhav*)	afraid	*n-ạyɪʹl-ä-qên* *n-ayɪḷ-a-qen*	fearful

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

Stem *ño-*; *nɪ-ño'-qên* poor, needy
Stem *tam-pêra*; *nɪ-tam-pêra'qên* pretty

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in
$nɪ$—$qịn$.

ŭplɪ'lɪ (stem *ŭplɪl*); (Kor. Kam. *ɪplɪ'lɪ* [stem *ɪplɪl*]), yellowish
eᵋ'tqiñ (stem *ẹᵋ'tqịñ* and *ạ̈qạ̈*); (Kor. Kam. *aᵋ'tčiñ* [stem *aᵋ'tča*];
    Kor. Par. *eᵋ'tqeñ* [stem *ạ̈qạ̈*]); bad
gŭmni'n qa'at eᵋ'tqiñɪt my reindeer are bad

also *uwe'lɪ* (stem *uwẹlẹ*) and *nu'uqin* (stem *uu*[1]) Kor. Kam. *nu'qin*
    [stem *ụ̄*]), black

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

eᵋ'tqiñ a bad one
eᵋtqi'ñɪčɪn or *ạ̈qä'čɪn* a worse one
aᵋtqê'ñɪñ-va'lɪn or *aqa'm-va'lɪn* a bad or worse one
aᵋtqênd·ya'n or *aqaya'n* one who is bad

Examples of forms in -$lɪn$ are given in § 54.
For other adjective forms see §76.

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[1] This stem consists of two consonants *uu* < *ww* which form a vocalic unit.

§ 50. KAMCHADAL SUFFIXES

-lä̬x,-ḷä̬x, is added to stems expressing qualities:

ö'm-lax (from öm) deep (cf. Chukchee *num-qin* broad)
iuläx (from iul) long (cf. Chukchee *n-iu'l-ä-qin*
o'lo-lax (from olo) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix -(ı)ᵉn

ololax-ıᵉn ki'stıᵉnč small little houses.

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

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

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

vo'stroi· xvalč, ni'ruqin xvalč a sharp knife.
nvê'thaqên uᵉh a straight tree.

Here vo'stroi is Russian, ni'ruqin and nvê¹'thaqên are Koryak II.
The last forms the Kamchadal plural nvê'thaḷaᵉn uᵉ'hıᵉn.

k!—i̬n (*-ffan*) corresponds to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in
n(i)—qin (§ 49), and is used with verbal themes expressing
qualities as well as with intransitive verbs.

k!-ni'ta-in (Chukchee nı-gıte'p—qin) clever
k!-nu'-in (from nu TO EAT) voracious
k!-vêta't- an (from vêtat TO WORK) laborious

k!-kıñi̬n seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms
in gę—lın (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.

k!-nu'-kıñın (from nu TO EAT) the one who ate

Both of these suffixes are also used with the transitive verb, k!—i̬n
with verbs of Type I (see § 70, p. 744), k!—kıñi̬n with verbs of
Type II (see § 71, p. 746). These forms have a passive meaning.

-ki̬l', pl. *-ki̬l'aᵉn,* forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.

nu'kil', pl. nu'kil'aᵉn, the one who is eating
vêta'tkal', pl. vêtatkal'aᵉn, the one who busies himself
colkêl', pl. colkêl'aᵉn, the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.

txlkil' the one who beats
ke'jkil' the one who keeps

Suffixes in -ı(n) §§ 51-55

§ 51. GENERAL REMARKS

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

-lhi̬n (Kor. -ḷñın)
-ḷ̬ñın,- ılıñın (Kor. -ḷ̬ñın)
-ç̬hın (Kor. -ç̥ñın)

-*čįñɪn* (Kor. -*ǯñɪn*)

-*įñɪn* augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)

-*gįrgɪn* (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. -*geñɪn*, -*gɪtñɪn* -*gɪčñɪn*) abstract noun

-*čɪn*

-*lɪn*

-*tkɪn* (Kor. Kam.-*tčɪn*) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES -*lḥ*- and -*lįñ*-

-*lḥ̣(įn)* (Kor. -*įñįn*), the absolute form of a suffix -*lḥ̣*-, 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.

lêla̧'lḥ̣ɪn eye (stem *lile*)

tɪ'mkɪlḥ̣ɪn (and *tɪ'mkɪtɪn*) hummock 79.2 (stem *tɪmk* 62.7; but
tɪmkɪlḥ̣ȩ̂'tɪ 62.5)

mȩ̂lota̧'lḥ̣ɪn hare 78.24 (stem *mɪḷutę* 78.15)

rȩ̂qoqa̧'lḥ̣ɪn fox 78.3 (stem *rɪquqę* 78.12)

wu'kwulḥ̣ɪn stone 35.11 (stem *wukw* 35.11)

kɪ'mɪlḥ̣ɪn[1] worm 37.3 (stem *kɪm* 36.11)

ta̧mona̧'lḥ̣ɪn a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem *temune* 9.8)

Koryak:

> *ḷela'lñɪn* eye   Kor. 49.5
>
> *gɪtča'lñɪn* leg   Kor. 53.3
>
> *pipi'kaḷñɪn* mouse   Kor. 58.7
>
> *va'nnɪlñɪn* tooth   Kor. 34.3,4

-*lįṇ̃(ɪn)* (Kor. -*įįṇ̃[ɪn]*, sometimes -*ɪLɪṇ̃[ɪn]* is used in the same
way as the preceding suffix.

va̧ɛ'glįñɪn (stem *veɛg*) (Kor. Kam. *va̧ɛ'y-lįñɪn* [stem *vȩɛy*]) grass

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

ŭpa'lhɪn tallow 86.23 (*ŭpa'lha* 87.4)

kopa'lhɪn walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'lha* 14.11)

rêpa'lhɪn walrus-hide 13.13

pênyo'lhɪn hearth 31.13

ñawgo'lhɪn old woman 39.5; 40.1

vamɪlqa'lhɪn lip 14.5

pênaka'lhɪn tassel 16.10

auta'lhɪn obsidian scraper 39.12

pêrka'lhɪn bowlder 129.6

rɪ'lhɪ'ʟɪñɪn and *rêlɪʟɪñɪn* wing (stem *rɪlh*, *rɪl*) 15.2

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

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[1] The text has *kɪmɪlḥ̣i'n* 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 *kɪmɪlho'n* (see § 36).   § 52

pênyo'lh̭ɪn hearth (stem *pin,* absolute form *pi'mpi* powder, ashes)

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

pi̭'lhɪn throat (stem *piḽh*); (Kor. Kam. *pi'ḽhin* [stem *pi̭ḽh*]).   Locative: *pi'lhɪk', pi̭'lɪk;* (Kor. Kam. *pi'ḽhɪk*)

ñi̭'lhɪn thong 48.4

ne'lhɪn skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES -*c̆h̭*- and -*c̆ɪ ñ*-

-*c̆h̭(ɪn),-c̆ɪ ñ(ɪn)* (Kor.-*c̆g̃[ɪn], c̆ɪ ñ[ɪn]; -tg̃[ɪn]; -s·g̃[ɪn],—* 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 -*lh̭*-, since *c̆* and *l* (Kor. *c̆* and *ḽ*) replace each other frequently (see § 122).

vaḽa'c̆h̭ɪn knife (stem *vaḽa,* absolute *va'lE*); Kor. Kam. *vaḽa'-c̆g̃ɪn* (stem *vaḽa,* absolute *va'ḽa*)

ra̭'mkɪc̆h̭ɪn people (stem *ṛɛmk,* absolute *ṛɛ'mkɪn*); Kor. *ya'mkɪc̆g̃ɪn* (stem *yamk,* absolute *ya'mkɪn*)

ɛlɪ'gɪc̆h̭ɪn the aforesaid father 19.11

ora̭'wêḽac̆h̭ɪn the aforesaid man 18.11

pênyo'lhɪc̆h̭ɪn the aforesaid hearth 32.9

yê'lɪc̆h̭ɪn the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12

lêla'lhɪc̆h̭ɪn the aforesaid eye 106.19

qoḽo-aᵉ'ɪtɪc̆h̭ɪn a particular kind of dog 121.11

kaḽa'c̆h̭ɪn a particular kele 105.14

va̭'amɪc̆h̭ɪn a particular river 40.12

lolo'c̆h̭ɪn a particular penis 26.8

ña'lvŭlɪc̆h̭ɪn a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:

| *qoqḽo'wɪc̆ñɪn* hole Kor. 15.8
| *ḽawtɪkɪ'ḽc̆ɪc̆ñɪn* head-band Kor. 17.12

-*c̆ɪ ñ (ɪn).*

ñawa̭'nc̆ɪ ñin a particular wife 38.4

ña̭us·qa'tc̆ɪ ñɪn the aforesaid woman 39.7

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

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

ta̭ɪ'oc̆hɪc̆h̭ɪn the bag mentioned before (stem *teiuc̆h,* absolute *tɛɪ'-uc̆hɪn*); Kor. Kam. *c̆aɪ'oc̆hɪc̆ñɪn* (stem *c̆aiuc̆h,* absolute *c̆aɪ'ṷc̆hɪn*)

NOTE 2.—In words which have the absolute form in *-lḫ̣-*, *-lĩ̱ñ-*, the suffix *-čḫ̣-*, *-čĩ̱ñ-*, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes *-lḫ̣-*, *-lĩ̱ñ-*.

lêḷa'lḫ̣ıčḫ̣ın 106.19, or *lêḷa'čḫ̣ın* eye (stem *lịlẹ*, absolute *lêḷa'lḫ̣ın*); Kor. Kam. *lẹlalḫ̣čṉ̃ın* or *lẹla'čṉ̃ın*, (stem *lịḷa*, absolute *lẹla'lḫ̣ın*)

§ 54. SUFFIXES *-lı-* (*-lẹᶜn*, *-čeᶜn*)

-lı-, *-lẹᶜn*, (Kor. Kam. *-laᶜn*, *-[a]ḷaᶜn*, *-[i]ḷaᶜn* 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 *-lın* is used; after the terminal consonant of a stem (except *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*) the auxiliary vowel *ı* is inserted before *-lın*. After terminal *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*, the suffix *-leᶜn* is used, which forms with terminal *l* or *r* the ending *-ḷeᶜn*, with terminal *t* the ending *-ḷeᶜn*. With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
rị'ḷẹn (< *rịl* + *-lẹᶜn*; base *rịl*)	*yị'ḷaᶜn* (base	winged
rẹlı'lĩñin	*yil*) *yelı'lĩñin*	wing
ñaw-kêḷaᶜn (< *kêr-leᶜn*)	*ñaw-ke'ịḷaᶜn*	clad in woman's dress
ya'aḷaᶜn (< *ya'al-laᶜn*)	*ya'aḷaᶜn*	that in the rear
vẹ'ẹmılın	*vaya'mılaᶜn*	River man
ạ'ñqalın	*a'ñqalaᶜn*	Maritime man
ña'čhıla qenpelqu'wlin		by a left-handed man was he vanquished

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

mıLınka'ulın or *mıLınkau'kên* the fifth

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

ŭpa'ulın the one who drinks (stem *ŭpau* to drink) (Kor. *apa'uḷaᶜn* [stem *apau*])

Here belong also

e'čelın the one who is fat (Kor. Kam. *ǥača'ḷin*) *gai'mıčılın* the rich one[1]

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

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

uñe'ḷeᶜn < *uñel-lın* wood-carrier 27.5 *te'ḷeᶜn* < *tel-lın* the suffering one 34.7 *rıltê'ḷaᶜn* one who is lying there 28.6

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[1] See §§48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in *n(ı)—q̱ın*.

$i^\varepsilon L e^\varepsilon n < i^\varepsilon r\text{-}l\imath n$ the one who crosses over

$a^\varepsilon t t o o L \hat{e}' t \imath\ q\imath'\!\imath\imath k w i^\varepsilon$ say to the one in front!

In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.

$te'_La^\varepsilon n$ the suffering one

$\varepsilon^{\imath}y l a^\varepsilon n$ the one crossing over

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

$p e l a' l a^\varepsilon n$ the one who leaves

In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs, requires the prefix $\imath n e$- or the suffix $-tk u$.

$\left.\begin{array}{l} enap e l a' l\imath n \\ p e l a' tk e l\imath n \end{array}\right\}$ the one who leaves

In some cases both forms in $-l\imath n$ and in $-k\imath n$ (see § 47) are used indiscriminately.

$\tilde{n}a'\check{c}h\imath l\imath n$ (Kor. Kam. $\tilde{n}a'\check{c}hala^\varepsilon n$) or $\tilde{n}a'\check{c}_En\cdot k\hat{e}n$ that to the left

$mra'l\imath n$ (Kor. Kam. $mya'_la^\varepsilon n$) or $mra'k\hat{e}n$ that to the right

Similar forms in $-la^\varepsilon n$ occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due however, to the influence of the Koryak.

$k\imath'st\imath la^\varepsilon n$ and $k\imath'st\imath n$ that of the house

$at\imath no'la^\varepsilon n$ and $at\imath no'an$ that of the village

§ 55. SUFFIX $-\check{c}\imath n$- $(-\check{c}e^\varepsilon n)$

$-\check{c}In$ $(-\check{c}e^\varepsilon n)$ (Kor. Kam. $-\check{c}a^\varepsilon n$, Kor. Par. $-sa^\varepsilon n$) is used principally to express the comparative. The form $-\check{c}e^\varepsilon n$ is used after the single terminal consonants n, r, l. With this ending, the object of the comparison assumes the locative form.

$me'l\check{c}e^\varepsilon n$ the better one (Kor. Kam. $ma'l\check{c}a^\varepsilon n$)

$mei\tilde{n}\imath\check{c}\imath n$ the larger one (Kor. Kam. $mai'\tilde{n}\imath\check{c}a^\varepsilon n$; Kor. Par. $mei'\tilde{n}\imath sa^\varepsilon n$)

$ia'm\ m\imath'k\imath\check{c}\imath n\ ine'il\imath rk\imath n\ ta'aq,\ mei'\tilde{n}\imath\check{c}\imath n\ \breve{u}m\ qine'ilhi^\varepsilon$ why do you give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one ($ia'm$ why; mk large; $\imath ne\text{-}y\imath l\text{-}\imath\text{-}rk\imath n$ you give me [§ 67]; $ta'aq$ tobacco; $me\imath'\tilde{n}$ large; $\breve{u}m$ particle expresssing slight emphasis; $q\text{-}\imath ne\text{-}y\imath l\text{-}g\imath^\varepsilon$ give me! [§ 67]); (Kor. Kam. $me'nqanqa\check{c}\ \imath plu'\check{c}a^\varepsilon n$ $ine'y\imath l\imath\ ta'waq,\ mai\tilde{n}\imath\check{c}a^\varepsilon n\ qine'y\imath l;$ Kor. $a^{\imath}\check{c}\check{c}i\tilde{n}\imath\check{c}a^\varepsilon n$ the worst Kor. 30.7)

$ga'mga\text{-}qla'ul\imath k\ qe'tv\breve{u}\check{c}i\breve{u}m$ I am stronger than all others ($gemge$- every; $qla'ul$ man; $-k$ locative; $qe'tvu$ strong; $-i\breve{u}m$ [§ 73]); Kor. Kam. $ga'mga\text{-}qla'wulak\ \imath na'n\ qa'tvu\check{c}eg\breve{u}m$)

It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to $-\check{c}h\imath n$ THE PARTICULAR ONE. We find, for instance,

ǫ́'rmę̆čɪn the strong man (stem ęrmę̆)

ñǫ'čɪn the poor man (stem ñǫ)

This ending has oblique cases:

yaᵉčĕ'pŭ qăčvi'gɪn čɪmqŭk cut off some rawer part (yaᵉ raw; -ĕpu from; q̇ä-čvi-gɪn [stem čvi] to cut [§ 67]; čɪ'mqŭk some)

armačĕ'tɪ to the strong man

armačĕ'pŭ from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

ɪ'nprič-ąkkąi̯'pŭ from the elder son (np old; ekke son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the suffix -čɪn or vą'lɪn (Kor. Kam. -čaᵉn or i'tąlaᵉn) expresses our superlative.

Ena'n mai'ñɪčɪn (Kor. Kam. ɪna'n-mai'ñičaᵉn)

Ena'n-ma'yɪnku-wa'lɪn (Kor. Kam. ɪna'n-ma'yɪñkɪñ- i'tąlaᵉn) } the largest one

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

kɪ'mma kɪni'nk činɪñčei' I am prettier than you (kɪmma' I; kɪni'nk on thee; činɪ'ñlą̆x pretty)

Pronouns (§§ 56-60).

§ 56. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are —

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
I . . .	gŭm	gŭmma, gŭm	kɪ'mma
thou . .	gɪt	gi'ssa,[1] gi̯	kɪ'ja
he . . .	Ena'n [2]	a'nnu	Enā'
we . . .	mu'ri	mu'yi (dual) / mu'yu (plural)	mu'ja
ye . . .	tur'i	tu'yi (dual) / tu'yu (plural)	tu'ja
they . .	E'rrɪ	a'či (dual) / a'ču (plural)	ɪtx

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 -gtɪ, -ipu, of Chukchee, require the suffix ka after the pronominal stem. Thus we find the following forms:

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[1] The Koryak of Paren has gɪtča, although ordinarily tč is characteristic of Kamenskoye, ss of Paren.

[2] The particle ᴇʟo'n is also used in the absolute form of the pronoun. Otherwise its meaning is generally weakly concessive, like that of German doch.

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute	*gŭm*	*gɪt, gɪr*	*Ena'n*	*mu'ri*	*tu'ri*	*E'rrɪ*
Locative	*{gŭmŭ'k, gŭmŭ'g {gŭmŭ'kɪ*	*gɪnɪ'k, gɪnɪ'g gɪnɪ'kɪ*	*Enɪ'k, Enɪ'g Enɪ'kɪ*	*mu'rɪk, mu'rɪg mu'rɪkɪ*	*tu'rɪk, tu'rɪg tu'rɪkɪ*	*E'rɪk, E'rɪg E'rɪkɪ*
Subjective	*gumna'n*	*gɪna'n*	*Ena'n*	*mərgɪna'n*	*tərgɪna'n*	*Ergɪna'n*
Possessive	*gumni'n*	*gɪni'n*	*Eni'n*	*mu'rgin*	*tu'rgin*	*E'rgin*
Allative	*gŭmŭka'gtɪ gǫmǫka'gtɪ*	*gɪnɪka'gtɪ*	*Enɪka'gtɪ*	*mərêka'gtɪ*	*tərêqa'gtɪ*	*Erɪka'gtɪ*
Ablative	*gŭmŭkai'pŭ gǫmǫkai'pŭ*	*gɪnɪkai'pŭ*	*Enɪkai'pŭ*	*mərêkai'pŭ*	*tərêkai'pŭ*	*Erɪkai'pŭ*

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Absolute	*gŭmma*	*gɪ'ssa, gɪ*	*E'nnu*	*mu'yi mu'yu*	*tu'yi tu'yu*	*a'čči a'čču*
Locative	*gŭ'mɪk*	*gɪ'nɪk*	*I'nɪk*	*mu'yɪk*	*tu'yɪk*	*a'ččɪk*
Subjective	*gŭmna'n*	*gɪna'n*	*Ina'n*	*močhɪna'n*	*točhɪna'n*	*ačhɪna'n*
Possessive	*gŭmni'n*	*gɪni'n*	*ani'n*	*mu'čhɪn*	*tu'čhin*	*a'čhin*
Allative	*{gŭmkai'tɪ {gŭ'mkɪñ*	*gɪnkai'tɪ gɪ'nkɪñ*	*Inkai'tɪ I'nkɪñ*	*moikai'tɪ, močaitɪ moi'kɪñ, mo'čɪn*	*toikai'tɪ, točkai'tɪ toi'kɪñ, to'čɪñ*	*ačcai'tɪ a'ččɪñ*
Ablative	*gŭmka'ñqo*	*gɪnka'ñqo*	*Inka'ñqo*	*moika'ñqo, močka'ñqo*	*toika'ñqo, točka'nqo*	*ačka'ñqo, ača'ñqo*

KAMCHADAL

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute	kɪ'mma	kɪ'ja	ɛnā'	mu'ja	tu'ja	ɪtx
Locative	kɪmma'nk	kɪnɪ'nk	ɛna'nk	mɪɟɡi'nk	tɪɟɡi'nk	txi'ink
Subjective	kɪmɪlu'n	kɪlu'n	xunä'a	mɟilu'n	tɟilu'n	tlun
Possessive	kɪma'n	kɪni'n	ɛna'n	mɪ'ɟɡin	tɪ'jin	txi'in
Allative	{kɪmma'nke / kɪma'nke	kɪna'nke	ɛna'nke	mɪɟɡa'nke	tɪɟɡo'nke	txa'anke
Ablative	kɪmma'nk	kɪnɪ'nk	ɛna'nkɪ	mɪɟɡi'nk	tɪɟɡi'nkɪ	txi'ink

In Chukchee and Koryak there is also a form expressing the aequalis i. e. similar to, of the same size as, according to the wants of.— They are generally used with this suffix—*mič,–mil* (§ 102, 30).

	Chukchee	Koryak
similar to me	*gŭ'muw*	*gŭ'muw*
similar to thee	*gı'nıw*	*gı'nıw*
similar to him	*ɛ'nıw*	*a'nıw*
similar to us	*mu'ruw*	
similar to you	*tu'ruw*	not known
similar to them	*ɛ'rıw*	

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

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

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

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

mərgäa'n, tərgäa'n, ɛrgäa'n

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

Absolute *ɛthu*
Locative *ɛthık*
Subjective *ɛthına'n*

The Kamchadal forms in *ıtx*, and the Chuckchee forms derived from *ɛrg.*, are evidently related to this series.

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

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

In other cases the possessive forms are used:

gŭmnin čini'tkin (Kor. *gŭmni'n čini'nkin*) my own.

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

kata'ın-gọmọ ka'gtı (Chukchee) just to me (i. e., to myself)
čini't uwi'k ga'nmılên he killed himself, (lit. his own body; *uwi'k* body)
Kor. *u'wik qnu'ñvon* he consumed himself (literally, his body) Kor. 56.10.
Kor. *gıtča't uwi'kinat ganu'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:

gŭ'mkɪñ čini'nkina with my own.

Personal pronouns have also definite, augmentative and diminutive forms, which take the suffix *-onaiolh* following the possessive form of the pronoun.

gŭmŭk-onaiolh-ɪčh-ê-ŭm big I

These forms are used in jesting, in children's play, etc.

Demonstrative and Interrogative (Indefinite) Pronouns (§§ 57-58)

§ 57. PARTICLES AND ABSOLUTE FORMS

The idea of position is expressed with great nicety, and in Chukchee there are nine terms expressing the position of an object in relation to the speaker. In Koryak there are only five, and in Kamchadal I have found only two. The exact relation to the speaker is not quite clear in all of these. In Chukchee the independent form of all of these is formed by the suffix *-qan* (with *n* belonging to the suffix); only one has the ending *-qin*. In Koryak a few have the corresponding endings *-kin*, *-qen*, *-qala'ken*.

	Particles	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
		Stem	Independent form		
this	*vai*	*wŭ't-*	*wǫ'tqǫn*, 65.22; 137.1; 133.4	*wu'ssɪn* *wu'tcɪn* (Paren)	*nuᵋ, tiᵋn*
that	*ñan* *ɛnqan*	*ɛn·ñ-*	*ɛnqǫ'n* 115.21; 71.13, 29; 63.7, 10	*ña'nyen*	*hḗ'nñɪn*
that yonder	*ñoon*	*ñǫ'ǫn-*	*ñǫ'ǫnqǫn* 70.22; also as adverb	*ɛnka'kin*	
that yonder		*ñǫ'ǫn-*, less frequently *ñǫ'n-*	*ña'anqan*		
that there (not very far)	*ñan*		*ña'nqan* 133.3		
there (quite far) . .	*gan*		*ga'nqan* 63.13		
that there (midway to some other object)	*vai*	*vǫ'ɛn-* *va'ɛn*	*va'ɛnqan* 121.24	*va'yenqen*	
that behind the person addressed	*rai*	*ra'ɛn-*, *ra'ɛn*	*ra'ɛnqan*		
that behind the person speaking	*ño'tɪ*	*ño'tɪñ* 70.21	*ño'tɪnqan*	*ñotɪnqala'ken*	
that apart from the speaker	*ñun*	*ñŭ'n-*	*ñu'nqin* 137.3		
who, somebody . .	——	(*mik-*)	*me'ñin* 11.4		*min-*

It may be noted that all demonstratives, except *wut-*, *ᴇn·ñ-*, and *ño'tɪñ*, end in *-n* which remains in all forms.

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

ñṵ'nịn-nọtại'pṳ 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 *-ịn*, except *ño'tɪñ*. The same ending is found in the interrogative *mẹ'ñịn*, which, according to the forms with suffixes, must be derived from a stem *mịk-* (see §58, p. 1726). These forms appear in adjectival form in oblique cases.

wo'tɪñ-notanqa'tkên that one belonging to this country 7.1
wo'tɪn-ɪrɡɪro'k that (morning) dawn 10.3
wu'tin-nu'tek (Kor. Kam. *wu'tin-nu'tak*) in that country
mañê'n-notại'pṳ (Kor. Kam. *ma'ñen-nota'ñqo*) from what country.
Kor. *ma'ñin-nɪ'klɪ-ye'lkɪryel* which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor.
   34.2

Kor. *ma'ñin-qai-ña'wɪs·qatɪk* 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 *ŭm* (see also p. 726).

ño'onqan ŭm ñoon
ᴇnqa'n ŭm ᴇnqa'n 130.9, etc.

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

rai 61.8	*wô'tên-rai* 29.1
vai 61.9; 62.7; 63.6; 66.30, 35;	*ᴇlo'n ŭm vai* 66.29
71.15; 76.25, 30	*ᴇlo'n vai* 67.33
ñan 71.3, 16; 62.4, 8; 65.1; 66.32	*vai ŭm ña'n(ɪ)* 131.3, 10
ña'an 63.13	*e'nme ñan* 66.32
ño'on 64.1	*ᴇnqa'n ŭm vai* 130.7
wot 81.12	*wo'tqanm ŭm vai* 45.12
	vai ñan 62.9
	wu'tku-m vai 120.11

Note.—The Koryak form in *-qala'ken* given in the preceding table of demonstratives is derived from the post-position *-qaḷ,- qač* (Chukchee *-qaḷ,-qač*) close to, by the side of. The Koryak suffix *-qala'ken* cor-

responds to the Chukchee form -*qatkên*, which is used to form a great many derivatives. The following forms derived from demonstrative pronouns may serve as examples:—

Adverbial form *va'ɛnqač* (Kor. Kam. *va'yeñqaḷ*) by the side, half-way

Independent form *vaɛnqa'tkên* (Kor. Kam. *vayeñqaḷa'ken*)

Adverbial form *wo'tênqač* (Kor. Kam. *vo'teñqaḷ*) here

Independent form *wotɪnqa'tkên* 14.2 (Kor. Kam. *voteñqaḷa'ken*) *wotqanɪ'rgŭpŭ* (pronunciation of men *wotqaɛ'rgŭpŭ*) from those

§ 58. PLURAL AND POST-POSITIONAL FORMS

Plural and suffix forms are derived from the forms in -*qan* adding the -*ę* (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 *ị*.

As examples may serve,—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Absolute	*wǫ'tqąn*	*wụ'ssɪn* Kor. 49.9
Plural (Dual Kor.)	*wǫ'tqgnǫt* [1]	*wụ'tịssat*
Plural (Koryak)	—	*wụ'tịssau* Kor. 32.2
Subjective, not personal	*wǫtqqnạ'tạ*	*wụtịssa'ta*
Subjective, personal	*wo'tqanēna* [2]	*wụ'tịnịnak*
Locative, not personal	*wo'tqanak*	*wụ'tịssak*
Allative, not personal	*wǫtqqnạ'gtị*	*wǫtẹssaị'tị*
Allative, personal. . . . . , ...	*wǫ'tqqnḗnị* [2]	*wǫ'tẹnẹnạ*
Ablative, not personal	*wotqanai'pŭ*	*wotessa'ñqo*
Ablative, personal	*wotqanai'pŭ*	*wotenena'ñqo*

[1] Pronunciation of men *wǫ'tqaat*.   [2] Pronunciation of men *wo'tqaɛna*.

Also *ɛnqa'nat* 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; *ɛnqaa't* those 62.10; *ɛnqa'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. 21.1; 44.6; 62.4; *ña'nyau* 25.6, 9; 42.4

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

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

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

ɛnqa'nat qäni'ntɪñinet throw away those! 49.5

wo'qaat qänu'utkɪ eat these! 33.12

ɛnqa'at qa'at those reindeer

Kor. Kam. *ña'nyenau aᵉ'ttu* those dogs

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

ᴇnqa'n gittıle'tı nine'l-i-ŭm there I give to those who are hungry 96.24 (cf. 96.9, 12, 17).

ᴇnqa'n orawêḷat these men 63.5

ᴇnqa'n Ūmqäqäi'ınti these people of Umqäqäi 63.10

ᴇrqa'n ñi'räq ora'wêḷat these two men 7.10

The corresponding forms of the personal interrogative ᴡʜᴏ, ꜱᴏᴍᴇ-ʙᴏᴅʏ, and of the Kamchadal impersonal interrogative, are—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal WHO	Kamchadal WHAT
Absolute	me'ñin	ma'kı Kor.17.6	k!e	(mın)
Plural (Dual Koryak)	mi'kinti	ma'kinti	k!eᵉn	mi'niᵉn
Plural (Koryak)		maku'wgi	—	—
Subjective . . . . , ...	mi'kinä	mi'kinak Kor. 76.16	k!ink	mi'nenḷʻ
Allative	mē'kêna	me'kena	k!a'nke	mē'nank
Ablative	mēkēnai'pŭ	mekena'ñqo	k!ink	mi'nenk

Examples:

me'ñin ŭm ᴇʟa' who is (your) mother? 113.14

mi'kin yaarkınê'tkı kanči'irgın whose lullaby are you singing? 120.14

mi'kinä ganto'lên by whom born? 142.1

In Kamchadal the form corresponding to the stem mık- 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'kırgın, pl. ma'kırgıntê, ᴡʜᴏꜱᴇ ʜᴏᴜꜱᴇ'ꜱ, ᴡʜᴏꜱᴇ ꜰᴀᴍɪʟʏ'ꜱ; related to the Koryak stem mak-, and formed with the stem -ᴇrg of the personal pronoun third person plural (see § 44).

These particles doubled, and connected by ŭm, are also used as exclamations.

ñan ŭm ñan! you there!   ña'an ŭm ñan 95. 35 yonder

vai ŭm vai! halfway there!

ñoon ŭm ñoon! far off there!

They occur in the same way with interrogative pronouns.

me'ñin ñan ye'tırkın? who comes there?

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

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

mi'ñkri ñot aᵉqa-ras·qê'um-va'lıt? why! those are bad ones to

§ 58   pass! 130.3

Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs are derived from the particle stems by means of the locative endings.   From these are derived others by means of nominal suffixes (see examples below).

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
here	*wu'tku* 7.5	*wu'tčuk, ā'nkĭ*	*nux, te'a*
there	*ɛ'n·kĭ* 119.31	*ña'nko, ña'nako, ñe'-* *nĭko*	*ɛ'nkĭ, x·u, (xo'xval* *therefrom)*
there (midway to some object) .	*va'änkĭ*	*vai'eñ*	
there (behind the person addressed)	*ra'äñkĭ*		
there (behind the speaker) . .	*ño'tŕñkĭ*		
there (away from the speaker) .	*ñu'nkĭ*		
where	*mĭ'ñkĭ, me'ñkĭ* 12.2	*mi'ñki,* Kor. 20.1	*ma, mas*

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

    there (some distance away) .   *ño'onqan*

    there (far away) . . . .   *gā'nqan*

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
thus . . .	*ɛn·ñi'n* 63.13; 65.22	*ɛnñā'an* Kor.13.1, 10	*ño'nke*

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

	HERE		THERE		WHERE		
	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
Stem . . .	*wut*	*wutč*	*ɛn*	*ñan, än*	*mĭk*	*mik*	*ma*
Instrumental	*wutke'tä*	*wutča'ta*	*ɛnke'tä*	*ñanka'ta, änka'ta*	*miñke'tä*	*minka'ta*	——
Allative . .	——	*wotčai'tĭ*	*ɛñkri*	*ñankai'tĭ, änkai'tĭñ*	*miñkri* 60.6, 61.8	*menkei'tĭ*	*ma'nke*
Ablative .	*wo'tqorĭ*	*wotča'ñqo*	*ɛ·'ñqo, ɛñqo'rĭ, ɛñqo'ro* 65.24	*ñanka'ñqo, änka'ñqo*	*mē'ñqo* 60.5, 11; 71.26; 72.12 *mēñqo'rĭ*	*menka'ñqo*	*ma'nke*

Also in the same way Chukchee *va'äñkata, va'äñŕê, va'äñqo* or *va'äñqorĭ;* Koryak *vaieña'ta, vaieñai'tĭ, vai'eñqo* from stem *vai.*

Examples:

wo'tko from here 43.1; *wo'tqo* 121.20; 131.14; *wu'tqu* here 73.14

ɛn·ke'čĭku in there 73.20

ɛn·no't 64.7; 66.3; 72.6

ɛn·qé'kin one from there 67.3

ɛn·qo'ro thence 49.2; 65.18, 24

ɛn·ke'gqi thither 71.23

ɛn·ñata'l from that time on, after that 64.19; 65.31

ño'onŕê thither 76.20

ña'nko hither 137.13

§ 58

Koryak:

wŭ'tču this time Kor. 41.2
ña'nko there Kor. 41.6
ñe'nako there Kor. 19.11
ña'nıko there Kor. 32.1; see Kor. 62.7
ñanıkai'tıñ thither Kor. 36.5
ña'nakanqo from that one Kor. 42.3

ε'nke here (vocative form) Kor. 13.7; 58.7
εnka'ta at that place Kor. 21.8, 9
εnkai'tı to that place Kor. 17.2; 19.1
meñkeito' whither (vocative form § 36) Kor. 64.21
mañe'nqo whence Kor. 60.10

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

Derivatives with suffixes are—

meñko'kênat where are you from 65.10

miñke'-mil 66.34
menke'mič, mañı'nn·ač (Kor. 66.1)   } to what degree, in what
men·ke'mlʻ, also *lact* (Kamchadal)   } manner

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

εn·ñi'n-va'lın 128.24 (Chukchee), *εnnaᵋ'an i'talaᵋn* (Kor. Kam.), one being thus; i. e., such a one

εnño't-va'lın (Chukchee) being near here thus; i. e., such a one nearer to the speaker than the preceding

εn·ñu-wa'lın such a one (expressing reproach)

εn·ñu'-wa'lê-gıt such a one art thou 21.11

mi'ñkri-va'lın (Chukchee 14.4), *me'ñkañ italaᵋn* (Kor. Kam.) what kind of (also in oblique cases)

In Kamchadal only a few forms of the demonstrative survive, and these take the nominal suffixes.

	THIS	THIS HERE	WHICH, WHAT
Absolute	*nuᵋ*	*tiᵋn < tiᵋnu*	*min(< minu)*
Plural			*mi'niᵋn*
Possessive	*nuᵋhe'nk*	*tiᵋ'nuhenk*	*mi'nenk*
Subjective	*nuᵋhe'nk*	*tiᵋ'nuhenk*	*mi'nenk*
Instrumental	*nuᵋ'helʻ*	*tiᵋ'nuhelʻ*	*mi'nenlʻ*
Allative	*noᵋha'nk*	*tiᵋnohank*	*mᵋ'nank*
Ablative	*nuᵋhe'nk*	*tiᵋ'nuhenk*	*mi'nenk*

Most of the other forms are replaced by the corresponding Russian forms, which are usually taken in the nominative singular masculine; such as *e'koi* (экой), *edakoi* (эдакой).

§ 58

As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in syn-
thetical form *mɪ̆'nɛn*, which corresponds to Chukchee *mɛ̆'ñin*
(see p. 726.)

   mě'nan-ktxoj-qol which road along?

but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

   mi'nenlˊ hvanlˊ čkan 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.

   ᴇnqanai'-gɪt this art thou 20.7.
   wotqanai'-gŭm this am I 43.5, 121.14
   wotqana'-mø'rê here we are 69.5
   mi'k-i-ŭm who am I
   mi'k-i-gɪt who art thou; *mi'k-i-or* 127.11
   mi'w-mu'ri who are we
   mi'g-tu'ri who are ye 120.9
| Kor. Kam. *wutɪnnalai-gŭm* this am I Kor. 22.1

Possessives:

   ᴇni'n his 17.13
   ᴇnqa'nen of this one 50.10
   mi'kin whose (possessor sing., object possessed sing. and pl.);
      Kor. Kam.   *mi'kin*, dual *mi'kinat*, pl. *mikina'wgi* (possessor
      sing.; object possessed sing., dual, pl.), vocative *miko'n* (§ 36)
      Kor. 34.4
   mi'kirgin (possessor pl., object possessed sing.), *mi'kirginet*
      (object possessed pl.), whose; Kor. Kam.   *mi'kičhin*, dual *mi'-
      kičhinat*, pl. *mi'kičhinau* (§ 34); Kamchadal *kʹen*, pl. *kʹeᵋn*

§ 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:

		Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Stem	*räq*		*yaq*
Absolute	*räᵋ'nut*		*yɪ'nna*
Plural (dual Kor.)	*rä'ᵋnuti*	*räᵋ'nutet*[1]	*ya'qat*
Plural Kor.	—		*yaqu'wgi*
Instrumental	*re'qä*	*räᵋnute'tä*	*ya'qa*
Locative	*re'qäk*	*räᵋnutek*	*ya'qak*
Allative	*raqê'tɪ*	*raᵋnota'gtɪ*[2]	*yaqe'tɪ*
Ablative	{*ra'gŭpŭ*} {*raqê'pu*}	*raᵋnotai'pŭ*[3]	*yaqɪ'ñqo*
Designative (see § 94)	*re'qu*		*ya'qu*
Comitative (see § 100)	*garaᵋ'ma*		*gaya'qa*

[1] Men's pronunciation *rä'ᵋneet.*   [2] *raᵋnaa'gtɪ.*   [3] *raᵋnaai'pŭ.*

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

> *ı'me-räᵉ'nut* whatsoever; i. e., of every kind 13.13; 133.18
> *räᵉ'nut* what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5
> *räᵉ'nut ŭm* what was it then? 34.1
> *räᵉ'nut ŭm qiné'ilhiᵉ* give me something
> *räᵉ'nutet* whatever kind of things obj. 32.5; intr. subj. 58.2
> *reqä* by what means? 22.1; 23.5; 14.2
> *re'qä* what? 34.8, 9; whatever 32.5
> *ra'qa-ñot* with what there 139.8
> *re'qäk* at what? 26.1
> *reᵉqŭm* why 88.7
> *reᵉ'qu* how 17.5, 7; why 23.1
> Kor. Kam. *ya'qa* with what Kor. 46.9
> Kor. Kam. *ya'qkın-ki* what for Kor. 26.10
> Kor. Kam. *ya'qin-yaq* what then? Kor. 45.9

These forms are also used in composition:

> *raᵉ'-qa'at* (Chukchee), *yax-qoya'wge* (Kor. Kam.), *seq-ko'jᴇᵉn* (Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer
> *räq-aᵉ'ttä qe'eᴌin* (Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?
> *raᵉ'-nı'mnım* what settlement, obj. 33.7
> *raᵉ-pı'ñıl* what tidings? 11.2
> *räᵉnota'čhıt* what kind are 14.3

Koryak I:

> *ya'qlau* what are they doing Kor. 24.5
> *yaqlaikıne'tık* 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'qarkın* (Chukchee), *ya'qıykın* Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), *ta'qatkın* (Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?
> *reᵉ'iᵉ* what is the matter 19.11
> *re'qärkın* what is the matter with thee 18.9
> *re'q-i-gıt* what do you want? 18.12
> *rıraqa'unve* what for? 19.1, 6
> *re'qälıt* which ones 139.9
> *re'qäl-i-gıt* what do you want? 22.8
> *nre'q-i-gıt* what are you doing? 33.1
> Kor. Kam. *nıya'qi-gi* what are you doing? Kor. 39.5

Kamchadal has another form for WHAT, SOMETHING, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in ɛnk-.

Absolute	ɛ'nka
Instrumental	ɛ'nkalʿ
• Locative	ɛnka'nk
Allative	ɛnka'nk
Ablative	ɛnka'nk

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

enka'nejč what are you doing?

Under Russian influence, these forms are going out of use, and are being replaced by post-positional forms and verbs.

ɛnka'nke k!öjč why, or for what do you come?

§ 60. Other Indefinite Pronouns

1. The stem *nirk-* (Kor. Kam. *niyk-*) expresses a certain well-known person, THE ONE WE THINK OF, THE ONE REFERRED TO; *nĭk-* A CERTAIN WELL-KNOWN THING OR ACT WE THINK OF, OR REFERRED TO.

These form post-positional forms analogous to demonstrative pronouns.

PERSONAL

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Absolute	*ni'rkĭñut*	*nĭ'yka, ni'ykĭñvut*
Plural (dual Koryak)	*ni'rkenti*	*ni'ykanti*
Plural Koryak	—	*niyka'wgi, ni'ykau* Kor. 50.4
Subjective	*ni'rkenä*	*ni'ykanak*
Allative	*nĕ'rkana*	*ne'ykana*
Ablative	*nĕrkai'pŭ*	*neyka'ñqo*
Designative (see § 94)	*nirke'nu*	*niyka'nu*

NON-PERSONAL

Absolute	*ni'kĭñut*
Plural	*ni'ket*
Subjective	*nike'tä*
Locative	*ni'kek*
Allative	*nĕka'gtɪ*
Ablative	*nĕkai'pŭ*
Comitative (see § 100)	{*ganĕka'ma* {*genike'tä*
Designative (see § 94)	*nike'nu*

Examples:

> *ni'rkeñut* a certain one 90.20; 119.12
> *ni'kek* somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as

> *ni'rken* (Kor. Kam. *niyka'nen*) belonging to the one referred to or thought of
> *ni'kin* belonging to the thing referred to or thought of 20.8
> *ai'vᴇ nêrkai'pŭ qora'ñɪ tei'mityäᵉn* yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

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

> *nikĕ'rkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *nika'ykɪn*) he does the thing referred to or thought of
> *rɪnikĕ'urkin* whatsoever shall be 21.10
> Kor. Kam. *mnikak* I'll do something Kor. 42.1
> Kor. Kam. *nekañvo'ykɪn* he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, *sxu'zɪjč* ʏᴏᴜ ᴅᴏ ᴀ ᴄᴇʀᴛᴀɪɴ ᴛʜɪɴɢ is used in the same way.

2. *qol* (Chukchee), *qoḷḷa'* (Kor. Kam.), *k!olaᵉ'* (Kamchadal) ᴏᴛʜᴇʀ.

In Chukchee the synthetic stem *quḷi̭* is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

> *quli'-nikek* afterwards (= at another certain one)
> *qolê't-aᵉlo'* some future day (= in the other day)
> *qol yara'čhɪn* a house 86.17
> *qol yi'lgɪn* another month 7.2

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

| | Chukchee—Personal | Koryak | | Kamchadal |
		Personal	Non-personal	
Absolute	*qol*		*qoḷḷa'*	*k!ola'*
Plural (dual Koryak) .	*qu'tti*		*qu'tti*	
Plural Koryak	——		*qu'tčau*	
Subjective	*quti'(n)inä* [1]	*quti'ninak*	*qutinina'ta*	
Possessive (locative) .	*quti'(n)inä* [1]	*quti'ninak*	*quti'ninak*	*k!ola'nk*
Allative	*qotê'(n)ena* [1]		*qote'nɪnañ*	*k!ola'nk*
Ablative	*qotê(n)enai'pŭ* [1]		*qotenɪna'ñqo*	*k!ola'nk*
Designative	*qutī'(n)inu* [1]		*qutinina'nu*	

[1] Without *n* in men's pronunciation.

> *qol ᴇʟɪ'gɪn* another father, a certain father 107.22
> *qol ŭm na'nmɪrkɪn* they kill the other one 8.1 (see also 8.12; 15.6; 14.9; 17.1)

qu'tti others (subj. intr.) 12.5

qutti'inä by one of them 8.11 (see also 7.4; 15.3), on one of them
8.13

| Kor. Kam. *qo'ḷḷa* another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:

qolê-notai'pu from another land 14.12

qolê-ra'gti to another house 12.11

qolê-tke' unvuk on another sleeping 13.5

3. *ęlvę* (Chukchee), *aḷva* (Kor. Kam.), *êknên* (Kamchadal), OTHER,
occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—

elve'lin (Chukchee), 117.7, *elve'linet* 113.3, *aḷva'ḷɪn* (Kor. Kam.)
Kor. 76.19.

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

a'ḷva tɪtva'ñvok 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):

ɪm- all	*gemge-* every
em- mere	*ter-* how much

Most of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns take the definite,
augmentative, and diminutive forms, the same as nouns, and some of
these are used with great frequency.

mañêna'chɪn that one, who is he (from *me'ñin* WHO)

räᵉ'nutqäi (from *räᵉ'nut* WHAT) or ⎫

rä'qqäi ⎬ some little thing

ya'xpil (Kor. Kam.) ⎭

qoḷai'ñɪn another big one ⎫

qu'ḷeqäi another little one ⎭ are used quite often

The Predicate (§§ 61–82)

§ 61. Introductory Remarks

The predicate appears in two distinct forms, according to the char-
acter 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 trans-
formed 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 com-
plex. We have to distinguish between intransitive and transitive
verbs. The following structural elements may be recognized. We
have—

I. Intransitive verbs:
 1. Pronominal prefix.
 2. Temporal or modal prefix.
 3. Verbal theme.
 4. Temporal or modal suffix.
 5. Pronominal suffix.

II. Transitive verbs:
 1. Pronominal subjective prefix.
 2. Temporal or modal prefix.
 3. Verbal theme.
 4. Temporal or modal suffix.
 5. Pronominal objective suffix.

The following simple modes and tenses may be distinguished:

Indicative	without prefix,	no suffix
Subjunctive:		
(*a*) Exhortative . .	with the prefix *n*(ɪ)	the suffix *gɪ*
(*b*) Subjunctive . .	with the prefix *ᵋ*	the suffix *gɪ*
Imperative	with the prefix *q*	the suffix *gi̯*
Future	with the prefix *rɛ̯*	the suffix *ñ*(ɪ)

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in -ɪrkɪn
(Koryak I -ɪykɪn, -i̯kɪn; Koryak II -ɪtkɪn, Kamchadal -jk), the pro-
nominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of
them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal
-ɪn, 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 -ɪn, -kɪn, -lɪn, n(ɪ)-qɪn (§§ 45–49). In the first and second persons
singular these take a suffix -i̯-, which may be derived from the verb
-it[1] TO BE. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized
form appears in composition with the personal pronouns *mu̯rɪ̯* WE,
and *tu̯rɪ̯* 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.

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[1] I consider this unlikely, since in Koryak the *t* should be preserved, although in Chukchee it
might disappear according to the phonetic laws governing the pronunciation of men. Mr. Bogoras
points out that the i̯ can not be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be ɪ. — F. BOAS.

§ 62. Structure of the Intransitive Verb

1. The pronominal prefixes of the intransitive verb are confined to the first person, singular and plural: *t-* for the singular, *mt-* for the plural. The *m* of the plural may perhaps be related to the same element in *muri̯* 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 *-mɪk*, which repeats the same idea, may be omitted; the same omission occurs rarely in Chukchee.

2. The temporal and modal elements enter into close relation with the pronominal prefixes. Most of these follow the ordinary phonetic laws. Thus

$t + r\varrho$ becomes *trę-*
$mt + r\varrho$ becomes *mɪrrę-*
$mt + \,^\varepsilon$ becomes *mɪn(ɪ)ᵉ-*

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

$t + n$ becomes *m*
$mt + n$ becomes *mɪn*

In the subjunctive (*b*), when the verb begins with a vowel, the auxiliary vowel disappears, and the glottal stop follows the initial vowel of the stem. This occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak:

tuᵉwi̯'ä͡ᵉk (stem *uwi̯*) 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.

qämi-plɪtku eating finishing (stem *qämi*, from *qamɪtva*)
tara'ñgaᵉt they built a house (from *te̯ikɪ* to make, *yara* house)
kɪnmɪ'rkɪn he kills children (*kmiñɪn tɪmɪrkɪn*)
kuwiᵉᵉ'rkɪn he has dead children (*kmiñɪn, viᵉrkɪn*)

The vocalic elements of prefixes, personal and modal, are modified by the vowels of the stem (see § 3).

The terminal phonetic character of the stem also influences the temporal, modal, and the pronominal suffixes (see § 72).

4. The temporal and modal suffixes have been mentioned before. Through contraction between them and the pronominal suffixes originate forms the historical development of which is not by any means clear. It would seem that there is also a suffix -$g\dot{\imath}$- which appears in many forms, and does not seem to form part of the pronominal element. This, however, has undergone so many changes that its character and function are not clear.

5. The pronominal suffixes do not show a very close relation to the personal pronoun, and, furthermore, are somewhat differentiated in different modes of the verb. A comparison of the various forms suggests the following as the essential elements of the suffixed pronominal verbal forms:

INTRANSITIVE

I . . . . . -*k*	we	-*mk*
thou . . . *ʔ*	ye	-*tk*
he . . . . —	they	-*t*

It may be that the *m* and *t* of the first and second persons plural are related to *mur̜i* and *tur̜i*, which may contain the same endings as ᴇʀʀɪ (see pp. 706, 719, 726). The second person singular is quite doubtful; but it is conceivable that it may contain by origin a form in -$g\dot{\imath}$ related to the pronoun *gıt*. In the intransitive verb the second and third persons singular are, in their present forms, identical. The third person plural has clearly the element *t*,[1] which is not the same as the *t* of the second person plural.

§ 63. Structure of the Transitive Verb

The structure of the transitive verb is, on the whole, analogous to that of the intransitive.

1. For the first persons singular and plural, the same pronominal prefixes as in the intransitive appear, as subjects. The transitive forms of the third person, singular and plural, have the prefix *nɛ̜*-, 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 *ɨnɛ̜*- or with the suffix -*tku̜* (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

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[1] See plural of nouns, p. 694.

form has originated from *-tku̯-tɪk* and is parallel to *-tku̯iᵉ* THOU—US. The *g̯* of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms THOU—US because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

-tku-g̯iᵉ becomes *-tku̯iᵉ*

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 *g̯* 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

    -g̯ɪt thee   *-mɪk* us   *-tɪk* you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: *-g̯ɪt* may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun *-g̯i̯* (pp. 719 et seq.; p. 710).

The third person object shows forms in *-n* which recall the nominal forms in *-i̯n* (§§ 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 *-ŭm* THEY—ME, which contains the pronoun *g̯ŭm*, like the nominal forms.

Attention may be called to the fact that the number of the pronominal suffix, which designates the object, is naturally determined by the number of the object.

    qa'at tɪpẹ'lanat (Kor. Kam. *qoya'wg̯e tɪpe'lanau*) I left the reindeer

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

    räˢ'nutqäi g̯ine'ilä give me something

The Koryak forms resemble the Chukchee forms. The Koryak dual corresponds to the Chukchee plural. The plural *-ḷa-* 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.

tuwalo'mŭrkɪn I know, hear, obey (intransitive)
tuwalo'mŭrkɪnegɪt I know thee (transitive)
tuwa'lomgä͞ᵉk I heard
tuwa'lomgaᵉn I knew him

The Forms of the Intransitive Verb (§§ 64–66)

§ 64. CHUKCHEE

PRINCIPAL MODES

Person	Past I	Subjunctive				Imperative	Future
		Prefixes			Suffixes		
		(a)	(b)				
2d pl. . . .	—tɪk	*	n (ɪᵉ,uᵉ,ŭᵉ)	—tɪk	q (ɪ,ä,a)—gɪ̞tɪk	rᶓ—ñɪtɪk
3d pl. . . .	—gä̞ᵉt	n (ɪ,u,ŭ)	n (ɪᵉ,uᵉ,ŭᵉ)	—nᶓt		rᶓ—ñɪt
2d, 3d sing. .	{—gᶖᵉ / —t̞}	* n (ɪ,u,ŭ)}	n (ɪᵉ,uᵉ,ŭᵉ)	{—gä̞ᵉn / —ɪn}	q(ɪ,ä,a**)—gᶖ	rᶓ{—gä̞ᵉ / —ɪ}
1st sing. . .	tɪ{—gä̞ᵉk / —ɪk}	mɪ	t (ɪᵉ,uᵉ,ŭᵉ)	{—gä̞ᵉk / —ɪk}		trᶓ{—gä̞ᵉ / —ɪ}
1st pl. . . .	mɪt—mɪk	mɪn	mɪn (ɪᵉ,uᵉ,ŭᵉ)	—mɪ k		mɪrrᶓ—gä̞ᵉ

*No 2d person.   **No 3d person.

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

2d pl	—ɪ̞tɪk	——	——	—ɪ̞tɪk	—tɪk	—ɪntɪk
3d pl	—t*	——	——	—ᶓt	——	—ɪñɪt
Other forms .	——	——	——			

*t takes the place of final n: ɪrkɪt.

The prefix *t-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel when it forms an admissible cluster with the initial sound of the verbal theme.

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

qamɪ'tva-rkɪn he eats
walo'm-ɪ-rkɪn he knows

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	—ê'tɪ	
2	—ɪk,-ɪ	
3	—(t)ä̞	gᶓ—(t) ä̞
4	—ma	
5	—ma'či	

§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive			Impera-tive	Future	Present indefi-nite
		Prefixes.		Suffixes.			
		(a)	(b)				
2d dual . . .	—tɪk	*	naɛ	—tɪk	q—(gɪ)tɪk	ya—ñɪltɪk	kụ-***
2d pl.	—ḷa'tɪk	*	naɛ	—ḷatɪk	q—ḷatɪk	ya—ḷantɪk	kụ-
3d dual . . .	—gɪ̣	n(ɪ)	naɛ	—nat		ya—ñɪ̣	kụ-
3d pl.	{ —ḷaɪ or —ḷage	}n(ɪ)	naɛ	—nau		ya—ḷañe	kụ-
2d, 3d sing. . .	—ɪ̣	*n	naɛ	—ɪn	q**—(gɪ̣)	ya—ɪ	kụ-
1st sing.	tɪ—ɪk	mɪ	taɛ	—ɪk		tya—ɪ	tɪkụ-
1st dual . . .	mɪt—mɪk	mɪn	mɪnaɛ	—mɪk		mɪssa—mɪk	mɪtkụ-
1st pl.	mɪt—ḷamɪk	mɪn	mɪnaɛ	—ḷa(mɪk)		mɪssa—ḷa(mɪk)	mɪtkụ-

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

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

2d dual . . .	—ɪ̣kɪnɪ̣tɪk	—ɪ̣kɪnɪ̣tɪk		—ɪ̣kɪnɪ̣tɪk	—ɪ̣ntɪk
2d pl.	—ḷaɪkɪnetɪk	—ḷaɪɪne'tɪk*		—ḷaɪkɪnetɪk	—ḷaɪkɪnentɪk
3d dual . . .	—ɪ̣kɪ	—ɪ̣kɪnat			—ɪ̣kɪnɪñɪ̣
3d pl.	—ḷaɪke	—ɪ̣kɪnɪnau**			—ḷaɪkɪneñe
1st, 2d, 3d } sing.; 1st dual} .	—ɪ̣kɪn	—ɪ̣kɪn		—ɪ̣kɪn	—ɪ̣kɪn
1st pl.	—ḷaɪkɪn	—ḷaɪkɪnemɪk*			—ḷaɪkɪnɪ̣mɪk

*Subjunctive (b) has ḷa-ɪ̣ instead of ḷa. **Subjunctive (b) has au instead of ɪ̣nau.

The prefix tɪ- of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel whenever it forms an admissible cluster with the first sound of the verb.

The ending -ɪ̣kɪn (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as waḷo'm-ẹkɪn HE KNOWS. After terminal vowel the ɪ̣ changes to a neutral ɪ̆, as va-ɪ̆kɪn HE IS. In many cases, however, the ɪ̣ is also weakened to ɪ̆ or y after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary ɪ is inserted preceding it, as in ya'qɪykɪn WHAT ART THOU? Kor. 29.1; ɪ'tɪykɪn ART THOU? Kor. 29.2

§65

NOMINAL FORMS

	(a)	(b)
1 2 3 }	—ɪk	
		ga—a
4 5	—mači	

§ 66. KAMCHADAL

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive (a) Exhortative	Subjunctive (b) Conditional	Imperative
2d sing.	—č		k!—$\begin{cases}\check{c}nɪ^ɛn\text{ or}\\un\end{cases}$	k—xč
2d pl.	—cx		k!—cx	k—jcx
3d pl.	$\begin{cases}\check{c}ɪn\text{ or}\\u^ɛn\end{cases}$	xan—$\begin{cases}\check{c}\tilde{n}ɪ^ɛn\text{ or}\\un\end{cases}$	k!—un	
3d sing.	—č	xan—$\begin{cases}\check{c}\tilde{n}ɪ^ɛn\text{ or}\\un\end{cases}$	k!—uṇ	
1st sing.	t—$\begin{cases}k\text{ or}\\kɪčn\end{cases}$	m—$\begin{cases}k\text{ or}\\kɪčɪn\end{cases}$	tk!—k	
1st pl.	n—$\begin{cases}k\text{ or}\\kɪčɪn\end{cases}$	mɪn—$\begin{cases}k\text{ or}\\kɪčɪn\end{cases}$	nk!—k	

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

tk!nukbɪ if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb *öl*, (*ö*) TO DESIRE, which may form modes and tenses like the others; the present, with the terminal verb (or suffix) *j*. The third person plural of this form is *-jčɪn* or *jɪ^ɛn*.

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).

tɪlk I left	*tɪcjk* I leave
tñüklk I slept	*tñükcjk* I sleep
tcolk I lay	*tcō'locjk* I lie

VERBAL NOUN

1 2 3 }	—köj[1]
4	k!—enk

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

---

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

The Forms of the Transitive Verb (§§ 67–71)

§ 67. CHUKCHEE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

Object	Indicative I: Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in -ɪrkɪn IV
(1) thee	-gɪt	——	-gɪt	-ɪgɪt
(2) you	-tɪk	——	-ntɪk	-ɪtɪk
(3) us (except thou, ye—us)	-mɪk	——	-mɪk	-ɪmɪk

THIRD PERSON FORMS

	Indicative I: Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in -ɪrkɪn IV
(4) him (except he, ye—him)	-gʼäᵉn	-gɪn	-ñɪn	(no ending)
(5) them (except he, ye—them)	-nẹt	-gɪnẹt	-ñɪnẹt	-gt
(6) he—him	-nɪn	——	-ñɪnɪn	-ɪn
(6′) he—them	-nɪnẹt	——	-ñɪnɪnẹt	-ɪnẹt

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative I	Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in -ɪrkɪn IV
(7) he—me	} -gɪᵉ	-äᵉn	-gɪᵉ	-gäᵉ	(no ending)
(8) thou—me, us					
(9) ye—me, us [1]	-tɪk	-tɪk	-tɪk	-ntɪk	-ɪtɪk
(10) ye—him, them	-tkɪ	-tkɪ	-gɪtkɪ	-ñɪtkɪ	-ɪtkɪ

[1] With -tku preceding pronominal suffix.

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

(11) they—me[2]	-ŭm	-ŭm	——	-ŭm	-ium

[2] See § 73. This form takes the prefix ne-.

Transitive Prefixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Subject	Indicative I	Subjunctive I a		Imperative II	Future III
		(a)	(b)		
I	t(ɪ)-	mɪ-	tɪᵉ-	——	trẹ-
we	mɪt-	mɪn-	mɪnɪᵉ-	——	mɪrrẹ-
he	nẹ-	äᵉn-	nä̱nɪᵉ-	——	nẹrẹ-

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object me . . .	(ɪnẹ)-	(nɪnẹ)-	(nɪᵉnẹ)-	q-ine	(rɪnẹ)-
Other forms . .	——	nɪ-	-nɪᵉ-	q-	rẹ-

The form -gi^ε (I7; II7) is rarely abbreviated to -$\check{\imath}$.

$q\hat{e}nap\hat{e}la\hat{e}^\varepsilon$ and $q\hat{e}nap\hat{e}lai'$ leave me!

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

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	—*$gt\underset{\cdot}{\imath}$	
2	—k	
3	—$t\bar{a}$	$g\underset{\cdot}{\varepsilon}$—$t\bar{q}$
4	—mg	
5	—$mg\check{\varepsilon}\imath$	

Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

Future	$r\underset{\cdot}{\varepsilon}$—$\tilde{n}$
Exhortative, sing. .	$n\imath$—$a^\varepsilon n$
pl. . . .	$n\imath$—nat
Exhortative, derived	
sing. .	$n\imath$—$rk\imath n$
pl. . . .	$n\imath$—$rk\imath nat$

§ 68. KORYAK, KAMENSKOYE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in -ykɪn IV
(1) thee	—gi^1	—	—gi	—igi
(2) you	—(la) $t\imath k$	—	—(la)$nt\imath k$	—(la)—$it\imath k$
(3) us	—(la) $m\imath k$	—(la) $t\imath k$	—(la) $m\imath k$	—(la)—$im\imath k$

THIRD PERSON FORMS.

(4) him (except he, ye—him) . .	—$ga^\varepsilon n^2$	—$g\imath n$	—$\tilde{n}\imath n$	no ending
(5) them dual (except he, ye—them)	—nat	—$g\imath nat$	—$\tilde{n}nat$	—$inat$
(5') them pl. (except he, ye—them) .	—nau	—$g\imath nau$	—$\tilde{n}nau$	—$inau$
(6) he, they—him, them	—$n\underset{\cdot}{\imath} n$	—	—$\tilde{n}n\imath n$	—($\underset{\cdot}{\imath} n$)

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in ykɪn IV
(7) he—me	—$\imath$ —$ga^\varepsilon n$	—	no ending	no ending
(8) thou—me	—gi —$ga^\varepsilon n$	—(gi)	no ending	no ending
(9) ye—me	—(la)$t\imath k$	—(la)$t\imath k$	—(la)$nt\imath k$	—(lg)—$it\imath k$
(9') ye—us	—(la)$m\imath k$	—(la)$m\imath k$	—(la)$m\imath k$	—(lg)—$im\imath k$
(10) ye—him, them	—(la)$t\check{e}a$	—(la)$g\imath t\check{e}a$	—(la)$\tilde{n}\imath t\check{e}a$	—((lg)—$it\check{e}a$

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORM

(11) they—me	—gŭm[4]	—	—gŭm	ĭgŭm

[1] we—thee -ḷage   [2] we—him -ḷagaᵉn

In the derived modes, ḷa occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding -ĭkɪn.

The suffixes -gi̯ and -gaᵉn (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to -i̯ and -n. The former is similar to an intransitive form.

qenapeḷa′eᵉ and *qenapeḷai′* leave me!

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

PREFIXES

	Indicative I	Subjunctive		Imperative II	Future III
		I (a) Exhort.	I (b) Subj.		
I	t	mɪ-	taᵉ-		tya-
we	mɪt-	mɪn-	mɪnaᵉ-		mɪssa-
thou, ye, he—me . . .	i̯na-	nina-	naᵉi̯na-	qina -	yi̯na-
they, he—thee, you, us } thou, ye—us }	na-	aᵉn-	nanaᵉ-		naya-
he—him, them thou, ye—him, them }	no prefix	nɪ-	naᵉ-	qa-	ya-

The second indefinite of Koryak has the prefix qu̯-, ku̯- (k- before vowels) and the future endings, except that

    he, thou—me has the ending -ñ

    I, he—you (dual, pl.) has the ending -ñtɪk

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	—k	
2	—k	
3	}missing	ga—ta
4		
5	—mačɪ	

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

Future	*ya—ñ*
Exhortation, sing	*nɪ—aᵋn*
Dual	*nɪ—nat*
Exhortation, period, pl. . . .	*nɪ—nou*
Sing. . . .	*nɪ—ĭkɪn*
Dual . . .	*nɪ—ĭkɪnat*
	nɪ—ĭkɪnau

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 *-mɪñk*, which does not occur in the intransitive verb, but seems to correspond to *-mɪk* WE of Chukchee-Koryak. It may be mentioned here again that in Koryak this ending tends to be dropped. In the Kamchadal forms here discussed it may express the intransitive first person plural, as though we had, for instance, instead of THOU LEAVEST ME, WE PART. When used for the singular THOU— ME, the ending is often pronounced *-mɪñ*, which may be an older form. The form YE—ME, US takes, in addition to *-mɪñk*, the ending *-cx* YE, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has *-ᵋn*. The nominal-predicative form is used here for both singular and plural of the third person with the object ME.

The forms of a second type of conjugation are not quite so clear.

§ 70. Type I

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thee	[-*hin* [he, -*ᵋn*	}-*hin*	—	--*hin* he, they,-*n*
you	-*cxɪn*	-*cxɪn*	—	-*cxɪn*
us (except ye—us)	-*mɪñk*	-*mɪñk*	-*mɪñk*	-*mɪñk*

THIRD PERSON FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
him (except he, they, ye—him) .	*-n*	*-n*	*-x*	*-n*
them (except he, they, ye—them)	*-ᵉn*	*-ᵉn*	*-xɪn*	*-ᵉn*
he, they—him	*-nin*	*-nin*	⸺	*-nin*
he, they—them	*-niᵉn*	*-niᵉn*	⸺	*-niᵉn*

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thou—me	*-mɪñk*	⸺	*-mɪñk*	*·mɪñk*
ye—me, us	*-mɪñkcx*	⸺	*-mɪñkcx*	*-mɪñkcx*
ye—him	*-cxɪn*	⸺	*-cx*	*-cxɪn*
ye—them	*-cxɪᵉn*	⸺	*-cxɪᵉn*	*-cxɪᵉn*

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
he—me	*-humni′n*	*humni′n*	⸺	*humni′n*
they—me	*-humni′n*	*humni′n*	⸺	*humni′n*

PREFIXES

Subject	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
I	*t-*	*m-*	⸺	*t-*
we	*n-*	*mɪn* or *x·an-*	⸺	*n-*
he	⸺	*x·an*	⸺	.
they	*ăn-*	*x·an*	⸺	*ăn-*
thou, ye	⸺	⸺	*k-*	⸺

A comparison between this table and the one on p. 740 shows that all the prefixes, except *ăn-* 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 *txlɪ-*.

Present forms have the theme *txcj(ɪ)-* with auxiliary vowel *ɪ* before terminal *n* and before glottal stop.

Indicative :

 txli′hɪn I beat thee
 txliᵉn he beat thee
 txlihŭmni′n he beat me
 txli′mɪñk you beat me, us ; he beat us
 ăntxli′cxɪn they beat you
 ntxlɪn we beat him
 ăntxli′nin they beat him

Subjunctive:

> *mtxlɪ'hɪn* let me beat thee
> *x·antxlɪ'nin* let him beat him
> *x·antxlɪ'mɪñk* let him, them, beat us
> *x·antxlɪhŭmni'n* let him, them, beat me
> *mɪntxlɪ'cxɪn* let us beat you

Imperative:

> *ktxlɪ'mɪñk* beat thou me, us
> *ktxlɪmɪ'ñkcx* beat ye me, us
> *ktxlɪx* beat him
> *ktxlɪcx* beat ye him

Present:

> *txcjhɪn* I am beating thee
> *ntxcjhɪn* we are beating thee
> *txcjɪᵉn* thou art beating them
> *txcjnin* he is beating him
> *ăntxcjcxɪ'n* they are beating you
> *ntxcjɪn* we are beating him

§ 71. Type II

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thee	{I -xkɪn {he -čɪñɪn	-xkɪn	——	-xkɪn
you	{I -xkɪsxɪn {he -cxɪñɪn	-xkɪsxɪn	——	-xkɪsxɪn
us (except ye—us)	{they -xkmɪñk {he -xkɪmɪñk	-xkmɪñk	-xkmɪñk	-xkmɪñk

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
I—him	{-ñɪn {-kɪčɪn	-ñɪn -kɪčɪn	——	-ñɪn -kɪčɪn
thou—him	-čɪñɪn		-xčɪk	-ñɪn
we—him	-ñɪn	{-ñɪn {-kɪčɪn	——	-ñɪn
I—them	{-ñɪᵉn {-kɪčɪᵉn	-ñɪᵉn -kɪčɪᵉn	——	-ñɪᵉn -kɪčɪᵉn
thou—them . . . , ...	-čɪñɪᵉn	——	{-xčkɪn {-xčñɪ'n	-ñɪᵉn
we—them	-ñɪᵉn	{-ñɪᵉn {-kɪčɪᵉn	——	-ñɪᵉn
he—him	-čɪñnin	-čɪñnin	——	-nin
they—him	-ɪñnin	-ɪñnin	——	-ɪñnin
he—them	-čɪñnɪᵉn	-čɪñnɪᵉn	——	-nɪᵉn
they—them	-ɪñnɪᵉn	-ɪñnɪᵉn	——	-ɪñnɪᵉn

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thou—me	-xkmɪñk	——	-xkmɪñk	-xkmɪñk
ye—me, us	-xkɪmɪñkcx	——	-xkmɪñkcx	-xkmɪñkcx
ye—him	-čcxɪñɪn	——	-čcxɪñɪn	-cxɪñɪn
ye—them	-čcxɪñɪᵉn	——	-čcxɪñɪᵉn	-cxɪñɪᵉn

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
he, they—me	-xkumnɪ'n	-xkumnɪ'n	——	-xkumnɪ'n

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 *kejɪj-*.

Indicative:

tke'jxkin I accepted thee
ke'jčɪñɪn he accepted thee
ănke'jxkɪmɪñk they accepted us
nke'jñɪn we accepted him
tke'jñɪᵉn or *tke'jkɪčɪᵉn* I accepted them
ke'jčcxɪñɪᵉn ye accepted them

Subjunctive:

mke'jxkɪn let me accept thee
x·ankejxkŭmnɪ'n let him accept me
mɪnke'jñɪᵉn or *mɪnke'jkɪčɪᵉn* let us accept them
x·anke'jxkɪn let him, them, accept thee

Imperative:

xkejxčɪ'k accept him
xkejxčkɪ'n or *xkejxčñɪ'n* accept them (*k* before *k* changes to *x*)
xkejxkmɪ'ñk accept me, us
xkejxkmɪ'ñkcx accept ye me, us
xke'jčcxɪñɪn accept ye him
xke'jčcxɪñɪᵉn accept ye them

Present:

tkejɪjxkɪ'sxɪn I am accepting you
nke'jɪjñɪn we are accepting him
ănke'j-ɪj-ɪñnin they are accepting him
ke'jɪjnɪᵉn he is accepting them
ke'jɪjñɪᵉn thou art accepting him, them

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The nominal forms of these two types are—

<div>

	Type I		Type II
1 2 }	. . . *-ic, -il*		*-ĉxĉ*
3	. . . *-êka* (rare)		*-ĉxeka* (rare)

</div>

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

txlaxɪn I shall beat thee .   *ɪkeja'xkɪn* I shall accept thee
txlalɪn I shall beat him   *ɪkejalñɪn* or *ɪkejalkɪĉɪn* 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.

tëxli'jɪn (Type I) I take away my boots
tëxli'jñɪn (Type II) I take away something from the table

The loss of modes in Kamchadal may be due to Russian influence. There are a number of Kamchadal forms, evidently remains of older forms, which resemble the Chukchee even more closely than the forms just described. Thus we find—

Kamchadal	Chukchee	
jɪljɪn	*yɪ'lɪrkɪn*	thou givest him
jɪ'lɪjhŭm	*ne'yɪlhŭm*	they gave me
(*ă*)*njɪ'ljɪmŭk*	*ne'yɪlmɪk*	they gave us

§ 72. *Examples of Verbal Suffixes*

CHUKCHEE

The phonetic rules discussed in §§ 1–23 bring about frequent changes in the verbal suffixes. As a matter of convenience I will summarize here the most common modifications, a few of which can not be explained by the general phonetic laws.

1. Verbal stems terminating in a vowel add the verbal suffix without auxiliary vowel. Whenever the initial *g* of the suffix stands in intervocalic position, it is either dropped or pronounced very weakly:

telere'ä͑ᵉk < t-elere'-gä͑ᵉk I felt lonesome
nąyo͑ᵉ'ññǫ̂ᵉ < nę-ygᵉññǫ-gįᵉ he began to be overtaken 10.7

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

tɪpa'aa͑ᵉk < tɪ-pą'ą-gä͑ᵉk I ceased 21.1
tɪya'aa͑ᵉk < tɪ-yą'ą-gä͑ᵉk I used

2. When stems ending in consonants would form consonantic clusters of more than two consonants, when combined with suffixes, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before the suffix.

pê'nřɪnên < pǫnr-nɪn he attacks him
teĭ'kɪnin < teĭk-nin he made it
qêna'nmŭê̂ᵉ < qǫ̂na̧-tm̧-gi̧ᵉ kill me!

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

pegtime'tɪlɪn < pegti-met-lɪn hauling a sledge 15.3

Among the types of assimilation of sounds may be mentioned —

4. Stems with terminal u diphthong transform the combination uģ into wkw. The following auxiliary vowel is u.

tɪma'rawkwaᵉk < tɪ-ma̧'ra̧u-ga̧ᵉk I quarreled.
tɪmara'wkut < tɪ-ma̧ra̧u-gɪt I blamed thee
i̧'wkwi̧ᵉ < iu-gi̧ᵉ he spoke 8.14
res·qi̧'wki̧ᵉ < res·qiu-gi̧ᵉ he entered 11.2

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

mara'urkɪn he quarrels

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

i̧'urkin he rows (perhaps from i̧yu̧)
tǫ̂'urkɪn he shakes
tɪtǫ̂'ua̧ᵉn I shook

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

ewkwe'tyi̧ᵉ < ewkwet-gi̧ᵉ he left 8.7
tɪye'tya̧ᵉk < tɪ-yet-ga̧ᵉk I came 124.11
tewkwe'tya̧ᵉk < t-ewkwe't-ga̧ᵉk I left

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

uñe'lya̧ᵉt < uñel-ga̧ᵉt they gathered fuel 30.6
ne'lya̧ᵉt < nel-ga̧ᵉt it became 12.2
quñe'lhi̧ᵉ < q-uñel-gi̧ᵉ gather fuel! 27.1
mi̧'ɪlhɪt < mɪ-yil-gɪt let me give thee 121.24

7. Stems ending in l, r, č, t, with following l, form ʟ or ʟ̣.

gi̧ᵉ'ʟị̧n < g-i̧ᵉr-lị̧n he has gone across
gene'ʟị̧n < gǫ-nel-lị̧n he became 10.8

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ge'lqäʟɩn < ge̯-lqät-lɩn he left 59.1

gakɩ'tɩmaʟên < ga-kɩ'tɩmat-lên he had his hand extended 47.6

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

gataa̯rǫnlên < ga-taaroñ-lên he has brought sacrifice

9. In the pronunciation of men, among the Reindeer Chukchee, *t* and *n* between vowels are dropped, and the vowels are assimilated to *aa, ee, ii*, and after preceding *q* to *äe*.

ewkwe'erkɩn < ewkwe't-ɩ-rkɩn he leaves

ĝenatva'ʟaat < ge̯-ine̯-tvat-line̯t they promised 71.4 (see § 73)

ninenlɩpe'tqäet < n-ine-r-lɩp-et-qinet he broke them 20.11

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

<div align="center">INTRANSITIVE VERB</div>

Past I:

2d pl.	*pɩ'ntɩqättɩk* you appeared 74.21
3d pl.	*pŭkɩ'rgäᵋt* they came 64.2
	tara'ngaᵋt they pitched a tent 56.9
	ñipe'äᵋt < ñɩpe-gäᵋt they came ashore 7.8
	tɩle'äᵋt < tɩle-gäᵋt they walked 64.9
	qɩmɩ'tvaaᵋt < qa̯mɩ-tva̯-gäᵋt they ate 87.32
	yɩlqä'tyäᵋt < yɩlqät-gä̯ᵋt they slept 8.4
2d sing.	*ye'tyiᵋ < yet-giᵋ* thou hast come 37.6
	qätɩ' thou art going 82.23
	gɩtte'wkwiᵋ < gɩtteu-giᵋ thou art hungry 9.13
3d sing.	*e'gripgiᵋ* she felt pain 63.8
	iᵋ'rgiᵋ he crossed over 13.13
	pŭkɩ'rɩ he came 90.26
	ña̯'wtɩngê̯ᵋ he married 58.8
	pŭkɩ'rgiᵋ he arrived 57.8; 58.1
	lile'pgiᵋ he looked 7.6
	ke̯'rgŭpgê̯ᵋ she dressed up 52.9
	eiñe'utkuiᵋ < eiñe̯u-tku-giᵋ he called 8.5
	wa'qe̯ê̯ᵋ < wa̯qe̯-gê̯ᵋ he sat down 15.7
	euño'ê̯ᵋ < iu-ñño̯-giᵋ he began to say 117.25
	ra'gtɩê̯ᵋ < ra̯gtɩ-giᵋ he came home 122.7
	ewkwe'tyiᵋ < ewkwet-giᵋ he left 8.7
	têrga'tyê̯ᵋ < te̯rg-e̯t-gi̯ᵋ he cried 7.6
	kiye'wkwiᵋ < kiyeu-giᵋ he awoke 9.4
	ki'wkwiᵋ < kiu-giᵋ he passed a night 8.4
	notasˑqa'wkwê̯ᵋ < nute-sˑqeu-giᵋ land approached 8.8
1st sing.	*te'gripgäᵋk* I felt pain 101.17
	tɩye'tyäᵋk < t-yet-gäᵋk I came 124.11
	teiu'äᵋk < t-eiu-gäᵋk I revived 83.14
	tɩlva'wkwaᵋk < t-lva̯u-gäᵋk I could not 16.9

1st pl.　　*mɪtyɪ'greumɪk* we are thirsty 71.14
　　　　　mɪtviᵉ'mɪk we died 64.15

Subjunctive (*a*):

3d pl.　　*nɪyɪlqä'tɪnet* < *n-yɪlqät-ɪ-net* let them sleep
3d sing.　*nɪ'lqätyäᵉn* < *n-lqät-g̣äᵉn* let him go! 13.12
　　　　　nɪča'atvaaᵉn < *n-čaa-tṿạ-g̣äᵉn* let her be a castaway 39.3
　　　　　nɪyɪ'lqätyäᵉn < *n-yɪlqät-g̣äᵉn* let him sleep 9.1
1st sing.　*mɪlɪmala'ñ̃oaᵉk* < *mɪ-lɪmalạ-ñ̃ọ-g̣äᵉk* let me obey 21.10
　　　　　mɪ'lqätyäᵉk < *mɪ-lqät-g̣äᵉk* let me go 125.5
　　　　　muanla'aᵉk < *mɪ-ạnlạ-g̣äᵉk* I may ask (for help) 135.19
　　　　　mɪne'etyäᵉk < *mɪ-neet-g̣äᵉk* let me turn black 23.6
1st pl.　　*mne'wkwen ɪk* < *mn-ewkwet-mɪk* let us go away 17.8
　　　　　mɪnuñe'lmɪk let us gather fuel 30.6
　　　　　mɪnra'gtɪmŭk let us go home 126.4
　　　　　mra'gtɪaᵉk let me go home 99.2
　　　　　mɪta'aqθaᵉk let me smoke 99.26

Subjunctive (*b*):

　　　　　nɪᵉtva'nat if they had stayed 68.27
　　　　　nuᵉwi'äᵉn < *nɪᵉ-viᵉ-g̣äᵉn* she would die 37.12

Imperative:

　　　　　quwiᵉ'tɪk die ye! 64.16
　　　　　qäle'tɪk walk ye! 65.29
　　　　　qämñi'iᵉ < *q-mñi-giᵉ* celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 60.5
　　　　　qanto' < *q-ntọ-giᵉ* come out! 26.3
　　　　　qạgnọ'pg̣ệᵉ sit with head bent down! 32.4

Future:

2d pl.　　*reviᵉ'ntɪk* ye will die 64.20
3d pl.　　*rḛ'pkɪrgäᵉ* they will come 10.5 (sing. used as plural)
2d sing.　*rečipe'tyäᵉ* < *re-čip-et-g̣äᵉ* thou wilt dive 114.22
　　　　　reviᵉ'iᵉ < *rḛ-viᵉ-giᵉ* thou wilt die 65.6 (cf. 21.12 *reviᵉ'äᵉ* 37.8)
　　　　　ra'tvaaᵉ < *rḛ-tṿạ-g̣äᵉ* thou wilt live 108.25
3d sing.　*remñi'äᵉ* < *re-mñi-g̣äᵉ* he will celebrate a thanksgiving ceremonial 118.12
　　　　　ratopa'wkwaᵉ < *rḛ-tọpau-g̣äᵉ* she will be pregnant 104.5
　　　　　rara'lĕčĕtyaᵉ < *rḛ-ralệ-čịt-g̣äᵉ* he will slide down 114.15
　　　　　reurre'tyiᵉ < *re-urr-et-giᵉ* it will appear 119.10
1st sing.　*trara'gtɪaᵉ* < *t-rḛ-rạgtɪ-g̣äᵉ* I shall go home 99.14
　　　　　treviᵉ'äᵉ < *t-re-viᵉ-g̣äᵉ* I shall die 108.1
　　　　　trene'lhäᵉ < *t-re-nẹl-g̣äᵉ* I shall turn to 24.12
1st pl.　　*mɪrreyɪ'lqätyäᵉ* < *mɪrre-yɪlq-ät-g̣äᵉ* we shall sleep 9.3

Derived Modes in *-ɪrkɪn*.

Past I:

    inenreqeurkɪni′tɪk < *ine-r-req-eu-rkɪn-itɪk* what are you doing with me 10.10

    ewkwe′erkɪt < *ewkwet-ɪrkɪt* they leave 13.6

    mñi′rkɪt they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29

    pɪlqä′erkɪn he dived 9.7

    va′rkɪn he is 19.2

    rɪqamɪtva′urkɪnên he was made to eat

    kime′urkɪn thou causest delay 18.6

    re′qärkɪn how art thou? 18.9

    tɪnqäe′rkɪn I refuse 19.7

    mɪttegimi′n·ñirkɪn we suffer 32.2

    mɪtteñiče′erkɪn we feel merry 69.8

    mɪnqamɪ′tvarkɪn let us eat 65.4

    qatva′rkɪn stay! 57.3; 67.23

    remeiñe′erkɪn he will grow up 21.7

Koryak:

Past I:

3d pl.	*ɪs·hɪmḷavai′ñaḷai* they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6	
2d sing.	*i′yi* thou hittest Kor. 26.1	
	i′tɪ thou wert Kor. 16.3	
	ya′ti thou camest Kor. 68.12	
	qati′ you went away Kor. 18.5	
3d sing.	*vannɪnta′tɪ* she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1	
	a′wyeñvoi he begins to eat Kor. 20.7	
	viᵉ′gi he is dead Kor. 22.1	
1st sing.	*tɪviᵉ′yak* I died Kor. 84.14	
	tɪtva′ñvok I began to be Kor. 18.6	
	tuva′nnɪntatɪk I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1	
	tapka′vɪk I could not Kor. 35.2	
	ti′yak I hit Kor. 26.2	
	tɪnaᵉ′ḷɪk I remained Kor. 16.2	
1st dual.	*mɪtquɡɪta′t* we are hungry Kor. 74.17	

Subjunctive (*a*):

2d sing.	*nɪnaᵉ′ḷɪn* may it become Kor. 20.2	
3d sing.	*ne′wñɪvon* he would begin to say Kor. 27.6	
1st sing.	*mɪḷqa′tɪk* let me go! Kor. 33.10	
	mas·hɪ′ntɪḷɪk I'll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19	
	mɪnan·ačo′mɪk let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20	
1st dual	*mɪnɪ′ḷqat* let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62,1)	
	mɪna′wyi let us eat! Kor. 28.9	

1st pl.   *mınılqala'mık* let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6
               mıno'yıčvala let us play! Kor. 32.7
               mınıkya'wla let us get up! Kor. 39.4.
               mına'wyela let us eat! Kor. 27.7
               minno'tantala let us go for a walk!   Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (*b*):
               nı^εtva^{ε'}an it should be Kor. 34.12
               nani^{ε'}wın one could say Kor. 24.10
               ti^{ε'}wık I should say 45.9

Imperative:
   sing.   *quvı^εyas·qi'wgi* die! Kor. 35.1
               qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3
               qımla'we dance! Kor. 37.6
               qamla'wge dance! Kor. 45.9
               qıta'pañ cook soup! Kor. 42.10
               qawas·vu'gi look in! Kor. 27.3
   dual   *qamalıtva'thıtık* make it better! Kor. 13.2
               qanto'tık go out! Kor. 74.15
               qıyaï'tıtık go ye two home Kor. 21.1
               qi'thıtık be ye two! Kor. 21.2
   pl.   *qawas·vıla'tık* look ye in! Kor. 27.1
               qıkyawla'tık awake ye! Kor. 39.3
               qaivılala'tık carry ye meat as a present! Kor. 63.12
               qalqala'tık go away! Kor. 14.7

Future:
   3d pl.   *yewñıvola'ñe* they shall tell Kor. 22.5
   1st sing.   *tyavi^{ε'}yañ* I shall die Kor. 33.1
               tıyayaï'tıñ I will go home Kor. 30.5
   1st pl.   *mıssavi^{ε'}yala* we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in *-ıykin:*
   2d pl.   *yaqlaïkıne'tık* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
   3d dual   *vaï'ke* they two are Kor. 48.7
   3d pl.   *kıya'wlaïke* they awoke Kor. 12.6
               vañvolaï'ke they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.
               kokaivılaï'ke they are cooking Kor. 27.4
               ɛnkayalaï'ke they are snoring Kor. 28.4
   3d sing.   *lelapıtčoñvo'ykın* he looks up Kor. 42.8
               kaña'tıykın he is fishing Kor. 45.1
               va'ykın he lives Kor. 18.4
   1st sing.   *tıgıtta'tıykın* I am hungry Kor. 35.5
               tıyañlanñıvo'ykın I shall feel smoky Kor. 37.10
   1st pl.   *mıtıtvañvolaï'kın* we remain Kor. 17.11   §72

Subjunctive:

　　1st sing.　　*mañɪnmɪḷa'tɪykɪn* I should feel elated Kor. 84.17

Imperative:

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

TRANSITIVE VERB

Transitive Forms

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

　　tɪ'lhɪ-gɪt I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1*)

　　ne'ntɪ-gɪt they bid thee 19.5 (I 1)

　　mɪnlete'ttɪk let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2)

　　ne'ntɪtɪk he bid you 74.24 (I 2)

　　nayoᵉ'mŭk they visit us 34.6 (I 3)

　　nantɪmla'nmɪk they press on us 63.9 (I 3)

Future:

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

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

Derived modes:

　　nayoᵉ'rkɪn-ê-gɪt they visit thee 52.4 (IV 1)

　　nanmɪrkɪnê'mɪk let them kill us! 67.33 (IV 3)

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

　　treᵉ'tyäᵉn I brought it 20.1 (I 4)

　　tɪᵉlhɪ'äᵉn if I should do for it 38.12 (Ia 4)

　　mɪluᵉ'äᵉn let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (Ia 4)

　　mɪpê'nr̃ɪaᵉn let me catch him 66.16 (Ia 4)

　　mɪtluᵉ'äᵉn we saw it 33.7 (I 4)

　　napêla'aᵉn they left it 30.12 (I 4)

　　mɪnpê'laaᵉn let us leave him 29.11 (I 4)

　　gɪna'n lɪ'ngäᵉn thou hast put it 38.11 (I 4)

　　tule'tinet thou hast stolen them 18.1 (I 5)

　　nenu'net they ate it 14.8 (I 5)

　　äᵉnluᵉ'net they might see it 62.1 (Ia 5)

　　yopa'nnên he visited him 7.4 (I 6)

　　luᵉ'nin he saw it 18.11 (I 6)

　　nɪᵉyoᵉ'nên they would visit it 53.1 (Ia 6)

　　tɪmnê'nat he killed them 34.1 (I 6')

　　pɪnlo'nênat he asked them 13.9 (I 6')

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

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* Numbers in parenthese refer to the table of forms on pp. 741–743.

Imperative:

> *qägtɪ'gɪn* fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)
>
> *qärri'lhɪn* put it down 40.6 (II 4)
>
> *qai'pŭgun* put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)
>
> *qätei'kɪgɪnet* make them! 49.4 (II 5)
>
> *qre'tɪnet* fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

Future:

> *tre'ntɪñɪn* I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)
>
> *mɪrraioᵉ'ñɪn* we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)
>
> *mɪrrɪ'wkut-hɪt* we shall bind thee 23.8 (III 1)
>
> *replɪ'tkuñɪnet* thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)
>
> *ra'nmugnên* he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

Derived modes:

> *qoi'pɪtkoi'vŭrkɪn* thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)
>
> *tɪlhɪ'rkɪnet* I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)
>
> *nata'rkɪnat* they left them 68.17 (IV 5)
>
> *tɪmɪ'rkɪnên* he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)
>
> *te'grɪrkɪnin* he threw him 10.10 (IV 6)
>
> *tɪmɪ'rkɪnênat* they kill them 44.8 (IV 6')
>
> *nelu'rkɪn* they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

<div align="center">

Intransitive Forms.

</div>

Past I, and derived form:

> *ine'lhiⁱᵉ* thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)
>
> *gɪna'n ineluᵉ'iᵉ* thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)
>
> *ênapêlarkɪnê'tɪk* ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)
>
> *inenreqeurkɪni'tɪk* what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)
>
> *inentᴇⁱe'urkɪn* thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)
>
> *mɪtɪwku'tɪrkɪn-i-gɪt* we bind thee (IV 1)

Imperative:

> *qɪne'ilhiᵉ* give me! 15.12 (II 8)
>
> *qênata'gêᵉ* move to me! 37.10 (II 8)
>
> *qênankêrgipa'tyêᵉ* dress me! 48.9 (II 8)
>
> *qɪgite'tkuiᵉ* look at us! 35.7 (II 8)
>
> *qeiñe'tkutɪk* carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)
>
> *qinerri'lhɪtɪk (qinerri'ltɪk* 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)
>
> *qênagta'tyɪtɪk* haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)
>
> *qineluᵉ'tɪk* look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)
>
> *qaivalponaurkɪnê'tkɪ* hit ye them on the head! 69.32 (IV 10)
>
> *qänu'utkɪ* eat ye it! 14.7; 33.12 (II 10)
>
> *qata'gɪtkɪ* pass it! 70.10 (II 10)
>
> *qata'ᴌɪñₐ₊tkɪ* answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)
>
> *qänɪnle'wkutkɪ* light ye them 68.13 (II 10)

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Future:

>*raala'ñ_Itk_I* ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)
>*relu^ε'ñ_Itk_I* ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)

Nominal Predicative Forms

>*napêla'-ŭm* they left me 31.9 (I 11)
>*nančaatwa'wkŭm* they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)
>*nanl_Imalawa't-ê-ŭm* 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 -*yk_In* of the derived forms.

>*t_I-tva'ĭk_In* < *t_I-tva'-yk_In* I am
>*t_I-čvị'ĭk_In* < *t_I-čvị'-yk_In* I cut
>*va'yk_In* he lives Kor. 18.4

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

>*t_I-čvi'-gän* I cut off

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

>*t_Ivalọ'mẹk_In* (Chukchee *tuwalo'm_Irk_In*) < *t_I-valom-yk_In* I hear
>*tạpạtẹk_In* (Chukchee *tapạt_Irk_In*) < *t-ŭpat-yk_In* I cook
>*tị'vịk_In* (Chukchee *tiurk_In*) < *t-ịv-yk_In* I say

4. Terminal *v* of the stem (which corresponds to Chukchee *u*) is not regularly assimilated by the initial *g* of the suffix.

>*ti'vgä^εk* I said

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

>*tyi'wgi* (Chukchee *tri'wkut*) < *t-y-iv-gi* (Chukchee < *t-r-iu-g_It*)
> I shall say to you
>*quvi^εyas·qi'wgi* die! Kor. 35.1

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

>*pɛlqa'tgi* he grew old

6. Stems in terminal *ẓ* of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in *r* of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in -*ịẓk_In* (Chukchee -*r_Irk_In*).

Kamenskoye	Chukchee
tị^{iε}'yịk_In	*ti^εr_Irk_In* I cross over

7. Terminal *t* before *ḷ* either forms the Koryak analogue of *ʟ* or drops out.

 gapa'ʟen < ga-pat-ḷen he has cooked

 gapɛ'lqaḷin < ga-pɛ'lqat-lɪn he has grown old

Examples:

 tɪyanu'wgi I shall swallow thee Kor. 78.18; 84.24 (I 1)

 mɪtɪ'mtɪngi I shall carry thee Kor. 21.4 (Ia 1)

 mɪnɪnyai''taḷa-ge let us take thee home Kor. 33.3 (Ia 1)

 aᵋntai''kɪ-gi one should make thee Kor. 38.4 (Ia 1)

 naḷñɪḷaikɪne'tɪk they do to you Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)

 mɪnyai'tatɪk I'll carry you two home Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63[1] (Ia 2)

 neneneḷa'mɪk he appears to us Kor. 29.9 (I 3)

 nanaᵋyɪva'wmɪk he is reproaching us Kor. 74.19 (I 3)

 naḷñɪḷaikɪne'mɪk they do us Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)

 ḷuᵋ'waᵋn thou sawest it Kor. 23.8 (I 4)

 mɪyoᵋ'ogan let me visit him Kor. 20.7 (Ia 4)

 mɪtlaᵋ'wḷaᵋn we found it Kor. 26.9 (I 4)

 qɪyaᵋ'thɪn bring it here! Kor. 29.4 (II 4)

 mɪnu'mkawɪn I will lay it aside Kor. 49.10 (I 4)

 tɪyai'lɪñɪn I'll give him Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)

 tɪyanñawtɪña'nñɪn I'll give you your wife Kor. 13.3 (III 4)

 ya'nmɪñɪn you will kill it Kor. 76.7 (III 4)

 nataḷaikɪne'mɪk it has caught us Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)

 tɪ'nmɪn I killed him Kor. 20.5 (I 4)

 ḷuᵋ'nin she found it Kor. 24.3 (I 6)

 tai'kɪnin he made them Kor. 20.9 (I 6)

 nayoᵋ'onau ye visit them Kor. 24.7 (I 10)

 qutei'kɪñɪnau you are making them Kor. 50.7 (I 10)

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

 nayoᵋñvo'ykinenau they visit them Kor. 61.8 (IV 5')

 yɪleñvo'ykɪnen she turns him Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)

 yawa'ykɪnen she has him for Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)

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

 tenanɪkyo'nñɪvoi he wants to awaken us Kor. 39.4 (I 7)

 ninanuvaᵋ'an let him swallow me! Kor. 84.15 (Ia 7)

 yena'nmɪ she will kill us Kor. 96.14 (III 8)

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

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

 qenanyaikɪni'gi cheer me up! Kor. 84.27 (II 8)

 qinamḷɪḷa'tɪk ye louse me! Kor. 24.9 (II 9)

 qinatinuñḷa'tɪk prepare ye provisions for me Kor. 13.4 (II 9)

 qwuʟa'gɪtča tie ye her! Kor. 23.4 (II 10)

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

qi'wgutča tell ye him ! Kor. 74.20 (II 10)
qɪyoᵉoḷa'gɪtča visit ye her! Kor. 23.7 (II 10)
nɪyanñepñɪvoï'gŭm they will keep me back Kor. 60.5 (I 11)
naya'nuw-gŭm they will eat me Kor. 78.21 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

§§ 73-74. *Predicative Form of Nominalized Verb*

§ 73. FORMS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVE VERB

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are combined with the suffixed personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and thus express the idea TO BE ———. Verbal stems are nominalized in the same manner. In the third person such verbs take the affixes—

1. sing. *nɪ—qin* } one who is in a condition or performs an action
   pl.   *nɪ—qinet* }

2. sing. *ge—lin* } one who has attained a condition or who has
   pl.   *ge—linet* } performed an action

The second form may also be used with nouns, and expresses ONE WHO HAS ———. In the singular a connective *ɪ* occurs between the verbal stem and the suffixed pronoun. In the first person singular of verbs ending in a consonant the connective *ɪ* forms a syllable and the initial *g* of the suffix *gŭm* drops out. In Koryak, on the other hand, it is retained. When the stem ends in a vowel, the *ɪ* forms a diphthong with it and the *g* of *gŭm* is retained. The following table illustrates these forms.

	Prefix			Suffix		
	Noun	Nominalized Verbs		Noun	Nominalized Verbs	
		(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
3d sing.				——	-qin	lin
3d pl.				-et,-t,-ti	-qinet	-linet
1st sing.	——	nɪ-	ge-		-ɪ-ŭm	
2d sing.					-ɪgɪt	
1st pl.					-muɪ̯	
2d pl.					-tuɪ̯	

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	Prefix			Suffix		
	Noun	Nominalized Verb		Noun	Nominalized Verbs	
		(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
3d sing.				——	-qⁱn	-lin
3d dual				-at,-t,-tḷ	-qịnat	-linat
3d pl.				-au, y, -wwị,-wgị	-qịnau	-linau
1st sing.					-ịgŭm	
2d sing.					-ịgị	
1st dual	——	nɪ			-muyi	
2d dual					-myyy, myy, mu [1]	
1st pl.					-tuyi	
2d pl.					-tyyy, tyy, t y [1]	

[1] The contracted forms *mu* and *tu* do not change their vowels in harmony with hard vowels of the stem.

Examples:

Nouns:

1st sing. *o'rgukäl-ê-ŭm* I am one who has no sledge 78.6.
ke'lei-(g)ŭm < kele-i-gŭm I am a kele
qla'ul-ê-ŭm I am a man 116.32

2d sing. *ñe'us·qät-i-gɪr* thou art a woman 136.15.
ke'lei-gịt thou art a kele 15.11

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

Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing. *nɪgnopɪtva'qên* he was one who remained crouching 7.4.
nine'lqin he is one who becomes a —— 8.7.

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

1st sing. *nɪ'lqät-i-ŭm* I am one who was there 66.36.
na̭ᵉlaioi'gŭm < n-a̭ᵉlaio-i̭-(g)ŭm I defecated 76.5

2d sing. *wu'tku nɪtvai'-gɪr* you are one who stays here 7.5.
nine'l-i-gịt you are one who becomes a —— 10.11.

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

2d pl. *me'ñkɪ ni't-turi* where are you? 12.2.

Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing. *ganto'lên* he was one who had gone out 8.4.
ge'tkulin he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl. *gi'ulinet* they were those who had said 11.11.
gene'Ɬinet they were those who had become —— 9.4.

1st sing. *gene'l-i-ŭm* I am the one who has become a —— 17.6.
geḷęrẹi'-gŭm < g-elere-i̭-(g)ŭm I was feeling dull

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

Koryak:

Nouns:

1st sing.   *q̣la'wul̠-e-g̣ŭm* I am a man Kor. 22.1.

1st pl.   *kmi'ñɪ-mu'yi* we are children Kor. 70.20.

Nominalized verbs (*a*):

3d sing.   *na^εčañvoqen* he was the one who was urinating Kor. 14.2.

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

3d du.   *nalñɪqa'tvuqinet* they were the ones who were quite successful Kor. 88.21.

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

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

2d sing.   *nɪta'witkɪñi-g̣i* you are one who is doing mischief Kor. 82.9.

Nominalized verbs (*b*):

3d sing.   *g̣aya'l̠qɪrwlin* he was the one who had entered Kor. 14.1.

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

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

1st sing.   *g̣atuyɪkmiña't-i-g̣ŭm* I am the one who has given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.

1st pl.   *g̣ano^ε'l-mu'yu* we are the ones who have become — Kor. 37.4.

2d sing.   *g̣alu'tai-g̣i* you are the one who has urinated Kor. 66.6.

§ 74. FORMS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB

The nominalized form of the transitive verb has in the *n(ɪ)*- form throughout the prefix *ịnẹ-*, which makes the verbal theme passive.

	Prefix		(a)	(b)	
	(a)	(b)			
3d sing. . . .			(*ịnẹ*)—*qịn*	(*ịnẹ*)—*l̠ịn*	
3d pl.			(*ịnẹ*)—*qịnẹt*	(*ịnẹ*)—*l̠ịnẹt*	
1st sing. . . .	*n(ɪ)*	*g̣ẹ*	(*ịnẹ*)—*i-g̣ŭm*	—*i-(g̣)um*	
2d sing. . . .			(*ịnẹ*)—*ịgɪt*	(*ịnẹ*)—*ịgɪt*	*-tku-ịgɪt*
1st pl.			(*ịnẹ*)—*mụrị*	—*mụrị*	
2d pl.			(*ịnẹ*)—*turị*	(*ịnẹ*)—*tụrị*	*-tku-tụrị*

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	Prefix		(a)	(b)
	(a)	(b)		
3d sing.			ina—qin	-lin
3d dual.			ina—qinat	-linat
3d pl.			ina—qinau	-linau
1st sing.			ina—ıgŭm	-ıgŭm
2d sing.	n(i)	ga	ina—ıgıt	-ıgıt
1st dual.			ina—muyu	-muyu
1st pl.			ina—tuyu	-tuyu
2d dual.			ina—muyi ·	-muyi
2d pl.			ina—tuyi	-tuyi

In meaning this form agrees with the intransitive nominalized verb.
It may be translated THE ONE WHOM I —, etc.

ɛLo'n nênapêla'ıgŭm he is the one whom I leave

gıt nênapĕlai''gŭm you are the one whom I leave

qa'at ninei''miłiŭm the reindeer are the ones whom I take

nêna'nmê-gıt they are the ones whom you kill 23.4

Accordingly, when the object of the verb is in the plural, the nominal
third person appears also in the plural.

The third person plural subject occurs also without iṇę- and has
active sense.

qa'at nıpêḷạ'qênạt the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or,
perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).

qa'at ninẹi''mıtqinẹt the reindeer are the ones whom he takes

nı'nmŭqên ora'wẹḷan Eiwhuɛ'lä the St. Lawrence people were the
ones who killed the men 12.11

pıpɛ'kılkın nêna'nmŭqên a mouse was killed by him 89.24

ni'uqinet qu'tti several were the ones who said to them 59.2

nini'uqinet they were told by him 73.13

tı'Lık neimɛ'nqäet they were those who were approaching (to) the
entrance (intransitive) 103.1

nineimeu'qin wa'lqar he was one who approached the house
57.6

tayo'lhıt nênaimê'qênạt he was one who hung up the needlecases
82.10

The nominalized transitive verb in gę- 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 -tkı.

The third person, with or without-iṇę-may be used in an active or
passive sense.

gapê'lalên he was leaving him, or he was left

genlete'n-muri he was the one who took us away 74.23

geniqgewgu'ulinet he was the one who awakened them 12.12

Examples, Koryak:

(a) *nenaaiñawñıvo'qen* she was the one who called him Kor. 74.29

    nenanuñvo'qenau she was the one who ate them Kor. 59.9

    ninataikıñvo'qenau she was the one who made them Kor. 59.5

    nassi'ñvo-gŭm 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

    nenavoᵉ'ñvo-mu'yu we are those who find them Kor. 59.9

(b) *gêwñıvo'lenat* they were the two whom he told Kor. 13.2

    ga'nmılenau they were the ones whom they had killed Kor. 12.8

    ganta'witkıñau-mu'yi we are the ones whom they have defiled Kor. 29.6

    ganta'witkıñaw-i-g-i thou art the one whom they have defiled Kor. 31.1

§§ 75–81. Notes on Certain Verbs

§ 75. To be, —ıt

The Chukchee verbal stem -*ıt*, Kor. Kam. -*ıt*, expresses the idea TO BE. In the pronounciation of men the *t* is lost in Chukchee in intervocalic position. The women say instead of *i'ırkın* of the men *i'tiššın*. In other words with terminal *t* of stem they may drop it, as in *yılqaeššın* he sleeps.

    i'ırkın, Kor. Kam. *itı'ykin* he is

    me'ñkı nit-turi? where are you?

    mi'ñkri ni'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).

    čaučuwa'-va'rat čı'mqŭg viri'tä-ñ i'ırkın the Reindeer Chukchee people are partly self-destroying

    Ta'n·ñıčhıt ŭm em-viᵉ'tä ni'tqinet the Russians are just dying

    leñ-qamı'tvata i'tyiᵉ he could not eat 80.7

    aqamı'tvaka qi'tyitık don't ye eat (of it) 64.19

    e'rmu ti'tyäᵉk I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)

    gai'mıčıle tri'tyäᵉ I am going to be rich

    qarêmêna'ne ri'tyäᵉ thou shalt not be it 23.6

    lı'ê-ñarau'tıle mıni'nmık (<*mın-it-mık*) let us really try to get wives 57.1

    êna'nmıču i'tkäl-i-ŭm 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).

> *nu-wa'lom-ê-um* I am hearing
> *nɪ-yɪ'lqät-i-ŭm* I am sleeping

§ 76. TO LIVE, TO BE -*tvą*

This stem occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak. It expresses a longer duration than *ịt*.

> *äqäliñe'tä tḭ'tyä^ɛk* I was in fear
> *em-äqäliñe'tä tɪtva'a^ɛk* I was continually just in fear
> *va'rkɪn* (Chukchee), *va'ykɪn* (Kor. Kam.) he lives
> *awgo'lɪka tɪtva'rkɪn* I remain without an assistant 124.5
> *nḭ'mnim vai čɪ'mčeqäi va'rkɪn* a settlement then quite near is 7.7
> *i'lukä qatva'rkɪn* remain without motion! 57.3
> *mḭ'ñkri mɪtɪtva'rkɪn* how shall I be? 124.3
> *em-nu'ñɪčɪn mḭ'ñkri nɪ'tvaqên* how are those from the mainland? 13.9
> *wu'tku nɪtvai'qɪr* you stay here 7.5

It is used as a synthetic element in many verbs.

> *ratva'rkɪn* (<*ra-tva*) he house-lives (i. e., he is at home)
> *oratva'rkɪn* (<*ora-tva*) he stays long
> *waqotva'lɪk* (*waqo-tva*) he (remained) seated 102.24
> *a'ñqak nɪmɪtva'qênat* (<*nim-tva* settlement remains) they lived on the sea 13.3
> *nuwkotɪtva'qên* (<*wkot-tva*) he was tied
> *gawketɪtva'ta* being tied 122.24
> *qamɪtva'* to eat
> *êulêtê'l-va'lɪn* being of elongated form 91.15

In Koryak the stem *ịt* occurs much more frequently than *tva* in independent form.

> *ᴇn'ñḭ'n·va'lɪn* (Chukchee), *ᴇnñā'^ɛan i'tala^ɛn* (Kor. Kam.) one being thus

Still in compounds the stem *tva* occurs with great frequency.

> *vaha'le-tva'ykin* (Kor. Kam.) he is seated

Some stems when combined with *vą'lɪn* do not take the *ablaut*:

> *mḭñkri-vą'lɪn* of what kind
> *me'čen·ku-vą'lê-ŭm* I am a fairly good one

A number of stems expressing qualities form adjectival forms by composition with -*tva*- (*it*- Koryak), in the form *va'lɪn* (*i'tala^ɛn* Koryak) (see p. 814).   §76

koulo'qu-wı'lın (stem *koulo'qı*) round
wı'čhıñ-vı'lın (stem *wı'čhıñ*) flat

Koryak:
  qo'loñ-i'taḷaᵉn (stem *qo'ḷoñ*) round
  vıčhıyıñ-i'taḷaᵉn (stem *vıčhıyıñ*) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—(*ı*)*ñ*, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as *ta'ñum-va'lın* a good one, from *ta'ñıñ-va'lın*.

The stem in composition with *va'lın* may also take postpositions.

  ê'mpum-va'lın or *êmpa'qu-wa'lın* (stem *imp*) the one who is downcast
  vıčha'qu-wa'lın flat

This form frequently expresses the comparative:

  qa'tvum-va'lın (stem *qe̱tv*) the stronger one
  Kor. *qa'tvıñ-i'taḷaᵉn* (stem *qa̱tv*) the stronger one
  qa'mga-qla'ulık qa'tvum-va'l-ê-ŭm I am stronger than all (the other) men
  gŭm qını'k mai'Eñku-wa'l-ê-ŭm I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with *va'lın* signifies possession of a quality to a slight degree.

  čêutê'tu-wa'lın (stem *čiut*) somewhat low
  tañê'tu-wa'lın (stem *teñ*) somewhat good, moderately good

§ 77. TO BECOME *ne̱l*

The stem Chukchee *ne̱l,* Kor. Kam. *nal* is used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak. It is combined with the noun in -*nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

  gŭ'mŭk êmño'l-te'mgo qıne'lhiᵉ become ye what serves as my spleen companions[1] (i. e., became ye my friends)
  rırka'ne nine'lıgıt you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)
  gınni'ku ne'lyäᵉt they became the quarry 12.2
  ñe'us·qätu gene'Lin he became a woman 116.21
  mi'mlu gene'Lin it became water 101.27
  aᵉqa'-rkıla gene'lıŭm I became one to be pursued hard 17.6
  em-gınu'n-nıki'tä ne'lyiᵉ it came to be just midnight 9.11
  gırgo'l gene'Linet they came to be high 9.4
  aᵉtto'oča nine'lqin he came to be in front 8.7
  ne'lırkın (Chuckee), *na'ḷikın* (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.

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[1] See The Chukchee, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 563, Note 2.

§ 78. TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS ——— *lñ*

The Chukchee stem *lñ* (medial *lh*), Kor. Kam. *ḷñ*, 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).

> *lı'ñırkın* (Chukchee), *ḷıñıykın* (Kor. Kam.) you take him for
> *gıtta'p-qla'ule mı'lhıgıt* let me take you for a clever man
> *giu nı'lhäqinet ne'lhıt* as unknown ones they had their skins (i. e., they did not know them)
> *pu'relu nalhıñño'aᵉn* they began to have him for a slave 8.2
> *va'lat rı'lhə nine'lhäqin* he has knives as wings 15.2
> *wı'yolu qinelhı'rkın* have me as a servant 95.7
> *leule'wu ine'lhiiᵉ* he has me as something to be wronged 25.1

With nouns expressing emotions this verb is used throughout as indirect object, to express emotional conditions.

> *yei'večku lı'ñırkın* (Chukchee), *yaira'ču lıñı'ykın* (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him
> *te'ññu lı'ñırkın* (Chukchee), *ta'ññu lıñı'ykın* (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as laughing-stock you have him
> *re'qä leule'wu ge'lhrum* what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19
> *pegči'ñu tı'lhıgıt* I have thee as an object of interest 15.8
> *pegči'ñu ine'lhiiᵉ* you have meddling interest in me 22.9; also 15.8

§ 79. TO MAKE SOME ONE SOMETHING *rtč*

The stem, Chukchee *rtč* (medial *tč*), Kor. Kam. *ytč* (medial *tč*), Kor. Par. *yss* (medial *ss*), signifies TO MAKE SOMETHING INTO SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

> *rıtčı'rkın* (Chukchee), *yıtčı'ykın* (Kor. Kam.), *yıssı'ykın* (Kor. Par.) you make him into
> *ᴇnqa'n vai rawku'tčıñın moo-qa'anə mıtčı'rkın* that here doe, one serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her
> *elqu'tkä rıtčınin* he made him not standing 115.4
> *eñı'nqäikä nere'tčımŭk* they will make us childless 39.4
> *pai'wakə rı'tčınin* he rejects it 136.28

§ 80. TO HAVE SOME ONE FOR SOMETHING *rt*

The stem, Chukchee *rt* (medial *nt*), Kor. Kam. *yt* (medial *nt*) takes the direct object in the absolute case, the indirect object with the ending *-nu*.

> *ekke'nu tı'ntıäᵉn Ri'nto* I have Ri'nto as what serves as a son

It is often combined with the verbal noun of transitive verbs in -*tä*
to express the same idea, thus forming a periphrastic expression.
The verb *rt* is referred directly to the object of the transitive verb,
to the nominal form of which it is joined.

> *gŭmna'n čini't luᵉ'tä trentı'ñınet qa'at* myself as something to
> look on I shall have the reindeer (i. e. I myself shall look on
> the reindeer)
>
> *luñ-luᵉ'tä nı'ntäqinet* not having seen they had them (i. e., they
> had not seen them) 11.9
>
> *rıtı'rkın* (Chukchee), *yıtı'ykın* (Kor. Kam.) you have him for
>
> *en·ñé' gına'n enne'kä qäntı'gınet* do not you carry them out 88.3
>
> *ımgêta'ta nine'ntı-ŭm* I have them to look after 92.36
>
> *tulé'tä nine'ntı-ŭm ora'weₐat* I also treat the people as something
> to steal (i. e., I can steal people) 93.14
>
> *gına'n tulé'tä nine'ntı-gıt* you steal them 93.15
>
> *em-gınr̃i'tä nine'ntı-gıt* you lay in ambush for them 93.21

§ 81. NOTES ON CERTAIN KAMCHADAL VERBS

The special verbs discussed in the preceding pages are repre-
sented in Kamchadal by a number of very irregular forms of a num-
ber of evidently related stems: *čh*, *ck*, for the present or derived
forms; *l'*, *lh*, *lk*, for the indicative and exhortative. The forms
with *k* correspond, on the whole, to the transitive forms of the
paradigm on pp. 744–745, although not all the forms can be inter-
preted in this manner. The derived form of the intransitive form
is defective, only the second person singular and the third person
plural being found. The verb, when relating to objects or animals
(i. e., not to persons), has forms which recall the transitive forms.
Their use corresponds to the use of the Chukchee stem *tva*.

Kamchadal	Chukchee	
kıma'nk čhi'jın	*gŭ'mık va'rkın*	it is (belongs) to me
kıma'n l'in	*gŭmni'n va'êᵉ*	it was mine

Both constructions, with the locative-possessor's and with the
possessive cases, are found.

The personal form is transitive, but has peculiar endings.

> *tcki'nin p!é'ki* I am to him (as) a son

§ 81

VERBAL STEM čh, ck, l', lh, lk

PRESENT

| | Intransitive TO BE | Non-personal | | Personal | |
		TO ME MINE } IT IS, etc.		TO BE TO HIM (AS) A—	TO BE TO THEM (AS) A—
1st sing. . . .	——	*kɪma'n(k) čhi'jɪn*		*tcki'nin*	*tcki'pnin*
2d sing. . . .	*čhijč*	*kɪni'n(k) čhi'jɪn*		*cki'nin*	*cki'pnin*
3d sing. . . .	——	*ɛna'n(k) čhi'jkinen*		*c'in*	*cki'pnin*
1st pl.	——	*mɪ'jhin(k) čhi'jɪn*		*ncki'nin*	*ncki'pnin*
2d pl.	——	*tɪ'jhin(k) čhi'jkɪsxin*		*c'isx*	*c'isx*
3d pl.	*čhijci*n*	*txɪ'in(k) čhi'jkipnin*		*c'in*	*cki'pnin*

PAST

| | Intransitive TO BE | Non-personal | | Personal | |
1st sing. . . .	*tl'ik*	*kɪma'n(k) l'in*		*tlki'nin*	*tlki'pnin*
2d sing. . . .	*l'ič*	*kɪni'n(k) lhin*		*lki'nin*	*lki'pnin*
3d sing. . . .	*l'ič*	*ɛna'n(k) l'i'nin*		*lhin*	*lki'pnin*
1st pl.	*nl'ik*	*mɪ'jhin(k) l'in*		*nlki'nin*	*nlki'pnin*
2d pl.	*l'icx*	*tɪ'jhin(k) lkɪ'sxɪn*		*l'isx*	*l'isx*
3d pl.	*l'či*n*	*txɪ'in(k) l'ki'pnin*		*lhin*	*lki'pnin*

EXHORTATIVE (ALSO FUTURE)

| | Intransitive TO BE | Non-personal | | Personal | |
1st sing. . . .	*ml'ik*	*kɪma'n(k) xanli'hɪn*		*mlki'nin*	*mlki'pnin*
2d sing. . . .	*kl'ixč*			*klki'nin*	*klki'pnin*
3d sing. . . .	*x·anl'i'hɪn*	*ɛna'n(k) x·anlki'nin*		*x·anlhi'n*	*x·anlki'pnin*
1st pl.	*mɪnɪl'k*			*mɪnlki'nin*	*mɪnlki'pnin*
2d pl.	*kl'icx*			*kl'isx*	*kl'isx*
3d pl.	*x·anl'i'hɪn*	*txɪ'in(k) x·anlki'pnin*		*x·anlhi'n*	*x·anlki'pnin*

VERBAL STEM le

The auxiliary verb *le* TO BECOME has also an intransitive and a personal transitive form, like the last stem.

tlejk I become something

tle'jkipnin I become something for them

VERBAL STEM sɪ

The stem *sɪ* TO BE lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

sɪč you were

VERBAL STEM īs, il

The stem *īs, il* corresponds to the Chukchee *lñ-*, and *rt-*. It is used often with the nominalized verb 2, 3 (see p. 748). With the intransitive verb it has intransitive forms, while the corresponding Chukchee verbs are always transitive. §81

xë k!ŏ'lki milk not coming I will be

älxtalka tīsjhın I like thee (älxtalka modalis of LIKING; (t- I; īs stem; -j- present; -hın thee); compare Chukchee älhu-tılhırkıni'gıt (älhu as object of LIKING; t- I; lh- to have for—; -rkın present; -igıt thee)

ľa'mal mī'lin I will kill him (ľa'mal to killing; m- let me; īl stem; -in him); compare Chukchee am-tma' mı'ntiä͡ᵉn (am-merely; tm- to kill; -a modalis; m- let me; -nt medial stem; -ä͡ᵉn him)

VERBAL STEM issɪ

This stem corresponds to Chukchee tĕ-, Kor. Kam. ssɪ-, and expresses nearly the same idea as the last verb.

qam ke'jkek tı'ssıhın I do not accept you (qam not; kej to accept; -kek negative ending; t- I; issɪ stem; -hın thee) compare Chukchee ehn-ei'mitkä tı'tĕıgıt (ehn—kä negation; eĭ'mit to take; t- I; tĕ stem; -gıt thee)

VERBAL STEM teḷ

The stem teḷ has a meaning similar to the last two, but expresses prolonged action. It follows Type II of the transitive verbs.

xtel tıtéḷıjñın I came to fear him (xtel fear; t- I; teḷ stem; -j- present; -ñın [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.

tvetatkŏju'jkıpnên I am busying myself on their behalf (t- I; vetat to be busy; -kŏju inchoative; -j- present; -kıpnên see p. 767.

i͡ᵉsx txi'in no'nul͡ intılıtkŏjujkıpni'n they always bring food to their father (i͡ᵉsx father; txi'in their; no'nul͡ modalis, with food; intıl to bring; -t durative; -kŏju inchoative; -j-present; kıpnin as before)

The Chukchee sentence

tu'mgıtum e'ĕe muwi'ä͡ᵉn I will cook fat for my companion (tu'mgıtum absolute form, COMPANION; e'ĕe modalis; WITH FAT; m- LET ME; uwi TO COOK; -ä͡ᵉn HIM) is quite comparable to this (see p. 741).

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§ 82. *Predicative Forms of Pronouns and of Numerals*

Indefinite (interrogative) pronouns and numerals are frequently used in predicative form, and take all verbal forms. They may also take verbal affixes, but of these only a few are in frequent use.

Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	
re̜q	yaq[1]	WHAT
re̜'qärkɪn (req + rkɪn)	ya'qikɪn[1] (yaq + ikɪn) ya'qɪykɪn Kor. 28.10	what do you do, want?
rɪreqe'urqin (rɪ — eu to cause)	yɪyaqa'wikɪn	what do you make him do?
raqiño̜'rkɪn (-ñño̜ to begin)	yagñɪvo'ikɪn	what do you begin to want? (expressive of annoyance)
raqɪčña'tɪrkɪn (-čñat annoyance)	yaqɪčña'tekɪn	what do you want? (expression of strong annoyance)
nike	nika Kor. 80.9	SOMETHING
nike'rkɪn	nika'ikɪn	you do a certain thing
rɪnike'urkɪn	nika'ikɪn	you make him do a certain thing
ñireq	ñiyeq	TWO
ñireqe'urkɪn	ñiyeqɪ'wikin	you are the second
mɪ'lɪñeñ	mɪ'lɪñen	FIVE
mɪlɪnkau'kɪn	mɪlɪnka'wekin	you are the fifth
Here belongs also		
terke'urkɪn	ta⁵ika'wikin	what number in the series are you?

Koryak:

ya'qlau what are they doing? Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikɪne'tɪk what are you doing Kor. 24.8
gaya'qlinat what happened to them Kor. 30.9
nɪya'qi-gi what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs.

gŭmni'n e'kik kɪtu'r mɪngɪtka'wkwe̜⁵ (Chukchee) my son last year ten reached (*gŭmni'n* my; *e'kik* son; *kɪtu'r* last year; *mɪngɪt* ten -ke̜u verbal suffix of numerals; *gi⁵* 3d sing.)

kiu'kɪ tɪmɪlɪnka'wkwa⁵k I stayed there five nights (*kiu'kɪ* passing nights; *t-* I; *mɪlɪn* five; -ke̜u verbal suffix of numerals; -gä⁵k 1st sing.)

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[1] Koryak II *taq* WHAT; *ta'qatkɪn* WHAT DO YOU DO, WANT?

KAMCHADAL

The indefinite (interrogative) pronouns of Kamchadal occur also in predicative form. At present only a few forms of the present tense are used.

ɛnka'nejč what are you (sing.) doing?
ɛnka'nejcx what are you (pl.) doing?
lajč how are you (sing.)?
la'jčɪᵉn how are they?
sxuzɪjč you (sing.) do a certain thing
ñuᵉn sxu'sɪjčɪn Čɪja'l-ku'txaᵉn there the people of Čɪja'l-kutx live (ñuᵉn there; sxu'sɪjčɪn they do a certain thing; -aᵉn plural)

The use of pronouns or pronominal adverbs is much more common, perhaps due to Russian influence.

ɛnka'nkê k!öjč for what do you come?
lact cunljč how do you live?

Sentences which contain the verbalized and the nonverbal pronoun also occur, and are probably the result of a mixture of Kamchadal and Russian syntax.

ɛnka'j kɪmma tɛ'nɪjɪn what now have I done to him?
ɛ'nkaj ɛ'nin what now has he done to him?
ɛ'nkaj ɛnk!ö'lčɪñɪn why did you (sing.) come to him?

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:

ɛnkank!ö'lčɪñɪn = ɛnka'nke k!ö'lčɪñɪn (cf § 59, p. 731)

There are also two demonstrative verbs:

tea here   te'a-sɪjk here I am
hei look here!   he'yɪsɪjk here I am (close to the person addressed)

Both contain the auxiliary verb sɪ (see p. 767).

§§ 83-90. Syntactic Use of Tenses and Modes

§ 83. *Declarative Mode*

Declarative forms of the simple, derived, and nominalized forms are used to express the predicate in declarative and interrogative sentences.

Simple forms:

ñawanê'tɪ i'wkwiᵉ he said to his wife 83.23
gɪ'thɪn luᵉ'nin he saw a lake 37.4

§83

ñi'nqäi ra'nmŭgnên she will kill the child 37.14
ralaulawa'trñoaᵉ thou wilt do wrong 21.5
kuwi'čɪn treᵉ'tyäᵉn I brought children's death 20.1

Derived forms:

mɪč·ɪmgumge'erkɪn we are terrified 63.4
tɪnqäe'rkɪn I refuse 19.7
čɪ'mquk pêla'arkɪn some are leaving 8.9

Nominalized forms:

näqᵉälile'tqin re'mkɪn the people were at war 97.23
nre's·qiuqin ñe'us·qät the woman entered 63.3
čêq-a'lvam-va'lɪ-te'rê ye are quite strange 63.4
evi'rä getule'ʟeet they have stolen clothing 13.6
elere'iᵉ dost thou feel lonesome? 96.2

Examples of interrogative sentences are—

Simple forms:

eñeñɪtvi'iᵉ hast thou become a shaman? 18.4
mê'nko pɪ'ntɪqättɪk whence did ye appear? 74.21
mi'ñkɪ-m ra'tvaaᵉ where wilt thou live? 108.25

Derived forms:

re'qärkɪn what are you? 18.9
re'qä tɪmɪ'rkɪnên what has killed him? 23.5

Nominalized forms:

mi'ñkri gewkwe't-i-gɪt where have you gone?
mi'ñkri nɪ'tvaqên how is he? 13.10
re'q-i-gɪt what do you want? 18.12
gei'čemit-tu'mgɪ-gɪr hast thou brothers? 99.18

Koryak:

Simple forms:

ñawa'kak naya'tɪn they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20
tapka'vɪk oḷñaqa'tɪk I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
tïyayɪ'ḷqatɪñ I shall sleep Kor. 31.8
tɪqa'payuk I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1
Miti'nak ena'nme, enapa'te Miti has killed me and cooked me Kor. 96.7

Derived forms:

tɪgɪtta'tɪykɪn I am hungry Kor. 35.5
Eññaᵉ'an Amamqu'tinu vañvoḷai'ke thus Eme'mqut and his people were living Kor. 45.5
penye'kɪnen talai'vik he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3
mɪlu'ykɪninau she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4
peḷhanñɪvoḷai'ke they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17

§83

Nominalized forms:

va⁵'yuk ɡayo⁵'oḷen vai'amn·aqu then they found a large river
Kor. 21.3

gaḷa⁵wkali'lin wŭ'ḷka they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9

ɡaqqaika'makata ɡana⁵'l-mu'yu we came to be with (to have) a
small kamak Kor. 37.4

ña'cñɪn nenanyopanñɪvo'qenau outside they were hung up Kor.
60.9

atau' ña'no ᴇnña⁵'an nɪtva'ñvoqen that one was living thus
Kor. 61.3

ña'no nɪtɪnma'tqen that one is telling lies Kor. 62.3

In the indefinite nominalized predicate the subject pronoun may
be repeated to emphasize the question.

ɡeet-tu'ri tu'ri have you come?

Impersonal verbs do not differ from the ordinary intransitive
verbs.

ile'erkɪn (Kor. Kam. *muqa'tikɪn*; Kamchadal *čxu'jɪn* or *čxujč*) it
is raining

ile'tyi⁵ (Kor. Kam. *muqa'thi⁵*; Kamchadal *čxun*) it has been
raining

lä⁵leuru'i⁵ winter came 14.9

čêlhɪro'ê⁵ 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.

tɪqêwɡañño'a⁵k 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
Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷa⁵n tɪ'nmɪn I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

e'nmen nɪki'rui⁵ then night came 36.12
lu'ur wêthau'ñoê⁵ then he began to speak 31.11

The derivative is generally used to express a present continued
action, but it occurs also frequently in narrative. This use is more
frequent in Koryak than in Chukchee (see § 87).

The nominalized verb (*a*) expresses a continuative regardless of
time. When coordinated with another verb it expresses contempo-

raneity (see § 88). The nominalized verb (b) is used commonly in narrative to express the progress of an action. When coordinated with another verb, it expresses an antecedent (see § 88).

The future is formed by the prefix re- and the correlative pronominal forms. Quite commonly the future is given the form of an exhortative.

§ 85. The Subjunctive

The subjunctive (a) and (b) are, the former an exhortative form, the latter the form used in conditional and other subordinate clauses. The former is frequently used for expressing the future, particularly when it implies the idea of intention.

Subjunctive (a):

nuwa'lomgaᵉn let him know
va'nɪvan nuwa'lomgaᵉn he would not hear anything
mewkwe'tyäᵉk let me depart 17.10
mɪlɪmala'ññoaᵉk let me begin to obey 21.4
mɪnranto'mɪk let us leave the town 56.8
nɪyɪ'lqätyäᵉn let him sleep 9.1
niča'atvaaᵉn let her be cast away 39.3
mi'ilhɪr let me give thee 15.13
mɪmata'gɪr let me marry thee 77.1
mɪnlete'ttɪk let us carry you away 74.15
ñɪro'q ya'rat va'nêvan äᵉnluᵉ'net three houses, not at all they could see them 61.10
ñeuwi'rit aᵉnei'mityäᵉn she would take the soul of the woman 37.11

Koryak:

mɪnyaitɪla'mɪk let us go home! Kor. 26.8
nayanva'ññɪnɪn let them skin it! Kor. 26.10
mɪnɪlqala'mɪk let us go! Kor. 28.5
mɪkɪplɪs·qewla'tɪk I will stun them with blows Kor. 29.7
ya'qu-yak quwai'matɪn aᵉntai'kɪ-gi into what desirest thou one should make thee? Kor. 38.4

Subjunctive (b) does not appear very often in the texts.

e'ur ɛn·ñi'n· niᵉ'tyäᵉn, qora'ñɪ mɪnɪᵉ'yɪlhɪt if you were like this, we should give you reindeer
ɛnqa'n nɪᵉgite'nin, nuᵉwi'äᵉn if she should look upon that one, she would die 37.12
ia'm leule'wu tɪᵉlhɪ'äᵉn why should I harm her? 38.12
va'nɛvan nute's·qän nɪᵉyoᵉ'nên he would not at all reach the ground 52.12

ɛnqa'n ora'wêḻat ê'čča nɪᵉtva'nat, nɪᵉčvitkui'vunet viu'ta if the men had stayed on the surface, the whalebone would have cut them down 68.26 (ɛnqa'n THAT; ora'wêḻan MAN; -tva TO REMAIN; nɪᵉ -for full form nanɪᵉ-; čvi- TO CUT; -tku suffix ALL; -ĭv suffix GREAT QUANTITY; viut WHALEBONE; -a subjective)

čitê'un ɪm gŭmna'n wu'tku tiᵉnr̃i'qäᵉn if only I could keep it R 45.21

čitê'un kɪnta'ɪrga memɪlqa'a neᵉna'lpɪnr̃ieᵉ if only good luck wouid give me seals R 46.42

čitê'un vêᵉwgênto'êᵉ in order that he should give up his breath R 49.15

ekeña'n gŭmna'n tɪᵉpi'reäᵉn I wish I would (rather) take it

Koryak:

me'ñqañ nɪᵉtvaᵉ'an how could she be? Kor. 34.12

naniᵉ'wɪn one might say Kor. 25.2

§ 86. *The Imperative*

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

nota'sᵹêtɪ qäčɪpe'tyiᵉ into the ground plunge! 17.2

qineti'ñuiᵉ haul me up! 131.22

ñe'lvŭl qagtɪ'gɪtkɪ bring ye the herd! 129.19

qɪnilhe'tyɪtkɪ lower ye me! 131.15

Koryak:

appa', qakya'wgɪ grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9

quwa'ñɪḻat open your mouth! Kor. 34.7

qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3

ne'nako qɪyoᵉ'oge čača'me then you will find an old woman Kor 51.1

Quyqɪnnᵼaqu'nak qɪyaipɪḻa'tɪk live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2

qanto'tɪk go ye outside! Kor. 74.12

qi'wgutča tell ye him! 74.20

§ 87. *Derived Forms*

The derived forms express continued action.   For this reason they are found most frequently in direct discourse when a continuous condition is described.

ia'm têrga'arkɪn why art thou weeping? 48.12

gŭm ñe'uk tɪle'rkɪn I am walking about to get a wife 57.2

mɪthɪtte'urkɪn we are hungry 70.24

kele'tä nayoᵉ'rkɪn-ê-gɪt the kele are visiting thee 52.4

Koryak—

> *mɪtɪpaᵉḷai'kɪnen* we are thirsty Kor. 16.9
>
> *yaqḷaikɪne'tɪk* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
>
> *kokaiviḷai'ke* they are cooking it Kor. 27.4
>
> *tɪtaᵉ'ḷiykɪn* I am feeling unwell Kor. 84.26

In Chukchee the derived forms are not often used in narrative as an historical present, while in Koryak this use is quite common.

> *temyu'ñɪrkɪn* ɛʟa' she was deceiving her mother 29.2
>
> *pŭkirgiᵉ. Aiwana'čhin ŭm nɪčvi'tkurkɪn reᵉw.* He arrived. The Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10
>
> *e'nmen yê'gɪčhɪn rɪnřɪ'rkɪnin* he was carrying about a walrus penis 67.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3

> *qolê-tkeʹunvuk ewkweʹerkɪt, eviʹrä ǥetuleʹ ʟeet. E'nmen ewkweʹtyäᵉt* during another night they were about to leave, having stolen clothing. Then they left (*qul* ANOTHER; *tkiu* TO PASS THE NIGHT; *-nv* PLACE OF [§ 109, 50], *-k* LOCATIVE; *ewkwet* TO LEAVE; *evirit* CLOTHES; *-ä* subjective [§ 37]; *tulet* TO STEAL; *ǥetuleʹʟeet* < *ge-tulet-linet*) 13.5

Koryak—

> *gaimanñɪvo'ykɪn* he had a desire Kor. 12.2
>
> *ḷŭmñeua'ykɪn* she was following Kor. 23.3
>
> *vañvoḷai'ke* they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor. 43.7
>
> *nanoñvo'ykɪnenau* 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:

> *ñɪto'ykɪn* he went out Kor. 12.5; 72.15
>
> *ñɪvo'ykɪn* she began Kor. 72.16
>
> *yaḷqɪ'wikɪn* he entered Kor. 13.9
>
> *newñɪvo'ykɪnenat* they began to say to both of them Kor. 12.7

A habitual action is expressed in the following example:

> *ča'mañ* ɛɴqa'nêna *gɪnnig-gili'ḷɪqä'gti tɪmɪ'rkɪnênat* 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'kä qatva'rkɪn* stay without motion! 57.3
>
> *qaivaḷponaurkɪnê'tkɪ* you will hit (the children) upon the head 69.32
>
> *quwaḷo'mɪrkɪn* listen! 32.1 §87

Koryak—

> *aqalhai'aka qitı'ykın-i'-gi* do not cry! (not be without crying)
>   Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

> *mıqamı'tvaaᵋk* I shall eat now
>   *mıqamı'tvarkın* I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)
> *inenreqeurkıni'tık* what are you going to do with me? 10.10
> *tı'gtırkın* I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

> *tıyanto'ykın* I shall go out Kor. 14.5
> *tıyañlanñırvo'ykın* I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

> *trêrêvilitku'ñırkın* I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

> *mınqamı'tvarkın* let us continue to eat! 65.4
> *mıniwkurkıni'gıt* 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'rkın nıme'yᴇñqin* (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7
> *nıču'uqin kê'rgäqai* a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

> *nᴇpplu'qin* a small one Kor. 15.2
> *gatai'kılin nıma'yıñqin* he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4
> *nıma'yınqin ñai'ñai* the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (*a*) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

> *qača'ken leᵋ'qač nu'uqin, qol ŭm nıče'ʟoqên leᵋ'qač* one-half was
>   black, the other half was red 88.15,16

niu'läqin it was long 91.24

yara'ñı nıte'ñqin the house is good 92.9

mi'nkri nı'tvaqên how (of what kind) are they 13.10

wu'tku nıtvai'-gır you are staying here 7.5

nıggi'nqin mⱥrêqa'gtı they are eager for us 8.9

ınpınači'yñın neiñe'tqin the old man was the one who called out 86.13

ninei'mitqin u'nelti he was taking thong-seals 67.18

Koryak:

nılhıkyu'qin it is watchful Kor. 39.9

nıma'lqin it is good Kor. 64.24

nanñıčvına'w-gǔm I am angry Kor. 31.2

nıtıñpuvaqa'tqen she is one who is striding and pecking Kor. 47.11

Tanño nıgala'qenau the Chukchee were the ones who passed by Kor. 66,12.

Examples of relative clauses:

ınpıñawqa'gčının . . . pako'lčıñın nine'nřaqin it was an old woman . . . who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21

gıt kele'tä nayoᵉ'ikın-ê-gıt you are one who is being visited by the kelet 52.4

yara'qai . . . kele'tä nêna'yoᵉqên it was a small house . . . which was visited by the kelet 51.9

Koryak:

veḷı'lñu nenataikıñvo'qenau (those are) thimbles that had been made Kor. 60.8,9

Miti'nak nenaaiñawñıvo'qen; e'wañ it was Miti who called him she said Kor. 74.29

nıqalhai'aqen he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1

nınnipñıvo'qen they were the ones who began to keep it Kor. 41.9

Examples of temporal coordination:

tı'ttıl nênarkıpčeu'qên, ᴇ'nk·i ñe'wän ure'wkwiᵉ (at the time) when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6

qän·vér ñi'nqäi nıtê'rgılatqên, qän·ve'r i'wkwiᵉ uwaᵉ'quč when the child cried, the husband said 38.3

qaia'qañ e'ur neimeu'qin, êwkurga nıgınteu'qin whenever he was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14

nıtınpıčê'tqênat . . . ᴇn·qa'm . . . qolê-ra'gtı qä'tyäᵉt while they were stabbing them . . . then . . . to another house he went 12.9, 10

§88.

Koryak:

> *nenavoᵉñvo-mu'yu eᵉ'en ganu'linau* when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10
>
> *mı'mla nınu'qen, qalñe-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 qaño'tweᵉlen* she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22
>
> *ño'č-e-um gene'l-i-um* poor (I) I had become R 45.28

Koryak:

> *gama'lalin* it had grown better, Kor. 14.11
>
> *gaqi'tilinau* they had became frozen Kor. 14.3

In narrative it expresses the progress of action, but apparently not with the same intensity as the verbal forms.

> *gûmni'n pe'nin-ñe'w gêwiᵉ'lin* my former wife died R. 45.29.
>
> *yičemre'tti gettwıle'ʟinet* a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3
>
> *e'ur gırgıronta'ʟên aᵉ'ttwılä* then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

Koryak:

> *vaᵉ'yak gaya'lqıwlin* afterwards he entered Kor. 14.1
>
> *ga'lqaʟin* he went Kor. 16.3

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

> *e'nmen gequ'pqänteʟin i'wkwiᵉ* after she was quite starved she said 39.1
>
> *Ai'wan-a'kkata ñi'lhın gečheiulu'ulin a'ñqa-čo'rmı, ɛnřa'q ŭm ñi'lhın getiñus·qiče'ʟin e'ur ŭm nêčhêtau'qên mêmlê'tı* the Aiwan's son had hidden a thong on the sea-shore, then (when) he had tugged the thong, then he made him fall into the water 48.3–5
>
> *gıtte'ulıt ŭm ñan, ki'pu-ri'ʟu neluᵉ'äᵉn* after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1
>
> *gaa'lomlêᵉn, i'wkwiᵉ* after he had heard it he said 56.12
>
> *qanto's·qêulên e'ur ɛnqa'n . . . ninerkile'qin* after he had rushed out he was being pursued 57.11

Koryak:

> *miti'w gečha'ɹen ɛnka'ta tɪlai'vɪkɪn ñe'ɹa* next day, after it had dawned, at that place a herd was walking Kor. 21.8

With nouns the form *ga—lin* expresses possession (see p. 712.)

§ 0. Negative Forms

Negative forms are partly·expressed by adverbs with the ordinary forms of the verb, partly by the derivative in *ę—kä*, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

> *va'nêvan* not at all (see p. 882)
> *qa'rêm* always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)
> *ča'mam* always with the future (see p. 883)

See also *e'ɹe, en·ñe, ui'ñä* (p. 883).

The forms in *ę—kä* and in *eǥn-* will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

> In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in *x·ë—ki* for intransitive verbs, *x·ë—kic* (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

> *x·ënu'ki ml·ik* I will not eat
> *x·ënu'kɪ ksɪ'xč* do not eat!

§§ 91–94. Syntactic Use of Nominal Forms

§ 91. The Absolute Form

The absolute form of the noun and pronoun is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb. Independent pronouns may be added to the verb in this form for the purpose of emphasis.

Subject of intransitive verb:

> *yaai'pŭ ye'tyɪᵉ ri'rkɪ* from afar a walrus came 8.5
> *kɪtve'yu i'wkwiᵉ* the old walrus spoke 8.14
> *mu'ri . . . mɪrreyɪ'lqätyäᵉ* we shall sleep 9.3
> *rɪrkanpɪna'čhɪn pɪlqäe'rkɪn* the old walrus dived 9.6
> *re'mkɪn nɪ'lqätyäᵉn* the people shall go 13.12
> *iᵉ'rgiᵉ re'mkɪn* the people crossed over 13.13
> *ri'rkɪ ge'pkiɹin* a walrus arrived 8.6
> *nite'rmečɪnqin ramkɪ'yñɪn* the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3

Koryak:

attaᵉyol-yaᵉ'mkɪñ galai''vɪñvoḷen people (from) down the coast walked about Kor. 41.1

Ama'mqut e'wañ Eme'mqut said Kor. 40.7

ɪ'npɪ-qla'wuḷ gewñɪvo'ḷen the old man said Kor. 47.1

ñalvɪla'n·aqu . . . gaḷañvo'ykɪn a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9

ña'wɪs·qat va'ykɪn a woman was there Kor. 52.1

Object of transitive verb:

u'ttuut tɪčvi'äᵉn I cut wood

yo'nên lautɪ'yñɪn she pushed the big head into it 28.6

uwi'lkan qätei'kɪgɪn make a woodpile! 31.12

wŭ'rgɪrgɪn walo'mɪñonên she heard a noise 32.10

kokai'ñɪn yɪre'nnin she filled the kettle 33.10

ñeuwi'rit aᵉnei'mityäᵉn she would take the woman's soul 37.11

mač-êwga'n tɪtvu'rkɪn I tell it as an incantation 39.13

u'ttuut ne'npŭäᵉn they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9

Koryak:

tɪyoᵉ'an ɪ'npɪ-qla'wuḷ I found an old man Kor. 52.4

gaqa'yɪčulin ḷoᵉ'ḷqaḷ he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6

qai-mɪ'mɪč gayo'oḷen she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1

čɪ'ḷɪḷ čvitču'ykɪnin he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4

ɛni'n kmi'ñɪpil gaquḷumti'lin he carries his son Kor. 57.9

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object.

tu'mgɪtum muwi'än let me cook for (my) friend

gŭmni'n e'kik keli'tulä mɪ'lpɪnřɪgaᵉn I will give money to my son

§ 92. *The Subjective*

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs.

wo'tqan ñan a'ačêk ɛnɪ'k-ɛlɪ'gä kɪ'plɪnên the father struck this young man (*wo'tqan* this; *ñan* here; *a'ačêk* youth; *ɛnɪ'k* subjective third person singular pronoun; *ɛlɪ'gɪn* father; *rkpl* to strike; *-nin* he—him)

ɪmɪlo re'mkä napêᵉ'laaᵉn nɪ'mnɪm the whole people left the camp

čo'urgɪn tɪlo'mnên kele'tä the kele opened the door-flap 106.16

kɪtve'yuta i'unin the old walrus said to him 8.7

Aiwhuyanpɪna'čha pɪnlo'nênat a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9

Ta'n·ña gaioᵉ'laat the Ta'n·ñɪt attacked them 97.25

mergɪna'n me'rêg-ra'k ñe'wänti gi'wä we in our houses to our wives say 84.16

Koryak:

> *atta^{e'}yol-ya^{e'}mka gava'lomlen* the people down the coast heard it Kor. 39.7
>
> *Amamqu'tınak u'ttı-yu'ñı gatai'kılin* Eme'mqut made a wooden whale Kor. 40.8
>
> *iḷa^{e'}ga ini'wi* mother told me Kor. 46.1
>
> *an·a'nak ini'wi* grandmother[1] told me Kor. 46.2
>
> *ı'npı-qla'wuḷa gai'lıḷın kı'plau* the old man gave him mortars Kor. 51.5
>
> *kmi'ña gama'taḷen* the son married her Kor. 80.1
>
> *mı'mḷa nınuqin* the louse ate her Kor. 76.4.
>
> *gŭmna'n ñawa'kak tıyai'lıñın* I will give (him) the daughter Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with *-ine*, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

> *Ta'n·ña nini'uqin* she was told by the Ta'n·ñıt 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)pınⁱ* TO GIVE, *o'ntı* TO REFUSE.

> *gŭmni'n e'kık keli'tulä mı'lpınⁱıga^{e}n* I presented my son with money
>
> *teki'čhä qêna'lpınⁱıgê^{e}* I present thee with meat

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

> *tu'mgıtum e'če muwi'ä^{e}n* I shall cook for (my) companion (with) fat
>
> *qla'ulqai rıqamıtva'urkınên tenm'netä* 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' xkoka-ju'jcx* (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee *ᴇ'nnı-leu'tä quwi'tık*

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

> *añqa'ta leuḷe'wu ge'lhı-mu'ri* by the sea we were badly treated 65.27
>
> *genilule'ññılin keñuneñe'tä* he moved it with the staff 101.8
>
> *ê'tin yıkı'rga pi'rinin* it took its master with the mouth 104.33
>
> *qrilu'tkui vala'ta* move about with the knives! 16.4
>
> *mu'ʟä gakañoi'pŭlên* with blood he is besmeared 19.3

---

[1] Treated here like a personal name.

Koryak:

> *va^ε'ga tyančrma'wiikrniñrn* I shall tear him with (my) nails
> Kor. 84.16
>
> *tui-ñi'lña gata'kyrlin* they throw (it) with the harpoon line Kor.
> 41.3
>
> *ma'qmita tuva'nnrntatrk* I lost a tooth by means of an arrow
> Kor. 33.1
>
> *a^{ε}la'ta awyeñvo'ykrn* he eats (with) excrements Kor. 12.5
>
> *ai'krpa gapr'wyalin* she threw about (with) fly-eggs Kor. 45.2
>
> *vala'ta gaqa'yrčulin* he chopped it up with a knife Kor. 53.6
>
> *vai'čita qatha'ai* they two went on foot Kor. 22.8

§ 93. *Locative, Allative, and Ablative.*

The locative expresses the place where something is or happens.

čotta'gnrk in the outer tent 52.7

ro'čEn·kr nrtva'qên it stays on the other shore 52.11

ênno'tkrnrk tara'nga^{ε}t they pitched their tent on the slope of a
hill 56.9

Telqä'prk . . . geke'ñrlrt in the Telqä'p country they were driv-
ing reindeer 61.8

em-ñi'lhin nuwotrtva'qên tr'mkrk only the thong remained tied to
the hummock 62.7

ñe'wänrk pêla'nên he left him with the wife 105.7

re'mkrk oratva'ê he stayed long with the people 54.2

grnr'k čaučhu ge'eḻin a reindeer-breeder came to thee 46.11

Koryak:

> *i'ya^{ε}g ga'plin* to the sky it was fastened Kor. 19.3
>
> *gŭmni'n ya'yak vaḻai'ke* my things are in the house Kor. 19.9
>
> *gŭ'mma a'ñqak ti'yak* I hit (on) the sea Kor. 26.2
>
> *ña'nrko va'amrk yiwgrči'ta* there in the river have a drink! Kor.
> 32.1
>
> *gaḻa'lin va'amĭk* he arrived at the river Kor. 32.2
>
> *gawga'ḻen ena'trk* he was caught in the snare Kor. 36.6

The allative expresses—

1. The direction toward.

> *a^{ε}qa'-kamaanvê'tr nine'il-i-ŭm* I give them to the possessors of bad
> dishes 96.7
>
> *kala'gtr qaiñe'utkurkrn* call to your kele 102.5
>
> *kala'gtr nrpênřrčê'tqên* it rushed at the kele 104.25
>
> *čei'vutkui^ε nimnrme'tr* he went to a camp 105.5
>
> *notas·qačrkou'tr nićipe'tqin* he dives into the interior of the surface
> of the ground 131.7
>
> *Tñairgê'tr, grrgola'gtr nuwêthau'qên* he talks to the Dawn, the One
> on High 135.16

Koryak:

> *ga'lqaɹin eᵉe'tɪ* he went to the sky Kor. 14.9
>
> *eᵉe'tɪñ gani'ñlalin* he threw it to the sky Kor. 14.10; 15.7
>
> *qalté'nñɪn ganqu'lin yayačɪkoi'tɪñ* the stopper was thrust out into the house-interior Kor. 15.2
>
> *panenai'tɪñ gayi'ñalin* to the same place he flew Kor. 15.5
>
> *yaité'tɪ ga'lqaɹin* he went to the house Kor. 17.3
>
> *gata'wañlenat Qoyqɪmn·uqoyɪkai'tɪ* they moved to Big-Raven's Kor. 19.9

2. For, on account of.

qaa'gtɪ gɪlo'lên sorrowful on account of the reindeer 48.12

uwaqočê'gtɪ gɪlo'rkɪn do you sorrow on account of the husband 48.12

nɪlvau'qên ᴇrgɪp-ya'lhêti he was tired on account of the bright moon 14.11

The allative is often used to express the indirect object, corresponding to our dative, even if in the incorporated pronoun the direct object is used.

gŭ'muk-akka'gtɪ keli'tulti mi'ilinet I will give moneys to my son.

The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

qêtɪ-notas·qê'pŭ nɪpiu'riqin from the frozen ground he emerged 102.18

qolê'-notai'pŭ nua'lomgaᵉn I heard it far and wide 104.14

têrkɪra'ɪrgêpŭ nɪye'tqin he came from sunset 105.14

yoročɪkoi'pŭ nuwa'lomqên he heard from the sleeping-room 106.13

êučai'pŭ mɪñño'aᵉn let us begin from below 131.5

pêpêggŭpŭ nei'mityäᵉn they took him by the ankle 35.3

pottɪñai'pŭ eimi'nnin he took it by the holes 47.2

Koryak:

> *ega'ñko nalqainé'w-gŭm* from the sky have I been shot Kor. 33.4
>
> *kɪpla'gɪgiñko gače'pñɪtoɹen* out of the mortar it peeped Kor. 53.3
>
> *mañé'nqo yathaᵉ'an? nuta'nqo.* Whence did you bring her? from the country Kor. 60.10

§§ 94. Designative.

On account of its nominal character I have not included in the list of post-positional suffixes the element *-nu* (*see* § 103.34), which, however, is used syntactically very much like the suffixes treated in the last section.

§ 94

Taaro'ñ- Va'ırgu ŭm qän·ve'r he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9

Vaı'rgu ne'ᴌeᵉn (destined) to (be) a "Being" he became 41.10

yara'nə ne'lyiᵉ it became a house 43.5

rırıra'nnên . . . taikaus·qıo'lvu he spread it for a place to wrestle 47.4

wı'yolə mı'lhıgıt let me have thee as assistant 124.2

gʋqanqa'anə nıya'anat let him use them for driving reindeer 124.8

Koryak:

> *maḷ-iᵉ'yu nınaᵉ'lın* a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2
>
> *ya'qu mıntaikıḷa'-gi* into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9
>
> *kmêña'tınvu no'tañ nılai'-gŭm* for delivery in the country I went away Kor. 60.6
>
> *i'ssu gana'ᵉlinau* they became dresses Kor. 60.10
>
> *a'nkʋ naḷñıḷaikıne'mık* we are rejected (put to refusal) Kor. 62.5

§ 95. Verbal Nouns

As stated under the sections dealing with various post-positions nominalized verbs appear often with these endings. Following is the series of forms observed.

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye
Allative	-ɛ̣tı	⎫ -(ı)k, -(ä)k, -ka, kka
Locative	-(ı)k, -k(ı)	⎭
Subjective	-tḁ, -ä̆	-ta, -a
Comitative I	-ma	
Comitative II	-mačı	-mačı

Among these forms, the last one does not correspond to a nominal post-position; the Comitative I is analogous to the nominal suffix, which, however, has the prefix *ga-*, which is absent in the verbal noun.

ALLATIVE

In Chukchee the allative of the verbal noun is used with verbs expressing attempt, desire, preparation.

> *awkwatê'tı tıgaiča'urkın* I make haste to depart (*ewkwet* to leave; *t-* I; *gaičau* to hasten; *-rkın* present)
>
> *leᵉy̨'tı lile'pgiᵉ* he looked to see; (*luᵉ* to see; *lile* eyes; *-p* to put on; *-giᵉ* he)
>
> *nen·ñi'uäᵉn takêčhê'tı* they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

> | *penye'kınen taḷai'vık* he rushes to strike it Kor. 53.3

It expresses temporal coordination:

> *kıle'nin e'ur vai têrgatê'tı* he pursued, however, while he (the pursuer) was crying 57.9
>
> *e'ur ɛnqa'n têrgatê'tı ni'nerkile'qin* while he was crying he pursued him 57.11
>
> *gevin·vuten·ñe'ulin ñıtou'tı* he laughed secretly as he went out 71.30
>
> *ñıtou'tı ki'tkit nıten·ñew-i-ŭm* as I was going out I laughed a little 72.13
>
> *a'un-tırpaiñou'tı nıču'uqin kê'rgäqai wurre'tyiᵉ gırqo'l* while she was singing, a little hole appeared above 74.2
>
> *le'utti ñıtou'tı ri'nŕıninet* he carried the heads going out 86.8
>
> *a'un-wêthawê'tı* . . . while they were talking, he . . . 100.9

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LOCATIVE

</div>

In Chukchee and Koryak the locative seems to signify AT THE PLACE, AT THE TIME.

> *qaiñe'i yı'lqaññok* roar at the time of beginning to sleep 10.6
>
> *geri'ñelin pukê'rıñok* he flew up when (the other one) arrived 15.4
>
> *pŭkê'rıñok rıčıpeu'nin* when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive 19.12
>
> *awkwa'tıñok nımeiñeu ga'tvŭlên aᵉ'ttın* when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog 101.21
>
> *a'mkın-wolqatvê'ññok* every time when it began to be evening 104.12
>
> *qaa'gtı qa'tık aḡ'laḵa i'tyiᵉ* he had no knife while going to the reindeer (*qaa'* reindeer; *-gtı* to; *qat* to go; *a—ka* without; *va'la* knife; *it-* to be; *-giᵉ* he)
>
> *e'mkın -kiyeu'kı nênaio'gên* whenever she awoke, she shoved it in 29.2
>
> *qemi'-plı'tkuk* at the time of having finished eating 33.11

Koryak.

> *gas·s·aḷvıye'lin vıᵉya'tvık* she remained all day, being dead Kor. 64.9

The stems *lvau* NOT TO BE ABLE, *nkä* TO REFUSE, always govern the verbal locative:

> *luᵉk nilva'w-ê-ŭm* I could not be seen 22.9
>
> *nênalwau'qên luᵉk* he could not find her 38.7
>
> *ŭpau'kı tılva'urkın* I can not drink (*ŭpau'* to drink; *t-* I; *lvau* to be unable; *-rkın* present)
>
> *qäı'rık tılwa'urkın* I can not seek for her 38.8
>
> *veleʹrkılek luva'wkwêᵉ* he could not pursue him 15.6

taq-aimê'tɪk pɪnlə'tkə mɪtɪlva'urkɪn we can not divine how to get provisions 101.13

pɪntɪqä'tɪk nɪlvau'qên he could not disengage himself 101.34

qlike'tɪk nɪ'nkäqin she refused to marry 26.1

nɪnkä'tqinet pŭki'rɪk they refused to come 106.3

glike'tɪk aa'lomkᴇlên not (listening) consenting to marry 26.2

In Koryak the verbs *ñvo* TO BEGIN, *plɪ* TO FINISH, *nkau* TO CEASE, *pkau* NOT TO BE ABLE, always govern the verbal locative.

gañvo'l̥en gɪya'pčak she began to sing Kor. 16.10

gañvo'l̥en čilala'tɪk it began to bubble Kor. 17.2

gañvo'l̥en ñawa'kak kitai'ñak they began to scold the daughter Kor. 17.8

gañvo'l̥en tenma'witčuk she began to prepare Kor. 18.3

gana'nkaul̥en tɪnal̥aᵉ'tɪk they ceased to carry it out Kor. 41.8

ganka'wlinau tul̥a'tɪk they stopped to steal Kor. 41.9

quqka'wñunenau yanɪkya'wñak it could not awaken them Kor. 40.2

tapka'vɪk ol̥ñaqa'tɪk I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2

napkawñɪrvo'ykɪn tul̥a'tɪk they could not steal it Kor. 39.8

tawi'tkɪñɪk gava'nnɪntal̥en when pilfering she lost a tooth Kor. 34.3

ganaᵉ'linau pa'yittok they came to be eating blackberries Kor. 41.6

gaplɪ'tčulin kukai'vɪk 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

ñireqeu'kɪ the second time

ñɪroqau'kɪ the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

val̥o'mɪk tɪgaima'tekɪn I want to know (*val̥o'm* to know; *t-* I; *gaimat* to want; *-ekɪn* present)

THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

wa̧'qə̧ta̧ tuwañe'rkin I work sitting (*wa'qə* to sit; *t-* I; *wañe* to work; *-rkin* present)

am-ɪpa'wa nɪtvai'gŭm I was just drinking (*am-* merely; *ŭpau* to drink; *nɪ-* indefinite tense; *tva* to live, be; *-igŭm* I)

luñ -iwkuči'tä i'tyiᵉ not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink) 37.3

luñ-i'rä i'tyiᵉ not crossing it was 41.5

luñ-luᵉ'tä nɪ'ntäqinet not seen they had them 11.9

wêtha'wa qäntɪ'gɪn speaking do to her (i. e. speak to her!) 29.12

li'en· äq-eiñe'wa quli'tä only badly crying (and) sounding 57.6

The analogy between this form and the nominal subjective appears very closely in those cases where the adverbial idea expresses instrumentality.

taĉai'wêwa lautɪ'yñɪn ninenɪnnuteu'gin by means of striking he made the big head swollen 48.10

ɵttɪ-kɪpĉe'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

The verbal noun in gᵉ—tä̤ is often used both in Chukchee and in Koryak as an imperative.

ganto'ta, gi'wä go out and say!

gi'wä say! 21.11

gaa'nɵta he shall go first! 84.13

In other cases it has the meaning of a present.

mɵrgɪna'n gi'wä we are wont to say 84.16

Koryak:

gayɪ's·qata sleep! Kor. 31.8

gala̤'xtata wu'tĉau, gä̤ᵉa'nñɪvota take these along, haul them away! Kor. 51.6

The corresponding forms of the transitive verb occur in the past, future, exhortative, and in the derived present and exhortative (see § 68, p. 741). They are also used impersonally.

amto', mi'ñkri re'ntɪn, ra'nmɪñ well, how will it be done? will there be killing?

ga'nma killed

rä'nut gelu'tä whatever seen

tu'mgɪtum raᵉ'nutqäiä ga'lpɪn�ňa give something to (your) companion

<div align="center">COMITATIVE I AND II</div>

These forms express an action done while the subject of the sentence performed another action. Comitative I is used when the subject of both actions is the same; Comitative II, when the two subjects are distinct.

Examples of comitative I:

têrga'nma ninegepĉiygi'ugin weeping she kicked it 31.8

uwê'ma takɪmla'gnênat when cooking she prepared marrow for them 33.11

gɪ'nmɪl yɪ'lkama garêtêlai'gŭm recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (*gɪ'nmɪl* recently; *yɪlqa* to sleep; *ga—igŭm* I; *rêtêla* to dream)

kɪye'wkwiᵋ êaamya'ma he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:

ɪpau'maăi equ'lïkä while (the others) are drinking, be silent (*ŭpau* to drink; *e—kä* negative; *quli* noise)

Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, when used in verbal forms, may have the Comitative II, which is used when the subject is the same as well as when two distinct subjects are concerned.

miñke'kin luᵋ'äᵋn ñaus·gatɪma'ăɪ when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23

equ'lïkä rolma'ăɪ be silent, since you are weak (*e—kä* negation; *quli* noise; *rol* weak)

miñke'kin poi'gɪn luᵋ'äᵋn ñaus·qatɪma'ăɪ where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

nɪkêmaăɪ at night 56.8

Kamchadal has only two forms.

-kŏj (intransitive); *-c, -l* (transitive) and

k!—enk

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.

qe'ăel᷅ nu'kŏj enough to eat

tu'tun txlil I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending *-kŏj* is not used.

xë nu'ki it is impossible to eat (*xë—ki* negative, p. 826)

xë txle'kic it is impossible to beat him (*xë—kic* negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)

xë nu'ölki it is impossible to eat (*-öl* to desire, p. 808, no. 64.)

The second form expresses an action done at the same time with the one expressed by the predicate of the sentence. It is derived from the *k!-* prefix of the corresponding form of the noun, and the suffix of the possessive.

k!-nu'enk qam qe'lkek while eating I do not talk (*nu* to eat; *qam* not)

§§ 96–129. COMPOSITION

§ 96. Introductory Remarks

We have seen that in the formation of grammatical forms both prefixes and suffixes occur. Their use is much more extended, and they

§ 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 qǎi 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.

> qamitva-čhat-ı-ño'-rkıh he begins to gobble down
> ru-wake-s·qê-čhat-a'u-rkın he makes him sit down once with great force.

§§ 97–112. Suffixes

§§ 97–109. Nominal Suffixes

§§ 97–105. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

§ 97. Nouns in -in and -n

These have been discussed in §§ 45–49, pp. 707–713, and in §§ 51–55, pp. 714–719. Here belong also the nominalized verbs (a) and (b), which have been discussed in §§ 73, 74, pp. 758–762.

§ 98. Augmentative and Diminutive

1. -iñ-, subjective -iñIn, AUGMENTATIVE. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.[1]

va'lE knife	valaı'ñın large knife
aǝ'ttın dog	aᵉttı'yñın large dog
	aᵉttıyñê'pu from the large dog
rḛ'mkın people 13.10	ramkı'yñın big people 11.3
	Aiwhuyanpinačhı'yñın old big St. Lawrence man 13.11

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[1] Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to mḛiñ. This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel e of this word is weak.—F.B.

§§ 97, 98.

Some words do not take the suffix -*ı̯ñ*-, but use the definite form in
its place.

ñę'wän woman	*ñąwą'nčı̯ñɪn* the woman, the
Kor. Kam. *iᵉñui'ñɪn*	large woman
big nose Kor. 72.12	

2. **-*n·a'ku,* -*n·aqu*** AUGMENTATIVE (Kor. Kam.).

va'ḷa knife	*vala'n·aku* large knife
a'tian dog	*atta'n·aku* large dog
qḷawuḷ man	*qḷawuḷn·a'quñqo* from the
vai'amn·aqu big river Kor. 21.3	big man
Quyqɪnn·a'qu Big Raven Kor. 24.5	
kuka'-yɪčɪn·a'qu a big kettleful Kor. 43.1	

3. **-*gǫ*** AUGMENTATIVE.

ñąwgǫ'lhɪn the big wife 39.5; 40.1
pę̂tti-wąlką̌č·ǫlhę̂'tɪ to the big old jaw-bone house 59.8

4. **-*qą̈i*** DIMINUTIVE.   Plural, oblique cases, and definite, are formed
from this freely.   This is evidently related to the stem *qą̈iụ*
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 *gą̈in* FAWN;
ge'yĭgei FLEDGELING.

kukę̌'-qą̈i a little kettle
gɪ'lgɪ-qą̈i a small skin 45.6
qḷą'ul-qą̈i a small man
wą̌'lqarą̌-qą̈i small jaw-bone house 44.13
ɪnpɪ'ñę'w·qą̈yɪk to the little old woman 45.2
ñĭ'nqą̈i child 42.8
ñɪnqą̈ɛtɪlę́'kɪ to those with children 20.7
ɪnpɪñawqa'gčı̯ñɪn the small woman
qą̈i-u'nel young thong-seal 70.26
gą̈i-aᵉttɪgą̈i pup
gą̈i-ɪ-liᵉ'ggą̈i cub of wolf

qai (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective.   Its use
is very frequent.

qai-qḷa'wuḷ-pel a very small man
qai'-ña'wis·qat little woman Kor. 33.10
qai-ka'mak little kamak Kor. 38.9
qai-pipi'kaḷñu little mice Kor. 25.6
qai-ka'mak-pel little kamak Kor. 37.2

-*ai* SMALL AND MISERABLE (Kamchadal).

ki'stai a miserable little house (*kist* house)

kcxai a miserable little dog (*kocx* dog)

5. -*pịl* DEAR LITTLE.

ekke'pịl sonny

tu'mgäpịl dear little friend

Koryak:

-*pịl* (Kor. Kam.) dual and pl. -*pịlaq* (with the endings -*t* and

u); -*pi* (Kor. II),—express the DIMINUTIVE.

ñawa'n-pịl small woman (Kor. Kam.)

ñawan-pịla'qịt two small women (Kor. Kam.)

ñawan-pịla'qu small women (Kor. Kam.)

qlạ'wụl-pel small man

milya'qpil a little shell Kor. 23.8

va'gịlñịpel a small nail Kor. 23.7

vị'tvitpil a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4

-*pịliñ* (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix -*pịl* with the additional

suffix -*in*—conveys the sense of ENDEARMENT.

atta'pịliñ doggy

vai'ampịlịñ a little river Kor. 17.2

ịluᵉ'pịlịñ little (shaman's) wand Kor. 27.7

ñị'lñịpịlịñ little thong Kor. 39.4

6. -*čax*, -*čx*, -*cx* DIMINUTIVE (Kamchadal). The diminutive of the

plural is formed by the suffix -*č* added to the plural form.

	Singular	Diminutive	Plural	Diminutive
dog	*kocx*	*ko'cxčax*	*kcxoᵉn*	*kcxoᵉnč*
game	*hu'rnik*	*hu'rnikčax*	*hu'rnịkịᵉn*	*hu'rnịkịᵉnč*
village	*a'tịnäm*	*a'tịnocx*	*a'tinoᵉn*	*a'tịnoᵉnč*

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used

in a doubled form.

atịno'cxịčax a very small village

a'tịnocxanč very small villages

7. -*lịñọ* TINY. It always precedes the diminutive -*qại* (No. 4 of this

section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

qaa-lịñọ'-qại tiny reindeer

ñạwạn-lịñọ'-qại tiny woman

§ 98

§ 99. Collectives

8. *-yir̯in̯* or *-yIrIn* a company; (Kor. Kam. *-yIssan*) the stem of
the noun *yi'riir* or *yɪ'riir* FULLNESS, CONTENTS.

> ñ̯ewä'nyir̯in̯ a company of women
> ra'yɪrɪn a houseful 45.13
> Kor. Kam. nɪmyɪ'ssaᵉn people of a village Kor. 70.9
> Compare wal̯qa̯'čɪriir a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.

9. *-g̯in̯iw* GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. *-g̯in̯iu*).

> ra̯ê'n̯e̯u (Kor. Kam. ra̯-ge̯'n̯e̯w) group of houses (i. e., village)
> ya̯ra̯'-ge̯'n̯ew a group of houses 111.15
> u'mqä-gi'niw a set of polar bears 113.29
> yi'čemɪt-tu'mgɪ-gi'niw a set of brother-companions 113.28
> uwi'ritqäi-gi'niw a lot of little souls 122.31
> Kor. Kam. qaña'tɪl̯a-gi'niw a lot fishing with drag-nets Kor. 70.10

10. *-ril̯* (Kor. Kam. *-yil̯*) set, collection (used only for inanimate
objects).

> o'rgurêl̯ a caravan of sledges
> aᵉ'mril̯ (Kor. aᵉ'm-yil̯) a set of bones, *i. e.* a skeleton
> Koryak mu'u-yil̯ a line of sledges, a caravan Kor. 78.5

11. *-re̯t* SET, LITTER (Kor. Kam. *-yat*).

> va̯'ra̯t (Kor. Kam. va'yat) a group of beings (i. e., family group)
> yičemre'tti a set of brothers 64.3
> ple'gret a pair of boots
> li'liret a pair of mittens

12. *-tku̯* INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.

> ne'lhɪtkun all kinds of skins
> gɪ'nnɪkɪtkun various kinds of game
> oraweʟa'tkən men living in various places, people

This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:

> mainɪya'nɪtkən everything big
> räᵉ'nutetkun (räᵉ'neetkun) all kinds of things
> čiñe'waq panřa'tkəqaia tei'mityäᵉn 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'mkɪn (Kor. Kam. yaya'mkɪn) a cluster of houses (collective)
> rɪrka'mkɪčhɪn several walrus 102.17.
> aᵉttwɪlɪ'mkɪčhɪn the great assembly of boatmen 11.5

Compare the stem *mk* in the independent forms

> *mŭkɪčɪ'yñɪn* the more numerous ones 11.7
>
> *mŭ'kɪčɪn* more numerous 12.3
>
> *nŭ'mkäqin* numerous 12.7

and in the compound form

> *mŭg-gɪtka'k* with many legs 119.9

14. **-ffrg,** the stem of the third person plural pronoun *ɛ'rrɪ*, serves to form the plural of proper names and of some other words designating persons, when these appear with the suffixes *-gŭpŭ* and *-k* and with the particle *re'en* TOGETHER (p. 794, no. 18). (See § 44, p. 706.)

> *qlaulɪ'rgŭpŭ < qlaul-ɪrg-gŭpŭ* from the men
>
> *qla'ulɪrɪk < qla'ul-ɪrg-k* by the men, with the men
>
> *qla'ulɪrɪg-re'en < qla'ul-ɪrg-k-re'en* with the men

The possessive form *ɛ'rgin* is used in the same manner.

> *orawêla'rgên* that belonging to the (human) people

§ 100. Comitatives

15. **ga—ma** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. *awun—ma*) not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* is used.

> *galêla'ma* (Kor. Kam. *a'wunlela'ma*) with the eye
>
> *gọ'rguma* with the sledge 15.4
>
> *gata'ttɪrwalma* with the splinters of thigh-bone 33.11
>
> *gamọ'lɪma* with blood 43.8
>
> *gañênqai'ma* with children 50.6
>
> *gaprọ'rma* with the aorta R 2.2
>
> *gaᵉ'tɪruma* with the boat 71.4
>
> *galau'tɪma* with the head; i. e., the whole body 137.8
>
> Kor. Kam. *awun-qama'ma* with the dish 64.7
>
> Kor. Kam. *a'wun-e'ñvelma* with the nostrils

Compare the nominal derivatives of verbs, in *-ma* (§64, p. 738; § 95, p. 787).

> ‖ *k!—m* (Kamchadal). Comitative.
> ‖ *k!lŭ'lŭm* with the eye

16. **gε—(t)ä** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. *ga—[t]a*); not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* (p. 794, no. 18) is used. (Compare § 37, p. 697.)

> *gelile'tä* (Kor. Kam. *galila'ta*) with the eye
>
> *ɪnpɪna'čhɪn geñe'wänä* an old man with his wife 28.1 (subject)
>
> *ɛlɪ'gɪt geñe'wänä* the fathers with the wife, i. e. the parents 28.4 (subject); 39.11; 33.9

Kor. Kam. *gaqqaika'makata* with a small spirit Kor. 37.3

Kor. Kam. *ga'ttata* with a hatchet Kor. 56.3

Kor. Kam. *gaqḷa'wuḷa* with her husband Kor. 68.7

Verbal:

ñe'us·qät genutegĕi'tä, notai'pŭ gelei'vä the woman while walk-
ing in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she —
28.5

notai'pŭ gelei'vä ñe'usqät, vai ᴇʟᴀ'—while the woman was walk-
ing in the country, her mother—29.4

ᴇɴ·*qam* ᴇʟɪ'*hɪn getteʹtä gi'wä*—then the father with sudden
doing, with saying—29.11

17. -*maĕɪ* verbal noun expressing ᴍᴇᴀɴᴡʜɪʟᴇ (Kor. Kam. -*ma'ĕɪ*)
(see pp. 738, 788.)

18. -*re'en* added to the locative, ᴛᴏɢᴇᴛʜᴇʀ. It is used principally
with nouns designating persons, and replaces the comitative.
Its vowel does not form an ablaut.

gŭmu'g re'en together with me

Omru'wgêna-re'en together with Omru'wgê

tu'mug-re'en with the strangers 59.1

ni'lhɪ-re'en together with the thong 44.12

§ 101. Locatives

19. -*tkɪ̥n* ꜱᴜʀꜰᴀᴄᴇ (Kor. Kam. -*tkɪ̥n,-tĕɪn*); used chiefly in oblique
cases.

orgu'tkɪnɪk on the sledge

orgutkɪna'ta along the surface of the sledge

uwêkê'tkɪnɪk on the body 8.11

gêlɪ'tkɪnɪk on the sea-ice 9.1, 2

gêlgêlɪ'tkɪnɪk on the sea-ice 7.3, 5

kano'tkɪngŭpu on the crown of the head 8.2

mêmlɪ'tkɪnɪk on the water 9.3

ĕo'tɪtkɪnɪk on the top of the pillow 44.2

In the absolute form the suffix designates ᴛʜᴇ ᴘᴏɪɴᴛ ᴏꜰ.

yäqa'tkɪn point of nose

rɪĕhɪ'tkɪn finger-tip (stem *rɪlh*)

yêĕɪ'tkɪĕhɪn tip of tongue 40.4 (stem *yil*)

Koryak:

va'gɪtĕɪnu yu'kka eating points of nails Kor. 57.1

o'pɪtĕɪnɪk on the point of a beam Kor. 72.13

20. -*s·q̇-* absolute form -*s·q̇ạn; -ĕạ̇q* absolute form—*ĕạ̇qan* ᴛᴏᴘ
ᴏꜰ; ᴏᴠᴇʀ, ᴏɴ ᴛᴏᴘ ᴏꜰ (Kor. Kam. - *ḷq̇,* absolute form -*ḷqan*)

ettɪ′s·qän tree-top

ettɪ′s·qä′k on the top of the tree

tɪLi′s·qäk over the door

gɪ′thɪs·qä-nǫtai′ŋ̣n lake-top-big-land, i. e., the land over (near) the lake 144.3

tñe′s·qä-re′mkin people of top of dawn R 2.11

nute′s·qäk on top of ground, i. e., on the ground 98.24

Koryak:

ña′nkalqak the top of it Kor. 78.15

va′yamɪlqak on top of river Kor. 25.8

wu′gwulqak on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8

yas·qalkai′tɪñ (*ya-s·qa-lqa-ệtɪ*) to the house top Kor. 36.1

ya′s·qalqak on the house top Kor. 84.12

wapɪs·qalqak on top of slime Kor. 25.7

21. **-gị, -gịñ** THE BASE OF; in oblique cases, UNDER

uttɪ′gịñ base of the tree

ettɪgệ′ngŭpŭ from under the tree

uttɪgi′ñkɪ under the tree

čǫthệ′ñkɪ under the pillow (< *čǫt-gịñ-kɪ*)

nutẹ′s·qạgi′ñkɪ underground

nǫtas·qayệ′ñgŭpŭ from underground 143.6

Koryak:

e′n·mɪgenka under a cliff Kor. 13.6

qas·wuge′ñkɪ at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7

pḷakgeñe′tɪñ into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6

gankageñe′tɪ into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9

atvɪgeñe′tɪ into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5

22. **-ggịt** TOWARD; not in oblique cases

añqa′gg̣ệt toward the sea

uttɪ′gg̣ịt toward the wood

yạkạ′gg̣ệt noseward 45.2

tɪLệ′gg̣ệ toward the entrance 62.9

e′ekeggịt toward the lamp R 2.6

23. **-yị′wkwị** (absolute form **-yị′wkwịn**) THE SPACE ALONG —.

añqạyệ′wkwện the space along the sea

a′ñqa-čormɪyệ′wkwɪ along the seashore 66.12

añqạyệwkwệ′tạ along the sea, on the sea

nǫtas·qačiyẹuᵉ′kɪ along underground 44.12

I have found also the form—

rečệ′wkwä < *ret-yệ′wkwệ* along the tracks
(See *rệč·ệu′kɪ* 106.24.)

24. **-čɪ́kų** (Chukchee, Kor. Kam.) INSIDE OF; also with neutral *u*.

> *u'tčɪku* in the wood
> *uttɪ'čɪku* within the tree
> *yara'čɪku* or *ra'čɪku* within the house
> *kegri'čɪku* inside of palm 20.3
> *kona'rgɪčɪku* inside of leg of breeches 28.6
> *wus·qŭ'mčɪku* in the dark 34.5
> *yɪlhɪ'čɪku* in the moon 41.8
> *ple'kɪčɪku* in a boot 43.4

This suffix appears often combined with locative elements.

> *o'nmɪčɪkou'tɪ* (Kor. Kam. *anɪnkačɪko'ĭtĭ* from *anɪnka-čɪku*)
>   inward, into the inside
> *o'nmɪčɪko'ĭpŭ* from within
> *êrɪčɪkou'tɪ* into the clothes 32.4
> *dɪnčɪkou'tɪ* into the fire 31.13
> *yoročɪkou'tɪ* into the sleeping-room 28.7; also 28.8, 35.3
> *yɪkɪrgɪčɪkou'tɪ* into the mouth 50.3
> *qaačɪkoĭ'pŭ* from the reindeer-herd 51.2
> *mêmlɪčɪkou'tɪ* into the water 17.4
> *notas·qačɪkou'tɪ* into the ground 18.7
> *notas·qačɪkoĭ'pŭ* from underground 44.12   ·

Koryak:

> *wus·qŭ'mčɪku* in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17,5
> *yayačɪkoĭ'tɪñ* into the house Kor. 15.2
> *qaya'čɪku* in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1
> *aia'čɪku* in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal *čäck* INSIDE corresponds to Chukchee *čɪ́kų*.   It is
   used as an independent adverb.

> *ci'mtenk čäck* in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal *č^acxe'* INWARD.

25. **-lɪ́kų** AMONG THE MULTITUDE, one of the suffixes of plurality.

> *qaa'lɪku* among the reindeer
> *uttɪ'-lɪku* among the trees
> *murɪ'g-lɪku* among us

26. **-qač, -qal** BY THE SIDE OF (Kor. Kam. **-qal**)
-qačɪ near, close to (Kor. Kam. **-qača**)

> *qa'ptenqač* by the side of the back 11.8
> *ya'alɪñqač* by the rear side 12.3
> *ti'lɪnqač* by the side of the entrance 53.3
> *gɪtka'ñqač* (Kor. Kam. *gɪtka'ñqal*) at the feet
> *mə'rɪqqač* (Kor. Kam. *mə'rɪqqal*) by our side
> *gɪnɪkqa'č* by thy side 9.3

> *gɪtkaqa'čɪ* near the foot
> *mərɪqqa'čɪ* near us
> *Nota'rmenqača* near Notarmen 121.10
> *ra-gro'lmɪnqal* from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.

> *wo'tɪñqač* (Kor. Kam. *wo'teñqal*) on this side
> *va'ɛñqač* (Kor. Kam. *vaieñqal*) halfway on this side

All forms with *-qač* (Kor. Kam. *-qal*) may also form oblique cases.

> *mərɪqqačai'pŭ* (Ch.) from our side
> Kor. Kam. *woteñqalai'tɪ* to this side
> *añqañqača'gtɪ* to the seaside 49.6
> *añqañqačai'pŭ* from the seaside 49.8
> *ya'alɪnqačai'pŭ* from the rear side 12.4
> *yarau'-lɪha'nlɪnqač-va'lɪn* being from the other side of the houses 11.7
> *qača'kên* the other one of a pair
> *qača'kênata* with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix *-kịn* they form adjectives which are in frequent use.

> *mərɪqqa'tkên* being at my side
> *wo'tɪnqa'tkên* being from this side 14.2
> Kor. Kam. *wo'teñqala'ken* being at this side

Kamchadal:

> *qo'lɪñ* NEAR TO, CLOSE BY, corresponds to Chukchee *qa'čɪ*, Kor.
> Kam. *qa'ča.* It is also treated as an independent adverb.
> *kɪ'mank qo'lɪñ* (Chukchee *gŭmu'k-qa'čɪ*) near me

27. *-tụl* PART OF, PIECE OF (Kor. Kam. *-tụl*).

> *mɛnigɪ'tụl* (Kor. Kam. *manigɪ'tol*) a piece of calico
> *qa'ạtọl* (Kor. Kam. *qoya'tol*) a piece of reindeer (meat)
> *mɪ'mlɪtulqäi* a little particle of water 134.17
> *teki'čhɪtulqäi* a little piece of meat 134.31
> Kor. Kam. *pẹlhɪnolñi'tola* piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.

> *a'nččax txa'ltxalɪn* a small piece of meat (*anc-* piece; *-čax* small;
> *txa'ltxalɪn* [adjective] of meat)

28. *-kɪt* (Kamchadal) INSTEAD, IN PLACE OF.

> *vi'le-kɪt* in place of payment

§ 101.

29. *-xǧl* (Kamchadal) ALONG.

|| *cȩ̂mt-xǧl* along the ground (stem *cįmt* ground)
　ȩ̂ᵉ-xǧl along the water (stem *įᵉ* water)
|| *ktxǫ'j-xǧl* along the road

§ 102. Similarity

30. *-mįl* IN THE SIZE OF, AT THE DISTANCE OF (Kor. Kam. *-mič*
　　-mis). (Compare § 113.10,11); also § 105, 42 *-mįč* which is a
　　variant of this stem.)

　　ñȩi'mįl as far as the mountain
　　miñke'mįl (Kor. Kam. *menke'mɪs*) of what size? how much?
　　94.32
　　ɛri'wmil like them 14.9
　　muru'wmil like us 10.6; 16.7
　　gumu'wmil like me 16.13
　　utte'mil size of a tree 20.2
　　rǫrą'mêl size of reindeer-fly 23.3
　　ǫrąwȩ̣ɪ̨ą'-mêl like men 64.11
　　rɪrką'mêl like a walrus 10.8; 12.1
　　qąą'mêl size of a reindeer 122.23

Possessive forms with the suffix—*kįn* added to the suffix—*mįl* are
　　gŭmuwmi'tkin according to my wants
　　muruwmi'tkin according to our wants

31. *-wurrin* SIMILAR TO, LIKE.
　　pin-wurrɪn flour (literally CINDER-LIKE)
　　See *ɛna'n čini't wu'rri nitqin* thus she was 26.9

32. *-wą̈ᵉt* SIMILAR TO.

33. *-chįčą̈* SIMILAR TO (Kor. Kam. *-chįna*).
　　qą̈čįkɪ'chȩ̂čą (Kor. Kam. *qlą'wulɪchȩ̨'na*) similar to a man (i. e.,
　　transformed shaman[1])

§ 103. Purpose

34. *-nų, -ų* MATERIAL FOR; WHAT SERVES AS SOMETHING; SERVING A
　　PURPOSE; SERVING AS SOMETHING.

　　ple'ku qäi'mit·kɪn 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.

　　ȩkkȩ'nų ɪnɪ'lhɪgɪt let me have thee as a son

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[1] *qąčɪk* or *qlik* is an obsolete form for *qla'ul* MAN.

-nu after stems ending in a vowel.

> *lile'nu* serving as an eye
> *rırkᶏ'nɐ* as a walrus 10.8
> *gaqanqᶏ'anᶏ* for a driving reindeer 124.8
> *qᶏrᶒmᶒnᶏ'nᶏ ri'tyäᵋ* you will not be the one to serve this pur-
>   pose 23.6
> *ko'ñkoñ-ra'nɐ* serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22
> *ke'ñıčvınu* that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9
> *aᵋqa'-gᶒ'lĭnɐ* that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10
> *tɐr-ırga't-paloᵋta'nɐ* what serves as a beaver that has just shed
>   hair 137.2

-u after stems ending in a consonant.

> *ñe'wänu* for a wife
> *taǐkaus·qıo'lvu* for a place to wrestle 47.4
> *Iumetu'nu ri'tyäᵋ* you will be for me like Iumetun 23.7
> *keǐ'ñu* what represents a bear 136.20
> *qoraınře'tilɐ* to be used as herdsmen 50.9
> *lɐᵋ'nvɐ* for looking on 19.2; 23.1
> *rıraqa'unvɐ* what for? 19.1
> *ênagya'gtačhɐ va'ırgɐ* what serves as life-giving being 21.6
> *wı'yolɐ* for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoye:

-nᶙ, -ᶙ. The use of this suffix is the s me as in Chukchee.

> *lịla'nu* as an eye
> *ạkka'nᶙ* as a son
> *ña'wanᶙ* as a wife
> *qoia'nᶏ* as a reindeer
> *tomñena'ñu* as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9
> *kulipčina'ñu* as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1
> *qangekıplena'ñu* as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7
> *ya'qu* into what Kor. 38.4
> *čaı'učhu* into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. *-kᶖ (ka)* (Kamchadal) corresponds to *-nᶙ, -ᶙ* (No. 34) of
   Chukchee.

> *p!ı̆'kᶖ* as a son
> *ñı̆'kᶖ* as a wife
> *olĕ'nakᶏ* as a reindeer (*olɐ'n* from Russian олень; the old
>   Kamchadal word *koj* is also still in use)
> *lŭlĕ'ki* as an eye

36. *-sx* (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

> *p!ĕsx* as a son
> *ñesx* as a wife

§ 103

37. *-lqäl* DESTINED FOR —, MATERIAL FOR —, (Kor. Kam. *-ḷqaḷ*).
This suffix implies the future.

ple'kɪlqäl (Kor. Kam. *pla'kɪlqal*) material for boots
uwäᵉ'qucɪlqäl bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband
ELa'lqäl stepmother, serving as a mother
Kor. Kam. *ñawa'nɪlqaḷ* bride to be, destined to be a wife
luᵉlqäl (Kor. Kam. *ḷoᵉ'lqaḷ* Kor. 53.5) a face (perhaps; some-
thing destined to be looked on) 88.14
rĕpa'lhɪlqäl destined to be a dried walrus hide 46.11

With verbal stem, in most cases with the passive participle *-(y)o*:

taï'kɪyolqäl material (for work)
rɪrrê'lyolqäl destined to be put down R 2.5
yɪmə̂'yolqäl destined to be hung R 2.6
ro'olqäl food R 44.11
malĕ'čhɪlqal means of getting well 135.10
tɪmyo'lqal (Kor. Kam. *tɪmyo'ḷqaḷ*) destined to be killed (epithet
used like SCOUNDREL)

§ 104. Possession

38. *-yặnv-*, absolute form *yặn* PROVIDED WITH (Kor. Kam. *yanv-*,
absolute form *yana*)

(*a*) As a nominal suffix, *yanv* means PROVIDED WITH.

čặ'g-gặn (Kor. Kam. *čai-ya'na*) one who has tea, rich in tea
qa'a-yặn (Kor. Kam. *qoya-ya'na*) one who has reindeer
tañ-kamaanvê'ti to those provided with good dishes (*tẹ̆ñ* good;
keme dish) 92.21

(*b*) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an
act once or habitually.

ŭpa'w-gan (Kor. Kam. *apaw-ya'na*) the one who drinks
qamɪ'twa-yan (Kor. Kam. *awye-ya'na*) the one who eats

(*c*) With transitive verbs it indicates the object of the action, and
has a passive meaning.

yɪ'l-yan (Kor. Kam. *yɪl-ya'na*) what has been given
ro'mkaw-gan (Kor. Kam. *yomkaw-ya'na*) what has been hidden

(*d*) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

qatvu-yặ'n the one who has strength
maiñɪ-yặ'n that which is big
a'tqend·an (Kor. Kam. *aᵉ'ččen-ya'na*) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form.   In Koryak these forms
are not of frequent occurrence.

maiñɪya'nvuk at the big one (Koryak the same)
ɪnpɪya'nvɪt the older ones 108.12

39. **-ḷq(än)** ABOUNDING IN (Kor. Kam. -ḷq[än])

mi'mlɪlqän (Kor. Kam. mi'mlɪlqän) place abounding in water

wata'pɪlqän (Kor. Kam. wata'pɪlqan) place abounding in reindeer-moss

§ 105. Miscellaneous

40. **-yọčh, -ọọčh** RECEPTACLE (Kor. Kam. -yočh); perhaps from the verbal stem yo- TO PUT INTO, yo'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. yo'ykɪn) HE PUTS INTO.

mɪtqo'očhɪn (Kor. Kam. mɪtqɪ'yočhɪn) blubber-bag (stem mɪtq blubber)

tai'očhɪ-poka'tkɪnɪk in bottom of bag 29.3

Kor. Kam. kawa'ssočhu for wallets Kor. 46.2

41. **-ñịt** a space of time (Kor. Kam. -ñịt).

a̗ᵋlọ'ñệt the whole day 21.1 (stem aᵋlo day)

(Kor. Kam. gi'wiñit) the whole length of the year (from giwik [only in the locative] in the year)

42. **-mịč** A CERTAIN AMOUNT, with nominal and pronominal stems indicating persons; also with verbal stems (compare § 102, 30 to which the suffix is clearly related).

qäineu'mič at the distance of a shot

gŭmu'wmič as much as I need

gŭmuwmi'tkin it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to spare)

43. **-kwu, -wkw-** PROTECTOR, AVERTOR

mučŭ'kwun shirt made of calico (lit. louse-avertor, because the Chukchee think that the shirt is worn to collect lice from the body).

taiñɪkwut charm-strings (lit. misfortune avertor)

§§ 106–109. DERIVED FROM VERBS

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. **-gɪ̥rgɪ̥n.** If the base contains an l, it is often changed to č. ABSTRACT NOUN; CAUSE, SOURCE, OBJECT OF AN ACTION (Kor. Kam. -geñɪn, -gɪtñɪn; Kor. Par. -geñɪn, -gɪčñɪn).

Note that the initial g follows the phonetic rules § 7.

t + gɪ > ti; č + gɪ > či; u + gɪ > wkw; u, o + gɪ > ou

qalhɪlo'urgêgɪt you are source of sorrow 20.7

palqa'tirgɪn (from pe̗lqät) old age (Kor. Kam. palqathe'ñɪn or palqa'thɪtñɪn [from palqat])

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 pêrê'ırgın the place which he had taken 23.9

 te'lhırgın or *tɛ'čirgın* 24.3 (from *tel*) illness, pain, cause of pain

 yaiva'čirgın (from *yɛivęč*) (Kor. Kam. *yaiva'čhıtñın* [from *yai'vač*]) compassion, cause or object of compassion

 lımvıtté'ırgın object of pity 11.3

 wŭ'rgırgın noise 32.10

 vêᵋırgın death 22.1

 vêᵋ'ırgê-gıt thou art source of death 22.7

 gıntá'wkųrgê'gıt (from *gıntęu*) (Kor. Kam. *gınta'whıtñege*) thou art the cause of my flight (i. e., you have frightened me)

 te'čįrgį-tę're (from *tɛl*) ye are the source of my pain (i. e., you have hurt me) (Kor. Kam. *te'čhıtñe-to'o*)

 yê'mgumgı'ırgın object of fear 29.8

 aña'čırgê-gıt thou art source of trouble 21.2; 23.11

Koryak:

 vantıgé'ñın dawn Kor. 18.1

 vetke'gıčñın annoyance Kor. 20.9

This suffix may be added either to the simple verbal stem or to the verbal stem with added suffixes. The latter form expresses more particularly the process of an action. The former is sometimes used to express the object or the source of the action.

 ñırkıla'tirgın the feeling of shame

 ñırkı'čirgın the object of shame

 wŭ'rgırgıčhın noise 15.1

 am-vıyê'irgä only by breathing 24.4

With the stem *tva* TO BE, this suffix expresses the idea of QUALITY.

 Yai'vač-va'ırgın quality, substance of compassion; Merciful Being

 (Kor. Kam. *vage'ñın* or *va'gıtñin*) being, mode of life, substance, deity

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.

 atqê'ñgırgın (from *ę'tqiñ*) (Kor. Kam. *aᵋtqe'ngıtñın* [from *a'ččiñ* or *aᵋ'tqiñ*]) badness, spite

 ęučų'rgın (from *įu'l*) length

 ınpu'ųrgın (from *ınp[ŭ]*) old age

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.

 aᵋ'mgırgın (from *aᵋ'ttım* bone) condition of the bones (i. e., of the body)

 ęttı'ırgın (from *u'ttuut* wood) degree of woodiness

The range of abstract nouns compounded with these nominal suffixes is quite considerable, and these are in common use.

> va'ɪrgɪn (Kor. Kam. vage'ñɪn) being, substance, custom, benevolent being, deity
>
> yai'vač-va'ɪrgɪn (Kor. Kam. yai'vač-vage'ñɪn) compassion-being, merciful deity
>
> a'ñañ-vạ'ɪrgɪn (Kor. Kam. a'ñañ-vage'ñɪn) shaman's spirit deity
>
> tam-va'ɪrgɪn goodness, condition of goodness
>
> taiñɪ'ɪrgɪn (Kor. Kam. taiñɪge'ñɪn) sin
>
> qas·mu'urgɪn (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

> yɪkɪ'rgɪn (Kor. Kam. čɪkɪ'tñɪn Kor. 56.8) mouth
>
> Kor. Kam. pča'ggɪtñɪn (plak boot) boot-string Kor. 59.3

45. **-j, -l** (Kamchadal) form abstract nouns of simpler and more limited sense than those of Chukchee and Koryak. This suffix is probably identical with the c, l, of the transitive verbal noun I (p. 748) which has the sense of the infinitive.

co'nlej life	tcuncjk I· live
ča'kalej song	tčakacjk I sing
o'jɪlaj blow	tujɪljɪn I strike him
noj[1] food	tnujk I eat
pɪlhetej hunger	tpɪlhe'tɪjk I suffer from hunger
pě'lhetel and⎫ pi'lhɪpil ⎬ famine	

46. **-nŭ**, absolute form **-nŭm** (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

> no'nŭm (stem nu) food
>
> hě'lnŭm (stem hịl) drink
>
> cọnlɪnŭm (stem cụnc, cụnl) life

§ 107. Passive Participle

47. **-yọ** (Kor. **-yọ,** absolute form **-yọn**) expresses the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

> pẹlạ'yọ the one who is left (Kor. Kam. pẹlayọn the one to be left)

In Chukchee the suffix is contracted with terminal consonants, and elided after vowels, according to the phonetic rules given in §§ 6–10.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
tại'kiọ < tại'kɪ-yọ the one made	tai'kiyọn that to be made
yi'ɪọ < yi'l-yọ the one given	yi'lyọn that to be given

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[1] This word is applied almost exclusively to dried fish as the food *par excellence.*

Chukchee | Kor. Kam.

ɪpa'wgo < *ɪpa'w-yo* that which has been drunk   *apo'vyon* that which is to be drunk.

ko'ǰ·o < *kor-yo* that which has been bought   *ko'ryon* that to be bought

yɪto'ot born ones 42.7

oraio'čɪnat born ones 21.2

a'n·ñêne lɪ'nyo made to be the object of anger 42.3

tɪmyo' one killed 43.8

rɪpalqa'wgo one drowned 49.9

NOTE.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix *em-* MERE, ENTIRE, and the suffix *-lɪn*, express the passive participle, the same as *-yo*.

em-re'tɪlɪn (stem *ret* to buy) what has been brought; or *ra'ǰ·o* or *am-ra'ǰ·o* all that has been brought

(*-yanv,* see § 104, No. 38.)

§ 108. Instrumentality

48. **-ineñ,** suffixed to verbal stems, expresses INSTRUMENT (Kor. Kam. **-inañ**).

tewe'nañ (stem *teu*) (Kor. Kam. *tewe'nañ* [stem *tew*]) paddle, oar 73.11

qeli'neñ (stem *qeli* to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam. *qaliči'ñeñ* [stem *qaličit*]): pen

tei'kineñ (*K. K. inataiki'nañ*) instrument (for work)

wañe'nañ instrument for work

lě'ě-tewênaña'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4

(Kor. Kam. *tomñena'ñu* as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix *ine-* (Kor. Kam. *ina-*) See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

ena'nvênañ (stem *nv* [initial *ruu*]; *tɪnvɪ'rkɪn* I scrape); (Kor. Kam. *ena'nvenañ* [stem *nv*; *tɪnve'kɪn* I scrape]) scraper

49. **-ičh** instrument (Kor. Kam. **-itñ**).

gɪtte'wičhɪn (stem *gɪtteu* to wipe, *-ɪn* absolute form); (Kor. Kam. *gɪtta'witñɪn* [stem *gɪttaw*]) wiping-cloth

uneči'čhɪn thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from *unel* thong seal)

mêmɪčě'čhɪn thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from *memil* seal)

Kor. Kam. *yɪnootñe'nqo* from the vent-hole Kor. 54.7

§ 109. Place

50. **-nv** PLACE OF (absolute form **-n**) (Kor. Kam. **-nv** [absolute form **-nu**]).

> van (stem *tva-*); (Kor. Kam. *va'na* [dual, plural, *va'nvɪt*]) place of being
>
> *wakɵtva'n* (stems *wakɵ* and *tva*); (Kor. Kam. *vagalɪtva'na* [stems *vaga'lɪ* and *tva*]) place of sitting
>
> *notagčênvê'pu* while walking in the wilderness 29.4
>
> *ralqa'ñɪnvuk* on the house-site 31.6
>
> *ralêya'n* sliding-place 114.16
>
> *tɪla'n* (Kor. Kam. *tɪla'n*) place of moving, trail
>
> *tɪla'nvun* place of trail 36.12
>
> *tɪla'nvuk* on place of traveling 43.1
>
> *taikaus·qio'lvu* for a place to wrestle 47.4
>
> *oočvê'nvɪpŭ* (better *oočvɪ'nvɪpŭ*) from the playground 74.17
>
> *oočvɪ'nvɪk* on the playground 74.18
>
> *oočvɪnvê'ti* to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—*u̯*.

> *êtɪnva'tɪnvɵ tɪye'tyäᵉk* I came to get the position of house-master R 287, footnote 1.
>
> *yaqqai' ûm yagta'lɪnvɵ tɪye'tyäᵉk* did I come for the sake of living? R 239, footnote 2.
>
> *rɪraqa'unvɵ* for what purpose? 19.1

Koryak:

> *kmeña'tɪnvu nɪlai'-gŭm* I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6
>
> *kɪpḷo'nvu* for the purpose of striking them Kor. 31.3

§§ 110–111. Verbal Suffixes

§ 110. ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

51. **-wulhɪ** expresses RECIPROCITY (Kor. Kam. **-vɪḷñɪ**).

> *pênřuu'lhɪrkɪt* (stem *pênřɪ* to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam. *penn·ɪ'vɪḷñɪ̆kɪt* [stem *penn·*], dual) they close for wrestling
>
> *luᵉ'ulhɪrkɪt* (stem *luᵉ* to see) (Kor. Kam. *luᵉ'vɪḷñɪkɪt* [stem *luᵉ*]) they see each other, they meet
>
> *galɵᵉolhɪočɪna'-mɵ'rê* we have seen each other 121.15

52. **-s·qiu** expresses AN ACTION PERFORMED ONCE ONLY (Kor. Kam. **-s·qiu̯**).

> *yɇtɪs·qi'urkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *yatɪs·qi'wikɪn*) he comes once
>
> *tɪmɪs·qê̤'urkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *tɪmɪs·qɇ̤'wɇkɪn*) he kills once

taĭkaus·qio'lvu for a place to wrestle once 47.4
qănɪggeus·qivkutkɪ make them wake up all at once 56.3
ganto's·qêulễn rushed out 57.11

Koryak:

> *mɪnčɪčatɪs·qɪwnau* I'll look at them once Kor. 33.10
> *quvɪᵉyas·qɪ'wgi* go and die! Kor. 35.1
> *gawyis·qɪ'wa* eat! Kor. 36.1
> *mɪntu'las·qewlan* let us steal it! Kor. 39.1
> *myalitčus·qɪ'wak* I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1

Also in the form—*lqĭu*

> *gatomñalqi'wlinat* they stopped the smoke-hole Kor. 57.7

53. **-lęt** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE, DURATIVE, or more generally
INTENSITY OF ACTION (Kor. Kam. -*lat,* less frequently -*čat*).

ñɪtọla'tɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *ñɪtọ-la'tękɪn*) he goes out often
tχmĭlạ'tɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tχmĭla'tękɪn*) he kills many
nɪnletelé'tqin it flashed out always 32.8
qulile'tyiᵉ gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8
niqulilé'tqin they are noisy 60.9
nɪtễ'rgɪlatqên he cries aloud 38.3
nɪteplȇññɪlé'tqin she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek-*
boots; *te—ñ* to make [§ 113, 2, p. 821])

Koryak:

> *gañvo'len čilala'tik* it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
> *yiykula'ti* you were soft Kor. 26.7
> *galalañɪvo'ykɪn* she passed by often Kor. 84.19
> *nɪqulila'tqin* he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17

54. **-yw(u), -yv(u)** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE (Kor. Kam. -*yvi̧),*

tala'iwurkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tala'ivekɪn*) he strikes many times
ninemɪlkɪ'ywunin let it bite him! 104.29
Kor. Kam *gaitoi'vɪlenau* she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. **-t** (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.

> *ti'ntiliᵉtɪjɪn* I bring it always (*t*- I; *intiliᵉ* to bring; -*t* always;
> -*ɪ* auxiliary vowel; -*jɪn* I it)

56. **-čęt** weakens the intensity of the action, A LITTLE, RARELY.

ñɪtọča'tɪrkin or *ñɪtoča'arkɪn* he goes out rarely
tęn·ñęučę'tɪrkɪn or *ten·ñeuče'erkɪn* he laughs on the sly
marauča'arkɪn he fights rarely
pênřɪča'arkɪn he wrestles rarely
mɪnpo'ntočêta let us eat liver! 43.7
maraučêtɪno'ễᵉ he began to chide 56.1

57 **-čir** expresses a frequentative or intensive.

> ten·ñeuči'rɪrkɪn he laughs all the time
> walomčê'rɪrkɪn he gathers news continually
> marauče'êrkɪn he fights always
> pênřičê'êrkɪn he rushes at him

| Kor. Kam. qulumtičitalat they carry something large on
| their shoulders (qulu large; imti to carry) Kor. 57.9

58. **-ntet** indicates INCREASED ACTION, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. **-ntat**).

čuwi'rkin (Kor. Kam. čvi'ĭkɪn) thou cuttest it	čuwintę'tɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. čvinta'tikɪn) it is cut through in several places); it is divided into several parts
rǫ'ǫrkɪn (Kor. Kam. čhǫ'ĭkɪn) he tears out hair	rǫǫnta'arkɪn (Kor. Kam. čhǫnta'tękɪn) he becomes bald
ɪrgɪro'k at dawn 10.4	gɪrgɪrronta'Lên dawn came 10.9
qu'pqälin lean 80.5	gequpqänte'Lin she has been quite starved

59. **-s·qi-čęt**—a compound suffix formed of -s·qi SINGLE ACTION, -čet homologous to -lęt INTENSIVE ACTION—expresses an action performed suddenly with great force and rapidity.

| qu'tɪrkɪn he stands up | qutɪs·qičę'tɪrkɪn he jumps up |
| ñɪto'rkɪn he goes out | ñɪtǫs·qêča'tɪrkɪn he rushes out |

> gantǫ's·qačaLên he rushed out 57.11 [1]
> gapě'nřɪs·qičaLên he rushed on 44.4
> getiñus·qičě'Lin he gave a sudden tug 48.4
> gereli's·qičeLin she suddenly pushed it in 89.4

60. **-ala** (Kamchadal) weakens the intensity of the action.

| tnu'alajk I eat but little (t I; nu to eat; -jk I)
| thě'lalajk I drink but little (t I; hêl to drink)

61. **-qäęt**, with verbs, expresses ENDEARMENT and DIMINUTION; evidently related to -qäi (§ 98,4).

> ma'ñên-netaį'pŭ yetqäetɪ from what country hast thou come, my dear?

62. **-kęu**, with transitive verbs, gives them a PASSIVE meaning, and conveys the idea of DERISION of the subject.

> kêma'wkurgêum re'tkęwiŭm I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here
> valǫ'mkąutę'rê, equ'likä they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise

---

[1] Evidently better, gantǫ's·qêčaLên.

63. **-*ññǫ*, -*ño*** expresses the INCHOATIVE (Kor. Kam. *-ñvǫ;* Kam-
chadal *-kǫjy̨*, *-kǫj*, *-kjy̨*, *-jy̨*). Since these elements occur
independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The
independent stem in initial position is *ñoo*, in medial posi-
tion *-mgo*, (Kor. Kam. *ñvo-*, Kamchadal *uju-*)

   ño'orkɪn (Kor. Kam. *ñɪvo'ĭkɪn*, Kamchadal *ujujk*) he begins

   In all three dialects the idea of the beginning of an action is ex-
pressed with precision, and the inchoative forms are there-
fore very common.

   yɪlqaññǫ'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yɪlqannɪvo'ĭkɪn*, Kamchadal *ñükcɪ-
kju'jk*) he goes to sleep

   tɪpaiña'ññǫê he begins to sing 59.9

   nɪmñê'ññǫê he begins to take part in the thanksgiving cere-
monial 59.3

   gaplɪtko'ññǫ'lênat they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:

   gewñɪvo'lenau they began to say Kor. 22.7
   gaᵉa'nñɪvota haul them away! Kor. 51.6
   gepɪñvolai''ke they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. **-*ŏl*, -*ŏ*** (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs *-al, -a*, expresses the
desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.

   tñükcɪōlk
   tñükcɪojk } (stem *ñükc*) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep

   tce'jajk (stem *tce'j;* I leave *tce'jɪjk*) I wish to leave

65. **-*vǫtǫ*** (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of
an action.

   tŭlĕkvǫ'tǫjɪn (stem *ŭlĕk*) I am going to have a look at him

   tnǫ'vǫtǫjk (stem *ny̨* to eat) I am going to eat

66. **-*čhat*** expresses ANGER OF THE SPEAKER. (Kor. Kam. *-čñat*)

   qamɪtvačha'tɪrkɪn or *qamɪtvačha'arkɪn* confound him! he eats

   pɪntɪqaačha'tyaᵉn the bad one appeared 27.3

   garaqêchǫ'ʟên what has the bad one done 31.9

   vêᵉčha'tyêᵉ the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5

   tɪmɪ'čhannên he killed the bad one 44.5

   am·ravêᵉčha'n·ña *nalɪčha'tyêᵉ* you bad one want to die 65.23

   Kor. Kam. *ñɪtočña'tekɪn* he lumbers forth

67. **-*tky̨*.** This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. *-tčy̨*).

   pêla'tkolɪt 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.

   gŭmu'kɪ *gɪt pêla'tkɘrkɪn* you leave me

The suffix *-tku̧* (Kor. Kam. *-tču̧*) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

vili'urkɪn (Kor. Kam. *viḷɪ'vikɪn* he makes peace with) he buys

vilɪ'tkurkɪn (Kor. Kam. *viḷɪtčuĭkɪn*) he trades

geilɪtkoĭ'vulin u'kkäm they distributed vessels 14.1

tɪmɪtkoĭ'vuk slaughtering 49.3

timɪ'tkᴇnênat he killed all 61.4; 112.3

mɪnranmŭtko'ñɪnat let us slay them all 101.19

veᵋtkoča'aᵋt they all died 112.2

tɪmɪ'tkᴇrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tɪmɪ'tčoĭkɪn*) he kills many

Koryak:

gačvi'tčulinau they are all cut entirely Kor. 47.7

gaplɪtču'linau they finished it Kor. 50.1

ḷeḷapɪtčoñvo'ykɪn he looks up Kor. 42.8

gaᴌapɪtčoñvo'ḷen she looked around Kor. 44.9

yenotčoñvo'ykɪn he is eating Kor. 13.6

gaqanñɪtčoñvo'ḷen she was jealous Kor. 96.1

Paren *qigitetkɪn'gɪn* look at it! Kor. 101.11

tigiḷñu-ču'ču-ñaw-i-ŭm snow-shoe-strings-verily-eating-woman am I (*tigi'lñɪn* snowshoe-string; *-u* to consume *-ču'ču* [< *tku-tku*] verily; *ñaw* women) Kor. 59.7

The suffix *-tku* is always used in the transitive verb to indicate the forms THOU—US; YE—ME, US (see § 63). It gives the verb a generalized form. For instance:

pêla'tkeḙ̂ᵋ thou leavest a number (meaning US)

pêla'tketɪk ye leave a number (meaning ME or US)

The element *i̭nê-* has the same sense, but the two are never used together (see § 113, 28).

68. *-tvi̭* TO ATTAIN A CERTAIN QUALITY, TO BECOME (Kor. Kam. *-tvi̭*).

uᵋmɪtvi'rkɪn (stem *ṷᵋm*) (Kor. Kam. *umɪtvi"kin* [stem *ṷm*]) he becomes broad.

gɪtɪtvḙ̂'rkɪn (stem *gɪt*) (Kor. Kam. *gɪtɪtvᴇ'ɪkɪn*) he becomes thin

eñe'ñetvɪɪᵋ he acquired shamanistic power 19.12; 18.4

eñe'ñɪtvi-turi you acquired shamanistic power 18.3

nŭmqɪtvi'qin it diminished 20.2, 4

nŭpluᵋtvi'qin it becomes small 20.3

wulqätvi"iᵋ it grew dark 54.9

Kor. Kam. *qamaḷɪtva'thɪtɪk* cause it to become better Kor. 13.2

Kor. Kam. *vɪᵋya'tvɪk* to fainting Kor. 64.9

69. *-čᴇt* with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. *-čat*).

mɪtteñiče'erkɪn we feel good 69.8

tᴇñɪčᴇ'tɪrkɪn (*tᴇñ* good) (Kor. Kam. *tañɪča'tikɪn*) he feels good

tañɪčê'tɪnᴏ̭ḙ̂ᵋ he began to feel well 33.5

ᴏmɪčê'tɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *ᴏmɪča'tekɪn*) he feels warm

70. **-ęw, -ęt,** are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

ęimę'u to approach	eimet to take
ęiñęu to call	eiñet to roar
uręu to appear 53.6	ureut
omau to get warm	gɪ'tteu hungry
ulvęu to remain motionless 37.2	gɪttekau guide
yɪgręu thirsty	gɪnteu to flee
wêthau to talk	lpuuret to exchange
puulqęu to float	ewkwet to depart
ptkęu to hit	eret to fall
marau to quarrel	ergewet to be submerged 17.4
meteu to be unable	yɪret full
tęikeu to wrestle	yopat to visit
teñ·ñeu to laugh	yuulet alive
tumgeu to become friendly	wêttat to tear with antlers
numekeu to gather	ventet to be open
notas·qau land approaches	vinřet to help
lɪmala'u to obey	pelqäntet to return
lvau unable	pêkagtat to fall down
lqäineu to shoot	peñet tired
kɪyeu to be awake	tautauat to bark
kimeu to cause delay	têrgat to cry
korgau to be glad	tulet to steal
yɪlhau fear	čipet to plunge
terkeu to be a certain number on a series	

Possibly related to the preceding is **nɪ—ęu** (Kor. Kam.-**au**) adverbial suffix. The Koryak form is not used very frequently (see p. 842).

　nɪmé'leu qatvạ'ệᵉ be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer

　nɪte'lęu tɪrkɪplɪ'aᵉn I struck him painfully (tęl to suffer, to have pain)

　nɪglau qatva'rkɪn be sorrowful! (glo SORROWFUL, here contracted with au; tva to be)

　nɪmé'leu well (mәl good); (Kor. Kam. nima'leu [mạl good])

　nɪ'tčeu heavily (itč heavy); (Kor. Kam. ni'tčau)

Some adverbs are formed in an irregular manner.

　aᵉ'tqêuma (from e'tqiñ bad; stem ặqặ' R 62.72)　⎤

　Kor. Kam. a'tčɪñau (from a'tčɪñ bad; stem ⎬badly aqa)

　Kamchadal hä'qäᵉ (from e'č!kelax bad)　⎦

me'čɛn·kɪ (Chukchee *meč < mel* good; *ɛn·kɪ* thus) well

ı'naᵉ (Koryak *ni'naqin* quick) quickly

71. **-rų** forms the INCHOATIVE of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. **-yų**).

ilę'erkɪn it is raining

ilɪrų'rkɪn it is beginning to rain

yǫǫ'arkɪn(Kor. Kam.*yoyoa'-tekɪn*) the wind is blowing

yǫǫro'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yoyo-yo'ekɪn*) the wind begins to blow

läᵉlenru'iᵉ winter came 14.9

aivê'čɪrok in the evening 26.3

ɪrgɪro'ññok (stem *ɪrg* 27.13) at the beginning of dawn 26.9

laᵉlaᵉ'nroma at the beginning of cold 33.6

gɪtharo'k in the beginning of the autumn 33.6

ɪrgɪro'ka not dawning 56.9

ilɪru'iᵉ it begins to rain 116.8

gaᵉlɪgtɪygɪro'lên the snow began to drift 94.28

The same suffix is used with stems of different character.

čêlhɪro'ê it becomes red 23.9

nɪtêrgɪrø'qên he began to cry 55.3

Koryak:

gawyalyo'len a snowstorm set in Kor. 15.1

laqlañyo'ykin winter came Kor. 72.5

piña'tikɪn it is snowing

peñayo'ĕkɪn it is beginning to snow

72. **-rų** is used also to express GREAT NUMBER. This suffix is different from the preceding.

qärru'äᵉt they came in great numbers 67.16

waqøro'aᵉt they were sitting in great numbers 68.29

Kor. Kam. *gawya'lyolen* a strong snowstorm came Kor. 15.1

laqlañyo'ykin winter came strongly Kor. 72.5 (see above).

§111. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

73. **-ñɪta** TO FETCH (Kor. Kam. the same).

rañ-ñɪta'rkɪn what are you going to fetch? why do you come?

añañalɪnta'lɪt shaman fetchers 45.7

Koryak:

yax-ñɪta'ykɪn what are you going to fetch? §111

74. **-tuwę, -tv** TO TAKE OFF (clothing) (Kor. Kam. **-tɪva**).

> kę'ttuwa'ę̄ᵉ he took off his clothes 109.15
> kęttuwa'nnę̄n he undressed her 50.11
> nĭčvituve'qin he took off his outer coat 57.3
> wutɪ'čhɪtvuê he took off his overcoat 35.5
> mêrêgtuwa'ê̄ he brushed away the tears 49.9
> ninečinqetuwe'qin (n-ine-čiñke-tuwe-qin, čiñke saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

Koryak:

> nɪmeyeyɪtva'qen he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10
> gatamtɪva'l̨en he spit out bones Kor. 56.8
> pčai-tɪvai' he took off his boots

75. **-ĭp̨ (-êp̨, -gŭp̨)** TO PUT ON CLOTHING; -ĭp̨ after vowels; êp̨ after consonants; -gŭp̨ after diphthongs ending in ɪ and in a few other cases (compare the ablative -ĭpŭ § 42, p. 704)

> tɪqalêi'pŭaᵉk < t(ɪ) -qę̨li̯ -ĭp̨ -(ŭ) -ä̈ᵉk I put on my cap
> têrêpŭaᵉk < t -i̯r -êp̨ -(ŭ) -ä̈ᵉk I put on my fur-shirt
> tɪkonai'gŭpgaᵉk < t(ɪ) -k̨onai-gŭp̨-gä̈ᵉk I put on my breeches
> kêrêgŭpgêᵉ < kę̂r-gŭp̨-giᵉ she put on her dress 52.9

76. **-gɪli̯-** TO SEARCH FOR (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).

> kulte'-ili'rkɪt they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide
> qɪnni'g-gili'lɪqägti little game-procurers 44.8
> pɪlɪgɪli'lɪt food-procurers 44.9
> qɪnni'g-gɪli'lɪt game-procurers 44.9

77. **-u̧** TO CONSUME, TO EAT (Kor. Kam. **-u̧**) (perhaps related to the verb nu̧ [initial ru̧], Kor. Kam. yu̧ [initial nu̧]).[1]

> ᴇnnu̧rkɪn (Kor. Kam. ᴇnnu̧'ĭkɪn) he eats fish
> pǫntǫ'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. pǫntǫ'ĭkɪn) he eats liver
> kɪmlu'ä̈ᵉt they ate marrow 33.12
> mɪnpo'ntočêta let us eat a little liver 43.7
> nɪpo'ntoqên he ate liver 43.9
> qaponto'tɪk eat liver! 64.21

also

> gamêmᴇlə'lên he caught a seal 43.2

Koryak:

> mɪtaᵉttayɪ'pnul̨a we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9
> tɪya'yil̨ku I'll eat pudding Kor. 30.2
> also
> tɪqa'payuk I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1

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[1] ru'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. yu'ykɪn) he eats it.

§ *112. Adjective and Adverb*

ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. **-lăx** (sometimes **-ḷax**)

> ŏ'mlax deep (cf. Ch. *um* broad)
> iu'läx long (cf. Ch. *iul* long)
> o'lolax small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix -(ɪ)ᵉn.

> o'lolaxɪᵉn ki'stɪᵉnč small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.

> qai-yaraqa'ɡtê (Chukchee) small houses

In forms with post-positions the adjective in -lax is placed before the noun.

> o'lolax-kê'stčanke to the small house (diminutive allative)

It seems not unlikely that the synthetic use of attributive stems has disappeared under Russian influence. Russian and Koryak adjectives are often used by the Kamchadal, in their foreign form, almost without change.

> niru'qin xva'lč a sharp knife (*niru'qin* is Koryak)
> n'mi'tqin k!ča'mjanl' a wary man (*n'mi'tqin* is Koryak)
> nve'thaqen uᵉh a straight tree (*nve'thaqen* is Koryak)
> nve'thaḷaᵉn uᵉ' hɪᵉn straight trees (*nve'thaḷaᵉn* is a Koryak form)
> vo'stroi xvalč a sharp knife (*vo'stroi* is Russian)

There is no phonetic assimilation of any of these adjectives.

A few predicative forms correspond to the Chukchee-Koryak forms in nɪ—qin.

> k!ni'tain the clever one (from *ni'ta* sense, wit); cf. nɪ-gɪtte'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.

> wɪča'qu-wa'lɪn the flat one
> koulo'qu-wa'lɪn the round one
> êmpa'qu-wa'lɪn the downcast one
> koulo'qɪ qätei'kɪgɪn (Kor. Kam. *qo'ḷoñ qatai'kɪgɪn*) make it round
> em elvula'q ré'mkɪn ralai'vúññoê only in a different manner people shall begin to walk about 86.14   §112

80. *-yụt* DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS (K. K. *-yụt* dual, *-yụwgɪ* pl.)

(See also § 123, p. 839)

CHUKCHEE	KOR. KAM.		
	Dual	Plural	
ʀnne'nyut	ʀna'nyut	ʀnnanyu'wgɪ	one each
ñire'yut	ñiye'yut	ñiyeyu'wgɪ	two each
ñɪro'yot	ñɪyo'yot	ñɪyoyo'wgɪ	three each
ñɪra'yot	ñaya'yot	ñayayo'wgɪ	four each
mɪʟɪ'nyot	mɪʟɪ'nyot	mɪʟɪnyo'wgɪ	five each
mɪngɪ'tjot	mɪngɪ'yot	mɪngɪyo'wgɪ	ten each

The Chukchee distributives have also the prefix *ẹm-* (see § 113, no. 7, p. 816; § 123, p. 839).

> *em-ñire'yuta qanpɪtvaarke'etkɪ* just two each make it double (the clothing)

These forms take post-positions, definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

> *ʀnnanyou'tɪ* to one each
> *ʀnnanyoi'pŭ* from one each

81. *-čẹ, -čạ̈* NUMERAL ADVERBS (Kor. Kam. *-ča*).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
qune'čä [1]	*ʀnna'nča, qu'n·ač* [1] Kor. 53.2	once
ñire'čä	*ñiye'ča*	twice
ñɪro'ča	*ñɪyo'ča*	three times
ñɪra'ča 12.8	*ñaya'ča*	four times
mɪʟɪ'nča	*mɪʟe'nča*	five times
mɪngɪ'tča	*mɪngɪ'tča*	ten times

Kor. Kam. *exune'če* all the time Kor. 92.19

82. *-(ɪ)ñ* (Chukchee and Koryak) is a suffix which is often added to the stems of adjectives when compounded, in Chukchee with the form *va'lɪn* (*< tva+lɪn*) THE ONE WHO IS, in Koryak with *i̯'talạᵉn* (*i̯t + lạᵉn.* [2]) (see p. 764)

In Chukchee the *ñ* before *v* generally changes to *m*. In other cases the suffix is dropped entirely. The connective vowel then changes to *u* before the *v*, which in turn changes to *w*.

> *qạ'tvum-vạ'lɪn* (Kor. Kam. *qa'tvuñ-i̯'talạᵉn*) being strong
> *tạ'ñum-vạ'lɪn* or *tạ'ñu-wạ'lɪn* (Kor. Kam. *ta'ñɪñ-i̯'talạᵉn*) being good

---

[1] Derived from *qụn* single.
[2] The corresponding Chukchee form *i̯'tɪlɪn* THE ONE WHO IS is not used in compounds of this type.

A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in
-*lɪn* (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in -(*i*)*ñ* com-
pounded with *vɑ̣lɪn*.

wɪ'čhɪm-vɑ̣'lɪn (Kor. Kam. *vɪ'čhɪyɪñ-i'talạ͡ɛn*) the flat one
ê'mpum-va'lɪn the one downcast
Kor. Kam. *qo'loñ-italạ͡ɛn* the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending -*q* or -*aq* (see this
section, No. 79). The compounds with *vɑ̣'lɪn*, when referred
to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used
frequently in this connection.

gɑ'mgạ-qlɑ̣'ulɪk qɑ̣'tvum-vɑ̣'lê̯ŭm I am stronger than everybody
(*gẹmgẹ*- every; *qlɑ̣'ul* man; -*k* possessive; *qẹtv* strong; -*i̯*-
um I [§ 73, p. 758])

§ 113. Prefixes

1. *êto*- A LITTLE.

   êto'-qaia'qañ a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (*ɛto'* 51.4)
   mač-êto'pêl a little better 135.7

2. *ẹ'mkɪn*- EVERY.

   a'mkɪn-aivêčhê'tɪ every evening 28.9
   ê'mkɪn-kɪyeu'kɪ at every awaking 29.2

3. *tɪlv*- QUITE.

   tɪlv-am-qina'n quite you only 30.4
   tɪlv-a'mɪnan quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9
   tɪlv-ui'ñä quite nothing 56.4; 60.1

4. *tɪñkɪ*—JUST is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory
   meaning.

   tɪnk-am-gŭmna'n just I only
   tɪnk-ui'ñä just nothing
   tɪnk-ui'ñä ränut he has nothing at all R 63.88
   tɪnk-a'tqêuma quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

5. *pɪč*- only, merely.

6. *ɪm*- (*Kor. Kam.* *ɪmɪñ*-, Kamchadal *mɪni'l*) ALL.

   i'me-räɛ'nut all kinds 111.28
   i'mu-gɪnni'kä all kinds of game 128.9

   Koryak

   | *ɪmɪ-plạ'ku* all boots
   | *ɪ'mɪñ noo'wge* all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6
   | *ɪ'mɪñ qai-vai'amti* all little rivers Kor. 17.1

The form *ɪmɪlo'* 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with
noun and without; *ɪmɪ'lɪn* takes the same kinds of forms as
nouns in -*lɪn* (see p. 717).   §113

The Kamchadal form *mĭni'l* forms—

|| Allative *mĭnela'nke*
|| Allative, possessive, instrumental *mĭni'link*, less often *mi²l*.

7. *ẹm-* MERE (Kor. Kam. *am-*, Kamchadal *ẹm-*).   The prefix is
always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

　　em-ñe'us·qätti (Kor. Kam. *a²m-ña'wɪs·qatu*, Kamchadal *êm-ñi'm*
　　　cxi²n) mere women
　　em-a²'ttɪm mere bones 35.5
　　em-mu'ʟitä all with blood 40.10
　　em-ñe'nři all these 41.10
　　em-nu'ñɪčɪt those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26
　　čiq-em-nu'ñqi far inland 114.25
　　em gɪnu'n-nɪkĭ'tä midnight 9.11
　　ạm-nọñẹ'tị just inland 67.19; 114.24
　　am-gɪna'n only thou 30.3
　　am-taaro'ña with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9
　　am-ravê²čha'n·ña merely to die 65.23
　　am-ya'ata only by using it 143.3

Koryak:

　| *am-čerepro'nau* entirely silver Kor. 22.10
　| *am-ma'kil-ñe'eta* only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5
　| *am-ma'na* just in different directions Kor. 25.6

8. *plɪ-* (with nouns) EVERY.

　　gaplɪkoi'ñɪlên every one has a tea-cup
　　nɪplɪtañte'nmŭqên they were applying everything 41.3

9. *mẹ²-*, *mɪq-* SMALL.

10. *mẹč-* SOMEWHAT.

　　met·-kĭ'it somehow 40.7
　　meč-telenye'pkin somewhat of old 61.5
　　mač-ya'a far enough 62.12
　　mač-êwga'n as an incantation 39.13
　　meč-ä²'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

11. *mẹl-* LIKE (Kor. Kam. *maḻ-*).

　　mel-uwä²'quč it seems like a husband 49.9

12. *mịtẹ-* ACTUALLY.

　　mite'-vilɪn actually dead
　　mite'-gɪnni'k actually game 84.28

13. *tɪmñe'-* ANY (Kor. *paḼa'*).

　　tɪmñe'-me'ñin whosoever
　　tɪmñe'-rä²'nut whatsoever

§113

tŭmñ-alva'laɡ wheresoever 24.11

tŭ'mñê-mê'mlɪkên ɡɪnnɪ'k any kind of water game 25.6

tɪmñ-añqa'ɡtɪ somewhere to seaward 13.1

14. *tẹr-* HOW MANY (Kor. Kam. *taεy-*).

    tar-qa'ata ewkwe'tyiε with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. *čị̯q-* EXCESSIVELY.

    cêqɪ-ya̯'a̯ too far

    čêq-a'lvam-va'laɡ how very strange! 76.5; 63.4

    čɪq-em-nu'ñqi far inland 114.25

    čêq-a'lvam va'lɪn being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27

    čɪq-etuwä'k all at once 43.10

16. *čhị̯-* HARDLY, always used with the negative (probably from *ɡɪčhị̯,* as in *nɪgɪ'čhiqɪn* RARE).

    ačhệqamɪtva̯ka̯ almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. *lɪ-* (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) EVERY.

    lɪ-mê'nkɪ everywhere

    lɪ-mê'ñko from everywhere

18. *lị̯i̯-, lhị̯-, lɪɪ-, lhɪ-* TRULY (Kor. Kam. *lɪɡị̯-, lhị̯-*).

    lị̯'i̯-tẹñ-evi̯'rälin really well closed 33.3

    lɪ'ê-tanɪčê'tɪnoêε she began to feel truly well 33.5

    nɪlhɪnŭ'mkäqin really quite numerous 111.16

    lê'ê-têwênaña'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4

    lɪ'ê-ñarau'tile really wife seeking 57.1

    lị̯'i̯-i̯'ppe quite truly 57.2

    Kor. Kam. *nɪlhẹnɪ'ktaqẹn* a very hard one

19. *pɪl-* (Kamchadal) quickly.

    ‖ *xpɪl-nu'xč* you eat quickly

20. *x·ị̯-* (Kamchadal) quite, very.

    ‖ *x·ê̯-plọx* very large

    ‖ *x·ị̯-čini̯'ñläx* very pretty, very good

21. *lhị̯-, l'ị̯i̯* (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

    ‖ *t-l'i̯-tpɪ'lɪjk* I really shake myself (i. e., I can shake myself
    ‖ properly)

22. *kɪt-* (after prefixes *-ɡtɪ̯-*) VERY (Kor. Kam. *kɪt-* [after prefixes *-ktɪ-*]).

    nɪgtɪla̯ula̯u'qên he mocked much 143.1; 144.4

    ɡagtan·ñɪnai̯'pŭlên she was very angry 89.3

    ɡagtɪ-palka'ʟaεn very decrepit 111.26

    qagtɪqamɪ'tvatɪk eat ye enough! 65.16

When this prefix is used with the nominalized verb in *nɪ—qin*, *kɪt* either precedes the prefix *nɪ-*, or the *nɪ-* may be repeated initially

kɪm-nɪmaiʹ ɛñqên or *nɪgtɪ-nɪmaiʹ ɛñqên* it is quite large

23. **qụn-** SINGLE (Kor. Kam. **qụn-**).

qon-mɪʹnga with a single hand 67.19
qon-qaʹa with a single reindeer
qon-raʹlɪn with a single house 34.1
qonaʹčɪnkɪna with nine (i. e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. **gẹmgẹ-** EVERY (Kor. Kam. **gaʹmga-**).

gẹʹmgẹ-gɪnniʹk every kind of game 41.11
geʹmge-niʹkin everybody 66.28
gaʹmga-nɪʹmgŭpŭ from every settlement 36.1
geʹmge-nuteʹqin from every land 11.5

Koryak:

gaʹmga-qai-ñaʹwɪs·qat every little woman Kor. 34.9
gaʹmga-olgɪwéʹtɪñ to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. **paʟa-** (Koryak) ANY (Chukchee **tɪmñʹe-** (see No. 13, p. 816)).

paʟaʹ-maʹki whosoever
paʟaʹ-yɪʹnna whatever

26. **lụñ-** NEGATIVE PARTICLE, always used with nominal forms of the verb. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

luñ-iʹrä not crossing 41.5
lûñ-iwkučiʹtä not drinking 37.3
lûñ-res·qiʹwäiʹtyäᵉt they did not want to enter 115.19
luñ-luᵉʹtä not seen 11.9
teggeʹñu luñ-ɪʹlhɪlɪn has no desire 93.32
luñ-čeiʹvä without walking
loñ-ênaʹtvata without promises 101.23
loñ-ɪpaʹulɪn not drinking
loñ-waʹloma not heeding 21.13

With the auxiliary verb -*nt*- (initial *rɪt*-), it is the usual form of expressing the negative of the transitive verb.

luñ-luᵉʹtä tɪʹntɪgɪt I had thee an unseen one (i. e., I did not see thee)

27. **ẹgn-** sometimes replaces the negative particles *uiʹñä, éʟe,* and *en·ñeʹ*.

agn-aqamiʹtvạkạ do not eat!
agn-aʹnmŭka without killing R 44.11

28. *įnę-* transforms transitive verbs into intransitives, either without other change of meaning or with the significance TO DO ON BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF. The object, when retained, is expressed in the locative.

> *tinenlete'erkın ki'mitık* I take the load away for myself (*t-* I; *nlete* to take away; *-rkın* present; *ki'mit-* load)

The use of *įnę-* in the transitive verb has been discussed in § 63, p. 736.

Examples are:

> *ênapêla'ê* thou leavest some one (namely, me)
> *ênapêla'tık* ye leave some one (namely, me)

See, also, § 110, 67.

29. *įnęn-* TRANSITIVE (see *tę—ñ(ɪ)*, § 114, 2, p. 821).

30. *ɭaɭk-* (Kamchadal) HOW MANY, SOME; used independently in the plural.

> ‖ *ɭa'ɭıᵉn kcxoᵉn* how many dogs?
> ‖ *ɭaɭiᵉn kɭxöɭ olxta'tockepñin* he passed there a few days

§ 114. Inclusive Affixes

1. To cause to.

(a) With intransitive verbs.

Chukchee.	Kor. Kam.
r(ɪ) — *u* (after terminal vowel)	*y(ɪ)* — *v*
r(ɪ) — *eu* (after terminal consonant)	*y(ɪ)* — *aw, av*
r(ɪ) — *et* (after terminal *u* diphthong *iu, eu, au*)	*y(ɪ)* — *at*

After verbal prefixes, the *r(ɪ)*, *y(ɪ)*, changes to *n(ɪ)*.[1]

> *rı-qamıtva'-u-rkın-ęn* he was made to eat 9.8 (from *qamıtva*)
> *rı-tɛl-e'u-rkın* you cause to be unwell (from *tɛl*)
> *rı-ñelkiwe'-n-nin* he was made to sit on it 8.11
> *rı-gg-eu'-nin* he awakened him 7.5
> *nı-nto-w'-nên* he made him go out 60.3
> *rı-pıntık-eu'-nin* he made it appear 9.8
> *ga-n-êchêt-au'-lên* he made it jump off 47.7
> *rıyırrau'nênat* they caused them to be anointed 74.33
> *ineqäli'keuki* (we) induced her to marry 26.5
> *gante'mgaulên* has been created 42.1
> *anıntoña'tkɛlên* she does not make it go out 54.6
> *qanıntoña'tyê* cause him to go out! 54.7

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[1] See also p. 735.

Koryak:

> *y-awy-a't-ikɪn* you cause to eat (from *awyi*)
> *yɪ-taḷ-a'w-ikɪn* you cause to be unwell (from *taḷ; taᵉḷ-ɪ'-ikɪn* you are unwell)
> *yɪyɪgɪčha'wik* tickling (him) Kor. 18.9
> *qinathɪleu'* make it warm! Kor. 29.3
> *qanva'kyɪntat* tear him up Kor. 30.7
> *tenanɪkyo'nñɪvoi* it begins to awaken us Kor. 39.4
> *ganɪpga'wḷenau* he made them climb up Kor. 43.4
> *ganvaqyiḷa'wḷen* she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20

(*b*) With transitive verbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
r(ɪ) — ñǥt	*y(ɪ) — w, v*
rɪ-kêto-ña't-ɪ-rkɪn you remind him (from *kêto* to remember)	*yɪ-keto-v-e'kɪn* you remind him (from *keto*)

(*c*) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix *r(ɪ)*-Kor. Kam. *y* [ɪ]-)

> *r-ere'erkɪn* you cause it to fall down (from *ere'e*)
> *ra'tvunên* she carried it in 28.7
> *reimeu'ninet* it approached them 41.4
> *rintɪninet* she threw them out 87.30
> Kor. Kam. *yɪ-kima'w-ikɪn* you detain him (from *kimaw* to be

(*d*) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (*a*) become transitive.

> *ru-wêthaw-a̧'t-ḻ-rkɪn* you speak to him (from *wêthau* to speak)
> *ru-wêt·hawau'nên* it talked to her 32.3

> In Kamchadal two prefixes are found, *n-* and *lin-*. Of these, the former corresponds to the Chukchee-Koryak forms—
>
> *t-ɪ-n-ki'le-j-ɪn* I surround him (from *kile; t-ki'le-jk* I turn around)
> *t-li'-nu-j-ɪn* I feed him (from *nu* to eat; *t-nu-jk* I eat)
> *t-lin-hi'l-ɪ-j-ɪn* I give him to drink (from *hil; t-hi'l-ɪ-jk* I drink)
> *t-q-n-cl-ɪ'-j-ɪn* I cause him to lie down (from *cl; t-col-o-jk* I lie down)

NOTE.—Certain verbs may be used both intransitive and transitive:

tŭpa'urkɪn I drink	*ñi'räq ča'gtê napa'unea* they have drunk two pieces of bark tea
ñe'us·qät gi'uḷin the woman said 98.7	*Ta'n·ña g.i'uḷin* the *Tan·ñit* told him 98.5

2. *tɛ̱—ñ(I)* TO MAKE SOMETHING (Kor. Kam. *ta—ñ[I]*). This may
be related to the verb *tɛ̱iki* (Kor. Kam. *taiki*) TO MAKE.

tirvu'ñirkɪn he makes sharp things, i. e., arms (stem *ɪ̱rv*);
Kor. Kam. *tɪsvɪ'ñikɪn*

nɪtepleññile'tqin she made boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek-*
boots; *-let* frequentative [§ 110.53])

When this prefix is used with verbs, the additional prefix *ɪnɛ̱n-* (Kor.
Kam. *ɪnan-*) is generally inserted. It indicates the transitive.
The meaning of the compound is causative.

tɪnɛ̱nyɛ̱'nñirkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tinanya'nñikɪn*) you make him
come

tênantemgɪ'ñirkɪn you cause it to create itself, and from this
the noun *Tênanto'mgɪñ*[1] (Kor. Kam. *Tɛ̱nanto'mvɪñ*) one who
causes things to create themselves (i. e., Creator)

tênanyi'lñ-ora'wɛ̱ɹan a person who causes one to give (i. e.
beggar)

3. *rɛ̱—ñ(I)* expresses the desiderative (Kor. Kam. *ya—ñ[I]*). The
prefix and suffix of these forms are identical with those of the
future, but the suffix is placed immediately following the
stem and is itself followed by the suffixes belonging to the
tenses.

rapa'wñirkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yapa'wñekin*) he desires to drink
(stem: Ch. *ŭpau*, Kor. Kam. *apaw*)

rerku'rñirkɪn (stem *rkur*) (Kor. Kam. *yaĭku'yñikɪn* [stem *ĭkuy*])
he desires to buy

rantɔ'ñiñɔi he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem *ntɔ* to come out;
-ñño to begin)

ravɛ̱ɛ̱ĉhɔ'n·ña do you want to die? 67.1 (stem *viɛ* to die; *-ĉhɔ̱t*
[§ 110.66])

nɪre'viɛñqin he wants to die 99.27

nerelŭɛñirkɪn-i-gɪt they want to see thee 19.6

Koryak:

tɪyayɪ'ḷqatɪñ I want to sleep Kor. 30.3
tɪyayaĭ'tɪñ I want to go home Kor. 30.5
ganka'wlinau ya's·qanñɪk they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2

4. *ɛ̱—ki*, *ɛ̱—kɔ̱* (Kor. Kam. *a—kɪ̱*, *a—ka*; Kor. Par., *e—kɪ̱*,
a—ke; Kamchadal *—ki —k*, *—(ñ)kɪ̱n*, *ñkan*) NEGATION,
expressing WITHOUT —.

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[1] This form is different from the form for HE CREATES THEM. The "Creator" is therefore, even in
grammatical form, only a " *Weltgestalter*."

The compounds formed with *ę—kị* are nominal. They are
formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

anvênauka'gtı gewku'ʟin he tied her to an unbroken (reindeer)
50.12 (*nvineu* to break a reindeer; *–gtı* allative [§ 40]; *ge—
lin* [§ 74]; *wkut* to tie)

elile'ki eyeless

aa'lakê a person without knife

enı'nnıki nameless one (= fourth finger)

Koryak:

> *a'xgıke kuma'tı* the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8

The compounds formed with *ę—kä* are used as complements of the
verb.

equ'lıkạ qäne'lhıtık make yourselves voiceless 60.10

i'mlıkä tıtva'aᵉk I was without water

akê'rıkạ ne'lyiᵉ it became lightless 94.11

êñị'nqạikạ nere'tcımük we shall be made childless 39.4

res·qi'wkwiᵉ a'kêrka he entered without clothing 35.10

a'kêrka ñan ra'gtıêᵉ he came home without clothing 35.10

ạiwạ'nka mıtıne'l we came to be without an Aiwan 47.12

aqamı'tvaka tıtva'ak not eating I was

awgêtkınka not saying anything 26.6

e'ʟe e'lqätä not going 46.8

aurrikê'gti not appearing 66.10

aa'lomka heedless 67.9

e'ʟe eu'rretkä not appearing 62.1

akêrkıtvıᵉ'at they took off clothes (they became without cloth-
ing) 47.5

e'gripgiᵉ awgêntoya'nvuka she felt pain the breathless one 63.8
(*e'grip* to feel pain; *-giᵉ* [§ 64]; *wgị-* breath; *ñıto* to go out;
-yanv verbal noun [§104.38])

eqäññe'tkä gene'ʟin he had become without moaning (i.e., he
had ceased moaning) 34.7

etɛ'lkä nine'lqin he came to be without suffering 25.11

Koryak:

> *akmi'ñıka gi'ʟinat* childless they were Kor. 43.8
>
> *aqalhai'aka qitı'ykın-i'-gi* not crying be! Kor. 37.1
>
> *akle'woka tına͡ᵉ'lık* without bread I remained Kor. 16.2
>
> *ava'ʟeika yanaᵉla'ntık* you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13
>
> *gŭmna'n ui'ña yı'nna ei'ʟıka tı'ntıgaᵉn* (Chukchee *gŭmna'n
> e'ʟe räᵉ'nut e'ilkä tı'ntıäᵉn*) I not anything (not) given I had to
> him

In some cases, particularly with *ui'ñä* NOTHING, THERE IS NOTHING,
the forms in *-ka* appear apparently predicative, presumably with

omission of a predicate of existence.   More frequently the forms in
-*kälin* are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

> *ui'ñä aa'raka* nothing, houseless (i. e., there was nothing, not
> [even] a house) 31.7
>
> *ui'ñä eleu'tıkä* nothing, headless (i. e., there was nothing, not
> [even] a head) 47.8
>
> *ui'ñä epi'ñkä* (Kor. Par. *e'Le epi'ñke*) there is no powder

Koryak:

> *ui'ña aña'wtıñka* he had no wife Kor. 50.5
>
> *ui'ña a'nvılka* he did not stop Kor. 51.8
>
> *ui'ña ava'ļeïka?* is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12
>
> *ui'ña kama'kanu anaᵉ'ka* (I) did not become a kamak Kor. 88.10
>
> *ui'ña ane'lhıyıpnuka* (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding *ǝ—kä* to the stem, have a passive
meaning; with the prefix *ine-* placed immediately preceding
the stem, they have active meaning.

Passive:

> *anıntoña'tka rı'tırkın* you make him one who is not caused to
> go out (i. e., you do not make him go out) 54.10
>
> *evegı'tkukä têu'lanên* he shook what was not dug out with the
> nails 47.2
>
> *enñi'ukä mı'nı'ntınet* let us have them not sent over (i. e. I
> wish we had not sent them) 58.2
>
> *e'Le enuᵉ'ka* not being eaten 48.8
>
> *aloᵉka'ǧtı va'lE-ŭm* I am not seen 22.10
>
> *eluᵉ'kä* not seen ones 62.1
>
> *e'Le a'lomka* it was not heard 60.10

Koryak:

> *uiña i'wka ga'ntıļen* he was not told so Kor. 62.3

Active:

> *êna'nmŭka rine'ntriᵉ* thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9
>
> *inenvente'tkäl-i-gıt* thou art one who has not caused it to be
> open 88.27
>
> *inenu'käli-muri* we are those who do not consume it 35.1
>
> *gŭmna'n ênalwau'kĔl-ê-ŭm* I am not unable to do it 92.30
>
> *ineluᵉ'kälinet* he has not seen them 70.33
>
> *inegite'kälin, e'Le* she does not look at me 88.31

The form *e—kä* is always used for the negative imperative, with the
particle *en·ñe'*.

> *en·ñe' eLe'pkä* do not look 32.6
>
> *en·ñe' inegite'kä* do not look at her 37.9
>
> *en·ñĕ' ai'pŭka* do not put it on 37.8   §114

en·ñe' aa'qǝka do not sit down 37.13

en·ñe' a'tvɪtkoka do not tell 66.29

en·ñe' aqamɪ'tvaka qi'tyitɪk do not be without eating 64.19
(without verb 65.30)

en·ñe' rɪrowa'ta ata'ka qantɪ'gɪtkɪ do not pass it at a dis-
tance 70.9

en·ñe' gi'inu e'lhɪkä do not attock it 70.14

en·ñe' êna'nmŭka don't kill me! 103.30

en·ñe' ineqe'plukä do not kick me! 31.12 (31.11 is the same form
without en·ñe')

Koryak:

kɪtta' atawalñɪḷa'ka do not look back! Kor. 51.6

kɪtt-a'wyɪka qi'thiᵉ do not eat!

Kamchadal:

jak-nu'kek (ksɪxc) do not eating (be)!

Without en·ñe', we find—

atê'rgatka do not cry! 7.6

ineqe'plukä do not kick me! 31.11

Koryak:

annuwai'ka do not leave anything! Kor. 46.2

Here also the auxiliary verb is usually omitted.

Apparently in the form of an adjective, we find—

na'qam ŭm e'un aqora'ɪnrêtka Ai'wan then, however, the Aiwan,
careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6

qora'ñɪ envineukä yɪlhe'nnin he attached an unbroken reindeer
50.11

Derived from the negative suffix -kä are -kĕlịn, -kälịn (Kor. Kam.
-kăḷaᵉn), formed with the suffix -lịn (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This
form, in accordance with the character of -lịn, is more mark-
edly predicative.

imlɪ'kĕlin he is waterless

Koryak Kamenskoye:

wotta'kin ake'ykɪḷaᵉn that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14

Kamchadal:

ilčilkin without tongue

qaqe'kan without nose

ki'mma qam ni'kin I am not wifeless

The verbal character appears most clearly with pronouns of the first
and second person.

antǫ'kĕl-ê̦-gɪt you do not go out 54.10

aǫ'lǫmkĕl-ê̦-gɪt you do not hear 54.11

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alīmạ'lkĕl-ệ-gɪt you do not obey 54.11

e'ʟe ệna'nmɪču y̆'tkạ̈l-i̯-ŭm I do not become a murderer 24.8

e'ʟe enpɪlku'wkạ̈l-i-ŭm I am not vanquished 15.9

inenvente'tkạ̈l-i-gɪt thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27

gŭmna'n ệnalwau'kĕl-ệ-ŭm I am not unable 92.30

eiwule'tkɛlɪ-mu'ri we do not know it 34.8

inenu'kạ̈li-muri we do not eat 35.1

e'ʟe aqamɪ'tvakạ̈l-ệ-ŭm I did not eat

Koryak Kamenskoye:

> *ui'ña awyɪkaḷai'gŭm* I did not eat, but *ui'ña a'wyɪka ti'tɪk* not eating I was
>
> *ui'ña api'ñkạ̈ḷaigŭm* I am without powder

Kamchadal:

> *qam nu'kek tsɪk* not eating I was
>
> *qam nuke'ñkin (kɪ'mma)* I did not eat

Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

e'ʟe aḷɪmạlau'kɛlện he is one who does not heed 15.12

aqḷạ'ulkĕlện she was without a man 28.2

amata'kĕlện she was unmarried 28.2

aa'lomkĕlện she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2

čit ệvi̯ᵉ'kạ̈lin rệ'mkɪn formerly people were death-less 42.2

ɛnřa'q ŭm ɛʟa' ệvi̯ᵉ'kạ̈lin now the mother was immortal 41.12

e'ʟe ạntọ'kĕlện she did not go out 54.9 (without *e'ʟe* 54.5)

va'nêvan ạntọ'kĕlên not at all she went out 54.8

emɪte't-ŭm ạtạạ'nkĕlện tệ'rgɪlɪn since she did not touch the crying one 56.6

va'nêvan ệu'rrekĕlin it does not appear at all 62.2

eres·qiu'kạ̈lin ɛna'n čini't he himself did not want to enter 103.17

emɪtkätvu'kĕlin the blubber was not scraped off 47.1

nene'neqäi anɪntoña'tkɛlên she did not cause the child to go out 54.6

aa'lomkɛlênat they did not listen 13.5

eyɪ'lqakɛlinet they were not sleeping 34.3

inelu̯ᵉ'kälinet he has not seen them 70.33

ineqite'kälin she did not look at me 88.31

A few constructions of *-kälin* with *ui'ñä* seem quite analogous to forms in *-kä* with this particle (see p. 823).

ui'ñä aa'lomkĕlên they do not listen 56.2

ui'ñä ạkệ'rɪkạ̈lện there was nothing, without light 40.9

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ᴇɴqa'n ui'ñä čit eñe'ñkälin that one was nothing, before not
   with guardian spirits 60.1

Kor. ui'ña ama'yɪñkälẹ-i-gŭm I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

elile'kĕläqägti little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix -lax (§112, 78) before the negative
   changes to -lĭx.

ki'mma qam ululĭ'xkin I am not small

Kamchadal x·ë—**ki** with intransitive verbs, x·ë—**kic** with transi-
   tive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms,
   which are given predicative forms by means of auxil-
   iary verbs (see p. 779).

x·ĕnu'ki impossible to eat
x·ĕtxlekic impossible to beat him

x·ë is presumably of the same origin as the particle x·ĕnc.

§§ 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 pre-
ceding 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.

mₐiñ-ₐ'čɪ-kₐlĕ'lɪ-čŭ'mñ̫ (Kor. Kam. maiñ-a'čɪ-kalẹ'lɪ-čŭ'mña) a
   big fat speckled buck

Each stem may retain the word-forming suffixes or prefixes enumer-
ated in §§ 97–114.

Composition is used particularly for the following purposes.

1. When the second stem is a noun, the first element is an attri-
bute of the second.

2. When the second element is a verb, the first element is an
adverbial qualifier of the second. Here belongs particularly the case
that when the first stem is a noun, the second a verb, the former is the
object of the latter.

§ *116. Attributive Composition*

Attributive composition of two nouns is used when the first noun expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second noun. These are used in the absolute form as well as with postpositions.

1. The first element expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second term.

ga'lga-na'lhın bird-skin 7.9
rı'rka-ka'la walrus spirit 8.4
pa'nvar-rı'rkat two-year-old walrus 8.10
rı'rka-npına'čhın walrus old man 9.6
aiwhua'-npına'čhäqai Eiwhue old man 11.10
ẹiwhué'-ora'wệlan Eiwhue person 12.4
ẹiwhué'-ñe'ut Eiwhue woman 12.5
wo'lqı-vairgệ'ti to the Darkness-Being 18.11
ora'wệr-ra'mka by human people 21.8
a'nqa-va'ırgın sea-being 25.4
ke'lɛ-ñe'wän kele wife 38.11
aᵉl-qla'ul excrement man 39.9
poig-e'tteet (Kor. Kam. *poig-o'ttoot*) spear wood
pılvı'ntı-pna'wkun iron file
raᵉ'-pı'ñıl (Kor. Kam. *yaq-pı'ñıl* or *yaqa'-pñıl*) what news 11.2
lile'-ču'rmitä on the sight border (=just out of sight) 11.8
ra'g-čo'rmık on the house border 12.12

Koryak:

ñawa'kak daughter Kor. 12.4
pılvı'ntı-yı'nnalaᵉn with iron antlers Kor. 21.8
yı'lhılıu finger-gloves Kor. 22.2
lawtı-kı'lčıčñın head-band Kor. 17.12
vai-kı'ltıpılıñ little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words *qlaụl* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) MAN, *ñẹw* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) WOMAN, are used to express the idea of the *nomen actoris*, and are compounded with verbs as well as with nouns. Thus we find—

tu'lı-ñẹw (Kor. Kam. *tu'lı-ñaw*) stealing-woman (=female thief)
vı'n·vı-ñaw (Kor. Kam. *vı'n·vu-ñaw*) secretly-acting woman (=female lover)

Kor. Kam. *tala'-qla'wul* striking-man (=blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

pılvı'ntı-qla'ul iron-man (=blacksmith)

The stems *qlaul* and *qlĭk* (Koryak *qlɪk*) in first position express also MALE.

qla'ul-keiñɪn (Kor. Kam. *qlɪk-kai'ñɪn*) male bear

For most animals the word *čŭ'mña* (Kor. Kam. *čŭ'mña*) is used to express the male.

čumña-rɪ'rkɪ male walrus

Kor. Kam. *čŭmña'-me'mil̨* male thong-seal

For females the stem *ñẹw* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) is used.

ñe-e'kik (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kik*) daughter 28.2

ñew-kei'ñɪn (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-kai'ñɪn*) she-bear

ñeuwi'rit female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtalaᵋn* (Kamchadal *mtĭlx·*) is a contraction of *oya'mtavɪlaᵋn* PERSON (*ql̨a'wul̨* in Koryak desi̱ates a male adult person), and means literally THE ONE WHO WALKS OPENLY, and is meant to designate man as walking visibly, while the spirits walk about invisibly.[1] The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'wêʟan*, which has the same derivation. Compositions with *-mtal̨aᵋn* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

ᴇnni'-mtal̨aᵋn Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

Val̨vi'-mtal̨aᵋn Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *ql̨ạ̊ụl*.

ᴇ'nnɪ-ql̨ạ̊'ụl Fish-Man

ᴇ'nnɪ-ñẹw Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in *-mtĭlx·* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

ᴇlɪ'he-mtĭlx· (Koryak *ɪlve'-mtal̨aᵋn*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

têpa'-mtalx· (Koryak *kitepa'-mtal̨aᵋn*) 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.

rạ̈ᵋ-kupre̦'tä̦ tɪ'mnê̦n with what kind of a net did he kill it? (*räq* what; *kupre* net; *tɪm* to kill)

ko̦'nê̦-kupre̦'tä̦ tɪ'mnê̦n he killed it with a net of horse-hair (*ko̦'nê̦* horse [from Russian конъ])

(*b*) The idea PERTAINING TO.

tala'n-ramkê̦'pŭ tuwạ'lomgaᵋn I heard it from people of past times (*te̦le̦nye̦p* long ago; *re̦mk-* people; *wạlọm* to hear)

---

[1] The Koryak have also the term *oya'mya* for PERSON, which is supposed to be used by the hostile spirits only, and designates man as the game pursued by the spirits. In Chukchee myths the term *ora'wêr-va'rat* BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (=MANKIND) is used

(*c*) Parts of a whole.

ya'al-gıtka'ta geggil-ge'ptılin he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot (*ya'al* hind; *gıtka* foot; *-g̣gil* heel)

(*d*) Possession.

gŭmŭ'k ẹ'kkẹ-ñalvŭlệ'pŭ qäimi'tyın take it from my son's herd (*gŭmŭk* my [possessive]; *e'kke* son; *ñẹlvŭl* herd; *-g̣ŭpŭ* 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.

gŭmı'k kme'ñıñqo ñalvıḷa'nqo qakmi'tın take it from my son's herd

3. An intransitive verb (adjective) may be combined with a nominal stem so that it qualifies the latter. These compositions are used particularly in oblique cases.

ịuḷ-u'ttä (Kor. Kam. *ịwḷ-u'tta*) with a long stick
mẹiñı-liḷe't (Kor. Kam. *maiñı-lịḷa't*) big eyes
Kamchadal *pḷčx-ki'-stenk* in the large house
tañ-qḷauḷ, pl. *tañ-qḷa'uḷtê* (Kor. Kam. *maḷqḷa'wuḷ*, dual *maḷ-qḷa'-wuḷte*) good man
ta̤'ñ-ŭm-va̤'lın good one
maiñu-wa'l a large knife 16.1
pŭ'gḷı-lauti'yñın big bare head 27.13
ä^eqä'-ke'le-ñe'us·qät bad kele woman 37.11
ä^eqä-gre'pqäi bad little song 59.5
teg-ñe'us·qät a nice woman 62.13
ñıto'-čŭ'mñı a shy buck 49.5
korga'-ča'ut a lively man 40.3
lii-teñ-evi'rälin really good cloths having 33.3
rıg-a^e'ttin a shaggy dog 72.28
êlh-u'kwut a flat stone (=anvil) 77.12
yıtko'mk-u'kwun divining-stone 101.3

Koryak:

ᴇ'nnu maḷ-ña'wıtkata this is a good woman Kor. 19.1
maḷ-qḷa'wuḷ a good man Kor. 19.10
tañ-i^e'yu to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2
ka'li-qa'nyan ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2
qai-ña'wis·qat little woman Kor. 25.1
qai-ka'mak little kamak Kor. 35.5
maḷ-kaḷ-yekoi'gu-waḷ knife with well ornamented handle Kor. 46.8.

4. When the theme of a transitive verb appears as the first part of a compound, it has a passive meaning:

teik-evi′rɪn (ready) made clothing 86.22

aᵉ′tti-yño-kamaanvê′tɪ to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10

tot-taiˋka-kamaanvê′tɪ to newly made dishes 96.18

tər-ɪgto′-qaiə′nə to a newly born fawn 129.13

§ *117. Incorporation of Noun*

A nominal stem may be incorporated in the verbal complex, and then forms a unit with the verbal stem which it precedes. The incorporated noun may express the subject of intransitive verbs, the object or instrument with transitive verbs.

(*a*) Intransitive verbs which incorporate an inanimate noun as subject express a verbal concept relating to a person.

uwiˋk plɪ′tkurkɪn the body becomes ready

but *twuwiˋk-ŭ-pčɪ′tkurkɪn* I become body-ready (i.e., I am grown up)

va′lɪ ñɪto′rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *va′la ñɪto′ykɪn*) the knife comes out

but *vala-nto′rkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *vaḷa-nto′ykɪn*) he is knife-coming-out (i. e., he draws his knife)

nuwgê′ntoqên he is one whose breath goes out 126.9

awgêntoya′nvuka he is without breath going out 63.8

nɪqolênto′aᵉn 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 *-ñɪta* TO FETCH, *-tuwe* TO TAKE OFF, *ɪp* 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.

tɪqaanma′tɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tɪqoyanma′tekɪn*) or]I slaughter rein-

tɪnmɪ′rkɪn qa′at (Kor. Kam. *tɪnme′kɪn qoya′wqe*)] deer

qêna-takê′čhɪ-lpɪ′nřɪgêᵉ me meat give!

gŭmniˋn e′kɪk qä-kalê′təl-lpɪ′nřɪ-gɪn my son money-give him!

u′tti-mlé′rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *u-mḷa′ykɪn*) he breaks a stick

rɪ'lhɪ-čvi'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yɪ'lhɪ-čvi'ykɪn*) he cuts a finger
kale'-ɪpürkin (Kor. Kam. *pañka-ɪpe'kɪn*) he puts on a cap
qaa-nma'arkɪn (Kor. Kam. *qoya-nma'tekɪn*) he slaughters reindeer
tɪkoiñɪnto'rkɪn I take out glasses
tɪleu'tɪpɪ'gtɪrkɪn I have a headache
geleu'tɪlvilin he cut off her head 86.7
nɪlautɪpa'tqên she boiled heads 43.12
načɪpa'tɪnat they boiled fat 14.7
nênavêrɪpa'tqên he put cloths on him 127.1
mɪnpêčarê'ra let us search for food 119.18
valamna'lɪn knife-whetter (*vala* knife) 44.4
nɪqaa'nmatqên he slaughtered reindeer 48.8, 11
nɪquimeviriu'qin he turned the upper part of his trousers outside
    (*qu'yɪm* upper part of trousers; *viriu* to turn out) 46.7
geleutɪrgɪ'tkutä scratching the head 126.7
nênavêruwanla'qên he asks for clothing 126.10
kê'rgŭpgêᵉ he put on the dress 52.9
qärê'thŭpgêᵉ follow the trail! 52.8
tɪlɪ-loᵉ'k looking for the entrance 131.1
nɪtɪlarê'rqên searching for the entrance 131.1
qñaunra'gtatyêᵉ take your wife home! 115.8
va'la-rɪ'nřa knife holding 106.13
gɪna'n inenmuʟɪgrele't-i-gɪt thou art the cause of blood-vomiting
    93.11
omqa'-pênřa'tyêᵉ they attacked the bears 115.12

Koryak:

gayuñyupe'nyɪlenau they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3
gaqoleya'wage (*qole* voice; *ɪya'wa* to use) use your voice! Kor. 48.7
qangekɪplena'ñu (to be used) to strike the fire with Kor. 30.7
gavannɪntalen she lost a tooth (*va'nnɪlñɪn* tooth) Kor. 32.8

The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

tɪ-maiñi-lau'tɪ-pɪ'gtɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tɪ-mai 'ñɪ-ḷa'wtɪ-pɪ'ktikɪn*) I
    much head suffer

Verbs with incorporated object are intransitive. They may be made
transitive, however, when they are referred to a new object.

qaanma'arkɪn he slaughters reindeer
qaanmɪ'rkɪn he slaughters reindeer for him
tɪrɪ'lhɪčvi'gɪt (Kor. Kam. *tɪyɪ'lhɪčvi'gi*) 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.

qɪm-aᵋ'l̩u-ču'ču-ñaw-i-ŭm hard-excrement-eating-woman am I Kor.
  47.4

tigi'lñu-ña'w-iy-ŭm snowshoe-strings-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

(c) Verbs with incorporated noun expressing instrumentality.

θtti-kɪpčê'wa by striking with a stick 48.10
nɪ-ke'g-tegiliñɪtku'qinet groping about with the palms 73.26
gamoʟêtɪño'laat they are covered with blood 91.27

Koryak:

| *čɪlɪnmɪlu̩la'tikɪn* he licked with the tongue Kor. 56.3

§ *118. Composition of Verbal Stems*

Compounds consisting of two verbal stems are quite common. In
all of these the first stem appears as qualifier of the second stem.

tê'rgɪ-plɪ'tkθ finished crying 27.11
a'un-rê'ña-tɪla'gtɪ with easy flying motion 16.8
nu-waqθ-tva'qênat sitting they were 62.9
qämi-plɪ'tkuk (Kor. Kam. *a'wyi-plɪtčuk*) eating finishing (i. e. after
  the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb
  qamɪ-tva TO EAT.
vɪ'yi-tiuɪ'wunin breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:

| *ga-ml̩awa-nka'w-l̩en* she ceased to dance Kor. 48.6
| *g-awya'-nkaw-l̩en* he refused to eat Kor. 51.3
| *gen·ačixčat-paa-ñvo'-l̩enat* to send them away ceased began they
| Kor. 72.2

§ *119. Adverbial Composition*

Intransitive verbs are combined with verbal stems in the same
manner as they are with nouns, and then assume adverbial functions.
Stems expressing modality, quality, quantity, appear frequently in
this position. The forms are quite analogous to those treated in
§ 116.3.

ine-teñ-ɪnpi'lkuum thou hast well vanquished me 17.7
qa-tan-yoro-tukwa't-yê arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6
tur-qɪ'tɪlɪn newly frozen 13.7
tur-uré'tɪlɪn newly born 21.6
tθr-kalêñño'qênat newly adorned ones 29.1
liê-ñarau'tilθ truly wife-seeking 57.1
aᵋqa'-rkɪla badly pursued 17.6
tur-θwkwé'tyiᵋ he departed just now
tɪ-teñ-yilqä'tyäᵋk (Kor. Kam. *tɪ-mal̩-yɪlqa'tɪk*) I slept well

Koryak:

> *aqaɬapñɪvo′ykɪn* looks badly Kor. 13.8
> *ga-aqai′paɬen* it fitted badly Kor. 34.9
> *ga-qayɪčhɪḷanñɪvo′ḷen* it began to be a little light Kor. 18.1
> *ga-qa′yɪ-čulin* he chopped it small Kor. 53.6
> *tañ-a′wyeñvoi* he began to eat well Kor. 20.7
> *ga-maḷ-ɪnai′vuḷen* he bit well Kor. 41.4
> *ga-maḷ-hinta′wḷen* he fled well Kor. 41.7
> *ga-tuyɪ-kmiña′t-i-gŭm* I have recently given birth Kor. 64.13

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

> *a′ričhɪ-tva′rkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *a′yɪtñɪ-tva′ykɪn*) you are lying on the side

§ 120. Multiple Composition

Compound terms may include more than two elements of the classes described in the preceding sections.

> *ä̆ᵉqä̆′ᵉ-lŭ′mñɪ-ñe′us⋅qät* (Kor. Kam. *aqa′-lŭ′mña-ña′wɪs⋅qat*) a bad, lazy woman
> *čaučuwa′-gai′mɪči-lau′lčɪñɪn* reindeer-breeder-rich-man R59.4.
> *tañ-ê̆′tčɪ-teñ-poi′gɪn* a good, heavy ice-spear
> *tɪ-mei′ñɪ-leu′ti-pɪgtɪrkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *tɪ-maiñɪ-ḷau′tɪ-pɪ′ktĭkɪn*) I greatly head am aching
> *qine-či′in-mi′mlɪ-i′lhiᵉ* give me warm water!
> *iču-wgi-ne′lɪrkɪn* heavily breathing he becomes (i. e. he sighs)
> *nêl-êp-rɪlhɪ′lɪñɪn* thimble-put-on-finger, the second finger
> *t-uwä̆ᵉ′quči-lqär-ré′thɪt* 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.

> *ké′lɪ-yu′nyučx* (Chukchee *keli′lɪ-reᵉw*) spotted whale

However, the collected texts show that the use of compounds is much more restricted. Besides, constructions are found that do not agree with the synthetic method of Chukchee and Koryak.

> *ñi′mcx⋅in p!ĭč!* child being a woman (i. e., daughter)
> (Chukchee *ñee′kɪk*, Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a′kak* woman-child)

In Kamchadal *ololaxɪᵉn ki′stɪᵉnč* SMALL LITTLE HOUSES the adjective remains an independent word, as is indicated by its being in the plural form.

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§ 122. Consonantic Shifts

It has been stated before that the consonants *l* and *č* are closely related. A comparison of the parallel forms in *l* and *č* show that the former sound applies often to generalized terms and continued actions, while the latter expresses the special term and single momentary action. This explanation applies well enough in some of the following examples, but not by any means in all of them.

It would seem as though this process were no longer free. Still, a few times I heard the change introduced as though it were still functional:

palomtɛ'lɪrkɪn and *pačomtɛ'lɪrkɪn* he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

leivu, čeivu TO WALK

l forms:

ga'mga-notai'pŭ nɪlei'vuqinet they traveled through every country 17.9

gamga-vaɪrgê'pŭ nɪlei'vuqin he traveled to every being 18.5

nute's·qäk pagtalkoi'pŭ nilei'vuqin he traveled through the clefts of the ground 22.6

yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'vm̃ñoi an orphan child shall (from now on) travel alone 24.10

keimi'tɪlä lei'vuk rä͡ɛ'nutqäiti ge'ilä to traveling shaman small things must be given 25.9

gŭmna'n atča'ta lei'wukin mi'ilhɪr ' give you the means of traveling secretly 93.4

atča'ta qälei'wui͡ɛ walk about in secret! 93.5

notai'pŭ lei'wulɪt lu͡ɛ'ninet he saw them walking about in the country 113.11

ia'm nɪlei'vutku-i-gɪr why don't thou wander about (all the time)? 87.18

č forms:

lautɪtkɪna'ta čei'wutkui͡ɛ he walked (for a little while) on the heads 8.6

kɪta'm mɪčei'vutkuä͡ɛk let me go 79.27; 80.10

qla'ul pŭki'rgi͡ɛ čeivutkulɪn a man arrived walking 86.26

ɪrga'tɪk ečei'vutkukä mi'tyä͡ɛk tomorrow not walking let me be!, i. e., tomorrow I shall not go 87.9

ne'me čei'vutkui͡ɛ again he went 87.25; 88.1

ne'me čuei'vutkurkɪn again he was going (for a short while and once only) 88.7

luwi (initial), *lvi* (medial); *čuwi* (initial), *čvi* (medial) TO CUT

   l forms:

      geleu'tɪlvilin the head was cut off 86.7

   č forms:

      nečvitkui'vuäᵉn they cut it off 27.3

      nine'čviqin, nine'nuqin he cut it and ate it 43.10 (see also 72.18)

      nɪčvi'tkurkɪn reᵉw he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)

      lĕla'lhɪčhɪn gečvi'lin he cut the eye 106.19

      gɪnonĕ'tɪ čuwi'nin he cut it in the middle 109.33

kɪle (initial), *rkɪle* (medial); *kɪč* (initial), *rkɪče* (medial) TO FOLLOW

      aᵉqa'-rkɪla difficult to be pursued 17.6

      kɪleu' mɪlva'wkwaᵉn I should not be able to follow 17.5

      kɪla'wkĕᵉ she followed 31.2 (here a single act)

      kɪle'nin he gave pursuit to him 57.8

   č form:

      kɪčauča'tyĕᵉ he ran off quickly 57.5

kɪpl (initial), *rkɪpl* (medial); *kɪpč* (initial), *rkɪpč* (medial) TO STRIKE

   l forms:

      kɪ'plɪnên ŭm leu'tɪk he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26

      ga'rkɪplɪlên he struck her (until she let go) 31.4

   č forms:

      ᴇ'nɪkɪt kɪpčɪ'tkɵnên suddenly he struck it 35.11

      ninenɪnnuteu'qin ɵttɪ-kɪpčĕ'wa he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10

      nĕnarkɪpčeu'qin he gave it a push 53.5

lilep (initial), *ʟep* (medial); *čičep* (initial), *čep* (medial)

   l forms:

      lile'pgiᵉ she looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14

      qãʟe'pgiᵉ look up! 79.11; see also 107.14

      lile'pŭrkɪn‚he looks on

   č form:

      čičé'pgiᵉ they looked about 86.22

      rɪčiče'urkɪn he inspects

talaiwu, tačaiwu to strike

      nɪtalai'wuqên they strike him 59.7

      natačai'wuan they struck him once 59.5

plɪ, pčɪ to finish

      uwi'k plɪ'tkurkɪn his body becomes ready

      tuwi'k-ɪ-pčɪ'tkurkɪn I become ready-bodies, i. e., grown up

-lqiu verbal suffix expressing requested action; *-s·qiu* verbal suffix
  expressing single action

  l form:
    nɪtule'lqiuqinet they would come to steal 13.4

  č (s·) forms:
    ganto's·qêulên he rushed out 57.11
    qänɪggeus·qi'wkutkɪ go and wake them up at once 56.3

-lɪku AMONG A NUMBER; *-čɪku* INSIDE

  l form:
    uttɪ'lɪku among the trees

  č forms:
    ple'kɪčɪku in a boot 43.4
    wus·qŭ'mčɪku in the darkness 34.5

-qal, -qač by the side of
    ragro'lmɪnqal from the rear side of the house 51.10
    gɪnɪkqa'č by thy side 9.3

-lqän, -s·qän TOP [1]

  l form:
    koivi'lqan top of glacier 91.16

  č form:
    gɪ'thɪs·qän surface of lake 144.3
    nute's·qän surface of ground 98.24

mel-, meč LIKE TO

  l form:
    mel-uwäᵉ'quč it seems my husband 49.9

  č forms:
    meč-äᵉ'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10
    mač-êto'pêl somewhat a little better 135.7

A number of nouns show generally the *l* forms, but have in cases
when parts of the object or special forms of the object are named
č forms.

yê'lɪčhɪn tongue 40.10	*yêčɪ'tkɪčhɪn* tip of tongue 40.4
rɪ'lhɪn fingers	*rɪčhɪ'tkɪn* finger-tips
(qlɪk) man	*qäčɪkɪ'čhêča* the man trans-formed (similar to a man) [2]
u'nel thongseal	*uneči'čhɪn* thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30
mêmɪl seal	*mêmɪčê'čhɪn* thong of seal skin 134.31

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[1] See also *-lqän* ABOUNDING IN (§104.39).
[2] See Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 449.

muʟɪ blood

gamočê'pɪlên full of dried blood 68.2

Also:

tɛl sick

tɛ'čirqɪn disease 133.7

läᵉ'lɛ winter

čäᵉ'čɛ cold

To this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:

luᵉ'rkɪn he sees

čuᵉ-tu'mqɪn or *luᵉ-tu'mqɪn* old acquaintance (=seeing companion)

lêlê'lhɪn mitten

čê-mɪngɪ'ʟiñɪn glove (=mitten hand)

li'gliq egg

čɪg·ɪ'-ttɪm egg-shell (=egg-bone)

vêlộ'lhɪn ear

vilu'-ttɪm or *viču'-ttɪm* auricular bone

vilu'ptɪrkɪn he marks the ear (of the reindeer)

eviču'ptɪki (reindeer) without ear-mark

Attention may also be called to the relation between the nominal endings *-čhɪn* and *-lhɪn,* which have been treated in §§52, 53, and which may also be considered from this point of view, *-lhɪn* being used in nouns with indefinite meaning, *-čhɪn* 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:

qulile'erkɪn he cries

qučiče'erkɪn he shouts, makes a noise

gemlé'lin it is broken

gemčé'tkulin broken to pieces

ŭmɪ'lɪn äᵉlo'ñêt the whole day

ŭmɪ'čɪ-čo'ñêt or *ŭmɪ'č-äᵉčo'ñêt* a long time

añqa'lɪ-ra'mkɪn maritime people

añqa'čɪ-ra'mkɪn reindeer-breeders who come in summer to the seashore

li'ñɪlin the hearty one, avenger (from *li'ñliñ* heart, *liñɪle'erkɪn* he avenges)

čiñe'erkɪn he yearns for something

§§ 123–124. Numerals

§ 123. Introductory Remarks

The system of numbers is derived from manual concepts. Even the expression TO COUNT really means TO FINGER (Chukchee *rɪ'lhɪrkɪn,* Kor. Kam. *yɪlñe'kɪn,* HE COUNTS [from stem *rɪlh-,* Kor. Kam. *yɪlñ,* FIN-

GER]). In a number of cases the relations between the numerals and manual concepts can easily be given.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.		From stem
mɪ'lɪñên	*mɪ'ḷɪñên*	five	*mɪng* HAND (contracted from the absolute form *mɪngɪ'lɪñɪn*)
am-ñɪro'otkên	——	eight	*am-ñɪro'kên* JUST THE THIRD (i. e., of the second hand)
qon·a'čɪñkên	*qonya'ačɪñɪn*	nine	*qon-ya'ači* (Kor. Kam. *qon-ya'wači* probably ONE BEHIND i. e., one finger left over)
mɪngɪ'tkên	*mɪngɪ'tčên*	ten	BELONGING TO THE HANDS, refers evidently to the completion of the count on two hands
kɪlhɪ'nkên	——	fifteen	may be derived from stem *qɪtka'lh* FOOT, referring to the five toes of the first foot, added to the ten fingers
qli'kkin BELONGING TO A MAN	*qlɪk*	twenty	a man, refers to all the fingers and toes. The form *qlɪk* is obsolete in both languages.

Larger numbers are composed with *qli'kkin* or with the ordinary modern word *qla'ul* (Kor. Kam. *qḷa'wuḷ*) MAN.

The term *qlig-qli'kkɪt* or *qli'kkin qla'ul* FOUR HUNDRED is the highest term of the older Chukchee numeration. Every number higher than four hundred is called *gɪyeu'-te'gin* LIMIT OF KNOWLEDGE. In modern times this term, under Russian influence, has been applied to express the idea of ONE THOUSAND. This recalls the old Russian term for TEN THOUSAND тма (Greek μύριας), which literally signifies DARKNESS.

§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 *ę—kĕlịn* (see § 114, 4).

> *amıngıtkau'kĕlên* not being the tenth
>
> *akılhınkau'kĕlên* 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.

> *mıngıt-kalê'tola tačıñı-plı'tkoaᵉk* I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (*mıngıt* ten; *kalê'tol* scratched one; *-a* instrumental; *t-* I; *ačıñ* debt; *plıtko* to finish)

Numerals are also compounded with personal pronouns.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
ñire-mu'rị	*ñi'ye-mu'yi*	we two
ñıro'-mǫrę	*ñıyo'-mu'yu*	we three
ñı're-tu'ri	*ñı'ye-tu'yi*	ye two
ñıré'rgerı	*ñiye'čheı'tı*	they two

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, *-čę, -čặ* (Kor. Kam. *-ča*) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except *qunę'čặ* ONCE (Kor. *qu'n·ač* Kor. 53.2), which is derived from *qun* SINGLE.

> *ñıra'ča gıwi'kinek* on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix *-yụt*; (Kor. Kam. *-yụt* [dual],*-yụ'wgı* [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix *ęm-* JUST (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except ONE.

> *ñireqe'urkın* (Kor. Kam. *ñiyeqı'wikın*) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, *-nlęñ* (Kor. Kam. *-lañ*) (see § 124, p. 841).

The Kamchadal numerals have almost been lost, and their place has been taken by Russian numerals. Only the first four numerals are still in use, side by side with their Russian equivalents. The word *lüné'jın* HE COUNTS is also derived from the stem *lüx* FINGER (absolute form *lüxlüxč*).

§123

Numerals	Cardinal	Iterative	Ordinal
1	kŏni′ñ	qun	
2	kasx, ka′cıx	ntel	nte′lñin
3	čok	čol	čo′laña
4	čak	čal	ča′laña

ka′cıx kcxoᵋn two dogs
ka′cxaᵋn ḷɪᵋḷ two mittens
čo′kaᵋn kcxoᵋn three dogs

Kamchadal *qun* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *qu̧n* SINGLE.
Kamchadal *čok* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *ñɩyo′x* THREE.
Kamchadal *čak* may be compared with Kor. Paren *ñɩya′x* FOUR.
(perhaps from an older form *ñɩča′x*)

§ 124. *Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives*

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	Koryak Paren
1	Enne′n·, Enne′-n·čeᵋn	Enna′n	Enne′n·
2	ñɩ′räq	ñɩ′yax	ñɩ′čax
3	ñɩro′q	ñɩyo′x	ñɩyo′x
4	ñɩra′q	ña′yax	ñɩya′x
5	mɩ′ʟɪñên	mɩ′ʟɪñen	mɩ′ʟɪñen
6	Enna′n mɩ′ʟɪñên	Enna′n-mɩ′ʟɪñen	
7	ñêra′-mɩ′ʟɪñên	ña′a-mɩ′ʟɪñen	
8	am-ñɩro′otkên	ñɩyo′-mɩ′ʟɪñen	
9	qon·a′čıñkên / amɩngɪtkau′kĕ-lên	qonya′ačıñɪn	
10	mɩngɪ′tkên	mɩngɪ′tčen	mɩngɪ′tken
11	mɩngɪ′tɪk En-ne′n· pa′rol	mɩngɪ′tık Enna′n	
12	mɩngɪ′tık ñɩ′rä pa′rol	mɩngɪ′tık ñɩ′yax	
13	mɩngɪ′tık ñɩro′ pa′rol	mɩngɪ′tık ñɩyo′x	
14	mɩngɪ′tık ñɩra′ pa′rol / akɪlhɪnkau′kĕ-lên	mɩngɪ′tık ña′yax	
15	kɪlhɪ′nkên	mɩngɪ′tık mɩ′ʟɪñen	

	Chukchee.	Koryak Kamenskoye.
16	kɪlhɪ'nɪkɛnne'n· pa'rol	mɪŋɪ'tɪk ɛnna'n mɪ'- ʟiñen
19	{ kɪlhɪ'nɪk ñɪra' pa'rol elikkeu'kĕlin }	mɪŋɪ'tɪk qonya'ačɪñin
20	qli'kkin	qlɪk
21	qli'kkɪk ɛnne'n· pa'rol	
30	qli'kkɪŋ mɪŋɪ'- tkên pa'rol	{ qlɪ'kɪk mɪŋɪ'tčen ñɪyo'x mɪ'ŋɪtu
40	ñi'räq-qli'kkin	{ ñi'yax qlɪ'kɪt ña'yax mɪ'ŋɪtu
50	ñi'räq-q li'kkɪŋ mɪŋɪ'tkên pa'rol	{ ñi'yax qlɪ'kɪt e·n·ki mɪŋɪ'tčen mɪ'ʟiñen mɪ'ŋɪtu
60	ñiro'q-qle'kkên	{ ñɪyo'x qlɪ'ku ɛnna'n mɪʟɪñen mɪ'n- ɪtu
80	ñɪra'q-qle'kkên	{ ña'yax qlɪ'ku ñɪyo'x mɪ'ʟiñen mɪ'n- ɪtu
99	amɪʟɪñqlêkkau'- kĕlên	
100	mɪʟɪŋqlê'kkên	{ mɪʟɪñen qlɪ'ku mɪŋɪ'tčen mɪ'ŋɪtu
200	mɪŋɪtqlê'kkên	mɪŋɪ'tčen qlɪ'ku
400	qlig-qli'kkin	qlɪk-qlɪ'ku

Numerals are verbalized by the suffix -eu (Kor. Kam. -aw, -(ɪ)w).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
ñɪreqe'urkɪn	ñiyeqɪ'wikɪn	he is double, he is the second
ñɪroqa'urkɪn	ñɪyoqa'wekɪn	he is threefold, he is the third

-nlęñ (Kor. Kam. -lañ) with numerals form collective terms.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
ɛnne'nlęñ	ɛnna'nlañ	a single one
ñire'nlęñ	ñiya'qlañ	two together
ñɪrọ'nlañ	ñiyo'qlañ	three together
ñɪra'nlañ	ñaya'qlañ	four together

§ 124

§ 125–131. Adverbs.

§ 125. MODAL ADVERBS.

Modal adverbs are formed by means of the inclusive affix *n(ɪ)-eu*, (Kor. Kam. *n(ɪ)-au*) (see p. 810.) These forms are parallel to the adjective form *n(ɪ)-qin* (see § 49).

> *nɪme'leu* well (Kor. Kam. *nɪma'ḷau*) stem Ch. *mel* (Kor. Kam *maḷ*)
>
> *nɪme'leu qatva'ê* be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer.
>
> *nɪmei'ñeu ga'tvŭlên aᵋ'ttɪn* he made a great promise, a dog 101.21
>
> *nŭ'mkeu kĭ'wkiw ni'nelqin* the nights passed (there) became many 108.8 (*kĭ'wkiw* is sing.; *nŭ'mkeu* adverb).

These forms however are not used very frequently, especially in Koryak. In most cases they are replaced by adverbial composition (see § 119, p. 832).

Kamchadal -*q* designates adverbs.

> *ömq* deeply (adjective *ö'mläx* deep)
>
> *me'čaq* far (adjective *me'čalax* distant)
>
> *k!ĭ'jhɪq* shallowly (adjective *k!ɪ'jhɪlax* shallow)

NOTE.—I have found a few forms in Kamchadal which correspond to Koryak forms:

> *n'mĭ'ta* (Kor. Kam. *n'mĭ'tau*) warily (adjective *n'mĭ'tqin*)
>
> *nu'raᵋ* far.

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

> *a'tqêuma* (Kor. Kam. *atčiñau* regular) badly R 62.72 (stem *ä'qä*, Kor. Kam. *aᵋqa*; adjective form *e'tqin*, Kor. Kam. *a'tčɪñ*)
>
> *me'čɛn·kɪ* (*meč* < *mel* good; *ɛn·kɪ* there) well 67.22
>
> *me'čɛn·ku-wa'l-ê-ŭm* I am a fairly good one 114.34. Here *meč* does not assume ablaut (see p. 763)
>
> *me'rinře* slowly (stem-*nř*; adjective form *nɪ'nřäqin* slow)

A number of synthetical bases are used as adverbs, either without any change or mostly with added -*ɪ*,-*qɪ*,-*akɪ*,-*êtɪ* which are locative and and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with *va'lɪn*ˌ(Kor. Kam. *i'taḷaᵋn*), (see § 76).

As adverbs they always have the ablaut, those without suffix as as well as those with the suffix -*i*,-*qi*, although the locative generally is used without ablaut.

Adverbs without suffixes are —

> *o'ra* openly 121.30; stem *uṛe̦* (Kor. Kam. *o'yañ*) (see p. 862.)
>
> *oma'ka* (Kor. Kam. *oma'ka* Kor. 61.2) together; stem *u̦me̦ke̦*

yĕ'ta in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem *yitȩ*

a'lva (Kor. Kam. a'ḷvañ) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem *ȩlvȩ*
(Kor. Kam. *aḷva*)

With suffix -kı, -qı

tĕ'kı of cylindrical form; stem *tik.*

koulo'qı (Kor. Kam. ko'loñ) round; stem *kuwl.*

a'rkıčı (Kor. Kam. aykiča) aslant, stem *arkıč* (Kor. Kam. *aykıč*)

a'rkıčı qata'ĕ (Kor. Kam. ay'kıča qata'wañ) more aslant!

vĕ'tı truly 120.24 (vĕ'tĕ 107.8); stem *vĕth*

vĕ'tirĕ straight (irregular); stem *vĕth* (adjective form *nuwĕ'thäqĕn*)

ģĕ'mȩ without my knowledge; ge'mu 103.5 (Kor. Kam. a'mu
Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem *-(t)hĕm* not to
know.

rathĕma'un without my knowledge 11.9. The affix *rȩ——ȩu* is
causative.

ģĕwĕ'tı without my knowledge 120.37; stem *-(t)hiu* not to know;
allative.   ·

pulhırra'kı flatly; stem *pḷlhırrı*

apaqa'ʟı(ñ) (Kor. Kam. apaqa'čı) face downward; stem *apaqaʟı.*

pı'tvı, pıtva'kı double; stem *pḭtv*

ĕ'mpŭ(ñ), ĕmpa'kı downcast; stem *ḭmp*

tı'mla, tımla'kı close to; stem *tḭml*

yı'čhı(ñ), yıčha'kı uninterrupted, stem *yıčh*
and several others.

Those with the suffix -ĕtı, -gtı express a diminished intensity of
the adverbial term:

čeutĕ'tı somewhat low; stem *čiut*

qaʟĕ'gtı somewhat lazy; stem *qä̧ʟḭ*

yȩrģĕ'tı somewhat foolish; stem *yu̧rg* [1]

ģĕwrĕgtı somewhat hasty; stem *qi̧wrḭ*

tañĕ'tı somewhat better; stem *teñ*

All these forms combined with -va'lın (Kor. Kam i'taḷan) are com-
monly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix
tı'ñkı quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

tıñk-a'tqĕuma quite badly

tıñk-ä͜ᵉ'qälpe with great hurry

tıñkı-me'rinře quite slowly

---

[1] See also *yorģĕtu-wa'lıčhın* a foolish one 65.3.

Some others may form dimunitives, as—

kitkinn·u'qäi very little 118.6
qaiaqan·e'qai a trifle more 106.6.
čɪ'mčeqäi very near 100.15
vi'n·vɛqäi very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

Chukchee.	Koryak Kam.
čɪ'mčɛ 103.9 near	*čei'mɪk*
ya'a 113.20 far	*ya'wak*
ya'al, ya'ačɪ 119.29 in the rear	*ya'wal*
atto'ol in the front, earlier; *atto'oča* 8.7 in the front, down the coast	*attaⁱ'yol* Kor. 39.7
gɪrgo'l 68.35; *gɪrgo'gča* 123.7 above	*gɪčho'l, gɪčho'ča*
iu'tɪl below	*i'wtɪl*
ě'uča–ěučai'pŭ from below 131.5	
mra' on the right hand	*mya'*
ña'ɛɛn·kɪ, ñač(h)·e'n·kɪ; stem *ñačh,* on the left side	*ña'čñɪñ–qač, ñačñe'tɪ;* stem *ñačñ*
ro'čɛn·kɪ 52.11; stem *ročh*[1], on the other shore	*yočñe'tɪ;* stem *yočñ*
ña'rgɪn; stem *ña'rgɪn* outside	*ña'·hɪn* Kor. 64.8
o'nmɪ inside	*anɪnka'čɪku* Kor. 60.9
onmɪčɛkoi'pŭ from within 59.9	
e'mi where (is it) 81.16	
ě'čča, ě'ččaq near the surface	
ě'čča nitva'nat if they had remained on the surface 68.27	
ra'nau straight ahead	(K. K. *ya'nau,* Kamchadal *čñil*)
ɪ'mla close by	(K. K. *tɪ'mla,* Kamchadal *ti'mal*)
ña'lñil on both sides, on all sides 129.24	*ga'lñɪl* Kor. 58.2
rɪma'gtɪ farther on, beyond	*yɪmai'tɪ*
a'čhɪtä side by side	*a'čñɪta*
em–nu'ñkɪ inland 112.6	*am–nuñɪk*
wŭ'rrɪ on the back	*wŭ'ssɪñ* Kor. 30.3
ya'gna in the presence	
riagnau'kɪ (*rɪ-yagna-u-kɪ; rɪ—u* causative) opposite to 100.28	
kamle'lɪ around	
am–lɪga'nlɪ back to back	
ye'tir half-way 109.1	
rɪnere' askance	
wolva'kɪ across; stem *wulv*	*mal-volve'tɪ, volva'kɪ*
ěulětě'lɪ lengthwise	*eu'letɪñ*
če'če along	
qa'čɪ, qa'ča close to (see § 100.26)	
ai'gěpŭ windward 111.10 (*ęig* odor coming with the wind; *-ěpŭ* ablative)	

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and verbal stems, or with the locative of the noun.

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[1] The form *ročhě'tɪ* to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

nuwolvênaña'tvaqên across sitting was carried 145.3 (*n(u)—qin* nominalizing prefix; *wulv* across; *ineñe* to sit on a sledge; *tva* to be)

gŭmŭgga'gna in my presence

êulêtê'l-va'lɪn of elongated shape 91.15

ya'rau-lɪha'nlɪŋqač-va'lɪn to the houses from the other side being 11.7

tê'rkɪ-ɪrgo'l at sunrise 104.16

va'am-gɪrgogča'gtɪ up river 119.14

kamlê'lɪ -ya'rak around the tent 104.20

yoro'wtɪ kamle'lɪ sleeping room all around 12.10 (*yoro'wtɪ* allative)

ve'emɪk va'êᵉ qa'ča he lived close to the river 122.8

Nota'rmêñqača close to Nota'rmeñ 121.10

§ 127. Temporal Adverbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
ti'te	*ti'ta* Kor. 27.7	*i'te*	when
ɛ'n·kɪ	*ɛ'ŋki* Kor. 39.2	*knaᵉñ, ñur*	then
ɛn'ñɪte'q	——	——	of late
lŭ'mña 19.1	*gŭ'mḷañ* Kor. 84.11	*te'nax*	again
pɪ'tkä-lumña	——	——	double again, i. e. the third time
ya'nøt 43.9	*ya'not*	——	at first
yep	*ye'ppe*	——	still
te'le 7.1	——	——	in olden times
telenye'p 112.20	*ankɪyep*	——	long ago
tite'ep	*titoo'n*	——	from what time on, after a long time Kor. 57.5
gɪ'nmɪl 83.19	——	*iᵉne*	recently
gɪnmɪye'p	——	——	from recent time on
i'gɪt 21.1; 36.9	*a'čhɪ* Kor. 30.9	*neᵉn*	now, at present
aï'vɛ	*aï'gɪve* Kor. 78.26	*a'činčk*	yesterday
aivɛnd·a'p	——	——	from yesterday on
(*ɑɪvɛñ-yêp*)	——	——	
aigo'on	——	*qlank*	lately
aigoond·a'p	——	——	from late times on
(*ɑɪgoon-yₑp*)	——	——	
ɪrga'tɪk	*miti'w* Kor. 21.8	*a'jujk*	to-morrow
kɪtu'r	*vo'tɪn-aï'ñun*	*i'xɪltu*	last year
kɪtuje'p	——	——	from last year on
(*kɪtur-yₑp*)			

Chuckchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
kıtur-ño'on	——	——	many a year ago
yawrı'nak	*ya'wyın*	*tal'a'nank*	next year
pe'ʟe 20.2	——	——	soon
pı'tkä-yawnak	——	——	the year after next
čit 17.6	——	——	before this
pa'nêna 54.9	*pa'nena* Kor. 15.6	——	another time
ī'ne, ī'neñ 113.11	——	——	early
qulı'ninek	*quli'nikak*	——	
aiθk 118.20	*vaᵋyuk* Kor. 21.3 *vaᵋ'ak* Kor. 56.5	——	afterwards
ña'nɛnqač	——	——	⎫day after to-morrow
qolê-t-aᵋlo'	*qolḙ'-aḽo'*	——	⎭
aivɛ ña'nen-qač	*aiǥıv-ai'ǥı-večña*	——	day before yesterday
ımıčıčo'ñêt	*a'mñuč,* Kor. 53.1, *a'wun* *a'mñut* Kor. 54.5	*köñčpol*	always
a'mkınıčo 112.8 (*e'mkın* every) *čo* probably analogous to *čḙ* numeral adverbial; a suffix)	—— ——	——	all the time
——	*ai'ñum* Kor. 61.1	——	long ago
	a'mlııñ	——	after that Kor. II
qulı'-thi'wik	——	——	in future years
čiq-etuwä'k 44.4	——	——	all at once (*čiq* see § 113.13)
——	*yu'ḽaq* Kor. 16.2; 64.10	——	for a long time
wŭᵋ'tku	*wŭᵋ'tču* Kor. 31.2; 41.2; 47.9; 80.2	——	just then
——	*woᵋ'tvañ* Kor. 96.8		

Chuckchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
unᵉ'tku	*ituᵉ'pil*	——	after a while (see *êto'pel* Ch.)
——	*akiḷaᵉ'č* Kor. 27.4; 28.3	——	just now
——	*akiḷaᵉ't* Kor. 27.5	——	
——	*vê'tha-qo'nom* Kor. 56.10	——	just now
——	*pıče'* Kor. 14.11	——	for a while
——	*qoḷa* Kor. 70.14	——	after a while
——	*qu'lin* Kor. 60.2	——	afterwards
——	*ñınvo'q* Kor. 13.5	——	many a time

A number of these are adverbial phrases:

quli'ninek at something else (from *quli* some, *ni'kek* see p. 731).
qolê-t-aᵉlo' another day
ımıčıčo'ñêt all days
ırga'ıık on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

ırgatê'tı towards to-morrow
ırga'thüpŭ from to-morrow

Others, like *lŭmña* AGAIN, *yanet* AT FIRST, do not take post-positions.

Seasons of the year, sections of the day and night are expressed by the locative—

wulqätvi'k in the evening time 120.3 (*wu'lq* darkness -*tvi* to attain a certain quality §110, 68)
läᵉle'ñkı in the winter 51.1 (stem *läᵉleñ*)
ırgiro'k at dawn (*ırg* dawn; -*ru*: phenomena of nature (§110, 71)

Following are some examples of their use.

yep still

yep wu'kwu ya'rañı na'qam but the tent was still stone 107.11
yep ırgıro'ka while (the day) was not yet dawning 56.8
mı'nkri re'lqu va'ma yep while he is still in the inner room 135.15
telen-ye'p in olden times 61.5
telen-ye'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5
yep e'čhı not yet

§ 127

gɪ'nmɪlkin lately

> *e'nmen luʼur gɪ'nmɪlkin roʼo* then there was the one who had lately been eaten 35.9
>
> *me'mɛlqai gɪ'nmilkin ɛniʼn tɪmyoʼ yarroʼnên* the seal he had lately killed, he put in his bosom 43.8
>
> *gɪ'nmɪlkin loᵉʼo* the one recently seen 104.8–

pe'nin(e) as before

> *pe'nin nɪma'yɛnqanaĉhɪn* of large size as before 20.5
>
> *pe'nin ɛniʼn i'gɪtkin luᵉʼlqäl* it was his face as before 77.14
>
> *pe'nin tautawa'tɪlɪn* as before he barked 104.13
>
> *peninei'-gɪt lei'wul-i-gɪt* from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12
>
> *pa'nêna releulewe'urkɪn* will you as before do wrong? 20.12-21.1
>
> *pa'nêna nɪkɪtɪma'tqen* he was as before extending his hands 47.8
>
> *qän·ve'r e'nmen ɪrga'tɪk pa'nêna wulqätvi'iᵉ* at this time then in the morning it became as before dark 54.9
>
> *go'onqan panêna'gtɪ genlete'tä* that to the former (place) is carried 133.2

Koryak:

> *assa'kin pa'nin gayoᵉʼolen* the one of the other day (who) before had found him Kor. 52.6
>
> *pa'nena . . . ga'npɪlen* 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 vača'pgɪĉñu . . .* the scars of former times Kcr. 86.1

ĉit FORMERLY

> *a'mɛn ĉit gŭmu'w-ĉi'mgutä aᵉqa'-rkɪla gene'l-i-ŭm* before this, in my own mind, I have become one who can hardly be pursued 17.6
>
> *ɛnqa'n ui'ñä ĉit eñe'ñkälin* that one formerly had no spirits 60.1
>
> *ĉit vai ke'lɛ ɛĉĉaka'ta nɪlei'wuqin* formerly there ke'lɛ wandered outside 61.6
>
> *qailo'qum ĉit kime'k me'ĉɛn·ku-wa'l-êum* in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34
>
> *ĉit ŭm wutkekinei'-gŭm* formerly I belonged to this place 97.10
>
> *guiwele'ɪi'n ĉit* one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11
>
> *ĉit mɪtu'ren·mɪk êɪi ge'nu ñi'rä-mu'ri* before we were born to father, we two R44.2-3

The following example seems to refer to the future:

> *ĉit ɛligɪqai'gŭpŭ ta'aᵉt e'un ui'ña* after some time they passed by the father's place and (there was) nothing 109.34–35

tele in olden times

> *te'le e'nmen . . . näqäliĉi'tqinet* in olden times, then they were at war 7.1

pe'Le soon

> *naqa'm pe'Le nŭmqɪtvi'qin* but soon it decreased in size 20.2
>
> *pe'Le ñeuᵉ'ttɪn topa'wkwêᵉ* soon the bitch was 104.7

a'či va'n this time

> *ači va'n qo'npŭ maḷa'tɪ* this time it grew much better Kor.
> 20.5-6
>
> *e'či-van tɪ'nmɪn* this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13
>
> *ači va'n qaye'm* this time not Kor. 54.3 (see also Kor. 20.5;
> 54.3)

a'či just now (i. e. before a little while)

> *a'či ni'w-i-gi qanga'tiykɪn* now you said, "it burns" Kor 30.9
>
> *ači'kin nenenaye'ye-geʔ* wert thou looking for it just now?
> Kor. 49.8-9
>
> *ačikɪ'ču-ai'ñaka* now do not cry! Kor. 60.7
>
> See also Kor. 68.13

§128. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions, Chukchee.

On the following pages I give a list of adverbs and conjunctions without attempting to differentiate between the two groups. The meaning of many of the adverbial or connective particles is so uncertain that a division seems hardly possible. Many of them have such nice shades of meaning that they can not be rendered adequately in English.

The use of such particles is much more extended in Chukchee than in Koryak. In Kamchadal most of the particles, particularly most conjunctions have been lost and replaced by Russian loanwords.

The particles occur frequently in groups as will be seen for instance in the use of *ŭm, ɛLo'n, a'mɛn,* etc. Some are always postpositional and tend to unite phonetically with the word they modify (see examples under *ŭm*)

ŭm, ɪm, -m an emphatic adverb. It is always postpositional and seems to emphasize the word to which it is attached

Following nouns:

> *ɛnřa'q ñe'us·qät ŭm . . . ganra'gtaʟên* then the woman . . .
> took it home 28.5–6
>
> *pênyo'lhɪn ŭm nlete'tyiᵉ* the hearth blazed up 32.3
>
> *wŭ'rgɪrgɪn ŭm vai ge'pkiʟin* the noise reached there 32.13
>
> *ɪnpɪna'čhɪn ŭm ɛLɪ'gɪn geñe'wänä* the old father and his wife 33.9

ᴇnqa'n ᴇ'n·kɪ erre'č ñe'us·qät, . . . qora'k ŭm uwä⁼'quč there was
  only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the hus-
  band 51.9–10

uwä⁼'qučitä ŭm by the husband 39.6

yorou'tɪ ŭm to the sleeping room 39.10

Following pronouns:

wo'tqan ŭm vai this one here 45.12

ᴇnqa'n ŭm vi'n·vɪ te'rgɪlɪn this one who was weeping secretly 49.1

gŭmna'n ŭm I 137.1

Following verbs:

teqe'lignin ŭm a'mɪ she made a cap too 28.8

ye'tti–m vai she came there 29.13

qaplêta't ŭm qora'ñi the reindeer fell down 51.6

guq, gemɪ's·qälɪn ŭm, a'nɪ it is deep! 53.1

mɪnpêla'a⁼n ŭm let us leave it 53.1

The emphatic ŭm appears frequently in combination with other
particles.   Examples of these will be found on the following pages.

ɪ'mɪ also, furthermore,

ɪ'mɪ am-vɪyê'irgä gi'lhɪn naranauño'ñɪn furthermore, by only
  breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4–5

i'gɪt ɪ'mɪ yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'viññoi furthermore, from now
  on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10

ɪmɪ ñouñou'lɪñ ɪn e'ʟe wu'tku epki'rkälin g ŭ'nurk not even a
  hair here would reach me 93.6

i'gɪr ɪ'mɪ Nota's·qa-Va'ɪrgɪn narataaro'ñɪñoñɪn from now on,
  furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

ᴇnqa'at gei'lqäʟeet ɪ'mɪñ they also were sleeping 55.2

ɪna'n exhortative particle

pu'ru ɪna'n wo'tqan va'ʟᴇ mi'ilhɪr in exchange let me give thee
  this knife 15.12 (see also 93.30; 103.31; 104.3)

ɪna'n am-taaro'ña qätčɪ'gɪtkɪ no'ta-mla'ɪrgɪtkon only with sacri-
  fices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2

le'uti-tᴇʟe⁼n ɪna'n nanwa'qθa⁼n let the head-sufferer be seated!
  45.11

In the following example ɪna'n appears with the future:

ɪna'n tre'etyä⁼ meč-ä⁼'qälpe I shall come quickly 45.9-10

The following are probably derived from the demonstrative
stem ᴇn-

ᴇ'nɪkɪt all at once

na'qam ᴇ'nɪkɪt poi'ga nɪtɪ'npŭqên ŭm but all at once they struck
  him with a spear 36.2

In most cases ᴇ'nɪkɪt appears in coordinate clauses and may be translated AS SOON AS

> e'nmen ᴇ'nɪkɪt rilu'tku then all at once he moved 16.5
>
> ᴇ'nɪkɪt uvi'k kɪpčɪ'tkᴇnên (as soon as) he struck the body (i. e. himself) 35.11
>
> ᴇ'nɪkɪt ŭm naramata'gɪt (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9–10
>
> ᴇ'nɪkɪt gai'mɪ'čɪn nɪgite'äᵉn (as soon as) they looked upon the wealth 107.16
>
> ᴇ'nɪkɪt rečipe'tyäᵉ (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22
>
> ᴇ'nɪkɪt ne'rgɪäᵉn ilule'tyiᵉ as soon as he was loose he stirred 102.25
>
> ᴇ'nɪkɪm gite'nin . . . as soon as he looked on it 23.9

Enna'nɪ in like manner

Eňřa'q then (see under e'nmen)

Enqana'ta therefore (instrumental of ᴇnqa'n, BY THAT)

> ᴇnqana'ta ᴇ'nqu tɪlgɪ'rkɪnêt therefore I gave them up R46.39
>
> ᴇnqana'ta ño'č-e-ŭm gene'l-i-ŭm therefore I become poor R45.28
>
> gaño'twey-gŭm ᴇnqana'ta qo'n·pu therefore I became quite poor R45.28
>
> ᴇnqana'ta ilva'-ηeta'gtɪ tɪtêggê'ñɪrkɪn therefore I wish for the wild reindeer country R46.52
>
> ɪnqana'ta čaučuwa'-ra'mkɪčha aᵉ'ttɪn nɪggi'pqin therefore the reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

En·ke'mɪr, En·qe'mɪr, En·ke'mir e'ur moreover (see also ačhê'mɪra)

> ᴇn·qe'mir e'ur aᵉqa'-ra'mkɪčhin yaᵉ'rat moreover, they are very bad people R 53.20–21

En·qam then (see under e'nmen)

En·ñata'l THIS TIME.

> ᴇn·ñata'l ŭm li'itɪ'lhɪ-gɪr from now on I shall know thee 93.21
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l ᴇnqa'n ru'nin this time she ate 90.6
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l añqañqačagtɪ . . . rɪ'ntɪninet this time she threw them seaward 49.6
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l kirvete'ru qinetei'kɪtɪk from now on jostle me! (literally with elbow jostling do me) 61.3
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l ŭm reviᵉ'ntɪk this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l ŭm qalhêqamɪ'tvatɪk of that you may eat your fill 65.31
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l ŭm qa·s·qäče'wkwiᵉ this time he did it in earnest 83.20
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l ŭm lu-ora'wêʟan this time they were real people 84.29
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l ŭm i'ppe gɪna'n i'me räᵉ'nut em-gɪnři'tä nine'ntɪ-gɪt this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l ŭm na'nmɪrkɪn-ê-gɪt this time he will kill you 114.32
>
> ᴇn·ñata'l ᴇnqa'n êrrêttêgɪn this time it is ended R4.50

§128

'nkrı gratis

ɛn·ñi'n· thus

nɪgnopɪtva'qên ɛn·ñi'n· ɪrɪ'čɪku he remained crouching thus in his coat 7.4

ɛn·ñi'n· ŭm ñan nɪpiu'rɪqin thus that one plunged along 8.11–12

qagno'pgê⁵ . . . ɛn·ñi'n· crouch down thus 32.4

e'lɛ ɛn·ñi'n· va'la inenu'käli-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

ɛn·ñu thus

ɛ'n·ñu-wa'l-ê-gɪt such a one art thou 70.25

ɛn·ñu-wa'lɪ-te'rê such are you 106.28

ɛ'n·ñot thus

ni'wkwäⁿn ɛ'n·ñot they spoke thus 78.4

ti'wkwäⁿk ɛ'nñot I say thus 15.8

ɛlo'n emphatic particle

gɪk ɛlo'n oh! 10.1

ɛlo'n gɪnni'ku ne'lyäⁿt now they became (our) game 12.2

gɪk, e'nmen ñɪpe'äⁿt. ɛlo'n re'mkɪn tumge'wkwiⁿ oh, they landed. Now the people became friendly 14.1

ɛlo'n ɛn·ñu'-wa'lê-gɪt such a one art thou 21.11

ɛlo'n mɪrrɪ'wkut-hɪt let us bind thee 23.8

ia'm ɛlo'n ten·ñe'urkɪn why doest thou laugh? 30.3

ɛlo'n nara'nmŭgɪt they will kill thee 37.10

ɛlo'n vai trɪyɪ'lɪrkɪn-i-gɪt this one I give thee 104.1

ɛlo'n gɪna'n ɛlo'n Pɪti'yñ-i-gɪt thou art Rheum 103.21

i'gɪt ŭm ɛlo'n but now! 123.18

Here belongs also—

e'milon somewhere 97.23; 121.1 (< emi-ɛlo'n)

e'milonai'ñɪn (augmentative of e'milon) 43.6

awe'tuwaq suddenly, at once

awe'tuwaq êwkwê'tyiⁿ suddenly he left R 13.27

yɪlg-awe'tuwaq ñaus·qatɪ'yñɪn orgŭ'tkɪnɪ kenema'nnen at once he tied the girl to the sledge R 13.23

a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n expresses displeasure, somewhat like German "aber doch" without disjunctive meaning.

gɪk, a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n notas·qa'wkwê⁵ Oh, the land is near 8.8 ("aber das Land ist doch nahe")

guq, a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n čɪ'mquk pêla'arkɪn oh, some are leaving 8.9.

guq, a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n . . . re'mkɪn qäiñunre'lqɪä oh, the people will come 10.3–4

guq, a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n mɪnɪwkurkɪn-i'-gɪt let us tie thee 20.9; see also 23.13

a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n eᵉ'tqi nintewimin·ge't-i-um I was badly tortured by them 21.9

a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n Nota's·qa-Va'ɪrga ini'wkwiᵉ I am told by the Ground-Beings 23.11–12

guq, ɛlo'n ŭm a'mɛn ga'mga-vaɪrgê'pŭ tɪmete'wkwäᵉk among all beings I could not do it 18.9

ɛlo'n ŭm a'mɛn, wotqanai'ñɪn ɛlo'n garaqêĉha'ʟên that big one, what has the bad one done! 31.9

amɛn ŭm ɛlo'n wot uwäᵉ'quĉitä ai'mak em eᵉ'lu getei'kɪlin this husband made the whole carcass into excrement 81.11

a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n ñe'us·qät-i-gɪr so you are the woman 136.15

a'mɛn 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'mɛn ŭm e'nmen pênyo'lhɪn nuurgɪrge'tqin and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8

e'nmen ŭm uwä'quĉ qla'ul a'mɛn ŭm nɪtvêtĉa'qên wŭlh-ê'räqaia a'mɛn ŭm vai li'i-teñ-evirälin 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'mɛn oh! (another idea) 56.8

—, a'mɛn-! 58.7

a'mɛn-ŭm 8.10; 9.5; 13.10; 9.13; 39.3; 58.5; 65.20; 77.29; 80.25; 89.9; 93.31; 99.1; 101.2

a'mɪnam (= amɛn-ŭm 15.10)

a'mɛn ŭm ñot! such a one 98.33

a'mɛn ŭm ɛlo'n 8.8, 9; 10.3; 39.1, 13; 41.6; 64.1; 81.11; ɛlo'n ŭm a'mɛn 31.9 (see under ɛlo'n) it should not be expected, but

a'mɛn ŭm qarê'm 16.9; a'mɛn qarêm but I will not! 16.1

a'mɛn ŭm naqa'm 39.4; na'qam a'mɛn 63.11; however

venli'i ŭm a'mɛn 40.7

a'mɪ

tepe'lignin ŭm a'mɪ she made a cap too 28.8

nananaqa'gĉɪñɪn ŭm a'mɪ geggeu'lɪn the little child awoke 55.3

telenye'p ŭm a'mɪ long ago 61.5–6

kɪrga'm ŭm a'mɪ . . . well (if you had found him) 121.4

a'nɪ an emphatic particle (?)

e'nmen a'nɪ qänu'r qun nute's·qän then certainly just like ground 8.6

e'nmen a'nɪ gilu'tkulin then she practised shamanism 39.7 (see also 39.8, 9; 40.4; 102.15; 104.35; 105.2, 15; 109.32)

geĉenɪte'ʟin ŭm a'nɪ she was startled 29.6–7

genpeu'lin üm a'nı he became quite decrepit 107.26

a'nı,geilıtkoi'vulin u'kkäm so they distributed vessels 14.1

a'nı,gılu'tkulin he beat the drum 107.9

a'nı,getıpeiñe'lin he continued to sing 102.17

a'nı a'ttau for no particular object 30.4

a'nı qu'num,qanto'ê̂ᵉ oh, look here! come out! 81.27

atau' without purpose; for no particular reason; it does not matter

atau', li'en re'qärkin (you went to no purpose) what is the matter with thee? 18.6

atau', leᵉ'nvo (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 nı'rgıpa'tqên to no purpose was he discussed 15.7

gᵉiᵉñkeli'y-gır, a'ttau it is your (own) tattooed face; (you act) to no purpose 77.8

attau' gırgo'l-qla'ulə nine'lhäqin for no particular reason he takes it for the man above 124.6–7

guq, attau'-qun o'rgoor yê̂'taqätčı'gın just get (your) sledge ready 105.20 (see also 119.18)

e, gu'nä, a'ttau oh, well, it does not matter 78.7

guk, attau' gumı'k oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down) 78.24

ačhê̂'mıra, ačhê̂'mıra-ñ-e'ur moreover (see also ᴇɴ·ke'mır)

a'lımı disjunctive

a'lımı aloᵉka'gtı va'lᴇ-üm although I am invisible 22.10

a'lımı va'lᴇ ra'qalqal however, there is no need of the knife 57.4

ka'ko, a'lımı ineluᵉ'kälinet he has not seen them anyway 70.32

ya'am tıle'lıt a'lımı lu'ur ñan titqä'nninet but it swallowed them 71.3

a'lımı quwalo'mŭrkın üm vê̂'tı do obey! 88.10

a'lımı eñe'ñılın however, he was a shaman 105.1

a'lımı kamagra'ñnoi he really gave a start 101.16–17

a-lŭ'mña expresses surprise (see *lŭ'mña*)

g.uq, a-lŭ'mña qai've gıt oh, is that so, is it thou? 97.13

a-lŭ'mña is that so? 121.1; 125.7

a-lŭ'mña ño'on me'ñin who was here? 109.21

aᵉ'qälpe quickly 122.2

ei'uk, ai'ok

ına'n ai'ok ñeuᵉtte'pık trenurete'ur let me in due time make it appear (be born) through a female dog 121.31

gık,gını'k ei'uk ekälu'k oh, in due time (I see) thee at last 19.4

ᴇɴ·qa'm ına'n ai'ok . . . re'etyäᵉ then after a while . . . he shall come 83.5–7

Also 118.20

e'un seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.

> *mi'ñkri, e'nmen, ge'mge-ni'kin ñi'nqäi nêna'gtoqên, e'un navi͞ɛ'qin* how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8
>
> *ñi'lhä ge'wkuʟin e'un ninenlɪpe'tqäet* with thongs he is tied and he breaks them 20.9
>
> *e'ur pŭki'rgiɛ e'un nelki'nkäɛt* then she came and they had gone abroad 31.2
>
> *e'ur ɛnqa'n äɛ'ttwet geti'neñeʟin, e'un gepʟɪ'tkuleet* and that boat was loaded and they had finished 31.1
>
> *qagno'pgêɛ . . . e'un eʟe'pkä* sit with head bent down . . . and do not look 32.4–5
>
> "*en·ñe' eʟe'pkä,*" *e'un walo'mgêɛ* "Do not look!" and she obeyed
>
> *e'un nine'čviqin* and they cut it 72.18
>
> *e'un gepelqäručeu'linet ñe'wanti* and their wives had become decrepit with age 72.29
>
> *čeq-alvam-va'lɪt, e'un ɪ'pe kele'tä gayoɛ'laat* how very extraordinary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8
>
> *e'nmen e'un ɛ'n·kɪ nɪtva'qên i'me-räɛ'nut* and then there was everything 106.32
>
> *e'un yara'nө nine'lqin* and it became a house 107.14
>
> *gɪk, rɪpe't ŭm e'un!* (now they are coming!) 11.10
>
> *gɪk, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gɪk* oh, but it was not there 27.11
>
> *gai'mɪčɪn nɪgite'äɛn, e'un kukwa't-koko'ñalhɪn* they looked at the wealth and all was turned into dry leaves 107.16

NOTE: Not to be confounded with the prefix *ɛ'un-* ACTUAL, PRINCIPAL, as in *e'un-ñe'lvŭl* PRINCIPAL HERD; *a'un-gêta'gtɪ* JUST IN THEIR SIGHT 83.28

eur, eur-ŭm is connective AND with the added connotation AT THAT TIME; it always refers to two events taking place at the time.

> *ra'gtiaɛt, ɛn·qa'm ɛ'ur lŭmñêna'ɛ̂ɛ* they went home, and at the same time he also followed 120.26
>
> *ɛ'ur gɪrgɪronta'ʟên, aɛ'ttwɪlä nɪčamɪtaqên* at that time the dawn came, (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9
>
> *ɛ'ur rɪrka'ta i'unin,* "*E'ur yɪ'lqä narayoɛ'git, muru'wmil qaiñɛ'i*" at that time the walrus said to him, "At the time when sleep overtakes you, roar like we (do)" 10.6
>
> *ɛ'ur ŭm qoɛlaro'aɛt, Aiwhuanpɪna'čhäqai gi'ulin* at the time when they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island man said 11.10
>
> *aɛ'ttwu-yê'ñkɪ nɪgitɛ'qin, ɛ'ur ŭm geyɪ'reʟin* they looked into the canoe and at that time it was full 67.6

e'ur is used also quite frequently as conditional.

e'ur Iumetu'nu ri'tyäᵉ, rineʹnewkwäᵉ at the time when you are
Iumetun, you shall make me black 23.6 (= if you are the same);
also 24.2

kɪta'm e'ur lɪ'ê-va'ɪrɪñki gañau'tɪñ-ê-gɪt, vai u'mkɪ qagtɪ'gɪn this
time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring
a polar bear 110.5

iᵉ'tɪk e'ur tegge'ñɪrkɪn, gɪna'n či'mñutä if actually you want it, do
as you please

euлŭ'mña < e'ur lŭ'mña or, or again

euлŭ'mña e'kɪk or again the son R 23.88

but e'ur lŭmña 98.9

Before the initial n of the following word e'ur changes to e'un (see
§ 7.20; § 11). See 20.8; 72.18

Still e'un and e'ur are not identical, e'ur being used as connective
AND between separate nominal (or verbal) forms while e'un is not
so used.

gettu'tä e'ur geleu'tɪrgɪtkutä with blowing or with scratching the
head 126.7

ɪlh-aᵉ'ttin e'un, e'ur ŭm uneči'čhɪn 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.

Ǥi'thɪlɪn e'rrɪ Tña'ɪrgɪn geñewtu'mgä Sunset and Dawn are con-
nected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they
Dawn)

mu'ri Qla'ul I and Qla'ul (lit. we Qla'ul)

eple'un

kɪ'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñɪtvi'eᵉ well, did he really obtain
shamanistic power ? 18.4

êwkurga, êwkurga-m however

ê'wkurga tu'mgɪtum ui'ñä however, companion none (i. e. my
companion is not with me) 11.1

ê'wkurga ginenčeññɪtew-i-git however, you have frightened me
15.10

ê'wkurga tɪlv-a'mɪnan trene'lhä (if I do so) however, I shall be
all alone 31.13–32.1

ê'wkurga Nota's·qa-Va'ɪrga nênanwêthawa'tqên however, the
Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9

egei', ê'wkurga ča'mam all right, however, (it will be) in vain
108.30

ê'wkurga-m čotolêu' o'čə nine'lh-i-ŭm, however, that under my
pillow I have for my leader 128.13

êwkurga-m ɪʟoʹn vai nɪtermeče'nqin however, he does much violence 66.26

See also 45.7; 66.14; 79.20; 84.6; 85.8

eʹpte likewise, in the same manner

qän·ve'r kĭme'k êna'nmuêᵉ e'pte gŭm at this time almost you killed me likewise 121.16, 17

attau' aᵉ'ttu mɪlhɪ'aᵉn e'pte gŭm simply as a dog I'll use it (I) likewise 135.20–21

e'pte gɪnni'g-gĭli'lɪt ne'mäqäi gɪna'n nêna'nmê-gɪt likewise the game procurers also thou has killed 44.9–10

a'mɛn ŭm ɛʟo'n e'pte gŭm mɪñau'tɪngaᵉk let me likewise take a wife R12.8

emɪteʹt at once, just now

emɪte't ŭm muwê'ññɪtaaq I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see 32.2 *emɪte't ŭm* in final position

emɪte't ŭm tê'rgɪlɪn ra'qal ñan even thus crying for what? 27.12

guq, emɪte't ŭm evi'rɪt ̣ qätei'kɪgɪnet oh, at once clothing make! 49.4

emɪte't-ŭm tɪpêla'nat nɪme'lqinet I just left them in safety (= good ones) 53.4

emɪte't-ŭm ataa'nkĕlin tê'rgɪlɪn they did not touch the one who cried, (so at once . . .)

emɪte't ŭm qagtɪ'gɪn bring it at once 111.3

emite'tɪm tɪgite'äᵉn I looked on her 88.30

eʹtɪ evidently, probably.

e'tɪm vai nɪpa'tqênal vên·va'kɪ evidently they cooked them secretly 9.9

e'tɪm nu'tenut mɪnnei'meukwäᵉn evidently we are approaching land 9.11

e'tɪm am gemge-nute'qin evidently from every country 11.4

e'tɪm a'mɛn kuwi'čɪn treᵉ'tyäᵉn evidently I brought Children's Death 20.1

e'tɪm ke'lek qäli'ketyiᵉ evidently thou wilt marry a kele 26.2

ê'tɪm wu'tku evidently he is here! 125.2

e'tɪm ñɪro'rgarɪ there many have been three 97.26

ɛʟo'n ŭm ê'tɪm evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) 31.10; 108.22

ê'tɪlɪn necessarily

êto—

ɛto'qaia'qañ rɪpkire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4

e'nmen êto'qaia'qañ ŭm gre'lgiᵉ after a while he vomits 136.24–25

qai'vɛ-mač-êto'pêl indeed I am a little better 135.7–8

§ 128

erre'č gɪt êto'pêl thou art most fit 135.19

ɛto'pêl ɛn·kɪ iwkuči'ⁱᵉ she better drank then (i. e. she could drink then) 37.4

ê'toqon wo'tqan qäimi'tgɪn will you take this one?

ê'toqon mɪrrenu'tergi-gɪt shall we bury thee rather in the ground? R 60.23

e'nmen, ɛn·qam, ɛnřa'q THEN, coordinating conjunctions. Of these enme'n seems to express the most definite temporal sequence, ɛn·qa'm a closer temporal connection, while ɛnřa'q should be translated in turn and indicates a still closer connection. It seems to depend upon the liveliness of the narrative which of these three is used. The first one is the most frequent connective conjunction, although a constant use of ɛn·qam is not rare 62.6 et seq.

The difference between e'nmen and ɛn·qa'm appears most clearly when their use alternates; as in the following examples.

ɛn·qa'm ɛnqa'n Ūmqäqäi'ɪnä rɪlhɪndigiwe'nnin ñe'us·qät. e'nmen lu'ur e'gripgiⁱᵉ At that time U'mqäqäi pointed with his finger at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7–8

ɛn·qa'm ɛnqa'n Ūmqäqäi'ɪnti gegɪnteu'linet; e'nmen qu'ttɪrgɪn qa'at nerri'net at that time U'mqäqäi and his people fled; then the others untied the reindeer 63.10–11

ɛn·qa'm nɪte'giñqin . . . e'nmen nɪten·ñe'w-i-ŭm . . . ɛn·qa'm gi'ulin At that time she sniffed . . . . then I laughed a little; . . . then she said 72.11–13

e'nmen ya'yak qamɪtvača'qên mɪ'tqak, ɛn·qa'm ɛnqa'n rɪyɪrrai'- nênat then the gulls ate all the blubber and at that time they anointed them

en'men uwi'lkan qätei'kɪgin . . . ɛn·qa'm dinčikou'tɪ qineni'ntɪi- then make a woodpile and throw me into the fire! 31.12–13

In all these examples, the impression is conveyed that ɛn·qa'm signifies a closer connection than e'nmen.

The form ɛnřa'q is parallel to mə'rgɪn-řaq WE NEXT 69.22 and gŭm-řaq I NEXT 77.21 Its meaning IN TURN THIS TIME appears clearly 17, 23, 96.11.

ɛnřa'q appears also together with e'nmen

e'nmen nute's·qän ɛnřa'q nuwêthau'qên then this time he spoke to the ground 15.9–10

e'nmen ɛnřa'q ya'yakɪt namɪngukwa'ařkɪnat then in turn he rewarded the gulls 74.28–29

In the beginning of a story e'nmen means ONCE UPON A TIME.

§ 128

e′nmeč because

>*va′nêvan nɪ′tvɪnên, e′nmeč ŭm nayɪlhau′nên* she did not tell him anything because she feared his anger 88.22–23

>*e′nmeč ŭm e′un pŭki′rgiᵉ ya′rak garančêmau′lên uwäᵉ′quč* when she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10–11

>*e′nmeč ŭm ñan e′čhi wulqätvi′iᵉ, keñkele′nnin* because of this, before evening came, he made her descend 97.5–6

>*e′nmeč ä′qälpe* because of this, hurry up!

. >*e′nmeč geplɪ′tkulin* and already it is finished

>*e′nmeč qui′mɪk taᵉla′iorkɪn* already I soil my trousers 94.19

>*e′nmeč wɪ′yolu qi′nelhɪ′rkɪn* already you shall have me for a servant 95.7, also 95.15

eče′nur eču′ur

>*eče′nur vintuwɪ′lin* it shall be (this way) a well trained one 24.6

>*eče′nur . . . veime′nu nere′lhɪñɪn* it shall be (this way) one who is kindly treated 25.8–9

>*guq, eče′nur yê′ta qäle′tɪk* it shall be this way! (you shall) move on slowly 65.28

>*eču′ur yep vai atêvga′tka vai yegte′ʟeᵉt* it shall be this way! as yet without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40

ečhi before

>*e′čhi ras·qêuño′aᵉt čit nepi′rirkɪn qla′ulqai* before they could enter they attacked the man 85.15

>*e′čhi yɪlqä′tyät ganto′lên* before they had gone to sleep he went out 8.4

>*e′čhi eime′wkwiᵉ ɪrgɪro′ññoi* before it approached the dawn came 9.12

See also 10.9, 12.10, 11; 13.3; 20.3; 31.3; 55.6, 8; 97.20

Followed by -*rkin* WHEN ABOUT TO—

>*e′čhi pelqänte′erkɪn . . . gapêkagta′ʟên* when about to come back, she fell down 97.20

>*e′čhi čit qamɪ′tvarkɪn lu′ur pi′rinin* when she was about to eat, after that he caught her 87.12

>*e′nmen e′čhi reᵉ′nɪlä te′grɪrkɪnin lu′ur i′wkwiᵉ* then, when the bow-man was about to fling the harpoon, after that he said 10.10

elhɪle′ñki in case, if

>*elhɪle′ñkɪ reluᵉ′ñɪn* in case you should see him

erre′č only

>*erre′č qun ñe′ekɪk* an only daughter R 12.10

>*erre′č ɛnqa′n ñe′ekɪk* (there was) only that daughter 28.2

>*erre′č ñɪro′rgarɪ* there were only three of them 34.3

>*na′qam erre′č yi′liil ru′rkɪnin* he eats only tongues 49.3

erre'č ŭm am-gɪtka't geǥnu'linet only just the legs were left 51.4

erre'č ai'kolak moʟɪ'yñɪn *ŭm* on the bedskins was only blood 56.4–5

erre't-te'gɪn limit of end (i. e. it is the end); from *-tegn* limit (only in compounds) 64.2

*erre'č mi'mɪl, ya*ᵉ'rat mi'mɪl nine'uqin a'mkɪnɪčo* only water, verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

eke'ɪn but (weaker than *naqa'm*)

eke'ɪn gɪt nɪru'l-ɪ-gɪt; gi'newän ŭm gŭmna'n me'čen·kɪ tre'ntɪñɪn but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well ·

ekälu'k

gɪnɪ'k ei'uk ekälu'k at last for thee 19.4

ekeña'n, ečena'n I wish I could (with subjunctive *b*)

ekeña'n gŭmna'n tɪᵉpi're̊ᵉn I wish I could take it

eke'upčɪ and now, but now

eke'upčɪ tɪplɪ'tkurkɪn and now I am finishing it

ia'm > ɪyam why 19.5

ia'm ɛʟo'n ten·ñe'urkɪn why are you laughing 30.3

ia'm pegči'ñu nine'lhɪ-gɪr ora'wê̬ʟan why doest thou meddle with man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11

ia'm gemge'-gɪnni'k qo'nmuᵉan why do you kill all the game? 92.32

iu'kä oh if! I wish—

guq, iu'kä qaia'qañ mɪnqamɪ'tvarkɪn I wish we could eat more 65.4

guq, iu'kä mɪnpontorkɪn-ê-gɪt I wish I could eat of your liver! 95.19

iu'kä ño'onqan mɪnɪ'nmŭrkɪn I wish we might kill this one 70.22

i'ppe, yɪ'pe actually

ɛn·qa'm *i'ppe mŭkɪči'yñɪn* . . . *gata'lên* then actually very many . . . moved 11.7

ɛn·ñata'l *ŭm i'ppe gɪna'n* this time it is really thou 93.20

e'un ɪ'pe kele'tä gayoᵉ'laat now really kele visit them 106.8

i'pe-qun really 45.3

gŭm, gu'nä li'i-i'ppe ti'urkɪn I, indeed, quite truly say 57.2

iᵉ'tik

iᵉ'tɪk a'mɛn ärunte'erkɪn in reality thou desirest 24.11

qarê'mên ora'wê̬ʟan, iᵉ'tɪk ŭm ke'ʟɛ (she is) not a human being, in reality she is a ke'ʟɛ 29.9

qarê'mên iᵉ'tɪk lŭ'mñɪl this is not a real myth 61.5

gɪk, attau' iᵉ'tɪk ŭm tiᵉluᵉ'äᵉn in vain, if in reality I had seen him 121.6

galeᵉočɪna'-merê iᵉ'tɪk ŭm in reality we have met 121.23

§ 128

Nota's·qa-Va'ɪrga leule'wu ine'lhɪrɪᵉ li'en iᵉ'tɪk the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1

li'en· iᵉ'tɪk amñɪr'čvɪnla gŭ'mɪk rɪnike'urkin qarê'm mɪlɪmala'ñ-ñoaᵉk just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10

iᵉ'tɪg lŭ'mña Tño'tɪrgê-gɪt in reality again, thou art Tño'irgɪn

iᵉ'tɪg lŭ'mña qailhɪna'n·gêt eñe'ñetvii in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11–12

·iᵉ'nqun lest

nênaio'qên iᵉ'nqun nere'luᵉñɪn she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3

· · · *iᵉ'ñqun vai kɪntaya'n ragno'urkɪn vê'tɪ gɪnni'k* lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3

nini'uqinet, titi't remle'gɪtkɪ, i'nqun nere'luᵉñɪn he said to them, "You will break the needles!" lest they should look at them 82.12

i'gɪt now

i'gɪr ɪ'mɪ Nota's·qa-Va'ɪrgɪn narataaro'ñɪñoñɪn now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1–2

qu'num i'gɪt ŭm mɪnra'gtatyaᵉn let me now take it home 121.28

i'gɪt-ŭm-ɪʟo'n o'ra tɪryoᵉ'wkut now I have come to thee openly 123.18

ya'net first

go,gŭm ŭm ya'net oh, I first 43.9

ya'nřa separately, alone

nɪtkiu'qin ya'nřa she passes the nights by herself 28.3

yaᵉ'rat very (sometimes *yaᵉ'čat*)

nɪthɪ'lqinet yaᵉ'rat very hot ones 9.9

yaᵉ'rat nite'nqinet very good ones 14.8

nɪte'ñqin yaᵉ'rat a very pretty one 36.3

eñeñitvi'iᵉ yaᵉ'rat he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10

yaᵉ'ran niglo'qên she sorrowed very much 27.10

a'mɛn ŭm yaᵉ'rat verily! 85.2

yaka'n·-kɪn probably 9.13

yäqqäi a particle giving a slightly emphatic shade to the phrase, like German "ja"

yäqqäi' ɛn·qa'm pe'ʟe tre'etyäᵉ I'll soon be back (ich werde ja bald wiederkommen) 30.8

yäqqäi' ŭm qu'num tu'ri qarê'mêna-terê ye are not (human beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4-5

mi'ñkri-m-e'un yäqqäi' gŭmna'n mɪluᵉ'aᵉn tuwêlvača'arkɪn how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll ihn ja finden) 124.3

yäqqäi'-ñan gɪt tratara'ññaᵋ for thee I'll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38

yäqqäi' ora'wêɭa-taiñatɪčha'tɪl-ê-gɪt you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6

yäqqäi' ŭm räᵋ'nut what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3

yäqqäi' ŭm yaɡtalê'n·vo tɪɪye'tyäᵋk have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26

yeᵋli'i (evidently containing the element *li'i* TRULY, REALLY, see also *uɭi'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäɭi'i, quɭi'i*)

e'nmen yeᵋli'i ɛnqa'n is he the only one? 21.13

yeᵋli'i ɡŭmna'n rather (let) me (be the one)

Also R 12.7

yu'raq perhaps.

opo'pө exhortative

opo'pө ɡarai'-gɪt mɪnle'gɪt thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7

opo'pŭ mɪnpa'awkut let us stop! 98.6

opo'pө mɪtalai'ruut let me give thee a beating R 61.50

o'ptɪma like (see Koryak Kamenskoye *opta*)

o'ra openly

gɪna'n qanra'ɡtatyaᵋn o'ra if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30

i'gɪt-ŭm-ɪɭo'n o'ra tɪyoᵋ'wkut I have come to thee openly 123.18–19

uru'ur it seems that

u'rri thus, so

u'rri nŭpluᵋtvi'qin it was so small 20.3

u'rri lɪ'ñkɪ nŭmqɪtvi'qin thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4

qaɡno'pgêᵋ êrɪčikou'tɪ u'rri ɛñ·ñi'n sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4

u'rri mɪngɪ'lɪnɪn rɪ'nnin thus he did (with) his hand 57.10

u'rri ñan gɪni'n . . . thus it is yours . . . 93.9–10

wu'rrɪ thus

na'qam ŭm neyule'tqin wu'rri still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3

e'nmen vai wu'rrɪ ɛnqa'n ɡama'tɪñolên there thus that one dragged her 51.1

ɛnqa'n ɛna'n čini't wu'rri ni'tqin that one there herself was thus 26.9

e'nmen wu'rri puulqe'wkwiᵋ then he floated thus 77.23

e'nmen ɛ'nɪkɪt rilu'tku wu'rri gɪrɡola'gtɪ there at once he moved thus upward 16.5

u'nmŭk greatly, strongly

uLi'i in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye*li'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *qäLi'i*, *quLi'i*)

> *uLi'i yara'ñɪ qamata'gɪn wu'kwên* then take also my stone-house 92.4 (in the same way 92.14, 24; 93.3, 8, 18, 26)

ve'tɪ really, truly, very, at once; an intensifying particle

> *ve'tɪ veime'nu nere'lhɪñɪn* truly friendly he will be treated 25.9
> *vêtɪ gɪnni'k ŭm a'mɛn nenankêttuwa'tqên* truly they made game scarce by means of magic 42.4
> *vê'tɪ nɪmei'ɛnqin* he was very large 73.9
> *vê'tɪ nɪqe'tvŭqin* he was very strong 47.3
> *vê'tɪ nara'nmŭntɪk* it will kill you at once 70.12
> *vê'tɪ-m re*'w nêna'nmŭqên* he killed really (many) whales 73.3
> *a'lɪmɪ quwalo'mŭrkɪn ŭm vê'tɪ* but obey me strictly 88.10–11
> *trañautɪ'ñɪrkɪn vê'tɛ qun* I shall marry at once 57.2
> *nɪre'vi*ñqin vê'tɪ* he really wanted to die 99.27
> *vê'tɪ, qaya'arkɪnat ñan* do sing it again! 120.24

vetči'in ŭm, velči'in for my part granted!

vê'nom

> *vê'nom ɛrgɪna'n* let them (be) 55.11
> Also 56.1

vên·va'kɪ secretly (see *vi'n·vɪ*)

venli'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*, *qäLi'i*, *quLi'i*)

> *qän·ve'r met·-ki'it venli'i ŭm a'mɛn rɪma'gtɪ nine'lqin* at this time somehow unexpectedly to the other side it came (i. e. nevertheless it came across somehow) 40.7
> *venli'i leu'tɪ kɪ'plɪnên* unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12
> *qai'vɛ teiñele'erkɪn, venli'i aa'lomka i'irkɪn* 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 čuwi'pɪt nɪmei'ñetqin venli'i* unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18
> *venli'i nɪtiu'qin* unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15
> Also 74.4; 137.13

vele'r, vele'r-ŭm, vele'r ŭm ñau AT LEAST (Kor. Kam. *va'ʃan*) limited qualification of action)

> *gailo'kɪm mi'ñkri, vele'r-ŭm wo'tqan* indeed, how then, at least this one?
> *vele'r-um mɪčaqaro'a*k* at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124
> *vele'r-ɪm yara'ñɪ ga'tvata* although a house had been there (lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

vele'r črmče'tä qênata'gê͏ᵉ at least move near! 37.10 (see also
37.9,13)

vele'rɪm mɪtwêt·ha'urkɪn at least I can talk with thee 32.1

vele'r-qun, vele's·-qun at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

vien· *< viyen* just, simply

tɪkɪmɪče'erkɪn am, vi'en· mewkwe'tyä͏ᵉk I am staying too long,
just let me depart

vi'en· pŭki'rgɪ͏ᵉ êuño'a͏ᵉt he just arrived (and) they began to
speak 110.3

go, vi'en· qra'gtɪtɪk just go home! 45.9

vi'en aa'lomkĕl-ê-gɪt thou just doest not listen 54.11

vɪ'n·vɪ, vên·va'kɪ secretly 108.14

pɪ La', pɪ La'q apparently, pretending

pɪla' vi͏ᵉ'lɪn pretending death 82.4; 124.6

plägi' that is all! 107.21 (from stem *pl—* to finish)

meᶅ, meᶊč, like, somewhat like (see § 113.10, 11).

mei

ka'ko mei oho, there! 14.5

met·-ki'tkit, met·-ki'it (?)

me'čiču besides

i'tkenin ŭm me'čiču êrga'wkwê͏ᵉ he robbed him and ridiculed him
besides

mač exhortative particle

mač gŭmna'n let me be the one!

mač ɪrgɪna'n let them be the ones! R 62.70

ma'črnan< mač-ɛna'n let it be (impersonal)

ma'črnan čei'vä let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

mɪte' of course 121.6

mɪteli'i undoubtedly (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see
also *ye͏ᵉli'i, uɪli'i, venli'i, qäɪi'i, quɪi'i*)

mɪteli'i tɪla'nvu va'rkɪn riᶅu undoubtedly there is a stranded
carcass 64.18

mɪteli'i ranto'a͏ᵉ undoubtedly she will come out 82.21

mɪteli'i kɪtkin·u'qai rakêrga'tya͏ᵉ undoubtedly a small bright spot
will appear 118.6

mɪtiu' (perhaps *mɪthiu'*) I thought—

mɪtiu' eñe'ñɪlɪ-gɪt I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3

mɪtiu' ke'le-i-gɪt I thought thou wert a kele 15.11

mɪti'ŭm ɛlo'n qäigi'pe viri'irkɪn we thought he really wanted
to die R 52.7

tam, tagam all right!

    ge, tam! oh, all right! 121.28

    gɪ, tam, a'mɛn! oh, all right then! 84.14

    ɪ, tam! yes, all right 84.19

te'naq if perhaps (always with future)

    te'naq nara'nmɪ-ŭm if perhaps they should kill me

te'če-ñ how many times

    ne'me te'če-ñ giiwi'iᵉ again how many times a year passed (i. e. after several years) 12.8

naqa'm however, but

    utte'mĭl nɪmayɛnqana'čhɪn naqa'm pe'ʟe nŭmqɪtvi'qin like a tree was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2

    nara'nmŭñqên na'qam . . . nênalwau'qên they wanted to kill him, but . . . they could not do it 36.1–2.

    na'qam nɪn·ñi'uqin ne'me but they ordered him again 59.6

    u'ttäqai—na'qam ɛnqa'n gelelu'qäglin it is little piece of wood!— But it has whiskers 75.4–5

    na'qam čemɪ'ngɪt yito'nenat but (this time) she pulled out a pair of gloves 111.5–6; also 76.4, 6, 24

    na'qam ŭm is more strongly adversative

       guq, naqa'm ŭm re'qä but with what then? 34.9

       naqa'm ŭm ño'onqan but this one 35.1

       na'qam ŭm tew-mu'ʟɪlɪn but this one's blood was good 117.14

       na'qam ŭm nɪqe'tvuqin but this one was strong 66.20

   With *a'mɛn* it is strongly adversative

    e'nmen qu'ttɪrgɪn qa'at pe'ʟeqäi nerri'net, na'qam a'mɛn Umqäqäi'in . . . nênalwau'qên then the others' reindeer quickly were untied, but on the other hand *Umqäqäi''s* . . . could not 63.11–12

    a'mɛn ŭm naqa'm inpilu'tkul-i-gɪt you on the other hand, are an old shamanistic practitioner 39.4

   naqa'm lŭmña (literally *but again*). In this complex the adversative meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean AFTER ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED.

    naqa'm lŭmña ña'wtɪngêᵉ after all, he married 58.7–8

    naqa'm lŭ'mña gaa'qǫlên after all he sat down 98.24

    na'qam lŭ'mña inennike'wkwiᵉ after all I am treated thus 98.28–29

    na'qam lŭ'mña čeq-ê'ččaq after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25–26

    inenpelqu'utkälin ŭm wot, naqa'm lŭ'mña he can not be vanquished, after all 114.27

    na'qam lŭ'mña i'liil ui'ñä ne'lyiᵉ after all, the rain stopped 116.11–12

naqa'm lŭ'mña ɡɪnni'k reurre'tyäᵋ after all that has been done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:

naqa'm lŭ'mña awɡê'tkɪnka nevertheless they did not say anything 26.6

e'nmen ɪm-nɪkê'r̄êt nɪkamaɡra'qên, naqa'm lŭ'mña vaᵋɡlɪñɪn no'mräqên then the whole night he struggled, however the grass (with which he was tied) was (too) tough (to be torn) 20.10–11.

It is also used before nominal forms, pronouns, and nominalized verbs

kɪčauča'tyêᵋ na'qam wus·qŭ'mčɪku, na'qam nɪki'tä he galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwithstanding the nighttime 57.5

na'qam yo'yo qän·ve'r . . . naa'lomɡaᵋn notwithstanding the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4 .

eñe'ñɪlɪn naqa'm ɡo'rɡulên but the shaman had a sledge 14.10

naqa'm am-ɡɪna'n but only thou (i. e., but you are all alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:

ɡapê'nr̄ilên na'qam, ɡanmɪtkoi'vulên but they were attacked, they were slaughtered 12.4

ni'näqin ŭm naqa'm but this one was swift 40.4–5

ne'me again

ne'me ɡɪtte'wkwiᵋ again thou art hungry 9.13

ne'me čipe'tyiᵋ again he dived 10.1

ɡu, ne'me oh, again 36.6 !

ne'mäqäi also

e'nmen ŭm Ai'wanat ŭm ne'mäqä'i they are also Aiwan 7.9

e'nmen ne'mäqäi, ɡeri'ñelin then he also had flown up 15.3

e'pte ɡɪnni'ɡ-ɡili'lɪt ne'mäqäi ɡɪna'n nêna'nmê-ɡɪt likewise the game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9–10

nemäqäi ɡŭmna'n I also 93.13

ne'mäqäi ɛnqa'n eñe'ñɪlɪn nɪpe'ɡtɪmet also that shaman is hauling a sledge 14.12–15.1

neqe'm but, nevertheless

ɡɪk, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, ɡɪk oh, but it was not there 27.11

neqe'm ŭm lɪ'ɪ-vêñ̃olɪn niɡtaqin vê ᵋ-re'mkä nevertheless having just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

čɪ'mqŭq partly, somewhat

čɪ'mqŭq nŭ'mkäqin re'mkɪn nɪmɪtva'lɪn somewhat many people were encamped 58.9

čɪ'mqŭq ᴇnqa'n niqulile'tqin in part they were noisy 60.9

čɪ'mqŭk kuke'čɪku e'ret nɪtva'qên partly in the kettle boiled meat was (left) 75.11

e'nmen vai yê'tvuêᵉ čɪ'mqŭk then it grew somewhat brighter 94.22–23

ča'ma also

ča'ma ᴇnqa'n mač-êwga'n tɪtvu'rkɪn also this is an incantation I tell 39.13

ča'ma mu'ʟa e'ur also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11

ča'ma li'en· ai'makɪk naᵉlai'oqên he also defecated on the carcass 81.6

ča'ma qu'tti ga'nmɪlaat also the others were killed 98.3

tɪnɪn-la'lɪ-mθ'rê vai ča'ma we come here also carrying antlers 121.20

ča'ma nuwêthau'qaat orawêʟa'-mêl they also talk like men 64.10

guq, a'mᴇn ŭm na'qam ŭm gai'mɪč-ai'wan ča'ma oh, he was however a rich Aiwan 50.7

See also 42.3

če'mit therefore

če'mɪt gŭ'muk êna'tvat epki'rkä nɪtva'qen therefore to me promised gifts do not come 93.16

go, e'ur qu'num če'met li'i iulule'tyiᵉ lŭ'mña walqa'ʟɪñɪn oh, and therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8

čê'ñêt since, because

čê'ñêt ɪm vinř̌ê'tɪlɪt nŭ'mqäqäet since there are many helpers R 4.44

čê'ñêt ŭm qaalvɪlu'ᴇn·ñi'n· ñu'rri nɪtva'qen since the buck is there on its back R 4.34

čê'ñêt vêᵉ'lɪčhɪn, ia'm mɪnyoᵉ'aᵉn since he is dead, why should we visit him? 108.13–14

čê'ñêt ŭmᴇnnê'n·-mi'mlä giwkuči'tä since they drink one water R 45.13–14

čê'ñêt gumni'n ᴇ'nnɪ-ku'prên u'iñä ᴇnmêqa'etɪ tralva'wñɪn since I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47–48

gu, če'ñet ŭm ili'ʟä-muri oh, since we are on an island! (an exclamatory phrase) 11.11

čite'un

čit gŭmɪk ga'tvalen, čite'un ta'n·ñɪk tɪtva'rkɪn ŭm i'gɪt before it was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying now R 45.19

čit ai'vanana me'tal rɪnř̌ɪrkɪnin . . . čite'un ŭm gŭmna'n wu'tku tɪᵉnř̌i'qäᵉn before the Aivan kept the medal, . . . and later (now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20–21

§128

čite'un akka'gtı tıtêggê'ñırkın and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38

čite'un kınta'ırga memılqa'a naᵉna'lpınr̆ieᵉ later on (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42

čite'un aᵉ'ttılu a'lvañqan nıta'qênat and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38

ınpıč-ekke'tä rırı'lpınnên čite'un vêᵉ-wgênto'êᵉ 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'ñItaq already (?)

le'ñıtaq ŭm napêla'an ŭm vai ñe'ekık already they had left this daughter 30.12

leñıta'q ŭm . . . čŭmña'čhın na'nmugaᵉn already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7

li'en· and simply, and only; restricted action

nineimeu'qinet, li'en· aᵉ'ttä gape'nrčılên they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21

li'en· êlhipêra'rkın e'če it is simply white with fat 81.27

ta'yolhın ŭm lo'lo li'en· the needle-case was simply his penis 82.13

See also 67.19; 81.6; 86.8, 12, 25; 87.1, 28.

li'en· iᵉ'tIk (see *iᵉ'tık ŭm*) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1

li'en· iᵉ'tık kêma'wkurgê-gıt and let me tell you that you are causing delay

li'en· iᵉ'tık ra'ññıtaᵉ and may I ask you what do you want here?

li'en· ŭm iᵉ'tık eᵉ'tqi and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3

attau' li'en· utterly in vain (see *atau'* p. 854)

luu, before vowels *lu'un* just, just like

leen-ai'vE just yesterday

li'i really

ɛn·ñata'l ŭm li'i tı'lhı-gır from now on I shall really know thee 93.21–22

li'i eñeñıtvi'iᵉ he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4

lu'ur AFTER THAT, THEREUPON always refers back to a preceding event.

e'nmen ai'gêpŭ eiñe'utkuiᵉ, goq, lu'ur qa'at ye'tyäᵉt and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32

atčau' luwau'nen, lu'ur yopa'tyêᵉ she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13

lu'ur wêthau'ñoêᵉ thereupon he began to speak 31.11

lu'ur pıntıqoro'aᵉt thereupon they began to emerge 102.23

kıye'wkwäᵉt. e'nmen lu'ur qla'ul ye'tyiᵉ they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11

rɪlhɪndigiwe′nnin; e′nmen lu′ur e′gripgi͜ᵋ 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 matalɪ′yñɪn êuñoi′ thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

lŭ′mña again

gu, mê′ñko lŭ′mña pɪ′ntɪqätyi͜ᵋ oh, whence doest thou appear
again ? 10.12

ra′ᵋnota′čhɪt lŭ′mña what are these again ? 14.3–4

naga′m lŭ′mña . . . ergewe′tyi͜ᵋ but again he dived 17.4

See *a-lŭ′mña* p. 854.

rɪpe′t even

rɪpe′t têrga′tyê͜ᵋ he even began to cry

eyɪ′lqakᴇ̆linet rɪpe′t ᴇlɪ′git without sleep were even the parents
34.3–4

lile′-mi′mlä nɪpyuči′tqin rɪpe′t the eye fluid even spurted out
106.19

rɪpe′t ge′mu lɪ′ngä͜ᵋn you did not even mind it 109.25

e′nmen rɪpe′t têna͜ᵋlai′okwut I even eased myself over you 109.23

rattạn·ñauñɪn enough 65.6

re′en I confess

-r̃am with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < ᴇnr̃aq
ŭm, gŭm-ra′q ŭm it is my turn)

e′ŭn nɪpampɪče′teqen ᴇnr̃a′m či′čhɪnčɪku aŭnra′lɪn 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

ᴇnr̃a′m rɪmne′tä gaikola′ʟeet this time they spread the skins the
inside upward R 59.13

ᴇnr̃a′m nɪmtu′mqäqäi eñinqä′ikᴇ̆lin on his part their camp com-
panion has no child R 12.11–12

kɪme′l, qɪme′l at once (?)

kɪme′l e′ʟhu ine′tčii͜ᵋ at once he has a liking for me 137.14 (see
also 137.5, 11)

ᴇnqa′m ñaus·qatê′tɪ qɪme′l then at once (he said) to the woman
58.6

kɪme′k almost

kɪme′k mitɪ′nmuut almost we killed thee 10.11

a′mᴇn-ŭm-ɪʟo′n tɪ′nma ine′ntri͜ᵋ kɪme′k but now you did almost
kill one 123.17–18

qän·ve′r kɪme′k ênanmŭê͜ᵋ e′pte gŭm this time you have almost
killed me 121.16–17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

kɪta′, kɪta′m, kitau

kɪtau′

kɪtau′qun, mi′ñkri ni′tqin now then! how was he ? 17.12 (*kɪta′m
qun* 18.1)   §128

kɪtau' qun aᵉtti'yña ninenyeqtele'nmɪk well then! the big dog saved us 106.26

kɪta'

kɪta' ña'nko go ahead! (bring him) here! 20.1

kɪta'm 46.4; 79.1; 80.10; 87.8; 94.9; 110.20; 113.21; 124.2; *kɪta'm qun* 16.6; 18.4; *kɪta'm qu'num* 21.5 well then!

kɪta'm ñu'nri now then (bring home) here! 23.2

guq, kɪta'm lŭ'mña well! now then again! 68.17

It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

kɪta'm e'ur li'ê-va'ɪrɪñkɪ gañau'tɪñ-ê-gɪt qailhɪna'n·gêt, vai u'mkɪ qagtɪ'gɪn now then, if among real being (gods) thou hast married really, here a polar bear bring! 110.5–6.　Compare 110.9–10.

kɪta'tkE unfortunately 25.12

kɪ'tvil-qun notwithstanding

kɪ'nmal together (?)

kɪ'nmal mɪnuñe'lmɪk let us go for fuel! 30.6

kɪ'nmal . . . pɪlɪgɪli'lɪt . . . gɪna'n nêna'nmê-gɪt thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9.　See also 83.26

kɪrga'm ŭm a'mEn, kɪrga'm ŭm a'mi well now! 121.4

kite' seldom

ki'tkit a little

ki'tkit nɪten·ñe'w-i-ŭm I laughed a little 72.13

ki'tkit qänve'ntetyiᵉ open it a little 94.21, 34

ki'tkit nuurre'tqinet they were a little visible 95.30

ku'likä alone 24.10.

qaia'qañ a while

e'nmen qaia'qañ tɪle'äᵉt they walked a while 64.8.　See also 66.8.

guk,iu'kä qaia'qañ mɪnqamɪ'tvarkɪn I wish we could eat a while 65.4

qaia'qan e'ur neimeu'qin for a while he approached 66.13

qaia'qan e'ŭli-gêlêñño'êᵉ ven-čŭmñ'a'chɪn for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26

Eto'-qaia'qañ rɪpkɪre'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4

qäLɪ'i êto'-qaia'qañ gewkwe'Lin after a while he departed 45.11

qai'vE indeed, truly, really.

qai'vE qine'iĺhiᵉ really, give (it) to me 16.1

Enqa'n qai'vE Iu'metui-gɪr thou art really Iu'metun

qai'vE-m ɪ'mɪ yei'velqäi nu'tek tŭmñ-alva'lag rayɪ'lqañño indeed, also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10–11

g̣uq, qai'vᴇ-m ñan me'čᴇnˑkɪ tre'ntɪ'ñɪn oh, indeed, I shall be able to manage him 67.22

Also 23.6; 80.27; 85.3; 92.23; 97.14

qailo'kīm

g̣ɪk, qailo'kɪm re'g̣ä g̣äta'ʟɪñɪtkɪ with what will you answer 14.2

qailo'kɪm mi'ñkri mɪñi'ntɪn how shall we act 53.1

qailo'kɪm wu'tku mɪ'ntɪ-g̣ɪr how should I keep thee here 109.30

qailo'kɪm pe'nin wolvɪtva'lɪn before he was motionless 125.4

qailo'kim eʟe'nyutä rɪrɪ'lpɪnnen the younger brother accompanied him R 50.22–23

qailhɪna'nˑg̣êt, qaglêna'ng̣êt and actually

qailhɪna'nˑg̣êt lɪ'ê-tanɪčê'tɪñoê and actually, he began to feel quite well 33.5

g̣uq, qailhɪna'ng̣êt ŭm ne'luᵋn and indeed, they saw it 10.3

qailhɪna'ng̣êt nɪ'rg̣ɪpatqên 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

qalêlᴇ vertically

qäi-ɪ'pe, qäigi'pe really, in truth

qäi-ɪ'pe lɪ'ê-va'ɪrɪñkɪ g̣añau'tɪñ-ê-g̣ɪt really among the gods (real beings) you married 110.30–31

mɪti'ŭm ᴇʟo'n qäigi'pe viri'irkɪn we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

qäi'ñun it seems (Kor. II, Pallen *qa'iñun* Kor. 90.2)

ⁱqä'iñun tu'rg̣in re'mkɪN eᵋ'tg̣i it seems your people are bad 8.9–10

tu'rg̣in re'mkɪn qä'iñun re'lg̣ɪä it seems your people will appear 10.4

qa'iñun meti'u rine'lhɪiᵋ certainly I shall not be believed by them 19.8

Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

qänu'r like, as

gene'ʟi'net qänu'r pe'welti they became like bladders 9.4

mi'ñkri va'lɪt qänu'r aᵋ'ttwukin pu'ttɪñet how big! like holes of a boat (cover) 14.6

naqa'm lŭ'mña qänu'r mêmlɪčɪkou'tɪ ergewe'tyiᵋ but again as into [the inside of] water he dived 17.4

qänu'r vêᵋlê'tɪ g̣ɪlo'lên as for a dead one she mourned 27.12

e'nmen qänu'r aᵋ'ttɪn arê'ta nɪ'ntäg̣in then like a dog they held him back 66.17

kele'tä va'nêvan eluᵋ'kä qänu'r mⱥrg̣ɪna'n i'g̣ɪt ka'mak va'nêvan eu'rrekᴇlin to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an evil spirit is invisible 62.1–2

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. . . *qänu'r vai mu'rgin re'mkɪn* like our people here 61.6

e'nmen a'nɪ qänu'r qun nute's·qän then it was just like earth 8.6

qänu'r qun wɪ'lquul just like coal 22.7

qänu'r qun nɪthɪ'lqinet they were like hot ones 9.10

e'nmen qol qänu'r ɪnpɪna'čhɪn geñe'wänä then another one, like the last (namely in the preceding story) an old man with his wife 28.1

qänu'r li'en ne'ntiäᵉn just as though simply they did to him 35.4

e'nmen qänu'r qun nɪčiite'ruqɪn then it was as though they were heated 9.8

qän·ve'r the fundamental meaning seems to be AT THIS MOMENT, AT THIS TIME

qän·ve'r qaloᵉolhɪočɪna'-mə'rê just at this moment we have met 121.15

qän·ve'r gɪnmɪ'lkinek tɪl-eime'wani'tqinet at this time they drew nearer 103.8

qän·ve'r gɪtte'pɪčɪn kele'kin i'wkwiᵉ at that moment the leader of the kelet said 104.26

e'nmen qän·ve'r· neime'wkwäᵉn qän·ve'r ŭm aᵉttɪ'yñɪn ŭm wêthau'ñoê at that moment they approached and at that moment the dog began to speak 103.19

Taaro'ñ-Va'ɪrgu ŭm qän·ve'r . . . *Va'ɪrgu ne'ʟeᵉn* a Sacrifice-(receiving-) Being at that time . . . a (spiritual) Being he became 41.9–10

Often it may be translated *therefore*.

qän·ve'r ŭm têrgɪla'tɪñoêᵉ therefore (at this moment) she began to cry 31.7

lu'ur wo'tqan qän·ve'r wŭ'rgɪrgɪn walo'mɪñonên afterwards, therefore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines, however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)

qäčɪ'-qu'num as you like it(?) R 54.36

qäʟi'i (< *qä[t]-li'i*) but in fact (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *yeᵉli'i, uʟi'i, venli'i, miteli'i, quʟi'i*)

ni'mnim vai čɪ'mčeqäi va'rkɪn, Eiwhue'n qäʟi'i a settlement is quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7

qäʟi'i gɪt but in fact, it is you 23.5

qäʟi'i Re'kkeñɪt but in fact, they were Rekken 34.5

qäʟi'i êto'-qaia'qañ gewkwe'ʟin in fact after a short time he departed 45.11

qäʟi'i riᵉ'lin in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2

qäʟi'i ɛnqa'n . . . *ê'tɪn ye'tyiᵉ* in fact this was the master 70.28–30

qäʟi'i pinlə'nênat in fact, he asked them 70.30

qǎʟı'i notas·qa'urkıt in fact they were digging the ground 71.9

qǎʟı'i qun ɛnqa'nat tei'n·ñičıt in reality they were murderous 68.20

qǎʟı'i ŭm qun qǎi-aᵉ'ttıqǎi in fact it was (only) a pup 80.4

qǎʟı'i ɛnqa'n . . . ɛʟa' in fact that was the mother 85.21–22

qǎʟı'i pala'wkun yara'ñı in fact a funeral circle 108.17

qeteu' even now

garaqêčha'ʟên qeteu' what has the bad one been doing, even now 31.9

qȩtȩ'm, qȩttȩ'm, kete'm just, just like

qette'm gǔ'mnin yara'ñı just like my house

kete'm pʰɪ'tku just as it is finished R 3.24

qo'nɪrɪ, qo'nɪrɪ·m, qo'nɪrɪ e'ur (contracted also *qi'en-e'ur*) since

qol qoi'maron wǔ'thıčı, tu'mgın ɛnqa'n qo'nırım gȩñewtu'mgeʟeet ɛnqa'nat the other rear sleeping room was in the middle, a strange person's (not a member of the family) that, because they were wife-companions (lived in group-marriage), these 53.9–10

qo'nırım ča'ma qo'čer-qla'ŭl-e-ŭm ɛnqana'ta ño'o-e-ŭm gene'l-i-ŭm because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became R 45.27–28

qo'nırım gumni'n i'gıt i'rälqǎl u'iñä . . . : trê'lqätyaᵉq Velewkwaygo'ŭtı because my now clothing material nothing . . . I'll go to Merchants Point (i. e. because I have no material) R 46.43–44

qo'nırı tılv-e'tqiñ-i-gıt since you are utterly bad

qo'nırım e'un ɛʟı'gın ı'mı viri'tägi'ʟin since (the) father has also died a voluntary death R 49.11.   See also R 32.37

qo'nırım Eñe'neñe eiñe'wä ča'ma i'liil ŭm, qa'ko because he calls the East wind, it rains 132.20–21.   Also R 13.21

qo'n·pǔ quite

qo'n·pǔ vieᵉ'iᵉ he was quite dead 83.21

qo'n·pǔ nımı'tvañño'aᵉt they began to be quite a camp 107.19

gık,qoñpǔ ninenmelewe'tqin he is made quite well 127.3; 135.12–13

qun, qu'num, qun-ŭm probably an emphatic particle, stronger than *ŭm* (p. 849) and *ɛʟo'n* (p. 852).   It stands in second position, generally following another particle

qänu'r qun wı'lquul just like coal 22.7

e'nmen qänu'r qun nıčiite'ruqin they were just as though they had been heated 9.8–9

qänu'r qun nıthı'lqinet just as though they were hot 9.10

qä'nur qun mı'mlik just as though (they were) in water 101.32

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e'nmen a'nɪ qänu'r qun nute's·qän they were just like land 8.6

a'nɪ qun qrɪlu'tkui valata thus it is! they move about with the knives 16.4

a'nɪ qun li'en· re'pkɪrgä⁵ ratopa'wkwa⁵ thus it is! simply you will come home, she will be pregnant 104.4

a'nɪ qu'num te'kɪčhɪn qänu'utkɪ thus it is! then eat the meat! 14.6

a'nɪ qu'num qanto'ê⁵ come out! 81.27

a'nɪ qun, i'ppe qun thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3

têrga'tyê⁵ qun ŭm he cried 116.7

kɪ'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñɪtvi'i⁵ did he this time attain shamanistic power? 18.4

kɪta'm qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time? 18.1

kɪta'm qun ê⁵'nnɪčhɪn qai'pŭgun this time put on the necklace 16.6

kɪta'm qu'num mɪnɪrri'l-hɪt this time we will let thee go 21.5-6

kɪta'm qu'num ineʟe'tti qatvu'gɪnat this time what shall there be for payment? 102.11

kɪtau'qun a⁵tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmɪk this time the big dog saved us 106.26-27.

kɪtau' qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time 17.12

attau'-qun ñon ŭm Tño'tirgɪna mɪnpêčarê'ra we are just going to Tño'tirgɪn for food 119.18

attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'ta qätčɪ'gɪn just get the sledge ready 105.20

e'nmen -qun ra'gtie⁵ ʟa' then the mother went home 30.10

qäʟ'i'i ŭm qun qäi-a⁵'ttɪqäi in fact, it was only a small pup 80.4

In the following examples *qun* follows verbs, verbal nouns and pronominal forms.

ñɪpe'ä⁵t qu'ɯum ɛ'n·kɪ they went ashore there 71.12

panča'tɪk nɪmpe'qinet qu'num gɪ leaping it went ashore, indeed! 122.16

a'un -gêta'gtɪ pɪlhɪrra'tyä⁵ qu'num he makes himself flat before them 83.28-84.1

ti'ñunin qu'num he pulled it out 84.7

ei'miunin ŭm qun he caught him 121.13

vi⁵'lɪn ŭm qu'num ɛnqa'n nine'lqin dead that one had become (he had died) 125.10

yi⁵'lhin ŭm qu'num, rä⁵'nut it was the moon, what was it? 86.26-27

rä⁵'nut qu'num lo'ñɪl what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4

i'me-rä⁵'nut qu'num everything 107.2

mi'ñkri qu'num mɪthɪtte'urkɪn it is because we are hungry 70.24

čei'vutkui⁵nɪmnɪmeitɪ, qu'num a⁵tto'rguqaia he went to the camp with a dog sledge 105.5

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According to punctuation *qunum* is in initial position in the following example

> *ge, tam! qu'num i'gɪtŭm mɪura'gtatyaᵉn* let us take it home now! 121.27

It seems, however, that instead of *ge, tam* we might read *kɪta'm* as p. 21.5

quʟi'i in this case indeed (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *yeᵉli'i, uʟi'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäʟi'i*)

> *quʟi'i va'añqan aᵉ'ttin ni'iЇhɪt* in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

gečeu'kɪ together.

githite' against one's will

gi'newän besides

ñe'wäq strong emphasis

> *ñe'wäq gi'wä* you do say 21.11
>
> *ñe'wäq ninemɪrke'w-i-ŭm* I have been working hard 81.9
>
> *qai'vɛ ñe'wäq ɛna'n čini't mini'uqin* indeed, he himself did say it R 50.23
>
> *ñe'wäq qai'vɛ* and indeed

§129. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions; Koryak

ɪmɪ also

> *i'mɪ gaaqai'paʟɛn* also it fitted badly Kor. 34.9
>
> *i'miñ yuqya'nu ganaᵉ'linau* they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3
>
> *imɪñ gayai'tɪḷen* nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8
>
> *i'miñ . . . pḷa'ku wu'gwa gayi'lin* also (her) boots they filled with stones Kor. 28.7

Also adj. Kor. 66.8, 72.14, 76.19

ɪna'n-awi'wut quickly Kor. 70.12

Enna'n that one alone

> *ɛnna'n koro'wapel ganaᵉ'lin* only the cow was left Kor. 78.12

Enna'niku from that time on Kor. 80.7

Enqa'ta

> *ɛnka'ta tɪlai'vɪkɪn ñe'ʟa* then a herd was walking about Kor. 21.8
>
> *ɛnqa'ta gassa'ḷen qata'p-vai'am* then he dragged a net along the bottom of the river Kor. 70.11

E'nki then, at that very moment

> *ɛ'nki yu'laᵉn gapḷɪtču'linau* then they finished what was to be eaten Kor. 50.1
>
> *ɛ'nki tɪyanu'wgi* then I shall eat you Kor. 78.18   §129

ᴇ'*nki* ᴇɴɴɪ'*mtɪḷa*ᵋ*n pipi'tčuykɪn* ᴇ'*nki qata'p-e'mat va'ykɪn* then
Fish-Man was combing his hair; then a load of winter-fish
was (there) Kor. 86.16

ᴇ*nke'* ᴇɴɴɪ'*mtɪḷa*ᵋ*n* then (there was) Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

Eñnaᵋ'***an*** thus

ᴇ*ñña*ᵋ'*an* thus it is! Kor. 78.2

galqaᶉin qaičayiči'ña ᴇɴ*ña*ᵋ'*an wŭs·gŭ'mčɪku* she went groping
thus in the dark Kor. 16.9–10

ᴇɴ*ña*ᵋ'*an vañvoḷai'ke* thus they lived Kor. 43.7

ᴇñña'*an gayɪḷteḷ̃ɪvo'ḷenat* thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

gɪna'n ᴇɴ*ña*ᵋ'*an ina'ntɪ* thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

qo'ḷa ᴇɴ*ña*ᵋ'*nač Yayo'ča-ñawgut gai'ḷɪᶉin* after a while they
gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

ᴇɴ*ña*ᵋ'*nvot gani'kalimau* all at once something happened Kor.
70.17–18

Dual forms:

ᴇɴ*ña*ᵋ'*anet gana'tvɪlen* thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

ᴇɴ*ña*ᵋ'*anet patta*ᵋ'*ḷa mani'ti gayɪ'ssalinat* thus the two filled
with dried meat two bags Kor. 70.21

ayi'kvan at least Kor. 18.1

Ina'n-awi'wut quickly Kor. 70.12

avi'ut Kor. 44.5

a'wun (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna *e'wun* Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

a'wun gaya'ḷqɪvlinau and so they entered Kor. 80.18–19

a'wun im-ḷa'wtalin and so his head became hairless Kor. 82.13

a'wun ui'ña and then there was no one Kor. 96.12 (= *e'wun
i'tka* Kor. II, Kor. 96.30: *e'wune'ᶉe* Paren, Kor. 97.17

awnu'p (?) Kor. 64.11

a'wgi falsely Kor. 88.14

am (Paren ɪ*m*)

qun-am nu'tak ui'ña ane'lhɪyɪpnuka even in the open country
we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nin qun-ɪm Uwe'ñpiḷɪñ the same (former) little U'weñ
(Paren) Kor. 92.7

a'men

a'men gawgu'ᶉin and they tied her Kor. 23.4

a'men e'wañ and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

a'men yɪ'nna and now what! Kor. 28.2

a'či a'men gŭ'mkɪñ ni'wi-gi just now like me thou wert talk-
ing Kor. 29.2

a'mu I do not know Kor. 55.3

atau vainly Kor. 61.3

ata'mtɪm in vain Kor. 30.8

§129

as·s·o′ since

    as·s·o′ qati′ since you went away Kor. 18.5

a′ččɪč, aččo′č (Ch. *erre′č*) that is all, only, no more Kor. 62.8; 70.8 *aččo′č* Kor. 66.19; 68.19

a′nam then, and so

    me′ñqañ a′nam gi′ɪinau how then did they become? Kor. 61.9–10

    a′nam . . . gaḷa′lin then he came to him Kor. 63.6

  Also Kor. 66.6; 78.1

    a′nam-e^ε′en all right then! Kor. 30.5; 31.8

    e^ε′en a′nau all right then! Kor. 32.1

    a′naqun and so Kor. 36.10

anuva′t just as, just when

    anuva′t nɪyatɪḷqi′wqin, ɛ′nki mɪtyɪ′ḷqaḷa just when he was about to come, we went to sleep

a′ḷɪmɪ I wish it were!

    a′ḷɪmɪ vai′čɪta I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2–3

    gina′n a′ḷɪmɪñ qeti′gin I wish thou wouldst take it Kor. 72.24–74.1

aḷva′ other

    aḷva′lin it is of different material Kor. 76.23

a′kyeḷ also

    gayo′oḷenan, a′kyeḷ ipa′ña they put it into it, also into the soup, Kor. 28.6

e^ε′en (Ch. *e′ur*) then, and

    gayo^ε′oḷen, e^ε′en gavɪ^ε′yalin he visited him and he was dead Kor. 20.8

    ya′nya e^ε′en ña′wɪtqatu partly also women Kor. 44.2

    e^ε′en . . . gamḷawanka′wḷen and she ended her dance Kor. 48.6

    gakya′wlinau e^ε′en yaq ñi′ḷñɪn ni′tɪn 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*)

    matuḷa′tɪn e′wun mɪssaitɪḷa′ñɪn they stole it but we shall bring it back Kor. 40.8

i′pa really; indeed Kor. 37.8

    i′pa a′nam gɪ′ssa but really thou Kor. 66.6

  Also as adjectives:

    i′pa kmi′ñɪn the real child Kor. 68.11

    gümni′n i′pa qḷa′wul vi^ε′gi my real husband died Kor. 21.10–22.1

    i′pa lɪ′ge-ta′ta our real father Kor. 74.20

i′na^ε quickly Kor. 39.2

    qaye′m i′n·a nɪya′tin he did not come back quickly Kor. 72.19

i'n·ač enough! Kor 30.4; 86.11, 18; 88.15

inya'wut (?) Kor 16.5

i'nmɪq really, in truth

    i'nmɪq tapañañɪvo'ykɪn in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8

    i'nmɪqu'nŭm all right! Kor. 28.1–2.

  Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3

iñi'nninɪk in this manner Kor. 14.3 (from *iñi'nñin* such)

o'ya openly

    ui'ña o'ya a'tvaka she was not (there) openly Kor. 76.14

o'pta also (Lesna: THE WHOLE; Kamchadal *o'ptɪma* THE WHOLE);
    Chukchee *o'ptɪma* LIKE)

    a'čɪn o'pta gei'liɹin he also gave him fat Kor 15.4–5

    qla'wuḷ o'pta ɛnka'ta tɪḷai'vɪkɪn a man also was walking there
      Kor. 21.9

    Quyqɪnn·a'qu o'pta e'wañ Big-Raven also said Kor. 29.5

    qo'ḻa ai'ak o'pta . . . gayo'oḻen an other one she also put into
      the storeroom Kor. 55.1

  See also Kor. 56.5

oma'ka together

    Ama'mqut a'nke o'maka kaña'trykɪn Ememqut was fishing
      together (with them) Kor. 44.10

    eᵉ'en ña'nyeu oma'ka ɪ'ssa and then together they (were her
      children) Kor. 61.2

oᵉnnen verily, indeed, Kor. 59.9

u'nmi (?) Kor. 74.10

ya'wač (?) Kor. 64.9

y'anya (Ch. *ya'nřa*) partly, separately

yaq (indefinite pronoun, see § 59) and now

    wu'tčɪn yaq yɪ'nna and this now, what is it? Kor. 36.9

    ame'yaq ña'wɪs·qat well, how is the wife Kor. 68.2

    gɪn-ya'q thy turn Kor. 46.7   (See *yaq*, § 59, p. 729)

ya'qam only

    ya'qam ai'kɪpa gapɪ'wyalin only (with) fly-eggs she scattered
      Kor. 45.2

    ve'ḻo ya'qam ninataikɪñvo'qenau she was only making thimbles
      Kor. 59.5

ya'qañ why

    ya'qañ ya'ti why hast thou come Kor. 64.1

yaqqai'-qun (Paren *yäqqai'-qun* Kor 92.5) then

ye'lɪ

    ye'lɪ gayi'ñalin and so she flew away Kor. 46.5

    eᵉ'en yeᵉl gañekeḻa'ḻen and so she felt ashamed Kor. 60.1

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vɪ'yañ, ve'eñ (?)

    vɪ'yañ iskula'ti (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2

    vɪ'yañ lelapɪ'tčoñvo'ykɪn nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8

    ña'no vɪ'yañ kɪsva'čɪk va'ykɪn of course, it is there on the cross-pole Kor. 68.5

    vɪ'yañ gapanqai'pɪlen (without clothes) but with a cap Kor. 76.22

vi'n·va, vi'n·vɪ secretly Kor. 61.1; 76.14

vaᵉ'yuk afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5

    vaᵉ'ak Kor. 56.5; 64.9

van (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee demonstrative particle *ñan* which is also used adverbially).

    ui'ña-van minka'kɪla not by anybody else Kor. 40.6–7

    qaye'm ña'no-van mɪnutñana'wge not those I shall be able to eat Kor. 55.8–9

    a'mlɪñ-van kɪtve'-lɪ'ga penči'ykɪn after that he rushed at her every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10

pa'La perhaps Kor. 60.5

mači maybe

    ma'či wu'tčuk mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7

    ma'ččɪ vi'Ɉka va'ykɪn mayhap a fork is there Kor. 19.7

    me'če mɪma'tage mayhap I'll marry thee Kor. 32.6

mal well

    mal-kit properly Kor. 15.6; 74.6; 88.9

    mal-kɪ'tɪl very well! Kor. 21.5

   Also *met·-ki'tkit*

male'ta quietly Kor. 54.7

ma'kiw somewhere Kor. 80.9

me'ñqañ how Kor. 82.4; 84.21; 88.1

    me'ñqač mi'qun mai'mɪk how indeed shall I get water? 16.7–8

    me'ñqan mi'qun how, indeed? Kor. 17.12

mi'qun (Paren *mu'qun* Kor. 92.23) indeed; an intensifying particle

    mi'qun naña'nqin indeed he is a shaman Kor. 42.9

    mi'qun Ama'mqut e'wañ Ememqut said even (this) Kor. 64.11

    ya'qu mi'qun qatai'kɪgɪn what indeed will you do? Kor. 76.7

   Also 16.3, 8; 17.12; 39.10; 84.21; 86.12

(**ti'wgak** [literally: I SAY] it seems Kor. 57.9)

ti'ta when

    ɪluᵉ'pɪlɪñ ti'ta mɪneloᵉ'čola when we find a shaman's wand Kor. 27.7

    ti'ta gŭ'mma tra'tɪk when was I at home? Kor. 68.13

    ti'ta o'pta ninanuvaᵉ'an let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15

    ti'taq mu'yu mɪtaᵉttayɪ'pnala when did we feed on inner skin of dogs Kor. 48.9

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tito-o'n after a long time Kor. 57.5

nIme' very; very much Kor. 16.1, 8

ča'myeq indeed Kor. 24.2

    čemya'q really Kor. 56.1

čemeče^ε'n it is so! Kor. 46.4

čini't since

    čini't ɛnña^ε'an qi'tɪ since thou art so Kor. 56.9–10

ḷɪ'gɪqai much less Kor. 49.1

ḷɪ'gan simply

    ḷɪ'gan mɪmtelhɪyalai'ke simply they were resplendent Kor. 44.3

kĭma'k almost Kor. 21.7; 84.13

kalê'ḶE, qalê'LE vertically

ke'nam Kor. 39.3; *kena'm* Kor. 40.3 already

ki'wan truly Kor. 26.9

kit, ki'tɪl see *mal-kit*

ki, kɪč (never in initial position) and

    ya'qkin-ki and what for? Kor. 26.10 (for *ya'qkin* see §§ 47, 59)

ki'tañ; kɪtta' then (?)

    ki'tañ amyaqaḷheñe'tɪñ taya'ñikɪn then she wanted to go to the porch Kor. 33.8–9

    gŭ'mma kɪtta' tu'kwak I am caught Kor. 36.10

    kɪtta' atawaḷñɪḷa'ka do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6; 52.10

        kɪ'tta negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. *en·ñe*)

ki'tkit a little

ki'kit; ki'kič as soon as 84.3

    ki'kit gayɪ'ḷtiḷen as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3

    ki'kič gaya'lqɪwḷin 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

qačɪ'n

    qačɪ'n pḷakgeñe'tɪñ na^ε'čañvoqen for he had passed water into the boots Kor. 14.2

    qačɪ'n qo'npŭ nɪki'ta gana^ε'ḷen therefore altogether it became night Kor. 16.6

    qa'čɪn milya'qpil because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8

    gayo^ε'oḷen, qačɪn vi'tvitpil they visited her, for there was a small ringed seal Kor. 24.4

    qačɪ'n ɛna'n tawi'tkɪñik for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3

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ña'nyeu qačı'n Yaqyamtıla͜s'nu for those were Bumble-Bee-Men Kor. 44.6

qa'čın ui'ña ana'ḷuka ǥatı'kaḷen for without chewing he swallowed her Kor. 84.1

qa'čık

ǥı'ssa qa'čık ui'ña a'ḷva a'tvaka for this reason will you be (feel) wrong Kor. 18.7

ǥŭ'mma qa'čık oyamya'-ǥum for am I human game Kor. 42.6

qun, qun-am

ǥına'n qun nıta'witkıñi-ǥi' so thou art playing mischief Kor. 82.9

qu'nam nu'tak ui'ña ane'ḷhı-yıpnuka even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nin qun-ım Ūwe'ñpılıñ the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

qu'nam mu'yi . . . oya'myañ mıtı'nmın even we too (alone) have killed a man Kor. 68.3

qu'nam qun Kor. 74.17

vê'tha-qo'nom just now Kor. 56.10

qo'npŭ very, quite (*qon'pu* Chukchee; *xë* Kamchadal); Kor. 13.10; 15.8; 41.8, etc.

ǥŭmḷañ again Kor. 15.8; 18.8; 19.8 etc.

ña'nyen then 63.10; 72.8; 74.3 etc.

§130. KAMCHADAL CONJUNCTIONS

Most of the Kamchadal conjunctions have been replaced by the Russian (local) forms.

i, dai (и, дан) and
je (же) but
tolko (только) merely, only
dotopera (до топера) until now
potom (потомъ) after that

Other conjunctions of Kamchadal origin are still in use. Among these I mention

hälč, hälčëq it is time! then, now, altogether Kor. 99.5

This particle is used quite frequently with a great variety of meanings. Its use has even influenced the local Russian dialect inasmuch as the Russian adverb пора IT IS TIME is used also as a conjunction, although this does not agree with Russian usage.

-ılme, -me (never initial) AND, AND NOW, corresponds to the Chukchee *-ŭm* K. K. *-am*.

-ke (never initial) AND, AND NOW, but more emphatic than *-me*.

-*ven* (never initial) Kor. 98.9. This emphatic particle corresponds to K. K. *van*, and may have been borrowed from Koryak.

kat THEN in the beginning of tales corresponds to Chukchee *e'nmen*.

e'wun AND, AND SO corresponds to Ch. *e'un*, K. K.; *a'wun*, K. Paren *e'wun*, but may also have been borrowed from Koryak.

lact HOW IS IT, WHEREFORE.

§131. NEGATIVE ADVERBS

1. *va'nêvan* negative particle, NOT AT ALL (stem probably *vanê*). This occurs either alone or with other negative elements.

va'nêvan nɪnutewurre'erkɪnen not at all land appears 7.3

va'nêvan nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan gɪna'n li'i qälhɪ'gɪn? have you no knowledge at all? 38.4

yi'liil rurkɪnin te'kičhɪn va'nêvan tongues he eats, meat not at all 49.4

va'nɛvan nute's·qän nɪᵉyoᵉ'nĕn they did not at all reach the ground 52.12

va'nêvan neᵉnluᵉ'rkinet kele'tä the kele could not see them at all 100.29

va'nêvan naᵉnayɪlhau'nên aᵉ'ttɪn they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25

va'nêvan anto'kĕlên ñe'us·qät the woman did not go out at all 54.8

va'nêvan qarĕ'm nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan äᵉnluᵉ'net they could not see them at all 61.10

va'nêvan eʟe a'lomka they did not hear anything 60.10

va'nêvan eluᵉ'kä they are invisible 62.1

va'nêvan eu'rrekĕlin it is not visible 62.2

2. *qarĕ'm;* Kor. Kam. *qaye'm;* Kor. Par., *qeye'm;* Kor. II (village Qare'ñim and others in Kamchatka *i'gut*); Kamchadal. *x·ĕnč, x·ë.* Used always with the exhortative, or alone with exhortative meaning, and ignifying negative future.

qarĕ'm mɪnɪ'nmɪtɪk we shall not kill you 13.4

qarĕ'm mɪne'etyäᵉk I shall not become black 23.6

qarĕ'm mɪlhɪñño'aᵉn I shall not treat him 24.10

qarĕ'm mɪnmu'ut I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7

qarĕ'm mra'gtɪaᵉk I will not return home 99.2, 24

qarĕ'm ɛʟɪ'*gä rinenyegtele'tyäᵉ* father will not allow me to live 99.15

qarĕ'm mi'ilhäᵉn I will not do it 99.20

qarĕ'm mi'ilhɪt I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9

qarĕ'm mɪye'tyäᵉk I will not come

a'mɛn qarêm! but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

qarê'm i'gɪt! 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 mla͏ᵉ'k*, Kor. II. *i'hut mle͏ᵉk*, Kamchadal *x·ënč mnuk* I will not eat

Koryak.—

> *ačhiva'n qaye'm* this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3
>
> *qaye'm ña'no-van mɪnutñana'wge* I shall not be able to eat them Kor. 55.8
>
> *qaye'm enaḷha'ḷmɪk* he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.

qarê'm quwi͏ᵉ'tɪk do not die! (i. e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from *qarê'm* is the verbal form *qarê'mên* (Kor. Kam. *qɪymé'en* Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. *qɪsmé'nen*) it is not so, not true.

qarê͏̣'mên i͏ᵉ'tik lŭ'mñɪl it is not really a story 61.5

qarêmênaï'-gŭm I am not this one 23.5

qarê͏̣'mên ora'wêḹan he is not a human being 29.9

qarêmêna'ïgŭm qḷa'ulê͏̣ŭm I am not a man

qarêmêna'ïgɪt qḷa'ŭlê͏̣gɪt thou art not a man

qarêmêna'ïgŭm nɪrʉ'liŭm I am not feeble

qarê͏̣'mêna'ïgɪt nɪrʉ'ligɪt thou art not feeble

qarê͏̣'mên nɪrʉ'lqin he is not feeble

qaremênaï'gŭm ñe͏́'usqätiŭm I am not a woman 116.31

Kor. Kam. *qɪyɪme'w un* impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. *en·ñe* Kor. Kam. *kɪ'tta*, Kamchadal *jak, x·ë* do not! (see § 114 p. 823)

4. *êlo'* NO *eḷo'* (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9

> *elᴇ* no 30.8
>
> *rä͏ᵉt'uri?-êlo'* what is the matter with you?—nothing 53.6

4a. *ča'mam* NO! I DO NOT WANT TO (referring to future events) 78.6; used with future indicative. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

> *ča'mam* I do not want to 98.5, 8
>
> *ča'mam tre'ilhɪt* I shall not give thee

5. *e'Ḷe* NOT, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. *e'Ḷe*, Reindeer Kor. *e'Ḷe*, Kor. II., village Qare'ñɪn and others in Kamchatka *eḷḷa*, Kamchadal *qam* Kor. Kam. *ui'ñä* instead (see below). See 15, 12, 21.3, 24.8

6. *ui'ñä* NONE (with nouns; substantives and adjectives). (Kor. Kam., *ui'ña*, Kor. Par., *ui'ña e'Ḷe*, Kor. II., village Qare'ñɪn and others in Kamchatka *em, e'mma* NOT. The Kamchadal uses *qam* (see above, under *e'Ḷe*). Kor. Par. uses also *e'Ḷe* alone

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uı'ñä ępı̣'ñką̣ I have no powder

See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative prefix-suffix we find—

ćai uı'ñä, ta'aq uı'ñä, tąm-vą'ı̣rqın gŭmni'n no tea, no tobacco, mine is a good life!

(Kor. Par.) *e'ʟe epı'ñke* I have no powder

Derived from this particle is *uı'ñılın* HAVING NONE.

uı'ñılıŭm ępı̣'ñkĕlı̣ŭm 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 conjunctional stems, while others can not be reduced to such sources, at least not at present.

a. Ejaculations

a! 45.3 (Kor. *a! ʌ!* Kor. 55.5) oh!

ga! R 104.48 oh!

o! 63.9 oh!

e! 85.12; 90.6; 91.7 ah!

e! 101.20 all right

go, go! R 65.119 (call)

ga, ga! 122.1 call

gı, gi! R 72.16 ah, ah!

gei! 69.4 oh!

gg̣g̣! (Kor. *gg̣g̣!*) yes!

guq! 10.3; 52.3; 53.1; (Kor. *gek!* Kor. 50.4) ugh! oh!

goq! 24.1 108.32; *gık!* 10.1; 11.2; *gi!* 68.30; R 69.35; Kor. 51.1, 5; 58.6

gu! 26.4; *go!* 69.7; 108.19

ogogogogoi! 70.2 oh, oh, oh!

ugugugugu! 29.7 uhuhuhuh!

Koryak

e! oh! Kor. 47.1

ye! ah! Kor. 49.2

eñi'! oh! Kor. 64.19

añe'! Kor. 49.3 *iñe'!* Kor. 27.6

b. Exclamations

Their stems are independent and some of them form derivatives.

qo! expresses ignorance: I DO NOT KNOW!

qoña'arkin to speak always of one's ignorance; to answer: "I do not know."

Assent:

ı! 9.6, 13; 66.25; 84.10 (Kor. *o!* Kor. 30.2; 38.6) yes.

ı! 84.19 ah!

egei'! 133.24 R 71.5; R 73.34 (Kor. *uga'*) all right! assent and approval.

egei'! 75.30 oh!

taga'm! R 59.9, 16; R 66, 134 (Kor. *toq! to!* Kor. 35.3; Kor. 45.8) come! well!

taga'm is used also as the usual leave taking.

taga'm tewkwe'erkın! R 41.98 (in Koryak *toq* is used as leave taking) good-bye! I am going.

The usual greeting is *ye'tı?* or less frequently *ge'et-i-gıt;* R 62.62; R 76.25 (Kor. *yati?* HAVE YOU COME? as greeting)

The answer is *ı!* yes! or *ı, ıʳye'tyäᵉk!* 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.

ı, tam! 84.19.

gı, tam! 84.14.

Assertion:

gu'nä! 82.16; 85.6; R 76.27 sure!

gu'nä, qai'vE 24.8 indeed, yes!

Calls:

mei! 76.22 R 73.32; R 59.11, from man to woman 53.6; Kor. *mai!* Kor. 64.24 *amei!* Kor. 63.6; *mei!* Kor. 32.5; here addressed from a man to a woman; *me!* Kor. 100.5 K. Paren *ve!* Kor. 101.13; Koryak II Qareñin *mei* Kor. 102.4 there, you! you! halloo!

ña'ul 45.3 (Kor. *nä'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 *kako, kako!* 8.5; 12.6; 68.31
>>> oho!; *qako!* 84.10; *qako, qako!* 77.26; 104.14; *ga'ko* 21.4
>> *kako, mei'!* 14.7; R 64.93.   *ga'ko mei!, go'čo mei!*
> Used by women
>> *ke'ke'!* 52.2; 71.26.
>> *ke'ke, ña'ul!*
>> *keke', keke', keke'!* 29.7 great surprise and fear

Koryak, for both sexes.
> | *če* Kor. 47.6 (surprise and disapproval) ugh.
> | *qe'e* Kor. 82.14 surprise

Fear:
> *gokkoi'!* 63.1 oh, oh!; *goqoi'!* 18.8
> *kokkoi'!* 22.5 surprise and fear
> *akakaka!* 87.14 sudden fright

Question:
> *wa?* (Kor. *va?* Kor. 46.10) would you?
> *amto'?* 13.9; 80.4; R 92.18 (Kor. *amto'?*) well? what news?
>> also used as a conjunction: *amto' gɪtka'lhɪn?* how is
>> your leg?

Pain:
> *gɪ,gɪ,gɪ* R 74.46 (Kor. *mɪkɪkɪkɪk!* Kor. 29.1) sudden acute
>> pain
> *ge, ge, ge!* 63.8 (Kor. *igigi'!* Kor. 23.9) crying

Warning:
> *ga, ga, ga!* 85.17,28 (Kor. *got!*) off! look out!

Laughing:
> *ga, ga, ga!* R 79.10
> *gigi!* 30.2
> *gɪm!* 30.2 laughing of a skull.

Anger:
> *gɪm!* R 72.20 (Kor. *gɪm!* Kor. 31.2)
> *gŭm!* (terminal) 61.2
> *taga'm, qapa'ae, gŭm!* 61.2 well, cease, will you!

Miscellaneous:
> *qo!* (Kor. *qo!* 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,qa! R 140.10; R 277.8, yapping of fox
gɪn, gɪn! 105.27 barking of dog
m-m! 106.15 mumbling of ke'le (hence derived a noun
   mŭ'ŭmgɪn KELE'S MUMBLING)
kabeu', kabeu'! R 307.8 cackling of ptarmigan   §132

    aña', aña', aña'! 84.8 crying of small infant

    ew, ew, ew! R 104.47 singing of thanksgiving ceremonial

    čig, čig! 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone

    pıw, pıw! 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground

    pıɡ, pıɡ! 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground

    pr! 88.17 sound produced with lips

    (Koryak) *vakıkıkı'!* Kor. 46.1 jabbering of magpie

Shaman's calls

    egegegegei'! 15.7; 68.28; (Kor. *oɡoɡoɡoɡoi'!*); 66.35 (here
      merely fatigue, though borrowed also from shamanistic
      practice)

    otototototoi'! 59.4

    otatatatatai'! 59.4

Answer to shaman's call

    ɡit, ɡit, ɡit, ɡıɡe't! 39.9

    ɡe'we, ɡewe! R 306.1 raven's shamanistic song

    ɡo'oñ-kale', ɡo'oñ-kale' R 314.23 (Kor. *qo'oñ, qo'oñ* Kor.
      48.2; *ann, ann!* Kor. 47.2; Koryak, *umyu'm* Kor. 90.15;
      Kor. II Pallan, raven's cawing) raven's shamanistic song

    ɡe'we, egegegei'! R 122.2 mosquito's shamanistic song
      R 306.7

    qaia'qañ, qaia'qañ! foxes shamanistic song (a little more!
      at the same time onomapoetic)

    ɡe'wye, ɡe'wye ko'onın R 315.31 polar bear's shamanistic
      song

Calls of reindeer-herders

    ɡo, ɡo, ɡo, ɡoq, ɡoq, ɡoq! 32.11 for driving the herd

    ɡa, ɡa, ɡa, ɡaq, ɡaq, ɡaq!

    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, onomato-
      poetic

Interjections are often used in groups

    ɡuq, ı! 9.13; *ɡık, i'!* 65.26 oh, yes!

    ee, ta'm! (see before)

    gei, gu'nä! 69.4 oh, indeed!

d. Words and phrases used as interjections

ına'nkên, ına'nkên ǔm 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!

tıte'ñet! 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in com-
    pounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form

    tıte'ñet-i-ɡıt it is wonderful with you

    tıte'ñet-tu'ri (plur.) it is wonderful with you

    tıte'ñet-ve'rin it is wonderful with him (stem *verin* unknown
      otherwise)   §132

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 amɛn! R. 73.27 (surprise and anger; *em* mere §113.5) *ñot* demonstrative particle (§57) *amɛn* adversative conjunction p. 853) how is it then!

čeq-a'lvam va'lın! 76.5 (§113.15) how very strange!

vê'nom wonder and blame; in compounds with subjective form of personal pronoun

vênom gına'n 55.11; 109.24 something like OUT WITH YOU!

alŭ'mña! 120.16,23 (*a* ah, *lŭmña* again) only think of it! sudden surprise (see also p. 854)

nıre'qin-ŭm! I do agree! 84.19; R 62.58; R 65.112 regular nominalising form of indefinite verb *req* (§82)

rere'q-ŭm R 75.6 I do agree! (causative *re-reqŭm*)

re'qu lŭ'mña the same! R 73.24 (*re'qu* designative of *req* what; *lŭmña* again)

ra'qal 80.25 what of that; (*req* what; *al* otherwise unknown)

u'nmuñ a'nı, u'nmŭñ a'nı-m e'un 84.26; 87.7 Oh, how bad it is! (*u'nmuñ* very, *a'nı-m* even so; *e'un* and so)

KAMCHADAL

tea there!	*qu* call; ha lloo!
tle there, take it!	*hĕ, 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.

nıgıtte'pqin (literally, clever) fool

čıkaye'tu-wa'lın (from *čıka'yoñ-va'lın* intelligent) silly

erme'urkin (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness

also

emtıne'urkın (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger

uulvılu' (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear

lei'wulın (literally, the one who walks about) wolf

re'qätkurkın (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading

va'ırgıtkerkın (from *va'ırgın* being) disease

§ 134. New Words.

On the whole, Chukchee and Koryak have not borrowed many terms from the Russian, but have rather coined new words for new ideas. Following are a few examples of these.

Chukchee	Kor. Kamenskoye	
e'rem	a'yɪm	commander (literally, strong man)
te'qenañ	ta'qana	tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with)
teq-e'rem	taqa'-a'yɪm	chief officer of district (literally, tribute-strong-man)
añañ-ra'n	añañ-ya'n	church (literally, spirit-house)
tin-koi'ñɪn	e'tti-koi'ñɪn	glass (literally, ice-cup)
wui'g̓un	gui'vɪn	fortified log-house
tin-u'kkäm	puti'lkan	bottle (Russian бутылка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel)
ä̆ᵋq-i'mɪl	aᵋqa'-mi'mɪl	brandy (literally, bad water)
keli'kel	kali'kal	letter, book, writing (literally, carving)
keli'tul	kali'tul	ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving)
ta'aq-koi'ñɪn	ka'nča	tobacco-pipe (local Russian ганза, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup)
êmtê'-qal	——	(one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side)
yara'r-e'kkam	——	flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vesse')
aima'lqal	——	long brandy-keg (literally, thigh-bone)
ilh-u'kkäm	——	plate (literally, white vessel)

Russian loan-words are always modified to suit the phonetic character of the language. The Koryak, even those that have no *r*, retain, however, the Russian *r*.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Russian	
ča'qar	ča'qar	сахаръ	sugar
ta'aq	ta'wax	табакъ	tobacco
čai	čai	чай	tea
ko'nekon	ko'n·e	конь	horse
ko'čɪr	ko'čɪr	козырь (trump)	cards

čol	*čol*	соль	salt
toro'ma	*toro'wa*	здорово	how is your health?
če'čver	*če'čver*	четверть	quarter
koro'walhın	*koro'wa*	корова	cow
ka'čak	*ka'sak*	казакъ	cossack
ɛtto'l	*stoḷ*	столъ	table
torê'lqan	*tore'ḷka*	тарелка	plate

CHUKCHEE TEXT

The Woman Who Married the Moon[1]

E'nmen[2] qol[3] yara'čhın,[4] ñe'us·qät[5] ŭm[6] qol[3] ora'weʟa-
Once a certain house, woman certain human

ña'us·qat[7] uwä⁸'qučitä[8] ᴇ'nku[9] ge'tčilin,[10] e'nmen[2] gequ'pqäʟin,[11]
woman the husband to rejection used her, then she was starving,

elvetiñe'tä[12] gene'ʟin[13] em-qu'pqätä.[14] E'nmen[2] gıte'.[15] Qän·ve'r
crawling on she became just by starving. Then she was After that
all-fours   hungry.

ŭm[6] yara'čhın[4] lue'nin,[16] res·qi'wkwie,[17] čiče'pgie,[18] e'ur[19] teik-
a certain house she saw it, she entered she looked at the made
   about same time

evi'rın[20] gaimêi'vŭlên,[21] e'ur[19] ŭpa'lha[22] keme'ñı[23] geyı'reʟin,[24]
garments were hanging, at the with tallow a dish was full,
  same time

nıqamı'tvaqên[25] ŭm[6] e'nmen,[2] li'en· nıplı'tkuqin,[26] nıgınteu'qin[27]
she eats and then, just she finished, she fled

nota'gtı.[28]
to the country.

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[1] From W. Bogoras, Chukchee Texts; Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Vol. VIII, pp. 86-89.

[2] Once upon a time, also connective and then, then; always in narrative (p. 858).

[3] Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic *qụlị* is also used (§ 60, p. 732).

[4] Stem *ra* house; *yara* probably reduplication from *rara*; -*čhın* a particular one (§ 53, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense there was a particular house.

[5] Stem *ńeu* female; -*s·qät* a suffix, probably related to others in -*s·q*-, but not free. Absolute form as before.

[6] Particle, indicating that the whole story is well known to the narrator, and is supposed to be known to the hearer (§ 123, p. 849).

[7] *ora'wer*+*laⁱn* what belongs to the human race (§ 54, p. 717); *r*+*l* in contact form ʟ (§ 7, 17; p. 654) the strong vowels of the word produce ablaut in the second part of the compound (§ 3, p. 646) The first part of the compound has dropped the suffix -*n* of the absolute form (§ 115, p. 826).

[8] Subjective form in -*ta* (§§ 37, p. 697); here as subject of transitive verb (§ 92, p. 780).

[9] ᴇ'nku; verbal stem ᴇnk to reject, to refuse;—*u* suffix (§103.34) expressing purpose, depending upon the following verb.

[10] *rıtᴇı'rkın* or *rıtči'rkın* to make some one something (§ 79, p. 765); stem *rtč*—initial; *tč* medial :*ge—lin* nominalized verb (*b*) (§ 73, p. 758).

[11] Stem *qupq(ät)* to starve; *ge—lin* she who had attained a starving condition (§ 73); ʟ<*t*+ (§ 7).

[12] Stem *elvetiñ*, -*et* adverbial suffix (§ 110.70, p. 810); *ä* Nominal Form I,3 (§§ 64; 95, p. 786).

[13] Stem *nel* (§ 77); *ge-lin* (see note 10); ʟ<*l*+*l* (§ 7).

[14] *em*- mere (§ 113, 7, p. 816); *qupqät* to starve (see note 11; -*ä* Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95).

[15] *gıtteu* to be hungry.

[16] Stem *luⁱ* to see; -*nin* he—him (§ 67, p. 741).

[17] Stem *res·qiu* to enter; -*giⁱ* he (§ 64, p. 738); *wkw*<*u*+*g* (§§ 7.2; 72.4).

[18] Stem *čičep* related to *lilep* to look (§§ 2; 122, p. 834), also *čiče* to look; -*giⁱ* he (§ 64).

[19] § 128, p. 855.

[20] Stem *teik* to make; *evi'rın* garment, absolute form (§ 30, p. 691), here subject of intransitive verb (§ 91, p. 779); composition see § 116, 4, p. 830.

[21] Stem *yᴦm* to hang; suffix—*yv(u)* frequentative or intensive (§110.54); *gᴦ—lên* (§ 74, p. 760); with ablaut (§ 3).

[22] *ŭpg'lhın* tallow; subjective form in -*ạ̄* expressing modality (§§ 37, 92); with ablaut (§ 3).

[23] *keme'ñı* dish, absolute form in -*ñı* (§ 30); absolute form as subject of intr. verb (§ 91).

[24] *yır* full; with suffix -*et* (§ 110, 70); *ge—lin* (see note 10); ʟ<*t*+*l*.

[25] Stem *qạ̄m*, compounded with *tvg* to be; *n—qin* one who is performing an action (§ 73, p. 758); with ablaut (§ 3).

[26] Stem *pl* and suffix -*tku* (§ 110, 67), compare *plᾱgi* it is ended; *n—qin* see note 25.

[27] Stem *gᴦnt*; with suffix -*eu* (§ 110, 70); *n—qin* see note 25.

[28] Stem *nᴦtg*; -*gt* after vowel, allative (§ 40); ablaut (§ 3).

Qla'ul²⁹ pŭki'rgiᵉ³⁰ čeivutku'lın.³¹ Yiᵉ'lhin³² ŭm⁶ qu'num, räᵉ'nut.³³
A man   came   walking.   The moon   really,   what.

"Guq,   čêq-a'lvam-va'lın,³⁴   räᵉ'nut³³ lei'vurkin³⁵ qamıtvala'arkın,³⁶
"Oh,   quite extraordinary being,   what   is walking   is eating much,

u'kkäm-yı'riir³⁷ te'lpırkın.³⁸" Ne'me ırga'tık³⁹ ewkwe'tyiᵉ.⁴⁰
vessel-full   is finished."   Again   in the morning   he started.

Elve'lin⁴¹ li'en· ple'kıt⁴² nênai'pŭqênat,⁴³ na'qam eu'rrekᴇlin⁴⁴
Other ones   just   boots   he put on,   however   not appeared

ñe'wän.⁴⁵ Ne'me qätı',⁴⁶ e'ur¹⁹ ᴇnqa'n⁴⁷ ñe'us·qät⁵ pŭki'rgiᵉ,³⁰
a wife.   Again   he went, at the same   then   the woman   came,
                                    time

ŭpa'lhın²² ne'me luᵉ'nin.¹⁸ Qamıtvala'tyêᵉ,⁴⁸ qän·ve'r gın·kew'kwiᵉ.⁴⁹
the tallow   again   she saw it.   She ate much,   after that   she grew fatter.

Qla'ul²⁹ ŭm⁶ ne'me ragtıᵉ.⁵⁰ "Guq, u'nmuñ a'ni.⁵¹ Čêq-a'lvam-
The man   again   came home.   "Oh,   how bad!   Quite extraordinary

va'lın.³⁴ Räᵉ'nut³³ ıʟo'n⁵² qamıtvala'arkın ?³⁶ Kıta'm e'ur¹⁹ ırga'tık³⁹
being.   What   then   is eating much?   Well then   this   in the
                                                    time   morning

ečei'vutkukä⁵³ mi'tyäᵉk!"⁵⁴ Ne'me am-gınotılo'⁵⁵ ne'lyiᵉ.⁵⁶ Lu'ur⁵⁷
not going   let me be!"   Again   mere mid-day   it became.   Thereupon

ne'me ño'tı⁵⁸ ye'tyiᵉ,⁵⁹ res·qi'wkwiᵉ¹⁷ ŭm⁶ ne'me, takêčhê'tı⁶⁰ qäti'.⁴⁶
again behind there she came,   she entered   again,   to the meat   she went.

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²⁹ Probably reduplicated absolute form from a stem qla (qlaᵉl) (§ 29); q before consonant becomes ᵉ (§ 7); absolute form as subject of intransitive verb (§ 91).

³⁰ Stem pŭkir in initial position; pkir in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).

³¹ Stem čeivu, related to leivu (§§ 2, 122); -tku (§ 110, 67); -lın ONE WHO (§ 54). See note 35.

³² Absolute form; predicative.

³³ See § 59 p. 729; absolute form.

³⁴ čıq- EXCESSIVELY (§ 113, 15); ęlvę DIFFERENT; alvam-va'lın EXTRAORDINARY (§ 112, 82, p. 814) stem tva- TO BE, initial va- (§ 12.2, p. 661); -lın (§ 54).

³⁵ Stem leivu, related to čeivu (note 31); -rkin derived form (§§ 64, 87).

³⁶ See note 25; derived form (§§ 64, 87); -let FREQUENTATIVE, (§ 110.53 with t dropping out in intervocalic position (§ 10).

³⁷ u'kkäm DISH, stem yir FULL, here reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

³⁸ Stem telp; derived form (see note 35).

³⁹ Stem·ırg dawn; a locative form (§ 38). Compare ırgıro'ñnoi IT BEGAN TO DAWN 9.13; ırgıro'k at dawn 10.3.

⁴⁰ Stem ewkw with suffix -et (§ 110, 70); ty < t+ g (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴¹ elve DIFFERENT, OTHER; -lin absolute form (§ 60.3); singular and instead of plural (§ 46, p. 709). The strong form alva signifies AWAY!

⁴² Plural.

⁴³ Stem ipŭ; prefix ine- making transitive verb intransitive, here passive (§ 113, 28); n—qin, ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73), plural because referring to ple'kıt: THOSE THAT ARE BEING PUT ON (§ 74); with ablaut (§ 3).

⁴⁴ Stem urr(eu) often medially wurr; e—kᴇlin negation (§ 114, 4; p. 824).

⁴⁵ Derived from ñeu FEMALE.

⁴⁶ Stem medially lqät; 3d person past, more frequently qä'tyiᵉ; ty < t+g (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴⁷ Demonstrative (§ 57).

⁴⁸ See note 36, ty < t+g (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴⁹ Stem gın·k+eu (§ 110, 70); wkw < u+g (§ 7.2).

⁵⁰ From ra house, probably the allative form ragtı which serves here as verbal stem: tıᵉ < t-qıᵉ with ablaut (§§ 3, 7).

⁵¹ Particles (§ 128, p. 853).

⁵² § 128, p. 852.

⁵³ Stem čeivu, see notes 31 and 35; -tku (§ 110, 67); e—kä negation (§ 114, 4), see also note 44.

⁵⁴ Stem it to be, 1st person subj. (a); ty < t+g (§ 7. 26).

⁵⁵ em- MERE (§ 113, 7); gıno'n middle; ılo'-, aᵉlo' DAY.

⁵⁶ Stem nel- TO BECOME; ly < l+g (§7): see Note 13.

⁵⁷ § 126, p. 868.

⁵⁸ Demonstrative particle (§ 57).

⁵⁹ Stem yet- TO COME.

⁶⁰ teki'čhin MEAT; allative form in -éti (§§ 53, 40).

Ne′me ečhi čit[61] qamɪ′tvarkɪn,[62] lu′ur[57] pi′rinin.[63]
Again   before   as be-   she ate,   therenpon   he took her.
      fore

"Akakaka′! ilu′kä[64]   a′lva!"[41]   nɪqama′graqên.[65] "Gu, e′uñan[66]
"Ah, ah, ah!   motionless   away!"   she struggled.   "Oh,   so

gɪna′n."[67]—"Gu′nä, a′lva,[41] qine′rrilhi[ε]![68]—"Gu′nä, ilu′kä.[64]   Qarê′m[69]
thon."   –   "Oh,   away!   let me go!"   –   "Oh   motionless.   Not

mɪnre′qewkur,[70]   mɪmñɪlo′ur.[71]   Gɪk,   ia′m   nɪlei′vutku-ĭ·gɪr ?[72]
I shall do anything to thee,   I will qnestion thee.   Oh,   why   art thon walking abont?

Qai′vê gêtɪ′nvê-gɪr ?"[73]—"Ui′ñä."[74]—"E′mim ?"—"Uwä[ε′]qučitä[8] ɛ′nku[9]
Indeed   thon hast a master?"   –   "No."   –   "Where is he?"   –   "My hnsband   to rejection

gine′tčilin,[75]   gênančaatvau′lên,[76]   ginenqu′pqeulin."[77] — "En·qa′m[78]
nsed me,   he cast me off,   he let me starve."   –   "Then

va′nêvan[79] wu′tku[80] yara′čɪku[81] re′qän[82] qinelu[ε′]rkɪn."[83]—"Va′nê-
not at all   here   inside of the   something   thon hast seen."   – "Nothing."
           honse

van."[79]   "Guq, a′mên[84] ŭm, mɪmata′gɪt."[85]
       "Oh, then   let me marry thee."

Ma′tanên.[86] Ne′me   čei′vutkui[ε].[87]   Wulqätvi′k[88]   ŭm[6]   pŭki′rɪ.[89]
He married her.   Again   he walked.   In the evening   he came.

---

[61] Before, formerly (§ 127, p. 848).

[62] See notes 25, 36, 48; here *qamɪtva*, derived tense in *-rkɪn* (§§ 64, 87).

[63] Stem *piri* to take; *-nin* he—him (§ 67).

[64] *ilu* TO MOVE; *e—ka* negation (§ 114, 4). The initial *e* is contracted with the *i* of the stem.

[65] Stem *qama′gra*; *n—qên* (§ 73); with ablant (§ 3).

[66] § 126, p. 855.

[67] Snbjective form (§ 56); presnmably as snbject of an idea like YOU HAVE EATEN IT.

[68] Stem initial *rɪrrɪl*, medial *rrɪl*; *ine-* (§§ 67; 113. 28); *q—gi[ε]* imperative 2d person sing.

[69] Negation with exhortatlve meaning (§ 131.2).

[70] Medial form of the causative prefix—*n*; stem *raq* WHAT, SOMETHING; *—eu* (§ 110.70); predicative form of the indefinite pronoun; *m—gɪt* LET ME—THEE, snbjnnctive (§ 67); *wku<u+g*; in place of *gɪt* we have here and in the next word the alternating form *gɪr*.

[71] Stem *pñɪlo*; initial form *pɪnlo-*: medial form *-mñɪlo-*; *m—gɪt* LET ME—THEE, see note 70.

[72] Stem *leivu*, see notes 31, 35, 53; *-tku* (§§ 110, 67); predicative form of nominalized verb (§ 73).

[73] Stem *êtɪnv* MASTER (§§ 48, 73).

[74] NO (§ 131.6).

[75] See note 10; here with the prefix *-ine-* referring to the first person (§ 73).

[76] See note 75, the same form; stem *-čggtv-*; *r—gu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

[77] See note 75, the same form; stem *qupq* TO STARVE (see note 11); *r—gu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

[78] Conjnnction (§ 128, p. 858).

[79] § 131.1.

[80] Demonstrative (§ 57); as particle *vai*; stem *wyt-*; locative in *-k*.

[81] See note 4; *-čɪku* inside of, nominal (§ 101, 24).

[82] *rgq* SOMETHING; here absolnte form (irregular) used as object with the verbs *iu* TO SAY, *lu[ε]* TO SEE

[83] Stem *lu[ε]* TO SEE; derived tense in *-rkɪn* (§ 64); *ine-* (§ 113. 28); *q-* imperative (§ 64); here used as a past (§ 85).

[84] Conjnnction (§ 128, p. 853).

[85] Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; snbjnnctive (*a*), *m—gɪt* LET ME—THEE (§ 67).

[86] Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; *-nin* HE—HER (§ 67).

[87] Stem *čeivu+tku*, see notes 31, 35, 53. The *g* of the ending *-gi[ε]* has dropped ont on acconnt of its intervocalic position.

[88] Stem *wulq* EVENING, compare *wu′s·q* DARKNESS; a locative form (§ 38); *-tvi* to become (§ 110, 68)

[89] Initial stem *pŭkir*, medial *pkir*; abbreviated termination for *-gi[ε]*.

I'wkwi[e90] En·ño't[91] ñawanê'ti,"[92] "En·ñe'[93] a'ntoka[94] ralkočikoı'pŭ.[95]
He said   thus   to his wife,   "Don't   not going   from the inside of the
                                              out   inner room.

Mınre's·qıumık,[96] li'en· čot-tagnê'tı[97] ple'kıt[42] qäni'ntıññınet."[98]
Let us enter,   just pillow edge to   boots   throw them."

E'nmen[2] ri'ntıninet.[99] E'nmen[2] lu'ur[57] vai[100] keme'ñı[23], em-keme'ñi[55]
Then   she threw them.   Then   there-   here   a dish,   a mere dish
                                    upon

res·qi'wkwi[e],[17] e'un[101] ere'tä[102] geyı'reᴌin.[103] Qamı'tvaa[e]t,[104] ne'me
came in,   then   with   being full.   They ate,   again
                  boiled meat

li'en· ne'nvuä[e]n[105] keme'ñı,[23] ırga'tık[39] ŭm[6] kıye'wkwä[e]t.[106] E'un[101]
just   they put out   the dish,   in the morn-   they awoke.   At that
                                    ing   time

keme'ñı[23] gite'nin[107] ñe'us·qätä,[108]   genu'mkeulin[109].
the dish   she saw it   the woman,   it was put in its proper place.

Ne'me čei'vutkui[e].[87] Ge'lvulin,[110]—"Gık,ırga'tık[39] ŭm[6] mınine'tčımık[111]
Again   he went.   He obtained a   Oh, to-morrow   let us have a thanks-
                    wild reindeer,—   giving ceremonial.

Tai'ñıkwut[112] en·ñe'[93] gına'n[67] enne'kä[113] qäntı'gınet."[114] E'un[101]
The charm-strings   don't   thou   not carry   have them for   And so
                              out   ones being thus."

nayopa'tya[e]n[115] êna'tčıyo[116] ılvılu',[117] e'un[101] tai'ñıkwut[112] gene'ᴌinet.[118]
they went to it   made to be the   wild rein-   and so   the charm-   were on it.
                  thanksgiving   deer,   strings
                  ceremonial

Ģuq, yılqä'tyä[e]t.[119]   Irga'tık[39]   ŭm[6]   kıye'wkwä[e]t,[106]   ne'me
Oh,   they slept.   Next morning   they awoke,   again

[90] Stem iu; suffix -gi[e]; wkw<u+g (§ 7).
[91] See § 58, p. 727.
[92] Stem ñewän wife: -ẹti ALLATIVE (§ 40).
[93] § 131.3.
[94] Initial stem ñıto, medial nto TO GO OUT; ᵷ—kä not (§ 114.4).
[95] Stem reᴌku; -čıku interior (§ 101. 24); -ıpŭ ablative (§ 42).
[96] Stem res·qiu TO ENTER; subjunctive (a), mın—mık LET US (§ 64); see Note 17.
[97] čot PILLOW; te'gin edge; -ẹti ALLATIVE (§ 40); PILLOW-EDGE i. e. THE OUTER TENT.
[98] Stem int; r- to cause to (§ 114. 1 c); qä—ñınet THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).
[99] Stem and prefix as in note 98; -ninet HE—THEM (§ 67).
[100] Demonstrative particle; stem wut- (§ 57, p. 723). See note 80.
[101] § 128, p. 855.
[102] e'ret boiled meat; -ä instrumental (§ 37)
[103] Stem yır FULL. See note 24.
[104] See notes 25, 36, 48, 62; here 3d per. plur. ending -gä[e]t, with intervocalic g dropping out; ablaut (§ 3).
[105] Stem nvu.
[106] Initial stem kıy+eu, medial gg+eu, suffix -eu; wkw<u+g (§ 7).
[107] Stem gite TO SEE, -nin HE—HIM (§ 67).
[108] See note 5, -ä SUBJECTIVE as subject of transitive verb.
[109] Transitive prefix r—, in medial position -n -(§ 114.1); Stem umk+eu (§ 110. 70); ge—lin (§ 73).
[110] Stem ılv WILD REINDEER, -u to consume (§ 111, 71); ge—lin (§ 73).
[111] Stem inetč TO HAVE A THANKSGIVING CEREMONIAL (perhaps ine+tč but never used without ine; cf. Kor. Kam. ina-čaxᵬ-at); subjunctive (a), mın—mık LET US (§ 64).
[112] tai'ñıkulhın pl. tai'ñıkut MISFORTUNE-PROTECTOR; Stem taiña TO TRESPASS; -kwk protector (§105.43).
[113] 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 rne, medial nne.
[114] Initial stem rt, medial nt; qä—gınet THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).
[115] Stem ygpgt to visit; nᵷ—gä[e]n THEY—HIM (§ 67).
[116] Stem inetč, see note 111; -yo past participle (§ 107, 47); ablaut (§ 3).
[117] Stem ılv, absolute reduplicated form (§ 29).
[118] Stem nel; ge—linet, 3d person plural (§ 73).
[119] Stem yılqät TO SLEEP; ty<t+g (§ 7).

čei'vutkurkɪn.[87] "Reᵉqŭm[82] a'mên[84] i'unin,[120] 'Ño'onqan[121] če'ñɪl[122]
he was going.   "What   then   he said to her,   'That   trunk

en·ñe'[93] enve'ntetkä[123] qäntɪ'rkɪn.[124] En·ñe'[93] pegčɪ'ñu[125] e'lhikä.[126]
don't   not opened   · have it for one   Don't   for object of   not having it
                 that is thus.   concern   as one.

A'lɪmɪ[127] quwalo'mŭrkɪn[128] ŭm[6] vê'tɪ.'"[129]
However   obey   truly.

Gɪk, e'nmen[2] čei'vutkui[ᵉ],[87] če'ñɪl[122] ruwentečewiu'nin.[130] E'un[101]
Oh,   then   he went,   the trunk   she opened it.   And so

ɛ'n·kɪ[131] ñe'usqät[5] nênanva'tqên,[132] en'men[2] luᵉ'lqäl[133] čɪña'ta[134] va'lɪn,[84]
there   a woman   was placed   then   destined to   split   being
                                 be a face

qača'kên[135] leᵉ'qač[136] nu'uqin,[137] qol[138] ŭm[6] ničêᵉ'Loqên[139] leᵉ'qač.[136]
one side   side of face   black,   the other   red   side of face.

E'nmen[2] ñe'us·qät[5] yɪkɪ'rga[140] puke'nnin:[141] "Pr·!"
Then   the woman   with mouth   made a noise at her: "Pr!"

E'nmen[2] gite'nin,[107] e'ur[19] ñan[142] vai[100] viᵉ'iᵉ,[143] pêkagta'tyêᵉ.[144]
Then   she saw her,   at that   that one   here   died,   she fell down.
                        time

E'nmen[2] rɪnênnoma'nnên,[145] mɪñkri[146] nayɪlhau'qên,[147] qailo'qim.[14]
Then   she closed it,   how   she was afraid   of course.

Pŭki'rgiᵉ-m[149] uwäᵉ'quč.[150] Res·qi'wkwäᵉt.[151] Va'nêvan[79] nɪ'tvɪnên,[152]
He came   the husband.   They entered.   Nothing   she told him,

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[120] Stem *iu* TO SAY; *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).
[121] THAT YONDER, independent form (§ 57, p. 723).
[122] Absolute form (§ 28).
[123] Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r—et* CAUSEATIVE (§ 114, 1); *e—kä* negation (§ 114, 4).
[124] Stem *rt*, see note 114; derived form (§ 67).
[125] *pegčɪñ* CONCERN; *-nu* SERVING FOR (§ 103. 34).
[126] Stem *-lñ* (§ 78); *e—kä* negation (§ 114, 4).
[127] Disjunctive conjunction (§ 128, p. 854).
[128] Stem *walom* TO HEAR; imperative of derived form (§ 64).
[129] Particle (§ 128, p. 863).
[130] Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r—et* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); *-čewiu* contracted from—*čet—yw(u)*, (§100.54,56); she opened it with great care and after several attempts; *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).
[131] Locative.
[132] *n-ĕnq-n-vg-t-qĕn* (§ 74; also § 114.1).
[133] § 103.37.
[134] Stem *čɪñ*; suffix—*at;* verbal noun in *-(t)ä* dependent on the following participle *va'lɪn.*
[135] *qₐčg'kĕn* belonging to one side (§ 47).
[136] *lуᵉ* FACE; *-qač* SIDE OF (§ 101, 26).
[137] See § 49.
[138] See § 60, p. 732.
[139] *n—qin* (§ 49)
[140] *yɪkɪ'rqₗn* MOUTH; *-a* subjective (§ 37).
[141] *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).
[142] Demonstrative (§ 57).
[143] Stem *viᵉ* TO DIE, *viᵉ'iᵉ <viᵉ'giᵉ* with loss of intervocalic *g* (§ 10).
[144] Stem *pêkagt-;* suffix—*at*
[145] Stem *om(r); r—at* (§114.1); *n-ĕn-n* prefixes, *n—n* transitive, *ĕn-* intransitive (?).
[146] Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 727)
[147] *ayɪlhau; n—qin* (§ 73).
[148] Particle (§ 128, p. 871).
[149] Contraction of *ŭm.*
[150] Absolute form (§ 28).
[151] Ending *wkwäᵉt <u-gäᵉt.*
[152] Initial stem *tuw; medial tvu; nɪ—nĕn* (§67, Ia 6).

e′nmeč[153] ŭm[6] nayɪlhau′nên.[154]   Ple′kɪt[42] ri′ntɪninet[99] čot-tagñê′tɪ,[97]
because   she feared him.   The boots   she threw   pillow-edge to,
                                                 them out

e′nmen[2] a′tčak-[155] luwa′wkwaᵉt[156] kama′gtɪ.[157]
then   to wait   they were unable   for the dish.

Ģuq, uwäᵉ′quč[150] ure′wkwiᵉ,[158]   "Ģuq,   qa′ko.   Tɪte′ñet-ve′rɪn.[159]
Oh,   the husband   appeared,   "Oh   It is wonderful

Enřa′q[160] e′mi?[161]   Qai′vᴇ e′ʟe[162] če′ñɪl[122] i′nenvente′tkäl-i-gɪt?"[163] —
Now   where is it? Indeed   not   the trunk   not you opened it?"   —

"E′ʟe."[162]   —   "Na′qam ŭm e′mi? Ģu′nä quwalo′mŭrkɪn,[164]
"No."   —   "However   where is it? Do   listen,

qatvu′gun!"[165]   Qän·ve′r   tu′wnên,[166]   "Emɪte′tɪm[167]   tɪgite′äᵉn.[164]
tell!"   After that she told him,   "Namely   "I saw her.

Inegite′kälin,[169]   e′ʟe.[162]   Yɪkɪ′rga[140]   tɪpuke′tyäᵉk,[170]   lu′ur[57]
She did not see me,   no.   With the mouth   I made a noise,   thereupon

kaplêta′tyê.ᵉ"[171]
she fell down."

Ģuq, č′êq-a′lvaɪn-va′l-ê-gɪt.[172]   Ia′m agêro′lkäl-ê-gɪt?[173] Atta′um[174]
Oh,   quite extraordinary you are.   Why   dost thou not obey?   With reason

e′un[101] uwäᵉ′qučitä[8] ᴇ′nku[9] ge′tčɪgɪt.[175] Ya′rar[176] rai qine′ilhi."[177]
and so   the husband   from   deserted thee.   Drum   behind there give me."
                          there

E′nmen[2] rɪnɪrgɪrgeu′nin.[178]   E′nmen[2] ei′uiᵉ.[179] En·qa′m[78] lu′ur[57]
Then   he drummed on it.   Then   she revived.   Then   there-
                                                                      upon

gagtan·ñɪnai′pŭlên,[180] keme′ñɪ[23] gereli′s·qičeʟin.[181]
she was quite angry,   the dish   she pushed in strongly.

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[153] See § 128, p. 859.
[154] See note 147, transitive form; n—nên (67, Ia 6).
[155] a′tča TO WAIT (§ 95, p. 786).
[156] Initial stem luw+au, medial lv+au TO BE UNABLE ; 3 p. pl.
[157] From keme′ñɪ dish; -gtɪ ALLATIVE; with ablaut (§ 3).
[158] Initial stem ur +eu.
[159] It is a wonder! (Interjection).
[160] From demonstrative stem ᴇn.
[161] Interrogative adverb.
[162] Negation (§ 131.5).
[163] Stem vent, see notes 123, 130; r—et CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); i—kälin NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person verbalized noun (§ 73).
[164] Stem valom TO HEAR, LISTEN, OBEY, see note 128; derived tense, imperative.
[165] Stem tuw, see note 152; imperative.
[166] Stem tuw; -nin HE—HIM; with ablaut (§ 3).
[167] em-ɪte′t-um (§ 128, p. 857).
[168] Stem gite TO SEE; tɪ—gäᵉn I—HIM.
[169] Stem gite TO SEE; ine- (§ 67); i—kälin negation (§ 114, 4).
[170] Stem puket; tɪ—gäᵉk I—, intransitive (§ 64).
[171] 3d person sing.
[172] See note 34; 2d person, nominatized verb (§ 73).
[173] Stem gêrgl TO OBEY; e—kälin negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person sing.
[174] atau′-ŭm BUT WITH SOME REASON (§ 128, p. 854).
[175] 2d person nominatized verb (§ 73).
[176] Absolute form, perhaps for rar-rar (§ 29).
[177] Stem yɪl; q-ine—giᵉ THOU—ME, imperative; transitive form.
[178] r—eu TO CAUSE; -nin HE—HIM.
[179] Stem ei′u, with vocalic u; therefore with loss of intervocalic g of the suffix -giᵉ.
[180] -gtɪ very (§ 113, 22); stem an·ñɪn ANGER; ɪpŭ TO PUT ON; ge—lin (§ 73).
[181] Stem reli; -s·qičet INTENSITY (§ 110, 59); ge—lin (§ 73).

Irga'tɪk[39] ŭm[6] kɪye'wkwäᵋt,[106] rɪle'rkɪnin.[182] I'unin,[120] "Atta'um[174]
In the   they awoke,   he carried her   He said to   "With reason
morning   (back).   her,

uwäᵋ'qučitä[8] ᴇ'nku[9] ge'tčɪgɪt.[175] Opo'pə[183] garai'-gɪt,[184] mɪnle'gɪt."[185]
the husband   from   he deserted thee.   Let!   thou hast a   let me carry thee
                there   house,   (back)."

ᴇʟɪ'gêtɪ[186] rɪle'nnin,[187] rɪpkire'nnin,[188] mata'lɪn[189] i'unin,[120] "Guq,
To the father he carried her   he took her,   to the father-   he said to   "Oh,
                  (back),   in-law   him,

a'mên[84] ŭm gŭmna'n[190] iᵋ'tɪk[191] gɪnr̆ɪ'tɪk[192] tɪlva'wkwaᵋn."[193]
then   I   indeed   watching   I could not do her."

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[182] Stem *rle; initial rɪle, medial nle; derived form; -nin ʜᴇ——ʜɪᴍ (§ 67).

[183] An exhortative particle (§ 128, p. 862).

[184] Stem ra ʜᴏᴜꜱᴇ; gara'lin ʜᴇ ᴡʜᴏ ʜᴀꜱ ᴀ ʜᴏᴜꜱᴇ; 2d person sing. (§ 73).

[185] Stem *rle, see note 182; mɪn——gɪt ʟᴇᴛ ᴍᴇ——ᴛʜᴇᴇ.

[186] ᴇʟɪ'gɪn ꜰᴀᴛʜᴇʀ; allative (§ 40).

[187] Stem *rle, see note 182; -nin ʜᴇ——ʜɪᴍ.

[188] Stem pkir to come; rɪ——eu causative (§114, 1); -niɴ ʜᴇ——ʜɪᴍ.

[189] From mata ᴛᴏ ᴛᴀᴋᴇ, ᴛᴏ ᴍᴀʀʀʏ; absolute form.

[190] Subjective form (§ 56).

[191] Adverbial.

[192] gɪnr̆ɪt ᴛᴏ ᴡᴀᴛᴄʜ verbal noun in -k depending on the verb lvau.

[193] Initial stem luv+au, medial lv+au cannot; tɪ——gaᵋn ɪ——ʜɪᴍ.

KORYAK TEXT

Little-Bird-Man and Raven-Man[a]

Valvɪmtɪlaᵉ′ninti¹ ᴇ′ččɪ² Pĭči′qalaᵉn³ ñawɪnyoñvo′yke⁴ Quyqɪmn·a
Raven-Man the two   they   Little-Bird-Man   wanted for a wife   at Great-

qu′yɪk.⁵   Quyqɪnn·a′qu   Pĭče′qala ᵉnañ⁶   gaimanñɪvo′ykɪn,⁷   e′wañ,⁸
Raven's.   Great-Raven   to Little-Bird-Man   had desired,   he said,

Gŭmna′n⁹   ñawa′kak¹⁰   Pĭče′qalaᵉnañ⁶   tɪyai′lɪñɪn.″¹¹   Miti′   e′wañ,⁸
"I   daughter   to Little-Bird-Man   I shall give her."   Miti   said,

"Gŭmna′n⁹   ñawa′kak¹⁰   Valvɪ′mtɪlaᵉnañ⁶   tɪyai′lɪñɪn ″¹¹   Vaᵉ′yuk Val-
"I   daughter   to Raven-Man   I shall give her."   Afterwards Raven-

vɪ′mtɪlaᵉn³   vɪ′n·va   ñɪtoi′kɪn,¹²   aᵉla′ta¹³   awyeñvo′ykɪn,¹⁴   attaᵉ′wawa¹⁵
Man   secretly   went out,   with excre-   he ate,   with dog carrion
                                ment

awyeñvo′ykɪn.¹⁴   Kɪyaw′laike,¹⁶   ᴇ′nkɪ¹⁷   vañvolai′ke¹⁸   qapa′au¹⁹   qu′tti²⁰
he ate.   They awoke,   there   are lying   wolverine   some
                                          (skins)

iᵉu′wi.²¹   Newñɪvo′ykɪnenat,²²   "Mi′kinak²³   ga′nmɪlenau?″²⁴   Valvɪ′m-
wolf (skins).   They began to say to both,   "Who   killed them?"   Raven-

tɪlaᵉn,³ " Gumna′n." ⁹
Man,   "I."

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1 -laᵉn HAVING THE QUALITY OF (§ 48); -inti dual of personal nouns (§ 35).

2 Personal pronoun, 3d person dual, absolute form.

3 -laᵉn as in note 1;

4 ñaw WOMAN; i auxiliar vowel; -nyu TO WORK AS A HERDSMAN; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110, 63); -yke derived form, 3d person dual (§ 65). See Publications Jesup Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 579.

5 Quyqɪn RAVEN; used only in augmentative; -n·dqu AUGMENTATIVE (§ 98.2); y(i) personal plural suffix for-wgi (§ 35); -k LOCATIVE (§ 38).

6 -nañ ALLATIVE used with personal nouns (§ 41).

7 gaimat TO DESIRE; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykɪn derived form (§ 65).

8 Stem iu TO SAY. Irregular adverbial form, used as a quotative, SAYS HE.

9 Subjective form (§ 56).

10 ñaw FEMALE; akak SON.

11 tɪ- I; ya- FUTURE; yɪl- stem TO GIVE; -ñɪn HIM, future (§ 68).

12 ñɪto TO GO OUT; -ikɪn derived form, 3d person singular.

13 Subjective here as instrumental; stem aᵉl EXCREMENT.

14 Stem awyi; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykɪn derived form, 3d person ing. (§ 68).

15 attaᵉ DOG; awaw CARRION; subjective here as instrumental.

16 Stem kɪyau TO AWAKE; -laike 3d. per. plural, derived form.

17 Locative adverb.

18 Stem tva TO BE, in initial position va (§ 18, p. 674); -ñvo TO BEGIN; -laike 3d per. pl., derived form.

19 qapa′au, plural in u (§ 34, p. 732).

20 Non-personal form, dual (§ 60, p. 695).

21 For iᵉu′wgi plural (§ 34).

22 Stem iu TO SAY; -ñɪvo TO BEGIN; n—ykɪnenat derived form, 3d per. dual (§ 68, p. 744).

23 Subjective form (§ 39).

24 Stem tɪm, in medial position nɱ TO KILL (§ 18); ga—lɪnau nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d per. pl. (§ 74).

Va^{ɛ'}yuk gawya'lyoḷen,[25] qo'npŭ ɛnña^{ɛ'}an[26] ama'ḷatča.[27] Quyqınn·a-
Afterwards a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting Great-
better.

qu'nak[28] gewñıvo'ḷenat,[29] "Toq, qamaḷıtva'thıtık![30] Ma'kı[31] yamaḷı-
Raven told the two of them, "There, ye two make it better! Who makes it

tva'tıñ,[32] ña'nyen[33] tıyannawtıña'nñın."[34] Valvı'mtıḷa^ɛn, "Ğŭ'mma[35]
better, to that one I shall give the wife." Raven-Men, "I

mımaḷıtva'tık."[36] E'wañ,[8] "Qinatinuñḷa'tık!"[37] Ñınvo'q pḷa'kıḷñu[38]
shall make it better." He said, "Prepare the provisions for A number of boots
me!"

gatai'kılinau.[39] Ğa'ḷqaʟın.[40] ɛ'nkı[17] vañvo'ykın[41] e'n·nııgenka,[42]
they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff,

yenotčoñvo'ykın.[43] Pıči'qaḷa^ɛn[3] ñıtoñvo'ykın,[44] ɛnke'[17] vañvo'ykın,[41]
he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out. there he stayed,

awyeñvo'ykın.[14] Čemya'q Pıčeqaḷanai'tıñ[45] Valvı'mtıḷa^ɛn[3] aqa-ʟapñı-
he ate. Of course on Little-Bird-Man Raven-Man badly

vo'ykın.[46] Pıči'qaḷa^ɛn yaḷqı'wikın,[47] ui'ñä i'wka[48] enñıvo'ykın.[49]
looked. Little-Bird- entered, not saying he was.
Man

Valvı'mtıḷa^ɛn ɛ'nkı[17] va'ykın.[41] Enña^{ɛ'}an[26] qo'npŭ vuyaḷanñıvo'ykın,[50]
Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm,

ui'ña ama'ḷatča.[27] Ğo, va^{ɛ'}yuk gaya'ḷqiwlin,[51] ı'mı-pḷa'ku[52] gaqi'tilinau,[53]
not not it became Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen,
better.

qačı'n pḷakgeñe'tıñ[54] na^{ɛ'}čañvoqen,[55] iñı'nñinık pḷa'ku[52] gaqi'tilinau.[53]
mean- into the boots he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.
while

"Qïyïme'wun, i'ya^ɛn[71] gači'malin." Va^{ɛ'}yuk Pıči'kaḷa^ɛn gewñıvo'ḷen,[56]
"Impossible, heaven is broken." Then Little-Bird-Man they said to him,

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[25] Stem in initial position *vuyaḷ* medial *wygḷ; yy̦* verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811) *ga—ḷin* nominalized form of intransitive verb (§ 73).

[26] Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 876).

[27] Stem *maḷ* GOOD; *a- tča* negative (§ 114, 4).

[28] Subjective in *-nak* (§ 39).

[29] Stem *iu* TO TELL; *-ñıvɒ* TO BEGIN; *ga—ḷinat* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. dual (§ 74).

[30] Stem *maḷ* GOOD; *tva* TO BE; *q—ɡıtık* imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).

[31] Absolute form (§ 58, p. 726).

[32] *ya-* future.

[33] Absolute form of demonstrative (§ 57).

[34] *tıya-* 1st pers. sing. future; *-ñın* 3d pers. sing. object.

[35] Absolute form (§ 56).

[36] 1st person sing. exhortative, intransitive.

[37] *qina—ḷatık* imperative, YE—ME; *t(a)—ñ* TO MAKE (§114.2); *inu* PROVISIONS.

[38] Stem *pḷak* BOOT; *-ḷñın* (§ 52); *-u* PLURAL; more frequently *pḷa'ku*.

[39] Stem *taikı* TO MAKE; *ga—ḷinau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 74).

[40] Stem *ḷqat* TO GO; nominalized form, 3d pers. sing. (§ 73).

[41] Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO STAY; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykın* derived form.

[42] *-ɡıñ* BASE (§ 101.21), locative.

[43] *ye-* DESIDERATIVE; *nu* TO EAT; *-tču* intensive action § 110.67); *-ñıvɒ* TO BEGIN; *-ykın* derived form.

[44] Stem *ñıto* TO GO OUT; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykın* derived form.

[45] *-ıtı* allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).

[46] Stems *aqa* BAD; *lıḷa* TO SEE; *yp* TO PUT ON; *ñıvo-ykın* as in note 44.

[47] *ya'ḷqiu*, Ch. *re's·qiw* TO ENTER; derived form.

[48] Stem *iu* TO SAY; *a—ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *a* contracted with *i* to *i*.

[49] Stem *it*; *-ñıvo-ykın* as in note 44.

[50] Stem *vuyɡḷ* in medial position *wyɡḷ; -at* (§ 110.70) (see note 25).

[51] *yaḷqiw* TO ENTER (see note 47); *ga—ḷin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

[52] *ımı* ALL (§ 113.6); *-u* plural (§ 34).

[53] *qit* FROZEN; *ga—ḷinau* nominalized verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 73).

[54] *pḷak* BOOT; *ɡıñ* BOTTOM; *-ıtı* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

[55] *a^ɛča* URINE; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *n—qin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

[56] Compare note 29; here 3d pers. sing.

"Toq, gɪnya'q[57] qmalatva't!"[58]—"Qỉyỉmeɛ'en, gɪ'niw[59] gŭ'mma[35]
"Oh, thou now make it well!" — "Impossible, like to thee I

tɪyanto'ykɪn,[60] plakgeñe'tɪñ[54] tɪyaaɛčañvo'ykɪn?"[61] Ģewñɪvo'lenau[62]
shall go out, into the boots shall I urinate?" He said to them

Quyqɪnn·aqu'nak,[28] "Qalqala'tɪk,[63] kɪtta'ñ aña'wtɪñka!"[64] Vaɛ'yuk
Big-Raven "Go away, there unmarried!" Then

gewñɪvo'len,[62] "Atau'-qun." Qo'La[65] ača'pil[66] ga'kmiLin,[67] qalte'nñɪn,[68]
he said, "Well now." Some small fat he took," a stopper,

wŭlpa'pel;[69] ga'lqaLin[70] eɛe'tɪ,[71] gayɪ'ñalin,[72] gala'lin,[73] iyaɛ'kin[74]
a little shovel; he went to the sky, he flew up, he came, the sky's

čêma'thɪtñɪn[75] qalte'nña[76] gai'pɪlen,[77] ača'pil[66] eeɛ'tɪñ[71] gani'ñalin;[78]
cleft with the stopper he closed, little fat to the sky he threw;

pɪče' gama'lalin.[79]
for a it grew better.
while

Ģŭ'mlañ gayai'tɪlen,[80] gŭ'mlañ gawyaLyo'len.[25] Ña'nyen[33]
Again he went home, again there was a snowstorm. That

qalte'nñɪn[68] ganqu'lin[81] yayačɪkoi'tɪñ,[82] nɛpplu'qin[83] mi'qun. E'wañ,[8]
stopper came out into the house, small one even. He said,

"Qỉyỉme'wun. I'yaɛn[71] gači'malin." Quyqɪnn·aqu'nak[28] qalte'nñɪn[68]
"Impossible. The sky is broken." Big-Raven the stopper

va'sqɪn gatai'kɪlin[39] nɪma'yɪñqin[83] gei'lɪLin,[84] a'čɪn[66] o'pta nɪma'yɪñqin[83]
another one he made a large one he gave it, fat also large

gei'lɪLin.[84] Ģa'lqaLin[70] gŭ'mlañ, panenai'tɪñ[85] gayi'ñalin.[72] Ģala'lin,[73]
he gave. He went again to the former place he flew. He came,

pa'nena[85] ña'nyen[33] qalte'nñɪn[68] mal-kit[86] ga'npɪlen,[87] tala'wga[88]
that time that stopper well he closed it, with a mallet

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[57] gɪn- thou; -yaq indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.

[58] Stems mal, tva WELL, TO BE; imperative.

[59] Second person personal pronoun gɪn- (§ 56; 129, p. 878 under yaq).

[60] tɪya- I, future; stem ñɪto, medial nto; derived form.

[61] See note 55. 1st pers. sing. future, derived form.

[62] See notes 29, 56; here 3d pers. pl. instead of dual.

[63] Stem lqat TO GO; qa—latɪk imperative, dual.

[64] a—ka NEGATION (§ 114, 4); ñaw WOMAN.

[65] Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).

[66] ača FAT: -pil SMALL (§ 100.15).

[67] Stem akmɪt; ga—lin nominalized verb (§ 74).

[68] Absolute form (§ 30).

[69] -pɪl small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.

[70] Stem lqat TO GO (see note 63); ga—lin nominalized verb (§ 73).

[71] Absolute form i'yaɛn SKY; -ɛti allative.

[72] Stem yɪña TO FLY UP; ga—lin nominalized verb.

[73] Stem initial tɪla, medial la TO MOVE, TO GO; ga—lin as before.

[74] Belonging to the sky (§ 47).

[75] Absolute form.

[76] Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92).

[77] Stem aip TO STOP UP, CLOSE; ga—lin as before, here with ablaut.

[78] Stem iñla (Ch. ɪnt) TO THROW; ga-lin nominalized verb.

[79] Stem mal GOOD.

[80] Stem yait (allative of ya HOUSE) TO GO HOME.

[81] Stem yɪqu, medial nqu TO COME LOOSE, TO COME OUT (like a plug out of a hole).

[82] Stems yaya- HOUSE; -čɪku INSIDE; -itɪ ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

[83] plu SMALL; n—qin (§ 49) ma'y(ɪ)ñ LARGE.

[84] Stem yɪl, medial ylɪ TO GIVE; geilɪlɪn instead of gai'lɪLin irregular.

[85] panina before, former; absolute form pa'aɪn; adverb pa'nena AGAIN, ANOTHER TIME; ɛ́I ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

[86] ma'l-kit WELL, ALL RIGHT (Ch. meɛ-ki'tkit, meɛ-ki'it SOMEHOW); mal (Ch. meč, mel) see § 113.10 and 11; (Ch. ki'tkit, adverb, A LITTLE).

[87] yɪp, medial-np TO STICK INTO, TO STUFF INTO; ga-lin with ablaut.

[88] Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem tala TO STRIKE.

gata'lalen,[88] ña'nyen[33] a'čɪn[66] e⁵e'tɪñ[71] gani'ñlalin,[78] gŭ'mlañ ä⁵'läḷa[89]
he struck it,   that   fat   to the sky   ' he threw it,   again   with snow

ga⁵'ḷmelin[90] qoqlo'wɪčñɪn;[91] qo'npŭ gama'ḷalen.[92]
he shoveled   the hole;   altogether it became better.

Ḡala'lin;[73] ña'nyen[33] Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷⁱan aqa'nn·u[93] ga'ččɪlin.[94] Miti'nak[95]
He came;   that   Raven-Man   to hate   they had.   At Miti's

eñyei'ña vaga'ḷekɪn,[96] newñɪvo'ykɪn[22] Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷa⁵n, "Meñqañqa'če[97]
near   he was sitting,   she said to   Raven-Man,   "How

enñ·ɪvo'ykɪn,[49] nɪme' a⁵latčɪñvo'ykɪn?"[98]—"Mi'qun,[99] ui'ña yu'ḷaq[100]
it happens to thee,   quite   thou smellest of   "Why,   not   a long time
                                    excrement?"—

akle'woka[101] tɪna⁵'lɪk."[102] Ḡewñɪvo'ḷen[56] "I'n·ač, ga'ḷqata![103] Ui'ña
without bread   I have been."   She said,   "Enough,   go away!   Not

mi'qun amaḷatva'tča[104] i'tɪ!"[105] Ḡa'ḷqaꞭin.[70] Pĭči'qaḷa⁵nak[28] ña'nyen[33]
even   not making better thou wert!"   He went.   Little-Bird-Man   that

Yini'a-ñawgut gama'taḷen.[106]
Yini'a-ñawgut   married.

Toq, gaḷai'ulin,[107] inya'wut gamuqai'ulin.[108] Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷa⁵n
Oh,   summer came,   then   it was raining.   Raven-Man

ti'ykɪtiy[109] gaya'luplin.[110] Qači'n qo'npŭ nɪki'ta gana⁵'Ɬen.[111]
the sun   took in mouth.   So   altogether   night   it became.

Va⁵'yuk gewñɪvo'ḷen,[56] "Čan·ai', qaimŭ'ge!"[112]—"Me'ñqač mi'qun
Then   they said,   "Čan·ai',   fetch water!"   —   "How   even

mai'mɪk?"[113] Va⁵'yuk gewñɪvo'ḷen,[56] "Me'ñqan nɪme' mɪtɪ-
let me draw water?"   Then   they said,   "Why   quite   we

pa⁵ḷai'kɪnen.[114] Va⁵'yuk mɪssavɪ⁵'yala."[115] Ḡa'ḷqaꞭin[70] qaičayiči'ña,[116]
are thirsty.   Then   we shall die."   She went   groping,

Enña⁵'an wŭs·qŭ'mčɪku,[117] va⁵'yuk ga'ñvɪlin,[118] gañvo'ḷen[119]
thus   in the dark,   then   she stopped,   she began

⁸⁹ Subjective as instrumental; absolute form ä⁵'läḷ, a⁵ḷa⁵ḷ
⁹⁰ Stem a⁵ḷme.
⁹¹ Absolute form as object.
⁹² Stem maḷ GOOD.
⁹³ aqa'nn·ɪn hate, stems probably a⁵q BAD,a'n·ñɪn ANGER; designative form in -u (§ 94).
⁹⁴ See § 114.4.
⁹⁵ Locative form (§ 42).
⁹⁶ Stem vagal, medical tvagaḷ TO SIT DOWN.
⁹⁷ Stem mik WHERE; -qača NEAR (§ 101.26).
⁹⁸ Stem a⁵ḷ EXCREMENT; -tč TO SMELL OF.
⁹⁹ Stem mik (§ 58, p. 726).
¹⁰⁰ Stem yuḷ LONG; -aq adverbial suffix (§ 112, 79).
¹⁰¹ a—ka negation (§ 114, 4).
¹⁰² Stem naḷ TO BECOME (§ 77).
¹⁰³ Verbal noun in -a used as imperative (§ 95, p. 767).
¹⁰⁴ From a—ka negation (§ 114, 4); maḷ GOOD; tva TO BE.
¹⁰⁵ Stem it TO BE (§ 75).
¹⁰⁶ Stem mata TO TAKE, TO MARRY.
¹⁰⁷ aḷa SUMMER; -yu suffix. phenomena of nature (§ 110.71).
¹⁰⁸ muqa RAIN; -yu as in note 107.
¹⁰⁹ Reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).
¹¹⁰ yaḷu TO CHEW; yop TO PUT ON (see Note 46); yaḷup A QUID.
¹¹¹ Stem naḷ TO BECOME (§ 77); ga—lin nominalized verb (§ 73); ḷ < l + l (§ 18).
¹¹² Stem aim TO DRAW WATER; q—ge imperative.
¹¹³ Subjunctive (a), 1st pers. sing.
¹¹⁴ Derived form, 1st person pl.
¹¹⁵ Future, without ending -mɪk (§ 65).
¹¹⁶ Verbal noun in -a expressing modality (§ 95).
¹¹⁷ Stems wŭs DARKNESS; -čɪku INSIDE (§ 101.24); ŭm is an unusual form of the connective vowel (see § 18, 1): the parallel form wŭs·qŭ'mčɪku is found in Chukchee.
¹¹⁸ Stem ñuv, medial ñv TO STOP.
¹¹⁹ Stem ñvo TO BEGIN.

gɪya'pčak.[120] E'wañ,[8] "ɪ'mɪn qai-vai'amti[121] alña'we^ɛye."[123] Va^ɛyuk
   singing.   She said,   "All   the little rivers   are stingy."   Then

gani'kalin[123] ᴇnkai'tɪ[124] vai'ampilɪñ,[125] gañvo'len[119] čilala'tik.[126]
  it did so   to that place   a small river   began   bubbling.

Ġayɪ'ččalin[127] milh-u'kkam,[128] yaite'tɪ[129] ga'lqaʟin,[70] milh-u'kkam[123]
  She filled   a Russian vessel,   to the house   she went,   a Russian vessel

gemtei'pɪlin;[130] qla'wul gala'lin.[73] Ġapkau'len,[131] e'wañ,[8] "Ġŭmna'n,[9]
  she carried on her   a man   came.   She could not   he said,   "I,
  back;   (carry),

gŭmna'n mɪ'mtɪn."[132] Gayai'tɪlen[80] wŭs·qŭ'mčɪku.[117] Ña'nyen[33]
  I   will carry it."   She came home   in the dark.   That one

galɪmñena'len[133] vai'am. Ġewñɪvo'len,[56] "ᴇni'n ma'ki?" E'wañ,
  followed   the river.   She was told,   " That one   who?"   He said,

"Ġŭ'mma[35] Vaiamenai'-gŭm.[134] Ġŭmna'n[9] yai'vaču[135] tɪ'tčɪn[136] ᴇna'n
  "I   am the River.   I   pity   had   that

gɪya'pčala^ɛn."[137] Ġañvo'len[119] ñawa'kak[10] kɪtai'ñak.[138] Ña'nyen[33]
  singer."   They began   daughter   scolding.   That one

Vaia'mɪnak[28] gama'talen.[106]
  River   married her.

To, va^ɛ'yuk qo'npŭ wŭs·qŭ'mčɪku[117] vañvolai'ke.[139] Ġewñɪvo'len[56]
  Oh,   then   altogether   in the dark   they remained.   He was told

Vai'am, "Me'ñqañ[97] nɪki'ta[140] mɪtɪtvañvolai'kɪn?"[141] E'wañ,[8] "Men'qañ[97]
  River,   "Why   in the night   we remain?"   He said,   "Why

ni'qun?" Lawtɪkɪ'lčɪčñɪn[142] vi'tvitin[143] gai'pɪlen,[144] ganto'len,[145] ayi'-
  indeed?"   Head-band   of ringed seal thong   he put on,   he went out   at

kvan gaqayɪčhɪlanñɪvo'len;[146] vantɪge'ñɪn[147] gato'mwalen.[148] Va^ɛ'-
  least   a small light began to be;   dawn   was created.   Then

yuk gewñɪvo'len,[56] "Me'ñqañ[97] mɪ'ntɪn?"[149] Yini'a-ña'wgut
  they talked,   "How   shall we do it?"   Yini'a-ña'wgut

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[120] Stem gɪyapča; verbal noun, locative form (§ 95, p. 785).

[121] qai-, related to Chukchee suffix -qăi (§ 98.4); -nti, after terminal m of vaiam, -ti dual (§ 34).

[122] 3d pers. dual (§ 65) instead of plural; stem alñ STINGY.

[123] nika SOMETHING (§ 60); ga—lin verbalized.

[124] -itɪ allative (§ 58).

[125] Diminutive in -pil, absolute form in -ɪñ (§ 30).

[126] Stem čilal+at TO BUBBLE; verbal noun, in -k, dependent on ñvo TO BEGIN (see notes 138, 150).

[127] Stem yɪčč TO BE FULL.

[128] milh STRIKE-A-LIGHT, FIRE (see Publ. Jesup Exp. Vol. VII, p. 18); u'kkăm VESSEL.

[129] yait TO GO HOME (see § 95); verbal noun allative.

[130] Stem ɪmt, ɪmtɪ TO CARRY; -yop TO PUT TO; ga——lin with ablaut.

[131] Stem pkau TO BE UNABLE.

[132] Stem ɪmt TO CARRY; subjunctive (a) 1st pers. sing. subject, 3d pers. sing. object.

[133] Stem ʟɪmñena TO FOLLOW.

[134] Stem vaiam RIVER; -ena suffix for living being; nominalized verb, 1st pers. sing. (§ 73).

[135] yai'vač TO HAVE PITY WITH; designative in -u (§ 94).

[136] t—ɪn I—HIM (§ 65); stem -tč (§ 79).

[137] Compare note 120.

[138] Verbal noun in -k dependent on ñvo TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 150).

[139] Stem tva, in initial position va TO BE; ñvo TO BEGIN; -laike 3d pers. pl., derived form.

[140] Stem nɪki night; probably verbal noun in (t)ă, although the verb has usually the suffix yu expressing phenomena of nature. (Ch. nɪki—ru'—rkɪn NIGHT COMES).

[141] Stem tva TO BE; 1st pers. pl., derived form.

[142] Compound noun lawt HEAD, kɪ'lčɪčñɪn BAND (from kɪlt TO TIE (§§ 53; 106.44).

[143] Reduplicated form retained in a derived form in -in (§ 29, p. 690, note).

[144] Stem yop TO PUT ON.

[145] Stem nto, in initial position ñɪto TO GO OUT.

[146] qai- SMALL; ɪčh TO DAWN, TO LIGHT ñɪvo TO BEGIN; ga—lin nominalized verb.

[147] Stem vant TO DAWN; ge'ñɪn (§ 106.44).

[148] tomwa TO BE CREATED.

[149] Stem yt, in medial position nt TO DO, MAKE (§ 80).

gañvo'len[119]   tenma'witčuk,[150]   Valvɪmtɪla⁼yɪkɪñ[151]   gala'lin.[73]   "Mai,
began   preparing,   to Raven-Man   she reached.   "Halloo,

Valvɪ'mtɪla⁼n   va'ykɪn?"[152]   Va'čvɪ-ña'ut[153]   e'wañ,[8]   "Va'ykɪn."
Raven-Man   is staying?"   Raven-Woman   said,   "He is."

Gewñɪvo'len Valvɪ'mtɪla⁼n,   "As·s·o' qati',[154]   qo'npŭ a'lva tɪtva'ñvok."[155]
He was told   Raven-Man,   "Since   you left,   altogether wrong   I was."

Gayo⁼'olen[156]   Valvɪ'mtɪla⁼n,   gewñɪvo'len,   "Gɪ'ssa[157]   qa'čɪk   ui'ña
She found   Raven-Man,   he was told,   "Thou   really   not

al'va   a'tvaka?[48]   Qe'nñɪvo?"[158]   Qa'pten[159]   gayɪ'ltilen,[160]   yai'na[161]
wrong   wert?   Wilt thou stay so?"   The back   he turned,   to the front

yɪli'ykɪnɪn.[162]   Gŭ'mlañ   qa'pten   li'ykɪn.[163]   Va⁼'yuk   gañvo'len[119]
she turned him.   Again   the back   he turned.   Then   she began

čičhi'ñɪk[164]   yɪyɪgɪčha'wik,[165]   gačecheñqatvɪñvo'len;[166]   čake'ta[167]
in the armpits   tickling,   putting her hands in his armpits;   the sister

gewñɪvo'len,[56]   "Quya'qɪ?[168]   I'nač!   ᴇ'nnu mal-ña'wɪtkata."[169]   Va⁼'yuk
said,   "What is the   Enough!   This one   a good woman."   Then
                    matter with thee?

ᴇnkai'tɪ[124] gañvo'len,[119]   "Gm, gm, gm!"   Qo'yɪn[170]   yɪleñvo'ykɪnen.[171]
there to   he began,   "Gm,   gm,   gm!"   To the other side   she turned him.

Va⁼'yuk gaktača'čhaᴌen,[172]   "Ga, ga, ga!"   Ti'ykɪtiy[109]   gače'pñɪtolen,[173]
Then   he laughed aloud,   "Ga,   ga,   ga!"   The sun   peeped out,

i'ya⁼g[174]   ga'plin,[175]   qo'npŭ   gecha'ᴌen.[176]
to the sky   it fastened itself,   altogether   it became light.

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150 Stem *tenm* ᴛᴏ ᴘʀᴇᴘᴀʀᴇ; verbal noun in -*k* dependent on *ñvo* ᴛᴏ ʙᴇɢɪɴ (see notes 126, 138); -*tču* intensity of action.

151 -*yɪkɪñ* a personal allative form (see §§ 41 and 44).

152 Derived form of stem *tva*, in initial position *va* ᴛᴏ ʙᴇ.

153 *Va'čvɪ* < *Valvɪ* (§§ 16.3; 122).

154 Stem *lqat* ᴛᴏ ᴡᴀʟᴋ, in initial position *qat*; 2d pers. sing.

155 Stems *tva-ñvo* ᴛᴏ ʙᴇ-ᴛᴏ ʙᴇɢɪɴ, *tɪ*—*k* 1st pers. sing.

156 Stem *yo⁼* ᴛᴏ ᴠɪsɪᴛ.

157 Absolute form (§ 56).

158 Stem *it* ᴛᴏ ʙᴇ *ñɪvo* ᴛᴏ ʙᴇɢɪɴ; *q* (*u*)—(§ 68), no personal ending.

159 Absolute form.

160 *yɪlt* ᴛᴏ ᴛᴜʀɴ; *ga*—*lin* nominalized verb.

161 *yaina* ꜰᴀᴄᴇ ᴛᴏ ᴍᴇᴇᴛ; adverbial: face to face.

162 *yɪ*——causative; *li* ᴛᴏ ᴛᴜʀɴ; derived form, ʜᴇ—ʜɪᴍ.

163 Stem *li* ᴛᴏ ᴛᴜʀɴ; derived form.

164 Locative.

165 *yɪ*——*aw* causative; *yɪgɪčh* ᴛᴏ ɪᴛᴄʜ.

166 Stems *čičhiñɪ* ᴀʀᴍᴘɪᴛs; *qatv* ᴛᴏ ᴘᴜᴛ ɪɴ; -*ñvo* ᴛᴏ ʙᴇɢɪɴ.

167 Subjective as subject of transitive verb.

168 *yaq* ᴡʜᴀᴛ; predicative form (§ 82); second person (§ 68).

169 *mal* ɢᴏᴏᴅ; *ñaw* +*ɪtqat* ᴡᴏᴍᴀɴ; here subjective.

170 *qo'yɪñ* allative of *qoyo'*. (See § 43, p. 705.)

171 See note 162; the same form with added *ñvo* ᴛᴏ ʙᴇɢɪɴ.

172 Prefix *kt*—ᴠᴇʀʏ (§ 113.22); *ačačhat* ᴛᴏ ʟᴀᴜɢʜ; *ga*——*lin* with ablaut.

173 Stem *lilep*, medial *ᴌep*; for *čep*, see § 16.3; 122. *ñɪto* ᴛᴏ ɢᴏ ᴏᴜᴛ.

174 Locative (see note 71).

175 Stem *ap* ᴛᴏ ꜰᴀsᴛᴇɴ ɪᴛsᴇʟꜰ.

176 Stem *ᴇčh*, *ɪčh* ᴛᴏ ᴅᴀᴡɴ (see note 146).