CHUKCHEE

BY

WALDEMAR BOGORAS
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

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

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

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

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, December, 1921.
CHUKCHEE

By WALDEMAR BOGORAS

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

\(^1\)Some of these have been published in my paper, "The Eskimo of Siberia" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. viii, part iii). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1913.
My work on the Koryak was done during the months from December, 1900, to March, 1901. While Mr. Waldemar Jochelson studied the ethnology of the Koryak on behalf of the Jesup Expedition, the morphological study of the language was assigned to me on account of my familiarity with the Chukchee. I left the Anadyr in November, 1900, joined Mr. Jochelson at Kamenskoye, and spent about a month with him. From there I proceeded to Kamchatka and studied the Kamchatka Koryak and the Kamchadal. On account of the necessity of devoting some time to the Eskimo of Indian Point, I could not devote more time to the study of these dialects.

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

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

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


2 Ibid., p. 440. See also map at end of volumes vi and vii of the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.
The Kamchadal material that I have been able to collect is not very full. The study of this dialect is at present very difficult on account of its corruption by the introduction of Russian elements.

In Krasheninnikoff's time there were three dialects of the Kamchadal—a southern, an eastern (spoken on the Kamchatka river), and a western. The first two are extinct, the language of the natives having been replaced by Russian. The eastern dialect is spoken in 13 villages on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. The largest of these is Kharghiusova (Kamchadal, Plö'xön), 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-Russified Kamchadal, remnants of Koryak have almost completely replaced the old, native Kamchadal. In a few folk stories, fragments of which I was able to collect, the Kamchadal names have been forgotten, and Koryak names have taken their places. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with Kamchadal or with Koryak terms. In the Sedanka dialect the influence of Koryak is felt even more markedly. The people are in the habit of using whole Koryak sentences, or begin a sentence in Kamchadal and end in Koryak. The dialect that has influenced the Sedanka people is the Kamchatka Koryak II.1 Besides, there is a strong intrusion of Russian into both dialects. The Kamchadal has lost many of its numerals, several pronouns, and a considerable number of nouns and adjectives, all of which have been replaced by Russian terms. These have not been assimilated so as to conform with the morphology of Kamchadal, but remain unaltered. A Russianization may also be observed in the grammatical structure.

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

1 Sedanka Kamchadal g'awat'kal they perished (-Ik inchoative in Koryak II, -îtreo in Koryak I) gqq'itii he will freeze to death (éq- future prefix Koryak II, éq- 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:

- B. G. Bogoraz, Образцы материала по изучению чукотского языка и фольклора, собранных в Камчадальском округе. Оттиск из Известий Императорской Академии Наук № 3 (Март 1899).
- Материалы по изучению чукотского языка и фольклора, собранные в Камчадальском округе. Издание Императорской Академии Наук. В. 1. С.-Петербург, 1900.
- Ignacy Radlinsky, Ze zbiorow Prof. B. Dybowskiego. Slowniki Nazzeczy Ludow Kamezackich, 5 parts, Krakow, 1891-94.
- С. Крашенников, Описани земли Камчатки. С.-Петербург, 1819. Т. 1-2.
- [S. Kraschennikoff, Description of the Land Kamchatka, vols. I and II. St. Petersburg, 1819.]
- B. Н. Тушов, По западному 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: \( i, e, å, u \)
(2) Strong vowels: \( ē, a, ō, o \)
(3) Neutral vowels: \( ī, ē, ē, ā, ū \)

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

\( i, e, å, u \), have their continental values.
\( ē \) is a long obscure vowel, in rest position of all the muscles of the oral cavity, posterior nares closed, teeth and lips slightly opened.
\( ē \) is a glide from \( e \) to \( i \), with long, accented \( ē \). It is always combined with a glottal stop.
\( ē \) is the open \( e \) of \textit{hell}, but long.
\( a \) has its continental value.
\( o \) like \( o \) in \textit{nor}.
\( o \) a \( u \) with very slight rounding of lips, with the acoustic effect of a sound between \( o \) and \( u \).
\( ī, ē, ē, ā, ū \), obscure, short vowels corresponding to the respective long vowels.
\( ā \) an \( i \) with rounded lips, short; somewhat like the Russian \( ɯ \).

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

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

- \( aɪ \) like \textit{i} in \textit{hide}.
- \( aʊ \) like \textit{ow} in \textit{how}.
- \( eɪ \) like \textit{ei} in \textit{vein}.
- \( eʊ \) like \textit{eu} in Italian \textit{leucojo}.
- \( oɪ \) like \textit{oi} in \textit{choice}.

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

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

* qailo'qim indeed  * upa'ima 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.

* upa'urkm thou drinkest

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

* nipqo'w-ē-ām I am drinking (stem *upa*)

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

Doubled vowels are also of frequent occurrence, particularly

* ii in türkiir (male pronunciation)* in *c'ek lamp
* uu in mnu'ulpr son-in-law
* ee in eṭhüpū from the skin intended for clothing
* aa in pa'arkin thou ceasest
* oo in ro'dolqal food
* ii in tain'irgin sinful action

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

* mrya'aa* ≤ *mrya'aga* k I will use

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

### § 2. Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Affricative</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Trill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>— [d]</td>
<td>[f], č</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalized alveolar</td>
<td>ķ</td>
<td>— [d']</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* h, w, y

1 See § 13.

2 Written kw before and after u.
\[\begin{align*}
p, m, & \text{ as in English.} \\
v & \text{bilabial.} \\
t & \text{as in English.} \\
\delta & \text{like } z \text{ in German } \textit{Zeit}, \text{ used only in female pronunciation.} \\
\ddot{c} & \text{like English } ch \text{ in } \textit{choice}. \\
\ddot{j} & \text{like English } j \text{ in } \textit{joy}. \\
n & \text{as in English.} \\
\ell & \text{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.} \\
\ddot{\ell} & \text{like } \ell, \text{ but sonant.} \\
l & \text{as in German.} \\
r & \text{as in French (hard trill, } \textit{roue}). \\
\ddot{f} & \text{dental } r \text{ with weak trill.} \\
t', d', s', \ddot{\ddot{j}}, n', & \text{the corresponding consonants strongly palatalized, similar to } \ddot{t}, \ddot{d}, \ddot{s}, \ddot{\ddot{j}}, \ddot{n}. \\
\ddot{c} & \text{strongly palatalized, intermediate between } t' \text{ and } \ddot{c}, \text{ but weaker than either.} \\
k & \text{as in English.} \\
\textit{w} & \text{labialized } k. \\
\ddot{n} & \text{like } n \text{ in } \textit{singing}. \text{ Voiceless } \ddot{n} \text{ is always terminal, and appears after terminal } i, e. \\
q, \ddot{q} & \text{velars corresponding to } k \text{ and } g; \text{ } q \text{ in this combination } \ddot{g} \text{ is often labialized.} \\
h, w, y, & \text{consonantic, as in English. Initial } w \text{ is sometimes pronounced nasally, as in } wo'tqan \textit{this one}. \text{ 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 \text{ and } d', \text{ which are bracketed in the table of consonants, appear only as the development of a strong palatalization of } n', \text{ as in } \\
ta'nd'un < ta'n-yan \textit{a good one} \textbf{#2.} \\
\text{In only one case is initial } d \text{ found, } \ddot{d}i'ndin \textit{fire} \text{(from stem } ym; \text{ compare } gai'r'nlaln \textit{the one that has fire}). \text{ The reduplicated form } ynmyn \text{ changes to } ynd'm, \text{ from which develops—by assimilation, } d'nd'm; \text{ and by intensification of the obscure vowel, } \ddot{d}i'ndin. \\
\textbf{Note.}—\text{Examples of the importance of the glottal stops are—} \\
\ddot{i}'rirkm \text{ he comes across } & \ddot{i}'rirkm \text{ he hits} \\
re'rirkm \text{ he rejoices} & re'tirkm \text{ he brings} \\
yo'rirkm \text{ thou overtakeest} & yo'rkm \text{ thou puttest in} \\
ye'rirkm \text{ the sky becomes overcast} & ye'tirkm \text{ thou comest} \\
\ddot{\ddot{e}}'\ddot{\ddot{e}} \text{ cold} & \ddot{\ddot{e}}\ddot{\ddot{e}}' \text{ lengthwise} \\
\ddot{e}'p\ddot{\ddot{e}}'rkm \text{ it shows itself} & \ddot{e}\ddot{e}'p\ddot{\ddot{e}}'rkm \text{ it grows damp} \\
\end{align*}\]
The consonants \( l \) and \( c \) are intimately related, and frequently replace each other, sometimes with a slight change of meaning (see § 122).

\[
\text{vētč'ar'km and vēlč'ar'km (from vēt-la'ar'km, see § 7, no. 17, p. 654), he stands}
\]

\[
\text{vičv'ē'ttm and vičv'ē'ttm (from stem vičv- ear) ear-bone}
\]

\[
\text{čeč'wur'km he walks; leč'wur'km he wanders about}
\]

\[
\text{lāč'leč' winter; čč'leč' cold}
\]

Initial \( tr \) is sometimes replaced by \( čt \).

\[
\text{tili-tto'oba > ččič'bo'ba in front of the entrance}
\]

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

- For Russian \( 6 (b) \), Chukchee \( v \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( f (f) \), Chukchee \( p \) or \( q \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( x \), Chukchee \( k \) or \( q \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( c, m (s, sh) \), Chukchee \( č \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( c (s) \), Chukchee \( t \) is substituted.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čal'van</td>
<td>са́йба (storehouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apo'n</td>
<td>Афона́с (Athanasius)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gě'chan</td>
<td>Федька (Teddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ča'gār</td>
<td>саха́р (sugar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bol</td>
<td>соль (salt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trě'n'non</td>
<td>среднє (middle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**§ 3. Vocalic Ablaut**

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by \( ā \), the strong ones by \( ē \). 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.

\[
\text{e and i into ē}
\]

\[
\text{e and ā into ā}
\]

\[
\text{u into ə or ə}
\]

The sound \( q \) differs in origin, therefore, from \( ə \), the latter being the ablaut of \( ē \) or \( ə \). This process is not confined to preceding or following vowels, but pervades the whole word. Elements containing only weak vowels are combined without ablaut. The same is true of elements containing either neutral vowels alone or neutral and weak.
vowels. A polysyllabic stem which contains a single strong vowel must have all its vowels strong.

Examples of such compositions are—

Weak vowels or weak vowel and neutral vowel:

- **pi'ri-r'km** he takes
- **teh-teh'chim** good meat
- **me'ni-tn'mkim** great
- **hummock 145.1**
- **iul-y'ttuyt** long wood

Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:

- **p'ere'yo** (from **pi'ri-yg**), taken
- **penq'ipu** (from **pi'i-nt-lpu**), from a snowstorm
- **nono'ypu** (from **nu'n-ypu**), from the blade of knife
- **aqainefnma** (from **aqaini-ma**), while the weather is growing warm
- **wai'm** (from **qukvtno**), at the beginning of leaving
- **eu'lu-wa'tyt** (from **iul-vglg**), long knives 15.2
- **tqn-mqini-me'mil** good, big seal
- **gir'eg-qqan-qor** greedy right-hand driving-reindeer

There are a number of words with neutral, probably auxiliary vowels (see § 8), which produce the ablaut, as *tm 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:

1. **im** rising of water
2. **rn** glue
3. **iqrn** first dawn
4. **yip** to put on 37.8
5. **yit** (-*gti*) to get
6. **ym** fire
7. **ynr'** steep bank
8. **yikirg** mouth 18.12
9. **yirgi** bountiful
10. **wut** leaf
11. **wilh** thin, with short hair
12. **wulhirp** to fling
13. **wur** branching
14. **wurg** dwarf birch
15. **wukw** stone 68.36
16. **pito** doubled
17. **pril** (-*mhul*) news 78.4
18. **pil** ripples, to bubble 41.1
19. **pilovnt** iron, metal
20. **pilm** darkness produced by a storm
21. **pihrr** flat, flattened 84.25
22. **pug** float of sealskin
23. **pigl** large, round, wooden bowl
24. **mqg** hand
25. **mil** nimble

2 Forms preceded by a hyphen are those in which stems appear when in medial position (see § 12)
Prefixes of the same character are—

-imp- all

kot- (-qot- ) much, strongly

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

-qui, -qoti, -woti, allative (§ 41)
-ipy, -epi, -quipi, ablative (§ 42)
-lh(m), -ltn(m), substantival suffix (§ 52)
-qh(m), -qtn(m), substantival suffix (§ 53)
-qun, -qumin, augmentative (§ 98, 1)
-qirm(m) verbal noun (§ 106, 44)
-ikain surface (§ 101, 19)
-sq, -sqan over, top of (§ 101, 20)
-nv, -n, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

-(i)naq allative of personal nouns (§ 41)
-nqpa ablative, adverbal (§ 43)
-q'pa augmentative, (§ 98, 3)
-lqgamin, -lqgamin, space of, (see § 101, 20.)
-liŋq diminutive (§ 98, 7)
-gq—ma comitative (§ 100, 15)
-mqti comitative (§ 100, 17)
-qeq, -qal, by the side of (§ 101, 26)
-ygv, -yqm, provided with (§ 104, 38)
-yeqh, -eqeh, receptacle (§ 105, 40)
-yiq passive participle (§ 107, 47)
-niŋq, -niŋq inchoative (§ 110, 63)
-čhat, verbal suffix expressing contempt (§ 110, 66)

In the following sketch the symbols \( \alpha \) and \( \epsilon \) 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

\begin{align*}
\mbox{ya'tirqm} & \quad \mbox{stem ye't} \quad \mbox{the act of coming} \\
\kara'cirqm & \quad \mbox{stem kenkel-} \quad \mbox{the act of descending}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
\mbox{ya'tirqm} & \quad < \mbox{ya't'-hirqn} \quad < \mbox{ya'í-girqn} \\
\kara'cirqm & \quad < \mbox{kaŋka'cirqm} \quad < \mbox{kaŋka'c'-hirqn} \quad < \mbox{kaŋka'c'-girqn}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
\mbox{el'eq'rkín} & \quad \mbox{he feels dull} \quad \{ \mbox{stem el'eq} \\
\mbox{al'eq'ma} & \quad \mbox{while feeling dull} \quad \{ \mbox{stem al'eq} \\
\mbox{mēr'emr} & \quad \mbox{tear} \quad \{ \mbox{stem mēr} \\
\mbox{mēr'gt} & \quad \mbox{to a tear} \quad \{ \mbox{stem mēr} \\
\mbox{pēn'pil} & \quad \mbox{snowstorm} \quad \{ \mbox{stem pēn} \\
\mbox{pēna-pa} & \quad \mbox{from a snowstorm} \quad \{ \mbox{stem pēn} \\
\mbox{kēto'rkín} & \quad \mbox{(stem kē't) he remembers}
\end{align*}

In most cases \( ā \) precedes or follows \( q \), or is followed by the glottal stop \( e \), which has probably originated through a loss of \( ge \) With few exceptions, \( ă \) is a weak vowel.

\begin{align*}
\mbox{gq'-mi'mil} & \quad \mbox{bad water, brandy} \\
\mbox{qūlpe} & \quad \mbox{quick! hurry!} \\
\mbox{qeq' } & \quad \mbox{fawn} \\
\mbox{qeq' } & \quad \mbox{nail} \\
\mbox{mēl'lin} & \quad \mbox{workingman}
\end{align*}
This ā is probably developed from ě under the influence of the following glottal stop.

In several suffixes ā appears without connection with q or ě.

vēlū'tā by means of an ear
vēlā'qā by means of a knife

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

āē/ō' day
āēttwē'-nān interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

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

In the words āēttm dog, āēttm bone, the ā replaces the weak ā, and is therefore also weak.

u of diphthongs is generally a nequivalent of v, 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.

teike'urkm he wrestles
iaikwāl'pū from the wrestler
ōpā'urkm he drinks

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

ēu'urkm it thaws ēpō' while thawing
but consonantic
ē'urkm he speaks ēpu'mā while speaking

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

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.

wē'urkm he cooks wēpō' while cooking
ēwē'urkm he cuts it off ēwō' while cutting
gē'evilm  he cut it

luwō'urkm he can not galvqulēn being unable to do something

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

vi'lkən fork (Kor. Kam. vi'lda); stem vi'lkg; Russian вилка

ē'nmən bag (Kor. Kam. ẽ'ma); stem ē'メニュー; Russian сума

kom'ak paper; stem kom'ak; Russian бумара

mu'lməl soap (Kor. Kam. mu'la); stem mu'лев; local Russian мыло, instead of мыло

yek'ul'm Yakut; stem yek'ul; Russian Якут

prək'g'tək commercial agent (Kor. prek'a'sek); Russian прикащикь (Kor. Kam. ɕai'n'ek) teakettle;¹ Russian чайникь

Compositions conform to the rules of harmony, with very few exceptions. The particles elo'n and nan enter into close combination with other particles without affecting their vowels: emiLo'n<еми elo'n where is he? euна'n<єуна нан so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative emiLo'nm? where is he then? 43.6.

In pie'g-tuwa'rhm THOU TAKEST OFF THE BOOTS, the second part alone has the ablaut.

In ēk'q-a'mn mhən IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms ēq and ennmin 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 ɬ, l, ĕ, f, which are not found in uncompounded stems, but seem to be due throughout to assimilation (see § 7).

L<l+l ɬ<č=t+y
L<l+l or r+l ĕ<ε=t+y

All sounds occur as terminals except

L, ɬ, t, [d], [d'], ĕ, ĕ, ĕ, voke, ṭ, 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 ŋ appear only as terminal sounds after t and e.

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

¹Chukchee pi'lhik throat-kettle.

§4
Terminal ʔ, particularly after ʔ, becomes voiceless, and hence very weak.

keũ'neň staff ends in voiceless ʔ, but in the plural keũ'neñit
the ʔ is voiced

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

§ 5. Medial Consonantıe Clusters

The following consonants never appear in clusters:

l, r, t', [d'], [d'], ñ, ñ, 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, [a], ñ, ñ, t.

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

gatře'n nontal'len they went to Sredne Kolymsk

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

s', n', *

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>ʔ</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ʔ</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>ý</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>pk</td>
<td>pq</td>
<td>pq</td>
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<td>tq</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tw</td>
<td>(tr)</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>tw</td>
<td>th</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[ \text{qaL-aa} < \text{qaL'-aa} \] lazy boy
\[ \text{u'u'ttuut} < \text{u'uu'utut} \] bad wood

(2) Obscure \(i, e, \ddot{a}, A, \dddot{a}, a^\dddot{e}\), following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.

\[ \text{anqa-nna} < \text{anqa'-enna} \] sea-fish
\[ \text{gapg'len} < \text{gag'-ul'len} \] he drank
\[ \text{e'ri'l} < \text{e'ri'-a} \] muddy snow
\[ \text{ne'u'ttm} < \text{ne'u'-attm} \] female dog

§ 7. Medial Consonantic Processes

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p m v w</th>
<th>t n e y r l</th>
<th>k n q p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p v</td>
<td>p m v w</td>
<td>t n e y r l</td>
<td>k n q p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>wkw wkw</td>
<td>wkw</td>
<td>wkw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t n</td>
<td>n n e r l</td>
<td>n n e r l</td>
<td>n n e r l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n m</td>
<td>s m s m</td>
<td>s m s m</td>
<td>s m s m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e r</td>
<td>m n e r l</td>
<td>m n e r l</td>
<td>m n e r l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y r</td>
<td>r n r l</td>
<td>r n r l</td>
<td>r n r l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r t</td>
<td>t n t l</td>
<td>t n t l</td>
<td>t n t l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k g</td>
<td>g n g l</td>
<td>g n g l</td>
<td>g n g l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q n</td>
<td>n n n l</td>
<td>n n n l</td>
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<tr>
<td>a e</td>
<td>e n e l</td>
<td>e n e l</td>
<td>e n e l</td>
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<tr>
<td>q e</td>
<td>e n e l</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These changes may be summarized in part as follows:

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

(3) \(k, q,\) and \(y\) before dentals become \(g\).
(4) \( q \) before consonants becomes \( e \); only \( qq \) occurs.
(5) \( ą \) before labials becomes \( m \); before dentals, \( n \).
(6) \( ċ \) before labials, palatals, and \( n \), becomes \( s \). When \( l \) replaces \( ċ \), it is treated in the same manner.
(7) Dentals before palatals are palatalized.
(8) \( w \) with following \( n, v, \) and sometimes also with \( g \), forms labialized \( k \).
(9) \( y \) following \( n, v, \) and \( g \), becomes \( q \).
(10) \( t (č') \), and \( r \) with following \( y \), form \( č \).
(11) \( l \) with following \( y \) forms \( ľ \), or \( ly \).
(12) \( t, ċ \), and \( r \) with following \( t \) form \( řt \).
(13) \( n \) with following \( n \) and \( ā \) forms \( qn \) and \( gā \).
(15) \( n \) and \( ā \) with following \( y \) form \( nd' \).
(16) \( n \) and \( ā \) with following \( r \) form often \( nr \).
(17) \( t, ċ, r \), and \( l \) with following \( l \) form \( l \). The last two with following \( l \) also form \( l \).
(18) \( l \) with following \( r \) forms \( rr \).
(19) \( l \) with following \( ā \) forms \( lh \).
(20) \( r \) with following \( n \) forms \( mn \).
(21) \( r \) with following \( ċ \) forms \( tč \).
(22) \( k \) with following \( k \) and \( g \) form \( gk \) and \( gg \).
(23) \( k \) and \( g \) with following \( ā \) form \( āg \).
(24) \( k \) with following \( g \) forms \( gg \); with following \( gu \), \( ukw (u) \).
(25) \( g \) with following \( g \) forms \( gg \).
(26) \( l \) and \( t \) with following \( g \) form \( lh, by \), and \( th, ty \).

Examples:

\( pn \) > \( mn \) (1) \( ągmē'lin \) whetted < \( ą게-mę'-lin \)
\( ągłamna'lin \) < \( ągła-pna'lin \) the knife-whetter
\( ąrmę'pą \) from the inner skin (\( rm'pn \) inner skin)

\( pn \) > \( mąn \) (1) \( ągitę'pųw < ągitę'-pųw \) clever woman
\( ąnamųłgąt'ąn < ąpąľagł'-ąt'ąn \) they asked him

\( tm \) > \( nm \) (1) \( mną'nmik < mną'-ṭmik \) let us be! 57.1
\( niłqąo-myri < niłqąo-łmyri \) we slept
\( ną'nmąt'ąn < ną'ψmu-ąt'ąn \) they killed it 8.2
\( ąngę'wkołgąmik < ąngę'-wkołgąmik \) let us go
away! 17.8

\( tn \) > \( nn \) (1) \( ęśimąnų < ęśimąntų-visible \ he took it 117.9
\( ęśiłąqą-tų < ęśiłąqą-tų \) they will sleep
\( ęgęńų'ńlin < ęęłńę'-ńlin \) he sent it 104.10 (cf.
19.1; 104.3)

\( kp \) > \( wp \) (2) \( mą̃pe'neel < mą̃kpe'neel \) many two-year-old
reindeer-bucks
km > wm (2)  măwmp'qygr < mĭk-mę'qygr many pack-reindeer
kv > wkw (2)  p.setPreferredSize(qI𝐫 marginRight min < pئة-k-wa'qI𝐫 marginRight min boot-grass
(i. e., grass insole)
kw > wkw (2)  măkwę't-hăw < măk-wę't-hăw (too) many words
bp > wp (2)  bę-pę'a'rkin < bę-pę'a'rkin he looks wolf-like
gn > wm. (2)  čę'ro-mi'tqămît < čę'g-mi'tqămît sweet blub-
ber (honey)
čę'umak < čęg-maq egg-shell
gv > wkw (2)  aža'wukuq'nu < aža'g-wa'nu chewing-gum (lit.
sweet gum)
gn > wkw (2)  ałaq-wę't'han < ałagu't'han sweet talk
kt > qč (3)  wuł'q tąmne'n < wuł'k tąmne'n she killed herself
72.27
kn > gn (3)  măg-ne'nnet < măk-ne'nnet many otter (skins)
kr > qr (3)  măg-re'w < măk-re'w many whales
ki > gl (3)  măg li'qăg < măk-li'qăg many eggs
yt > qt (3)  čqąq-tąq'ghın < čqąq-tąq'ghın tea-bag
yn > gń (3)  mąqąńi < mął-ni property piled up outside of
house.
ńe'gnu < ńel'-ni mountain
yč > qč (3)  qč'g-ę'rmın < qč'g-ę'rmın grass border
yr > qr (3)  qč'grăn < qč'q-ırm grass house
yl > gl (3)  qč'qĭqăm < qč'ı-qăm grass
q before conso-
nants > č (4)  qč'ńę'pų < q č'ńę'pų from the swan
maqęmępų < maqęmępų from the arrow
geqę'kălin < geqę'kălin he has married

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

tęč < tıq to cast metal
tyč < yıq quick
meč < mıq small

For instance:  tı'qırkım he casts metal
tęč'änin he has cast it
ńp > mp (5)  tampę'ra'de < tān-pę'ra'de he appeared well
gępę'lın < gęqę'lın they landed 12.9
ńw > mw (5)  tąm-wą'rıqm < tąn-wą'rıqm good being, good
state of things
ńw > mw (5)  tąm-wąqę'ırıqm < tąn-wąqę'ırıqm good work
ńt > nt  rańę'te < rańę'te they went out 56.8
ńč > nč  tąn-čąļ < tąn-čąļ good tea
long time ago
ancient people
a good house; but

good, clever head
he seemed to cease
of about the
size of a cake of brick tea; but also

somewhat slow;
also meni'mpägin.

belonging to a cake of
brick-tea; but from va'Enqa' there is derived

small piece of brick-tea
(see 29.8)
single daughter (see,
however, qun-ne'ekik 29.8)
one-legged
quarreled
their breath went out 34.6

without assistant 124.5
female cousin
wolf's paw
the sweet one
the sleeper
the one bought
the one recognized. The unaltered form occurs also.
thin curried reindeer-
skin
somewhat back of you
somewhat back of you in what direction he moved on
(1) When clusters of more than two consonants are formed by com-
position, the clusters are broken up by an auxiliary vowel, ordina-
1 rily \( r \).

Before \( w, v \), the auxiliary vowel is \( u \).

Before or after a \( p \) which forms part of a consonantic cluster, the
auxiliary vowel is \( û \).

§ 8. Auxiliary Vowels
Before or after q, the auxiliary vowel is ä.

\[ t'i'mk-i-le'ut (t'i'mkalkgi-le'ut R 278) \text{ hummock-head} \]

Before or after q, the auxiliary vowel is ä.

\[ gël-i'-tkm-i-k \text{ on the top of the sea-ice 9.1} \]

\[ n'ol-\text{t}w'\text{t}l-i-thm \text{ the herd 79.6, see also } n'ol-\text{t}w'\text{t}l-\text{t}hm 32.11 \]

\[ \text{g}ë\text{w}u't-i-kâ \text{ without head 47.8 (<gë-wl-kâ)} \]

\[ t'i'-u-\text{t}l \text{ precious ware} \]

\[ i'tb-i-pilvi'ntm \text{ precious metal (i. e., gold)} \]

\[ n-i'-n\text{p}-u-qin \text{ small one 10.2} \]

\[ n-i't\text{q}-u-qin \text{ small one 10.2} \]

\[ lëlanping'chüqai \text{ eyes (had) the small old man} \]

\[ n-i't\text{q}-u-qin \text{ heavy, dear} \]

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like l, t, wk, d, d', t', č', š, ž—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

\[ \text{mu}'\text{l}i\text{m}u\text{l} \text{ blood 117.12} \]

\[ \text{ti}'l-i-thl \text{ the entrance 105.15} \]

\[ \text{n}m'\text{g}i'\text{l}i\text{m} \text{ hand 57.10} \]

\[ \text{g}a'\text{l}ë\text{l}ë\text{n} \text{ he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22} \]

\[ \text{g}ë\text{w}k\text{u}l\text{i}n \text{ they have tied him up 20.10 (<g}ë\text{w}k\text{u}t-lin)} \]

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

\[ \text{p}r'\text{h}i\text{l} \text{ news} \]

\[ \text{p}u'\text{k}i\text{l} \text{ big bowl} \]

\[ \text{e}v'\text{r}i\text{t} \text{ dresses 7.8} \]

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

\[ \text{g}a'\text{l}ë \text{ bird (stem g}ë\text{l}ë\text{g}} \]

\[ \text{r}ë'\text{r}i\text{k} \text{ walrus (stem r}ë\text{r}i\text{k}} \]

\[ \text{v}ë'\text{l}ë \text{ raven (stem v}ë\text{l}ë\text{g}} \]

\[ \text{k}i'\text{r}i\text{n} \text{ buck, male (stem k}i'\text{r}i\text{n}} \]

\[ \text{§ 9. } u, w \]

Short, obscure \( u \) may change to \( w \) or \( v \).

\[ \text{tu}'\text{ur}k\text{i} \text{ thou sayest} \quad \text{tu}'\text{w}t\text{aw} \text{ word} \quad \text{g}a't\text{v}i\text{l}ë\text{n} \text{ he has said} \]

\[ \text{ru}'\text{ur}k\text{i} \text{ thou splittest} \quad \text{ru}'\text{w}g\text{g} \text{ the split one} \quad \text{g}a't\text{v}i\text{l}ë\text{n} \text{ he has split} \]

\[ \text{ru}'\text{ur}k\text{i} \text{ thou scrapest} \quad \text{ru}'\text{w}g\text{g} \text{ the scraped one} \quad \text{g}a'n\text{v}i\text{l}ë\text{n} \text{ he has scraped} \]

\[ \text{ru}'\text{ur}k\text{i} \text{ thou d}is\text{placest} \quad \text{ru}'\text{w}g\text{g} \text{ displaced} \quad \text{g}o'\text{n}v\text{y}l\text{in} \text{ he has displaced} \]

\[ \text{ru}'\text{ur}k\text{i} \text{ thou pluckest} \quad \text{ru}'\text{w}g\text{q} \text{ plucked} \quad \text{g}e\text{go'vl}ë\text{n} \text{ he has plucked} \]
§ 10. Intervocalic Elision

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

\[\text{ne'ekik } < \text{new-ekik} \text{ daughter}\]
\[\text{gaal'len } < \text{gagaal'len} \text{ he has passed by}\]
\[\text{gaal'hen } < \text{gayaal'hen} \text{ he has moved away}\]
\[\text{muwa'qeqk } < \text{muwa'qeqk} \text{ let me sit down!}\]
\[\text{ya'ilhin and ya'gillim foot}\]
\[\text{mit'nmuit } < \text{mit-ir-tmâ-git} \text{ we killed thee 10.12}\]
\[\text{pe'gtin-ur'girgin } < \text{pe'gtin-ur'girgin} \text{ runner-noise 32.10}\]
\[\text{tine'erkin } < \text{tine'erkin} \text{ thou creakest}\]

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

\[\text{ge'iLin } < \text{ge'yiLin} \text{ given}\]
\[\text{tiq'ilhn } < \text{tryq'ilhn} \text{ vein}\]
\[\text{qig'lhmn and qryq'ilhn heel}\]
\[\text{gebiqäjin } < \text{gyi'qäjin} \text{ he slept}\]
\[\text{mi'ilhit } < \text{mi'yillhit} \text{ I will give thee}\]

§ 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.

\[\text{gümni'n evikwewkewala'ë } < \text{gümni'ñ ekwewg e}\text{ my left-hand driving-reindeer passed by}\]
\[\text{ya'ran mi'ri nan'ñenai'pù-mo'ri } < \text{ya'rat mu'ri we grew too angry (ya'rat too much; mu'ri we; an'ñenai'pù to become angry)}\]
\[\text{enne'n' üm àflqë'm ñtø'ë } < \text{äflqë'p ñtø'ë} \text{ a nail went out (enne'n' one; äflqë'p nail; ñtø, -ñtø to go out; -ë 3d per. sing.)}\]
\[\text{nì'mnìj' -al'htyä't } < \text{nì'mnìmit ya'lhityä't the neighboring camp moved away}\]

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

\[\text{tele'g-vì'tä-n-i'irkin gradually dying he is}\]

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

I have found the following initial consonantic clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial sound</th>
<th>Second sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>əə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Examples:
- pr interjection 88.17
- prə'rem meat pudding
- pləq'i' that is all 107.21
- plə'kərəm boot
- pəqətəwa'rkən thou takest off the boots
- pə'rkən thou whettest it
- pə'rkən thou imbibest
- tə'rkən thou sewest
- tənərgə'tə to the dawn 135.16
- trəya'aən shall I use it? 93.19
- tənənəkə'wəkwə'n I shall do to it 99.10
- kmənəqəi small son 126.11
- kər'kən upper course of a river
- kəlo'kən a kind of berry
- kəqa'ku to the disowning 94.30
- kəse'qə'kwə'qə'wə'tə enter! 102.35
- kəla'uləqəi little man 9.6
- kəro'ə she brought forth 104.8
- mə'rəkən thou breakest
- mənə-nə'kən sacrificing-shaman 42.5
- mənə'kwənənək let us go away! 17.8
- mərə'qətkə I shall go home 99.2
- mərə'yo'ə'kən shall we visit him? 108.10
what dost thou want? 125.6
flame
take wife home 115.8

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

(1) Medial modifications.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial cluster of stems</th>
<th>Initial form</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*pn</td>
<td>*tn</td>
<td>*n n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*tn</td>
<td>*nn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*tl</td>
<td>*n t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*km</td>
<td>*km</td>
<td>*w m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*qi</td>
<td>*qi</td>
<td>*n q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial form</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*rk</td>
<td>*lp</td>
<td>*lk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lk</td>
<td>*lq</td>
<td>li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lq</td>
<td>*ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ti</td>
<td>*tk</td>
<td>tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tk</td>
<td>*u kw</td>
<td>(u kw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u kw</td>
<td>*tv</td>
<td>(tv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*r</td>
<td>*r</td>
<td>*n r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*y</td>
<td>*y</td>
<td>*n y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pr and *pir</td>
<td>*pr</td>
<td>*pr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pāk</td>
<td>*pk</td>
<td>*k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pām</td>
<td>*mā</td>
<td>*mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*v and *tum</td>
<td>*tv</td>
<td>*v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ttt</td>
<td>*tt</td>
<td>*t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k and *ttk</td>
<td>*tt</td>
<td>*kk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tt</td>
<td>*tt</td>
<td>*tt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kitt</td>
<td>*kitt</td>
<td>*kitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*vitt</td>
<td>*vitt</td>
<td>*vitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ky</td>
<td>*ky</td>
<td>*ky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mīk</td>
<td>*mīk</td>
<td>*mīk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*āvp</td>
<td>*āvp</td>
<td>*āvp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ātt</td>
<td>*ātt</td>
<td>*ātt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*āt</td>
<td>*āt</td>
<td>*āt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tr or *vtr</td>
<td>*tr</td>
<td>*tr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qtv</td>
<td>*qtv</td>
<td>*qtv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*vā(t)</td>
<td>*vā(t)</td>
<td>*vā(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*vāy</td>
<td>*vāy</td>
<td>*vāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qtt</td>
<td>*qtt</td>
<td>*qtt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yy</td>
<td>*yy</td>
<td>*yy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qāv</td>
<td>*qāv</td>
<td>*qāv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*āv</td>
<td>*āv</td>
<td>*āv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stem

- **πne**
  - *pi'rkīm* thou *ninenn'gвин* she whetted it 44.4
  - whettest it
- **tīn**
  - *tīrκīn* thou sewed *gε̃ninlin* he sewed
- **tīn**
  - *tīrκīn* thou *gε̃nu'lin* he sent it
  - sendest it
- **κμι̃ε̃*κε̃τ**
  - *κmι̃ε̃κε̃τ*irκīn* she *gε̃nu'mε̃lin* she brought forth
  - brings forth
- **qλ̃κκκι̃n**
  - twenty (lit., that *ε̃λε̃κκε̃kε̃lin* nineteen (lit., one lacking to a man)
  - of a man)
- **rκι̃ε̃l** or **rκι̃ε̃l**
  - *rκι̃ε̃l* he followed *gε̃κε̃lε̃l̃in* she followed him 37.1
- **rκε̃l**
  - *rκε̃l* he followed *gε̃κε̃lε̃l̃in* she followed him 37.1
- **rκι̃ε̃l**
  - *rκι̃ε̃l* he followed *gε̃κε̃lε̃l̃in* she followed him 37.1
- **rκι̃ε̃l**
  - *rκι̃ε̃l* he followed *gε̃κε̃lε̃l̃in* she followed him 37.1
- **lπ̃ε̃n**
  - *lπ̃ε̃n* she *gα̃lπ̃ε̃ñε̃l̃ẽn* he gave
  - gave
- **lπ̃ε̃n**
  - *lπ̃ε̃n* she *gα̃lπ̃ε̃ñε̃l̃ẽn* he gave
  - gave

§12
Stem

**lpin'it**

* lpin'it **or**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pin'ir'kmin</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>nelpin'tyā'nn they bound him 8.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* lpin'it</td>
<td></td>
<td>bindest him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pqāt</td>
<td></td>
<td>qā't yī' he left 100.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pqā'in</td>
<td></td>
<td>qā'īn'ū'nn he shot 78.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tku</td>
<td></td>
<td>ku'ū'kmin thou consume it 7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* wku</td>
<td></td>
<td>wutu'lnin tying 104.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tva</td>
<td></td>
<td>va'ū'kmin he is 125.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tvē'ča</td>
<td></td>
<td>vē'ča'ū'kmin he stands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pr</td>
<td></td>
<td>pr'ū'kmin thou hast plucked out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pkir</td>
<td></td>
<td>pū'kūrgā't they came 64.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pūlo</td>
<td></td>
<td>pūlo'ū'nēn he asked him 80.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tva</td>
<td></td>
<td>tvē'ča'ū'kmin he shot 78.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tule</td>
<td></td>
<td>tule'ū'kmin they moved 64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tke</td>
<td></td>
<td>tke'ū'kmin thou smelled of 56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* yto</td>
<td></td>
<td>yto'ū'nēn he pulls it out 45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* kyēu</td>
<td></td>
<td>kyēu'w'kwo'īr he awoke 55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tmy</td>
<td></td>
<td>tmē'ū'nēn he killed him 43.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* qīn</td>
<td></td>
<td>gə'ti'ū'n -lu'łqāl 42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* mk</td>
<td></td>
<td>mūk'ū'nēn more numerous 12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* npe</td>
<td></td>
<td>npi'ē'ūt they came ashore 7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nīto</td>
<td></td>
<td>nīto'ē' they went out 56.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stem

*nt
nti'rk in it de-
taches itself

*glo
gilo'len the onesor-
rowing 27.12

*rt
ri'rg un t y i n g nerri'net they were untied 63.11

*vya
vid'ar km he lets
go (an animal)

*lep
lile'pg he looked
7.6

*ygu
yu' ur km thou
gavga'len he has go
t (an animal)

*yw
wyw'owi sling
gawgta with a sling

*by
b byovi there (stem

*vi
buwi'pit piece cut
nine'bm in they cut it 72.18

*ln
l'arr kin he has
t'ilhugt I have you as 15.8

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

re'ur km thou pier-
genul in he pierced
cest it

ru'rk in thou eatest genul in he ate

but

ri'nr km he flies
gerr nel in he flew

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

tr'orbo'oc before the entrance (lit., entrance before), instead of

ti'rito'oca.

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

me'rin slow

gap'nu house

garg'nu sleeping-room

n'nfeg in the slow one(stem ng)
garg'len having a house (stem rg)
garg'len having a sleeping-room

(stem rg)
Perhaps the initial $y$ of the last two examples is derived from $r$, as in Koryak it replaces $r$.

Irregular is—

\[
\text{ger'lelin he has arranged a rein-deer driving-match.}
\]

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

\[
\text{pr'nil news (stem pnil)} \\
\text{ki'kml one-eyed man (stem kkl)}
\]

§13. Pronunciation of Men and Women

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

Examples are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men's pronunciation</th>
<th>Women's pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra'mkilehin</td>
<td>$\delta$amkilehin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa'rkala</td>
<td>Pa'ssala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čümka'ta</td>
<td>šämka'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čaiu'urgin</td>
<td>Šaiu'uššin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nitva'qaat < nitv'qenat} \\
\text{ge'l'mileet < ge'l'mixinet} \\
\text{tir'kiiir < tir'kitir}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\)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  
   ![Table showing weak vowels: i, â, u]

2. Strong vowels  
   ![Table showing strong vowels: e, o, ø]

3. Neutral vowels  
   ![Table showing neutral vowels: i, e, a, â]

In this series, o and â are rare

- o is generally replaced by œ
- œ is generally replaced by i or a

A comparison of the table of Koryak vowels with that of the Chukchee vowels shows that the glide ë is missing, e has taken the place of ë, 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.** apa’èkm  
**Chukchee** ūpa’ yrkm

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

**Kor. Kam.**  
**Kerek**  
**Chukchee**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kerek</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me’ mil’ thong-seal</td>
<td>mi’mil’ thong-seal</td>
<td>më’mil’ spotted seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taññë’ti</td>
<td>taññë’ti</td>
<td>taññë’ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- më’ mil instead of Chukchee më’ mil spotted seal
- tirga’ärkm instead of Chukchee tèrga’ärkm he cries

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

§ 14
§ 15. Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Affricative</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Trill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$m$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalized alveolar</td>
<td>$d'$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$n'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>$q$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$h, w, y,$

§ 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) $e$ is often replaced by $c$ (in Kor. II, pronounced like English $sh$).

Koryak II $oia'$kocik Kor. 96.22 (Chukchee $uwa'$qob'qti Kor. 95.6)

ora'cek Kor. 102.17 (Koryak I $oyd'cek$ Kor. 101.1)

(2) $e'$ and $j'$ are replaced by a strong and long $yy$.

ko'yyon the one bought (Chukchee ko'j'o)

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

$la'$xlan winter $č'xlec$ cold

gay'tsqata sleep! Kor. 31.8 $tyrpy'lqatiń$ I will sleep Kor. 31.8

$pipi'kalin$ mouse Kor. 58.7 $pipi'kka-now$ Mouse-Woman Kor. 23.3

valvi'mtili'na$tń$ to Raven- va'cvi-fia'ut Raven-Woman Kor. 18.4

Man Kor. 12.4

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

Koryak $yalq'wiktn$ he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee $resqi'wkwń$ 11.2)

vos'qet'tń to darkness Kor. 57.6 (Chukchee $wu'lqik$ 126.1)

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

$gavi'yatin$ he has died (Chukchee $gevi'lin$)
The ordinary post-alveolar l is also found.

ñaw'anpil little woman.
nilya'gpil small shell Kor. 23.8

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

(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 ē.

Kor. Kam. Chukchee
koi'ūin
va'rkin Kor. 13.10
nitō'rkīn Kor. 12.5
yalgir'wikin Kor. 13.9
ya'dyr'kin Kor. 66.14

tryayai'tin I’ll go home ra'gitle ē he goes home 122.7
Kor. 30.5
Paren
ye'ũ Kor. 60.1., 64.14
ya'vi'ūnne

In a number of cases r is replaced by s', s, t, or ē.

Koryak Chukchee
gay'ëcalin Kor. 17.3
ge'ërin Kor. 15.10
grigolai'tu to a high place girgo'loqen 124.1 from above
Kor. 20.1
nânhin Kor. 60.9
ge'ërin 96.21 it was full
ge'ërin 64.4 he had him for
grigolai'tu

wu'ssri' Kor. 30.3
-wgtn(ın) -wprri' on the back
-palga'tīrin old age

1 I have written the ē corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with i, while for the sound corresponding to r I have retained y.
The sound r appears in Koryak I folk-lore as characteristic of several monsters and evil spirits. It is also used in Russian loanwords.

- *ka'rm'an* pocket (from карманъ)
- *preka'ssek* commercial agent (from прокащукъ)
- *ka'gar* 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 l of Koryak I.

- *ka'mak-ru* (village Rekit'nnok)
- *ka'mak-lu* (Kamenskoye)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Voyampolka, Kamchatka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>t'erktir</em> sun</td>
<td><em>ti'yktiy</em> Kor. 19.3</td>
<td><em>ti'tkiti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e'ňer</em> star</td>
<td><em>a'ňaŋ</em></td>
<td><em>e'ňer</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mu'ri</em> we</td>
<td><em>mu'yi</em> (dual)</td>
<td><em>mu'ri</em> (dual)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Koryak I, *gape'n̥ilen* he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee *pe'n̥inèn* Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, *gape'ntilen*, Kor. 96.26)

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

- *missa'alomi* we shall hear (Chukchee *mirroralomi*)
- *čr̥ilil* tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee *yi'liil* 7.10)
- *qite'at* legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee *gitka't* 51.4)
- *qilutbu* drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee *gilut'kuś*)

(10) y often replaces Chukchee q.

- *yikda'wekin* he makes haste (Chukchee *gida'urkin*)
- *tayyenivo'yhin* he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee *teggi* 102.35)

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

- *valo'm* Kor. 55.7 (Chukchee *valo'm* 32.7) to hear.

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

Kor. Kam. *naud'ulën< haud'nya[n* the one serving for a wife (stems *naud* woman; *nya* to watch the herd)

Chukchee *neund'ulín*< *neu-nya-lín* (stems *neu*, *nya* [riu])

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The Paren \( \mathbf{n} \) in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word \( \text{newr}'\mathbf{nn}^\prime\text{ul}^\text{a}^\text{m} \).

In the same way,—

Kamenskoye \( \mathbf{n}^\prime\text{a}^\text{n}^\prime\text{en} \), or even \( \mathbf{n}^\prime\text{a}^\text{n}^\prime\text{en} \) (from \( \mathbf{n}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{nyen} \))

Paren \( \mathbf{n}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{n}^\prime\text{en} \) that one

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

\( \text{palqa}'\text{the}^\text{m} \) and \( \text{palqa}'\text{te}^\text{gn} \)

\( \text{giya}'\text{thi} \) Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee \( \text{q}^\prime\text{y}^\prime\text{e}'\text{ty}^\text{i}^\text{z} \) 15.11)

(14) \( wg \) or \( g^\text{u} \) (labialized \( g \)) replaces Chukchee labialized \( k \), \( \text{(wkw)} \).

\( \text{yiwqi}^\text{c}^\text{t}^\text{a} \) Kor. 32.1 (Chukchee \( \text{q}^\prime\text{i}^\text{y}^\prime\text{k}^\prime\text{u}^\prime\text{i}^\text{t}^\prime\text{a} \) 37.3 drinking

\( \text{gawgu}^\prime\text{lin} \) Kor. 23.4 (Chukchee \( \text{g}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{w}^\prime\text{ku}^\prime\text{lin} \) 20.10 they tied him

\( \text{qaky}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{w}^\prime\text{g}^\prime\text{i} \) Kor. 28.9 (Chukchee \( \text{g}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{g}^\prime\text{e}'\text{w}^\prime\text{kw}^\prime\text{i}^\prime \) 75.31 wake up!

(15) \( x \) often replaces Chukchee \( g \).

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

\( \text{e}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\text{c}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\text{c}^\prime\text{c}^\prime \) cold (Chukchee \( \text{e}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\text{c}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\text{c}^\prime\text{c}^\prime \))

\( \text{ma}'\text{m}^\prime\text{m}^\prime\text{m} \) arrows (dual) (Chukchee \( \text{m}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{m}^\prime\text{m} \), plural)

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

\( \text{y}^\prime\text{o}^\prime\text{v}^\prime\text{ek} \) he overtakes (Chukchee \( \text{yo}^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{k}^\prime\text{m} \))

(17) \( \prime \) indicates a pause (glottal stop), which does not occur in Chukchee. \( \text{up}^\prime\text{n}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{l}^\prime\text{in} \) 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. \( \text{tyo}'\text{g} \prime\text{a}^\prime\text{n} \) I overtook him (Chukchee \( \text{t}^\prime\text{y}^\prime\text{o}^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{n} \))

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

\( \text{vai}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{m} \) river (Chukchee \( \text{v}^\prime\text{e}'\text{m} \))

\( \text{ya}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{y}^\prime\text{k}^\prime\text{m} \) he uses it (Chukchee \( \text{ya}'\text{ark}^\prime\text{m} \))

\( a^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{l}^\prime \) axe (Chukchee \( a^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{al} \), but also \( a^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{ha}^\prime\text{t}^\prime\text{t}^\prime \), \( a^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{l}^\prime \) hatchet)

\( \text{uyi}^\prime\text{b}^\prime\text{v}^\prime\text{a}^\prime \) to play Kor. 32 7 (Chukchee \( \text{w}^\prime\text{u}^\prime\text{c}^\prime\text{v}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\text{t} \) 43.3)
These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren o'ek lamp intu'welpry son-in-law
Kor. Kam. d'ak intu'ulpry
Chukchee e'ek intu'ulprr

The Chukchee cluster lh is replaced by lñ in Kamenskoye.

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

§ 17. Vocalic Ablaut

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

i changes into e,
u changes into g;
qi'wilinat they said Kor. 21.2 gewñavg'len he said Kor. 14.4
ml'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 ě is replaced by e, the same sound that represents the ablaut of i.

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

Kor. Kam. Chukchee
kal'ylkín (stem kal)' kéli'rkín (stem kéli')
ny'tanút land (stem nyutan) wú'tenút (stem wú'te)
a'kka' sons (stem akka) e're'mí (stem e're'mí)
aima'wikn thou approachest (stem aimaw)
kama'ña dish (stem kama') kene'mí (stem kene')

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

'ít'i-kama'ña heavy dish (from 'ít'i heavy, dear)

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

e'vil-ta'mtam goitre, long tumor (stems e'vil long, ta'mtam tumor); Chukchee ta'mtam
qata'p-ć'mat load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17 (stems qatap
fish for winter use; ċ'mat load); Chukchee qata'p-ć'mat

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

mČ'yemey tear (stem mČyeg); Chukchee mČ'ręm ěr (stem mČrě')
gape'nyilen she attacked her, Kor. 96.8 (stem pČny); Chukchee pČ'nuřinčen Kor. 95.10 (stem pČnuř)

§17
Since the vowel-pair ə-g, and the vowels ɨ and ə of Chukchee, are much more common than the ɨ and ə groups, the ablaut is not as striking a feature of Koryak as it is of Chukchee.

In the Kamenskoye dialect the ablaut of ɨ and ə 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,—

\[ napelg*-mu'yə \text{ instead of } napelg*-mo'yo \] we are left.

The weak ɨ of Chukchee, which is due to the contraction of thi and čhi into ti and či, does not occur, since the consonant clusters remains unchanged.

\[ palqat̃it̃i'n or palgat̃e'ni'n \text{ old age (compare Chukchee } \text{ palqat̃irgin} < \text{ palqat̃irgin}) \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wwa'tikin he kisses (stem wwat)</td>
<td>ukwe'χerkin (stem ukweχ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyä'gwe husband (stem uyå'gweč)</td>
<td>uwyā'gwe (stem uwyā'gweč)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kor. Kamenskoye</td>
<td>gatai'kilin (stem taiki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kor. Paren</td>
<td>gete'kilin (stem teiki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chukchee</td>
<td>geie'kilin (stem: teiki)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§18. Other Phonetic Processes

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aŋga'-nna'n &lt; aŋga'-enna'n</td>
<td>aŋga'-enna'n sea-fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñew'ltin &lt; ñew-ältin</td>
<td>ñaw-ältin she-dog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>palqa'ti-rgm &lt; palgat-girm</td>
<td>palgath-e'ni'n old age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a generally remains unchanged before other consonants.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tam-pera'rkin &lt; tañ-pera'rkin</td>
<td>tañ-pey'ki'n he looks well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qinere'mpe'</td>
<td>kokañpalai'ke they take meat out of kettle Kor. 27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kettle for me (stem mpe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§18
Chukchee  
*niglṭėq'en* < *ni* < *kt-q'en*  
Koryak  
*nikč'q'en* hard

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

Chukchee  
*gewmīñ̂ežin* < *go-kmīñ̂el-lin*  
Koryak  
*gakmī̠nalin* she brought forth a child

*amń̂lka* < *a-pń̂-ka*  
*namń̂la'tmat* 78.4 < *na-pń̂-atmat*

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

Chukchee  
*yara'ni*  
*Koryak*  
*yaya'ña* house

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

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

(Compare Chukchee *ańqa-tormek'ti* to the seashore 67.17)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial sound</th>
<th>Second sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>í  m  n  ŋ  y  j  v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p</em></td>
<td>ñí  ñm  ñń  ñy  ñj  ñv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td>km  ky  kį  kįl  kįl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>q</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ń</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Kor. Kam.  
*tvń̂tikm* he stands  
*Cottawń̂tikm* he stands  
on the outer part of the house Kor. 43.5  
gatń̂lín* he stood

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—43

§18
However, *va'ykin* Kor. 13.10 < *tva-ykin* loses its initial *t*.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pn</em></td>
<td>*pn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>km</em></td>
<td>*km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tk</em></td>
<td>*tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td><em>k</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g</em></td>
<td><em>g</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tv</em></td>
<td><em>tv</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pith</em></td>
<td>*pdf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>to</em></td>
<td><em>to</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>v</em></td>
<td><em>v</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yu</em></td>
<td><em>yu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- *pna'kin* he whets
- *tna'kin* thou sewest it
- *tni'kin* thou sendest it
- *kmni'atkin* she brings forth
- *kw'kin* thou buyest it
- *pnyc'kin* thou givest to him
- *qat' you left Kor. 18.5
- *kw'kin* thou consumest it
- *ki'plik* striking Kor. 62.4
- *va'kin* he is
- *vanvo'vin* he begins to stay Kor. 13.6
- *tw'itkin* he stands
- *tw'itik* to stretch Kor. 38.8
- *pyr'kin* thou tearest it out
- *pnh'kin* thou askest him
- *titiw'kin* he blows
- *tila'kin* he moves
- *tk'e'kin* thou smellest of

§18
yito'ikin he pulls out
time'kin thou killest it
gito'len he has pulled out
qa'nmilen he has killed it
Kor. 43.6
sito'len he went out Kor. 48.6
gawol'len he has begun Kor. 48.3
shilin he has dug out
gay'lin he has untied it
nash'ivogum they are untying me Kor. 39.3
saser'lin he has put down
gay'a'len he has let go
Kor. Kam. gaa'Ltn, Kor. II (village Qare'nin) geye'Lin or
gye'Li (Chukchee geye'lin), he has come
Kor. Kam. vi't/oitpili, Kor. II (village Voyampolka) vi'tvitpi,
small seal

Kamchadal (§§ 19–23)

§ 19. Vowels

1. Weak vowels i i e u ü e
2. Strong vowels ē ā o ō ō u
3. Neutral vowels a E J ü A ū

§19
The symbols designate the same sounds as those in Chukchee.

1 almost like a diphthong ie, long; a glide from long i to long o. 
\( \ddot{e} \) like English a in make, long, lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

\( \ddot{e} \) French ca in beurre.

\( \ddot{o} \) German ö in öffnen.

\( \ddot{u} \) French u in lune, but harder; more like the Yakut \( \ddot{y} \).

\( \ddot{o} \) English short o in not.

\( \ddot{u} \) English u in hut.

\( a, \ddot{o}, u \) indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in \( k'twal k\dot{y}u'\ddot{e}n \).

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

**§ 20. Consonants**

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

\( f \) is rather rare; for instance, in \( jlič \) 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.

\( l \) as in Koryak.

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

\( \ddot{e}, \ddot{e}', \ddot{e} ', \ddot{u}', \ddot{u}', \ddot{u} ', \) glottal stops, the former only after short vowels, the latter after consonants, as in \( vi'l'\ddot{e}l \).

\( l', \ddot{e}', \ddot{u}', \) are pronounced with strong initial aspiration.

**§20**
j, c, Ǧ, are often pronounced with the tip of the tongue in dental position, so that they attain a lisping character,—

j between Ǥ' and Ǥ

c between Ǥ' and Ǥ

Ǧ between Ǥ' and Ǥ

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

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

cimt (Western dialect) Ǥ earth, ground

sem (Southern dialect) Ǥ

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 Ǧ, Ǧ, s, or t, is replaced in most cases by j,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girt</td>
<td>kr'ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muri</td>
<td>mu'ja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gum</td>
<td>gum</td>
<td>krimma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'gingi</td>
<td>yig'gingi</td>
<td>x'ilig'na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gene'wa?ia</td>
<td>ga'na'wana</td>
<td>k!ne'cum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genu'lin</td>
<td>ganu'lin</td>
<td>k!nu'ktin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

xo'xval thence

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>watta'p</td>
<td>vata'p</td>
<td>hvata'pč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va'le</td>
<td>va'la</td>
<td>hvalč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'ut</td>
<td>viut</td>
<td>hvot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi'n'vi</td>
<td>vi'nva</td>
<td>hvinve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(6) The glottal stop following the initial vowel of Chukchee and Koryak is often replaced by x or k preceding the vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e'tin</td>
<td>e'mmin</td>
<td>we'ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'ni</td>
<td>e'gir, e'gir'en</td>
<td>we'lini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anel</td>
<td>a'la'lı</td>
<td>ko'lo'lı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'le'l</td>
<td>a'lapa'lı</td>
<td>ke'lapa'lı</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Chukchee t and l are replaced by tl and te.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tle'a'k</td>
<td>tleek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

éhéjé thou art  l'it thou wert
-te'ojin I strike him  te'ojin 1 struck him

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

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okhotsk dialect</th>
<th>Sedanka dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c'majë'tn</td>
<td>j'majë'tn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sönk</td>
<td>zönk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'la-tumx</td>
<td>zla-tumx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'no'n</td>
<td>q'no'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'öl'k'in</td>
<td>q'öl'k'in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okhotsk dialect</th>
<th>Sedanka dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'tin'um</td>
<td>a'ton'um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ver'ojk</td>
<td>te'ver'isin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kr'mma</td>
<td>kr'ma'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

§ 22. Vocalic Ablaut

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

i changes to ĭ.
v changes to o.
į changes to ą or a.
ų changes to ū.
ę changes to a.
ę changes to ę or y.
Examples:

- k'i'st'enk at the house
- sën'k in the wood
- t'ex'änk by them
- k'ë'px'enk in the trough
- k'ex'enk in the river
- k'uk'ë-hümni' the house

- k'ë'st'änk to the house (stem k'est
- sën'k to the wood (stem sën
- t'ex'änk to them (stem itx
- k'ë'px'änk to the trough (stem këpx
- k'ex'änk to the river (stem këvr
- k'oka jo-hümni' he began to cook
- k'oka jo-hümni' he cooked it

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

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

ki'stenk at the house  kë'stänk to the house (stem kist
kë'lx'enk at the lake  kë'px'enk at the trough
(stem këlx
kë'lx'enk at the trough (stem këpx

trisën'olo'tijk I always live in the woods (t1 I; sën wood; ü 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, k'tat, t'oj, t'ojh, t'otx, n'tojh, k'ilk

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.

/u changes to ul.

k'o'lo (absolute form), kolo'ul' <kolo-l' (instrumental), snow
e'l'hem (absolute form), ingleton (instrumental), ear (pl. ingleton)
Note, however,

lūl (absolute form), lūle'l' < lūl-l' (instrumental), eye

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

lūle'l' < lūl-l' eye
tveta'tijk < tveta't-jk I work

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

k'élkrūin he has come

The prefix k before initial k and k' changes to e.

xk'el'jel'k accept him

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

tal'in < tal'in I struck him

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

kr'mma ët'ëniñjk < t'-ëniñ-jk I sew

Compare also

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e'tgën</td>
<td>a'dën</td>
<td>e'èkëzë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuwcèlka'l'mn</td>
<td>ëtèèl'ënin</td>
<td>ë'ëdëx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

šölkaruyj < lk-r-jc (Chukchee qäti'rkñ < lqä-rrkñ) he leaves

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

ckla'ujk < cklau-jk (Chukchee kila'urkñ < rklau-rrkñ) e runs

§ 24. Accent

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

Chukchee pa'rlìnùm shoulder-blade
Kor. Kam. nji'e'shgenat those two that have been bought
Kamchadal ki'ta'tilkajukñän 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  \textit{tipěnřirko'}n < \textit{tipě'}nřirkm}
Kor. Kam. \textit{tipěnn'eko'}n < \textit{tipě'}nn'ekin} I attack him
Kamchadal \textit{tipěncjo'}n < \textit{tipě'}ncjın}

\textbf{MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25-129.)}

\textbf{§25. Morphological Processes}

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the Chukchee language nominal concepts are classified as common nouns and proper names. A nominal singular and plural occur, but in Koryak we find besides these a dual. As in many
American languages, the relation between subject and predicate is conceived differently in the case of the transitive and of the intransitive verb.

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

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

In the predicate are expressed singular and plural, (in Koryak also dual), tense and modality. There is no distinction made between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. Declarative and interrogative have the same forms. Among the tenses only the future is derived from the verb theme in a manner analogous to the formation of modes. A continuative is expressed by a derived form, the verbal theme being expanded by the suffix-\textit{erkm}. 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’nirkin** he desires
Anadyr Chukchee  
**tegge’nirkin** or **gaima’tirkin**
Koryak, Kamenskoye  
**tajja’nikm** or **gaima’tekkin**

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  
**wetha’urkin** he speaks
Anadyr Chukchee  
**wetha’urkin** and **vanava’tirkin**
Koryak, Kamenskoye  
**wetha’ekkin** and **vanava’tqkin**

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGAIN</th>
<th>NEGATION</th>
<th>WHALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chukchee</td>
<td>la’mna</td>
<td>gare’m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koryak, Kamenskoye</td>
<td>gu’mla</td>
<td>gaye’m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koryak II Qare’nim</td>
<td>i’nnik</td>
<td>i’hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka)</td>
<td>ligi’mmen</td>
<td>qate’mmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerek</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamchadal</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

In the pronunciation of men of the Kolyma district many intervocalic consonants are dropped (see § 13). This is not so common among the men of the Anadyr Chukchee, who use both the fuller forms and those with dropped consonants. Among the Kolyma people the difference between the pronunciation of men and that of women is so regular that the use of the fuller forms by the eastern people lays them open to ridicule as using the speech of women.
Nouns (§§ 27–55).

§ 27. General Remarks

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

The forms which are clearly syntactic are—
(1) The absolute form, which expresses the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb.
(2) The absolute form, plural.
(3) The subjective form, which expresses the subject of the transitive verb, and the instrument with which an action is performed. In several cases our indirect object appears as direct object, while our direct object appears as instrument, somewhat as in the two expressions I give it to him and I bestow him with it. In Kamchadal this form is not used for the subject of the transitive verb, but the locative-possessive. In Koryak sometimes the one form is used, sometimes the other.
(4) The locative possessive expresses the place where an event happens or where an action is performed. With terms designating living beings it expresses possession.

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

A third class, quite distinct from the first two in form as well as in function, comprises derivations of nouns and verbs which express what belongs to, what pertains to, that which has the quality of something, the possessor of, the measure of being in a certain condition. These are frequently used to express the relations between two nouns or between an adjective and a noun.

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

We shall first take up the syntactic forms.
§ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitvé'yu</td>
<td>old walrus</td>
<td>8.12, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ká'</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qé'li</td>
<td>cap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qol'g</td>
<td>penis</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ỉč'qai</td>
<td>little mother</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nį'qai</td>
<td>little child</td>
<td>37.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'rqew</td>
<td>a suit of armor</td>
<td>116.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rč'w</td>
<td>whale</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnč'el'w</td>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tč'ν</td>
<td>blue fox</td>
<td>96.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rč'łup</td>
<td>quid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vč'em</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>37.3 (Koryak vč'-yam Kor. 17.6, according to dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rč't</td>
<td>trail</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?č'ut</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>44.11 (Koryak ?a'-wut Kor. 82.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?nč'wán</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>36.3 (Koryak ?a'-wán)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aič'wan</td>
<td>the Ai'wan</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nqan</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu?uč'quč</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>105.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'per</td>
<td>wolverene</td>
<td>78.2, ke'per 92.21 (Koryak qapay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kri'ngor</td>
<td>three-year-old doe</td>
<td>117.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wak'qa's'qor</td>
<td>two-year-old doe</td>
<td>117.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?č'har</td>
<td>polar fox</td>
<td>92.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntč'ul'p</td>
<td>son-in-law</td>
<td>80.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'nel</td>
<td>thong-seal</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pč'nel</td>
<td>two-year-old buck</td>
<td>117.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mč'mil</td>
<td>seal</td>
<td>96.4 (Koryak me'-mil Kor. 90.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li'μnul</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pč'kul</td>
<td>butcher-knife</td>
<td>85.23 (Kor. pa'qul Kor. 78.23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nč'lul</td>
<td>herd</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qé'ptiril</td>
<td>backbone</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qld'ul</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>43.1 (Kor. qla'wuł Kor. 17.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu'č'k</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>35.11 (Kor. 32.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'mak</td>
<td>evil spirit</td>
<td>61.6 (Kor. 35.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ač'mak</td>
<td>carcass</td>
<td>81.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gč'mi'k</td>
<td>game</td>
<td>84.28 (Koryak gč'niK Kor. 61.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eč'k</td>
<td>lamp</td>
<td>68.12, 106.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu'req</td>
<td>white whale</td>
<td>96.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'lay</td>
<td>sea-lion</td>
<td>65.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) Stems ending in two consonants generally insert a vowel in the terminal consonant cluster.

- *qe'pil* football (stem *qepl*); (Kor. Kam. *qa'pil*; Kor. Par. *qepil*)
- *ma'qim* arrow 75.23
- *lo'nil* walrus-blubber 47.4
- *pi'nil* tidings 61.5
- *de'nil* trunk 96.3

§ 29. REDUPLICATED FORMS

Some stems are reduplicated.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nim</td>
<td>ni'nnim settlement 7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kër</td>
<td>kër'kër combination-suit 37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yim</td>
<td>dô'ndin¹ fire 39.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'l</td>
<td>e'l'e'l excrement 80.11; (e'l'lu 81.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liq</td>
<td>li'gliq (Kor. <em>liglig</em>) egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rig</td>
<td>ri'grig hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om</td>
<td>o'mom (Kor. <em>omom</em>) heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liñ</td>
<td>li'nli heart (see §31, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poñ</td>
<td>po'mpo fly agaric (see §31, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twu</td>
<td>tu'twuw word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'k</td>
<td>o'bot chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo't</td>
<td>bo'tbot bag-pillow 29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wüt</td>
<td>wüt'wüt leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gil</td>
<td>gil'gil sea ice 8.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e't'iti Anser segetum)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak:

- *kiš*  *kiš'kiš* navel string Kor. 63.10
- *pip*  *pi'pip* comb Kor. 78.9
- *vit*  *vi'tvit* ringed seal Kor. 17.12
- *nai*  *nai'nai* mountain Kor. 42.2
- *wry*  *wry'wry* breath Kor. 33.8

(2) Stems ending in a consonant 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

¹Compare §2, p 645.
end, including the initial consonant, vowel, and the first consonant following the first vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilh</td>
<td>pi'lhapiil famine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qerg</td>
<td>qe'rgiqer light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirk</td>
<td>tirkritir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tèrg</td>
<td>tèrgitèr crying 20.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirg</td>
<td>tirgitir meat 48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tv!mgitum</td>
<td>tu'mgitum companion 103.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'ikamit</td>
<td>mi'kamit blubber 47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yelkiyel</td>
<td>ye'knyel pudding Kor. 34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu'Lwul</td>
<td>mu'Lwul 25.3 blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wilq</td>
<td>*wilqul (Kor. Kam. vo'ilkwul, cf. Kor. 31.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qerg (Kor. Kam. qesh)</td>
<td>qe'rgiqer light (Kor. Kam. qe'shuqes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vryil (Kor. vyil)</td>
<td>v'yilvryil image (v'yilvryil Kor. 32.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>org</td>
<td>o'rgoor sledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omk</td>
<td>o'mkoom 79.5 willow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wus'q (Kor. Kam. wus'q)</td>
<td>wu's'quus (Kor. vu's'quvus cf. Kor. 57.6) darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el</td>
<td>el'eeel summer (Kor. Kam. a'laal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il</td>
<td>il'liil rain(Kor.Kam. mu'gamuq)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yàg</td>
<td>{yàgà'q } nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(yil) yìliil language 7.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yir</td>
<td>yìriir a full one 86.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Related to this group are—

ev

enn

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ìml (Kor. ìml)</td>
<td>mì'mil water (Kor. mì'mîl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mîlu (Kor. mîlu)</td>
<td>mì'ulu louse (Kor. mì'ulu; mì'mîc Kor. 55.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elê, rîv (see elêv'tulä 89.32; ge'lı«vulin 88.1)</td>
<td>elêv'lü wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor. Kam. ìhu'lu, e'hu'lu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§29
(4) Dissyllabic words repeat the first syllable at the end of the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mērē</td>
<td>mē'rēmēr tears 116.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qōlē 41.5</td>
<td>'qōlē'qōl snuff 41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīlē (see 90.2)</td>
<td>yīlēil marmot 89.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīli (Kor. čil)</td>
<td>yīliil tongue 48.8 (Kor. čr'ili; Kor. 56.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quli</td>
<td>quli'quli voice 44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nute</td>
<td>n'utenut land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīlqā(t) (Kor. Kam. yīlq(t))</td>
<td>yīlqāil sleep (Kor. Kam. yr'ī-qayil)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak:

- mī'tqa
- qanga
- kī'kā

(5) Some polysyllabic words double the whole word.

e'ne'neñen southeast wind

In Kamchadal analogous forms are derived principally from adjective stems:

- o'mlāx warm
- a'txālax bright
- tsm'nlāx dark
- tpi'lhet'ik I suffer from hunger

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

- ēw'exēwx rain (stem ēw)
- pālapal leaf (stem pāl)
- kō'mlokōm marrow (Chukchee kī'mil; Kor. Kam. kī'mil)
- bī'nhulāhulc heart (Chukchee bī'ñili; Kor. bī'ñiliñ)

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

Chukchee | Kor. Kam.
---------|-----------
- go'pki elk | ve'pka'vep
- tīrki walrus | yī'kayik

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.
kērker combination-suit (stem kēr); Kor. I key′key (stem key) ;

kērkērgupū and ke′rgupū from the combination-suit; kērkērik in the combination-suit

na′ukēr woman’s suit

nimni′mgupū from the settlement 10.12

gēlgi′tkunik on the ice fields 7.3; gēlgi′tkunik on the sea-ice 9.2

mēlgi′tkunik on top of the water 9.3

Note 3.—It is not impossible that the forms

yara′ni house

yoron′ni sleeping-room (see § 30)

ya′rar drum

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

§ 30. SUFFIXES -n, -ni

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffixes, in Chukchee -n, -ni, in Koryak -ne, -na, according to dialect.

Iu′netun name of a spirit 22.6

kuke′ni kettle (ku′kek 75.13); Kor. Kam. kuka′na; Kor. Par. kuke′ne

yoron′ni sleeping-room 107.9

yara′ni house 7.8; 30.11 (Kor. yaya′na Kor. 22.4)

kema′ni dish 86.23; 87.31, 33 (kama′gtri to a dish 88.24) (Kor. kama′ni Kor. 64.3)

gora′ni reindeer 51.6

rpe′ni stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. yipa′na Kor. 43.2)

e′ni wolf 78.2, 96.28

yopa′ni broth (Kor. ipa′na Kor. 28.6)

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

po′gin spear 97.27 (po′ge 117.29) (Kor. po′gin)

na′ngan belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. na′ngân)

riggo′lgin cellar 36.8 (rig golge′tri to the cellar 36.10)

re′mkin people 8.8, 10 (re′mkû 107.20) (Kor. ya′mkin Kor. 39.7)

tu′mgim companion 38.12 (tu′mgâ 37.7)

gilhin lake 37.4 (gilhik in a lake 37.5)

üpa′lhin tallow 87.4 (üpa′lha 86.23)

gilhin skin 23.9

qēla′rgim gray fox 96.14

e′cin fat (Kor. a′cin Kor. 15.4)

el′gin father 73.10 (stem L)
ke'ni'vin boy 11.7
kopa'lhin walrus-blubber 12.6 (kopa'lhha 14.11)
yi'gim month 7.2
a'stin dog 135.20 (a'stu 135.20) (Kor. a'stu'n Kor. 48.8)
ke'i'nin brown bear 78.3 (ke'i'nu 136.20) (Kor. Kam. ka'i'nin)
ra'toi'vin big old carcass 136.19
kokai'vin big kettle 33.10
i'rim fur shirt 83.24 (i'ru 116.26)
wukwun stone (stem wukw 3.19) (Kor. vu'gvin)
ni'lhin thong 41.10 (Kor. ni'lhin Kor. 40.5, 8)

To this group belong the endings -hun, -yin, -chin, -girgin, -yirin -lin (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 e often change it to i slightly nasalized.

    va'le knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem va'la)
    ri'rki walrus 8.5
    ke'le an evil spirit 61.6
    ti'mini buck (stem ti'ma)
    krini'nti three-year-old buck 117.11
    wi'rki bear 110.11
    wi'ur scraping board (stem wi'uri)
    e'wich small bag (stem e'wiču)

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

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

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

    e'wgan incantation 129.18 (stem e'wganv)
    e'tin master 122.38 (stem e'tin

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

§31
A number of stems with consonantic ending have a double form of the stem, one ending with the consonant, another one ending in a, e, or i, which are suffixed to the stem. The absolute form is the stem form without terminal vowel.

(5) Irregular forms are—

Chukchee

\[\text{§32 SPECIAL FORMS}\]

(1) Personal pronouns.

\[\text{gūm} \text{ I (Kor. } \text{gūmma}; \text{ Kamch. } \text{kūmma)}\]

\[\text{gıt} \text{ thou (Kor. } \text{gı'ssa}; \text{ Kamch. } \text{kı'ja)}\]

(2) The personal pronoun \[\text{ena'}n\] (Kor. \[\text{enunu}\]; Kamch. \[\text{enda'}\]) \text{HE} is formed from the stem \[\text{en-}\].

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

§ 32 SPECIAL FORMS

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

(1) Personal pronouns.

\[\text{gūm} \text{ I (Kor. } \text{gūmma}; \text{ Kamch. } \text{kūmma)}\]

\[\text{gıt} \text{ thou (Kor. } \text{gı'ssa}; \text{ Kamch. } \text{kı'ja)}\]

(2) The personal pronoun \[\text{ena'}n\] (Kor. \[\text{enunu}\]; Kamch. \[\text{enda'}\]) \text{HE} is formed from the stem \[\text{en-}\].

(3) The personal pronouns of the plural are formed with the suffix \(-i\). In Koryak the dual has the suffix \(-i\); the plural, \(-u\). In Kamchadal we find \(-a\) for the first and second persons.
my'ri (Kor. dual mu'yi, pl. mu'yu; Kamch. mu'ja) we (stem muŋ-[Kor. muč-, Kamch. muğ-])
tu'ri (Kor. dual tu'yi, pl. tu'yu; Kamch. tu'ja) ye (stem turg-[Kor. tuč-, Kamch. tiŋ-])
ē'rrī (Kor. dual a'čēi, pl. a'čēu; Kamch. ta) they (stem erg-[Kor. abh-, Kamch. ta-])

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

(5) Indefinite pronoun.
rā'-nut what (stem reg) (Kor. yi'naa [stem yaq])
ni'rki.fnut a certain one (stem ni̇rke) (Kor. ni'yka, ni'yki.fnut [stem ni̇yka])
ni'ki.fnut a certain thing (stem ni̇ḵ)
Koryak:

The dual of Koryak I has the same suffix.

- *lila't* two eyes
- *qo'yat* two reindeer (Chukchee *qa'at* reindeer)
- *vai'amit* two rivers (Chukchee *ve'emit* rivers)

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

- *qla'wulu* men Kor. 44.3
- *nha'witqatu* women Kor. 44.2
- *qai-pipi'kalnu* little mice Kor. 25.6
- *nawa'kku* daughters Kor. 27.1
- *a'gmu* bags Kor. 28.5
- *kma'nu* children Kor. 44.7
- *vai'amu* rivers (stem *vaiam*)
- *lila'wgi* eyes
- *mimlu'wgi* lice Kor. 25.4
- *imbanala'wge* ermines Kor. 66.18
- *qoya'wge* reindeer (stem *qoya*; *qoya'we* Kor. 22.4)
- *qapa'au* wolverenes (< *gapay-u*) Kor. 12.7
- *ikkama'u* vessels Kor. 28.5
- *ki'plau* mortars Kor. 51.5 (*kipla'wi* Kor. 53.8)

Kamchadal:

The plural suffix of Kamchadal is -(i)*n*.

- *v'hi* tree
- *koce* dog
- *ki'st* house
- *luh* eyes
- *keli'lan* spotted seal
- *me'mil* ground-seal

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.

- *luhi'n* trees
- *koce'n* dogs
- *ki'stin* houses
- *keli'lin* spotted seals
- *me'mil* ground-seals

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

- *ianin* ear
- *iano* ears
- *kosh* dog
- *kosgut* dogs
- *uan* stone
- *uad* stones

¹ Słownik Narzeczy Ludow Kamczackich Rozprawy Wśródづalnionego Akademii Umějetność w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvi, pp. 107, 113, 120.
The Kamchadal dialect of Sedanka also has the ending -t.

veta'tilan workman       veta'tilat workmen
sū'nikil the one who flies sū'nikilat those who fly

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

§ 35. PLURAL OF PERSONAL NOUNS.

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

Ye'tilinti Yetilin and his family
(Kor. Ačče'pininti) Ačče'pin and his wife
ne'wänti their wives
mi'kinti (Kor. Kam. ma'kinti) who? (see p. 726)

Koryak Kamenskoye:

Valvintila'nti Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1
Yini'a-ña'wuginti Yini'a-ña'wugut and her husband Kor. 19.5

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

Ačče'pinana'wgi Ačče'pin and his family.
Quyqmn'aqu'wgi Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10
Amamquit'inu Ememqu't's people Kor. 43.7
pipik'ka-ña'wugintu mouse-women Kor. 28.3

§ 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.

Ye'tol O Ye'tilin! remkilo'n a guest! 111.19
Quto'w O Qutu'wgi!

Koryak:

miko'n vannilño'n! whose tooth Kor. 34.4
ña'wako'k! daughter! Kor. 22.7
tilago'n! I found! Kor. 24.1

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

\[ \text{Araroi'} \quad \text{O Ara'ro!} \\
\text{Uppenkei'} \quad \text{O Upe'kke!} \\
\text{Mitei'} \quad \text{O Mitii!} \\
\text{Kor. Quqe'!} \quad \text{O Quyqinn'a'qu} \\
\text{Kor. Yiinei'} \quad \text{O Yini'a'nawgut} \]

also \( qlei \) \( \text{O man! (from } qlik, \text{ which otherwise is used only in compounds) } \)

§ 37. Subjective Form

-e, -tä (Chukchee). Instrumental; used in place of object when the verb is intransitive (e.g., she cooked with meat = she cooked meat); subject of transitive verb.\(^1\)

(a) After terminal vowel -tä:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ekke'xä} & \quad \text{by the son} \quad 18.9 \\
\text{tem'netä} & \quad \text{with shell-fish} \quad 9.8 \\
\text{uvv'qucitä} & \quad \text{the husband} \quad \text{told her} \\
\text{li'xä} & \quad \text{with an eye}
\end{align*} \]

(b) After terminal consonant -ä:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{eñe'nilä} & \quad \text{by a shaman} \quad 7.5; \quad 14.12; \quad 15.9 \\
\text{vuv'lä} & \quad \text{by darkness} \quad 18.12 \\
\text{ěli'xä} & \quad \text{by the father} \quad 18.4 \\
\text{rā'xipä} & \quad \text{with a drill} \quad 8.1; \quad 11.2 \\
\text{yō'xä} & \quad \text{by sleep} \quad 10.6, \quad 7 \\
\text{a'txilä} & \quad \text{by the boat's crew} \quad 10.9; \quad 12.4 \\
\text{re'xrä} & \quad \text{by the bow-man} \quad 10.10 \\
\text{eñe'xnä} & \quad \text{with the spirits} \quad 16.3
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{e'te uvv'lä} & \quad \text{with fat she cooked (i.e., she cooked fat)}
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{gelëtkina'ta} & \quad \text{along the ice-top} \quad 13.7 \\
\text{rimnetä} & \quad \text{and rt'mnä with the inner skin}
\end{align*} \]

\(^1\) For proper names, see § 39. Compare nominal forms of verbs, No. 3, § 64.
aiwana'ta the Aiwan 46.6; 49.2
intu'ulpireta by the son-in-law 80.22 and intu'ulpire
-ta, -a (Kor. Kam). Instrumental and subject of transitive verbs
(as in Chukchee).

lila'ta with an eye
u'tta with the wood
α'lata with excrement Kor. 12.5
eke'ta by the sister Kor. 18.10
nula'ta with a line Kor. 41.3
yicalmyi-tu'mga by the brother Kor. 20.6
na'witqata by the woman Kor. 21.5
ya'mka by the people Kor. 39.7
yi'pna with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minka'ta</td>
<td>minka'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuktta</td>
<td>wuktta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enka'ta</td>
<td>enka'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaienka'ta</td>
<td>vaienka'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nika'ta 12.9; 14.10</td>
<td>nika'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginot'-a'lo'</td>
<td>ginot'-a'lo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuqen'ta</td>
<td>there, by itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'tingqata</td>
<td>there, behind the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'onkata</td>
<td>there, farther on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenke'ta</td>
<td>there, far off</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also the Chukchee forms—

nuqen'ta there, by itself
no'tingqata there, behind the speaker
no'onkata there, farther on
nenke'ta there, far off

-U' Kamchadal. Instrumental.

u'U with wood (from y'k wood)
va'el' with the eye (stem v'l)

**Locative Form (§§ 38-39)**

**§ 38. COMMON NOUNS**

-(i)k, -ki, -qi (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.1

ve'menik nitug'qen he lives on the river
elad'qi nitug'g'en he lives with the mother
nu'tek (Kor. nu'tak) on the land

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

\[\text{gu'muTc and gu'maq in my possession} \]
\[\text{yo'oq in the wind (from yo'o WIND)} \]
\[\text{eLa'q in the mother's (from eLa' MOTHER)} \]
\[\text{helvile'kl at the herd (from helvil HERD)} \]
\[\text{veliko-laulu'ki at the merchant's (from velitko-la'ul MERCHANT)} \]

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{pi'lhin throat} & \quad \text{pi'lik in the throat} \\
\text{qi'thin lake} & \quad \text{qi'tik at the lake} \\
\text{mi'ngin hand} & \quad \text{mi'nik at the hand}
\end{align*}\]

The forms pi'lhiq, qi'thiq, mi'ngi, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix -girg(m) (§ 106.44) have in the locative -inkor -nk:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ka'far gin descent} & \quad \text{ka'finki and ka'far gin} \\
\text{tita'tirg climbing up} & \quad \text{tita'tinki and tita'tirg}
\end{align*}\]

Note.—These two forms appear with distinctive meaning in the locative of gito'lhm SIDE:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{gito'liq on the side of the mountain} & \quad \text{gito'liq on the side of a person}
\end{align*}\]

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

Thus we find nutek, nuteq, and nute IN THE COUNTRY; ya'ra and ya'ra AT HOME; the k may also be replaced by i. The leu'ti ON THE HEAD 44.5; a'nga-tor'mi ON THE SEASHORE 12.4

\[\begin{align*}
\text{walqa'rik in the jawbone house, 44.14} \\
\text{nut's'qak on the ground, 15.5} \\
\text{rag-tor'mik on the house border, 12.12} \\
\text{a'nyak on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7} \\
\text{g'ilqilik on the sea ice, 13.3} \\
\text{tu'wlik on the ice-floe, 13.3} \\
\text{ti'mik on a hummock, 62.7} \\
\text{gcekechik on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8} \\
\text{bilek (Kor. i'la'k) in the eye}
\end{align*}\]

Koryak:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{va'amik in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2} \\
\text{e'elqin in the armpits Kor. 18.9} \\
\text{ya'ya in the house Kor. 19.9} \\
\text{ulgu'vik in the cache Kor. 80.10} \\
\text{yaga'lik in the porch Kor. 80.13} \\
\text{} \\
\text{qas'wun'tik at the foot of the stone-pine bushes Kor. 21.7}
\end{align*}\]
With nouns designating animate beings, the suffix -k expresses the possessor.

e'kkkek va'rkun (Kor. Kam., a'kkak va'ykin) it is the son's
maa'lik va'rkun in the neighbor's (house) he is 19.2
gel'me-ni'kek whosoever 20.7
Kor. d'al tu'yik va'ykin have you an axe? Kor. 63.5
Kor. Tike'nviyik va'ykin With-Smell-Pusher-Away has it Kor. 63.4

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

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

gümük e'kkak wälvi'lpá qä'vi'mithin take from my son's herd
gümük alka'ýpá from my son (güm I; -k possessive; ekke son;
-ýpá from [§ 42])
em'g-nu'lek ne'rmeqin ke'les in his own country the kele is strong
123.25
me'ror-g-rak in our houses 84.16
Kor. mama'nak tetel'tin on mamma's needle Kor. 25.2
Kor. Mit'i'nak ca'v'e'chu into Miti's work-bag Kor. 38.4.

Here belong—

wu'tiku (Kor. vu'tëuk) here
e'n'ki (Kor. a'ñki, Kamchadal e'ñki) there
va'aññi (Kor. vai'eñi) there (midway to)
ño'ønke there (farther on)
ra'aññi there (behind the person addressed)
ño'tënki, nø't'enqi, there (behind the speaker)
ño'ñk (Kamchadal nø'ñke) (aside by itself)
mñ'ñe (Kor. mi'nñe) where
tëd'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.

bitt'lenk on the eye
txo'ntxunk in the darkness
(from txo'ntxun)
cポイント on the land.
a'tinänk and a'tinük in the village (from a'tinäm)
With nouns designating animate objects, the suffix -nk designates the possessor.  

*p!i'č'ink či'zkinin* it is the son's

The suffixes expressing directions to and from of the Kam-chadal also contain the ending -nk, while in Chukchee and Koryak they are formed by the endings -qi, and -qi'p (see §§ 40-43). The distinct origin of these elements may still be recognized in Kam-chadal 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—

- **kiš** house
  - kiš'tenk in or from the house
- **kiw** river
  - kiw'enk in or on the river
- **txw'ntxun** darkness
  - txw'ntxunk in the darkness
- **a'tinän** village
  - a'tinänk or a'tinäk in, to, or from the village

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

§ 39. PERSONAL NOUNS

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

  - Ye'tilnä Ye'tilnä's
    - g'ëno father's (a'të father, in the language of children)
    - a'pa'äm grandfather's (a'pa'än < epe-yin GRANDFATHER, in the language of children)
    - epe-yinänä grandmother's (epe-qăi < epe-qăi GRANDMOTHER, in the language of children)
  - *tumgǐ'innä* friend's (tumgǐ'innä, in the pronunciation of women)
  - Telüne'ña lo'to things seen by Telüne R 379, no. 142 title
  - Tño'tirginatflqatyaflc I go to Tño'tirgin 120.36
  - ni'rkɛ- 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'näk Miti's Kor. 15.11
    - Pči'qalə'nak Bird-Man Kor. 16.4
    - Ačče'pinänk Ačče'pın's
    - wu'tinänk this one's
    - mi'kinänk who Kor. 12.7
Note.—The subjective of the personal pronoun in -nan may be related to this form. The possessive form of these pronouns, however, is formed in -n (see § 56)

Allative and Ablative (§§ 40-43.)

§ 40. Allative of Common Nouns, Chukchee and Koryak

-gti, -elit, -wtl (Chukchee); -itl (n), -etl (n) (Koryak), expresses the direction to, also the indirect object, on account of, for the benefit of.

In Chukchee -gti is used after vowels, except o;

-elit after consonants;

-wtl, after o.

Examples of -gti after vowels:

qaa'gti ti I went to the reindeer
aŋqaa'gti e'em'e'utkui he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5
qaaŋqaaŋqaa'gti ti to the seaside 49.6
ŋota'gti ti to the country 51.2
daubua'gti ti to the reindeer-breeder 48.9
yarga',gti ti to the house 105.27
lēda'gti ti to the eye
aŋqaa-qopqa'gti ti on an excrement-pile 45.5
kala'gti ti to a kele 97.12
girgol'da'gti ti upward 16.5
girgog'ga'gti ti upward 47.4
anvē', nauka'gti ti to an unbroken one 50.12 (ä—kä not)
lə'la'a-pa'liko-wē'gti ti to one merely dying of old age 21.7
akka'gti tre'tyā'n I brought it for the son
qaa'gti ti on account of the reindeer 48.12
wuqode'gti ti on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of -elit after consonants:

kattē'lit ti to the bottom 9.7
naronentitiko'īnuño'īnu notas'qē'lit ti it shall be thrown on the ground 25.3; also 16.7
mēmelē'lit ti to the water 48.5
ra'ulē'lit ti to the whaler 46.5
aŋqaa'kamaanasē'lit ti to the owners of bad dishes 96.7
rnmē'ti ti to the inner skin
ñobē'ti ti to the poor ones 96.26
elīg'eti qā'ti' ti he went to the father 109.3
gē'camē'to'mjē'ti qā'ti' ti he went to the brothers 110.1
tnarig'eti ti to the dawn 41.7
gē'christi ti to the moon 41.11
Examples of -wti, -uti, after o

qaarabikoit' ti under the sledge-cover 110.8
yorou'ti to the sleeping-room 39.10
mëlnit' kou'ti into the water 17.4

-yi, -et (Koryak)
-ti used after all vowels.

yaya'iti to the house (yaite'ti verbal, from yaite'km Kor. 17.3)
yoyou'ti to the sleeping-room
lela'iti to the eye
giögoñai'ti to the upper part Kor. 20.1
ynou'ti to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6

-et after consonants.
yipnë'ti to the inner skin
olërze'ti into the cache Kor. 36.3
ymootnë'ti into the vent-hole Kor. 43.3

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whither</td>
<td>më'ñkri</td>
<td>menke'ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither</td>
<td></td>
<td>woléa'iri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither</td>
<td>enkri</td>
<td>änka'iri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>enkai'iri Kor. 17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither (midway)</td>
<td>va'änre</td>
<td>vaio'na'iri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither</td>
<td>ñe'nri</td>
<td>ñankai'iri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 41. ALLATIVE OF PERSONAL NOUNS

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

Yat'îling to Yetil in
qê'tîna to father (a'te father, in the language of children)
apaj'îna to grandfather (apa'j'îin [<epe'-yîn], grandfather in the language of children)
apajja'îna to grandmother (epe'qâi [<epe'-qâi] grandmother in the language of children)
tomgë'îna to the friend (te'mgrînîa, in the pronunciation of women)
wo'tqanîna (Kor. Kam. wo'tenena) to this one
më'kënîna (Kor. Kam. me'kêna) to whom

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

-čpy, -č'py, -gčpy (Chukchee) from, out of, across, along.

-pu with stems ending in a vowel.

lela'ipu from the eye
Roltannenai'pu from Rulte'n-
in 124.8 (see § 31, 4)
qaaj'pu lei'wulm along the
reindeer (herd) the walking
one
nargmoi'pu from outside
12.10 (see § 31, 4; of narg-
no'lm that staying in the
outer tent)
golë-notai'pu from another
land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21
notai'pu niloi'vuginet they
walked along the (open)
land 17.9

-pu mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

va'amgqipu from the river
nimni'mqipu ni'p'hir-muíri we came from the settlement 10.12
pöep'ggipu by the ankle 50.11

-pu mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

org'ipu from the sledge
laut'ipu kr'pliënèn he struck him across the head (see 8.1)
rmme'ipu from under the outer tent-cover 12.9
yikirge'ipu across its mouth 115.1
bot-taqne'ipu from the outer
tent
gama-va'irge'ipu among all beings 22.2
ranme'ipu from the border of the house 130.16
ép'nmép'pu from under the wall 130.16

-e'pu (only in Koryak II, in a number of dialects; for instance, in the
village of K'ch'm in Kamchatka).

nute'pu galai'vulin he walked along the open land
§ 43. POST-POSITIONS IN -nk, -nq, -ńq, -(n)go, -ńgor

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

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

§ 43. POST-POSITIONS IN -nk, -nq, -ńq, -(n)go, -ńgor

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

lelańgo from the eye
eqańko from heaven Kor. 33.4
kirpa'gyńko out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3
menkańgo (mańeńko Kor. 33.7) whence
wotcańgo from here
ńankańgo thence
ńanańkańgo Kor. 42.3
änkańgo from there
vaińgo from there (not very far)

-ńgo, -ńgor (Chukchee) FROM, not free; only in the following adverbs:

męńgo and męńgor whence (męńko 113.19)
ńońgo and ńońgor from there (far off) (ńońko 76.5; 131.8)
vańenqo vańängo and vańąngori from there (not very far)
ńońteńgo and ńońtęńgori from behind the speaker
vańenqo from behind the person addressed
ńuńqe and ńunqer from there

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

i, ĩ, e, y, ü, ę, 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    lüń the eye
sünk from the wood lüłrank from the eye
sönke to the wood lüłank to the eye
kńe the sea    eńki there
kńeńk from the sea ńońke there, thus
kowanyke to the sea mańke whence, whither, how
§ 44. Post-positions of Plurals of Personal Nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent pronoun</th>
<th>Suffix of plural of personal noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absolute</td>
<td>e’rri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>erika’gti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>erikapi’pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 qla’ul man  glauli’rgupa from the people
 ora’velan person  orawa’la’rgen belonging to men
 Tiña’p (a name)  Tiña’perik with Tiña’p and his family (locative and allative)
                 Tiña’pirgen belonging to Tiña’p’s family, belonging to Tiña’p

Kor. Kam.:

Pipe’kba-na’wegut Mouse-Woman  Pip’e’kba-na’wegut’yiik by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1
Annimaya’t Frost-Man  Annimaya’t’yiik by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9
Ai’ginvi With-Odor-Pushing-Away  Ai’ginvi’yiik’in to the people of With-Odor-Pushing-Away Kor. 63.6
Quyqinn’aqu Big-Raven  Quyqinn’aqu’yiik’iti to the Big-Raven’s people Kor. 19.9; 35.6

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

Miti’s’hin belonging to Miti Kor. 28.7
Quyqinn’aqu’chin belonging to Big-Raven Kor. 28.7

Here Koryak s’kh and ch are analogous to Chukchee rg.

1 In cases of this kind the plural is often used to refer to the person himself.
§§ 45-50. Form in -iän

§ 45. GENERAL REMARKS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-iän</td>
<td>-iän</td>
<td>-iän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kän</td>
<td>-kän</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lin</td>
<td>-laän</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ni—qän nü—qän
ge—lin ga—lään

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

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

\[ \text{miänkri-vä'lit ple'kit} \text{ tegge'än} \text{ nime'qinet?} \quad \text{Nime'qinet} \quad \text{mei-mitnet.} \]

How do you want your boots? I want large ones (miänkri how; vä'lit being, pl. (§ 54); ple'kit boots pl.; teggeän desire; -u serving for; ni- prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; -nelg to have; -qit thou; ni—qinet nominalized form of verb, pl.; meiän large, m- 1st per. exhortative; eimit to take; -net [I]— them, exhortative)

To the question rä-ne'llänä gerküän? With what kind of skins has it been bought? (ræ what; ne'llänä skin; -ä instrumental; ge—lin nominalized verb [§ 73]; -rkur to buy) one may answer—

\[ \text{niteqinetä} \quad \text{with good ones (ni—qän nominalized verb; ni—qinet} \text{ instrumental of this form; teän good);} \]

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

em-te'n-nilä niken? the sportful people teased him (em- mere; te'n-nilä subjective form of te'n-nilin sportful [the corresponding verb with the suffix -su is ten're'urkin TO LAUGH]; niken? indefinite pronominal verb, niken to do something)

¹ Men's pronunciation nirm'läggät.
These forms, however, have definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

- **ten** good
  - **nte'ngin**
    - definite form **ntanqê-na'chín** (see § 53)
  - **te'îchín** (see § 55)
    - augmentative form **ta'ích'î'yîn** (see § 98, no. 1)
  - **ta'nnawval'în** (see § 76)
    - augmentative form **ta'nnaw-val't'yîn**
  - **tand'ya'n** (see § 104.38)
    - diminutive form **tand'ya'nvuqai**

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

§ 46. **SUFFIX -in.**

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

(a) Material.

- **u'ttin** wooden (Kor. u'ttin)
  - **ga'lgen um ev'irit** bird dresses 7.8
  - **qg'în** bird clothes 14.3
  - **qg'rên ng'lhin** reindeer-skins 14.4
  - **qíg'în qg'ul** man of excrement 39.6
  - **qg'în wy'kwên** house of stone 92.5
  - **ko'nên** made of horse (hair) (stem ko'nê from Russian koň)
  - **n'gîn** made of hair

Koryak:

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

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

| qa'lgna'nlhin | bird-skin |
| u'ttin-yw'ôn | wooden whale Kor. 40.9 |

(b) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

- **ç'kkîn** the son's (Kor. Kam. a'kkîn)
  - (Kamchadal ç'çîn the father's)
- **qg'rên** the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. qo'yen; Kamchadal k'lo'jan)
- **çu'cîuwên ne'wên** the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6
- **ç'kkîn qg'în** the son's sleeping-room 53.8
- **mînpi'cîêên el'giên yoro'nî** the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9
- **tu'mgin** stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9
- **qg'în yw'ên aimakî'yîn** a man's big body 90.14
Proper names form their possessives of this type also with the suffix -(i)n, especially when the terminal sound of the stem is a vowel.

Koryak:

- 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'tm and Aiñanwa't'en belonging
  to Upenke R72.13
- Ñiro'nèn belonging to Ñiro'n R377, 141 title.

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

- Amamqydtinin na'witqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.
- Quyqinn'aqu'nin flawa'lcalc.'Bvig Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14

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

- ṫ'kkinet those of the son (Kor. Kam. a'kkinat dual, a'kkinau pl.) (Kamchadal v'cxën those of the father)

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

The possessive forms of proper names have no plural.

The possessive pronoun is evidently based on this suffix. It has, however, somewhat irregular forms.
The Koryak dual has no possessive forms.

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

Chukchee                      Kor. Kam.                      Kamchadal
1st per. sing. . güm  gümni'n | gümna  gümni'n | k'innma  kima'n
2d per. sing. . git  gini'n | gi'rsa  gini'n | k'ja  kini'n
3d per. sing. . ena'n  eni'n | Ennu  ane'n | ena'  ena'n
1st per. pl. . mu'ri  mu'rgin | mu'yu  mu'chin | mu'ja  mi'gin
2d per. pl. . tu'ri  twrgin | tu'yu  tu'chin | tu'ja  ti'jin
3d per. pl. . E'ri  E'rgin | a'ebu  a'chin | ite  tew'in

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

gümni'net (pl.) gümni'nat (dual) kima'n (pl.) gümni'nau (pl.)

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

gomoka'pü qal'mityin TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM
 mine) (gomoka'lpu see § 56; q—gm imperative; eimit to take)

Demonstrative pronouns form two possessive forms:

wo'tgan [wo'tganën and wo'tganënën] (men's pronunciation wo'tgäen and wo'tgäenën)
this belonging to this

Enqa'n [Enqa'nën and E'nganënën] (men's pronunciation Enqä'en and Enqäenën)
that belonging to that

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

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

Quyqinnaqu' nin nawa'kak Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.
Amamqut'inin na'witqat Emenquot's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

kima'nü'inl' with my ears (kiman my; -l' instrumental; in ear)
m'nenl' x'vänl' with which knife?
i'kninl' ko'ol' with other dogs

§46
Suffix -kîn (Kor. Kam. -kîn; Kamchadal -în, -n) pertaining to. This suffix is added to all kinds of stems,—nominal, pronominal, verbal, and adverbial.

-qa'kîn of the sea 69.9 (Kor. Kam. qa'gq'en Kor. 76.17)
-tele'nîn pertaining to the remote past (tele'n-yep long ago); Kor. Kam. ankre'pîn (stem anki-ye'p)
-erqa'tîn pertaining to to-morrow (Kor. Kam. mîti'wîn)
-pîlhîn pertaining to the throat 9.3
-atwâlê'kîn pertaining to the people of the boats 11.9; 12.1
-at'tawûkîn pertaining to the boat 14.6
-ge'pîkîn pertaining to the back 16.10
-tîlê'kîn pertaining to motion 16.10
-mê'qqûlêkîn pertaining to water 25.6
-kelê'kîn pertaining to spirits 104.26
'-gugûkîn pertaining to a sledge 62.11
-qo'i'lê-gq'kîn pertaining to the rear sleeping-room 55.8
-nutê's-qûkîn tîmki'llîn a ground humuock 62.5
-te'lenye'pîn belonging to olden times 61.5
-mêngqê'kîn whence belonging? 113.20
-wa'nê'kîn working, referring to work (from wa'nê)
-yîlqû'tîkîn referring to sleep

Forms with post-positions are rare.

-girgglkëna'ta by the one belonging above 126.6

The possessive of the personal and of some demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, with the suffix -kîn (Kor. Kam. -kîn) expresses that pertaining to—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mûrike'kîn</td>
<td>mûyka'kîn (dual)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mûka'kîn (pl)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tîte'kîn</td>
<td>tîtu'kîn</td>
<td>tê'an, tê'nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miûnke'kîn</td>
<td>miûnka'kîn Kor. mi'nein</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mênko'kîn</td>
<td>66.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wûtke'kîn</td>
<td>wûtê'kîn</td>
<td>ta'nîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miûnka'kînau</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya'qkînau</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nûnka'kênat</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

{one being with us, one of ours}

{one of our country}

{from what time being}

{from where being, belonging to what country belonging here whose? Kor. 60.4 of what kind (pl.) Kor. 64.14 the two belonging there Kor. 70.22}
Here belong also the following Chukchee forms:

*en'ke'kin* belonging there  
*nen'ku'kin* belonging there (farther on)  
*raenqa'kên* belonging there (not very far, midway to)  
*vaenqa'kên* belonging there (behind the person addressed)  
*notruq'kên* belonging there (behind the speaker)

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

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i'git'kin</em></td>
<td><em>a'ch'kin</em></td>
<td>what belongs to the</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tite'kin</em></td>
<td><em>tita'kin</em></td>
<td>belonging to which</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numeral predicates with the ending *-kin* express ordinal numbers.  
*milinku'kên* or *milinku'al'n* the fifth

§ 48. SUFFIX *-lin*

*-lin* (Kor. Kam. *-lə'n*) (oblique cases formed from *-l*, Kor. *-l*) expresses the measure of a quality.

*mînke'mîl qe'tvulîn* what likeness strong? (i.e., how strong?);  
Kor. Kam. *menke'mîč qa'tvula'n*; Kor. Par. *menke'mîč qa'tvula'n*

*en'ke'mîl gitte'pilium* that likeness I am sensible (i.e., I am so sensible) (*en'ke* that; *-ium* [§73])

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

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

*ga-ga'gə-lên* (Kor. Kam. *ga-qoyə'-lə'n*) he who has reindeer  
*g-ékke'-lîn* (Kor. Kam. *g-ak'ka'-lîn*) he who has sons  
*garai'-git* thou who hast a home 89.7 (see § 73).  
*ga-pelə'-i-gûm* I have left  
*ga-qad'-i-gûm* I who have reindeer.

Koryak:

| *gavagrinño'al'en* with nails Kor. 24.2  |
| *gazzal'in* with eyes Kor. 24.2      |

§48
§ 49. SUFFIX -qin

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

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

Examples of stems that are verbified by means of the suffixes -eu or -et:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>ni-te'q-r-a-q in or</th>
<th>tearful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tèrg-; tèrgat to weep</td>
<td>te'rg-1-lin</td>
<td>slow-going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem kîm-; kîm' (Kor. Kam. kîma'w- [kîm])</td>
<td>ni-kî'm-a-qin</td>
<td>n-ayl't-a-q in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem ayilh-; ayilhay (Kor. Kam. ayilhay)</td>
<td>ni-ayl-a-qin</td>
<td>n-ayl-a-qen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afraid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem no-; ni-no'-qen poor, needy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem tam-péra; ni-tam-péra'qen pretty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in \(n-i\)—qin.

\(îpîl'li\) (stem \(îpîl'\)); (Kor. Kam. \(îpîl'\) [stem \(îpîl'\)]), yellowish
\(e'tqin\) (stem \(e'tqin\) and \(êqî\)); (Kor. Kam. \(e'tcîn\) [stem \(e'tcî\)]; Kor. Par. \(e'tcîn\) [stem \(êqî\)]) bad
\(qîm'n' qā'at e'tqîn\)t my reindeer are bad
also \(uwe'li\) (stem \(uwe'li\)) and \(nu' uqin\) (stem \(u'\)) Kor. Kam. \(nu' qin\) [stem \(u'\)], black

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

\(e'tqîn\) a bad one
\(e'tqîn\)rîn or \(êqî'ètn\) a worse one
\(êqîn-va'lin\) or \(aq Îm-va'lin\) a bad or worse one
\(êqîn-ya'n\) or \(aqãya'n\) one who is bad

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

For other adjective forms see § 76.

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1 This stem consists of two consonants \(wu < w\) which form a vocalic unit.
§ 50. KAMCHADAL SUFFIXES

-łäx,-łäx, is added to stems expressing qualities:
  o'm-läx (from o'm) deep (cf. Chukchee num-qin broad)
  iul-läx (from iul) long (cf. Chukchee n-iul'-ä-qin
  o'lo-läx (from olo) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix -(i)ⁿ
ololax-fⁿ k'iš'taan'ě small little houses.

In post-positional forms the attribute forms a compound with the noun:
  o'lo-läx-kĕ'stan'ke 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.
  nvĕ'thaqen u'h a straight tree.

Here vo'stroi is Russian, ni'ruqin and nvĕ'thaqen are Koryak II.

The last forms the Kamchadal plural nvĕ'thal'a'n u'h'r'n.

k!—iñ (-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'la-in (Chukchee ni-gite'p—qin) clever
  k!-nu'¬in (from nu to eat) voracious
  k!-veta't-an (from veta't to work) laborious

k!-kiñ'än seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms
  in qe—lın (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.
  k!-nu'¬kiñ'än (from nu to eat) the one who ate

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

-kil', pl. -kil'än, forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.
  nu'kil', pl. nu'kil'än, the one who is eating
  veta'tkal', pl. veta'tkal'än, the one who busies himself
  colkēl', pl. colkēl'än, the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.
  txelkil' the one who beats
  ke'jikil' the one who keeps

Suffixes in -i(n) §§ 51-55

§ 51. GENERAL REMARKS

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

-lin (Kor. -lin)
-lın, -lin (Kor. -lin)
-chin (Kor. -chin)

§§ 50, 51
-čqin (Kor. -čqin)
-čqin augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)
-çqin (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. -çqin, -çqin -çqin) abstract noun
-lin
-lin
-tkin (Kor. Kam.-tkin) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES -lh- and -ţi-

-lh(Ih) (Kor. -ţi[Ih]), the absolute form of a suffix -lh-, which occurs
with great frequency as the absolute form of certain words.
In most cases it is not retained with other suffixes, although cases
of its retention are also numerous.

lēla'lhin eye (stem lile)
ti'mkilhin (and ti'mkitrin) hummock 79.2 (stem timk 62.7; but
timkilhin 62.5)
mēlota'lhin hare 78.24 (stem melute 78.15)
rēqgqalhin fox 78.3 (stem rēqgq 78.12)
wukwulin stone 35.11 (stem wukw 35.11)
krmilhin1 worm 37.3 (stem krm 36.11)
tamonalhin a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem temune 9.8)

Koryak:

lēla'lhin eye Kor. 49.5
qit'qalhin leg Kor. 53.3
pīpē'kalhin mouse Kor. 58.7
vā'nni'lhin tooth Kor. 34.3, 4

-ţi[Ih] (Kor. -ţi[Ih]), sometimes -ITI[In] is used in the same
way as the preceding suffix.

væ'[g]e'ihin (stem væ'g) (Kor. Kam. væ'g'Ihin [stem væ'g]) grass

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

ūpa'lhin tallow 86.23 (ūpa'lh 87.4)
kopa'lhin walrus-blubber 12.6 (kopa'lh 14.11)
rēpā'lhin walrus-hide 13.13
pēnyo'lhin hearth 31.13
nawogo'lhin old woman 39.5; 40.1
vamiqala'lhin lip 14.5
pēnalka'lhin tassel 16.10
auta'lhin obsidian scraper 39.12
pērka'lhin bowlder 129.6
vīlhi'ţi[In] and reli'I[In] wing (stem vīl, rīl) 15.2

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

1The text has krmihin 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 krmilho'n (see § 36).
pénýo’l'hišm hearth (stem pín, absolute form p'í'mpi powder, ashes)

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

pí'l'hišm throat (stem pílh); (Kor. Kam. pí'l'hišm [stem pílh]). Locative: pí'l'hik', pí'l'Lik; (Kor. Kam. pí'l'hik)

nó'l'hišm thong 48.4

e'l'hišm skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES -ón- and -ón-

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

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

gal'g'čhm knife (stem galg, absolute gal'le); Kor. Kam. gal'g'-čhm (stem galg, absolute gal'g);

růmkíčhm people (stem růmk, absolute rů'mkín); Kor. ya'mkíčhm (stem yamk, absolute ya'mkín)

el'g'čhm the aforesaid father 19.11

gá'wečhm the aforesaid man 18.11

pénýo’l'kíčhm the aforesaid hearth 32.9

ey'lıčhm the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12

lélé'lıčhm the aforesaid eye 106.19

golo-a'vičhm a particular kind of dog 121.11

kál'g'čhm a particular kele 105.14

vá'qamíčhm a particular river 40.12

lolo'lıčhm a particular penis 26.8

ná'damíčhm a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>goglo'wicnm</th>
<th>hole Kor. 15.8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lawtik'l'čicnm</td>
<td>head-band Kor. 17.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-čž(IN).

ñawga'nécfnm a particular wife 38.4
ñawga'ya'téčhm the aforesaid woman 39.7

pakolo'téčhm a particular kind of woman's knife 44.3, 5

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

tá'g'čkíčhm the bag mentioned before (stem teiuč, absolute te'-učhm); Kor. Kam. čái'o'čkíčhm (stem čái'uč, absolute čái'učhm)

§ 53
NOTE 2.—In words which have the absolute form in -lën, -lë'n, the suffix -ëk-, -ëk'n-, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes -lën, -lë'n-
lela'ilhin 106.19, or lela'ëkhin eye (stem lela, absolute lela'ilhin); Kor. Kam. lela'ëkhn or lela'ëkh, (stem lela, absolute lela'ilhin)

§ 54. SUFFIXES -ll-, -le
-ll-, -le, (Kor. Kam. -la'n, -[a]la'n, -[i]la'n 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 -lën is used; after the terminal consonant of a stem (except l, r, n, and t) the auxiliary vowel ĭ is inserted before -lën. After terminal l, r, n, and t, the suffix -le'n is used, which forms with terminal l or r the ending -le'n, with terminal t the ending-le'n. With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

rillan (<ril + -le'n; base ril) yil'la'n (base winged
reli'lìn njii'allin

yai'askn (<ya'als-lan) ya'alän

va'ëmilin vaya'mila'n Maritime man

a'kàlin a'kàla'n

nà'ëchila genpelqul'lin by a left-handed man

Una'e'milin or una'ilin the fifth

With intransitive verbs this suffix forms the expression THE ONE who.

upa'ilin the one who drinks (stem upau to drink) (Kor. apau[la'n [stem apau])

Here belong also
e'delin the one who is fat (Kor. Kam. gaça'lin)
gai'milin the rich one

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

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

wuië'lë'n < wuel-lin wood-carrier 27.5
teluë'n < tel-lin the suffering one 34.7
rilië'ta'n one who is lying there 28.6

1 See §§48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in n(i)—gfn.
In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.

t'la'n the suffering one
e'yuta'n the one crossing over

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

t'la'n the one who crosses over
e'yuta'n the one who leaves

In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs,
requires the prefix 'ina- or the suffix -k'uy.

\[\text{enap'la'n} \quad \text{the one who leaves} \]

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

\[\text{na'ch'lin} \quad \text{Kor. Kam. na'ch'ala'n} \quad \text{or na'cen'k'en} \quad \text{that to the left} \]
\[\text{mra'lin} \quad \text{Kor. Kam. mra'la'n} \quad \text{or mra'k'en} \quad \text{that to the right} \]

Similar forms in -la'n occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due
however, to the influence of the Koryak.

\[\text{ki'stila'n} \quad \text{and ki'st'lin} \quad \text{that of the house} \]
\[\text{atino'la'n} \quad \text{and atino'lan} \quad \text{that of the village} \]

§55. SUFFIX -e'm- (-e'g'n)

-čín (-e'g'n) (Kor. Kam. -ča'n, Kor. Par. -sa'n) is used principally
to express the comparative. The form -e'g'n is used after the
single terminal consonants n, r, l. With this ending, the
object of the comparison assumes the locative form.

\[\text{mę'le'è'n} \quad \text{the better one} \quad \text{(Kor. Kam. mę'li'g'a'n)} \]
\[\text{mein'č'ın} \quad \text{the larger one} \quad \text{(Kor. Kam. mA'ni'č'ın; Kor. Par.}
\text{mein'č'ın) } \]

\[\text{ia'm mi'kič'ín ine'ilč'íkín ta'aq, meinč'ín um qine'ilhi'è why do you}
give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one
(ia'm why; mę large; 'ina-yl-rč'íkín you give me \([\text{§ 67}]); ta'aq
tobacco; mę'č'ın large; um particle expressing slight emphasis;
q-'ina-yl-g'ę give me! \([\text{§ 67}]) \); (Kor. Kam. meńγańąč iplu'č'ı'n}
\text{ine'yili ta'waq, mańč'ın qine'yil;} \quad \text{Kor. a'č'eńč'e'v'ın the worst}
\text{Kor. 30.7)}

\[\text{qa'mga-qa'ul�k qe'tuńč'inn I am stronger than all others (qemge-}
every; qa'ul man; -k locative; qe'teun strong; -iüm \([\text{§ 73}]) \);
\text{Kor. Kam. qa'mga-qa'ul�k ma'n qa'teunč'üm) \]

It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to
-čín THE PARTICULAR ONE. We find, for instance,
e’rmečin the strong man (stem e’rme)
ŋg’ćin the poor man (stem ŋg)

This ending has oblique cases:
yałće’pù qăev’gm čimqưk cut off some rawer part (yał raw; -ępu
from; qă-evi’gm [stem evi] to cut [§ 67]; čimqûk some)
armaće’ti to the strong man
armaće’pă from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

r’nprić-akkàŋpù from the elder son (np old; ekke son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the
suffix -čin or va’lın (Kor. Kam. -ca’n or i’tală’n) expresses our
superlative.

enà’n ma’ñičin (Kor. Kam. ina’n-ma’ñiča’n)
enà’n-ma’yinku-wa’lın (Kor. Kam. ina’n-ma’yinkiñ-
the largest one
i’tală’n)

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

ki’mma kivi’nk činitčeče’ I am prettier than you (kimma’ I;
ki’nk on thee; či’ñi’ñlax pretty)

Pronouns (§§ 56-60).

§ 56. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>qum</td>
<td>qumma, qum</td>
<td>ki’mma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>gi’ssa,1 gi</td>
<td>ki’ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>ena’n</td>
<td>a’nnu</td>
<td>ena’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>mu’ri</td>
<td>[mu’yì (dual)</td>
<td>mu’ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[mu’yú (plural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>tur’i</td>
<td>[tu’yì (dual)</td>
<td>tu’ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[tu’yú (plural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>e’rr’i</td>
<td>[a’čči (dual)</td>
<td>i’x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[a’ččú (plural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these absolute forms, forms analogous to those of the noun are
derived. The locative, subjective, and possessive are derived from the
stems; while the forms in -qti, -ipu, of Chukchee, require the suffix
ka after the pronominal stem. Thus we find the following forms:

The Koryak of Paren has gi’ta, although ordinarily ti is characteristic of Kamenskoye, ss of
Paren.

The particle ELO’U is also used in the absolute form of the pronoun. Otherwise its meaning is
generally weakly concessive, like that of German doch.
### CHUKCHEE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>2d person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>güm</td>
<td>güm, güm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>gümä', gümä'gy</td>
<td>gümä', gümä'gy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>gümna'n</td>
<td>gümna'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>gümni'n</td>
<td>gümni'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>gümka'pti</td>
<td>gümka'pti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>gümka'pto</td>
<td>gümka'pto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### KORYAK

<p>| | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>gümma</td>
<td>gümma</td>
<td>gümma</td>
<td>mu'yı</td>
<td>mu'yı</td>
<td>a'či</td>
<td>a'či</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>gümik</td>
<td>gümik</td>
<td>gümik</td>
<td>tu'yı</td>
<td>tu'yı</td>
<td>a'čık</td>
<td>a'čık</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>gümna'n</td>
<td>gümna'n</td>
<td>gümna'n</td>
<td>mo'čina'n</td>
<td>mo'čina'n</td>
<td>ačina'n</td>
<td>ačina'n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>gümni'n</td>
<td>gümni'n</td>
<td>gümni'n</td>
<td>mo'čin</td>
<td>mo'čin</td>
<td>ačin</td>
<td>ačin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>gümka'ıty</td>
<td>gümka'ıty</td>
<td>gümka'ıty</td>
<td>mo'ča'ıty</td>
<td>mo'ča'ıty</td>
<td>ača'ıty</td>
<td>ača'ıty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>gümka'ıqo</td>
<td>gümka'ıqo</td>
<td>gümka'ıqo</td>
<td>mo'ča'ıqo</td>
<td>mo'ča'ıqo</td>
<td>ača'ıqo</td>
<td>ača'ıqo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>$\text{kit'mma}$</td>
<td>$\text{kit'ja}$</td>
<td>$\text{Ena'}$</td>
<td>$\text{mu'ja}$</td>
<td>$\text{tu'ja}$</td>
<td>$\text{tx}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>$\text{kitma'nk}$</td>
<td>$\text{kitni'nk}$</td>
<td>$\text{Ena'nk}$</td>
<td>$\text{mitji'nik}$</td>
<td>$\text{ti'gii'nik}$</td>
<td>$\text{tzii'ink}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>$\text{kitmiu'n}$</td>
<td>$\text{kitlu'n}$</td>
<td>$\text{xun'da}$</td>
<td>$\text{mitji'nu'n}$</td>
<td>$\text{ti'lu'n}$</td>
<td>$\text{tlun}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>$\text{kima'n}$</td>
<td>$\text{kitli'n}$</td>
<td>$\text{Ena'n}$</td>
<td>$\text{mitji'pin}$</td>
<td>$\text{ti'jin}$</td>
<td>$\text{txii'ink}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>$\text{kitma'nke}$</td>
<td>$\text{kitna'nke}$</td>
<td>$\text{Ena'nke}$</td>
<td>$\text{mitji'gii'nik}$</td>
<td>$\text{ti'go'nke}$</td>
<td>$\text{txii'anke}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>$\text{kitma'nk}$</td>
<td>$\text{kitni'nk}$</td>
<td>$\text{Ena'nki}$</td>
<td>$\text{mitji'gii'nik}$</td>
<td>$\text{ti'gii'nik}$</td>
<td>$\text{txii'ink}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Chukchee and Koryak there is also a form expressing the 
equalis i.e. similar to, of the same size as, according to the wants of.—They are generally used with this suffix—mij, mij (§ 102, 30).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>similar to me</td>
<td>gu'muw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to thee</td>
<td>gi'niw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to him</td>
<td>e'niw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to us</td>
<td>mu'ruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to you</td>
<td>tu'ruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to them</td>
<td>not known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

amto', qegilqat-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:

morgaa'n, torgaa'n, ergaa'n

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

- Absolute ethu
- Locative ethik
- Subjective ethma'n

The Kamchadal forms in itx, and the Chuckchee forms derived from erg., are evidently related to this series.

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

gumna'n bizit myself (Ch. and Kor. Kam.)

In other cases the possessive forms are used:

gumnin bin'kin (Kor. gumni'n bin'kin) my own.

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

kuta'n-قوم ka'גתי (Chukchee) just to me (i.e., to myself)

bin'it wu'k gunftin he killed himself, (lit. his own body; wu'k body)

Kor. wu'k guntin he consumed himself (literally, his body) Kor. 56.10.

Kor. girta't wu'kinat guntinat he consumed his own legs, lit. legs body belonging to he consumed them Kor. 57.2

The term wu'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:

qım̆kn̆ činu'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.

qunuk-onaiolh-ı̆h-ı̆-ım 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particles</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this . . . .</td>
<td>vai</td>
<td>wq’–</td>
<td>wq’qan, 65.22; 137.1; 133.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that . . . .</td>
<td>[fan [Enqan]</td>
<td></td>
<td>nu'qen (Paren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that yonder . . .</td>
<td>noon</td>
<td>qg’–</td>
<td>qg’qan 70.22; also as adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that yonder . . .</td>
<td></td>
<td>qg’–, less frequently qg’–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that there (not very far) . . .</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td></td>
<td>haa'qan 133.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that there (quite far) . . .</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td></td>
<td>ga'qan 63.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that there (midway to some other object) . . .</td>
<td>vai</td>
<td>[vq’En-</td>
<td>va’Enqan 121.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that behind the person addressed . . .</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>ra’En-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that behind the person speaking . . .</td>
<td>no'ti</td>
<td>no'ti 70.21</td>
<td>no’tinqan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that apart from the speaker . . .</td>
<td>[mik]</td>
<td>hy’–</td>
<td>huu’qin 137.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who, somebody . . .</td>
<td>(mik)</td>
<td></td>
<td>me’nin 11.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 57
It may be noted that all demonstratives, except wut-, en’ñ-, and ňo’tiñ, end in -n which remains in all forms.

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

\[\text{nu’ñin-notanqa’tcen from that land, —} \]

although the two vowels u and i belong to the weak, changeable group.

When the demonstratives enter into composition, they take the ending -in, except ňo’tiñ. The same ending is found in the interrogative me’nm, which, according to the forms with suffixes, must be derived from a stem mi’k- (see §58, p. 1726). These forms appear in adjectival form in oblique cases.

\[\text{wo’tin-notanqa’tcen that one belonging to this country} \]
\[\text{wo’tin-irgiro’k that (morning) dawn} \]
\[\text{wu’tin-nu’tek (Kor. Kam. wu’tin-nu’tek) in that country} \]
\[\text{maññen-notai’prü (Kor. Kam. maññen-notai’prü) from what country.} \]
\[\text{Kor. ma’ñin-ni’kli-yel’kryel which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor. 34.2} \]

Kor. mañin-qai-ñad’wis’qatik to which small woman? Kor. 34.5

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

\[\text{ño’onqan um ñoon} \]
\[\text{enga’n um enqa’n 130.9, etc.} \]

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

\begin{align*}
\text{rai} & 61.8 \\
\text{vai} & 61.9; 62.7; 63.6; 66.30, 35; 71.15; 76.25, 30 \\
\text{ñan} & 71.3, 16; 62.4, 8; 65.1; 66.32 \\
\text{ñön} & 64.1 \\
\text{wot} & 81.12 \\
\text{wot’én-rai} & 29.1 \\
\text{elo’n um vai} & 66.29 \\
\text{elo’n vai} & 67.33 \\
\text{vai um ni’d’n(r)} & 131.3, 10 \\
\text{e’nmé ñan} & 66.32 \\
\text{enqa’n um vai} & 130.7 \\
\text{wot’ganm um vai} & 45.12 \\
\text{vai ñan} & 62.9 \\
\text{wu’tku-m vai} & 120.11
\end{align*}

\textbf{Note.}—The Koryak form in \textit{-qala’ken} given in the preceding table of demonstratives is derived from the post-position \textit{-qal, -qæ} (Chukchee \textit{-gal,-qæ}) \textit{CLOSE TO, BY THE SIDE OF}. The Koryak suffix \textit{-qala’ken cor-}
responds to the Chukchee form -qukên, which is used to form a great many derivatives. The following forms derived from demonstrative pronouns may serve as examples:—

Adverbial form va'engač (Kor. Kam. va'yeŋqal) by the side, half-way
Independent form vaenga'tkên (Kor. Kam. vayęŋqa'la'ken)
Adverbial form wo'tęŋqäč (Kor. Kam. wo'tęŋqal) here
Independent form wotinqa'tkên 14.2 (Kor. Kam. votęŋqa'la'ken)
wotגנא'רגעפ (pronunciation of men wotגא'רגעפ) 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 ɨ.

As examples may serve,—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>wo'tqan</td>
<td>wo'ssa'n Kor. 49.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Dual Kor.)</td>
<td>wo'tqangęt</td>
<td>wo'tissat Kor. 52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Koryak)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective, not personal</td>
<td>wo'tqanąqąt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective, personal</td>
<td>wo'tqanęna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative, not personal</td>
<td>wo'tqanak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative, not personal</td>
<td>wo'tqenęntęqąt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative, personal</td>
<td>wo'tqenęna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative, not personal</td>
<td>wo'tqanęna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative, personal</td>
<td>wo'tqanęna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Pronunciation of men wo'tqanąt. 2 Pronunciation of men wo'tqanęna.

Also enga'nat 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; engaad' ł those 62.10; enga'nęna by that one 44.8; wo'tqana this time 76.18

Koryak:
ňa'nyen that one (absolute) Kor. 17.5, 9; 51.2, 5
ňa'nyeu (pl.) Kor. 21.1; 44.6; 62.4; ńa'nyeu 25.6, 9; 42.4
ńa'nyenata (subjective, not personal) Kor. 43.5
ńa'nenenak (subjective, personal) Kor. 34.11; ńa'nyenęna Kor. 76.16

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

enga'nat gęni'ntırıñ net throw away those! 49.5
wo'qat gęnu'ulți eat these! 33.12
enga'at qa'at those reindeer
Kor. Kam. ńa'nyenau aťtu those dogs

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

*Enga'n gitle'ti nine'l-i-üm* there I give to those who are hungry
96.24 (cf. 96.9, 12, 17).

*Enga'n ova'vetät* these men 63.5

*Enga'n Umqąqąq'ınti* these people of Umqąqąq 63.10

*Enga'n ni' rąq ova'vetät* these two men 7.10

The corresponding forms of the personal interrogative who, somebody, and of the Kamchadal impersonal interrogative, are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mën'ın</td>
<td>məki Kor.17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Dual Koryak)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mëk'ınl</td>
<td>mək'iνl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Koryak)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mëk'ın</td>
<td>mək'inak Kor.76.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mëk'êna</td>
<td>mək'êna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mëk'ênu'pâ</td>
<td>mək'ênu'pâ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

*me'n'ìn əm el'a* who is (your) mother? 113.14
*mi'k'în yaarki'nę'tk'i kanč'i'ırgin* whose lullaby are you singing? 120.14

*mi'k'înâ ganto'lèn* by whom born? 142.1

In Kamchadal the form corresponding to the stem *mik-* signifies the inanimate interrogative.

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

In Chukchee we find also *ma'k'irgin*, pl. *ma'k'irgin'tè*, whose house's, whose family's; related to the Koryak stem *mak-*, and formed with the stem -erg of the personal pronoun third person plural (see § 44).

These particles doubled, and connected by *əm*, are also used as exclamations.

*Hän əm hän!* you there! *Hañan əm hán* 95.35 yonder
*vai əm vai!* halfway there!
*Hoon əm hoon!* far off there!

They occur in the same way with interrogative pronouns.

*me'n'ìn hän ye'türkîn?* who comes there?
*rû'nuñ nóx wurrre'erkin?* what is visible behind there?
*mi'ńk'iri vai nél'î?* how then became he? 29.7

*mi'ńk'iri nóx a'q-a-ras'q'é'um-va'lît?* why! those are bad ones to

§ 58 pass! 130.3
Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs are derived from the particle stems by means of the locative endings. From these are derived others by means of nominal suffixes (see examples below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td><em>wu’lku</em> 7.5</td>
<td><em>wu’lšuk, d’ńki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td><em>k’ń’k’e</em> 119.31</td>
<td><em>ń’a’ko, ń’a’nako, ń’e’-niko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(midway)</td>
<td><em>va’ńńki</em></td>
<td><em>va’čh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(behind)</td>
<td><em>ńo’tńńki</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(away)</td>
<td><em>ńu’ńńki</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(midway)</td>
<td><em>mę’ńńki, me’ńńki</em> 12.2</td>
<td><em>mę’ńńki, Kor. 20.1</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

there (some distance away) . . *ńo’onqan*
there (far away) . . . . *gą’ngan*

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

thus . . . *en’ńń’ń 63.13; enńd’an* Kor.13.1, *ńo’nke* 65.22 10

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERE</th>
<th>THERE</th>
<th>WHERE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem . .</td>
<td><em>wuł</em></td>
<td><em>wułč</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td><em>wułće</em></td>
<td><em>wułće’ła</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative . .</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>wułće’łt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative . .</td>
<td><em>nułqo’r</em></td>
<td><em>nułqo’ła</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in the same way Chukchee *va’ęńkaľ*, *va’änře, va’änńqo* or *va’änńqoř*; Koryak *vaieňaľ*, *vaieňqoři, vailęng* from stem *vai.*

Examples:

*wo’tko* from here 43.1; *wo’tgo*  *ęń’go’ro* thanence 49.2; 65.18, 24 121.20; 131.14; *wo’tqu* here 73.14
*en’kečśku* in there 73.20
*en’no’t* 64.7; 66.3; 72.6
*en’qe’śkin* one from there 67.3

§ 58
Koryak:

wu'têu this time Kor. 41.2  
na'ênko there Kor. 41.6  
ne'ênako there Kor. 19.11  
na'ênako there Kor. 32.1; see Kor. 62.7  
nanîka'êth thither Kor. 36.5  
na'nakango from that one Kor. 42.3

The forms mi'nêkri (Chukchee), me'nêkañ (Kor. Kam.), ma'nêke (Kamchadal), also signify now.

Derivatives with suffixes are—

mênko'ênat where are you from 65.10

mi'nêkê-nil 66.34
menke'mi't, mañ'în'n'ač (Kor. 66.1)
men'êëm', also laët (Kamchadal)

to what degree, in what manner

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

en'nên-wa'lin 128.24 (Chukchee), ennã'ân i'tala'n (Kor. Kam.), one being thus; i. e., such a one
enño't-wa'lin (Chukchee) being near here thus; i. e., such a one nearer to the speaker than the preceding
en'nên-wa'lin such a one (expressing reproach)
en'nên'-wa'lë-git such a one art thou 21.11
mi'nêkri-wa'lin (Chukchee 14.4), me'nêkañ i'tala'n (Kor. Kam.) what kind of (also in oblique cases)

In Kamchadal only a few forms of the demonstrative survive, and these take the nominal suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>THIS</th>
<th>THIS HERE</th>
<th>WHICH, WHAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>nγc</td>
<td>nγc &lt; nγc</td>
<td>mi'n(&lt;minu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nγc</td>
<td>nγc</td>
<td>mi'nãñk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>mi'nãñk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>mi'nãñk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>mi'nãñk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>mi'nãñk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>nγc'ënk</td>
<td>mi'nãñk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the other forms are replaced by the corresponding Russian forms, which are usually taken in the nominative singular masculine; such as e'koi (э́кóй), edakoi (эдакóй).

§ 58
As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in syn-
thetical form mi'nen, which corresponds to Chukchee më'nin (see p. 726.)

më'nan-ktxoq-gol which road along?

but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

mi'nen' kvan' ekan 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.

enqana'i'-git this art thou 20.7.

wotqana'i'-gum this am I 43.5, 121.14

wotqana'-mo'rë here we are 69.5

mi'k-i-üm who am I

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

mi'w-mu'ri who are we

mi'g-tu'ri who are ye 120.9

Kor. Kam. wutmnalai-gum this am I Kor. 22.1

Possessives:

en'i'n his 17.13

enqa'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'ki'chin, dual mi'-
ki'chinat, pl. mi'ki'chinau (§ 34); Kamchadal klen, pl. klen

§ 59. Indefinite Pronoun raq

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

The following are the forms with post-positions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raq</td>
<td>yaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>rä'mut</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (dual Kor.)</td>
<td>rä'mut</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Kor.</td>
<td>rä'mut</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>rä'mutet 1</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>rä'gä</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>rä'qät</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>rä'qät</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative (see § 94)</td>
<td>rä'qu</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative (see § 100)</td>
<td>garat'na</td>
<td>ya'qat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Meu's pronunciation rä'mut. 2 rä'naat'ät. 3 rä'naat'ät.
The set of forms derived from rá'nut, except the plural, are not often used.

v'me-rá'nut whatsoever; i.e., of every kind 13.13; 133.18
rá'nut what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5
rá'nut úm what was it then? 34.1
rá'nu! úm qin'ílli'í give me something
rá'nutet whatever kind of things obj. 32.5; intr. subj. 58.2
reqá by what means? 22.1; 23.5; 14.2
re'qá what? 34.8, 9; whatever 32.5
ra'qua-not with what there 139.8
re'qük at what? 26.1
re'qüm why 88.7
re'qu how 17.5, 7; why 23.1
Kor. Kam. ya'qa with what Kor. 46.9
Kor. Kam. ya'gkin-ki what for Kor. 26.10
Kor. Kam. ya'qin-yaq what then? Kor. 45.9

These forms are also used in composition:

ra'v'qa!at (Chukchee), yax-qo ya'wge (Kor. Kam.), seq-koj'xe'n
(Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer
rāg-á'ttāq ge'ë'tin (Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?
ra'es-nim'inim what settlement, obj. 33.7
ra'es-prü'nil what tidings? 11.2
rā'es-nota'čhut what kind are 14.3

Koryak I:
yap'glau what are they doing Kor. 24.5
yap'la'ki n'etik what are you (pl.) doing? Kor. 24.8

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

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

re'qärkin (Chukchee), ya'qyrkin Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), ta'qatkm
(Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?
re'vë what is the matter 19.11
re'qärkin what is the matter with thee 18.9
re'q-i-git what do you want? 18.12
rraq'd'unoθ what for? 19.1, 6
re'qäl which ones 139.9
re'qäl-i-git what do you want? 22.8
nre'q-i-git what are you doing? 33.1

Kor. Kam. nrra'q'i-gí what are you doing? Kor. 39.5

§59
Kamchadal has another form for what, something, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in \textit{enk}-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>\textit{Enka}</td>
<td>\textit{nirk-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>\textit{Enkal'k}</td>
<td>\textit{nirki'nut}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>\textit{Enka'nk}</td>
<td>\textit{nirkenti}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>\textit{Enka'nk}</td>
<td>\textit{nirkana}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>\textit{Enka'nk}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\textit{Enka'nej'c} what are you doing?

Under Russian influence, these forms are going out of use, and are being replaced by post-positional forms and verbs.

\textit{Enka'nke k'oj'c} why, or for what do you come?

§ 60. Other Indefinite Pronouns

1. The stem \textit{nirk-} (Kor. Kam. \textit{nirik-}) expresses a certain well-known person, the one we think of, the one referred to; \textit{nik-} a certain well-known thing or act we think of, or referred to.

These form post-positional forms analogous to demonstrative pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>\textit{nirk-}</td>
<td>\textit{nirki'nut}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Koryak</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative (see § 94)</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>\textit{nirki'nut}</td>
<td>\textit{nirki'nut}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative (see § 100)</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative (see § 94)</td>
<td>\textit{nire'nu}</td>
<td>\textit{nirke'nu}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples:

ni'rkenut a certain one 90.20; 119.12
ni'kek somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as

ni'rkem (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
a'vex nerkai'pü gora'ñi to'ñityä'n yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

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

nike'rkin (Kor. Kam. nika'ykin) he does the thing referred to or thought of
rimike'wkin whatsoever shall be 21.10
Kor. Kam. mnikak I'll do something Kor. 42.1
Kor. Kam. neka'wo'ykin he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, xsu'zi'č you do a certain thing is used in the same way.

2. qol (Chukchee), qolla' (Kor. Kam.), k'ola' (Kamchadal) other.

In Chukchee the synthetic stem quli is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

quli'-nikek afterwards (=at another certain one)
qolu't-a'lo' some future day (=in the other day)
gol yara'čhin a house 86.17
gol yil'gin another month 7.2

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee—Personal</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute . . . .</td>
<td>qol</td>
<td>qolla'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (dual Koryak)</td>
<td>quttti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Koryak . .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective . . . .</td>
<td>qut'ë(n)inda 1</td>
<td>qut'iñinak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive (locative)</td>
<td>qut'ë(n)inda 1</td>
<td>qut'iñinak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative . . . .</td>
<td>qut'ë(n)ëna 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative . . . .</td>
<td>qut'ë(n)ëna'pü 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative . . .</td>
<td>qut'ë(n)imu 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Without n in men's pronunciation.

gol eli'gin another father, a certain father 107.22

gol im na'nmirkin they kill the other one 8.1 (see also 8.12; 15.6; 14.9; 17.1)
qu'tti others (subj. intr.) 12.5
qu'tti'inä by one of them 8.11 (see also 7.4; 15.3), on one of them 8.13
Kor. Kam. qo'lla another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:
qolë-notai'pu from another land 14.12
qolë-ra'gti to another house 12.11
qolë-te'l'unnuk on another sleeping 13.5

3. ėvë (Chukchee), álva (Kor. Kam.), ėknën (Kamchadal), other, occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—
el'vëlin (Chukchee), 117.7, el'vëlinet 113.3, álva'lin (Kor. Kam.)
Kor. 76.19.
ček-al'vam-va'lin how differently it is Kor. 80.9 (Kor. Kam).
al'va titwa'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):

im- all
gemge- every
em- mere
ter- how much

Most of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns take the definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms, the same as nouns, and some of these are used with great frequency.

mañena'chëin that one, who is he (from mé'nin who)
rä'nutqäi (from rä'nut what) or
ra'qäi
ya'xpil (Kor. Kam.)
qoLai'ëin another big one
që'leqäi another little one
are used quite often

The Predicate (§§ 61-82)

§ 61. Introductory Remarks

The predicate appears in two distinct forms, according to the character of the word forming the predicate. The first class is formed by verbs; the latter, by nominal terms which are used as predicate. While all verbs may appear in nominalized forms, and therefore may take the form of the noun as predicate, nouns can not readily be transformed into verbs—except by the use of verbalizing suffixes, which give the compound stem a verbal character. Thus we find that true verbal forms are confined to verbal stems, to the numerals (except one), and
to the indefinite (or interrogative) pronouns, which may be used as nouns as well as verbs.

The structure of the first class of predicative forms is quite complex. We have to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs. The following structural elements may be recognized. We have—

I. Intransitive verbs:

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

II. Transitive verbs:

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

The following simple modes and tenses may be distinguished:

Indicative . . . without prefix, no suffix
Subjunctive:

(a) Exhortative . . with the prefix \(n(i)\) the suffix \(q_t\)
(b) Subjunctive . . with the prefix \(e\) the suffix \(q_t\)
Imperative . . . with the prefix \(q\) the suffix \(q_t\)
Future . . . . . with the prefix \(r_q\) the suffix \(\tilde{n}(i)\)

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in -\(irk\)in (Koryak I -\(rigin\, -i\)kin; Koryak II -\(ikt\)in, Kamchadal -\(j\)k), the pronominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal -\(in\), as is done in all forms in Kamchadal.

The second class, predicative nominal terms, consists either of nouns or of verbal stems, which are nominalized by certain prefixes, and which take suffixes expressing the terminal relations. The simple nominalized forms are used as predicative terms of the third person. These have been discussed before. They are the nominalized forms in -\(in\), -\(kin\, -\(lin\, n(i)-qin\ (§§ 45-49). In the first and second persons singular these take a suffix -\(i\), which may be derived from the verb -\(il\)¹ to be. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized form appears in composition with the personal pronouns \(murray\) we, and \(\text{tyri}\) 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.

¹I consider this unlikely, since in Koryak the t should be preserved, although in Chukchee it might disappear according to the phonetic laws governing the pronunciation of men. Mr. Bogoras points out that the \(t\) cannot be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be \(t\). — F. Boas.
§ 62. Structure of the Intransitive Verb

1. The pronominal prefixes of the intransitive verb are confined to the first person, singular and plural: t- for the singular, mt- for the plural. The m of the plural may perhaps be related to the same element in muri we, while the t of singular and plural may be the same. The element mt- conveys the idea of plurality of the first person with such energy, that, in Koryak at least, the suffix -mik, which repeats the same idea, may be omitted; the same omission occurs rarely in Chukchee.

2. The temporal and modal elements enter into close relation with the pronominal prefixes. Most of these follow the ordinary phonetic laws. Thus

\[ t + \text{rg} \text{ becomes } t\text{rg}- \]
\[ mt + \text{rg} \text{ becomes } m\text{irrg}- \]
\[ mt + \varepsilon \text{ becomes } m\text{i}(i)- \]

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

\[ t + \eta \text{ becomes } m \]
\[ mt + \eta \text{ becomes } m\eta \]

In the subjunctive (b), when the verb begins with a vowel, the auxiliary vowel disappears, and the glottal stop follows the initial vowel of the stem. This occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak:

\[ tu\varepsilon w\varepsilon k \text{ (stem } w\varepsilon j) \text{ I should cook} \]

3. The verbal themes may be simple or compound. The former undergo peculiar phonetic changes according to their position, the forms in initial position differing from those found in medial position. This subject has been discussed in § 7 and § 12. A number of formations, however, are irregular, and not due to the action of phonetic laws.

\[ q\ddot{a}mi-\text{pliku eating finishing (stem } q\ddot{a}mi, \text{ from } qamitva) \]
\[ tara'\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}t they built a house (from } t\ddot{a}g\ddot{a} to make, yara house) \]
\[ km\ddot{i}r\ddot{k}in \text{ he kills children } (kmi\ddot{a}n t\ddot{a}m\ddot{i}r\ddot{k}in) \]
\[ kuwe\ddot{t}r\ddot{k}in \text{ he has dead children } (kmi\ddot{a}n, v\ddot{e}r\ddot{k}in) \]

The vocalic elements of prefixes, personal and modal, are modified by the vowels of the stem (see § 3).

The terminal phonetic character of the stem also influences the temporal, modal, and the pronominal suffixes (see § 72).
4. The temporal and modal suffixes have been mentioned before. Through contraction between them and the pronominal suffixes originate forms the historical development of which is not by any means clear. It would seem that there is also a suffix -gi which appears in many forms, and does not seem to form part of the pronominal element. This, however, has undergone so many changes that its character and function are not clear.

5. The pronominal suffixes do not show a very close relation to the personal pronoun, and, furthermore, are somewhat differentiated in different modes of the verb. A comparison of the various forms suggests the following as the essential elements of the suffixed pronominal verbal forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I . . . . -k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou . . . ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he . . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be that the m and t of the first and second persons plural are related to mūri and tūri, which may contain the same endings as errī (see pp. 706, 719, 726). The second person singular is quite doubtful; but it is conceivable that it may contain by origin a form in -gi related to the pronoun git. In the intransitive verb the second and third persons singular are, in their present forms, identical. The third person plural has clearly the element t,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 ng-. The clearness of the picture is obscured by the fact that the transitive forms

THOU—US; YE—ME, US and
THOU, YE, HE—ME

do not exist, and generalized intransitive forms are used in their place. These are formed with the prefix in- or with the suffix -tky (see p. 819, no. 28; p. 808, no. 67). It is possible that the peculiar form YE—HIM, THEM has the same origin (see p. 809). I presume this

¹ See plural of nouns, p. 694.
form has originated from -iku-tik and is parallel to -iku* thou—us. The g of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms thou—us because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

-iku-gi becomes -iku*

2. The temporal and modal prefixes are the same as those of the intransitive.

3. The stems are treated like those of the intransitive verb.

4. The temporal and modal suffixes enter into compound forms with the pronominal suffixes. The intransitive g is apparently absent, owing to its frequent intervocalic position.

5. The analogy between the transitive pronominal suffixes and the intransitive suffixes is fairly clear, if we consider only those forms which have true pronominal suffixes. We find then the object

-qit thee    -mik us    -tik you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: -qit may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun -gi (pp. 719 et seq.; p. 710).

The third person object shows forms in -n which recall the nominal forms in -in (§§ 45-49), and, like these forms, form their plurals in -et. In a way these forms seem related to the nominal predicate. To the same group belongs the form in -um they—me, which contains the pronoun güm, like the nominal forms.

Attention may be called to the fact that the number of the pronominal suffix, which designates the object, is naturally determined by the number of the object.

qu'at tip'lanat (Kor. Kam. qoya'we tip'lanau) I left the reindeer

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

rāśnutqāi gine'ilā give me something

The Koryak forms resemble the Chukchee forms. The Koryak dual corresponds to the Chukchee plural. The plural -la- of the Koryak is always placed immediately following the stem. It indicates plurality of subject or object, but occurs only once 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.
tuwalonymärkín I know, hear, obey (intransitive)
tuwalonymärkinegit I know thee (transitive)
tuwalonymgä't I heard

The Forms of the Intransitive Verb (§§ 64-66)

§ 64. CHUKCHEE

PRINCIPAL MODES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past I</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>q(t,i,a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>—pých</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>—pých</td>
<td>rg—pítik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d, 3d sing.</td>
<td>[qít]</td>
<td>n (i,u,ä)</td>
<td>—pýk ik</td>
<td>q(t,i,a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>[qít]</td>
<td>n (i,u,ä)</td>
<td>—pýk ik</td>
<td>q(t,i,a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>mt—mtk</td>
<td>n (i,u,ä)</td>
<td>—mtk</td>
<td>mt—mtk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No 2d person. **No 3d person.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>—tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>—t*</td>
<td>—ét</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* t takes the place of final n: trkkt.

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 -rikín is used after vowels. After terminal consonants an auxiliary t is inserted between stem and suffix:

qami'tva-rikín he eats
walo'm-t-rikín he knows

NOMINAL FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>—ét</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—(t)ä</td>
<td>pë—(t) ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>—ma'ë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past I</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prefixes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d dual . . .</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>q—(pt)tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl. . . .</td>
<td>—tasik</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>—tattik</td>
<td>q—tattik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d dual . . .</td>
<td>—pt</td>
<td>n(t)</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>—nat</td>
<td>ya—tattik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl. . . .</td>
<td>—lasik</td>
<td>n(t)</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>—nau</td>
<td>ya—tane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d, 3d sing. . .</td>
<td>—i</td>
<td>*n</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>—in</td>
<td>q**(pt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing. . .</td>
<td>—it</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>—in</td>
<td>ya—i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st dual . . .</td>
<td>mit—mik</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>mina</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>tya—l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl. . . .</td>
<td>mit—{kim</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>mina</td>
<td>—mik</td>
<td>missa—mik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperfective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past I</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prefixes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d dual . . .</td>
<td>—tkmik</td>
<td>—tkmik</td>
<td>—tkmik</td>
<td>—mik</td>
<td>—mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl. . . .</td>
<td>—tkmtik</td>
<td>—tkmtik</td>
<td>—tkmtik</td>
<td>—mtik</td>
<td>—mtik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d dual . . .</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>—tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl. . . .</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>—tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st, 2d, 3d</td>
<td>—tkm</td>
<td>—tkm</td>
<td>—tkm</td>
<td>—tkm</td>
<td>—tkm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing.; 1st dual</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl. . . .</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>—tik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix *tu-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel whenever it forms an admissible cluster with the first sound of the verb.

The ending *-ɛkm* (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as *valom-ɛkm* HE KNOWS. After terminal vowel the *ɛ* changes to a neutral *t*, as *va-ɛkm* HE IS. In many cases, however, the *ɛ* is also weakened to *t* or *y* after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary *i* is inserted preceding it, as in *yaqiřykm* WHAT ART THOU? Kor. 29.1; *y*trykmk ART THOU? Kor. 29.2
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

NOMINAL FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>pa-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 66. KAMCHADAL

INTRANSITIVE VERB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past I</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Exhortative</td>
<td>(b) Conditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td>-ě</td>
<td>–6</td>
<td>k!-č!n or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>-čě</td>
<td>–n</td>
<td>k!-čě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>–ć or śu-n or śn</td>
<td>zan-č or zn</td>
<td>k!-ć or zn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td>-ć不幸</td>
<td>–ć or śu-n or śn</td>
<td>zan-ć or zn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>-š or śu-n or śn</td>
<td>min-š or mn</td>
<td>nk!-š or mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>-š or śu-n or śn</td>
<td>min-š or mn</td>
<td>nk!-š or mn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

tk!nučbi if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb ől, (b) 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 -šč or šč-n. The numerous Kamchadal verbs ending in -l change this to -c in the derived present. This occurs both in intransitive and transitive verbs (see § 122).

tilk I left
čukš I leave
tčukš I slept
čukš I sleep
tčolš I lay
tčolš I lie

VERBAL NOUN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-š</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tušuk nuškoi I began eat-beginning; i.e., I began to eat (t- I; uš to begin; -šk I; mš 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -irkin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) thee</td>
<td>-git</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-git</td>
<td>-git</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) you</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-ntik</td>
<td>-ntik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) us (except thou, ye—us)</td>
<td>-mik</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-mik</td>
<td>-mik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THIRD PERSON FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -irkin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) him (except he, ye—him)</td>
<td>-gitn</td>
<td>-gin</td>
<td>-gin</td>
<td>-gin</td>
<td>(no ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) them (except he, ye—them)</td>
<td>-net</td>
<td>-net</td>
<td>-net</td>
<td>-net</td>
<td>-nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) he—him</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6') he—them</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-nin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -irkin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7) he—me</td>
<td>-git</td>
<td>-gin</td>
<td>-git</td>
<td>-gin</td>
<td>(no ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) thou—me, us</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) ye—me, us</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) ye—him, them</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-tik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 With -tku preceding pronominal suffix.

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -irkin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(11) they—me²</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-i'am</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²See § 73. This form takes the prefix ne-.

Transitive Prefixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>(i)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>(i)q-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other forms</td>
<td>-q-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 67
The form -gi (I7; II7) is rarely abbreviated to -i.

qênapêlæ and qênapêlæ leave me!

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

**Nominal Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-*gi</td>
<td>-gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-tæ</td>
<td>qaz-tæ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ma&amp;i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-mgæt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

§ 68. KORYAK, KAMENSKOYE

Transitive Suffixes

**Transitive Forms**

**First and Second Person Objects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I: Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -ykin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) thee</td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—gi</td>
<td>—gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) you</td>
<td>(1a) tik</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—(1a) tik</td>
<td>—(1a) tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) us</td>
<td>(1a) mik</td>
<td>—(1a) tik</td>
<td>—(1a) mik</td>
<td>—(1a) mik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Third Person Forms. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I: Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -ykin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(4) him (except he, ye—him)</td>
<td>-par</td>
<td>-par</td>
<td>—hin</td>
<td>no ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) he, they—him, them</td>
<td>—nin</td>
<td>—nin</td>
<td>—nin</td>
<td>—nin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Intransitive Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I: Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -ykin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7) he—me</td>
<td>-1—par</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>no ending</td>
<td>no ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) thou—me</td>
<td>-pl—par</td>
<td>—(pl)</td>
<td>no ending</td>
<td>no ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) ye—me</td>
<td>(1a)tik</td>
<td>—(1a)tik</td>
<td>—(1a)tik</td>
<td>—(1a)tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9') ye—us</td>
<td>(1a)mik</td>
<td>—(1a)mik</td>
<td>—(1a)mik</td>
<td>—(1a)mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) ye—him, them</td>
<td>(1a)tæa</td>
<td>—(1a)tæa</td>
<td>—(1a)tæa</td>
<td>—(1a)tæa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the derived modes, la occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding -ikm.

The suffixes -gi and -ga'n (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to -t and -n. The former is similar to an intransitive form. *qenapela'e* and *qenapelai* leave me!

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

**PREFIXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1 (a) Exhort.</td>
<td>1 (b) Subj.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>tya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>mit-</td>
<td>min-</td>
<td>missa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>tna-</td>
<td>nina-</td>
<td>yina-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>a'n-</td>
<td>nanat-</td>
<td>naya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>no prefix</td>
<td>nt-</td>
<td>ga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td>na'-</td>
<td>ya-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

he, thou—me has the ending -n
I, he—you (dual, pl.) has the ending -ntik
As in Chukchee there occur also a number of impersonal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Exhortation, sing</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Exhortation, period, pl.</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya—n</td>
<td>ni—a’n</td>
<td>ni—nat</td>
<td>ni—nou</td>
<td>ni—tkin</td>
<td>ni—tkinat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KAMCHADAL (§§ 69-71)

§ 69. Types of Transitive Verb

The Kamchadal transitive verb shows peculiarities of structure similar to those of the Chukchee and Koryak. Only the forms with the objects THEE, YOU, US, are formed with the pronominal forms corresponding to the intransitive suffixes. The combination YE—US is here also excepted, although no indication of a change of the verb into an intransitive form by means of a special suffix is found. Instead of that, the forms THOU, YE—ME have the ending -mÎnk, which does not occur in the intransitive verb, but seems to correspond to -mÎk 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 -mÎn, which may be an older form. The form YE—ME, US takes, in addition to -mÎnk, the ending -cÎn YE, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has -n. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-hin</td>
<td>-hin</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[he, -n]</td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>he, they, -n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>-cÎn</td>
<td>-cÎn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-cÎn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us (except ye—us)</td>
<td>-mÎnk</td>
<td>-mÎnk</td>
<td>-mÎnk</td>
<td>-mÎnk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§69, 70
THIRD PERSON FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>him (except he, they, ye—him)</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-x</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them (except he, they, ye—them)</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-zin</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, they—him</td>
<td>-nim</td>
<td>-nim</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-nim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, they—them</td>
<td>-nimn</td>
<td>-nimn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-nimn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

| Thou—me | -mifik     | ——         | -mifik     | -mifik   |
| Ye—me, us | -mifikcz   | ——         | -mifikcz   | -mifikcz |
| Ye—him  | -cxi       | ——         | -cxi       | -cxi     |
| Ye—them | -cxi'n     | ——         | -cxi'n     | -cxi'n   |

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

| He—me            | -humn'i'n | humn'i'n | ——           | humn'i'n |
| They—me         | -humn'i'n | humn'i'n | ——           | humn'i'n |

PREFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n or x'an-</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>-dn</td>
<td>x'an</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>dn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td></td>
<td>x'an</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou, ye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Indicative forms have the theme txi-.
Subjunctive forms have the theme txi-.
Present forms have the theme txc(t)- with auxiliary vowel t before terminal n and before glottal stop.

Indicative:

txi'hin I beat thee
txi'n he beat thee
txihumni'n he beat me
txi'mifik you beat me, us; he beat us
dantxi'cxin they beat you
nixlin we beat him
dantxi'nin they beat him
Subjunctive:

*mtəxliχ'ın* let me beat thee
*x'antəxli'ınin* let him beat him
*x'antəxli'miŋk* let him, them, beat us
*x'antəxli'nəni'n* let him, them, beat me
*mmtəxli'cəx* let us beat you

Imperative:

*ktxli'miŋk* beat thou me, us
*ktxlimi'ŋkəx* beat ye me, us
*ktxliχ* beat him
*ktxliχ* beat ye him

Present:

*txcjhin* I am beating thee
*nttxcjhin* we are beating thee
*txcj'í'n* thou art beating them
*txcj'jin* he is beating him
*nttxcj'ce cn* they are beating you
*nttxcj'in* we are beating him

§ 71. Type II

Transitive Suffixes

Transitive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us (except ye—us)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third-Person Forms

| I—him           | -χίν | -χίν | —         | -χίν    |
| thou—him        | -χίν | -χίν | -ζέκ      | -χίν    |
| we—him          | -χίν | -χίν | -ζέκ      | -χίν    |
| I—them          | -χίν | -χίν | —         | -χίν    |
| thou—them       | -χίν | -χίν | —         | -χίν    |
| we—them         | -χίν | -χίν | —         | -χίν    |
| he—him          | -χίν | -χίν | —         | -χίν    |
| they—him        | -χίν | -χίν | —         | -χίν    |
| he—them         | -χίν | -χίν | —         | -χίν    |
| they—them       | -χίν | -χίν | —         | -χίν    |

§ 71
INTRANSITIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou—me</td>
<td>-xkumiŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>-xkumiŋ</td>
<td>-xkumiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—me, us</td>
<td>-xkumiŋkeŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>-xkumiŋkeŋ</td>
<td>-xkumiŋkeŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—him</td>
<td>-ckeziŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ckeziŋ</td>
<td>-ckeziŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—them</td>
<td>-ckeziŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ckeziŋ</td>
<td>-ckeziŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>he, they—me</th>
<th>-xkumi’n</th>
<th>-xkumi’n</th>
<th>-xkumi’n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Evidently these forms are closely related to those of Type I, but
the symmetry is disturbed by a number of peculiar contractions,
some of which seem to be due to misunderstandings. The prefixes
are the same as those of Type I.

As an example may be given forms of the stem kej to accept.
Indicative and subjunctive have the theme kej-.
Present has the theme kejij-.

Indicative:

*tk'exkid’ I accepted thee
*kejčiŋn he accepted thee
*ānkejxakumiŋk they accepted us
*nekčiŋn we accepted him
*tk’ajn or tk’ekkiro’ I accepted them
*kejčexiŋn ye accepted them

Subjunctive:

*mkejxkin let me accept thee
*x’andkejxakumi’n let him accept me
*mnekčiŋn or mnek’ekkiro’n let us accept them
*x’ankejxkin let him, them, accept thee

Imperative:

*jkejxcli’k accept him
*xkejxcli’n or xkejxcli’in accept them (k before k changes to x)
*xkejxkmi’k accept me, us
*xkejxkmi’keŋ accept ye me, us
*xkejčexiŋ accept ye him
*xkejčexiŋ accept ye them

Present:

*tkejxak’sxin I am accepting you
*nek’ějxjiŋn we are accepting him
*ānkejxij-riŋnin they are accepting him
*kejčiŋn he is accepting them
*kejčiŋn thou art accepting him, them

§71
The nominal forms of these two types are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I</th>
<th>Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 { -ic, -il</td>
<td>-txe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 { -eka (rare)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 { -txeka (rare)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- texlaon I shall beat thee
- txlalin I shall beat him
- texlaxin I shall accept thee
- txejalhin or txejalkiin 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.

- texli'jin (Type I) I take away my boots
- texli'jinm (Type II) I take away something from the table

The loss of modes in Kamchadal may be due to Russian influence. There are a number of Kamchadal forms, evidently remains of older forms, which resemble the Chukchee even more closely than the forms just described. Thus we find—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ji'lm</td>
<td>yr'ilrkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji'ljhm</td>
<td>ne'ylhun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(unj)ji'ljimuk</td>
<td>ne'ylmik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 72. Examples of Verbal Suffixes

CHUKCHEE

The phonetic rules discussed in §§ 1–23 bring about frequent changes in the verbal suffixes. As a matter of convenience I will summarize here the most common modifications, a few of which can not be explained by the general phonetic laws.

1. Verbal stems terminating in a vowel add the verbal suffix without auxiliary vowel. Whenever the initial $g$ of the suffix stands in intervocalic position, it is either dropped or pronounced very weakly.

- telere'ak $<$ t-elere'-gäk I felt lonesome
- texa'axk $<$ t-xa'-gäk I ceased 21.1
- nxo'ñõgõk $<$ n-xo'-ñõg-õk he began to be overtaken 10.7

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

- tipa'ak $<$ t-ya'-gäk I used 572
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.

\[ p\text{enf}\text{en} < p\text{enr-nin} \] he attacks him
\[ te\text{ikr}\text{in} < teik-nin \] he made it
\[ q\text{ena'}nm\text{u} < q\text{ena-tm-gi} \] kill me!

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

\[ p\text{egtm}\text{etli} < p\text{egti-met-lin} \] hauling a sledge

Among the types of assimilation of sounds may be mentioned —

4. Stems with terminal \( a \) diphthong transform the combination \( ug \) into \( wk \). The following auxiliary vowel is \( u \).

\[ tima'rawk\text{we} 'k < ti-ma'ru-g\text{a}k \] I quarreled.
\[ timara'w\text{kut} < ti-mar\text{gu-git} \] I blamed thee
\[ i'w\text{kwe} 'k < iw-gi ' \] he spoke
\[ res'qi'\text{wu} 'k < res'qi\text{uw-gi} ' \] he entered

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

\[ mara'urkin \] he quarrels

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

\[ i'y\text{urkin} \] he rows (perhaps from \( iy\)u)
\[ i'\text{urkin} \] he shakes
\[ tit\text{e}'u\text{a} 'n \] I shook

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

\[ ewk\text{we}'tiy\text{i} ' < ewkwet-gi ' \] he left
\[ tiy\text{e}'ty\text{ik} ' < ti-yet-gi ' \] I came
\[ ewk\text{we}'ty\text{ik} ' < t-ewkwet-gi ' \] I left

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

\[ w\text{nel-yi} 't < w\text{nel-ga} 't \] they gathered fuel
\[ ne'ly\text{at} < nel-ga' 't \] it became
\[ q\text{u}\text{n}\text{el-ly} 't < q-w\text{nel-gi} ' \] gather fuel
\[ mi'\text{hil} 't < mi-yil-git \] let me give thee

7. Stems ending in \( l, r, \ddot{c}, t \), with following \( l \), form \( z \) or \( z \).

\[ q\text{i} 'z\text{in} < q\text{i}'r-lin \] he has gone across
\[ gen\text{e}'z\text{in} < qg-nel-lin \] he became
qe'lgärin < qe-lqät-lín he left 59.1

qa'tr'maxén < qa-kr'trmat-lén he had his hand extended 47.6

8. Terminal ዆ of the stem before  순간 changes to ዆.

gataarónlén < qa-taaron-lén he has brought sacrifice

9. In the pronunciation of men, among the Reindeer Chukchee, ዕ and ዆ between vowels are dropped, and the vowels are assimilated to አ, እ, ኦ, and after preceding q to ኔ.

ewkwe'erkín < ewkwe't-i-rkín he leaves

gēnatva'laat < qe-łné-tuq-línět they promised 71.4 (see § 73)
ninēnłpe'čqd < n-ine-r-trp-et-qinet he broke them 20.11

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

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Past 1:

2d pl.  pr'ntiŋättiŋ you appeared 74.21
3d pl.  pûk'i'rqâťt they came 64.2

nîpe'qâťt < nîpe-gâťt they came ashore 7.8

tîle'qâťt < tîle-gâťt they walked 64.9

qamî'tuqâťt < qamî-tuq-gâťt they ate 87.32

yîlqâťt < yîlqâ-gâťt they slept 8.4

2d sing.  ye'tyî < ye-t-gî thou hast come 37.6

qâttî thou art going 82.23

3d sing.  ḥ'qripqî she felt pain 63.8

i'rgî < i'rga she crossed over 13.13

pûk'i'rî he came 90.26

nâ'wtmâqî < nâ'wte-qî he married 58.8

pûk'i'rqî < pûqi rî he arrived 57.8; 58.1

lîle'qî < lûelqî he looked 7.6

kê'r'qûpqî < kûqâpîqî she dressed up 52.9

eińe'utqû < eińe'u-tuq-gî he called 8.5

wa'qî < waqâ-gî < wâqâ-gî' he sat down 15.7

euno'qî < iu-qâ-gî he began to say 117.25

ra'qû < raqû-tqî < raqû-t-gî he came home 122.7

ewkwe'tyî < ewkwe-t-gî he left 8.7

têrqâ'tyî < têrq-t-gî < têrq-tqî < têrq-t-gî' he cried 7.6

kiyê'wkî < kiyeu-gî he awoke 9.4

kî'wkî < kiu-gî < kîu-qî' he passed a night 8.4

1st sing.  te'qripqâťk I felt pain 101.17

tryê tyârk < t-yet-gâťk I came 124.11

teinâtk < t-ein-gâtk I revived 83.14

§72
1st pl. mityi'greumik we are thirsty 71.14
mitu'v'mik we died 64.15

Subjunctive (a):

3d pl. niryiqatinet <n-ylqat-t-net let them sleep
3d sing. n'iqatyen <n-lgat-ga'n let him go! 13.12
nita'tvaan<n <n-qa-va-gaq'n let her be a castaway 39.3
niryiqatyen <n-ylqat-ga'n let him sleep 9.1

1st sing. milimalahiook <m-lingla-niǐ-go'ak let me obey 21.10
mi'iqatyen <m-lgat-ga'k let me go 125.5

muanla'ak <m-anla-ga'k I may ask (for help) 135.19

mne'etyen <m-neet-ga'k let me turn black 23.6

1st pl. mnec'wkwen <k <mn-ekwet-mik let us go away 17.8

mnue'lmik let us gather fuel 30.6

minra'qimuk let us go home 126.4

mra'qia'k let me go home 99.2

mita'rqea'k let me smoke 99.26

Subjunctive (b):

ni'tva'nat if they had stayed 68.27

nuw'v'a'n <ni-vi-ga'n she would die 37.12

Imperative:

qwe'vik die ye! 64.16
qale'vik walk ye! 65.29

qımı'vi'q <q-mi'i-ga'q celebrate the thanksgiving ceremo-
nial 60.5

qanto' <q-nto-ga'q come out! 26.3

qaggo'qĝq̂q̂ sit with head bent down! 32.4

Future:

2d pl. revi'vntuk ye will die 64.20

3d pl. re'jpikyrga'q̂ they will come 10.5 (sing. used as plural)

2d sing. recipe'lyag <re-bip-el-ga'q thou wilt dive 114.22
ren'vi'q <re-ve'-qi'q thou wilt die 65.6 (cf. 21.12 re'vi'q 37.8)
ren'vaq <re-tva-ga'q thou wilt live 108.25

3d sing. remi'vi'q <re-mi-i-ga'q he will celebrate a thanksgiving

ceremonial 118.12

ratopa'wkwao <re-topau-ga'q she will be pregnant 104.5

rara'lentiya' <re-ral-qe'-cie-ga'q he will slide down 114.15

reurre'ty <re-urr-et-ga'q it will appear 119.10

1st sing. trara'giqa <t-re-qra-ti-ga'q̂ I shall go home 99.14

trevi'vi'q <t-re-ve'i-ga'q I shall die 108.1

trene'lh<h <t-re-nel-ga'q I shall turn to 24.12

1st pl. mirreyi'iqatyen <mirre-yiq-ai-ga'q we shall sleep 9.3
Derived Modes in -irkin.

Past I:

\[ \text{inenrequrkin'i'tik < ine-r-req-eu-irk'in-itik} \]
what are you doing with 
me 10.10

\[ \text{ewkw'e'rk'it < ewkwet-irk'it} \]
they leave 13.6

\[ \text{mñ'rik'it} \]
they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29

\[ \text{pilga'erkin} \]
h he dived 9.7

\[ \text{va'rik'ir} \]
he is 19.2

\[ \text{riqamítvan'urkinén} \]
he was made to eat

\[ \text{kime'urkin} \]
thou causest delay 18.6

\[ \text{ré'gärkin} \]
how art thou? 18.9

\[ \text{tínqä'erkin} \]
I refuse 19.7

\[ \text{mittegimi'n'ñirk'm} \]
we suffer 32.2

\[ \text{mitteñite'erkin} \]
we feel merry 69.8

\[ \text{minqami'tvarkin} \]
let us eat 65.4

\[ \text{qatva'irk'm} \]
stay! 57.3; 67.23

\[ \text{remeine'erkin} \]
he will grow up 21.7

Koryak:

Past I:

3d pl. \[ \text{rs'himlavai'ñalai} \]
they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6

2d sing. \[ \text{i'yi} \]
thou hittest Kor. 26.1

\[ \text{i'ti} \]
thou wert Kor. 16.3

\[ \text{ya'zii} \]
thou camest Kor. 68.12

\[ \text{qati} \]
you went away Kor. 18.5

3d sing. \[ \text{vanninta'ti} \]
she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1

\[ \text{a'wyeñvoi} \]
he begins to eat Kor. 20.7

\[ \text{vji'gi} \]
h e is dead Kor. 22.1

1st sing. \[ \text{trv'jya'k } \]
I died Kor. 84.14

\[ \text{tita'ñwok} \]
I began to be Kor. 18.6

\[ \text{trvd'nnmtatik} \]
I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1

\[ \text{tapka'vik} \]
I could not Kor. 35.2

\[ \text{ti'ya'k} \]
I hit Kor. 26.2

\[ \text{tina'ñlik} \]
I remained Kor. 16.2

1st dual \[ \text{mitqujita't} \]
we are hungry Kor. 74.17

Subjunctive (a):

2d sing. \[ \text{mna'ñlin} \]
may it become Kor. 20.2

3d sing. \[ \text{nē'wirvon} \]
he would begin to say Kor. 27.6

1st sing. \[ \text{milqat'ik} \]
let me go! Kor. 33.10

\[ \text{mas'ñntiliñik} \]
I'll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19

\[ \text{minan'abo'mik} \]
let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20

1st dual \[ \text{mmi'qgat} \]
let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62.1)

\[ \text{mna'wyi} \]
let us eat! Kor. 28.9

\[ \text{§72} \]
1st pl.  
minilyala’mik let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6  
minoyiyelala let us play! Kor. 32.7  
minikya’wla let us get up! Kor. 39.4.  
mina’wyela let us eat! Kor. 27.7  
minnoda’ntala let us go for a walk! Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (b):

ni’tva’an it should be Kor. 34.12
nani’twin one could say Kor. 24.10

ti’wik I should say 45.9

Imperative:

Sing.  
quevi’gas’qi’wgi die! Kor. 35.1  
ga’lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3  
qmila’we dance! Kor. 37.6  
gamla’wge dance! Kor. 45.9

Dual  
gamašta’thitik make it better! Kor. 13.2

ganto’tik go out! Kor. 74.15

Pl.

quwas’vatalik look ye in! Kor. 27.1

Future:

3d pl.  
yawinivola’ne they shall tell Kor. 22.5
1st sing.  
yaya’yi winning I shall die Kor. 33.1

1st pl.  
missavi’yla we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in -rykin:

2d pl.  
yaqla’kine’tik what are you doing? Kor. 24.8

3d dual  
va’ke they two are Kor. 48.7

3d pl.  
kiya’vila’ke they awoke Kor. 12.6  
vaive’vila’ke they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.

3kaiwila’ke they are cooking Kor. 27.4

Enkayalai’ke they are snoring Kor. 28.4

3d sing.  
lelapiti’tovi’ykin he looks up Kor. 42.8  
kaño’trykin he is fishing Kor. 45.1

vai’ykin he lives Kor. 18.4

1st sing.  
tišità’tykin I am hungry Kor. 35.5

1st pl.  
mititivola’kin we remain Kor. 17.11

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—48
Subjunctive:
1st sing.  maninmil'ntykin I should feel elated Kor. 84.17
Imperative:
2d sing.: qiwiykin-i'-gi say! Kor. 25.4

TRANSITIVE VERB

Transitive Forms

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

- ti'llhi-git I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1*)
- ne'nti-git they bid thee 19.5 (I 1)
- minletete'titik let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2)
- ne'ntitik he bid you 74.24 (I 2)
- nayo$'mik they visit us 84.6 (I 3)
- nantinmla'nmik they press on us 63.9 (I 3)

Future:

- naru'nmügt they will kill thee 37.10 (III 1)
- naru'nmüntik it will kill you 70.12 (III 2)

Derived modes:

- nayo$'rkin-i'-git they visit thee 52.4 (IV 1)
- nanmirkmëmik let them kill us! 67.33 (IV 3)

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

- tre'nyän I brought it 20.1 (I 4)
- ti'llhí'än if I should do for it 38.12 (Ia 4)
- milu$'än let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (Ia 4)
- mipë'ñra'än let me catch him 66.16 (Ia 4)
- milu$'än we saw it 33.7 (I 4)
- napëlo'a'än they left it 30.12 (I 4)
- minpë'laa'än let us leave him 29.11 (I 4)
- gima'n li'ngä'än 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)
- dë'nu'net they might see it 62.1 (Ia 5)
- yopa'nnën he visited him 7.4 (I 6)
- lu'gin he saw it 18.11 (I 6)
- nifyo'nnën they would visit it 53.1 (Ia 6)
- mmë'nat he killed them 34.1 (I 6')
- pmë'ñenat he asked them 13.9 (I 6')
- iv'net he said to them 8.10 (I 6')

* Numbers in parenthese refer to the table of forms on pp. 741-743.
Imperative:

- qägti'gin fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)
- qärri'lhin put it down 40.6 (II 4)
- qäpäq gun put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)
- qäte'kigm net make them! 49.4 (II 5)
- qret'inet fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

Future:

- tre'ntnin I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)
- mirraioºmn we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)
- mirri'wkut-hit we shall bind thee 23.8 (III 1)
- repi'tkuwmnet thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)
- ra'nmuqunên he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

Derived modes:

- qo'pittkoivürkin thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)
- tilhurkinet I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)
- nata'rkinat they left them 68.17 (IV 5)
- trmirkinên he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)
- te'grirkinin he threw him 10.10 (IV 6)
- trmirkinênat they kill them 44.8 (IV 6')
- nelurkin they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

Intransitive Forms.

Past I, and derived form:

- inelhii* thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)
- gina'n inelur*î thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)
- enapelarqinêtik ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)
- inenreqeurqinêtik what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)
- inenewürkin thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)
- mitiwku'turkin-i-git we bind thee (IV 1)

Imperative:

- qine'lihii* give me! 15.12 (II 8)
- qënata'gë move to me! 37.10 (II 8)
- qënankergipatyë dress me! 48.9 (II 8)
- qigite'kutik look at us! 35.7 (II 8)
- qeenetkuitik carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)
- qinerrilhitik (qinerriltik 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)
- qënapaqytik haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)
- qinelu*tik look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)
- qavévalponaurkinêtik hit ye them on the head! 69.32 (IV 10)
- qëmu'ulki eat ye it! 14.7; 33.12 (II 10)
- qata'giti hit them! 70.10 (II 10)
- qata'linºtik answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)
- qäinquelu'wkukî light ye them 68.13 (II 10)
Future:

raala'ñitki ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)
relu'ñitki ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)

Nominal Predicative Forms

napèla'-ûm they left me 31.9 (I 11)
nanèdaw'ãw'ìmûn they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)
nanlimalawa't-ûûm 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 -ykm of the derived forms.

   ti-teva'ìkin <ti-teva'-ykin I am
   ti-êvi'ìkin <ti-êvi'-ykin I cut
   va'ìkin he lives Kor. 18.4

2. The q of the suffix is never dropped.

   ti-êvi'-gûn I cut off

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

   tvalo'mùgkin (Chukchee tvalo'mürkin) <t-valom-ykin I hear
   tpatùgkin (Chukchee tpatùrkin) <t-ùpat-ykin I cook
   ti'vìkin (Chukchee tiurkin) <t-ùv-ykin I say

4. Terminal v of the stem (which corresponds to Chukchee u) is not regularly assimilated by the initial q of the suffix.

   ti'vgafìk I said

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

   tyi'wgi (Chukchee tri'wkt) <t-y-ùv-gi (Chukchee <t-r-ùv-gùl)
      I shall say to you
   quor'yas'qìwgi die! Kor. 35.1

5. Terminal t does not influence the q of the suffix.

   pelqa'tgi he grew old

6. Stems in terminal î of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in r of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in -ïkin (Chukchee -rìrkin).

   Kamenskoye           Chukchee
   tì'ì'ikin             tì'ìrìkìn I cross over
7. Terminal ɬ before l either forms the Koryak analogue of ļ or drops out.

gapa'len < ga-pat.len he has cooked
gape'ɬaɬin < ga-pe'ɬaɬin he has grown old

Examples:

tiyanu'wgi I shall swallow thee Kor. 78.18; 84.24 (I 1)
mit'mitingi I shall carry thee Kor. 21.4 (Ia 1)
munnya'itala-ge let us take thee home Kor. 33.3 (Ia 1)
'dnai'ki-qi one should make thee Kor. 38.4 (Ia 1)
nal'ilaikine'tik they do to you Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)
minyai'tatik I'll carry you two home Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63'i(Ia 2)

Examples:

nenenel'a'mik he appears to us Kor. 29.9 (I 3)
nana'yiwa'wmik he is reproaching us Kor. 74.19 (I 3)
nal'ilaikine'mik they do us Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)
l'e'wan thou sawest it Kor. 23.8 (I 4)
mipo'o'gan let me visit him Kor. 20.7 (Ia 4)
mitla'wla'n we found it Kor. 26.9 (I 4)
qiya'thin bring it here! Kor. 29.4 (II 4)

Examples:

minu'mka'min I will lay it aside Kor. 49.10 (I 4)
tiyai'lǐn I'll give him Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)
tyananuvtira'nǐn I'll give you your wife Kor. 13.3 (III 4)
yan'min you will kill it Kor. 76.7 (III 4)

Examples:

nal'talaikine'mik it has caught us Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)
ti'nin I killed him Kor. 20.5 (I 4)
l'e'nih she found it Kor. 24.3 (I 6)
tai'kmin he made them Kor. 20.9 (I 6)

Examples:

nayo'onau ye visit them Kor. 24.7 (I 10)
qevel'kiri'nau you are making them Kor. 50.7 (I 10)
quulkawunenau it could not do them Kor. 40.2 (I 6')
nayō'we'ykenenau they visit them Kor. 61.8 (IV 5')
yile'nve'ykenen she turns him Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)
yawa'ykenen she has him for Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)

Examples:

ina'nui she swallowed me Kor. 84.13 (I 7)
tenamikyō'ninvo he wants to awaken us Kor. 39.4 (I 7)
ninanuva'onu let him swallow me! Kor. 84.15 (Ia 7)
yena'nui she will kill us Kor. 96.14 (III 8)

Examples:

qina'nu swallow me! Kor 84.22 (II 8)
qinanu'wgi swallow me! Kor. 84.24 (II 8)
qenanyaikin'i'gi cheer me up! Kor. 84.27 (II 8)
qinanu'la'tik ye louse me! Kor. 24.9 (II 9)
qinatinu'la'tik prepare ye provisions for me Kor. 13.4 (II 9)

Examples:

quwida'gitka tie ye her! Kor. 23.4 (II 10)

§§ 73-74. Predicative Form of Nominalized Verb

§ 73. FORMS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVE VERB

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are combined with the suffixed personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and thus express the idea to be ——. Verbal stems are nominalized in the same manner. In the third person such verbs take the affixes—

1. sing. ni-qin
   pl.   ni-qin

   one who is in a condition or performs an action

2. sing. ge-lin
   pl.   ge-lin

   one who has attained a condition or who has performed an action

The second form may also be used with nouns, and expresses one who has ——. In the singular a connective i occurs between the verbal stem and the suffixed pronoun. In the first person singular of verbs ending in a consonant the connective i forms a syllable and the initial g of the suffix qum drops out. In Koryak, on the other hand, it is retained. When the stem ends in a vowel, the i forms a diphthong with it and the g of qum is retained. The following table illustrates these forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Nominalized Verbs</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>Noun</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-qin</td>
<td>-qum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-gingt</td>
<td>-dingt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>-ni-</td>
<td>-gingt</td>
<td>-dingt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td>-gt-</td>
<td>-qum</td>
<td>-gingt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-qum</td>
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<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-gingt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§73
## KORYAK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Nominalized Verb (a)</th>
<th>Nominalized Verb (b)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>3d dual</td>
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<td>3d pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
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<td>1st dual</td>
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<tr>
<td>2d dual</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
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</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Nominalized Verbs (a)</th>
<th>Nominalized Verbs (b)</th>
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<td>-linat</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-qau</td>
<td>-qau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’rgukül-ē-ūm I am one who has no sledge 78.6.
ke’lei-(g)ūm < kele-i-ūm I am a kele qua’ul-ē-ūm I am a man 116.32

2d sing. ne’us’gät-i-gir thou art a woman 136.15.
ke’lei-gît thou art a kele 15.11

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

#### Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing. nignopitva’qên he was one who remained crouching 7.4.
nine’lqin he is one who becomes a — 8.7.

3d pl. nimtvua’qenat they were those who lived in a camp 13.3.

1st sing. ni’lqät-i-ūm I am one who was there 66.36.
na’laio’gûm < n-alaio-i-(g)ûm I defecated 76.5

2d sing. wu’iku nitvai’-gir you are one who stays here 7.5.
nine’l-i-gît you are one who becomes a — 10.11.

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

2d pl. me’nik’mi’t-turi where are you? 12.2.

#### Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing. ganto’len he was one who had gone out 8.4.
ge’tkulûn he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl. gi’alinet they were those who had said 11.11.
ge’tin they were those who had become — 9.4.

1st sing. gene’l-i-ûm I am the one who has become a — 17.6.
gelere’-gûm < gelere-i-(g)ûm I was feeling dull

1st pl. ge’lhi-muri we were the ones to whom it happened 65.11.
Koryak:

Nouns:
1st sing.  ḗla’wul-e-gūm I am a man Kor. 22.1.
1st pl.  kmi’ni-mu’yi we are children Kor. 70.20.

Nominalized verbs (a):
3d sing.  načańwoqen he was the one who was urinating
Kor. 14.2.
3d du.  naqhaiańwoqen he was the one who began to
cry aloud Kor. 78.10.
3d pl.  nanyamča’caqenau they are those that taste of
fat Kor. 25.5.
1st sing.  nanū柳na’w-gūm I am one who is getting
angry Kor. 31.2.
2d sing.  nita’itkińi-gi you are one who is doing mis-
chief Kor. 82.9.

Nominalized verbs (b):
3d sing.  gaya’lqwilin he was the one who had entered
Kor. 14.1.
3d du.  gata’wanlenat they were the ones who had
moved on Kor. 19.9.
3d pl.  gqi’tilinau they were the ones who were frozen
Kor. 14.2.
1st sing.  gatuyikmič’a’t-i-gūm I am the one who has
given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.
1st pl.  gano’l-mu’yu we are the ones who have be-
come — Kor. 37.4.
2d sing.  gali’ta’i-gi you are the one who has urinated
Kor. 66.6.

§ 74. FORMS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB

The nominalized form of the transitive verb has in the n(i)- form
throughout the prefix Ḗng-, which makes the verbal theme passive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3d sing. . . .</td>
<td>Ḗng—qin</td>
<td>Ḗng—qin</td>
<td>Ḗng—dīn</td>
<td>Ḗng—dīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl. . . .</td>
<td>Ḗng—qinet</td>
<td>Ḗng—qinet</td>
<td>Ḗng—bīkel</td>
<td>Ḗng—bīkel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing. . . .</td>
<td>(i)qum</td>
<td>(i)qum</td>
<td>i (q)um</td>
<td>i (q)um</td>
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<tr>
<td>2d sing. . . .</td>
<td>Ḗng—tīpt</td>
<td>Ḗng—tīpt</td>
<td>Ḗng—tīpt</td>
<td>Ḗng—tīpt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl. . . .</td>
<td>Ḗng—myri</td>
<td>Ḗng—myri</td>
<td>Ḗng—myri</td>
<td>Ḗng—myri</td>
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<tr>
<td>2d pl. . . .</td>
<td>Ḗng—turi</td>
<td>Ḗng—turi</td>
<td>Ḗng—turi</td>
<td>Ḗng—turi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
KORYAK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2d pl.</td>
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</table>

In meaning this form agrees with the intransitive nominalized verb. It may be translated the one whom I —, etc.

ELO’U nenapéla’qgum he is the one whom I leave
git nenapéla’qgum you are the one whom I leave
qa’at nine’imiliqum the reindeer are the ones whom I take
nena’nme-git they are the ones whom you kill 23.4

 Accordingly, when the object of the verb is in the plural, the nominal third person appears also in the plural.

The third person plural subject occurs also without ing- and has active sense.

qa’at nipela’qenat the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or, perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).
qa’at nine’imiqenat the reindeer are the ones whom he takes
ni’nmuqen ora’we’ld the St. Lawrence people were the ones who killed the men 12.11
pipe’kikln nena’nmuqen a mouse was killed by him 89.24
ni’uqinet qu’tti several were the ones who said to them 59.2
ni’uqinet they were told by him 73.13

ti’lik neime’ntqiset they were those who were approaching (to) the entrance (intransitive) 103.1
nineime’qin wa’lqar he was one who approached the house 57.6

The nominalized transitive verb in ge- has two forms—one the passive, meaning I, THE ONE WHO HAS BEEN—, etc.; the other active, derived from those forms of the transitive verb which are replaced by intransitive forms (see p. 741), except -tkr.

The third person, with or without ing—may be used in an active or passive sense.

§74
The Chukchee verbal stem -it, Kor. Kam. -it, expresses the idea TO BE. In the pronunciation of men the t is lost in Chukchee in intervocalic position. The women say instead of i'irkin of the men i'tissin. In other words with terminal t of stem they may drop it, as in yilqaeššin he sleeps.

\[i'irkin, \text{Kor. Kam. } it'ykin \text{ he is}
\]
\[me'ňki ni't-turi? \text{ where are you?}
\]
\[m'ňkri n'i'tqin? \text{ how was he?} \]

It is used with the verbal noun in -tä, and with the noun in -nu (see § 95, p. 784, § 103, no. 34).

\[ča'ntuwa'-va'rat či'mqäg viri'tä-ñ i'irkin \text{ the Reindeer Chukchee people are partly self-destroying}
\]
\[Ta'n'ńičht üm em-vi'tä n'i'tqinet \text{ the Russians are just dying}
\]
\[loš-qamit'vata i'tyik² \text{ he could not eat} \]
\[aqamit'vaka qu'i'tyitk \text{ don't ye eat (of it) } \]
\[e'rmu ti'tyäcIK \text{ I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)}
\]
\[gaš'nišle tr'vyäc² \text{ I am going to be rich}
\]
\[garémënd'no r'i'tyäc² thou shalt not be it \]
\[li'è-narav'tilo mm'ën[nmik (<mn'-ił'-mik) \text{ let us really try to get wives} \]

\[ëna'nmicu i'tkä1-ë-üm \text{ I am not a murderer} \]

§ 75
It seems possible that the element i in the nominalized verbs is derived from this stem (see note 1 p. 734).

\[\text{nu-wa'lm-\dot{\iota}-um} \text{ I am hearing}\]
\[\text{ni-yi'la-t-i-\dot{\iota}-um} \text{ I am sleeping}\]

§ 76. TO LIVE, TO BE -tv\(\ddot{a}\)

This stem occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak. It expresses a longer duration than it.

\[\text{äqāliine\'tä t'i\'tyä\'k} \text{ I was in fear}\]
\[\text{em-äqāliine\'tä titva'\dot{a}k} \text{ I was continually just in fear}\]
\[\text{va'rk\(\ddot{a}\)n (Chukchee), va'\dot{y}k\(\ddot{a}\)n (Kor. Kam.) he lives}\]
\[\text{awgol'ika titva'\dot{a}rk\(\ddot{a}\)n I remain without an assistant 124.5}\]
\[\text{nu'mnim vai čl m\'ege\'i va'rk\(\ddot{a}\)n a settlement then quite near is 7.7}\]
\[\text{v'u\'lukä qatva'\dot{a}rk\(\ddot{a}\)n remain without motion! 57.3}\]
\[\text{nu'\dot{a}nkri mittuva'\dot{a}rk\(\ddot{a}\)n how shall I be? 124.3}\]
\[\text{em-nu'\dot{a}nkri ni'ttv\(\ddot{a}\)q\(\ddot{a}\)n how are those from the mainland? 13.9}\]
\[\text{wu'\dot{a}tku ntv\(\ddot{a}\)va'\dot{g}ir you stay here 7.5}\]

It is used as a synthetic element in many verbs.

\[\text{ratva'\dot{a}rk\(\ddot{a}\)n (<ra-tva) he house-lives (i. e., he is at home)}\]
\[\text{oratva'\dot{a}rk\(\ddot{a}\)n (<ora-tva) he stays long}\]
\[\text{wago\dot{a}t\(\ddot{a}\)lik (wago-tva) he (remained) seated 102.24}\]
\[\text{d'\dot{a}nqak nmitva'\dot{a}q\(\ddot{a}\)n (=<nim-tva settlement remains) they lived}\]
\[\text{on the sea 13.3}\]
\[\text{nuv\(\ddot{a}\)kot\(\ddot{a}\)tv\(\ddot{a}\)q\(\ddot{a}\)n (<wkot-tva) he was tied}\]
\[\text{gawk\(\ddot{a}\)t\(\ddot{a}\)tv\(\ddot{a}\)t\(\ddot{a}\)a being tied 122.24}\]
\[\text{qamitva' to eat}\]
\[\text{\'eul\(\ddot{a}\)t\(\ddot{a}\)l-va'\dot{a}ln being of elongated form 91.15}\]

In Koryak the stem it occurs much more frequently than tv\(\ddot{a}\) in independent form.

\[\text{en'\ddot{n}n va'\dot{a}ln (Chukchee), en\ddot{a}\'\ddot{e}\'\ddot{a}n i'tala'\dot{a}n (Kor. Kam.) one being thus}\]

Still in compounds the stem tv\(\ddot{a}\) occurs with great frequency.

\[\text{vahe\'le-tva'\dot{y}k\(\ddot{a}\)n (Kor. Kam.) he is seated}\]

Some stems when combined with vg'\(\ddot{a}\)ln do not take the ablaut:

\[\text{m\'\ddot{a}nk\(\ddot{a}\)ri-vg'\dot{a}ln of what kind}\]
\[\text{me'\'\ddot{e}n'ku-vg'\dot{a}l-\dot{\iota}-\dot{\iota}}\text{m I am a fairly good one}\]

A number of stems expressing qualities form adjectival forms by composition with -tv\(\ddot{a}\) (it- Koryak), in the form va'\dot{a}ln (i'tala'\dot{a}n Koryak) (see p. 814).
koulo'qu-wa'lin (stem koulo'qi) round
wi'čhiŠ-wa'lin (stem wi'čhiš) flat

Koryak:
qo'lon-i'talá'n (stem qo'lon) round
vičhiš-i'talá'n (stem vičhiš) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—(/)ft, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as ta'ńum-wa'lin a good one, from ta'ńin-wa'lin.

The stem in composition with wa'lin may also take postpositions.
e'mpum-wa'lin or empa'qu-wa'lin (stem imp) the one who is
downcast
vičha'qu-wa'lin flat

This form frequently expresses the comparative:
qa'tvum-wa'lin (stem qetv) the stronger one
Kor. qa'toń-i'tala'n (stem qetv) the stronger one
qa'mga-gla'uíč qa'tvum-wa'1-š-úm I am stronger than all (the
other men
qám gmi'k mai'ńku-wa'1-š-úm I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with wa'lin signifies possession of a quality to a slight
degree.
čute'tu-wa'lin (stem čiut) somewhat low
tačču-wa'lin (stem ten) somewhat good, moderately good

§ 77. TO BECOME net

The stem Chukchee net, 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).

gá'mik čeńw-il-to'mgo qine'líše' become ye what serves as my
spleen companions¹ (i. e., became ye my friends)
rrka'nu nine'ilgit you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)
girni'ku ne'lyiš they became the quarry 12.2
ńe'nišqutu gene'lin he became a woman 116.21
mi'nu gene'lin it became water 101.27
da'qa'rkila gene'lišum I became one to be pursued hard 17.6
em-gmu'n-nikitan ne'lyiše' it came to be just midnight 9.11
girviol gene'linet they came to be high 9.4
aťto'eca nine'lqin he came to be in front 8.7
ne'lqin (Chukchee), na'lqin (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.

§ 78. TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS —— ǔ

The Chukchee stem ǔ (medial lógica), Kor. Kam. ǔ, 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).

lirungkin (Chukchee), lirungkin (Kor. Kam.) you take him for
gittap-qla'ulo mil'hiqit let me take you for a clever man
jiu n'il'häqinet n'olhit as unknown ones they had their skins (i. e., they did not know them)
purebu nallinño'qan they began to have him for a slave 8.2
valat rl'lo hine'l'häqin he has knives as wings 15.2
wiyotu qine'lhi'rkin have me as a servant 95.7
leule'wun in'elhiw 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.

yev'evo lirirkkin (Chukchee), yair'èvu lirinykin (Kor. Kam.) as
one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him
tèn'nu lirirkkin (Chukchee), tèn'nu lirinykin (Kor. Kam.) as one
serving as laughing-stock you have him
réqà leule'wun qel'hiwm what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19
pegèn'nu tr'ilhiqit I have thee as an object of interest 15.8
pegèn'nu in'elhiw you have meddling interest in me 22.9; also 15.8

§ 79. TO MAKE SOME ONE SOMETHING rté

The stem, Chukchee rté (medial tè), Kor. Kam. yté (medial tè), 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).

rtérir'kin (Chukchee), rité'èykin (Kor. Kam.), yissi'èykin (Kor. Par.) you make him into
enqu'a vai rawku'térhin moo-qua'ano mité'èrkin that here doe, one
serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her
dèq'ka rité'èmin he made him not standing 115.4
dèq'qatikà nere'térwak they will make us childless 39.4
pàwakre rité'èmin 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'nàn tri'ntrin Rì'tono I have Rì'nto as what serves as a son

§§ 78, 79, 80
It is often combined with the verbal noun of transitive verbs in -tä to express the same idea, thus forming a periphrastic expression. The verb rt is referred directly to the object of the transitive verb, to the nominal form of which it is joined.

\[
gümna' n čini't lu' tätä trentäränet qa'at m自己 as something to
look on I shall have the reindeer (i.e. I myself shall look on
the reindeer)
lu' n -lu' tätä ni'ntäqinet not having seen they had them (i.e., they
had not seen them) 11.9
\]

\[\text{ritärkin (Chukchee), yiti'ykin (Kor. Kam.) you have him for}\]
\[\text{en'ré' gümna' n enne'kä qäntäränet do not you carry them out 88.3}\]

\[\text{gümna' n tätä ni'ntär-ään ora'wätat I also treat the people as something}\]
\[\text{to steal (i.e., I can steal people) 93.14}\]

\[\text{en-gümni'n ni'ntär-git you steal them 93.15}\]
\[\text{en-gümni'n ni'ntär-git you lay in ambush for them 93.21}\]

§ 81. NOTES ON CERTAIN KAMCHADAL VERBS

The special verbs discussed in the preceding pages are represented in Kamchadal by a number of very irregular forms of a number of evidently related stems: čk, ck, for the present or derived forms; l', lh, lk, for the indicative and exhortative. The forms with k correspond, on the whole, to the transitive forms of the paradigm on pp. 744–745, although not all the forms can be interpreted in this manner. The derived form of the intransitive form is defective, only the second person singular and the third person plural being found. The verb, when relating to objects or animals (i.e., not to persons), has forms which recall the transitive forms. Their use corresponds to the use of the Chukchee stem teä.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kima'n čhi'jin</td>
<td>gümni'k va'rkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kima' n l'in</td>
<td>gümni'n va'že'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both constructions, with the locative-possessor’s and with the possessive cases, are found.

The personal form is transitive, but has peculiar endings.

\[\text{teč' nin p'le'ki I am to him (as a son}\]

§ 81
**Verbal Stem ęh, ck, l', lh, lk**

**Present**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Non-personal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TO BE</td>
<td>TO ME</td>
<td>MINE IT IS,</td>
<td>TO BE TO HIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td>ęhjč</td>
<td>kima'n(k) ġhį'jn</td>
<td>tčk'į'nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td>kma'n(k) ġhį'jn</td>
<td>c'į'nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>řna'n(k) ġhį'kį'nen</td>
<td>c'į'nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>mį'įhin(k) ġhį'jn</td>
<td>c'įz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>ęhįjčįn</td>
<td>ti'įhin(k) ġhįjįkįnin</td>
<td>c'įn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Non-personal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>tli'k</td>
<td>kima'n(k) ti'n</td>
<td>tli'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td>či'č</td>
<td>kni'u(k) tin</td>
<td>li'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td>či'č</td>
<td>řna'u(k) ti'nin</td>
<td>li'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>mį'įhin(k) ti'n</td>
<td>nli'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>čič'č</td>
<td>ti'įhin(k) li'kįxin</td>
<td>li'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>čičįn</td>
<td>ti'įhin(k) li'kįpin</td>
<td>li'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exhortative (also future)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Non-personal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>mli'k</td>
<td>kima'n(k) zančį'ţin</td>
<td>mli'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td>kčl'č</td>
<td>kni'u(k) zančį'tin</td>
<td>kčl'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td>zančč'ţin</td>
<td>řna'u(k) zančįkįnin</td>
<td>xančk'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>mini'k'č</td>
<td>řna'n(k) zančįkįnin</td>
<td>mini'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>kčl'čz</td>
<td>tčk'įnin(k) zančįkįpin</td>
<td>kčl'k'įnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>xančč'ţin</td>
<td>tčk'įnin(k) zančįkįpin</td>
<td>xančk'įnin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verbal Stem le**

The auxiliary verb *le* to become has also an intransitive and a personal transitive form, like the last stem.

*tlejč* I become something
*tlejčįkįpin* I become something for them

**Verbal Stem si**

The stem *si* to be lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

*stč* you were

**Verbal Stem is, il**

The stem *is, il* corresponds to the Chukchee *ln*- 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
This stem corresponds to Chukchee tc-, Kor. Kam. ssr-, and expresses nearly the same idea as the last verb.

The stem tel has a meaning similar to the last two, but expresses prolonged action. It follows Type II of the transitive verbs.

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.

The Chukchee sentence

tu'mgitum e'ce mwwi'il'ë'n I will cook fat for my companion
(tu'mgitum absolute form, companion; e'ce modalis; with fat; m- let me; uwi to cook; -ë'n him) is quite comparable to this (see p. 741).
§ 82. Predicative Forms of Pronouns and of Numerals

Indefinite (interrogative) pronouns and numerals are frequently used in predicative form, and take all verbal forms. They may also take verbal affixes, but of these only a few are in frequent use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kamenskoye</th>
<th>WHAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>req</td>
<td>yaq 1</td>
<td>what do you do, want?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>req'ärkina (req + rkin)</td>
<td>yaq'ikin (yaq + ikin) Kor. 28.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rre'qeq'urkin (r1 -eu to cause)</td>
<td>yiyaga'wikin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raqin'ä'rikin (-ä'ng to begin)</td>
<td>yagä'tev'ikin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raqin'ä'tirkin (-ä'tat yagä'te'kin annoyance)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nike</td>
<td>nika Kor. 80.9</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nike'rikin</td>
<td>nika'ikin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rinike'urkin</td>
<td>nika'ikin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nireq</td>
<td>niyeq</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nireq'urkin</td>
<td>niyeq'tev'ikin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'˘rînên</td>
<td>m'˘rînen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milinkau'kin</td>
<td>milinkau'we'kin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here belongs also</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terke'urkin</td>
<td>ta'ika'wikin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koryak:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaq'la'au what are they doing? Kor. 24.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaq'la'kinetik what are you doing Kor. 24.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaya'qi'ginat what happened to them Kor. 30.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niya'qi-gi what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs.

gänn'éner ē'kik kitu'r mëngitka'wikwez (Chukchee) my son last year ten reached (gämne'n my; ē'kik son; kitu'r last year; mëngit ten -keu verbal suffix of numerals; gi 3d sing.)

kivki' tmi'linka'wikwek 1 staved there five nights (kivki' passing nights; t- I; milin five; -keu verbal suffix of numerals; -gä'k 1st sing.)

1 Koryak II taq what; ta'qat what do you do, want?
The indefinite (interrogative) pronouns of Kamchadal occur also in predicative form. At present only a few forms of the present tense are used.

- *enka'nejč* what are you (sing.) doing?
- *enka'nejčex* what are you (pl.) doing?
- *lajč* how are you (sing.)?
- *la'jččn* how are they?
- *sxu'zijč* you (sing.) do a certain thing
- *nčn sxu'sijččn Cija'l-kutx live (nčn there; sxu'sijččn they do a certain thing; -ččn plural)*

The use of pronouns or pronominal adverbs is much more common, perhaps due to Russian influence.

- *enka'nčč k'čjčč* for what do you come?
- *lact čunlčč* how do you live?

Sentences which contain the verbalized and the nonverbal pronoun also occur, and are probably the result of a mixture of Kamchadal and Russian syntax.

- *enka'ji k'čmč ččničjčn what now have I done to him?*
- *enka'j ċččničjčn what now has he done to him?*
- *enka'j enkč k'člččnčč why did you (sing.) come to him?*

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:

- *enka'nčč k'člččnč ččničjčn = enka'nčč k'člččnč (cf § 59, p. 731)*

There are also two demonstrative verbs:

- *teč here*
- *teč-sijč here I am*
- *heč look here!*
- *heč-yisijč here I am (close to the person addressed)*

Both contain the auxiliary verb *st* (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:

- *nawancčč ti ċčwččwč* he said to his wife 83.23
- *gččnič luččnčn he saw a lake 37.4*
she will kill the child 37.14
thou wilt do wrong 21.5
I brought children's death 20.1

Derived forms:
mič' mingumqederkin we are terrified 63.4
tmalqerkin 1 refuse 19.7
t' muq pēlărarkin some are leaving 8.9

Nominalized forms:
nag'āliteqtin remkin the people were at war 97.23
vreb's'qiuqin nēus'qāt the woman entered 63.3
cēq-alvam-vu'lito're ye are quite strange 63.4
enl'ri getul'leet they have stolen clothing 13.6
clere'e dost thou feel lonesome? 96.2

Examples of interrogative sentences are—

Simple forms:
cēneštvi hast thou become a shaman? 18.4
mē'enko pni'tiqāṭtik whence did ye appear? 74.21
mi'ňki-m ra'vaa where wilt thou live? 108.25

Derived forms:
re'gärkin what are you? 18.9
re'gā tim'rkinen what has killed him? 23.5

Nominalized forms:
mi'ňkri gewkwe't-i-git where have you gone?
mi'ňkri ni'tvaqen how is he? 13.10
re'q-i-git what do you want? 18.12
gel'demit-tu'mqir hast thou brothers? 99.18

Koryak:
Simple forms:
ñava'kak naya'tin they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20
tapka'vik olůaga'tik 1 could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
tyayiqatūn I shall sleep Kor. 31.8
tiqa'payuk I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1
Miti' nak ena'nome, enapate Miti has killed me and cooked me Kor. 96.7

Derived forms:
tgiqattaytikin I am hungry Kor. 35.5
enē'qan Amamqu'tinu vañvolai'ke thus Ene'mqut and his people were living Kor. 45.5
penyekmen talai'vik he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3
mi'lu'ykininau she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4
pelhanūnovolai'ke they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17
Nominalized forms:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{vä'yuq gayo'o'len vai'amn'agu} then they found a large river Kor. 21.3
\item \textit{gal'a'wkal'lin wu'ţka} they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9
\item \textit{gaqqa'ika'makata ganə't'-mu'yu} we came to be with (to have) a small kamak Kor. 37.4
\item \textit{ńa'o'ţin nenanyopanu'vọ'gən} outside they were hung up Kor. 60.9
\item \textit{atau' ńa'no eniic'ən ntu va'nvo'gen} that one was living thus Kor. 61.3
\item \textit{ńa'no ntiimna'tqen} that one is telling lies Kor. 62.3
\end{itemize}

In the indefinite nominalized predicate the subject pronoun may be repeated to emphasize the question.

\textit{geet-tu'ri tu'ri} have you come?

Impersonal verbs do not differ from the ordinary intransitive verbs.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ile'erkin} (Kor. Kam. \textit{muqal'tikin}; Kamchadal \textit{cxu'jim} or \textit{cxu'jē}) it is raining
\item \textit{ile'tyrē} (Kor. Kam. \textit{muqal'tha}); Kamchadal \textit{cxun}) it has been raining
\item \textit{lē'leuru'ra} winter came 14.9
\item \textit{tēhı'ro'ra} it becomes red 23.9
\end{itemize}

\section*{§ 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.

\textit{treqəwqənə'nu'sk} I begin to be called 94.31

In Koryak the declarative form is rarely used in narrative, while it is in common use in direct discourse.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ma'i, ya'ri} halloo, have you come? Kor. 68.12
\item \textit{Val'i ničla'en tı'nmin} I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5
\end{itemize}

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{e'ńmen nuki'ru's} then night came 36.12
\item \textit{lu'ur vəthau'no} then he began to speak 31.11
\end{itemize}

The derivative is generally used to express a present continued action, but it occurs also frequently in narrative. This use is more frequent in Koryak than in Chuckchee (see § 87).

The nominalized verb (\textit{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'lomgən let him know
va'n'van nuwa'lomgən he would not hear anything
menvkə'vetək let me depart 17.10
mil'mala'nñowək let me begin to obey 21.4
miṃrando'mik let us leave the town 56.8
nyr'lgətyãn let him sleep 9.1
nícə'atwañən let her be cast away 39.3
mə'llhən let me give thee 15.13
mmala'gir let me marry thee 77.1
miṃletə'ttik let us carry you away 74.15
nǐro'ŋ ya'rət va'n'van dənu'nət three houses, not at all they could see them 61.10
ñevoi'rit a'nəi'mityãn she would take the soul of the woman 37.11

Koryak:

mín'yaitla'mik let us go home! Kor. 26.8
nayana'də'nənin let them skin it! Kor. 26.10
miʃəla'mik let us go! Kor. 28.5
miʃkplis'gewlə'ttik I will stun them with blows Kor. 29.7
ya'qu-yak qwoa'nmatin aənta'krə-qə into what desirerest thou one should make thee? Kor. 38.4

Subjunctive (b) does not appear very often in the texts.

e'ur en'ñə:n nis'tyâ'nə, qora'ũn miŋ'gjilhət if you were like this, we should give you reindeer
enqa'n nis'gitə'nin, nu'wə'ãn if she should look upon that one, she would die 37.12
iə'm leuləwu ti'hə'tən why should I harm her? 38.12
va'n'van nute's'qən nis'yo'nən he would not at all reach the ground 52.12

§85
Enqa'n orawelat c'čča ni'tva'nat, nićwitu'nunet viu'ta if the men had stayed on the surface, the whalebone would have cut them down 68.26 (enqa'n THAT; orawelat MAN; -tva TO REMAIN; nić—for full form nanić—; čvi- TO CUT; -iku suffix ALL; -tv suffix GREAT QUANTITY; viu' WHALEBONE; -a subject)

cite'un im gümna'n wu'tku ti'nri'qä'n if only I could keep it R 45.21

cite'un kinta'irga memilga'a ne'nalpiněre if only good luck would give me seals R 46.42

cite'un věwgiene'sč in order that he should give up his breath R 49.15

ekena'n gümna'n tri'pi'reč'n I wish I would (rather) take it

Koryak:

| me'ŋqa'n ni'tva'an how could she be? Kor. 34.12 |
| nanić'um one might say Kor. 25.2 |

§ 86. The Imperative

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

nota's'qeti qa&ipe'tyi* into the ground plunge! 17.2
qineti'nui* haul me up! 131.22
ńelvul qagti'qiti bring ye the herd! 129.19
qinilhe'tyiti lower ye me! 131.15

Koryak:

| appa', qakyawgį grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9 |
| qwad'nilat open your mouth! Kor. 34.7 |
| qa'qatghi go away! Kor. 35.3 |
| ne'nako qiyo'oge čačđme then you will find an old woman Kor 51.1 |
| Quyqmn'ag'unaq qiyapina'tik live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2 |
| ganto'tik go ye outside! Kor. 74.12 |
| qi'wqutča 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 terga'arkin why art thou weeping? 48.12
qčm ņel'uk tile'rkin I am walking about to get a wife 57.2
mithittek'arkin we are hungry 70.24
keletča nayo'erkin-e-git the kele are visiting thee 52.4

§§86, 87
Koryak—

*matpas*\^aikimen* we are thirsty Kor. 16.9
*yaglaikm*\^etik* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
*kokaiwilai*\^ke* they are cooking it Kor. 27.4
*tita*\^eiy*\^kin* 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\^hir*\^kin* e\^a* she was deceiving her mother 29.2
*p\^akirgi*\^e* Aiwana\^ch\^in \^um ni\^v\^itkur*\^kin* re\^w. He arrived. The Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10
*e\'^nmen ye\'^gir\^hin rin\^\^ir\^kin*\^in he was carrying about a walrus penis 67.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3

qul\^e\^tske\^aum\^uk ekv\^kwe\^erk\^it, ev\'^r\^a getule\^leet. *E\'^nmen ekw\^kwe\^ty\^it* during another night they were about to leave, having stolen clothing. Then they left (qul another; tkiv to pass the night; -nv place of [§ 109, 50], -k locative; ekw\^ket to leave; ev\'^rit clothes; -\^a subjective [§ 37]; tulet to steal; getule\^leet <ge-tulet-linet) 13.5

Koryak—

gaiman\^nivo\'^y*\^kin* he had a desire Kor. 12.2
*\^lu\^m\^neu\^a\'^y*\^kin* she was following Kor. 23.3
*va\^nhvolai\^ke* they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor. 43.7
*nano\^nivo\'^y*\^kinenau* 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:

*\^nito\'^y*\^kin* he went out Kor. 12.5; 72.15
*\^nivo\'^y*\^kin* she began Kor. 72.16
*yulgri\'^wikin* he entered Kor. 13.9

*niew\^nivo\'^y*\^kinenat* they began to say to both of them Kor. 12.7

A habitual action is expressed in the following example:

*\^ca\'^ma\^n enga\^n\^en\^a qinnig-gili\'liq\^gi\^ti timi\'^r\^kin\^enat* 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\'^k\^a qatva\'^rk*\^in* stay without motion! 57.3
*qaiwalponaur*\^kin\^en\^etki* you will hit (the children) upon the head 69.32

*guwalo\'^mir*\^kin* listen! 32.1
Koryak—

*aqalhai’aka qiti’ykin-i’-qi* do not cry! (not be without crying) Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

*migami’tvarkm* I shall eat now

*migami’tvarkm* I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)

*innenrequeirkmi’tik* what are you going to do with me? 10.10

*ti’gitirkin* I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

*tryanto’ykin* I shall go out Kor. 14.5

*tryanlanivivo’ykin* I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

*trërêvilitku’uirkin* I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

*mirgami’tvarkm* let us continue to eat! 65.4

*miniwkurkin’git* let us tie thee! 20.9

§ 88 Nominalized Verb (a)

The nominalized form (a) of the verb, *ne—qin* expresses the condition of an object or a person, or the condition of performing an action. Its use is not confined to intransitive verbs which in this form often have the meaning of an attributive term (see p. 713), but it is also used with transitive verbs. When the noun to which the nominalized verb stands in an attributive relation is the subject of a clause, the nominalized verb often indicates that the two verbs express contemporaneous conditions or actions and may be translated by the conjunction *while*. Examples of the attributive use of this form have been given on p. 713. Additional examples are the following:

*u’nel va’rkin nime’yinqin* (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7

*nibu’uqin kê’râqâi* a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

*nepplu’qin* a small one Kor. 15.2

*qaalai’kin nima’yinqin* he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4

*nima’yinqin nai’nai* the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (a) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

*qaal’keq let’qâc nul’uqin, gol um nide’roqên le’t’qâc* one-half was black, the other half was red 88.15,16
niu'lagin it was long 91.24
yara'ni nite'ngin the house is good 92.9
mi'nkri ni'tvaqen how (of what kind) are they 13.10
wu'tku nitvai'-gir you are staying here 7.5
niqgi'ngin merêga'gii they are eager for us 8.9
mpinad'i'ygin niò neite'ngin the old man was the one who called out
86.13
ninei'mitgin unelti he was taking thong-seals 67.18

Koryak:
nihikyu'qin it is watchful Kor. 39.9
numa'qin it is good Kor. 64.24
nanluvinma'w-gin I am angry Kor. 31.2
nitinpuwqagqaten she is one who is striding and pecking Kor.
47.11
Tanño nigala'genau the Chukchee were the ones who passed by Kor. 66.12.

Examples of relative clauses:

mpinad'i'ygin . . . pako'lbiftin nine'nragin it was an old woman . . . who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21
qit kelet'ta nayo'gikin-é-git you are one who is being visited by the kelet 52.4
yara'gai . . . kelet'ta nèna'yo'gèn it was a small house . . . which was visited by the kelet 51.9

Koryak:
vel'ì'nu nenataikinvo'genau (those are) thimbles that had been made Kor. 60.8,9
Miti'nak nenaiñawqinvo'gen e'wan it was Miti who called him she said Kor. 74.29
niqalhai'aqen he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1
ninnipñuvo'gen they were the ones who began to keep it Kor. 41.9

Examples of temporal coordination:

ti'ttil nènarkipecu'gèn, s'nk'i ne'vàn wr'wkwii (at the time) when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6
gan'ver ni'nqâi nit'rgilatqen, gân'ver i'wkwii wâat'quèc when the child cried, the husband said 38.3
gai'a'gâi e'ur neimeu'gín, èwkurjâ nigmente'qin whenever he was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14
nîntinpoi'tgenat . . . enqa'm . . . qolê-ra'gits qâ'tyâst while they were stabbing them . . . then . . . to another house
he went 12.9, 10

§88.
Koryak:

nenavo'ño-mu'yu e'ên ganu'linau when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10
mi'mla nnu'qen, galine-key gate'wla'n when a louse bit (ate) her, then they shook her combination suit Kor. 76.4,5

On the whole the forms in ne—gin are used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak, in which dialect the progress of the narrative is more prominent.

§ 89. Nominalized Verb (b)

The nominalized verb (b) ga—lin expresses a completed transition and may often be translated by to have become.

ya'rat gaño'twe'len she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22
no'e-e-um gene'l-i-um poor (I) I had become R 45.28

§ 89

In narrative it expresses the progress of action, but apparently not with the same intensity as the verbal forms.

gûmni'n pe'ni'n-ne'w gëwi't'lin my former wife died R. 45.29.
yičenre'tti gettwile'linet a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3
e'ur girgronta'len a'ttwilä then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

e'nmen gequ'pqiëntelin i'wkwit after she was quite starved she said 39.1
Ai'wan-a'kkata ni'lhin gecheiulu'ulin a'ńna-co'rmì, enga'q ūm ni'lhin gettnws'qëcie'ïn e'ur ūm nèchtav'qën mënlë'ti the Aiwan's son had hidden a thong on the sea-shore, then (when) he had tugged the thong, then he made him fall into the water 48.3–5

gitte'ulit ūm nan, ki'pu-rì'yu nelw'æn after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1

§ 89
Koryak:

miti’w ge’cha’len enka’ta tilai’vikin ne’la next day, after it had dawned, at that place a herd was walking Kor. 21.8

With nouns the form ga—lin expresses possession (see p. 712.)

§ 10. Negative Forms

Negative forms are partly expressed by adverbs with the ordinary forms of the verb, partly by the derivative in q—k, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

va’nēvan not at all (see p. 882)
qar’em always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)
ba’nam always with the future (see p. 883)

See also e’le, en’ne, ul’lä (p. 883).

The forms in q—k and in e’n—will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in x’e—ki for intransitive verbs, x’e—kic (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

x’e’nu’ki m’il’ik I will not eat
x’e’nu’ki kṣ’xē 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:

ya’ai’pü ye’tyi’ r’rkti from afar a walrus came 8.5
kitvel’yu ś’tékwé’ the old walrus spoke 8.14
m’ai’ri’ . . . mirrey’ilgátyi’ we shall sleep 9.3
ri’kanpin’a’cîn piltqae’r’kin the old walrus dived 9.6
re’mkin ni’lgátyi’n the people shall go 13.12
ś’rę’iś re’mkin the people crossed over 13.13
r’rkti ge’p’k’i’n a walrus arrived 8.6
ni’te’rméningin rankr’yin the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3
Koryak:

| atta^yol-ga'mkin galai'veinyolen people (from) down the coast walked about Kor. 41.1 |
| Ama'mqut e'wañ Eme'mqut said Kor. 40.7 |
| t'npri-qla'wul gevaryollen the old man said Kor. 47.1 |
| nala'vda'n'aqu . . . galadwo'ylkin a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9 |
| nawa's'qat va'ylkin a woman was there Kor. 52.1 |

Object of transitive verb:

u'ttuut titowi'n I cut wood
yo'nën lautiyín she pushed the big head into it 28.6
uw'ilkan gáte'kkigín make a woodpile! 31.12
wi't'grigín walomíxonén she heard a noise 32.10
kokái'nín yire'mín she filled the kettle 33.10
ñewwi'rit a'ne'mímitiyín she would take the woman's soul 37.11
mač-éwga'n titwirkin I tell it as an incantation 39.13
u'ttuut ne'npu'dn they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9

Koryak:

tryo'n an t'npri-qla'wul I found an old man Kor. 52.4
gaga'yekulín lot'ígal he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6
gai-míti'g gayo'olen she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1
cí'llíl déébíl'yíkinín he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4
eni'n kmi'ñipil gakulunti'pin he carries his son Kor. 57.9

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object.

tu'mgitum muwi'an let me cook for (my) friend
gúnni'n e'kik kel'tulá mi'lpíngaga'n I will give money to my son

§ 92. The Subjective

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs.

wo'tqan ŋan a'acek envi'k-eli'gü ki'plinen the father struck this young man (wo'tqan this; ŋan here; a'acek youth; envi'k subjective third person singular pronoun; eli'gü father; -níp to strike; -nin he—him)
rmilo rémkü napélauxn ni'mním the whole people left the camp bo'urgin tiro'mmen kel'tá the kele opened the door-flap 106.16
kitov yuta i'wun the old walrus said to him 8.7
Aowhuyanprna'cha pinlo'nénat a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9
Ta'n'ña gaior'laat the Ta'n'ít attacked them 97.25
morgna'n mo'reg-ra'k ne'wánti gi'wá we in our houses to our wives say 84.16
Koryak:

\*\*\*yol-ya' mka qava\'omlen the people down the coast heard it  
Kor. 39.7
\*\*\*u'tti-yu'ni gatai'kilin Eme'mqut made a wooden  
whale Kor. 40.8
\*\*\*i'ra'ga ini\'wi mother told me Kor. 46.1
\*\*\*an\'d\* nak ini\'wi grandmother\* told me Kor. 46.2
\*\*\*kmi\'na gama\'tal\*en the son married her Kor. 80.1
\*\*\*mi\'mla niniuqin the louse ate her Kor. 76.4.
\*\*\*gumna\'n nawa'kak tryai\'rin\*n I will give (him) the daughter  
Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with -ine, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

Ta\'n\*na niniuqin she was told by the Ta\'n\*lit 98.8

The subjective is used with some transitive verbs to express the object with which something is done to some one. In these cases the person to which something is done is given the absolute form. Such verbs are -(l)pint to give, o\'nti to REFUSE.

\*\*\*ekik kel\'tul\*a mi\'lpmrga\*n I presented my son with  
\*\*\*lpmrige* I present thee with meat

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

\*\*\*m\*gotum e'che muwi\'\*n I shall cook for (my) companion (with)  
\*\*\*muwi\'\*n I shall cook for (my) companion with fat
\*\*\*qala\'alqai riqamat\*a urkinin tenn\*et\*a he made the little man eat  
\*\*\*ten\*et\*a 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.

\*\*\*\*za\'\*n  akoka-ju\'jox (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee  
\*\*\*\*qu\*tik

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

\*\*\*a\*nq\*a\* \*\*leule\'wu ge\'lhi-\*m\*ri by the sea we were badly treated 65.27
\*\*\*gen\*lule\*n\*\*l\*h\*\*n\*\*\*t\*a he moved it with the staff 101.8
\*\*\*x\*tin yik\*l\*\*qa pi\*rinin it took its master with the mouth 104.33
\*\*\*qri\*h\*\*kui vala\'t\*a move about with the knives! 16.4
\*\*\*mu\*l\*\*a gaka\'n\*\*pul\*\*en with blood he is besmeared 19.3

\*\*\*Treated here like a personal name.

§ 92.
§ 93. Locative, Allative, and Ablative.

The locative expresses the place where something is or happens.

Koryak:

va'\textsuperscript{a} ga tyan\textsubscript{e}ma'wirkini\texttilde{}in I shall tear him with (my) nails
Kor. 84.16

tui-ni\textsuperscript{e}\textmd{\textmacron}na gata'kyilin they throw (it) with the harpoon line
Kor. 41.3

ma'qm\texttilde{}ta twed n\textsuperscript{m}\textsubscript{t}atik I lost a tooth by means of an arrow
Kor. 33.1

a\textmd{\textmacron}la'\textsign{a} aywe\textmd{\textmacron}vo'\textsign{y}k\textsign{a}n he eats (with) excrements
Kor. 12.5

ai'kira\textsign{a} gapi'wy\textsubscript{a}qal\textsign{a}n she threw about (with) fly-eggs
Kor. 45.2

va'\textmd{\textmacron}la'\textsign{a} gaga'yibul\textsign{a}n he chopped it up with a knife
Kor. 53.6

§ 93

The allative expresses—

1. The direction toward.

a\textmd{\textmacron}ga'kamaan\textsign{a} we'\textsign{t}i nine'\textsubscript{i}l-\textsign{a} um I give them to the possessors of bad
 
dishes 96.7

kala'\textmd{\textmacron}gti qa\textmd{\textmacron}ne'\textsign{u}tkurk\textsign{a}n call to your kele 102.5

kala'\textmd{\textmacron}gti nip\textmscript{e}n\textmscript{e}t\textsign{e}t\textsign{g}\textsign{e}n it rushed at the kele 104.25

le'i\textsign{u}nl\textsign{u}n\mscript{e}t\textsign{e}t\textsign{a}t\textsign{a} he went to a camp 105.5

not\textsign{a}s'q\textmscript{a}t\textmscript{k}ou\textsign{t}i ni\textmscript{e}\textsign{p}e't\textsign{g}\textsign{e}n he dives into the interior of the surface
 
of the ground 131.7

T\textsign{a}an\textsign{g}e't\textsign{e}t\textsign{a}, qrgo\textsign{a}\textmd{\textmacron}gti nu\textsign{e}\textmscript{t}hau'\textsign{g}\textsign{e}n he talks to the Dawn, the One
 
on High 135.16

§ 93
Koryak:

\( g\dot{a}l\dot{g}a\dot{t}i \) \( e\dot{e}'\dot{t}i \) \( e \) \( he \) \( went \) \( to \) \( the \) \( sky \) Kor. 14.9

\( e\dot{e}'\dot{t}i \) \( gani'\)\( nalin \) \( he \) \( threw \) \( it \) \( to \) \( the \) \( sky \) Kor. 14.10; 15.7

\( qa\text{"}telnin \) \( gangu'lin \) \( yayati\)\( koi'\)\( t\)\( ni \) \( the \) \( stopper \) \( was \) \( thrust \) \( out \) \( into \) \( the \) \( house-interior \) Kor. 15.2

\( p\text{"}anenai'\)\( t\)\( ni \) \( gany\)\( \varepsilon alin \) \( to \) \( the \) \( same \) \( place \) \( he \) \( flew \) Kor. 15.5

\( ya\text{"}t\)\( et\)\( ti \) \( gal\dot{a}t\)\( in \) \( he \) \( went \) \( to \) \( the \) \( house \) Kor. 17.3

\( qata'wa\)\( nlenat \) \( Qoyqin\)\( n aqoyikai'\)\( t\)\( i \) \( they \) \( moved \) \( to \) \( Big-Raven's \) Kor. 19.9

2. For, on account of.

\( gaa'd\)\( q\)\( ti \) \( gil\)\( o\)\( l\)\( en \) \( sorrowful \) \( on \) \( account \) \( of \) \( the \) \( reindeer \) 48.12

\( uwaqo\text{"}d\)\( q\)\( ti \) \( gil\)\( o\)\( r\)\( kin \) \( do \) \( you \) \( sorrow \) \( on \) \( account \) \( of \) \( the \) \( husband \) 48.12

\( nilva\text{"}r\)\( q\)\( en \) \( ergip-y\)\( al\)\( heti \) \( he \) \( was \) \( tired \) \( on \) \( account \) \( of \) \( the \) \( bright \) \( moon \) 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.

\( q\)\( ui\)\( m\)\( au\)\( k\)\( -akka'\)\( q\)\( ti \) \( ket\)\( 'tulti \) \( mi'\)\( li\)\( net \) \( I \) \( will \) \( give \) \( moneys \) \( to \) \( my \) \( son \) The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

\( q\)\( et\)\( r\)\( ti\)\( -na\)\( tos'q\)\( e'pu \) \( nip\)\( u\)\( r\)\( i\)\( q\)\( id \) \( from \) \( the \) \( frozen \) \( ground \) \( he \) \( emerged \) 102.18

\( qo\)\( le'\)\( -na\)\( ti'pu \) \( nu\)\( w\)\( a\)\( lom\)\( ga'n \) \( I \) \( heard \) \( it \) \( far \) \( and \) \( wide \) 104.14

\( i\)\( e\)\( r\)\( k\)\( r\)\( a\)\( 'q\)\( e\)\( p\)\( u \) \( n\)\( y\)\( e't\)\( q\)\( id \) \( he \) \( came \) \( from \) \( sunset \) 105.14

\( yor\)\( o\)\( k\)\( t\)\( ko'pu \) \( nu\)\( w\)\( a\)\( lom\)\( g\)\( q\)\( id \) \( he \) \( heard \) \( from \) \( the \) \( sleeping-room \) 106.13

\( e\)\( ud\)\( a'pu \) \( mi\)\( n\)\( o'a'n \) \( let \) \( us \) \( begin \) \( from \) \( below \) 131.5

\( p\)\( e\)\( p\)\( e\)\( g\)\( g\)\( u\)\( p\)\( u \) \( ne\)\'m\( i\)\( t\)\( y\)\( a'n \) \( they \) \( took \) \( him \) \( by \) \( the \) \( ankle \) 35.3

\( p\)\( o\)\( t\)\( t\)\( na'\)\( p\)\( u \) \( e\)\( im\)\( i\)\( 'n\)\( nin \) \( he \) \( took \) \( it \) \( by \) \( the \) \( holes \) 47.2

Koryak:

\( e\)\( q\)\( a\)\( n\)\( ko \) \( nal\)\( q\)\( ai\)\( n\)\( e'w\)\( -q\)\( u\)\( m \) \( from \) \( the \) \( sky \) \( have \) \( I \) \( been \) \( shot \) Kor. 33.4

\( k\)\( r\)\( ip\)\( la'q\)\( i\)\( n\)\( ko \) \( ga\)\( c\)\( e'p\)\( n\)\( to\)\( len \) \( out \) \( of \) \( the \) \( mortar \) \( it \) \( peeped \) Kor. 53.3

\( m\)\( a\)\( e'\)\( n\)\( q\)\( o \) \( ya\)\( ha\)\( '\)\( an \) ? \( n\)\( u\)\( t\)\( a'\)\( n\)\( q\)\( o \) \( Where \) \( whence \) \( did \) \( you \) \( bring \) \( her \) ? \( from \) \( the \) \( country \) Kor. 60.10

§§ 94. Designative.

On account of its nominal character I have not included in the list of post-positional suffixes the element -\( n\)\( u \) (see § 103.34), which, however, is used syntactically very much like the suffixes treated in the last section.

§ 94
Taaro'n- Va'irgu üm qän'ver' he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9
Va'irgu ne'Le'n (destined) to (be) a “Being” he became 41.10
yarâ'ne nêlyî'ë it became a house 43.5
rrrrarnënèn . . . taikau's'qulou he spread it for a place to wrestle
47.4
wi'yole mi'lhigt let me have thee as assistant 124.2
qaqa'qane niya'anat let him use them for driving reindeer 124.8
Koryak:

mal-i'yu nina'il'm a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2
yu'gu mantaikila'gi into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9
knèna'trnvu no'taü nilai'-qäm for delivery in the country I
went away Kor. 60.6
'ssu ganat'linau they became dresses Kor. 60.10
ánku nàññëaiknëmirk we are rejected (put to refusal) Kor. 62.5

§ 95. Verbal Nouns

As stated under the sections dealing with various post-positions
nominalized verbs appear often with these endings. Following is the
series of forms observed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kamenskoye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tt</td>
<td>-{(1)k, -(ā)k, -ka, kka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-(t)i</td>
<td>-ta, -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>-tj, -ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative I</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-mołt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative II</td>
<td>-matl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these forms, the last one does not correspond to a nominal
post-position; the Comitative I is analogous to the nominal suffix,
which, however, has the prefix ga-, which is absent in the verbal noun.

ALLATIVE

In Chukchee the allative of the verbal noun is used with verbs ex­
pressing attempt, desire, preparation.

awkwatë'ti tragai'd'urkm I make haste to depart (ewkwet to leave;
t-I; gaïdau to hasten; -rkm present)
letë'y'ti lile'pg'i'z he looked to see; (lëz to see; lile eyes; -p to put on;
-ç'z he)
ren'ni'wärn takèchë'tti they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

| penye'kìnen talaivík he rushes to strike it Kor. 53.3

§ 95.
It expresses temporal coordination:

\( \text{kile'nin e'ur vai tèrgatë'ti} \) he pursued, however, while he (the pursuer) was crying 57.9
\( e'ur \text{ enqa'n tèrgatë'ti ni'nerkile'qin} \) while he was crying he pursued him 57.11
\( \text{gevin'vuten'ne'alin nitou'ti} \) he laughed secretly as he went out 71.30
\( \text{nitou'ti ki'litkit nuten'new-i-äm} \) as I was going out I laughed a little 72.13
\( \text{a'un-tipainou'ti niču'uqin ke'rgäqai wurre'tyi'q girgo'l} \) while she was singing, a little hole appeared above 74.2
\( \text{le'utti nitou'ti ri'inrëninët} \) he carried the heads going out 86.8
\( \text{a'un-wëthawë'ti} \ldots \) while they were talking, he \ldots 100.9

**LOCATIVE**

In Chukchee and Koryak the locative seems to signify **AT THE PLACE, AT THE TIME.**

\( \text{qaine'i yi'lgaññok} \) roar at the time of beginning to sleep 10.6
\( \text{geri'ñelin puke'rinok} \) he flew up when (the other one) arrived 15.4
\( \text{puke'rinok ri'vepe'u' nin} \) when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive 19.12
\( \text{awkwa'tınok nimeîneu qa'tvålën a'ittin} \) when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog 101.21
\( \text{a'mken-wolgatø'lnok} \) every time when it began to be evening 104.12
\( \text{qaa'qìt qa'tik qa'läkä i' tyi'q} \) he had no knife while going to the reindeer (\( \text{qaa'} \) reindeer; -qìt to; qat to go; a-ka without; \( \text{va'la} \) knife; i- to be; -qi'q he)
\( \text{e'mken-kieye'kî nênaio'gën} \) whenever she awoke, she shoved it in 29.2
\( \text{gemî'-pl'tkuk} \) at the time of having finished eating 33.11

**Koryak.**

\( \text{gas'sävëvêlin vr'ya'tvok} \) she remained all day, being dead Kor. 64.9

The stems \( \text{lvau} \) NOT TO BE ABLE, \( \text{nkä} \) TO REFUSE, always govern the verbal locative:

\( \text{lu'vik ni'lvaw-e-äm} \) I could not be seen 22.9
\( \text{nênaio'gën lu'vik} \) he could not find her 38.7
\( \text{ôpau'ki tilva'urkin} \) I can not drink (\( \text{ôpau'} \) to drink; t- I; \( \text{lvau} \) to be unable; -rkin present)
\( \text{qä'rik tilva'urkin} \) I can not seek for her 38.8
\( \text{vele'rêkilek lvaw'kwe'q} \) he could not pursue him 15.6

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—50 § 95
In Koryak the verbs Ṉero to begin, ṉl to finish, ṉkau to cease, Ṽkau not to be able, always govern the verbal locative.

gaa'nven giya'p'ak she began to sing Kor. 16.10
gaa'nven čilala'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
gaa'nven Ṽawa'ak kitai'nak they began to scold the daughter Kor. 17.8
gaa'nven temnawiwituk she began to prepare Kor. 18.3

gan'a'nakau'en timalo'tik they ceased to carry it out Kor. 41.8

ganka'wlinau tula'tik they stopped to steal Kor. 41.9

gqika'wlinenawun yanikya'w'nak it could not awaken them Kor. 40.2

tapka'vik ol'uaq'itik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2

napkawũn voiced ykun tula'tik they could not steal it Kor. 39.8

tawi'tkiriŋ gava'nninta'en when pilfering she lost a tooth Kor. 34.3

gana'linau pa'yįttoŋ they came to be eating blackberries Kor. 41.6

gapl'ʨitulun kukai'vik she finished cooking Kor. 51.2
gaa'nvenawun yu'kka he began to eat them Kor. 57.1

It serves also as iterative of numeral verbs.

Chukchee

ńiƣeqeu've'kį̄ the second time
ńiروعow'kį̄ the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

valo'mik tigaima'lek'in I want to know (valo'm to know; Ṽ- I; gaimat to want; -ek'in present) .

THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

wag'go tawane'k'kin I work sitting (wag'go to sit; Ṽ- I; wa'ñe to work; -k'kin present)
am-ipa'wa ntawa'g'um I was just drinking (am- merely; űpa' to drink; nr- indefinite tense; tva to live, be; -g'um I)
luna'wokubi'ta i'tyi̊̊ not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink)
37.3

luna'i'ra i'tyi̊ not crossing it was 41.5

§ 95
The analogy between this form and the nominal subjective appears very closely in those cases where the adverbial idea expresses instrumentality.

$tadai'wewa lauti'ynm ninennnuteu'gin$ by means of striking he made the big head swollen 48.10

$ott-tkip'ewa$ by striking with a stick 48.10

The verbal noun in $gে—t$ 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
$ga'neta$ he shall go first! 84.13

In other cases it has the meaning of a present.

$mergma'n gi'wä$ we are wont to say 84.16

Koryak:

$gayi's'qata$ sleep! Kor. 31.8
$gala'xtata, wu'tcau, ga'a'nirvota$ 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.

$amto', më'kri re'nin, ra'nmiä$ well, how will it be done? will there be killing?
$ga'nma$ killed
$rä'nut gelu'tä$ whatever seen
$tu'xgtum ra'nutqä'ä ga'lpinä$ give something to (your) companion

COMITATIVE I AND II

These forms express an action done while the subject of the sentence performed another action. Comitative I is used when the subject of both actions is the same; Comitative II, when the two subjects are distinct.

Examples of comitative I:
$tërga'vma nineteenpiygi'ugin$ weeping she kicked it 31.8
$uu'ëma takimla'qëñenat$ when cooking she prepared marrow for them 33.11
Recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (gi’nmil recently; yilqa to sleep; ga—igum I; retela to dream)

kiye’ewewz daamya’ma he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:

ipau’mati equ’ñkä while (the others) are drinking, be silent (ipau to drink; e—kä negative; quä 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.

mínke’kin lu’tä’n náus’qatima’či when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23

equ’ñkä rolma’či be silent, since you are weak (e—kä negation; quä noise; rol weak)

mínke’kin poi’gyn lu’tä’n náus’qatima’či where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

nikémači at night 56.8

Kamchadal has only two forms.

-köj (intransitive); -e, -l (transitive) and k!—enk

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.

qe’bel’ nu’köj enough to eat
tu’tun txlil I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending -köj is not used.

xē nu’ki it is impossible to eat (xē—ki negative, p. 826)
xē txle’kic it is impossible to beat him (xē—kic negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)
xē nu’älkä 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!-nun’enk qam qelkek while eating I do not talk (nu to eat; qam not)

§ § 96-129. COMPOSITION

§ 96. Introductory Remarks

We have seen that in the formation of grammatical forms both prefixes and suffixes occur. Their use is much more extended, and they
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 qäi 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.

\[ \text{qamitva-\textit{chat-\textit{n}o'-rkin} he begins to gobble down} \]
\[ \text{ru-wako-\textit{q'\textit{e}-chat-\textit{u'-rkin} he makes him sit down once with great force.} \]

§§ 97–112. Suffixes

§§ 97–109. Nominal Suffixes

§§ 97–105. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

§ 97. Nouns in -\textit{in} and -\textit{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. -\textit{q'\textit{un}}, subjective -\textit{q'\textit{un}}, AUGMENTATIVE. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.\(^1\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ra} & \text{'le} \text{ knife} \\
\text{g} & \text{\textit{itun} dog} \\
\text{re'\textit{mkin} people 13.10} \\
\text{vala'\textit{f'\textit{un} large knife} } \\
\text{\textit{a'tti'\textit{y\textit{un} large dog} } } \\
\text{\textit{a'tty\textit{un\textit{e} pu from the large dog} } } \\
\text{\textit{ram\textit{k'\textit{y\textit{un} big people 11.3} } } } \\
\text{\textit{Ain\textit{huyan\textit{in\textit{nach\textit{k'\textit{y\textit{un old big} } } } } } } \\
\text{\textit{St. Lawrence man 13.11} } \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to mgûn. This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel e of this word is weak. — F.B.
Some words do not take the suffix -ʔa-, but use the definite form in its place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kor.</th>
<th>kam.</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔekw'ʔin</td>
<td>ʔawa'neʔin</td>
<td>woman, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔe'wqan</td>
<td>ʔe'wqan</td>
<td>large woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔe'wqan</td>
<td>ʔe'wqan</td>
<td>big nose Kor. 72.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. -ʔa'ku, -ʔa'qu Augmentative (Kor. Kam.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kor.</th>
<th>kam.</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>va'la</td>
<td>va'la'aku</td>
<td>knife large knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attan</td>
<td>atta'aku</td>
<td>dog large dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glawul</td>
<td>glawul'a'qu</td>
<td>man from the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vai'anu'aqu</td>
<td>vai'anu'aqu</td>
<td>big river Kor. 21.3 big man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quyqqan'a'qu</td>
<td>Quyqqan'a'qu</td>
<td>Big Raven Kor. 24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuka'-yi'cim'a'qu</td>
<td>kuka'-yi'cim'a'qu</td>
<td>a big kettleful Kor. 43.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. -ʔgq Augmentative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kor.</th>
<th>kam.</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔqwog'ʔlin</td>
<td>ʔqwog'ʔlin</td>
<td>the big wife 39.5; 40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēti-walk'</td>
<td>qhel' ti</td>
<td>to the big old jaw-bone house 59.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. -ʔqį Diminutive. Plural, oblique cases, and definite, are formed from this freely. This is evidently related to the stem ʔqįį 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 ʔqįį Fawn; ge'yįli Fledgeling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kor.</th>
<th>kam.</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuke'-qįi</td>
<td>kuke'-qįi</td>
<td>a little kettle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qį'gį-qįi</td>
<td>qį'gį-qįi</td>
<td>a small skin 45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qį'gį-qįi</td>
<td>qį'gį-qįi</td>
<td>a small man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'qį-qįi</td>
<td>wa'qį-qįi</td>
<td>small jaw-bone house 44.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpį'nųew'qįyik</td>
<td>mpį'nųew'qįyik</td>
<td>to the little old woman 45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni'nqįi</td>
<td>ni'nqįi</td>
<td>child 42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni'nqį̄zį̄leki</td>
<td>ni'nqį̄zį̄leki</td>
<td>to those with children 20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpį'nawqą'gįju</td>
<td>mpį'nawqą'gįju</td>
<td>the small woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qįi-u'nį</td>
<td>qįi-u'nį</td>
<td>young thong-seal 70.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qįi-attįgįi</td>
<td>qįi-attįgįi</td>
<td>pup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qįi-i-li'qgįi</td>
<td>qįi-i-li'qgįi</td>
<td>cub of wolf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

qai (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective. Its use is very frequent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kor.</th>
<th>kam.</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qai-qį-qĮu'pel</td>
<td>qai-qį-qĮu'pel</td>
<td>a very small man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qai-ʔiwa'wis'qat</td>
<td>qai-ʔiwa'wis'qat</td>
<td>little woman Kor. 33.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qai-ka'mańk</td>
<td>qai-ka'mańk</td>
<td>little kamak Kor. 38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qai-pįi'kāńu</td>
<td>qai-pįi'kāńu</td>
<td>little mice Kor. 25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qai-ka'mańk-pel</td>
<td>qai-ka'mańk-pel</td>
<td>little kamak Kor. 37.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-ai SMALL AND MISERABLE (Kamchadal).

ki'stai a miserable little house (kist house)
kocxai a miserable little dog (kocx dog)

5. -pił DEAR LITTLE.

ekke'pił sonny
tu'mqäpił dear little friend

Koryak:

-pił (Kor. Kam.) dual and pl. -piłaq (with the endings -t and -u); -pi (Kor. II),—express the diminutive.

nawa'n-pił small woman (Kor. Kam.)
nawan-piła'qt two small women (Kor. Kam.)
nawan-piła'qu small women (Kor. Kam.)
qla'wul-pel small man
milya'ppił a little shell Kor. 23.8
va'gilipel a small nail Kor. 23.7
vi'tvitpił a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4

-piliñ (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix -pił with the additional suffix -in—conveys the sense of endearment.

atta'piliñ doggy
va'sampiliñ a little river Kor. 17.2
ilu'e'piliñ little (shaman's) wand Kor. 27.7
ni'lipiliñ little thong Kor. 39.4

6. -cax, -cx, -cx DIMINUTIVE (Kamchadal). The diminutive of the plural is formed by the suffix -ç added to the plural form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>kocx</td>
<td>ko'czax</td>
<td>kczorñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>game</td>
<td>hu'rnik</td>
<td>hu'rnikax</td>
<td>hu'rnikñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td>a'tinäm</td>
<td>a'tmocx</td>
<td>a'tinorñ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used in a doubled form.

atmo'cxicax a very small village
a'tmocxanè very small villages

7. -linö TINY. It always precedes the diminutive -qäi (No. 4 of this section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

qua-linö'-qäi tiny reindeer
nawan-linö'-qäi tiny woman
§ 99. Collectives

8. **-yirin** or **-yIrIn** a company; (Kor. Kam. -y Issan) the stem of the noun yi'riir or yi'riir FULLNESS, CONTENTS.

- nyirin a company of women
  - yirin a houseful 45.13
Kor. Kam. nimi'ssa'n people of a village Kor. 70.9

Compare *wagq'etirin* a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.

9. **-giniw** GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. -ginju).

- ne'nyirin a company of women
  - yirin a houseful 45.13
Kor. Kam. nimi'ssa'n people of a village Kor. 70.9

Compare *wagq'etirin* a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.

10. **-ril** (Kor. Kam. -gil) set, collection (used only for inanimate objects).

- o'rurq'el a caravan of sledges
  - q'瑞il (Kor. q'ayil) a set of bones, i.e. a skeleton
Koryak mu'u-gil a line of sledges, a caravan Kor. 78.5

11. **-ret** SET, LITTER (Kor. Kam. -yat).

- q'at (Kor. Kam. w'yat) a group of beings (i.e., family group)
  - yi'tretti a pair of boots
  - li'tret a pair of mittens

12. **-thy** INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.

- ne'thtikun all kinds of skins
  - gi'ninkikun various kinds of game
  - orawé'atkon men living in various places, people

This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:

- mainy'a'nitkon everything big
  - rā'nutetkun (rā'neetkun) all kinds of things
  - cini'waq pan'ruckegaia te'imi'itkon 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. -mek) is used to express plurality.

- yarad'mkin (Kor. Kam. yaya'mkin) a cluster of houses (collective)
  - rirka'mkirhin several walrus 102.17.
  - a'ttwili'mkirhin the great assembly of boatmen 11.5
Compare the stem \( mk \) in the independent forms

\[ \text{múkítčí'ynín} \text{ the more numerous ones 11.7} \]
\[ \text{mú'kítčín} \text{ more numerous 12.3} \]
\[ \text{nú'mkágín} \text{ numerous 12.7} \]

and in the compound form

\[ \text{múq-gítka'k} \text{ with many legs 119.9} \]

14. \( -ff'rg \), the stem of the third person plural pronoun \( e'rm \), serves to form the plural of proper names and of some other words designating persons, when these appear with the suffixes \(-gúpú\) and \(-k\) and with the particle \( re'en \) TOGETHER (p. 794, no. 18). (See \$ 44, p. 706.)

\[ \text{qlaul'irg-gúpú} < \text{qlaul-irg-gúpú} \text{ from the men} \]
\[ \text{qlaul'irg-k} < \text{qlaul-irg-k} \text{ by the men, with the men} \]
\[ \text{qlaul'irg-re'en} < \text{qlaul-irg-k-re'en} \text{ with the men} \]

The possessive form \( e'rgín \) is used in the same manner.

\[ \text{orawólđa'rgén} \text{ that belonging to the (human) people} \]

§ 100. Comitatives

15. \( qa—ma \) COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. \( awun—ma \)) not used with names of persons, for which \( re'en \) is used.

\[ \text{galelq'amə} \text{ (Kor. Kam. a'wunelə'a'ma) with the eye} \]
\[ \text{go'rgumə} \text{ with the sledge 15.4} \]
\[ \text{gata'ttwalma} \text{ with the splinters of thigh-bone 33.11} \]
\[ \text{gamq'lima} \text{ with blood 43.8} \]
\[ \text{gănénqamə} \text{ with children 50.6} \]
\[ \text{gaprg'rmə} \text{ with the aorta R 2.2} \]
\[ \text{gə'twuma} \text{ with the boat 71.4} \]
\[ \text{galau'tima} \text{ with the head; i. e., the whole body 137.8} \]

Kor. Kam. \( awun-gama'ma \) with the dish 64.7
Kor. Kam. \( a'wun-e'nvelma \) with the nostrils

Compare the nominal derivatives of verbs, in \(-mg\) (§64, p. 738; § 95, p. 787).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( k!—m ) (Kamchadal). Comitative.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( k!'wulum ) with the eye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. \( ge—(t)ə \) COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. \( qa—[t]a \)); not used with names of persons, for which \( re'en \) (p. 794, no. 18) is used. (Compare § 37, p. 697.)

\[ \text{gəlilé'tə} \text{ (Kor. Kam. galilə'ta) with the eye} \]
\[ \text{inpınə'bnin geñé'wànnà} \text{ an old man with his wife 28.1 (subject)} \]
\[ \text{e'lit'gít geñé'wànnà} \text{ the fathers with the wife, i. e. the parents 28.4 (subject); 39.11; 33.9} \]

§ 100.
Verbal:

\[\text{ne'as'qat genutegci'ti', notai'p\\u02c1 gelei'va the woman while walk-}\]
\[\text{ing in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she —28.5}\]
\[\text{notai'p\\u02c1 gelei'va n\\u02d0'sug\ddot{a}t, vai ela'—while the woman was walk-}\]
\[\text{ing in the country, her mother—29.4}\]
\[\text{en'gam k\\u02d0h\\u02d0m gette'ti\'a gi'w\\u02d0—then the father with sudden}\]
\[\text{doing, with saying—29.11}\]

17. -ma\\u017d\ddot{a} verbal noun expressing meanwhile (Kor. Kam. -ma\\u017d\ddot{a})
(see pp. 738, 788.)

18. -re'\ddot{e}n added to the locative, together. It is used principally
with nouns designating persons, and replaces the comitative.

Its vowel does not form an ablaut.

\[\text{g\\u02d0mu'g re'\ddot{e}n together with me}\]
\[\text{Omru'w\\u02d0na-re'\ddot{e}n together with Omru'w\\u02d0}\]
\[\text{tu'mug-re'\ddot{e}n with the strangers 59.1}\]
\[\text{ni'lhi-re'\ddot{e}n together with the thong 44.12}\]

§ 101. Locatives

19. -tk\ddot{\text{g}}\in surface (Kor. Kam. -tk\ddot{\text{g}}\in, -t\ddot{\text{e}}n); used chiefly in oblique
cases.

\[\text{grgu't\ddot{\text{k}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{i}}\ddot{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{k}}\ddot{i} on the sledge}\]
\[\text{grgu\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{k}}\ddot{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{a}} along the surface of the sledge}\]
\[\text{uw\\u0111\ddot{\text{k}}\\u0111tk\\u0111 on the body 8.11}\]
\[\text{g\\u0111\ddot{l}\ddot{t}k\ddot{t}k\ddot{i}nik on the sea-ice 9.1, 2}\]
\[\text{g\\u0111\ddot{l}\\u0111\ddot{\text{d}}\ddot{\text{t}}k\ddot{t}k\ddot{i}nik on the sea-ice 7.3, 5}\]
\[\text{kanot\ddot{\text{k}}\ddot{\text{y}}\ddot{\text{ng}}\ddot{\text{p}}\ddot{\text{u}}\ddot{\text{p}} on the crown of the head 8.2}\]
\[\text{m\\u0111\ddot{\text{h}}\\u0111\ddot{\text{l}}\ddot{\text{t}}k\ddot{t}k\ddot{i}nik on the water 9.3}\]
\[\text{\ddot{\text{d}}\ddot{p}\\u0111t\ddot{\text{k}}\ddot{t}k\ddot{i}nik on the top of the pillow 44.2}\]

In the absolute form the suffix designates THE POINT OF.

\[\text{yaqa'tk\ddot{\text{g}}\in point of nose}\]
\[\text{r\ddot{i}ch\ddot{t}k\ddot{g}nik finger-tip (stem r\ddot{i}lh)}\]
\[\text{y\ddot{e}ch\ddot{t}k\ddot{t}ch\ddot{in} tip of tongue 40.4 (stem\ddot{y}il )}\]

Koryak:

\[\text{va'q\ddot{t}t\ddot{\text{m}}\ddot{u} ya'k\ddot{\text{k}}\ddot{\text{a}} eating points of nails Kor. 57.1}\]
\[\text{o'p\ddot{t}t\ddot{\text{m}}\ddot{u} on the point of a beam Kor. 72.13}\]

20. -\ddot{s}q absolute form -\ddot{s}q\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{n}; -\ddot{\text{c}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{q}} absolute form—\ddot{c}\ddot{\text{q}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{n}}\ddot{a}n top
of; over, on top of (Kor. Kam. -\ddot{\text{g}}, absolute form -\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{n}})

§ 101
etti'fqan  tree-top
qtti's'qak on the top of the tree
trii's'qak  over the door
g'this'qä-nota'qän lake-top-big-land, i. e., the land over (near)
   the lake 144.3
tën's'qä-re'mänin  people of top of dawn R 2.11
mite's'qä  on top of ground, i. e., on the ground 98.24

Koryak:

na'nkalqak the top of it Kor. 78.15
va'yamilaqak on top of river Kor. 25.8
wu'gwulqak on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8
yas'qalqätin (ya-s'qa-lqa-läti) to the house top Kor. 36.1
ya's'qalqak on the house top Kor. 84.12
wapis'qalqak on top of slime Kor. 25.7

21. -gi, -qin THE BASE OF; in oblique cases, UNDER

uttig'gin base of the tree
qttig'qängupu from under the tree
uttigi'fiki  under the tree
qtoth'äntki  under the pillow (<qto-gi'in-ki)
mito's'yägi'ntki underground
notas'qayë'ngüppä from underground 143.6

Koryak:

en'migenka under a cliff Kor. 13.6
qas'wuge'ntki at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7
plakgénetin into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6
qankagenetit into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9
atürgénetit into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5

22. -ggit TOWARD; not in oblique cases

qoqá'gqät toward the sea
uttig'ggit toward the wood
yako'ggët noseward 45.2
yllé'gë toward the entrance 62.9
e'ekoggit toward the lamp R 2.6

23. -y'uwkwé (absolute form -y'uwkwé'ñin) THE SPACE ALONG —

gnogýyë'uwkwaü  the space along the sea
d'ñqa-tormiyyë'uwkwi along the seashore 66.12
gnogýyë'uwkwé'ta along the sea, on the sea
notas'qayëgëntki underground 44.12

I have found also the form—

tec'wkwé<ret-yë'uwkwé along the tracks
(See tec'wu'ki 106.24.)
24. -čiku (Chukchee, Kor. Kam.) inside of; also with neutral u.

u'tčiku in the wood
utti'čiku within the tree
yara'čiku or rə'čiku within the house
keq'ciku inside of palm 20.3
kona'rγčiku inside of leg of breeches 28.6
wus'q'čiku in the dark 34.5
yilhi'čiku in the moon 41.8
ple'kčiku in a boot 43.4

This suffix appears often combined with locative elements.

o'nmičiku'iti (Kor. Kam. aninkačiko'iti from aninka-čiku)
inward, into the inside
o'nmičiko'ipu from within
eřščiku'iti into the clothes 32.4
dinčiku'iti into the fire 31.13
yeročiku'iti into the sleeping-room 28.7; also 28.8, 35.3
yjrjčiku'iti into the mouth 50.3
quačiko'ipu from the reindeer-herd 51.2
měnlčiko'iti into the water 17.4
notas'qačiko'iti into the ground 18.7
notas'qačiko'ipu from underground 44.12

Koryak:

wus'q'čiku in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17.5
yayačiko'iti into the house Kor. 15.2
qyadčiku in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1
aiččiku in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal čäck inside corresponds to Chukchee čiku. It is
used as an independent adverb.
či'mtenk čäck in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal čaexe' inward.

25. -liku among the multitude, one of the suffixes of plurality.

qua'liku among the reindeer
utti'-liku among the trees
mu'rγ-liku among us

26. -qač, -qal by the side of (Kor. Kam. -qal)

-qač near, close to (Kor. Kam. -qača)

qa'ptenqač by the side of the back 11.8
yə'aliŋqač by the rear side 12.3
ci'tingqač by the side of the entrance 53.3
qito'ŋqač (Kor. Kam. qite'ŋgal) at the feet
mo'riŋqač (Kor. Kam. mo'riŋqal) by our side
giŋkqač by thy side 9.3
gitkaqa'êti near the foot
moriqqa'êti near us
Nota'rmengqa'a near Notarmen 121.10
ra-gro'limingal from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.
wo'tinqaq (Kor. Kam. wo'teëngal) on this side
wo'ënqaq (Kor. Kam. waëengal) halfway on this side

All forms with -qad (Kor. Kam. -qal) may also form oblique cases.

wo'tmqad (Koi. Kam. wo'tenqal) on this side
va'enqad (Kor. Kam. vaienqal) halfway on this side

All forms with -qad (Kor. Kam. -qal) may also form oblique cases.
moriqqa'acai'pu (Ch.) from our side
Kor. Kam. woteëngalaiti to this side
aënganqacai'giti to the seaside 49.6
aënganqacai'pu from the seaside 49.8
yu'alinqacal'pu from the rear side 12.4
yarau-'ihad'ënilingat-vo'linit being from the other side of the houses 11.7
qaca'kêni the other one of a pair
qaca'kênatata with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix -kin they form adjectives which are in frequent use.
moriqa'tkin being at my side
wo'tinqa'tken being from this side 14.2
Kor. Kam. wo'teëngala'ken being at this side

Kamchadal:

qo'lin NEAR TO, CLOSE BY, corresponds to Chukchee qa'êti, Kor.
Kam. qa'ëca. It is also treated as an independent adverb.

qr'mank qo'lin (Chukchee qûnuk-qa'êti) near me

27. -tul PART OF, PIECE OF (Kor. Kam. -tul).
menigirtul (Kor. Kam. manigirtol) a piece of calico
qqa'qitol (Kor. Kam. qoya'tol) a piece of reindeer (meat)
mil'ilitulgaï a little particle of water 134.17
tek'ihitulgaï a little piece of meat 134.31
Kor. Kam. pëllinoldini'tola piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.
d'ncëax tsai'tcalín a small piece of meat (anc- piece; -tax small;
tsa'i'tcalín [adjective] of meat)

28. -kit (Kamchadal) INSTEAD, IN PLACE OF.
v'ilie-kit in place of payment

§ 101.
29. -xōl (Kamchadal) Along.

\[ cēm-t-xōl \text{ along the ground (stem } cēm \text{ ground) } \\
\hat{c}^{2}\text{-xōl along the water (stem } \hat{c}^{2} \text{ water) } \\
txōj'-xōl \text{ along the road} \]

§ 102. Similarity

30. -mil in the size of, at the distance of (Kor. Kam. -mīč -mis). (Compare § 113.10,11); also § 105, 42 -mīč which is a variant of this stem.

\[ nē'q'mil \text{ as far as the mountain} \\
mīn'ke'mil \text{ (Kor. Kam. } mēnke'mis \text{) of what size? how much?} \]

\[ 94.32 \]

\[ eri'wmil \text{ like them 14.9} \]

\[ muru'wmil \text{ like us 10.6; 16.7} \]

\[ qumul'wmil \text{ like me 16.13} \]

\[ uttē'mil \text{ size of a tree 20.2} \]

\[ rorg'mēl \text{ size of reindeer-fly 23.3} \]

\[ qavēg'ē'-mēl \text{ like men 64.11} \]

\[ rirēq'ē'-mēl \text{ like a walrus 10.8; 12.1} \]

\[ qaq'ē'-mēl \text{ size of a reindeer 122.23} \]

Possessive forms with the suffix—kīn added to the suffix—mil are

\[ gūnuwmīt'kin \text{ according to my wants} \]

\[ muruwmīt'kin \text{ according to our wants} \]

31. -wurrin Similar to, like.

\[ pîn-wurrin \text{ flour (literally CINDER-LIKE)} \]

See ena'n čin't wu'rrī nītqīn thus she was 26.9

32. -wāt Similar to.

33. -čhēčā Similar to (Kor. Kam. -čhīna).

\[ qūt'čik'ē'-čhēčā \text{ (Kor. Kam. } qg'wulīčhē'na \text{) similar to a man (i. e., transformed shaman\(^1\))} \]

§ 103. Purpose

34. -ny, -y Material for; what serves as something; serving a purpose; serving as something.

\[ plē'ku qā'wmit'kn \text{ take it for boots (i. e., to make boots of it)} \]

This suffix is used with various verbs to express the idea to make something out of, to consider as something, to become something.

\[ ēkke'nyu mīl'hiqīt \text{ let me have thee as a son} \]

\[ ^{1} \text{qāčik or qīk is an obsolete form for qal'ul } \text{man.} \]

\[ §§ 102, 103 \]
-nu after stems ending in a vowel.

- nu after stems ending in a vowel.

lile'n nu serving as an eye

rirka'ne as a walrus 10.8

goqang'annaq for a driving reindeer 124.8

ggr'menë'ne rïtyå you will not be the one to serve this purpose 23.6

ki'ñkoñ-ra'na serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22

ke'ñivnu that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9

a'qa-gę'-tûmë that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10

tor-nga't'-polo'ta'ne what serves as a beaver that has just shed hair 137.2

-u after stems ending in a consonant.

- u after stems ending in a consonant.

na'wanu for a wife

taikaus'qo'lenu for a place to wrestle 47.4

Iumetu'nu ri'tyå you will be for me like Iumetun 23.7

kei'ñu what represents a bear 136.20

gorda'rö'tilo to be used as herdsmen 50.9

lo'ñve for looking on 19.2; 23.1

rrqag'ñve what for? 19.1

enagya* gtače vafirge what serves as life-giving being 21.6

wi'tyòlo for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoye:

- ny, -y. The use of this suffix is the same as in Chukchee.

- ny, -y. The use of this suffix is the same as in Chukchee.

- lila'nu as an eye

- akka'ny as a son

- na'wanu as a wife

- goia'no as a reindeer

- tomñena'ñu as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9

- kulipëina'ñu as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1

- qangetkëplena'ñu as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7

- ya'qu into what Kor. 38.4

- čai'ñvhu into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. -ki (ka) (Kamchadal) corresponds to - ny, -y (No. 34) of Chukchee.

-ki as a son

ni'ki as a wife

ol'nak as a reindeer (ol'ñ from Russian ocell; the old Kamchadal word koj is also still in use)

lile'ki as an eye

36. -sx (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

-sx as a son

nesx as a wife
37. **-lqal** destined for ---, material for ---, (Kor. Kam. **-lqal**).

This suffix implies the future.

- **ple’kilmqal** (Kor. Kam. *pla’kilmqal*) material for boots
- **uviś’qucimqal** bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband
- **ei’lqal** stepmother, serving as a mother
- **Kor. Kam. ñawa’ñilqal** bride to be, destined to be a wife
- **luqal** (Kor. Kam. *lo’qal* Kor. 53.5) a face (perhaps; something destined to be looked on) 88.14
- **rēpā’lqal** destined to be a dried walrus hide 46.11

With verbal stem, in most cases with the passive participle -(y)o:

- **tai’kryolqal** material (for work)
- **nrrre’lyolqal** destined to be put down R 2.5
- **yumqal** destined to be hung R 2.6
- **ro’lqal** food R 44.11
- **mall* thilqal** means of getting well 135.10
- **timyo’lqal** (Kor. Kam. *timyo’lqal*) destined to be killed (epithet used like SCOUNDREL)

§ 104. Possession

38. **-yanv-**, absolute form **yan** provided with (Kor. Kam. **yanv-**, absolute form **yana**)

(a) As a nominal suffix, **yanv** means provided with.

- **çe’g-qgn** (Kor. Kam. *cāi-yad’na*) one who has tea, rich in tea
- **qa’a-yad’** (Kor. Kam. *qoya-yad’na*) one who has reindeer
- **tañ-kamanaqeveti** to those provided with good dishes (teñ good; keme dish) 92.21

(b) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an act once or habitually.

- **apa’w-gan** (Kor. Kam. *apaw-yad’na*) the one who drinks
- **qamat’wa-yad’** (Kor. Kam. *awyeyad’na*) the one who eats

(c) With transitive verbs it indicates the object of the action, and has a passive meaning.

- **yil’-yan** (Kor. Kam. *yil-yad’na*) what has been given
- **ro’mkaw-gan** (Kor. Kam. *ynomkaw-yad’na*) what has been hidden

(d) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

- **gqtωu-ya’ñ** the one who has strength
- **mañir-ya’ñ** that which is big
- **a’lqend’an** (Kor. Kam. *a’lqend-ya’ña*) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form. In Koryak these forms are not of frequent occurrence.

- **maiñya’nuvek** at the big one (Koryak the same)
- **mpypa’nuvek** the older ones 108.12

§ 104.
39. -lq(dan) abounding in (Kor. Kam. -lq[dan])
   mi'miltqan (Kor. Kam. mi'miltqan) place abounding in water
   wata'pilqan (Kor. Kam. wata'pilqan) place abounding in
   reindeer-moss

§ 105. Miscellaneous

40. -yočh, -qqch receptacle (Kor. Kam. -yočh); perhaps from
   the verbal stem yo- to put into, yo'rkim (Kor. Kam. yo'ykin)
   he puts into.
   mitqo'očhun (Kor. Kam. mitqiyočhun) blubber-bag (stem mitq
   blubber)
   tai'ochi-poka'ikmik in bottom of bag 29.3
   Kor. Kam. kawa'ssočhu for wallets Kor. 46.2

41. -nīt a space of time (Kor. Kam. -nīt).
   q'lo'nēt the whole day 21.1 (stem o'lo day)
   (Kor. Kam. qi'winiit) the whole length of the year (from qiwik
   [only in the locative] in the year)

42. -mič a certain amount, with nominal and pronominal stems
   indicating persons; also with verbal stems (compare § 102, 30
   to which the suffix is clearly related).
   qämneu'mič at the distance of a shot
   qüm moyomīč as much as I need
   qümu'mo'mič at the distance of a shot
   qämneu'mič it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to
   spare)

43. -kwu, -ukw- protector, avertor

   muču'kwun shirt made of calico (lit. louse-avertor, because the
   Chukchee think that the shirt is worn to collect lice from
   the body).
   tai'ukwut charm-strings (lit. misfortune avertor)

§§ 106–109. Derived from Verbs

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. -qyrqin. If the base contains an l, it is often changed to č.
   abstract noun; cause, source, object of an action (Kor.
   Kam. -qečin, -qičin); Kor. Par. -qečin, -qičin).

   Note that the initial q follows the phonetic rules § 7.
   t + gi > ti; č + gi > či; u + gi > wkw; u, o + gi > ou
   qalhilo'urgegit you are source of sorrow 20.7
   pałqat'irgin (from pelqat) old age (Kor. Kam. palqathec'nun or
   palqat'ithcin [from palqat])

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§ 105, 106
përe'irgin the place which he had taken 23.9
tel'hirgin or tê'cirgin 24.3 (from tel) illness, pain, cause of pain
yaiwa'cirgin (from yêiwa) (Kor. Kam. yaiwa'chitîn [from yai'vač]) compassion, cause or object of compassion
limorirgin object of pity 11.3
wu'rirgin noise 32.10
vërirgin death 22.1
vë'irge-git thou art source of death 22.7
ginta'wikyrgê-git (from ginta'wi) (Kor. Kam. ginta'whitnege) thou art the cause of my flight (i.e., you have frightened me)
të'cirgit-të're (from tel) ye are the source of my pain (i.e., you have hurt me) (Kor. Kam. tê'chitne-to'o)
yê'mguorgirgin object of fear 29.8
ana'cirje-git thou art source of trouble 21.2; 23.11

Koryak:
| vantige'nnin dawn Kor. 18.1 |
| vetke'gitin 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.

kirkîla'tirgin the feeling of shame
kirkî'cirgin the object of shame
wu'rgirgin noise 15.1
am-viyê'irgā only by breathing 24.4

With the stem tvá to be, this suffix expresses the idea of QUALITY.

Yai'vač-va'irgin quality, substance of compassion; Merciful Being
(Kor. Kam. vaqe'nnin or va'gitîn) being, mode of life, substance, deity

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.

tqag'ngirgin (from g'tqin) (Kor. Kam. a'tqen'gitîn [from a'tqeû or a'tqin]) badness, spite
êuč'urgin (from iw'l) length
mpu'urgin (from mp[a]) old age

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.

a't'mirgin (from a'ttim bone) condition of the bones (i.e., of the body)
etti'irgin (from w'ttuut wood) degree of woodiness

§ 106
The range of abstract nouns compounded with these nominal suf­fixes is quite considerable, and these are in common use.

\(va'irgm\) (Kor. Kam. \(vage'nm\)) being, substance, custom, be­nevolent being, deity
\(yai'va'ag-va'irgm\) (Kor. Kam. \(yai'va'ag-vage'nm\)) compassion-being, merciful deity
\(q'nau-va'irgm\) (Kor. Kam. \(a'nau-vage'nm\)) shaman’s spirit deity
\(tam-va'irgm\) goodness, condition of goodness
\(taini'irgm\) (Kor. Kam. \(tainige'liin\)) sin
\(qas'mu'urgm\) (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

\(yiki'rgm\) (Kor. Kam. \(biki'tnm\) Kor. 56.8) mouth
\(Kor. Kam. \(p\)a'agg\(t\)\(m\) (\(plak\) 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
\(ta'kalej\) song
\(o'jilaj\) blow
\(noj\) food
\(pilhetej\) hunger
\(\{p'ilihetel and\} \) famine
\(p'ilihiril\)

46. \(-m\), absolute form \(-nym\) (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

\(no'nym\) (stem ny) food
\(he'lnym\) (stem \(hil\)) drink
\(cognnym\) (stem \(cuen\), \(cunl\)) life

§ 107. Passive Participle

47. \(-yg\) (Kor. \(-yg\), absolute form \(-ygn\)) expresses the passive partic­iple; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

\(p\)a'g'yo the one who is left (Kor. Kam. \(p\)elay\(gn\) 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.

\(ta'i'kio < ta'i'ki-yg\) the one made
\(yi'li < yi'il-yg\) the one given

1 This word is applied almost exclusively to dried fish as the food par excellence.
Note.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix *em-* MERE, ENTIRE, and the suffix -lin, express the passive participle, the same as -yo.

*em-r̥'tilin* (stem ret to buy) what has been brought; or *ra'j'o* or *qm-ra'j'o* all that has been brought

(-yanv, see § 104, No. 38.)

§ 108. Instrumentality

48. -iñeñ, suffixed to verbal stems, expresses INSTRUMENT (Kor. Kam. *-iñañ*).

*te̞we'nan* (stem te̞w) (Kor. Kam. *te̞we'nan* [stem te̞w]) paddle, oar 73.11

*qqe̞liñeñ* (stem qqe̞li to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam. *galiĉ'ñeñ* [stem galiĉit]): pen

*te̞k'ineñ* (K. K. *inataiki'nañ*) instrument (for work)

*wañeñ* instrument for work

*le̞e-tewena'ta* with a genuine paddle 31.4

(Kor. Kam. *tomrema'nu* as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix *iñe*. (Kor. Kam. *iña-*)

See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

*eg'novenañ* (stem *nv* [initial run]; *timve'rin* I scrape); (Kor. Kam. *eg'novenañ* [stem *nv*; *timve'kin* I scrape]) scraper

49. -iĉ instrument (Kor. Kam. *-iton*).

*gitte'we'chin* (stem *gitteu* to wipe, -in absolute form); (Kor. Kam. *gitta'wičhin* [stem *gitlaw*]) wiping-cloth

*uneti'chin* thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from unel thong seal)

*mëmiĉel'chin* thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from memil seal)

Kor. Kam. *yinootœ'ngo* from the vent-hole Kor. 54.7
§ 109. Place

50. -nv place of (absolute form -n) (Kor. Kam. -nv [absolute form -nul]).

van (stem hva-); (Kor. Kam. hva'na [dual, plural, hva'nvi]) place of being
wakotva'n (stems wako and hva); (Kor. Kam. waga'ltva'na [stems waga'li and hva]) place of sitting
notagčenve'pu while walking in the wilderness 29.4
ralqa'nmvuk on the house-site 31.6
ralëya'n sliding-place 114.16
tila'n (Kor. Kam. tila'n) place of moving, trail
tila'nevun place of trail 36.12
tila'nvuk on place of traveling 43.1
taikausqo'lvu for a place to wrestle 47.4
oodve'nvi'pu (better oodvi'nvi'pu) from the playground 74.17
oodvi'nvi'ik on the playground 74.18
oodvi'nvi'eti to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—y.

etmva'nev ve tiye'tya £

yaqqai' um yagta'hnve tiye'tyitfk did I come for the sake of
living? R 239, footnote 2.

Koryak:

kmeña'tinvu nilai'-güm I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6
kiplo'nvu for the purpose of striking them Kor. 31.3

§§ 110–111. Verbal Suffixes

§ 110. ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

51. -wulhI expresses reciprocity (Kor. Kam. -vi[nü]).

pënru'luhirkit (stem pënri to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam. penn'ri'vilhirk [stem penn'-], dual) they close for wrestling
lu'tulhirkit (stem lu' to see) (Kor. Kam. lu't'vilhirkit [stem lu'])
they see each other, they meet
galolnvsčina' me'ře we have seen each other 121.15

52. -sqiü expresses an action performed once only (Kor. Kam. -sqiü).

yetis'qi'urkin (Kor. Kam. yatris'qi'urkin) he comes once
timis'që'urkin (Kor. Kam. timis'që'urkin) he kills once

§§ 109, 110
taikaus' go'ivo for a place to wrestle once 47.4
gännigqun' qiektu'ki make them wake up all at once 56.3
gani' s'qeul'en rushed out 57.11

Koryak:

- mintcatis' qiwau I'll look at them once Kor. 33.10
  qun'yaq' wq'i go and die! Kor. 35.1
  gawys' gi'wa eat! Kor. 36.1
- mintul' as' qewk'an let us steal it! Kor. 39.1
- myalikus' gi'wa'k I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1

Also in the form—lgiu
  gatokun'gi'wil'at they stopped the smoke-hole Kor. 57.7

53. -let expresses a FREQUENTATIVE, DURATIVE, or more generally
  INTENSITY OF ACTION (Kor. Kam. -lat, less frequently -čat).
  nitlo' tirk'in (Kor. Kam. nitlo'la'te'k'in) he goes out often
  tymla' tirk'in (Kor. Kam. tymla' te'k'in) he kills many
  ninlele'l'tq'in it flashed out always 32.8
  gulile'ty'i gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8
  niquile'tq'in they are noisy 60.9
  niti' rgilatqen he cries aloud 38.3
  niteplebnul' tq'in she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem plek-
  boots; te—n to make [§ 113, 2, p. 821])

Koryak:

- gafbvolen Hlala'tilc it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
  yiyku' ti you were soft Kor. 26.7
  gala'lan'no' ykin she passed by often Kor. 84.19
  niquila'tq'in he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17

54. -yu(u), -yu(u) expresses a FREQUENTATIVE (Kor. Kam. -yvi),
  tala' iwor'kin (Kor. Kam. tala' iwe'k'in) he strikes many times
  ninemik' ywun'in let it bite him! 104.29
  Kor. Kam gaitoi'wilenau she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. -t (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.
  ti'ntil'i'kin I bring it always (t- I ; inti' to bring ; -t always;
  -r auxiliary vowel; -jin I it)

56. -čet weakens the intensity of the action, A LITTLE, RARELY.
  nitlo'ga'tirk'in or nitlo'ča' arkin he goes out rarely
  te'n'qic' tirk'in or te'n'nev'č' erkin he laughs on the sly
  marauč'a' arkin he fights rarely
  pēn'ča' arkin he wrestles rarely
  minpo'ntoč'eta let us eat liver! 43.7
  marauččetoč' č he began to chide 56.1

§ 110
57. -čir expresses a frequentative or intensive.

-čir expresses a frequentative or intensive.

ten'neuči'rirkin he laughs all the time
walomčē'rirkin he gathers news continually
maraučē'érkin he fights always
pěnrčē'ěrkin he rushes at him

Kor. Kam. gulumtičižalat they carry something large on their shoulders (gulu large; imti to carry) Kor. 57.9

58. -ntet indicates increased action, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. -ntat).

cemwi'ėrkin (Kor. Kam. čvi'erkn) thou cuttest it
cemntē'rirkin (Kor. Kam. čvin-ta'ıkkin it is cut through in several places); it is divided into several parts

go'gro'rk (Kor. Kam. čho'erkn) he tears out hair
goqnta'arkn (Kor. Kam. čhont-a'tekn) he becomes bald

giro'k at dawn 10.4

59. -s'qí-čet—a compound suffix formed of -s'qí single action, -čet homologous to -čet intensive action—expresses an action performed suddenly with great force and rapidity.

s'qité'rirkin he stands up
tušs'qite'tirkin he jumps up

s'qité'ork (Kor. Kam. čho'erkn) he tears out hair
ganto's'qālen he rushed out 57.11

gapo'nča'ālen he rushed on 44.4

60. -ala (Kamchadal) weakens the intensity of the action.

tnu'alažk I eat but little (t I; nu to eat; -jak I)

thē'lalažk I drink but little (t I; hēl to drink)

61. -qāet, with verbs, expresses endearment and diminution; evidently related to -qāi (§ 98, 4).

ma'nnen-notaj'pū yetqāeti from what country hast thou come, my dear?

62. -keu, with transitive verbs, gives them a passive meaning, and conveys the idea of derision of the subject.

kemdukurgēum retkēwēium I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here

valomkute'rk, eqlilikā they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise
63. -ню, -нё expresses the inchoative (Kor. Kam. -нёг, Kamchadal -кёгъ, -кёгъ, -кёгъ, -кёгъ). Since these elements occur independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The independent stem in initial position is нёг, in medial position -мго, (Kor. Kam. нёо-, Kamchadal угу-)
нё'оркин (Kor. Kam. нёво'рикин, Kamchadal угу'ри) he begins
In all three dialects the idea of the beginning of an action is expressed with precision, and the inchoative forms are therefore very common.
yилганнёог'оркин (Kor. Kam. yилганнинов'рикин, Kamchadal нёккёрк'къу'рик) he goes to sleep
трёпака'ннёог' он' he begins to sing 59.9
нимнёг нёг' он' he begins to take part in the thanksgiving ceremonial 59.3
gаплёнкоденёг'ленг' он' they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:

гевнинов'ленар they began to say Kor. 22.7
gоа'ннинов'ера haul them away! Kor. 51.6
gепинов'ала'ке they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. -ол, -о (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs -ал, -а, expresses the desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.
tоу'ье'е (stem тоу'ье) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep
то'ё'е (stem тоу'ье) I wish to leave

tо'ё'е (stem тоу'ье) I wish to leave

65. -вато (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of an action.
tоу'ин (stem тоу) I am going to have a look at him
тог'вато'й (stem тог'то) I am going to eat

66. -чат expresses anger of the speaker. (Kor. Kam. -чнат)
гамитваача'тирикин or гамитваача'аркин confound him! he eats
притгаача'тя'ён the bad one appeared 27.3
гаргоза'лев'ён what has the bad one done 31.9
вё'чата'тьё the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5
tимачъанен he killed the bad one 44.5
ам-рав'чана'на налита'тьё you bad one want to die 65.23

Kor. Kam. апороча'текк' он' he lumbers forth

67. -тыц. This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. -тёг).
пёла'тыцолит 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.
gуму'ки гит пёла'тёркин you leave me

§ 110
The suffix -tku (Kor. Kam. -tgu) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

vil'urkin (Kor. Kam. vil'viken) he makes peace with
vili'tkurkin (Kor. Kam. vili'towiken) he trades
gei'ttkoi'vulin u'kkam they distributed vessels
tmikitkoi'venuk slaughtering
timi'tkenenat he killed all
mnranmâtko'tenat let us slay them
vetko'da'tt they all died

Koryak:

qaev'tbulinau they are all cut entirely
gaplitcu'linau they finished it
lelapitco'vonen'kin he looks up
qaapritco'von'len she looked around
yenotco'vonen'kin he is eating
qaganritco'von'len she was jealous
Paren qigitetkin'gin look at it!

tigilnu-du''du-naw verily; snow-shoe-strings-woman
am I

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:
pela'ksee thou leavest a number (meaning us)
pela'kshetik ye leave a number (meaning me or us)

The element ine- has the same sense, but the two are never used together (see § 113, 28).

68. -tvi TO ATTAIN A CERTAIN QUALITY, TO BECOME (Kor. Kam. -tvi).

umite'viken (stem u'-in) (Kor. Kam. umiti'viken) he becomes broad.

gititvefrkin (stem git) (Kor. Kam. gititve'ikin) he becomes thin
enê'netvi' he acquired shamanistic power
enê'ntvi-turi you acquired shamanistic power

nûmgi'ti'gin it diminished
nûplov'ti'gin it becomes small
wulqatvi'i it grew dark

Kor. Kam. qama'jiva'thitik cause it to become better
Kor. Kam. vrya'tvok to fainting

69. -çet with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. -çat).

mitte'cë'kerkin we feel good

tenë'çtirkin (ten good) (Kor. Kam. teni'çatikin) he feels good

Kor. Kam. qmi'çte'kerkin (Kor. Kam. qmi'çatikin) he feels warm
70. 

-ew, -et, are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

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me'tEn'ki (Chukchee meč<meł good; en'ki thus) well
i'na (Koryak n'i'naqin quick) quickly

71. -ry forms the inchoative of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. -yu).

ili'erk'in it is raining
yog'ark'in (Kor. Kam. yoyo'-t'ek'in) the wind is blowing

delhrro'ë it is raining

72. -ru is used also to express great number. This suffix is different from the preceding.

gärru'at they came in great numbers 67.16
wagero'at they were sitting in great numbers 68.29

73. -n'ta to fetch (Kor. Kam. the same).

ran-n'ta'rkin what are you going to fetch? why do you come?
añañalinta'lit shaman fetchers 45.7

Koryak:

yax-n'ta'ykin what are you going to fetch?
74. -tuwe, -tv to take off (clothing) (Kor. Kam. -tiva).

- tuwe he took off his clothes 109.15
- tv he undressed her 50.11

nītvītuwe'qin he took off his overcoat 57.3

- tuvve he took off his overcoat 35.5

mērētvā'lē he brushed away the tears 49.9

ninebingetuwewqin (n- ino- binke-tuwewqin, binke saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

Koryak:

| nmeeyeyitva'qen | he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10 |
| gatamitravalen | he spit out bones Kor. 56.8 |
| ṭeai-tivai' | he took off his boots |

75. -vp (-ep, -qun) to put on clothing; -vp after vowels; - ep after consonants; -qun after diphthongs ending in i and in a few other cases (compare the ablative -vpū § 42, p. 704)

-tpū I put on my cap
-epū I put on my fur-shirt
-qun I put on my breeches

76. -gili- to search for (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).

kutel'-ilirkit they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide
qinnigililqagti little game-procurers 44.8
piligilit food-procurers 44.9
qinnigililit game-procurers 44.9

77. -y to consume, to eat (Kor. Kam. -y) (perhaps related to the verb ny [initial ny], Kor. Kam. yu [initial ny]).¹

enyyrkin (Kor. Kam. enny'kin) he eats fish
ponto'rlkin (Kor. Kam. ponto'lkin) he eats liver
kimluy'āt̂ they ate marrow 33.12
minpontocēta let us eat a little liver 43.7
nipontogēn he ate liver 43.9
gaponto'tik eat liver! 64.21

also

gamemebol'ēn he caught a seal 43.2

Koryak:

| mitoetlabyipnula we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9 |
| tya'yilku I'll eat pudding Kor. 30.2 |
| tiqa'payuk I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1 |

¹ ru'kin (Kor. Kam. yu'ykin) he eats it.
§ 112. Adjective and Adverb

ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. -lāx (sometimes -lāq)
   q'mḷāx deep (cf. Ch. um broad)
   nu'lāx long (cf. Ch. iul long)
   o'lolax small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix -(i)n.
   o'lolaxn k'i's'tnē small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.
   gui-yaraqa'gte (Chukchee) small houses

In forms with post-positions the adjective in -lāx is placed before the noun.
   o'lolax-kē'stlanke 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'ltē a sharp knife (niru'qin is Koryak)
   n'mi'tqin k'la'mjanlē a wary man (n'mi'tqin is Koryak)
   nve'thagen u'h a straight tree (nve'thagen is Koryak)
   nve'thaln u'n straight trees (nve'thaln is a Koryak form)
   vo'stroi xvaltē a sharp knife (vo'stroi is Russian)

There is no phonetic assimilation of any of these adjectives.

A few predicative forms correspond to the Chukchee-Koryak forms in ni—qin.
   k'ni'taqin the clever one (from ni'ta sense, wit); cf. ni-gitte'p-qin (Chukchee) the clever one.

79. -q, -aq, are sometimes found with attributive stems. These forms are generally compounded with verbs. This form is probably identical with the locative form of the stem.

wīchā'q'u-wa'lin the flat one
   koulo'q'u-wa'lin the round one
   êmpa'q'u-wa'lin the downcast one
   kouloqi qātei'kargin (Kor. Kam. qo'loñ qatawikargin) make it round
   em élūla'q re'mkin ralai'vānnoē only in a different manner
   people shall begin to walk about S6.14

§112
80. -yut DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS (K. K. -yut dual, -yuyorgi pl.)

(See also § 123, p. 839)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHUKCHEE</th>
<th>KOR. KAM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enne'nyut</td>
<td>ena'nyut</td>
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<tr>
<td>ñire'yut</td>
<td>ñiye'yut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñara'yot</td>
<td>ñaya'yot</td>
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<tr>
<td>muis'nyot</td>
<td>mungi'nyot</td>
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<td>minji'tjot</td>
<td>mungi'tjot</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one each</td>
<td>one each</td>
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<tr>
<td>two each</td>
<td>two each</td>
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<tr>
<td>three each</td>
<td>three each</td>
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<tr>
<td>four each</td>
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<tr>
<td>five each</td>
<td>five each</td>
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<tr>
<td>ten each</td>
<td>ten each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chukchee distributives have also the prefix ëm- (see § 113, no. 7, p. 816; § 123, p. 839).

em-nire'yuta qanpritvaarkéetki just two each make it double (the clothing)

These forms take post-positions, definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

ennanyoot'i to one each
ennanyoii'pü from one each

81. -êe, -êa NUMERAL ADVERBS (Kor. Kam. -êa).

Chukchee Kor. Kam.
qune'êa 1 enna'nêa, qu'n'âe 1 Kor. once
ñire'êa ñiye'êa
taro'êa ñaya'êa
ñara'êa 12.8 milihêa
milihêa
mingi'têa

Kor. Kam. exune'êe all the time Kor. 92.19

82. -(I)ñ (Chukchee and Koryak) is a suffix which is often added to the stems of adjectives when compounded, in Chukchee with the form va'lin (<tva+lin) THE ONE WHO IS, in Koryak with îtalân (î + la'ñ.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.

qa'tvum-va'lin (Kor. Kam. qa'tvun-îtalâñ) being strong
ta'ñum-va'lin or ta'ñu-wa'lin (Kor. Kam. ta'ñin-îtalâñ) being good

1 Derived from qun single.
2 The corresponding Chukchee form repta the one who is not used in compounds of this type.

§112
A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in
-lin (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in -(i)n com-
pounded with va'lin.

wr'ehm-vq'lin (Kor. Kam. wr'ehryn-i'tala'n) the flat one
empum-va'lin the one downcast
Kor. Kam. go'lo'n-itala'n the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending -q or -aq (see this
section, No. 79). The compounds with va'lin, when referred
to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used
frequently in this connection.

gq'lm-gq'alik qa'tvum-va'leum I am stronger than everybody
(gemge- every; qg'ul man; -k possessive; qetv strong; -i-
$um I [§ 73, p. 758]

§ 113. Prefixes

1. étO- A LITTLE.

étO'-qaia'qañ a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (étO' 51.4)
mab-étO'pèl a little better 135.7

2. é'mkln- EVERY.

d'mkin-aivëchëtri every evening 28.9
e'mkln-kreyul'ki at every awaking 29.2

3. tilV- QUITE.

tilV-am-gina'n quite you only 30.4
tilV-a'mmnàn quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9
tilV-ui'nd quite nothing 56.4; 60.1

4. tInki—JUST is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory
meaning.

tink-am-gûmna'n just I only
tink-ui'ñà just nothing
tink-ui'ñà rânut he has nothing at all R 63.88
tink-a'tqêuma quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

5. prE- only, merely.

6. Im- (Kor. Kam. ImIn- , Kamchadal miNîl) ALL.

i'me-ránt'nut all kinds 111.28
i'mu-gînmi'kà all kinds of game 128.9

Koryak

| mi'no-lã'ku all boots
| imi'no nog'wge all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6
| imi'no qi-i'a'i'antè all little rivers Kor. 17.1

The form imilo' 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with
noun and without; imi'lin takes the same kinds of forms as
nouns in -ln (see p. 717).
The Kamchadal form *miNi'l* forms—

- Allative *miNe'l*a'Nke
- Allative, possessive, instrumental *miNi'l*ink, less often *mi'l*.

7. *ém-* **m-*ere** (Kor. Kam. *am-* , Kamchadal *em-*). The prefix is always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

- *em-ne'us'gätti* (Kor. Kam. *a'm-ne'av's'qatu*, Kamchadal *ém-nil'm* can*n*) mere women
- *em-a'Mtim* mere bones 35.5
- *em-me'liit* all with blood 40.10
- *em-ne'nri* all these 41.10
- *em-ne'niit* those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26
- *čiq-em-nu'ńqi* far inland 114.25
- *em giwu'n-nikiu't* midnight 9.11
- *am-ğen'ći* just inland 67.19; 114.24
- *am-gmaJn* only thou 30.3
- *am-taarō'na* with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9
- *am-ravečha'ń'na* merely to die 65.23
- *am-ya'ata* only by using it 143.3

**Koryak:**

- *am-ćerepro'nau* entirely silver Kor. 22.10
- *am-ma'kil-ne'eta* only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5
- *am-ma'na* just in different directions Kor. 25.6

8. *pli-* (with nouns) **every**.

- *gaplikuńilēn* every one has a tea-cup
- *niplitańte'nmiqen* they were applying everything 41.3

9. *me'*, *miq-* **small**.

10. *me'vi* **somewhat**.

- *met-ki'it* somehow 40.7
- *meć-telenye'pkin* somewhat of old 61.5
- *mać-yą'a* far enough 62.12
- *mać-evgo'n* as an incantation 39.13
- *meć-e'gulpe* somewhat quick 45.10

11. *mel-* **like** (Kor. Kam. *mal-*).

- *mel-uvē'quć* it seems like a husband 49.9

12. *mite-* **actually**.

- *mite'-vilm* actually dead
- *mite'-ginni'k* actually game 84.28

13. *timNie*-* **any** (Kor. *paLa*).

- *timNie'-meNin* whosoever
- *timNie'-rā'nul* whatsoever

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14. **ter**- how many (Kor. Kam. **ta**'y-).

tar-qa'ata evkwet'yi' with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. **čiq**- excessively.

cēq-ya'q too far
čeq-a'lvam-va'lag how very strange! 76.5; 63.4
čeq-em-nu'qiq far inland 114.25
čeq-a'lvam va'lm being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27
čeq-čiwāk all at once 43.10

16. **čhi**- hardly, always used with the negative (probably from *qíči₂*, as in *nigíči'qin Rare*).

qěhēgamitvāka almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. **LI**- (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) every.

li-mē'ńki everywhere
li-mē'ńko from everywhere

18. **lii**, **lih**, **lhi**, **lhI**- truly (Kor. Kam. **liqi**, **lih**).

lii'-teń-evii'ru̲lin really well closed 33.3
lii'-tanıččı'tinoe she began to feel truly well 33.5
niihniu'mkāqin really quite numerous 111.16
leı́-tevēnāhöt'a with a genuine paddle 31.4
leı́-ńarau'tīlo really wife seeking 57.1
leı́-qpe quite truly 57.2

Kor. Kam. niihēn'ktaqen a very hard one

19. **pit**- (Kamchadal) quickly.

xpit-nu'xē you eat quickly

20. **x'q**- (Kamchadal) quite, very.

x'q-pxox very large
x'q-čič'nālax very pretty, very good

21. **lihI**, **liqI** (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

qI-vi-t'ip'lijk I really shake myself (i.e., I can shake myself properly)

22. **kit**- (after prefixes -**gtI**-) very (Kor. Kam. **kit**- [after prefixes -**kIR**-]).

nigtilqulqulqen he mocked much 143.1; 144.4
qagtiq'ańi'ai'pūləń she was very angry 89.3
qagtiq-palqat'ań very decrepit 111.26
qagtiqam'ı'tvaqik eat ye enough! 65.16

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When this prefix is used with the nominalized verb in \( \text{ni—qin} \), 
\( k\text{vt} \) either precedes the prefix \( \text{ni—} \), or the \( \text{ni—} \) may be repeated initially

\( \text{krm-nimai'enqen or nigli-nimai'enqen} \) it is quite large.

23. \( \text{qin} \)- single (Kor. Kam. \( \text{qyn} \)).

\( \text{gon-mi'nga} \) with a single hand 67.19
\( \text{gon-qa'a} \) with a single reindeer
\( \text{gon-ra'lin} \) with a single house 34.1
\( \text{gona'cimkina} \) with nine (i.e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. \( \text{gemge} \)- every (Kor. Kam. \( \text{ga'mqa} \)).

\( \text{ge'mge-qnin'k} \) every kind of game 41.11
\( \text{ge'mge-ni'Tcin} \) everybody 66.28
\( \text{ga'mga-ni'mgupu} \) from every settlement 36.1
\( \text{ge'mge-nute'qin} \) from every land 11.5

Koryak:

\( \text{ga'mga-qai-\text{qai'wi's}qat} \) every little woman Kor. 34.9
\( \text{gdmga-olqwe'lt} \) to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. \( \text{paLa} \)- (Koryak) any (Chukchee \( \text{t1m\v'le} \) (see No. 13, p. 816)),

\( \text{paLa'-ma'ki} \) whosoever
\( \text{paLa'-yi'nna} \) whatever

26. \( \text{ly\v'n} \)- negative particle, always used with nominal forms of

the verb. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

\( \text{ly\v'n-i'ra} \) not crossing 41.5
\( \text{ly\v'n-iwku'lt} \) not drinking 37.3
\( \text{ly\v'n-res'qi'w\~\v'y}d\) they did not want to enter 115.19
\( \text{ly\v'n-lu'lt} \) not seen 11.9
\( \text{legge'nu lu\v'n-\v'lhlim} \) has no desire 93.32
\( \text{ly\v'n-\v'\~e'v} \) without walking
\( \text{lo\v'n-\v'na'tvata} \) without promises 101.23
\( \text{lo\v'n-ipa'ulim} \) not drinking
\( \text{lo\v'n-wa'loma} \) not heeding 21.13

With the auxiliary verb \( \text{-nt-} \) (initial \( \text{rit-} \)), it is the usual form of expressing the negative of the transitive verb.

\( \text{lu\v'n-lu'lt} \text{ t'\v'ntrig} \) I had thee an unseen one (i.e., I did not see thee)

27. \( \text{egn} \)- sometimes replaces the negative particles \( \text{ui'\v{n}u, \v'le, and en'he} \).

\( \text{egn-agqam'tvag\~} \) do not eat!
\( \text{egn-a'nmu\v{k}a} \) without killing R 44.11

\( \$113 \)
28. *ine*- transforms transitive verbs into intransitives, either without other change of meaning or with the significance TO DO ON BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF. The object, when retained, is expressed in the locative.

\[ \text{tineni} \text{te'ert} \text{en} \text{ki'mitik I take the load away for myself (i- I; nlete to take away; -rkin present; ki'mit- load)} \]

The use of *ine*- in the transitive verb has been discussed in § 63, p. 736.

Examples are:

\[ \text{enapela'ei} \text{ thou leavest some one (namely, me)} \]
\[ \text{enapela'tik ye leave some one (namely, me)} \]

See, also, § 110, 67.

29. *ineK-* TRANSITIVE (see *u*-n(i), § 114, 2, p. 821).

30. *alk*- (Kamchadal) HOW MANY, SOME; used independently in the plural.

\[ \text{la'l} \text{'en kce'n how many dogs?} \]
\[ \text{la'li} \text{'n klxol olxda'tocekpinin he passed there a few days} \]

§ 114. Inclusive Affixes

1. To cause to.

(a) With intransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( r(i) ) — ( u ) (after terminal vowel)</td>
<td>( y(i) ) — ( v )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( r(i) ) — ( eu ) (after terminal consonant)</td>
<td>( y(i) ) — ( aw, av )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( r(i) ) — ( et ) (after terminal ( u ) diphthong)</td>
<td>( y(i) ) — ( at )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( iu, eu, av )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After verbal prefixes, the \( r(i) \), \( y(i) \), changes to \( n(i) \).\(^1\)

\[ \text{ri-gamitva'-u-rkin'gn he was made to eat 9.8 (from gamitva)} \]
\[ \text{ri-tel'-e'-u-rkin you cause to be unwell (from tel)} \]
\[ \text{ri-telkiwe'-n-nin he was made to sit on it 8.11} \]
\[ \text{ri-gg-eu'-nin he awakened him 7.5} \]
\[ \text{ni-nto-w'-nên he made him go out 60.3} \]
\[ \text{ri-pintik-eu'-nin he made it appear 9.8} \]
\[ \text{ga-n-echet-au'-lên he made it jump off 47.7} \]
\[ \text{riyrrrau'nênat they caused them to be anointed 74.33} \]
\[ \text{ineqali'keuki (we) induced her to marry 26.5} \]
\[ \text{gantö'mgaulên has been created 42.1} \]
\[ \text{anintoña'tke'Iên she does not make it go out 54.6} \]
\[ \text{qamintoña'tye' cause him to go out! 54.7} \]

\(^1\) See also p. 735.
Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>y-awy-a’t-ikm</th>
<th>you cause to eat (from awyi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yi-ta1-a’v-ikm</td>
<td>you cause to be unwell (from ta1; ta’l-’-ikm you are unwell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiyigicha’wik</td>
<td>tickling (him) Kor. 18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginathileu’</td>
<td>make it warm! Kor. 29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganeva’kyrantat</td>
<td>tear him up Kor. 30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenanikyo’nirvoi</td>
<td>it begins to awaken us Kor. 39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganrpqda’wlenau</td>
<td>he made them climb up Kor. 43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganvaqyda’wlen</td>
<td>she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) With transitive verbs.

Chukchee                              Kor. Kam.

r(i) — ngt                        y(i) — w, v
ri-keto-na’t-i-rkin you re-       yi-keto-v-e’kin you remind mind him (from keto to remember)

(c) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix r(i)-Kor.

Kam. y [i]-)

r-e’re’erkun you cause it to fall down (from ere’e)
ra’tununen she carried it in 28.7
reimeu’ninet it approached them 41.4
rintininet she threw them out 87.30
Kor. Kam. yi-kima’w-ikm you detain him (from kimaw to be

(d) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (a) become transitive.

ru-wethaw-a’t-i-rkin you speak to him (from wethau to speak)
ru-wet’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-i-n-kile’-j-in I surround him (from kile; t-kile’jk I turn around)
t-l’i-nu-j-in I feed him (from nu to eat; t-nu’jk I eat)
t-lin-hil’-i-j-in I give him to drink (from hil; t-hil’-jk I drink)
t-o-n-cl’-i-j-in 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:

| tüpa’urkin I drink                      | niri’rag ca’gtê nap’a’una they have drunk two pieces of bark tea |
| ne-us’qit gi’ulin the woman said 98.7 | Ta’n’na gi’ulin the Tan’nit told him 98.5 |
2. \( \text{te—n}(I) \) TO MAKE SOMETHING (Kor. Kam. \( ta—n(I) \)). This may be related to the verb \( \text{teiki} \) (Kor. Kam. \( taiki \)) TO MAKE.  
\( \text{tirvu'nirkin} \) he makes sharp things, i.e., arms (stem \( \text{ivr} \));  
Kor. Kam. \( \text{tisvi'nirkin} \)  
\( \text{nutepleu'lirkin} \) she made boots for him 112.24 (stem \( \text{plek} \)-boats; -let frequentative [§ 110.53])  

When this prefix is used with verbs, the additional prefix \( \text{ingen} \)- (Kor. Kam. \( \text{inan} \)-) is generally inserted. It indicates the transitive.  
The meaning of the compound is causative.  
\( \text{tingnyg'nirkin} \) (Kor. Kam. \( \text{tinany'a'nirkin} \)) you make him come  
\( \text{tinantu'mqi'nirkin} \) you cause it to create itself, and from this the noun \( \text{Tinantu'mqin} \) (Kor. Kam. \( \text{Tinantu'mvin} \)) one who causes things to create themselves (i.e., Creator)  
\( \text{tingnyi'lirora'wotan} \) a person who causes one to give (i.e., beggar)  

3. \( \text{re—n}(I) \) expresses the desiderative (Kor. Kam. \( ya—n(I) \)).  
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.  
\( \text{rapa'wirkin} \) (Kor. Kam. \( \text{yapa'wnekin} \)) he desires to drink  
(stem: Ch. \( \text{upa} \), Kor. Kam. \( \text{apaw} \))  
\( \text{rerku'wirkin} \) (stem \( \text{rkur} \)) (Kor. Kam. \( yku'yfin \) [stem \( \text{ikuy} \)]) he desires to buy  
\( \text{ranlu'nuqgi} \) he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem \( \text{nto} \) to come out; -\( \text{uho} \) to begin)  
\( \text{rafe'chug'na} \) do you want to die? 67.1 (stem \( \text{ve} \) to die; -\( \text{chat} \) [§ 110.66])  
\( \text{nire'wirgin} \) he wants to die 99.27  
\( \text{nerelu'wirkin-i-git} \) they want to see thee 19.6  

Koryak:  
\( \text{tyaya'ilgin} \) I want to sleep Kor. 30.3  
\( \text{tyaya'ai'tin} \) I want to go home Kor. 30.5  
\( \text{ganka'wilinaw ya's'gani'kin} \) they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2  

4. \( \text{e—ki, e—ka} \) (Kor. Kam. \( a—ki, a—ka \); Kor. Par., e—\( \text{ki} \), a—ke; Kamchadal —\( \text{ki} — \text{k} \), —(\( \text{n} \))\( \text{kin} \), \( \text{ikan} \)) negation, expressing WITHOUT —.  

1This form is different from the form for \( \text{HE CREATES THEM} \). The “Creator” is therefore, even in grammatical form, only a “Weltgestalter.”  

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The compounds formed with ε—κā are nominal. They are formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

anvēnauka'qtigewku'linhe tied her to an unbroken (reindeer)
50.12 (nvineutobreakareindeer; -qtiallative[§40]; ge—
lin[§74]; wkut to tie)
εi'lē'ki eyeless
aa'lakē a person withoutknife
en'i'nniķi nameless one (=fourthfinger)

Koryak:
| a'xgike kuma'ti the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8

The compounds formed with ε—κā are used as complements of the verb.

eqg'likā qānēlhitikmakeyourselvestvoiceless60.10
i'miķā tītva'akI was without water
akē'rikā nēlīyī it became lightless 94.11
ēnī'qālīkā nērētēmüikwe shall be made childless 39.4
res'qī'wābī'ā'kērkka he entered without clothing 35.10
ā'kērka nān rā'gū tīs he came home without clothing 35.10
qāw'īnīkā mītnēlwe came to be without an Aiwan 47.12
agāmi'tvaka tītva'ak not eating I was
awgētkīnka not saying anything 26.6
ē'le el'qätā not going 46.8
au'rīkē'gū tīs not appearing 66.10
ad'omka heedless 67.9
ē'le eu'rretkā not appearing 62.1
akērktivusat they took off clothes (they became without clothing) 47.5
ē'gripqī awgēntoyn'vuka she felt pain the breathless one 63.8
(a'grip to feel pain; -qis[§64]; wgi-breath; nīto to go out;
-yansverbalnoun[§104.38])
ēqānē'kā qēnēlīnhe had become without moaning (i.e., he
had ceased moaning) 34.7
ētē'lkā ninēlqinhe came to be without suffering 25.11

Koryak:
| akmi'niķa qi'pinatchildless they were Kor. 43.8
aqalhai'aka qiti'ykrn-ī'qi not crying be! Kor. 37.1
akle'wōka trnā'lik without bread I remained Kor. 16.2
ava'leika yana'la'ntik you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13
qumna'n u'ña yinna el'ika ti'ntiga'n(Chukchee gumna'n
ē'le rā'nut el'lkā ti'ntidn) I not anything (not) given I had to
him

In some cases, particularly with u'i'ndānothing, there is nothing, the forms in-kaappear apparently predicative, presumably with

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omission of a predicate of existence. More frequently the forms in -kälin are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

ui'ňä aar'aka nothing, houseless (i.e., there was nothing, not [even] a house) 31.7
ui'ňä ele' Tikä nothing, headless (i.e., there was nothing, not [even] a head) 47.8
ui'ňä epivükä (Kor. Par. e'le epi'nke) there is no powder

Koryak:
| ui'na a'na'wtr'ka he had no wife Kor. 50.5
| ui'na a'nwilka he did not stop Kor. 51.8
| ui'na an'le'ika ? is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12
| ui'na kama'kanu anat'ka (I) did not become a kamak Kor. 88.10
| ui'na an'e'lyipnuka (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding e-lea to the stem, have a passive meaning; with the prefix ine- placed immediately preceding the stem, they have active meaning.

Passive:

an'nto'na'tka re'trr'mn you make him one who is not caused to go out (i.e., you do not make him go out) 54.10
ewe'gir'kukä tew'lanën he shook what was not dug out with the nails 47.2
evni'ukä m'ni'n'tmet let us have them not sent over (i.e. I wish we had not sent them) 58.2
e'le evn'ka not being eaten 48.8
alo'kä'gït va'ls-üm I am not seen 22.10
ev'kä not seen ones 62.1
e'le a'lo'mka it was not heard 60.10

Koryak:
| ui'na s'wka qa'ntilen he was not told so Kor. 62.3

Active:

'nda'nmükä rine'ntü' thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9
in'entent'käli-i'qit thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27
in'nu'käli-muri we are those who do not consume it 35.1
gümna'n en'aiw'käli-ë-üm I am not able to do it 92.30
in'nu'kälinet he has not seen them 70.33
ine'gite'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'ñe' ai'püka do not put it on 37.8
en'ne' ad'qoka do not sit down 37.13
en'ne' a'tertkoka do not tell 66.29
en'ne' agam'i'tvaka q'ityitik do not be without eating 64.19
   (without verb 65.30)
en'ne' rrrowa'ata a'tka qant'r'itiki do not pass it at a dis-
   tance 70.9
en'ne' gi'inu e'llhkä do not attock it 70.14
en'ne' b'n'a'nmüka don't kill me! 103.30
en'ne' ineq'e'plukä do not kick me! 31.12 (31.11 is the same form
   without en'ne')

Koryak:
   | kitta' atawañila'ka do not look back! Kor. 51.6
   | kirt-a'wyika q'ithä do not eat!

Kamchadal:
   || jak-nu'kek (kswe) do not eating (be)!
   Without en'ne', we find—
   at'erga'tka do not cry! 7.6
   ineq'e'plukä do not kick me! 31.11

Koryak:
   | annuwa'qka do not leave anything! Kor. 46.2
Here also the auxiliary verb is usually omitted.

Apparently in the form of an adjective, we find—
na'qam üm e'un aqora'mrë'tka Ai'wan then, however, the Aiwan,
careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6
qora'ñi enwieukä yilhe'ñäin he attached an unbroken reindeer
50.11
Derived from the negative suffix -kä are -këlin, -kälin (Kor. Kam.
-käla'n), formed with the suffix -lin (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This
form, in accordance with the character of -lin, is more mark-
edly predicative.
imli'këlin he is waterless

Koryak Kamenskoye:
   | wotta'kin ake'ykila'n that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14

Kamchadal:
   || ilçilkin without tongue
   || gaq'e'kan without nose
   || ki'nmma qam ni'kin I am not wifeless

The verbal character appears most clearly with pronouns of the first
and second person.
anta'kël-e-git you do not go out 54.10
qa'qomkël-e-git you do not hear 54.11
§114
Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

\( e'le \; g\text{\texta 'limalau'kKel}\) \(\) he is one who does not heed 15.12
\( aqlq'ul Kel\) \(\) she was without a man 28.2
\( amata'kel\) \(\) she was unmarried 28.2
\( aalomkel\) \(\) she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2
\( \text{tit} \; gvi'k\) \(\) formerly people were death-less 42.2
\( \text{enf'du'm} \; \text{el'a'gvi'k\texta'lin} \) \(\) now the mother was immortal 41.12
\( e'le \; \text{ant'kel}\) \(\) she did not go out 54.9 (without \( e'le \) 54.5)
\( \text{va'n\'evan} \; \text{ant'kel}\) \(\) not at all she went out 54.8
\( \text{emte't'um} \; \text{ata'n\'kel} \; \text{\texta'rg\texta'lin} \) \(\) since she did not touch the crying one 56.6
\( \text{va'n\'evan} \; gvi'\texta'rr\texta'kel}\) \(\) it does not appear at all 62.2
\( \text{eres'gvi'k\texta'lin} \; \text{en'a'cin't} \) \(\) he himself did not want to enter 103.17
\( \text{emtek\texta'tu'k}\) \(\) the blubber was not scraped off 47.1
\( \text{nene'neq'ai} \; \text{amnto'nt\texta'kel}\) \(\) she did not cause the child to go out 54.6
\( aalomkel\texta'nat} \) \(\) they did not listen 13.5
\( eyi'\texta'qakkel\texta'net} \) \(\) they were not sleeping 34.3
\( \text{ine'k\texta'lin} \) \(\) he has not seen them 70.33
\( \text{inegit'kel} \) \(\) she did not look at me 88.31

A few constructions of \texta'-\textk\texta'lin} \(\) with \( u'i'n\)\(\) seem quite analogous to forms in \texta'-\textk with this particle (see p. 823).

\( u'i'n\)\(\) \( aalomkel\) \(\) they do not listen 56.2
\( u'i'n\)\(\) \( ake'\texta'rik\texta'kel\) \(\) there was nothing, without light 40.9
Enga'n u'i'ña ćit e'nē'nhūlūn that one was nothing, before not with guardian spirits 60.1
Kor. u'i'ña ama'yīnē'nhūlūg-i-gūm I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

e'lil'e'kēlāqāgti little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix -lax (§112, 78) before the negative changes to -lix.

ki'mma qam ulul'xkin I am not small

Kamchadal x'ē—ki with intransitive verbs, x'ē—kic with transitive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms, which are given predicative forms by means of auxiliary verbs (see p. 779).

x'ēnu'ki impossible to eat
x'ētlelekic impossible to beat him

x'ē is presumably of the same origin as the particle x'ēnc.

§§ 115–121. Word-composition

§ 115. Introductory Remarks

Stems may be compounded in such a manner that one stem which qualifies another is placed before it. The two stems together form a unit which takes morphological affixes as a whole—prefixes preceding the first stem, suffixes following the second stem. The first stem, therefore, always terminates without morphological suffixes, the second one begins without morphological prefixes. If in the complex of stems a strong vowel or syllable occurs, the whole complex takes the ablaut.

"mai̇n-ā'či-kālē'li-čū'mmū (Kor. Kam. mai̇n-ā'či-kālē'li-čū'mmū) a big fat speckled buck"

Each stem may retain the word-forming suffixes or prefixes enumerated in §§ 97–114.

Composition is used particularly for the following purposes.

1. When the second stem is a noun, the first element is an attribute of the second.

2. When the second element is a verb, the first element is an adverbial qualifier of the second. Here belongs particularly the case that when the first stem is a noun, the second a verb, the former is the object of the latter.

§115
§ 116. Attributive Composition

Attributive composition of two nouns is used when the first noun expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second noun. These are used in the absolute form as well as with postpositions.

1. The first element expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second term.

- *ga'lga-na'lhm* bird-skin 7.9
- *rr'ka-ka'la* walrus spirit 8.4
- *pa'nvar-rr'kat* two-year-old walrus 8.10
- *rr'ka-npina'chm* walrus old man 9.6
- *giwhua'-npina'dhâqai* Eiwhue old man 11.10
- *giwhue'-ora'wêlan* Eiwhue person 12.4
- *giwhue'-nê'ut* Eiwhue woman 12.5
- *wo'lqi-vârrqê'tti* to the Darkness-Being 18.11
- *ora'wê-rr'mka* by human people 21.8
- *a'nga-va'rrgin* sea-being 25.4
- *ke'le-nê'wân* kele wife 38.11
- *a'l-qla'ul* excrement man 39.9
- *poig-o'ttoot* (Kor. Kam. *poig-o'ttoot*) spear wood
- *pîlîr'nti-pna'wkun* iron file
- *ra'p-pr'il* (Kor. Kam. *yaq-pr'il* or *yaqa'-pnil*) what news 11.2
- *lîl'-br'rmîtâ* on the sight border (= just out of sight) 11.8
- *ra'g-ê'drmîk* on the house border 12.12

Koryak:

- *nawa'kak* daughter Kor. 12.4
- *pîlîr'nti-yy'nnalâ'n* with iron antlers Kor. 21.8
- *yi'ilhiîn* finger-gloves Kor. 22.2
- *lawtr-kî'îçhîn* head-band Kor. 17.12
- *vai-kî'tîpîlîn* little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words *qla'yl* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) man, *nâw* (Kor. Kam. *nâw*) woman, are used to express the idea of the *nomen actoris*, and are compounded with verbs as well as with nouns. Thus we find—

- *tu'li-nâw* (Kor. Kam. *tu'li-nâw*) stealing-woman (= female thief)
- *vi'n'-nu-nâw* (Kor. Kam. *vi'n'-nu-nâw*) secretly-acting woman (= female lover)

Kor. Kam. *ta'd'-qla'wul* striking-man (= blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

- *pîlîr'nti-qla'ul* iron-man (= blacksmith)
The stems *qlaul* and *qlik* (Koryak *qlik*) in first position express also male.

*qlaul-kei'n* (Kor. Kam. *qlik-ka'i'n*) male bear

For most animals the word *bü'mna* (Kor. Kam. *bü'mna*) is used to express the male.

*bü'mna-n'ri'ki* male walrus

Kor. Kam. *bü'mna'-me'mi'l* male thong-seal

For females the stem *ne'w* (Kor. Kam. *naw*) is used.

*ne-e'kil* (Kor. Kam. *naw-a'kil*) daughter 28.2

*naw-kei'nin* (Kor. Kam. *naw-kai'nin*) she-bear

*neuw'ri'rit* female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtala'n* (Kamchadal *mti'lx*) is a contraction of *oya'mtaoilcfn* PERSON (*qla'ul* in Koryak designates a male adult person), and means literally THE ONE WHO WALKS OPENLY, and is meant to designate man as walking visibly, while the spirits walk about invisibly.1 The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'wetan*, which has the same derivation. Compositions with *-mtalcn* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

*enni'-mtala'n* Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

*Valvi'-mtala'n* Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *qla'ul*.

*enni-qla'ul* Fish-Man

*enni-kei'l* Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in *-mti'lx* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

*el'ihe-mti'lx* (Koryak *el'e-mtala'n*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

*tæpa'-mti'lx* (Koryak *kilepa'-mtala'n*) Wild-Sheep-Man

2. In nouns with suffixes, composition is used to express a number of relations.

(a) The material of which an object is made.

*ræ-kupre'ta* with what kind of a net did he kill it? (ræq what; kupre net; tæm to kill)

*kq'ng-kupre'ta* he killed it with a net of horse-hair (kq'ng horse [from Russian koń])

(b) The idea pertaining to.

*tala'n-ramkê'pë* I heard it from people of past times

*træm* people; *uglom* 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'wet-va'rat* BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (=MANKIND) is used.

§116
(c) Parts of a whole.

\[ yd'al-gitka'ta \text{ geggil-ge'}ptilin \] he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot \( (\text{yd'al hind; gitka foot; -ggil heel}) \)

(d) Possession.

\[ gümük \text{ e'kke-nelvul}pü gümük'tyn \] take it from my son's herd \( (\text{gümük my [possessive]; e'kke son; -nelvul herd; -gümük from [§42, p. 704])} \)

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.

\[ gümük \text{ kme'run'go halvula'ngo qakmu'tin} \] take it from my son's herd

3. An intransitive verb (adjective) may be combined with a nominal stem so that it qualifies the latter. These compositions are used particularly in oblique cases.

\[ iul-u'tta \text{ (Kor. Kam. iwl-u'tta)} \] with a long stick
\[ mgini-lile't \text{ (Kor. Kam. maini-lila't)} \] big eyes
Kamchadal \[ pl'ec-kii-stenk \] in the large house
\[ tan-gla'ul, pl. tan-gla'ulë \text{ (Kor. Kam. malgla'wul, dual mal-gla'-wulë)} \] good man
\[ ta'n-um-ga'lin \] good one
\[ mai'nu-wa'l \] a large knife 16.1
\[ pu'gli-launi'yin \] big bare head 27.13
\[ æqâ'-ke'le-në'us-gât \] bad kele woman 37.11
\[ æqâ'-gre'poqâti \] bad little song 59.5
\[ teg-nee'us-gât \] a nice woman 62.13
\[ niito'-bël'miri \] a shy buck 49.5
\[ korga'-da'ut \] a lively man 40.3
\[ lii-teñ-evi'välin \] really good cloths having 33.3
\[ riq-æ'ttin \] a shaggy dog 72.28
\[ ehl-u'kwut \] a flat stone (= anvil) 77.12
\[ yitko'mk-u'kwun \] divining-stone 101.3

Koryak:

\[ ex'nuu mal-na'wiktata \] this is a good woman Kor. 19.1
\[ mal-gla'wul \] a good man Kor. 19.10
\[ tan-ë'yu \] to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2
\[ ka'li-qa'nyan \] ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2
\[ qai-na'wis'qat \] little woman Kor. 25.1
\[ qai-ka'mak \] little kamak Kor. 35.5
\[ mal-kal-yekoi'gu-wa'l \] knife with well ornamented handle Kor. 46.8.

§116
4. When the theme of a transitive verb appears as the first part of a compound, it has a passive meaning:

- teik-evirin (ready) made clothing 86.22
- a'ti-yno-kamaanve'ti to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10
- tot-tai'ka-kamaanve'ti to newly made dishes 96.18
- tor-igt'o-qaiq'no to a newly born fawn 129.13

§117. Incorporation of Noun

A nominal stem may be incorporated in the verbal complex, and then forms a unit with the verbal stem which it precedes. The incorporated noun may express the subject of intransitive verbs, the object or instrument with transitive verbs.

(a) Intransitive verbs which incorporate an inanimate noun as subject express a verbal concept relating to a person.

- vawik pe'tkurkin the body becomes ready
- but twuwwik-a-pe'tkurkin I become body-ready (i.e., I am grown up)
- vali uto'rk'in (Kor. Kam. vala uto'y'kin) the knife comes out
- but vala-nto'rk'in (Kor. Kam. vala-nto'y'kin) he is knife-coming-out (i.e., he draws his knife)
- nuwog'ntog'en he is one whose breath goes out 126.9
- awg'ento'y'ndvuka he is without breath going out 63.8
- nigolento'a'rn 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 -fata to fetch, -tuwe to take off, -ip 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.

- tiqaanamstirkin (Kor. Kam. tiqoyanma'tekin) or I slaughter rein-
- trimat'rk'in qa'at (Kor. Kam. trimed'kin goya'wge) deer
- qena-tak'chi-lpi'nrigii me meat give!
- gymn'ni'n e'kik qa-kalë'tol-lpi'nrigii my son money-give him!
- n'tti-mla'rk'in (Kor. Kam. u-mlad'yetkin) he breaks a stick
ri'lihi-tvi'ri'kin (Kor. Kam. ri'lihi-tvi'ri'kin) he cuts a finger
kalé-tpärkin (Kor. Kam. pañka-tpärkin) he puts on a cap
qaa-nma'arkm (Kor. Kam. qoya-nma'tekim) he slaughters reindeer
he cuts a finger
geleutirgi'tkuta scratching the head 126.7
qaa-nma'arkm (Kor. Kam. qoya-nma'tekim) he slaughters reindeer
he cuts a finger
I take out glasses
he puts on a cap
he cut off her head 86.7
he put clothes on him 127.1
she boiled heads 43.12
they boiled fat 14.7
he put cloths on him 127.1
let us search for food 119.18
struck the fire with Kor. 30.7
she lost a tooth Kor. 32.8
they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3
use your voice! Kor. 48.7
striking the fire with Kor. 30.7
she lost a tooth (va'nnilnin tooth) Kor. 32.8
The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

Verbs with incorporated object are intransitive. They may be made transitive, however, when they are referred to a new object.

qaa-nma'arkm (Kor. Kam. qoya-nma'tekim) he slaughters reindeer
qaa-nma'arkm (Kor. Kam. qoya-nma'tekim) he slaughters reindeer for him
I finger-cut thee (i.e., I cut your finger)

In a number of Koryak examples verbs with incorporated object appear as elements of incorporated complexes. In these cases they are always treated as intransitive verbs.

§117
(c) Verbs with incorporated noun expressing instrumentality.

etti-kρpέ'wa by striking with a stick 48.10
ni-ke'g-tegilištku'qinet groping about with the palms 73.26
gamotšetnho'laat they are covered with blood 91.27

Koryak:
| eš'inmmišula'šikin 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.

ti'rgi-pl'tke finished crying 27.11
dun-rē'a-tild'gti with easy flying motion 16.8
nu-waqe-tva'qenat sitting they were 62.9
qami-pl'ttkuk (Kor. Kam. a'wyi-pl'tičuk) eating finishing (i.e. after the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb qami-tva TO EAT.
v'i'y'-šuu'wunin breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:
| ga-mlawa-nka'w-len she ceased to dance Kor. 48.6
| q-awya'-nkaw-len he refused to eat Kor. 51.3
| qen'akšxdt-paa-ño'-lenat to send them away ceased began they Kor. 72.2

§ 119. Adverbial Composition

Intransitive verbs are combined with verbal stems in the same manner as they are with nouns, and then assume adverbial functions. Stems expressing modality, quality, quantity, appear frequently in this position. The forms are quite analogous to those treated in § 116.3.

ine-tεn-mpilkwum thou hast well vanquished me 17.7
qα-tan-yoro-tukwa't-yε arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6
tur-qitilm newly frozen 13.7
tur-wre'tilm newly born 21.6
tεr-kalēnño'qenat newly adorned ones 29.1
liš-nara'tile truly wife-seeking 57.1
a'qα'-rkiša badly pursued 17.6
tur-evkʌnɛtyɛ' he departed just now
ti-teš-yilqɑ'tyɛ'k (Kor. Kam. ti-mal-yilqɑ'tik) I slept well

§§118, 119
Koryak:

- *aqa'amño'vo'ýkin* looks badly Kor. 13.8
- *ga-aqi'pa'ën* it fitted badly Kor. 34.9
- *ga-qayičilano'vol'en* it began to be a little light Kor. 18.1
- *ga-ga'yi-čulin* he chopped it small Kor. 53.6
- *tań-a'vyen'ovi* he began to eat well Kor. 20.7
- *ga-mal-i'vulen* he bit well Kor. 41.4
- *ga-mal-hinta'vlen* he fled well Kor. 41.7
- *ga-tuyi-kmiča't-i-gun* I have recently given birth Kor. 64.13

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

- *a'iči'-to'várkin* (Kor. Kam. *a'yiči'-to'várkin*) 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.

- *ăqă'-lu'mi-nę'wš'qat* (Kor. Kam. *aqa'-lu'mi-na'wis'qat*) a bad, lazy woman
- *čaučuwa'-ga'miči-lau'lčin* reindeer-breeder-rich-man R59.4.
- *tań-či-lę'p'oči'gın* a good, heavy ice-spear
- *ti-meči-telči-prčirkin* (Kor. Kam. *ti-maiči-lau'ti-pr'ktikin*) I greatly head am aching
- *qine-či'ln-i-mli-či'luč* give me warm water!
- *ču-vqiči-nečirkin* heavily breathing he becomes (i.e. he sighs)
- *nēl-čp-či'liččin* thimble-put-on-finger, the second finger
- *t-wači-quči-qūr-re'cht* 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.

- *keč'li-yu'nyukx* (Chukchee *keč'li-re'w*) spotted whale

However, the collected texts show that the use of compounds is much more restricted. Besides, constructions are found that do not agree with the synthetic method of Chukchee and Koryak.

- *nū'ıčex'in p!ič! child being a woman (i.e., daughter) (Chukchee *ńıčexik*, Kor. Kam. *ńaw-a'bak* woman-child)

In Kamchadal *ololaxi'n k'či'stnč Small Little Houses the adjective remains an independent word, as is indicated by its being in the plural form.
§ 122. Consonantic Shifts

It has been stated before that the consonants $l$ and $č$ are closely related. A comparison of the parallel forms in $l$ and $č$ show that the former sound applies often to generalized terms and continued actions, while the latter expresses the special term and single momentary action. This explanation applies well enough in some of the following examples, but not by any means in all of them.

It would seem as though this process were no longer free. Still, a few times I heard the change introduced as though it were still functional:

*palomatš'urkin* and *pānomteš'urkin* he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

**leivu, čeivu TO WALK**

_l_ forms:

- *gā'mga-notai'pū nilei'vuqinet* they traveled through every country 17.9
- *gamga-vaiře'pū nilei'vuqin* he traveled to every being 18.5
- *nutē's'qāk pagtaloq'pū nilei'vuqin* he traveled through the clefts of the ground 22.6
- *yei'velqāī kušikā rala'vēnnoi* an orphan child shall (from now on) travel alone 24.10
- *keimī'tīlā leiv učkī'nuqāī ti ge'īlā to traveling shaman small things must be given 25.9
- *gā'nnad'ā ata'ta leiv'wukin mi'išār* give you the means of traveling secretly 93.4
- *ata'ta qalēi'wutī* walk about in secret! 93.5
- *notai'pū leiv'wutī lu'ninet* he saw them walking about in the country 113.11
- *id'm nilei'vutku-ī-grr why don't thou wander about (all the time)? 87.18

_č_ forms:

- *lautškina'ta čeiv'wutkū* he walked (for a little while) on the heads 8.6
- *kīta'm nilei'vutkuč'k let me go 79.27; 80.10
- *gla'ul pāč'rgī' čeivutkulīn* a man arrived walking 86.26
- *īrqa'tik čeiv'vutkūč'k mī'tyār'k tomorrow not walking let me be!, i. e., tomorrow I shall not go 87.9
- *nē'me čeiv'vutkū* again he went 87.25; 88.1
- *nē'me čeiv'vutkurkin* again he was going (for a short while and once only) 88.7
luwi (initial), lvi (medial); ēwui (initial), ēvi (medial) to cut

l forms:

gelew' tilvilin the head was cut off 86.7

c forms:

ne̱dvitku' ouä'n they cut it off 27.3
nin'e̱vqii'n, nin'e̱nuqii'n he cut it and ate it 43.10 (see also 72.18)
ni'bo't kurkin rew he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)
le̱də'hučin geov'lin he cut the eye 106.19
qimone' ti ēwui' nin he cut it in the middle 109.33

kile (initial), rkie (medial); kile (initial), rkie (medial) to follow

a' qa'-rki la difficult to be pursued 17.6
kileu' miliv'wka'n I should not be able to follow 17.5
ki'la'wke² she followed 31.2 (here a single act)
kile'nin he gave pursuit to him 57.8

c form:

ki'cāuća' tyé he ran off quickly 57.5

kīpl (initial), rkipl (medial); kīpe (initial), rkipē (medial) to strike

l forms:

k'i'plinēn um lev'tik he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26
qa' rkipēlēn he struck her (until she let go) 31.4

c forms:

ë'nikit kīpe' tkenēn suddenly he struck it 35.11
nin'sinučetv' qin oti-kīpe'wa he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10
nēnarkīpe' qin he gave it a push 53.5

līlep (initial), lēp (medial); cīlep (initial), ēlep (medial)

l forms:

līlep' qī he looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14
qālep' qī look up! 79.11; see also 107.14
līlep' pūrkīn he looks on

c form:

cīlep' qī they looked about 86.22
rīce'burkin he inspects

talaiwu, tačaiwu to strike

nītalai' wuqēn they strike him 59.7
natačai' wuan they struck him once 59.5

pli, pē to finish

uwi'k pli'tkurkin his body becomes ready
luwi'k-i-pē'tkurkin I become ready-bodies, i.e., grown up
-lqiu verbal suffix expressing requested action; -s'qiu verbal suffix expressing single action

l form:

\[ nitule'lqiuqinet \] they would come to steal 13.4

č (s') forms:

\[ ganto's'qeuən \] he rushed out 57.11
\[ qāniqgeus'qi'wkutki \] go and wake them up at once 56.3

-liku AMONG A NUMBER; -čiku INSIDE

l form:

\[ utti'liku \] among the trees

č forms:

\[ plé'kičiku \] in a boot 43.4
\[ wus'qim'läčiku \] in the darkness 34.5

-qal, -qač by the side of

\[ ragro'linqal \] from the rear side of the house 51.10
\[ qniqqačči \] by thy side 9.3

-lgān, -s'gān TOP ¹

l form:

\[ koiv'ilqan \] top of glacier 91.16

č form:

\[ gi'thisqān \] surface of lake 144.3
\[ nute'sqān \] surface of ground 98.24

mel-, meč LIKE TO

l form:

\[ mel-wə'quč \] it seems my husband 49.9

č forms:

\[ meč-ä'gälpe \] somewhat quick 45.10
\[ mač-ečə'pel \] 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.

\[ yečićhın \] tongue 40.10
\[ r'lčhın \] fingers
\[ (qlık) \] man
\[ u'nel \] thongseal
\[ mēmıl \] seal
\[ yečić'tıkčhın \] tip of tongue 40.4
\[ rỉčtikčin \] finger-tips
\[ qāčıkčēčə́q \] the man transformed (similar to a man) ²
\[ unćečhın \] thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30
\[ mēmćečhın \] thong of seal skin 134.31

¹ See also -lqān ABOUNDING IN (§104.39).

§123
mulit blood  
gamoččepilên full of dried blood 68.2

Also:
tél sick  
těččirgin disease 133.7  
čće cold

To this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:

luťrkin he sees  
čw-tu'mgin or luť-tu'mgin old acquaintance (= seeing companion)

lélé'lıhn mitten  
čè-mingirliını glove (= mitten hand)

li'glig egg  
čr-g'-ttım egg-shell (= egg-bone)

viḻg̱'lıhn ear  
vilu'-ttım or viču'-ttım auricular bone

vilu'ptirkin he marks the ear  
eviču'ptiki (reindeer) without ear-mark

(of the reindeer)

Attention may also be called to the relation between the nominal endings -čhin and -lıhn, which have been treated in §§52, 53, and which may also be considered from this point of view, -lıhn being used in nouns with indefinite meaning, -čhin 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'erkin he cries  
qubččerkin he shouts, makes a noise

gemle'lıhn it is broken  
gemččekulin broken to pieces

ũmi'lıhn ałò'nèi the whole day  
ũmi'čič-ałò'nèi or ũmi'č-ałò'nèt a long time

ànga'li-ra'ımkin maritime people  
ànga'čič-ra'ımkin reindeer-breeders who come in summer to the seashore

li'nilin the hearty one, avenger  
čiče'erkin he yearns for something

(from li'nilin heart, lińle'erkin he avenges)

§§ 123–124. Numerals

§ 123. Introductory Remarks

The system of numbers is derived from manual concepts. Even the expression to count really means to finger (Chukchee r'lıhirkin, Kor. Kam. yilųne'kin, he counts [from stem rıl-, Kor. Kam. yılă, fin-
In a number of cases the relations between the numerals and manual concepts can easily be given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>From stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi'liñëñ</td>
<td>mi'liñëñ</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am-ñirro'otkëñ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qon'a'eiñkëñ</td>
<td>qonya'aciñin</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mingri'tkëñ</td>
<td>mingri'tcëñ</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilhi'nkëñ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>fifteen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**qiš'kkin belonging to a man**

Larger numbers are composed with qiš'kkin or with the ordinary modern word qa'ul (Kor. Kam. qa'wul) man.

The term qiš-qiq'kkit or qiš'kkin qa'ul four hundred is the highest term of the older Chukchee numeration. Every number higher than four hundred is called gryeu'-te'gin limit of knowledge. In modern times this term, under Russian influence, has been applied to express the idea of one thousand. This recalls the old Russian term for ten thousand tma (Greek μὐσαρ), which literally signifies darkness.

§123
In Chukchee, 11, 12, 13, etc., contain the particle *pa'rol* (also pronounced *pa'ro完了*) 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 *-kēlēn* (see § 114, 4).

*amongitkaw'kēlēn* not being the tenth  
*akilhinkaw'kēlēn* 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.

*Ningit-kalē'telala tači'nu-pl'iteko* I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (*mingit* ten; *kalē'tol* scratched one; *-a* instrumental; *t-* I; *ači* debt; *pl'ite* to finish)

Numerals are also compounded with personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nire-my'ri</td>
<td>nī'yė-mu'yi</td>
<td>we two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niro'-mq̣i</td>
<td>nīyo'-mu'yu</td>
<td>we three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni're-tu'ri</td>
<td>nī'ye-tu'yi</td>
<td>ye two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nire'rgeri</td>
<td>nīye'che'̃ti</td>
<td>they two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, -či, -či/' (Kor. Kam. -ča) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except *qunęči/'* ONCE (Kor. *qu'n'ač* Kor. 53.2), which is derived from *qun* SINGLE.

*Nir'a'la giwi'kinek* on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix -yut; (Kor. Kam. -yut [dual],-yu'wgi [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix *qem-* JUST (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except one.

*Nireq'urkin* (Kor. Kam. *nīyeq'urkin*) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, *-nlēn* (Kor. Kam. -laŋ) (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 *lunę'jam* HE COUNTS is also derived from the stem *lųx* FINGER (absolute form *lųx'lixt̪*).

§123
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Iterative</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kōn'ēn</td>
<td>qun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kacx, ka'cix</td>
<td>ntel</td>
<td>ntel'ēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>cok</td>
<td>ēol</td>
<td>ēo'la'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>čak</td>
<td>ēal</td>
<td>ča'la'na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ka'cix čako'x two dogs  
kacx čako'x three mittens  
čako'x čako'x three dogs

Kamchadal qun may be compared with Kor. Kam. qun SINGLE.  
Kamchadal čok may be compared with Kor. Kam. nlyo'x THREE.  
Kamchadal čak may be compared with Kor. Paren nlyo'x FOUR.  
(perhaps from an older form nlica'x)

§ 124. Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives

### Chukchee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Iterative</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>enne'n', enne'ni'</td>
<td>enna'n</td>
<td>enne'n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ni'raq</td>
<td>nlyo'x</td>
<td>nlyo'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>niro'q</td>
<td>ni'6ax</td>
<td>ni'6ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
<td>nlyo'-mi'Linen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>qon'a'cinkeu amgitkau'kē</td>
<td>qonya'aci'ln</td>
<td>qonya'aci'ln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mingi'tken</td>
<td>mingi'tken</td>
<td>mingi'tken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>mingi'tik enne'n'</td>
<td>mingi'tik enna'n</td>
<td>mingi'tik enna'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mingi'tik ni'ra'</td>
<td>mingi'tik nlyo'x</td>
<td>mingi'tik nlyo'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>mingi'tik niro'</td>
<td>mingi'tik nlyo'x</td>
<td>mingi'tik nlyo'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>mingi'tik niro'</td>
<td>mingi'tik nlyo'x</td>
<td>mingi'tik nlyo'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kilhi'nken</td>
<td>mingi'tik mi'Linen</td>
<td>mingi'tik mi'Linen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§124
Chukchee, Koryak Kamenskoye.

16 kili'nikenn'enn' mingiti'ik enna'n mi'- 
    pa'rol  
    kili'nik ni'tra'  
19  
    pa'rol  
    elikken'kel'n 
    mingiti'ik qonya'atun 
20 qlikkin qlik 
21 gle'kkik enne'n' 
    pa'rol 
30 gle'kkirg mingi' 
    tk'en pa'rol 
    gle'kkirg mingi'ten 
40 ni'ruq-glikkin ni'yax qlikit 
50 ni'ruq-glik'kirg 
    mingi' tk'en 
    ni'yax qlikit en'ki 
    pa'rol 
60 niro'g-qle'kk'en 
    enna'n miti'en mi'n- 
    gitu 
80 ni'rua'q-glek'ken 
    niyo'x miti'en mi'n- 
    gitu 
99 amilqgle'kkau'- 
    kel'n 
100 mingitgle'kk'en miti'en qlik'ku 
200 mingitgle'kk'en mingi'ten qlik'ku 
400 qlik-glik'kin qlik-qli'ku 

Numerals are verbalized by the suffix -eu (Kor. Kam. -aw, -(i)w).

Chukchee  Kor. Kam.
ni'rege'urkin niyeqi'wikin he is double, he is the second
ni'roqa'urkin niyoqa'wkin he is threefold, he is the third

-nlen (Kor. Kam. -lan) with numerals form collective terms.

Chukchee  Kor. Kam.  
enne'nlen enn'anlan a single one
ni'renlen niya'dlan two together
ni'rug'nlen niyo'glen three together
ni'rua'nlen naya'qlan four together

§ 124
§ 125. Modal Adverbs.

Modal adverbs are formed by means of the inclusive affix n(i)-eu, (Kor. Kam. n(i)-au) (see p. 810.) These forms are parallel to the adjective form n(i)-qin (see § 49).

nime'leu well (Kor. Kam. nima'la'u) stem Ch.mel (Kor. Kam. mał) nime'la'u qavala'è be kind (to us) a common form of prayer. nimei'neu qavu'len a'ttin he made a great promise, a dog 101.21 nû'mkeu ki'wiwi nî'nelqin the nights passed (there) became many 108.8 (ki'wiwi is sing.; nû'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'mlax deep) me'taq far (adjective me'calax distant) klî'jhiq shallowly (adjective k'l'i'jhlax shallow)

Note.—I have found a few forms in Kamchadal which correspond to Koryak forms:

n'mi'ta (Kor. Kam. n'mi'tau) warily (adjective n'mi'tqin) nu'ra' far.

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

a'tqêuma (Kor. Kam. atënau regular) badly R 62.72 (stem ö'qâ, Kor. Kam. atâ; adjective form e'tqin, Kor. Kam. a'tcîn) me'tcên'kî (meč < mel good; en'kî there) well 67.22 me'tcên'ku-wa'â-lê-ûm I am a fairly good one 114.34. Here meč does not assume ablaut (see p. 763) me'rîn'â slowly (stem-nî; adjective form nî'nîqin slow)

A number of synthetical bases are used as adverbs, either without any change or mostly with added -i,-qi,-akî,-èti which are locative and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with va'în (Kor. Kam. i'talâ'în), (see § 76).

As adverbs they always have the ablaut, those without suffix as well as those with the suffix -i,-qi, although the locative generally is used without ablaut.

Adverbs without suffixes are—

ô'ra openly 121.30; stem ûrg (Kor. Kam. o'ya'n) (see p. 862.) oma'ka (Kor. Kam. oma'ka Kor. 61.2) together; stem ûmêkê
ye’ta in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem yidg
a’lva (Kor. Kam. a’lvan) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem elve
(Kor. Kam. alva)

With suffix -ki, -qi

tê’ki of cylindrical form; stem tik.
koulo’qi (Kor. Kam. ko’lön) round; stem kuwl.
a’rkîi (Kor. Kam. aykicâ) aslant, stem arki (Kor. Kam. akykî)
a’rkîi qata’ê (Kor. Kam. ay’kicâ qata’wan) more aslant!
ve’ti truly 120.24 (ve’tê 107.8); stem veth
evê’tire straight (irregular); stem vêth (adjective form nuve’thâqên)
gê’mo without my knowledge; ge’mu 103.5 (Kor. Kam. a’mu Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem -(t)hem not to know.

rathêma’un without my knowledge 11.9. The affix re—gu is causative.
gêwe’ti without my knowledge 120.37; stem -(t)hiu not to know; allative.
pulhirra’ki flatly; stem pilhirri
apaqâ’î (n) (Kor. Kam. apaqâ’î) face downward; stem apaqaUi. pî’tvî, pitva’ki double; stem pîtv
ê’miya(n), ēmpâ’ki downcast; stem ēmp
tî’mla, timla’ki close to; stem tyml
yê’chi(n), yêcha’ki uninterrupted, stem yêch
and several others.

Those with the suffix -éti, -qti express a diminished intensity of the adverbial term:

ceutê’ti somewhat low; stem ciut
qaie’qti somewhat lazy; stem qaîi
yerge’ti somewhat foolish; stem yurq
1
gêwrêqti somewhat hasty; stem qjwri
tanê’ti somewhat better; stem ten

All these forms combined with -va’lin (Kor. Kam i’talan) are commonly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix ti’ñki quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

trîk-a’tqêuma quite badly
trîk-áé’tqîlpe with great hurry
trîkri-me’rinře quite slowly

1 See also yorgêlu-wa’telhîn a foolish one 65.3.
Some others may form diminitives, as—

*kitkinnvu'qai* very little 118.6
*qaiqaqan'qai* a trifle more 106.6.
*t'tmeeqai* very near 100.15
*vi'n'veqai* very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čt'mīčε 103.9 near</td>
<td>čt'mīčε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'a 113.20 far</td>
<td>ya'wak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'ai, ya'aičε 119.29 in the rear.</td>
<td>ya'wak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atto'ol in the front, earlier; atto'ol 8.7 in the front, down the coast</td>
<td>atto'ol Kor. 39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girollo'1 68.35; girollo'qa 123.7 above</td>
<td>girollo', girollo'ča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in'til below</td>
<td>in'til</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'uda-kāči'pā from below 131.5</td>
<td>ē'uda-kāči'pā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma' on the right hand</td>
<td>ma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'čta-k, ē'čta-kču; stem ē'čta, on the left side</td>
<td>ē'čta-k, ē'čta-kču; stem ē'čta, on the left side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro'ten-k 52.11; stem ročči on the other shore</td>
<td>ročči Kor. 58.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'rgi, stem ha'rgi outside</td>
<td>ha'rgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'mni inside</td>
<td>o'mni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omničko'pā from within 59.9</td>
<td>omničko'pā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'mi where (is it) 81.16</td>
<td>ē'mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'čina, ē'činaq near the surface</td>
<td>ē'čina, ē'činaq near the surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'nau straight ahead</td>
<td>ra'nau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ć'mīa close by</td>
<td>ć'mīa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'čiti both sides, on all sides 129.24</td>
<td>ha'čiti both sides, on all sides 129.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rima'γi farther on, beyond</td>
<td>rima'γi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'čiti side by side</td>
<td>a'čiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em-nu'kši inland 112.6</td>
<td>em-nu'kši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu'rti on the back</td>
<td>wu'rti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'qaus in the presence</td>
<td>ya'qaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riapanu'k (ri-pa'nu-u-k; ri-u causative) opposite to 100.28</td>
<td>riapanu'k (ri-pa'nu-u-k; ri-u causative) opposite to 100.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamle'li around</td>
<td>kamle'li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am-liqu'ułt back to back</td>
<td>am-liqu'ułt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye'čir halfway 109.1</td>
<td>ye'čir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rinere' askance</td>
<td>rinere'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolmu'ki across; stem wulme</td>
<td>wolmu'ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulde'lči lengthwise</td>
<td>bulde'lči</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de'če along</td>
<td>de'če</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'tt, qa'ta close to (see § 100.26)</td>
<td>qa'tt, qa'ta close to (see § 100.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai'qepšu windward 111.10 (eig odor coming with the wind; -epš ablative)</td>
<td>ai'qepšu windward 111.10 (eig odor coming with the wind; -epš ablative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and *verbal* stems, or with the locative of the noun.

---

1 The form ročči to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

§ 126
nuwolvénana'tvægén across sitting was carried 145.3 (nu—gin nominalizing prefix; wulu across; ineñe to sit on a sledge; tva to be)
gä mêmega'gna in my presence
eulét'el-valin of elongated shape 91.15
ya'rau-liha'ninnga-valin to the houses from the other side
being 11.7
të'rki-irgo'lt at sunrise 104.16
va'am-girgo'gě'gti up river 119.14
kamlé'li—ya'rak around the tent 104.20
yoro'wti kamle'lt sleeping room all around 12.10 (yoro'wti allative)
ve'emiš va'ės qa'ča he lived close to the river 122.8
Nota'rmëŋača close toNota'rmëň 121.10

§ 127. Temporal Adverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor.</th>
<th>Kamechadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti' te</td>
<td>ti'ta Kor. 27.7</td>
<td>vte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'n'ki</td>
<td>e'ńki Kor. 39.2</td>
<td>knæn, nür</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en'rite'q</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bë'mnä 19.1</td>
<td>gi'mlan Kor. 84.11 tėnæx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr'tkä-lumna</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'not 43.9</td>
<td>ya'not</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye'p</td>
<td>ye'ppe</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'le 7.1</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teleye'p 112.20</td>
<td>anķryep</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tite'ep</td>
<td>titoo'n</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi'nmił 83.19</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>ûne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giṃmye'p</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'gt 21.1; 36.9</td>
<td>a'čhi Kor. 30.9 neńn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'vəe</td>
<td>a'vəwe Kor. 78.26 a'činęk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aivend-a'p</td>
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<td>eral ad-verbial;</td>
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<td>pič'p Kor. 14.11</td>
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<td>qoño Kor. 70.14</td>
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A number of these are adverbial phrases:

quili'ninek at something else (from quili some, ni'kek see p. 731).
golé-t-álo' another day
imîrli'net all days
rguš'tik on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

irgatš'ts towards to-morrow
irguš'thapš from to-morrow

Others, like lâmña again, yanot at first, do not take post-positions.

Seasons of the year, sections of the day and night are expressed by the locative—

wulqatvi'k in the evening time 120.3 (wulq darkness -tvi to attain a certain quality §110, 68)
lâle'ńkî in the winter 51.1 (stem làlëń)
irgiro'k at dawn (irg dawn; -ru: phenomena of nature (§110, 71)

Following are some examples of their use.

**yep** still

yep wulkwu ya'rańı na'gąm but the tent was still stone 107.11
yep irgiro'ka while (the day) was not yet dawning 56.8
mu'ńkri relqυ va'ma yep while he is still in the inner room 135.15
telen-ye'p in olden times 61.5
telen-yę'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5
yep e'čiń not yet

§ 127
**gi'nmilkin** lately

e'nmen lu'ur gi'nmilkin ro'o then there was the one who had lately been eaten 35.9

me'melqai gi'nmilkin eni'n trmyo' yarro'nên the seal he had lately killed, he put in his bosom 43.8

gi'nmilkin lo'o the one recently seen 104.8–

**pe'nin(e)** as before

pe'nin nima'xenqana'cin of large size as before 20.5

pe'nin eni'n i'gitkin lu'iqâl it was his face as before 77.14

pe'nin tautawa'ti'lin as before he barked 104.13

peninei'-git lei'wu'li-git from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12

pa'nêna relelewe'urkin will you as before do wrong? 20.12–21.1

pa'nêna nikirma'ti'gen he was as before extending his hands 47.8

qan've'r e'nmen irga'tik pa'nêna wulqâti'i at this time then in the morning it became as before dark 54.9

go'ongan panêna'qù genlete'tü that to the former (place) is carried 133.2

Koryak:

assa'kin pa'nin gayo's'olen the one of the other day (who) before had found him Kor. 52.6

pa'nena . . . ga'npi len another time he stuffed it in Kor. 15.6

qa'wun pani'ta mi'kînak nayamata'ge though some time thou wilt marry some one Kor. 78.17

pa'ninawü vaça'pyi'nu . . . the scars of former times Kor. 86.1

**čit** FORMERLY

a'men čit gûmu'w-či'mgući a'ga'-rkîla gene'l-i-âm before this, in my own mind, I have become one who can hardly be pursued 17.6

enqa'n ui'nä čit e'nñkälin that one formerly had no spirits 60.1

čit vai ke'le eč'aka'ata nilei'wuqin formerly there ke'le wandered outside 61.6

gailo'qum čit kime'k me'cen'ku-wa'l-êum in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34

čit âm wutkeinei'-gûm formerly I belonged to this place 97.10

quiele'i'n čit one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11

čit mitu'ren'mîk éli ge'nû ni'rû-mu'ri before we were born to father, we two R44.2–3

The following example seems to refer to the future:

čit xëgiqai'gûpu ta'at e'un ui'nä after some time they passed by the father's place and (there was) nothing 109.34–35

**tele** in olden times

**tele** e'nmen . . . nàqûliši'tqinet in olden times, then they were at war 7.1

§ 127
pe'Le soon
naqa'm pe'Le nàmqitvi'qin but soon it decreased in size 20.2
pe'Le newu'ttn topa'wkwē soon the bitch was 104.7

a'čhi va'n this time
ačhi va'n go'npū mala'ti this time it grew much better Kor. 20.5-6
e'čhi-van ti'nmnn this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13
ačhi va'n gaye'm this time not Kor. 54.3 (see also Kor. 20.5; 54.3)

a'čhi just now (i. e. before a little while)
a'čhi ni'w-i-gi qanga'tyikin now you said, "it burns" Kor 30.9
ačhi'kin neneneye'ye-ge? wert thou looking for it just now?
Kor. 49.8-9
ačhi'ču-ai'ňaka now do not cry! Kor. 60.7
See also Kor. 68.13

§128. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions, Chukchee.

On the following pages I give a list of adverbs and conjunctions without attempting to differentiate between the two groups. The meaning of many of the adverbial or connective particles is so uncertain that a division seems hardly possible. Many of them have such nice shades of meaning that they can not be rendered adequately in English.

The use of such particles is much more extended in Chukchee than in Koryak. In Kamchadal most of the particles, particularly most conjunctions have been lost and replaced by Russian loan-words.

The particles occur frequently in groups as will be seen for instance in the use of ľm, elo'n, a'men, etc. Some are always postpositional and tend to unite phonetically with the word they modify (see examples under ľm)

ľm, ľm, -m an emphatic adverb. It is always postpositional and seems to emphasize the word to which it is attached

Following nouns:
enξa'q ne'us'qit ľm . . . ganra'gtalen then the woman . . . took it home 28.5-6
penyo'λhun ľm nlete'yi the hearth blazed up 32.3
wξr'ξr'ξn ľm vai ge'pkivin the noise reached there 32.13
rξp ξξhun ľm ei'ξin geñe'wänä the old father and his wife 33.9

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Enqa'ñ e'ño'ki erre'è ne'us'qát, . . . gora'k ùm uwää'quë there was
only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the hus-
band 51.9–10
uwää'quëcitë ùm by the husband 39.6
yorou'tì ùm to the sleeping room 39.10

Following pronouns:
vo'tqan ùm vai this one here 45.12
Enqa'ñ ùm vi'n'vi te'rqlin this one who was weeping secretly 49.1
gümna'ñ ùm I 137.1

Following verbs:
teqe'lignin ùm a'mi she made a cap too 28.8
ye'tti-m vai she came there 29.13
gapletë't ùm gora'ñi the reindeer fell down 51.6
guq, gemi's'qalin ùm, a'ni it is deep! 53.1
məpela'a'rñ ùm let us leave it 53.1

The emphatic ùm appears frequently in combination with other
particles. Examples of these will be found on the following pages.

I'mI also, furthermore,
1'mi am-vryë'irqä q'ilhin naranauño'ñin furthermore, by only
breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4-5
iq'i i'mi yei'velqäi ku'likä rala'i'vññoi furthermore, from now
on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10
imi nownou'ln in e'le wu'tku epki'rκälin q ü'nünk not even a
hair here would reach me 93.6
iq'i i'mi Nota's'qa-Varqin nara'taro'ñin from now on,
furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2
Enqa'qat qe'ilqäiteet i'min they also were sleeping 55.2

Ina'ñ exhortative particle
pu'ru ma'n wo'tqan va'le mi'ilhir in exchange let me give thee
this knife 15.12 (see also 93.30; 103.31; 104.3)
ma'n am-taaro'ña qätü'qiki no'ta-ma'irqitkon only with sacri-
fices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2
le'uti-tele'n ma'n nanwa'qea'ñ let the head-sufferer be seated!
45.11

In the following example ma'n appears with the future:
ma'n tre'etyä mét-ää'gälpe I shall come quickly 45.9-10

The following are probably derived from the demonstrative
stem en-

E'nikkit all at once
na'qam E'nikkit po'i'ga niti'npuqëñ ùm but all at once they struck
him with a spear 36.2

§128
In most cases *e'nikit* appears in coordinate clauses and may be translated as soon as:

*e'nikit* *ribu'tku* then all at once he moved 16.5
*e'nikit* *uwi'k krip'tiken* (as soon as) he struck the body (i.e. himself) 35.11
*e'nikit* *ūm naramata'git* (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9–10
*e'nikit* *gai'mi'ern nīqite'ān* (as soon as) they looked upon the wealth 107.16
*e'nikit* *reci'pe'tyā* (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22
*e'nikit* *ne'rgra'rn ilule't yi* as soon as he was loose he stirred 102.25
*e'nikit* *gite' nin* . . . as soon as he looked on it 23.9

*Enna'n* in like manner

*En'ra'q* then (see under *e'nmen*)

*Enqana'ta* therefore (instrumental of *enqa'n*, by that)

*Enqana'ta* *e'nqu tilgi'rkinet* therefore I gave them up R46.39
*Enqana'ta* *no'ē-ē-ūm genie'i-i-ūm* therefore I become poor R45.28
*gaño'twey-gūm* *enqana'ta* *go'n pu* therefore I became quite poor R45.28
*Enqana'ta* *ilva'-nata'git* titēgge'nirkin therefore I wish for the wild reindeer country R46.52
*Enqana'ta* *cauçuwa'-ra'mkirha a's'ttin nīggi'pqin* therefore the reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

*En'ke'mir, En'qe'mir, En'ke'mir e'ur* moreover (see also *ačhe' mira*)

*En'qe'mir* *e'ur a'go'-ra'mkirhin yas'rat* moreover, they are very bad people R 53.20–21

*En'qam* then (see under *e'nmen*)

*En'ñata'l* this time.

*En'ñata'l* *ūm li'iti'hi-gir* from now on I shall know thee 93.21
*En'ñata'l* *enqa'n ru'nin* this time she ate 90.6
*En'ñata'l* *aŋqanqadaŋti ... ri'ntininet* this time she threw them seaward 49.6
*En'ñata'l* *kirvete'ru qinetet'i kitik* from now on jostle me! (literally with elbow jostling do me) 61.3
*En'ñata'l* *ūm revis'ntik* this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19
*En'ñata'l* *ūm gahlégam'stvatik* of that you may eat your fill 65.31
*En'ñata'l* *ūm ga'sqāče'wkwi* this time he did it in earnest 83.20
*En'ñata'l* *ūm bu-ra'wēlan* this time they were real people 84.29
*En'ñata'l* *ūm i'ppe gina'n i'me rāx'nut em-ginri'tā nine'ni'git* this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20
*En'ñata'l* *ūm na'nmirkīn-e-git* this time he will kill you 114.32
*En'ñata'l* *enqa'n ērrētāe gin* this time it is ended R4.50

§128
'nkri gratis

En'ñi'n' thus

nuqopitwa'qen en'ñi'n' iri'ñiku he remained crouching thus in his coat 7.4
En'ñi'n' um han nipi'u'riqin thus that one plunged along 8.11-12
qagno'pqe'... en'ñi'n' crouch down thus 32.4
.e'le en'ñi'n' va'la iñenu'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

En'ñi'i thus

e'n'ñi-wa'ñ-e-git such a one art thou 70.25
En'ñi-wa'ñ-te'rtê such are you 106.28

E'nñot thus

ni'wkwâ'n e'nñot they spoke thus 78.4
ti'wkwâk e'nñot I say thus 15.8

Elo'n emphatic particle

gik elo'n oh! 10.1
elo'n qinni'ku ne'lyâst now they became (our) game 12.2
gik, e'nmen ñupe'ätí. elo'n re'mkin tumge'wkwíi oh, they landed.
Now the people became friendly 14.1
elo'n en'ñu-wa'ñ-e-git such a one art thou 21.11
elo'n miriw'kwut-git let us bind thee 23.8
ia'm elo'n ten'ñe'urkin why doest thou laugh? 30.3
elo'n nara'nmiqgit they will kill thee 37.10
elo'n vai triy'urkin-i-git this one I give thee 104.1
elo'n gina'ñ elo'n Püü'ñh-i-git thou art Rheum 103.21
i'git um elo'n but now! 123.18
Here belongs also—
e'milono somewhere 97.23; 121.1 (<emi-elo'n)
e'milona'nin (augmentative of e'milono) 43.6

awe'tuwaq suddenly, at once

awe'tuwaq ¿ukwë'tyi suddenly he left R 13.27
ylg-awe'tuwaq ñaus'qati'ñin orgü'tkini kenema'nnen at once
he tied the girl to the sledge R 13.23

a'men üm elo'n expresses displeasure, somewhat like German
"aber doch" without disjunctive meaning.
gik, a'men üm elo'n notas'qat'wkwë' Oh, the land is near 8.8
("aber das Land ist doch nahe")
gug, a'men üm elo'n ñi'mquk pëla'arkin oh, some are leaving 8.9.
gug, a'men üm elo'n ... re'mkin quinunre'lyâ' oh, the people will come 10.3-4

gug, a'men üm elo'n minuwurkin-i-git let us tie thee 20.9; see also 23.13
a'mEn ʷəm elo'n e'tq'ə nintewimin'ge't-i-um  I was badly tortured by them 21.9
a'mEn ʷəm elo'n Nota's'qa-Va'ir ga'qwa ʷəkwiə I am told by the Ground-Beings 23.11-12
qaq, elo'n ʷəm a'men ga'mga-vargə'pə timete'wkwaŋ among all beings I could not do it 18.9
elo'n ʷəm a'men, wotqanai'wi'ni elo'n garagêcha'len that big one, what has the bad one done! 31.9
a'men ʷəm elo'n wot uvət'qucitə ai'mak em e't'lu gete'i'kilin this husband made the whole carcass into excrement 81.11
a'mEn ʷəm elo'n re'us'qät-i-qrə so you are the woman 136.15

a'mEn  seems to introduce an unexpected event—and then unexpectedly—or to introduce an entirely new idea, to which emphasis is given 40.4; 41.12.
a'mEn ʷəm e'nmen pənyol'hin nuurgugeteqəjən and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8
e'nmen ʷəm uvət'qal'ul ə'men ʷəm nivətəd'qen wulh-z'raqavə a'men ʷəm vai li'i-teŋ-evirəlin then the man, the husband, was standing there unexpectedly with a little thin fur shirt, unexpectedly really well clothed 33.2
also 24.1; 29.11; 33.11; 39.3, 4, 5; 38.9, 11; 81.1; 88.8
am, a'mEn oh! (another idea) 56.8
—, a'mEn-! 58.7
a'men-ʷəm 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'mEnanam (= a'mEn-ʷəm 15.10)
a'mEn ʷəm hot! such a one 98.33
a'mEn ʷəm elo'n 8.8, 9; 10.3; 39.1, 13; 41.6; 64.1; 81.11; elo'n ʷəm a'men 31.9 (see under elo'n) it should not be expected, but a'men ʷəm qarə'ən 16.9; a'men qarəm but I will not! 16.1
a'mEn ʷəm naqa'əm 39.4; na'qam a'men 63.11; however venli'i ʷəm a'men 40.7

a'mI
tepe'ligni'ni ʷəm a'mI she made a cap too 28.8
nananaga'qei'ni'ni ʷəm a'mI geggeul'in the little child awoke 55.3
telenye'p ʷəm a'mI long ago 61.5-6
kirqa'n ʷəm a'mI . . . well (if you had found him) 121.4

a'nI an emphatic particle (?)
e'nmen a'ni qənu'r qən nute's'qən then certainly just like ground 8.6
e'nmen a'ni qilu'tkəlin then she practised shamanism 39.7 (see also 39.8, 9; 40.4; 102.15; 104.35; 105.2, 15; 109.32)
gečenite'lin ʷəm a'ni she was startled 29.6-7

§128
genpe'ulín ūm a'NR he became quite decrepit 107.26
a'NR, ge'iltkoi'vulín u'kkäm so they distributed vessels 14.1
a'NR, gi'lu'tkulin he beat the drum 107.9
a'NR, getripie'ulín he continued to sing 102.17
a'NR a'ttau for no particular object 30.4
a'NR qv'nü'n, ganto'è' 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', lo'e'wø (to no purpose, only) in order to be looked at 19.2
(also 19.6; 23.1; 30.4; 48.12; 125.1,6)
ata'um ni'rgipa'tqën to no purpose was he discussed 15.7
gi'ë'nkelisy-grir, a'ttau it is your (own) tattooed face; (you act) to
no purpose 77.8
atau' qrgr'o'l-qla'ulo nine'lhäqin for no particular reason he
takes it for the man above 124.6–7
guq, attau'-qun o'rgoor ye'taqätí'grin just get (your) sledge ready
105.20 (see also 119.18)
e, qu'nä, a'ttau oh, well, it does not matter 78.7
guq, attau' gumy'k oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down) 78.24

ächë'miri, ächë'miri-ñ-e'ur moreover (see also en'ke'mir)

al'imi disjunctive
al'imi alo'ka'gti va'le-ūm although I am invisible 22.10
al'imi va'le ra'galqal however, there is no need of the knife 57.4
ka'ko, al'imi inelw'kalinet he has not seen them anyway 70.32
ya'am tile'lit al'imi lu'ur nan titqä'nninet but it swallowed them
71.3
al'imi quwalomärken ūm vé'tr do obey! 88.10
al'imi ene'nulín however, he was a shaman 105.1
al'imi kamgra'ñoi he really gave a start 101.16–17

al-lë'mña expresses surprise (see lë'mña)
g.uq, a-lë'mña qai've git oh, is that so, is it thou? 97.13
a-lë'mña is that so? 121.1; 125.7
a-lë'mña no'on me'nin who was here? 109.21

a'qälpe quickly 122.2

ei'uk, ai'ok

ma'n ai'ok ne'utte'pik trenurete'ur let me in due time make it
appear (be born) through a female dog 121.31
qik, qm'tk ei'uk ekalu'k oh, in due time (I see) thee at last 19.4
en'qa'm ma'n ai'ok . . . re'ëtyä' then after a while . . . he shall
come 83.5–7

Also 118.20

§128
e'un seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.

mi'ñkri, e'nnen, ge'mge-ni'kin ni'ngüi nena'gtoqen, e'un navis'qin how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8 ni'lha ge'wkulien e'un ninenipe'tqätet with thongs he is tied and he breaks them 20.9
e'ur pûki'rgi e'un nelk'ñkä't then she came and they had gone abroad 31.2
e'ur ngqa'n üst'tvet geti'neñeñin, e'un gepl'tkuleet and that boat was loaded and they had finished 31.1
qagno'ppë . . . e'un e'e'pkä sit with head bent down . . . and do not look 32.4–5

"en-ne' e'e'pkä," e'un wale'mgë "Do not look!" and she obeyed e'un ninëviqin and they cut it 72.18
e'un gepelgärueceu'linet ne'wanti and their wives had become decrepit with age 72.29
çeg-alvam-va'lit, e'un r'pe kele'tä gyaot'laat how very extraordinary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8
e'nnen e'un k'ñ'ki nitva'qen i'me-rä'x'xu nut and then there was everything 106.32
e'un yara'no ninëlqin and it became a house 107.14
gik; rpe't äm e'un! (now they are coming!) 11.10
gik, nege'm e'un qarë'm e'un, gik oh, but it was not there 27.11
gai'midin nigite'qin, e'un kukwa't-koko'nalhin they looked at the wealth and all was turned into dry leaves 107.16

NOTE: Not to be confounded with the prefix e'un- actual, principal, as in e'un-ne'lwü principal herd; a'un-gëta'gti just in their sight 83.28

eur, eur-üm is connective and with the added connotation at that time; it always refers to two events taking place at the time.

ra'gtia't, en'qa'm e'ur bümënëna'zë they went home, and at the same time he also followed 120.26

e'ur girgirona'len, a'ttwilä ničamitaqen at that time the dawn came, (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9
e'ur rirka'ata i'uniin, "E'ur yl'qä narayö'git, muru'wميل gaiñe'i" at that time the walrus said to him, "At the time when sleep overtakes you, roar like we (do)" 10.6

e'ur äm qörrad'at, Aiwhuanpinad'āqai gi'ulin at the time when they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island man said 11.10
a'ttwu-ye'ńki nigite'qin, e'ur äm geyi'reqin they looked into the canoe and at that time it was full 67.6

e'ur is used also quite frequently as conditional.
'ur Iumetu'n u ni'tyä, rin'e'newkwa at the time when you are Iumetu'n, you shall make me black 23.6 (= if you are the same); also 24.2

kita'm e'ur li'ë-va'rin̓k̓i qanau'tin-ë-git, vai u'mk̓i qagt'i'g̓i'n this time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring a polar bear 110.5

i'tik e'ur tegge'n̓ir̓k̓i, gina'n bi'm̓a'ut̓a if actually you want it, do as you please

eu̱a'm̓a < e'ur lá'm̓a or, or again eu̱a'm̓a e'kk̓ı or again the son R 23.88

but e'ur lüm̓a 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't̓a e'ur gël̓u'ti'r̓gi̱k̓ut̓a with blowing or with scratching the head 126.7

ilh-a'xt̓̓t̓in e'un, e'ur um uñeč'i'č̓̓hin also the white dog and the thong-seal 102.29; also 97.18

also 8.7; 9.2; 21.6; 31.1, 2, 3; 98.9

NOTE: Between proper names, instead of the connective e'ur, the plurals of the personal pronouns may be used.

Gi'thilm e'rr̓i Tha'ir̓g̓in gënevtu'mg̓a Sunset and Dawn are connected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they Dawn)

mu'ri Qla'ul I and Qla'ul (lit. we Qla'ul)

epl̓e'un

ki'tam qun epl̓e'un li'i eñeñ̓itu've well, did he really obtain shamanistic power? 18.4

ëwkur̓ga, ëwkur̓ga-m however

ëwkur̓ga tu'mgit̓um wi'n̓a however, companion none (i.e. my companion is not with me) 11.1

ëwkur̓ga ginenèñ̓̃t̓ew-i-git however, you have frightened me 15.10

ëwkur̓ga tilv-a'mi̱n̓an tren̓e'l̓h̓̑a (if I do so) however, I shall be all alone 31.13–32.1

ëwkur̓ga Nota's'qa-Va'ir̓ga nênanw̓éthawa't̓q̓ê̱n however, the Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9
egei', ëwkur̓ga ca'mam all right, however, (it will be) in vain 108.30

ëwkur̓ga-m còtol̓è̱u o'ò̱̱ nine'l̓h-i-um, however, that under my pillow I have for my leader 128.13
éwokurga-m iło'n vai niternéce'nqin however, he does much violence 66.26
See also 45.7; 66.14; 79.20; 84.6; 85.8

e'pte likewise, in the same manner
gän've'r kime'k éna'nmui² e'pte qüm at this time almost you killed me likewise 121.16, 17
attaau a's'ttu milhi'a'n e'pte qüm simply as a dog I'll use it (I) likewise 135.20–21
e'pte gnmni'g-gili'lit ne'mágái grna'ñ nêna'nmé-git likewise the game procurers also thou has killed 44.9–10
a'men ñm elo'n e'pte qüm mña'u'trngašk let me likewise take a wife R12.8

emite't at once, just now
emite't ñm nuvwé'nintaag I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see 32.2 emite't ñm in final position
emite't ñm tê'rqiln ra'qal ñn even thus crying for what? 27.12
qug, emite't ñm ev'i'rt qâti'kiginet oh, at once clothing make! 49.4
emite't-ñm trpê'la'nat urme'lqinet I just left them in safety (= good ones) 53.4
emite't-ñm ataa'ñkëlin tê'rqiln they did not touch the one who cried, (so at once . . .)
emite't ñm qaŋti'qën bring it at once 111.3
emite't-ñm trqite'äñ I looked on her 88.30

e'ti evidently, probably.
e'ti m vai nripa'tqênat ven'va'ki evidently they cooked them secretly 9.9
e'ti nü'tenut minnéi'meuqwë'n evidently we are approaching land 9.11
e'ti am gemge-nute'qin evidently from every country 11.4
e'ti a'men kuwi'cin tre'tyë'n evidently I brought Children's Death 20.1
e'ti ke'lek qâli'ketyi² evidently thou wilt marry a kele 26.2
ë'ti wu'tku evidently he is here! 125.2
e'ti niro'rgari there many have been three 97.26
elo'n ñm ë'ti evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) 31.10; 108.22

ê'tilin necessarily
ëto—
esto'qai'a'qan ripkire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4
ë'nmen esto'qai'a'qan ñm gre'lgï after a while he vomits 136.24–25
gài'vë-maë-ëto'pël indeed I am a little better 135.7–8

§ 128
erre' č git ētō'pěł thou art most fit 135.19
ētō'pěł en'ki iwkući'is she better drank then (i.e. she could
drink then) 37.4
ē'toqon wo'tqan qāimi'tqam will you take this one?
ē'toqon mirrenul'ergi'git shall we bury thee rather in the ground?
R 60.23
e'nmen, en'qam, en'ra'q then, coordinating conjunctions. Of
these e'nme'n seems to express the most definite temporal
sequence, en'qam a closer temporal connection, while en'ra'q
should be translated in turn and indicates a still closer con­
nection. It seems to depend upon the liveliness of the narra­
tive which of these three is used. The first one is the most
frequent connective conjunction, although a constant use of
en'qam is not rare 62.6 et seq.

The difference between e'nmen and en'qam appears most clearly
when their use alternates; as in the following examples.
en'qam enqa'n Umqāqā'i'má rilhindiğiwe'nnin ne'usqāt. e'nmen
lu'ur e'gripgi At that time U'mqāqā'i pointed with his finger
at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7-8
en'qam enqa'n Umqāqā'i'nti gegintev'ilinet; e'nmen q̲u't̲t̲ır̲g̲i̲n
q̲a̲'at nerri'net at that time U'mqāqā'i and his people fled; then
the others untied the reindeer 63.10-11
en'qam nite'gī̲q̲ī̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄
eʹnmeč because
vaʹnēvan niʹtvunėn, eʹnmeč ũm nayilhauʹnėn she did not tell him
anything because she feared his anger 88.22–23
vaʹnēvan niʹtvunėn sien nam em eʼun pukiʼrGI yanar garančėmaunlėn uwaʹqIuchi when she
came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10–11
eʹnmeč ũm ran eʼchi wulqātiʼI, kenkeleʼn nin because of this,
before evening came, he made her descend 97.5–6
eʹnmeč aqalpe because of this, hurry up!
eʹnmeč gepluʼtkulin and already it is finished
she did not tell him anything because she feared his anger 98.22–23
when she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10–11
because of this, hurry up!
eʹnmeč gepluʼtkulin and already it is finished
already I soil my trousers 94.19
already you shall have me for a servant 95.7, also 95.15

eceʹnur ecuʹur
eceʹnur vintuwaʻlin it shall be (this way) a well trained one 24.6
eceʹnur . . . veimeʹnu nereʻlhin in it shall be (this way) one who
is kindly treated 25.8–9
qgu, eceʹnur qēta quleʻtik it shall be this way! (you shall) move
on slowly 65.28
ecuʹur yep vai atēngaʻtka vai yeqteʻlet it shall be this way! as yet
without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40

ečhi before
ecer rasqēwūnoʻaẽt eɪ t nepiʼrirkin qlaʼulqai before they could
enter they attacked the man 85.15
ecer yilqāʼtyät qantoʻlėn before they had gone to sleep he went
out 8.4
echer eimeʼwkwii ʻrqiroʻnnoi 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—
ecer pelqanteʼerkin . . . gapēkagaʻtlen when about to come
back, she fell down 97.20
echer eɪ t qamistvarkin luʻur piʼrinin when she was about to eat,
after that she caught her 87.12
eʹnmen echer reʻnulā teˈqgrkinin luʻur iwkwi before it approached the dawn
came 10.10

elhileʹńki in case, if
elhileʹńki relvʼėnin in case you should see him

erreʻc only
erreʻc qun neʻekik an only daughter R 12.10
erreʻc engaʼn neʻekik (there was) only that daughter 28.2
erreʻc niroʼrgari there were only three of them 34.3
naqam erreʻc yilvil ruʼrkinin he eats only tongues 49.3

¢ 128
erre’ć um am-gitka’t gengu’linet only just the legs were left 51.4
erre’ć ai’kolak molı’yınım um on the bedskins was only blood 56.4–5
erre’t-te’qım limit of end (i.e. it is the end); from -teqım limit (only
in compounds) 64.2
erre’ć mi’mıl, yat’rat mi’mıl nine’uqin a’mkınico only water,
verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

eke’In but (weaker than naqa’m)
eke’In git nrur’l-i-git; gi’newän um gümna’n me’den’ki tre’ntrim
but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well

ekālu’k

qin’k ei’uk ekālu’k at last for thee 19.4

ekeña’n, ećena’n I wish I could (with subjunctive b)

ekena’n gümna’n tṛpi’reān I wish I could take it

eke’upō'I and now, but now

ek’upō’t tril’tkurkin and now I am finishing it

ia’m > Iyam why 19.5

ia’m əto’n ten’ne’urkin why are you laughing 30.3

ia’m pegçi’nu nine’lhu-qir ora’vēzam why doest thou meddle with
man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11

ia’m gemge’-qin’k qo’nmue an why do you kill all the game? 92.32

iu’kā oh if! I wish—
guq, iu’kā qia’a’qan minqam’tvarkin I wish we could eat more
65.4

iu’kā mınpontorkin-ë-git I wish I could eat of your liver! 95.19

iu’kā no’ongan mın’nmurkin I wish we might kill this one 70.22

i’ppe, yı’pe actually
en’qam’ i’ppe mūki’r’yın . . . qata’lēn then actually very
many . . . moved 11.7

en’nata’l um i’ppe qma’n this time it is really thou 93.20

e’un i’pe kele’tā gayos’laat now really kele visit them 106.8
i’pe-qun really 45.3

gum, gu’nā hī’i-i’ppe ti’urkin I, indeed, quite truly say 57.2

i’ttik

i’s’tik a’men ārunte’erkin in reality thou desirest 24.11
garē’men ora’vēzam, i’s’tik um ke’lē (she is) not a human being,
in reality she is a ke’lē 29.9

garē’men i’s’tik lū’muil this is not a real myth 61.5

gik, attau’ i’s’tik um ti’lu’ān in vain, if in reality I had seen
him 121.6

galos’cima’-morē i’s’tik um in reality we have met 121.23

§ 128
Nota's'qa-Va'irga leule'wu inè'lhiiś li'en iš'tik the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1
li'en iš'tik amniś'ërmëla qa'umik rìike'urkin qarë'm mìlamalà'n-noašk just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10
iš'tiq la'mëna Tño'tirgè-git in reality again, thou art Tño'irgën iš'tiq la'mëna gailhëna'n'gët eñe'netvii in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11-12

iš'ñqun lest
nënaio'gën iš'ñqun nere'lu'wënn she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3

... iš'ñqun vai kintaya'n ragno'urkin vë'tt qinnë'k lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3
nivi'ñqinet, tìtìt remlé'gitlì, iš'ñqun nere'lu'wënn he said to them, “You will break the needles!” lest they should look at them 82.12

i'git now
i'git i'mi Nota's'qa-Va'irgin naratàaro'ûnnoùn now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2
qu'num i'git üm mnàra'gëtatyë'n let me now take it home 121.28
i'git-ûm-ûlo'n o'ra tryój'wkut now I have come to thee openly 123.18

ya'not first
go,gé'm üm ya'not oh, I first 43.9

ya'n'ra separately, alone
nitkiù'gën ya'n'ra she passes the nights by herself 28.3

ya't'rat very (sometimes yat'rat)
nitki'ñqinet yat'rat very hot ones 9.9
yat'rat nite'ñqinet very good ones 14.8
nìte'ñqin yat'rat a very pretty one 36.3
eñeñitvì'işt yat'rat he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10
yat'ran nìglo'gën she sorrowed very much 27.10
a'men üm yat'rat verily! 85.2

yaka'n'-kìn probably 9.13

yàggàì a particle giving a slightly emphatic shade to the phrase, like German “ja”
yàggàì en'qa'm pe'le tre'etyàì I'll soon be back (ich werde ja bald wiederkommen) 30.8
yàggàì üm qu'nûm tu'ri qarë'mëna-torë ye are not (human beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4-5
mi'ñkìrì-m-e'un yàggàìí gùmna'n mìlù's'a'n tuwêlva'da'arkin how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll ihn ja finden) 124.3

§ 128
yāqqāi'-nan git trata'ñaś for thee I’ll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38
yāqqāi' ora'wēta-tainatīcha'nil-ē-git you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6
yāqqāi' ūm rā'nut what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3
yāqqāi' ūm yaqtalē'n'vo trye'tyā'k have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26
ye'lī'ī (evidently containing the element li'i TRULY, REALLY, see also u'i'i, venli'i, mitel'i, qāli'i, quc'i'i)
e'nmen ye'lī'ī enqa'n is he the only one? 21.13
eyelī'i gūmna'n rather (let) me (be the one)
Also R 12.7
yu'raq perhaps.
o'po'pe exhortative
o'po'pe garai'-git mīnle'git thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7
o'po'pū mmpa'awkut let us stop! 98.6
o'po'pe mītalāiruut let me give thee a beating R 61.50
o'ptlma like (see Koryak Kamenskoye opta)
o'ra openly
gīna'n gana'qtatya'n o'ra if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30
i'git-ūm-ilo'n o'ra tryo'wkut I have come to thee openly 123.18–19
wu'wūr it seems that
u'rri thus, so
u'rri nāplu'ttii'qin it was so small 20.3
u'rri t'ūkri nāmqitvi'qin thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4
qagno'pqe' ērīcōkō'ū t'ūrri en'ni'n sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4
u'rri ming'ūnūn rr'nnin thus he did (with) his hand 57.10
u'rri nān gīn'i'n . . . thus it is yours . . . 93.9–10
wu'rri thus
na'qān ūm neyule'tqin wu'rri still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3
e'nmen vai wu'rri enqa'n gama'tiñolēn there thus that one dragged her 51.1
enqa'n ena'n ēnī't wu'rri ni'tqin that one there herself was thus 26.9
e'nmen wu'rri puulge'wkwi then he floated thus 77.23
e'nmen s'nukit rilu'iku wu'rri qīrgolə'qti there at once he moved thus upward 16.5
u'nmuk greatly, strongly
§ 128
uL'i in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element li'i REALLY, TRULY; see also yeL'i, venL'i, mitel'i, qal'i, quL'i)

vet'i yaL'ni gamaL'giwu'kwL'en then take also my stone-house 92.4 (in the same way 92.14, 24; 93.3, 8, 18, 26)

vet'i really, truly, very, at once; an intensifying particle

vet'i veime'nu nere'LhuL'in truly friendly he will be treated 25.9

ti giLL'i k'um a'men nenanketwuL'qL'en truly they made game

vet'i nara'nmantik it will kill you at once 70.12

vet'i-m re'w nena'nmuL'gen he killed really (many) whales 73.3

veti-niL'i qal'i he really wanted to die 99.27

veti-ti qiya'arkinat isan do sing it again! 120.24

vetci'in um, velci'in for my part granted!

v'nom

v'nom ergina'n let them (be) 55.11

Also 56.1

v'emva'ki secretly (see vi'n'vi)

venL'i unexpectedly 60.7; 61.2; 69.33 (Bogoras: still, meanwhile, notwithstanding), (containing the element li'i REALLY, TRULY; see also yeL'i, uL'i, mitel'i, qal'i, quL'i)

qal'Ve'L met-kL'i it venL'i k'um a'men rrm'a'gti nineL'qL'in at this time somehow unexpectedly to the other side it came (i.e. nevertheless it came across somehow) 40.7

venL'i leu'ti k'plL'inL'en unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12

gai'Ve teiL'edel'erkin, venL'i aa'komka vL'irkin indeed, I blame him;

unexpectedly he does not obey

na'gam pa'nena venL'i nuurgeimeL'qin but unexpectedly more

thunder approached 69.30

ne'me vumi'pit nmei'netqin venL'i unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18

venL'i ntiu'qin unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15

Also 74.4; 137.13

vele'r, vele'r-um, vele'r um nau at least (Kor. Kam. va'lan) limited qualification of action)

gailokuL'm mi'ukri, vele'r-um wo'tqan indeed, how then, at least this one?

vele'r-um mdagaro'at at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124

vele'r-um yaL'ni gaituLata although a house had been there (lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

§ 128
veler čimeči'lä gënata'gë at least move near! 37.10 (see also 37.9,13)
veler rm mitwé'ha'urkin at least I can talk with thee 32.1
veler'gun, vele's'-gun at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

vi'en < viyen just, simply
tikimče'erkin am, vi'en' mekwête'yë'k I am staying too long, just let me depart
vi'en' pùk'i'rgi' évño'a at he just arrived (and) they began to speak 110.3

go, vi'en' gra'qutik just go home! 45.9
vi'en aa'lomkël-ë-git thou just doest not listen 54.11

vi'n-variation, ven-va'ki secretly 108.14

pila', pilaq apparently, pretending
pila' vi'elin pretending death 82.4; 124.6

plägi' that is all! 107.21 (from stem pl— to finish)

mei, meč, like, somewhat like (see § 113.10, 11).

mei
ka'ko mei oho, there! 14.5

met-ki'tkit, met-ki'it (?)

meč'iči'n besides
i'tkenin um meč'iči' erga'vkwë' he robbed him and ridiculed him besides

mač exhortative particle
mač gümna'n let me be the one!
mač irgina'n let them be the ones! R 62.70
mač'ëman<mač-ëna'n let it be (impersonal)
mač'ëman cei'và let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

mite' of course 121.6

miteli'i undoubtedly (containing the element li'i REALLY, TRULY; see also ye'li'i, uzi'i, venli'i, qali'i, quli'i)
miteli'i tila'nuv va'rkin ri' CHARACTER 64.18
miteli'i ranto'a at undoubtedly she will come out 82.21
miteli'i kitkina'qai rakërga'tya at undoubtedly a small bright spot will appear 118.6

mitiu' (perhaps mithiu') I thought—
mitiu' en'nil-git I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3
mitiu' ke'le-i-git I thought thou wert a kele 15.11
mitiu' um elo'n qägi'pe viri'urkin we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

§ 128
tam, tagam all right!
  ge, tam! oh, all right! 121.28
  gi, tam, a'men! oh, all right then! 84.14
  i, tam! yes, all right 84.19

te'naq if perhaps (always with future)
  te'naq nara'nmis um if perhaps they should kill me

te'ce-ñ how many times
  ne'me te'ce-ñ qiwi've again how many times a year passed (i. e. after several years) 12.8

naqa'm however, but
  u'tte'mil nimayengana'čin naqa'm pe'le nümqitvo'gin like a tree
  was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2
  nara'nmangen na'gam . . . nénalwau'gen they wanted to kill him, but . . . they could not do it 36.1-2.
  na'gam um'ni'uqin ne'me but they ordered him again 59.6
  u'ttágai—na'gam enqa'n gelelu'gülgin it is little piece of wood!—
  But it has whiskers 75.4-5
  na'gam čemi'ngiqt qito'nenat but (this time) she pulled out a pair
  of gloves 111.5-6; also 76.4, 6, 24
  na'gam um is more strongly adversative
    guq, naqa'm um re'qä but with what then? 34.9
    naqa'm um no'ongan but this one 35.1
    na'gam um tew-mu'lin but this one’s blood was good 117.14
    na'gam um nige'truqin but this one was strong 66.20

With a'men it is strongly adversative
  e'nmen qu'ttrgin qa'at pe'regäi nerri'net, na'gam a'men
  Umqägüi'in . . . nénalwau'gën then the others’ reindeer
  quickly were untied, but on the other hand Umqägüi’i’s
  . . . could not 63.11-12
  a'men um naqa'm inpilu'kul-i-git you on the other hand, are
  an old shamanistic practitioner 39.4

naqa'm bümña (literally but again). In this complex the adversative meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean after
all that has happened.
  naqa'm bümña na'wtinge after all, he married 58.7-8
  naqa'm bümña qaa'qołen after all he sat down 98.24
  na'gam bümña inennike'wkuqie after all I am treated thus
  98.28-29
  na'gam bümña čeq-e'čeq after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25-26
  inenpelqu'utkulün um vot, naqa'm bümña he can not be vanquished, after all 114.27
  na'gam bümña ilil ui'nä ne'lyie after all, the rain stopped
  116.11-12

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12——55 §128
naqa'm lu'mña ginni'k reurre'tyä after all that has been
done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:

naqa'm lu'mña awgé'tkrnska nevertheless they did not say
anything 26.6
e'nmen im-nikë'rët nikamagra'qen, naqa'm lu'mña va'glnin
no'mraqen then the whole night he struggled, however
the grass (with which he was tied) was (too) tough (to be
torn) 20.10-11.

It is also used before nominal forms, pronouns, and nomi-

nalized verbs

ki'caxa'tyę na'qam wus'qui'mčiku, na'qam niki'tä he
galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwith-
standing the nighttime 57.5
na'qam yo'yo gün've'r . . . naa'łomga'n notwithstanding
the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4
eñe'nılin naqa'm go'r'gulën but the shaman had a sledge
14.10
naqa'm am-g'na'n but only thou (i. e., but you are all
alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:

gapë'nřılen na'qam, ganmitkoi'vulën but they were at-
tacked, they were slaughtered 12.4
ni'nąqin ūm naqa'm but this one was swift 40.4-5

ne'me again
ne'me gitte'wkwi again thou art hungry 9.13
ne'me cipe'tyi again he dived 10.1
gu, ne'me oh, again 36.6!

ne'mąqai also

e'nmen ūm Ai'wanat ūm ne'mąqai,i they are also Aiwan 7.9
e'nmen ne'mąqai,i geri'ñelin then he also had flown up 15.3
e'pte ginni'q-gili'lit ne'mąqai gına'n nęna'nmę-git likewise the

game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9-10
ne'mąqai, gümna'n I also 93.13
ne'mąqai enqa'n eñe'nılin nipe'g̃ır'met also that shaman is hauling
a sledge 14.12-15.1

neqe'm but, nevertheless

gik,neqe'm e'un gare'm e'un, gık oh, but it was not there 27.11
neqe'm ūm l'ı-vënnolin nıgiqaq in vê i-re'mkı nevertheless having

just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

ći'mąqūq partly, somewhat
cićmąqūq na'mkıqın re'mkıin nımıtva'lın somewhat many people

were encamped 58.9

§128
di'mquq Enqa'n niqulile'tqin in part they were noisy 60.9
di'mqûk kuke'êiku e'ret nitva'qên partly in the kettle boiled meat was (left) 75.11
e'nmen vai ye'tvuê* di'mqûk then it grew somewhat brighter 94.22–23

\(\text{ca'ma also}\)
\(\text{ca'ma} e nga'n moč-êwoqa'n titvu'rkin also this is an incantation I tell 39.13\)
\(\text{ca'ma} mu'ta e'ur also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11\)
\(\text{ca'ma} li'en* ai'makik naflai'ogên he also defecated on the carcass 81.6\)
\(\text{ca'ma} qu'tti qa'nmlaast also the others were killed 98.3\)
\(\text{trinar-la'}l-mô're vai ca'ma we come here also carrying antlers 121.20\)
\(\text{ca'ma} nuwîthau'qaat orawêqa'-mêl they also talk like men 64.10\)
\(\text{gguq, a'men üm na'gam üm gai'miê-ai'wan ca'ma oh, he was however a rich Aiwan 50.7}\)

See also 42.3

\(\text{ce'mit therefore}\)
\(\text{ce'mit gû'mak éna'tvat epki'rkû nitva'gên therefore to me promised gifts do not come 93.16}\)
\(\text{go, e'ur qu'nun ce'met li'i iuhtule'tyî* li'mî'na walqo'zi'n oh, and therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8}\)

\(\text{ce'nêt since, because}\)
\(\text{ce'nêt in vinê'tilit nû'mqûqêt since there are many helpers R 4.44}\)
\(\text{ce'nêt üm qaalvelu'ên'ni'n* nu'rri nitva'gên since the buck is there on its back R 4.34}\)
\(\text{ce'nêt vê'tluchîn, ia'm mnyo'ô'n since he is dead, why should we visit him? 108.13–14}\)
\(\text{ce'nêt ümënnê'-mi'mlâ giwku'itât since they drink one water R 45.13–14}\)
\(\text{ce'nêt gumni'n k'nu-ku'pên u'înû ênmêqa'eti troiva'wîn since I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47–48}\)
\(\text{gu, ce'nêt üm îli'çà-muri oh, since we are on an Island! (an exclamatory phrase) 11.11}\)

\(\text{cîte'ûn}\)
\(\text{cît gûmîk qa'tvalen, cîte'ûn ta'n'ûk titva'rkin üm i'gît before it was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying now R 45.19}\)
\(\text{cît aî'vanana me'tal rûtûrkîn... cîte'ûn üm gûmna'n wu'tku tiênêgîn before the Aivan kept the medal, ... and later (now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20–21}\)

§128
cite'un akka'gù titègè'nürkèn and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38

cite'un kînta'irqa memilqa'a na'na'lpmnêrè later on (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42

cite'un a'itâlu a'lu'nqan nîta'gènat and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38

mpîc-ekke'tá ríir'lpmmèn cite'un vè'-wèñèntô'è 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'nttaq already (?)

le'nttaq um napèla'an um vai ne'ekî already they had left this daughter 30.12

le'ntta'q üm . . . cûmna'èhin na'nmuqàèn already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7

li'en: and simply, and only; restricted action
nineineu'qìnet, li'en: a's'tà gape'nrèilèn they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21

li'en: èlhàpèra'rkèn e'cè it is simply white with fat 81.27

ta'yolibèn üm lo'lo li'en: the needle-case was simply his penis 82.13

See also 67.19; 81.6, 12, 25; 87.1, 28.

li'en: i's'trk (see i's'tik üm) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1

li'en: i's'tik kêmà'wkur(qè-gît and let me tell you that you are causing delay

li'en: i's'tik ra'niitse and may I ask you what do you want here?

li'en: üm i's'tik ìs'tqi and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3

attau' li'en: utterly in vain (see attau' p. 854)

lu'yu, before vowels lu'un just, just like loon-oi've just yesterday

li'i really

en'niita'l üm li'i ti'lu-gîr from now on I shall really know thee 93.21-22

li'i eënèntvi'è he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4

lu'ur after that, thereupon always refers back to a preceding event.

en'men ai'gèpù eîne'ukwù, goq, lu'ur qa'at ye'tyä't and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32

attau' lu'wau'nèn, lu'ur yopa'tyè she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13

lu'ur wèthau'noè thereupon he began to speak 31.11

lu'ur pîntqoro'at thereupon they began to emerge 102.23

kryè'ukwità, en'men lu'ur qàl'îl ye'tyè they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11
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
thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

See also 8.5; 10.8, 10; 15.1; 29.6; 61.9; 68.11; 70.27

thereupon she felt pain 63.7

See also 8.5; 10.8, 10; 15.1; 29.6; 61.9; 68.11; 70.27

thereupon he dived 17.4

See a-lu'mña p. 854.

again

he even began to cry

he even began to cry

without sleep were even the parents 34.3-4

the eye fluid even spurted out 106.19

eye fluid even spurted out 106.19

you did not even mind it 109.25

I even eased myself over you 109.23

enough 65.6

I confess

with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < Enfaq ūm, qām-ra'q ūm it is my turn)

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

this time they spread the skins the inside upward R 59.13

in his part their camp companion has no child R 12.11-12

at once (?)

at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

almost

almost we killed thee 10.11

but now you did almost kill one 123.17-18

this time you have almost killed me 121.16-17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

almost we killed thee 10.11

but now you did almost kill one 123.17-18

this time you have almost killed me 121.16-17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

now then! how was he? 17.12 (kita'm qun 18.1)
It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

kita' e'ur li'ê-va'i'ënki qañau'trub-ê-qi1 qailhina'n'gët, vai u'mki qaigt'qin now then, if among real being (gods) thou hast married really, here a polar bear bring! 110.5-6. Compare 110.9–10.

kita'tke unfortunately 25.12
kI'tvil-qun notwithstanding
kI'nmal together (?)

kI'nmal mïnne'ëmik let us go for fuel! 30.6
kI'nmal . . . piligili'lit . . . qina'n nêna'nme-qi1 thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9. See also 83.26

kIrqa'm ùm a'men, kIrqa'm ùm a'mi well now! 121.4
kite' seldom
ki'tkit a little

ki'tkit ni'ten're'w-i-ùm I laughed a little 72.13
ki'tkit qânve'ntetyi' open it a little 94.21, 34
ki'tkit nuurre'tqinet they were a little visible 95.30

ku'likå alone 24.10.

qaia'qan a while

e'nmen qaia'qan tile'êt they walked a while 64.8. See also 66.8.
guk,iu'kå qaia'qan mingamiti'varkin 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'ri7-gélênno'ë ven-e'nâm'â'chen for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26

èto'-qaia'qan ripkire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4
qaîrî èto'-qaia'qan ëgawkwe'lin after a while he departed 45.11

qaive' indeed, truly, really.

qaive' qine'ilhîz really, give (it) to me 16.1

enqa'n qaive' ëu'metu1-gir thou art really ëu'metun qaive-m t'mi yei'velqûi nu'tek tûmû-alva'lag rayr'qañño indeed, also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10–11

§128
guq, qai'Ve-m ṇan me'cEn'ki tre'nti'lin oh, indeed, I shall be able to manage him 67.22
Also 23.6; 80.27; 85.3; 92.23; 97.14

qailo'km

gik, qailo'km re'gā qāta'liiñiñi with what will you answer 14.2
qailo'km mi'onki miñi'ntin how shall we act 53.1
qailo'km wu'tku mi'ntu-gr how should I keep thee here 109.30
qailo'km pe'niñ wolrutvā'lin before he was motionless 125.4
qailo'km ese'nyutā rrrl'pinnən the younger brother accompanied him R 50.22–23

qailhna'ngêt, qaglêna'ngêt and actually
qailhna'ngêt li'ẽ-taničë'iriñoe and actually, he began to feel quite well 33.5
guq, qailhna'ngêt um nel'yu'n and indeed, they saw it 10.3
qailhna'ngêt ni'rgipatqên and actually, he was talked about 17.5, 7
Also, 15.7; 18.3; 67.22; 80.27; 104.9

qa'tin just so 127.10
qalëLE vertically

qai'-I'pe, qāiqi'pe really, in truth
qai'-I'pe li'ẽ-va'irinã qanav'tiñ-ẽ-git really among the gods (real beings) you married 110.30–31
muši'um elo'n qāiqi'pe virī'irk italiani thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

qāi'nun it seems (Kor. II, Pallen qa'i'nun Kor. 90.2)
qāi'nun tu'rǥin re'mkin es'tqi it seems your people are bad 8.9–10
tu'rgin re'mkin qāi'nun re'lqiā it seems your people will appear 10.4
qa'i'nun meti'u rine'l'hrir certain I shall not be believed by them 19.8
Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

qānu'r like, as
gene'ți'nët qānu'r pe'welti they became like bladders 9.4
mi'onki va'lit qānu'r a's'twukin pu'ttinët how big! like holes of a boat (cover) 14.6
naga'm lā'mnā qānu'r mēmlīcitik'ut ergewë'tyiś but again as into [the inside of] water he dived 17.4
qānu'r vēr'li ti qilo'lên as for a dead one she mourned 27.12
e'nmen qānu'r a's'ttin are'ța nū'ntaqin then like a dog they held him back 66.17
kele'tā va'nevan elut'kā qānu'r morgina'n i'git ka'mak va'nevan eu'rekkēlin to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an evil spirit is invisible 62.1–2

§128
... qānu'r vai mu'rgin re'mkin like our people here 61.6
e'nmen a'ni qānu'r qun nute's qān then it was just like earth 8.6
gānu'r qun wu'lqul just like coal 22.7
gānu'r qun niti'lqinet they were like hot ones 9.10
e'nmen qol qānu'r inpina'chin gene'wānā then another one, like
the last (namely in the preceding story) an old man with his
wife 28.1
gānu'r li'en ne'ntiän just as though simply they did to him 35.4
e'nmen qānu'r qun nünite'ruqin then it was as though they were
heated 9.8

qānu've'r the fundamental meaning seems to be AT THIS MOMENT,
AT THIS TIME
qānu've'r galo't'idσo'tina'-mo're just at this moment we have met
121.15
qānu've'r qinmi'lkin ek-te'me'wanitqinet at this time they drew
nearer 103.8
qānu've'r gite'pin in khel'kin i'wkwī at that moment the leader of
the kelet said 104.26
e'nmen qānu've'r ne'me'wkwā'n qānu've'r u'm a'tti'yān u'm
wēthau'noē at that moment they approached and at that
moment the dog began to speak 103.19
Taaro'n-Va'irgu u'm qānu've'r . . . Va'irgu ne'le'n a Sacrifice-
(receiving-) Being at that time . . . a (spiritual) Being he
became 41.9–10

Often it may be translated therefore.

qānu've'r u'm tērghā'tinoē therefore (at this moment) she began
to cry 31.7
lu'ur wo'tqan qānu've'r wu'rgirgin wolwmunēn afterwards, there-
fore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines,
however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)

qādd'-qu'nun as you like it(?) R 54.36

qāli'i (<qāli'-li'i) but in fact (containing the element li'i REALLY,
TRULY; see also ye'li'i, uli'i, vendi'i, miteli'i, guli'i)
nī'mmūn vai ēr'nceqāi va'r'kin, ìiwhiu'n gāli'i a settlement is
quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7
qāli'i gi't but in fact, it is you 23.5
qāli'i Re'kkēṇut but in fact, they were Rekken 34.5
gāli'i ēto'-qga'gān gewkwew'lin in fact after a short time he de-
parted 45.11
qāli'i ri'lin in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2
gāli'i ēngā'n . . . ē'tin ye'yi'ē in fact this was the master
70.28–30
qāli'i pīnle'nēnut in fact, he asked them 70.30
qäli'i notas'qa'urkit in fact they were digging the ground 71.9
qäli'i qun enqa'nat tei'n'ničit in reality they were murderous 68.20
qäli'i üm qun qäi-at'tiqäi in fact it was (only) a pup 80.4
qäli'i enqa'n . . . elo' in fact that was the mother 85.21–22
qäli'i pala'wkun yara'nî in fact a funeral circle 108.17
qeteu' even now
agaraqêcha'ên qeteu' what has the bad one been doing, even now 31.9
qete'm, qette'm, kete'm just, just like
qette'm gi'nmîn yara'nî just like my house
kete'm plî'tku just as it is finished R 3.24
qo'nrî, qo'nrî'm, qo'nrî e'ur (contracted also qi'en-e'ur) since
gol gi'maron wâ'îthîçi, tu'mgin enqa'n qo'nrîm genevutumgeleet enqa'nat the other rear sleeping room was in the middle, a strange person's (not a member of the family) that, because they were wife-companions (lived in group-marriage), these 53.9–10
qo'nrîm ca'ma go'èr-qla'ül-e-üm engana'ata no'o-e-ûm gene'l-i-ûm because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became R 45.27–28
qo'nrîm gumni'n i'git i'rälqâl u'înâ . . . trê'lqâtya'q Velew-kwayneqo'uti because my now clothing material nothing . . . I'll go to Merchants Point (i. e. because I have no material) R 46.43–44
qo'nrî tilv-e'tqît-i-git since you are utterly bad
qo'nrîm e'un eli'qin i'mi virî'täiqi'lin since (the) father has also died a voluntary death R 49.11. See also R 32.37
qo'nrîm Eñe'nehe eiñe'wä ca'ma îliîl ûm, qa'ko because he calls the East wind, it rains 132.20–21. Also R 13.21
qo'n'pû quite
qo'n'pû vi'i've he was quite dead 83.21
qo'n'pû mîs'tvañqo'ast they began to be quite a camp 107.19
qîk, qo'n'pû ninenmeleve'tqînhe is made quite well 127.3; 135.12–13
qun, qu'nûm, qu'n-ûm probably an emphatic particle, stronger than ûm (p. 849) and elo'n (p. 852). It stands in second position, generally following another particle
qänu'r qun wîl'qûl just like coal 22.7
e'nmen qänu'r qun nîbîite'rûgin they were just as though they had been heated 9.8–9
qänu'r qun nîthî'lgînet just as though they were hot 9.10
qänur qun mu'ndîk just as though (they were) in water 101.32
§128
e’nmen a’ni qänwu’r qu’num nute’s-gän they were just like land 8.6
a’ni qu’num qribu’tkui valata thus it is! they move about with the
knives 16.4
a’ni qu’num li’en re’pêkgis ratopa’wkwa thus it is! simply you will
come home, she will be pregnant 104.4
a’ni qu’num te’kîchin qänwu’utki thus it is! then eat the meat!
14.6
a’ni qu’num qanto’tè come out! 81.27
a’ni qu’num, ë’ppé qu’num thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3
terga’tyë qu’num ë’m he cried 116.7
kî’tam qu’num eplë’un ë’i eñëëntvi’i did he this time attain shaman-
istic power? 18.4
kî’tam qu’num mî’ñkri nî’tqin how is he this time? 18.1
kî’tam qu’num ë’ññiñiñ qu’num this time put on the necklace
16.6
kî’tam qu’num minirri’l-hit this time we will let thee go 21.5–6
kî’tam qu’num ëññiñiñ qu’num this time what shall there be for payment? 102.11
kî’tau’ qu’num ët’iñña ninëneytële’nmik this time the big dog saved
us 106.26–27.
kî’tau’ qu’num mî’ñkri nî’tqin how is he this time 17.12
attau’-qu’num ë’m Tño’tîrgina mînëcarë’ra we are just going to
Tño’tîrgin for food 119.18
attau’-qu’num ërgoor ye’ta qu’num just get the sledge ready 105.20
e’nmen qu’num qu’num qu’num just leap it went ashore, indeed!
122.16
a’un -qëta’qti pilhrra’tyë qu’num he makes himself flat before
them 83.28–84.1
ü’nunin qu’num he pulled it out 84.7
ë’ñiñuñiñ ë’m qu’num he caught him 121.13
vi’ñin ë’m qu’num enq’a’n ninë’lqin dead that one had become
(had died) 125.10
vi’ñin ë’m qu’num, ra’ë’nut it was the moon, what was it? 86.26–27
ra’ë’nut qu’num lo’nîl what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4
i’me-ra’ë’nut qu’num everything 107.2
mî’ñkri qu’num mîtîtë’urkin it is because we are hungry 70.24
ë’ñiñuñiñumnummeti, qu’num a’tto’r胃肠 he went to the camp
with a dog sledge 105.5
§128
According to punctuation *qunum* is in initial position in the following example

\[ge, tam! qu'num i'gitum mura'glatya'n\] let us take it home now! 121.27

It seems, however, that instead of *ge, tam* we might read *kita'm* as p. 21.5

*quLi'i* in this case indeed (containing the element *li'i* really, truly; see also *ye-li'i, u-li'i, ven-li'i, mateli'i, qâli'i*)

\[quLi'i va'aranan as'ttin ni'ilhit\] in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

*geo'we'ki* together.

*gihtite'* against one's will

*gi'newân* besides

*ne'wâq* strong emphasis

\[ne'wâq gi'wâq you do say \] 21.11
\[ne'wâq ninemirkew-i-âm I have been working hard \] 81.9
\[qaiv'e ne'wâq ena'n bini't mini'uqin \] indeed, he himself did say it R 50.23
\[ne'wâq qaiv'e and indeed \]

§129. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions; Koryak

*Iml* also

\[i'mi gaaqai'paên also it fitted badly Kor. 34.9\]
\[i'mi yuqya'nu gana'linau they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3\]
\[mim gayai'tilen nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8\]
\[i'mi . . . pla'ku wu'gwa gayi'lin also (her) boots they filled with stones Kor. 28.7\]

Also adj. Kor. 66.8, 72.14, 76.19

*Ina'n-awi'wut* quickly Kor. 70.12

*Enna'n* that one alone

\[enna'n koro'wapel gana'lin only the cow was left Kor. 78.12\]

*Enna'niku* from that time on Kor. 80.7

*Enqa'ta*

\[enka'ta tilai'vikin ne'la then a herd was walking about Kor. 21.8\]
\[enqa'ta gassa'len gata'p-wai'am then he dragged a net along the bottom of the river Kor. 70.11\]

*Enki* then, at that very moment

\[enki yu'la'n gapi'te'wulinau then they finished what was to be eaten Kor. 50.1\]
\[enki tryanu'wgi then I shall eat you Kor. 78.18 \]  §129
Fish-Man was combing his hair; then a load of winter-fish was (there) Kor. 86.16

Enke' ennu'mtila'n then (there was) Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

Efna'an thus

Enña'an thus it is! Kor. 78.2

galqat'ân qâ'iqâyicî'na enña'ân wâs'gû'mîku she went groping thus in the dark Kor. 16.9–10

Enña'ân wânvolai'ke thus they lived Kor. 43.7

Enña'ân gâyîlêlên'wolôlênat thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

gina'ân enña'ân inâ'ntî thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

Go'în Efna'ân Yayo'îa-nawgut gâî'îlênin after a while they gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

Enña'ân wot gânî'kâlimaun all at once something happened Kor. 70.17–18

Dual forms:

Enña'ân et gana'tvîlen thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

Enña'ân et pattâ'îla manî'ti gâyî'ssalînat 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

Avićût Kor. 44.5

Awun (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna e'wun Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

A'wun gâya'îqwîlinau and so they entered Kor. 80.18–19

A'wun im-la'wâlin and so his head became hairless Kor. 82.13

A'wun uî'nâ' and then there was no one Kor. 96.12 (=e'wun i'tka Kor. II, Kor. 96.30: e'wune'te Paren, Kor. 97.17

Awun'p (?) Kor. 64.11

A'woqi falsely Kor. 88.14

Am (Paren rm)

Gun-am nu'tak uî'nâ anel'hâryîpnuka even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

Pe'nîn gun-rm Uwe'npihîn the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

A'men

A'men gâwóqi'în and they tied her Kor. 23.4

A'men e'wañ and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

A'men yr'înna and now what! Kor. 28.2

A'châ a'men gû'mkîn ni'wi-gî just now like me thou wert talking Kor. 29.2

A'mu I do not know Kor. 55.3

Atau vainly Kor. 61.3

Ata'mâtim in vain Kor. 30.8

§129
**as's'o'** since
as's'o' qati' since you went away Kor. 18.5

**a'ččič, aččo'č** (Ch. erre'č) that is all, only, no more Kor. 62.8; 70.8 aččo'č Kor. 66.19; 68.19

**a'nam** then, and so
me'ŋąŋ a'nam gi'zi'inau how then did they become? Kor. 61.9–10
a'nam . . . ga'la'lin then he came to him Kor. 63.6
Also Kor. 66.6; 78.1
a'nam-e't'en all right then! Kor. 30.5; 31.8
e't'en a'nau all right then! Kor. 32.1
a'naqun and so Kor. 36.10

**anuva't** just as, just when
anuva't nyatilgi'wqin, e'ni'ki mutyr'ıqala just when he was about to come, we went to sleep

**a'limi** I wish it were!
a'limi vai'čita I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2–3
gina'n a'limi qeti'gın I wish thou wouldst take it Kor. 72.24–74.1

**alva'** other
alva'lin it is of different material Kor. 76.23

**a'kyel** also
gayo'o'lenan, a'k ye ł ipa'ña they put it into it, also into the soup, Kor. 28.6

e't'en (Ch. e'ur) then, and
gayo'o'len, e't'en gaur'yalin he visited him and he was dead Kor. 20.8
ya'nya e't'en ṃa'wqata partly also women Kor. 44.2
e't'en . . . gamlawanka'wlen and she ended her dance Kor. 48.8
gaka'wilināu e't'en yaq ni'lın ni'trn they awoke and what thong was there? (i.e. and there was no thong) Kor. 40.5

e'enač once upon a time Kor. 58.4

**e'wun** (see a'wun)
matuła'tın e'wun missaitıla'ın they stole it but we shall bring it back Kor. 40.8

**i'pa** really; indeed Kor. 37.8
i'pa a'nam gi'ssa but really thou Kor. 66.6

Also as adjectives:
i'pa kmı'ın the real child Kor. 68.11
 gı'mı'n i'pa gıl'wul vi'e'gi my real husband died Kor. 21.10–22.1
i'pa lı'ge-ta'ta our real father Kor. 74.20

i'naż quickly Kor. 39.2
gayem i'na nya'či'ın he did not come back quickly Kor. 72.19
i'nač enough! Kor 30.4; 86.11, 18; 88.15
inya'wut (?) Kor 16.5
 i'nmiq really, in truth
   i'nmiq tapananvo'ykin in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
   i'nmìqu'nìm all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'n nininik in this manner Kor. 14.3 (from iña'n ninin such)
o'ya openly
   wi'na o'ya a'tvaka she was not (there) openly Kor. 76.14
o'pta also (Lesna: THE WHOLE; Kamchadal o'ptma THE WHOLE);
   Chukchee o'ptma LIKE)
   a'čin o'pta gi'ilìn he also gave him fat Kor 15.4–5
   qa'wul o'pta enka'ta tiḷai'orkin a man also was walking there
   Kor. 21.9
   Qwyqqinva'qu o'pta e'waŋ Big-Raven also said Kor. 29.5
   go'ya ai'ak o'pta . . . gayo'olen an other one she also put into
   the storeroom Kor. 55.1
See also Kor. 56.5
oma'ka together
   Ama'mqut a'nke o'maka kaña'trykin Ememqut was fishing
   together (with them) Kor. 44.10
   e'en na'nya u'ma'ka r'ssa and then together they (were her
   children) Kor. 61.2
o'nnen verily, indeed, Kor. 59.9
u'nmî (?) Kor. 74.10
ya'wač (?) Kor. 64.9
y'anya (Ch. ya'nfa) partly, separately
yaq (indefinite pronoun, see § 59) and now
   wu'ten yaq yi'nna and this now, what is it? Kor. 36.9
   ame'yaq na'wis'qat well, how is the wife Kor. 68.2
   gn'-ya'q thy turn Kor. 46.7 (See yaq, § 59, p. 729)
 ya'qam only
   ya'qam ai'kira gapri'yalin only (with) fly-eggs she scattered
   Kor. 45.2
   ve'lo ya'qam ninataikrinvo'genau she was only making thimbles
   Kor. 59.5
ya'qaŋ why
   ya'qaŋ ya'ti why hast thou come Kor. 64.1
yaqqai'-qun (Paren yagqai'-qun Kor 92.5) then
ye'lì
   ye'lì gayi'nalin and so she flew away Kor. 46.5
   e'en ye'lì ganekela'len and so she felt ashamed Kor. 60.1
§129
vi'yañ, ve'cĩ (?)
vi'yañ iskula'ti (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2
vi'yañ lelapi'leñoe'ykin nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8
ña'no vi'yañ kisva'čik va'ykin of course, it is there on the
cross-pole Kor. 68.5
vi'yañ gapangai'pičen (without clothes) but with a cap Kor.
76.22
vi'n'va, vi'n'vi secretly Kor. 61.1; 76.14
va'yuk afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5
va'ak Kor. 56.5; 64.9
van (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee
demonstrative particle ña which is also used adverbially).
vi'ña-van minka'kila not by anybody else Kor. 40.6–7
gaye'm ña'no-van mnutñana'wge not those I shall be able to
eat Kor. 55.8–9
a'mińñ-van kive'li'ga penči'ykin after that he rushed at her
every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10
pa'ţa perhaps Kor. 60.5
mači maybe
ma'či, wu'teuk mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7
ma'či vi'ilka va'ykin mayhap a fork is there Kor. 19.7
me'če mima'tage mayhap I'll marry thee Kor. 32.6
mai well
mal-ki̇t properly Kor. 15.6; 74.6; 88.9
mal-ki̇til very well! Kor. 21.5
Also met-ki̇tkil
male'ta quietly Kor. 54.7
ma'kiw somewhere Kor. 80.9
me'nqan how Kor. 82.4; 84.21; 88.1
me'nqač mi'qun mai'mik how indeed shall I get water? 16.7–8
me'nqan mi'qun how, indeed? Kor. 17.12
mi'qun (Paren mu'qun Kor. 92.23) indeed; an intensifying particle
mi'qun nana'nqin indeed he is a shaman Kor. 42.9
mi'qun Ama'mqut e'wan Ememqut said even (this) Kor. 64.11
ya'qu mi'qun gatai'kigin 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
iłu'piča ti'ta minelo'tola when we find a shaman's wand Kor.
27.7
ti'ta gù'mma tra'tik when was I at home? Kor. 68.13
ti'ta o'pta ninanwu'kan let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15
ti'taq mu'yu mta'atayi'pnaļa when did we feed on inner skin of
dogs Kor. 48.9

§129
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
čemečče'n it is so! Kor. 46.4
čini't since
čini't ennaš'an q'i'ı since thou art so Kor. 56.9-10
[I'g]qai much less Kor. 49.1
[I'g]gan simply
li'gan mirmelhryalai'ke simply they were resplendent Kor. 44.3
ki'na'k almost Kor. 21.7; 84.13
kalè'LE, qalè'LE vertically
ke'nam Kor. 39.3; kena'm Kor. 40.3 already
ki'wan truly Kor. 26.9
kit, ki'til see mal-kit
ki, kič (never in initial position) and
ya'qkin-ki and what for? Kor. 26.10 (for ya'qkin see §§ 47, 59)
ki'taũ; kitta' then (?)
ki'taũ anyyaga'hešë'tin taya'nikin then she wanted to go to the
porch Kor. 33.8-9
q'ũ'mma kitta' tu'kwak I am caught Kor. 36.10
kitta' atawalšila'ka do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6;
52.10
kì'tta negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. en'ne)
ki'tkit a little
ki'kit; ki'kič as soon as 84.3
ki'kit gayi'ltilen as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3
ki'kič gaya'lqrwilin as soon as they entered Kor. 72.21
qa'i'gut indeed Kor. 84.23
qa'wun though
qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though later on thou
wilt marry someone Kor. 78.17
qači'n
qači'n plakgešë'tin nat'čawvogen for he had passed water into
the boots Kor. 14.2
qači'n go'npši'kita ganaš'ten therefore altogether it became
night Kor. 16.6
qa'čin milya'qpit because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8
gayu'š'olen, qači'n vi'wiktıpil they visited her, for there was a
small ringed seal Kor. 24.4
qači'n ena'n tawi'kirišik for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3
§129
Ka'nyeu gac'én Yagyamtidat'nu for those were Bumble-Bee-Men
Kor. 44.6
qa'čin ui'ña ana'łuka gatri'kalen for without chewing he swal-
lowed her Kor. 84.1
qa'čik
Gissas qa'čik ui'ña a'łva a'tvaka for this reason will you be
(feel) wrong Kor. 18.7
ga'mma qa'čik oyamyat'-qum for am I human game Kor. 42.6
qun, qun-am
Gina'n qun nita'witkin-i-gi' so thou art playing mischief Kor. 82.9
qu'nam nu'tak ui'ña anelhir-yipnuka even in the open country
we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1
pe'nin qun-im Uwe'ñpiln the same (former) little U'wëñ
(Paren) Kor. 92.7
qu'nam mu'yi . . . oya'myat minìnmin even we too (alone)
have killed a man Kor. 68.3
qu'nam qun Kor. 74.17
Ve'tha-go'nom just now Kor. 56.10
Qon'pa very, quite (qon'pu Chukchee; xe Kamchadal); Kor.
13.10; 15.8; 41.8, etc.
Gumfan again Kor. 15.8; 18.8; 19.8 etc.
Na'nyen then 63.10; 72.8; 74.3 etc.

§130. KAMCHADAL CONJUNCTIONS

Most of the Kamchadal conjunctions have been replaced by the
Russian (local) forms.

I, dai (и, даи) and
Je (же) but
tolko (только) merely, only
dotopera (до топера) until now
potom (потомь) after that

Other conjunctions of Kamchadal origin are still in use. Among
these I mention

Hâle, hâlcëg it is time! then, now, altogether Kor. 99.5

This particle is used quite frequently with a great variety of mean-
ings. Its use has even influenced the local Russian dialect inasmuch
as the Russian adverb nopa IT IS TIME is used also as a conjunction,
although this does not agree with Russian usage.

-ilm, -me (never initial) AND, AND NOW, corresponds to the
Chukchee -âm 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'nnmen*.

*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'nèvan** negative particle, not at all (stem probably va'nè).

   This occurs either alone or with other negative elements.

   *va'nèvan minutewrër'erkinen* not at all land appears 7.3
   *va'nèvan nuwa'lmomnen* he would not hear anything
   *va'nèvan gina'n le'gi'hi'qin?* have you no knowledge at all? 38.4
   *y'iliiil rurkinin te'kîchîn* va'nèvan tongues he eats, meat not at all 49.4
   *va'nèvan mute's'qîn ni'tyoe'nën* they did not at all reach the ground 52.12
   *va'nèvan nè'nutœr'kinet kele'tâ* the kele could not see them at all 100.29
   *va'nèvan na'nayilhau'nën a'ttim* they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25
   *va'nèvan anto'këlen nè'un'qît* the woman did not go out at all 54.8
   *va'nèvan qare'm nuwa'lmomnen* he would not hear anything
   *va'nèvan ññu'mnet* they could not see them at all 61.10
   *va'nèvan ele a' lòngka* they did not hear anything 60.10
   *va'nèvan elu'kä* they are invisible 62.1
   *va'nèvan eur'rekëlîn* it is not visible 62.2

2. **qarè'm;** Kor. Kam. *qaye'm;* Kor. Par., *qeye'm;* Kor. II

   (village Qare'nin and others in Kamchatka *t'gut*); Kamchadal.

   *xënè, xë.* Used always with the exhortative, or alone with exhortative meaning, and signifying negative future.

   *qarè'm mini'nmitik* we shall not kill you 13.4
   *qarè'm mini'etêyâ'k* I shall not become black 23.6
   *qarè'm mîlhû'a'n* I shall not treat him 24.10
   *qarè'm mini'mut* I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7
   *qarè'm mra'ghtä'k* I will not return home 99.2, 24
   *qarè'm el'i'qâ rîmenyegtelë'tyä'k* father will not allow me to live 99.15
   *qarè'm mi'ilhû'ên* I will not do it 99.20
   *qarè'm mi'ilhät* I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9
   *qarè'm miye'tyä'k* I will not come
   *a'men qarè'm!* but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

§131
qare'm i'git! not now! (i. e., I shall not do so from now on) 21.1
qare'm! no! (i. e., I shall not do it) 99.13
Kor. Kam. qare'm mla'k, Kor. II. i'hit mle'k, Kamchadal x'ené
mnuk I will not eat

Koryak.—
achiva'n qaye'm this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3
qaye'm na'no-va'n minunana'wge I shall not be able to eat
them Kor. 55.8
qaye'm ena'ha'lmik he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.
qare'm gwii'tik do not die! (i. e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from qare'm is the verbal form qare'men (Kor. Kam.
qiyme'en Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. qiisme'nen) it is not so, not true.
qare'men 2'tik la'mas it is not really a story 61.5
qare'mena'güm I am not this one 23.5
qare'm men ora'wetan he is not a human being 29.9
qare'mena'güm qla'ulé'm I am not a man
qare'mena'ligt qla'ulé'git thou art not a man
qare'mena'güm niry'ti'm I am not feeble
qare'mena'güm niry'ligt thou art not feeble
qare'm en niry'li'qin he is not feeble
qare'mena'güm he'usqi'ti'am I am not a woman 116.31
Kor. Kam. qiyme'w un impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. evüne Kor. Kam. k'itta, Kamchadal jak, x'ë do not! (see § 114
p. 823)

4. elo' no elo' (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9
elo no 30.8
rää'uri?-elo' what is the matter with you?—nothing 53.6

4a. ca'mam no! I DO NOT WANT TO (referring to future events) 78.6;
used with future indicative. There is no corresponding form
in either Koryak or Kamchadal.
ca'mam I do not want to 98.5, 8
ca'mam tre'ilhit I shall not give thee

5. e'Le not, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. e'Le, Reindeer Kor.
e'Le, Kor. II., village Qare'ñim and others in Kamchatka e'ñia,
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'ñä, Kor. Par., ui'ñä e'le, Kor. II., village Qare'ñim
and others in Kamchatka em, e'mma not. The Kamchadal uses
qam (see above, under e'le). Kor. Par. uses also e'le alone

§131
ui'na epj'nik I have no powder
See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative prefix-suffix we find—

dai ui'na, ta'aq ui'na, təm-ey'irm gumni'n no tea, no tobacco, mine is a good life!
(Kor. Par.) e'le epj'rike I have no powder

Derived from this particle is ui'nilin HAVING NONE.

ui'nilinum epj'nikelium 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! A! Kor. 55.5) oh!
gə! R 104.48 oh!
o! 63.9 oh!
e! 85.12; 90.6; 91.7 ah!
e! 101.20 all right
ɡo, ɡo! R 65.119 (call)
ɡa, ɡa! 122.1 call
ɡi, ɡi! R 72.16 ah, ah!
ɡei! 69.4 oh!
ɡɡɡ! (Kor. ɡɡɡ!) yes!
ɡuɡ! 10.3; 52.3; 53.1; (Kor. gek! Kor. 50.4) ugh! oh!
ɡoɡ! 24.1 108.32; ɡik! 10.1; 11.2; ɡi! 68.30; R 69.35; Kor. 51.1, 5; 58.6
ɡu! 26.4; ɡo! 69.7; 108.19
oɡoɡoɡoɡoɡo! 70.2 oh, oh, oh!
ugugugugu! 29.7 uhuhuhuh!

Koryak

| e! oh! Kor. 47.1 |
| ye! ah! Kor. 49.2 |
| eŋi'! oh! Kor. 64.19 |

§132 | aŋe'! Kor. 49.3 iŋe'! Kor. 27.6 |
b. Exclamations

Their stems are independent and some of them form derivatives.

*go!* expresses ignorance: *I DO NOT KNOW!*

*goña’arkin* to speak always of one's ignorance; to answer: "I do not know."

**Assent:**

*i!* 9.6, 13; 66.25; 84.10 (Kor. *o!* Kor. 30.2; 38.6) yes.

*i!* 84.19 ah!

*egei’!* 133.24 R 71.5; R 73.34 (Kor. *uqa’*) all right! assent and approval.

*egei’!* 75.30 oh!

*taga’m!* R 59.9, 16; R 66, 134 (Kor. *toq*! *to*! Kor. 35.3; Kor. 45.8) come! well!

*taga’m* is used also as the usual leave taking.

*taga’m* *tevkwe’erkim!* R 41.98 (in Koryak *toq* is used as leave taking) good-bye! I am going.

The usual greeting is *ye’ti?* or less frequently *qe’et-i-git*;

R 62.62; R 76.25 (Kor. *yati?* HAVE YOU COME? as greeting)

The answer is *i!* yes! or *i, triye’tyä’k!* yes, I have come!

Greeting borrowed from Russian, *toro’ma* (здорово) (Kor. *toro’va*) how do you do?

*tam* contracted from *taga’m*, mostly with an ejaculation preceding, COME! WELL!

*ee, tam!* 30.9; 89.23; *e tam!* 90.3.

*i, tam!* 84.19.

*gr, 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!

*na’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)
Surprise:
Used by men
"ka'ko'!" generally reduplicated "kako, kako!" 8.5; 12.6; 68.31
"oho!"; "qako!" 84.10; "qako, qako!" 77.26; 104.14; "ga'ko 21.4
"kako, mei'!" 14.7; R 64.93. "ga'ko mei!, go'bo mei!"

Used by women
"ke'ke'!" 52.2; 71.26.
"ke'ke, na'ul!"
"keke', keke', keke'!" 29.7 great surprise and fear

Koryak, for both sexes.

| če Kor. 47.6 (surprise and disapproval) ugh. |
| ge'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' qitka'lhin? how is your leg?"

Pain:
"gi, gi, gi" R 74.46 (Kor. mikikikik! Kor. 29.1) sudden acute pain
"ge, ge, ge!" 63.8 (Kor. iqigi'! Kor. 23.9) crying

Warning:
"ga, ga, ga!" 85.17,28 (Kor. got!) off! look out!

Laughing:
"ga, ga, ga!" R 79.10
"iqigi'! 30.2
"gim!" 30.2 laughing of a skull.

Anger:
"gim!" R 72.20 (Kor. gim! Kor. 31.2)
"güm!" (terminal) 61.2
"taga'm, qapa'ae, güm!" 61.2 well, cease, will you!

Miscellaneous:
"go!" (Kor. go! Kor. 49.6) I do not know
"ya! ya!" 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
"gin, gin!" 105.27 barking of dog
"m-m!" 106.15 mumbling of ke'le (hence derived a noun
"mü'tümgin KELE'S MUMBLING)
"kabeu', kabeu'!" R 307.8 cackling of ptarmigan

§132
aňa', aňa', aňa'! 84.8 crying of small infant
eň, eň, eň! R 104.47 singing of thanksgiving ceremonial
tîg, tîg! 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone
piw, piw! 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground
piľ, piľ! 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground
pr! 88.17 sound produced with lips
(Koryak) vârikiri'! Kor. 46.1 jabbering of magpie

Shaman's calls

egegegegegei'! 15.7; 68.28; (Kor. ogoogogo'oi'); 66.35 (here merely fatigue, though borrowed also from shamanistic practice)
ottototototoi'! 59.4
otatatatatatai'! 59.4

Answer to shaman's call
git, git, git, gige'

gewe, gewe'! R 306.1 raven's shamanistic song
go'on-kale', go'on-kale' R 314.23 (Kor. go'on, go'on Kor. 48.2; ann, ann Kor. 47.2; Koryak, umyu'm Kor. 90.15; Kor. II Pallan, raven's cawing) raven's shamanistic song
gewe, egegege'! R 122.2 mosquito's shamanistic song
R 306.7
qaia'qan, qaia'qan! foxes shamanistic song (a little more! at the same time onomatopoetic)
ge'wye, ge'wye ko'onin R 315.31 polar bear's shamanistic song

Calls of reindeer-herders

go, go, go, goq, goq, goq! 32.11 for driving the herd
gâ, gâ, gâg, gâg, gâg!
eia', eia', eia'! R 307.13 for calling a broken reindeer (chiefly in offering it urine)
qrrr! R. 4.38 the same; also reindeer's snorting, onomatopoetic

Interjections are often used in groups

gug, i! 9.13; gik, i'! 65.26 oh, yes!
ee, ta'm! (see before)
egei, gu'nâ! 69.4 oh, indeed!

d. Words and phrases used as interjections

ina'nkên, ina'nkên üm 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!
tite'net! 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in compounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form
tite'net-i-git it is wonderful with you
tite'net-tu'ri (plur.) it is wonderful with you
tite'net-ve'rin it is wonderful with him (stem verin unknown otherwise)

§132
i, tu’n-nikek! oh, my! sudden surprise; (tur new; nikek verbal noun of indefinite verb nike (§82)
ebhinre’wän! 80.23 oh, goodness!
am no’t amen! R. 73.27 (surprise and anger; em mere §113.5) not demonstrative particle (§57) amen adversative conjunction p. 853) how is it then!
čeq-a’loam va’lun! 76.5 (§113.15) how very strange!
vè’nom wonder and blame; in compounds with subjective form of personal pronoun
vènom gina’n 55.11; 109.24 something like out with you!
al’ümña! 120.16,23 (a ah, lümña again) only think of it!
sudden surprise (see also p. 854)
nire’gin-äm! I do agree! 84.19; R 62.58; R 65.112 regular nominalising form of indefinite verb req (§82)
re’req-äm R 75.6 I do agree! (causative re-reqam)
re’qu lù’mña the same! R 73.24 (re’qu designative of req what; lümña again)
ra’gal 80.25 what of that; (req what; al otherwise unknown)
u’nmuñ a’ni, u’nmuñ a’ni-m e’un 84.26; 87.7 Oh, how bad it is! (u’nmuñ very, a’ni-m even so; e’un and so)

KAMCHADAL

| tea there!   | qu call; ha lloo! |
| tle there, take it! | hë, 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.

nigitte’pqin (literally, clever) fool
tikay’tu-wa’lin (from tikay’oñ-wa’lin intelligent) silly
ern’erkin (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness
also
entrine’erkin (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger
uw’vi’LD (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear
lei’wu’lin (literally, the one who walks about) wolf
re’qätkurkin (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading
va’irgil’erk (from va’irqi’em being) disease

§133
§ 134. New Words.

On the whole, Chukchee and Koryak have not borrowed many terms from the Russian, but have rather coined new words for new ideas. Following are a few examples of these.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kamenskoye</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e'rem</td>
<td>a'ym</td>
<td>commander (literally, strong man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'qenañ</td>
<td>ta'qana</td>
<td>tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teq-e'rem</td>
<td>taqa'-a'ym</td>
<td>chief officer of district (literally, tribute-strong-man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>añañ-ra'n</td>
<td>añañ-ya'n</td>
<td>church (literally, spirit-house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin-koi'nin</td>
<td>e'tti-koi'nin</td>
<td>glass (literally, ice-cup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wui'gun</td>
<td>gu'vin</td>
<td>fortified log-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin-ukkám</td>
<td>put'ilkan</td>
<td>bottle (Russian бутылка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä$q-i'mil</td>
<td>a'qa'-mi'mil</td>
<td>brandy (literally, bad water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keli'kel</td>
<td>kal'ka'</td>
<td>letter, book, writing (literally, carving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keli'tul</td>
<td>kal'tul</td>
<td>ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'aq-koi'nin</td>
<td>ka'nca</td>
<td>tobacco-pipe (local Russian руса, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëmtë'-gál</td>
<td>—--</td>
<td>(one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yara'r-e'kkam</td>
<td>—--</td>
<td>flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vessel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimal'gal</td>
<td>—--</td>
<td>long brandy-keg (literally, thigh-bone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìll-ukkám</td>
<td>—--</td>
<td>plate (literally, white vessel)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Russian loan-words are always modified to suit the phonetic character of the language. The Koryak, even those that have no r, retain, however, the Russian r.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col</th>
<th>Col</th>
<th>Соль</th>
<th>Соль</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>torno'ma</td>
<td>torno'wa</td>
<td>здорово</td>
<td>здоровь</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>чё'вер</td>
<td>чё'вер</td>
<td>четверть</td>
<td>quarter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koro'walhin</td>
<td>koro'wa</td>
<td>корова</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ка'сак</td>
<td>ka'sak</td>
<td>казакъ</td>
<td>cossack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etto'l</td>
<td>stol</td>
<td>столъ</td>
<td>table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>торё'лян</td>
<td>тарелка</td>
<td>тарелка</td>
<td>plate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHUKCHEE TEXT

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE MOON

Once a certain house, woman certain human woman the husband to rejection used her, then she was starving, crawling on she became just by starving. Then she was After that

Once upon a time, also connective AND THEN, THEN; always in narrative (p. 858).

Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic qul is also used (§ 60, p. 732).

Stem ra HOUSE; yara probably reduplication from rara; -chin A PARTICULAR ONE (§ 53, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense THERE WAS A PARTICULAR HOUSE.

Stem ren FEMALE; -sqat a suffix, probably related to others in -s'q-, but not free. Absolute form as before.

Particle, indicating that the whole story is well known to the narrator, and is supposed to be known to the hearer (§ 128, p. 855).

Stem euchii, -et adverbial suffix (§ 110.70, p. 810); a Nominal Form I,3 (§§ 64; 95, p. 786).

Stem nel (§ 77); pe-in (see note 10); <t+i (§ 7).

em- MERE (§ 113, 7, p. 816); qupqat to starve (see note 11; a Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95).

getiu to BE HUNGRY.

Stem le to see; -en HE HIM (§ 67, p. 741).

Stem res'qi to ENTER; -h he (§ 64, p. 738); whe<q+g (§§ 7.2; 72.4).

Stem ciep related to leep to LOOK (§§ 2; 122, p. 854), also ciep to LOOK; -h he (§ 64).

§ 128, p. 855.

Stem teik to MAKE; evi'ren GARMENT, absolute form (§ 30, p. 691), here subject of intransitive verb (§ 91, p. 779); composition see §§ 116, 4, p. 830.

Stem gyn to HANG; sufix-ge-inu frequentative or intensive (§110.54); ge-in Nominal verb (§ 73, p. 758).

Stem qupqat to STARVE; ge-in SHE WHO HAD ATTAINED A STARVING CONDITION (§ 73); <t+i (§ 7).

Stem qyin to HANG; sufix-ge-inu frequentative or intensive (§110.54); ge-in Nominal verb (§ 73, p. 758).

Stem pl and suffix -tku (§ 110, 67), compare plagi it is ended; -qin see note 25.

Stem qa; with suffix -en (§ 110, 70); -qin see note 25.

Stem ngu; -g after vowel, allative (§ 40); ablaut (§ 3).
WHO is performing an action (§73), plural because referring to those that are being put. The man came walking. The moon really, what. "Oh, quite extraordinary being, what is walking is eating much.

Vessel-full is finished." Again in the morning he started. Former ones just boots he put on, however not appeared a wife. Again he went, at the same then the woman came.

The man again came home. "Oh, how bad! Quite extraordinary the tallow again she saw it. She ate much, after that she grew fatter.

Other ones just boots he put on, however not appeared a wife. Again he went, at the same then the woman came.

A man came walking. The moon really, what. "Oh, quite extraordinary being, what is walking is eating much.

Vessel-full is finished." Again in the morning he started. Former ones just boots he put on, however not appeared a wife. Again he went, at the same then the woman came.

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Vessel-full is finished." Again in the morning he started. Former ones just boots he put on, however not appeared a wife. Again he went, at the same then the woman came.
Ne’me ečhi čit qamn’tvarkin, lu’ur pi’rinin.

Again before as before she ate, thereupon he took her.

“A’akakaka! ilu’kä a’lva!” nqama’graqên. “Gu, e’uñan “Ah, ah, ah! motionless away!” she struggled. “Oh, so

gin’a”. “Gu’nä, a’lva, qine’rilih!” “Gu’nä, ilu’kä.” Qarë’n thou.” — “Oh, away! let me go!” — “Oh motionless, Not

miñre’qewkur, mimnilo’ur. Gik, ia’m nilei’vutku-i gir

Indeed thou hast a master?” — “No.” — “Where is he?” — “My husband torejection

gine’tëlin, gënançaatvau’len, ginenu’pqueulin.” — “En’qam used me, he cast me off, he let me starve.” — “Then

va’nëvan wu’tku yara’čiku re’qän qinëlu’rkin.” — “Va’në- not at all inside of the house thing thou hast seen.” — “Nothing.”

van.”

Ma’tanën. Ne’me čei’vutku’. Wulqätvi’k üm puki’r.

He married her. Again he walked. In the evening he came.

1 Before, formerly (§ 127, p. 818).

2 See notes 25, 30, 42; here qama’tva, derived tense in -rkm (§§ 64, 87).

3 Stem piri to take; -nin he—him (§ 67).

4 Ilu TO MOVE; e—ka negation (§ 114, 4). The initial e is contracted with the i of the stem.

5 Stem qama’pra; n—qen (§ 73); with ablaut (§ 3).

6 Subjective form (§ 56); presumably as subject of an idea like YOU HAVE EATEN IT.

7 Stem Initial rrril, medial rrt; -nec- (§§ 67, 113. 28); q—gi imperative 2d person sing.

8 Negation with exhortative meaning (§ 131.2).

9 Medial form of the causative prefix—; stem raq WHAT, SOMETHING; —wu (§ 110.70); predicative form of the indefinite pronoun; m—giT let me—thee, subjunctive (§ 67); -wu<+wu; in place of giT we have here and in the next word the alternating form gir.

10 Stem raoro; initial form prilo—; medial form -nàlæo; m—giT let me—thee, see note 70.

11 Stem leivu, see notes 31, 35, 53; -tku (§§ 110, 67); predicative form of nominalized verb (§ 73).

12 Stem ñuñë master (§§ 48, 73).

13 NO (§ 131.3).

14 See note 10; here with the prefix -nec— referring to the first person (§ 73).

15 See note 75, the same form; stem -gàttu; r—gi CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

16 See note 75, the same form; stem qup eq to destroy (see note 11); r—gi CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

17 Conjunction (§ 125, p. 858).

18 § 131. 1.

19 Demonstrative (§ 57); as particle rat; stem wuq— locative in -k.

20 See note 4; -tiku inside of, nominal (§ 101, 24).

21 rgu SOMETHING; here absolute form (irregular) used as object with the verbs in TO SAT, in TO SEE

22 Stem lu’ to see; derived tense in -rku (§ 64); -nec— (§ 113. 28); q—gi imperative (§ 64); here used as a past (§ 65).

23 Conjunction (§ 128, p. 852).

24 Stem mata to take, to marry; subjunctive (a), m—giT let me—thee (§ 67).

25 Stem mata to take, to marry; -nin me—her (§ 67).

26 Stem tötë-ites, see notes 31, 35, 38. The q of the ending -qiq has dropped out on account of its intervocalic position.

27 Stem wuq evening, compare we'q' darkness; a locative form (§ 38); -tei to become (§ 110, 68)

28 Initial stem pükir, medial pkir; abbreviated termination for -qiq.
He said thus to his wife, "Don't not going from the inside of the inner room."

Let us enter, just pillow edge to boots throw them."

Then she threw them. Then there here a dish, a mere dish upon boiled meat.

Then they put out the dish, in the morning they awoke. At that time

The charm-strings don't * thou not carry have them for And so

they went to it made to be the thanksgiving ceremonial wild reindeer, wild reindeer, and so the charm-strings were on it.

Oh, they slept. Next morning they awoke, again
He was going. "What then she said to her, 'That trunk
that is thus. concern as one.

However obey truly.

Oh, then he went, the trunk she opened it. And so
there a woman was placed then destined to split being
one side side of face black, the other red side of face.

Then she saw her, at that time
that one here died, she fell down,

Then she closed it, how she was afraid of course.

He came the husband. They entered. Nothing she told him,
Ga'te'k in E'nmen.78 E'nmen2 rimvriggeu'nin.78 E'nmen2 e'i'ui6.79 En'qa'm78 lu'ur57
she did not see me, no. With the mouth I made a noise, thereupon

"Now where is it? Do listen, qatvu'gun!"165 Qän've'rtu'vnên.166 "Emite'tim167 tagite'än.164
"Na." — "However where is it? Guq, qa'ko. Tite'net-ve'ren.159
Oh, uwa'æ'qu6, "Guq, qa'ko. Tite'net-ve'ren."
He appeared, "Oh, it is wonderful

"Enfa'q e'mi? Qai'væ e'Le ce'nil i'nenvente'tkal-i-git?"163 — "Emite'tim.
— "Na'qam um e'mi? Gu'na quwalo'murkin,
"No." — "However where is it? Drum behind there give me.'*

She did not see me, no. With the mouth I made a noise, thereupon

gagta'nänai'pülen,180 keme'ñ23 gereli's'qëetin.181
she was quite angry, the dish she pushed in strongly.

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Because she feared him. The boots she threw pillow-edge to,
then to wait they were unable for the dish.
Oh, the husband appeared, "Oh, It is wonderful
Now where is it? Indeed not the trunk not you opened it?"
"E'Le." — "Na'qam um e'mi? Gu'na quwalo'murkin,
"No." — "However where is it? Guq, uwa'æ'qu6, 'quc
"Guq, qa'ko. Tite'net-ve'ren."
Oh, quite extraordinary you are. Why * dost thou not obey? With reason
and so the husband from deserted thee. Drum behind there give me.'*

* See §128, p. 859.
147 See note 147, transitive form; n—nên (67, Ia 6).
152 a'têca TO WAIT (§ 95, p. 786).
154 Initial stem luw+au, medial lu+au TO BE UNABLE ; 3 p. pl.
From keme'ñ dish; -gï ALLATIVE; with ablaut (§ 3).
158 Initial stem ur+eu.
159 It is a wonder! (Interjection).
160 From demonstrative stem En.
161 Interrogative adverb.
162 Negation (§131.5).
163 Stem vent, see notes 123, 130; r—et CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); i—kalin NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person
verbalized noun (§ 73).
164 Stem welom 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-te't-um (§ 128, p. 857).
168 Stem gite TO SEE; ti—pïñ i—him.
169 Stem gite TO SEE; inæ (§ 67); i—kalin negation (§ 114, 4).
170 Stem puket; ti—pïñ 1—, intransitive (§ 64).
171 3d person sing.
172 See note 34; 2d person, nominatized verb (§ 73).
173 Stem pëq, see notes 123, 130; r—et CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); i—kalin NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person
verbalized noun (§ 73).
174 Stem welom TO HEAR, LISTEN, OBEY, see note 128; derived tense, imperative.
175 Stem tuw, see note 152; imperative.
176 Stem tuw; -nin he—him; with ablaut (§ 3).
177 em-te't-um (§ 128, p. 857).
178 Stem gite TO SEE; ti—pïñ i—him.
179 Stem gite TO SEE; inæ (§ 67); i—kalin negation (§ 114, 4).
180 Stem puket; ti—pïñ 1—, intransitive (§ 64).
181 3d person sing.
182 See note 34; 2d person, nominatized verb (§ 73).
183 Stem pëq, see notes 123, 130; r—et CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); i—kalin NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person
verbalized noun (§ 73).
184 Stem welom TO HEAR, LISTEN, OBEY, see note 128; derived tense, imperative.
In the morning they awoke, he carried her (back). He said to her, "With reason I indeed watching I could not do her."

Irga'tik⁸⁸ üm⁵ k'iye'wkwa't,¹⁰⁶ rile'r'kinin.¹⁸² I'unin,¹²⁰ "Atta'um¹⁷⁴

in the morning they awoke, he carried her (back). He said to her, "With reason I indeed watching I could not do her."

Op'o'p⁴⁹ ge't'e'igt.¹⁷⁵ Opo'p⁶ garai'-git,¹⁸⁴ m'rle'git.¹⁸⁵

In the morning he carried her (back). Let! thou hast a house, let me carry thee (back)."

Eli'geti¹⁸⁶ rile'nnin,¹⁸⁷ ripkire'nnin,¹⁸⁸ mata'lin¹⁸⁹ i'unin,¹²⁰ "Guq, then I indeed 'watching I could not do her.""

Eli'geti¹⁸⁶ rile'nnin,¹⁸⁷ ripkire'nnin,¹⁸⁸ mata'lin¹⁸⁹ i'unin,¹²⁰ "Guq, then I indeed watching I could not do her."
KORYAK TEXT

LITTLE-BIRD-MAN AND RAVEN-MAN⁰

Valvirmtila⁶'ninti⁶ e'čči² Piči'qala'n³ Quyqinn'a
Raven the two they Little-Bird-Man wanted for a wife at Great-
qu'yik.⁶ Quyqinn'a'qu Piče'qala'na'n⁶ tivai'l'inin.⁷ Vav'il'mal⁶
Raven's. Great-Raven to Little-Bird-Man had desired, he said,
Gūmna'n⁶ nawa'kak⁷ Piče'qala'na'n⁶ tivai'l'inin.⁷ Mit'i⁸ e'wan,⁸
"I daughter to Little-Bird-Man I shall give her." Mit'i⁸ said,
"Gūmna'n⁶ nawa'kak⁷ Valvirmtila'n³ tivai'l'inin.⁷ Valv'il'muk⁷
Man secretly went out, with excrement he ate, with dog carrion
awyeño'ýkin.⁴ Kiyaw'laike,⁶ e'nm⁷ vańvolai'ke⁷ qapa'au²⁰ qu'itti²⁰
he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine some
i*u'wi.²¹ Newńvo'ykinenat,²² "Mi'kinak²² gańmilena'w?²²⁶ Valv'il'm-
Man,³⁴ Gūmna'n.³⁴ "I" Wolf (skins). They began to say to both, "Who
killed them?" Raven-
tila'n,³⁴ "I" Man.
Vae'yuk gawyalyolen,25 qopnpu enfa'an26 ama'latca.27 Quyqinn'a- Afterwards a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting better.
qu'nak28 gewinvo'lenat,29 "Toq, qamaltva'thitik.30 Ma'ki31 yamalit-
Raven told the two of them, "There, ye two make it better! Who makes it
va'tin,32 na'yen33 tiyanawtina'nin.34 Valvrmtila'n, "Ga'mma35
to that one I shall give the wife." Raven-Men, "I mimalitva'tik.36 E'wan,37 "Qinatinunla'tik.38 Nitoilvo'ykin, "Prepare the provisions for
shall make it better." He said, "Prepare the provisions for A Number of boots
me!"
gatai'kilinau.39 Ga'qalin.40 E'nik17 vauno'ykin41 e'nungkena,42
they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff,
yenoteinvo'ynin.43 Pici'qalain53 nitoilvo'ykin, "It went out,
he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out, there he stayed,
awynovo'ynin.44 Chenyo'q Piceqalanai'tin45 Valvrmtila'n aqa-lapini-
looked. Little-Bird-Man entered, not saying he was.
vo'ynin.46 Pici'qala'n yaqlw'wikin,47 ui'nai'mk48 eninivo'ynin.49
Valvrmtila'n e'nik17 va'ykin.41 Enfa'an28 qopnpu vuyalaninivo'ynin,50
Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm,
ui'na ama'latca.27 Go, va'yuk gaya'liqwil,51 rmi-plaku52 qa'qitilinau,53
not not it become Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen,
qa'tn plakgenetin54 na'caunvoqen,55 ini'mink plaku56 qa'qitilinau.58
meanwhile into the boots he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.
"Quyqinewun, i'ya'n1 ga'cimalin. " Vae'yuk Pici'kala'n gewinvo'len,56
"Impossible, heaven is broken." Then Little-Bird-Man they told to him,
25 Stem in initial position wuyal medial wugl: py verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811)
pa—fin nominalized form of intransitive verb (§ 73).
26 Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 876).
27 Stem maq good: a—tka negative (§ 114, 4).
28 Stem in-tak nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. dual (§ 74).
29 Stem maq good: ru to be: q—ttuk imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).
30 Absolute form (§ 58, p. 726).
31 ya—future.
32 Absolute form of demonstrative (§ 57).
33 rma-1st pers. sing. future: -fin 3d pers. sing. object.
34 Absolute form (§ 56).
35 1st person sing. exhortative, intransitive.
36 qa—laq imperative, yelme; (a)— to make (§ 114.2); minus provisions.
37 Stem plak boot: -lami (§ 52): a plural; more frequently plak'vu.
38 Stem laq to make; qa—luun nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 74).
39 Stem laq to go; nominalized form, 3d pers. sing. (§ 73).
40 Stem ira in initial position on to stay: -lu to begin; -yku derived form.
41 -ic base (§ 101.21), locative.
42 -ic deverbal; nu to say; (a) intensive action § 110.87; -ic to begin; -yku derived form.
43 Stem rlu to go out; -ic to begin; -yku derived form.
44 -ic allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).
45 Steins qyuqiru; -lu to see; yu to put on; -a—yku as in note 44.
46 Vayqin, Ch. ra'qie to enter; derived form.
47 Stem ma to stay; a—ka negation (§ 114, 4); a contracted with i to i.
48 Stem it; -yiku yku as in note 44.
49 Stem wugl in medial position wugl: -at (§ 110.70) (see note 25).
50 yaqie to enter (see note 47); pa—lin nominalized verb (§ 73).
51 rmi all (§ 113.6): a plural (§ 34).
52 git frozen; qa—lun nominalized verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 73).
53 plak boot; git bottom; -ic allative (§ 40).
54 git urin; -lu to begin; -yku nominalized verb (§ 73).
55 Compare note 29; here 3d pers. sing.
"Toq, gmya'q 57 qmalatva't! 58—"Qiyime'wun, gi'niw 59 gu'mma 55
"Oh, thou now make it well!" — "Impossible, like to thee I 
tryanto'ykin, 60 plakge'nte'ni 64 tiyaa'ca'ni'vo'ykin? 65 Gew'niwo'lenau 63
shall go out, into the boots shall I urinate?" He said to them
Quyqinn'aqu'nak, 28 "Qalqalatik, 63 kitta'na a'wntinka!" 64 Va'yuk
Big-Raven "Go away, there unmarried!" Then
gewniwo'len, 62 "Atau'-qun." Qo'La 65 a'pi'li 66 ga'kmi'lin, 67 qalte'nin,
he said, "Well now." Some small fat he took, a stopper,
wulpa'pel; 69 ga'lqalin 70 e'eti, 71 gayi'fialin, 72 gala'lin, 73 iya'kin 74
a little shovel; he went to the sky, he flew up, he came, the sky's
cema'thi'tin, 75 qalte'nin 68 qalqalin, 76 a'ca'pi 66 ee'eti 71 gani'fialin; 77
left with the stopper, little fat to the sky he threw;
pire' gama'fialin. 79
for a while
Gii'mlan gai'fialin, 80 gu'nialin gawyalyo'len. 25 Na'nyen 23
Again "he went home, again there was a snowstorm. That
qalte'nin 68 ganqu'lin 81 yayacikoi'tifi, 82 nEpplu'qin 83 mi'qun. E'wan, 8
impossible. The sky is broken." Big-Raven the stopper
va'sqin gatai'kilin 89 nma'yinquin 82 gei'lin, 84 a'cin 86 o'pta nma'yinquin 83
another one made a large one he gave it, fat also large
gai'lin, 84 Ga'lqalin 70 gii'mlan, panenai'tin 85 gayi'fialin, 72 Ga'la'lin, 73
he gave. He went again to the former place he flew. He came,
pac'ena 85 na'nyen 83 qalte'niin 68 mal-kit 86 ga'npilen, 87 tala'wga 88
that time that stopper well he closed it, with a mallet

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57 gin- thou; -yaq indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.
58 Stem mitted, well, to be; imperative.
59 Second person personal pronoun gin- (§ 56; 129, p. 878 under yaq).
60 Iyap, -future; stem a'kii, medial afo; 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 iqat to go; ga-tatik imperative, dual.
64 a-ka NEGATION (§ 114, 4); raw woman.
65 Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).
66 an' fat; pil small (§ 100.15).
67 Stem akmit; ga-lin nominalized verb (§ 74).
68 Absolute form (§ 30).
69 pil small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.
70 Stem iqat to go (see note 63); ga-lin nominalized verb (§ 73).
71 Absolute form i'ya'ni sky: -fi allative.
72 Stem iqa'ni TO FLY UP; ga-lin nominalized verb.
73 Stem initial iqa, medial and 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 isip to stop up, close; ga-lin as before, here with ablaut.
78 Stem is'Da (Ch. fi) to throw; ga-lin nominalized verb.
79 Stem mi'g good.
80 Stem i'ilat (allative of ga house) to go home.
81 Stem iqa', medial apro to come loose, to come out (like a plug out of a hole).
82 Stems yoga-, house: -LIKE INSIDE; -IT ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.
83 pil small; n-in (§ 49) ma'gi(f)i large.
84 Stem yi, medial pil to give; gei'lin instead of pil'ilin irregular.
85 panina before, former; absolute form pa'ni'n; adverb pa'nen a'gain, another time; -it allative, with terminal nasalization.
86 mal'kit well, all right (Ch. met-k'ik, met-k'ilt somewhere); mal (Ch. me, met) see § 113.10 and
11; (Ch. k'ik'tik, adverb, a little).
87 yi, medial-tp to stick into, to stuff into; ga-lin with ablaut.
88 Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem gala to strike.
gata'lalen, na'nyen a'cin e'e'tini gani'lalain, gu'mlan a'elala
he struck it, that fat to the sky he threw it, again with snow

Ga'lalin, na'nyen Valpr'mtla'an aqa'nn'u ga'c'elin. Miti'nak He came; that Raven-Man to hate they had. At Miti's
e'n'voo'ykin, nimo' a'laten'voo'ykin? "Mi'qun, ui'na yu'laq
it happens to thee, quite thou smellest of "Why, not a long time

akle'woka tine'lik. Gew'nivo'len "I'na'c, ga'lqata! U'i'na
without bread I have been." She said, "Enough, go away! Not

Yini'a-fawgut gama'talen. Yini'a-flawgut married.

Toq, galai'ulin, inya'wut gamuqai'ulin. Valpr'mtla'n
Oh, summer came, then it was raining. Raven-Man
ti'ykitiy gaya'ulpin. Qaci'n qo'npii niki'ta gana Len.
the sun "took in mouth. So altogether night it became.

Va'yuq gew'nivo'len, "Can'ai, qaimu'ge!" Then they said, "Can-ai, fetch water!" — "How even

pala'kimen, Va'yuq gew'nivo'len, "Me'nqan nime' miti-
are thirsty. Then we shall die." She went groping,
enn'a'an wus'qu'meiku, va'yuq ga'vriin, gani'voo'len
thus in the dark, then she stopped, she began

— Subjective as instrumental; absolute form a'elal, a'elat.
— Stem a'elme.
— Locative form (§42).
— Stem mik where; -qada near (§101.28).
— Stem a'q to excrement; -q to smell of.
— Stem mik (§55, p. 726).
— Stem yul long; -aq adverbial suffix (§112, 79).
— a-ka negation (§114, 4).
— Stem naq to become (§77).
— Verbal noun in -a used as imperative (§95, p. 787).
— From a-ka negation (§114, 4); maq good; te to be.
— Stem it to be (§75).
— Stem mata to take, to marry.
— a's summer; -yu suffix, phenomena of nature (§110.71).
— miska rain; -yu as in note 107.
— Reduplicated absolute form (§29).
— yul to chew; pop to put on (see Note 40); yulup a quid.
— Stem naq to become (§77); ga-lin nominalized verb (§73); 4 < l+l (§18).
— Stem aim to draw water; -qe imperative.
— Subjunctive (a), 1st person pl.
— Derived form, 1st person pi.
— Future, without ending -mik (§65).
— Verbal noun in -a expressing modality (§95).
— Stems wase darkness; -eku inside (§101.24); em is an unusual form of the connective vowel (see §15, 1); the parallel form wase'yu mëkiku is found in Chukchee.
— Stem füe, medial -fe to stop.
— Stem füe to begin.
E'wâ'n, 8 "r'mm qai-vai'anti 121 aînâ'we'ye." 122 Va'yuk
singing.

She said, "All the little rivers are stingy." Then

it did so
to that place
a small river
bubbling.

Gayt'śâk. 1
She filled a
Russian vessel,
to the house
she went,
a Russian vessel
bubbling.

Gayi'pâl, 2m na'we'ye.

Then she carried on her a man came. She could not
say, "I, back; (carry),
gumna'n mi'mtin."

She said, "I,

Gayai'tijen
wus'qu'mciku.

She came home in the dark. That one came.

"I will carry it." She came home in the dark. That one
acted.

Gayni'pâl,
gaiivo'len
6ilalâ'tik.

"I,

Gayi'Walin
milh-u'kkam,

She filled a "Russian vessel, to the house she went, a "Russian vessel
bubbling.

Gayi'Walin
milh-u'kkam,

She filled a "Russian vessel, to the house she went, a "Russian vessel
bubbling.

Gayi'Walin
milh-u'kkam,

She filled a "Russian vessel, to the house she went, a "Russian vessel
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bubbling.

Gayi'Walin
milh-u'kkam,

She filled a "Russian vessel, to the house she went, a "Russian vessel
bubbling.

Gayi'Walin
milh-u'kkam,

She filled a "Russian vessel, to the house she went, a "Russian vessel
bubbling.
ganvo'len he began preparing, Raven-Man she reached. "Halloo, Raven-Man is staying?"

Gewnivo'len Valvi'mtila'n he was told Raven-Man, "Since you left, altogether wrong I was."

Gayo'olen she found Valvi'mtila'n, "As's'o' qati', qa'chik ui'na you really not wrong worth? Wilt thou stay so?" The back he turned, to the front.

Gayo'olen, gewnivo'len, "Gi'ssa qa'6ik ui'na the back he turned. Then she began.

Gayo'olen, qo'yin yila'ya'nik the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

Gewnivo'len, "Gm, gm, gm!" Qo'yin yilenvo'ykmen. To the other side she turned him. Then he laughed aloud, "Ga, *ga, *gal" The sun "peeped out, to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

"Mai, began preparing, to Raven-Man she reached. "Halloo, Valvi'mtila'n, va'ykm?" Valvi'nitila'n, Va'6vi-na'ut e'wan, "Va'ykm."

Gewnivo'len Valvi'mtila'n, "As's'o' qati', qa'chik ui'na you really not wrong worth? Wilt thou stay so?" The back he turned, to the front.

Gewnivo'len, Gi'ssa qa'6ik ui'na the back he turned. Then she began.

Gewnivo'len, "Gm, gm, gm!" Qo'yin yilenvo'ykmen. To the other side she turned him. Then he laughed aloud, "Ga, *ga, *gal" The sun "peeped out, to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

"Mai, began preparing, to Raven-Man she reached. "Halloo, Valvi'mtila'n, va'ykm?" Valvi'nitila'n, Va'6vi-na'ut e'wan, "Va'ykm."

Gewnivo'len Valvi'mtila'n, "As's'o' qati', qa'chik ui'na you really not wrong worth? Wilt thou stay so?" The back he turned, to the front.

Gewnivo'len, Gi'ssa qa'6ik ui'na the back he turned. Then she began.

Gewnivo'len, "Gm, gm, gm!" Qo'yin yilenvo'ykmen. To the other side she turned him. Then he laughed aloud, "Ga, *ga, *gal" The sun "peeped out, to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

160 Stem ten'm TO PREPARE; verbal noun in -k dependent on šwo TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 138); -čč un-intensity of action.

161 Derived form of stem tev in initial position va TO BE.

162 Stem qat TO WALK, in initial position va TO BE.

163 Stems teq-šw TO BE-TO BEGIN, ti—k 1st pers. sing.

164 Stem ga TO VISIT.

165 Absolute form (§ 56).

166 Stem šw TO BE-TO BEGIN; q (u)—(§ 68), no personal ending.

167 Absolute form.

168 Subjective as subject of transitive verb.

169 Absolute form.

170 Stem li TO TURN; ga—in nominalized verb.

171 yaina to MEET; adverbial: face to face.

172 Locative.

173 Locative (see note 71).

174 Locative.

175 Locative as subject of transitive verb.

176 Locative (see note 71).

177 Stem ga TO FASTEN ITSELF.

178 Stem šč, čč TO DAWN (see note 146).