

Kamass

Ago Künnap

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Typologically, Kamass is an agglutinative language with numerous flexive markers. Synthetical features predominate over analytical ones. On the whole, Kamass is a rather typical Uralic language. The parts of speech in Kamass are nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections. Grammatical gender is lacking. There are three numbers: singular, dual and plural.

The category of case is predominantly expressed by suffixes, there are seven cases. Nouns can be used with possessive suffixes. The tenses can be used mostly by means of suffixes but, occasionally, may also be expressed by verbal aspects. Transitive and intransitive verbs may have different personal suffixes, in part. There are four modes: indicative, conjunctive, optative and imperative. The space orientation is expressed by a trinomial distribution of locatives: to where? where? from where? In case of verbal negation a separate negative auxiliary verb is used. The typical word order is SVAdO. The definite object is usually expressed by a suffixal accusative, the indefinite one by a 0-suffixal nominative. A compound sentence is not typical of Kamass: gerundial constructions can be found instead of a subordinate clause. About one-third of the word-stock has been borrowed from Turkic languages. The outline is the first extensive modern treatment of the Kamass language.

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negation a separate negative auxiliary verb is used. The typical word order is SOAdvV. The definite object is usually expressed by a suffixal accusative, the indefinite one by a zero-suffixal nominative. A compound sentence is not typical of Kamass: gerundial constructions can be found instead of a subordinate clause. About one-third of the word-stock has been borrowed from Turkic languages.

The outline is the first extensive modern treatment of the Kamass language.

0.2. Some common remarks about Samoyed peoples and languages

The affinity between Samoyed and Finno-Ugric languages is considered as proved today. The Samoyed family of languages and the Finno-Ugric family of languages together form the Uralic phylum.

Today there are four Samoyed peoples: Nenetses, Enetses, Nganasans and Selkups. In earlier writings Nenetses were referred to as Yuraks or Yurak-Samoyeds, Enetses as the Yenisey-Samoyeds, Nganasans as Tavgis or Tavgi-Samoyeds, and Selkups as Ostyak-Samoyeds. Those earlier names are frequently used also today.

There are only about 40,000 Samoyed people but they live scattered over a vast area reaching from the eastern coast of the White Sea to the western coast of the Laptev's Sea, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Ket, the tributary of the Ob River. Thus, they can be found living both in Europe and in Asia, both to this and to that side of the Polar Circle, their dwelling-area embracing tundras, forest tundras, marshes and forests.

Samoyeds may have been mentioned in Chinese historical documents written before our era, but quite distinctly were not referred to before 1096, in the Kiev Chronicle. During the 12th century European Samoyeds were probably subjected to Russia. In the 14th century the conquest of the areas beyond the Ob River began, and in the 17th century all the Samoyeds were subjected to Russia. They paid to Russians certain taxes called "yassak" in the form of furs. From now on new reports concerning Samoyeds become more frequent. During the 17th century several West-European travellers happen to go to the areas populated by Samoyeds, and they take short records of the language. In the early 18th century Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg was travelling in Siberia. He was the first to bring out the affinity of the Samoyed and the Finno-Ugric languages in literature. The material collected consists largely of word lists. Most of the recorders were not professional linguists. Huge work was done by the great Finnish linguist Matias Aleksanteri Castrén who lived among Samoyeds in 1842-1844 and 1845-1849. He collected their vocabulary, texts and grammatical data from the Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Selkup and Kamass languages. The material collected and partly worked through by him remains the corner stone of Samoyed linguistics up to our days. Most of that material has been published (Castrén 1854; 1855).

In 1911 the Finno-Ugric Society in Helsinki sent two Finnish scientists, namely Toivo Lehtisalo and Kai Donner, to Siberia to carry on the work of Castrén. Most resultatively the former collects the materials on the Nenets, the latter mainly on the Selkup and the Kamass languages (Donner 1944). In the years of Soviet power collection work has been much furthered by G. N. Prokof'ev, N. M. Tereščenko, etc.

The speakers of Uralic languages are now dispersed on a vast territory which extends from Hungary and the Baltic Sea in the west to the Taimyr Peninsula in the east and the Arctic Ocean in the north and up to the middle course of the Danube, the Volga and the Irtysh in the south. Hence, since the time of the discovery of common features in Uralic languages, the problem how to explain their occurrence on such a vast area has

0. FOREWORD

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The number of the native speakers of Kamass was very small years ago already, perhaps a couple of hundreds only. Kamass never had an alphabet of its own, to say nothing about having its own written language or school instruction.

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Typologically, Kamass is an agglutinative language with numerous flexive markers. Synthetical features predominate over analytical ones. On the whole, Kamass is a rather typical Uralic language. The parts of speech in Kamass are nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, connective particles and interjections. The adherence of agglutinative suffixes to the stem of a word is typical. The stem is immediately followed by word-forming suffixes, after them by word-changing suffixes. Generally possessive suffixes follow case endings whereas the markers of the number of nouns precede case endings. Numerical indicators of both possessive and personal verbal suffixes are used morpheme-finally. The markers of moods and tenses are, as a rule, before personal suffixes. The tendency to suffixation is apparent. Personal pronouns are the most irregular group of words.

The grammatical gender is lacking. There are three numbers: singular, dual and plural.

The category of case is predominantly expressed by suffixes, there are seven cases. Nouns can be used with possessive suffixes. The tenses can be used mostly by means of suffixes but, occasionally, may also be expressed by verbal aspects. Transitive and intransitive verbs may have different personal suffixes, in part. There are four moods: indicative, conjunctive, optative and imperative. The space orientation is expressed by a trinomial distribution of locatives: to where? where? from where? In case of verbal

remained. It was considered reasonable that the common features originated from a certain narrower area and in the course of time began to spread farther and farther away.

In addition to this Uralic languages were observed to have quite a number of common features with the so-called Altaic, i.e. Turkic, Tungusic-Manchu and Mongolian languages, spoken basically in Asia. It was supposed, therefore, that the narrower area of origin of Uralic common features was near there. Based on the interpretation of the data of linguistics, archaeology and other adjacent sciences, a conception was forwarded mainly on the initiative of linguists according to which the Uralic (i.e. Finno-Ugric and Samoyed) ancient home was situated somewhere in the east, on the Volga or around the southern Urals inhabited by ancient Uralic people. They spoke the Uralic proto-language, enjoyed the Uralic proto-culture and possibly, were also of a Uralic proto-race. It was a Uralic proto-period, ending no sooner than 8,000 and no later than 6,000 years ago. After that the emigration started, mainly westward, from their ancient home. Gradually, during thousands of years, the descendants of these ancient Uralic peoples of the east shifted more and more westwards until they reached the vicinity of the Baltic Sea.

But today it is not the only conceivable explanation, rather incredible altogether. Based on more recent points of view of a number of scientists it is possible to suppose that the spread of man in Europe began at the latest some 50,000 years ago from somewhere in the Middle East via Balkan and as the first wave, the predecessors of Uralic peoples moved in the direction of the north, inhabiting an extensive area from about England to the Uralic Mountains. In the wake of icecap (beginning some 15,000 years ago) they shifted more and more northwards, arriving at last at the coast of the Arctic Ocean. Later, under the pressure by Indo-European languages, the southern boundaries of the area where Uralic languages were spoken continually shifted northwards.

In accordance with a widely spread idea the languages of various Uralic tribes began to differentiate as much as the distance between them increased both in space and time. The reason was believed to be the fact that languages were changing, and with the loss of internal contacts their mutual synchronisation did not take place any longer. Such a process, naturally, was effected.

However, modern linguistics holds the view that the main reason of the language change consists in the influence of other languages. Uralistics is used to pay the main attention to a detailed clarification of mutual common features. The contacts with non-Uralic languages have been first of all considered in the framework of loan words and sound changes accompanying them. The fact that Uralic languages have intermingled, in particular, with their neighbouring languages (whatever language families they belong to), has been largely ignored. Naturally, the intermingling of languages is subjected to its own rules and limits; mechanical intermingling of languages, e.g. fifty-fifty, cannot be the point.

The mixability of Uralic languages is indirectly characterized by the fact that several researchers tend to consider as genuine only these Finno-Ugric languages that are situated in the central part of the Uralic language area, that is, the Volga and Permic languages. The westward languages, Finnic and Sami are regarded as a transition area to various Indo-European languages, Ugric and Samoyed as a transition area to various Siberian languages (Paleo-Siberian, Turkic et al.). Being an investigator of Samoyed languages myself, I have often come across such language unions (Sprachbund), leading into the faraway Siberia, the equivalents of which are few, obscure or lacking altogether in more westward Finno-Ugric languages. (See Künnap 1998.) In accordance with the theory of the Uralic language tree (Sprachbaum), the language phenomena, peculiar to

the easternmost Uralic language area (and having Siberian non-Uralic language equivalents), have been regarded as typical of Proto-Uralic, supposing that in the course of time these phenomena have simply disappeared from the more westward languages.

János Puszta, in particular, has successfully revealed common features between Uralic and Paleo-Siberian languages from one of the northern Eurasian neighbouring groups (Puszta 1995). Paleo-Siberian languages form a general name for the following Siberian groups of languages, obviously not genetically related among themselves: Yenisey (Ket [extinct Ket, Arin and Assan]), Yukaghir (Yukaghir [extinct Ust-Jarsk Yukaghir, Chuvan and Omoc]), Eskimo-Aleut (Eskimo and Aleut), Chukotic-Kamchatkan (Chukchi, Koryak, Kerek, Alyutor and Itelmen) as well as Gilyak.

Puszta supposes that in Northern Eurasia the traditionally reconstructed primal languages were preceded by an arctic Eurasian Sprachbund which laid the basis for typological similarity of the languages there. On the area mentioned Puszta makes a difference between several groups in morphology and morphosyntax: languages with subjective and objective conjugation (Mordvin, Ugric, Samoyed, Paleo-Siberian); languages with predicative inflexion of the noun (Mordvin, Samoyed, all Siberian languages); languages with the sentence object expressed by locative cases (Mordvin, Hungarian, seldom Samoyed); languages with unmarked preterite (Samoyed in part, the majority of Siberian languages). From among Uralic languages the partaking of Samoyed languages in these groups is striking.

We could repeat Puszta's question whether Siberia was not a smelting furnace for languages (Puszta 1988). Puszta shows that the presumptive Proto-Uralic must have been a product of melting where at least two linguistic layers were represented. On the one hand, there is the Siberian layer, characterized by the occurrence of the dual, the discrimination of determinative and indeterminate conjugation, the conjugation of nouns, etc. On the other hand, there is the layer where these features were lacking. Puszta suggests that (Ob-)Ugric and Samoyed are, strictly speaking, just a connecting link between westward genuine Finno-Ugric languages and eastward Siberian languages (Puszta 1995).

In case of the mixed origin of languages we need not necessarily speak about the loss of earlier common features of the so-called related languages but rather about the possibility that the respective common feature never even appeared in the given language. If a language has been combined from a number of elements of preceding languages we could claim that some elements of some preceding languages never reached that particular one. We could interpret the situation so that these elements disappeared on their way to the given language, never reaching it. Another question is how deeply we can believe in the traditional Uralic language tree today. (See also Künnap 1998.)

0.3. On the destiny of the Kamass people and language

To get a clearer picture of the Kamasses we are expected to know the destiny of the Sayan-Samoyed peoples and their respective languages because the Sayan-Samoyed tribes to whom they belong have up to the present almost entirely died out or renationalized. These former tribes – Kamasses and Mators – used to live in the Sayan Mountains.

The Sayan-Samoyed tribes were very small. Their way of life had a considerable likeness to the present-day Samoyed peoples' earlier way of life. They led a nomadic life breeding reindeer, hunting and fishing in the proximity of the Altai and Yeniseic

tribes who were speaking another language. The first information about the Sayan-Samoyed languages dates back to 1721.

Towards the middle of the 17th century they either adopted local so-called Altaic languages (mainly Turkic languages) or entirely died out, leaving no family trees.

The Kamass language was the only one that could survive and wait for the real investigator to come. This man was Matias Aleksanteri Castrén. In 1845 he visited the Kamasses. Castrén was followed by Kai Donner who could not go to the Kamasses earlier than 1912 and 1914.

The years of hardships of the Civil War, famine and epidemics came. Getting information from Siberia, Kai Donner was almost sure that he had been the last to study Kamass. Already during his Sayan visits he had found only some twenty people who could speak the language. Little by little linguists of Uralic languages all over the world began to express their opinion that Kamass was dying out and hardly any speaker existed. It is noteworthy to point out that the only optimist was the well-known specialist of the Sayan-Samoyed languages Aulis J. Joki. In 1952 he wrote that the Kamasses had retained their Samoyed mother tongue much longer than any other Sayan-Samoyed groups and he hoped that there might possibly exist some individual speakers of the language. (Joki 1952 : 27.)

And in 1963 unexpectedly for everybody came an announcement of the existence of a living speaker of Kamass, an old woman in the Sayan mountains – Klavdija Plotnikova. Careful search for speakers of Kamass was undertaken and it resulted in finding still another person who lived in Krasnoyarsk – Aleksandra Žib'eva. But Aleksandra died soon. Klavdija and Aleksandra – mainly Klavdija – were my language informants during some years (Klavdija the very last time in 1970). (See Künnap 1971.)

Klavdija Plotnikova, a hale-and-heartily woman, was of a low stature with wide mongoloid cheek-bones, her bright-eyed, snub-nosed clever face had seen many a hard day. She was a kind hostess who found no equal in making wild onion pies and home butter. She was a firm patriot of her former tribe. That was why she had not forgotten the language of her forefathers. Klavdija, the last Kamass as she was very often called, died in 1989.

Already in her younger days there were very few people left who could speak Kamass. Klavdija was the daughter of a Kamass mother and Russian father. She tried to use every opportunity to learn and speak her mother tongue. Klavdija's last Kamass interlocutor, her aunt, died.

The destiny of the Kamass people has been far from easy. Once they had been hunters, fishers and reindeer-breeders like the rest of the Samoyeds differing greatly from the local so-called Altaic people who kept horses, bred cattle, had sheep and goats.

Russians did not settle the area at that time, they began to pour in about a hundred years ago. The place was rich in domesticated reindeer, woods were full of animals, mountain lakes were swarming with fish. Local reindeer were so strong that one could ride them. In summer they were driven to highlands where mosquitoes were not so many, in winter they came down to shady valleys. The Kamasses were known to have been good hunters although their means of hunting were primitive.

They lived in conic pole houses which were not hard to pull down and easily transportable. The Kamasses were so much attached to their pole houses that later when they began to live in log houses, they put their pole houses up in the yard in summer, cooked their meals in them and slept there at night.

Time passed. The Kamasses took over horses and cattle, they began to hunt with Russian guns. Famine ceased to menace them but there was no escape from devastating

epidemics, with the development of civilization new evil diseases appeared, alcoholic drinks among them.

Newcomers did not respect local traditions, they began to hunt domesticated reindeer that belonged to the Kamasses, they seized their lands and behaved like privileged owners. With the growth of population the number of hunting animals decreased.

The Kamasses degenerated. Their fate was against them, the final stages of the existence of the tribe were saturated with gruesome accidents. Husbands killed their wives, brothers their brothers, fishermen were drowned, hunters disappeared. As reindeer breeding became impossible, the Kamasses took a unique and moving step, they made all the domesticated reindeer free.

From that time onwards the Kamasses adopted a settled way of life. Quick assimilation with Russians followed. Among the Kamasses there was a permanent paucity of women that was caused by a higher death-rate of girls and it led to mixed marriages with Russians. At the beginning of the 20th century half of the Kamass were born of Russian mothers. We have to bear in mind that mothers play a decisive role in the formation of a child's language usage. In the end the Kamasses completely adopted the Russian language.

The number of the Kamasses quickly diminished during the years of the Civil War, they fell in the battlefields of the World War II. There are no more than fifty Kamasses who descend from the tribal family-tree. And only the Last Kamass Klavdija Plotnikova, as we already know, really spoke her former Kamass mother tongue. (See Künnap 1971.)

1.1.3. Stress

The type of stress is dynamic: a stressed vowel is pronounced with a stronger air-stream. (The tones are not especially studied but if they occur, they are observed not to form phonologically significant tonal oppositions.) Based on available data, the stress is not used as a feature distinguishing the meaning. In a word the stress as a rule falls on the first vowel or on the last long vowel. Sometimes the primary stress on the first syllable is accompanied by an additional weaker secondary stress which falls on the last syllable. E.g. *i-lžarme*: 'chain', *ku-luka*: 'abundance, wealth', *pü-žeri*: 'chopper'; *kuzā*: 'person', *kuzān*: 'a small animal indigenous to the steppes', *uba*: 'mitten'. (Here the main (primary) stress is marked by · and the adjacent (secondary) stress by ::)

1.1.4. Quantity

All the vowels have both a short (some informants – usually an overshoot) and a long pronunciation but the quantitative duration is not a feature for distinguishing meaning. The duration of a vowel may vary in one and the same word, e.g. *aʔčalāʔzi*: 'path; trace; footprint; wrinkle', *ižalīžə*: 'sick, bad; a sick person', *mon/mön*: 'lip', *par-lam/pār-lam*: 'I turn back, I go back, I return', *kuzal/kuzā*: 'person, man', *čimal/čīma*: 'tail', *ōrāl'em/erē-l'em*: 'I die'. (Long vowels are marked by a dash in the book.)

1.1.5. Vowel harmony

A strong tendency to partial vowel harmony can be distinguished in this language: in a word only back or middle vowels or only front vowels are overwhelmingly used, the vowels *e*, *i*, *ə* and *ē* are not included in vowel harmony. E.g. *kamo*: 'snow crust', *turūl*: 'lily bulb'; *sijō*: 'nightingale', *nünü*: 'a ring at the end of ski stick or a target pole'; *šaybe*: 'noise', *intak*: 'thimble', *büringə*: 'half-dark', *ardadār-l'am*: 'I spoil'.

1.1.6. Phonological rules

In a number of cases the phonemes have allophones, partly depending on the distribution, partly on a relatively high variation in the pronunciation as a whole. E.g. *maʔ*: 'tent' (Nom): *mādan* (Gen), *ābās*: 'priest' (Nom): *ābāzān* (Gen), *māneʔ*: 'go!': *mambi*: 'I went' (< **mən-bi*); *kamžul/kamžū*: 'whip', *nāryal/nākā*: 'thin', *užil/üzü*: 'cap'. (In the book the letter V designates several different vowels and the letter š several front vowels in the suffixes.)

1.1.7. Dialects

Kamass has two dialects: Genuine Kamass and Koibal. Possibly the Genuine Kamass dialect has two subdialects: Eagle and Fat, differentiated mainly in phonology (see Table 3).

1. GRAMMAR

1.1. Phonology

In this book the s.-c. Finno-Ugric transcription (FUT) is used which is not too different from the IPA.

1.1.1. Vowel phonemes

There are 11 vowel phonemes in Kamass (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: VOWEL SYSTEM

	Front		Middle		Back	
	Non-labial	Labialized	Non-labial	Labialized	Non-labial	Labialized
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Middle	<i>e</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ē</i>			<i>o</i>
Low					<i>a</i>	
Reduced	<i>ə</i>		<i>ə̄</i>			

1.1.2. Consonant phonemes

There are 28 consonant phonemes in Kamass (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

	Bilabial		Dental	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
	Stops	<i>p, b</i>		<i>t, d</i>	<i>č, b</i>	<i>k, g</i>
Affricates				<i>č, ž</i>		
Fricatives			<i>s, z</i>	<i>š, ž, š, ž</i>	<i>x, γ</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ň</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>	<i>l̥</i>		
Trills			<i>r</i>			
Glides		<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>		

TABLE 3: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBDIALECTS

E a g l e	F a t
<i>u</i> <i>kāzjuk</i> 'ankle'	<i>ü</i> <i>kāzok</i> id.
<i>ē</i> <i>žēdū</i> 'Betula nana'	<i>o</i> <i>čī?dū</i> id.
<i>ā</i> <i>būri?gā</i> 'half-dank'	<i>o</i> <i>būri?go</i> id.
<i>b-</i> <i>būštā</i> 'smiling'	<i>p-</i> <i>pūštā</i> id.
<i>ž-</i> <i>žayā</i> 'river'	<i>č-</i> <i>čayā</i> id.
<i>-w</i> <i>o?w</i> 'one'	<i>-m</i> <i>o?m</i> id.

The present overview of the Kamass language is based on Genuine Kamass dialect, first of all on the Eagle subdialect as predominating.

1.2. Morphology

1.2.1. Some common remarks

The grammatical number is expressed by means of the opposition of the singular, plural and dual forms.

The meaning of the cases is expressed by means of suffixes which are added to nouns, adjectives, pronouns and substantivized verbs, in their fixed forms they belong also to adverbs and postpositions. There are two declensions: the main (or non-possessive) and possessive ones. There are seven cases: nominative, genitive, accusative, lative, locative, ablative and instrumental. The attribution is expressed by means of the genitive case or possessive suffixes which are there for all three persons of all three numbers.

The expression of aspectual meanings is closely connected with tense forms. Single verbs may occur without any tense markers, while the time of action can be regarded by the aspect of the verb: the verb forms expressing a long-term or recurrent action are used for the present-future or present tense forms but the verb forms expressing a short-term or a single action are usually for the preterite. The verbs may be transitive or intransitive: depending on their being conjugated subjectively or objectively. Four moods are contrasted: indicative, conjunctive, optative and imperative. The optative mood is used only in IP (it compensates for the lack of IP imperative).

The category of person with nouns is expressed by means of possessive suffixes, used in nouns, pronouns, substantivized forms of the verb, adverbs and postpositions. The category of person with verbs is expressed by means of particular personal suffixes of the verb, differing in all three numbers of all three persons. There are two conjugations: subjective and objective. In the former intransitive verbs are conjugated, as a rule, in the latter – transitive verbs. These conjugations differ from each other only by personal suffixes: in 3PSg of the indicative and conjunctive of the subjective conjugation the personal suffix is lacking altogether; various personal suffixes are used in the following cases – in all three numbers 3P of the present indicative and 3PSg/Pl of the future indicative as well as in all three numbers 3P of the conjunctive and imperative moods. The opposition definiteness/indefiniteness, to a certain extent, is realised in the use of cases: an indefinite direct object is usually expressed by means of the nominative case, the definite one by the accusative case. Grammatical tense forms are contrasted only in

the indicative mood and here the difference is made among the present-future, present, future and preterite tense forms.

Local orientation is based on the three-member distribution: the suffixes of local cases of nouns, adverbs and postpositions are divided among the lative (to where?), locative (where?) and ablative (from where?).

In the materials on the Kamass language the traces of archaic system of verbal negation have been preserved, viz. the combination of the main verb with a preceding particular auxiliary negative verb: the auxiliary verb is conjugated according to general rules but the main verb is in a special unconjugated form. Later, influenced by non-Uralic languages, such a system of verbal negation emerged in which case the invariable particle (one of the forms of the former auxiliary negative verb) is adhered to common personal forms of the main verb. The negation in nouns and adverbs is expressed by means of the same particle. There are also a negative interjection and a verb of absence – non-possessiveness.

The parts of speech: noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun, verb, adverb, postposition, conjunction, connective particle and interjection. The numerals are divided into cardinals, ordinals, distributives, collectives and iteratives.

(* designates the reconstructed words and word forms.)

1.2.2. Number

The singular form has no markers. The dual in nouns is formed by means of the suffix *-zagej* (only one form of the word with this suffix), in pronouns *-štel/-stē/-štel/* *-šade* */-šidē/-šidēga*, in possessive suffixes *-j*, in personal suffixes of the verb *-j* (1st, 2nd, 3rd persons), *-jə?/-gVj* (3rd person). In the plural: nouns *-je?/-je?-ji?/-ji?-i* (the main declension), *-sVŋ/-zVŋ* (the main and possessive declension), pronouns *-? (1st, 2nd persons), -zVŋ (3rd person), possessive suffixes -? (1st, 2nd persons), -ŋ (3rd person), personal suffixes of the verb -? (1st, 2nd, 3rd persons of the subjective conjugation, 1st, 2nd persons of the objective conjugation), -ŋ (3rd person of the objective conjugation). Following the numerals, the noun occurs in the singular, e.g. *šidā kaza* 'two persons', *te?dā tiji* 'four men'.*

1.2.3. Noun

All the nouns can morphologically be divided into three groups, depending on the final sounds of the noun: 1) *-V; 2) -?, -l, -m, -n, -ŋ, -r, -w, -b, -d, -g; 3) -p, -t, -k, -s, -š*. Respectively, different variants of a number of case endings are used in these three groups, e.g. lative (**-nV > -nV*) *-nV?/-nV-n, 2) -dV?/-dV, 3) -dV; instrumental 1) and 2) -zš?/-zš, 3) -sš?/-sš*.

1.2.3.1. Case endings and possessive suffixes

The noun in the nominative has no case endings. The endings of the other cases are in the main (non-possessive) declension: the genitive *-n*, the accusative *-m*, the lative *-nV?/-nV/-n-dV?/-dV*, the locative *-?Vŋ/-?Vŋul/-?Vŋul-kVŋ/-xəŋ*, the ablative *-?V?/-?V?/-?V?/-gV?/-gV?/-kV?/-kV?/-?adā/-?adā/-gedē*; in the possessive declension: the lative-locative *-?Vŋ/-kVŋ/-gVŋ/-gVŋ-n*, the ablative of the possessive declension *-?Vt/-kVt/-gVt/-t-*; in the both declensions: the instrumental *-sš?/-sš?/-zš?/-zš*. In the

singular there is only one denotative object, e.g. *aspa? manzallewa* 'the kettle boils', in the dual – two denotative objects, e.g. *kayā-zagej* 'two brothers', *i?bēbi-j* 'we two lie', in the plural there are three or more objects to be denoted, e.g. *es-səŋ sār'labū-?ji?* 'the children were playing'. (See Tables 4 and 5.)

The main (non-possessive) declension

TABLE 4: MAIN DECLENSION

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>ʒaya</i> 'a river'	<i>ʒayazan</i> (<i>ʒaya?je?</i>) 'rivers'
Genitive	<i>ʒayan</i> 'of the river'	<i>ʒayazanən</i> (<i>ʒaya?in</i>) 'of the rivers'
Accusative	<i>ʒayam</i> 'the river'	<i>ʒayazanəm</i> (<i>ʒaya?im</i>) 'the rivers'
Lative	<i>ʒayānə</i> 'to/on the river'	<i>ʒayazanə</i> (<i>ʒaya?inə</i>) 'to/on the rivers'
Locative	<i>ʒayāyən</i> 'in/on the river'	<i>ʒayazanən</i> (<i>ʒaya?iyən</i>) 'in/on the rivers'
Ablative	<i>ʒayāyē?</i> 'from the river'	<i>ʒayazanē?</i> (<i>ʒaya?iyē?</i>) 'from the rivers'
Instrumental	<i>ʒayāse?</i> 'with the river'	<i>ʒayazanze?</i> (<i>ʒaya?ize</i>) 'with the rivers'

The possessive declension

All the possessive suffixes may be divided into two groups: Group I is used only in the nominative-genitive-accusative and instrumental while Group II is used in the lative-locative and ablative. Group I: 1st person -*wV/-mV/-m/-b/-pV/-p-*, 2nd person -*IV/-l/-nV*, 3rd person -*nV/-N/-t*; Group II: 1st person -*nəl/-ni/-ci* (Sg) /-*ni/-ci-* + -*nV/-bV* (Du, Pl), 2nd person -*nVn/-Vn* (Sg) /-*ni/-ci-* + -*IV* (Du, Pl), 3rd person -*nV/-nV*.

TABLE 5: POSSESSIVE DECLENSION

	Singular	Plural
Nominative-genitive-accusative	<i>turam</i> 'my house'	<i>turazanba</i> 'my houses'
Lative-locative	<i>turāni</i>	<i>turazanani</i>
Ablative	<i>turatci</i>	<i>turazangac̄i</i>
Instrumental	<i>turamze</i>	—

	1PSg	1PDu
Nominative-genitive-accusative	<i>turāwij</i> 'our house'	<i>turazanbij</i> 'our houses'
Lative-locative	<i>turanibij</i>	<i>turazananiwij</i>
Ablative	<i>turatciwij</i>	<i>turazangac̄iwij</i>
Instrumental	—	—

	1PPI	2PSg	3PSg	3PDu
Nominative-genitive-accusative	<i>turāwa?</i> 'our house'	<i>tural</i> 'your house'	<i>turat</i> 'his/her house'	<i>turādij</i> 'their house'
Lative-locative	<i>turāniwa?</i>	<i>turānan</i>	<i>turānda</i>	<i>turāndij</i>
Ablative	<i>turatciwa?</i>	<i>turattan</i>	<i>turatte</i>	<i>turāndij</i>
Instrumental	—	<i>turalze?</i>	<i>turāce</i>	—

	2PDu	2PPI	3PSg	3PDu
Nominative-genitive-accusative	<i>turālij</i> 'your house'	<i>turāla?</i> 'your house'	<i>turazanba?</i> 'your houses'	<i>turazanbij</i> 'their houses'
Lative-locative	<i>turānij</i>	<i>turānila?</i>	<i>turazanani?</i>	<i>turazananiwij</i>
Ablative	<i>turatcij</i>	<i>turāčila?</i>	<i>turazangac̄ila?</i>	<i>turazangac̄iwij</i>
Instrumental	—	—	—	—

Nominative-genitive-accusative	<i>turādān</i> 'their house'	<i>turazāndān</i> 'their houses'
Lative-locative	<i>turāndān</i>	<i>turazāngāndān</i>
Ablative	<i>turātān</i>	<i>turazāngātān</i>
Instrumental	—	—

1.2.3.2. Functions of case endings

Generally it is the nominative case for the subject and indefinite object (see (1) and (2)). The genitive mainly expresses belonging (possession) (see (3) and (4)). The accusative is common with a definite object (see (5)). The lative, locative and ablative express local relationships. The lative has the functions of the illative (see (6)) and allative (see (7)), the locative – the inessive (see (8)) and adessive (see (9)), the ablative (see (10)) expresses also the function of the relative (see (11)). For expressing the function of the comitative (see (13)) the instrumental (see (12)) is mainly used. E.g.

- (1) *kozān xandābi*
hare-Nom toddle-Prt3Sg
'The hare toddled.'
- (2) *šūškū ibi*
shoulder bone-Nom seize-Prt3Sg
'He seized a shoulder bone.'
- (3) *kānə-n no'pto*
khan-Gen daughter-Nom
'The khan's daughter.'
- (4) *man kūk*
I-Gen grass-Nom
'My grass.'
- (5) *də šūškū-m aspā'də? pa'dlōbi*
he shoulder bone-Acc kettle-Lat put-Prt3Sg
'He put the shoulder bone into the kettle.'
- (6) *bū-n ištābiəm*
water-Lat let fall-Prt3Sg
'I let (it) fall into the water.'
- (7) *sō-nə sārbi'i?*
ferry-Lat tie-Prt3PI
'They tied (him) onto the ferry.'

- (8) *orō-γān cūpi būzūj i'ba*
hole-Loc wet calf lie-Prs3Sg
'A wet calf is lying in the hole.'

- (9) *məja-γān aspā? mənžəlləwə*
hill-Loc kettle boil-Prs3Sg
'A kettle is boiling on the hill.'

- (10) *būžə? šūt-gū səwojle'bdə*
old man fire-Abl pull away-Prs3Sg
'The old man is pulling him away from the fire.'

- (11) *inē-geđe*
horse-Abl
'Down from the horse.'

- (12) *kem-že žū?luwabi*
blood-Instr smear-Prt3Sg
'He smeared (them) with the blood.'

- (13) *o'p nukkat baška tibi-že amnōbi*
one wife-Px3Sg another man-Instr live-Prt3Sg
'One of his wives with another man lived.'

1.2.3.3. Use of the case endings and possessive suffixes with non-finite verbal forms

The compound suffixes of the type "case ending + possessive suffix" are used with non-finite verbal forms. E.g. gerund suffix *-bəl-mə* + lative-locative compound suffixes:

- (14) *man amcr-bə-nə də šōbi*
I-Gen eat-GerLat-LocPx1Sg he come-Prt3Sg
'At the time when I was eating, he came.'

- (15) *də būžəm am-bī-nan žōri'al*
this old man-Acc eat-GerLat-LocPx2Sg cry-Fut2Sg
'When you this old man eat, you will cry.'

- (16) *tulammə-bi-nədə keğərārije*
come-GerLat-LocPx3Sg call-Prs3Sg
'As he comes, he will call.'

1.2.4. Comparison of adjectives

The degrees of comparison of the adjective are formed by analytical means, whereas the meaningful word that is compared is in the ablative case of the comparative degree (see (17)-(21)).

The comparative degree is e.g.

(17) *ne tižojgu?* *jakša*
horse cow-AbISg good
'A horse is better than a cow.'

(18) *dā bile mana-ce*
he poor/bad I-AbI
'He is poorer/worse than I.'
The comparative can be formed also by the suffix *-arak/-rak*, e.g. *bilē-rak* 'poorer, worse' (*bile* 'poor, bad').

The superlative degree is e.g.

(19) *ugānda jakša*
very good
'The best.'

(20) *bāryutun bile*
most poor/bad
'The poorest, the worst.'

(21) *sāmij bile*
most poor/bad
'The poorest, the worst.'

1.2.5. Pronoun

1.2.5.1. Personal pronouns

TABLE 6: THE DECLENSION OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	<i>man</i> 'I'	<i>mište</i> 'we'	<i>mi?</i> (<i>mē</i>) 'we'
Genitive	<i>man</i>	<i>mištən</i>	<i>mi?</i> (<i>mā</i>)
Accusative	<i>mana</i>	<i>mištəm</i>	<i>mi?hibe?</i>
Lative	<i>mana</i>	<i>mištēniwij</i>	<i>mi?hibe?</i>
Locative	<i>mana</i>	<i>mištēniwij</i>	<i>mi?hibe?</i>
Ablative	<i>manače?</i>	<i>mištēciwij</i>	<i>mi?čibe?</i>
Instrumental	<i>manže?</i>	<i>mištēže</i>	<i>mi?že?</i>
Nominative	<i>tan</i> (<i>tān</i>) 'you'	<i>šište</i> 'you'	<i>ši?</i> 'you'
Genitive	<i>tan</i>	<i>šištən</i>	<i>ši?</i>
Accusative	<i>tanən</i> (<i>tānən</i>)	<i>šištəm</i>	<i>ši?nile?</i>
Lative	<i>tanən</i> (<i>tānən</i>)	<i>šištēniļi</i>	<i>ši?nile?</i>
Locative	<i>tanən</i>	<i>šištēniļi</i>	<i>ši?nile?</i>
Ablative	<i>tānatən</i>	<i>šištēciļi</i>	<i>ši?ničile?</i>
Instrumental	<i>tanže?</i>	<i>šištēže?</i>	<i>ši?že?</i>

Nominative	<i>dī</i> (<i>dā</i>) 'he/she'	<i>dišide</i> 'they'	<i>dizen</i> (<i>dāzen</i>) 'they'
Genitive	<i>din</i> (<i>dān</i>)	<i>dišidən</i>	<i>dizen</i> (<i>dāzen</i>)
Accusative	<i>dīm</i> (<i>dām</i>)	<i>dišidēm</i>	<i>dizem</i> (<i>dāzen</i>)
Lative	<i>dī?ne</i> (<i>dānan</i>)	<i>dišidēgade</i>	<i>dizenā</i>
Locative	<i>dī?ən</i>	<i>dišidēgəgən</i>	<i>dizengən</i>
Ablative	<i>dī?e?</i>	<i>dišidēgəge?</i>	<i>dizengə?</i>
Instrumental	<i>dīze?</i> (<i>dāzi?</i>)	<i>dišidēže?</i>	<i>dizenže?</i>

1.2.5.2. Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is used in the case forms of the possessive declension (see Table 7).

TABLE 7: THE DECLENSION OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

	Nominative-genitive-accusative		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1P	<i>bospu</i>	<i>bospuj</i>	<i>bospa?</i>
2P	<i>bostā</i>	<i>bostij</i>	<i>bostā?</i>
3P	<i>bostu</i>	<i>bostij</i>	<i>bostun</i>

Examples of other case forms: the lative-locative *boskuite* '(for) me myself', *boskunan* 'at you yourself'; the instrumental *boskuize?* 'with me myself'.

1.2.5.3. Demonstrative pronouns

dā, tā 'this here; the one, he'

dī, dā 'the one, that one, he'

dām 'this here'

šē 'this there, the one there'

īdā 'this there, the one (there)'

1.2.5.4. Interrogative pronouns

šīndī, šāndī, šīnda, šāmdā 'who?'

gī?i? 'what?, which?, who?, who of the two?'

əmbi, əmbī, mbi 'what?'

šombi 'what?, what else?'

kajet, kajət, kəjet 'which?, what kind?'

kadā?, kādā? 'how?'

kūmen 'how much?, how many?'

kūmēngi 'which?'

kāmān 'when?'

1.2.5.5. Indefinite pronouns

šindide, *šāndide* 'someone'
gajida, *gəʔida* 'someone'
gijānda 'somewhere, from somewhere'
gībārda 'to somewhere'
āmbide 'sometime'
kāmānda 'ever, sometime'

1.2.6. Verb

All the verbs can morphologically be divided into three groups, depending on the final sound of the verb: 1) -V; 2) -ʔ, -j, -m, -n, -ŋ, -l, -r, -d; 3) -t. Respectively, different variants of a number of verbal suffixes are used in these three groups, e.g. conjunctive (the first component of the suffix) (*-mV- > 1) (*-mV- >) -mV-/-m-, 2) -dV-, 3) -tV-; infinitive 1) and 2) -zš/-žit, 3) -sšit/-ššit.

The sequence of suffixes in the verb is as follows: mood + tense + person. One or another of them may certainly be missing. Concerning the sequence, the conjunctive appears as an exception, in whose case personal suffixes are followed by the suffix *-izal/-ze*.

1.2.6.1. Mood, tense and person

Moods

The indicative mood is without a suffix.
 The conjunctive (having mostly the meaning of a conditional) has *-mV-/-m-/-dV-/-tV- + personal suffix + -izal/-se/-ze*.
 In the optative (only 1st person) -šV for a singular,
-šel/-šil/-žil/-žil for dual and plural.
 In the imperative (only 2nd and 3rd persons) -ʔ for 2PSg,
-ʔV-/-gV-/-kV- for other persons and numbers.

Tenses

Tenses occur only in the indicative.
 The preterite *-wiV-/-miV-/-mi-/-pi-/-pi-/-pV-/-pV-* with all the verbs.
 The present-future *-tV-/-l-/-nV-/-lV-/-nV-/-jV-* with the majority of the verbs.
 Part of the verbs have the present-future suffix only as a future marker, the suffixes of the present tense are *-ʔV-/-gV-*,
-ma-/-mā-.

Sometimes the present and future tenses are distinguished only by the use of their different varieties.

Persons

All the personal suffixes are divided into two groups:

- 1) those not used in the imperative,
- 2) those used in the imperative.

The first group:

1P *-wV-/-mV-/-bV-/-pV* for indicative, conjunctive, optative of subjective and objective conjugations,
 2P *-tV-/-tV* for indicative, conjunctive, optative of subjective and objective conjugations,
 3P *-ʔV-/-i-/-ʔi-/-ʔi* for indicative, conjunctive, optative of the subjective conjugation,
-dV-/-d-/-tV-/-t- for present-future, present and future of the indicative of the objective conjugation and the conjunctive of objective conjugation.

The second group:

2P *-dV-/-d-/-tV-/-t-* for singular of the imperative of the objective conjugation,
-t for plural of the imperative of the objective conjugation,
-ʔ for plural of the imperative of the subjective conjugation.
 3P *-wV-/-bV* for the imperative of the objective conjugation.

TABLE 8: VERBAL CONJUGATION

The subjective conjugation The objective conjugation

Indicative

The present tense

Sg	1P	<i>nerē'em</i> 'I fear, I am afraid'	<i>pārgəlam</i> 'I cut'
	2P	<i>nerē'el</i>	<i>pārgəlat</i>
	3P	<i>nerē'te</i>	<i>pārgəlat</i>
Du	1P	<i>nerē'ibij</i>	<i>pārgəlbij</i>
	2P	<i>nerē'tij</i>	<i>pārgəlaj</i>
	3P	<i>nerē'gij</i>	<i>pārgəldij</i>
Pl	1P	<i>nerē'ibeʔ</i>	<i>pārgəlbaʔ</i>
	2P	<i>nerē'ileʔ</i>	<i>pārgəlla</i>
	3P	<i>nerē'teje</i>	<i>pārgəldən</i>

The future tense

Sg	1P	<i>nerē'ləm</i>	<i>pārgəlam</i>
	2P	<i>nerē'al</i>	-
	3P	<i>nerē'lə</i>	-

The preterite tense

Sg	1P	<i>nerē'bem</i>	<i>pārgəbam</i>
	2P	<i>nerē'bəl</i>	<i>pārgəbal</i>
	3P	<i>nerē'be (nerē'bi)</i>	<i>pārgəbi</i>
Du	1P	<i>nerē'bībij</i>	-
	2P	<i>nerē'bītij</i>	-
	3P	<i>nerē'bīgij</i>	-

P1	IP	<i>nerēbībe?</i>	<i>pārgabība?</i>
	2P	<i>nerēbīle?</i>	—
	3P	<i>nerēbī?</i>	—
The present tense			
Sg	IP	<i>nuṛam</i> 'I stand'	<i>čabōmam</i> 'I hold'
Du	IP	<i>nuṛābūj</i>	<i>čabōmābūj</i>
The future tense			
Sg	IP	<i>nu'lam</i> 'I will stand'	<i>čabō'im (čavōlam)</i> 'I will hold'
The preterite tense			
Sg	IP	<i>nuḅam</i> 'I stood'	<i>čabōbom</i> 'I held'
Pl	IP	<i>nubibūj</i>	<i>čabōbīwūj</i>
Conjunctive			
Sg	IP	<i>nerēnemze</i> 'I would fear'	<i>čabōnamze</i> 'I would hold'
	2P	<i>nerēnelze</i>	—
	3P	<i>nerēneze</i>	—
Optative			
Sg	IP	<i>nerēštem</i> ('to fear, be afraid')	<i>mandōštum</i> ('to look')
Du	IP	<i>amnošpij</i> ('to sit')	<i>amōržabūj</i> ('to eat')
Imperative			
Sg	2P	<i>nu?</i> 'stand!'	<i>pārget</i> 'cut!'
	3P	<i>nuṛuj</i> 'let him stand'	<i>pārgəgubo</i> 'let him cut'
Du	2P	<i>nerēgalūj</i> ('to fear, be afraid')	<i>pārgagalūj</i>
	3P	—	<i>pārgəgəbūj</i>
Pl	2P	<i>nuṛa</i>	<i>pārgagot</i>
	3P	—	<i>pārgəgubun</i>

1.2.6.2. Use of the subjective and objective conjugations

As a rule, intransitive verbs are conjugated in the subjective conjugation and transitive verbs in the objective conjugation (see Table 8). The subjective and objective conjugations differ from each other only by 3P personal suffixes in the indicative and conjunctive and by 2P personal suffixes in the imperative. E.g. the subjective conjugation *üzilī-je* 'he prays', *də-?* 'give!'; the objective conjugation *pārgəla-t* 'he is carving', *hebže-t* 'pull!'. A more frequent deviation from the above rule in the choice of

the conjugation is the one that the transitive verb occurs in the form of the subjective conjugation, e.g. *amōri-ja* 'he eats', *pada-?* 'hang!'

1.2.6.3. Suffixes of non-finite verbal forms

The infinitive marker is *-ššil/-žšil/-ššil/-žšil*, e.g. *kun-zał* 'to rob'. Following the stem vowel it may be also preceded by *-i/-j-*, e.g. *mo-i-zał* 'to press, to squeeze, to demand; to be able', *üzilī-j-zał* 'to fall'. The possessive suffix of 3P may adhere to the marker, e.g. *ba?luwi ba-sit-it* 'she lost her food', *dəzen am-zit-tən nakō?obi* 'they had nothing to eat'. The gerundial markers are *-IV?/-V/-IV?/-V*; *-bš-mə*, *-bizV/-bizV*; *-j/-i*; *-nšitšj* (see (22)-(32)).

As a rule, *-IV?* etc. usually signifies a simultaneous action with the action of the main verb, e.g.

(22) *man u?mə-le šōbijam*
I laugh-Ger come-Prt1Sg
'I came laughing.'

(23) *mə-le mənəm*
speak-Ger go-Prs1Sg
'Speaking go I.'

This gerund may signify also a goal of the action, e.g.

(24) *kō-la xallam*
marry-Ger become-Fut1Sg
'I go to become married.'

(25) *bū? i-le? šōbi*
water fetch-Ger come-Prt1Sg
'He came to fetch water.'

The variants of the suffix with the initial *n* occur only after the stem nasal consonant, as a result of the assimilation with the latter, e.g. *kun-na?* (cf. *kun-* 'to rob'). The forms of the gerund under observation have often merged with some verb forms which follow them, e.g.

(26) *ne kunōlammə (<*kunō-la amnə)*
wife sleep-Prs3Sg (< sleep-Ger be-Prs3Sg)
'The wife sleeps.'

(27) *šə?lambi (<*šə?-la xambi)*
hide-Prt3Sg (< hide-Ger go-Prt3Sg)
'He hid himself.'

The gerund with the suffix *-bš/-mə* is used in the lative-locative case form of the possessive declension, e.g.

- (28) *də nīzāmdən* *šār-bi-ndən* *ešen*
 this son-PINom-Gen-AccPx3Pl play-GerLat-LocPx3Pl child-PlGen
udābə *sajni?īēdən*
 hand-SgParticle break-Prs3Pl
 'When these their sons are playing, they break the children's hands.'

The gerundial suffix *-bīzV/-bīzV* expresses an action which preceded that of the main verb, e.g.

- (29) *dī nīm* *ku-bīza tunōldəla šobi*
 this boy-Acc see-Ger trot-Ger come-Prs3Sg
 'When she had seen the boy, she came trotting.'
- (30) *ma?anda* *šo-bīze ijanda* *nērbālija*
 home-Lat-LocPx3Sg come-Ger mother-Lat-LocPx3Sg retell-Prs3Sg
 'After he had come home, he retells his mother.'

The gerund with the marker *-j/-i* expresses the manner of action, e.g.

- (31) *amma-i cēbaktarla?bajə?*
 sit-Ger speak-Prs3Pl
 'Sitting speak they.'

The gerund with the suffix *-nāštāj* occurs seldom and by its meaning is close to the former, e.g.

- (32) *iegarō-nettaj kannābam*
 shiver-Ger freeze-Prs1Sg
 'I froze so that I was shivering.'

The suffixes of the participles are *-j/-i*; *-nV/-nnV/-dV* (the variant *-dV* occurs only after the stem consonant); *-t*; *-γV/-γV*; *-ma*; *-bi/-wi*; *-šV/-jok/-juk*. E.g. *tūšiv-j kuza* 'an understanding person' (the present); *tunō-ma ine* 'a galloping horse' (the present), *kū-ne kuza* 'a dead man' (the active present), *albō-na bāra* 'a filled sack' (the passive preterite), *sēla-nə pi* 'hone' (nomen agendi: vel actonis; cf. *sēla-* 'to hone'), *xan-da* 'going' (cf. *xan-* 'to go'); *bokkara-t arā* 'boiled beverage, distilled spirits' (the passive preterite); *pučə-ga tū?* 'a stinking bedbug' (the present), *cēmida-ge ma?* 'a heated tent' (the preterite); *aḡə kajō-ma* 'the door is closed' (the passive preterite); *te?-wi pa* 'a decayed tree' (the preterite); *žalbār-žuk men* 'a gnawing dog' (the present). (See also Table 9.)

TABLE 9: NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS

Infinitive	<i>nerēzaf</i> 'to fear, be afraid'
Participle	<i>nerēne</i> 'being afraid' <i>pu?čəḡa</i> 'stinking' <i>te?wi</i> 'rottening'

- Gerund *nerēle?* 'being afraid'
nerēbīni '(I when) being afraid'
nerēbinan '(you when) being afraid'
nerēbinda '(he when) being afraid'
amnuj 'sitting'

1.2.6.4. Negation

An earlier manner for creating negative forms of verbs consisted in using a negative auxiliary verb which was conjugated practically along the whole verbal paradigm up to non-finite forms, followed by a main verb with an invariable suffix *-?* (see (33) and (34)). The negative auxiliary verb with the stem of *e-ē-/ə-/ē-* is conjugated both in the subjective and objective conjugations depending on the nature of the main verb. E.g.

- (33) *e-m* *nerē-?*
 be not-Prs-Fut1Sg fear-Neg
 'I am not frightened, I will not be frightened'
- (34) *eI-tə* *šūi-?*
 be not-Prs-Fut2Sg enter-Neg
 'You do not enter.'

The preterite is an exception with the only auxiliary verb form *ej/ēj/i/ə/ē*, whereas the main verb is conjugated, e.g.

- (35) *man ej* *šo-bija-m*
 I not come-Prs1Sg
 'I did not come.'

- (36) *bostu ej* *də xam-bi*
 himself not he go-Prs3Sg
 'He himself did not go.'

In the imperative the negative auxiliary verb has its stem in the form of *ji-/i-/ī-/ī-* and the main verb is in the form of the imperative, e.g.

- (37) *ji* *šo-?*
 be not-Imp2Sg come-Imp2Sg
 'Do not come!'

- (38) *i-gə* *xan-ga*
 be not-Imp3Sg go-Imp3Sg
 'Let him not go!'

A more recent manner of creating negative verb forms is typical of the Russian language, i.e. the negative auxiliary verb occurs invariably along the whole paradigm (except the imperative) in the preterite like form, the main verb is conjugated, e.g.

(39) a. *man ej řabaktar-la-m*
 I not speak-Prs1Sg
 'I do not speak.'

b. *tan ej řabaktar-la-l*
 you not speak-Prs2Sg
 'You do not speak.'

c. *da ej řabaktar-la*
 he not speak-Prs3Sg
 'He does not speak.'

When the earlier system (see (33)-(36)) was replaced by the more recent one (see (39) a-c), the invariable *ej* etc. could be combined with the present-tense forms of the main verb, however, it was the preterite that was expressed, e.g.

(40) *man ej řamiam*
 I not lie-Prs1Sg
 'I did not lie.'

(41) *nuket ej xal'a*
 wife-Px3Sg not go-Prs3Sg
 'His wife did not go.'

1.2.7. Particle

1.2.7.1. Adverbs and positions

They cannot always be distinguished from one another since the same word may carry the function of either part of speech (see Table 10).

TABLE 10: ADVERBIAL AND POSTPOSITIONAL PARTICLES

Loc alia

dēbār 'here, from, there'
di'in, di'in, di'n 'there' : *di'?* 'from there'
gi'en 'where?': also 'from where?, to where?' : *gi'?* 'from where?'
gābār 'to where?'
gābārda 'somewhere'
idībār 'to there'
šēbār 'to there' : *šē'an* 'there' : *šē'gā?* 'from there'
dara, dara 'along'
řade, řade 'between; into the middle' : *řadēgan* 'in the middle'
řaksu 'against, on the contrary'
řilgande 'beneath, below' : *řilgatta'* 'from beneath, below'
kēři 'away, further, from oneself, longer'
keřřa 'away, out'

kōza 'in a row, beside'
kořān, kořam 'on the side, site, near by'
ku'ře, ku'a 'backwards, aback'
kunzu 'along; near, close to sth'
kunže? 'far' : *kunže'gā* 'from far' : *kunže'de?* 'further, longer'
nāgande 'on, above, upwards'
ni'da 'forward; out' : *ni'nen* 'outside, in the open air'
pārdej 'around'
piēri 'around, right round'
pi'nzāj 'over'
řamij 'close by, along'
takkan 'backward; behind' : *taktā* 'up from behind'
toyānda, to'onda 'on the verge, on, by'
čērgān 'in front of'
čū'nen 'under'

E.g. *gi'en ammal* 'where do you live?', *beržane řaksu* 'against the wind', *řilgande amnam* 'I take my seat lower', *ki řilgande* 'under the Moon', *řada kunzu* 'along the street', *kunže'de?* 'xallam' 'I go further', *mandā nāgande* 'on the tent', *kōnum niēri* 'past a bear', *kān řil optābi pārdej* 'the emperor convened his people around himself', *man pi'dū pār'am* 'I go back', *pan takkan* 'behind the tree', *šim toyānda* 'by the fire', *man čērgāne kuza* 'there is a person before me'.

Temp or alia

di'gitte, di'vatta 'then, after it, later'
di'an 'then, there'
data 'then'
kāmān 'when?'
kāmānda 'sometimes, whenever'
kunžo 'long'
tēji 'at once, immediately'
bāzu 'yet, once, again'
būž, būžū 'soon, fast'
řalan 'by the day'
erten, erte 'early in the morning'
iššo 'still, yet'
karāřan 'tomorrow'
nūžin 'in the evening'
ōrej 'late'
pi'nen 'after it, later, after'
pi'n 'at nights'
lāřen 'yesterday'
tejnān 'today, this day'
tija, tij 'now, right now, at once, immediately, soon, presently'
uge 'always, ever, ever more'
 E.g. *di'gitte pārta šōřjam* 'then I turned back', *dam kunžo tēnēbjem* 'I remember

him for long', *man tan pi? nēnan sōbijam* 'I came later than you'.

Qualitatis et modi vel relationis

dārgit 'equally, similarly'

gigə? 'which?', what kind?

kadə? 'how?'

kajet 'what kind?'

āli 'exuberant, lush'

wāzāj, wozī 'separately, especially'

dārā, dārā? 'thus, so much, in such a way'

dāro? 'quite as, just as'

dārū? 'so, consequently'

jakšān 'well'

orta 'straightaway'

šānap 'right'

talīn 'asunder, in pieces'

ūjī 'on foot'

E.g. *də āri amna* 'he lives well', *də wāzāj amna* 'he lives for himself'.

Quantitatis et intensitatis

diljī 'so and so much'

giljī 'how many?, how much?'

kūmen 'how many?, how much?'

amka, amya 'little, few'

ārde 'right, correct'

ārāj 'little, so little'

bār, bar, war 'quite complete, all, whole'

bukle 'quite'

i?kə, i?gə 'many, much'

kar 'bare, alone'

ōni? 'alone, lonely'

tan, tān 'very, hard, heavy, forceful'

uge, ūge 'forever; always, ever; complete; very'

uganda 'very'

E.g. *diljī īne* 'so many horses', *tan kūmen kayal* 'how many brothers do you have?', *tan mēgus* 'very sick', *uganda i?kə* 'very many, very much'.

Causae

ambīle 'what for?, why?'

mō?, *mo* 'why?, what for?'

nāmān 'for, due to, in favour of'

E.g. *ambīle annādan* 'why are you guttling?', *kuzan nāmān* 'for the people'

One of the adverbial suffixes is *-i/-i*, e.g. *pijzā-j, pijz-i* 'over', *šamā-j* 'close by,

along', *wāzī-j* 'separately, especially'. Another suffix of the type is *-jV*, e.g. *kē-ži* 'away, further, from oneself, longer', *ku?-že* 'backwards, aback', *ū-ži* 'on foot'. The suffix *-ŋ* occurs seldom, e.g. *jakšā-ŋ* 'well', *korgidə-ŋ* 'straight, rightaway', *ne?piā-ŋ* 'very, well, very good'.

The main word of the majority of postpositions is in the genitive, e.g. *žayā-n kunzu* 'along the stream', *turā-n nāgandə* 'on the house', *kuzā-n nāmān* 'for the people'. The main word of some postpositions is in the lative, e.g. *beržā-nə žuksu* 'against the wind'. Sometimes the main word is also in the nominative, e.g. *ki jilgānda* 'under the moon'.

1.2.7.2. Conjunctions, connective particles and interjections

TABLE 11: OTHER PARTICLES

Conjunctions

Conjunctions occur seldom and, almost without an exception, come from Russian.

a 'but, despite; well now'

āli 'or'

dā, dā 'yes; but, notwithstanding'

i 'and'

jēzli 'when'

kak 'when, as'

koš 'although'

paka 'as long as, during'

šībā 'with it (with them)'

tol'ko 'only'

Connective particles (enclitics)

-bV is a particle of emphasis, adhering to the nominative object, e.g. *dī īnā-bā dapi* 'she needed just the arrow'.

-gō, -gə 'yet, also', e.g. *īne-gō* 'one more horse'.

-a is an interrogative particle, e.g. *mālalā-a* 'can you?'

Interjections

a 'well, now!'

hej 'oh!'

no 'well!, now!'

1.2.8. Numeral

(The derivational suffixes of some kinds of the numerals see 1.3.)

1.2.8.1. Cardinals

E.g.

1. *oʷm, oʷm, oʷb* 'one'
2. *šida, šida* 'two'
3. *nāgur, nāgur* 'three'
4. *tēʷda, teʷda* 'four'
5. *sumna* 'five'
6. *muktu* 'six'
7. *seiʷbu* 'seven'
8. *šāntēʷdā* 'eight'
9. *amitun* 'nine'
10. *biʷəʷn* 'ten'
11. *biʷenoʷw* 'eleven'
20. *šidebiʷ* 'twenty'
30. *nāyurbiʷ* 'thirty'
40. *kārok* 'forty'
50. *jelix* 'fifty'
60. *alton* 'sixty'
100. *šūs* 'one hundred'
300. *nāyurʷšūs* 'three hundred'
1000. *mān* 'one thousand'

1.2.8.2. Ordinals

E.g.

1. *waštaw, waštaw* 'first'
2. *šidēgit* 'second'
3. *nāgurgil* 'third'

1.2.8.3. Distributions

E.g.

- šidētārən* 'every second'
muktilārən 'every sixth'

1.2.8.4. Collectives

E.g.

- šidāgōʷ* 'two together, the two of us (you, them), both'
nāyuro 'three together, the three of us (you, them)'
sumnango 'five together, the five of us (you, them)'

1.2.8.5. Iteratives

E.g.

- ōbun* 'once, one time'
šiden 'twice, two times'
nāyurun 'thrice, three times'

1.3. Derivation

Suffixation is the main word-formation device. Four basic groups of formation are denominal nouns, denominal verbs, deverbal verbs and deverbal nouns. Word-formation has been insufficiently studied and therefore it is possible to get only a very superficial picture of it.

Adjectives are usually denominal or deverbal derivatives. Denominal adjectival suffixes are as follows: *-Vj/-j/-i/-ī*, e.g. *žez-əj, žez-ī* 'from copper, from bronze' (*žez* 'copper'), *ere-j bērzi* 'autumn wind' (*ere* 'autumn'), *tām-əj* 'dirty' (*tām* 'dirt'); *-sebi, -səwi, -zəbi, -zəwi, -šəbi*, e.g. *šal-zəbi* 'fatty' (*šal* 'fat'), *tar-zəwi* 'hairy' (*tar* 'hair'), *tām-zəwi* 'dirty'; *-šVi, -šVi* (caritive), e.g. *šal-žat* 'fatless', *šake-žat* 'dumb, speechless' (*šake* 'tongue, speech'), *šāyāš-šāt* 'foolish, unreasonable' (*šāyāš* 'reason'). Deverbal adjectives are represented by a number of non-finite forms (see 1.2.6.3).

The ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinals by means of the suffix *-git*, e.g. *šidēgit* 'the second', and collective numerals by the suffix *-ʷo/-gVʷ/-gV*, e.g. *šidōgō* 'two together' (*šide* 'two') (see also 1.2.8.2 and 1.2.8.4).

1.3.1. Denominal nouns (historical)

-r, e.g. *pandā-r* 'hem, edge'; *-t*, e.g. *ko-t* 'rib, side'.

1.3.2. Denominal adjectives (historical)

-r, e.g. *sāga-r* 'black'; *-zagV/-gV*, e.g. *kem-zaga* 'short', *žer-ga* 'medium' (cf. *žer* 'middle').

1.3.3. Denominal verbs

-dā/-d-, e.g. *konzan-dē-lim* 'I saddle' (*konzan* 'saddle'); *-r-*, *šedene-r-lim* 'I surround with a fence' (*šeden* 'place, yard'); *-tə/-t-*, e.g. *kāt-tə-lām* 'I spend winter' (*kā* 'winter').

1.3.4. Deverbal verbs

The reflexive-passive (intransitive) *-o/-ō/-ō-/-ē-*, e.g. *šüdd-ō-lām* 'I awake' (*šüddi-r'lām* 'I wake sb up'), *kubd-ō-lām* 'I become weak' (*kubde-r'lām* 'I blow it out, erase'), *kaj-ō-lām* 'I hide myself' (*kaj-lām* 'I hide it').

The augmentative-frequentative *-rə/-r-*, e.g. *bišīe-rə-lām* 'I laugh' (*pišīe-lām* id.), *kuptə-rə-lām* 'I blow it out' (*kuʷbdō-lām* 'I become weak'), *bišīe-rə-lām* 'I laugh' (*pišīe-lām* id.).

The frequentative and augmentative *-N/-l-*, e.g. *eʷ-lu-lām* 'I send' (*eʷ-lēm* 'I send, let'), *tūšū-lām* 'I teach, make clear' (*tūšū-lom* 'I learn, acquire, understand').

The factitive *-dV-*, e.g. *žēm-dā-lēm* 'I warm it up' (*žēm-nēm* 'I get warm'), *šaʷb-dā-lām* 'I hide it' (*šaʷ-lām* 'I hide myself').

The factitive -N-, e.g. *eme-tə-rʻam* 'I give suck, nurse' (*emē-rʻam* 'I am sucking'), *būtūllem* 'I water; give to drink' (< **būt-üt-llem*; *būt-l'em* 'I am drinking').
 The desiderative -*nza-l-za-*, e.g. *konō-nza-l'am* 'I will sleep, I wish to sleep' (*kunō-l'am* 'I am sleeping'), *kudō-nza-l'am* 'I scould, would scould' (*kudō-l'am* 'I am abusing'), *nāda-nza-l'am* 'I will increase, I wish to increase' (*nāda-l'om* 'I am increasing').

1.3.5. Deverbal nouns

E.g. gerund *anna-i* 'sitting' (*anna-m* 'I am sitting'). (The participles used as deverbal nouns are dealt together with the verb, see 1.2.6.3.)

1.4. Syntax

1.4.1. Some common remarks

A Kamass sentence has been insufficiently studied, however, based on the available language material it is possible to conclude that Kamass is a nominative type of language. The typical structure of a simple sentence consists of 'the subject + the object + the adverbial modifier + the predicate'.

The subject is in the nominative case. The indefinite object is generally also expressed by the nominative but the definite object by the accusative case. The adverbial modifier can be expressed by adverbs or nouns in the form of local or instrumental cases. (See also 1.2.3.2.) The predicate can be preceded by gerundial verb forms, indicating the manner or tense form of an action which is expressed by the predicate (see also 1.2.6.3). The nominative attribute precedes the noun to be complemented, the genitive attribute is always before the noun to be complemented. The first member of the postpositional construction is in the genitive case. A definite question is expressed by means of interrogative adverbials, a general one – by an interrogative particle -*a*, adhered to the predicate.

Composite sentences are not characteristic of the Kamass language. Instead of complex sentences it has simple sentences with gerundial verbal constructions in which case there is no need to use conjunctions or a sequence of several simple sentences, not connected by means of conjunctions; this way also the equivalents to compound sentences are formed. Sometimes, when sentences are formed according to the Russian pattern, some conjunctions, borrowed from Russian, are used.

1.4.2. Word order

Apparently Kamass is a SOV language, e.g.

- (42) *kān koʻbādōba mabī*
 khan daughter give-Pr3Sg
 'The emperor gave his daughter (away).'

Besides, the attribute is, as a rule, placed before its main word and the adverbial before the verb, so that the pattern of the sentence would be Attr-S-Attr-O-Adv-V (see (43)-(49)).

- (43) *tan aspallaʻ kōlāmbi, man ujām ammuʻbi*
 your kettle-Px2Sg get dry-Pr3Sg my meat-Px1Sg eat-Pr3Sg
 'Your kettle got dry, it ate my meat.'

- (44) *altanej warjam nēʻl'im*
 golden horn-Acc blew-Pr1Sg
 'I blow a golden horn.'

- (45) *məʻleʻpne dūm kuk noʻ ci ezēleʻ*
 override-Ger land-Px1Sg golden grass belt grow-Pr3Sg
 'My overriden land grows a belt of golden grass.'

- (46) *dijūn sejēnə nōr-bābe*
 black cock capercaillie-Lat say-Pr3Sg
 'The black cock said to the capercaillie.'

- (47) *inet sīndi izūbi*
 horse-Px3Sg knee-Lat fall-Pr3Sg
 'His horse fell on the knee.'

- (48) *urāwa aʻtēyan mänge*
 bear path-Loc go-Pr3Sg
 'The bear is going along the path.'

- (49) *tuluzabi koʻptə jadan kunzu mānge*
 plait hair-Part girl street-Gen along go-Pr3Sg
 'A girl with her hair-plaited is going along the street.'

1.4.3. Use of some case forms

The nominative case is used with the subject (see (50)), so is the indefinite object (see (51), (53)), the accusative is usually the case of the finite object (see (52)-(56)); see also 1.2.3.2.)

- (50) *nūka amnōbi, oʻp nūi ibi*
 old woman-Nom live-Pr3Sg, one son-NomPx3Sg be-Pr3Sg
 'There lived an old woman, she had a son.'

- (51) *žalaš šūškū ibi*
 bare shoulder bone-Nom take-Pr3Sg
 'He seized a bare shoulder bone.'

- (52) *də kəmzeʻ šūškū-m bār doʻbtābi*
 he blood-Instr shoulder bone-Acc eventually smear-Pr3Sg
 'He eventually smeared the shoulder bone with blood.'

(53) *šammak bolda toʻbdöbi, ibi da šammā-m*
 spoon-Nom break-Part find-Prt3Sg take-Prt3Sg this spoon-Acc
 ‘She found a broken spoon and took the spoon (up).’

(54) *ej surārga kānā-m*
 not ask-Prs3Sg khan-Acc
 ‘He did not ask the emperor.’

(55) *tij dāze-m em ɣu*
 now this-PIAcc not see-Neg
 ‘Now I don’t see them.’

(56) *da būza-m ambīnan žōrlal*
 this old man-Acc eat-GerLat-LocPx2Sg cry-Fut2Sg
 ‘When you eat the old man, you’ll cry.’

1.4.4. Double verbs with a gerundial initial component

Double verbs (known in Turkic languages as “izaphet”) whose initial component is gerundial are used. The following component consists of a few certain verbs, first of all, which in most cases have been phonetically assimilated with the initial verb so that they appear as definite suffixes, determining the aspect of action of the initial verb. The aspect cannot always be exactly determined but often it is related to continuity. (See (57)-(60); see also 1.2.6.3.)

(57) *žu noʻ ezērlēʻle (< *ezēr-le ilē)*
 earth grass grow-Prs3Sg (< grow-Ger be-Prs3Sg)
 ‘The earth grows the grass.’

(58) *kām uʻlaʻbā (< *uʻ-la iʻbā)*
 blood flow-Prs3Sg (< flow-Ger lie-Prs3Sg)
 ‘The blood is flowing.’

(59) *nē kunōlamnā (< *kunō-la amnā)*
 wife sleep-Prs3Sg (< sleep-Ger be-Prs3Sg)
 ‘The wife is sleeping.’

(60) *šu kuʻhdōlāndəɣa (< *kuʻbdō-la xandəɣa)*
 fire go-Prs3Sg (< go-Ger go-Prs3Sg)
 ‘The fire goes out.’

1.4.5. Agreement

The subject and the predicate agree both in the person and number, as a rule (see (61)-(64)).

(61) *məjārən sıjō sākütälāmbi*
 hill-Loc bird-SgNom hang-Prt3Sg
 ‘A bird was hanging on the hill.’

(62) *man nuyam*
 I stand-Prs1Sg
 ‘I am standing.’

(63) *mē nuyā-waʻ*
 we stand-Prs1Pl
 ‘We are standing.’

(64) *es-səŋ sār labū-ʻjū*
 child-PlNom play-Prs3Pl
 ‘The children are playing.’

The attribute, as a rule, does not agree with the main word either in the case or number, e.g.

(65) *sārər məja-zan-bā iʻbāle kojčbiʻ*
 black-Nom hill-PlNomParticle lie-Ger remain-Prt3Pl
 ‘The black hills remain lying behind.’

(66) *jaxxā ĩne-n ulut*
 good-Nom horse-Gen head-Px3Sg
 ‘The head of a good horse.’

(67) *xambi urʻu karaʻ-tā*
 go-Prt3Sg large-Nom steppe-Lat
 ‘Went into the large steppe.’

There are no prepositions, only just postpositions, whereas in the postpositional constructions the main word is in the genitive case, as a rule (see also 1.2.6.1 and 1.4.3), e.g.

(68) *pa-n šukut*
 forest-Gen through
 ‘Through the forest.’

1.4.6. Interrogative clause

A general question is formed by adding the interrogative particle *-a* to the end of a verb (see also 1.2.7.2), e.g.

(69) *tan orōn tarlēle mālal-a*
 you hole-Lat skip-Ger can-Fut2Sginterrogative
 ‘Can you skip in the hole?’

As a subtype of a general question there are sentences which are formed by means of the double connective particle -bV, e.g.

- (70) *man amnō?la-bo āli ma?an jīla xallola?-bo*
 I-Loc live-Fut2PIPParticle or home-Gen people-Lat go-Fut2PIPParticle
 'Do you live either at my place or do you go home to your own people?'

Special questions begin with interrogative adverbs, e.g.

- (71) *šinda dayin amna*
 who there sit-Prs3Sg
 'Who is sitting there?'
- (72) *kajal kuza igal*
 what kind person be-Prs2Sg
 'What kind of a person are you?'
- (73) *koda māla sāmma? i?pal*
 how feel-Ger lie-Ger be-Prs2Sg
 'How do you feel found lying?'
- (74) *tan gijen xandəgal*
 you where go-Prs2Sg
 'Where do you go?'

1.4.7. Replacement of compound sentences

Instead of compound sentences it has simple sentences with gerundial verbal constructions, e.g.

- (75) *karo-mə-nda māda tərli-le šōbi*
 open-GerLat-LocPx3Sg tent-Lat roll-Ger come-Prt3Sg
 'When the door opened, he came rolling into the tent.'

So there is no need to use conjunctions (see also 1.2.7.2), e.g.

- (76) *man kōla ej āmanzəlajem, let i?go, kiadōlam*
 I fish not eat-Prs1Sg bone-Px3Sg many choke-Fut1Sg
 'I do not eat fish, there are many fishbones so that I choke.'

Sometimes, when sentences are formed according to the Russian pattern, some conjunctions, borrowed from Russian, are used (see also 1.2.7.2), e.g.

- (77) *tumo da kās*
 mouse and coal
 'A mouse and a coal.'

- (78) *a gijen ko?bdōla gerāmbi*
 but where daughter-Px2P1 give advice-Prt3Sg
 'But where did your daughter give advice?'

2. LEXIS

In the whole registered lexis of Kamass about 1550 various loan words make up 37.5%, including 29.7% from Altaic languages (in the majority of cases from Turkic), 7.5% from Russian, 1.2% from other languages. Among all loan words 69.8% are nouns, 13.5% – adjectives, 10.8% – verbs, 4.2% – particles, 1.0% – numerals, 0.7% – pronouns. In the texts recorded at the beginning of this century there are 2450 words among which 404 or 16.5% appear loans (the proportion of Russian loans is 1.1%).

3. APPENDIX

3.1. Folklore text

The present folklore text was recorded in 1914 in Abalakovo by the Finnish linguist Kai Donner (the informant is unknown). The text was published by Aulis J. Jokinen and provided with the translation in German (Donner 1944 : 97-98).

3.1.1. Text

- (t: 1) *büza-n nāyur koʔbdo-t ī-bi.*
old man-Gen three daughter-SgNomPx3Sg be-Prt3Sg
- (t: 2) *də büze-m turā-nə səlužit mo-jstə (< *mo-jsət-tə).*
this old man-Acc farm-Lat serve-Inf order-InfPx3Sg
- (t: 3) *uryo koʔbdo-t: "mān xal-la-m."*
big daughter-Px3Sg I go-Fut1Sg
- (t: 4) *"no xalla!" büza mān-da.*
well go-Imp2Sg old man say-Prs3Sg
- (t: 5) *eʔbda-bə səjboʔ-pi, ti-wuj olʒa šer-bi, māloʔbda-bi.*
hair-Particle cut off-Prt3Sg man-Adj cloth put on-Prt3Sg go-Prt3Sg
- (t: 6) *büze turō-bi, uryābə mō-la.*
old man run-Prt3Sg bear pretend-Prs3Sg
- (t: 7) *acā-yan xal-la, nō-bi.*
path-Loc go-Prs3Sg stop-Prt3Sg
- (t: 8) *də koʔbdo pāriʔ-bi, pār-la šōʔ-bi.*
this daughter turn round-Prt3Sg turn round-Ger come-Prt3Sg
- (t: 9) *mə-l'ije: "mōʔ pār-bija-lʔ"*
say-Prs3Sg why turn round-Prt2Sg
- (t: 10) *"pim-bije-m, uryāwa eʔcā-yan mən-ge."*
get frightened-Prt1Sg bear path-Loc go-Prs3Sg

- (t: 25) *kam-bi-?ije?*, *šo-bi-i?*
go-Pr3PI come-Pr3PI
- (t: 26) *də ko?bdo ĩne-n olʒa ɣu-lia*, *a də ni nē-n*
this girl horse-Gen cloth look-Prs3Sg but this son woman-Gen
olʒa ɣu-lia
cloth look-Prs3Sg
- (t: 27) *mə?a-nda šō-bīze ĩja-nda nērbə-lia*,
home-Lat-LocPx3Sg come-Ger mother-Lat-LocPx3Sg retell-Prs3Sg
mə-lie: "də nī, ĩne-n olʒa ɣu-lia."
say-Prs3Sg this boy horse-Gen cloth look-Prs3Sg
- (t: 28) *də nuke mə-lie: "ko?bdo", mə-lia: "kana-?"*
this old woman say-Prs3Sg girl say-Prs3Sg go-Imp2Sg
mulcā-nə! xan-ga!
bathroom-Lat go-Imp2PI
- (t: 29) *kam-bi-i? mulcā-nə*.
go-Pr3PI bathroom-Lat
- (t: 30) *sābən-də nēmala?wā-bi, pār-bi*.
soap-Px3Sg forget-Pr3Sg turn round-Pr3Sg
- (t: 31) *də ko?bdo ulu-bu baza-bi, ej sob-i? kēda-bi*.
this girl head-Particle wash-Pr3Sg not plait-Ger put on-Pr3Sg
- (t: 32) *də šō-bi*.
he come-Pr3Sg
- (t: 33) *də ni pi?dōlawa-bi*.
this son wash himself-Pr3Sg
- (t: 34) *də ni šō-bīze ĩjā-nda nērbə-lie: "nī", mə-lia:*
this son come-Ger mother-Lat-LocPx3Sg retell-Prs3Sg boy say-Prs3Sg
"ej ko?bdo".
not girl
- (t: 35) *digitta də ko?bdo mə?a-nda mallānda-ɣa*.
then this girl home-Lat-LocPx3Sg start-Prs3Sg
- (t: 36) *bī-m bej-bi, niǰū-bə piēri-je-t: "ši-?"*
stream-Acc cross-Pr3Sg breast-Particle show-Prs3Sg you-Pl
ippe-kə ʒi-le kajit man niǰū-m azērlə-bi."
bread-Abl live-Ger how I-Gen breast-Px1Sg grow-Pr3Sg
- (t: 37) *də nuke nī-bə kudō-lia-t: "ian mo šām-bia-l?"*
this old woman son-Particle insult-Prs3Sg you why lie-Pr3Sg

- (t: 11) *čerge ko?bdo-t mə-lije: "mān xal-la-m."*
middle daughter-Px3Sg say-Prs3Sg I go-Fut1Sg
- (t: 12) *də malo?bda-bi*.
she go-Pr3Sg
- (t: 13) *bāzə də būze uryāba mō-bīze bāzə a?čə-ɣən nu?la?bə*
again this old man bear change-Ger again path-Loc stand-Prs3Sg
- (t: 14) *bāzə? pār-la šō-bi. "mō? pār-bija-l?"*
again turn around-Ger come-Pr3Sg why turn round-Pr3Sg
- (t: 15) *"uryāwa ku-bija-m, tiyitta pār-la šō-bija-m."*
bear see-Pr3Sg then turn round-Ger come-Pr3Sg
- (t: 16) *ūǰyre ko?bdo-t melē-bi, ti-bij olʒe šēr-bi*.
small daughter-Px3Sg go-Pr3Sg man-Adj cloth put on-Pr3Sg
- (t: 17) *də e?bda-bə saǰbop-pi, məlo?btə-bi*.
she hair-Particle cut off-Pr3Sg go-Pr3Sg
- (t: 18) *būze bāzu? uryāba mō-la tunol-bi*.
old man again bear pretend-Ger run-Pr3Sg
- (t: 19) *ko?bdo-t mē-ze? ǰip-pi, səmā-bə paktəǰ*
daughter-Px3Sg arrow-Insr shoot-Pr3Sg eye-Particle disturb-Ger
ǰihū-bi.
shoot-Pr3Sg
- (t: 20) *bostə mallū-bi, xam-bi, o?m nikē-ɣən üzū-bi*.
herself go on-Pr3Sg wander-Pr3Sg one old woman-Loc sit down-Pr3Sg
- (t: 21) *də nuke-n nī-t ĩ-bi*.
this old woman-Gen son-Px3Sg be-Pr3Sg
- (t: 22) *də-zi? də-zan malle?bə-i?*.
she-Insr (s)he-Pl go on-Pr3PI
- (t: 23) *di nuke nī-gənda mo-l'e: "də-zi? kan-ɣə-luj*
this old woman son-Lat-LocPx3Sg say-Prs3Sg she-Insr go-Imp2Du
sadā?nama?-də!
shop-Lat
- (t: 24) *nī i-bi-nda ĩne-n olʒa ɣu-lū-j, ko?bdo*
boy be-GerLat-LocPx3Sg horse-Gen cloth look-Fut3Sg girl
i-bi-nda n-ən olʒa ku-lū-j."
be-GerLat-LocPx3Sg woman-Gen cloth look-Fut3Sg

girl (is she)", she says. "Go to the bathroom. Goes!" They went into the bathroom. He forgot to take his soap, came back. The girl washed her hair, does not plait it, herself fully dressed. He came. The boy washed himself. The son, after he returned, retells his mother, "A boy", says he, "not a girl." Then the girl starting for home, goes home. Crossed the stream, shows the breast, "Living on your bread, my breast has grown." The old woman insults the son, "You, why did you lie? She is a girl, you can call her a boy." She went home. The old woman sent the house ghost, "Look for her, fast!" Changing into a magpie, he went flying. (The girl) sleeps in her bed. Pulling out, he lifted her up. She awoke. Where she goes over the stream, to this place brought he her. She was taken by her son (for a wife).

- (t: 38) *də koʔbdə, nī məm-bija-l.*
 this girl boy call-Prt2Sg
- (t: 39) *məʔluʔ-biʔ maʔa-nda.*
 go-Prt3Sg home-Lat-LocPx3Sg
- (t: 40) *də nīke əʔluʔ-bi enəɪdane: "ku-t də-m, iēji*
 this old woman send-Prt3Sg house ghost find-Imp2Sg she-Acc fast
xalla-ʔ!
 go-Imp2Sg
- (t: 41) *šāškan mo-la ɲerguʔuʔlu-bi.*
 magpie pretend-Ger fly-Prt3Sg
- (t: 42) *kunōlamna bāp-nda.*
 sleep-Prs3Sg bed-Lat-LocPx3Sg
- (t: 43) *mənžə-le oʔbdōl-bi.*
 pull out-Ger lift up-Prt3Sg
- (t: 44) *də šuʔbdō-bi.*
 she awake-Prt3Sg
- (t: 45) *gijen bū bejlemne, di žu-γunda də-piʔ.*
 where stream cross-Prs3Sg this place-Lat-LocPx3Sg bring-Prt3Sg
- (t: 46) *nī-γinda ilewa-bi-jiʔ.*
 son-Lat-LocPx3Sg take-Prt3PI

3.1.2. Free translation

An old man had (his) three daughters. The old man was ordered to come to serve on the farm. His oldest daughter said, "I will go." – "Well, go!" says the old man. But she cut off her hair, put on men's clothes, went. The old man ran, pretended to be a bear. He goes along the path, stopped. The daughter turned round, returning, she came. He says, "Why did you come back?" – "I got frightened, a bear is going along the path." His middle daughter says, "I will go." She went. After that the old man again changed himself into a bear and is again standing on the path. She, returning, came back again. "Why did you come back?" – "I saw a bear, then I turned round and came back." His smallest daughter went, dressed in men's clothes. She cut off her hair, went. The old man, pretending to be a bear, ran again. The girl shot an arrow, she injured the eye. Herself she went on, wandering, she sat down at an old woman. The old woman had her son. They go with her. The old woman says to her son, "Go shopping with him! If he is a boy he will look at the horse harness, if she is a girl she will look at the women's clothes." They went, came. The girl is looking at the horse harness but the son is looking at the women's clothes. After that when he had come back home, he retells his mother, says, "He is a boy, he is looking at the horse harness". The old woman says, "A

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3.3. Abbreviations

Abl	ablative (case)	Neg	negative (verbal form)
Acc	accusative (case)	Nom	nominative (case)
Du	dual (number)	P	person
Fut	future (tense)	Part	participle (verbal form)
Gen	genitive (case)	Pl	plural (number)
Ger	gerund (verbal form)	Prs	present (tense)
Imp	imperative (mood)	Prt	preterite (tense)
Instr	instrumental (case)	Px	possessive suffix
Lat	lative (case)	Sg	singular (number)
Loc	locative (case)		

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