

Kamas

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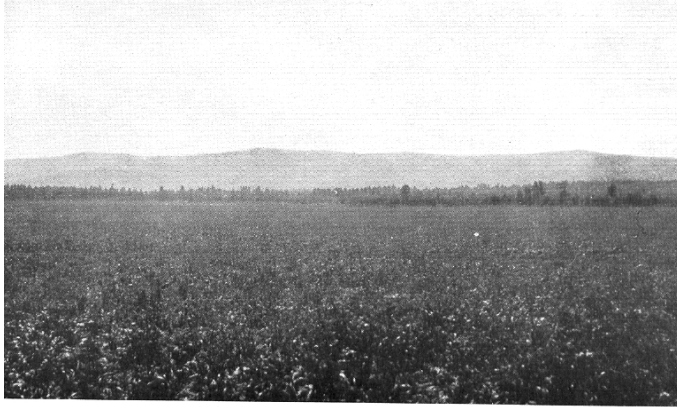
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- Wagner-Nagy, Beáta 2003/2004. Klumpp, Gerson: Konverbkonstruktionen im Kamassischen. *UAJb*. N.F. 18, 255
- Ylikoski, Jussi 2004. Eine detaillierte Abhandlung über die aspektualen Verbverbindungen im Kamassischen (Gerson Klumpp: Konverbkonstruktionen im Kamassischen). *FUF* 58.

Abbreviations of journals and series:

- ALH:* Acta Linguistica Hungarica (Budapest)
ESA: Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat (Tallinn)
FUF: Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen (Helsinki)
FUM: Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen (Hamburg)
JSFOu: Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne (Helsinki)
K&K: Keel ja Kirjandus (Tallinn)
LU: Linguistica Uralica (Tallinn)
MSFOu: Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne = SUST: Suomalais Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia.
NyK: Nyelvtudományi Közlemények (Budapest)
SUA: Studia Uralo-Altaica
UAJb: Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher
VSUA: Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica

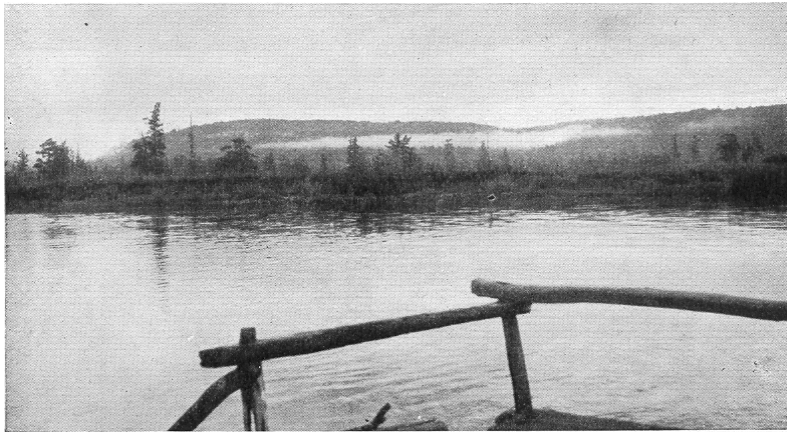
Unit 1: Documentation



54. Am Fuß des Sajanischen Gebirges



55. Vor einer Kamassenhütte



59. Am Kan

Photographs from Donner 1926.

Kamas Sources

Outline

I. 18th century Kamas

- (1) “Abakanic”: Messerschmidt & Strahlenberg (1721)
- (2) Müller (1735–1739)
- (3) Tatiščev (1735–1738)

II. Koibal

- (4) Pallas (1772)
- (5) Spasskij (1806)

III. Preshift Abalakovo-Kamas

- (6) Castrén (1847)
- (7) Donner (1912, 1914)

IV. Postshift Abalakovo-Kamas

- (8) Tugarinov (1926)
- (9) Matveev (1964, 1965)
- (10) Künnap (1960/70-ies)

I. 18th century Kamas

1. “Abakanic”: Messerschmidt & Strahlenberg (1721)

- *Context*: the “1st Siberian Expedition”, instructed by Peter I;
- Daniel Gottlieb MESSERSCHMIDT, doctor of medicine from Halle/Germany, invited by Tsar Peter I.; travelled Siberia from 1720–1727, delivered results and acquisitions to the Russian Academy of Sciences (founded in 1725);
- Philipp Johann von STRAHLENBERG, born Tabbert, a so called “Karolinian”, i.e. an educated and active Swedish prisoner of war after the battle of Poltava 1709 (part of the Great Nordic War 1700–1721); joins Messerschmidt 1720 in Tobol’sk, keeps the travelogue;
- Messerschmidt & Strahlenberg’s travelogue entry from 26th december 1721: “*Zu Abakan traf ich zwei Tataren von einem anderen Geschlechte an, die eine ganz andere und fremde Sprache hatten, wovon ich folgendes aufschrieb. NB. Diese Sprache so die Kagmasinische heisst, wird von den Tataren zwischen dem Jenisej und Angara-Strohm, oder bei Kanskoi und Udinskoi-Ostrog gesprochen. Sie ist aus der Laak-Ostiakischen und Tawgi-Samojedischen, so ich beim Jenisei gegen Mangaseja gefunden habe, combinirt*” (Messerschmidt 1962: 163);
- The name “Abakanic” refers to a mixed vocabulary in Messerschmidt’s travelogue (also in Strahlenberg’s book from 1730); this vocabulary contains words from two Sayan Samoyed languages: all appellatives are Mator, but the numerals are Kamas (cf. Donner 1932, Helimski 1997).

Primary sources:

- (1a) Messerschmidt 1721: altogether 34 expressions: 12 Kamas numerals, and 20 appellatives and 2 adjectives from Mator (Donner 1932, Helimski 1997);
- (1b) Strahlenberg 1730: = 1a, however with divergent spellings, and 9 additional higher numerals which are neither Mator nor Kamas, but probably made up from Chulyum Selkup data (see Klumpp, in prep.).

Messerschmidt, Daniel Gottlob 1962. *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien* Vol. 1. Hrsg. von E. Winter, N. A. Figurovski u.a. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas 8. Berlin.

von Strahlenberg, Philipp Johann 1730. *Das nord- und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia [...] Nebst einer noch niemals ans Licht gegebenen Tabula Polyglotta*. Leipzig & Stockholm. (Reprint with an introduction by J. R. Krueger 1975, *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 8, Szeged)

Donner, Kai 1932. *Samojedische Wörterverzeichnisse, gesammelt und neu herausgegeben*. SUST 64. Helsinki: SUS.

Helimski, Eugene 1997. *Die Matorische Sprache. Wörterverzeichnis, Grundzüge der Grammatik, Sprachgeschichte*. Unter Mitarbeit von Beáta Nagy. SUA 41. Szeged: JATE Finnougor tanszék.

Klumpp, Gerson, in preparation. The numerals of “Abakanic”.

Example: The Abakanic numerals (MES = Messerschmidt 1721, STR = Strahlenberg 1730; C = Castren 19th century, D = Donner 20th century):

	MES	STR	read	compare with C, D
1	op	opp	<i>o'b</i>	= <i>o'b</i>
2	tschida	tzida	<i>čide</i>	> <i>šide</i> (PS * <i>kitä</i>)
3		naghor	<i>nagor</i>	= <i>nagur</i>
4		tháta (thäta)	<i>te'de</i>	= <i>te'de</i>
5	súmbulan	ssoumbulang	<i>sumbalaŋ</i>	> <i>suməla</i> > <i>sumna</i>
6	múcktú	mučtu	<i>muktu'd</i>	= <i>muktu'd</i>
7	seigbi	seigbe	<i>sej'bə</i>	= <i>sej'bə</i>
8	Schindata	schidätä	<i>šinte'də</i>	= <i>šinte'də</i>
9		togus	<i>togus</i> (Tu.)	≠ <i>amitun</i>
10		büd	<i>bö'd</i>	= <i>be'd</i>
11	büd-op	büd-opp	<i>bö'd o'b</i>	= <i>be'd o'b</i>
12	büd-tschida	büd-tzida	<i>bö'd čide</i>	= <i>be'd šide</i>
20		tuserm	?	≠ <i>šide be'd</i>
30		nogh-tuserm	?	≠ <i>nagur be'd</i>
40		nogh-opp-tuserm	?	≠ <i>kāra'</i>
50		soum-thuserm	?	≠ <i>iləg</i>
60		mouck-thuserm	?	≠ <i>alton</i>
70		seig-tuserm	?	≠ <i>sej'bə be'd</i>
90		togus-thuserm	<i>togus-?</i>	≠ <i>amitun be'd</i>
100		thun	<i>tun</i>	≠ <i>tüs</i>
1000		bydt-tun	<i>bö'd tun</i>	≠ <i>miŋ</i>

2. Mueller (1735–1739)

- *Context*: the 2nd academic expedition, or 2nd “Kamchatka Expedition” 1733–1743;
- Gerhard Friedrich MÜLLER (1705–1783), professor at the Russian Academy of Sciences; between 1735–1739 director of the Ethnographical Section of the expedition;
- 1735 and 1739 in Krasnoyarsk;
- Müller’s vocabularies are written in Latin alphabet, but were obviously transliterated from a Cyrillic original, cf., e.g., <njurmitt> ‘loqui’ /nörbä-/ , and <pfjurjä> ‘arena’ /püre/, where [ö], [ü] are spelled <-ju> due to transliteration from <ю>, by which these vowels were written in Cyrillic;
- they also show peculiarities from German orthography like, e.g., notation of aspiration <pf> for [pʰ];
- accent marking (see examples above).

Primary sources:

- (2a) *Chamaschinzisch*: 33 Kamas translations of Russian and German head words referring to local economy and culture; probably extracted from Müller’s ethnographical works (Helimski & Katz 2003, Müller 2010); unedited (RGADA¹);
- (2b) *Vocabularium Latine-Tatarice-Arinice-Cottice-Camaschice-Buriatice*: 256 Kamas words translated from Latin, in thematical order; unedited (RGADA); published in miscellaneous works, e.g. Schlözer 1771, Klaproth 1823 and others.

Müller, Gerhard Friedrich ca. 1740. *Vocabularium Latine-Tatarice-Arinice-Cottice-Kamaschice-Buriatice*. Mscr, Moscow, RGADA f. 199 o. 2 nr. 529 č. 2, pp. 10–23, & *Chamaschinzisch*. Mscr, Moscow, RGADA f. 199 o. 2 nr. 513 d. 22, pp. 10–10ob. (unpublished).

Müller, Gerhard Friedrich 2010. *Ethnographische Schriften I* [Beschreibung der sibirischen Völker]. Bearbeitet von Wieland Hintzsche und Aleksander Ch. Èlert. Quellen zur Geschichte Sibiriens und Alaskas aus russischen Archiven 8. Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, Harrassowitz i. K.

Helimski, Eugen & Katz, Hartmut. 2003 (eds.). *Gerhard Friedrich Mueller. Nachrichten über Völker Sibiriens (1736-1742)* Hamburger Sibirische und Finnougrische Materialien 2. Hamburg.

Helimski, Eugene 1993. Samoyedic Vocabularies from the 18th Century: A List of Archive Manuscripts. *UAJb*. N. F. 12, 249–265.

Helimski, Eugen 1999. Einige Angaben zur Toponymie und Ethnonymie des sajanamojedischen Siedlungsgebietes aus den Jahren 1739–1740 bei G. F. Müller. In: Hasselblatt, C. & Jääsalmi-Krüger, P. (eds.). *Europa et Sibiria – Beiträge zu Sprache und Kultur der kleineren finnougrischen, samojedischen und paläosibirischen Völker*. VSUA 51. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 181–189.

¹ RGADA: *Russkij Gosudarstvennyj Arxiv Drevnix Aktov*.

Example: Excerpt from the *Vocabularium*, pages 14ob–15:

Latine	Tatarice	Arinice	Cottice	Camafchice	Buractice
Soror natu maior	bedſchem	bamag'elja	spob'effcha	pabam	efè
nate minor	Kiſſchig	bikkh'arjat	pietſcha	tiby	achan-efè
maritus	erim	bykham'alte	hatkit	minsjem	ere
uxor	Kaddym	alpolat	alit	utſchga_aischi	eme
infans	balam	bikkhjal	pup	Kopdò	basagan
puer	ulgunam	bikkhjalja	jakat		biffchi_achan_ekin
puella	Kiſſchig-Kyſſ		litjuli		

Reading:

62 soror natu maior, ~ n. minor	pabàm	/paba-m/ 'older sister-1SG'
63 maritus	tiby	/tibi/ 'husband'
64 uxor	minsjem	/minže-m/ 'wife-1SG'
65 infans & puer	utſchga_aischi	/üd'əge ešši/ 'little child'
66 puella	kopdò	/ko'bdo/ 'girl'

3. Tatiščev (1735–1738)

- *Context:* the spirit of the 2nd Academic Expedition (see above Müller), however, Tatiščev's questionnaires for vocabulary research were not accepted by the Russian Academy of Sciences, and he sent them on his own initiative and costs to various posts all over the country;
- Vasilij Nikitič TATIŠČEV (1686–1750), 1720–1722 and 1734–1737 director of the Ekaterinburg based Tsarist Mining Agency of the Urals; defeated 1737–1739 a Bashkir rebellion, 1741–1745 governor of Astraxan;
- as a historian part of the Russian word collection campaigns of the 18th century.

Primary source:

- (3) Tatiščev 1735–1738: “Izvestie o Krasnojarske i o živuščix tam narodax na voprosy g. Tatiščeva 1735 i 1738 godov”, without exact date, includes vocabularies of Kamas (pp. 43–55), Qača Tatar (31–42), Arinic (55–66ob), and “Kanic” (Kott) (78ob–90); unpublished; in prep. G. Klumpp, † H. Katz, † E. Helimski;

497 Russian expressions, 404 translated by the *Kamas Tatar* Surastaj Sudačakov from *Kamasinskaya Zemlica* with the help of the interpreter Cossack Ivan Kovrigin, local civil servant Yegor Kačaev; Sudačakov attested on oath that the vocabulary does not include any expressions unknown in the *Kamasinskaya Zemlica*.

Consistent with C & D, yet many unclear readings; rather weird handwriting.

 Tatiščev, Vasilij N. 1735–1738. Izvestie o Krasnojarske i o živuščix tam narodax na voprosy g. Tatiščeva 1735 i 1738 godov. Mscr, Moscow, RGADA f. 199 o. 2 nr. 516 d. 2, pp. 43–55. (unpublished)

Example: excerpt from page 55:

Калымаҥыо' гыҥычъ			
Зваччъ рҥыо	Зваччъ ттаҥыа со	Зваччъ рҥыо	Зваччъ ттаҥыа таҥыо
пою	нҥдҥюляамно	гоню	серегумъ
молчю	туманамно	кричю	кайграамно
сержуся	кролайимде		

left:

- 493 пою | нендюляамно /n_n-le amnə/ 'sing-CV sit.AOR'
 494 гоню | серегумъ /sire_i-gü-m/ 'drive-_ be-PRS-1SG'
 495 молчю | туманамно /_ amnə/ '_ sit. AOR'

right:

- 496 кричю | кайграамно /kajgər-(r)a' amnə/ 'call-CV sit.AOR'
 497 сержуся | кролайимде /kuro-la i'bə/ 'be.angry-CV lie.AOR'

III. Koibal

- *Context:* Tsarist Russia's ongoing expeditions and collection initiatives.

4. Pallas (1772)

- Peter Simon PALLAS (1741–1811): German zoologist and botanic, head of an Academic expedition 1768–1774 under the auspices of Catherine the Great (who considered herself a linguist);
- collection of Koybal data in 1772.

Primary source:

- (4) Pallas (1772): 48 words + names; original vocabulary never discovered;
- 46 words published in *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs. Dritter Theil. Vom Jahre 1772 und 1773*, Sankt Petersburg 1776, pp. 374–376 (reproduced in Donner 1932: 15–17, Helimski 1997: 45–47, also in other works by Pallas, cf. Helimski 1993: 250);
- one word appears in Pallas' *Flora Rossica* I–II, Petropolis 1784–1788;
- 43 Koybal translations of Latin nomenclature included in Pallas' *Zoographia Rosso-Asiatica*, Petropolis 1811.

Pallas, Peter Simon 1776. *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs. Dritter Theil. Vom Jahr 1772 und 1773*. St. Petersburg. (Reprint 1967; Helimski 1997: 42–49).

5. Spasskij (1806)

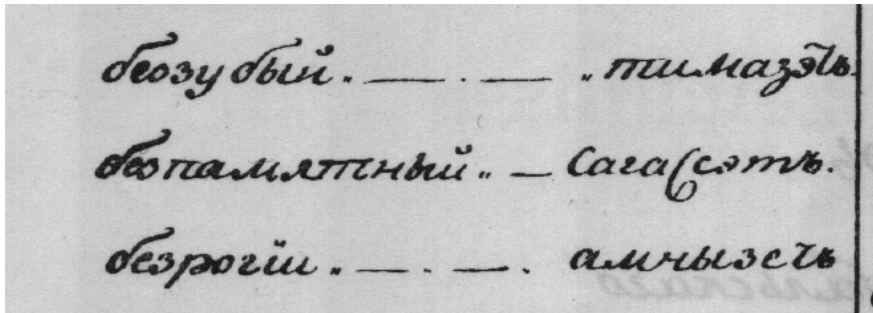
- Grigorij Ivanovich SPASSKIJ (1783–1864): historian, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences; 1803 in Tomsk, 1805–1806 assistant in Y. A. Golovkin's expedition to China;
- 1806–1807 travels in Siberia, collection of historical, ethnographical and linguistic data; Mator and Koybal vocabularies edited by Potapov (1957);
- according to Potapov (1957: 19) the Koibal variety fixed by Spasskij is identical to the one fixed by Pallas.

Primary source:

- (5) Spasskij (1806): *Slovar' Jazyka Kojbal'skago*, 732 Koibal translations of Russian head words, published in Potapov 1957; according to Helimski an original version of this vocabulary is preserved in Krasnoyarsk and in some respects more “complete” (Helimski 2001, *FUF* 56: 180)

Spasskij, Grigorij I. 1806. Slovar' Jazyka Koibal'skago. In: Potapov, L. P. 1957. Zum Problem der Herkunft und Ethnogenese der Koibalen und Motoren. *SUSA* 59.

Example: excerpt from Spasskij 1806, page 34a; the three words show a characteristic dialectal difference between Koibal and Kamas: while Kamas distinguishes the alveo-dental and palatal sibilants *s*, *z* vs. *š*, *ž*, Koibal has only *s* and *z*:



Russ. headword	Koibal (SPA)	Kamas (C, D)	meaning
беззубый	<тимазеть> <i>time=zət</i>	<i>time=žət</i>	'toothless'
безпамятный	<сагасэть> <i>sagəs=sət</i>	<i>sagəš=šət</i>	'mindless'
безрогий	<амнызеть> <i>amnu=zət</i>	<i>amnu=žət</i>	'hornless'

IV. Preshift Abalakovo-Kamas

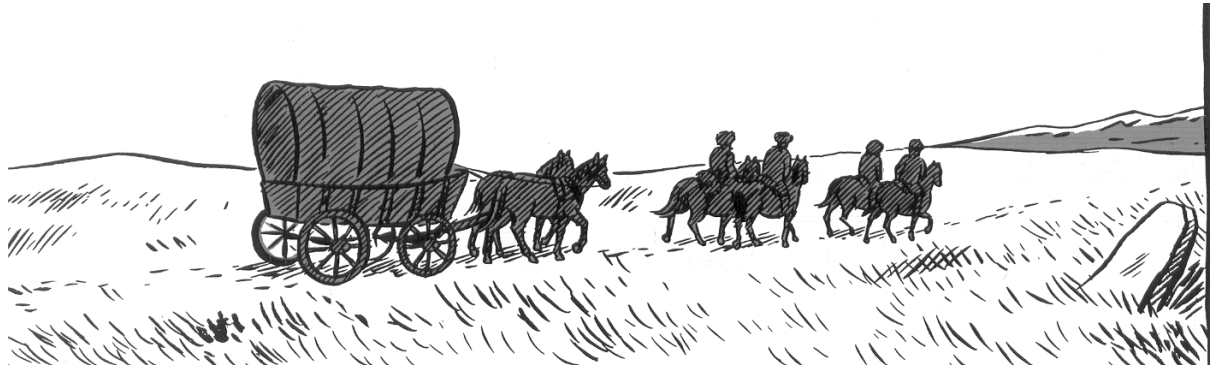
- *Context:* Linguistic expeditions by the Finno-Ugric Society in 19th and 20th century.

6. Castrén (1847)

- Matthias Alexander CASTRÉN (1813–1852): studies classical and oriental languages in Helsinki; influenced by Rasmus Rask’s work *Undersögelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Isländske Sprogs Oprindelse* (1818) he writes 1839 *De affinitate declinationum in lingua Fennica, Esthonica et Lapponica*, observes that in Finn. gradation open- vs. closedness of the syllable is crucial, and that the primary phenomenon is consonant weakening, not loss;
- 1841: Swedish translation of Kalevala; docent of Finnish; 1850: *De affixis personalibus linguarum Altaicarum* (the “Altaic peoples” according to Castrén are: (1) Finns (Ugric Finns, Wolga-peoples, Permians, Finns), (2) Samoyedes (Yurak-, Tawgy-, Ostyak-, Yenisei-, Kamas), (3) Yenisei-Ostyaks (Kets), (4) Turks, (5) Mongolians, (6) Tungus);
- 1851: first professor of Finnish at Helsinki university; founder of Samoyedology as well as of Ketology; after Castrén’s early death, Anton Schiefner (1817–1879) from the Russ. Acad. of Sciences became the editor of his heritage;
- Siberian expedition 1845–1849; task: documentation of all Samoyed languages; in summer 1847 2 months in the Uyezd of Kansk, stay among the *Kagmashesang*, Russ. ‘Forest Kamas’, of the Ulus *Abalakov*.



Castrén's Siberian travels



Castrén approaching the Sayan (Map and illustration from: Pauli Kallio & Pentti Osamo 2008. M.A. Castrén ja siperian kielioppi. Keuruu: Otava)

Primary source:

- (6) Castrén (1847): *Manuscripta Castreniana* Vol. XIX, *Samoiedica* 13, *Kamass-Samoiedica* (“Anteckningar i Kamassiskan”); 306 pages, lexicon and grammar, no texts; currently under edition; structure of the manuscript:

part 1: grammar (pp. 1–206) → used for *Grammatik der samojedischen Sprachen*, ed. by Schiefner 1854;

part 2: clean copy of a vocabulary (pp. 207–244), appr. 1050 words with Swedish, Russian, or Finnish translations → published by Schiefner 1855;

part 3: less structured collection of words and paradigms (pp. 245–306), approximately 880 words; yet unpublished.

Castrén’s data cover at least two different dialects of Kamas (Forest Kamas I and Forest Kamas II); while he is informative about the names of families living in Abalakovo, unfortunately, he does not mark which data comes from which speaker. The edited data (Schiefner 1854, 1855) is from the first dialect, the unedited data includes the second dialect.

Castrén, Matthias A. 1847. *Manuscripta Castréniana* XIX. *Samoiedica* 13: *Kamass-Samoiedica*. Mscr., National library, Helsinki. (new edition on the way)

Schiefner, Anton 1854. *M. Alexander Castréns Grammatik der samojedischen Sprachen*. *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen* 7. St. Petersburg. (Nachdruck: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, Leipzig 1969.)

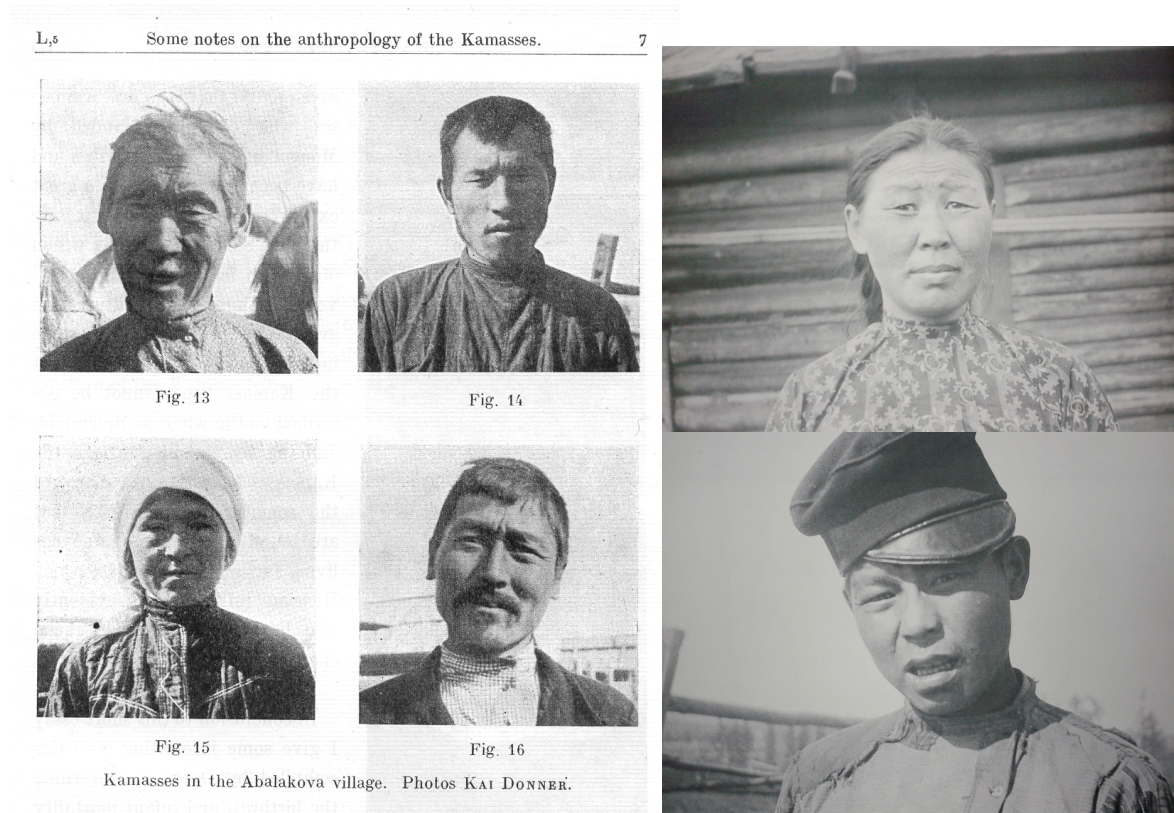
Schiefner, Anton 1855. *M. Alexander Castréns Wörterverzeichnisse aus den samojedischen Sprachen*. *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen* 8. St. Petersburg. (Nachdruck: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, Leipzig 1969.)

Example: Page 199 from the manuscript (1847), with inflectional paradigms of the verbs *nu-* ‘stand’ and *i’bə-* ‘lie’:

<p>6. zam Fut 1. Nuga^m, ^{ca. 010} Nugal Nuga, 2. Nuga^{awij} Nuga^{alij} Nuga^{aqj} 3. Nuga^{wa} Nuga^{la} Nuga^{je} fut. Nura^{am} Fut 1. Nul^{am} Nul^{al} Nul^{uj} 2. Nul^{bij} (nulle^{ij}) Nulle^{ij} Nulle^{qij} l. nulle^{iqij} 3. Nul^{ba}, nulle^a, nulle^{je} Conf. 1. Nuna^m 2 Nuna^l Nuna, 1. Nuna^{awij} l. Nuna^{bij} Nuna^{alij} l. Nuna^{iqij} Nuna^{aqij} 2. Nuna^{wa} l. Nuna^{ba} Nuna^{la} l. Nuna^a Nuna^{je} Imp 1. Nuna^{stum} 2. Nunaⁱ 3. Nuna^{qij} 1. Nuna^{puj} 2. Nuna^{ulij} 3. Nuna^{iqij} Nuna^{pa} 2. Nuna^a 3. Nuna^{je} fut. Nuna^{it}</p>	<p>7. fut. 1. Fby^m, ^{ca. 010} Fby^l Fby, 2. Fby^{awij} Fby^{alij} Fby^{aqij} 3. Fby^{wa} Fby^{la} Fby^{je} fut. 1. Fbo^{wiam} Fut 1. Fbo^{lam}, - läl - ly 2. Fbo^{lby} l. Fbo^{lby} Fbo^{lij} Fbo^{liqij} l. Fbo^{liqij} 3. Fbo^{lba} Fbo^{lla} Fbo^{lje} Conf. 1. Fbo^{am} Fbo^{al} Fbo^a 1. Fbo^{awij} l. Fbo^{awij} Fbo^{alij} l. Fbo^{alij} Fbo^{aqij} l. Fbo^{aqij} 1. Fbo^{awä} Fbo^{alä} Fbo^{awäje} Imp. 1. Fbo^{stum} 2. Fboⁱ 3. Fbo^{qij} 1. Fbo^{puj} 2. Fbo^{ulij} 3. Fbo^{iqij} 2. Fbo^a 3. Fbo^{je} fut. Fbo^{ret} ger Fbo^{lä} fut. Fbo^a * l. ...</p>
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7. Donner (1912, 1914)

- Kai DONNER (1888–1935): son of Otto Donner, the founder of Suomalais-Ugrilainen-Seura; became later a politician;
- the continuation of Castrén’s initial work on Samoyed was distributed between Toivo Lehtisalo (Northern Samoyed) and Kai Donner (Southern Samoyed, i.e. Selkup and Kamas);
- 1st expedition 1911–1913, in 1912 a short visit in Abalakova; 2nd, longer, visit in summer 1914;
- Donner’s documentation includes numerous photographs and also anthropological measurements (see Donner & Janhunen 2014, Hildén 1938–1939);
- Donner’s Kamas data was edited by Aulis J. Joki, as it seems, exhaustively.



*Photographs from people in Abalakova by Kai Donner
(Hildén 1938, Donner & Janhunen 2014)*

Primary sources:

- (7) Donner 1912–1914: appr. 3200 words, grammar (less than Castrén), texts; archive of the Finno-Ugric Society, Helsinki; published by A. J. Joki in 1944;
- phonograph recordings: the original wax cylinders are lost, a small part was tape-recorded and later digitalized, see file no. SU0233 at the TÜ eesti murrete ja sugulaskeelte arhiiv (cf. Klumpp, Gerson 2013)

Donner, Kai 1912–1914: Original manuscripts (lexical, grammatical notes, texts) at the archive of the Finno-Ugric Society, Helsinki; photographs; phonograph recordings (lost), one digitalized copy at TÜ eesti murrete ja sugulaskeelte arhiiv, no. SU0233.

Joki, Aulis J. 1944. *Kai Donners Kamassisches Wörterbuch nebst Sprachproben und Hauptzügen der Grammatik*. Lexika Societatis Fenno-Ugricae VIII. Helsinki.

Donner, Kai 1915. *Bland Samojeder i Sibirien åren 1911–1913, 1914*. Helsingfors. (= 1926. *Bei den Samojeden in Sibirien*. Stuttgart.)

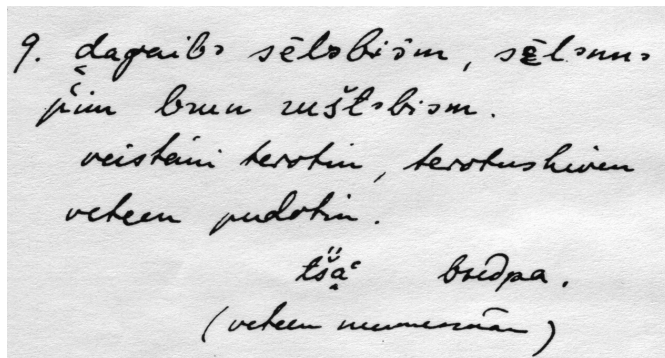
Donner, Joakim & Janhunen, Juha (eds.) 2014. *Kai Donner—Linguist, ethnographer, photographer*. Photo editor Peter Sandberg. *Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran kansatieteellisiä julkaisuja* 21. Helsinki: SUS.

Hildén, Kaarlo 1938–1939. Some notes on the anthropology of the Kamasses made by Kai Donner. *JSFou* 50: 5, 1–9.

phonograph recording: http://www.murre.ut.ee/arhiiv/naita.php?t=audio_trakk&id=4275

Klumpp, Gerson 2013a. On Kai Donner's phonograph records of Kamas. *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen* 37, 45–59.

Example: Donner 1914, riddle no. 9:



<i>d. ayaib'</i>	<i>sēlabiām,</i>	<i>sēl'nn'</i>	<i>p'im</i>	<i>bun</i>	<i>ušt'biām.</i>
<i>tagaj-bə</i>	<i>selə-bie-m,</i>	<i>selə-ne</i>	<i>pi-m</i>	<i>bü-nə</i>	<i>üštə-bie-m.</i>
knife-1SG	grind-PST-1SG	grind-PTC	stone-ACC	water-LAT	drop-PST-1SG

tša'.

t'a'.

otter

‘veistäni terotin, terotuskiven veteen pudotin.—выдра (veteen mennessään)’

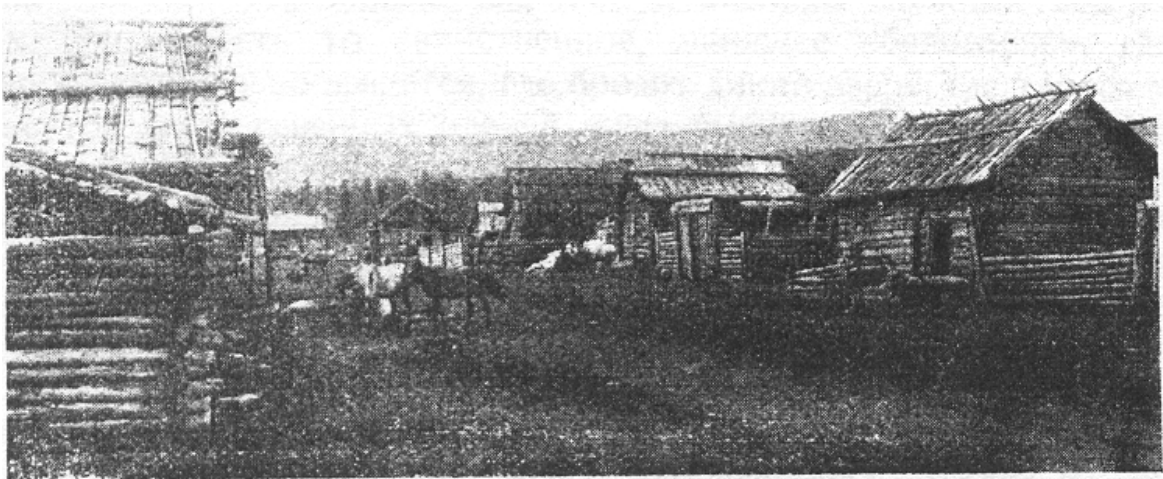
‘I sharpened my knife, dropped the sharpening stone into the water.—Fishotter.’

V. Postshift Abalakovo-Kamas

Context: Soviet scholars; data from last speakers, rememberers after the language community had switched to Russian (therefore the terms “preshift” and “postshift”).

8. Tugarinov (1926)

- Arkadij Jakovlevič TUGARINOV (1880–1948): ornithologist (e.g., *Птицы Приенисейской Сибири: список и распространение*, Krasnojarsk 1927);
- visited the Forest Kamas village Abalakovo, and also the Stepp Kamas village P’jankovo on an expedition in summer 1925; according to Tugarinov the Kamas language was remembered in nine households in Abalakova then; however, it was considered an “exhausting” language;
- his article “Poslednie Kalmaži” (1926) may be considered the main ethnographic source on Kamas culture; e.g., his description of economic activities through the year is an important background information for understanding the Kamas designations of the months (cf. Klumpp 2002).



Общий вид деревни Абалаковой.
Обращают внимание крыши, покрытые берестой.

Photograph from Tugarinov (1926), showing birch-bark covered houses in Abalokova

Primary source:

- (8) Tugarinov’s article contains 36 words, among them one earlier not attested appellative lexeme: *senzàda* ‘fire place’.

Tugarinov, A. J. 1926. *Poslednie Kalmaži*. *Severnaja Azija* 1, 73–88.

Klumpp, Gerson 2002. Zu den kamassischen Monatsnamen. In: Helimski, Eugen & Widmer, Anna (eds.). *Wŭša wŭša – Sei gegrüßt! Beiträge zu Ehren von Gert Sauer, dargebracht zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag*. VSUA 57. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 201–207.

9. Matveev (1964, 1965)

- Aleksandr Konstantinovič MATVEEV (1926–2010): toponymic summer expedition by students of Sverdlovsk university in 1963; 20 days in the village of Abalakovo (Rybinskij rajon, Krasnojarskij kraj); inhabitants mainly Russians and Ukrainians, some descendants of Qača (“Stepp Tatars”), and in A., and in neighbouring villages some descendants of the Kamas families ANDŽIGATOV, ŠAJBIN und SALOMATOV;
- discovery of two last speakers: in Abalakovo Klavdija Zaxarovna PLOTNIKOVA, *né* Perova, father Russian, mother Afanasija Andžigatova, and in Krasnojarsk Aleksandra Eliseeva SEMĚNOVA, *né* ŽIBIEVA.



*A.K. Matveev and Klavdija Plotnikova 1963 (?) in Abalakova
(Matveeva 2015: 272)*

Primary source:

- (9) The materials—recordings and written notes—, which Matveev’s toponymy research group obtained from their work with the last speaker(s) is unpublished and kept in an archive at Ekaterinburg University; the exact extent, at present, is unclear, among them are 20 tapes ;

some sporadic observations on Plotnikova’s contemporary command of Kamas after a short period of reactivation were published in articles by Matveev (1964, 1965).

Matveev, Aleksandr K. 1964. Poslednjaja iz kalmažej. *Ural’skij sledopyt*. 53–54.

Matveev, Aleksandr K. 1965b. Novye dannye o kamasinskom jazyke i kamasinskij toponimike. In: *Voprosy toponomastiki* 2. Sverdlovsk, 32–37.

Matveeva, T. V. (otv. red.) 2015. *Ne prosto prožitaja žizn’: Biografija A. K. Matveeva v dokumentax i vspominanijax*. Ekaterinburg: Izd. Ural’skogo universiteta,

Examples from Matveev’s observations (1964, 1965):

- the lexeme *k̄a-dəl* ‘face’ (MAT64: 169), was so far documented only in the name of a man eater in a tale, *torigadul*, probably ‘brown face’ (cf. Klumpp 2010: 299);
- morphology, e.g., nominal plural: ни ‘парень’, ни-зэнг ‘парни’;
- names: Кодур, a trickster in tales (= *Köçün Gūd’ar* in Donner’s tale no. 8); пэшиби джага ‘р. Малый Арбай’, i.e. */p̄ēš=zəbi t̄āga/* ‘stove=ADJ river’; урго мыя ‘высокая гора, расположенная между Абалаково и р. Кирель (большая гора)’, i.e. */urgo m̄āja/* ‘big mountain’;
- phrases:

гйэн	сабон?	надо	сабонзи	бызистö
<i>gijen</i>	<i>sabən</i>	<i>nadə</i>	<i>sabən-žə</i>	<i>b̄žə-štə</i>
where	soap	must	soap-INS	wash-INF.LAT

‘где мыло? надо мылом помыться’;

джебактырлаппом	мби	попало
<i>t̄ābaktər-la’bə-m</i>	<i>ĩmbi</i>	<i>popalo</i>
speak-DUR.PRES-1SG	what	happened (Ru.)

‘I tell what has happened’ (Matveev 1965: 35).

10. Künnap (1960/70-ies)

- Ago KÜNNAP (*1941): Estonian uralist; reactivated and worked with the last speakers discovered by Matveev’s students: Klavdija Plotnikova and Aleksandra Semënova;
- in the heyday of her career as a rememberer and performer of the Kamas language, Plotnikova figured in a film by Lennart Meri (1970), “Veelinnurahvas/The Waterfowl People” (see excerpt below);
- there is no transparent account of Künnap’s reactivation methods available; part of it, however, was the confrontation with Donner’s materials, so there are, e.g., retellings of the Kamas tales collected by Donner in Plotnikova’s rememberer talk (see Klooster and Klumpp, in preparation); this talk remained deficient—cf. Künnap’s (1965b: 52) characterization: “Modern Kamassian can be regarded as a potential language”—and shows Russian influence on all levels.



Klavdija Plotnikova in Tartu 1970

Primary sources:

- (10) Künnap's recordings of the last Kamas speakers at the Tartu University Archive of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages (<http://www.murre.ut.ee/arhiiv/>) comprise 47 recordings with a length of approximately eleven hours; a part of it was transcribed and published with Russian or Finnish translation by Künnap himself (Künnap 1976–1992); the complete processing is currently going in a Hamburg based Academy project; some of the recordings were made by Tiit-Rein Viitso when Plotnikova visited Tartu in 1970 (F 02051–2, F 0255); the recordings with Semënova from Krasnoyarsk are found on file SU 0231–32, the other files (SU 0191–229) are Plotnikova recorded in Abalokova;

in addition to the Tartu files, there are seven files of ca. 3.6 hours length with ca. 1.2 hours Kamas text spoken by Plotnikova made in Tallinn 1970 by Jaako Yli-Paavola and kept at the KOTUS archive (<http://kaino.kotus.fi/naark/>); these texts repeat partly what is also told on the Tartu files, and interesting for comparative purposes.

Künnap, Ago 1965a. Tänapäeva kamassi keelest. *ESA* 11, 251–262.

Kjunnap, Ago 1965b. O neposledovatel'nostjax v proiznošenii sovremennogo kamasinskogo jazyka. *Sovetskoe Finno-Ugrovedenie* 1, 47–52.

Künnap, Ago 1976a. Kamassilaisia tekstejä I. *Fenno-Ugristica* 2, 116–134.

Künnap, Ago 1976b. Kamassilaisia tekstejä II. *Fenno-Ugristica* 3, 128–136.

Künnap, Ago 1986. Kamassilaisia tekstejä III. *Fenno-Ugristica* 13, 166–173.

Künnap, Ago 1990. Kamassilaisia tekstejä IV. *Fenno-Ugristica* 17, 218–237.

Künnap, Ago 1992. Kamassilainen itkuvirsi 1914 ja 1965. Kamassilaisia arvoituksia. Kamassilaisia tekstejä V. *Fenno-Ugristica* 18, 119–140.

Künnap, Ago 1971–1978. *System und Ursprung der Kamassischen Flexionssuffixe*. I. *Numeruszeichen und Nominalflexion*. SUST 147. II. *Verbalflexion und Verbalnomina*. SUST 164. Helsinki: SUS.

Klooster and Klumpp, in preparation. Klavdija Plotnikova's versions of the Kamas tales.

Example: K. Plotnikova’s text in “Veelinnurahvas/The Waterfowl People” (Lennart Meri, 1970, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Wqd54MwUto&feature=player_detailpage); NB: the real text differs to some degree from what is suggested in the Estonian subtitles.

0:01–0:16

Drums etc.

0:17–0:30

Narrator: Eelviimane kamass suri 25 aastat tagasi ja sest saadik kõneleb Klavdija Plotnikova Abalakovo külas Sajaani mägismaal kamassi keelt veel üksnes jumalaga, keda ta usub kamassi keelt kindlasti mõistvat./*The second to last Kamas died 25 years ago, and since then speaks Klavdija Plotnikova in the village of Abalakovo in the Sayan mountains Kamas only with God, whom she believes to certainly understand Kamas.*

0:33

KP: šekke-t-šə’...
language-3SG-INS
‘with/in the language...’

0:34–0:39

Narrator: Sellegi maa keel on laulu tuules endale igavik otsinud./*And the language of this land has searched eternity for itself in the wind of song.*

0:40–0:55

KP: dīgəttə mǎn-a kum-bi-i’ kazān turā-nə,
then me-OBL bring-PST-3PL Russian.GEN house-LAT
‘Then they took me to Aginskoe,’

dīn mǎn-a kros em-bi-i’,
there me-OBL cross put-PST-3PL
‘there they put a cross to me (probably: baptized me)’

dīgəttə ma’-ni šo-bi-i’, bīppi-i’ arā,
then home-LAT1SG come-PST-3PL drink.PST-3PL liquor
‘then they came to my home, drank liquor,’

šar-bi-i’, sü’mə-le’-pi-i’
play-PST-3PL jump-DUR-PST-3PL
‘played, danced.’

0:55–0:58

Narrator: See keel on vanem mis tahes kirjutatud ajaloost./*This language is older than any written history.*

0:59–1:22

KP: urgaja-m kam-bi
grandmother-PX1SG go-PST
‘my grandmother went’

mǎn ija-m dǐ-zə'
 I mother-1SG DEM-INS
 'my mother with her'

ija-m i-bi bos-kundu,
 mother-PX1SG take-PST self-LAT3SG
 'my mother took (me along) with her'

dǐgəttə mǐm-bi ke'bdi,
 then go-PST berry
 'then she went (into) berries'

dǐgəttə edə-bi dǐ-m pa-nə,
 then hang-PST DEM-ACC tree-LAT
 'then she hung it (i.e. my cradle) onto a tree'

a bos-tu kam-bi ke'bdi nǐngə-štə,
 but self-3SG go-PST berry pick-INF.LAT
 'and she herself went picking berries'

dǐgəttə dūr- dūrdö-bi dǐn,
 then go.astray-PST there
 'then she went astray there'

mǎndər-bi-al, mǎndər-bi-al,
 look-PST-2SG look-PST-2SG
 'you (probably impersonal: one) looked and looked'

dǐgəttə mǎn dǐ-m ku-bi
 then I DEM3SG-ACC find-PST
 'then I found her.'

Exercises:

1) The Proto-Samoyed etymology for the numeral '10' is PS **wüt*. Below you find records of the Kamas cognate from three centuries; only the last records by Donner come in a standardized narrow phonetic transcription. Castréd used a wider transcription, and the records from the 18th cent. are based on orthographies without special characters as, e.g., the glottal stop (' in C's and D's transcriptions). Please describe—balancing difficulties of reading, interpretation, and comparibility—the relevant diachronic phonetic developments in Kamas from Proto-Samoyed to the 20th century.

18th cent.	19th cent.	20th cent.
MES, STR <büd>	<i>C bie'd, bie'n</i>	D [bʲiəʷ], [bʲiəʷ]
MUE <bjett>		

2) In Tatiščev's vocabulary, a Kamas kinship term recorded by Donner as [pəbi] is reported as listed below. How many additional morphemes can you identify, and what are—assumedly—their meaning?

племянникъ (nephew)		<пебымъ>
племянница (niece)		<пебымже>

Unit 2:

Technical-environmental-cultural vocabulary



58. Kamassischer Jäger mit Gewehr und Stöcken, auf denen das Gewehr beim Schießen ruht

Mounted Kamas hunter with rifle (multuk), rifle support poles (t'āku), and dog (men); photograph from Donner 1926.

0. Introductory comments

The words assembled in this overview reflect some more or less characteristic traits of the Kamas culture, and at the same time the origins of these words reveals something about their cultural contacts. So while, e.g., Kamas reindeer terminology is of Proto Samoyed (PS) origin, horse terminology is more or less exclusively of Turkic (Tu.) origin.

The Proto Samoyed reconstructions come from Janhunen 1977 and/or Helimski 1997; Turkic data from Joki 1952.

The words come in a phonological transcription, however, sometimes a more narrow phonetic transcription is quoted. In morpheme segmentations, the simple hyphen (-) precedes inflectional morphemes, the double hyphen (=) derivational morphemes.

1. The hunting and gathering calendar (cf. Klumpp 2002b)

Spring months, i.e. approximately March, April, and May: 1. *bari=j ki* ‘crow month’; 2. *ňäga=j=zən* ‘(month) to hunt the Burunduk’; 3. [nēñdi’=sən] ‘(month) to dry (food) over fire’;

summer months, i.e. approx. June, July, and August: 4. *šo=j=də-na ki* ‘birchbark collecting month’; 5. *surno=j ki* ‘rainy month’; 6. *tǎŋə-n t’er* ‘mid summer’;

autumn months, i.e. approx. September, October, and November: 7. *kumaŋ ki* ‘arid month’; 8. *saməj=də-na ki* ‘hunting-in-forest month’; 9. *üdüge šiššə* ‘minor cold’;

winter months, i.e. approx. December, January, and February: 10. *urgo šiššə=j ki* ‘big cold month’; 11. *ke-n t’er ki* ‘mid-winter month’; 12. *sǎgər=bak* ‘(month) for driven hunt’ (Tu.).

2. Hunting and fishing

Hunting: *berži-* [βēržī(i)-] ‘hunt on the steppe’ vs. *saməj-* ‘hunt in the mountain forest’; *alman* ‘Yasak (i.e. tax paid in furs)’ (Tu.);

Game (cf. Janurik 1988): *šili* ‘sable’ (PS **ki*) ~ [d’žɯ,ɣu,d’žɯk] id. (unkn. orig.) ~ *albuga* id. (Tu.); *ňäga* ‘Burunduk (*Tamias sibiricus*)’; *tažə’b* ‘squirrel’ (cf. Selk. **täpäŋ*);

kaguldán [kāɣɯɫdan] ~ [kâɣdɔñ] ~ [kãɫdãñ] ‘wild reindeer’ (unkn. orig.); [səɣãñ] ~ [sɨñ] ‘Maral (*Cervus canadensis sibiricus*)’ (Tu. *sɨɣɨn*); *bulan* ‘moose’ (Tu.) ~ *ka* id. (PS **ka*); *pō’du* ‘wild goat (*Capra sibirica*)’ (cf. PS **pajta* ‘goat; deer’);

urgāba ‘bear (lit. grandfather; hunting taboo expression)’ ~ *kašku* id. (lit. tramp) (Tu.) ~ *konu* id. (Tu.) ~ [səɨdɔ-nɛ] *büže* id. (lit. ɥ-ing man); *ma’ni* ‘wolf’ (unkn. orig.) ~ *kuš* id. (Tu. *quš* ‘fowl; deer’) ~ *numo t’ima* id. (lit. long tail); *meŋgəj* ‘fox’ (**men-kəj* ‘dog-animal’); *mǐñhi* ‘wolverine’ (PS **wiŋkãncä*);

söje ‘capercaillie’ (cf. PS **senkä* id.); *uŋa* ‘partridge’ (PU **aŋɜ* ‘ptarmigan’); *na’b* ‘duck’ (PS **ňäp*);

Hunting equipment: *inə* ‘bow’ (PS **intə*); *mō* ‘arrow’ (PS **muŋkə* ‘clump arrow’); [ɛ’^Bd^ə-ñne] ~ [ə’^BDɨ-ñne] ‘arm protection for bow shooting’ (unkn. orig.); *multuk* ‘rifle’ (Tu.); *na* ‘bullet’ (PS **ne*¹ ‘arrow’); *tǎkku* ‘rifle rest’ (Mong.);

men ‘dog’ (PS **wen*); *bargo* ‘horn for attracting maral’ (Tu.); *baspa* ‘log trap for squirrels’ (cf. Tu. *pas-* ‘press’); *kuž-ən tura* ‘pit trap for wolves (lit. wolf’s house)’; *t’ezəŋ* ‘sling trap (for capercaillie)’ (PS **je¹sən²* ‘sling’);



*Steppe Kamas hunter from P’jankova with rifle and rifle support poles;
photo by Kudrjacev 1925.*

Fishing: *kola=j-* ‘to fish’ (*kola* ‘fish’ < PS **kalä*); *türme* ‘roe’ (PS **tirämä* ~ **türämä*); *kam* ‘fish scale’ (earlier also ‘money’) (PS **kämə*); *nöre* ‘fish trap’ (unkn. orig.); [pud’žeri] ~ [bud’žeri] ‘fish heaver’ (cf. PS **wikzrä* ‘fish spear’).

3. Nutrition

uja ‘meat’ (PS **ājā*); *sil* ‘fat’ (PS **silə*); *tür* ‘grease’ (PS **jür*); *mije* ‘soup’ (PS **węńz*); *tus* ‘salt’ (Tu.);

ke’bdə ‘berry’ (PS **keptə* ‘currant’); *sanə* ‘nut’ (PS **səŋkə* ‘cone, nut’); *o’bdə-* ‘gather, pick’; *tugul* ‘Lilium martagon; sarana’ (PS **tokəl*); *tıl=zen* ‘spade’ (PS **tilə=psən*); *köbergen* ‘onion’ (Tu.);

ippeĸ ‘bread’ (Tu.); *arba* ‘grain, wheat’ (Tu.); *aš* ‘rye’; *aš to’b=də-na mašina* ‘threshing machine (lit. rye beating machine)’; *tü tül=də-ne baza* ‘plow (lit. earth digging iron)’; *un* ‘flour’ (Tu.); *jablak* ‘potatoe’ (Tu. ← Ru.);

süt ‘milk’ (Tu.); *tüžöj* ‘cow’ (Tu.); *ular* ‘sheep’ (Tu.); *mal* ‘cattle’ (Tu.); *mal kadar=də-na kuza* ‘herdsman (lit. cattle herding man)’;

kāba ‘tree juice’ (unkn. orig.); *kojə-n bü* ‘birch juice (lit. birch water)’; *čaj* ‘tea’ ~ *segi bü* ‘id. (lit. yellow water)’; *arā* ‘brandy’ (Tu.); *tangu, tamgu* ‘tobacco’ (Tu.).

4. Mobility

Nomadizing: *mīn-* ‘go’ (PS **min-*); *śu’-* ‘move to another dwelling place’; [kōj̥t̥əŋ] ‘deserted dwelling place’ (cf. *kojə-* ‘leave’);

Reindeer terminology (cf. Klumpp 2005b): *to* ‘reindeer’ (PS **ceḡ*); *taktə* ‘reindoe; female’ (PS **jekcä*); *kora* ~ *kura* ‘reinbox; male’ (PS **kora*); *akta(η)* ‘castrated’ (Tu.; replaced PS **kaptā-* id. ← PTu. *qap-* ‘grab with the teeth’); *kura’dəna to* ‘uncastrated reindeer’ (cf. *kura* ‘bull’); *tergijö* ‘rein calf, Maral calf’ (PS **cārəkaj* ‘rein calf’); *tüdüget* ‘one year old reindeer’ (unkn. orig.); [g̊äi’g̊ä] *kura to* ‘two year old male reindeer’; *arə=j kura to* ‘three year old male reindeer (lit. rein bull of size; cf. PS **ārə* ‘size, bigness’); *pünzü* ‘two year old reindoe’ (unkn. orig.);

amdoj ‘ear mark’ (cf. Selk. **ān(č)ə-* ‘show’, or Tu. causative verb *amdoj=dər-* ‘mark’); *aŋno* ‘bridle, rein’ (cf. *aŋ* ‘mouth’ < PS **äŋ*); *mīne* ‘head collar, halter’ (PS **winä*); *tergü* ‘harness lace’ (Tu.); [əŋərd’äk] ‘saddle (for reindeer, made from reindeer skin’ (Tu. *ıŋır* ‘saddle’); *bori* ‘holed wooden or boney lasso end’ (unkn. orig.); *təs=sən* [d’əš̥n̥] ‘leather bag for transporting vessels’ (cf. PS **jetā* ‘vessel’);

Horse terminology: *ine* ‘horse’ (? cf. PS **juntā* ← PTu.); *šüjme* ‘mare; female’ (PS **kejmä*); *askər* ‘stallion’ (Tu.); *kulukka* ‘foal’ (Tu.); equine coat colours: *ala* ‘brindled, spotted’ (Tu.); *bora* ‘grey’ (Tu.); *bozəra* ‘bay (fox)’ (Tu.); *t’okur* ‘skewbald’ (Tu.); *kaltar* ‘brown with white mouth and tale’ (Tu.); *ōj* ‘white-blue’ (Tu.); *sagər* ‘black’; *toru* ‘brown’;

ezəŋgö ‘stirrup’ (Tu.) ~ *pakzən* id. (cf. Klumpp 2009); *kīžen* ‘lace with a wooden plug’ (Tu.); *kon=zan* ~ *kon=zən* ‘saddle’ (**kon-* ‘carry’); *koskun* ‘tale lace’ (Tu.); *sulu* ‘bridle, bit’ (Tu.); *šürgəje* ‘belly strap’ (unkn. orig.);

boš ine ‘lone horse’ (Tu.); *t’alaŋ* ‘on horse, astride’ (Tu.); *oškar-* ‘take somebody along on horseback’ (Tu.);

Ski: *tejme* ‘ski, snow shoe’ (unkn. orig.); *kabəj* ‘skin under the ski’ (? Tu. **kawe-* ‘glue on’); *kaŋəjak* ‘ski forming wood’ (Tu.); *tīs* ‘foot strap on ski’ (unkn. orig.); *sürü* ‘ski pole’ (cf. PS **cürə* id.);

Sledge: *šor* ‘sledge’ (Tu.); *nartə* id. (Ru. or older; replaced PS **kāncə* id.).



*Steppe Kamas hunters from P'jankova with horses and skis;
photo by Kudrjacev 1925.*

5. Dwelling

ma 'tent, house' (PS **mät*); *kuba=j ma* 'winter tent (i.e. skin tent)'; *amdəro* 'smoke hole' (← Mat., cf. амдэ 'smokes') ~ *mazəro* id. (unkn. orig.); *jado* 'tent pole' (unkn. orig.); *jada* 'village'; *tö* 'tent square (made from birch bark)' (PS **t¹et¹*, **t¹et¹*);
tura 'log house; living room' (Tu.); *batpolə* 'cellar' (Ru. подполье);
sānzada 'fire place (inside the dwelling)', *amor=də-na t'ardə* 'food serving bord (lit. eating bord)'; *amdəro* 'box, case' (Tu.); *t'epsü* 'cradle' (PS **jepsə*); *bappə* 'bed' (PS **wat³wə*); *šuktu'd* 'sleeping coat, fur' (Tung.); *t'asta* 'cushion' (Tu.).



56. Kamassisches Wohnhaus mit Rindendach

Kamas dwelling with birchbark roof (Donner 1926)

6. Clothing

parga ‘fur coat’ (PS **parka*); *pal'to* ‘coat’ (Ru.); *küjnek* ‘shirt, blouse’ (Tu.); *pi'mə* ‘trousers’ (PS **pit³mä* id.); *tü* ‘sleeve’ (PS **tüaj* id.); *türəj* ‘lining’ (unkn. orig.); *t'i* ‘belt’ (PS **ji*); (*epkü=j*) *h'ama* ‘boots from reindeer skin (fur inside)’ (PS **päjmä* ‘boot’); *palu* ‘boot strap’ (? Tu.); *uba* ‘glove’ (PS **opa*);
üžü ‘cap’ (Selk. **ükə*); *plat* ‘headcloth’ (Ru.);
nimi ‘needle’ (PS **nejmä*), *nimi-n pidi-t* ‘needle’s eye’; *sar=zo* ‘thread’ (*sar-* ‘bind, knit’); *šö'* ‘sew’ (PS **ket¹* - ‘bind, sew’);
kuguj ‘earring’ (*ku* ‘ear’).

7. Metallurgy

baza ‘iron’ (PS **wesä*); *altən* ‘gold’ (Tu.); *t'es* ‘copper, bronze’ (Tu.); *kola* ‘brass’ (Tu.); *korgəld'an* ‘lead’ (Tu.); *küümüš* ‘silver’ (Tu.);
us ‘blacksmith’ (Tu.); *uzar=də-na baza* ‘ambos (lit. forging iron)’.

8. Habitat and weather

t'alam ‘Sayan’ (unkn. orig.); *māja* ‘mountain’ (PS **māja* ‘earth, terrain’); *ā* ‘summit in the Sayan’; *t'eje* ‘(mountain) forest’ (cf. *Taiga*); *nor=zəbi t'ü* ‘lichenous ground’; *nīmi* ‘mossy ground’;
ajaŋ ‘steppe’ (unkn. orig.); *kāra* ‘steppe’ (Tu.);
bü ‘water, big river’ (PS **wit* ‘water’), *ku-n bü* ‘Kan’ (Tu., older *kaŋ-ən bü*); *m_=j* [mā=ī nīr] ‘Mana (lit. upstream of M.)’; *t'āga* ‘small river, brook’ (PS **jāka* ‘river’); *tu* ‘lake’ (PS **to*); *talaj* ‘sea’ (Mong.); *bü=j=zen* ‘ice hole’ (*bü=j-* ‘fetch water’);
sīre ‘snow’ (PS **sīra*); *kadaŋ* ‘fresh snow in autumn’ (cf. PS **kacə* ‘snow flurry’); *kamo* ‘snow crust’ (PS **kämpə*) ~ *tōt* ‘snow crust’ (Tu. *toŋot*); *körtük* ‘snow bank’ (Tu.); *ölegən* ‘soft wet snow in spring’ (unkn. orig.); *süzə* ‘snow on branches (unkn. orig.);
surno ‘rain’ (PS **sara-* ‘to rain’); *boj* ‘ice’ (Tu.); *tōš* ‘glaze, clear ice’ (Tu.); *berži* ‘wind’ (PS **merkä*); *kuja t'emdə-le'bə* ‘the sun is warming’ (PS **kaja* ‘Sonne’).

9. Religion and mythology

num ‘heaven, weather; God’ (PS **num*); *kudaj* ‘God; icon’ (Tu. ← Pers.);
tarbə ‘shaman’ (PS **caräpä*, **cacäpä*); *peri* ‘shaman’s drum’ (cf. PS **peŋkär* id., **pe-* ‘shamanize’); *bīšše* ‘drumstick’ (< PS **pe-*) ~ *tepsin* id. (? nom. instr. =*zin*); *penzüt* ‘helping spirit’ (< PS **pe-*; *samə-* ‘shamanize; hold church service’ (PS **sampə-* ‘perform magic’); [āḷī-] ‘fumigate (shaman)’;
kigö ‘silk cloth (in sacrifice ceremony)’ (< ? PS **kājkā* ‘ghost’); *t'egər ma* ‘church’ (Tu. *tāŋri* ‘sky; God’); *abəs* ‘priest’ (Tu.); *kāzəl nāmərka* ‘Easter (lit. red egg)’ (Tu.);

majə ‘breath soul’ (PS *wäjŋ-); *kolmu* ‘spirit of passed away person’ (PS *kalmɜ ‘dead body, spirit’); *eje* ‘master, local spirit’ (Tu.), *bü-n eje-t* ‘whater ghost’; *enəidəne* ‘evil spirit; devil’ (unkn. orig.).

tamnug-ən ne ‘frog woman’.

10. Kinship and persons

aba ‘father’ (Tu.); *ija* ‘mother’ (Tu.); *imbə* ‘father in law’ (PS *inəpə), *imbə=ni* [əmbə³ni] ‘mother in law’; *ni* ‘boy; son’ (cf. *ne-* ‘give birth’); *ko’bdə* ‘girl; daughter’ (PS *kaptɜ); *kaga* ‘elder brother’ (Tu.); *paba* ‘elder sister’ (PS *əpa); *pibi* ‘younger sibling’ (PS *pepə); *urgāba* ‘grandfather’ (< *urga* ‘big’ + *aba*), *urgāja* ‘grandmother’ (< *urga* + *ija*);

tugan ‘relatives, kin’ (Tu.); *ör* ‘clan, family, tribe’ (Mong.);

ešši tet- ‘give birth to a child (lit. bring a child)’; *ne* ‘woman’, *nüke* ‘married woman’, *tibi* ‘man’, *büze* ‘married man’; *d’zalbak ulu=zəbi kuza* ‘idiot, blockhead (lit. person with a head like a waterfowl foot)’.

11. Nations

Samoyedes: self designation *kaŋmažə* ‘Kamas’ (Katz 1980: < *qam qāč* ‘shaman Qača’); *mador* ‘Mator’; *solo* ‘Qaragas’;

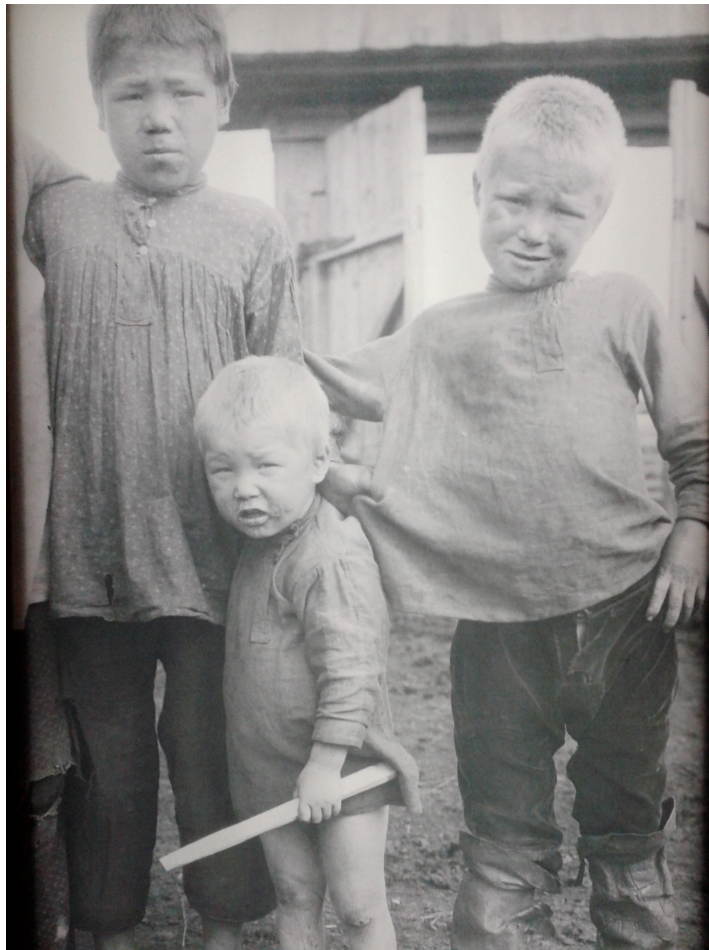
Turks: *bije* ‘Steppe-Tatar’ (Tu. *bäg* ‘master, lord’, cf. Udm. *biger* ‘Tatar’); *kārdəj* ‘Tatar’ (*kārat=əj* ‘steppy’); *kojbol* ‘Qoibal’ (Tu.); *kāš* ‘Qača, Xakas, Minussinsk Tatar’; *sagaj* ‘Sagaj’ (Tu.); *no ~ nu* ‘Tatar (partly also Kamas self designation)’ (cf. *Hsiung nu*); *nu-zan šikkə-t* ‘Tatar language’;

Other: *kodo* ‘Kott’; *kazak* ‘Russian’; [d’jɾə̀k] ~ [d’žirɨk] ‘Siberian Russian’ (Tu. *jürük* ‘refugee, migrant’); *sojān* ‘Soyot’ (Mong.); *tunguzə* ‘Tungus’ (Ru.); *uražə* ‘ancient Siberian people’ (unkn. orig.);

il ‘people’ (Tu.).

Exercise: Read the ethnographic article by Arkadij Tugarinov (1926)—either the Russian original, or the German translation; unfortunately, there is currently no English translation available, but you will hopefully manage. Tugarinov also reports a couple of Kamas words. How many exactly? Which of them are not listed in the vocabulary above?

Unit 3: Phonology



[ešɛŋ], [ešɛŋ] /*essen*/ ‘children’:
[ešɪ], [ešɔ], [ešɪ] /*ešši*/ ‘child’ + -zAŋ
plural.

*The Šajbin boys—photograph by Kai Donner,
Abalakovo 1914 (Donner & Janhunen
2014: 71).*

Phonology

0. Disclaimer

The present phonological account of Kamas is very basic because it neglects a couple of intricate details which demand further analysis, as (i) primary vowel length—in opposition to secondary vowel length as a result of contraction; (ii) front vowel opening grades—two or three?; (iii) consonant length—does Kamas have primary geminates?; and (iv) palatal stop and affricate—one or two phonemes? A serious obstacle for understanding Kamas phonology is insufficient data labeling by Castren and Donner. Donner’s data come in a quite narrow phonetic transcription—typical for the Finnish Phonetic School in the first half of the 20th century—, but he rarely specifies which data comes from which speaker (neither does Castrén). Donner was also convinced that due to the moribund status of Kamas it’s last speakers varied all kinds of parameters (length, opening grades, aspiration etc.) all the time (KW: 122). This makes it difficult to decide for many cases of variation whether they should be considered spontaneous or systematic individual and dialectal variations.

1. Vowels

Kamas had eight full and two reduced vowels. The closed front vowel phonemes are /i/ and /ü/ (the latter is phonetically a rather central [u]), the open front vowel phonemes are /e/ and /ö/ (the latter is phonetically often a delabialized [ɛ]), and the reduced front vowel is /ĩ/, or /ǐ/ (the spelling as an [over]short *ĩ* is preferred here); an additional full front vowel phoneme would be /ɛ/, or /ä/. The back vowels mirror the front vowel system in terms of opening grades, labiality, and reducedness. The vowel system is thus very symmetric and corresponds to vowel systems of neighbouring Turkic languages (see e.g. Anderson 1998 for Xakas). The illabial closed back vowel *j*, however, occurs only in Turkic and Russian loanwords. In non-first syllables, the only specification of the reduced vowel—front vs. back—is neutralized too (as are opening grade and labiality). Phonetically it is a central vowel [ə], possibly influenced by a preceding labial consonant as e.g. in /băt-/ ‘cut’: [bãð-] ~ [boð-] ~ [buð-], or it imitates the quality of a preceding vowel, e.g. /bü-bə/ ‘his/her water (accusative)’: [bubü].

		front		back	
		illabial	labial	illabial	labial
full	closed	i	ü	(j)	u
	open	e	ö	a	o
	(wide open)	(ɛ/ä)			
reduced	1st syllable	ĩ/ǐ		ǎ/Ǔ	
	non-1st syll.	ə			

Table 1: Kamas vowel phonemes.

Vowel length is of secondary origin. It is non-phonematic where (i) open vowels are lengthened in open syllables, e.g. */baj/* [baɪ] ‘rich’: */baj=əm-/* [bāɪəm-] ‘to become rich (denominal verb)’, */t'es/* [d'es] ‘copper’: */t'ez=aj/* [d'ēzɪ] ‘made of copper (adjective)’, */loro/* [oro] ‘pit’: */oro-nə/* [orōn-] ‘to the pit (lative case)’, */kot/* [kót] ‘rib’: */kod-ən/* [kōdʰn] ‘rib’s (genitive case)’, */šürget/* [šur̩gɛt] ‘elbow’: */šürged=ən/* [šur̩gɛdɛn] ‘elbow’s (genitive case)’, and (ii) where open vowels are lengthened (or perceived as long?) in front of *r*, e.g. */par-/* [pār-] ‘return’, */t'or-/* [t'ōr-] ‘cry’, or if they are stressed vowels in Russian loanwords, e.g. */koška/* [kōška] ‘cat’. Secondary vowel length is phonematic where it is the result of syllable contraction, e.g. */bat/* ‘shoulder’ vs. */bā-t/* ‘its price (possessive 3rd person sing.)’ (*bā* ‘hind’ ← Qača *bā* < *baha*; Joki 1952: 79), */kan-/* ‘go’ vs. */kān/* ‘Khan’ (← Qača *kān* < *qayan*; Joki 1952: 157), *kōt* ‘rib’ (< PS **kajwət(ə)*), *šā-* ‘spend the night’ (< PS **keŋkə-*).

Kamas vowel harmony is basically a palatal harmony (*a ~ e*) as e.g. in the two suffix variants of the nominal plural marker *-sAŋ* in *ne-zeŋ* ‘women’, *tibi-zeŋ* ‘men’, *tüžöj-zeŋ* ‘cows’, *aba-zaŋ* ‘fathers’, *ija-zaŋ* ‘mothers’, *ulu-zaŋ* ‘heads’. Vowel harmonic patterning of the reduced vowel, however, includes also labiality, cf. e.g. the accusative 3rd person singular marker *-bə* in */tīme-bə/* [t̩mɛbə] ‘his/her rope’, */sima-bə/* [s̩mābə] ‘his/her eye’, */bü-bə/* [bubw] ‘his/her water’, */lulu-bə/* [ulubw] ‘his/her head’, */koʔbdo-bə/* [kōbdōbo] ‘his/her daughter’. Most words also show stem internal vowel harmony, with a few exceptions as e.g. *ija* ‘mother’.

2. Consonants

	bilabial	dental	postalveol.	palatal	velar	glottal
fortis stops, palatalized	p, p̣	t		ṭ	k, ḳ	ʔ
lenis stops, palatalized	b, ḅ	d			g	
fricatives, palatalized		s	š, ṣ̌	ś		h/ḥ
affricate			(č)			
nasals, palatalized	m, ṃ	n		ɲ	ŋ	
glide				j		
lateral/palatalized		l, (ḷ)				
tremulant		r				

Table 2: Kamas consonant phonemes.

Kamas has palatal and palatalized consonant phonemes (like e.g. Polish). Palatalization is a coarticulation phenomenon where in addition to the primary articulation at an articulation place different from the palatum, the back of the tongue approaches the palatum; palatal consonants are articulated primarily at the palatum. Naturally, there is no palatalization of palatal consonants. The two phenomena are usually distributed complementarily, so e.g. Russian, Erzya, Nenets are languages with consonant palatalization, but Hungarian, Udmurt, Komi are languages with palatal consonants (see Stadnik 2002). The co-occurrence of both is

seen as a transitory phenomenon. As the following (quasi) minimal pairs show, palatalization occurs only in front of vowels (opposite from e.g. Estonian where it occurs only at the end of syllables): *peri* ‘shaman’s drum’ vs. *peri* ‘around’, *balda-* ‘soften’ vs. *balda-* ‘chat’, *kama?* ‘forehead’ vs. *kama* ‘marrow’, *sar-* ‘tie’ vs. *sar-* ‘play’, *šan* ‘ancient times’ vs. *šan-* ‘lie’, *ha-* ‘make’ vs. *hama* ‘boot’, *maŋzər-* ‘hurry’ vs. *maŋ-* ‘flow’. Phoneme status of palatalized *l* is questionable, it occurs only as variant of *liV*, e.g. *ha-lia* ~ *ha-lá* ‘makes’. The palatal stop *lʲ* (NB: in Finno-ugric transcription not differentiated from the palatalized dental stop, but cf. IPA [c] vs. [tʲ]) has voiced and affricated allophones [tʲ] ~ [dʲ] ~ [tʲʃ] ~ [dʲʃ] which basically occur in free variation. The postalveolar affricate *č* appears only in Turkic and Russian loanwords.

Three consonants do not occur word initially: (i) the tremulant *r* (as in Turkic), (ii) the velar nasal *ŋ*, and (iii) the glottal stop *ʔ*. The first two, however, do occur in syllable onset word internally, e.g. *para?* ‘return! (imperative)’, *tāŋən* ‘summer’s (genitive case)’. Consonants allowed in the coda are the sonorants *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *l*, *r*, *j*, as well as the glottal stop; in Turkic loanwords we find also other stops and also sibilants, e.g. *azak* ‘foot’, *aləp* ‘hero’, *bōs* ‘pregnant’, *balgaš* ‘dirt’. Genuine stems with a historical coda stop developed (i) either a preconsonantal glottal stop after which there is free variation between the lenis variant of the stop, the homorgan nasal, or zero, e.g. *ma?d* ~ *ma?n* ~ *ma?* < **mat* ‘tent’, *na?b* ~ *na?m* ~ *na?* < **nāp* ‘duck’; (ii) or the coda stop is spirantized (in verbal stems), e.g. *det-lie-m* ‘I bring’ [deθlʲem]. In derived stems and in inflected words, coda *t* occurs also in genuine words, e.g. *dīrgit* ‘such a’ (demonstrative pronoun), *ku-t* ‘find it!’ (imperative 2nd sing. obj. conj.), *ni-t* ‘her son’. Geminate *t* occurs only at syllable boundaries, e.g. *eš.ši* ‘child’, but not in coda position.

Word initial stops before open vowels are often aspirated, but aspiration is not phonematic, e.g. *tuluŋ* ‘braid’ ~ [tʲuluŋ], *paŋda-* ‘write’ ~ [pʲaŋda-], *kuza* ‘person’ ~ [kʲuza]. The glottal fricatives *h* and *hʲ* are (transitory) results of a sound change *p* > *h* in word initial position, e.g. PS **pā-* ‘make’ > Kam. *pa-* > *ha-* ~ *a-*, PS **pājtwa-* ‘chop’ > Kam. *pa?bda-* > *ha?bda-* ~ *ja?bda-*. It affects not all words, e.g. there is no full spirantization (and loss) in *pa* ‘wood, tree’ (Castrén, however, reports a dialectal variant *fa*).

Fortis consonants become lenis consonants between vowels; this weakening may also involve spirantization of stops, e.g. *kazak* ‘Russian’, genitive *kazakən* > *kazaŋən*, and total deletion (plus contraction of vowels): *kazān*. After consonants, the fortis-lenis opposition is preserved, e.g. *balda-* ‘soften’ vs. *baltu* ‘axe’.

3. Syllable structure and accent

The maximal syllable structure is CVCC, e.g. in *na?b* ‘duck’; onset clusters are excluded, the only type of clusters allowed in the coda is *ʔC*.

The (probably inherited) pattern of assigning prominency to the first syllable of a word by expiratory accent, e.g. *ka.m.bi* ‘went’, is challenged by two divergent patterns: (i) if the first syllable is light (open, short or reduced vowel), and a following syllable heavy (closed, long vowel) accent moves to the heavy syllable, e.g. *su.ra.r.ga* ‘asking’, *a.mo.r.zit.tə* ‘to eat’; (ii)

the Turkic pattern of assigning accent to the last syllable has been noticed by Castrén and Donner (KW: 126–127), not only in Turkish loans, but also in genuine words. The Turkic ultima accent, however, is a pitch accent, and we don't know in how as much it co-occurred with the previous patterns. Notations with marked secondary accent (in addition to unmarked main stress on the 1st syllable) also in Turkic loans as e.g. *ö·rə.me*: 'milk skin' point to such a coexistence of two accent patterns.

Unit 4: Morphology

1. Declension

1.1. Absolute declension: case and number

Kamas has seven cases: the nominative in $-\emptyset$ (zero case, or base form), the genitive in $-(\partial)n$, the accusative in $-(\partial)m$, the lative (or dative) in $-NT\partial$ —i.e. $-n(\partial)$ with vowel stems $\sim -d\partial$ with sonorant (voiced) $\sim -t\partial$ with obstruent (voiceless) consonant stems—, the locative in $-K\partial n$ ($-g\partial n \sim -k\partial n$), the ablative in $-K\partial\partial$ ($-g\partial\partial \sim -k\partial\partial$), and the instrumental in $-\acute{S}\partial\partial$ ($-\acute{z}\partial\partial \sim -\acute{s}\partial\partial$). The first six continue Proto Samoyed case forms, the instrumental is a Southern Samoyed innovation shared with Selkup (cf. the Selkup instrumental case in $-sä$, e.g. in Taz *wəcyɥ pəny-sä mātyhyty* ‘he cut the meat with a knife’). The Proto Samoyed prolativ (or prosecutive) case in $*-m\partial nA$ is not a productive case in Kamas, but the morpheme can be found in some adverbials as e.g. *namən* ‘for’, *kamən* ‘when’.

Of the three numbers, the singular is unmarked. The dual marker is $-G\partial j$ ($<$ PS $*-k\partial-j$), but dual appears only in combination with the category of person, i.e. Kamas distinguishes dual personal pronouns, dual possessive and personal suffixes, but there is no dual in absolute declension; except for so called reciprocal nouns which are derived with the connective-reciprocal suffix $=z\partial$ ($<$ Proto Uralic $*=\eta V\acute{c} \sim *=\acute{c}$; Hajdú 1975a). Only one such formation is attested in the Kamas corpus: *kaga=z\partial-g\partial j* ‘pair of brothers (Germ. Gebrüderpaar)’ (3.1, KW 90; *kaga* ‘brother’), but cf. parallel formations in Taz Selkup *tjmhā=s-qā* id., Tundra Nenets *peb'e=sa-xa?* id., and in Ob-Ugric, e.g. Vakh Khanty *jəγ=sä-γən* ‘father and son’ (*jəγ* ‘father’), Lower Konda Mansi *pōw=əńš-äγ* id. (*pōw* ‘son’). Kamas has two different nominal plural markers: (i) $-j\partial\partial$ (or $-i\partial$) in nominative $\sim -j\partial$ (or $-i$) in oblique case forms; the nominative form originates from a combination of the Proto Samoyed oblique plural marker in $*-j$ plus the nominative plural marker in $*-t$. It is also the marker of the 3rd person plural in subject conjugation (see below); (ii) $-SA\eta$ ($-za\eta \sim -ze\eta \sim -sa\eta \sim -se\eta$); this morpheme is the exclusive plural marker in the possessive declension and in the declension of demonstrative pronouns. In the absolute declension of nouns both markers are used, but their distribution is not well understood. The development of a second nominal plural is, again, a Southern Samoyed structural innovation. In Selkup, the second plural of a noun is formed by attributing it with the help of the adjective ending $=l'$ to an abstract noun *mj* ‘matter’ (the first, inherited plural marker is $-(y)t$). The meanings of the two Selkup plural markers are individual vs. collective, e.g. *qum-yt* ‘(individual) people’, *māt-yt* ‘tents’, vs. *qum-yl' mj* ‘(group of) people’, *māty=l' mj* ‘a group of tents (and what belongs to it; lit. tenty stuff)’. The new Kamas plural marker $-SA\eta$ is etymologically related to a Selkup collective word formation element $(=)sa\eta/\acute{s}aq$ as e.g. in *pō=l' šaq* ‘forest’ (*pō=l'* ‘tree=ADJ’) (Hajdú 1975b). So one may assume that at least originally the meaning of the second plural marker in Kamas was also collective.

The suffix order is always number suffix before case suffix (NX-CX). Kamas represents the agglutinative type quite well. Irregularities in declension (and conjugation) are quite rare,

examples are the noun *ešši* ‘child’, plural *esseŋ* ‘children’, some *n*-stems like *bulan* ‘moose’, genitive *bulān*, or the genitive of the plural marker *-zAŋ*, *-zAn*.

number	sing.		plur. (NX-CX)	
	Kamas	PS	Kamas	PS
nominative	<i>t’āga</i> <i>kōt</i>	* <i>jāka</i> * <i>kajwət(ə)</i>	<i>t’āga-jə?</i> ~ <i>t’āga-zAŋ</i> <i>kōd-əjə?</i> ~ <i>kōt-sAŋ</i>	* <i>jāka-jə-t</i> * <i>kajwətə-jə-t</i>
genitive	<i>t’āga-n</i> <i>kōd-ən</i>	* <i>jāka-n</i> * <i>kajwət-ən</i>	<i>t’āga-jə-n</i> ~ <i>t’āga-zan</i> <i>kōd-əjə-n</i> ~ <i>kōt-san</i>	(obl.pl + nom.pl.)
accusative	<i>t’āga-m</i> <i>kōd-əm</i>	* <i>jāka-m</i> * <i>kajwət-əm</i>	<i>t’āga-jə-m</i> ~ <i>t’āga-zAŋ-əm</i> <i>kōd-əjə-m</i> ~ <i>kōt-sAŋ-əm</i>	
lative	<i>t’āga-nə</i> <i>kōt-tə</i>	* <i>jāka-ntə</i> * <i>kajwət(ə)-ntə</i>	<i>t’āga-jə-nə</i> ~ <i>t’āga-zAŋ-də</i> <i>kōd-əjə-nə</i> ~ <i>kōt-sAŋ-də</i>	
locative	<i>t’āga-gən</i> <i>kōt-kən</i>	* <i>jāka-kəna</i> * <i>kajwət(ə)-kəna</i>	<i>t’āga-jə-gən</i> ~ <i>t’āga-zAŋ-gən</i> <i>kōd-əjə-gən</i> ~ <i>kōt-sAŋ-gən</i>	
ablative	<i>t’āga-gə?</i> <i>kōt-gə?</i>	* <i>jāka-kətə</i> * <i>kajwət(ə)-kətə</i>	<i>t’āga-jə-gə?</i> ~ <i>t’āga-zAŋ-gə?</i> <i>kōd-əjə-gə?</i> ~ <i>kōt-sAŋ-gə?</i>	
instrumental	<i>t’āga-žə?</i> <i>kōt-žə?</i>	Selkup <i>-sä</i>	<i>t’āga-jə-žə?</i> ~ <i>t’āga-zAŋ-žə?</i> <i>kōd-əjə-žə?</i> ~ <i>kōt-sAŋ-žə?</i>	

Table 3: Kamas absolute declension; example words are the vowel stem *t’āga* ‘river’ (cf. CM 20–21, KW 129) and the consonant stem *kōt* ‘rib’ (cf. CM 50, KW 131); for reconstructed case and number morphology cf. Alatalo 1999, for stems Janhunen 1977.

1.2. Possessive declension

The possessive declension is syncretic with four cases only: the “nominative-genitive-accusative” which consists in the base form of the possessive suffix (see Table 4), the “lative-locative” which shows innovations in the 1st and 2nd persons (see Table 5; cf. Katz 1973), the ablative and the instrumental. While the lative-locative syncretism is a fully completed Kamas innovation, the syncretism of the grammatical cases nominative, genitive and accusative must be of rather recent origin. The reason for this assumption is that despite the fact that all the declension paradigms collected by Castrén and Donner show the syncretism, in fact, some distinctions are still maintained in the texts: (i) possessive genitive forms are attested for the 1st and 3rd person sing., e.g. *ujə-nə* ‘of my foot’ (5.12, KW 91) (< PS **aaj-n-nə*), *šü-n-də* ‘of her fire’ (8.24, KW 94) (< PS **tuj-n-ta*); (ii) there is an ending for the accusative 3rd person singular, *-bə*, e.g. *uda-bə* ‘his hand’ (8.11, KW 94) (< PS **uta-m-ta*). This ending is preserved and also regularly applied only with vowel stems. With consonant stems, we find only the

syncretic form, except for some contexts of emphasis where a pleonastic form in which the ending *-bə* follows the ending *-də* may appear, e.g. *ular-də-bə* ‘his sheep’ (8.59, KW 94). Other possessive genitive and accusative forms are not attested.

The so called “co-affix” of the local cases (< Proto Samoyed **-kə*) appears in the absolute declension in the locative (*-gən*) and ablative (*-gəʔ*); in the possessive declension it appears in the lative-locative and in the ablative. With polysyllabic vowel stems it is lost and leaves a long contraction vowel, e.g. *turāndə* ‘to his/her house’ < *tura-gən-də*.

The suffix order in the possessive declension is (NX-)CX-PX in all cases, except for the youngest case, the instrumental, which shows the opposite order (NX-)PX-CX.

a) Singular possession

Table 4 shows the nominative-genitive-accusative (i.e. the base form) of the possessive suffixes for the monosyllabic vowel stem *to* ‘reindeer’. Paradigms of a polysyllabic vowel stem (*tura* ‘house’, cf. CM 74, KW 138–139), and a consonant stem (*bögəl* ‘back’, cf. CM 78) follow the table.

	nominative-genitive-accusative (PX)		
	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>to-m</i> < <i>*təə-mə</i>	<i>to-bəj</i> < <i>*təə-miŋ</i>	<i>to-baʔ</i> < <i>*təə-mat</i>
2nd	<i>to-l</i> < <i>*təə-řə</i>	<i>to-ləj</i> < <i>*təə-řiŋ</i>	<i>to-laʔ</i> < <i>*təə-řat</i>
3rd	<i>to-t</i> < <i>*təə-ta</i>	<i>to-dəj</i> < <i>*təə-tiŋ</i>	<i>to-dən</i> < <i>*təə-ton</i>

Table 4: Kamas possessive suffixes in the nominative-genitive-accusative (i.e. in their base form); example word is *to* ‘reindeer’ (CM 76).

<i>tura-m</i>	<i>tura-bəj</i>	<i>tura-baʔ</i>	<i>bögəl-bə</i>	<i>bögəl-bəj</i>	<i>bögəl-beʔ</i>
<i>tura-l</i>	<i>tura-ləj</i>	<i>tura-laʔ</i>	<i>bögəl-lə</i>	<i>bögəl-ləj</i>	<i>bögəl-leʔ</i>
<i>tura-t</i>	<i>tura-dəj</i>	<i>tura-dən</i>	<i>bögəl-də</i>	<i>bögəl-dəj</i>	<i>bögəl-dən</i>

The lative-locative form of the 1st person sing. is a Kamas innovation, it does not go back to a Proto Samoyed or Proto Southern Samoyed form. The innovation affects not only the form as such, but the morphem in question (*-gəni*) serves also as a base for the formation of the 1st and the 2nd person dual and plural forms. The forms of the 3rd person are regular continuations of Proto Samoyed formations.

lative-locative (CX-PX)		
sing.	dual	plur.
<i>to-gəni</i> ≠ <i>*təə-kənnə</i>	<i>to-gəni-bəj</i> = 1SG + 1DU	<i>to-gəni-baʔ</i> = 1SG + 1PL
<i>to-gənan</i> < <i>*təə-kənantə</i>	<i>to-gəni-ləj</i> = 1SG + 2DU	<i>to-gəni-laʔ</i> = 1SG + 2PL
<i>to-gən-də</i> < <i>*təə-kə-nta</i>	<i>to-gən-dəj</i> < <i>*təə-kə-ntiŋ</i>	<i>to-gən-dən</i> < <i>*təə-kə-nton</i>

Table 5: Kamas possessive suffixes in the lative-locative.

<i>turāni</i>	<i>turāni-baj</i>	<i>turāni-ba?</i>	<i>bögäl-gāni</i>	<i>bögäl-gāni-baj</i>	<i>bögäl-gāni-be?</i>
<i>turānan</i>	<i>turāni-laj</i>	<i>turāni-la?</i>	<i>bögäl-gānen</i>	<i>bögäl-gāni-laj</i>	<i>bögäl-gāni-le?</i>
<i>turān-də</i>	<i>turān-daj</i>	<i>turān-dən</i>	<i>bögäl-gān-də</i>	<i>bögäl-gān-daj</i>	<i>bögäl-gān-dən</i>

The same innovation principle as in the lative-locative holds also for the possessive ablative, with the slight difference that here also the 2nd person singular differs from the corresponding Proto Samoyed form.

ablative (CX-PX)		
sing.	dual	plur.
<i>to-gāt'ti</i> ≠ * <i>təə-kətə-nə</i>	<i>to-gāt'ti-baj</i> = 1SG + 1DU	<i>to-gāt'ti-ba?</i> = 1SG + 1PL
<i>to-gāttan</i> ≠ * <i>təə-kətə-tə</i>	<i>to-gāt'ti-laj</i> = 1SG + 2DU	<i>to-gāt'ti-la?</i> = 1SG + 2PL
<i>to-gāt-tə</i> < * <i>təə-kətə-ta</i>	<i>to-gāt-taj</i> < * <i>təə-kətə-tiŋ</i>	<i>to-gāt-tən</i> < * <i>təə-kətə-ton</i>

Table 6: Kamas possessive suffixes in the ablative.

<i>turāt'ti</i>	<i>turāt'ti-baj</i>	<i>turāt'ti-ba?</i>	<i>bögäl-gāt'ti</i>	<i>bögäl-gāt'ti-baj</i>	<i>bögäl-gāt'ti-be?</i>
<i>turāttan</i>	<i>turāt'ti-laj</i>	<i>turāt'ti-la?</i>	<i>bögäl-gāttan</i>	<i>bögäl-gāt'ti-laj</i>	<i>bögäl-gāt'ti-le?</i>
<i>turāt-tə</i>	<i>turāt-taj</i>	<i>turāt-tən</i>	<i>bögäl-gāttə</i>	<i>bögäl-gāt-taj</i>	<i>bögäl-gāt-tən</i>

The instrumental case suffix attaches simply to the base form of the possessive suffixes. It suffices to illustrate possessive instrumental with one of the example words only:

<i>tura-m-žə?</i>	<i>tura-baj-žə?</i>	<i>tura-ba?-žə?</i>
<i>tura-l-žə?</i>	<i>tura-laj-žə?</i>	<i>tura-la?-žə?</i>
<i>tura-t-šə?</i>	<i>tura-daj-žə?</i>	<i>tura-dən-žə?</i>

b) Plural possession

The plural marker precedes the case suffix also in the possessive declension. Initial *-l* of the 2nd person suffixes assimilates partially to the final velar nasal of the plural suffix: *-l* > *n* / *ŋ*₋.

nominative-genitive-accusative

<i>tura-zaŋ-bə</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-baj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-ba?</i>
<i>tura-zaŋ-nə</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-nəj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-na?</i>
<i>tura-zaŋ-də</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-daj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-dən</i>

lative-locative

<i>tura-zaŋ-gāni</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāni-baj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāni-ba?</i>
<i>tura-zaŋ-gānan</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāni-laj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāni-la?</i>
<i>tura-zaŋ-gān-də</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gān-daj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gān-dən</i>

ablative

<i>tura-zaŋ-gāt'ti</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāt'ti-baj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāt'ti-ba?</i>
<i>tura-zaŋ-gāttan</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāt'ti-laj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāt'ti-la?</i>
<i>tura-zaŋ-gāt-tə</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāt-taj</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-gāt-tən</i>

instrumental

<i>tura-zaŋ-bə-žə?</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-bəj-žə?</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-ba?-žə?</i>
<i>tura-zaŋ-nə-žə?</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-nəj-žə?</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-na?-žə?</i>
<i>tura-zaŋ-də-žə?</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-dəj-žə?</i>	<i>tura-zaŋ-dən-žə?</i>

1.3. Pronominal declension

1.3.1. Third person

There is no 3rd person pronoun proper in Kamas. The function, e.g. in anaphoric contexts, is covered either by zero reference (pro-drop) or by the demonstrative pronoun *dī* ‘this’ which is neutral in terms of proximity, i.e. neither proximal, nor distal. The other demonstratives are proximal *dii* ‘this here’, and the distal pronouns *šö* ‘that’ and *idə* ‘that’ (the difference between the latter two is not clear). When in argument position, demonstrative pronouns inflect like nouns, with the difference that pronouns do also have dual forms and select only the plural marker *-SAŋ*; cf. Table 7 as well as (1a). The dual forms of pronouns are transparent, they are formed by attaching the numeral *šide* ‘2’ to the stem. In attribute position, demonstratives do not inflect (i.e. they don’t agree, like in Hungarian), cf. (1b).

	sing.	dual	plur.
nom.	<i>dī</i>	<i>dīšide</i>	<i>dī-zeŋ</i>
gen.	<i>dī-n</i>	<i>dīšide-n</i>	<i>dī-zen</i>
acc.	<i>dī-m</i>	<i>dīšide-m</i>	<i>dī-zem</i>
lat.	<i>dī-nə</i>	<i>dīšide-gədə</i>	<i>dī-zeŋ-də</i>
loc.	<i>dī-gəŋ</i>	<i>dīšide-gəgəŋ</i>	<i>dī-zeŋ-gəŋ</i>
abl.	<i>dī-gə?</i>	<i>dīšide-gəgə?</i>	<i>dī-zeŋ-gə?</i>
ins.	<i>dī-žə?</i>	<i>dīšide-žə?</i>	<i>dī-zeŋ-žə?</i>

Table 7: Inflection of the demonstrative and 3rd person pronoun *dī* ‘this; she, he, it’.

- (1) a. *tüjə* ***dī-zeŋ-bə*** *e-m* *ku-?*
 already DEM-PL-1SG NEG.FUT-1SG see-CN
 ‘I won’t see these of mine (i.e. my lakes) anymore.’ (L.9, KW 87)
- b. ***dī*** ***ni-zeŋ-dən*** *essen* *uda-bə* *saj* *ne?-lə-dən*
 DEM boy-PL-3PL child.PL.GEN hand-ACC3SG off tear-FUT-3PL:OC
 ‘These sons of them will tear off (other) children’s hands.’ (6.3, KW 91)

1.3.2. Non-third person

Inflection of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns is syncretic to different degrees. While singular and plural forms have four cases (see Table 8a), dual forms have six (see Table 8b). The dual forms origin from attaching the numeral *šide* ‘2’ to the plural stems (*mi-*, *ši-*), and the formation of cases involves homorganic possessive suffixes in their respective forms of the

possessive declension. The plural forms involve the plural marker PS **t > ʔ*. In the singular and in the plural, the formations of cases does also rely on morphemes from the possessive declension, but the base form covers only the nominative and genitive functions, whereas the accusative (direct object) function is matched with the lative and the locative.

	sing.	plur.
nom.-gen.	<i>mǎn, tǎn</i>	<i>miʔ, šiʔ</i>
acc.-lat.-loc.	<i>mǎna, tǎnan</i>	<i>miʔní-beʔ, šiʔní-leʔ</i>
abl.	<i>mǎnat'ǎʔ, tǎnattan</i>	<i>miʔt'i-beʔ, šiʔnit'i-leʔ</i>
ins.	<i>mǎn-ǰǎʔ, tǎn-ǰǎʔ</i>	<i>miʔ-ǰǎʔ, šiʔ-ǰǎʔ</i>

Table 8a: Singular and plural declension of 1st and 2nd person pronouns.

	dual
nom.	<i>mište, šište</i>
gen.	<i>mište-n, šište-n</i>
acc.	<i>mište-m, šište-m</i>
lat.-loc.	<i>mište-ni-bǎj, šište-ni-lǎj</i>
abl.	<i>mište-t'i-bǎj, šište-t'i-lǎj</i>
ins.	<i>mište-ǰǎʔ, šište-ǰǎʔ</i>

Table 8b: Dual declension of 1st and 2nd person pronouns.

2. Conjugation

2.1. Subjective and objective conjugation: person and number

Kamas has two conjugations, the subjective and the objective conjugation. Differently from other Samoyed languages, they are distinguished only in third person, and in imperative also in second person singular and plural. Note, however, that there is no distinction at all in the past tense. The person markers of the 1st and the 2nd person in both conjugations, as well as the markers of the 3rd person in objective conjugation are identical with the possessive suffixes (see above). It's a common trait in Siberian Uralic languages that the markers of the objective conjugation are identical to possessive suffixes. In Kamas, they have replaced the former subjective conjugation markers in the first and second person—another innovation. Except for an archaic remnant: the old 1st person sing. in *-ŋ* (cf. Selkup *-k/-ŋ*) is attested in a riddle:² [kǎmdʒu kubʃǎŋ] /*kamd'u ku-bia-ŋ*/ 'I found a whip' (R.14, KW 86).

² Riddles are a text genre which is passed on in a fix form, and thus prone to contain archaic features.

The dual markers of personal (and possessive) suffixes are *-J* in 1st and 2nd person (*-Bəj*, *-Ləj*), and *-Kəj* in the 3rd person. There are three plural markers in conjugation: (i) *-jəʔ* (or *-iʔ*) is the 3rd person plur. marker of the subject conjugation; it is identical with the nominal plural; (ii) *-ʔ* (< PS **-t*) in 1st and 2nd person (*-BAʔ*, *-LAʔ*, 2nd person plur. imperative *-ʔ*); (iii) *-n* is the 3rd person plural of the objective conjugation; this marker is identical with the respective possessive suffix *-dən* (< PS **-ton*). Personal endings which differ from possessive suffixes are listed in the following tables, one more is mentioned in 2.2.2 below.

sing.	dual	plur.
<i>-∅ < *-∅; -j</i> (cf. imp. <i>*-ŋəja</i>)	<i>-Kəj < *-kə-j</i>	<i>-jəʔ (-iʔ) = nominal pl.</i>

Table 9: Personal suffixes of the 3rd person subjective conjugation.

	sing.	dual	plur.
SC	<i>-∅ < *-∅</i>	<i>-Ləj</i>	<i>-∅ < *∅</i>
OC	<i>-t, -Tə < *-tə</i>		<i>-t, -Tə < *-tə</i>

Table 10: Personal suffixes of imperative 2nd person, subjective and objective conjugation.

sing.	dual	plur.
<i>-bə < *-m-də</i>	<i>-bəj < *-m-dəj</i>	<i>-bən < *-m-ton</i>

Table 11: Personal suffixes of imperative 3rd person objective conjugation.

2.2. Mood and tense

There are three moods and three tenses attested in Kamas: the indicative, the conditional and the imperative mood (with “optative” as a terminological variant for the first person of the imperative), and the present, the future and the past tense. Tenses, however, are distinguished only in the unmarked indicative which means that the category of mood is not superior to the category of tense.

2.2.1. Conditional

In Donner’s materials, the marker of the conditional (or conjunctive) is *-NTA...-ze*; the first component is the participle in *-NTA* (*-na* ~ *-ne* after vowels, and *-ta* ~ *-te* ~ *-da* ~ *-de* after consonants), the second component an enclitic morphem *-ze* which follows the personal ending, e.g. *kan-da-m-ze* ‘I would go’. In Castrén’s data from mid 19th century, the marker *-NTA* could occur alone and denoted a (hypothetical?) future tense (cf. the Selkup future tense in *-nt*), and the conditional/conjunctive meaning was contributed by the enclitic particle in its full form *ize*. This particle is probably an etymological cognate of the Northern Samoyed past tense marker (a converb of the verb *i-* ‘be’). The exact use of this mood is unclear since it is not attested in texts.

2.2.2. Imperative and optative

The imperative markers $-ʔ$ and $-Kə$ go back to the PS imperative marker $*-k(ə)$. The imperative of the 1st person (optative) has the marker $-š(ti)$ in singular and $-šə$ in dual and plural. Etymologically this is the same marker as the imperative $*-k$, plus an element $*-j$ of unknown origin. The 1st person sing. form $-šti$ contains the Proto Samoyed ending of the 1st person sing. subject conjugation $*-təm$.

2.2.3. Past tense

Among the three tenses, the past tense has the most consistent marker which is selected by all verbs. The marker is $-BiA$ in 1st and 2nd person singular, and $-Bi$ elsewhere. The morpheme corresponds etymologically to the Northern Samoyed narrative perfect, e.g. Tundra Nenets $nú-wi^{\circ}$ ‘having stood, stood’. Interestingly, there is no objective conjugation in the past tense.

2.2.4. Future tense

The most frequent future tense marker is $-LA$; less often, and only with transitive verbs, occurs $-Lji$. The element $-L-$ is the same as in the present tense in $-LiA$ and in the converb ending $-LAʔ$ (see below), and origins probably from a frequentative derivation marker $-l$.

2.2.5. Present tense

The productive present tense marker of 19th and 20th century’s Kamas was $-LiA$; all verbs borrowed from Turkic form their present tense with this suffix. Its origin is most likely a construction with the converb in $-LAʔ$ plus the copula verb $i-$ in zero tense (in Samoyedology traditionally called “aorist”), e.g. 1st person sing. $-LjA-m < *-LAʔ i-m$. In addition to this form there are three archaic present tenses which are selected only by specific verbs and a new durative present tense (continuous form):

- the zero present (aorist; $< PS *-Ø$) is selected by the inchoative-stative verbs $amnə-$ ‘sit down, sit’, $iʔbə-$ ‘lay down, lie’, and $t̃mnə-$ ‘get to know, know’; e.g. $iʔbə-m$ ‘I lie’, $iʔbə-l$ ‘you lie’, $amna$ ‘(s)he sits, lives (somewhere)’;
- the present tense in $-GA$ ($< PS *-ŋA$) is selected by the intransitive imperfective stems $i-$ ‘be’, $m̃n-$ ‘go’, and $nu-$ ‘stand’, and by the following attested intransitive imperfectives derived in $*=NTə$: $kan=də-$ ‘go, walk’ (from $kan-$ ‘go, depart’), $kun=də-$ ‘lead, bring’ (from $kun-$ ‘bring’), $šo=nə-$ ‘come, approach’ (from $šo-$ ‘arrive’); e.g. $i-ge-m$ ‘I am’, $kandə-ga-l$ ‘you go’, $šonə-ga$ ‘(s)he is coming’;
- the present tense in $-mA$ ($< PS$ verbal noun $*-mA$) is selected by transitive imperfective verbs derived in $=O$, namely $t̃ab=o-$ ‘hold’ (from $t̃abə-$ ‘seize’), $ten=ö-$ ‘think’ (from $*tenə-$), and $t̃mn=ö-$ ‘remember’ (from $t̃mnə-$ ‘get to know, learn’); e.g. $t̃abo-ma-t$ ‘(she) holds it’;
- see Section 4 below for the recently grammaticalized durative present tense in $-LAʔbə$.

Paradigms

a) subjective conjugation, example verb *šo-* ‘come’ (cf. CM 274):

present tense (-LiA)			future tense (-LA ~ -Lə)		
<i>šo-lia-m</i>	<i>šo-lia-bəj</i>	<i>šo-lia-ba?</i>	<i>šo-la-m</i>	<i>šo-lə-bəj</i>	<i>šo-lə-ba?</i>
<i>šo-lia-l</i>	<i>šo-lia-ləj</i>	<i>šo-lia-la?</i>	<i>šo-la-l</i>	<i>šo-lə-ləj</i>	<i>šo-lə-la?</i>
<i>šo-lia</i>	<i>šo-lia-gəj</i>	<i>šo-lia-jə?</i>	<i>šo-lə-j</i>	<i>šo-lə-gəj</i>	<i>šo-lə-jə?</i>

past tense (-Bi(A))			conditional (-NTA...-ze)		
<i>šo-bia-m</i>	<i>šo-bi-bəj</i>	<i>šo-bi-ba?</i>	<i>šo-na-m-ze</i>	<i>šo-na-bəj-ze</i>	<i>šo-na-ba?-ze</i>
<i>šo-bia-l</i>	<i>šo-bi-ləj</i>	<i>šo-bi-la?</i>	<i>šo-na-l-ze</i>	<i>šo-na-ləj-ze</i>	<i>šo-na-la?-ze</i>
<i>šo-bi</i>	<i>šo-bi-gəj</i>	<i>šo-bi-jə?</i>	<i>šo-na-ze</i>	<i>šo-na-gəj-ze</i>	<i>šo-na-jə?-ze</i>

optative (1st person, -Šti ~ -Šə) and imperative (2d and 3rd person, -? ~ -Kə ~ -KA ~ -Kəj)

<i>šo-šti-m</i>	<i>šo-žə-bəj</i>	<i>šo-žə-ba?</i>
<i>šo-?</i>	<i>šo-gə-ləj</i>	<i>šo-ga?</i>
<i>šo-gə-j</i>	<i>šo-gəj-gəj</i>	<i>šo-gə-jə?</i>

b) objective conjugation, example verb *pargə-* ‘carve’ (KW 154–155):

present tense (-LiA)			future tense (-LA ~ -Lə)		
<i>pargə-lia-m</i>	<i>pargə-lia-bəj</i>	<i>pargə-lia-ba?</i>	<i>pargə-la-m</i>	<i>pargə-l-bəj</i>	<i>pargə-l-ba?</i>
<i>pargə-lia-l</i>	<i>pargə-lia-ləj</i>	<i>pargə-lia-la?</i>	<i>pargə-la-l</i>	<i>pargə-l-ləj</i>	<i>pargə-l-la?</i>
<i>pargə-lia-t</i>	<i>pargə-lia-dəj</i>	<i>pargə-lia-dən</i>	<i>pargə-l-də</i>	<i>pargə-l-dəj</i>	<i>pargə-l-dən</i>

past tense (-Bi(A))

<i>pargə-bia-m</i>	<i>pargə-bi-bəj</i>	<i>pargə-bi-ba?</i>
<i>pargə-bia-l</i>	<i>pargə-bi-ləj</i>	<i>pargə-bi-la?</i>
<i>pargə-bi</i>	<i>pargə-bi-gəj</i>	<i>pargə-bi-jə?</i>

conditional (-NTA...-ze)

<i>pargə-na-m-ze</i>	<i>pargə-na-bəj-ze</i>	<i>pargə-na-ba?-ze</i>
<i>pargə-na-l-ze</i>	<i>pargə-na-ləj-ze</i>	<i>pargə-na-la?-ze</i>
<i>pargə-na-t-se</i>	<i>pargə-na-dəj-ze</i>	<i>pargə-na-dən-ze</i>

optative (1st person, -Šti ~ -Šə) and imperative (2d and 3rd person, -? ~ -Kə ~ -KA ~ -Kəj)

<i>pargə-šti-m</i>	<i>pargə-žə-bəj</i>	<i>pargə-žə-ba?</i>
<i>pargə-t</i>	<i>pargə-gə-ləj</i>	<i>pargə-ga-t</i>
<i>pargə-gə-bə</i>	<i>pargə-gə-bəj</i>	<i>pargə-gə-bən.</i>

2.3. Negation

The verbal predicate in Kamas is negated either by a negative auxiliary or a negative particle. The two constructions are in complementary distribution, splitting thereby the Kamas mood and tense system into two classes: (i) categories of non-indicative semantics, i.e. the conditional, the imperative/optative, but also the future tense,³ select the negative construction consisting of the negation verb *e- ~ i-* (< PU **e- ~ *-i*) with the main verb in the connegative stem in *-ʔ*; (ii) the indicative categories present tense and past tense select the negation particle *ej*, which is a nonfinite form (the converb in *-J*) of the negation verb. In future tense 1st person sing. a shortened form appears: *e-m < e-lə-m*.

Example paradigms (CM 182, KW 164) of intransitive *šo-* ‘come’ for subjective conjugation (SC), and *i-* ‘take’ for specific endings of the objective conjugation (OC):

	present tense			past tense		
SC	<i>ej šo-lia-m</i>	<i>ej šo-lia-bəj</i>	<i>ej šo-lia-baʔ</i>	<i>ej šo-bia-m</i>	<i>ej šo-bi-bəj</i>	<i>ej šo-bi-baʔ</i>
	<i>ej šo-lia-l</i>	<i>ej šo-lia-ləj</i>	<i>ej šo-lia-laʔ</i>	<i>ej šo-bia-l</i>	<i>ej šo-bi-ləj</i>	<i>ej šo-bi-laʔ</i>
	<i>ej šo-lia</i>	<i>ej šo-lia-gəj</i>	<i>ej šo-lia-jəʔ</i>	<i>ej šo-bi</i>	<i>ej šo-bi-gəj</i>	<i>ej šo-bi-jəʔ</i>
OC	<i>ej i-lia-t</i>	<i>ej i-lia-dəj</i>	<i>ej i-lja-dən</i>	–		

future tense (stem *e-* of the negation verb)

SC	<i>e-lə-m ~ e-m šo-ʔ</i>	<i>e-l-bəj šo-ʔ</i>	<i>e-l-beʔ šo-ʔ</i>
	<i>e-l-lə šo-ʔ</i>	<i>e-l-ləj šo-ʔ</i>	<i>e-l-leʔ šo-ʔ</i>
	<i>e-l šo-ʔ</i>	<i>e-l-gəj šo-ʔ</i>	<i>e-lə-jə ʔšo-ʔ</i>
OC	<i>e-l-də i-ʔ</i>	<i>e-l-dəj i-ʔ</i>	<i>e-l-dən i-ʔ</i>

conditional (stem *e-* of the negation verb)

SC	<i>e-ne-m šo-ʔ-ze</i>	<i>e-ne-bəj šo-ʔ-ze</i>	<i>e-ne-beʔ šo-ʔ-ze</i>
	<i>e-ne-l šo-ʔ-ze</i>	<i>e-ne-ləj šo-ʔ-ze</i>	<i>e-ne-leʔ šo-ʔ-ze</i>
	<i>e-ne šo-ʔ-ze</i>	<i>e-nə-gəj šo-ʔ-ze</i>	<i>e-ne-jəʔ šo-ʔ-ze</i>
OC	<i>ene-t i-ʔ-ze</i>	<i>e-ne-dəj i-ʔ-ze</i>	<i>e-ne-dən i-ʔ-ze</i>

optative and imperative (stem *i-* of the negation verb)

SC	<i>i-šti-m šo-ʔ</i>	<i>i-žə-bəj šo-ʔ</i>	<i>i-žə-beʔ šo-ʔ</i>
	<i>i-ʔ šo-ʔ</i>	<i>i-gə-ləj šo-ʔ</i>	<i>i-ge-ʔ šo-ʔ</i>
	<i>i-gə-j šo-ʔ</i>	<i>i-gə-gəj šo-ʔ</i>	<i>i-gə-jəʔ šo-ʔ</i>

OC There are no objective imperative forms of the negative auxiliary. In the 2nd person sing. we find the compensational strategy of combining the subjective form of the negative auxiliary with the objective imperative of the negated verb: *i-ʔ i-t* ‘don’t take it!’. For the other persons no such forms are attested.

³ The future tense comes closer to modality because it predicates over a state of affairs which will happen due to intention.

2.4. Non-finite forms

2.4.1. Infinitive

The marker of the infinitive (or verbal noun), is *-Šat* (dialectally also *-T'at*), e.g. with the possessive suffix 3rd person plural in *dīzen am-žat-tən nagobi* ‘they had nothing to eat (lit. their eating did not exist)’ (9.2, KW 96). In combination with the lative case the infinitive is used in final constructions, e.g. *kambi il oʔbdə-žat-tə* ‘he left in order to assemble people’ (11.21, KW 99), *kānən koʔbdobə i-žat-tə šobiam* ‘I have come to take the Khan’s daughter’ (2.34, KW 89). A shortened variant of the infinitive-lative ending is *-štə*. Depending from a substantive, the final infinitive comes without lative case, e.g. *mān mān-žat t'üm iʔgö* ‘I have lots of land to flow in’ (5.9, KW 91). The bare infinitive appears also in a desiderative-prospective construction with the auxiliary verb *mo-* ‘become’, e.g. *mān am-žat moliam* ‘I will/can eat (minä tulen syömään, voin syödä)’, *mān am-žat mobiam* ‘I wanted to eat (syödä halusin)’ (DGr. 169). In post-shift Kamas, the infinitive plus lative ending was generalized in all uses.

2.4.2. Participles

There are five participles (or verbal adjectives): *-NTA*, *-Bi*, *-MA*, *-GA*, and *-Juk* (← Turkic). They are used in attribute function, e.g. *Koibal t'apsə-na uja* ‘roasted meat’ (Sp. 39b), *t'emdəge maʔ* ‘warm(ed) tent’ (KW 178), *togul-bi jamaʔ* ‘common boots (lit. hardened boots)’ (KW 72b), *talbərdə-juk men* ‘snappish (biting) dog’ (KW 68a). In nominalization, participles need a dummy noun of general meaning, e.g., *kuza* ‘man’ in *šo-na kuza* ‘arrival (a person who has arrived)’ (CM 247), *mal kadardə-na kuza* ‘cattle herder (lit. cattle herding person)’.

The most frequent participle is that in *-NTA*, the other participles are attested rarely and their exact function is unknown. The participle in *-Bi* is also the base of the past tense, it has probably perfect meaning. At Donner’s time it was not productive anymore and occurred only in lexicalized forms (see above *togulbi jamaʔ*). The participle in *-MA* occurs only in combination with the intransitive marker =*O* (see below word formation), e.g. in predicative function in *ajə kaj=o-ma/kar=o-ma* ‘the door has closed/opened’ (KW 178; *kaj-* ‘close, shut’, *kar-* ‘open’), or lexicalized in *kaj=o-ma* ‘roof’. In older sources it occurs also without =*O*, e.g. *kuza kü-me* ‘the person is dead/has died’ (Tat. 49ob *күзакүме* ‘смерт’). The participle is principally neutral in terms of tense/aspect and voice, i.e. the participle of e.g. *amor-* ‘eat’, *amor-da*, can mean ‘eating’, ‘having eaten’, ‘being eaten’, or ‘eaten’. In order to specify voice, the suffixes intransitive =*O*, and transitive =*Tə* precede the participle ending, and in order to specify tense/aspect, aspectual auxiliaries are used, e.g. passive use in *amor=o-na ine* ‘eaten horse’ (KW 178) vs. active use in *amor=də-na t'ardə* ‘eating board (table)’ (KW 5b), resultative past in *put'təm=nān-da kola* ‘rotten fish’ (< *put'təm=naʔ kan-da* ‘rotting gone’) (KW 54ab) vs. durative present in *milleʔbə-ne t'ü-m* ‘my nomadizing land’ (< *milleʔ iʔbə-ne* ‘nomadizing lying’) (L.2, KW 87).

2.4.3. Converbs

Converbs (or verbal adverbs, gerunds, adverbial participles) are non-finite forms which are used in adverbial function together with another verb form. There are simple and complex, general and specialized converbs. “General converb” means that the converb itself does not

specify any meaning; general converbs are the ones in *-J* (*-j ~ -i*) and *-LA?*, which correspond roughly to the Turkic converbs in *-A* and *-Ip*. The first one is restricted to mono-clausal predications where it specifies e.g. a result as in (2a), the other one allows for clause combining as in (2b–c). The converb in *-LA?* is also used in auxiliary constructions, e.g. with *mo-* ‘become’ in (2d), or with aspect auxiliaries (see Section 4. below). Specialized converbs are the anterior converb in *-BīzA* (< *-Bi ize*), the caritive converbs in *ej...-GA* and *-šāt*, cf. (2f–g), and the negative converb (or connegative) in *-?*, cf. (2h). Specialized for clause combining (but not necessarily for temporal, conditional or causal interpretation) are the complex converbs (or case masdar nouns) consisting of the participles in *-Bi* or *-MA* inflected for possessive lative-locative as in (2i–l), or the participle in *-NTA* inflected for lative case in a construction with the auxiliary *mo-* ‘become’ which expresses volition as in (2m).

- (2) a. *naʔb bü-nə t'ürdə-j pǎʔ=luʔ-lia*
 duck water-LAT disappear-CV dive=MOM-PRS
 ‘the duck dives away into the water (lit. disappearing dives)’ (KW 53b)
- b. *süʔmə-leʔ naŋ-bi dī ŋi-nə*
 jump-CV cling-PST DEM boy-LAT
 ‘she jumped and clinged to the boy (lit. jumping she clatched)’ (6.72, KW 93)
- c. *mazəro-gən mǎndo-laʔ dī ne baʔ=luʔ-bi*
 smokehole-LOC see-CV DEM woman quit=MOM-PST
bīššāt-tə
 drink.INF-LAT
 ‘when she saw him in the smoke hole the woman stopped drinking’ (3.9, KW 90)
- d. *t'it-leʔ mo-lia-m*
 shoot-CV become-PRS-1SG
 ‘I can shoot’ (DGr. 142)
- e. *maʔ-əndə šo-bīza ijānda nörbā-lie*
 home-LL3SG come-CV:ANT mother.LL3SG tell-PRS
 ‘after he has come home he tells his mother’ (KW 98, 172)
- f. *ej surar-ga kǎn-əm kǎn-ən noʔb-də tonnaʔbə*
 not ask-PTC khan-ACC khan-GEN grass-3SG step.on.DUR.PRS
 ‘without asking the Khan he steps on the Khan’s grass’ (KW 89)
- g. *mīŋgal=də=žət kü=lām-bi*
 move=TR-CAR die=RES-PST
 ‘died without making a move’ (11.20, KW 99)
- h. *mǎn e-m šo-ʔ*
 I not.FUT-1SG come-CN
 ‘I won’t come’ (DGr. 170)

- i. *dī būže-m am-bi-nan t'or-la-l*
 DEM man-ACC eat-PTC-LL2SG cry-FUT-2SG
 ‘when/if you eat this man you will cry’ (R.20, KW 86)
- k. *kamən mǎn amor-bi-ńi dī šo-bi*
 when I eat-PTC-LL1SG DEM come-PST
 ‘he came while I was eating’ (DGr. 177)
- k. *kaj=o-ma-ndə maʔ-də tǐrlö-leʔ šo-bi*
 close=ITR-PTC-LL3SG tent-LAT roll-CV come-PST
 ‘after (the gate) had closed he came rolling to the tent’ (9.14, KW 96)
- l. *śar-da-nə mo-lia-m*
 play-PTC-LAT become-PRS-1SG
 ‘I want to play’ (CM 172)

2.5. Some conjugational morphonology

The following list gives an overview of the most important morphonological alternations which occur in the conjugation of verbs:

- stem final *n* assimilates partially or fully with the following consonant, e.g. *kan-* ‘go away’, future 1st pers. sing. *kal-la-m*, past 1st pers. sing. *kam-bia-m*, imperative 2nd pers. plur. *kaŋ-ga-ʔ*;
- initial *l* of the markers of the present tense in *-LiA*, the future tenses in *LA*, and *-Lji*, as well as the converb in *-LAʔ* is assimilated by *m*-stems, e.g. *pim-* ‘be afraid’, present 1st pers. sing. *pim-niem*;
- in the “Fat dialect” (named after the Kamas name of the Andžigatov family, *sil=əj-zeŋ* ‘fat=ADJ-PL’), the initial *l* is dropped in the present tense of *r*-stems, e.g. *münör-ie-m* ‘I beat’ (< *münör-lie-m*);
- stem final *t* assimilates with the initial consonant of the past tense suffix, e.g. *tǐppiem* ‘I shot’ (< *tǐt-bie-m*).

3. Word formation

3.1. Denominal verbs

a) Factitive verbs in *=ā*, *=Ca* (< verb + *ha-* < *pa-* ‘make, do’), e.g. *ešši* ‘child’: *eššā-* ‘make children’, *hele* ‘companion’: *helā-* ‘make companion’, *šoltak* ‘short’: *šoltā-* ‘make short(er)’, *toguš* ‘work’: *togušša-* ‘do work’, *tüis* ‘flat’: *tüissa-* ‘flatten’;

b) verbs of provision in *=(ə)j*, e.g. *bü* ‘water’: *bü=j-* ‘fetch water’, *ńąga* ‘burunduk’: *ńąga=j-* ‘hunt burunduk’, *šo* ‘birchbark’: *šo=j-* ‘collect birchbark’, *tažəʔb* ‘squirrel’: *tažəʔb=əj-* ‘hunt squirrel’;

c) translative verbs in $=m$, e.g. *t'aktə*- ‘old’: *t'aktə=m*- ‘get old(er)’, *t'i* ‘cloud’: *t'i=m*- ‘cloud over’, *kürü* ‘sound, voice’: *kürü=m*- ‘shout, ring, croak, quack, buzz, thunder, hum, grunt etc.’, *tas* ‘bald’: *taz=əm*- ‘become bald’;

d) factitive verbs in $=m=də$; the marker consists of denominal translative $=m$ plus the deverbal transitivizer in $=Tə$ (see below 4.2). While verbs like *segi* ‘yellow’: *segi=m=də*- ‘dive yellow’, *tano* ‘broad’: *tano=m=də*- ‘broaden’ are probably transitivations of not attested translative verbs (**segi=m*- ‘become yellow’, *tano=m*- ‘become broad’), verbs like *bad'i* ‘step’: *bad'i=mdə*- ‘make a step’ do rather not imply such a two-step derivation (? *bad'i=m*- ‘become a step’).

3.2. Deverbal verbs

a) Frequentative verbs in $=l$ (non-productive)⁴, e.g. *ü?mə*- ‘run’: *ü?mə=l*- id., *tuno*- ‘gallop’: *tuno=l*- id.;

b) frequentative verbs in $=Vr$ (non-productive), e.g. *am*- ‘eat (up)’: *amor*- ‘eat, nourish on’, *püštə*- ‘laugh’: *püštə=r*- id.

c) continuative verbs in $=O$ (non-productive), e.g. *amnə*- ‘sit down, sit’: *amn=o*- ‘sit, live somewhere’, *i?bə*- ‘lie down, lie’: *i?b=ö*- ‘lie’, *t'abə*- ‘take hold of’: *t'ab=o*- ‘hold’, *tümnə*- ‘get to know, learn’: *tümn=ö*- ‘remember, know’;

d) continuative verbs in $=NTə$ (non-productive), e.g. *kan*- ‘go, depart’: *kan=də*- ‘go, walk’, *kun*- ‘lead, bring (perf.)’: *kun=də*- ‘lead, bring (imperf.)’, *šo*- ‘come, arrive’: *šo=nə*- ‘come, approach’;

e) intransitive verbs (decausatives, reflexives, reciprocals, and passives) in $=O$, e.g. *edə*- ‘hang up’: *ed=ö*- ‘hang’, *o?bdə*- ‘collect’: *o?bd=o*- ‘gather’, *üstə*- ‘make descend, lower’: *üst=ö*- ‘descend, lower oneself’, *siktə*- ‘strangle’: *sikt=ö*- ‘strangle, hang oneself’;

f) transitive and causative verbs in $=Tə$, e.g. *üzə*- ‘fall, descend’: *üş=tə*- ‘make descend, lower, let fall’, *t'azər*- ‘fix, repair’: *t'azər=də*- ‘let fix, make repair’, *šöj*- ‘become less’: *šöj=də*- ‘reduce’;

g) transitive verbs in $=l$ (non-productive): *amnə*- ‘sit down’: *amnə=l*- ‘seat’, *u?bdə*- ‘get up’: *u?bdə=l*- ‘let go’, *mñ*- ‘go’: *mñ=əl*- ‘drive’, *šə?bdə*- ‘hide oneself’: *šə?bdə=l*- ‘hide something/somebody’;

h) desiderative verbs in $=(ə)nzə$, e.g. *am*- ‘eat’: *am=ənzə*- ‘want to/need to eat’, *nadə*- ‘increase, heighten’: *nadə=nzə*- ‘want to increase, heighten’, *püštə*- ‘laugh’: *püštə=nzə*- ‘need to laugh, can’t stop laughing’, *tü?ə*- ‘shit’: *tüdə=ənzə*- ‘need to shit’.

⁴ Assumed non-productivity of a morpheme is due to its non-occurrence with one of the many verb stems borrowed relatively recently from Turkic.

3.3. Denominal nouns

a) Possessive adjectives in =*J*, e.g. *aləp* ‘hero’: *aləb=əj* ‘heroic, belonging to a hero’, *baza* ‘iron’: *baza=j* ‘(made from) iron’, *t'es* ‘copper’: *t'ez=əj* ‘(made from) copper, coppery’, *kuba* ‘skin, leather’: *kuba=j* ‘(made from) skin, leather’, *ne* ‘woman’: *ne=j* ‘female’ (e.g. *ne=j tibi* ‘a womanish man’), *surno* ‘rain’: *surno=j* ‘rainy’, *šo* ‘birchbark’: *šo=j* ‘(made from) birchbark’;

b) possessive adjectives in =*Səbi*, e.g. *alman* ‘tax’: *alman=zəbi* ‘tax payer’, *öləm* ‘death’: *öləm=zəbi* ‘mortal’, *koŋ* ‘chief’: *koŋ=zəbi* ‘official’, *kuʔ* ‘snot’: *kuʔ=zəbi ešši* ‘snotty child’, *le* ‘fishbone’: *le=zəbi* ‘rich in fishbones’;

c) caritive adjectives in =*šət*, e.g. *alman* ‘tax’: *alman=žət* ‘tax-free person’, *öləm* ‘death’: *öləm=žət* ‘immortal’, *koŋ* ‘chief’: *jada koŋ=žət* ‘the village is without head’, *jama* ‘boot’: *jama=žət* ‘barefoot’, *sagəš* ‘mind’: *sagəš=šət* ‘crazy’;

d) diminutives in *=*kV*, e.g. *tumo* ‘mouse’: *tumō* (< *tumo=gə*) ‘mousie’;

e) comparatives in =(a)*rak* (← Turkic, no vowel harmony), e.g. *amga* ‘few’: *amga=rak* ‘less’, *urgo* ‘big’: *urgo=rak* ‘bigger’, *šiššəge* ‘cold’: *šiššəge=rak* ‘colder’;

f) sex specifying compounds; (i) male specification, e.g. *ešši* ‘child’: *ni ešši* ‘boy child’ (*ni* ‘boy; son’), *meŋgej* ‘fox’: *askər meŋgej* ‘male fox’ (*askər* ‘stallion’), *to* ‘reindeer’, *leji* ‘swan’: *kora to* ‘reindeer bull’, *leji to* ‘male swan’ (*kora, kura* ‘bull’), *poʔdu* ‘wild goat’: *munu poʔdu* ‘he-goat’ (*munu* cf. *munəj* ‘egg; testicle’); (ii) female specification: *koʔbdə ešši* ‘girl child’ (*koʔbdə* ‘girl; daughter’), *ĩmbi* ‘father in law, stepfather’: *ĩmbəni* ‘mother in law, stepmother’ (*ni* cf. *ne* ‘woman’), *seri* ‘widower’: *serine* ‘widow’ (*ne* ‘woman’), *mono* ‘marriage broker’: *monoŋni* id. (female) (probably adjective in =*ŋ* + *ni*, cf. *ne* ‘woman’), *kagdən* ‘wild reindeer’: *kagdən t'əkta* ‘reindeer cow’ (*t'əkta* ‘reindeer cow, female’), *šem poʔdu* ‘she-goat’ (cf. *šejmə, šüjmə* ‘mare’), *men* ‘dog’: *šüjmə men* ‘she-dog’.

3.4. Deverbal nouns

a) Instrumental nouns in =(p)*sAn* ~ =(p)*sən* (non-productive), e.g. *büj-* ‘fetch water’: *büj=zen* ‘ice hole’, *kaj-* ‘close’: *kaj=zan* ‘lid’, *naʔ-* ‘scrape (skin)’: *naʔ=zan* ‘scraper’, *ňəgaj-* ‘hunt burunduk’: *ňəgaj=zən* ‘burunduk hunting month (the 2nd month of spring)’, *tıl-* ‘dig’: *tıl=zən* ‘spade’;

b) deverbal noun in =(ə)*š* (productive ?), e.g. *am-* ‘eat’: *am=əš* ‘food’, *baldər=**o-* durative derivation of *baldər-* ‘chatter’: *baldəro=š kuza* ‘chatty person’, *ikkələ-* base verb of frequentative *ikkələ=r-* ‘stutter’: *ikkələ=š* ‘stutterer’.

3.5. Aspect auxiliary constructions

The older Samoyed way of expressing the categories of aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and aktionsarten (many) is deverbal derivation (cf. some of the unproductive markers like e.g. frequentative =*l* in 3.2 above). The productive way to specify imperfective and perfective

aktionsarten in Kamas are auxiliaries which follow a converb main verb as e.g. in (3), where *baʔbdə*- ‘throw’ specifies resultative, and *saʔmə*- ‘collapse’ momentaneous aktionsart (both belong to the perfective aspect).

- (3) *niin-neʔ* *baʔ-bi*, *uʔ-la* *saʔmə-bi*
 hear-CV throw-PST stand.up-CV collapse-PST
 ‘he heard (lit. hearing threw) (the bad news) and jumped up (lit. standing up collapsed)’ (8.67)

Depending on form and frequency of individual auxiliaries, some of them lost their original form (attrition) and merged with the converb suffix. This grammaticalization process yielded a new set of aspect suffixes (see Table 12). It was not yet completed at the time when Kamas became extinct.

aspect	subaspect (aktionsart)	auxiliary subgroup	auxiliary	contracted form
imperfective	durative, frequentative, iterative, habitual, conative	nontransformative stative auxiliaries	<i>amnə</i> - ‘sit’ <i>iʔbə</i> - ‘lie’ <i>nu</i> - ‘stand’	> = <i>LAmnə</i> - > = <i>LAʔbə</i> - –
		nontransformative dynamic auxiliaries	<i>kandə</i> - ‘go’ <i>m̃n</i> - ‘go’	> = <i>LĀndə</i> - –
perfective	inchoative, ingressive	initialtransformative auxiliaries	<i>uʔbdə</i> - ‘stand up’ <i>kojo</i> - ‘stay (behind)’	> = <i>LUʔ(bdə)</i> - –
	resultative, egressive	finaltransformative auxiliaries	<i>kan</i> - ‘go away’ <i>šo</i> - ‘arrive’ <i>kun</i> - ‘lead away’ <i>baʔbdə</i> - ‘throw, leave’	> = <i>LĀN</i> - – – > = <i>LAʔ(bdə)</i> -
	momentaneous	momentaneous transformative aux.	<i>saʔmə</i> - ‘collapse’	–

Table 12: Grammaticalization of verbs as aspect auxiliaries and suffixes.

One of the new suffixes listed in Table 12, =*LAʔbə*- (< *iʔbə*- ‘lie’) may be already classified as a durative present tense marker. It corresponds to the Xakas present tense in *-čat* (see e.g. Anderson 1998, 2005). Grammaticalization of aspectual auxiliaries occurs over the whole Turkic language area, and it must be assumed that the Turkic pattern was code-copied into Kamas (and Mator). The following parallel examples from Kamas, Mator and Xakas (South Siberian Turkic) illustrate this common structural trait of the languages of the Sayan area:

- (4) auxiliary ‘sit’: durative, habitual aktionsart³

³ In opposition to the auxiliary ‘lie’ in (5), the use of ‘sit’ implies that the action is performed in seated position. This does not exclude movement since the subject may be seated on horseback as in (4c)

- a. Kamas (G.2, KW 100, KK 177)
mǎna t'uksu širer-le? *amnə-gu-bə* *sōn*
 I.OBL towards drive-CV sit-IMP-3SG.OC deer.GEN

kura-bə
 male-ACC3SG
 'he shall (constantly) drive male deer towards me!'
- b. Mator (MS 189, 214)
 <балзамдымъ>
bal-z_ amdə-m
 lead-INF_sit-PRS1SG
 'I'm leading'
- c. Xakas (elicited)
ol mal-lar-in sürü-p odir
 (s)he cattle-PL-ACC3SG drive-CV sit.AOR
 '(s)he's driving cattle'

(5) auxiliary 'lie': durative aktionsart > durative present tense

- a. Kamas (CM 274, KK 189)
šo=le?bə-na (< *šo-la?* *i?bə-ne*) *kuza*
 come=DUR-PTC come-CV lie-PTC person
 'an approaching person'
- b. *qus=qadžak kel-yad-ir*
 bird=DIM come-lie-AOR
 'a little bird comes flying' (Radloff 1867, XV: 265)

(6) auxiliary 'go, depart': perfective, resultative aktionsart of intransitive verbs

- a. Kamas (11.20, KW 99, KK 287)
nükke-t mǎŋgal=də=žət kü=lām-bi (< *kü-le? kam-bi*)
 wife-3SG move=TR=CAR die=RES-PST die-CV go-PST
 'His wife died without making a move'
- b. Mator (MS 190, 257)
 <chaàsigani>
ká-si gaan-i
 die-INF go-PRS3SG
 'dies (умереть)'
- c. Xakas (elicited)

(and probably also (4b)); the subject of (4a) is a spirit who, assumedly, performs the requested action by magic.

čoox čooxta-bin üre-p par-γan
 not speak-CV:NEG die-CV go-PST
 ‘(s)he passed away without speaking’.

(7) auxiliaries ‘put/lay’ and ‘throw’: resultative aktionsart of transitive verbs

a. Kamas (3.16, KK 264)

ami-m kut-la? ba?bdə-bi
 other-ACC kill-CV throw-PST
 ‘he killed the other one’

b. Xakas (Radloff 1867, XV: 387)

menĩ ödiür-üş sal-γan
 I.ACC kill-CV lay-PRF
 ‘he kills me’

(8) auxiliary ‘fall, collapse’: momentaneous aktionsart

a. Kamas (8.67, KK 313)

u?la sa?mə-bi
 stand.up-CV collapse-PST
 ‘he jumped up’

b. Xakas (Rachmatullin 1928: 19)

aqporo ad-ĩ tur-a tũs-tũ
 white horse-3SG stand.up-CV fall-PST
 ‘his white horse reared’.

Abbreviations

Some (non-trivial) abbreviations used mainly in the glossings: AOR aorist (Turkish); ANT anterior (converb); CAR caritive adjective/converb; CN connegative stem (or converb); CV converb; DEM demonstrative pronoun; DESC downward movement (auxiliary function); DIM diminutive; DUR durative aktionsart; INF infinitive; ITR intransitivizer; LL lative-locative (in possessive declension); MOM momentaneous aktionsart; NEG negative auxiliary verb; N:INS instrumental noun; NX number marker; PX possessive marker; OBL oblique case (accusative-lative-locative) in pronominal declension; OC objective conjugation; PRF perfect; PTC participle; RES resultative aktionsart; TR transitive verb; V denominal verb.

Unit 5: Syntax



{NP}

{S O V}

NP: {Yegor Andžigatov, looking at the work of his hands}
photograph by Kai Donner, Abalakova 1914
(Donner & Janhunen 2014: 92);

SVO: {Inhabitants of the Steppe Kamas village of P'yankovo fabricate millstones.}
photograph by Arkadij Tugarinov, 1925
(<http://my.krskstate.ru/docs/ethnoses/kamasintsy/>)

0. This unit is about the structure of Kamas noun phrases, the structure of clauses, and about combining issues (NPs and clauses). Note that the observations assembled here are rather sketchy and by far not complete. In general, Kamas shows typical behaviour of agglutinative languages, and is thus structurally more similar to Hungarian than to Finnish. At the end you'll find an exercise based on two versions of a tale, documented at different periods.

1. Noun phrase structure

1.1. Attributes

The unmarked position of an attribute is before its head—cf. the simple adjective attributes *kömə* ‘red’ in (1a) and *boš* ‘bare’ in (1b), as well as the complex participle-based relative clause attribute *kömə poʔdə iʔböne* ‘where the red goat is/was lying’ in (1a), and the complex genitive attribute *dī šide aləbən* ‘of these two heroes’ in (1b). In this prenominal position, attributes do not agree in case and number. If the order changes, the attribute becomes a constituent of its own and must be inflected, cf. the adjective *kazər* ‘wild’ in (1c) vs. (1d) (see also (9g) below for another instance of this reverse order). Less clear, however, is the motivation in the case of (1e) where a numeral attribute in prenominal position agrees in case. It may be an instance of emphasis on the numeral, however, since this is an example without any context, such an interpretation has to remain speculative.

- (1) a. $\{\{\{k\ddot{o}m\grave{a} \quad poʔd\grave{a}\} \quad iʔb=ö-ne\} \quad t'o-g\grave{a}n\} \quad noʔ \quad ej \quad özer-ie.$
 red goat lie=DUR-PTC place-LOC grass not grow-PRS
 ‘At a place where the red goat had been lying grass doesn’t grow.’ (R.31, KW 87)
- b. $\{\{d\ddot{i} \quad šide \quad al\grave{a}b\grave{a}-n\} \quad \{boš \quad ine-ze\eta-d\grave{a}n\}\} \quad par=l\grave{a}nd\grave{a}-ga-i'.$
 DEM two hero-GEN bare horse-PL-3PL return=DUR-PRS-3PL
 ‘These two heroes’ riderless horses are returning’ (6.45, KW 92)
- c. *öʔli-t* *kazər askər-i-m!*
 release-IMP2SG.OC wild stallion-PL-ACC
 ‘Let the wild stallions loose!’ (2.41, KW 89)
- d. *uʔbd\grave{a}=l-gut* *buga-i-m* *kazər-i-m*
 get.up=TR-IMP3SG.OC bull-PL-ACC wild-PL-ACC
 ‘He shall let the wild bulls loose.’ (2.47, KW 89)
- e. *d\ddot{i}-ze\eta* *šide-g\grave{a}n* *maʔ-g\grave{a}n* *amna-iʔ*
 DEM-PL two-LOC tent-LOC sit-3PL
 ‘They live in two tents.’ (KW 137)

1.2. Quantifiers

With a numeral higher than one, the singular is used, as in (2a); cf., however, (2b) for an exception from this rule: here we find the plural in *-SAŋ* after the numeral 2. There are no

counterexamples with the plural in *-iʔ* attested, neither are there any with other numerals than 2. Dual is also not expected with the numeral 2 if the noun has a possessive suffix since possessive suffixes mark dual possessors, but not dual possession (see preceding unit, p. 5), cf. (2c). Singular is also used with the quantifier ‘many’ as in (2d). The quantifier ‘half’ is used to express one member of a paired bodypart as e.g. with ‘eye’ in (2e). The all-quantifier *bar* appears not (necessarily) in prenominal position, cf. (3b) in the following paragraph.

- (2) a. *šü-n toʔ-gən {šide bōs ne} iʔbə-jəʔ.*
 fire-GEN side-LOC two pregnant woman lie.PRS-3PL
 ‘Two pregnant women are lying at the side of the fire.’ (R.4, KW 85)
- b. *{šide t’aktə nüke-zeŋ} amn=o-bi t’eje-gən.*
 two old woman-PL sit=DUR-PST taiga-LOC
 ‘Two old women lived in the Taiga.’ (M.1, KW 197)
- c. *uražə-n {šide nükke-t} i-bi.*
 U.-GEN two woman-3SG be-PST
 ‘Uraže had two wives.’ (7.2, KW 93)
- d. *{iʔgö süjö}, ulu-zaŋ-də oʔb.t’o-gən, köten-də bəzə-j.*
 many bird head-PL-3SG one.spot-LOC bottom-3SG split-CV
 ‘Many birds, their heads together, their behinds apart.’ (R.6, KW 85)
- e. *{pel sima-bə} kaj=labaʔ-bi.*
 half eye-ACC3SG close=RES-PST
 ‘He closed one of his eyes.’ (11.34, KW 99)

1.3. Nominalizers

Among the words, which typically occur in attributive position, demonstrative pronouns, pronominal adjectives, and numerals can also function as argument expressions, cf. (3a) and (3b). Less straightforward is the situation for adjectives and participles. It is not clear to which degree they can be used without a nominalizer. Nominalizers are nouns of rather general semantics like *kuza* ‘person’ for human—e.g. CM 247 *šo-na kuza* ‘arrival (i.e. a person who has arrived; lit. coming person)’—, *baza* ‘iron’ and *pa* ‘wood’ for instruments and artefacts—e.g. CM 249 *amnə-na pa* ‘chair (lit. sitting wood)’, and others, which enable a participle to appear in argument function. Possessive adjectives in *=zəbi* can function as headless arguments, cf. (3c), participles and simple adjectives probably not, cf. (3d).

- (3) a. *{dī-m} teinen am-nə-m, {ami-m} karəld’ān.*
 this-ACC today eat-FUT-1SG other-ACC tomorrow
 ‘This one I will eat today, the other one tomorrow.’ (9.39, KW 97)
- b. *bar mī-li-m {sumna-m}.*
 all give-FUT-1SG five-ACC
 ‘I’ll give you all five.’ (8.79, KW 95)

- c. *dĩ-zen piʔne-ttə {širi ine=zəbi} par-lamna*
 this-PL.GEN behind-ABL3SG white horse=ADJ return-DUR.PRS
 ‘Behind these {the one with the white horse} is returning.’ (6.47, KW 92)
- d. *dĩ bar-gət-tən bile kuza*
 DEM all-ABL-3PL bad person
 ‘he’s the worst (person) of all’ (KW 8)

1.4. Adpositional phrases

There are no prepositions. The head of a postposition, in general, is marked for genitive (4a–c), but there are also primary (or simple) postpositions which govern lative case as in (4d), or nominative as in (4e). Primary postpositions come without inflection as in (4a), secondary postpositions, i.e. grammaticalized nouns with local semantics, are inflected for case (4b) and, possibly, also for person (4c).

- (4) a. *peňaj=loʔbdə-bi {t’ăga-n tăžə}*
 float=INGR-PST river-GEN downstream
 ‘she started floating down the river’ (1.10, KW 88)
- b. *{šü-n toʔ-gən} šide bōs ne iʔbə-jəʔ.*
 fire-GEN side-LOC two pregnant woman lie.PRS-3PL
 ‘Two pregnant women are lying at the side of the fire.’ (R.4, KW 85)
- c. *dĩ ne aspaʔ-də-bə i-bi,*
 DEM woman cauldron-3SG-ACC3SG take-PST
{šü-ndə toʔ-gəndə} nu=ldə-bi
 fire-GEN3SG side-LL3SG stand=TR-PST
 ‘The woman took her cauldron, and placed it at the side of her fire’ (8.24, KW 94)
- d. *{berži-nə t’uksu}*
 wind-LAT against
 ‘against the wind’ (KW 16)
- e. *kaŋ-gaʔ aʔtə dăra!*
 go-IMP2PL road along
 ‘Go along the road!’ (6.16, KW 92)

2. Clause structure

2.1. Word order

SOV is the basic word order (5a), with S, however, in many cases realized by a zero pronoun (5b). The reverse order VO occurs mainly in imperative clauses (5c–d), but also in verum focus context as in the second part of (5d) (verum focus asserts that a given predication constellation was realized).

- (5) a. *kān koʔbdo-bə mǐ-bi*
 khan girl-ACC3SG give-PST
 ‘The Khan gave his daughter.’ (2.60, KW 90)
- b. *šü em-bi, šüimə-bə öt’ser-bi.*
 fire put-PST mare-ACC3SG cobble-PST
 ‘He made a fire and cobbled his mare.’ (2.21, KW 89)
- c. *I-š-peʔ dǐ-m!*
 take-OPT-1PL DEM-ACC
 ‘Let’s seize him!’ (2.52, KW 89)
- d. *–öʔli-t kazər askər-i-m! [...] uʔbdə=lə-bi*
 release-IMP2SG.OC wild stallion-PL-ACC get.up=TR-PST
kazər askər-zaŋ-dən.
 wild stallion-PL-3PL
 ‘–Let the wild stallions loose! [...] He let their wild stallions go.’ (2.41–43, KW 89)

As for clauses which contain locative adverbials (X_{loc}), one may make the following observations: inthetic (all-new) clauses which introduce a situation (e.g. in riddles), the locative adverbial usually precedes the subject as in (6a). In clauses in which a new subject referent appears in a given place we find the reverse order, cf. (6b).

- (6) a. *mǎja-gəŋ aspaʔ mǐnzəl-leʔbə.*
 mountain-LOC cauldron boil-DUR.PRS
 ‘On a mountain a cauldron is boiling.’ (R.1, KW 85)
- b. *ńi-t naga, koʔbdo t’epsi-ndə iʔbə.*
 boy-3SG NEG.EXIST girl cradle-LL3SG lie.PRS
 ‘Her son is not there, a girl lies in his cradle.’ (M.6, KW 197)

2.2 Nominal predication

While in 3rd person present tense, zero-copula predication seems the default case (7a–b), in 1st and 2nd person, zero-copula predication varies with predication with the help of the copula verb *i-* ‘be’ (7c–f).

- (7) a. *dǐ ugāndə jakšə*
 DEM very good
 ‘he’s very good/the best’ (KW 136)
- b. *dǐ aləm kuzə-m*
 DEM debt person-1SG
 ‘he’s my debtor/he owes me money’ (KW 4)

- c. *mǎn dǐ-nə akt'a aləm=zəbi*
 I DEM-LAT money debt=ADJ
 'I owe him money/I'm in his debt' (KW 4)
- d. *mǎn üsker i-ge-m*
 I deaf be-PRS-1SG
 'I'm deaf' (KW 81)
- e. *tǎn ersə ija-l-ži? kud'ər*
 you whore mother-2SG-INS secretive
 'You're secretly connected with your whore mother.' (M.48, KW 197)
- f. *tǎn sagəš=šət i-ge-l*
 you mind=CAR be-PRS-2SG
 'you are crazy' (4.2, KW)

2.3. Existential and possessive clauses

Affirmative existential clauses predicate with the verb *i-* 'to be' (8a) or *mo-* 'to become' (8b), negative ones with the particle *naga* 'isn't' in present tense (8c), for other mood and tenses a verb derived from the negative existential particle, *nag=o-*, is used cf. (8b). The word order is usually SV, but if the existential subject is a long NP as in (8d), it may follow the verb. Overt possessor expressions are invariably in genitive case (8a).

- (8) a. *uražə-n šide niükke-t i-bi.*
 U.-GEN two woman-3SG be-PST
 'Uraže had two wives.' (7.2, KW 93)
- b. *kan-da aʔ'ə-laʔ mo-gu-j, šo-na aʔ'ə-laʔ*
 go-PTC way-2PL become-IMP-3SG come-PTC way-2PL
nag=o-gu-j!
 not.exist=IPF-IMP-3SG
 "“You shall have a departure, but you shall not have an arrival!”" (6.33, KW 92)
- c. *mańək-kən ne naga.*
 near-LOC woman NEG.EXIST
 'There is no woman around here.' (8.5, KW 94)
- d. *i-ge dǎrgit t'erə-m gibər pa-m en-žət.*
 be-PRS such item-1SG whereto wood-1SG put-INF
 'I have such a thing where to put my wood.' (R.18, KW 86)

2.5. Transitive clauses

Kamas direct objects (DOs) are subject to differential object marking (DOM) as well as to differential object agreement (DOA).⁶ Parameters which trigger accusative marking of DO expressions are definiteness, referentiality, givenness, and specificity. Obligatory DO marking applies to formally definite object expressions. These are personal (9a) and demonstrative pronouns (9b);⁷ demonstrative NPs (9c) and NPs with an all-quantifier (9d). Possessive marked nouns are also definite object expressions. Possessive marked nouns of 1st and 2nd person have a syncretic nominative-genitive-accusative, i.e. they don't have a special object form. Possessive marked nouns of the 3rd person are marked with a specific accusative form, however, there is a split according to inflectional classes: only vowel stems show the accusative form in *-bə(-)* (9e), consonant stems make do with the syncretic form in *-Tə(-)* (9f), or they may show forced object marking by the pleonastic marker *-Tə-bə(-)* as in (9g) (cf. also (4c) above).

- (9) a. *i-lə-m* *šiʔńileʔ*
 take-FUT-1SG you.PL.OBL
 'I will take you' (6.43, KW 92)
- b. *i-bi-iʔ* *idə-m*
 take-PST-3PL DEM.DIST-ACC
 'They took that one' (11.48, KW 99)
- c. *dĩ* *šüškü-m* *aspaʔ-də* *paʔdl=o-bi*
 DEM bladebone-ACC cauldron-LAT put.in=MED-PST
 'He put this bladebone into the cauldron' (8.20, KW 94)
- d. *bar* *mĩ-li-m* *sumna-m.*
 all give-FUT-1SG five-ACC
 'I'll give you all five.' (8.79, KW 95)
- e. *ine-bə* *öt'ser=labaʔ-bi*
 horse-ACC3SG cobble=RES-PST
 'He cobbled his horse' (2.25, KW 89)
- f. *ular-də* *boku-laʔ* *i-bi.*
 sheep-3SG tether-CV take-PST
 'He tethered his sheep.' (8.42, KW 94)

⁶ Alternative terms are object *flagging* instead of object marking, and object *indexing* instead of object agreement.

⁷ Recall that 1st and 2nd person singular and plural pronominal objects come in syncretic case forms (a pronominal accusative-lative in the singular, and an accusative-lative-locative in the plural); dual, 3rd person, and demonstrative pronominal objects take the same object marker as nouns, namely the accusative in *-(ə)m*.

- g. *ular-də-bə* *bostu-bə* *talə-j* *ńeʔbdə-bi*
 sheep-3SG-ACC3SG own-ACC3SG rupture-CV tear-PST
 ‘He tore his own sheep’ (8.59, KW 95)

Lexical object expressions are unmarked when they designate a mass noun (10a), or when non-referential (10b), or referential, but with a new referent (10c). Object expressions with a given referent are accusative marked (10d). Cross cutting is the parameter of specificity: accusative marking achieves specificity readings in (10e), and in (10g) vs. (10f), and probably also with conflated objects expressions as in (10h) vs. (10i). Finally, object expressions with a given referent may be unmarked if the verb is in the imperative as in (10k).

- (10) a. *tāŋgu* *ńeʔbdə=nzə-lie-m*
 tobacco pull=DES-PRS-1SG
 ‘I want to smoke tobacco’ (KW 180)
- b. *dĩ-zeŋ* *obəlar* *ešši* *teppi*
 DEM-PL both child bring.PST
 ‘They each gave birth to a child.’
- c. *ne-t’aktə* *səbəjʔ=lei-bi*
 woman.old take.out=DIRECT-PST
 ‘He took out a woman’s dead body.’ (8.83, KW 95)
- d. *amno=l-bi* *kü-ne* *ne-m* *pa-n* *tabə-ndə*
 sit=TR-PST die-PTC woman-ACC tree-GEN trunk-LAT3SG
 ‘He seated the dead woman at the bottom of a tree’ (8.87, KW 95)
- e. *oʔb* *kuzə-m* *kuro=ʔ-li-m*
 one man-ACC be.upset=TR-FUT-1SG
 ‘I’ll upset a person’ (KW 34)1
- f. *tān* *ĩmbi* *ha-lia-l?*
 you what do-PRS-2SG
 ‘What are you doing?’ (3.18, KW 90)
- g. *kajət* *kuzə* *i-ge-l,* *ĩmbi-m* *pi-le?* *mŋ-ge-l?*”
 how person be-PRS-2SG what-ACC search-CV go-PRS-2SG
 ‘What kind of person are you? What are you looking for?’ (2.32–33, KW 89)
- h. *akt’a* (~ *kola-n* *kam*) *ornaštər-*
 money fish-GEN scale change
 ‘to change money (~ lit. fish scales)’ (KW 50)
- i. *nüke-m/parga-m* *ornaštər-*
 wife-ACC/coat-ACC change
 ‘to exchange one’s wife/coat’ (KW 50)
- k. *bü,* *bü,* *küʔbdər-də* *nen-i* *šü!*
 water water extinguish-IMP2SG.OC burn-CV fire
 ‘–Water, water, extinguish the wildfire!’ (5.8, KW 91)

The parameters which trigger verb agreement of DO expressions (i.e. the use of object conjugation) are definiteness and givenness (accessability). Object agreement in Kamas is restricted to imperative, present and future tense, i.e. the bulk of contextual verb forms (past tense forms in narratives) does not allow for any observations. However, the following can be stated: object agreement occurs also with 1st and 2nd person pronouns (11a), and differently from Northern Samoyed and Ob-Ugric languages, also focal objects trigger object conjugation if they are accessible (11b), or formally definite, e.g. with a possessive suffix in (11c). In (11c) the bear skin is new, but in the possessive NP it has to bear a possessive suffix, and thus it is definite and agrees on verb.

- (11) a. *e-ne idə-ne tǎnan i-gübə*
 NEG-PTC be.visible-PTC you.OBL take-IMP3SG.OC
 ‘the invisible shall get you’ (KW 18)
- b. *amor=də-na t’ardə t’ü-nə hen-də*
 eat=TR-PTC board floor-LAT put-IMP2SG.OC
 ‘put the eating board on the floor’ (KW 21)
- c. *sagər konu-n kuba-bə šuktəl-gut!*
 black bear-GEN skin-ACC3SG spread.bed-IMP2PL.OC
 –Spread out a black bear’s skin! (1.25, KW 88)

3. Combining issues

3.1. Coordination

A coordinating conjunction is *da* ‘and’ (borrowed from Russian) which functions on phrase level as well as on clause level, cf. the coordinated noun phrases in (12a), the verb phrases in (12b), and the clauses in (12c). Most coordinated items, however, follow each other paratactically as the subject NP in (13a), or the two clauses in (13b).

- (12) a. *tumo da kös, suzəj saməj-la? kam-bi-jə?*
 mouse and coal bladder hunt.in.forest-CV go-PST-3PL
 ‘A mouse, a coal and a bladder went hunting.’ (1.1, KW 88)
- b. *nunər-i-m da sadər-i-m.*
 wet-FUT-1SG and shake-FUT-1SG
 ‘I’ll wet and shake.’ (R.25, KW 86)
- c. *ne ku-bi, pa kabar-bi da t’uga to?lu?-bi.*
 woman see-PST wood grasp-PST and dead hit-MOM-PST
 ‘The woman discovered (the mouse), took a piece of wood and hit it dead.’
 (1.29, KW 88)
- (13) a. *nüke büže amno-bi-i?*
 wife husband live-PST-3PL
 ‘There lived a wife and a husband.’ (9.1, KW 96)

- b. *kuju-bə səbojʔ-bi, paʔ-bi.*
 brain-ACC3SG take.out-PST cook-PST
 ‘She took his brain out and cooked it.’ (9.34, KW 97)

3.2. Monofinite subordination

Clauses subordinated in non-finite verb construction were already presented in Section 2.4. of the preceding unit (infinitive, participle, and converb constructions).

3.3 Bifinite subordination

Subordinating conjunctions documented in pre-shift Kamas are *kamən* ‘when’ (14a), and *paka* ‘while’ (14b). While the first one is a genuine temporal adverb, the second is a borrowing from Russian. In the texts, no clear cases of bifinite subordination occur. For other borrowings like Russian *ježl’i* ‘if’ there are no use examples attested, but they suggest that bifinite subordination as it occurs abundantly in the post-shift texts, e.g. (14c), must have been already part of the grammar of pre-shift Kamas too.

- (14) a. *kamən amor-bi-laʔ*
 when eat-PST-2PL
 ‘when you were eating’ (Gr. 177)
- b. *paka mǎn ha-bio-m*
 while I do-PST-1SG
 ‘While I was doing (it)’ (KW 176)
- c. *i dōbər amno-žit-tə šo-bi-iʔ, kamən ššəge mo=lām-bi.*
 and hereto live-INF-LAT come-PST-3PL when cold become=RES-PST
 ‘And they came here to live when it had become cold.’ (Künnap 1976: 119)

Unit 6: Text

Exercise: In the following you find two versions of the Kamas tale no. 9. The original version was recorded by Kai Donner in 1914, the narrator is one of his two main consultants, Avdakeja Andžigatova. The second version is a retelling by the last speaker, Klavdija Plotnikova. Künnap had confronted her with Donner's tales, and she retold them in her own post-shift code. There are mainly differences in lexicon and syntax between the different versions of these tales, but contentwise they are rather identical. In some cases, where an original tale is cryptic at some point of the story, Plotnikova had to contribute her own interpretation of a situation.



Two narrators of Kamas tales; on the left, Kai Donner's informant in 1914, Avdakeja Andžigatova, and on the right Ago Künnap's informant in the 1960ies, Klavdija Plotnikova, who did a retelling of tales collected by Donner in her own post-shift code.

Tale no. 9 is interesting from a mythological as well as from a cultural-historical point of view: a married couple suffers from famine, they had killed their only cow. The husband drives his wife out of the house in order to keep the remaining food for him alone. The woman wanders about and finally comes upon the yurt of a cattle keeper, stuffed with meat supply. As it turns out, this economically successful household is run by a mythological being which consists of a head only. It moves about by rolling on the floor like a ball, and it has the power to set objects into motion and function by simply giving orders to them. The woman kills him, and returns to her husband who in the meantime is already putting up with the fact that he needs to eat his own fingers. She takes him to the rich place which she has managed to gain, but her husband turns out to be too uncultivated for keeping the livestock. In the end, the woman puts a spell on the domesticated animals, aiming at their transformation into huntable game. The figure of the economically successful head occurs also in Ket-Selkup narrative folklore (*qun-ol-laga* 'man-head-piece', (Denning [in prep.], 306–310). The spell at the end reflects the cultur clash situation in the Sayan area when Turkic cattle breeders intruded into the homelands of the indigenous Samoyed and Yeniseic hunter-gatherer population.

Task: Study the two versions of the text, listen also to Plotnikovas version on the sound file which is part of this unit (SU0225, 10:21–13:52);^{*} unfortunately, there's no recording of the original text. Describe at least *three* morpho-syntactic features which differ in the two versions of the text, and discuss possible explanations.

4.2. *Kur ulu* 'Just a head' = Andžigatova's tale no. 9 (9.1–58, KW 96–97); editing based on Donner's original manuscripts by G. Klumpp

- (1) *nüke büže amno-bi-i?*
 wife husband live-PST-3PL
 There lived a wife and a husband.
- (2) *dī-zen am-žit-tən nag=o=u?-bi, oñi? tüžöj-dən*
 DEM-PL.GEN eat-INF-3PL NEG.EXIST=DUR=MOM-PST single cow-3PL
kup-pi-i?
 kill-PST-3PL
 Their food had run out, their only cow they had killed.
- (3) *dī büže baltu i-bi, nüke-bə sürer=lü?-bi.*
 DEM husband axe take-PST wife-ACC3SG drive=MOM-PST
 'The husband took an axe and chased his wife away.'
- (4) *nüke-t kalla? r'ür-bi.*
 wife-3SG go.CV disappear-PST
 'His wife went off.'
- (5) *kandə-ga, ma? nu-ga.*
 go-PRS tent stand-PRS
 She walks on, there's a tent standing.
- (6) *mān šüjōn-də šil uja ed=ö-le nu-ga.*
 tent.GEN inside.LL-3SG fat meat hang=ITR-CV stand-PRS
 Inside the tent, there's fat and meat hanging.
- (7) *nüke pa?-bi i am-bi.*
 wife cook-PST and eat-PST
 The woman cooked and ate.
- (8) *ša?=lām-bi nüñə-bi-n-də kegə.*
 hide=RES-PST hear-PTC-LOC-3SG call
 She hid after hearing a call.
- (9) *māl-la?bə:*
 look-DUR.PRS
 She's looking:

^{*} If you like find more files at <http://www.murre.ut.ee/arhiiv/otsi.php>.

- (10a) *mal sürer-lamnə-i?*
cattle drive-DUR.PRS-3PL
They are driving cattle.
- (10b) *kur ulu mal sürer-lamnə.*
mere head cattle drive-DUR.PRS
Just a head is driving cattle.
- (11) *tu=lamnə-bi-n-də kegərer-ie:*
arrive=DUR-PTC-LL-3SG call-PRS
In arriving he calls:
- (12) *ajə kar=o-?*”
door open=ITR-IMP2SG
“Gate, open!”
- (13) *mal, ine, ular, tüžöj, bar o?b t'o-gən, šiden-ən ajə*
cattle horse sheep cow EXT.PTCL one place-LOC corral-GEN door
kar=o-ma, šü-bi-i?
open=ITR-PTC enter-PST-3PL
The cattle—horses, sheep, cows—alltogether entered after the corral gate had opened.
- (14) *kaj=o-ma-n-də ma?-də tšrl=ö-le? šo-bi.*
close=ITR-PTC-LL-3SG tent-LAT roll=ITR-CV come-PST
After it had closed he came rolling to the tent.
- (15a) *kur ulu kegərer-ie: mən ajə kar=o?*
mere head call-PRS tent.GEN door open=ITR-IMP2SG
Just a head calls: “Tent door, open!”
- (15b) *kar=o-bi.*
open=ITR-PST
It opened.
- (16) *tšrl=ö-le? šo-bi kur ulu.*
roll=ITR-CV come-PST mere head
Just a head came rolling.
- (17) *aspa? edə-?, uja=j šil pad=o-?*”
cauldron hang-IMP2SG meat=ADJ fat cook=ITR-2SG
“Cauldron, hang up [yourself], meaty fat, get cooked!”
- (18) *mă-lia.*
say-PRS
he says.
- (19) *šindi-də i-bi dš-gən.*
who-INDEF be-PST DEM-LOC
“Somebody was here.

- (20) *uʔbda-ʔ döbər!*
get.up-IMP2SG here
Come here!
- (21) *büže kuzā i-bi-n-də büže-m mo-lə-j,*
man person be-PTC-LL-3SG man-1SG become-FUT-3SG
ne kuzā i-bi-n-də hele-m mo-lə-j.
woman person be-PTC-LL-3SG mate-1SG become-FUT-3SG
If it's a man, he will become my husband, if it's a woman, she'll become my mate."
- (22) *uʔbdə-bi šaʔ=lām-da nüke, šü-n toʔ-gən-də amnə-bi.,*
get.up-PST hide=RES-PTC wife fire-GEN side-LL-3SG sit.down-PST
The hidden woman got up and sat down by the side of the fire.
- (23) *šü-n toʔ-gən-də ulu-žəʔ amor-žət-tə am=zə-bi.*
fire-GEN side-LL-3SG head-INS eat-INF-LAT eat=DES-PST [?]
At the side of the fire, she wanted to eat together with the head.
- (24) *r'äbaktər-laʔ amna-iʔ:*
talk-CV sit.PRS-3PL
They sit and talk.
- (25) *tän kädəʔ mül-lie-l kur ulu-žəʔ, uda-l-daʔ naga,*
you how go-PRS-2SG mere head-INS hand-2SG-CORR.PTCL NEG.EXIST
üjü-l-deʔ naga?
foot-2SG-CORR.PTCL NEG.EXIST
"How do you get around just with a head? After all, you've neither hand nor foot?"
- (26) *män bar t'o-gən mül-lie-m.*
I EXT.PTCL place-LOC go-PRS-1SG
"I get around everywhere."
- (27) *tän oro-nə tšrl=ö-leʔ mo-la-l-aʔ"*
you pit-LAT roll=ITR-CV become-FUT-2SG-QP
"Can you roll into a pit?"
- (28) *mo-la-m bādə(=r)-laʔ,*
become-FUT-1SG pace(=FRQ)-CV
"I'll can in one step",
- (29) *mă-lia.*
say-PRS
he says.
- (30) *tšrl=ö-ʔ t'eʔb-də!,*
roll=ITR-IMP2SG ground-LAT
"Roll to the ground!",

- (31) *mǎ-lia.*
say-PRS
she says.
- (32) *ulu-t tǐrəl=lüʔ-bi.*
head-3SG roll=MOM-PST
The head (lit.: her head) made a roll.
- (33) *baltu i-bi, pǎktə-j toʔ=luʔ-bi.*
axe take-PST burst-CV hit=MOM-PST
She took an axe and crushed him.
- (34) *kuju-bə sǎbojʔ-bi, paʔ-bi.*
brain-ACC3SG take.out-PST cook-PST
She took his brain out and cooked it.
- (35) *uja=j šil i-bi, suzəj-də pǎʔ=də-bi.*
meat=ADJ fat take-PST bladder-LAT dive=TR-PST
She took meaty fat and stuffed it into a bladder.
- (36) *mǐl=lüʔbdə-bi, büžən-də kam-bi.*
go=INCH-PST husband.LL-3SG go-PST
She got going, went to her husband.
- (37) *mazəro-nə ša-bi.*
smoke.hole-LAT climb-PST
She climbed up to the smoke hole.
- (38) *müjə-bə büže köjēʔ-leʔ amna:*
finger-ACC3SG husband ? mark-CV sit.PRS
The husband is marking his fingers:
- (39) *dǐ-m teinen am-nə-m, ami-m karəld'ān."*
DEM-ACC today eat-FUT-1SG other-ACC tomorrow
"This one I'll eat today, the other one tomorrow."
- (40) *dǐ nüke süzəj-də-bə üštə=lüʔ-bi mazəro-gəʔ.*
DEM wife bladder-3SG-ACC3SG let.fall=MOM-3SG smoke.hole-ABL
The woman dropped her bladder through the smoke hole.
- (41) *numan üzə-leʔbə:*
skywards descend-DUR.PRS
He prays (lit: falls skywards):
- (42) *kudaj mö-bi, iššo, možət, mǐ-gə-j iššo māna!"*
God give-PST still may.be give-IMP-3SG still me
"God has given, maybe he shall give once more."
- (43) *dǐ nüke:*
DEM wife
The wife:

- (44) *pi tānan mǐ-ləj kudai, mǎn mǐ-bie-m.*
 stone 2SG.LAT give-FUT3SG God 1SG give-PST-1SG
 “A stone will God give you, it was me who did the giving.”
- (45) *mǎn tān-žə? kalla-m-a?*
 I you-INS go.FUT-1SG-QP
 “Will I go with you?”
- (46) *kan-žə-bəj!*
 go=OPT-1DU
 “Let’s go!”
- (47) *kun=nām-bi, ulu-n maʔ-gən-də šo-bi-i?*
 lead=RES-PST head-GEN tent-LL-3SG come-PST-3PL
 She led him, they came to the head’s tent.
- (48) *uja šil paʔ-bi, badə-bi.*
 meat fat cook-PST feed-PST
 She cooked meat and fat, and fed him.
- (49) *dī büže:*
 DEM husband
 The husband:
- (50) *pünö=zə=r-lie-m.*
 fart=DES=FRQ-PRS-1SG
 “I need to fart.”
- (51) *paʔd’ə-t šukto?!*
 put.into-IMP2SG.OC bed.sheet
 “Put in the bedsheet!
- (52) *tǎn i-ʔ pün=öre-ʔ!*
 you NEG-IMP2SG fart=FRQ-CN
 Don’t you fart!
- (53) *mal-əʔi-m nereʔ-li-l.*
 cattle-PL-ACC frighten-FUT-2SG
 You will frighten the animals.”
- (54) *büže püʔ=lüʔ-bi.*
 husband fart=MOM-PST
 The man farted.
- (55) *mal-əʔi-m tuno=laʔbdə-bi.*
 cattle-PL-ACC gallop=RES.TR-PST
 He set the animals in gallop.
- (56) *nüke süit i-bi, kuʔ=luʔ-bi pineʔ-dən dǎra.*
 wife milk take-PST spray=MOM-PST behind-3PL along
 The woman took milk and sprayed it after them:

- (57) *ular-iʔ pōduʔ mo-gu-iʔ, ine-iʔ bulan mo-gu-iʔ,*
 sheep-PL goat become-IMP-3PL horse-PL moose become-IMP-3PL
tüžöj sīgān mo-gu-iʔ!
 cow deer-IMP3SG become-IMP-3PL

“The sheep shall become goats, the horses moose, and the cows deer!”

- (58) *dī nüke büže ĩmbi-dān-dā naga, bazoʔ*
 DEM wife husband what-3PL-INDEF NEG.EXIST again
püjō=lāmnā-bi.
 hunger=DUR-PST

The woman and the man were left with had nothing and hungered again.

4.3. Plotnikova’s tale no. 9 (P9.1–50, SU0225 10:21–13:52); transcript, glossing and translation by Klooster & Klumpp (2015/16); find a list of earlier not attested Russian words at the end of the text.

- (1) *amno-bi-iʔ böže nüke-t-šiʔ*
 live-PST-3PL man wife-3SG-INS
 There lived a man with his wife.
- (2) *dī-zen ĩmbi=dā nag=o-bi, tolko ohiʔ tüžöj*
 DEM-PL.GEN what=INDEF NEG.EXIST=DUR-PST only single cow
 They had nothing, only one cow.
- (3) *dī-zen amor-zit-tā naga i-bi*
 DEM-PL.GEN eat-INF-LAT NEG.EXIST be-PST
 They had nothing to eat.
- (4) *dī-gättā tüžöj-dā bāt=luʔ-bi*
 DEM-ABL3SG cow-3SG cut=MOM-PST
 Then he killed his cow.
- (5) *nükke-m sürer=lüʔ-bi*
 wife-ACC chase=MOM-PST
 He chased the wife away.
- (6) *kana-ʔ, (a)to māna bos-kāndā-m amga mo-lāj*
 go-IMP2SG CONS.CONJ I.OBL self-LL-1SG little become-FUT3SG
 “Go!, otherwise I will have little for myself!”
- (7) *dī nüke kam-bi, kam-bi, iššo maʔ ku-bi*
 DEM wife go-PST go-PST else tent see-PST
 The woman went, went, found another tent.
- (8) *maʔ-dā šo-bi, dīn šil iʔb=ö-leʔbā,*
 tent-LAT come-PST there fat lie=DUR-DUR.PRS

uja iʔb=ö-leʔbə

meat lie=DUR-DUR.PRS

She came to the tent, there is fat lying, meat lying.

- (9) *dī mīnzə=r-bi bar, amor-bi*
DEM boil=TR-PST EXT.PTCL eat-PST

She cooked, ate.

- (10) *nīn-nie-t bar: šīndi=də šo=nə-ga*
hear-PRS-3SG.OC EXT.PTCL who=INDEF come=DUR-PRS

She hears someone is coming.

- (11) *iʔgö ular dī dep-pi, tüžöj-iʔ, ine-iʔ*
many sheep DEM bring-PST cow-PL horse-PL

Many sheep brought this one, cows, horses.

- (12) *dī-gəttə šo-bi, maʔ-də mǎn-də:*
DEM-ABL3SG come-PST tent-LAT say-3SG.OC

Then he arrived, says to the tent:

- (13) *kar-də(.) ajə*
open-IMP2SG.OC door
“Door, open! [? Open the door!]”

- (14) *ajə kar=luʔ-bi*
door open=MOM-PST
The door opened up.

- (15) *dī šo-bi mǎndər-laʔ šīndi=də i-bi: šil naga,*
DEM come-PST look-CV who=INDEF be-PST fat NEG.EXIST

uja naga, ipek naga
meat NEG.EXIST bread NEG.EXIST

He came (in), seeing that somebody had been here: there’s no fat, there’s no meat, there’s no bread.

- (16) *šīndi dön i-bi?*
who here be-PST
“Who was here?”

- (17) *tibi-tek böže-m mo-ləj, ne-dek*
man-CORR.PTCL husband-1SG become-FUT3SG woman-CORR.PTCL

ele-m mo-ləj
mate-1SG become-FUT3SG

If it’s a male he will become my husband, if it’s a woman, she will become my mate.

- (18) *dī-gəttə dī nüke uʔbdə bi, šo-bi*
DEM-ABL3SG DEM wife get.up-PST come-PST

Then the woman stood up, came near.

- (19) *dĩ dĩ-m amno=l-bi*
DEM DEM-ACC sit=TR-PST
He seated her.
- (20) *amor-la? amno-bi-i?*
eat-CV sit-PST-3PL
They sat eating.
- (21) *dĩ surar-la?bə:*
DEM ask-DUR.PRS
She asks:
- (22) *ĩmbi tǎn, uda-l, üjü-l naga*
what you hand-2SG foot-2SG NEG.EXIST
“What are you, you have no hands, no feet?”
- (23) *kǎdǎ? tǎn mĩl-lie-l?*
how you go-PRS-2SG
How do you get around?”
- (24) *dĩ dǎrǎ mĩl-lie-l [intended: mĩl-lie-m]*
DEM so go-PRS-2SG go-PRS-1SG
He: “I move like this”. [i.e. rolling on the floor, like a ball]
- (25) *tǎn jama-nǎ sü?mǎ-le-l?*
you pit-LAT jump-FUT-2SG
“Will you (be able to) jump into a pit?”
- (26) *sü?mǎ-le-m*
jump-FUT-1SG
‘I will jump.’
- (27) *dĩ-gǎttǎ kam-bi-i?*
DEM-ABL3SG go-PST-3PL
Then they left (for the pit).
- (28) *dĩ sü?mǎ-bi, dĩ dĩ-ne baltu-zi? ulu-bǎ bar*
DEM jump-PST DEM DEM-LAT axe-INS head-ACC3SG EXT.PTCL
saj ja?-bi
off chop-PST
He jumped, she chops off his head with an axe.*

* Cf. the identical external possessor construction in German: *schlug ihm den Kopf ab*.—Note however that this sentence does not make much sense here because the protagonist consists of a head only, he cannot be beheaded. The narrator seems to forget this fact, or she uses the preverb *saj* ‘off, through’ in the meaning of *pǎktǎj* ‘bursting, Germ. zer-’.

- (29) *dĩ-gəttə bar šama¹⁰ i-bi*
 DEM-ABL3SG EXT.PTCL brain.marrow take-PST
 Then she took the brain.
- (30) *šil-də i-bi, uja i-bi, pužəj-də em-bi*
 fat-3SG take-PST meat take-PST bladder-LAT put-PST
 She took his fat, the meat, put it into a bladder.
- (31) *dĩ-gəttə par=luʔ-bi bostu böže-ndə*
 DEM-ABL3SG return=MOM-PST own husband-LL3SG
 Then she returned to her husband.
- (32) *maʔ-də ša-bi, a böže kös-šiʔ uda-bə*
 tent-LAT climb-PST but husband coal-INS hand-ACC3SG
bar...
 EXT.PTCL
 She climbed on the tent, the husband [was marking]¹¹ with coal [the fingers of] his hand.
- (33) *dö-m uja-m am-na-m, dö-m uja-m am-na-m*
 that-ACC meat-ACC eat-FUT-1SG that-ACC meat-ACC eat-FUT-1SG
 That meat I'll eat, that meat, I'll eat.
- (34) *a dĩ bar=luʔ-bi dĩ-nə*
 but DEM throw=MOM-PST DEM-LAT
 She however threw (the bladder) down to him.
- (35) *dĩ kabar=luʔ-bi*
 DEM grab=MOM-PST
 He grabbed it.
- (36) *vot, kudaj māna mĩ-bi*
 look! God I.OBL give-PST
 “Look, God has given to me!”
- (37) *da, kudaj tānan mĩ-ləj, pi tānan mĩ-ləj*
 yes God you.OBL give-FUT3SG stone you.OBL give-FUT3SG
kudaj, dĩ-m mǎn mĩ-bie-m
 God DEM-ACC I give-PST-1SG
 “Yes, God will give to you, a stone will God give to you, this was given by me!”

¹⁰ The word for marrow, used here instead of the word for brain *kuju*, is actually *kama*. The initial palatal sibilant may be due to contamination with the word *šamaj* ‘blood sausage’.

¹¹ The narrator cannot recall the verb. This predicate is also unclear in the original text, and the narrator was obviously not prepared well enough to handle this part of the story.

- (38) *dĩ-gəttə* *dĩ* *amor-bi*
 DEM-ABL3SG DEM eat-PST
 Then he ate.
- (39) *kam-bi-ʔi*
 go-PST-3PL
 They left.
- (40) *dĩn* *ine-iʔ,* *tüžöj-iʔ,* *ular-iʔ,* *šo-bi-iʔ* *dībər*
 there horse-PL cow-PL sheep-PL come-PST-PL thereto
 They arrived at the horses, cows, and sheep.
- (41) *dĩ* *mǎn-də:* *pünör-zit-tə* *ahota*
 DEM say-3SG.OC fart-INF-LAT desire
 He says: “I feel like farting”.
- (42) *i-ʔ* *pünörə-ʔ,* *ato* *bar* *nuʔmə=luʔ-lə-jəʔ*
 NEG-IMP2SG fart-CN CONS.CONJ EXT.PTCL run=MOM-FUT-3PL
 “Don’t fart, otherwise they will all start running away!”
- (43) *dĩ* *vsjotaki* *pünör-bi* *i* *bar* *ine-iʔ-zeŋ-də,*¹²
 DEM anyway fart-PST also EXT.PTCL horse-PL-PL-3SG
ular-zaŋ-də *i* *tüžöj-iʔ* *(n)uʔmə=luʔ-bi-iʔ*
 sheep-PL-3SG also cow-PL run=MOM-PST-3PL
 He farted anyway, and all their horses, sheep and cows started running.
- (44) *dĩ* *davaj* *süt-siʔ* ... *kǎmnə-štə* *dĩ-zeŋ-də*
 DEM ADHORT.PTCL milk-INS pour-INF.LAT DEM-PL-LAT
 She did not hesitate and poured¹³ milk towards them.
- (45) *ular,* *šiʔ* *poʔdu mo-laʔ* [sic], *tüžöj-iʔ,* *šiʔ* ...
 sheep you.PL goat become-2PL cow-PL you.PL
bulan mo-gaʔ *a* *šiʔ* *ine-iʔ...*
 moose become-IMP2PL but you.PL horse-PL
 “Sheep, you become goats, cows, you become moose, and you, horses ...”
- (46) *(nömə=lüʔ-bi-m)*
 forget=MOM-PST-1SG
 (I have forgotten it.) [laughs]

¹² Note the double plural marking. The narrator obviously started with the plural in *-iʔ*, then decided to use a possessive suffix and had add to the appropriate plural ending *-SAŋ*.

¹³ The narrator makes a long pause before picking a verb. She probably tries to recall *kuʔbdə*- ‘spray’, but finally picks another verb from the semantic domain of handling liquids.

- (47) *ine-iʔ, mām-bi, pušaj izjubr-iʔ mo-lə-jəʔ*
 horse-PL say-PST OPT.PTCL deer-PL become-FUT-3PL
 The horses, she said, shall become deer.
- (48) *dī-gattə nüke i böže baʔ=luʔ-bi*
 DEM-ABL3SG wife also husband throw=MOM-PST
 Then the woman and her husband had lost them/it.
- (49) *ĩmbi=də bazoʔ naga dī-zeŋ-də*
 what=INDEF again NEG.EXIST DEM-PL-LAT
 Again they had nothing.
- (50) *bar kal-laʔ tür-bi-iʔ*
 EXT.PTCL go-CV disappear-PST-3PL
 They went away.

Russian words:

a to ‘otherwise’ in 6 and 42, *ahota* (охота) ‘desire’ in 41 (replacing the Kam. desiderative construction, or derivation), *da* ‘yes’ in 37, *davaj* ‘come on!’ in 44, *iššo* (ещё) ‘else, still’ in 7, *izjubr* (изюбрь) ‘Siberian deer, Maral (*Cervus elaphus xanthopygus*)’ (replacing Kam. *sġgan* id.), *jama* ‘pit’ in 25 (replacing Kam. *oro* id.), *pušaj* (пущай) ‘shall be’ in 47, *tolko* ‘only’ in 2, *vot* ‘look!’ in 36, *vsjotaki* ‘anyway’ in 43.

Abbreviations

ADHORT.PTCL adhortative particle, CONS.CONJ consecutive conjunction, CORR.PTCL correlational particle, CV general converb, DEM anaphoric demonstrative and 3rd person pronoun, DEM.DIST distal demonstrative, DIRECT directive auxiliary construction, DUR durative aktionsart, DUR.PRS durative present tense (present continuous), EXT.PTCL extensive particle (with quantifier and pragmatic functions), INDEF indefinite derivation, LL lative-locative case in possessive declension, MED medium, MOM momentaneous aktionsart/perfective aspect, NEG negative auxiliary, NEG.EXIT negative existential particle, OBL oblique (here: syncretic accusative-dative case of personal pronouns), OPT.PTCL optative particle, QP question particle.