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1. Introduction

*Figura etymologica*, or *etymological figure* is a term from the classical Greek grammar, which was created in XIX century as a translation of the Greek phrase *skhēma etymologías* (see Clary 2009: 2–7 about the history of this term). It primarily denoted a “same-clause repetition of semantically equivalent noun and verb from the same root” (Ibid.: i), where the noun most often is an accusative object (such as in *sing a song*, cf. example 1 from Ancient Greek), though it may refer to constructions with other cases as well (as in examples 2 and 3; all the examples are from Ibid.: 7).

(1) dōr-on  did-onai
    gift-ACC  give-INF
    ‘to give a gift’

(2) kēryx  kēryss-ei
    herald.NOM  announce.PRES-3SG
    ‘the herald heralds’

(3) desm-ōi  d-ein
    fetter-DAT  chain-INF
    ‘to fetter in a fetter’

In the subsequent scholarship, this term was used in a variety of ways, either very strictly, as just a combination of a verb and its object (Gonda 1959: 273), or more or less broadly either syntactically, including collocations of any words, not necessarily of a verb and its argument, or semantically. In the latter case, it might be applied to such words, the etymological connection of which is obscured, such as *might and magic*, which, it is true, go back to the same Indo-European root, but this fact is completely unknown to the ordinary speaker of English; or even to words that are connected only by their meaning, but not by form, as French *dormez votre sommeil*, lit. ‘sleep (you.pl)’

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1 This paper is based on a talk read at the Faculty of Letters, Hokkaido University in June 2015, during my stay as a JSPS invited fellow in the Center for Northern Humanities. I am deeply indebted to prof. Yukari Nagayama, prof. Toshiro Tsumagari and everyone who attended this talk and made their valuable comments, and also to everyone who made my stay in Sapporo in 2014–2015 possible, useful and exciting. I have also to thank the two anonymous reviewers of this paper for having thoroughly read the paper and corrected many errors.
your sleep’ (Marouzeau 1933: 78; unlike in English, French words etymologically have nothing in common).

Such a semantic broadening of the term seems to be beyond the reasonable limits of what can be defined as a “combination of words of the same root”. On the other hand, various syntactic constructions including same-root words seem to have something in common and, thus, are worth having a single term. So, in this paper, following a number of preceding works, the term figura etymologica, or FE, will be used for any stable (not just occasional) construction consisting of words, which are synchronically perceived as having the same root.

The definition proposed here permits to encompass not only the traditional etymological figures consisting of a verb and its argument, such as sing a song, but also a variety of other types, as in (4):

(4) Russian
a. bežat’ beg-om
   run.INF running-INSTR
   ‘to run quickly; to hurry’
b. ogramnyj-preogramnyj
   huge-very.huge
   ‘very huge’
c. rabota kak rabota
   work like work
   ‘an ordinary work; a work like many others’

(5) Hungarian
  Ad-ott nek-ik egy-egy almá-t.
  give-PAST to-3SG one-one apple-ACC
  ‘He gave them an apple each.’

Also, allowing coordinated constructions permits to include such examples as It rained and it rained and it rained. It is questionable, of course, whether they are not too trivial to be concerned as a grammatical device and not as just an iconic repetition of the same phrase. However, as they or some of them may have some non-trivial traits from typological or areal point of view, it would be useful to include them into consideration as well.

Etymological figures in the sense described above have been attested in many ancient Indo-European literary and folklore traditions: not only Greek and Latin, but also Slavic (Jakobson 1987: 29–31), Vedic (see Benveniste 1968), Iranian (Asatrian 1989), Irish (Ó hUiginn 1983). They are typical mostly for epic and folklore genres, though by no means confined to them. They rarely find their place in grammars of
modern languages; however, they are not so rare as it may seem: cf. an overview in Štech 1967; Malceva 2005 and Gilyarova 2010 and 2013 about some constructions in Russian, or Reckendorf 1909 and Fokos 1932 as rare examples of studies of FE in non-Indo-European languages. Even a cursory acquaintance with the facts shows that many patterns are similar across languages; nevertheless, I am not aware of any detailed typological study of such constructions in general.

An obvious distinction between different types of etymological figures is whether in a given language they are limited to individual roots or are in fact grammatical constructions compatible with an open set of roots. For instance, the first example in (4) is unique in Russian: there is no other root that could occur in exactly the same context. On the contrary, the two other examples are just instances of constructions that are compatible with any adjective or noun: one can say as well bol’shoj-prebol’shoj (‘very-very big’) or zelenyj-prezelenyj (‘very-very green’, whatever it means), and, similarly, dom kak dom ‘an ordinary house’ or poezdka kak poezdka ‘an ordinary trip’. There are intermediary cases: for instance, in English drink a drink or draw a drawing seem to be much less conventional than sing a song and give a gift.

FE are generally presumed to have some rhetorical function, such as a “reinforcement” — hence their predominant use in the epic and folklore, and hence also their denomination as “figures” in the rhetorical sense of this term. However, in many cases, such as sing a song, their use is not very “figurative” (cf. Clary 2009: 1). Sometimes they seem to be used because of a syntactic “need” to fill a slot — e.g. that of an object, as in “sing ___”, because one has to sing something; or of a verb, as in “___ a gift”, where give is the most neutral option. Such FE may be “empty”, if a member of it adds nothing to the meaning of a whole (sing a song) or “not-empty”, — e.g. when containing an attribute (sing a new song), and in such cases the use of the cognate object seems to be justified semantically. So, the same construction may have the full range of uses from the purely rhetorical to the purely semantic one.

An important trait of FE is exactly their redundancy, which is also typical for the folklore. Hence comes another important function of them: they seem to help the narrator to gain time — and that explains the formulaic character of many of them.

This paper is dedicated to various types of etymological figures in Uilta, a Tungusic language, also known as Orok, that has been spoken until recently on the Sakhalin island. It is entirely based on folklore texts — which does not mean, of course, that FE in Uilta were limited to the folklore, though most probably their use, as in other languages, was much more restricted in the everyday speech.

This study of Uilta FE is not exhaustive. There may be constructions that just did not occur in my corpus; others may have occurred just once and looked like an occasional repetition of a word. Another difficulty had to do with the meaning: in some cases Uilta constructions with cognate words were literally translated into Russian, and in Russian such combinations just do not make sense; it was not always possible to clarify the
meaning. It can be hoped, however, that more constructions of this kind will be found in the future, or their meaning will be clarified — for instance, on the basis of related languages.

The Uilta language is divided into two main dialects: the Northern and Southern ones. The border between them roughly coincides with the 50th parallel North, which was the border between Russian (later Soviet) and Japanese parts of Sakhalin between 1905 and 1945 (hence come the Japanese names of many speakers of the Southern dialect). Now the last speakers of the Southern dialect live in the city of Poronaisk, in the central part of Sakhalin, and the last speakers of the Northern dialect — in the villages of Nogliki and Val, on the North.

After the World War II some of Southern Uiltas transferred to Japan, where their language was studied by Japanese scholars.

The sources of the data are (their short notations are given in brackets):

— [PN, AN]: a collection of folklore recorded by Igor Nedjalkov from Pakta Nakagawa and (a couple of texts) from Anna Nakagawa in 1972 (Southern dialect). These recordings were then digitalized by Toshiro Tsumagari and transcribed for the most part by Elena Bibikowa;

— [OS(N)]: texts recorded also by Igor Nedjalkov from Olga Semenova in 1972 (Northern dialect); digitalized in St.-Petersburg Institute of Linguistic Studies and transcribed partly by Igor Nedjalkov in the same year and partly by Svetlana Toldova and the present author in 2010–2012;

— [OS(R)]: texts recorded from Olga Semenova by Tatiana Roon about 1990 (Northern dialect) and transcribed by Svetlana Toldova and the present author in 2010-2012;

— [P]: texts published in Petrova 1967 (Northern dialect);

— [I]: texts recorded by Jiro Ikegami in 1955–1966 and published in Ikegami 2002/2007 (Southern dialect);

— [S]: “Tale of Singuni” recorded from Napka (Sato Chiyo) by Jiro Ikegami in 1977 and published in Yamada 2014 (Southern dialect).

For examples from the unpublished texts I indicate the number of the text and that of the sentence, and for examples from published texts I give the page number.

There are no indications that the Northern and Southern dialects differ in any way in the use of FE. So here examples from the both dialects will be given together (however the dialect is seen from the source of the example).

The main formal types of figura etymologica in Uilta are:

— reduplicated constructions;

— object + verb;

— subject + verb;

— instrument + verb;

— noun + noun (a superlative construction);
— participle + verb.
In what follows, these types will be considered in turn.

2. Reduplicated constructions

Syntactic reduplication in Uilta can express:
   a) emphasis;
   b) durativity;
   c) ‘each’ (with temporal nouns);
   d) distributivity.

2.1 Emphasis

First, as in so many languages, the repetition of a word can be used to emphasize it.

(6) Ami-ni æsi-lɔkə gēda-gēda=ddâ bojô  åsi-ni bojô-u-ra.
    father-3PL now-PTCL one-one=PTCL bear.ACC NEG-3SG bear-VBLZ-CONV
    ‘Now his father doesn’t catch any bear at all’ (PN 4: 222)

(7) Nɔ-rú=ddɔ nɔ-rú, sorrisu.
    go.out-IMP=PTCL go.out-IMP fight.IMP.1PL
    ‘Come out, come, we’ll fight.’ (PN 2: 149)

2.2 Durativity

A very common technique in Uilta narratives is to repeat the finite form of the verb to express the duration of an action. Of course, it is also a very natural method (cf. Rozhanski 2011: 64–66). On the one hand, it iconically expresses the length of an action; on the other hand, it allows the narrator to collect his thoughts before continuing the story, and does it better than anything else, because allows for a theoretically unlimited number of repetitions. Presumably, it can be used in any narrative in any language. However, in Uilta narrative tradition there occur very long sequences of identical verbal forms, involving up to 6 or 7 repetitions. Mostly these are the present tense forms of motion verbs, describing protagonists’ travels; the most frequently used verb is, naturally, ʰəna- ‘go’. Very often these forms are accompanied by the adverb ʰt ‘so; for a long time’.
(8) Čōtči, o, Manga Mōrga ili-gašči ƞənnē-ni ani-dda. O, ƞənnē-ni. then oh M. M. rise-CONV.PAST go.PRES-3SG again=PTCL oh go.PRES-3SG Čō ƞənnē-ni, čō ƞənnē-ni... ƞənā-gašči, ƞənā-gašči, ƞənā-gašči, always go.PRES-3SG always go.PRES-3SG go.CONV.PAST go.CONV.PAST go.CONV.PAST čō ƞənnē-ni. always go.PRES-3SG

‘Then Manga Merge rose and went again. Oh, he goes. He always goes, he always goes… and then (lit. “having gone, and gone, and gone”) he goes (again). (OS-N 1: 392–394)

(9) Čō naura-mi, čō ƞənnē-ni, čō ƞənnē-ni, čō ƞənnē-ni, always go.ahead-CONV always go.PRES-3SG always go.PRES-3SG always go.PRES-3SG čō ƞənnē-ni, čō ƞənnē-ni, ƞənnē-ni xaidu dabda-xa-nē. always go.PRES-3SG always go.PRES-3SG go.PRES-3SG go.PRES-3SG where be.defeated-PAST-3SG

‘Going ahead, he just goes’, and goes, and goes, towards the place where he had been defeated.’ (PN 6ab: 588)

However, the motion verbs are not the only verbs that can be repeated:

(10) Šrī-si-či, Šrī-si-či, Šrī-si-či, Šrī-si-či, mōno-mōno pant-PRES-3SG breathe-PRES-3SG pant-PRES-3SG pant-PRES-3SG self-self

dapa-xam-baři e-si-či attō, tari čō nāmali-gašči keep-PAST-ACC-REFL.PL NEG-PRES-3PL release so always grip-CONV.PAST ili-xa-či, Šrī-si-či. pant-PRES-3SG stay-PAST-3PL

(Two wrestling men) are panting, and panting, and panting, they have seized each other and do not release, so keeping each other they are standing, panting.’ (PN 6ab: 638)

As far as I know, such lengthy repetitions are not typical for neighbouring languages and, so, seem to be a peculiar trait of the narrative tradition of Uiltas.

2.3 ‘Each’ with temporal nouns
The reduplication of temporal nouns such as ‘day’, ‘year’, or names of seasons means ‘each’:

\[\text{In this case, flies: the character is flying on the back of a bird.}\]
‘Every autumn they put drag-nets on that river’ (P: 2)

‘every day (they have) fresh fish’ (OS-N 3: 48)

2.4 Distributivity

Another use of reduplicated nouns, close to that described in the preceding section, is to express distributivity (cf. Hungarian example 5 above and Rozhanski 2011: 62–63 for a typological overview of this use):

‘Let’s hack at three trees each’ (PN 6: 89)

‘There are many sky people, each on their land, each live by themselves, each by their own strength’ (PN 6: 461)

The reflexive stem mōna, when reduplicated, can mean not only ‘each separately’, but also ‘each other’, see example (10).

3. Object + Verb constructions

Perhaps the most frequent etymological figures in Uilta are those of the type “Object + Verb”, that is, those constructions that most often fall under this term in the studies of classical Greek literature. The range of roots that can be used in them is large enough — though maybe still not all roots would sound equally natural here.

By far the most frequent roots are mō ‘wood’ ans mū ‘water’; the derived verbs mean, respectively, ‘fetch wood’ and ‘fetch water’: 
Similar examples are attested in Tungusic languages of the lower Amur:

(16) Ulcha

\[M\text{\textbar}w\text{\textbar} m\text{\textbar}li-s=d\text{\textbar}, \ m\text{\textbar}w-a \ m\text{\textbar}li-s-da \ b\dd{\text{\textbar}}, \ b\dd{\text{\textbar}}l\dd{\text{\textbar}}\text{\textbar}c\dd{\text{\textbar}}\text{\textbar}^3.\]

\begin{align*}
\text{water-ACC} & \quad \text{water-PRES-2SG=PTCL} & \quad \text{wood-ACC} & \quad \text{wood-PRES-2SG=PTCL} & \quad \text{we help.PRES} \\
\end{align*}

‘When you go to fetch water or to bring wood, we’ll help (you)’ (Sunik 1985: 91/147)

Cf. also an example from Negidal: \textit{m\textbarw\textbar m\textbarli\textbarc\textbaran} (Khasanova, Pevnov 2003: text 7). This indicates that FE with these two roots are common for this whole area.

The next example, where the verb \textit{m\textbarlo\textbar-} ‘fetch water’ is used without object, shows that the object in such constructions is not obligatory. Thus, the use of FE is not syntactically constrained; they rather bear some rhetorical function, or — as it is probably the case of \textit{m\textbaro} and \textit{m\textbaru} — are just set expressions.

(17) \textit{\textbar\textbar g\textbar\textbar da \ \textbar\textbar k\textbar\textbar t\textbar\textbar m\textbarlo\textbar-x\textbar\textbar-ni\ldots \ uni\textbar\textbar m\textbarli\textbar-si\textbar\textbar ni.}

\begin{align*}
\text{here one woman fetch.water-PAST-3SG} & \quad \text{river-ALL fetch.water-PAST-3SG} \\
\end{align*}

‘Here a woman went to bring water… she fetches it from the river’, lit. ‘goes for water to the river’ (PN: 3b: 97)

Below are some examples with other roots.

(18) \textit{s\textbarl\textbar\textbar t\textbar\textbar a \ s\textbarl\textbar\textbar t\textbar\textbar u\textbar\textbar-xa\textbar\textbar-ni=nd\textbar\textbar t\textbar\textbar t\textbar\textbar k\textbar\textbar t\textbar\textbar t\textbar\textbar u\textbar\textbar-x\textbar\textbar-ni=nd\textbar\textbar...}

\begin{align*}
\text{charcoal.ACC} & \quad \text{charcoal-CAUS-PAST-3SG=PTCL} & \quad \text{clothes.ACC} & \quad \text{dress.CAUS-PAST-3SG=PTCL} \\
\end{align*}

‘he prepared charcoal… he dressed clothes’ (I: 64)

(19) \textit{Tama\textbar\textbar c\textbar\textbar u \ musim\textbar\textbar b\textbar\textbar a \ musin\textbar\textbar ji\textbar\textbar -c\textbar\textbar i, \ solim\textbar\textbar b\textbar\textbar a \ soli\textbar\textbar c\textbar\textbar i,}

\begin{align*}
\text{then} & \quad \text{musi-ACC} & \quad \text{musi-VBLZ.PRES-3PL} & \quad \text{soli-ACC} & \quad \text{soli-VBLZ.PRES-3PL} \\
\text{monim\textbar\textbar b\textbar\textbar a} & \quad \text{monni\textbar\textbar c\textbar\textbar i,} & \quad \text{xaikk\textbar\textbar dopp\textbar\textbar-ni} & \quad \text{g\textbar\textbar m} & \quad \text{bargi\textbar\textbar c\textbar\textbar i,} \\
\text{moni-ACC} & \quad \text{moni.VBLZ.PRES-3PL} & \quad \text{all.sorts} & \quad \text{food.ACC-3SG} & \quad \text{all} & \quad \text{cook.PRES-3PL} \\
\text{arakk\textbar\textbar e} & \quad \text{ga\textbar\textbar ji\textbar\textbar c\textbar\textbar i.} & \quad \text{alcohol.ACC} & \quad \text{bring.PRES-3PL} \\
\end{align*}

\[3\text{ As suggested by one the reviewers, this is an error and the correct form should be \textit{b\textbarlo\textbarc\textbar-pu ‘help.PRES-1PL’.}]}
‘Then they make musi, soli, moni (national dishes) they cook every sort of food, buy alcohol’ (description of a bear feast) (AN 4: 10)

Note, however, that *doppē dēp-* is not ‘make food’, but ‘eat food’:

(20) «Xai-wa-ddā umi-nda-u, ḗ-gočči doppē=ddō ḗmū-yu» —
what-ACC-PTCL drink-AND-IMP enter-CONV.PAST food-ACC=PTCL eat.LAND-IMP
unži-ni ḗktə-ŋu-či.
say.PRES-3PL woman-AL-3PL

‘Go and drink something, come in and eat something’ (lit. ‘go and eat food’),
— said the woman (PN: 7-8: 241).

With the root *andaxa* ‘guest’, the FE construction *andaxa andaxarrēni* means ‘he regales guests’ (Ikegami 2007: 84). With *boiŋš* ‘wild beast’ it means, quite expectedly, ‘to hunt; to kill animals’, cf. an example (Ibid.):

(21) *dundū-ŋi-w*⁴ boiŋš-wə-n boiŋš-xən=do
earth-AL-1SG beast-ACC-3SG kill.beast-PAST=PTCL

‘he hunted beasts of my earth’ (I: 86)

See also example (6), where the verb *bojou* ‘kill bears’ is formed from *bojo* ‘bear’.

There also exists the verbal stem *suydattama-* ‘to fish’ from *suydatta* ‘fish’ (Magata 1981: 198), though there are no attested examples of its use, either with a cognate object or without it; the usual way to say ‘catch fish’ is *suydattā wā-*., lit. ‘kill fish’.

Note that different nominal roots form verbs in different ways. For instance, for *boiŋš* ‘beast’ the verbal stem is identical, and for *bojo* ‘bear’ it is *bojou-* , with a suffix similar to the Causative marker. Also, three names of traditional Uilta dishes, *musi, soli* and *moni* all form verbs differently: *musin-ži, soli-ču-* and *moni-* with a zero suffix.

4. Subject + Verb

Unlike similar constructions with an object, the etymological figures that have a noun as a subject of a cognate verb are much more restricted in their use. They always denote natural, in particular weather, phenomena, such as *tugdō tugčěni* ‘it rains’ (lit. ‘rain rains’) or *simana simannēni* lit. ‘snow snows’¹⁵ (note that *bū tugčěni* and *bō simannēni* lit. ‘sky rains/snows’ are also possible; see Ikegami 1997: 184, 212). Cf. Clary 89–99 about similar uses in old Indo-European languages.

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⁴ This is an Evenki form (we are grateful to one of the reviewers for this comment).

⁵ Examples suggested by Prof. Toshiro Tsumagari.
Below are some more examples.

(22) a. sūn sūnē-ţi-ni olo-mi  
   sun sun.PRES-INSTR-3SG be.frightened-CONV 
   ‘...being afraid of the light of the sun’ (I: 87)

b. sūn sūnē-ni-pači bī-ni  
   sun sun.PRES-3SG-like be.PRES-3SG 
   ‘as if the sun shines’ (when this woman appears) (‘日が照っているようだ’; Yamada 2014: 41/152)

(23) Dolbo-ni ottō-gi-ni — tawa tawannē-ni,  
   night-3SG become-COND-3SG fire fire.PRES-3SG 
   inaŋji ottō-gi-ni — tamna tamnē-ni.  
   night-3SG become-COND-3SG fog fog.PRES-3SG 
   ‘When a night comes — a fire blazes, when a day comes — a mist rises’ (PN 6: 632)

The latter example is a standard formula in epic tales to depict heroic battles that last several days.

5. Other forms of nouns + Verb

Besides subjects and objects, other nouns can also form etymological figures with related verbs. The most frequent among them are nouns in the Instrumental case:

(24) xai-ddōs daptum andu-mi, gōm ilda-ţi=mali ilţē-čići  
   what-PTCL food.ACC? make-CONV all fat-INST=only fat.PRES-3PL 
   goropči-nnē ilda-ţi ilţē-čići andu-či-či bi-ččići.  
   old-PERSON fat-INST fat.PRES-3PL make-ITER.PRES-3PL be-PAST 
   ‘Before, when people made any sort of food, they made it with fat’ (PN 5: 5).

(25) səlōma silopu-ţi silopu-la-xa-ni ča-nnē-pa  
   iron skewer-INST skewer-VBLZ-PAST-3SG that-PERSON-ACC 
   ‘He spitted that one on a skewer’ (PN 1: 170).

(26) pokko-ţi pokko-llē-ni  
   towel-INST headscarf-VBLZ.PRES-3SG 
   ‘he ties a head with a headscarf’ (Ikegami 1997: 163).

---

6 This form is not clear, but another possibility is that this is a converb: daptu-mi ‘eating’.
(27) bilātu-ži  

headscarf-INSTR  

‘…he tied a headscarf…’ (Ikegami 2007: 64)

Note that in the latter example, bilātu is a loanword from Russian plat(OK) ‘headscarf’.

Instrumental nouns may combine not only with a verb, but also with other noun in the Proprietive form:

(28) ...nā-nnē-ni  

kəsə-ži-ni  

kəsə-lu  

earth-PERSON-3SG  

voice-INSTR-3SG  

voice-PROPR  

‘…speaking with human voice’ (PN 2: 35).

Examples with nouns in other forms are much less frequent; however, they do exist:

(29) Urai-du  

urai-či-mari,  

suydattā  

wā-mari  

tollī-či  

dam-LOC  

net-VBLZ-CONV.PL  

fish.ACC  

kill-CONV.PL  

store.supplies.PRES-3PL  

tuwa  

daptu-buddōri.  

winter  

eat-PURP.REFL.PL  

‘Fishing with a net, catching fish, they store supplies to eat in winter’ (PN 3: 11; urai is a kind of a fishing-tackle).


This superlative FE consists of two identical nouns, the first of which has the suffix-duk.

It means “the best (or the most typical) N of all N’s”.

(30) Sān  

dərə-kkē-ni-ddō  

aja  

sōm o-čči  

xurē,  

tātā-kkē-ni  

sun  

face-PROL-3SG-PTCL  

good  

red  

become-PAST  

mountain  

that.far-PROL-3SG  

dətun-duk-dō  

dətu=ddō,  

jān-duk  

jān  

ŋōnə,  

xurē-ni  

marsh-DUK-PTCL  

marsh=PTCL  

glade-DUK  

glade  

light.forest  

mountain-3SG  

gəm  

ojo-ni  

bōri,  

xasini,  

boji.  

all  

on-3SG  

hill  

fir.wood  

dwarf.pine  

‘There is a very red hill (seen) against the background of the sun, over there are best marshes, best meadows, on the mountain there are hills, fir woods, dwarf pines’ (PN 7-8: 227).

(31) Amba-duk  

amba,  

nari-duk  

nari.  

evil.spirit-DUK  

evil.spirit  

human-DUK  

human  

‘It is an evil of the evils, a man of the men.’ (PN 8a: 152).
The ending -duk and evidently the whole construction is borrowed from Evenki, where -duk is a marker of the Ablative (corresponding to Uilta -du, -duki), cf. Sakhalin Evenki baran-duk baran ‘very much’, lit. ‘much of much’ (Bulatova 1999: 52/77).

7. Constructions with Present Participle

The Present Participle form can be a part of two types of etymological figures, as a subject and as an adverbial modifier of place.

It is necessary to note that Present Participle in Uilta, as in many Tungusic languages, is the same form as the Present tense of the verb (the same is true for the Past tense as well), that is, this stem may be used both finitely and non-finitely. However, this is not a case of reduplication, because the two words are clearly distinct both syntactically and morphologically (as participles, they can take suffixes of number and case, which is not possible for predicates).

Constructions with a Present Participle in the Nominative form plus a cognate verb mean ‘some do this, some do that’ and are often (though not obligatorily) used in series:

(32) mōnə-mōnə təwəwəri sobdərbi-gōčči dəpči-či, əlləutə: čai

self-self fire.ACC.REFL.PL fan-CONV.PAST eat.PRES-3PL very tea

ummi-ɬ — ummi, dəpči-ɬ — dəpči, akpani-ɬ — akpani.

drink.PRES-PL drink.PRES eat.PRES-PL eat.PRES lie.down.PRES-PL lie.down.PRES

‘Each one fanned his fire and (they) eat: some drink tea, some eat, some go to bed.’ (PN 4ab: 368)

This construction is standard in describing various sorts of festivities, when different people are engaged in different kinds of action. Example (33) is taken from a description of the bear feast, and (34) describes a festivity in a village:

(33) bojom-bo xupp-u-ri-du ... ęčččę-łnnę — ęčččę,

bear-ACC play-IMPERS-PRES-LOC wrestle.PRES-PERSON wrestle.PRES

pəki-łnnę — pəki, arakki ummi-łnnę — ummi,

dance.PRES-PERSON dance.PRES alcohol.ACC drink.PRES-PERSON drink.PRES

jajję-łnnę — jajję, sorimačči-łnnę — sorri

sing.PRES-PERSON sing.PRES fight.PRES-PERSON fight.PRES

‘When we celebrate a bear … some are wrestling, some are dancing, some are drinking alcohol, some are singing, some are fighting’ (lit. ‘wrestling ones wrestle, dancing ones dance…’) (AN 4: 9)
(34) *Aja bara nari-l: pauri-nnē — pauri, tuksē-nnē — tuksē,*
good many PERSON-PL swim.PRES-PERSON swim.PRES run.PRES-PERSON run.PRES  
ŋōččē-nnē — ŋōččē, tolokpinži-nnē — tolokpinži-ni,  
wrestle.PRES-PERSON wrestle.PRES jump.PRES-PERSON jump.PRES-3SG  
dərinži-nnē — dərinži.  
leap.PRES-PERSON leap.PRES  
‘There are very many people, some are swimming, some are running, some are wrestling, some are jumping, some are leaping’ (PN 4ab: 352)

When the Present Participle has the Prolative form, the whole construction means something like ‘whenever they want’ and is frequently used in descriptions of travels:

(35) *Aunžē-kkē-ni — aunžē, ĩŋžē-kkē-ni — ĩŋžē*  
spend.night.PRES-PROL-3SG spend.night.PRES spend.day.PRES-PROL-3SG spend.day.PRES  
o-mori ŋommē-či tari du-nnē.  
become-CONV.PL go.PRES-3PL that two-PERSON  
‘Somewhere they spend the night, somewhere they spend the day, so are travelling these two (men)’, or ‘When they need to spend the night, they spend the night, when they need to spend the day, they spend the day…’ (PN 4ab: 97)

8. Conclusion

In this paper I tried to present the most frequent types of etymological figures in Uilta. Undoubtedly, this account is not full. Some constructions may have not occurred in the texts, or their meaning was too unclear to say something definite about their use. In any case, it is clear that Uilta largely and variegately uses constructions with cognate words in its grammar, and, on the other hand, that at least many of Uilta FE well fit in the typological context.

Abbreviations

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<th>IMP</th>
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ウイルタ語の Figura Etymologica

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Figura etymologica という用語はギリシャ語およびラテン語詩研究で用いられるもので、通常は同一の語根を持ついくつかの語の組み合わせを示す。

本稿ではサハリンで話されるウイルタ語（ツングース諸語）の Figura etymologicaについて扱う。本研究は 1970 年代から 1990 年代にかけて記録されたウイルタ語南北方言によるフォークロア・テキストのコーパスに基づくものである。また、本稿では重層法も Figura etymologica の一タイプとみなす。ウイルタ語の重層形は継続、分配、強調などを表すのに用いられる。

ウイルタ語の、重層法を用いない Figura etymologica のうち、最も頻度が高いタイプは動詞とその目的語から構成される。こうした構造は異根の語幹を含むが、これら（「水」および「木」など）のうちいくつかは、アムール流域の方のツングース諸語にも見られるものである。動詞と同じ語幹の主語の組み合わせ（たとえば rain rains のような）の典型的な例は天候を表すものである。このほかの動詞と名詞が同一の語源である例として、最も頻度が高いのは道具を表す名詞である。さらに、現在分詞が同根の動詞とともに用いられた場合、「あるものは走り、あるものは踊る」あるいは「ある場所では立ち止まり、ある場所では泊まった」などの「自由選択」のようなものを表す。最後に、最上級を表す Figura etymologica は、エウェンキ語サハリン方言の奪格を借用したものであることを示す。