



Title	Figura Etymologica in Uilta
Author(s)	Gusev, Valentin; グセフ, ワレンチン
Citation	北方人文研究, 9, 59-74
Issue Date	2016-03-31
Doc URL	https://hdl.handle.net/2115/61293
Type	departmental bulletin paper
File Information	09_04_gusev.pdf



Figura Etymologica in Uilta¹

Valentin GUSEV

Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences

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*
 fether-DAT chain-INF
 ‘to fether in a fether’

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)

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. *ogromnyj-preogromnyj*
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 sing* 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 FEs 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 Poronaïsk, 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 əsi-ləkə gēda-gēda=ddā bəjē əsi-ni bəjə-u-rə.*
 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) *Nā-ru=ddə nā-ru, 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, *ηənə-* ‘go’. Very often these forms are accompanied by the adverb *čī* ‘so; for a long time’.

- (8) *Čōtīci, o, Maŋga Mərgə ili-gatči ɣənnē-ni ani=dda. O, ɣənnē-ni.*
 then oh M. M. rise-CONV.PAST go.PRES-3SG again=PTCL oh go.PRES-3SG
Čī ɣənnē-ni, čī ɣənnē-ni... ɣəna-gətči, ɣəna-gətči, ɣəna-gətči,
 always go.PRES-3SG always go.PRES-3SG go.CONV.PAST go.CONV.PAST go.CONV.PAST
čī ɣənnē-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) *Čī naura-mi, čī ɣənnē-ni, čī ɣənnē-ni, čī ɣənnē-ni,*
 always go.ahead-CONV always go.PRES-3SG always go.PRES-3SG always go.PRES-3SG
čī ɣənnē-ni, čī ɣənnē-ni, ɣənnē-ni xaidu dabda-xa-nē.
 always go.PRES-3SG always go.PRES-3SG go.PRES-3SG where be.defeated-PAST-3SG
 ‘Going ahead, he just goes², 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) *Āri-si-či, āri-si-či, āri-si-či, āri-si-či, mānə-mānə*
 pant-PRES-3SG breathe-PRES-3SG pant-PRES-3SG pant-PRES-3SG self-self
dapa-xam-bari ə-si-či attō, tari čī nāmali-gačči
 keep-PAST-ACC-REFL.PL NEG-PRES-3PL release so always grip-CONV.PAST
ili-xa-či, āri-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’:

² In this case, flies: the character is flying on the back of a bird.

- (11) *Ča uni-ki nōči bolon-bolon putatč-ūki-li bi-tči.*
 that.OBL river-PROL they autumn-autumn put.drag.net-HABIT-PL be-PAST
 ‘Every autumn they put drag-nets on that river’ (P: 2)

- (12) *inəŋ-inəŋi īmau sundatta*
 day-day fresh fish
 ‘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):

- (13) *Gēda-nnē ilā-ilā mō-wo xalžisu.*
 one-PERSON three-three tree-ACC hack.IMP.1PL
 ‘Let’s hack at three trees each’ (PN 6: 89)

- (14) *Bōkkennē=laka ... bara, mānə-mānə nā-duri, mānə-mānə*
 sky.people=PTCL many self-self earth-LOC.REFL.PL self-self
bī-či, mānə-mānə maŋga-žžēri.
 be.PRES-3PL self-self strong-INSTR.REFL.PL
 ‘There are many sky people, each on their land, each live by themselves, each by their own strength’ (PN 6: 461)

The reflexive stem *mānə*, 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’ and *mū* ‘water’; the derived verbs mean, respectively, ‘fetch wood’ and ‘fetch water’:

- (15) *Čadu o-gočči mō-ŋu-ddō-ni mō-li-si-ni,*
 there become-CONV.PAST wood-AL-DEST-3SG wood-VBLZ-PRES-3SG
mū-ŋu-ddō-ni mū-li-si-ni...
 water-AL-DEST-3SG water-VBLZ-PRES-3SG
 ‘Being there, he fetched wood, brought water.’ (PN 2: 123)

Similar examples are attested in Tungusic languages of the lower Amur:

- (16) Ulcha
Mū-wə mū-li-s=də, mō-wa mō-li-s-da bū bələčiči³.
 water-ACC water-PRES-2SG=PTCL wood-ACC wood-PRES-2SG=PTCL we help.PRES
 ‘When you go to fetch water or to bring wood, we’ll help (you)’ (Sunik 1985: 91/147)

Cf. also an example from Negidal: *mūwə mūličan* (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 *mūlə-* ‘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 *mō* and *mū* — are just set expressions.

- (17) *Ələ gədə əktə mūlə-xə-ni... uni-tai mūli-si-ni.*
 here one woman fetch.water-PAST-3SG river-ALL fetch.water-PAST-3SG
 ‘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) *səltā səlt-u-xa-ni=ndā... tətukkə təttū-xə-ni=ndā...*
 charcoal.ACC charcoal-CAUS-PAST-3SG=PTCL clothes.ACC dress.CAUS-PAST-3SG=PTCL
 ‘he prepared charcoal... he dressed clothes’ (I: 64)
- (19) *Tamačču musim-ba musin-ži-či, solim-ba soli-čči,*
 then musim-ACC musim-VBLZ.PRES-3PL soli-ACC soli-VBLZ.PRES.3PL
monim-ba monni-či, xaikkə dəppē-ni gəm bargi-či,
 moni-ACC moni.VBLZ.PRES-3PL all.sorts food.ACC-3SG all cook.PRES-3PL
arakkə gaži-či.
 alcohol.ACC bring.PRES-3PL

³ As suggested by one of the reviewers, this is an error and the correct form should be *bələčiči-pu* ‘help.PRES-1PL’.

‘Then they make *musi*, *solī*, *moni* (national dishes) they cook every sort of food, buy alcohol’ (description of a bear feast) (AN 4: 10)

Note, however, that *dəppē dəp-* is not ‘make food’, but ‘eat food’:

- (20) «*Xai-wa-ddā umi-nda-u, ī-gəčči dəppē=ddə dəmŋ-u*» —
 what-ACC-PTCL drink-AND-IMP enter-CONV.PAST food.ACC=PTCL eat.AND-IMP
unži-ni āktə-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 *bəiŋə* ‘wild beast’ it means, quite expectedly, ‘to hunt; to kill animals’, cf. an example (Ibid.):

- (21) *dundə-ŋi-w⁴ bəiŋə-wə-n bəiŋə-xən=də*
 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 *bəjəu-* ‘kill bears’ is formed from *bəjə* ‘bear’.

There also exists the verbal stem *suŋdattama-* ‘to fish’ from *suŋdatta* ‘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 *suŋdattā wā-*, lit. ‘kill fish’.

Note that different nominal roots form verbs in different ways. For instance, for *bəiŋə* ‘beast’ the verbal stem is identical, and for *bəjə* ‘bear’ it is *bəjəu-*, with a suffix similar to the Causative marker. Also, three names of traditional Uilta dishes, *musi*, *solī* and *moni* all form verbs differently: *musin-ži*, *solī-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 *tugdə tugžēni* ‘it rains’ (lit. ‘rain rains’) or *simana simannēni* lit. ‘snow snows’⁵ (note that *bō tugžēni* 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.

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 sūnnē-ži-ni olo-mi*
 sun sun.PRES-INSTR-3SG be.frightened-CONV
 ‘...being afraid of the light of the sun’ (I: 87)
- b. *sūn sūnnē-ni-ηəči 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
inəŋi 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-ddā dəptum andu-mi, gəm ilda-ži=mali ilžē-či*
 what-PTCL food.ACC⁶ make-CONV all fat-INSTR=only fat.PRES-3PL
goropči-nnē ilda-ži ilžē-či andu-či-či bi-čči.
 old-PERSON fat-INSTR 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) *sələmə silopu-ži silopu-la-xa-ni ča-nnē-pa*
 iron skewer-INSTR skewer-VBLZ-PAST-3SG that-PERSON-ACC
 ‘He spitted that one on a skewer’ (PN 1: 170).
- (26) *pəkkə-ži pəkkə-llē-ni*
 towel-INSTR 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: *dəptu-mi* ‘eating’.

- (27) *bilātu-ži bilātu-lla-uč-či-ni-ndā*
 headscarf-INSTR headscarf-VBLZ-CAUS-PAST-3SG-PTCL
 ‘...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 Proprietary 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, suḡdattā wā-mari talli-či*
 dam-LOC net-VBLZ-CONV.PL fish.ACC kill-CONV.PL store.supplies.PRES-3PL
tuwə dəptu-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).

6. Noun-duk + Noun: a superlative construction

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) *Sūn dərə-kkē-ni-ddē aja sām o-čči xurē, tāta-kkē-ni*
 sun face-PROL-3SG-PTCL good red become-PAST mountain that.far-PROL-3SG
dətuṅ-duk-dē dətu=ddē, jān-duk jān ḡṅṅə, xurē-ni
 marsh-DUK-PTCL marsh=PTCL glade-DUK glade light.forest mountain-3SG
gām ojo-ni bōri, xasiṅi, 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) *mānə-mānə tawwāri səbdərbi-gəčči dəpči-či, əllautə: čai*
 self-self fire.ACC.REFL.PL fan-CONV.PAST eat.PRES-3PL very tea
ummi-l — ummi, dəpči-l — dəpči, akpanži-l — akpanži.
 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) *bəjəm-bə xupp-u-ri-du ... ŋōččē-nnē — ŋōččē,*
 bear-ACC play-IMPERS-PRES-LOC wrestle.PRES-PERSON wrestle.PRES
pəkki-nnē — pəkki, arakkē ummi-nnē — ummi,
 dance.PRES-PERSON dance.PRES alcohol.ACC drink.PRES-PERSON drink.PRES
jājje-nnē — jajje, sorimačči-nnē — 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
ηōččē-nnē — ηōččē, 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, īηžē-kkē-ni — īηžē*
 spend.night.PRES-PROL-3SG spend.night.PRES spend.day.PRES-PROL-3SG spend.day.PRES
o-mori ηənnē-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

ACC	Accusative	IMP	Imperative
AL	alienated possession	IMPERS	Impersonal
ALL	Allative	INF	Infinitive
AND	Andative	INSTR	Instrumental
CAUS	Causative	ITER	Iterative
COND	Conditional	LOC	Locative
CONV	converb	NEG	negative verb
DAT	Dative	NOM	Nominative
DUK	Evenki ablative (- <i>duk</i>)	OBL	oblique form
HABIT	Habitual	PAST	Past tense

PERSON	suffix denoting persons	PTCL	particle
PL	Plural	PURP	Purposive form
PRES	Present	REFL	Reflexive
PROL	Prolative	SG	Singular
PROPR	Proprietary	VBLZ	verbalizer
PAST	Past		

References

- Asatrian, G. S.
 1989 Zametki ob etimologičeskikh figurakh v iranskom (Na materiale sogdijskoj versii Vessantara-Jātaka), in: *Patmabanasirakan handes / Istoriko-filologičeskij zhurnal*, vol. 3, 152–163.
- Benveniste, Emile.
 1968 Phraséologie poétique de l'Indo-Iranien, in: *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*. Paris, 1968, 73–79.
- Bulatova, Nadezhda
 1999 *Jazyk sakhalinskikh evenkov*. Sankt-Peterburg, 1999.
- Clary, Todd Christofer.
 2009 *Rhetoric and repetition: the figura etymologica in Homeric epic*. PhD dissertation. Cornell University.
- Fokos, David
 1932 Die etymologischen Figuren der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen, in: *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 12, 70–89.
- Gilyarova, Ksenija
 2010 “Takaja devochka-devochka”: Semantika reduplikacii suschestvitelnyx v russkoj razgovornoj reči i v jazyke interneta, in: *Kompjuternaja lingvistika i intellektual'nye texnologii* 9(16). Moskva, 90–96.
 2013 “Statja takaja statja”: ob odnom tipe reduplikacii v sovremennom russkom jazyke, in: *Kompjuternaja lingvistika i intellektual'nye texnologii* 12(19). Moskva.
- Gonda, J.
 1959 *Stylistic Repetition in the Veda*. Amsterdam.
- Ikegami, Jirô
 1997 ウイルタ語辞典.[A dictionary of Uilta]. Sapporo.
 2007 *Skazanija i legendy naroda uilta*. (Original edition: Ikegami, Jirô. 2002. *Uilta Oral Literature: A collection of texts*. Revised and Enlarged Edition (ELPR A2-013).)
- Jakobson, Roman.
 1987 Osnova slavjanskogo sravnitel'nogo literaturovedenija, in: Roman Jakobson. *Raboty po poetike*. Moscow, 23–79. (Original English publications: The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature, in: *Harvard Slavic Studies*, vol. I. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1953; Roman Jakobson. *Selected Writings, VI: Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads*. Berlin; New York; Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers, 1985, 1–64.)
- Landgraf, G.
 1881 De figures etymologicis linguae Latinae, in: *Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis*.
- Khasanova, Marina and Aleksandr Pevnov
 2003 *Mify i skazki negidal'cov*. [ツングース言語文化論集 21].

- Magata, Hisaharu.
 1981 *A dictionary of the Uilta language*. Abashiri.
- Malceva, Vera.
 2005 Konstrukcii s povtorom glagola v infinitive v ruskom jazyke, in: *IV tipologičeskaja škola: Materialy lekcij i seminarov*. Moskva, 231–235.
- Marouzeau, J.
 1933 *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*. Paris.
- Ó hUiginn, Ruairí.
 1983 On the Old Irish Figura Etymologica, in: *Eriu*, 34, 123–133.
- Petrova, Taisija
 1967 *Jazyk orokov (ul'ta)*. Leningrad.
- Reckendorf, H.
 1909 *Über Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen; ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*. Giessen.
- Rozhanski, Fedor
 2011 *Reduplikacija. Opyt tipologičeskogo issledovanija*. Moskva.
- Štech, Svatopluk
 1967 Zur Gestalt der etymologischen Figur in verschiedenen Sprachen, in: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. Bd. 81. S. 134-151.
- Sunik, Orest
 1985 *Ul'chskij jazyk: issledovanija i materialy*. Leningrad.
- Yamada, Yoshiko (ed. end tr.)
 2014 Tale of *Singuni*. [ツングース言語文化論集 58].

ウイльта語の *Figura Etymologica*

ワレンチン・グセフ

ロシア科学アカデミー言語学研究所

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льта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льта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、本稿では重綴法も *Figura etymologica* の一タイプとみなす。ウイльта語の重綴形は継続、分配、強調などを表わすのに用いられる。

ウイльта語の、重綴法を用いない *Figura etymologica* のうち、最も頻度の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、アムール下流域のほかのツングース諸語にも見られるものである。動詞と同じ語源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わすものである。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わす名詞である。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」のようなものを表わす。最後に、最上級を表わす *Figura etymologica* は、エウエンキ語サハリン方言の尊格を借用したものであることを示す。