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Preface

This book is the first substantial reference grammar of Udihe (Udehe, Udeghe), a little studied language of the Tungus branch of Altaic. At present Udihe is spoken as a first language by about 100 people in the Russian Far East. The language lacks a standardized writing system, and is only occasionally taught in schools. This grammar describes the so-called Southern dialect of Udihe, spoken on the banks of the Bikin and Iman rivers. The Northern dialect, spoken on the banks of the Khor, Anyui and Samarga rivers, differs only slightly.

Most of the examples cited in the current study are the result of fieldwork conducted between 1989 and 1997 in the settlement of Krasnyi Yar on the river Bikin. They are largely excerpts from original Udihe texts. Others are sentences produced by native speakers either spontaneously or in response to questions posed in Russian by the linguist conducting the interview. Although the latter examples may not be spontaneous, we believe they nevertheless encapsulate an essential linguistic competence.

Although this study is not meant as a comparative grammar of the two Udihe dialects, we have also taken a few examples from the Northern dialect. They are used, firstly, to illustrate slight dialectal divergences, and secondly – if the dialects do not differ on the point in question – to provide particularly illustrative examples. Examples in the Northern dialect are taken from published materials, in which case the appropriate reference is provided. We have used the following abbreviations to cite some of the sources of the sentence examples, followed by the relevant page numbers.

K = Kormušin (1998)
SK = Simonov and Kjalundzjuga (1998)
SKX = Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998–1999)

The materials of the Northern dialect are cited using a phonological transcription. This differs from the transcription originally used in the sources, which was partly phonetic and in most cases employed the Cyrillic alphabet.

Sentence examples are provided in phonological transcription with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and functionally equivalent English translations. Words in the translations that are absent in the example are bracketed, except for personal pronouns. For the sake of economy, the personal pronouns, which are not marked for gender in Udihe, are all translated as ‘he’. In the glosses the 1st person personal pronoun is indicated as ‘me’. Russian proper names, and other terms that remain untranslated, are cited in the international transliteration system, while local names are transliterated into English as they are found in English-language geographical reference books. For polysemantic Udihe words the glosses give the meaning appropriate to the given context, so the same word may be glossed in several ways. For example, the Udihe word *egdi* may be glossed either as ‘many’ or as ‘much’, and the postposition *edeisini* may be glossed either as ‘if’ or ‘when’, depending on the context.

Morphemes are separated with hyphens in both the Udihe text and the glosses. Stems are glossed by English lexical words, while other morphemes are glossed with abbreviations of category labels. When more than one English word is required to translate a Udihe word, they are linked by a period. The grammatical category that is not expressed by means of a separate morpheme is not reflected in the glosses, partly for reasons of economy, and partly because the decision on the presence or

absence of the morphological null may sometimes be controversial. However, when two separate morphs are contracted to one for phonological reasons, this is indicated by a period in the glosses. Thus in the following examples convention (a) will be used instead of (b), or (c).

(a)	*Sagdä-ŋi-mi*	*mo:*	*bede*	*ute-ne:-mi (← utene-e-mi).*
	old-V-INF	tree	like	rotten.tree-V.PAST-1SG
	'I grew decrepit like an old tree.'			
(b)	*Sagdä-ŋi-mi*	*mo:*	*bede*	*ute-ne:-mi.*
	old-V-INF	tree:NOM:SG	like	rotten.tree-V:PAST-1SG
(c)	*Sagdä-ŋi-mi*	*mo:-∅*	*bede*	*ute-ne:-mi.*
	old-V-INF	tree-NOM:SG	like	rotten.tree-V:PAST-1SG

The period is also used for those few «portmanteau» morphs that do not result from phonological contraction at the synchronic level, for example, *-li* <CC.SS> (Conditional converb, same-subject), and *-lie* <CC.SS.PL> (Conditional Converb, same-subject, Plural).

Examples that only make up a fragment of a sentence are glossed in arrow brackets. In the translations of some examples we have included a grammatical specification of the meaning in round brackets. This is not intended as a gloss, but rather to facilitate understanding of the translation, for example:

zugdi-tigi 'to the house (LAT)' or <house-LAT>

Unlike nominal stems, bare verbal stems are cited with a hyphen, for example *zü:-* 'saw' (a verb) versus *zü:* 'saw' (a noun). Embedded clauses are indicated by square brackets.

The grammar is intended to be a more or less comprehensive description. It follows the traditional structure: general introduction – phonology – morphology – syntax – texts – vocabulary – indexes. Much use is made of cross-references between the various chapters and sections. The morphological description is organized around inflectional and derivational forms. The functions of some of these may be addressed in separate sections within the corresponding chapters. The syntactic part is mostly organized around various syntactic units such as, for example, the noun phrase, relative clause, adverbial clause and so on, but in some cases we also follow the function-to-form approach.

The grammar is not biased towards any particular theoretical framework, although in several cases we choose to explain within the text the basis of the notions used in the description. The terminology is intended to be theory-independent. The names of particular grammatical categories typical of Udihe are capitalized; adjectives derived from these, as well as general grammatical and semantic notions, are in lower case, for example, «Possessive suffix» (the suffix of the grammatical category Possessive) and «possessive construction», «possessive form», and «possessive meaning».

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Abbreviations

A	Agent (semantic role)
ABL	Ablative case
ACC	Accusative case
ADJ	Adjectival derivational affix
AL	Alienable possession
AUG	Augmentative numeral
B	Benefactive (semantic role)
CAUS	Causative
CC	Conditional Converb
CIR	Circumstance (semantic role)
COL	Collective numeral
COM	Comitative
COND	Conditional
CONT	Contrastive focus particle
DAT	Dative case
DEC	Decausative
DES	Desiderative
DESN	Desiderative noun
DEST	Destinative case
DIV	Diversative
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Directive
DIS	Disjunction
DIST	Distributive
DP	Destinative Participle
DUR	Durative
E	Essive (semantic role)
EV	Evidential
EX	Exclusive
EXP	Experiential
EXPR	Expressive
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
FP	Future Participle
IC	Imperfective Converb
IM	Imperfective
IMI	Impersonal Infinitive
IMP	Imperative
IN	Inclusive
INC	Inchoative
IND	Indefinite pronoun
INF	Infinitive
INT	Intentional

INTN	Intensive
INTER	Interjection
INST	Instrumental case
HAB	Habitual
HORT	Hortative
L	Location (semantic role)
LAT	Lative case
LOC	Locative case
MULT	Multiplicative numeral
N	Nominal derivational affix
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative case
0	epenthetic vowel
O	Object (direct object)
ORD	Ordinal numeral
P	Patient/theme (semantic role)
PART	Partitive
PAS	Passive
PC	Perfective Converb
PERM	Permissive
PL	Plural
PP	Past Participle
PRES	Present
PROV	Pro-verb
PROL	Prolative case
PROP	Proprietive
PRP	Present Participle
PURP	Purposive Converb
REC	Reciprocal
REF	Reflexive
REP	Repetitive
RES	Resultative
REST	Restrictive numeral
S	Subject
SEM	Semelfactive
SING	Singulative
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SG	Singular
SS	Same-subject
V	Verb, verbal derivational affix
VOC	Vocative

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. The Udihe language and its genetic affiliation

Udihe (other spellings used are *Udehe, Udegej, Udege, Udeghe, Udige, Udighe, Ude*) is a Tungus language spoken as a first language by approximately 100 people, all over 50 years old, in the southern part of the Russian Far East (see 1.2.3 for more information on the number of speakers and 1.2.4 on its geographical location). Udihe is divided into two dialects each with several local variants (1.3). Despite a lack of official status or written tradition, several attempts have been made to create a writing system for use in schools (1.6.2, 1.6.3).

The Tungus (Tungus-Manchu) language family is widely assumed to be a branch of Altaic. The scheme in (1) represents the classification of the Tungus languages as accepted in Vasilevič (1960) and Sunik (1962: 16–20, 1968: 54, 1997: 154). The alternative classifications either group together the Manchu and Southern Tungus languages (Cincius 1949; Benzing 1955: 9–10; Menges 1978: 370; Comrie 1981: 58) or treat Northern Tungus, Southern Tungus, and Manchu as three independent branches (Avrorin 1959–1961). On some other classifications and/or comparisons between them see Menges (1968: 25–30), Ikegami (1974), Doerfer (1978), Vovin (1993), and Miller (1994).

(1) Tungus-Manchu languages

- Tungus languages
  - Northern (or: Siberian) group
    - Evenk, Even (Lamut), Solon, Neghidal
  - Southern (or: Amur, Nani) group
    - Nanai subgroup
      - Ulcha, Nanai, Orok
    - Udihe subgroup
      - Oroch, Udihe
- Manchu languages
  - Manchu, Jurchen

The closest linguistic relative of Udihe is the Oroch language, spoken in roughly the same region. In fact, until the beginning of the twentieth century the Udihe were thought to be part of the Oroch people, and were referred to as Orochs or Orochons (1.7.1). However, closer examination of the linguistic and anthropological data, as well as the oral tradition (see, for example, the collection of Oroch folklore in Avrorin and Lebedeva (1978)), suggests that they are in fact two different ethnic groups. On the phonetic and morphological correspondences between the Oroch and Udihe languages see Cincius (1949) and Kormušin (1998: 4–6).

1.2. The Udihe people

The modern Udihe live in settlements on the banks of the rivers of the Ussuri taiga. When first

discovered, they were engaged in hunting, fishing, and the trading of furs (14.3). They subsequently took up agriculture, and in the second half of the twentieth century assimilated rapidly with Russian settlers, when their traditional way of life largely fell apart. However, elements of the traditional material culture survive, and many modern Udihe have retained animistic beliefs (1.4.5). Physically the Udihe are of Mongoloid anthropological type, and belong to the so-called Baikal type of the Mongoloid race. Certain southern (Manchu) anthropological components are also present.

1.2.1. The ethnonym *Udihe*

The Russian ethnographer Brailovskij was the first to suggest that the term *Udihe* be used as the official name of the people (Brailovskij 1901), see 1.7.1. It comes from the self-designation of the Udihe people in the northern dialect: *udihe*. In the southern dialect it corresponds to the word *udie*, from which originates another ethnonym sometimes used in the literature (*Ude*). On the different spelling variants see 1.1.

The ethnonym *udihe* ~ *udie* is of ancient origin and is attested in medieval Chinese sources (see Krušanov 1989 and references therein). However, its etymology is debatable. According to one opinion (Dolgix 1958), it goes back to the local hydronyms Ud, Uda, or Udil. Alternatively, it may be derived from the Jurchen *udaga* 'wild, barbaric, uncultured' (Arsen'ev 1916; Menges 1968: 130; Krušanov 1989). This name was used by Jurchens to refer to all the Tungus peoples of the Southern Primorje region who lived on the edge of the Jurchen empire (1.4.2). Is is also worth mentioning that phonetically similar tribal names are known for the neighboring Tungus peoples, for example, the Neghidal tribe Uddan, the Nanai tribe Udinka, and the Ulcha tribe Udi. Menges (1968) did not exclude the possibility that the component *-dige/-dihe* may be related to the Plural marker *-ziga.* Finally, Grebenščikov (1912) associated the ethnonym Udihe with the name of a Manchu clan *we-cze* (*wu-je*) with the translation 'forest people', the idea being elaborated in Hiu Lie (1978).

1.2.2. Other names

When referring to the Udihe in the nineteenth century literature, the names Orochons, Oroches, and Tazes were mostly used. The term «Orochon», as well as the name of the related Tungus people Orok and Oroch, comes from the Tungus word *oron* 'reindeer' (Cincius 1977: 24–25). «Orochon» literally means 'reindeer-breeders' (*-čen* is a common Tungus suffix of *Nomina actionis*), although the breeding of reindeer was not an occupation characteristic of the Udihe.

The name Taz is used to refer to all groups of Udihe (for example, Brailovskij 1901). At present it is officially used only in connection with a group of people, numbering about 300 in the 1950s, who live in the Olginski district of the Primorje region. This group includes the Nanai and some of the southern Udihe, who have both undergone complete assimilation, first to the Chinese, and later to the Russians (Belikov and Perexval'skaja 1994). The ethnonym Taz goes back to the Chinese *t'a cze* 'aliens'(< *Jü-pi T'a-cze* 'fish skin aliens') (Menges 1968: 131) which the Chinese use to denote all the peoples of the Lower Amur.

The neighboring peoples refer to the Udihe by the various names cited in (2), after Krušanov (1989):

(2)	people	name referring to Udihe
	Korean	Olčan
	Evenk	Lamka, Lamunka

Nanai	Namunka
Nivkh	Tozung
Manchu, Nanai, Ulcha	Kjaka, Kekar, Kjakar, Kjakala, Kjaxala

The ethnonym Kjaka, Kekar, Kjakar, Kjakala, Kjaxala, Kekal, etc. is known from Chinese sources, where it refers to the Tungus population of the Primorje region. It is also used to refer to one of the Oroch dialects. It most probably goes back to the name of a large Udihe clan, the *Kä* (see 1.2.5), and the common Tungus-Manchu stem *xala* 'family, clan, relatives' (Cincius 1975–1977: 459–460), see Krušanov (1989) and the references therein. According to another etymology (Menges 1968: 131) it may go back to the Nivkh *kjeqāř* 'dwarf'. The words Lamunka and Namunka literally mean 'people living on the sea'.

1.2.3. Population figures

Exact data about the number of Udihe before the late nineteenth century is missing. It is known that the Udihe population was considerably reduced as a result of several epidemics in the second half of the nineteenth century (in particular the smallpox epidemic of 1877). The data of the official population censuses in the 20th century are presented in table 1.

Table 1. Population figures

census	number of Udihe in Russia/the USSR	number of Udihe and Oroch together	number of speakers of Udihe	number of speakers for whom Udihe is their first language
1897		2,407		
1926	1,357	2,003		
1959	1,444			1,165 (73.7%)
1970	1,469		937 (63.8 %)	809 (55.1 %)
1979	1,551		582 (37.5 %)	480 (31.0 %)
1989	2,011		528 (26.2 %)	[100] (5%)

No official data is available on the numbers who at present consider Udihe their first language. The number 100 is an informal guess (cf. 80 speakers suggested in Girfanova 1994).

On the sociolinguistic status of Udihe see 1.6.4.

1.2.4. Geographical location

In the nineteenth century the Udihe lived throughout a vast area between the rivers Ussuri and Amur, and the Sea of Japan. They live on the right-hand tributaries of the Ussuri (the Iman, Bikin, Khor, and Vaku), of the Amur (the Anyui and Khungari), and of the Tunguska (the Kur and Urmi), as well as on the sea shore and on some rivers that run into the Tatar Strait (the Samarga, Nelma, Edinka, etc.).

The Udihe no longer live in the coastal area, but are scattered over an extensive territory in the Khabarovsk region and on the Ussuri taiga, and in the northern part of the Primorje region. The distribution of the modern Udihe among the administrative regions is almost equal: in 1979 there

were 660 people in the Primorje region and 609 people in the Khabarovsk region. Basically, the Primorje Udihe (with the exception of the Udihe from Agzu) speak the southern dialect, and the Khabarovsk Udihe the northern dialect (1.3.1). On the names of the Udihe villages, and the Udihe clans that live in them, see 1.2.5.

1.2.5. Udihe clans

In the nineteenth century, the Udihe used to live within eight territorial groups, each of which was subdivided into several clans. Most of the territorial groups took their name from the local river, adding the suffix *-ŋkA*. In the modern language this suffix still derives nouns with the meaning 'inhabitant of X' (5.1.1.3). The tribal names are formed in the same way from the names of smaller rivers, or they may be formed with the Plural suffix *-ziga* (4.1.2.1). Nowadays these tribal names are used only as family names. According to Kormušin (1998: 6), the average membership of a clan was about 50 people.

Three of the territorial groups have ceased to exist, while the others are greatly mixed. The table below shows the territorial groups, the corresponding clans (clan names are given in transliteration from Russian), and the larger settlements of their modern descendants (adapted from Perexval'skaja 1994).

Table 2. Udihe clans

Group	territory	clans	modern settlements
Imanka	river Iman	Ajanka, Kja, Kjalunziga, Sigde, Kemenke	Vostretsovo, Melnichnoye, Novopokrovka, Dalni Kut (Krasnoarmeisk district)
Bikinka	river Bikin	Ajanka, Kaza, Amaziga, Kimonko (moved from Khor), Suljajnziga, Suanka, Sigde (moved from Iman), Pionka, Kja, Kjalunziga	Krasnyi Yar, Yasenevyi, Sobolinyi, Luchegorsk (Pozharsk district)
Xunka	river Khor	Bese, Kimonko, Kjalunziga, Suljajnziga	Gwasyugi (Lazo district)
Uninka	river Anyui	Amulinka, Kimonko, Suljajnziga, Kjalunziga	Rassvet, Arsenyevo (Nanai district)
Samarginka	river Samarga	Ajanka, Kaza, Kamanziga, Kimonko (moved from Khor), Pudzja, Samanziga	Agzu (Ternei district)
Namunka	sea coast, Ternei district	Ajanka, Samanziga, Kja, Kemenke, Suljajnziga	
Xu	river	Amulinka,	

nga ke	Khungari		Kamanzига, Kanchuga, Kjalunziga	
Kur-Urmi		rivers Kur and Urmi	Kjalunziga, Amulinka, Sigde	(Kukan)

The Namunka and Khungake groups no longer exist, although they were mentioned by Schneider (1936) in the 1930s. Some of the coastal Udihe (the Namunka) assimilated to the Russians, while others moved to Bikin and joined the Bikin Udihe in the 1950s. Nothing is known about their language (or dialect). The Khungari group had apparently always been small, and assimilated to the Russian population. The Kur-Urmi group, which had always lived as close neighbors to the Nanai, Evenki, and others, is practically extinct as well: its only surviving members are two elderly brothers in the village of Kukan (Perexval'skaja 1994: 79).

There is some evidence that a small group of Udihe was found on Sakhalin island in the middle of the nineteenth century (see Podmaskin 1991: 3 and references therein), however, information about this is scarce.

1.3. Udihe dialects

Although there are so few speakers of Udihe, the language shows some dialectal division. Sunik (1968) noted that the divergence between dialects is significant, an idea that originated with the anthropologist Arsen'ev (1948–1949). In reality the divergences are minor (cf. Schneider 1936: 4) and the dialects are almost completely mutually intelligible. The greatest divergences are observed at the phonological and lexical levels (1.3.2), while the morphological and syntactic difference is insignificant.

Since there has been no standardization of the language, at present all the dialects have equal status. In the 1930s, when attempts were made to create a writing system, to publish textbooks and pieces of literature, and to teach Udihe in schools (see 1.6.2, 1.6.3), the Khor dialect was chosen as the standard literary language.

1.3.1. Dialect division

If we do not take into account the language of the two remaining speakers of the Kur-Urmi group (1.2.5), about which very little is known, the subdivision of the Udihe dialects may be represented as follows:

(i) The Southern dialect, that is, the dialect of the groups Bikinka and Imanka spoken in the Primorje region.

(ii) The Northern dialect, that is, the dialect of the groups Xunka, Uninka, and Samarginka spoken in the Khabarovsk region.

According to Sunik (1968: 231, 1997: 248), Girfanova (1994) and Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998: 14), the main subdivisions of the Udihe dialects are as follows: (i) the dialect of Khor and Anyui; (ii) the dialect of Bikin and Iman; and (iii) the dialect of Samarga and Khungari. Kormušin (1998) considers the language of Samarga, on the one hand, and of Bikin and Iman, on the other, as different local idioms of the same dialect. However, there are both linguistic and geographical reasons to believe that the language of the Khor, Anyui, and Samarga Udihe represents one dialectal system (cf. Perexval'skaja 1994) which differs in a number of linguistic features from the Bikin-Iman dialect (see 1.3.2). The Khungari group no longer exists (1.2.5).

1.3.2. Some divergent features of the dialects

1.3.2.1. Correspondence of the pharyngeal and laryngeal elements

The most important phonological difference between the dialects concerns the presence/absence of the postvocalic pharyngeal consonant *h*, which goes back historically to the intervocalic **-s-* (sometimes **-x-*). This pharyngeal consonant is still preserved in the Northern dialect, although even there a tendency is observed to lose it (Kormušin 1998). The partial loss of the pharyngeal consonants was mentioned for the Northern dialect as early as Sunik (1968: 216). In the Southern dialect the pharyngeal consonant was lost with the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; and as a result, secondary long vowels have appeared. Examples of the dialect correspondences are:

(3)	Northern	Southern	
	ahnta	*a:nta*	'woman'
	imah	*ima:*	'snow'
	geh	*ge:*	'bad'
	imoh	*imo:*	'fat'

While the pharyngeal appears intervocalically in the Northern dialect, in the Southern dialect it falls out. The complex *VhV* in the Northern dialect corresponds to a vowel cluster, or to a long vowel, cf.:

(4)	Northern	Southern	
	nühö	*nüö* > *nö:*	'sable'
	ahikta	*aikta*	'pine tree'
	tehu	*teu* > *tu:*	'all'

The loss of the pharyngeal consonants in the Southern dialect has led to phonological changes in some grammatical morphemes. For example, the Northern subject agreement/possessive affix of the 1st person Singular *-i* and of the 2nd person Singular *-hi* formally coincide in the Southern dialect (both sound *-i*). The Northern 2nd person Plural inflection *-hu* and 1st person Plural Inclusive *-u* both correspond to Southern *-u*. In the Northern dialect the Past tense marker for verbal stems that end in a non-high vowel is *-hA-,* while in the Southern dialect the Past tense is marked by the lengthening of the stem-final vowel in this case (see 7.1.2), cf. the Northern *olokto-ho-ni* and the Southern *olokto:-ni* 'he cooked' (where *olokto-* is 'cook', *-ho-* is the Past tense marker, and *-ni* is the 3rd person Singular agreement marker). After *u*-final stems, the Northern Past marker *-hA-* (*-he-*) corresponds to the Southern *-o:-*, cf. the Northern *bu-he-ni* and the Southern *bu-o:-ni* 'he gave'.

Certain differences between the Northern and Southern dialects are also observed with respect to the realization of the laryngeal feature. Generally speaking, laryngealized («creaky voice») vowels in the Southern dialect correspond to the complex «vowel+glottal stop». The system of correspondences is as follows:

(5)	historical source	Northern	Southern
	a. **-k-*	*a?*	*'a* («creaky voice»)
	b. **-s-*, **-x-*	*ah*	*a:*

The Northern dialect thus preserves a more archaic system, where the laryngeal and pharyngeal elements, which historically go back to intervocalic consonants, are still consonantal segments.

Note, however, that under a different analysis laryngealization and pharyngealization are realized even in the Northern dialect as vowel phonation types (for more information see 2.1.1.3.2).

1.3.2.2. Correspondences of affricates and sibilants

The Southern dialect has undergone a much stronger Chinese influence than the Northern (see 1.5.1). It has acquired more Chinese loanwords, and the phonological interference is stronger. In particular, apparently under Chinese phonological influence, the Southern dialect has developed alveolar affricates /*c*/ and /*z*/ instead of the original palato-alveolar affricates. In fact, as noticed in Kormušin (1998), alveolar pronunciation of affricates can also occur in some idiolects of speakers of the Northern dialect. The system of correspondences is as follows:

(6)	Northern	Southern	
	Ƶ	*z*	< **Ƶ*
	č	*c* (except before *i*)	< **č*

The Northern palato-alveolar voiced affricate /*Ƶ*/ corresponds to the alveolar non-anterior affricate /*ʣ̌*/ in the dialect of Kur-Urmi (Elena Perexval'skaja, personal communication). Examples of dialect correspondence:

(7)	Northern	Southern	
	wakča-	*wakca-*	‘hunt’
	wač’a	*wac’a*	‘few’
	Ƶikte	*zikte*	‘blueberry’
	Ƶas’a	*zas’a*	‘cheap’

1.3.2.3. Lexicon

Examples of dialect divergences in the lexicon are in (8).

(8)	Northern	Southern	
	moude	*kuti*	‘tiger’
	mafa	*soŋgo*	‘bear’
	tali	*wui*	‘garden’
	solodie	*b’agdifi*	‘hello’
	xo:gƵo	*xo:ligi*	‘yellow’
	xu:-	*zü:-*	‘saw’
	ñogƵo	*ñoligi*	‘green, blue’
	baŋčau	*olondo*	‘ginseng’
	utiŋge:	*ugda*	‘small boat’
	kala	*maŋguaŋa*	‘saucepan’
	sañau	*tuduze*	‘potatoes’

Sometimes the original Udihe word in the Northern dialect corresponds to the Chinese borrowing in the Southern dialect (see 1.5.1.2.1), while certain Northern words (for example *xo:gzo* ‘yellow’, or *ñogzo* ‘blue, green’) seem to be Nanai loanwords.

Idioms spoken on Samarga and Khor, on the one hand, and Bikin and Iman, on the other hand, have a number of local words unknown in another idiom within the same dialect. Some of them

are mentioned in Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998).

1.3.2.4. Morphology

The Northern dialect differs from the Southern dialect in the following morphological features.

(i) The absence of the marker *-du-* which in the Southern dialect serves as a 3rd person Plural affix in some verbal forms.

(ii) The impersonal or Plural, in the interpretation of Schneider (1936) Infinitive formed with the suffix *-mu* (it is, however, present in some idiolects even in the Southern dialect, see 7.5.3.1.2).

(iii) The (same-subject) Perfective same-subject converb derived with the suffix *-mdi/-mzi,* for example, *lagbana-mdi* 'having stuck', *za:-mdi* 'having taken', *te:-si-mdi* 'having sat'(Kormušin 1998), *ŋua-mzi* 'having slept' (SK 671), *diŋe-mzi* 'having pressed' (SK 283).

(9) *ŋene-mzi* *zugdi-le* *ŋeni-e-ni.*
go-PC.SS house-LOC go-PAST-3SG
'Having left she went home.' (K 177)

Cf. the derivational nominal affix in the dialect of Bikin (5.1.3.15). These forms may ultimately go back to the Instrumental case of the Infinitive.

(iv) In the Northern dialect the Accusative remains morphologically unmarked under certain conditions (4.2.2.2); although this is also typical of the Southern dialect as well, in the Northern dialect the unmarked Accusative is far more regular.

(v) The Northern dialect possesses the special verbal forms in *-t.* They can be used as a same-subject perfective converb or as a finite verb, for example:

(10) a. *I:ŋgule* *dogbo-dule* *susaga-t* *wo:-ni,*
at.once night-LOC escape-PC.SS make.PAST-3SG
'ai-ne-fi *ŋene-t* *'ai-ne-fi*
brother-PL-REF.PL go-PC.SS brother-PL-REF.PL
zawa:-ni.
take.PAST-3SG
'She immediately escaped in the night, went to her brothers, and took her brothers.' (K 178).

b. *Sumu-we-ni* *käu* *käu* *zawa-t*
sinew-ACC-3SG all all take-PC.SS
tagda-t *sumu-we-ni.* *nigbi-nigbi*
pull-PC.SS sinew-ACC-3SG strong-strong
tagda:-ni
pull.PAST-3SG
'Having taken hold of all his sinews, he pulled them very hard.' (K 113)

c. *Gihe* *timana-ŋi-ni* *mama*
other morning-AL3SG grandmother
diga-la-ni *kiaŋa* *wah-t.*

eat-PURP-3SG elk kill-PC.SS
'On the next day he killed an elk, so that the grandmother could eat.' (SKX 202)

Such forms typically express a sudden abrupt action. They are absent from the Bikin dialect.

(vi) On the difference in the formation of some types of numerals see 11.1.

Some other minor grammatical differences between dialects are mentioned in the text of the grammar.

1.3.3. The dialect described in the grammar

The present grammar is based on the Southern dialect of Udihe, namely the dialect of the Bikin Udihe as spoken in the settlement Krasnyi Yar (in 1989–1997). The settlement is located on the bank of the Bikin, the right tributary of the Ussuri, on its central stretch. It appeared in 1957 as a result of the integration of three settlements, Olon, Syain, and Metakheza. Later, some Udihe from Iman (the extinct settlement of Sanchikheza) also moved there.

Modern Krasnyi Yar is a multi-ethnic settlement. It numbers about 700 people, among whom about 455 (65%) are from the various Tungus people (the Udihe, Nanai, Oroch, and Evenki). However, the exact number of Udihe among them is difficult to establish. Clearly, the number of ethnic Udihe is considerably less (probably, about 350), while only about a quarter of this number know the native language to some extent, and perhaps no more than 30 can be considered native speakers. Russian is apparently spoken by all Udihe, and generally by all inhabitants of Krasnyi Yar. About 10 people are trilingual Udihe-Chinese-Russian (normally ethnic Nanai who moved to Krasnyi Yar from the settlements Olon or Verkhni Pereval), and about 5 people are trilingual Udihe-Nanai-Russian. There is also a small group of native speakers of Chinese who do not know Udihe (ethnic Nanai).

The dialect used in Krasnyi Yar is also spoken in neighboring settlements in the Pozharsk district, such as Yasenevo, Sobolinyi, Verkhni Pereval, and Luchegorsk. So although the grammar describes the modern dialect of Bikin, the language it deals with may also reflect certain peculiarities of the dialect of Iman. In certain cases we also found it appropriate to refer to data from the Northern dialect, namely, the materials on the Khor dialect of Schneider (Schneider 1935a, 1936) and Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998), and the Samarga materials of Kormušin (1998). The latter were recorded between 1964 and 1974, while most of Simonov's materials were recorded between the 1960s and 1985.

1.4. Some remarks on Udihe history and ethnography

This section is meant to introduce some basic information about Udihe history and traditional culture, as well as to explain certain words that can be found in the Udihe examples throughout the grammar. The section is largely based on Krušanov (1989), Perexval'skaja (1994), Kormušin (1998), and Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998).

1.4.1. Origin

The Udihe are not autochthonous in their present territory, but their origin is still disputed. Two hypotheses have been advanced: one is that their origin is to the north, the other that it is to the south of their present territory (cf. Podmaskin 1989). The Udihe and the Oroch bear

conspicuously southern physical features, which stem from Manchuria and China. This has led certain scholars (Schrenk 1883; Brailovskij 1901; Schirokogoroff 1926; Arsen'ev 1948; Albert 1956) to the conclusion that the homeland of the Udihe is the territory of Manchuria or the border of Northern Korea.

The «northern» theory was first advanced by Sternberg (1933). He thought that the Udihe came to their modern territory from the Amur region, whither they migrated from a still more northern district. This view is confirmed by their cultural affinity to the Oroch, and their linguistic connection to other Tungus people. In particular, as was shown by Cincius (1978), Udihe and Oroch are closer to the Northern Tungus languages (Evenki and Even) than other languages of the Southern group. Kormušin (1998) argues that both Udihe and Oroch were originally Northern Tungus languages that underwent the substratum and contact influence of the Southern Tungus languages Ulcha and Nanai, as well as of Manchu. Certain archaeological evidence also suggests that the Siberian tribes penetrated into the Primorje region as early as the late Neolithic (the end of the 2nd millennium BC) or the early Iron Age (the 1st millennium BC) (Okladnikov and Derevjanko 1973). Since that time Tungus cultures have continuously been present in that region.

The oral tradition of the Udihe and the anthropological data also indicate a complex origin. There is reason to believe that the Udihe as an ethnos appeared as a result of the assimilation of a certain local population of unknown origin (probably the so-called Paleoasiatics) by Tungus tribes who came from the north to the modern Udihe territory. There may have been an Ainu component present in Udihe ethnogenesis (Lar'kin 1958: 7, cf. also Vasilevič 1960 on possible linguistic contacts), and, according to some scholars, a perhaps Nivkh component as well.

1.4.2. Ethnic history

A more or less direct continuity can be traced between the modern Udihe and the Udihe of the southern Primorje region, who used to belong administratively to the so-called Golden Empire of the Jurchens (Manchuria, 1115–1234). The Jurchens-Udege were a settled people, having a well-developed culture. However, in 1233 the Jurchen Empire was overthrown by the Mongol invasion, and this led to the gradual disintegration of the Jurchen population. The ancestors of the Udihe were forced to escape from the Mongols to more northern territories, where they mixed with other Tungus tribes.

In the early seventeenth century the Manchu again won control of Manchuria and northern China. The Udihe, as well as the Nanai, Ulcha, and Oroch, are descendants of those Tungus people who lived in the Amur and Primorje regions, but did not enter the Manchu Empire. Accordingly, these people suffered from frequent and destructive Manchu invasions, which also contributed to the reduction of the population, the partial destruction of the original tribal system, and gradual assimilation. Until as late as 1858–1860 the Udihe territories were controlled by Chinese administors and traders (on contacts with the Chinese see 1.5.1.1), however, they were not formally part of the Chinese Empire.

In 1860 the whole Ussuri region was incorporated into the Russian Empire, and since then the Udihe territory has been part of Russia. In 1897 the territories of the Udihe extended to the southern tributaries of the Ussuri, and along the coast as far as modern Nakhodka. At that time the Udihe could also be found on the Khungari, the Tunguska, and the other tributaries of the Amur, as well as along the shore of the sea of Japan. The Northern border of the Udihe land was the river Botchi (Kormušin 1998: 3), which separated it from the Oroch territory. Until practically the beginning of the twentieth century the Udihe lived within several territorial groups (see 1.2.5) and had no common ethnic identity. Influenced by the Nanai, the first permanent settlements of the Udihe began to grow on the River Anyui as early as the nineteenth century.

More permanent Udihe settlements developed after the 1930s, when the forcible

collectivization of households began. The process was completed in about 1937, and in the late 1950s the smaller settlements were integrated into larger multi-national villages. Resettlement caused many families to change their mode of living, for example abandoning hunting and turning to cultivation and animal breeding. This transformation was hastened by logging, which reduced the land available for hunting (especially in the Khabarovsk region). This was also the reason for the constant resettlement of the Udihe from their native areas.

1.4.3. Traditional occupations

The main traditional occupations of Udihe were hunting and fishing. Unlike their neighbors, the Nivkh, Nanai, and other settled peoples on the lower Amur, the Udihe way of life was closely connected to the taiga forest. They used to hunt for deer, elk, boar, and smaller animals using bows and spears (later, guns) and different kinds of traps. The primary purpose of hunting was to gain furs and meat, though antlers were also sold to the Chinese. The Chinese also bought the root of the ginseng plant that grew in the Ussuri taiga. Searching for this plant was one of the important occupations of the Udihe.

Unlike other Amur peoples, fishing played a less important part in their life. A secondary role was also played by collecting edible plants, such as ferns, wild garlic and onion, various berries, and tree juice, as well as gathering certain other plants used for medical treatment. In the nineteenth century only the southern Taz group of the Udihe were involved in agriculture. They followed the example of the Chinese, tilling their fields in the coastal river basins. At the present time, agriculture is practiced by all Udihe groups.

Traditionally, only men were involved in hunting and fishing. The normal occupations of women were processing (braking) skin and leather (Udihe *kaj-*), making richly ornamented clothes (mainly traditional Udihe *tege* ‘gowns’ worn by both men and women) and boots from fur and skins, and making boxes and kitchenware from birch bark. Men used to make various wooden things (boats, sledges, some kitchenware, cradles) and small metal objects.

1.4.4. Way of life

Like most of the other peoples of Siberia, the Udihe were semi-nomadic. The constant search for new hunting territories necessitated a mobile lifestyle. The Udihe lived in widely dispersed family groups, and resettled often, according to the areas being hunted. In summer they lived in conical tents made of branches and tree bark, and in grass tents (*aŋa*, *co:lo*), in winter in rectangular houses made of tree bark (*kawa*) with the fireplace in the middle, as well as in earth-houses. Their mode of transport included two types of boats (the ’*ana* ‘large hollowed boat with a flat nose’ and the *ugda* ‘small individual hollowed boat’ often used while hunting), with sledges and skis in winter. The only domesticated animal was the dog, and no riding animals were known.

The Udihe used to live in family units with a patriarchal social organization. Although families used to live separately from one another, tribal consciousness was extremely strong (see 1.2.5 on the names of the Udihe clans). The Udihe clans were strictly patrilocal; in marriage, the purchase or exchange of a bride between clans was widely practiced. Within every territorial group (1.2.5) there used to exist a division of 2–3 sub-groups, each of which included several clans. These sub-groups called *za:* in Udihe stood in exogamous relationship to each other (Krušanov 1989).

Individuals used to feel themselves members of the clan and not of the people (nation) in general. In practice, a man could not participate in social life without being part of a clan, could not get married, could not be protected by anybody, or have a hunting territory. Expulsion from the clan was therefore regarded as an extremely severe punishment. From the seventeenth century

the original tribal organization began to be replaced by an organization based on territory (Podmaskin 1991: 4). However, the tribal consciousness is partly preserved. Of course many tribal customs (such as bride money or blood vengeance between the clans) are no longer practiced, but a certain mutual support between descendants of the same clan, and a half-hidden hostility towards representatives of other clans, can still be observed.

Since the Udihe did not undergo Christianization, their original anthroponymic system is preserved somewhat better than that of the other Siberian peoples. Traditional names are mostly based on kinship terms (*Ñ'äziga*, literally 'the smallest child in the family'), certain individual qualities of a person (*Alagdig'a*, literally 'beautiful'), or «protecting» negative nicknames often referring to animals or negative qualities (*G'aini,* literally 'raven'), etc. (Podmaskin 1991: 37–38). At present, the Udihe have a first name, a patronymic, and a family name. For older people the first name may coincide with the traditional Udihe name, while the younger generation has Russian names. The family name normally goes back to the traditional tribal names (see 1.2.5).

1.4.5. Traditional beliefs

The traditional Udihe religion can be characterized as animism, coupled with the practice of shamanism. Like many other peoples, the Udihe represented the Universe as a layered structure with at least three levels. The upper world is inhabited by the sky people (*bua ni:*) and the gods (for example, *Enduli* the main god, *Tagu-mama* the God who sends children into the world, and *Agdi* the God of thunder). The lower world may itself have different layers, one of which is the place where people's souls go after their death (*Bunige*). The actual world corresponds to the middle world of the structured Universe, and as well as real people it is inhabited by numerous evil (*ogzo, amba*) and good spirits, and other supernatural creatures. Every animal or natural phenomenon (fire, river, water, etc.) possesses its own master spirit (cf. *Puza* fire spirit, *Oŋku* mountain spirit, *Ganixi* water spirit, *Olondo ezeni* 'master of ginseng'). The bear and tiger were especially respected. The worship of their spirits was expressed in numerous hunting rites, rituals, tabooistic terminology, and prohibitions.

According to traditional animistic beliefs, the human soul descended from the upper to the middle world in the shape of a little bird (*omö*) and then existed as an invisible little man (*xañ'a*). After death it descended further into the realm of the dead in the form of a shadow, from where it could be reincarnated. In shamanic practice the soul of the shaman and/or his helping spirits also traveled through the different levels of the Universe. The most important function of shamans was to offer medical treatment.

In spite of the destructive influence of the socialist culture of the twentieth century, some elements of the animistic world outlook and the practice of shamanism are preserved among the older generation of Udihe.

1.4.6. Traditional folklore

The main traditional genres of Udihe folklore are *teluŋu* 'legend' (the historical, shamanistic, or hunting legend), *(n)imaŋku* '(fairy) tale', and *jexe* 'song'. As distinct from *teluŋu*, *(n)imaŋku* is characterized by supernatural elements, by the use of certain words specific to folklore (for example, *biatu* 'bear' instead of the usual *mafa*), by some phonetic peculiarities, and by the use of traditional singing refrains. Typical characters found in the fairy tales (given here with very approximate translations) are *jegdige* or *merge* 'hero' (a brave young man, a good hunter), *belie* 'fairy' (a beautiful, clever girl or young woman, sometimes with supernatural powers), *emende* 'witch' (an ugly, lazy, and stupid girl or young woman), *kanda mafa* 'old man', and *nauŋzaka*

'boy' (brave teenage boy, normally a younger brother of a *belie*). Many different musical genres were known, the lyric song being the most common. The Udihe used to play many string and wind instruments, the most important among them being the *kuŋkai* 'jaws harp'. Udihe folklore and its language is discussed in detail in Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998).

1.5. The effect of language contacts on Udihe

At the present time, the Udihe do not have a single settled area. There are several ethnically pure Udihe settlements, and other settlements in which the Udihe are greatly mixed with the Nanai and to a lesser extent other Tungus people, as well as with Russians, Ukrainians, and some Chinese, Koreans, and Nivkh.

According to Belikov and Perexval'skaja (1991), throughout the last two centuries the Udihe territory was the location of a language area that included the following languages: Nanai, Udihe, Chinese, and Russian. This resulted in the process of pidginization, the most famous example of which is the emergence of the so-called Chinese-Russian pidgin, used at the end of the eighteenth century by Chinese and Russian traders and the local Tungus people (see, for example, Nichols 1980, 1986). According to this author, the dialect of Chinese-Russian pidgin spoken in the Ussuri area has undergone a secondary pidginization from the local Tungus-Manchu languages. The most striking example of a pidginization-driven phenomenon in Udihe grammar is the Past tense marker *-lA* (7.10.4.2). This marker can substitute (especially in the Iman dialect) for the regular Past tense without being followed by any agreement affixes. As argued in Perexval'skaja (1989, 1991e), this element is not original in Udihe, and presents a typical example of a so-called «double etymology»: on the one hand, *-le* is a Perfective marker in Chinese, while on the other hand, *-l* is the Past tense marker in Russian, so the exact origin of this element in Udihe is difficult to establish. If the Russian etymology is accepted, the vowel-final form *-lA* in Udihe may be explained by the fact that Udihe does not generally allow consonant-final words (3.1.1), so *-A-* has here an epenthetic origin.

Menges (1968) also cites some hypothetical Korean and Mongolian loanwords in Udihe. The former are rare, and the latter were borrowed into Udihe through Manchu or other Southern Tungus-Manchu languages. Some Manchu etymologies are cited in 1.5.4. Certain plausible Nivkh parallels are mentioned in Kormušin (1998).

1.5.1. Chinese

1.5.1.1. Contacts with the Chinese people

Chinese-Udihe contact began through trade in the Middle Ages. Under the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the Chinese gradually started building settlements in Udihe territories, and marrying local women (at that time Chinese woman were not allowed to leave the country). Until the second half of the nineteenth century the real rulers of the Primorje region were the Chinese traders of furs and ginseng, to whom many Udihe were hopelessly indebted. The relationship between the Udihe and the Chinese was generally hostile.

The Udihe acquired agricultural skills from the Chinese people, as well as such Chinese religious beliefs as could easily co-exist with their animistic world outlook.

The northern Udihe had fairly little contact with the Chinese people, but the influence of the Chinese on the southern Udihe groups was enormous. By the beginning of the twentieth century the most southern group (the Taz) had become completely assimilated by the Chinese in their language and culture (see 1.2.2). The Chinese influence was strong among the Bikin Udihe and

especially the Iman Udihe, for whom Chinese was the language of international communication. The children used to speak Chinese when outside the home, the native language only being spoken within the family. On the other hand, the local Chinese was influenced by the other languages of the area. Compared to standard Chinese, the local Chinese dialect is characterized by a reduced tonal system (two tones instead of four) and a much more limited vocabulary (Elena Perexval'skaja, personal communication).

1.5.1.2. Language contacts

1.5.1.2.1. Lexicon

We do not present here an exhaustive list of Chinese loanwords in Udihe, and further etymologies can be found in Menges (1968). For obvious historical-cultural reasons, Chinese loanwords in Udihe mostly fall into the following semantic groups: agricultural terms (11), household utensils (12), the requirements of modern culture and social life (13), cookery terms (14), kinship terms (15), and others (16). Below the translation of the Chinese word is given only if it differs from that of the Udihe word.

	Udihe		Chinese (Pinyin)	
(11)	*deuze*	'beans'	*dòu-cze*	
	tuduze	'potatoes'	*tudòu-cze*	
	cuŋge	'onion'	*cōng*	
	säŋguaza	'melon'	*guā*	
	sigua	'watermelon'	*guā*	
	gautu	'hoe'	*chátou*	
	xuaŋgu	'cucumber'	*huángua*	
	ziŋmi	'rice'	*mi*	
	sandau	'scythe'	*dāo*	'knife'
	xuaŋmi	'millet'	*huáng*	'yellow' +
			mi	'rice'
	la:mo:	'mill'	Udihe *la:-*	'grind' +
			Chinese *mó*	'grind'
(12)	*jausu*	'key, lock'	*jàoshi*	
	zueze	'table'	*zhuōzi*	
	deŋe	'lamp'	*dēng*	
	co:ŋku	'window'	*cuāngkǒn*	
	säŋza	'chest'	*xiāngzi*	
	ziŋe	'well (noun)'	*jing*	
	baŋza	'board'	*banzi*	
	cuaŋza	'kettle'	*cháhú*	
	la:	'candle'	*là*	
	maŋguana	'pot, frying pan'	*man guàn*	'full jar'
	keuzi	'sack'	*kou*	'mouth, opening'
(13)	*xuece*	'train'	*huǒchē*	
	fuetiŋe	'plane'	*fēijī*	
	zä:	'money'	*qián*	

	pöu	‘ticket, document’	*piào*	
	lauzi	‘worker, servant’	*láo*	‘work, labor’
	mäu	‘church’	*miào*	
	laŋgui	‘counter’	*guì*	‘wardrobe’
	guize	‘box’	*guì*	‘wardrobe’
	tieze	‘money’	*tie*	‘iron’
	sänsei	‘teacher’	*xiānsheng*	
(14)	*bouze*	‘steamed stuffed bun’	*bāozi*	
	sata	‘sugar’	*sa-táng*	
	säŋza	‘stuffing’	*xiāng*	‘fragrant, scented’
	läŋcei	‘cold vegetables’	*leng* + *cài*	‘cold’ + ‘vegetable’
(15)	*susu*	‘father’s younger brother’	*shūshu*	
	lauje	‘maternal grandfather’	*la&oye*	
	loulou	‘maternal grandmother’	*la&ola&o*	
(16)	*xua*	‘flower’	*huā*	
	zidi	‘purple’	*zi*	
	kuaja	‘quick’	*kuài*	
	dunsi	‘thing’	*dōngxī*	
	sese bi:-	‘do one’s best’	*xìxin(de)*	‘careful’
	ganziŋa	‘clean’	*gānjìng*	
	keje	‘language, word’	*kouyú*	‘oral speech’
	xeuze	‘monkey’	*hóuzi*	
	zaŋlaŋa	‘cockroach’	*zhangláng*	
	saŋxua	‘lunch, dinner’	*cān*	‘food, meal’
	mo:go	‘mushroom’	*mógu*	
	gaŋa	‘steel’	*gāng*	
	ce:	‘carriage’	*chē*	

Chinese components are found in a large number of local toponyms, for example, *dai* (< *dà*) ‘big’, *si* (< *xī*) ‘west’, *dun* (< *dōng*) ‘east’, *si* (< *shí*) ‘stone’, *bai* (< *bái*) ‘white’, and *sañ* (< *shān*) ‘mountain’.

Interestingly, for certain words lexical «doublets» are found when the original Udihe word co-exists with the Chinese loanword. See the following examples from the Bikin dialect: *xua* ‘flower’ (< Chinese) and Udihe *ila:* ‘flower’, *deuze* ‘beans’ (< Chinese) and Udihe *tuli* ‘beans’; *co:ŋku* ‘window’ (< Chinese) and Udihe *pa:* ‘window’. On the other hand, they may be distributed among dialects: cf. Northern *xualibanza* ‘chipmunk’ (< Chinese) and the native Udihe *etuŋgie* ‘chipmunk’ in the Southern dialect; *pauza* ‘roe’ (< Chinese) in the Southern dialect and Udihe *giusa* ‘roe’, mostly used in the Northern dialect.

According to Menges (1968), certain Chinese words were borrowed into Udihe through Manchu: *puza* ‘fire spirit’ < Chinese *fó-cze* ‘Buddha’ through Manchu *pusa*; *xu:ze* ‘Manchu robber’ < Chinese *hóng-hú-cze* ‘red beard’ through Manchu *xuŋ-xū-ze*; *koli* ‘law, custom’ < Chinese *gāo-li* ‘high principle’ through Manchu *kōli*.

1.5.1.2.2. Grammatical elements

The grammatical elements borrowed from Chinese are:
Plural suffix *-ziga* from the Chinese *ji ge* ‘a few’ (4.1.2.1);
additive focus particle *-dA* (12.1.1.3) from the Chinese coordinator *de*;
restrictive focus particle *m’ei* (12.1.1.9) from the Chinese *mei* ‘each, every’;
universal quantifier *teu* (11.2.2.1) from the Chinese *dōu* ‘all’;
additive focus particle *xai(si)* (12.1.1.1) from the Chinese *hái* ‘still, as usual, yet’;
superlative particle and degree adverb *c’o* (10.1.4.1) from the Chinese *zuì*.

1.5.2. Russian

1.5.2.1. Contacts with the Russian people

The Udihe came into close contact with the Russians later than most Siberian peoples. The Udihe homelands were incorporated into Russia in 1860, and only then did Russians begin to appear. Russian peasants started to settle on the seashore sometime after 1883, but this colonization did not much concern the Udihe, who roamed deep in the forests. On the contrary, according to the observations of many travelers of that time, the Udihe attitude towards the Russians was remarkably friendly, since the Russians were displacing the exploitative Chinese traders. The Russian influence on Udihe folk culture was also weaker than on other Amur peoples. The only Udihe greatly influenced by the Russians at this early date were those living near the sea (the Namunka).

The Udihe were not baptized, as were other Siberian peoples, and they traded with the Russians much less than they did with the Chinese. Russian was little spoken; contact with the Russians was normally in the Chinese-Russian pidgin (Nichols 1980, 1986). Russian was, however, the language of administration.

After the introduction of collective farms in the Soviet period (starting from the late 1930s) the influence of Russian has become more and more traumatic for Udihe language and culture. Its influence was exerted through a system of boarding schools, large multinational settlements, mixed marriages, etc. This led to a drastic deterioration in spiritual culture, reflected in a sharp decline in the number of native speakers of Udihe (see 1.2.3).

1.5.2.2. Language contacts

1.5.2.2.1. Lexicon

Udihe does not allow consonant-final words and tautosyllabic consonant clusters word-initially. Therefore Russian words ending in a consonant are borrowed in Udihe as vowel-final words ending with a vowel *-A* of epenthetic origin. As shown in 3.4.1.2, such a vowel is normally realized phonetically as *a*, see the example in (6a). However, the oldest *n*-final loanwords are borrowed into Udihe as a II-class *n*-final stems (for example, *pisto(n)* from the Russian *piston* ‘percussion cap’). Word-initial consonant clusters are either separated by an epenthetic vowel (17b), or exhibit deletion of the first consonant (17c).

(17)		Udihe	Russian	
	a.	*magazin-a*	*magazin*	‘shop’
		teatr-a	*teatr*	‘theater’

	Iwan-a	*Ivan*	‘Ivan’
	ris-a	*ris*	‘rice’
	čaj-a	*čaj*	‘tea’
	čas-a	*čas*	‘hour’
b.	*xeleb-e*	*xleb*	‘bread’
	sumala	*smola*	‘resin’
	kirčala-	*kriča-*	‘shout’
c.	*takan-a*	*stakan*	‘glass’

The following phonological changes in Russian borrowings are also attested: (i) a change of prevocalic *p* into *f* (18a), as is typical of original Udihe words as well (2.2.3.1); (ii) the replacement of the cluster *pk* (or *fk*) by *kp* (18b) (the cluster *pk* is prohibited in Udihe (3.2.1)); (iii) the replacement of the long palatalized consonant *šč* and of *č* by *s* (18c).

(18)		Udihe	Russian	
	a.	*kanpetka*	*konfetka*	‘candy’
	b.	*lakpa*	*lavka*	‘shop’
		kakpa	*kapkan*	‘trap’
	c.	*jaska*	*jaščik*	‘chest, box’
		bosko	*bočka*	‘barrel’

Verbs are borrowed in the form of the Infinitive stem of the Russian verb augmented by the Udihe derivational suffix *-lA-* (see 8.1.1.3). This pattern is very productive:

(19)	Udihe	Russian	
	zawoni-la-	*zvoni-*	‘ring up’
	kopa-la-	*kopa-*	‘dig’
	samani-la-	*šamani-*	‘shamanize’
	karasi-la-	*krasi-*	‘paint’
	rubi-la-	*rubi-*	‘cut’
	tancewa-la-	*tancewa-*	‘dance’
	nade-le	*nado*	‘must’
	zari-la-	*žari-*	‘fry’
	(*kino) snima-la-*	*snima- (kino)*	‘shoot (a film)’
	oxota-la-	*oxoti-*	‘hunt’

1.5.2.2.2. Grammar

The modern Udihe use very many Russian words in their speech, and it is not clear whether these should be classified as loanwords or as phonological «quotations» from another language. Russian words are easily combined with Udihe grammatical morphemes. An example of such «macaronical» speech is the following sentence spontaneously produced by one of our informants (*televizor* and *vkluči-* are Russian words for ‘television’ and ‘switch on’, respectively):

(20)	*Sikie*	*televizora*	*vekluči-la:-mi*	*ei-de*
	evening	television	switch.on-V.PAST-1SG	NEG-FOC
	etete,	*timadule*	*vekluči-la-isi*	*ketu aja*	*etete-ini.*
	work	morning	switch.on-V-PC.1SG	very good	work-3SG

‘I switched the television on in the evening and it did not work, in the

morning I switched it on (again) and it worked very well.'

However, the influence of Russian on Udihe syntax at the structural level is surprisingly small compared to other minority languages of Siberia and the Russian Far East. The following points can be noted here:

(i) Younger speakers tend to follow the Russian word order. In particular, they place the focus object in a post-verbal position, which violates the major requirement of Udihe word order, namely, the preverbal position of the focus element (24.1.1). In general, the fact that verb-finality in modern Udihe is not rigid (24.1) may be due to the influence of Russian word order. The example below illustrates a non-head-final embedded clause generally disallowed in Udihe but which in this case appeared under Russian influence.

(21) *Bagdi-mie* *bagdi-mie* *sa:-ni* *namu* *tagiadi-ni*
live-INF live-INF know-3SG sea behind-3SG
bi:-we-ni *nada* *xatala.*
be.PRP-ACC-3SG seven girl
'He lived, lived, and learnt that there were seven girls on the other side of the sea.' (SKX 216)

(ii) Another violation of head-finality that may be due to influence of Russian word order is the postnominal position of proper name apposition (13.8.2) and the postverbal complement subordinate clause (Chapter 20).

(iii) *Wh*-words in Udihe are typically not used as subordinators, since clausal subordination is mostly expressed by non-finite verbal forms; their occasional use in this function, as in (22), is due to the Russian influence:

(22) *Ali* *ami-n(i)* *eme-gi-si-kce-i-we-ni*
when father-3SG come-REP-MUL-INT.PRP-ACC-3SG
tu: *pala-wasi:-ni.*
all distract-DIV-3SG
'When the father was going to come home, she distracted (her son).'

(iv) Certain sentence constructions may be influenced by the corresponding phenomenon in Russian, namely, the desiderative copular clauses with the Dative experiencer NP (17.2.3.2), the Impersonal construction (16.1.3), and the promotion of the nominal patient to the subject position in the Personal Passive clause (16.1.1).

(v) Cases of «semantic translation» from Russian may include the use of the interrogative pronoun *jeu* 'what' in tag questions, as in the meaning 'what for, why' (9.5.1.3), and the adverbial use of the universal quantifier *teu* 'all; all the time, always' (11.2.2.1.3).

(vi) Udihe has borrowed certain functional words from Russian (the conjunctions *i* 'and', *no* 'but', *a* 'and, but', and others) as well as many interjections.

1.5.3. Nanai

The history of the Nanai in the region in question is addressed in Sem (1976: 5–13). The Nanai lived on the banks of the Ussuri as early as the sixteenth century, and it was only as a result of the seventeenth century Manchu invasions that their population decreased. According to Sem, the Nanai appeared on the river Bikin at the end of the nineteenth century, when they moved there from the Ussuri. The Nanai in the Primorje region numbered about 300 people in 1970 (Sem 1976: 10), and spoke the so-called Bikin (or Ussuri) dialect.

The mutual assimilation of Nanai and Udihe as closely related languages is observed on the river Bikin. The variety of Nanai spoken there is influenced by Udihe (or perhaps by local Chinese) on the phonetic level. Compared to other Nanai dialects, it is characterized by the following features: (i) the alveolar affricates /*d͡ᶻ*/ and /*c*/ instead of the palato-anterior /*d͡ᶾ*/ and /*t͡ˢ*/, as in Udihe (1.3.2.2); (ii) the monophthongization of diphthongs (cf. the contraction of vowel clusters in Udihe, 3.2.2.2); (iii) the denasalization of nasal vowels; (iv) the deletion of final reduced vowels (cf. 2.1.5.3 for Udihe); (v) the epenthetic vowel that prevents consonant-final words (cf. 3.4.1.2 for Udihe); (vi) the deletion of the intervocalic *w*, as happened in the history of Udihe.

Certain examples of Nanai loanwords in Udihe are:

(i) *dölbo-* 'work' (in the Anyui dialect) from the Nanai *döbo* (cf. Udihe *etete* 'work');

(ii) *merge(n)* 'hero' from the Nanai *merge* (cf. Udihe *jegdige* 'hero');

(iii) the component *-xem* in the compound particle *dexem* which forms indefinite pronouns with a universal meaning, *-dA* is the Udihe focus particle (12.1.1.3) from the Nanai *xem* 'all'

(iv) *banixe ~ banäxe* 'thank you' is from the Nanai *banixa:* 'thank you' (cf. Udihe *asasa* 'thank you').

(v) *mä:usa* 'gun' through the Nanai *mioča* 'gun' (cf. the Udihe word *mäunda* 'gun' formed from the same stem as the original Udihe suffix *-nda*) from the Manchu *mjočan* 'gun'.

(vi) the word *daŋsa* 'book' is borrowed from the Chinese *dàn-cze* 'document, list' through the Nanai *daŋsa* 'book' (Cincius 1975–1977: 197).

(vii) The Udihe *xaulie* 'please' seems to be from the Nanai *xawle* 'anyhow, nevertheless'.1.5.4. Manchu

On the relationship of Udihe with Manchu see 1.4.2. A Manchu origin for some Udihe words was suggested in Menges (1968, 1978: 369).

(23)

Udihe		Manchu	
agba	'state, country'	*alban*	'tribute, service'
baita	'fault'	*bajta*	
zä:	'money'	*Zixa*	
z'obo	'difficult'	*Zobo*	
golo	'land, country'	*golo*	'province'
niŋka	'Chinese'	*nikan*	'lackey'
eze	'master, chief, boss'	*eZen*	< Mongolian
makta	'praise'	*maktā-*	< Mongolian
meŋmu	'silver'	*meŋgun*	< Mongolian
palu-	'exile, banish'	*fa-la-*	'punish (in game)'

1.6. The status of the modern Udihe language

The Udihe language does not have an official status. It is used in everyday oral communication, in particular in family life, but normally only by elderly people. In the settlements Krasnyi Yar, Gwasyugi, and Agzu there exist so-called «national settlement councils» that are supposed to promote native culture and language. However, at present they deal at most with the economic needs of the native peoples.

1.6.1. Sociolinguistic status

As mentioned in 1.2.5, three groups of Udihe (the seashore Udihe, the Khungari Udihe, and practically all the Kur-Urmi Udihe) have been totally assimilated by neighboring peoples. The corresponding dialects are not preserved. The Anyui dialect is likewise almost extinct: in the late 1980s there were about 50 Udihe in the Rassvet settlement on the river Anyui, but some of them derive from those who moved from the river Khor (of the Gwasyugi settlement). Only a few old people remember the Anyui dialect. The Iman group of Udihe (about 100 people altogether) is dispersed among different settlements (see 1.2.5), and in all of them the Udihe are in an absolute minority, while the Russian population prevails. No data is available about the number of speakers of the Iman dialect, but it seems that a further assimilation of the Iman Udihe is inevitable.

At present only three territorial groups of Udihe live in compact groups. The Samarga group is concentrated mainly in the settlement Agzu, where, according to official census data, about 167 Udihe live (about 80% of the population of the settlement). However, most of the Agzu Udihe are not ethnically pure Udihe. According to Perexval'skaja (1994: 81), only about 120 persons (57% of the population of the settlement) represent the Samargian Udihe ethnically, and among them only a few individuals still know the Samarga dialect. So the prognosis for survival of the Samarga dialect cannot be very optimistic.

The second settlement Gwasyugi includes about 160 Udihe (65% of the population of the settlement) representing the Khor group. This is where the Udihe language is best preserved. Not only the older generation but even the middle-aged normally have a good command of the language. Certain attempts are being made to preserve the language and national traditions, but this is limited to a few traditional branches of folk culture (leather, woodwork, and embroidery), as well as amateur folk art. At present the Gwasyugi settlement is the base of the amateur art group «Gäwa», the best known among the Udihe.

Thirdly, the 400 Udihe living in the neighboring settlements Krasnyi Yar and Olon (55% of the population of the settlements) represent the Bikin group and the Bikin dialect. Some work is in progress to preserve traditional culture, arts and crafts. There is a folklore group, and a museum of the Udihe people. However, the number of speakers of the Bikin dialect is definitely less than those knowing the Khor dialect. Here only a few people over about fifty years old still know the language.

In sum, most Udihe at present consider Russian their first language. In 1979 Russian was spoken fluently by as many as 94.1 % of the Udihe, today this number is close to 100%. In addition, 0.7% of ethnic Udihes speak a third language fluently (typically, Chinese or Nanai), as well as Udihe and Russian. Wherever the Udihe live today, the status of the Udihe language is much lower than that of Russian.

1.6.2. The teaching of Udihe

Schools for children were introduced in the late 1920s, with Russian being the language of instruction. Primary education in the mother tongue began in 1931, when the first school textbooks appeared in the Udihe language (the Khor dialect), compiled by Schneider (see 1.6.3). In 1931 the first Udihe teachers graduated from the Institute of the Northern Peoples in Leningrad. By 1936 the first two classes were supplied with textbooks in the native language, namely, the primary school book (Schneider 1932), the reading book for the first grade translated from Russian (Zulew 1933), the reading book for the second grade (Schneider 1934c), a grammar book for the first two classes (Schneider 1935c), and two arithmetic textbooks in Schneider's translation (Popova 1933, 1934), see also Schneider (1936: 3). Several manuals for teachers of

Udihe were also published (Schneider 1934b, 1934c, 1935b).

Further work on textbook preparation was underway, but progress slackened in the late 1930s, as throughout the Soviet Union. In 1938 most of the books already published were destroyed, the teaching of Udihe in schools came to an end, and Schneider himself was shot.

Since that time there has been no systematic teaching of Udihe, although there have recently been some attempts to introduce it as an optional subject. In the 1980s and early 1990s two courses in Udihe were taught in the kindergarten and primary school of the Agzu settlement, but both were discontinued. In the settlement Krasnyi Yar Udihe is still taught from time to time, but in an unsystematic way.

Some new teaching materials were recently created for the Bikin Udihe by Perexval'skaja as part of the «Udihe School» project sponsored by the Cultural Initiative Foundation (see Perexval'skaja 1989). These books, using a Cyrillic-based orthography, are designed for the kindergarten (Perexval'skaja and Tol'skaja 1991), and for the first grade (Perexval'skaja 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1991d). Unfortunately, a shortage of professional teachers means that they are only occasionally used.

In 1999 a publishing house in Khabarovsk published a primary school primer compiled in the Northern dialect by Valentina Kjalundzjuga (Kjalundzjuga 1999). This book uses the official Udihe orthography suggested by Simonov (see 1.6.3). Hopefully, the publication of this book will stimulate the interest in teaching and studying Udihe in schools. At the present stage, however, the prospects do not look very promising.

1.6.3. Orthography

The first Udihe orthography was compiled by Schneider in the 1920s on the basis of the Latin alphabet, and was used in several of Schneider's publications of school books (Schneider 1932, 1934a, 1934b, 1934c, 1935b), in reading books translated from Russian (Kulagin 1934; Čarušin 1935), in collections of Udihe tales (Schneider 1935a), and in a dictionary (Schneider 1936). Schneider's orthography was designed for the Northern dialect of Udihe. It was based on experimental phonetic work and the study of Udihe phonology (see 1.7.3), and seems to reflect the Udihe phonological system quite effectively. The orthography used the standard Latin alphabet with some additional symbols: schwa for the mid vowel (which we transcribe here as *e*), *ŋ* for the uvular sonant, *æ* for the low front vowel (*ä*), *Ɵ* for mid front round vowel (*ö*), and *Ƶ* for the voiced affricate. The letter *y* was used for the high round front vowel (*ü*), the symbol ' denoted laryngealization (the glottal stop), and vowel length was denoted by a horizontal stroke over the letter.

In 1938, as for the other minority languages of the USSR, the orthography based on Latin was transformed into one based on Cyrillic. Only one mathematics textbook was published in the new Cyrillic version, although it is no longer extant. The Cyrillic orthography of Schneider was used by the Udihe writer Džansi Kimonko for his book *Where the Sukpai flows* written in the 1940s (Kimonko 1956) and translated from Udihe into Russian. His Cyrillic manuscript is still preserved.

There was another attempt to create a Udihe alphabet in the early 1980s. A Cyrillic transcription elaborated by Mixail Simonov, based on an experimental study of the Khor dialect (see Simonov 1988), was recognized in 1989 by the Khabarovsk authorities as the official orthography of Northern Udihe. This transcription was used in the large edition of Udihe folklore (Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova 1998) and the Udihe-Russian dictionary (Simonov and Kjalundzjuga 1998–1999). Simonov (1988) has rather greatly reinterpreted the system of vowels (see Chapters 2–3), and this is also reflected in his transcription and orthography. One formal difference between this orthography and other Cyrillic-based transcriptions lies in the notation for

the pharyngealized (or: «intensive tense», in Simonov's terms) vowels typical of the Khor dialect (1.3.2.1): Schneider renders them with the symbol *h,* whereas Simonov uses circumflex-like diacritics. Simonov also records an *e* instead of Schneider's schwa (as we do here) and does not recognize the vowels *ü, ä*, and *ö* as independent phonemes. Unfortunately, this orthography does not always indicate long vowels and vowels with the complex phonation type (laryngealized and pharyngealized).

An alternative Cyrillic-based Udihe orthography was created by Perexval'skaja for the dialect of Bikin as part of the project *The Udihe School* (1989–1993). It was accepted as the official orthography for the Southern Udihe by the Association of the Native Peoples of the Primorje Region in 1990, and is used in several schoolbooks and folklore editions (1.6.2). It basically goes back to Schneider's orthography, except that the author tries to follow Russian orthographic norms to make it easier for those Udihe children who can already read Russian. So vowel length is rendered not by a horizontal stroke but by an accent («grave») in the same way as Russian stress, and the vowels *ü, ä*, and *ö* are rendered by the Russian «joticized» letters *ю, я,* and *ё* respectively.

Samples of various orthographies and transcriptions are presented in Chapter 25.1.6.4.

Literature

The only known professional Udihe writer was Schneider's student Džansi Kimonko (1905–1949). His book, *Where the Sukpai Flows*, written in the Udihe language, was translated and published in Russian (Kimonko 1956). Kimonko also produced some poetry in Udihe (Kimonko 1955; Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova 1998). The Khor Udihe Valentina Kjalunzjuga and the Nanai Nikolaj Dunkaj have taken part in collecting and recording samples of folklore (Dunkaj 1961; Kjalundzjuga 1974; Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova 1998).

1.7. The study of Udihe

Although the Udihe are rather well described from an anthropological point of view (1.7.1), the Udihe language is perhaps the least studied of the Tungus languages. So far it lacks a comprehensive grammatical description and a dictionary exists only for the Khor dialect. The linguistic study of the Udihe language is addressed in 1.7.2 and 1.7.3.

1.7.1. Short survey of ethnographic work

The earliest information about the Udihe can be found in the 1850s in the works of occasional travelers and geographers such as Bošnjak, Nadarov, Maksimov, and others (see Krušanov 1989: 8–9 for a survey of the oldest sources on the Udihe). In the 1850s the ethnographer Schrenk conducted extensive work among the Tungus people of the Amur and Primorje regions (Schrenk 1883–1903). He produced the first classification of the Tungus people and languages. Sternberg was working on various Tungus people of the Far East, including the Oroch (1933), but did not write about the Udihe in particular. In the nineteenth century the Udihe were not generally distinguished from the Oroch.

Only towards the end of the century did Margaritov (1988), and especially Brailovskij (1901), who conducted the 1897 census, distinguish the southern group of Udihe from the Oroch. The River Botch was suggested as a boundary. Brailovskij (1901) created the first complete anthropological description of the Udihe, and was the first to use the term Udihe instead of Oroch or Orochon.

Although the use of the term «Udihe» was criticized, for example by the influential ethnographer Patkanov (1906) who proposed the term Kekar (see 1.2.2), the ethnonym Udihe was advocated by Vladimir Arsen'ev, the foremost specialist on Udihe culture. In 1916 he published a comparative work about the Udihe and the Oroch in which he showed that their cultures were significantly different (Arsen'ev 1916). This work also contains some linguistic comparisons between Udihe and Oroch. Arsen'ev, who spent many years among the Udihe in the first years of the twentieth century, collected much valuable information about the Udihe, as is reflected in his works, especially his book *The Forest People Udihe* (Arsen'ev 1948). But he had not completed a substantial study. Although most of Arsen'ev's materials are still unpublished, some appear in Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998), together with an article on his work (see also the references therein). Arsen'ev's materials were used by Fridrich Albert in his ethnographical description of the Udihe (Albert 1956), in combination with his own field materials dating from the beginning of the century.

In the second half of the twentieth century several different aspects of Udihe anthropology were studied. The most important works (those containing a representative bibliography) are the following: those of Starcev, dealing with history, material and non-material culture (Starcev 1996), those of Podmaskin on popular beliefs and customs (Podmaskin 1977, 1991), and the works of Smoljak on ethnogenesis and traditional culture (Smoljak 1980, 1984). Decorative art is studied in Bukatova (1972) and Osokina (1981), while musical culture and folklore are dealt with in Šejkin (1982a, 1982b) and Podmaskin (1987). Comprehensive ethnographic monographs on the Udihe are Lar'kin (1958), Krušanov (1989), and Perexval'skaja (1994).

It should be noticed that all the anthropological works contained a few Udihe words written in Russian (or Latin) transliteration. Only Arsen'ev tried to add additional symbols to render those Udihe sounds that did not exist in Russian (Arsen'ev 1926), although he was not consistent in this.

More detailed information on ethnographic work concerning the Udihe can be found in Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998).

1.7.2. Nineteenth and early twentieth century dictionaries

During the nineteenth century practically nothing was written about the grammar of Udihe. The first attestations of the language date from the late nineteenth century and are of a lexicographical character. The following dictionaries and wordlists are the best known. The dictionary of Nadarov (1887), which contains about 250 words, appeared as a supplement to his ethnographic works. The Oroch dictionaries that include some Udihe material are those of the missionary Protod'jakonov (1888), which has about 1000 words, the dictionary of Margaritov (1888), which has about 400 words, and the dictionary of Leontovič (1896), which has about 2500 words. The most complete Udihe dictionary was that compiled by Brailovskij (1901), which contains about 1000 words placed alongside already published material about Oroch. The dictionary by Schmidt (1927) contains about 1000 Udihe and Oroch words. For further details see Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova (1998: 14–16).

1.7.3. Twentieth century linguistic work

Extensive linguistic work on Udihe was started by Schneider in the 1920s, who was also involved in developing school teaching and creating textbooks (see 1.6.2, 1.6.3). Schneider was the first to prepare a grammatical description of Udihe, published as a supplement to his dictionary of the Khor dialect (Schneider 1936). The dictionary contains about 4200 words. Information on

grammar is included in his books for teachers (Schneider 1934b, 1935b). A phonological description of the Anyui dialect supplemented by texts was published in 1937 but is only preserved in a few copies (Schneider 1937).

The phonological description made by Schneider was based on experimental phonetic work conducted in Leningrad with the participation of the experimental phoneticians Zinder, Matusevič, and Ščerba (see Schneider 1936; Kormušin 1998). This work, concentrating on the Khor dialect, revealed for the first time the presence of laryngeal and pharyngeal segments in Udihe. They were considered special types of vowels (see 2.2.2.3.2). The results of the experimental work were generalized in an unpublished manuscript of Zinder and Matusevič «The Phonetics of the Udihe Language», and were also used by one of these authors in a book on general phonetics (Zinder 1960). They are also a basis for the orthography developed by Schneider (1.6.3).

The phonological ideas and the transcription of Schneider were used by his student Elena Baskakova, who recorded folklore while working in Anyui and Samarga. Since she also was arrested in 1930s, the materials remained unpublished and preserved in the archives (some of them are published in Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova 1998). Since that time the same transcription has been used in all works on the comparative grammar of the Tungus languages, sometimes transliterated on a Cyrillic basis (Cincius 1949, 1975–1977; Novikova 1961, and others) or remaining in a transcription based on the Latin alphabet (e.g. Benzing 1956).

In the second half of the twentieth century Sunik conducted his own fieldwork among the Khor Udihe, which resulted in several short grammatical descriptions (Sunik 1958, 1968, 1997). He also used Udihe materials in his work on the comparative grammar of the Tungus languages (Sunik 1947, 1962, 1982). In respect of phonology, Sunik suggested three major modifications to the system of Schneider: (i) he treated Schneider's diphthongs, long vowels and pharyngealized and laryngealized vowels as biphonemic complexes; (ii) he introduced the opposition front-back for the high vowels: /*i*/ and /*i*/, /*u*/ and /*ü*/, whereas in Schneider's description only /*i*/ and /*u*/ were present; (iii) he gave up treating long vowels as separate phonemes. On our interpretation of the vocalic system see 2.1.

The phonological approach of Sunik was developed in Kormušin (1998), where it was also motivated from a historical point of view; however, certain ideas (for example, concerning the non-phonemic status of long vowels) were rejected. See Chapters 2–3 for further detail.

Other linguistic works that deal specifically with Udihe are those of Girfanova on various questions of Udihe grammar and phonetics (Girfanova 1984, 1985; Atknin and Girfanova 1985) and specifically on verbal morphology (Girfanova 1988). Simonov (1988) suggested a new phonological description that differed considerably from the conceptions of Schneider, Sunik, and Kormušin. His study is based on experimental phonetic work on the Khor dialect carried out in cooperation with Radčenko (see also Radčenko 1987, 1988). In recent years Simonov together with Valentina Kjalundzjuga, a Khor Udihe, and other colleagues published a large volume of Udihe folklore with ethnographic and folkloristic comments (Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova 1998) and a comprehensive three volumes Udihe-Russian dictionary of the Khor dialect (Simonov and Kjalundzjuga 1998). The dictionary additionally provides basic grammatical information. Other experimental-phonetic studies are Baicura (1978–9, 1989–91). The historical grammar of Udihe is quite poorly studied, exceptions being Menges (1968), Cincius (1949), and Kormušin (1998).

Phonology

The phonology of Udihe is fairly typical of a language representative of the Uralo-Altaic language area. The phonemic system is characterized by the following features: voicing opposition for labial, dental and velar stops, and for the affricates, velar spirant *x*, palatalized *ñ*, glides *w* and *j*, velar *ŋ*, and an eight member vowel system. The vibrant *r* is highly marginal. Vowels have long and short counterparts. A peculiarity of Udihe phonology is that it exhibits a special class of «laryngealized» vowels phonologically opposed to regular vowels, which go back to the glottal stop and ultimately to the intervocalic **k*. As distinct from regular short vowels, long and laryngealized vowels are associated with two moras and typically bear word stress. Vowel harmony is based on both height and rounding distinctions. High vowels are harmony-neutral.

An important syllabic constraint of Udihe is that it does not allow tautosyllabic consonantal clusters. Thus, clusters on word edges as well as three-consonantal clusters are ruled out. On the other hand, vocalic clusters, including those that have three vowels, are fairly frequent. In two-consonantal medial clusters, stops and affricates agree in voicing. Vocalic epenthesis prevents illegitimate consonantal clusters, as well as word-final consonants.

The stress is quantity-sensitive and falls on the most right bimoraic vowel or, in the absence of bimoraic vowels, on the most right vowel in the word. In affixes, word-final high vowels are extrametrical with respect to stress.

Chapter 2
Segmental phonology

The transcription used in this book is based on IPA, with the amendments described below. Certain conventions regarding the transcription of the allophonic variants accepted in this grammar are discussed in the appropriate sections.

2.1. Vowels

2.1.1. Inventory

The vowel inventory of the modern Southern dialects consists of 25 phonemes. The following types of vowels are phonologically opposed: short vowels (2.1.1.1), long vowels (2.1.1.2), and laryngealized vowels (2.1.1.3). The diphthongs mentioned by Schneider (1936) are treated here as biphonemic vowel clusters (see 3.2.2.2).

2.1.1.1. Short vowels

2.1.1.1.1. The system of short vowels

The system of short vowels includes eight vowels.

Table 3. Short vowels

	front		central	back
	non-rounded	rounded	non-rounded	rounded
high	*i*	*ü*		*u*
mid		*ö*	*e*	*o*
low	*ä*		*a*	

The symbols *ä, ö,* and *ü* are here used for IPA *ɐ, ø,* and *y*, respectively. The vowel denoted here as *e* corresponds to schwa in the transcription of Schneider and Perexval'skaja (1989 and other works) and to э in the Cyrillic-based transcription of Sunik (1968, 1997), Simonov (1988), and Kormušin (1998). As follows from the table above, it is a central non-rounded mid vowel, so its transcription as schwa is phonetically accurate. We choose to denote it as *e* because this has been traditional among most authors dealing with the Udihe material, and it is convenient for technical reasons. On the phonetic realization of /*e*/, see 2.1.4.1.

The phoneme /*ü*/ is not recognized as such by Schneider, Sunik (1968, 1997), or Simonov (1988), although according to Schneider the vowel /*ü*/ can be found within the diphthongs *üi* and *üö* (Schneider 1936: 84). Kormušin notes that /*ü*/ is infrequent and only occurs word-medially (Kormušin 1998: 13–14). In most cases /*ü*/ is followed by another vowel, as in *üi* and *üö*. Since Kormušin and this grammar treat vocalic clusters not as diphthongs but as biphonemic

combinations of vowels (3.2.2.2), /*ü*/ must be regarded as a separate phoneme. In the Bikin dialect there are certain words in which /*ü*/ occurs outside of vocalic clusters, for example: *bogüso-* ‘torture’, *kuizü* ‘box, chest’, *lü-lü* ‘through (get wet)’, *süŋmu* ‘dragon’, *sükpou* ‘a sharp stick for taking meat’, *tülo-* ‘get dirty’, *düce* ‘Chinese garlic’, *solügi* ‘orange’, *solümi* ‘dried fish’. For this reason it is assigned a phonemic status, although it is indeed marginal in the system of short vowels. In idiolects /*ü*/ may be replaced by /*i*/: *solügi ~ soligi* ‘orange’, *sükpou ~ sikpou* ‘a sharp stick for taking meat’.

The phoneme /*ö*/ is also infrequent, but it occurs more often than /*ü*/. Cf. the following minimal pairs:

(24)	*oloŋko*	‘ford’	*oloŋkö*	‘oak-tree’
	sogdo	‘steam’	*sogdö*	‘back’

2.1.1.1.2. Front mid vowel?

As mentioned in 2.1.1.1, the vowel here denoted as /*e*/ is a mid vowel with central pronunciation. Other authors also mention a front mid non-rounded vowel, denoted as *e* in Schneider (1936), Sunik (1968, 1997), and Kormušin (1998). Schneider actually discusses two short front mid vowels (/*e*/ and /*ie*/) and their long counterparts (/*e*:/ and /*ie*:/). Schneider’s /*e*/ and short /*ie*/, on the one hand, and the /*e*:/ and ‘long’ /*ie:*/, on the other, are each treated by Kormušin as a single phoneme. He shows that they do not contrast phonologically, and are close phonetically (Kormušin 1998: 14–15). So Kormušin’s description includes short and long front mid vowels (*e* and *e*:) as well as the mid central short and long vowels.

In our opinion, there is no reason to assign a phonemic status to the front mid vowels. They are not opposed phonologically to other phonemes already present in the system, namely the front low vowel /*ä*/ and the diphthongoid /*ie*/, respectively.

The short front mid vowel is, according to Schneider, infrequent. He recorded it in certain words where it precedes /*u*/: *geu* ‘oar’, *Geuŋka* ‘clan name’, and *geuka* ‘snag’, and also in several words where it precedes /*ä*/, such as *ameä* ‘back’ (and its numerous derivatives), *beä* ‘month’, *b’eäsa* ‘river’, and *Duleä* ‘middle brother’ (in his transcription). In the first case we have transcribed the cluster recorded by Schneider as *eu* with the notation *äu*, for example, *gäu* ‘oar’. It may also correspond to *io*, cf. *Gioŋka* ‘clan name’. Likewise, the cluster which Schneider recorded as *eä* appears to us, in the modern language at any rate, to be a long /*ä:*/ (*bä:* ‘month’, *amä:* ‘back’). This can undergo secondary shortening, as in *bäsa* ‘river’ (see 2.1.1.2.3). In fact, Schneider himself treated the complex *eä* as a long vowel (not a diphthong), see Schneider (1936: 83).

Kormušin notices that the front mid vowel occurs only word-medially and word-finally (Kormušin 1998: 12). In the latter case it normally has a diphthongoid pronunciation (*ie*). In fact, in this case it is rather long, and develops as a result of expressive lengthening (2.1.5.2). It can be considered a diphthongoid /*ie*/ (2.1.1.2.1). Kormušin also cites two words where, according to him, the short word-medial *e* developed from /*i*/, but both are absent from the Bikin dialect. So there is no evidence for the presence of the short *e*, at least in the Bikin dialect. Within the vowel clusters it is not distinguished from /*ä*/, while when it appears word-finally it rather represents /*ie*/.

As for the potential long /*e*:/, although Schneider cites it as a vowel phoneme it is not found in his dictionary (Schneider 1936). In all the cases where Kormušin has used /*e:*/ we have found the pronunciation to be closer to the diphthongoid /*ie*/, and it is so recorded in our transcription: for example, *tie* ‘pair’ is used for Kormušin’s *te*:, and *dieli-* ‘fly’ for Kormušin’s *de:li-*. Kormušin himself notes that /*ie*/ and /*e*:/ are positional variations of one long phoneme (Kormušin 1998: 15).

Thus, in our transcription Kormušin's /*e*/ will be recorded as /*ä*/, while /*e:*/, which is mostly pronounced as a diphthongoid, will be recorded as /*ie*/.

2.1.1.2. Long vowels

2.1.1.2.1. The system of long vowels

Every short vowel has a long correlate, as in the table below; however, the long phoneme /*ie*/ does not have a short counterpart (see 2.1.1.1.1).

Table 4. Long vowels

	front		central	back
	non-rounded	rounded	non-rounded	rounded
high	*i:*	*ü:*		*u:*
mid	*ie*	*ö:*	*e:*	*o:*
low	*ä:*		*a:*	

The long vowel /*ü:*/, like its short correlate /*ü*/, is found in only a few words, such as *kü*: 'honey', *sü:* 'one year old boar', and *zü*:- 'grind'. The front mid long vowel is denoted as /*ie*/ to distinguish it from the central mid long vowel /*e:*/, and it does indeed have a diphthongoid pronunciation, see 2.1.1.2.2.

According to the experimental data, the long vowels are approximately 1.5 times as long as the short vowels (Radčenko 1988: 38), but they are pronounced slightly shorter in closed syllables. In his early work Sunik (1968) did not recognize long vowels and treated them as biphonemic complexes; see the criticism of this view in Kormušin (1998) and Simonov (1988: 54). Yet, in spite of the tendency for shortening (2.1.1.2.3), long vowels are present as independent phonological units, cf. the following minimal and quasi-minimal pairs that show the phonemic status of the long vowels:

(25)	*etete-mi*	'I work'	*etete:-mi*	'I worked'
	dili	'head'	*dili:*	'my head (1SG)'
	ede	'become'	*e:de*	'blunt'
	Ima	'river Iman'	*ima:*	'snow'
	umu	'belt'	*u:mu*	'pile'
	olo	'here'	*olo:*	'boiled fish'
	bölo	'knee'	*mö:-lo*	'neck (LOC)'

The stress placing rules (see 3.6.3.2) also clearly indicate that these are bimoraic vowel phonemes.

2.1.1.2.2. Diphthongoids

The long vowel /*ie*/ is in all environments pronounced as diphthongoid. It often appears as a result of the contraction of the short vowels /*i*/ and /*e*/ in the course of morphological derivation, for example, *umi*- 'drink' + *e* (PAST) → *umie*-. The long vowel /*ö:*/ may often have a diphthongoid pronunciation *üö*, and was recorded by Schneider as a diphthong in certain cases, for example, *mö:* 'neck' (< *müö*). The vowel /*ä:*/, although normally going back to the diphthong *iä*, and recorded as a diphthong in Simonov (1988), seems to have lost the glide component in the

modern Bikin dialect, and is pronounced as a monophthongoid. A word-initial /*o*:/ may be diphthongized and pronounced as *ᵘo.* In a similar way, the initial /*i*:/ has a *j*-like component: *ʲi:* (cf. 2.1.4.3).

2.1.1.2.3. Shortening

There is a clear tendency for long vowels to shorten. This tendency is reflected in free and idiolectal pronunciation variations, for example: *abdä:* and *abdä* 'leaf'. In some cases our records provide evidence of the process of vowel shortening. Schneider recorded a long vowel in the first syllable of the word *bä:sa* 'river', whereas the common modern pronunciation is for the first vowel to be pronounced short, resulting in *bäsa*. This among other factors is indicated by the stress in that word, which now falls on the second syllable (if the first syllable were long, then it would bear the stress, see 3.6.3.2). Word-final long vowels that appear as a result of the contraction of two short vowels in the course of morphological derivation are regularly shortened in fast speech (2.1.5.3).

The long vowels that are found within grammatical morphemes do not typically shorten (for example, the long vowel that denotes the Past tense in the verb). However, the long /*i*:/ that developed as a contraction of two short vowels /*i*/ at the boundary of the *i*-final verbal stem and the 3rd Singular Present tense affix often undergoes shortening: *igbe-si:-ti* (< *igbe-si-iti* <bath-IM-3PL>) 'they are bathing' → *igbe-si-ti; eme-gi:-ni* (< *eme-gi-ini* <come-REP-3SG>) → *eme-gi-ni* 'he is coming'. The long vowels that appeared by prosodic lengthening (2.3.4) do not shorten either.

2.1.1.3. Laryngealized vowels

Udihe possesses a special class of laryngealized vowels that are phonologically opposed to simple vowels. Laryngealization (or «creaky voice») is here a compound phonation type, characterized by complex articulation: one part of the glottis vibrates and produces voicing, while another part produces a creak.

Laryngealization causes a slight change in vowel quality. When laryngealized, non-front vowels tend to undergo partial fronting: /'*a*/ is almost identical phonetically to ['*ä*], /'*o*/ to ['*ö*], and /*e*/ to ['*e*] (recall that the non-laryngealized /*e*/ is a central vowel). This is confirmed by a preliminary instrumental-phonetic study of these vowels, according to which they show the consistent raising of the second formant compared to their non-laryngealized counterparts. Laryngealized vowels have a greater intensity and duration than short vowels and are phonologically bimoraic, as is indicated by the facts of stress placement (see 3.6.3.2).

Janhunen (1999) has suggested that the distinction between various phonation types in Udihe may be suprasegmental in nature. Four types of (Northern) Udihe vowels (short, long, laryngealized, and pharyngealized) may be characterized by four distinctive tones, which emerged under the influence of Chinese. This suggestion needs further investigation and will not be pursued here.

2.1.1.3.1. The system of the laryngealized vowels

Every non-high short vowel has a phonemic laryngealized counterpart. Laryngealization is denoted by an apostrophe before the corresponding vowel, for example: '*ana* 'boat', *tuk'ä* 'run (PERF)', *d'ofo* 'inside', *in'ei* 'dog'. The laryngealized vowel can precede another vowel, which is called a «laryngealized diphthong» in Schneider (1936), cf.: *ñ'au* 'hen', *ku'ai* 'ear', *g'ai* 'crow'.

The high vowels /*i*/, /*u*/ and /*ü*/ never laryngealize, and neither does the diphthongoid long vowel /*ie*/. We also failed to find examples in which the vowel /*ö*/ was laryngealized.

The inventory of laryngealized vowels is as follows:

Table 5. Laryngealized vowels

	front		central	back
	non-rounded	rounded	non-rounded	rounded
high				
mid			*’e*	*’o*
low	*’ä*		*’a*	

The minimal and quasi-minimal pairs that show the phonological contrast between non-laryngealized and laryngealized vowels are presented below.

(26)	*bono-ini*	‘hail (3SG)’	*b’ono-ini*	‘catch up (3SG)’
	bula	‘flat cake’	*bul’a*	‘young ash-tree’
	kua-i	‘plane, shave (2SG)’	*ku’ai*	‘ear’
	kolo	‘beetle’	*k’olo*	‘mittens’

The phonological contrast between laryngealized and non-laryngealized vowels is clearly seen in the opposition between the bare Present verbal stem and the 3rd person Perfect form, since laryngealization of a stem-final non-high vowel is a marker of the Perfect tense (7.1.3.2):

(27)	Present stem	Perfect	
	bunde	*bund’e*	‘add’
	tukä	*tuk’ä*	‘run’
	zawa	*zaw’a*	‘take’
	oŋmo	*oŋm’o*	‘forget’

It should be noticed that in the pronunciation of some speakers, especially those from the youngest generation, laryngealization is practically absent; non-laryngealized vowels are pronounced instead.

2.1.1.3.2. The phonological status of laryngealization

There are two approaches in the literature to laryngealization in Udihe (the Northern dialect). First, the laryngealization was treated as additional phonation on the vowel. This conception was initiated by Schneider with respect to the Khor dialect. According to Schneider and his experimental data, laryngealized vowels (*preryvistye*, that is, ‘interrupted’ in his terms) are pronounced with the glottal stop in the middle of the vowel duration, that is, for example, /’*a*/ is interpreted as [*a’a*] phonetically. As a result, the pronunciation of the vowel is interrupted by a moment of a complete silence (Schneider 1936: 85). According to the experimental data of Zinder and Matusevitch (see Kormušin 1998: 20), the place of the articulation of the stop can vary among individual speakers without being opposed phonologically: it can be either a voiceless glottal stop or a voiced pharyngeal stop. The length of the vowel after the stop is approximately four time greater than the length of the vowel before the stop.

In a similar fashion, laryngealization is regarded as an additional suprasegmental feature of the vowel in Simonov (1988). In his conception, laryngealized vowels are called ‘weakly-intensive

interrupted' vowels (*slabo-intensivnye otryvistye*) and are characterized not by the glottal stop as such, but by a special articulation, namely, a change in the state of the pharynx: from tensed to not tensed. Such an articulation can be optionally accompanied by the glottal stop, especially in emphatic pronunciation. Simonov's conclusion is based on the experimental phonetic data of Radčenko (see Simonov 1988: 53; Radčenko 1988). According to this data, the glottal laryngeal (as well as the pharyngeal /*h*/ as present in the Northern dialect, see 1.3.2.1) can be of two types: in some cases it represents additional phonation of the vowel, while in other cases it can indeed correspond to a separate consonant phoneme (the glottal stop or laryngeal fricative). This later conclusion, although it may follow from the experimental data, is not supported by any purely phonological considerations.

On the other hand, certain scholars who studied the Northern dialect considered laryngealization as a realization of a separate consonant phoneme, a glottal stop. Similarly, pharyngealization in the Northern dialect was viewed as the separate consonant phoneme /*h*/. The glottal stop /*ʔ*/ and the pharyngeal /*h*/ as consonants are mentioned in Sunik (1968: 212, 1997) without any particular argumentation. According to this author, the glottal stop and the pharyngeal occur between two vowel phonemes of the same quality: *a'a* and *aha.* Kormušin (1998: 19–27) discusses this question in great detail. His conclusion on the consonantal character of the glottal stop is based mostly on its historical origin: the glottal stop /*ʔ*/ goes back to the intervocalic **k* after the non-high vowels /*o*/, /*a*/ and /*e*/ (Cincius 1949b: 218–227). The complex *a'a* (or '*a* in the transcription of Schneider and in our transcription) is transcribed by Kormušin as *a'*, that is, as a vowel followed by a glottal stop consonant. He also notices that the phenomenon Schneider described as an insertion of the glottal stop in the middle of the vowel is in fact the result of the inertial lengthening of the vowel followed by the glottal stop. It appears because the glottal stop cannot immediately be followed by a consonant for reasons of articulation.

As follows from 2.1.1.3, we share the first opinion, that is, we treat laryngealization as an additional feature of the corresponding vowel and not as a separate consonantal phoneme, at least for the modern Bikin dialect. Indeed laryngealization goes back to the consonant **-k-*, and it is not excluded that in the recent past (and perhaps in the modern Northern dialect as well) it was the consonantal glottal stop. However, historical origin cannot be an argument for phonemic status in the modern language, as Kormušin proposed. Our conclusion is rather based on the data of phonemic distribution. Although individually none of the arguments presented below prevents the treatment of the laryngeal as a consonantal element, in concert they considerably weaken such a hypothesis.

(i) The laryngealized vowel occurs in word-final position, for example: *tal'a* 'meal made of raw fish', *gel'e* 'he asked (PERF)', *od'o* 'grandfather', etc. If it is considered a consonant, as suggested in Kormušin (1998), the corresponding words should be re-interpreted as consonant-final (for example, *odo'*) which contradicts the major phonotactic property of Udihe (3.1.1).

(ii) Similarly, if the glottal stop is regarded as a consonantal phoneme, this would mean that in certain cases three-consonantal clusters are present: *ba'gdi* (instead of *b'agdi* in our transcription) 'meet', *ta'pti* (instead of *t'apti* in our transcription) 'clay', *xaña'ŋku* (instead of *xañ'aŋku* in our transcription) 'mirror', etc. However, three-consonantal clusters are not otherwise possible in Udihe (3.2.1).

(iii) According to Kormušin, the glottal stop follows the vowel, as conditioned by its historical origin from an intervocalic **-k-*. This means that it never occurs word-initially, although other consonants do.

(iv) The laryngeal opposition is limited to non-high vowels. If laryngealization were treated as a consonant, the fact that it never follows the vowels /*i*/, /*u*/, and /*ü*/ would require some additional explanation.

(v) As Schneider had already pointed out (cf. also Simonov 1988: 53–54), the criterion for the

mono-phonematicity of the laryngealized vowels is that they cannot belong to two different syllables. Thus, in the complex [*a'a*], the element *'a* cannot constitute a separate syllable, as would be expected if the glottal stop were a separate consonant phoneme.

(vi) Finally, and most importantly, the laryngealized vowels behave as if they were bimoraic with respect to stress assignment, that is, they bear the primary stress (3.6.3.2). As argued in 3.6.2, coda consonants do not provide a mora in Udihe. If the laryngeal were a consonant it would be in a coda position in the syllable and would not project a mora. Therefore the attested stress pattern would remain unexplained.

The phonetic quality of laryngealized segments in the modern Bikin dialect also seems to suggest that we are here dealing with a special phonation type of the vowel rather than with the complex «a vowel + glottal stop». Although experimental study of the Bikin dialect has not been conducted, the auditory perception favors such an analysis. According to native speakers of the Bikin dialect, words with laryngealized elements are pronounced «differently» in their language compared to the language of the Khor and Samarga dialect. This might indicate that in the Northern dialect the glottal stop can indeed be realized phonetically as a consonantal element, while in the Bikin dialect it is realized as a vowel phonation. But even for the Northern dialect Kormušin himself mentions that in swift speech the glottal stop is hardly present (Kormušin 1998: 24). Its presence is only noticeable by the laryngealized character of the preceding vowel. The glottal stop as such is only possible in slow speech when a speaker makes a deliberate attempt to highlight it.

2.1.2. Some remarks on the history of vowels

As discussed in Kormušin (1998), there are «primary» and «secondary» class vowels (*osnovnye* and *neosnovnye* in his terms). The primary vowels /*a*/, /*o*/, /*e*/, /*i*/, and /*u*/ normally go back to the corresponding Proto-Tungus vowels (**a, *o, *e, *i,* and **u*, respectively). The primary vowels lack positional constraints, and appear more frequently than the secondary vowels /*ü*/, /*ä*/, and /*ö*/. The latter usually developed as a result of *Umlaut*-like changes in the quality of the primary vowel under the influence of the vowels in the following syllable (for example, *ä* < **i, *a,* etc.).

In most cases the original Proto-Tungus long vowels merged with the short vowels in Udihe (Cincius 1949b: 95–110; Menges 1968; Kormušin 1998: 5). In other words, the long vowels that underwent shortening serve as another historical source of both secondary and primary short vowels. Most of the long vowels present in the modern language are of secondary origin. The sources of secondary vowel length are as follows:

(i) the so-called «prosodic lengthening» of monosyllabic words (see 2.3.4);

(ii) in the Bikin dialect, the contraction that occurs with the pharyngeal /*h*/ (see 1.3.2.1);

(iii) historical contractions with other intervocalic consonants, such as /*r*/, /*g*/, /*j*/, /*w*/, for example: *ga:* < **gara* 'bough', *xu:* < **xuwu* 'saw', *zo:-* < **zogo-* 'need';

(iv) the synchronic contraction of two identical vowels (2.3.1).

2.1.3. Allophonic variations

The short vowels /*a*/ and /*o*/ regularly change into /*e*/ (phonetically, a schwa) before the high vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/, that is, within the vowel clusters, for example:

(28) *zaŋta* 'arrow' → *zaŋta-i* [*zaŋtei*] 'my arrow'
zaŋta-u [*zaŋte-u*] 'your (PL) arrow' *oto* 'plate' → *oto-i* [*ote-i*] 'my plate'
oto-u [*ote-u*] 'your (PL) plate'

This change is not reflected in the transcription used in this grammar.

The change of /*a*/ and /*o*/ into /*e*/ before the high vowels only seems to take place in syllables other than the first; in the first syllable itself the original clusters *ai, oi, au,* and *ou,* are preserved, for example: *aisi* ‘gold’, *daumi* ‘tobacco’, *pou-pou* ‘dark’.

Less regularly, the vowels /*a*/ and /*o*/ are pronounced as /*e*/ when they follow the glide /*j*/. This happens, for example, in the 2nd Singular Imperative morpheme *-jA*: *ana-ja* ⇳ *ana-je* ‘push (IMP.2SG)’, *daga-ja* ⇳ *daga-je* ‘burn (IMP.2SG)’, *oño-jo* ⇳ *oño-je* ‘write (IMP.2SG)’. Infrequently the vowel preceding /*j*/ is also pronounced as /*e*/, for example: *zima-ja* ⇳ *zima-je* ⇳ *zime-je* ‘come to visit (IMP.2SG)’.

2.1.4. Free variations

2.1.4.1. The pronunciation of /*e*/

The phonetic realization of the vowel /*e*/ is normally influenced by the quality of the other vowels within the word. When co-occurring with high vowels, the vowel /*e*/ is pronounced as the narrower vowel ⟩, for example: *zile* [*z*⟩*l*⟩] ‘anvil’, *neptige* ‘cartilage’ [*n*⟩*ptig*⟩], etc. When /*e*/ is the only vowel within the word, it is usually pronounced as a wide (low) central vowel ∈**,** for example: *bede* ‘like’, *texe* ‘root’, etc.

2.1.4.2. Alternation of high vowels

The high vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/ are often interchangeable. Normally the original vowel /*i*/ assimilates to /*u*/ if /*u*/ is independently present in the adjacent syllable, cf. the following free variants: *kuandugu* and *kuandigu* ‘ankle-bone’, *mun-tigi* and *mun-tugi* (from *mun-tigi*) ‘to us’ <we-LAT>, also within the nominal suffix *-gdugu/-gdugi* (5.1.2.10).

The vowel /*u*/ demonstrates a tendency to move to the front before the following /*i*/, that is, often *ui* → *üi.* However, *ui* and *üi* contrast phonologically (see 3.2.2.1.1). A change into the front vowel often happens, for example, when the vowel /*u*/ within the Dative morpheme *-du* is followed by the possessive affix *-i* (1SG, 2SG, REF.SG): *in’ei-du-i* ‘to my dog’ <dog-DAT-1SG> can be realized phonetically as [*in’ei-dü-i*]. On the other hand, in the same environment the vowel /*u*/ can assimilate to /*i*/ completely, thus the pronunciation [*in’ei-di*:] (< *in’ei-di-i*) is also common.

The vowel /*i*/ may labialize if the word contains the vowel /*u*/, cf. *lauli-mi* ~ *laulü-mi* ‘dancing (INF)’, *solümi* ~ *solimi* ‘dried fish’, *kuzi-mi* ~ *kuzü-mi* ‘bending (INF)’.

2.1.4.3. Dropping of the initial /*j*/

The word-initial complex *jV* is optionally replaced by the long vowel /*i*:/. This is especially frequent in different forms of the interrogative pronoun *j’eu* and the pro-verb *ja-* (see Chapter 9), for example: *i:-le* (< *j’e-le*) ‘what (LOC)’, *i:-mi* ‘why’ from *ja:-mi* (the Infinitive of the indefinite proverb). Cf. also *ji:n-* ~ *i:n-* ‘enter’.

Less frequently the initial /*j*/ is dropped before /*u*/, which is fronted in this case: *juŋkala-* ~ *üŋkala-* ‘carry on a sledge’.

2.1.4.4. Labialization

For certain words the vowels /*e*/ and /*u*/ alternate freely in the first syllable, these are as follows:

(29)	*begdi*	*bugdi*	'leg, foot'
	bebu	*bubu*	Evidential particle
	meisi-	*muisi-*	'think'
	bubei	*bubui*	'similar, alike'
	wei	*wui*	'garden'

The presence of the round vowel /*u*/ instead of the original /*e*/ seems here conditioned by the assimilatory influence of the adjacent labial consonant.

The vowel cluster *au* is optionally pronounced as *ou*, that is, /*a*/ is labialized under the influence of the glide element, cf.: *tauxi* ~ *touxu* ~ *touxi* 'there', *boulima* ~ *baulima* 'corn', *wa-u* ~ *wo-u* 'you (PL) kill'.

The vowels /*o*/ and /*a*/ may be pronounced as /*u*/ and /*o*/ respectively in the position after /*w*/, especially if they are followed by a high vowel, cf. *wo-i* ~ *wu-i* 'makes (PRP)', *wa-i* ~ *wo-i* 'kill (PRP)', *wa-ili* ⇳ *wo-ili* 'he kills (3SG)'. Further reduction may lead to contraction into a long vowel: *wo-ini* 'he makes (3SG)' → *o:-ni* or *e:-ni*.

2.1.4.5. Reduction of word-final vowels

In rapid speech the word-final vowel may be deleted before the initial vowel of the next word, for example: *omo aziga* → *om aziga* 'one girl', *solimi olokt'o* → *solim olokt'o* 'he cooked dried fish'. As a result of such deletion two lexical words constitute a single phonological word with a single main stress (see 3.6.3 on stress placement rules).

(30)	a.	*Sagdi*	*ede-ili*	→	*sagded'eili*
		big	become-3SG		
		'He became big'			
	b.	*bi*	*a-wa*	→	*bäw'a*
		me	that-ACC		
		'me that'			

In (30b) the deletion of the word-final /*i*/ leads to a change in the quality of the following vowel *a* → *ä* with the regular palatalization of the preceding consonant (2.2.3.2). The same phenomenon is sometimes observed word-internally: *sagda-li-e* 'he grew up' <big-INC-PP> → *sagda-lä*.

2.1.4.6. Alternations of /*i*/

In the word-final position the vowel /*i*/ in certain words undergoes a change in quality under the influence of the initial vowel of the next word. This, for example, is very typical of the demonstrative pronoun *uti* 'that', which may be pronounced as *uta* in the attributive function before an /*a*/ or /*e*/ (*uta aziga* 'that girl', *uta eni-ni* 'that mother', *uta eme-gi:-si-ni* 'when that one came' <come-REP-PC-3SG>). Cf. also: *kotoi-ti eni-ni* → *kotoi-ta eni-ni* 'the mother of the bald ones' <bald-3PL mother-3SG>.

In some other words the word-final /*i*/ freely alternates with /*a*/ independently of position, for

example: *käfa ~ käfi* ‘tick’, *boulimi ~ boulima* ‘corn’, *jandasa ~ jandasi* ‘badger’, *agda ~ agdi* ‘thunder’, *zala ~ zali* ‘barn’.

In certain idiolects the short /*ä*/ is observed instead of original short /*i*/: *bi ~ bä* ‘me’, *banixe ~ banäxe* ‘thanks’, *wopti ~ woptä* ‘door, lid’, *sagdi* ‘big, large’ ~ *sagdä-ŋi-* ‘grow big’. Both vowels condition a partial palatalization of the preceding consonant (2.2.3.2). The variation in question is apparently related to the regular alternation /*i*/ ~ /*ä*/ observed in the Plural formation of some adjectives (6.1.2.1.1).

2.1.5. Stylistic variations

Certain variations are conditioned by the requirements of style and emphasis. According to Kormušin, we can even speak of three different registers (styles) of speech: normal, reduced, and expressive (Kormušin 1998: 52). This statement is perhaps too strong, since the difference between the styles concerns only a few phonetic points, namely, alternations of the vowel /*i*/ and the pronunciation of vowel clusters (for the latter point see 3.2.2.1). The grammar describes the so-called normal style, while the so-called reduced and expressive styles are characterized by certain peculiarities mentioned below. In fact, the so-called reduced style predominates in the narrative texts.

In the examples throughout the grammar (except for the present section) the particularities of the reduced and expressive pronunciation are not marked, although they are noted in the texts (see Chapter 25).

2.1.5.1. Expressive diphthongization

The word-final /*i*/ after a consonant may be lengthened into the diphthongoid /*ie*/ (normally pronounced with a rising pitch, see 3.6.5) when the corresponding word is emphasized. According to the stress-placing rules (3.6.3.2), the diphthongoid /*ie*/ is stressed in the word-final position.

(31) a. *Di:-za* *aŋa-nie* *b’agdi-e-mie*
four-ten year-3SG live-PAST-1SG
omo-zie *nuan-zi-ni.*
one-INST he-INST-3SG
‘I lived for forty years with him alone.’

b. *Kanda* *mafa* *gakti-e-nie.*
Kanda old.man freeze-PAST-3SG
‘The old man Kanda got frozen.’

c. *Weisi-ne-ze-fie!*
rescue-DIR-SUBJ-1PL.IN
‘Let us go to rescue (him)!’

d. *Agda-mie* *soŋo-li-ge.*
be.glad-INF cry-INC-PERF
‘He cried from happiness.’

e. *Dian-a-mie* *ŋene:-ti* *zugdi-tigi*.
say-0-INF go.PAST-3PL house-LAT
‘They were going home talking.’

Expressive lengthening is regularly attested for the following forms: the Infinitive in *-mi* (7.5.3.1) and the 3rd person verbal affix *-ni* (7.2.1). The corresponding word may be repeated

twice. In these cases it may express the duration of time within which the action takes place:

(32) a. *Bi-mie* *bi-mie.*
be-INF be-INF
'They were living, living'.
b. *ŋene-mie* *ŋene-mie.*
go-INF go-INF
'They are walking, walking'.
c. *Ilisi:-nie* *ilisi:-nie.*
stand-3SG stand-3SG
'He is standing, standing.'

In other cases expressive lengthening may render the intensity of the feature named by the corresponding word, either an adjective (33) or an adverb (34):

(33) *Käŋa bui* *sagdie.*
deer animal big
'The deer is a very big animal.'

(34) a. *Weŋde-le* *caixie.*
throw-SEM far
'Throw (it) very far.'
b. *Eke-zie* *tukä:-i!*
slow-INST run-IMP.2SG
'Run slower!'
c. *B'azie* *eme-gi-je.*
early come-REP-IMP.2SG
'Come earlier.'

It is also frequent in addresses (see 12.2.1.2), especially in certain fixed expressions such as: *sita-mie* 'my son' <son-1SG>, *b'ata baja-nie* 'dear son' <boy deer-3SG>, *gagda-nie baja-nie* 'dear husband' <another-3SG dear-3SG>.

When the final /*i*/ follows a vowel, it is not lengthened into the diphthongoid /*ie*/ itself; the diphthongoid rather follows it. The segment /*i*/ in this case appears in the syllable onset position and is realized as a consonant /*j*/ (see 3.2.3), that is, *Vi* → *Vjie*. For example: *koŋo-jie* 'you get thin' (< *koŋo-i* <thin-2SG>); *bi tekpu-jie* 'my skin' (< *tekpu-i* <skin-1SG>). This also conditions the frequent variants of the 2nd person Singular Imperative morpheme *-i*/*j* ~ *-jie* (7.4.1), for example: *diga-i* ~ *diga-je* ~ *diga-jie* 'eat' <eat-IMP.2SG>'.

2.1.5.2. Expressive lengthening

In certain cases the final /*i*/ after a consonant is lengthened into /*i:*/, especially in coordinating constructions where it can express continuous action.

(35) a. *Te:-mi:* *umi-mi:* *soktoi-mi:* *soktoi-mi:.*
sit-1SG drink-1SG get.drunk-1SG get.drunk-1SG
'I am sitting, drinking, getting drunk, getting drunk.'
b. *Jaska-la-ni:* *kuizü-le-ni:* *galakta-i.*
chest-LOC-3SG box-LOC-3SG seek-PRP
'He is seeking (it) in the chest and in the box.'

In the expressive style the word-final /*i*/ may be followed by an *Ich-Laut*-type sound: *imexi* ‘new’ → *imexiç.*

2.1.5.3. Reduction of /*i*/

In rapid speech the word-final vowel /*i*/ in the position after the consonant undergoes deletion. This leads to the emergence of consonant-final words otherwise forbidden by the phonotactic constraints of Udihe (see 3.1.1). The relevant contrast does not disappear, the vowel /*i*/ being preserved as a secondary articulation of the preceding consonant. The consonant preceding /*i*/, except for /*m*/, is palatalized (2.2.3.2). This mostly concerns the dentals /*l*/, /*n*/, /*s*/, /*t*/, and optionally the labial /*f*/, cf.:

(36)	*ŋene-ze-fʲ*	←	*ŋene-ze-fi*	<go-SUBJ-1PL.IN>
	nixe:-m	←	*nixe:-mi*	<do-INF>
	gagda-nʲ	←	*gagda-ni*	<another-3SG>
	läsʲ	←	*läsi*	‘very, a lot’
	bi-s’e-sʲ	←	*bis’e-si*	<be-PERF-PC.SS>

The consonant /*s*/ within the disjunctive marker *-As(i) ... -As(i)* ‘either ... or’ (see 18.2.2.1) is not palatalized when the final vowel is dropped (a very frequent case), for example:

(37) *Tuduze sagdi-es nic’a:-s?*
potatoes big-DIS small-DIS
‘Is the potato big or small?’

Neither is palatalization present when the consonant which originally preceded /*i*/ appears before another consonant as a result of *i*-deletion. This second consonant may be within a clitic element, for example, a focus clitic *-dA*. This in fact constitutes an argument in favor of the inclusion of the clitic within a phonological word. Cf. examples (38a) where the consonant /*n*/ is not palatalized after the deletion of /*i*/ because of the assimilative influence of the non-palatalized /*d*/ within the clitic, and example (38b) where the consonant /*n*/ is palatalized because the phonological word boundary prevents the following /*d*/ from influencing it.

(38) a. *belie-n-de (< belie-ni-de)* ‘this fairy’
<fairy-3SG-FOC>
mö:-li-n-de (< mö:-li-ni-de) ‘on his neck’ (K 160)
<neck-PROL-3SG-FOC>
b. *belie-nʲ (< belie-ni) dogdi:*
fairy-3SG listen.PRP>
‘the fairy is listening’

When the 3rd person verbal inflection *-ni* is followed by the disjunctive *-dA* (18.2.2.1), the deletion of /*i*/ is obligatory, but palatalization does not occur either, cf.:

(39) *Nua-ni xauntasi-e-ni Sonia škola-du*
he-3SG ask-PAST-3SG Sonia school-DAT
bi:-we-n-de e-i-we-n-de.
be.PRP-ACC-3SG-DIS NEG-PRP-ACC-3SG-DIS
‘He asked whether Sonia was at school or not.’

The deletion of the word-final /*i*/ is often observed in infinitives that correspond to manner adverbs, for example: *soŋo-m* ← *soŋo-mi* 'crying (INF)', as well as in ideophonic adverbs (usually focused), for example: *pukcelʲ* ← *pukceli* 'swollen'. In the latter case, consonant-final variants often lexicalize and become the only possible forms (see the list of ideophones in Chapter 26). The deletion of the verb-final /*i*/ is fairly frequent in rhetorical questions (40a) or in the expression of fast or alternating actions (40b).

(40) a. *Ono* *nixe-ze-m* *bi?*
how do-SUBJ-1SG me
'What shall I do?'
b. *Tukti-m* *tukti-m.*
climb-INF climb-INF
'He is climbing quickly.'

At least for one word, *i*-deletion in fast speech is regularly observed in the word-medial position: *sta* < *sita* 'child, son'.

2.2. Consonants

2.2.1. Consonant inventory

The consonantal system of the Southern dialect includes 17 phonemes.

2.2.1.1. System of the consonants

Only single (not geminated) consonants are phonologically present in Udihe. The system is presented below.

Table 6. Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	Voiced	*b*	*d*			*g*
	Voiceless	*p*	*t*			*k*
Fricatives	Voiced					
	Voiceless		*s*		*x*	
Affricates	Voiced			*z*		
	Voiceless			*c*		

Sonorants	Nasals	*m*	*n*		*ñ*	*ŋ*
	Laterals		*l*			
	Glides	w			*j*	

The symbol *ñ* represents IPA /ɲ/, *z* stands for the voiced alveolar affricate *d*^{ʣ}, and *c* for the voiceless alveolar affricate *t*^{ʦ}.

The voiced affricate /*z*/ may be pronounced as an affricate [*d*^{ʣ}], a dental fricative [*z*] or the stop *d*^{j}, while the voiceless affricate /*c*/ is always an affricate. The intervocalic glide /*j*/ sometimes has a semi-vowel articulation: *aja* or *a*^{i}*a* 'good'. The word-initial stop /*t*/ is aspirated before the back vowels /*a*/, /*u*/ and /*o*/. The lateral /*l*/ is slightly palatalized.

Simonov (1988: 55) also postulates the voiced velar fricative *γ* (or the velar approximant) for the Khor dialect (see also Menges 1968: 138), however, there is no evidence for a phonological contrast between *g* and *γ* in the Southern dialect. On the spirantization of intervocalic stops see 2.2.4.5. The intervocalic *f*, represented as such throughout the grammar, is an allophonic variant of /*p*/ (2.2.3.1).

2.2.1.2. Marginal consonants

Certain consonants are limited to a very specific lexical subsystem, namely ideophones and interjections, and are not therefore included in the consonantal system in 2.2.1.1. These are the consonants *h* (41a), and especially *r* (41b), and *l*^{j} (41c). The latter two may be geminated in expressive speech.

(41)
a. *sü(h)* 'shoo!'
b. *mur-mur* 'toothless'
borbosu 'sound made by a hare'
purk(e) 'sound made by wings'
suar ~ suarr 'babbling'
xer-xer ~ xeli-xeli 'very quickly'
punärr 'going up from the top of the house (of smoke)'

c. *käl*^{j}*-käl*^{j} 'pale'
sifal^{j} *~ sifal*^{j}*l*^{j} 'going up (about earth whipped up by the wind)'

The consonant *r* is present within a few other words cited in Schneider's dictionary of the Khor dialect (Schneider 1936), sometimes freely alternating with /*l*/, for example:

(42)
ali ~ ari 'when'
alta ~ arta 'tin'
bultai ~ burtai 'forever'
olo ~ oro 'reindeer'
-rAgdA, -rugdu affix of de-numeral nouns

cf. also in the modern Bikin dialect the variants *d(u)rug'afa ~ d(u)lug'afa* 'in two, half' and *eleči ~ erči* 'servant', as well as the Nanai loanword *merge(n)* 'hero'. The consonant *r* here seems to

have appeared as an expressive variant of /*l*/. According to Kormušin, it has an apical articulation and is often voiceless (Kormušin 1998: 76). The word-final *ĺ* is typically the result of the palatalization of the corresponding non-palatal consonant after the deletion of the final /*i*/ (see 2.2.3.2).

The glottal stop *ʔ* as a separate phoneme is absent from the modern Bikin dialect (see 2.1.1.5.2). However, it may appear in idiolects as a free variant of /*k*/ in certain consonant clusters (3.2.1.2) and in the word-final position within the suffix of the so-called Expressive Past (7.10.4.1).

Consonant gemination may sometimes be employed as an expressive tool, cf.: *xoñieñie* → *xoñieññie* 'very yellow', *akki-* 'sting, stab with a harpoon', *čim* → *čimm* 'streaming' (SK 770) and the following words from the Northern dialect: *akku* 'sting', *nakki* 'a kind of plant', and *jakki* 'wave'.

Recent borrowings from Russian may contain other consonants typical of Russian but not found in Udihe, such as *š* and *ž*.

2.2.2. Some remarks on the history of consonants

As a whole, the Udihe consonant inventory preserves the particularities of Proto-Tungus consonantism rather well. Apart from the change of certain intervocalic consonants into pharyngeal and laryngeal elements, on which see 1.3.2.1, the most important changes are the following:

(i) The original **w*- in the word-initial position is present in only one original word *wa:*- 'kill' (Cincius 1949b: 170). Otherwise the initial *w*- appeared as a prothetic consonant, or developed from /*u*/ (Kormušin 1998: 70). As noticed by this author, Schneider cites certain doublet forms with an initial /*u*/ and /*w*/ for the Khor dialect, such as *uakta* - *wakta* 'tree bark'.

(ii) The Proto-Tungus intervocalic -**j*-, -**g*-, -**r*-, and -**w*- were lost, with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (see 2.1.2).

(iii) The Proto-Tungus palato-alveolar affricates **č* and **ď* correspond to the alveolar affricates /*c*/ and /*z*/ respectively.

(iv) The word-initial glide /*j*/ usually has a prothetic origin and appeared before the original /*i*/, cf. *joxo* < **ike* 'pot' (Kormušin 1998: 79).

(v) The intervocalic /*k*/ developed from the Proto-Tungus geminated -**kk*- (Kormušin 1998: 81).

(vi) The velar fricative /*x*/ is of secondary origin: word-initially it reflects the Proto-Tungus **p*-, while in the intervocalic position and sometimes within a consonant cluster it goes back to -**k*-.

(vii) The most typical changes in consonantal clusters are: **nb* > *m,* **pk* > *kp,* **lm* > *nm,* and the change of the consonant **l* into the velar /*g*/ or /*k*/: **lb* > *gb*, **lp* > *kp*, **lg* > *gg* > *g,* etc.

2.2.3. Allophonic variations

2.2.3.1. Alternation *p* ~ *f*

Almost all intervocalic plosives are spirantized (see 2.2.4.5) but this varies among speakers. The only regular spirantization which leads to the development of an allophonic variant is the change *p* > *f* in the intervocalic position. The consonant *f* is treated as a separate phoneme in Schneider (1936) and Sunik (1968, 1997), and as a marginal phoneme in Kormušin (1998). Simonov accepts that *p* and *f* in Udihe are in complementary distribution (1988) but regards *p* as an allophonic variant of *f*. We here employ a different solution, namely we regard *f* as an allophonic

variant of /*p*/. This is mostly based on systemic considerations (the symmetry of the system of consonants).

The examples below illustrate the allophonic variants of the phoneme /*p*/: *p* is word-initial and occurs within a consonant cluster (43a), and *f* is in the intervocalic position (43b). Notice that here and hereafter we deviate from phonological transcription and record the allophonic variant *f* when it is present.

(43) a. *pei* 'part'
zakpa 'porridge'
paki 'master'
kapta 'parcel'
pa: 'window'
igompo 'bird cherry tree'
b. *onofi* 'what sort of'
nifanda- 'hit'
safani: 'boring, tiring'

In several words the intervocalic *-f-* freely alternates with *-b-*, cf. *lifakta* ~ *libakta* 'mud'. Furthermore, according to the general rule (2.1.5.3) the agreement affix *-fi* (1PL IN) may lose the final vowel. If it is followed by a consonant-initial clitic, the consonant within the agreement morpheme is pronounced as /*b*/, cf.:

(44) *Ge* *ŋeni-ze-b-ge.*
well go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-HORT
'Well, let's go.' (K 197)

The word-initial *f* and the intervocalic *p* can be present only in certain recent borrowings from Russian or Chinese, for example:

(45) *fuetiŋe* 'airplane' < Chinese
fabrika 'fabric' < Russian
fuleŋe 'southern' < Chinese
kopala- 'dig' < Russian

In more ancient borrowings the complementary distribution between *p* and *f* is preserved, cf.:

(46) *kofeika* < Russian *kopejka* 'kopeck'
Pedä < Russian *Fedya* proper name

In certain ideophones *f* occurs in the word-final position, where it developed as a result of the deletion of the final vowel, for example: *čif-čif* 'wet through (with sweat)' cf. *čifo-no-* 'get wet'. Such ideophones may be followed by the clitic focus particle *-dA*, but the consonant *f* is still preserved: *def-def* 'flapping its wings' + *de* (FOC) > *def-def-de* (Simonov 1988: 74). For Simonov this is an argument in favor of treating *f* as the underlying representation of the corresponding phoneme. However, in all other instances *f* is realized as *p* before a consonant, and a cluster that appears on the boundary between the word and the clitic cannot be considered a prototypical consonantal cluster.

2.2.3.2. Palatalization

Only the consonant /*n*/ has a phonemic palatal counterpart /*ñ*/ (see 2.2.1.1); minimal and quasi

minimal pairs are presented below:

(47)	*namu*	‘sea’	*ñamai*	‘warm’
	neŋu	‘younger sibling’	*ñeŋu*	‘wolf’
	na:	‘earth, ground’	*ña*	‘more, again’

However, /*n*/ and /*ñ*/ do not contrast before the front vowels /*i*/, /*i:*/, /*ie*/, /*ö*/, /*ö:*/, /*ä*/, and /*ä:*/ where only a palatalized *n*^{j} is possible. In this case we transcribe it simply as *n*, for example: *ninta* ‘man’ [*n*^{j}*inta*], *nö*: ‘sable’ [*n*^{j}*ö*:], *nieŋesi* ‘get sweaty’ [*n*^{ji}*eŋesi*], *nä:* ‘skin’ [*n*^{j}*ä:*]. Palatalization also occurs in the word *ančі* ‘no’ [*an*^{j}*či*], which contrasts to *anci* ‘perhaps’.

Certain other consonants are allophonically palatalized before front vowels: the labials /*b*/, /*p*/, the dentals /*s*/, /*l*/, and the velars /*k*/, /*x*/ and /*g*/. For example:

(48)	*bä:*	‘month’		[*b*^{j}*ä*:]
	gida	‘spear’		[*g*^{j}*ida*]
	aisi	‘gold’		[*ais*^{j}*i*]
	uli-e-ni	‘sew’	<sew-PAST-3SG>	[*ul*^{j}*ieni*]
	tokö	‘cloud’		[*tok*^{j}*ö*]

The diphthongoid /*ie*/ causes the palatalization of every non-palatal consonant preceding it except /*w*/, for example: *umieni* ‘drink (PAST, 3SG)’ [*um*^{ji}*en*^{j}*i*], *dieleni* ‘because’ [*d*^{ji}*elen*^{j}*i*], *tie* ‘pair’ [*t*^{ji}*e*]. Palatalization of this type is not reflected in our transcription.

In 2.1.5.3 we addressed the reduction of the word-final /*i*/ that has led to the emergence of quite a few consonants that are distinctively palatalized.

2.2.3.3. Alternation /*c*/ ~ /*č*/

The alveolar affricate /*c*/ alternates with the palato-alveolar affricate *č* before the front vowels /*i*/, /*i:*/, /*ie*/, /*ö*/, /*ö:*/, /*ä*/, and /*ä:*/. This alternation is reflected in the transcription throughout the grammar. Examples of words with *č* are:

(49)	*čöŋki*	‘juice of the tree’	*čika-*	‘gnaw’
	ančі	‘no’	*činda*	‘little bird’
	čä:	‘burbot fish’		

In a few words the change *c* → *č* is also observed before /*u*/, for example: *čuguse* ‘teal’, *čundie* ‘mole’, *Ka:nčuga* ‘clan name’. Before /*o*/ and /*a*/, *č* is attested in ideophones and loanwords:

(50)	*čoloŋ-čoloŋ*	‘limping’	*čaja*	‘tea’
	guančou	‘spade’	*časa*	‘hour’
	čak-čak	‘dry’		

See also a few exceptional words: *ča:la-* ‘want, agree’, *čaza* ‘trap’. On the other hand, the alveolar affricate /*c*/ may be present before /*i*/ and /*i*:/ in certain ideophonic words, such as *cincaula* ‘large mosquito’, *ci:ŋge-ci:ŋge* ‘dangling’.

The allophonic variants /*c*/ ~ /*č*/ in the modern dialect reflect the phoneme /*c*/, which in its turn corresponds to the Northern /*č*/ (from Proto-Tungus **č*), see 1.3.2.2. They developed as a result of either the depalatalization of /*č*/ before non-front vowels, or as a secondary palatalization of /*c*/ before front vowels.

2.2.3.4. Velarization of /*n*/

The nasal /*n*/ changes into /*ŋ*/ in the position before /*k*/ and /*g*/. As a result, the consonant clusters *nk* and *ng* are not allowed (3.2.1.3), although the clusters *ŋk* and *ŋg* are fairly frequent. This alternation is present in the formation of the Past (7.1.2.2) and Perfect (7.1.3.2) of class II verbs that have an *n*-final stem. A stem-final consonant is represented by /*ŋ*/ before /*k*/:

(51)			Past stem	Perfect stem
	dian-	'say'	*diaŋ-ki-*	*diaŋ-ka-*
	digawan-	'feed'	*digawaŋ-ki-*	*digawaŋ-ka-*

2.2.4. Free variations

2.2.4.1. Variation of /*k*/

In a number of words the stops /*k*/ and /*p*/ freely alternate within a cluster when they precede /*t*/ or /*c*/, cf.: *kekte-* and *kepte-* 'lay down', *wopti* and *wokti* 'door', *b'akta* and *b'apta* 'smell', *ukčiga* and *upčiga* 'bird', *xulepte ~ xulekte* 'ashes', cf. also the interdialectal correspondence *tukti-* (Bikin) ~ *tupti-* (Samarga) (K 172) 'climb'. The same alternation is observed within the Decausative affix *-ktA- ~ -ptA-* (8.2.1.3).

The consonant /*k*/ optionally spirantizes within the clusters *kt, kc* and *kp* in words with back vowel harmony. Examples: *wakca- ~ waxca-* 'hunt', *gakpa ~ gaxpa* 'shoot with an arrow', *wokti ~ woxti* 'door'. In certain cases the spirantization of /*k*/ is observed in the initial position of words with back vowels: *koŋz'oi ~ xoŋz'oi* 'box, chest'.

2.2.4.2. Variation /*s*/ ~ /*x*/

In some idiolects the intervocalic /*s*/ may be replaced by the velar fricative /*x*/, at least in certain grammatical morphemes, for example: *bi-si-ni ~ bi-xi-ni* <be-PAST-3SG>, *eme-isi-ni ~ eme-ixi-ni* <come-PC-3SG>, cf. also *sita ~ xita* 'child, child'.

2.2.4.3. Variation /*n*/ ~ /*l*/

Free variation between /*l*/ and /*n*/ is attested, especially, in the dialect of Iman. For example: *banixe ~ balixe* 'thank you', *lali- ~ nali-* 'starve', *nifikti ~ lifikti* 'cork', *xunlepte ~ xulepte* 'ash', *ninme- ~ linme-* 'swallow', *nuki ~ luki* 'rope'. This variation is especially common for the 3rd person Singular agreement marker *-ini ~ -ili* in the Present tense, for example: *ŋene-ili* 'goes', *b'a-ili* 'finds', *gulin-e-ili* 'leaves'. The variants with the agreement marker *-ili* are reflected in the texts (Chapter 25).

2.2.4.4. Loss of initial /*ŋ*/ and /*n*/

The word-initial nasals /*ŋ*/ and /*n*/ may be optionally lost before /*i*/ and /*u*/, cf.: *ŋic'a ~ ic'a* 'small', *nim'aŋku ~ im'aŋku* 'tale', *nixe- ~ ixe-* 'do', *ŋumnigele- ~ umnigele-* 'screen oneself with a hand from the sun'.

2.2.4.5. Spirantization of intervocalic stops

The voiced stops /*b*/ and /*g*/ in the intervocalic position commonly undergo (partial) spirantization: *b* → *β, g* → *ɣ,* for example: *obo* [*oβo*] ‘part’, *uga* [*uɣa*] ‘voice’, *mogolie* [*moɣolie*] ‘around’. According to Kormušin (1998), in the Northern dialect the intervocalic velar stop may completely sonorize. Spirantization of the intervocalic /*g*/ in the Southern dialect is often observed in the Lative case affix *-tigi* (see 4.2.2.4). Further development may lead to the complete loss of the intervocalic consonant, as happened, for example in the words *dian-* ‘say’ as pronounced by most speakers (cf. *digan-* in Schneider (1936)), *suese* ‘axe’ (cf. *suɣese ~ sugese* in Kormušin (1998)), and *siguli* ‘squash’ (cf. *siɣuli ~ siuli* in Kormušin (1998)). As mentioned in 2.2.1.1, Simonov (1988 and other publications) considers *ɣ* a separate phoneme, but there is no evidence for this in the Southern dialect.

2.2.4.6. Deletion of /*j*/

The intervocalic consonant /*j*/ tends to be deleted before /*i*/. This happens in particular in the affixes of the Present Passive particles *-uji* (for example, *wa-uji* or *wa-u-i* ‘being killed’), cf. also *buji* and *bui* ‘animal’, *weji* and *wei* ‘twenty’. In fact, in the modern language the pronunciation without /*j*/ predominates. At least historically, deletion of the intervocalic /*j*/ was also present before other non-back vowels, cf. the personal pronoun *bue-ni* ‘he/she’ (9.1.1) that developed from the 3rd person Singular possessive form of the noun
meaning ‘body’ *beje-ni.2.3. Phonological alternations*

2.3.1. Contraction of high vowels

In the course of derivation, two identical high vowels contract into a long vowel: *i* + *i* → *i:, u* + *u* → *u:*. In word-final position, the contraction into /*i:*/ happens mostly when an *i*-final case affix (Prolative, Ablative, Lative) or stem is followed by the personal affixes of the 1st and 2nd person Singular or Reflexive Singular (52a). The contraction into /*u:*/ occurs when the *u*-final stem or case affix (Dative) is followed by the 2nd person Plural or 1st person Plural Exclusive possessive marker *-u* (52b). The same alternations are typical of the declension of personal forms of participles (7.9.1).

(52)	a.	*dili:* <head-1SG>	←	*dili-i*	‘my head’
		igi: <tail-REF>	←	*igi-i*	‘self’s tail’
		xokto-li: <road-PROL-2SG>	←	*xokto-li-i*	‘along your road’
	b.	*kodu:* <son.in.law-2PL>	←	*kodu-u*:	‘your son-in-law’
		keudidu: <sack-DAT-1PL.EX>	←	*keudi-du-u*	‘in our sack’

The contraction is observed only when the word-final high vowel is stressed (on the stress rules see 3.6.3). An unstressed high vowel does not contract. When the stress falls on a non-final bimoraic vowel (3.6.3.2) the contraction is absent and the word ends in a short vowel, cf. (53a) and (53b). In the following examples stress is marked by the symbol '.

(53) a. *dili:* ← *dil'i-i* ‘your head’ <head-2SG>
b. *eme-isi* ← *em'e-isi-i* ‘when I come’ <come-PC-1SG>
a:nta-tigi ← *'a:nta-tigi-i* ‘to your woman’ <woman-LAT-2SG>
kawa-tigi ← *kaw'a-tigi-i* ‘to your tent’ <tent-LAT-2SG>

Note that in careful pronunciation contraction may be absent, while in the reduced style of speech long vowels are regularly shortened (see 2.1.1.2.3). Thus, three alternative pronunciations are in principle available.

(54)

	normal	reduced	careful speech
dili-i ‘my head (1SG)’	*dili:*	*dili*	*dilii*

In word-medial position, the contraction *i* + *i* → *i:* is common when the *i*-final verbal stem is followed by the *i*-initial agreement affixes *-ini* (3SG PRES) and *-iti* (3PL PRES): *eme-gi-ini* <come-REP-3SG> → *eme-gi:-ni* ‘he returns’, *ise-si-iti* <see-IM-3PL> → *ise-si:-ti* ‘they are looking’. In line with a general tendency for shortening (2.1.1.2.3), the long vowels developed through contraction may be shortened in fast speech.

When an *i-* or *u*-initial affix follows a vowel cluster that ends in a high vowel, the contraction is typically absent in fast speech: *bi in’ei* (< *in’ei-i*) ‘my dog (1SG)’, *bu zeu* (< *zeu-u*) ‘our food (1PL.EX)’. In more careful pronunciation, however, the final vowel may be lengthened, cf.: *xui:* (< *xui-i*) ‘is boiling (PRP)’, *mui:* (<*mui-i*) ‘my horse (1SG)’.

2.3.2. Labialization of /*e*:/

The long /*e:*/ that appeared as a historical contraction with the pharyngeal -**h*- within the Past tense marker *-hA-* (< -**sa*-) is labialized after *u*-final verbal stems: *aju-* ‘love’ + PAST → *aju-o:-* (< *aju-e:-* < *aju-he-*); *akpu-* ‘sweep’ + PAST → *akpu -o:-* (< *akpu-e:-* < *akpu-he-*).

When the stem-final /*u*/ is preceded by another vowel or is long (/*u*:/), it appears in the syllable-initial (onset) position before the following /*o*:/ and is realized as the consonant /*w*/, cf.: *dau-* ‘cross the river’ + PAST → *daw-o*:- (< *dau-o:-* < *dau-e:-* < *dau-he-*); *eu-* ‘go down’ + PAST → *e-w-o:-* (< *eu-o:-* < *eu-e:-* < *eu-he-*) Cf. also *teu-gi-* ‘put back’ (put-REP) and *tew-o:-ni* ‘he put’ (put-PAST-3SG). The same is observed in the Past tense of the Passive verbs (8.2.1.5) when the Passive marker *-u-* follows a vowel-final stem: *ise-w-o:-* ‘be seen’ *(*< *ise-u-o:-* < *ise-u-e:-* <see-PAS-PAST>).

Verbs with an underlying long /*u:*/ undergo the same alternation in the Past tense (55a). On the other hand, verbs that end in an underlying short /*u*/ that may be lengthened by prosodic lengthening (2.3.4) do not demonstrate the alternation /*u*/ ~ /*w*/ (55b). In the examples below the bare stems of the verb ‘die out, become dim’ and ‘give’ end in the long /*u*:/, however, only for (55a) is it underlying, as is shown by the Future form. The underlying long /*u:*/ is represented by *uw* before the Past tense marker *-o*:-, while the underlying short /*u*/ is unchanged.

(55)

	bare stem	Future, 3SG	Past, 3SG
a.	*su:* ‘die out’	*su:-zeŋe-ni*	*suw-o:-ni*
b.	*bu:* ‘give’	*bu-zeŋe-ni*	*bu-o:-ni*

2.3.3. Prosodic lengthening

The prosodic structure of Udihe requires bimoraic feet (3.6.2). Since the minimal lexical word is universally known to be equal to a foot (McCarthy and Prince 1995), the Udihe minimal lexical word must be bimoraic. According to this principle, in a monosyllable with an underlying short vowel, the vowel necessarily lengthens. See, for example, the bare monosyllabic stems of the verbs 'kill' and 'give'. These exhibit a long vowel, whereas polysyllabic forms of the same stems have short vowels:

(56)	'kill'	'give'
bare stem	*wa:*	*bu:*
Future 3SG	*wa-zaŋa-ni*	*bu-zeŋe-ni*
Subjunctive 3SG	*wa-za*	*bu-ze*

Words with underlying long vowels do not demonstrate such alternations in vowel length (cf. 55a).

As shown in 3.6.3.3, the word-final syllable with a short high vowel (in inflectional affixes) is extrametrical with respect to stress placement rules. In bisyllabic words where the second syllable does not belong to the stem and has a short high vowel, the first syllable vowel is lengthened. This suggests that the word-final short high vowels do not provide the mora necessary to ensure bimoraicity of the prosodic word, and is in line with the analysis of these vowels as extrametrical, for example, *wa:-mi* 'kill (INF)'. Forms with the final postvocalic /*i*/ do not exhibit lengthening: *wa-i* 'kill (PRP)'.

2.3.4. Consonant deletion

On the deletion of the stem- or affix-final consonant /*n*/ employed to prevent illegitimate consonant clusters, see 3.4.1.

Chapter 3
Phonotactics and prosody

3.1. Positional restrictions

This section deals with the phonotactic rules that condition the position of vowels and consonants with respect to the word boundaries.

3.1.1. Word-final position

The overwhelming majority of native (non-borrowed) words end in a single vowel (*tege* 'gown', *ni:kte* 'fern') or in a vowel cluster (*ad'au* 'twins', *bei* 'in vain'). On the possible vowel clusters, see 3.2.2. An important phonotactic restriction on the word-final position is the prohibition on consonant segments and, accordingly, consonant clusters.

Word-final consonants have a marginal status and occur only in the following three cases. They may appear as the result of the loss of final high vowels (/*i*/ or less frequently /*u*/), as discussed in 2.1.5.3. The loss of the final /*i*/ leads to the palatalization of the preceding consonant (2.2.3.2). Second, word-final consonants are present in certain ideophonic adverbs. At least in some cases they seem to have emerged as lexicalized variants of their vowel-final counterparts. For a small group of words the two variants (consonant-final and vowel-final) are simultaneously present in the language (57a). In other cases only the consonant-final variant is preserved (57b). Those consonants found in the ideophones in the word-final position are /*n*/, /*ñ*/, /*l*/ (phonetically usually [*lʲ*]), /*r*/, /*s*/ ([*sʲ*]), /*f*/, /*m*/, /*ŋ*/, and /*k*/.

(57) a. *tef-tef* 'soft' *tefu-tefu*
čif-čif 'completely (sweaty)' *čifu-čifu*
taf 'all through' *tafu-tafu*
per-per 'numb from sitting' *peli-peli*
kef-kef 'broken completely, with a crash (of a tree)' *kefutu-kefutu*

b. *weŋbek-weŋbek* 'staggering (of walking)' *kälʲ-kälʲ* 'pale'
kok-kok 'hard'
bokčom-bokčom 'wrinkled'

piŋ-piŋ 'trodden' (SK 749)
logzoŋ-logzoŋ 'crooked' (SK 523)

Further examples can be found in the substantially complete list of ideophones in Chapter 26.

Finally, in a number of grammatical morphemes the variant with the word-final consonant has been generalized:

(58) *de(xe)m(i)* 'any' (9.6.3)
-As ... -As (rarely *-Asi ... -Asi*) 'either ... or' (18.2.2.1)
the adverbial element *c'of* (< *c'ofu*) 'forever'

-*k* Expressive Past (7.10.4.1)

Recent borrowings from Russian may end in a consonant, while in older borrowings from Russian and Chinese an epenthetic vowel prevents a word-final consonant (1.5.2.2.1; 3.4.1.2).

3.1.2. Word-initial position

Restrictions on the occurrence of segments in the word-initial position are partly motivated by the phonotactic rules of the language.

(i) The so-called secondary vowels (2.1.2) /*ä*/, /*ö*/, /*ü*/, as well as their long counterparts, do not occur word-initially.

(ii) Because of the historical sound change **xi*- > *si*- the initial string *xi* is absent (Menges 1968; Kormušin 1998: 82).

(iii) The ban on tautosyllabic consonant clusters (3.2.1) motivates the absence of word-initial clusters.

(iv) Initial vowel clusters beginning with high vowels are not acceptable because an initial prevocalic glide is syllabified as syllable onset and is pronounced as a consonant: #*ua* -> #*wa*, #*io* -> #*jo* (3.2.3). Schneider and Kormušin cite variants in the pronunciation of the initial prevocalic /*w*/ in the Northern dialect (*uakta* and *wakta* 'grass'). However, in the modern Bikin dialect only the consonant pronunciation of initial glides is possible.

3.2. Co-occurrence restrictions

This section deals with the co-occurrence of adjacent vowels and consonants. Vowel harmony is addressed in 3.3.

3.2.1. Consonant clusters

Udihe does not allow tautosyllabic adjacent consonants, therefore three-consonant clusters are not acceptable, and within a two-consonant cluster the syllable boundary is always located after the first consonant. Clusters that consist of two identical consonants are typically absent. Due to the fact that most morphemes are vowel-final (3.5), most consonant clusters occur morpheme-internally. A handful of exceptions to this generalization are provided by *n*-final nominal and verbal stems followed by a suffix that begins with a dental consonant (3.2.2). Thus, the only cluster allowed at a morpheme boundary is a cluster of type «*n* + dental», while even after *n*-final stems other clusters are prevented either by epenthesis (3.4.1.1) or by consonant deletion.

The most important restriction on clusters of two obstruents is that they must agree in voicing. Voiced obstruents do not co-occur with voiceless obstruents within a cluster. Sonorants can be combined with both voiced and voiceless consonants. The spirants /*x*/ and /*s*/ as well as the sonorant /*l*/ are not normally present within consonant clusters. The glides /*w*/ and /*j*/ only occur intervocalically, or in the word-initial position (see 3.2.3. for further details). Table 6 gives the possible combinations according to natural classes; details are discussed in the subsections. In the table the symbols +/- mark the presence/absence of the theoretical possibility of the corresponding cluster.

Table 7. The co-occurrence of consonants

	voiced stops	voiceless	x, s, l, w,	other

C2 C1	and affricates	stops and affricates	j	sonorants
voiced stops and affricates	+	-	-	-
voiceless stops and affricates	-	+	-	-
x, s, l, w, j	-	-	-	
other sonorants	+	+	-	+

In the following we give one example for each attested cluster.

3.2.1.1. Voiced clusters

(59)

cluster	example	
bd	*abdä*:	'leaf'
bz	*sebzeŋke*	'interesting, funny'
gb	*dogbo*	'night'
gd	*agda-*	'get happy'
gz	*Agza*	name of a village

Clusters beginning with /*d*/ are impossible. The cluster *bg* is occasionally attested in the Northern dialect as a result of the following development: *-fi* (1PL.IN) + *ge* (HORT) → *fge* → *pge,* for example, *ŋene-ze-b-ge* 'let us go' <go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-HORT>.

3.2.1.2. Voiceless clusters

(60)

cluster	example	
kt (xt)	*zakta*	'millet'
kc (xc, ks)	*tukca ~ tuksa*	'hare'
kp (xt)	*cukpa*	'path'
pc (ps)	*tapči*	'full'
pt	*kepte*	'wall'

Clusters *kt* and *pt*, on the one hand, and *kc* and *pc*, on the other hand, are in free variation in words with back vocalism (2.2.4.1). The spirants /*s*/ and /*x*/ do not participate in voiceless clusters. The only exceptions in our corpus are *asta-* 'release, let go', *sta* 'son' developed from *sita*, as well as the Northern *kusta* < *kusikta* 'cedar nuts' and *meste* < *mesikte* 'wild grapes'. We sporadically find *ks* and *ps* pronounced instead of *kc* and *pc*, respectively. *x*-initial clusters can appear as the result of the optional spirantization of /*k*/ (2.2.4.1). *t*-initial clusters as well as the cluster **pk* are prohibited (cf. the replacement of the original *pk* by *kp* in the old Russian loan-word *kakpa* 'trap', 1.5.2.2.1).

There is a certain tendency to pronounce the first consonant in the clusters *kt* and *kp* as a glottal stop, cf.: *tukti- ~ tu ʔti-* 'climb', *cokpo- ~ co ʔpo-* 'grasp with claws'.

3.2.1.3. Clusters with sonorants

In clusters that consist of a plosive and a sonorant, the sonorant may precede the plosive, but not vice versa. Since all consonant clusters with the sonorant /*l*/ have undergone phonological changes in the history of Udihe (2.2.2), /*l*/ does not occur within consonant clusters, except in certain loan-words (*zaŋlaŋa* 'cockroach' < Chinese, *malta* 'white whale' < Nanai (Schneider 1936: 49)). The sonorant /*ŋ*/ cannot be a second component of a cluster, and the sonorant /*ñ*/ is limited to certain clusters.

3.2.1.3.1. Sonorant + voiceless plosive

(61)	cluster	example	
	ŋk	*ŋim'aŋku*	'tale'
	ŋt	*uŋta*	'boots'
	ŋc	*guaŋčou*	'spade'
	ŋp	*jaŋpa*	'shaman's belt'
	mt	*amta*	'taste'
	mp	*gampa*	'porridge'
	nt	*a:nta*	'woman'
	nc	*cincaula*	'large mosquito'
	mc	*čimčei*	'finger'

The spirants /*x*/ and /*s*/ do not occur after sonorants, other than in certain loan words (for example, the words *dunsi* 'things, belongings' and *saŋxua* 'lunch, dinner' borrowed from Chinese). The cluster **nk* is not possible because /*n*/ is velarized in the position before /*k*/: *nk* > *ŋk* (2.2.3.4). The clusters **np* and **mk* also seem to be absent. The palatal /*ñ*/ does not occur before voiceless plosives.

3.2.1.3.2. Sonorant + voiced plosive

(62)	cluster	example	
	ŋg	*boŋgo*	'first, main'
	ŋz	*jaŋza*	'jewelry'
	ŋd	*oŋdo*	'glutton'
	ŋb	*waŋba*	'tortoise'
	md	*kemdexi*	'fish tail'
	mz	*boŋgomzi*	'main'
	mb	*amba*	'evil spirit'
	mg	*pamgu*	'Adam's apple' (K 277)
	nz	*banza*	'board'
	nd	*činda*	'bird'

The palatal /*ñ*/ does not occur before the voiced stops /*b*/, /*d*/, and /*g*/ and is occasionally present before /*z*/ in borrowed words (*kuñzi* 'ladle' < Chinese). The cluster **ng* is absent because of the /*n*/ velarization: *ng* → *ŋg* (2.2.3.4). The cluster **nb* has undergone an historical transformation

into /*m*/. An example of this historical sound change is the Accusative affix *-mA* of the class II nominal stems (4.1.3): the stem-final /*n*/ and the affix-initial /*b*/ changed into /*m*/ (**xoton-bA* <city-ACC> → *xoto-mA*).

3.2.1.3.3. Sonorant-only clusters

(63)

cluster	example	
ŋm	*aŋma*	‘mouth’
ŋñ	*saŋña*	‘smoke’
ŋn	*waŋna-*	‘go to kill’
mn	*kamnu*	‘glue’
mñ	*tamña*	‘fog’
mŋ	*Kumŋoŋko*	clan name (Kormušin 1998: 6)

ñ- and *n*-initial clusters are absent.

3.2.2. Vowel clusters

The string of two or three non-identical adjacent vowels is traditionally treated either as a diphthong (triphthong) or as a bisyllabic (trisyllabic) cluster. The phonotactic restriction of vowel harmony (3.3) implies that only identical non-high vowels are present within a word. Therefore in bivocalic clusters only one non-high vowel may be present. For trivocalic clusters it is theoretically possible to have two identical non-high vowels separated by a glide; in practice, however, such clusters are never found and typically only one non-high vowel occurs within three-vocalic clusters as well.

In 3.2.2.1 we present a list of possible Udihe vowel clusters, while in 3.2.2.2 we discuss their phonological status, and the arguments in favor of their bi- and trisyllabicity. The argument that the high vowel within a cluster cannot be viewed as a glide consonant from a phonological point of view is covered in 3.2.3.

3.2.2.1. The system of vowel clusters

3.2.2.1.1. Bivocalic clusters

Bivocalic clusters consist of a short non-high vowel (/*o*/, /*e*/, /*a*/, /*ö*/, /*ä*/) and a high vowel /*i*/, /*u*/ (rarely /*ü*/):

(64) a. high vowel + non-high vowel

cluster	example	
ue	*due*	‘top’
ua	*nuani*	‘he’
uo	*zuolo-*	‘frolic’

b. non-high vowel + high vowel

cluster	example	
eu	*leukte*	‘water-plants’

au	*daumi*	‘bridge’
ou	*pou-pou*	‘dark’ (also *pui-pui*)
äu	*bagäu*	‘enemy’
öü	*zätöü*	‘sparrow’
ai	*aisi*	‘gold’
oi	*kotoi*	‘bald’
ei	*ei*	‘this’
äi	*tukä-i*	‘run (PRP)’
öi	*mogö-i*	‘my wooden bucket (1SG)’

Clusters beginning with a glide followed by /*ä*/ or /*ö*/ are not found. The clusters *ie, üö*, and *iä* mentioned in Schneider (1936) and considered the only clusters with diphthong status in Simonov (1988) are absent from the modern Bikin dialects because they were transformed into the long vowel phonemes /*ie*/ (with a diphthongoid pronunciation, see 2.1.1.2.2), /*ö:*/, and /*ä:*/, respectively. The cluster *io* is apparently very rare; in our material it is only found in three words: *Pioŋka, Gioŋka* (clan names), and *miondo* ‘gun’, but their pronunciation may vary (*Piaŋka, Päŋka, Gäuŋka, mianda, mäunda*).

As discussed in 2.3.1, in some idiolects the vowels /*e*/, /*o*/, and /*a*/ are neutralized before the high vowel, so the clusters *eu, au, ou,* on the one hand, and *ei, ai, oi,* on the other hand, may be pronounced as phonetically identical. For such idiolects the original quality of the non-high vowel may be established on the basis of co-occurrence restrictions driven by vowel harmony (3.3).

Clusters that consist of two high vowels are the following:

(65)

cluster	example	
üi	*züi*	‘saw’
ui	*zui*	‘sour’
iu	*giuse*	‘roe’

3.2.2.1.2. Clusters with long and laryngealized vowels

Laryngealized non-high vowels (66a) and long vowels (66b) may be present within vowel clusters as their first (but not second) component preceding a glide. The rare vowels /*ö:*/ and /*ü*:/ do not typically occur within such clusters. The clusters occur stem-internally and may appear in the course of morphological derivation.

(66)

	cluster	example		
a.	*’au*	*ñ’aula*	‘young, youth’	
	’ai	*’ai-ni*	‘his elder brother (3SG)’	
	’eu	*em’e-u*	‘we came’ <come.PERF-1PL.EX>	
	’*ei*	*in’ei*	‘dog’	
	’*ou*	*oŋmon’ouse*	‘forgetful’	
	’*oi*	*koŋz’oi*	‘box, chest’	
	’*äu*	*tuk’ä-u*	‘we run’ <run.PERF-1PL.EX>	
	’*äi*	*tuk’ä-i*	‘you run’ <run.PERF-2SG>	
b.	*a:u*	*xula:-u*	‘your blanket (2PL)’ <blanket-2PL>	
	a:i	*xula:-i*	‘your blanket (2SG)’ <blanket-2SG>	
	ä:u	*mä:usa*	‘gun’	
	ä:i	*tukä:-i*	‘you run’ <run.PAST-2SG>	*o:u*

imo:-u ‘your fat (2PL)’
o:i *imo:-i* ‘your fat (2SG)’
e:i *eme:-i* ‘you came’ <come.PAST-2SG> *e:u*
eme:-u ‘you came’ <come.PAST-2PL>

3.2.2.1.3. Trivocalic clusters

Trivocalic clusters occur much more rarely. In native stems such clusters typically include one laryngealized vowel (67a). Trivocalic clusters may appear as a result of suffixation (67b).

(67) a. *ku’ai* ‘ear’
cu’ai ‘bird cherry’
b. *jandau-i* ‘my sickle (1SG)’
bua-u ‘our God (1PL.EX)’

3.2.2.2. The status of vowel clusters

Schneider (1936, 1937) was the first to qualify vowel clusters as diphthongs. Since any type of non-high vowel can be a component of a diphthong (short vowels, long vowels, laryngealized vowels and – in the Northern dialect – pharyngealized vowels), this means that theoretically one would have to add an excessively large number of phonemes to the vowel inventory. Indeed, the number of vowel phonemes in Schneider’s description is about 70.

Under another analysis (Sunik 1968, 1997; Simonov 1988; Kormušin 1998), vowel clusters are regarded as bisyllabic complexes. According to Simonov (1988: 70–71), the components of a vowel cluster may bear a different stress (secondary stress and primary stress), for example: *bu'adu* ‘outside’, and belong to different «rhythmic groups» within the word. On this ground they are considered to be within different syllables. The main argument for the bisyllabicity of vowel clusters advanced by Kormušin (1998: 50) is of morphological character. Vowel clusters are treated as bisyllabic because the morpheme boundary may be located between their components: *dala-u-si-* ‘feed (animals)’ <lap-CAUS-IM>, *eme-ini* ‘he comes’ <come-3SG>, *umi-ge-u* ‘we drank’ <drink-PERF-1PL.EX>. An additional argument is historical: the components of vowel clusters go back to vowels within two different syllables, since the clusters developed as a result of the loss of the intervocalic consonant. Neither of these two arguments is convincing. In particular, the morphological criterion does not work because the morpheme boundary may also be located «within» a long vowel, although the monophonemic status of long vowels is uncontroversial and was recognized as such by Kormušin himself: *dili:* ‘my head’ (← *dili-i* <head-1SG>), *ana:-ni* ‘he pushed’ (← *ana-a-ni* <push-PAST-3SG>), *zugdi-du:* ‘in our house’ (← *zugdi-du-u* <house-DAT-1PL.EX>), etc.

We present below some phonological arguments that support the bisyllabicity analysis.

First, if vowel clusters are considered diphthongs, they must be analyzed as bimoraic. This follows from the fact that vowel clusters are found in structures (C)VV: *au* ‘cap’, *g’ai* ‘crow’, *bui* ‘animal’, *bua* ‘God’, *loi* ‘nest’, etc. As argued in 3.6.2, the prosodiced word in Udihe must be minimally bimoraic, thus, such words should be regarded as having two moras. The stress placement rules ensure that in polysyllabic words bimoraic segments are stressed (3.6.3.2). However, the vowel clusters do not receive a primary stress unless they occur on the last syllable of the word. Cf. (68a), demonstrating an unstressed vowel cluster, and (68b) which shows that bimoraic (long and laryngealized) vowels in the same position are stressed.

(68) a. *daum'i* ‘tobacco’

	gaul'i	‘Korean’
	bait'a	‘fault’
	ais'i	‘gold’
	deuz'e	‘beans’
	guakt'a	‘moustache’
	zauŋ'a	‘greenling (a sort of salmon)’
b.	*'a:nta*	‘woman’
	'e:de	‘stupid’
	b''ata	‘boy’
	g' 'ala	‘shell’

The contrast between (68a) and (68b) demonstrates that vowel clusters behave differently from bimoraic segments with respect to stress assignment, and therefore cannot be analyzed as prosodically equal. Since stress placement in (68a) does not differ from the pattern available for trisyllabic words without vowel clusters, such as *azig'a* ‘girl’, and *emugd'e* ‘stomach’, it is logical to assume that vowel clusters are combinations of two monomoraic segments (on stress-placement rules see 3.6.3). Note that in clusters that contain a bimoraic (long or laryngealized) vowel as one of their components (3.2.2.1.3) this vowel is stressed according to the general stress rule: *ñ''aula* ‘young, youth’, *m'ä:usa* ‘gun’.

Second, in fast speech (which Kormušin terms the «reduced» style) the clusters may indeed be contracted into a long (bimoraic) vowel. Normally this happens in words with the structure (C)VV, and for some words the contracted forms seem to have become the standard pronunciation. For at least one word both contracted and non-contracted variants are generalized and differentiate the lexical meaning: cf. the contracted variant *ba:* that normally means ‘place, nature; also as expletive subject’ (14.1) and the uncontracted *bua* ‘god’. Importantly, the contraction always takes place «in one direction»: the resulting long vowel corresponds in quality to the second component of the cluster, independently of it being a high or non-high vowel, cf.:

(69)	a.	*bua*	*ba:*	‘place, nature’
		zua	*za:*	‘summer’
		nüö	*nö:*	‘sable’
	b.	*zeu*	*zu:*	‘food’
		teu	*tu:*	‘all’

The contraction of vowel clusters is observed in some derivational processes, for example, in the Passive formation (8.2.1.5): *an-u:-mi* < *ana-u-mi* ‘I am pushed’ <push-PAS-1SG>. Clusters with the vowel /i/ do not normally contract, except for the cluster *Ai* that appears when the 3SG and 3PL Present affixes *-ini* and *-iti* follow the vocalic verbal stem. Such a cluster is sometimes contracted into the long /i:/, for example: *ede-weni:-ni* < *ede-wen-e-ini* ‘make (something) become (something)’ <become-CAUS-0-3SG>.

Since the second vowel in the cluster always preserves its quality, it is natural to assume that this vowel is stressed. Indeed, in careful speech the stress is present.

(70)	*a'uni*	‘his cap (3SG)’
	lo'ini	‘his nest (3SG)’
	bu'a	‘place, nature’

This stands in agreement with the stress rule that requires stress on the rightmost non-high vowel in bisyllabic words without bimoraic segments (3.6.3.2). Alternatively, if the vowel cluster were monosyllabic (a diphthong), we would expect its non-glide component to bear the stress and to preserve its quality after contraction. Since such forms (for example, **ze:* instead of *zu*: < *zeu*) are

not attested, this supports the analysis of vowel clusters as a combination of two vowels belonging to different syllables, while the second of them is stressed. In fact, in clusters where the first component is bimoraic (long or laryngealized) it bears the stress (3.6.3.2) and such clusters do not contract: *j'eu* 'what' (but not **ju*:).

Thus, vowel clusters behave distributionally as bisyllabic. Indeed, as already noticed by Simonov, they sound and are perceived as bisyllabic in slow speech. Although they can contract into a diphthong or a long vowel (sometimes with a diphthongoid pronunciation, see 2.1.1.2.2), this is typical only for certain clusters, certain types of words, and certain pronunciation styles.

Note, finally, that all that has been said applies only to native (non-borrowed) words. Vowel clusters in those Chinese borrowings not yet completely integrated into the language are often pronounced as a diphthong (3.2.2.2).

3.2.3. Status of glides within a syllable

The intervocalic position is the only position where glides (/*j*/, /*w*/) and high vowels (/*i*/, /*u*/) are in phonological contrast. High vowels may appear intervocalically, that is, within trivocalic clusters in the course of morphological derivation, although these cases are not frequent. According to the arguments presented in the previous section, they syllabify as syllable nuclei in this case (71a) while intervocalic glides syllabify as syllable onsets (71b). Dots are used below to indicate syllable boundaries.

(71) a. *se.u.i* 'my oar (1SG)'
ga.u.i 'my pole (1SG)'
'a.i.u 'our vodka (1PL.EX)'
g'a.i.u 'our crow (1PL.EX)'
b. *me.je* 'mind'
ka.wa 'bark tent'

In the other positions high vowels and glides are in complementary distribution. In the word-initial prevocalic position only glides are acceptable:

(72) *jaŋza* 'jewelry'
we: 'mountain'

In other words, vowel clusters beginning with a high vowel do not occur word-initially. Word-medially, glides are not present when they are preceded by a consonant (cf. the absence of clusters **Cj* and **Cw*, 3.2.1) but there are clusters that begin with a high vowel (3.2.2).

In the preconsonantal position or word-finally glides are not found either (clusters **jC*, **wC* are absent, see 3.2.1), while high vowels occur within vocalic clusters (3.2.2). Although phonetically they may be realized as /*w*/ and /*j*/ in some idiolects, there are distributional reasons to believe that phonologically they should be identified as vowels. First, the consonant /*p*/ is realized as *f* after this segment, as only occurs intervocalically (2.2.3.1), cf.: *maifa* 'a measure of length', *tüifaŋa* 'plane (a tool)'. Second, triconsonantal clusters in Udihe are absent due to the ban on tautosyllabic consonantal clusters (3.2.1). However, the vowel cluster ending in a glide may be followed by two consonants. This shows that the second element in the cluster must be vocalic.

(73) *waikta* 'nail' *aikta* 'fir-tree'
deipti 'cover, lid' *kaiŋku* 'brake for leather'
leukte 'water-plants' *ŋeigze* 'bright'

Finally, the second component of the cluster may be word-final, although, according to the phonotactic rules of Udihe, word-final consonants are not otherwise accepted (3.1.1):

(74)	*ku'ai*	'ear'	*teu*	'all'
	kui	'strength'	*au*	'cap'

3.3. Vowel harmony

Udihe has a system of dual harmony based on rounding and height distinctions. Only non-high vowels harmonize, while high vowels are harmony-neutral: on the one hand, they freely co-occur with all vowels, on the other hand, they block the spreading of the harmonic features. Non-high vowels are segregated into three distinct sets that share harmonic features: non-round low vowels (/*a*/, /*ä*/), non-round mid vowels (/*e*/, /*ie*/), and round mid vowels (/*o*/, /*ö*/). Long and laryngealized vowels behave harmonically in the same way as their short versions.

The domain of harmony is the phonological word, including clitics (3.5.3.1). The harmony is root-controlled. An additional restriction is that vowels are only specified for backness in roots (on root structure see 3.5.1), while in affixal morphemes non-high vowels may only be non-front.

3.3.1. Roots

In bisyllabic and trisyllabic roots vowels are specified for backness. Non-high vowels harmonize for the feature of height and rounding. High vowels (/*i*/, /*u*/,
and the rare /*ü*/) fail to harmonize.

3.3.1.1. Co-occurrence of vowels

The co-occurrence of vowels in roots can be represented by the following scheme:

(75)							see examples
	a.	/*a*/	/*ä*/	/*i*/	/*u*/	/*ü*/	(76a)
	b.	/*o*/	/*ö*/	/*i*/	/*u*/	/*ü*/	(76b)
	c.	/*e*/	/*i*/	/*u*/	/*ü*/	/*ie*/	(76c)

Examples of bisyllabic and trisyllabic roots are in (76).

(76)	a.	*kapta*	'parcel'	*aziga*	'girl'	
		bäs a	'river'	*gautu*	'hoe'	
		kali	'sig (a kind of fish)'	*ad'au*	'twins'	
		tukä-	'run'	*kuliga*	'snake'	
		susa-	'escape'	*lifakta*	'mud'	
	b.	*solö*:	'Siberian weasel'	*miondo*	'gun'	*kömpo*
	'thorn'		*ilondo*	'minnow'		
		toŋi	'lake'	*kosolo*	'currants'	
		n'olö	'caterpillar'	*bogüso-*	'torture'	
		kodu	'son-in-law'	*mo:mugu*	'stack of firewood'	
	c.	*sita*	'child'	*emugde*	'stomach'	
		tekpu	'skin'	*kusige*	'knife'	
		tiu	'pillow'	*u:dugu*	'scraper'	

cuŋe	‘onion’	*zueze*	‘table’
egdi	‘many’	*tukulu*	‘bottle’
dieli-	‘fly’	*iŋini:*	‘cold’
uli	‘water’	*igisi-*	‘keep, bring up’
eke	‘time’	*degumu*	‘poles for drying fish’

3.3.1.2. Traces of high vowels harmony

Some traces of rounding harmony for high vowels can be noticed. First, in roots where only high vowels are present there is a certain tendency for them to correlate in rounding value; see also the types of affixes in 3.5.2. High vowels often assimilate to each other (2.1.4.2). Second, the round vowels /*o*/ and /*ö*/ are more easily compatible with /*u*/ than with /*i*/; in fact, words where /*i*/ and /*o*/ (/*ö*/) co-occur are rare. They are cited below.

(77)

koli	‘law, custom’	*kico*	‘upright’
kokpi-	‘open; have enough time’	*iŋofo*	‘bird cherry tree’
kokčilʲ	‘curly’	*silosi-*	‘warm’
disokto	‘wild garlic’	*oloxi*	‘squirrel’
dogdi-	‘hear’	*doxi*	‘full’
olin-	‘instead’		

3.3.1.3. Disharmonic roots

In disharmonic roots each vowel is specified for a whole set of distinctive features. They are represented by recent Chinese and Russian borrowings.

(78)

guaŋčou	‘spade’
zätöü	‘sparrow’
kab’ou	‘bifurcated object’
laulou ~ loulou	‘maternal grandmother’
nade	‘must’

Disharmonic roots deviate from the harmonic principle of co-occurrence of vowels, but their effect on the harmony in affixes (3.3.2) is not haphazard: vowels in the affixes harmonize to the last non-high root vowel, according to the general rule.

3.3.2. Affixes

On the phonological structure of affixes see 3.5.2.

3.3.2.1. Harmony to the root

Non-high vowels in affixes and clitics (3.5.3) are specified as non-front but are underspecified with respect to height and rounding. Thus, the only non-high vowels that occur in the affixal morphemes are /*a*/, /*o*/, and /*e*/, and their occurrence is conditioned by the harmonic feature of

non-high root vowels, or the last non-high root vowel in the case of disharmonic roots (3.3.1.3) in the following way:

(79)	root	suffix
	/*a*/ /*ä*/	/*a*/
	/*o*/ /*ö*/	/*o*/
	/*e*/ /*i*/ /*u*/ /*ü*/	/*e*/

As can be seen from (79), when the root consists of only high vowels the vowel in affixes harmonizes as /*e*/. Although the vowel /*i*/ entirely shares the harmonic features of /*e*/ (a non-round non-low vowel), /*u*/ does not, because it is round. This shows that rounding harmony is localized in a subset of vowels, and must refer to height value: only mid vowels harmonize for rounding.

In the schematic representation of affixal morphemes throughout this grammar, underspecified non-high vowels are represented as *A*, while in the examples they are transcribed using their actual phonetic value (*a, o* or *e*). The examples below illustrate vowel harmony for the affixal morphemes *-wA* (ACC) and *-lA* (LOC).

(80)			ACC	LOC
a.	*'ana*	'boat'	*'ana-wa*	*'ana-la*
	kuliga	'snake'	*kuliga-wa*	*kuliga-la*
	abuga	'father'	*abuga-wa*	*abuga-la*
	zaŋgä	'chief'	*zaŋgä-wa*	*zaŋgä-la*
b.	*zolo*	'stone'	*zolo-wo*	*zolo-lo*
	ifokto	'bird cherry'	*ifokto-wo*	*ifokto-lo*
	tokö	'cloud'	*tokö-wo*	*tokö-lo*
	miondo	'gun'	*miondo-wo*	*miondo-lo*
c.	*neki*	'spring'	*neki-we*	*neki-le*
	kusige	'knife'	*kusige-we*	*kusige-le*
	adili	'net'	*adili-we*	*adili-le*
	ataxi	'spider'	*ataxi-we*	*ataxi-le*

3.3.2.2. Blocking the harmony

Importantly, the high vowel located in the last syllable of the root or in the suffixes is opaque. It blocks any further process of harmonization, with the result that the following non-high vowels share its value for harmonic features, and are represented as /*e*/ independently of the harmonic feature of the preceding vowels. Examples (81a) show the opaque vowel at the end of the root, and examples (81b) demonstrate the opaque vowel in the affixal morpheme.

(81)	a.	*ataxi-we*	'spider (ACC)'
		paki-we	'skillful (ACC)'
		talu-we	'birch tree (ACC)'
		agdi-we	'thunder'
	b.	*'ana-ŋi-we-ni*	'his boat' <boat-AL-ACC-3SG>
		zolo-ŋi-we-ni	'his stone' <stone-AL-ACC-3SG>

High vowels in the root that are not root-final do not block further harmony, cf.:

(82)	*aziga-wa*	'girl (ACC)'
	uga-wa	'voice (ACC)'

činda-wa ‘bird (ACC)’
abuga-wa ‘father (ACC)’

3.3.2.3. Violations

Vowel harmony in suffixes is subject to certain free and idiolectal variation. In some idiolects the harmony is completely suppressed and the only non-high vowel in suffixes is /*e*/. In other idiolects /*e*/ may appear instead of harmonic /*o*/ or /*a*/ only in the unstressed position (on stress see 3.6.3).

Rounding harmony is violated fairly frequently, so that in the pronunciation of certain speakers the round vowel /*o*/ may be replaced by /*e*/ (83a). This is especially common for clitics, cf. the Hortative clitic *-zA* (83b).

(83) a. *olokto-zeŋe-ni ~ olokto-zoŋo-ni* ‘he will cook’
<cook-FUT-3SG>
b. *olokto-zo ~ olokto-ze* ‘cook (HORT)’

On the other hand, both height and rounding harmonies are sometimes attested in contexts when they would normally be blocked by the root-final high vowel (3.3.2.2), cf. *ofodi-e ~ ofodi-ö* ‘plucked (PP)’, *guala-ŋi-e-ni ~ guala-ŋi-ä-ni* ‘he turned into’ <turn-REP-PAST-3SG>. In these examples the fronting of the harmonizing vowels (/*o*/ → /*ö*/ and /*a*/ → /*ä*/) can be motivated by the assimilative influence of the preceding /*i*/).

Finally, there are some disharmonic affixes of the structure *CiCa* or *CaCi,* a list of which can be found in 3.5.2.2. The non-high vowel in these suffixes is fully specified as /*a*/ and does not correlate with the harmonic value of the preceding vowels. These affixes are opaque with respect to harmony because although they do not harmonize themselves, they trigger the harmonization of the following vowels. After the affix *CaCi* the following non-high vowels are realized as /*e*/ (84a), and after the suffixes *CiCa* they are realized as /*a*/ according to the general rule (84b).

(84) a. *koŋko-masi-zeŋe-ti* ‘they will beat each other’
<beat-REC-FUT-3PL>
b. *zolo-ziga-wa* ‘stones’
<stone-PL-ACC> cf. *zolo-wo* ‘stone (ACC)’
jexe-ziga-wa ‘songs’
<song-PL-ACC> cf. *jexe-we* ‘song (ACC)’

3.4. Epenthesis

3.4.1. Vowel epenthesis

Vowel epenthesis applies in two cases: first, to prevent prohibited consonant clusters (3.4.1.1), second, to prevent word-final consonants (3.4.1.2). In both cases the epenthetic vowel is *A*, that is, a non-high harmonizing vowel. Since roots and affixes are normally vowel-final (3.5), epenthesis applies only after *n*-final roots (class II stems) and *n*-final affixes.

3.4.1.1. Word-internal epenthesis

3.4.1.1.1. Word-internal epenthesis and consonant deletion

In verbal inflection the epenthetic *A* is inserted after class II *n*-final stems before a consonant-initial affix to prevent prohibited clusters such as *nm, nk,* and *ŋj*, but is absent when the

following morpheme begins with a dental consonant. As a result, the cluster «*n* + dental» is the only type of cluster possible at the morpheme boundary. A more detailed description of vowel epenthesis in verbal inflected forms, together with examples, is provided in 7.4 and 7.5. In certain verbal forms consonant deletion preventing a consonant cluster is preferred to vowel epenthesis. Deletion applies in the Imperative before the following consonant /*j*/ (85a), before the Imperfective affix *-si-* (85b), before the Purposive Converb affix *-lAgA-* (85c), and before the Reciprocal *-masi-* (85d).

(85)	a.	*i:-je (< i:n-je)*	'enter (IMP.2SG)'
	b.	*dia-si- (< dian-si-)*	'talk (IM)'
	c.	*i:-lege-ni (<i:n-lege-ni)* <enter-PURP-3SG>	'in order for him to enter'
	d.	*dia-masi- (< dian-masi-)* <say-REC>	'talk to each other'

In the formation of the Causative (8.2.1.2) and the Diversative (8.2.2.5) variants are attested: either vowel epenthesis or *n*-deletion applies, depending on the idiolect.

It is noteworthy that for certain speakers word-internal epenthesis in verbal forms is generalized and reinterpreted as part of the stem. For these idiolects the vowel *A* appears after the stem-final /*n*/ in all environments, and accordingly the stem moves to the morphonological class I (7.1).

For personal pronouns, the epenthetic *A* is inserted after *n*-final stems before the Accusative marker *-wA*, since the cluster *nw* is disallowed. The epenthetic vowel may in this case be realized as /*a*/ in certain idiolects, cf.:

(86)	*sin-e-we*	~	*sin-a-wa*	<you-0-ACC>
	min-e-we	~	*min-a-wa*	<me-0-ACC>

According to Benzing (1956: 108), the vowel *A* in the Accusative form of the personal pronouns is a reflex of the old (Partitive) case affix; however, even if this is correct, on the synchronic level it is better analyzed as epenthetic.

In the nominal, adjectival, and numeral declensions, the epenthetic vowel is not present because most case markers begin with dental consonants, and the cluster «*n* + dental» is legitimate. The Accusative suffix attached to class II nouns demonstrates the historical sound change by which the stem-final /*n*/ was lost and the suffix-initial /*b*/ was sonorized: *n* + *b* > *m* (see 3.2.1.3).

3.4.1.1.2. Epenthesis in loan-words

An epenthetic vowel prevents word-initial consonant clusters in Russian loan-words (1.5.2.2.1). The quality of this vowel is typically conditioned by the quality of the vowel in the first syllable, although variations are also possible, cf.:

(87)	Russian		Udihe
	xleb	'bread'	*xeleba, xelebe*
	klub	'club'	*kulube*
	kniga	'book'	*kiniga*

Word-medial epenthesis does not apply to recent borrowings: *pampuška* 'bun' (< Russian).

3.4.1.2. Word-final epenthesis

Word-final epenthesis is present after uninflected *n*-final verbal stems (88a) and in the Reflexive pronoun (88b).

(88) a. *dian-a* <say-0>
gun-e <say-0>
digawan-a <feed-0>
b. *men-e* <REF-0>

The verb *i:n-* 'enter, come' loses the stem-final consonant in the bare form (*i:* < *i:n* 'enter'). This seems to be motivated by the fact that the stem contains a bimoraic long vowel, so the requirement for the word to be minimally bimoraic
(3.3.2) is satisfied.

Nouns, adjectives, and numerals lose the word-final /*n*/ in the bare forms (4.1.1.2), so in this case consonant-final words are prevented not by vowel epenthesis but by consonant deletion.

An epenthetic vowel is historically present in consonant-final loan-words: *Iwan-a* 'Ivan', *Si Säŋ-a* 'Si San', *magazin-a* 'shop', *metr-a* 'meter' (see 1.5). 3.4.2. Consonant epenthesis

Consonant epenthesis is not very typical, because Udihe freely allows bivocalic and trivocalic clusters (3.2.2). In some idiolects an epenthetic /*w*/ may be inserted between the vowel-final verbal stem and the Passive marker *-u-,* although unepenthetisized forms are also possible (8.2.1.5):

(89) *zawa-w-u-* <take-0-PAS> or *zawa-u-* <take-PAS> 'be taken'

3.5. Morpheme structure

All morphemes fall into three morphological classes: roots, affixes (suffixes), and clitics (enclitics).

3.5.1. Roots

Roots are normally vowel-final (the so-called I class stems) or *n*-final (class II stems). Class II stems may be augmented by an epenthetic vowel in certain environments (3.4.1). Further information on the inflectional difference between the two classes can be found in sections 4.1.1 and 7.1. Nominal and adjectival roots appear in a bare form in the Nominative Singular, and verbal roots have the bare form when they co-occur with the negative verb (7.1.5). Grammatical words are not discussed in this section.

Native (not borrowed) roots that have more than three syllables are absent; polysyllabic stems are always the result of a particular derivational process, either synchronic or historical. The root types of native words are presented below, according to their syllabic structure. Examples are only given for nominal and verbal roots; non-derived adjectives and adverbs follow the pattern of nouns.

3.5.1.1. Monosyllabic roots

The types of monosyllabic roots are: (i) roots equal to an open syllable with a bimoraic vowel (90a); (ii) *n*-final roots (90b), and (iii) verbal roots equal to an open syllable with a monomoraic vowel (90c). In the latter type the vowel undergoes prosodic lengthening in certain environments (2.3.4).

(90) a. (C)V:, (C)'V

nouns		verbs	
ja:	'cow'	*su:-*	'die out'
mo:	'tree'	*te:-*	'sit'
se:	'year, kind'	*b'a-*	'get, find'
d'a	'cotton wool'		

b. (C)Vn, (C)V:n

nouns		verbs	
xu(n)	'smell'	*gun-*	'say'
xo:(n)	'top'	*i:n-*	'enter'

c. (C)V

verbs	
bu-	'give'
wa-	'kill'
sa-	'know'

3.5.1.2. Bisyllabic roots

Bisyllabic roots may be vowel-final (91) or *n*-final (92), and have various syllabic structures:

(91) a. (C)VV

nouns		verbs	
sue	'thin branch'	*ŋua-*	'sleep'
xua	'flower'	*deu-*	'get tired'

b. (C)VC(C)V

nouns		verbs	
dili	'head'	*susa-*	'escape'
zeli	'barn'	*jexe-*	'sing'
činda	'bird'	*xukti-*	'jump'

c. (C)V:V, (C)'VV

nouns		verbs	
g'ai	'crow'	*k'ai-*	'brake (skin)'
ku:i	'strength'	*ze:u-*	'sharpen'

d. (C)V:C(C)V, (C)'VC(C)V

nouns		verbs	
e:xi	'frog'	*ča:la-*	'want'
ni:kte	'fern'	*l'oso-*	'hang'

k'olo 'mittens' *b'agdi-* 'meet'

e. (C)VC(C)V:, (C)VC(C)'V

nouns		verbs	
od'o	'grandfather'	*ili:-*	'stand'
sikie	'evening'	*metu*:-	'finish'
abdä:	'leaf'		

(92) *n*-final roots

nouns		verbs	
xoto(n)	'city'	*taun-*	'count'
ami(n)	'father'	*ñuxan-*	'dive'
kakt'a(n)	'half'	*dian-*	'say'

3.5.1.3. Trisyllabic roots

Trisyllabic roots have the following structure:

(93) a. (C)VVV, (C)V'VV

nouns		verbs	
ku'ai	'ear'	*kuai-*	'build a dwelling'

b. (C)VVC(C)V, (C)V:VC(C)V, (C)'VVC(C)V

nouns		verbs	
cuanza	'kettle'	*xaunta-*	'ask'
mä:usa	'gun'	*sauli-*	'offer (food)'

c. (C)VC(C)VV, (C)VC(C)V:V, (C)VC(C)'VV

nouns	
sukpai	'name of a river'
ad'au	'twins'
in'ei	'dog'

d. (C)VC(C)VC(C)V

nouns		verbs	
emende	'witch'	*olokto-*	'cook'
mafasa	'old man'	*caŋala-*	'sing'
zaŋlaŋa	'cockroach'		

e. (C)V:C(C)VC(C)V, (C)'VC(C)VC(C)V

da:niŋa	'paternal aunt'
i:bene	'Japanese'
ñ'ädiga	'youngest child'

Non-derived native trisyllabic roots with a bimoraic vowel in the second or third syllable seem absent. Non-derived class II roots are absent as well.

3.5.1.4. Polysyllabic roots

Native non-derived roots that have more than three syllables are absent. Words borrowed from Chinese may contain two biconsonantal vowel clusters, or a cluster and two further syllables. In conformity with the analysis of vowel clusters as heterosyllabic (3.2.2.2), such words may be interpreted as having four syllables. In practice, however, vowel clusters in Chinese borrowings are normally pronounced as diphthongs (3.2.2.2), so the words cited below may be considered trisyllabic or bisyllabic.

(94)

guaŋčou	'spade'
guaizima	'Himalayan bear'
gindaula	'dragonfly'
säŋguaza	'melon'
loulou	'maternal grandmother'

3.5.2. Suffixes

Suffixes are monosyllabic (3.5.2.1), bisyllabic (3.5.2.2), or very rarely trisyllabic (3.5.2.3). Typically they attach to the root directly. In certain cases vowel or, less frequently, consonant epenthesis applies (3.4.2). Some (vowel-initial) suffixes influence the quality or quantity of the final segment of the root; these are addressed in 3.5.2.4.

3.5.2.1. Monosyllabic suffixes

The following types are possible.

(i) Suffixes that consist of a single vowel V. There are several homonymous suffixes:

(95)

-i	1SG; REF.SG; ADJ; PRP
-u	2PL; 1PL.EX; PAS; CAUS; N; ADJ
-o	PP (for *u*-final verbs)
-e	PP (for *i*-final verbs)

(ii) Suffixes CV where the vowel is high (96a) or is *A*, that is, a harmonizing non-high vowel (96b). This is the most frequent type.

(96) a.

-li	PROL; INC; V; ADJ	*-ti*	3PL; ADJ
-du	DAT	*-zi*	INST
-ni	3SG	*-si-*	IM; V
-ŋi	V; AL	*-gi-*	V; REP
-di	V	*-mi*	INF; ADJ
-xi	ADJ; N	*-fi*	1PL.IN; ADJ
-ki-	EXPR; PAST (class II verbs)		

b.

-wA	ACC	*-f'A*	N
-zA-	SUBJ; N	*-mA*	ADJ; V; N; IN
-nA-	DEST; V; PL; DIR	*-sA*	EXP; N; ADJ
-s'A	N; ADJ	*-tA*	PERM; DIST
-sA	N; ADJ	*-ŋ'A*	N
-f'A	N		
-lA	LOC; V; N; ADJ; SING		

-kA	EXPR; PERF (class II verbs)	
-gA-	PERF (after high vowels)	

Two suffixes of this type contain a long vowel, although generally long vowels are not typical of suffixal morphemes:

(97)	*-ŋA:*	N
	-ŋie-	IC

The perfect affix *-ge-*, which only attaches to *i-* or *u*-final verbal stems, lacks harmonic variants, because the harmony is blocked by the stem-final high vowel (3.3.2.2).

(iv) Only one suffix of the structure CVC is consonant-final:

(98)	*-wAn-*	CAUS

(v) Suffixes CCA (99a) or CCV where V is a high vowel (99b).

(99)	a.	*-kcA-*	DUR; INT	*-ptA*	DEC; N
		-ndA-	SEM	*-ntA*	N
		-ktA-	DIST; N; ADJ; V	*-mpA*	N; ADJ; V
	b.	*-kpi*	DEC	*-kči*	DEST
		-ŋku	PL	*-ktu*	RES; N
		-mni	N	*-mzi*	N
		-nti	N; ORD	*-mti*	ADJ
		-ntu	ADJ	*-pti*	N
		-ŋtu	ADJ	*-gbi*	V

In some suffixes the high vowel and *A* may alternate:

(100)	*-gA / -gu*	N	*-ŋkA / -ŋku*	N
	-kA / -ku	N	*-gdA- / -gdi /-gdu-*	V

3.5.2.2. Bisyllabic affixes

Bisyllabic suffixes may be of the following types:

(i) CACA (101a) or C(C)VC(C)V where V is a high vowel (101b). As can be seen from (101b), only two identical high vowels may be present within such a suffix.

(101)	a.	*-zAŋA-*	FUT	*-wAlA*	ADJ
		-ñAñA	ADJ	*-lAgA-*	PURP
	b.	*-tigi*	LAT	*-mugu*	N
		-digi	ABL	*-dugu*	N
		-ligi	ADJ	*-dili*	PROL
		-ŋisi-	V	*-lisi-*	CC
		-xiktu	ADJ	*-ptigi*	ADJ

The two suffixes of the structure CVV are:

(102) *-muːi* DES; ADJ *-ŋ'ai* N

(ii) Bisyllabic suffixes of the structure C(C)VC(C)e, where V corresponds to a high vowel. As argued in 3.3, a high vowel is harmonically neutral and prevents a harmonic feature from spreading further, so after the high vowel all non-high vowels are realized as /*e*/. The alternation /*e*/ ~ /*i*/ or /*e*/ ~ /*u*/ is frequently observed in this type (103b) since the suffix-final vowel tends to assimilate to the first vowel of the suffix.

(103) a.

-nige	N	*-dule*	LOC
-mule	N; V	*-muse-*	COND
-fule-	V	*-kule-*	V
-fine-	V		

b.

-gdugu / *-gduge*	N	*-tigi* / *-tige*	N
-ptili / *-ptile*	N	*-gbile-*	V

(iii) Suffixes C(C)VC(C)V where one of the vowels is the high vowel /*i*/ while another is /*a*/. The vowel /*a*/ is present either in the first syllable of the suffix (104a), or in the second (104b). These suffixes are exceptional with respect to vowel harmony, firstly because the non-high vowel fails to harmonize, and secondly because in type (104b) it triggers the harmonization of the following vowels as /*a*/ (3.3.2.3). The reason for the exceptionality of these suffixes is not entirely clear. One possibility is that the adjacent consonant exerts an assimilatory influence on the non-high vowel: all the suffixes in question have a labial, velar, or uvular consonant adjacent to a non-high vowel, and this may condition its *a*-like pronunciation.

(104) a.

-wasi-	DIV	*-masi-*	REC
-ŋati	N	*-laŋki*	ADJ

b.

-ziga	DIM; PL	*-niŋa*	COM; COL
-ndima	ADJ	*-tuŋa*	COL
-gdiga	N	*-čiŋa*	N
-gdig'a	ADJ		

(iv) Vowel-initial suffixes VCV or VV:

(105)

-uxe	ADJ	*-Au*	ADJ
-use	ADJ	*-ini*	3SG
-iti	3PL	*-uxi*	LAT
-isi-	PC	*-ugu*	N
-uze	N		

3.5.2.3. Trisyllabic suffixes

Trisyllabic suffixes are exceptional; only three examples are found:

(106)

-ndimali	ADJ
-n'Ause	ADJ
-ñAñAñA	ADJ

3.5.2.4. Consonantal suffixes

Suffixes that consist of one consonant are not typical. There are only two exceptions: the *-k* suffix of the Expressive Past (7.10.4.1), and the *-m* suffix of (ideophonic) manner adverbs (10.1.3.1.6, 10.1.3.2.2). Both occur only word-finally, and in both cases the absence of the final vowel may be conditioned by the expressive character of the word (cf. 3.1.1).

3.5.2.5. «Autosegmental» morphemes

Autosegmental morphemes are realized as phonological alternations in the base to which they attach: they change the length or the phonation type of the stem-final vowel. These are the following morphemes:

(i) The Past tense conditions a lengthening of the stem-final non-high vowel (see 7.1.2 for more detail).

(ii) The Perfect conditions laryngealization of the stem-final non-high vowel (7.1.3);

(iii) Some nominal and adjectival derivational affixes condition laryngealization of the stem-final non-high vowel: the nominal suffixes (')-*i* (5.1.1.6) and –(')*u* (5.1.2.11), and the adjectival suffix and the suffix of converted nouns (')-*use* (6.4.1.4.1). The same applies to the Perfective same-subject converb in (')-*si* (7.5.2.3.2).

(iv) The disjunctive element *-As(i)* is contracted to the final vowel of the stem according to the same rules as the Past tense marker.

Only short vowels undergo changes conditioned by autosegmental morphemes. When the stem-final vowel is underlyingly long or laryngealized, it always remains unchanged. However, in the Perfect a long vowel changes into a laryngealized vowel, cf.:

(107)	*b'a-*	'get, find'	*b'a*	'got'	<get.PERF>
			b'a-ni	'got'	<get.PAST-3SG>
	te:-	'sit'	*te:-ni*	'sat'	<sit.PAST-3SG>
			t'e	'have sat'	<sit.PERF>

3.5.3. Clitics

3.5.3.1. Definition

Clitics (enclitics) are characterized by the following properties, which differentiate them from independent words:

(i) Clitics do not bear a separate phonological stress, and are always unstressed.

(ii) Clitics are phonologically bound to the preceding word, and cannot be separated from it under any conditions.

(iii) Clitics enter the domain of vowel harmony, and therefore the usual harmonic conditions are imposed on the vowels within them (see 3.3). For example, the additive focus clitic *-dA* 'and, too, as well' (12.1.1.3) is possible in the following three phonetic forms:

(108)	*tege-de*	'and the gown'
	moxo-do	'and the cup'
	aka-da	'and the back'

(iv) As argued in 2.2.3.2, the clitic prevents the final consonant from palatalization after the loss of the final /*i*/. Since the consonant located at the right edge of the phonological word is normally palatalized after /*i*/ reduction, this shows that the phonological word boundary is located not before but after the clitic.

Clitics differ in the following ways from other bound morphemes (suffixes):

(i) As distinct from regular affixes containing non-high vowels, clitics are opaque with respect to stress. Normally, in a word without bimoraic vowels the stress falls on the rightmost non-high vowel (109a), see 3.6.3; however, in a word followed by a clitic the stress falls on the syllable preceding the clitic (109b):

(109) a. *abuga-l'a* 'at the father (LOC)'
tada-w'a 'arrow (ACC)'
b. *abug'a-da* 'and the father'
jaz'a-ta 'and of course'

(ii) Clitics do not count as syllables with respect to other stress-placement rules. A final syllable with a high vowel is unstressed (extrametrical) if it belongs to an inflectional morpheme (3.6.3.3). Importantly, it remains unstressed if followed by a clitic. This can clearly be seen from the fact that the unstressed high vowel /*i*/ undergoes a reduction before the clitic just as it does word-finally (2.1.5.3), cf.:

(110) *tada-w'a-n(i)-de* 'and his arrow' <arrow-ACC-3SG-FOC>
olokt'o-m(i)-do 'and cooking' <cook-INF-FOC>

This fact supports the analysis of clitics as morphemes invisible to stress rules.

3.5.3.2 Inventory

From a functional point of view, clitics typically express focus and are treated in the chapter on particles (Chapter 12). An important structural restriction on them is that they must be maximally one syllable long. The typical structure of a clitic is CA, rarely CCA. A fairly exhaustive list of clitics is presented below:

(111) *-dA* additive focus (12.1.1.3), Indefinite pronouns (9.6.1)
-kA focus (12.1.1.11.1), Indefinite pronouns (9.6.2)
-nA contrastive focus (12.1.1.5)
-lA contrastive focus (12.1.1.7)
-gdA contrastive focus (12.1.1.8)
-zA Hortative (12.1.2.4.2)
-sA focus (12.1.1.11.2)
-gA focus, Hortative (12.1.1.11.2, 12.1.2.4.2)
-tA focus (12.1.1.11.2)
-gu Indefinite pronouns particle (9.6.4.3)

Certain focus clitics are easily combined. Remarkably, when two monosyllabic clitics are combined this leads to the emergence of an independent word (particle). It receives a separate phonological stress on the second syllable, and loses the ability to harmonize. All vowels are represented by /*e*/.

(112) *kede* Indefinite pronouns particle (9.6.4.1)

deke Indefinite pronouns particle (9.6.4.1)
gdele focus particle (12.1.1.8)
tene focus particle (12.1.1.5)
dele Indefinite pronouns particle, focus particle (9.6.4.2, 12.1.1.6)

3.6. Prosodic structure

3.6.1. Syllable

The most important syllable constraint operative in Udihe is the prohibition of tautosyllabic consonant clusters. This constraint has two surface consequences. First, it means that triconsonantal clusters are totally banned (cf. 3.2.1). The only word that exhibits a word-initial consonant cluster in certain idiolects is *drug'afa* 'in the middle' (< *durug'afa* < *dulug'afa*). Second, it ensures that consonant clusters are not found at word edges. On the other hand, Udihe easily tolerates onsetless syllables both word-initially and word-medially, with the result that heterosyllabic vowel clusters are allowed. On arguments in favor of the bisyllabic analysis of vocalic clusters see 3.2.2.2.

Long and laryngealized vowels may be present within the same types of syllable as short vowels. The structure of syllables acceptable in Udihe is as follows:

(113)	a.	V	V:	'V
	b.	CV	CV:	C'V
	c.	VC	V:C	'VC
	d.	CVC	CV:C	C'VC

Syllables (113c) and (113d) do not occur word-finally (cf. 3.1.1); otherwise there are no restrictions on the position of syllables within a word. Syllable boundaries need not coincide with morpheme boundaries. Examples of syllabification are as follows (syllable boundaries are shown with dots, morpheme boundaries with hyphens):

(114)	*ga.lak.ta.-za.ŋa.-ni*	'he will seek' <seek-FUT-2SG>
	te.lu. ŋu.si-k.ce.-i	'he wants to tell' <tell-INT-PRP>
	e.u.-wo:.-ni	'he came down' <come.down-PAST-3SG>
	je.-u.-de	'something' <what-IND>
	ñ'a.u.la	'youth'
	a:n.ta	'woman'

3.6.2. Moraic and foot structure

Syllables with long and laryngealized vowels pattern together with respect to stress assignment (3.6.3), and differ from syllables with short vowels. This motivates the analysis of long and laryngealized vowels as bimoraic. So syllables (C)V:, (C)'V, (C)V:C, (C)'VC have two moras, while syllables (C)V and (C)VC have one mora. Since the coda consonant does not project a mora, the syllable (C)VC does not count as heavy (bimoraic) and the syllables (C)V:C and (C)'VC are not counted as extraheavy.

The analysis of long and laryngealized vowels as bimoraic is confirmed by the structure of the minimal word. The minimal content word in Udihe is monosyllabic and bimoraic: (C)V: or (C)'V, monomoraic content words (C)V being absent (see 3.5.1 on the structure of roots). Such a situation is conditioned by the universal requirement for the minimal lexical word to be exactly

one foot long, and for the foot to have a binary structure under a syllabic or moraic representation (McCarthy and Prince 1995). The foot in Udihe is binary on the moraic level, therefore the minimal word must be bimoraic. If two moras are assigned to long and laryngealized vowels, one mora is assigned to short vowels, and the coda consonant is treated as non-moraic, the absence of the monomoraic words CVC and CV is explained. It also explains quantitative variations in the stem, the so-called «prosodic lengthening», namely, the lengthening of short vowels in monosyllabic structures (2.3.4). The only monomoraic monosyllabic stems are *n*-final verbal stems (3.5.1); however, in the bare form such a stem is augmented by an epenthetic vowel (3.4.2).

Grammatical words can correspond to one monomoraic syllable CV. The possible reason for their exceptionality is that they typically constitute a single phonological (prosodic) word with the word that follows them.

(115)	*ña*	additive focus (12.1.1.4)	*su*	'you (PL)'
	bi	'me'	*bu*	'we (EX)'
	si	'you'	*ni*	'who'

According to the stress placement rules (3.6.3.2) the final affixal syllable with a high vowel is extrametrical. The quantitative variations in the stem («prosodic lengthening», 2.3.4) strengthen this analysis, because the root vowel lengthens to provide a second mora before a word-final affixal syllable with a high vowel. Cf. (116a), which demonstrates prosodic lengthening in bare monosyllabic stems, (116b) where the lengthening is absent because the word is bisyllabic and the second mora is provided by the second syllable, and (116c) where the word is bisyllabic, but the root vowel is still lengthened. This follows from the fact that the final high vowel does not project a mora, so the root vowel must lengthen to preserve the bimoraic structure.

(116)	a.	*wa:*	'kill'	
		bu:	'give'	
	b.	*wa-kca*	'hunt'	<kill-DUR>
		bu-ze	'he will give'	<give-SUBJ>
		wa-za	'he will kill'	<kill-DUR>
	c.	*wa:-mi*	'killing'	<kill-INF>
		bu:-mi	'giving'	<give-INF>

3.6.3. Word stress

According to our preliminary analysis, Udihe has a quantity-sensitive stress system with a right-headed unbounded foot constructed from left to right. In the examples below, the (primary) stress is indicated by the symbol '.

3.6.3.1. Character of stress

There have been several attempts to analyze stress in Udihe. According to Schneider (1936: 92) and Sunik (1968: 213), stress in the Khor dialect falls on the first and the last syllable. The initial stress is dynamic, whereas the final stress is associated with a higher pitch. Schneider also notes that if a bisyllabic word is followed by a bisyllabic affix, dynamic stress is absent, but the pitch accent falls on the second and the last syllable: *tad'a-tig'i* 'to the arrow (LAT)'.

The same analysis is basically repeated in Simonov (1988: 77). However, Simonov states that the initial stress is normally only present in polysyllabic words. In bisyllabic words it is hardly noticeable, and may be completely absent: *om'o* and *'om'o* 'one.' As for the final stress, Simonov's conception is excessively complicated, because he relies crucially on his non-standard

classification of vowels. The basic point, however, is as follows. The so-called «final stress» does not automatically fall on any final vowel in the word, but is rather associated with the rightmost long vowel («intensive» and «intensive tense» vowels in Simonov's terms): *gel'e:ni* 'he called' <call-PAST-3SG>.

In our material from the modern Bikin dialect we do not have any particular evidence for a dynamic stress on the first syllable, although it is not excluded that the first syllable in the word is marked by a greater loudness and intensity of sound than the other syllables. Besides, in expressive contexts the first vowel may receive the emphatic stress (3.6.5). The so-called «final» stress does not indeed always fall on the final vowel, its position is discussed in 3.6.3.2. This stress will be referred to as the «primary stress». The phonetic characterization of the primary stress is complicated. We will not discuss this matter here, and only note that it may be associated with greater intensity and sometimes with higher pitch, but not in every word: for example, sentence-final words do not demonstrate pitch raising. In addition, stress involves partial lengthening. According to the experimental data of Baicura (1989–91), in structures CVCV the second short (stressed) vowel is 53–90% longer than the first. He also notes that in polysyllabic words with short vowels the longest is typically the vowel of the penultimate syllable. This is because, given the frequent extrametricality of the final syllables (3.6.3.3), this vowel often bears the main stress.

Polysyllabic words also seem to have a secondary stress that is less intense than the primary stress. When the primary stress does not fall on the last syllable, the last syllable may receive the secondary stress (117a). Non-(primary) stressed bimoraic vowels also seem to bear the secondary stress (117b). The symbol , is here employed for the secondary stress.

(117)	a.	*'a:n.ta.zi.g, a*	'women (PL)'
		t''o.si.we.ne.ke.z,em(i)	'I will make (them) dream'
		<dream-CAUS-INTN-SUBJ-1SG>	
	b.	*t,'o.s'ie.mi*	'I was dreaming'
		<dream-PAST-1SG>	

However, the precise rules for secondary stress are unclear, and we will not discuss this question here.

3.6.3.2. Stress-placement rules

The general rule for the assignment of primary stress is that it falls on the rightmost bimoraic vowel, otherwise the final vowel is stressed. Thus, stress on the final vowel is the default. Examples (118a) show words without bimoraic syllables where stress falls on the rightmost syllable. Examples (118b) demonstrate words with one bimoraic long vowel in a non-final position that bears the stress. In (118c) we present words with a non-final, stressed laryngealized vowel. Examples (118d) demonstrate that the closed syllable CVC behaves in the same way as the open syllable CV with respect to stress assignment: neither are stressed unless word-final. The facts in (118d) and (118d) are the primary evidence for the bimoraicity of laryngealized vowels and the non-moraicity of the coda consonant, respectively. Finally, the examples (118e) show that vowel clusters do not constitute a bimoraic syllable (see also 3.2.2.2).

(118)	a.	*uta.w 'a*	'that (ACC)'
		a.na.n'a	'long ago'
		ma.ma.sa.l'a	'old woman (LOC)'
		o.mo.m'o	'one (ACC)'
	b.	*'a:n.ta.zi.ga*	'women (PL)'

	e.m'e:.me.i	‘have come’ <come-PP-ACC-2SG>
	s ' u:.le.i	‘ill, sick’
c.	*b' 'a.ta.wa*	‘boy (ACC)’
	k''o.lo.lo	‘in the mitten (LOC)’
d.	*dog.b'o*	‘night’
	zab.da.l'a	‘grass-snake (LOC)’
	e.men.d'e	‘witch’
	niŋ.k'a	‘Chinese’
	li.fak.t'a	‘mud’
e.	*na.uŋ.za.k'a*	‘boy’
	zu.e.z'e	‘table’

When the word contains more than one bimoraic syllable, the stress falls on the rightmost bimoraic syllable. However, this situation is rare, because the root typically contains no more than one bimoraic syllable, while most morphemes do not have bimoraic vowels at all (see the morpheme structures in 3.5). Two bimoraic vowels are present in the Past and Perfect verbal forms if the root initially has a bimoraic vowel, because the Past and Perfect markers cause a lengthening or laryngealization of the root-final vowel, respectively (3.5.2.4).

(119)	*te:.g'iek*	‘he sat’	<sit-REP-PAST-EXPR>
	su:.s'i:.ni	‘he extinguishes’	<extinguish-3SG>
	s'a.i.d'a:.ni	‘he salted’	<salt-PAST-3SG>

As argued in 3.5.3.1 clitics are outside the domain of stress assignment.

3.6.3.3. Extrametrical syllables

The assignment of stress also takes into account the character of the syllable. Crucially, word-final syllables with high vowels (/*i*/ and /*u*/) are extrametrical with respect to stress assignment, that is, they do not bear the stress. In the absence of bimoraic vowels the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, as demonstrated in the examples below.

(120)	*a.zi.g'a.ni*	‘his girl’	
	zo.m'i.mi	‘stealing’	<steal-INF>
	to.kö.w'o.ni	‘his cloud’	<cloud-ACC-3SG>
	te.ge.w'e.u	‘your gown’	<gown-ACC-2PL>
	a.i.si.gi.ze.ŋ'e.ni	‘he will mend’	<mend-REP-FUT-3SG>
	sa.kin.de.z'e.mu	‘we will clap’	<clap-SEM-SUBJ-1PL.EX>

The unstressed character of the word-final high vowel explains the fact that in fast speech it often undergoes complete reduction (2.1.5.3). However, in more distinct pronunciation (the «expressive style», in Kormušin’s terms), the word-final high vowel may be lengthened (2.1.5.2) and in this case, of course, it is stressed in accordance with the general stress rule (3.6.3.2).

(121)	*e.de.i.si.n'i*:	‘when, if’	
	bi.si.n'i:	‘he was’	<be-PAST-3SG>
	se.u.ti.ge.n'i:	‘his nut’	<nut-3SG>

Importantly, the extrametricality of the final syllables with high vowels is only restricted to inflectional affixes, while the final vowel within the root (the bisyllabic or trisyllabic root) is stressed in the regular manner.

(122) *di.l'i* ‘head’
de.gu.m 'u ‘poles for drying fish’
dog.d 'i ‘listen’
a.di.l'i ‘net’

The contrast in stress placement between, for example, *a.di.l'i* ‘net’ and *zo.m'i.mi* ‘stealing’ <steal-INF> shows that it is indeed the status of the morpheme (root vs. affix) that accounts for the extrametricality/non-extrametricality of the rightmost syllable.

When the word ends with two syllables containing high vowels they are both extrametrical with respect to stress:

(123) *am.b'a.tigi* ‘to the evil spirit (LAT)’
bom.b'o.li.gi ‘round’ <ball-ADJ>
a.zi.g'a.di.gi ‘from the girl (ABL)’
b'u-ini ‘he gives’ <give-3SG>

This again applies only to affixes, cf. *a.di.l'i* ‘net’. However, in the full pronunciational style the final high vowel may be associated with a secondary stress, cf.:

(124) *am.b'a.tig, i* ‘to the evil spirit (LAT)’
a.zi.g'a.di.g, i ‘from the girl (ABL)’

Exceptionally, the Dative affix *–du* typically bears the stress: *o-d' u* ‘here’ <this-DAT>, *zugdi-d'u* ‘in the house’ <house-DAT>.

3.6.3.4. Alternation triggered by stress

Stressed and unstressed vowels demonstrate a different behavior in certain phonological processes. As was mentioned above (2.1.5.3), an unstressed final high vowel may be deleted while a stressed final high vowel is always preserved. Stress plays a certain role in the process of high vowel contraction (2.3.1).

3.6.3.5. Reduplications and stress

Like most Tungus-Manchu languages, Udihe is rich in (ideophonic) reduplicated adverbs (10.1.3.2). They appeared as a total reduplication of ideophonic stems, but the corresponding non-reduplicated variant is only attested for certain words in the modern language. In all cases both components of the reduplicated word bear a separate phonological stress according to regular rules. They are usually monosyllabic or bisyllabic; the latter type is illustrated below.

(125) *bokč'i-bokč'*i ~ *bokč'om-bokč'om* ‘wrinkled’
wekt'e-wekt'e ‘together, in a pile’
dand'alʲ-dand'alʲ ‘on end (of hair)’
leŋk'e-leŋk'e ‘dangling’
liŋg'a-liŋg'a ‘sticky’
pic'e-pic'e ‘into smithereens’

Reduplicated ideophones will be treated as lexical items that consist of two phonological words. They are written and glossed with a hyphen throughout the grammar.

3.6.4. Sentence stress

Typically, the intonation falls at the end of the sentence. However in yes-no questions and disjunctive questions (23.1.2, 23.1.4) intonation rises considerably on the last word of the sentence. When the last word of a sentence is prominent, this may be expressed by a rising pitch on the stressed vowel. In the examples below an acute accent indicates a rising pitch.

(126) a. *Stepana eme-gi-e-ni. Ni*
Stepan come-REP-PAST-3SG who
eme-gi-e-ni? Stepán?
come-REP-PAST-3SG Stepan
'Stepan has come. Who has come? Stepan?»

b. *Bi sin-du imasi-zé-mi?*
me you-DAT tell.tale-SUBJ-1SG
'Shall I tell a tale to you?'

3.6.5. Emphatic stress

Emphatic stress is marked by a rising pitch on the first vowel of the corresponding word. If this vowel is originally short it may receive a partial secondary lengthening, and therefore bear the primary word stress. So the stress may shift from its regular position. The vowels that undergo partial secondary lengthening are shorter than the underlying long vowels, but longer than their short counterparts. Words that bear the emphatic stress are capitalized in the translation below.

(127) a. *Si jexe-mi n' 'ó:ni (< n'on'i:)?*
you sing-INF can.2SG
'CAN you really sing?'

b. *Sagdi-zi ule-zeŋe-f(i), s'á:gdi (< sagd'i)*
big-INST dig-FUT-1PL.IN big *kuliga.*
snake
'Let us dig more, the snake is BIG.'

c. *Bi 'o:no (<on'o) bagdi-ze-mi?*
me how live-SUBJ-1SG
'HOW should I live?'

d. *Sugzä-wa i:-le-de e-si-ni*
fish-ACC what-LOC-IND NEG-PAST-3SG *wa:,*
'á:nči (<anč'i) sugzä.
kill no fish
'He hasn't caught fish anywhere, NO fish.'

e. *Adi-adi zali ť'á:pči (<tapč'i).*
how.many-how.many barn full
'Several barns are FULL.'

«Stylistic variations» in the length and quality of the word-final /*i*/ (2.1.5) are also conditioned by emphatic stress. The lengthened final /*i*/ bears the primary stress.

In general, the emphatic stress and the presence of different styles of pronunciation make the identification of stress exceedingly complicated.

Morphology

Udihe exhibits a rather high degree of morphological synthesis. The inflectional grammatical classes have more than one morpheme per word. A number of grammatical morphemes are semantically equivalent to separate lexical items in the European languages, cf., for example, *wakca-na-muːi-* 'want to go to hunt' where *-nA-* is the Directive verbal suffix which indicates movement in order to accomplish the action specified by the verbal stem, and *-muːi-* is the Desiderative affix. Yet a «polysynthetic» combination of a large number of morphemes within one word is not possible. Theoretically, the nominal word may include at most six morphemes (the root, the derivational affix, the Alienable Possessive suffix, the Possessive affix, the number affix and case affix), and the verbal word may include six or seven morphemes (the root, three or four derivational affixes, tense/mood, and agreement). In practice, however, such cases are rarely found, and the noun normally contains no more than three or four morphemes, and the verb contains no more than five morphemes.

The morphological structure of Udihe is characterized by a certain level of agglutination. Typically, the words can be easily divided into a linear sequence of distinct morphs, each of which has a fairly consistent shape and a single function. The agglutination, however, is not absolute; in many cases the boundaries between the morphemes are not clear-cut, and several grammatical meanings are combined within one «portmanteau» morph. This is mostly due to the various morphological alternations described in 2.3. One example is the frequent conflation of the *i*-final stem or affix with the following *i*-initial morpheme. Thus, the 1st person Possessive affix *-i* (e.g. *anda* 'friend', *anda-i* 'my friend') conflates with the preceding /*i*/ within the Lative inflection *-tigi* (*anda-tigi-i* <friend-LAT-1SG> → *anda-tigiː* 'to my friend'). This creates a 'portmanteau' morph *-tigiː* which indicates both the Lative and the 1st person singular. Some morphemes, however, have several grammatical functions, and this is not a result of morphonological alternations (at least at the synchronic level). For example, the suffix (')*-si* marks both the Perfective Converb and the same-subject switch-reference relation (7.5.2.3.2).

The only type of affixes found in Udihe are suffixes, that is, all bound morphemes follow the root. Although synthesis predominates in the expression of grammatical meanings, a few analytical constructions are present. Certain aspectual, temporal, and modal categories are formed with the auxiliary verb (see Chapter 7). Other morphological processes are reduplication, compounding and conversion. Overall, incorporation is not typical; some incorporation-like phenomena are addressed in 6.4.1.2.2, 8.3, and 10.1.3.1.1.

The major open word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) can be easily distinguished by morphological and syntactic criteria.

Chapter 4
Noun inflectional morphology

Nouns are characterized by grammatical categories of number, case, and possession. Syntactically they function as arguments (Chapter 14), adjuncts (15.3), modifiers (Chapter 13), or predicates in copular constructions (Chapter 17). The absolute majority of nouns in Udihe have the prototypical nominal meaning: they denote physical objects, either countable entities or uncountable mass notions. Very few nouns denote abstract notions, such as states, activities, results or qualities, cf.: *teluŋu* 'story' *jexe* 'song, singing', *boko* 'color', and *zima* 'visit'. Normally words with abstract meanings correspond to adjectives or verbs in non-finite forms.

4.1. Nominal inflection

The order of inflectional morphemes in the nominal word is as follows:

(121) stem – (Plural) – (Alienable Possessive) – (Possessive Plural) – (case) (Possessive)

4.1.1. Nominal stems

Diachronically there were at least three different types of nominal stems, described in Schneider (1936) as vowel-final, *n*-final and *l*-final stems. Vowel-final stems will be referred to as class I nouns and their declension will correspondingly be referred to as class I declension. The old *l*-final stems behave in the modern language like class I nouns, that is, they have become vowel-final (4.1.1.1). However, nouns whose stem ends in /*n*/ preserve some peculiarities, and these will be referred to as class II nouns, while their declension will be called the class II declension. Generally speaking, the old system with three types of noun stems is at present in a state of collapse, but a final reduction to one stem type has not yet occurred. Some traces of the old system are still preserved, especially in the speech of the older generation. The class I and class II declensions are still clearly opposed, although the number of class II words is gradually declining. Below we present the paradigms that illustrate the difference between the declension of the class I and class II nouns.

(1) Examples of the case paradigms (non-possessive forms)

	I class	II class
NOM	*ugda* 'boat'	*namu* 'sea'
ACC	*ugda-wa*	*namu-me*
DAT	*ugda-du*	*namun-du*
LAT	*ugda-tigi*	*namun-tigi*
LOC	*ugda-la*	*amun-dule*
PROL	*ugda-li*	*namun-duli*
ABL	*ugda-digi*	*namun-digi*
INST	*ugda-zi*	*namun-zi*

4.1.1.1. Class I nouns

In the absolute majority of cases, a Udihe nominal stem ends in a single vowel (for example, *anda* ‘friend’, *bä:* ‘moon’, *weige* ‘floor’, *gob’o* ‘fly’, *dili* ‘head’) or a vowel cluster (for example, *in’ei* ‘dog’, *bui* ‘wild animal’, *ku’ai* ‘ear’). The class I nouns’ vowel-final stem remains unchanged when inflected, cf.: *anda* ‘friend’ *anda-wa* (ACC), (NOM), *anda-tigi* (LAT), *anda-zi* (INST), *anda-digi* (ABL), etc

4.1.1.2. Class II nouns

Class II nouns have *n*-final stems.

4.1.1.2.1. Particularity of declension

For the class II *n*-final nouns, the stem-final /*n*/ is not present in the Nominative, Partitive, and Accusative (both in the personal and impersonal forms), that is, in these cases the stem is vowel-final. In all other case forms, the stem ends in /*n*/, cf.: *xoto* ‘town (NOM)*,’ xoto-mo* (ACC), *xoto-lo* (PART) but *xoton-tigi* (LAT)*, xoton-zi* (INST), *xoton-digi* (ABL), etc. While quoting the II class words, *n* will be given in brackets.

The following are properties of the class II declension. Special case suffixes are used in the Locative and Prolative: *-dulA (-dilA)* and *-duli* (*-dili*) respectively (instead of the regular *-lA* and *-li* for the class I nouns). Class II nouns exhibit the Accusative suffix *-mA* instead of *-wA* as used by the class I nouns (e.g. *xu-me-ni* ‘smell’ <smell-ACC-3SG>). In addition, the difference between the class I and class II declensions becomes apparent in the possessive forms of the 1st person Singular and the 1st person Plural Exclusive in the Nominative (see 4.1.4.1.1).

4.1.1.2.2. Some historical considerations

At first sight, the reason for such a distribution seems to be purely of a historical-phonological character. The oblique *n*-final stem is a common Tungus feature. It appears that in Udihe (and other Southern Tungus languages) the stem-final /*n*/ is preserved before the dentals, since all case inflections except the Accusative begin with a dental consonant (see 6.1.3). However, it is lost word-finally (in the Nominative) and before the labial /*w*/ (in the Accusative) in full accordance with the phonotactic rules of Udihe (Chapter 3). So if we take into account only case paradigms, the distribution *n*/∅ appears in the modern language to be based on phonological grounds.

However, several considerations arise at this point. *N*-final stems are typical not only of nouns, but also of other grammatical classes: verbs (7.1), some pronouns (9.1, 9.2), postpositions (10.2), numerals (11.1), and adjectives (6.1.1). For some of these categories the stem-final /*n*/ behaves in a slightly different way. Firstly, verbs show a distribution into two morphonological classes: vowel-final stems (class I) and *n*-final stems (class II). The class II verbs lose the stem-final /*n*/ only before the old Past and Perfect markers -**sV*- and -**kV*- respectively. However, in all other cases /*n*/ is preserved, including the occasions when it is followed by a non-dental consonant. The epenthetic vowel *-A-* is then inserted to prevent an impossible consonant cluster, for example: *dian-* + *-mi* → *dian-a-mi* ‘I say’ <say-0-1SG> (see 7.1 for details). Thus, in the same environment, in verbs epenthesis applies to prevent an illegitimate cluster and not the deletion of the stem-final consonant /*n*/, as in nouns. The same is true for personal pronouns (9.1.1), which exhibit an epenthetic vowel after the *n*-final stem and before the Accusative suffix *-wA*, for example, *min-e-we* ‘me’ <me-0-ACC>, although in this case an historical explanation may be

possible (see 3.4.1.1.1).

For some groups of words /*n*/ is also preserved in the potential word-final position, and followed by an epenthetic vowel *-A-*, cf. the Nominative form of the Reflexive pronoun *men-e* (9.2), and the bare stems of the class II verbs that follow the negative auxiliary (7.1), such as *dian-a*. According to this, epenthesis is a more regular way to prevent consonant-final forms than the deletion of the consonant.

Finally, the stem-final /*n*/ is not present before the nominal Plural suffix *-zigA*, although it also begins with a dental, and the cluster *nz* is perfectly legitimate in Udihe (Chapter 3), cf.: *xoto-ziga* 'towns' instead of the expected **xoton-ziga.*

These pieces of evidence weaken the idea that the absence of the stem-final /*n*/ in the Nominative and the Accusative of nouns is conditioned simply by phonological considerations. Note also that the *n*-final stems are typical of certain morphological groups, for example, Past active participles that decline in the same way as class II nouns (7.5.1.1.2). These participles historically ended in **xan* (Benzing 1956). Most personal pronouns (9.1) and Cardinal numerals (11.1.1) have *n*-final stems. This suggests that the distribution between class I and class II words may not have been entirely random.

4.1.1.2.3. Semantic groups

In Schneider's dictionary (Schneider 1936) about 20 nouns are in class II. All of them appear to belong to the native Udihe vocabulary, and they mostly denote very basic notions. In the modern language, they are even fewer. The reduction is likely to be motivated by the «analogy tendency», mentioned already in (Schneider 1936: 93), which forces the generally non-numerous class II nouns to lose the stem-final /*n*/ completely and be reinterpreted as class I nouns. For some words parallel forms such as *ami-tigi* and *amin-tigi* 'to the father' (LAT), *xoton-du* and *xoto-du* 'in the town' (DAT), *belie-tigi* and *belien-tigi* 'to the fairy' (LAT) appear. The variations are found among idiolects and dialects. Other words have completely undergone the transition to class I, such as, for example, the common Tungus word **samān* 'shaman' (Cincius 1977: 59), which does not keep the historical stem-final /*n*/ and appears in the modern language as a class I noun *sama.*

Among the class II nouns a small semantic group of kinship terms is notable for having special suppletive Nominative and Vocative forms (see also 12.2.1.3), while their case and possessive forms derive from a different *n*-final stem:

(1)	Nominative	Vocative	declension stem	
	abuga, amita	*abuga-i*	*ami(n)-*	'father'
	eniŋe	*eniŋe-i*	*eni(n)-*	'mother'
	nexuse	*neŋu-i*	*neŋu(n)-*	'younger sibling'
	ag'a	*ag'a-i*	*'ai(n)-*	'elder brother, uncle; an address to a man by a child'
	exe	*exe-i*	*exi(n)-*	'elder sister, aunt; an address to a woman by a child

However, these two types of stem are often mixed in speech, and the Nominative stem also sometimes takes the Plural, case, and Possessive suffixes. For example, the old possessive forms, derived from the class II declension stem, such as *ami-mi* 'my father' and *neŋu-mi* 'my younger sibling', can be replaced by the possessive forms, derived from the Nominative stem, such as *abuga-i* and *neŋu-i,* correspondingly.

The names of the local rivers *Xu:(n)* 'Khor', *Ima(n)* 'Iman', and *Biki(n)* 'Bikin' belong to class II as well, cf. for example, the Locative form *Xu:n-dile* 'on Khor'. This fact is reflected in the

Russian form of the two of these hydronyms ending in /*n*/ (*Bikin* and *Iman*). But the variants that follow the class I noun declension pattern, such as *Biki-le* ‘on Bikin’ <Bikin-LOC>, are also often used.

The list of other nouns that generally preserve their class II peculiarities in the modern language is presented below.

(1)	*xoto(n)*	‘town, city’	*belie(n)*	‘fairy girl’
	namu(n)	‘sea’	*xu(n)*	‘smell’
	kakt’a(n)	‘half’	*koso(n)*	‘angle’
	ñaŋna(n)	‘sky’	*ogdo(n)*	‘slope, side’ (SK 370)
	eni(n)	‘female (of hoofed animals)’		

At the same time, grammatical classes other than nouns (numerals, Past Participles, certain quantifiers and postpositions), do not show such a strong analogy tendency if they belong morphonologically to class II. Basically they preserve the original class II declension rather well.

4.1.1.3. Traces of *l*-stems

One more consonant-final type of noun stem (historically ending in /*l*/) was described in (Schneider 1936: 93, 103) as disappearing and vague. According to Schneider, the paradigm of *l*-final nouns included an Accusative ending in *-bA,* instead of *-wA-* (for class I nouns) or *-mA* (for class II nouns) and the special Plural possessive forms with a final *-bi*. Such forms are no longer found and their existence is denied by the speakers of the Bikin dialect. The only traces of an *l*-final noun declension type can be found in some isolated irregular cases: the irregular old Accusative form of the numeral ‘two’ *zu-be* (see Chapter 10) derived from the stem *zu:* (< *zu:l* < PTM **zūr*) and in the isolated obsolete form *xa-bi* ‘my brothers and sisters’ found in a folk-tale.

4.1.2. Number

The Singular of the noun is not morphologically marked. Plurality is not necessarily marked morphologically either (4.2.1.2), but can be encoded by special morphemes on the noun. Class I and class II nouns do not differ with respect to Plural formation.

4.1.2.1. Plural

Plurality is marked on the noun itself with the suffix *-ziga.* According to Schneider, this suffix follows vowel harmony and has the variants *-ziga*/*-zige*/*-zigo* (Schneider 1936: 97). However, in the modern Bikin dialect this suffix does not harmonize (3.5.2.2) and occurs mostly in the form *-ziga.* The form *-zige* is in a free variant after the *e*-final stems, for example, both *exe-zige* and *exe-ziga* ‘elder sisters’ are possible. In *a*-final and *o*-final stems the last vowel of the suffix *-ziga* clearly sounds as *-a*, e.g. *tukca-ziga* ‘hares’*, ñaula-ziga* ‘children’*, pauza-ziga* ‘roes’, *soŋgo-ziga* ‘bears’, *ogbö-ziga* ‘elks’, *oño-ziga* ‘letters’.

Within the nominal word the Plural affix *-ziga* immediately follows the root and therefore precedes all other inflectional morphemes (the case and Possessive affixes), cf.: *giuse-ziga-ŋi-we-ni* ‘his roes (ACC)’ (Schneider 1936: 103) <roe-PL-AL-ACC-3SG>.

4.1.2.2. Collective Plural

Collective plurality is expressed by the classifying bound word *getu* (4.2.1.3). This word immediately follows the host target and cannot be separated from it under any conditions. It is compatible with the animate nouns that denote human beings, for example *ñ'aula getu* 'youth, young people', *lusa getu* 'the Russians'. It also indicates plurality in the impersonal forms of the active participles, for example *zube ni: xudei getu* 'two merchants', *isene getu* 'audience' (literally: 'seeing ones') (see also 7.5.1.1); as well as in the nominalized modifiers (adjectives, pronouns or quantifiers) within the headless noun phrase (22.2.3). The bound word *getu* inflects for case and possession while the host word remains morphologically unchanged, for example *ñ'aula getu-we-i* 'your young people (ACC, 2 SG)'. However we have one example in which the host word takes a possessive affix.

(1) *minti sagda-nta-fi getu*
we big-N-1PL.IN PL
'our old men'

The bound word *getu* does seems to go back to a separate word *getu* 'friend, comrade, companion, relative' illustrated in (133). Also, a derived verb *getu-le-ne-gi-* 'bring somebody' <relative-V-V-REP> behaves as other regular verbs and takes a cognate object, as shown in (133b).

(1) a. *Bi getu-i anči.*
me friend-REF no
'I have no relatives (friends).'
b. *Si getu-i getu-le-ne-gi-je.*
you friend-REF friend-V-DIR-REP-IMP.2SG.
'Bring your relatives with you.'

4.1.2.3. Possessive Plural

Nouns denoting persons take the Possessive Plural affix *-nA-*. It follows the stem and is obligatorily followed by a Possessive inflection (134a). Class II nouns attach their special Accusative suffix *-mA-* after the Plural marker *-nA-* (134b). Inanimate nouns do not normally take the Possessive Plural suffix *-nA-*. When the Alienable Possessive affix *-ŋi-* is present the Possessive Plural affix *-nA-* follows it (134c).

(1) a. *bi getu-ne-tigi:* 'to my friends'
<me friend-PL-LAT.1SG>
sita-na-zi-ti 'with their children'
<child-PL-INST-3PL>
b. *exi-ne-me-ni* 'his sisters'
<sister-PL-ACC-3SG>
ami-ne-me-ni 'his ancestors'
<father-PL-ACC-3SG>
c. *aziga-ŋi-ne-we-ti* 'their daughters' (Schneider 1936: 103)
<girl-AL-PL-ACC-3PL>

Schneider (1936: 103) hypothesizes that the Possessive Plural suffix *-nA-* used to end in a consonant, presumably /l/ (*-nA-* < *-*nAl-*). The evidence he cites for this is that the 1st person

Singular Possessive suffix used to appear in the form *-bi* after the Plural *-nA-*. As mentioned above (4.1.1.3), in Schneider's description this is a property of *l*-final stems. In the modern language the *l*-declension is lost, and the Possessive *-bi* does not occur. Instead the regular forms with the 1st person Singular Possessive affix *-i*, such as *bi sita-na-i* 'my children', are found. Occasionally, the affix *-mi* is used in this function as well, cf.: *bi 'ai-ne-mi* 'my brothers'. This may also indicate that *-nA-* goes back to **nan* (**nan* + **bi* > *na-mi*).

The suffix of the Possessive Plural *-nA-* is formally identical to the Destinative case marker (4.1.3) and shows a certain closeness of meaning (an expression of possession). It has been suggested (Igor' Kormušin, p.c.) that they may have a common origin (cf. the Russian construction *On mne brat* 'He is my brother' literally 'He is a brother to me', where the destinative Dative form *mne* 'to me' expresses possession). Whatever their origin may be, in modern Udihe the Destinative and the Possessive Plural are clearly different categories. Besides, they differ formally. The 1st person Singular and Singular Reflexive Destinative forms are *bi sita-na-mi* 'child for me' and *(men-e) sita-na-mi* 'child for oneself', respectively. The corresponding Possessive Plural (non-destinative) forms are *bi sita-na-i* 'my children' and *men-e sita-na-i* 'one's own children'.

4.1.3. Case

The Udihe case system includes ten cases. A case inflection follows the Plural suffix and precedes the Possessive. In non-possessive forms the case suffix is the rightmost morpheme within the word. Some morphophonemic peculiarities observed in the declension of possessive forms are addressed in 4.1.4.1.2. Case inflection is fairly regular for all nouns, the only differences existing are those between the class I and class II declensions (4.1.1). The Nominative is zero-marked morphologically and coincides with the bare stem for class I nouns. For class II nouns the Nominative form is vowel-final, that is, the stem-final /*n*/ does not appear. Likewise, in the Accusative and the Destinative class II nouns do not have the stem-final /*n*/, while in all other cases the class II stem appears in its full *n*-final form (see 4.1.1 for further discussion and examples). The case suffixes for the non-possessive forms are presented below:

(1)

	I class	II class
NOM	-	-
ACC	*-wA*	*-mA*
DAT	*- du*	*-du*
LAT	*- tigi*	*-tigi*
LOC	*- lA*	*-dule (-dile)*
PROL	*- li*	*-duli (-dili)*
ABL	*- digi*	*-digi*
INST	*- zi*	*-zi*
DEST	*-nA-*	*-nA-*

Under certain conditions, the Accusative case remain overtly unmarked and coincides with the Nominative (4.2.2.2.2–4.2.2.2.5). The Locative and Prolative affixes for the class II nouns have two variants each, one with the high round vowel /*u*/ and the other with the high vowel /*i*/. Their distribution is conditioned by the tendency to assimilate the vowel /*i*/ of the suffix to the /*i*/ vowel of the stem. Thus the variants *-dile* and *-dili* are normally used if the last vowel in the stem is /*i*/ (for example, *amin-dili* 'by the father' (LOC)), while the variants *-dule* and *-duli* are used in all other cases (for example, *xa-dule* 'by the brother' (LOC), *namun-dule* 'in the sea' (LOC), *xoton-dule* 'in the town' (LOC), etc.). This tendency, however, is not absolute in both directions. The Destinative case has a limited distribution: it must be followed by Possessive affixes and

cannot co-occur with a Plural marker. For more on the form and the meaning of the individual cases, see 4.2.2.

4.1.4. Possessive

Possessive affixes attach to the head of the possessive noun phrase, the possessed noun (13.1). There are two types of Possessive suffixes: non-reflexive and reflexive. The Reflexive affixes mark the coreference of the possessor with the subject of the sentence (see 22.3 for details), while non-reflexive Possessive affixes indicate the lack of such coreference. The Possessive affixes are located at the right edge of the word, after all the other inflectional morphemes. Illustrative case paradigms for the possessive forms are presented below in 4.1.4.3.

4.1.4.1. Non-reflexive Possessives

The non-reflexive Possessive markers refer to the person and number of the possessor.

4.1.4.1.1. Possessive affixes

The case marker precedes the Possessive suffix, for example, *ŋala-wa-i* ‘my hand (ACC)’ <hand-ACC-1SG>. The non-reflexive Possessive affixes (for class I nouns) are as follows: *-i* 1SG, *-i* 2SG, *-ni* 3SG, *-u* 1PL EX, *-fi* 1PL IN (including the listener(s)), *-u* 2PL, *-ti* 3PL. Possessive forms of class II nouns are derived from the vowel-final stem, the stem-final /*n*/ is not present. The possessive forms of the class II nouns differ from those of class I nouns in the following two points:

(i) in the Nominative in the 1st person Singular the affix *-mi* is used instead of *-i:* *bi neŋu-mi* ‘my brother’, but *bi ugda-i* ‘my boat’;

(ii) in the Nominative in the 1st person Plural Exclusive the affix *-mu* is used instead of *-u*, for example: *bu neŋu-mu* ‘our brother’, but *bu zugdi-u* ‘our house’.

Below we present examples of Nominative possessive forms for the class I noun *moxo* ‘cup’ and the class II noun *neŋu* ‘younger sibling’.

(1)	1SG	*moxo-i*	*neŋu-mi*
	2 SG	*moxo-i*	*neŋu-i*
	3 SG	*moxo-ni*	*neŋu-ni*
	1 PL EX	*moxo-u*	*neŋu-mu*
	1 PL IN	*moxo-fi*	*neŋu-fi*
	2 PL	*moxo-u*	*neŋu:*
	3 PL	*moxo-ti*	*neŋu-ti*

These paradigms differ from those for the Northern dialect adduced in (Schneider 1936; Sunik 1968; Girfanova 1988; Kormušin 1998) in their lack of the pharyngeal /*h*/ in the 2nd person Singular and 2nd person Plural markers. The authors mentioned above cite these affixes in the form *-hi* and *-hu*, respectively. Since in the Bikin dialect described here the laryngeal /*h*/ was lost (1.3.2.1), the affixes *-hi* and *-hu* do not occur. Thus, unlike in the Northern dialect described by these authors, in the Bikin dialect the forms of the 1st person Singular completely coincide with those of the 2nd person Singular, and the forms of the 1st person Plural Inclusive coincide with those of the 2nd person Plural.

The possessive affix *-ti* may express plurality either of the possessor or of the possessed noun

(13.1.4). Further, there are some rare examples where *-ti* is used in the 1st person Plural Inclusive function, cf.: *bua-ŋi-ti* ‘our God’ (SKX 264), *minti neŋu-ti* ‘our younger brother’ (Schneider 1937: 74), and also *mi(n)ti b’a-ti* ‘we have found’ <we.IN find.PERF-3PL> (Schneider 1937: 46). The same affix is probably historically present within the 1st person Plural Inclusive personal pronoun *minti* ‘we’.

4.1.4.1.2. Declension

In the oblique cases the class II nouns attach the same personal affixes as the class I nouns. However, the case affixes themselves differ. The possessive forms of both class I and class II nouns use the case markers appropriate for the corresponding declension (4.1.3). For example, in all persons class II nouns have the Accusative suffix *-mA-* instead of *-wA-* used in the possessive forms of class I nouns, cf.: *si neŋu-me-i* ‘your brother (ACC)’ <younger.sibling-ACC-2SG> and *si zugdi-we-i* ‘your house (ACC)’ <house-ACC-2SG>. In practice, however, analogous forms such as *si neŋu-we-i* ‘your brother’ (ACC) are also attested.

In the recent past, the markers of the Dative could have two variations, *-du-* and *-di-*. The variant *-di-* is normally a result of the assimilation of the original Dative suffix *-du-* to the following Possessive suffix if the latter contains the vowel /*i*/ (2.1.4.2), for example:

(1) *eniŋe-di: (< eniŋe-di-i)* ‘to my mother’
<mother-DAT.1SG>
in’ei-di: (< *in’ei-di-i*) ‘to my dog’
<dog-DAT.1SG>
ti: aŋa-di-ni ‘last year’
<that year-DAT-3SG>

This fact is mentioned in Schneider (1936: 98). The assimilated forms were still in use in the 70s, at least in the Northern dialect recorded by Kormušin (for example, *pauza dili-di-ni* ‘to the roe’s head’ <roe-DAT-3SG>). In the modern Bikin dialect, analogy is leading to the gradual disappearance of the variant *-di* in favor of *-du.* Although the former can still be observed, forms such as *eniŋe-du-i* ‘to my mother’ and *in’ei-du-i* ‘to my dog’ have become more and more widespread. At the same time, the transitional variant of this marker *-dü-* (with the high front round vowel) is also heard before /*i*/ in the 1st and 2nd person Singular Possessive affix (*eniŋe-dü-i* ‘to your/my mother’ <mother-DAT-1SG>).

On other regular morphonological processes which occur in the declension of nouns see the section «Phonological alternations» (2.3).

4.1.4.2. Reflexive Possessives

Reflexive possessive forms are not opposed for different persons, but only for the Singular possessor and the Plural possessor.

4.1.4.2.1. Reflexive Possessive affixes

The marker of the Singular Reflexive is *-i* for class I nouns, and *-mi* for class II nouns. The marker of the Plural Reflexive is *-fi* for nouns of both classes (a reduced form of the earlier *-fai* attested by Schneider and in the modern Northern dialect). Examples of reflexive possessive forms for the class I noun *moxo* ‘cup’ and the class II noun *neŋu* ‘younger sibling’:

(1) SG *moxo-i* *neŋu-mi*
PL *moxo-fi* *neŋu-fi*

4.1.4.2.2. Declension

Reflexive possessive forms take the Plural suffix *-ziga*, indicating the plurality of the possessee, and are declined in the standard way.

(1) (*men-e) kusige-du-i* ‘to one’s own knife’
<REF-0 knife-DAT-REF>
kusige-tigi: (< *kusige-tigi-i*) ‘to one’s own knife’
<knife-LAT.REF>
men-e in’ei-ziga-zi: (< *in’ei-ziga-zi-i*) ‘with one’s own dogs’ <REF-0 dog-PL-INST.REF>

The case paradigms of the Singular reflexive forms and the Plural reflexive forms are basically similar to those of the non-reflexive forms, of the 1st or 2nd person Singular and the 1st person Plural Inclusive, respectively (see 4.1.4.3). However, the declension of reflexive possessive forms shows one important peculiarity in comparison with the declension of the non-reflexive possessive forms. They do not take the Accusative suffix, thus the Accusative appears to be homonymous with the Nominative. More discussion of this matter can be found in 22.4.1.1.

4.1.4.3. Illustrative paradigms

Examples of case paradigms of the class I noun (*ugda* ‘boat’) and the class II noun (*neŋu* ‘younger sibling’) in the possessive forms are presented below. The difference in the Accusative between the Singular Reflexive and the 1st and 2nd person Singular non-reflexive, on the one hand, and between the Plural Reflexive and the 1st person Plural inclusive, on the other hand, is reflected in the paradigms. Reflexive forms are cited only if they differ from non-reflexive forms.

	‘my boat’ *bi ugda-i* ‘one’s boat’ *men-e ugda-i*	‘your boat’ *si ugda-i*	‘his/her boat’ *nuani ugda-ni*
NOM	*egad-i*	*ugda-i*	*ugda-ni*
ACC	*ugda-wa-i* *egad-i* (REF)	*ugda-wa-i*	*ugda-wa-ni*
DAT	*ugda-du-i*	*ugda-du-i*	*ugda-du-ni*
LAT	*ugda-tigi:*	*ugda-tigi:*	*ugda-tigi-ni*
LOC	*ugda-la-i*	*ugda-la-i*	*ugda-la-ni*
PROL	*ugda-li:*	*ugda-li:*	*ugda-li-ni*
ABL	*ugda-digi:*	*ugda-digi:*	*ugda-digi-ni*
INST	*ugda-zi:*	*ugda-zi:*	*ugda-zi-ni*
DEST	*ugda-na-i* *ugda-na-mi* (REF)	*ugda-na-i*	*ugda-na-ni*

‘our boat’ (EX)	‘our boat’ (IN)	‘your boat’	‘their boat’

	bu ugda-u	*minti ugda-fi* ‘one’s boat (PL)’ *men-e ugda-fi*	*su ugda-u*	*nuati ugda-ti*
NOM	*ugda-u*	*ugda-fi*	*ugda-u*	*ugda-ti*
ACC	*ugda-wa-u*	*ugda-wa-fi* *ugda-fi* (REF)	*ugda-wa-u*	*ugda-wa-ti*
DAT	*ugda-du:*	*ugda-du-fi*	*ugda-du:*	*ugda-du-ti*
LAT	*ugda-tigi-u*	*ugda-tigi-fi*	*ugda-tigi-u*	*ugda-tigi-ti*
LOC	*ugda-la-u*	*ugda-la-fi*	*ugda-la-u*	*ugda-la-ti*
PROL	*ugda-li-u*	*ugda-li-fi*	*ugda-li-u*	*ugda-li-ti*
ABL	*ugda-digi-u*	*ugda-digi-fi*	*ugda-digi-u*	*ugda-digi-ti*
INST	*ugda-zi-u*	*ugda-zi-fi*	*ugda-zi-u*	*ugda-zi-ti*
DEST	*ugda-na-u*	*ugda-na-fi*	*ugda-na-u*	*ugda-na-ti*

	‘my younger sibling’ *bi neŋu-mi* ‘one’s younger sibling’ *men-e neŋu-mi*	‘your younger sibling’ *si neŋu-i*	‘his/her younger sibling’ *nuani neŋu-ni*
NOM	*neŋu-mi*	*neŋu-i*	*neŋu-ni*
ACC	*neŋu-me-i* *neŋu-mi* (REF)	*neŋu-me-i*	*neŋu-me-ni*
DAT	*neŋun-du-i*	*neŋun-du-i*	*neŋun-du-ni*
LAT	*neŋun-tigi:*	*neŋun-tigi:*	*neŋun-tigi-ni*
LOC	*neŋun-dule-i*	*neŋun-dule-i*	*neŋun-dule-ni*
PROL	*neŋun-duli:*	*neŋun-duli:*	*neŋun-duli-ni*
ABL	*neŋun-digi:*	*neŋun-digi:*	*neŋun-digi-ni*
INST	*neŋun-zi:*	*neŋun-zi:*	*neŋun-zi-ni*
DEST	*neŋu-ne-mi*	*neŋu-ne-i*	*neŋu-ne-ni*

	‘our younger sibling’ (EX) *bu neŋu-mu*	‘our younger sibling’ (IN) *minti neŋu-fi* ‘one’s younger sibling (PL)’ *men-e neŋu-fi*	‘your younger sibling’ *su neŋu:*	‘their younger sibling’ *nuati neŋu-ti*
NOM	*neŋu-mu*	*neŋu-fi*	*neŋu:*	*neŋu-ti*
ACC	*neŋu-me-u*	*neŋu-me-fi* *neŋu-fi* (REF)	*neŋu-me-u*	*neŋu-ma-ti*
DAT	*neŋun-du:*	*neŋun-du-fi*	*neŋun-du:*	*neŋun-du-ti*
LAT	*neŋun-tigi-u*	*neŋun-tigi-fi*	*neŋun-tigi-u*	*neŋun-tigi-ti*
LOC	*neŋun-dule-u*	*neŋun-dule-fi*	*neŋun-dule-u*	*neŋun-dule-ti*
PROL	*neŋun-duli-u*	*neŋun-dule-fi*	*neŋun-duli-u*	*neŋun-duli-ti*
ABL	*neŋun-digi-u*	*neŋun-digi-fi*	*neŋun-digi-u*	*neŋun-digi-ti*
INST	*neŋun-zi-u*	*neŋun-zi-fi*	*neŋun-zi-u*	*neŋun-zi-ti*
DEST	*neŋu-ne-u*	*neŋu-ne-fi*	*eŋnu-ne-u*	*neŋu-ne-ti*

4.1.4.4. Alienable Possessive (the suffix *-ŋi-)*

We will here consider the suffix *-ŋi-* as encoding the category of Alienable Possessive. It is glossed as AL. The name of this category is arbitrary to a considerable extent (on its function see 6.2.3.2). Sunik (1968) and Kormušin (1998) consider this suffix to express alienable possession, while Schneider (1936) does not use this term and simply describes the groups of nouns that demand *-ŋi-* in the possessive form.

The suffix *-ŋi-* is attached immediately after the noun stem. It does not refer to the person or the number of the possessor, but indicates a special type of possession relationship (4.2.4). Therefore it cannot substitute or eliminate the encoding of the possessor, and must obligatorily be followed by the regular Possessive affix referring to the possessor of the possessive noun phrase. The case affixes, if present, are located between *-ŋi-* and the Possessive suffix. The Possessive Plural affix (4.1.2.3) precedes the Possessive affix and follows the Alienable Possessive affix *-ŋi-*.

(2) *nua-ni ja:-ŋi-ni* ‘his/her cow’
<he-3SG cow-AL-3SG>
xatala-ŋi-we-u ‘your (PL) girl (ACC)’
<girl-AL-ACC-2PL>
bi kuŋka mo:-ŋi-ne-i ‘my cedar trees’
<be cedar tree-AL-PL-1SG>

The only two cases where the suffix *-ŋi-* appears without being followed by the Possessive affix are: (i) in the Partitive and the Proprietive forms (see 4.3), and (ii) when the alienable possessive forms are used predicatively in the Nominative (see 17.2.2.3).

In Schneider (1936: 101) a variant *-ŋu-* is also mentioned. In our materials this did not occur in the Bikin dialect, but it is found in the Northern texts recorded by Kormušin.

(3) *Ulikte-ŋu-we-ni* *zomo-si-e-ni.*
lard-AL-ACC-3SG steal-IM-PAST-3SG
‘He$_i$ has stolen his$_j$ lard’. (K 125)

4.2. Functions of nominal inflectional categories

This section deals with the function of the number (4.2.1), case (4.2.2), and possessive forms (4.2.3, 4.2.4). The corresponding categories of adjectives and participles are addressed in Chapter 6 and section 7.9, respectively.

4.2.1. Functions of the number forms

4.2.1.1. Singular

Apparently, all nouns have Singular forms.

4.2.1.1.1. Singular objects

Prototypically, nouns in the Singular are employed to refer to a single entity (in general or in circumstances in which entities can be counted), for example, *zugdi* ‘house’, *ñaŋña* ‘sky’. They may also be uncountable mass nouns (such as *uli* ‘water’, *ñute* ‘resin’). The nouns that function as non-possessive modifiers within a noun phrase are always in the Singular (13.7).

4.2.1.1.2. Generic and Plural notions

Singular forms may denote generic notions (*mo:* ‘trees’ in general) and Plural notions. In fact, the Udihe noun in the Singular form is neutral in respect to number. Its meaning can be both Singular and Plural and is greatly influenced by its co-occurrence with other elements indicating number. Thus, nouns in the Singular may also refer to many countable objects in an appropriate environment (see also 4.2.1.2).

4.2.1.1.3. Quantified noun phrase

All quantifiers normally require the head noun to be in the Singular, although the Plural is not entirely ungrammatical. See 13.3 for details.

4.2.1.1.4. Pair objects

The Singular may denote paired objects (*k’olo* ‘mittens’, *bugdi* ‘legs’, *ŋala* ‘hands’, *ku’ai* ‘ears’, *ja:* ‘eyes’, *weige* ‘earrings’, *uŋta* ‘boots’). If they function as a subject, the predicate agrees with them in number, that is, it also takes the Singular form. In this case, the exact interpretation with respect to number can only be deduced from the context, cf. (142a) and (142b) where in both cases the subject has a morphologically Singular form.

(4) a. *Bugdi:* *kägda:-ni.*
leg.1SG cold.PAST-3SG
‘My legs are cold.’

b. *Bi* *ugdi:* *maŋga* *uni:-ni.*
me leg.1SG strong ache-3SG
‘My leg aches very much.’

4.2.1.1.5. Marked singularity

Singularity may be emphasized by the numeral *omo* ‘one’ when the corresponding unmarked nominal is inherently dual (143) or is a mass notion, cf. (144a) and (144b). In the former case the numeral *omo* ‘one’ may be combined with the pronominal adjective *gagda* ‘other, another’.

(5) a. *Nuani* *omo* *gagda* *bugdi.*
he one other leg
‘He is one-legged.’
b. *omo* *gagda* *ja:*
one other eye

‘one eye’

(6) a. *Seutigi* *diga-na:-ni.* *Bu-je*
t eat-DIR.PAST-3SG give-IMP.2SG
min-du *seutigi-we.* *Keŋku* *m’ei* *seutigi.*
me-DAT nut-ACC empty only nut
‘They went to eat nuts. «Give me (some) nuts.» – «All the nuts are empty.»’ (K 137)

b. *Tiŋmele:-n(i)* *omo* *seutigi.*
fall.PAST-3SG one nut
‘One nut fell.’(K 137)

Other examples of the stressed singularity of countable notions corresponding to uncountable mass nouns are *omo samikta* ‘(one) eye-lash’ and *omo ñukte* ‘(one) hair’ whose uncountable counterparts are *samikta* ‘eye-lash’, *ñukte* ‘hair’, respectively, cf.:

(7) a. *Ñukte-ni* *c’a-ma* *ede:-ni.*
hair-3SG white-ADJ become.PAST-3SG
‘His hair became white.’

b. *Moxo-tigi* *omo* *ñukte* *tiŋmele:-ni.*
cup-LAT one hair fell.PAST-3SG
‘One hair fell into the cup.’

For some nouns denoting foods that consist of separate small pieces special counting words are used when a single part is referred to: *tuli* ‘peas’ and *omo tuli ikte-ni* ‘one pea’ (literally: ‘one pea seed’), *tuduze* ‘potatoes’ and *tuduze bombo-ni* ‘(one) potato’ (literally: ‘potato ball’).

4.2.1.2. Plural

Plurality is not obligatorily marked morphologically on nouns. Apart from being encoded by the Plural suffixes, it may be expressed by other means such as a quantifier (13.3), or by semantic agreement with the adjectival modifier (13.2.2.) and/or with the predicate (15.1.1.2.2). The Plural of the object or the subject can be marked with the Distributive derivational suffixes on the verb (8.2.2.6). The mass and uncountable nouns including nouns co-occuring with the collective word *getu* (4.1.2.2) are *singularia tantum.*

4.2.1.2.1. Plural and associative meanings

Although this is not obligatory, the Plural can be morphologically marked by the suffix *-ziga* (4.1.2.1), cf.: *tege* ‘gown’ and *tege-ziga* ‘gowns’. The Plural when applied to inherently dual objects signifies reference to multiple pairs: *k’olo-ziga* ‘several pairs of mittens’. The Plural suffix *-ziga-* is regularly used with proper (kin) names and then it means the members of one family (kin), see example (146). The traditional names of the Udihe kin groups in the Plural (e.g. *Sulän-ziga, Pioŋka-ziga, Kälun-ziga*) are now used as surnames (1.2.5).

(8) *Uti* *Pioŋka-ziga* *zugdi-ti.*
that Pionka-PL house-3PL
‘This is the house of the Pionka (a family).’

The Plural may sometimes have an associative meaning. Thus, *Kanda mafa-ziga* means something like 'the house people of the old man Kanda; the old man Kanda and people associated with him' (*Kanda* refers to a class of folklore characters, *mafa* 'old man'), but not 'several old men Kanda', as could be expected; and *g'ai-ziga* is 'crow and its friends' (Schneider 1937: 64).

(8) a. *Mamaka-ziga-la* *digeŋ-ki-ni.*
old.woman-PL-FOC hide-PAST-3SG
'The old woman and those who were with her have hidden.'
(K 107)

b. *Ele* *bude-mi,* *ama-ziga* *enie-ziga*
soon die-1SG father-PL mother-PL
xokto-li-ti *ŋene-mi.*
road-PROL-3PL go-1SG
'I will die soon, I will take the road of my ancestors.' (SK 1139)

c. *Guatu-ziga*
Guatu-PL
'Guatu and his family' (SKX 318)

4.2.1.2.2. Conditions on Plural marking

The Plural is usually morphologically marked on nouns denoting persons or animals (when they act like people in tales). The corresponding noun phrase serves as the subject and there is no other indication of plurality. Generally speaking, the Plural of a subject, especially when denoting a person, is more or less regularly marked, whereas the Plural suffix of a direct object appears less frequently. The Plural forms with the suffix *-ziga-* are regularly used in addresses.

(9) *Exe-ziga* *exe-ziga* *su* *j'e-uxi* *ŋene-u?*
elder.sister-PL elder.sister-PL you what-LAT go-2PL
'Sisters, sisters, where are you going?'

The morphological Plural of the other case forms and of inanimate nouns is rare in spontaneously generated texts, although speakers recognize such forms as the correct ones. Inanimate nouns and nouns in the oblique cases may take the Plural marker when plurality is stressed, for example:

(10) *Jegdige* *i:ŋ-ki-ni* *tukca-ziga-la.*
hero enter-PAST-3SG hare-PL-LOC
'The hero entered the hares' (place)'.

Thus, the occurrence of the Plural suffix *-ziga-* seems to correlate with two ultimately interrelated factors: the animacy of the referred entity and the syntactic role of the corresponding noun phrase in the sentence. For animate nouns and for syntactically more active elements (which are normally topical as well) the plurality is more likely to be morphologically marked. On the other hand, inanimate nouns and those that correspond to 'lower' grammatical relations (indirect and oblique objects, and adjuncts) are more likely to remain morphologically unmarked with respect to number, even when they denote several countable entities. The rationale behind this observation is perhaps that the Plural tends not to be overtly marked if the corresponding element has already been mentioned in the text in the Plural. See examples (150a) and (150b), which are taken from the same text.

(11) a. *Tuge-zi* *tukä:-iti* *in'ei-ziga.*
quick-INST run-3PL dog-PL
'The dogs are running quickly.'
b. *In'ei-we* *tindaŋi:-si* *ŋene:-ti* *caixi.*
dog-ACC let-PC.SS go.PAST-3PL further
'Having loosed the dogs they went further.'

In (150a) the dogs are introduced into the text for the first time, and the corresponding (subject) noun phrase is in the plural. In (150b), which occurs later in the texts, the same dogs are mentioned in the Singular. Their number has already been established in the previous piece of discourse, and therefore the Plural marker would here be redundant. If we accept that new elements are normally introduced in the text as subjects, in particular, of presentational constructions as in (150a); this explains why the Plural marker mostly appears in subject noun phrases.

4.2.1.3. Collective plural

The collective Plural word *getu* forms collective nouns only from nouns denoting persons. Collective nouns with the word *getu* refer to a group of individuals: *ñaula getu* 'youth', *baja getu* 'rich people' (as a class), *ibene getu* 'Japanese people' (as a nation), *zima getu* 'guests'. The resulting compound expressions denote a mass notion; that is why they cannot be used in contexts which require an individualization of each entity, for example, they cannot be arguments of the postposition *agda-la-ni* 'between': **ñ'aula getu agda-la-ni* is ruled out, while *ñ'aula-ziga agda-la-ni* 'between the boys', where the noun takes the non-collective Plural affix *-ziga*, is allowed. Typically, collective nouns with the word *getu* do not co-occur with other markers of plurality (*-ziga* or *-nA-*) and cannot be quantified, however cf. Northern *sita getu-zige* 'children' (SKX 326), *wakča-i getu-ziga* 'hunters' (SKX 286), and some other similar examples.

Collective compound expressions trigger Singular verb agreement (151a), but for the adjective in a predicative position the semantically motivated Plural form in *-ŋku* (6.1.2.1.1) is required (151b).

(12) a. *Ñ'aula* *getu* *etete-zeŋe-ni.*
youth PL work-FUT-3PL
'The young people will work.'
b. *Ei ni:* *getu* *maŋga-ŋku.*
his person PL strong-PL
'These people are strong.'

4.2.1.4. Possessive plural

The Possessive Plural suffix *-nA-* is mostly compatible with a restricted class of words, mainly kinship terms (*omölo* 'grandchild', *neŋu* 'younger sibling', *a'i* 'older brother', *exi* 'older sister', *xanta* 'relation', *ami* 'father' (the Plural form means 'ancestors')) and certain other nouns denoting persons. It is fairly regular with the following nouns: *sagdinta* 'old people' (often shortened to *saŋta*), *anda* 'friend', *getu* 'comrade' and *sita* 'child, cub', cf.: *keige sita-na-ni* 'kittens' (literally: 'cat's children'). The Plural possessive nouns with *-nA-* function as heads of a possessive noun phrase (13.1), that is, the Plural marker *-nA-* always co-occurs with a Possessive suffix within a word, cf.:

(13) a. *Udie* *tue-ze-zi* *sita-na-zi-fi*
Udihe winter-N-INST child-PL-INST-REF.PL
bagdi-e-ti.
live-PAST-3PL
'The Udihe lived in winter huts with their children.'

b. *Bi* *Ñ'ädiga* *xanta-na-wa-ni* *sa:-mi.*
me Nadiga relative-PL-ACC-3SG know-1SG
'I know Nadiga's relatives.'

c. *Udie* *ni:-ne-we-ni* *saŋta-na-wa-ni*
Udihe man-PL-ACC-3SG old.man-PL-ACC-3SG
a:nta-na-wa-ni *ñ'aula-na-wa-ni*
woman-PL-ACC-3SG child-PL-ACC-3SG
teluŋu-si-du-ze.
story-V-PL-SUBJ.3SG
'Let them tell about the Udihe old people, men, women, and children.'

Within the quantified noun phrases the Possessive Plural affix generally follows the same rules as the non-possessive Plural marker *-ziga* (4.2.1.2). An example of the quantified Possessive Plural noun phrase is: *zube exi-ne-ni* 'her two sisters' <two sister-PL-3SG>.

In the fixed expression *ama-na(-ti)* *enie-ne(-ti)* 'the father and the mother' (SK 1139) the possessive Plural indicates duality. Here possessive markers are optional.

4.2.2. Functions of the cases

4.2.2.1. The Nominative

The Nominative forms coincide with the bare noun stem, therefore the Nominative is not indicated in the glosses. The Nominative noun phrase typically corresponds to the subject argument of transitive and intransitive verbs (Chapter 14) including (the pronominal) subject of the Personal Passive, which encodes the patient/theme argument (15.1.1.2). On the syntactic properties of the subject see 15.1.1. The Nominative is also the case of the subject in most (though not all) copular constructions (17.2.2) and the only argument of the subjective and sometimes objective Resultative (17.2.2.5). Beside this, Nominative nouns have the predicative function (17.2.2.1.3) and may serve as the (new or non-specific) direct object (4.2.2.2).

The Nominative noun phrase functions as a modifier within a larger possessive noun phrase (13.1); it is also used in appositions (13.8), in addresses (12.2.1.1), and as a quotation and label form of a noun. A second or third (essive) argument of a small number of verbs corresponds to the Nominative noun phrase (see 14.3.9 and 14.4.8).

Most postpositions govern the Nominative case, for example: *teŋku wei-le-ni* 'on the stool' (see more in 10.2.3). Nominative forms are used in some «frozen» adverbial expressions meaning duration of time or location in time: *gä:ŋa ineŋi-ni* 'all day long', *dogbo ineŋi* 'through night and day', and other analogous expressions of time (15.4.2.8).

4.2.2.2. The Accusative

In a non-reflexive noun phrase the Accusative is usually marked with the suffix *-wA- or -mA-*. For the reflexive noun phrases the Accusative is homonymous with the Nominative (4.1.4.2). The prototypical function of the Accusative is to denote a direct object. On the definition of the direct

object see 15.2. In the direct object function the Accusative case is not always morphologically marked, and even for non-reflexive noun phrases can sometimes coincide with the Nominative. The issue is not entirely clear because the two likely causes of this behavior, the phonetic and the semantic, sometimes work in combination. In functions other than the direct object the non-reflexive Accusative is always morphologically marked, but there is also a tendency to omit the Accusative marker on the noun phrase that corresponds to the patient/theme argument in Passive and Agentless Passive constructions (16.1.1, 16.1.2).

4.2.2.2.1. Functions of the Accusative

The Accusative noun phrase corresponds to the object argument of the transitive verbs with different semantic roles: patient, theme, content, goal, stimulus, etc. (14.3, 14.4). The case is inherited by the corresponding (non-pronominal) argument in passive constructions, as distinct from English and many European languages, both in the Passive (16.1.1) and Agentless Passive (16.1.2). The Accusative (or the Dative) marks the causee in the Causative constructions (16.1.4) and the only argument of the objective Resultative (17.2.2.5.2). It is also used to indicate the addressee of the imperative in indirect speech constructions (18.4.4). The double object construction is addressed in 16.2.1.

A few nouns (13.6.2) and postpositions (10.2.3) take an Accusative argument. Adverbial elements are marked by the Accusative if they denote a span of time (15.4.2.6).

4.2.2.2.2. Phonetically-driven absence of the Accusative

The Accusative marker *-wA-* can be dropped when speaking quickly, especially after the round vowels /*o*/ and /*u*/. For example, the Accusative form *au-wa* ‘cap’ is often replaced by the Nominative *au* ‘cap’. The same occurs if the word ends in *-wA* and *-fA*, for example *mäwa* ‘heart’, *iŋofo* ‘bird cherry tree’, *mafa* ‘old man, bear’ (which is rarely found in texts with the Accusative marker), or if the following word begins with *wa-,* such as the verb *wa-* ‘kill’. Note, however, that the topicalized object that undergoes left- or right dislocation is always marked by the Accusative, even if its non-topicalized counterpart is not.

(14) *Nada au* *teti-gi-e-nie* *joxoso-mo*
seven cap dress-REP-PAST-3SG kettle-ADJ
au-wa.
cap-ACC
‘He put on seven caps, caps made of kettles.’ (K 181)

4.2.2.2.3. Semantically-driven absence of the Accusative: non-specific objects

There is a tendency to avoid the overt Accusative when the object has a non-specific reading. This tendency seems to be stronger in the Northern dialect than in the Southern dialect, though in neither does it approach a strict rule. The examples below are mostly from the Northern texts. They illustrate either the non-specific (in the sense of not necessarily existing) reading of the direct object (145), or its generic reading (146), or mass objects (147).

(15) a. *Sugzä:-da* *e-mu* *diga* *ule:-de*
fish-FOC NEG-1PL.EX eat meet-FOC
e-mu *diga.*

NEG-1PL.EX eat
'We eat neither fish nor meat.' (K 174)

b. *Bi sun-du gida bu-zeŋe-i.*
me you-DAT spear give-FUT-1SG
'I will give you a spear.' (K 176)

c. *We:-tigi ŋene-ze-fi seutigi*
forest-LAT go-SUBJ-1PL.IN nut
diga-na-za-fi.
eat-DEST-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'Let us go to the forest and eat some nuts.' (K 137)

(16) a. *I:mi dai-wa-si-ze-i ni:-le.*
why drop.in-CAUS-MUL-SUBJ-2SG man-CONT
'Why do you make people drop in?' (K198)

b. *Uti sita-ni bui magi-e-ni.*
that son-3SG animal kill-PAST-3SG
'Her son was killing animals.' (K 179)

(17) a. *Belie sutu akpu-nda:-ni.*
girl rubbish sweep-SEM.PAST-3SG
'The girl swept out the rubbish.' (K 128)

b. *Ba:-la to: ilaŋi-e-ni.*
nature-LOC fire lighten.PAST-3SG
'She made a fire outside.' (K 193)

c. *Xunepte läsi s'olo:-ni.*
ash very scoop.PAST-3SG
'He scooped up very much ash.' (K 105)

4.2.2.2.4. Semantically-driven absence of the Accusative: specific new objects

In the Northern dialect specific nouns can also lack a morphologically marked Accusative. They are likely to be zero-marked in the object position if the corresponding participant is being introduced in the text for the first time, cf.:

(18) a. *Talu-ma emuge wo:-ni, ic'a emuge*
birch.bark-ADJ cradle make.PAST-3SG small cradle *wo:-ni,*
talu-ma emuge uta-du
make.PAST-3SG birch.bark-ADJ cradle that-DAT
'She made a birch bark cradle, a small birch bark cradle for him.'
(K 181)

b. *Uniŋa zawa-mi-de uniŋa-la:-ni.*
spoon take-INF-FOC spoon-V.PAST-3SG
'Having taken a spoon she used it to scoop up.' (K 199)

c. *Senmi gakpa:-ni uta-wa agaŋ-ki-ni.*
arrow shoot.PAST-3SG that-ACC step-PAST-3SG
'He shot an arrow and she stepped over it.' (K 173)

d. *Jegdige ba: xo:n-dule-ni ule:-ni agdu.*

hero place top-LOC-3SG dig.PAST-3SG hole
'The hero dug a hole in the forest.' (K 132)

e. *Xogdo* *xebu-si-e-ni* *we:*
spear take-MUL-PAST-3SG hill
dulaŋki-le-ni *asamu-o:-ni* *xogdo-wo.*
middle-LOC-3SG aim-PAST-3SG spear-ACC
'He took a spear and aimed it at the middle of the hill.' (K 169)

Note also that the object is likely not to have the Accusative marker if the verb is in the Imperative. In fact, in this case the object is often appearing in the text for the first time.

(19) a. *Zekpu-ne-i* *zeu.*
eat-DEST-IMP.2SG food
'Come to eat some food.' (K 117).

b. *Čuige* *bu-je.*
fire.stone give-IMP.2SG
'Give me a fire stone.' (K 120)

Finally, Accusative marking is more likely to be absent in a non-finite embedded clause than in an independent clause. In a non-finite embedded clause it may occur even if the object is formally definite.

(17) *Mafa* *imo:-ni* *bua* *tue-ni* *diga-mi* *ina-ini.*
bear fat-3SG place winter-3SG eat-INF enough-3SG
'Bear fat is enough to eat in the winter time.' (SK 550)

4.2.2.2.5. Interaction of several factors

Thus, the Accusative marker can be absent for semantic and phonetic reasons. According to the semantic tendency, more fully manifested in the Northern dialect, the Accusative case marking is likely to be absent in the direct object noun phrase if it is: (i) non-specific (including generic and mass nouns); (ii) a specific count noun not mentioned previously in the text, and therefore indefinite. In all these cases, however, the morphologically marked Accusative is not ruled out either, for example (160a) shows a non-specific noun phrase in an object role which is inflected for the Accusative suffix *-wA*. Alternatively, specific and previously mentioned (definite) noun phrases may sometimes have a bare form in the direct object role, which can hardly be explained phonologically, as in (160b).

(20) a. *Ono bie* *mamasa-wa* *gele-i?*
how be.PRES.HAB wife-ACC look.for.-2SG
'What sort of wife do you want?' (K 173)

b. *In'ei ikteme-ne:-ni* *pauza.*
dog bite-DIS-PAST-3SG roe
'The dogs bit the roe.' (K 138)

Of course, several of the factors mentioned can work in parallel. In (161) the absence of the Accusative marker can be explained either by phonological considerations (the potentially adjacent syllable beginning with /*f*/ or /*w*/) or by the non-specific/indefinite character of the object, or by its co-occurrence with the Imperative verb.

(21) a. *Omo* *gagda* *ŋala-zi* *oño* *wo:-i.*
one another hand-INST ornament make-PRR
'She is making ornaments with one hand.'
b. *Iŋofo* *xoa-ja.*
bird.cherry cut-IMP.2SG
'Cut a bird cherry tree.' (K 113)
c. *ŋene-mi* *ogbö* *wa:-ni.*
go-INF elk kill.PAST-3SG
'On the way, he killed an elk.' (K 144)

4.2.2.3. The Dative

The Dative case marker is *-du*. The Dative expresses the semantic roles of benefactive/malefactive, recipient, goal, direction, and the like. It marks the recipient/benefactive/goal argument of two-place (14.3.7) and three-place (14.4.1) verbs. In some copular constructions (17.2.3) the Dative corresponds to the single experiencer animate argument of the experiential predicates (the desiderative state, physical or mental state). A specific function of the Dative is to encode the agent in Passive sentences (see 16.1.1) and the causee of causative verbs derived from transitives (16.1.4.3.2).

Furthermore, in spite of its conventional name, the Dative commonly expresses a local meaning. In this function it may be interchangeable with the Locative (see 4.2.2.5). Thus, in the valence patterns that require a Locative argument (14.3.6 and 14.4.7) the Dative is also possible for a certain group of verbs. As an adjunct, the Dative noun phrase can express the local relationship (15.4.1.5) including those adjuncts that are very commonly found in existential sentences (17.2.1.3), as well as the temporal relationship (15.4.2.1), and goal/benefactive-type (15.4.4.2) adjuncts.

4.2.2.4. The Lative

The suffix of the Lative is *-tigi*. This suffix is frequently phonetically reduced to *-ti*: because /*g*/ may be pronounced as a non-occlusive *ɣ*, and further reduction leads to the contraction of *ɣ* with the following vowel (*tigi* > *tiɣi* > *tii:* > *ti*:).

The prototypical function of the Lative case is to express direction ('toward, to'). The Lative noun phrase functions as an argument with this meaning in the valence patterns described under 14.3.3 and 14.4.4. Obviously, it also functions as a spatial adjunct (15.4.1.2). Its extended function as an adjunct is to express the final point of time (15.4.2.5) and, on an even more abstract level, purpose (15.4.4.1). The Lative also denotes the recipient argument (addressee) of some verbs of transfer of information, see 14.3.2 and 14.4.3. Such an argument corresponds to the grammatical relation of the indirect object (15.3).

4.2.2.5. The Locative

4.2.2.5.1. Functions of the Locative

The Locative suffix is *-lA* for the class I nouns and *-dulA*/*-dilA* for the class II nouns. The most common function of this case is to express spatial location (location in/on/at/by something and movement into something, as opposed to the Lative case which expresses rather the direction towards/to the object). The Locative noun phrase functions as an argument in the clauses where

the predicate follows the valence patterns 14.3.6 and 14.4.7 and may correspond to the patient/theme argument in the so-called Locative object construction (16.2.4).

As an adjunct it can express location (15.4.1.1), a point in time (15.4.2.2) and, in its metaphorical function, the source of information (15.4.3.2), a cause (15.4.3.3), and a group of which some member is involved in the situation under discussion (15.4.3.2.1). Occasionally, the Locative expresses a possessor in copular constructions, such as 17.2.1.3, although in the majority of cases such constructions have an existential meaning and the Locative noun phrase in them functions as a place adjunct.

4.2.2.5.2. The Locative vs. the Dative

In the local meaning (both as an argument and adjunct) the Locative noun phrase is often interchangeable with the Dative noun phrase. The Dative vs. Locative marking depends on the character of the noun phrase itself. For example, some verbs co-occur with the following Dative noun phrases: *zugdi-du* 'in the house', *Bali-du* 'in (the city of) Khabarovsk', *kniga-du* 'in the book', *kluba-du* 'in the club'. At the same time, they co-occur with the following Locative noun phrases: *mo:-lo* 'on the tree', *namu-le* 'at the sea'. The word *zugdi* 'house' in combination with the verb *bagdi-* 'live' takes the Locative if the house does not belong to the subject participant, cf. (162a) and (162b):

(22) a. *Bi xoŋto zugdi-le-ni bagdi-mi.*
me other house-LOC-3SG live-1SG
'I live in somebody else's house'.

b. *Bi ei zugdi-du ei-mi bagdi.*
Me this house-DAT NEG-1SG live
'I don't live in this house.

The nouns that denote living people (and the personal pronouns) are normally in the Locative when they have the locational meaning, for example: *Pakula-la* 'at Pakula's', *ni:-le* 'at the man's', *Koko-lo* 'at Koko's'. In general, the Dative seems to be preferred in the meaning 'in' and the Locative corresponds more to the English prepositions 'on' or 'at'; compare: *uli-du* 'in the river (DAT)' and *uli-le* 'at the river (LOC)'. However, the distribution of the Locative and the Dative in the local sense does not follow any strict semantic or phonological criteria and has to be learned for each individual instance.

For certain verbs and constructions the Dative/Locative interchange is not possible, see 14.3.6.2. For example, the copular construction 'be married to someone' (of a woman) always requires a Dative argument (17.2.2.2.2).

4.2.2.6. The Prolative

The Prolative is encoded by the suffix *-li* for class I nouns and *-duli*/*-dili* for class II nouns. It functions as an argument for a few verbs (14.3.8) or as a spatial adjunct (15.4.1.4) and generally denotes movement along or through something. In the temporal use its meaning is something like 'day by day', 'week after week', etc. (15.4.2.7).

4.2.2.7. The Ablative

The marker of the Ablative is *-digi* for both class I and class II nouns. Its prototypical meaning is

to express movement away from or out of a location. As an argument of movement verbs it is found in the valence patterns 14.3.5 and 14.4.6. As an adjunct, the Ablative noun phrase can have spatial (15.4.1.3), temporal (15.4.2.3), or a metaphorical causal (15.4.3.3) meaning. A special use of the Ablative is within the comparative construction (6.3.4 and 10.1.7.3) where it denotes the standard of comparison.

4.2.2.8. The Instrumental

The Instrumental case is marked by the suffix *-zi*. As an argument and an adjunct, the Instrumental noun phrase can have a large range of meanings that can be covered by the general label 'circumstance' or 'means' (the means employed for the action). On valence patterns with the Instrumental case see 14.3.4 and 14.4.5. The Instrumental noun phrase can express the period of time (15.4.2.4). As a manner adjunct it denotes means of conveyance, price, instrument, circumstance, sometimes the cause, the way of transmission of information, the source of information, or the material used (15.4.3). The comitative meaning of the Instrumental noun phrase ('with somebody') is common. The Instrumental comitative noun phrase functions as a determiner within a larger noun phrase (13.6.1) or as a kind of a comitative adjunct (15.4.6). Besides, it can mark the counter-agent participant of a reciprocal situation (16.1.6.2.1, 14.3.4.2).

4.2.2.9. The Destinative

The Destinative case marked with the suffix *-nA-* has a rather limited use. Generally speaking, it denotes either an object meant, designed, or destined for a particular person or another object, or a destination itself. In the first meaning, the destinative object noun phrase functions as a verbal argument (16.2.2). This has the following two consequences: first, the destinative object co-occurs only with a special class of verbs, namely, verbs of appearance and creation (see 14.2.1.3); second, its form should contain a reference to its potential 'recipient' (benefactive or goal). Indeed, as mentioned in 4.1.3, only possessive nouns take the Destinative case; so the Destinative form must necessarily contain a Possessive affix that agrees in person and number with the potential possessor (benefactive) of the destinative object.

In its second meaning, the destinative noun phrase functions as a clausal adjunct (15.4.4.3). In this case it expresses the destination of the object independently present in the clause and can be translated into English with 'as': *mamasa-na-ni* 'as a wife for him'. Similarly, when used predicatively in certain copular constructions (17.2.2.2.1) the destinative noun phrase denotes not the object designated for a particular purpose, but the destination ('as something for somebody'). The benefactive participant is cross-referenced by the possessive affix on the destinative noun. Note that the Singular Reflexive Possessive affixes on the destinative noun do not in this case have a reflexive meaning, but are used to express general destination: *kusige-ne-mi* 'as a knife, for the knife' <knife-DEST-REF>.

4.2.3. Functions of the possessive forms

The possessive forms head the possessive noun phrase (on its syntax see 13.1). The modifier of the possessed noun in such a construction is either a noun or a personal pronoun (which can be anaphorically dropped). Both non-reflexive (163a) and Reflexive (163b) Possessives are used in this case.

(23) a. *(bu) zugdi-u* 'our (EX) house'

	giuse ule:-ni	‘roe’s flesh’
	(bu) zugdi-u	‘our (EX) house’
b.	(*men-e*) *zugdi:* (< *zugdi-i*)	‘one’s house (SG)’
	(*men-e*) *zugdi-fi*	‘one’s house (PL)’

The possessive forms within a possessive noun phrase cover an array of functions.

4.2.3.1. Possessive function

The prototypical function of the possessive construction is to express possession, both inalienable possession (body parts like *bi ŋala-i* ‘my hand’, *in’ei igi-ni* ‘dog’s tail’ and kinship relations such as *si sita-i* ‘your child’, *bi neŋu-mi* ‘my brother’) and ownership/belonging (*mama tege-ni* ‘grandmother’s gown’). Kinship terms mostly have possessive forms unless used in generic contexts. The presence of the possessive affix may affect the meaning of the word, cf. *mafa* ‘old man’ and *mafa-i* ‘my husband, your husband’, *mafa-ni* ‘her husband’, etc.

In this function the possessive affixes are used both for anaphoric and cataphoric relations. An example of backwards anaphora is as follows.

(23) *Sumuxi* *ag’a-wa-ni* *wentile-gi-e-ni*
hazel.hen elder.brother-ACC-3SG throw-REP-PAST-3SG
emende-du.
witch-DAT
‘He threw the witch her elder broth hazel-hen.’ (SKX 114)

4.2.3.2. Non-possessive function

Besides the prototypical possessive function, the grammatical possessive relation is extended to express other semantic relations. Some of those meanings are marked in certain languages by the Genitive construction, which Udihe lacks. In Udihe the 3rd person Singular non-reflexive Possessive affix is employed here, while other Possessive affixes are not normally possible.

4.2.3.2.1. The part/whole relationship

The part/whole relationship is expressed by a possessive construction. The part/whole relationship underlies the use of the ‘spatial’ words that are semantically dependent on another noun because they denote a certain part of it. Hence they cannot be used without a Possessive suffix, which indicates that relationship. Used with different local cases, they function as spatial postpositions (10.2.1).

(24)

tege ukie-ni	‘sleeve of a gown’	*taŋki-ni*	‘its center’
olondo texe-ni	‘ginseng root’	*kä:-ni*	‘its edge’
pauza ule:-ni	‘roe’s meat’	*moxo kä:-ni*	‘the edge of a bowl’
dulaŋki-ni	‘its middle’	*uli kä:-ni*	‘the bank of a

river’

A kind of part/whole relationship holds between the object denoted by an uncountable mass noun and a countable entity which denotes a piece of it, for example: *xauje pei-ni* ‘a sheet of paper’. Cf. also: *buniga xokto-lo-ni* ‘on the road to the realm of death’<realm.of.death raod-LOC-3SG> (Schneider 1947: 42)

A subtype of the part/whole relationship is the relationship between a substance and its container, for example: ’*ai baŋka-ni* ‘a bottle of vodka’, *imo: namaŋki-ni* ‘a saucer of fat’. Such constructions denote the specific and definite substance that ‘belongs’ to the specific container. Therefore they cannot be used to express an abstract measure of substance, in which case the non-possessive quantified noun phrase is used (13.3). Compare (166a) where a concrete bucket of water is meant and (166b) where the corresponding noun phrase is non-specific and therefore the Possessive affix is missing.

(25) a. *Mulexi* *uli-we-ni* *ni-ke*
bucket water-ACC-3SG who-IND
mantila:-ti.
empty.PAST-3PL
‘Somebody emptied the bucket of water.’

b. *Gazi-je* *omo* *mulexi* *uli-we.*
bring-IMP.2SG one bucket water-ACC
‘Bring a bucket of water.’

4.2.3.2.2. Species relationship

When a proper noun qualifies another noun, the latter takes the Possessive 3rd person Singular suffix, for example:

(26) *Kančuga se:-ni* ‘kin (of) Kanchuga’
udie a:nta-ni ‘Udihe woman’
Biki uli-ni ‘the river Bikin’
lusa ñ’aula-ni ‘Russian boy’
niŋka sexi-ni ‘Chinese cloth’
Laubelaza we:-ni ‘the hill Laubelaza’
ibene golo-ni ‘Japan (Japanese country)’
lusa keje-ni ‘the Russian language’
niŋka golo-ni ‘China (Chinese country)’
Kuŋgede bä:sa-ni ‘the river Kungede’(K 154)

In the latter case the proper noun *Kuŋede* actually means ‘empty’: compare the corresponding adjectival construction without the Possessive marker *kuŋede bä:sa* ‘empty river’. The possessive form *Biki-ni* ‘(the river) Bikin’ (with the 3rd person Singular Possessive suffix) occurs as well and may be a reduced variant of the full construction *Biki uli-ni* ‘the river Bikin’. A similar relationship holds between the names of the trees and the word *mo:*, for example: *kuŋka mo:-ni* ‘cedar (tree)’, *talu mo:-ni* ‘birch tree’ (literally: ‘birch bark tree’).

The possessive forms, however, are not used in the appositional constructions which denote a human being (13.8).

4.2.3.2.3. Gender relationship

The possessive noun can mean ‘female’ or ‘male’. Different words are used with respect to different types of fauna: for birds and fishes: *eñece-ni* ‘female’ and *amina-ni* ‘male’, for small animals *guas’a-ni* ‘female’ and *mugeti-ni* ‘male’, for most hoofed animals *eni-ni* ‘female’ and *logoso-ni* ‘male’, for some other animals *atiga-ni* ‘female’ and *zei-ni* ‘male’.

(27)	a.	*ñau* (*en’ese-ni*)	‘hen’
		ñau amina-ni	‘rooster’
	b.	*z’oto guas’a-ni*	‘otter female’
		z’oto mugeti-ni	‘otter male’
	c.	*käŋa eni-ni*	‘deer female’
		käŋa logoso-ni	‘deer male’
	d.	*nakta atiga-ni*	‘wild sow’
		nakta zei-ni	‘wild boar’

The names of animal young are expressed by the possessive phrase as well: *ñau sita-ni* ‘chick’ (literally: ‘hen’s child’), *keige sita-ni* ‘kitten’ (literally ‘cat’s child’).

4.2.3.1.4. Quality relationship

The noun-modifier of the possessive construction can express the quality or the attribute, and correspond to relational adjectives or compounds in the European languages, for example:

(28)	*zube se: ule:-ni*	‘meat of two kinds’
	zakta sile-ni	‘millet gruel’
	kü: gob’o-ni	‘bee (literally ‘honey fly’)

The semantic relationship between the components of such constructions is not specified within the construction itself, and their meaning varies largely. Note, however, that the type of material from which the object is made is expressed not with the possessive construction but with the relational adjectives (6.4.1.2.1).

4.2.3.1.5. Measure relationship

Possessive nouns express a measure or feature of the object. The semantic structure of these nouns necessarily invokes some relation to another entity, therefore they are never used without a Possessive suffix.

(29)	*gugdala-ni*	‘its height’
	boko-ni	‘its color’
	dä:mila-ni	‘its thickness’
	sagdila-ni	‘its size’
	bi ceŋele-i	‘my weight’
	uli suŋtele-ni	‘the depth of the river’
	baŋza eŋme-le-ni	‘the width of the board’
	umac’ala-ni	‘its length (of something short)’ (literally: its shortness)

4.2.3.3. Definiteness

Apart from the possessive meaning (possession in the strict sense and also the non-possessive relation between two entities), the 3rd person Singular non-reflexive Possessive suffix *-ni* optionally encodes the definiteness of the corresponding noun. By definiteness we mean identifiability, that is, the ability of both the speaker and the listener to uniquely identify a corresponding concept and establish its clear reference to a particular extra-linguistic entity. The noun marked as definite by the 3rd person suffix *-ni* is not a head of a possessive noun phrase. It neither has an overt («possessive») modifier, nor is there a possessor recoverable from the context.

4.2.3.3.1. Situational definiteness

When the definiteness is set by the situation of speech itself, the Possessive suffix *-ni* denotes the definiteness of the corresponding noun, defined situationally. In examples (171) the potential possessor cannot be reconstructed at all, and the only function of the suffix *-ni* seems to be to encode situational definiteness. In (171b) the potential possessor of the object denoted by the word *uŋta-ni* 'his boots' is not known, and in any case has not been mentioned earlier in the text. Example (171c) describes a situation where the woman is dreaming about seven men she met earlier. They have been mentioned previously in the text, and the corresponding noun is marked by a Possessive suffix.

(30) a. *Ei* *mo:-wo-ni* *kusige-zi* *e-zi*
this tree-ACC-3SG knife-INST NEG-IMP.2SG
tinda.
cut
'Do not cut these trees with knives.'

b. *Xokto-wo* *b'a-ha-ni.* *Gäŋa* *wanimi,*
footprint-ACC find-PAST-3SG strides wide

uŋta-ni *sagdi* *bi-si-ni.*
boots-3SG large be-PAST-3SG
'He found footprints. The strides had been long, and the boots had been large.' (Schneider 1935a: 4)

c. *Mamasa-ni* *t'osi:* *nada* *kotoi-ti* *emekte-iti.*
wife-3SG dream.PRP seven bald-3Pl come-3PL
'His wife is dreaming: those seven bald men are coming.'

d. *Sei-ni* *wac'a.*
salt-3SG little
'Not enough salt.'

4.2.3.3.2. Situational definiteness in the expressions of time

Situational definiteness underlies the use of the 3rd person Possessive suffix with some words expressing periods of time. The possessor in this case is not recoverable from the context. These are the following words:

(i) names of seasons: *tue* 'winter, in winter', *zua* 'summer, in summer', *bolo* 'autumn, in

autumn', *neki* 'spring, in spring';

(ii) parts of the day: *ineŋi* 'day, in the day', *dogbo* 'night, at night', *sikie* 'evening, in the evening', etc.;

(iii) the year: *aŋa* 'year'.

In most cases these words must take the 3rd person Possessive affix, cf.:

(31)

ti: aŋa-du-ni	'last year'
aŋa-ni bagdini	'at the beginning of the year'
aŋa-ni malaktaini	'at the end of the year'
gä:ŋa dogbo-ni	'every night'
gä:ŋa ineŋi-ni	'every day'
ti: aŋa-du-ni	'last year' <that year-DAT-3SG>
neki-ni dexi	'until (this) spring' <spring-3SG till>

Here the Possessive affix seems to express situational definiteness. However, these words are also used without the Possessive affix, and in this case their meaning is non-specific, generic or indefinite. Compare (173a) with the definite interpretation, and other examples in (173) which do not refer to any specific time. In (173b) the word *tue* 'in winter' is in fact adverbialized (see 10.1.2.1).

(32)

a. *Bu-je* *min-du* *kusige-i* *omo*
give-IMP.2SG me-DAT knife-REF one
zua-zi-ni.
summer-INST-3SG
'Give me your knife for one summer.'

b. *Tue* *maʄa* *ŋua-ini.*
winter bear sleep-3SG.
'In winter (every winter) the bear sleeps.'

c. *Bi* *neki-we* *aju:-mi.*
me spring-ACC like-1SG.
'I like spring (in general).'

d. *Bi* *xusa-la* *bolo-wo* *ise:-mi.*
me picture-LOC autumn-ACC see.PAST-1SG
'I saw autumn in the picture.'

4.2.3.3.3. Contextual definiteness

Definiteness may be defined through the context, namely, through a certain relationship with a previously mentioned element, which makes the corresponding noun definite as well. In (174a) the noun *sugzä-ni* 'fish' takes a Possessive affix showing that it is opposite to the 'animals' living near the stream because fish can be considered part of the river. In (174b) the noun *tüe-ni* 'the pole' takes a Possessive suffix because of its semantic relationship to the word *eke-le-ni* 'in this yard'.

(34)

a. *Kuŋgede* *bäsa-ni* *bui-de* *egdi*
empty river-3SG animals-FOC many
sugzä:-ni-de *egdi.*
fish-3SG-FOC many
'This is the river named Empty, it has a lot of animals and a lot of fish.' (K 154)

b. *Eke-le-ni* *bi-si-ni* *tüe-ni.*

yard-LOC-3SG be-PAST-3SG pole-3SG
Boxoso tüe-ni drug'afa tukti-e-ni.
hunchback pole-3SG in.the.middle climb-PAST-3SG
'In his yard, there was a pole. The hunchback climbed up to the middle of the pole.'

In both cases in (174) the relationship encoded with the Possessive suffix can perhaps be viewed as a part/whole relationship and it is difficult to distinguish it from the relational meaning described in 4.2.3.2. However, such an interpretation is problematic in certain examples, such as (175), unless we consider the hares as actually part of the willow thicket:

(35) *sakt'ai tukca-na-ni*
willow.thicket hare-PL-3SG
'the hares living in the willow thicket'

Examples such as (174) and (175) can be characterized as instances of «reference-point» constructions. As has been suggested in the literature (Langacker 1991: 67–180, 1993), reference-point constructions are based on «the ability to invoke the conception of one entity for the purpose of establishing mental contact with another, that is, to single it out for individual conscious awareness» (Langacker 1993: 5). The basic idea is that, for example, in (174b) the entity *tüe-ni* 'pole' is conceived through its particular relationship to a previously evoked concept 'the yard', and since the 'yard' in this context is definite, this makes the noun phrase *tüe-ni* definite as well. Cross-linguistically, possessive constructions are known to play a central role among reference-point constructions. Likewise, in Udihe the reference-point relationship is marked by the Possessive affix *-ni*.

The expression of the reference-point relationship is not grammatically obligatory in Udihe and ultimately depends on how the speaker perceives the situation. For example, in (174a) the word *sugzä-ni* 'fish' bears the Possessive suffix, and apparently the speaker wants to emphasize its relationship to a previously mentioned river. The following example is similar to (174), and is taken from the same text.

(36) *Dulumtu bäsa-ni, o-lo-do bui ančі,* Dulumtu
river-3SG this-LOC-FOC animal no *sugzä:-da ančі.*
fish-FOC no.
'(This is) the river Dulumtu, where there are neither animals nor fish.'
(K 153).

In (176), which describes a situation identical to (174a), the word *sugzä* 'fish' is not marked by a Possessive suffix expressing the reference-point relationship, apparently because the speaker chose not to stress it.

Markers of the contextual definiteness are fairly frequently hosted by the head of a relative clause, for example:

(36) *A:nta e-iti teh ninta teh-i-ni*
woman NEG-3PL sit man sit-PRP-3SG
bua-la-ni, sondo.
place-LOC-3SG sin
'Women do not sit on the place where men sit, it is a sin.' (SKK 314)

4.2.3.3.4. Partitive function

The 3rd person Plural possessive suffix *-ti* may serve to select an object which is a part of a larger group of definite objects (‘one of them’). Its usage in this function seems to be restricted kinship terms and substantivized adjectives and quantifiers.

(36) *c’o ic’a-ŋi-ti* ‘the youngest of them’<most small-AL-3PL> (K 139)
zuŋe-ti ‘both of them’

See also examples in 11.1.3.2.

4.2.4. Functions of the Alienable Possessive

The suffix *-ŋi-* was conventionally said in 4.1.4.3 to express alienable possession. The alienable possessive forms marked with the suffix *-ŋi-* take an obligatory Possessive marker and are used as the head of the possessive noun phrase (on its syntax see 13.1). Thus, this suffix brings an additional meaning to the possessive construction. The meaning of the alienable possessive forms is not homogeneous, and clusters around five types: (i) temporary ownership (4.2.4.1); (ii) alienable possession (4.2.4.2); (iii) an abstract associative relationship through a certain activity (4.2.4.3); (iv) a substitutional meaning ‘instead of something’ (4.2.4.4); (iv) the predicative function (4.2.4.5).

4.2.4.1. Temporary ownership

Generally speaking any noun (including proper names) can take the suffix *-ŋi-* in certain contexts. This suffix indicates temporary ownership. Often the object used to be in the inalienable possession of another person (animal), but was produced, obtained, bought, stolen, won, or caught by the actual possessor. Thus, it is not the natural or primordial property of the present owner, but is rather an alienable possession.

For example, body parts are normally expressed by the regular possessive construction (4.2.3.1): *bi dili:* (< *dili-i*) ‘my head’ (1SG), *nakta imo:-ni* ‘boar fat’. However, the ownership of somebody else’s body part is expressed by the suffix *-ŋi-* on the possessed noun.

(37) *bi nakta dili-ŋi*: (< *dili-ŋi-i*) ‘my boar head’
<head-AL-1SG>
si kuliga tekpu-ŋi: (< *tekpu-ŋi-i*) ‘your snake skin’
<skin-AL-1SG>
bi imo:-ŋi: (< imo:- ŋi-i) ‘my (boar) fat’
<fat-AL-1SG>

The meaning of the suffix *-ŋi-* is here to encode the difference between these two cases. This suffix is often used with words referring to parts of an (animal’s) body or words such as *ule:* ‘meat’, *imo:* ‘fat’. Fish and animals when considered as a fisherman’s or a hunter’s catch are usually regarded as alienable possessions, cf.: *bi nakta-ŋi: imo-ni* ‘the fat of my boar’. This is especially common in situations connected with finding out or changing owners.

(38) a. *Bi imo:-ŋi-we-i* *teu* *diga:-i* *si* *susa:-i.*
me fat-AL-ACC-2SG all eat.PAST-2SG you run.PAST-2SG

‘You have eaten my fat and run away.’ (K 156)

b. *Si zomi: bi sugzä:-ŋi-we-i?*
you steal.2SG me fish-AL-ACC-REF
‘Are you stealing my fish?’ (K 148)

c. *E-zeŋe-i igbesi bi si*
NEG-FUT-1SG frighten me you
bui-ŋi-we-i.
animal-AL-ACC-2SG
‘I will not frighten your animals.’

d. *Giuse-ŋi: mun-du ančі.*
roe-AL.2SG we.EX-DAT no
‘Your roe is not at our place.’ (K 107)

4.2.4.2. Alienable Possessive

For several words the expression of alienable possession is practically obligatory. In this they differ from, for example, body parts, for which the marking by the suffix *-ŋi-* is conditioned by the situation (4.2.4.1). Most words denoting various types of (alienable) property do not require the suffix of Alienable Possessive and take the regular Possessive morpheme, for example: *nuani zugdi-ni* ‘his house’, *nuani tege-ni* ‘his gown’. These are words denoting the house itself and various objects of housekeeping: clothes, weapons, boats, domestic animals other than a cow, and so on. However, some words that denote alienable possession as such require the suffix *-ŋi-*; these are as follows:

(i) *na:* ‘land’ when it is regarded as somebody’s property where the relationship between the elements *na:* ‘land’ and *agba* ‘state’ is not treated as a relationship of alienable possession, hence the regular possessive construction is used; cf. (181a) and (181b);

(ii) *mo:* ‘tree’, whereupon its meaning changes to ‘firewood which belongs to somebody’ or refers to a tree which, for example, grows by somebody’s house (182c);

(iii) *zä:* ‘money’;

(iv) *ja:* ‘cow’.

(39) a. *Bi ja:-ŋi: xonto ni: na:-ŋi-le-ni*
me cow-AL.1SG another man land-AL-LOC-3SG
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
‘My cow went onto somebody else’s land.’

b. *Agba na:-di-ni bagdi-mi.*
state land-DAT-3SG live-1SG
‘I live on state land.’

(40) a. *Mo:-ŋi-ne-mi gada:-ni.*
tree-AL-DEST-REF buy.PAST-3SG
‘He bought fire-wood for himself.’

b. *Su mo:-ŋi-u bie?*
you firewood-AL-2PL be.PRES.HAB
‘Do you have some firewood?’

c. *Bi mo:-ŋi-ne-i ketu uligdig’a.*
me tree-AL-PL-1SG very beautiful
‘My trees are very beautiful.’

(41) *Bi zä:-ŋi: xul’a-wa-ni*

me money-AL.REF extra-ACC-3SG
neŋun-du-i *bu-o:-mi.*
younger.sibling-DAT-REF give-PAST-1SG
'I gave my extra money to my brother'.

(42) *Nua-ni bi* *ja:-ŋi-we-i* *gada:-ni.*
he-3SG me cow-AL-ACC-1SG buy.PAST-3SG
'He bought my cow.'

4.2.4.3. Associative relationship

The suffix *-ŋi-* does not necessarily express property, but can encode the connection of the corresponding element to another one (the 'possessor') which is realized through his/her activity.

4.2.4.3.1. Inanimate nouns

The suffix *-ŋi-* encodes an associative relation through a different kind of action, cf.: *I:bene la:-ni* 'a Japanese candle' and *I:bene la:-ŋi-ni* 'the candle given by a Japanese'. In the former case, we deal with relational possessive constructions such as those addressed in 4.2.3.2, and the 'possessor' *I:bene* 'Japanese' here simply replaces a relational adjective. In the latter case the suffix *-ŋi-* indicates the situational relationship between the head noun *la:* 'candle' and the element *I:bene* 'Japanese', both of which could participate in a hypothetical implied predication 'a Japanese gave a candle'.

This type of possessive construction is known in other languages (cf. the English *John's book*, which can not only mean possession, but also «The book which John reads, edits, sells, etc.»), but is very regular in Udihe. In this case a situational non-possessive relation is presupposed between the 'possessor' and the head noun. The relationship can be established between virtually any two entities associated in the discourse. The exact form of this relation is not expressed overtly, and therefore the construction itself is semantically undetermined. For example, *bi abuga-i käŋa-ŋi-ni* 'my father's deer' <me father-1SG deer-AL-3SG> does not necessarily mean ownership, but may refer to 'the deer my father followed, about which he was talking, etc.'. As noticed by Taylor (Taylor 1989), the meaning of relation in this sort of construction can only be characterized in the context of a person's encyclopedic knowledge of the relevant words (that is, concerning typical actions involving the entity in question). It may also be added that, at least in Udihe, the meaning of the construction is normally deduced from the discourse; the context and the con-situation play an important role here, since they usually set the type of relation unambiguously. Referential conflict does not happen because, first, the type of relation is usually introduced in the context or is clear from the con-situation; second, the possessor is highly referential and definite, cf.:

(43) a. *G'ai* *uli-ŋi-ni* *xuili:-ni.*
crow whater-AL-3SG boil-3SG
'The crow's water (the water brought by the crow) is boiling.'
b. *Bi* *tuduze-ŋi:* *sagdä-ŋku.*
me potato-AL.1SG big-PL
'My potatoes (those cultivated by me) are big.'
c. *Men-e* *ñaŋña-ŋi-tigi:* *degdegi-e-ni.*
REF-0 sky-AL-LAT.REF rise-PAST-3SG
'He rose to the sky (where he lived).'
d. *Bi* *oloxi-we* *mä:usa-la:-mi,*

me squirrel-ACC gun-V.PAST-1SG
e-si-mi-de *wa:.* *Oloxi-ŋi:*
NEG-PAST-1SG-FOC kill squirrel-AL.1SG
sus'a.
escape-PERF
'I shot at the squirrel but didn't get it. My squirrel escaped.'

In this meaning the suffix *-ŋi-* often attaches to the words denoting geographical objects (places) such as *uli* 'river', *bäsa* 'stream, small river', *xoto* 'town', *golo* 'country' and *bua* 'country' and indicates the place of living, cf.:

(44) *Minti bäsa-ŋi-fi* *gegbi-si:-ti* *Bikin.*
we stream-AL-1PL.IN name-V-3PL Bikin
'Our river is called Bikin.'

4.2.4.3.2. Animate nouns

As distinct from the regular Possessive suffixes, the suffix *-ŋi-* can be hosted by nouns that denote living persons related to the possessor through some activity or situation (common work, proximity, etc.).

(45) *minti zaŋä-ŋi-fi* 'our chief'
<we chief-AL-1PL.IN>
minti lauzi-ŋi-fi 'our farm-laborer'
<we farm.laborer-AL-1PL.IN>
e:ci-ŋi-ni 'his servant'
<servant-AL-3SG>
ni:-ŋi-ni 'his people'
<man-AL-3SG>

With proper names *-ŋi-* presupposes that the corresponding person is well known to both the speaker and the listener. See (188) where (188b) is a spontaneous phrase addressed by one of our informants to his wife, referring to our visit to her. In (188c) Sergei may be a relative or friend of the interlocutor, or a person often spoken about.

(46) a. *Utebe xunxuze zaŋgä-ŋi-ni* so
Manchu.robber chief-AL-3SG
gune:-ni.
say.PAST-3SG
'So said the chief of the Manchu robbers'.
b. *Si aziga-ŋi:* *eme:-ni.*
you girl-AL.2SG come.PAST-3SG
'Your girl has come.'
c. *Si Sergei-ŋi:* *e-s'e* *mamasa-la?*
you Sergei-AL.2SG NEG-PERF wife-V
'Hasn't your Sergei married?'
d. *Bi Šarika-ŋi:* *aja* *in'ei*
me Sharik-AL.1SG nice dog
'My Sharik is a nice dog.'

Kinship terms including the word *sita* ‘child’ do not usually take the alienable possession suffix *-ŋi-*, but the words *b’ata* ‘boy’ and *aziga* ‘girl’ do. In this case they mean ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ respectively and so the semantic oppositions ‘son/boy’ and ‘daughter/girl’ are expressed morphologically.

(47) a. *Bu-je* *min-du* *si* *aziga-ŋi:.*
give-IMP.2SG me-DAT you girl-AL.REF
‘Give me your daughter.’

b. *Bi* *ze-i* *b’ata-ŋi-ni* *jexe-ini.*
me neighbor-1SG boy-AL-3SG sing-3SG
‘My neighbor’s son is singing’.

The suffix *-ŋi-* can also be attached to the substantivized adjectives: *c’o ic’a-ŋi-ti* ‘the youngest (of them)’ <most small-AL-3PL> (K 139).

4.2.4.3.3. Associative relationship and definiteness

Remarkably, the alienable possession suffix *-ŋi-*, which expresses some kind of associative relationship (4.2.4.3.1 and 4.2.4.3.2), can co-occur with the 3rd person Possessive suffix marking the definiteness of the corresponding object (4.1.3.3).

(48) a. *Waŋba-ŋi-ni* *alasi:.*
tortoise -AL-3SG wait.PRP
‘It (the squirrel) is waiting for the tortoise.’

b. *Tukti-e-ni* *mafa* *mo:-ŋi-we-ni.*
climb-PAST-3SG old man tree-AL-ACC-3SG
‘The old man climbed up the tree.’

In (190) the 3rd person affix *-ni* cannot refer to the (covert) subject because this would require a Reflexive Possessive marker and not a regular 3rd person marker. This suggests that the 3rd person marker here reflects contextual definiteness (4.1.3.3.3), while *-ŋi-* expresses an associative relationship between the two participants of the text in the sense of 4.2.4.3.2.

4.2.4.4. Substitutional meaning

Another meaning of the Alienable Possessive suffix *-ŋi-* is to denote a non-typical function of a thing or a person, which serves instead of another, usually in the subject or direct object function, cf.:

(49) a. *Bi-le* *bagdi:* *getu* *zugu-ŋi-ni*
me-CONT live.PRP PL otter-AL-3SG
o-zo-mi.
become-SUBJ-1SG
‘I will become an otter for the people.’ (K 126)

b. *Bi* *tiu-ŋi:* *bu-je* *bi*
me pillow-AL.1SG give-IMP.2SG me

kapta-si:-le.
parcel-V.1SG-CONT
‘Give me something as (instead of) a pillow so that I can roll it up.’

4.2.4.5. Predicative use of the Alienable Possessive

Nouns marked by the suffix of Alienable Possessive are used as the predicates of the copular construction. In this case, unlike previously described in 4.1.4.4, this suffix *-ŋi-* attaches not to the possessed noun but to the possessor, cf.: *b’ata-ŋi* ‘the boy’s’. Such constructions are addressed at greater length in section 17.2.2.3.

4.2.4.6. Derivational use

The alienable possession suffix may precede an adjectival derivational suffix *-xi*. Such cases are discussed in 6.4.1.1.2.

4.3. Nominal mixed categories

By «mixed categories» we mean special forms of nouns which demonstrate mixed behavior: their syntactic distribution is that of adjectives, but they show some «noun-like» properties as well. These forms are the Proprietive and Partitive. In their external syntax they behave like prototypical adjectives: they take a prenominal position within a noun phrase, they can be located discontinuously, they undergo modifier raising as do most adjectives (24.2.2.1.1), and may function as secondary predicates. These properties are not typical of nouns. However, in some other respects they behave like inflectional forms. Their underlying nouns preserve referentiality; therefore, they can head their own phrase, are compatible with some types of possessive marking, and are available for cross-reference later in the text. This indicates that the categorial status of the Proprietive and the Partitive cannot be determined unambiguously; they can be characterized as intermediate between
inflection and derivation.

4.3.1. Proprietive

The Proprietive is derived with the suffix *-xi*. A similar pattern is typical for all cognate languages and is very productive. The resulting forms have a possessive meaning ‘with X’, denoting both alienable and inalienable possession. They can be derived from practically any noun.

(192)	*zali-xi*	‘with a store-house’	*zali*	‘store-house’
	mä:usa-xi	‘with a gun’	*mä:usa*	‘gun’
	kusige-xi	‘with a knife’	*kusige*	‘knife’
	guzakta-xi	‘with a beard’	*guzakta*	‘beard’
	neŋu-xi	‘with a younger sibling’	*neŋu*	‘younger sibling’

The suffix *-xi* may be hosted by a noun which bears the Alienable Possessive marker *-ŋi.* Then it indicates the «associative» relation between the possessor (the head) and the possessed (the incorporated noun) according to the same principles which hold for the regular possessive

construction (see 4.2.4), for example:

(193) *Belie-ŋi-xi* *bi-si-ni.*
fairy-AL-PROP be-PAST-3SG
'He had a fairy.' (SKX 262)

Like nouns, the Proprietive forms do not participate in a comparative or superlative adjective phrase, and do not take an adjectival Plural marker *-ŋku*. Further, they inherit the property of being modified by adjectives and numerals. In (194) an adjective modifies the noun incorporated into the Proprietive form. The modifying cardinal numeral here either takes the Instrumental case (195) or is in the Nominative (196).

(194) a. *Si* *wanimi* *xei-xi* *sugese-i*
you long handle-PROP axe-2SG
bie?
be.PRES.HAB
'Do you have an axe with a long handle?'

b. *Sin-du* *bie* *xulaligi* *waptä-xi*
you-DAT be.PRES.HAB red lid-PROP
koŋz'o-i?
box-2SG
'Do you have a box with a red lid?'

c. *Bi* *ic'a* *neŋu-xi* *bi-mi.*
me little younger.sibling-PROP be-1SG
I have a little younger brother/sister'. d. *Nua-ni* *xulaligi* *xei-xi*
kusige-i he-3SG red handle-PROP knife-REF
nodo:-ni.
loose.PAST-3SG
'He has lost his knife with the red handle.'

(195) a. *zu:-zi* *muze-xi* *tue-ze*
two-INST beam-PROP winter-N
'a winter house with two beams' (K 25)

b. *di:n-zi* *to:ŋdo* *koso-xi*
<four-INST straight angle-PROP>
'rectangle' (literally: 'the one with four right angles') (Schneider 1936: 26)

c. *ila-zi* *igi-xi*
three-INST tail-PROP
'with three tails' (SK 355)

(196) a. *Nua-ni* *zube* *ugda-xi* *bi:-ni.*
he-3SG two boat-PROP be-3SG
'He has two boats.'

b. *Uta* *bede* *digan-a-mi* *Mejexi* *kä:-la-ni* *igi*
that like say-0-IMP Mejexi side-LOC-3SG tail
lumbulilie *sul'ai* *zu:* *igi-xi* *tukä:-ni.*
fluffy fox two tail-PROP run.PAST-3SG
'Having said that, a fluffy-tailed fox with two tails ran next to Mejexi.' (SKX 246)

The base noun may be modified by a reflexive possessive pronoun or a noun.

(197) a. *Bäsa* *men-e-men-e* *eze-xi.*
river REC-0-REC-0 master-PROP
'Each river has its own master.' (SKX 308)

b. *Teti-gi:-ni* *au-wa* *bui* *je-xi.*
dress-REP-3SG cap-ACC animal antlers-PROP
'He put on a cap with the deer antlers.' (SK 128)

When the Proprietive form incorporates a noun of inalienable possession, an additional modifier is strictly obligatory. Cf.:

(198) a. *alagdig'a* *ja:-xi* *aziga*
<beautiful eye-PROP girl>
'the girl with the beautiful eyes'

b. **ja:-xi aziga*
<eye-PROP girl>

(199) a. *Bi* *sagdi* *ŋö:-xi* *bi-mi.*
me big nose-PROP be-1SG
'I have a big nose.'

b. **Bi* *ŋö:-xi* *bi-mi.*
me nose-PROP be-1SG

The noun underlying the Proprietive form can be anaphorically referred to in the following text.

(200) a. *Uti* *zu* *ni:* *xuñazi-xi* *bi-si-ti.*
that two man elder.sister-PROP be-PAST-3PL
Uti *'ana-du* *bi-si-ni.*
that boat-DAT be-PAST-3SG
'These two men had an elder sister. She was in the boat.'
(Schneider 1937: 32)

b. *Mafa-xi* *bi-de* *bi-si* *emuge-we*
hunband-PROP me-FOC be-PAST cradle-ACC
o:-muse.
make-COND
'If I had a husband, he would make a cradle.' (SKX 170)

The examples below demonstrate the adjectival properties of the Proprietive forms. Sentences in (201) demonstrate the modifier raising construction. In this case the postnominal modifier is the locus of the case marking within a noun phrase. The postposed Proprietive forms are not marked by a possessive affix, but this is also typical of some adjectives (see 24.2.2.1.3).

(201) a. *Moxo* *konz'o* *wopti-xi-le* *bi-s'e.*
cup box cover-PROP-LOC be-PERF
'The cup was in the box with a cover.'

b. *Bi* *konz'o-i* *wopti-xi* *do-lo-ni*
me box-1SG cover-PROP inside-LOC-3SG
bi *dei:* *bi:-ni.*
me pipe.1SG be-3SG
'In my box with a lid there is my pipe.'

c. *Min-dule* *in'ei* *zube* *sita-xi* *bie.*

me-LOC dog two child-PROP be.PRES.HAB
'I have a dog with two puppies.'

d. *Nua-ni* *alasi:-ni* *sul'ai-we* *zakpu-zi* he-3SG
wait-3SG fox-ACC eight-INST
igi-xi-we.
tail-PROP-ACC
'He is waiting for the fox with eight tails.' (SK 351)

e. *Omo* *aziga* *xulaligi* *ñukte-xi*
one girl red hair-PROP
tukä:-ni.
run.PAST.3SG
'One girl with red hair came running.' (SKX 318)

In the following example the Proprietive form is clause-external and exhibits case agreement with the discontinuous «head», as it is typical of regular adjectives (24.2.2.2.4).

(202) *Nua-ni* *alasi-ni* *sul'ai-wa* *zakpu-zi*
he-3SG wait-3SG fox-ACC eight
igi-xi-we.
tail-PROP-ACC
'He is waiting for the fox with eight tails.' (SK 351)

The Proprietive forms in the copredicative function are illustrated below.

(203) a. *Bi* *ma:ma-i* *tege-we* *wo-ini*
me grandmother-1SG gown-ACC make-3SG
oño-xi-zi.
ornament-PROP-INST
'My grandmother makes dresses (decorated) with ornaments.'

b. *Nua-ni* *tutulu* *xuli:-ni* *jagdugu-xi-zi.*
he-3SG always walk-3SG glasses-PROP-INST
'He always walks wearing glasses.'

4.3.2. Partitive

The Partitive affix is *-lA* for both class I and class II nouns. The Partitive is basically restricted to only two functions. First, it is present in negative possessive constructions with the copula *ančі*. Such constructions have a predicative (23.2.1.5.4) or attributive function (23.2.2.3) and can also function as a secondary predicate. In this function the Partitive is similar to the Proprietive. It is also compatible with the Alienable Possessive affix *-ŋi-,* cf. (204), but not with the regular possessive affixes.

(204) *Zä:-ŋi-le* *ančі* *bi:-ni.*
money-AL-PART no be-3SG
'He has no money.'

Since nouns in possessive forms lack the Partitive, they co-occur with the copula in the Nominative form.

(205) *Omo* *ni:* *eme:-ni,* *ikte-ni-de* *ančі.*

one man come.PAST-3SG tooth-3SG-FOC no
'One man came, he has no teeth.'

Like adjectives, the negative Partitive forms may be postnominal (206) or discontinuous with their head (207). In both cases the negative copula takes a case inflection that indicates the role of the head noun in the clause.

(206) *Bi da:mpi mulexi: zawa-ŋku anči-le egdi*
me old bucket.1SG take-N no-LOC many
zikte bie.
berry be.PRES.HAB
'There are a lot of berries in my old bucket without a handle.'

(207) a. *Bi in'ei-we ise:-mi igi-le*
me dog-ACC see.PAST-1SG tail-PART
anči-we.
no-ACC
'I saw a dog without a tail.'

b. *Bi kusige-i bu-o:-mi ni:*
me knife-1SG give-PAST-1SG man
ñukte-le anci-du.
hair-PART no-DAT
'I gave my knife to a bald person (a person without hair).'

Examples below demonstrate the negative Partitive forms in the function of a secondary predicate. The negative copula either takes the Instrumental form (208) or remains morphologically unmarked (209), cf. 19.6.2.

(208) *Bui-we-ni ku'ai-la anči-zi*
animal-ACC-3SG ear-PART no-INST
b'a-kta-wan-ta-i-ze.
get-DEC-CAUS-PERM-2SG-HORT
'Make the animals not hear, (as if) they are deaf (literally: without ears).'

(209) a. *Uta-wa b'a-i keje-le anči*
that-ACC find-PRP language-PART no
zawa-iti.
take-3PL
'Having found it, they take it without saying anything.' (SK 312)

b. *Sita-ziga tege-ne-ti oño-lo anci*
child-PL gown-PL-3PL ornament-PART no
o:-ti.
make-3PL
'They make children's gown without ornaments.' (SK 117)

c. *Ni: xaña-la anci bude-hi jaza.*
man soul-PART no die-PRP of.course
'Of course the man dies (when he is) without a soul.'

(Schneider 1937: 44)

The following example illustrates that the noun underlying the Partitive form may be modified by an adjective.

(210) *Ei* *ic'a* *suese-le* *anči* *ba:-za*
this small axe no place-N
ge-tini-ni *e-ini* *xuli.*
surface-LAT-3SG NEG-3SG go
'He does not go to the forest without this small axe.'

Second, the Partitive denotes the second argument of the adjective *paki* 'skillful'; on this see 6.3.2.

Chapter 5
Nominal derivation

Historically, Udihe was rich in nominal derivational patterns, but few of them are productive in the modern language. All derivational suffixes attach to the bare stem. Some of them have parallels among verbal (Chapter 8) or adjectival (6.4.1) inflectional affixes. Normally a noun has only one derivational affix. However, the Diminutive *-zig'a* is compatible with virtually all concrete nouns, including those that are morphologically derived by means of another suffix.

Compounding as a means of nominal word formation is absent. Sunik (1997: 247) cites examples of the lexicalization of the combination «adjective+noun»: *c'aligi sul'ai* 'polar fox' <white fox>, cf. also *kesi gele-ŋku* 'place for sacrifices' <luck ask-N> (K 254), cf. also *kuti mafa* 'tiger' <tiger old.man>. However, the degree of their lexicalization is hard to estimate.

5.1. Derivational suffixes

The following derivational suffixes are productive in modern Udihe.

(121)

suffix	semantics	base words
-ziga	Diminutive	nouns
-ŋati	Destinative	nouns
-ŋkA	origin	nouns
-ŋku, -ŋkA	polysemantic	verbs and nouns
-ŋA:	'former'	animate nouns
-(ŋ)'Ai	mass nouns	nouns

Non-productive suffixes are presented below under 5.1.2.

5.1.1. Productive suffixes

5.1.1.1. Diminutive suffix *-zig'a*

The disharmonic Diminutive suffix *-zig'a* is the most productive of all nominal derivational suffixes and attaches to practically any noun with concrete semantics. The derived nouns have either a purely diminutive meaning (small quantity or size), or refer to toys or objects designated for children. In the word the Diminutive suffix takes the rightmost position after the other derivational suffixes and before the inflectional markers, cf.:

(51)

tukca-zi'ga	'a little hare, a toy hare'
b'ata-zig'a	'a little boy'
moxo-zig'a	'a little cup'
zolo-zig'a	'a small stone, pebble(s)'

With the uncountable mass nouns the Diminutive suffix denotes singularity, cf.: *ñukte-zig'a* 'one

hair' (*ñukte* 'hair') *samikta-zig'a* 'one eye lash (*samikta* 'eye lashes').

It should be noticed that in the modern language the suffix *-zig'a* is often pronounced without laryngealization, that is, as *-ziga*. In this case it is homophonous with the Plural affix *-ziga* (4.1.2.1). They have a different origin, however: the Plural affix goes back to Chinese (1.5.1.2.2), while the Diminutive affix has Tungus parallels (Boldyrev 1987: 165).

For the words *kasanziga* 'puppy' and *aziga* 'girl' the underived base noun is unknown (cf., however, *a:-nta* 'woman' from Tungus-Manchu **asa*), but the component *-ziga* can be assumed to go back to the Diminutive suffix. When these words are pluralized, the component *-ziga* can occur twice within one word: *a-ziga-ziga* 'girls'.

5.1.1.2. Destinative suffix *-ŋati*

The general meaning of this productive suffix can be described as 'designated for X', where X is an object signified by the base noun. Most commonly it derives nouns denoting materials; that is, raw material prepared for producing something. In this case it corresponds to the suffix *-ing-* in English words such as 'suiting, toweling, shirting' (213a). In two cases the derived noun denotes a person (213b).

(52)	a.	*uŋta-ŋati*	'leather for sewing boots'	*uŋta*	'boots
		zugdi-ŋati	'building materials for a house'	*zugdi*	'house
		ugda-ŋati	'a log for making a boat'	*ugda*	'boat'
		kusige-ŋati	'materials for making a knife'	*kusige*	'knife'
		zali-ŋati	'building materials for a barn'	*zali*	'barn'
	b.	*mafa-ŋati*	'fiancé, bridegroom'	*mafa*	'husband'
		mamasa-ŋat	'bride'	*mamasa*	'wife'

The nouns derived with the destinative suffix are close in their semantics to the Destinative Participles (7.5.1.3). However, as distinct from the latter ones they exhibit the syntactic and morphological properties of nouns, for example, they take personal affixes as demonstrated below.

(53)	*Ei*	*sexi*	*bi*	*tege-ŋati:.*
	this	cloth	me	gown-N.1SG
	'This is my cloth for (sewing) a gown'.			

5.1.1.3. The suffix of origin *-ŋkA*

The suffix *-ŋkA* derives nouns with the meaning 'inhabitant of X, a person who originated in X', where X is a place name. Such nouns are old kin designations and nowadays often serve as surnames.

(54)	*namu-ŋke*	'inhabitant of the seashore' (cf. *namu* 'sea')
	zugdi-ŋke	'household' (cf. *zugdi* 'house')
	dä:-ŋke	'inhabitant of a place located upstream'
	ezie-ŋke	'inhabitant of a place located downstream'
	solo-ŋko	'inhabitant of a place located upstream'
	xu:-ŋke	'inhabitant of the Khor riverbank'
	biki-ŋke	'inhabitant of the Bikin riverbank'
	sua-ŋka	'inhabitant of the Suai riverbank'
	xandau-ŋke	'inhabitant of the Khandau riverbank'

This suffix is very productive and attaches to recent borrowings from Russian, cf *jara-ŋka* ‘inhabitant of the (comparatively new) Krasnyi Yar settlement’ where it is hosted by the Russian word *jar* ‘steep riverbank’. It may be etymologically related to the plolysemantic suffix *-ŋku, -ŋkA* (5.1.1.4).

5.1.1.4. Polysemantic suffix *-ŋku, -ŋkA*

This is a very common Proto-Tungus suffix with a wide range of meanings.

(i) First and most regularly it derives deverbal nouns with the meaning of instruments, means, or tools.

(55)	*kai-ŋku*	‘brake for leather’	*kai-*	‘brake’
	akpu-ŋku	‘broom’	*akpu-*	‘sweep’
	la:-ŋku	‘mill’	*la-*	‘grind’
	te:-ŋku	‘bench’	*te:-*	‘sit’
	deu-ŋku	‘bridge’	*deu-*	‘cross’
	zawa-ŋku	‘handle’	*zawa-*	‘take’
	kiga-ŋku	‘razor’	*kiga-*	‘shave, mow’
	l’o-ŋku	‘peg, rack’	*l’o-*	‘hang’
	oño-ŋku	‘pen, pencil’	*oño-*	‘write’
	punde-ŋku	‘camera’	*punde-*	‘blow’
	weipti-ŋke	‘a lace for a plait’	*weipti-*	‘tie the plait’
	kugesi-ŋku	‘anvil’	*kuge-si-*	‘forge’
	te-ŋku	‘chair’	*te-*	‘sit’
	buni-ŋku	‘hunter’s roar’	*buni:-*	‘roar’(of a deer)
	egde-ŋke	‘a (magic) means’	*egde-*	‘mean to do something’
	ceŋele-ŋku	‘weigh (measuring tool)’	*ceŋele-*	‘weigh’
	zi:-ŋku	‘a low bench for cutting food’	*zi*:-	‘cut’
	xaŋa-ŋku	‘a stone used by the shaman for guessing’	*xaŋa-si-*	‘guess’

If such nouns are derived from a transitive verb, they normally preserve the ability to assign the Accusative case.

(56)	*in’ei-we xekesi-ŋku*	‘rope for tying down a dog’	
	<dog-ACC tie-N>		
	mäŋa-wa la-ŋku	‘mill (a tool for grinding flour)’	
	<flour-ACC grind-N>		
	g’obo-wo koŋko-si-ŋku	‘a tool for killing flies’	
	<fly-ACC beat-IM-N>		
	ima:-wa eisi-ŋku	‘a tool for shoveling the snow’	<snow-ACC shovel-N>
	iŋme-we akinde-ŋku	‘needle-case’	<needle-ACC stick-N>
	aŋma-wa xukte-ŋku	‘a gossip’	<mouth-ACC wind-N>
	uli-we gada-ŋku	‘bucket’	<water-ACC carry-N>

(ii) Second, the derived nouns may entail an abstract or resultative meaning.

(57)				
	nima-ŋku	'(fairy)tale'	*nima-si-*	'tell'
	nagbu-ŋku	'riddle'	*nagda-*	'guess'
	c'a-ŋku	'tickle'	*c'a-si-*	'tickle'
	gegbe-ŋku	'berries'	*gegbe-*	'gather'
	bude-ŋke	'death'	*bude-*	'die'
	maga-ŋka	'murder'	*magi-*	'murder'
	etete-ŋku	'work'	*etete-*	'work'
	jexe-ŋku	'song'	*jexe-*	'sing'

(iii) Third, nouns derived according to the pattern in question occasionally have a locative meaning and refer to places of action.

(58)				
	wakca-ŋku	'place for hunting'	*wakca-*	'hunt'
	au-ŋku	'place for washing'	*au-*	'wash'
	deu-ŋku	'bridge'	*deu-*	'cross the river'
	dawasi-ŋku	'place for fishing salmon'	*dawasi-*	'fish salmon'

This locational meaning is very productive and can be derived from virtually all verbs, as illustrated in below.

(59)					
	Ei-tene	*bi*	*oño*	*wo-ŋku-i,*	
	this-CONT	me	ornament	make-N-1SG	
	ei-tene	*bi*	*ŋua-ŋku-i*	*bä:-i,*	*ei-tene*
	this-CONT	me	sleep-N-1SG	bed-1SG	this-CONT
	bi	*deumpi-ŋku-i*	*bä:-i.*		
	me	rest-N-1SG	bed-1SG		

'This is my place for embroidering, this is my bed for sleeping, this is my bed for having a rest.' (K 182)

Some nouns derived from intransitive verbs assign the Nominative case: *keku-ni do:- ŋku* 'cuckoo's perch' <cuckoo-3SG sit-N>.

(iv) Finally, for a closed class of words the suffix *-ŋku-* denotes persons. Some of these nouns are derived from other nouns.

(60)				
	degde-ŋku	'a jolly person'	*degde-*	'raise, lift'
	gusi-ŋku	'(practical) joker'	*gusi-*	'play'
	boxoli-ŋku	'humpbacked'	*boxoli*	'humpback'
	kedeli-ŋku	'one-eyed'	cf. *kede-ligi*	'stripy'
	zo:-ŋku	'poor person'	*zo:-*	'need'
	zeu-ŋku	'bread-winner'(SK 211)	*zeu*	'food'
	kaŋma-ŋku	'evil sorcerer'	*kaŋma-*	'practice evil magic'

5.1.1.5. The suffix *-ŋA:* 'former'

This suffix derives nouns from other nouns denoting living persons or adjectives characterizing them. Typically its semantics presupposes that the person named by the base noun was alive in the

past but at the moment of speech no longer exists. Therefore the derived noun receives the meaning 'the late X; the deceased X; X who is dead now', for example: *sagda-ŋe:* 'the one who was old', *paga-ŋa:* 'the one who was stupid'. In the few sentence examples we have at our disposal the derived noun always takes the subject role, and it is not clear if it can correspond to the other syntactic positions.

(61) a. *Ei zugdi-we Iwana-ŋa: wo:-ni.*
this house-ACC Ivan-N make.PAST-3SG
'This house was made by the deceased Ivan.'

b. *Anana ami-ŋa:-i e bede kepte-i bi-s'e.*
long.ago father-N-2SG this like lie-PRP be-PERF
'A long time ago your deceased father was lying like this.' (K 107)

c. *Wala-ŋa: uŋta-ni, imo-si: bebe.*
lucky.hunter-N boot-3SG fat-V.PRP EV
'It turns out that the boots belonged to the (deceased) lucky hunter, they have fat.' (K 199)

Remarkably, nouns in *-ŋA:* cannot refer to someone if the speaker does not know whether he is dead or not. For example, (62) cannot be used if you find a dead bear in the forest and do not know who killed it. But it can be used when speaking about a bear skin which has been lying on the floor of the house for many years if it is known that the hunter died a long time ago.

(63) *Ei soŋgo-wo aja wakca-i ni:-ŋe: wa:-ti.*
this bear-ACC good hunt-PRP man-N kill.PAST-3PL
'This bear was killed by men who were good hunters.'

This suffix is probably present in the word *muda-ŋa:* 'former wife' from *muda* 'end'. According to Simonov's and Kjalundzjuga's materials, it may also have a pejorative meaning: *a:nta-ŋa:* 'damned woman (literally: former woman)' (SK 114), *wali-ŋa:* 'little raven' (SK 212).

The suffix *-ŋA:* exhibits a formal similarity with the marker of the Imperfective Converb (7.5.2.2).

5.1.1.6. The mass nouns suffix *-(ŋ)'Ai ~ m'Ai / '-i*

One of the forms of this suffix is *'-i*, that is, it triggers the pharyngealization of the stem-final vowel followed by /i/ in this case. The derived nouns refer to a kind of thicket.

(64)	*labug'a-i*	'ground covered with moss'	*labuga*	'moss'
	cafakt'a-i	'birch thicket'	*cafa-kta*	'birch
	talugd'a-i	'birch thicket'	*talugda*	'birch tree'
	sakt'a-i	'willow thicket'	*sakta*	'willow tree'
	amigd'a-i	'poplar thicket'	*amigda*	'poplar'

The suffix *'-i* often co-occurs with the mass noun suffix *-ktA* (6.3.1.7), so that the resulting word ends in *-kt'Ai.*

(65)	*mo-kt'o-i*	'brushwood'	*mo:*	'tree'
	wo-kt'o-i	'grass thicket'	*wo-kto*	'grass'
	kömpo-kt'o-i	'thorny thicket'	*kömpo*	'thorn'

Examples of the suffix *-ŋ'Ai* with the same meaning are:

(66)	*kuŋka-ŋ'ai, kuŋka-m'ai*	'cedar thicket'	*kuŋka*	'cedar'
	xulugda-ŋ'ai	'aspen grove'	*xulugda*	'aspen tree'
	dikte-ŋ'ei	'blueberry thicket'	*dikte*	'blueberry'
	köŋpo-ŋ'oi	'dog-rose thicket'	*köŋpo*	'dog-rose'
	sakta-m'ai	'willow thicket'	*sakta*	'willow'
	teukte-ŋ'ei	'cowberry thicket'	*teukte*	'cowberry'
	isompo-ŋ'oi	'bird cherry thicket'	*isompo*	'bird cherry tree'
	eigde-ŋ'ei	'lime tree grove'	*eigde*	'lime tree'
	ai-ŋ'a-i, ai-kta-ŋ'ai	'fir tree thicket'	*ai-kta*	'fir-tree'
	kusikta-ŋ'ai	'Manchu nut thicket'	*kusikta*	'Manchu nut tree'

5.1.2. Non-productive suffixes

Certain nouns derived with non-productive suffixes do not have a morphologically unmarked counterpart in modern Udihe, but the base stem is recoverable from related languages.

5.1.2.1. Diminutive suffix *-s'A/-sA*

This suffix has two phonological variants, one of which exhibits a non-laryngealized vowel *-sA*. These variants go back to two different affixes (*sA* < **čA:n*, *s'A* < **čA:kA:n*), but the semantics seems to be basically the same. The suffix has a vague diminutive (or affectionate) meaning, but is not productive and occurs only in the designations of some animals (often females) and persons, including relations. The base name is not always obvious: in (228a) we cite the derived nouns for which it is present in the modern language, in (228b) those for which derivational relations can only be established historically. In the latter case we cite reconstructions of Common Tungus protoforms for comparison.

(67)	a.	*kuliga-s'a*	'small snake'	*kuliga*	'snake'
		zoŋku-s'o	'poor man'	*zoŋku*	'poor'
		mama-sa	'wife'	*mama*	'old woman'
		puta-sa	'small bag'	*puta*	'bag'
		joxo-s'o	'small pot' (K 242)	*joxo*	'pot'
		mafa-sa	'old man'	*mafa*	'old man, husband'
		muŋgi-s'a	'small shaman's beater'	*muŋgi*	'shaman's beater'
		ina-s'a	'nephew, niece'	*ina-nta*	'nephew' (SK 374)
	b.	*gua-s'a*	'female of small animals'	**uke-če:n*	
		nexu-s'e	'younger sibling'	**neku:n*	
		eñe-se	'female of fish or birds'	*eni-ŋe* 'mother'	
		logo-so	'male deer'	**löko-čo:n*	
		janda-sa	'badger'	**janda-čo:n*	
		kä:-sa	'sea eagle'	**kiɣa-ča:n*	

l'a-sa	'bullhead (fish)'	**laka-ča:n*
giu-se	'roe'	**giw-ča:n*
nuge-se	'one-year-old boar'	cf. Manchu *nuxen*

5.1.2.2. The mass nouns suffix *-ktA*

This suffix is common to all Tungus languages and used to be very productive, although in modern Udihe this is no longer the case. Generally speaking, it is used to derive uncountable mass nouns with different meanings, in particular those of the following groups.

(i) plants and fruits: *mesi-kte~musu-kte* 'grapes' (cf. Manchu *muču*), *kusi-kta* 'Manchu nut' (cf. Nanai *koco*), *kö-kto* 'dog-rose (hips)' (cf. Manchu *k'o:k'o:n*), *teu-kte* 'cowberries' (Proto-Tungus-Manchu **tewu*), *xai-kta* 'dry grass put in boots for keeping warm' (cf. *xai-gu-* 'put grass into boots'), *za-kta* 'millet' (cf. Manchu *ze*), *leu-kte* 'a kind of water plant' (cf. Proto-Tungus-Manchu **lewe* 'swamp').

(ii) body parts and related substances: *iŋa-kta* 'wool' (**sinŋa*), *ofo-kto* 'feather' (cf. *ofo-di:-* 'pluck'), *sami-kte* 'eyelash' (< **sarmi-* 'blink'), *gua-kta* (or *guza-kta*) 'beard'(**gurga-*), *sulu-kta* 'gut' (**sila-*), *wai-kta* 'nail; star' (< **xosi-* 'scratch'), *ni:-kta* 'backbone' (**nierde-*).

(iii) dry substances: *oño-kto* 'sand' (**xoŋñi-*); *wo-kto* 'grass, hay; medicine, (gun)powder' (Proto-Tungus **oro-kto*).

(iv) plentitude of small animals or insects: *xumu-kte* '(autumn) mosquito' (**punmi-*), *gawa-kta* 'butterfly' (cf. Samarga *gawa-da*), *sili-kte* 'worm' (**sili-*).

(v) abstract nouns: *m'ai-kta* 'energy, stamina' (K 307) (*m'ai* 'strong').

The same suffix is historically distinguished in the following words: *wa-kta* '(tree) bark' (**ura-*), *lifa-kta* 'mud' (**lipa-*), *sie-kte* 'thread' (**sire-*).

5.1.2.3. Collective suffix *-ntA*

The non-productive suffix *-ntA* occurs in a few words denoting either separate persons (229a) or a group of people (229b).

(68)	a.	*a:-nta*	'woman'	cf. *a-ziga*	'girl'
		belie-nte	'fairy'	*belie*	'fairy'
		sagdi-nta	'old man'	*sagdi*	'big, old'
		ni:-nta	'man'	*ni:*	'man, person'
		ina-nta	'nephew'	cf. *ina-s'a*	'nephew, niece'
	b.	*xa-nta*	'relatives'	*xa:*	'relative'
		za-nta	'cousins'	*za*:	'cousin'

The same suffix may also be present in the following words: *xe-nte* 'master', *bäo-nta* 'name of a people in fairytales'.

The suffix *-ntA-* was mentioned in Schneider (1936: 103) as a possessive Plural affix. However, it denotes the collective Plural in only a few words where it can be followed by other Plural suffixes, the general Plural *-ziga* or the possessive Plural *-nA-* (for example, *belie-nte-ziga, za-nta-ziga, xa-nta-na-i*). This shows that the forms with the affix *-ntA-* are lexicalized.

5.1.2.4. Locational suffix *-(u)zA*

This suffix derives nouns from other nouns, pronouns, or locative adverbial stems. The derived nouns denote the corresponding place.

(69)	*tue-ze*	'winter house'	*tue*	'winter'
	solo-zo	'upper side (about a stream)'	*solo-*	'upstream'
	ezie-ze	'the side down the stream'	*ezie-*	'downstream'
	do:-zo	'inner side'	*do:-*	'inside'
	amä:-za	'back side'	*amä:-*	'back'
	a:ŋa-za	'right side'	cf. *aja*	'good, nice'
	a-uze	'this side'	cf.*a-*	'this'
	zulie-ze	'place ahead'	*zulie-*	'before'
	ui-ze	'place above'	*ui-*	'above'
	xegei-ze	'place beneath'	*xegie-*	'under'
	kä:-za	'side'	*kä:*	'edge'
	ta-uze	'that side, opposite side'	cf. *ta:*	'that'
	bagä:-za	'opposite side'	*bagä-*	'opposite side'
	die-ze	'direction away from the river bank'	*die-*	'place away from the river'
	ba:-za	'outer side'	*ba:*	'nature, space, sky'

Spatial nouns in *-(u)zA,* except for *tue-ze* 'winter house', are a base for the further derivation of spatial adverbs (10.1.1). In fact, they themselves exhibit a mixed behavior. On the one hand, they take certain adverbial case markers: the Accusative in *'-fA* instead of *-wa*, and the Ablative in *-ŋAzi* (10.1.1.1). However, they do not take the adverbial Ablative in *-nigi,* cf.:

(70)	*di:-nigi*	'far from the river (ABL)' (Adverb)
	die-ze-tigi	'from the space away from the river (ABL)' (Noun)

They are also ambivalent with respect to their external syntax. They partly behave like nouns: they may be modified by demonstratives (232) and can function as attributes within the noun phrase (233).

(71) *ta: die:-ze-tigi* 'away from that bank'

(72) a. *a:ŋa-za ŋala-zi*
<right-N hand-INST>
'with the right hand'

b. *dieŋe-ze e:-le-ni*
<left-N side-LOC-3SG>
'to the left (side)'

c. *Ta-uze xokto ŋene:-ni.*
that-N way go.PAST-3SG
'He went that way.'

d. *zueze ta-uze e:-le-ni*
<table that-N side-LOC-3
'on the opposite side of the table'

e. *ei mo: a:ŋa-za e:-tigi-ni*

<this tree right-N side-LAT-3SG>
'to the right from this tree'

f. *Biki uli-ni bagä:-za e:-digi-ni*
<Bikin river-3SG opposite-N side-ABL-3SG>
'from the opposite side of the Bikin'

Yet, they are mostly found in adverbial functions in various local case forms, cf.:

(73) a. *Bi a-uz'e-fe ŋene-ze-mi, si ta-uz'e-fe*
me this-N-ACC go-SUBJ-1SG you that-N-ACC
ŋene-je.
go-IMP.2SG
'I will go this way, you go there (that way).'

b. *Zulie-ze-le igi, amä:-za-la igi.*
front-N-LOC tail behind-N-LOC tail
'Ahead is a tail, behind is a tail.'

c. *Ui-ze-le čagza osi: gune,*
above-N-LOC white become.PRP EV
xegie-ze-le-de osi gune.
below-N-LOC become.PRP EV
'(He sees:) the white (spot) is now over, now beneath.' (K 131)

d. *Omo begdi ba:-za-la, omo begdi*
one foot place-N-LOC one foot
do-zo-lo.
inside-N-LOC
'One foot outside, one foot inside. ' (K 145)

e. *dieŋe-ze-li* 'along the place on the left'
<left-N-PROL>
dieŋe-ze-zi 'at the place on the left'
<left-N-INST>
a:ŋa-za-digi 'from the place on the right'
<right-N-ABL>

5.1.2.5. Resultative suffix *-ptA/-ktA, -pti(le)/-kti(le)*

The suffix derives resultative nouns from base verbs and nouns. It is likely to be connected with the Decausative verbal suffix *-ptA-/-ktA-* (see 8.2.1.3), cf. also the element *-ptile* found in the passive Past Participles of the negative verb (7.5.1.2.2).

(74) a. *kua-ktile* 'shavings' *kua-* 'shave'
gi:-ptile 'ends' *gi:-* 'cut out'
tai-ptile 'chips' *tai-* 'collect'
cam-(p)tile 'splinter' *camna-* 'break'

b. *to:-pti* 'fireplace' *to:* 'fire'
saŋa-pti 'patch' *saŋa* 'hole'
imo:-pti 'epiploon' *imo:* 'fat'

	euni-pti	‘cross-piece’	*eu-nigi*	‘across’
	sili-pti	‘breast strap in a dog harness’	*sili*	‘collar’
	ula:-pti	‘soaked fish’	*ula:-*	‘soak’
	su:-pti	‘leather rope’(SK 835)	*sui-*	‘tie’
c.	*xule-pte*	‘ash; remains’	*xule*	‘remainder’
d.	*likpi-kti*	‘cork’	*likpi-*	‘close’
	teusi-kti	‘container’	*teusi-*	‘keep’

Since consonantal clusters *pt* and *kt* tend to vary freely (2.2.4.1), the Resultative nominal suffix can have two forms: *uña-pti* and *uña-kti* ‘ring’ (cf. *uña* ‘finger’), *egbe-kti ~ egbe-pti* ‘roof’ (cf. *egbe-* ‘to cover, to roof’) (K 312).

Several derived words deviate from the regular meaning and imply a certain association between the objects denoted by the base noun and the derived noun: *dei-pti* ‘lead’ (cf. *dei-gi-* ‘cover with lead’), *ada-pti* ‘sleeve-case’ (cf. *ada-* ‘join, put together’), *t’a-pti* ‘clay’ (cf. *t’a* ‘fallen tree’). Certain deverbal nouns derived from transitives preserve the valence pattern of the base verb, cf.: *banza moloko-wo teusi-kti* ‘bottle for keeping milk’ <bottle milk-ACC keep-N>.

5.1.2.6. Qualificative suffix *-lA*

This suffix derives denominal and deverbal nouns denoting people who can carry out a particular action perfectly. It can be translated as ‘good at X, good at using X, can be featured by X’, where X corresponds to the base stem. Cf. the Evenki *-la:n-* with the same meaning: *oño-lo:n* ‘a good painter’ from *oño-* ‘paint, draw, write’. Examples:

(75)	*aki-la*	‘a (lucky) harpooner’	*aki*	‘harpoon’
	wa-la	‘a (good, lucky) hunter’	*wa-*	‘hunt, kill’
	jexe-le	‘a (good) singer’(Schneider 1936: 42)	*jexe*	‘song’

The same or a homonymous suffix could historically be present in the following words: *xata-la* ‘girl’, *ñau-la* ‘boy, girl’ (**ñaw-*), *ma:-la* ‘dried whole salmon’ (cf. *ma:* ‘whole’).

The qualificative suffix *-lA* is also typical of adjectives (6.4.1.1.4), and it is not excluded that the nouns listed here are in fact substantivized adjectives. However, they presently behave as nouns, for example, they can be modified by an adjective.

(76)	*Keige*	*ketu*	*aja*	*wa-la.*
	cat	very	good	kill-N
	‘Cats are very good hunters.’			

5.1.2.7. The suffix *-xi*

This suffix is obviously connected with the adjectival possessive suffix *-xi* (6.4.1.2.2). It is mainly found in designations of animals, but the derivational relationships are not transparent in the modern language. Examples: *olo-xi* ‘squirrel’ (**xulu-*), *kuge-xi* ‘a sort of bird’ (cf. Ulch *kukaj*), *e-xi* ‘frog’ (**xere-*), *tibze-xi* ‘lynx’(**tübze-*). Note also the following words: *sewe-xi* ‘idol’ (cf. *sewe-* ‘ghost’), *mule-xi* ‘bucket’ (**mu:-le-* ‘fetch water’), *zele-xi* ‘hermine’ (cf. Nanai *zeli*). The suffix *-xi* can also be suspected in *sumu-xi* ‘hazel-hen’, *ceŋde-xi* ‘crawfish’, *seŋe-xi* ‘hedgehog’, *nasa-xi* ‘heron’.

5.1.2.8. The suffix *-(mu~bu)gA, -(mu~bu~u~tu)gu*

Examples for the suffix *-(mu~bu)gA* and *-(mu~bu~u)gu* with unclear semantics are presented in (238a) and (238b), respectively.

(77)	a.	*talu-ga*	'birch bark'	*talu*	'birch'		
		bali-ga	'blind man'	*bali*	'blind'		
		p'ai-ga	'piece' (Schneider 1936: 60)	*p'ai*	'piece'		
		kumu-ge	'louse'	*kumu-di-*	'seek lice'	*kuli-ga*	'snake'
		**kuli-*					
		xalu-ga	'hammer'	**palu-*			
		wai-ga	'earring'	**xojpo-*			
		labu-ga	'moss' (Schneider 1936: 47)	**law-*			
		begdi-ge	'leg of a table,	*begdi*	'leg'		
		takti-ga	'yew-tree'	cf. Manchu *takta*			
		oŋö-buga	'snuff' (K 276)	*onö-*	'snuff'		
		cige-muge	'urinary bladder' (K 310)	*cige*	'urine'		
	b.	*kaŋd-ugu*	'half'	**koŋdo*			
		safu-gu	'chopsticks'	*safu-li-ŋku*	'a box for chopsticks'		
		un-ugu	'disease'	*uni-*	'be sick'		
		zom-ugu	'thief'	*zomi-*	'steal'		
		kiso-bugu	'quiver' (K 249)	*kiso-fu*	'quiver'		
		saŋña-mugu	'flue for smoke'	*saŋña*	'smoke'		
		mo:-mugu	'stack of firewood'	*mo:*	'tree, wood'		
		ze:n-tugu	'left-hander'	*ze:-ŋeze*	'left'		

5.1.2.9. The suffix *-mA*

This suffix occurs on only a few nouns. It is homophonous and may be connected etymologically with the polysemantic adjective suffix *-mA* (6.4.1.2.1).

(78)	*kä-ma*	'rocky mountain' (Schneider 1936: 45)	*käi*	'hill'
	kali-ma	'whale'	*kali*	'sig fish'
	kakči-ma	'flat cake'	*kakči-si-*	'bake'
	laukta-ma	(Iman) 'water plants'	cf. *laukta*	(Bikin) 'water plants'

5.1.2.10. The suffix *-gdugu, -gdigA*

Examples:

(79)	*iŋme-gdugu*	'box for keeping needles'	*iŋme*	'needle'
	ja-gdugu	'glasses'	*ja:*	'eye'

dami-gdugu	‘tobacco’		*dami-*	‘smoke’
je-gdige	‘hero, young man’		cf. *jeu-*	‘grow’

5.1.2.11. The suffix (’)-*u*

Examples:

(80)	*ad’a-u*	‘twins’	*ada-*	‘join, put together’
	bagä:-u	‘enemy’	*bagä:*	‘opposite’
	bogöso-u	‘torturer’	*bogöso-*	‘torture’
	bagd-u	‘village’	*bagdi-*	‘live’
	ze-u	‘food’	cf. *ze-mui*	‘hungry’
	gä-u	‘oar’	**ge:*	‘another’
	ami-kta-u	‘sleepyhead’	cf. *amai*	‘sleepy’
	kakt’a-u	‘half’	*kakt’a*	‘half’
	jat’a-u	‘birth shelter’	cf. *jata-si-*	‘give birth’

5.1.2.12. The suffix of measures *-lA*

The productive suffix *-lA* derives abstract nouns of measures and parameters, usually from parametric adjectives or adverbs. The resulting noun always takes personal affixes (4.2.3.1.5).

(81)	*eŋme-le-ni*	‘width’	*eŋme*	‘wide’
	egdi-le-ni	‘multitude’	*egdi*	‘many, much’
	nemne-le-ni	‘breadth’	*nemne-c’e*	‘narrow’
	dämi-la-ni	‘thickness’	*dämi*	‘thick’
	sagdi-la-ni	‘size’	*sagdi*	‘big’
	wani(mi)-la-ni	‘length’	*wani-mi*	‘long’
	suŋta-la-ni	‘depth’	*suŋta*	‘deep’

The word *ceŋe-le-ni* ‘weight’ is derived from the noun *ceŋe* ‘balance’.

For some nouns derived with the suffix *-lA* the meaning deviates from the usual pattern: *zugda-la* ‘a house with a double sloped roof’ (cf. *zugdi* ‘house’), *ñuxa-la* ‘spring, source’ (cf. *ñuxan-* ‘jump out’).

The nouns of measure take the Accusative argument (17.2.2.1.3).

5.1.2.13. The suffix *-mule*

The suffix *-mule* is obviously related to the comitative postposition *mule* ‘with’ (10.2.2.2.4). As distinct from the postposition *mule*, it is phonologically bound to the stem and does not bear an independent stress. However, it is disharmonic with respect to vowel harmony (3.3.2.3). The suffix derives the following closed class of nouns meaning close symmetrical relationship between two or more people:

(82)	*gagda-mule*	‘(married) couple’	*gagda*	‘the other’
	tie-mule	‘pair’	*tie*	‘pair’
	anda-mule	‘(married) couple’	*anda*	‘friend’
	xunazi-mule	‘sisters’	*xunazi*	‘elder sister’

xa:-mule	‘brothers’	*xa:*	‘sibling’
zalä-mule	‘cousins’	*za:*	‘relatives’
nimeŋke-mule	‘neighbors’	*nimeŋke*	‘neighbor’
getu-mule	‘comrades’	*getu*	‘comrade’
saŋgita-mule	‘relatives by marriage’	*saŋgita*	‘relative’
bagäbu-mule	‘doubles’	*bagäbu*	‘similar’
’aga-mule	‘brothers’	*’aga*	‘elder brother’
neŋu-mule	‘younger siblings	*neŋu*	‘younger sibling’
uil’e-mule	‘wives of one man’	*uil’e*	‘a little girl who lives in the house of her future husband’
zue-mule	‘wives of one man’	*zue*	‘a wife taken from a different clan in exchange for another woman’

The words cited above are regular nouns, cf. the examples below where they appear in a case form (Dative in (244a), Accusative in (244b)), or are modified by an adjective (245) or a numeral (246). Example (246b) shows that they may refer to more than two people.

(83) a. *Uŋta* *tie-mule-du* *siŋe* *ono-no-mi*
boot pair-N-DAT mouse nest-DEST-REF
wo:-ni.
make.PAST-3SG
‘A mouse made a nest in the pair of boots.’

b. *Bi ise:-mi* *gagda-mule-we* *uligdig’a-ŋku.*
me see.PAST-1SG other-N-ACC beautiful-PL
‘I saw a beautiful couple.’

(84) *Bue-ti ketu* *aja* *anda-mule* *bi:-ti.*
he-3PL very nice friend-N be-3PL
‘They are a very nice couple.’

(84) a. *Bagdi:-ti* *zu:* *’aga-mule.*
live-3PL two elder.brother-N
‘There live two brothers.’

b. *ila* *xunazi-mule*
three sister-N
‘three sisters’

The nouns derived with *-mule* take the regular Plural affix *-ziga*, for example, *xa:-mule-ziga* ‘brothers’ (SK 985). They are not present with regular possessive suffixes in our material, but used in the predicative function they are compatible with the Alienable Possessive suffix *-ŋi* (4.1.4.4).

(85) *Ni* *ugda-ni?* *Zu:* *xa:-mule-ŋi.*
who boat-3SG two sibling-N-AL
‘Whose is the boat? The two brothers.’

5.1.3.14. The suffix *–gdA, -gdu*

This denominal suffix derives certain tree names (248a) and some other nouns (248b), cf.:

(86)	a.	*talu-gda*	‘birch tree’	*taku*	‘birch tree’
		xulu-gda	‘aspen tree’	*xulu*	‘aspen tree’
	b.	*kä-gda*	‘ice’	*kä-ŋgu*	‘slippery’
		dawama-gda	‘net for salmon’	*dawa*	‘salmon’
		xo:-gdo	‘upper part of a leather brake’	*xo:*	‘roof, top’

5.1.3.15. The suffix *-mzi,-mdi*

This is a common Tungus suffix rare in Udihe (cf. Ulcha *beleči-mdi* ‘helper’ from *beleči-* ‘help’, *wa:iča-mdi* ‘hunter’ from *wa:iča-* ‘hunt’). It derives animate nouns from other nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, cf.:

(84)	*boŋgo-mzi*	‘leader, first dog in a team’	*boŋgo*	‘first, main’
	ño(lo)-mdi	‘leader’	*ño:*	‘ahead’
	sagdi-mdi,			
	sagdi-mzi	‘the oldest man’(SKX 308)	*sagdi*	‘big’

The word *tefesi-mzi* ‘leader’ (from *tefesi-* ‘lead’) was created by Schneider (Schneider 1936) according to the existing pattern (which was apparently productive at that stage). Cf. also the same-subject Perfective Converb form with the suffix *-mzi* in the Northern dialect (1.3.2.4) and a number of *Nomina agenti* cited in Sunik (1968: 218).

5.1.3.16. Other suffixes

Each of the following suffixes occurs in only a few words.

-mni-

bele-mni ‘helper’ (*bele-* ‘help’); *tatu-mni-* ‘teacher’ (cf. *tatusi-* ‘teach’); this suffix is very productive in other Tungus languages.

-mti

dulu-mti (or: *dulu-mtu*) ‘the third finger; the middle prong of the harpoon’ (cf. *dulä* ‘middle brother’); *jaŋca-mti* ‘rudder’ (cf. *jaŋca-* ‘steer’).

-ktu

zeŋme-ktu ‘greedy-guts’ (*zeŋme* ‘greedy’), *cem(i)ne-ktu* ‘liar’ (*cemne-* ‘lie’); this suffix denotes a person by a (negative) quality and is homophonous with the suffix of the Resultative Participles (7.5.1.4).

-mpA(i)

zegde-mpe ‘burnt wood’ (*zegde-* ‘burn’), *siza-mpa(i)* ‘young trees thicket’ (*siz’ai* ‘thicket’) (K 284); *ikte-mpei* ‘young fir tree thicket’ (*ikte* ‘young fir tree’).

-tigi, -tige

mak-tigi ‘tool for spinning rope’ (< **makci-* ‘spin’); *kefu-tige* ‘cartilage’ (cf. *kefu-ge-* ‘gnaw’).

-f’A

co-f’o ‘claw’ (cf. *cosu-le-* ‘scrape’).

-dugu
u:-dugu ‘scratching tool’ (*u:*- ‘scratch’).
-nige
e-nige ‘side prongs of the harpoon’ (*e:*- ‘side’), *bu-nige* ‘beyond the grave world’ (cf. *bu-de-* ‘die’).
-(či)ŋ’A
alagdi-ŋ’a ‘beauty’ (cf. *alagdig’a* ‘beautyful’), *pakči-ŋ’a* ‘master (cf. *paki* ‘skilful’).
-mAgdA
derives de-numeral nouns: *ila-magda* ‘three (in games)’ (*ila* ‘3’), *di:-megde* ‘four’ (*di:* ‘4’), *tuŋa-magda* ‘five’ (*tuŋa* ‘5’), *ñuŋu-megde* ‘six’ (*ñuŋu* ‘6’), *nada-magda* ‘seven’ (*nada* ‘7’).
-ntu
ze:-ntu ‘left-hander’ (cf. *ze*:*-ŋeze* ‘left side’).
-kA, -ku
mama-ka ‘old woman’ (*mama* ‘grandmother’), *puta-ka* ‘crop, craw’ (K 279) (*puta* ‘bag’), *sou-ku* ‘tease, teaser’ (K 287) (*sou-* ‘pick on’).

5.2. Zero-derivation

By zero-derivation we mean a type of word formation by which a word is shifted into another grammatical class without morphological marking. In fact, this is not widely spread in Udihe. Besides, when a noun and a corresponding verb have the same stem, the direction of the derivational process is not easy to establish. We will start from the idea that in a pair «concrete noun - verb» the base word is typically a noun, while in a pair «abstract noun - verb» the direction is the opposite. In both cases, however, the decision is conventional. Noun-to-verb conversion is treated in 8.4.2. A few hypothetical cases of verb-to-noun conversion are presented below (5.2.1), together with participle-to-noun conversion (5.2.2), and adjective-to-noun conversion (5.2.3).

5.2.1. Verb-to-noun conversion

Action nominals may be derived from the corresponding verbal stems through zero-derivation.

(87) *zima* ‘visit, guests’ *zima-* ‘go on a visit’
bude ‘death’ *bude-* ‘die’
bagdi ‘life’ *bagdi-* ‘live’
tukä: ‘running’ *tukä:-* ‘run’The only function of converted nouns of this type is to fill the object valency of certain verbs listed in 14.3.1.4. In this case they take the Accusative affix *-wA* but do not inflect for person. With respect to their external syntax, they show some verbal properties, namely, they preserve the valencies of the corresponding verb (251) and can be modified by an adverbial (252). Note that the complements of these deverbal nouns either precede (251b, 251c) or follow them (251a). Example (251a) additionally demonstrates that the converted nouns can be derived from the verbal stem inflected with an aspectual (Repetitive) affix, while sentences (253) show the passive variants of the action nominals.

(88) a. *Sagdi* *ma:ma* *ča:la-ini* *bu-gi-we*
big grandmother want-3SG give-REP-ACC
sita-wa.
child-ACC
‘The Great Grandmother agrees to give the child.’ (SKX 296)
b. *Bi* *sin-tigi* *dian-a-wa* *ei-mi* *ča:la.*

me you-LAT say-0-ACC NEG-1SG want
'I don't want to talk to you.'

c. *Belie* *ča:la:-ni* *nexus'e* *jegdige-le*
fairy want.PAST-3SG younger brother-LOC
mafa-la-wa.
husband-V-ACC
'The fairy agreed to marry the hero, the younger brother.' (SKX 230)

(89) a. *Od'o* *ba:-za* *ge-le-ni*
grandfather place-N surface-LOC-3SG
bagdi-we *aju-ini.*
live-ACC like-3SG
'Grandfather likes to live in the forest.'

b. *Nua-ni* *ča:la:-ni* *na* *jexe-we.*
he-3SG agree-PAST-3SG again sing-ACC
'He agreed to sing again.'

c. *Bi ei-mi* *aju* *tuge-zi* *tukä:-wa.*
me NEG-1SG like quick-INST run-ACC
'I don't like to run quickly.'

(253) a. *Ma:ma* *ise-u-si:-ni* *ono-do*
grandmother see-CAUS-IM-3SG how-IND
siekte-we *tompo-u-wa* *sumu-zi.*
thread-ACC twist-PAS-ACC tendon-INST
'Grandmother is showing how to twist threads with tendons.' (SK 393)

b. *Ise-we-je* *ono* *gakpa-si-u-we.*
see-CAUS-IMP.2SG how arrow-V-PAS.PRP-ACC
'Show (me) how to shoot arrows.' (SKX 88)

Other nouns of this type seem to have undergone further substantivization, as, for example, the following:

(89) *teluŋu* 'story' *teluŋu-* 'tell'
jexe 'song, singing' *jexe-* 'sing'
etete 'work' *etete-* 'work'

They take all inflections typical of nouns and are modified by a demonstrative or an adjective, rather than by an adverb, cf.:

(88) *Bi* *ei* *etete-we* *metu-zeŋe-i.*
me this work-ACC finish-FUT-2SG.
'I'll finish this work.'

5.2.2. Participle-to-noun conversion

5.2.2.1. Destinative Participles

The Destinative Participles with the suffix *-kči* (8.5.3) undergo substantivization. This process is

fairly productive. The resulting nouns denote places, containers, or objects designated for a particular action.

(90)	*(zä:) nekce-kči*	'purse'	*nekce-*	'keep'
	(zä:) teuse-kči	'purse'	*teu-*	'load'
	la-kči	'mill'	*la-*	'grind'
	mule-kči	'ice-hole'	**mu:-le-*	'fetch water'
	kuge-kči	'bellows'	*kuge-*	'forge'
	adamasi-kči	'mountain pass'	*adamasi-*	'cross the mountain'
	dawasi-kči	'place for fishing salmon'	*dawasi-*	'fish salmon'
	dausi-kči	'river crossing'	*dau-*	'cross the river'

The converted nouns demonstrate all the morphological and syntactic properties of regular nouns, however, they are able to assign the Accusative case, as are transitive base verbs, for example: *dami-we teuse-kči* 'snuff-box' (*dami* 'tobacco', *teuse-* 'keep').

5.2.2.2. Present active participles

Some impersonal Present active participles form stable lexicalized expressions with the noun (257) or are substantivized by means of the Collective Plural word *getu* (258).

(91) *wakca-i ni:* 'hunter' (hunting man)
<hunt-PRP man>
xuda-si: ni: 'merchant' (selling man) <fur-V.PRP man>

(92) *xuda-si: getu* 'merchants'
<fur-V.PRP PL>
wakca-i getu 'hunters'
<hunt-PRP PL>
ise-ne-i getu 'audience (literally: seeing people)'
<see-DIS-PRP PL>

The participle can sometimes be postponed (raised), cf.:

(93) *zube ni: xuda-i getu* 'two merchants'
<two man fur-PRP PL>

5.2.3. Adjective-to-noun conversion

Virtually every adjective may receive certain nominal properties within a headless noun phrase (22.2.3). When they refer to persons they can be pluralized with the collective word *getu*, see 6.1.2.1. Examples of lexicalized substantivized adjectives are: *koto* 'bald one' (cf. *nada koto* 'seven bald ones'), *di:n-zi to:ŋdo koso-xi* 'rectangle' <four-INST straight angle-ADJ> (Schneider 1936: 26), cf. also several substantivized adjectives originally derived with the suffix *-mA* (6.4.1.2.1) such as *xala-ma* 'two-teeth harpoon' (*xala* 'forked branch'), *sigili-me* 'thick soup' (*sigili-* 'stir'), and *kä-ma* 'rocky mountain' *(kä:* 'edge'). Obviously nouns in *-xi* that denote animals (5.1.2.7) are also a result of such substantivization, as well as nouns in *-(n'A)use* (see

6.4.1.4.1). An example of lexicalized ideophonic adverb is *montom-ziga* ‘circles (PL)’.

Chapter 6
Adjectives

This chapter deals with the inflectional and derivational categories of adjectives. Unlike nouns and verbs, Udihe adjectives represent a rather vague grammatical class. In many respects they behave morphologically and syntactically like nouns and attributive verbs (participles).

Like nouns, adjectives function syntactically as attributive modifiers (13.2), or as predicates (17.2.2.1.1), and may sometimes function as arguments (see Chapter 14 and 22.2.3). Under certain conditions they demonstrate at least some of the properties of the noun phrase (24.2.2.1). Like nouns, in some syntactic positions they inflect for case and number and take -possessive affixes. A formal distinction between nouns and adjectives can, however, be made, using the following criteria: (i) most attributive adjectives can undergo syntactic raising (24.2.2.1), whereas nouns in the attributive function never raise; (ii) certain classes of adjectives can function as the syntactic head of an adjectival phrase that includes degree adverbials and a standard of comparison (6.3.4), whereas nouns never can; (iii) plurality is expressed for adjectives by the morphological marker *-ŋku*, which is not used for nouns.

Adjectives and participles are similar with respect to their syntactic behavior as attributes: both these categories can raise within the noun phrase and acquire certain head properties (see 24.2.2.1 on raised adjectives and 19.2 on raised participles within the relative clause). The following are the formal criteria that separate adjectives from participles: (i) (active) participles are not used as independent finite predicates, whereas adjectives are; (ii) on the other hand, adjectives do not function as subordinate clause predicates; (iii) only a few adjectives (6.3.3) take more than one argument, whereas participles preserve the valence patterns of the corresponding verb; (iv) participles may not be modified by the noun phrase that corresponds to the standard of comparison; (v) participles do not take the Plural affix *-ŋku*, which is typical only of adjectives (plurality of participles is expressed by other means); (vi) participles follow the derivational morphology of verbs, whereas adjectives have special derivational affixes (6.4.1.1).

Adjectives fall into two large groups that are characterized by different syntactic and morphological properties: simple adjectives and compound adjectives. Their morphology is described in sections 6.1 and 6.2 respectively. The main properties of the adjectival phrase are discussed in 6.3; the formation of adjectives is addressed in section 6.4, where 6.4.3 deals specifically with compound adjectives.

6.1. Inflection of simple adjectives

Simple adjectives either function as predicates (17.2.2.1.1), or in the attributive function (13.3). As will be shown in 13.2, within a noun phrase which is neutral with respect to information structure the adjective modifier is prenominal and does not take any morphological markers except for the optional Plural affix. When attributive adjectives undergo modifier raising (24.2.2.1), they are postnominal and inflected for case, number, and possession. When the head noun is not overtly present (22.2.3), or when the attributive adjective is located discontinuously with respect to it, the adjective takes case and number inflections. Independent adjectives in certain case forms function as arguments (Chapter14) and function as temporal adjuncts (15.4.2.1). Used in the predicative function, adjectives inflect for number (17.2.2.1.4) and can

sometimes take possessive affixes (24.3.2.1).

Information on the syntax of these constructions is provided in the corresponding sections. Here we only describe the peculiarities of the adjectival inflection.

6.1.1. Adjectival stems

As shown in 6.4, adjectives do not constitute a uniform class with respect to their formation: they can be derived with numerous derivational affixes, by means of conversion and compounding. Morphologically simple adjectives seem to conform to the general property of nouns and verbs with respect to two classes of stems: they exhibit class I (vowel-final) stems and class II (*n*-final) stems. Adjectives that have *n*-final stems follow the peculiarities of the *n*-declension typical of nouns (see 4.1.1). However, in the modern Southern dialect only a few adjectives belong to this morphonological class. These are the quantitative adjectives *wac'a* 'little, few', *egdi* 'many, much, numerous', *teu* 'all' addressed in 11.2, cf. their Accusative forms demonstrating the affix *-mA* typical of the class II declension: *wac'a-ma, egdi-ma,* and *teu-me-ni,* correspondingly.

Other class II adjectives have undergone a process of unification with class I stems. For the following adjectives Schneider (1936) marks the class II declension: the quantifier *xa-ni* 'some', the adjectives *(ŋ)ic'a* 'small' and *inigi* 'vivid'. At present, Accusative forms ending in *-mA* are no longer used for these adjectives by most speakers, although the variant *ic'a-ma* is not absolutely impossible, cf.:

(259) *Min-du* *ic'a-ma* *bu-je.*
me-DAT small-ACC give-IMP.2SG
'Give me a small one.'

We can also hypothesize that the traces of *n*-final adjectival stems are present in *n*-initial derivational affixes that exhibit alternation, such as, for example, the affix *-n'Ause ~ (')-use* (6.4.1.4.1). Some other *n*-initial affixes (or those beginning with *ŋ* before the velar) do not exhibit variations of this type, but the data from closely related languages demonstrates that initially the suffix did not begin with the nasal. So after the unification of the class I and class II adjectival stems in Udihe the morpheme boundary must have moved. Cf., for example, the Udihe suffixes *-ndima* (6.4.1.1.7) and *-ŋku* (5.1.1.4) and the comparative data from related languages.

(260) a. Ulcha

nada(n)	'seven'	*nadan-duma*	'the seventh'
duli(n)	'middle'	*dulin-duma*	'the middle'
a:ga	'(elder) brother'	*ag-duma*	'the eldest brother'

b. Nanai

megdin	'precipice'	*megdiŋ-ku*	'steep'
murun	'mind'	*muruŋ-ku*	'clever'
mue	'water'	*mue-ku*	'juicy'

6.1.2. Inflectional categories

The following inflectional categories of adjectives will be described here: number, case, and Possession. The order of morphemes in the adjectival word is as follows:

(261) stem – number – case – Possessive

For example:

(262) *ic'a-ŋku-we-ni* 'small' <small-PL-ACC-3SG>

6.1.2.1. Number

The Singular is not morphologically marked, while the Plural may be expressed with special morphological means (6.1.2.1.1). It can also be rendered by the restrictive particle *m'ei* 'all, entirely, only, exclusively' (12.1.1.9.3) when it immediately follows the adjective.

For substantivized adjectives referring to animate persons within headless constructions (22.2.3) plurality is marked with the Plural word *getu* compatible only with nouns, cf.: *baja getu* 'rich ones', *sisiga getu* 'diligent ones', and *bali getu* 'blind ones'.

6.1.2.1.1. Plural marker *-ŋku*

The Plural marker of th/e adjective is *-ŋku.* Normally only non-derived adjectives or adjectives derived with non-productive affixes take the affix *-ŋku*, for example: *imexi-ŋku* 'new (PL)', *maŋga-ŋku* 'strong (PL)', *nemne-s'e-ŋku* 'narrow (PL)'. In a few words the final /*i*/ of the stem changes to /*ä*/ before *-ŋku* (cf. 2.1.4.7).

(263)	SG	PL	
	sagdi	'big'	*sagdä-ŋku*
	agbi	'wide'	*agbä-ŋku*
	wani-mi	'long'	*wanimä-ŋku*
	dämi	'thick'	*dämä-ŋku*

Adjectives of color (6.4.1.1.3), time (6.4.1.3.1), possession (6.4.1.2.2), and material (6.4.1.2.1), derived with the suffixes *-ligi, -fi/-pti, -xi* and *-mA*, respectively, do not take the Plural suffix *-ŋku*. Instead, they are often accompanied by the restrictive particle *m'ei* (see 12.1.1.9.3), which can signify plurality.

6.1.2.1.2. Function of adjective Plural forms

As shown in 4.2.1, the expression of plurality in nouns is not grammatically obligatory and depends on how the situation is perceived by the speaker. Normally the exact interpretation of number can only be understood from the context. The adjective is more consistent in this respect: often it is marked for plurality even if the noun it modifies is not. Altogether, Plural agreement within the noun phrase with the adjectival modifier is not obligatory (see 13.2.2).

Most regularly, the Plural is morphologically marked on the adjective when the noun it modifies corresponds to the subject or the direct object role. Both the prenominal and postnominal (raised) adjective may be marked for plurality, cf.:

(264) a. *Min-du* *imexi-ŋku* *mo:-wo* *juŋkäla:-ti.*
me-DAT new-PL tree-ACC fetch.PAST-3PL
'They fetched me new firewood.'

b. *Min-du* *mo:* *imexi-ŋku-we* *juŋkäla:-ti.*
me-DAT tree new-PL-ACC fetch.PAST-3PL

'They fetched me new firewood.'

When the head noun does not correspond to the subject or the direct object, the Plural marking on the adjective is rare with the exception of the copredicative adjective in the Instrumental (19.6). Cf., however, the following example:

(265) *Ic'a-ŋku* *pei-zi* *tokto-so.*
small-PL piece-INST cut-PP.PAS
'It is cut into small pieces.'

In constructions with a discontinuous modifier (24.2.2.2), or with head noun ellipsis (22.2.3), the Plural marker *-ŋku* is usually overtly present on the adjective.

Adjectives in the predicative function typically take the Plural marker which regularly signalizes plurality of subject. For further information on Plural agreement in copular adjectival constructions and examples see (17.2.2.1.4).

6.1.2.2. Case

As argued in 13.2, under neutral communicative conditions an adjective in the attributive function does not inflect for case, so case agreement between the modifier and the head noun is absent (exceptions are certain quantificational adjectives, see 13.3.4). Adjectives take case affixes only when they belong to one of the following syntactic types:

(i) a substantivized adjective within a headless noun phrase (22.2.3);
(ii) a discontinuous attributive modifier (24.2.2.2);
(iii) a raised attributive modifier (24.2.2.1);
(iv) an independent copredicative adjective (19.6);
(v) adjectives in the Dative (14.4.1.2) and Instrumental (14.3.4.1) that take an argument position;
(vi) adjectives in the Dative that function as temporal adjuncts (15.4.2.1);
(vii) adjectives in the Accusative in a copular complement clause with an omitted copula (20.2.2.4).

Examples are presented in the corresponding sections.

The functions of the cases and case morphemes are the same for adjectives as for nouns (4.2.2). Most adjectives follow the type I declension, and only a few quantificational adjectives (see 6.1.1) belong to type II.

6.1.2.3. Possessive

The Possessive as a grammatical category is typical of nouns. Possessive affixes on adjectives appear under special conditions:

(i) The 3rd person Possessive affix *-ni* is present on the raised attributive modifier (24.2.2.1); such a phrase then formally coincides with a possessive construction (13.1);

(ii) The 3rd person Possessive affix *-ni* may be present on the adjective in the predicative function under certain communicative conditions (24.3.2.1). Normally, the semantics of this construction presupposes a certain emphasis on the adjective and/or a high intensity of the feature named by the adjective, and the Possessive marker is the only means to signal this semantics.

(iii) In copular complement clauses the copula verb may be omitted and then the predicative adjective takes the Accusative case and the possessive affix referring to the subject of the complement clause (20.2.2.4).

Example (266a) illustrates the raised adjective, and example (266b) the predicative adjective with the possessive suffix.

(266) a. *In'ei* *kuaja-ni* *xukti-e-ni.*
dog fast-3SG run-PAST-3SG
'A very fast dog has run.'
b. *Mäna* *ge:-ni.*
flour bad-3SG
'The flour is (very) bad.'

Adjectives derived with the suffixes *-ligi* (6.4.1.1.3), *-xi* (6.4.1.2.2), *-fi/-pti* (6.4.1.3.1) and *-mA* (6.4.1.2.1) never take possessive affixes. On discontinuously located attributive adjectives (24.2.2.2) the possessive affixes are absent.

6.1.2.4. Emphatic form

Certain (mostly parametric) adjectives have a special emphatic form marked with *-i*. Although its status and meaning are not entirely clear, it seems to be present when the corresponding adjective is focused and/or its meaning is somewhat intensified. The emphatic form is compatible with adjectives both in the predicative and attributive function, and otherwise the construction remains unchanged. The adjectives that have an emphatic form in *-i* are:

(i) all adjectives derived with the Diminutive suffix *-s'A/-c'A* (6.4.1.1.2), including the quantificational adjective *wac'a* 'little, few' (11.2.1);

(ii) the following adjectives:

(267)

alagdig'a, uligdig'a	'beautiful'	*koto*	'bald'
mogz'o	'naked'	*gafa*	'prickly'
zoŋgo	'naked'	*xekui*	'hot'
boxo	'hunchbacked'	*zas'a*	'light, pliable, cheap'
p'ala	'black' (SK 742)		
bombolo	'round' (SK 173)		

Examples of the use of the emphatic form are given below. In the glosses the emphatic/focus *-i* is represented as FOC, although this might not be completely accurate. When the adjective in the predicative function is followed by the focus particle *-dA*, the emphatic form of the adjectives listed above is strictly obligatory (269).

(268) a. *Nua-ni* *alagdig'a-i* *a:nta* *bi-s'e.*
he-3SG beautiful-FOC woman be-PERF
'She was a (very) beautiful woman.'
b. *Ei* *a:nta* *alagdig'a-i* *bi-s'e.*
this woman beautiful-FOC be-PERF
'This woman was (very) beautiful.'
c. *Čaja* *xekui:*, *eke* *umi-je.*
Tea hot.FOC slow drink-IMP.2SG
'The tea is (very) hot, drink it slowly.'
d. *Bi* *xekui:* *čaja-wa* *umi-kce:-mi.*
me hot.FOC tea-ACC drink-INT.PAST-1SG
'I wanted to drink (very) hot tea.'

e. *B'ata* *ic'a-i* *zä:-wa* *b'a-ni.*
boy small-FOC money-ACC find.PAST-3SG
'The boy found a small coin.'

(269) a. *Ei kuŋka mo:-ni* *nemnes'e-i-de.*
this cedar tree-3SG slender-FOC-FOC
'This cedar is (very) slender.'
b. *Lena* *jä:-ni* *uligdig'a-i-de.*
Lena eye-3SG beautiful-FOC-FOC
'Lena's eyes are (very) beautiful.'
c. *Ei moxo* *zas'a-i-de.*
this cup cheap-FOC-FOC
'This cup is (very) cheap.'
d. *Nua-ni* *ñukte-ni* *wac'a-i-de.*
he hair-3SG little-FOC-FOC
'He has little hair.'

Emphatic forms of adjectives do not occur with negation when the adjective corresponds to the finite predicate.

(270) **Nua-ni* *alagdig'a-i* *e-ini* *bie.*
he-3SG beautiful-FOC NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'She is not beautiful.'

6.2. Inflection of compound adjectives

Compound adjectives do not inflect. Plurality may be expressed with the restrictive particle *m'ei* (12.1.1.9.3). The content element always immediately precedes the copula. When compound adjectives are used predicatively the copula must be overtly present in the clause either in the personal form or in the Habitual impersonal form *bie* (see 17.2.2.6 for further detail and examples). In the attributive function the copula corresponds to the Present active participle *bi:* or the Habitual Present Participle *bie.* Such a construction is formally similar to the internal (19.2) or external (19.1) relative clause, cf.:

(271) a. *kusige* *cem-cem* *bi:-we-ni*
knife harp-sharp be.PRP-ACC-3SG
'the sharp knife (ACC)'
b. *Nua-ni* *aju-ini* *dogbo* *pou-pou*
he-3SG like-3SG night dark-dark
bi:-we-ni.
be.PRP-ACC-3SG
'He likes the dark nights.'
c. *zugdi* *ze:-li* *bi:-we-ni*
house middle-ADJ be.PRP-ACC-3SG
'middle-sized house (ACC)'
d. *Bi ise:-mi* *tege-we* *ño:mi*
me see.PAST-1SG gown-ACC blue
bi:-we-ni.
be.PRP-ACC-3SG
'I saw a blue gown.'

(272) a. *Bi* *b'agdi-mi* *ze:li* *bi:* *zugdi-du.*
me live-1SG middle be.PRP house-DAT
'I live in a middle-sized house.'

b. *ŋafu-ñeñe* *bie* *guzakta-ni*
dense-ADJ be.PRR.HAB beard-3SG
'his thick beard'

c. *Min-du* *ono* *bi:* *dexem* *ic'a-ŋku* *sagdä-ŋku*
me-DAT how be.PRP IND small-PL large-PL
ze:-li *bi:* *moxo* *bie.*
middle-ADJ be.PRP mug be.PRES.HAB
'I have all sorts of mugs–small ones, large ones, and middle-sized ones.'

Note that simple adjectives are also compatible with the copula *bi-*. These cases are referred to as copular relative clauses (19.4).

6.3. General properties of the adjective phrase

6.3.1. Adverbs within the adjective phrase

Adverbial elements within the adjective phrase are the degree adverbs *ketu* 'very', *asi* 'very', *läs(i)* 'very', and some others (10.1.4.1). They always precede the adjective: *ketu ganzinga* 'very clean', *asi seuni:* 'very scary', *läs(i) iŋini* 'very cold'. The restrictive focus particle *m'ei* seems to function as a degree adverb 'very, completely' when it follows certain parametric adjectives (see also 12.1.1.9):

(273) *ge: m'ei* (< 'bad' + *m'ei*) 'very bad, nasty, disgusting'
ñaŋmu m'ei (< 'clear' + *m'ei*) 'completely clear (of the sky)'

6.3.2. Adjectives that take a second argument

Only a few adjectives may (optionally) take a second argument apart from the subject. They are listed below, together with an indication of the case of the second argument:

(274)

go:	'far'	ABL
das'a	'close'	LAT
xoŋto	'different'	ABL
d'ofo	'identical'	NOM
paki	'skilful'	PART
bubei, bejeku, bu:f(e)i(ni), beptigi	'alike, similar'	NOM

Within the adjective phrase the argument noun phrase normally precedes its head.

(275) a. *Waŋba* *j'eu-de* *bui-digi-ni* *xoŋto.*
tortoise what-IND animal-ABL-3SG different
'A tortoise is different from all other animals.'

b. *Bi* *si* *in'ei* *bubui-we* *sa:-mi.*
me you dog similar-ACC know-1SG
'I know a dog similar to yours.'

c. *Bi* *ni:-we* *ise:-mi* *ami-mi* *bubui-we.*
me man-ACC see.PAST-1SG father-REF similar-ACC
'I saw a man looking like my father.'

d. *Xai* *si* *bu:fi* *b'a* *bi-s'e-i.*
again you similar find.PP be-PERF-1SG
'Again I have found (a girl) looking like you.'

e. *Nua-ni* *tege-le* *paki.*
he-3SG gown-PART skilful
'She is skilful at (making) gowns.'

6.3.3. Comparative adjective phrase

Comparison is expressed within the adjective phrase only by means of the Ablative noun phrase that corresponds to the standard of comparison. The adjective itself does not take any special comparative morphemes. Since the Ablative noun phrase standard of comparison is always optional and its removal does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence, it is analyzed here as an adverbial element within the adjective phrase. The standard of comparison may precede the adjective (276) or follow it (277).

(276) a. *Ussuri* *Biki-digi* *suŋta.*
Ussuri Bikin-ABL deep
'The Ussuri is deeper than the Bikin.'

b. *Ei* *ogbö* *sebie* *wa:n-digi:* *sagdi.*
this elk earlier kill.PP-ABL.1SG big
'This elk is bigger than the one I killed earlier.'

c. *Nua-ni* *ugda-ni* *si* *ugda-digi:* *aja.*
he-3SG boat-3SG you boat-ABL.2SG nice
'His boat is better than yours.'

d. *Ei* *we:* *tauxi* *we:-digi* *j'eu*
this mountain that mountain-ABL what
ba:-la-ni *gugda.*
place-LOC-3SG high
'This mountain is much higher than that mountain.'

(277) a. *Bi* *unta-i* *sagdi-ndima* *si* *unta-digi:.*
me boots-1SG big-ADJ you boots-ABL.2SG
'My boots are bigger than yours.'

b. *Nina* *diliga* *Sweta-digi.*
Nina stupid Sveta-ABL
'Nina is more stupid than Sveta.'

c. *Bi* *tege-i* *imexi-ndima* *si* *tege-digi:.*

me gown-1SG new-ADJ you gown-ABL.2SG
'My gown is newer than yours.'

The standard of equative constructions may be expressed by means of the postposition *bede* 'like' (10.2.2.2.3). On equative comparatives see also 6.4.1.1.5.

6.3.4. Expression of measure

A measure in comparative constructions is expressed by the Instrumental noun phrase (278), or – less frequently – by the Nominative noun phrase (279).

(278) a. *Bi sin-digi zube aŋa-zi-ni*
me you-ABL two year-INST-3SG
sagdi bi-mi.
old be-1SG
'I am two years older than you.'

b. *Nua-ni min-digi gugda ila santimetra-zi.*
he-3SG me-ABL tall three centimeter-INST
'He is three centimeters taller than me.'

(279) a. *Bi abuga-i zube neŋi-ni ñondo*
me father-1SG two day-3SG early
eniŋe-digi eme:-ni.
mother-ABL come.PAST-3SG
'My father came two days earlier than my mother.'

b. *Nua-ni min-digi ila niŋa gugda.*
he-3SG me-ABL three finger tall
'He is three inches taller than me.'

6.3.5. Superlative adjective phrase

Like the comparative degree, the superlative degree is not morphologically marked on the adjective but is expressed analytically by means of the superlative particle *c'o* 'most' that precedes the corresponding adjective.

(280) a. *Ei nakta c'o bogo.*
this boar most fat
'This boar is the fattest.'

b. *c'o sagdi b'ata*
most big boy
'the biggest boy.'

c. *Nina c'o alagdig'a xatala-digi.*
Nina most beautiful sister-ABL
'Nina is the most beautiful of the sisters.'

d. *Nua-ni wo:-ni zugdi c'o uligdig'a.*
he-3SG make.PP-3SG house most beautiful
'The house he made is the most beautiful.'

As demonstrated by (280c), the standard of comparison is marked by the Ablative case.

The high degree of the feature named by a (parametric) adjective may also be expressed by its

repetition (cf. expressive repetition of adverbs in 10.1.6).

6.3.6. Adjectives that govern a subordinate clause

Adjectives *maŋga* ‘strong at, good at’ and *paki* ‘skilful at, good at’ in the predicative position take a subordinate clause argument. The subordinate clause is expressed by the Present active participle with the personal marker referring to the subordinate clause subject. The latter is coreferential to the subject (the first argument) of the predicative adjective, cf.:

(281) a. *Kuti* *wakca-i-ni* *maŋga.*
tiger hunt-PRP-3SG strong
‘The tiger is good at hunting.’

b. *Ei aziga* *jexe-i-ni-de* *paki*
this girl sing-PRP-3SG-FOC skilful
uli:-ni-de *paki.*
sew.PRP-3SG-FOC skillful
‘This girl can sing and sew skillfully.’

c. *Sin-digi* *sigdi* *b’a-i-ni* *maŋga.*
you-ABL angry get-PRP-3SG strong
‘He is very angry with you’.

d. *Ei ja:* *ketu ge:* *m’ei* *bi-s’e,*
this cow very bad only be-PERF
ni:-we *je-si:-ni* *maŋga* *bi-s’e.*
man-ACC but-MUL.PRP-3SG strong be-PERF
‘The cow was very nasty, it butted people a lot.’

6.4. Adjectival derivation

Udihe adjectives are very variable in respect of word formation. Some adjectives have no transparent derivational structure and correspond to the bare stem: *baja* ‘rich’, *maŋga* ‘strong’, *sagdi* ‘big’, *imexi* ‘new’, *suŋta* ‘deep’, *igdi* ‘loud’, *bogo* ‘fat’ etc. Certain morphologically simple adjectives are borrowed from Chinese: *kuaja* ‘fast’, *ganziŋa* ‘clean’. The majority of adjectives are formed with special derivational affixes. Adjectives are derived by means of suffixes from other morphologically more simple base adjectives (deadjectival derivation, 6.4.1.1), from nouns (denominal derivation, 6.4.1.2), from adverbs (de-adverbial derivation, 6.4.1.3), and rarely from verbs (de-verbal derivation, 6.4.1.4). In the adjectives with several derivational suffixes, suffixes of the deadjectival derivation follow the interclass derivation affixes.

Other means of adjective formation are conversion (6.4.2) and compounding (6.4.3).

6.4.1. Suffixation

Suffixation is a principal means of adjective formation in Udihe. All adjectival suffixes are glossed as ADJ, independent of their meaning, except for the Diminutive suffix (6.4.1.1.1) for which the gloss DIM is accepted.

6.4.1.1. Deadjectival derivation

This section describes the suffixes that attach to the morphologically simpler base adjective. Although, as mentioned in 6.3, the comparative and superlative degree is expressed only analytically and is not reflected in the form of the adjective, there is a large group of affixes of deadjectival derivation that intensify (strengthen) or deintensify (weaken) the meaning of the base adjective.

6.4.1.1.1. The Diminutive suffix *-zig'a*

The Diminutive suffix *-zig'a* typical of nouns (5.1.1.1) is productive with adjectives as well. Structurally, the Diminutive follows the Plural affix: *uligdig'a-ŋku-zig'a* <nice-PL-DIM>. Most frequently the Diminutive co-occurs with parametric adjectives derived with the suffix *-c'A/-s'A* (6.4.1.1.2) where it evokes the appearance of the so-called «emphatic form» ending in *-i* (6.1.2.4), for example: *umac'a-i-zig'a* 'short', *enimac'e-i-zig'a* 'light'.

The Diminutive attached to the adjective renders the meaning 'small, little' with respect to the noun it modifies, or to the subject noun if the adjective is used predicatively. Thus, (282a) and (282b) are synonymous.

(282) a. *Ei moxo-ziga uligdig'a-i-de.*
this cup-DIM nice-FOC-FOC
'This little cup is nice.'

b. *Ei moxo uligdig'a-i-zig'a.*
this cup nice-FOC-DIM
'This little cup is nice.'

As with nouns, the Diminutive may have an affectionate rather than a purely diminutive meaning:

(283) a. *Käŋa sike-ziga.*
deer young-DIM
'The deer is young.'

b. *Ise-i, ono-fi kuaŋa uligdig'a-i-ziga!*
see-IMP.2SG how-ADJ butterfly nice-FOC-DIM
'Look, what a nice butterfly!'

c. *J'eu mamasa-na-m(i) ŋene-i ic'ei-zig'a* what
wife-DIR-INF go-2SG small-DIM *bi-mie?*
be-INF
'How are you going to marry being so small?'

6.4.1.1.2. Diminutive adjectives with the suffix *-c'A/-s'A*

Although these suffixes are not productive, they are present in many words. The suffixes are ultimately related to the nominal Diminutive suffixes *-s'A-/-sA-* (5.1.2.1). In fact, two variants ending in *-c'A* and *-s'A* can often be found for one word (see the examples below). All the adjectives derived with the suffixes in question are parametric and denote a low degree of a measurable feature (remarkably, adjectives that denote a high degree of the same feature do not have any derivational resemblance). Only for some are the base or related words known (284a), while for others they are not present in the modern language (284b).

(284) a. *nepte-s'e/nekte-s'e* 'low' *nepte-ligi* 'flat'

	nemne-s'e/nemne-c'e (of round things)'	'thin	*nemne-le*	'breadth'
	uma-c'a	'short'	*umac'a-la*	'length'
	da:-s'a	'near'	*da:-la*	'near'
	emu-s'e, omo-s'o lonely, single'	'alone,	*omo*	'one'

b.	*enima-s'a, enima-c'a*	'light'
	(ŋ)i-c'a	'small'
	wa-c'a	'few, not numerous'
	lima-s'a	'thin (of voice)'
	lämuge-s'e	'high (of voice)'
	nemuge-s'e	'thin (of flat things)'
	xaŋu-s'e xaŋu-c'e	'shallow'

The suffix *-s'a/-c'a* can be repeated twice within the word *(ŋ)i-c'a* 'small' which strengthens its meaning: *(ŋ)i-c'a-c'a* 'very small'. The adjectives derived with the suffix in question have an emphatic form in *-i* which produces the same effect: *(ŋ)i-c'a-i* 'very small' (see 6.1.2.4).

6.4.1.1.3. Qualificative adjectives with the suffix *-ligi*

This is a regular but unproductive suffix of adjectives derived from the morphologically bound stems that denote colors (285a). Sometimes it also derives adjectives meaning other external features, for example, shape (285b).

(285)	a.	*xuta-ligi* (of animal's eyes)	'red'	*xuta-la*	'reddish'
		ñö-ligi	'blue, green'	*ñö-lo*	'dark-green'
		c'a-ligi	'white'	*c'a-la*	'pale'
		xo-ligi	'yellow'	*xo-lo*	'yellowish'
		pa-ligi	'black'	*pa-la*	'black'
		xuŋna-ligi	'gray'	*xuŋne-li*	'pale'
		gä-ligi	'blue'	*gä-la*	'bluish'
		zü-ligi	'stripy'	*zü:*	'stripe'
.		*kede-ligi*	'stripy'	*kede-*	'stripe'
	b.	*bombo-ligi*	'ball-shaped'	*bombo*	'ball'
		moŋto-ligi	'round'	*moŋto*	'a round'
		nepte-ligi	'flat'	*nepte-li*	'flat'
		kico-ligi	'with sharp top'	*kico*	'top'
		sembe-ligi	'sparse, flimsy'	*sembe-li*	'sparse, with hollows'
		kokči-ligi	'curly'	*kokčil*	'curly'
		topto-ligi	'spotty'	*topto*	'spot'
		ñä-ligi	'raw'	*ñä:-*	'rot'
		seze-ligi	'shaggy'	*seze-ñoño*	'shaggy'
		kä-ligi	'pale'	*käl-käl*	'pale'
		logzo-ligi	'stooping'	*logzog'oi*	'crooked'
		zoŋgo-ligi	'concave'	cf.*zoŋgo-lo*	'slightly concave'

gikpe-ligi	‘glittering’	*kumpu-ligi*	‘bulging, prominent’

6.4.1.1.4. Deintensifying suffix *-lA*

The fairly productive suffix *-lA* derives adjectives from adjectives, and expresses the incompleteness of a feature (‘a little (too) ...’). The adjectives of color derived with this suffix (286a) are related to adjectives derived with the suffix *-ligi* (6.4.1.1.3), and the bare (underived) stem never occurs independently.

(286)	a.	*pa-la*	‘blackish’	*pa-ligi*	‘black’
		xo-lo	‘yellowish’	*xo-ligi*	‘yellow’
		xula-la	‘reddish’	*xula-ligi*	‘red’
		duŋma-la	‘pink’	*duŋma-ligi*	‘blue’
	b.	*sagdi-le*	‘a little big’	*sagdi*	‘big’
		gugda-la	‘a little high’	*gugda*	‘high’
		umac’a-la	‘a little short’	*umac’a*	‘short’
		saza-la	‘a little foolish’	*saza*	‘foolish’
		zoŋgo-lo	‘slightly concave’	*zoŋgo*	‘concave’

Examples:

(287) a. *Xeku* *umac’a-la-da.*
rope short-ADJ-FOC
‘The rope is a little too short.’

b. *Bi* *tege-i* *ic’a-la* *ede:-ni.*
me gown-1SG small-ADJ become.PAST-3SG
‘My dress got a little too small.’

c. *Ei* *banza* *umac’a-la-da.*
this board short-ADJ-FOC
‘This board is a little too short.’

Two following adjectives derived with the suffix *-lA* demonstrate irregular semantics: *sagdi-la* ‘very big’ and *maŋga-la* ‘very strong’.

6.4.1.1.5. Equative adjectives with the suffix *-lAŋki*

This very productive suffix is added to qualitative adjectives. It normally renders an equative meaning in comparison (corresponding to ‘as ... as ...’), but it may also simply intensify the meaning of the adjective (corresponding to ‘such a ...’ or ‘so...’).

(288)	*gugda-laŋki*	‘as tall as ..., such a tall’
	egdi-laŋki	‘as many as ..., so many’
	go:- loŋki	‘as far as, so far (K 188)

The derivatives can be used both predicatively and attributively.

(289)	a.	*Ei*	*mo:*	*xaisi*	*gugda-laŋki-ni*	*tauxi*
		This	tree	also	high-ADJ-3SG	that

mo:-digi.
tree-ABL
'This tree is as high as that one.'

b. *I:-le* *gene-se-i* *si* *ei* *egdi-laŋki*
what-LOC find-EXP-2SG you this many-ADJ
činda-wa?
birds-ACC
'Where have you found so many birds?'

c. *Ei* *paki-laŋli* *a:nta-wa* *ŋeni-wene:-i* *bebu.*
this skillful-ADJ woman-ACC go-CAUS.PAST-2SG EV
'You have let this skillful woman go!' (SK 742)

6.4.1.1.6. Intensifying adjectives with the suffix *-wAlA*

The productive suffix *-wAlA* strengthens qualitative features. It does not co-occur with the intensifying adverbs *lä(si), asi* 'very' which may otherwise be present within the adjective phrase, and seems synonymous with them. Unlike the intensifying suffix *-ndima* (6.4.1.1.7) it is not restrictive and is not used in comparative constructions. Adjectives derived with the suffix *-wAlA* can co-occur with the superlative particle *c'o* 'most' (290a) but this is by no means obligatory in this case.

(290) a. *Ei* *c'o* *nemnes'e-wele* *xeku*.
this most thin-ADJ rope
'This is the thinnest rope.'

b. *Bi* *emei-wele* *suese-we-i* *i:-le*
me sharp-ADJ axe-ACC-1SG what-LOC
nede:-i?
put.PAST-1SG
'Where have you put my (very) sharp axe?'

c. *Uligdig'a-wala* *tege-we* *teti-je!*
nice-ADJ gown-ACC dress-IMP.2SG
'Put on a very nice gown.'

d. *Wanimi-wele* *xeku-we* *zawa-ja.*
long-ADJ rope-ACC take-IMP.2SG
'Take a (very) long rope.'

e. *sagdi-wala* *anda*
big-ADJ musk.deer
'the most important musk-deer' (SKX 78)

6.4.1.1.7. Intensifying adjectives with the suffix *-ndima*

The suffix *-ndima* (Northern *–dima*) does not have any harmonic variants (3.5.1.2). It marks a high degree of a feature or marks the absolute degree of comparison used without an overtly expressed standard of comparison. The suffix is productive; it attaches to any qualitative adjective (except compound adjectives), and is subject only to semantic constraints.

(291) a. *Ei* *ule:* *pei-ni* *sagdi-ndima.*
this meat piece-3SG big-ADJ

‘This piece of meat is bigger (than the other).’

b. *Biki* *bäsa-ni* *eŋme-ndima* *Xu:* *bäsa-digi-ni.* Bikin river-3SG wide-ADJ Khor river-ABL-3SG ‘The river Bikin is wider than the river Khor.’

c. *Ei* *moxo* *muj’ei-ndima-wa* *zawa-ja.*
this cup whole-ADJ-ACC take-IMP.2SG
‘Take this whole (unbroken) cup.’

d. *Bi* *tege-we* *ise:-mi* *bi*
me gown-ACC see.PAST-1SG me
tege-digi:-de *uligdig’a-ndima-wa.*
gown.1SG-ABL-PART nice-ADJ-ACC
‘I have seen a gown nicer than mine.’

e. *Si* *sine-i* *ugei-ndima,* *bi sine-i* *enimac’a.*
you sack heavy-ADJ me sack-1SG light
‘Your sack is heavier, my sack is light.’

Although adjectives with the suffix *-ndima* can be used in the comparative adjective phrase (see (291b) and (291d) above), they are not obligatory in this function.

Nouns that have a parametric component in their meaning take the affix *-ndima*, which converts them to qualitative adjectives.

(292)

’ai-ndima	‘the elder (brother)’	*’ai*	‘elder brother’
neŋu-ndima	‘the younger (sibling)’	*neŋu*	‘younger sibling’
exi-ndima	‘the elder (sister)’	*exi*	‘elder sister’
wala-ndima	‘the luckier (hunter)’	*wala*	‘lucky hunter’

For example:

(293) a. *neŋu-ndima* *aziga*
younger.sibling-ADJ girl
‘the younger sister’

b. *Min-digi* *’ai-ndima* *bi:-ni.*
me-ABL elder.brother-ADJ be-3SG
‘My brother is older than I am.’

6.4.1.2. Denominal derivation

6.4.1.2.1. Relative adjectives with the suffix *-mA*

This is a common and very productive Tungus-Manchu suffix that derives denominal relative adjectives. It has a wide array of meanings.

(i) In most cases the derived adjectives denote material:

(294)

mo:-mo	‘wooden’	*mo:*	‘wood’
sugbu-me	‘made of fish skin’	*sugbu*	‘fish skin’
wokto-mo	‘made of grass’	*wokto*	‘grass’
iŋakta-ma	‘wool(en)’	*iŋakta*	‘wool’
meŋmu-me	‘silver’	*meŋmu*	‘silver’

aisi-me	‘gold(en)’	*aisi*	‘gold’
ña:-ma	‘leather(n)’	*ña:*	‘leather’
kirpiči-me	‘made of bricks’	*kirpiči*	‘brick’
seule-me	‘made of silk’	*seule*	‘silk’
tuza-ma	‘made of lead’	*tuza*	‘lead’

Although this pattern is very frequent, it is not universal, for example, not all the nouns denoting kinds of trees allow it, cf.

(295)	*talu mo:-ni*	‘birch’	*talu-ma*	‘made of birch bark’
	aikta mo:-ni	‘fir-tree’	*aikta-ma*	‘made of a fir-tree’
	kuŋka mo:-ni	‘cedar’	**kuŋka-ma*	‘made of cedar’

The meaning ‘made of cedar’ is expressed periphrastically:

(296)	*Teŋku-we*	*kuŋka*	*mo:-zi-ni*	*wo-so.*
	stool-ACC	cedar	tree-INST-3SG	make-PP.PAS
	‘The stool is made of cedar.’			

(ii) Some adjectives derived from base nouns denoting things or animals express the belonging to a certain class:

(297)	*g’ai-ma anda*	‘the crow-friend’
	kuliga-ma sita	‘snake-son’
	joxoso-mo au	‘a cap made of a kettle, kettle-cap’
	xojo-mo nä:	‘bulltrout skin’ (K 145)
	sul’ai-ma atiga:	‘fox-wife’ (Schneider 1937: 88)
	mafa-ma mafa-ni	‘her bear-husband’ (SK 547)
	sama-ma tege	‘shaman gown’
	ñoŋo-mo suala	‘ski made with glue’
	teuze-me zugdi	‘winter house’ (SKX 88)
		<winter.house-ADJ house>

Nouns denoting nationality also follow this pattern. Adjectives derived from them denote features more abstract than those denoted by corresponding possessive construction, cf. examples (298a) and (298b).

(298)	a.	*udie-me tege*	‘a gown in Udihe cut (fashion)’
		lusa-ma anda	‘a Russian friend (by nationality)’
		udie-me anda	‘an Udihe friend’
	b.	*udie tege-ni*	‘a real Udihe gown, a gown of Udihe’
		lusa keje-ni	‘Russian language (language of the Russians)’
		udie anda-ni	‘a friend of Udihe’

(iii) Since kinship terms do not distinguish the gender of certain (usually younger) relatives (*neŋu* ‘younger sibling’, *sita* ‘child; son or daughter’), this meaning is rendered by means of adjectives with the suffix *–mA.*

(299)	*b’ata-ma*	‘male (about a younger relative or a doll)’
	aziga-ma	‘female (about a younger relative or a doll)’
	a:nta-ma	‘female (about an adult relative)’
	ninta-ma	‘male (about an adult relative)’

Cf. also:

(300) *b'ata-ma sita* 'son' <boy-ADJ child>
guas'a-ma in'ei 'bitch' <bitch-ADJ dog>

(iv) On rare occasions the suffix *-mA* is used to strengthen a feature, but this usage is not productive:

(301) *aja-la-ma* 'the best' (K 204)
gugda-ma 'very high, enormous'

(v) Adjectives derived with the suffix *-mA* may express the meaning 'resembling X, looking like X', for example:

(302) a. *miki-me* *kuliga*
adder-ADJ snake
'a snake resembling an adder'

b. *ñoligi-me* *jä:* *ñoli,* *euge-me* *ŋala*
bead-ADJ eye green pincers-ADJ arm
käu-käu, *käfakta-ma* *uña* *käf- käf,*
squeak-squeak vice-ADJ finger crackle-crackle
silou-me *begdi* *ceŋceli,* *ku:ge-me*
roasting.spit-ADJ leg long bellows-ADJ
emugde *pukceli.*
belly swollen
'The eyes are green like (green) beads, the arms squeak like pincers, the fingers crackle like a vice, the legs are long like roasting spits, the belly is swollen like bellows' (K 104)

c. *mäna-ma* *zaka*
flour-ADJ new.snow
'new snow like flour'

d. *oñokto-mo* *sata*
sand-ADJ sugar
'granulated sugar'

Cf. also *c'a-ma* 'white (of hair)' and *c'a-ligi* 'white'.

A base noun within an adjective derived with the suffix *-mA* may sometimes act as the head of its own phrase.

(303) a. *Bi* *uli-e-mi* *niŋka* *seule-me* *tege-we.*
me sew-PAST-1SG Chinese silk-ADJ gown-ACC
'I have made a gown of Chinese silk.'

b. *Gaŋa* *sele-me* *tada-zi* *gakpa:-ni.*
hard iron-ADJ arrow-INST shoot.PAST-3SG
'He shot with a steel arrow.' (SK 232)

However, periphrastic constructions are typically preferred in this case, such as, for example, the relative clause.

(304) *Bi gada:-mi* *kusige-we* *aja* *gaŋa-zi*

me buy.PAST-1SG knife-ACC good steel-INST
wo-so-wo.
make-PP.PAS-ACC
'I have bought a knife made of good steel.'

6.4.1.2.2. Proprietive adjectives with the suffix *-xi*

The suffix *-xi* derives denominal adjectives, normally with a proprietive meaning. As discussed in 4.3.1, the same suffix derives the Proprietive forms of nouns, which also has some adjectival properties but demonstrates a lesser degree of adjectivization. As distinct from the Proprietive forms of nouns, in the proprietive adjectives the original meaning of possession is typically preserved only metaphorically, and the adjective simply denotes certain abstract features.

(305)	*meje-xi*	'clever'	*meje*	'mind'
	kui-xi	'strong'	*kui*	'strength'
	xu-xi	'rotten'	*xu:*	'smell'
	unugu-xi	'ill'	*unugu*	'illness'
	amta-xi	'tasty'	*amta*	'taste'
	zuge-xi	'on business'	*zuge*	'business'
	eke-xi	'idle'	*eke*	'(spare) time'
	kesi-xi	'lucky'	*kesi*	'luck'
	saŋa-xi	'with holes'	*saŋa*	'hole'
	gebu-xi	'honored'	*gebu*	'honor'

As distinct from the Proprietive form of nouns, proprietive adjectives behave completely like other qualificative adjectives: they may be modified by degree adverbs (6.3.1), take the Plural suffix *-ŋku* and participate in comparative and superlative constructions. Further, these two types of forms are negated in different ways: the Proprietive forms of nouns are negated by means of the Partitive negative construction (23.2.1.5.4); while the proprietive adjectives are negated with the negative verb *e-* and the Habitual copula *bie* (23.2.1.5.3).

The nominal Proprietive forms are here glossed as PROP, while proprietive adjectives are glossed as ADJ (derived adjectives), although the border between the two is obviously not always clear-cut.

6.1.4.2.3. Adjectives with the suffix *-(n'A)u(se)*

The suffix in question has several phonetic variants illustrated below. Its general meaning is 'rich in'; i.e. it expresses to a large extent the possession of an object expressed by the base word. In this function it is fairly productive.

(306)	a.	*zolo-n'ouse*	'stony'	*zolo*	'stone'
		kada-n'ause	'rocky'	*kada*	'rock'
		sua-n'ause	'teeming with fleas'	*sua*	'flea'
		kumuge-n'euse	'teeming with lice'	*kumuge*	'louse
		koto-n'ouse	'scabby, mangy'	*koto*	'bald'
		ikte-n'euse	'with large teeth'	*ikte*	'tooth'
	b.	*oñokto-use*	'sandy'	*oñokto*	'sand'
	c.	*amba-n'au*	'hellish'	*amba*	'evil spirit'
		ogzo-n'ou	'hellish'	*ogzo*	'evil spirit'

ugbe-n'eu	'with shoals' (SK 165)	*ugbe*	'shoal'

Some words derived with the suffix in question denote a negative or unusual feature (for example, an unusual appearance), cf. the homonymous suffix employed in the deverbal derivation (6.4.1.4.1).

(307)	*jagdugu-n'euse*	'wearing spectacles'	*jagdugu*	'spectacles'
	guakta-n'ause	'with a beard'	*guakta*	'beard'
	unugu-n'ause	'sickly'	*unugu*	'sickness'
	lawa-n'ause	'failing'	*lawa*	'failure'
	pöŋgo-n'ouse	'with pits'	*pöŋgo*	'pit'
	ami-kt'a-use	'sleepy headed'	*amai*	'sleepy'
	kakt'a-use	'with a harelip'	*kakta*	'a half'

Examples are:

(308)	*ogzo-n'ou ba:*	'a hellish place'	
	we: kada-n'ausa-ni	'rocky hill'	
	wokto-n'ousa biga	'grassy clearing'	
	kada-n'ausa we:	'rocky hill'	
	on'okt'o-usa bugasa	'sandy island'	
	zolo-n'ousa bugasa	'stony island'	
	jata-n'ou ikte-ni	'baby tooth'	cf. *jata-si-* 'give birth'

6.4.1.3. De-adverbial derivation.

6.4.1.3.1. Temporal adjectives with the suffix *-fi/-pti*

This suffix forms a closed class of adjectives from adverbs that mostly have a temporal (including a calendar) meaning.

(309)	*eine-fi*	'today's'	*eineŋi*	'today'	
	timana-fi	'tomorrow's'	*timana*	'tomorrow'	
	tine-fi	'yesterday's'	*tine-neŋi*	'yesterday'	
	neki-fi	'spring's'	*neki*	'spring'	
	ali-fi	'from when'	*ali*	'when'	
	zulie-fi	'former'	*zulie*	'in front'	
	tama-fi	'last year's'	*tamati*	'yesterday'	
	bolo-i-fi	'autumn's'	*bolo*	'autumn'	*ana-fi*
	'former, ancient'	*anana*	'before, in the past'		

Three more adjectives derived according to this pattern have a non-temporal meaning.

(310)	*ono-fi*	'what kind'	*ono*	'how'
	utebe-fi	'such'	*utebe*	'so'
	bu:-fi	'resembling'	cf. *bubu*	EV

The variant of the suffix in question, *-pti~-kti*, is only attested for some words, where it freely alternates with *-fi* (311). It is characteristic of the Northern dialect (Sunik 1968: 219) and seems

to have a Nanai or Ulcha origin (cf. the Ulcha suffix *-pti* and the Nanai *-pči* with the same meaning).

(311) *ana-pti ~ ana-kti ~ ana-fi* ‘former, ancient’
tine-pti ~ tine-kti ~ tine-fi ‘yesterday’s’

6.4.1.3.2. Locational adjectives with the suffix *–(u)xe*

This suffix derives a closed class of adjectives from adverbial stems with a spatial meaning.

(312)	*amä-uxe*	‘the last’	*amä*	‘back’
	a-uxe	‘located here’	*a-uxi*	‘here(LAT)’
	xegie-uxe	‘low’	*xegie-ni*	‘bottom’
	do-uxe	‘inner’	*do:-ni*	‘inner side’
	ezie-uxe	‘downstream’	*ezi-nu*	‘downstream’
	ño:-xo, ño-uxe	‘first, forward’	*ño:-i-*	‘go forward’
	ojo-uxe	‘located on the surface’	*ojo-ni*	‘surface’
	zule-uxe	‘first’	*zulie-du*	‘in front DAT)’
	solo-uxe	‘upper (up the stream)’	*solo-zo*	‘upper side’
	uje-uxe	‘upper’	*uje-ze*	‘top, upper side’
	wei-xe	‘upper’ (SKX 324)	*we-ixi*	‘on the surface LAT)’
	bagä-uxe	‘located on the opposite side’	*bagä*	‘the opposite side’
	die-uxe	‘far from the river’ bank	*ie-ze*	‘place far from the bank’

6.4.1.4. Deverbal derivation

The deverbal adjective derivation is atypical and non-productive: there are only a few examples.

6.4.1.4.1. Adjectives with the suffix *-(n’A)use*

The suffix in question forms denominal (6.4.1.2.3) and deverbal adjectives expressing personal qualities that are negative or deviate from the «norm». The derived adjectives usually have witty or condescending connotations. They are often substanitvized. The suffix has several phonological variants: *-n’Ause, ’-use, -use.*

(313)	*soŋo-n’ouse*	‘whining’	*soŋo-*	‘cry’
	sokto-n’ouse	‘heavy drinking’	*sokto-*	‘get drunk’
	sulä-n’ause	‘cunning’	*sulä-*	‘dodge’
	zomi-n’euse	‘being a thief’	*zomi-*	‘steal’
	cemne-n’euse	‘gossipy’	*cemne-*	‘gossip’
	oŋmo-n’ouse	‘forgetful’	*oŋmo-*	‘forget’
	xeŋme-n’euse	‘eating greedily’	*xeŋme-*	‘eat greedily’

For the following words the corresponding suffix has the form *(')-use* with the laryngealization of the stem-final non-high vowel.

(314)	*gänd'a-use*	'lazy, idle'	*gända-*	'be lazy'
	ŋel'e-use	'cowardly'	*ŋele-*	'be afraid'
	zomi-use	'being thief'	*zomi-*	'steal'
	mud'a-use	'separated (spouse)'	*muda-*	'pass, finish'

Examples of noun phrases where the adjective is prenominal and postnominal are:

(315)	a.	*gänd'a-use in'ei*	'a lazy dog' <lazy-ADJ dog>
	b.	*in'ei gänd'a-use-ni*	'a lazy dog' <dog lazy-ADJ-3SG>

6.4.1.4.2. Adjectives with the suffix *-mA*

A frequent adjectival suffix *-mA* (6.4.1.2.1) seems able to derive certain adjectives from verbs.

(316)	*xuili-me*	'boiling'	*xui-*	'boil'
	zegdeli-me	'burning' (K 180)	*zegde-*	'burn'
	kuai-ma	'log (Adjective)'	*kua-*	'cut, make a frame'

6.4.1.5. Rare adjectival suffixes

In this section we list the suffixes of adjectival derivation that are only represented by a few examples:

-mu:i

sigdi-mu:i 'angry' (cf. *sigdi b'a-* 'to be angry'), *kogo-mu:i* 'thirsty', *a-mu:i* 'sleepy' (cf. the Desiderative verbal affix *-mu:i-* (8.2.3.1)), *sata-mu:i* 'sweet' (sata 'sugar'), *s'ai-mu:i* 'salty' (*s'ai* 'salt');

-gdig'a

uli-gdig'a, ala-gdig'a 'nice, beautiful' (cf. Nanai *ule:n* 'nice');

-ktA

sagdi-kte 'enormous' (*sagdi* 'big, old'), *aja-kta* 'very nice, the nicest' (aya 'good, nice'), *eje-kte* 'fast-flowing' (of the river)' (cf. *eje-* 'flow');

-(')Au, -u

sagd-'au 'old (of animals, trees)', for example: *sagd-'au soŋgo* 'old bear' (*sagdi* 'big, old'), *käba-u* 'narrow (of a place)' (cf. *käba-si-* 'throttle, strangle'), *bogis-'ou* 'terrorized' (*bogisi-* 'terrorize');

-ŋtu

kakca-ŋtu 'orange, brown' (cf. *kakca-mpa(ma)* 'orange, brown');

-mpA(mA)

kakca-mpa(ma) 'orange, brown' (cf. *kakca-ŋtu* 'orange, brown');

-mi

wani-mi 'long' (cf. *wani-la-ni* 'length'), *dä-mi* 'thick' (cf. *dä-la-ni* 'thickness'); the adjectives formed with this suffix take the Plural marker *-ŋku* with the change of the final vowel into */ä/* (see 6.1.2.1.1);

-xiktu

degbe-xiktu 'wet' (*degbe-* 'get wet'), *saŋa-xiktu* 'holey' (*saŋa* 'hole'); apparently the suffix *-xiktu* is a compound and consists of the adjectival affix *-xi* (6.4.1.2.2) and the marker of the Resultative Participles *-ktu* (7.5.1.4);

-i:/*-i* (*-ihi* in Schneider 1936 and Kormušin 1998)
sagdi 'big' (cf. *sagda-ŋi-* 'get old'), *xaŋkani:* 'stuffy' (cf. *xaŋka-* 'suffocate'), *bubu-i* 'similar' (cf.*bubu* 'like');

-ti
omo-ti 'same, similar' (cf. *omo* 'one'), *amä:-ti* 'last' (*amä:-* 'behind, back') (SK 101);

-mti
gugda-mti 'very high' (*gugda* 'high'); *zulie-mti* 'front, fore-' (cf. *zulie-ni* 'in front of' (cf. the homonymous suffix on nouns which may be the result of substantivation of adjectives in 5.1.3.1.5);

-ptigi
kumte-ptigi 'turned upside down' (cf. *kumte-* 'turn over'), *be-ptigi* 'similar' (cf. *bede* 'like');

6.4.2. Zero-derivation

Typical cases of conversion (adjectivization) are participle-to-adjective conversion and noun-to-adjective conversion.

6.4.2.1. Participle-to-adjective conversion

6.4.2.1.1. Resultative Participles

Certain Resultative Participles derived with the suffix *-ktu* (7.5.1.4) are adjectivized. As distinct from the base participle, the resulting adjective can be modified by degree adverbials (for example, *c'o* 'most', *belem* 'even more') and head a comparative adjective phrase. Adjectives derived through conversion are:

(317)	*koŋo-ktu*	'lean, thin'	*ŋele-ktu*	'fearful, timid'
	ña-ktu	'rotten'	*sokto-ktu*	'drunk'
	soŋo-ktu	'crying, whining'		

Examples:

(318) a. *Bi soŋo-ktu sita-i susa:-ni.*
me whine-RES son-1SG escape.PAST-3SG
'My whining son ran away.'

b. *Ei ni: koŋo-ktu, gagda ni:*
this man thin-RES another man
belem koŋo-ktu.
even thin-RES
'This man is thin, that other man is even thinner.'

6.4.2.1.2. Active participles

Certain adjectives seem to result from the historical conversion of Present active participles in *-i* (7.5.1.1.1).

(319)	*xeku-i*	‘hot’	cf. *xeku-si-*	‘warm oneself’
	ñama-i	‘warm’	cf. *ñama-si-*	‘warm’
	su:le-i	‘ill’	cf. *su:le-*	‘be ill’

6.4.2.2. Noun-to-adjective conversion

Adjectives with the suffix *-(gdu)gu* are the result of the adjectivization of nouns derived with the nominal suffixes *-gdugu, -gdigA* (5.1.2.10) and *-(u)gu* (5.1.2.8).

(320)	*ñä-gdugu*	‘stinking’	*ñä-*	‘to rot’
	ŋele-gdugu	‘timid, fearful’	*ŋele-*	‘to fear’
	ñuktu-gu	‘moist’	*ñuktu-*	‘get wet’

Besides, nouns derived from other nouns and verbs by means of the suffix *-ŋku, -ŋkA* (5.1.1.4) can also undergo adjectivization.

(321)	*diga-ŋku*	‘greedy’	*diga-*	‘eat’
	sulä-ŋku	‘clumsy’	*sule-*	‘be ill’
	degde-ŋku	‘jolly’	*degde-*	‘rise’
	egde-ŋke	‘strange, sly’	*egde-*	‘wonder’
	sebze-ŋke	‘interesting, jolly’	*sebu-*	‘wonder’
	ño:- ŋku	‘first’	*ño-*	‘be in front’
	ŋelie-ŋku	‘timid’ (SK 674)	*ŋelie-*	‘be afraid’

6.4.2.3. Infinitive-to-adjective conversion

At least one adjective is derived through conversion from the Desiderative Infinitive in *-mugdi* (7.5.6.2):

(322)	*(i)ñe-mugdi*	‘funny’	*iñe-*	‘laugh’

The example below illustrates this adjective in the attributive function.

(323)	*Imasi-je*	*min-du*	*imaŋku*	*ñemugdi-we-ni.*
	tell-IMP.2SG	me-DAT	tale	funny-ACC-3SG
	‘Tell me a funny tale.’			

6.4.4. Compounding

Compounds are transitional in character between a syntactic phrase and a lexical element. There are two major types of compound adjectives in Udihe: compounds with semantically light adjectives, and compounds with the copula.

6.4.4.1. Compounds with semantically light adjectives

Compounds of this type are stable lexicalized expressions that consist of a noun (sometimes in a possessive form) and semantically light (quantifying) adjectives. The following adjectives

participate in such a compound: *maŋga* ‘strong, very much’, *zas’a* ‘light’, *egdi* ‘many’.

(324)	*zä:(-ni) maŋga*	‘expensive’	*zä:*	‘money’
	zä:(-ni) zas’a	‘cheap’		
	tama(-ni) zas’a	‘cheap’	*tama*	‘price’
	kui(-ni) maŋga	‘strong’	*kui*	‘strength’
	egdeŋke maŋga	‘cunning’	*egdeŋke*	‘cunning’
	mäwa(-ni) maŋga	‘angry’ (K 260)	*mäwa*	‘heart’
	meje egdi	‘clever, intelligent’	*meje*	‘mind’
	meje(-ni) ge:	‘angry’ (SK 87)		
	meje(-ni) mejeku	‘stubborn’ (SK 252)		

Within the compound the noun must precede the adjective, which behaves morphologically and syntactically like a regular simple adjective, cf.:

(325) a. *Ei tege zä:-ni maŋga-la-da.*
this gown money-3SG strong-ADJ-FOC
‘This gown is very expensive.’

b. *Ei tege zas’a, ta-uxi tege zä:-ni maŋga bi-s’e.*
this gown cheap that-LAT gown money-3SG strong be-PERF
‘This gown is cheap, that gown was expensive.’

c. *Si kui ketu maŋga, bi sin-digi kui egdi bi-mi.*
you strength.2SG very strong me you-ABL strength much be-1SG
‘You are very strong, (but) I am stronger than you.’

d. *Nua-ni meje-ni egdi.*
he-3SG mind-3SG much
‘He is clever.’

In the following examples the adjective *egdi* precedes the noun.

(326) a. *seuni: egdi tama-ni tege-ni*
scary much price-3SG gown-3SG
‘a very expensive gown’ (SK 861)

b. *wac’a tama*
little price
‘cheap’ (SK 861)

6.4.4.2. Copular compounds

As mentioned above, copular compounds consist of a content element and the copula verb *bi-* ‘be’ (sometimes also *ede-* ‘become’) in the corresponding form. The content element may be: (i) certain simple adverbs (6.4.4.2.1); (ii) bound adjectives derived with certain suffixes (6.4.4.2.2); or (iii) ideophonic adverbs (6.4.4.2.3). The content element within the copular compounds is morphologically unchangeable. It does not take a Plural, case, or possessive marker, and cannot

be separated from the copula by other words. However, some of them can undergo raising and be used without a copula after the head nominal (24.2.2.1.3).

6.4.4.2.1. Copular compounds with adverbs

The following are compound adjectives that include a simple adverb as the first component:

(327)	*bei bi-*	'simple'	*bei*	'in vain'
	ono bi-	'what kind'	*ono*	'how'
	täsi bi-	'full'	*täsi*	'very, much'
	do: bi-	'close (of relatives)'	*do:-*	'inside'
	tue bi-	'winter (of a skin)'	*tue*	'(in) winter'
	zua bi-	'summer (of a skin)'	*zua*	'(in)summer'

Cf. also *ute bi-* 'such' (*ute* 'that') and *dulaŋki-le bi-* 'middle (among siblings)' (SK 66).

6.4.4.2.2. Copular compounds with derived adjectives

Adjectives derived with the suffixes *-li* and *-ñAñA(ñA)* are not used independently and occur only within copular compounds.

(i) The suffix *–li* (sometimes also *-lʲ*) is synonymous to *-ligi* (6.4.1.1.3), but is less frequent. It derives the following adjectives found within the copular compounds.

(328)	*pa-li*	'black'	cf. *pa-m*	'black'
	nepte-li	'flat'	*nepte*	'flat'
	xuŋne-li	'pale'		
	kokčilʲ	'curly'	cf. *kokči-ligi*	'curly'
	sembe-li	'with holes, sparse'	cf. *sembedeu*	'with holes'
	seze-li	'shaggy'	cf. *seze-m*	'shaggy'
	ze:-li	'middle (sized)'	cf. *ze:*	'middle'
	egdeŋe-li	'cunning'	*egdeŋe*	'interesting, strange'

(ii) The suffix *–ñAñA(ñA)* has the following variants: *-ñeñe, -ñaña* (often pronounced as *-ñäñä*), *-ñoño* (often pronounced as *-ñöñö)*, and *-ñeñeñe* (the most emphatic variant). The distribution of these variants basically depends on vowel harmony (3.3). However, the variant *-ñoño* seems to have been generalized and can replace other variants conditioned by the harmony. This suffix is an example of partial reduplication, and is very expressive (like most reduplications). It describes a situation when certain external features of an object are present to a great degree. It can be added to practically all stems denoting colors (329b) and in this sense it is productive.

(329)	a.	*kede-ñeñe*	'(very) stripy'	*kede-ligi*	'stripy'
		bakči-noño	'(very) wrinkled'	*bakča-m*	'wrinkled'
		logbo-ñoño	'(very) thick (of fur)'	*logbo-logbo*	'shaggy'
		seze-ñeñe	'shaggy'	*seze-m*	'shaggy'
		kölo-ñoño	'trodden'	*kölo-kölo*	'very smooth'
		igbe-ñeñe-	'soft'	*cf. igbe-ne-*	'soften a skin'
		ŋafu-ñeñe	'dense, thick'	*ŋafu- ŋafu*	'bearded'

	čili-neñe	‘smooth, flat (of a road)’		
b.	*xo-ñoño*	‘bright yellow’	*xo-lo*	‘yellowish’
	c’a-ñoño	‘dazzling white’	*ca-ligi*	‘white’
	xuta-ñoño	‘bright red’	*xuta-ligi*	‘red’
	pa-ñoño	‘absolutely black’	*pa-ligi*	‘black’
	duŋma-ñaña	‘pink’	*duŋma-la*	‘pink’
	kökto-ñoño	‘raven-black’		

The suffix *-ñAñAñA* is an expressive variant of *-ñAñA* with the reduplication of the last syllable. Some examples are:

(330) a. *Odo* *dili-ni* *tala-ñAñAñA* *bie.*
grandfather head-3SG bald-ADJ be.PRES.HAB
‘Grandfather’s head is (completely) bald.’ (SK 857)

b. *Bua* *kiau-ñañaña.*
place clear-ADJ
‘The sky is very clear.’ (SK 179)

6.4.4.2.3. Copular compounds with ideophonic adverbs

On the derivation and semantics of ideophones see 10.1.3.2; a list is given in Chapter 26. Ideophones mostly function as verbal modifiers (10.1.3.2.3) and as predicates (17.2.2.6). In the attributive function they are very rare, although not impossible. Attributive ideophones either behave as a compound adjective, that is, are accompanied by the copula verb (331), or as a single adjective (332). In the latter case they do not undergo raising and do not take the Plural inflection.

(331) a. *ŋene-i,* *ŋene-i,* *ŋene-i,* *omo* *pöloi*
go-PRP go-PRP go-PRP one trodden
bi: *xokto-wo* *b’a-ni* *sikie.*
be.PRP road-ACC find.PAST-3SG evening
‘(She) went (by and by) and in the evening she found a trodden path.’

b. *Logbo-logbo* *osi-gi-e-ni*
bent-bent become-REP-PAST-3SG
mamaka-la *iŋ-ki-ni.*
old.woman-LOC enter-PAST-3SG
‘He came to a very bent old woman.’ (SKX 150)

c. *Sagdi* *ag’a-ti* *teluŋu-si-li-e-ni*
big elder.brother-3PL story-V-INC-PAST-3SG
čiŋdem *bih* *mamaka*
thin.waisted be.PRP old.woman
xuli-se:-me-ni.
walk-EXP.PP-ACC-3SG
‘The oldest brother started telling that an old woman with a very thin waist had come.’ (SK 1012)

(332) a. *čif-čif* *tege*
wet-wet gown
‘a gown that is wet through’

b. *Bi* *se:-mi* *we:* *kei-kei-we-ni.*

me ee.PAST-1SG hill steep-steep-ACC-3SG
'I saw a very steep hill.'

c. *bakčam* *anta*
wrinkled.faced woman
'a woman with a wrinkled face'

d. *Zuke* *zuke* *kei-kei* *wo:-tigi*
hardly hardly steep-steep mountain-LAT
tukti-e-mi.
climb-PAST-1SG
'I barely climbed the steep mountain.'

e. *čik-čik* *bo:lo-n(i)* *di:ŋki-ni*
tiny-tiny bird-3SG size-3SG
'as large as a small bird'

f. *waŋter-waŋter* *bugdi-ni*
bow.legged-bow.legged leg-3SG
'his bow legs'

g. *Kiai-kiai* *sigbo-lo* *tukti-e-ti.*
steep-steep cape climb-PAST-3PL
'They climbed a very steep cape.' (SKX 326)

Chapter 7
Verbal morphology

This chapter deals with the inflectional and derivational categories of the verb. The inflectional verb forms are divided into finite and non-finite forms. The former may express independent predication, whereas the latter are only found in an embedded clause. Formally, both finite and non-finite forms may be either analytic or synthetic. The synthetic forms are derived by adding a suffix to one of the verbal stems. The analytic forms include a content verb and a copula element (normally the auxiliary verb *bi-* 'be'), and both of these are inflected in some way.

Udihe verbs oppose the Indicative and the five non-Indicative moods. Indicative forms express a further aspectual opposition of the General, Habitual, and Progressive aspects, for each of which several temporal categories exist. Inflectional forms are marked for subject agreement (15.1.1.2) and distinguish between two numbers (Singular and Plural) and three persons (1st, 2nd, and 3rd). Exclusive and inclusive forms are distinguished for the 1st person Plural. Non-finite verbal forms comprise participles, converbs, and infinitives. The synthetic finite forms are built according to the following morphological pattern:

(333) stem – (derivational affixes, valence changing affixes) – tense/mood – person/number

In some forms the plural affix precedes the tense/mood marker (7.2).

All inflectional verbal forms are negated by means of the negative auxiliary verb *e-*, which takes a particular inflectional form, and is followed by the content verb. The normal word order is for the copula 'be' in the analytic forms to follow the content verb; however, the negative auxiliary usually precedes it.

Sections 7.1–7.5 describe the formal aspects of verbal inflection: the types of verbal stem and inflections, and the formation of particular inflectional categories, both finite and non-finite. In section 7.6 we present paradigms illustrating verbal inflectional morphology. Sections 7.7–7.10 deal with the functions of the verbal inflectional categories.

7.1. Verbal stems

Verbs belong to one of the two major morphonological groups, class I and class II. Class I verbs have a vowel-final root, whereas the root of class II verbs is consonant-final (normally ending in *-n*). The majority of verbs belong to class I.

All verbal synthetic forms are derived from one of three stems: the Present stem, the Past stem, or the Perfect stem, the formation of which differs for class I and class II verbs. The Present stem is the bare form, and coincides with the verbal root. The other two stems have a morphologically more complex form, and were historically derived from the Present stem (the verbal root). The Past stem added the suffix **-sa-* (> Udihe *hA*), the Perfect stem the suffix **-ka-* (> Udihe *'A*). In the modern language the derivational relations are not clearly apparent because verbs no longer form their Past and Perfect stems in such a uniform way. Thus it is more convenient to discuss the three stems separately. A list of synthetic verbal forms, together with the type of stem on which they are based, is given below:

(334)

Present stem	Past stem	Perfect stem
Present	Past	Perfect
Future	active Past Participle	Perfective Converb
Permissive	Intensive	(SS forms)
Imperative		
Conditional		
Subjunctive		
Present Participle		
Future Participle		
Passive Participles		
Destinative Participle		
Resultative Participle		
most converbs		
Infinitives		
Derivational forms		

The bare Present stem is also used as the form of the content verb that is combined with the negative auxiliary in the negative conjugation, although it may be augmented by derivational affixes (Chapter 8).

7.1.1. Present stem

Examples of Present stems:

(335)

Class I verbs		Class II verbs	
etete-	'work'	*dian-(a-)*	'say'
olokto-	'cook'	*ujan-(a-)*	'float, swim'
zawa-	'take, grab'	*ŋelewen-(e-)*	'frighten'
umi-	'drink'	*gun-(e-)*	'say'
bu-	'give'	*in-(e-)*	'come'
tukä:-	'run'	*gulin-(e-)*	'leave'
dogdi-	'hear'		

7.1.1.1. Class I verbs

The Present stem is identical to the verbal root, which is always vowel-final for class I verbs. Generally, all vowels are possible stem-finally, although stems ending in a long or laryngealized vowel are infrequent. Verbs whose stem ends in a *u*-final vowel cluster exhibit the usual alternation discussed in 3.2.3. The syllable-final /*u*/ that occurs before a consonant is realized as /*u*/, while syllable-initially, before a vowel, it appears as the consonant /*w*/: *deu-mi* 'I get tired' <get.tired-1SG>, but *dew-u-i* 'one gets tired' <get.tired-PAS-PRP>.

7.1.1.2. Class II verbs

Class II verbs have a consonant-final root. The most common root-final consonant is /*n*/. In most forms based on the Present stem the root-final consonant /*n*/ is obligatorily followed by an epenthetic vowel *A* (/*a*/, /*o*/, or /*e*/, depending on vowel harmony, see 3.3). Among the forms derived from the Present stem the following require an epenthetic vowel after the root-final consonant for class II verbs:

(336)	form	example	
	Present and Present Participle	*dian-a-mi*	'I say'
	Imperative	*dian-a-je*	'say'
	Conditional	*dian-a-muse-i*	'if I say'
	Purposive Converb	*dian-a-laga-i*	'so that I say'
	Resultative Participle	*dian-a-ktu*	'said'
	Destinative Participle	*dian-a-kči*	'meant for saying'
	Imperfective Converb	*dian-a-ŋie-i*	'when I was saying'
	Perfective Converb	*dian-a-isi*	'after I said'
	Infinitive	*dian-a-mi*	'saying'
	Desiderative Infinitive	*dian-a-mugdi*	'wanting to say'
	Causative and most derivational forms	*dian-a-wan-*	'cause to say'
	bare verbal stem with the negative verb	*dian-a*	

However, the following forms of class II verbs are derived from the Present stem without the presence of an epenthetic vowel:

(337)	form	example	
	Future and Future Participle	*dian-zaŋa-i*	'I will say'
	Permissive	*dian-ta-mi*	'I will say perhaps'
	Subjunctive	*dian-za-i*	'I might say'

As follows from (336) and (337), an epenthetic vowel is inserted to prevent impossible biconsonantal clusters (such as *ŋj, nw, nm, nŋ*) or a cluster of three consonants (3.2.1). It is also present in the bare stem combined with the negative verb, since the Udihe word cannot normally end in a consonant (3.1.1). The epenthetic vowel is absent if the cluster which appears as a result of the suffixation of the *n*-stem is allowed by phonotactic rules (such as *nz* and *nt*).

It should be noted, however, that although the system described above is motivated from the phonotactic point of view and is reflected in Schneider's (1936) materials, some of our informants insisted on the epenthetized forms of the class II verbs in all cases. For such speakers, the epenthetic vowel *A* appears even if the potential consonant cluster is otherwise acceptable, so the Future, Permissive, and Subjunctive forms of the verb *dian-* are *dian-a-zaŋa-i, dian-a-ta-mi,* and *dian-a-za-i*, respectively. This clearly reflects an analogous tendency in verbal inflection, when class II verbs tend to move into class I and the epenthetic vowel is reanalyzed as part of the stem. In such cases we will hereafter place the epenthetic vowel *A* in brackets.

7.1.1.3. Old class II verbs

Schneider (1936) also cites a few class II verbs that end in a consonant other than /*n*/. According to his description, such verbs attach the thematic syllable *-dA-*/*-tA-* when deriving the Present

stem (but not other stems). For example, *nag-da-* is the Present stem of the verb *nag-* ‘get in, reach’ (cf. the Past stem *nak-ki-*); *bap-ta-* is the Present stem of the verb *bap-* ‘understand’ (cf. the Past form *bak-pi-* < *bap-ki-*). In the modern language, however, these verbs belong to the morphonological class I, since the old thematic syllable *-dA-/-tA-* has undergone inclusion into the root and at present appears in all verbal forms, not only those that are based on the Present stem. So in the modern language we deal with vowel-final class I verbs *nagda-, bapta-*.

7.1.2. Past stem

7.1.2.1. Class I verbs

For class I verbs the Past stem is derived from the Present stem by lengthening the non-high stem-final vowel: /*a*/ → /*a:*/, /*o*/ → /*o:*/, /*e*/ → /*e:*/, /*ä*/ → /*ä:*/. This sound change developed historically as a compensatory lengthening after the loss of the pharyngeal /*h*/ (2.1.2). The pharyngeal was present within the Past marker of the class I verbs *-hA-* in the Northern dialect recorded by Schneider (1936) and Kormušin (1998). Thus, the Past stems attested by Schneider are, for example, the following: *etete-he-* for the verb *etete-* ‘work’, *olokto-ho-* for the verb *olokto-* ‘cook’, and *zawa-ha-* for the verb *zawa-* ‘take’.

Exceptions are the root-final high vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/. The vowel /i/, in addition to lengthening, also shows a change in quality, and becomes a diphthongoid: /*i*/→ /*ie*/. The vowel /*u*/ does not lengthen, but the Past morph has the form *-o:-* after it: *u* + PAST → *uo*:. The verbal Present stems ending in a long or laryngealized vowel or a vowel cluster do not change in the Past, that is, for such verbs the Present and Past stems are identical to each other.

(338) Class I verbs

Present stem	Past stem
etete-	*etete:-*
olokto-	*olokto:-*
zawa-	*zawa:-*
umi-	*umi-e-*
dogdi-	*dogdi-e-*
bu-	*bu-o:-*
tukä:-	*tukä:-*

If the stem ends in a glide-final cluster, the glide is realized as a consonant in the onset position: *deu-* → *dew-o:-* <get tired-PAST>.

7.1.2.2. Class II verbs

Class II verbs form the Past stem with the element *-ki* added to the verbal *n*-final root, which causes assimilation of /*n*/ into velar /*ŋ*/ (see 2.2.3.4).

(339) Class II verbs

Present stem	Past stem
dian-(a)	*diaŋ-ki-*
ujan-(a)	*ujaŋ-ki-*
ŋelewen-(e)	*ŋeleweŋ-ki-*

In the modern language, especially in the dialect of Bikin, free variation is also possible: Past forms of the class II verbs can be heard that are derived in the same way as the Past of the class I verbs, that is, with the lengthening of the epenthetic vowel *-A-*, for example:

(340)

Present stem	Past stem		
in-e-	*ine:-*	~	*iŋ-ki-*
gun-e-	*gune:-*	~	*guŋ-ki-*
dian-a-	*diana:-*	~	*diaŋ-ki-*

In the Northern dialect the Past stem of class II verbs derived with *-ki* is more regular. In this dialect, the suffix *-ki* derives the Past stem even for some class I verbs, such as, for example, the class I verb *bude-* 'die', which has two Past stems in free variation: *buk-ki-* and *bude:-*. In the Bikin dialect only the regular forms such as *bude:-* are attested for the class I verbs. The Northern dialect has also preserved to a greater extent the peculiarities of the old class II verbs (7.1.1.3), so they can form the Past tense with the suffix *-ki-*, cf. the Northern *nag-da:-ni* and *nak-ki-ni* 'he reached' <reach-PAST-3SG>. The form *nak-ki-ni* is obsolete for the dialect of Bikin, although it is easily recognized by the speakers.

7.1.3. Perfect stem

7.1.3.1. Class I verbs

For most class I verbs the Perfect stem is formed from the Present stem through the laryngealization of the stem-final vowel: /*a*/ → /*'a*/, /*o*/ → /*'o*/, /*e*/ → /*'e*/, /*ä*/ → /*'ä*/. The final vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/ do not laryngealize; the suffix *-ge-* is instead attached after them:

(341) Class I verbs

Present stem	Perfect stem
etete-	*etet'e-*
zawa-	*zaw'a-*
olokto-	*olokt'o-*
tukä-	*tuk'ä-*
umi-	*umi-ge-*
dogdi-	*dogdi-ge-*
bu-	*bu-ge-*

7.1.3.2. Class II verbs

For the class II verbs the Perfect stem is formed by adding *-kA-* to the *n*-final root, which causes the assimilation of /*n*/ into /*ŋ*/:

(342) Class II verbs

Present stem	Perfect stem
dian-	*diaŋ-ka-*
ujan-	*ujaŋ-ka-*
ŋele-wen-	*ŋele-weŋ-ke-*

7.1.4. Irregular verbs (auxiliaries)

Two verbs exhibit irregular stem formation: the copula *bi-* 'be' and the negative auxiliary *e(i)-*. The Perfect and Past stem for these verbs are formed with an element *s* that goes back to the old **-s-* (the etymological source of the pharyngeal /*h*/ found within the old Past stem marker, see 7.1.2). The stem types of the irregular verbs are shown below:

(343)	'be'	negative auxiliary
Present stem	*bi-*	*e- , ei-*
Past stem	*bi-si-*	*e-si-*
Perfect stem	*bi-s'e-*	*e-s'e-*

For the negative verb the Present stem has two variations, *ei-* and *e-*. The stem *ei-* is used in some personal forms of the Present tense, and in the Infinitive. The element *-i-* here goes back to the regular Present tense marker also found in the 3rd person Present tense verbal inflection (7.2) and Present active participles (7.5.1.1.1). The stem *e-* is used for other forms that are based on the Present stem, and also for some Present tense personal forms (namely the 2nd Plural, the 3rd person, and the 1st Plural Exclusive).

Both auxiliary verbs also exhibit, in several other categories, stem patterns that are irregular. The verb *bi-* has the irregular Present Habitual *bie* (7.3.2.3). The form *bie* also functions as the stem that co-occurs with the negative auxiliary. The negative verb exhibits the irregular stem *ata-* in the Permissive and Subjunctive and the irregular Imperative (7.4.1). The irregular forms will be cited below when discussing the formation of inflectional categories.

It should be noticed that in the past the copula *bi-* could have a second stem *be-*. This can still be seen in the obsolete form *be-s'e* (Perfect) (SK 1091) and may be historically related to the postposition *bede* 'like'.

The negative copula *anči* is employed in negative constructions, mostly for existential negation (see Chapter 23) and is a component of several verbal compounds (8.3.3). It has the following temporal forms: *anči* for Present, *anči bi-s'e* or *anči bi-si-ni* for Past, *anči bi-zeŋe-ni* for Future, *anči bi-ze* for Subjunctive. In some contexts (23.2.2.2.3) it can take personal affixes; otherwise it does not express subject agreement. On its case forms see 4.3.2 and 23.2.2.2.3.

7.1.5. Functions of the bare verbal stems

The Present tense stem remains uninflected, first, when it follows the negative auxiliary verb (7.3.3.3), and second, in the continuative negative construction, when it co-occurs with the copula *ede-* 'become' (23.2.1.4). The bare Past stem coincides with the uninflected form of the Past active participle (7.5.1.1.2). The bare Perfect stem occurs in the periphrastic construction of alternating action (7.10.1). It also remains uninflected in the 3rd person Singular and Plural Perfect. Otherwise, all three verbal stems are always followed by at least one inflectional morpheme.

7.2. Personal inflections

7.2.1. Types of personal inflections

Depending on tense/mood categories, a verb can take six distinct series of subject agreement affixes. The following table presents personal affixes of each of the six paradigmatic types.

(344)		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
	1SG	*-mi*	*-mi*	*-i*	*-i*	*-mi*	-	
	2SG	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*	*-jA, -i*	
	3SG	*-ini, -ili*	∅	∅	*-ni*	*-ni*	-	
	1PL IN	*-fi*	*-fi*	*-ti*	*-fi*	*-fi*	-	1PL EX
	-u *-u-u*	*-u* *-mu*	-					
	2PL	*-u*	*-u*	*-u*	*-u*	*-u*	*-jAu*	3PL
	-iti	*-du* *-du*	*-ti*	*-ti*	-			

As (344) demonstrates, inflections of type VI exist only for the 2nd Singular and Plural, and differ significantly from the other types. They are used only in the Imperative. The 2nd Singular and 2nd Plural inflections are the same for types I through V, while other inflections vary according to the type. The type IV inflections are completely identical to the personal possessive affixes (4.1.4).

The 3rd person affixes *-ini* and *-ili* are free phonetic variations (cf. 2.2.4.3). Type I 3rd person Singular and Plural personal inflections begin with the vowel /*i*/. Historically, the vowel /*i*/ did not belong to the personal inflection and it does not show up with the same inflections *-ni* (3SG) and *-ti* (3PL) in type IV. It goes back to the Present Participle affix: *-i* is a regular marker of Present active participles (7.5.1.1.1). This indicates that the 3rd person Present forms originated as participles, although for the modern language we analyze the vowel /*i*/ as a part of the inflection. Note that the 3rd person Present tense forms are therefore formally indistinguishable from the Present active participles with the personal inflections of the 3rd Singular and Plural: *wakca-ini* 'he hunts' <hunt-3SG> and *wakca-i-ni* 'hunting' <hunt-PRP-3SG>, etc. However, for the Present active participle the suffix *-i-* is found in all persons and numbers and not only for the 3rd person (see 7.5.1.1.1) as for the Present tense finite forms. Thus, the whole Present tense paradigm cannot be completely associated with the participles, and only the 3rd person forms clearly have a participial origin.

7.2.2. Distribution of personal inflections

Each of the personal inflection types appears in a number of particular inflectional categories. This dependency is shown below.

(345)		
	Type I	Present
	Type II	Permissive, Subjunctive
	Type III	Perfect, Conditional
	Type IV	Future, Converbs, Present Participle, Future, Participle
	Type V	Past, Past Participle
	Type VI	Imperative

In a verbal form the tense/mood suffix or the marker of a certain non-finite form normally follows the stem immediately. Personal inflections usually occupy the rightmost position in the word, that is, they follow these affixes. The only exception is the 3rd person inflection *-du-* in the II and the III paradigmatic types which immediately follows the verbal stem and therefore precedes the tense/mood marker, or the marker of the non-finite form, for example, *etete-du-ze* 'let them work' <work-PL-SUBJ>. Moreover, for class I verbs ending in *-i* or *-u* whose Perfect stem is derived by the element *-ge-,* the 3rd Plural inflection *-du-* precedes this element *-ge-*. For example: *umi-du-ge* 'they have drunk' <drink-PL-PERF>.

Sometimes the 3rd person Singular inflection is absent in the Future: *bi-zeŋe* 'he will be' <be-FUT> (SK 1107), *e-zeŋe b'a-gi* 'will not find again' <NEG-FUT find-REP>.

7.3. Negative conjugation

The negative conjugation is periphrastic and can be formed in two alternative ways. First, most verbal categories are negated with the negative auxiliary verb *e(i)-* (7.1.4) in the corresponding temporal/aspectual/modal form followed by a bare Present stem of the matrix verb (see also 23.2). The negative verb *e-* appears in a morphological form that reflects the role of the predicate in the sentence. Secondly, for other categories the negative construction has three components: the negative verb in a certain form + the bare verbal stem + the copula verb 'be' in a corresponding tense. These two types do not duplicate the opposition synthetic/analytic.

The content verb appears as a bare stem or as a stem augmented by derivational affixes. It may also take the suffixes *-du-* in the Plural or the bound Plural word *getu*, although, like all other Plural markers, they are not obligatory. The stems of the negative verb are presented in (7.1.4) and its conjugation is exemplified in 7.6.

The examples below illustrate the different forms of the content verb in negative sentences: class I verbs (346), class II verbs for which the *n*-final stem appears in the epenthesized form (347), and stems augmented by the Plural affix *-du* (348).

(346) a. *Bi* *ei-mi* *sa:.*
me NEG-1SG know
'I don't know.'

b. *Ine'i* *e-ini* *ŋene.*
dog NEG-3SG go
'The dog is not walking.'

(347) *Sin-tigi* *e-zeŋe-i* *dian-a.*
you-LAT NEG-FUT-1SG say-0
'I won't tell you.'

(348) *Nua-ti* *emne-de* *namun-tigi* *e-s'e* *xuli-du.*
he-3PL once-FOC sea-LAT NEG-PERF travel-PL
'They have not traveled to the sea even once.'

7.4. Formation of the Indicative tense/aspect forms

The non-Indicative verbal forms are described in section 7.4; this section deals with Indicative categories. The Indicative distinguishes three types of aspectual forms: the General aspect, the Progressive aspect, and the Habitual aspect. In each aspect several tense categories are possible. The resultative aspect is not completely grammaticalized, and therefore is not addressed here. It is rendered by means of a special copular construction (17.2.2.5). On derivational affixes with various aspectual meanings, see 8.2.2.

7.4.1. General aspect

General aspect indicative forms are synthetic, except for the analytic pluperfect.

7.4.1.1. Present

The Present tense does not have a special marker. It is formed by attaching type I personal

inflections to the Present stem. For class II verbs an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the stem and the personal inflections.

(349)	*wakca-mi*	'I hunt'	<hunt-1SG>
	wakca-u '	you hunt'	<hunt-2PL>
	wakca-ini	'he hunts'	<hunt-3SG>
	dian-a-mi	'I say'	<say-0-1SG>
	dian-a-u	'you say'	<say-0-2PL>

If the stem ends in /*i*/ or an *i*-final cluster, the 3rd person inflections lose their vowel /*i*/: *ekei-* 'stop' → *ekei-ni* (< *ekei-ini*) 'he stops' <stop-3SG>.

The Present tense forms are negated by the negative verb in the Present followed by the bare Present stem of the content verb: *ei-mi wakca, dian-a* 'I don't hunt, say' <NEG-1SG hunt, say-0>, *e-u wakca, dian-a* 'you (PL) don't hunt, say' <NEG-2PL hunt, say-0>, etc. Examples of the copular verb 'be' in the Present tense are *bi-mi* 'I am' <be-1SG> and *bi:-ni* 'he is' <he-3SG>; see 7.6 for the whole paradigm.

7.4.1.2. Past

Likewise, the Past tense is not indicated by a special suffix. It is formed from the Past stem by attaching type I personal inflections.

(350)	*wakca:-i*	'you hunted'	<hunt.PAST-2SG>
	wakca:-fi	'we hunted'	<hunt.PAST-1PL.IN>
	diaŋ-ki:	'you said'	<say.PAST-2SG>
	diaŋ-ki-fi	'we said'	<say.PAST-1PL.IN>

Class II verbs may also have alternative forms appearing as a result of analogy with class I verbs: *diana:-ni* 'he said' <say.PAST-3SG> (*-a-* is an epenthetic vowel that was reinterpreted as part of the stem and lengthened in the Past, like the stem-final vowels of the class I verbs).

In the negative conjugation a negative verb in the Past is followed by the bare Present tense stem of the content verb: *e-si-mi wakca, dian-a* <NEG-PAST-1SG hunt, say> 'I didn't hunt, say', *e-si-u wakca, dian-a* <NEG-PAST-2PL hunt, say> 'you didn't hunt, say', etc.

7.4.1.3. Perfect

The Perfect forms are based on the Perfect stem, which in this case is followed by type III inflections (351a). The 3rd person Plural follows a different pattern: for *i*- and *u*-final verbs the inflection *-du* precedes the marker of the Perfect stem *-ge* (351b). For the other class I verbs the personal inflection *-du* follows the Present stem (that is, the root-final vowel is not laryngealized as in the Perfect stem (351c). For the class II verbs the inflection *-du* follows the root and the epenthetic vowel *-A-* and precedes the marker of the perfect stem, which is *-ge* in this case (351d).

(351)	a.	*etet'e-i*	'I have worked'	<work.PERF-1SG>
		diaŋ-ka-i	'I have said'	<say-PERF-1SG>
	b.	*umi-du-ge*	'they have drunk'	<drink-PL-PERF>
		bu-du-ge	'they have given'	<give-PL-PERF>
	c.	*jexe-du*	'they have sung'	<sing-PL>

	wakca-du	'they have hunted'	<hunt-PL>
d.	*dian-a-du-ge*	'they have said'	<say-0-PL-PERF>
	i:n-e-du-ge	'they have entered'	<enter-0-PL-PERF>

The negative forms are derived with the Perfect of the negative verb and the bare present stem of the content verb: *e-s'e etete, dian-a* 'he has not worked, said' <NEG-PERF work, say-0>. The Perfect of the copula 'be' is formed from the stem *bi-s'e*, cf. *bi-s'e-du* 'they have been' <be-PERF-PL>.

7.4.1.4. Future

Future forms are derived from the Present stem with the future suffix *-zAŋA-* followed by IV type inflections. Class II verbs have an optional epenthetic vowel after the stem in the Future. Examples: *ŋua-zeŋe-fi* <sleep-FUT-1PL.IN>, *dian-(a)-zaŋa-fi* <say-0-FUT-1PL.IN> 'we (IN) will sleep, say'. The negative forms include the Future of the negative verb and the bare present stem of the content verb: *e-zeŋe-fi ŋua* 'we (IN) won't sleep' <NEG-FUT-1PL.IN sleep>.

7.4.1.5. Pluperfect

The Pluperfect is the only analytic tense in the General aspect Indicative. It is formed with the Past Participle of the content verb followed by the copula *bi-* (on the formation of the personal and impersonal Past Participles see 7.5.1.1.2). The Pluperfect may be formed in three different formal ways, which are in free variation and do not exhibit any apparent difference in meaning:

(i) impersonal Past Participle + copula in the Past

(352)	*umi-e bi-si-mi*	'I had drunk'	<drink-PP be-PAST-1SG>
	diaŋ-ka bi-si-ni	'he had said'	<say-PP be-PAST-3SG>
	camna: bi-si-mi	'I had broken'	<break.PP be-PAST-1SG>

(ii) impersonal Past Participle + copula in the Perfect

(353)	*umi-e bi-s'e-i*	'I had drunk'	<drink-PP be-PERF-1SG>
	diaŋ-ka bi-s'e	'he had said'	<say-PAST be-PERF>

(iii) personal Past Participle + copula in the 3rd person Perfect

(354)	*koŋko:-i bi-s'e*	'I had broken'	<break.PP-1SG be-PERF>
	koŋko:-ni bi-s'e	'he had broken'	<break.PP-3SG be-PERF>
	koŋko:-ti bi-s'e	'they had broken'	<break.PP-3PL be-PERF>

Thus, personal inflections attach either to the copula (in the Past or Perfect) or to the content verb (Past Participle). The 3rd person (uninflected) Perfect copula that remains unchanged for the whole paradigm is also attested for other analytic forms (see 7.3.2 and 7.3.3).

In the negative conjugation, the negative verb is in the Past or Perfect, and the content verb has the form of the Past Participle: *e-si-mi koŋko:* 'I hadn't broken' <NEG-PAST-1SG break.PP>, *e-s'e-i diaŋ-ka* 'you (SG) hadn't said' <NEG-PERF-2SG say-PP>, *e-s'e-i ise:* 'I hadn't seen' <NEG-PERF-1SG see.PP>, etc. The copula 'be', therefore, is replaced by the negative auxiliary.

7.4.2. Habitual aspect

Habitual forms are analytic. They follow this general schema: impersonal Present Participle + copula *bi-* in the corresponding tense. The Present Participle is derived from the Present stem with the suffix *-i-*, for example, *wakca-i* 'hunting' <hunt-PRP>, *dian-a-i* 'saying' <say-0-PRP> (for more details see 7.5.1.1.1). The participle does not take personal inflections in the Habitual, and only in the 3rd person Plural can the Plurality marker *-du* be added instead of the participial suffix *-i*: *wakca-du* 'hunting (PL)' <hunt-PL>, *dian-a-du* 'saying (PL)' <say-0-PL>. However, in functions other than Habitual *-i-* is obligatory for Present Participles in all inflectional forms, including the 3rd person Plural (see 7.5.1.1.1). In the Habitual the 3rd person Plural *getu* is sometimes used instead of the more regular *–du*.

(355) *Egdi ni: wan-a-mi ei ñoni getu* (or: *ñoni-du*).
many man swim-0-INF NEG can PL (or: can-PL)
'Many people cannot swim.'

7.4.2.1. Present Habitual

In the Present Habitual the copula verb *bi-* is either overtly present, or it is not. Typically, in the Present the copula *bi-* is omitted, thus Habitual Present forms are identical for all persons and numbers except for the 3rd person Plural: *bi wakca-i* 'I usually hunt' <me hunt-PRP>, *nua-ni wakca-i* 'he usually hunts' <he-3SG hunt-PRP>, *nua-ti wakca-du* 'they usually hunt' <he-3PL hunt-PL>. Less frequently (and especially in the Northern dialect) the Present Habitual in the Singular is expressed by a bare Present stem rather than the Present Participle.

(356) a. *Su: käu-käu calugo-won-o ima:-wa-da*
sun all-all melt-CAUS-0 snow-ACC-FOC
calugo-won-o okto-do bagdi-wen-e.
melt-CAUS-0 grass-FOC grow-CAUS-0
'The sun melts everything, it melts the snow, and it make the grass grow.' (K 124)

b. *Su:-de su:-ne.*
sun-FOC shine-V
'The sun is shining.' (K 122)

However, it is difficult to decide on the basis of the existing recordings of the Northern dialect whether such forms do indeed represent the bare verbal stem, or are just an erroneous recording of the regular Present Habitual ending in *-i*. After a vowel, the word-final *i* is very much reduced (like ^{i}), and can easily be missed.

Occasionally the Present Habitual forms may include the impersonal Habitual copula *bie* (see 7.3.2.3). In this case, the Present Habitual becomes analytic in the same way as other tenses in the Habitual aspect. Such forms are completely interchangeable with the non-analytic Present Habituals, for example, *nua-ni wakca-i* <he-3SG hunt-PRPR> and *nua-ni wakca-i bie* <he-3SG hunt-PRP be.PRES.HAB> are synonymous, and both mean 'he usually hunts'. The content verb may occasionally take personal suffixes in this case:

(357) *Sul'ai dian-a-ini bie uti.*
fox speak-0-PRP-3SG be.PRES.HAB this
'This is the fox speaking.' (K 158)

7.4.2.2. Past and Future Habitual

In the Past and Future the copula is not omitted (except for the negative forms, see below), and it takes personal agreement affixes. In the Past tense it can have the Past form, for example: *wakca-i bi-si-mi* 'I used to hunt' <hunt-PRP be-PAST-1SG>, *wakca-du bi-si-ti* 'they used to hunt' <hunt-PL be-PAST-3PL>. More often, however, it has the Perfect form: *wakca-i bi-s'e-i* 'I used to hunt' <hunt-PRP be-PERF-1SG>. The 3rd person Plural affix is attached to the content verb and not to the copula: *wakca-du bi-s'e* 'they used to hunt' <hunt-PL be-PERF>. Another example:

(358) *Anana* *udie* *soŋgo* *sita-wa-ni* *igisi-du* *bi-s'e.*
long.ago Udihe bear son-ACC-3SG keep-PL be-PERF
'The Udihe used to keep bear cubs (at home).'

A few marginal examples were also found in which both the participle and the copula take personal inflections.

(359) *Ag'a* *zugdi:* *wo-isi-ni* *bu* *belesi-u*
brother house.REF make-PC-3SG we help-1PL.EX
bi-s'e-u.
be-PERF-1PL.EX
'When my brother built a house, we helped him.'

In the Future the copula has the usual Future form (see 7.3.1.4), for example: *wakca-i bi-zeŋe-i* 'I will usually hunt' <hunt-PRP be-FUT-1SG>, *wakca-du bi-zeŋe-ti* 'they will usually hunt' <hunt-PL be-FUT-3PL>.

7.3.2.3. Irregular verbs

The copula verb *bi-* 'be' has special Habitual non-analytic impersonal forms in the Present and the Past. In the Present it has a special impersonal form *bie* 'there is/there are', which does not take agreement affixes. This form functions as an independent verb in some copular constructions (Chapter 17). It is also found within analytic verbal forms, where it substitutes for the regular (non-Habitual) Present tense of the verb 'be', for example, in the analytic Present Progressive (7.4.3), or Present Habitual (7.4.2.1). The Past Habitual of the verb 'be' is the impersonal form *bi-s'e* or *bie bi-s'e* 'used to be', while the Future Habitual has regular forms inflected for person and number such as *bie bi-zeŋe-ni* 'he will usually be' <be.PRP be-FUT-3SG>, etc. The form *bi-s'e* is in fact the bare Perfect stem of the verb 'be' (8.1.4), but it seems that for the Habitual copula the Past and the Perfect are neutralized: the form *(bie) bi-s'e* simply expresses past tense reference in the Habitual aspect.

In the negative conjugation in the Present tense the Negative stem *ei* (which in fact coincides with the Present Participle of the negative verb) is followed by the bare stem of the content verb: *ei eme* 'he does not usually come' <NEG come>, *ei ŋene-du* 'they do not usually go' <NEG go-PL>. In the Past and Future the negative verb *ei* is followed by the verbal stem and the Past (or Perfect) and the Future form, correspondingly, of the verb 'be': *ei wakca bi-si-mi* 'I did not usually hunt' <NEG hunt be-PAST-1SG>, *ei wakca bi-zeŋe-i* 'I will not usually hunt' <NEG hunt be-FUT-1SG>. An example of the negative Past Habitual follows:

(360) *Anana* *udie* *oño-mi* *ei* *ñoni* *bi-s'e,*
long.ago Udihe write-INF NEG can be-PERF

taŋi-mi-de *ei* *ñoni* *bi-s'e.*
read-INF-FOC NEG can be-PERF
'Earlier the Udihe could neither write nor read.'

7.4.3. Progressive aspect

Progressive forms are also analytic. They include the Infinitive of the content verb that has the suffix *-mi* (see 7.6.3.1), and the copula *bi-* inflected for the corresponding tense (Present, Past, or Future) and agreement.

7.4.3.1. Present Progressive

In the Present the copula is usually omitted, although this is not necessarily so: *wakca-mi* (*bi:-ni*) 'he is hunting' <hunt-INF be-3SG>, *wakca-mi* (*bi:-ti*) 'they are hunting' <hunt-INF be-3PL>, etc. The copula is most likely to be omitted (and in fact must be omitted) when the final vowel of the infinitive form *-i* is pronounced with the «emphatic» lengthening *-i* → *-ie* (2.1.5.1). Such lengthening occurs only in the Present tense progressive forms and usually encodes a particular emphasis on the verb. The verb itself is often repeated twice in this case to express the continuation of the action. Cf. (361) where (361a) is the traditional refrain of the Udihe tales.

(361) a. *bi-mie bi-mie* 'he/she (they) was (were) living, living'
<be-INF be-INF>

b. *nua-ni wakca-mie wakca-mie* 'he is hunting, hunting'
<he-3SG hunt-INF hunt-INF>

The impersonal Habitual copula *bie* (7.3.2.3) may be used instead of the regular Present tense copula (*bi:-ni* etc.). Such a copula cannot be omitted: *zegde-mi bie* 'it is burning' <burn-INF be.PRES.HAB> is synonymous to *zegde-mi* (*bi:-ni*) <burn-INF be-3SG>.

7.4.3.2. Past and Future Progressive

In the Past the copula has either the Past form or the Perfect form, and these are used interchangeably and are never omitted. For example: *umi-mi bi-si-ni* <drink-3SG> or *umi-mi bi-s'e* <drink-INF be-PERF> 'he was drinking'. In the Future the copula takes the Future form and is not omitted: *umi-mi bi-zeŋe-ni* 'he will be drinking' <drink-INF be-FUT-3SG>.

7.4.3.3. Negative forms

Progressive forms are negated by the Infinitive of the negative verb followed by the verbal stem and the corresponding temporal form of the copula 'be', which is null in the Present tense, for example: *bi ei-mi umi* 'I am not drinking', *ei-mi umi bi-si-mi* 'I was not drinking' <NEG-1SG drink be-PAST-1SG>, *ei-mi umi bi-zeŋe-i* 'I will not be drinking' <NEG-1SG drink be-FUT-1SG>.

7.5. Non-Indicative moods

Non-Indicative moods comprise the Imperative, Necessitative, Conditional, Subjunctive, and Permissive. Note that given the partial intersection of their functions, all the terms used for the oblique moods are highly conventional. Oblique moods do not exhibit aspectual and temporal oppositions.

7.5.1. Imperative

The Imperative exists only for the 2nd person Singular and Plural. These forms are derived from the Present tense stem by adding type VI inflections, which are characteristic only of the Imperative. Examples: *diga-ja* 'eat' <eat-IMP.2SG>, *diga-ja-u* 'eat (PL)' <eat-IMP-2PL>, *dian-a-ja* 'say' <eat-0-IMP.2SG>, *dian-a-ja-u* 'say (PL)' <say-0-IMP-2PL>. For the 2nd Singular it is also possible to use the bare Present stem without any personal inflection: *diga* 'eat'. Such forms are particularly expressive and are used to give a categorical order. The *e*-final verbal stems occasionally exhibit the drop of the stem final vowel before the 2nd person Plural Imperative suffix, which shows up as *-iu* in this case, for example: *gulini-u* (< *guline-je-u*) 'go (PL)'. The *i*-final verbal stems often demonstrate contraction with the Imperative marker. The 2nd person Singular Imperative affix contracts with the stem final vowel so that the resulting form ends in the diphthongoid /*ie*/ (< *i-je*) or the long /*i:*/ (< *ii* < *ij* < *i-je*), for example: *bugie* 'give (SG)' (from the verb *bugi-* 'give (back, again)'), *gazi:* 'take' (from *gazi-* 'take'). The 2nd person Plural affix can contract into *-i:u*, for example: *gazi:-u* 'take (PL)' <take-IMP.2PL>. Often the Imperative is followed by the Hortative particle *-zA.* In such cases the 2nd Singular inflection can be shortened into *–i,* for example: *etete-i-ze* 'work' <work-IMP.2SG-HORT>. The 2nd Plural inflection remains unchanged: *etete-je-u-ze* 'work (PL)' <work-IMP-2PL>.

The negative verb in the Imperative is *e-zi* (2SG) and *e-zi-u* (2 PL), for example: *e-zi etete* 'don't work' <NEG-IMP.2SG work>. The form of the verb 'be' in the Imperative is *bi-e* 'be' or *bi-je* <be-IMP.2SG>.

7.5.2. Subjunctive

The Subjunctive is synthetic. It is based on the Present stem followed by the suffix *-zA-* and type II personal inflections. Class II verbs show an optional epenthetic vowel after the stem.

(362)	*wakca-za*	'let him hunt'	<hunt-SUBJ>
	wakca-za-mi	'let me hunt'	<hunt-SUBJ-1SG>
	wakca-du-ze	'let them hunt'	<hunt-PL-SUBJ>
	dian-(a)-za-i	'let me say'	<say-0-SUBJ-1SG>

Although the type III inflection of the 3rd person Singular is a morphological null (7.2), a few cases are also attested when the Subjunctive 3rd person form has the regular 3rd person affix *-ni* (as in the personal inflection types I, IV, and V), for example: *bi-ze-ni* 'let it be' <be-SUBJ-3SG>. This is not afrequent option, however. The negative verb forms in the Subjunctive are derived from the stem *ata-*, for example*: ata-mi wakca* 'let me not hunt' <NEG.SUBJ-1SG hunt>, *ata wakca* 'let him not hunt' <NEG.SUBJ hunt>.

7.5.3. Necessitative

This category is analytic. Like another analytic form, the Pluperfect, it is formed in a number of alternative ways, which appear equivalent semantically. Generally speaking, the Necessitative is based on the Future Participle (see 7.5.1.1.3 for its formation) and the copula 'be'. The major formal (although not semantic) difference is between the forms that exhibit subject agreement, and those that do not.

Non-finite Necessitative forms (participles and the conditional converbs) are also analytic and are described in sections dealing with non-finite forms (7.5).

7.5.3.1. Subject agreement forms

The subject agreement Necessitative can be formed in several formal ways. The difference between them originates in the position of the personal inflections and the choice of the copula. The following options are available.

(i) impersonal Future Participle of the content verb and the copula *bi-* in the Past:

(363) *wakca-zaŋa bi-si-ni* 'he had to hunt' <hunt-FP be-PAST-3SG>

(ii) impersonal Future Participle and the copula in the Perfect:

(364) *wakca-zaŋa bi-s'e* 'he had to hunt' <hunt-FP be-PERF>

(iii) personal Future Participle and the Perfect copula in the 3rd person, which remains unchanged for all persons and numbers:

(365) *nua-ni wakca-zaŋa-ni bi-s'e* 'he had to hunt'
<he-3SG hunt-FP-3SG be-PERF>
bi wakca-zaŋa-i bi-s'e 'I had to hunt'
<me hunt-FP-1SG be-PERF>

The copula *bi-* can be replaced by the copula *nixe-* 'do' in the Past tense. In the latter case the meaning may be intentional: *wakca-zaŋa nixe:-mi* 'I was going to hunt' <hunt-FP do.PAST-1SG>.

Negative forms are derived with the Future Participle of the negative verb *e-zeŋe* followed by the verbal stem and the verb 'be' in the inflected Past or Perfect form: *e-zeŋe etete bi-si*-mi <NEG-FP work be-PAST-1SG> or *e-zeŋe etete bi-s'e-i* <NEG-FP work be-PERF-1SG> 'I didn't have to work'.

7.5.3.2. Forms without subject agreement

Personal Necessitative forms that do not exhibit subject agreement seem to originate from the Impersonal Necessitative (16.1.2.5), and are in fact formally identical to it. They are formed with the passive Future Participle of the content verb (on these participles see 7.6.1.2) and the 3rd person Singular Past of the Perfect form of the verb 'be'. The only formal difference from the Impersonal Necessitative construction is that the subject must necessarily be overtly expressed in the sentence. Thus, since the conjugated verb ('be') can take only the 3rd person agreement marker, the subject agreement is suppressed for the 1st and 2nd person subjects. Examples are:

(366) *bi etete-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni* ‘I had to work’
<me work-PAS-FP be-PAST-3SG>
si gele-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni ‘you had to call’
<you call-PAS-FP be-PAST-3SG>
nua-ni gele-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni ‘he had to call’
<he-3SG call-PAS-FP be-PAST-3SG>

Negative forms are organized in a similar way:

(367) *bi e-u-zeŋe oño bi-si-ni* ‘I didn’t have to write’
<be NEG-PAS-FP write be-PAST-3SG>
si e-u-zeŋe gele bi-si-ni ‘you didn’t have to call’
<you NEG-PAS-FP call be-PAST-3SG>

7.5.4. Conditional

The Conditional mood is synthetic and is derived from the Present stem followed by the Conditional suffix *-muse-* and type III personal suffixes, for example: *wakca-muse-i* ‘I would hunt’ <hunt-COND-1SG>. For class II verbs the epenthetic vowel *-A-* is inserted after the stem and before the conditional suffix: *dian-a-muse-i* ‘I would say’ <say-0-COND-1SG>. In the 3rd person Plural the personal inflection *-du-* precedes the conditional suffix: *wakca-du-muse* <hunt-PL-COND>, *dian-a-du-muse* <say-0-PL-COND> ‘they would hunt, say’.

Negative forms: *e-muse-i wakca* ‘I wouldn’t hunt’ <NEG-COND-1SG hunt>, *e-muse-u wakca* ‘we wouldn’t hunt’ <NEG-COND-1PL.EX hunt>, etc.

7.5.5. Permissive

The Permissive is based on the Present stem, and has the suffix *-tA-* and type II personal inflections. For class II verbs an optional epenthetic vowel may be present.

(368) *ŋene-te-mi* ‘I will perhaps go’
<go-PERM-1SG>
zima-ta-u ‘we will visit (you) sometime’
<visit-PERM-1PL.EX>
bu-te-u ‘we (EX) will perhaps give’
<give-PERM-1PL.EX>
diga-ta ‘he may eat’
<eat-PERM>
dian-(a)-ta-u ‘we will perhaps say’
<say-0-PERM-1PL.EX>
dian-(a)-ta-mi ‘I will perhaps say’
<say-0-PERM-1SG>

Permissive forms are almost always followed by the hortative clitic particle *-zA* (see examples in section 7.9.5).

The negative verb in this mood has the non-standard stem *ata-* which is followed by type II personal inflections and the bare Present stem of the content verb: *ata-mi mute* ‘I won’t be able perhaps’ <NEG.PERM-1SG can>. So, for the negative verb the Permissive and Subjunctive (7.4.2) are neutralized. The verb ‘be’ behaves like a regular verb in the Permissive, for example: *bi-te-ze* ‘it will perhaps be’ <be-PERM-HORT>.

7.6. Non-finite forms

Non-finite forms do not normally express independent predication, but serve to express the predicate of the subordinate clause. In some cases certain types of participles and infinitives serve as finite predicates. However, they co-occur with the auxiliary verb *bi-* 'be', and therefore, strictly speaking, the participle or the infinitive itself does not take the finite position in the sentence. Analytic forms of that type are described in the sections on finite verbal forms (7.4 and 7.4), and on copula constructions (Chapter 17).

Although some of the non-finite verbal forms exhibit the morphological categories of a noun (case and possessive), all of them behave like verbs with respect to their internal syntactic properties. They keep the valence patterns of the verb, their arguments appear in the same form as the corresponding finite verb, and they cannot be modified by nouns or adjectives. However, they are compatible with a VP-adverb, as shown by the next example where the Purposive converb is modified by a qualificative adverb in *-zi*.

(369) *Wo:-i* *a:-zi* *bi-lege-fi.*
kill-IMP.2SG good-INST be-PURP-1PL.IN
'Kill (him) in order that we may be well.'

Non-finite verbal forms have an internally fixed tense/aspect/mood structure. Most of them are specialized in conveying a particular temporal and/or modal meaning, and all of them are easily compatible with aspectual (*Aktionsart*) and valence-changing affixes, subject to the usual semantic restrictions (on them see Chapter 8), for example:

(370) a. *Ise-we-je* *gakpa-si-u-we.*
see-CAUS-IMP.2SG shoot-IM-PAS.PRP-ACC
'Show how one should shoot.' (SK 390)

b. *Ni:* *sugzä-wa* *nagda-li:* *zuleixi* *tukä:-iti.*
man fish-ACC get-INC.PRP forward run-3PL
'Those who struck the fish run forward.' (SK 337)

Certain non-finite forms have passive variants.

Udihe non-finite verb forms fall into three major classes on the basis of the inflectional categories they can express and the syntactic type of the subordinate clause in which they function: (i) participles; (ii) converbs; and (iii) infinitives. Participles express the relative clause, the complement clause, and sometimes, in combination with certain case suffixes or postpositions, the adverbial clause. Converbs prototypically express adverbial clauses of various semantics (and also, in some special cases, the complement clause). Infinitives form the complement clause or the adverbial clause of manner (for further details see section 7.10).

The following morpho-semantic subclasses of non-finite verb forms are further distinguished: for participles – active, passive, Resultative, and Destinative participles; for converbs – Purposive converb, Imperfective converb, Perfective converb, and Conditional converbs (including Realis Conditional converb, Irrealis Conditional converb for the Present and the Past and Necessitative Conditional converb); for Infinitives – Infinitive and Impersonal Infinitive. Infinitives are morphologically invariable. Participles, as opposed to converbs and infinitives, take a case inflection. active participles in certain syntactic functions and most converbs take personal agreement morphemes which indicate the person and the number of the subject of the embedded clause. Such forms will be called personal. Impersonal forms of active participles are only inflected for number. passive, Destinative, and Resultative participles do not have personal forms, that is, do not mark the person and the number of the embedded clause subject.

Personal forms of active participles and converbs usually encode not only information about

the number and the person of the subordinate clause subject, but also about its coreferential relations with the subject of the superordinate clause (switch-reference). In other words, these forms have special inflections, which indicate whether or not the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause (for the notion of subject see 15.1.1). When there is coreference we will speak about same-subject (SS) markers; when there is not we will refer to different-subject (DS) markers. Different-subject markers are subject agreement markers, and therefore are distinguished for two numbers and all grammatical persons. Same-subject markers have two number forms – Singular and Plural – but do not vary in person. Some generalizations on the system of switch-reference in Udihe can be found in 22.5.

The negative participles, converbs, and infinitives are formed in a regular way: with the help of the negative auxiliary verb *e(i)-* which takes all the corresponding morphological markers and the bare stem of the lexical verb which follows it, sometimes followed by the copula. Below we will cite for each particular category the corresponding form of the negative auxiliary verb.

The following summary table illustrates the system of the Udihe non-finite verb forms derived from the verbal stem *nodo-* 'lose' (the table does not include all personal forms for active participles and converbs, nor all case forms for participles; they are found in section 7.6):

(371) Participles

Active

Personal forms	DS 3SG	SS SG	SS PL
Present	*nodo-i-ni*	*nodo-i*	*nodo-i-fi*
Past	*nodo:-ni*	*nodo:-mi*	*nodo:-fi*
Future	*nodo-zoŋo-ni*	*nodo-zoŋo-i*	*nodo-zoŋo-fi*
Pluperfect	*nodo:-ni*	*nodo:-mi*	*nodo:-fi*
	bi-si-ni	*bi-si-mi*	*bi-si-fi*
Necessitative	*nodo-zoŋo*	*nodo-zoŋo*	*nodo-zoŋo*
	bi-si-ni	*bi-si-mi*	*bi-si-fi*

Impersonal forms	SG	PL
Present	*nodo-i*	*nodo-i getu*
Past	*nodo:*	*nodo: getu*
Future	*nodo-zoŋo*	*nodo-zoŋo getu*
Pluperfect	*nodo: bi-si*	*nodo: getu bisi*

Passive

Present	*nodo-u-j(i)*
Past	*nodo-so*
Future	*nodo-u- zeŋe*
Necessitative	*nodo-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni*

Resultative	*nodo-ktu*
Destinative	*nodo-kči*

Converbs	DS 3SG	SS SG	SS PL
Purposive	*nodo-logo-ni*	*nodo-logo-mi*	*nodo-logo-fi*
Imperfective	*nodo-ŋie-ni*	*nodo-ŋie-i*	*nodo-ŋie-fi*
Perfective	*nodo-isi-ni*	*nod'o-si*	*nodo-du-ge-si*
Conditional	*nodo-lisi-ni*	*nodo-li*	*nodo-lie*
Irrealis Present		*nodo-i bi-si*	
Irrealis Past		*nodo: bi-si*	
Irrealis Necessitative		*nodo-zoŋo bi-si*	

Irrealis Necessitative Passive	*nodo-u-zeŋe bi-si*
Infinitive	*nodo-mi*
Impersonal Infinitive	*nodo-mu*
Future Infinitive	*nodo- zoŋo bi-mi*
Passive Impersonal Infinitive	*nodo-u-mu*

Basically, all converbs, infinitives and participles can be formed from all types of verbs. Certain semantic restrictions exist only for Resultative Participles (see 7.10.1.4).

7.6.1. Participles

As was said above, participle forms inflected for person and number will be referred to as personal forms, as opposed to the impersonal forms which do not take personal affixes (but can be pluralized). Impersonal forms do not therefore encode the person of the subject of the embedded clause, as do personal forms. Active participles have both personal and impersonal forms, whereas other types of participles have only impersonal forms. For active participles, personal and impersonal forms differ in their syntactic usage: personal forms express the predicate either in the adverbial or complement clause, or in the relative clause which follows its head, while impersonal forms serve only in some types of prenominal relatives (for further details see Chapters 19–21). All types of participles inflect for case; active participles inflect for case only in the personal forms. Participles do not occur in the Destinative and do not have Partitive and Proprietive forms.

7.6.1.1. Active participles

Active participles distinguish three tense forms – relative Present, Past, and Future. Formally the tense markers of the Active participles are mostly identical to the tense markers of the finite verbs (in the Present, Past, and Future tenses) and are added to the same type of stem as in the corresponding finite verb (see 7.4). Thus, both the Future Participle and the Future finite verb are derived by means of the Future marker *-zAŋA-* attached to the Present stem. In the personal form the Future Participle takes the type IV personal inflections, and so does the Future finite verb. Thus, *jexe-zeŋe-ni* <sing-FUT-3SG> means both ‘he will sing’ and ‘the one who will sing (3SG)’. The same is observed in the Past: *jexe:-mi* <sing.PAS-1SG>, meaning both ‘I sang’ and ‘I who was singing’. In the Present, strict homonymy does not exist because the finite forms only take the Present marker in the 3rd person (see 7.4.1.1). To avoid confusion, the glosses indicate the category of Participle (PP, PRP, and FP), as opposed to the finite verbs.

As was mentioned in 7.2.2, the 3rd person agreement morpheme *-ni* may be optionally omitted in some finite forms. The same is observed with active participles.

7.6.1.1.1. Present active participles

Present active participles are derived from the Present stem with the suffix *-i*. For class II verbs this suffix follows the epenthetic vowel *-A-*. For class I *i*-final stems the participle suffix *-i-* is contracted with the stem final vowel into *-i:*. Impersonal Singular forms coincide with the bare participle form: *wakca-i* ‘hunting’ <hunt-PRP>, *dian-a-i* ‘saying’ <say-0-PRP>. In the Plural the impersonal forms take the Plural word *getu,* or – more rarely – *-du-*: *wakca-i getu* ‘hunting (PL)’ <hunt-PRP PL>, *dian-a-i-getu* ‘saying (PL)’ <say-0-PRP-PL>. The negative auxiliary impersonal

form is *ei.* An example of the participle in the negative form is: *ei jexe* 'not singing (SG)', *ei jexe getu* 'not singing (PL)' <NEG.PRP sing PL>, *ei ñoni getu* 'not being able (PL)' <NEG.PRP can-PL>, *ei soŋo-du* 'not crying (PL)' <NEG.PRP cry-PL>.

For personal forms different-subject affixes coincide with regular possessive suffixes (or type IV inflectional affixes, see 7.2), for example: *wakca-i-ni* 'hunting (3SG)' <hunt-PRP-3SG>, *wakca-i-ti* 'hunting (3PL)' <hunt-PRP-3PL>, etc. In the Nominative for the 1st and 2nd persons the personal affix is contracted with the Participle marker: *i* [unstressed] + *i* → *i*, for example: *wakca-i* 'hunting (1SG, 2SG)' (< *wakca-i-i* <hunt-PRP-1SG, 2SG>). In the 2nd Plural and 1st Plural Exclusive the participle suffix *-i-* is missing, probably for the same phonetic reasons (*i* + *u* → *u*): *wakca-u* 'hunting (2PL, 1PL EX)' (< *wakca-i-u* <hunt-PRP-2PL, 1PL.EX>). In the function of the same-subject affixes, the reflexive possessive affixes are used: *-i* (truncated in the Nominative) for the Singular and *-fi* for the Plural. Examples: *wakca-i* 'hunting' <hunt-PRP.SS>, *wakca-i-fi* 'hunting' <hunt-PRP-SS.PL>.

Personal forms always inflect for case. The case suffix follows the participle affix *-i-* and precedes the personal affix. Case affixes are the same as for the class I nouns (see 4.1.3) except that in the Dative case two suffixes are found, *-di-* and *-du-*. In fact, *-di* is an assimilated variant of *-du*. It appears when the personal inflection that follows it contains the vowel /*i*/ (cf. 2.1.4.2). Thus, the affix *-di* is found in all personal forms except for the 1st person Plural Exclusive and 2nd person Plural, which contain the vowel /*u*/ and therefore do not assimilate the Dative suffix. The regular morphonological contraction takes place in the course of case inflection on the boundary of the case morpheme and the personal inflection (2.3.1), for example: *wakca-i-digi* ← *wakca-i-digi-i* <hunt-PRP-ABL-1SG> 'I am hunting (ABL)'. For the same-subject participles the Accusative forms are homonymous with the Nominative forms. The illustrative case paradigms are presented in 7.7.

In negative personal forms personal inflections attach to the Present Participle of the negative verb: *e-i-mi* 1SG, etc. However, the behavior of the negative forms with respect to the case affix is flexible in the sense that in the syntactic positions that normally require case marking for the participle, the negative verb often does not take the case marker. The case marker then remains on the verbal stem. Compare, for example, (372a) where the negative auxiliary has the case suffix (Accusative) marking the semantic role of the relativized noun, and (372b) where the case suffix (Instrumental) is added to the verbal stem and not to the auxiliary.

(372) a. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *gugda* *mo:* *ei-we-ni*
me know-1SG tall tree NEG.PRP-ACC-3SG
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'I know a tree which is not tall.'

b. *Pakula* *diasi-e-ni* *gabzi* *ni:* *ei*
Pakula speak-PAST-3SG happy man NEG.PRP
bie-zi.
be.PRES.HAB-INST
'Pakula was speaking with a man who was not happy.'

The copula verb 'be' has two Present active participles: *bi*: (sometimes also *bei*) and *bie*. The personal forms can only be derived from the participle *bi:,* the form *bie* corresponds to the impersonal Habitual copula (see 7.4.2.3).

7.6.1.1.2. Past active participles

The Past active participle stem coincides with the usual Past stem. This means that for class I

verbs it is formed by lengthening the stem-final vowel. Special cases are the *u*- and *i*-stems where the following sound changes are observed: *u* + PAST → *uo:*, *i* + PAST → *ie.* For class II *n*-final verbs, the Past stem is formed by the element *-ki* which assimilates the stem-final /*n*/ into /*ŋ*/ (7.1.2).

The Impersonal Past Participle forms in the Singular are formally identical with the bare Past stem; in the Plural they are followed by the Collective Plural word *getu,* cf. *wakca:* 'who was hunting (SG)', *wakca: getu* 'who were hunting (PL)' <hunt.PP PL>. Negative auxiliary forms are *e-si* <NEG-PAST> for the Singular and *e-si getu* <NEG-PAST PL> for the Plural. An example of the Past Participle in the negative form is *e-si umi* 'who was not drinking (SG)' <NEG-PAST drink>.

Personal forms take personal suffixes that differ from the suffixes used for Present Participles, namely they attach type V inflections: *wakca:-mi* 'who was hunting (1SG)' <hunt.PP-1SG>, *wakca:-mu* 'who were hunting (1PL)' <hunt.PRP-1PL.EX>. The same-subject inflections also differ: in the Singular *-mi* is used instead of *-i,* for example: *wakca:-mi* 'who was hunting (SS SG)' <hunt.PP-SS>. Plural same-subject inflection is *-fi: wakca:-fi* 'who were hunting (SS PL)' <hunt.PP-SS.PL>.

Negative Past active participles in the personal forms are as follows: *e-si-ni* <NEG-PP-3SG>, *e-si-fi* <NEG-PP-1PL.IN>, etc. The auxiliary verb 'be' has the form *bi-si-,* which inflects for person and number.

When personal forms inflect for case, the case marker follows the Past stems and the personal inflection follows the case marker. When inflected for case, Past active participles behave as nouns of the morphonological class II: in all cases except for the Nominative and Accusative the consonant /*n*/ precedes the case inflection (see Chapter 4 on nominal inflection). This suggests that, like class II nouns, Past active participles have an *n*-final stem, but /*n*/ does not surface in the Nominative and Accusative. In participles derived from class I verbs there is no vowel lengthening, characteristic of the Past stem, before the surface /*n*/, for example: *wakcan-zi-ni* 'who was hunting' <hunt.PP-INST-3SG>. The participles derived from *u*-final and *i*-final verbs do not exhibit any vowel changes in cases other than the Nominative and Accusative, for example:

(373) *Lalin-zi* *bude:-ni.*
starve.PP-INST die.PAST-3SG
'He died from hunger.'

Class II verbs which form the Past stem with the element *-ki-* have in case forms the stem-final /*n*/ which follows *-ki-,* for example*: diaŋ-kin-zi:* 'who said' <say-PP-INST.SS>. The negative verb also has an *n*-stem, for example: *e-sin-zi-ni* <NEG.PP-INST-3SG>.

The case paradigms are presented in 7.6. For Past Participles the Accusative suffix is *-mA-* (it is identical to the class II noun Accusative, see 4.1.1.2.1). Like other same-subject participles and reflexive noun phrases, same-subject Past Participles have homonymous Accusative and Nominative forms (cf. 22.5.1.2). The Dative inflection is either *-di-* or *-du-* depending on the same conditions as apply to the Present active participles (7.6.1.1.1). In the Locative and Prolative, the Past active participles take the class II declension suffixes *-dile-* and *-dili-*, respectively (rather than class I declension suffixes *-le-* and *-li-*).

(374) *Si* *oloxi-we* *wan-dile-i* *ñö:*
you squirrel-ACC kill.PP-LOC-2SG sable

xokto-wo-ni *ise:-mi.*
footstep-ACC-3SG see.PAST-1SG
'I saw the sable's footsteps where you killed the squirrel.'

7.6.1.1.3. Future active participles

The marker of the Future Participle is the same as for the finite Future forms (see 7.3.1.1.4), that is, *-zAŋA-*. This affix follows the Present stem (with the optional epenthetic vowel for class II verbs). In the impersonal forms inflection is missing, for example: *wakca-zaŋa* 'who will hunt' <hunt-FP>*, dian-(a)-zaŋa* 'who will say' <say-0-FP>. In the Plural, impersonal forms take the Plural word *getu*: *wakca-zaŋa getu* 'who will hunt (PL)' <hunt-FP PL>*, dian-(a)-zaŋa getu* 'who will say (PL)' <say-0-FP PL>. Impersonal Future Participle forms of the negative verbs are: *e-zeŋe* for the Singular and *e-zeŋe getu* for the Plural. An example of the Future Participle in the negative form is: *e-zeŋe diga* 'who will not eat' <NEG-FP eat>.

Personal forms use the same set of different-subject and same-subject markers and case markers as the personal forms of the active Present Participles, that is, personal inflections of type IV. For example*: wakca-zaŋa-ni* 'who will hunt (DS 3SG)' <hunt-FP-3SG>, *wakca-zaŋa-i* 'who will hunt (SS SG)' <hunt-FP-SS>, *wakca-zaŋa-fi* 'who will hunt (SS PL)' <hunt-FP-SS.PL>. Examples of negative personal forms of Future active participles are: *e-zeŋe-ni wakca* 'who will not hunt (DS 3SG)' <NEG-FP-3SG hunt>, *e-zeŋe-i wakca* 'who will not hunt (SS SG)' <NEG-FP-SS hunt>.

Case paradigms are presented in 7.6. The Dative case suffix is either *-di-* or *-du-* as for the other participles.

7.6.1.1.4. Pluperfect active participles

Pluperfect active participles seem to be fairly rare verbal forms that are gradually being replaced in function by Past active participles. They are analytical forms that consist of the personal form of the Past active participle of the content verb and the (personal) form of the Past Participle of the copula 'be': *wa:-ni bi-si-ni* 'the one who had killed' <kill.PP-3SG be-PP-3SG>, *diaŋ-ki-ni bi-si-ni* 'the one who had said' <say-PP-3SG be-PP-3SG>.

The Pluperfect active participle in a subordinate clause expresses anteriority with respect to the situation of the superordinate clause.

(375) *Bi* *kuti-we* *ise:-mi* *ni:-we*
me tiger-ACC see.PAST-1SG man-ACC
sieni-e-ni *bi-si-me-ni.*
wound-PP-3SG be-PP-ACC-3SG
'I saw the tiger that had wounded a man.'

7.6.1.1.5. Necessitative active participles

Necessitative Participles are analytic and derived with Future Participles in the impersonal form and the copula in the corresponding case and personal form of the Past Participle: *wakca-zaŋa bi-si-ni* 'who had to hunt (3SG)' <hunt-FP be-PP-3SG>, *wakca-zaŋa bi-si-u* 'who had to hunt (2PL)' <hunt-FP be-PP-2PL>, *jexe-zeŋe bi-si-mi* 'who had to sing (SS SG)' <sing-FP be-PP-SS>.

Necessitative Participles do not seem to have impersonal forms.

7.6.1.2. Passive participles

Passive participles can be derived from practically all verbs, both transitive and intransitive. They have only impersonal forms, that is, they do not inflect for number and person. However, in a particular syntactic function they have case forms which are technically derived in the same way as the corresponding case forms of class I nouns (see 4.1.1.2.1). Case suffixes are attached in a way completely identical to class I nouns, therefore case paradigms are not presented below in section 7.7.

Present and Future passive participles are formed with two morphemes. The first is the Passive marker *-u-*, the second is the tense marker: either *-j(i)* for the Present tense (the forms with or without truncation of /i/ are free variations), or *-zAŋA* for the Future. The Past passive participles have a special affix *-se,* which encodes both the tense and the voice status of the participle. All passive participles are derived from the Present verbal stem.

The copula verb *bi-* 'be' has neither Present nor Future passive participles.

7.6.1.2.1. Regular verbs

Passive participles are presented below.

(376)

	'hunt'	'give'	'drink'
Class I verbs	*wakca-*	*bu-*	*umi-*
Present passive	*wakca-u-j(i)*	*bu-j(i)*	*umi-u-j(i)*
Past passive	*wakca-sa*	*bu-se*	*umi-se*
Future passive	*wakca-u-zeŋe*	*bu:-zeŋe*	*umi-u-zeŋe*

Class II verbs	*dian-* 'say'
Present passive	*diam-u-j(i)*
Past passive	*dian-a-sa*
Future passive	*diam-u-zeŋe*

For Present and Future passive participles, an epenthetic vowel is not present and the root-final consonant *-n* is changed into *-m.* An epenthetic vowel is inserted before the suffix of the Past Passive participle.

7.6.1.2.2. The negative verb

The negative auxiliary passive participle forms are:

(377)

Present	*e-u, e-u-j(i)*
Past	*e-(u)-se, e-ptile*
Future	*e-u-zeŋe*

The forms *e-u* and *e-u-j(i)* on the one hand, and *e-(u)-se* and *e-ptile* on the other, are in free variation. Examples of passive participles in the negative form are: *e-u-ji diga* 'which is not eaten' <NEG-PAS-PRP eat>, *e-se diga* 'which was not eaten' <NEG-PP.PAS eat>, *e-u-zeŋe diga* 'which will not be eaten' <NEG-PAS-FP eat>. Example (378) shows two different forms of

the Present passive participle of the negative verb, while examples (379) demonstrate the same for Past passive participles.

(378) a. *O-du* *e-u* *damisi.*
this-DAT NEG-PAS smoke
'One does not smoke here.'
b. *Ei b'oto* *e-u-ji* *diga.*
this mushroom NEG-PAS-PRP eat
'This mushroom is not edible.'

(379) a. *Ule:-we* *e-u-se* *olokto*.
meat-ACC NEG-PAS-PP cook
'The meat is not cooked.'
b. *Ugda-wa* *e-ptile* *aisi-gi-se*.
boat-ACC NEG-PP.PAS mend-REP-EXP
'The boat is not mended.'

7.6.1.2.3. Passive Necessitative Participles

Passive participial forms with the Necessitative meaning are analytic and include the passive Future Participle and the Past Participle of the verb *bi-* 'be' in the 3rd person, for example: *wakca-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni* 'what had to be hunted for' <hunt-PAS-FP be-PP-3SG>.

7.6.1.3. Destinative Participles

Destinative Participles can be formed from virtually all verbs with the possible exception of the null-place verbs discussed in 14.1.1. They have personal and impersonal forms and are derived with the suffix *-kči* added to the Present verbal stem (which is followed by the epenthetic vowel for class II verbs). Case inflection occurs in the same way as with nouns and is therefore not illustrated in section 7.6. Destinative Participles cannot be pluralized. Examples:

(380)	class I verbs		class II verbs	
	jexe-kči	'meant for singing'	*dian-a-kči*	'meant for saying'
	bu-kči	'meant for giving'		
	umi-kči	'meant for drinking'		

The negative auxiliary verb does not have a Destinative Participle. Destinative Participles are negated with the help of a periphrastic construction (see section 23.2 «Negation»).

7.6.1.4. Resultative Participles

Resultative Participles also only have impersonal forms. They inflect for case in the same way as class I nouns do. The suffix of the Resultative Participles is *-ktu* which is added to the Present tense stem (followed by the epenthetic vowel for class II verbs). Examples: class I verbs *jexe-ktu* 'sang'*, bu-ktu* 'given'*, umi-ktu* 'drunk'; class II verbs *dian-a-ktu* 'said' <say-0-RES>. Resultative Participles lack the morphological Plural. Plurality may be expressed with the restrictive particle *m'ei*, as for some adjectives (12.1.1.9.3).

Occasionally the Resultative Participle suffix is followed by the Past passive participle suffix

-se, for example, *kimpi-ktu-se* ‘closed’ <close-RES-PP.PAS>. Such forms are usually only possible for transitives and do not differ in function from the usual Resultative Participles, so the Past passive participle affix is clearly redundant here. See example (381), which illustrates the use of such «combined» participles in the finite predicate position.

(381) *Ei* *tuduze-we* *siki-ktu-se.*
this potatoes-ACC wash-RES-PP.PAS
‘These potatoes are washed.’

As in the case of Destinative Participles, the negative auxiliary verb does not have Resultative Participle forms. To negate Resultative Participles a periphrastic construction is used (see 23.2.1.5.3).

7.6.2. Converbs

Converbs are used to form subordinate (mostly adverbial) clauses. As was remarked above, they only have personal forms (except for the Irrealis Conditional Converb), which agree in person and number with the subject of the embedded clause (same-subject and different-subject forms are distinguished). Converbs do not inflect for case. Converb suffixes mark the semantic type of the converb and at the same time of the corresponding embedded clause. Personal affixes normally follow the converb affixes. There are two possible strategies to indicate switch reference, which depend on the type of converb. First, the same-subject and the corresponding different-subject converb can differ not only in personal inflections but also in the marker of the converb itself. This strategy is used in Conditional Converbs and Perfective Converbs. Second, the same-subject and the different-subject converbs can be formed by the same morpheme, but they differ in personal inflection. This strategy, also used for active participles (see 7.6.1.1), is applied in Purposive Converbs and Imperfective Converbs (see 22.5 for more discussion on the switch-reference system).

The suffixes of most types of converbs are added to the Present tense stem (followed by the epenthetic vowel for class II verbs). The only exception is the same-subject form of the Perfective Converb, which is based on the Perfect stem. Personal inflections are always of type IV for all converbs.

7.6.2.1. Purposive Converb

The Purposive Converb marker is *-lAgA-* followed by a personal inflection of type IV. Like all converbs, Purposive Converbs are derived from the Present stem. Examples: *wakca-laga-i* ‘so that I hunt’ <hunt-PURP-1SG>, *dian-a-laga-ni* ‘so that he says’ <say-0-PURP-3SG>. For same-subject forms reflexive possessive markers are used (*-mi* for Singular, *-fi* for Plural): *wakca-laga-i* ‘so that one (SS SG) hunts’ <hunt-PURP-SS>, *dian-a-laga-fi* ‘so that one (SS PL) says’ <say-0-PURP-SS.PL>. In reduced speech the Purposive Converb suffix *-lAgA-* is often phonologically shortened and pronounced as *-lA:-* or *-lA-*, for example, *diga-la:-mi* or *diga-la-mi* instead of *diga-laga-mi* ‘so that I eat’, etc.

The negative auxiliary Purposive Converb forms are derived from the stem *e-lege-* with personal different-subject or same-subject affixes, cf.:

(382) *Bu* *e-lege-u* *ŋua* *eniŋe* *ŋimaŋku-we*
we NEG-PURP-1PL.EX sleep mother tale-ACC

ŋimasi-e-ni.
tell-PAST-3SG
‘Our mother told the tale so we would not sleep.’

7.6.2.2. Imperfective Converb

The marker of the Imperfective Converb is *-ŋie-* (Northern *-ŋAgA-*), which follows the Present stem and precedes the personal same-subject or different-subject inflections. As for all converbs, different-subject inflections are type IV personal inflections, and the same-subject inflections are *-mi* for the Singular and *-fi* for the Plural. Examples: *wakca-ŋie-i* ‘when I was hunting’ <hunt-IC-1SG>, *dian-a-ŋie-ni* ‘when he was speaking’ <say-0-IC-3SG>, *wakca-ŋie-mi* ‘when one was hunting (SS SG)’ <hunt-IC-SS>. For class II verbs it is also possible to drop the stem-final consonant /*n*/ before the suffix of the Imperfective Converb: *dia-ŋie-ni* ‘when he was speaking’ <say-IC-3SG>.

Negative forms are derived from the negative auxiliary verbal form *ei* followed by the verbal stem and the Imperfective Converb of the verb ‘be’ with a same-subject or different-subject inflection, for example: *ei jexe bi-ŋie-i* ‘when I was not singing’ <NEG sing be-IC-1SG>, etc.

7.6.2.3. Perfective Converb

For the Perfective Converb same-subject forms and different-subject forms are derived from different verbal stems.

7.6.2.3.1. Different-subject

Different-subject forms are based on the Present stem (with the epenthetic vowel for class II verbs) to which the converb marker *-isi-* and type IV personal inflections are added. Examples: *umi:-si-ni* (< *umi-isi-ni* <drink-PC-3SG>) ‘having drunk (3SG)’, *wakca-isi-ti* ‘having hunted (3PL)’ <hunt-PC-3PL>, *dian-a-isi* (< *dian-a-isi-i* <say-0-PC-1SG, 2SG>) ‘having said (1SG, 2SG)’, *wo-isi-ni* ‘having done (3SG)’ <do-PC-3SG>.

The different-subject negative auxiliary forms are derived from the stem *e-isi-* with personal different-subject affixes, for example: *e-isi-ni umi* ‘without him having drunk’ <NEG-PC-3SG drink>, etc. The Perfective Converb of the verb ‘be’ is *bi:-si-ni* ‘having been (3SG)’, etc.

7.6.2.3.2. Same-subject

For same-subject forms the converb suffix is *-si* and it is added to the Perfect verbal stem. The same-subject Singular personal inflection is missing, so *-si* in this case is a «portmanteau» morpheme, which marks not only same-subject, but also the function of the converb and of the corresponding embedded clause. Examples: *umi-ge-si* ‘having drunk (SS SG)’ <drink-PERF-PC.SS>, *wakc’a-si* ‘having hunted (SS SG)’ <hunt.PERF-PC.SS>, *diaŋ-ka-si* ‘having said (SS SG)’ <say-PERF-PC.SS>. In the Plural inflection *-du-* is inserted before the converb marker *-si* or precedes the Perfect stem marker *-ge-* of the *i*-final verbs: *wakc’a-du-si* ‘having hunted (SS PL)’ <hunt.PERF-PL-PC.SS>, *umi-du-ge-si* ‘having drunk (SS PL)’ <drink-PL-PERF-PC.SS>.

The negative auxiliary same-subject form is *e-s’e-li*, for example: *e-s’e-li umi* ‘without having drunk (SS SG)’ <NEG-PERF-PC.SS drink>, *e-s’e-du umi* ‘without having drunk (SS PL)’

<NEG-PERF.PC.SS-PL drink>. The forms of the verb *bi-* are: *bi-s'e-si* 'having been (SS SG)' <be-PERF-PC.SS> and *bi-du-ge-si* 'having been (SS PL)' <be-PL-PERF-PC.SS>.

At least one example is found in which the same-subject Perfective converb takes the Passive form encoded by the Passive marker *-u-* preceding the Perfect stem marker *-ge-*.

(383) *Kiliga-du* *zabza-du* *mala-u-ge-si* *ono*
snake-DAT grass.snake-DAT bite-PAS-PERF-PC.SS how
eku-ze-mi?
go-SUBJ-1SG
'How shall I go being bitten by snakes and grass snakes?' (SKX 226)

7.6.2.3.3. Same-subject converb in *-nA:*

The same-subject Perfective Converb in *-nA:* is obsolete and is actively used only with a closed class of verbs, such as *zawa-na:* 'having taken' (*zawa-* 'take'), *xebu-ne:* 'having brought' (*xebu-* 'bring'), *gazi-na:* 'having taken' (*gazi-* 'take'), *wende-ne:* 'having left' (*wende-* 'leave'), *oŋmo-no:* 'having forgotten' (*oŋmo-* 'forget'). Such converbs accompany verbs of movement.

(384) a. *Ise-si:-ni* *eni-ni* *b'ata-ŋi:* *omo*
see-IM-3SG mother-3SG boy-AL.REF one
aziga-wa *xebu-ne:* *eme-i-we-ni.*
girl-ACC bring-PC.SS come-PRP-ACC-3SG
'His mother sees that her son came with some girl.'

b. *Ge: in'ei* *xente* *wuende-ne:* *ŋene:-ni.*
bad dog master leave-PC.SS go.PAST-3SG
'The bad dog left, abandoning its master.'

c. *Bu etete-zeŋe-fi* *oŋmo-no:* *'ai-we* *m'ei*
we work-FUT-SS.PL forget-PC.SS vodka-ACC only
umi-li-e-mu.
drink-INC-PAST-1PL.EX
'Having forgotten that we had to work, we started just drinking vodka.'

d. *Bi* *abuga-i* *bi* *in'ei-we-i* *xebu-ne:*
me father-1SG me dog-ACC-1SG take-PC.SS
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
'My father left, having taken my dog.'

e. *Bi* *od'o-wo* *mama-wa*
me grandfather-ACC grandmother-ACC
eniŋe-we *wende-ne:* *ŋene:-mi.*
mother-ACC throw-PC.SS go.PAST-1SG
'I went, having left the grandfather, the grandmother, and the mother.'

7.6.2.4. Conditional Converbs

Conditional Converbs fall into two types: (Realis) Conditional Converbs which express factual condition (7.6.2.4.1) and Irrealis Conditional Converbs which express a counterfactual condition (7.6.2.4.2).

7.6.2.4.1. Realis Conditional Converb

Different-subject forms of the Conditional Converb are formed with the suffix *-lisi-* followed by the different-subject markers (type IV personal inflections). Examples: *wakca-lisi-ni* 'if he hunts' <hunt-CC-3SG>, *dian-a-lisi-ti* 'if they say' <say-0-CC-3PL>. Same-subject forms use the suffixes *-li* for the Singular and *-lie* for the Plural. Examples: *wakca-li* 'if one (SS SG) hunts' <hunt-CC.SS>, *dian-a-lie* 'if one (SS PL) says' <say-0-CC.SS.PL>. All forms are derived from the present stem (with the epenthetic vowel for class II verbs).

Negative auxiliary same-subject forms are *e-li* for the Singular and *e-lie* for the Plural. For different-subject forms the negative auxiliary Conditional Converb is formed from the stem *e-lisi-* with the different-subject suffixes, for example: *e-lisi-ni jexe* 'if he doesn't sing' <NEG-CC-3SG sing>.

We also have at least one example in which the Conditional Converbs has a passive form marked with the passive affix *–u-*.

(385) *E-u-li* *xugi* *bude* *bude-ini.*
NEG-PAST-CC.SS turn die die-3SG
'If it is not turned (back), it dies.'

7.6.2.4.2. Irrealis Conditional Converbs

Irrealis Conditional Converbs are analytic, they contain the impersonal active participle of the content verb and the copula *bi-si*, which does not change for different personal forms. The form *bi-si* is in fact the Perfective Converb of the verb *bi-* without personal inflections. Thus, the Irrealis Conditional Converb does not mark subject agreement; one form is used for all numbers and persons. Irrealis Conditional Converbs oppose two tenses, the Present and the Past formed with the Present and Past Participles, correspondingly, as well as the Necessitative, for which Future Participles are employed. The latter has the Passive form. Examples:

(386) Irrealis Conditional Converb Present
i wakca-i bi-si 'if you hunted'
<you hunt-PRP be-PAST>
Irrealis Conditional Converb Past
si wakca: bi-si 'if you had hunted'
<you hunt.PP be-PAST>
Irrealis Conditional Converb Necessitative
si wakca-zaŋa bi-si 'if you had to hunt'
<you hunt-FP be-PAST>
Irrealis Conditional Converb Necessitative Passive
wakca-u-zeŋe bi-si 'if one had to hunt'
<hunt-PAS-FP be-PAST>

Negations are: *si ei wakca bi-si* 'if you didn't hunt' <you NEG hunt be-PAST>, *si e-si wakca*

bi-si ‘if you hadn’t hunted’ <you NEG-PP hunt be-PAST>, *e-u-zeŋe wakca bi-si* ‘if one didn’t have to hunt’ <NEG-PAS-FP hunt be-PAST>.

7.6.3. Infinitives

Infinitives are morphologically invariable. They do not inflect for person/number or case. The Infinitives are formed with suffixes added to the Present stem (followed by the epenthetic vowel for class II verbs).

7.6.3.1. Infinitive

The marker of this Infinitive is *-mi.* Examples:

(387)	Class I		Class II	
	jexe-mi	‘sing’	*dian-a-mi*	‘say’
	bu-mi	‘give		
	umi-mi	‘drink’		

Class II verbs occasionally have the stem-final /*n*/ consonant dropped before the Infinitive affix; obviously the epenthetic vowel is not present in this case, for example: *kepte-we-mi* ‘make somebody lie’ <lie-CAUS-INF>.

As is usual with final /*i*/, the final vowel in the Infinitive suffix can often either be truncated or changed into *ie,* so forms such as *diga-m ~ diga-mie ~ diga-mi* ‘eat’ are variants that depend on the pronounciation style, the intonation, and emphasis within the sentence (see also 2.1.5).

The negative Infinitive is formed from the negative auxiliary Present stem *ei-* by adding the Infinitive marker, for example: *ei-mi jexe* ‘not to sing’ <NEG-INF sing>.

7.6.3.2. Impersonal Infinitive

The Impersonal Infinitive is available, but is infrequent in the modern Bikin dialect, although it is commonly used in the Northern dialect. Schneider (1936) referred to it as the Plural Infinitive (Gerund, in his terms) and recorded it with the suffix *-mei*, and so did Kormušin (1998) and Sunik (1968: 225). In the modern Bikin dialect it is formed with the affix *-mu* (probably, a result of the histrorical contraction from *-mei*).

(388)	Class I	*jexe-mu*	‘singing’	
	Class II	*dian-a-mu*	‘saying’	<say-0-IMI>

7.6.3.3. Future Infinitive

A few examples are found in which the Infinitive has a compound form: the Future Participle of the content verb is followed by the Infinitive of the copula verb ‘be’ *bi-mi*, for example: *jexe-zeŋe bi-mi* ‘going to sing’ <sing-FP be-INF>. The Future Infinitive expresses the Necessitative or the Future meaning.

(389) a.	*Si ceze*	*mun-e-we*	*mamasa-la-zaŋa*	*bi-mi*
	you true	we-0-ACC	wife-V-FP	be-INF

a-wa *namu* *tagä-ixi-ni* *mun-e-we*
that-ACC sea other.side-LAT-3SG we-0-ACC
gazi-je.
take-IMP.2SG
'If you really have to marry us, take us to the other side of the sea.'
(K 185)

b. *Min-e-we* *wa-zaŋa* *bi-mi* *min-e-we*
me-0-ACC kill-FP be-INF me-0-ACC
alasi-mi *wa:-i.*
wait-INF kill-PRP
'Going to kill me, he waits for me and will kill (me).'

c. *Eme-zeŋe* *bi-mi* *bi* *tu:-ŋi-ne-i*
come-FP be-INF me pole-AL-DEST-1SG
wo-jie.
make-IMP.2SG
'Since they will come, make a pole for me.'

d. *Gele-je* *min-e-we* *niŋmele-zeŋe* *bi-mi.*
ask-IMP.2SG me-0-ACC swallow-FP be-INF
'Ask (him) if you are going to swallow me.' (SKX 268)

e. *Bi* *pala-ŋi-wa-i* *uniŋa-la-ja-u*
me porridge-AL-ACC-1SG spoon-V-IMP-2PL
bi *sita-la-i* *ni* *mafa-la-zaŋa bi-mi.*
me child-LOC-1SG who husband-V-FUT be-INF
'Whoever is going to marry my son, eat my porridge.' (SKX 188)

7.6.3.4. Passive Impersonal Infinitive

In the Northern dialect the Impersonal Infinitive has a passive variant, formed with the regular passive morpheme *-u-* (8.2.1.5.1) which precedes the Infinitive marker, cf.: *diga-u-mu* 'be eaten', *nodo-u-mu* 'be lost'. Examples of the Passive Infintive are:

(390) a. *Kusige-zi* *to:pti-tigi* *sondo* *bagaba-u-mu.*
knife-INST heart-LAT sin poke-PAS-IMI
'It is a sin to poke with a knife into (somebody's) heart.' (SK 135)

b. *Anana* *j'e-we-de* *gada-u-mu* *egdi*
earlier what-ACC-IND buy-PAS-IMI much
bi-s'e.
be-PERF
'Earlier there used to be many things to byu.' (SK 225)

c. *J'e-we-de* *te-u-mu* *ančі.*
what-ACC-IND put-PAS-IMI no
'There is nothing to put (down).' (SK 116)

d. *Kala-zi* *olokto-u-mu* *jo:-ni* *p'a-p'a*
kettle-INST cook-PAS-IMI surface-3SG black-black
odo.
become
'When you cook in a kettle, its surface gets very black.'

7.6.4. Inchoative non-finite forms

Most non-finite verbs have analytic inchoative forms which indicate that the action denoted by the verb has just started or is about to start. Inchoative non-finite forms are built by means of the auxiliary *o-/e-, osi(-gi)-/esi(-gi)-* 'remain, become' (on this auxiliary see 17.1.3). The auxiliary is preceded by the corresponding non-finite form of the content verb, for example, a participle in (391a) and (391b) or the Infinitive in (391c). It may remain uninflected.

(391) a. *Ge* *Boxo* *tene* *eme-i* *osi*
well Boxo CONT come-PRP become
i:-zeŋe-ni.
enter-FUT-3SG
'Well, as soon as Boxo comes, he will enter.' (SKX 278)

b. *Anana* *sike* *bi-ŋe:-i* *maŋga* *deu-i*
earlier young be-IC-1SG strong get.tired-PRP
osi *ŋua-i* *bi-s'e-i.*
become sleep-PRP be-PERF-1SG
'Earlier, when I was young, when I was very tired I used to sleep.' (SKX 222)

c. *Min-e-we* *galakta-na-mi* *osi-gi* *ei*
me-0-ACC seek-DIR-INF become-REP this
sue *kakt'a-zi-ni* *min-e-we*
whetstone half-INST-3SG me-0-ACC
b'a-gi-ze-i.
find-REP-SUBJ-2SG
'If you will go to look for me, you will find me by this half of the whetstone.' (SKX 192).

7.7. Illustrative paradigms

This section presents illustrative paradigms of the following verbs: class I *jexe-* 'sing', *bu-* 'give'; class II *dian(a)-* 'say'; auxiliary *bi-* 'be' and the negative auxiliary *e(i)*. For the verb *dian(a)-* the epenthetic vowel is shown in brackets when it is optional. If for a particular category not all verbs are cited, this means that the remaining verbs exhibit an analogous pattern. For example, the conjugation of the auxiliary *bi-* is often simialr to that of the negative auxiliary. Impersonal verbal forms (impersonal forms of participles and infinitives, Irrealis Conditional Converbs), as well as analytic forms, are not presented here; see the corresponding sections.

General aspect
Present

1 SG	*jexe-mi*	*bu-mi*	*dian-a-mi*	*bi-mi*	*ei-mi*
2 SG	*jexe-i*	*bu-i*	*dian-a-i*	*bi:*	*ei*
3 SG	*jexe-ini*	*bu-ini*	*dian-a-ini*	*bi:-ni*	*e-ini*
1 PL EX	*jexe-u*	*bu:*	*dian-a-u*	*bi-u*	*e-u*
1 PL IN	*jexe-fi*	*bu-fi*	*dian-a-fi*	*bi-fi*	*ei-fi*
2 PL	*jexe-u*	*bu:*	*dian-a-u*	*bi-u*	*e-u*
3 PL	*jexe-iti*	*bu-iti*	*dian-a-iti*	*bi:-ti*	*e-iti*

Past

1 SG	*jexe:-mi*	*bu-o:-mi*	*diaŋ-ki-mi*	*e-si-mi*
2 SG	*jexe:-i*	*bu-o:-i*	*diaŋ-ki:*	*e-si:*
3 SG	*jexe:-ni*	*bu-o:-ni*	*diaŋ-ki-ni*	*e-si-ni*
1 PL EX	*jexe:-mu*	*bu-o:-mu*	*diaŋ-ki-mu*	*e-si-mu*
1 PL IN	*je*xe:*-fi*	*bu-o:-fi*	*diaŋ-ki-fi*	*e-si-fi*
2 PL	*jexe:-u*	*bu-o:-u*	*diaŋ-ki-u*	*e-si-u*
3 PL	*jexe:-ti*	*bu-o:-ti*	*diaŋ-ki-ti*	*e-si-ti*

Perfect

1 SG	*jex'e-i*	*bu-ge-i*	*diaŋ-ka-i*	*e-s'e-i*
2 SG	*jex'e-i*	*bu-ge-i*	*diaŋ-ka-i*	*e-s'e-i*
3 SG	*jex'e*	*bu-ge*	*diaŋ-ka*	*e-s'e*
1 PL EX	*jex'e-u*	*bu-ge-u*	*diaŋ-ka -u*	*e-s'e-u*
1 PL IN	*jex'e-ti*	*bu-ge-ti*	*diaŋ-ka-ti*	*e-s'e-ti*
2 PL	*jex'e-u*	*bu-ge-u*	*diaŋ-ka-u*	*e-s'e-u*
3 PL	*jex'e-du*	*bu-du-ge*	*diaŋ-ka-du*	*e-s'e-du*

Future

1 SG	*jexe-zeŋe-i*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-i*	*e-zeŋe-i*
2 SG	*jexe-zeŋe-i*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-i*	*e-zeŋe-i*
3 SG	*jexe-zeŋe-ni*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-ni*	*e-zeŋe-ni*
1 PL EX	*jexe-zeŋe-u*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-u*	*e-zeŋe-u*
1 PL PL	*jexe-zeŋe-fi*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-fi*	*e-zeŋe-fi*
2 PL	*jexe-zeŋe-u*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-u*	*e-zeŋe-u*
3 PL	*jexe-zeŋe-ti*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-ti*	*e-zeŋe-ti*

Imperative

2 SG	*jexe-je*	*dian-a-ja*	*e-zi*
2 PL	*jexe-je-u*	*dian-a-ja-u*	*e-zi-u*

Conditional

1 SG	*jexe-muse-i*	*dian-a-muse-i*	*e-muse-i*
2 SG	*jexe-muse-i*	*dian-a-muse-i*	*e-muse-i*
3 SG	*jexe-muse*	*dian-a-muse*	*e-muse*
1 PL EX	*jexe-muse-u*	*dian-a-muse-u*	*e-muse-u*
1 PL IN	*jexe-muse-ti*	*dian-a-muse-ti*	*e-muse-ti*
2 PL	*jexe-muse-u*	*dian-a-muse-u*	*e-muse-u*
3 PL	*jexe-du-muse*	*dian-(a)-du-muse*	*e-du-muse*

Subjunctive

1 SG	*jexe-ze-mi*	*dian-(a)-za-mi*	*ata-mi*
2 SG	*jexe-ze-i*	*dian-(a)-za-i*	*ata-i*
3 SG	*jexe-ze*	*dian-(a)-za*	*ata*
1 PL EX	*jexe-ze-u*	*dian-(a)-za-u*	*ata-u*

1 PL IN	*jexe-ze-fi*	*dian-(a)-za-fi*	*ata-fi*
2 PL	*jexe-ze-u*	*dian-(a)-za-u*	*ata-u*
3 PL	*jexe-du-ze*	*dian-a-du-ze*	*ata-du*

Permissive

1 SG	*jexe-te-mi*	*dian-(a)-ta-mi*	*ata-mi*
2 SG	*jexe-te-i*	*dian-(a)-ta-i*	*ata-i*
3 SG	*jexe-te*	*dian-(a)-ta*	*ata*
1 PL EX	*jexe-te-u*	*dian-(a)-ta-u*	*ata-u*
1 PL IN	*jexe-te-fi*	*dian-(a)-ta-fi*	*ata-fi*
2 PL	*jexe-te-u*	*dian-(a)-ta-u*	*ata-u*
3 PL	*exe-te-du*	*dian-(a)-ta-du*	*ata-du*

Participles

Active participles
Present tense
Personal forms (Nominative)

SS

SG	*jexe-i*	*dian-a-i*	*bi:*	*e-i*
PL	*jexe-i-fi*	*dian-a-i-fi*	*bi:-fi*	*e-i-fi*

DS

1 SG	*jexe-i*	*dian-a-i*	*bi:*	*e-i*
2 SG	*jexe-i*	*dian-a-i*	*bi:*	*e-i*
3 SG	*jexe-i-ni*	*dian-a-i-ni*	*bi:-ni*	*e-i-ni*
1 PL IN	*jexe-i-fi*	*dian-a-i-fi*	*bi:-fi*	*e-i-fi*
1 PL EX	*jexe-u*	*dian-a-u*	*bi:-u*	*e-i-u*
2 PL	*jexe-u*	*dian-a-u*	*bi:-u*	*e-i-u*
3 PL	*jexe-i-ti*	*dian-a-i-ti*	*bi:-ti*	*e-i-ti*

An example of the case paradigm (the verb *bu-* ‘give’):

	1, 2 SG	3 SG
ACC	*bu-i-we-i*	*bu-i-we-ni*
DAT	*bu-i-di:*	*bu-i-di-ni*
ALL	*bu-i-tigi:*	*bu-i-tigi-ni*
LOC	*bu-i-le-i*	*bu-i-le-ni*
ABL	*bu-i-digi:*	*bu-i-digi-ni*
PROL	*bu-i-li:*	*bu-i-li-ni*
INST	*bu-i-zi:*	*bu-i-zi-ni*

	1 PL IN	I PL EX, 2PL
ACC	*bu-i-we-fi*	*bu-i-we-u*
DAT	*bu-i-di-fi*	*bu-i-du:*
ALL	*bu-i-tigi-fi*	*bu-i-tigi-u*
LOC	*bu-i-le-fi*	*bu-i-le-u*
ABL	*bu-i-digi-fi*	*bu-i-digi-u*
PROL	*bu-i-li-fi*	*bu-i-li-u*
INST	*bu-i-zi-fi*	*bu-i-zi-u*

	3 PL	SS PL	SS SG
ACC	*bu-i-we-ti*	*bu-i-fi*	*bu-i*
DAT	*bu-i-di-ti*	*bu-i-di-fi*	*bu-i-di:*
ALL	*bu-i-tigi-ti*	*bu-i-tigi-fi*	*bu-i-tigi:*
LOC	*bu-i-le-ti*	*bu-i-le-fi*	*bu-i-le-i*
ABL	*bu-i-digi-ti*	*bu-i-digi-fi*	*bu-i-digi:*
PROL	*bu-i-li-ti*	*bu-i-li-fi*	*bu-i-li:*
INST	*bu-i-zi-ti*	*bu-i-zi-fi*	*bu-i-zi:*

Past Participle
Personal forms (Nominative)

SS				
SG	*jexe:-mi*	*bu-o:-mi*	*diaŋ-ki-mi*	*e-si-mi*
PL	*jexe:-fi*	*bu-o:-fi*	*diaŋ-ki-fi*	*e-si-fi*

DS				
1 SG	*jexe:-mi*	*bu-o:-mi*	*diaŋ-ki-mi*	*e-si-mi*
2 SG	*jexe:-i*	*bu-o:-i*	*diaŋ-ki-i*	*e-si:*
3 SG	*jexe:-ni*	*bu-o:-ni*	*diaŋ-ki-ni*	*e-si-ni*
1 PL IN	*jexe:-fi*	*bu-o:-fi*	*diaŋ-ki-fi*	*e-si-fi*
1 PL EX	*jexe:-mu*	*bu-o:-mu*	*diaŋ-ki-mu*	*e-si-mu*
2 PL	*jexe:-u*	*bu-o:-u*	*diaŋ-ki-u*	*e-si-u*
3 PL	*jexe:-ti*	*bu-o:-ti*	*diaŋ-ki-ti*	*e-si-ti*

An example of the paradigm (the verb *bu:-* ‘give’):

	1, 2 SG	3 SG	1 PL IN
ACC	*bu-o:-me-i*	*bu-o:-me-ni*	*bu-o:-me-fi*
DAT	*bu-on-di:*	*bu-on-di-ni*	*bu-on-di-fi*
ALL	*bu-on-tigi:*	*bu-on-tigi-ni*	*bu-on-tigi-fi*
LOC	*bu-on-dile-i*	*bu-on-dile-ni*	*bu-on-dile-fi*
ABL	*bu-on-digi:*	*bu-on-digi-ni*	*bu-on-digi-fi*
PROL	*bu-on-dili:*	*bu-on-dili-ni*	*bu-on-dili-fi*
INST	*bu-on-zi:*	*bu-on-zi-ni*	*bu-on-zi-fi*

	1 PL EX, 2PL	3 PL
ACC	*bu-o:-me-u*	*bu-o:-me-ti*
DAT	*bu-on-du:*	*bu-on-di-ti*
ALL	*bu-on-tigi-u*	*bu-on-tigi-ti*
LOC	*bu-on-dile-u*	*bu-on-dile-ti*
ABL	*bu-on-digi-u*	*bu-on-digi-ti*
PROL	*bu-on-dili-u*	*bu-on-dili-ti*
INST	*bu-on-zi-u*	*bu-on-zi-ti*
	SS PL	SS SG

ACC	*bu-o:-fi*	*bu-o:-i*
DAT	*bu-on-di-fi*	*bu-on-di:*
ALL	*bu-on-tigi-fi*	*bu-on-tigi:*
LOC	*bu-on-dile-fi*	*bu-on-dile-i*
ABL	*bu-on-digi-fi*	*bu-on-digi:*
PROL	*bu-on-dili-fi*	*bu-on-dili:*
INST	*bu-on-zi-fi*	*bu-on-zi:*

Future Participle
Personal forms (Nominative)

SS			
SG	*jexe-zeŋe-i*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-i*	*e-zeŋe-i*
PL	*jexe-zeŋe-fi*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-fi*	*e-zeŋe-fi*
DS			
1 SG	*jexe-zeŋe-i*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-i*	*e-zeŋe-i*
2 SG	*jexe-zeŋe-i*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-i*	*e-zeŋe-i*
3 SG	*jexe-zeŋe-ni*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-ni*	*e-zeŋe-ni*
1 PL IN	*jexe-zeŋe-fi*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-fi*	*e-zeŋe-fi*
1 PL EX	*jexe-zeŋe-u*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-u*	*e-zeŋe-u*
2 PL	*jexe-zeŋe-u*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-u*	*e-zeŋe-u*
3 PL	*jexe-zeŋe-ti*	*dian-(a)-zaŋa-ti*	*e-zeŋe-ti*

An example of the case paradigm (the verb *bu:*- ‘give’):

	1,2 SG	3 SG
ACC	*bu-zeŋe-we-i*	*bu-zeŋe-we-ni*
DAT	*bu-zeŋe-di:*	*bu-zeŋe-di-ni*
ALL	*bu-zeŋe-tigi:*	*bu-zeŋe-tigi-ni*
LOC	*bu-zeŋe-le-i*	*bu-zeŋe-le-ni*
ABL	*bu-zeŋe-digi:*	*bu-zeŋe-digi-ni*
PROL	*bu-zeŋe-li:*	*bu-zeŋe-li-ni*

	1PL IN	2PL, 1PL EX
ACC	*bu-zeŋe-we-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-we-u*
DAT	*bu-zeŋe-di-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-du:*
ALL	*bu-zeŋe-tigi-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-tigi-u*
LOC	*bu-zeŋe-le-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-le-u*
ABL	*bu-zeŋe-digi-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-digi-u*
PROL	*bu-zeŋe-li-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-li-u*
INST	*bu-zeŋe-zi-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-zi-u*

	3PL	SS PL	SS SG
ACC	*bu-zeŋe-we-ti*	*bu-zeŋe-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-i*
DAT	*bu-zeŋe-di-ti*	*bu-zeŋe-di-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-di:*
ALL	*bu-zeŋe-tigi-ti*	*bu-zeŋe-tigi-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-tigi:*
LOC	*bu-zeŋe-le-ti*	*bu-zeŋe-le-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-le-i*
ABL	*bu-zeŋe-digi-ti*	*bu-zeŋe-digi-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-digi:*
PROL	*bu-zeŋe-li-ti*	*bu-zeŋe-li-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-li:*
INST	*bu-zeŋe-zi-ti*	*bu-zeŋe-zi-fi*	*bu-zeŋe-zi:*

Purposive Converb

SS			
SG	*jexe-lege-mi*	*dian-a-laga-mi*	*e-lege-mi*
PL	*jexe-lege-fi*	*dian-a-laga-fi*	*e-lege-fi*

DS			
1 SG	*jexe-lege-i*	*dian-a-laga-i*	*e-lege-i*
2 SG	*jexe-lege-i*	*dian-a-laga-i*	*e-lege-i*
3 SG	*jexe-lege-ni*	*dian-a-laga-ni*	*e-lege-ni*
1 PL IN	*jexe-lege-fi*	*dian-a-laga-fi*	*e-lege-fi*
1 PL EX	*jexe-lege-u*	*dian-a-laga-u*	*e-lege-u*
2 PL	*jexe-lege-u*	*dian-a-laga-u*	*e-lege-u*
3 PL	*jexe-lege-ti*	*dian-a-laga-ti*	*e-lege-ti*

Imperfective Converb

SS		
SG	*jexe-ŋie-i*	*dia-ŋie-i*
PL	*jexe-ŋie-fi*	*dia-ŋie-fi*

DS		
1 SG	*jexe-ŋie-i*	*dia-ŋie-i*
2 SG	*jexe-ŋie-i*	*dia-ŋie-i*
3 SG	*jexe-ŋie-ni*	*dia-ŋie-ni*
1 PL IN	*jexe-ŋie-fi*	*dia-ŋie-fi*
1 PL EX	*jexe-ŋie-u*	*dia-ŋie-u*
2 PL	*jexe-ŋie-u*	*dia-ŋie-u*
3 PL	*jexe-ŋie-ti*	*dia-ŋie-ti*

Perfective Converb

SS				
SG	*jex'e-si* *e-s'e-li*	*bu-ge-si*	*diaŋ-ka-si*	*bi-s'e-si*
PL	*jexe-du-ge-si* *e-du-ge-si*	*bu-du-ge-si*	*dian-a-du-ge-si*	*bi-du-ge-si*

DS				
1 SG	*jexe-isi*	*dian-a-isi*	*bi:-si*	*e-isi*
2 SG	*jexe-isi*	*dian-a-isi*	*bi:-si*	*e-isi*
3 SG	*jexe-isi-ni*	*dian-a-isi-ni*	*bi:-si-ni*	*e-isi-ni*
1 PL IN	*jexe-isi-fi*	*dian-a-isi-fi*	*bi:-si-fi*	*e-isi-fi*
1 PL EX	*jexe-isi-u*	*dian-a-isi-u*	*bi:-si-u*	*e-isi-u*
2 PL	*jexe-isi-u*	*dian-a-isi-u*	*bi:-si-u*	*e-isi-u*

3 PL	*jexe-isi-ti*	*dian-a-isi-ti*	*bi:-si-ti*	*e-isi-ti*

Conditional Converb

SS			
SG	*jexe-li*	*dian-a-li*	*e-li*
PL	*jexe-lie*	*dian-a-lie*	*e-lie*
DS			
1 SG	*jexe-lisi:*	*dian-a-lisi:*	*e-lisi:*
2 SG	*jexe-lisi:*	*dian-a-lisi:*	*e-lisi:*
3 SG	*jexe-lisi-ni*	*dian-a-lisi-ni*	*e-lisi-ni*
1 PL IN	*jexe-lisi-fi*	*dian-a-lisi-fi*	*e-lisi-fi*
1 PL EX	*jexe-lisi-u*	*dian-a-lisi-u*	*e-lisi-u*
2 PL	*jexe-lisi-u*	*dian-a-lisi-u*	*e-lisi-u*
3 PL	*jexe-lisi-ti*	*dian-a-lisi-ti*	*e-lisi-ti*

7.8. Functions of the Indicative tense/aspect categories

Outside declarative sentences, the Indicative forms function in interrogative sentences (23.1).

7.8.1. General aspect

The term «general aspect» is conventional. It is applied here to all verbal finite forms other than those characterized as Habitual or Progressive. It therefore embraces forms with a perfective and imperfective meaning. 7.8.1.1. Present

The Present tense can be formed from all verbs with the exception of experiential verbs in *-sA-* (8.2.2.10) and intensive verbs in *-ki-, -kA-* (8.2.2.11.2) which, due to their semantics, occur only in one of the past tenses.

7.8.1.1.1. Progressive meaning

Although the Habitual and Progressive are grammaticized in separate categories, the Present tense of the general aspect is used in both these functions. In fact, in both imperfective functions (the habitual and progressive), the Present is preferred to the specialized aspectual forms, the latter only being used if it is especially important to emphasize the aspectual meaning. Note also that telic verbs do not have Progressive forms (see 7.7.3) while the Present tense is possible for virtually all semantic types of verbs.

The Present refers to actions in progress at the moment of speaking. In addition, it expresses states that obtain at the moment of speech, when the progressive character is not necessarily specified.

(392) a. *Wasia* *mä:usa-wa* *zawa-ini.*
Vasya gun-ACC take-3SG
'Vasya is taking/takes the gun.'

b. *Eigaŋkini* *bi* *eke-le* *ančі* *bi-mi.*
now me time-PART no be-1SG

‘I do not have time now.’

7.8.1.1.2. Habitual meaning

The Present may be used to express generalized situations without any specific time reference, cf.:

(393) a. *Zikte* *zei* *limonika* *züj.*
blueberry sweet schizandra sour
‘Blueberry is sweet, schizandra (a local creeper) berries are sour.’
b. *Taŋi:-ni* *aja-zi.*
read-3SG good-INST
‘He reads well.’

7.8.1.1.3. ***Praesens historicum***

The Present is used in narratives with both perfective and imperfective meaning. Cf. (394) taken from folklore texts.

(394) a. *Nua-ti* *ŋene-iti* *ba:-za* *ge-li-ni*
he-3PL walk-3PL place-N surface-PROL-3SG
tuge-zi *tukä:i-ti* *in’ei-ziga* *tuxi-we*
quick-INST run-3PL dog-PL slegde-ACC
uŋkäla-iti.
carry-3PL
Pakula *tuxi* *kä:-la-ni* *tukä-ini,*
Pakula sledge side-LOC-3SG run-3SG
in’ei-ziga-wa *kaja-ini.* *Si* *Säŋa-da* *tuxi-le*
dog-ACC drive-3SG Si San-FOC sledge-LOC
ŋua-ini.
sleep-3SG
‘They are walking quickly in the forest. The dogs are running, carrying the sledge. Pakula is running by the sledge, driving on the dogs. And Si San is sleeping on the sledge.’
b. *Ti:* *emne-de* *exe-ne-ni* *sa-ili.*
that once-FOC sister-PL-3SG know-3SG
‘So one day her sisters learnt (about this).’
c. *Uti* *pečka-tigi* *wende-le-mi* *susa-kta-ili.*
that oven-LAT throw-SING-INF escape-DIS-3SG
‘Having thrown (it) into the oven, they escaped.’

7.8.1.2. Past

7.8.1.2.1. Perfective meaning

The Past tense is the usual way to refer to time anterior to the moment of speech. Most commonly it refers to a perfective event in the past (395) or expresses a sequence of consecutive perfective actions in the past (396).

(395) a. *Ni* *bu-o:-ni* *ei* *kusige-we sin-du?*
who give-PAST-3SG this knife-ACC you-DAT
'Who gave you this knife?'
b. *Nina-de* *emegi-e-ni.*
Nina-FOC come-PAST-3SG
'Even Nina came.'

(396) *Zogbo-i* *zawa-mie* *zoŋcile:-ni,* *d'ofo*
harpoon-REF take-INF throw.PAST-3SG immediately
nagda:-ni.
reach.PAST-3SG
'After having taken out the harpoon, he threw it, and reached (the target) immediately.'

7.8.1.2.2. Imperfective meaning

The Past may also refer to an imperfective situation that obtains prior to the moment of speech.

(397) a. *Nua-ni* *sokto:-ni.*
he-3SG drink.PAST-3SG
He was drinking.
b. *Dogbo* *iŋeni* *uŋkäla:-ni.*
night day carry.PAST-3SG
'He was carrying (them) for days and nights.' (K 170)

7.8.1.3. Perfect

The Perfect is used to express an individual actualized situation in the past.

7.8.1.3.1. Resultative meaning

The main function of the Perfect is to refer to a perfective event in the past. It therefore combines a time reference with an aspectual meaning. Like the Perfect in a number of other languages, the Udihe Perfect in this function triggers the implication of result, that is, the relevance of the past situation at the moment of speech (as opposed to the Past tense). Normally, only telic verbs are used in this function in the Perfect.

Clauses with the Perfect tend to be short. Typically they do not include any constituents other than the subject and the verb itself. This is probably related to the communicative function that is often associated with the verb in the Perfect. It tends to convey new (focus) information. With the assumption that each clause normally conveys one piece of new information, other non-verbal constituents are unlikely to co-occur with the focussed verb.

(398) a. *Bi* *emegi-ge-i.*
me come-PERF-1SG
'I have come back.'
b. *Where is your gun?*
Nod'o-i.
loose.PERF-1SG

‘I have lost it.’

c. *In’ei-ziga* *susa-du-ge.*
dog-PL escape-PL-PERF
‘The dogs have escaped.’

d. *Ge* *zugdi* *ise-pte-li-ge.*
here house see-DEC-INC-PERF
‘Here it is, the house has appeared.’

e. *Akandi* *ilaktaŋ-ka* *gune*.
Akandi appear-PERF EV
‘(He sees:) here has appeared Akandi.’ (K 121)

Often the resultative Perfect adds the semantic element ‘already’ to the description of the situation in the past, since a separate lexeme meaning ‘already’ does not exist in Udihe.

(399) a. *Bring some water.*
Bi *gaŋna-s’a-i.*
me bring-EXP-PERF-1SG
‘I have (already) brought it.’

b. *Don’t repeat it.*
Bi *egzegi-ge-i.*
me understand-PERF-1SG
‘I have (already) understood it.’

The Perfect verbs do not usually co-occur with definite time adverbials and with iterative adverbials. However, they are compatible with indefinite time adverbials and particles that characterize action from the aspectual point of view, and are also likely to signalize the focus function of the verb, such as *ketige* ‘almost’, *ei* ‘just’, and *eifili* ‘more, again’.

(400) a. *Nua-ni* *ketige* *tiŋmel’e.*
he-3SG almost fell.PERF
‘He has almost fallen down.’

b. *Bi* *ei* *diaŋ-ka-i*
me just say-PERF-1SG
‘I have just said it.’

c. *Eifili* *em’e,* *eifili* *em’e*
more come.PERF more come.PERF
‘He came (once) and then came again.’

7.8.1.3.2. Perfect in yes-no questions

Close to the resultative function is the use of the Perfect in yes-no questions which refer to the situation in the past, whereas in *wh*-questions about an event in the past it is typically the Past tense that is used. In such an utterance the focus domain extends over the verb alone.

(401) a. *Sergei* *mamasa-l’a?*
Sergei wife-V.PERF
‘Has Sergei married?’

b. *Iwana* *sin-du* *kusige-we bu-ge*
Ivan you-DAT knife-ACC give-PERF

e-si-ni *bu-o:-s(i)?*
NEG-PAST-3SG give-PAST-DIS
'Has Ivan given the knife to you or not?'

c. *Si* *diaŋ-ka-i* *eniŋe-tigi:* *min-zi*
you say-PERF-2SG mother-LAT.REF we-INST
geje *ŋene-lege-mi* *ba:-za*
with walk-PURP-SS place-N
ge-tigi-ni?
surface-LAT-3SG
'Have you said to your mother that you would go to the forest with us?'

7.8.1.3.3. «Hot news» meaning

The Perfect can also be used in a «hot news» situation, or to report on an unexpected event (402). Compare (403a), produced in a situation when the speaker comes from outside and announces the news, with (403b) where the regular Past is used, which rather has a narrative or «descriptive» character.

(402) a. *Exe* *seuni:* *seuni:* *xuli-s'e.*
sister awful awful come-EXP.PERF
'Sister, an awful awful one has come.'(K 105).

b. *ŋua-gi-si:-ti,* *dogbo* *j'eu-dele* *komokto*
sleep-REP-IM-3PL night what-IND bell
jaida-li-ge.
ring-INC-PERF
'They were sleeping again, and (suddenly) in the night a bell started ringing.' (K182)

(403) a. *Tigde-li-ge* *ba:-la!*
rain-INC-PERF place-LOC
'It has started raining outside!'

b. *Ba:-la* *tigde-li-e-ni.*
place-LOC rain-INC-PAST-3SG
'It started raining.'

However, the regular Past is not totally ruled out in the «hot news» situation either.

(404) *Ag'a-i,* *minti-le* *eme:-ni* *omo*
brother-1SG we-LOC come.PAST-3SG one
od'o-ko.
old.man-N
'Brother, an old man has come to us.' (K 170)

7.8.1.3.4. Experiential meaning

In its experiential function the Perfect expresses the notion that an event occurred at least once prior to the moment of speech. This case applies not only to telic but also to atelic verbs. Verbs with the experiential suffix *-sA-* are often found in the Perfect (see 8.2.2.10), but this is not necessarily so, as (405) illustrates.

(405) *Nua-ti* *e-s'e* *etete-du*
he-3SG NEG.PERF work-PL
'They haven't (ever) worked.'

7.8.1.4. Future

The Future tense can be formed from virtually all verbs except desiderative verbs in *-mu:i-* (8.2.3.1). The Future refers to situations that are in the future with respect to the moment of speech, both perfective (406) and imperfective (407). It may imply various modal nuances, such as promise, necessity, potentiality, and the like.

(406) *Ña* *kumte-lisi-u* *nua-ni* *sun-a-wa*
again turn.over-CC-2PL he-3SG you.PL-0-ACC
dukte-zeŋe-ni.
beat-FUT-3SG
'If you turn over again, he will beat you up.'

(407) a. *Caixi* *ŋene-zeŋe-fi.*
further walk-FUT-1PL.IN
'We will walk further.'
b. *Ketu* *zei* *t'ala* *bi-zeŋe-ni.*
very tasty food be-FUT-3SG
'It will be a very tasty meal (made of raw fish).'
c. *Ñ'aula-ziga* *soŋo-zoŋo-ti.*
child-PL cry-FUT-3PL
'The children will cry.'

7.8.1.5. Pluperfect

The Pluperfect is an absolute-relative tense: it refers to situations in the remote past, and also expresses temporal precedence to another past situation.

7.8.1.5.1. Remote past

The first meaning can be present on its own, as in the examples below. In this case the Pluperfect refers to an isolated perfective or imperfective situation in the remote past, normally with the implication that this situation does not obtain anymore.

(408) a. *Anana* *uti* *ni:* *min-e-we* *koŋko:-ni*
long.ago this man me-0-ACC beat.PP-3SG *bi-s'e.*
be-PERF
'A long time ago this man beat me.'
b. *Anana* *xuda-wa-fi* *niŋka-du*
long.ago fur-ACC-REF Chinese-DAT
xuda-si-e-mu *bi-s'e.*
fur-V-PP-1EX be-PERF
'A long time ago we used to sell fur to the Chinese people.'

c. *Bi ñ'aula bi-ŋie-i xoŋto ñ'aula-ziga*
me child be-IC-1SG other child-PL
min-e-we koŋko:-ti bi-s'e.
me-0-ACC beat.PP-3PL be-PERF
'When I was a child, the other children beat me.'

d. *Anana nua-ni egdi-me umi-e-ni*
long.ago he-3SG much-ACC drink-PP-3SG
bi-s'e.
be-PERF
'A long time ago he used to drink a great deal.'

e. *Anana wakca-na-mi in'ei-we*
long.ago hunt-DEST-INF dog-ACC
alau-ge-si xuli-e-u bi-s'e.
harness-PERF-PC.SS go-PP-1PL.EX be-PERF
'A long time ago we used to go hunting, after having harnessed the dogs.'

7.8.1.5.2. Anteriority in the past

Temporal precedence to another past event is illustrated below. In narratives, the Pluperfect is used to refer to an event prior to the main story line. In this case the Pluperfect typically refers to the perfective situation (409a-b), but the imperfective situation is also possible (409c).

(409) a. *Iwana eme-gi:-si-ni bi tene*
Ivan come-REP-PC-3SG me CONT
diga-mi metu-o: bi-s'e-i.
eat-INF finish-PP be-PERF-1SG
'When John came, I had just finished eating.'

b. *Nua-ni tagda:-ni bi moxo-wo*
he-3SG curse.PAST-3SG me cup-ACC
camna: bi-si-mi.
break.PP be-PAST-1SG
'He cursed me because I had broken the cup.'

c. *Eniŋe eme-gi-e-ni zulie-ni zube časa*
mother come-REP-PP-3SG before-3SG two hour
ŋua: bi-s'e sita-ni.
sleep.PP be-PERF son-3SG
'Before the mother came, her son had slept for two hours.'

In this function, the Pluperfect is normally used in indirect speech, if the speech verb refers to the past, cf.:

(410) a. *Ñ'ädiga muisi-e-ni si nuan-di-ni*
Nadiga think-PAST-3SG you he-DAT-3SG
kesi-we bu-o: bi-s'e-i gumu.
luck- ACC give-PP be-PERF-2SG EV
'Nadiga thought you had brought (good) luck for him.'

b. *Bi xaundasi-e-mi si j'e-we b'a*
me ask-PAST-1SG you what-ACC find-PP
bi-s'e-i

be-PERF-2SG
'I asked what you had found.'

7.8.2. Habitual aspect

The Habitual aspect expresses an action which is regularly or consistently performed, and can be viewed as a characteristic of a certain period of time, rather than an accidental situation. The Habitual situation is possible in the present, past, and future. Although the habitual forms are in principle available for atelic verbs, they are rather infrequent in this use.

7.8.2.1. The Present Habitual

7.8.2.1.1. Habitual meaning

The Present Habitual refers to a general timeless situation rather than the moment of speech. It expresses an action not localized in time. Thus, in answer to the question (411)

(411) *Nua-ni j'e-we nixe-ini?*
he-3SG what-ACC do-3SG
'What is she doing (now)?'

the Habitual is not acceptable, as illustrated in (412a). Only the Present tense of the general (412b) or Progressive (412c) aspect can be used:

(412) a. **Čaja-wa umi:.*
tea-ACC drink.PRP
'She is drinking tea.'
b. *Čaja-wa umi:-ni.*
tea-ACC drink-3SG
'She is drinking tea.'
c. *Čaja-wa umi-mi.*
tea-ACC drink-INF
'She is drinking tea.'

The examples below illustrate the use of the Present Habitual.

(413) a. *Lusa j'eu-j'eu xebu-i.*
Russian what-what bring-PRP
'Russians (usually) bring everything.'
b. *Umi-du-ge-si jexe-du nua-ti.*
drink-PL-PERF-PC.SS sing-PL.PRP he-3PL
'After having drunk they (usually) sing.'
c. *Nua-ti dian-a-iti o-du soŋgo bagdi:*
he-3PL say-0-3PL this-DAT bear live.PRP
guni:-ti.
say-3PL
'They say that a bear lives here.'

d. *Ni-de* *eme-mi* *min-e-we* *bele-du.*
who-IND come-INF me-0-ACC help-PL.PRP
'Whoever comes helps me.'

e. *Nua-ni* *c'o* *aja-zi* *uli:.*
he-3SG very good-INST sew.PRP
'She sews very well.'

f. *Ni* *dexemi* *sa:-du.*
Who IND know-PL.PRP
'Everybody knows (it).'

7.8.2.1.2. Progressive meaning

The Udihe Habitual in the Present tense can sometimes have a progressive meaning. Only atelic verbs are compatible with this use. The verb is normally repeated twice to express the intensity and the repeated character of the action.

(414) a. *Bi tukä:-i* *tukä:-i.*
me run-PRP run-PRP
'I am running, running.'

b. *Te:-i* *te:-i* *ni:-de* *ei* *eme.*
sit-PRP sit-PRP who-IND NEG come
'He is sitting, sitting, nobody comes.'

c. *Utemi-de* *geun-de-i* *geun-de-i.*
so-FOC pole-V-PRP pole-V-PRP
'So he is pushing with his pole, pushing.'

7.8.2.2. The Past and Future Habitual

In the Past Habitual the verb often co-occurs with iterative adverbials such as *anana* 'long ago, before, previously', *tutulu* 'always', and *mendele* 'often'.

(415) a. *Bi* *anana* *aja-zi* *ŋua-i* *bi-s'e-i.*
me long.ago good-INST sleep-PRP be-PERF-1SG 'A long time ago I used to sleep well.'

b. *Anana* *udie* *keje-zi-ni* *dian-a-i*
long.ago Udihe language-INST-3SG say-0-PRP
bi-s'e.
be-PERF
'A long time ago he used to speak Udihe.'

c. *Bi* *ñ'aula* *bi-ŋie-i* *bi* *mafa-i*
me child be-IC-1SG me husband-1SG
mendele *koŋko-i* *bi-s'e* *min-e-we.*
often beat-PRP be-PERF me-0-ACC
'When I was young, my husband often beat me.'

d. *Niŋka* *xuda-wa* *gada-mi* *zä:-wa* *aja*
Chinese fur-ACC buy-INF money-ACC good *bu:-i*

bi-s'e.
give-PRP be-PERF
'When buying the fur, the Chinese people used to pay well.'

e. *Anana ketu sebzeŋke-zi imasi-du*
long.ago very interesting-INST tell-PL
bi-s'e.
be-PERF
'A long time ago they used to tell tales in a very interesting way.'

An example of the progressive meaning in the past is (416). When the content verb bears the Inchoative suffix -li the construction expresses the intention to perform the corresponding action, cf. (416b) and (416c).

(416) a. *Mafa-ni tene z'e ogbö wa:-mi*
man-3SG CONT soon elk kill-INF
si:-ni bi-si-ni.
skin-3SG be-PAST-3SG
'Her husband, having then killed an elk, was skinning it.'

b. *Bi ŋua-li: bi-s'e-i.*
me sleep-INC.PRP be-PERF-1SG
'I was sleepy.'

c. *Nua-ni jexe-li: bi-si-ni.*
he-3SG sing-INC.PRP be-PAST-3SG
'He felt like singing.'

An example of the Future Habitual is:

(417) *Nua-ni udie keje-zi-ni aja-zi*
he-3SG Udihe language-INST-3SG good-INST
dian-a-i bi-zeŋe-ni.
say-0-PRP be-FUT-3SG
'He will speak Udihe well.'

7.8.2.3. Habitual copula

The Habitual impersonal copula *bie* (Present tense) and *bi-s'e* (Past tense) is largely used in existential copular constructions where it can be translated as 'there is/there are' (cf. French *il y a*, German *es gibt*). On these constructions see Chapter 17, especially 17.1.2. It is also found within the analytical verbal forms, such as the Habitual (7.4.2), Pluperfect (7.4.1.5), Necessitative (7.5.3), and Progressive (7.4.3). In this use it has lost its aspectual value and is completely synonymous with the Past tense copula.

7.8.3. Progressive aspect

The Progressive expresses a process in progress at the time of reference: present, past, or future. Crucially, it indicates that the speaker or the main character of the text must witness the situation in person. Thus, the meaning of Progressive is something like '(I/he see/witness/catch) him doing'. So the Progressive implies a certain unity of time and place between the referred situation and the situation of speech. This semantic component differentiates between the Present

Progressive and the progressive use of the regular or Habitual Present. Cf. (418a) in which the Progressive is used in a situation when the speaker has returned home and witnessed the situation he describes, and (418b) which is produced when he is outside his home.

(418) a. *Bi* *xunazi:* *tege-we* *wo:-mi* *bi:-ni.*
me sister.1SG gown-ACC make-INF be-3SG
'My sister is making a gown.'

b. *Bi* *xunazi:* *wo:-i* *bi:-ni.*
me sister.1SG make-PRP be-3SG
'My sister is sewing.'

Examples (419) illustrate the Present Progressive, examples (420) the Past Progressive, examples (421) the Future Progressive.

(419) a. *Nua-ni* *eme-isi-ni* *bi* *oño-mi* *bi-mi.*
he-3SG come-PC-3SG me write-INF be-1SG
'When he comes I am writing.'

b. *Tukti-mi* *tukti-mi.*
climb-INF climb-INF
'He is climbing, climbing.'

c. *Nada* *ñeŋue* *eme-i-we-ni* *duisi-mi* *bi-mi.*
seven ogre come-PRP-ACC-3SG hear-INF be-1SG
'I hear that seven ogres are coming.' (K 115)

d *Anda-tigi:* *dieli-e-ni* *dieli-e-ni*
friend-LAT.REF fly-PAST-3SG fly-PAST-3SG
ŋene:-ni *anda-ni* *zugdi* *bi-mi*
come.PAST-3SG friend-3SG at.home be-INF *bie*
gune.
be.PRES.HAB EV
'He flew to his friend, he flew, he came, his friend is apparently at home.' (K 133).

(420) a. *Bi* *e-zeŋe-i* *ŋene* *gun-e-mi*
me NEG-FUT-1SG go say-0-INF
bi-s'e-i.
be-PERF-1SG
'I was saying: I won't go.'

b. *Nua-ti* *wa:taŋi* *oño-mi* *bi-s'e.*
he-3PL just write-INF be-PERF
'They were just writing.'

c. *Bi* *zugdi-tigi* *igi-si:* *ma:ma-i*
me house-LAT enter-PC.1SG grandmother-1SG
čaja-wa *olokto-mi* *bi-s'e.*
tea-ACC cook-INF be-PERF
'When I entered the house, my grandmother had been making tea.'

d. *Iwana* *eme:-ni* *ekindi-ni* *bi*
Ivan come.PAST-3SG during-3SG me
diga-mi *bi-si-mi.*
eat-INF be-PAST-1SG
'When Ivan came, I was eating.'

(421) *Bi* *eme-gi:-si:* *si* *ŋua-mi* *bi-zeŋe-i.*
me come-REP-PC.1SG you sleep-INF be-FUT-2SG
'When I come back, you will be sleeping.'

7.9. Function of non-Indicative forms

Non-Indicative moods (Imperative, Subjunctive, Necessitative, Conditional, and Permissive) express different types of irrealis modalities. The meanings of the Subjunctive, Permissive, and, partly, the Imperative, often overlap.

7.9.1. Imperative

Null-argument verbs (14.1), desiderative verbs in *-mu:i-* (8.2.3.1), some modal verbs and psych-verbs (such as *nixe-* 'to be going to do something', *ča:la-* 'want'), and some one-argument verbs that express natural phenomena (for example, *mude-* 'come' (of water)) do not have the Imperative. In certain copular constructions (constructions expressing destination, desire, quantity, and experiential state, see Chapter 17) the verb 'be' cannot be used in the Imperative either.

The Imperative expresses the usual imperative nuances, such as order, request, command, etc. The hortative particle *-zA* serves to soften the tone of the request, as in (422c).

(422) a. *Baulima-wa* *diga*
corn-ACC eat.IMP.2SG
'Eat the corn.'
b. *ŋene-je-u.*
go-IMP-2PL
'Go away!'
c. *M'a* *diga-i-za.*
here eat-IMP.2SG-HORT
'Here it is, please, eat (it)!'
d. *Min-du* *ule:-we* *xaulie* *bu-je*
me-DAT meat-ACC please give-IMP.2SG
'Please, give me some meat.'

In the prohibitive functions the negative forms of the Imperative are used.

(423) a. *E-zi* *mudi.*
NEG-IMP.2SG mumble
'Don't mumble.'
b. *Ute* *bede* *e-zi-u* *iñe-we-si.*
that like NEG-IMP-2PL laugh-CAUS-IM
'Don't (PL) joke this way.'

Imperative verbs often take the Directive derivational suffix *-nA-* 'go and do something' (8.2.2.8), including the cases where the component 'go' is in fact redundant, cf.:

(424) *Jegdige,* *guŋ-ki-ni,* *dau-ne-je.*
hero say-PAST-3SG carry.over-DIR-IMP.2SG

‘She said: hero, carry (us) over.’ (K 107)

7.9.2. Subjunctive

The Subjunctive has a wide range of non-indicative meanings, which can very generally be characterized as unreality. On the use of the Subjunctive in dependent clauses see 18.3.1.2.

7.9.2.1. Exhortation

First, the Subjunctive expresses exhortations, in which case the verb takes any person and number forms, including the 1st person Singular (425), the 1st person Plural (426), and the 3rd person (427).

(425) a. *Bi jexe-ze-mi.*
me sing-SUBJ-1SG
‘Let me sing.’
b. *Bi molo-zo-mi.*
me fetch.wood-SUBJ-1SG
‘Let me fetch the wood.’
c. *Bi teluŋu-si-ze-mi.*
me story-V-SUBJ-1SG
‘Let me tell.’

(426) a. *Kawa-tigi neu-gi-ze-fi.*
tent-LAT take-REP-SUBJ-1PL.IN
‘Let us take (it) back to the tent.’
b. *ŋene-ze-fi amäixi.*
go-SUBJ-1PL.IN back
‘Let us go back.’

(427) *Ei ni: wakca-za.*
this man hunt-PERM
‘Let this man hunt.’

In the 2nd person the Subjunctive forms in this function express a less categorical imperative than the Imperative mood.

(428) a. *Min-du konfeta-wa gada-za-i.*
me-DAT candy-ACC buy-SUBJ-2SG
‘What if you buy me some candy?’
b. *Mama, xele-ze-i, guŋ-ki-ni.*
grandmother hurry.up-SUBJ-2SG say-PAST-3SG
‘She said: grandmother, please, hurry up.’ (K 107)

The 2nd person Subjunctive forms are traditionally used in conjuration. The following example is a magical address to an arrow:

(429) *Ni: bi:-si-ni nagda-za-i mo: bi:-si-ni*
man be-PC-3SG reach-SUBJ-2SG tree be-PC-3SG

e-zi *nagda.*
NEG-IMP.2SG reach
'If it is a man, get in him, if it is a tree, don't get in it.' (K 111).

7.9.2.2. Necessity

In the 1st person Singular the Subjunctive also expresses an internal obligation, cf.:

(430) a. *Anda-tigi:* *zima-za-mi.*
friend-LAT.1SG visit-SUBJ-1SG
'I should visit my friend.'
b. *Susa-gi-ze-mi* *bi.*
escape-REP-SUBJ-1SG me
'I must escape.'

Other Subjunctiuve forms may express necessity or promise.

(431) *To:* *puza-nie* *ende-u-ji,* *nua-ni*
fire master-3SG wound-PAS-PRP he-3SG
tagda-za.
get.angry-SUBJ
'One can wound the master of the fire, (and) he will (necessarily) get angry.' (SKX 306)

Sometimes the Subjunctive is also used in the apodosis part of the conditional sentence with a future time of reference, although in this function the Future Indicative is more regular. The Subjunctive here implies a necessity.

(432) *Nua-ni* *ŋua-lisi-ni* *teu* *eke* *dian-a-za-ti*.
he-3SG sleep-CC-3SG all quiet say-0-SUBJ-3PL
'If he sleeps, everybody should speak quietly.'

7.9.2.3. Uncertainty

The Subjunctive can be used in uncertain or dubitable statements. In this function it occurs in all persons and numbers. The examples below demonstrate that the uncertain statement expressed by the Subjunctive normally has a future time reference. It is also possible to use the Subjunctive in uncertain statements that have a general timeless character (434).

(433) a. *Bi e-zeŋe-i* *ŋene* *uta-uxi* *Iwana*
me NEG-FUT-1SG go that-LAT Ivan
koŋko-zo.
beat-SUBJ
'I won't go there, Ivan might beat (me).'
b. *E-zi* *wuese* *moxo-wo* *camna-za.*
NEG-IMP.2SG throw cup-ACC break-SUBJ
'Don't throw the cup, it might break.'
c. *Ei* *teŋku-le* *e-zi* *te:*
this chair-LOC NEG-IMP.2SG sit

tiŋme-ze-i.
fall-SUBJ-2SG
'Don't sit on this chair, you might fall down.'

d. *Ei käŋa-wa sieni-e-mi,*
this deer-ACC wound-PAST-1SG
ŋene-mi-ze xai bude-ze.
go-INF-HORT anyway die-SUBJ
'I wounded this deer, it will walk (away) and die anyway.'

(434) a. *Egdeŋe, ni:-xi-de bi-ze-ni.*
interesting man-ADJ-FOC be-SUBJ-3SG
'It is interesting, apparently there are people.' (K 181)

b. *Nua-ni ata-da ñoni uli-mi.*
he-3SG NEG.SUBJ-FOC can sew-INF
'I doubt that she can sew.'

Cf. also the following contrast. (435a) is infelicitous because, according to the speaker, the situation of feeling bad is not predictable for certain, therefore it can be expressed only with the Subjunctive (435b) and not with the regular Future.

(435) a. **Min-du ge: bi-zeŋe-ni.*
me-DAT bad be-FUT-3SG
'I will feel bad.'

b. *Min-du ge: bi-ze.*
me-DAT bad be-SUBJ
'I will feel bad.'

In embedded clauses the Subjunctive refers to the future with respect to the event described by the matrix clause. The matrix clause verb is in this case a non-factive verb, and can be either in the past or the present.

(436) a. *Bi muisi-e-mi abuga-i min-e-we*
me think-PAST-1SG father-1SG me-0-ACC
men-zi geje xebu-ze gumu
REF-INST together take-SUBJ EV
wakca-na-mi.
hunt-DIR-INF
'I wanted my father to take me hunting with him.'

b. *Si muisi:-si ono nixe-ze nagda-za:-s*
you think-PC.2SG how do-SUBJ reach-SUBJ-DIS
ja-za:-s.
PROV-SUBJ-DIS
'What do you think: will he reach (the target), or not?'

7.9.2.4. Questions

The Subjunctive can be used in deliberative questions, that is, questions about actions that the speaker himself is supposed to perform. In this function only 1st person forms occur.

(437) a. *Zugdi-tigi i:-ze-mi?*
house-LAT enter-SUBJ-1SG

‘Shall I enter the house?’

b. *Sin-du* *ule:-we* *gazi-ze-mi?*
you-DAT meat-ACC bring-SUBJ-1SG
‘Shall I bring you some meat?’

c. *I:mi* *tagda-za-mi?*
why be.angry-SUBJ-1SG
‘Why shall I be angry?’

d. *J’e-le* *b’a-za-mi* *ni:-we* *belesi-lege-ti?*
what-LOC get-SUBJ-1SG man-ACC help-PURP-3PL
‘Where can I find people to help me?’

Questions about the future asked when there is some doubt about the reality of the situation are illustrated below.

(438) a. *Ono* *metu-ze-m*(*i*) *bi?*
how finish-SUBJ-1SG me
‘How shall I finish it?’

b. *Ono* *ŋene-ze-i?*
how go-SUBJ-2SG
‘How will you go?’

c. *J’emi* *ata-mi* *mute?*
Why NEG.SUBJ-1SG finish
‘Why won’t I be able?’

7.9.3. Necessitative

Necessitative forms with subject agreement (7.5.3.1) and without subject agreement (7.5.3.2) do not seem to differ in meaning. The Necessitative expresses different deontic meanings–such as obligation, necessity, promise, both in a factual and counterfactual situation. The modal state is always anterior with respect to the moment of speech.

(439) a. *Nua-ti* *anana* *jexe-zeŋe* *bi-si-ti.*
he-3SG long.ago sing-FP be-PAST-3PL
‘They should have sung a long time ago.’

b. *Si* *nua-ti-we* *gele-zeŋe* *bi-s’e-i.*
you he-3SG-ACC call-FP be-PERF-2SG
‘You should have called them.’

c. *Bi* *anana* *ŋene-u-zeŋe* *bi-si-ni* *Moskwa-tigi.*
me long.ago go-PAS-FP be-PAST-3SG Moscow-LAT
‘I had to go to Moscow a long time ago.’

d. *Bi* *oño-wo* *oño-zoŋo* *nixe:-mi.*
me letter-ACC write-FP do.PAST-1SG
‘I had to write a letter.’

e. *Nua-ni* *wakca-na-zaŋa-ni* *bi-s’e.*
he-3SG hunt-DIR-FP-3SG be-PERF
‘He had to go hunting.’

f. *Bu* *dian-a-zaŋa* *bi-s’e-u.*
we say-0-FP be-PERF-1PL.EX

'We promised to say (it).'

The Necessitative is possible in the epistemic function, however this is a fairly rare option.

(440) *Nua-ni* *ŋene-zeŋe* *bi-s'e.*
he-3SG go-FP-3SG be-PERF
'He must have left.'

A necessitative situation that obtains at the same time as the moment of speech is expressed by the periphrastic construction (see 7.10.3). Note, however, that the passive Necessitative (16.1.2.5) distinguishes between the Present and Past tense.

7.9.4. Conditional

The Conditional is used in the matrix (apodosis) clause of complex sentences that express a counterfactual condition. Occasionally a conditional embedded clause may be absent (442).

(441) *Nua-ni* *o-du* *bi-si* *aja* *bagdi-muse-i.*
he-3SG this-DAT be-PC good live-COND-1SG
'If he were here I would have lived well.'

(442) a. *Nua-ti* *bu-du-muse* *ule:-we.*
he-3PL give-PL-COND meat-ACC
'They would have given (him) some meat.'

b. *Minti* *etete-muse-ti* *birigadira-ĵi*
we work-COND-1PL.IN foreman-1PL.IN
unugu-li-e-ni.
get.ill-INC-PAST-3SG
'We would have worked, but our foreman got ill.'

c. *Bei* *sin-e-we* *koŋko:-mi* *bi,*
in.vain you-0-ACC beat.PAST-1SG me
b'ata-wa *b'a-muse-i-ze.*
boy-ACC get-COND-2SG-HORT
'I was beating you in vain, you might have given birth to a boy.'

For further information on conditional clauses, see 21.8.

7.9.5. Permissive

The Permissive is a rarely used mood, since nearly all its meanings can be expressed by the Subjunctive or Imperative. The term Permissive is very conventional, because permissive is only one of several possible meanings. The Permissive has three rather different functions: permissive, uncertain Future, and deliberative questions. In fact, Schneider describes the Permissive as two different sets of forms, one for a type of Imperative (the 2nd person) and the other one as a remote Future (all personal forms). However, these two sub-paradigms exhibit a complete formal (and partly a semantic) parallelism, and are therefore here unified in one paradigm, that of the Permissive mood.

7.9.5.1. Permissive meaning

First, the Permissive expresses agreement or permission oriented directly towards the addressee. In Schneider's description (Schneider 1936: 120), this form is treated as a subtype of the Imperative, which expresses either exhortation directed to the immediate present moment, or a polite request, or the granting of permission. In these cases only the 2nd person Permissive forms are possible.

(443) a. *Gun-te-i-ze* *dian-a-ta-i-ze.*
say-PERM-2SG-HORT say-0-PERM-2SG-HORT
'(OK), say it, tell it.'

b. *Ge* *gazi-mi-de* *gazi-te-i-ze.*
well take-INF-FOC take-PERM-2SG-HORT
'OK, if you take it, take it.' (K 113)

c. *Wende-te-i-ze.*
throw-PERM-2SG-HORT
'(OK), throw it.'

d. *Ñugasi-je* *bi* *tada-i* *duo-wo-ni*
kiss-IMP.2SG me spear-1SG end-ACC-3SG
uta-digi *min-e-we* *ñuga-si-te-i-ze.*
that-ABL me-0-ACC kiss-IM-PERM-2SG-HORT
'Kiss the end of my spear, then you may kiss me.' (K 199)

e. *Bi* *e-si-mi* *b'a-gi* *kusige-we.* *Amä:lie* me *b'a-gi:*
NEG-PAST-1SG find-REP knife-ACC later
bu-te-i-ze.
later find-REP.2SG give-PERM-2SG-HORT
'I haven't found the knife. (OK), you will find it and give it back later.'

7.9.5.2. Uncertain Future

Second, the Permissive is employed to express an uncertain future event, and probability. In this case Schneider referred to it as ''remote future''. In this function the Permissive is possible in all persons and numbers.

(444) a. *ŋene-te-mi-ze.*
go-PERM-1SG-HORT
'Perhaps I will go.'

b. *Ge:-zi* *uli-se,* *amä:lie*
bad-INST sew-PP.PAS later
uli-gi-te-mi-ze.
sew-REP-PERM-1SG-HORT
'It is sewn badly, perhaps I will resew it later.'

Implications triggered by the Permissive are that of agreement (445) or promise (446).

(445) *ŋene, ŋene!* *ŋene-te-m(i)-ze.*
go go go-PERM-1SG-HORT
'Go, go! – OK, I will go.'

(446) a. *Eke* *bi-li* *eme-te-m(i)-ze.*

time be-COND come-PERM-1SG-HORT
'If I have time I will come.'

b. *Toŋdo-zi* *ŋene-mi* *nagda-ta-i-ze.*
straight-INST walk-INF reach-PERM-2SG-HORT
'By going on straight ahead you might reach (it).'

c. *Xam'asi* *eme-te-mi-ze.*
later come-PERM-1SG-HORT
'I will come later.'

7.9.5.3. Deliberative questions

The Permissive occurs in deliberative questions.

(447) a. *Ja-la-mi* *wuende-te-mi?*
PROV-PURP-SS throw-PERM-1SG
'Why should I throw (it)?'

b. *J'eu* *sita* *a-ta* *jada?*
what child NEG-PERM.3SG be.tired
'What child wouldn't be tired?' (K 128)

7.10. Function of the non-finite forms

Non-finite forms are typically used in subordinate clauses; these are addressed at more length in Chapters 19–21. In the finite function the non-finite forms can be either a component of an analytical category, or of a copular construction (on copular constructions see Chapter 17). The table below summarizes the syntactic functions of the non-finite forms.

(448)

	embedded clauses			
relative	complement	adverbial	main clause	
Active participles	+	+	+	+
Other participles	+	+	-	+
Purposive Converbs	-	+	+	-
Other converbs	-	-	+	-
Infinitives	-	+	+	+

7.10.1. Participles

Participles are similar to verbs in that they convey temporal, modal, aspectual and voice meanings. Active and Passive Present, Past, and Future Participles indicate a relative tense. Resultative and Destinative Participles express generic situations non-specified with respect to tense.

7.10.1.1. Active Participles

Active participles are the most polyfunctional non-finite verbal category (see the table of syntactic functions of the non-finite forms in 7.10). They preserve the valence patterns of the base

verbs.

7.10.1.1.1. Finite predicates

Active participles in combination with the auxiliary verb ‘be’ are used as a finite verb. The Impersonal Present Participle with the copula ‘be’ expresses the Habitual aspect (7.4.2). The Past Participle in personal and impersonal forms in combination with the verb ‘be’ forms the Pluperfect tense (7.4.1.5). Future Participles (mostly impersonal, but in rarer cases also personal) in combination with the Past form of the verb *bi-* form the Necessitative (7.5.3). Active participles occur in the analytical Irrealis Conditional Converb (7.6.2.4.2).

It is not uncommon to use the Past and especially the Present active participles in their impersonal forms as finite predicates without a copula. They are synonymous with finite verbs in the Past and Present, cf.: *nixe-ini* <do-3SG> and *nixe-i* <do-PRP> ‘he does’, *nixe:-ni* <do.PAST-3SG> and *nixe:* <do.PRP> ‘he does’. In fact, under Sunik’s (1968, 1997) analysis, such forms are treated not as participles, but as 3rd person finite forms within the regular paradigm. This conclusion follows because Sunik did not recognize impersonal participial forms. Participles in finite positions are very frequent in the narrative genres (see the texts in Chapter 25) but occur rarely in everyday speech.

7.10.1.1.2. Relative clause

As non-finite predicates, active participles in personal and impersonal forms serve to express a relative clause, cf.:

(449) *ni:-we* *wa-i* *amba*
man-ACC kill-PRP spirit
the spirit who kills people

Active participles may refer to any participant of the situation described by the relative clause.

(450) a. *bi* *ag’a-i* *xoton-du* *bagdi-le-i-ni*
me brother-1SG city-DAT live-LOC-PRP-3SG
‘in the city in which my brother lives’

b. *ta:mati* *bu-o:* *getu* *kusige*
last.year give-PP PL knife
‘the knife which was given last year’

Since the Active participle is not semantically oriented to a particular function, this makes it possible to relativize several syntactic positions using Active participles. The ability of the Active participles in relative clauses to take case and personal suffixes depends on the structural and semantic type of the relative clause. Normally, if they precede the noun they do not inflect for case, but if they follow the relativized noun they take case affixes. Personal affixes on the participle cross-reference the relative clause subject (see Chapter 19 for more detail). The substantivized impersonal participles form a headless relative clause, cf.:

(451) *Ei* *zugdi-we* *wo:* *getu* *anana*
this house-ACC make.PP PL long.ago
ŋene:-ti.
leave.PAST-3PL
‘Those who had made this house left a long time ago.’

In a relative clause participles generally have the same temporal meaning as the corresponding finite forms.

7.10.1.1.3. Complement clause

As discussed in Chapter 20 in more detail, active participles in the Accusative are used to express complement clauses:

(452) *Bi* *xono:-mi* *nua-ti* *eme-gi-e-me-ti.*
me surprise.PAST-1SG he-3SG come-REP-PP-ACC-3PL
'I was surprised that they came.'

In such clauses, the personal forms agree with the subject of the embedded clause in number and person. The impersonal forms entail the impersonal or generic interpretation of the embedded clause.

The tense forms of the participles have a relative temporal meaning, that is, they express the tense relative to the event described by the matrix clause, cf. (453a), where the Past Participle expresses the relative past tense with respect to an event in the past, (453b), where the Future Participle expresses the future relative to the past, and (453c), where the Present Participle expresses the present relative to the past.

(453) a. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *Iwana* *eme-gi-e-me-ni.*
me know.PAST-1SG Ivan come-REP-PP-ACC-3SG
'I knew that Ivan came.'

b. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *Iwana* *ele* *eme-gi-zeŋe-ni.*
me know.PAST-1SG Ivan soon come-REP-FP-3SG
'I knew that Ivan would come soon.'

c. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *Iwana* *eme-gi:-we-ni*
me know.PAST-1SG Ivan come-REP.PRP-ACC-3SG
'I knew that Ivan is coming.'

Impersonal forms of participles may be used in a complement clause if its subject has a generic interpretation, cf.:

(454) *Uta* *bede* *gusi-mi* *b'ata-ma* *sita-ziga*
that like play-INF boy-ADJ child-PL
ŋiča-digi *sa:-iti* *ono-do* *onobui* *bui*
small-ABL know-3PL how-FOC which animal
xokčo-i-we-ni, *ono-do* *wakča-i-we.*
attack-PRP-ACC-3SG how-FOC hunt-PRP-ACC
'Playing like this boys learn how each animal attacks and how one should hunt.' (SKX 302)

7.10.1.1.4. Adverbial clause

With various case suffixes and postpositions, personal participle forms are used to express different types of adverbial subordination, for example:

(455) *Nua-ni* *soŋo:n-zi* *ŋua:-ni.*
[he-3SG cry.PP-INST.SS] sleep.PAST-3SG
'After crying she fell asleep.'

These cases are described in more detail in Chapter 21.

7.10.1.2. Passive participles

Passive participles have two distinct functions.

First, they are used as a finite predicate. In this case they express an impersonal situation in the Agentless Passive constructions. The agent of the action expressed by such a participle is understood as universal or indefinite, and the sentence has a generic reading, see 16.1.2. The passive participles are in the Present, Past, or Future and co-occur with the copula verb. Passive participles derived both from transitives and intransitives are used in this function.

Second, passive participles serve to express relative clauses. In this function the passive participles derived from transitives are mostly used, since the relativized noun corresponds to the patient/theme argument (see Chapter 19). These passive participles may express an impersonal meaning in this case as well.

(456) a. *Tugbu-se* *mo:-lo* *te:-mi.*
cut-PP.PAS tree-LOC sit.PAST-1SG
'I was sitting on the cut down tree.'
b. *Mo:-wo* *tugbu-se-le* *te:-mi.*
tree-ACC cut-PP.PAS-LOC sit.PAST-1SG
'I was sitting on the cut down tree.'

Passive participles derived from intransitives are very rare in this function, however they are not totally impossible. Examples below demonstrate that they are availbale to express a generic situation, while the relativized noun corresponds to any non-subject constituent.

(457) a. *Sukpai* *Samargi-tigi* *we:-li-u-i* *bua-la*
Sukpai Samarga-LAT mountain-V-PAS-PRP place-LOC
to: ŋi *bie.*
lake be.PRES.HAB
'There is a lake at the place where one cross a mountain from Sukpai to Samarga.' (SK 776)
b. *ŋua-u-zeŋe* *eki-me-ni* *i:ŋ-ki-ni.*
[sleep-PAS-FP] time-ACC-3SG enter-PAST-3SG
'Bedtime came.' (K 131)
c. *Mafa-wa* *wakca-u-i* *koli* *bie.*
bear-ACC hunt-PAS-PRP law be.PRES.HAB
'There is a bear hunting law.'

7.10.1.3. Destinative Participles

Like passive participles, Destinative Participles have two syntactic functions: they are used as

finite predicates or in a relative clause.

7.10.1.3.1. Destinative function

In both functions the Destinative Participle expresses the action for which one of the participants of the sentence is destined, meant, or designed. They may be semantically oriented to the instrument (458a), location (458b), patient/theme (458c), and very rarely to the agent (458d).

(458) a. *wakca-kči* '(designed) for hunting (with)'
juosi-kči '(designated) for cutting (with)'
b. *olokto-si-kči* '(designated) for cooking (in)'
c. *umi-kči* '(designed) for drinking'
d. *wa:-kči* '(designated) for killing'

The Destinative Participle does not express time reference. The situation is understood as universal, cf.:

(459) *Bu-je* *min-du* *in'ei-we* *egbesi-kči* *xeku-we.*
give-IMP.2SG me-DAT dog-ACC tie-DP rope-ACC
'Give me a rope to tie the dog.'

On finite copular constructions with the Destinative Participles see Chapter 17.

7.10.1.3.2. Past meaning

In certain rare cases the Destinative Participle in the relative clause has a Past rather than a destinative meaning. It can then substitute for the Past Participle. Used in this function the Destinative Participles are subject-oriented and apparently available for all verbs. They may take personal inflections that refer to the subject of the relative clause (see Chapter 19 for examples and more discussion). In fact Schneider (1936) cited the forms that are described here as Destinative Participles as regular Past Participles.

7.10.1.3.3. Generalized relative clause

Destinative Participles are employed as non-finite predicates in a generalized relative clause with a negative meaning (23.2.1.6.4). They are the only way to express this meaning.

7.10.1.4. Resultative Participles

Resultative Participles are formed from all transitive and many intransitive verbs. Intransitive atelic verbs such as *tukä:-* 'run', *ilana-* 'shine', *su:le-* 'be ill', *xeŋpi-* 'snore', *azana-* 'be shy', *agda-* 'be happy', *asigi-* 'to be recovered', *gända-* 'be lazy', and *ekisi-* 'dream' do not have Resultative Participles.

Resultative Participles refer to a state that is a result of a previous situation. Formed from intransitive verbs, they express the subject-oriented resultative, that is, the single argument of the Participle (the subject of the resulting state) coincides with the subject of the prior action.

(460)	*deu-*	‘get tired’	*deu-ktu*	‘tired’
	auli-	‘swell’	*auli-ktu*	‘swollen up’
	su:-	‘go down (of light)’	*su-ktu*	‘gone down’
	xa:-	‘become shallow’	*xa-ktu*	‘grown shallow’
	kimpi-	‘close’ (Intransitive)	*kimpi-ktu*	‘closed’
	pama-	‘get lost’	*pama-ktu*	‘got lost’
	zegde-	‘burn’	*zegde-ktu*	‘burnt’
	lali-	‘starve’	*lali-ktu*	‘having starved’
	bogoli-	‘get frightened’	*bogoli-ktu*	‘frightened’
	sabda-	‘drop’	*sabda-ktu*	‘having dropped’
	sokto-	‘get drunk’	*sokto-ktu*	‘drunk’
	soŋo-	‘cry’	*soŋo-ktu*	‘having started crying’

Transitives regularly form the object-oriented resultative. It expresses the state of the object of the previous situation.

(461)	*guzaga-*	‘tear’	*guzaga-ktu*	‘torn’
	oño-	‘write’	*oño-ktu*	‘written’
	siki-	‘wash’	*siki-ktu*	‘washed’
	cemine-	‘deceive’	*cemine-ktu*	‘deceived’

The Resultative Participle is used as a finite predicate in resultative copular constructions (17.2.2.5). In addition it serves to express the relative clause with a resultative meaning (see Chapter19). Both the subjective and objective Resultatives are used in both functions.

7.10.2. Converbs

The main function of converbs is to form an adverbial, and sometimes also a complement, embedded clause. A detailed description of converbial embedded clauses can be found in Chapters 20 and 21.

7.10.2.1. Purposive Converb

In the absolute majority of cases the Purposive Converb serves to form a purpose embedded clause (21.4). It is also used in a subordinate complement clause with subject control (same-subject forms, see 20.2.3.1) and object control (different-subject forms, see 20.2.3.2).

7.10.2.2. Imperfective Converb

The Imperfective Converb serves to express the adverbial temporal clause. The events described by the main clause and the subordinate clause both refer to the same moment in the past, and both verbal forms in this case have an imperfective meaning (21.3.2.1). Thus, the Imperfective Converb expresses simultaneity with respect to the situation in the past.

7.10.2.3. Perfective Converb

The Perfective Converb is used in the adverbial temporal clause (see 2.3.2.2). In contrast to the Imperfective Converb, it conveys a situation which is prior to the situation of the main clause, so it expresses the relative past tense with respect to the matrix clause. Often the Perfective Converb has an implicit additional meaning of cause.

7.10.2.4. Conditional Converbs

Conditional Converbs express a condition in a conditional subordinate clause (protasis). The condition may be factual (non-hypothetical), in the case of the Realis Conditional Converb, or counterfactual, in the case of the Irrealis Conditional Converb. For more detail see 21.8. Occasionally, an embedded clause with a Past Subjunctive Conditional Converb does not have a conditional meaning in the strict sense, but expresses a temporal meaning (21.3.2.3) or a non-specific adverbial subordination with different additional implications, for example, that of an unrealized action in the past:

(462) *Bi* *sin-tigi* *eme-kce-i* *bi-si* *eniŋe-i*
me you-LAT comeDES-PRP be-PAST mother-1SG
e-ini *tinda.*
NEG-3SG let
'I wanted to come to see you, but my mother does not let me.'

7.10.3. Infinitives

All types of infinitives express the general idea of action and do not refer to any particular time. Unlike most other non-finite verbs, the Infinitive has only same-subject forms.

The Infinitive has three different functions.

First, in combination with the auxiliary *bi-* it forms a finite predicate, namely, the Progressive aspect (7.4.3). Second, the Infinitive functions as a non-finite verb in certain complement embedded clauses with a subject (463a) or direct object (463b) meaning.

(463) a. *Min-du* *o-du* *te:-mi* *aja.*
me-DAT this-DAT sit-INF good
'It is nice for me to sit here.'
b. *Iwana* *wadi-e-ni* *jexe-mi.*
Ivan stop-PAST-3SG sing-INF
'Ivan stopped singing.'

Chapter 20 provides further descriptions of such constructions.

Finally, it is used in an adverbial clause in which the subject is always co-referential with the matrix clause subject (21.1). In most cases the infinitival adverbial clause is non-specified semantically and expresses an associated situation. In some cases the clause is coordinated with the main clause rather than exhibiting syntactic embedding. It may also be used as an adverbial of manner (464a), or have an additional implied adverbial meaning, such as temporal, causal (464b), or concessive.

(464) a. *Nua-ni* *ŋele-mi* *susa-gi-e-ni.*
he-3SG get.frightened-INF escape-REP-PAST-3SG

‘He escaped being frightened.’

b. *Aziga* *mafa-la-mi* *soŋo:-ni.*
girl man-V-INF cry.PAST-3SG
‘The girl was crying while (because of) getting married.’

The following sentence is an isolated example of the Infinitive in the Instrumental case form:

(465) *Aziga-ziga* *gusi:-ti* *ñah-wa* *ehli-m(i)-zi.*
girl-PL play-3PL skin-ACC process-INF-INST
‘The girls play while processing skins.’ (SK 1112)

The Impersonal Infinitive is only used in impersonal sentential subject clauses (20.1.1.1), cf.:

(466) *O-du* *bagdi-mu* *aja.*
this-DAT live-IMI nice
‘It is nice to live here.’

7.11. Periphrastic tense/aspect/mood categories

In this section we address analytical verbal forms which do not include a standard auxiliary ‘be’ as their component, but rather other elements.

7.11.1. Alternating action

Alternating actions are expressed by a construction in which two different verbs have the bare Perfect stem, and the finite categories are expressed by the auxiliary *wo:-* or *nixe-* ‘do’ in the Present or in the Past. The situation accordingly pertains either to the Present or to the Past. The construction, therefore, includes three verbs. The two actions named by the two content verbs are perceived as quickly alternating with each other and as being performed by the same participant. The shared subject is expressed only once, cf.:

(467) a. *Nua-ni* *iñe-kc’e* *soŋo-kc’o*
he-3SG laugh-DUR.PERF cry-DUR.PERF
wo:-ini.
do-3SG
‘He laughs and cries (alternately).’

b. *Tigde* *tigde-li-ge* *wadi-ge* *wo:-ini.*
Rain rain-INC-PERF stop-PERF do-3SG
‘The rain starts and stops, starts and stops.’

c. *Tiŋmeli-ge* *te:gi-ge* *nixe:-ni.*
fall-PERF get.up-PERF do.PAST-3SG
‘He was falling down and getting up (repeatedly).’

d. *Fonari* *zegdel’e* *su:g’e* *wo:-ini.*
lamp flare.up.PERF die.out.PERF do-3SG
‘The lamp flares up and dies out (repeatedly).’

At least one example is also found in which the alternating action is performed by two different participants. They correspond to two subjects, both of which are followed by the content verb. The copula verb is present only once and demonstrates Singular agreement.

(468) *Gagda* *aziga* *soŋ'o,* *gagda* *aziga* *jex'e*
another girl cry.PERF another girl sing.PERF
wo:-ini.
do-3SG
'One girl is crying, another girl is singing.' (K 132)

7.11.2. Immediate future

The Immediate future is expressed by a combination of the time adverbial *ele (ele)* 'in the nearest future, soon' and the Past or Perfect form of the content verb augmented by the Inchoative derivational suffix *-li-* (on this suffix see 8.2.2.1).

(469) a. *Ele* *ele* *kaktaga-li-e-ni.*
soon soon birst-INC-PAST-3SG
'It will burst soon.'

b. *Nua-ni* *ele* *eme-gi-li-ge.*
he-3SG soon come-REP-INC-PERF
'He will return soon.'

c. *Sele-we* *tausi:-ti* *ele* *c'aligi*
iron-ACC forge-3PL soon white
ede-li-e-ni.
become-INC-PAST-3SG
'They forge iron, and soon it will become white.'

d. *Iŋzala-ma* *gou-i* *ele* *ele* *buktag'a.*
fir.tree-ADJ pole-1SG soon soon break.PERF
'My pole made of fir tree is about to break.' (K 122)

7.11.3. Periphrastic Necessitative

The Periphrastic Necessitative construction is borrowed from Russian, as is one of its components. It uses the Russian loanword *nade* 'must', sometimes augmented by the derivational suffix *-lA,* that is, *nade-le* 'must' (on this suffix see 8.1.1.3). The content verb precedes the modal predicate *nade(le)* in the form of the Simple Infinitive (470a), the same-subject form of the Purposive Converb (470b), or the finite form in the Present tense (470c).

(470) a. *Bi* *Oloŋo-tigi* *ŋene-mi* *nade.*
me Olon-LAT go-INF must
'I must go to Olon.'

b. *Men-e* *kaiŋku-i* *gene-gi-lege-mi* *nade.*
REF-0 brake-REF.ACC fetch-REP-PURP-SS must
'I must fetch my leather brake.'

c. *B'ata* *mä:usa-na-ni* *gada-iti* *nade-le.*
Boy gun-DEST-3SG buy-3PL must-V
'They must buy a gun for the boy.'

The Periphrastic Necessitative refers to the obligation that obtains at the moment of the utterance. It therefore differs in time of reference from the regular Necessitative (7.5.3), which always expresses a modal situation in the past.

7.11.4. Expressive Past

Two impersonal verbal forms are used in the expressive style of speech to render a (perfective) situation in the past. These forms do not exhibit subject agreement, that is, each of them is used for all grammatical numbers and persons.

7.11.4.1. Expressive Past in *-k*

The impersonal Expressive suffix *-k* (sometimes pronounced as *-ʔ*) may be related historically to the derivational Expressive affix *-ki-, -kA-* (8.2.2.11.2). However, synchronically their usage differs. The verbal forms with the *-k* suffix are impersonal, and the action necessarily takes place prior to the moment of speech. They take neither any tense/mood/aspect markers nor any personal affixes and do not co-occur with negation. The intensive suffixes *-ki-, -kA-*, on the other hand, derive a fully inflected verb that has personal inflections and can have different temporal forms (excluding the Present). The suffix *-k* attaches to the Past stem (7.1.2).

(471)

Expressive		bare stem	Past stem
olokto:-k	'cooked'	*olokto-*	*olokto:-*
agbu-o:-k	'took out'	*agbu-*	*agbu-o:-*
xuaji-e-k	'cut'	*xuaji-*	*xuaji-e-*

The forms in *-k* have an intensive meaning, that is, they express an intensive and/or sudden action in the Past, cf.:

(472) a. *Nua-ni* *iligi-e-k.*
he-3SG jump-PAST-EXPR
'He jumped up (suddenly).'

b. *Bi* *nakta-wa* *gida-la:-k* *uŋele*
me boar-ACC spear-V.PAST-EXPR further
ŋene:-mi.
go.PAST-1SG
'I killed the boar (with the spear) and went further.'

c. *Jegdige* *eme:-k.*
hero come-PAST-EXPR
'(Suddenly) the hero came.'

In folklore texts the impersonal intensive forms do not necessarily refer to an intensive or sudden action. Sometimes they can simply be used to refer to a single perfective situation in the past (473a), or, more frequently, to a sequence of several perfective events (473b), and they can easily be coordinated with the regular Past (473c). However, forms with the expressive suffix *-k* are not regarded as «prestigious». Although informants often use them spontaneously when recounting folklore, upon inquiry they advise that these forms should be avoided.

(473) a. *Činda* *lagbana:-k.*

bird stick.PAST-EXPR
'The bird got stuck.'

b. *Di:xi* *taŋda:-k,* *uli*
on.the.riverbank carry.PAST-EXPR water
s'olo:-k, *zugdi:* *neugi-se:-k,*
scoop.PAST-EXPR house.LAT take-EXP.PAST-EXPR
sugese-i *gazi-gi-se:-k.*
axe-REF bring-REP-EXP.PAST-EXPR
'She carried (it) to the riverbank, scooped out some water, took it home and brought an axe.' (K 191)

c. *Ogdö-wo* *xoa-na:-k,* *zugdi-ti:*
coffin cut-DIR.PAST-EXPR house-LAT
gada:-ni.
take.PAST-3SG
'He made the coffin and took it home.' (K 190)

The construction in question may in fact go back to the periphrastic construction in which a personal form of the verb *wo:-* 'do, make' in the Present, Future or the Past is employed together with the form in *-k*. Such a construction sounds archaic in the modern language, but still occurs, cf.:

(474) a. *Xeŋgisi-e-k* *wo:-ini.*
stamp.on.snow-PAST-EXPR make-3SG
'He hid (the meat) stamping on the snow.' (K 179)

b. *Agdi* *sakine:-k,* *tigde-li-e-k*
thunder clap.PAST-EXPR rain-INC-PAST-EXPR
wo:-ini.
do-3SG
'(Suddenly) the thunder broke, and it started raining.'

c. *Uta-wa* *mamasa-la:-k* *wo:-ni.*
that-ACC wife-V.PAS-EXPR make.PAST-3PL
'Then he got married.'

d. *Ete-k* *o:-zoŋo-fi.*
win-EXPR make-FUT-1PL.IN
'We will win!' (SK 1141)

On the other hand, the verb *wo:-* 'do, make' is compatible with the bare or inflected Past or (more sledoom) Present stem of the content verb. The resulting construction has the same meaning.

(475) a. *Umu-i* *umu-le-gie* *tege-i*
belt-REF belt-V-REP.PAST gown-REF
teti-gie *o:-ni.*
dress-REP.PAST make.PAST-3SG
'He put on the belt and the gown.' (SKX 96)

b. *Namu* *eh-le-ni* *nede:-ti* *o:-ti.*
sea side-LOC-3SG put.PAST-3PL make.PAST-3PL
'They put him from the side of the sea.' (SKX 134)

c. *Tu:* *č'asa-i* *o:-ti.*
all tickle-PRP make.PAST-3PL
'They always tickled her.' (SKX 190)

d. *Mamasa-la-ti* *o:-ti.*
wife-V-PC.SS make.PAST-3PL
'They immediately got married.' (SK 704)

7.11.4.2. Expressive Past in *-lA*

The Present verbal stem can be augmented by the suffix *-lA*, e.g., *ŋene-le* 'went'. The resulting forms do not take agreement affixes. In colloquial speech they usually indicate the Past tense and apparently do not convey an additional meaning in comparison to the regular Past, but are more expressive. As argued in Perexval'skaja (1991e, 1997), they appeared as a result of double pidginization in the situation of language contact (1.5). Forms in *-lA* are typical of the dialect of Iman and only occasionally occur in the Bikin dialect.

(476) *Gänd'a-use* *pala* *siki-le,* *su:* *gakpa-la.*
be.lazy-ADJ floor wash-PAST sun appear-PAST
'A lazy (woman) washed the floor, and the sun appeared.' (a proverb)

Chapter 8
Verbal derivation

Verbs are formed with a large range of derivational affixes attached to a noun or an adjective, or to morphologically simpler base verbs. In the first case, suffixation marks the transition of a noun or an adjective to another grammatical class (the verb); in the second case, the grammatical class remains unchanged. In the verbal form the interclass derivational affixes immediately follow the verbal stem and precede the suffixes which form deverbal verbs. All derivational suffixes attach to the Present verbal stem. They are easily compatible with each other, and with various inflectional verbal categories. Non-finite verbal forms can easily host derivational verbal affixes. This refers not only to the affixes of the denominal derivation of verbs, but also to the affixes of deverbal derivation, including aspectual, modal, and valence-changing affixes (an exception is provided by the Passive, which is not compatible with all non-finite forms). This point is illustrated below. In the example below the Infinitive bears the Repetitive and Experiential aspectual markers.

(440) *Eme-gi-se-mi-de* *ei* *eme-gi.*
come-REP-EXP-INF-FOC NEG come-REF
'He had to return but he didn't return.' (SKX 328)

Some of the verbal derivational affixes are very frequent and productive; the lists of verbs provided for each case in this section are not intended to be exhaustive. Yet, verbal derivation is typically restricted to a certain subset of verbal stems. Therefore, for example, the Passive, which is formed only from transitives (8.2.1.5), is regarded as an instance of verbal derivation and not as an inflectional category. Furthermore, unlike inflectional categories, verbal derivation can alter the argument structure of the initial verb. This criterion classifies, for example, the absolutely productive Causative suffix *-wAn-*, compatible with virtually every verb (8.2.1.2), as a derivational suffix. A formal criterion that allows us to distinguish between derivational and inflectional verbal affixes in Udihe is negation. Unlike inflectional morphemes, derivational suffixes are preserved in the bare stem of the content verb in the negative conjugation (23.2). The negative auxiliary verb does not take derivational affixes, with the exception of the Passive. The examples below present the Reciprocal (478), the Causative (479), the Decausative (480), and the Repetitive (481).

(440) *Nua-ti zuŋe* *ni:-de* *e-iti* *dia-masi:-ti.*
he-3PL both people-FOC NEG-3PL say-REC-3PL
'They don't talk to each other.'

(442) a. *Xunazi-di-fi* *e-zi-u* *ze-wen-e*
sister-DAT-REF NEG-IMP-2PL eat-CAUS-0
mafa *ule:-we-ni.*
bear meat-ACC-3SG
'Don't let your sisters eat the bear's meat.' (K 131)
b. *Uti* *jegdige* *bui-we* *e-ini*
that hero animal-ACC NEG-3SG

xuli-wen-e, *g'ai-wa* *e-ini* *dieli-wen-e.*
go-CAUS-0 raven-3SG NEG-3SG fly-CAUS-0
'This hero does not let an animal walk, and does not let a raven fly.'

c. *E-zeŋe-i* *diga-wan-a* *sin-du.*
NEG-FUT-1SG eat-CAUS-0 you-DAT
'I won't feed you.'

(442) *Negze* *ba:-la* *käŋa* *xokto-ni* *aja* *ise-pte*
open place-LOC deer footstep-3SG good see-DEC
mokt'oi-lo *käŋa* *xokto-ni* *ei* *ise-pte.*
bushes-LOC deer footstep-3SG NEG see-DEC
'At the open place the tracks of the deer are seen well, in the bushes the tracks of the deer are not seen.'

(443) a. *Bu* *zugdi-tigi* *e-zeŋe-u* *eme-gi.*
we house-LAT NEG-FUT-1PL.EX come-REP
'We won't come back home.'

b. *Nua-ti* *ugda-wa* *e-iti* *aisi-gi.*
he-3PL boat-ACC NEG-3PL mend-REP
'They didn't mend the boat.'

Compounding is not a widely used verb formation process in Udihe. Some examples of noun/adjective-verb compounding are discussed in section 8.3.

8.1. Interclass derivation

Affixes of the interclass derivation (those that derive verbs from nouns and adjectives) are denoted as V (verb) in the glosses. Most denominal verbal suffixes derive verbs that incorporate the base noun in their meaning, so the verb contains the object in its own semantics. However, this does not normally lead to the suppression of the corresponding argument. For example, the suffix *-lA-* derives verbs from base nouns that are semantically the object of the corresponding verb: *au* 'cap' → *au-la-* 'put on a cap'. The verb *au-la-* behaves as transitive. Although the overt object need not be present in the sentence, it may be expressed by means of a separate word (482). A cognate object must be overtly present if it acts as a head of its own phrase and is modified by an adjective, as in (483a), a possessive phrase (483b), an adverb (483c), or if it includes a suffix-semantic modifier, such as the Diminutive suffix in (483d). This indicates that the derivation of most denominal verbs is opaque with respect to syntactic processes. A non-cognate object is obligatory (484).

(444) a. *Sama* *ulikte* *ulikte-si:-ni.*
shaman shaman.lard shaman.lard-V-3SG
'The shaman prepares the shaman lard.'

b. *Ogdö-wo* *ogdö-ŋi-ze-fi.*
coffin-ACC coffin-V-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'Let us make a coffin.' (K 190)

(445) a. *Imexi* *au-we-i* *au-le-gi-je*
new cap-ACC-REF.ACC cap-V-REP-IMP.2SG
'Put on a new cap.'

b. *Bi* *au-we-i* *au-le-gi-je.*
me cap-ACC-1SG cap-V-REP-IMP.2SG

‘Put on my cap.’

c. *Läs^{j}* *um’a-wa* *um’a-ŋisi-e-ni.*
many hook hook-V-PAST-3SG
‘He set up many (fish) hooks.’ (K 141)

d. *Au-ziga-wa* *au-le-gi:-ni.*
cap-DIM-ACC cap-V-REP-3SG
‘He is putting on a little cap.’

(446) *sele-me* *joxo-wo* *au-le-gi-ge-si*
iron-ADJ pot-ACC cap-V-REP-PERF-PC.SS
‘having put an iron pot on as a cap’ (K 181)

However, the base noun of at least some verbs seems to be accessible for syntax. In particular, it is possible to modify the base noun without repeating the object.

(446) *Omo* *ŋeni-ni* *nada-ma* *mo-mugu-ŋi-e-ni.*
one day-3SG seven-ACC tree-N-V-PAST-3SG
‘He put seven piles of wood in one day.’ (SKX 166)

The cognate object often (although not necessarily) remains morphologically unmarked and occurs in the bare form, especially in the Northern dialect, for which the morphological marking of the Accusative is less regular than for the Southern dialect (4.2.2.2). If the cognate object is not a direct object it is normally present in the sentence, for example, in (486) the cognate object of the denominal verb *t’a-la-* ‘walk along the fallen tree’ (< *t’a:* ‘fallen tree’) occurs within a postpositional phrase.

(447) *T’a* *wei-le-ni* *t’a-la-li-e-ni*
fallen.tree on-LOC-3SG fallen.tree-V-INC-PAST-3SG
oloxi.
quirrel
‘The squirrel started walking along the fallen tree.’

Verbs derived from adjectives never require the repetition of the base adjective in a sentence.

Each suffix is normally used with a closed class of verbs.

8.1.1. Denominal derivation

Typically, the noun from which the verb is derived corresponds to either a (direct) object or an instrument.

8.1.1.1. The suffix *-mA-*

The suffix *-mA-* forms an intransitive verb with the prototypical meaning ‘catch, hunt for’ from a noun that names its object. This pattern is obviously restricted semantically, so in most cases only nouns that denote a potential object of hunting take this suffix.

(448) *sugdä:* ‘fish’ *sugdä:-ma-* ‘fish’
l’asa ‘goby fish’ *l’asa-ma-* ‘catch goby fish’
oloxi ‘squirrel’ *oloxi-me-* ‘hunt for squirrels’

olondo	'ginseng'	*olondo-mo-*	'hunt for ginseng'
a:nta	'woman'	*a:nta-ma-*	'womanize'
ila-ka	'bast'	*ila-ma-*	'bark lime-trees'
siŋe	'mouse'	*siŋe-me-*	'hunt for mice'
guese	'pike'	*guese-me*	'catch pikes'

With some other nouns the same suffix is used when the base noun has an instrument role with respect to the action described by the derived verb (458a), or when it has a different lexical meaning about which it is difficult to generalize (488b).

(449)	a.	*dukta*	'ski'	*dukta-ma-*	'ski'
		to:	'fire'	*to-mo-*	'warm on a fire'
		ikte	'tooth'	*ikte-me-*	'bite'
		zege	'reference-point'	*zege-me-*	'orientate oneself'
	b.	*kakt'a*	'half'	*kakt'a-ma-*	'divide in half'
		xoto(n)	'city'	*xoto-mo-*	'go to a city'
		a:da	'mountain pass'	*a:da-ma-si-*	'cross the mountain pass'

8.1.1.2. The suffix *-tA-, -dA-*

Another suffix that derives verbs from nouns with an instrumental or related meaning is *-tA-* (489a) or *-dA-* (489b). The rules governing the distribution of these two variants are not clear.

(451)	a.	*anda*	'friend'	*anda-ta-*	'be a friend'	
		mozoli	'beads'	*mozoli-te-*	'wear beads'	
	b.	*tiu*	'stick'	*tiu-de-*	'lean against a stick'	*sina*
'sack'		*sina-da-*	'carry a sack'			
		suala	'ski'	*suala-da-*	'ski'	
		uŋtu	'tambourine'	*uŋtu-de-*	'play the tambourine'	*ñöŋo*
'glue'		*ñöŋo-do-*	'cover with glue'			
		aka(n)	'back'	*akan-da-*	'turn one's back'	

8.1.1.3. The suffix *-lA-*

A very frequent suffix *-lA-* incorporates into the verbal stem the noun that denotes a means employed for an action and has either a direct object (490a) or, more often, an instrumental meaning (490b). Some less predictable semantic results are also observed (490c).

(452)	a.	*anda*	'friend'	*anda-la-*	'make friends'
		au	'cap'	*au-la-*	'put a cap'
		aŋa	'night shelter'	*aŋa-la-*	'make a night shelter'
		sita	'child'	*sita-la-*	'adopt'
		abu	'father'	*abu-la-*	'consider father'
	b.	*uniŋa*	'spoon'	*uniŋa-la-*	'scoop with a spoon'
		kusige	'knife'	*kusige-le-*	'stab with a knife'

	aisi	‘gold’	*aisi-le-*	‘gild’
	to:	‘button’	*to-lo-*	‘button’
	mä:usa	‘gun’	*mä:usa-la-*	‘shoot’
	je:	‘horns’	*je:-le-*	‘butt’
	santu	‘fist’	*santu-le-*	‘hit with one’s fist’
	sa:sa	‘palm’	*sa:sa-la-*	‘hit with one’s palm’
	ob’o	‘door hook’	*ob’o-lo-*	‘shut the door with its hook’
	cob’o	‘handful’	*cob’o-lo-*	‘scoop with one’s hand’
	t’a:	‘fallen tree’	*t’a-la-*	‘walk along a fallen tree’
c.	*unugu*	‘illness’	*unugu-le-*	‘get ill’
	zaŋgä	‘boss, leader’	*zaŋgä-la-*	‘behave like a boss’
	mamasa	‘wife’	*mamasa-la-*	‘marry, take a wife’
	aga	‘deception’	*aga-la-*	‘deceive’
	iŋme	‘needle’	*iŋme-le-*	‘put a thread in a needle’

Besides, the suffix *-lA-* is regularly hosted by verbal stems borrowed from Russian (1.5.2.2.1), and its function in this case is to adjust the Russian verb to the Udihe derivational system.

8.1.1.4. The suffix *-li-*

The suffix *-li-* is specialized in marking the instrumental relationship between the base noun and the resulting verb, cf.:

(453)	*kuŋkai*	‘jaws harp’	*kuŋkai-li-*	‘play jaws harp’
	sou	‘scoop’	*sou-li-*	‘scoop’
	we:	‘mountain’	*we:-li-*	‘cross a mountain’

8.1.1.5. The suffix *-si-*

This suffix is quite productive. It is available whenever the base noun signifies some kind of instrument. The instrumental suffix *-si-* additionally conveys the imperfective meaning (cf. the parallel deverbal derivation in 8.2.2.7). The corresponding verbs are aspectually opposed to the perfective verbs derived from the same nouns with the suffix *-lA-* (8.1.1.3): *mäusa-la-* ‘shot (once)’ and *mäusa-si-* ‘be shooting’. Further examples are in (492).

(454)	*adili*	‘net’	*adili-si-*	‘net’
	gautu	‘hoe’	*gautu-si-*	‘use a hoe’
	coŋki	‘tree juice’	*coŋki-si-*	‘collect tree juice’
	dami	‘tobacco’	*dami-si-*	‘smoke’
	okto	‘medicine’	*okto-si-*	‘get cured’
	xaluga	‘hammer’	*xaluga-si-*	‘work with a hammer’

Examples of non-instrumental meaning are:

(455)	*sul’ai*	‘fox’	*sul’ai-si-*	‘lie’

amba	'evil spirit'	*amba-si-*	'be possessed'
tal'a	'raw fish'	*tal'a-si-*	'eat raw fish'
nakta	'boar'	*nakta-si-*	'play at being a boar'
tuŋe	'shaman pole'	*tuŋi-si-*	'make a shaman pole'
soŋgo	'bear'	*soŋgo-si-*	'eat bear meat' (K 287)
ulikte	'ritual lard'	*ulikte-si-*	'play with ritual lard (of a shaman)'

This suffix is also attested in Schneider (1936) in the form *-gAsi-*: *batu-gasi-* 'go hunting' (derived from the verb *batu-* 'go hunting'), *sunzu-gesi-* 'offend, torture', *teatri-gasi-* 'act in a theatre' (*teatri* 'theatre'), cf. also *mafa-g'asi-* 'play bear hunting' (*mafa* 'bear') (SK 551) and *bali-gasi-* 'play blind man's buff' (*bali* 'blind').

8.1.1.6. The suffixes *-ŋi-* and *-ŋisi-*

The suffixes *-ŋi-* or *-ŋisi-* derive creation verbs from nouns that semantically function as an object of creation. They are exemplified in (494a) and (494b) respectively.

(456)					
	a.	*xokto*	'road'	*xokto-ŋi-*	'make a road'
		ogdö	'coffin'	*ogdö-ŋi-*	'make a coffin'
		momugu	'firewood'	*momugu-ŋi-*	'collect firewood'
		oño	'ornament'	*oño-ŋi-*	'make ornaments'
	b.	*co:lo*	'grass tent'	*co:lo-ŋisi-*	'build a grass tent'
		cei	'soup'	*cei-ŋisi-*	'cook soup'
		kolo	'mittens'	*kolo-ŋisi-*	'make mittens'
		suala	'ski'	*suala-ŋisi-*	'make a ski'
		zeu	'food'	*zeu-ŋisi-*	'cook food'
		site	'child'	*site-ŋisi-*	'hatch nestlings' (SK 228)
		lala	'porridge'	*lala-ŋisi-*	'cook porridge' (Schneider 1937: 66)
		okto	'medicine'	*okto-ŋisi-*	'make some medicine'

Some nouns allow two variants in the derivation of the verb of creation, with the suffix *-ŋi-* and the suffix *-ŋisi-,* for example:

(457)				
au	'cap'	*au-ŋi-*	'make a cap'
		au-ŋisi-	'make a cap'
aŋa	'night shelter'	*aŋa-ŋi-*	'build a night shelter'
		aŋa-ŋisi-	'build a night shelter'

The element *-si-* within the suffix *-ŋisi-* is likely to be related to the imperfective verbal suffix *-si-* (8.2.2.7).

8.1.1.7. The suffix *-nA-*

The resulting verb pertains to the acquisition of a particular state (normally of age).

(458)	*sagdinta*	‘old man’	*sagdinta-na-gi-*	‘become old’
	xatala	‘girl’	*xatala-na-*	‘become a girl’
	ni:	‘man’	*ni:-ne-gi-*	‘come to life again’
	lusa	‘Russian’	*lusa-na -*	‘become russified’
	soŋgo	‘bear’	*soŋgo-no-*	‘become a bear’
	mo:	‘tree’	*mo:-no-*	‘become a tree’
	b’ata	‘boy, fellow’	*b’ata-na-*	‘become grown up (of a boy)’
	ute	‘rotten wood’	*ute-ne-*	‘molder away, become old’

This suffix also derives subjectless verbs that denote the appearance of a particular natural phenomenon. On subjectless constructions see 14.1.1 and 15.1.4.

(459)	*edi*	‘wind’	*edi-ne-*	‘blow (of the wind)’
	ima:	‘snow’	*ima:-ne-*	‘snows’
	gäwa	‘dawn’	*gäwa-na-*	‘dawn’
	tamña:	‘fog’	*tamña:-na-*	‘come (of fog)’
	ñaŋma	‘cold’	*ñaŋma-na-*	‘freeze’
	sogdo	‘steam’	*sogdo-no-*	‘appear (of steam)’
	sugala	‘northern wind’	*sugala-na-*	‘come (of the northern wind)’
	jakpa	‘canyon’	*jakpa-na(-gi)-*	‘appear (of a canyon)’
	züö	‘southern wind’	*züö-ne-*	‘come (of the southern wind)’
	aŋna	‘ice crust over snow’	*aŋna-na-*	‘appear (of the ice crust)’

8.1.1.8. The suffix *-gi-*

The suffix *-gi-* is clearly identical etymologically to the repetitive suffix of the deverbal derivation (8.2.2.9). It also derives subjectless verbs from nouns with a meteorological or cyclic «calendar» meaning. The subject appears to be incorporated into the verbal stem. Examples are:

(460)	*poute-gi-*	‘get dark’
	dogbo-gi-	‘come (of night)’
	bolo-gi-	‘come (of autumn)’
	tue-gi-	‘come (of winter)’
	neki-gi-	‘come (of spring)’

8.1.1.9. The suffix *-mu:i-*

The suffix *-mu:i-* is fairly productive. It express the meaning ‘smell X’ where X corresponds to the base noun. Examples are presented in (499). Example (499b) shows the usage of such verbs.

(460)	a.	*sali*	‘dead fish’	*sali-mu:i-*	‘smell dead fish’
		siŋe	‘mouse’	*siŋe-mu:i-*	‘smell mice’

	b'ata	'boy'	*b'ata-mu:i-*	'smell boys'
	xuŋna	'mould'	*xuŋna-mu:i-*	'smell mould' (K 307)
	silie	'gall'	*lie-mu:i-*	'smell gall' (SKX 182)

b. *Bi aziga-mu:i-mi.*
me girl-V-1SG
'I can smell girls.'

Alternatively, the suffix *-mu:i-* may derive an unchangeable component of a complex predicate which co-occurs with the verb *b'a-pta-* 'smell' (from *b'a-* 'get' and *-ptA-* Decausative). This construction means 'it smells of', for example:

(460) a. *J'e-mi aziga-mu:i b'a-pta-ini?*
what-INF girl-V get-DEC-3SG
'Why does it smell of girls?' (SKX 282)

b. *Saŋña-mu:i-de e-ini b'a-pta.*
smoke-V-FOC NEG-3SG get-DEC
'It doesn't smell of smoke.' (SKX 210)

8.1.1.10. Rare suffixes

Examples of non-productive rare suffixes of the denominal derivation of verbs are:

-di-, -zi-

ogzo-di- 'drive away the evil spirit' (*ogzo* 'evil spirit'); *kumu-di-* 'look to fleas' (*kumu* 'flea'), *ofo-di-* 'pluck' (cf. *ofo-kto* 'feather'); *soŋgo-di-* 'imitate a bear' (*soŋgo* 'bear'), *ceme-di-* 'eat nuts' (*ceme* 'seed'), *soŋdo-zi-* 'be sinful' (*soŋdo* 'sin') (SKX 388);

-(mu)ktA-

amu-kte- 'defecate' (*amu* 'excrement'); *edi-mukte-* 'be blown by the wind' (SK 1101) (*edi* 'wind');

-mule-

edi-mule- 'fly with the wind' (*edi* 'wind');

-fule-

xeŋe-fule- 'kneel' (*xeŋe* 'knee');

-ŋita-

lauzi-ŋita- 'take as a servant' (*lauzi* 'servant, farm worker' (SKX 320);

-gbi(*le*)*-*

ja:-gbi- 'start seeing, open eyes (for the first time)' (*ja:* 'eyes') (K 242), *xu-gbi(le)-* 'start smelling' (*xu:* 'smell'), *texe-gbi-* 'take root' (*texe* 'root').

8.1.2. Deadjectival verbs

8.1.2.1. The suffix *-nA-*

A fairly frequent suffix that derives verbs from adjectives is *-nA-* (sometimes in combination with the element *-gi-*). The derived verbs mean the acquisition of a quality or a state named by the base adjective.

(461)	*sagdi*	'old'	*sagdi-ne-gi-*	'become old'
	baj a	'rich'	*baja-na-*	'become rich'

gabzi	‘cheerful’	*gabzi-ne-gi-*	‘become cheerful’
maŋga	‘strong’	*maŋga-na-*	‘become strong’
soligi	‘fair (of hair)’	*soligi-ne-*	‘become fair’
ede	‘weak’	*ede-ne-*	‘become weak’
wac’a	‘little’	*wac’a-na-*	‘become smaller’
c’aligi	‘white’	*c’aligi-ne-*	‘become white’
xutaligi	‘red’	*xutalihi-ne-*	‘become red’
xoligi	‘yellow’	*xoligi-ne-*	‘become yellow’

The same suffix also derives verbs from nouns (8.1.1.7).

8.1.2.2. The suffix *-li-*

The suffix *-li-* expresses the beginning of the state described by the adjective (cf. the deverbal inchoative *-li-,* 8.2.2.1). Verbs in (502a) can take a subject; verbs in (502b) are subjectless.

(462)	a.	*guači*	‘bitter’	*guači-li-*	‘become bitter’
		xuxi	‘smelling’	*xuxi-li-*	‘start smelling’
		züi	‘sour’	*züi-li-*	‘get sour’
	b.	*ñamai*	‘hot’	*ñamai-li-*	‘get warm’
		xakti	‘dark’	*xakti-li-(gi-)*	‘get dark’

8.1.2.3. Other suffixes

Some suffixes used to make derivations from nouns (8.1.1) are also employed in the deadjectival derivation, for example:

(463)	*maŋga*	‘strong’	*maŋga-la-*	‘get exhausted’
	sagdi	‘old, large’	*sagdi-ŋi-*	‘get old’
	umac’a	‘short’	*umac’a-ŋisi-*	‘shorten’
	pou-pou	‘dark’	*pou-te-gi-*	‘get dark’
	diliga	‘foolish’	*diliga-di-*	‘do foolish things’
	ge:	‘bad’	*ge:-de-*	‘feel bad’
			ge:- ŋisi-	‘blame’ (SK 266)
	gojou	‘crooked’	*gojou-le-*	‘make something crooked’
	ila	‘three’	*ile-u-gi-*	‘do something for the third time’
	xoŋto	‘another’	*xoŋto-ŋisi-*	‘transform’ (Schneider 1937: 38)

8.2. Deverbal derivation

Deverbal derivation of verbs typically involves a voice-related (8.2.1), an aspectual (8.2.2), or sometimes a modal (8.2.3) meaning. Some of the suffixes of deverbal derivation are very productive and attach to practically every verb. However, such suffixation lacks semantic regularity; it often results in unpredictable semantics, and therefore cannot be regarded as a grammaticalized process.

The deverbal affixes attach to a verbal stem in a particular order. With respect to their position in

the verbal form five groups of affixes can be distinguished.

(464) I. Comitative, and Decausative
II. Durative, Semelfactive, and Singulative
III. Imperfective, Distributive, and Diversative
IV. Directive affix
V. other modal, Experiential, Reciprocal, Passive, and Causative

Within the verbal form the affixes from positional groups with a lower number are located to the left of those in the groups of a higher number. Typically, within a single word there are no more than two or three derivational affixes, and an affix from a group with a higher number cannot precede an affix from a group with a lower number.

(465) *ikteme-*'bite' *ikteme-nde-si-* 'bite a little many times'
Semelfactive II + Imperfective III
koŋko-'hit' *koŋko-ndo-si-* 'hit a little many times'
Semelfactive II + Imperfective III
wa- 'kill' *waŋ-na-sa-* 'go to kill (at least on one occasion)'
Directive IV + Experiential V
mede- 'inform' *mede-mpe-ne-* 'go to get informed'
Decausative I + Directive IV

Normally only one affix from each group is present in the word. However, sometimes two affixes from either group II, group III, or group V co-occur within one form.

(466) *etige-* 'jump' *xetige-si-kte-* 'jump many times (of several people)'
Imperfective III + Distributive III
susa- 'escape' *susa-kta-wasi-* 'escape by running in different directions (of several people)'
Distributive III + Diversative III
bi- 'be' *bi-we-kce-* 'intend to cause to live'
Causative V + Intentional V

mamasala- 'marry' *mamasala-wa-kca-* 'intend to marry somebody'
Causative V + Intentional V

Two suffixes (the Inchoative *-li-* and the Repetitive *-gi-*) do not belong to any positional group and tend to «float» in the word depending on their scope (8.2.2.9.3 and 8.2.2.1.2).

8.2.1. Valence-changing derivation

Suffixation of voice or voice-like affixes changes the valence pattern of the base verb by adding a new argument or reducing existing arguments. The syntax of the voice-related constructions is described in section 16.1. Affixes that express voice distinctions are found within positional groups I and V in the word; that is, they occupy the leftmost (Decausative, Comitative) or the rightmost (Causative, Passive, Reciprocal) position among derivational morphemes. The following deverbal suffixes derive verbs with voice-like meanings.

8.2.1.1. Reciprocal

Morphological Reciprocals are derived from a transitive and in some special cases from an intransitive base with the disharmonic suffix *-masi-* (3.5.1.2). The Reciprocal expresses a symmetrical situation, for at least two-place verbs. Reciprocalization causes a detransitivization of transitive verbs. On the syntax of the Reciprocal construction see 16.1.6.

8.2.1.1.1. Reciprocalization of the direct object

Reciprocals can apparently be formed from most transitive verbs, if the reciprocalized direct object is animate (human). Thus the only constraint on reciprocalization is semantic.

(467)	*ekpi-*	'spray at'	*ekpi-masi-*	'spray at each other'
	bele-	'help'	*bele-masi-*	'help each other'
	saŋtu-	'beat with fist'	*saŋtu-masi-*	'beat each other with fists'
	ñuga-si-	'kiss'	*ñuga-si-masi-*	'kiss each other'
	gida-	'throw a spear'	*gida-masi-*	'throw spears at each other'
	ña:-	'curse'	*ña:-masi-*	'argue with each other'
	b'a-	'find'	*b'a-si-masi-*	'meet each other'
	tugele- '	'hug'	*tugele-masi-*	'hug each other'
	mäusa-	'shoot'	*mäusa-masi-*	'shoot at each other'
	galu-	'hate'	*galu-masi-*	'hate each other'
	ŋousi-	'smell'	*ŋousi-masi-*	'smell each other'

8.2.1.2.2. Reciprocalization of other arguments

A third argument of the transitive verbs (other than the direct object) is reciprocalized if it presupposes a human participant. The reciprocalized argument is usually Dative (508a), Lative (508b), or, less frequently, Ablative (508c), Locative (508d), or Instrumental (508e).

(468)	a.	*nexu-*	'bring to'	*nexu-masi-*	'bring to each other'
		bu- '	give to'	*bu-masi-*	'give to each other'
	b.	*jexe-*	'sing to'	*jexe-masi-*	'sing to each other'
		kaja-	'send to'	*kaja-masi-*	'send to each other'
		teluŋu-	'tell to'	*teluŋu-masi-*	'tell to each other'
		xuli-	'go to'	*xuli-masi-*	'go to each other'
		dia-	'say'	*dia-masi-*	'talk to each other'
	c.	*gele-*	'ask from'	*gele-masi-*	'ask from each other'
	d.	*moso-*	'fight with'	*moso-masi-*	'fight with each other'
		xauntasi-	'ask (about) from'	*xauntasi-masi-*	'ask (about) from each other'
		zima-si-	'go on a visit to'	*zima-si-masi-*	'go on a visit to each other'

There seem to be no purely grammatical restrictions on reciprocalization. Not all intransitive verbs, however, reciprocalize, even if they involve animate participants and the corresponding reciprocal situation can be imagined. For example, morphological Reciprocals are not possible for the verbs *nagda-* 'get in' (Locative) and *dekte-* 'separate from' (Ablative): **nagda-masi-, *dekte-masi-*. In general, the semantic condition on intransitive reciprocalization in Udihe is not entirely clear, but the

restrictions do not seem to correlate directly with the argument/adjunct status of the secondary element involved in the reciprocal relationship.

8.2.1.1.3. One-argument verbs

In some rare cases, one-argument verbs can undergo morphological reciprocalization with the suffix *-masi-*. The corresponding sentences do not have a reciprocal meaning in the regular sense, but rather describe an action that the two participants undertake alternately (509) or have a sociative meaning ('together'), as in (510).

(469) a. *Nua-ti* *etete-masi:-ti.*
he-3PL work-REC-3SG
'They alternate in their work (that is, one sleeps while the other works, and vice versa).'

b. *Nua-ti* *utebe* *bagdi-si-masi:-ti.*
he-3PL so live-IM-REC-3PL
'They live at each other's place.'

(469) *Teu-ni* *sauli-masi-li-e-ti.*
all-3SG have.feast-REC-INC-PAST-3PL
'All (of them) started having a feast.' (SKX 264)

8.2.1.2. Causative

The affix *-wAn-* forms causative verbs that belong to morphonological class II (see 7.1). When class II verbs take the Causative suffix *-wAn-* two variants are possible: first, an epenthetic vowel may be inserted between the stem and the suffix (511a); second, the stem-final */n/* may change into */m/*, while the Causative suffix appears in the form *-uAn-* (511b).

(470) a. *lagban-a-wan-* 'glue something' (← *lagban-* 'stick to')
<stick-0-CAUS>
b. *lagbam-uan-* 'glue something'
<stick-CAUS>

The second option is the only one mentioned in Schneider (1936). Simonov and Kjalundzjuga (1998–1999: 515) record an intermediate variant *lagbam-uwan-*.

The causative derivation is absolutely regular and productive; there do not seem to be any semantic restrictions on the base verbs that allow causativization with the suffix *-wAn-*. It can be attached to any verb. It has a general causative meaning, that is, it introduces a new agent participant (the so-called «causer») but does not specify the type of causation. A non-productive Causative suffix *-u-* is addressed in 8.2.1.3.4. On the syntax of the Causative construction, see 16.1.4.

8.2.1.2.1. Single Causative

Examples of Causatives:

(471) a. *etete-* 'work' *etete-wen-* 'cause to work'

	su:le-	‘be sick’	*su:le-wen-*	‘make sick’
	soŋo-	‘cry’	*soŋo-won-*	‘cause to cry’
	tukti-	‘climb’	*tukti-wen-*	‘cause to climb’
	sele-	‘wake up’	*sele-wen-*	‘wake somebody up’
	zegde-	‘burn’	*zegde-wen-*	‘set fire’
	i:n-	‘enter’	*i:-wen-*	‘let in’
b.	*jexe-*	‘sing’	*jexe-wen-*	‘cause to sing’
	nodo-	‘loose’	*nodo-won-*	‘cause to loose’
	zawa-	‘take’	*zawa-wan-*	‘cause to take’
	umi-	‘drink’	*umi-wen-*	‘cause to drink’
	alasi-	‘wait’	*alasi-wen-*	‘cause to wait’
	ise-	‘see’	*ise-wen-*	‘cause to see, show’
	diga-	‘eat’	*diga-wan-*	‘cause to eat, feed’
	sa:-	‘know’	*sa-wan-*	‘let know’

The Causative derivation from the intransitive verbs leads to transitivization (512a). However, Causative affixes attached to the null-argument meteorological verbs do not add a direct object (causee) valence, but only a causer valence that corresponds to a subject argument (see 14.1):

(472) *tigde-* ‘rain’ *tigde-wen-* ‘make rain’

On the intransitive Causatives based on the decausative verbs see 8.2.1.3.1.

8.2.1.2.2. Double Causatives

The only example found for the double Causative is *ŋele-we-si-wen-* ‘cause to make afraid’ <be afraid-CAUS-IM-CAUS>.

8.2.1.2.3. Causative *-u-*

The non-productive Causative suffix *-u-* found in several verbs is etymologically related to the Passive affix (8.2.5.1). This suffix typically replaces the stem-final /*i*/ or /*e*/. Examples (514a) are attested in the modern Bikin dialect, examples (514b) are cited from Schneider (1936), Simonov, Kjaludzjuga, and Xasanova (1998), and Kormušin (1998) for the Northern dialect.

(473)	a.	*sa:-*	‘know’	*sa-u-*	‘make know, inform’
		kese-	‘suffer’	*kes(e)-u-*	‘torture’
		dala-	‘lap’	*dala-u-*	‘feed (animals)’
		teti-	‘put on (clothes)’	*tet-u-*	‘dress somebody’
		ili-	‘stand’	*il-u-*	‘put’
		ila-	‘burn’	*ila-u-*	‘kindle’
		tati-si-	‘learn’	*tat-u-si-*	‘teach’
	b.	*ejen-*	‘float’	*ejem-u-*	‘cause to float’
		ilaktan-	‘appear’	*ilaktam-u-*	‘cause to appear’
		iñe-	‘laugh’	*iñe-u-*	‘make laugh’
		solo-	‘go upstream’	*solo-u-*	‘cause to go

			upstream’
sana-	‘carry on a burden frame’	*sana-u-*	‘make carry on a burden frame’
aŋa-si-	‘make a night shelter’	*aŋa-u-si-*	‘invite somebody to spend a night’ (SK 121)

The Causative suffix *-u-* seems to precede other affixes of deverbal derivation in the verbal form. In this sense it is similar to the interclass derivation affixes, cf.:

(474) *dala-u-si-* ‘feed (several animals)’
<lap-CAUS-IM>
sa-u-ne- ‘go to inform’
<know-CAUS-DIR>.
kes-u-li- ‘start torturing’
<suffer-CAUS-INC>
sa-u-ne-gi- ‘go to inform again’
<know-CAUS-DIR-REP>
eje-u-ke- ‘make float’ (SKX 224)
<float-CAUS-INTN>

Note also that at least some verbs derived with the non-productive Causative *-u-* do not follow the regular syntactic pattern of the Causative constructions (16.1.4): as illustrated below, the second argument of the verb *sa-u-* ‘let know, inform’ is encoded by the Lative and not the Accusative.

(475) *’Ain-tigi:* *sa-u-je.*
brother-LAT.1SG know-CAUS-IMP.2SG
‘Inform my brother.’

8.2.1.3. Decausative

The Decausative is formed with the suffixes *-ptA-/-ktA-* and *-kpi-* from transitives. The Decausative derivation reduces the valence pattern of the base transitive verbs by detransitivizing them. It is not productive and applies only to a closed class of verbs. The syntactic aspect of the Decausative construction is discussed in 16.1.5.

According to Schneider (1936: 141), the element *-tA-* within the Decausative (Reflexive in his terms) suffix *-ptA-* is in fact a Present tense suffix, and apparently (although Schneider does not cite examples for this) it is not present in other temporal forms. Even if this account is valid historically, in the modern language the suffix *-ptA-* cannot be further segmented and appears in all tenses, as far as our material shows.

Note that reflexive verbs do not have any special morphological marking in Udihe, cf. *asikta-* ‘to undress (oneself)’, *sele-* ‘to wake up’, and *digene-* ‘to hide oneself’.

8.2.1.3.1. Decausative meaning

Normally the affixes *-ptA-* and *-ktA-* vary freely, for example: *ise-pte-* and *ise-kte-* ‘be seen’ (see 2.2.4.1 for phonetics). From some verbs two decausative verbs are derived, apparently with the same meaning, one with the affix *-ptA-/-ktA-* and another with the affix *-kpi-,* as shown in (517a). Other verbs (517b) allow only one formal type of the Decausative, either with *-ptA-/-ktA-* or with *-kpi-*. In the examples below only the *-ptA-* variation is shown. However, in practically every case a

counterpart with *-ktA-* is also possible.

(476)	a.	*nodo-*	‘lose’	*nodo-pto-*	*nodo-kpi-*	‘be lost’
		kakpali-	‘open (a bottle)’	*kakpali-pte-*	*kakpali-kpi-*	‘open’
		ñientile-	‘open (a door)’	*ñientile-pte-*	*ñientile-kpi-*	‘open’
		ise-	‘see’	*ise-pte-*	*ise-kpi-*	‘be seen’
		mala-	‘spend’	*mala-pta-*	*mala-kpi-*	‘be spent’
		mantila-	‘spill’	*mantila-pta-*	*mantila-kpi-*	‘be spilled’

	b.	*xolo-mu-*	‘leave’	*xolo-pto-*	‘be left’	
		olokto	‘cook’	*olokto-kpi-*	‘be cooked’	
		xue-	‘cut’	*xue-pte-*	‘be cut’	
		düi-si-	‘hear’	*düi-pte-*	‘be heard’	
		kimpi-	‘close’	*kimpi-pte-*	‘close’	
		b’a-	‘get, find’	*b’a-pta-*	‘smell’	
		zalu-	‘fill’	*zalu-pte-*	‘be filled’	
		kampi-	‘fold’	*kampi-pte-*	‘be folded’	*xu-*
	‘make numb (a leg)’	*xu-pte-*	‘become numb’			

An example of the decausativization of the causative verbs is in (518a) and examples of the causativization of the Decausatives are (518b) and (518c). In the latter case the resulting verb is intransitive but conveys an additional meaning ‘appear’.

(477)	a.	*sa:-*	‘know’
		sa-u-	‘let know, inform’ <see-DEC>
		sa-u-pte-	‘be known’ <know-CAUS-DEC>
	b.	*mantila-*	‘spill (transitive)’
		mantila-pta-	‘spill (intransitive)’ <spill-DEC>
		mantila-pta-wan-	‘appear to be spilled’ <spill-DEC-CAUS>
	c.	*ise-*	‘see’
		ise-kte-	‘be seen’ <see-DEC>
		ise-kte-wen-	‘appear’ <see-DEC-CAUS>

8.2.1.3.2. Middle meaning

Some verbs with Decausative suffixes have a middle meaning: the process they describe occurs without an external agent argument. For these verbs a corresponding non-derived base verb either does not exist, as shown in (519a), or is intransitive, as in (519b).

(478)	a.	*zala-pta-*	‘bend’ (intransitive)		
		ze-pte-	‘eat greedily (German *fressen*)’		
	b.	*ña:-*	‘get rotten’	*ña-pta-*	‘turn sour’
		ŋua-	‘sleep’	*ŋua-pta-*	‘feel sleepy’

8.2.1.3.3. Inchoative Decausative

The suffix *-gA-* derives a Decausative counterpart of the transitive verbs with the Inchoative suffix *-li-* (see 8.2.2.1), while there is no morphologically unmarked counterpart. The Decausative verb also has the inchoative meaning; that is, it expresses the beginning of a particular state caused by the event signified by the corresponding transitive verb.

(479)	*guza-li-*	'tear'	*guza-ga-*	'get torn'
	bukta-li-	'break in two'	*bukta-ga-*	'get broken in two'
	xudu-li-	'dislocate'	*xudu-ge-*	'get dislocated'

8.2.1.4. Comitative

The Comitative suffix *-niŋa-* indicates that the action is performed by at least two equally involved participants together. The comitative verbs, therefore, take only Plural agreement affixes and normally co-occur with the subject in the Plural. The comitative suffix is normally followed by the Imperfective affix *-si-* (8.2.2.7). Examples for the 3rd person Plural are:

(480)	*gusi-niŋa-si:-ti*	'they play together'
	<play-COM-NUL-3PL>	
	dian-a-niŋa-si-li-e-ti	'they started talking together'
	<say-0-COM-INC-PAST-3PL>	
	soŋo-niŋa-si:-ti	'they cry together'
	jexe-niŋa-si:-ti	'they sing together'
	umi-niŋa-si:-ti	'they drink together'
	oño-niŋa-si:-ti	'they write together'
	ise-niŋa-si:-ti	'they look together'
	te-niŋa-si:-ti	'they sit together'
	kakci-niŋa-si:-ti	'they fry together'
	taŋi-niŋa-si:-ti	'they read together'

The affix *-niŋA-* is etymologically related to the Collective affix employed for some quantifiers (11.1.3).

8.2.1.5. Passive

8.2.1.5.1. Derivation

The passive derivation is marked by the suffix *-u-* (formally identical to the unproductive Causative marker, 8.2.1.3.4). When the suffix *-u-* follows a vowel-final verbal stem it forms a vowel cluster with the stem-final vowel (522a). In the pronunciation of some speakers vowel cluster tends to be avoided, and is prevented by an epenthetic /*w*/ (522b), see 3.2.3. In other idiolects the cluster contracts into a long /*u*:/, especially when speaking quickly, as shown in (522c). For *n*-final verbs the Passive suffix induces the alternation /*n*/ → /*m*/ (522d).

(481)	a.	*ana-*	'push'	*ana-u-*	'be pushed'
		ise-	'see'	*ise-u-*	'be seen'
		wa:-	'kill'	*wa-u-*	'be killed'
		mäusala-	'shoot'	*mäusala-u-*	'be shot'

	akkusi-	‘sting’	*akkusi-u-*	‘be stung’
	e-	Negative verb	*e-u-*	Negative Passive stem
b.	*ana-*	‘push’	*ana-wu-*	‘be pushed’
	buge-	‘cover’	*buge-wu-*	‘be covered’
	umi-	‘drink’	*umi-wu-*	‘be drunk’
	diga-	‘eat’	*diga-wu-*	‘be eaten’
c.	*xugi-*	‘turn’	*xug-u:-*	‘be turned’
	koŋko-	‘beat’	*koŋk-u:-*	‘be beaten’
	diga-	‘eat’	*dig-u:-*	‘be eaten’
d.	*dian-*	‘say’	*diam-u-*	‘be said’
	lagban-	‘glue’	*lagbam-u-*	‘be glued’

When the Past tense suffix follows the Passive morpheme *-u-*, the latter changes into *-w-* in the intervocalic position (see 3.2.3), as in (523a) The non-intervocalic *-u-* is preserved (523b), while the long *-u:-* gets shortened (523c). Thus in the Past, as in the Present, various free and idiolectal variations occur.

(482) a. *ana-u-o:-mi → ana-w-o:-mi* ‘I was pushed’
<push-PAS-PAST-1SG>
ana-u-o:-i → ana-w-o:-i ‘you were pushed’
<push-PAS-PAST-2SG>
b. *ana-wu-o:-mi* ‘I was pushed’
<push-PAS-PAST-1SG>
c. *ana-u:-o:-mi → an-u-o:-mi* ‘I was pushed’
<push-PAS-PAST-1SG>

The passive form of the verb *wa-* ‘kill’ may be *wu:-* (< *wa-u-*) in the pronunciation of some speakers.

In the linear order of derivational morphemes the Passive suffix belongs to the positional group V, cf. *zawa-gi-w-o:-ni* ‘was taken back’ <take-REP-PAS.PAST-3SG>. Yet, in at least two examples in our corpus it precedes an aspectual marker, the Inchoative suffix (524a) and the Experiential suffix (524b), which reflects the scope relationship between them.

(483) a. *Ele* *nada* *koto-du* *diga-u-li-e-mi.*
soon seven bald-DAT eat-PAS-INC-PAST-1SG
‘Soon the seven bald ones will start eating me.’ (literally: soon I will start being eaten by seven bald men).
b. *dogbo-u-se:-ni*
night-PAS-EXP.PAS-3SG
‘he has waited for the night to come’ (SKX 182)

The order of the Passive and the Causative affix typically depends on the order in which the syntactic derivation takes place. In (525a) passivization «precedes» causativization, and in (525b) the relationship is reverse.

(484) a. *ña:ma-u-wan-* ‘cause to be cursed’
<curse-PAS-CAUS>
oño-u:-ŋ-, oño-u-weŋ- ‘cause to be written’
<write-PAS-CAUS>
b. *eme-wen-e-u-* ‘be sent’ (SKX 308)

<come-CAUS-0-PAS>
ende-wen-e-u- ‘be touched’ (SK 151)
<touch-CAUS-0-PAS>

However, this does not always hold; *oño-u:-ŋ-* may also mean ‘be caused to write’. Some sentence examples are cited in 6.1.4.4.

8.2.1.5.2. Function

The passive derivation applies to transitive verbs. On the syntax of the Personal Passive construction see 16.1.1.

At least four passive verbs lack non-passive counterparts, these are *dogbo-u-* ‘be caught by the night’, *sikie-u-* ‘be caught by the evening’, *tigde-se-u-* ‘be caught by rain’, and *gekti-u-* ‘be frozen’, for example:

(484) a. *dogb-u-o:-mi* ‘I was caught by the night’
<night-PAS-PAST-1SG>
dogb-u-o:-mu ‘we were caught by the night’
<night-PAS-PAST-1PL.EX>
b. *sikie-u-ini* ‘he is caught by the evening’
(Schneider1936: 65)
<evening-PAS-3SG>
c. *Toŋofo* *gekti-w-o:-ni.*
pond freeze-PAS-PAST-3SG
‘The pond got frozen.’

These verbs are obviously derivationally related to the null-argument meteorological verbs *dogbo-* ‘come (of night)’, *sikie-* ‘come (of evening)’, *tigde-* ‘rain’, and *gekti-* ‘freeze’ (cf. also the one-argument verb *gekti-* ‘get frozen’ used about non-natural objects) that conjugate as non-passive verbs (14.1). However, they lack non-passive transitive counterparts with the same meaning such as *‘catch somebody (of night)’ or *‘freeze somebody’. Thus the passive derivation opens one additional valency for these verbs. The corresponding passive verbs take exclusively animate subjects (cf. adversative constructions in the related language Even, discussed in Malčukov (1995: 21–26)).

8.2.2. Aspectual derivation

Aspectual (*Aktionsarten*) suffixes express various aspectual modifications of the initial verb. They are not grammaticalized to the same extent as the regular aspectual distinctions, such as Progressive or Habitual, which can be derived from virtually all verbs. Aspectual suffixes produce different semantic results depending on the semantic type of the base verb (telic vs. atelic, etc.) and normally only attach to a restricted class of verbs. They do not change the valence pattern of the verb.

As noted in 8.2, positional group II includes Durative, Semelfactive, and Singulative aspectual affixes. These affixes are therefore found directly after the verbal stem (or after interclass derivation affixes). The affixes of this group express the internal structure of the event to which the corresponding verb refers. Positional group III includes Diversative, Imperfective, and Distributive affixes. They all involve some kind of quantification of the situation. The Experiential suffix belongs to positional group V.

8.2.2.1. Inchoative

The Inchoative affix *-li-* is fairly productive. Inchoative verbs can form a periphrastic construction of Immediate Future (7.10.2). Inchoative verbs in the Past are negated in two formally different ways depending on the scope of the negation (22.3.2.1.2).

8.2.2.1.1. Inchoative meaning

Inchoative applies to the atelic verbs that denote an unbounded situation (a state or activity). The output of this operation expresses the bounding of the situation by indicating its starting point (527a). When applied to telic verbs, the Inchoative rather adds the meaning of expectation about the near future and the internal ability to perform the corresponding action (527b).

(485)	a.	*ŋousi-*	‘smell’	*ŋousi-li-*	‘start smelling’
		tukti-	‘climb’	*tukti-li-*	‘start climbing’
		ine-	‘dawn’	*ine-li-*	‘start dawning’
		galu-	‘hate’	*galu-li-*	‘start hating’
		belesi-	‘help’	*belesi-li-*	‘start helping’
	b.	*eki-*	‘stop’	*eki-li-*	‘be ready to stop’
		tiŋme-	‘fall down’	*tiŋme-li-*	‘be about to fall down’
		xetige-	‘jump’	*xetige-li-*	‘be about to jump’
		i:n-	‘reach’	*i:n-e-li-*	‘be about to reach’

8.2.2.1.2. Position of the Inchoative suffix in the word

The Inchoative affix *-li-* in a word normally follows the affixes from positional groups I (528a), II (528b), and III (528c).

(486) a. *ise-pte-li-* ‘start being seen’
<see-DEC-INC>
b. *ise-kce-li-* ‘start looking (for a long time)’
<see-DUR-INC>
c. *jeukte-si-li-* ‘start checking’
<check-IM-INC>

The mutual position of the Inchoative affix *-li-* and the Repetitive and the Causative suffixes depends on the scope of the Inchoative affix.

(487) a. *eme-gi-li-* ‘start coming back’
<come-REP-INC>
eme-wen-e-li- ‘start causing to come’
<come-CAUS-0-INC>
tati-wan-a-li- ‘start teaching’
<teach-CAUS-0-INC>
b. *ise-pte-li-gi-wen-* ‘make it start being seen again’
<see-DEC-INC-REP-CAUS>
zegde-li-wen- ‘cause to start burning’
<burn-INC-CAUS>

In (529a) the affix *-li-* takes scope over other affixes and occupies the rightmost position in the word; in (529b) the situation is the opposite.

8.2.2.2. Semelfactive

The Semelfactive is built by means of the suffix *-ndA-*. Normally psych-verbs and verbs of emotions, such as *aju-* 'love', *galu-* 'hate', *agda-* 'be happy', etc., are not compatible with the Semelfactive affix *-ndA-*. Semelfactive has several meanings.

8.2.2.2.1. Attenuative meaning

The Semelfactive expresses that the action is only performed with a limited intensity and/or for a limited duration by bringing about meanings like 'a little, slightly, for a while', etc.

(488)	*zawa-*	'take'	*zawa-nda-*	'touch a little'
	xetige-	'jump'	*xetige-nde-*	'jump a little'
	tokto-	'hit'	*tokto-ndo-*	'hit a little'
	akpu-	'sweep'	*akpu-nde-*	'sweep a little'
	belesi-	'help'	*belesi-nde-*	'help a little'
	eme-	'come'	*eme-nde-*	'come for a short time'
	bi-	'be'	*bi-nde-*	'be (a short time)'

Attaching the suffix *-ndA* to the verb in the Imperative serves to soften the tone of the request, for example:

(489) *Ag'a, düisi-nde j'eu nixe-ini ba:-la.*
brother listen-SEM what do-3SG place-LOC
'Brother, please listen to what is going on outside.' (K 160)

8.2.2.2.2. Semelfactive meaning

When hosted by transitive verbs the Semelfactive suffix expresses a small amount of the affected object:

(490)	*tama-*	'pay'	*tama-nda-*	'pay a little'.
	b'a-gi-	'find'	*b'a-gi-nde-*	'find a few things'

8.2.2.2.3. Punctual meaning

On rare occasions the Semelfactive may express a punctual meaning ('at once').

(491)	*simpi-*	'sneeze'	*simpi-nde-*	'sneeze at once'

8.2.2.3. Singulative

The Singulative affix *-lA-* emphasizes that an action took place only once. It is only compatible with telic verbs that denote an internally bound event.

(492)	*tiŋme-*	'fall down'	*tiŋme-le-*	'fall down once'
	ikteme-	'bite'	*ikteme-le-*	'bite once'
	xaluga-	'hit (with a hammer)'	*xaluga-la-*	'hit once with a hammer'

8.2.2.4. Durative

The suffix *-kcA-* expresses durative meaning. Prototypically, it denotes an action or state that is perceived as a protracted process, lasting for a considerable length of time. Obviously, such a meaning is possible only with atelic verbs. The Durative does not apply to Semelfactive and Singulative verbs.

(493)	*umi-*	'drink'	*umi-kce-*	'drink for a long time'
	uli-	'sew'	*uli-kce-*	'sew for a long time'
	tukti-	'climb up'	*tukti-kce-*	'climb up for s long time'
	ŋousi-	'smell'	*ŋousi-kce-*	'smell for a long time'
	cudi-	'water'	*cudi-kce-*	'water for a long time'
	uli-	'sew'	*uli-kce-*	'sew for a long time'
	diga-	'eat'	*diga-kca-*	'eat for a long time'

The Durative suffix is historically present in the word *wa-kca-* 'hunt' (from *wa:-* 'kill'), lexicalized in the modern language.

The Durative Infinitive regularly functions in certain types of complement embedded clauses (see 20.1).

8.2.2.5. Diversative

The Diversative is marked by the non-harmonizing suffix *-wasi-* (3.5.2).

8.2.2.5.1. Variations in class II verbs

The class II verbs exhibit free variation in the formation of the Diversative. They may demonstrate the following sound change: *n* + *wasi* → *masi.* Thus, the Diversative suffix is for them homonymous with the Reciprocal (8.2.1.1). This option is illustrated in (536a). Alternatively, the Diversative *-wasi-* may attach to the *n*-final stem augmented with the epenthetic vowel, as in (536b).

(494)		*wajan-*	'swim'
	a.	*waja-masi-* <swim-DIV>	'swim in different directions'
	b.	*wajan-a-wasi-* <swim-0-DIV>	'swim in different directions'

8.2.2.5.2. Function

The Diversative is mostly compatible with motion verbs (all the examples present intransitive verbs) when it expresses (disorderly) movement oriented in various directions (537a). Diversative verbs other than verbs of movement express several identical situations that involve different participants, and probably take place in many different ways, or in different locations (537b).

(495) a. *pama-* 'get lost' *pama-wasi-* 'wander'
tukä- 'run' *tukä-wasi-* 'run in different directions or around something' *xuli-* 'walk' *xuli-wasi-* 'walk in different directions'
susa- 'escape' *susa-wasi-* 'escape in different directions'
b. *pala-* 'distract' *pala-wasi-* 'distract in all possible ways'
kämbu- 'make a sacrifice' *kämbu-wasi-* 'make sacrifices in different ways'
ŋousi- 'smell' *ŋousi-wasi-* 'smell in different places'
dagbu- 'stick' *dagbu-wasi-* 'stick in different places'
xeŋde- 'step' *xeŋde-wasi-* 'step in several places'
xuine- 'dive' *xuine-wasi-* 'dive in several places'
teti-gi- 'dress' *teti-gi-wasi-* 'dress (many people)'

Examples of the use of the Diversative are:

(496) a. *Bi* *xunazi-le-i* *eku-wasi-e-mi,*
me sister-LOC-REF stay-DIV-PAST-1SG
sita-la-i *eku-wasi-e-mi.*
son-LOC-REF stay-DIV-PAST-1SG
'I stayed with my sister and stayed with my son.'
b. *Bi* *we:-tigi* *wai-lie* *tukti-wasi-e-mi.*
me mountain-LAT twenty-MULT climb-DIV-PAST-1SG
'I climbed the mountain twenty times.'

8.2.2.6. Distributive

Distributive suffixes typically express several instances of a situation within one period of time.

8.2.2.6.1. Distributive *-nA-*

The domain of application of the Distributive suffix *-nA-* is restricted to intransitive verbs. In particular, it regularly applies to the inchoative decausative verb (8.2.1.3.3). It expresses plurality of subjects, or multiple occurrence of the action on the whole (surface) of one object, and in this sense the resulting verbs may be ambiguous.

(497)	*tiŋme-*	'fall down'	*tiŋme-ne-*	'fall down (of several objects)'
	bukta-ga-	'break'	*bukta-ga-na-*	'break (of several objects)' or 'break in several places
	guza-ga-	'get torn'	*guza-ga-na-*	'get torn (of several objects)' or 'get torn in several places'
	kakta-ga-	'crack'	*kakta-ga-na-*	'crack (of several objects)' or 'crack in several places'

For example:

(498) a. *Mo:* *kakta-ga-na:-ni.*
tree crack-DEC-DIST.PAST-3SG
'The tree cracked in several places.'

b. *Zanza* *teu* *tiŋme-ne-ini.*
fence all fall-DIST-3SG
'The fence is all falling down.'

On rare occasions *-nA-* signifies plurality of the subject: *bagdi-ne-gi-e-ti* 'they returned to where they lived' <live-DIST-REP-PAST-3PL> (SKX 212) or has an imperfective meaning: *oŋmo-no-* 'often forget' (*oŋmo-* 'forget'). When combined with the Imperfective *-si-* it creates a complex affix *-nAsi-*: *um-nesi-* 'drink (constantly)' (cf. *umi-* 'drink'); *xuai-nasi-* 'cut in several pieces' (SK 1002) (cf. *xuai-* 'cut').

8.2.2.6.2. Distributive *-ktA-*

The suffix *-ktA-* is the most frequent Distributive suffix. It signifies that the situation involves several subject participants. The verb takes Plural agreement, so plurality is marked twice on the verb although the nominal Plural suffixes are not obligatory (see 4.2.1.2).

(499)	*eme-*	'come'	*eme-kte-*	'come (of several people)'
	bude-	'die'	*bude-kte-*	'die (of several people)'
	gusi-	'play'	*gusi-kte-*	'play (of several people)'
	deu-	'get tired'	*deu-kte-*	'get tired (of several people)'
	do:-	'perch'	*do-kto-*	'perch (of several birds)'

The following examples illustrate this Distributive suffix encoding plurality of subjects.

(500) a. *Abuga-da* *anči* *eniŋe-de* *anči* *teu*
father-FOC no mother-FOC no all
bude-kte:-ti.
die-DIST.PAST-3PL
'No father, no mother, everybody died.'

b. *Mogz'oi* *susa-kta:-ti* *gektin-zi* naked
escape-DIST.PAST-3PL cold-INST
bude-kte:-ti.
die-DIST.PAST-3PL
'The naked (people) escaped and died from the cold.' (K 136)

The same affix may sometimes denote a plurality of objects: *eje-u-kte-* ‘make many objects float’ <float-CAUS-DIST> (SK 1116).

8.2.2.7. Imperfective

For class II verbs the Imperfective suffix *-si-* is attached to the vowel-final stem, while the stem-final */n/* is dropped, cf.:

(501)	*sa-*	‘know’	*iñe-*	‘laugh’
	sa-wan-	‘let know’	*iñe-wen-*	‘make laugh’
	sa-wa-si-	‘let know (IM)’	*iñe-we-si-*	‘make laugh (IM)’

The Imperfective has a wide range of meanings depending on the semantics of the initial verb.

8.2.2.7.1. Continuous meaning

For atelic verbs the Imperfective normally has a continuous meaning, that is, denotes a process in progress. In (544a) examples of a class I verb and examples (544b) of class II verbs are presented:

(502)	a.	*soŋo-*	‘cry’	*soŋo-si-*	‘be crying’
		oño-	‘write, decorate’	*oño-si-*	‘be making ornaments’
		olokto-	‘cook’	*olokto-si-*	‘be cooking’
	b.	*dawan-*	‘infect’	*dawa-si-*	‘be infecting’
		ŋele-wen-	‘frighten’	*ŋele-we-si-*	‘be frightening’

See also examples in (545).

(503)	*zawa-*	‘take’	*zawa-si-*	‘hold’
	ise-	‘see’	*ise-si-*	‘look’

8.2.2.7.2. Multiplicative meaning

When applied to telic verbs the Imperfective suffix typically licenses the multiplicative meaning: it denotes that the situation is repeated several times, typically with the same participants.

(504)	*mägdagi-*	‘wake up’	*mägdagi-si-*	‘wake up several times’
	nagda-	‘guess; hit’	*nagda-si-*	‘hit several times’
	digan-	‘say’	*diga-si-*	‘talk’
	xuine-	‘dive’	*xuine-si-*	‘dive several times’

8.2.2.7.3. Distributive meaning

The Imperfective suffix *-si-* may also express several instances of a situation involving multiple

participants, either subjects (547a) or objects of transitive verbs (547b).

(505)	a.	*camna-*	‘break’	*camna-si-*	‘break (of several things)’
		tiŋme-	‘fall’	*tiŋme-si-*	‘fall (of several people)’
	b.	*nodo-*	‘lose’	*nodo-si-*	‘lose many things’
		kakpali-	‘open (a jar)’	*kakpali-si-*	‘open (several jars)’
		tugbu-	‘cut (a tree)’	*tugbu-si-*	‘cut (several trees)’
		buge-	‘bury’	*buge-si-*	‘bury (several people)’
		bukta-	‘break’	*bukta-si-*	‘break (several objects)’

Thus, for transitive verbs ambiguity between different meanings may arise, cf. *teti-si-* ‘dress many children’ or ‘dress one child many times’ (from *teti-* ‘dress’). Examples of the suffix *-si-* expressing plurality.

(506) a. *Ni:-we* *wa:-si-se.*
man-ACC kill-IM-PP.PAS
‘Several people are killed.’

b. *Mo:-wo* *anana* *tugbu-si-se.*
tree-ACC long.ago cut-IM-PP.PAS
‘The trees were cut a long time ago.’

8.2.2.8. Repetitive

The Repetitive affix *-gi-* is fairly productive in its repetitive meaning (8.2.2.8.1). Class II verbs demonstrate the contraction of the stem-final */n/* with the suffix-initial consonant */g/*, so the Repetitive suffix has the form *-ŋi-*.

(507)	*xektin-*	‘jump’	*xekti-ŋi-*	‘jump back’
	i:n-	‘reach’	*i:-ŋi-*	‘reach on the way back’
	ejen-	‘float downstream’	*eje-ŋi-*	‘float back downstream’
	ilaktan-	‘appear’	*ilakta-ŋi-*	‘appear again’

8.2.2.8.1. Repetitive meaning

Typically, the Repetitive verb expresses the meaning ‘again’ or ‘one more time’ for both telic and atelic verbs. Yet, it does not seem to be compatible with stative psych-verbs. Combined with negation it means either ‘nevermore’ or ‘no longer’.

(508)	*xauntasi-*	‘ask’	*xauntasi-gi-*	‘ask again’
	nodo-	‘lose’	*nodo-gi-*	‘lose again’
	deu-	‘get tired’	*deu-gi-*	‘get tired again’
	tukti-	‘climb up’	*tukti-gi-*	‘climb up again’
	nodo-	‘lose’	*nodo-gi-*	‘lose again’
	ŋua-	‘sleep’	*ŋua-gi-*	‘sleep again’

The Repetitive suffix is regularly used with verbs that denote putting on or taking off clothes or shoes (in this case these are clothes that have already been worn at least once, that is, are not new), as in (551).

(509)	*aula-*	'put on a cap'	*aula-gi-*	'put on a cap'
	lukta	'take off clothes'	*lukta-gi-*	'take off clothes'

The verb *bagdi-* 'live' augmented by the Repetitive suffix *-gi-* means 'be born' (*bagdi-gi-*).

8.2.2.8.2. Regressive meaning

The repetitive verbs can mean returning to the previous stage (552a) or movement towards home (552b). This demonstrates that the situation described by the verb with the Repetitive suffix *-gi-* does not have to double completely the previous situation and its participants.

(510)	a.	*zawa-*	'take'	*zawa-gi-*	'take back'
		tama-	'pay'	*tama-gi-*	'pay debts'
		te:-	'sit down'	*te-gi-*	'sit up'
		bu:-	'give'	*bu-gi-*	'return, give back'
		galakta-	'look for'	*galakta-gi-*	'look for a lost object'
		gele-	'ask'	*gele-gi-*	'ask something back'
	b.	*eme-*	'come'	*eme-gi-*	'return (home)'
		belesi-	'help'	*belesi-gi-*	'help carry home'
		tukä-	'run'	*tukä-gi-*	'run home'
		gele-	'call'	*gele-gi-*	'call back, call home'

8.2.2.8.3. Position of the Repetitive suffix in the word

The Repetitive suffix follows most other derivational suffixes, for example, the Directive (553a), and the Semelfactive (553b). The mutual order of the Directive and the Repetitive suffixes is not influenced by their scope, for example *egbesi-ne-gi-* means both 'go again to swim' or 'go to swim again'.

However, the Repetitive precedes the suffixes from positional group V (modal and Causative suffixes), cf. (553c).

(511)	a.	*etete-*	'work'	*etete-ne-gi-*	'go to work again'
		ise-	'see'	*ise-ne-gi-*	'go to see again'
		galakta-	'search'	*galakta-na-gi-*	'go back to search'
	b.	*simi-*	'suck'	*simi-nde-gi-*	'suck a little again'
	c.	*tigde-gi-kce-* <rain-REP-INT>		'the rain starts and stops again'	
		tukä-gi-mu:i- <run-REP-DES>		'want to run back'	
		ili-gi-kce- <stand-REP-INT>		'intend to get up'	
		ne-gi-kce- <put-REP-INT>		'intend to put back'	
		ikteme-le-gi-wen-		'again cause somebody to bite once'	

<bite-SING-REP-CAUS>
lagba-ŋi-wen- ‘cause to glue something again’
<stick-REP-CAUS>
bu-gi-wen- ‘cause to give back’
<give-REP-CAUS>

If the scope of the repetitive meaning is wider than the scope of the modal meaning, the only possibility to express this situation is with an additive focus particle (Chapter 12).

(511) *Xai* *tukä-mu:i-mi*
again run-DES-1SG
‘I want to run again.’

When the scope relationship between two suffixes is irrelevant, both orders are equally possible (555a). Thus, the Imperfective suffix *-si-* either precedes or follows the Repetitive (555b).

(512) a. *eme-kte-gi-* ‘come again/back (of several people)’
<come-DIS-REP>
eme-gi-kte- ‘come again/back (of several people)’
<come-REP-DIS>
b. *uli-si-gi-* ‘sew many times again and again’
<sew-IM-REP>
mägda-gi-si- ‘wake up again many times’
<wake.up-REP-IM>
tagdi-gi-si- ‘pull out again many times’
<pull.out-REP-IM>

8.2.2.9. Experiential

The only aspectual suffix that belongs to positional group V is the Experiential suffix *-sA-*.

8.2.2.9.1. Function

Experiential verbs express the notion that the event occurred at least once in the past. Consequently the experiential verbs are used only in the Past tense or the Perfect; the Present and Future forms are not acceptable, cf.:

(513) a. *Lali-mi-de* *gekti-mi-de* *bude-se:-i*
starve-INF-FOC freeze-INF-FOC die-EXP.PAST-2SG
gun-e-mi.
say-0-1SG
‘I thought you had died from hunger and cold.’ (SKX 82)
b. *Bi* *Iwana-wa* *b’agdi-se:-mi*
me Ivan-ACC meet-EXP.PAST-1SG
‘(Once) I met Ivan.’
c. *Nua-ni* *wa:taŋi* *xuli-s’e* *ŋene:-ni.*
he-3SG just come-EXP.PERF go.PAST-3SG
‘He has just come and gone.’
d. *Bi* *xaundasi-na-sa:-mi.*

me ask-DIR-EXP.PERF-1SG
'I was going to ask.'

e. *Bi eme-gi-si:* *nua-ni* *magazina-tigi*
me come-REP-PC.1SG he-3SG shop-LAT
xuli-se:-ni *xeleba-wa* *gaŋga-sa:-ni.*
go-EXP. PAST-3SG bread-ACC buy-EXP.PAST-3SG
'When I came back he had already gone to the shop and had bought some bread.'

The examples below demonstrate the negative forms of verbs derived with the Experiential suffix, which adds the semantic component 'never before'.

(514) a. *Bi* *ali-de* *e-si-mi* *xuli-se*
me when-IND NEG-PAST-1SG go-EXP
Moskva-la.
Moscow-LOC
'I have never been to Moscow.'

b. *Bi nua-ni* *xuli:-si-ni* *e-s'e-i*
me he-3SG go-PC-3SG NEG-PERF-1SG
dogdi-gi-se.
hear-REP-EXP
'Since he left, I have not heard of him again.'

8.2.2.9.2. Regressive meaning

Schneider (1936) cites examples of the regressive meaning of the suffix *-sA-*: when it denotes movement in reverse following the completion of a corresponding action.

(515) *nexu-* 'take away' *nexu-se-* 'come back after having taken away'
ilama- 'bark a tree' *ilama-sa-* 'come back after having barked a tree'

Such a meaning of the suffix *-sA-* is not attested in modern Udihe. It may have been a misinterpretation by Schneider of the experiential meaning. However, it might arise as an accessory when the experiential suffix co-occurs with the Directive *-nA-* (8.2.3.1) within the same word, cf.:

(516) a. *gegbe-* 'collect'
gegbe-ne- 'go to collect'
gegbe-ne-se- 'come back after collecting (for example, mushrooms)'

b. *wakca-* 'hunt'
wakca-na- 'go to hunt'
wakca-na-sa- 'come back after hunting'

c. *zawa-* 'take'
zawa-na- 'go to take'
zawa-na-sa- 'come back after taking'

8.2.2.10. Intensive

The intensive suffixes are available but are fairly rarely used. They are not easily combined with other derivational suffixes, including the affixes of deverbal derivation, so a definite conclusion about their positional status cannot yet be made.

8.2.2.10.1. Intensive *-mA-*

The Intensive *-mA-* expresses the intensity of intransitive action.

(517)	*tukä-*	'run'	*tukä-ma-*	'run quickly'
	zomi-	'steal'	*zomi-me-*	'steal all the time'

With transitive verbs the same meaning is automatically perceived as referring to an action that affects many objects or a large number of uncountable objects:

(518)	*diga-*	'eat'	*diga-ma-*	'eat a lot or everything'
	ugdi-	'warm up (water)'	*ugdi-me-*	'warm up a lot of water'
	saula-	'light (a lamp)'	*saula-ma-*	'light (many lamps)'.
	kuŋgede-	'fill in'	*kuŋgede-me-*	'fill in (many objects)'

8.2.2.10.2. Intensive *-ki-, -kA-*

The Intensive suffixes *-ki-, -kA-* (the distribution of these two variants is not clear) expresses the meaning that a sudden action is carried out to a high degree of intensity. They seem to be formally related to the expressive affix *-k*, which derives the impersonal perfective verbal forms in expressive speech.

(519) a. *Bi* *ŋene:-k* *nakta-wa* *ise-ki-e-mi.*
me go.PAST-EXPR roar-ACC see-EXPR-PAST-1SG
'I went and saw a boar.'

b. *Bi* *sin-e-we* *koŋko-ko-zoŋo-i.*
me you-0-ACC beat-EXPR-FUT-1SG
'I will beat you.'

c. *Si* *ŋene-ke-zeŋe-i* *bu-de* *xaisi*
you go-INT-FUT-1SG we-FOC also
ŋene-ke-zeŋe-u.
go-EXPR-FUT-1PL.EX
'You will leave and we will also leave.'

Example (563) suggests that the affix *-ki, -kA* is located after the Causative affix, that is, to the right of the affixes that belong to positional group V:

(520) *T'osi-wen-e-ke-ze-mi.*
dream-CAUS-0-EXPR-SUBJ-1SG
'I will make them dream'.

8.2.3. Modal derivation

Affixes with a modal-like meaning belong to positional groups IV and V, that is, they always occupy the rightmost position among all derivational affixes. Like aspectual suffixes, they do not change the valence pattern of the base verb.

8.2.3.1. Directive

Positional group IV includes the Directive suffix *-nA-*, which is very productive and attaches to virtually every non-stative verb whenever this seems semantically plausible. It means movement directed to performing an action specified by the verb stem.

(521)	*egbesi-*	'swim'	*egbesi-ne-*	'go to swim'
	buge-	'bury'	*buge-ne-*	'go to bury'
	wakca-	'hunt'	*wakca-na-*	'go to hunt'
	tama-	'pay'	*tama-na-*	'go to pay'
	olokto-	'cook'	*olokto-no-*	'go to cook'

As already noticed by Schneider (1936: 141), the suffix *-nA-* expresses the general idea of movement, not necessarily walking. Therefore in some contexts, for example, the verb *buge-ne-* can be translated not as 'go to bury' but as 'fly to bury', 'swim to bury', 'run to bury', etc.

The verbs *wa-* 'kill', *sa-* 'know, learn', *gun-* 'say', and *ja:-* 'do what' have irregular Directive stems *waŋ-na-* 'go to kill', *saŋ-na-* 'go to learn', *guŋ-ne-* 'go to say', and *jaŋ-na-* 'go to do something', respectively.

8.2.3.2. Desiderative

The Desiderative *-mu:i-* typically expresses a wish or the internal (physical) necessity to accomplish a particular action. Most commonly it applies to a restricted group of verbs, that is, verbs that refer to some physical human activity (565a). However, other verbs are not completely excluded either (565b), in which case the Desiderative rather has an intentional meaning.

(522)	a.	*umi-*	'drink'	*umi-mu:i-*	'want to drink'
		ŋene -	'go'	*ŋene-mu:i-*	'want to go'
		iñi-	'laugh'	*iñi-mu:i-*	'want to laugh'
	b.	*b'agdi-*	'meet'	*b'agdi-mu:i-*	'want to meet'
		tukä-	'run'	*tukä-mu:i-*	'want to run'
		wakca-	'hunt'	*wakca-mu:i-*	'want to hunt'
		gada-	'buy'	*gada-mu:i-*	'want to buy'

The subject of desiderative verbs is normally an animate noun. In some cases, however, the intentional Desiderative can pertain to a subjectless situation, as indicated by the next example.

(523) *Tigde-mu:i-ni.*

rain-DES-3SG
'It is going to rain.'

Desiderative verbs do not have a Future tense or Imperative.

Desiderative verbs have a special non-finite form which will be conventionally referred to the Desiderative noun (DESN in the glosses). It is derived from the Present tense verbal stem with the affix *-mugdi*, which is probably a compound morpheme consisting of the desiderative affix *-mu:i-* and some kind of focus particle *-gdi* (cf. 12.1.1.8). Examples:

(567) Class I

jexe-mugdi	'the one wanting to sing'
bu-mugdi	'the one wanting to give'

Class II

dian-a-mugdi	'the one wanting to say' <say-0-DESN>

Desiderative nouns do not have a nominal inflection and are used only within copular desiderative constructions where they express a desiderative state (see 17.2.3.2).

8.2.3.3. Intentional

The intentional suffix *-kcA-* has two rather different meanings.

8.2.3.3.1. Intentional meaning

First, it expresses a modal meaning of intention to perform the action, or of being ready to perform it. The action expressed by intentional verbs can be of any character; the derivation in question applies whenever the verb denotes an action that can be carried on intentionally. As with Desideratives, the subject of intentional verbs tends to name a human being.

(524)

teti-	'dress'	*teti-kce-*	'intend to dress'
umi-	'drink'	*umi-kce-*	'intend to drink'
mä:usala-	'shoot'	*mä:usala-kca-*	'intend to shoot'
akinda-	'pierce'	*akinda-kca-*	'intend to pierce'
imana-	'snow'	*imana-kca-*	'be about to snow'
zegde-li	'start burning'	*zegde-li-kce-*	'be about to flare up'
sa:-	'know'	*sa-kca-*	'want to learn, to know'

The Intentional suffix is formally homonymous to the Durative suffix *-kcA-* (see 8.2.2.4), but clearly differs from it in semantics.

8.2.3.3.2. Alternating action

Another function of the affix *-kcA-* is to express an action that takes place in an alternating way, which occurs several times in opposite directions, or stops and starts alternately and abruptly.

(525)

solo-	'go upstream'	*solo-kco-*	'go upstream and downstream'
bu:-	'give'	*bu-kce-*	'give and take back'

tigde-	‘rain’	*tigde-kce-*	‘rain and stop raining’
gulin-	‘leave’	*gulin-e-kce-*	‘start leaving and change one’s mind’
dian-	‘say’	*dian-a-kca-*	‘start saying and change one’s mind’
ŋele-	‘be afraid’	*ŋele-kce-*	‘be afraid a little (without being sure)’

An example of the use of the intentional that expresses an action that started taking place, but suddenly stopped.

(526) *Aisi-kca:-ni* *kiŋde-kiŋde* *kiŋde-si-e-ni.*
mend-INT.PAST-3SG break-break break-IM-PAST-3SG
‘As soon as he started mending (it), he broke (it) completely.’ (K 111)

The derived verbs with the suffix *-kcA-* are often found in the periphrastic construction of alternating action (7.10.1), although the presence of this affix is then redundant.

8.2.4. Non-productive affixes of deverbal derivation

Examples:
-gde-, -gdi-
jexe-gde- ‘hiccup’ (*jexe-* ‘sing’); *b’a-gdi-* ‘meet (each other)’ (*b’a-* ‘find, get’);
-kule-
susa-kule- ‘escape’ (*susa-* ‘escape’);
-mpA-, -mpi-
mede-mpe- ‘ask, inform oneself’ (*mede-* ‘be informed’); *nodo-mpi-* ‘throw away’ (*nodo-* ‘loose’) (SKX 80);
-lA-
aju:-le- ‘admire’ (*aju*:- ‘like, love’);
-fine-
ekei-fine- ‘stop’ (SK 1120) (cf. *ekei-* ‘stop’).

8.3. Verbal compounds

Verbal compounding is not a common type of word formation in Udihe. One fairly productive pattern of compounding is the combination of the semantically «light» verb *b’a-* ‘get, receive, find’ with a noun or an adjective. Such compounds form fixed lexicalized expressions, which can exhibit non-compositional semantics.

8.3.1. Adjective + *b’a-*

The combination of *b’a-* and certain adjectives produces intransitive compound expressions with the meaning of the acquiring or the beginning of a particular state. The following list exemplifies all compounds of this type found in our materials:

(527) *xekui b’a-* ‘get warm, burnt’ *sigdi b’a-* ‘get angry’

ñamugdi b'a-	'start laughing'	*safani: b'a-*	'get bored'
guzi b'a -	'get in a good mood'	*gili b'a-*	'get cold'
baita b'a-	'become guilty'	*zemui b'a-*	'get hungry'.
jemui b'a-	'get sick'	*kogomui b'a-*	'get thirsty'
säkpa b'a-	'be beneficial'	*xanaŋ b'a-*	'get sick'
ge: b'a-	'get offended'	*eŋe b'a-*	'get cold'
maŋga b'a-	'feel bad' (SKX 326)		

Compound expressions of this type are one-place predicates with the experiencer valence; in the clauses the experiencer takes the subject role. The position of the adjective is always strictly before the verb *b'a-* unless in a negative sentence where the negative auxiliary may intervene between the components of the compound expression (573).

(528) a. *Pakula gu:-zi b'a-ni*.
Pakula good.moody get.PAST-3SG
'Pakula got in a good mood.'
b. *Nua-ni gili b'a-ni*.
he-3SG cold get.PAST-3SG
'He got cold.'

(529) *Zemui e-ini b'a* .
hungry NEG-3SG get
'He is not hungry.'

At least in one example the verb *b'a-* is replaced by the copula *ede-* 'become': *xanaŋ ede-ini* 'he became sick' <sick become-3SG>. In the expression *ŋene-i b'a-* 'prepare to leave' (SKX 126) the verb *b'a-* co-occurs with the impersonal form of the Present active participle of the verb *ŋene-* 'go'.

8.3.2. Noun + *b'a-*

Another compounding type is the combination of the verb *b'a-* 'get' with a noun in the Accusative form. In the Northern dialect, for which the unmarked Accusative is more typical than in the Bikin dialect (4.2.2.2), the object in the corresponding compounds is usually in the Nominative. There are two types of such compounds, which seem to differ in the status of the object noun.

8.3.2.1. Incorporated object

Consider the following compounds:

(530) a. *xekui-we b'a-* 'get hot'
zuge-we b'a- 'have trouble'
ligba-wa b'a- 'get a cold in the nose'
simpi-we b'a- 'get a cough'
unuge-we b'a- 'catch a disease'
ñanu-wa b'a- 'cause harm'
sie-we b'a- 'get a wound'
baita-wa b'a 'get in trouble
b. *bugdi-ne-mi b'a-* 'start walking (of a baby)'

	(literally: get self's leg)
muje-ne-mi b'a-	'realize'
	(literally: get self's thought)'
beje-ne-mi b'a-	'reach manhood' (literally: get self's body) (SK 198)

The object here demonstrates a certain independence and syntactic activity. It can sometimes be modified by an adjective (575a) and even by a relative clause (575b). Although the objects in such compounds tend to occupy a strictly preverbal position in the clause, they may be separated from the verb by other elements, or be postposed (575c).

(531) a. *Sagdi* *baita-wa* *b'a-ni.*
big trouble-ACC get.PAST-3SG
'He got into big trouble.'

b. *Maŋga* *bude-u-ji* *unugu-we* *b'a-mi.*
severe die-PAS-PRP disease-ACC get.PAST-1SG
'I caught a severe, fatal disease.' (K 169)

c. *Ali* *b'a-ni* *uti* *zuge-we?*
when get.PAST-3SG that trouble-ACC
'When did this misfortune happen to him?'

Howver, these compounds differ syntactically from the regular combination of the verb with a direct object. The object in them does not passivize, does not control depictives and does not relativize, unlike a regular direct object (15.1.2). Unlike other objects, they cannot be coordinated without repeating the verb. The personal affix can only attach to the object modified by the interrogative pronoun *j'eu* 'which, what, what sort of', as is required by its grammar (see 9.5.1).

(532) *J'eu* *ñaŋu-wa-ni* *b'a-i.*
what harm-ACC-3SG get.PAST-2SG
'What harm you cause.' (K 188)

Otherwise, these compound expressions do not allow a possessive object (except for those listed in (574b) which never occur without the reflexive possessive inflection and the Destinative case inflection).

These properties suggest that we are here dealing with an object characterized by a certain degree of incorporation, and that the compound expressions in (574) are transitional in character, being somewhere between a syntactic phrase and a lexical element.

8.3.2.2. Non-incorporated object

The second type of «noun + *b'a-*» compounds include the following ones:

(533)	*b'ata-wa b'a-*	'give birth to a boy'
	aziga-wa b'a-	'give birth to a girl'
	sita-wa b'a-	'give birth to a baby'

In all respects the object in such compound constructions behaves like a regular direct object (15.2). It can be modified by an adjective (578a), a numeral, or a relative clause. The object in these compounds takes personal reflexive inflections and the Destinative case (578b) and can also

take the Alienable Possessive affix *-ŋi-* (578c).

(534) a. A*dau* *b'ata-wa* *b'a-ni.*
twin boy-ACC get PAST-3SG
'She gave birth to twin boys'.
b. *Sita-na-mi* *b'a-ni.*
child-DEST-REF get.PAST-3SG
'She had a baby.'
c. *B'ata-ŋi-we* *b'a-ti*
boy-AL-ACC get.PAST-3PL
'They had a son.' (K 167)

The objects present in such compound constructions can be coordinated without the repetition of the verb *b'a-* (579), stranded (580) and can relativize (581).

(535) a. *Omo* *b'ata,* *omo* *aziga* *b'a-ti.*
one boy one girl get.PAST-3PL
'They had one boy and one girl.' (K 167)
b. *Aziga* *b'ata* *b'a-mi* *bagdi-e-ti.*
girl boy get-INF live-PAST-3PL
'They lived having a girl and a boy.' (K 141)

(536) *Si* *mamasa-i* *j'e-we* *b'a-ni*
you wife-2SG what-ACC get.PAST-3SG
aziga-wa:-s *b'ata-wa:-s?*
girl-ACC-DIS boy-ACC-DIS
'What did your wife have - a girl or a boy?'

(537) a. *Näzakta-la-i* *b'a-ni* *b'ata* *j'eu*
brother-LOC-REF get.PAST-3SG boy what
aja *bi-ze?*
good be- SUBJ
'How would a boy born with a brother be nice?'
b. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *bi* *xa:-i*
me see.PAST-1SG me relative-1SG
sita-wa *b'a-ma-ni.*
son-ACC get.PP-ACC-3SG
'I saw the baby my relative gave birth to.'

These syntactic properties suggest that the status of the object in (577) differs from that in (574). The former demonstrates greater syntactic activity and behaves like a regular direct object, while the latter presents an instance of an incorporated object.

8.3.3. Other compounds

The compounds with the copula 'be' are given in (582a). In (582b) we present compounds with the element *ančі-gde* < no-FOC>.

(538) a. *baita bi-* 'have business with'
mende bi- 'be unbroken'

bagä+Possessive affix *bi-*		‘hate’
kesi gele-		‘pray about luck’
sese bi-		‘do one’s best'
bude bude-		‘die’
gefuli-gde ŋene-		‘disappear (completely)’ (SK 243)
b. *anči-gde ŋene-*		‘disappear (walking)’
anči-gde tukä-		‘disappear (running)’
anči-gda ise-		‘see something to disappear’
anči odo-		‘disappear’ (SKX 240)
anči odo-won-		‘destroy’ (SKX 204)

Examples:

(539) a. *Si Säŋa tene ketu ge: baita*
Si San CONT very bad business
bi:-ni zoŋku-ziga-du.
be-3SG poor-PL-DAT
‘And Si San has very bad business with the poor people.’

b. *Nua-ni bi bagä-i bi:-ni.*
he-3SG me hate-1SG be-3SG
‘He hates me.’

c. *Xente-ne-ti kuti mafa aka-wa-ni* master-PL-3PL tigerolf.man back-ACC-3SG no-FOC *anči-gda ise:-ti.*
see.PAST-3PL
‘Their masters saw the back of a the tiger to disappear.’ (SK 314)

8.4. Zero-derivation

8.4.1. Adjective-to-verb conversion

Examples of suffixless verbal derivation from the adjectives are:

(540)	*bogo*	‘fat’	*bogo-*	‘become fat’
	koŋo	‘thin’	*koŋo-*	‘get thin’
	maŋga	‘strong’	*maŋga-*	‘be bad weather, storm’

Such verbs may co-occur with a cognate adjective:

(541) *Ketu bogo-ŋku bogo:-ti.*
very fat-PL fat.PAST-3PL
‘They became very fat.’ (K 191)

8.4.2. Noun-to-verb conversion

As mentioned in 5.2.1, the direction of the verb-noun/noun-verb zero derivation can only be determined conventionally. The following verbs seem to be derived from the nouns with a concrete meaning:

(542)	*jue*	‘file’	*jue-*	‘work with a file’
	kuge	‘bellows’	*kuge-*	‘work with bellows’

sugbu	‘fish skin’	*sugbu-*	‘skin a fish’		
keku	‘cuckoo’	*keku-*	‘cuckoo’	*miki*	‘small snake’
miki-	‘crawl’				
tama	‘price’	*tama-*	‘pay’		
bono	‘hail’	*bono-*	‘hail’		
lada	‘rain with snow’	*lada-*	‘rain with snow’		
tigde	‘rain’	*tigde-*	‘rain’		
naŋda	‘debt’	*naŋda-*	‘borrow’		
gida	‘spear’	*gida-*	‘prick with a spear’ (also: *gida-la-*)		

In the following pairs the nouns, which originally belonged to morphonological class II (4.1.1.2), seem to have lost the stem-final /*n*/ and moved to class I, while the corresponding verbs preserve the stem-final /*n*/.

(543)	*tikpe*	‘nail’	*tikpen-*	‘hammer in’
	tau	‘number’	*taun-*	‘count’

Chapter 9
Pronouns

This section is based on the following traditional semantic classification of pronouns: Personal pronouns (9.1), Reflexive pronouns (9.2), Reciprocal pronouns (9.3), Demonstrative pronouns (9.4), Interrogative pronouns (9.5), and Indefinite pronouns (9.6). Morphologically and syntactically pronouns fall into four classes: pro-nouns, pro-adverbs, pro-adjectives, and pro-verbs. Each class exhibits the same morphological categories as the regular corresponding grammatical class, as well as a similar syntactic behavior. In a clause, pro-nouns normally function as arguments, adjuncts or modifiers; pro-adverbs as adjuncts; pro-adjectives as modifiers; and pro-verbs are predicates. The latter class is actually very limited in Udihe: there is only one pro-verb.

9.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are pro-nouns in a strict sense, that is, their morphological and syntactic behavior is similar to that of nouns. They inflect for case and an (Alienable) Possessive. In a sentence, they take an argument position, or function as determiners or adjuncts (rarely as predicates). In principle, their overt presence in the sentence is not obligatory in most functions; for further information on pronoun drop, see Chapter 22.

9.1.1. System of Personal pronouns

There is only one series of Personal pronouns in Udihe: 1 SG *bi* ‘me’, 2 SG *si* ‘you’, 3SG *nuani, bueni* ‘he/she’, 1PL IN *minti* ‘we (with you)’, 1 PL EX *bu* ‘we (without you)’, 2 PL *su* ‘you’, 3 PL *nuati, bueti* ‘they’. The pronouns *bueni/bueti* are typical only of the Southern dialect, where they can occasionally be pronounced *bejeni/bejeti*, respectively. Such a pronunciation harks back to their historical origin, from the nominal *beje* ‘body’ (*beje-ni* <body-3SG>, *beje-ti* <body-3PL>).

The 3rd person Personal pronouns normally refer only to humans, while non-human objects are referred to by Demonstrative pronouns (9.4). On the difference between the 3rd person pronouns *nuani* ‘she/he’, *nuati* ‘they’, on the one hand, and *bueni* ‘she/he’, *bueti* ‘they’, on the other hand, see 22.1.1.

The pronouns *nua-ni* and *bue-ni* are morphologically complex and include the 3rd person inflection *-ni.* In the Nominative, the form *nua* can occasionally be used instead of *nua-ni* ‘he/she’ in the Northern dialect, as illustrated in (588).

(544) *Ele ele e bede bi-mi nua muisi:-ni*
soon soon this like be-INF he think-3SG
jegdige.
hero
‘The hero immediately thought: this is she.’ (K 144)

9.1.1.2. Case inflection

Personal pronouns take regular case inflections, the paradigms are presented below.

(546)		*bi* 1SG (also: *si* 2SG)	*nua-ni* 3SG (also: *bue-ni* 3SG)	*bu* 1PL EX (also:*su* 2PL)
	ACC	*min-e-we*	*nua-ma-ni*	*mun-e-we*
	DAT	*min-du*	*nuan-di-ni*	*mun-du*
	LAT	*min-tigi*	*nuan-tigi-ni*	*mun-tugi*
	LOC	*min-dule*	*nuan-dile-ni*	*mun-dule*
	INST	*min-zi*	*nuan-zi-ni*	*mun-zi*
	PROL	*min-dili*	*nuan-dili-ni*	*mun-duli*
	ABL	*min-digi*	*nuan-digi-ni*	*mun-dugi*

The declension of the pronouns *minti* and *bue-ti* is not shown here because it is completely identical to the regular declension of class I nouns (4.1.3). Although the pronoun *bue-ti,* historically includes the 3rd person Plural inflection *-ti*, it does not insert case markers between it and the stem; the case markers rather follow the *-ti.* The pronoun *bue-ni* is declined in the same way as *nua-ni,* the pronoun *si* is declined in the same way as *bi*, and the pronoun *su* is declined in the same way as *bu.* Therefore these pronouns are not presented in the paradigms either. The pronoun *nua-ti* 'they' typically behaves like morphologically simplex; so its Accusative form is *nuati-we.* However, it may sometimes decline like *nua-ni*, in which case the case affix is inserted before the 3rd Plural marker *-ti*, so the Accusative *nua-ma-ti* is also acceptable.

Two Personal pronouns have a suppletive *n*-final oblique stem. For the pronoun *bi* 'I' all non-Nominative cases are formed from the oblique stem *min-*, while for the pronoun *bu* 'we (without you)' the oblique stem is *mun-*. In the pronunciation of certain speakers the oblique forms of the pronoun *bi* 'me' are *b*-initial under the analogous influence of the Nominative: *bin-e-we* <me-0-ACC>, *bin-dule* <me-LOC>, etc. The pronouns *si* 'you (SG)' and *su* 'you (PL)' have non-suppletive oblique *n*-final stems, *sin-* and *sun-* respectively. All these oblique stems (*min-, mun-, sin-, sun-)* behave as class II *n*-final nouns (6.1.1) and take the same case inflections as class II nouns. In the Accusative the epenthetic /*e*/ is inserted between the stem and the case inflections. In the other cases the epenthetic vowel is not present.

For the morphologically complex pronouns *nua-ni, bue-ni* the 3rd person inflection *-ni* follows the case marker. Occasionally, however, a form such as *bue-ni-we* <he-3SG-ACC> may also occur. The 3rd person inflection may sometimes be absent, but this is rather infrequent: *nuan-tigi* (LAT) (SK 622), *nuan-digi* (ABL). The stem itself is also *n*-final (*nuan-* and *buen-* correspondingly) and behaves like regular class II stems: in the Accusative the stem-final /*n*/ is not present and the Accusative inflection is *-me-*, in other cases /*n*/ is overtly present before the case marker.

Personal pronouns lack the Destinative case for obvious semantic and formal reasons: the Destinative is necessarily accompanied by a possessive marker which refers to the potential recipient of the Destinative object (4.2.2.9), such a marker cannot attach to the pronoun, which bears a personal reference by itself. Quite predictably, the Partitive is also lacking; the corresposponding meaning is expressed with the postposition *gäundi-ni* (see 10.2.1.3.2).

In the Northern dialect as recorded by Kormušin (1998) the frequent absence of the Accusative marker is attested for nouns (4.2.2.2). In the same way, the Accusative suffix *-we* on the pronouns *bi* 'me' and *si* 'you' may be omitted. The corresponding forms represent the oblique stem augmented by the epenthetic /*e*/: *min-e* 'me (ACC)' and *sin-e* 'you (ACC)', cf.:

(547) a.	*Min-e*	*baŋsal'a.*
	me-0	kick.PERF

‘He kicked me.’ (K 112)

b. *J’eu* *min-e* *nuŋkisi:* *si*?
what me-0 bewitch.2SG you
‘Why are you bewitching me?’ (K 113)

c. *Bi* *sin-e* *a:-zaŋa-i* *ei-ke.*
me you-0 catch-FUT-1SG this-CONT
‘I will catch you anyway.’ (K 180)

Case forms of Personal pronouns have basically the same meanings as the corresponding case forms of nominals (4.2.2). As with nominals, Nominative forms can be used attributively, although they are often anaphorically dropped in this function (21.1).

9.1.1.2. Dual form

The oblique *n*-final stem of the Personal pronoun *bi* ‘me’ followed by the element *zuŋe* ‘two, in two, both’ (11.1.3), which is phonologically bound and acts here rather as a suffix, produces a complex form *min-zuŋe* ‘I with you, we, two of us’. Other pronouns are not attested in such a form. In the subject role the word *min-zuŋe* requires a 1st person Inclusive personal agreement on the verb, for example:

(548) a. *Min-zuŋe* *zugdi-du* *amäsa:-fi.*
me-both home-DAT stay.PAST-1PL.IN
‘We stayed at home with you.’

b. *Min-zuŋe* *omo* *škola-la* *ñansule-fi.*
me-both one school-LOC study-1PL.IN
‘We study with you in the same school.’

9.1.1.3. Possessive form

The possessive forms of the Personal pronouns are: 1SG *mini-ŋi* ‘mine’, 2SG *sini-ŋi* ‘yours’, 3SG *nua-ŋi, nua-ŋi-ni* ‘his, hers’, 1PL IN *minti-ŋi* ‘ours’, 1 PL EX *muñu-ŋu* ‘ours’, 2PL *suñu-ŋu* ‘yours’, 3PL *nuati-ŋi* ‘theirs’. As can easily be seen, these forms are actually oblique pronominal stems, sometimes slightly modified phonologically, augmented by the suffix of Alienable Possessive *-ŋi-* (4.1.4.3).

Possessive Personal pronouns are not used attributively, but only occur in the case position (argument or adjunct) within the headless noun phrase (22.2.3), or as predicative elements in the copular construction (17.2.2.3). They inflect for case in the same way as nouns, and their case forms have the same meanings as the corresponding case forms of nouns (4.2.2). Used as predicative elements in a copular construction, the possessive Personal pronouns are always in the Nominative.

9.2. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns belong to the class of pro-nouns. Like Personal pronouns, they are also found in possessive and non-possessive forms and inflect for case. Reflexive pronouns take as their antecedent the subject of the same clause and are obligatory to express coreference with the subject within the clause (see 22.3 for syntactic details and the conditions on reflexivization).

9.2.1. The Nominative form

The Nominative form of the non-possessive reflexive pronoun is *men-e* 'oneself' in Singular and *men-e-men-e* 'themselves' in Plural (/*e*/ here is an epenthetic vowel). In the subject function the Singular form is often used in the Plural function, as subject agreement in number is not altogether obligatory in Udihe (15.1.1.2.2). In other functions Reflexive pronouns are consistently distinguished for Singular and Plural. The Nominative of the Reflexive pronoun has syntactic functions typical of the Nominative forms of nouns: it appears in the subject position, as a possessive modifier, and as the object of a postposition.

9.2.1.1. Emphatic reflexive function

The Nominative form of the reflexive pronoun is used as an emphatic reflexive in the meaning 'by oneself, by themselves, on one's own'. It indicates that the agent acts independently, or on his/her own, or without being affected by anybody/anything, for example:

(549) a. *Men-e* *w'a-si* *j'eu* *gun-e-i?*
self-0 kill.PERF-PC.SS what say-0-2SG
'What are you saying after having killed (him) yourself?' (K 195)

b. *Men-e* *bagdi-ze-hi.*
REF-0 live-SUBJ-2SG
'Live on your own.' (K 129)

c. *G'ai-ŋi-ni* *men-e* *ise-si:-ni,* *tu:* *te-ini.*
crow-AL-3SG REF-0 see-IM-3SG all sit-3SG
'The crow is sitting (on its own) and looking.' (SK 582)

d. *Ede,* *e-zi* *geh* *ñexe* *ami-mi* *ani-mi,* *men-e* *bagdi-zeŋe-ti.*
friend NEG-IMP.2SG bad do father-REF mother-REF REF-0 live-FUT-3PL
'Friend, don't do anyhting bad to you father and your mother, leave them alone.' (SKX 226)

The Plural reflexive pronoun in this function rather has a distributive meaning, that is, 'each (on one's own)'.

(549) a. *Sita-na-ni-de* *men-e-men-e* *mamasa-la-gi-si-e-ti.*
child-PL-3SG-FOC REF-0-REF-0 wife-V-REP-IM-PAST-3PL
'Each of his children got married.' (SK 579)

b. *Men-e-men-e* *se:* *bede* *o:si:-ti.*
REF-0-REF-0 clan like become-3PL
'Each of them became like a separate clan.' (Schneider 1937: 28)

c. *Sita-na-ni-de* *men-e-men-e* *mamasa-la-gi-si-e-ti.*
child-PL-3SG-FOC REF-0-REF-0 wife-V-REP-IM-PAST-3PL
'Each of his children got married.' (SK 579)

For an animate antecedent the reflexive pronoun *men-e* is normally followed by the emphatic reflexive element *bejezi*: 'self' (< *beje-zi-i* 'body-INST-REF>). The resulting form *men-e bejezi*: 'oneself, by oneself' follows the nominal, or a Personal pronoun it modifies, and its exact

interpretation (‘myself’, ‘yourself’, etc.) strongly depends on this head element.

(550) a. *Si men-e beje-zi: is’e-i*
you REF-0 body-INST.REF see.PERF-2SG
uta-wa?
that-ACC
‘Did you see it yourself?’

b. *Bi mo:-wo men-e beje-zi:*
me tree-ACC REF-0 body-INST.REF
juosi-zeŋe-i.
cut.wood-FUT-1SG
‘I will cut the wood myself.’

c. *Uŋta-i-de men-e beje-zi:*
boot-REF-FOC REF-0 body-INST.REF
e-zi wagi.
NEG-IMP.2SG dry
‘Don’t dry your boots yourself.’ (K 109)

d. *Men-e beje-zi: nixe-je.*
REF-0 body-INST.REF do-IMP.2SG
‘Do (it) yourself.’

The same meaning can be rendered by the word *beje-ni* ‘self’ (<body-3SG>).

(551) a. *Uti amä:-la-ni beje-ni ku’ai-la*
that after-LOC-3SG body-3SG ear-LOC
diaŋ-ki-ni …
say-PAST-3SG
‘After that he himself said to (her) ear …’ (K 139)

b. *Beje-ni-ne i:mi esi-ni eme?*
body-3SG-CONT why NEG.PAST-3SG come
‘Why didn’t he come himself?’ (K 159)

9.2.1.2. Attributive function

The Nominative form of the reflexive pronoun also functions as an attribute, while the head of the corresponding noun phrase bears the Reflexive Possessive suffix (4.1.4.2).

(552) a. *Bi men-e ugda-na-mi wo:-mi.*
me REF-0 boat-DEST-REF make.PAST-1SG
‘I made a boat for myself.’

b. *Guaizima men-e agdu-ne-mi ile-ini.*
bear REF-0 hole-DEST-1SG dig-3SG
‘The (Himalayan) bear is digging itself a hole.’

The Plural Reflexive pronoun in the attributive function may have a distributive (597) or non-distributive (598) interpretation.

(597) a. *Men-e-men-e zugdi-tigi ŋene:-ni.*
REF-0-REF-0 house-LAT go.PAST-3SG
‘They went each to his own house.’

b. *A:nta* *ñ'aula* *lauli:-ni* *men-e-men-e du:-zi.*
woman child dance-3SG REF-0-REF-0 way-INST.REF
'Women and children are dancing, each in their own way.'

c. *Men-e-men-e* *xokto-li-fai* *a:-ti.*
REF-0-REF-0 road-PROL-REF.PL chase.PAST-3PL
'They chased (them) each along his own road.' (SK 582)

(598) *Men-e-men-e* *soktou-ne-fi* *gada-iti.*
REF-0-REF-0 bedding-DEST-REF.PL bring-3PL
'They bring bedding for themselves.'

Like Personal pronouns, in this use reflexive pronouns can easily be dropped if not emphatic or contrastive (21.2.1).

9.2.1.3. Embedded clause subject

In the embedded participial clause, namely in a relative clause (Chapter 19), a participial complement clause (Chapter 20), or a participial adverbial clause (Chapter 21), the Nominative reflexive pronouns can act as a subject coreferential with the superordinate clause subject, although it can also easily be omitted in this function.

(552) a. *Men-e* *bi-sin-tigi:* *eme-gi-kte:-ti.*
REF-0 be-PP-LAT.SS come-REP-DIS.PAST-3PL
'They returned to where they used to live.' (SK 701)

b. *Men-e* *teu* *egze-li:*
[REF-0 all understand-INC.PRP.SS
xi-de *taŋi-e-mi*.
till-FOC] read-PAST-1SG
'I was reading until I understood everything myself.'

c. *Men-e-men-e* *aja* *gun-ei-tigi:*
REF-0-REF-0 good say-PRP-LAT.SS
ŋene-kte:-ti.
go-DIS.PAST-3PL
'They went where they wanted, each on his own.' (SK 932)

9.2.1.4. Reflexive pronoun with postpositions

When a reflexive pronoun functions as the object of a postposition, the postposition takes a reflexive possessive affix.

(552) a. *Men-e* *kä:la-i* *te:-i* *ni:-we*
REF-0 side-REF sit-PRP man-ACC
ico-zi *isilo:-ni.*
elbow-INST touch.PAST-3SG
'He touched with his elbow a man sitting next to him.' (SK 580)

b. *Sugzä:* *susali-e-ni* *men-e* *amä:la-i*
fish escape-PAST-3SG [REF-0 after-REF

ugda-wa *taŋda-mi.*
boat-ACC carry-INF]
'The fish escaped carrying the boat after itself.'

c. *Sina-u-gi-e-ni* *men-e ojo-lo-i.*
burden.frame-CAUS-REP-PAST-3SG REF-0 top-LOC-REF
'He put (it) on the burden frame on top of himself.'
(Schneider 1937: 80)

9.2.2. Case inflection

Reflexive pronouns are not opposed for different persons. Cases other than the Nominative are derived from the stem *me(n)-* followed by the case inflection (null for the Accusative) and the following personal inflections: *-i* or *-mi* in the Singular and *-f(e)i* in the Plural. The Singular personal inflection *-mi* is found in the Accusative and the Destinative; in the other cases the inflection *-i* is used, which often contracts with the preceding vowel /*i*/ (2.3.1). The inflections *-i/-mi* (SG) and *-f(e)i* (PL) coincide with the regular reflexive possessive affixes of nouns (4.1.4.2). As distinct from nouns, the Destinative forms are morphologically based on the Dative case. The case paradigms of the reflexive pronouns are:

(553)

	SG	PL
NOM	*men-e*	*men-e*
ACC	*me-m(u)i*	*me-f(e)i*
DAT	*men-di:*	*men-di-fi*
LAT	*men-tigi:*	*men-tigi-fi*
LOC	*men-dile-i*	*men-dile-fi*
INST	*men-zi:*	*men-zi-fi*
PROL	*men-dili:*	*men-dili-fi*
ABL	*men-digi:*	*men-digi-fi*
DEST	*men-di-ne-mi*	*men-di-ne-fi*
	<REF-DAT-DEST-REF>	<REF-DAT-DEST-REF.PL>

Most case-inflected forms of the reflexive pronouns take an argument position and generally cannot be omitted from the clause. Examples of the use of reflexive pronouns are presented in 22.3.1.1.

9.2.3. Possessive forms

Like possessive Personal pronouns, possessive reflexive pronouns are used only in the non-attributive function, that is, mostly in the argument position within a headless noun phrase (22.3.2) or as a final predicate. In the argument position they take the case form of the corresponding argument, and in a predicate function they are used in the Nominative.

Morphologically, the possessive reflexive pronouns are derived from the stem *meni-*, followed by the affix of Alienable Possessive *-ŋi-* (4.1.4.4), and then the case affix (which is null for the Nominative and the Accusative), and the reflexive personal inflection (*-i* for the Singular and *-f(e)i* for the Plural). The Nominative is identical to the Accusative and includes only the stem *meni-,* the affix *-ŋi-*, and the reflexive personal inflections. The Destinative case is lacking. The paradigms of the possessive reflexive pronouns are:

(554)

	SG	PL

NOM-ACC	*meni-ŋi:*	*meni-ŋi-fi*
DAT	*meni-ŋi-di:*	*meni-ŋi-di-fi*
LAT	*meni-ŋi-tigi:*	*meni-ŋi-tigi-fi*
LOC	*meni-ŋi-le-i*	*meni-ŋi-le-fi*
PROL	*meni-ŋi-li:*	*meni-ŋi-li-fi*
ABL	*meni-ŋi-digi:*	*meni-ŋi-digi-fi*
INST	*meni-ŋi-zi:*	*meni-ŋi-zi-fi*

9.3. Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns (pro-nouns) have only the Nominative and Accusative forms. In functions other than the direct object or the possessive modifier other means are used to convey a reciprocal meaning (on the syntax of reciprocalization see 22.4).

(555) NOM *men-e-men-e* 'each other's'
ACC *mef(e)i-(-mef(e)i)* 'each other'

Morphologically, the Nominative is the reduplicated form of the reflexive stem *me(n)-* and the Accusative goes back to its Accusative Plural form (9.2.2). Reciprocal pronouns must be overtly present in a sentence.

The Nominative reciprocal acts as the possessive modifier, while the Accusative reciprocal functions as the direct object or takes other roles (for further information see 22.4.1). Unlike the Nominative form of the Reflexive pronoun, the Nominative Reciprocal does not occur as a subject or an object of a postposition. It is used either as a possessive modifier (22.4.1.2) or adverbially with the meaning 'separately, each by himself', and 'in different directions', cf.:

(556) a. *Men-e-men-e* *bagdi:-ti.*
REC-0-REC-0 live-3PL
'They live separately (each on his own).'
b. *Bue-ti* *men-e-men-e* *ŋene:-ti.*
he-3PL REC-0-REC-0 go.PAST-3PL
'They left separately.'
c. *Teu* *men-e-men-e* *wesi-e-ti.*
all REC-0-REC-0 throw.away-PAST-3PL
'They threw everything away in different directions.' (SKX 162)

We also have a few examples where the Nominative Reciprocal pronoun indicates the reciprocalization of an oblique object, see 22.4.1.1. However, they do not seem to be regular.

Note that in the Northern dialect as recorded by Simonov and Kjalundzjuga, to the Reflexive pronouns may be derived not only from the reflexive stem *men-e* but also from the stem *za:-* by means of the reflexive possessive affix *-fi* and case affixes.

(556) a. *In'ei-ziga* *za:-fi-za:-fi* *ikte-mesi:-ti.*
dog-PL REF-PL-REF-PL bite-REC-3PL
'Dogs bite each other.' (SK 354)
b. *Za:-tigi-fi-za:-tigi-fi* *ana-masi:-ti.*
REF-LAT-REF-REF-LAT-REF push-REC-3PL
'They force each other (to do some work).' (SK 310)

9.4. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns behave morphologically and syntactically as pro-adjectives: they function either as an attributive modifier, or as a nominalized element within a headless noun phrase. In a modifier function they always precede the head noun and have the Nominative Singular form. On the demonstrative noun phrase see 13.4. The oblique case forms do not function as modifiers but are substantivized and take argument and adverbial roles. The local cases are used as independent local pro-adverbs, which is the only way to form deictic and anaphoric pro-adverbs in Udihe.

Semantically, demonstratives are divided into two major classes, the anaphoric-deictic class and the deictic class. Deictic pronouns cannot function as textual anaphors, while anaphoric-deictic pronouns are used both in deictic and anaphoric roles. In the latter case they have either resumptive or discourse-linking function. In this section we only cite examples for their deictic use, while section 22.1.2 presents instances of anaphora. For both major classes two series are distinguished in terms of the distance from the point of reference: proximal deixis pronouns and distal deixis pronouns. So, Udihe demonstratives fall into four series.

Demonstrative pronouns exhibit case inflection similar to, though still somewhat different from, the inflection of nouns. The formal difference is attested in the Lative case, in which the pronouns have two forms: with the regular inflection *-tigi* or the adverbial Lative inflection *-uxi*, which is also used in adverbial expressions (Chapter 11). As distinct from nouns, demonstratives lack the Destinative and the Partitive case. The paradigms for the demonstrative pronouns are presented below:

(557)

	anaphoric-deictic pronouns		deictic pronouns	
	proximal	distal	proximal	distal
NOM	*ei, e:* ‘this’	*uti, ute, te:, ti:,* *utauxi* ‘that’	*te:ti* ‘(this one) over here’	*ta:ti* ‘(that one) over there’
ACC	*a-wa*	*(u)ta-wa*		
DAT	*o-du*	*(u)ta-du*		
LAT	*a-uxi*	*(u)ta-uxi*		
	i-tigi	*(u)ta-tigi*		
LOC	*o-lo*	*(u)ta-la*	*te:ti-le*	*ta:ti-le*
PROL	*o-li*	*(u)ta-li*		
INST	*o-zi*	*(u)ta-zi*		
ABL	*o-digi*	*(u)ta-digi*		

The anaphoric-deictic pronouns referring to persons have a Plural formed with the collective word *getu*, for example, *ei getu* ‘these’, *uti getu* ‘those’. The Plural forms are attested only for the Nominative and the Accusative. The anaphoric-deictic pronouns can take personal inflections, for example: *ei getu-we-fi* ‘these of ours (ACC).’

9.4.1. Anaphoric-deictic pronouns

9.4.1.1. Proximal deixis

As can be seen from the table in 9.4, the anaphoric-deictic pronouns of the proximal deixis have suppletive stems: *ei* in the Nominative, *a-, i-* or *o-* in other cases. The stem *i-* is likely to be the

result of assimilation of the stem vowel to the following case inflection, containing the vowel /i/. The stem *ei* can perhaps be interpreted phonologically as *ai* or *oi*, since all non-high vowels are neutralized to /e/ in the position before /i/ (2.1.3). In this case the pronominal stem can simply be reconstructed as *a-/o-,* and in the Nominative it appears to be augmented by a certain element *-i*.

The pronouns of the series *ei* can be used anaphorically, although this is not their main function and textual anaphora is more often expressed by the *uti/ute/tei/ti:* pronouns (9.6.2). Examples of the anaphoric use of the pronoun *ei* are presented in 22.1.2.

Nominative forms can only function as modifiers or arguments of postpositions, for example, the postposition *bede* 'like'.

(558) a. *Ei bede e-u dian-a.*
this like NEG-PRP.PAS say-0
'One shouldn't speak like this.'
b. *Ei egdi-laŋki-ni wa:-i.*
this much-ADJ-3SG kill.PAST-2SG
'You have killed so much (of it).'

It is also found within several «frozen» expressions, such as *ei zulieni* 'up to now, so far' (*zulie-ni* <before-3SG>), *ei diŋki-ni* 'this size', *einеŋi* < *ei neŋi-ni* <this day-3SG>'today', and *ei tene* 'now' (*tene* is a contrastive particle, see 12.1.1.5).

The Nominative pronoun *ei* may have a non-demonstrative function and then pertain to the organization of the text or the utterance. In this case its closest equivalent in English would be 'now' or 'so'.

(559) a. *Ei ŋene-ze-mi bi anda-tigi:.*
now go-SUBJ-1SG me friend-LAT.REF
'Now I will go to my friend.' (K 133)
b. *Ei geje ŋene-zeŋe-i Kanda mafa-tigi.*
now together go-FUT-2SG Kanda old.man-LAT
'Now you will go together (with me) to the old man Kanda.'

Oblique case forms are used in an argument position. Example (609) shows the Accusative case.

(560) *A-wa e-zi zawa.*
this-ACC NEG-IMP.2SG take
'Don't take this.'

Local cases function as pro-adverbs *o-du* 'here', *a-uxi* 'to here', *o-lo* 'here', *o-li* 'here (along this place)', *o-digi* 'from here', cf.:

(561) a. *Bi o-digi ta-uxi ŋene:-mi.*
me this-ABL that-LAT go.PAST-1SG
'I went from here to there.'
b. *Si o-li ŋene-je bi ta-li*
you this-PROL go-IMP.2SG me that-PROL
ŋene-ze-mi.
go-SUBJ-1SG
'You go here and I will go there.'

9.4.1.2. Distal deixis

These pronouns have two stems in all case forms, namely with or without the initial *u-*: *uta-/ute/uti* and *ta-/ti:/tei.* There is no apparent semantic difference between the pronouns based on these two stems. The stems *uta-* and *ta-* appear in the oblique cases, while the forms *uti/ute* (sometimes also *uta*) and *tei/ti:* show up in the Nominative and are completely interchangeable as free phonological variants.

The *ute/uti/ti:/tei* pronouns are the regular means of textual anaphora in Udihe. The anaphoric function of the pronouns *ute/uti/ti:/tei* is studied in 22.1.2. The local cases usually refer to inanimate objects, while the non-local cases may refer to animate objects as well.

Like the proximal pronouns, the distal deixis pronouns in the Nominative are used either as prenominal determiners or in the argument position. The first case is illustrated in (611), the second case is illustrated in (612).

(562) *Ti:* *moxo-zi* *umi-je.*
that cup-INST drink-IMP.2SG
'Drink from that cup.'

(563) a. *J'eu* *bi:-ni* *uti?*
what be-3SG that
'What is that?'

b. *J'eu* *dele* *ni:-ni* *eme:-ni?* *Uza*
what CONT man-3SG come.PAST-3SG Uza
uti. *J'e-we-de* *e-ini* *sa:* *uti.*
that what-ACC-IND NEG-3SG know that
'Who was this person who came? This was Uza, he does not understand anything.' (K 112)

Case forms other than the Nominative cannot be used as attributes. Local cases function as pro-adverbs of distal deixis: *(u)ta-uxi* 'to there', *(u)ta-du* 'there', *(u)ta-la* 'there', *(u)ta-li* 'there (on that place)', *(u)ta-digi* 'from there'. Example (613a) illustrates the deictic use of the demonstrative pronoun in the Ablative. Example (613b) shows that the substantivized pronouns *ei* and *ute* are both in the Accusative case and are both used deictically, that is, with a direct indication of their extra-linguistic referents.

(564) a. *Ta-digi* *e-zi* *xebu.*
that-ABL NEG-IMP.2SG take
'Don't take it from there.'

b. *Bi* *a-wa* *xebu-zeŋe-i* *si* *uta-wa*
me this-ACC take-FUT-1SG you that-ACC
xebu-je.
take-IMP.2SG
'I will take this one, you take that one.'

9.4.1.3. Non-demonstrative function

Anaphoric-deictic pronouns of proximate and distal deixis are often used in parallel constructions that denote two identical situations. Their meaning in this case is not demonstrative.

(565) a. *Ta-wa* *tokto-nd'o* *a-wa*
that-ACC hit-SEM.PERF this-ACC
tokto-nd'o.
hit-SEM.PERF
'He hits one, he hits another one.'

b. *Te:* *bede* *tand'a* *e:* *bede* *tand'a.*
that like pull.PERF this like pull.PERF
'He pulled like this and like that.' (K 163)

c. *I-la* *ta-la* *koskoskoskos* *j'eu*
this-LOC that-LOC INTER what
dele *etete-ini* *gune.*
IND work-3SG EV
'Here and there somebody is working making noise.' (K 144)

d. *Te:* *bede* *e:* *bede* *dian-a-i.*
That like this like say-0-PRP
'He speaks of one thing and another.'

The following parallel constructions are «frozen», so that the order of the elements cannot be changed: *te:-le o-lo* (LOC), *au-z'e-fe tau-z'e-fe* (ACC) or *i-la ta-la* (LOC) 'here and there'; *ta-uxi a-uxi* (LAT) 'hither and thither'.

9.4.2. Deictic pronouns

Deictic pronouns are attested in our corpus only in the Nominative and Locative cases. They are only used deictically when pointing directly at an object. Syntactically, they behave either as spatial adjuncts (615) or (less frequently) as an attribute (616).

(566) a. *Xokto-li* *cul* *ŋene:-ni* *ta:ti*
road-PROL straight go.PAST-3SG that
dieze-le-ni *ise:-ni* *mo:-wo.*
depth-LOC-3SG see.PAST-3SG fire.wood-ACC
'She went straight ahead along the road and over there in the depth she saw fire wood.' (K 140)

b. *Sita* *eme-gi-e-ni* *bebi,* *sita*
son come-REP-PAST -3SG EV son
bebi *te:ti.*
EV this
'Our son came, apparently, apparently this is our son.' (K 199)

c. *Te:ti-le* *bie* *mo:.*
that-LOC be.PRES.HAB tree
There is a tree over here.'

(567) *Bi* *ise:-mi* *ta:ti* *mo:-wo.*
me see.PAST-1SG that tree-ACC
'I have seen that tree.'

9.5. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns may be pro-nouns (9.5.1), pro-adjectives (9.5.2), pro-adverbs (9.5.3), and pro-verbs (9.5.4). This section deals only with their morphology and basic meanings; further examples of their use can be found in section 23.1 on questions.

9.5.1. Interrogative pro-nouns

Two basic forms of Interrogative pronouns are *j'eu* 'what' for an inanimate antecedent, and sometimes for an animate antecedent as well, and *ni* 'who', which is only used for an animate antecedent. The pronoun *ni* 'who' takes case forms completely identical to those of the almost homonymic noun *ni:* 'man' on which it is based. These forms are the regular case forms for class I nouns (see 4.1.3). Most case forms of the stem *j'e-* are derived as regular class I nouns, with the exception of the Lative case which takes the adverbial inflection *-uxi*, the adverbial Ablative in *-zeŋezi,* and the adverbial Accusative in '*-fe*. The case forms are:

(568)	*j'eu*	(NOM)	'what'
	j'e-fe	(ACC)	'what; where, on which place'
	j'e-we	(ACC)	'what'
	j'e-du	(DAT)	'where'
	j'e-le	(LOC)	'where'
	j'e-uxi	(LAT*)*	'where to'
	je-digi	(ABL)	'from where'
	j'e-zeŋezi	(ABL)	'from what side'
	j'e-li	(PROL)	'where (on which place)'

The Destinative forms include different personal inflections, for example: *j'e-ne-mi* 'what for oneself', *j'e-ne-fi* 'what for themselves', *j'e-ne-i* 'what for you', *j'e-ne-ni* 'what for him' etc. There is also the locational noun *j'e-ze* 'what side', where *-ze* is a derivational suffix (5.1.2.4). Thus, the case paradigm of the pronoun *j'eu* exhibits formal similarities with the adverbial case paradigms (10.1). Other forms derived from the interrogative stem is the adjective *ja-ma* 'what sort of' (*-ma* is an adjectival derivational affix, see 6.4.1.2.1), and the noun *j'eu-ze* 'which side' (*-ze* is an nominal derivational affix, see 5.1.2.4).

In quick speech the *j'e*-initial forms are often pronounced with an initial *ji-* or simply as *i:-* (2.1.4.3). For example, the Dative form may be pronounced either as *j'e-du*, or as *i:-du*, and the Locative form can be *j'e-le* or *i:-le,* etc.

9.5.1.1. Interrogative function

Interrogative pro-nouns function as *wh*-question words (23.1.1). Syntactically they may act as nominal modifiers within the *wh*-phrase. In this function they are uninflected and precede the head noun, which must take the 3rd person personal inflection *-ni*, similar to the possessive phrase with a nominal modifier (13.1). Attributive agreement in case or number is normally absent. However, we have one counter-example at our disposal (619).

(569) a. *J'eu* *xokto-wo-ni* *ise:-i si?*
what footstep-ACC-3SG see.PAST-2SG you
'Whose footsteps did you see?'

b. *Ni* *aziga-ŋi-ni* *eme:-ni?*

who girl-AL-3SG come.PAST-3SG
'Whose girl came?'

(569) *J'eu-zeŋezi* *bi'asa-digi-ni* *o-lo* *ihn-e-i?*
what-ABL river-ABL-3SG this-LOC come-0-2SG
'From which river did you come here?' (SK 1108)

Used as independent *wh*-words interrogative pro-nouns inflect for case. Non-Nominative forms express various *wh*-questions in argument and adverbial positions (23.1.1). In the subject function the pronoun *j'eu* 'what' in the Nominative triggers Singular agreement on the verb, while the pronoun *ni* 'who' may trigger both Singular and Plural agreement. Apart from its regular meaning ('to what'), the Dative form *j'e-du/i:-du* can mean 'why, what for'. The pronoun *j'eu* 'what' in the Nominative also means 'why' or 'what for' (as in Russian where *čto* 'what' can mean 'why, what for' in a colloquial speech), cf.:

(570) a. *J'eu* *dieze-tigi* *gaisi:-ni* *min-e-we?*
what depth-LAT call-3SG me-0-ACC
' Why is he calling me in the depth?' (K 140)
b. *Si* *j'eu* *ketu* *go:* *bi:?*
You what very long be.2SG
'Why were you so long?' (K 146)

Repetition of the pronoun *j'eu* or *j'e-we* intensifies the question, cf.: *j'eu j'e-le-ni* 'where on earth' <what what-LOC-3SG>, *j'eu j'e-we-ni* 'what on earth' <what what-ACC-3SG> (SK 424), cf. also:

(570) *J'e-we* *jemi* *zexule-i?*
what-ACC why behave.badly
'Why on earth do behave so badly?' (SK 337)

The Lative form *j'eu-xi* may be used in the meaning 'which of (them)'.

(571) *J'eu-xi* *zauŋa?*
what-LAT greenling
'Which of (these) greenlings?' (SK 345)

9.5.1.2. Universal meaning

The repeated Interrogative pronoun *j'eu j'eu* in a corresponding case form can have a universal meaning ('everything' as in (623)) or a 'free-choice' meaning ('whatever', as in (624)). Cf. also *j'eu j'eu i:-ni* 'everything' where *i:-ni* can go back to the same interrogative stem *j'eu*.

(571) a. *J'eu* *j'eu* *wo-jo.*
what what do-IMP.2SG
'Do everything.'
b. *Lusa* *j'eu* *j'eu* *xebu-i.*
Russian what what bring-PRP
'The Russians bring everything.'
c. *J'eu* *j'eu* *kukpu-ni* *teu* *uti* *doni-ni*
what what bug-3SG all that in-3SG
bie *gune.*

be.PRES.HAB EV
'Apparently, there is everything, all sorts of insects inside it.'
(K 191)

(572) *J'e-we* *j'e-we* *wo:-mi* *ge:* what-ACC
what-ACC do-INF together
ge: *wo:-ti.*
together do.PAST-3PL
'Whatever they were doing, they were doing it together.' (K 114)

The repeated interrogative adjective *ja-ma* means 'all, all sort of'.

(572) *Ja-ma* *ja-ma* *xazu-i* *zawa-i.*
what-ADJ what-ADJ belonging-REF take-PRP
'They took all their belongings.'

9.5.1.3. Tag question function

The pronoun *j'eu* in the Nominative can express a tag question. The verb may be either in the affirmative or in the negative form. The pronoun is typically used sentence-finally, however in (626e) it precedes the verb.

(573) a. *Em'e-i* *j'eu?*
come.PERF-2SG what
'You came, didn't you?'
b. *Ña* *xonto-wo* *galakta-mi* *ge:* *j'eu?*
more another-ACC look.for-INF bad what
'It is not bad to look for another one, is it?' (K 174)
c. *Emus'e* *bi:* *j'eu?*
alone be.2SG what
'You live alone, don't you?' (SK 427)
d. *Bi* *mamasa-i* *e-s'e-i* *ise* *j'eu?*
me wife-1SG NEG-PERF-2SG see what
'You didn't did my wife, did you?' (SK 428)
e. *ŋene-mi* *j'eu* *maŋga* *bi-s'e?*
go-INF what strong be-PERF
'It wasn't difficult to go (there), was it?' (SK 428)

9.5.1.4. Substantivization

The pronoun *j'eu* when substantivized can mean 'things, belongings, property', as illustrated in the following example:

(574) *Sita-na-fi* *j'e-ne-fi* *b'a-mi* *teu*
child-DEST-REF.PL what-DEST-REF.PL get-INF all
ute *bagdi-e-ti.*
that live-PAST-3PL
'Having had children and property they carried on living.' (K 200)

9.5.2. Interrogative pro-adjectives

Some of the interrogative adjectives are derived from the *j'e-* base while others are from adverbial interrogative stems (9.5.3). These are:

(575)	*adi*	'how many, how much'	
	ja-ma	'made of what'	<what-ADJ>
	ono-fi	'what sort of'	<how-ADJ>
	ali-fi	'what sort of, from what time'	<when-ADJ>
	adi-(n)ti	'which (in number)'	<how.many-ORD>
	adi(-ma)	'how many, how much'	<how.many-ADJ>
	adi-te	'how many to each'	<how.many-DIST>
	adi-t'e	'(only) how many'	<how.many-REST>
	adi-niŋa	'how many (together)'	<how.many-COL>
	wogdime	'how many'	

Syntactically, these elements behave like other pronominal modifiers (13.4).

The repetition of the adjective *adi(ma)* causes the indefinite meaning: *adi(ma) adi(ma)* 'several', or the distributive meaning: *adi adi* 'how many to each'. Note also *ono-bui-ono-bui* 'various'.

9.5.3. Interrogative pro-adverbs

Independent interrogative pro-adverbs are not formed from the stem *j'eu* but have different bases. The following interrogative pro-adverbs are observed: *ali* 'when', *ono* 'how', *adi-lie* 'how many times' <how.many-MULT>, *imi* 'why', *jaŋ-na-mi* 'what for' <what-DIR-INF> (the latter two perhaps go back to the Infinitive form of the interrogative pro-verb). Pro-adverbs are morphologically unchangeable. The adverb *ono* with the Present participle of the verb 'be' forms a frozen expression *ono bi*:, *ono bie* 'what sort of'.

(576)	*Ono*	*bie*	*mamasa-wa*	*gala-i?*
	how	be.PRES.HAB	wife-ACC	look.for-2SG

'What sort of wife are you looking for?' (K 173)

9.5.4. Interrogative pro-verb

The interrogative pro-verb (the only pro-verb found in Udihe) has a stem identical to the Interrogative pronouns: *ja-/i:-* 'do, do what' (glossed as PROV). Morphologically and syntactically it behaves completely as a verb. It has basically the same categories (mood, tense, aspect, etc.) as regular verbs (see Chapter 7). Further examples of the use of the interrogative pro-verb can be found in section 23.1.1.3.

Co-occurring with the Interrogative object pronoun the pro-verb often means simply 'do', while the pronoun means 'what' (630). However, Indefinite pronouns may be absent and then the interrogative verb itself takes the meaning
'do something, do what' (631).(577) *J'e-we* *ja:-i?*
what-ACC PROV.PAST-2SG
'What were you doing?

(578)	a.	*Ono*	*ñixe-ze-mi*	*bi*	*i:-te-mi-ne?*
		how	do-SUBJ-1SG	me	PROV-PERM-1SG-CONT

‘How shall I do (it), what shall I do?’ (K 185)

b. *Eniŋe* *sita-i* *muñeli:-ni,* *e-ini-de*
mother child-1SG sorry-3SG NEG-3SG-FOC
olokto-won-o, *e-ini-de* *ja-wan-a.*
cook-CAUS-0 NEG-3SG PROV-CAUS-0
‘The mother feels sorry for her daughter, she does not force her to cook, she does not force her to do anything.’

The fixed expression *ono ja:-i?* (where *ono* ‘how’) usually means ‘what’s going on?’, ‘what’s happening?’.

(579) a. *Si-ne* *ono ja:-i?*
you-CONT how PROV.PAST-2SG
‘And what is going on with you?’ (K 157)

b. *Ono* *ja:-ni* *sul’ai?*
how PROV.PAST-3SG fox
‘What happened to the fox?’ (K 154)

c. *’Aga* *ono* *ja-za-fi?*
brother how PROV-SUBJ-1PL.IN
‘Brother, what will happen to us?’ (K 151)

Used in other morphological forms, the interrogative verb can add various nuances to the verbal phrase, such as ‘what for’, etc., see 23.1.1.3.

9.6. Indefinite pronouns

Four regular series of Indefinite pronouns exist in Udihe: specific Indefinite pronouns, non-specific Indefinite pronouns, universal (free-choice) Indefinite pronouns, and negative pronouns. All of them are morphologically based on Interrogative pronouns (9.5). In most cases the interrogative elements are followed by the cliticized indefinite particles (on the definition of clitics in Udihe see 3.5.3.1).

9.6.1. Specific Indefinite pronouns

Specific Indefinite pronouns are used if the referent of the pronoun is not known to the speaker and cannot be identified by him/her, or when the speaker does know the referent but prefers not to reveal it to the listener. Normally they correspond to the English Indefinite pronouns of the series *some-*, and to the Russian pronouns of the series *-to.*

Specific Indefinite pronouns are derived from practically all Interrogative pronouns (pro-nouns, pro-adjectives, and pro-adverbs) by means of the indefinite clitic particle *-kA* or *-kAi* (these forms are free variants), e.g.: *j’eu-ke* ‘something’, ‘some’, *ni-ke* ‘somebody’, *adi-ke* ‘some quantity’, *imi-ke* ‘for some reason’, etc. On the use of the particle *-kA* as a focus clitic see 12.1.1.11.1. The indefinite particle occurs before the Accusative case inflection: *j’eu-kei-we* ‘something (ACC)’. In the other cases it is located in the word after the case inflection, for example: *j’e-du-ke* (DAT)*, ni-zi-ke* (INST), *j’eu-xi-ke* (LAT), *ni-du-ke* (DAT).

The following examples illustrate the use of indefinite specific pronouns inflected for the Instrumental (633a) and (633b), the Lative (633c), (633d), and the Ablative (633e).

(580) a. *Nua-ni* *ni-zi-ke* *dia-si:-ni.*

he-3SG who-INST-IND say-IM-3SG
'He is talking to somebody.'

b. *Ni-zi-kei* *omo-si-ge-si* *nitine-ini*
who-INST-IND one-V-PERF-PC.SS gossip-3SG
min-e-we.
me-0-ACC
'Having gathered together with somebody he gossips about me.'

c. *Ku'ai-tigi-ni* *j'eu-ke* *diaŋ-ki-ni* *Pakula.*
ear-LAT-3SG what-IND say-PAST-3SG Pakula
'Pakula said something in his ear.'

d. *J'eu-xi-ke* *j'e-uxi-ke* *susa:-ni ni-de*
what-LAT-IND what-LAT-IND escape.PAST-3SG
ei sa:.
who-IND NEG know
'He escaped somewhere, nobody knows (to where).' (K 164)

e. *J'e-digi-ke* *käsa* *dieli-e-ni.*
what-ABL-IND eagle fly-PAST-3SG
'An eagle came flying from somewhere.'

As in the case of the Interrogative pronouns (9.5.1), when an Indefinite pronoun functions as a modifier the head nominal takes a 3rd person possessive affix.

(581) a. *J'eu-ke* *ni:-ni* *eme:-ni.*
what-IND man-3SG come.PAST-3SG
'A certain person came.'

b. *'Ana-zi* *ni-ke* *aziga-ni* *eme:-ni.*
boat-INST who-IND girl-3SG come.PAST-3SG
'A certain girl came by boat.'

Example (635) illustrates the use of an indefinite pro-adverb.

(582) *Od'o* *i:mi-ke* *gakti-e-ni.*
old.man why-IND freeze-PAST-3SG
'The old man got frozen for some reason.'

9.6.2. Non-specific Indefinite pronouns

Non-specific Indefinite pronouns are used when the speaker not only cannot identify the referent, but may not even be sure whether such a referent exists. Thus, they have a non-referential reading and can also refer to a potential class of objects, that is, they may have a generic interpretation. Such pronouns usually correspond to the English pronouns of the *some-* or *-ever* series, and Russian non-specific pronouns of the *-nibud'* or *by ni* series. They are not attested with a modifier function.

9.6.2.1. Derivation

Non-specific Indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative pro-nouns and pro-adverbs by means of the clitic *-dA,* e.g., *ni-de* 'somebody', *j'e-le-de* 'somewhere', *ni-digi-de* 'from somebody'*, ni-we-de* 'somebody (ACC)'. This particle always follows the case inflection in the

word. On *-dA* as an additive focus particle see 12.1.1.3.

9.6.2.2. Functions

9.6.2.2.1. Indefinite function

Since non-specific Indefinite pronouns, unlike specific Indefinite pronouns, do not presuppose the existence of the corresponding referent, they are preferably used in sentences marked for the future or irrealis modality (including the evidential). Alternatively, specific Indefinite pronouns are most often used in sentences where the verb takes the Present or Past Indicative form. Compare (636a) and (636b) in this respect.

(583) a. *Ni-de* *eme-zeŋe-ni.*
who-IND come-FUT-3SG
'Somebody will come.'
b. *Ni-ke* *eme:-ni.*
who-IND come.PAST-3SG
'Somebody came.'

More examples for the non-specific Indefinite pronouns follow.

(584) a. *J'eu-de* *gada-la-mi* *nixe-ini.*
what-IND buy-PURP-SS do-3SG
'He is going to buy something.'
b. *I:-le-de* *nede:-ni* *bize*.
what-LOC-IND put.PAST-3SG must
'He must have put it somewhere.'
c. *J'e-zi-de* *xuai-zeŋe-i.*
what-INST-IND cut-FUT-1SG
'I will cut (it) with something.'

Examples (638) demonstrates the generic reading of the non-specific Indefinite pronoun. In (638b) a universal meaning is rendered through the indefinite pro-verb *ja-* (9.3.4) combined with the clitic *-dA*.

(585) a. *J'e-we-de* *zawa-ini* *neŋu-mi*
what-ACC-IND take-3SG younger.sibling-REF
e-lege-ni *tagda-gi.*
NEG-PURP-3SG recognize-REP
'She takes everything, so that her brother does not recognize her.'
(K 167)
b. *Ono* *ja:-ni-de* *eme-gi-zeŋe-ni.*
how PROV-3SG-IND come-REP-FUT-3SG
'He will return, whatever happens.'

The generic interpretation of the non-specific Indefinite pronouns also arises within a generalized relative clause, a non-finite one (19.5), or a finite one (18.3.2.1). For example, in the embedded clause *j'e-digi-de emegisi:* 'wherever I came from' the Indefinite pronoun *j'e-digi-de* in the Ablative denotes the whole class of objects to which the corresponding predication may be applied. Further examples of this use can be found in the corresponding sections.

9.6.2.2.2. Interrogative function

Non-specific Indefinite pronouns are used as Interrogative pronouns within embedded non-finite questions (see 23.1.4.2).

9.6.2.2.3. Negative function

Negative pronouns and adverbs are morphologically identical to the non-specific Interrogative pronouns and adverbs formed with the particle *–dA*, for example: *ile-de* ‘nowhere’, *ali-de* (or *ali-ali-de*) ‘never’, *ni:-de* ‘nobody’, *ni:-zi-de* ‘with nobody’, *j’e-uxi-de* ‘to nowhere’ (LAT), *j’e-we-de* ‘nothing’ (ACC). In other words, the polarity of the indefinite non-specific pronouns depends on the general polarity of the sentence in which they occur. On the use of the negative pronouns and adverbs, see 23.2.

Note also the negative adverb: *emne-de* ‘not even once’ (from *emne* ‘once’). The numeral *omo* ‘one’ followed by the particle *-do* means ‘not a single’ under the scope of negation.

(586) *O-du* *omo-do* *g’aja* *anči*.
this-DAT one-FOC duck no
‘There is not a single duck here.’

9.6.3. Universal (free-choice) pronouns

The universal pronouns correspond to the English pronouns of the *any-* or *every-* series. They can express the possibility of choice (‘any of’) or they may have a generic meaning (‘all’, ‘every’).

9.6.3.1. Derivation

The standard way of forming universal Indefinite pronouns is by adding the particle *dexem(i)* (its reduced form is *dem*) to the interrogative pro-nouns and pro-adverbs. Examples are: *ni dexemi* ‘any, every, everybody’, *j’e-we dexemi* ‘any, every, everything’, *ali dexemi* ‘at any time’, *i:le dexemi* ‘everywhere’, *j’e-uxi dexemi* ‘to everywhere’, etc. The particle *dexem(i)* is not a clitic: it bears a separate phonological stress and does not follow the vowel harmony of the preceding word.

The universal expression *ono bi: dexemi* ‘any, of any kind’ contains the interrogative adverb *ono* ‘how’, the Present active participle of the copula verb *bi:*, and the universal particle *dexemi.* This expression structurally corresponds to a relative clause and functions as a modifier, as shown in (640).

(587) a. *Bi ono* *bi:* *dexemi* *bui-we* *aju-mi.*
me how be.PRP IND animal-ACC like-1SG
‘I like all animals.’
b. *Eineŋi* *ono* *bi:* *dexemi* *ni:* *eme:-ti.*
today how be.PRP IND man come.PAST-3PL
‘Today all sorts of people came.’

9.6.3.2. Function

For obvious semantic reasons, the sentences with universal pronouns in argument positions often involve the Habitual verbal forms, as in (641).

(588) a. *I:-le* *dexemi* *ima:-na.*
what-LOC IND snow-V
'There is snow everywhere.'

b. *J'e-zi* *dexem(i)* *ŋele-ini.*
what-INST IND be.afraid-3SG
'He is afraid of everything.'

c. *Ni:* *bejeku-* *ni* *i:-le* *dem*
man similar-3SG what-LOC IND
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'There are people similar to other people everywhere.' (K 167)

d. *J'eu* *dem* *j'e-ni* *bie* *gune.*
what IND what-3SG be.PRES.HAB EV
'Apparently, there are all sorts of things.' (K 191)

In the subject position an indefinite universal pronoun normally triggers Plural agreement on the finite verb.

(589) *Ni* *dexemi* *teu* *sa:-du.*
who IND all know-PL
'Everybody knows.'

9.6.4. Other types of Indefinite pronouns

Some morphologically rare types of both specific and non-specific Indefinite pronouns are also based on the Interrogative pronouns, but include affixes other than those described in sections 9.6.1–9.6.3. Such pronouns can be illustrated only by occasional examples, and it is therefore difficult to draw a definite conclusion about their distribution and meaning. Here we will simply cite the relevant examples without commenting on them at length.

9.6.4.1. Indefinite pronouns formed with compound particles

The indefinite (both specific and non-specific) meaning can be expressed by the pronouns derived with the complex particles *deke* or *kede*. These particles apparently appeared as a combination of the two indefinite clitics *-dA* and *-kA*, but they do not behave as clitics themselves.

(590) a. *J'e-digi* *deke* *eme:-ni* *bize.*
what-ABL IND come.PAST-3SG must
'He must have come from somewhere.'

b. *J'e-uxi* *deke* *ŋene-ze-mi.*
what-LAT IND go-SUBJ-1SG
'I will go somewhere.'

c. *Ni* *deke* *zawa:-ti* *bize.*
who IND take.PAST-3PL must

‘Somebody must have taken it.’

d. *Ari (< ali)* *deke* *mu:-ze-fi.*
when IND shamanize-1PL.IN
‘One day we will shamanize.’ (K 125)

(591) *Kanda* *mafa* *bie i:-le* *kede.*
Kanda old.man be.PRES.HAB what-LOC IND
‘The old man Kanda lives somewhere.’

In a similar way, the specific and non-specific Indefinite pronouns are sometimes formed with the complex particle *dele*, which originates from the contraction of the indefinite clitic particle *-dA* and the contrastive clitic particle *-lA* (12.1.1.7).

(592) a. *I:-le* *dele* *kärkärkär* *wo:-ni.*
this-LOC IND INTER do.PAST-3SG
‘Shaving (of wood) is happening somewhere.’ (K 110)

b. *J’eu* *dele* *etete-ini* *gune.*
what IND work-3SG EV
‘It looks like somebody (something) is working.’ (K 110)

c. *I:-le* *dele* *eke:-ni.*
what-LOC IND get.stuck.PAST-3SG
‘He got stuck somewhere.’

d. *j’eu* *dele* *amba*
what IND evil.spirit
‘some evil spirit’ (SKX 272)

9.6.4.2. Indefinite pronouns formed with the particle *-gu*

The non-specific indefinite meaning seems to be rendered by pronouns derived with the suffix (or the cliticized particle) -g*u* from the interrogative stem *j’e-*. Such pronouns are normally repeated twice.

(593) a. *Ono-gu* *ono-gu* *nixe-te-mi-ze.*
how-IND how-IND do-PERM-1SG-HORT
‘Let me do it somehow.’

b. *J’e-we-gu* *j’e-we-gu*
what-ACC-IND what-ACC-IND
gada-ta-mi-ze.
buy-PERM-1SG-HORT
‘Let me buy something.’

c. *J’eu-gu* *j’eu-gu* *diga-mi* *teu*
what-IND what-IND eat-INF all
bi-si-ni.
be-PAST-3SG
‘He was living all the time, eating something.’ (K 134)

9.6.4.3. Indefinite pro-verb

The meaning of the indefinite pro-verb *ja-* is very general, and mainly depends on its

morphological form. In (647a) the pro-verb is in the Subjunctive form meaning literally ‘let it do something’. In (647b) the Infinitive can be translated approximately as ‘doing something’.

(594) a. *Ja-za* *mo:gosi-mi.*
PROV-SUBJ shamanize-INF
‘OK, let us shamanize.’ (K 155)
b. *Xuli-mi-de* *ja:-mi-de* *j’eu*
walk-INF-FOC PROV-INF-FOC what
ni: *gagpa-si:-ni*?
man s hot-IM-PAST-3SG
‘Walking or doing something, which man is shooting (with a bow)?’ (K 111)

When co-occurring with the indefinite object pronoun *j’e-we* the indefinite pro-verb means ‘do’ (648), while when used without the object pronoun under the scope of negation it can mean ‘do nothing’ (649).

(595) a. *J’e-we-de* *e-si-mi* *ja:.*
what-ACC-IND NEG-PAST-1SG PROV
‘I was not doing anything.’
b. *Eineŋi* *ono-do* *ja:* *b’ono-zo-mi.*
today how-IND PROV catch-SUBJ-1SG
‘I will catch (you) today whatever happens.’ (K 155)

(596) *Belie* *tene* *ei-de* *olokto* *ei-de* *ja:.*
fairy CONT NEG-FOC cook NEG-FOC PROV
‘And the fairy does not cook, does not do anything.’

On the usage of the indefinite pro-adverb in alternative questions see 23.1.4.

9.6.4.4. The indefinite substitution word *aŋi*

The element *aŋi* is a pronominal stem used when a speaker is looking for an appropriate word and cannot recollect it. The stem *aŋi* is inflected in exactly the same way as the corresponding constituent in the clause should be inflected. The word that actually has to be in the sentence is normally used within the same sentence immediately following the word *aŋi* and bears the same inflectional form. In (650a) the word *aŋi* is in the Nominative and replaces the subject (*belie*); in (650b) and (650c) it is in the Accusative because it replaces the direct object (*zakta-wa* and *xulepte-we,* respectively), in (650d) it replaces a verb in the Subjunctive, while in (650e) it replaces a nominal modifier (note the Plural marker *-ziga* which encodes the semantic plurality of the replaced noun *Suaŋka* ‘the Suankas’). The element *aŋi* is glossed as IND (indefinite).

(597) a. *Uti* *a:nta* *aŋi* *belie* *tene* *zugdi*
that woman IND fairy CONT house
saŋña-muga-wa-ni *zawa:-ni.*
smoke-N-ACC-3SG take.PAST-3SG
‘This woman, what’s she called, the fairy, held onto the flue.’
b. *Ge* *olokto:-ni* *belie* *aŋi-we*

well cook.PAST-3SG fairy IND-ACC
porridge-ACC ‘Well, the fairy cooked this, what’s it
zakta-wa.
called, porridge.’

c. *Konz’o-tigi* *aŋi-we* *xulepte-we*
box-LAT IND-ACC ash-ACC
koŋgodo:-ti.
pour.PAST-3PL
‘They poured this, ash, into the box.’ d. *Ñaŋga-da* *sin-e-we* *aŋi-nde-ze-mi*
little-FOC you-0-ACC IND-SEM-SUBJ-1SG
kese-li-nde-ze-mi.
torture-INC-SEM-SUBJ-1SG
‘I will – what’s the word – torture you a little.’

e. *Uti* *aŋi-ziga* *zugdi,* *Suaŋka* *zugdi.*
that IND-PL house Suanka house
‘This is the house of those, the Suankas.’

In a number of cases the same element *aŋi* in a corresponding case form functions as an Indefinite pronoun.

(598) a. *Aŋi-le* *ŋene:-mi.*
IND-LOC go.PAST-1SG
‘I was walking somewhere.’

b. *Aŋi-le* *b’a-mi* *bi.*
IND-LOC find.PAST-1SG me
‘I found it somewhere.’ (K 111)

9.7. Other determiners

Pronominal determiners are always used in preposition to the head noun.

9.7.1. *Xoŋto* ‘another’

The determiner *xoŋto* ‘another, other’ indicates a choice between several objects, cf.:

(599) a. *Bi* *ei* *in’ei-we* *xoŋto* *in’ei-digi* *aja*
me this dog-ACC other dog-ABL good
aju-mi.
like-1SG
‘I like this dog more than other dogs.’

b. *Xoŋto* *ba:-tigi* *wele-mi*
other place-LAT cross-INF
kämbu-was-u-ji.
sacrifice-DIV-PAS-PRP
‘Going to the other place (mountain), one makes a sacrifice.’
(K 123)

9.7.2. *Gagda* ‘another, the other’

The determiner *gagda* ‘another, the other’ means ‘one of the pair’, ‘opposite’, and expresses the idea of choosing between the two possible candidates. They may be paired objects, for example, body parts, and in this case the word *gagda* expresses singularity, often in combination with the numeral *omo* ‘one’ (4.2.1.1).

(600) a. *Gagda* *aziga* *soŋo* *gagda* *aziga* *jexe*
other girl cry other girl sing
wo:-ni.
do.PAST-3SG
‘One girl was crying, the other girl was singing.’ (K 132.)

b. *Omo* *gagda* *ŋala-zi* *olokto-i,* *omo* one another
hand-INST cook-PRP one
gagda *ŋala-zi* *oño* *wo:-i.*
another hand-INST ornament make-PRP
‘With one hand she is cooking, with the other hand she is making ornaments.’ (K 165)

c. *Ña* *gagda* *bä:-tigi* *xetigene:-ni.*
again opposite bed-LAT jump.PAST-3SG
‘She again jumped to the opposite bed.’ (K 182)

d. *Omo* *gagda* *uŋta* *lo:-ni.*
one half boot hang.PAST-3SG
‘One boot was hung up.’ (K 143)

Gagda may be used independently. Since it always presupposes a definite set of possible candidates, in this case it has the substantivized possessive form *gagda-ni* ‘the other (of the two)’. The possessive 3rd person suffix *-ni* here expresses definiteness, as is typical of definite nominal expressions (4.1.3.3), cf.:

(601) a. *Ña* *uti* *omo-lo* *zube* *o-gi-e-ni,*
also that one-CONT two be-REP-PAST-3SG
ti: *omo* *gagda-ni* *soŋo-li-ge* *gune.*
that one another-3SG cry-INC-PERF EV
‘One of these two remained, one of them started crying as well.’ (K 188)

b. *Ei* *mo:* *gugda-da,* *gagda-ni*
this tree tall-FOC another-3SG
nektese-i-de.
short-FOC-FOC
‘This tree is tall and the other one is short.’

c. *Min-du* *zube* *ugda* *bie* *omo*
me-DAT two boat be.PRES.HAB one
dampi, *gagda-ni* *imexi.*
old another-3SG new
‘I have two boats, one is old, the other is new.’

9.7.3. *Gele~gere* ‘each, all’

The determiner *gele~gere* ‘each’ is available but very infrequent, cf.:

(602) a. *Nua-ti* *gere* *ni:* *mefei* *sene* *aju-iti.*
he-3PL each man REF.ACC.PL only like-3PL
‘Each of them likes only himself.’

b. *gele golo* ‘all the countries’
gele xoto ‘all the cities’
gele ni: ‘all the people’ (SK 262)

9.7.4. Pronominal determiners in temporal expressions

The pronominal determiners *gä:ŋa* ‘every’ and *omo* (… *tei*) ‘whole’ are compatible only with partly adverbialized temporal nouns in the Nominative or the Accusative, cf.:

(603) a. *Bi* *ma:ma-i* *gä:ŋa* *neŋi-ni* *zugdi-du*
me grandmother-1SG every day-3SG home-DAT
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
‘My grandmother is at home the whole day.’

b. *Bi* *ta:mati* *omo* *aŋa-ni* *uni-e-mi.*
me last.year one year-3SG be.ill-PAST-3SG
‘Last year I was ill the whole year.’

c. *omo dogbo* ‘the whole night’
gä:ŋa aŋa-ni ‘every year’
omo zua ‘the whole summer’
omo ñuŋu-me neŋi-ni tei ‘six whole days’
<one six-ACC day-3SG FOC>

Chapter 10
Adverbs and postpositions

10.1. Adverbs

Adverbs function as verbal modifiers or clausal adjuncts; degree adverbs modify adjectives, nouns and other adverbs. Udihe seems to lack a class of sentence adverbs, with the exception of certain evidential (12.1.2.1) and epistemic (12.1.2.2) elements. Certain adverbs function as predicates in copular constructions (17.2.2.2) and some take sentential arguments (Chapter 20). Adverbs are always optional in the sentence, with the exception of copular constructions, in which they have a predicative function, and in constructions in which they are used in reply to adverbial *wh*-questions.

Most adverbs are morphologically unchangeable, although some have a transparent morphological structure and go back to nominal inflectional categories (case forms). Case-inflected form a deficient paradigm, but each member of the paradigm can be viewed as a separate lexical entry. Adverbs derived or converted from nouns may preserve certain nominal properties, such as being combinable with certain postpositions. In other syntactic properties they contrast with nouns: adverbs cannot be modified by an adjective or a possessive modifier, but only by other adverbs. A number of manner adverbs formally coincide with qualitative adjectives, or are derived from them. Some spatial adverbs have much in common with spatial postpositions, and are often based on the same stem (10.2). However, unlike postpositions, adverbs do not take nominal arguments that may be cross-referenced by personal inflections.

This section is based on a semantic classification of adverbs: spatial adverbs (10.1.1), temporal adverbs (10.1.2), manner adverbs (10.1.3), and degree adverbs (10.1.4). The semantic classification is highly conventional because a number of adverbs are polysemantic and render two or more meanings, e.g. *tuge* ‘quickly’ and ‘soon’ (a manner and temporal adverb); *go:* ‘far away’ and ‘a long time’ (a spatial, temporal, or manner adverb). The adverbial derivation is addressed within each particular section. Section 10.1.5 concentrates on «frozen» adverbial collocations; section 10.1.6 describes adverbial reduplications. The general properties of the adverbial phrase are discussed in 10.1.7.

On adverbs based on pronominal stems (pro-adverbs), see Chapter 9. Adverbial functions performed by nouns in different oblique cases are described under 15.1.4.

10.1.1. Spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs with locative, lative, ablative, and prolative semantics are derived from local cases of spatial nouns. Adverbs that denote the same localization and form various series of related words based on the same stem will be referred to as serial adverbs (10.1.1.1). There are no spatial adverbs that go back to the Nominative, Destinative, and Partitive case forms, and some other individual «lacunas» are possible. Furthermore, adverbial case inflections deviate slightly from nominal inflections (4.1.3).

(657)

	nouns	adverbs
ACC	*-wA, -mA*	*-wA, (’)-fA*

DAT	*-du*	*-du, -nu*
LOC	*-lA, -dule*	*-lA*
ABL	*-digi*	*-digi, -nigi*
LAT	*-tigi*	*-tigi, -uxi/-ixi, -zAŋAzi, -ligde/-lAgdA*
PROL	*-li, -dili*	*-li*
INST	*-zi*	*-zi*

The adverbial Ablative in *-zA-ŋAzi* seems to be derived from spatial nouns in *-zA* (5.1.2.3) with some kind of adverbial Ablative suffix. The Accusative adverbial marker (')*-fA* does not coincide with the nominal Accusative inflection, cf. *w'e-fe* 'above' and *we:-we-ni* 'top, surface, upper part (ACC).'
However, it is available for some adverbialized nouns, cf.: *w'eh-fe b'äs'a-fa* 'along mountains and rivers' (SKX 296).The adverbial Accusative forms in '*-fA* can function as postpositions without personal markers (see 10.2.2). The Ablative in *-ligde/-lAgdA* is attested only for a few adverbs. We do not have enough information to deduce how its meaning differs from that of the regular Ablative. As a rule the adverbial case suffixes tend to be replaced with standard nominal ones.

Non-serial spatial adverbs (10.1.1.2) are typically based on one 'frozen' case form, and do not make paradigms.

10.1.1.1. Serial adverbs

Serial spatial adverbs are derivationally related to spatial adjectives in *-uxe* (6.4.1.3.2) and spatial nouns in *-zA* (5.1.2.3). The latter demonstrate some adverbial features.

Case forms of adverbs have basically the same meaning as the corresponding case forms of nouns (4.2.2), with the following adjustments. The Accusative denotes a very general location in space, for example, *c'a-fa* 'in the space behind', *uig'e-fe* 'in the space above', etc. The Instrumental is basically synonymous with the Prolative: both correspond to the meaning 'along the place, through the place'. The Ablative in *-zA-ŋAzi* seems to express a more general destination ('from the space below') than the more finely specialized Ablative in *-digi/-nigi* ('from below'); however, their distribution is not clear.

10.1.1.1.1. General orientation

The table below presents the series of the most important spatial adverbs of general orientation; lacunas in the paradigms are shown with hyphens.

Table 8. Spatial adverbs of general orientation

	xegi-, xegie- 'below, down'	*da:s'a(-), da:-* 'near'	*amä:-* 'behind, after'	*zuli-, zulie-* 'before'	*ba:-* 'outside'
ACC	*xegie-fe*	-	*am'ä-fa*	*zulie-fe*	*b'a-fa*
DAT	*xegi-nu*	*da:s'a-nu*	*amä:-du*	*zulie-du*	*ba:-nu*
LAT	*xegi-xi*	*da:s'a-tigi*	*amä:-ixi*	*zulie-ixi*	*ba-ixi*
LOC	*xegi-le*	*da:s'a-la, da:-la*	*amä:-la*	*zulie-le*	*ba:-la*

PROL	*xegie-li*	*da:s'a-li*	*amä:-li*	*zulie-li*	*ba:-li*
INST	*xegie-zi*	*da:s'a-zi*	*amä:-zi*	*zulie-zi*	-
ABL	*xegie-nigi, xegie-zeŋezi*	*da:s'a-nigi*	*amä:-digi, amä:-zaŋazi*	*zuli-digi, zulie-zeŋezi*	*ba:-digi, ba:-zaŋazi*

	go:(-) 'far'	*cai-* 'far away'	*do-* 'inside'	*ño:-* 'before'	*ui(ge)-, uie-* 'up'	*kä:-* 'close'	*ca:-* 'behind'
ACC	-	-	*d'o-fo*	*ño:-fo*	*uig'e-fe*	*k'ä-fa*	*c'a-fa*
DAT	-	*cai-nu*	*do:-nu*	*ño:(n)-du* *ño:(n)-do*	*ui-nu*	-	-
LAT	*go:-tigi*	*cai-xi*	*dü-ixi*	*ño:-xi*	*ui-xi*	-	*ca:-tigi*
LOC	*go:-lo*	*cai-le*	*do-lo*	-	*ui-le*	*kä:-la*	-
PROL	*go:-li*	*cai-li*	*do:-li*	*ño:n-dili*	*ui-li*	-	-
INST	*go:-zi*	-	*do:-zi*	*ño-zi*	*uie-zi*	-	-
ABL	*go:-nigi*	*cai-nigi*	*do:-nigi*, *do-zoŋozi*	-	*ui-nigi*	-	*ca:-digi*, *ca:-ŋazi*

As illustrated in the table, roots differ slightly from case to case, and the paradigms are incomplete. The adverbs *go:* 'far' and *da:s'a* 'near' can be used in an uninflected (Nominative) form. The following examples demonstrate the use of spatial serial adverbs.

(658) a. *ŋene-ze-fi* *amä-ixi*
go-SUBJ-1PL.IN back-LAT
'Let us turn back.'

b. *D'o-fo* *nagda:-ni* *aŋma-ni*
inside-ACC get.PAST-3SG mouth-3SG
'(The fish) got into the mouth.'

c. *Cai-le* *we:* *ise-pte.*
far-LOC hill see-DEC
'Far away a hill can be seen.'

d. *Susa-gi-li,* *amä:-zaŋazi* *buono-li-li*
escape-REP-3SG back-ABL take.over-INC-3SG
tokö.

cloud
'He went back, the cloud began to overtake him from behind.'

e. *Da:-la* *aŋa-ŋi-ze-i.*
near-LOC night.shelter-V-SUBJ-IMP.2SG
'Stay nearby overnight.' (K 113)

Some spatial adverbs also have a temporal meaning (10.1.2.4.).

10.1.1.1.2. Orientation relative to the river or the fireplace

Since the life of the Udihe people is closely associated with rivers, orientation relative to the river is the most detailed semantic field of adverbs. Generally speaking, adverbial series specialize in expressing three different localizations: relative to the direction of the stream, relative to the riverbank, and relative to the side of the river. As is typical of some other Siberian languages (for example, Selkup and Ostyak), the same system of spatial adverbs is also used to render orientation relative to the fireplace, as placed in a traditional dwelling. The parallelism of the «inner» world (the home with its center, the fireplace) and the «outer» world with its center, a river, is represented in Table 9.

Table 9. Orientation to the river and the fireplace

orientation to the river	orientation to the fireplace	adverbial stem
'riverbank, space on land near the water'	'place near the fire'	*ŋä:-*
'the opposite side of the river'	'the opposite side of the dwelling'	*bagä:(za)-*
'space far from the river'	'place far from the fire, at the pitch slope of the roof'	*die-, di:-*

In addition, two adverbial stems indicate orientation in relation to the flow of the river: *soli-/solö-* 'upstream' and *ezi(ze)-/ezie-* 'downstream'.

The paradigms are given in the table below. Not all the forms theoretically possible are actually available.

Table 10. Adverbs of orientation to the river and the fireplace

	'upstream'	'downstream'	'river bank, fireplace'	'far from the river or the fire'	'across the river, the dwelling'
ACC	*solie-fe*	*ezie-fe*	*ŋ'ä-fa*	*di(g'e)-fe*	*bag'ä-fa*
DAT	*soli-nu*	*ezi-nu*	*ŋä:-nu*	*di:-nu*	*bagä:-nu*
LAT	*soloi-xi*	*eiei-xi*	*ŋä-ixi*	*di:-xi*	*bagä-ixi*
LOC	*soli-le*	*ezi-le*	*ŋä:-la*	*di:-le*	*bagä:(za)-la*
PROL	-	-	*ŋä:-li*	*di:-li, die-li*	*bagä:-li*

INST	*solö-zi*	-	*ŋä:-zi*	-	*bagä:-zi*
ABL	*solö-nigi, solö-digi, solö-ze-ŋezi*	*ezize-digi, ezi-ze-ŋezi*	*ŋä:-nigi, ŋä:-digi*	*di:-nigi, di:-ligde*	*bagä:-nigi, bagä:-lagda, bagä-za-ŋazi*

The adverbs of the series *bagä:(za)-* also have the more general meaning 'opposite side'.

(659) *Z'oto* *bagä:-za-la* *te:-i.*
otter opposite-N-LOC sit-PRP
'The otter is sitting opposite.'

10.1.1.1.3. Adverbial expressions with the stem *ba:(za)-* 'outside'

Compound adverbial expressions based on the noun *ba: (bua)* 'place, taiga, space, sky, outside place' or its nominal derivative *ba:-za* indicate orientation in the forest/taiga (remarkably, Udihe lacks a specialized noun with the meaning 'taiga'). Such expressions include the postpositional element *xo:-ni* 'top' or *ge:-ni* 'surface', inflected for the 3rd person Singular Possessive. The latter loses vowel length and independent stress, and is pronounced as a single phonological word with the element *ba:-za.* In the Accusative personal inflections are absent, as is otherwise typical of the Accusative postpositions (10.2.2). Prolative and Instrumental forms have not been attested.

Table 11. Adverbial expressions of orientation in the taiga

NOM	*ba:-za ge-ni* 'forest, taiga'	*ba: xo:-ni* 'forest, taiga'
ACC	*ba:-za g'e-fe*	*ba: x'o-fo*
DAT	*ba:-za ge-di-ni*	*ba: xo:n-dile-ni*
LAT	*ba:-za ge-ti(gi)-ni*	*ba: xo:n-ti(gi)-ni*
LOC	*ba:-za ge-le-ni*	*ba: xo:-le-ni*
PROL	-	-
INST	-	-
ABL	*ba:-za ge-digi-ni*	*ba: xo:n-digi-ni*

The two adverbial series in question seem to be synonymous when they concern orientation in the taiga, but the first series (*ba:-za ge-ni)* has in addition the more general meaning 'outside', cf. (660a).

(660) a. *Ba:-za* *ge-tigi* *omo* *uge* *tei*
place-N surface-LAT one bunch whole
zauŋa *gazi-e-ni.*
greenling bring-PAST-3SG
'She brought a whole bunch of greenlings outside.'

b. *Ba:-za* *ge-di-ni* *eikpesi-mu* *xoton-digi*
place surface-LOC-3SG breathe-IMI town-ABL
aja.
well
'It is better to breathe in the taiga than in the town.'

c. *Ba:* *xo:n-ti(gi)-ni* *xulie-mi.*
place top-LAT-3SG walk.PAST-1SG
'I went to the taiga.'

d. *Olondo-mo-zoŋo-fi* *ba:-za* *ge-le-ni.*
ginseng-V-FUT-1PL IN place-N surface-LOC-3SG
'We shall go to seek ginseng in the forest.'

10.1.1.2. Non-serial spatial adverbs

In this section we shall confine ourselves only to some examples interesting from the derivational point of view.

(i) *do-lo do-lo* 'in the very middle' is the result of the repetition of the Locative form of the stem *do:-* 'inside' with a somewhat intensified meaning, cf.:

(661) *Do-lo* *do-lo* *nede.*
inside-LOC inside-LOC put
'Put in the very middle, deeply inside'.

(ii) The following two words are in transition from the class of nouns to the class of adverbs:

(662) *zukti(gi)* 'home' < *zugdi-tigi* 'to the house' <house-LAT>
zugdu 'at home' < *zugdi-du* 'in the house' <house-DAT>

For the first word various phonetic forms (*zuktiɣi, zuktigi, zugditigi, zugdi:,* and *zukti*:) are used interchangeably.

(663) a. *Uta-digi* *ŋene:-ni* *jegdige* *zugdi-tigi.*
that-ABL go.PAST-3SG hero house-LAT
'Then the hero went home.'

b. *Zugdi:* *ŋen'e.*
house.LAT go.PERF
'He went home.'

(iii) The nominal stem *uke* 'doorway' takes the adverbial Dative suffix *-nu*, cf. *uke-nu* 'in the doorway' (adverb) and *uke-du* 'by the door' (noun).

10.1.2. Temporal adverbs

Adverbs of change and continuation as such are missing. The correspnding semantics ('already', 'still', etc.) are commonly rendered by focus particles that may have adverbial force (Chapter12), and by the universal quantifier *teu* in the adverbial function (11.2.2.1.3). The meaning 'already' may be implied by the Perfect verb (7.7.1.3.1).

10.1.2.1. Calendrical adverbs

Examples of calendrical adverbs of different semantics, such cyclic adverbs (664a) and deictic adverbs (664b), are given below.

(664) a. *tue* ‘in the winter’
timadule ← *tima-dule* ‘in the morning’
<morning-LOC>
sikie ‘in the evening’
sikiene (SKX 90) ‘early in the evening’
b. *ta:mati* ‘last year’
te:meti (Schneider 1936: 71) ‘many years ago’
einẽi ← *ei neŋini* ‘today’
<this day>
timana(ŋi) ← *tima neŋini* ‘tomorrow, the next day’
<morning day>
tineŋi ← *ti: neniŋi* ‘yesterday’
<that day>
ti:ñozi ← *tineŋi ño:zi* ‘the day before yesterday’

Adverbs of season and most adverbs of time of day are morphologically the Nominative form of the temporal nouns. The Nominative form of these adverbs has the continuative meaning. The starting and the final point in time, its periodicity, and other more subtle nuances of temporal characteristics are expressed by combinations with the temporal postpositions (10.2), and with the Ablative and Lative cases (15.4.2) in their temporal meanings.

(665) *timana(ŋi) ca:-la-ni* ‘the day after tomorrow’
<tomorrow after-LOC-3SG>
aŋa teun-di-ni ‘every year’
<year all-DAT-3SG>
neŋini teun-di-ni ‘every day’
<day all-DAT-3SG>
timana dexi ‘till tomorrow’
<tomorrow till>

The corresponding temporal nouns are mostly used deictically and have a definite interpretation (4.1.3.3.2).

10.1.2.2. General time adverbs

General time adverbs may be deictic, or express indefinite time. Some of them are listed below.

(666) *anana* ← *ana-ana* (cf. *ana-pti* ‘former’) ‘long ago’
bis’esi ← *bi-s’e-si* <be-PERF-PC> ‘then, later’
imexizi ← *imexi-zi* <new-INST> ‘recently’
tugezi ← *tuge* <quick-INST> ‘soon’
w’ataŋi ← *w’atanaŋi* (cf. *w’ata-pti* ‘recent’) ‘just, recently (today)’
xa:ndini ← *xa:n-di-ni* <some-DAT-3SG> ‘sometimes’
bimi ← *bi-mi* <be-INF> ‘later, after a while’

Examples:

(667) a. *Meŋdele* *jexe-ini.*
often sing-3SG
'He often sings.'
b. *Baita* *kimpi-gi-e:-ni.*
temporarily close-REP-PAST-3SG
'It is temporarily closed.'
c. *Ele* *čaja* *xuili-li-e-ni.*
soon tea boil-INC-PAST-3SG
'The tea is about to boil.'
d. *Anana* *bi* *in'ei-we* *zawa-si-ge-i.*
long.ago me dog-ACC take-IM-PERF-1SG
'Long ago I took a dog.'

A number of time adverbs are derived through metaphorical transition from spatial adverbs based on the stems *ño:-*, *amä:-, da:s'a*, *go:, cai-*.

(668) *da:s'a-zi* 'for a short time, briefly, shortly'
<near-INST>
go:(-zi) 'long time'
<far-INST>
cai-xi 'from this time onwards'
<far-LAT>
amä:-li 'after, later'
<back-PROL>
amä-la-ni 'after, later, then'
<back-LOC-3SG>
ñ'o-fo 'then'
<before-ACC>
ño:(n)-du, ño:(n)-do 'first'
<before-DAT>
ño-li, ñon-dili, ñoxo-li 'first'
<before-PROL>

Cf. the spatial (669a) and temporal use (669b) of the same adverb:

(669) a. *Lučegor-tigi* *ŋene-mi* *ketu* *go:.*
Luchegorsk-LAT go-INF very long
'It takes a long time to travel to Luchegorsk.'
b. *Go:-tigi* *e-zi* *ŋene.*
long-LAT NEG-IMP.2SG go
'Do not go far away.'

10.1.3. Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are a morphologically and semantically heterogeneous class of verbal modifiers. They render various manner semantics and can possess additional meanings (temporal, causal, degree, limitational, etc.). Morphologically simple manner adverbs are presented in Chapter 26.

We shall concentrate here on morphologically derived adverbs (10.1.3.1) and ideophones (10.1.3.2).

10.1.3.1. Derived adverbs

Deadjectival derivation with the suffix *-zi* (10.1.3.1.1) through conversion of the bare adjective (10.1.3.1.2) is very productive; other derivational means addressed under 10.1.3.1.3–10.1.3.1.7 lack productivity. Affixes specialized in adverbial derivation are glossed as ADV.

10.1.3.1.1. Adjectival adverbs in *-zi*

Adjectival qualificative adverbs are derived through lexicalization of the Instrumental case of adjectives in *-zi*. This pattern can be used with practically any qualitative adjective (670a), adjectival quantifiers, and pronominal determiners (670b), for example:

(670)	a.	*aja*	‘good’	*aja(n)-zi*	‘well’
		maŋga	‘strong’	*maŋga-zi*	‘strongly’
		gugda	‘high’	*gugda-zi*	‘high up’
		paki	‘skillful’	*paki-zi*	‘skillfully’
		zo:ŋku	‘poor’	*zo:ŋku-zi, zoŋ-zi*	‘poorly’
		gaŋziŋa	‘clean’	*gaŋziŋa-zi*	‘cleanly’
	b.	*wac’an*-zi	‘little’	*wac’a*	‘little, few’
		xoŋto-zi	‘in another way’	*xoŋto*	‘other’

Qualitative adverbs derived from adjectives are the principle means to express the qualificative characteristics of an action. They may be cognate with the verb they modify, cf. (671f).

(671) a. *Xokto-ni* *ge:-zi* *ise-pte-ini.*
track-3SG bad-INST see-DEC-3SG
‘The track is poorly visible.’

b. *Si* *paki-zi* *sugzä-ma:-i* .
you skilful-INST fish-V.PAST-2SG
‘You fished skillfully.’

c. *Bu* *xuñazi-zi-fi* *sebzeŋke-zi*
we.EX sister-INST-REF.PL interesting-INST
gusi-ge-u.
play-PERF-1PL.EX
‘We were playing interestingly with my sisters.’

d. *ŋene-je* *eke-zi.*
go-IMP.2SG slow-INST
‘Go slow.’

e. *Tukca* *maŋga-zi* *simpi-li-e-ni.*
hare strong-INST sneeze-INC-PAST-3SG
‘The hare started sneezing very strongly.’

f. *Bi* *anda-i* *bou-zi* *bogo:-ni.*
me friend-1SG fat-INST grow.fat.PAST-3SG
‘My friend grew fat.’

The same derivation is typical of adverbs derived from non-qualificative adjectives of nationality.

(672) a. *Ñoni:* *si* *niŋka-zi* *dian-a-mi?*
can.2SG you Chinese-INST say-0-INF
'Can you speak Chinese?'
b. *Ei* *ima-ŋku-we* *udie-me-zi* *ima-si-se.*
this tell-N-ACC Udihe-ADJ-INST tell-IM-PRP.PAS
'This tale is told in Udihe.'

In some cases the adverb in *-zi* co-occurs with a derived denominal verb and refers to the quality of the base noun incorporated into the verbal form.

(673) *Bi* *čaligi-zi* *mo:pti-le-zeŋe-i.*
me white-INST scarf-V-FUR-1SG
'I will put on a white scarf.' (SKX 84)

Adjectival adverbs derived with the suffix *-zi* show formal parallelism with the Instrumental forms of adjectives used as secondary predicates or depictives (19.6). Yet they contrast semantically and are restricted to a different set of syntactic environments: depictives characterise a subject or object participant and modify a noun phrase, whereas adverbs express the qualificative features of the action itself, and modify the verb. This difference is indirectly shown by the fact that depictive adjectives express Plural agreement with the corresponding argument (19.6.2.3), while adverbs are never morphologically marked for the Plural.

(674) **Xul'a-ŋku-zi* *sei-de:-ni.*
extra-PL-INST salt-V.PAST-3SG
'(She) put on too much salt.'

10.1.3.1.2. Adverbs derived through conversion

It is noteworthy that adjectival adverbs may be derived simply through the conversion of the base adjective. In this case they correspond to the bare adjectival form.

(675) a. *Aja* *bagdi-e-ti.*
good live-PAST-3PL
'(They) lived well.'
b. *aja* *in'ei*
good dog
'a good dog'

Adjectival adverbs derived from the Instrumental form in *-zi* (10.1.3.1.1) and those derived through the conversion of the bare stem seem to be used interchangeably. Examples of qualificative adverbs derived through conversion are presented in (676). Free variations in the use of these two types of adverbs are illustrated in (677).

(676) a. *Uta* *eke* *ŋene:-k* *kä:-tigi-ni,* that
soft go.PAST-EXPR side-LAT-3SG
eke *xebu-se:-k* *seudine-we.*
quite take-EXP.PAST-EXPR kerchief-ACC
'Then (she) came quietly nearer and took the kerchief on the sly.'
b. *Uligdig'a* *karasila-sa.*
beautiful paint-PP.PAS
'It is beautifully painted.'

(677) a. *Nua-ni* *min-digi* *tuge-(zi)* *gäna:-ni.*
he-3SG me-ABL fast-(INST) walk.PAST-3SG
'He walked faster than I did.'

b. *Si* *zä:-wa* *xul'a-(zi)* *bu-o:-i.*
you money-ACC extra-(INST) give-PAST-2SG
'You gave extra money.'

10.1.3.1.3. Adverbs derived with the suffix *-i*

Certain manner adverbs that normally co-occur with motion verbs are derived with the suffix *-i*. Some of them represent converted forms of the Present active participles.

(678)	*lofo-i*	'without skis'	*omoc'o-i*	'constantly'
	sagba-i	'barefoot'	*nepte-i*	'unbuttoned'
	kaŋdu-i	'in two'	*kaŋdugu-i*	'a half'
	bigze-i	'(walk) bow-legged'	*xurte-i*	'headlong (fly)' (K 186)

Examples:

(679) a. *Tuxi* *sikte-ni* *kaŋdu-i* *buktag'a.*
sledge runner-3SG in.two-ADV break.PERF
'The sledge runner broke in two.'

b. *lofo-i ŋene-* 'go (through the snow) without skis'
sagbe-i tukä- 'run barefoot'
nepte-i xuli- 'walk unbuttoned'

10.1.3.1.4. Adverbs derived with the suffix *-pti(gi)*

The suffix *-pti(gi)~-ktigi* derives manner adverbs often denoting spatial location from verbs and adjectives.

(680)	*wani-ptigi*	'widely'	*wani-mi*	'wide'
	xugu-ptigi	'inside out'	*xugu-*	'turn inside out'
	ŋene-ptigi	'sloping, awry'	*ŋene-*	'go'
	kuzi-ktigi	'prone' (K 252)	*kuzi-*	'bend down'
	kuzu-ptigi	'on the stomach' (Schneider 1937: 120)		
	buli-ptigi	'(stroke) from head to tail'	*bule-*	'stroke (an animal)'
	kumte-ptigi	'upside down'	*kumte-*	'overturn'
	ele-ptigi	'properly, normally' (K 314)	*ele-*	'be sufficient'
	ogdo-ptigi	'from side to side'	*ogdo*	'side'
	be-ptigi	'alike'	*bu:-fi*	'like'
	sebie-pti	'last time'	*sebie*	'before, earlier'

Examples:

(681) a. *Si* *teu* *kida-ptigi* *m'ei* *teluŋu-si:.*
you all vice.versa-ADV only tell-V.2SG
'You say everything vice-versa.'

b. *ŋene-ptigi-le* *tikpe-ne:-ni* .
go-ADV-CONT nail-V.PAST-3SG
'He hammered a nail awry.'

c. *Tege-we* *xugu-ptigi* *teti-e-i*
gown-ACC inside.out-ADV dress-PAST-1SG
'I put on the gown inside out'

d. *Bugdi* *ebe* *nede-isi* *wani-ptigi* *nede-i-es* *eu-nigi* *nede-i-es.*
leg so put-PC wide-ADV put-PRP-DIS crossing-ABL put-PRP-DIS
'He places his legs like this: now wide apart, then crossing one another.'

10.1.3.1.5. Adverbs derived with the suffix *-lV*

The following adverbs are derived with the suffix *-löu/-löi* (682a) or *-lie* (682b). Whether these affixes are related is hard to say. The latter may go back to the Prolative affix *-li.*

(682) a. *logzo-löu* 'arched one's back'
bugzali-löi 'hopping out'
zaŋzali-löu 'skipping'
tekce-löu 'like a black dot' (of an approaching arrow) (K 152)

b. *monto-lie* 'in a circle, around', cf. *monto* 'circle'
cagba-lie 'up, on end'
mogo-lie 'around', cf. *mogüö* 'round box made of birch bark'
čiŋdeme-lie 'with a thin waist' (SK 1070), cf. *čiŋdem*

Examples:

(683) a. *Monto-lie* *aŋa-ŋisi-e-ti.*
circle-ADV night.shelter-V-PAST-3PL
'(They) lay down to sleep in a circle.'

b. *Tukca-ziga* *ku'ai-we-ni* *cagba-lie* *düisi:-ti.*
hare-PL ear-ACC-3SG up-ADV listen-3PL
'The hares are listening, pricking up their ears.'

c. *Sul'ai* *cugeti-e-ni,* *zaŋzali-löu* *tukä-gi-e-ni.*
fox be.glad-PAST-3SG skipping-ADV run-REP-PAST-3SG
'The fox was glad and ran back skipping.' (K 162)

10.1.3.1.6. Infinitive conversion

Manner adverbs may be derived through the conversion of the Infinitive in *-mi* (7.5.3.1). The infinitival affix *-mi* is present in such a case in its reduced form *-m*, as commonly occurs in the reduced style of speech (see 2.1.5.3 for phonetic detail). The infinitival form is normally repeated twice, or rarely three times, which brings additional expressivity to the construction in question.

The productivity and the degree of lexicalization of this derivational type is hard to estimate. In principle, virtually every verb can be used in such a way when it denotes an additional alternating or intensive action, cf. the following repeated Infinitives.

(684) *akpunda-m akpunda-m* ‘sweeping’
soŋo-m soŋo-m ‘crying’
tukti-m tukti-m ‘climbing’
xeti-m xeti-m ‘shouting’
c’ofosi-m c’ofosi-m ‘scratching’
t’oto-m t’oto-m ‘carrying on one’s back’ (K 174)
zigda-m sigda-m ‘glittering’ (SK 324)

Examples:

(685) a. *Koikoikoi* *c’ofosi-m* *c’ofosi-m.*
INTER scratch-INF scratch-INF
‘He scratches very much.’ (K 51)
b. *Soŋo-li-e-ni,* *soŋo-m soŋo-m* *soŋo-m*
cry-INC-PAST-3SG cry-INF cry-INF cry-INF
tompo:-ni.
spin.PAST-3SG
‘She began to cry, cried and spun around crying.’ (K 113)

However, certain expressions of this type are definitely lexicalized as manner adverbs.

(686) *aja-la-m-aja-la-m* ‘properly, very well’ <good-V-INF-good-V-INF >
te-kce-m ‘sitting for a long time, without moving’
<sit-DUR-INF>
kese-m (*kese-m*) ‘hardly, with difficulty’
<suffer-INF>
iñe-m-iñe-m ‘laughing much’
<laugh-INF-laugh-INF >

The compound idiomatic expression *sadam-jadam* ‘in vain, to no purpose (about speaking)’ seems to appear following the same morphological pattern from the verb *sa:-* ‘know’ and the indefinite proverb *ja-*. Examples are:

(687) a. *aja-la-m-aja-la-m aisigi-* ‘mend very well’
aja-la-m-aja-la-m kapta- ‘wrap very well’
b. *te-kce-m te-* ‘sit without moving’
<sit-DUR-INF sit>
c. *Kese-m-kese-m* *tuxi-we* *uŋkäla:-ni.*
suffer-INF-suffer-INF sledge-ACC carry.PAST-3SG
‘He was carrying the sledge with difficulty.’

c. *Kese-m-kese-m* *bagdi-mi.*
suffer-INF-suffer-INF live-1SG
'I live in torture.'

d. *Sa-da-m* *ja-da-m* *tauximdu* *dian-a-i*
know-V-INF PROV-V-INF at.random say-0-2SG
si.
you
'You do not know it but speak at random.'

10.1.3.1.7. Other derived adverbs

The (Instrumental) suffix *-zi* can derive manner adverbs from grammatical classes other than adjectives, such as nouns (688), numerals (689), and other adverbs (690).

(688) *begdi-zi* 'on foot' <foot-INST>
tege-zi 'dressed' <gown-INST>

(689) *omo-ti-zi* 'in the same way; similarly' <one-ORD-INST>
omo-ti-ŋezi 'equally'

(690) *da:s'a* 'near' *da:s'a-zi* 'briefly'
go: 'far' *go:-zi* 'a long time'

Other manner adverbs derived by various morphological means are listed under (691).

(691) *eu-nigi* 'across' *ei-nigi* <this-ABL>
pazi-g'e 'separate(ly)' *pazi* 'separately'
xufa-lanzi 'all together' *xufa* 'group'
drug'a-fa, dulug'a-fa 'in two, half' *dul'aŋki-* 'middle' +
'*-fa* ACC

Examples:

(692) a. *zomi-ndi* *diga-ini*
steal-ADV eat-3SG
'eats by stealth'
b. *Zugdi-we-ni* *drug'a-fa* *mudi-li-e-ni.*
house-ACC-3SG middle-ACC flood-INC-PAST-3SG
'Half of the house was flooded.'
c. *Sexi-we* *drug'a-fa* *xazala-ja.*
cloth-ACC middle-ACC cut-IMP.2SG
'Cut the cloth in two.'

10.1.3.2. Ideophones

Ideophones are a large and distinctive class of manner adverbs in Udihe. They are very expressive and are meant to create a figurative image related to visual, audible or tactile impressions. For this reason they have a special stylistic burden and are typically used in the language of folklore, although some of them are also common in everyday speech. The class of ideophones is of

ancient origin. There seem to be no Chinese or other loan words among the Udihe ideophones. Quite a number of them are of Tungus origin and are present in related Tungus languages. We will not attempt here to make any classification of ideophones with respect to sound symbolism and related topics, although obviously such a study would be legitimate. On certain phonetic peculiarities of ideophones see 2.2.1.2, 3.1.1 and 3.6.3.5.

In 10.1.3.2.1 we address the syntactic behavior of ideophones; in 10.1.3.2.2 certain derivational peculiarities are discussed. Their semantics and compatibility potential is addressed in 10.1.3.2.3. A representative list of ideophones is given in Chapter 26.

10.1.3.2.1. Syntactic function

Under certain approaches (for example, Kile 1973; Avrorin 1961: 113), Tungus ideophones are treated as a separate part of speech. However, we find that their syntactic functions are shared by some other manner adverbs, and that there is no reason to analyze ideophones independent of them. Ideophonic adverbs have the following two major syntactic functions: (i) verbal modifiers, and (ii) components of compound adjectives that are mostly used in the predicative position but may function as an attribute as well. Some predicative ideophones take sentential arguments (20.1). In this chapter we address the first «adverbial» function of ideophones, which can be viewed as their prototypical function. Their «adjectival» uses are studied in 17.2.2.6 and 6.4.4.2.3.

Ideophones are sometimes based on onomatopoetic descriptions of sounds; however, they should be distinguished from what we call interjections (12.2.3). Interjections directly express an emotion or sound, and fail to integrate into the syntactic structure at all. Their position in the sentence is absolutely free. Ideophones, on the other hand, somehow characterize verbal action. They are clearly constituents of the clause: first, they can be questioned, and second, they have a rather strict linear position. In the adverbial function ideophones are almost always immediately preverbal or – rarely – immediately postverbal. Unlike interjections, they are compatible with clitic focus particles and in fact take them fairly frequently.

(693) a. *Dili-we-ni* *kumuge-di:,* *kumuge-di:,* *ei*
head-ACC-3SG louse-V.PRP louse-V.PRP this
mamaka *ŋua-ili* *kua-kua-gda.*
old.woman sleep-3SG snor-snor-FOC
'She sought lice, sought them, till the old woman fell asleep snoring.'

b. *Tue-we* *teu* *tokto:-ni* *mer-mer-de.*
pole-ACC all chop.PAST-3SG chop-chop-FOC
'He chopped the pole to the ground.' (K 183)

c. *Teti-gi-si-e-ni* *kur-kur-de.*
dress-REP-IM-PAST-3SG quickly-quickly-FOC
'He dressed quickly.' (K 183)

d. *Xeke-je* *täŋ-täŋ-da.*
tie-IMP.2SG fast-fast-FOC
'Tie tightly.'

e. *Eme-gi-e-ni* *cau-cau-de.*
come-REP-PAST-3SG noise-noise-FOC
'He came with noise.'

f. *Uli-tigi* *tafak-da* *tiŋmele:-ni.*

water-LAT plump-FOC fall.PAST-3SG
'He fell into water with a plumping noise.'

g. *Moxo* *täsi* *ule:-we* *nede:-ni*
bowl very meat-ACC put.PAST-3SG
bogdo-bogdo-do.
full-full-FOC
'She put too much meat in the bowl.'

The following example illustrates a rather infrequent word order: the ideophone is separated from the verb by Instrumental nouns.

(694) *Zali* *piak-piak* *ule:-zi* *imo-zi* *sugza-zi*
barn full-full meat-INST lard-INST fish-INST
zalu-se *bi-si-ni.*
pack-PAS.PP be-PAST-3SG
'The barn was totally full with meat, lard and fish.' (SK 950)

Ideophones may modify an adjective (695a) or somehow characterize the object of the verb (695b).

(695) a. *Mamaka* *čiŋdem* *nemneč'e* *bi-si-ni.*
old.woman with.thin.waist thin be-PAST-3SG
'The old woman had a very thin waist.' (SKX 252)

b. *Gäŋa-gäŋa-gäŋa* *baŋcala:-ni.*
??? kick.PAST-3SG
'He kicked the dog so that it ….' (K 112)

10.1.3.2.2. Derivation

Ideophones are not derived from a synchronic point of view, although quite a few of them end in *-m*, which suggests that they may have appeared through the conversion of the Infinitive of ideophonic verbs not preserved in the modern language (cf. 10.1.3.1.2 on the conversion of Infinitives). A large number of ideophones have reduplicated forms, and may sometimes even be repeated three times. Since the non-reduplicated counterpart is typically absent, we will speak of reduplication as a derivational means in this case, as distinct from cases of the expressive repetition of adverbs (10.1.6). Each component of the reduplication bears a separate phonological stress (see also 3.6.3.5). Reduplicated ideophones are written with a hyphen.

In (696) below we present only those non-reduplicated (696a) and reduplicated (696b) ideophones that seem to have related words in Udihe. In (696c) the ideophones that have both a reduplicated and non-reduplicated stem are cited.

(696) a.

seze-m	'shaggy'	*seze-ñeñe*	'shaggy'
pa-m, pa-pa	'black'	*pa-ligi*	'black'
c'a-m	'white'	*c'a-ligi*	'white'
kede-m	'spotty'	*kede-ligi*	'spotty'
päktä-m	'stuck'	*päktäsi-*	'clap with noise'
puñar	'quickly,	*puñu*	'a kind of

		like a storm’		smoke’
	sakä-ligda-m	‘bleeding’ (SK 771)	*sakä*	‘blood’
b.	*käl^{j}-käl^{j}*	‘pale’	*kä-ligi*	‘pale’
	zogbom-zogbom	‘hardly’	*zogbo*	‘hard’
	züle-züle	‘stripy’	*zü-ligi*	‘stripy’
	bom-bom	‘curled’	*bombo-ligi*	‘round’
	ŋafu-ŋafu	‘thick (of hair); complete’	*ŋafu-ñeñe*	‘thick’
	jala:-jala:	‘very black’	*jala:*	‘coal’
	čif-čif	‘wet through’	*čifoŋoi*	‘wet’,
			čifo-	‘get wet through’
	bugdumce-bugdumce	‘slippery’	*bugdu*	‘slippery’
	lu-lu-lu	‘flaming’	*lu*	‘quickly’
c.	*bokčom(-bokčom)*	‘wrinkled’	*bakča*	‘wrinkle’
	bokči(-bokči)	‘wrinkled’		
	nir(-nir)	‘easy to peal’		
	jiŋ(-jiŋ)	‘impudently’		
	tafu(-tafu)	‘through’	*t’afa*	‘directly’ (SK 867)

Some ideophones are derived by reduplication of the final syllable of the base word: *jeŋgute-te(-jeŋgute-te)* ‘with rumbling’, cf. *jeŋgute-* ‘rumble’ (SK 71, 421). Generally speaking, expressive reduplication of the final syllable is very typical of ideophons, for example: *lebdeli-li-li-li* ‘fluttering’, *peso-so* ‘the sound made by a drinking female deer’, and *počo-čo-čo* ‘hissing’.

A few ideophones form compound expressions with the word *ja:* ‘eyes’, but otherwise behave syntactically as all other ideophonic adverbs, these are:

(697)	*ja: bugdam*	‘with round eyes’
	ja: pam	‘with black eyes’ (from anger)
	ja: kilum	‘with suspicious eyes’

Cf. also:

(698)	*Meje-i*	*pam*	*tagda:-ni*	*xuda-si: ni:.*
	mind-REF	black	get.angry.PAST-3SG	fur-V.PRP man
	‘The merchant got very angry.’			

10.1.3.2.3. Ideophones as verbal modifiers

Ideophones seem to fall into two classes depending on the semantic burden they bear. Firstly, some ideophonic adverbs bear a certain content characterizing the action described by the verb. They are compatible with several verbs with various meanings. Such ideophones are presented below with a minimal context.

(699)	a.	*täk-täk gekti-*	‘deep freeze’
		täk-täk xeke-	‘tightly wind round’
		täk-täk likpi-	‘plug tight’ (K125)
		täk-täk zawa-	‘hold tightly’
		täk-täk obo-lo-	‘lock fast’
	b.	*cek-cek alasi-*	‘wait in readiness’ ,

	cek-cek zawa-si-	‘hold something ready’
c.	*pali-pali zegde-*	‘burn till black’
	pali-pali tokö-no-	‘black cloudy’
d.	*pete-pete te:gi-*	‘get up quickly’ (K 196)
	pete-pete wendi-le-	‘throw quickly’
e.	*teŋ-teŋ nagbu-si-*	‘guess correctly’
	teŋ-teŋ olokto-	‘cook in time’
f.	*jiŋ(-jiŋ) kaja-*	‘send somebody impudently’
	jiŋ(-jiŋ) zawa-	‘take away impudently’

Cf. also the following ideophonic adverbs that occur in various contexts: *doŋ-dom* ‘upright, straightly’, *namu-namu* ‘neatly, cozy’, *tu(m)-tu(m)* ‘silently, quietly’*, cili-cili* ‘greasy’, *tafu(-tafu)* ‘through’ (of movement)*, ŋafu-ŋafu* ‘completely’, *cem-cem* ‘sharp’, and some others. A number of ideophones render the audible or visual impression of movement and are compatible with various motion verbs, such as *xuli-* ‘walk’*, gäna-* ‘step’, *ŋene-* ‘go’, *dieli-* ‘fly’, *tiŋme-* ‘fell’, *tukä-* ‘run’, and others. Examples:

(700) a. *Men-e* *zug-du-i* *namu-namu* *te:-mi.*
REF-0 house-DAT-REF cozy-cozy sit-1SG
‘I am sitting cozily at home.’

b. *Uŋna* *neki* *täk-täk* *gekti:-ni.*
snow.crust spring strong-strong freeze-3SG
‘The snow crust in spring freezes fast.’

c. *Mamaka* *wopti-we* *täŋ-täŋ*
old.woman door-ACC strong-strong
obo-lo-gi-e-ni.
lock-V-REP-PAST-3SG
‘The old woman locked the door fast.’

d. *Ba:-la* *pali-pali* *tokö-no:-ni.*
place-LOC black-black cloud-V.PAST-3SG
‘Very black clouds are outside.’

e. *ŋafu-ŋafu* *bude-kte:-ti.*
complete-complete die-DIS.PAST-3PL
‘(They) all died out.’

(701) a. *Lefule-zi* *zaka:-ni,* *tuxi*
fluffy-INST snow.powder.PAST-3SG sledge
bugdumce-bugdumce *ŋene-ini.*
slide-slide go-3SG
‘It is powdered with fluffy snow, the sledge slides well.’

b. *Ugli* *uli-tigi* *tiŋme:-ni* *cau.*
coal water-LAT fell.PAST-3SG hiss
‘The coal fell into water with a hissing noise.’

c. *Mamaka-ni* *sembele-sembele*
old.woman-3SG immediately-immediately
tukä:-ni.
run.PAST-3SG
‘The old woman ran immediately.’

On the other hand, most ideophonic adverbs have a very restricted distribution: each combines with a closed class of semantically similar verbs. Ideophonic adverbs of this type are semantically «light»: when they co-occur with the verb their only semantic function is to denote a high degree

of the realization of the action while the main semantic burden lies on the verb itself. In fact, they can be viewed as degree adverbs. Lacking a better option we may gloss them by the repetition of the verbal stem.

(702) a. *Bäsa* *kuakta-kuakta* *ogo:-ni*
stream dry-dry dry.PAST-3SG
'The stream dried entirely.'

b. *Lumda-lumda* *guza-li-e:-mi* *bi* *tege-i.*
torn-torn tear-INC-PAST-1SG me gown-REF
'I tore my gown very much.'

c. *Zeu-we* *kofi-kofi* *diga:-mi.*
food-ACC eat-eat eat.PAST-1SG
'I ate all the food completely.'

d. *Zugdi-ni* *xaulum* *mude:-ni.*
house-3SG flooded flood.PAST-3SG
'The house was entirely flooded.'

Note, however, that when semantically light ideophones are used in the predicative function they are combined with semantically neutral copulas (*bi-* 'be', *wo*:- 'make', *ede-* 'become', *nixe-* 'do') and bear the semantic information on their own (17.2.2.6).

Below we present a list of collocations of degree ideophones with verbs, which to some extent constitute 'frozen' idiomatic combinations. On some occasions the ideophone may be cognate with the compatible verb (703b).

(703) a.

lü-lü ñukto-	'get wet through'
zaŋa-zaŋa su:le-	'be ill (in bed)'
zoŋgo-zoŋgo lukta-	'strip to the skin'
čifu-čifu nukto-	'get wet through'
čif-čif nielesi-	'bathe in sweat'
dakcai-dakcai dieli-	'fly flapping wings'
sokcom tegi-	'stand on end (of hair, fur)'
bom-bom bokčogi-	'curl oneself'
ko:ŋko-ko:ŋko dieli-	'fly flapping wings (of large birds)'
sou-sou eikpesi-	'pant with running'
pigdäm nüxan-	'stick inside'
sifall degde-	'go up (of dust)'
gäŋdu-gäŋdu xaji-	'break completely'
kulu-kulu tetu-	'dress completely'
lokto-lokto tanda-	'torn off by jerks'
oŋom tiŋme-	'fall off in shreds (of fur)'
pou-pou tamña-	'dark with fog'
xeku-xeku xetige-	'jump much'
gäll xui-	'boil to pulp'
ceŋe-ceŋe lo:-	'hang swinging'
jifu-jifu deu-	'get terribly tired'
nir(-nir) ŋene-	'scale off easily (of fish skin)'
päktam lagbana-	'stick immediately'
xaŋga-xaŋga si:-	'squeeze till dry'
piek-čik tugbu-	'fall with noise'
kuak-kuak xuanti-, kuak-kuak ŋua-	'sleep snoring'

	pice-pice tugbu-, *pice-pice cemne-*	‘smash into smithereens’
	wekte-wekte teu-, *wekte-wekte taigi-gäga-gäga*	‘lump up to the top’
	*(*or *zäka-zäka) e:me-käl-käl ŋele-*	‘show up from growling (of dog’s teeth)’ ‘become frightened so that one gets pale’
	kofi-kofi umi- or *diga-*	‘drink or eat something without leftovers’
b.	*kiŋde-kiŋde kiŋdesi-*	‘break everything’ (K 111)
	čiŋu-čiŋu čiŋosi-	‘swing swinging’ (K 122)

Examples:

(704) a. *Xeigi* *telepti-we* *tanda-mi* *zeŋge-zeŋge*
pants lace-ACC pull-INF swinging-swinging
lo:-ni *beliente.*
hang.PAST-3SG fairy
‘Having pulled out the pants-lace the fairy hung herself swinging.’

b. *Xegise-li* *ko:ŋko-ko:ŋko* *dieli:-ni.*
down-PROL clap-clap fly-3SG
‘(It) is flying down flapping its wings.’

c. *Tuxi-we* *gändu-gändu* *xaji-e-ni.*
sledge-ACC brake-brake brake-PAST-3SG
‘He broke the sledge completely.’

10.1.4. Degree adverbs

On focus particles as degree adverbs see Chapter 12; on ideophones functioning as degree adverbs in individualized verbal expressions see 10.1.3.2.3.

10.1.4.1. Degree adverbs in the adjectival or adverbial phrase

Degree adverbs used within the adjectival phrase (6.3) or adverbial phrase (10.1.7) are listed under (705).

(705)	*c’o*	‘the most’
	lä, läs(i), as(i)	‘very’
	belem	‘(even) more; completely’
	zuke	‘hardly’
	j’eu ba:la-ni	‘much more, a lot’
	ñaŋga	‘a little’
	cofu	‘completely’
	ketu	‘very’
	cum	‘completely’ (only of colors)
	seuni:	‘terribly, very much’

C'o participates in the superlative adjectival and adverbial constructions (see 6.3.6 and 10.1.7.3). It may modify a few non-qualificative adjectives, cf.: *c'o ñoxo* 'the very first', *c'o amäi* 'the very last'. The adverbial expression *j'eu ba:-la-ni* expresses measure in comparative constructions (6.3.4 and 10.1.7.3). The element *ba:-la-ni* probably goes back to the 3rd person Singular possessive Locative form of the noun *ba:* 'place, nature'.

(706) *Nua-ni* *min-digi* *j'eu* *ba:-la-ni* *gugda.*
he-3SG me-ABL what place-LOC-3SG tall
'He is a lot taller than me.'

The adverb *belem* '(even) more' is also typical of adjectival and adverbial comparative constructions (707), normally when the standard of comparison remains unexpressed (708). It may also mean 'completely' (709). In the Northern dialect it seems to correspond to *badi*, as illustrated in (710).

(707) a. *Bi* *ag'a-i* *belem* *sagdi* *min-digi-de.*
me brother-1SG more big me-ABL-FOC
'My brother is even taller than me.'

b. *Si* *egdi-laŋki* *wa:-i* *bi* *sin-digi*
you many-ADJ kill.PAST-2SG me you-ABL
belem *egdi-me* *wa-zaŋa-i.*
more many-ACC kill-FUT-1SG
'You killed very many (birds), and I will kill even more than you.'

(708) a. *Belem* *maŋga* *tigde-li-e-ni.*
more strong rain-INC-PAST-3SG
'It started raining even more strongly.'
b. *Nua-ni* *belem* *igdi-zi* *soŋo-li-ge.*
he-3SG more loud-INST cry-INC-PERF
'He cried even more loudly.'

(709) *Bi* *zugdi:* *belem* *da:mpi* *ede:-ni.*
me house.1SG very old become.PAST-3SG
'My house became very (completely) cold.'

(710) *Jegdige* *badi* *maŋga* *tagda:-ni.*
hero even strong get.angry.PAST-3SG
'The hero got even more angry.' (K 149)

Degree adverbs *c'o* 'the most' and *belem* 'completely' are compatible with some nouns that have parametric component in their semantics (see 13.8). The degree adverb *lä* 'very' in its different phonological forms modifies adjectives (711) and quantifiers (712). It also functions as a quantifier itself within a noun phrase (11.2.1) and as a verbal modifier (10.1.4.2).

(711) a. *Lä* *negze* *zugdi* *do-lo-ni*
very light house inside-LOC-3SG
'It is very light in the house.'
b. *asi* *käŋgas'a*
very narrow

‘very narrow’

c. *Nekiasi* *aja.*
spring very good
‘It is very nice in spring.’

(712) a. *Läsi* *egdi-we* *zeu-we* *olokto:-ti.*
very much-ACC food-ACC cook.PAST-3PL
‘(They) cooked very much food.’

b. *Läsi* *egdi* *tukca* *eme-kte:-ti.*
very many hare come-DIS.PAST-3PL
‘There came very many hares.’

The adverb *ñaŋga* may modify other adverbs but not an adjective. Under the scope of negation it may have the meaning ‘at all, not at the least’, cf. (713c). On its quantificational function see 11.2.1.

(713) a. *Min-du* *mäna-wa* *ñaŋga* *xul’a-ka*
me-DAT flour-ACC little extra-FOC
ceŋgele-je.
weight-IMP.2SG
‘Weigh a little more flour for me.’

b. *Ñaŋga* *bazie* *eme* *bi-si!*
little early come be-PAST
‘If only I had come a little earlier!’

c. *Ei* *zikte* *ñaŋga-da* *e-ini* *zei.*
this blueberry little-FOC NEG-3SG sweet
‘This blueberry is not at all sweet.’

Zuke ‘hardly’ commonly serves as a verbal modifier (10.1.4.2), but can also be used with certain predicative adjectives, cf. *zuke inigi* ‘hardly alive’. *Ketu* ‘very’ is compatible with adjectives (714), when it seems to be synonymous with *lä*, with adjectival adverbs (715), and quantifiers (716).

(714) a. *ketu iŋini* ‘very cold’

b. *Käŋa* *ule:-ni* *ketu* *xei.*
deer meat-3SG very tasty
‘Deer’s meat is very tasty.’

(715) *Bi* *ketu* *ge:-(zi)* *ŋua-mi.*
me very bad-(INST) sleep-1SG
‘I sleep very badly.’

(716) *Si* *ono* *wa:-i* *ketu* *läsi* *činď’a-wa?*
you how kill.PAST-2SG very many bird-ACC
‘How did you (manage to) kill so many birds?’

The adverb *seuni:* ‘very’ goes back to the homophonous adjective meaning ‘terrible, scary’. It functions as a degree adverb within the adjective or adverbial phrase (717) or as a quantifier ‘very much, very many’ (718).

(717) a. *seuni: ge:* ‘terribly bad’

<terrible bad>

b. *seuni: tuge-zi* ‘terribly quickly’ (SKX 190)
<terrible quick-INST>

(718) *Bi* *emugde-di:* *seuni:* *sugzä*
me stomach-DAT.1SG terrible fish
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
‘There are very many fish in my stomach.’ (SKX 260)

10.1.4.2. Verbal modifiers

Degree adverbs used as verbal modifiers are listed under (719).

(719)

ñaŋga	‘a little, slightly’	*zuke*	‘hardly’
ñaŋga ñaŋga(i)	‘a little bit’	*ketige*	‘nearly, almost’
läs(i), lä, as(i)	‘very’	*belem*	‘(even) more’
elusim(e)	‘entirely, completely’	*kuʃula*	‘entirely’
kaŋdui	‘till half’	*meŋde*	‘as a whole’
durug’afa	‘partly, till half, in two’		
eledexi	‘very much (of eating)’ ← *ele dexi* <enough till>		

Combined with a verb *belem* expresses a high intensity with the presupposition that the action has already taken place (720). *Ñaŋga* and *läsi* are antonymous: the former denotes a little intensity (721) and the latter a high intensity (722) of the action.

(720) a. *Xuda-si:* *ni:* *belem* *tagda:-ni.*
fur-V.PRP man more get.angry.PAST-3SG
‘The merchant got even more angry.’

b. *ŋene-mie* *ŋene-mie* *belem* *amba-na:-ni.*
go-INF go-INF more evil.spirit-V.PAST-3SG
‘He was walking, walking and turning more and more into an evil spirit.’ (SK 201)

(721) *Bi* *uta-wa* *kese-u-si-zeŋe-i* *ñaŋga-da.*
me that-ACC torture-CAUS-IM-FUT-1SG little-FOC
‘I will torture her a little.’

(722) a. *Ogbö* *läs(i)* *tukä-ini.*
elk very run-3SG
‘The elk runs quickly.

b. *Bi* *men-e* *mamasa-i* *läs(i)* *aju-mi.*
me REF-0 wife-REF very love-1SG
‘I love my wife very much.’

c. *Läs(i)* *gakti:-ni.*
very freeze-3SG
‘It freezes very much.’

Ketige ‘almost, nearly’ signifies that the (perfective) event has not reached its natural limit (723). Examples of other degree adverbs are given under (724).

(723) a. *Ketige* *wa:-ti* *ŋamakta,* *ŋamakta-zi*
almost kill.PAST-3PL mosquito mosquito-INST
susa-gi-e-ni.
escape-REP-PAST-3SG
‘The mosquitoes nearly ate (him), he barely escaped.’

b. *Mokt’oi-le* *ketige* *ine:-ni.*
forest-LOC almost enter.PAST-3SG
‘He almost entered the forest.’

(724) a. *Kaŋdui* *ikte-me-ze.*
till.half tooth-V-SUBJ
‘You’ll bite off half (of it).’

b. *In’ei-de* *kaŋdui* *esi-gi-e-ni,*
dog-FOC till.half become-REP-PAST-3SG
dili-ni *belie.*
head-3SG fairy
‘Half (of her) became a dog, (but) her head is a girl’s.’ (K 110)

c. *Zugdi-we-ni* *durug’afa* *mudi-li-e-ni.*
house-ACC-3SG half flood-INC-PAST-3SG
‘His house was flooded till half.’

d. *omo siguli meŋde* ‘one whole squash’
<one squash whole>

e. *Uti* *waŋba-ŋi-ni* *zawa-mi*
that tortoise-AL-3SG take-INF
niŋme:-ni *seutige-we* *mende-de,*
swallow.PAST-3SG pine.cone-ACC whole-FOC
niŋme:-ni *mende-de.*
swallow.PAST-3SG whole-FOC
‘Tortoise picked it up and swallowed the whole pine cone, it swallowed it whole.’

f. *Drug’afa* *xua-je.*
half cut-IMP.2SG
‘Cut in two.’

g. *Drug’afa* *bu:-je* *min-du.*
half give-IMP.2SG me-DAT
‘Give me half (of it).’

10.1.5. Idiomatic adverbial expressions

Spatial and temporal adverbs form fixed combinations in which the order of the adverbs cannot be violated. The following parallel constructions have roughly the same meaning. They denote the passage of time in traditional folklore, and can be rendered as ‘some time passed; far and near; by and by; sooner or later’.

(725) *go: da:* <far close>
we:-ke go:(-ko) <top-FOC far-FOC>
go:-lo da:-la <far-LOC close-LOC>

we:-de go:-do <top-FOC far-FOC>
go:-ko da:-ka <far-FOC close-FOC>
go:-mo da:-ma <far-ACC close-ACC>

The elements of idiomatic constructions may be combined with a verb in parallel use, as in (726c).

(726) a. *Wo:-ko go:-ko bi:, bagdi:,*
top-FOC far-FOC be.PRP live.PRR
sita-na-mi-de b'a-ti.
child-PL-REF-FOC get.PAST-3PL
'They lived for a time, and by and by they gave birth to children.'

b. *We:-de go:-do bi-mi ali-de*
top-FOC far-FOC be-INF when-IND
sin-e-we b'a-gi: xai diga-na-zaŋa-fi.
you-0-ACC find-REP.PRP still eat-DIR-FUT-1PL.IN
'Sooner or later we'll find you and eat you up anyway.'

c. *Da:-la ŋene:-ti-es go:-lo*
close-LOC go.PAST-3PL-DIS far-LOC
ŋene:-ti-es we:-le i:ŋ-ki-ti.
go.PAST-3PL-DIS hill-LOC come-PAST-3PL
'They traveled far and near, until they came to a hill.'

Cf. also a «frozen» adverbial expression *go:-do ei(-mi) bie* 'soon; near' <long-FOC NEG-INF be.PRES.HAB>.

Other idiomatic adverbial expressions used in everyday speech are as follows:

(727) *dogbo-ni ineŋi-ni* 'day and night'.
timadula timadule 'next morning'
j'eu baita-ni j'eu zuge-ni 'why, what for'
<what reason-3SG what business-3SG>
kä:-la ŋene-ze-m(i) 'close'
<close-LOC go-SUBJ-1SG>

For example:

(728) *J'eu baita-ni j'eu zuge-ni eme:-ni?*
what reason-3SG what business-3SG come.PAST-3SG
'Why did he come?'

10.1.6. Reduplication of adverbs as a stylistic means

A number of indefinite time and manner adverbs (other than the converted Infinitives, on which see 10.1.3.1.2) may be repeated twice. This reduplication cannot be viewed as a derivational process, since the regular manner and time adverbs normally occur in a non-repeated form. Accordingly, it is mot written with the hyphen here, as distinct from lexicalized reduplications. The reduplication in question is a stylistic means of expressivity. It is known cross-linguistically, but is especially frequent in Udihe. In the simplest case the meaning of the repeated adverb is simply intensified (729), or it may slightly change (730).

(729) *go: go:* 'very long' *go:* 'long'
bei bei 'to no purpose' *bei* 'in vain'

xele xele	‘very quickly’	*xele*	‘quickly’
läta läta	‘very loudly’	*läta*	‘loudly’
tiezi tiezi	‘in pairs’	*tie-zi*	‘pair’’
sila sila	‘hardly’	*sila*	‘hardly’
anana anana	‘long-long ago’	*anana*	‘long ago’
ñaŋga ñaŋga(i)	‘very little’	*ñaŋga*	‘a little’
mogolie mogolie	‘around, from all sides’	*mogolie*	‘around’

(730)

aja aja	‘thoroughly, properly’	*aja*	‘well’
ebede ebede	‘so and so’	*ebede*	‘so’
xaulie xaulie	‘anyhow’	*xaulie*	‘please’
ele-le (< ele-ele)	‘just’	*ele*	‘soon’
zuke zuke	‘with difficulty’	*zuke*	‘hardly’
wac’anzi wac’anzi	‘little by little’	*wac’an-zi*	‘a little’
emne emne	‘seldom, sometimes’	*emne*	‘once’
ñaŋgama ñaŋgama	‘little by little’	*ñaŋga-ma*	‘a little’
wac’ama wac’ama	‘little by little’	*wac’a-ma*	‘a little’
ajalama ajalama	‘properly’	*ajala-ma*	‘very good’
dolo dolo	‘in the very middle’	*dolo*	‘inside’

Examples are presented below. Qualificative adverbs derived from adjectives with the Instrumental marker *-zi* sometimes undergo only partial repetition: the Instrumental marker is lacking on the first component, as shown in (731f).

(731)

a. *Zuke* *zuke* *gäna-ini.*
hardly hardly step-3SG
‘He has difficulty walking.’

b. *Tege* *go:* *go:* *teisi:-ni.*
gown long long wear-3SG
‘The gown can be worn for a long time.’

c. *Mamasa* *emne* *emne* *tagd’a-si*
old.woman once once get.angry.PERF-PC
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
‘The old woman is angry sometimes.’

d. *Ñaŋga* *ñaŋgai* *ikte-me-nde:-ni.*
little little tooth-V-SEM.PAST-3SG
‘He bit off a little bit.’

e. *Ñaŋga* *ñaŋga* *omo* *mo:-wo* *tinda:-ni.*
little little one tree-ACC cut.PAST-3SG
‘He cut one tree a little bit.’

f. *Mo: tene* *nemnec’e* *nemnec’e-zi* *ise-pte-ini.*
tree CONT thin thin-INST see-DEC-3SG
‘And the trees are seen very thin.’

10.1.7. General properties of the adverbial phrase

10.1.7.1. Position and co-occurrence of adverbials

In this section we address not only independent adverbs, but also noun phrases with an adverbial function (15.4) and postpositional phrases (10.2.3). In general, there is a certain freedom of adverbial positioning, as long as the main requirement of Udihe word order, the preverbal position of the focus element (24.1.1), is satisfied. Clausal adjuncts with a temporal or spatial meaning, as a rule, occur sentence-initially (732), although they may follow the subject (733). On the position of the adverbial subordinate clause see Chapter 21.

(732) a. *Mo:* *due* *g'e-fe* *čind'a* *ketu* *egdi* tree
top surface-ACC perch-3PL bird very many *do:-ti.*
'Many birds perched all over the top of the tree.'

b. *Zua* *ŋamakta* *läsi* *egdi.*
summer mosquito very many
'There are a lot of mosquitoes in the summer.'

(733) a. *Niŋka* *anana* *udie-du* *sexi-we*
Chinese long.ago Udihe-DAT cloth-ACC
xuda-si-e-ni.
fur-V-PAST-3SG
'Earlier, the Chinese used to sell cloth to the Udihe.'

b. *Udie* *maŋmu* *omo* *bua-du*
Udihe Nanai one place-DAT
wakca:-ti.
hunt.PAST-3PL
'The Udihe and the Nanai used to hunt in the same place.'

There are no constraints on the co-occurrence of various types of adverbials, but seldom does more than one clausal adverbial occur in a sentence. Typically two spatial or temporal adverbs are present when one of them gives details about the meaning of the other.

(734) a. *Caŋa* *g'e-fe* *wei-xi* *gobod'o* *xuli:-ni.*
wall surface-ACC up-LAT fly go-3SG
'A fly goes up the wall.'

b. *Zueze* *we:-li-ni* *g'e-fe* *gobod'o*
table top-PROL-3SG surface-ACC fly
xuli:-ni.
go-3SG
'A fly goes all over the table.'

c. *Ta:mati* *tue-ni* *ima:* *wac'a* *bi-s'e.*
last.year winter-3SG snow little be-PERF
There was not much snow last winter.'

There does not seem to be a neutral mutual order for temporal and spatial adverbials. The spatial adverbial may precede (735a) or follow (735b) temporal adverbial.

(735) a. *Minti* *zugdi-du-fi* *tutulu* *asi* *aja.*
we.IN house-DAT-1PL.IN always very nice
'It is always very nice in our house.'

b. *Bai* *zuke* *dogbo* *dulaŋki-le-ni* *zuk-tigi*
in.vain hardly night middle-LOC-3SG house-LAT
eme-gi-e-ni.
come-REP-PAST-3SG
'In vain he returned home with difficulty in the middle of the night.'

Verbal modifiers typically stand before the finite predicate (736), which follows from their inherent association with a focus. Yet they may be separated from the verb by verbal arguments (737), and may even be postposed immediately after it when the verb itself bears the focus function (738).

(736) a. *Nua-ni* *igdi-zi* *soŋo-li-ge.*
he-3SG loud-INST cry-INC-PERF
'He started crying loudly.'

b. *Min-du* *zugdi-we* *pug'a* *wo:-ti.*
me-DAT house-ACC separately make.PAST-3PL 'They built a house for me separately.'

(737) a. *Bi* *endemi* *moxo-wo* *xajie-mi.*
me by.accident bowl-ACC break-PAST-1SG
'I broke the bowl by accident.'

b. *Kei* *sin-tigi* *tagda:-ni.*
right you-LAT get.angry.PAST-3SG
'You deserve having him get angry with you.'

(738) a. *Kusige-we* *ziugi-e* *aja-zi-de.*
knife-ACC sharpen-IMP.2SG good-INST-FOC
'Sharpen the knife well.'

b. *Ima-ŋku-we* *ima-si-e-mi* *drug'afa-da,*
tell-N-ACC tell-V-PAST-1SG half-FOC
e-si-mi *metu.*
NEG-PAST-1SG finish
'I told the tale until the middle, did not finish it.'

Two adverbs co-occur within one adverbial phrase when one of them modifies the other (10.1.7.2). Three adverbials within one phrase are allowed only in comparative constructions, when one of them corresponds to the standard of comparison and the other to the measure of comparison (see example (740b) below); otherwise, more than two adverbs within one phrase are not allowed.

10.1.7.2. Adverbial modifiers

Degree adverbs that function as adverbial modifiers are listed in 10.1.4.1. Within the adverbial phrase the adverbial modifiers precede the head adverb whatever its position with respect to the main verb, cf.:

(739) a. *Etete-ini* *ketu* *siziga.*
work-3SG very diligent
'He works very diligently.'
b. *Bi* *läsi* *maŋga* *dew-o:-mi.*
me very strong get.tired-PAST-1SG
'I got very tired.'

The other acceptable types of secondary adverbial modification are focus particles with the meanings 'also', 'very' (on these see Chapter 12), some restrictive particles (12.1.1.11.4), and the noun phrase that corresponds to standard of comparison (10.1.7.3).

10.1.7.3. Comparative adverbial phrase

Comparison within an adverbial phrase headed by a qualificative adverb is expressed by purely syntactic means, namely, with the Ablative case-marked noun phrase denoting the standard of comparison. As for adjectives (6.3.4), degrees of comparison are not encoded morphologically on the adverb itself. The standard of comparison most typically precedes the adverb (740) but may also be postponed to the postverbal position (741).

(740) a. *min-digi* *xegie-fe*
me-ABL above-ACC
'higher than me'
b. *Bi* *sin-digi* *j'eu* *ba:-la-ni*
me you-ABL what place-LOC-3SG
ca-ixi *xuli-se:-mi.*
far-LAT go-EXP.PAST-1SG
'I have traveled much further than you.'
c. *Nua-ni* *min-digi* *go:-lo* *xetigeŋ-ki-ni.*
he-3SG me-ABL far-LOC jump-PAST-3SG
'He jumped further than me.'
d. *Bi* *ei* *in'ei-we* *xoŋto* *in'ei-digi* *aja*
me this dog-ACC other dog-ABL good *aju-mi.*
love-1SG
'I love this dog more than the other.'

(741) *Bi* *ei* *ketu* *aja-zi* *ŋua-mi* *zulie-fi-digi.*
me this very good-INST sleep-1SG before-ADJ-ABL
'I sleep now better than before.'

The superlative degree is signified by means of the superlative degree adverb *c'o* 'the most':

(742) a. *c'o* *cai-xi* 'farthest of all'
<most far-LAT>
b. *Bi* *c'o* *ñoxo* *ili-mi.*
me most first get.up-1SG
'I am the first to get up.'
c. *Bi* *c'o* *ñoxo* *wa:-mi* *käŋa-wa* *bi*
me most first kill.PAST-1SG deer-ACC me
uteliŋeni *za:* *zakpu* *se:* *bi-s'e-i.*
then ten eight year be-PERF-1SG
'I killed my very first deer when I was eighteen years old.'

d. *C'o* *amä:-li* *omo* *sul'ai* *bie.*
most back-PROL one fox be.PRES.HAB
'The last one was a fox.' (SK 101)

10.1.7.4. Adverbs that take arguments

Only a few adverbs take an argument. The argument normally precedes the adverb, but this is not necessary, cf. (743d).

(743) a. *Min-zi* *go:-lo* *a-ta-u* *susa.*
be-INST far-LOC NEG-SUBJ-2PL escape
'You won't escape far from me.' (SKX 110)

b. *Uli* *kä:-digi-ni* *go:-lo* *ŋene-isi-ni* *mafa* river side-ABL-3SG far-LOC go-PC-3SG bear
Egule *ilaktaŋ-ki-ni.*
Egule appear-PAST-3SG
'After he went far from the river bank, the bear Egule appeared.'
(SK 245)

c. *Nua-ni* *tu:* *ŋene-isi-ni* *mo:-tigi* *das'a*
he-3SG all go-PC-3SG tree-LAT close
osi:-ni.
become-3SG
'He was walking, it was already close to the tree.' (SK 272)

d. *Caixi* *e-zi* *xuli* *auŋa-digi.*
far NEG-IMP.2SG go night.shelter-ABL
'Don't go far away from the night shelter.' (SK 252)

10.2. Postpositions

Postpositions in Udihe are easily distinguished from case affixes as independent words: they do not follow vowel harmony, are longer and bear a separate phonological stress. Normally they have an internal morphological structure and can be stranded under coordination, as distinct from case affixes (10.2.3). Postpositions combine with a noun to make a larger constituent (a postpositional phrase), typically with an adverbial function. Formally they fall into two large classes: morphologically changeable (10.2.1) and morphologically unchangeable (10.2.2) postpositions. The formers have developed as a result of the grammaticalization of the case forms of (spatial) nominals, and preserve certain morphological categories of nouns (case, possessive). Typically the latter are without nominal counterparts. In the corresponding sections both types of postpositions are represented in fairly exhaustive lists. The general properties of a postpositional phrase are addressed in 10.2.3. On case marking of postpositions see 24.2.2.2.3.

10.2.1. Changeable postpositions

10.2.1.1. Derivation

Changeable postpositions go back to the possessive case forms of nouns. Typically they are derived from the same spatial stems that are employed in the adverbial derivation (10.1.1). Although for most postpositions the corresponding noun is not attested in the modern language,

in certain cases the derivational relationship is still preserved. So some postpositions and base nouns coexist, but demonstrate different categorial properties. In particular, spatial nouns may take cases not typical of postpositions (the Accusative in *-wA/-mA,* the Nominative, and the Destinative) and may be modified like other nouns, which is absolutely impossible in the case of postpositions. As distinct from nominal stems, the changeable postpositions never occur without possessive inflections and case markers. Finally, nouns and the corresponding postpositions may differ slightly in meaning, the meaning of the postposition being more abstract, cf. examples (a) and (b) below.

(744) a. *Bi moxo-i kä:-wa-ni xaji-e-ti.*
me cup edge-ACC-3SG break-PAST-3PL
'They broke the edge of my cup.'

b. *Eme-i bi kä:-la-i.*
come-IMP.2SG me side-LOC-1SG
'Come up to me.'

(745) a. *Ño:ndu ñuga-si-ie bi tada-i*
first kiss-IM-IMP.2SG me arrow-1SG
due-we-ni.
point-ACC-3SG
'First kiss the point of my arrow.'

b. *Mo: due-digi-ni eugi-e-mi.*
tree top-ABL-3SG come.down-PAST-1SG
'I came down from the tree.'

Among postpositional stems quite a few belong to the *n*-final class II (746a), while others have a vowel-final stem (746b).

(746) a. *xo:n-* 'top'
ño:n- 'front'
agdan- 'between'

b. *aka-* 'back', cf. the noun *aka* 'back (body part)'
ca:- 'behind'
e:- 'near', cf. the noun *e:* 'side'

Some postpositions are derived from spatial nouns with the suffix *-(u)zA* (5.1.2.4).

(747) *solie-ze* 'upstream'
ezie-ze 'downstream'
ta-uze- 'behind', cf. *ta-* 'that'
a-uze- 'this side', cf. *a-* 'this'

Other postpositions have derivational suffixes *-ŋki/-ŋkA* (748a) and *-tA* (748b) with an unclear meaning. The morphologically unmarked counterpart may be absent.

(748) a. *ta-ŋki-le-ni* 'in the center', cf. Nanai *tokon-doa-ni*
dula-ŋki-le-ni 'in the middle', cf. Nanai *dolin-doa-*
ga-ŋki-ni 'during'
di:-ŋki-ni 'as large as'
xe:-ŋki-ni 'nearly'

	dali-ŋka-ndi-ni	‘thanks to’, cf. *dali-ndi-ni* ‘thanks to’		
b.	*zulie-te-li-ni*	‘before’	*zulie-te*	‘before’
	amä:-ta	‘behind’	*amä:-la-ni*	‘before’

10.2.1.2. Inflection

Spatial postpositions form case and possessive paradigms. Other changeable postpositions inflect for the possessive, but do not have extensive case paradigms and are usually present in one ‘frozen’ case form.

10.2.1.2.1. Case inflection

Changeable postpositions with a spatial meaning take the Dative, Locative, Lative, Prolative and Ablative cases. They are formed with regular nominal case suffixes of class I or class II, depending on the stem type (4.1.1), although, like for nouns, a certain inconsistency is observed, cf. *xo:-lo-ni* and *xo:n-dule-ni* ‘on’ <top-LOC-3SG>. In the Dative the adverbial suffix *-ni* may be present instead of the regular *-du*. The case forms have basically the same meaning as for nouns (4.2.2).

In the table below we present illustrative paradigms for certain spatial postpositions in the 3rd person Singular form. The declension of other postpositions is completely analogous. Lacunas are marked with a hyphen.

Table 12. Inflection of postpositions

	‘downstream’	‘near’	‘across the river’
DAT	-	*kä:-ni-ni*	-
LAT	*ezize-tigi-ni*	*kä:-tigi-ni*	*bagä:za-tigi-ni*
LOC	*ezize-le-ni*	*kä:-le-ni*	*bagä:za-le-ni*
PROL	*ezize-li-ni*	*kä:-li-ni*	*bagä:za-li-ni*
ABL	*ezize-digi-ni*	*kä:-digi-ni*	*bagä:za-digi-ni*

	‘on the end (top)’	‘in the middle, in the center’	‘behind, there’	‘here, on this side’
DAT	-	*taŋki-du-ni*	-	-
LAT	*due-tigi-ni*	*taŋki-tigi-ni*	*tauze-tigi-ni*	*auze-tigi-ni*
LOC	*due-le-ni*	*taŋki-le-ni*	*tauze-le-ni*	*auze-le-ni*
PROL	*due-li-ni*	*taŋki-li-ni*	*tauze-li-ni*	*auze-li-ni*
ABL	*due-digi-ni*	*taŋki-digi-ni*	*tauze-digi-ni*	*auze-digi-ni*

	‘upstream’	‘in the middle’	‘over, above, on’
DAT	*solieze-du-ni*	*dulaŋki-du-ni*	*xo:n-du-ni*
LAT	*solieze-tigi-ni*	*dulaŋki-tigi-ni*	*xo:n-tigi-ni*
LOC	*solieze-le-ni*	*dulaŋki-le-ni*	*xo:-lo-ni*

C			*(xo:n-dule-ni)*
PROL	*solieze-li-ni*	*dulaŋki-li-ni*	*xo:n-dili-ni*
ABL	*solieze-digi-ni*	*dulaŋki-digi-ni*	*xo:n-digi-ni*

10.2.1.2.2. Possessive inflection

The changeable postpositions must be inflected with possessive affixes that refer to the argument of the postposition (see 10.2.3). The possessive markers are the same as those employed in the nominal declension (Chapter 4) and may undergo the same phonological contraction with the preceding vowel. Below is the personal paradigm of the postposition *kä:-* 'near' in the Locative.

(749)

1SG	*kä:-la-i*	1PL.EX	*kä:-la-u*
1PL.IN	*kä:-la-fi*		
2SG	*kä:-la-i*	2PL	*kä:-la-u*
3SG	*kä:-la-ni*	3PL	*kä:-la-ti*
REF.SG	*kä:-la-i*	REF.PL	*kä:-la-fi*

10.2.1.3. Semantic groups

10.2.1.3.1. Spatial postpositions

Spatial postpositions are cited here in the Locative 3rd person Singular form, on their inflection see 10.2.1.2.

(750)

amä:-za-la-ni	'after'
ca:-la-ni	'behind'
aka-la-ni	'behind'
do-lo-ni	'inside; among'
agda-la-ni	'between, in the middle'
due-le-ni	'on the top of'
au-ze-le-ni	'close to, here, on this side'
dulaŋki-le-ni	'in the middle'
e:-le-ni	'on the side, close to'
ezize-le-ni	'downstream'
ge:-le-ni	'on'
kä:-la-ni	'near, next to'
ñondu-le-ni	'before, in front of'
ogdo-lo-ni	'at the side'
solie-ze-le-ni	'upstream'
tau-ze-le-ni	'behind'
taŋki-le-ni	'in the middle, in the center'
xegie-le-ni	'under, below'
xo:ndi-le-ni	'on'
zulie-le-ni	'before'
zoagda-ŋki-le-ni	'between'
we:-le-ni, wei-le-ni, *ui-le-ni*	'on the surface'
bagä:-za-la-ni	'across (the river), on the opposite

side'

The postposition *cu-li-ni* 'along' has only the Prolative form. Examples:

(751) a. *Xeigi:* *zeŋe-ze* *e:-le-ni* *guza-ga:-ni.*
trousers.1SG right-N side-LOC-3SG tear-DEC.PAST-3SG
'My trousers are torn on the right side.'

b. *Bi* *t'a* *we:-le-ni* *te:-mi.*
me fallen.tree top-LOC-3SG sit-1SG
'I am sitting on a fallen tree.'

c. *Ba:* *xegi-le-ni,* *na:* *ui-le-ni* *ono*
place under-LOC-3SG earth top-LOC-3SG how
bi: *demi* *ni:* *bie.*
be.PRP IND man be.PRP.HAB
'Under the sky on the earth there are different people.'

d. *Ic'a-i* *bäsa-wa* *xo:n-dili-ni*
small-FOC stream top-PROL-3SG
xetigene-kce:-mi.
jump-INT.PAST-1SG
'I wanted to jump over the small stream.'

The postposition *do-lo-ni* 'inside' has a metaphorical partitive sense 'among, of', cf.:

(752) a. *Bi* *aziga-ma* *sita-na-i* *do-lo-ni* *emus'e* *Lena* *alagdig'a.*
me girl-ADJ child-PL-1SG inside-LAT-3SG
alone Lena beautiful
'Among my daughters only Lena is beautiful.'

b. *Men-e* *tege* *do-lo-ni* *zube* *tege-we* *xebu-zeŋe-i.*
REF-0 gown inside-LOC-3SG two gown-ACC
take-FUT-1SG
'I will take two of my gowns.'

10.2.1.3.2. Temporal postpositions

Temporal postpositions are based on a certain case form (the Dative, Locative or – rarely – the Prolative or Instrumental) of spatial postpositions (753a). Other temporal postpositions do not have a corresponding spatial meaning (753b). For natural semantic reasons temporal postpositions mostly occur in the 3rd person Singular, although other personal forms are not excluded either.

(753) a. *amä:-la-ni* 'after (LOC)'
zülie-ni, zülie-te 'before (NOM)'
ño:n-dule-ni 'before (LOC)', cf. *ño-* 'fore-, first'

b. *geun-di(le)-ni,* 'without, in the absence of (DAT)', *geun-du-ni* cf. *geu* 'empty(of the house)'

Examples:

(754) a. *nexus'e* *geun-di-ni*
younger.brother empty-DAT-3SG
'while the brother is not at home'

b. *Bue-ni* *geun-dile-ni* *eme:-mi.*
he-3SG empty-LOC-3SG come.PAST-1SG
'I came while he was out.'

c. *Bue-ni* *geun-di-ni* *etete-mi.*
he-3SG empty-DAT-3SG work-1SG
'I work without him.'

d. *Si* *geun-di:* *zuge* *b'a-mu.*
you empty-DAT.2SG trouble get.PAST-1PL.EX
'We had trouble in your absence.'

e. *gäwa zulie-le-ni* 'before the dawn'
<dawn before-LOC-3SG>

f. *saŋxua amä:-la-ni* 'after lunch, in the afternoon' <lunch after-LOC-3SG>

g. *bolo-ni teun-dile-ni* 'every autumn'
aŋa teun-di-ni 'every year'
dogbo teun-dile-ni 'every night'
ei ekin-di-ni 'at this time'

Some temporal postpositions take a subordinate participial clause as an argument, cf. (755a) and (755b). These are addressed at length in 21.3.1.

(755) a. *Dogbo* *ekin-di-ni* *wakca-na-ini.*
night time-DAT-3SG hunt-DIR-3SG
'He goes hunting at night.'

b. *Xojo* *sol'o-i* *ekin-di-ni* *uma*
salmon go.upstream-PRP time-DAT-3SG hook
egdi-we *uma-ŋisi-je.*
many-ACC hook-V-IMP.2SG
'Set up many hooks when the salmon go upstream.' (K 146)

10.2.1.3.3. Other postpositions

Other semantic groups are causal postpositions (756a), comparative postpositions (756b), and postpositions denoting substitution (756c).

(756) a. *die-(le)-ni* 'because of (LAT)'
dali(-ŋke)n-di-ni 'thanks to (DAT)'

b. *di:ŋki-ni* 'as large as, of the size of'
xe:ŋki-ni 'nearly'
du:(-zi)-ni 'in the shape, in the form (INST)',
cf. *du:* 'shape'

c. *o-li-ni* 'instead of (PROL)'
olin-di-ni 'instead of (DAT)'
olin-dile-ni 'instead of(LOC)'
emi-ni 'instead of'

Examples:

(757) a. *säŋsaŋa olin-dile-ni* ‘instead of the teacher’
<teacher instead-LOC-3SG>
b. *mamasa die:-ni* ‘because of the wife’
<wife because-3SG>
c. *Omo ni: wa:-ni die-le-ni uti*
one man kill.PP-3SG because-LOC-3SG this
a:nta läsi sita-wa sun-du b’a-zaŋa-ni.
woman many child-ACC you-DAT get-FUT-3SG
‘Instead (literally: because) of the man who was killed, this woman will give birth to many children for you.’
d. *Ag’a min-zi kusige die-le-ni*
brother me-INST knife because-LOC-3SG
ñaugda-masi-e-mu.
quarrel-REC-PAST-1PL.EX
‘We had an argument with my brother because of the knife.’
e. *Bi olin-dile-i xoŋto ni: etete-zeŋe-ni.*
me instead-LOC-1SG other man work-FUT-3SG
‘Another man will work instead of me.’
f. *Si sita-i si di:ŋki ede:-ni.*
you child-2SG you like.2SG become.PAST-3SG
‘Your son became your size.’
g. *Zaŋgä ŋene-i-ni olin-di-ni ni:*
chief go-PRP-3SG instead-DAT-3SG who
bi-ze?
be-SUBJ
‘Who will be instead of the chief who left?’

The causal postpositions are compatible with the participial subordinate clause (21.1.3).

10.2.2. Unchangeable postpositions

The main formal feature of this class of postpositions is the absence of possessive suffixes. A few unchangeable postpositions assign a non-Nominative case to their argument nominal (see 10.2.3).

10.2.2.1. Derivation

A number of spatial and temporal postpositions have appeared as a result of the conversion of spatial and temporal adverbs. Quite a few spatial postpositions (see the list in (761a)) employ the adverbial Accusative marked with (’)-*fA* (10.1.1). The Accusative postpositions express a general location or movement through, along or all over the space.

(758) a. *ba: x’o-fo* ‘through the taiga’
<place top-ACC>
b. *’ana ogd’o-fo* ‘near (along) the boat (if it is pulled)’ <boat side-ACC>
c. *xokto g’e-fe* ‘along the road’ <road surface-ACC >
d. *Zugdi g’e-fe siŋe egdi.*

house surface-ACC rat many
'There are many rats all over the house.'

e. *Zueze* *w'e-fe* *egdi* *moxo* *nede-se.*
table top-ACC many bowl put-PP.PAS.
'There are many bowls put all over the table.'

Temporal postpositions in (759a) have developed from «frozen» forms of the copula verb 'be'. Temporal and spatial postpositions in (759b) are lexicalized verbal forms. Postpositions in (759c) go back to various case forms augmented with the 3SG inflection *-ni*.

(759) a. *bi-si-ni* 'ago' <be-PAST-3SG>
bi-s'e-si 'in' <be-PERF-PC>
bi:-ni 'when' <be-3SG>
bi-mi 'ago' <be-INF>

b. *bagdi:-ni* 'in the beginning of' <live-3SG>
malakta-ini 'in the end of' <finish-3SG>

c. *agda-li-ni* 'while' (PROL)
ekin-du-ni 'when, during (DAT)'
cf. *eke* 'time'
teun-di-ni 'every (about time intervals) (DAT)'
cf. *teu* 'all'
e:lin-di-ni 'when, during (DAT)'
cf. *e:li* 'time'
agda-du-ni 'while (DAT)'
cf. *agda-la-ni* 'between'

Some other postpositions with a different derivational history are cited below.

(760)	*cul(i)*	'right, straight, along'	*culi-ni*	'along'
	keilie	'over'	*keili-gde*	'over'
	xule-mi	'more than'	*xul'a*	'extra'
	amä:-ta	'after'	*amä:-la-ni*	'after'
	cai-xi	'further, next'	*cai-xi*	'far (LAT)'
	meŋde	'with'	*meŋde*	'totally, as a whole'
	be-ptigi	'similar'	*bede*	'like' + *-ptigi* ADV
	do-ŋozi	'out from'	*do-*	'inside' + *-ŋozi* ABL

10.2.2.2. Semantic groups

10.2.2.2.1. Spatial postpositions

(761) a. *am'ä-fa* 'after'
ak'a-fa 'behind'
agd'a-fa 'between'
auz'e-fe 'close to, on this side'
bagä:z'a-fa 'across (the river)'
c'a-fa 'behind'

	d'o-fo	'inside; among'
	dulaŋki-fe	'in the middle'
	eziz'e-fe	'downstream'
	k'ä-fa	'next to'
	ogd'o-fo	'near'
	soliez'e-fe	'upstream'
	t'a-fa	'along'
	tauz'e-fe	'along the other side'
	xegie-fe	'under, below'
	x'o-fo	'(all) over, on the top'
	w'e-fe	'on the top, (all) over'
	zulie-fe	'before'
	'e-fe	'on the side of'
	g'e-fe	'along, on the top, (all) over'
b.	*egelie*	'around'
	bagdi:-ni	'in the beginning'
	cul(i)	'right, straight'
	keilie	'over'
	pui	'through'
	malakta-ini	'in the end of'

Examples:

(762) a. *La:mo* *egelie* *soktu-te-i-ze.*
mill around spread-PERM-2SG-HORT
'Spread (it) around the mill.'

b. *Sagdi* *namu* *egelie* *egelie* *tukä:-ni.*
large sea around around run.PAST-3SG
'He ran around the large sea.'

c. *Joxo* *culi* *xuiŋ-ki-ni* *g'ai.*
kettle right dive-PAST-3SG crow
'The crow dived right into the kettle.'

d. *Xasa* *pui* *ñ'ädiga-mu:i-ini.*
box t hrough younger.son-V-3SG
'It smells of the younger son through the box.'

e. *Mogzo* *'e-fe* *solo-zo-fi.*
short.bank side-ACC move.upstream-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'We will float upstream near the short riverbank.'

f. *uli bagdi:-ni* 'in the beginning of the river'
xokto bagdi:-ni 'in the beginning of the road'

10.2.2.2.2. Temporal postpositions

(763) *ño:-zi* 'before' (INST)
bi:-ni 'when'
dexi 'until'
bi-s'e-si 'in'
cai-xi 'further, next' (LAT)
bagdi:-ni 'in the beginning'
bi-si-ni 'ago'

malakta-ini	‘in the end of’
agda-du-ni	‘while’ (DAT)
agda-li-ni	‘while’ (PROL)
ekin-du-ni	‘when, during’ (DAT)
edeisini	‘when, during’
e:lin-di-ni	‘when, during’ (DAT)
t eun-di-ni	‘every (about time intervals)’
bi-mi	‘ago’

Examples:

(764) a. *A-wa* *cai-xi* *aja-zi* *bagdi-zeŋe-fi.*
that-ACC far-LAT good-INST live-FUT-1PL.IN
‘Let us go on living well from this day.’

b. *Tuŋa-ma* *neŋi* *bi-s’e-si* *xoton-tigi*
five-ACC day be-PERF-PC city-LAT
ŋene-zeŋe-i.
go-FUT-1SG
‘I will go to the city in five days.’

c. *Zu:* *neŋi-ni* *bi-mi* *oño-wo* *oño-so.*
two day-3SG be-INF write-ACC write-PP.PAS ‘The letter was written two days ago.’

d. *Puile* *bi:-ni* *te:-gi-zeŋe-ni.*
dawn be-3SG get.up-REP-FUT-3SG
‘He will get up before sunrise.’

e. *aŋa bagdi:-ni* ‘in the beginning of (each) year’
aŋa-ni bagdi:-ni ‘in the beginning of the year’
aŋa-ni malakta-ini ‘in the end of the year’

The postposition *dexi* expresses a temporal limit; its argument may be represented by a nominal, a temporal adverb, or a participial clause (21.3.1.3), cf.:

(765) a. *siki-gi: dexi* ‘until the evening’ <evening-REP.PRP until>
b. *ei dexi* ‘until now’ <now until>
c. *saŋxua dexi* ‘until noon’ <lunch until>
d. *bude dexi* ‘until death’ <death until>

10.2.2.2.3. Comparative postpositions

(766)
bede	‘like’
bejeku	‘(a)like, similar’
bubu	‘similar to’
d’ofo, do:	‘exactly like’, cf. *d’o-fo* ‘inside’
beptigi	‘similar’
xulemi	‘more than’

Comparative postpositional phrases bear the predicative role in copular constructions (17.2.2.2.4), express the standard of comparative in equative constructions (6.3.3), function as adjuncts (767), or as secondary predicates (768).

(767) a. *A:nta-wa* *xazu-we* *bede* *toji-zi*
woman-ACC thing-ACC like bride.money-INST
xuda-si-e-ti.
fur-V-PAST-3PL
'They used to sell women for bride money in the same way as things.'

b. *Xuda-si:* *ni:* *tuxi-le* *ŋua-ini* *mafa*
fur-V.PRP man sledge-LOC sleep-3SG bear
bede *agdu* *do:-lo-ni.*
like hole inside-LOC-3SG
'The merchant is sleeping on the sledge like a bear in a bear hole.'

c. *Soŋgo* *sita-ni* *teu* *diga* *kasanziga* *bede.*
bear child-3SG all eat puppy like
'The bear cubs are all eating like puppies.'

(768) a. *Zegde* *to:* *bede* *eme-ili.*
burn fire like come-3SG
'He came (as if he were) like a burning fire.'

b. *Ni:-we* *ba:* *bui-we-ni* *bede*
man-ACC place animal-ACC-3SG like
meisi:-ti.
think-3PL
'They think about people as about wild animals.'

c. *Ami-mi* *beptigi* *bagdi-e-ni.*
father-REF similar live-PAST-3SG
'He has grown up resembling his father.'

d. *Aziga* *eni-mi* *do:-gbo* *bagdi-gi-e-ni*
girl mother-REF like-FOC live-REP-PAST-3SG *uligdig'a-zi.*
beautiful-INST
'The girl grew up beautiful exactly like her mother.'

e. *A:kta-wan-ta-i-ze* *ku'ai-le* *ančі* chase-CAUS-PERM-IMP.2SG-HORT ear-PART no
bede.
like
'Let me pursue (them) as if they were earless.'

The postposition *d'o-fo* '(exactly) like' may sometimes take possessive affixes, cf. (769a) and (769b).

(769) a. *krokodila* *aŋma-ni* *d'ofo-do*
crocodile mouth-3SG like-FOC
'like the mouth of a crocodile'

b. *Nua-ni* *ami-mi* *d'ofo-ni* *bagdi-e-ni.*
he-3SG father-REF like-3SG live-PAST-3SG
'He was born looking exactly like his father.'

10.2.2.2.4. Comitative postpositions

Generally speaking, the meaning of the comitative postpositions is 'with'.

(770) *meŋde* ‘(together) with’ (with inanimate nouns)
mule ‘with’ (with animate nouns)
geje *‘with’ (with animate nouns)*
zuŋe ‘together with, both’ (with animate nouns)

The postpositional phrase headed by the postposition *meŋde* ‘with’ most often denotes the entire object together with its parts:

(771) a. *Nakta* *ña-wa-ni* *imo:* *meŋde*
boar skin-ACC-3SG fat with
keli-nde-iti.
cut-SEM-3SG
‘They cut out the boar skin together with the fat.’
b. *pauza* *dili* *je:-ni* *meŋde-de*
roe head horn-3SG with-FOC
‘the roe’s head together with horns’
c. *Tuduze* *ña:-ni* *meŋde* *olokto:-mi.*
potato skin-3SG with cook.PAST-1SG
‘I cooked potatoes together with the skin.’

The comitative postpositions *geje, mule* and *zuŋe* differ in syntactic functions and semantics. The postposition *mule* ‘with’, as distinct from *geje* and *zuŋe*, presupposes a close «inalienable» association between two participants, which must constitute a «natural» pair: a husband and wife, a mother and son, cf.: *ogbö eni mule* ‘elk with female’. So (….) below can only be understood as meaning that I climbed the tree with my own (and not somebody else’s) younger brother. The postposition *zuŋe* ‘together with, both’ goes back to the Collective numeral ‘both’ (11.1.3) and always takes a Singular object. As distinct from *mule*, it does not presuppose inalienable possession between two animate entities. The postpositional phrase with the postpositions *mule* or *zuŋe* has four syntactic functions. First, it can correspond to a postpositional modifier (such cases are addressed in 13.5.1). Second, it may be used as a predicate in copular constructions (17.2.2.2.4). Third, it encodes the counteragent participant in the context of formally or semantically reciprocal verbs (16.1.5.2, 16.2.3.1). Finally, it may function as the comitative adjunct, cf.:

(772) a. *Bi* *neŋu* *mule* *mo:-tigi*
me younger.sibling with tree-LAT
tukti-e-mi.
climb-PAST-1SG
‘I climbed the tree with my younger brother.’
b. *Bi* *anda* *mule* *ŋene:-mi.*
me friend with go.PAST-1SG
‘I left with my friend.’
c. *Si* *zäla* *mule* *xoton-tigi* *xuli-se:-i?*
you cousin with city-LAT go-EXP.PAST-2SG
‘Is it with your cousin that you went to the city?’
d. *Bi* *xa:* *mule* *bagdi-mi.*
me sibling with live-1SG
‘I live with my siblings.’
e. *Bi* *Sergei* *zuŋe* *ali-de* *omo* *’ana-zi*
me Sergei with when-IND one boat-INST

e-zeŋe-i *ŋene.*
NEG-FUT-1SG go
I will never go in one boat with Sergei.'

The comitative postposition *geje* '(together) with' assigns the Instrumental case to its argument, which may be in Plural (see 10.2.3). It is not to be confused with the homonymous adverb *geje* 'together' illustrated below.

(773) a. *Minti* *geje* *zikte-we* *teini-ze-fi.*
we together blueberry-ACC collect-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'We will collect blueberries together.'
b. *Minti* *geje* *etete-fi.*
we together work-1PL.IN
'We work together.'
c. *Bula* *mo:-ni* *xulu* *mo:-ni* poplar
tree-3SG ash.tree tree-3SG
geje *bagdi:-ti.*
together live-3PL
'The poplar and the ash trees grow together.'

The postpositional phrase with *geje* functions as a modifier (13.5.1) or in copular constructions (17.2.2.2.4).

10.2.3. General properties of the postpositional phrase

Postpositional phrases express different adverbial meanings, mostly as clausal adjuncts but sometimes also as locational arguments (see Chapter 14). Some postpositions function as predicates in copular constructions (17.2.2.2.4), as a secondary predicate (10.2.2.2.3), or as a nominal modifier (13.5).

Postpositions do not take more than one argument. The argument immediately precedes a postposition and cannot be separated from it under any conditions. However, in coordinated structures postposition can be stranded, cf.:

(774) *Mo:* *bi* *zugdi:* *škola-u* *zule:-ni*
tree me house.1SG school-1PL.EX before-3SG
bagdi-e-ni.
live-PAST-3SG
'Trees grew before my house and before our school.'

In the «modifier raising» constructions (24.2.2.1) the postposition immediately follows the modifier of the noun phrase that corresponds to its argument, cf. (775a) and (775b) with the same translation:

(775) a. *Bi* *guzakta-xi* *ni:* *kä:-du-ni*
me beard-ADJ man near-DAT-3SG
tei-mi.
sit-1SG
b. *Bi* *ni:* *guzakta-xi* *kä:-du-ni* *tei-mi.*
me man beard-ADJ near-DAT-3SG sit-1SG
'I am sitting near a bearded man.'

The majority of postpositions take the Nominative argument, either a noun or a pro-noun. The pronominal argument may be omitted. Temporal postpositions are compatible with temporal adverbs (10.1.7.1). The argument is obligatorily cross-referenced by the possessive marker on the so-called changeable postposition (776). Unchangeable postpositions do not mark their argument morphologically, the syntactic relationship between them and their argument is a mere juxtaposition (777).

(776) a. *minti amä:ta-fi*
<we behind-1PL.IN>
'behind (after) us'

b. *bi abuga-i solieze-du-ni*
<me father-1SG upstream-DAT-3SG>
'higher up the stream than my father'

c. *aziga-ziga kä:-la-ti*
<girl-PL side-LOC-3PL>
'near the girls'

d. *Sagdi namu kä:-li-ni tukä:-ni.*
large sea hore-PROL-3SG run.PAST-3SG
'He ran along the large sea shore.'

(777) a. *zua dexi* 'until summer' <summer until>

b. *mo: bede* 'like a tree' <tree like>

c. *bi bede* 'like me' <me like>

Number agreement between the postposition and its argument basically follows the same rules as agreement between the elements of the possessive noun phrase (13.1).

There is a small group of postpositions that govern cases other than the Nominative. The choice of case is not determined by the verb.

(778)

geje	'with'	INST
amä:ta	'behind, after'	ACC
asap-tigi	'towards'	ACC
beptigi	'similar'	ACC
taf(u)	'through'	ACC
meŋde	'with'	INST

Examples:

(779) a. *Nina min-zi geje Bali-tigi*
Nina me-INST together Khabarovsk-LAT
ŋene-ini.
go-3SG
'Nina is going with me to Khabarovsk.'

b. *Bi abuga-zi: geje eme:-ni.*
me father-INST.1SG together come.PAST-3SG
'He came together with my father.'

c. *Ei aziga sin-zi geje te:-ni*
this girl you-INST together sit.PAST-3S
kuluba-du?
club-DAT

‘Is this the girl who was sitting with you in the club?’

d. *ŋamakta* *tege-we* *taf* *ikteme-li:-ni.*
mosquito gown-ACC through bite-INC-3SG
‘Mosquitoes bite through the gown.’

e. *min-e-we asaptigi* ‘towards me’ <me-0-ACC towards >
Nina-wa asaptigi ‘towards Nina’ <Nina-ACC towards>

For the postposition *meŋde* ‘with’ the Instrumental marking of the object is optional, cf. the following example with (771) above.

(780) *Ise-si:-ti* *Sendule* *ami-ni* *čawa-zi* see-IM-3PL
Sendule father-2SG army-INST
meŋde *agda* *gune.*
with moor EV
‘They see that the father Sendule is mooring together with his army.’ (SKX 270)

Postpositions can only be modified by focus particles (Chapter 12).

Chapter 11
Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and other quantifiers modify a nominal within a quantified noun phrase (13.3). On the headless quantified noun phrase see 22.2.3, on quantifier raising see 24.2.2.1.2, and on quantifier float see 24.2.2.2.2. On quantifiers in the predicative role see 17.2.2.1.2.

11.1. Numerals

Udihe uses decimal numeration. The formation of numerals is fairly regular, and can be described in terms of addition and multiplication. Russian numerals, especially those that denote large numbers, can easily be integrated into Udihe speech and are gradually replacing native numerals.

The following groups of numerals will be considered: Cardinal numerals (11.1.1), Ordinal numerals (11.1.2), Collective numerals (11.1.3), Multiplicative numerals (11.1.4), Distributive numerals (11.1.5), Approximate numerals (11.1.6), and Restrictive numerals (11.1.7).

11.1.1. Cardinal numerals

There is only one series of numeral stems used for counting different kinds of objects.

11.1.1.1. Derivation

11.1.1.1.1. Simple cardinal numerals

(781)

1	*omo*	6	*ñuŋu*
2	*zu:, zube*	7	*nada*
3	*ila*	8	*zakpu*
4	*di:*	9	*jei, jeji*
5	*tuŋa*	10	*za:*
20	*wei, weji* ← *waji* (Schneider 1936: 111)		
100	*taŋgu*		
1000	*miŋga*		

The Cardinals from 11 to 19 and from 30 to 90 are compound and based on a decimal system (see 11.1.1.2). Native non-derived numerals above 1000 are missing, Russian borrowings are used instead, for example, *miliona* ‘million’, *miliarda* ‘thousand million’.

For numeral 2, the Nominative form *zu:* ‘two’ (adduced in Schneider 1936: 10) is more typical of the Northern dialect, whereas *zube* is characteristic of the Southern dialect, although *zu:* is also an option. *Zu-be* is the ‘frozen’ Accusative form of *zu:*, which suggests that the stem *zu:* historically belonged to the *l*-final stems (see 4.1.1.3). Cf. the following examples from the Southern dialect:

(782) a. *Min-du zube ugda bie.*

me-DAT two boat be.PRES.HAB
'I have two boats.'

b. *Ei zube b'ata omo aŋa-ni bagdi-e-ti.*
this two boy one year-3SG live-PAST-3PL 'These two boys were born the same year.'

c. *Bi ise:-i zu: in'ei-we xokto-lo.*
me see.PAST-2SG two dog-ACC road-LOC
'I saw two dogs on the road.'

The numeral *omo* 'one' may be used sporadically as an indefinite article (13.4) or with the meaning 'only'.

(783) *Tada-ni omo xunepte osi-gi-e-ni.*
arrow-3SG one ashes remain-REP-PAST-3SG
'Only ashes remained from his arrow.' (SKX 96)

11.1.1.1.2. Compound numerals

Numerals from 11 to 19 are formed as compounds with 10, whereas the operation of addition is morphologically unmarked. Each element of the compounds preserves its original phonological stress.

(784) *za:-omo* 11 (10 + 1)
za:-zube 12 (10 + 2)
za:-ila 13 (10 + 3)

Numerals that denote tens, with the exception of *wei/weji* '20', are based on multiplication by ten. This operation is also morphologically unmarked, but the order of stems is reversed: the stem *za:* '10' takes the final position. It does not bear a separate stress in this case and is phonologically reduced to *za*, so the derivation of tens can be classified as a suffixation of an element *-za* 'ten' rather than a compounding.

(785) *ila-za* 30 (3 x 10) *nada-za* 70 (7 x 10)
di:-za 40 (4 x 10) *zakpu-za* 80 (8 x 10)
tuŋa-za 50 (5 x 10) *jeji-za* 90 (9 x 10)
ñuŋu-za 60 (6 x 10)

Hundreds and thousands are also based on multiplication.

(786) *omo taŋgu* 100 (1 x 100)
ila taŋgu 300 (1 x 100)
zu:(be) miŋga 2000 (2 x 1000)

Other compound numerals are formed by the mere juxtaposition of words denoting tens, hundreds, and thousands, and the numerals from 'one' to 'nine', cf.:

(787) *wei tuŋa* 25 (20 + 5)
ila-za omo 31 (30 + 1)
omo taŋgu tuŋa-za nada 157 (100 + 5 x 10 + 7)

11.1.1.1.3. Fractions

The use of fractions is very limited. Native means of denoting fractions are missing with the exception of the words *kakt'a* 'half' (divided in length, also in the abstract meaning), *kaŋdugu* 'half' (divided in width), *drug'afa* 'half' (often in the abstract meaning, also as the adverb 'in two'). They may occur in the postnominal position (in a «raised modifier» construction), cf. (788a) and (788b). However, more typically they function as prenominal quantifiers, cf. (788c), (788d), and (788e). The meaning 'one quarter' may be expressed as 'half of the half', as in (788f), or periphrastically as 'divide in two twice', as in (788g).

(788) a. *zube časa kakt'an-du-ni* 'at half past one' <two hour half-DAT-3SG>

b. *Omo ogbö ña:-ni kakt'a-zi-ni omo*
one elk skin-3SG half-INST-3SG one
gagda-wa wo:-ni.
other-ACC make.PAST-3SG
'He made one (boot) from half an elk's skin.'

c. *Ei banza-la drug'afa 'ai bie.*
this bottle-LOC half vodka be.PRES.HAB
'There is half of the vodka in this bottle.'

d. *Drug'afa tue-ni tukti-e-ni.*
half pole-3SG climb-PAST-3SG
'He climbed till half of the pole.'

e. *kakt'a da:* 'half a fathom'
kakt'a bä: 'half a month'

f. *Kaŋdugu drug'afa xali-e min-du.*
half half pour-IMP.2SG me-DAT
'Pour me quarter (of it).'

g. *Kaŋdugu kandu-li-ge-si bu-o:-ni.*
half half-V-PERF-PC.SS give-PAST-3SG
'He gave one quarter.'

The meaning '(divide) into several equal parts' may be rendered by the combination of the corresponding Collective numeral (11.1.3) with the denumeral adjective *omo-ti* 'same, similar', cf.:

(789) *zuŋe (tie) omo-ti* 'into two equal parts'
<both pair one-ADJ>
ilan-tuŋa omo-ti 'into three equal parts'
<three-COL one-ADJ>

Otherwise, Russian fractional expressions are used: *tret'* 'one third', *četvert'* 'one quarter', etc.

11.1.1.2. Inflection

The bare Cardinal numeral forms are used in the attributive (13.3) and predicative (17.2.2.1.2) function. Besides, like most other modifiers, the Cardinals may be used independently in an argument position (22.3.2). In the latter case they take case inflections, cf. (790a) and (790b):

(790) a. *Zakpu-ma* *b'a-gi-e-ni.*
eight-ACC find-REP-PAST-3SG
'He has found eight (badgers).' (K 150)

b. *Ono* *ja:-i* *zube* *tiu-zi*
how PROV.PAST-2SG two stick-INST
eme-gi:?
come-REP.2SG
'What has happened that you are coming back with two sticks?'
(K 169)

An exception is the postnominal numeral within the Accusative noun phrase, which demonstrates obligatory attributive agreement in case (13.3.4).

The numerals *taŋgu* '100' and *miŋga* '1000' have vowel-final stems. Numerals from 'one' to 'ten' with the exception of *zu:(be)* 'two' and *wei*/*weji* 'twenty' have *n*-final stems and follow the declension regularities of class II nouns (4.1.1). The numeral *zu:* 'two' (typical of the Northern dialect) behaves like an old noun with an *l*-stem, that is, it takes the Accusative suffix *-be* (cf. 4.1.1.2.1). In the Southern dialects the secondary Accusative in *-me* has developed, cf. the form *zu-be-me* with two Accusative markers, the old suffix *-be* typical for *l*-type stems, and the «new» *-me* typical for *n*-type stems. «Double» Accusative has been also attested in *tuŋa-ma-wa* <five-ACC-ACC>.Other oblique cases are derived from the vowel-final stem *zu*:.

Table 13. Declension of the Cardinal numerals

	1	2	3	4	5
NOM	omo	zu:, zu(be)	ila	di:	tuŋa
ACC	omo-mo	zube(-me)	ila-ma	di:-me	tuŋa-ma
DAT	omon-du	zu:-du	ilan-du	di:n-du	tuŋan-du
LAT	omon-tigi	zu:-tigi	ilan-tigi	di:n-tigi	tuŋan-tigi
LOC	omon-dile	zu:-dile	ilan-dile	di:n-dile	tuŋan-dile
PROL	omon-dili	zu:-dili	ilan-dili	di:n-dili	tuŋan-dili
ABL	omon-digi	zu:-digi	ilan-digi	di:n-digi	tuŋan-digi
INST	omon-zi	zu:-zi	ilan-zi	di:n-zi	tuŋan-zi

	6	7	8	9	10
NOM	ñuŋu	nada	zakpu	jei, jeji	za:
ACC	ñuŋu-me	nada-ma	zakpu-ma	jeji-me	za:-ma
DAT	ñuŋun-du	nadan-du	zakpun-du	jejin-du	za:n-du
LAT	ñuŋun-tigi	nadan-tigi	zakpun-tigi	jejin-tigi	za:n-tigi
LOC	ñuŋun-dile	nadan-dile	zakpun-dile	jejin-dile	za:n-dila
PROL	ñuŋun-	nadan-	zakpun-	jejin-dili	za:n-dili

OL	dili	dili	dili		
AB L	ñuŋun-digi	nadan-digi	zakpun-digi	jejin-digi	za:n-digi
INST	ñuŋun-zi	nadan-zi	zakpun-zi	jejin-zi	za:n-zi

	20	100	1000
NOM	wei, weji	taŋgu	miŋga
ACC	weji-me	taŋgu-we	miŋga-we
DAT	wejin-du	taŋgu-du	miŋga-du
LAT	wejin-tigi	taŋgu-tigi	miŋga-tigi
LOC	wejin-dile	taŋgu-le	miŋga-la
PROL	wejin-dili	taŋgu-li	miŋga-li
AB L	wejin-digi	taŋgu-digi	miŋga-digi
INST	wejin-zi	taŋgu-zi	miŋga-zi

In the compound numerals only the last component is inflected. The numerals denoting tens have vowel-final stems, cf. (791a).

(791) a. *ila-za-wa* ’30 (ACC)’
di:-ze-le ‘40 (LOC)’
nada-za-du ’70 (DAT)’

b. *omo miŋga jeji taŋgu ila-za di:n-tigi* ‘1934 (LAT)’
(Schneider 1936: 113)
nada-za zakpun-du ‘78 (DAT)’
omo miŋga jeji taŋgu ñuŋu-ze di:n-du ‘1964 (DAT)’
(Sunik 1968: 219)

In certain contexts Cardinal numerals may take possessive affixes which typically express definiteness, cf.:

(792) a. *Ila-ni* *sin-e-we* *igisi-mi* *mute-ze.*
three-3SG you-0-ACC feed-INF can-SUBJ
‘Three of them will be able to bring you up.’ (SK 350)

b. *Gä:wa-na-i-du-ni* *guliŋ-ki-ti* *ilah-ni,*
dawn-V-PRP-DAT-3SG leave-PAST-3PL three-3SG
jegdige, *Zagi* *Jagini,* *Guas’a Zagilani.*
hero Zagi Jagini Guasa Zagilani
‘At the dawn three of them left: the hero, Zagi Jagini, and Guasa Zagilani.’ (SKX 214)

11.1.2. Ordinal numerals

11.1.2.1. Derivation

The numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ have suppletive ordinal stems.

(793)	*omo*	‘one’	*ñoxo*	‘first’ (literally ‘foremost’)
	zu:(be)	‘two’	*gagda(-ni/-ti)*	‘second’ (literally ‘other’)

On the pronominal determiner *gagda* see also 9.7.2; example (794) demonstrates its use as an Ordinal numeral.

(*794)*	*Bi*	*tatusi-mi*	*gagda*	*klasa-du.*
	me	learn-1SG	second	class-DAT

‘I go to the second class.’

The Ordinals beginning with ‘three’ are formed with the affix *-eti/-äti/-iti* (Northern dialect) or *-nti/-intiti/-iti/-eti* (Southern dialect).

(795)	Northern	Southern
‘third’	*ile-äti*	*ile-nti*
‘fourth’	*di:-eti*	*di:-nti*
‘fifth’	*tuŋ-äti*	*tuŋa-nti*
‘sixth’	*ñuŋu-eti*	*ñuŋu-iti*
‘seventh’	*nad(a)-ä:ti*	*nada-inti(ti)*
‘eighth’	*zakpu-eti*	*zakpu-iti*
‘ninth’	*jeji-eti*	*jeji-eti*
‘tenth’	*za:-eti*	*za:-eti*
‘eleventh’	*za:-omo-iti*	*za-omo-iti*
‘twelfth’	*za:-zu-eti*	*za:-zu-eti*

11.1.2.2. Inflection

Like other modifiers, Ordinals are mostly used in a bare form in the attributive position (796). On their attributive agreement see 13.3.5. When used independently within a headless noun phrase (22.3.2) Ordinals inflect for case (797).

(796)	a.	*Nua-ni*	*ilie-nti*	*zugdi-du*	*bagdi:-ni.*	
		he-3SG	three-ORD	house-DAT	live-3SG	
		‘He lives in a third house.’				
	b.	*Nad-ä:ti*	*namu-le*	*jin-e-isi-ni*		*käi*
		seven-ORD	sea-LAT	come-0-PC-3SG		hill
		xo:n-dile-ni	*bie*		*gunei*	
		top-LOC-3SG	be.PRES.HAB		EV	
		zugdi-ti.				
		house-3PL				
		‘When he came to the seventh sea he saw their house on the hill.’				
		(K 181)				

(797)	a.	*Zawa-gi-mi*	*ed’e*	*ña*	*ti:*	*omo-tigi*
		take-REP-INF	become.PERF	again	that	one-LAT

ile-äti-ni *wende:-ni.*
three-ORD-3SG throw.PAST-3SG
'He took (the knife) again, and threw it into a second (girl), and then a third.' (K 184))

b. *Ña* *uti* *die-ti* *ña* *utebe*
again that four-ORD again so
dian-a-li-ge.
speak-0-INC-PERF
'One more, the fourth (gull) began to speak like this.' (K 187)

It should be noticed, however, that to some extent the Cardinal numeral has taken over the functions of the Ordinal numeral in its attributive use, cf.:

(*798)* *Tuŋa* *bä-du* *egdi* *käfa.*
five month many tick
'There are a lot of ticks in the fifth month (in May).'

The Ordinal numerals inflect for case like regular vowel-final nouns (799a). However, certain cases are attested when the case affix is inserted between the stem and the Ordinal marker *-ti* (799b). This fact indirectly shows that the component *-ti* within the Ordinal numeral suffix may ultimately go back to the 3rd person Plural possessive marker.

(799) a. *di:-nti-tigi* 'to the fourth' <four-ORD-LAT>
ile-nti-we 'the third' <three-ORD-ACC>
b. *tuŋa-wa-ti* 'the fifth' <five-ACC-ORD>
nadä-ma-ti 'the seventh' (SK 318) <seven-ACC-ORD>
ilä-tigi-ti 'the third' <three-LAT-3PL>
(Schneider 1936: 111)

Ordinals are compatible with a personal inflection. Independently used Ordinals in the 3rd person Instrumental form have a repetitive meaning.

(800) a. *ili-enti-zi-ni* 'third time' <three-ORD-INST-3SG>
gagdan-ti-zi-ni 'second time' <second-ORD-INST-3SG>
b. *Emne* *paktina-si-e-ni,* *gagdan-zi-ni*
once hit-IM-PAST-3SG second-INST-3SG
ili-enti-zi-ni.
three-INST-3SG
'He hit once, (then) a second time, (then) a third time.'

11.1.3. Collective numerals and quantifiers

Numerals as well as the universal quantifier *teu* (11.2.2.1) have a Collective form that is associated only with animate (human) participants. Collective numerals occur in the attributive position or—more often—as an independent quantifier. Collective numerals for counting inanimate objects are lacking.

11.1.3.1. Formation

Collective numerals from ‘three’ to ‘ten’ have two regular forms: the attributive form and the independent form. The independent form is derived with the suffix *-niŋa* (*-ŋAhA* in the Northern dialect), while the attributive form is derived with the suffix *-tuŋa*, cf.:

(801)	independent form	attributive form	
	ila-niŋa	*ilan-tuŋa*	‘all three’
	di:-niŋa	*di:n-tuŋa*	‘all four’

Numerals above ‘ten’ do not seem to have Collective forms. Obviously, the numeral *omo* ‘one’ also lacks such a form. The independent Collective form of the numeral *zu:(be)* ‘two’ is *zuŋe* ‘both’; the form *zu:-niŋa* is recorded but obsolescent; there is no special attributive form for this numeral.

The Collective suffix *-niŋa* is also employed in several quantificational words with a collective meaning (802) and is likely to be etymologically equivalent to the Comitative verbal suffix (8.2.1.4).

(802)	*xufa-niŋa*	‘all together’	cf. *xufa-lanzi,xufa*	‘group’
	teu-niŋa	‘all’	*teu*	‘all’

11.1.3.2. Inflection

The attributive Collective form is used in preposition to the head nominal and remains uninflected, cf.:

(803)	*Abuga-i*	*ilan-tuŋa*	*sita-na-du-i*	*mäunda-wa*
	father-1SG	thee-COL	child-PL-DAT-REF	gun-ACC
	bu-o:-ni.			
	give-PAST-3SG			
	‘The father gave one gun (for the use of) all three of his sons.’			

Independent Collective numerals inflect for case as regular vowel-final nouns, but have the adverbial Accusative in ’*-fe* (cf. 10.1.1) together with the nominal Accusative in *-wA*, cf. (806a) and (804c).

(804) a. *Nada-niŋa-tigi* *tu:* *mogoliei* *xetige-si-e-ni.*
seven-COL-LAT all around jump-IM-PAST-3SG
‘(She) jumped on each of the seven (beds).’ (K 182)

b. *U:na-u-ze* *su* *bi* *aka-la-i* bring-CAUS-SUBJ you me back-LOC-REF
to:to *teu-me-n(i)-de* *nada-niŋa-wa.*
on.back all-ACC-3SG-FOC seven-COL-ACC
‘I’ll take all of you on my back (over the sea), all seven.’ (K 185)

c. *Zuŋe* *eme-i,* *zawa-i* *nexu-mi.*
both come-PRP take-PRP younger.sibling-REF
‘They both came and brought their younger sister.’

d. *Säta* *saki-nde-zeŋe-i* *uti* *zuŋe-we*

strong clap-SEM-FUT-1SG that both-ACC
aŋi *belie-we.*
IND fairy
'I will clap strongly both these fairies.'

The Collective form *zuŋe* 'both' is compatible with Plural possessive affixes with the meaning 'both of us', 'both of you', 'both of them', see (806). In (806c) it has an attributive function.

(805) *Nua-ni* *ketu* *aja* *wakca-ini* *minti* *zuŋe-digi.*
he-3SG very well hunt-3SG we.IN both-ABL
'He hunts better than both of us (put together).'

(806) a. *Zuŋ'e-fe-ti* *wa:-ni* *eni-m(i)*
both-ACC-3PL kill.PAST-3SG mother-REF
ami-m(i)-de.
father-REF-FOC
'He killed both his father and mother.' (K 200)

b. *Zuŋe-ti* *tu:* *wa:-ni.*
both-3PL all kill.PAST-3SG
'He killed both of them.'

c. *Geule* *mamasa-ni* *zuŋe-ti* *sita-wa*
Geule wife-3SG both-3SG child-ACC
zaba-i *diga-waŋ-ki-ni.*
breasts-REF eat-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'Geule's wife breast-fed both children.' (SKX 242)

11.1.3.3. Collective form of the universal quantifier

The Collective form of the universal quantifier *teu-niŋa* and the quantificational adverb *xufa-niŋa* correspond to the meaning 'we all (together)', 'you all (together)', or 'they all (together)'; their exact interpretation can be retrieved from the context and the verb agreement. They mostly function as an independent subject (807), while *teu-niŋa* may also be used as a prepositional modifier within the subject noun phrase (808).

(807) a. *Teu-niŋa* *ba:-la* *etete-u.*
all-COL place-LOC work-1PL.EX
'We all work outside.'

b. *ñeŋu* *teu-niŋa* *geje* *buni:-ti.*
wolf all-COL together howl-3PL
'Wolves all howl together.'

c. *Xuʃa-niŋa* *eme-kte:-ti.*
group-COL come-DIS.PAST-3PL
'They all came together.'

d. *Teu-niŋa* *dian-a-niŋa-si-li-e-ti.*
all-COL say-0-COM-IM-INC-PAST-3PL
'They all started talking.'

(808) *Teu-niŋa* *aziga* *jexe-we* *ča:la-iti.*
all-COL girl singing-ACC like-3PL
'All girls like singing.'

11.1.3.4. Functions of the quantifier *zuŋe* ‘two, both’

The Collective numeral *zuŋe* ‘two, both’ is used as an independent subject quantifier typically in morphological or syntactic reciprocal constructions (16.1.6) as well as with inherently reciprocal verbs (16.2.3). In this role it is compatible with personal pronouns in the Plural (*su zuŋe* ‘you two’).

Furthermore, the quantifier *zuŋe* ‘both’ may have a subject-coordinative function. On subject coordination in the context of naturally reciprocal verbs see 16.2.3. The examples in (809) present instances of subject coordination in non-reciprocal constructions.

(809) a. *Bi nua-ni zuŋe ŋene:-mu.*
me he-3SG both go.PAST-3PL
‘He and I both left together.’

b. *Abuga sita zuŋe ŋene:-ti.*
father son both go.PAST-3PL
‘The father and the son left.’

c. *Bi od’o zuŋe ugda-zi eine-u.*
me grandfather both boat-INST float-1PL.EX
‘I and my grandfather go on a boat.’

d. *Ni: n’aula zuŋe mo:-wo le-iti.*
man boy both tree-ACC saw-3PL
‘A man and a boy are sawing a tree.’

11.1.4. Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are formed by means of the suffix *-lie/-lä:* immediately attached to the numeral stem.

(810) *zu-lie*, *zu-lä:, zö:* ‘twice’
ila-lie, ila-lä: ‘three times’
di:-lie, di:-lä: ‘four times’

The Multiplicative suffix is not compatible with the numeral *omo* ‘one’; the corresponding meaning ‘once’ is rendered by the adverb *emne,* cf., however, *emn’e-lihe* in the Northern dialect (Sunik 1968: 219). For numerals above ‘ten’ the Multiplicative forms are in principle available, but in practice they occur very rarely.

Multiplicative numerals function adverbially, and lack a case and personal inflection, cf.:

(811) a. *Nada-lä keku-nde:-ni.*
seven-MULT cockoo-SEM.PAST-3SG
‘(It) cried ‘cuckoo’ seven times.’ (K 196)

b. *Aziga omo neŋi-ni zube-lie*
girl one day-3SG two-MULT
kala-gi:.
change-REP.PRP
‘The girl changes (clothes) twice a day.’

c. *Ei we:-tigi wei-lie tukti-wasi-e-mi.*
this mountain twenty-LAT climb-DIV-PAST-1SG
‘I have climbed this mountain twenty times.’

The number of times can also be rendered by means of the word *muda* ‘time, occasion’.

(812) *Nua-ni* *ila* *muda* *xuli-s'e.*
he-3SG three time go-EXP.PERF
'He has traveled three times.'

In the Northern dialect the multiplicative meaning may be expressed with the suffix *–mdA ~ -mdu*, *-mugda,* cf. *ila-mda* 'three times', *di:-mde* 'four times', but also *zu:-mde dogbo-ni* 'two nights' (SK 359), *adi-mugda* 'several times' (SKX 148), and *gagda-mdu* 'the second time' (SK 283).

11.1.5. Distributive numerals

11.1.5.1. Formation

There are two formal types of Distributive numerals that do not show any apparent semantic distinction. The first type is formed by a reduplication of the corresponding Cardinal numerals. The second type is derived from the Cardinal numeral stems with the suffix *-tA*, cf.:

(813)	*omo-omo*	*omo-to*	'one each; singly'
	zube-zube	*zu:-te*	'two each; in pairs'
	ila-ila	*ila-ta*	'three each; in threes'

Distributive numerals above 'ten' are infrequent in speech and are rapidly being replaced by the corresponding Russian construction with the preposition *po* 'each, in'.

11.1.5.2. Inflection

In the attributive function the Distributive numerals are uninflected.

(814) a. *Zube-zube* *kusige-we* *bu-o:-ni.*
two-two knife-ACC give-PAST-3SG
'He gave two knives (to each of them).'
b. *Ila-ila* *cä:za-wa* *obolo:-ni.*
three-three money-ACC divide.PAST-3SG
'He distributed the money three rubles to each.'

Used independently the reduplicated Distributive numerals take a case inflection so that both components inflect for case in a regular way (815), while derived Distributive numerals remain uninflected (816).

(815) a. *Omon-zi-omon-zi* *obolo-iti.*
one-INST-one-INST divide-3PL
'They divided (it) one each.'
b. *zube-me-zube-me*
two-ACC-two-ACC
'by two (each)'
c. *G'ai-ziga* *susa-kta:-ti* *min-zi*
crow-PL escape-DIS.PAST-3PL me-INST
zun-zi-zun-zi.

two-INST-two-INST
'The crows escaped from me in pairs.'

d. *Di:-zi-di:-zi* *nede:-ni.*
four-INST-four-INST put.PAST-3SG
'He put (it) in groups of four.'

(816) *Zu:-te* *obolo-iti.*
two-DIST divide-3PL
'They divide (it) into two for each.'

The Instrumental form of the Distributive 'one' *omon-zi-omon-zi* is adverbialized with the meaning 'one by one, one after another'.

(817) *Omon-zi-omon-zi* *teu* *wo-si-e-ni.*
one-INST-one-INST all make-IM-PAST-3SG
'She made everything, one thing after another.' (K 191)

11.1.6. Approximate numeral *tume*

The numeral *tume* has an approximate meaning 'ten hundred, thousand, very many'. Its more precise semantic interpretation depends on the context. Cf. Russian *t'ma* 'ten thousand', figuratively 'a lot, multitude' (borrowed from Turkic *tuman*).

In Schneider's materials from Anyui (Schneider 1937: 80) an approximate is rendered by the suffix *–mbA,* cf.: *za:-mba 'ana* 'approximately ten boats.'

11.1.7. Restrictive numerals

Restrictive numerals are derived with the suffix *-t'A* or *-s'A* (for the numeral 'one'), cf.:

(818) *omo-s'o, omo-t'o* 'only one'
zube-t'e 'only two'
ila-t'a 'only three'

Restrictive numerals for numbers higher than 'ten' are available, but are very infrequent.

According to Schneider (1936: 111) and Sunik (1968: 220), in the case declension of the Restrictive numerals the Restrictive suffix follows the case inflection: *ilan-tigi-t'e* 'only to three (LAT)' <three-LAT-REST>. In our material the Restrictive numerals appear to be uninflectable, both in the independent function (819) and in the attributive function (820).

(819) a. *Eitene* *ña* *tiŋmele-isi-ni* *zube-te*
now again fall-PC-3SG two-REST
ogi-e-ni.
remain-PAST-3SG
'Now when one more (gull) fell down, only two were left.' (K 187)

b. *Uti* *omo-s'o* *omo* *ogi-e-ma-ni*
this one-REST one remain-PP-ACC-3SG
diana-ini *jegdige.*

say-0-3SG hero
'The hero spoke to the single (gull) that was left.' (K 188)

(820) a. *Min-dule* *omo-t'o* *in'ei* *bie.*
me-LOC one-REST dog be.PRES.HAB
'I have only one dog.'

b. *O-lo* *wei-t'e* *zugdi* *esi-gi-e-ni.*
this-LOC twenty-REST house remain-REP-PAST-3SG
'Only twenty houses are left here.'

c. *Omo-s'o* *tukca-wa* *zawa:-ni.*
one-REST hare-ACC take.PAST-3SG
'He caught only one hare.'

d. *Min-du* *omo-t'o* *tieze-we* *bu-o:-ni.*
me-DAT one-REST ruble-ACC give-PAST-3SG
'He gave me only one ruble.'

11.1.8. Augmentative numerals

Augmentative numerals are antonymous to the Restrictive numerals and express the opposite qualificative evaluation of the quantity denoted by the numeral stem ('only, as few as' vs. 'as many as'). They are formed by means of the suffix *-ndimali.*

(821) *zube-ndimali* '(as many as) two'
ila-ndimali '(as many as) three'
tuŋa-ndimali '(as many as) five'

The Augmentative suffix *-ndimali* is not compatible with the numeral *omo* 'one'.

The Augmentative numerals are fairly infrequent in speech and lack inflection, cf.:

(822) a. *Uti* *min-e-we* *ŋele-wesi:-ti,*
that me-0-ACC get.frightened-DIV-3PL
uti *getu,* *nada-ndimali* *uti.*
that PL seven-AUGM that
'They frightened me, all seven of them.' (K 182)

b. *Ise-si:-ni* *i:-le* *bie-de*
see-IM-3SG what-LOC be.PRES.HAB-FOC
nada-ndimali *beliente* *tene* *gune.*
seven-AUGM fairy CONT EV
'He sees: where all seven (gulls) were there (now) are fairies.'
(K 184)

11.2. Quantifiers

In this section we characterize the scalar quantifiers (9.7.1) and the universal quantifiers (9.7.2) with respect to their meaning and basic functions. Quantifiers are morphologically and syntactically similar to adjectives, but differ from them in a number of properties.

11.2.1. Scalar quantifiers

The following are the most important scalar quantifiers in Udihe:

(823)

egdi	‘many, much, a lot’
adigende	‘several (of animate objects)’
wac’a	‘(a) few, (a) little’
xa:ni	‘several (of inanimate objects)’
lä(si), *tä(si)*	‘many, much, a lot’
ñaŋga	‘(a) little, (a) few’
egdileŋki	‘multitude of’
adi adi	‘some, several’
ei egdileŋki	‘that many, that much’

Scalar quantifiers function as prenominal uninflected modifiers within the quantified noun phrase (13.3). The quantifiers *lä(si)*, *tä(si)* and *ñaŋga* also function as degree adverbs (10.1.4). Most scalar quantifiers may stand distantly from the modified nominal, thus, they may exhibit some sort of quantifier float (24.2.2.2.2).

The quantifiers *egdi* ‘many, much, a lot’ and *wac’a* ‘(a) few, (a) little’ have a number of properties not typical of other quantifiers, but otherwise characteristic of adjectives. First, they may be nominalized and act as independent headless noun phrases (22.3.2). Second, they can undergo raising (24.2.2.1.2). Consequently, they are the only scalar quantifiers that take a case and possessive inflection. Notably, the quantifier *wac’a* belongs to morphonological class II; its oblique stem is *wac’an-*.

11.2.2. Universal quantifiers

On the universal quantifiers *gä:ŋa* ‘every’ and *omo* ‘whole’ and the pronominal determiner *gele* ‘each’ see 9.7.

11.2.2.1. Universal quantifier *teu* ‘all’

The most frequent universal quantifier is *teu* ‘everybody, everything; all’, often phonetically reduced to *tu:*. In certain syntactic functions it takes case inflections following the pattern of class II nouns (6.1.1), that is, it has an *n*-final stem (*teun-*) in cases other than the Nominative and the Accusative. On the collective form of the universal quantifier see 11.1.3.

11.2.2.1.1. Modifier function

The universal quantifier acts as a prenominal modifier within a quantified noun phrase (824a). Like most other modifiers it occurs either in preposition or in postposition to the head noun; in the latter case it is substantivized and inflects for case and the 3rd person (824b).

(824)

a.	*teu ni:-du*	‘to all men’	<all man-DAT>
	teu činď’a-wa	‘all birds’	<all bird-ACC>
b.	*kusige teun-di-ni*	‘to all knives’	<knife all-DAT-3SG>
	kusige teu-me-ni	‘all knives’	<knife all-ACC-3SG>

in'ei teu-ni 'every dog' <dog all-3SG>.

Constructions like (824b) are referred to as modifier raising. Quantified noun phrases with the prenominal universal quantifier are addressed in 13.3; on the postnominal universal quantifier (the instance of modifier raising) see 24.2.2.1.2.

In the quantifier float construction the universal quantifier has an uninflected form; such a construction is addressed in 24.2.2.2.2.

11.2.2.1.2. Argument function

The universal quantifier *teu* serves as an autonomous pronoun with the meaning 'everything, everybody'. Examples (825) and (826) demonstrate its use in argument position. In (825) it takes the subject position, while in (826) it corresponds to the direct object role and takes the Accusative case.

(825) a. *Kalima* *ule:-ni* *teu* *diga:-ti.*
whale meat-3SG all eat.PAST-3PL
'They were all eating whale meat.' (K 114)

b. *Teu* *lagbana:-ti.*
all get.stuck.PAST-3PL
'All (of them) got stuck.'

(826) a. *Bi* *teu-me-ni* *sa:-mi.*
me all-ACC-3SG know-1SG
'I know everything.'

b. *Nua-ni* *teu-me-ni* (~ *teu*) *gagi-e-ni.*
he-3SG all-ACC-3SG (all) take.away-PAST-3SG
'He took everything away.'

In the object role the morphological Accusative marking is optional, and the Nominative form can be used as well.

(827) a. *Nua-ni* *teu* *alamasi-gi-e-ni.*
he-3SG all repeat-REP-PAST-3SG
'He repeated everything.'

b. *Teu* *guŋ-ki-ni* *exi-ni.*
all tell-PAST-3SG elder.sister-3SG
'Her older sister told us everything.' (K 7)

11.2.2.1.3. Adverbial function

The Nominative form of the universal quantifier always reduced in *tu:* in this function can be used as a continuative adverb with the meaning 'still, always, all the time.' A similar use is observed for the Russian universal quantifier *vs'e*.

(828) a. *Neŋu-ni* *tu:* *wakca-na:-ni.*
younger.sibling-3SG all hunt-DIR.PAST-3SG

‘Her younger brother always goes hunting.’ (K 127)

b. *Adi-ma* *aŋa-ni* *zomo-si-u*
how.many-ACC year-3SG steal-IM-2PL
mun-e-we *tu:-de?*
we-0-ACC all-FOC
‘How many years have you been robbing us all the time?’ (K 180)

c. *B’ata-ŋi-ti* *tu:* *wakca-i.*
boy-AL-3PL all hunt-PRP
‘Their son hunts all the time.’ (K 189)

11.2.2.1.4. Meanings ‘whole’ and ‘all’

The quantifier *teu* can be associated with Singular countable nouns and mean ‘whole, completely’ (829) and with mass nouns and mean ‘all’ (830). As far as our material shows, such a meaning may only arise in quantifier float constructions, cf.:

(829) a. *Bi* *tege-i* *teu* *ñukto:-ni.*
me gown-1SG all get.wet.PAST-3SG
‘My gown is all wet.’

b. *Zugdi-ti* *teu* *zegde:-ni.*
house-3PL all burn.PAST-3SG
‘Their house has completely burnt down.’ (K 150)

c. *Min-e* *teu* *dukt’a.*
me-0 all beat.PERF
‘He beat me all over.’ (K 5)

d. *Zube* *ige* *teu* *mala:-ni.*
two village all kill.PAST-3SG
‘He killed two whole villages of people.’ (K 121)

e. *Nua-ni* *omo* *neŋi-ni* *teu* *bi-s’e.*
he-3SG one day-3SG all be-PERF
‘He was (here) the whole day.’

(830) a. *Bi* *imo:-ŋi-we-i* *teu* *diga:-i.*
me fat-AL-ACC-1SG all eat.PAST-2SG
‘You ate all my fat.’ (K 30)

b. *Käŋa* *ule:-we-ni* *teu* *juktagi-e-ti.*
deer meat-ACC-3SG all carry-PAST-3PL
‘They carried away all the deer meat.’ (K 162)

11.2.2.2. Universal quantifier *käu* ‘all’

In the Northern dialect a universal quantifier *käu* (Kormušin) ~ *kai /tai* (Simonov) ‘all’ has the distribution, morphology, and usage basically identical to that of the quantifier *teu* ‘all’. Given that *teu* can also be found in the Northern dialect, it is unclear whether *teu/käu* are simply phonological variants, or they also differ in other respects. Example (831) illustrates the floated quantifier *käu*; examples (832) show it in the argument position. Yet the non-floated quantifier *käu* in the modifier function does not seem to be allowed.

(831) *Tagixule* *kä:gdu* *kalima-la* *käu* *tagdimagi-e-ni.*
further coastal whale-CONT all pull.out-PAST-3SG
'He pulled out all the whales, the distant ones and the coastal ones.'
(K 114)

(832) a. *Seŋke* *zeu* *käu* *zegdi:-ni.*
ledum food all burn-3SG
'The ledum, the food, everything is burning.' (K 123)
b. *Su:* *maŋga* *käu-käu* *čaluga-wan-a.*
son strong all-all melt-CAUS-0
'The sun is strong, it melts everything.' (K 124)
c. *Käu* *gektin-zi* *buk-ki-ti.*
all freeze.PP-INST die-PAST-3PL
'Everybody died from the cold.' (K 120)
d. *Käu* *bi:-ni* *bubu.*
all be-3SG EV
'Everything was there, apparently.' (K 109)
e. *dogbo* *kai*
night all
'all night' (SKX 316)

11.2.3. Reduplication of universal quantifiers as a stylistic device

Like adverbs (10.1.6), universal quantifiers are likely to be repeated twice, which somewhat intensifies their meaning.

(833) a. *Teu* *niŋme-le-si-e-ni* *käu* *käu-de*
all swallow-SING-IM-PAST-3SG all all-FOC
teu *ñeŋue-we.*
all ogre-ACC
'He swallowed everything (completely), all the ogres.' (K 118)
b. *Dili-we-ni* *teu* *koŋko-mo-gi-e-ni*
head-ACC-3SG all hit-INTN-REP-PAST-3SG
käu *käu-de.*
all all-FOC
'He hit all their heads (completely).' (K 111)

Chapter 12
Particles and extra-clausal elements

Particles addressed in 12.1 have no inflectional or derivational morphology. Extra-clausal elements discussed in 12.2 express various aspects of conversational interaction.

12.1. Particles

This section addresses two major functional classes of Udihe particles, the focus particles (12.1.1) and the discourse particles (12.1.2). The frequency of particles of both classes in Udihe speech is fairly high, and the meaning of each particular particle is often difficult to describe and render accurately in European languages. We will characterize them only briefly, but give numerous illustrative examples. Particles used in questions (*-nA, -nu, -As(i) ... -As(i), -nu ... -nu*) and in conjunctive and disjunctive structures (*-As(i) ... -As(i)* and *-kA ...-kA*) are addressed in Chapters 23 and 18 respectively.

From a formal point of view, particles are either cliticized, or independent. Clitics immediately follow the element in their scope and are phonologically bound to it. On the definition of clitic in Udihe see 3.5.3.1. Clitic particles will be written with a hyphen. The non-cliticized particles are phonologically independent: they bear their own stress and behave as separate words with respect to vowel harmony, that is, have only one phonetic form. They also tend to immediately follow the word over which they take scope, although they can be separated from it under certain conditions. Most of the particles in Udihe are non-clitics. Note that clitics often co-occur. When two clitics are combined, the output form behaves as a complex independent particle (*dele, deke, gdele*), see 3.5.3.2.

Although particles and degree adverbs (10.1.4) have partially intersecting functions, they differ syntactically: as distinct from adverbials, particles are not constituents of the clause and cannot be questioned.

The clitic particles *-dA, -kA* and sometimes *-lA,* as well as the independent particle *de(xe)m,* participate in a word-formation process: they derive indefinite pronouns. These cases are treated in 9.6.

12.1.1. Focus particles

The focus particles indicate that the constituent in their scope bears a focus status (on the definition of focus see Chapter 24). We will distinguish between additive, restrictive, replacing, and contrastive focus. Focus particles either precede or follow the element within their scope; in the latter case they are either cliticized or phonologically independent. The preposed focus particles (*xai(si)* and *ña*) tend to take scope over the predicate or the verbal phrase, while the postposed focus particles normally take scope over a NP, adjectival phrase, adverbial or postpositional phrase. However, this rule seems to be only a preference.

If the meaning of a focus particle is difficult to render, it is glossed as FOC.

A few focus particles seem to be borrowed from the Chinese (1.5.1.2.2).

12.1.1.1. Additive particle *xai(si)*

This particle has two variants, *xai* and *xaisi,* which seem completely interchangeable. It never has a NP in its scope, but always either a predicate (a verbal phrase), an adverbial phrase, or the whole sentence.

12.1.1.1.1. Meaning ‘too, also’

The particle *xai(si)* indicates the repetition of a situation, but possibly with a different subject. In this case it precedes the predicate (834a) or the verbal phrase (834b). Under the scope of negation the corresponding meaning is ‘either’ (835).

(834) a. *Bi* *zugdi:* *sagdi* *nua-ni*
me home.1SG large he-3SG
zugdi-ni-de *xai(si)* *sadgi.*
house-SG-FOC also large
‘My house is large, his house is large too.’

b. *Uti* *neŋu-ni* *aziga* *xaisi* *xula-i*
that younger.sibling-3SG girl also blanket-REF
gaŋna-gi-mi *ŋene:-ni* *zugdi-tigi.*
take-REP-INF go.PAST-3SG house-LAT
‘The girl who is a younger sister of that one also took her blanket and went into the house.’ (K 139)

(835) *Aziga-ŋi-ni* *xaisi* *ute* *bede* *e-ini* *ča:la.*
girl-AL-3SG either that like NEG-3SG want
‘This girl does not want it either, like that one.’

12.1.1.1.2. Meaning ‘again’

With the meaning ‘again (one more time)’ (the complete repetition of a situation) the particle *xai(si)* has the whole sentence in its scope. Its position is then more or less free, but normally it tends to stand closer to the predicate, if not immediately preceding it. The meaning ‘again’ implies a perfective situation.

(836) a. *Timana-ni* *xaisi* *kaja-za-mi* *we:-tigi.*
tomorrow-3SG again end-SUBJ-1SG mountain-LAT
‘Tomorrow I will send (him) to the mountains again.’ (K 175)

b. *Xai* *ima:-zi* *buge:-ni.*
again snow-INST cover.PAST-3SG
‘He covered it with snow again.’ (K 179)

c. *Tuxi* *xaisi* *kumteg’e.*
sledge again turn.over.PERF
‘The sledge turned over again.’

d. *Abuga* *xai* *ŋua-gi-e-ni.*
father again sleep-REP-PAST-3SG
‘The father fell asleep again.’

Under the scope of negation the particle *xai(si)* corresponds to the meaning ‘not yet’ (837b) or

'not again' (837a).

(837) a. *Xaisi* *anči.*
again no
'It is not here again.' (K 30)

b. *Abuga* *xaisi* *e-si-ni* *eme-gi.*
Father again NEG-PAST-3SG come-REP
'The father has not come yet.'

12.1.1.1.3. Meaning 'still, more'

When co-occurring with an imperfective verb, the particle *xai(si)* is likely to have a continuative meaning 'more, longer, still', as shown below.

(838) a. *Xai* *go:go* *ŋua-za-ni.*
more long sleep-SUBJ-3SG
'He will still sleep for a long time.'

b. *Ñ'ädiga* *wa:-la* *bi* *nuan-digi* *xai*
Nadiga kill-N me he-ABL more
wa:-la *bi-mi.*
kill-N be-1SG
'Nadiga is lucky (in hunting) and I am more lucky than him.'

12.1.1.1.4. Meaning 'still, yet, anyway, although'

A number of examples indicate that the particle *xai(si)* has an additional contrastive meaning. In this case it takes scope over a proposition which is contrary to certain expectations, and the best English equivalents are 'still', 'yet', 'anyway', or 'although'.

(839) a. *Su: anči* *bi-mi* *xai* *namai.*
sun no be-INF still warm
'There is no sun, yet it is warm.'

b. *Bi läsi* *deu-mi* *xai* *zuliexi* *ŋene-mi.*
me very be.tired-1SG still further go-1SG
'I am very tired, still I go further.'

c. *Nua-ni* *e-zeŋe* *ŋene* *bi-si-ni* *xai(si)*
he-3SG NEG-FP go be-PP-3SG still
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
'Although he didn't have to go, he still went.'

d. Bi xaisi xuli-zeŋe-i.
me still go-FUT-1SG
'I will go anyway.'

e. *Zua-de* *xai* *inŋeni* *bie.*
summer-FOC even cold be.PRES.HAB

‘Although it is summer, it is cold.’

12.1.1.1.5. Meaning ‘same’

Combined with anaphorical pronouns of the series (*u)ti* (9.4.1.2, 22.1.2.2) the particle *xai(si)* means ‘same, very same’.

(840) a. *Xaisi* *uta-du* *maŋda* *bi:-ni.*
same that-DAT lie be-3SG
‘He is lying in the same place.’

b. *Bi-de* *xai* *utelinie* *neŋi-ni*
me-FOC same then day-3SG
ŋene:-mi.
go.PAST-1SG
‘I left on the very same day.’

c. *Ei* *zulie-ni* *xuli:* *bede* *xaisi* *utebe*
this before-3SG walk.PRP like still so
xuli:-ni.
walk-3SG
‘He still walks in the same way as he used to walk.’

12.1.1.3. Additive clitic particle *-dA*

This is the most frequent additive focus particle and the main means of expressing coordination in Udihe. The basic meaning is ‘too’, ‘and’, ‘as well’, or ‘even’. It functions as a clitic and follows the word in its scope, most typically a noun. The particle *-dA* also has a word-formation function, see section 9.6 on indefinite pronouns. On the coordinative function of *-dA* see 18.1.

12.1.1.3.1. Meaning ‘too, as well’

The meaning ‘too, as well’ in non-coordinated constructions is illustrated in (841). Under the scope of negation its meaning is ‘either’, illustrated in (842).

(841) a. *Ag’a* *bi-de* *ŋene-ze-mi.*
brother me-FOC go-SUBJ-1SG
‘Brother, I will also go.’ (K 111)

b. *P’aligi* *mafa-da* *wa:-ni* *gida-zi.*
black bear-FOC kill.PAST-3SG spear-INST
‘With his spear he killed the black bear as well.’ (K 131)

(842) *Bi-de* *e-zeŋe-i* *kuŋgede.*
me-FOC NEG-FUT-1SG pour
‘I will not pour (water) either.’

12.1.1.3.2. Meaning ‘even’

In the meaning ‘even’ the particle *-dA* can take scope over practically every element of the clause. Example (843) illustrates the predicate within the scope of this particle, while example (844) shows the standard of comparison.

(843) a. *Nua-tigi-ni* *tagda-mi-de* *wadi-e-ni.*
he-LAT-3SG get.angry-INF-FOC stop-PAST-3SG
‘He even stopped being angry with him.’

b. *Taŋi-mi-de* *e-ini* *ñoni.*
read-INF-FOC NEG-3SG can
‘He can’t even read.’

c. *Bi* *bejeku* *bi-si-ni-de* *eki-je.*
me similar be-CC-3SG-FOC stay-IMP.2SG
‘Even if she is similar to me, stay (with her).’ (K 166)

(*844)* *Zugdi-digi-de* *sagdi* *ni:* *eme:-ni.*
house-ABL-FOC big man come.PAST-3SG
‘A man came who was even bigger than a house.’

12.1.1.3.3. The emphatic focus function

The particle *-dA* can be used in order to emphasize the assertion associated with the corresponding element without bringing about the additive meaning. In other words, the element within its scope expresses new information that is not necessarily construed as «additive». Such a focus particle takes scope over any sort of constituent, for example, a subject (845), a predicate (846), and a postpositional phrase (847). It easily co-occurs with other elements that normally bear the focus in the sentence, such as the negative auxiliary (848a), a quantified NP (848b), or an emphatic reflexive pronoun (848c).

(845) *Alagdig’a* *bejeni* *belie.* *Uta-da* *tonzilo:-ni*
beautiful very girl that-FOC jump.PAST-3SG
Uza *’ai-ni-de.*
Uza brother-3SG-FOC
‘A very beautiful girl. Uza’s brother jumped at her.’ (K 110)

(846) a. *Nua-ni* *bogdolo-ni* *eŋme-de.*
he-3SG shoulder-3SG wide-FOC
‘He has wide shoulders.’

b. *Pakula* *zo:ŋku* *bi-mi-de* *zaŋa*
Pakula poor be-INF-FOC cheerful
bi-si-ni.
be-PAST-3SG
‘Although Pakula was poor, he was cheerful.’

c. *Bi* *taŋi-e-mi* *men-e* *teu* *egzeli:*
me read-PAST-1SG REF-0 all understand.PRP

dexi-de.
until-FOC
'I kept reading until I understood everything.'

(*847) *Ono* *tukä-u* *guläku* *bede-de* *asi* *tuge-zi?*
how run-2PL map like-FOC very quick-INST
'Why are you running very quickly, like mad people?'

(848) a. *Nua-ni* *Moskva-la* *e-si-ni-de* *i:n-e.*
he-3SG Moscow-LOC NEG-PAST-3SG-FOC come-0
'He didn't reach Moscow.'
b. *Omo* *kusige-we-de* *xebu-je.*
one knife-ACC-FOC take-IMP.2SG
'Take (at least) one knife.'
c. *Jexe-zeŋe-ni* *men-e-de.*
sing-FUT-3SG REF-0-FOC
'He himself will sing.'

As a particle encoding the focus element in the sentence, *-dA* is often combined with other focus particles discussed in this section. In (849) it co-occurs with the restrictive focus particle *m'ei* 'only' (12.1.1.9) and in (850) it co-occurs with the additive particle *ña* 'more' (12.1.1.4).

(849) a. *Ei* *getu-we-fi* *magi-kca-la:-mi* *ketu*
this PL-ACC-REF.PL kill-DES-PURP-SS very
emende *kägampa-ni* *keje-we-ni* *ceze-mi*
which lier-3SG word-ACC-3SG believe-INF
m'ei-de *bie* *getu* *tu:-we*
only-FOC be.PRP.HAB PL shaman.pole-ACC
teu *tokto-gi-e-mi.*
all cut-REP-PAST-1SG
'I have cut down their shaman pole intending to kill them, having very much believed the words of this witch-liar.' (K184)
b. *Zugdi* *do-lo-ni* *xonto-zi* *m'ei-de* house
inside-LOC-3SG other-INST only-FOC
aisi-gi-si-e-ni.
mend-REP-IM-PAST-3SG
'She arranged everything in the house, only in a different way.'
(K 167)

(850) *Tukti-je* *ña* *gugda-la-da.*
climb-IMP.2SG more high-LOC-FOC
'Climb even higher.'

The focus particle *-dA* with an emphatic impact is commonly present on predicative adjectives within copular constructions (17.2.2.1.1) and on predicate adverbials, especially when they stand in the immediately postverbal position (see the examples in 10.1.7.1).

12.1.1.3.4. Exclamative function

Often the emphatic focus particle *-dA* is used in exclamations like those presented in (851).

(851) a. *Si* *ise-si-je* *ono* *uligdig'a-i-de.*
you see-IM-IMP.2SG how beautiful-FOC-FOC
'Look, how beautiful.'

b. *Si* *zueze-le-i* *ketu* *egdi-de*
you table-LOC-2SG very many-FOC
b'oto.
mushroom
'How many mushrooms there are on your table!'

c. *Nua-ni* *alagdig'a-i-de.*
he-3SG beautiful-FOC-FOC
'How beautiful he is.'

12.1.1.4. Additive particle *ña*

The non-clitic additive particle *ña* is specialized in the meaning 'again, once more'. Normally its position is directly before the predicate or the verbal phrase.

12.1.1.4.1. Meaning 'again, once more'

The semantic difference between *ña* and *xai(si)* is hard to estimate and in fact these two particles can co-occur. In (852) we present examples of the particle *ña* with the meaning 'again'.

(852) a. *Bi* *abuga-i* *ña* *ŋua-ini.*
me father-1SG again sleep-3SG
'My father is sleeping again.'

b. *Ña* *eme-gi-zeŋe-i.*
again come-REP-FUT-1SG
'I will come again.'

c. *Ña* *ilakta-ŋi-e-ni* *kalima-la.*
again appear-REP-PAST-3SG whale-CONT
'The whale appeared again.' (K 117)

Within a negative polarity sentence the meaning of this particle is 'not anymore' (853). However, it cannot express the meaning 'not yet', as *xaisi* does (12.1.1.1.2).

(853) a. *Ña* *e-zeŋe-i* *eme-gi.*
again NEG-FUT-1SG come-REP
'I will not come anymore.'

b. *Ña* *ali-de* *e-zeŋe-i* *ŋele.*
again when-IND NEG-FUT-1SG be.afraid
'I will never be afraid anymore.'

12.1.1.4.2. Meaning ‘also, as well’

It seems that the particle *ña* can correspond to the meaning ‘also, as well’ and express the repetition of the same situation by a different participant.

(854) a. *Gun-e-mi* *ña* *tiŋmel’e.*
say-0-INF also fell.PERF
‘Having said (that) she also fell down (as did someone else).’
(K 186)

b. *Uta-digi* *ña* *uti-de* *xai* *dian-a-ini.*
that-ABL again that-FOC again speak-0-3SG
‘Then that one also spoke again.’ (K 188)

c. *Ña* *diga-la-ni* *olokto-si-ze-ni.*
also eat-PURP-3SG cook-IM-SUBJ-3SG
‘She is also going to cook some food for them.’

12.1.1.4.3. Meaning ‘more, another’

When it precedes a noun phrase the particle *ña* also means ‘more, another’. However, relevant examples are rather infrequent.

(855) a. *Ña* *omo* *ige-le* *i:ŋ-ki-ni.*
more one village-LOC come-PAST-3SG
‘He came to one more village.’ (K 120)

b. *Ña* *gagda-wa-ni* *gakpa:-ni.*
more second-ACC-3SG shoot.PAST-3SG
‘He shot one more.’

12.1.1.5. Contrastive particle *tene*

The contrastive particle *tene* may have appeared as a contraction of two contrastive clitics *-tA* and *-nA*. These clitics are not frequent. On the former see 12.1.1.11.2; the latter mostly occurs in the Northern dialect.

12.1.1.5.1. Meaning ‘and, but, while’

The contrastive particle *tene* is placed immediately after the focused element, normally a subject. It indicates that the whole situation is opposed to another situation, which necessarily has a different subject participant. Normally, the contrasting situation is explicitly expressed in the context as well. The two situations can be completely different, and be related only because they take place at the same time, as in (856). Alternatively, they can share the predicate and then, apart from involving different subjects, the two situations can also differ in time reference, as in (857).

(856) a. *Bi* *mama-i* *bude:-ni* *bu*
me grandmother-1SG die.PAST-3SG we.EX
tene *zugdi-tigi* *ba:na-i* *bi-s’e-u.*
CONT house-LAT move-PRP be-PERF-1PL.EX

‘My grandmother died while we were moving.’

b. *Bi* *ŋene-isi* *nua-ti* *diga-mi* *tene*
me go-PC.1SG he-3PL eat-INF CONT
metu-o:-ti
finish-PAST-3PL
‘I came but they had already finished eating.’

c. *Si* *kui-ŋi:* *egdi* *bi* *tene*
you force-AL.2SG much me CONT *sin-digi*
tuge *bi-mi.*
you-LAT quick be-1SG
‘You have a lot of strength, but I am faster than you.’

d. *Yegdige* *tene* *zu:* *belie-zi* *mamasa-la:-ni*
hero CONT two girl-INST wife-V-PAST-3SG
mamaka *tene* *eni-ti* *o-isi-ni.*
old.woman CONT mother-3PL became-PC-3SG
‘The hero married the two girls, and the old woman became their mother.’ (K 108)

(857) a. *Ekize* *ni-de* *e-s’e* *eme* *si*
long who-IND NEG-PERF come you
tene *eme:-i.*
CONT come.PAST-2SG
‘Nobody had come for a long time, and then you came.’ (K167)

b. *Bi* *tene* *ei* *dogbo-ni* *bude-zeŋe-i,*
me CONT this night-3SG die-FUT-1SG
guŋ-ki-ni, *bi* *neŋu-mi*
say-PAST-3SG me younger.sibling-1SG
tene *timana* *dogbo-ni* *bude-zeŋe-ni.*
CONT tomorrow night-3SG die-FUT-3SG
‘She said: I will die tonight and my sister will die tomorrow night.’ (K 132)

12.1.1.5.2. Non-contrastive meaning

The contrast may not be that explicit. In (858) the contrastive meaning of *tene* is not obvious, and it might simply indicate the introduction of a new participant into the text. Yet this is not a frequent option.

(858) *Seuni:* *seuni:* *xulis’e,* *guŋ-ki-ni,* *Zaŋdalafu*
awful awful come.PERF say-PAST-3SG Zandalafu
tene-de.
CONT-FOC
‘She said: an awful Zandalafu came.’ (K 105)

12.1.1.5.3. Non-subject contrast

In a few examples in our corpus the particle *tene* follows a non-subject element, and expresses contrastive focus.

(859) a. *Uta-digi* *tene* *waŋba* *diga:-ni.*

that-ABL CONT tortoise eat.PAST-3SG
'And then (only then) the tortoise ate (not before).' (K 137)

b. *Pakula men-e kawa-tigi: neu-gi-e-ni*
Pakula REF-0 tent-LAT.REF put-REP-PAST-3SG
loŋko-wo, käfakti-we tene mamasa-du-i
pot-ACC bell-ACC CONT wife-DAT-RE
bu-gi-e-ni.
give-REP-PAST-3SG
'Pakula put the pot in his tent and gave the bells to his wife.'

c. *Zugdi kä:-la-ni i:n-e-lisi-ni tene*
house side-LOC-3SG come-0-CC-3SG CONT
ñ'aula-ziga ñemugdi b'a-mi
child-PL cheerful get-INF
xeuti-si-li-e-ti.
shout-IM-INC-PAST-3PL
'When he was coming to the house, the children became cheerful and started shouting.'

12.1.1.6. Contrastive particle *dele*

This is not a very frequent particle. It apparently originates as a conflation of two clitic focus particles *-dA* (12.1.1.3) and *-lA* (12.1.1.7). The particle *dele* itself, however, is not a clitic: it bears its own stress and does not harmonize to the preceding word.

12.1.1.6.1. Meaning 'or else'

This particle follows the predicate and expresses warning, namely, that the corresponding situation might result from another situation and is undesirable. An approximate English translation is 'or else, otherwise', and a close Russian equivalent is *a to.* Importantly, the two clauses are syntactically conjoined and share the subject. This can lead to the passivization or causativization of the second clause, as discussed in 22.2.1.2.

(860) a. *E-zi te-wen-e ei teŋku-le*
NEG-IMP.2SG sit-CAUS-0 this chair-LOC
tiŋme-i dele.
fall-2SG CONT
'Don't sit on this chair, otherwise you will fall down.'

b. *E-zi waŋta joxo-wo daga-i*
NEG-IMP.2SG touch pot-ACC burn-2SG
dele.
CONT
'Don't touch the pot, otherwise you will burn yourself.'

12.1.1.6.2. Emphatic questions

In the Northern dialect this particle may attach to the *wh*-question word and add emphasis to the question.

(861) *J'eu* *dele* *ni:-ni* *eme:-ni?*
what CONT man-3SG come.PAST-3SG
'What sort of man came?' (K 112)

12.1.1.7. Replacing particle *-lA*

The clitic particle *-lA* is characteristic of the Northern dialect, although it is occasionally found in the Bikin dialect as well. Its main function is to encode the new (replaced) topic, so it may be termed a replacing particle. Since the topic normally corresponds to the subject (Chapter 24), the scope of the particle *-lA* is usually a subject NP.

12.1.1.7.1. Replaced topic

Normally the particle *-lA* signalizes the introduction of a new participant in the text, and is placed after the subject when it differs from the subject of the previous sentence (862a). The sentences where the subject is followed by the particle *-lA* may appear at the very beginning of the text. This, in fact, indicates that the function of this particle is to mark a new topic, whether it replaces the old topic or not. Example (862b) is the beginning of a folklore tale.

(862) a. *ŋene-mi* *ŋene-mi* *molo-li-e-ni*
go-INF go-INF cut.tree-INC-PAST-3SG
exi-ni. *Zaŋdalafu-le* *eme:-ni.*
elder.sister-3SG Zandalafu-CONT come.PAST-3SG
'Walking, walking, the elder sister started cutting wood. And there came Zandalafu.' (K 104)

b. *Neŋu-mule* *bagdi-e-ti* *belie-ziga-la.*
younger.sibling-N live-PAST-3PL fairy-PL-CONT
'There lived two fairies, two sisters.' (K 104)

The subject which introduces a new topic and takes the particle *-lA* often takes the last linear position in the sentence, which reflects the universal word order tendency for inversion to occur in presentational constructions (see 24.1.2.2); consider the following example.

(863) *-Aziga …* *od'o* *dili-we-i*
girl grandfather head-ACC-REF
kume-di-ne-fi, *kume-di-ne-fi.*
flea-V-DIR-1PL.IN flea-V-DIR-1PL.IN
Kume-di-li-e-ni *belie-le.*
flea-V-INC-PAST-3SG fairy-CONT
'Girl, come and let us look for fleas in grandfather's head. The beauty looked for fleas.' (K 105)

The particle *-lA* also marks the change of participant (the subject) in the focus of the speaker's attention, or the alternation of subject participants. Example (864b) presents a dialogue where the change of person speaking (Uza) is indicated by the particle *-lA*. In (864b) the same particle signalized the «shift» of attention from the subject (topic) of the first sentence (Uza) to the subject (topic) of the second sentence (Uza's brother).

(864) a. *Xuli-mi-de* *ji:-mi-de* *j'eu* *ni:* *gakpasi:-ni?*
walk-INF-FOC what-INF-FOC what man shoot-3SG
guŋ-ki-ni... *Mama,* *bi* *nixe-mi,*
say-PAST-3SG grandmother me do-1SG
kei-gde, *hahaha,* *ñemugdi*
right-CONT INTER funny
b'a:-ni *Uza- la.*
find.PAST-3SG Uza-CONT
'Who is walking, shooting at people? she said. Grandmother, I do (this), this is right. Hahaha – Uza felt like laughing.' (K 111)

b. *Uza* *'ai* *mule* *bagdi-e-ti.* *Uza* Uza
elder.brother with live-PAST-3PL Uza
'ai-ni-le *ŋene:-ni.*
elder.brother-3SG-CONT go.PAST-3SG
'Uza lived with his elder brother. Uza's brother went away.' (K 108)

12.1.1.7.2. Multiple occurrence of the particle *-lA*

When the particle *-lA* occurs twice within one sentence it is placed both after the subject and after the other element.

(865) a. *E:* *mama-la* *täs(i) wa:-ni*
INTER old.woman-CONT many kill.PAST-3SG
sugzä:-wa-la *um'a-zi-le.*
fish-ACC-CONT hook-INST-CONT
'The old woman caught a lot of fish with a hook.' (K 109)

b. *ŋene-ixi-ni-le* *kalima-wa-la* *täs*
go-PC-3SG-CONT whale-ACC-CONT many
magi-e-ni *Uza-la.*
kill-PAST-3SG Uza-CONT
'When he (another) was walking, (he saw that) Uza had killed many whales.' (K 114)

12.1.1.7.3. Predicate in the scope of *-lA*

The particle *-lA* is less regular and transparent within the domain of the predicate. Its meaning in this case may be merely emphatic, cf.:

(866) *Uza* *'ai-ni* *gakpa:-ni-la* *uta-du.*
Uza brother-3SG shoot.PAST-3SG-CONT that-DAT
'Uza's brother shot there with the bow.' (K 108)

12.1.1.8. Contrastive particles *gdele, -gdA, -gdu*

The contrastive clitic particle *–gdA, -gdu* is easily combined with the contrastive clitic *-lA* (12.1.1.7), so we can speak here about the complex particle *gdele.* Its phonological variants are *gdeli* and *gdali.* The complex particle is mostly found in the Northern dialect, although occasionally it may also be present in the Bikin dialect.

The contrastive particle *-gdA* occurs in the negative construction expressing state (23.2.1.4).

12.1.1.8.1. Contrastive meaning

The meaning of the contrastive clitic particle *–gdA, -gdu* is rather difficult to catch. In (867) it seems to be close to that of the particle *tene,* that is, it indicates the contrast between the two situations by attaching to the subject. Sometimes it seems simply to indicate assertive focus and/or emphasis, and in this case it can follow virtually any element of the sentence, not necessarily the subject, as in (868).

(867) a. *G'ai ... tuge tuge ŋene-mi ja:-wa-ni* raven
quick quick go-INF eye-ACC-3SG
tokto-mo:-ni, ja:-wa-ni pusiewe:-ni,
hit-INTN.PAST-3SG eye-ACC-3SG pierce.PAST-3SG
anda-i wa:-ni g'ai gdele.
friend-REF kill.PAST-3SG raven CONT
'The raven, having come quickly, hit his eyes, pierced his eyes, the raven killed his friend.' (K 134)

b. *Uti gdele bi-si-ni.*
That CONT be-PAST-3SG
'That was him.' (K 51)

(868) *Anči-gde susa:-ni.*
no-CONT escape.PAST-3SG
'He escaped to nowhere.' (K 164)

12.1.1.8.2. Limitative meaning

The cltitic particle *-gdA* following certain adverbs, adjectival and nominal modifies their meaning by bringing to it an additional limitative component. It may follow an inflected (869a) or uninflected (869b) form.

(869) a. *bagä:-la-gda* 'till the opposite side'
na:-la-gda 'to the ground'
ŋä:-la-gda 'till the riverbank'
b. *muda-gda* 'till the end' (SK 567)

meje-gde	‘till the end’ (SK 577, 677)
xutali-gda	‘till it gets red’ (SK 691)
aja-gda	‘till it gets nice’ (SK 697)

In the following examples the spatial meaning is almost masked by the limitative one:

(870) a. *Xegie-le-gde* *ute* *mo:-wo-ni*
below-LOC-FOC that tree-ACC-3SG
tugbe:-k.
chop.PAST-EXPR
‘He chopped the tree completely (till the root).’

b. *Xe:-gde* *umi-je.*
below-FOC drink-IMP.2SG
‘Drink (it) to the dregs (bottoms up).’

c. *Joxo* *saŋka-la-ni* *do:-no:-ni,*
pot handle-LOC-3SG perch-DIR.PAST-3SG
to:-lo-ni-gde *eme-gi-e-ni.*
fire-LOC-3SG-CONT come-REP-PAST-3SG
‘He went to perch on the pot handle and came close to the fire.’
(K 133)

d. *Kä:-la-gde* *eme-zeŋe-i* *zegde-mi-de.*
side-LOC-CONT come-FUT-1SG burn-INF-FOC
‘I will come closer, (all) on fire.’

12.1.1.9. Restrictive particle *m’ei*

The restrictive particle *m’ei* ‘only’ is placed after the focused element.

12.1.1.9.1. Meaning ‘only’

The element under the scope of the restrictive focus particle is normally a NP as in (871) or an adjectival phrase (872).

(871) a. *Nada-ma* *aŋa-ni* *neŋu-ni-le*
seven-ACC year-3SG younger.sibling-3SG-CONT
sapuligi-tigi *m’ei-de* *teu* *ise-si-e-ni.*
box-LAT only-FOC all see-IM-PAST-3SG
‘For seven years her younger sister looked only at the box.’ (K 118)

b. *Dili-we* *m’ei* *uji-e-ni* *in’ei-di:.*
head-ACC only pour.PAST-3SG dog-DAT.REF
‘She poured (soup) for her dog, only from the (fish) heads.’ (K)

c. *Gäma* *m’ei* *ede:-i.*
bone only become.PAST-2SG
‘Only your bones are left.’

d. *Bi zube* *k’olo-wo* *b’a:-mi* *dieŋeze*
me two mitten-ACC find.PAST-1SG left
e:-ni *m’ei-de.*

side-3SG only-FOC
'I found two mittens only for the left hand.'

(872) a. *Teti-gi-si-e-ni* *imexi-we* *m'ei*
dress-REP-IM-PAST-3SG new-ACC only
teti-g-isi-e-ni.
dress-REP-IM-PAST-3SG
'She dressed, she put on only new (clothes)'. (K 169)

b. *Magazina-la* *da:mpi* *xelebe* *m'ei* *bi-s'e.*
shop-LOC old bread only be-PERF
'There was only old bread in the shop.'

12.1.1.9.2. Meaning 'all'

The particle *m'ei* may indicate that a certain predication holds over the entire set of available objects. Therefore the participant that corresponds to this set is represented by the NP, which is plural either formally or semantically, as in (873) below. The particle then takes scope over the predicate (normally, an adjective) and is placed after it. Its meaning in these cases is close to that of the universal quantifier 'all', or can be rendered as 'exclusively, solely'.

(873) a. *Moxo* *tegbeni* *m'ei.*
cup dirty only
'The cups are all dirty (are only dirty).'
b. *Bi* *kusige-i* *ic'a-ŋku* *m'ei.*
me knife-1SG small-PL only
'My knives are only small (are all small).'
c. *Keŋku* *m'ei* *seutigi.*
empty only nut
'All nuts are empty.' (K 137)
d. *Nua-ti* *uligdiga-ŋku* *m'ei.*
he-3PL beautiful-PL only
'They all are beautiful.'

When the particle *m'ei* meaning 'all' takes scope not over the whole NP but only over its modifier, there are two options for its position: it can follow this modifier as in (874a), or stand after the whole NP as in (874b).

(874) a. *Ei* *bi* *m'ei* *kusige-i.*
this me only knife-1SG
'These knives are mine alone (all of them are mine).'
b. *Ei* *bi* *in'ei* *m'ei.*
this me dog.1SG only
'These dogs are mine alone.'

12.1.1.9.3. Plural meaning

The particle *m'ei* is used with particular regularity after adjectives that are unable to take the morphological Plural affix *-ŋku* (6.1.2.1), as well as with certain other determiners that do not

take morphological Plural markers (cf. the Resultative Participle in (877)). In such cases it seems to be the only available means to encode the grammatical meaning of plurality.

(875) a. *Nua-ti* *ugda-xi* *m'ei.*
he-3PL boat-ADJ only
'All of them have boats.'
b. *Nua-ni* *unäpti-ni* *aisi-ma* *m'ei.*
he-3SG ring-3SG gold-ADJ only
'Her rings are golden.'

(876) *Ei* *we:* *kei-kei* *bi:* *m'ei.*
this hill steep-steep be.PPR only
'These hills are steep.'

(877) *Tu:* *zugdi* *kimpi-ktu* *m'ei.*
all house close-RES only
'All the houses are closed.'

With regular adjectives the particle *m'ei* can replace the Plural marker *-ŋku* (878a), but can also co-occur with it (878b).

(878) a. *Mo:* *sagdi* *m'ei.*
tree big only
'The trees are big.'
b. *Bi* *moxo-i* *ic'a-ŋku* *m'ei.*
me cup-1SG small-PL only
'I only have small cups.'

12.1.1.9.4. Meaning 'exclusively'

When the particle *m'ei* takes scope over the predicate, it may be given an approximate translation of 'exclusively, nothing except, nothing other than, pure', cf.:

(879) a. *Bi Šarika-ŋi:* *xukti:-ni* *m'ei,* *wakca-ini*
me Sharik-AL.1SG run-3SG only hunt-3SG
m'ei.
only
'My Sharik does nothing other than running and hunting.'

b. *Nua-ma-ni* *niŋka* *m'ei* *guŋ-ki-ti*
he-ACC-3SG Chinese only say-PAST-3PL
bue-ni *tene* *udie* *bi:-ni.*
he-3SG CONT Udihe be-3SG
'Everybody thought that he was (pure) Chinese, but he is Udihe.'

12.1.1.9.5. Degree adverb function, ‘completely’

The restrictive particle *m’ei* may have the adverbial force and express that the feature exists to a high degree (‘very’). In such cases it co-occurs with an adjective or a qualificative noun.

(880) a. *Ei* *gegbe-ŋku* *sata* *m’ei* *bize*.
this collect-N sugar only must
‘These berries must be (very) sweet.’

b. *Nua* *ñö:-ni* *xuta* *m’ei* *ede:-ni.*
he nose-3SG red only become.PAST-3SG
‘His nose became all/completely red.’

c. *Bi* *ge:* *m’ei* *tege-we* *gada:-mi.*
me bad only gown-ACC buy.PAST-1SG
‘I bought a very bad dress.’

d. *Nua-ni* *uga-ni* *igdi,* *ketu* *ge:* *m’ei.*
he-3SG voice-3SG loud very bad only
‘His voice is loud and very nasty.’

12.1.1.10. Restrictive particle *sene*

The particle *sene* is used in a far more restricted set of syntactic environments, namely, in a NP.

12.1.1.10.1. Meaning ‘only’

Basically the meaning of *sene* seems to be identical or close to that of the particle *m’ei* ‘only’. However, it cannot take scope over the predicate as does *m’ei* (12.1.1.9.4).

(881) a. *O-du* *si* *sene* *ñoni:* *jexe-mi.*
this-DAT you only can.2SG sing-INF
‘Only you can sing here.’

b. *Min-du* *da:mpi* *kusige* *sene* *bie.*
me-DAT old knife only be.PRES.HAB
‘I only have an old knife.’

12.1.1.10.2. Meaning ‘except for’

When co-occurring with negation, this particle means ‘except for’, as illustrated in (882).

(882) a. *Min-e-we* *ni-de* *e-si-ti*
me-0-ACC who-IND NEG-PAST-3PL
tagda-gi *bi* *od’o-i* *uti*
recognize-REP me grandfather-1SG that
sene *tagda-gi-e-ni* *min-e-we.*
only recognize-REP-PAST-3SG me-0-ACC
‘Nobody recognized me, except for my grandfather.’

b. *Bi* *j’e-we-de* *e-si-mi* *diga*
me what-ACC-IND NEG-PAST-1SG eat
zikte-we *sene* *diga:-mi.*

blueberry-ACC only eat.PAST-1SG
'I did not eat anything except for blueberries.'

c. *Ni-de* *zugdi-du* *anči* *Iwana* *sene*
who-IND house-DAT no Ivan only
bi:-ni.
be-3SG
'There is nobody at home except for Ivan.'

12.1.1.11. Rare focus particles

In this section we present examples for certain focus particles which occur rarely. It is difficult to generalize about their meaning, so no attempt is made to describe it. For more (focus) particles in the Northern dialect see Sunik (1968: 228), Kormušin (1998), Simonov and Kjalundzjuga (1998–1999), and Simonov, Kjalundjuga and Xasanova (1998).

12.1.1.11.1. The particle *-kA*

The particle *-kA* normally functions as a word-forming element deriving Indefinite pronouns with a specific interpretation (9.6.1). Occasionally it is found in a contrastive focus function as well.

(883) a. *Bi-ke* *e-zeŋe-i* *menze.*
me-CONT NEG-FUT-1SG do.housekeeping
'And I won't do housekeeping.' (K 105)

b. *Di:* *osi-gi-e-ni-ke.*
four become-REP-PAST-3SG-CONT
'Four (of them) remained.' (K 187)

c. *Ute* *düixi-ni* *ñuxa:-ni* *bi-s'e-ke*
this inside-3SG climb.PAST-3SG be-PERF-FOC
nö:-ni-gdeli.
sable-3SG-FOC
'The sable must have climbed inside.'

12.1.1.11.2. The particles *-sA, c'ei, -gA, -tA*

Different focus nuances are rendered by the particles *-sA* (884a), *c'ei* (884b), *-gA* (884c), and *-tA* (885) in the examples below.

(884) a. *Timanaŋe-ni* *te:g'e* *Zugdeme-se* *dig'a.*
tomorrow-3SG wake.up.PERF Zugdeme-FOC eat.PERF
'The next day Zugdeme woke up and ate.' (K 145)

b. *Yegdige* *gakpa:-ni* *sul'ai-wa,*
hero shoot.PAST-3SG fox-ACC
begdi-we-ni *c'ei-de* *nagda:-ni.*
leg-ACC-3SG FOC-FOC get.into.PAST-3SG
'The hero shot at the fox and hit its leg.' (K 152)

c. *Bi-ne* *kektene-i-ge* *bie j'e-we?*

me-CONT lie-PRP-FOC be.PRES.HAB what-ACC
'And what happens if I lie down?' (K 161)

(885) a. *Si min-du bu-je xaulie-te.*
you me-DAT give-IMP.2SG please-FOC
'Give (it) to me, please.'

b. *Si ise-si-e omo uligdig'a-ta!*
you see-IM-IMP.2SG how beautiful-FOC
'Look how beautiful!'

c. *Safani:, j'eu jexe-i mendele-te!*
boring what sing-PRP always-FOC
'I am tired of you singing all the time!'

Additionally, the particle *-tA* seems to render the restrictive meaning (cf. the suffix of the Restrictive numerals *-t'A* in 11.1.7).

(886) a. *Nua-ni o-lo omo neŋi-ni-te bi-s'e.*
he-3SG this-LOC one day-3SG-FOC be-PERF
'He spent only one day here.'

b. *Bi emne-te xuli-s'e-i xoton-tigi.*
me once-FOC go-EXP.PERF-1SG city-LAT
'I have traveled to the city only once.'

12.1.1.11.3. The particle *bejeni*

The particle *bejeni* goes back to the noun *beje* 'body' in the 3rd person personal form (cf. also the personal pronoun *bueni* 'he, she', see 9.1). Its function seems to be to add an emphatic impact to an adjectival modifier. It is normally used in exclamations (887) or with the meaning 'very' (888).

(887) a. *Ge: bejeni ni: uti.*
bad FOC man that
'What a bad person he is!' (K 112)

b. *Aja bejeni ni: eme:-ni.*
nice FOC man come.PAST-3SG
'What a nice person came!' (K 110)

(888) *Kada due-le-ni sagdi bejeni due-le-ni*
rock top-LOC-3SG large FOC top-LOC-3SG
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
'(He) went to the top of a very large rock.' (K 113)

12.1.1.11.4. Restrictive particles in expressions of time

The postpositional particles *sila*, *s'ei, z'ei, tei* and *kei* follow an adverb or a NP with the quantifier *omo* 'one', which refers to the period of time. The examples are not numerous, so it is difficult to make a definite judgement on their semantics. Yet it seems that *sila, z'ei, tei* and *kei* tend to mean

'whole', while *s'ei* normally has a restrictive meaning ('only').

(889) a. *Omo dogbo sila e-si-ni ŋua-gi.*
one night whole NEG-PAST-3SG sleep-REP
'He didn't sleep the whole night.'

b. *Iŋeni kei gusi:.*
day whole play.PRP
'He is playing the whole day.'

c. *Omo sikie-ni z'ei mun-e-we*
one evening-3SG only we-0-ACC
ŋele-we-si:.
be.afraid-CAUS-IM.2SG
'You frighten us the whole evening.' (K 158)

(*890*) *J'eu-j'eu wo-jo omo dogbo s'ei.*
what-what do-IMP.2SG one night only
'Do everything within only one night.'

12.1.1.11.5. The particle *z'e* 'as soon as'

Examples:

(891) a. *Z'e ugda-wa juŋda-wan-a-isi-ni*
soon boat-ACC speed.up-CAUS-0-PC-3SG
ejekte ekti amäixi taŋda-gi:-ni.
flow quick back carry-REP-3SG
'As soon as he speed up his boat, the quick flow carries it back.'

b. *Z'e wokti-we nientile:-ni jegdige*
soon door-ACC open.PAST-3SG hero
gida-la:-ni mafa-wa.
spear-V.PAST-3SG bear-ACC
'As soon as (she) opened the door, the hero stabbed the bear with the spear.' (K 129)

d. *Z'e uta-la i:n-e-isi-ni nada-ni*
soon that-LOC come-0-PC-3SG seven-3SG
zimali kil'ai ze zomo-si:-ti.
seagull gull just steal-IM-3PL
'As soon as he came there, seven seagulls were just stealing (it).' (K 179)

12.1.2. Discourse particles

The independent discourse particles include the evidential (12.1.2.1) and epistemic (12.1.2.2) particles, as well as the particles that express different nuances of the organization of the text (12.1.2.3) and the communication between the speaker and the addressee (12.1.2.4). Evidential

and modal epistemic particles are normally (though not necessarily) placed at the very end of the sentence after the final verb, while most other discourse particles occur sentence-initially.

12.1.2.1. Evidential

The main common function of evidential particles is to indicate an indirect source of information as a ground for the assertion. What is meant by an indirect source of information, however, may vary. These particles are glossed as EV.

12.1.2.1.1. Hearsay evidential

The most typical evidential particles are *gune, gunei, guŋkini,* and *gum(u).* These three particles are clearly etymologically related to the verb of speech *gun-* 'say, tell'. The words *gun-e* and *gun-e-i* seem to represent the Habitual forms (with and without the Present Participle suffix *-i*). *Gum-u* may be an old Passive form, in which the stem-final /*n*/ was assimilated to /*m*/ before a round vowel. Such a sound change is mentioned in Schneider (1936), see also 8.2.1.5. *Guŋ-ki-ni* literally means 'he said' <say-PAST-3SG>. These forms seem to have lost their original meaning, and function simply as evidential particles. They are basically synonymous and indicate that the information about the corresponding event is obtained «second-hand», so they can be characterized as hearsay evidentials. Prototypically, the information about the event is obtained from another person when this person actually says it, as exemplified in (892).

(892) *Da:-la* *gum(u)-de* *aŋa-ŋi-ze-i.*
close-LOC EV-FOC night.shelter-V-SUBJ-2SG
'(She says:) stay nearby for a night.' (K 113)

This case is analyzed in section 18.4 on direct speech and in section 18.3.1.3 on the finite complement clause governed by verbs of saying. Although not required by the grammar, the hearsay evidential particles are particularly common within the subordinate finite complement clause when the matrix verb is a verb of perception or saying. In the finite subordinate clause introduced with the verb of thinking *muisi-* 'think' the evidential particle *gune* is strictly obligatory (18.3.1.2).

12.1.2.1.2. Visual evidential

The same particles *gune, gunei, guŋkini,* and also *gum(u)* are used if the information expresses somebody else's sensory perception, normally seeing. For example in (893a) below the particle indicates that the situation 'there is something black' is perceived not by the speaker but by the character of the text introduced in the previous sentence ('he'). The situation of 'seeing', however, does not have to be overtly expressed in the context.

(893) a. *Ei* *ŋene:-ni.* *Te:* *unakta*
this go.PAST-3SG well river.stretch
due-le-ni *p'aga* *bie* *gune.*
end-LOC-3SG black be.PRES.HAB EV
'So he went. Well, at the end of the stretch of the river something black is seen.' (K 111)

b. *Akandi* *ilaktaŋ-ka* *gune.*
Akandi appear-PERF EV

‘(He sees) Akandi has appeared.’ (K 121)

c. *ŋene-si:-ni* *um’a-la-ni* *omo-s’o*
go-IM-3SG hook-LOC-3SG one-ADJ
ta:-ni *gune.*
caught.PAST-3SG EV
‘He went (and saw that) one (fish) was caught on his hook.’ (K 29)

The information obtained through hearing can also be encoded with the evidential particles, although this case is less regular, and the direct statement can often be found in this situation (see the examples in section 18.3).

12.1.2.1.3. Mirative evidential

Mirative evidentials basically indicate that the speaker did not expect event described in the clause. They are often used in the context of coming to a new place, discovering something unexpected, entering a house, etc. Such particles correspond to the English evidential expressions ‘it turns out that’, ‘apparently’, ‘it appears’, and so on. In Udihe the mirative evidentials are *bese* and *bubu (bebe, bube)*, often combined with the focus clitic *-te* (*bese-te, bebe-te, bubu-te*), cf.:

(894) a. *Uti* *zueze* *bie* *bubu.*
that table be.PRES.HAB EV
‘Here is the table (unexpectedly).’

b. *Nua-ni* *emegi-e-ni* *bubu-te.*
he-3SG come-PAST-3SG EV-FOC
‘It turns out that he has already come.’

c. *Exe-le* *amba* *bubu.*
sister-CONT evil.spirit EV
‘It turns out that his sister is an evil spirit.’ (K 130).

d. *Aziga* *eme-ini* *bebe-te.*
girl come-3SG EV-FOC
‘It looks like the girl is coming.’

e. *Bi* *cawa-i* *muj’ei* *bubu-te.*
me cup-1SG whole EV-FOC
‘It turns out that my cup is not broken!’

The mirative evidential particle and the hearsay evidential particle can co-occur within one sentence, as shown in (895).

(895) a. *Saŋa* *cul(i)* *si:nde-ixi-ni* *zuŋe-ti* *belie*
hole through look-PC-3SG two-3PL girl
os’e-si *uŋta* *wagisi-mi*
become.PERF-PC.SS boot dry-INF
bi:-ti *gunei* *bebu.*
be-3PL EV EV
‘He is looking through the hole: the two, having become girls, are drying (his) boots.’ (K 109)

b. *ŋene:-ni* *nada-zi* *käu-käu*
go.PAST-3SG seven-INST all-all

maga:-ti *gune* *bube.*
kill.PAST-3PL EV EV
'She went (and saw that) all seven (of them) were killed.' (K 177)

12.1.2.1.4. Position of the evidential particles

The examples cited in this section show the sentence-final position of the evidential particles. In (896) it is placed sentence-internally, which is a much less common option.

(896) a. *Ña* *xokono-li-ge* *gune* *uti* *omo.*
also moan-INC-PERF EV that one
'That one also started moaning.' (K 187)

b. *Nada-ti* *namu-la* *ji:n-e-isi-ni*
seven-ORD sea-LOC enter-0-PC-3SG
käi *xo:n-dile-ni* *bie* *gunei* *zugdi-ti.*
hill top-LOC-3SG be.PRES.HAB EV house-3PL
'He entered the seventh sea and their house appeared on the top of the hill.' (K 181)

In the Northern dialect the evidential particle *gune* introduces a non-finite complement clause in the Accusative (see 20.2.2.6).

12.1.2.2. Epistemic particles

Some evidential particles can be used in the epistemic function, which seems to show that there is no strict border between these two categories. However, some epistemics have a specialized meaning which deviate from the evidential meaning as associated with evidential particles. Epistemic particles in a strict sense do not indicate an indirect source of information, as evidentials do, but rather the degree of the speaker's knowledge and belief about the event. Although the lack of the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition may be conditioned by the indirect source of information, this is not invariably the case. The most important epistemic particles in Udihe are *saina* 'perhaps' (12.1.2.2.2), *bize* 'must' (12.1.2.2.1), and *j'aza* 'of course' (12.1.2.2.3). The particle *bize* is strictly sentence-final; the other two particles are located fairly freely in the sentence.

12.1.2.2.1. The particle *bize* 'must'

The particle *bize* goes back to the Subjunctive 3rd person form of the verb *bi-* 'be'. It expresses a fairly high degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition on the part of the speaker and will be translated and glossed as 'must', cf.:

(897) a. *Ei* *gegbeŋku* *guači* *bize.*
this berry bitter must
'This berry must be bitter.'

b. *Xeline-ini* *bize.*
hurry-3SG must
'He must be in a hurry.'

c. *Bi* *anda-i* *nixe-ini* *bize.*

me friend-1SG do-3SG must
'It must be my friend doing this.' (K 133)

The examples in (898) below show that the use of the epistemic particle *bize* is often motivated by the fact that the speaker makes a logical inference on the grounds of a certain piece of evidence. Thus, in (898b) the fact that the tea is hot must have led the speaker to the conclusion that somebody had come and made it hot. Therefore the meaning of the particle *bize* is here practically indistinguishable from the inferential evidential meaning.

(898) a. *Bi begdi: eineŋi ketu aja, ele asigi-mi bize.*
me leg.1SG today very nice soon recover-1SG must
'My leg is well today, I must recover soon.' (K 154)

b. *Čaja xekui ni-ke xuli-se:-ni bize.*
tea hot who-IND come-EXP.PAST-3SG EV
'The tea is hot, somebody must have come.'

12.1.2.2.2. The particle *saina* 'perhaps'

The particle *saina* 'perhaps' is apparently etymologically related to the verbal stem *sa:*- 'know' augmented with the archaic converbial suffix *-na*, see 7.5.2.3.3. It expresses a low degree of the commitment to the truth from the speaker, and does not make any reference to the grounds for the assertion. This particle is normally sentence-initial and co-occurs with the verb in the Subjunctive (899a).

(899) a. *Saina nua-ni timana-ni*
perhaps he-3SG tomorrow-3SG
eme-gi-ze.
come-REP-SUBJ
'Perhaps he will come tomorrow.'

b. *Min-du omo-to zä: sene*
me-DAT one-REST money only
bu-o:-ni. Saina zä:-ŋi-le
give-PAST-3SG perhaps money-AL-PART
anči bi:-ni.
no be-3SG
'He gave me only one ruble. Perhaps he didn't have the money.'

12.1.2.2.3. The particle *jaza(-ta)* 'of course'

The particle *jaza* 'of course' goes back to the Subjunctive form of the interrogative proverb *ja-* (9.3.4) and expresses confirmation. It is often combined with the focus clitic *-ta.*

(900) a. *Uti waŋba-ŋi-ni tagda-i jaza-ta.*
that tortoise-AL-3SG get.angry-PRP of.course-FOC
'Of course the tortoise was angry.'

b. *Timana ña gulin'e jaza.*
morning again go.PERF of.course
'Of course in the morning he set out again.'

12.1.2.2.4. Mirative particles with an epistemic meaning

The mirative particles (12.1.2.1.3) may be used when the speaker is generally aware of the situation, while expressing some doubt. So here the meaning shifts into the purely modal sphere. The closest English equivalent would be ‘apparently’ or a tag question.

(901) a. *Sin-du* *premija-wa* *imi* *e-si-ti* *bu:?*
you-DAT prize-ACC why NEG-PAST-3PL give
Si *aja-zi* *etete-i* *bubu.*
give you good-INST work-2SG EV
‘Why didn’t they give you a prize? You work well, don’t you?’

b. *Nua-ni* *jexe-i* *bi:* *bese(-te).*
he-3SG sing-PRP be.PRP EV-FOC
‘It is him singing, apparently.’

c. *Nua-ni* *aja* *bubu(-te).*
he-3SG good EV-FOC
‘He is beautiful, apparently.’

d. *Ni:-de* *eme-iti,* *xuli:-ti* *bube-nu.*
man-FOC come-3PL walk-3PL EV-CONT
‘People come and walk, apparently.’ (K 181)

12.1.2.3. Discourse-linking particles

Discourse-linking particles express different strategies of the organization of the text by the speaker; that is, they serve speaker-text interaction.

12.1.2.3.1. The conclusive particles ‘well, so’

There is a group of particles that indicate a certain conclusion or a period in the text, and these can be approximately translated as ‘well’ or ‘so’: *te* (902a), *ta:* (902b), and *ke* (839c). These particles are most typical of the Northern dialect and are normally sentence-initial.

(902) a. *Te* *jegdige* *meisi-e-ni.*
so hero think-PAST-3SG
‘So the hero thought.’ (K 168)

b. *Ta:* *tagi-le* *i:ŋ-ki-ni.*
well middle-LOC enter-PAST-3SG
‘Well, he reached its middle.’ (K 187)

c. *Ke* *beliente* *wa-gi-li-e-ni.*
well fairy kill-REP-INC-PAST-3SG.
‘Well, the fairy came to life again.’ (K 189)

Another sentence-initial particle *ge* ‘well’ is extremely frequent in both dialects. In the Southern dialect the sentence-final particle *eitene* ‘now’ (from *ei* ‘this’ and *tene* Contrastive focus) is also used.

(903) a. *Ge* *timana* *eme:-ni* *oloxi.*

well tomorrow come.PAST-3SG squirrel
'Well, next day the squirrel came.'

b. *Ge* *omo* *mafasa* *bagdi-e-ni* *eitene.*
well one old.man live-PAST-3SG now
'Well, now one old man lived.'

12.1.2.3.2. The conclusive particle *daŋdile* 'that is why, so'

The particle *daŋdile* has the resultative meaning and can approximately be translated as 'that is why, so, therefore' (Russian *to to*), although Simonov translates is as 'surprisingly'. Normally it introduces an event witnessed by the speaker, cf.:

(904) a. *ŋala-i* *bukta-li-e-ni* *daŋdile* *soŋo-ini.*
hand-REF break-INC-PAST-3SG so cry-3SG
'He broke his hand, that is why he is crying.'

b. *Eme-gi-e-ti* *wakca-na:* *getu* *daŋdile*
come-REP-PAST-3PL hunt-DIR.PP PL so
ule: *olokto-si-du-ge.*
meat cook-IM-PL-PERF
'The hunters have come back, that is why (I can see that) they have cooked meat.'

12.1.2.4. Addressee-oriented particles

Several particles directly express different aspects of the communication between the speaker and the addressee of the corresponding utterance.

12.1.2.4.1. The particle *m'a* 'here it is'

The particle *m'a* 'here it is (take it), here you are' (cf. Russian *na*) is used when showing or offering something (905) or when describing a situation and making an emphatic address to the addressee (906). Occasionally, it may be used in exclamations with the meaning 'what a' (907).

(905) a. *M'a* *uniŋa.*
here spoon
'Here is the spoon (take it).'

b. *M'a,* *Puza!*
here Puza (name of the fire spirit)
'Here it is, Puza!' (an address to the fire spirit when feeding it).

c. *M'a* *iŋi-zi* *iŋi-zi.*
here tongue-INST tongue-INST
'Here it is, (try with your) tongue.' (K 105)

(906) *M'a* *ŋele-li-e-ni.*
here get.afraid-INC-PAST-3SG
'Here it is, he got frightened.' (K 182)

(907) *M'a* *paki* *a:nta* *bi:-ni* *bube-nu.*

here skilful woman be-3SG EV-FOC
'What a skilful woman she turns out to be!' (K 182)

12.1.2.4.2. The hortative particles

The hortative clitic *-zA* regularly accompanies the permissive verb (see the examples in 7.8.5) and is also compatible with the imperative verb, as illustrated in (908). Used in an independent way (not as a clitic) it can be translated as 'come on' (909).

(908) a. *Unta-i* *aikta,* *uke-tigi*
boot-2SG take.off door-LAT
wende-ze.
throw.IMP.2SG-HORT
'Take off your boots and throw them to the door.' (K 109)
b. *Aja,* *gazi-ze,* *gulini-u-ze.*
good take-HORT go-IMP.2PL-HORT
'OK, take (her) and go (the two of you).' (K 159)

(909) *Ganziŋa* *seudine-we* *soktu-te-i-ze* *ze* clean
kerchief-ACC spread-PERM-2SG- HORT
uta *mui* *ze* *gun-te-i-ze.*
that horse HORT say-PERM-2SG-HORT
'Spread a clean kerchief, then say: Horse, come on!'

The rare hortative particle *-gA* is illustrated below.

(910) a. *Oloŋo-tigi* *ŋene-ze-fi-ge.*
Olon-LAT go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-HORT
'Let us go to Olon.'
b. *Olokto-zo-m(i)-ge* *ule:-we.*
cook-SUBJ-1SG-HORT meat-ACC
'Let me cook the meat.'

12.2. Extra-clausal elements

12.2.1. Addresses

Addresses naturally often co-occur with the Imperative verbs. On the Imperative clause see 15.1.2.

12.2.1.1. Nominative

A neutral address in Udihe is based on the Nominative form. The address word stands either at the beginning of the clause (911), in the middle of the clause (912), where it can be even inserted within a constituent (912b) or – more seldom – at the very end of it (913).

(911) a. *Čoŋ* *gos'o,* *eme:-i* *j'eu.*
Chon uncle come.PAST-2SG what
'Uncle Chon, did you come!' (K 130)

b. *G'ai* *ag'a,* *eme:-i j'eu?*
raven brother come.PAST-2SG what
'Brother raven, did you come?' (K 132)

c. *A:* *zeli* *alasi-nde.*
INTER bulltrout wait-SEM
'A, bulltrout, wait a little!'

d. *Aziga-ziga* *eme-je-u.*
girl-PL come-IMP-2PL
'Girls, come!'

(912) a. *Si* *saulasi-za-i,* *eniŋi,* *bi*
you lighten-SUBJ-2SG mother me
gida-si-lege-i.
spear-V-PURP-1SG
'Wife, hold up the light so that I can hit it with the spear.' (K158)

b. *Ketu,* *ag'a,* *aja* *gakpa-i.*
very brother good shoot-2SG
'Brother, you shoot very well.' (K 152)

c. *Bu,* *emende,* *go:-tigi* *ŋene-u.*
we witch long-LAT go-1PL.EX
'Witch, we are going a long way.' (K 171)

(913) *Tinda-gi-je* *min-e-we* *aja* *ni:.*
et-REP-IMP.2SG me-0-ACC good man
'Let me go, nice man.'

12.2.1.2. Expressive lengthening

In an expressive address, especially when calling from a long distance, the word-final vowel exhibits a non-phonemic lengthening. An additional *e* sound is pronounced with a raising intonation. For example, in one tale the address to a fox (*sul'ai*) is *sul'aj-e*, cf. also:

(914) *Kuŋk'ai* *tukca-na-ni-e-e,* *sakt'ai*
cedar.thicket hare-PL-3SG willow.thicket
tukca-na-ni-e-e.
hare-3SG
'Hares from the cedar thicket, hares from the willow thicket!'

12.2.1.3. Vocative

Apart from the Nominative used in addresses, the Udihe also possesses a special Vocative form. It is always pronounced at a higher pitch with respect to other elements of the same clause. Formally, the Vocative has much in common with the 1st person Singular Possessive derived with the suffix *-i* (6.1.4.1). In the Vocative form the vowel /*i*/ follows the vowels /*e*/, /*a*/, /*o*/, /*u*/ in a regular way, so for the stems that end in these vowels the Vocative coincides with the 1st person Singular possessive form. The relation of the Vocative with the 1st person Singular Possessive is clearly seen from the fact that the Vocative is easily compatible with the 1st person possessor: *bi gagda-i* 'spouse' (literally 'my spouse'). Besides, class II nouns have the *mie*-final Vocative

form, which again may go back to their 1st person Singular affix *-mi* (4.1.4.1.1): *sita-mie* ‘child’ (literally: ‘my child’).

However, for the *i*-final nouns, the Vocative form differs from the 1st person Singular Possessive: the possessive forms end in a long /*i*/, due to vowel contraction, while in the Vocative the stem-final vowel /*i*/ changes into a diphthongoid /*ie*/, so the word ends in *-iei.* After a consonant the Vocative ends in *-Ai,* cf.:

(915)	*Susan*	*Susan-a-i*	‘Susan (a proper name)’
	k’äsa	*k’äsa-i*	‘eagle’
	mamaka	*mamaka-i*	‘old woman’
	baja mafa	*baja mafa-i*	‘rich old man’
	boxos’o	*boxos’o-i*	‘humpback’
	zoŋkus’o	*zoŋkus’o-i*	‘poor man’

The Vocative is the normal form of address to relatives; in this case the use of the Nominative is rare. The following are the forms of address used for the most important kinship terms. Note that a few of them have two suppletive stems: one is found in the function of address (either in the Vocative or in the Nominative), while another is used in the declension (4.1.1.2.3).

(916)	*mamasa*	*mamasa-i*	‘wife’
	mafa	*mafa-i*	‘husband’
	xunazi	*xunazie-i*	‘sister’
	od’o	*od’o-i*	‘grandfather, father-in-law’
	omölo	*omölo-i*	‘grandchild’
	mama	*mama-i*	‘grandmother, mother-in-law’
	gagda	*gagda-i*	‘spouse’

See the examples.

(917) a. *Min-e-we* *belesi-je* *xunazi-ei.*
me-0-ACC help-IMP.2SG sister-VOC
‘Help me, sister.’

b. *B’agdifi* *Miriwana* *od’o-i.*
hello Miriwan grandfather-VOC
‘Hello, grandfather Miriwan!’

c. *Sonia* *exe-i* *b’agdifi.*
Sonia aunt-1SG hello
‘Hello, auntie Sonia!’

12.2.1.4. Euphemistic address

When addressing relatives it is very common to treat them from the point of view of another person, normally a younger relative, a child, or a younger sibling. Thus a husband can address his wife as the mother of his children (of the first child), and vice versa, for example, *Isimi ene* (or: *Isimi eni-ni*) literally ‘mother of Isimi’ (K 129), *Edika ami-ni* literally ‘the father of Edik’, cf. also:

(918) *Ami-ti!* *Sita-ni* *tege-we* *gele-li-e-ni.*
father-3PL son-3SG gown-ACC ask-INC-PAST-3SG
‘Husband! (Our) son is asking for a gown.’

Compare also the address to parents-in-law as grandparents (of your own children) mentioned in 12.2.1.3, the address to one's own mother literally as 'their mother' (*enei-ti* 'their mother'), apparently taking the position of the siblings, the address to one's own wife as *mamasa-ti* literally 'their wife', and to one's own sibling as *neŋu-ti* 'their younger brother or sister'. Finally, a daughter-in-law (the youngest son's wife) can be addressed as *omölo-tie* literally 'their granddaughter' or *neŋu-ti mamasa-ni* literally 'the wife of their younger brother'.

12.2.1.5. Affectionate address

In folklore tales and songs the word *bajani* or its expressive variant *baja-nie* (< *baja-ni* <dear-3SG>) can be used after the address itself. It goes back to the adjective *baja* 'rich', augmented with the 3rd person Singular possessive suffix *-ni*. This word is approximately translated as '(my) dear'.

(919) a. *ŋua-je* *ŋua-je* *xudasi:* *ni:*
sleep-IMP.2SG sleep-IMP.2SG sell.PRP man
baja-ni.
dear-3SG
'Sleep sleep, dear merchant.'

b. *exe-nie baja-nie* address to an older woman
<sister-3SG dear-3SG>
Masuda ni: baja-nie 'dear Masuda'
<Masuda man dear-3SG>
b'ata(-ni) baja-nie 'dear son'
<boy(-3SG) dear-3SG>
gagda-nie baja-nie 'dear husband'
<another-3SG dear-3SG>

12.2.2. Routine formulaic expressions

By «routine formulaic expressions» we mean standard formulae used for conversational interaction. They are presented below with approximate translations.

(920)

dogdi	'listen' (only to a spouse)
sagdi asasa	'thanks a lot'
solodi	'hello' (on Samarga)
xaulie	'please'
b'agdifi	'hello'
aja	'OK, well, please'
asasa	'thanks'
ge(le)	'hey, hello'
si asasa	'thank YOU'
banäxe, banixe	'thank you'
iŋke	'yes, right, OK'
ceze	'yes, right'
äga	'well, OK'
nä	'I don't know' (in an answer)

e:, e	‘yes, well, so’
aja bimo:	‘good bye (to somebody who remains)’
aja ŋenemo:	‘good bye (to somebody who leaves)’

In the general meaning ‘no’ the negative copula *anči* can be used. However its usage is somewhat restricted, and it is more natural to use the corresponding form of the negative auxiliary verb instead (see 7.3.3.3). Some examples of the use of formulaic expressions are:

(921) a. *Gele* *zegdem* *guas’a.*
hey burnt bitch
‘Hey, you burnt bitch!’ (K 112)

b. *Ge* *pauza-ziga* *sul’ai* *ketu* *uligdig’a*
hey roe-PL fox very beautiful
tege-we *b’a:-ni.*
gown-ACC find.PAST-3SG
‘Hey, roes! The fox has found a very beautiful dress.’ (K 161)

c. *Ge,* *jegdige,* *iŋke,* *guŋ-ki-ni.*
well hero right say-PAST-3SG
‘OK, this is right, the hero said.’ (K 153)

d. *Emus’e* *bagdi-hi-nu?* *Anči,* *exi*
alone live-2SG-CONT no sister
mule *bagdi-u.*
with live-1PL.EX
‘Do you live alone? No, I live with my sister.’ (K 156)

12.2.3. Interjections

Udihe is extremely rich in the ideophonic words that in some way characterize the action expressed by the verb. These words have an adverbial function and are internal to the clause. They are treated in Chapter10. In this section we will only cite interjections and onomatopoetic words that represent a direct «quotation» and function outside the clause. For more interjections and onomatopoetic words in the Northern dialect see Sunik (1968: 228–229), and text materials in Kormušin (1998) and Simonov, Kjalundjuga and Xasanova (1998).

12.2.3.1. Interjections

Many interjections in use are borrowed from Russian. Native interjections are often based on the repetition of the same syllable. The following original interjections, which express various emotions and volitions, are found:

(922)

aje: (with a high pitch at the end)	surprise, pity, admiration
a-ta-ta-ta, a-da-da-da, e-de-de-de(i)	fear
ge-ge-ge	surprise, fear
sie	disappointment
a-na-na	pain
sü(h)	tiredness; driving away hens
baŋcai	joy when finding ginseng
ta-ta-ta	driving on dogs
xa-xai	threatening, indignation

jei	surprise
t'a	driving away dogs
tui	'pah!'
saña(na)wo:ni	'damn!'

12.2.3.2. Onomatopoetic words

The following are onomatopoetic words imitating sounds made by animals (923a) or other sounds (923b):

(923)	a.	*gabak*	raven
		xai-gu-gu-gu	hare
		siñ-siñ	a little bird
		kor-kor, kärre-kärre a	crow
		ke-ku	cuckoo, cf. *keku-nde-* 'cuckoo'
		xeu-xeu	dog
		kuŋtitiete-kuŋtitiete	turtledove
		todi-todi	a small bird
		küi-küi-küi	a small bird
		ko:ŋ-ko:ŋ	raven
	b.	*pum-pum*	shaman tambourine
		tieuŋ-tieuŋ	shaman tambourine
		ki-iñ	screaming of a baby
		käk-cike	cracking noise

Under (924) we list the traditional meaningless refrains used in folk songs.

(924) *jawa-jawa*
jewe-ju
zän-zän-zän
dele
ba-ba, baba-ju (cf. *baba-* 'rock to sleep')
beke-beke, beke-ju (cf. *beke-gi-* 'rock to sleep')

Syntax

Udihe is a head-final SOV language. However, head-finality is not rigid. In some noun phrases, such as the possessive phrase, the head-final order is obligatory. Other noun phrases demonstrate a split in head properties: in certain constructions attributes may raise to the phrase-final position and receive some other head properties (24.2.2.1). Postpositional phrases and non-finite clauses are always head-final. In the matrix clause the word order is largely motivated by information structure. The most important requirement for word order at a clause level is the immediately preverbal position of the focus element (including the question words) (24.1.1).

Major grammatical relations, such as the subject, direct object, and indirect object, are rather easily identified by a cluster of grammatical properties (Chapter 15). In particular, the subject is a grammatical element associated with the highest syntactic activity and is the main controller of coreferential relations, both within the clause and clause-externally. The verb only agrees with the subject. A number of rules that change grammatical relations apply (Chapter16). The case marking patterns are uniformly based on the Accusative system with the following two exceptions. First, the direct object marked with the reflexive-possessive affix stands in the Nominative (22.3.2). Second, the single argument of certain constructions denoting state may be encoded by the Accusative noun phrase (17.2.2.5.2).

The subordinate clause mostly makes use of non-finite verbal forms, participles, converbs, and infinitives. Clause-chaining is organized around the switch-reference system, which opposes same-subject and different-subject relationships (22.5). They are morphologically encoded on the non-finite verbal forms employed in the subordinate clause. Relative clauses are formally patterned as attributive noun phrase (Chapter 19), complement clauses as possessive noun phrases with participles taking corresponding case and possessive affixes (Chapter 20).

Chapter 13
Noun phrase

A noun phrase consists of a head and an optional modifier. The following grammatical classes function as nominal heads: nouns and pro-nouns (personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, and indefinite pronouns, see Chapter 9). In headless noun phrases the head noun is omitted, while cardinal numerals, quantifiers, adjectives, pro-adjectives, and the relative clause undergo nominalization. These cases are not treated in this chapter (on the headless relative clause see section 19.5, and on the headless noun phrase see 22.2.3). Pro-nouns do not take a modifier, with the exception of the relative clause. Ordinary nouns may function as attributive forms only when there is a possessive relation between them and the head. Some exceptions are addressed in 13.7.

The following classes of modifiers are available: pro-nouns (that is, Personal pronouns), adjectives, pro-adjectives (Demonstrative and indefinite Pronouns), quantifiers, postpositional phrases, oblique-case noun phrases, and the relative clause. The relative clause is discussed in Chapter 19. Articles are missing, and definiteness may be expressed by means of 3rd person possessive affixes (4.3.1.1). Head nominals cannot be modified by a simple adverbial. Adjectival modification may also be performed by the derivational affixes *-ziga* (5.1.1.1) and *-ŋA:* (5.1.1.5).

The noun phrase is typically head-final. However, under certain information structure driven conditions the order within particular noun phrases is reversed: the modifier occupies the phrase-final position and is characterized by certain other head properties. This process will be referred to as «modifier raising» and is addressed in 24.2.2.1. As shown there, modifier raising is observed in the situation when the modifier and the head noun bear different information structure statuses. In this chapter we will only focus on noun phrases that are «neutral» (not partitioned) from the point of view of information structure, and that correspondingly do not demonstrate modifier raising. Yet, even in this case, head-finality is not rigid. Certain classes of modifiers – the postpositional phrase, the oblique-case noun phrase, and certain appositions – are always postnominal, independent of any information structure considerations, so head-finality is violated. Other modifiers (numerals and some other quantifiers) may be prenominal and postnominal without being raised. The word order within noun phrases with each individual modifier is discussed in the corresponding sections, while section 13.10 focuses on word order within a noun phrase with several modifiers.

The syntactic relationship between the head and the modifier is encoded morphologically only in certain types of noun phrase: the possessive noun phrase (13.1) and the phrase where the modifier corresponds to the indefinite pronoun (9.6). Otherwise the modifier is merely juxtaposed to the head noun. The only lexical material that may be inserted between the head and the modifier are focus particles, cf.:

(925) *Sita-i* *tene* *bugdi-le-ni* *su:ne:-k.*
child-REF CONT leg-LOC-3SG string.PAST-EXPR
'He strung his child's legs.'

On discontinuous noun phrases see 24.2.2.2.

Attributive agreement in case is absent with the notable exception of some quantifiers (13.3.4), some types of appositions (13.8.2), and relative clauses (see Chapter 19). Attributive agreement in number is obligatory only when the head nominal is morphologically marked for plurality (13.2.2). In the «neutral» noun phrase discussed here the external syntactic role of the noun phrase is encoded by (case) markers on the head noun, for other cases see 24.2.2.1.

Below the noun phrases are presented according to the modifier types. For apposition see 13.9.

For the adjective phrase see 6.3, for the adverbial phrase see 10.1.7, and for the postpositional phrase see 10.2.3.

13.1. Possessive noun phrase

The most important formal characteristic of the possessive noun phrase is that the relationship between the modifier (the possessor) and the head (the possessed noun) is encoded by possessive affixes on the head. The only type of possessive noun phrase where the possessive affixes on the head noun are missing are reciprocal possessives (22.4.1.2).

As distinct from most other noun phrases, the possessive noun phrase has a fixed word order «modifier – head»; that is, it does not undergo inversion because of information structure.

Noun phrases in which the modifier corresponds to the interrogative pronouns (pro-nouns) *j'eu* 'what' or *ni* 'who' or the indefinite pronouns *j'eu-ke* 'something' and *ni-ke* 'somebody' are structurally organized in the same way as the possessive noun phrase with a nominal modifier (see 9.5.1.1).

13.1.1. Pronominal possessive modifier

The structure of the possessive (including Destinative) noun phrase with the pronominal modifier is as follows:

(926) (Personal pronoun in the Nominative/Reflexive pronoun *men-e*) – head noun + (Alienable Possessive affix) + (case affix that encodes its syntactic role) + Possessive/Reflexive affix that cross-references the Personal pronoun

Examples:

(927)	*(bi) anda-i*	'my friend' <me friend-1SG>
	(nua-ni) anda-ni	'his friend' <he-3SG friend-3SG>
	(nua-ni) ja:-ŋi-ni	'his cow' <he-3SG cow-AL-3SG)'
	(men-e) k'olo-i	'one's mittens' <REF-0 mitten-REF>.
	(nua-ni) zugdi-du-ni	'in his house' <he-3SG house-DAT-3SG>
	(su) gegbeŋku-zi-u	'with your berries' <you berry-INST-2PL>
	(bi) kusige-ne-i	'a knife for me' <me knife-DEST-1SG>
	(men-e) 'ana-na-mi	'a boat for oneself' <REF-0 boat-DEST-REF>

On Personal pronouns see 9.1, on Possessive affixes see 4.1.4.

The pronominal modifier can be omitted under coreference, but is recoverable from the context or the communicative situation (928). As was discussed in 4.1.3.3, the 3rd person personal affix *-ni* can encode (situational) definiteness. In this case the position of the possessor remains unfilled; for example, (929) refers to sleeves of a dress, which in this case are definite.

(928) a. *In'ei* *ikteme-ne:-ni* *pauza,* *ña:-wa-ni*
dog bite-DIR.PAST-3SG roe skin-ACC-3SG
sie:-ni, *ule:-we-ni* *pahintua:-ni,*
skin.PAST-3SG flesh-ACC-3SG eat.round.PAST-3SG
dili-we-ni *oŋmo:-ni.*
head-ACC-3SG forget.PAST-3SG
'Dogs have bitten the roe to death: they have skinned it and eaten (its) flesh, but they have forgotten (its) head.' (K 138)

b. *Uga-i-de* *ančі.*
voice-1SG-FOC no
'I don't have a voice.'

c. *Koko* *dili:* *ugi-wen-e-ini.*
Koko head.REF move-CAUS-0-3SG
'Koko turns his head.'

(929) *Uke:-we-ni* *likpa-gi-je!*
sleeve-ACC-3SG roll.up-REP-IMP.2SG
'Roll up your sleeves!'

13.1.2. Nominal possessive modifier

The structure of the possessive noun phrase with the nominal modifier is as follows:

(930) possessor noun in the Nominative – head noun + (Alienable Possessive affix) + (case affix that encodes its syntactic role) + Possessive/Reflexive affix that cross-references the possessor

Examples are:

(931) *teŋku bugdi-ni* 'a leg of the stool' <stool leg-3SG>
aziga-ziga zugdi-ti 'the house of the girls' <girl-PL house-3PL>
in'ei ule:-ne-ni 'meat for the dog' <dog meat-DEST-3SG>

As shown in 4.2.3, the relationship between the possessor and the possessed noun is not necessarily possessive but comprises different semantic types (gender, part-whole, quality, naming, etc.). When integrated in a sentence the head noun takes case markers which show its external syntactic role.

(932) a. *Bu* *Susana* *zugdi-we-ni* *ise:-mu.*
we Susan house-ACC-3SG see.PAST-1PL.EX
'We have seen Susan's house.'
b. *Bi* *suese* *xei-we-ni* *bukta-li-e-mi.*
me axe handle-ACC-3SG break-INC-PAST-1SG
'I broke the handle of the axe.'
c. *Beliente* *ŋala-la-ni* *zawa-mi-de*
fairy hand-LOC-3SG take-INF-FOC
tandana-gi-e-ni.
pull-REP-PAST-3SG
'He took the fairy's hand and pulled it again.' (K 189)

The chain possessive construction involving multiple possessors arises when the possessor in its turn is modified by another possessive modifier (a noun or a personal pronoun). The maximal «depth» is three levels, while longer chains are typically avoided.

(933) *bi* *sita-i* *anda-ni*
[me child-1SG] friend-3SG
'a friend of my son'
soŋgo *nä:-ni* *iŋgakta-ni*

[bear skin-3SG] hair-3SG
‘the hair of the bear’s fur’
bi *keige-i* *sita-ni* *igi-ni*
[[me cat-1SG] child-3SG] tail-3S
‘my kitten’s tale’
bi *abuga-i* *anda-ni* *’ana-ni*
[[me father-1SG] friend-3SG] boat-3SG
‘the boat of my father’s friend’

13.1.3. «Double» possessive noun phrase

Since Udihe has two types of possessive constructions with two different meanings, the regular Possessive (4.1.4) and the Alienable Possessive (4.1.4.1), a situation may arise when one noun stands in two different possessive relationships to two possessive modifiers of different types. In this case the possessive marking on the head noun is subject to conflict. As demonstrated by (934b), the 3rd person possessive affix that expresses the alienable possessive relationship, as in (934a), is suppressed and the head noun is only marked for regular possession. Yet, the marker of alienable possession is present.

(934) a. *nua-ni nakta dili-ŋi-ni* ‘his boar’s head’
<he-3SG boar head-AL-3SG>
nua-ni kuŋka mo:-ŋi-ni ‘his cedar tree’
<he-3SG cedar tree-AL-3SG>
b. *bi nakta dili-ŋi:* ‘my boar’s head’ <me boar head-AL.1SG>
bi kuŋka mo:-ŋi: ‘my cedar tree’ <me cedar tree-AL.1SG>

13.1.4. Plurality within the possessive noun phrase

Expression of plurality is always optional in Udihe (4.2.1), thus, plurality of the head noun may remain unexpressed formally. However, within the possessive noun phrase with the pronominal possessor the plurality of the head noun can be encoded by the possessive Plural affix *-nA-* (4.1.2.3).

(935) a. *Nua-ni* *men-e* *neŋu-ne-zi:*
he-3SG REF-0 younger.sibling-PL-INST.REF.SG
b’agdi-e-ti.
meet-PAST-3PL
‘He met his younger siblings.’
b. *bi* *mo:-ŋi-ne-i*
me tree-AL-PL-1SG
‘my firewood’
c. *Bi* *Ñ’ädiga* *xanta-na-wa-ni* *sa:-mi.*
me Nadiga relative-PL-ACC-3SG know-1SG
‘I know Nadiga’s relatives.’
d. *Udie* *ni:-ne-we-ni* *santa-na-wa-ni,*

Udihe man-PL-ACC-3SG old.people-PL-ACC-3SG
a:nta-na-wa-ni, *ñ'aula-na-wa-ni*
woman-PL-ACC-3SG child-PL-ACC-3SG
teluŋu-si-du-ze.
story-IM-PL-SUBJ
'Let them tell about the Udihe old people: men, women, and children.'

Although *-nA-* is preferable in this case, the regular Plural affix *-ziga-* is also available, cf.: *su zueze-ziga-wa-u* 'your tables' <you table-PL-ACC-2PL>, *bi in'ei-ziga-wa-i* 'my dogs' <me dog-PL-ACC-1SG>. Thus, for example, *bi zube sita-i* <me two child-1SG>, *bi zube sita-ziga-i* <me two child-PL-1SG>, and *bi zube sita-na-i* <me two child-PL-1SG> are synonymous and all mean 'my two children'. The Plural suffix *-nA-* is restricted to noun phrases with a pronominal possessor. In the noun phrases with a lexical possessor only the suffix *-ziga-* marks plurality, cf.: *aziga anda-ziga-ni* <girl friend-PL-3SG> 'friend of the girl', while **aziga anda-na-ni* <girl friend-PL-3SG> is ruled out.

With Plural lexical possessors marked by the Plural affix the head noun takes either the Singular (*-ni*) or Plural (*-ti*) 3rd person agreement: On the other hand, if plurality of the modifier is not expressed on it, it must be expressed by the 3rd person Plural agreement affix on the head noun. Further, the 3rd person Plural possessive affix *-ti* may express plurality of both the possessor and the possessed. although the former interpretation is preferable: *mamasa-ti* 'their wife' and 'his wives' (SK 539). Finally, the Singular head noun may be semantically Plural (4.2.1.1.2). Thus, the noun phrase is highly ambiguous with respect to number. Plural markers either on the head or on the modifier license different readings.

(936)	possessor	head	example
	SG	SG	*soŋo sita-ni* 'bear's cub, bear's cubs, bears' cub, bears' cubs'
			soŋo sita-ti 'bears' cub, bears' cubs, bear's cubs'
	PL	SG	*soŋo-ziga sita-ni*
			soŋo-ziga sita-ti 'bears' cub, bears' cubs'
	SG	PL	*soŋo sita-ziga-ni* 'bear's cubs, bears' cubs'
			soŋo sita-ziga-ti 'bears' cubs'
	PL	PL	*soŋo-ziga sita-ziga-ni*
			soŋo-ziga sita-ziga-ti 'bears' cubs'

When the possessor noun functions as a head of its own possessive noun phrase with a pronominal modifier, its plurality may be expressed with the possessive Plural suffix *-nA-*:

(937) [*bi anda-na-i*] *zugdi-ti* <me friend-PL-1SG house-3PL>
[*bi anda-na-i*] *zugdi-ni* <be friend-PL-1SG house-3SG>
'the house(s) of my friends'

13.2. Adjectival modifier

The organization of the adjectival noun phrase is conditioned by information structure considerations (see 24.2), here we address only the prenominal noun phrase that is neutral with respect to information structure. On adjectives that take an oblique argument, and the organization of the adjectival phrase, see 6.3.

Pronominal adjectives (pro-adjectives), namely, the demonstratives *ei* 'this' and (*u)ti* 'that' (9.4), the interrogatives *j'a-ma* 'made of what', *ono-fi* 'what sort of', *ali-fi* 'what sort of, from what time', *adi-ti* 'which (in number)' (9.5.2), as well as the other pronominal determiners (such as *xoŋto* 'another', *gagda* 'another' and *gere* 'each', see 9.7) behave like other adjectives in the attributive function. However, they can only be prenominal, and never undergo modifier raising or discontinuous postposing.

13.2.1. The structure of the phrase

The structure of the adjectival noun phrase is:

(938) adjective – head noun (+ case affix)

The head noun takes the case affixes indicating the syntactic role of the noun phrase, but there is no agreement in case between it and the attribute.

(939) a. *C'aligi* *mui-zi* *eme-zeŋe-ni.*
white horse-INST come-FUT-3SG
'He will come riding a white horse.'

b. *Bi* *ñamai* *zugdi-du* *bagdi-mi.*
me warm house-DAT live-1SG
'I live in a warm house.'

c. *Nua-ni* *aisi-me* *weige-we* *nodo:-ni.*
he-3SG gold-ADJ earring-ACC lose.PAST-3SG
'She lost her golden earrings.'

d. *Bi* *ze:-i* *men-e* *sita-xi* *in'ei-du-i*
me neighbor-1SG REF-0 son-ADJ dog-DAT-REF
ule:-we *bu-o:-ni.*
meat-ACC give-PAST-3SG
'My neighbor gave some meat to his dog that had puppies.'

13.2.2. Plural agreement

Morphologically Plural head nouns always trigger number agreement, that is, if the head noun is marked with the Plural affix *-ziga* or the possessive Plural *-nA-* the adjective must take the Plural affix *-ŋku*, cf. examples (a) and (b) below:

(940) a. *Uligdig'a-ŋku* *moxo-ziga* *bi-si-ti*.
beautiful-PL cup-PL be-PAST-3PL
'There were beautiful cups.'

b. **Uligdig'a* *moxo-ziga* *bi-si-ti*.

beautiful cup-PL be-PAST-3PL
'There were beautiful cups.'

(941) a. *nua-ni ila ŋic'a-ŋku sita-na-ni*
he-3SG three small-PL child-PL-3SG
'his three small children'

b. **nua-ni ila ŋic'a sita-na-ni*
he-3SG three small child-PL-3SG
'his three small children'

The reverse is not true: the adjective in the Plural does not entail a formally Plural head noun. Thus, the plurality of the head noun may be expressed solely by the Plural affix *-ŋku-* on the adjectival modifier, although, like other means of encoding plurality, it is optional.

(942) a. *Min-du imexi-ŋku mo:-wo juŋkäla:-ti.*
me-DAT new-PL tree-ACC carry.PAST-3PL
'They brought me new wood.'
b. *Bi weige-i imexi-ŋku weige.*
me earring-1SG new-PL earring
'My earrings (several pairs) are new.'

The possible formal patterns for expressing plurality of the head noun within the adjectival phrase are as follows:

(943) 'tall mountains' *gugda we:* SG-SG
gugda-ŋku we: PL-SG
gugda-ŋku we:-ziga PL-PL
**gugda we:-ziga* SG-PL

The nominal head, therefore, must control number agreement on the adjectival modifier, although the head itself is not necessarily morphologically marked for plural.

Compound adjectives (6.4.4), pronominal adjectives, and some other adjectives (6.1.2.1.1) do not take Plural affixes under any conditions. For such a noun phrase plurality – if emphasized – may be expressed with the restrictive particle *m'ei* (12.1.1.9.3). However, in at least two examples at our disposal, a compound adjective bears the nominal Plural affix *-ziga*. Both cases involve ideophones in the attributive position, which either precede or follow the head.

(944) a. *xutam-ziga buŋčau*
red-PL ginseng
'(a lot of) red ginseng' (SKX 318)
b. *e:xi-ziga bigzam-ziga*
frog-PL bow.legged-PL
'bow-legged frogs' (SKX 232)

13.3. Quantified noun phrase

The following quantifiers are observed: quantificational nouns (13.3.3), universal quantifiers (13.3.2), scalar quantifiers (13.3.4), and numerals (13.3.5). The regular word order within the quantified noun phrase is

(945) quantifier – head noun (+ case affix)

A preposed quantifier has the bare form; the syntactic relationship between it and the head is not encoded morphologically. The universal quantifier *teu* ‘all’, as well as certain scalar quantifiers and quantificational nouns allow modifier raising (24.2.2.1). Most scalar and universal quantifiers participate in the quantifier float construction (24.2.2.2.2). Some scalar quantifiers and numerals may exhibit agreement in (the Accusative) case with the head (13.3.6). Together with the Accusative case agreement between the relative clause and its head (19.2.3), this is the only instance of attributive case agreement in Udihe. The number of the head noun is addressed in 13.3.1.

13.3.1. Number of the head noun

The head noun within the quantified noun phrase is normally in the Singular, that is, there is no grammatical requirement to express its plurality for any type of quantified noun phrase, cf.: *teu in’ei* ‘all (the) dogs’, *egdi tukca* ‘many hares’, *zube časa* ‘two hours’, etc. Although the Singular is regular, it is not ungrammatical for the Plural form to co-occur with a quantifier either. Plurality is morphologically marked on the head noun if it is emphasized, and there is a clear opposition between a single entity and many of them. Compare (946a) and (946b); in the latter plurality is marked with the suffix *-ziga-*. In (947) the Plural of the quantified noun is encoded by the possessive Plural marker *-nA-* because it also acts as the head of the possessive noun phrase.

(946) a. *Za:* *ñ’aula* *w’ali-e-ti.*
four boy fight-PAST-3PL
‘Four boys fought.’

b. *Za:* *ñ’aula-ziga* *omo* *ñ’aula-tigi*
four boy-PL one boy-LAT
wa’li-e-ti.
fight-PAST-3PL
‘Four boys fought with one boy.’

(947) *Odo* *zu:* *omölo-no-du-i* *ŋimaŋku-we*
grandfather two grandchild-PL-DAT-REF tale-ACC
ŋimasi-e-ni.
tell-PAST-3SG
‘The grandfather told his two grandchildren a tale.’

When the quantified noun corresponds to the subject role, the verb may show Singular and Plural agreement (15.1.1.2.2).

13.3.2. Universal quantifiers

The universal quantifier *teu* ‘all’ was addressed in section 11.2.2.1 in its argument and adverbial functions. In a modifier function it occurs either in preposition or postposition to the head noun, being adjacent to it in both cases. Since such behavior is typical of other modifiers and is here

referred to as «modifier raising» (24.2.2.1), we will not speak of quantifier float in this case. The instances of quantifier float as such are discussed in 24.2.2.2.2. Below we illustrate the prenominal universal quantifier in the bare form.

(948) a. *Bi* *o-du* *teu* *ni:-we* *sa:-mi.*
me this-DAT all man-ACC know-1SG
'I know every person here.'
b. *Teu* *jandasi-wa* *gazi-e-ni.*
all badger-ACC take-PAST-3SG
'He took away all the badgers.' (K 150)
c. *Teu* *wakca-i* *ni:* *maŋga-ŋku.*
all hunt-PRP man string-PL
'All the hunters are strong.'

13.3.3. Quantificational nouns

Within a noun phrase quantificational nouns express a certain quantity associated with the head noun. Certain quantificational nouns can undergo modifier raising, they are treated in 13.3.3.1. Other quantificational nouns never raise (13.3.3.2). Partitive meanings may be expressed by the possessive construction (*xauje pei-ni* 'a piece of paper' <paper piece-3SG>, *sexi pei-ni* 'a piece of cloth' <cloth piece-3SG>, etc.), on these see 4.2.3.2 and 13.1.

13.3.3.1. Quantificational nouns that can raise

Qantificational nouns that can undergo modifier raising are *tie* 'pair' which refers to paired objects and ka*ŋdugu* 'half'. In non-raising constructions they precedes the head noun in the Singular.

(949) a. *tie uŋta* 'the pair of boots'.
b. *Omo* *tie* *weige-we* *gada:-mi.*
one pair earring-ACC buy.PAST-1SG
'I bought a pair of earrings.'

(950) *Jegdige* *sue* ka*ŋdugu-we-ni* *wente-mi*
hero whetstone half-ACC-3SG throw-INF
digaŋ-ki-ni ...
say-PAST-3SG
'Throwing half of the whetstone the hero said ….' (SKX 240)

On the raising construction see 24.2.2.1.2.

13.3.3.2. Prenominal-only quantificational nouns

Quantificational nouns that do not raise typically denote containers (for example, *moxo* 'mug, cup, bowl', *mulexi* 'bucket', *adili* 'net'), measurements, which are usually borrowed from Russian (*metra* 'meter'), and collections (*tiemule* 'pair'). In non-raised constructions they are preposed to the head noun in the morphologically bare form. Quantificational nouns, especially nouns of measurements (952) are normally modified by cardinal numerals.

(951) a. *Omo* *mulexi* *uli-we* *gazi:-ni.*
one bucket water-ACC carry-3SG
'He is carrying a bucket of water.'

b. *Bi zube* *moxo* *gampa-wa* *diga:-mi.*
me wo mug porridge-ACC eat.PAST-1SG
'I ate two bowls of porridge.'

c. *Bi omo* *tie-mule* *k'olo-wo* *gada:-mi.*
me one pair-N mitten-ACC buy.PAST-1SG
'I bought a pair of mittens.'

(952) a. *Omo* *litra* *čaja-wa* *kuŋgede:-ni.*
one liter tea-ACC pour.PAST-3SG
'He poured one liter of tea.'

b. *Tuŋa* *kile* *ule:-we* *gazi-e-ni.*
five kilogram meat-ACC buy-PAST-3SG
'He bought five kilograms of meat.'

13.3.4. Scalar quantifiers

A number of scalar quantifiers undergo modifier raising (24.2.2.1) and quantifier float (24.2.2.2.2). Some scalar quantifiers may exhibit agreement in case with the head noun (13.3.5). On headless noun phrases with scalar quantifiers see 22.2.3. Examples of prenominal scalar quantifiers are:

(953) a. *Nua-ti* *täsi* *uli-we* *gada:-ti.*
he-3PL much water-ACC bring.PAST-3PL
'They brought a lot of water.'

b. *Läsi* *ñoŋo-wo* *wo:-ni.*
much glue-ACC make.PAST-3SG
'He made a lot of glue.'

c. *Ñaŋga* *okto-wo* *kuŋede:-ni.*
little medicine-ACC pour.PAST-3SG
'He poured out a little medicine.'

d. *Xa:ni* *mo:* *omo-t'o* *bagdi:-ti.*
several tree one-REST live-3PL
'Several types of tree grow separately.'

e. *Nua-ti* *adi-gende* *ni:* *ŋene:-ti.*
he-3SG how.many-IND man go.PAST-3PL
'They went, several people.'

f. *I:-le* *gene-se:-i* *si* *ei*
what-LOC bring-EXP.PAST-2SG you this
egdi-leŋki *činda-wa?*
many-ADJ bird-ACC
'From where did you bring so many birds?'

13.3.5. Numerals

Numerals may precede or follow the head noun, but they do not undergo raising. Cardinal numerals in the nominal form act within the headless noun phrase (22.2.3).

Cardinal numerals (11.1.1), when used attributively, co-occur with the Singular form of the head noun (although the morphological expression of plurality is not excluded either, see 15.1.1.2.2). Agreement in case is absent, cf.:

(954) a. *Bi ei ni:-zi omo awtobusa-zi*
me this man-INST one bus-INST
geje ŋene:-i.
together go.PAST-1SG
'I was traveling in the same bus as these people.'

b. *nada aziga* (or: *nada xatala*)
'seven girls (the traditional name for the constellation Ursa Minor)'

c. *Jegdige zu: belie-zi mamasa-la:-ni.*
hero two fairy-INST wife-V.PAST-3SG
'The hero married two fairies.'

d. *Nua-ni min-digi ila se:-zi sagdi*
he-3SG me-ABL three year-INST big
bi:-ni.
be-3SG
'He is three years older than me.'

e. *Bi ila bä:-wa wakca:-mi.*
me three month-ACC hunt.PAST-1SG
'I was hunting for three months.'

f. *O-lo bi:-ti tuŋa ni:.*
this-LOC be-3PL five man
'There are five men here.'

On other types of numerals see 11.1.

In some adverbialized temporal expressions in the Accusative (15.4.2.6) a numeral modifier may be the locus of the marking of the external syntactic relations of the phrase, while the head is uninflected (955). When the modifier corresponds to the numeral *omo* 'one' neither the modifier nor the head adverbial are usually marked for the Accusative case (956).

(955) a. *Tuŋaza-ma aŋa-ni geje bagdi-e-u.*
fifty-ACC year-3SG together live-PAST-1PL.EX
'We lived together for fifty years.'

b. *Nada-ma aŋa-ni sapuli-tigi tu:*
seven-ACC year-3SG box-LAT all
ise-si-e-ni.
see-IM-PAST-3SG
'For seven years she was looking at the box (for eating sticks).'
(K 118)

c. *Nua-ni eme-gi-e-ni ila-ma*
he-3SG come-REP-PAST-3SG three-ACC
neŋi-ni zulie-ni.

day-3SG before-3SG
'He arrived three days earlier.'

d. *Tuŋa-ma* *neŋi* *zulie-ni* *nua-ni*
five-ACC day before-3SG he-3SG
xoton-du *bi-si-ni.*
city-DAT be-PAST-3SG
'Five days ago he was in the city.'

(956) *Bi* *o-du* *omo* *aŋa-ni* *bagdi-e-mi.*
me this-DAT one year-3SG live-PAST-1SG
'I lived here for one year.'

13.3.6. Case agreement within the quantified noun phrase

Attributive agreement in case in Udihe is limited only to the Accusative noun phrases where the modifier is either represented by certain quantifiers (namely, *egdi* 'a lot', *wac'a* 'little, few', *teu* 'all', *zuŋe* 'both', and the numerals), or, less frequently, a relative clause (on this see 19.2.3). Within the Accusative noun phrase the modifier that agrees with the head noun in case can be prenominal (957) or postnominal (958). Note that the latter differs from instances of quantifier raising (24.2.2.1.2) in two respects: (i) the postposed quantifier, unlike the raised quantifier, agrees in case with the head noun; (ii) quantifier raising operates independently of the syntactic position of the modifier noun, while the postposed quantifier is limited only to the Accusative noun phrase.

(957) a. *Egdi-we* *gegbeŋku-we* *taji-e.*
many-ACC berry-ACC collect-IMP.2SG
'Collect many berries.'

b. *Egdi-me* *okto-wo* *kapta-si-e-ti.*
much-ACC medicine-ACC parcel-V-PAST-3PL
'They wrapped a lot of medicine.'

c. *Si* *wac'a-ma* *b'oto-wo* *taji-e-i.*
you little-ACC mushroom-ACC collect-PAST-2SG
'You collected few mushrooms.'

d. *Bi* *egdi-me* *ŋimaŋku-we* *sa:-mi.*
me many-ACC tale-ACC know-1SG
'I know many tales.'

e. *Ila-ma* *wopti-we* *iji-e-ni.*
three-ACC door-ACC enter-PAST-3SG
'She entered three doors.' (K 140)

f. *Nua-ni* *teu-me-ni* *ag'a-na-wa-ti*
he-3SG all-ACC-3SG elder.brother-PL-ACC-3PL
niŋmele-si-e-ni.
swallow-IM-PAST-3SG
'He swallowed all the elder brothers.' (SKX 112)

g. *Nadä-ma-ti* *kamisi-we* *ŋientile:-ni.*
seven-ACC-ORD bucket-ACC open.PAST-3SG
'He opened the seventh bucket (made of birch bark).' (SK 591)

(958) a. *Bue-ti* *gegbeŋku-we* *läsi* *egdi-we* *gada:-ti.*
he-3PL berry-ACC very many-ACC collect.PAST-3PL

‘They collected very many berries.’

b. *Udie* *keje-we-ni* *wac’a-ma egze-mi.*
Udihe language-ACC-3SG little-ACC understand-1SG
‘I understand Udihe (only) a little.’

c. *Anana* *imaŋku-we* *egdi-me*
long.ago tale-ACC many-ACC
ima-si-e-ni.
tell-IM-PAST-3SG
‘Earlier they told a lot of tales.’

d. *Bi* *sita-wa-na-i* *za:-ma* *b’a*
me child-ACC-PL-1SG ten-ACC get.PP
bi-s’e-i.
be-PERF-1SG
‘I gave birth to ten children.’

e. *Čoxia* *Mätu* *ja:-wa-ni* *zuŋe-we-ti*
Choxia Mjatu eye-ACC-3SG both-ACC-3PL
jakta-gi-e-ni.
open-REP-PAST-3SG
‘He opened both the eyes of Choxia Mjatu.’ (SKX 162)

f. *Nua-ti* *teluŋu-we* *egdi-me* *sah.*
he-3PL story-ACC many-ACC know.
‘They know a lot of stories.’ (SK 1098)

If the quantified noun phrase occupies a syntactic position different from that of the direct object, attributive agreement is normally absent. In the Northern dialect case agreement is optionally allowed for an Instrumental noun phrase, but this type of agreement is extremely rare.

(959) a. *Zu:-zie* *xula-zie* *Keteŋie* *ada-wa*
two-INST blanket-INST Keteng mountain.pass-ACC
ada-ma-za-mie.
mountain.pass-V-SUBJ-1SG
‘I will cross the Keteng mountain pass with two blankets.’
(SKX 330)

b. *Zu:-zi* *mamasa-zi* *osi-gi-e* *tene.*
Two-INST wife-INST become-REP-PP CONT
‘He started (living) with two wives.’ (SKX 136)

13.4. Pronominal determiners within the noun phrase

Pronominal determiners within the noun phrase are the Demonstratives (9.4) and certain other determiners (9.6). Pronominal determiners always stand in preposition to the head. They never raise, and never show agreement with the head nominal. In the absence of the head, Demonstratives may substantivize (22.2.3). Examples of pronominal modifiers are presented in the corresponding sections in Chapter 9.

Udihe does not have articles. The numeral *omo* ‘one’ is often used as an indefinite article, but

is by no means obligatory in this function.

(960) a. *Omo* *belie* *bagdi-e-ni* *eitene.* *Omo*
one fairy live-PAST-3SG now one
boxo *ni:nta* *eme:-ni.*
humpback man come.PAST-3SG
'Now, there lived one girl. One humpbacked man came.'

b. *Omo* *zugdi-le* *i:ŋ-ki-ni.*
one house-LOC enter-PAST-3SG
'He came to a house.'

13.5. Postpositional phrase as a modifier

Comitative and comparative postpositional phrases can function as nominal modifiers. In the absolute majority of cases the postpositional phrase is postposed with respect to the head noun, although certain postpositional phrases allow preposition as well.

13.5.1. Comitative postpositional phrase

As mentioned in 10.2.2.2.4, postpositional phrases with the comitative postpositions *mule*, *geje*, and *zuŋe* 'with' can function as as an independent adjunct (10.2) and as a nominal modifier. The distinction between these two functions subsumes three formal factors. First, in clauses with comitative adjuncts the verb shows Singular agreement if the subject is in the singular. As an adjunct, the postpositional phrase can be removed from the sentence without affecting its grammaticality. On the other hand, when the comitative noun phrase modifies the subject, the verb always shows Plural agreement, independent of the number of the subject itself. Thus, if the subject is formally and semantically singular, the sentence will be ungrammatical without the postpositional phrase. Such a noun phrase also triggers Plural reflexive markers on a possessed noun.

(961) *Kanda* *mafa* *mamasa* *mule* *alasi:-ti* Kanda
old.man wife with wait.PRES-3PL *men-e* *sita-fai.*
REF-0 son-REF.PL
'The old man Kanda and his wife are waiting for their son.' (SK 581)

Second, the postpositional noun phrase modifies a noun phrase that can basically correspond to any syntactic role. However, the postpositional phrase with an adverbial function characterizes the action by referring to the subject participants. Finally, the comitative adjunct occupies a relatively free position in the sentence, while the comitative modifier always immediately follows the head noun.

Examples of the comitative postpositional adjuncts are presented in 10.2. Examples of the comitative postpositional phrase in the modifier function are:

(962) a. *Ogbö* *exi* *zuŋe* *bagdi-e-ti.*
elk frog with live-PAST-3PL
'The elk and the frog lived together.'

b. *Bi* *aziga-ziga-zi* *geje* *ŋene-u.*
me girl-PL-INST together go-1PL.EX
'I am going together with the girls.'

As argued in 10.2.2.2.4, the postpositional phrase with the postposition *mule* 'with' expresses close (family) association between two animate participants, cf.:

(963) a. *Bi anda mule ŋäixi ŋene-u.*
me friend with to.the.river go-1PL.EX
'I go to the river with my friend.'

b. *Ag'a neŋu mule mo:-wo la-iti.*
elder.brother younger.sibling with tree-ACC saw-3PL
'The elder brother and the younger brother are sawing a tree.'

c. *Ja: sita mule wo:kto-wo diga:-ti.*
cow child with grass-ACC eat.PAS-3PL
'The cow and the calf were eating grass.'

d. *Soŋo eni-ni sita mule ñugi-e-ti.*
bear female-3SG child with go.out-PAST-3PL
'The bear female with cubs went out.'

e. *Iwana mamasa mule eme:-ti.*
Ivan wife with come.PAST-3PL
'Ivan came with his wife.'

With the postposition *mule* the possessive relationship as such is not formally expressed, although it is part of the inherent meaning of the postposition. When emphasized, it may be denoted by the possessive modifier, such as the reflexive pronoun *men-e* in (964), but even in this case possessive affixes on the argument of the postposition are absent. However, a sort of associative possessive relationship between the two participants that remains semantically unspecified may be encoded with the alienable possession affix *-ŋi-* (965).

(964) *Bi abuga-i men-e abuga mule*
me father-1SG REF-0 father with
aŋa-du bi:-ti.
night.shelter-DAT be-3PL
'My father lives with his father in a tent.'

(965) a. *Ira-ŋi mule zima:-ti.*
Ira-AL with visit.PAST-3PL
'He went on a visit together with his Ira.'

b. *Kanda mafa mamaka-ŋi mule bagdi-e-ti.*
Kanda old.man wife-AL with live-PAST-3PL
'The old man Kanda lived with his wife.'

c. *Belie Biatu-ŋi: mule*
fairy Biatu-AL.REF with
sauli-masi-li-e-ti.
have.feast-REC-INC-PAST -3PL
'The fairy and her Biatu started having a feast together.' (SK 786)

When the head noun of the noun phrase modified by the comitative postpositional phrase bears a grammatical relation other than the subject, the construction is realized as a postnominal relative clause with the participle *bi:-* 'being'. As in regular internal relative clauses (19.2), it is not the head but the subordinate predicate that is marked for case.

(966) *Nua-ni* *sa-ini* *mafa* *mamaka* *mule*
he-3SG know-3SG old.man old.woman with
bi:-we-ti.
be.PRP-ACC-3PL
'He knows an old man with the old woman.'
literally: 'He knows the old man who is with the old woman.'

13.5.2. Comparative postpositional phrase

Comparative postpositions such as *bede* 'like', *di:ŋki-* 'of the size of', and *bubu* 'similar to' with modifier function may be both in preposition (967) and in postposition (968) to the head noun.

(967) a. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *keige* *di:ŋki-ni* *siŋe-we.*
me see.PAST-1SG cat size-3SG rat-ACC
'I saw a rat the size of a cat.'

b. *Mene* *mamasa-na-mi* *bä:* *bede* *belie-we*
REF wife-DEST-REF moon like fairy-ACC
b'a-ni.
get.PAST-3SG
'He took a fairy like a moon as a wife.' (SKX 248)

(968) *Bi* *solügi* *in'ei-we* *sul'ai* *bede* *ise:-mi.*
me orange dog-ACC fox like see.PAST-1SG
'I saw a dog that was orange like a fox.'

13.6. Oblique-case noun phrase as a modifier

Generally speaking, the oblique-case noun phrase in modifier function is not very common in Udihe. In a number of cases, as, for example, in (969), we do not have clear criteria for identifying the syntactic status of the oblique-case noun phrase (modifier vs. adjunct).

(969) a. *Bi* *bagdi-mi* *we:-le* *zugdi-le.*
me live-1SG mountain-LOC house-LOC
'I live in a house on the mountain.'

b. *Xaba-wa* *baŋza-digi* *umi-e-ni.*
milk-ACC bottle-ABL drink-PAST-3SG
'He drank milk from the bottle.'

c. *Si* *kä:-la-i* *ni:* *xaba-wa-ni*
you side-LOC-2SG man breasts-ACC-3SG
zawa-ja.
take-IMP.2SG
'Hold the breasts of the person next to you.' (SKX 100)

d. *Zolo* *xegie-di-ni* *l'asa-wa* *diga-mi*

stone under-DAT-3SG small.fish-ACC eat-INF
bi-si-ni.
be-PAST-3SG
'They used to eat small fish from under the stones.' (SKX 74)

Normally the modifier meaning can be rendered by means of the copular relative clause with the participle *bi:-* 'being', where the oblique-case noun phrase functions as a predicative element:

(970) a. *Bi moxo-lo bi:-we čaja-wa*
me mug-LOC be.PRP-ACC tea-ACC
umi-e-mi.
drink-PAST-1SG
'I have drunk the tea from the mug.'

b. *Ča:l(a) edeisini ei moxo-lo bi:*
want when this bowl-LOC be.PRP
aŋi-we gampa-wa uniŋa-la.
IND-ACC porridge-ACC spoon-V
'If you agree, scoop the porridge in the bowl.'

Below we present only some relatively clear cases of the oblique-case noun phrase in the modifier function.

13.6.1. Instrumental noun phrase

The Instrumental noun phrase expresses the comitative meaning within the subject noun phrase. Although the subject itself is in the singular, the verb shows Plural agreement. The Instrumental noun phrase typically stands in postposition to the head nominal, but the pronominal subject itself may be omitted (972).

(971) a. *Bi mamasa-zi: mo:-lo anči bi-u.*
me wife-INST.1SG tree-PART no be-1PL.EX
'My wife and I live without wood.'

b. *Bi abuga-i men-e sita-zi: eme:-ti.*
me father-1SG REF-0 son-INST.REF come.PAST-3PL
'The father came with his son'.

c. *Bi od'o-i ei niŋka-zi*
me grandfather-1SG this Chinese-INST
anana anda-mule bi-si-ti.
long.ago friend-N be-PAST-3PL
'Previously my grandfather was a friend of this Chinese.'

d. *Nua-ti si sagdi sita-zi anda-mule*
he-3PL you old son-INST friend-N
ede:-ti.
become.PAST-3PL
'They became friends with your elder son.'

e. *Kuti keige-zi anana aja bi-si-ti.*
tiger cat-INST long.ago good be-PAST-3PL
'Tigers and cats were friends a long time ago.'

(972) *Pakula-zi za:-mule bi-u.*

Pakula-INST friend-N be-1PL.EX
'We are friends with Pakula.'

Note that although verbal agreement indicates plurality of the agent participants, the Instrumental noun phrase is not characterized by any subject properties, as they are identified in 15.1.1. For example, it cannot control the infinitival clause, as shown below.

(973) *Wakca-mi* *Pakula* *tukca-zi* *ña:ma-si-e-ti.*
hunt-INF Pakula hare-INST quarrel-IM-PAST-PL
Pakula$_i$ and a hare$_j$ had a quarrel while he$_{i/*j}$ was hunting.'

The Instrumental noun phrase in the function of the comitative adjunct is addressed in 15.4.5.7.

13.6.2. Accusative noun phrase

A few nouns assign the Accusative case to their argument. These are nouns converted from transitive verbs such as *teluŋu* 'legend, story', *jexe* 'song' (5.2.1), instrumental and other nouns derived with the suffix *-ŋku*, *-ŋkA* (5.1.1.4), for example, *nimaŋku* 'tale', and the names of measures, both those borrowed from Russian, such as *kile* 'kilogram', *kilometra* 'kilometer', and those of native origin, derived with the suffix *-lA* (5.1.2.1.2). In the following sentences one Accusative noun phrase encodes the regular direct object, while another corresponds to its argument. The Accusative argument precedes the head.

(974) a. *Bi* *sunzi:* *aju-ini* *soŋgo-wo*
me grandchild like-3SG bear-ACC
teluŋu-si-we.
story-V-ACC
'My grandchild likes a story about a bear.'
b. *Bi* *e-si-mi* *oŋmo* *imaŋku-we*
me NEG-PAST-1SG forget tale-ACC
tukca-wa.
hare-ACC
'I don't forget a tale about a hare.'
c *Nua-ni* *soŋgo-wo* *ŋimaŋku-we* *teluŋu-si-e-ni.*
he-3SG bear-ACC tale-ACC story-V-PAST-3SG
'He told a tale about the bear. '

13.7. Nominative noun phrase

A noun phrase where the modifier is expressed by the bare Nominative is very marginal in Udihe. In such a construction the head noun corresponds to the possessor role, while the modifier means some part of the head noun or its measurement. The phrase is head-final.

(975) *ila bugdi teŋku* 'three legged stool'
<three leg stool>
ila afikta zugdi 'three story house' (K 140)
<three store house>
di: abdä: olondo 'four leaves ginseng root'

<four leaf ginseng>
zu: aŋa-ni sigisa ‘two year old deer’
<two year-3SG deer.calf>
tuŋa tede zugdi ‘five story house’ <five store house>
ila ga: mo:-wo ‘a tree with three branches’ (SKX 296)
<three branch tree-ACC>
nada da: ñukte ‘hair as long as seven fathoms’ (SKX 274)
<seven fathom hair>
igi lumbulilie sulai ‘a fox with a fluffy tail’ (SKX 246)
<tail fluffy fox>

As can be seen, the modifier typically heads its own phrase. We have only a few examples where this condition does not hold.

(976) *seutigi mo:* ‘tree with pine-cones’
<pine.cone tree>
bua ege ‘soul of the world’ (SK 106)
<world soul>

13.8. Adverbials within a noun phrase

Adverbials rarely occur within a noun phrase. The most typical examples are the superlative adverb *c’o* ‘the most’ and the degree adverb *belem* ‘completely’ which are compatible with some parametric nouns, as illustrated below.

(977) *c’o sagdinta* ‘the oldest (man)’
<most old.man>
belem sagdinta ‘completely old (man)’
<completely old.man>
c’o ’ai-ti ‘their eldest brother’ (K 117)
<most elder.brother-3PL>
c’o uke-le ‘right next to the door’ (SK 939)
<most door-LOC>
c’o neŋu-ti ‘their youngest sibling’
<most younger.sibling-3PL>

13.9. Apposition

Appositions are nouns that share a referent with the head. In Udihe they always take the Nominative form, independent of the case of the head noun, and can be both prenominal and postnominal.

13.9.1. Prenominal appositions

Most appositional nouns in Udihe are prenominal. They comprise the following types.

(i) Appositions involving a proper name when the head noun is a kinship term, as in (978). Note that otherwise the relationship between the proper and the common noun is expressed with the possessive noun phrase (4.2.3.2).

(978) a. *Koko* *od'o-tigi* *ŋene:-mi.*
Koko grandfather-LAT go.PAST-1SG
'I went to grandfather Koko.'

b. *Ñ'ädiga* *susu* *ketu* *paki bi-s'e.*
Nadiga uncle very skillful be-PERF
'Uncle Nadiga was very skillful.'

c. *Koja* *mamaka-la* *gene-gi-ze-mi.*
Koja old.woman-LOC fetch-REP-SUBJ-1SG
'I shall take (it) back from old woman Koja.'(K 193)

(ii) Although the gender relationship is normally rendered by the possessive noun phrase (4.2.3.2.3), certain expressions require the appositional construction:

(979) *ma:ma bui* 'female of the tiger or bear'
<grandmother animal>
etige bui 'male of the tiger or bear'
<male animal>
zauŋa en'ese 'female of a salmon fish'
<salmon female>
ñ'ädiga aziga 'girl, the youngest child'
<youngest.child girl
ogbö logoso 'male of the elk' (K 144)
<elk male>
sie bui, sie mafa 'adult male of the bear' (K 13019)
<adult.bear>

(iii) Appositions may involve a species relationship between two nouns:

(980) a. *Bi* *sita-i* *kuliga* *guŋ-ki-ni.*
me child-1SG snake say-PAST-3SG
'My snake son spoke.'

b. *xaŋa-ŋku* *zolo*
guess-N stone
'a guessing (tool) stone'

c. *zimali* *kil'ai*
seagull gull
'seagull' (K 179)

d. *labuga* *ima:*
snowflake snow
'snowflake'

e. *siŋe* *mafa-i*
mouse old.man-VOC
'old man mouse (addressing a mouse in a tale)'

f. *kanda* *mafa*
kanda old.man
'the old man kanda' (*kanda* is a generic name for a class of folklore character)

Cf. also *zima ni:* ‘guest’ <guest man> (SKX 314), and *nakta ni:* ‘boar-man (in a game)’ <boar man>.

13.9.2. Postnominal appositions

Postnominal appositions modify a personal pronoun and do not involve a proper name.

(981) *Bu udie o-du bagdi-u. Bu udie*
we Udihe this-DAT live-1PL.EX we Udihe
aja-zi wakca-mi ñoni:-u.
good-INTR hunt-INF can-1PL.EX
‘We, Udihes, live here. We, Udihes, can hunt well.’

In the language of the younger generation and apparently under Russian influence a proper name may be postposed after the kinship term and behave as a syntactic head (982).

(982) *Bi men-e anda-i Susana-wa aju-mi.*
me REF-0 friend-1SG Susan-ACC love-1SG
‘I love my friend Susan.’

In the Northern dialect postnominal opposition seems to be more widespread, cf.:

(983) a. *wakča-i ni: au-ni bogdo* ‘hunter hat «bogdo»’
<hunt-PRP man hat-3SG *bogdo*> (SKX 308)
b. *bi mafa-i amba* ‘my evil spirit husband’
<me husband-1SG evil.spirit> (SKX 82)

In this type of apposition case agreement is possible, cf.:

(984) a. *In’ei-we guasa-wa alau-gi-e-ti.*
dog-ACC bitch-ACC harness-REP-PAST-3PL
‘They harnessed the bitch dog.’ (SKX 208)
b. *Kanda mafa mamasa mule belie-we*
kanda old.man old. woman with fairy-ACC
*Ajaula-wa tuxi-le te-*we*ŋ-ki-ti.*
Ajaula-ACC sledge-LOC sit-CAUS-PAST-3PL
‘The old man Kanda with the old woman seated the fairy Ajaula on the sledge.’ (SKX 210)

c. *Si sita-wa-i belie-we*
you child-ACC-2SG fairy-ACC
mamasa-na-mi gele-mi.
wife-DEST-REF ask-1SG
‘I am asking your daughter the fairy to marry me.’ (SKX 244)
d. *B’agdi-li-e-ti Mejexi mamasa-zi Biala-zi*
live-INC-PAST-3PL Mejexi wife-INST Biala-INST
eniŋe-zi Geule-zi.
mother-INST Geule-INST
‘Mejexi started living with his wife Biala and mother Geule.’

(SKX 250)

13.10. Word order in the noun phrase with several modifiers

Noun phrases including more than one adjective are very infrequent, although altogether not excluded. More than one attributive modifier of different types may precede a head noun, though the number of such modifiers almost never exceeds two at a time. When the head noun is preceded by two or more modifiers of different types their position with respect to each other is as follows: Demonstrative – possessive – quantifier – adjective – head. Thus, Demonstratives always precedes all types of other modifiers: *ei bi anda-i* 'this my friend' <this me friend-1SG>. The quantifier precedes the adjective (985a) but follows the possessive modifier (985b).

(985) a. *zube sagdi guese* 'two large pikes'
<two large pike>
b. *bi zu: ag'a-i* 'my two brothers'
<me two brother-1SG>

Within the possessive noun phrase the adjective or the quantifier is located immediately before its head, cf.:

(986) *Ñ'ädiga imexi zugdi-ni* 'Nadiga's new house'
<Nadiga new house-3SG>
bi imexi uŋta-i 'my new boots'
<me new boot-1SG>
aja aziga anda-ni 'a friend of the nice girl'
<nice girl friend-3SG>
aziga aja anda-ni 'a nice friend of the girl'
<girl nice friend-3SG>
tuŋa aziga abuga-ti 'the father of five girls'
<five girl father-3PL>

However, certain examples are attested where the adjectives that modify the head noun precede the possessive modifier. Compare (987a) and (987b), where the adjective *tiŋe-fi* 'yesterday's' can be understood as referring to the head noun *xokto-wo-ni* 'his footsteps', although it does not precede it immediately. Some other examples are (988).

(987) a. *Wakca-i* *ni:* *sagdi* *kuti* *xokto-wo-ni*
hunt-PRP man big tiger footstep-ACC-3SG
b'a-ni.
find.PAST-3SG
'The hunter found the footsteps of a big tiger.'
b. *Wakca-i* *ni:* *tiŋe-fi* *kuti*
hunt-PRP man yesterday-ADJ tiger
xokto-wo-ni *b'a-ni.*
footstep-ACC-3SG find.PAST-3SG
'The hunter found yesterday's tiger footsteps.'

(988) a. *Sugbu-me* *emende* *tege-we-ni*
fish.skin-ADJ witch gown-ACC-3SG
bu-gi-eni.

give-REP-PAST-3SG
'He gave the witch's gown made of fish skin back (to her).'
(SKX 230)

b. *nada* *omoti* *sulai* *igi-we-ni*
seven identical fox tail-ACC-3SG
'seven identical fox tails (ACC)' (SKX 244)

Relative clauses rarely admit other modifiers. In the following examples the external relative clause is preceded by the universal quantifier (989a) a possessive modifier , as in (989b), or followed by a numeral (989c).

(989) a. *Teu* *kapta-ktu* *dili-ni* *daŋda-daŋda.*
all [wrap-RES] head-3SG wrapped-wrapped
'His whole head is wrapped up.' (K 107)

b. *Ei* *tene* *bi* *ña:-wa* *kai-kci*
this CONT me [skin-ACC brake-DP
u:-kči *ba:-i.*
scrape-DP] place-1SG
'And this is my place for braking and scraping the skins.' (K 182)

c. *Tokö* *ojo-ni-ni* *teh-i-we-ti* *zu:*
cloud top-DAT-3G sit-PRP-ACC-3PL two
aziga-wa *ise-he-ni.*
girl-ACC see-PAST-3SG
'He saw two girls sitting on a cloud.' (Schneider 1937: 80)

Chapter 14
Verbal valence

This chapter presents lexical and syntactic information on the valence patterns of Udihe verbs. The adjectives that take a second argument are described in section 6.3.3, which deals with the adjectival phrase.

Valence patterns are presented in schemas that indicate the semantic role and the formal encoding of each argument. This is represented in the form «semantic role/case marking». For example, the sign A/NOM means that the verb assigns the semantic role of agent, and the corresponding argument is expressed by a nominal with the Nominative case marking. The semantic roles used in this chapter are largely conventional; the corresponding meaning should be clear from the translation provided. However, we have found it convenient to use several semantic labels to generalize the semantic content of typical arguments. The following semantic labels will be used:

A – agent (also includes experiencer, force, and other possible «agent-like» valences; corresponds to the single arguments of an intransitive verb);
E – essive (secondary predicate);
P – patient or theme and the related roles (stimulus, mental goal, content, etc.);
B – benefactive (includes recipient, goal, malefactive, and the like);
CIR – circumstance (includes comitative, manner, instrument, means, and the like);
L – location (this role includes the whole range of spatial meanings, not only the strictly locational but also the directional; their exact value is usually clear from the case and postpositional marking of the corresponding argument).

All valence patterns in this section reflect the direct voice constructions. This means that the element with the semantic role of agent (A) corresponds to the grammatical relation of the subject (see 15.1). Voice-related transformations of direct voice constructions, as well as other valence-changing operations, are addressed in section 16.1. The present chapter notes, for each group of valence patterns, the possible transformations of the original direct construction, but does not fully describe them.

The formal marking of the arguments is mostly presented in terms of case marking. The usual abbreviations are used for cases in the schemas, and they may be found in the abbreviation list. Other abbreviations are also used in the presentation of valence patterns. ADV stands for «adverbial marking». It indicates that the corresponding argument can be expressed by a postpositional phrase (mostly with a location meaning) or by spatial adverbs. For example, the verb *ŋene-* ‘go’ takes the agent and location arguments, the latter being expressed by a nominal in the Lative case. This is rendered in a valence schema as A/NOM, L/LAT. However, the postpositional phrase or a spatial adverb can also express the second argument.

(990) *Moskwa-tigi ŋene-* ‘go to Moscow’
<Moscow-LAT>
tauxi ŋene- ‘go there’
<go that-LAT>
uli bagä:za-tigi-ni ŋene- ‘go to the other side of the river’
<river other-N-LAT-3SG>

The postposition and the adverb in this case are also of the Lative type (see Chapter 10). This option is marked in brackets in the schema, so the complete valence pattern for the verb *ŋene-* would be: A/NOM, L/LAT (ADV). Only the general semantic type of spatial postpositions and adverbs is shown here (Locative, Lative, Ablative, or Prolative), their actual forms are discussed in 10.1. Verbs that may take an adjectival argument as well as nominal arguments are not treated as a separate type. Some verbs govern a complement subordinate clause. This option is described in Chapter 20. The adverbial clause of space can substitute for most arguments with the semantic role of Location; this case is dealt with in section 21.2.

We present here valence patterns for null-argument verbs, one-argument verbs, two-argument verbs, and three-argument verbs. It is assumed that the verbs take no more than three arguments (15.3). The list of verbs that corresponds to each pattern is not exhaustive, unless indicated otherwise. For most patterns example sentences are provided.

14.1. Null-argument pattern

Null-argument verbs do not assign any semantic roles and normally describe natural meteorological or calendar phenomena. Constructions with these verbs do not allow any of the voice-related transformations described in Chapter 16 except for the Causative (16.1.4). Neither do they allow the Imperative. Null-argument verbs take only the 3rd person Singular agreement markers. The difference between the three patterns described below is in the presence or absence of the semantically empty expletive subject, and in its form if it can be present. On copular subjectless expressions, see 17.2.1.

14.1.1. Null-argument verbs

The verbs that do not take the subject argument are non-derived verbs which express calendar and meteorological phenomena, for example:

(991)	*tigde-*	'rain'	*bono-*	'hail'
	lada-	'rain with snow'	*ine-*	'dawn'
	gekti-	'frost'	*gäwana-*	'dawn

Besides these, certain denominal «meteorological» verbs derived with the suffixes *-gi-*, *-li-* and *-nA-* (see 8.1.1) do not require a subject.

Subjectless sentences often include space, time, or manner adverbs. A frequently used spatial adverb in such sentences is *ba:-la* 'outside' (literally: 'in nature, in the place' <place-LOC>). Examples are:

(992) a. *Ba:-la* *ñama-li-e-ni.*
place-LOC get.warm-INC-PAST-3SG
'It got warmer outside.'

b. *Sugala-digi* *edi-ne-ini.*
north-ABL wind-V-3SG
'The wind blows from the north.'

c. *Lou-lou* *tamña:-na-ini.*
dense-dense fog-V-3SG
'There is a dense fog.'

d. *Täk-täk* *gekti:-ni.*
hard-hard freeze-3SG
'There is deep frost.'

In sentences with an expletive subject (14.1.2) the spatial adverb *ba:-la* ‘outside’ does not occur.

The verbs *ze-mu:i-* ‘be hungry’ and *kogo-mu:i-* ‘be thirsty’ are derived with the Desiderative suffix *-mu:i-*, although the base stem occurs only in the bound form. They mostly function as one-place verbs, but can sometimes be used in subjectless constructions and take default 3rd person agreement.

(993) *Ti: ze-mu:i-ni, ti: kogo-mu:i-ni.*
here food-DES-3SG here drink-DES-3SG
‘I am hungry and thirsty.’ (SKX 276)

14.1.2. Expletive subject

The Expletive subject is in no way required by the grammar, but may co-occur with null-argument verbs.

14.1.2.1. Expletive cognate subject

A number of verbs mentioned in section 14.1.1 as well as some other verbs allow an expletive Nominative subject cognate with the verb. These verbs are:

(994)
tigde tigde-	‘rain’
bono bono-	‘hail’
lada lada-	‘rain with snow’
agdi agdi-	‘clap (of thunder)’
käŋgu käŋgu-	‘be slippery’
ine ine-	‘dawn’
tamña: tamña:-na-	‘fog’
ima: ima:-na-	‘snow’
edi edi-ne-	‘wind’

The expletive subject can be modified by an adjective (995a) or another noun (995b).

(995) a. *Bono sagdä-ŋku bono-ini.*
hail large-PL hail-3SG
‘Large hail is falling.’ (K 181)

b. *Uligdig’a labuga ima: ima:-na-ini.*
beautiful snowflake snow snow-V-3SG
‘Snow is falling in beautiful snowflakes.’

Other subjectless verbs (that is, most verbs derived through suffixation) do not take an expletive subject.

14.1.2.2. Expletive *ba*:

The following verbs take the expletive subject *ba*: ‘place, nature, God’ (more seldom in the 3rd person possessive form *ba:-ni* <place-3SG>). Most of them describe calendar and natural events. For example:

(996) *ba: bolo-gi-* ‘come (of autumn)’

ba: dogbo-gi-li-	‘come (of night)’
ba: iŋeñi-li-	‘get cold’
ba: ine-li-	‘dawn’
ba: gäwana-	‘dawn’
ba: maga-	‘bad weather, storm’

Verbs that allow the expletive subject *ba:* cannot have an expletive cognate subject and vice versa, but most verbs from both groups also follow pattern 14.1.1, that is, form subjectless constructions.

14.2. One-argument verbs (A/NOM)

Apart from the direct voice construction, one-argument intransitive verbs allow the Agentless passive (16.1.2) and Causative (16.1.3), some of them also undergo reciprocalization (16.3.6). However, the regular Passive is not possible.

The standard valence pattern for one-argument verbs is A/NOM, that is, the agent corresponds to the grammatical relation of the subject which has the Nominative form (on the definition and syntactic properties of the subject see 15.1).

(997)

ŋene-/ŋeni-	‘walk, leave’	*gusi-*	‘play’
iñi-	‘laugh’	*ŋua-*	‘sleep’
etete-	‘work’	*tetigi-*	‘get dressed’
une-	‘melt’	*bude-*	‘die’

Many verbs derived from nouns and adjectives by means of interclass derivation suffixes (8.1.1) take only one argument, as do most *b’a-* compounds (8.3). Some sentence examples are:

(998)

a. *In’ei* *ŋene-ini.*
dog go-3SG
‘The dog is walking.’

b. *Ñ’aula-ziga* *gusi:-ti.*
child-PL play-3PL
‘Children are playing.’

c. *Bi* *ñamai-zi* *teti-gi-zeŋe-i.*
me warm-INST dress-REP-FUT-1SG
‘I will dress warmly.’

d. *Ei* *mo:* *anana* *degde:-ni.*
this tree long.ago burn.PAST-3SG
‘This tree burnt a long time ago.’

e. *Bi* *ŋala-i* *auli-e-ni.*
me hand-1SG swell-PAST-3SG
‘My hand has swollen.’

14.3. Two-argument verbs

Two-argument verbs can be transitive and intransitive. In the former case their second (non-agent) argument corresponds to the semantic role of the patient and to the syntactic role of the direct object (on the definition and syntactic properties of the direct object see 15.1.2). The transitive verb allows all the voice constructions described in section 16.1: Passive and Agentless passive, Causative, and normally also Decausative and Reciprocal (the latter two are restricted by

the semantics of the verb). The second argument taken by intransitive two-argument verbs is not a patient and cannot be identified as a direct object. Intransitive verbs do not allow the Passive, but form the Agentless Passive, Causative, and sometimes Reciprocal.

14.3.1. A/NOM, P/ACC

14.3.1.1. Verbs with the theme argument

This is the typical pattern for two-argument transitive verbs with the theme argument such as the following:

(999)	*nodo-*	'lose'	*ñientile-*	'open'
	taulagi-	'get'	*belesi-*	'help'
	gazi-	'reach'	*ise-*	'see'
	dau-	'cross (the river)'	*ceze-*	'believe'
	umi-	'drink'	*ceŋele-*	'weight'
	ete-	'cost'	*säkpa b'a-*	'bring profit to'

Following are examples of sentences with direct voice:

(1000) a. *Bi xunazi: min-e-we e-ini belesi.*
me sister.1SG me-0-ACC NEG-3SG help
'My sister does not help me.'

b. *Bi coŋku-we ñientile:-mi.*
me window-ACC open.PAST-1SG
'I opened the window.'

c. *Bi aziga-wa ceze:-mi.*
me girl-ACC believe.PAST-1SG
'I believed the girl.'

d. *Ño: ña:-ni omo taŋu tieze-we ete-ini.*
sable skin-3SG one hundred ruble-ACC cost-3SG
'Sable skin costs a hundred rubles.'

e. *Bi puta-i ila kile-we ceŋele-ini.*
me bag-1SG three kilogram-ACC weight-3SG
'My bag weighs three kilograms.'

f. *Aziga xoŋto ni:-we säkpa b'a-ini, b'ata-ma sita ami-mi to:-wo-ni ila-gi:-ni.*
girl another man-ACC profitable get-3SG boy-ADJ child father-REF fire-ACC-3SG kindle-REP-3SG
'A daughter benefits other people, a son keeps up the fire in his father's house.'

A further list presents transitive two-argument verbs for which the transitive character is not obvious cross-linguistically. In these the second argument often corresponds to the semantic role of location or goal (including some kind of mental goal), stimulus or cause of emotions. In Udihe, however, it is encoded as a direct object.

(1001)	*buji-*	‘sneak up to’	*taf’äsi-*	‘look after’
	agda-	‘be happy about’	*biulese-*	‘be proud of’
	egze-	‘understand, be an expert in’	*wakca-*	‘hunt for’
	muñali-	‘feel sorry for’	*tukti-*	‘climb’
	ma:-	‘scoop water out’	*za:gi-*	‘revenge upon’
	etete-	‘work as’	*sebune-*	‘be interested in’

Sentence examples:

(1002) a. *Bi anda-i sita-wa-ni taf’äsi-zeŋe-i.*
me friend-REF son-ACC-3SG look.after-FUT-1SG
‘I will look after my friend’s child.’

b. *Ei a:nta wraču-we etete:-ni.*
this woman doctor-ACC work.PAST-3SG
‘This woman worked as a doctor.’

c. *Bi sita-na-i biulese-mi.*
me child-PL-REF be.proud-1SG
‘I am proud of my children.’

d. *Bi sin-e-we za:gi-zeŋe-i uti diele-ni.*
me you-0-ACC revenge-FUT-1SG that because-3SG
‘I will take revenge upon you for this.’

14.3.1.2. Verbs of speech and thought

A few verbs take the Accusative direct object argument expressing the topic of speech, thought or writing (‘about’).

(1003)	*dian-*	‘tell about’	*teluŋu-*	‘tell about’
	muisi-	‘think about’	*xoizuŋule-*	‘gossip about’
	jexe-	‘sing about’	*t’osi-*	‘dream about’
	oño-	‘write about’		

For example:

(1004) a. *Ma:ma teluŋu-si:-ni od’o mafa-wa.*
grandmother story-V-3SG grandfather old.man-ACC
‘Grandmother is telling about a tiger.’

b. *Nadga: getu-we gazieta oño-zoŋo-ni.*
reach.PP PL-ACC newspaper write-FUT-3SG
‘They will write in the newspaper about those who reached (the target).’

14.3.1.3. Verbs of appearance and creation

The following are the transitive verbs of appearance and creation:

(1005)	*gada-*	'buy',	*uli-*	'sew'
	ule-	'dig'	*olokto-*	'cook'
	zawa-	'take'	*b'a-*	'find, get'
	gele-	'ask'	*uli-*	'sew'
	wo:-	'make, build, sew'		

Unlike other transitive verbs, these verbs allow a Destinative construction (16.2.2) and object depictives (19.7.2.2). In the former the second argument is encoded as the Destinative object.

14.3.1.4. Verbs that govern the deverbal noun

The following verbs

(1006)	*zafanda-*	'begin'	*metu-*	'finish'
	aju-	'like'	*alamasi-*	'repeat'
	ča:la-	'like, want, agree'	*galu-*	'hate'
	ise-u-	'show'		

are combined with the abstract deverbal nouns derived through conversion (5.2.1). Such nouns express the secondary predication in the same-subject situation (1007); in a different-subject situation the corresponding complement is expressed by the participial subordinate clause (Chapter 20).

(1007) a. *Nua-ti* *teluŋu-we* *alamasi-e-ti.*
he-3PL story-ACC repeat-PAST-3PL
'They repeated the story.'

b. *Bi* *xunazi:* *zima-wa* *aju:-ini.*
me sister.1SG visit-ACC like-3SG
'My sister likes visits.'

c. *Lauzi* *ei-ni* *ča:la* *Amerika* *bede*
worker NEG-3SG want America like
bagdi-we.
live-ACC
'The worker does not want life like in America.'

These verbs may also take a regular nominal object.

(1008) *Ei* *keje-we* *alamasi-e-ni.*
this word-3SG repeat-PAST-3SG
'He repeated this word.'

14.3.2. A/NOM, B/LAT

These intransitive verbs having the semantic role of recipient as defined above (that is, including benefactive and other goal-like valences) and also that of stimulus. They take the Lative argument.

(1009)	*dian-*	‘talk to’	*gualan-*	‘turn into’
	soŋo-	‘cry about’	*xeŋki-*	‘bow to’
	isesi-	‘look at’	*eteŋi-*	‘glance at’
	mafala-	‘marry (of a woman)’	*w’ali-*	‘fight with’
	xokco-	‘attack’	*sigdi b’a-*	‘be angry with’
	tati-	‘get accustomed to’	*tagda-*	‘be angry with’

Some sentence examples are:

(1010) a. *Nua-ti* *tati-e-ti* *ei* *in’ei-tigi.*
he-3PL get.accustomed-PAST-3PL this dog-LAT
‘They got accustomed to this dog.’

b. *Soŋo* *ni:-tigi* *gualaŋ-ki-ni.*
bear man-LAT turn-PAST-3SG
‘The bear turned into a man.’

c. *Min-tigi* *kuti* *xokco:-ni.*
me-LAT tiger attack.PAST-3SG
‘A tiger attacked me.’

d. *Bua-tigi* *xeŋki:-ti.*
God-LAT pray-3PL
‘They pray to God.’

e. *Anda-tigi:* *e-zi* *tagda.*
friend-LAT-REF NEG-IMP.2SG be.angry
‘Do not be angry with your friend.’

f. *Bi* *sita-tigi:* *mafa-la-ja.*
me son-LAT.1SG man-V-IMP.2SG
‘Marry my son.’

14.3.3. A/NOM, L/LAT (ADV)

14.3.3.1. Verbs with the directional argument

These are Intransitive verbs for which a non-subject argument is expressed by a nominal in the Lative case, a Lative postpositional phrase, or an adverb, and corresponds to the semantic role of location. The argument has a directional meaning.

(1011)	*ŋene-/ŋeni-*	‘go to’	*tunčile-*	‘jump at’
	xuli-	‘go, ride to’	*tuŋgale-*	‘run against’
	agda-	‘moor’	*akanda-*	‘lean against’
	eme-	‘come’	*emegi-*	‘return’
	iga:ma-	‘lean against’	*tuŋkila-*	‘strike oneself against’
	lagban-	‘get stuck to’	*lukpe-*	‘prick oneself on’
	ñu:-	‘go out to’	*zima-*	‘to go with a visit’
	tukti-	‘climb’		

For example:

(1012) a. *B'ata* *kepte-tigi* *akanda-mi* *te-ini.*
boy wall-LAT lean-INF sit-3SG
'The boy is sitting, leaning against the wall.'

b. *Ni* *tukti-e-ni* *ei* *we:-tigi?*
who climb-PAST-3SG this mountain-LAT
'Who has climbed this mountain?'

c. *Zaŋä-ziga* *Moskwa-tigi* *ŋene-zeŋe-ti.*
boss-PL Moscow-LAT go-FUT-3PL
'The bosses will go to Moscow.'

d. *Bu gugda* *kektime-tigi* *agda:-mu*
we tall bank-LAT moor.PAST-1PL.EX
'We moored to the high bank.'

e. *Tuxi* *mo:* *texi-tigi-ni*
sledge tree stump-LAT-3SG
tuŋkila:-ni
run.against.PAST-3SG
'The sledge ran against a stump'.

f. *Bi* *'ana-i* *nifuga-zi-ni* *kektime-tigi*
me boat-1SG front-INST-3SG bank-LAT
tuŋkila-waŋ-ki-ni.
strike-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'My boat struck the riverbank with its prow.'

g. *Exin-tigi:* *zima:-mi.*
elder.sister-LAT.REF visit.PAST-1SG
'I visited my elder sister.'

14.3.3.2. Location vs. goal

The semantic difference between the locational argument L/LAT taken by the verbs of this group and the benefactive-like argument B/LAT of the verbs from the previous group (14.3.2) is not always clear-cut. The formal criterion for differentiating them is reflected in the valence schemas: for the verbs discussed in this section, the second (locational) argument can be expressed by the postpositional construction or an adverb, while for the verbs in 14.3.2 it normally cannot. For the list of Lative postpositions see 10.2.1, for the list of Lative adverbs see 10.1.1. Examples of postpositional phrases as a second argument are:

(1013) a. *Zueze* *kä:-tigi-ni* *ŋene:-ni.*
table side-LAT-3SG go.PAST-3SG
'He came to the table.'

b. *Uli* *bagä:-za-tigi-ni* *ŋene:-ni.*
river other-N-LAT-3SG go.PAST-3SG
'He went to the other side of the river.'

c. *Čeradaka* *xo:n-tigi-ni* *tukti:-ni.*
attic top-LAT-3SG climb-3SG
'He is climbing up to the attic.'

d. *Bi zueze* *ogdo-tigi-ni* *iga:ma:-mi.*
me table side-LAT-3SG lean.PAST-3SG

‘I leaned against the table.’

14.3.4. A/NOM, CIR/INST

A/NOM, CIR/INST intransitive verbs take the Instrumental argument with the semantic role conventionally called the circumstance. In practice, the semantic role of this argument varies greatly.

14.3.4.1. Non-symmetrical verbs

For the following group of verbs the semantic role of the Instrumental argument is something like theme, or stimulus of emotions.

(1014)	*ča:la-*	‘agree with’	*diasi-*	‘talk to’
	mamasala-	‘marry (of a man)’	*iñe-*	‘laugh at’
	azana-	‘be embarrassed about’	*zo:-*	‘need’
	elu-	‘be bored with’	*gegbisi-*	‘be called’
	dekesi-	‘take leave of’	*ele-*	‘be full of (food)’
	zima-	‘come to see, visit’	*sauli-*	‘offer (food)’
	ŋele-	‘be afraid of’	*dekte-*	‘separate from, divorce’

Sentence examples:

(1015) a. *Mafa* *sita-na-zi:* *dekte:-ni.*
old.man son-PL-INST.REF separate.PAST-3SG
‘The old man separated from his sons.’

b. *Min-zi* *e-zi* *iñe.*
me-INST NEG-IMP.2SG laugh
‘Don’t laugh at me.’

c. *Agdi-zi* *ŋele-ini.*
thunder-INST be.afraid-3SG
‘He is afraid of thunder’

d. *Uti ni:-zi* *elu-o:-mi* *bi.*
that man-INST be.bored-PAST-1SG me
‘I am bored with that man.’

e. *Nadä-zi* *mamasa-la:-ni*.
Nadia-INST wife-V.PAST-3SG
‘He married Nadia.’

f. *Ei teu* *kukpu-zi* *gegbisi:-ni.*
this all bug-INST call-3SG
‘These are called bugs.’

g. *Sita-zi-fi* *dekesi-li-e-ti.*
child-INST-REF.PL t ake.leave-INC-PAST-3PL
‘They took leave of their children.’

The verb *wo:*- in the meaning ‘become’ takes a second argument that is expressed by the adjective phrase in the Instrumental, cf.:

(1016) *Bi* *azig'a-i* *alagdig'a-zi* *wo-ini.*
me daughter-1SG beautiful-INST make-3SG
'My daughter is becoming beautiful.'

14.3.4.2. Symmetrical verbs

Verbs with an Instrumental argument may express a naturally reciprocal situation in which both participants are involved in the same way and perform the same action on each other. Note that such verbs are not formally reciprocal, that is, they do not undergo morphological reciprocalization with the suffix *-masi-* (8.2.1.1) and do not participate in the Reciprocal construction (16.1.6). Their meaning is inherently reciprocal since it is not possible to conceive of the situation they describe without the two participants acting symmetrically. Some examples of such verbs are:

(1017)

anda-ta-	'be friends with'	*masoni-*	'fight with
w'ali-	'fight with'	*zuza-*	'argue with'
b'agdi-	'meet with'	*diasi-*	'talk to'
xefisi-	'discuss with'	*mamasa-ta-*	'live together with'
			(SK 541)

In a sentence such verbs are normally in the Singular.

(1018) a. *Bi* *Iwana-zi* *masoni-mi.*
me Ivan-INST fight-1SG
'I am fighting with Ivan.'
b. *Nua-ni* *ei* *b'ata-zi* *w'ali-e-ni.*
he-3SG this boy-INST fight-PAST-3SG
'He was fighting with this boy.'

Symmetrical verbs allow several alternative ways of expressing the second argument, and these are not related to voice transformations. They are described in 16.2.3.

14.3.4.3. Verbs with the instrumental argument

Another type of circumstance argument expressed by the Instrumental case has an instrumental or instrumental-like meaning, as is the case for the following verbs:

(1019)

daga-	'burn oneself with'
unugu-le-	'be ill with'
neme(gi)-	'cover oneself with'
akpisi-	'wipe oneself'
dian-	'speak (a language)'
sule-	'be ill with'
zelige-si-	'play the traditional game *zelige*'

Sentence examples:

(1020) a. *Nua-ni* *giripa-zi* *unugu-le-ini.*
he-3SG flu-INST illness-V-3SG
'He has the flu.'

b. *Nua-ni* *udie* *keje-zi-ni* *dian-a-ini.*
he-3SG Udihe language-INST-3SG speak-0-3SG
'He speaks Udihe.'

c. *Nua-ni* *ketu* *tuge* *nemegi-e-ni*
he-3SG very quick cover-PAST-3SG
men-e *xula-zi:.*
REF-0 blanket-INST.REF
'He covered himself with his blanket very quickly.'

14.3.5. A/NOM, L/ABL (ADV)

These are Intransitive verbs with a location-type Ablative argument that expresses movement away from the location:

(1021) *tiŋme-* 'fell out' *susa-* 'escape from'
eu(gi)- 'go down from' *ŋene-/ŋeni-* 'go from'

Sentence examples:

(1022) a. *Bi* *kuti-digi* *susa:-mi.*
me tiger-ABL escape.PAST-1SG
'I escaped from the tiger.'

b. *Wakca-i* *ni:* *mo:-digi-ni*
hunt-PRP man tree-ABL-3SG
eu-gi-e-ni.
climb.down-REP-PAST-3SG
'The hunter climbed down the tree.'

Examples of arguments expressed by the postpositional phrase:

(1023) a. *Zugdi* *ogdo-digi-ni* *ŋene-ini.*
house side-ABL-3SG go-3SG
'He is walking from the house.'

b. *Čeradaka* *xo:n-digi-ni* *eu-gi:-ni.*
attic top-ABL-3SG go.down-REP-3SG
'He is going down from the attic'.

14.3.6. A/NOM, L/LOC (ADV)

Intransitive verbs with the Locative argument express different types of location.

(1024) *bagdi-* 'live in' *etete-* 'work at'
tigi- 'fit in' *ŋene-* 'reach'
i:n- 'come to, reach' *eme-* 'come to, enter'
nagda- 'get in, reach' *tuge-* 'lean against'
iga:ma- 'lean against' *eku-* 'stay with'
u:na- 'sit in (a boat), mount (a horse)'

Sentence examples:

(1025) a. *Wakca-i* *ni:* *mo:-lo* *nagda:-ni.*
hunt-PRP man tree-LOC reach.PAST-3SG
'The hunter got in the tree.'

b. *Udie* *namuŋka-da* *namu-le* *bagdi:-ti.*
Udihe Oroch-FOC sea-LOC live-3PL
'Udihe and Oroch people live on the sea.'

c. *Bi* *Iman-dule* *i:ŋ-ki-mi.*
me Iman-LOC come-PAST-1SG
'I came to Iman.'

d. *Sadgi* *mo:* *pečka-la* *ei-ni* *tigi.*
large tree oven-LOC NEG-3SG fit
'A large log does not fit into the oven.'

f. *Zugdi-le* *i:ŋ-ki-ni.*
house-LOC come-PAST-3SG
'He entered the house.'

Some examples of postpositional arguments are:

(1026) a. *Zueze* *we:-le-ni* *tuge-ini.*
table top-LOC-3SG lean-3SG
'He leaned against the table.'

b. *Zugdi* *ogdo-lo-ni* *iga:ma-ini.*
house side-LOC-3SG lean-3SG
'He is leaning against the house.'

c. *Bagä:-za* *e:-le-ni* *bagdi:-ni.*
other-N side-LOC-3SG live-3SG
'He lives on the other side (of the river).'

Some of these verbs, such as *bagdi-* 'live' or *etete-* 'work', also allow a Dative argument with a locational meaning, cf.:

(1027) *Bi* *enimi* *kluba-du* *etete-ini.*
me mum club-DAT work-3SG
'My mum works in the club.'

The type of the argument (Dative or Locative) is determined by the noun phrase itself (see 4.2.2.5). However, for some verbs the Dative is not interchangeable with the Locative. For example, the verbs *mamasa-la-* 'marry' (of a woman), *nagda-* 'get into, reach' and *i:n-* 'enter' always require a Locative argument.

14.3.7. A/NOM, B/DAT

These are the intransitive verbs for which the benefactive or goal argument can be expressed only by the Dative:

(1028) *asa-* ‘suit’
baita b’a- ‘have business with’
omosigi- ‘join’

Sentence examples are as follows.

(1029) a. *Si-Säŋa* *tene* *ketu* *ge:* *baita* *bi:-ni*
Si San CONT very bad business be-3SG
zo:ŋku-ziga-du.
poor-PL-DAT
‘And Si San has a very bad business with poor people.’
b. *Ei* *ja:gdugu* *min-du* *asa-ini.*
this glasses me-DAT suit-3SG
‘These glasses suit me.’

14.3.8. A/NOM, L/PROL (ADV)

This is a rare valence pattern of intransitive verbs, with the locational argument expressed by the Prolative or the Prolative postpositional phrase or adverb:

(1030) *i:n-* ‘come to, reach’ *we:li-* ‘cross (a mountain)’.

Sentence examples:

(1031) a. *Bi* *Iwana* *zugdi-li-ni* *i:ŋ-ki-mi.*
me Ivan house-PROL-3SG reach-PAST-1SG
‘I reached Ivan’s house.’
b. *Bu* *we:-li-ni* *we:-li-e-mu.*
we mountain-PROL-3SG mountain-V-PAST-1PL.EX
‘We crossed the mountain to the other side.’

14.3.9. A/NOM, E/NOM

For the following two verbs the second argument functions as a secondary predicate and takes the Nominative case. These verbs are:

(1032) *bagdi-* ‘grow into’ *ju:-* ‘grow into’

Examples are:

(1033) a. *Seutige* *kuŋka* *bagdi-zeŋe-ni.*
nut cedar grow-FUT-3SG
‘A nut will grow into a cedar.’
b. *ŋič’a* *b’ata-digi* *sagdi* *jegdije*
small boy-ABL big hero
jewu-o-ni.

grow-PAST-3SG
'A small boy grew up into a big hero.' (SK 667)

14.4. Three-argument verbs

All three-argument verbs found in our material are transitive, that is, at least one of their arguments is a patient/theme that corresponds to the grammatical relation of the direct object (15.1.2) and is expressed by the Accusative in the direct voice construction. Consequently, these verbs permit all the voice transformations described in section 16.1. Apart from the patient, these verbs also take an agent argument that corresponds to the subject and a third argument with different semantic roles and a different formal marking.

14.4.1. A/NOM, P/ACC, B/DAT

14.4.1.1. Verbs with the benefactive argument

These are three-argument verbs of transfer of things or information with an agent, patient, and recipient that correspond to the Dative noun phrase:

(1034)	*bu:-*	'give'	*ñumnisi-*	'explain'
	naŋdasi-	'owe'	*gazi-*	'bring'
	ge:ne-	'bring, take, fetch'	*dalusi-*	'feed'
	to:li-	'serve (food)'		
	muñali-	'feel sorry about something for somebody'		

Sentence examples:

(1035) a. *Bi sin-du xeleba-wa bu-o:-mi.*
me you-DAT bread-ACC give-PAST-1SG
'I gave you (some) bread.'

b. *Mafa xokto-wo aziga-ziga-du*
old.man road-ACC girl-PL-DAT
ñumnisi-e-ni.
explain-PAST-3SG
'The old man explained the way to the girls.'

c. *Min-du ila tieze-we naŋdasa-ini.*
me-DAT three ruble-ACC owe-3SG
'He owes me three rubles.'

d. *Bu kusige-fi omo mafasa-du*
we knife-1PL.EX one old.man-DAT
bu-o:-mu.
give-PAST-1PL.EX
'We gave our knife to an old man.'

e. *Mamaka mafasa-du gampa-wa to:li:-ni.*
old.woman old.man-DAT porridge-ACC serve-3SG
'The old woman is serving porridge to the old man.'

f. *Bi in'ei-du zeu xule-pte:-me-ni*
me dog-DAT food remain-DEC.PP-ACC-3SG
dalusi-mi.

feed-1SG
'I feed the dog with the remainder of the food.'

14.4.1.2. Verbs with the non-benefactive argument

The following verbs have the same valence pattern, however, the third argument can hardly be described as a benefactive; for the verb *muisi-* it is a copredicative element, while for the verbs *obolo-* and *wo:-* it is a kind of goal or essive.

(1036) *muisi-* 'consider' *obo-lo-* 'divide (into parts)'
wo:- 'turn into'

Sentence examples:

(1037) a. *Eniŋe* *obo-lo:-ni* *xeleba-wa* *ila*
mother part-V.PAST-3SG bread-ACC three
obo-du.
part-DAT
'The mother divided the bread into three pieces.'

b. *Bi* *Šarika-wa* *in'ei* *aja-du* *muisi-mi.*
me Sharik-ACC dog good-DAT consider-1SG
'I consider Sharik a good dog.'

c. *Belie* *tene* *dogbo* *iŋeni* *ña:-wa* *eilisi:-ni*
fairy CONT night day skin-ACC process-3SG
tege-du *uŋta-du* *wo-si:-ni.*
gown-DAT boot-DAT make-IM-3SG
'And the fairy processes the skins day and night and makes them into clothes and boots.' (K 30)

The third argument of the verb *muisi-* may correspond to the (substantivized) adjective. It is encoded by the Nominative form of the adjective followed by the evidential particle *gumu* (12.1.2.1). Such constructions seem to have appeared under the interfering influence of constructions with the verb *muisi-* and the finite subordinate clause followed by the evidential particle (18.3.1.2), and here are not treated as a separate valence type. Alternatively, the third argument may be expressed by an adjective in the Dative according to the general pattern, as in (1039).

(1038) a. *Nua-ni* *min-e-we* *ŋel'euse* *gumu*
he-3SG me-0-ACC coward EV
muisi:-ni.
think-3SG
'He thinks of me as a coward.'

b. *Teu* *uta-wa* *muisi:-ti* *gulälini* *gumu.*
all this-ACC think-3PL crazy EV
'Everybody thinks he is crazy.'

(1039) *Min-e-we* *p'aga-du* *muisi:-ni.*
me-0-ACC stupid-DAT think-3SG
'He thinks I am stupid.'

14.4.2. A/NOM, P/ACC, B/ACC

Only three verbs are found that exhibit this pattern with both non-subject arguments corresponding to the Accusative noun phrase:

(1040) *ñumnisi-* ‘teach something to somebody’
teti(-gi)- ‘dress, put something (clothes) on somebody’
(w)o:- ‘make, transform something into something’
igisi- ‘make somebody grow into somebody’

Sentence examples:

(1041) a. *Ni* *sin-e-we* *matematika-wa* *ñumnisi-e-ni?*
who you-0-ACC math-ACC teach-PAST-3SG
Si *xunazi:* *sin-e-we* *matematika-wa*
you sister.2SG you-0-ACC math-ACC
ñumnisi:-ni.
teach-3SG
‘Who has taught you math? Your sister teaches math to you.’

b. *Eniŋe* *sita-i* *teti-gi:-ni* *tege-we*
mother son-REF.SS dress-REP-3SG gown-ACC
xeige-we.
trousers-ACC
‘The mother puts a gown and trousers on her son.’

c. *Bi* *sin-e-we* *keje-we* *ñumnisi-mi.*
me you-0-ACC word-ACC teach-1SG
‘I teach you words.’

d. *Uti* *leme* *kuliga* *du-we-ni* *o:-iti.*
that lard snake shape-ACC-3SG make-3PL
‘They transform that lard into the shape of a snake.’ (SK 497)

The verb *tatusi-* ‘teach something to somebody’ exhibits a similar pattern, but the Patient argument must be expressed either by the action nominal derived through conversion of the verbal stem (5.2.1) or by the impersonal Accusative form of the Present participle.

(1042) *A:nta-ma* *aziga-wa* *tatusi-e-ti*
woman-ADJ girl- ACC teach-PAST-3PL
oño-wa *o:-i-we,* *ña:-wa* *eili-we,*
ornament-ACC make-PRP-ACC skin-ACC process-ACC
sita-wa *igi-si-we,* *siete-we*
child-ACC feed-IM-ACC thread-ACC
tompo-i-we.
twist-PRP-ACC
‘They used to teach girls to make ornaments, to process skins, to bring up children, and to twist threads.’ (SKX 300)

The pattern presented here is the only one possible for the verbs in question and thus it differs from the double object constructions described in 16.2.1, which always allow an alternative expression of the arguments.

14.4.3. A/NOM, P/ACC, B/LAT

There are three argument verbs for which the third argument has a benefactive role and is expressed by the Lative noun phrase:

(1043)	*teluŋu-si-*	'tell'	*gun-*	'tell, say'
	gele-	'ask from'	*dian-*	'say, tell'
	xauntasi-	'ask from'		
	muñali-	'feel sorry for something to somebody'		

Sentence examples:

(1044) a. *Eniŋe* *sita-tigi-ni* *ŋimaŋku-we* *teluŋu-si:-ni.*
mother child-LAT-3SG tale-ACC story-V-3SG
'The mother is telling a tale to her child.'

b. *Ñ'ädiga* *aziga-tigi* *sata-wa* *muñali:-ni.*
Nadiga girl-LAT candy-ACC feel.sorry-3SG
'Nadiga is feeling sorry for the candy to the girl.'

c. *Kesi* *gele-gi:-ti* *Xutakta-tigi.*
luck ask-REP-3PL Xutakta-LAT
'They ask again for luck from (the star) Xutakta.' (SKX 306)

The second argument which in the examples (967) has the patient/theme role may also be expressed by the complement subordinate clause described in more detail in Chapter 20.

14.4.4. A/NOM, P/ACC, L/LAT (ADV)

This is a transitive verb pattern in which the third argument has a location role and is expressed by the Lative noun phrase, Lative postpositional phrase, or adverb:

(1045)	*nede-*	'put'	*neugi-*	'take, carry'
	kuŋgede-	'pour'	*cudi-*	'pour'

Sentence examples are given in (1046). In (1046b) the third argument is expressed by the postpositional phrase with the Lative meaning.

(1046) a. *Bi* *čaja-wa* *ei* *moxo-tigi* *kuŋede-zeŋe-i.*
me tea-ACC this cup-LAT pour-FUT-1SG
'I will pour tea in this cup.'

b. *Bi* *moxo-wo* *dieŋeze-tigi* *nede:-mi.*
me cup-ACC left-LAT put.PAST-3SG
'I put the cup to the left.'

14.4.5. A/NOM, P/ACC, CIR/INST

This is a three-argument verb pattern where the third argument is expressed by the Instrumental noun phrase having the range of circumstance or instrument-like meanings. It occurs with the following verbs.

(1047)

wakca-	‘shoot at with’	*tama-*	‘pay with for’
da:wan-	‘infect with’	*xua-*	‘cut with’
gegbisi-	‘name, call’	*züile-*	‘saw’
dakpi-	‘cover with’	*mäundala-*	‘shot (with a gun)’
tikpene-	‘nail up’	*titimasi-*	‘argue with somebody about something’

For the verb *bodo-* ‘consider’ the third (Instrumental) argument can be expressed by an adjective. Sentence examples are:

(1048) a. *Kolo ñ’aula-wa giripa-zi da:waŋ-ki-ni.*
Kolo child-ACC flu-INST infect-PAST-3SG
‘Kolo infected a child with flu.’

b. *Bi men-e sita-i Maša-zi gegbisi-e-mi.*
me REF-0 child-REF Masha-INST name-PAST-1SG
‘I named my child Masha.’

c. *Aziga-wa Roza-zi gegbi-e-ti.*
girl-ACC Roza-INST name-PAST-3PL
‘The (new-born) girl is named Roza.’

d. *Zugdi bua-digi sagdi-zi- bodo-i j’eu?*
house place-ABL large-INST consider-2SG what
‘You consider the house larger than the world, don’t you?’
(Schneider 1937: 70)

14.4.6. A/NOM, P/ACC, L/ABL (ADV)

This is a three-argument pattern in which the third argument is locational and is expressed by the Ablative noun phrase, Ablative postpositional phrase, or Ablative adverb. It occurs with the following verbs:

(1049)

agbugi-	‘pull out’	*ga:gi-*	‘take out’
zawa-	‘take from’	*uisigi-*	‘rescue from’

Sentence examples are in (1050). Sentence (1050c) is an example of an Ablative adverb as the third argument.

(1050) a. *Bi od’o-i b’ata-wa uli-digi agbugi-e-ni.*
me grandfather-1SG boy-ACC water-ABL pull.out-PAST-3SG
‘My grandfather pulled the boy out of the water.’

b. *Ñ’ädiga min-digi suese-we zawa:-ni.*
Nadiga me-ABL axe-ACC take.PAST-3SG
‘Nadiga took an axe from me.’

c. *Bi iŋme-we do-nigi agbugi-e-mi.*
me needle-ACC inside-ABL pull.out-PAST-1SG
‘I pulled the needle from inside.’

14.4.7. A/NOM, P/ACC, L/LOC (ADV)

A three-argument pattern in which the third argument is locational and is expressed by the Locative noun phrase, the Locative postpositional phrase, or the Locative adverb is typical of the verbs below.

(1051) *zo:mi-* 'steal from'
xauntasi- 'ask from'
xapti- 'complain about to'
ti:- 'take away from'
nede- 'put on'
igamusi - 'lean something against'
ga:gi- 'take from somebody/something'
gele- 'ask something from somebody'

Sentence examples:

(1052) a. *Iwana* *xauntasi-e-ni* *min-dule Petia-wa.*
Ivan ask-PAST-3SG me-LOC Pete-ACC
'Ivan asked me about Pete.'

b. *In'ei* *mun-du* *sugzä:-wa* *zomi-e-ni.*
dog we-DAT fish-ACC steal-PAST-3SG
'The dog stole the fish from us.'

c. *Nua-ni* *meŋdele* *zaŋä-la* *xaptisi:-ni*
he-3SG always boss-LOC complain-3SG
in'ei-we-ti.
dog-ACC-3PL
'He always complains to the boss about their dog.'

d. *Käsa* *Pakula-la* *pauza-wa* *ti:-ni.*
eagle Pakula-LOC goat-ACC take.away-3SG
'The eagle is taking the goat away from Pakula.'

Examples with postpositional phrases (1053) and adverbs (1054) are:

(1053) a. *Bi* *zueze* *we:-le-ni* (or: *w'efe*)
me table top-LOC-3SG (or: top-ACC)
kusige-we *nede:-mi.*
knife-ACC put.PAST-1SG
'I put the knife on the table.'

b. *Caŋa* *ge:fe* *mo:-wo* *igamusi:-ni.*
wall against tree-ACC lean-3SG
'He leaned the logs against the wall.'

(1054) *J'e-we-de* *nede-ini* *gugda-zi.*
what-ACC-FOC put-3SG tall-INST
'He is putting something more up.'

14.4.8. A/NOM, P/ACC, E/NOM

Two verbs are found which correspond to this pattern:

(1055) *gun-* ‘call’ *gegbi-* ‘call’

These verbs take three arguments: the agent is encoded by the Nominative, the patient (theme) is expressed by the Accusative, and the copredicative argument (conventionally referred to as essive) is also expressed by the Nominative. Sentence examples are:

(1056) a. *Bi ei ñ’aula-wa Iwana anda-ni*
me this child-ACC Ivan friend-3SG
gun-e-mi.
say-0-1SG
‘I call this fellow Ivan’s friend.’

b. *Ei xoto-wo ni: Xabarowska gun-e-iti.*
this city-ACC man Khabarovsk say-0-3PL
‘People call this city Khabarovsk.’

c. *Ei bui-we giuse gun-e-iti.*
this animal-ACC roe call-0-3PL
‘They call this animal roe.’

The verbs *gun-*‘call’ and *gegbi-* ‘call’ can co-occur within one sentence, as in (1057).

(1057) *Ute bi:-we gegbisi:-ti Soŋkoi gun-e-iti.*
that be.PRP-ACC call-3PL Sonkoi say-0-3PL
‘They call (people) like that Sonkoi.’ (K 151)

Chapter 15
Grammatical relations

This chapter presents the major characteristics of Udihe syntax in terms of grammatical relations. Grammatical relations will be identified here as syntactic elements that exhibit certain grammatical properties. These properties concern, first, the form and position of the corresponding element in the clause, and second, its ability to determine the form and the position of other elements within the same clause or clause-externally. In this chapter, however, the position of the elements within the clause is not addressed. Word order in Udihe is conditioned by information structure rather than by grammatical relations and is dealt with in the chapter on information structure (Chapter 24).

Section 15.1 focuses on the most important grammatical relation, the subject. Section 15.2. deals with the direct object. Other arguments are briefly mentioned in 15.3 but are not dealt with in detail. They are described in Chapter 14 according to the valence patterns of the verbs. On the other hand, in section 15.4 we present a detailed description of clausal adjuncts according to their semantic types. Operations that alternate grammatical relations within the clause are addressed in Chapter 16.

15.1. Subject

In Udihe one noun phrase per clause can be identified as the subject. The grammatical properties that characterize the subject are summarized in 15.1.1. Section 15.1.2 deals with the subject of the Imperative clause. In section 15.1.3 we show that some subject properties are not exclusively typical of the subject but in fact characterize certain other elements, called «subjectoids». Finally, section 15.4 addresses subjectless clauses.

15.1.1. Subject properties

The Nominative case form (15.1.1.1) and the ability to trigger verbal agreement (15.1.1.2) unambiguously identify certain elements as subjects. These elements will be called the «Nominative subject» and be treated as the prototypical subject in Udihe. In subsequent sections we show that the Nominative subject is characterized by a cluster of other syntactic properties suggesting that the notion of subject is indeed relevant for Udihe grammar.

15.1.1.1. Nominative case

The following elements are encoded as the Nominative noun phrase:

(i) the first argument of the non-passive matrix clause (Chapter 14) which corresponds to the only argument of the intransitive verb or the agent argument of the transitive verb;

(ii) the same argument in the subordinate clauses (Chapters 19–21);

(iii) the pronominal patient/theme argument of the Passive constructions (16.1.1); note that the lexical patient/theme of the Passive is marked with the Accusative case and does not exhibit other subject properties (15.2.3, 16.1.1.2.2);

(iv) the only argument of most copular constructions (17.2.2).

As shown in Chapter 14, most verbs take the Nominative subject, the only exceptions being null-argument verbs (14.1). The Nominative noun phrase is absent in Agentless Passive sentences (16.1.2), in Passive sentences where the patient/theme is a lexical noun phrase (16.1.1.2.2), as well as in agentless non-passive sentences (16.2.5).

15.1.1.2. Agreement

The Nominative noun phrases listed in 15.1.1.1 all trigger agreement either on the matrix verb or on the subordinate non-finite verb within the subordinate clause. Subject agreement affixes are presented in 7.2. Although subject agreement in person is obligatory (a few exceptions are presented in 15.1.1.2.1), agreement in number may be absent (15.1.1.2.2). Non-Nominative arguments never trigger verbal agreement and are not encoded in the verbal form.

15.1.1.2.1. Suppression of agreement

Subject agreement is suppressed in the following cases:

(i) In the negative generalized postnominal relative clause (23.2.1.6.4).
(ii) In the impersonal forms of the Necessitative (7.4.3.2).
(iii) In personal infinitival sentential subject subordinate clauses (Chapters 20 and 21).
(iv) In Irrealis Conditional Converbs (7.5.2.4.2).
(v) In most Habitual clauses (7.3.2).

In cases (i) through (iii) the verb exhibits the default 3rd person Singular agreement, independent of the person and number of the Nominative noun phrase. In (iv) and (v) it is not inflected for person and number at all. The status of the Nominative noun phrase which does not trigger agreement within the clause, however, is not entirely clear. In particular it is not known whether it exhibits all subject properties, as identified in this section. It cannot be coreferentially deleted and must be overtly present in the clause, unlike the regular Nominative subject. Yet, it can trigger reflexivization in the same way as subjects (15.1.1.4), as shown in the following example with the impersonal Necessitative.

(1058) *Bi* *'ana-i* *anana* *aisi-gi-u-zeŋe*
me boat-REF long.ago mend-REP-PAS-FP
bi-si-ni.
be-PAST-3SG
'I had to repair my boat long ago.'

15.1.1.2.2. Number agreement

Number agreement is motivated semantically rather than by formal considerations. As was discussed in 4.2.1, morphological expression of plurality is not obligatory. If the subject has multiple referents but is morphologically Singular, plurality is typically encoded by Plural agreement affixes in the verbal form, so in this case agreement in number is formally suppressed.

(1059) a. *I:mi* *e-si:* *dogdi,* *gun-e-ini,*
why NEG-PAST.2SG hear say-0-3SG
uti *c'asi:-we-ti.*
[that tickle.PRP-ACC-3PL]

‘She said: why didn’t you hear them tickling (her).’

b. *Ñamai* *ba:-du* *wakca-i* *ni:* *slono-lo*
warm place-DAT hunt-PRP man elephant-LOC
u:ŋ-ka-si *kuti-we* *wakca-iti.*
sit-PERF-PC.SS tiger-ACC hunt-3PL
‘In warm countries the hunters sitting on elephants hunt for tigers.’
(Čarušin 1935: 17)

c. *Xai* *ña* *j’eu-ke* *j’e-we-ni*
again again what-IND what-ACC-3SG
b’a-ti *uti.*
find.PAST-3PL that
‘They have found something again.’

However in some cases the verb is not marked for Plural either, cf.:

(1060) a. *Anana* *mä:usa-ti* *ančі* *bi-si-ni.*
earlier gun-3PL no be-PAST-3SG
‘Earlier they (the hunters) had no guns.’ (SK 110)

b. *Anana* *xuku* *ančі* *bi-ŋie-ni* *ilakä-zi*
earlier rope no be-IC-3SG bast-INST
meli *xeke:-ti.*
only tie.PAST-3PL
‘Earlier there were no ropes and they used to tie (things) with bast.’
(SK 116)

The verb normally takes Plural agreement when the subject is formally Singular but corresponds to a mass or abstract noun (1061) or has a collective interpretation (1062).

(1061) *Soŋo* *ña:-ni* *iŋakta-ni* *wanimi-ŋku.*
bear skin-3SG fur-3SG long-PL
‘The fur of the bear skin is long.’

(1062) a. *Lusa* *sagdi* *xoton-du* *bagdi:-ti.*
Russian big city-DAT live-3PL
‘Russians live in big cities.’

b. *Mo:* *abdä:-ni* *kogomoi b’a-iti.*
tree leaf-3SG thirsty get-3PL
‘The leaves of the trees are thirsty.’

c. *Gele:-ni* *belesi-le:-ti* *činda-wa.*
ask.PAST-3SG help-PURP-3PL bird-ACC
‘He called birds so that they help.’ (SKX 76)

d. *Uti* *xeŋki- ŋku-du* *Kimo ŋko* *se:-ni*
that pray-N-DAT Kimongko clan-3SG
xe ŋki-s-e-ti.
pray-IM-PAST-3PL
‘The clan Kimongko used to pray at that praying place.’ (SK 838)

On the other hand, when the subject is morphologically marked for plurality with the suffix *-ziga*, the verb typically takes Plural agreement (1063), although this rule is not strict either (1064).

(1063) a. *Tuge-zi* *tukä-iti* *in’ei-ziga.*

fast-INST run-3PL dog-PL
'The dogs are running fast.'

b. *Ñ'aula-ziga* *agda:-ti.*
child-PL get.happy.PAST-3PL
The children became happy.'

(1064) *Sita-u* *ña:-wa-ni* *daga-ili* *zube emende-ziga.* son-1PL.EX
skin-ACC-3SG burn-3SG two which-PL
'Two witches have burnt our son's skin.'

As was discussed in 13.3, the head of the quantified noun phrase is normally morphologically Singular. When the quantified noun phrase bears the subject role, the verb may be either in the Singular or in the Plural. This is shown in (1066a) and (1066b) taken from the same text, as well as in (1067a) and (1067b).

(1065) *Egdi* *ni:* *eme:-ni.*
many man come.PAST-3SG
'A lot of people came.'

(1066) a. *Nada* *ŋeŋue* *eme:-ti.*
seven ogre come.PAST-3PL
'Seven ogres came.' (K 116)

b. *Nada* *ŋeŋue* *eme-i-we-ni* *düisi-mi..*
seven ogre come-PRP-ACC-3SG here-1SG
'I hear seven ogres coming.' (K 115)

(1067) a. *W'ali-li-e-ti* *zu:* *mafa.*
fight-INC-PAST-3PL two bear
'Two bears started fighting.'

b. *Zu:* *mafa* *eme:-ni.*
two bear come.PAST-3SG
'Two bears came.'

15.1.1.3. Control of switch-reference

Most importantly, the notion of subject lies at the center of the switch-reference system which is addressed at greater length in 22.5 and illustrated in the chapters on subordinate clauses (Chapters 19–21). In conformity with this system, the non-finite verbs (participles and converbs) that form the subordinate clauses of different types carry personal affixes of one of two types: the so-called same-subject and different-subject. The former indicate the coreference of the subjects of the superordinate and the subordinate clause, while the latter indicates the lack of such coreference. The Nominative subject, as identified in 15.1.1.1 triggers the same-subject switch-reference affixes (examples can be found in 22.5), while other grammatical relations fail to do so. Example (1068) indicates that the subject of the copular construction controls the same-subject switch-reference markers (same-subject Perfective Converb):

(1068) *Oñ'o-si* *aziga* *o-du* *bi:-ni.*
[write.PERF-PC.SS] girl this-DAT be-3SG
'The girl who finished writing is here.'

15.1.1.4. Refexivization control

The Nominative subject controls reflexivization in the following two cases: first, Reflexive pronouns in different syntactic roles (22.3.1.1), and second, the Reflexive Possessive affixes (22.3.1.2) which indicate that the possessor within the corresponding noun phrase is coreferential with the subject. Grammatical relations other than the subject do not control reflexivization. See 22.3.3 for syntactic detail.

15.1.1.5. Impersonal forms of participles

When the Nominative subject is relativized, the active participle within the relative clause appears in its impersonal form (19.1.1, 19.1.2). On the other hand, when other syntactic positions are relativized, the participle takes the personal affix that refers to the subject of the relative clause.

15.1.1.6. Control of infinitival clauses

The Nominative subject determines particular non-finite forms in certain subordinate clauses (other than switch-reference markers). In particular, it controls the infinitival complement clause (Chapter 20) and the infinitival adverbial clause (Chapter 21).

15.1.1.6.1. Controllers of the infinitival clause

The infinitival clause, when its subject is referential, cannot be controlled by grammatical relations other than the subject, as illustrated below for the direct object (1069a) and the indirect object (1069b).

(1069) a. *Eme-mi* *ise:-ni* *Kanda* *mafa.*
[come-INF] see.PAST-3SG Kanda old.man
'$\varnothing_{i/*j}$ Having come she$_i$ saw the old man Kanda$_j$.'

b. *Eme-mi* *b'ata-du* *kusige-we*
[come-INF] boy-DAT knife-ACC
bu-o:-ni.
give-PAST-3SG
'$\varnothing_{i/*j}$ Having come she$_i$ gave the knife to the boy$_j$.'

Examples (1070) demonstrate the infinitival adverbial clause controlled by the subject of the Passive, which in this case is coreferentially deleted (in the glosses this is marked by a zero).

(1070) a. *Maŋga* *bi-mi* *i:mi* *likp-u-i*
[strong be-INF ∅] why close-PAS-2SG
sama-du?
shaman-DAT
'Being strong, why can you be closed by the shaman? (to a hole)'
(K 124)

b. *Maŋga* *bi-mi* *bua-du* *i:mi* *wu:-i?*
[strong be-INF ∅] God-DAT why kill.PAS-2SG
'Being strong, why can you be killed by God?' (K 125)

c. *Wakca-mi* *wa-w-o:-ni.*
hunt-INF kill-PAS-PAST-3SG

‘He was killed while hunting.’

When the agent of the subordinate infinitival clause does not correspond to the matrix clause subject, various strategies apply to avoid ill-formed structures. One option is the causativization of the subordinate clause.

(1071) *Susana zug-tigi i:-wen-e-mi tu:*
[Susan house-LAT enter-CAUS-0-INF] all
xauntasi-li-e-ti.
ask-INC-PAST-3PL
‘As soon as they let Susan into the house, everybody started asking him (sic).’

15.1.1.6.2. Different-subject infinitival clauses

Certain types of infinitival clauses may be controlled by the Dative experiencer noun phrase (20.1.1.3) and the Accusative causee in the causative constructions, which is an argument for their partial subjecthood (15.1.3). Further, infinitival clauses are allowed when the subjects of the two clauses bear a relationship of inalienable possession to each other. If the superordinate clause subject denotes a body part of the subject participant of the infinitival clause, a coreferential relationship between two subjects obviously does not hold, but the sentences are grammatical:

(1072) a. *Ketu egdi-me ini-mi emugde*
[∅ very much-ACC laugh-INF] stomach
uni:-ni.
ache-3SG
‘His stomach is aching from laughing so much.’

b. *Pakula maŋga simpi-mi iŋamukta-ni eji:-ni.*
[Pakula strong cough-INF] tear-3SG flow-3SG
‘Pakula was coughing so much that tears appeared.’

c. *Ei banza-ma korovati-le ŋua-mi*
[∅ this board-ADJ bed-LOC sleep-INF]
ni: beje-ni teu uni:.
man body-3SG all hurt.PRP
‘When sleeping on this bed made of boards, the man’s whole body is hurting.’

Finally, the infinitival clause may be interpreted semantically as generic and lack a subject entirely.

(1073) a. *Mafa-wa wakča-mi ni:-we*
[∅ bear-ACC hunt-INF] man-ACC
čof’osi-e-ni.
wound-PAST-3SG
‘When (people) were hunting for a bear, he wounded one man.’ (SKX 310)

b. *Diga-mi e-u-i mala.*
eat-INF NEG-PAS-PRP finish
‘When one eats (it), it does not finish.’ (SK 978)

c. *Mo:-wo mo-lo-logo-mi tugbu-se.*

[tree-ACC tree-V-PURP-SS] cut-PP.PAS
'(Trees) were cut down to prepare wood.'

d. *Igdu-fi* *wende-mi* *mo:* *bagdi-ze.*
comb-REF.PL throw-INF tree grow-HORT
'When you throw the comb, trees will grow.'

15.1.1.7. Other control structures

The Nominative subject controls certain participial complement clauses (the so-called subject-control clauses (20.2.3.1)), as well as certain participial adverbial clauses (21.3.2.8).

15.1.1.8. Depictives

As demonstrated in 19.6, the Nominative subject controls secondary predicates (depictives). This property is also shared by some direct objects, but it is not typical of lower grammatical relations.

15.1.1.9. Coreferential deletion

The Nominative subject is a regular target of deletion under coreference (22.2.1). In particular, this concerns coreferential deletion across conjoined clauses, which is a property exclusively typical of subjects in Udihe (22.2.7.2).

15.1.1.10. Non-adjacent modifier

The subject together with the direct object seem to be the only grammatical relations that participate in certain constructions where an attributive modifier appears discontinuously with respect to its head: quantifier float (24.2.2.2.2), a non-adjacent relative clause (19.3) and adjectival determiner (24.2.2.2.1).

15.1.2. Imperative subject

The Imperative subject (the addressee of the Imperative clause) behaves in the same way as the ordinary Nominative subject.

15.1.2.1. Overt Imperative subject

In the most cases, the Imperative clause does not contain an overt subject constituent. However, the Imperative subject can be overtly present in the clause, especially when it is emphasized. So the rules for the overt presence of the Imperative subject do not basically differ from those for the non-Imperative subject, which is also normally omitted and is overtly present only when in focus (22.2.1). When the Imperative subject is overtly present, it is encoded by the Nominative noun phrase. Most frequently, its position is immediately after the Imperative verb (1074), but it can also be located clause-initially (1075).

(1074) a. *Bu-je* *si* *uta-wa.*
give-IMP.2SG you that-ACC
'Give it.'

b. *Utemi* *min-tigi* *mafa-la-i* *si.*
therefore me-LAT man-V-IMP.2SG you
'Therefore, marry me.'

c. *Pigde* *ñuxan-a-i-ze* *si,* inside
penetrate-0-IMP.2SG-HORT you
ixompo.
bird.cherry.tree
'Go inside, bird cherry tree.' (SKX 160)

(1075) a. *Si* *boxoso* *eme-je.*
you humpback come-IMP.2SG
'You, humpback, come in.'

b. *Si* *min-tigi* *ñoxoli* *gakpa-ja* *bi*
you me-LAT first shoot-IMP.2SG [me
ise-lege-i *si* *ono-do*
see-PURP-1SG [you how-IND
gakpa-i-wa-i.
shoot-PRP-ACC-2SG]]
'Shoot at me first, so I can see how you shoot.' (K 152)

15.1.2.2. Properties of the Imperative subject

The Imperative subject triggers agreement on the Imperative verb (2nd person Singular or Plural) and seems to be characterized by all the subject properties described in 15.1.1. The most important are illustrated below. Examples (1076) demonstrates that it controls the infinitival subordinate clause; (1077) shows that it triggers same-subject switch-reference markers; in (1078) we illustrate that the Imperative subject controls coreferential deletion across the conjoint clause, while (1079) presents reflexivization.

(1076) a. *Zima* *bi-mi-de* *i:-je.*
[guest be-INF-FOC] enter-IMP.2SG
'If you are a guest, come in.'

b. *Ono* *ča:la-m(i)* *ono* *gazi-ja* *si.*
[how want-INF] how carry-IMP.2SG you
'Carry (it) in a way you want.' (K 185)

(1077) a. *Zeu-we* *diga-lie* *teu-teu*
[food-ACC eat-CC.SS.PL] quite-quite
diga-ja-u.
eat-IMP-2PL
'If you eat food, eat it in silence.'

b. *Min-du* *oloxi* *bu-je* *si*
me-DAT squirrel give-IMP.2SG [you
tiŋeni *wa:-mi.*
yesterday kill.PP-SS]
'Give me the squirrel you killed yesterday.'

c. *Sa-laga-mi* *taŋi-je* *a-wa.*
[learn-PURP-SS] read-IMP.2SG this-ACC
'Read this in order to learn it.'

(1078) a. *In'ei-we* *e-zi* *tuŋkala*
dog-ACC NEG-IMP.2SG touch
iktemel-u-i.
bite-PAS-2SG
'Don't touch the dog, it will bite you.'

b. *Min-tigi e-zi* *pilaxi* *min-du*
me-LAT NEG-IMP.2SG tease me-DAT
koŋk-u-i.
beat-PAS-2SG
'Don't tease me, I will beat you.'

(1079) a. *Unta-i-de* *men-e* *bei-zi:*
boot-REF-FOC REF-0 body-INSTR.REF
e-zi *wagi.*
NEG-IMP.2SG dry
'Don't dry your boots yourself.' (K 109)

b. *Gagda-na-m(i)* *galakta-na-i.*
another-DEST-REF seek-DIR-IMP.2SG
'Go to seek a match (a wife) for yourself.'

c. *Sul'ai* *tege-fi* *zuesi-nde-ze-fi.*
fox gown-REF.PL swap-SEM-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'Fox, let us swap our clothes.' (K 164)

15.1.3. Subjectoids

Although no other syntactic units exhibit exactly the same cluster of properties as the Nominative subject, it is important to note that some of the properties addressed in 15.1.1 are shared by other elements. These elements will be called «subjectoids». Subjectoids do not take the Nominative case and do not trigger verbal agreement. However, they participate in certain (control) processes that are also typical of the subject. The following subjectoids share some subject properties: the Dative experiencer (15.1.3.1) and the Accusative noun phrase that corresponds to the causee argument of the causative constructions (15.1.3.2). We do not have enough material to address the behavior of these elements with respect to all subject properties, but each of subjectoids is characterized by at least one property, as opposed to lower grammatical relations.

15.1.3.1. Dative experiencer

The Dative experiencer is present in certain copular constructions (17.2.3) and demonstrates some subject properties. It controls the Infinitival complement clause, as discussed in 20.1.1.3 (the so-called experiencer-controlled clause). Further, the Dative experiencer triggers the same-subject switch-reference affixes. This is illustrated in the following example, where the participle in the adverbial embedded clause is marked by the agreement morpheme *-i* ambiguous between the same-subject and the 2nd person Singular interpretation. The lack of the Accusative case marking on the embedded participle rather indicates that we deal here with the same-subject relation (cf. 22.5.2.2).

(1080) *Sin-du* *ge:* *bi-ze* *e-si:* *bu-gi.*

you-DAT bad be-SUBJ [NEG-PP.2SG give-REP]
'You will be ill unless you give it back.

On the other hand, the Dative experiencer does not trigger verbal agreement, the impersonal participial forms when relativized or the other types of same-subject subordinate clauses mentioned in 15.1.1, and cannot be omitted under coreference. Unfortunately, we do not have material to show whether it can be an antecedent of a reflexive element.

15.1.3.2. The Accusative causee

The causee argument in the transitive Causative construction can be expressed either by the Accusative noun phrase or by the Dative noun phrase (16.1.4.3), and in intransitive Causative constructions only by the Accusative noun phrase (16.1.4.2).

The Accusative causee has several grammatical properties typical of subjects. First, it controls the infinitival clause as shown by the following example.

(1081) *Dami-we* *damisi-mi* *ni:-we* *ede-ne-weni:-ni.*
[tobacco-ACC smoke-INF] man-ACC weak-V-CAUS-3SG
'Smoking tobacco makes a man weak.'

Second, like subjects, the Accusative causee is easily deleted under coreference with a previously mentioned element.

(1082) a. *Ogdö* *do-lo-ni* *ŋua-wan-za-fi.*
coffin inside-LOC-3SG sleep-CAUS-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'We will put him to sleep in a coffin.' (K 190)

b. *Yegdige* *ba:* *xo:n-dule-ni* *ule:-ni*
hero place top-LOC-3SG dig.PAST-3SG
agdu, *uta-la* *ŋua-waŋ-ki-ni.*
hole that-LOC sleep-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'The hero dug a hole in the forest and then put them to sleep.'
(K 132)

Third, it can control the coreferential null across the conjoint clause.

(1083) a. *Susa-gi-ze-mi* *bi,* *lä*
escape-REP-SUBJ-1SG me very
uktu-wen-zeŋe *tigde.*
wet-CAUS-FUT rain
'I must escape, (otherwise) the rain will make me wet through.'

b. *Nada-ma* *ŋeni* *nada-ma* *dogbo-ni*
seven-ACC day seven-ACC night-3SG
sikisi-e-ni. *mamasa-i,* *siki-e-k,*
wash-PAST-3SG wife-REF wash-PAST-EXPR
aja-zi *teti-gi-wene:-k.*

good-INST dress-REP-CAUS-PAST-EXPR
'He was washing his wife for seven days and seven nights, he washed her and dressed her well.'

With respect to reflexivization, our evidence is controversial. Example (1084a) shows the null causee which corresponds to the coreferentially deleted Accusative noun phrase. This argument is shared by several conjoined causative verbs, some of which are originally intransitive and therefore allow only the Accusative causee (16.1.4.2.1), these are *teti-gi-wen-'e* 'caused to put on', *zawa-gi-wan-'e* 'caused to take', *iktemele-gi-wen-e:-ni* 'caused to bite', and *te-gi-weŋ-ki-ni* 'caused to sit'. The possessive affixes on the words *oño-wo-ni* 'her kerchief' and *dami-ŋi-we-ni* 'her pipe', although they refer to the causee argument, are not reflexive. Moreover, in (1084b) the reflexive element on *na:-ŋi-la-i* 'on on your land' can refer only to the (imperative) subject but not to the causee.

(1084) a. *Wo-zoŋo-wo-ni* *teti-wen-'e,* *seuzine-le*
[sew-FUT-ACC-3SG] dress-CAUS-PERF kerchief-FOC
oño-wo-ni *zawa-gi-wan-'e,*
embroid-ACC-3SG take-REP-CAUS-PERF
dami-ŋi-we-ni *iktemele-gi-wen-e:-ni,*
pipe-AL-ACC-3SG bite-REP-CAUS-PAST-3SG
doŋdom *te:-gi-weŋ-ki-ni.*
straight sit-REP-CAUS-PAST-3SG

'He made her take what she will sew, gave her a kerchief to embroider, made her take a pipe with her teeth, and seated her straight.' (K 105)

b. *Ma:ma,* *min-e-we* *doh-won-o-jo*
grandmother me-0-ACC perch-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
na:-ŋi-la-i.
land-AL-LOC-REF
'Grandmother, let me perch on your land.' (SKX 326)

However, in the following examples the null Accusative causee does control the reflexive pronouns *me-mi* and *men-tigi*.

(1085) a. *Amba-n'a-si* *bagdi:* *ni:-we*
evil.spirit-V.PERF-PC.SS live.PRP man-ACC
kese-u-li-li-e-ni, *me-mi*
suffer-CAUS-INC-INC-PAST-3SG REF-ACC
wa-wan-a-ini.
kill-CAUS-0-3SG
'Having turned into an evil spirit he used to torture living people, he forced them to kill themselves.' (SK 203)

b. *Tada-zi* *men-tigi* *gakpa-wan-a-ini* *tiŋe*
arrow-INST REF-LAT shoot-CAUS-0-3SG chest
t'afa.
straight
'He forces them to shoot at themselves straight in the chest.' (SKX 406)

It looks like both options are equally available.

On the other hand, the Accusative causee does not seem to have other subject properties, and behaves syntactically like a direct object (15.2). In particular, it can trigger passivization (16.1.4.4) and does not control switch-reference, cf.:

(1086) *Diga-la:-ni* *čaja* *umi-wen-e-i.*
[∅ eat-PURP-3SG] tea drink-CAUS-0-PRP
'She made him drink tea so that he eats.'

15.1.3.3. The Dative causee

The Dative causee does not exhibit any subject properties. In particular, it does not control the infinitival clause (1087a), the coreferential null, and reflexivization (1087b).

(1087) a. *Eme-mi* *bi* *Iwana-du* *abuga-tigi*
[come-INF] me Ivan-DAT father-LAT.REF
oño-wo *oño-woŋ-ki-mi.*
letter-ACC write-CAUS-PAST-1SG
'$\varnothing_{i/*j/*k}$ Having come, I_i made $Ivan_j$ write a letter to his $father_k$.'

b. *Men-e* *j'e-le* *uni* *bi-si-ni* *uta-la*
REF-0 what-LOC hurt be-PAST-3SG that-LOC
ni:-du *begdi-le-ni* *ŋala-la-ni*
man-DAT leg-LOC-3SG arm-LOC-3SG
auli-waŋ-ki-ni.
swell-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'He made a leg or an arm of a man to swell at the (same place) where he himself felt pain.' (SK 955)

15.1.4. Subjectless clauses

Although the notion of subject plays an important role in the Udihe grammar, subjectless clauses are possible. The absence of an overt subject in such a clause does not follow from coreferential deletion (as the one addressed in 22.2.1), but is non-referential.

15.1.4.1. Semantically-driven absence of subject

An overt subject is absent in the subjectless non-copular (14.1.1) and copular (17.2.1) clauses with a null-argument verb. More detail can be found in the corresponding sections. The subjectless clauses normally describe natural environmental conditions. Matrix clauses with subject-control aspectual or modal verbs (20.2.1) are syntactically subjectless if the subordinate clause is subjectless for semantic reasons.

(1088) a. *Ba:-la* *ima:-na:n-zi* *wadi-e-ni.*
[place-LOC snow-V.PP-INST.SS] stop-PAST-3SG
'After snowing outside it stopped (snowing).'

b. *Ima:-na-la:-mi* *nixe-ini.*
[snow-V-PURP-SS] do-3SG
'It is going to snow.'

c. *Tigde-le:-mi* *nixe-ini.*

[rain-PURP-SS] do-3SG
'It is going to rain'

15.1.4.2. Voice-related absence of subject

The surface subject is absent from some voice-driven constructions, namely, the Agentless Passive (16.1.2), the regular Passive with the nominal patient/theme argument (16.1.1.2.2), and the active agentless construction (16.2.5), including the impersonal subordinate infinitival clause (20.1.1.1). An example of a subjectless embedded clause formed with an impersonal participle is cited in 7.10.1.1.3. In all these clauses, the agent has a generic or indefinite interpretation, which conditions the suppression of the grammatical subject. They will be referred to as impersonal. The impersonal clauses differ from the semantically subjectless clauses (15.1.4.1). In impersonal sentences the subject participant, although suppressed from the surface clause structure and sometimes from the argument structure of the predicate, is present in the conceptual representation of the event. Therefore it can trigger certain syntactic processes. The examples below illustrate the Agentless construction. The «impersonal» null subject controls the reflexive elements, which in this case also receive a generic or indefinite interpretation (1089) and the same-subject switch-reference markers (1090).

(1089) a. *Men-e* *'apti:* *käu* *kämbu-wasi:-ti.*
REF-0 food.REF all sacrifice-DIV-3PL
uli-we *umile-mi* *men-e*
[water-ACC drink-INF] REF-0
naŋi-zi: *soli:-ti.*
earth-INST.REF mix-3PL
'They sacrifice all their food. When drinking water, they mix it with their own earth.' (K 123)

b. *Sita-fai* *tatusi-e-ti* *ŋič'a-digi.*
child-REF.PL teach-PAST-3PL small-ABL
'They used to teach children from childhood.' (SKX 300)

(1090) *Solog'o-si* *umi:-ti.*
[stir.PERF-PC.SS] drink-3PL
'After stirring it, they drink it.' (K 123)

The following examples demonstrate Agentless Passive clauses where the impersonal subject has the generic reading (1091) or the indefinite reading (1092), but controls the same-subject subordinate clause.

(1091) a. *Soloixi* *ugda-zi* *solo-mi* *gäun-d-u-i.*
[upstream boat-INST float-INF] pole-V-PAS-PRP 'When going upstream in the boat, one uses poles.'

b. *Xoŋto* *ba:-tigi* *ŋene-mi*
[other place-LAT go-INF]
kämbu-was-u-ji.
sacrifice-DIV-PAS-PRP
'One has to make a sacrifice going to another place.' (K 123)

c. *Aisi-gi-mi* *e-u-zeŋe* *mute* *uta-wa.*
[mend-REP-INF] NEG-PAS-FT can that-ACC

'It is not possible to mend it.'

d. *Ei-mi* *santi-si* *e-u* *ji:* *zuk-tigi.*
[NEG-INF fist-V] NEG-PAS enter house-LAT
'One shouldn't enter the house without knocking.'

e. *ñoŋo-wo* *ñoŋo-ŋisi-ge-si* *egdi-we-de*
[glue-ACC glue-V-PERF-PC.SS] much-ACC-FOC
mo:-wo *tukti-mi* *tukti-mi* *ñoŋo-u-ji.*
tree-ACC climb-INF climb-INF glue-PAS-PRP
'Having made a lot of glue, one should climb a tree and smear (it with the glue).' (SKX 258)

f. *Xa:-mula* *bi-mi* *ono* *mamasa-la-u-ji?*
[sibling-N be-INF] how wife-V-PAS-PRP
'How can you, being siblings, get married?' (SKX 310)

(1092) a. *Zugdi-we* *xeline-mi* *wo-so.*
house-ACC [hurry-INF] make-PP.PAS
'The house was built in a hurry.'

b. *Tege-we* *uli-mi* *e-u-se* *metu.*
[gown-ACC sew-INF] NEG-PAS-PP finish
'They haven't finished sewing the gown.'

In the following sentence the main clause contains an impersonal expression whose «subject» controls the same-subject switch reference marker on the infinitive and the reflexive element within the subordinate complement clause.

(1093) *Me-mi* *ge:* *aga-la-wan-a-mi.*
[REF-ACC] bad [deception-V-CAUS-0-INF]
'It is bad to let (other people) deceive you.'

15.2. Direct object

There is some syntactic evidence suggesting that the notion of the direct object is important in Udihe grammar. The element that can be identified as the direct object is the noun phrase that is marked by the Accusative case and corresponds to:

(i) the second (patient/theme) argument of the transitive verb in the non-passive matrix and subordinate clauses (the transitive verbs which take the direct object argument are addressed in Chapter 14);

(ii) the patient/theme in Agentless Passive transitive constructions (16.1.2);

(iii) the lexical noun phrase that corresponds to the patient/theme in Passive constructions (16.1.1.2.2).

(iv) the causee argument of intransitive and transitive causatives (16.1.4).

The reflexive direct object is morphologically marked with the Nominative case (22.3.2), but syntactically it behaves in the same way as the Accusative object.

Udihe exhibits double object constructions in which more than one argument is encoded as the Accusative noun phrase (16.2.1). These constructions are not very frequent, and the grammatical relations borne by their elements are basically unstudied. Note however that both objects in such constructions undergo passivization, as is suggested by the data from the Causative double object constructions (16.1.3.4). In this section we will deal only with single object sentences.

15.2.1. Object properties

The direct object is not characterized by the subject properties as identified in 15.1.1. It does not control reflexivization, switch-reference, or the infinitival subordinate clauses, and never triggers verbal agreement. However, it exhibits certain syntactic properties that differentiate it from lower grammatical relations (indirect and oblique objects and adjuncts).

15.2.1.1. Coreferential deletion

Like the subject (though less regularly), the direct object can be coreferentially deleted under certain discourse conditions. In 22.2.2 examples of the coreferential deletion of the direct object are presented. On the other hand, direct objects, unlike subjects, do not control coreferential deletion across conjoint clauses.

15.2.1.2. Passivization

The direct object is the only grammatical relation that can passivize (on possible exceptions see 16.1.1.3). In the Passive constructions (16.1.1) the correspondence between the agent and the subject is violated. The pronominal patient (that is, the direct object of the corresponding active construction) is promoted to the subject, while the lexical patient argument fails to do this. Importantly, only the direct object of the active construction can passivize, while, for example, the indirect object and lower grammatical relations cannot. In 16.1.4.4 examples are presented for the passivization of the Accusative causee argument.

15.2.1.3. Depictives

The direct object, as opposed to the other grammatical relations, but together with the subject, can control certain depictives, that is, secondary predicates (see 19.6).

15.2.1.4. Control structures

The direct object is coreferential with the subject of subordinate clauses of certain types, the so-called «object-control» clauses (20.2.2.1 and 20.2.3.2).

15.2.1.5. Attributive case-agreement

The direct object and subject are the only grammatical relations that trigger attributive case-agreement in the quantified noun phrase (13.3.5) and the relative clause (19.2.3).

15.2.2. Destinative object

Apart from the Accusative direct object, characterized by the syntactic properties described in 15.2.1, the patient/theme argument may be encoded by the destinative object (16.2.2). The destinative object corresponds to a possessive noun phrase whose head is marked by the Destinative case and the possessive affix. The head noun denotes an object designated for a particular person (benefactive) or purpose, which, in its turn, can be encoded by the modifier noun and is cross-referenced by the personal affix.

Similarly to the regular direct object (19.6), the destinative object can control depictives, as illustrated in (1094).

(1094) a. *Sul'ai* *tege-ne-ni* *wo:-jo* fox
gown-DEST-3SG make-IMP.2SG
uligdig'a-zi.
beautiful-INST
'Make a beautiful gown for the fox.' (K 160)

b. *Sita-ziga* *tege-ne-ti* *wo:-ti*
child-PL gown-DEST-3PL make.PAST-3PL
uligdig'a-zi-de.
beautiful-INST-FOC
'They made beautiful gown for the children.'

However, in its other properties it differs from the regular object. It cannot passivize or be coreferentially deleted across conjoint clauses, does not control subordinate clauses, and does not trigger attributive case-agreement. This suggests that the destinative object may have a special grammatical status, differing from that of the regular direct object.

15.2.3. Direct object in Passive constructions

As shown in 16.1.1, in the Personal Passive clauses the element that corresponds to the direct object of the active counterpart construction, normally, the patient or theme, is encoded by the Accusative noun phrase, if it is a noun (not a personal pronoun). In a similar fashion, the patient/theme argument of the transitive Agentless Passive is marked for the Accusative case (16.1.2). The crucial question is whether these elements can be identified as subjects. The syntactic tests, described in section 15.1.1, show that the Accusative noun phrases in passive constructions do not exhibit the cluster of subject properties typical of the Nominative subject. In particular, they do not control reflexivization, cf. (1095a) and (1095b); do not trigger same-subject switch reference markers (1096); do not control the coreferential null across the conjoined clause (1097), and do not participate in other control structures.

(1095) a. *Omo* *ñ'aula-wa* *bue-ni* *mäunda-zi-ni*
one boy-ACC he-3SG gun-INST-3SG
wa-sa.
kill-PP.PAS
'One boy was killed from his own gun.'

b. **Omo* *ñ'aula-wa* *bue-ni* *mäunda-zi:*
one boy-ACC he-3SG gun-INST.REF
wa-sa.
kill-PP.PAS
'One boy was killed from his own gun.'

(1096) *Uti ni:-we* *sa-wu-i* *ba:-za*
that man-ACC know-PAS-2SG [place-N
ge-le-ni *e-si-me-ni* *xuli.*

surface-LOC-3SG NEG-PP-ACC-3SG go]
'You can recognize the man who (never) went to the forest.'

(1097) a. *Petro-wa* *Iwana-du* *koŋko-wo:-ni* *Petro*
Peter-ACC Ivan-DAT beat-PAS.PAST-3SG Peter
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
'Peter$_i$ was beaten by Ivan$_j$ and he$_{i/*j}$ left'.

b. **Petro-wa* *Iwana-du* *koŋko-wo:-ni*
Peter-ACC Ivan-DAT beat-PAS.PAST-3SG ∅
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
'Peter$_i$ was beaten by Ivan$_j$ and he$_{i/*j}$ left'.

15.2.4. Summary of grammatical properties

The comparative table 14 illustrates the syntactic properties of the higher grammatical relations in Udihe; the question mark indicates lacunae in our material. The table shows that, as expected, the most syntactically active element is the subject. The direct object and certain subject-like elements (subjectoids) share some of the subject properties, while other grammatical relations (represented by the Dative causee here) are syntactically inert.

Table 14. Grammatical relations

grammatical properties	NOM subject	ACC causee	DAT experiencer	ACC object	DEST object	DAT causee
Nominative	+	-	-	-	-	-
Agreement	+	-	-	-	-	-
Switch reference	+	-	+	-	-	-
Reflexivization	+	+/-	?	-	-	-
Control of Impersonal participles	+	-	-	-	-	-
Deletio	+	+	-	-	-	-

n across conjoint clauses						
Control of infinitival clauses	+	+	+	-	-	-
Other control structures	+	+	-	+	-	-
Depictives	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	-
Non-adjacent modifier	+	?	-	+	?	-
Attributive case-agreement	+	+	-	+	-	-
Passivization	n/a	+	-	+	-	-

15.3. Other arguments

Grammatical relations other than subjects and direct objects were not studied syntactically in

detail, and in their identification we will rely only on their semantics and their morphological marking. The verbal valence patterns in the active constructions are described in Chapter 14, where the morphological marking of the arguments is also addressed. It should be noticed, however, that arguments other than the subject and the direct object demonstrate considerably lower syntactic activity: they do not control reflexivization, switch-reference, depictives, and the infinitival clause, do not passivize, and do not trigger verbal agreement. Among the lower grammatical relations only the Lative indirect object functions as a syntactic controller of certain types of subordinate clauses (20.2.2.1.1, 20.2.3.2.2) and can be passivized (16.1.1.3). However, its other properties are unstudied.

As distinct from the higher grammatical relations of the subject and the object, other arguments cannot normally be coreferentially deleted. On the other hand, unlike adjuncts (15.4), they do not control the non-referential null and cannot be removed from the sentence without affecting its well-formedness (see section 21.2). Thus some verbs are likely candidates for more than three semantic arguments, although syntactically they might only be two-place. Examples are the verbs *xudasi-* 'sell' and *gada-* 'buy'. Although in a particular sentence three (1098a) or four (1098b) nominals bear a specific grammatical and semantic relation to them, for the well-formed structure only two arguments (the agent and the patient) must be overtly present or referentially implied (1098c).

(1098) a. *Bi* *gada:-mi* *xeleba-wa* *ila* *tieze-zi*.
me buy.PAST-1SG bread-ACC three ruble-INST
'I bought bread for three rubles.'

b. *Bi* *ñö:* *ña:-wa-ni* *niŋka-du*
me sable skin-ACC-3SG Chinese-DAT
xudasi-e-mi *omo* *taŋgu* *tuŋa* *tieze-zi.*
sell-PAST-1SG one hundred fifty ruble-INST
'I sold the sable fur to a Chinese for a hundred and fifty rubles.'

c. *Bi* *xeleba-wa* *gada:-mi.*
me bread-ACC buy.PAST-1SG
'I bought some bread.'

15.4. Clausal adjuncts

Like all other grammatical relations, adjuncts can relativize (Chapter 19) but are syntactically inert with respect to controlling properties. Since adjuncts are not obligatory in the semantic representation of the clause, as distinct fromarguments, they can easily be dropped from a sentence with a non-specific interpretation. However, they are not normally able to control a referential null.

Adjuncts are described below from the point of view of their semantics and formal expression; the section is structured around their semantic types. In this section we only concentrate on those adjuncts that are encoded by oblique-case noun phrases, but naturally, adverbs and postpositional phrases express various adverbial meanings, see Chapter 10. We do not deal here with adjuncts in voice-related constructions, they are addressed in Chapter 16. Adverbial subordinate clauses are discussed in Chapter 21. Only the immediate constituents of the clause are treated here; on adverbs within the adjective and adverbial phrase, see 6.3, 10.1.4.1, and 10.1.7.2.

15.4.1. Spatial adjuncts

15.4.1.1. Locative noun phrase

Basic meaning: location, place in space («in», «by» or «on»), cf:

(1099) a. *Biki-le* *sugzä:* *egdi.*
Bikin-LOC fish much
'There is a lot of fish in Bikin.'

b. *Suaŋka* *Suai* *bäsa-la-ni* *bagdi-e-ti.*
Suanka Suai stream-LOC-3SG live-PAST-3PL
'The Suankas lived by the stream Suai.'

15.4.1.2. Lative noun phrase

Basic meaning: direction of movement, place of destination («into», «onto» or «to»), cf.:

(1100) a. *Bi* *a:ŋa-za* *e:-tigi-ni* *zolo-wo*
me right-N side-LAT-3SG stone-ACC
wende-le:-mi.
hrow-SING.PAST-1SG
'I threw the stone to the right.'

b. *Siŋe* *men-e* *xui-tigi:*
mouse REF-0 hole-LAT.REF
susa-gi-e-ni.
escape-REP-PAST-3SG
'The mouse escaped to its hole.'

c. *Pakula* *bita-tigi* *xetigene:-ni.*
Pakula spit-LAT jump.PAST-3SG
'Pakula jumped on the spit.'

d. *Xuda-si:* *ni:* *dili-zi:* *ima:-tigi*
fur-V.PRP man head-INST.REF snow-LAT
ñuxaŋ-ki-ni.
dive-PAST-3SG
'The merchant dived head first into the snow.'

15.4.1.3. Ablative noun phrase

Basic meaning: starting point of movement («from»), cf.:

(1101) a. *Bu* *Yara-digi* *Xabarovska-tigi* *ŋene:-mu.*
we Yar-ABL Khabarovsk-LAT go.PAST-1PL.EX 'We went from Yar to Khabarovsk.'

b. *Keige* *mo:-digi-ni* *eu-gi-e-ni.*
cat tree-ABL-3SG come.down-REP-PAST-3SG
'The cat came down the tree.'

c. *Bi* *xoŋto* *škola-digi* *oño-wo* *b'a-mi.*

me other school-ABL write-ACC ge.PAST-1SG
'I got a letter from another school.'

15.4.1.4. Prolative noun phrase

Basic meaning: the place through which or along which movement progresses (cf.: *coŋku-li* 'through the window', *uli-li* 'along the river'). More examples:

(1102) a. *Nemnes'e* *xuku-li* *ataxi* *xuli:-ni.*
thin rope-PROL spider go-3SG
'A spider is moving along a thin rope.'

b. *Ni:* *wopti-li* *xuli:-ti.*
man door-PROL go-3PL
'People are walking through the door.'

c. *Ñ'aula* *men-e* *bugdi-zi* *bugdi-li:*
child REF-0 leg-INST leg-PROL.REF
bugdi-li: *koŋko-do-gi:-ni.*
leg-PROL.REF beat-SEM-REP-3SG
'The child is (playing) with his legs, beating one leg against another.'

d. *Xokto-li* *uli-le* *ŋene:-fi,*
road-PROL water-LOC go.PAST-1PL.EX
uli-li *'ana-zi* *ŋene:-fi.*
water-PROL boat-INST go.PAST-1PL
'We went to the river along the road, and along the river we went by boat.'

15.4.1.5. Dative noun phrase

Basic meaning: place in space («in» or «on»). On the difference between the Dative and the Locative see 4.2.2.5.2. Examples:

(1103) a. *Oloxi* *men-e* *xui-du-i* *tue-ini.*
squirrel REF-0 hole-DAT-REF winter-3SG
'A squirrel passes winter in its hole.'

b. *Bi* *škola-du* *tatusi-mi.*
me school-DAT study-1SG
'I sstudy at school.'

c. *Udie* *maŋmu* *omo* *ba:-du* *wakca:-ti.*
Udihe Nanai one place-DAT hunt.PAST-3PL 'The Udihe used to hunt in the same place as the Nanai.'

15.4.2. Temporal adjuncts

Quite a few time expressions are borrowed from Russian, those for the time of day (*časa* 'hour', *minute* 'minute'), days of the week (*sereda* 'Wednesday'), and months of the year (*marta*

'March'). Months of the year may also be expressed periphrastically as 'the first month', 'the second month', and so on. These expressions are used adverbially in various case forms (see below). The names for periods of the day and the seasons are native and when they express location in time they behave as uninflected adverbs (10.1.2). Certain temporal meanings (punctual, anterior, and posterior) are expressed by postpositional phrases, on which see 10.2.

15.4.2.1. Dative noun phrase

The Dative noun phrase or the Dative adjectival phrase may express temporal meaning by describing the time of the event through a set of circumstances, often natural phenomena, such as *xekui-du* or *zexui bua-du* 'when it is hot', *tigde-du* 'when it rains', *mude-du* 'during the flood'. The temporal adjunct bears the secondary predicative function.

(1104) a. *Nua-ni* *tigde-du* *eme:-ni.*
he-3SG rain-DAT come.PAST-3SG
'He came when it was raining.'

b. *Egdi* *gegbeŋku-du* *gada-mi-de* *aja.*
many berry-DAT collect-INF-FOC nice
'When there are many berries it is nice to collect them.'

c. *Pou-pou-du* *ei-mi* *ise* *bi.*
dark-dark-DAT NEG-1SG see me
'In the darkness I can't see.'

d. *Bi* *eniŋe-i* *min-e-we* *tatusi-e-ni*
me mother-1SG me-0-ACC teach-PAST-3SG
uli-le-i *za:* *seh-du.*
sew-PURP-1SG ten year-DAT
'My mother taught me to sew when I was ten.' (SK 946)

The Dative noun phrase can express the additional meaning of a condition (1105a) or cause (1105b).

(1105) a. *Egdi* *b'oto-du* *tei-mi* *tuge.*
many mushroom-DAT gather-INF quickly.
If there are many mushrooms one can gather them quickly.'

b. *Su:* *maŋga* *xekui-du* *ugda* *kaktaga:-ni.*
sun very hot-DAT boat crack.PAST-3SG
'The boat cracked with the strong sun.'

Furthermore, the Dative regularly marks the noun phrase that names the months (*di: bä:-du* 'in April (in the fourth month)), years (*ti: aŋa-du-ni* 'last year'), days (*vetornika-du* 'on Tuesday'), and hours (*zube časa-du* 'at two o'clock').

(1106) a. *Bi* *ila* *bä:-du* *eme-zeŋe-i.*
me three month-DAT come-FUT-1SG
'I'll come in March (the third month).'

b. *Di:* *bä:-du* *egdi* *käfa.*
four month-DAT many tick
'There are many ticks in April (the fourth month).'

15.4.2.2. Locative noun phrase

Locative noun phrases express location in time, for example, at a particular hour: *tuŋa časa-la* ‘at five o’clock’, as well as the time when somebody was of particular age: *za: se:-le-i* ‘when I was ten’ <ten age-LOC-1SG>. The time of day may be also expressed by the Dative (15.4.2.1).

15.4.2.3. Ablative noun phrase

Ablative noun phrases express the starting point in time: *ic’a-digi* ‘since childhood’, *subota-digi* ‘since Saturday, from Saturday’, and also:

(1107) *Zube* *aŋa-ni* *uta-digi* *wadi-du-ge.*
two year-3SG that-ABL finish-PL-PERF
‘Two years have passed since then.’

15.4.2.4. Instrumental noun phrase

The Instrumental noun phrase expresses a period of time, usually when the sentence refers to the future (1108) or somehow expresses the future in the past (1109).

(1108) *Za:* *neŋi-zi* *eme-zeŋe-i*
ten day-INST come-FUT-1SG
‘I will go away for 10 days.’

(1109) a. *Nua-ni* *eme-gi-e-ni* *zube*
he-3SG come-REP-PAST-3SG two
neŋi-zi-ni.
day-INST-3SG
‘He came for two days’.

b. *Bue-ni* *min-du* *kusige-i*
he-3SG me-DAT knife-REF
bu-o:-ni *omo* *zua-zi-ni.*
give-PAST-3SG one summer-INST-3SG
‘He gave me his knife for the summer.’

15.4.2.5. Lative noun phrase

The Lative noun phrase denotes the final point in time: *subota-tigi* ‘until Saturday’, *vetornika neŋi-tigi-ni* ‘until Tuesday’ (literally: ‘until the Tuesday day’).

15.4.2.6. Accusative noun phrase

The Accusative noun phrase, when it functions as a temporal adjunct, expresses a period of time (duration) in the past or the present.

(1110) a. *Nua-ni* *ila-ma* *neŋi-ni* *o-du*

he-3SG three-ACC day-3SG this-DAT
bi-si-ni.
be-PAST-3SG
'He was here for three days.'

b. *Bi xoton-du zube-me neŋi-ni*
me city-DAT two-ACC day-3SG
bi-si-mi.
be-PAST-1SG
'I was in the city for three days.'

c. *Ei bi in'ei tuŋa-ma aŋa-ni bi:-ni.*
this me dog five-ACC year-3SG be-3SG
'I have had this dog for five years.'

15.4.2.7. Prolative noun phrase

Certain Prolative noun phrases express the frequency with which an action is repeated: *neŋi-li neŋi-li* 'day by day', *aŋa-li-ni aŋa-li-ni* 'one year after another'. It may also denote a period of time (1111b).

(1111) a. *Jegdige maŋga-na-li-ge, neŋi-li*
hero strong-V-INC-PERF day-PROL
neŋi-li tu maŋga-na-li-ge.
day-PROL all strong-V-INC-PERF
'The hero began to get stronger, day by day he grew stronger.'
(K 193)

b. *Jei ze: seh-lie bagdi-e-ni.*
nine ten year-PROL live-PAST-3SG
'He has lived for ninety years.' (SK 1069)

15.4.2.8. Nominative noun phrase

The Nominative noun phrase may express the duration of time in certain partly adverbialized expressions, cf.: *zube aŋa-ni* 'two years', *ei dogbo-ni* 'this night'. Here they are not viewed as «real» adverbs because they preserve some nominal properties, such as the ability to be modified by a pronominal determiner (9.7.4) or a Possessive affix. The latter encodes situational definiteness (4.1.3.3.2). See also the following example.

(1112) *Uti ina:-ni omo aŋa-ni.*
that last.PAST-3SG one year-3SG
'It lasted one year.' (SK 120)

15.4.3. Source and cause adjuncts

15.4.3.1. Source of information

The source of knowledge or information is encoded by the Locative noun phrase, cf.:

(1113) a. *Bula mo:-ni wakta-la-ni sa-u-ji.*

ash.tree tree-3SG bark-LOC-3SG know-PAS-PRP
'An ash tree can be recognized by its bark.'

b. *Bi a-wa teluŋu-le sa:-mi.*
me it-ACC story-LOC know.PAST-1SG
'I have learnt it from a story.'

c. *Bi a-wa kiniga-la sa:-mi.*
me that-ACC book-LOC know.PAST-1SG
'I have learnt it from a book.'

d. *Bi si tege-le-i sa:-mi*
me you gown-LOC-2SG know.PAST-1SG
sin-e-we.
you-0-ACC
'I recognized you by your gown.'

15.4.3.2. Partitive meaning

Apart from the means described below, partitive meaning may also be rendered with the postposition *do-lo-ni* (10.2.1).

15.4.3.2.1. Locative noun phrase

The Locative noun phrase denotes a group of objects, one of which participates in the situation described by the clause.

(1114) a. *Ila moxo-lo omo moxo camna:-ni.*
three cup-LOC one cup break.PAST-3SG
'One of the three cups has broken.'

b. *Ei tege-le omo-to c'aligi.*
this gown-LOC one-REST red
'Only one of these gowns is red.'

c. *Minti-le ge: ni: ančі.*
we-LOC bad man no
'There are no bad people among us.'

d. *Omo zugdiŋke-le bi omus'e*
one family-LOC me alone
esi-ge:-mi.
become-REP.PAST-1SG
'Only I remained from the family.'

15.4.3.2.2. Nominative noun phrase

The same function is fulfilled by the Plural Nominative noun, often followed by the quantifier *egdi* 'many, much, a lot' in a bare form (1116). The whole noun phrase has a partitive meaning.

(1115) *Bi men-e tege-i zube-me xebu-zeŋe-i.*
me REF-0 gown-REF two-ACC take-FUT-1SG

'I will take two of my gowns.'

(1116) a. *Bi* *sita-na-i* *egdi* *Iwana* *aja-zi*
me child-PL-1SG many Ivan good-INST
ñansule-ini.
study-3SG
'Among my children (only) Ivan studies well.'

b. *Zugdi* *egdi omo-so* *zugdi* *aja.*
house many one-REST house good
'Among (these) houses, only one house is nice.'

15.4.3.3. Cause

The causal meaning is usually rendered by the Lative (1117), the Ablative (1118), or the Locative (1119).

(1117) a. *Ugda* *timadule* *silie-tigi* *teu*
boat morning dew-LAT all
ñukto:-ni *bi-s'e.*
get.wet.PP-3SG be-PERF
'In the morning, the boat got all wet from the dew.'

b. *Maŋga* *su:-tigi* *ektine:-ni.*
strong un-LAT faint.PAST-3SG
'He fainted because of the sun.'

c. *imo:* *xun-tigi-ni* *bi* *begdi:* *tuge*
fat smell-LAT-3SG me leg.1SG soon
a:si-lege-ni
get.better.PAST-3SG
'so that my leg gets better soon thanks to the flavor of fat' (K 153)

d. *B'ata* *zolo-tigi* *bugdi:* *wa:-ni.*
boy stone-LAT foot.REF kill.PAST-3SG
'The boy hurt his leg against a stone.'

f. *Deŋe-digi* *asi* *ŋeigze.*
lamp-ABL very bright
'It is very bright from the lamp.'

(1118) *Abdä:* *edi-tigi* *tiŋme-ne:-ni.*
leaf wind-LAT fall-DIST.PAST-3SG
'Leaves fell down from the wind.'

(1119) *Egdeŋke,* *j'eu* *maŋga-la-ni* *eme:-i,*
interesting what stong-LOC-3SG come.PAST-2SG *jegdige?*
hero
'I wonder, because of which difficulties did you come, hero?'
(SKX 200)

In addition, the Locative noun phrase may render ‘for’ or ‘instead’ meaning, cf.:

(1120) *Bajta-la-ni* *omo-mo* *zawa:-ni.*
crime-LOC-3SG one-ACC take.ACC-3SG
‘He took one for his crime.’ (SKX 144)

15.4.4. Adjuncts of purpose and destination

15.4.4.1. Lative noun phrase

A Lative noun phrase may express a general purpose.

(1121) a. *Ule:* *xun-tigi-ni* *in’ei* *eme:-ni.*
meat smell-LAT-3SG dog come.PAST-3SG
‘The dog came to the smell of meat.’
b. *Ugda-tigi* *tugbu-lege-mi* *nixe-mi.*
boat-LAT cut.tree-PURP-SS do-1SG
‘I am going to cut trees for the boat.’

15.4.4.2. Dative noun phrase

The Dative noun phrase expresses either the recipient/benefactive (1122), or the purpose of a certain creative activity (1123).

(1122) a. *Nua-ni* *mamasa-du-i* *tege-we*
he-3SG wife-DAT-REF gown-ACC
gada:-ni.
buy.PAST-3SG
‘He bought a dress for his wife.’
b. *Xala-ja* *min-du.*
pour-IMP.2SG me-DAT
‘Pour (some) for me.’

(1123) a. *Od’o* *mo:-wo* *emuge-du*
grandfather tree-ACC cradle-DAT
u-wen-e-ini.
bend-CAUS-0-3SG
‘Grandfather bends the wood for (to make) a cradle.’
b. *Nakta* *ña:-wa-ni* *eilisi:-ni* *uŋta-du.*
boar skin-ACC-3SG scrape-3SG boots-DAT
‘(She) scrapes the boar skin for boots.’
c. *Tikpe-we* *zueze-du* *gazi-e-ni.*
nail-ACC table-DAT bring-PAST-3SG
‘He brought some nails for the table.’

Adjectives that denote size (of clothes), such as *ic’a* ‘small’, *nektes’e* ‘narrow’, *umac’a* ‘short’, *sagdi* ‘large’, and *eŋme* ‘wide’ are regularly combined with the Dative noun phrase that expresses the person for whom the size is measured, cf.:

(1124) a. *Ei* *aula* *sin-du* *ic’a.*

this cap you-DAT small
'This cap is small for you.'

b. *Ei aziga-du tege umac'a.*
this girl-DAT gown short
'The dress is too short for this girl.'

c. *Teu-ni-du na: ŋič'a odo-li-e-ni.*
all-3SG-DAT earth small become-INC-PAST-3SG
'The earth became small for everybody.' (SK 666)

15.4.4.3. Destinative noun phrase

The destinative noun phrase can function in a sentence as an argument (the destinative object). Such cases are addressed in 16.2.2. Alternatively, it may correspond to the adjunct element that denotes the destination/purpose or has a substitutional meaning ('as something or somebody for somebody'). Like other adjuncts and unlike the destinative object, destinative adjuncts can easily be removed from the sentence.

In sentences with the destinative adjunct, the direct object is either encoded in a regular way with the Accusative noun phrase (1125), or is dropped under coreference (1126).

(1125) a. *Sin-e-we gene-mi jegdige*
you-0-ACC take-1SG hero
mamasa-na-ni
wife-DEST-3SG
'I am taking you as a wife for the hero.' (K 158).

b. *Bi si mamasa-na-i gene-ze-mi*
me you wife-DEST-1SG bring-SUBJ-1SG
Kanda mafa aziga-ŋi-wa-ni.
Kanda old.man girl-AL-ACC-3SG
'I will bring the old man Kanda's daughter as a wife for you.'
(K 156).

c. *Zugdi malu-le-ni bi zugdi-ne-i*
house corner-LOC-3SG me house-DEST-1SG
wo-to-i-ze saŋa-wa.
make-PERM-2SG-HORT hole-ACC
'Make a hole in the corner of a house as a house for me.'

d. *Abuge zugdi-we men-di-ne-mi*
father house-ACC REF-DAT-DEST-REF
wo:-ni.
make.PAST-3SG
'The father made this house for himself.'

(1126) a. *Bi tene uisigi-mi mafasa-na-mi.*
me CONT rescue-1SG husband-DEST-REF
'I am rescuing (him) (designating) him as my husband.' (K 195)

b. *Ma:ma olokto-no:-ni abuga-na-i.*
grandmother cook-DIR.PAST-3SG father-DEST-1SG
'The grandmother went cooking for my father.'

c. *Ei mo: ñaktu-se-we-ni j'e-ne-mi*
this tree rot-PP.PAS-ACC-3SG what-DEST-REF
gazi-e-i? Saŋmiŋku-ne-mi.
bring-PAST-2SG smoke-DEST-REF
'Why did you bring this rotten tree? For (making) smoke.'

15.4.5. Manner adjuncts

Manner adverbials render various semantic nuances, and it is only by convention that they can be unified semantically. They are usually expressed by instrumental noun phrases with the different interpretations exemplified below.

15.4.5.1. Means of transportation

Examples: *ugda-zi* 'by boat', *fuetiŋe-zi* 'by plane', *begdi-zi* 'on foot', *di:n-zi begdi-zi* 'on all fours' <four-INST leg-INST>.

(1127) a. *Ugda-zi neugi-e-ti.*
boat-INST take.back-PAST-3PL
'They took it back by boat.'

b. *Tue käsa-zi dieli-gi-e-i ei*
winter eagle-INST fly-REP-PAST-1SG this
tene zeli-zi sologi-e-i.
CONT bulltrout-INST go.upstream-PAST-1SG
'In the winter I came flying on an eagle, but now I have come upstream on a bulltrout.'

c. *Bi xuku-zi mo:-digi eu-gi-mi.*
me rope-INST tree-ABL come.down-REP-1SG
'I am going down the tree using a rope.'

d. *Motora-zi ŋene-mi eke.*
motor-INST go-INF easy
'It is easy to go by motor boat.'

15.4.5.2. Instrument

Examples:

(1128) a. *Loxo-zi mafa-wa wa:-mu g'e:*
saber-INST bear-ACC kill-IMI bad
so:ndo bi:-ni, gida-zi tada-zi
sin be-3SG spear-INST arrow-INST
mä:usa-zi wa:-mu aja.

gun-INST kill-IMI good
'It is a sin to kill a bear with a saber; to kill it with a spear, with an arrow, with a gun is good.' (K 176)

b. *Meŋmu-me* *moxo-zi* *aisi-me* *uniŋa-zi*
silver-ADJ cup-INST gold-ADJ spoon-INST
min-e-we *diga-wan-a-ja.*
me-0-ACC eat-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
'Feed me from a silver cup with a gold spoon.'

c. *Ñ'aula* *zolo-zi* *wa-si:-ti.*
boy stone-INST kill-IM-3PL
'Boys are fighting with stones.'

15.4.5.3. Material

Examples:

(1129) a. *Niŋka* *seule-zi-ni* *tege* *go:* *go:*
Chinese silk-INST-3SG gown long long
teisi:-ni.
wear-3SG
'A gown (made) of Chinese silk is worn for a very long time.'

b. *Ei* *uniŋa-wa* *j'e-zi* *wo-so?*
this spoon-ACC what-INST make-PP.PAS
'What is the spoon made from?'

The instrumental adjunct denoting the material from which a certain object is made may co-occur with a verb of creation even in the absence of the object noun phrase itself. In such a case, the instrumental adjunct actually refers to the characteristic of the object, incorporated into the verbal form (on this see 8.1.1), rather than to a characteristic of the process itself.

(1130) a. *Käŋa* *jä:-zi-ni* *okto-ŋisi:-ti.*
deer antler-INST-3SG medicine-V-3PL
'They make medicine from the deer's antlers.'

b. *Ñö:* *ña:-zi-ni* *au-ŋisi-e-ni.*
sable fur-INST-3SG cap-V-PAST-3SG
'She sewed a cap from sable fur.'

c. *Taluga-zi* *ugda-ŋisi-e-ni.*
birch.bark-INST boat-V-PAST-3SG
'He made a boat from birch bark.' (K 181)

15.4.5.4. Measure, price, value

Examples:

(1131) a. *Bue-ni* *min-du* *xudasi-e-ni*
he-3SG me-DAT sell-PAST-3SG
kusige-i *zu:* *tieze-zi.*
knife-REF two ruble-INST
'He sold me his knife for two rubles.'

b. *Xuda-si:* *ni:* *naŋda-wa* *ño:-zi*
sell-IM.PRP man debt-ACC sable-INST
ga:gi-e-ni.
collect-PAST-3SG
'The merchant collected his debts in sables.'

c. *Ei* *zugdi-ziga-wa* *sagdi-le-we-ti*
this house-PL-ACC big-N-ACC-3PL
adi *metra-zi* *wo:-ti?*
how.many meter-INST make.PAST-3PL
'How many meters long did they make these houses?'

15.4.5.5. Manner

Different types of manner meanings are described by the Instrumental noun phrase: *paig'a-zi gusi:-ni* 'play cards', *koxo-zi su:le-ini* 'is ill with furunculosis', and *tege-zi* 'with one's clothes on', *sewe-zi* 'in the shape of a spirit'. It also expresses the manner of speaking (1132a), the part of the body employed for an action (1132b), the basis for making a judgement (1132c), the manner of living (1133), and the cause (1134).

(1132) a. *udie keje-zi* 'in the Udihe language'.

b. *Bi* *men-e* *ja:-zi* *ise:-mi,*
me REF-0 eye-INS.REF see.PAST-1SG
men-e *ku'ai-zi* *dogdi-e-mi.*
REF-0 ear-INST.REF hear-PAST-1SG
'I saw (it) with my own eyes and heard with my own ears.'

c. *Nua-ni* *koli-zi* *diaŋ-ki-ni.*
he-3SG law-INST say-PAST-3SG
'He was speaking according to the law.'

(1133) a. *Udie* *tue-ze-zi* *bagdi-e-ti.*
Udihe winter-N-INST live-PAST-3PL
'The Udihe lived in winter huts.'

b. *Anana* *kawa-zi* *bagdi-e-mu.*
long.ago tent-INST live-PAST-1PL.EX
'Before we used to live in (grass) tents.'

(1134) *B'ata* *jausala:-ni* *gegbuŋku-zi.*
boy poison.PAST-3SG berry-INST
'The boy poisoned himself with berries.'

15.4.5.6. Circumstance

The Instrumental noun phrase encodes adjuncts that denote various circumstances accompanying the situation, particularly a secondary object that is involved.

(1135) a. *Geje* *uti* *solümi-zi* *diga-iti*
together that dried.fish-INST eat-3PL
ulikte-we *imo:.*
shaman.lard-ACC fat
'They eat the shaman lard together with dried fish.'

b. *Bi* *čaja-wa* *sata-zi* *umi-mi.*
me tea-ACC sugar-INST drink-1SG
'I drink tea with sugar.'

c. *Xapakta* *gegbeŋku-we-ni* *sata-zi*
honeysuckle berry-ACC-3SG sugar-INST
olokto-u-ji.
cook-PAS-PRP
'The honeysuckle berries are to be cooked with sugar.'

d. *Bi* *men-e* *mä:usa-zi:* *ŋene:-mi.*
me REF-0 gun-INST.REF go.PAST-1SG
'I went with my own gun.'

15.4.5.7. Comitative

Comitative adjuncts denote the accompanying person and so correspond to animate nouns. They are encoded as an Instrumental noun phrase, which may also function as a modifier within a noun phrase. On the systematic difference between comitative modifiers and adjuncts see 13.5.1. The comitative adjunct is semantically associated with the subject participant. The verb demonstrates Singular agreement (1136). Plural agreement is possible only when the subject is formally or semantically Plural (1137).

(1136) a. *Nua-ni* *alagdig'a* *aziga-zi* *ŋene:-ni.*
he-3SG beautiful girl-INST go.PAST-3SG
'He was walking with a beautiful girl.'

b. *Nua-ni* *ei* *b'ata-zi* *eme:-ni.*
he-3SG this boy-INST come.PAST-3SG
'He came with this boy.'

c. *Bi* *xunazi:* *keige* *Wasia-zi* *gusi:-ni.*
me sister.1SG cat Vasia-INST play-3SG
'My sister is playing with the cat Vasia.'

d. *Ja:* *men-e* *sita-zi:* *xokto*
cow REF-0 s on-INST.REF road
cu-li-ni *eme-ini.*
along-PROL-3SG come-3SG
'The cow is coming down the road with its calf.'

(1137) *Ogbö* *eni-zi:* *buga-du* *oŋk'o-iti.*
moose female-INST.REF clearing-DAT graze-3PL
'The mooses graze with their females in a clearing.'

Chapter 16
Valence-changing operations

In Chapter 14 the verbal valence patterns were described according to the semantic arguments of the corresponding verb. Each semantic argument was placed in a one-to-one correspondence with a syntactic argument that has to be overtly present in a sentence or can be recovered through coreference with a previously mentioned element. However, more than one correspondence between semantic roles and grammatical relations is possible. We will refer to these as different sentence constructions. So by construction we mean a syntactic structure that encodes a certain mapping relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations. This chapter addresses the syntactic operations that change the sentence construction. When such an operation is also morphologically marked in the verbal form itself we will refer to different voice constructions (16.1). Yet, the alternative encoding of semantic roles by grammatical relations is sometimes not accompanied by special morphological markers in the verb; such constructions are addressed in 16.2.

16.1. Voice constructions

Sentence constructions that correspond to the valence patterns described in Chapter 14 involve, conventionally speaking, the direct voice characterized by two properties. First, the number of semantic arguments (semantic roles) is exactly equal to the surface number of syntactic arguments. In other words, all arguments must be either overtly present or retrieved from the context. Second, in the direct voice constructions the agent argument corresponds to the grammatical relation of the subject, as identified in 15.1.1. Voice constructions that violate at least one of these conditions will be called indirect. The following indirect voice constructions will be addressed here: Passive, Agentless Passive, Causative, Decausative, and Reciprocal. In each of them the verb is characterized by a special morphological marking that encodes the corresponding indirect voice.

Obviously, different indirect voices cannot co-occur with each other and with the direct voice within one clause. The only exception is the Causative, which co-occurs with another indirect voice. This is because the Causative is the only indirect voice that increases the verbal valence. Below we cite the examples that show the Causative co-occurring with the Agentless Passive. On the passivization of causative constructions see 16.1.4.4.

(1138) *B'ata-wa* *diga-wan-a-sa*.
boy-ACC eat-CAUS-0-PP.PAS
'The boy is fed.'

16.1.1. Passive

The Passive is only allowed for transitive verbs. As was mentioned in 15.2.1.2, mostly direct objects are passivized in Udihe, on possible exceptions see 15.1.1.3. Several passive verbs do not have a non-passive equivalent (8.2.1.5.2).

The meaning of the Passive in Udihe is actional. Compared to certain other languages that have

the Passive, the Udihe Passive is used rather rarely. Some functions which cross-linguistically are typical of the Passive are fulfilled by the Agentless Passive construction (16.1.2). The only use of the Personal Passive is for the topic-promoting of the patient argument, although other strategies are available for this as well (see Chapter 24). De-emphasizing the agent, which is universally known to be another function of the Passive, is a function of the Agentless Passive in Udihe (16.1.2).

In the Passive construction the agent participant does not correspond to the grammatical relation of the subject. The passive agent is marked by the Dative and bears the grammatical relation of adjunct. It is normally overtly present; however, removing it from the sentence does not yield ungrammaticality. A certain split is observed in the grammatical encoding of the patient/theme argument, depending on its deictic status.

16.1.1.1. Passive constructions with the Nominative subject

The pronominal patient corresponds to the Nominative subject, that is, to the nominatively marked noun phrase which is characterized by a certain cluster of grammatical properties (15.1.1). The Nominative subject may be encoded by the overt personal pronouns of the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person (1139), but is even more likely to be coreferentially deleted (1140). In both cases it triggers subject agreement on the passive verb.

(1139) a. *Si min-du gida-si-u-zeŋe-i.*
you me-DAT spear-V-PAS-FUT-2SG
'You will be killed by me.'

b. *Min-du akinda-u-ze-i si meime-zi.*
me-DAT stab-PAS-SUBJ-2SG you harpoon-INST
'You will be stabbed by me with the harpoon.' (K 149)

c. *Bi eniŋe-du-i abuga-du-i wende-le-wo:-mi.*
me mother-DAT-1SG father-DAT-1SG throw-SING-PAS.PAST-1SG
'I am abandoned by my mother and father.'

(1140) a. *Toxö-du imi bugo-wu-i?*
cloud-DAT why covered-PAS-2SG
'Why are you covered with clouds?' (K 124)

c. *J'eu-du mag-u-o:-u?*
what-DAT kill-PAS-PAST-2PL
'Who killed you?' (K 178)

d. *Agdi-du ŋele-we-si-u-i.*
thunder-DAT be.afraid-CAUS-IM-PAS-1SG
'I am frightened by thunder'.

f. *Buk-ki-ni Uza, kalima-du xuktu-wo:-ni.*
die-PAST-3SG Uza whale-DAT carry.away-PAS.PAST-3SG
'Uza died, he was taken away by the whale.' (K 114)

16.1.1.2. Subjectless passive constructions

A non-pronominal (lexical) patient argument is encoded by the Accusative noun phrase. In section 15.2.3 it was shown not to have any subject properties and to correspond to the grammatical relation of the direct object. It does not trigger verbal agreement. Thus, although the agent is demoted to the adjunct role, the nominal patient argument is not promoted to the subject, and the whole construction is characterized as subjectless.

(1141) a. *Ei* *lenta-wa* *sin-du* *eniŋe-du*
this ribbon-ACC you-DAT mother-DAT
bu-wo:-ni.
give-PAS.PAST-3SG
'This ribbon is given to you by the mother.'

b. *Soŋgo* *ule:-we-ni* *diga-wu-ini* *in'ei-du.*
bear meat-ACC-3SG eat-PAS-3SG dog-DAT
'The bear meat is being eaten by dogs.'

c. *J'e-we* *diga-wo:-ni?*
what-ACC eat-PAS.PAST-3SG
'What was eaten?'

d. *B'ata-wa* *abuga-du* *dančі-wo:-ni.*
boy-ACC father-DAT curse-PAS.PAST-3SG
'The boy was cursed by his father.'

There is a certain tendency (especially among younger speakers) to omit the Accusative marker on the noun phrase with the patient meaning even when it is a lexical noun. This tendency seems to have developed under the influence of the Passive construction in Russian, where the corresponding noun phrase is always encoded by the Nominative, and perhaps under the analogous influence of the pronominal pattern (16.1.1.2.1). Sometimes the Accusative affix is missing for purely phonetic reasons (see 4.2.2.2.2). An example is:

(1142) *Uti* *tene* *oloxi-gde* *zaw-u-o:-ni*
this CONT squirrel-FOC catch-PAS-PAST-3SG
b'ata-du.
boy-DAT
'This squirrel was caught by the boy.'

16.1.1.3. Passivization of the indirect object

We do not have enough evidence for the passivization of the indirect object marked with the Lative affix *-tigi*; certainly it is not a frequent option. However, the following example suggest that it is not impossible, at least by passivization of a causative verb, cf. (1143a) and (1143b). In the latter the passive subject is not overtly present, but the verbal agreement indicates that it is 1st person Plural Exclusive.

(1143) a. *Uli* *min-tigi* *eme:-ni.*
water we-LAT come.PAST-3SG
'Water came to us.'

b. *Ele* *uli-we* *eme-wen-e-u-mu.*

enough water-ACC come-CAUS-0-PAS-1PL.EX
'It is enough for us to be sent with water.' (SK 1122)

16.1.2. Agentless Passive

The Agentless Passive is very frequent both in transitive and intransitive clauses. Its main function is to eliminate or demote the agent, while the communicative status of the direct object (in transitive clauses) remains basically the same as in the original direct construction.

The meaning of the Impersonal Passive is actional; it may also render the habitual meaning or a whole array of modal meanings. Its arguments are often semantically non-referential.

16.1.2.1. Morphology

The Impersonal Passive verbal forms are analytic; they consist of the content verb and, optionally, the copula 'be' in a certain temporal form. The copula takes 3rd person Singular agreement affixes, and, according to the general rule (17.1.1.2), it is normally omitted in the Present tense. The content verb appears in the form of passive participles (7.5.1.2), either of the Present, or the Past, or the Future tense.

The Impersonal Passive opposes two moods, the Indicative and the Necessitative. In the Indicative the content verb is represented by Present passive participles (the imperfective Agentless Passive) or Past passive participles (the perfective Agentless Passive). The two aspectual forms indicate respectively whether the event is in progress at the time of reference or has finished by the time of reference. The Necessitative Impersonal Passive is formed with the Future passive participles.

The time reference of the whole construction is determined by the tense of the copula 'be', namely, either the Present tense (in which case the copula is optional), the Past or Perfect tense, or the Future tense. For the imperfective and the Necessitative Passive, Future tense forms are not found. Neither have we the complete paradigm for the negative forms.

The table below presents the system of Agentless Passive for the verb *zawa-* 'take', with approximate translations. The passive participle forms of this verb, which participate in the Agentless Passive constructions, are *zawa-u-i* 'being taken' (passive Present Participle), *zawa-sa* 'taken' (passive Past Participle), and *zawa-u-zeŋe* 'which had to be taken' (passive Future Participles).

(1144)

	tense of the copula	
	Present	Past/Perfect	Future
Indicative			
Imperfective			
	zawa-u-i (bi:-ni)	*zawa-u-i bi-s'e* -	
	'is being taken'	*zawa-u-i bi-si-ni*	
	'is taken'	'was being taken'	
		'was taken'	
	e-u-ji zawa	*e-u-ji zawa bi-s'e*	
	'is not being taken'	'was not being taken'	
	'is not taken'		
Perfective			
	zawa-sa (bi:-ni)	*zawa-sa bi-s'e*	*zawa-sa*

	zawa-sa bi-si-ni	*bi-zeŋe-ni*
‘was taken’	‘had been taken’	‘will be taken’
‘is taken’		
‘has been taken’		
e-u-se zawa,		
e-ptile zawa		
‘was not taken’		
‘is not taken’		
‘has not been taken’		

Necessitative

zawa-u-zeŋe (bi:-ni)	*zawa-u-zeŋe bi’-se*	-
‘has to be taken’	*zawa-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni*	
	‘had to be taken’	
e-u-zeŋe zawa		
‘has not to be taken’		

The Agentless Passive occurs in participial subordinate clauses. The example below presents an adverbial postpositional clause, based on the Present passive participle.

(1145)	*Zeu-we*	*bu:-ji*	*edeisini*	*eitene*	*teu*
	food-ACC	give.PAS-PRP	when	now	all
	diga-zaŋa-ni.				
	eat-FUT-3SG				

‘When the food is given, he will eat it all immediately.’

16.1.2.2. Sentence construction

As was mentioned above, the primary pragmatic function of the Impersonal Passive is to encode the «de-emphasized» status of the agent, which may be semantically indefinite, universal, non-specific, or generic. Hence the agent argument is absent, and so is the grammatical subject. Only a few examples are found where the agent is expressed lexically by the Dative noun phrase, such as (1146), but they are extremely rare and not accepted by all speakers. They obviously appeared under the influence of the regular Passive (16.1.1).

(1146)	*Ei*	*oloxi-we*	*b’ata-du*	*zawa-sa.*
	this	squirrel-ACC	boy-DAT	catch-PP.PAS

‘This squirrel is caught by the boy.’

In Agentless Passive constructions the direct object retains the function, case marking, and syntactic properties of the direct object (15.2). However, the morphological Accusative is sometimes absent. This reflects the general tendency to omit the Accusative marker (4.2.2.2), as shown in the following free variants:

(1147)	*Ule:(-we)*	*zi:-se.*
	meat(-ACC)	cut-PP.PAS

‘The meat is cut.’

Agentless Passive constructions with intransitives naturally lack the direct object argument. In some rare cases, the object is not present even if the verb is transitive. It then has an indefinite

interpretation, cf.:

(1148) *Zugdi koso-lo-ni* *xula-zi* *dai-sa.*
house corner-LOC-3SG blanket-INSTR cover-PP.PAS
'Something is covered with the blanket in the corner of the house.'
(K 156)

16.1.2.3. Imperfective Agentless Passive

16.1.2.3.1. The meaning of temporal forms

The Imperfective Agentless Passive describes a situation simultaneous with the time of reference, which in its turn is expressed by the copula. Present and Past forms of the Imperfective Agentless Passive are exemplified in (1149a) and (1149b) respectively.

(1149) a. *Nuan-di-ni* *egdi-me* *bu:-ji.*
he-DAT-3SG much-ACC give.PAS-PRP
'A lot is given to him.'

b. *Anana* *dawa* *namikta-wa-ni* *läs(i)*
before salmon dried.fish-ACC-3SG very
wagisi-u-i *bi-s'e.*
dry-PAS-PRP be-PERF
'Long ago people used to dry salmon.'

16.1.2.3.2. Modal meaning

In Udihe the Present tense is employed to express a timeless universal situation (7.7.1.1.2). This is also true in the case of the imperfective Impersonal Passive in the Present tense, as is demonstrated in the following examples. An additional implication might also be that of possibility or necessity.

(1150) a. *Ei* *b'oto-wo* *diga-u-ji.*
this mushroom-ACC eat-PAS-PRP
'This mushroom is edible.'

b. *Suese-we* *e-u-ji* *aisi-gi.*
axe-ACC NEG-PAS-PRP mend-REP
'You can't mend this axe.'

c. *Čaja-wa* *olokto-u-ji.*
tea-ACC boil-PAS-PRP
'One boils tea (tea should be boiled).'

d. *Ei* *mäunda-zi* *bui-we* *wakca-u-i.*
this gun-INST animal-ACC hunt-PAS-PRP
'One kills animals with this gun.'

e. *Ule:-we* *olokto-u-ji.*
meat-ACC cook-PAS-PRP
'One cooks meat (meat should be cooked).'

f. *Wa:* *ni:* *ni:-we* *wa-u-i.*
kill.PP man man-ACC kill-PAS-PRP
'Who killed a man must be killed.' (SK 202)

16.1.2.4. Perfective Agentless Passive

The Perfective Agnetless Passive indicates that the event took place and was finished prior to the time of reference, be it present, past, or future. The construction describes the event itself and not the resulting state, as does the resultative construction (17.2.2.5). This can be seen from predicate adverbials that characterize verbal action. This is shown in (1151) where the time adverb *tineŋi* 'yesterday' refers to the actual time when the letter was written.

(1151) *Ei* *oño-wo* *tuge / tineŋi* *oño-so.*
this letter-ACC quick/yesterday write-PP.PAS
'This letter was written quickly/yesterday.'

The Present tense forms indicate that the action took place in the past with the implication that its result is relevant to the present. It can be translated into English with the Present or the Past Passive (1152). The perfective Past Impersonal Passive is similar in meaning to the Pluperfect in Udihe (7.7.1.5). It indicates that the action took place in the past and was finished prior to another moment in the past (1153a) or a long time ago (1153b). The closest English equivalent would be the Pluperfect Passive. The Future indicates that the action will take place in the future (1154).

(1152) a. *Ei* *uniŋa-wa* *j'e-zi* *wo-so*?
this spoon-ACC what-INST make-PP.PAS
'What is/was this spoon made of?'

b. *Oño-wo* *oño-so* (*bi:-ni*).
letter-ACC write-PP.PAS be-3SG
'The letter is/was written.'

c. *Zueze* *egelie* *te:-se.*
table around sit-PP.PAS
'People have sat down around the table.'

(1153) a. *Bi* *eme-gi:-si* *oño-wo* *oño-so*
me come-REP-PC.1SG letter-ACC write-PP.PAS
bi-si-ni.
be-PAST-3SG
'When I returned the letter had already been written.'

b. *Ei* *oño-wo* *anana* *oño-so*
this letter-ACC long.ago write-PP.PAS
bi-s'e.
be-PERF
'This letter had been written a long time ago.'

(1154) *'Ana-wa* *wo-so* *bi-zeŋe-ni.*
boat-ACC make-PP.PAS be-FUT-3SG
'The boat will be made.'

16.1.2.5. Necessitative Agentless Passive

The Necessitative Agnetless Passive is formed with the Future passive participle and the copula in the Present (optionally) or in the Past. So in the Agnetless Passive the Present and Past forms of the Necessitative are opposed, while the active Necessitative has only past reference (see 7.8.3). Both transitive and intransitive verbs occur in these constructions.

The Present tense expresses the universal possibility or necessity to perform the action named

by the verb, and the modal state is of a general timeless character (1155). The Past tense expresses necessity or obligation that pertains to the time prior to the moment of speech (1156).

(1155) a. *Ei wo:-tigi tukti-mi mute-u-zeŋe.*
this mountain-LAT climb-INF can-PAS-FP
'It is possible to climb up this hill.'

b. *Ono dian-a-u-zeŋe a-wa.*
how say-0-PAS-FP this-ACC
'How do you say it (correctly)?'

c. *O-du zugdi-we wo-u-zeŋe.*
this-DAT house-ACC make-PAS-FP
'Here a house should be built.'

(1156) a. *Tiŋeni oño-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni*
yesterday write-PAS-FP be-PAST-3SG
oño-wo.
letter-ACC
'The letter had to be written yesterday.'

b. *Sin-e-we anana koŋko-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni.*
you-0-ACC long.ago beat-PAS-FP be-PAST-3SG
'You had to be beaten a long time ago.'

c. *Anana ŋene-u-zeŋe nixe:-ni magazina-tigi*
long.ago go-PAS-FP do.PAST-3SG shop-LAT
'One had to go to the shop a long time ago.'

d. *Zaŋza teu tiŋmene:-ni, imexi-we*
fence all fell.PAST-3SG new-ACC
wo-gi-u-zeŋe bi-si-ni.
make-REP-PAS-FP be-PAST-3SG.
'The fence fell down completely, one had to make a new one.'

In the Northern dialect, as recorded by Kormušin, Agentless Passive Necessitative may occur in personal function and does not express Necessitative meaning, cf.:

(1157) a. *I:-u-zeŋe min-e-we wa-za.*
enter-PAS-FP me-0-ACC kill-SUBJ
'If I enter, he will kill me.' (K 157)

b. *Sugzä-wa e-mu zepte, ono bi-u-zeŋe?*
fish-ACC NEG-1PL.EX eat how be-PAS-FP
'We don't eat fish, how shall we live?' (K 174)

16.1.2.6. Definite agent

As was mentioned above, the agent of the personal Passive construction is conceived as generic or indefinite. However, in some cases it may refer to the speaker herself if the speaker chooses to conceive the situation «from outside» (1158). Furthermore, an agent may be definite (known to the speaker) but be beyond her present scope of attention (1159).

(1158) a. *Eniŋe,* *aziga-ziga* *mäwa-wa-ti* *i:-le*
mother girl-PL heart-ACC-3PL what-LOC
nede-u-ji?
put-PAS-PRP
'Mother, where to put (shall I put) the girls' hearts?' (K 106)

b. *Anda-i* *diga-laga-ni* *j'e-we*
friend-1SG eat-PURP-3SG what-ACC
olokto-u-ji?
cook-PAS-PRP
'What to cook (shall I cook) so that my friend eats?' (K 126)

c. *I:-u-zeŋe* *min-e-we* *wa-za,*
enter-PAS-FP me-0-ACC kill-SUBJ
e-li *i:* *e-u-zeŋe* *b'a* *aziga.*
NEG-CC.SS enter NEG-PAS-FP get girl
'If I enter, he will kill me, if I don't enter, I won't get the girl.'
(K 157)

d. *Ono* *zawa-u-zeŋe?*
how catch-PAS-FP
'How to catch him (how shall I catch him)?'

(1159) a. *Sin-du* *zeu-we* *bu-se.*
you-DAT food-ACC give-PP.PAS
'The food is given to you.'

b. *Moxo-tigi* *čaja-wa* *čudi-se.*
mug-ALL tea-ACC poor-PP.PAS
'The tea is poured into the mug.'

c. *Sin-e-we* *o-du* *ise-se.*
you-0-ACC this-DAT see-PP.PAS
'You were seen here.'

16.1.2.7. Intransitive clause

The examples below demonstrate intransitive sentences with the Agnetless Passive. In intransitive constructions the agent can only have a generic interpretation.

(1160) a. *O-du* *udie* *keje-zi-ni* *dian-a-u-ji.*
this-DAT Udihe language-INST-3SG speak-0-PAS-PRP
'Here they speak Udihe.'

b. *O-du* *te-u-ji.*
this-DAT sit-PAS-PRP
'Here one sits.'

c. *Ute* *bede e-u-ji* *dian-a.*
that like NEG-PAS-PRP speak-0
'You shouldn't speak this way.'

d. *Anana* *egdi-me* *etete-se.*
long.ago much-ACC work-PP.PAS
'A long time ago people were working a lot.'

e. *Nemca-zi* *w'ali-se,* *i:bene-zi*
German-INST fight-PP.PAS Japanese-INST

w'ali-se.
fight-PP.PAS
'One was fighting with Germans and with Japanese.'

f. *Uta-la* *e-ptile* *xeŋde.*
that-LOC NEG-PP.PAS step
'Nobody has walked there.'

16.1.3. Causative

The Causative construction is monoclausal. The Causative derivation is marked by the suffix *-wAn-* in the verbal form with the morphology discussed in 8.2.1.2. It adds an extra valence to the base verb, a participant who is caused to perform the action. This will be called the causee, while the participant who instigates the action (the causer) will be conventionally called the agent. The Causative constructions are presented depending on the initial valence patterns of the corresponding non-Causative verbs.

16.1.3.1. Null-argument verbs

Null-argument (meteorological) verbs (14.1) can causativize in certain contexts, normally in addresses to God or the powers of nature, or in folklore. Causativization adds the agent valence to the resulting verb, but the causee argument is absent. Thus the verb does not transitivize, as, for example, one-argument verbs do (16.1.4.2), and the resulting verb takes only one valence, the agent. The latter corresponds to the subject noun phrase.

(1161) a. *Ñaŋmu-gi-wen-e-je.*
clear-REP-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
'Make it clear up (the sky)!'

b. *Tigde-wen-e-je.*
rain-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
'Make it rain!'

c. *Täs(i)* *tigde-wen-e-mi.*
very rain-CAUS-0-1SG
'I make heavy rain.' (K 124)

d. *Saŋña* *p'ou-p'ou* *odo-waŋ-ki-ni.*
smoke dark-dark become-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'It has become dark from the smoke.' (SK 1019)

16.1.3.2. Intransitive verbs

Causatives derived from intransitives are widespread. In the corresponding construction the agent is encoded as the subject noun phrase, while the causee behaves syntactically and morphologically as a direct object (see 15.1.3.2).

16.1.3.2.1. Encoding of the causee argument

According to the general rule (15.2), the direct object argument (causee, in this case) is encoded by the Accusative noun phrase if it does not bear Reflexive Possessive affixes (1162), or by the Nominative noun phrase if it is reflexive (1162).

(1162) a. *Od'o-wo* *tomo-won-o-jo.*
grandfather-ACC warm-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
'Make the grandfather warm.' (K 170)

b. *Ei* *paki-laŋki-we* *j'e-du*
this skillful-ADJ-ACC what-DAT
ŋene-wen-e:-i?
go-CAUS-PAST-2SG
'Why did you let this very skillful (woman) go?' (K 173)

c. *Uli-we-de* *mude-wen-e-mi.*
river-ACC-FOC flow-CAUS-0-1SG
'I make rivers flow.' (K 124).

d. *Exe* *si* *xuga-i* *ele* *ele*
sister you bear.cub-2SG soon soon
e-zi *xuli-wan-a.*
NEG-IMP.2SG go-CAUS-0
'Sister, don't let your bear cubs go far away.' (K 131)

e. *Kanda* *mafa* *b'ata-ni* *wa:-ma-ni*
Kanda old.man son-3SG kill.PP-ACC-3SG
ni:-ne-gi-weŋ-ke-i.
man-V-REP-CAUS-PERF-1SG
'I have made the murdered son of the old man Kanda a man again.'
(K 193)

f. *Eineŋi* *eme-weŋ-ki-ni* *min-e-we.*
today come-CAUS-PAST-3SG me-0-ACC
'He made me come today.'

(1163) a. *Bi* *sita-i* *mamasa-la-waŋ-ki-mi.*
me child-REF wife-V-CAUS-PAST-1SG
'I made my son marry.'

b. *In'ei* *igi:* *ugi-wen-e-ini.*
dog tail.REF move-CAUS-0-3SG.
'The dog wags its tail.'

In the Northern dialect as recorded by Kormušin, the Accusative marking of the direct object is not regular (4.2.2.2). The causee-object may remain morphologically unmarked. This, however, does not influence its syntactic status.

(1164) a. *E-zi-de* *su:le-wen-e* *ajan-zi*
NEG-IMP.2SG-FOC be.ill-CAUS-0 good-INST
wakca-wan-za-i … *kesi* *bi-wen-ze-i.*
hunt-CAUS-SUBJ-2SG luck be-CAUS-SUBJ-2SG
'Don't make them ill, make them hunt well, make them have luck.'
(K 123)

b. *Aziga-ziga* *iñe-we-si-ze-mi.*
girl-PL laugh-CAUS-IM-SUBJ-1SG

‘I will make the girls laugh ‘ (K 105)

c. *Su: käu-käu* *čalugo-won-o* *ima:-wa-da*
son all-all melt-CAUS-0 snow-ACC-FOC
čalugo-won-o *o:kto-do* *bagdi-wan-a.*
melt-CAUS-0 grass-FOC grow-CAUS-0
‘The son melts everything, it melts the snow, it makes the grass grow.’ (K 124)

d. *Zuge-we-de* *čalu-wen-e-mi* *ima:-wa-de*
ice-ACC-FOC melt-CAUS-0-1SG snow-ACC-FOC
čalu-wen-e-mi *o:kto-de* *bagdi-wan-a-mi*
melt-CAUS-0-1SG grass-FOC grow-CAUS-0-1SG
ni:-we *xaŋka-wan-a-mi*
man-ACC puff-CAUS-0-1SG
‘I melt the ice and the snow, I make the grass grow, I make people pant.’ (K 124)

Like other direct objects (15.2), the direct object-causee is easily deleted under coreference with a previously mentioned element.

(1165) a. *Ogdö* *do-lo-ni* *ŋua-wan-za-fi.*
coffin inside-LOC-3SG sleep-CAUS-SUBJ-1PL.IN
‘We will put him to sleep in a coffin.’ (K 190)

b. *Jegdige* *ba:* *xo:n-dule-ni* *ule:-ni*
hero place top-LOC-3SG dig.PAST-3SG
agdu, *uta-la* *ŋua-waŋ-ki-ni.*
hole that-LOC sleep-CAUS-PAST-3SG
‘The hero dug a hole in the forest and put them to sleep there.’ (K 132)

c. *Susa-gi-ze-mi* *bi,* *lä*
escape-REP-SUBJ-1SG me very
uktu-wen-zeŋe *tigde.*
wet-CAUS-FUT rain
‘I must escape, (otherwise) the rain will make me wet through.’

d. *Nada-ma* *neŋi* *nada-ma* *dogbo-ni*
seven-ACC day seven-ACC night-3SG
siki-si-e-ni *mamasa-i,* *siki-e-k,*
wash-IM-PAST-3SG wife-REF wash-PAST-EXPR
aja-zi *teti-gi-wen-e:-k.*
good-INST dress-REP-CAUS-PAST-EXPR
‘He was washing his wife for seven days and seven nights, he washed her and dressed her well.’

16.1.3.2.2. The verb *edewen-* ‘make’

The Causative verb *ede-wen-* ‘make’ is derived from the copula verb *ede-* ‘become’ (17.1.3.2). Like the copula in a regular copular construction (Chapter 17), this verb is preceded by a predicative adjective. In other respects the Causative construction behaves in the usual way.

(1166) a. *Coŋku-we* *sagdi* *ede-wen-e-je.*

window-ACC big become-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
'Make the window big.'

b. *Aja* *ede-weŋ-ki-ti.*
good become-CAUS-PAST-3PL
'They made it nice.'

c. *Bi* *tege-we* *umac'a* *ede-weŋ-ki-mi.*
me gown-ACC short become-CAUS-PAST-1SG
'I made the gown shorter.'

d. *Ilien-ti* *aŋa-ni* *belem* *sagdi* *we:-i*
three-ORD year-3SG more large garden-1SG
ede-weŋ-ki-mi.
become-CAUS-PAST-1SG
'The third year I made my garden (even) larger.'

16.1.3.3. Transitive verbs

Causative verbs derived from transitives are at least three-place. In this construction, the agent argument corresponds to the grammatical relation of subject, the patient/theme corresponds to the direct object noun phrase and is encoded by the Accusative case. There are two options for encoding the causee argument.

16.1.3.3.1. Direct object causee

The causee may be encoded by the Accusative noun phrase in the same way as the causee in intransitive Causative constructions (16.1.4.2). In this case, the construction appears to include two Accusative noun phrases («double object», cf. 16.2.1).

(1167) a. *Sita-wa-ni* *tege-we-ni*
child-ACC-3SG gown-ACC-3SG
teti-gi-weŋ-ki-ni.
wear-REP-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'She put a dress on a child.'

b. *Bi* *aziga-ŋi-we-i* *tege-we*
me girl-AL-ACC-REF gown-ACC
teti-gi-ne-wen-e-i.
dress-REP-DIR-CAUS-0-1SG
'I am going to put a gown on my daughter.'

c. *Jegdige* *eze* *lauzi-wa-ni* *lala-wa* hero
czar servant-ACC porridge-ACC
diga-waŋ-ki-ni.
eat-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'The hero fed porridge to the czar's servant.' (SKX 112)

Both the causee-object (1168) and the non-causee object (1169) may be coreferentially dropped from the clause.

(1168) a. *Zeu-we* *diga-waŋ-ka-i?*
food-ACC eat-CAUS-PERF-2SG
'Did you feed (him) with food?' (K 170)

b. *Uta-digi* *tene* *ag'a-ni* *mamasa-ni* *men-e*
that-ABL CONT brother-3SG wife-3SG REF-0
tege-we *teti-weŋ-ki-ni*
gown-ACC dress-CAUS-PAST-3SG
diga-la:-ni *bue-ni.*
eat-PURP-3SG he-3SG
'Then the wife of her elder brother made her put on the clothes so that she (could) eat.' (K 140)

c. *Bi* *begdi-we-i* *akinda-waŋ-ka-i.*
me leg-ACC-1SG wound-CAUS-PERF-2SG
'You made me wound my leg.' (K 150)

(1169) *Tukca-ziga* *olokto:-ti* *zeu-we,* *jegdige-we*
hare-PL cook.PAST-3PL food-ACC hero-ACC
diga-waŋ-ki-ti.
eat-CAUS-PAST-3PL
'The hares cooked the food and fed the hero.' (K 155)

16.1.3.3.2. Indirect object causee

The second option for the causee of the transitive constructions is to be encoded as the Dative indirect object, cf.:

(1170) a. *Min-du* *guas'a* *timana* *gazi-wen-e-je.*
me-DAT bitch tomorrow take-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG 'Let me take the bitch tomorrow.' (K 113)

b. *Ma:ma,* *min-du* *gazi-wen-ze-i*
grandmother me-DAT take-CAUS-SUBJ-2SG
in'ei-we *timana.*
dog-ACC tomorrow
'Grandmother, let me take the dog tomorrow.' (K 110)

c. *Mafa* *mäwa-ni* *a:nta-du* *e-zu*
bear heart-3SG woman-DAT NEG-IMP.2PL
ze-wen-e. *J'e-we-ni-de*
eat-CAUS-0 what-ACC-3SG-IND
e-zu *ze-wen-e.*
NEG-IMP.2PL eat-CAUS-0
'Don't let women eat the bear's heart. Don't let (them) eat anything.' (K 131)

d. *Bi* *men-e* *sita-du-i* *suala-wa*
me REF-0 son-DAT-REF ski-ACC
teti-weŋ-ki-mi.
dress-CAUS-PAST-1SG

‘I put skis on my son.’

16.1.3.3.3. Direct object causee vs. indirect object causee

The basic difference between the transitive causative constructions with the direct object causee, on the one hand, and the indirect object causee, on the other hand, is that the former have only a factitive meaning while the latter allow both a factitive and permissive meaning.

(1171) a. *Bi* *Iwana-wa* *bu-gi-weŋ-ki-mi*
me Ivan-ACC give-REP-CAUS-PAST-1SG
kusige-we *abuga-du.*
knife-ACC father-DAT
‘I made Ivan give the knife to his father.’

b. *Bi* *bu-gi-weŋ-ki-mi* *Ivana-du*
me give-REP-CAUS-PAST-1SG Ivan-DAT
kusige-we *abuga-du.*
knife-ACC father-DAT
‘I made/let Ivan give the knife to his father.’

Other examples that make clear the permissive meaning of constructions with the Dative causee are:

(1172) a. *Sä:-wa* *ni-du-de* *e-zi*
shoulder-ACC who-DAT-IND NEG-IMP.2SG
diga-wan-a.
eat-CAUS-0
‘Don’t let anybody eat the (animal’s) shoulder.’

b. *Bi* *exi-mi* *ñ’aula-wa* *činda-du*
me sister-1SG child-ACC bird-DAT
ña:ma-wan-a:-ni.
curse-CAUS-PAST-3SG
‘My sister let the bird curse the children.’ (K 168)

c. *Bi* *Iwana-du* *kusige-we*
me Ivan-DAT knife-ACC
bu-weŋ-ki-mi *abuga-du.*
give-CAUS-PAST-1SG father-DAT
‘I asked Ivan to give a knife to my father.’

d. *Ni-du-de* *e-zi-u* *sa-wan-a*.
who-DAT-IND NEG-IMP-2PL know-CAUS-0
‘Don’t let anybody know this.’

Even when constructions with an indirect object causee have a factitive interpretation, they seem to differ from constructions with a direct object causee in the degree of activity of the causee argument. The indirect object encodes a less active and often less volitional participant than the direct object. Compare (1173a) and (1173b) and also (1174) where the translation suggests that the causee was actively involved in the action (an indirect object causee is not possible in this case).

(1173) a. *Min-e-we* *diga-wan-a-ja.*

me-0-ACC eat-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
'Make me eat.'

b. *Min-du diga-wan-a-ja.*
me-DAT eat-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
'Feed me.' (meaning: give food to me)

(1174) *Eniŋe sita-i cei-we diga-waŋ-ki-ni.*
mother son-1SG soup-ACC eat-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'The mother forced her son to eat soup.'

With verbs that do not presuppose the active involvement of the causee argument in the action, such as *ise-wen-* 'make see, show', *sa-wan-* 'make know, inform', only the indirect object causee is acceptable.

16.1.3.4. Passive Causative constructions

In transitive causative constructions both the causee argument (1175a) and the regular direct object (1175b) can passivize.

(1175) a. *Si belesi-e-i daliŋkadi bi oño-wo*
you help-PP-2SG thanks me letter-ACC
oño-u:ŋ-ki-mi.
write-PAS.CAUS-PAST-1SG
'Thanks to your help I wrote the letter (literally: I was caused to write the letter).'

b. *Ñ'aula-wa cinda-du ña:ma-u-wan-a:-ni.*
child-ACC bird-DAT curse-PAS-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'Children were cursed by the bird (literally: caused to be cursed).'
(K 16832)

The indirect object causee does not passivize, like other indirect objects (15.2), cf.:

(1176) **Činda-wa n'aula-wa ña:ma-u-wan-a:-ni.*
birdy-ACC child-ACC curse-PAS-CAUS-PAS-3SG
'The bird was caused to curse children.'

16.1.4. Decausative

By Decausative we will mean an originally two-place situation which is conceived without an agent participant, while the original direct object is considered to be performing the corresponding action by itself. The base verb, therefore, must take at least two arguments. Decausativization is encoded by the suffix *-ptA-/-ktA-* or *-kpi-* in a verbal form (8.2.1.3). Note that the semantically close Reflexive meaning (that is, when the agent (subject) is coreferential with another participant in the sentence) is not marked in the verbal form. We therefore do not consider it a voice operation, and discuss it in Chapter 22.

16.1.4.1. Decausative construction

Decausative verbs are obviously intransitive. The grammatical relation of the subject corresponds to their single argument. In Udihe only 3rd person subjects seem to be allowed in such constructions, and therefore the verb takes 3rd person agreement affixes. The independent character of the action may be emphasized with the emphatic reflexive pronoun *men-e* 'by itself' (1178).

(1177) a. *Mäna* *mantila-pta:-ni* (or: *mantila-kpi-e-ni*).
flower spill-DEC.PAST-3SG spill-DEC-PAST-3SG
'The flower spilled out.'

b. *Čaja* *olokto-kpi:-ni.*
tea cook-DEC-3SG
'The tea is being cooked.'

c. *Ogbö* *eni-ni* *xokto-lo-ni*
elk female-3SG path-LOC-3SG
nodo-pto:-ti.
lose-DEC.PAST-3PL
'They were lost on the path of the female elk.' (K170)

d. *Bue-ni* *mede-mpe-ne:-ni* *uti* *getu-le.*
he-3SG learn-DEC-DIR.PAST-3SG that PL-LOC
'He went to get informed by them.'

(1178) a. *Wopti* *men-e* *kimpigi-pte:-ni.*
door REF-0 close-DEC.PAST-3SG
'The door closed by itself.'

b. *Coŋku* *men-e* *nientile-pte:-ni.*
window REF-0 close-DEC.PAST-3SG
The window closed by itself.'

16.1.4.2. Perception verbs

The verbs *ise-pte-* 'be seen', *düi-pte-* 'be heard', and *b'a-pta-/b'a-kta-* 'smell' (intransitive) are used especially frequently (1179). Particularly frequent they are in the Habitual aspect either as a bare stem (1180) or as the Present active participle (1181).

(1179) a. *Zugdi* *ise-pte-li-ge.*
house see-DEC-INC-PERF
'The house became seen.'

b. *Abdu-ni* *düi-pti:-ni* *ceŋer-ceŋer.*
necklace-3SG hear-DEC-3SG INTER-INTER
'Her necklace is heard to be ringing.' (K 160)

c. *Bui* *xokto-ni* *ge:-zi* *ise-pte-ini.*
animal trace-SG bad-INST see-DEC-3SG
'The animals' traces are badly seen.'

d. *Roza* *xu:-ŋi-ni* *b'a-kta-ini* *ketu* *aja.*
rose smell-AL-3SG smell-DEC-3SG very good
'The rose smells very good.'

(1180) a. *J'eu-de* *ise-pte.*

what-IND see-DEC
'Nothing is seen.'

b. *Aja* *düi-pte.*
good hear-DEC
'It is well heard.'

(1181) *Neŋu-i* *sula-ni čomö-ni* *ise-pte-i*
younger.sibling-2SG ski-3SG tip-3SG see-DEC-PRP
bubu.
EV
'The tips of your younger brother's skis are seen.' (K 128)

16.1.5. Reciprocal

Reciprocal derivation is marked by the suffix *-masi-* attached to the verb (8.2.1.1). The Reciprocal verb in Udihe always takes Plural agreement inflections, although the subject need not have a Plural form.

In the Reciprocal construction an action is performed by two or more participants upon one another. The situation must have at least two animate participants and be symmetrical in the sense that they are both involved in it in the same way. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can reciprocalize provided they are not subject to any semantic constraints. Both the second argument (the direct object) and the third argument (the indirect or oblique object) can be involved in the reciprocal relation. Reciprocal constructions fall into three types: (i) reciprocalization of the direct object of two-argument transitive verbs; (ii) reciprocalization of the indirect object of two-argument intransitive verbs; and (iii) reciprocalization of the indirect object of three argument transitive verbs. Reciprocalization of the first and the second argument (the direct object) leads to detransitivization of the base verb. Morphological Reciprocals are not used for reciprocalization of a possessor or adjuncts; reciprocalization of these elements does not involve a change in the verbal form (see 22.4).

The only possible syntactic antecedent to all types of reciprocalization is the subject. Reciprocal structures without an overt antecedent occur only if the subject is dropped under coreference. Across-clause reciprocalization is impossible.

16.1.5.1. Reciprocalization of the indirect object

16.1.5.1.1. Intransitive verbs

As mentioned in 8.2.1.1, some intransitive verbs can undergo morphological reciprocalization with the suffix *-masi-*. Examples (1182) present two-argument intransitive verbs: the verbs *xuli-* 'go, visit' and *bagdi-* 'live', which take the Locative argument; and the verb zima- which takes example the Instrumental.

(1182) a. *Nua-ti* *tutulu* *xuli-masi:-ti.*
he-3PL always walk-REC-3PL
'They always visit each other (go to each other).'

b. *Nua-ti* *utebe* *bagdi-masi:-ti.*
he-3PL so live-REC-3PL
'So they live at each other's place (alternately).'

c. *Nua-ti* *men-e* *do-lo* *zima-si-masi:-ti.*

he-3PL REF-0 inside-LOC visit-IM-REC-3PL
'They visit each other.'

16.1.5.1.2. Transitive verbs

In (1183) we present examples of reciprocalization of the third argument of three-place transitive verbs. The reciprocalized argument is the Locative (1183a), the Lative (1183b) and (1183c), and the Ablative (1183d).

(1183) a. *Nua-ti men-e do-lo tutulu gele-masi:-ti*
he-3PL REF-0 inside-LOC always ask-REC-3PL
kusige-we.
knife-ACC
'They always ask each other for a knife.'

b. *Nua-ti men-e do-lo zeu-we*
he-3PL REF-0 inside-LOC food-ACC
nexu-masi:-ti.
bring-REC-3PL
'They bring each other food.'

c. *Kaja-sa-masi-e-ti.*
send-EXP-REC-PAST-3PL
'They were sending (her) to one another.' (K174)

d. *Lepeška-we titi-masi:-ti.*
flat.cake-ACC take.away-REC-3PL
'They take the flat cake away from each other.'

16.1.5.2. Encoding of the counteragent participant

In the Reciprocal construction the secondary argument (the counteragent of mutual action) can be expressed in several formal ways, the choice generally depending on the degree of activity of the two participants in the situation described. The encoding of the counteragent participant is formally similar to the encoding of the secondary argument of non-reciprocal symmetrical verbs (14.3.4.2, 16.2.3). They may both be encoded by the Instrumental noun phrase, the Plural subject, a coordinated structure, or the postpositional phrase with the postposition *mule* 'with'. The difference, however, is in the verbal form: morphological reciprocals are always in the Plural, while non-reciprocal symmetrical verbs take a Plural agreement affix only if the subject is formally Plural.

16.1.5.2.1. Instrumental noun phrase

The secondary participant may be encoded as an Instrumental noun phrase. This is generally possible when the reciprocal situation is initiated or controlled by the first participant (the Nominative subject in the singular) who is therefore regarded as more active than the second participant.

(1184) a. *Sama ogzo-zi b'a-si-masi-e-ti.*
shaman spirit-INST find-IM-REC-PAST-3PL
'Shamans used to meet spirits.'

b. *Gioŋka* *Pioŋka-zi* *zogzo-masi-e-ti.*
Gionka Pionka-INST quarrel-REC-PAST-3PL
'The Gionkas had a quarrel with the Pionkas.'
c. *Ag'a* *min-zi* *kusige* *dieleni*
brother me-INST knife because
ñagda-masi-e-mu.
curse-REC-PAST-1PL.EX
'My brother had a row with me because of the knife.'
d. *Pakula* *tukca-zi* *ña:-masi-e-ti.*
Pakula hare-INST curse-REC-PAST-3PL
'Pakula had a row with the hare.'

16.1.5.2.2. Plural

If the subject is in the plural, the situation is perceived with the equally active participation of both participants, cf.:

(1185) a. *Gida-zi* *gida-masi-e-ti.*
spear-INST spear-REC-PAST-3PL
'They were throwing spears at each other.' (K 177)
b. *B'ata-ziga* *saŋtu-masi-e-ti.*
boy-PL fist-REC-PAST-3PL
'The boys beat each other with fists.'
c. *Nua-ti* *ñuga-si-masi:-ti.*
he-3PL kiss-IM-REC-3PL
'They are kissing each other.'

The secondary participant can be specified by the postpositional phrase with the postposition *mule* 'with' (on this postposition see 10.2.2.2.4) if two participants are related by close family association.

(1186) *Nua-ti* *sita* *mule* *ña:-masi-e-ti.*
he-3PL son with curse-REC-PAST-3PL
'They had a row with his son.'

16.1.5.2.3. Several participants

The Reciprocal situation does not necessarily involve only two participants. without an additional indication the construction is in fact ambiguous and may refer to more than two participants, although two seems to be the default interpretation. When it is necessary to emphasize the number of participants, an overt numeral can be used. In (1187) the Reciprocal situation pertains to three participants, as is clear from the nearest left context. In (1188) the number of participants is overtly indicated by the Collective numerals *di:n-tuŋe* 'four' and *zuŋe* 'two, both'.

(1187) *Omo* *ni:* *zu:* *ni:-we* *b'a-si-e-ni.*
one man two man-ACC find-IM-PAST-3SG
Teluŋu *teluŋu-masi-e-ti.*
story story-REC-PAST-3PL
'One man met two men. They told stories to each other.' (K 175)

(1188) a. *Di:n-tuŋe* *sa-masi:-ti.*
four-COL know-REC-3PL
'The four people know each other.'

b. *Nua-ti* *zuŋe* *jexe-masi:-ti.*
he-3PL both sing-REC-3PL
'Two of them sing to each other.'

c. *Zuŋe* *zuza-masi-e-ti.*
both quarel-REC-PAST-3PL
'They two were quarrelling.'

d. *Zuŋe* *ima-si-masi-e-ti.*
both tell-IM-REC-PAST-3PL
'They tell tales to each other.'

16.1.5.3. Additional Reciprocal markers

The Reciprocal construction with the Plural subject may include the Accusative Reciprocal pronoun *mef(e)i(-mef(e)i)* (9.3). It is especially common in the reciprocalization of the Accusative argument of transitive verbs (1189), but is not limited to these cases. The formally Accusative Reciprocal pronoun may indicate that an argument other than the direct object is involved in the reciprocal relation, for example, the initial Instrumental object (1190a) or Locative object (1190b). However, it is by no means obligatory.

(1189) a. *Bu* *mefei-mefei* *bele-masi-u.*
we.EX REC-REC.ACC.PL help-REC-1PL.EX
'We help each other.'

b. *Bu* *mefei-mefei* *nodo-masi-e-mu.*
we REC-REC.ACC.PL lose-REC-PAST-1PL.EX
'We lost each other.'

(1190) a. *Nua-ti* *mefei-mefei* *ŋele-masi:-ti.*
he-3PL REC-REC.ACC.PL be.afraid-REC-3PL
'They are afraid of each other.'

b. *Nua-ti* *mefei-mefei* *xuli-masi:-ti.*
the-3PL REC-REC.ACC.PL go-REC-3PL
'They visit each other.'

Similarly, the reciprocal relationship may be additionally marked by the postpositional expression *men-e do-lo* literally 'within themselves', cf.:

(1191) *Men-e* *do-lo* *aju-masi:-ti.*
REF-0 inside-LOC love-REC-3PL
'They love each other.'

The expression *men-e do-lo* frequently occurs in the reciprocalization of the third argument of transitive verbs, see examples in 16.1.6.1.2.

16.2. Valence changes not driven by voice

This section focuses on sentence constructions that demonstrate an alternative distribution of the semantic roles over grammatical relations in comparison to the valence patterns described in Chapter 14. Since the verbal form remains unchanged, it is not treated as a voice-related alternation.

16.2.1. Double object construction

Udihe possesses a double object construction that acts as alternative means of encoding the direct object. From the material at our disposal it is difficult to estimate the regularity of this construction; neither can we tell how it is motivated from the point of view of semantics or information structure. On grammatical relations in double object constructions see 15.2.

16.2.1.1. «Possessive» double object construction (possessive raising)

This is another way of expressing the object relationship for a possessive noun phrase. A possessive noun phrase in the Accusative, for example *uti cobo-wo-ni* 'its claws' <that claw-ACC-3SG>, encodes the grammatical relation of the direct object within a single object construction. Alternatively, the same relationship can be expressed by a double object construction in which the possessor raises to the argument role. The Accusative marks two noun phrases that correspond to the possessive modifier and the head noun of the original possessive noun phrase; the possessive marking is preserved (*uta-wa* 'that' and *cobo-wo-ni* 'claws').

This type of double object construction will be referred to as «possessive». It seems to appear when the relationship between two objects can in principle be encoded by a possessive noun phrase. Normally the relationship between the modifier and the head noun is that of inalienable possession, involving body parts and the like (1192) or the relationship between a measurement and its object (1193). For example, in (1193a) the two objects can be interpreted as components of the possessive of the noun phrase *zugdi-ziga sagdi-le-we-ti* 'the size of the houses.'

(1192) a. *G'ai-wa* *wa:-k,* *cobo-wo-ni*
crow-ACC kill.PAST-EXPR claw-ACC-3SG
xuaj-e-k, *to:-wo* *ila:-k*
cut-PAST-EXPR fire-ACC kindle.PAST-EXPR
dag'a-si *cobo-wo-ni* *uta-wa.*
burn.PERF-PC.SS claw-ACC-3SG that-ACC
'They kill a crow, cut its claws, kindle the fire, and burn its claws.'

b. *Uta-wa-da* *dili-we-ni* *piokoli-e-ni.*
that-ACC-FOC head-ACC twist-PAST-3SG
'He twisted its head.' (SKX 108)

c. *Imexi* *ule-we* *xu-me-ni*
new meat-ACC smell-ACC-3SG
b'an-zi: *kogdo-li-eni.*
get.PP-INST.SS scream-INC-PAST-3SG
'He smelt the smell of the fresh meat and started screaming.'
(SKX 206)

d. *To:* *egelie* *xuli-mi* *seŋkie-we*
fire around walk-INF ledum-ACC
saŋña-wa-ni *ŋiei-si-mi.*

smoke-ACC-3SG smell-IM-INF
'He is walking around the fire smelling the smoke from the ledum.'
(SKX 214)

(1193) a. *Ei* *zugdi-ziga-we* *sagdi-le-we-ti*
this house-PL-ACC big-N-ACC-3PL
adi *metra-zi* *wo:-ti?*
how.many meter-INST make.PAST-3PL
'How many meters wide did they make these houses?'

b. *Ag'a-ni* *mamasa-ni* *omo* *miŋga*
elder.brother-3SG wife-3SG one thousand
da:-wa *xuku-we* *zaw'a-si*
fathom-ACC rope-ACC take-PC.SS
zugdi-we *moŋgolie-moŋgolie* *xeke:-ni.*
house-ACC around-around tie.PAST-3SG
'The elder brother's wife took a thousand fathom rope and tied it around the house.' (SKX 110)

16.2.1.2. «Non-possessive» double object construction

The non-possessive double object constructions appear when the noun phrase that corresponds to the second object plays a case role (normally, that of location) within the alternative single object construction. The following verbs allow a non-possessive double object construction:

(1194) *nede-* 'put something on something'
gene- 'bring something from something'
zawa- 'take something from something'
kuŋgede- 'pour something on something'
teti- 'put something on somebody'
xeke- 'tie something on something'
gazi- 'bring something from something'
(j)uŋkäla- 'carry something or somebody on a sledge'
oño- 'put ornaments on something'
teu-/tu:- 'fill something with something; keep something in something'

These verbs either take a third Locative argument or are compatible with the Locative adjunct. Alternatively, the initially Locative participant may be encoded as the second object, cf. (1195a) and (1195b).

(1195) a. *Bi* *takana-la* *moloko* *tu:wo:-mi.*
me glass-LOC milk fill.PAST-1SG
'I filled the glass with milk.'
b. *Bi* *mulexi:* *täs(i)* *uli-we* *tu:wo:-mi.*
me bucket.REF very water-ACC fill.PAST-1SG
'I filled my bucket with water.'

In this type of double object construction, neither of the two objects bears a possessive affix.

(1196) a. *Xaulie* *e-zi-u* *kuŋgede* *min-e-we*
please NEG-IMP-2PL pour me-0-ACC
uli-we.
water-ACC
'Please do not pour water on me.'

b. *Xek'e* *uti* *toŋofu-ziga* *aŋi-we* *xuku*
tie.PERF that loop-DIM IND-ACC rope
mei-we-ni.
strong-ACC-3SG
'He tied the small loops on a strong rope.'

c. *Omo-mo* *gene-jie* *uta-wa.*
one-ACC bring-IMP.2SG that-ACC
'Bring one of them.'

d. *Ei* *tege-we* *udie* *oño-wo-ni*
this gown-ACC Udihe ornament-ACC-3SG
oño-si-e-ti.
decorate-IM-PAST-3PL
'They decorated this gown with Udihe ornaments.'

e. *Uta-wa* *teu-me-ni* *teti-e-ti* *sita-fai.*
that-ACC all-ACC-3SG put-PAST-3PL child-REF.PL
'They put all this on their child.' (SKX 114)

In many cases the relation between two direct objects is that of content and container.

(1197) a. *Eme-mi* *mafasa* *alu-i-we-ni*
come-INF old.man serve-PRP-ACC-3SG
uniŋa-wa *zawa-mi* *diga-mi* *ča:la-in(i).*
spoon-ACC take-INF eat-INF want-3SG
'She came, took a spoonful of what the old man had served, ate it and agreed.'

b. *Ulikte-we* *uli-we-ni* *sigbi:-ni.*
shaman.lard-ACC water-ACC squeeze-3SG
'He squeezes water from the lard.'

c. *Tuxi-we* *b'ata* *Kičo-wa* *uŋkäla-mi.*
sledge-ACC boy Kicho-ACC carry-INF
'He was carrying the sledge with the boy Kicho.' (SKX 210)

d. *Zali-la* *bi:* *namuŋku-we* *imo:-wo*
shed-LOC be.PRP basket-ACC lard-ACC
gazi-gi-se:-ni.
bring-REP-EXP.PAST-3SG
'He brought a basket of lard from the shed.' (SKX 80)

e. *Sugzä:-wa* *omo* *ob'o-wo* *gazi-e-ni.*
fish-ACC one hook-ACC bring-PAST-3SG
'She brought one hook of fish.' (K 126)

f. *Bi:-si-ni* *zugu* *bua-digi*
be-PC.DS-3SG otter place-ABL
ilakta-ŋie-ni *omo* *uge-we* *sugzä-wa*

appear-REP.PAST-3SG one hook-ACC fish-ACC
gazi-na:-da.
bring-PC.SS-FOC
'After a while the otter appeared again from the outside having brought one hook of fish.' (SKX 74)

g. *Banza* *keŋku-we-ni* *moloko-wo*
bottle empty-ACC-3SG milk-ACC
teu-si-se-we *wende-le:-mi.*
fill-IM-PP.PAS-ACC throw.PAST-SING-1SG
'I threw away the empty milk bottle (literally: which they fill with milk).'

h. *Wakča-i* *ni:* *tuxi* *täsi* *ule-we*
hunt-PRP man sledge very meat-ACC
teu-ge-si *uŋkäla:-ni.*
fill-PERF-PC.SS carry.PAST-3SG
'The hunter filled the sledge full of meat and carried it.' (SKX 210)

16.2.2. Destinative construction

In the Destinative construction the patient/theme argument of the transitive verb is represented by the destinative object. The destinative object is encoded by the Destinative possessive noun phrase. This is a type of possessive noun phrase in which the possessive modifier expresses a potential recipient (benefactive) of the object, while the head noun (the object itself) is marked by the Destinative case and the possessive affix that refers to the modifier. The destinative construction is not indicated by a change of verbal valency; the question whether the Destinative object takes a recipient valency or not will be left open. On the syntactic properties of the destinative object see 15.2.2.

Only certain two-argument transitive verbs, namely verbs of appearance and creation, take the Destinative object. A list of these verbs is presented in 14.2.1.2. Similar behavior is observed with the three-argument verb *wo*:- 'make' which belongs to type 14.4.2. Other argument transitive verbs do not allow a Destinative object. Personal pronouns do not take the Destinative case (9.1.1) and cannot function as Destinative objects.

16.2.2.1. Animate benefactive

In most cases the recipient of the Destinative object is an animate entity. It is referred to by personal affixes on the Destinative object (1198) and can also be overtly present in the clause (1199). When the potential recipient is coreferential with the subject of the same clause, this is marked by reflexive possessive affixes on the Destinative object (1200).

(1198) *Bi* *nexu-ze-mi* *diga-laga-ti*
me bring-SUBJ-1SG eat-PURP-3PL
zeu-ŋi-ne-ti.
food-AL-DEST-3PL
'I will bring them food so they can eat.'

(1199) a. *Bi* *zugdi-ne-i* *wo:-iti.*
me house-DEST-1SG make-3PL
'They are building a house for me.'

b. *Kuliga* *zugdi-ne-ni* *wo-zo-fi* *zugdi*
snake house-DEST-3SG make-SUBJ-1PL.IN house
malu-le-ni.
corner-LOC-3SG
'Let us build a house for the snake in the corner of the house.'

c. *Su* *mafa-na-u* *b'a:-mi.*
you.PL husband-DEST-2PL find.PAST-1SG
'I found a husband for you.' (K 137).

d. *Aziga* *mafa-na-ni* *gen-e-mi.*
girl husband-DEST-3SG fetch-0-1SG
'I am going to fetch a husband for the girl.' (K 137)

e. *Bi* *nua-ti* *uŋta-na-ti* *wo:-mi.*
me he-3PL boot-DEST-3PL make.PAST-1SG
'I made them boots.'

f. *Bi* *uŋta-na-i* *wo-jo.*
me boot-DEST-1SG make-IMP.2SG
'Make boots for me.'

(1200) a. *Xa:-na-mi* *wo:-ni.*
fish.trap-DEST-REF make.PAST-3SG
'He made a fish trap for himself.' (K 148)

b. *Zeu-ŋi-na-fi* *zawa:-ti.*
food-AL-DEST-REF.PL take.PAST-3PL
'They took food for themselves.' (K159)

c. *Aziga* *zawa:-ni* *tege-ne-mi.*
girl take.PAST-3SG gown-DEST-REF
'The girl took the gown for herself.' (K 159)

16.2.2.2. Inanimate goal

In (1201) examples of the inanimate modifier of the destinative object (meaning a general destination) are presented.

(1201) a. *Nua-ni* *suese* *xei-ne-ni* *wo-ini.*
he-3SG axe handle-DEST-3SG make-3SG
'He is making a handle for the axe.'

b. *Ulikte* *dili-ne-ni* *kuliga* *dili-ni*
shaman.lard head-DEST-3SG snake head-3SG
duo-ni *wo-iti.*
shape-3SG make-3PL
'They make the head for the shaman lard in the shape of a snake's head.'

c. *Bu-je* *min-du* *sugu* *umu*
give-IMP.2SG me-DAT awl belt
saŋa-na-ni *wo-logo-mi* *nixe-mi.*
hole-DEST-3SG do-PURP-1SG do-1SG
'Give me an awl, I am going to make holes in the belt (literally: for the belt).'

d. *Bi* *od'o-i* *gäma-zi* *kusige*
me grandfather-1SG bone-INST knife

xei-ne-ni *wo:-ni.*
handle-DEST-3SG make.PAST-3SG
'My grandfather made a handle for a knife from the bone.'

e. *Jaŋpa* *umu-ne-ni* *ña:-zi*
shaman.belt belt-DEST-3SG skin-INST
kuliga-wa *o:-ti.*
snake-ACC make.PAST-3PL
'They used to make a shaman's belt of skin (in the shape) of a snake.' (SK 689)

16.2.3. Symmetrical verbs

Verbs referring to a symmetrical naturally reciprocal situation (14.3.4.2) allow an alternative expression of the secondary argument. This second argument (counteragent) is commonly expressed by the Instrumental noun. This typically signifies that the subject participant is more «active» in the described situation than the counteragent participant. The alternative encodings are presented below. Normally they indicate that both participants are equally involved in the reciprocal event.

16.2.3.1. Postpositions *mule* and *zuŋe* 'with'

The comitative argument can be expressed by a postpositional phrase with the postposition *mule* or *zuŋe* 'with'. The postpositional phrase is in this case an argument and cannot be omitted. In this it differs from the formally identical comitative phrase functioning as an adjunct (10.2.2.2.4). Both the subject and the verb may be in the Singular or Plural.

The postposition *mule* is only possible with two participants who form a natural pair of relatives or close friends (a further description of such a postpositional phrase can be found in 10.2.2.2.4 and 13.5.1). The postposition *zuŋe* 'with, both' does not necessarily involve a close (family) relationship between the two participants (as *mule* does), see (1202). The subject may be coreferentially omitted (1203e). This blocks the possibility to analyze the comitative postpositions as coordinative elements.

(1202) a. *Nua-ni* *mamasa* *mule* *dekte-gi-e-ni.*
he-3SG wife with separate-REP-PAST-3SG
'He and his wife separated again.'

b. *Nua-ti* *mamasa* *mule* *dekti-gi-e-ti.*
he-3PL wife with separate-REP-PAST-3PL
'He and his wife separated again.'

(1203) a. *Iwana* *Petra* *zuŋe* *mosoni:-ti.*
Ivan Peter both fight-3PL
'Ivan and Peter are fighting.'

b. *Soŋgo* *kuti* *zuŋe* *w'ali:-ti.*
bear tiger both fight-3PL
'A bear and a tiger are fighting.'

c. *Bi* *Iwana* *zuŋe* *xefisi-e-mu.*
me Iwan both discuss-PAST-1PL.EX
'We had a discussion with Ivan.'

d. *Wasia* *Wania* *zuŋe* *aziga* *diele-ni* *w'ali:-ti.*
Vasya Vanya both girl because-3SG fight-3PL

‘Vasya and Vanya are fighting because of the girl.’

e. *Gä:ŋa* *neŋi-ni* *w’ali:-ti* *mafasa* *zuŋe.*
every day-3SG fight-3PL old.man with
‘Every day she is fighting with her husband.’

16.2.3.2. Plural

The secondary argument can be suppressed and replaced by the Plural subject cf.:

(1204) a. *Zu: ni:* *zä:* *diele-ni* *w’ali:-ti.*
two man money because-3SG fight-3PL
‘Two men are fighting because of money.’

b. *Minti* *b’agdi-e-fi.*
we.IN meet-PAST-1PL.IN
‘We met each other.’

16.2.4. Locative object construction

A few transitive verbs that normally take the Accusative direct object (14.3.1) may follow another pattern. Their second argument (the patient) can be encoded by the Locative noun phrase. Such an argument is normally the head of a possessive construction and denotes a body part. Examples of such verbs are:

(1205) *zawa-* ‘take’ *juŋkäla-* ‘pull’
zawa-si- ‘take hold of’ *ikteme-* ‘bite’
pakta(n)- ‘hit’

If the second argument of these verbs is not a body part, the verbs are transitive; they take the Accusative argument and follow the valence pattern discussed in 14.3.1. On the other hand, examples such as those below cannot be characterized as possessor raising because the possessor keeps its syntactic function and does not get promoted to a verbal argument itself. The possessor noun phrase can in fact be absent from the sentence and be referred to only by the possessive affix, as shown in (1206a–1206e). In (1206f), however, it is overtly present in the Accusative form.

(1206) a. *In’ei* *bi* *ŋala-la-i* *ikteme-le:-ni.*
dog me hand-LOC-1SG bite-SING.PAST-3SG
‘The dog bit my hand.’

b. *Kanda* *mafa* *nua-ni* *ku’ai-la-ni*
Kanda old.man he-3SG ear-LOC-3SG
zawa:-ni.
take.PAST-3SG
‘The old man Kanda caught it (a hare) by its ear.’

c. *Ono* *dogbo-gi-e-ni* *täk-täk*
how night-REP-PAST-3SG fast-fast

zawa-si-je *tege-le-i.*
hold-IM-IMP.2SG gown-LOC-1SG
'When the night comes, take hold of my gown.'

d. *Bugdi-le-ni* *zawa-kca:-ni.*
leg-LOC-3SG take-INT.PAST-3SG
'He wanted to take her leg.'

e. *Mafa* *ŋala-la-ni* *ikteme:-ni.*
old.man hand-LOC-3SG bite.PAST-3SG
'The bear bit his hand.' (K 176)

f. *Aziga-wa* *ŋala-la-ni* *juŋkäla-gi:.*
girl-ACC hand-LOC-3SG pull-REP.PRP
'He is pulling the girl by the hand.'

g. *Uta-wa* *olou-zi* *paktaŋ-ki-ni*
that-ACC hook-INSTR hit-PAST-3SG
ku'ai-la-ni *p'ali-gda-da.*
ear-LOC-3SG black-FOC-FOC
'He hit its black ears with the hook.' (SKX 256)

16.2.5. Agentless construction

In the active agentless construction the verb in a certain temporal form (normally, the Present or the Past, and only rarely the Future) takes the 3rd person Plural agreement affixes. The subject argument is absent and cannot be retrieved from the context because the agent has a generic or an indefinite interpretation. The encoding of other arguments does not differ from their encoding in direct voice constructions.

The meaning of the active agentless construction is thus very close, and sometimes identical, to the meaning of the Agentless Passive described in 16.1.2. Given this, one might suspect that the Impersonal active construction has developed under the influence of Russian syntax, where exactly the same construction is found. However, in the modern Udihe active and passive agentless sentences differ in two points: first, the active agentless construction does not seem to involve any modal implications; second, it is more likely to be used in a situation when the agent is referential but indefinite (that is, unknown to the speaker).

16.2.5.1. Referential indefinite agent

The examples below show the agentless construction with the indefinite interpretation of the agent, in the Present (1207a), Past (1207b), and Future (1207c).

(1207) a. *Nua-ni* *ja:-wa-ni* *coptoli-e-ti.*
he-3SG eye-ACC-3SG knock.out-PAST-3PL
'They knocked out his eye.'

b. *Ei tege-we* *seule-zi* *wo:-ti.*
this gown-ACC silk-INST make.PAST-3PL
'This gown is made of silk.'

c. *O-du* *imexi* *škola-wa* *wo-zoŋo-ti.*
this-DAT new school-ACC make-FUT-3PL
'Here they will build a new school.'

16.2.5.2. Generic agent

Examples of the generic interpretation of the agentless active construction follow; (1208) exemplifies the Present tense and (1209) the Past tense.

(1208) a. *O-du* *damisi:-ti.*
this-DAT smoke-3PL
'One can smoke here.'

b. *'Ai-we* *moxo-zi* *umi:-ti.*
vodka-ACC cup-INST drink-3PL
'They drink vodka from the mug (this mug is for drinking vodka).'

c. *Ei* *teŋku-le* *te-iti.*
this chair-LOC sit-3PL
'They sit on this chair.'

d. *Nua-ma-ni* *Sweta-zi* *gegbesi:-ti.*
he-ACC-3SG Sveta-INST call-3PL
'They call her Sveta.'

e. *Xeleba-wa* *kusige-zi* *xua-iti.*
bread-ACC knife-INST cut-3PL
'They cut bread with a knife.'

(1209) a. *Anana* *egdi-me* *su:le:-ti.*
long.ago much-ACC be.ill.PAST-3PL
'Long ago people used to be ill a lot.'

b. *Anana* *xeleba-wa* *waca-ma* *diga:-ti.*
long.ago bread-ACC little-ACC eat.PAST-3PL
'Long ago people used to eat little bread.'

Chapter 17
Copular clauses

Copular clauses vary greatly in their meaning, but generally speaking they tend to denote some kind of state. In this chapter they are unified only on formal grounds: the predicate includes two components, the copula, and the predicative phrase as such. Such constructions will be called «copular constructions». The copular constructions described in this chapter differ from analytical verbal forms that may include the same copula (such as, for example, the Pluperfect). The latter are the regular grammaticalized means of forming analytical verbal inflectional categories and are described in Chapter 7, while the copular constructions are free syntactic combinations of the copula and a separate lexical item with a predicative value. Although the predicative element tends to immediately precede the copula it may be postposed, as below, or separated by other lexical material.

(1210) *Tehu-ni* *bih-ni* *eze-xi.*
all-3Sg be-3SG master-PROP
'Everybody has a master.' (SK 940)

In contrast, no other elements intervene between the two components of the analytical verbal category, and their order cannot be changed.

The copula in copular constructions behaves like regular verbs in the matrix or the subordinate clause with respect to word order and morphology. It takes the corresponding tense/aspect/mood or non-finite form and is marked for subject agreement. In section 17.1 we will describe the various types of copula.

Predicative elements of copular constructions usually belong to one of the following morphological classes: adjectives, nouns, some participles, or in rare cases, adverbs. In 17.2 different copular constructions are presented according to the valence patterns and further subtypes of the predicative element.

A number of copular constructions undergo formal restructuring due to processes of topicalization or focalization; these are addressed in 24.3.

17.1. Copula verbs

The copula *bi-* 'be' has a default interpretation; that is, it does not bring any additional meaning to the construction. The same copular is also used in all analytic verbal categories addressed in Chapter 7. It is present either in one of its personal forms (17.1.1), or in the impersonal Habitual form (17.1.2). The choice between the personal or the impersonal form of the copula 'be' is determined by the formal and semantic type of the construction itself. In most copular constructions the copula 'be' can be substituted for other copulas that add some further meaning. These formally behave as the copula 'be', and are dealt with in 17.1.3.

17.1.1. Personal copula *bi-*

17.1.1.1. Forms

With a few exceptions, the personal copula *bi-* has all the tense/aspect/mood categories described for regular verbs in Chapter 7, as well as all the non-finite forms typical of regular verbs. The derivational suffixes (like those addressed in section 8.11), except for the Causative, do not normally attach to the verb *bi-*. The stem formation of the verb *bi-* is irregular, and is discussed in section 7.1.4. The examples of inflectional forms of the verb *bi-* can be found in the corresponding section of Chapter 7. In (1211) we present examples for copular clauses in which the personal copula 'be' takes different morphological forms: the Purposive Converb in (1211a), the Conditional Converb in (1211b), and the Causative Subjunctive in (1211c).

(1211) a. *Bi* *begdi-le-i* *ŋua-na-ja* *ñamai*
me foot-LOC-1SG sleep-DEST-IMP.2SG warm
bi-lege-ni.
be-PURP-3SG
'Sleep on my feet so that it will be warm.' (K 159).

b. *Bogoi* *dawa* *bi-lisi-ni* *ma:la*
fat salmon be-CC-3SG whole.dried.fish
wo-iti.
make-3PL
'If the salmon is fat, they dry it.'

c. *Kesi* *bi-wen-ze-i.*
luck be-CAUS-SUBJ-2SG
'Make it be lucky.' (K 123)

On negation of the personal copula, see 23.2.1.5.3.

17.1.1.2. Surface absence of the copula

In the 3rd person Present the copula is normally omitted, however its presence does not lead to ungrammaticality.

(1212) *Kuŋka* *mo:-ni* *c'o* *sagdi* (*bi:-ni*).
cedar tree-3SG most big be-3SG
'The cedar is the biggest tree.'

Other than in the 3rd person in the Present tense the personal copula *bi-* can occasionally be absent, as in (1213), but this is a fairly rare option.

(1213) *Si* *kuliga,* *bi* *ni:.*
you snake me man
'You are a snake and I am a man.'

In some constructions the personal copula must be overtly present, even in the 3rd person Present tense (17.2.2.2 and 17.2.2.6).

17.1.1.3. Function

The personal copula *bi-* is regular in all constructions with the Nominative (17.2.2) and Dative (17.2.3) subject, as well as in some subjectless constructions (17.2.1). All of them denote identification and some sort of temporary state.

17.1.2. Impersonal Habitual copula *bie*

17.1.2.1. Forms

The Habitual copula has the form *bie* in the Present tense and *(bie) bi-s'e* in the Past (see 7.3.2.3). It is impersonal and does not take any agreement affixes. The Present active participle of the Habitual copula 'be' is also *bie*. In other tense/mood categories it does not have any special forms, that is, the difference between the Habitual and the non-Habitual copula is neutralized. The Habitual copula cannot be omitted from the sentence.

The Habitual copula is not negated with the regular negative verb like the personal verb 'be' (17.1.1), but with the impersonal negative copula *ančі.* The two semantic types (existential and non-existential/habitual) are negated in formally distinct ways, see 23.2.1.5. In non-negative sentences there is no formal difference between the existential and non-existential Habitual copula constructions.

17.1.2.2. Function

In general, there are two basic meanings associated with the Habitual copula. First, it is used in existential constructions (17.2.1.3). Second, it is used in constructions that normally express classification and describe a more or less permanent or inherent property (the Habitual meaning). The following copular constructions may express Habitual meaning by means of the Habitual copula: environmental construction (17.2.1.1), possessive construction (17.2.1.4), adverbial construction with postpositions (17.2.2.2.4), and construction with ideophones (17.2.2.6.2).

The difference between the personal and the Habitual copula can be illustrated by the following examples. Sentence (1214a) involves the Habitual copula *bie* and expresses the permanent characteristics of the subject, while (1214b) is produced in a situation when it characterizes the actual state at a definite moment of time (time of speech).

(1214)	a.	*Uti*	*a:nta*	*gar-gar*	*bie.*
		this	woman	vivid-vivid	be.PRES.HAB
		'This woman is vivid.'			
	b.	*Uti*	*a:nta*	*gar-gar*	*bi:-ni.*
		this	woman	vivid-vivid	be-3SG
		'This woman is vivid.'			

17.1.3. Other copulas

Other copulas can replace the Habitual or non-Habitual copula *bi-*. They have a specialized meaning, and are therefore never dropped from the surface. Morphologically they behave completely like regular verbs.

These copulas are based on the verbal stem *e-* (or *o-* in the Northern dialect) 'be'. The stems apparently derived from this base are *ede-/odo-, esi-/osi-, egi-/ogi-, esigi-/osigi-*. Basically, all of

them have the meaning ‘become’, and express the beginning of the state. In the present state of the language the derivational relationships between them are not entirely transparent and we prefer to treat them as separate verbs rather than distinct derivational forms of the same verb. According to Schneider (1936), the verb *o-do-/e-de-* belongs to morphonological class II (that is, *-de-/-do-* is a thematic element). As was mentioned in 8.1.1, in the modern language such verbs have moved into morphonological class I, and the thematic element has been reinterpreted as a part of the stem.

17.1.3.1. The copula *e-/o-* ‘be’

The stem *e-/o-* ‘be’ is mostly characteristic of the Northern dialect. In the Southern dialect it is practically obsolete now, its functions being taken over by the copula *bi-* ‘be’. In (1215) it is exemplified in the Subjunctive form.

(1215) *Bagdi:* *getu* *kese-lege-ti* *sulikta*
live.PRP PL suffer-PURP-3PL intestine
bede *o:-zo.*
like become-SUBJ
‘Be like an intestine, so that the living people suffer.’ (K 108)

17.1.3.2. The copula *ede-/odo-* ‘become, appear, turn out’

The copula *ede-/odo-* ‘become, appear, turn out’ describes the beginning of a state and is fairly frequent. It is available for practically all copular constructions.

(1216) a. *Nua-ni* *sagdi* *ede:-ni.*
he-3SG big become.PAST-3SG
‘He became big.’
b. *Čagza* *xegiezele* *odo-li:-si-ni*
white below become-INC-PC-3SG
xenze-je.
attack-IMP.2SG
‘If the white one ends up underneath (the other), attack.’ (K 130)
c. *Maŋga* *maŋga* *jegdige* *ede:-ni.*
strong strong hero become.PAST-3SG
‘He became a very strong hero.’ (K 175)
d. *Ni: čo:* *mahi* *odo-i* *ete-zeŋe-ni.*
who most strong become-PRP win-FUT-3SG
‘Who turns out to be the strongest will win.’ (SK 1072)

If the predicative element corresponds to a Nominative noun phrase this copular can express the appearance.

(1217) a. *Xulepte-we* *xuisi: -ni* *zäŋa* *ede-ini.*
ash-ACC boil-3SG soda appear-3SG
‘If one boils ash, soda appears.’
b. *Di:* *kusikta-la* *ila* *kusikta-wa* *nede-mi*
four nut-LOC three nut-ACC put-INF
nada *kusikta* *ede-ini.*

seven nut become-3SG
'If you add three nuts to four nuts, there are seven nuts.'

c. *Ketu* *uligdig'a* *tege* *ede:-ni.*
very beautiful gown become.PAST-3SG
'A very beautiful gown appeared.' (K 162)

d. *Omo* *zali* *ede:-ni* *ba:-la.*
one barn become.PAST-3SG place-LOC
'A barn appeared outside.'

17.1.3.3. The copula *esi-/osi-*'become'

The copula *esi-/osi-* with the meaning 'become' seems to be mostly characteristic of the Northern dialect.

(1218) a. *Ke:-i* *xoŋto* *osi:-ni.*
voice-2SG different become-3SG
'Your voice became different.' (K 129)

b. *Käu-käu* *su:le-i* *ni:* *osi:-ti* *gune.*
all-all be.ill-PRP man be-3PL EV
'Apparently all the people became ill.' (K 177)

17.1.3.4. The copulas *ogi-/egi-, osigi-/esigi-* 'remain; become'

The meaning 'remain' is rendered by attaching the repetitive suffix *-gi-* to the copula *esi-/osi-* 'become' or *e-/o-* 'be'. This suffix expresses the idea of a return to the previous or the resulting state (8.2.2.9). No examples of the suffix *-gi-*, which could augment the verb *ede-/odo-* 'become' (or to the copula *bi-* 'be') are found.

(1219) a. *Teu* *keŋkume* *o-gi-e-ni.*
all empty be-REP-PAST-3SG
'They all remained empty.' (K 154)

b. *Ila-ta* *o:-gi-e-ni.*
three-REST be-REP-PAST-3SG
'Only three (of them) remained.' (K 187)

(1220) a. *Di:* *osi-gi-e-ni-ke,* *enimec'e-le*
four remain-REP-PAST-3SG-FOC light-CONT
o-gi-e-ni.
be-REP-PAST-3SG
'When only four remained, it became easier (for him to carry them).' (K 187)

b. *Nua-ni* *mur-mur* *esi-gi-e-ni.*
he-3SG teethless-teethless become-PAST-3SG
'He was left without any teeth.'

c. *Eigaŋkini* *sagdinta* *wac'a* *esi-gi-e-ni.*
now old.man little become-REP-PAST-3SG

‘These days only a few old men remain.’

The construction may have an existential interpretation, cf. (1220c). Then it is negated with the impersonal negative word *anči*, which precedes the copula, cf.:

(1221) *Eitene dawa anči esi-gi-e-ni.*
now salmon no become-REP-PAST-3SG
‘There is no salmon left now.’

17.2. Copular constructions

A few predicative expressions are null-argument (17.2.1), however in most cases they take at least one argument. From the semantic point of view, this argument will be conventionally referred to as the experiencer. Syntactically, the experiencer participant may correspond to the Nominative subject (17.2.2), or, more seldom, to the Dative noun phrase characterized by certain subject properties (17.2.3). On the notion of subject see 15.1.1.

17.2.1. Subjectless constructions

Subjectless copular constructions are based on null-argument predicative words. They do not occur in the Imperative or other oblique moods. Typically the Habitual copula is used, the personal copula is less frequent. The latter takes the 3rd person Singular personal form

17.2.1.1. Environmental construction

This construction describes the calendar and meteorological phenomena, environmental conditions, or the setting of circumstances.

17.2.1.1.1. Predicative elements

The predicative element in this case belongs to one of the three following types. It can be an adjective (1222a), a noun (1222b), or a reduplicated ideophonic stem (1222c).

(1222) a.	*xekui*	‘hot’	*uligdig’a*	‘beautiful’
	aja	‘nice’	*iŋeni*	‘cold’
	ge:	‘bad’	*ñaŋmu*	‘clear’
	tokö	‘cloudy’	*xakti*	‘dark’
	ŋegze	‘light’		
b.	*dogbo*	‘night’	*bolo*	‘autumn’
	neki	‘spring’	*tamña*	‘fog’
	edi	‘wind’		
c.	*simu-simu*	‘quite’	*pou-pou*	‘dark, foggy’
	lou-lou	‘strong fog’	*liŋa-liŋa*	‘sticky’
	kulu-kulu	‘ready’	*täk-täk*	‘fast, hard’
	teu-teu	‘quite’	*kef-kef*	‘trees fallen from the wind’

17.2.1.1.2. The copula

In the subjectless copular constructions for the environmental states the Habitual copula *bie* is commonly used (17.1.2). The personal (non-Habitual) copula occurs in subjectless constructions (in the 3rd person singular), but this is not a very frequent option. An example is (1224) where it has the Past form. The copula might be absent altogether, and this might in fact be a result of the omission of the personal copula in the Present tense (1225). There does not seem to be an apparent semantic difference between the Habitual and non-Habitual copular constructions in this case. Examples (1226) illustrate the copula *ede-* 'become', while example (1227) presents the copula *osi-* in the same meaning.

(1223) a. *Zugdi* *do:-ni* *pou-pou* *bie.*
house inside-3SG dark-dark be.PRES.HAB
'It is dark in the house.'

b. *Libakta-la* *liŋa-liŋa* *bi-s'e.*
mud-LOC sticky-sticky be-PERF
'It was sticky in the mud.'

(1224) *Ñaŋmu* *bi-si-ni.*
clear be-PAST-3SG
'(The sky) was clear.'

(1225) a. *Sikie.*
evening
'It is evening.'

b. *Zua* *we:-du* *aja.*
summer mountain-DAT nice
'It is nice in summer in the mountains.'

(1226) a. *Iŋeni* *ede-ini.*
cold become-3SG
'It is becoming cold.'

b. *Uligdig'a* *ede:-ni* *bi-s'e.*
beautiful become.PP-3SG be-PERF
'It has become beautiful (the nature, the weather).'

c. *Xekui* *ede:-ni.*
warm become.PAST-3SG
'It has become warm.'

d. *Deŋe-we* *ila-gi-e* *ŋegze*
lamp-ACC light-REP-IMP.2SG light
ede-lege-ni.
become-PC-3SG
'Switch on the lamp in order for there to be light.'

(1227) *Teu-teu* *osi:-ni.*
quiet-quiet become-3SG
'It is becoming quiet.' (K 154)

17.2.1.1.3. Collocation with adverbials

The sentences in question often include spatial adverbials that denote the place characterized by the corresponding setting (1228). In the absence of such an adverbial the sentence is likely to refer to a general meteorological or natural condition. In this case, as in non-copular subjectless sentences (14.1.1), the spatial adverb *ba:-la* 'outside' (literally: 'in the place, in nature') is frequently found (1229).

(1228) a. *Tiŋeni* *xekui* *bi-s'e.*
yesterday warm be-PERF
'It was warm yesterday.'

b. *Pečka* *kä:-la-ni* *pam* *ede:-ni*
oven side-LOC-3SG black become.PAST-3SG
'It became black by the oven (from ash).'

(1229) *Ba:-la* *xakti* *ede:-ni*
place-LOC dark become.PAST-3SG
'It has become dark outside.'

17.2.1.2. Subjectless destinative construction

Subjectless destinative constructions express the meaning 'it is meant to'. No element in the sentence exhibits the properties typical of the subject (15.1.1). In this way subjectless destinative constructions differ from another destinative participial construction in which a Nominative noun phrase bears the grammatical relation of the subject. For further information on the latter, see 17.2.2.4.

The predicative element in such constructions is a Destinative Participle (7.5.3). The construction occurs only in the Present tense. The copula 'be' is not overtly present, which may suggest that we are here dealing with an underlying personal copula.

17.2.1.2.1. Collocation with other elements

The sentences in question obligatorily include an oblique element that restricts the scope of the predication. It is expressed by a noun phrase the case marking of which depends on the case marking in the corresponding non-copular sentence. The participial destinative constructions inherit case marking from the corresponding non-copular construction, cf. examples (a) and (b) below.

(1230) a. *Ei* *toŋi-le* *egbesi:-ti.*
this lake-LOC swim-3PL
'They swim in this lake.'

b. *Ei* *toŋi-le* *egbesi-kči.*
this lake-LOC swim-DP
'It is meant to swim in this lake.'

(1231) a. *Ei* *maŋguana-zi* *tuduze-we* *olokto-iti.*
this pan-INST potato-ACC cook-3PL
'They cook potatoes with this pan.'

b. *Ei* *maŋguana-zi* *tuduze-we* *olokto-si-kči.*

this pan-INST potato-ACC cook-IM-DP
'It is meant to cook potatoes with this pan.'

The Locative and the Instrumental noun phrases within the destinative construction are illustrated again in (1232a) and (1232b), respectively.

(1232) a. *Ei teŋku-le te:-kči.*
this chair-LOC sit-DP
'It is meant to sit in this chair.'

b. *Moxo-zi 'ai-wa umi-kči.*
mug-INST vodka-ACC drink-DP
'It is meant to drink vodka from this mug.'

17.2.1.2.2. Grammatical relations

The question which arises at this point is which grammatical relation is borne by an element like *toŋi-le* 'in the lake' in (1230b). In (1230a) the noun phrase *ei toŋi-le* is apparently not an argument and can easily be dropped from the sentence without affecting its well-formedness. In the copular destinative construction, however, the same noun phrase is required for the well-formedness of the sentence, as distinct from (1230a). A sentence which consists only of the Destinative Participle, such as, for example (1233), would be ungrammatical.

(1233) **egbesi-kči.*
swim-DP

According to this criterion, the noun phrase *toŋi-le* should be identified as an argument rather than as an adjunct. It is also possible that it is a part of the predicative expression. However, its exact status as an argument is controversial, and we will leave this question open.

17.2.1.3. Existential construction

The construction predicates the existence of a certain entity in general, in a particular location, or in somebody's temporary possession. This entity corresponds to the predicative element. It immediately precedes the copula, however, it may also be postposed, as in (1234). The postposition of the predicative element seems to be a recent development and can perhaps be explained by the influence of Russian word order.

(1234) *Bu zugdi-du: bie keige.*
we house-DAT.1PL.EX be.PRES.HAB cat
'There is a cat in our house.'

The noun-predicative element does not have subject properties as identified in 15.1.1.

The existential meaning is licensed by the Habitual copula *bie*. Non-existence is asserted by the negative copula *anči*, see 23.2.1.5.1.

17.2.1.3.1. Existential meaning

In (1235) we present examples of sentences that express generic existence, and in (1236) and existence in a specific location that includes the spatial adverbials.

(1235) a. *Xakta-da* *bie* *mala-da*
grass-FOC be.PRES.HAB dry.fish-FOC
bie *s'ou-de* *bie.*
be.PRES.HAB scoop-FOC be.PRES.HAB
'There is grass, dry fish, and a scoop.'

b. *Timana* *xeleba* *bi-zeŋe-ni.*
tomorrow bread be-FUT-3SG
'There will be bread tomorrow.'

c. *In'ei* *solügi* *bie.*
dog orange be.PRES.HAB
'There are orange dogs.'

(1236) a. *O-du* *bi* *zugdi:* *bi-s'e.*
this-DAT me house.PRES be-PERF
'Here was my house.'

b. *Kuŋka* *mo:-lo-ni* *seutige* *bie.*
cedar tree-LOC-3SG nut be.PRES.HAB
'There are nuts on the cedar tree.'

c. *Uli-du* *zuge* *xai* *bie.*
river-DAT ice still be.PRES.HAB
'There is still some ice on the river.'

d. *Uli-du* *egdi* *sugzä:* *bie.*
river-DAT many fish be.PRES.HAB
'There are a lot of fish in the river.'

17.2.1.3.2. Possessive meaning

When the Locative or a Dative noun phrase (interchangeably) denotes a person, the construction may have an additional meaning of temporary possession (permanent possession is expressed by the possessive construction, see 17.2.1.4 and especially 17.2.1.4.2).

(1237) a. *Koko-lo* *oloxi* *igi-ni* *bie.*
Koko-LOC squirrel tail-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'Koko has a squirrel's tail.'

b. *Pakula-la* *tuxi* *bie* *bi-s'e.*
Pakula-LOC sledge be.PRES.HAB be-PERF
'Pakula had (with him) a sledge.'

c. *Bi* *mamasa-du-i* *sagdi* *joxo*
me wife-DAT-1SG large pot
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'My wife has a large pot (at her place).'

d. *Petia-le* *kusige* *bie.*

Pete-LOC knife be.PRES.HAB
'Pete has a knife.'

e. *Min-du* *nakta* *dili-ŋi:* *bie.*
me-DAT boar head-AL.1SG be.PRES.HAB
'I have the head of a boar.'

A small number of examples, however, can be interpreted as expressing permanent possession, as can the one that follows.

(1238) *Sin-dule* *seuse* *bie?* *Seuse* *min-dule*
be-LOC axe be.PRES.HAB axe me-LOC
bie *zugdi-le* *amä:sa:-ni.*
be.PRES.HAB house-LOC leave.PAST-1SG
'Do you have an axe? I do have an axe, (but) I left it at home.'

17.2.1.3.3. Existential vs. locational construction

Existential sentences, as described in this section, do not have a subject and are not partitioned from the point of view of information structure: they do not have a topic. The predicative element must be located in strict adjacency to the copula verb. They both belong to the assertive part of the proposition and seem to form a single syntactic constituent (this is shown by bracketing in (1239a)). Such sentences are semantically and pragmatically opposed to the locational adverbial constructions with a personal copula (type 17.2.2.2) in which the subject (=topic) does not have to be adjacent to the predicate and tends to be located clause-initially (1239b).

(1239) a. *Ba:-la* *in'ei* *bie.*
nature-LOC [dog be.PRES.HAB]
'There is a dog outside.'

b. *In'ei* *ba:-la* *bi:-ni.*
dog place-LOC be-3SG
'The dog is outside.'

17.2.1.4. Possessive construction

The possessive relationship is expressed by the copular 'be' construction which corresponds to the two-argument «have» constructions in most European languages. Normally, such a construction expresses permanent possession, both inalienable and alienable, while temporary possession is commonly rendered by existential sentences (17.2.1.3) or the Proprietive forms in *-xi* (17.2.2.1.1).

17.2.1.4.1. The structure of the construction

Since the construction in question typically predicates a permanent property, it involves the Habitual copula *bie*. The negation of the possession happens by means of the negative copula *ančі,* it is addressed in more detail in 23.2.3.5.1. The predicative role belongs to the regular possessive noun phrase in which the possessed noun takes the possessive suffix referring to the possessor (13.1). The obligatory presence of the possessive marker makes the possessive construction formally different from the existential construction with possessive meaning

(17.2.1.3.2.). Apart from the regular possessive suffix, the possessed noun in the possessive noun phrase can be marked by the alienable possession affix *-ŋi-*. The presence of this suffix on the possessed noun follows the general rules described in 4.2.3.

(1240) *Bi* *aziga-ŋi:* *bie.*
me girl-AL.1SG be.PRES.HAB
'I have a daughter.'

(1241) a. *Käŋa* *ja:-ni* *bie.*
deer horn-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'The deer has horns.'
b. *Si* *kusige-i* *bie.*
you knife-2SG be.PRES.HAB
'You have a knife.'
c. *Bi* *ag'a-i* *bie.*
me brother-1SG be.PRES.HAB
'I have a brother.'
d. *Nua-ni* *sagdi* *'ana-ni* *bie.*
he-3SG large boat-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'He has a large boat.'
e. *Bi* *zube* *bugdi:* *zube* *ŋala-i*
me two leg.1SG two arm-1SG
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'I have two legs and two arms.'

The personal copula *bi-* occurs very seldom in this construction but is not completely excluded, perhaps as a result of an analogy with other types, cf.:

(1242) *Uti* *Kanda* *mafa* *ila* *aziga-ŋi-ni* *bi:-ni.*
that Kanda old.man three girl-AL-3SG be-SG
'That old man Kanda has three daughters.'

17.2.1.4.2. Possessive vs. existential construction

Although existential (17.2.1.3) and possessive constructions both express some kind of possession, their meaning differs. Inalienable possession (1243a), as well as more or less permanent ownership (1243b), can be rendered only through the possessive construction. Words that regularly require a suffix of alienable possession (4.2.4.2) are also introduced through the possessive construction (1243c).

(1243) a. *Bi (*min-du)* *ic'a* *neŋu-i*
me (me-DAT) small younger.sibling-1SG
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'I have a small younger brother/sister.'
b. *Bi* *au-i* *bie,*
me cap-1SG be.PRES.HAB
au-la-gi-zeŋe-i *oŋmo:-mi.*
cap-V-REP-FP-REF forget.PAST-1SG
'I have a cap, (but) I forgot to put it on.'

c. *Uti getu ja:-ŋi-ti bie.*
that PL cow-AL-3PL be.PRES.HAB
'They have a cow.'

On the other hand, the existential construction rather predicates existence in the particular location. This is clearly underlined by examples like (1244a), where the existence of an object (a gun) in the temporary possession of a person other than its regular owner is asserted.

(1244) a. *Min-dule xoŋto ni: mäunda-ni bie.*
me-LOC other man gun-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'I have (somebody else's) gun.'
b. *Sin-du bie si 'aga-i*
you-DAT be.PRES.HAB you brother-2SG
zä:-ni?
money-2SG
'Do you have (with you) your brother's money?'
c. *Min-du käŋa jä:-ni bie.*
me-DAT deer antlers-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'I have deer's antlers.'

17.2.2. Nominative subject pattern

A majority of copular constructions take the subject that corresponds to the Nominative noun phrase. They are classified below according to the types of the predicative elements.

17.2.2.1. Attributive construction

The construction in question predicates different kinds of (temporary) properties, such as (parametric) features, states, qualities, and quantities. The predicative element corresponds to an adjectival phrase, a Nominative noun phrase, or a phrase headed by a quantifier in the Nominative form. Personal pronouns in the predicative role are ruled out. The construction involves the personal copula 'be' (or the copula 'become'), omitted under certain conditions (17.1.1.2), and allows the Imperative, cf.:

(*1245) Si ceme-ktu e-zi bi.*
you lye-N NEG-IMP.2SG be
'Don't be a liar.'

17.2.2.1.1. Adjectives in predicative function

In (1246) we illustrate the adjectival copular construction with the overt copula 'be'; in (1247) the 3rd person Present tense copula is omitted; in (1248) the copula 'become' is illustrated. In the finite position the adjective is often followed by the focus clitic particle *-dA* (12.1.1.3), cf. (1249).

(1246) a. *Bi zoŋku bi-mi.*
me poor be-1SG
'I am poor.'
b. *Si zugdi: sagdi bi-s'e.*

you house.2SG large be-PERF
'Your house was large.'

c. *Nina* *alagdig'a* *bi-s'e*
Nina beautiful be-PERF
'Nina was beautiful.'

d. *Bi* *udie* *bi-mi.*
me Udihe be-1SG
'I am Udihe.'

(1247) a. *Ussuri* *ketu* *suŋta.*
Ussuri very deep
'The Ussuri is very deep.'

b. *Xuda-si:* *ni:* *ja:-ni* *kaŋgas'a.*
fur-V.PRP man eye-3SG narrow
'The merchant's eyes are narrow.'

(1248) *Si* *sagdi* *ede-zeŋe-i.*
you big become-FUT-2SG
'You will become big.'

(1249) a. *Aziga* *ñukte-ni* *wanimi-de.*
girl hair-3SG long-FOC
'The girl's hair is long.'

b. *Bu* *zugdi-u* *sagdi-de.*
we house-1PL.EX large-FOC
'Our house is large.'

The adjectives *aja* 'good' and *ge:* 'bad' used in the copular construction can refer merely to somebody's health, rather than any other quality of the individual. The construction answers the question *ono bie?* 'how is X?', cf.:

(1250) a. *Ono* *bie* *Anna?* *Aja* *bi:-ni.*
how be.PRES.HAB Anna good be-3SG
'How is Anna? She feels well.'

b. *Sita-na-i* *teu* *aja* *bi:-ti.*
child-PL-1SG all good be-3PL
'All of my children are healthy.'

17.2.2.1.2. Quantifiers in predicative function

The predicative element can correspond to a numeral (1251) or a scalar quantifier (1252), cf.:

(1251) a. *Zueze* *zube* *bi-zeŋe-ni.*
table two be-FUT-3SG
'There will be two tables.'

b. *Niŋka* *maŋga-ŋi-ni* *zu:* *bi-si-ni.*

Chinese leader-AL-3SG two be-PAST-3SG
'The Chinese had two leaders.' (SKX 322)

(1252) a. *Anana dawa egdi bi-s'e.*
long.ago salmon much be-PERF
'There were a lot of salmon before.'

b. *Ima: egdi bi-s'e.*
snow much be-PERF
'There was a lot of snow.'

c. *O-du b'oto egdi.*
this-DAT mushroom many
'There are many mushrooms here.'

d. *Biki-le sugdä: egdi.*
Bikin-LOC fish much
'There are a lot of fish in the Bikin.'

17.2.2.1.3. Nouns in predicative function

Examples of the predicative nouns are:

(1253) a. *Bi aja wakca-i ni: bi-mi.*
me good hunt-PRP man be-1SG
'I am a good hunter.'

b. *Nua-ni elu ni:.*
he-3SG honest man
'He is an honest person.'

c. *Koko bi aja anda-i.*
Koko me good friend-1SG
'Koko is my good friend.'

In the construction in question the subject and the predicative noun may stand in a semantic relation of inalienable possession. Still this relationship is encoded as a predicative relationship. This construction has several subtypes. It may denote material of which something is made (1254), body parts or some other part-whole relationship (1255).

(1254) a. *Ei tege niŋka seule-ni.*
this gown Chinese silk-3SG
'This gown is made of Chinese silk.'

b. *Wa-la ni:-ni xulah-ni mafa n'ata-ni bi-si-ni.*
kill-N man-3SG blanket-3SG bear skin-3SG be-PAST-3SG
'The blanket of a successful hunter used to be made of bear skin.'
(SK 1008)

(1255) a. *ŋala-ni tu: sakä bi-si-ni.*
hand-3SG all blood be-PAST-3SG

‘His hands were all (covered with) blood.’ (SK 659)

b. *Nua-ni* *omo* *ŋala* *bi-si-ni.*
he-3SG one arm be-PAST-3SG
‘He was one-armed.’ (SK 659)

Further, the construction may express measurements. The nouns of measure that are used predicatively are: *ceŋele* ‘weight’, *eŋmele* ‘width’, *wanile* ‘length’, and *gugdala* ‘height’. They exhibit one peculiarity: they take the possessive affix that refers to the subject (this does not depend on the presence vs. absence of the overt copula). The actual measure is expressed by the Accusative noun phrase, which precedes the predicate. The sentence is in the 3rd person and does not normally include the overt copula, cf.:

(1256) a. *Bi* *pute-i* *ila* *kile-we* *ceŋele-ni.*
me bag-1SG three kilogram-ACC weight-3SG
‘My bag weighs three kilograms.’

b. *Ei* *xokto* *zube* *kilometra-we* *wanile-ni.*
this road two kilometer-ACC length-3SG
‘This road is two kilometers long.’

c. *Seuni:* *egdi* *tamah-ni* *ahnta* *tege-ni.*
scary much price-3SG woman gown-3SG
‘Women’s gowns are terribly expensive.’ (SK 1097)

Finally, in the construction expressing age, the copula must be overtly present even in the Present tense 3rd person Singular. The predicative element is the Nominative noun phrase headed by the word *se:* ‘year’ modified by a numeral, cf.:

(1257) a. *Si* *adi* *se:* *bi:?* *Bi* *nada*
you how.many year be.2SG me seven
se: *bi-mi.*
year be-1SG
‘How old are you? I am seven years old.’

b. *Nua-ti* *ilaza* *se:* *bi:-ti.*
he-3PL thirty year be-3PL
‘They are thirty years old.’

c. *Bi* *sita-na-i* *tuŋa* *se:* *ede-kte:-ti.*
me child-PL-1SG five year become-DIST.PAST-3PL
‘My children have each become five years old.’

Another frequent type of predicative nouns is those in *-mule*, normally denoting living persons that bear a symmetrical relationship to each other (5.1.3.13). In such constructions the copula is never omitted, and shows Plural agreement. The subject may have the Plural form (1258), be expressed by a coordinated structure (1259) or have the Dual form of the pronoun ‘me’ *min-zuŋe* ‘I with you’ (9.1.1), as in (1260). On the subject modified by the Instrumental noun phrase see 13.5.1.

(1258) a. *Nua-ti* *anda-mule* *ede:-ti*
he-3SG friend-N become.PAST-3PL
ic’a-digi-de.
small-ABL-FOC

'They have been friends since childhood.'

b. *Bu* *xa:-mule* *bi-u.*
we sibling-N be-1PL.EX
'We are brothers.'

c. *Nua-ti* *seŋgite-mule* *ede:-ti.*
he-3PL r elative-N become.PAST-3PL
'They became relatives.'

d. *Bue-ti* *men-e* *do-lo* *xa:-mule* he-3PL REF-0 inside-LOC sibling-N *bi:-ti.*
be-3PL
'They are siblings to each other.'

e. *Anda-mule* *o:-zo-fi.*
friend-N become-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'Let us be friends.'

(1259) *Waŋba* *oloxi* *anda-mule* *bi-si-ti* .
tortoise squirrel friend-N be-PAST-3PL
'Tortoise and Squirrel were friends.' (K137)

(1260) *Min-zuŋe* *zalä-mule* *bi-fi.*
me-both cousin-N be-1PL.IN
'We (you and I) are cousins.'

17.2.2.1.4. Proprietives in predicative function

With the Proprietive forms in *-xi* (4.3.1) the construction has a possessive interpretation. Its meaning is then comparable to the meaning of the regular possessive construction (17.2.1.4). However, there is a certain difference: possessive sentences (17.2.1.4) assert the existence of an object in somebody's possession, while the possessive constructions with the Proprietive forms assert possession as a characteristic of the subject participant. In fact, the meaning of the form in *-xi* can be either possessive (1261) or non-possessive (1262). In the latter case it simply describes a certain quality of the subject.

(1261) a. *Bi* *ma:ma-i* *weige-xi.*
me grandmother-1SG earring-PROP
'My grandmother has earrings.'

b. *Ei* *uligdig'a* *aziga* *ja:pti-xi.*
this beautiful girl braid-PROP
'This beautiful girl has braids.'

c. *Si* *oto-ŋi-xi* *bi:?*
you plate-AL-PROP be.2SG
'Do you have a plate?'

(1262) a. *'Ana* *saŋa-xi* *ede:-ni.*
boat hole-ADJ become.PAST-3SG
'The boat became full of holes.'

b. *Nua-ni* *unugu-xi.*
he-3SG illness-ADJ
'He is ill.'

Proprietive forms are negated in an irregular fashion by means of the Partitive negative construction as in (1263). For further information see 23.2.1.5.4.

(1263) *Nua-ni* *unugu-le* *anči.*
he-3SG illness-PART no
'He is not ill.'

It should be noticed that Proprietive constructions and their negative counterparts may sometimes be subjectless and have an impersonal interpretation, cf.:

(1264) a. *J'e-le-dem* *ni:-xi.*
what-LOC-IND man-ADJ
'There are people everywhere.'(K166)

b. *Buga-la* *anči* *bi-si-ni.*
island-PART no be-PAST-3SG
'There were no islands.' (SKX 320)

c. *Bagä:-za-la* *xaisi* *mo:-xi* *bihi-ni.*
other-N-LOC also tree-PROP be-3SG
'There are trees on the other side (of the river) as well.'
(Schneider 1937: 72)

17.2.2.1.5. Plural agreement

Although expression of plurality is optional, the Plural of the subject can be encoded on the predicative adjective by means of the adjectival Plural marker *-ŋku* (on this marker see 6.1.2.1.1). The subject itself may remain in the Singular; the copula is either omitted from the clause (1265), or takes Plural agreement (1266). When the subject corresponds to a personal pronoun of any person the Plural marker *-ŋku* on the predicative adjective is normally absent, cf. (1267).

(1265) a. *Ei moxo* *imexi-ŋku.*
this cup new-PL
'These cups are new.'

b. *Nua-ni* *aziga-ni* *ic'a-ŋku.*
he-3SG daughter-3SG small-PL
'His daughters are small.'

c. *Soŋgo* *seuni-ŋku.*
bear frightful-PL
'Bears are frightful.'

(1266) *Ei* *ñ'aula* *maŋga-ŋku* *bi:-ti.*
this boy strong-PL be-3PL
'These boys are strong'

(1267) *Nua-ti* *ic'a-i* *bi-si-ti.*
he-3SG small-FOC be-PAT-3PL
They are small.'

When the subject is morphologically marked for plurality with the Plural affix *-ziga*, number agreement between it and the predicative adjective is strictly obligatory, cf. (1268a) and (1268b):

(1268) a. *Aziga-ziga* *alagdig'a-ŋku* *bi:-ti.*
girl-PL beautiful-PL be-3PL
'The girls are beautiful.'
b. **Aziga-ziga* *alagdig'a* *bi:-ti.*
girl-PL beautiful be-3PL
'The girls are beautiful.'

Quantifiers in the predicative position do not require either a plural subject or plural agreement on the copula, as illustrated above in 17.2.2.1.2. However, the 3rd person Plural is not totally excluded, cf.:

(1269) *Anana* *bi* *za-i* *egdi* *bi-s'e,* *eitene*
long.ago me friend-1SG many be-PERF now
wac'a *bi:-ti.*
few be-3PL
'Previously I had many friends, these days I have few of them.'

The predicative noun never takes plural agreement, so the subject agrees in number only with the copula and not with the predicative element, cf. (1270a) and (1270b). More examples are presented in (1271).

(1270) a. *Nua-ni* *aja* *ni:* *bi:-ni.*
he-3SG nice man be.RES-3SG
'He is a nice person.'
b. *Nua-ti* *aja* *ni:* *bi:-ti.*
he-3PL nice man be-3PL
'They are nice people.'

(1271) a. *Ba: ni:-ni* *bi-fi* *minti.*
sky man-3SG be-1PL.IN we
'We are sky people.'
b. *Su mamaka* *mamasa* *esi-gi-u.*
you old.man old.woman become-REP-2PL
'You are becoming old (literally: old man and old woman).'

If the predicative element denotes a body part, typically combined with a numeral *omo* 'one', the construction rather has a possessive meaning.

(1272) a. *Nua-ni* *omo* *ŋala* *bi-si-ni.*
he-3SG one hand be-PAST-3SG
'He had one hand.' (SKX 316)
b. *Nua-ni* *omo* *gagda* *bugdi.*
he-3SG one another leg
'He is one-legged.'

17.2.2.2. Adverbial construction

The adverbial copular construction predicates various adverbial relations, such as the spatial, comparative, purposive, and others. The predicative element corresponds to the noun phrase in the oblique cases, the postpositional phrase, or the adverbial phrase. The personal copula used in this construction is normally present even in the 3rd person Singular in the Present tense. The Imperative and other oblique moods are ruled out.

17.2.2.2.1. Destinative nouns in predicative function

The Destinative noun within the copular construction predicates the destination of the subject for a particular potential recipient (benefactive) or for making something (goal). So there is an apparent semantic difference between such constructions and constructions with Destinative Participles (17.2.1.2 and 17.2.2.4), which indicate that an object is designed for a certain activity. Destinative copular constructions are found only in the 3rd person. The predicative element is a destinative possessive noun phrase that encodes the benefactive/goal. The noun in the Destinative case takes the possessive reflexive suffix *-mi* in the meaning of general destination when the potential goal is not expressed within the destinative noun phrase (1273a). When the benefactive is expressed as a possessive modifier, it is referred to by possessive affixes on the head, see (1273b) and (1273c).

(1273) a. *Ei ñaktu mo: saŋmiŋku-ne-mi.*
this rotten tree smoke-DEST-REF
'This rotten tree is for the smoke (against mosquitoes).'

b. *Minti omölo-no-fi bi-zeŋe-ni* we.IN
daughter.in.law-DEST-1PL.IN be-FUT-3SG
belie.
girl
'The girl will be our daughter-in-law.'

c. *Si-de elu ni:-ne-i osi:.*
you-FOC now man-V-2SG become.2SG
'You have now become grown up.' (K 164)

We have at least one example at our disposal in which grammatical relations are reverse: the destinative noun seems to correspond to the subject of a copular construction, while a Nominative noun has a predicative function. This follows from the word order and semantics of the sentence. Unfortunately, no other material is available.

(1274) *Juge xei-ne-ni jaŋza-ktu xei.*
scoop handle-DEST-3SG decorate-RES handle
'The scoop handle is decorated (with ornaments).' (SK 393)

17.2.2.2.2. Nouns in the oblique cases in predicative function

A noun in the local cases does not itself have a predicative function. What is predicated by such a construction is the local relation of the noun phrase to the subject. The noun within the predicative phrase takes the Dative/Locative or the Ablative. In the Dative/Locative it denotes temporary location (1275) and, if it is animate, it can also express a woman's marital relationship

(1276).

(1275) a. *Anna* *zugdi-du* *bi:-ni.*
Anna home-DAT be-3SG
'Anna is at home.'

b. *Bi* *abuga-i* *Bali-du* *bi:-ni.*
me father-1SG Khabarovsk-DAT be-3SG
'My father is in Khabarovsk.'

c. *Ei* *liste* *kiniga-du* *bi-si-ni.*
this sheet book-LAT be-PAST-3SG
'This sheet was in the book.'

d. *Kuliga* *tekpu-ni* *kä:-di-ni* *bi:-ni.*
snake skin-3SG side-DAT-3SG be-3SG
'The snake skin is nearby.'

(1276) *Stepana-du* *bi-mi.*
Stepan-DAT be-1SG
'I am married to Stepan.'

In the Ablative the predicative noun phrase denotes the place of origin of the subject participant, cf.:

(1277) a. *Ei* *ñ'aula* *Oloŋo-digi* (*bi:-ni*).
this child Olon-ABL (be-3SG)
'This boy is from Olon.'

b. *J'e-digi* *in'ei-ziga?*
what-ABL dog-PL
'Where are these dogs from?'

The Instrumental noun phrase in the predicative function either denotes material (1278) or has a comitative meaning (1278).

(1278) a. *Umu-ni* *ña:-zi.*
belt-3SG leather-INST
'His belt is made of leather.' (SKX 292)

b. *Gagda* *e:-tigi* *uti* *getu-de*
second side-LAT that PL-FOC
men-e-men-e *meime-zi* *bi:-ti.*
REF-0-REF-0 harpoon-INST be.PRES-3PL
'Each person on either side had his own harpoon.' (SKX 302)

17.2.2.2.3. Adverbs in predicative function

The adverbial expressions that participate in copular constructions indicate a certain property of the subject, cf.:

(1279) a. *Sul'ai* *xokto-ni* *uta-uxi* *bi:-ni.*
fox footstep-3SG that-LAT be-3SG
'The fox's footsteps go that way.' (K 159)

b. *Bu* *ege-u* *uta-la* *bi-si-ni.*
we soul-1PL.EX that-LOC be-PAST-3SG
'Our souls were there.' (K 186)
c. *Waŋba* *xegdini* *bi-si-ni.*
tortoise down be-PAST-3SG
'The tortoise was on the bottom.' (K 137)

17.2.2.2.4. Postpositional phrases in predicative function

The predicative element can correspond to the locational (1280), comparative (1281), or comitative (1282) postpositional phrase. For the list of corresponding postpositions see 10.2.

(1280) *Xeleba* *zueze* *we:-le-ni* *bi:-ni.*
bread table top-LOC-3SG be-3SG
'The bread is on the table.'

(1281) a. *Ei* *zugdi* *minti* *zugdi-fi* *bede.*
this house we house-1PL.IN ike
'This house is like ours.'
b. *Guzakta-ni* *ŋaŋta* *labuga-ni* *bede.*
beard-3SG branch moss-3SG like
'His beard is like the moss on the branches of the pine tree.'

c. *Xuda-si:* *ni:* *bogo* *boloi-fi* *jandasa*
fur-V.PRP man fat autumn-ADJ badger
bede. *Bou* *kuŋka* *texe* *bede* *bi:-ni*
like fat cedar trump like be-3SG
xuda-si: *ni:.*
fur-V.PRP man
'The merchant is fat like an autumn badger. The merchant is fat like a cedar trump.'
d. *We:* *kico-ni* *ogbö* *dili-ni*
mountain top-3SG elk head-3SG
xeŋki-ni *esi-e-ni.*
like-3SG become-PAST-3SG
'The top of the mountain became similar to the elk's head.'
e. *Si* *bi* *di:ŋki* *bi-s'e-i.*
you me like.1SG be-PERF-2SG
'You were of my size.'

(1282) a. *Bi* *xa:* *mule* *bi-mi.*
me brother with be-1SG
'I have a brother.' (literally: I am with my brother)
b. *Bi* *sita* *mule* *bi-mi.*
me son with be-1SG
'I live with my children.'
c. *Omo* *jegdige* *bagdi-e-ni* *eniŋe*

one hero live-PAST-3SG mother
mule *zuŋe-de.*
with both-FOC
'A hero lived together with his mother.' (K 179)

The postpositional phrase with the postposition *bede* 'like' sometimes does not involve a noun standard of comparison, but an adjective or a demonstrative pronoun. The construction expresses the comparison with a class of objects characterized by the corresponding adjective, without actually naming any of these objects. It is based on a general knowledge of the typical properties of such objects that is shared by all members of the linguistic community. The postposition *bede* is translated in this case as 'looks like'. Only a few adjectives and pronouns can participate in such constructions, and these are the following:

(1283) *imexi* 'new' *inigi* 'alive'
ñ'aula 'young' *ei* 'this

Since we deal here with inherent and more or less permanent characteristics of the subject, only the Habitual copula *bie* is present in such constructions.

(1284) a. *Zugdi* *imexi* *bede* *bie.*
house new like be.PRES.HAB
'The house looks like a new one.'
b. *Si* *ñ'aula* *bede* *bie.*
you child like be.PRES.HAB
'You look young.'
c. *Ute* *bede* *ei* *bie.*
that like NEG.PRES be.PRES.HAB
'It does not happen to be this way.'

17.2.2.3. Alienable possessive construction

One of several options used to express a possessive relationship is the copular construction in which the predicative word corresponds to the nominal (a noun or a personal pronoun) with the alienable possession suffix *-ŋi-* (see 4.1.4.4 and 9.1.4). The predicative word with the suffix *-ŋi-* denotes the possessor, and this is the only case in Udihe in which the possessor is morphologically marked. However, in this case we are dealing not with the possessive noun phrase but with the predicative relationship. The suffix *-ŋi-* here signifies that the possessive relationship is the main predication in the sentence. For obvious semantic reasons, only the alienable possessive relationship can be predicated by the construction in question. It does not allow a subject in the 1st or 2nd person, or the Imperative and other non-Indicative moods. Tense forms other than the Present are also hardly found, and accordingly the personal 3rd person Present tense copula *bi:-ni* is normally omitted.

The possessed noun does not form a constituent with the possessor-noun. It need not be overtly present within the clause, as in (1285), or it may function as the subject, as in (1286).

(1285) a. *Ni* *kusige-ni?* *B'ata-ŋi.*
who knife-3SG boy-AL
'Whose is the knife? The boy's.'
b. *Ni* *kiniga-ni?* *Kolia-ŋi.*
man book-3SG Kolya-AL

‘Whose is this book? Kolya’s.’

c. *Zu: se: ule: käŋa-ŋi soŋo-ŋi.*
two sort meat deer-Al bear-AL
‘There are two sorts of meat (here), deer meat and bear meat.’

(1286) a. *Ei suese Susana-ŋi.*
this axe Susan-AL
‘This axe is Susan’s.’

b. *Ei zugdi bi ami-ŋi:.*
this house me father-AL.1SG
‘This house is my father’s.’

As well as by nouns, the predicative role can also be played by the possessive forms of Personal pronouns, which are also marked by the suffix *-ŋi-* (see 9.1.4).

(1287) *Ei ugda nua-ti-ŋi.*
this boat he-3PL-AL
‘This boat is theirs.’

17.2.2.4. Destinative construction

Destinative Participles function in null-argument copular constructions of general destination (17.2.1.2). They also participate in a copular construction in which the destination seems to be asserted with respect to a particular entity encoded as the grammatical subject. The subject noun phrase takes the Nominative form, and exhibits the subject properties described in 15.1.1. Unfortunately, our material is not sufficient to allow us to make a definite judgement on whether all Destinative Participles derived from all verbs allow both types of destinative constructions (the subjectless construction and the personal construction). At present, it appears as though one-argument intransitive verbs only follow the subjectless pattern and that adjuncts cannot be promoted to the subject of destinative clauses. The contrast between the subjectless destinative construction 17.2.1.2 and the destinative construction with a subject can be seen in the following examples. The impersonal sentence (1288a) corresponds to two destinative copular sentences (1288b) and (1288c).

(1288) a. *Ei xeku-zi in’ei-we egbesi:-ti.*
this rope-INST dog-ACC tie-3PL
‘They tie the dog with this rope.’

b. *Ei xeku-zi in’ei-we egbesi:-kči.*
this rope-INST dog-ACC tie-3PL
‘It is intended to tie the dog with this rope.’

c. *Ei xeku in’ei-we egbesi:-kči.*
this rope dog-ACC tie-3PL
‘This rope is for tying the dog.’

In (1201b) the Instrumental noun phrase inherits its case from (1288a) and is not a subject (see 17.2.1.2), while in (1201b) it is a Nominative subject noun phrase. The translations of (1288b) as an impersonal and of (1288c) as a personal sentence reflects this distinction.

The construction in question does not have a definite time reference, but rather expresses a timeless universal situation. Therefore the Destinative Participle is compatible only with the Present

tense (personal) copula, which, in its turn is usually omitted, cf.:

(1289) a. *Ei mä:usa bui-we wakca-kči.*
this gun animal-ACC hunt-DP
'This gun is for hunting the animal.'
b. *Ei mulexi uli-we gada-kči.*
this bucket water-ACC carry-DP
'This bucket is for carrying water.'

(1290) a. *Kuti wa-kči bi:-ni.*
tiger kill-DP be-3SG
'The tiger lives for killing.'
b. *Zugdi badgi-kči bi:-ni.*
house live-DP be-3SG
'The house is for living.'
c. *Zeu diga-kči bi:-ni.*
food eat-DP be-3SG
'Food is for eating.'

17.2.2.5. Resultative construction

Resultative Participles (7.5.1.3) in the predicative function express an aspectual meaning: they denote the resultative state, that is, the observable state that results from the previous situation denoted by the verbal stem. Both subjective (17.2.2.5.1) and objective (17.2.2.5.2) Resultative Participles participate in such constructions. The resultative construction involves the personal copula 'be', optionally omitted in the 3rd person Singular Present tense.

(1291) *Nua-ni sokto-ktu* (*bi:-ni*).
he-3SG drink-RES (be-3SG)
'He is drunk.'

17.2.2.5.1. Subject-oriented resultative

The subject-oriented resultative denotes the state of the single participant of an intransitive situation. The subject (experiencer of the resultative state) is identical to the subject participant of the (hypothetical) previous situation.

(1292) a. *Biki uli-ni xa:-ktu.*
Bikin river-3SG get.shallow-RES
'The river Bikin became shallow.'
b. *Bi ŋala-i auli-ktu.*
me hand-1SG swell-RES
'My hand is swollen.'
c. *Deŋe su:-ktu.*
lamp go.out-RES
'The lamp died out.'
d. *Ei mo: zegde-ktu.*
this tree burn-RES
'This tree is burnt.'

e. *B'ata* *nienisi-ktu.*
boy get.sweaty-RES
'The boy became sweaty.'

f. *Ei ñ'aula* *lali-ktu* *bi:-ni.*
this child starve-RES be-3SG
'This child is hungry.'

17.2.2.5.2. Object-oriented resultative

In the object-oriented Resultative, the subject-experiencer of the resultative state corresponds to the object (patient/theme) participant of the previous transitive situation, while its agent remains unspecified. Remarkably, in such resultative constructions there are two alternative coding options for the subject-experiencer of the resultative state: the Nominative (1293) or the Accusative (1294).

(1293) a. *Tege* *guzaga-ktu.*
gown tear-RES
'The gown is torn up.'

b. *Nua-ni* *tege-ni* *teu* *to-lo-ktu.*
he-3SG gown-3SG all button-V-RES
'His gown is all buttoned.'

(1294) a. *Weige-we* *aunda-ktu.*
floor-ACC dry.up-RES
'The floor is dried up.'

b. *Si* *kusige-we-i* *zü-ktu.*
you knife-ACC-2SG sharpen-RES
'Your knife is sharpened.'

The case difference seems to be an instance of free morphological variation. There is no apparent semantic difference between the two options; thus (1293a) can be expressed with the Accusative experiencer as well.

(1295) *Tege-we* *guza-ga-ktu.*
gown-ACC tear-DEC-RES
'The gown is torn up.'

Both the Accusative and Nominative noun phrases seem to exhibit the subject properties described in 15.1.1 and should be identified as the subject. When the Resultative Participle takes the redundant affix of the passive Past Participle *-sA* (7.5.1.3) the construction does not appear to differ from the regular resultative constructions, except that the subject must be in the Accusative (the Nominative is banned), cf.:

(1296) a. *Ei* *tuduze-we* *siki-ktu-se.*
this potato-ACC wash-RES-PP.PAS
'This potato has been washed.'

b. *Tegbeni* *uli-we* *mantila-ktu-se.*
dirty water-ACC pour-RES-PP.PAS

‘The dirty water has been poured away.’

c. *Ei mo:-wo tugbu-ktu-se.*
this tree-ACC cut-RES-PP.PAS
‘This tree has been cut down.’

17.2.2.5.3. Plural agreement

Plurality may be emphasized by means of the Restrictive focus particle *m’ei* (12.1.1.9.2). In the Plural the Resultative Participle does not agree in number with the copula.

(1297) a. *Ei ñ’aula-ziga cemne-ktu bi:-ti.*
this child-PL deceive-RES be-3PL
‘These children are deceived.’

b. *Ei in’ei-ziga koŋko-ktu bi-zeŋe-ti.*
this dog-PL beat-RES be-FUT-3PL
‘These dogs will be beaten.’

c. *Nua-ti deu-ktu bi:-ti.*
he-3PL get.tired-RES be-3PL
‘They are tired.’

17.2.2.5.4. Collocation with adverbials

The time reference of the resultative construction is the time of the resultant state and not of the process that leads to this state. This can be seen from the collocation with time adverbials that refer to the time of the state. In (1298a) the adverb *tiŋeni* ‘yesterday’ and in (1298b) the adverb *timana* ‘tomorrow’ indicate the time of the state, although the event of closing the shop or house, respectively, can occur at any previous time.

(1298) a. *Tiŋeni magazina kimpi-ktu bi-s’e.*
yesterday shop lose-RES be-PERF
‘Yesterday the shop was closed.’

b. *Timana bi zugdi: kimpi-ktu*
tomorrow me house.1SG close-RES
bi-zeŋe-ni.
be-FUT-3SG
‘Tomorrow my house will be closed.’

Since the construction denotes the state, and not the process, it cannot include certain adverbs such as, for example, *ei* ‘just now’, or those adverbials that characterize verbal action, cf. the ungrammatical (1299).

(*1299) *Oño-wo tuge-zi oño-ktu.*
letter-ACC quick-INST write-RES
‘The letter is written quickly.’

17.2.2.6. Construction with ideophones

Most ideophonic adverbs (10.1.3.2) are regularly used in the predicative function in combination with either the personal copula *bi-* or, more often, the impersonal copula *bie*. The choice of the copula basically depends on whether the construction expresses a permanent or a temporary state (see 17.1). Other copulas may also be used (17.2.2.6.3). Unlike adjectives (17.2.2.1), the ideophones never take Plural markers, so the Plural of the subject can be marked only in the subject noun phrase or the agreement affix on the copula.

As distinct from the bound adjectives addressed in 6.4.4.2.2, ideophones that enter copular compounds have also another syntactic function: they mostly function as verbal modifiers (see 10.1.3.2.3). Their double function is illustrated below. The examples in (a) below show the ideophones in adverbial function, while examples (b) illustrate the corresponding ideophones within a compound adjective.

(1300) a. *Ja:* *kilum* *ise-si:-ni*
eye angry see-IM-3SG
'He is looking with angry eyes.'
b. *Ja:* *kilum* *ede:-ni.*
eye angry become.PAST-3SG
'His eyes became angry.'

(1301) a. *Meje-i* *pam* *tagda:-ni.*
mind-REF black get.angry.PAST-3SG
'He got very angry.'
b. *Pam* *ede:-ni.*
black become.PAST-3SG
'He became black from anger.'

(1302) a. *Tu-tu* *ŋene:-ni.*
quiet-quiet go.PAST-3SG
'He left quietly.'
b. *Tu-tu* *bi-e!*
quiet-quiet be-IMP.2SG
'Be quiet!'

(1303) a. *Pam* *buto:-ti.*
black get.dirty.PAST-3PL
'(They) are soiled with black.'
b. *Pam* *ede:-ni.*
black become.PAST-3SG
'It became black.'

(1304) a. *Dili* *zeŋge-zeŋge* *usa-wasi-si:.*
head swinging-swinging move-DIV-IM.PRP
'The head is swinging unsteadily.'
b. *Zege-zeŋge* *ede:-ni.*
swinging-swinging become.PAST-3SG
'It started to swing.'

17.2.2.6.1. Construction with the personal copula

The examples below illustrate the personal 3rd person Present copula ‘be’ in sentences that express a temporary state. The copula must always be overtly present, even in the 3rd person in the Present tense.

(1305) a. *Nua-ni* *ja:-ni* *bugdam* *bi:-ni.*
he-3SG eye-3SG goggling be-3SG
‘He was goggling (at something).’

b. *Bi* *abuga-i* *teu-teu* *bi:-ni.*
me father-1SG quite-quite be-3SG
‘My father is silent.’

c. *Nua-ni* *mulʲ-mulʲ* *bi:-ni.*
he-3SG toothless-toothless be-3SG
‘He is toothless.’

d. *Tege* *čif-čif* *bi-s’e.*
gown wet-wet be-PERF
‘The gown was wet through.’

17.2.2.6.2. Construction with the Habitual copula

Examples:

(1306) a. *In’ei* *pigdäm* *bie.*
dog inside be.PRES.HAB
‘The dog is inside.’

b. *Nakta* *sezem* *bie.*
boar shaggy be.PRES.HAB
‘The boar has shaggy hair.’

c. *Čäza* *täk-täk* *bie.*
trap hard-hard be.PRES.HAB
‘The trap is hard.’

d. *Kusige* *cem-cem* *bie.*
knife sharp-sharp be.PRES.HAB
‘The knife is sharp.’

e. *Ei* *kektime* *kei-kei* *bie.*
this bank steep-steep be.PRES.HAB
‘This bank is steep.’

17.2.2.6.3. Construction with other copulas

The following examples illustrate the use of the copula ‘become’ in the construction in question.

(1307) a. *Nua-ni* *mulʲ-mulʲ* *ede:-ni.*
he-3SG toothless-toothless become.PAST-3SG
‘He became toothless.’

b. *Uli* *pice-pice* *e:-ni.*
water spill-spill become.PAST-3SG

‘Water has spilled out.’

c. *In’ei* *kidem-kidem* *ede:-ni.*
dog on.end-on.end become.PAST-3SG
‘The dog’s fur stood on end.’

d. *Nua-ni* *bakčam* *ede:-ni.*
he-3SG crooked become.PAST-3SG
‘He is doubled up (in pain).’

e. *Jogoso* *xaŋna-xaŋna* *esi-gi-e-ni.*
channel dry-dry become-REP-PAST-3SG
‘The channel completely dried up.’

Remarkably, as distinct from copular constructions with nouns and adjectives, ideophones are compatible with the «semantically light» verbs *wo:-* and *nixe-* ‘make, do’.

(1308) a. *Uli* *pice-pice* *wo:-ni.*
water spray-spray make.PAST-3SG
‘The water spilt with spray’

b. *ŋua-isi-ni* *i:-le-dele* *kär-kär-kär*
sleep-PC-3SG what-LOC-IND shave-shave-shave
wo-ini.
make-3SG
‘While he is sleeping, shaving is happening somewhere.’ (K 110)

c. *Modor-modor* *wo:-ini.*
slobber-slobber make.PAST-3SG
‘He slobbered.’ (SK 562)

d. *Käkčike* *nixe-ini.*
INTER do-3SG
‘It goes crack (gnawing nuts).’

e. *Coŋokti-le-ni* *kälak* *wo:-ni.*
pendant-LOC-3SG ringing make.PAST-3SG
‘He made a ringing noise (touching) a pendant (on the dress).’
(K 131)

Notice that the copulas *wo:-* and *nixe-* with the meaning ‘make, do, go, happen’ may also occur with other manner adverbs.

(1309) a. *Gä:ŋa* *dogbo-ni* *ute* *bede* *ñexe-ini.*
each night-3SG that like do-3SG
‘Every night it happens this way.’ (K 28)

b. *Iñe-m* *iñe-m* *wo:-ini.*
laugh-INF- laugh-INF make-3SG
‘He laughs very much.’ (K 117)

17.2.2.6.4. Omission of the copula

Omission of the copula is a rare option in the construction in question. However, we have a few examples in our corpus, cf.:

(1310) a. *Uta-digi* *xaku* *euge-me* *ŋala* *käu-käu.*
that-ABL right pincers arm squeak-squeak
‘Then his arms were squeaking like pincers.’ (K 105)

b. *Bi* *zugdi:* *sim-sim-de.*
me house.1SG quiet-quiet-FOC
'It is quiet in my house.'

c. *Tiŋmel'e* *xegie-xi* *ŋala* *gamda-liu,* *dili*
fell.PERF down-LAT hand together-ADV head
daŋda-liu-de.
bending-ADV-FOC
'(It) fell putting together its hands and bending its head.' (K 187)

d. *Daŋda-daŋda* *kapt'a-si*, *tu:*
bandaged-bandaged bandage.PERF-PC.SS all
kapta-ktu *dili-ni* *daŋda-daŋda*.
bandage-RES head-3SG bandaged-bandaged
'His head is all bandaged.'

17.2.3. Dative subject pattern

In copular sentences with the experiencer Dative noun phrase, the predicative element is expressed either by the experiential adjective (17.2.3.1) or occasionally by the Desiderative Infinitive (17.2.3.2). Both these constructions can be generally characterized as experiential, that is, denoting a temporary (physical) state. They do not occur in the non-Indicative moods. These constructions involve the personal copula *bi-* 'be' that takes the 3rd person Singular personal affix and is omitted in the Present tense. Note that the Dative experiencer argument exhibits certain (but not all) subject properties and is therefore identified as a «subjectoid» in 15.1.3.

17.2.3.1. Experiential construction

The adjectives that are used as a predicative element of the experiential construction with the Dative experiencer are inn (1311).

(1311)

ge:	'bad'	*aja*	'good'
xekui	'hot'	*iŋeni*	'cold'
safani	'boring'	*ug'ei*	'heavy'
xeŋteni	'bored with'	*gili*	'chilly'
seuni	'scary, frightening'	*xoköi*	'sweaty'
xei	'tasty'	*sebzeŋke*	'cheerful, funny, interesting'

Basically the same set of adjectives can govern the impersonal infinitival complement clause and the experiencer-controlled complement clause (20.1.1).

Examples (1312) illustrate the Present tense with the copula dropped, example (1313) illustrates the Future tense, examples (1314) illustrate the 'become'-type copula.

(1312) a. *Mun-du* *ketu* *sebzeŋke.*
we-DAT very interesting
'We are very happy.'

b. *Min-du* *safani.* or: *Safa-ni* *min-du.*
me-DAT boring boring-3SG me-DAT
'I am bored.'

(1313) *Min-du* *xekui* *bi-zeŋe-ni.*
me-DAT hot be-FUT-3SG
'I will feel hot.'

(1314) a. *Käsa-du* *ug'ei* *ede-li-ge.*
eagle-DAT heavy become-INC-PERF
'It is becoming heavy for the eagle (to carry).'
b. *Min-du* *ge:* *ede:-ni.*
me-DAT bad become.PAST-3SG
'I started feeling bad.'
c. *Jegdige-du* *seuni:* *o:-ni.*
hero-DAT scary become.PAST-3SG
'It has become scary for the hero.' (K 182)

17.2.3.2. Desiderative construction

The predicative element corresponds to the Desiderative noun in *-mugdi* (8.2.3.2). The Desiderative noun denotes the desiderative state, that is, the wish for the performance of a corresponding action. Normally the issue here is the wish that pertains to a certain bodily physical activity, like eating or sleeping, while otherwise intentional suffixes (8.2.3.3) are used in this sense. The desiderative construction can be in the Present or Past tense. The Future tense is banned. In the Present tense the auxiliary verb is normally omitted. An example of the copula 'become' is (1316).

(1315) a. *Nuan-du-ni* *ŋua-mudgi.*
he-DAT-3SG sleep-DESN
'He is sleepy.'
b. *B'ata-du* *ŋua-mugdi.*
boy-DAT sleep-DESN
'The boy is sleepy.'
c. *Min-du* *ŋua-mugdi.*
me-DAT sleep-DESN
'I am sleepy.'
d. *Minti-du* *čaja-wa* *umi-mugdi.*
we-DAT tea-ACC drink-DESN
'We feel like drinking some tea.'

(1316) *Bi* *jexe-mugdi* *ede-li-e-mi.*
me sing-DESN become-INC-PAST-1SG
'I felt like singing.'

There are also examples where in this construction the Present participle of the desiderative verb is used instead of the Desiderative noun in *-mugdi*:

(1317) *ŋua-mu:i* *ede-li-e-mi.*
sleep-DES.PRP become-INC-PAST-1SG
'I started feeling sleepy.'

It is noteworthy that the experiencer of the desiderative state can be expressed not only by the Dative case but also by the Nominative case.

(1318) a. *Nua-ni* *diga-mugdi* *bi-si-ni.*
he-3SG eat-DESN be-PAST-3SG
'He wanted to eat.'
b. *Nua-ni* *ŋua-mugdi.*
he-3SG sleep-DESN
'He wants to sleep.'

The Dative and the Nominative seem to be completely synonymous and interchangeable in this case. The Dative marking of the experiencer may be an original Udihe feature, cf. the experiential construction 17.2.3.1. However, it is not completely excluded that the Nominative construction such as (1318) has been gradually replaced by the Dative construction under the influence of Russian syntax, where the corresponding sense is rendered with the Dative subject construction (*mne xočetsja* 'I would like to' literally 'it is wanted to me').

17.3. Nominal sentences

Nominal sentences are used when directly indicating an object and/or naming it. They do not involve a copula and normally consist of only one word:

(1319) a. *Jala!*
toad
'(Look), a toad!'
b. *Ele* *tete(-ni).*
enough end-3SG
'That's the end (traditional tale ending)'.

Chapter 18
Complex sentences

In this chapter we focus on sentences that contain more than one predication but do not involve any non-finite verbal forms. Predicates in both components of the complex sentence are expressed by one of the finite tense/aspect/mood forms (on these see Chapter 7). Monoclausal coordinated structures (constituent conjunctions and disjunctions) are also addressed here. On non-finite subordinate clauses see Chapters 19, 20, and 21.

18.1. Conjunction

The principal means of constituent coordination is the enclitic additive particle *-dA* 'and' (12.1.1.3), which functions as both constituent and clausal coordinator. Occasionally the borrowed Russian conjunctions *i* 'and', *a* 'and, but', and *no* 'but' may be used. Conjunction may also be expressed by mere juxtaposition.

18.1.1. Constituent conjunction

On the coordination of postpositional phrases see 10.2.3.

18.1.1.1. Subject coordination

Subject coordination normally occurs through juxtaposition. The verb takes either the Plural (1320) or Singular (1321) agreement markers.

(1320) a. *Exi* *siŋe* *bagdi-e-ti.*
frog mouse live-PAST-3PL
There lived a frog and a mouse.

b. *Jegdige* *omo* *ene-zi* *sul'ai* *tene*
hero one side-INST fox CONT
bagä:-za-nazi *ili-e-ti.*
other-N-INST stand-PAST-3PL
'The hero stood on one side, and the fox on the opposite side.'
(K 151)

c. *Ila* *ni:* *men-e* *tue-ze-digi-ni* *ila*
three man REF-0 winter-N-ABL-3SG three
ni: *xoŋto* *tue-ze-digi-ni* *Xu:n-dile*
man other winter-N-ABL-3SG Khor-LOC
wakca-na:-ti.
hunt-DIR.PAST-3PL
'Three men from our dwelling and three men from another dwelling went hunting on the river Khor.'

d. *Uti etigi-ni mama-ni*
that father.in.law-3SG grandmother-3SG
od'o-ni ŋua-iti, e-iti dogdi-de.
grandfather-3SG sleep-3PL NEG-3PL hear-FOC
'Her father-in-law and mother-in-law, grandmother and grandfather sleep and do not hear.'

(1321) a. *Mamaka aziga-la digeŋ-ki-ni.*
old.woman girl-CONT hide-PAST-3SG
'The old woman and the girls have hidden.' (K 107)

b. *Bude-ili mamaka nada kotoi-ti.*
die-3SG old.woman seven bald-3PL
'The old woman and the seven bald ones died.'

c. *Si abuga-i eniŋe-i sin-e-we*
you father-2SG mother-2SG you-0-ACC
wa:-ni.
kill.PAST-3SG
'Your father and mother killed you.'(K 196)

In the following example three embedded subjects are coordinated by means of the additive focus clitic *-dA:*

(1322) *Ami:-de eni:-de*
father.2SG-FOC mother.2SG-FOC
xa-nta-na-i-de bi-si:-si-ni gele-je.
sibling-N-PL-2SG-FOC be-IM-PC-3SG ask-IMP.2SG
'If you have a father, mother and siblings, call (them).' (SKX 232)

18.1.1.2. Modifier coordination

Coordination of non-attributive modifiers is a rare option in Udihe. It normally requires the repetition of the head noun according to the following pattern: (a + b) C → a C + b C, where *a* and *b* are modifiers and *C* is a head of the noun phrase. This is illustrated by (1323), where the possessive modifiers are coordinated.

(1323) a. *Gaiti-de seŋke zegdige imuti zegdige*
right-FOC ledum lighting lard lighting
wo:-ni.
make.PAST-3SG
'Immediately he set alight the ledum and lard.' (K 189)

b. *Käŋa-da ña:-wa-ni nakta-da*
deer-FOC skin-ACC-3SG boar-FOC
ña:-wa-ni kai-ze-mi.
skin-SCC-3SG brake-SUBJ-1SG
'I will brake the skin of the deer and of the boar.'

c. *Teti-le bi: xulu mo:-wo-ni čafakta*
here-LOC be.PRP ash-tree tree-ACC-3SG birch-tree
mo:-wo-ni si e-zi ende.
tree-ACC-3SG you NEG-IMP.2SG touch
'Don't touch the ash-tree and the birch-tree which stand here.'
(SKX 120)

d. *Jegdige* *tu:* *wakča-i* *ogbö* *imo:-wo-ni*
hero all hunt-PRP elk meat-ACC-3SG
käŋa *imo:-wo-ni* *wa-l'a-si.*
deer meat-ACC-3SG kill-V.PERF-PC.SS
'The hero was always hunting providing elk and deer meat.'
(SKX 212)

On fairly rare occasions the possessive modifiers may be coordinated by means of juxtaposition.

(1324) *ki'asa* *eze-ni* *ŋasaxi* *eze-ni* *neŋu-ti*
eagle tsar heron tsar younger.sibling-3PL
'younger siblings of the tsar of the eagles and tsar of the herons'
(SKX 214)

Attributive modifiers (adjectives) are easily coordinated without any additional devices, as shown below.

(1325) *Gazi-je* *min-du* *c'aligi* *seule-me* *sexi-we.*
bring-IMP.2SG me-DAT white silk-ADJ cloth-ACC
'Bring me white silk cloth.'

18.1.1.3. Coordination of other constituents

Other major constituents can be coordinated with the additive focus clitic *-dA* 'and' which either follows each conjunct (1326), or only the last one (1327), as well as by means of juxtaposition (1328).

(1326) a. *Exe* *aja-wa-da* *ge:-we-de*
sister good-ACC-and bad-ACC-and
wa:-mi *bubu.*
kill.PAST-1SG EV
'Sister, I have apparently killed both good ones and bad ones.'
(K 127)

b. *Kawa* *xo:-di-ni* *saŋña* *saŋa-ni* *tu:* tent
top-DAT-3SG smoke hole-3SG all *tu:* *jologo-i*
tue-de *zua-da.*
all open-PRP winter-FOC summer-FOC
'The smoke opening on top of the tent was always open, in both winter and summer.' (SKX 286)

(1327) *E-zi* *zawa* *bi* *in'ei-we-i*
NEG-IMP.2SG take me dog-ACC-1SG
tuxi-we-i-de.
sledge-ACC-1SG-and
'Don't take my dogs and my sledge.'

(1328) a. *B'ata-ŋi-ni* *gele-ini* *bei-ne-mi*
son-AL-3SG ask-3SG bow-DEST-REF
zanta-na-mi. *Ami-ni* *wo:-ni*
arrow-DEST-REF father-3SG make.PAST-3SG
bei-we *zanta-wa.*

bow-ACC arrow-ACC
'His son asks for the bow and arrows. His father made a bow and arrows.' (K 167)

b. *Nua-ni* *jexe:-ni* *škola-du* *kuluba-du.*
he-3SG sing.PAST-3SG school-DAT club-DAT
'He sang at school and in the club.'

c. *Tege-zi* *au-zi* *tutulu* *xuli:-ni.*
gown-INST cap-INST always walk-3SG
'He always walks in a gown and a cap.'

d. *Miki-du* *zabda-du* *mala-u-ze-i.*
adder-DAT grass.snake-DAT finish-PAS-SUBJ-1SG
'I will be eaten by adders and grass snakes.' (SK 534)

e. *Sakta-la* *ja:-na-ni* *aŋma-na-ni* willow-LOC
eye-DEST-3SG mouth-DEST-3SG
kusige-zi *mine-ini.*
knife-INST carve-3PL
'He carves the eyes and mouth (of an idol) with the knife in the willow.' (SK 365)

When the coordinated constituents are not adjacent to each other, the last conjunct is extraposed to the position after the finite verb and must be followed by the clitic *-dA* 'and'.

(1329) a. *Loŋko-wo* *zawa-ja* *käfakti-we-de.*
pot-ACC take-IMP.2SG bell-ACC-and
'Take the pot and the bells'.

b. *Ule:-we* *joxo* *do-lo-ni* *nede-iti*
meat-ACC pot inside-LOC-3SG put-3PL
ulikte-we-de *olokto-lo:-ni.*
shaman.lard-ACC-and cook-PURP-3SG
'They put meat and shaman lard in the pot in order to cook (them).'

The examples below demonstrate that for certain semantically fixed conjoined expressions (*abuga eniŋe* 'father and mother') case marking appears only on the second conjunct. It is not entirely clear how far this phenomenon goes. Cf. also *dogbo-li-ŋa ineŋi-ne* 'day and night' (SK 376) <night-PROL-FOC day-3SG>.

(1330) a. *ŋene-ze-fi-ge* *bi* *eniŋe*
go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-HORT me mother
abuga-tigi: *ge.*
father-LAT.1SG HORT
'Let us go to my mother and father.' (K 197)

b. *Exi-ni* *abuga* *eniŋe-tigi* *teluŋu-si-e-ni.*
sister-3SG father mother-LAT story-V-PAST-3SG
'The elder sister told it to the father and the mother.' (K 139)

Less frequently, constituents may be coordinated by means of the repetition of the VP, that is, (a + b) C → a C + b C, where *a* and *b* are coordinated constituents and *C* is a verb.

(1331) *E:xi-ni* *edi-we* *gele-li-e-ni,*
elder.sister-3SG wind-ACC ask-INC-PAST-3SG

agdi-we *gele-li-e-ni.*
thunder-ACC ask-INC-PAST-3SG
'The elder sister started calling the wind and the thunder.' (SKX 100)

18.1.2. Clausal conjunction

Coordinated clauses that share a constituent are addressed in 18.1.2.1. If the conjoined clauses do not share a constituent, they are coordinated by means of juxtaposition. However, the criteria here are very subtle: it is not always clear whether two clauses should indeed be analyzed as a coordinated structure. In certain cases, the only formal criterion that can be suggested is prosodic: the pause between the conjoined clauses is shorter than between two independent clauses, and the sentence intonation does not fall until the end of the second conjunct. We will illustrate only the most obvious case here, namely the coordinated clause that semantically modifies an element of the matrix clause (18.1.2.2) and the conjoined embedded clauses (18.1.2.3).

18.1.2.1. Coordinated clauses with a shared constituent

18.1.2.1.1. Shared predicate

Constructions with a shared predicate require it to be repeated: (a + b)C → aC + bC, where *C* is a predicate and *a* and *b* are coordinated subjects. The additive focus particle *-dA* (12.1.1.3) is the usual means of coordinating such clauses. The particle is cliticized either to subjects of both conjuncts (1332), or only to the subject of the second conjunct (1333).

(1332) a. *Ic'a-ŋku-de* *bie* *sagdä-ŋku-de*
small-PL-FOC be.PRES.HAB big-PL-FOC *bie.*
be.PRES.HAB
'There are small ones and large ones as well.'

b. *Bi-de* *e-si-mi* *bude*
me-FOC NEG-PAST-1SG die
nua-da *e-si-ni* *bude.*
he-FOC NEG-PAST-3SG die
'I didn't die, and she didn't die either.' (K 134)

(1333) *Nua-ni* *ja:-ŋi-ni* *uligdig'a-i* *bi* *ja:-ŋi:-de*
he-3SG cow-AL-3SG beautiful-FOC me cow-AL.1SG-FOC
uligdig'a.
beautiful
'Her cow is beautiful, my cow is beautiful too.'

The following examples illustrates coordination of predicative elements within copular constructions and periphrastic temporal constructions, which involve mere juxtaposition of coordinated elements.

(1334) a. *Bi-de* *ami-xi* *eni-xi* *bi-s'e-i.*
me-FOC father-PROP mother-PROP be-PERF-1SG
'I also used to have father and mother.' (SK 105)

b. *Umu-i* *umu-le-gie* *tege-i* *teti-gie*
belt-REF belt-V-REP gown-REF dress-REP
o:-ni.

make.PAST-3SG
'He put on a belt and a gown.' (SK 703)

c. *Zuŋe* *eh-le-ni* *uke-zi* *sagdi* *bi-si-ni.*
both side-LOC-3SG door-INST big be-PAST-3SG
'It was large and had doors on both sides.' (SKX 78)

18.1.2.1.2. Shared adverbial

As can be seen from (1335), the shared adverbial normally occupies the sentence-initial position, that is, it precedes both conjuncts. In (1335a) the locational adverbial *odu* 'here' and in (1335b) the temporal adverbial *tue* 'in winter' take scope over both conjoined clauses.

(1335) a. *O-du* *sugdä:* *bie* *bui* *egdi.*
this-DAT fish be.PRES.HAB animal many
'Here there are fish, there are a lot of animals.'

b. *Tue* *mun-du* *ima:* *egdi* *ketu* *iŋini.*
winter we-DAT snow much very cold
'In winter we have a lot of snow, it is very cold.'

In the following sentence the subjects of two clauses sharing an adverbial take the focus particle –*dA*.

(1336) *Oñokto* *bua-di-ni* *mo:-do* *e-i*
sand place-DAT-3SG tree-FOC NEG-PRP
bagdi, *uli-de* *wača,* *tu:* *ogo:-ni.*
live water-FOC little all dry.PAST-3SG
'In a desert trees do not live, there is little water, and everything dries out.' (SK 711)

18.1.2.1.3. Shared subject

Shared subject constructions are normally expressed by non-finite verbal forms, namely, by converbs and infinitives with the coordinative function (Chapter 21); therefore coordination of finite clauses with a shared subject is not very common. However, the contrastive conjoined clause with the focus particle *dele* 'or else, otherwise' is fairly regular (see 12.1.1.6). Examples of some other coordinated clauses that share the subject are presented below. There are three variants of such coordinations: (i) by juxtaposition (1337); (ii) by the coordinator *-dA* following predicates in both conjoined clauses (1338); and (iii) by the coordinator *-dA* following the predicate of the last conjunct (1339).

(1337) a. *Uti* *tekpu-we-ni* *kapta-gi-e-k,*
that skin-ACC-3SG wrap-REP-PAST-EXPR
men-e *konz'oi-ziga-la-i* *ne:-gi-e-k,*
REF-0 box-DIM-LOC-REF put-REP-PAST-EXPR
jeuce-le-gi-e-k.
lock-V-REP-PAST-EXPR
'She wrapped that skin, put it in her little box and locked it.'

b. *Zeuŋe* *asi* *bou* *monto-ligi.*
greenling very fat round-ADJ

‘Greenling (a sort of salmon) is very fat and round.’

(1338) *Teu jexe-ini* *ei-de* *etete.*
all sing-3SG NEG-FOC work
‘He only sings, and does not work.’

(1339) *Škola-du* *tatusi-u* *gusi-u-de.*
school-DAT study-1PL play-1PL-FOC
‘At school we learn and play.’

As argued in 15.1.1 and 22.2.1.2 and illustrated again by the examples in this section, only the subject can control the coreferential null across the conjoined clause.

18.1.2.2. Coordinated modifier

Udihe is characterized by a large number of conjoined clauses that do not formally share a constituent, but are closely connected in concept, and sometimes also through certain anaphoric devices. In European languages such conjoined clauses would most probably correspond to one clause with a complex structure. This is especially true when the second conjoined clause describes one of the participants of the first clause, which would correspond to a modifying structure or a relative clause in European languages.

18.1.2.2.1. Coordinated «relative clauses»

As discussed in Chapter 19, like other grammatical relations, the possessor can be relativized with one of the two regular relativization strategies: the internal strategy (19.2.2.2) and the external strategy (19.1.2.3). However, such constructions are dispreferred by speakers due to their structural complexity, and are gradually replaced by finite clauses that correspond in meaning to the relative clause, but are conjoined to the main clause. In such cases the possessor is found within the first conjunct while the second conjunct contains an anaphoric means that refers to it, normally a possessive affix and optionally an anaphoric pronoun. For the resulting sentence two translations are equally acceptable; either with a relative clause, or as a coordinated structure.

(1340) a. *Ei* *a:nta* *bie* *uti* *zugdi-di-ni*
this woman be.PRES.HAB [that house-DAT-3SG
bagdi-mi.
live-1SG]
‘This is that woman in whose house I live.’
‘This is that woman, I live in her house.’

b. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *omo* *ni:-we* *aziga-ŋi-ni*
me know-1SG one man-ACC [girl-AL-3SG
Moskva-tigi *ŋene:-ni.*
Moscow-LAT go.PAST-3SG]
'I know one man whose daughter went to Moscow.’
‘I know one man, his daughter went to Moscow.’

c. *ŋene-je* *uti* *a:nta-tigi* *sita-ni*
go-IMP.2SG that woman-LAT [child-3SG
uni:-ni.
be.ill-3SG]

‘Go to that woman whose child is ill.’
‘Go to that woman, her child is ill.’

Further cases of a coordinated clause with a modifying meaning are presented below. For example, in (1341a) and (1341b) the conjoined clauses ‘ten meters high’ and ‘lives in the earth’ respectively semantically modify an element of the first conjunct.

(1341) a. *Bi* *bagdi-mi* *ei* *zugdi-le* *za:* *metra*
me live-1SG this house-LOC ten meter
gugda-la-ni.
high-N-3SG
‘I live in this house ten meters high.’

b. *Silikte-tigi* *gualana:-ni.* *Xuta-ligi* *silikte-tigi*
worm-LAT turn.PAST-3SG red-ADJ worm-LAT
na:-la *bi:.*
earth-LOC be.PRP
‘She turned into a worm. Into a red worm which lives in the earth.’

c. *Nua-ni* *gazi-e-ni* *in’ei-we* *ke:-de*
he-3SG bring-PAST-3SG dog-ACC vicious-FOC

e-ini *bie.*
NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'He brought a dog that was not vicious.’

18.1.2.2.2. Negative possessive modifier

A negative possessive modifier is typically expressed in a coordinated structure by means of the Partitive forms (on them see 4.3.2). In (1342) the second clause *p’a:-la anči* ‘there are no windows’ refers to the element of the first clause *zugdi* ‘house’. Although no anaphoric means indicates this reference, it is conceptually clear and can be rendered by a noun phrase within a single clause as ‘a house without windows.’ In (1342b) in a similar situation the personal marker refers to the element of the first clause: *zawaŋku-ni anči,* literally ‘there is no its handle’, where ‘its’ anaphorically refers to the element of the first conjoined clause *mulexi* ‘bucket’. In (1342c) there are two coordinated negative possessive modifiers.

(1342) a. *Nua-ni* *ŋua-ini* *zugdi-du*
he-3SG sleep-3SG house-DAT
p’a:-la *anči.*
window-PART no
‘He sleeps in a house without windows.’

b. *Teugi-je* *tuduze-we* *mulexi*
put-IMP.2SG potato-ACC bucket
do-lo-ni *zawaŋku-ni* *anči.*
inside-LOC-3SG handle-3SG no
‘Put the potatoes in the bucket without a handle.’

c. *Boxo* *zoŋčile:-ni* *namu* *tatauxi*
Boxo throw.PAST-2SG sea open
gaula-de *anči* *seule-de* *anči-de.*
pole-FOC no oar-FOC no-FOC
‘Boxo threw (him) in the open sea without a pole or an oar.’

(SKX 278)

18.1.2.3. Conjoined embedded clauses

Embedded clauses are conjoined by means of juxtaposition (1343a) or by repetition of the main clause (1343b).

(1343) a. *Maŋga* *edi-ne-li:-si-ni* *mo:* strong
wind-V-INC-PC.DS-3SG tree

tiŋme-ne-li:-si-ni *bi*
fall-DIST-INC-PC-DS-3SG me
aŋma-tigi *je:-u.*
mouth-LAT enter-IMP.2PL
'After the strong wind begins and the tree falls, enter my mouth.'
(SKX 324)

b. *Ag'a-fai* *boi-se-we-ni*
elder.brother-REF tie.down-PP.PAS-ACC-3SG
ise:-ti, *kawa-tigi* *xeke:-me-ti*
see.PAST-3PL tent-LAT tie.PP-ACC-3PL
ise:-ti.
see.PAST-3PL
'They saw that their elder brother was tied down and that they had tied him to the tent.' (SKX 252)

18.1.3. Conjunction under the scope of negation

Constituents within one clause cannot be conjoined under the scope of negation, so the meaning 'neither ... nor' is always conveyed by a biclausal structure: (a + b)C → aC + bC where *C* is negation and *a* and *b* are coordinated constituents. In a sentence they are often followed by the clitic particle *-dA* (1344a).

(1344) a. *Ni:* *xokto-ni-de* *ančі,* *bui*
man footstep-3SG-FOC no animal
xokto-ni-de *ančі.*
footstep-3SG-FOC no
'There are neither a man's footsteps, nor an animal's footsteps.'
(K 148)

b. *Sugzä:-da* *e-mu* *diga* *ule:-de*
fish-and NEG-1PL.EX eat meat-and
e-mu *diga.*
NEG-1PL.EX eat
'We eat neither fish nor meat.' (K 174)

(1345) *Zugdi-le* *i:-e-ti,* *abuga* *ančі,,* *eniŋe* *ančі.*
house-LOC enter-PAST-3PL father no mother no
'They entered the house; there is neither father nor mother (there).'

18.2. Disjunction

Disjunctive structures are expressed by several particles and conjunctions glossed as DIS (disjunction). On disjunctive questions see 23.1.4.

18.2.1. Constituent disjunction

Constituent disjunction is fairly rare. It can be expressed by the disjunctive coordinator *-kA ...-kA* 'either ... or', which cliticizes to the disjoint constituents (1346a), with the additive focus clitic *-dA* on each conjunct (1346b), or.by means of juxtaposition (1347).

(1346) a. *Da:-ka* *go:-ko* *bagdi-mi.*
short-DIS long-DIS live-INF
'They lived for a short time or for a long time.' (K 160)

b. *Degdi-le-ni* *mo:-mo-do* *taluga-ma-da*
face-LOC-3SG tree-ADJ-FOC birch.bark-ADJ-FOC
ni: *degde-we-ni* *tet-u-iti.*
man face-ACC-3SG put-CAUS-3PL
'On their face they put a mask made of wood or birch bark.' (SKX 294)

(1347) a. *Men-e* *exi-fei* *neŋu-fei*
REF-0 elder.sister-REF.PL younger.sister-REF.PL
za:gi-e-ti *men-tigi.*
fetch-PAST-3PL REF-LAT
'They fetched their elder sister or their younger sister.' (SKX 288)

b. *Bi* *dogbo* *ise-ze-mi* *j'eu* *je:-xi* *je:-le*
me night see-SUBJ-1SG what horns-PROP horns-PART
anči *bui* *bi:-we-ni?*
no animal be.PRP-ACC-3SG
'I can't see in the night whether an animal has horns or not, can I?' (SK 117)

18.2.2. Clausal disjunction

Clausal disjunction is more frequent and often corresponds to constituent disjunction in European languages.

18.2.2.1. Disjunctive coordinator *-As(i) .... -As(i)* 'either ... or'

The particle *-Asi ... -Asi* 'either ... or' normally pronounced with a reduction of the final vowel as *-As ... -As* is used as a clausal disjunctive coordinator, which follows predicates in both disjoint clauses. This particle causes the lengthening of the final vowel, while when it follows the vowel /*i*/ the resulting form has the long vowel /*ie*/. Semantically such disjoint clauses typically share the predicate, and the same verb is repeated twice.

(1348) a. *Bi* *bude-ze-mi-es* *si* *bude-zeŋe:-s.*
me die-SUBJ-1SG-DIS you die-FUT-DIS

‘Either I will die, or you will die.’

b. *ŋene-mi* *da:-la* *ŋene:-ti-es*
go-INF short-LOC go.PAST-3PL-DIS
go:-lo *ŋene:-ti-es* *we:-le*
long-LOC go.PAST-3PL-DIS mountain-LOC
i:ŋ-ki-ti.
come-PAST-3PL
‘While they were walking, they were walking either short or long, and came to the mountain.’ (K 172)

In the following example the disjunctive coordinator conjoins two headless relative clauses.

(1349) *Teluŋu-si-li-e-ni* *bie-we-ni-esi*
tell-IM-INC-PAST-3SG be.PRP.HAB-ACC-3SG-DIS
anči-we-ni-esi.
no-ACC-3SG-DIS
‘He started telling (us) about what exists or (perhaps) doesn’t exist.’ (SKX 248)

18.2.2.2. Disjunctive coordinator *-kA .... -kA* ‘either ...or’

The coordinator *-kA ... -kA* is used in clausal disjunction as the only coordinator (1350) or in combination with the coordinator *-As(i) ... -As(i)* (1351). While the latter always follows the predicate (two predicates of two disjoint clauses), the former follows another constituent (an argument) that expresses one of the alternatives. The predicates are always formally identical in both clauses. Although such sentences correspond semantically to a constituent disjunction, they are formally biclausal.

(1350) *Nakta-wa-ka* *ise:-mi* *pauza-wa-ka*
boar-ACC-DIS see.PAST-1SG sheep-ACC-DIS
ise:-mi.
see.PAST-1SG
‘I saw either a boar or a sheep.’

(1351) a. *Einеŋi-ke* *gulin-ze-u-es* *timana-ni-ke*
today-IND go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-DIS tomorrow-3SG-IND
gulin-ze-u-es.
go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-DIS
‘We will leave either today or tomorrow.’

b. *Nakta-wa-ka* *ise:-ni-es*
boar-ACC-DIS see.PAST-3SG-IND
j’e-we-ke *ise:-ni-es.*
what-ACC-IND see.PAST-3SG-DIS
‘He saw either a boar, or something else.’

c. *Zaŋdalafu-ke* *bi:-ni-es* *j’eu-ke* *bi:-ni-es.*
Zandalafu-DIS be-3SG-DIS what-DIS be-3SG-DIS
‘This is Zandalafu, or somebody else.’

The following example illustrates that the clitic *–dA ... -dA* can be also used in a dusjunctive function, at least by disjunction of two non-finite clauses.

(1352) *Xekui* *bi:-we-ni-de* *gili* *bi:-we-ni-de*
hot be.PRP-ACC-3SF-FOC cold be.PRP-ACC-3SF-FOC
akta-masi-mi.
try-DIS-1SG
'I am checking whether it is hot or cold.' (S 661)

18.3. Subordination

As shown in Chapters 19, 20, and 21, the normal way to express subordination is through a non-finite clause, based on participles, converbs, or infinitives. Subordination expressed by a finite clause is quite rare, and, as in the case of coordination (18.1), when two finite clauses are adjacent to each other it is not always apparent whether we are dealing with a complex structure or two independent sentences. As was mentioned in 18.1.2, in such instances we can rely on prosodic criteria. This section deals only with more or less transparent cases (mostly finite complement clauses and some types of relative clauses), although some less clear examples can also be found. Adverbial finite clauses seem not to exist in Udihe.

18.3.1. Complement clauses

This section addresses finite complement clauses, except for subordinate questions described in 23.1.4. A finite complement clause is governed by verbs of perception (18.3.1.1), verbs of thinking (18.3.1.2), verbs of saying (18.3.1.3), and experiential adjectives (18.3.1.4). For these verbs the subordinate finite complement clause is either the only available valence pattern, or is possible together with a non-finite complement clause (Chapter 20). The finite complement clause may follow or precede the matrix verb, and in rare cases it can also be found clause-internally, that is, when it is surrounded by elements of the superordinate clause.

18.3.1.1. Perception verbs

The following verbs are able to take a finite complement clause, although they more normally co-occur with a participial complement clause (Chapter 20).

(1353) *ise-*	'see'	*düüsi-*	'hear'
ise-si-	'look at'	*t'osi-*	'dream'
sau-pte-	'be known by'		

Evidential particles (12.1.2.1) may optionally be present within the finite subordinate clause, although they are not required by any grammatical rules. If the evidential particle is present, as in (1355) below, it is basically redundant since the verbs of perception themselves indicate the source of information.

(1354) a. *Mafa* *oŋko-si:-ni* *ise:-ni.*
[bear pasture-IM-3SG] see.PAST-3SG
'He saw that the bears were pasturing.' (K 130)

b. *Bi* *t'osi-mi* *minti* *sita-fi* *eme-zeŋe-ni.*
me dream-1SG [we.IN son-1PL.IN come-FUT-3SG]
'I was dreaming that our son would come.'

c. *T'osi:* *nada* *kotoi-ti* *eme-iti.*
dream.PRP [seven bald-3PL come-3PL]
'She is dreaming that seven bald ones are coming.'

(1355) a. *Saŋa* *culi* *ise-si-e-ni* *zu:* *belie*
hole through see-IM-PAST-3SG [two girl
ŋen'e *gune* *tuxi-we* *xebu-s'e.*
walk.PERF EV sledge-ACC carry-EXP.PERF]
'He looked through the hole (and saw): two girls are coming carrying a sledge.' (K 110)

b. *Ise-si-e-ni* *bagä:-za-tigi* *belie-n(i)-de*
see-IM-PAST-3SG other-N-LAT [girl-3SG-FOC
te:gi-e-ni *gune.*
sit-PAST-3SG EV]
'He looked at the opposite side (and saw that): a girl was sitting (there).' (K 144)

c. *Nua-ni* *sau-pte-ini* *ketu* *mei* *wakca-i*
he-3SG know-DEC-3SG [very strong hunt-PRP
ni: *gumu.*
man EV]
'It is known about him that he is a very good hunter.'

18.3.1.2. The verb *muisi-* 'think'

The verb of thinking *muisi-* 'think' cannot govern a non-finite subordinate clause and is not therefore mentioned in Chapter 20. It only introduces a finite subordinate clause followed by an evidential particle (normally, *gumu* or, less frequently, *bize*). The absence of this particle results in robust ungrammaticality.

(1356) a. *Muisi-mi* *ei* *a:nta* *soŋo-ini* *gumu.*
think-1SG [this woman cry-3SG EV]
'I think that this woman is crying.'

b. *Nua-ni* *muisi:-ni* *uli* *teu* *xa:-ni* he-3SG
think-3SG [water all boil.PAST-3SG
gumu.
EV]
'He thinks that all the water has boiled away.'

(1357) *Bi* *muisi-mi* *nua-ni* *eme-gi-e-ni* *bize.*
me think-1SG [he-3SG come-REP-PAST-3SG EV]
'I think that he must have come.'

Like other sentences introduced by non-factive verbs, subordinate clauses governed by the verb *muisi-* follow the sequence of tenses. If the event of the subordinate clause is prior to the event in the past described by the superordinate clause, this is expressed by the Pluperfect verb in the subordinate clause (1358). If the superordinate clause refers to the past, and the event of the subordinate clause is posterior in time with respect to it, this is expressed by the Subjunctive in the subordinate clause (1359).

(1358) *Ñ'ädiga* *muisi-e-ni* *si* *nuan-di-ni*
Nadiga think-PAST-3SG [you he-DAT-3SG
kesi-we *bu-o:* *bi-s'e-i* *gumu.*
luck-ACC give-PP be-PERF-2SG EV]
'Nadiga thought you brought him good luck.'

(1359) a. *Bi* *muisi-e-mi* *eineŋi* *si*
me think-PAST-1SG [today you
emegi-ze-i *gumu.*
come-SUBJ-2SG EV]
'I thought you would come today.'
b. *Bi* *zua* *emegi-ze* *gumu* *muisi-e-mi.*
me [summer come-SUBJ EV] think-PAST-1SG
'I thought he would come in the summer.'

18.3.1.3. Verbs of saying

The verb *gun-* 'say' is usually located to the right of the finite subordinate clause, which in this case is not followed by any evidential elements. In some contexts the meaning of this verb is rather 'think' (1360c).

(1360) a. *Kuti* *käŋa-wa* *diga-ini* *gun-e-iti.*
[tiger deer-ACC eat-3SG] say-0-3PL
'They say that the tiger eats deer.'
b. *Abu-ziga* *ebede* *ŋua-i* *bi-s'e*
[ancestor-PL so sleep-PRP be-PERF]
gun-te-i-ze.
say-PERM-2SG-HORT
'Tell (him) that our ancestors used to sleep this way.' (K 106)
c. *Zaŋdalafu* *gune-mi-de* *ei* *sa:*
[Zandalafu] think-INF-FOC [NEG know]
sigi-li-e-ti.
brake-INC-PAST-3PL
'Thinking that Zandalafu does not know, they started to brake him.'(K 107)

Verbs of saying other than *gun-*, such as *dian-* 'say' in (1361a) and *teluŋusi-* 'tell' in (1361b) usually precede the subordinate clause. The evidential particle *gumu* is normally located immediately to the right of the subordinate clause.

(1361) a. *Ni:* *dian-a-iti* *kuti* *pauza-wa* *diga-ini*
man say-0-3PL [tiger roe-ACC eat-3SG
gumu.
EV]
'People say that the tiger eats roes.'
b. *Bi* *abuga-tigi:* *teluŋu-si-e-mi*
me father-LAT.REF story-V-PAST-1SG
Iwana-wa *bele-zeŋe-i* *gumu.*
[Ivan-ACC help-FUT-1SG EV]
'I told my father that I will help Ivan.'

The verb *dian-* ‘say’ may mean ‘say something about somebody’ and takes two non-subject arguments, one of which is expressed by the Accusative and another corresponds to the finite embedded clause:

(1362) *Nua-ma-ni* *diaŋ-ki-ti* *ketu* *mei* *wakca-i* he-ACC-3SG
say-PAST-3PL [very strong hunt-PRP *ni:* *gumu.*
man EV]
‘They say about him that he is a very good hunter.’

The third argument of the verb *teluŋusi-* ‘tell something to somebody’ is in the Dative, cf.:

(1363) *Uti* *ni:-du* *teluŋu-sie* *Lugi* *belie*
that man-DAT story-V.IMP.2SG Lugi fairly
sin-e-we *ah-ini.*
you-0-ACC chase-3SG
‘Tell this man that the fairly Lugi is chasing you.’ (SKX 96)

18.3.1.4. The verb *ŋele-* ‘be afraid’

The verb *ŋele-* 'be afraid' may introduce a participial complement clause (Chapter 20) and – in a different subject situation – a finite clause where the verb is in the Future or Subjunctive:

(1364) *Bi* *ŋele-mi* *Iwana* *eme-zeŋe-ni*
me be.afraid-1SG [Ivan come-FUT-3SG
(or: *eme-ze*) *gun-e-mi.*
(come-SUBJ) say-0-1SG]
‘I am afraid Ivan will come.’

18.3.1.5. Experiential adjectives

Certain experiential adjectives among those listed in (17.2.3.1) introduce a finite subordinate clause that is not controlled by any element of the superordinate clause. In particular, it cannot be controlled by the Dative experiencer, as can non-finite infinitival subordinate clauses (20.1.1.3).

(1365) a. *Abuga-i* *wakca-na-ini* *min-du-de*
[father-1SG hunt-DIR-3SG] me-DAT-FOC
aja.
good
‘It is nice for me that the father is going hunting.’

b. *Su* *ute* *bede* *dian-a-i* *min-du-de*
[you that like speak-0-2PL] me-DAT-FOC
ge:
bad
‘It is bad for me that you speak this way.’

c. *Min-du* *xeŋteni* *ede:-ni* *min-e-we*
me-DAT boring become.PAST-3SG [me-0-ACC
gele-ini.
ask-3SG]

‘I am bored that he keeps asking me.’

d. *A:nta* *jexe-ini* *min-du* *sebzeŋke.*
[woman sing-3SG] me-DAT interesting
‘I am interested in this woman’s singing.’

18.3.2. Relative clauses

The Relative clause is typically non-finite (Chapter 19). Quite regularly a finite relative clause is only used in these two cases: when it is a generalized relative clause (18.3.2.1), or an equative relative clauses (18.3.2.2).

18.3.2.1. Generalized relative clause

Generalized relative clauses express a non-specific indefinite meaning. They have an empty head the reference of which is determined by the relative clause itself. In other words, they express a proposition which refers to the whole class of objects defined by the relative clause, such as, for example, in *j’e-digi-de eme-gi:-si* ‘wherever I come from’ <what-ABL-IND come-REP-PC.1SG>. Structurally, the generalized relative clause can be both finite and non-finite. Examples of non-finite generalized relative clauses are presented in 19.5.2.

In all types of generalized relative clauses an indefinite non-specific pronoun is present (see section 9.5.2 on the morphology of such pronouns). It denotes the class of objects that the generalized relative clause describes, and takes the corresponding morphological form. The superordinate clause may contain its overt semantic correlate, but this is not necessary. Examples (1366) show the finite generalized relative clause.

(1366) a. *Nua-ni* *teu* *nixe:-ni* *min-tigi*
he-3SG all do.PAST-3SG [we-LAT
j’e-we-de *diaŋ-ki-ni.*
what-ACC-IND say-PAST-3SG]
‘He did everything he told us.’

b. *Ono-do* *ja: sin-e-we* *uisigi-zeŋe-i* *bi.*
[how-IND PROV] you-0-ACC rescue-FUT-1SG me
‘Whatever happens, I will rescue you.’ (K 188)

c. *Ali-de* *bagdi:* *min-du* *wo-u-ze-i.*
[where-IND live.2SG] me-DAT kill-PAS-SUBJ-1SG
‘Wherever you live, I will kill you.’ (K 163)

d. *J’eu* *ba:-dexem* *ŋeni:* *exi-mi*
[what place-IND go.PRP] sister-REF
gene-gi-ze-mi.
bring-REP-SUBJ-1SG
‘I will bring my sister back, wherever she has gone.’

18.3.2.2. Equative relative clause

The equative relative clause is finite and corresponds to the correlative structure with the correlative anaphoric pronoun *(u)ti* 'that' (22.1.2.2). Non-finite correlative clauses are addressed in 22.1.3.

(1367) a. *Nua-ni* *uti* *xoton-digi* *eme-gi-e-ni* he-3SG
that city-ABL come-REP-PAST-3G
si *anana* *uta-du* *bagdi-e-i.*
[you long.ago that-DAT live-PAST-2SG]
'He came from the same city you used to live in.'

b. *Ono* *bi-si-ni* *ono* *bejeku-zi*
how be-PAST-3SG how similar-INST
wo-gi-ze-m(i).
make-REP-SUBJ-1SG
'I will make (it) as it used to be.' (K 188)

c. *J'e-le* *mo:* *bi-si-ni* *ta-la* *ŋua.*
what-LOC tree be-PAST-3SG that-LOC sleep
'One would sleep where there were trees.'

d. *J'e-le* *mo:* *og'ou* *bi-si-ni* *ta-la*
what-LOC tree dry be-PAST-3SG that-LOC
aŋa-si:.
night.shelter-V.PRP
'One used to make a night tent where there were dry trees.'

e. *J'e-le* *bui* *egdi* *bi-si-ni* *ta-la*
what-LOC animal many be-PAST-3SG that-LOC
bagdi:.
live.PRP
'One used to live where there were many animals.'

f. *Ni* *zomi:* *bi:-si-ni* *uti*
who steal.PRP be-PAST-3SG that
ŋala-ni *kokci-zaŋa-ni.*
hand-3SG get.crooked-FUT-3SG
'He who steals something, his hand will become crooked.'

The meaning 'the more …. the more' is expressed by means of repetition of the adverb *eli* 'soon':

(556) *Eli* *sagdi* *ede-ini* *eli* *aja-zi*
soon big become-3SG soon good-INST
mä:usa-la-ini.
gun-V-3SG
'The more grown up he becomes, the better he can shoot.'

18.4. Direct speech

Verbs of reporting that usually introduce direct speech are the following:

(1369) *teluŋusi-* 'tell' *gun-* 'say'
xaundasi- 'ask' *dian-* 'say'
xetinde- 'shout' *kaja-* 'order'
bodosi- 'think' *daŋisi-* 'curse'

Their phonetic form appears to be dependent on their position in the sentence. If they precede a direct speech quotation, they are usually pronounced with an emphatic non-phonemic lengthening

of the final vowel (2.1.5.1, 2.1.5.2), as, for example: *teluŋusi-e-nie* (< *teleŋusi-e-ni*) ‘he told’ <story-V-PAST-3SG>. On the other hand, when they follow a quotation in direct speech they appear in a shortened form with a reduced final vowel (2.1.5.3), for example: *guŋ-ki-n* (< *guŋ-ki-ni*) ‘he said’ <say-PAST-3SG>. These phonetic changes are not reflected in the examples presented below.

18.4.1. Direct speech introduced with evidential particles

All the verbs listed in 18.4.1 with the exception of the verb *gun-* ‘say’ require that the evidential particle *gumu* or *gune* follow the quotation in direct speech, for example:

(1370) a. *Nua-ni* *diaŋ-ka* *eniŋe-tigi:*
he-3SG say-PERF mother-LAT.REF
magazina-tigi *ŋene-zeŋe-i* *gumu.*
[shop-LAT go-FUT-1SG EV]
‘He told his mother: I will go to the shop.’

b. *Bi* *abuga-i* *diana:-ni* *in’ei*
me father-1SG say.PAST-3SG [dog
e-zi *sunzu* *gumu.*
NEG-IMP.2SG tease EV]
‘My father was saying: Don’t tease the dog.’

c. *Ei* *ma:ma* *j’eu* *digaŋ-ka* *tuxi-we*
this grandmother what say-PERF [sledge-ACC
xebu-je *gumu,* *ni-de* *anči* *gumu.*
take-IMP.2SG EV] who-IND no EV
‘This grandmother said: Bring the sledge, (but) there was nobody there.’ (K 109)

d. *Si* *xaundasi-je* *Iwana* *mäunda-ni* *j’e-we*
you ask-IMP.2SG [Ivan gun-3SG what-ACC
gumu.
EV]
‘Ask (him): Is it Ivan’s gun or somebody else’s?’

The evidential particle may be absent in a very long direct speech quotation, or in a dialogue when verbs of saying introduce the direct speech of several speakers alternately.

18.4.2. The verb *gun-* ‘say’

The verb *gun-* sometimes repeats another verb of saying already present in the sentence. Thus, in (1371) the direct speech is introduced and preceded by the verb *dian-* ‘say’, however, the verb *gun-* follows the quotation. Its morphological form «doubles» the form of the first verb of saying (the 1st person Singular in this case).

(1371) *Bi* *dian-a-i* *bi-s’e-i* *sin-tigi*
me say-0-PRP be-PERF-1SG you-LAT
e-zi *ŋene* *guŋ-ki-mi.*

[NEG-IMP.2SG go] say-PAST-1SG
'I told you: Don't go.

Alternatively, the verb *gun-* can act as the only means to introduce direct speech, in which case it always follows the quotation. The subject of the superordinate clause that introduces the direct speech may precede the quotation, as in (1373).

(1372) a. *Sebe* *beje-ti* *taŋa:-ti* *jei* *ni:*
earlier he-3PL count.PAST-3PL [nine man
bi-fi *guŋ-ki-ni.*
be-1PL.IN] say-PAST-3SG
'Earlier they were counting themselves and said: There are nine of us.' (K 30)

b. *Digan-ta-i-ze* *tuxi-we*
[[say-PERM-2SG-HORT [sledge-ACC
xebu-je *guŋ-ke* *gun-te-j-ze*
take-IMP.2SG s ay-PERF] say-PERM-2SG-HORT]]
guŋ-ki-ni.
say-PAST-3SG
'She said: tell (them) that I told (you): Take the sledge.' (K 109)

(1373) a. *Exi-ni* *mo-lo-zo-m(i)* *mo-lo-zo-m(i)*
sister-3SG [tree-V-SUBJ-1SG tree-V-SUBJ-1SG
bi *mo-lo-zo-m(i)* *guŋ-ki-ni.*
me tree-V-SUBJ-1SG] say-PAST-3SG
'Her sister said: I shall, I shall, I shall cut trees.' (K 104)

b. *Belie* *iŋke* *guŋ-ki-ni.*
fairy [OK] say-PAST-3SG
'The fairy said: OK.' (K 160)

18.4.3. Ellipsis of the verb of saying

The verb of saying may be entirely absent from the sentence with direct speech, while the other verb within the matrix clause takes a non-finite form (the Infinitive in (1374) and the Past Participle in (1375)). Since these forms do not normally function as an independent predicate, this indicates that we are in fact dealing here with an incomplete structure: the finite verb of saying is omitted.

(1374) a. *Eme-gi-mie,* *e:* *eniŋe, aziga-ziga*
come-REP-INF [INTER mother girl-PL
i:-le *bi:-ni?*
this-LOC be-3SG]
'Having come (he said): Mother, where are the girls?' (K 106)

b. *Ise-si-gi-e-ni,* *omo* *Kanda* *mafa*
see-IM-REP-PAST-3SG one Kanda old.man
mamaka-ŋi: *mule* *bi-mi*
wife-AL.REF with be-INF
aŋa-si-e.
[night.shelter-V-IMP.2SG]

‘He can see that the old man Kanda lives with his wife (and says):
Stay for the night.’

(1375) *Omo-so* *emende* *te:n-zi* *egdeŋe*
one-ADJ witch sit.PP-INST.SS [interesting
ni:-xi-de *bi-ze-ni.*
man-ADJ-FOC be-SUBJ-3SG]
‘One witch (said while) sitting: It is interesting, there are people.’
(K 181)

18.4.4. The Imperative in direct speech

In sentences that involve the Imperative in direct speech, the addressee of the imperative utterance may be optionally expressed within the superordinate clause as the Accusative object. Such sentences therefore form object control structures, where the direct object is coreferential with the subject of the subordinate clause. Examples are:

(1376) a. *Bi* *od’o-i* *niŋka-wa* *buolime-we*
me grandfather-1SG Chinese-ACC [corn-ACC
we-je *guŋ-ki-ni.*
grow-IMP.2SG] say-PAST-3SG
‘My grandfather told the Chinese people: Grow corn!’

b. *Bi* *eniŋe-we* *xutinde:-mi* *ule:-we*
me mother-ACC shout.PAST-1SG [meat-ACC
olokto-jo *gumu* (*guŋ-ki-mi).*
cook-IMP.2SG EV (say-PAST-1SG)]
‘I shouted to my mother: Cook some meat!’

c. *Bi* *men-e* *xunazi:* *dian-a-mi*
me REF-0 sister.REF say-0-1SG
ule:-we *olokto-jo.*
[meat-ACC cook-IMP.2SG]
‘I said to my sister: Cook some meat.’

d. *A:nta* *nua-ma-ni* *diaŋ-ka* *uli-we*
woman he-ACC-3SG say-PERF [water-ACC
gazi-e *gumu* (or: *guŋ-ki-ni*).
bring-IMP.2SG EV (say-PAST-3SG)]
‘The woman told him: Bring some water.’

e. *Bi* *ag’a-i* *min-e-we* *digan-a-ini*
me brother-1SG me-0-ACC say-0-3SG
zugdi-tigi *ŋene-je.*
[house-LAT go-IMP.2SG]
‘My brother says to me: Go home.’

f. *Bi* *men-e* *sita-i* *kaja:-mi*
me REF-0 son-REF order.PAST-1SG
Iwana-wa *cemne-je* *gumu.*
[Ivan-ACC deceive-IMP.2SG EV]

‘I ordered my son: Don’t tell Ivan the truth!’

Chapter 19
Relative clause

Relative clauses are expressed with different types of participles that determine the relativized noun: the Active (7.5.1.1), Passive (7.5.1.2), Destinative (7.5.1.3), and Resultative (7.5.1.4) participles. The semantic relation between the head and the active participle can be of a very wide character, since this participle is not oriented semantically to refer to any particular participant (see 7.9.1.1). Different syntactic positions can be relativized by means of the active participle: Nominative (1377a), Accusative (1377b), Locative (1377c), Instrumental (1377d), Dative (1377e), the time adverb (1377f), and, more seldom, the possessor (1377g).

(1377) a. *Ni:* *su:le-i-we-ni-de* *ja-u-mi.*
[man be.ill-PRP-ACC-3SG-FOC] medicine-CAUS-1SG
'I cure the people who are ill.'

b. *Bi* *od'o-i* *zugdi-we*
[me grandfather-1SG house-ACC
wo:n-di-ni *bi* *bagdi-mi.*
make.PP-DAT-3SG] me live-1SG
'I live in the house which my grandfather built.'

c. *Bi* *anda-i* *xoton-tigi* *ŋene-ini* *bi*
me friend-1SG city-LAT go-3SG [me
ag'a-i *xoton-du* *bagdi:-le-ni.*
brother-1SG city-DAT live.PRP-LOC-3SG]
'My friend goes to the city where my brother lives.'

d. *Bi* *in'ei-we* *gazi-e-mi* *bi*
me dog-ACC take-PAST-1SG [me
sita-i *ŋele-i-we-ni.*
son-1SG be.afraid-PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I took away the dog of which my son is frightened.'

e. *Bi* *si* *suese-we* *bu-o:-i* *ni:-we*
[me you axe-ACC give-PP-2SG] man-ACC
ise:-mi.
see.PAST-1SG
'I saw the man to whom you gave the axe.'

f. *Bi* *abuga-i* *kuti-we* *wa:-i-ni*
[me father-1SG tiger-ACC kill-PRP-3SG]
neŋi-ni *bagdi-e-mi.*
day-3SG born-PAST-1SG
'I was born on the day when my father killed the tiger.'

g. *Si* *a:nta* *neŋu-me-ni*
you [woman younger.sibling-ACC-3SG
wa:n-tigi-ti *ŋene:-i.*
kill.PP-LAT-3PL] go.PAST-2SG

‘You went to the woman whose brother was killed.’

Almost every element of the superordinate clause, therefore, can be relativized with the help of the active participle. It does not seem possible to relativize the adverbial syntactic positions expressed by a postpositional phrase and the standard of comparison. Examples of relativization into a subordinate clause are missing and we will assume that even if they are theoretically possible, they are extremely unusual in Udihe.

The Passive, Resultative, and Destinative Participles are inherently oriented to express a particular participant of the situation – a patient/theme (passive participle, but see exceptions in experiencer of the resultative situation (Resultative Participle), or an object destined for action (Destinative Participles). Therefore in relative clauses with these types of participles only these particular roles are relativized.

There are three major types of relative clause – external, internal, and discontinuous, described in sections 19.1, 19.2, and 19.3, respectively. They use different formal strategies with respect to the position of the participle and in marking the syntactic role of the relativized noun. The external relative clause is prenominal and uses the so-called gapping strategy, that is, the grammatical role of the relativized noun is not overtly indicated within the relative clause but corresponds to the syntactic gap. In the internal relative clause the participle is postnominal and corresponds to the syntactic head of the relative clause, while a relativized noun is internal to the relative. In the discontinuous clause the relativized noun and the relative clause are not adjacent to each other. There are no syntactic and/or semantic restrictions on forming external and internal types of relative clause; both strategies apply to all grammatical relations accessible to relativization. The discontinuous clause is a marginal type, which allows only the subject and the direct object to relativize. Within each strategy there are additional formal differences between the cases in which the head noun corresponds to the subject of the relative clause, and in which the head noun does not coincide with the subject of the relative clause.

From the communicative point of view, internal and discontinuous relative clauses seem to involve the topicalization of the relativized noun (on the notion of topic and topicalization of other sentence elements see Chapter 24). In fact, they are structurally similar to other postnominal modifiers available when the head noun is topicalized (23.2.2.2). Semantically, it appears that only internal and discontinuous relative clauses may be non-restrictive, while a restrictive interpretation is possible for all three types.

The word order within the relative clause may vary, but its predicate always occupies the last linear position, while its subject (if different from the head noun) must be clause-initial within the external relative. However, this is not necessarily so within the internal relative clause.

The structure of this chapter is based on a formal classification of relative clauses. Apart from the three major types mentioned above, it also describes the copular relative clause (19.4), the headless relative clause (19.5), and depictives (19.6).

19.1. External strategy

In external relative clauses the predication is mostly expressed with active participles, Destinative Participles, and Resultative Participles. Passive participles, although possible, are very rarely used in this type for an obvious pragmatic reason. Normally passive participles occur only if the head noun with the semantic role of the patient in the relative clause has a more topicalized status than the agent. Therefore in a relative clause with passive participles the head noun (patient) should be highly topical, and the internal (topicalizing) relative clause strategy (19.2) is mostly used.

The most important formal features of the external strategy are the prenominal position of the participle and gapping of the relativized noun within the relative clause.

19.1.1. Relativized subject

To relativize a subject with the external strategy, that is, when the head noun coincides with the subject of the relative clause, only impersonal forms of participles are used. Plurality may be marked with the collective word *getu* following the participle. The head noun follows the relative clause. The subject is absent (gapped) from the relative clause.

If the relativized noun also corresponds to the grammatical relation of the subject of the superordinate clause, it takes a Nominative form.

(1378) a. *Ei* *kusige-we* *min-du* *suŋgele:* *ni:*
[this knife-ACC me-DAT give.PP] man
ŋene:-ni.
leave.PAST-3SG
'The man who gave me this knife left.'

b. *Buni:* *käŋa* *bu* *zulieli-u* *ili:-ni.*
[bellow.PRP] deer we front-1PL.EX stand-3SG
'The bellowing deer is standing in front of us.'

c. *Songo-i* *getu* *ñ'aula* *susa:-ti.*
[cry-PRP PL] child escape.PAST-3PL
'The crying children escaped.'

The following example demonstrates number agreement between the head and the relative clause:

(1379) *Inixi* *osi-gi-e* *getu* *čawa-ziga* *amäixi*
[alive become-REP-PP PL] soldier-PL backwards
susa-gi-li-e-ti.
escape-REP-INC-PAST-3PL
'The soldiers who remained alive ran back.' (SKX 270)

When the syntactic role of the head in the superordinate clause is different from the subject, it is marked by case suffixes or postpositions.

(1380) a. *Tiŋeni* *eme-i* *getu* *ni:-we*
[yesterday come-PRP PL] man-ACC
ise:-mi.
see.PAST-1SG
'I saw the people who came yesterday.'

b. *Bi* *bagdi-mi* *sin-zi* *geje.*
me live-1SG [you-INST together
etete-i *ni:-du*
work-PRP] man-DAT
'I stay with the man who works with you.'

c. *Songo-i* *getu* *ñ'aula-zi* *ŋele-mi.*
[cry-PRP PL] child-INST afraid-1SG
'I am afraid of crying children.'

d. *Min-du* *kusige-we* *bu-o:* *ni:-we*
[me-DAT knife-ACC give-PP] man-ACC
anana *e-s'e-i* *ise.*
long.ago NEG-PERF-1SG see
'I haven't seen the man who gave me the knife for a long time.'

The same pattern is used with the Destinative (1381) and Resultative (1382) participles (passive participles are not possible in this type). In both cases the head noun acts as a subject of the relative clause, although semantically it has the role of experiencer.

(1381) a. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *mo:-wo* *juosi-kči* *suese-we.*
me see.PAST-1SG [tree-ACC cut-DP] axe-AC
'I saw the axe for cutting trees.'

b. *Bu-je* *min-du* *in'ei-we* *egbesi-kči* *xeku-we.*
give-IMP.2SG me-DAT [dog-ACC tie-DP] rope-ACC
'Give me a rope to tie the dog.'

(1382) a. *Cambi-ktu* *moxo-zi* *e-zi* *umi.*
[break-RES] mug-INST NEG-IMP.2SG drink
'Don't drink from the broken mug.'

b. *Bi* *sieni-ktu* *kuti-we* *ise:-mi.*
me [wound-RES] tiger-ACC see.PAST-1SG
'I saw a wounded tiger.'

c. *Bi* *deu-ktu* *ni:-we* *ise:-mi.*
me [get.tired-RES] man-ACC see.PAST-1SG
'I saw the tired man.'

19.1.2. Other positions relativized

If the syntactic role of the head in the relative clause is other than the subject, within the relative clause there is a syntactic subject position. The subject of the relative clause takes the Nominative form. The participle is used in its personal form; the personal inflections refer to the person and number of the subject of the relative clause. The head noun corresponds to the syntactic gap within the relative clause.

19.1.2.1. Same-subject and different-subject sentences

Different-subject forms indicate that the subjects of the two clauses are not identical (1383). Same-subject participial forms express coreference of the relative clause subject with the subject of the superordinate clause (1384).

(1383) a. *Bu* *sa-u* *su* *bagdi-e-u* *zugdi-we.*
we know-1PL.EX [you live-PP-2PL] house-ACC
'We know the house where you lived.'

b. *Si* *b'a-i* *siekte* *nemnes'e-ndime.*
[you find.PP-2SG] thread narrow-ADJ
'The thread which you found is narrower.'

c. *Bi* *bu-o:-mi* *zä:-ŋi-we-i* *minti*
me give-PP-1SG money-AL-ACC-1SG [we

aŋa-si-e-fi *ni:-du.*
night.shelter-V-PP-1PL.IN] man-DAT
'I gave money to the man with whom we stayed.'

d. *Bi* *nakta-wa* *kusige-si-e-mi* *bi*
me boar-ACC knife-V-PAST-1SG [me
od'o-i *anana* *wakca:-ni* *kusige-zi.*
grandfather-1SG long.ago hunt.PP-3SG] knife-INST
'I stabbed the boar with the knife with which my grandfather used to hunt.'

(1384) a. *Nua-ni* *umi-e-ni* *men-e* *gada:-mi* he-3SG
drink-PAST-3SG [REF-0 buy.PP-SS]
'ai-we.
vodka-ACC
'He drank the vodka which he bought.'

b *Nua-ti* *eme-gi-e-ti* *anana*
he-3PL come-REP-PAST-3PL [long.ago
gdi-e-fi *zugdi-le.*
ve-PP-SS.PL] house
'They came to the house where they used to live.'

19.1.2.2. Impersonal and passive relative clauses

The following example illustrates the agentless relative clause used to de-emphasize the subject. As in finite agentless constructions (see 16.2.5), the lexical subject of the relative clause is absent and the 3rd person plural different-subject inflection on the participle form is used.

(1385) *Tiŋeni* *oño-u-ŋ-ki-ti* *oño-wo* *einеŋi*
[yesterday write-PAS-CAUS-PP-3PL] letter-ACC today
bi *b'a-mi.*
me get.PAST-1SG
'Today I got the letter written yesterday.'

A similar meaning is rendered by the relative clause with the passive participle where the head noun corresponds to the patient/theme argument. The subject is absent on the surface.

(1386) a. *Tugbu-se* *mo:-lo* *te:-mi.*
[cut.down-PP.PAS] tree-LOC sit.PAST-1SG
'I was sitting on the cut down tree.'

b. *E-u* *tagda* *aziga* *eme:-ni.*
NEG-PAS recognize girl come.PAST-3SG
'An unknown girl came.'

19.1.2.3. Relativized possessor

Possessor relativization is a very rare option. When the possessor is relativized, it takes the Nominative form and precedes the impersonal form of the participle. The head of the possessive construction is located after the participle and takes the 3rd person inflection normally used in possessive constructions (13.1). It can also have the suffix marking the role of the possessor in the

superordinate clause such as the Accusative marker in example (1387).

(1387) *Bi* *a:nta* *gada-i* *zugdi-we-ni*
me woman [buy-PRP house-ACC-3SG]
b'agdi-e-mi.
meet-PAST-1SG
'I met the woman whose house you bought.'

19.1.3. Destinative Participles with the Past meaning

As mentioned in 7.9.1.3.2, Destinative Participles may occasionally have a Past meaning. It should be noticed that in Schneider's description (Schneider 1936: 122) the Participles in *-kči* are treated as a regular subtype of the active Past Participles without any reference to their destinative meaning. Unfortunately, examples of their usage as active Past Participles are not given. Participles with the suffix *-kči* may behave as a regular Past active participles in the modern Bikin dialect as well. However, in most cases in our material, participles with the suffix *-kči* are definitely Destinative in different syntactic functions. Their use as active Past Participles without a destinative meaning is restricted to the few cases cited below and seems to be obsolete.

In the impersonal form such participles modify a head noun that corresponds to the subject role (1388). Personal forms are employed otherwise (1389).

(1388) a. *Zugzä:-wa* *zomi-kči* *jandasi* *c'o* *egdi* *kei-we*
[fish-ACC steal-DP] badger very many word-ACC
dian-a-ini.
say-0-3SG
'The badger who stole the fish says many words.' (K 149)

b. *Ei* *bi* *ule:-ŋi-we-i* *zomo-si-kči-ziga*
this [me meat-AL-ACC-1SG steal-IM-DP-PL]
kil'ai-ziga.
seagull-PL.
'These are the seagulls who used to steal my meat.' (K 184)

c. *Nua-ni* *min-du* *zube* *neŋi-ni* *bi-kči*
he-3SG [me-DAT two day-3SG be-DP]
ŋeni-ge.
go-PERF
'He left, having stayed with me for two days.'

(1389) a. *Ei* *bi* *mafa-i* *suŋgele-kči-ni* *xua.*
this [me husband-1SG give-DP-3SG] flower
'These are the flowers given by my husband.'

b. *Ei* *ta:mati* *Petro* *bu-kči-ni* *kusige.*
this [last.year Peter give-DP-3SG] knife
'This is the knife which Peter gave (me) last year.'

c. *Iwana* *gazi-kči-ni* *suala* *ge:* *m'ei.*
[Ivan give-DP-3SG] ski bad only
'The skis given by Ivan are bad.'

Details about this type are not clear. The possibility always exists of using the active Past Participle

in the same sentence, cf. (1390). It seems, however, that (1390) does not express the focusing of the subject, as distinct from (1389a).

(1390) *Ei bi mafa-i suŋgele:-ni xua.*
this [me husband-1SG give.PAST-3SG] flower
'These are the flowers given by my husband.

19.1.4. External relative clauses with case agreement

Attributive agreement in case is otherwise absent in Udihe, but with some exceptions, as in 13.3.5. Case agreement within an external relative clause is vary rare. It is only possible in the Accusative.

(1391) a. *Ni:-we wa:-ma-ni mafa-wa e-iti*
[man-ACC kill.PP-ACC-3SG] bear-ACC NEG-3PL
amä:sa-wan-a.
leave-CAUS-0
'They didn't leave the bear that had killed a man.' (SK 292

b. *Bi ise:-mi ei suŋta*
me see.PAST-1SG [NEG deep
bi:-we-ni siŋe-we.
be.PRP-ACC-3SG] well-ACC
'I saw a well which is not deep.'

c. *Ge, ei bua diga:-ma-ni xa-ma-ni*
well this God eat.PP-ACC-3SG remainder-ACC-3SG
ni-du bu-zeŋe-fi?
who-DAT give-FUT-1PL.IN
'Well, to whom shall we give the remainders of what the God has eaten?' (SKX 264)

19.2. Internal strategy

In this type of relative clause the subordinate participle follows the relativized noun and is immediately adjacent to it. The relativized noun tends to be located at the beginning of the superordinate clause, often (but not exclusively) in the clause-initial position and is likely to be topicalized. If it is not clause-initial, the subject of the superordinate clause may precede it.

This strategy provides examples of the so-called «internal» relative clause (Keenan 1985); the relativized noun is internal to the relative clause and does not constitute its syntactic head. Sentence (1392b) exemplifies the external (gapped) relative clause and (1392c) illustrates the internal relative clause. The gap is shown by the symbol ∅. In (1392c) the relativized noun occupies the same syntactic position as in the initial sentence (1392a), namely, is direct object encoded by the Accusative. Note that the relativized noun in (1392c) does not control number agreement into the superordinate clause, as does the head noun in (1392b).

(1392) a. *Bi od'o-i zugdi-ziga-we wo:-ni.*
me grandfather house-PL-ACC make.PAST-3SG

‘My grandfather built houses.’

b. *Bi* *od’o-i* *wo:-ni* *zugdi-ziga*
[me grandfather ∅ make.PP-3SG] house-PL
uligdig’a-ŋku.
beautiful-PL
‘The houses built by my grandfather are beautiful.’

c. *Bi* *od’o-i* *zugdi-ziga-wa*
[me grandfather-1SG house-PL-ACC
wo:-ni *uligdig’a.*
make.PP-3SG] beautiful

‘The houses built by my grandfather are beautiful’
or: ‘As for the houses built by my grandfather, they are beautiful.’

The participle bears case markers that show the syntactic role of the relativized noun within the matrix clause. In different-subject sentences it is also marked for the Possessive which cross-references the relative clause subject.

The relativized noun must immediately precede the participle, while all secondary elements within the internal relative clause precede the relativized noun and typically the embedded subject as well:

(1393) a. *Ei* *timani* *si* *kniga* *xebu-o:-me-i*
[this morning you book bring-PP-ACC-2SG]
Tolja *taŋi-ge.*
Tolja read-PERF
‘Tolja has (already) read this book you brought in the morning.’

b. *E:xi-ni* *zali* *düixi-ni* *käŋa* *sulikta-ni*
sister-3SG [barn inside-3SG deer intestine-3SG
bi-si-me-ni *gazi-si-e-ni.*
be-PP-ACC-3SG] collect-IM-PAST-3SG
‘The sister collected the deer intestines which were in the barn.’
(K 127)

19.2.1. Relativized subject

No Destinative or Resultative Participles are found in this type, with the exception of rare examples where the Destinative Participles function as the Past Participle (7.9.1.3.2).

(1394) *Bi* *sita-i* *jexe-kči* *j’eu-ke* *ŋene:-ni.*
[me son-1SG sing-DP] what-IND go.PAST-3SG
‘My son went somewhere, singing.’

The same-subject sentences use impersonal participles. Plurality may be marked by the collective word *getu*, cf. (1396).

(1395) a. *Bi* *ñansule-mi* *metu-o:* *bolnica-le*
[me study-INF finish-PP] hospital-LOC
etete-zeŋe-i.
work-FUT-1SG
‘Having finished my studies, I will work at a hospital.’

b. *Ei* *b'ata* *sagdi* *ede:* *wakca-i*
[this boy big become.PP] hunt-PRP
ni: *ede-zeŋe-ni.*
man become-FUT-3SG
'This boy when he grows up will be a hunter.'

c. *Teu* *metu-o:* *sama* *uŋtu-we*
[all finish-PAST] shaman tambourine-ACC
sewe-si:-ni *to:-lo.*
spirit-V-3SG fire-LOC
'Having finished everything the shaman (beats) the tambourine and calls spirits before the fire.'

d. *B'ata sagbai* *tukä-wasi-mi* *zolo*
[boy barefooted run-DIV-INF] [stone
camna:-tigi-ni *bugdi:* *wa:-ni.*
break.PP-LAT-3SG] foot.REF kill.PAST-3SG
'The barefooted boy was running everywhere, and wounded his foot on a broken stone.'

(1396) a. *Ni:-ziga* *ule:-we* *xuene-i* *getu*
[man-PL meat-ACC cut-PRP PL]
kusige-we *nodo:-ti.*
knife-ACC lose.PAST-3PL
'The people who were cutting the meat lost the knife.'

b. *Wac'a* *esi-gi-e-ni* *ni:* *suala-ŋisi-mi*
few become-REP-PAST-3SG [man ski-V-INF
ñoni: *getu.*
can.PRP PL]
'Few people are left who can make skis.'

If the subjects of the superordinate and the relative clause are not coreferential but the relativized noun is the subject of the relative clause, the personal participle forms are used. The participle takes the 3rd personal suffix and the case suffix or the postposition marking the syntactic role of the relativized noun in the superordinate clause.

(1397) a. *Bi* *mo:* *zegde-i-le-ni* *bi-si-mi.*
me [tree burn-PRP-LOC-3SG] be-PAST-1SG
'I was in the burning forest.'

b. *Moxo* *camna:-ma-ni* *aisi-gi-u-zeŋe.*
[mug break.PP-ACC-3SG] mend-REP-PAS-FP
'The broken mug should be mended.'

c. *Aziga* *sebzeŋke* *jexe-i-we-ni* *teu* *aju-iti.*
[girl interesting sing-PRP-ACC-3SG] all like-3PL
'Everybody likes the girl who sings nicely.'

d. *Bu* *a:nta* *ñoligi* *seune-we*
we [woman blue kerchief-ACC

seunele:n-zi-ti *dia-si-e-mu.*
put.on.PAST-INST-3PL] say-IM-PAST-1PL.EXC
'We were talking to the women who put on the blue kerchief.'

e. *A:nta* *songo-i-we-ni* *gazi-e-ni.*
[woman cry-PRP-ACC-3SG] take-PAST-3SG
'He took away the crying woman.' (Schneider 1936: 14)

f. *Omo* *tukca* *saŋa* *culini* *xetigeni:-we-ni*
[one hare hole through jump.PRP-ACC-3SG]
Kanda *mafa* *ku'ai-ni* *due-le-ni*
Kanda old.man ear-3SG top-LOC-3SG
pali-gde *ŋingada:-ni.*
black-FOC grease.PAST-3SG
'The old man Kanda greased the hare which jumped through the hole with black on its ears.'

g. *Aziga* *ma:ma-i* *uli:-ni*
girl [grandmother-REF sew.PRP-3SG
ca:-du-ni *gusi:-ni.*
behind-DAT-3SG] play-3SG
'The girl is playing behind the sewing grandmother.'

19.2.2. Other positions relativized

If the syntactic position relativized is other than the subject, the topicalized relativized noun precedes the relative clause. It takes the case marker, showing its syntactic role in the subordinate clause. The participle takes the case suffix which marks the role of the head noun within the superordinate clause and the personal inflection referring to the subject of the relative clause. Thus, the relativized noun and the participle might not have the same case. The subject of the relative clause usually precedes the relativized noun, as is demonstrated by most of the examples cited in this section. However, it may also follow it, cf.:

(1398) a. *Oño-jo* *ŋimaŋku-we* *bi*
write-IMP.2SG [tale-ACC me
ŋima-si:-we-i.
tell-IM.PRP-ACC-1SG]
'Write down the tale that I am telling.'

b. *Gazi-je* *oloxi-we* *bi* *tiŋeni*
take-IMP.2SG [squirrel me yesterday
wa:-ma-i.
kill.PP-ACC-1SG]
'Take the squirrel that I killed yesterday.'

c. *Ei* *tege-we* *si* *uli-e-i*
[this gown-ACC you sew-PP-2SG]
musei-du *bi:-ni.*
museum-DAT be-3SG
'This gown that you made is in the museum.'

19.2.2.1. Same-subject and different-subject sentences

Examples (1399) demonstrate different-subject sentences, and examples (1400) same-subject

sentences. Examples (1401) show the impersonal relative clause where the participle is marked for the 3rd person Plural.

(1399) a. *Bi* *nakta-wa* *kusige-si-e-mi* *bi*
me boar-ACC knife-V-PAST-1SG [me
od'o-i *kusige-we* *bu-o:n-zi-ni.*
grandfather-1SG knife-ACC give-PP-INST-3SG]
'I cut the boar with the knife my grandfather had given to me.'

b. *Si* *anda-i* *ŋene:-ni* *bi*
you freind-2SG go.PAST-3SG [me
ag'a-i *xoton-du* *bagdi:-tigi-ni.*
brother-1SG city-LOC live.PRP-LAT-3SG]
'Your friend went to the city where my brother lives.'

c. *Si* *käŋa-wa* *wa:-i* *dili-we-ni*
[you deer-ACC kill-PRP.2SG] head-ACC-3SG
bi zawa:-mi.
me take.PAST-1SG
'I took the head of the deer you killed.'

d. *Ni:* *käŋa* *enime-ni* *wa-zaŋa-wa-ni*
man [deer female-ACC-3SG kill-FP-ACC-3SG]
igbesi-e-ni.
chase-PAST-3SG
'The man$_i$ chased the female deer which he$_j$ was going to kill.'
(Schneider 1936: 143)

e. *Ono* *okto-si:-ti* *kuliga* *ni:-we*
how medicine-V-3PL [snake man-ACC
ikteme-le-i-we-ni?
bite-SING-PRP-ACC-3SG]
'How do they treat a man bitten by a snake?'

(1400) a. *Belie-we* *b'an-zi-fi*
[fairy-ACC meet.PP-INST-SS]
aŋa-si-e:-ti.
night.shelter-V-PAST-3PL
'They spent the night with the fairy they met.' (Schneider 1936: 143)

b. *Men-e* *käŋa-i* *wa:-mi* *kä:-la-ni*
[REF-0 deer-REF kill.PP-SS side-LOC-3SG]
te-ini.
sit-3SG
'He is sitting near the deer he killed.'

(1401) a. *Xaluga-wa* *ŋala-la-ni* *xeke-he-me-ti*
[hammer-ACC hand-LOC-3SG tie-PP-ACC-3PL]
asukta-gi-he-ni *Tuguma.*
untie-REP-PAST-3SG Tuguma.
'Tuguma untied the hammer tied to his (father's) hand.'
(Schneider 1935a: 12)

b. *Abdä:* *mo:-wo* *tugbule:-le-ti*
leaf [tree-ACC cut.down.PP-LOC-3PL]
tiŋmele:-ti.
fall.PAST-3PL
'The leaves were falling down on the cut tree.'

19.2.2.2. Relativized possessor

When the possessor is relativized it precedes the possessed noun which takes the 3rd person inflection, so this configuration does not differ from the regular possessive construction (13.1). In its turn the possessed noun is followed by the participle which has the case suffix showing the role of the relativized noun in the superordinate clause and the personal inflection referring to the subject of the relative clause. In (1402a) the possessed noun *emugde-ni* 'his stomach' corresponds to the subject of the relative clause, therefore it is not case-marked.

(1402) a. *Ñ'aula* *emugde-ni* *uni:-du-ni* *eniŋe-ni*
[child stomach-3SG hurt.PRP-LOC-3SG] mother-3SG
caja-wa *bu-o:-ni.*
tea-ACC give-PAST-3SG
'The mother gave some tea to the child whose stomach was hurting.'

b. *Teŋku* *bugdi-ni* *camna:-ma-ni*
[chair leg-3SG break.PP-ACC-3SG]
wende-le-je.
throw-SING-IMP.2SG
'Throw away the chair whose legs are broken.'

If the syntactic role of the possessed noun in the relative clause is other than the subject, it is indicated by the case suffix on the possessed noun, for example, the Accusative suffix on *igi-we-ni* 'his tail' as in (1403a) or *neŋu-me-ni* 'her brother' in (1403b).

(1403) a. *In'ei* *igi-we-ni* *xua-nda:-ti*
[dog tail-ACC-3SG cut-SEM-PP-3PL]
eme-gi-e-ni.
come-REP-PAST-3SG
'The dog whose tail was cut off came.'

b. *Si a:nta* *neŋu-me-ni*
you [woman younger.sibling-ACC-3SG
wa:n-tigi-ti *ŋene-i.*
kill.PP-LAT-3PL] go-2SG
'You are going to a woman whose brother was killed.'

19.2.2.3. Passive and Resultative relative clauses

Passive participles are often used within the internal strategy. The relative clause with the passive participle is always impersonal (that is, its subject is either indefinite or generic). The relativized noun in passive relative clauses is also its object and is marked for the Accusative. The role of the relativized noun within the superordinate clause is marked by the corresponding case suffix on the participle. The passive participles lack personal forms. The following examples illustrate the use of the Past passive participles (1404), the combined Passive-Resultative participle with a passive meaning (1405a), the ordinary Resultative Participle (1405b), and passive Necessitative participles (1406).

(1404) a. *Kusige-we* *zu:-se-zi* *ule:-we*
[knife-ACC sharpen-PP.PAS-INST] meat-ACC
di:-ni.
cut-3SG
'He is cutting the meat with the sharpened knife.'

b. *Mo:-wo* *tugbu-se-le* *te:-mi.*
[tree-ACC fell-PP.PAS-LOC] sit-1SG
'I was sitting on the fallen tree.'

c. *Ei* *bi* *xebu-si-mi* *gampa-wa*
this me bring-IM-1SG [porridge-ACC
olokto-so-wo.
cook-PP.PAS-ACC]
'Now I bring the cooked porridge.'

d. *Mo:* *mo-lo-so* *kä:-di-ni* *egdi*
[tree tree-V-PP.PAS] side-DAT-3SG much
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'There is a lot of cut wood next to him.'

(1405) a. *Bi* *te:-mi* *wopti-we* *kimpi-ktu-se*
me sit-1SG [door-ACC close-RES-PP.PAS
ca:-du-ni.
behind-DAT-3SG]
'I am sitting near the closed door.'

b. *Bi* *b'a-gi-e-mi* *kusige-we* *campi-ktu-we.*
me find-REP-PAST-1SG [knife-ACC break-RES-ACC] 'I found a broken knife.'

(1406) a. *Oño-wo* *oño-u-zeŋe* *o-du*
[letter-ACC write-PAS-FP] this-DAT
bi:-zeŋe-ni.
be-FUT-3SG
'The letter which should be written will be here.'

b. *Bi* *sita-i* *saŋxua-i* *diga-u-zeŋe-we*
me son-1SG [lunch-REF eat-PAS-FP-ACC]
teu *mal'a* *timadule.*
all consume.PERF morning
'My son ate in the morning all the lunch which had to be eaten.'

19.2.3. Internal relative clauses with case-agreement

In certain fairly rare cases the relativized nominal and the participle may be marked with the same case (always the Accusative). Case agreement in internal relative clauses is more frequent than in external relative clauses, especially in the Northern dialect. In principle, it may be analyzed either as an instance of «real» agreement (1407), or as a kind of apposition (1408). In the latter case the head nominal is extracted out of the relative clause and is typically separated from it by a pause and an intonation break.

(1407) a. *Su:-we* *su:-ne-i-we-ni* *tokö*
[sun-ACC son-V-PRP-ACC-3SG] cloud
dakpi-e-ni.
cover-PAST-3SG
'The cloud covered the shining sun.'

b. *Zu:* *mafa* *sita-wa-ni*
[two bear child-ACC-3SG
eme-i-we-ti *b'a-ni.*
come-PRP-ACC-3PL] get.PAST-3SG
'He met two coming bear cubs.' (SKX 82)

(1408) a. *Ni:we* *jagdugu-xi* *bi:-we-ni*
[man-ACC} [spectacles-ADJ be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
ise:-mi.
see.PAST-1SG
'I saw a man, a bespectacled one.'

19.3. Discontinuous relative clauses

The relative clause can be separated from its head by other lexical material. In this case the relative clause is normally either postposed after the finite verb or fronted to the beginning of the sentence. It seems that the non-adjacent relative clause is triggered by a kind of «topic-promotion" of the head noun and appears under the same conditions as other discontinuous modifiers (24.2.2.2). Semantically, it is likely to be non-restrictive. Like the other discontinuous modifiers, the participle within the discontinuous relative clause agrees with the head noun in case. This is the general requirement for discontinuous constituents in Udihe. The syntactic constraint on the discontinuous relative clause is that the head noun must correspond to the subject or the direct object role within the superordinate clause; other grammatical relations do not trigger the non-adjacent relative clause.

19.3.1. Relativized subject

Example (1409) below illustrates the same-subject sentence with the relative clause non-adjacent to the head noun *sagdinta* 'old men', but postposed after the finite verb. The participle takes the impersonal form since the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential.

(1409) a. *Sagdinta* *wac'a* *esigi-e-ni* *anana*
old.man few become-PAST-3SG [long.ago
bagdi-e-me-ti *sa-i* *getu.*
live-PP-ACC-3PL know-PRP PL]
'There are few old men left who know how the people lived before.'

b. *Učitelnica* *eme-gi-e-ni* *Jara-du*
female.teacher come-REP-PAST-3SG [Yar-DAT
bi: *getu.*
be.PRP PL]
'There came the teacher who lives (with her family) in Yar.'

In (1410) the subjects are not coreferential and the participle bears personal affixes that refer to the subject of the relative clause. The participle and the head nominal agree in case. The case affix shows the syntactic role of the head nominal within the matrix clause.

(1410) a. *Zakpu-ma* *b'a-gi-e-ni*
eight-ACC get-REP-PAST-3SG
zegde:-me-ti.
[scorch.PAST-ACC-3PL]
'He got eight scorched (animals).' (K 150)

b. *Bi* *nua-ma-ni* *ise-si-e-mi* *Jara-du*
be he-ACC-3SG see-IM-PAST-1SG [Yar-DAT
bagdi:-we-ni.
live.PP-ACC-3SG]
'I saw him living (when) he was living in Yar.'

c. *Bi* *kuti* *ña:-la-ni* *te:-mi* *Iwana* *wa:-ni.*
me tiger skin-LOC-3SG sit-1SG [Ivan kill.PP-3SG]
'I am sitting on the skin of the tiger killed by Ivan.'

Some examples are also found where the personal affix on the participle is missing even in the case of a different subject.

(1411) a. *Bi* *käu* *wa:-mi* *uti* *getu-we*
me all kill.PAST-1SG that PL-ACC
sun-e-we *wa:-ma.*
[you-0-ACC kill.PP-ACC]
'I killed all of those who killed you.' (K 178)

b. *Mun-e-we-de* *a-ta-i* *mute*
we-0-ACC-FOC NEG-SUBJ-2SG finish
nada-sa *namu* *tagäla-ni* *bagdi:-we.*
[seven-ADJ sea behind-3SG live.PRP-ACC]
'You won't catch us, who live behind the seventh sea.' (K 180)

19.3.2. Other positions relativized

Examples of a direct object relativized with the discontinuous strategy are (1412).

(1412) a. *Si* *kusige-i* *b'a-gi-e-i*
you knife-2SG find-REP-PAST-2SG
galakta-gi-e:-mi?
[search-REP-PP-SS]
'Did you find the knife you were looking for?'

b. *Utemi* *soŋo* *ule:-we-ni* *e-iti*
therefore bear meat-ACC-3SG NEG-3PL
diga *xunazi* *näzakta-i* *wa-ma-ni.*
eat sister [brother-REF kill.PP-ACC-3SG]
'That is why sisters do not eat meat of the bear killed by their brother.' c. *Bi* *ila* *tieze-we* *bu-si-e-mi* *ni:*
me three money-ACC give-IM-PAST-1SG [man
geli:-we-ti.

ask.PRP-ACC-3PL]
'I gave out the three rubles that the people asked for.'

d. *Bi kuti-we ise:-mi wakca-i*
me tiger see.PAST-1SG [hunt-PRP
getu sienisi-e-me-ni.
PL wound-PP-ACC-3SG]
'I saw the tiger wounded by hunters.'

e. *Min-e-we bi ic'a bi-ŋe:-i*
me-0-ACC me small be-IC-1SG
wondo:-mo-ti b'a-gi-e-ti xoŋto
[throw.PP-ACC-3PL] find-REP-PAST-3PL other
ni:.
man
'The other people found me abandoned when I was small.'

The following examples demonstrate some rare cases of adjunct relativization where the discontinuous strategy is employed.

(1413) a. *Xai elile-ni e-si-ni i:n-e*
yet time-3SG NEG-PAST-3SG come-0
bi kala-gi-zeŋe-i.
me turn-REP-FUT-1SG
'The time has not yet come when I turn again (into a man).'

b. *Eme-gi:-ni kawa-tigi bagdi: ni:*
come-REP-3SG tent-LAT [live.PRP man
bi:-tigi-ti.
be.PRP-LAT-3PL]
'He comes to the tent where people live.' (SKX 296)

c. *Men-e bua-la-i bagdi-ne-gi-e-ti*
REF-0 place-LOC-SS live-DIR-REP-PAST-3PL *guasa*
nede:-fei kä:-la-ni.
[bitch put.PP-SS.PL] side-LOC-3SG
'They returned to live at their place, next to which they had put the bitch.' (SKX 212)

19.4. Copular relative clauses

Copular constructions as described in Chapter 17 also form relative clauses which basically follow the general patterns (19.1 and 19.2) for the relativized subject (the subject of the copular construction in this case). Such relative clauses have some kind of intensifying meaning; they stress the idea that the object denoted by the head noun is selected from a set of other similar objects. Both the regular participle of the copula *bi:-* and the Habitual participle *bie* are found in such relative clauses. Examples of external relative clauses with the copular construction are:

(1414) a. *Aja-da toŋdo-do bie*
[good-FOC straight-FOC be.PRP.HAB]

daumi-we *zoko:-ni*
bridge-ACC put.PAST-3SG
'He made a bridge which is good and straight.' (K 107)

b. *Ute* *bi:* *ni:-we* *gen-e-mi.*
[so be.PRP] man-ACC fetch-0-1SG
'I came to fetch a man of such kind.' (K 137)

c. *Omo-s'o* *ni:* *xebu-si:-ni*
one-REST man carry-IM-3SG
sina-du-i … *agbi* *bi:* *kusige-we.*
burden.frame-DAT-REF [wide be.PRP] knife-ACC
'One man was carrying a knife which is wide on his burden frame.'
(SKX 326)

d. *Omo* *a:nta* *eu-o:-ni,* *sikele* *bi:*
one woman come.down.PAST-3SG [young be.PRP]
a:nta *eu-o:-ni.*
woman come.down-PAST-3SG
'One woman came down, the woman who was younger came
down.' (SKX 276) The internal strategy is more frequent. The participle of the verb 'be' takes the 3rd person personal suffix referring to the head of the relative. For natural semantic reasons the head noun in this type of clause can be expressed only by a lexical noun, that is, is always in the 3rd person. As is usual in the internal relative clause, the participle might take the case suffix marking the semantic role of the head in the superordinate clause. Very seldom does the participle *bi:* lack a personal inflection in this type (1415b), similar to other postposed modifiers (24.2.2.2.4).

(1415) a. *Bi* *ga:gi-e-mi* *umac'a-i* *xeku*
me pick.up-PAST-1SG [short-FOC rope
bi:-we-ni.
be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I picked up the rope, which is short.'

b. *Pakula* *dia-si-e-ni* *gabzi* *ni:*
Pakula say-IM-PAST-3SG [cheerful man
ei *bie-zi.*
NEG be.PRP.HAB-INST]
'Pakula was talking to a man who is not cheerful.'

c. *Nic'a* *sita* *bi:-we-ni* *emuge-le* [small
child bi.PRP-ACC-3SG] cradle
u:-iti.
tie.PAST-3PL
'They use to tie down the children who were small to the cradle.'
(SKX 286)

d. *Bua* *koli-ni* *teu-ni* *ni:* *bi:-ni*
place law [all-3SG man be.PRP-3SG]
koli-ni *bua* *xuen-di-ni.*
law-3SG place surface-DAT-3SG
'The law of the taiga is a law for ALL people in the forest.'
(SKX 312)

19.5. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses either have a specific meaning (19.5.1) or are non-specific generalized

clauses (19.5.2).

19.5.1. Specific headless relative clauses

The participles functioning in headless relative clauses are inherently substantivized; however, there is no formal marker of substantivization. The participle itself takes the case suffix indicating the role of the hypothetical head nominal in the superordinate clause. They can refer to inanimate things.

(1416) a. *Diga-u-zeŋe* *bi-si-me-ni* *diga:-ni.*
[eat-PAS-FP] be-PP-ACC-3SG eat.PAST-3SG
'He ate what had to be eaten.'

b. *Ñ'ädiga* *wakca-i-zi-ni* *t'aula-za-mi.*
[Nadiga hunt-PRP-INST-3SG] use-SUBJ-1SG
'I will perhaps use what Nadiga uses when hunting.' (Schneider 1936: 143)

c. *Zikte* *dian-a-i-we-ti* *tai-mi*
[blueberry say-0-PRP-ACC-3PL] pick.up-INF
bi-zeŋe-fi *olondo-wo* *gun-e-i-we-ti*
be-FUT-1PL [ginseng-ACC call-0-PRP-ACC-3PL]
olondo-mo-zoŋo-fi.
ginseng-V-FUT-1PL
'We will pick up what is called blueberry, we will collect what is called ginseng.'

d. *Zawa-ja* *Wolodia* *kopala-i-we-ni.*
take-IMP.2SG [Volodya dig-PRP-ACC-3SG]
'Take what Volodya is digging up (about potatoes).'

e. *Mafasa* *alu-i-we-ni* *uniŋa-wa*
[old.man serve-PRP-ACC-3SG] spoon-ACC
zawa-mi *diga-mi* *ča:la-ini.*
take-INF eat-INF want-3SG
'She took the spoon, ate what had been served by the old man, and agreed.'

f. *Ei* *tege-we* *ebie* *uli-se-digi-de*
this gown-ACC [earlier sew-PP.PAS-ABL-FOC]
uligdig'a *wo-zoŋo-i.*
beautiful make-FUT-1SG
'I will make this gown even more beautiful than the one sewn earlier.'

The headless relative clause can refer to a human being without being formally different from the former type, so the exact reading must be understood from the context.

(1417) a. *Ja:-la* *ančі* *ede:-me-ni-de*
[eye-PART no become.PP-ACC-3SG-FOC]
igisi-mi.
keep-1SG
'I am keeping the one who lost his sight.'

b. *Bagdi:* *getu* *kese-lege-ti* *sulikta*
[live.PRP PL] suffer-PURP-3PL intestine
bede *o:-zo.*
like become-SUBJ
'Let it become like intestines so that people (living ones) suffer.'
(K 108)

c. *Bie* *ei* *getu* *tu:-we* *teu*
[be.PRP.HAB this PL] shaman.pole-ACC all
toktogi-e-mi.
cut.down-PAST-1SG
'I have cut down the shaman pole of the living (people).' (K 184)

The same structure is employed for headless relative clauses that refer to a place. In this grammar they are addressed in the chapter on adverbial clauses, see 21.2.

The same-subject clause is expressed with the impersonal forms of the participles. Plurality is regularly marked with the collective word *getu*, cf.:

(1418) a. *Bu* *dian-a:-mu* *udie* *kei-we-ni*
we speak-PAST-1PL [Udihe language-ACC-3SG
egze-i *getu-we.*
understand-PRP PL-ACC]
'We were speaking to those who understood Udihe.'

b. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *min-tigi* *tukä-i*
me see.PAST-1SG [me-LAT run-PRP
getu-we.
PL-ACC]
'I saw (people) running to me.'

c. *Aja* *wakca-mi* *ñoni:* *getu* *soŋo-zi*
[good hunt-INF can.PRP PL] bear-INST
e-ini *ŋele.*
NEG-3SG be.afraid
'Those who can hunt well are not afraid of the bear.'

Examples of the headless relative with Necessitative Participles (1419) and with passive participles (1420) are presented below.

(1419) a. *Bi* *nixe-u-zeŋe-i* *egdi.*
me [do-PAS-FP-1SG] many.
'I have a lot to do.'

b. *Nua-ni* *etete-u-zeŋe-ni* *wac'a.*
he-3SG [work-PAS-FP-3SG] little
'He has to do a little work.'

(1420) *Anana* *bi-se-we* *oŋmo-so.*
long.ago [be-PP.PAS-ACC] forget-PP.PAS
'The past is forgotten.'

19.5.2. Generalized headless relative clauses

The generalized relative clause may involve different formal types of predicate. On the finite generalized relative clause see 18.3.2.1. Participial non-finite generalized relative clauses are quite rare; one example is presented below.

(1421) *Ono* *bi:-we-de* *e-zi* *galu.*
[how be.PRP-ACC-FOC] NEG-IMP.2SG hate
'Don't hate her, whatever she is.' (K 166)

In (1422) we present examples of a non-finite generalized relative clause based on the Infinitive, in (1423a) one based on the Perfective converb, in (1423b) one based on the Past Participle, and in (1424) ones based on the Conditional Converb. As demonstrated by (1422a) the superordinate clause in this case can have a semantically redundant correlative word, in this case a universal quantifier *teu* 'all, everything'.

(1422) a. *Nua-ni* *j'e-we-de* *nixe-mi*
[he-3SG what-ACC-FOC do-INF]
teu *ge:-zi* *m'ei* *nixe-ini.*
everything bad-INST only do-3SG
'Whatever he was doing, he was only doing it badly.'
b. *Ni-de* *bi-mi* *eme-je-u.*
[who-IND be-INF] come.in-IMP-2PL
'Whoever you are, come in.'

(1423) a. *Ni-de* *eme-isi-ni* *bi* *mamasa-i*
[who-IND come-PC-3SG] me wife-1SG
agda-ini.
be.glad-3SG
'Whoever comes, my wife is glad.'
b. *I:-le* *ŋene:-me-ni* *si* *d'ofo-ni-de.*
what-LOC go.PP-ACC-3SG you like-3SG-FOC
'Wherever one goes, it is like you.'

(1424) a. *Siŋe* *j'e-le-de* *bi-li* *saŋa-wa*
rat [what-LOC-IND be-CC.SS] hole-ACC
o:-iti.
make-3PL
'Wherever they are, rats make holes.' (SK 353)
b. *Ono-do* *iŋeni* *bi-lisi-ni* *e-zi* *te:-gi.*
[how-IND cold be-CC-3SG] NEG-IMP.2SG stand-REP
'However cold it may be, do not get up.'

19.5.3. Indefinite headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are used when the reference of a potential head is indefinite, in the sense 'unknown to the speaker.' Its plurality may be rendered by the 3rd person Plural subject agreement

marker on the participle, as in (1425b).

(1425) a. *Eje-ne-mi* *eje-ne-mi* *ise:-ti* *uli* float-DIS-INF
float-DIS-INF see.PAST-3PL [water
kä:-la-ni *p'a-sa* *bi:-we-ni.*
side-LOC-2SG black-ADJ be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'When they were floating down they saw something black on the riverbank.' (SKX 112)

b. *ŋene-mi* *ŋene-mi* *unakta* *meje-di-ni*
go-INF go-INF river.strech end-DAT-3SG
belie-ziga *ise:-ti* *kiai* *xo:n-dile-ni*
fairy-PL see.PAST-3PL [hill surface-LOC-3SG
bieuge *kiug'e* *ilana-i-we-ti.*
shining smooth shine-PRP-ACC-3PL]
'The fairies went further and on the stretch of the river they saw something shining and smooth on top of the hill.' (SKX 146)

19.6. Depictives

Copredicative adjectives and participles (depictives) modify a subject and a particular class of objects but cannot be associated with other grammatical relations. They may be of several types. Copredicative participles take the Nominative case, while copredicative adjectives mostly take the Instrumental (sometimes also the Nominative). As some of examples below illustrate, the depictive element does not need to be adjacent to the noun phrase that controls it.

On copredicative postpositional constructions see section 10.2.2.2.3.

19.6.1. Relative clauses as depictives

A passive or resultative relative clause that functions as a depictive is usually postnominal. A participial depictive can only be controlled by the subject.

A depictive with a resultative meaning describes the state which results from the previous action in which the participant that corresponds to the modified noun played a role of patient. Such a resultative may be expressed by the Past passive participle or the Resultative Participle. Example (1426a) illustrates the passive participle in the Nominative in such a function. For the Resultative Participle the Instrumental case is optional (1426b).

(1426) a. *Ñ'aula* *teu* *butusige-se* *eme-gi-e-ni.*
boy [all soil-PP.PAS] come-REP-PAST-3SG
'The boy came home all soiled.'

b. *Nua-ni* *teu* *koŋko-ktu(-zi)* *eme-gi-e-ni.*
he-3SG [all beat-RES(-INST)] come-REP-PAST-3SG
'He came all beaten up.'

19.6.2. Adjectival depictives

19.6.2.1. Subject depictives

The following verbs normally allow a copredicative adjective (the list is not exhaustive): verbs of

movement (*xuli-* 'walk'*, ŋene-* 'go, leave', etc.), decausative perception verbs (*ise-pte-* 'be seen', *düi-pte-* 'be heard'), and some intransitive verbs (*bagdi-gi-* 'be born', *bagdi-* 'live', *te:-* 'sit'). The copredicative Adjective is always postposed with respect to the nominal it modifies, and does not have to be immediately adjacent to it. It necessarily takes the Instrumental case, while the modified nominal (the subject) is obviously in the Nominative.

(1427) a. *Mo: nemnec'e-zi ise-pte-ini.*
tree thin-INST see-DEC-3SG
'The trees look thin.'

b. *Uti ñ'aula ami-mi bubei-zi*
this child father-REF similar-INST
bagdi-gi-e-ni.
live-REP-PAST-3SG
'This child was born looking like his father.'

c. *Nua-ni sebzeŋke-zi ŋeni-ge.*
he-3SG cheerful-INST go-PERF
'He left cheerful.'

Below we illustrate the Nominative adjectival depictive, which is a fairly rare case.

(1428) a. *Eku te:-mi.*
quiet sit.PAST-1SG
'I was sitting quiet.'

b. *Si elu ni:-ne-h-i.*
you adult man-V-PAST-2SG
'You became adult.' (K 314)

c. *Su: xutag'ai ise-pte:-ni.*
sun crimson see-DEC.PAST-3SG
'The sun seemed crimson.' (SK 391)

19.6.2.2. Object depictives

Certain direct objects also allow copredicative determiners. These are mostly objects of creation verbs such as *wo:-* 'make' and *uli-* 'sew' (1429), verbs of appearance and change of possession like *bu:-* 'give' (1430) and a few other verbs which have a resultative component in their meaning (1431). As in the case of subject depictives, the depictive adjective which modifies the object of creation is postnominal and takes the Instrumental case.

(1429) a. *Sagdi-zi wo:-jo kuxña-wa.*
large-INST make-IMP.2SG kitchen-ACC
'Make a kitchen large.'

b. *Nua-ti ei uniŋa-wa aisi-zi wo:-ti.*
he-3PL this spoon-ACC gold-INST make.PAST-3PL
'They made this spoon from gold.'

c. *'Ana xe:-we-ni agbi-agbi-zi*
boat bottom-ACC-3SG wide-wide-INST
o:-ti.
make.PAST-3PL
'They made the bottom of the boat very wide.' (SK 109)

(1430) *Min-du* *zä:-wa* *xul'a-zi* *bu-o:-ti.*
me-DAT money-ACC extra-INST give-PAST-3PL
'They gave me extra money.'

(1431) *ŋala-ti* *begdi-ti* *tu:* *sakäm-zi*
hand-3PL foot-3PL all bloody-INST
čuhasi-e-ti.
beat-PAST-3PL
'They beat their hands and feet till they were bleeding.' (SK 1077)

Note that objects of most transitive verbs, that is, those that cannot be characterized as verbs of appearance and creation, do not control depictives. Thus, in (1432a) secondary predication is expressed with the regular relative clause, while a depictive structure would be impossible (1432b).

(1432) a. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *nua-ma-ni* *koŋko:-mo-ti.*
me see.PAST-1SG he-ACC-3SG beat.PP-ACC-3PL
'I saw him beaten.'

b. **Bi* *ise:-mi* *nua-ma-ni* *koŋko-ktu-zi*
me see.PAST-1SG he-ACC-3SG beat-RES-INST
'I saw him beaten.'

The direct object modified by a depictive may be deleted under coreference with a previously mentioned element. In all other respects the construction is the same as with the overtly present object.

(1433) a. *Zugdi* *malu-le-ni* *ule-ze-fi*
house corner-LOC-3SG dig-SUBJ-1PL.IN
na:-wa, *sagdi-zi* *ule-ze-i.*
large-INST dig-SUBJ-2SG dig-SUBJ-IMP.2SG
'Let us dig earth in the corner of the house, dig it more (literally: large).'

b. *Xaŋgus'a-zi* *ule:-ti.*
shallow-INSTR dig-PAST-3SG
'(They) have dug a shallow hole.'

An example of the Nominative adjectival object depictive is presented below.

(1434) *ñoligi* *butu-o:-ni* *aka-wa-ni.*
black paint-PAST-3SG back-ACC-3SG
'He painted his back black.' (SKX 216)

19.6.2.3. Number agreement

The subject (1435) and the object (1436) control number agreement on the depictive adjective. There is never a Plural marker on the noun itself**.**

(1435) a. *Nua-ti* *zo:ŋku-ŋku-zi* *bagdi:-ti.*
he-3PL poor-PL-INST live-3PL
'They live poorly.'

b. *Ei* *mo:* *gugda-ŋku-zi* *i:wo:-ti.*

this tree tall-PL-INST grow.PAST-3PL
'These trees grew tall'.

c. *Sagdä-ŋku* *ju-o:-ti.*
big-PL grow-PAST-3PL
'They grew big.' (K 170)

(1436) a. *Zueze-we* *aja-ŋku-zi* *wo:-ti.*
table-ACC nice-PL-INST make.PAST-3PL
'They made tables nicely.'

b. *ŋic'a-ŋku-zi* *xua-ini.*
small-PL-INST cut-3SG
'He cuts it into small (pieces) (literally: he cut them small).'

c. *Kusige-we* *etei-ŋku-zi* *ziu-gi-se.*
knife-ACC sharp-PL-INST sharpen-REP-PP.PAS
'The knives are sharpened sharp.'

d. *Kakčima-wa* *ŋic'a-ŋku-zi* *montolie* *bombolie*
flat.cake-ACC small-PL-INST round round
kakčima-ŋisi:.
flat.cake-V.PRP
'They make flat cakes small and very round.' (SK 541)

This property formally differentiates depictives from qualificative adverbs derived from adjectives with the Instrumental suffix *-zi* (10.1.3.1.1). The latter never take Plural agreement.

Chapter 20
Complement subordinate clause

This chapter deals only with non-finite complement clauses. Finite complement clauses, and, in particular, direct and indirect speech constructions, are addressed in Chapter 18. On subordinate questions see section 23.1.4.

The complement subordinate clause in Udihe is a sentential argument with the syntactic role of the subject (20.1) or the direct object (20.2). The predicate of the non-finite complement clause is expressed by the Infinitive (7.5.3.1), a participle (7.5.1) or, less frequently, by the Purposive Converb (7.5.2.1). The particular strategy of forming the complement clause is mostly determined by the matrix verb, therefore the verbs that require each particular type of complement subordinate clause are given here in a representative list. The chapter is organized according to the formal types of the complement subordinate clauses which basically correspond to the valence patterns of the matrix verbs.

As in the other subordinate clauses (Chapters 19 and 21), the subject of the complement subordinate clause may or may not be coreferential with the superordinate clause subject. In the former case the subordinate clause predicate is marked by same-subject switch-reference affixes, in the latter case by different-subject affixes. The coreferential subject is often anaphorically dropped, either from the superordinate clause or from the subordinate clause. Some types of complement subordinate clauses allow only either same-subject or different-subject. These are discussed in more detail.

In the sentence, the subject complement clause (sentential subject) occupies the linear position usually associated with the subject (see 24.1.2). The object complement subordinate clause normally immediately precedes its head, the matrix verb, but it can also be separated from the matrix verb by VP adverbs or other elements. The postposing of the complement clause in the postverbal position is allowed. The complement clause itself is head-final, although younger speakers occasionally allow non-verb-final complement clauses, apparently under the influence of the Russian word order (1.5.2.2.2). The subject, if overtly present within a complement clause, tends to occupy the leftmost position.

20.1. Sentential subject

20.1.1. Infinitival sentential subject

The infinitival sentential subject is possible with one- or two-place predicates of state that normally participate in copula constructions in the superordinate clause (17.2.3.1). The copula predicates that take sentential subject complements are the following:

(1437)	*ge:*	‘bad’	*aja*	‘good’
	sebzeŋke	‘interesting’	*xei*	‘tasty’
	maŋga	‘difficult’	*tuge*	‘quick’
	eke	‘slow’	*go:*	‘long’
	gugda	‘high’	*zas’a*	‘easy’
	seuni:	‘dangerous, scary’	*so:ndo*	‘sin’

jaza	‘OK’		*sei*	‘chilly’	*safani*
‘tiring, boring’		*egdi* ‘a lot’			
kiab’au	‘tight’ (SK 1013)		*ñamai*	‘warm’	
ba: anči	‘no place’				
liŋga-liŋga bie	‘sticky’				
tembu-tembu bie	‘springy’				

The modal predicates that belong to this group are actually Past passive participles or Necessitative passive participles of the verbs *metu-* ‘finish, accomplish’ and *mute-* ‘possible’ in the affirmative and the negative form:

(1438) a.	*metu-se*	‘finished’
	e-u-se metu	‘unfinished
b.	*mute-u-zeŋe*	‘possible’
	e-u-zeŋe mute	‘forbidden, not possible’

Normally these predicates take the experiencer argument expressed by the Dative noun phrase (17.2.3.1). The second argument (if present) may correspond to the subordinate clause controlled by the Dative experiencer of the superordinate clause (20.1.1.3). When the predicates listed in (13.17) govern the complement subordinate clause whose subject is not coreferential with the Dative experiencer, the subordinate clause is finite. This case is treated in 18.3.1.5. Finally, the impersonal non-controlled infinitival subordinate clause may function as the only argument (20.1.1.1).

20.1.1.1. Impersonal clauses

The impersonal sentential subjects are semantically close to finite agentless clauses (16.2.5). However, as distinct from finite agentless constructions, it seems that sentential subject clauses are mostly of generic character, and cannot be interpreted as indefinite (in the sense of «not known to the speaker»). Both the simple Infinitive (1439) and the Impersonal Infinitive (1440) occur in this type, but the latter is more typical of the Northern dialect.

(1439) a.	*Ei*	*teŋku-le*	*te:-mi*	*ketu*	*nektes’e.*	
	[this	chair-LOC	sit-INF]	very	short	
	‘This chair is very short to sit on.’					
b.	*Xoton-tigi*	*ŋene-mi*	*da:s’a.*			
	[city-LAT	go-INF]	close			
	‘It is not far to go to the city.’					
c.	*Suese-we*	*aisi-gi-mi*	*e-u-zeŋe*		*metu.*	
	[axe-ACC	mend-REP-INF]	NEG-PAS-FP		finish	
	‘It is not possible to mend the axe.’					
d.	*Ei*	*wo:-tigi*	*tukti-mi*			
	[this	mountain-LAT	climb-INF]			
	metu:-zeŋe.					
	finish.PAS-FUT					
	‘It is possible to climb this mountain.’					
e.	*Gäunda-zi*	*ŋene-mi*	*eke.*			
	[pole-INST	go-INF]	slow			
	‘It is slow to move with poles (on the river).’					

(1440) a. *O-du* *bagdi-mu* *aja.*
[this-DAT live-IMI] nice
'It is nice to live here.'
b. *Ge:* *cemne-mu.*
bad [deceive-IMI]
'It is bad to deceive (people).'
c. *Seuni:* *emus'e* *xuli-mu.*
dangerous [alone travel-IMI]
'It is dangerous to travel alone.' (SK 848)

Furthermore, it appears that the matrix predicate (an adjective) can express the number of an object participant of the subordinate clause. We have only one example at our disposal: in (1441) the adjectival Plural marker *-ŋku* indicates the plurality of the subordinate clause object *mo:-wo* 'trees'. The subordinate clause is shown in brackets.

(1441) *Ei* *mo:-wo* *juosi-mi* *zas'a-ŋku.*
[this tree-ACC cut-INF] easy-PL
'It is easy to cut these trees.'

20.1.1.2. Personal clauses

Occasionally, the infinitival construction may be used in a personal sense. The subject is not specified but refers to particular people, cf.:

(1442) a. *Gusi-mi* *seuni:* *ede:-ni.*
[play-INF] dangerous become.PAST-3SG
'The game became dangerous.'
b. *Zile* *xegie-le-ni* *digene-mu* *aja bi-ze.*
[anvil under-LOC-3SG hide-IMI] nice be-SUBJ
'It would be nice to hide under the anvil.' (K 157)

The Infinitival clause governed by the matrix predicate *aja* 'nice' has a personal meaning when the subject is either overtly present (1443) or deleted under coreference (1444). Since the Infinitive does not take agreement markers, the subject agreement is suppressed. Such a subordinate clause expresses a wish or indirect exhortation.

(1443) a. *Abuga-i* *eme-gi-mi-de* *aja.*
[father-1SG come-REP-INF-FOC] nice
'It would be nice if my father came.'
b. *Si* *xeli* *bude-mi-de* *aja.*
[you soon die-INF-FOC] nice
'I wish you would die soon!'
c. *Si* *teŋku-i* *camna:-ma-ni*
[you chair-2SG break.PP-ACC-3SG
aisi-mi-de *aja.*
mend-INF-FOC] nice
'It would be nice if you repaired the broken chair.'

(1444) a. *Ni:-we* *alasi-mi-de* *aja.*

[man-ACC wait-INF-FOC] nice
'It would be nice to wait for this man.' (K 144)

b. *Ei-mi* *nodo-de* *aja.*
[NEG-INF lose-INF] nice.
'I wish he wouldn't lose (it).'

c. *W'ali-m(i)* *aja.*
[fight-INF] nice
'It would be nice to fight (meaning: let us fight).' (K 177).

20.1.1.3. Dative control

The predicates of state listed in 20.1 take the experiencer Dative argument (see also 17.2.3.1) that controls the subordinate clause. The subordinate clause subject must be coreferentially omitted. This is shown with the symbol ∅ in the glosses.

(1445) a. *O-du* *xuli-mi* *sin-du* *aja.*
[∅ this-DAT walk-INF] you-DAT good
'It is nice for you to walk here.'

b. *Bi* *aziga-du-i* *b'oto-wo* *diga-mi* *xei.*
me girl-DAT-1SG [∅ mushroom-ACC eat-INF] tasty
'It is tasty for my daughter to eat mushrooms.'

c. *Ei* *kaŋa-la* *nuan-di-ni* *ŋua-mi* *ketu* *tembu-tembu* *bie.*
this bed-LOC he-DAT-3SG [∅ sleep-INF] very spring-string be.PRES.HAB
'It feels like a spring for him when he sleeps on this bed.'

d. *Ei* *teŋku-le* *te:-mi* *nuan-di-ni* *aja.*
[∅ this chair-LOC sit-INF] he-DAT-3SG good
'It is nice for him to sit on this chair.'

In this type the predicates *mute-u-zeŋe* 'possible', *e-u-zeŋe mute* 'be forbidden, not possible', *metu-se* 'finished', *e-u-se metu* 'unfinished' do not occur since their meaning is impersonal. The equivalent personal meaning is rendered by means of finite constructions in one of the non-indicative moods.

A sentential subject of this type is often expressed by the Infinitive with the Durative derivational suffix (8.2.2.4), see also 20.2.1.

(1446) a. *Min-du* *ketu* *maŋga* *sun-du* *bagdi-kce-mi.*
me-DAT very strong [you-DAT live-DUR-INF] 'It is very difficult for me to stay with you.'

b. *Min-du* *safani:* *etete-kce-mi.*
me-DAT boring [work-DUR-INF]
'I got bored working.'

This construction sometimes allows a Nominative subject as well, in the same way as the variation Nominative/Dative is acceptable in the Desiderative copular construction (17.2.3.2).

(1447) *Bi-le* *j'e-le-de* *mafa-la-mi* *aja.*
me-FOC what-LOC-IND man-V-INF good
'It is good for me to marry somebody.' (SKX 188)

20.1.2. Participial sentential subject

This is an infrequent type. Unlike the previous two varieties of sentential subjects, the participial sentential subject does not occur with the predicates of state listed in 20.1, but is a complement to the decausative perception verbs such as *düi-pte* 'is heard' and *ise-pte* 'is seen' or the decausative verb *sau-pte-* 'be known' (see also in section 16.1.4.2).

(1448) a. *Iñi:-ti* *düi-pte.*
[laugh.PRP-3PL] hear-DEC
'Laughing is heard.'
b. *Nua-ni* *jexe-i-ni* *go:-lo* *düi-pte.*
[he-3SG sing-PRP-3SG] far-LOC hear-DEC
'His singing is heard far away.'
c. *Ni:* *xuli:-ni* *sa-u-pte-ini.*
[man walk.PRP-3SG] know-CAUS-DEC-3SG
'It is known that people walk (here).'

It seems that it is possible to introduce participial sentential subjects by means of some copular predicates. However, we may simply deal here with two coordinated clauses.

(1449) a. *Bueni* *bagdi:-ni* *min-digi* *go:-do*
he live.PRP-3SG me-BL far-FOC
ei *bie.*
NEG be.PRES.HAB
'He doesn't live far from me.'
b. *Deu-i-ni* *ančі-gde* *odo:-ni.*
get.tired-PRP-3SG no-FOC become.PAST-3SG
'Tiredness went away.' (SK 116)
c. *Sita-ni* *xauntasi-si:-ni* *xeŋteni* *bi-si-ni.*
child-3SG ask-IM.PRP-3SG bored be-PAST-3SG
'She was bored with her son's questions.' (SKX 172)
d. *Ei* *wah* *odo:-ni.*
NEG.PRP kill become.PAST-3SG
'Time came when you cannot kill anything.' (SKX 210)

20.2. Sentential object

The sentential complements follow several distinct morpho-syntactic strategies determined by the individual matrix predicate.

20.2.1. Infinitival sentential object

The infinitival complement clause is always of the same-subject type. Some of the matrix verbs

that govern the infinitival complement clause exhibit a semantic similarity with the typical auxiliary verbs in other languages, while other verbs correspond semantically to typical subject-control verbs. In fact, it is not at all clear whether such constructions in Udihe should be treated as biclausal or monoclausal («clause-union» type). Normally, the Infinitive precedes the matrix verb and the subject of the two verbs appears only once on the surface, preceding the Infinitive.

The following verbs take an infinitival subject-controlled complement clause: aspectual (phase) verbs (1450a), some modal predicates (1450b), emotional and evaluative predicates (1450c), and cognitive verbs (1450d). The complement clause has the factive meaning.

(1450)	a.	*zafanda-*	‘begin’
		metu-	‘finish
		wadi-	‘finish’
	b.	*ñoni-*	‘can’
		mute-	‘be able, can’
		ča:la-	‘want’
		nixe-	‘have to’
		dakca-	‘be going’
		kokpi-	‘have enough time, manage’
		ekele ančі bi-	‘have no time’
	c.	*gäŋda-*	‘be lazy’
		juŋde-	‘like, be fond of’
		kese-	‘suffer’
		safani: b’a-	‘get bored’
		juede-	‘be enthusiastic’
		muñali-	‘be sorry to’
		elu-	‘be bored’
		jemei b’a-	‘get disgusted’
		ŋele-	‘be afraid’
		azana-	‘be embarrassed’
		xakza-	‘be embarrassed’
	d.	*tati-*	‘get accustomed’
		s’aina-	‘get accustomed’
		egze-	‘be expert at’
		tatusi-	‘learn’

Examples:

(1451) a. *Iwana* *wadi-e-ni* *jexe-mi.*
Ivan stop-PAST-3SG [sing-INF]
‘Ivan stopped singing.’

b. *Nua-ni* *ñoni:-ni* *uli-mi.*
he-3SG can-3SG [sew-INF]
‘She can sew.’

c. *Bi* *odu* *te:-mi* *safani:* *b’a-mi.*
me [here sit-INF] boring get.PAST-1SG
‘I am bored sitting here.’

d. *Uti* *ni:-tigi* *ise-si-mi* *jemei* *b’a-ini.*
[this man-LAT see-IM-INF] disgust get-3SG
‘He is disgusted to look at this man.’

e. *Bi* *sita-i* *ba:-za* *ge-tigi-ni*

me son-1SG [place-N surface-LAT-3SG
xuli-mi *aja* *egze-ini.*
walk-INF] good be. expert-3SG
'My son is an expert at orienting in the forest.'

The verbs *azana-* 'be embarrassed', *xagza-* 'be embarrassed, *kese-* 'suffer', as well as the modal verbs *mute-* 'be able', *elu-* 'ne bored', *muñali-* 'be sorry to', and *kokpi-* 'have enough time, manage' often introduce an imperfective durative situation and co-occur with the Infinitive augmented by the Durative suffix *-kcA* (8.2.2.4), cf. also 20.1.1.3.

(1452) a. *Si* *emus'e* *bagdi-kce-mi* *kese-i.*
you [alone live-DUR-INF] suffer-2SG
'You are suffering from living on your own.'

b. *Gagi-kce-mi-de* *e-si-de* *kokpi-gi.*
[take-DUR-INF-FOC] NEG-PAST-FOC manage-REP
'(She) did not manage to take (it) away.'

c. *Tukä-kca-mi* *ei-ni* *mute.*
[run-DUR-INF] NEG-3SG can
'He can't run.'

d. *Ag'a* *muñali-e-ni* *mun-du*
brother sorry-PAST-3SG [we-DAT
ule:-we *bu-kce-mi.*
meat-ACC give-DUR-INF]
'The brother felt sorry for giving us some meat.'

20.2.2. Participial sentential object

In the participial complement clause the subordinate predicate is an active participle in one of the tensed forms. The participle takes the Accusative case and the personal inflection referring to the subject of the subordinate clause (different-subject). In same-subject sentences the participle is not inflected for case (is in the Nominative). This has a formal parallel in the construction with the reflexive object: the Accusative of the reflexive element is formally homonymous to the Nominative, see 22.3.2. The following types of participial sentential object are distinguished: object-controlled clause (20.2.2.1), non-controlled clause (20.2.2.2), and arbitrary controlled clause (20.2.2.3).

20.2.2.1. Object control

The subordinate clause subject may be controlled either by the direct object (20.2.2.1.1) or by the indirect object (20.2.2.1.2) of the matrix clause. A necessary prerequisite for omitting one of the coreferential arguments (either a subordinate clause subject or a matrix clause object) is the overt presence of its antecedent in the linearly preceding clause. Note that the referential null in the subordinate subject position can control reflexivization (22.32.3.2).

20.2.2.1.1. Direct object control

Object-control matrix verbs take the complement clause in which the subject is controlled by the Accusative object of the matrix clause. The subject may be overtly present in the subordinate

clause in the Nominative form, but can also be omitted under coreference. In both cases the personal different-subject inflection of the participle refers to the subject of the subordinate clause. The following verbs take the object-controlled complement clause:

(1453)	*alasi-*	'wait'	*belesi-*	'help'
	xaja-	'disturb'	*daŋuli-*	'disturb'

In the sentence the object-controlled complement clause is not normally adjacent to the object of the superordinate clause, but follows the matrix verb, cf.:

(1454) a. *Ei b'ata abuga-i belesi-e-ni*
this boy father-REF help-PAST-3SG
zugdi-we wo:-mo-ni.
[house-ACC make.PP-ACC-3SG]
'This boy helped his father to build the house.'

b. *Bi sin-e-we o-du alasi-ze-mi*
me you-0-ACC this-DAT wait-SUBJ-1SG
(si) eme-gi:-we-i.
[(you) come-REP-PRP-ACC-2SG]
'I will wait for you here until you return.'

Typically the object must be overtly present within the matrix clause. However, when the subordinate clause precedes the matrix clause and contains the overt subject, the object can be anaphorically omitted, cf.: (1455a) and (1455b).

(1455) a. *Ñ'aula-ziga od'o-wo-i xaja-iti*
child-PL grandfather-ACC-REF disturb-3PL
etete-i-we-ni.
[work-PRP-ACC-3SG]
'The children disturb the grandfather's work.'

b. *Bi etete-i-we-i xaja-i.*
[me work-PRP-ACC-1SG] disturb-2SG
'You are disturbing my work.'

20.2.2.1.2. Indirect object control

The verb *ka:ni:-* 'forbid' takes a complement clause controlled by the Lative indirect object, as in (1456b). In (1456a) it is omitted under coreference with the previously introduced subordinate clause subject.

(1456) a. *Wrač-u Iwana jexe-i-we-ni ka:ni:-ni.*
doctor-0 [Ivan sing-PRP-ACC-3SG] forbid-3SG
'The doctor forbids Ivan to sing.'

b. *Abuga-i ka:ni:-ni sin-tigi*
father-1SG forbid-3SG you-LAT
xuli:-we-i ba: xo:n-dile-ni.
[walk.PRP-ACC-2SG place top-LOC-3SG]
'The father forbids you to go to the forest.'

20.2.2.2. Non-controlled participial clauses

Due to their semantics, some matrix verbs require the complement participial clause in which only a different subject is allowed and the subject of the subordinate clause is not controlled by any argument within the superordinate clause. The subordinate clause subject in this case must be overtly expressed within the subordinate clause as a Nominative noun phrase. As in all participial subordinate clauses, the participial inflects for the Accusative case and obviously takes only different-subject personal inflections.

The following verbs belong to this type:

(1457) *zakta-* 'imitate' *aju-* 'like'
nitine- 'gossip'

Sentence examples:

(1458) a. *Kolo* *aju:-ini* *si* *teluŋu-si:-we-i.*
Kolo like-3SG [you story-V-PRP-ACC-2SG]
'Kolo likes what you are telling.'

b. *Bi* *'ai-we* *umi:-we-i* *nitine-iti.*
[me vodka-ACC drink.PRP-ACC-1SG] gossip-3PL
'They are gossiping that I drink vodka.'

c. *Bi* *käŋa* *buni:-we-ni* *zakta-mi.*
me [deer roar.PRP-ACC-3SG] imitate-1SG
'I imitate the deer roaring.'

20.2.2.3. Participial clauses with arbitrary control

This frequent type is formally similar to the previous one, however the subject of the complement clause can be controlled by the subject of the superordinate clause (same-subject situation) or by any other element within the superordinate clause or outside it (different-subject situation). In the former case, the subject is not overtly present in the complement clause itself. In the latter case it is optional. The participle takes the Accusative in different-subject sentences; in same-subject sentences, the Accusative marking on the participle is missing (see 22.5.1.2). On the Instrumental participial clause see 20.2.2.3.5.

As demonstrated below, with matrix verbs of saying and perception the complement clause tends to be located post-verbally although the preverbal position is also common.

20.2.2.3.1. Verbs of arbitrary control

Matrix verbs that belong to this group are cognitive verbs, verbs of saying, perception and evaluation, mostly with a factive but sometimes also with a non-factive meaning:

(1459) *t'osi-*	'dream'	*sa:-*	'know'
zoŋi-	'remember'	*agda-*	'be glad'
xono-	'be surprised'	*oŋmo-*	'forget'
teluŋusi-	'tell	*soŋo-*	'cry about'
ise-	'see'	*düisi-*	'hear'
iñe-	'laugh'	*sebune-*	'be interested'
mede-	'feel'	*xaundasi-*	'ask'

egze-	‘realise’	*dogdi-*	‘hear’
b’a-	‘find, see’	*dian-*	‘tell about, speak about’

20.2.2.3.2. Different-subject sentences

Examples of different-subject sentences are:

(1460) a. *Bu teluŋu-si-e-mu wakca-i ni:-tigi*
we story-V-PAST-1PL.IN hunt-PRP man-LAT
nua-ti zugdi-we wo:-mo-ti.
[he-3PL house-ACC make.PP-ACC-3PL]
‘We told the hunter that they have built the house.’

b. *Bi xono:-mi nua-ti*
me get.surprised-1SG [he-3PL
eme-gi-e-me-ti.
come-REP-PP-ACC-3PL]
‘I was surprised that they returned.’

c. *Bi mede-mi abuga-i*
me feel-1SG [father-1SG
eme-gi-e-me-ni.
come-REP-PP-ACC-3SG]
‘I feel that the father has come.’

d. *Bi ise:-mi si etete-i-we-i.*
me see.PAST-1SG [you work-PRP-ACC-2SG]
‘I saw that you were working.’

e. *Zu: ni: ŋene-i-we-ni ise:-ni.*
[two man go-PRP-ACC-3SG] see.PAST-3SG
‘He saw two men walking.’

20.2.2.3.3. Same-subject sentences

In same-subject sentences the subordinate participle takes no case inflection, cf.:

(1461) a. *Nua-ni teluŋu-si-e-ni min-tigi*
he-3SG story-V-PAST-3SG me-LAT
Moskva-tigi xuli-e-mi.
[Moscow-LAT go-PP-SS]
‘He told me that he had travelled to Moscow.’

b. *Jexe-ze-mi men-e bagdi-e-mi.*
sing-SUBJ-1SG [REF-0 live-PP-SS]

‘Let me sing about my own life.’

c. *Zugdi-tigi* *ŋene-zeŋe-mi-de* *oŋmo:.*
[house-LAT go-FP-SS-FOC] forget.PAST
‘He forgot to go home.’

20.2.2.3.4. Impersonal clauses

The impersonal interpretation of the subordinate clause is licensed by the impersonal form of the participle. The subject of the subordinate clause is naturally absent.

(1462) *Wakca-i-we* *dian-a-ini.*
[hunt-PRP-ACC] say-0-3SG
‘He speaks about hunting.’

20.2.2.3.5. Participial Instrumental clauses

The verb *ŋele-* ‘be afraid’ takes a participial complement clause in which the participle has the Instrumental case (and not the Accusative as in most other complement clauses). Only the Future Participle occurs in this clause, both in the different-subject (1463a) and same-subject (1463a) form.

(1463) a. *Bi* *ŋele-mi* *nua-ni* *unugu-le-zeŋe-zi-ni.*
me be.afraid-1SG [he-3SG iIllness-V-FP-INST-3SG]
‘I am afraid he will get sick.’

b. *Nua-ni* *ŋele-ini* *teŋku-digi*
he-3SG be.afraid-3SG [chair-ABL
tiŋme-le-zeŋe-zi:.
fall-SING-FP-INST.SS]
‘He is afraid to fall from the chair.’

The verb *ŋele-* can also take the infinitival complement (20.2.1), in which case the complement clause is always subject-controlled.

20.2.2.3.6. «Double-object» constructions with the complement clause

The following verbs allow a second direct object in addition to the object complement clause:

(1464) *ceze-* ‘believe somebody about something’
(w)uisi-- ‘rescue somebody from something’
sa:- ‘know something about somebody’
dian- ‘say something to somebody’
sa-wan- ‘inform somebody about something’
dogdi- ‘listen to somebody saying something’

As demonstrated by the following examples, the non-sentential direct object does not have to be coreferential with any elements of the subordinate clause:

(1465) a. *Nua-ni* *min-e-we* *uisi-e-ni* *kuti*
he-3SG me-0-ACC rescue-PAST-3SG [tiger

min-tigi *xokco-i-we-ni.*
me-LAT attack-PRP-ACC-3SG]
'He rescued me from the attack of the tiger.'

b. *Bi* *bude-zeŋe-we-i* *nua-ni* *min-e-we*
[me dye-FP-ACC-1SG] he-3SG me-0-ACC
uisi-e-ni.
rescue-PAST-3SG
'He rescued me from death.'

c. *Nua-ma-ni* *teu* *sa:-iti* *men-e*
he-ACC-3SG all know-3PL [REF-0
mamasa-i *wa:-ma-ni.*
wife-REF kill.PP-ACC-3SG]
'Everybody knows about him that he has killed his wife.'

d. *Bi* *sin-e-we* *ceze-mi* *Iwana*
me you-0-ACC believe-1SG [Ivan
eme-gi-zeŋe-we-ni.
come-REP-FP-ACC-3SG]
'I believe you that Ivan will return.'

c. *Sagdi-nta-fai* *teu-ni* *dogdi-zeŋe-ti* *nua-ni*
big-N-REF.PL all-3SG listen-FUT-3PL he-3SG
j'e-we-de *digan-a-i-we-ni.*
what-ACC-IND say-0-PRP-ACC-3SG
'All people will listen to what their old man is saying.' (SKX 310)

20.2.2.4. Copular complement clauses

There are two formal types of the complement participial clause with the adjectival copular predicate (such as those addressed in 17.2.2.1.1). First, the copula can be overtly present as the subordinate participial predicate which, according to the general rule, takes the Accusative case and the personal inflection that refers to the subordinate clause subject.

(1466) a. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *bäsa* *eŋme*
me know-1SG [channel wide
bi:-we-ni.
be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I know that the channel is wide.'

b. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *uti* *ni:*
me see.PAST-1SG [that man
mulʲ-mulʲ *bi:-we-ni.*
teethless-teethless be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I saw that this man is toothless.'

c. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *nua-ti* *elu* *ni:*
me know-1SG [he-3SG honest man
bi:-we-ti.
be.PRP-ACC-3PL]
'I know that they are honest people.'

d. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *uti* *pag'a* *bi:-we-ni.*
me know-1SG [that stupid be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I know that he is stupid.'

In the second case the copula is omitted and the Accusative and personal inflections attach to the adjective itself.

(1467) a. *Bi ise:-mi bäsa eŋme-we-ni.*
me see.PAST-1SG [channel wide-ACC-3SG]
'I saw that the channel is wide.'

b. *Bi sa:-mi uti pag'a-wa-ni.*
me know-1SG [that stupid-ACC-3SG]
'I know that he is stupid.'

c. *Bi abuga-i sa:-ini bi kui maŋga-wa-i.*
me father-1SG know-3SG [me very strong-ACC-1SG]
'My father knows that I am very strong.'

d. *Nua-ni iñi:-ni bi xanxi-we-i.*
he-3SG laugh-3SG [me foolish-ACC-1SG]
'He is laughing over that I am foolish.'

There is no apparent semantic difference between the two types of the copular adjectival subordinate clauses.

20.2.2.5. Complement clauses and relative clauses

Complement clauses of arbitrary control exhibit remarkable formal parallelism with internal relative clauses, that is, relative clauses where the predicate follows the relativized noun (19.2). Ambiguity may arise if the head noun corresponds to the object of the superordinate clause verb and this verb may also take a complement clause. Thus,

(1468) *Bi guaizime ŋua-i-we-ni b'a-mi.*
me [bear sleep-PRP-ACC-3SG] find.PAST-1SG

means both 'I saw a sleeping bear' and 'I saw that the bear was sleeping'.

In this situation the correct reading can sometimes be deduced from the subject determiner within the subordinate clause and the character of the subject itself. Usually the subject of the relative clause is indefinite and the subject of the complement clause is definite. For example, in (1469) the subject is modified by the anaphoric pronoun *uti* 'this' (1469a), or is a personal pronoun (1469b) and personal pronouns are unlikely to relativize. These examples only allow a complement reading.

(1469) a. *Bi ise:-mi uti ni: mulʲ-mulʲ bi:-we-ni.*
me see.PAST-1SG [this man toothless-toothless be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I saw that this man is toothless.'
*'I saw that man who is toothless.'

b. *Bi sa:-mi si c'o aja wakca-i ni: bi:-we-i.*
me know-1SG [you very good hunt-PRP man be.PRP-ACC-2SG]
'I know that you are a good hunter.'
*'I know you who are a good hunter.'

In (1470) the subject of the subordinate clause is indefinite and the preferred reading is with the relative clause although a complement clause reading is also possible.

(1470) *Bi* *omo* *ni:-we* *ise:-mi*
me one man-ACC see.PAST-1SG
mulʲ-mulʲ *bi:-we-ni.*
[toothless-toothless be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I saw one man who was without teeth.'
'I saw that one man was without teeth.'

Example (1471) lacks any formal indicators of the definiteness/indefiniteness of the noun *bäsa* 'channel' and is totally ambiguous between the «complement» and the «relative» reading.

(1471) *Bi* *sa:-mi* *bäsa* *eŋme* *bi:-we-ni.*
me know-1SG [channel wide be.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I know that the channel is wide.'
'I know a channel which is wide.'

Note also that if the subject in the relative clause is not relativized it is always clause-initial, and the participle immediately follows the head noun (19.2.3). However, the subject of the complement clause does not have to be clause-initial. Consequently, (1472) is an example of the complement clause and cannot be understood as a relative clause because the subordinate subject (*mafa* 'bear') is preceded by another element internal to the embedded clause (the object *kalima-wa* 'whale').

(1472) *Uti* *ni:* *kalima-wa* *mafa* *diga-i-we-ni*
this man [whale-ACC bear eat-PRP-ACC-3SG]
b'a-ni.
found.PAST-3SG
'This man saw that the bears were eating the whale.' (K 176)
*'This man saw the bears that were eating the whale.'

20.2.2.6. Evidential complement clause

According to the materials of Simonov, Kjalundzjuga and Xasanova (1998), in the Northern dialect the evidential particle *gune* may introduce a complement clause formed with the participle in the Accusative. The meaning of this construction is the same as the meaning of the finite clauses containing *gune* (see 12.1.2.1). It is exemplified below.

(1473) a. *Malta* *aŋi-la-ni* *pogo* *buŋ-me-ti* back
side-LOC-3SG body cover-PP-3PL
gune.
EV
'(It looks like) there is a covered body by the back (of the house).'

(SKX 132)

b. *Bi-mie* *bi-mie* *bua* *pou-pou*
be-INF be-INF place dark-dark
odo-li:-we *gune.*
become-INC.PRP-ACC EV
'After a while (he saw that) it grew dark outside.' (SKX 210)

c. *Dogbo* *nada* *gaja-ziga* *zugdi*
night seven bird-PL house
xo:n-dile-ni *dono-gi:-we* *gune.*
top-LOC-3SG perch-REP.PRP-ACC EV
'In the night (he heard) that seven birds perched on top of the house.' (SKX 218)

We have no evidence for such a construction in the Southern dialect.

20.2.3. Converbial sentential object

The converbial sentential complement is expressed by the Purposive Converb (7.5.2.1).

20.2.3.1. Subject control

The Purposive Converb takes personal inflections that cross-reference the subordinate subject, either different-subject inflections or same-subject inflections. The converbial subject-controlled complement clause has irrealis modality: it always refers to the prospective situation in the future with respect to the moment of speech.

20.2.3.1.1. Subject-control verbs

The following verbs take the subject-controlled converbial complement clause:

(1474) *ča:la-* 'agree' *nixe-* 'be going to'
dakca- 'be going to' *xeline-* 'be in a hurry'
belexi- 'prepare' *safa-* 'be tired'
alasi- 'wait'

Examples:

(1475) a. *Maša* *etete-tigi* *ŋene-lege-mi* *xeline-ini.*
Maša [work-LAT go-PURP-SS] hurry.up-3SG
'Maša is in a hurry for work.'

b. *Minti* *gulin-e-lege-fi* *belexi-fi.*
we [leave-0-PURP-SS.PL] prepare-1PL.EX
'We are preparing to leave.'

c. *Bagdi:* *getu* *zugdeme* *zugde-me*
live.PRP PL Zugdeme Zugdeme
gune-lege-ti *safa:-ni*.
say-0-PURP-3PL be.tired.PAST-3SG
'He was tired that everybody called Zugdeme Zugdeme.' (K 148)

20.2.3.1.2. The verb *dakca-* ‘be ready to, be going to’

The verb *dakca-* ‘be ready to, be going to’ is a subject-control verb which takes either the infinitival complement clause or the converbial complement clause. The infinitival clause is present when there is no active participation of the subject in the subordinate situation (1476a). The converbial clause is used when the subject is supposed to control the situation of the subordinate clause (1476b).

(1476) a. *Ele* *xuili-mi* *dakca:-ni.*
[soon boil-INF] be.going.PAST-3SG
‘It was going to boil.’

b. *Nua-ti* *Moskwa-tigi* *ŋene-lege-fi*
he-3PL [Moscow-LAT go-PURP-SS.PL]
dakca-iti.
be.going-3PL
‘They are going to go to Moscow.’

20.2.3.1.3. The verb *nixe-* ‘be going to, have to’

The verb *nixe-* normally means ‘do, make’, but it can also have modal meaning. When it takes the converbial subject-controlled complement it means ‘be going to do something’, while when it takes the infinitival subject-controlled complements it rather means ‘have to do something’, compare (1477) with (1478).

(1477) a. *Bi* *Oloŋo-tigi* *ŋene-mi* *nixe-mi.*
me [Olon-LAT go-INF] do-1SG
‘I have to go to Olon.’

b. *Men-e* *kaiŋku-i* *gene-gi-lege-mi* [REF-0 brake-REF fetch-REP-PURP-SS]
nixe-ini.
do-3SG
‘She has to take back her brake (for leather).’

(1478) a. *Ma:ma-i* *uli-lege-mi* *nixe-ini.*
grandfather-1SG [sew-PURP-SS] do-3SG
‘My grandmother is going to sew.’

b. *Ugda-tigi* *tugbu-lege-mi* *nixe-ini.*
[boat-LAT cut.wood-PURP-SS] do-3SG
‘He is going to cut wood for the boat.’

c. *Bi* *zali-we* *wo-logo-mi* *nixe-mi.*
me [barn-ACC make-PURP-SS] do-1SG
‘I am going to make a barn.’

20.2.3.2. Object control

In object-controlled converbial clauses, the subordinate subject is coreferential with the object of the superordinate clause. The object is normally dropped under coreference and cross-referenced by different-subject inflections on the converb. As in the case of the subject-controlled converbial clause, the object-controlled converbial clause expresses the irrealis modality.

20.2.3.2.1. Direct object control

With the following matrix verbs the superordinate clause Accusative object controls the subordinate clause:

(1479) *tatusi-* 'teach' *ñumnisi-* 'teach'
gele- 'ask' *mudeusi-* 'persuade'

Sentence examples:

(1480) a. *Nua-ni* *min-e-we* *gele-ini* *bi*
he-3SG me-0-ACC ask-3SG [me
belesi-lege-i.
help-PURP-1SG]
'He asked me to help.'

b. *Bi* *Ñura-wa* *uli-lege-ni* *tatusi-mi.*
me Niura-ACC [sew-PURP-3SG] teach-1SG
'I teach Niura to sew.'

20.2.3.2.2. Indirect object control

For the following group of verbs the complement clause is controlled by the indirect object that corresponds to the Lative recipient argument of the matrix verb:

(1481) *oño-* 'write' *dian-* 'say'

Sentence examples:

(1482) *Dian-a-ja* *abuga-tigi* *nua-ni* *min-tigi*
tell-0-IMP.2SG father-LAT [he-3SG me-LAT
eme-lege-ni.
come-PURP-3SG]
'Tell your father to come to see us.'

20.2.3.2.3. The verb *kaja-* 'send, order'

The verb *kaja-* has two valence patterns with slightly different meanings: it takes the Accusative argument in the meaning 'send', and the Lative argument in the meaning 'order'; in both cases this argument controls the complement clause; compare (1483) and (1484).

(1483) a. *Eniŋe-i* *min-e-we* *kaja:-ni*
mother-1SG me-0-ACC send.PAST-3SG
limona-wa *t'ei-ne-lege-i.*
[*schizandra*-ACC collect-DIR-PURP-1SG]
'My mother sent me to collect berries of *schizandra* (a local variety of creeper).'

b. *Jegdige* *min-e-we* *kaja:-ni* *si*
hero me-0-ACC send.PAST-3SG [you
aziga-ŋi-we-i *gele-lege-i.*

daughter-AL-ACC-2SG ask-PURP-1SG]
'The hero sent me to ask (you to give him) your daughter.' (K 158)

(1484) *Wakca-na-laga-ti* *kaja:-mi* *bi*
[hunt-DIR-PURP-3PL order.PAST-1SG] me
nua-ti-tigi.
he-PL-LAT
'I ordered them to go hunting.'

The object can be omitted from either the complement clause or the superordinate clause, or both. In the latter case, the only overt marker of the controlling argument is the different-subject personal inflection on the subordinate predicate.

(1485) *Wakca-na-laga-ti* *kaja:-mi.*
[hunt-DIR-PURP-3PL] order.PAST-3PL
'I ordered them to go hunting.

Chapter 21
Adverbial clause

Most adverbial clauses in Udihe are non-finite: they can be infinitival, participial, or converbial. The morphology of the Infinitive, the active participles, and the converbs is described in Chapter 7; other types of participles are not used in the adverbial clause (for the one exception see 21.3.1.6). The semantic type of the infinitival and converbial adverbial clauses is largely determined by the subordinate predicate itself, that is, by the particular type of converbs or infinitive. The semantic type of the participial clause is normally conditioned by the case- or postpositional marking on the participle. In this chapter, the adverbial non-finite clauses are classified according to their formal and semantic types.

Typically the position of the adverbial clause in the sentence is either at the beginning or at the end. It does not intrude between verbal arguments or between an argument and the verb, with the exception of the infinitival manner clause (21.1.1) when it consists of one word (the predicate). There is a strong tendency to front the adverbial clause. However, a purpose clause is usually postverbal.

21.1. Infinitival adverbial clauses

The infinitival adverbial clause expresses the manner or a concomitant action, but it may also have a wide range of additional meanings (temporal, causal, or concessive). Not infrequently it has a coordinative function, that is, is not syntactically embedded in the matrix clause.

The infinitival clause is normally controlled by the subject of the superordinate clause. Some exceptions to this rule are addressed in 15.1.1.6.2.

21.1.1. Manner clauses

The following examples illustrate the infinitival clause of manner or concomitant action. The situations of the superordinate and the subordinate clause are simultaneous in this case, and the subordinate clause situation is normally imperfective.

(1486) a. *Sugzä* *susa-li-e-ni* *men-e amä:la-i*
fish escape-INC-PAST-3SG [REF-0 after-REF
ugda-wa *taŋda-mi.*
boat-ACC carry-INF]
'The fish escaped carrying the boat after itself.'

b. *ŋua-ini* *xeŋpi-mi-de.*
sleep-3SG [snore-INF-FOC]
'He sleeps snoring.'

c. *Solo-mi* *nua-ni* *uli-tigi*
[move.upstream-INF] he-3SG water-LAT
ete:-ni.

look.PAST-3SG
'He looked at the water while moving upstream.'

d. *Nua-ni* *soŋo-mi* *teluŋu-si-e-ni.*
he-3SG [cry-INF] story-V-PAST-3SG
'He was speaking while crying.'

e. *Bi* *eke-le* *ančі* *bi-mi* *zeuze-we*
me [time-LOC no be-1SG] food-ACC
diga-mi.
eat-INF
'I eat in a hurry (literally: being without time).'

21.1.2. Coordinative clauses

Less frequently the infinitival clause expresses an action which is anterior with respect to the situation of the superordinate clause. This action tends to immediately precede the superordinate clause situation without being separated from it by a large interval of time, and is perfective:

(1487) a. *Zauŋa* *tene* *nua-ma-ni* *ise-mi*
greenling CONT [he-ACC-3SG see-INF]
täli-e-ni.
escape-PAST-3SG
'And the greenling (a sort of salmon), having seen him, escaped.'

b. *Ba:-za* *ge-digi-ni* *eme-gi-mi*
[place-N surface-ABL-3SG return-REP-INF]
etete-li-gi-e-ni.
work-INC-REP-PAST-3SG
'(Immediately) after returning from the forest, he started working.'

c. *Nua-ni* *ŋele-mi* *susa-gi-e-ni.*
he-3SG [be.afraid-INF] escape-REP-PAST-3SG
'Having got frightened, he escaped again.'

d. *Jegdige* *tukä-ma-mi* *um'a-i*
hero [run-INTN-INF] hook-REF
gagi-e-ni.
take-PAST-3SG
'The hero ran and took his hook.' (K 143)

Examples (1487) might best be translated into European languages using the coordinated construction, cf. for (1487a): 'the greenling saw him and escaped', for (1487b) 'He returned from the forest and started working', etc. Indeed, coordination of this type is missing in Udihe and the adverbial infinitival clause is its closest equivalent.

21.1.3. Causal clauses

An additional causal meaning of the infinitival clause is demonstrated by the following examples.

(1488) a. *Agda-mi* *abuga* *soŋo-li-e-ni.*
[be.happy-INF] father cry-INC-PAST-3SG
'The father cried from happiness.'

b. *Deu-mi* *eke:-ni.*
[get.tied-INF] stop.PAST-3SG
'He stopped from tiredness.'
c. *Gekti-mi* *bude:-ni.*
[freeze-INF] die.PAST-3SG
'He died from cold.'
d. *Lali-mi* *bude:-ni.*
[starve-INF] die.PAST-3SG
'He died from hunger.'

21.1.4. Concessive clauses

An additional concessive meaning of the infinitival adverbial clause is illustrated below.

(1489) a. *Ñ'aula* *bi-mi* *kui-ni* *anči.*
[young be-INF] strength-3SG no
'Although he is young, he does not have strength.'

b. *Nina* *ic'a* *bi-mi* *xai* *min-e-we*
[Nina small be-INF] still me-0-ACC
belesi:-ni.
help-3SG
'Although Nina is small, she helps me.'
c. *Zo:ŋku* *bi-mi* *e-iti* *etete.*
[poor be-INF] NEG-3PL work
'Although they are poor, they don't work.'

In concessive clauses the infinitival predicate is often followed by the contrastive focus particle *-gdA* (12.1.1.8).

(1490) *Nua-ni* *ñ'aula-gda* *bi-mi* *ñukte-ni*
[he-3SG child-FOC be-INF] hear-3SG
c'ama *ede:-ni.*
white become.PAST-3SG
'Although he is young, his hair has become white.'

21.2. Participial locational clauses

The participial locational clause corresponds to the adverbial clause introduced by 'where' in European languages. It can have different spatial meanings of the locative, lative, and ablative type. It is formed with the personal form of the active participle, which takes the corresponding case suffix or postposition, and the personal inflection indicating the subject of the subordinate clause. Such a subordinate clause is formally indistinguishable from the headless relative clause (19.5) with an empty head referring to some kind of place, and should perhaps be analyzed as such.

The following sentences illustrate the locational adverbial clause, in which the participle takes

Locative (1491), Dative (1492), Ablative (1493), and Lative (1494) case marking, or is followed by a locational postposition (1495).

(1491) a. *Magazina bi-si-le-ni kuluba-wa*
[shop be-PP-LOC-3SG] club-ACC
wo-woŋ-ki-ti.
make-CAUS-PAST-3PL
'They have built a club where there used to be a shop.'

b. *Bi 'ana-wa egdi ni: bi-zeŋe-le-ni*
me boat-ACC [many man be-FP-LOC-3SG]
nede-zeŋe-mi.
put-FUT-1SG
'I will put my boat where there will be a lot of people.'

c. *Dampi: zugdi bi-sin-dile-ni zuf*
[old house be-PP-LOC-3SG] exactly
tegi-ze-i.
stand-SUBJ-2SG
'Stand exactly at the place where the old house was.' (K 166)

(1492) a. *Anana bi bagdi-en-du-i mo:*
[long.ago me live-PP-DAT-1SG] tree
bagdi-gi-e-ni.
grow-REP-PAST-3SG
'Where I used to live trees have grown up again.'

b. *Buji gä:ma:-ni ni: bi-sin-di-ni*
animal bone-3SG [man be-PP-DAT-3SG]
bi-si-ni.
be-PAST-3SG
'The bones of the animals were in the place where men used to live.'
(Schneider 1936: 143)

(1493) a. *Soŋo gegbeŋku-we bi nede:-digi:*
bear berry-ACC [me put.PP-ABL.1SG]
gagi-e-ni.
take-PAST-3SG
'A bear took berries from where I put them.'

b. *Bi abuga-i etete-i-digi: e-si-ni*
me father-1SG [work-PRP-ABL.SS] NEG-PAST-3SG
eme-gi.
come-REP
'My father has not come from work.'

(1494) a. *Bi egdi b'oto bagdi:-tigi-ni*
me [many mushroom grow.PRP-LAT-3SG]
ŋene-zeŋe-i.
go-FUT-1SG
'I will go to where there are many mushrooms.'

b. *Düisi-en-tigi gakpasi-e-ni.*
[hear-PP-LAT.SS] shoot-PAST-3SG
'He was shooting towards where he heard (the sounds).' (Schneider 1936: 143)

(1495) a. *To:* *zegde-i-ni* *do-lo-ni*
[fire burn-PRP-3SG inside-LOC-3SG]
bi-si-mi.
be-PAST-1SG
'I was in the burning fire.'

b. *Uti Zu:li* *sita* *ŋua-i-ni* *kä:-la-ni*
that Zuli [child sleep-PRP-3SG side-LOC-3SG]
eme:-ni.
come.PAST-3SG
'That Zuli came closer to the sleeping child.' (Schneider 1937: 70)

c. *Su:* *gakpa-i-ni* *eh-tigi-ni* *nede-iti.*
[sun raise-PRP-3SG side-LAT-3SG] put-3SG
'They put (it) in the direction of the raising sun.' (SK 229)

21.3. Temporal clauses

To form a temporal adverbial clause, converbs, or participles with different case and postpositional marking, are used.

21.3.1. Participial temporal clauses

In the participial temporal clause postpositions follow the Present or Past active participles in the personal form. All postpositions take the 3rd person Singular inflection (on the personal inflection of postpositions see 10.2.2). The meaning of such a clause and its temporal relationship to the situation of the superordinate clause is largely determined by the postposition itself. Alternatively, the participle in the temporal adverbial clause takes case inflections, although in this function only a few cases are possible.

21.3.1.1. Temporal clauses with the postposition *zuliete, zulieni* 'before'

Only the Present Participle co-occurs with this postposition. The situation of the subordinate clause follows the situation of the superordinate clause.

(1496) a. *Si* *eme-gi:* *zuliete* *Iwana*
[you come-REP.PRP.2SG before] Ivan
magazina-tigi *xuli-se:-ni.*
shop-LAT go-EXP.PAST-3SG
'Ivan had gone to the shop before you came.'

b. *Bi* *mamasa-la-i* *zulie-ni* *emus'e*
[me wife-V-PRP.SS before-3SG] alone
bagdi: *bi-s'e-i.*
live.PRP be-PERF-1SG
'Before I got married, I lived on my own.'

c. *Gäwa-na-i* *zulie-ni* *ŋen'e.*
[dawn-V-PRP before-3SG] go.PERF

‘He left before dawn.’ (SK 336)21.3.1.2. Temporal clauses with the postposition *amä:lani* ‘after’

The subordinate clause predicate corresponds to the Present Participle. The situation of the subordinate clause precedes the situation of the superordinate clause:

(1497) a. *Sie-we* *b’a-mi* *amä:-la-ni*
[wound-ACC get.PP-SS behind-LOC-3SG]
ge:-zi *dogdi-mi.*
bad-INST hear-1SG
‘After I got wounded, I heard badly.’

b. *Nua-ni* *ŋene:-ni* *amä:-la-ni* *bi*
[he-3SG go.PP-3SG behind-LOC-3SG] me
emus’e *esi-gi-e-mi.*
alone become-REP-PAST-1SG
‘After he left, I remained alone.’

c. *Keige* *diga-i:* *amä:-la-ni* *begdi:*
cat eat-PRP.SS behind-LOC-3SG leg.REF
ku’ai: *au-ini.*
ear.REF wash-3SG
‘The cat washes paws and ears after eating.’ (SK 195)

21.3.1.3. Temporal clauses with the postposition *dexi* ‘until’

The situation of the subordinate clause expressed with the Present Participle indicates the temporal limit for the situation described in the superordinate clause.

(1498) a. *Men-e* *sagdani:* *dexi* *o-du*
[REF-0 get.old.PRP.SS until] this-DAT
bi-zeŋe-ni.
be-FUT-3SG
‘He will live here until he gets old.’

b. *Belem* *umac’a* *ede-i-ni* *dexi*
[completely short become-PRP-3SG until]
xua-ja.
cut-IMP.2SG
‘Cut until it gets completely short.’

21.3.1.4. Temporal clauses with the postposition *ekindini, ekinduni, doloni* ‘when, during’

The situations of the superordinate and the subordinate clause are simultaneous, but do not last for the same period of time; normally the situation of the superordinate clause is included in the temporal interval described by the subordinate clause. Both Present and Past Participles seem to be allowed in this type, depending on the time reference of the adverbial clause.

(1499) a. *Bu bana:-u* *ekindini*
[we move.PP-1PL.EX when]
ma:ma-u *bude:-ni.*
grandmother-1PL.EX die.PAST-3SG

‘Grandmother died when we were moving.’

b. *Bi etete-i ekindini min-e-we*
[me work-PRP.1SG when] me-0-ACC
e-zi-u daŋula.
NEG-IMP-2PL disturb
‘Don’t disturb me when I am working.’

A similar meaning may sometimes be rendered by the postposition *dolo-ni* ‘inside’, cf.:

(1500) *ŋene-i dolo-ni čegente-i.*
go-PRP inside-3SG chase.away-2SG
‘While you are walking you are chasing (animals) away.’ (SKX 28)

21.3.1.5. Temporal clauses with the postposition *agdaduni*, *agdalini* ‘while’

The situation of the superordinate and the subordinate clause are simultaneous and develop in parallel for roughly the same period of time. Only Present Participles are used.

(1501) a. *Si dian-a-i agda-du-ni bi*
[you talk-0-PRP.2SG between-DAT-3SG] me
čaja-wa teu umi-e-mi.
tea-ACC all drink-PAST-1SG
‘While you were talking, I drank all the tea.’

b. *Bi jexe-i agda-li-ni*
[me sing-PRP.1SG between-PROL-3SG]
nua-ni teu diga:-ni.
he-3SG all eat.PAST-3SG
‘While I was singing, he ate everything.’

21.3.1.6. Temporal clause with the postposition *edeisini* ‘when’

The time reference of the situations described in both the superordinate clause and the subordinate clause are in the future; however, the subordinate predicate is the Past Participle (1502) or Past passive participle (1503). Mostly same-subject sentences occur in this type.

(1502) a. *Xoton-tigi ŋene: edeisini mä:usa-wa*
[city-LAT go.PP when] gun-ACC
gada-zaŋa-ti.
buy-FUT-3PL
‘When they go to the city, they will buy a gun.’

b. *Ba:-za ge-digi-ni eme-gi-e*
[place-N surface-ABL-3SG come-REP-PP
edeisini etete-li-zeŋe-ni.
when] work-INC-FUT-3SG
‘When he comes back from the forest, he will start working.’

c. *Bi umi-e edeisini jexe-zeŋe-i*
[me drink-PP when] sing-FUT-1SG
‘When I drink, I will sing.’

(1503) a. *Seutige* *na:-la* *buge-se* *edeisini* *kuŋka*
[nut earth-LOC put-PP.PAS when] cedar
bagdi:-ni.
grow-3SG
'A nut, when put in earth, grows into a cedar tree.'

b. *Waŋba-wa* *xugi-le-te* *edeisini* *e-ini* [turtle-ACC
turn-SING-FOC when NEG-3SG] *mute* *xugi-kce-mi.*
can turn-DUR-INF
'If you turn a turtle (upside down), it can not turn (back).'

In the clauses with the postposition *edeisini* the Past Participle is used in its impersonal form, that is, it does not take any affixes indicating same-subject or different-subject. This probably reflects the origin of the construction in question: the postposition *edeisini* is historically the Perfective Converb of the verb *ede-* 'become' optionally augmented by the 3rd person affix *-ni* (< *ede-isi-ni*). Originally the subordinate clause construction might have had the possessive meaning, and the literal translation of the subordinate clause in (1502a), for example, should have been something like 'their becoming of going to the city'. The content verb here acts in its bare form, as the possessor normally does (13.1).

21.3.2.7. Temporal clauses with the participle in the Ablative

The ablative case suffix *-digi-* marks the participle in the adverbial clause with the meaning 'as soon as'. It can be either the Future Participle (1504a) or the Present Participle of the inchoative verb (1504b). The time reference of the superordinate clause is the future.

(1504) a. *Nua-ni* *eme-gi:-digi-ni*
[he-3SG come-REP.PRP-ABL-3SG]
ŋene-zeŋe-fi.
go-FUT-1PL.IN
'We will leave as soon as he comes.'

b. *Tigde* *tigde-li:-digi-ni* *kuŋka*
[rain rain-INC.PRP-ABL-3SG] cedar
xegie-le-ni *te:-zeŋe-fi.*
under-LOC-3SG sit-FUT-1PL.IN
'As soon as it starts raining we will sit down under the cedar.'

The same structure can render the meaning 'since'.

(1505) *Ehineŋi* *jehi* *seh* *odo-ini* *bahta* *bagdien-digi-ni.*
today nice year become-3SG boy be.born.PP-ABL-3SG
'Today it is nine years since the boy was born.' (SK 696)

21.3.2.8. Temporal clauses with the participle in the Instrumental

The adverbial clause with the Past Participle in the Instrumental case (with *-zi-* case inflection) mostly expresses the situation that is prior to the situation of the superordinate clause. This is only allowed when the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause, and this is marked by same-subject personal inflections on the participle. The corresponding meaning for the different-subject clause is expressed by the Perfective

Converb, see 21.3.4.

The subordinate construction with the Past Participle in the Instrumental case can be used only when the superordinate clause refers to the present or the past, while anteriority in the future may only be expressed by the Perfective Converb (21.3.2.2). Such an adverbial clause often implies a causal meaning, as in (1507). Exceptionally, it may also express simultaneous action (1508).

(1506) a. *Minti* *go:go* *ŋua:-zi-fi*
[we long sleep.PP-INST-SS.PL]
eteŋi-e-fi.
wake.up-PAST-1PL.IN
'After having slept for a long time, we woke up.'

b. *Tigde* *ba:-la* *tigde:n-zi*
[rain place-LOC rain.PP-INST.SS]
wadi-e-ni.
stop-PAST-3SG
'The rain, after starting outside, finished.'

c. *Zeuze-we* *mala:-zi-fi*
[food-ACC consume.PP-INST-SS.PL]
eme-gi-e-mu.
come-REP-PAST-1PL.EX
'After consuming the food, we came back.'

d. *Čaja-wa* *umi-mi* *metu-o:n-zi*
[tea-ACC drink-INF finish-PP-INST.SS]
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
'After finishing drinking tea, he left.'

(1507) a. *Si* *utebe* *diaŋ-kin-zi:* *xagza-i.*
[you so say-PP-INST.SS] be.ashamed-2SG
'You are ashamed because you said so.'

b. *Gektin-zi:* *teu* *buk-ki-ti.*
[freeze.PP-INST.SS] all die-PAST-3PL
'Everybody died from cold.' (K 121)

c. *Jegdige* *muisi-e-ni* *susa:-ni*
hero think-PAST-3SG [escape.PAST-3SG
etete-zeŋe-zi:.
work-FP-INST.SS]
'The hero thought: she escaped from working.' (K 154)

(1508) *Si* *soŋo:n-zi-gde* *bagdi:.*
[you cry.PP-INST.SS-FOC] live.PRP
'You live crying.'

In the Northern dialect such a construction is also found in the different-subject sentences.

(1509) *Digene:n-zi-le* *xaku* *Zaŋdalafu* *tekceli*
[hide.PP-INST-CONT soon] Zandalafu with.noise
eme-gi-e-ni.
come-REP-PAST-3SG
'As soon as she hid, Zandalafu returned with noise.' (K 105)

21.3.2.9. Temporal clauses with the participle in the Accusative

This fairly rare type of temporal clause is based on the Accusative of the Present or Past Participle. It expresses a temporally associated situation, typically termporally close to the main clause situation, but the exact relationship between two clauses remains semantically non-specified. The subordinate clause may express a simultaneous and related situation involving a different participant (1510), as well as have a concessive or conditional meaning (1511), cf.:

(1510) a. *Ze* *gulin-e-mi* *nixe-i-we-ni*
[soon go-0-INF do-PRP-ACC-3SG]
tigde-li-e-ni.
rain-INC-PAST-3SG
'As soon as he was ready to leave, it started raining.'

b. *Ono* *nixe-zeŋe* *kuliga* *ikte-me:-me-ni?*
how do-FUT [snake tooth-V.PP-ACC-3SG]
'What to do when a snake bites (you)?'

c. *Bi* *tausi:-we-i* *kuge-je.*
[Me forge.PRP-ACC-1SG] pump-IMP.2SG
'While I am forging, pump the bellows.' (SKX 284)

d. *Ali* *ami-m(i)* *eme-gi-si-kce-i-we-ni*
[when father-REF come-REP-IM-INT-PRP-ACC-3SG]
ei-de *teluŋu-si-wen-e.*
NEG-FOC story-V-CAUS-0
'When the father was going to come home, she did not let him (her son) tell.'

e. *B'oto* *anana* *taji-e-ti*
mushroom earlier gather-PAST-3PL
e-si-me-n(i)-de *bolo-gi.*
[NEG-PP-ACC-3SG-FOC autumn-REP]
'Earlier they gathered mushrooms before the autumn came.'

(1511) a. *Ono* *ja-za-mi* *ni:* *xuktu:-me-ni?*
how PROV-SUBJ-1SH [man carry.away.PP-ACC-3SG]
'What shall I do if somebody carried a man away?' (SKX 154)

b. *Wa:-ma-i* *ono* *nixe-ze-mi?*
[kill.PP-ACC-2SG] how do-SUBJ-1SG
'If you killed (him), what shall I do?'

In the same-subject sentences the embedded participle is not marked for the Accusative (see 22.5.1.2), as shown in (1512). The subordinate clause may be formally passivized, as in (1513), where the subordinate clause is expressed by the impersonal passive Necessitative Participle

marked by the 3rd person agreement affix. The corresponding passive and non-passive clauses are synonymous.

(1512) *Etete-zeŋe* *bi-si-mi* *Petra* *Oloŋo-tigi*
[work-FUT be-PP-INF] Peter Olon-LAT
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
'(Although) he had to work, Peter went to Olon.'

(1513) a. *Bu etete-u-zeŋe* *bi-si-me-ni* *'ai-we*
[we work-PAS-FP be-PP-ACC-3SG] vodka-ACC
sene *umi-u.*
only drink-1PL.EX
'(Although) we have to work, we only drink vodka.'

b. *E-u-zeŋe* *bi-si-me-ni* *ŋene:-mi.*
[NEG-PAS-FP be-PP-ACC-3SG] go.PAST-1SG
'(Although) I did not have to I went.'

21.3.2.10. Temporal clauses with the participle in the Dative

The temporal copular clause may be marked with the Dative on the impersonal participle, normally when it refers to the natural phenomena (cf. also the Dative temporal adjuncts discussed under 15.4.2.1). However, example (1515b) below shows that this condition is not necessary.

(1514) *Timadu-le* *z'e* *su:* *gakpain-du-ni*
morning-LOC [soon son rise.PP-DAT-3SG]
eke *ili-waŋ-ki-ni* *uti* *aziga.*
quiet stand-CAUS-PAST-3SG that girl
'In the morning as soon as the son rose he put this girl so she stood quietly.' (SKX 162)

It should be noticed that in this type impersonal forms of participles are fairly frequently used although the embedded subject is overtly present.

(1515) a. *Timadu-le* *puile* *bi:-du*
[morning-LOC before.sunrise be.PRP-DAT]
te:-gi-e-ni.
sit-REP-PAST-3SG
'He got up in the morning before sunrise.'(K 197)

b. *So:ndo* *sagdi* *sama-ziga* *sama-si-si:-du*
sin [big shaman-PL shaman-V-IM.PRP-DAT]
a:nta *bi:-ni* *zugdi-du.*
woman be-3SG house-DAT
'It is forbidden for a woman to be in any house where big shamans are shamanizing.' (SKX 214)

21.3.2.11. Temporal clauses with the participle in the Lative

These type of clauses denote temporal limit of the action.

(1516) a. *ŋiča* *aziga* *sagdi* *odo-i-tigi*
[little girl big become-PRP-LAT]
igi-si-e-ni.
feed-IM-PAST-3SG
‘(The man) used to feed a little girl (his future wife) till she grew up.’ (SK 351)

b. *Jeh-ti* *aŋa-ni* *odo:-ni* *bi*
nine-ORD year-3SG become.PAST-3SG [me
o-du *bagdi:-tigi:.*
this-DAT live.PRP-LAT.1SG]
‘It is nice years since I have been living here.’ (SK 696)

21.3.2. Converbial temporal clauses

21.3.2.1. Temporal clauses with the Imperfective Converb

The Imperfective Converb expresses a situation simultaneous to the situation of the superordinate clause. The subordinate clause serves as a temporal background for the superordinate clause. Both simultaneous situations refer to the past, so the Imperfective Converb conveys an absolute-relative tense: its intrinsic point of reference is both the moment of speech (anteriority) and some moment in the past (simultaneity). The situation of the subordinate clause is progressive in its character, and so tends to be the situation of the superordinate clause, although it can sometimes also describe a perfective event.

Both same-subject (1517) and different-subject (1517) sentences are possible for this type.

(1517) a. *Nua-ti* *ñ’aula* *bi-ŋie-fi* *min-tigi*
[he-3PL child be-IC-SS.PL] me-LAT
mendele *xuli-du-ge.*
often come-PL-PERF
‘When they were children, they often used to come to me.’

b. *Xatala* *bi-ŋie-i* *ni:-we* *aju-o:-mi.*
[girl be-IC-1SG] man-ACC love-PAST-1SG
‘When I was a girl, I loved one man.’

c. *Ñ’aula* *bi-ŋie-i* *nua-ti* *coŋku-we-ti*
[child be-IC-SS] he-3PL window-ACC-3PL
xaji-e *bi-s’e-i.*
break.PP be-PERF-1SG
‘When I was a child, I broke their window.’

d. *Bi sita-i* *ic’a* *bi-ŋie-i* *bou* *bi-s’e.*
[me son-1SG small be-IC-SS] fat be-PERF
‘When my son was small, he was fat.’

e. *Minti ŋic’a* *bi-ŋie-fi* *udie* *keje-zi*
[we small be-IC-SS.PL] Udihe language-INST
m’ei *diaŋ-ki-fi.*
only speak-PAST-1PL.IN
‘When we were young, we were speaking only Udihe.’

(1518) a. *Tigde-ŋie-ni* *ba:* *mo:*
[rain-IC-3SG] place tree
xegie-le-ni *te:-mi.*

under-LOC-3SG sit.PAST-1PL.IN
'When it was raining we were sitting under the tree.'

b. *Eniŋe-i* *cei-we* *cei-ŋisi-ŋie-ni* *bi*
[mother-1SG soup-ACC soup-V-IC-3SG] me
xunazi: *tege-we* *we-i* *bi-s'e.*
sister.1SG gown-ACC make-PRP be-PERF
'When my mother was cooking the soup, my sister was sewing a gown.'

c. *Bi beixi* *ŋene-ŋie-i* *nua-ni* *jexe-i*
[me out go-IC-1SG] he-3SG sing-PRP
bi-s'e.
be-PERF.
'When I was going out he was singing.'

d. *Bi eniŋe-i* *olokto-ŋie-ni* *bi*
[me mother-1SG cook-IC-3SG] me
belesi *bi-s'e-i.*
help be-PERF-1SG
'When my mother was cooking, I was helping.'

21.3.2.2. Temporal clauses with the Perfective Converb

The Perfective Converb expresses the perfective situation temporally anterior with respect to the situation of the superordinate clause. Anteriority holds for different tenses in the superordinate clause–the Past (1519), the Present (1520) and the Future (1521). The Perfective Converb conveys the relative past tense.

(1519) a. *In'ei-we* *tindaŋi-ge-si* *ŋene:-ti* *caixi.*
[dog-ACC let-PERF-PC.SS] go.PAST-3PL further
'Having loosened the dogs they went further.'

b. *Nua-ni* *o-du* *bi:-ni*
he-3SG this-DAT be-3SG
bolo-gi-li:-si-ni.
[autumn-REP-INC-PC-3SG]
'He has been living here since autumn.'

(1520) a. *Nua-ni* *eme:-ni* *magazina*
he-3SG came.PAST-3SG [shop
kimpigi:-si-ni.
close-PC-3SG]
'He came after the shop had closed.'

b. *Umi-du-ge-si* *jexe-du* *nua-ti.*
[drink-PL-PERF-PC.SS] sing-PL he-3PL
'Having drunk they usually sing.'

(1521) a. *Tege-we* *si* *uli:-si* *muzei-du*
[gown-ACC you sew-PC.2SG] museum-DAT
bi-zeŋe-ni.
be-FUT-3SG
'After you sew the gown, it will be in the museum.'

b. *Omo* *neŋi-ni* *bi-s'e-si* *ŋene-zeŋe-ni.*

[one day-3SG be-PERF-PC.SS] go-FUT-3SG
'He will leave after having been (here) for one day.'

c. *Bi eme-gi-ge-si sin-tigi*
[me come-REP-PERF-PC.SS] you-LAT
zima-zaŋa-i.
visit-FUT-1SG
'When I come back, I will visit you.'

As discussed below, temporal clauses with the Perfective Converb have a slightly different meaning for the same-subject and the different-subject converbs, which may ultimately reflect the absence of formal parallelism between these two forms (cf. 7.5.2.3).

21.3.2.2.1. Same-subject sentences

The same-subject forms of the Perfective Converb tend to express not only, and perhaps not primarily, the temporal meaning (1522), but also the manner or the accompanying circumstances (1523), or clausal coordination (1524).

(1522) a. *Bi sagdi ed'e-si wakca-zaŋa-i.*
[me big become.PERF-PC.SS] hunt-FUT-1SG
'When I get big, I will hunt.'

b. *Dami-we ŋikpes'e-si tukca*
[tobacco-ACC breath.PERF-PC.SS] hare
simpi-li-e-ni.
Sneeze-INC-PAST-3SG
'After having breathed the tobacco, the hare started sneezing.'

c. *Umi-ge-si: jexe-i nua-ni.*
[drink-PERF-PC.SS] sing-PPR he-3SG
'After drinking he sings.'

(1523) a. *Kept'e-si taŋi:-ni.*
[lie.PERF-PC.SS] read-3SG
'He reads lying down (having lain down).'

b. *Bi mo: do:-tigi-ni ise-si-e-mi*
me tree top-LAT-3SG see-IM-PAST-1SG
su:-we ŋala-zi: dakpi-ge-si.
[sun-ACC hand-INST.REF close-PERF-PC. SS]
'I was looking at the top of the tree, having blanked out the sun with my hand.'

(1524) a. *Kasanziga xukti-wesi-ge-si kepte-gi-e-ni.*
[puppy run-DIV-PERF-PC.SS] lay-REP-PAST-3SG
'The puppy lay down after having run.'

b. *Bi digaŋ-ka-si ŋene:-mi.*
[me say-PERF-PC.SS] go.PAST-1SG
'After having spoken I left.'

c. *Bi digan-a-kc'a-si wadi-e-mi.*
[me say-0-DES.PERF-PC.SS] stop-PAST-1SG
'I wanted to speak, (but) changed my mind.'

Such clauses, then, exhibit an anterior correlate to the infinitival adverbial clauses of manner or concomitant action (21.1), while a purely temporal meaning of anteriority for the same-subject temporal clauses is expressed by the participle in the Instrumental case (21.3.2.8).

21.3.2.2.2. Different-subject sentences

The different-subject converbial forms normally tend to express a purely temporal situation since the Instrumental participial clauses addressed in 21.3.2.8 are absent for different-subject sentences The adverbial clause corresponds to a perfective situation prior to the situation of the superordinate clause:

(1525) a. *Nua-ni* *eme:-ni* *magazina*
he-3SG came.PAST-3SG [shop
kimpigi:-si-ni.
close-PC-3SG]
'He came after the shop had closed.'

b. *Xeŋdegi:-si* *jakpa-na-gi:-ni,* *bugdi:*
[step-PC.1SG] canyon-V-REP-3SG [foot.REF
windegi:-si *kico-no-gi:-ni* *bombo-no-gi:-ni.*
lift-PC.1SG] hill-V-REP-3SG hillock-V-REP-3SG
'When I step down, a canyon appears, when I lift my foot a hill appears, a hillock appears.'

If the superordinate clause verb is clearly imperfective, the subordinate clause may have a simultaneous meaning. In (1526a) it expresses the perfective event which takes place with the imperfective situation of the superordinate clause as its background (the superordinate clause verb is in the Progressive). In (1526b) the superordinate clause and the subordinate clause situations develop simultaneously in the past.

(1526) a. *Bi* *eme-gi:-si* *bi* *sita-i* *ŋua-mi* [me
come-REP-PC.1SG] me son-1SG sleep-INF
bi:-ni *bi* *mamasa-i* *ule:-we* *olokto-mi*
be-3SG me wife-1SG meat-ACC cook-INF
bi:-ni.
be-3SG
'When I come, my son is sleeping and my wife is cooking meat.'

b. *Ag'a* *zugdi:* *wo-isi-ni* *bu*
[brother house.REF make-PC-3SG] we
belesi-u *bi-s'e-u.*
help-1PL.EX be-PERF-1Pl.EX
'When my brother was building a house, we were helping him.'

Like practically all temporal clauses, the temporal clause with the Perfective Converb can imply an additional causal meaning.

(1527) a. *Bi* *sita-i* *soŋo-isi-ni* *utemi*
[me son-1SG cry-PC-3SG] therefore
amä:sa:-mi.

be.late.PAST-1SG
'I was late because my son was crying.'

b. *Su:* *su:ni:-si-ni* *xokto* *og'ou-gi-e-ni.*
[sun shine-PC-3SG] road dry-REP-PAST-3SG
'The road dried up from the sun.'

c. *Nua-ni* *bude:-ni* *kuliga* *ikteme-le-isi-ni.*
he-3SG die.PAST-3SG [snake bite-SING-PC-3SG]
'He died from a snake's bite.'

d. *Bi ge:* *etete-isi:* *tagda:-ni.*
[me bad work-PC.1SG] get.angry.PAST-3SG
'He got angry because I had worked badly.'

21.3.2.3. Temporal clauses with the Conditional Converb

Conditional Converbs are only used sporadically within a temporal clause.

(1528) a. *Ulikte* *a:da-lisi-ni* *sama*
[shaman.lard ready-CC-3SG] shaman
eme-ini *joxo* *kä:-tigi-ni.*
come-3SG pot side-LAT-3SG
'When the shaman lard becomes ready, the shaman comes to the pot.'

b. *Ele* *sikie-gi-lisi-ni*
[soon evening-REP-CC-3SG]
susa-gi-kte-iti.
escape-REP-DIST-3PL
'As soon as evening comes, they run away.'

c. *Nua-ni* *ŋua-li:* *xuanti:-ni.*
[he-3SG sleep-CC.SS] snore-3SG
'When he sleeps, he snores.'

d. *Bua* *xuen-di-ni* *in'ei* *gekti-li:to:*
[place surface-DAT-3SG dog freeze-CC.SS]
kä:-la-ni *keŋte-i* *ñami-si:-ni.*
side-LOC-3SG side-REF warm-V-3SG
'When a dog freezes in the forest, it warms its sides near the fire.'
(SK 373)

21.4. Purpose clauses

The purpose clause is marked by the Purposive Converb, which takes switch-reference markers, either of the same-subject (1529), or the different subject (1530).

(1529) a. *Bi ketu* *egdi-me* *diga:-mi*
me very much-ACC eat.PAST-1SG
wakca-na-laga-mi.
[hunt-DIR-PURP-SS]
'I ate very much (so I would be able) to go hunting.'

b. *ŋua-laga-mi* *dakca:-ni.*
[sleep-PURP-SS] wrap.PAST-3SG

'He wrapped himself up in order to sleep.'

(1530) a. *Si teluŋu-si-je nua-ti sa-laga-ti.*
you story-V-IMP.2SG [he-3PL know-PURP-3PL] 'Tell so that they know.'

b. *Wa-gi-weŋ-ki-ni jegdige-we teu*
kill-REP-CAUS-PAST-3SG hero-ACC all
ul'e-si maŋga-na-gi-la:-ni.
fead.PERF-PC.SS [strong-V-REP-PURP-3SG]
'She brought the hero to life, feeding him so he would become strong again.' (K 197)

c. *Minti abuga-tigi zawonile-ze-fi nua-ni*
we father-LAT call-SUBJ-1PL.IN [he-3SG
eme-lege-ni.
come-PURP-3SG]
'We will call your father so that he comes.'

In the different-subject sentence, the subordinate subject can be arbitrarily controlled or controlled by any element of the superordinate clause. Examples (1531) illustrate control by the object of the superordinate clause; example (1532) illustrates control by the possessor within the superordinate clause. The controlled subject of the subordinate clause is omitted under identity with an element of the superordinate clause.

(1531) a. *Zueze bugdi-we-ni xua-je ñaŋga*
table leg-ACC-3SG cut-IMP.2SG little
naktas'a ede-lege-ni.
[short become-PURP-3SG]
'Cut the table legs so they will be a little shorter.'

b. *Ña: igbene-le:-ni kedeliŋku-zi kede-iti.*
[skin soften-PURP-3SG] brake-INST brake-3PL
'They brake skin with brakes so that it gets softer.'

(1532) *Bi ugda-i nüsisi-zeŋe-i dogbo*
me boat-1SG pitch-FUT-1SG [night
e-lege-ni ise-pte.
NEG-PURP-3SG see-DEC]
'I will put pitch on the boat so that it won't be seen in the night.'

Purposive Converb sometimes renders the intentional meaning, without actually referring to the purpose, cf.:

(1533) *Pa-ligi mafa-wa gida-la:-mi*
black-ADJ bear-ACC spear-PURP-SS
auj-i wa:-ni.
brother.in.law-REF kill.PAST-3SG
'(Intending) to stab with a spear the black bear, he killed his brother-in-law.' (K 131)

21.5. «Instead»-clauses

The clause that corresponds to the English subordinate clause with the subordinator 'instead' is participial in Udihe. It can only be controlled by the subject of the main clause, that is, the participle takes the same-subject inflections. «Instead»-clauses vary in their modality.

21.5.1. Irrealis clauses

The irrealis «instead»-clause implies that the situation described by the superordinate clause has been realized contrary to the speaker's expectation described by the subordinate clause. The superordinate clause verb is therefore in one of the past tenses. Such a subordinate clause is expressed by the Future Participle in the Instrumental case.

(1534) a. *Ma:ma* *tege-we* *uli-zeŋe-zi:*
[grandmother gown-ACC sew-FP-INST.SS]
xoŋto-wo *gada:-ni.*
other-ACC bye.PAST-3SG
'Instead of sewing a gown, grandmother bought another one.'

b. *Etete-zeŋe-zi:* *'ai-we* *sene* *umi:.*
[work-FP-INST.SS] vodka-ACC only drink.PRP
'Instead of working, he only drinks vodka.'

21.5.2. Realis clauses

In the second type of «instead»-clause the situation of the main clause itself has not been realized but is either expected to be realized in the future (in which case the verb has the Future form), or is induced by the speaker (in this case the verb in the superordinate clause is in the Imperative). The modality of the subordinate clause remains unspecified; it can be either realis or irrealis, depending on whether the situation described by the subordinate clause is in progress at the moment of speech or is hypothesized by the speaker. Such a subordinate clause uses the Present Participle, followed by the postposition *bede* 'like'. In the examples that follow, in (1535a) and (1535b) the situation of the subordinate clause can be understood as either hypothesized or in progress, in (1535c) it is certainly taking place at the moment of speech.

(1535) a. *Bi* *ni-we-de* *geli:* *bede* *bi*
[me who-ACC-IND call.PRP.SS like] me
men-e *nixe-zeŋe-i.*
REF-0 do-FUT-1SG
'Instead of calling somebody, I will do it myself.'

b. *Si* *uti* *tege-we* *saŋadi:* *bede*
[you that gown-ACC mend.PRP.SS like]
imexi-we *gada-ja.*
new-ACC buy-IMP.2SG
'Instead of mending this gown, buy a new one.'

c. *Si* *ute* *bede* *te:-i* *bede*
[you that like sit-PRP.SS like]
jexe-je.

sing-IMP.2SG
'Instead of sitting like this, sing.'

21.6. Causal clauses

The causal relation between two clauses is expressed by a participial clause with one of two specialized postpositions. The subordinate clause participle only takes the Past or the Present form in this case. An additional causal meaning may be implied by the infinitival clause (21.1.3) and different types of
temporal clauses (21.3).

21.6.1. Causal clauses with the postposition *dieleni* 'because'

The postposition *diele-ni* 'because' expresses the pure causal relationship:

(1536) a. *Bi diaŋ-ki-mi diele-ni w'ali:-ti.*
[me say-PP-1SG because-3SG] fight-3PL
'They are fighting because of what I said.'

b. *Iwana belesi-e-ni diele-ni zugdi-ne-mi*
[Ivan help-PP-3SG because-3SG] house-DEST-REF
wo:-mi.
make.PAST-1SG
'I built a house because of Ivan's help.'

c. *Bi Moskwa-du aja ñansule:-mi diele-ni*
[me Moscow-LAT good study.PP-SS because-3SG]
eitene učitela-wa etete-mi.
now teacher-ACC work-1SG
'Because I studied well in Moscow, I work as a teacher now.'

d. *Bi xunazi: aja etete:-ni diele-ni*
[me sister.1SG good work.PP-3SG because-3SG]
Moskwa-tigi ŋene-wen-ki-ti.
Moscow-LAT go-CAUS-PAST-3PL
'They sent my sister to Moscow for having worked well.'

21.6.2. Causal clause with the postposition *dalinka(n)di(ni)* 'thanks to'

The postposition *dalinka(n)di-ni* 'thanks to' does not express the cause as such, but rather implies that the situation of the adverbial clause has positively influenced the event described by the superordinate clause.

(1537) a. *Ule: men-e zug-tigi ŋene-ini käsa*
meat REF-0 house-LAT go-3SG [eagle
belesi:-ni dalinkandi-ni.
help.PRP-3SG thanks-3SG]
'The meat goes home by itself thanks to the eagle's help.'

b. *Si belesi-e-i dalinkadi bi oño-wo*
[you help-PP-2SG thanks] me letter-ACC
oño-u:ŋ-ki-mi.

write-PAS.CAUS-PAST-1SG
'Thanks to your help I wrote the letter.'

21.7. Comparative clauses

The comparative clause is formed by the participle followed by the comparative postposition *bede* 'like' or *čuli* 'exactly like'. Note that there is no ambiguity with the «instead»-clause which also uses the participle with the postposition *bede*, because in «instead»-clauses the superordinate verb is always in either the Future or the Imperative (21.5). In sentences with comparative clauses, although the comparative subordinate clause is itself formally identical to the «instead»-clause, the superordinate clause is clearly different: it expresses realis modality, and the matrix verb is in the Present or in one of the past tenses. The situation of the subordinate clause can be either real or hypothesized.

Examples of the same-subject (1538) and different-subject (1539) comparative clauses are:

(1538) a. *Bi abuga-i ei zulie-ni xuli:*
[me father-1SG this before-3SG go.PRP.SS
bede xaisi ute bede xuli:-ni ba:-za
like] still that like go-3SG place-N
ge-tigi-ni.
surface-LAT-3SG
'My father still goes hunting in the same way as he used to.'

b. *Ei dogdi: bede te:-ini.*
[this hear.PRP.SS like] sit-3SG
'He is sitting as if he does not hear.'

c. *Go: tukä-i bede dew-o:-ni.*
[long run-PRP.SS like] get.tired-PAST-3SG
'He got tired as if he was running for a long time.'

d. *Mo: uli-we xanä-zi dakpisi:-ni*
tree water-ACC shadow-INST close-3SG
xanäŋku-tigi ise-si: bede-de.
[mirror-LAT see-IM.PRP.SS like-FOC]
'The trees cover the water with shadows, as if they look in a mirror.'

(1539) a. *Sin-e-we gegbi-e-ti bi gegbi: bede.*
you-0-ACC call-PP-3PL [me call.PRP.1SG like]
'They called you as I am called.'

b. *Xuda-si: ni: dili-zi: ima:-tigi*
fur-V.PRP man head-INST.REF snow-LAT
pigdäm ñuxana:-ni seutige
down dive.PAST-3SG [pine.cone
tiŋme-i-ni bede kuŋka duo-digi-ni.
fall-PRP-3SG like cedar top-ABL-3SG] 'The merchant dived with his head into the snow, like a pine cone which falls down from the top of the cedar tree.'

c. *Sita-ziga iŋña od'o digaŋ-ki-ni*
child-PL white.haired old.man say-PP-3SG
čuĺ-de xuli-li-e-ti.
like-FOC walk-INC-PAST-3PL

‘The children started walking exactly as the white haired old man told (them).’ (SKX 324)

21.8. Conditional clauses

In all conditional sentences the protasis is expressed by the subordinate clause and the apodosis by the superordinate clause. Depending on the general modality of the sentence, factual condition and counterfactual condition are distinguished. Some infinitival clauses may also imply conditional meaning (21.1.1).

21.8.1. Factual condition

21.8.1.1. Converbial clause

The subordinate clause predicate is expressed by the Conditional Converb with same-subject or different-subject personal markers. The factual conditional sentence normally refers to the future, therefore the matrix (aposodis) clause verb is either in the Future (1540) or in the Subjunctive (1541).

(1540) a. *Aziga-ziga* *olokto-lisi-ti* *minti*
[girl-PL cook-CC-3PL] we
eme-gi-zeŋe-fi.
come-REP-FUT-1PL.IN
‘If the girls cook the food, we will come back.’

b. *Tigde* *tigde-lisi-ni* *mo:* *xegie-le-ni*
[rain rain-CC-3SG] tree under-LOC-3SG
teu-zeŋe-fi.
sit-FUT-1PL.IN
‘If it starts raining, we will sit under the tree.’

c. *Ñaŋmu* *bi-lisi-ni* *’ana-wa* *aisi-zeŋe-i.*
[nice be-CC-3SG] boat-ACC mend-FUT-1SG
‘If the weather is nice, I will mend my boat.’

d. *Ele* *xakti-lisi-ni* *bi* *eme-zeŋe-i.*
[soon get.dark-CC-3SG] me come-FUT-1SG
‘If it gets dark soon, I will come back.’

e. *Ña* *kumte-lisi-u* *nua-ni* *sun-e-we*
[again turn.over-CC-2PL] he-3SG you-0-ACC
dukte-zeŋe-ni.
beat-FUT-3SG
‘If you turn over again, he will beat you.’

f. *Bi* *xoton-tigi* *ŋene-li:* *sin-du*
[me city-LAT go-CC.SS] you-DAT
konfeta-wa *gada-zaŋa-i.*
candy-ACC buy-FUT-1SG
‘If I go to the city, I will buy you some candy.’

g. *Nua-ni* *ŋua-lisi-ni* *teu* *eke*
[he-3SG sleep-CC-3SG] all quite
dian-a-zaŋa-ti.
say-0-FUT-3PL

'If he will be sleeping, everybody will speak quietly.'

(1541) *Xuaŋgu-we* *säŋguaza-wa* *sigua-wa*
[cucumber-ACC melon-ACC watermelon-ACC
zomi-lisi: *si* *aŋma-i* *gojou-lo-zo.*
steal-CC.2SG] you mouth-2SG crooked-V-SUBJ
'If you steal a cucumber, a melon, or a watermelon, your mouth will become crooked.'

21.8.1.2. Participial clause with the postposition *edeisini* 'when, if'

A temporal clause with the temporal postposition *edeisini* 'when, if' (21.3.1.6) can occasionally express a conditional meaning:

(1542) a. *Ča:la-i* *edeisini* *ei* *moxo-lo* *bi:*
[want-PRP if] this cup-LOC be.PRP
gampa-wa *uniŋa-la.*
porridge-ACC spoon-V
'If you agree, scoop the porridge which is in this cup.'
b. *Si* *mantila-i* *edeisi* *bi* *bude-ze.*
[you pour-PRP if] me die-SUBJ
'If you pour (water on me), I might die.'

21.8.2. Counterfactual condition

In counterfactual (hypothetical) conditionals the matrix verb is in the Conditional mood (7.5.4). The subordinate predicate is expressed by the Irrealis Conditional Converb in the Past (1543a, b) or Present (1543c,d). Since the Past Conditional Converb does not have personal forms, the subject of the subordinate clause must be overtly expressed, as distinct from other types of subordinate clauses.

(1543) a. *Aja* *bi-muse* *bi* *xunazi:* *jexe-i*
good be-COND [me sister.1SG sing-PRP
bi-si.
be-PAST]
'It would have been nice if my sister sang.'
b. *Nua-ni* *oño-mu:i* *bi-si* *oño-muse.*
[he-3SG write-DES.PRP be-PAST] write-COND
'If he had wanted to write a letter, he would have written it.'
c. *Si* *ni-we-de* *gele:* *bi-si*
[you who-ACC-IND ask.PP] be-PAST
sin-e-we *belesi-du-muse.*
you-0-ACC help-PL-COND
'If you had asked somebody, they would have helped you.'
d. *Si* *e-si* *tuŋala* *bi-si* *bi*
[you NEG-PAST disturb be-PAST] me
wa-muse-i *käŋa-wa.*
kill-COND-1SG deer-ACC
'If you hadn't disturbed me I would have killed a deer.'

If the subordinate clause contains the copular construction (such as those described in Chapter 17) the first component of the Past Conditional which corresponds to the verb *be-* 'be' is omitted. The Past Conditional Converb is expressed only by the unchangeable copular form *bisi*. Example (1544a) illustrates the copular subordinate clause construction with the noun as its component, example (1544b) the same construction with the Past passive participle, and example (1544c) the same with the adjective.

(1544) a. *Bi sun-zi geje ŋene-muse-i*
me you-INST together go-COND-1SG
ugda bi-si.
[boat be-PAST]
'I would have come with you, if I had had a boat.'

b. *Tege-we uli-se bi-si sin-du*
[gown-ACC sew-PP.PAS be-PAST] you-DAT
bu-muse-i.
give-COND-1SG
'If the gown had been sewn, I would have given it to you.'

c. *Eke-xi bi-si bi eme-muse-i.*
[time-ADJ be-PAST] me come-COND-1SG
'If I had had time I would have come.'

The Irrealis Necessitative Conditional Converb expresses an additional necessitative meaning.

(1545) a. *Si nagda-zaŋa bi-si e-si:-de*
[you reach-FP be-PAST] NEG-PAST.2SG-FOC
nagda.
reach
'You should have reached (the target), but you didn't.'

b. *Si oño-u-zeŋe bi-si*
[you write-PAS-FUT be-PAST]
oño-muse-i.
write-COND-1SG
'If you had had to write it, you would have written it.'

c. *Bi Oloŋo-tigi j'e-we-de nixe-zeŋe-i*
me Olon-LAT [what-ACC-FOC do-FP-1SG
bi-si ŋene-muse-i.
be-PAST] go-COND-1SG
'If I had had to do something (there), I would have gone to Olon.'

Sometimes in conditional sentences the main clause verb is in the Future or Necessitative.

(1546) a. *Si amba-wa wa:-i bi-si* [you
evil.spirit-ACC kill-PRP be-PAST]
memi wa-zaŋa-i.
REF.ACC kill-FUT-2SG
'If you kill an evil spirit, you will kill yourself.'

b. *Si tu ehi nexe bi-si bi anana* [you
so NEG do be-PAST] me long.ago
ŋene-zeŋe bi-s'e-i.
go-FP be-PERF-1SG
'If you hadn't done this, I would have left long time ago.'

(Schneider 1937: 82)

21.9. Concessive clauses

There is no specialized means to express the adverbial clause of concession. Other types of adverbial clauses such as the infinitival manner clause (21.1.4) often imply concessive meaning.

Chapter 22
Coreference

This chapter focuses on anaphoric phenomena, namely, pronominal anaphora (22.1), coreferential deletion (22.2), reflexivization (22.3), reciprocalization (22.4), and switch-reference (22.5).

22.1. Pronominal anaphora

In the majority of cases both the matrix verb and the verb in the subordinate clause exhibit agreement with the subject argument, at least in person (for details see 15.1.1.2). The pronoun that corresponds to the subject is therefore easily dropped (22.2). However, pronouns in other functions are normally overtly present in the clause, and, under certain conditions, the subject pronoun is also overt.

22.1.1. 3rd Person Personal pronouns

In this section we address the difference between the 3rd person Personal pronoun *nua-ni* 'he, she' and *nua-ti* 'they', on the one hand, and *bue-ni* 'he, she' and *bue-ti* 'they' on the other (see 9.1.1). Both types of pronouns refer only to human entities, but they play different roles in the process of maintaining coreference in the text. Both can be used cataphorically and anaphorically.

22.1.1.1. Pronouns *nuani* 'he, she', *nuati* 'they'

The pronouns *nua-ni/nua-ti* commonly serve as deictic pronouns. The example below shows the deictic pronoun *nua-ni* followed by the anaphoric pronoun *bue-ni* while both refer to the same entity.

(1547)

Nua-ni	*anana*	*min-tigi*	*gele:-ni*
he-3SG	long.ago	me-LAT	ask.PAST-3SG
kusige-we	*buen-du-ni*	*bu-o:-mi.*	
knife-ACC	he-DAT-3SG	give-PAST-1SG	

'He has been asking for a knife from me for a long time, and I gave it to him.'

22.1.1.2. Pronouns *bueni* 'he, she', *bueti* 'they'

On the other hand, the pronouns *bue-ni/bue-ti* are only used anaphorically, their two main functions being anaphora to a non-topical element, and to a new (replaced) topic. In both cases the antecedent must be introduced in the previous context. The topic is roughly defined as an element the proposition is about (see Chapter 24). Universally, the topic is known to correlate with the grammatical relation of the subject and to have a high degree of continuity in the

discourse. In Udihe, anaphora to the continuous topic in the subject role is expressed by the coreferential omission of the subject (22.2.1). A non-continuous topic naturally cannot be omitted. This explains why the pronouns *bue-ni/bue-ti,* which only refer to a non-topic or a non-continuous topic, are generally the only (non-contrastive) Personal pronouns overtly present in the texts.

22.1.1.2.1. Anaphora to non-topical elements

Anaphora to non-topical non-subject elements is possible with the pronouns *bue-ni/bue-ti* with regard to the animate antecedent, or *(u)ti* 'that' for the inanimate antecedent (22.1.2.2.1). In (1548) the anaphoric pronoun *bue-ni* functions as a non-subject argument or an adjunct, in (1549) as a possessive modifier.

(1548) a. *Pauza* *ña:-zi-ni* *Pakula* *mamasa-ni*
roe skin-INST-3SG Pakula wife-3SG
bue-du-ni *watuza-wa* *uli-e-ni*.
he-DAT-3SG home.sshoes-ACC sew-PAST-3SG
'Pakula's wife has sewn home shoes for him from the roe's skin.'

b. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *omo* *ni:-we* *mamasa-ni*
me know-1SG one man-ACC wife-3SG
buen-digi-ni *sagdi.*
he-ABL-3SG old
'I know a man whose wife is older than he.'

c. *Bi* *käŋa* *xokto-wo-ni* *ise:-mi*
me deer footstep-ACC-3SG see.PAST-1SG
bue-we-ni *e-si-mi* *ise.*
he-ACC-3SG NEG-PAST-1SG see
'I saw the footsteps of a deer, but I didn't see the deer itself.'

d. *Zeu-de* *bie,* *j'eu-j'eu* *i:-ni*
food-FOC be.PRES.HAB what-what kind-3SG
teu *bie,* *nada* *zali* *tapči-de.*
all be.PRES.HAB seven barn full-FOC
Bue-we-ni *tene* *ei-mi* *ise.*
he-ACC-3SG CONT NEG-1SG see
'There is food, there is everything, seven full barns. But I don't see him.'

e. *Bi* *anda-i* *e-si-ni* *eme-gi.*
me friend-1SG NEG-PAST-3SG come-REP
Bue-ni *gäundani* *etete-mi.*
he-3SG without work-1SG
'My friend didn't come. I am working without him.'

(1549) a. *Bue-ni* *zakta* *sile:-we-ni* *pauza* *dili-ni*
he-3SG millet gruel-ACC-3SG roe head-3SG
diga:-ni.
eat.PAST-3SG
The roe head ate his millet gruel.' (K 140)

b. *Petra* *gada:-ni* *kusige-we* *Iwana-du*
Peter buy.PAST-3SG knife-ACC Ivan-DAT

bue-ni *zä:-ŋi-zi-ni.*
he-3SG money-AL-INST-3SG
'Peter bought Ivan a knife with his (Ivan's) money.'

22.1.1.2.2. Anaphora to replaced topic

Examples (1550) represent the pronouns *bue-ni*/*bue-ti* referring to the replaced topic in the subject role. For example, in (1550a) the element that corresponds to the dropped subject of the first two clauses ('he') is the «old» topic replaced in the third clause *Beje-ti loxo bu-o:-ti* 'They gave him a saber'.

(1550) a. *Gida* *bu-o:-ni.* *E-si-n(i)-de*
spear give-PAST-3SG NEG-PAST-3SG-FOC
ise loxo. *Beje-ti* *loxo* *bu-o:-ti*.
see saber he-3PL saber give-PAST-3PL
'He gave (them) a spear. He did not see a saber. They gave (him) a saber.' (K 176)

b. *Sebie* *beje-ti* *taŋa:-ti* *jei* *ni:*
earlier he-3PL count.PAST-3PL nine man
bi-ʃi *guŋ-ki-ni*.
be-1PL.IN say-PAST-3SG

'Earlier, when they were counting themselves, they said: we are nine people.' (K 150)

c. *Bu-je* *si* *uta-wa.* *Eigaŋkini*
give-IMP.2SG you that-ACC soon
bu:-i *edeisini* *bue-ti* *daga-zaŋa-ti*
give-PRP when he-3PL burn-FUT-3PL
uta-wa.
that-ACC
'Give it (to them). As soon as you give (it to them), they will burn it.'

d. *Neŋu-ni* *gulin-e-isi-ni* *bue-ni-de*
younger.sibling-3SG go-0-PC-3SG he-3SG-FOC *xaisi*
titigi-e-se.
also dress-PP-FOC
'After her brother left, she also got dressed.'

e. *Bi* *neŋu-i* *o-du* *ei-ni*
me younger.sibling-1SG this-DAT NEG-3SG
bagdi *bue-ni (*nua-ni)* *Bali-le*
live he-3SG Khabarovsk-LOC
ñansule-ini.
study-3SG
'My younger brother (sister) does not live here, he (she) studies in Khabarovsk.'

The pronouns *bueni/bueti* may function as Reflexive pronouns when they refer to the new (replaced) topic (subject), but do not bear the subject role themselves. There are therefore in a complementary distribution with the regular Reflexive pronoun *men-e* (22.3.1) which is used only as a reflexive anaphor to the regular (non-replaced) topic. When the replaced topic is expressed

by a lexical noun phrase (*exi-ni* ‘the sister’ in (1551)) and controls the possessive noun phrase within the same clause, the possessor is encoded by the pronoun *bue-ni/bue-ti.* However, the head of the Reflexive possessive noun
phrase takes the regular Reflexive Possessive affixes.

(1551) *Eme-gi-e-ni* *xaisi* *exi-ni,* *xai* *ute*
come-REP-PAST-3SG also sister-3SG also that
eme-gi-e-ni *bue-ni* *neŋu-mi*
come-REP-PAST-3SG he-3SG younger.sibling-REF
zulie-ni.
before-3SG
‘The sister also came, she also came before her brother.’

22.1.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Both the Demonstrative pronouns *ei* ‘this’ and *(u)ti* ‘that’ (9.4) can be used anaphorically, though their functions differ. These pronouns normally refer to inanimate objects and are the only way to refer back to an inanimate entity. Under certain conditions they may indicate living people as well. As mentioned in 9.4, they either act as modifiers or are substantivized and function as immediate constituents of the clause.

22.1.2.1. The pronoun *ei* ‘this’

The anaphoric-deictic pronoun of the proximal deixis *ei* is uncommon in the anaphoric function, however it is not excluded completely.

22.1.2.1.1. Animate person reference

The anaphoric pronoun *ei* sometimes refers to an animate object. The examples below illustrate the anaphoric use of the pronoun *ei*, which refers to living persons.

(1552) *Ei* *getu-we-fi* *magi-kce-le:-mi* *ceze*
this PL-ACC-1PL.IN kill-DES-PURP-SS true
emende *kägampa-ni* *keje-n(i)* *ceze:-m(i)*
witch liar-3SG word-3SG believe.PAST-1SG
m’ei-de.
only-FOC
‘I only believed the words of the witch liar, and wanted to kill them.’
(K 183)

22.1.2.1.2. Situation reference

The pronoun *ei* can refer to the situation rather than to the object or person.

(1553) a. *Egdeŋke* *j’eu* *bi:-ni* *uti?* *Ei*
interesting what be-3SG that this
guese *zauŋa-wa*

pike greenling-ACC
niŋme:-ni.
swallow.PAST-3SG
Interesting, what is that? It is that the pike has swallowed the greenling.'

b. *Egdeŋke.* *Ei* *Kanda* *mafa* *sita-i*
interesting that Kanda old.man son-REF
wa:-ni.
kill.PAST-3SG
'Interesting. It is that the old man Kanda killed his son.' (K 191)

22.1.2.2. The pronoun *(u)ti* 'that'

The pronoun *(u)ti* is the most frequent means of textual anaphora in Udihe. On its resumptive use see 22.1.3.1. In the attributive function it equally refers to animate and inanimate entities.

(1554) a. *Pakula* *tene* *bui-we* *wa-laga-mi*
Pakula CONT animal-ACC kill-PURP-SS
zu:gisi:-ni *tukca* *tene* *igbe:-ni* *uti*
aim-3SG hare CONT frighten.PAST-3SG that
bui-we.
animal-ACC
'As soon as Pakula aimed at the animal to kill (it), the hare frightened the animal away.'

b. *Ilekpe-sie* *uti* *xaŋa-ŋku-zi.*
try-IM.PRP that guess-N-INST
'He tried with that guessing stone.'

c. *In'ei* *pauza-wa* *ise:-ni* *ila* *in'ei.* dog
roe-ACC see.PAST-3SG three dog *Uti* *in'ei* *xente-ni*
emuse a:nta *bi-si-ni*.
that dog master-3SG one woman be-PAST-3SG
'The dogs saw the roe, three dogs. The master of those dogs was a certain woman.' (K 138)

Below we address its use in the substantivized function.

22.1.2.2.1. Inanimate object reference

Anaphoric pronouns of the series *(u)ti* mostly refer to inanimate objects, for example:

(1555) a. *Bi* *ta:mati* *zueze-we* *gada:-mi.*
me last.year table-ACC buy.PAST-1SG
Uligdig'a *bi-s'e* *uti.*
beautiful be-PERF that
'Last year I bought a table. It was beautiful.'

b. *Ei* *zugdi-we* *go:-zi* *wo:-ti,*
this house-ACC long-INSTR make.PAST-3PL
uta-wa *bi* *abuga-i* *wo:-ni.*
that-ACC me father-1SG make.PAST-3SG

‘It took a long time to build this house; my father built it.’

c. *Uta-digi* *boxoso* *seŋmi* *gakpa:-ni*
that-ABL humpback arbalest shoot.PAST-3SG
uta-wa *agaŋ-ki-ni.*
that-ACC step.over-PAST-3SG
‘Then the humpback shot an arbalest and she stepped over it.’
(K 173)

This pronoun in local case forms commonly serves as an anaphoric adverbial (‘there’). The antecedent is found within the same clause (1556) or in the closest left context (1557).

(1556) a. *Komo* *uta-du* *bi:-ni* *joxo*
Komo that-DAT be-3SG pot
xegie-le-ni.
under-LOC-3SG
‘Komo is there, under the pot.’ (K 150)

b. *Sagdi* *xoto* *t’aŋki-le-ni* *sagli*
big city middle-LOC-3SG big
zugdi-le *ila* *afikta* *zugdi*
house-LOC three store house
uta-la *bagdi-e-ni* *Udie* *waŋza-ni.*
that-LOC live-PAST-3SG Udihe tsar-3SG
‘In the middle of a big city, in a large house, a three storied one,
there lived the Udihe tsar.’ (K 138)

(1557) a. *Ule:-ni* *agdu* *uta-la*
dig.PAST-3SG hole that-LOC
ŋua-waŋ-ki-ni.
sleep-CAUS-PAST-3SG
‘He dug out a hole and put them to sleep there.’ (K 132)

b. *Pakula* *ba:-za* *ge-tigi-ni*
Pakula place-N surface-LAT-3SG
ŋene:-ni. *Uta-la* *ketu* *iŋeni.*
go.PAST-3SG that-LOC very cold
‘Pakula went to the forest. It is very cold there.’

c. *I:-le-de* *mamasa-na-mi* *saŋu-ini*
what-LOC-IND wife-DEST-REF choose-3SG
omo *jegdige,* *uta-uxi* *ŋene-u.*
one hero that-LAT go-1PL.EX
‘A hero is choosing a wife somewhere, and we are going there.’
(K 171)

22.1.2.2.2. Animate person reference

Although living persons are usually referred by the pronouns *bue-ni/bue-ti* in texts (22.1.1.2), the Demonstrative pronoun *(u)ti* ‘that’ also performs this function. Examples (1558) illustrate the use of the pronoun *(u)ti* referring to the animate object.

(1558) a. *Uti* *aja-zi* *ise-si:-ni.*
that good-INST see-IM-3SG

‘He is looking well.’

b. *Bi uti getu-we säta saki-nde-ze-mi,*
me that PL-ACC strong clap-INST-3SG
wa-zaŋa-i bi uti aziga-wa.
kill-FUT-1SG me that girl-ACC
‘I will strike them strongly, I will kill those girls.’

The pronouns *bue-ni/bue-ti* and *(u)ti* are sometimes interchangeable. They are equally permissible when referring to animals, cf. (1560a) and (1560b).

(1559) *Ei a:nta bie, uti / beje-ni zugdi-di-ni*
this woman be.PRES.HAB that / he-3SG house-DAT-3SG
bagdi-mi.
live-1SG
‘This is that woman, I live in her house.’

(1560) a. *Bi činda dian-a-i-we-ni dogdi-e-mi*
me bird say-0-PRP-ACC-3SG hear-PAST-1SG
bue-we-ni e-si: ise.
he-ACC-3SG NEG-PAST.1SG see
‘I heard a bird singing but did not see it.’

b. *I:-le si imexi in’ei? Bi ali-de*
what-LOC you new dog.2SG me when-IND
e-si: ise uta-wa.
NEG-PAST.1SG see that-ACC
‘Where is your new dog? I have never seen it.’

22.1.2.2.3. Situation reference

The anaphoric pronoun *(u)ti* can refer to situations as well, that is, to a piece of the text. This is illustrated in (1561), where *uti getu* substitutes for human participants, and *uti* refers to an event.

(1561) *Uti getu uti nixe:-ti bi:-ti.*
that PL that do.PP-3PL be-3PL
‘They did it (themselves).’ (K 198)

22.1.2.3. Anaphoric adverbial expressions

Various forms of the Demonstrative *(u)ti* serve to link a clause to a preceding discourse. The Nominative form co-occurs with postpositions and adverbials, which gives rise to fixed adverbial expressions (1562a). Some oblique cases are used as regular discourse linkers (1562b). In addition, the stem *(u)ta-* is the base for several anaphoric adverbs and adjectives (1562c).

(1562) a. *(u)te bede, ute be* ‘in the same way, so’
uti amä:la-ni ‘after that’
uti agdandi-ni ‘during that time, then’
ti: emne ‘once, one day’

b. *uta-wa* (ACC) ‘then’
uta-di(gi) (ABL) ‘since, after’

	ute-li (PROL)	‘then’
c.	*uta-mi*	‘so, that is why’
	ute-be	‘so’
	uta-liŋeni	‘then’
	ute-fi	‘of that kind’
	uta-(m)du	‘later, after’
	ut’a-si	‘later, after’
	ute-befi	‘the same, such’

The adverbs *uta-mi* and *ut’a-si* seem to go back morphologically to verbal forms, the Infinitive, and the Perfective same-subject converb respectively, as well as the form *uta-di-ge-si* ‘since then’ (SK 463) with an unclear element *-di-*. This suggests that the demonstrative stem *uta-* may have had a verbal representation in the past. *Uta-digi* is the Ablative form of the anaphoric pronoun, while *ute-fi* is derived with the adjectival suffix *-fi* (6.4.1.3.1). The morphological form of the other anaphoric adverbs is not so transparent. Other anaphoric expressions derived from the same base by means of the participial forms of the copula verb ‘be’ are: *ute bi:* ‘such’, and *ute bie* ‘such’.

Anaphorical expressions based on the Demonstrative *ei* are in (1563).

(1563)	*ei*	‘now’	*ei-ze*	‘all the time’
	eigaŋkini	‘now; as early as now’	*ei dexi*	‘till now’
	(a-wa) caixi	‘since this day’	*ei zulieni*	‘formerly’

Examples:

(1564) a. *Nua-ni* *utebe-fi* *uga-ni.*
he-3SG so-ADJ voice-3SG
‘He has such a voice.’

b. *Bi-de* *xai(si)* *uteliŋeni* *neŋi-ni*
me-FOC also then day-3SG
ŋene:-mi.
go.PAST-3SG
‘I left on the same day too.’

c. *Utemi* *koŋo-mi.*
therefore get.thin-1SG
‘That is why I am getting thinner.’

d. *Tineŋi* *omo* *mafasa* *min-e-we*
yesterday one old.man me-0-ACC
ute bede *cemne:-ni.*
that like deceive.PAST-3SG
‘Yesterday an old man deceived me in the same way.’

e. *Anana* *bu* *e* *bede* *wo:-i* *bi-s’e.*
before we this like do-PRP be-PERF
‘Before, we used to do it like this.’

22.1.3. Correlatives

Correlatives are not common in Udihe, and only appear in certain marginal constructions.

22.1.3.1. Correlative relative clause

The correlative relative clause does not seem to be a native Udihe construction, and is used infrequently. The anaphoric pronoun *(u)ti* occurs in the superordinate clause.

(1565) a. *Min-du* *ise-wen-e-je* *uti*
me-DAT see-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG that
ni:-we *kuti-we* *wa:-ma-ni.*
man-ACC tiger-ACC kill.PP-ACC-3SG
'Show me the man who killed the tiger.' b. *Tineŋi* *eme-i* *getu-we* *uti*
yesterday come-PRP PL-ACC that
getu-we *bi* *ise:-mi.*
PL-ACC me see.PAST-1SG
'I saw those who came yesterday.'

22.1.3.2. Equative correlatives

Other correlative structures correspond semantically to equative constructions. The dependent clause predicate may be expressed with the Infinitive or, less frequently, the finite verb. Either the same interrogative pronoun is used both in the subordinate and superordinate clause (1566), or the interrogative pronoun of the dependent clause corresponds to the same morphological form of the anaphoric pronoun *(u)ti* within the main clause (1567). On the finite correlative equative relative clause see 18.3.2.2.

(1566) a. *Adi* *ni:* *bi-mi* *adi-ma*
[how.many man be-INF] how.many-ACC
wo:-iti.
make-3PL
'They make as many (of them) as there are people.' (K 123)
c. *Ni* *ča:la-mi* *ni* *uniŋa-la.*
[who want-INF] who spoon-V
'He who wants (to do it) may scoop with the spoon.'
d. *Ni* *galakta-mi* *ni* *b'a.*
[who seek-INF] who find
'He who seeks, finds.'

(1567) *Ni:* *ca:i-la* *xetigene-mi* *uti* *ete-ini.*
man far-LOC jump-INF that win-3SG
'Who jumps further, wins.' (SK 600)

22.2. Coreferential deletion

Coreferential deletion is typical of the subject and less so of the direct object. Other grammatical relations undergo coreferential deletion only sporadically. A nominal head may undergo deletion under identity with the previously mentioned element, which results in headless structures. Verbs and verbal phrases undergo elliptical deletion.

22.2.1. Subject deletion

22.2.1.1. Pronoun-drop

Personal pronouns in the subject role are regularly omitted, while agreement affixes cross-reference their antecedent (15.1.1.2).

(1568) a. *Soŋo-u.*
cry-2PL
'You are crying.'

b. *I:-zi* *tamafi-zeŋe-i?*
what-INST pay-FUT-2SG
'With what will you pay?'

The subject is overt when it introduces a new participant within a presentational contraction (see 24.1.2.2), when it is anaphoric but corresponds to the new topic (22.1.1.2.2), or when it is contrastive (1569).

(1569) a. *– Bi-ke* *e-zeŋe-i* *menze.* *–* *Bi* *bi*
me-FOC NEG-FUT-1SG stay me me
bi *timana-ni* *bi* *menze-mi,* *bi*
me tomorrow-3SG me stay-1SG me
digen-zeŋe-i.
hide-FUT-1SG
'– I won't stay (at home). – Me, me, me, it is me who will stay tomorrow, I will hide.' (K 105)

b. *Si,* *mamasa-ti,* *geh-i,* *si* *wa-h-i*
you wife-3PL bad-2SG you kill-PAST-2SG
sita-fai.
child-REF.PL
'It's your fault, wife, you killed our son.' (SK 259)

22.2.1.2. Coreferential deletion across the conjoint clauses

The Nominative subject controls coreferential deletion across the conjoint clause, which is one of its definitional properties (15.1.1). Section 18.1.2.1.3 provides examples of coordinated structures with a shared subject. Another example is presented below.

(1570) a. *E-zi* *wanta* *to:-wo,* *zegde-i* *dele.*
NEG-IMP.2SG touch fire-ACC burn-2SG FOC
'Don't touch the fire, (because) you will burn yourself.'

b. *Ca:i-la* *te-je,* *aka-i* *daga-i.*
far-LOC sit-IMP.2SG back-REF burn-2SG
'Sit father (from the fire), (because) you will burn your back.'
(SK 268)

When the subject of the first clause does not correspond to the agent argument of the second conjunct, but to the patient, passivization is the result. The subject coreference is so maintained and the second clause subject is coreferentially omitted, cf.:

(1571) a. *Buk-ki-ni* *Uza-la,* *kalima-du*
die-PAST-3SG Uza-CONT whale-DAT
xuktu-w-o:-ni.
carry.away-PAS-PAST-3SG
'Uza died (because) the whale carried him away.' (K 114)

b. *Ba:-za* *ge-tigi-ni* *e-zi* *ŋene*
place-N surface-LAT-3SG NEG-IMP.2SG go
soŋo-du *dig-u-i* *dele*.
bear-DAT eat-PAS-2SG CONT
'Don't go to the forest, otherwise a bear will eat you.'

c. *Gos'o,* *e-zi* *eme,* *Čouxi* *Mä:tu-du*
uncle NEG-IMP.2SG come Chouxi Mjatu-DAT
u:-ze-i.
kill.PAS-SUBJ-2SG
'Uncle, don't come (here), (because) Chouxi Mjatu will kill you.' (SKX 156)

d. *Ba:-za* *ge-tigi-ni e-zi* *ŋene,*
place-N surface-LAT-3SG NEG-IMP.2SG
soŋgo-du *dig-u:-i.*
go bear-DAT eat-PAS-2SG
'Do not go into the wood, (otherwise) you will be eaten by the bear.'

e. *E-uxi* *ŋene-je,* *abuga-du-i*
this-LAT come-IMP.2SG father-DAT-2SG
gel-u-i.
call-PAS-2SG
'Come here, your father calls you.'

f. *E-zi* *ŋene* *uta-du* *wa-u-i.*
NEG-IMP.2SG go that-DAT kill-PAS-2SG
'Don't go, he will kill you.'

Although coreferential omission of the direct object is acceptable (22.2.2), the referential null cannot be controlled by the direct object of the first conjunct. When the first clause object corresponds to the participant who performs the action described by the second conjoint clause, the latter is causative. For further information on the Causative construction see 16.1.3. Consider (1572), where the direct object of the first clause corresponds to the causee argument of the second conjunct (encoded as the direct object Accusative noun phrase).

(1572) a. *Min-e-we* *e-zi* *casi,* *min-e-we*
me-0-ACC NEG-IMP.2SG tickle me-0-ACC
atana-wan-a-i-de.
suffocate-CAUS-0-2SG-FOC
'Don't tickle me, (because) I will suffocate.'

b. *E-zi* *casi,* *bude-wen-e-i-de.*
NEG-IMP.2SG tickle die-CAUS-0-2SG-FOC
'Don't tickle (me), (because) I will die.'

c. *E-zi* *koŋko,* *soŋo-won-o-i-de.*
NEG-IMP.2SG beat cry-CAUS-0-2SG-FOC
'Don't beat (him), (because) he will cry.'

d. *Mama* *od'o* *e-zi-u*

grandmother grandfather NEG-IMP-2PL
kuŋgede, bude-wen-e-u dele.
pour die-CAUS-0-2PL CONT
'Grandmother, grandfather, don't pour (water on him), you will destroy him.'

e. *Susa-gi-ze-mi bi lä*
escape-REP-SUBJ-1SG me very
uktu-wen-zeŋe tigde.
wet-CAUS-FUT rain.
'I must escape, (otherwise) the rain will make (me) wet through.'

The opposite strategy to maintain subject coreference in this case is passivization of the second clause, cf.:

(1573) *E-zi wende-le suese-we, aja*
NEG-IMP.2SG throw-SING axe-ACC nice
aisi-gi-u-zeŋe.
mend-REP-PAS-FP
'Don't throw away the axe, it can be mended well.'

22.2.1.3. Subject deletion in the subordinate clause

Elements other than subjects typically do not control coreferential null in the embedded clause, cf. the following example where the embedded clause subject corresponds to the oblique element *eniŋe-tigi:* 'to my mother' within the matrix clause and must be replaced by the anaphoric pronoun *uti* 'that'.

(1574) *Ge eniŋe-tigi: ŋene-ze-fi (u)ti*
well mother-LAT.1SG go-SUBJ-1PL.IN that
ise-le(ge)-ni.
see-PURP-3SG
'Well, let us go to my mother so that she could have a look (at you).'

22.2.1.3.1. Complement and adverbial clause

The coreference relationships between the elements of the superordinate clause and the subject of the non-finite subordinate clause are largely regulated by the switch-reference system (22.5). In same-subject converbial structures the overt presence of the subject in certain subordinate clauses is strictly ungrammatical, since the same-subject switch reference markers unambiguously indicate the identity of the subject participant. This also applies to those subordinate clauses where the morphological form of the predicate itself necessarily presupposes the same-subject relationship, namely subordinate clauses with the Infinitive (22.5.1.3). However, in same subject clauses based on participles (complement and adverbial clauses) the subject may be replaced by the Reflexive Nominative pronoun *men-e*, as shown in 22.2.1.3.

In different-subject subordinate clauses, the omission of the subject basically follows the same regularities as in superordinate clauses (22.2.1.1). Deletion of the subordinate subject is illustrated below for the complement clause (1575), and the adverbial purpose clause (1576). It occurs under coreference with previously mentioned participants, or certain elements of the superordinate clause (other than the subject).

(1575) a. *Ge* *utebe* *ikteme-si:-we-ni* *uti alasi:.*
well so gnaw-IM.PRP-ACC-3SG that wait.PRP
'Well, so he is waiting (for him) gnawing.'

b. *Casi:-we-ni* *xeti-si:-we-ni* *ei*
tickle.PRP-ACC-3SG scratch-IM.PRP-ACC-3SG NEG
dogdi.
hear
'He does not hear (them) tickling and scratching (her).'

(1576) *Ge* *eniŋe-tigi:* *ŋene-ze-fi* *eniŋe*
well mother-LAT.1SG go-SUBJ-1PL.IN mother
ise-lege-ni.
see-PURP-3SG
'Well, let us go to my mother so that she can take a look.'

For most subordinate clauses there do not seem to be any restrictions on the potential controller. Certain special control structures of complement clauses (subject control, object control, Dative control) are described in Chapter 20. The subject control («same-subject») and Dative control clauses demonstrate obligatory subject drop under; however, in object control clauses the overt subject in the subordinate clause is not excluded:

(1577) *Min-e-we* *mudousi:-ni* *bi* *e-lege-i* *w'ali.*
me-0-ACC persuade-3SG me NEG-PURP-1SG fight
'He is persuading me not to fight.'

22.2.1.3.2. Relative clause

Although the switch reference system is operative for the relative clauses as well, and the relative clause predicate takes the subject agreement affixes, the coreferential omission of the relative clause subject is considerably less frequent than for the other types of subordinate clause. In different-subject structures even the pronominal subject is normally overtly present.

(1578) a. *Oño-jo* *ŋimaŋku-we* *bi* *ŋimasi:-we-i.*
write-IMP.2SG tale-ACC me tell.PRP-ACC-1SG
'Write down the tale I am telling.'

b. *Si* *tineŋi* *sugdä:-wa* *aki-e-me-i*
you yesterday fish-ACC catch-PP-ACC-2SG
zauŋa-zi *gegbisi:-ti.*
greenling-INST call-3PL
'The name of the fish you caught yesterday is greenling'

Only in same-subject structures must the relative clause subject be either absent from the clause or be replaced by the independent Reflexive pronoun *men-e* 'oneself'.

(1579) a. *Guliŋi-li-e-ni* *men-e* *ba:-tigi*
go-INC-PAST-3SG REF-0 place-LAT.REF
men-e *bi:-tigi.*
REF-0 be.PRP-LAT.SS
'He started preparing to go to his own place, to the place where he used to be.' (K 141)

b. *Sita-fai* *tatusi-e-ti* *men-e*
child-REF.PL teach-PAST-3PL REF-0
ñoni:-fei.
can.PRP-SS.PL
'They taught their children what they could do themselves.'
(SK 648)

Note that this pronoun is never used in same-subject sentences where the head noun is also the subject of the superordinate clause.

22.2.2. Object deletion

Object deletion is far less regular than deletion of the subject (22.2.1). It can be conditioned by the situation of speech, as in (1580), or motivated by an anaphoric relationship within the text, as in (1581). The coreferential dropping of the object pronoun is indicated by brackets in the translations.

(1580) a. *Min-du* *ise-wen-e-je.*
me-DAT see-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG
'Show (this) to me.'
b. *Timana* *dogbo-ni* *zawa-zaŋa-i* *bi.*
tomorrow night-3SG take-FUT-1SG me
'Tomorrow night I will catch (it).' (K 144)

(1581) a. *Zogbo-i* *zawa-mi* *zoŋčili-e-ni.*
harpoon-REF take-INF throw-PAST-3SG
'Having taken the harpoon, he threw (it).'
b. *Uta-digi* *jegdige* *isesi:-ni* *joxo* *kumtes'e*
that-ABL hero see-3SG pot turn.PERF
gune. *Uta-digi* *nientile:-ni* *jegdige.*
EV that-ABL open.PAST-3SG hero
'Then the hero sees that the pot had turned over. Then he opened it.' (K 150)
c. *A:-iti* *nada* *kotoi-ziga.* *Nada* *silikte*
pursue-3PL seven bald-PL seven worm
ede:-ti, *ele* *ele* *buono-i.*
become.PAST-3PL soon soon catch-PRP
'Seven bald men pursued (her). They turned into seven worms, and nearly caught up (with her).'
d. *Zaŋdalafu* *eme-gi:-si-ni* *k'aiŋku*
Zandalafu come-REP-PC-3SG brake
do-lo-ni *kepte-we-je.*
inside-LOC-3SG lie-CAUS-IMP.2SG
'When Zandalafu returns, put (him) in a (leather) brake.' (K 106)

22.2.3. Headless noun phrases

Most modifying expressions can be used either attributively or independently; in the latter case they form headless noun phrases. Headless noun phrases are fairly frequent. They result from the

omission of the head nominal and the substantivization of the modifier, which receives some head properties and inflects for case, number, and possession. The following modifiers occur in headless relative clauses: (i) adjectives; (ii) Cardinal numerals; (iii) pronominal adjectives (namely, demonstrative pronouns, examples can be found in Chapter 9); (iv) scalar quantifiers *egdi* 'many, much, a lot' and *wac'a* '(a) little, (a) few'; (v) the universal quantifier *teu* 'all', (11.2.2.1); (vi) Possessive pronouns (9.1.4); (vii) relative clauses (headless relative clauses are treated in 19.5).

The nominalized modifier takes the collective Plural bound word *getu* instead of the regular nominal Plural marker *-ziga* (4.1.2.2), for example *baja getu* 'the rich ones', *uti getu* 'those, they', *egdi getu* 'many (of them). The former is compatible with the adjectival Plural marker *-ŋku*, cf.: *sagdä-ŋku-getu* 'the large ones' <large-PL-PL>. It inflects for case and possession in a regular way.

22.2.3.1. Coreferential omission of the head noun

The omission of the head noun normally happens under identity with another noun overtly present within the same clause or in the closest left context. In (1582) we illustrate the headless noun phrase with the substantivized adjective, and in (1583) with the substantivized Possessive pronoun.

(1582) *Kuŋgede-je* *sagdi* *cuanza-la* *ic'a-la* *uli* *ančі.*
pour-IMP.2SG large kettle-LOC small-LOC water no
'Pour from the big kettle, in the small one there is no water.'

(1583) a. *Si* *bi* *zugdi-du-i* *bagdi:* *bi*
you me house-DAT-2SG live.2SG me
siniŋi-le.
yours-LOC
'You live in my house, and I live in yours.'

b. *Ei* *bi* *oloxi-ŋi:,* *ti:* *tene* *siniŋi.*
This me squirrel-AL.SG that CONT yours
'This is my squirrel, that is yours.'

In some cases the substantivized adjective is an apposition to the full noun phrase.

(1584) *Bua* *xuen-dile-ni* *uligdig'a-wa,* *men-e* *ise-i:*
place surface-LOC-3SG beautiful-ACC REF-0 see-PRP.SS
ka:la-wa *tu:* *zawa-iti* *boboi* *gun-e-mi.*
thing-ACC all take-3PL talisman say-0-INF

'In the forest they take all things they see, all beautiful ones, and call them talisman.' (SKX 312)

22.2.3.2. Situationally motivated omission of the head noun

The omission of the head noun is often motivated not by a coreferential relationship, but by direct extralinguistic indication:

(1585) a. *Sagdä-ŋku-we* *pug'a* *nodo-jo.*

large-PL-ACC separately put-IMP.2SG
'Put the large ones apart (of potatoes).'

b. *Bi abuga-i di:-me diga-zeŋe-ni.*
me father-1SG four-ACC eat-FUT-3SG
'My father will eat four (of them).'

c. *Min-du gili-we bu-je*
me-DAT cold-ACC give-IMP.2SG
'Give me some cold (water).'

d. *Egdi-me diga!*
much-ACC eat
'Eat a lot (of it).'

e. *Ic'a-ŋku-de bie sagdä-ŋku-de*
small-PL-FOC be.PRES.HAB big-PL-FOC
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'There are small ones and large ones as well (of potatoes).'

f. *Meni-ŋi-di-fi bu-je-u.*
REF-AL-DAT-REF.PL give-IMP-2PL
'Give (it) to yours (to your dogs).'

g. *Meni-ŋi-fi dalusi-je-u.*
REF-AL-REF.PL feed-IMP-2PL
'Feed yours (your dogs)'.

22.2.3.3. Non-coreferential omission of the head noun

The head of the noun phrase may be omitted when it is not referential but its identity can be unambiguously understood from a general knowledge of the world. The adjective may be adverbialized in this case.

(1586) a. *Bi ei-mi ča:la guači-we bi*
me NEG-1SG want bitter-ACC me

zei-we aju:-mi.
sweet-ACC like-1SG
'I don't want bitter, I like sweet (food).'

b. *Nua-ti wac'a-ma wa:-ti.*
he-3PL little-ACC kill.PAST-3PL
'They killed few (animals).'

c. *Bi niŋka-zi wac'a-ma egze-mi.*
me Chinese-INST little-ACC understand-1SG
'I understand little Chinese.'

d. *Nua-ni egdi-me etete-ini.*
he-3SG much-ACC work-3SG
'He works a lot.'

e. *Keige ñamai-we galakta-ini.*
cat warm-ACC seek-3SG
'The cat seeks warmth.'

f. *Bi men-e zele-i bagdi-e-mi*
me REF-0 life-REF live-PAST-1SG

aja-wa-da *ge:-we-de.*
good-ACC-FOC bad-ACC-FOC
'I have experienced good and evil in my life.'

g. *Iŋini-tigi* *läs(i)* *suñäli-e-mi* *bi.*
cold-LAT very tremble-PAST-1SG me
'I was trembling very much with the cold.'

The independent use of the universal quantifier *teu* (11.1.1.1.2) is basically conditioned by the same principle.

22.2.4. Predicate dropping

In (1587) we illustrate an ellipsis of the verb which is immediately recoverable from the linguistic context. The usual answer to a *wh*-question consists only of a questioned constituent in a fully inflected form (1587b). Examples (1588) present an instance of colloquial speech where all the verbs are omitted, so that the predicative functions seem to be fulfilled by adverbial expressions.

(1587) a. *Uta-digi* *ñugi-e-ti* *od'oko* *ñoxoli*
that-ABL go-PAST-3PL old.man first
mamaka *amä:za-li.*
old.woman after-PROL
'Then they went out: the old man in front, the old woman behind.'
(K 158)

b. *Si* *j'e-we* *wo-zoŋo-i?* *Ugda-wa.*
you what-ACC make-FUT-2SG boat-ACC
'What will you make? A boat.'

(1588) a. *E:* *zegdem* *guasa* *i:mi* *to:*
INTER burnt bitch why fire
kä:-ni-de *dili-de.*
side-3SG-FOC far-FOC
'Hey, burnt bitch, why (are you) close to the fire, (go) further.'
(K 109)

b. *Anda,* *kä:-la-da,* *kä:-la-da,*
friend near-LOC-FOC near-LOC-FOC
gun-e-mi.
say-0-INF
'Friend, nearer (to the fire), nearer, he said.'

Verbs easily undergo ellipsis under negation, when the content verb is omitted and the negative verb alone bears the predicative function.

(1589) a. *Si* *eme-zeŋe-i?* *E-zeŋe-i.*
you come-FUT-2SG NEG-FUT-1SG
'Will you come? I won't.'

b. *Safani:,* *e-zeŋe-i,* *oŋmo:-mi.*
boring NEG-FUT-1SG forget.PAST-1SG
'Enough, I won't (tell), I forgot.'

c. *E-zeŋe-i,* *guŋ-ki-ni.*
NEG-FUT-1SG say-PAST-3SG
'I won't, he said.' (SKX 164)

22.3. Reflexivization

Formally, reflexivization is expressed by means of the Reflexive pronoun *men-* (9.2) or Reflexive Possessive affixes (4.1.4.2). Examples of these two cases are presented in sections 22.3.1.1 and 22.3.1.2 respectively. The ordinary personal pronouns and possessive affixes are not used in the reflexive function. There are no specialized verbal reflexive affixes. Reflexive markers indicate that the corresponding element is coreferential with another element, its antecedent. This element is unambiguously identified as the subject (cf. 15.1.1). The syntactic conditions on reflexivization are addressed in more detail in sections 22.3.2 and 22.3.3.

22.3.1. Reflexive elements

22.3.1.1. Reflexive pronouns

As mentioned in 9.2, Reflexive pronouns have Singular and Plural forms. Below we illustrate Reflexive pronouns in argument and adverbial positions in the Accusative (1590), the Locative (1591), the Instrumental (1592), and the Destinative (1593).

(1590) a. *Ei ñ'aula me-mui men-e mäunda-zi:*
this guy REF-ACC REF-0 gun-INST.REF
wa:-ni.
kill.PAST-3SG
'This guy killed himself with his own gun.'
b. *Bue-ni me-mui ei-ni aju.*
he-3SG REF-ACC NEG-3SG like
'He does not like himself.'
c. *Nua-ti mefei ei-ti aju.*
he-3PL REF.ACC.PL NEG-3PL like
'They don't like themselves.'

(1591) *Nataša men-dile-i bi:-ni.*
Natasha REF-LOC-SG be-3SG
'Natasha is at her place.'

(1592) *Bi men-zi: geje xebu-si-mi c'o*
me REF-INST together take-IM-1SG most
aja-ni in'ei-we.
nice-3SG dog-ACC
'I take the best dog for myself.'

(1593) a. *Bi men-di-ne-mi ule:-we*
me REF-DAT-DEST-REF meat-ACC
gada:-mi.
bring.PAST-1SG
'I bought some meat for myself.'

b. *Su* *men-di-ne-fei* *j'e-we*
you REF-DAT-DEST-PL what-ACC
ga:zi-e-u?
buy-PAST-2PL
'What did you buy for yourself?'

c. *Bu* *ñö:* *ña:-wa-ni*
we.EX sable skin-ACC-3SG
men-di-ne-fi *wa:-mu.*
REF-DAT-DEST-REF.PL kill.PAST-1PL.EX
'We got the sable skins for ourselves.'

22.3.1.2. Possessive Reflexive affixes

Coreference of the possessive modifier with the subject is encoded with Possessive Reflexive affixes (4.1.4.2). The modifier itself can be expressed by the Nominative form of the Reflexive pronoun *men-e*, as in examples (1594), although this is not obligatory (1595).

(1594) a. *Bi* *men-e* *in'ei-zi* *ŋene:-mi.*
me REF-0 dog-INST.REF go.PAST-1SG
'I was walking with my dog.'

b. *Nua-ti* *men-e* *in'ei-zi-fi* *ŋene-iti.*
he-3PL REF-0 dog-INST-REF.PL go-3PL
'They are walking with their dog.'

c. *Ñ'aula-ziga* *men-e* *abuga-fi*
child-PL REF-0 father-REF.PL
muisi:-ti.
think-3PL
'Children are thinking about their (own) father.'

(1595) a. *Bi* *tineŋi* *nodo:-mi* *kusige-i.*
me yesterday lose.PAST-1SG knife-REF
'I lost my knife yesterday.'

b. *Ñ'aula-ziga* *in'ei-fi* *koŋko-iti.*
child-PL dog-REF.PL beat-3PL
'The boys beat their (own) dogs.'

22.3.2. Reflexive object

The possessive reflexive noun phrase in the object function is not marked by the morphological Accusative; that is, the Nominative and the Accusative are homonymous. This seems to be conditioned by economy considerations: the reflexive marking on the object noun phrase unambiguously indicates that this noun phrase itself cannot correspond to the subject role. Therefore, there is no need to disambiguate between the subject and the direct object by means of a special morphological device. Cf. examples (a) with the reflexive non-Accusative object and (b) with the regular Accusative object.

(1596) a. *Nua-ni* *(men-e)* *sita-i* *ise:-ni.*

he-3SG (REF-0) son-REF see.PAST-3SG
'He$_i$ saw his$_i$ son.'

b. *Nua-ni* *sita-wa-ni* *ise:-ni.*
he-3SG son-ACC-3SG see.PAST-3SG
'He$_i$ saw his$_j$ son.'

(1597) a. *Bue-ni* *teluŋu-si:-ni* *(men-e)* *in'ei.*
he-3SG story-V-3SG (REF-0) dog.REF
'He$_i$ is talking about his$_i$ dog.'

b. *Bue-ni* *teluŋu-si:-ni* *bue-ni* *in'ei-we-ni.*
he-3SG story-V-3SG he-3SG dog-ACC-3SG
'He$_i$ is talking about his$_j$ dog.'

(1598) a. *Bi* *kusige-i* *nodo:-mi.*
me knife-REF lose. PAST-1SG
'I lost my knife.'

b. *Bi* *si* *kusige-we-i* *nodo:-mi.*
me you knife-ACC-2SG lose.PAST-1SG
'I lost your knife.'

In a similar fashion, the participle within the embedded complement, adverbial or relative clause that is accusatively marked in different-subject sentences remains in the Nominative in the same-subject structures (See Chapters 19–21). The Destinative reflexive object is marked by the Destinative case.

(1599) a. *Peimu-ne-mi* *wo:-ni,* *iŋzala-ma*
raft-DEST-REF make.PAST-3SG fir.tree-ADJ
gou-ne-mi *wo:-ni.*
pole-DEST-REF make.PAST-3SG
'He made a raft and a pole for himself from a fir-tree.' (K 119)

b. *Mamasa-na-mi* *i:-le* *b'a-i?*
wife-DEST-REF what-LOC find.PAST-2SG
'Where did you find a wife for yourself?' (K 146)

c. *Jandasa* *xaisi* *agdu-ne-mi* *ule-ini.*
badger also hole-DEST-REF dig-3SG
'The badger is also digging a hole for himself.'

22.3.3. Antecedent of the reflexive element

As was mentioned in 15.1.1, the only controller of reflexivization within the clause is the subject. No other elements, including subjectoids, which exhibit certain subject properties (15.1.3), are able to become an antecedent of reflexive relationship. Sentence (1600a) demonstrates that the reflexive element (the Reflexive Possessive affix *-i* in this case) cannot be controlled by the direct object (*ni:-we*), (1600b) demonstrates the same for the indirect object (*neŋu-du-i*), (1600c) for the adverbial element (*aziga* 'girl'), and (1600d) for the passive agent (*b'ata-du* 'by the boy').

(1600) a. *Nua-ni* *jagdugu-xi* *ni:-we*
he-3SG spectacles-ADJ man-ACC
ise:-ni *zugdi-du-i.*
see.PAST-1SG house-DAT-REF

'He$_i$ saw a man$_j$ in spectacles in his$_{i/*j}$ house.'

b. *Nua-ni* *xula* *zä:-wa* *neŋu-du-i*
he-3SG extra money-ACC younger.sibling-DAT-REF
bu-o:-ni *zugdi-du-i.*
give-PAST-1SG house-DAT-REF
'He$_i$ gave extra money to his$_i$ brother$_j$ in his$_{i/*j}$ house.'

c. *B'ata* *aziga* *zä:* *te:-ini* *zugdi-du-i.*
boy girl next sit-3SG house-DAT-REF
'The boy$_i$ is sitting next to the girl$_j$ in his$_{i/*j}$ house.'

d. **Oloxi* *b'ata-du* *men-e* *mäunda-zi:*
squirrel boy-DAT REF-0 gun-INST.REF
wa-wo:-ni.
kill-PAS.PAST-3SG
'The squirrel was killed by the boy with his own gun.'

The following example demonstrates that reflexivization can be controlled by the pronominal Nominative subject that corresponds to the patient/theme argument in the Passive construction:

(1601) *Nua-ni* *abuga-du-i* *daŋči-w-o:-ni.*
he-3SG father-DAT-REF curse-PAS-PAST-3SG
'He was cursed by his father.'

Linear precedence as such does not ensure reflexivization control, as in (1602) where the direct object *ñ'aula-wa* 'child' does not trigger Reflexive affixes on the element *abuga-ni* 'his father', even when preceding it.

(1602) *Ei* *ñ'aula-wa* *bue-ni* *abuga-ni* *wa:-ni.*
this child-ACC he-3SG father-3SG kill.PAST-3SG
'This child was killed by his father.'

However, in practice the subject almost always precedes the target of reflexivization.

The Reflexive element does not act as a subject itself, unless it is used in an emphatic function with the meaning 'independently, by itself' (9.2.1.1).

(1603) a. **Men-e* *nakta-wa* *ise:-mi.*
REF-0 boar-ACC see.PAST-3SG
'He himself saw the boar.'

b. **Men-e* *sita-i* *nakta-wa* *ise:-mi.*
REF-0 son-REF boar-ACC see.PAST-3SG
'His son saw the boar.'

The subject antecedent of the reflexive element may be absent from the clause. In this case we either deal with an impersonal construction in which the reflexive has no syntactic antecedent at all (see 15.1.4.2), or the subject is dropped under coreference.

(1604) a. *Men-e* *in'ei-du-fei* *bu-je.*
REF-0 dog-DAT-REF.PL give-IMP.2SG
'Give it to your dogs.'

b. *Men-e* *kawa-tigi:* *neu-gi-e-ni*
REF-0 tent-LAT.REF carry-REP-PAST-3SG \
loŋko-wo.

pot-ACC
'He carried the pot to his grass tent.'

If the subject antecedent corresponds to an interrogative pronoun, it lacks a reference.

(1605) *Xeune-mi* *je'u* *getu* *buŋie-fei*
be.surprised-1SG who PL dead-REF.PL
eje-u-kte-iti.
float-CAUS-DIS-3PL
'I am surprised: who are those (people) who make their dead float (down the river)?' (SK 1025)

22.3.3.1. Clause-bound control

The relationship between the reflexive element and its antecedent holds within a simple clause. The reflexive element can be found in any position in the clause. The set of examples below shows that virtually any element within this domain can be controlled for reflexivization: a modifier noun phrase (1606a), the argument of an adjective (1606b), and an immediate constituent of the clause, which in this case corresponds to the Dative causee argument (1606c).

(1606) a. *Sita-na-i* *begdi-le-ni* *sasä:-ni.*
child-PL-REF foot-LOC-3SG make.hole.PAST-3SG
'He made holes in the feet of his children.' (K 169)

b. *Sita* *ami-mi* *bejeku.*
child father-REF like
'The child looks like his father.'

c. *Ei* *tege-we* *a:nta* *xunazi-du-i*
this gown-ACC woman sister-DAT-REF
uli-weŋ-ki-ni.
sew-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'The woman let her sister sew this dress.'

Examples (1607) show that the target of reflexivization can be found within the scope of the secondary predicate, as indicated by the bracketing.

(1607) a. *Nua-ni* *gagda-i* *ančі-du-ni* *bagdi-mi*
he-3SG [friend-REF no-LOC-3SG] live-INF *ei-ni* *mute.*
NEG-3SG can
'He can't live without his friend.'

b. *Uti* *ñ'aula* *ami-mi* *bubei-zi*
this child [father-REF similar-INST]
bagdi-gi-e-ni.
live-REP-PAST-3SG
'This child was born looking like his father.'

22.3.3.2. Control across clauses

The superordinate clause subject controls the reflexivization of the subordinate clause subject, as

illustrated in (1608). In (1608a), the superordinate null subject is the antecedent of the Possessive suffix on the subject noun phrase within the subordinate adverbial purpose clause (*neŋu-mi*). In (1608b) the superordinate subject *waŋba-ŋi-ni* 'the tortoise' controls the Reflexive Possessive suffix on the relative subordinate clause subject *oloxi-ŋi:* (< *oloxi-ŋi-i*) 'its squirrel'.

(1608) a. *J'e-we-de* *zawa-ini* *neŋu-mi*
what-ACC-IND take-3SG [younger.sibling-REF
e-lege-ni *tagda-gi.*
NEG-PURP-3SG recognize-REP]
'She takes everything so that her brother does not recognize her.'
(K 167)

b. *Waŋba-ŋi-ni* *ise-si:-ni* *aja-zi-de*
tortoise-AL-3SG see-IM-3SG good-INST-FOC
oloxi-ŋi: *xaŋka-kca-i-we-ni.*
[squirrel-AL.REF choke-DUR-PRP-ACC-3SG]
'The tortoise took a good look at the choking squirrel.'

These examples involve dependent clauses based on non-finite verbal forms. In (1609) we show that the same applies to finite clauses. In (1609a) the finite subordinate clause subject *b'ata-ŋi:* 'her son' stands in the reflexive relationship to the matrix clause (null) subject. In (1609b) the two clauses are conjoint, while (1609c) is an example of the finite correlative construction.

(1609) a. *Ise-si:-ni,* *b'ata-ŋi:* *omo* *aziga* *gumu*
see-IM-3SG [boy-AL.REF one girl EV
eme-ini.
come-3SG]
'She sees that her son and a girl are coming.'

b. *Xeke* *tiŋme:-ni* *xegi,* *sogdö-i*
suddenly fall.PAST-3SG down back-REF
bukta-bukta-da.
break-break-FOC
'Suddenly he fell down and broke his back.'

c. *Men-e* *j'e-le* *uni:* *bi-si-ni*
REF-0 what-LOC be.sick.PRP be-PP-3SG
uta-la *ni:-du* *begdi-le-ni*
that-LOC man-DAT leg-LOC-3SG
ŋala-la-ni *aula-waŋ-ki-ni.*
arm-LOC-3SG swell-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'Where he felt pain himself, there he caused a tumor on man's arms and legs.' (SK 660)

The opposite relationship is ruled out. In (1610a) the null subject of the embedded clause is referred to by Possessive affixes on the superordinate clause subject (*mama-ni ami-ni mamasa-ni* 'his mother, his father, and his wife'). However, this does not trigger reflexivization: non-reflexive Possessives must be present, while Reflexive Possessives in such a case would be ungrammatical. Example (1610b) demonstrates that the subordinate subject cannot control Reflexive affixes on the superordinate subject even if it precedes it linearly, that is why the non-reflexive Possessive affix is used (*sita-ni* 'her son').

(1610) a. *Ma:ma-ni* *ami-ni* *mamasa-ni*
grandmother-3SG father-3SG wife-3SG
ise-si:-ti *ñaŋña-tigi* *degdi-gi:-we-ni.*
see-IM-3PL [sky-LAT rise-REP.PRP-ACC-3SG]
'His grandmother, his father, and his wife saw him rising back to the sky.'

b. *Eniŋe* *eme-gi:-ni* *zulie-ni* *zube*
[mother come-REP.PRP-3SG before-3SG] two
časa *ŋua:* *bi-s'e* *sita-ni.*
hour sleep.PP be-PERF son-3SG
'Before the mother came, her son had slept for two hours.'

Crucially, elements of the subordinate clause other than its subject are not controlled for reflexivization by the superordinate clause subject. In other words, the relationship between the antecedent and the reflexive element cannot cross the subject. For example, in (1611a) the element of the subordinate clause *nua-ma-ni* 'him' is not reflexive, although it is coreferential with the superordinate clause subject *ñ'aula* 'child'. The same holds for (1611b).

(1611) a. *Ñ'aula* *muisi:-ni* *abuga-ni* *nua-ma-ni*
child think-3SG [father-3SG he-ACC-3S
men-zi *geje* *xebu-ze*
REF-INST together take-SUBJ
wakca-na-mi *gun-e-ini.*
hunt-DIR-INF] say-0-3SG
'The child$_i$ thinks that the father will take him$_i$ hunting.'

b. *Mamasa-na-tigi-ni* *digaŋ-ki-ni* *e-le-ti*
wife-PL-LAT-3SG say-PAST-3SG NEG-PURP-3PL
xeŋisi *nua-ni* *xokto-wo-ni.*
step he-3SG footstep-ACC-3SG
'He told his wives not to step on his footsteps.' (SKX 316)

The elements of the subordinate clause other than its subject are controlled by the subject of the clause within which they occur, as shown in (1612). The reflexive element in (1612a) is *aka-i* 'his (self's) back', while its antecedent is a subject of the subordinate purpose clause *od'o* 'grandfather'. In same-subject sentences the reflexive elements found in the superordinate and the subordinate clause naturally have the same antecedent (1613).

(1612) a. *Egdi-we* *to:* *ilasi-je* *od'o*
much-ACC fire kindle-IMP.2SG [grandfather
aka-i *siesi-lege-ni.*
back-REF warm-PURP-3SG]
'Make a lot of fire so that the grandfather warms his back.' (K 171)

b. *Su:* *ai-le-i* *gakpa-gi:* *dexi* [sun
seat-LOC-REF shine-REP.PRP till]
ŋua-ini.

sleep-3SG
'She sleeps till the sun again starts shining in its seat.'

(1613) *Men-e* *käŋa-i* *wa:-mi* *kä:-la-ni*
[REF-0 deer-REF kill.PP-SS] side-LOC-3SG
te:-ini.
sit-3SG
'He$_i$ is sitting near the deer he$_i$ killed.'

In the object control sentence (1614) reflexivization is controlled by the zero subject of the subordinate clause. Its antecedent is the direct object of the matrix clause (*Si Säŋa-wa*).

(1614) *Ute bede* *wadi-weŋ-ki-ni* *Pakula* *Si*
hat like stop-CAUS-PAST-3SG Pakula Si
Säŋa-wa *aŋda-i* *tai-wasi-kce-i-we-ni.*
San-ACC [Ø tax-REF collect-DIST-DUR-PRP-ACC-3SG]
'In such way Pakula$_i$ made Si San$_j$ to stop collecting his$_{*i/j}$ taxes.'

22.3.3.3. Split antecedents

Udihe allows for «split antecedents» for reflexives. In this case there is only partial identity between the subject referent and the reflexive element, namely, they stand in an inclusive relationship to each other. In the example below, the reflexive possessor is semantically Plural, as is indicated by the Plural reflexive element *-fei*. The subject is in the Singular, but semantically its referent is part of the set denoted by the reflexive element. The second member of the set is denoted by an Instrumental noun phrase *Ajaula-zi*.

(1615) *Kičo* *Ajaula-zi* *soŋo-ti* *guas'a-ŋi-fei*
Kičo Ajaula-INST cry-3PL bitch-AL-REF.PL
nanta-mi.
sorry-INF
'Kičo with Ajaula cried, feeling sorry for their bitch.' (SKX 212)

A similar case is illustrated in (1616), where the subject participant is only one of two referents indicated by the Reflexive Plural marker. In principle, the Possessive marker *-fi* in *b'ata-ŋi-fi* 'our son' can be understood either as a Reflexive affix or as a 1st person Plural inclusive Possessive affix, since these markers are homonymous. The lack of the Accusative case inflection, however, rather implies the first interpretation (see 22.3.2 on the lack of the object marker on reflexive objects).

(1616) *I:-du* *omo-s'o* *b'ata-ŋi-fi*
what-DAT one-ADJ boy-AL-1PL.IN
ja-la:-mi *wa-kca-i* *si* *uta-wa?*
PROV-PURP-SS kill-DES-2SG you that-ACC
'Why do you want to kill our only son?' (K 190)

Note that the Udihe switch reference system, which is partly based on reflexives, also marks partial identity of referents as coreferentiality (see 22.2.5).

22.4. Reciprocalization

By reciprocal we mean those constructions in which each of the participants denoted by the subject noun phrase corresponds to two different semantic roles (for example, agent and patient, agent and recipient, etc). In Udihe even the oblique object and many adjuncts can reciprocalize: reciprocalization is conditioned by semantic rather than syntactic constraints. The first antecedent of the reciprocal, however, is always the subject participant.

Reciprocal construction may involve a voice-driven verbal derivation, marked with the suffix *-masi-* (8.2.1.1). Such «morphological» reciprocals were addressed in section 16.1.5. In addition, the reciprocal meaning can be expressed lexico-syntactically, by means of Reciprocal pronouns (22.4.1) or syntactic reduplication (22.4.2), but without morphological changes in the verb. The lexical reciprocal elements overtly indicate which non-subject participant is involved in the reciprocal relationship. Lexico-syntactic reciprocalization does not seem to affect the valency of the verb, while morphological reciprocalization is often accompanied by a valency reduction (detransitivization).

22.4.1. Constructions with Reciprocal pronouns

22.4.1.1. Reciprocal object

The reciprocal meaning can be expressed exclusively by Reciprocal pronouns when the two semantic roles that correspond to these pronouns are the agent and the patient. Thus the Reciprocal pronoun corresponds to the direct object role. The object Reciprocal pronouns are *mef(e)i* or its reduplicated variant *mef(e)i-mef(e)i* ‘each other’ (9.3). The subject may be the Plural noun (1617), or the collective Singular noun (1618). In the latter case the antecedent is in the Singular. The verb always takes Plural agreement affixes. The construction is ambiguous because it can refer to any number of participants larger than one.

(1617) a. *Nua-ti* *oŋmo:-ti* *mefei-mefei-de.*
he-3PL forget.PAST-3PL REC-REC.ACC.PL-FOC
‘They forgot each other.’

b. *Nua-ti* *mefei-mefei* *teti-gi:-ti.*
he-3PL REC-REC.ACC.PL dress-REP-3PL
‘They dress each other.’

c. *Ñ’aula-ziga* *mefei-mefei* *uli-zi* *ekpisi:-ti.*
child-PL REC-REC water-INST spray-3PL
‘Children are spraying water at each other.’

d. *Bu* *mefei-mefei* *e-u* *b’a-gi.*
we REC-REC.ACC.PL NEG-1PL.EX find-REP
‘We do not find each other.’

e. *Nua-ti* *mefei-mefei* *ŋele-wasi:-ti.*
he-3PL REC-REC.ACC.PL be.afraid-CAUS-3PL
‘They frighten each other.’

(1618) *Ei* *zugdi-ŋke* *mefei* *teu* *aju-iti.*
this house-N REC.ACC.PL all love-3PL
‘In this family everybody loves one another.’

Reciprocalization of an oblique object may sometimes be expressed by the Nominative form of the Reciprocal pronoun, and this is not morphologically marked on the verb. At out disposal we

only have examples where an Instrumental (1619) or an Ablative (1620) object is reciprocalized.

(1619) a. *Nua-ti* *men-e-men-e* *ŋele-iti.*
he-3PL REC-0-REC-0 be.afraid-3PL
'They are afraid of each other.'

b. *Nua-ti* *men-e-men-e* *zima-mi* *xuli:-ti.*
he-3PL REC-0-REC-0 visit-INF go-3PL
'They give visits to each other.'

(556) *Men-e-men-e* *dekte-li-e-ti.*
REC-0-REC-0 separate-INC-PAST-3PL
'They started separating from each other.' (Schneider 1937: 28)

22.4.1.2. Reciprocal modifier

When the coreferential relationship holds not between the subject and the immediate constituent of the clause, but between the subject and the possessor, this is expressed by the Nominative Reciprocal pronoun in the modifier function (9.3). There do not seem to be any syntactic restrictions on the role of the head noun within the clause: it can correspond either to the argument or to the adjunct. Remarkably, the Nominative Reciprocal pronoun is morphologically identical to the repeated form of the Reflexive pronoun *men-e-men-e*. However, in the reciprocal construction the head noun is not marked by any Possessive suffixes. This makes it different from the Reflexive Possessive Plural construction, which requires a reflexive possessive marking on the head noun. Cf. (1621a) with a reflexive reading and (1621b) with a reciprocal reading.

(1621) a. *Men-e-men-e* *xokto-zi-fi*
REF-0-REF-0 road-INST-REF.PL
ŋene-kte-gi-e-ti.
go-DIST-REP-PAST-3PL
'They went on along their road.'

b. *Men-e-men-e* *xokto-zi* *ŋene-kte-gi-e-ti.*
REC-0-REC-0 road-INST go-DIST-REP-PAST-3PL
'They went back on each other's road.'

For distributive reflexives (see 9.2.1.1) the possessive marking on the head is optional, cf.:

(1622) a. *Men-e-men-e* *sina-wa* *xeli* *xeli*
REF-0-REF-0 burden.frame-ACC quick quick
obol'o.
divide.PERF
'Each if them quickly put on his own burden frame.'

b. *Uta bede* *bagdi-e-ti* *men-e-men-e* *na:-di-fei.*
that like live-PAST-3PL REF-0-REF-0 land-DAT-REF.PL
'They started living like this, each on his own land.' (SKX 326)

This fact may indicate that the Reciprocal pronoun and sometimes the distributive Reflexive pronoun function as an adverbial rather than a possessor within a possessive noun phrase.

In such reciprocal constructions the verb exhibits Plural agreement.

(1623) a. *Mamaka* *mafasa* *men-e-men-e*
old.man old.woman REF-0-REF-0

ñukte-le *kitiga-si:-ti.*
hair-LOC pull-IM-3PL
'The old man and the old woman are pulling each other's hair.'

b. *Men-e-men-e* *kusige-we* *gele-masi:-ti.*
REF-0-REF-0 knife-ACC ask-REC-3PL
'They ask for each other's knife.'

22.4.2. Constructions with reduplications

These constructions are available when the reciprocal relationship holds between the subject and an adverbial element that would normally be expressed with a postpositional noun phrase. The verb shows Plural agreement, and the plurality of the subject is expressed either morphologically or through coordination. Reciprocalization is encoded by the reduplication of the postposition, cf. (1624a) and (1624b):

(1624) a. *B'ata* *aziga* *zä:* *te:-ini.*
boy girl next sit-3SG
'The boy sits next to the girl.'

b. *B'ata* *aziga* *zä:* *zä:* *te:-iti.*
boy girl next next sit-3PL
'The boy and the girl sit next to each other.'

The reduplicated postposition is here the only Reciprocal marker. In addition, it specifies which non-subject participant is involved in the reciprocal relation.

22.4.2.1. Reduplication of postpositions

The reduplicated reciprocal construction is, of course, subject to semantic restrictions, but generally is available with all or most postpositions.

(1625) a. *Amä:ta* *amä:ta* *tukä-iti* *ñ'aula-ziga.*
after after run-3PL child-PL
'Children are running after each other.'

b. *Ut'asi* *tene* *uti* *kil'ai-ziga* *dieli-e-ti* then
CONT that seagull-PL fly-PAST-3PL
amä:ta *amä:ta.*
after after
'Then these seagulls flew, one after another.' (K180)

c. *Zä:* *zä:* *xuli:-ti.*
next next walk-3PL
'They are walking next to one another.'

d. *Nua-ti* *geje* *geje* *xuli:-ti.*
he-3PL with with go-3PL
'They walk with one another.'

f. *D'ofo* *d'ofo* *bagdi:-ti.*

like like live-3PL
'They go through life looking similar to one another.'

22.4.2.2. Reduplication of other elements

The repetitive reciprocal construction is also possible when the subject is coreferential with the argument of an adjective (such as those described in 6.3.3) or an adverb; in this case it requires its reduplication.

(1626) a. *Xa:-mule bejeku bejeku bi:-ni.*
relative-N similar similar be-3SG
'Relatives look like each other.'

b. *Pazi pazi bagdi-li-e-ti.*
separately separately live-INC-PAST-3PL
'They started living separately from each other.' (SK 463)

The example below illustrates highly individualized expressions which involve the reduplication of a noun.

(1627) a. *Zolo kakt'a kakt'a gekti-wen-e-mi.*
stone half half freeze-CAUS-0-1SG
'I make stones to freeze against one another.' (K 124)

b. *Bi abuga-i zuala zuala-zi ima:-wa*
me father-1SG ski ski-INST snow-ACC
giugi:-ni.
shake.off-3SG
'My father is shaking the snow off by (beating) the skis against one another.'

c. *Ule:-we geje geje obolo-zoŋo-fi.*
meat-ACC together together divide-FUT-1PL.IN
'Let us divide the meat equally.'

d. *bu:-zi k'ä-fa k'ä-fa sikti-si-mi*
flint-INST edge-ACC edge-ACC hit-IM-INF
'to hit flints against one another' (SK 470)

e. *Wac'a wac'a okto-wo jeugie-mi tu:*
little little medicine-ACC bring-INF all
okto-si-e-ni.
medicine-V-PAST-3SG
'He brought a little of each medicine and cured (him) with them all.' (SK 214)

f. *Sagdi bu:-we b'a ut'as(i) zolo-zi* big flint-ACC find then stone-INST
zolo-zi kakta-sie, nekce-iti.
stone-INST split-IM.PRP keep-3PL
'When they find a big flint, they split it (hitting) one stone against another and keep it.'

Finally, clausal reduplication is also possible when the verb express a naturally reciprocal situation.

(1628) a. *Ni* *maje* *ni* *maje* *ana-masi:-ti.*
who strong who strong push-REC-3PL
'They push each other (trying to see) who is stronger.' (SKX 302)

b. *Gusi:-ti* *b'ata-ma* *sita-ziga* *ni* *ete-i*
play-3PL boy-ADJ child-PL who win-PRP
ni *ete-i.*
who win-PRP
'The boys play with each other (trying to see) who will win.'
(SKX 302)

22.5. Switch reference

As in canonical switch-reference systems, in some contexts Udihe opposes the same- subject (SS) markers and the different-subject (DS) markers. Same-subject markers indicate the coreference of two subjects. Functionally, they appear to maintain the topic, that is, the central participant controlling zero-anaphora in a given fragment of text («topic continuity»). Different-subject markers indicate a lack of coreference between two subjects, and the lack of topic continuity. The ability to control same-subject switch reference markers is the most important grammatical property for identifying the subject (see 15.1.1), and is not shared by any other grammatical relations. As in most languages, the switch reference system in Udihe works for all persons in spite of the fact that it is clearly
redundant for the 1st and 2nd person singular.

The same-subject/different-subject relation in Udihe holds between the superordinate clause and the non-finite subordinate clause (the relative clause (Chapter 19), the complement clause (Chapter 20), and the adverbial clause (Chapter 21). However it does not hold between two independent clauses or between the main clause and the finite subordinate clause. It is always the subordinate clause that is marked for same-subject/different-subject, while the main clause is the controlling one. When a subordinate clause is syntactically embedded in another subordinate clause, the switch-reference relationship in it is always controlled by the immediately super-ordinate clause. For example, in (1629) the same-subject marker on *kuzi-ge-si* 'having bent down' indicates the cofererence with the subject of the immediately superordinate clause 'Ivan picked something up', which is in its turn embedded in the main clause 'I saw'. Example (1629b) demonstrates «three-level» same-subject relationship.

(1629) a. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *Iwana* *kuzi-ge-si*
me see.PAST-1SG [Ivan [bend.down-PERF-PC.SS]
j'e-we-ke *zawa-i-wa-ni.*
what-ACC-IND take-PRP-ACC-3SG]
'I saw that Ivan bent down and picked something up.'

b. *Men-e* *mala-zaŋa-i* *bodo-si-mi*
[[REF-0 finish-FP-SS] count-IM-INF]
olokto:-ni.
cook.PAST-3SG
'He cooked (it) counting what he himself would finish (eat).' (K 129)

On the surface expression of the subject in subordinate clauses see 22.2.1.3.

22.5.1. Encoding of switch reference

In Udihe, there are two strategies indicating the same-subject, depending on the clause type. Both of these strategies are attested cross-linguistically (Haiman and Munro 1983).

22.5.1.1. The «syncretic» strategy

The same-subject can be indicated by a syncretic portmanteau morph that encodes not only the same-subject but also the function of the subordinate clause. This morpheme is different from the morpheme used in the corresponding type of different-subject clause. Here the mere choice of a particular switch-reference morpheme indicates the type of syntactic relation. In addition, the different-subject relationship is encoded by the subject agreement marker.

The syncretic strategy is used in adverbial clauses with Conditional Converbs (7.5.2.4) and Perfective Converbs (7.5.2.3). In (1630) we illustrate the switch-reference contrast for the Conditional Converb: example (1630a) illustrates the same-subject, example (1630b) the different-subject. In (1631) the Perfective Converb is represented by both the same-subject form (*metu-ge-si* 'having finished') and the different-subject form (*a:da bi:-si-ni* 'after it is ready').

(1630) a. *'Ai-we* *umi-lie* *jexe-zeŋe-ti.*
[vodka-ACC drink-CC.SS.PL] sing-FUT-3PL
'If they drink some vodka, they will sing.'

b. *Eke* *bi-lisi-ni* *'ana-wa* *aisi-zeŋe-i.*
[time be-CC-3SG] boat-ACC mend-FUT-1SG
'If I have time (if there is time), I will mend the boat.'

(1631) *Gusi-mi* *metu-ge-si* *ulikte-ni*
[play-INF finish-PERF-PC.SS] lard-3SG
olokto-gi:-ni *olokto-mi* *a:da* *bi:-si-ni.*
cook-REP-3SG cook-INF ready be-PC-3SG
'Having finished playing he cooks the lard to a turn.'

22.5.1.2 The «reflexive» strategy

This strategy is used in all types of clauses with active participles (7.5.1.1), as well as in adverbial clauses with Imperfective Converbs (7.5.2.2) and Purposive Converbs (7.5.2.1). The same morph marks the clause type in clauses with the different-subject and the same-subject. It is obligatorily followed by a switch-reference affix, which is either a usual agreement Possessive suffix (4.1.4.1) for different-subject, or a Possessive Reflexive suffix for same-subject: *-i* or *-mi* (variations are conditioned by the historical stem type, see 4.1.4.2) for Singular and *-f(e)i* for Plural subject. The Singular same-subject marker *-i* is employed in Present and Future Participles and in the Imperfective Converb. The Singular same-subject marker *-mi* is employed in Past Participles and Purposive Converbs. In same-subject relative clauses of a certain type (19.1.1) the personal affix on the participle can be completely absent.

In (1632) we illustrate the switch-reference contrast for the adverbial clause with an Imperfective Converb, and in (1633) and (1634) for the adverbial purpose clause.

(1632) a. *Nua-ni* *ei* *aziga-wa* *ic'a* *bi-ŋie-i*
he-3SG this girl-ACC [small be-IC-SS]
aju-o:-ni.
love-PAST-3SG
'He loved this girl when he was young.'

b. *Nua-ni* *ei* *aziga-wa* *ic'a* *bi-ŋie-ni*
he-3SG t his girl-ACC [small be-IC-3SG]
aju-o:-ni.
love-PAST 3SG
'He loved this girl when she was small.'

(1633) a. *Aziga* *aja* *tege-we* *teti-gi:-ni*
girl good gown-ACC dress-REP.PRP-3SG
alagdig'a bi-lege-mi.
[pretty be-PURP-SS]
'The girl dresses up nicely in order to be pretty.'

b. *Aziga* *aja* *tege-we* *teti-gi:-ni* *b'ata*
girl good gown-ACC dress-REP.PRP-3SG [boy
aju-lege-ni.
love-PURP.3SG]
'The girl dresses up nicely in order for the boy to love (her).'

(1634) a. *Sa:-laga-mi* *taŋi-ja* *a-wa.*
[learn-PURP-SS] read-IMP.2SG that-ACC
'Read this to learn it.'

b. *Bi* *sa:-laga-i* *taŋi-ja* *a-wa.*
[me learn-PURP-1SG] read-IMP.2SG that-ACC
'Read this so that I can learn it.'

The same-subject participles follow the same pattern as the reflexive nouns: the Accusative is homonymous with the Nominative (cf. 22.3.2). So, in sentential object complement clauses that are normally expressed by the Accusative of the subordinate participle (20.2.2.1) and in the Accusative temporal clauses (21.3.2.9), the participle appears in the Nominative in the same-subject clause, cf. (1635a) and (1635b). The same applies to the relative clause where the participle would normally be marked for the Accusative (1636).

(1635) a. *Nua-ni* *teluŋu-si-e-ni* *Iwana* *Moskva-tigi*
he-3SG story-M-PAST-3SG [Ivan Moscow-LAT
xuli-e-me-ni.
go-PP-ACC-3SG]
'He said that Ivan had traveled to Moscow.'

b. *Nua-ni* *teluŋu-si-e-ni* *Moskva-tigi*
he-3SG story-V-PAST-3SG [Moscow-LAT
xuli-e-mi.
go-PP-SS]
'He$_i$ said that he$_i$ had traveled to Moscow.'

(1636) a. *Ni:* *te:-ni* *ñuŋui* *in'ei-we* *wa:-ni*
man sit.PAST-3SG [wolf dog-ACC kill.PP-3SG
kä:-la-ni.

side-LOC-3SG]
'The man sat near the dog killed by the wolf.'

b. *Ni:* *te:-ni* *men-e* *in'ei*
man sit.PAST-3SG REF-0 [dog.REF
wa:-mi *kä:-la-ni.*
kill.PP-3SG side-LOC-3SG]
'The man$_i$ sat near the dog that he$_i$ killed.'

c. *Bi* *oloxi* *wa:-mi* *anda-du-i* *teu*
[me squirrel kill.PP-SS] friend-DAT-REF all
bu-o:-mi.
give-PAST-1SG
'I gave all the squirrels I killed to my friend.'

Switch-reference for these types of clauses is therefore based on the reflexive marking, and the same-subject relation can be viewed historically as a particular instance of reflexivization. Reflexives, as distinct from the switch reference system, usually encode coreference rather than its absence (Comrie 1983: 22); in the pattern in question both coreference and non-coreference of two subjects are expressed, by means of different affixes.

22.5.1.3. Infinitival clauses

The infinitival subordinate clauses, complement clause (20.1.1, 20.2.1) and adverbial clause (21.1), do not allow a different-subject relationship (except for clauses controlled by the Dative experiencer, see 20.1.1.3, and certain cases of an inalienable possessive relationship between two subjects, see 15.1.1.6.2). So the corresponding different-subject clauses do not exist. The Infinitive (7.5.3.1.1) itself is derived from the verbal stem with a suffix *-mi,* which seems to go back to the Reflexive (same-subject) Singular affix; so, at least historically, it is associated with the «reflexive strategy» (22.5.1.2). The Infinitive can be viewed historically as a reflexive form of a bare verbal stem. Since a specialized Plural suffix is missing, the Infinitive can encode coreference for both Singular and Plural subjects. Examples for Singular (1637) and Plural (1638) subjects are:

(1637) a. *Sin-e-we* *omo* *Kanda* *mafa* *gene-mi*
[you-0-ACC one Kanda old.man engage-INF]
eme:-ni.
come.PAST-3SG
'One old man Kanda came to arrange for your engagement.'

b. *Mafa-la-mi* *soŋo:-ni.*
[man-V-INF] cry.PAST-3SG
'(She) was crying while getting married.'

(1638) *A:nta* *anana* *uŋta-wa* *uli-mi* *dian-a-mi*
woman long.ago [boot-ACC sew-INF] say-INF
uli-e-ti.
sew-PAST-3PL
'In older times women used to sew boots while talking (to each other).'

22.5.1.4. Summary

The overall formal system of switch-reference is presented below.

(1639) Switch-reference system

predicate of the subordinate clause	SS SG	SS PL	DS
«Syncretic» strategy			
Perfective Converb	*-si*	*-du-si*	*-isi-* + Possessive
Conditional Converb	*-lie*	*-li*	*-lisi-* + Possessive
Perfective Converb	*-nA:*	*-nA:*	-
«Reflexive» strategy			
Present and Future Participles	*-i*	*-fei*	Possessive
Past Participles	*-mi*	*-fei*	Possessive
Imperfective Converb	*-i*	*-fei*	Possessive
Purposive Converb	*-mi*	*-fei*	Possessive
Infinitive	*-mi*	*-mi*	-

22.5.2. Number mismatches

As was shown in 22.5.1, the switch-reference system is largely based on Reflexives. As is well known, cross-linguistically the system of Reflexives tends to be more reduced in comparison with the non-reflexive personal system. Since Reflexive merely indicate that one participant is coreferential with another participant (usually the subject), opposition in person and number is redundant. In the same way the switch-reference markers specify a certain coreferential relationship between the clauses in the discourse sequence: they show that two events share the same subject participant, and therefore do not need to be specialized in person and number.

In Udihe, neither Reflexives nor switch reference markers are opposed for different persons, but they demonstrate the opposition between Singular and Plural. Thus the particular property of Udihe is the consistent distinction between the Singular and Plural in all same-subject forms. A question arises concerning how the language treats the ambiguous cases of semantic «inclusion», when a subject participant of one clause is a member of a group of participants that correspond to the subject of the second clause. Such situations can be understood cross-linguistically either as same-subject or as different-subject.

The possible number mismatches relevant for Udihe are schematized in (1640) and certain cases are studied below.

(1640)

«inclusive» subject	«subset» subject
we (IN)	me, you (SG, PL), he/they, we (EX)
we (EX)	me, he/they
you (PL)	you (SG), he/they
they	he/they

Although our material is not complete, it seems that all cases of semantic inclusion between two subjects must be marked by same-subject switch reference markers on the subordinate clause predicate. Recall from section 15.1.1.6.2 that the part-whole relationship between two subjects is encoded as same-subject in the infinitival clauses. Unfortunately, we do not have evidence to show how it is marked in other types of dependent clauses.

22.5.2.1. The 3rd person number mismatches

With 3rd person subjects, when the subject of one subordinate clause semantically includes the subject of the superordinate clause, this is encoded by a same-subject Plural marker on the subordinate clause predicate. In (1641) the subordinate clause subject is in the Plural and the superordinate clause subject is in the Singular. The Plural here indicates rather the number of the subordinate clause subject than that of the main clause subject, that is, it refers to the actual number of participants of the corresponding clause, but does not indicate coreference of the two subjects in a strict sense.

(1641) a. *Tima-dule* *te:-gi-en-zi-fi*
[tomorrow-LOC get.up-REP-PAST-INST-SS.PL]
sul'ai *dian-a-ini.*
fox speak-0-3SG
'The next day after they got up the fox spoke.' (K 156)

b. *Diga-si-mi* *metu-o:n-zi-fi* *sul'ai*
[eat-IM-INF finish-PP-INST-SS.PL] fox
dian-a-li-e-ni.
speak-0-INC-PAST-3SG
'After they finished eating the fox started speaking.' (K)

c. *Diga-laga-fi* *ei-de* *ge:-ne.*
[eat-PURP-SS.PL] NEG-FOC ask-DIR
'He does not go to ask for food for them to eat.'

d. *Baja* *mafa-wa* *sauli-masi-le-fi*
rich old.man-ACC have.feast-REC-PURP-SS.PL..
gele:-ni.
invite.PAST-3SG
'He invited the rich man to have a feast together.'

Similarly, partial coreference may be indicated by an infinitival form, cf.:

(1642) *Bagdi-mi* *bagdi-mi* *ti* *emne* *uti* *loxo*
[live-INF live-INF] that once that shaggy
in'ei *mafa-ni* *diana:-ni.*
dog husband-3SG say.PAST-3SG
'They lived, lived, and once that husband of the shaggy dog spoke.'

The reverse case is when the main clause subject is in the Plural and the subordinate clause subject is in the Singular and corresponds to one of several referents of the superordinate clause subject. In such a case the subordinate clause is marked as same-subject, as in (1643).

(1643) *Timana-ni* *guliŋ-ki-ti* *sul'ai-ŋi:*
tomorrow-3SG leave-PAST-3PL [fox-AL.REF
uŋkäla-na:.
carry-PC.SS]
'The next day they left while he was carrying the fox.' (K 154)

22.5.2.2. The 1st and 2nd person number mismatches

In the following example the main clause subject is the 1st person Plural Inclusive, while the embedded clause subject is 2nd person Singular, so it is included in the reference of the main clause subject. The embedded clause is marked by the same-subject switch-reference marker.

(1644) *Si* *min-e-we* *diga-za-mi* *gu-mi*
[you me-0-ACC eat-SUBJ-1SG say-INF]
ño:xan-du *gusi-ze-fi* *minti.*
first-DAT play-SUBJ-1PL.IN we.IN
'Before you say to me «I will eat (you)», let's play together.' (SKX 156)

If the subject of the superordinate clause ('you', 'me', 'we (EX)' or 'he') is a semantic subset of the 1st person Plural subject of the subordinate clause, this is marked by the agreement affix *-f(e)i* on the subordinate clause predicate. Remarkably, the affix *-f(e)i* is ambiguous: it corresponds both to the Plural same-subject and the 1st person Plural inclusive agreement marker. So it is not possible to decide on formal grounds whether the affix on the subordinate participle indicates same-subject or not. Given that in all other cases of semantic inclusion Udihe indicates coreference rather than lack of coreference, we will regard this affix as an indicator of the same-subject relationship.

(1645) a. *Bä:tu* *edese* *negus'e* *gundi:-ni*
Bätu spouse brother without-3SG
afasi-lege-fi *eme-i.*
[embrace-PURP-1PL.SS] come-IMP.2SG
'My husband Bätu, come and let us embrace (one another) while my brother is absent.' (K 127)

b. *Teti-e* *ise-lege-fi.;*
dress-IMP.2SG [see-PURP-1PL.SS]
'Put (it) on so we can have a look.' (K 160)

c. *Min-e-we* *tatusi-ja* *gakpasi-laga-fi.*
me-0-ACC teach-IMP.2SG [shoot-PURP-1PL.SS]
'Teach me, so we can shoot (together).' (K 151)

d. *Bua-ixi* *ñu:-gi-u-ze,* *Biatu-ziga,*
place-LAT go.out-REP-2PL-HORT Biatu-PL
megze-le:-fei.
[compete-PURP-1PL.SS]
'Go outside, Biatu, so we can compete.' (SKX 88)

e. *Ge* *ŋene-ze-mi* *bi* *lali*
well go-SUBJ-1SG me [starve
e-lege-fi.
NEG-PURP-1PL.SS]
'Well, I will go so that we do not starve.'

In example (1646) the subject of the superordinate clause is the inclusive 'we', while the subject of the embedded clause is the exclusive 'we'. In such a situation the speaker herself is the only participant of both situations. However, the subordinate clause is also marked as same-subject.

(1646) *Minti* *i:ŋ-ki-ti* *bu* *anana*
we come-PAST-1PL.IN [we.EX long.ago

bagdi-e-fi *zugdi-le.*
live-PP-SS.PL] house-LOC
‘We came to the house where we used to live.’

Chapter 23
Questions and negation

23.1. Questions

Examples of deliberative and rhetorical questions are given in section 7.2.2.4 and 7.8.5.3, and of tag questions in 9.5.1.3. Echo-questions have not been recorded. On embedded questions see 23.1.4.

23.1.1. *Wh*-questions

In *wh*-questions the question word (a certain form of the Interrogative pronoun) replaces the questioned constituent. Question words are listed in 9.5. Any constituent of the main clause can be questioned in this way. The position of the question word is strictly before the finite predicate, in accordance with the more general rule on the preverbal position of the focus element (24.1.1). The only exception is the question word *i:mi* 'why' (23.1.1.6). In questions to the modifier the whole modified noun phrase must immediately precede the predicate. The preverbal question word, like other focus elements (24.1.1), may be sentence-initial (1647), however, other constituents (in particular the subject) can precede it, as in (1648).

(1647) a. *J'e-we* *nixe-ini* *si* *sita-i?*
what-ACC do-3SG you child-2SG
ŋua-ini.
sleep-3SG
'What is your son doing? Sleeping.'

b. *Ag'a,* *ono* *nixe-i* *bi* *ja:- ŋi?*
elder.brother how do-PRP me cow-AL.1SG
'Brother, how is my cow?'

(1648) a. *Si j'e-uxi* *mafa-la-i?* *Iwana-tigi?*
you what-LAT man-V-2SG Ivan-LAT
'Whom are you marrying? John?'

b. *Kuliga-tigi* *ni* *mafa-la-za?*
snake-LAT who man-V-SUBJ
'Who would marry a snake?'

On very rare occasions a question word may be separated from the verb by a verbal modifier.

(1649) *J'e-le* *maŋga* *uni:?*
what-LOC strong hurt.PRP
'Where does it hurt a lot?'

In copular constructions described in Chapter 17, when the subject is questioned, the *wh*-word precedes the copula and the predicative word is postposed.

(1650) *J'eu* *bi:-ni* *xekui?*
what be-3SG hot
'What is hot?'

In addition to position, the question word is marked by a rising intonation (3.5.4).

23.1.1.1. Questions to the noun phrase

Questions to noun phrases are formed with the interrogative pronouns *j'eu, j'e-* 'what' and *ni* 'who' in the corresponding case. The subject *wh*-word triggers 3rd person Singular agreement on the finite verb. Examples (1651) illustrate questions to the subject; examples (1652), (1653a), (1653b), (1653c), and (1653d) illustrate questions to the Accusative, Ablative, Dative, Instrumental, and Locative arguments, respectively. The question to an object of a postposition is shown in (1654).

(1651) a. *J'eu* *tiŋme-le:-ni?*
what fell-SING.PAST-3SG
'What fell down?'
b. *Ni* *gada-zaŋa-ni* *xeleba-wa?*
who buy-FUT-3SG bread-ACC
'Who will buy bread?'

(1652) a. *J'e-we* *bu-zeŋe-ni* *aziga-ziga-du?*
what-ACC give-FUT-3SG girl-PL-DAT
'What will he give to the girls?'
b. *J'e-we* *ñoni:-ni* *si* *sita-i?*
what-ACC can-3SG you child-2SG
'What can your son do?'

(1653) a. *Ni:-digi* *susa:-ni* *ei* *ñ'aula?*
who-ABL escape.PAST-3SG this boy
'From whom did this boy escape?'
b. *Ni:-du* *ge:* *bi-s'e?*
who-DAT bad be-PERF
'Who felt bad?'
c. *Ni:-zi* *xulise:-i* *si?*
who-INST travel.PAST-2SG you
'With whom did you travel?'
d. *J'e-le* *ñansule-i?*
what-LOC study-2SG
'Where do you study?'

(1654) *J'eu* *die-ni* *wa'li-e-ɦi?*
what because-3SG fight-PAST-1PL.IN
'Because of what did we fight?'

The following example illustrates a question to the possessor noun phrase.

(1655) *Ei* *j'eu* *getu* *'ana-ti* *ęje-ini?*
this what PL boat-3PL float-3SG
'Whose (Pural) boat is floating here?' (SK 666)

23.1.1.2. Questions to adverbial elements

The list of the interrogative adverbs can be found in 9.5.3, examples are presented in (1656).

(1656) a. *Ali* *ŋene-zeŋe-ti* *wakca-i* *ni:-ziga?*
when go-FUT-3PL kill-PRP man-PL
'When will the hunters leave?'

b. *Si* *ali* *olokto-zoŋo-i?*
you when cook-FUT-2SG
'When will you cook?'

c. *Si* *ono* *muisi-si:?*
you how think-IM.2SG
'What do you think?'

d. *J'e-du* *uta-wa* *nixe:-i?*
what-DAT that-ACC do.PAST-2SG
'What did you do this for?'

23.1.1.3. Questioning with the interrogative pro-verb

The interrogative pro-verb *ja-* (9.5.4) co-occurs with the object question word (23.1.1.3.1) or is used as the only question word in the clause. Adverbial elements may also be questioned with various forms of the interrogative pro-verb (23.1.1.3.2).

23.1.1.3.1. Questions to the verbal phrase

Examples of questions where the interrogative pro-verb co-occurs with the Accusative object interrogative pronoun *j'e-we* 'what' are:

(1657) a. *J'e-we* *ja:-i?*
what-ACC PROV-2SG
'What were you doing?'

b. *Si* *j'e-we* *ja-zaŋa-i?*
you what-ACC PROV-FUT-2SG
'What will you do?'

c. *Ono* *ja:-i* *mä:usa-i?*
how PROV.PAST-2SF gun-REF
'What did you do with your gun?' (SK 431)

Such questions refer to the whole verbal phrase and do not presuppose an answer that includes only the direct object. Thus, the answer to (1657) can be, for example, (1658a), but not (1658b).

(1658) a. *Olokto-zoŋo-i.*
cook-FUT-1SG
'I will cook.'

b. **ugda-wa*
boat-ACC
'a boat'

23.1.1.3.2. Questions to adverbials

When the interrogative pro-verb is the only interrogative word in the sentence, its various morphological forms express various, normally adverbial, interrogative meanings. For example, the interrogative pro-verb in the Directive form corresponds to the meaning 'go for which reason?' (1659). When used in the subordinate clause the Purposive Converb of the interrogative pro-verb corresponds to the meaning 'what for?' (1660), and the directive Infinitive renders the meaning 'why' (1661).

(1659) *Si jaŋ-na-sa:-i min-tigi?*
you PROV-DIR-EXP.PAST-2SG me-LAT
'What did you come to me for?'

(1660) *J'e-du b'ata-ŋi-fi ja-la:-m(i)*
what-DAT boy-AL-REF.PL PROV-PURP-SS
wa-kca-i si uta-wa?
kill-DES-2SG that-ACC
'Why and for what do you want to kill our only son?' (K 190)

(1661) a. *J'e-ne-mi gele-i si ñoŋo-wo?*
what-DIR-INF ask-2SG you glue-ACC
'Why are you asking for glue?'
b. *J'e-ne-mi kumtesi: si?*
what-DIR-INF turn.2SG you
'Why do you turn over?'

23.1.1.4. Questions to modifiers

Any constituents of the noun phrase may be questioned. The question words *j'eu* 'what sort of', and *ni* 'whose' questioning a possessive modifier require that the head noun be marked by the 3rd person Singular Possessive affix. On the possessive construction see 13.1.

(1662) a. *J'eu mo:-ni asi gugda?*
what tree-3SG very tall
'What is this very tall tree?'
b. *J'eu ule:-we-ni si olokto:-i?*
what meat-ACC-3SG you cook.PAST-2SG
'What sort of meat did you cook?'

Questions to non-possessive modifiers are formed with the interrogative pro-adjectives (9.5.2) such as *ono-fi, onob(u)i* 'which' (Northern dialect), *ali-fi* 'from what time', *j'e-me* 'which, made of what', *j'eu-ze* 'which side', and *adi* 'how many, how much'.

(1663) a. *Adi-ti zugdi-du si bagdi:?*
how.many-ORD house-DAT you live.2SG
'In which (number) house do you live?'

b. *J'e-me* *bui* *sagdi?*
what-ADJ animal big
'Which animal is the biggest?'

c. *Ono-fi* *tege-we* *gazi-e-i* *si?*
how-ADJ gown-ACC bring-PAST-2SG you
'Which gown did you bring?'

d. *Onobui* *boko* *tege-ni?*
which color gown-3SG
'What color is his gown?' (SK 731)

c. *J'eu-ze* *e:-le-ni* *käŋa* *diga-ini?*
what-N side-LOC-3SG deer ear-3SG
'On which side (of the river) does the deer graze?' (SK 277)

23.1.1.5. Questions to copular constructions

Questions to predicative words expressed by various noun phrases are formed by substituting the interrogative pronoun *j'eu* 'what' in the corresponding case form for the questioned constituent. In (1664) we exemplify questions to the nominative noun phrase (construction described in 17.2.1.2), in (1665) questions to adverbial predicative words (17.2.2.2.3), and in (1666) questions to the predicative word of the comparative postpositional construction (17.2.2.2.4).

(1664) a. *Si* *gegbi:* *j'eu?*
you name.2SG what
'What is your name?'

b. *Abuga-i* *gegbi-ni* *j'eu* *bi-s'e?*
father-2SG name-3SG what be-PERF
'What was the name of your father?'

c. *Si* *Iwana-zi* *i:-mule* *bi-u*
you Ivan-INST what-N be-2PL
za:-mule-s *xa:-mule-s?*
cousin-N-DIS brother-N-DIS
'Who are you and Ivan to one another, cousins or brothers?'

(1665) a. *Anna* *i:-le* *bi:-ni?*
Anna what-LOC be-3SG
'Where is Anna?'

b. *J'e-digi* *keige?*
what-ABL cat
'Where is the cat from?'

(1666) *J'eu* *bede* *ede:-mi* *bi?*
what like become.PAST-1SG me
'What happened to me?'

In adjectival (17.2.2.1.1), possessive (17.2.2.3), and destinative (17.2.2.1.2) copular constructions, the question word cannot replace the predicative element. Instead, the construction is transformed: the *wh*-word functions as a prenominal modifier of the subject, while the modified noun occupies the predicative position (1667). The head noun of the possessive (1668) or the destinative (1669) noun phrase corresponds to the finite predicate and takes the possessive

marker.

(1667) a. *Ei ono-fi mo:?*
this how-ADJ tree
'What sort of tree is it?'
b. *Ali-fi ña:? Zua-fi?*
when-ADJ skin summer-ADJ
'What sort of skin? A summer one?'
c. *J'e-me tege?*
what-ADJ gown
'What is the gown made of?'
d. *J'e-me seu? Kuŋka-ma seu?*
what-ADJ oar cedar-ADJ oar
'What is the oar made of? Of cedar?' (K 133)

(1668) a. *Ni kusige-ni?*
who knife-3SG
'Whose is this knife?'
b. *J'eu xokto-ni?*
what footstep-3SG
'Whose are the footsteps?'

(1669) a. *Ni kusige-ne-ni?*
who knife-DEST-3SG
'For whom is the knife?'
b. *J'eu xei-ne-ni?*
what handle-DEST-3SG
'What is the handle for?'

23.1.1.6. The question word 'why'

The question word *i:mi/j'emi* 'why' is the only *wh*-word that need not be located in the immediately preverbal position: it is usually clause-initial and can be separated from the verb by other lexical material (1670). However, it may also be strictly preverbal, as in (1671).

(1670) a. *B'ata teu muisi-e-ni i:mi činda ute*
boy all think-PAST-3SG why bird that
bede diaŋ-ki-ni.
like say-PAST-3SG
'The boy was thinking all the time why the bird spoke like this.'
(K 168)
b. *I:mi ketu tuge-zi eme-gi:?*
Why very quick-INST come-REP.2SG
'Why did you return very quickly?' (K 166)
c. *J'emi si dili: kapta-i?*
why you head.REF wrap-2SG
'Why did you wrap up your head?'

(1671) *Kanda mafa j'emi bude:-ni? Lali-mi*

Kanda old.man why die.PAST-3SG starve-INF
bude:-ni.
die.PAST-3SG
'What did the old man Kanda die from? From hunger.'

The expression *ono bi-mi* 'why' (literally: 'being how') seems to behave in the same way, that is, it does not have to be immediately preverbal:

(1672) *Ono bi-mi wopti-we kimpigi-e-ti?*
how be-INF door-ACC close-PAST-3PL
'Why did they close the door?'

21.1.1.7. Multiple *wh*-questions

Multiple *wh*-questions are allowed, although rarely; an example is (1673).

(1673) a. *J'e-we ni-tigi diaŋ-ki-ni?*
what-ACC who-LAT say-PAST-3SG
'What did he say, and to whom?'

b. *Ono imi ute bede ede-i?*
how why that like become-PP
'How and why did it happen like this?'

The examples below illustrate multiple embedded questions.

(1674) a. *Uta bede gusi-mi b'ata-ma sita-ziga*
that like play-INF boy-ADJ child-PL
ŋiča-digi sa:-iti ono-do onobui
small-ABL know-3PL how-FOC which
bui xokčo-i-we-ni, ono-do
animal attack-PRP-ACC-3SG how-FOC
wakča-i-we.
hunt-PRP-ACC
'Playing like this boys learn how each animal attacks and how one should hunt.' (SKX 302)

b. *Sagdi ma:ma tu: ise-si:-ni ni-de*
big grandmother all see-IM.PRP-3SG
ono sita-wa igi-si:-we-ni.
who-IND how child-ACC feed-IIM.PRP-ACC-3SG
'The great grandmother always looks at who brings up children, and in which way.' (SKX 304)

We do not have evidence for any superiority effects in multiple *wh*-questions.

23.1.2. Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are not marked by any additional morphological means or changes in word order compared to the corresponding declarative sentence. They are differentiated from them only by intonational patterns: the last word is marked by a higher and more prolonged intonational contour (3.6.4). The finite verb normally occupies the clause-final position. Examples (1675) show ordinary yes-no questions, and examples (1676) illustrate negative yes-no questions.

(1675) a. *Nua-ni* *tue* *eme-gi-ze?*
he-3SG winter come-REP-SUBJ
'Will he come in winter?'

b. *Xeleba* *bie?* *Anči.*
bread be.PRES.HAB no
'Is there any bread? No.'

c. *Bu* *sun-dule* *aŋa-la-si-ze-u?*
we.EX you.PL-LOC night.shelter-V-IM-SUBJ-1PL.EX
'Can we spend the night in your house?'

(1676) a. *Si* *e-i* *sa:?*
you NEG-2SG know
'Don't you know?'

b. *Wasia* *e-s'e* *mamasa-la?*
Vasia NEG-PERF man-V
'Hasn't Vasia married?'

c. *Si* *kusige-le* *anči* *bie?*
you knife-LOC no be.PRES.HAB
'Don't you have a knife?'

23.1.3. Contrastive questions

Contrastive questions are marked by the focus clitic particle *-nA* or *-nu* following a contrastive element. In *wh*-questions the particle is used when the subject questioned is in explicit or implicit contrast with certain other elements (1677). In polar questions it normally follows a focused predicate (1678), while (1679) shows a focus on the spatial adverb. The contrastive word is marked by a rise in intonation, but the clitic does not attract it to itself.

(1677) a. *Si* *min-e-we* *dian-a-i* *bi-s'e-i*
you me-0-ACC say-0-PRP be-PERF-2SG
si-ne *ono* *ja:-i?*
you-CONT how PROV-2SG
'You were cursing me, and what are YOU (yourself) doing?'
(K 157)

b. *Ei-ne* *j'eu* *bäsa-ni?*
this-CONT what river-3SG
'And what is THIS river called?' (as opposed to the previous one)
(K 153)

c. *Dili-ni-ne* *ile* *bi:-ni?*
head-3SG-CONT where be-3SG
'And where is HIS HEAD?'

d. *Xuda-na?*
fur-CONT
'And what about the FUR?'

e. *Si-ne* *tuxi* *j'eu* *nixe:-i?*
you-CONT sledge what do.PAST-2SG
'Sledge, what did YOU do?'

(1678) a. *Begdi:* *xua-nda:-ni-nu?*
leg.REF cut-SEM-PAST-3SG-CONT
'Did she cut off her leg?' (K 154)

b. *Ni:-je,* *emus'e* *bagdi:-nu?*
man-VOC alone live.2SG-CONT
'Man, do you live on your own?' (K 165)

c. *Iwana* *zugdi-du* *bi-s'e-nu?*
Ivan house-DAT be-PERF-CONT
'Was Ivan at home?'

d. *Sin-du* *xekui-nu?*
you-DAT hot-CONT
'Do you feel hot?'

e. *Uti ni:* *niŋka-nu?*
that man Chinese-CONT
'Is this man Chinese?'

f. *Imexi-nu* *xeleba?*
new-CONT bread
'Is the bread fresh?'

(1679) *Si* *bagä:-za-nu* *bi-s'e-i?*
you other-N-CONT be-PERF-2SG
'Were you on the other side (of the river)?'

The contrastive question particle *-nu* attached to the predicate can also express a rhetorical question, for example:

(1680) *Bi* *tukti-ze-mi* *sin-du* *ata-mi*
me climb-SUBJ-1SG you-DAT NEG.SUBJ-1SG
tugbu-nu *seutige-we?*
drop-CONT nut-ACC
'I will climb up, won't I drop a nut for you?'

23.1.4. Alternative questions

There are several types of alternative questions. None of these types is formed with only one disjunctive element (such as *or* in English). Instead two disjunctive elements are used. Intonation typically rises at the end of the first disjunct and falls at the end of the sentence.

23.1.4.1. Alternative questions with the pro-verb

The alternative question can be formed with the pro-verb *ja-* as the second disjunct. The pro-verb

takes the same morphological form as the finite verb in the first disjunct: in (1681a) they are both in the 2nd person Singular Future, in (1681b) in the 3rd person Singular Present. This type is used when the alternatives are described by the same verb in a positive and a negative form.

(1681) a. *Si eme-zeŋe-i ja-zaŋa-i?*
you come-FUT-2SG PROV-FUT-2SG
'Will you come or not?'

b. *Tigde-ini ja:-ini?*
rain-3SG PROV-3SG
'Is it raining or not?'

23.1.4.1. Alternative question with the particle *-As(i) ... -As(i)* 'either ... or'

The alternative question may be formed with the disjunctive particle *-As(i) ... -As(i)* 'either ... or' (for the use of this particle in declarative disjunctive sentences see Chapter 18). It follows the finite verb in the first disjunct and the interrogative pro-verb *ja:-* present in the second disjunct in the same morphological form (1682). Less frequently the disjunctive particle *–As(i)* follows only the last disjunct (1683).

(1682) a. *Si muisi:-si ono nixe-du-ze ŋene-du-ze:-s*
you think-PC.2SG how do-PL-SUBJ go-PL-SUBJ-DIS
ja-du-ze:-s.
PROV-PL-SUBJ-DIS
'According to you, what will they do, will they go or not?'

b. *Einеŋi kino bi-ze:-s ja-za:-s?*
today movie be-SUBJ-DIS PROV-SUBJ-DIS
'Will there be a movie today or not?'

(1683) a. *J'e-we ja-zaŋa-i? 'Ana-na-mi*
what-ACC PROV-FUT-2SG boat-DEST-REF
o:-zaŋa-ie, utuŋgie-ne-mi o:-zaŋa-i-esi?
make-FUT-2SG canoe-DEST-REF make-FUT-2SG-DIC
'What will you make (for yourself) – a l(large) boat or a canoe?'
(SK 395)

b. *J'e-we ja:-i? ŋua-i, etete-i,*
what-ACC PROV-2SG sleep-2SG work-2SG
gäŋda-gi:-esi?
idle-REP.2SG-DIS
'What are you doing? Are you sleeping, working, or idling again?'
(SK 394)

If the disjunction applies to a non-predicate constituent, this is also marked by the particle *-As(i) ... -As(i),* which follows the disjoint constituents. In such a case the sentence contains only one finite predicate.

(1684) a. *J'e-we xokto-ni käŋa:-s ogbö:-s?*
what-ACC footstep-3SG deer-DIS elk-DIS
'Whose footsteps are these: a deer's or an elk's?'

b. *Si* *bugdi:* *i:-zi* *wa:-i*
you leg.2SG what-INST kill-2SG
suese-zi-es *kusige-zi-es?*
axe-INST-DIS knife-INST-DIS
'What did you cut your leg with, an axe or a knife?'

c. *Si* *ei* *zugdi-du* *bi:-es* *ei*
you this house-DAT be.2SG-DIS this
gagda-du *bi-es?*
other-DAT be.2SG-DIS
'Do you live in this house or in another one?'

d. *Si* *Ima* *bäsa-li-ni-es* *Biki*
you Iman river-PROL-3SG-DIS Bikin
bäsa-li-ni-es *eine-i?*
river-PROL-3SG-DIS float-2SG
'Do you float on the river Iman or the river Bikin?'

e. *Uti* *gegbeŋku* *amta-ni* *ono-fi-gde*
that berry taste-3SG how-ADJ-FOC
zej-es *zuj-es?*
sour-DIS sweet-DIS
'What sort of taste do these berries have – sour or sweet?'

f. *Si* *j'e-uxi* *xulise-i* *Iman-tigi-esi*
you what-LAT go-1SG Iman-LAT-DIS
Samarga-tigi-esi?
Samarga-LAT-DIS
'Where are you going – to Iman or to Samarga?'

23.1.4.2. Alternative questions with the particle *-nu ... -nu* 'either ... or'

The clitic particle *-nu... -nu* 'either ... or' expresses disjunction in questions. It seems basically to have the same meaning as the particle *-As(i) ... -As(i),* although it is likely to render a greater degree of emphasis. Below it is shown following the predicate and the non-predicate constituent, although the former function is more typical of this particle.

(1685) a. *Su* *xulise:-u-nu* *ja:-u-nu?*
you go.PAST-2PL-DIS PROV.PAST-2PL-DIS
'Did you go or not?'

b. *Si* *timana* *zikta-wa*
you tomorrow blueberry-ACC
gaŋ-na-zaŋa-i-nu *ja-zaŋa-i-nu?*
fetch-DIR-FUT-2SG-DIS PROV-FUT-2SG-DIS
'Will you go to collect blueberries tomorrow?'

c. *Iwana* *eme-gi-ge-nu* *ja:-nu?*
Ivan come-REP-PERF-DIS PROV.PERF-DIS
'Has Ivan returned or not?'

d. *Tiŋeni* *kino* *bi-s'e-nu* *ja:-nu?*
yesterday movie be-PERF-DIS PROV.PERF-DIS
'Was there a movie yesterday or not?'

(1686) *I:-le* *una-za-i* *amä:-za-la-nu*
what-LOC travel-SUBJ-2SG back-N-LOC-DIS
zulie-ze-le-nu?
front-N-LOC-DIS
'Where will you travel: in the front or in the back?' (K 153)

23.1.4.3. Alternative questions with negation

If in an alternative question the second negative alternative is emphasized, this is expressed in the second disjunct with negative verb *e-* which takes the morphological form of the content verb, or the negative auxiliary *ančі.* Both the finite verb in the first disjunct and the negative verb in the second disjunct are followed by the clitic particle *-nu ... -nu.*

(1687) *Xeleba* *bie-nu* *ančі-nu?*
bread be.PRES.HAB-CONT no-CONT
'Is there bread or not?'

Less frequently, in alternative questions with negation the disjunctive particle *-As(i)* follows only the second (negative) disjunct:

(1688) a. *Iwana* *sin-du* *kusige-we* *bu-ge*
Ivan you-DAT knife-ACC give-PERF
e-si-ni *bu-o:s?*
NEG-PAST-3SG give-DIS
'Did Ivan give you the knife or not?'
b. *Koko* *ŋen'e* *e-si-ni* *ŋene:-s?*
Koko go.PERF NEG-PAST-3SG go-DIS
'Did Koko leave or not?'

23.1.4.4. Alternative questions with juxtaposition

Alternative questions may be formed by the mere juxtaposition of disjoint constituents.

(1689) a. *J'eu* *digan-a-ini,* *ni:* *j'eu* *činda-ni*
what say-0-3SG man what bird-3SG
digan-a-ini?
speak-0-3SG
'Who is speaking, is a man or some bird speaking?' (K 122)
b. *Ono* *ja-za-fi?* *Guli-ne-ze-fi,*
how PROV-SUBJ-1PL.IN leave-DIR-SUBJ-1PL.IN
ekei-ze-fi?
stay-SUBJ-1PL.IN
'What shall we do? Shall we leave or stay?' (SK 394)

23.1.5. Indirect questions

23.1.5.1. Finite clause

The finite subordinate clause is described in Chapter 18. In indirect constituent questions the question word immediately precedes the subordinate clause predicate. The question word (interrogative pronoun) may have the same form as regular question words used in direct questions (9.5). Alternatively, indirect questions may be formed with non-specific indefinite pronouns derived with the clitic particle *-dA* (9.6.2), which function here as interrogative pronouns (1691). In both cases, the subordinate clause is not followed by any evidential particles, even if this is required for the corresponding non-interrogative subordinate clauses (18.3.1).

(1690) a. *Si* *muisi-si:* *ono* *nixe-ini?*
you think-IM.2SG how do-3SG
'How do you think it will be?'

b. *Ise-ne-je* *ni* *eme:-ni.*
look-DIR-IMP.2SG who come.PAST-3SG
'Go and look at who has come.'

c. *Nua-ni* *xauntasi-e-ni* *ono* *bie* *Nina.*
he-3SG ask-PAST-3SG how be.PRES.HAB Nina
'She asked how Nina is.'

d. *Bi* *ei-mi* *sa:* *ono-fi* *unugu*
me NEG-1SG know how-ADJ disease
bi:-ni.
be-3SG
'I don't know which disease he has.'

e. *Bi* *ei-mi* *sa:* *ono* *bi-zeŋe-i.*
me NEG-1SG know how be-FUT-1SG
'I don't know how I will live.'

(1691) a. *Bi* *ise-ne-ze-mi* *su* *j'e-zi-de*
me see-DIR-SUBJ-1SG you what-INST-IND
ŋele-kce:-u.
be.afraid-DUR.PAST-2PL
'I will go and see what you were afraid of.' (K 158)

b. *Nua-ni* *ŋua-mi* *t'osi:-ni* *ono-do*
he-3SG sleep-INF dream-3SG how-IND
ti:gisi:-ni *ñö:-wo.*
take-3SG sable-ACC
'He is dreaming about how he takes away the sables.'

c. *J'e-uxi-de* *susa:-ni* *ni-de* *ei*
what-LAT-IND escape.PAST-3SG who-IND NEG
sa:.
know
'Where she escaped to, nobody knows.' (K 164)

23.1.5.2. Non-finite clause

Non-finite participial complement clauses are addressed in length in Chapter 20. They are based on the Accusative forms of participles. In such clauses only non-specific indefinite pronouns with the particle *-dA* can be used in the interrogative function.

(1692) a. *Si min-tigi ñoxoli gakpa-ja bi*
you me-LAT first shoot-IMP.2SG me
ise-lege-i si ono-do gakpa-i-wa-i.
see-PURP-1SG you how-IND shoot-PRP-ACC-2SG
'Shoot at me first, so I can see how you shoot.' (K 152)

b. *Düisi-je j'e-we-de dian-a-i-we-i.*
listen-IMP.2SG what-ACC-IND say-0-PRP-ACC-1SG
'Listen to what I am saying.'

c. *Adi-de käsa dieli:-we-ni*
how.many-FOC eagle fly.PRP-ACC-3SG
ni:-de e-ini sa:.
who-IND NEG-3SG know
'Nobody knows how long the eagle was flying.'

d. *Bi zoŋi-e-mi abuga-i ono-do*
me recall-PAST-1SG father-1SG how-IND
wakca:-ma-ni.
hunt.PP-ACC-3SG
'I recalled how my father was hunting.'

e. *Bi gafai mo:-wo ise:-mi ono-do*
me thorny tree-ACC see.PAST-1SG how-IND
gegbi-si:-we-ti ei- sa:.
name-V.PRP-ACC-3PL NEG-1SG know
'I saw a thorny tree, I don't know what it is called.'

f. *J'e-uxi-de susa-zaŋa-ni e-ini sa:.*
what-LAT-IND escape-FUT-3SG NEG-3SG know
'He doesn't know where he will escape to.'

23.1.5.3. Alternative indirect questions

Both for finite and non-finite subordinate clauses there are two types of alternative questions: with the interrogative pro-verb and with the negative verb in the second disjunct.

23.1.5.3.1. Alternative indirect question without negation

In non-finite subordinate complement clauses an alternative question is expressed with the indefinite pro-verb *ja-* which takes the same morphological form as the subordinate clause predicate (namely, the participle in the Accusative). The disjunctive particle *-dA ... -dA* follows the subordinate clause predicate and the second predicate expressed by the indefinite pro-verb *ja-*. Although formally the clause is organized as an alternative question, questions without negation in fact correspond semantically to indirect polar (yes-no) questions ('whether'-questions).

(1693) a. *Iwana* *xaundasi-e-ni* *imo:-wo*
Ivan ask-PAST-3SG butter-ACC
gada:-ma-u-de *ja:-ma-u-de.*
buy.PP-ACC-1PL.EX-DIS PROV.PP-ACC-1PL.EX-DIS
'Ivan asked whether we bought butter.'

b. *Nua-ni* *xaundasi-e-ni* *bu*
he-3SG ask-PAST-3SG we
xulise:-me-u-de *ja-ma-u-de.*
travel.PP-ACC-1PL.EX-DIS PROV.PP-ACC-1PL.EX-DIS
'He asked whether we were traveling.'

c. *Saŋ-na-ja* *magazina*
know-DIR-IMP.2SGshop
nientili-gi-e-me-n(i)-de *ja-ma-n(i)-de.*
open-REP-PP-ACC-3SG-DIS PROV.PP-ACC-3SG-DIS
'Go and ask whether the shop has opened.'

d. *Ise-ne* *Sonia* *eme-gi-e-me-n(i)-de*
see-DIR Sonya come-REP-PP-ACC-3SG-DIS
ja-ma-n(i)-de.
PROV.PP-ACC-3SG-DIS
'Go and see whether Sonya has come.'

e. *Saŋ-na* *Sonia-tigi* *timana* *sata-wa*
know-DIR Sonya-LAT tomorrow sugar-ACC
xuda-si:-we-n(i)-de *ji:-we-n(i)-de.*
fur-V.PRP-ACC-3SG-DIS PROV.PRP-ACC-3SG-DIS
'Ask Sonya whether they will sell sugar tomorrow.'

f. *Bi* *ei-mi* *sa:* *einеŋi* *kino*
me NEG-1SG know today movie
bi-zeŋe-we-n(i)-de *ja-zaŋa-wa-n(i)-de*.
be-FP-ACC-3SG-DIS PROV-FP-ACC-3SG-DIS
'I don't know whether there will be a movie today.'

In finite subordinate questions the disjunctive particle *-As(i) ... -As(i)* is used instead of the particle *-dA ... -dA,* so the finite indirect alternative question does not differ formally from the direct alternative question (23.1.4).

(1694) a. *Xaundasi-je* *ono* *nixe-ze* *guline-zeŋe-ni-es*
ask-IMP.2SG how do-SUBJ go-FUT-3SG-DIS
ja-zaŋa-ni-es.
PROV-FUT-3SG-DIS
'Ask what he will do: will he go?'

b. *Bi* *ei-mi* *sa:* *o-du* *niŋka*
me NEG-1SG know this-DAT Chinese
bagdi-ze:-s *ja-za:-s.*
live-SUBJ-DIS PROV-SUBJ-DIS
'I don't know whether the Chinese people will live here.'

c. *Bi* *ei-mi* *sa:* *timana-ni*
me NEG-1SG now tomorrow-3SG
ŋene-ze-fi-es *ja-za-fi-es*
go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-DIS PROV-SUBJ-1PL.IN-DIS
ba:-za *ge-tigi.*
place-N surface-LAT
'I don't know whether we will go to the forest tomorrow or not.'

23.1.5.3.2. Alternative indirect questions with negation

In alternative indirect questions with negation the negative alternative is highlighted and the negative verb *e-* functions as a predicate of the second disjunct. As in indirect alternative questions without negation, in non-finite clauses predicates in both disjuncts are marked with the particle *-dA ... -dA* (1695), while in the finite clause the particles *-As(i) ... -As(i)* (1696) or *-nu ... -nu* (1697) are present.

(1695) a. *Bi* *ei-mi* *sa:* *nua-ni* *tala-wa*
me NEG-1SG know he-3SG raw.fish-ACC
aju-i-we-n(i)-de *e-i-we-n(i)-de.*
like-PRP-ACC-3SG-DIS NEG-PRP-ACC-3SG-DIS
'I don't know whether he likes raw fish or not.'

b. *Ni:-de* *ei* *sa:* *anana* *ni:*
who-IND NEG know long.ago man
o-du *bi-si-me-n(i)-de*
this-DAT be-PP-ACC-3SG-DIS
e-si-me-n(i)-de.
NEG-PP-ACC-3SG-DIS
'Nobody knows whether people used to live here before or not.'

c. *Čala-i-we-ti-de* *ei-we-ti-de*
want-PRP-ACC-3PL-DIS NEG-ACC-3PL-DIS
xaundasi-je.
ask-IMP.2SG
'Ask whether they want (it) or not.'

(1696) a. *Ise-ne-je* *zugdi-du* *bi:-ni-es* *anči*
see-DIR-IMP.2SG house-DAT be-3SG-DIS no
bi:-ni-es *Iwan.*
be-3SG-DIS Ivan
'Go and see whether Ivan is at home or not.'

b. *Ise-ne-je* *xeleba* *bie-s* *anči-es.*
see-DIR-IMP.2SG bread be.PRES.HAB-DIS no-DIS
'Go and see whether or not there is any bread.'

(1697) *Memi* *ise:-ni* *tege* *bie-nu* REF.ACC
see.PAST-3SG gown be.PRES.HAB-DIS
anči-nu.
no-DIS
'She looked at herself to see whether or not she was wearing a gown.'
(K 163)

23.1.5.4. Indirect yes-no questions

Indirect yes-no questions are formed by means of a particle *-dA* on the dependent predicate, cf.:

(1698) *Čai* *xekui-we-ni-de* *amtala-ja.*
tea hot-ACC-3SG-FOC try-IMP.2SG
'Try whether the tea is hot.' (SK 1036)

23.2. Negation

Except for some special constructions, Udihe does not make the formal difference between sentence negation and constituent negation. Examples of these two negation types are presented below in 23.2.1 and 23.2.2, respectively. In both cases, negation is expressed with the negative auxiliary verb *e-/ei-*, which precedes the content verb and may take various morphological forms, e.g. *e-si-ti etete-du* 'they were not working' <NEG-PAST-3PL work-PL>, *e-s'e-li etete* 'without having worked' <NEG-PERF-CC.SS work>. For more information on the conjugation of the negative verb and the form of the content verb in negative sentences see 7.3 and 7.1.4. In certain copular constructions negation is expressed by the impersonal copula *ančі* 'no'.

Normally, the negative verb immediately precedes the content verb; however, it is sometimes possible for it to be placed after the verbal stem, as below.

(1699) a. *Nada* *gida* *bul'a-wa-ni* *xai-ge-si* *bude* *e-zi-u.*
seven spear shaft-ACC-3SG break-PERF-PC.SS
die NEG-IMP-2PL
'Having broken the shafts of seven spears you won't die.' (SKX 84)

b. *ŋene-ze-mi* *bi,* *lali* *e-lege-fi.*
go-SUBJ-1SG me starve NEG-PURP-1PL.IN
'I should leave so we will not starve.'

It is occasionally possible to insert other lexical material between the negative auxiliary and the content verb, as is shown below. This is not a very frequent option, however. The constituent that can be inserted between the negative verb and the content verb is normally an oblique or indirect object (1700), or some kind of adjunct (1701).

(1700) a. *E-te-mi-ne* *zugdi-tigi* *i:mi* *i:?*
NEG-SUBJ-1SG-CONT house-LAT why enter
'Why don't you enter the house?' (K 158)

b. *E-zi* *min-zi* *iñe*
NEG-IMP.2SG me-INST laugh
'Don't laugh at me.'

c. *Mafa* *amä:-wa-ni* *dili-we-ni*
bear back-ACC-3SG head-ACC-3SG
e-iti *a:nta-du* *diga-wan-a.*
NEG-3PL woman-DAT eat-CAUS-0
'They don't let a woman eat a bear's back and head.' (SKX 308)

(1701) a. *E-zeŋe-fi* *ute* *nixe.*
NEG-FUT-1PL.IN that do
'We will not do it this way.'

b. *E-zi* *in'ei-zi* *gusi.*
NEG-IMP.2SG dog-INST play
'Don't play with the dog,'

23.2.1. Sentence negation

23.2.1.1. Regular negation

Here we exemplify ordinary sentence negation (1702) and negation of some special constructions: the subjectless sentence (1703a), the agentless passive (1703b), the active agentless construction (1703c), the impersonal Necessitative (1703d), and the passive (1703e).

(1702) *Koko* *ŋene:-ni* *amä:-la-ni* *ali-de*
Koko go.PP-3SG after-LOC-3SG when-IND
e-s'e-i *ise-gi-se.*
NEG-PERF-1SG see-REP-EXP
'After Koko left, I never saw him again.'

(1703) a. *E-ini* *tigde.*
NEG-3SG rain
'It is not raining.'
b. *Ja:* *xaba-wa-ni* *e-u-zeŋe* *umi.*
cow milk-ACC-2SG NEG-PAS-FP drink
'One shouldn't drink the milk.'
c. *Ei* *teuni-le* *e-iti* *egbesi.*
this lake-LOC NEG-3PL swim
'They don't swim in this lake.'
d. *E-u-zeŋe* *diga* *bi-si-ni.*
NEG-PAS-FP eat be-PAST-3SG
'One shouldn't have eaten.'
e. *Utemi* *mo:kt'oi* *o:kto'i* *do-ni-ni*
therefore bushes grass inside-DAT-3SG
uta-wa *e-u-ji* *ise.*
that-ACC NEG-PAS-PRP see
'Therefore it can't be seen in the bushes and grass.' (Čarušin 1935: 17)

The negative auxiliary typically takes scope over the fully derived verb (preferred reading), but it also can refer to the verbal stem. Scope ambiguity is demonstrated in the following example:

(1704) *Ei-de* *teluŋu-si-wen-e.*
NEG-FOC story-V-CAUS-0
'He does not let him to tell.'
'He let him not to tell.'

23.2.1.2. Inchoative negative construction

Inchoative situations in the Past can be negated in two ways, depending on the scope of negation. If the negation takes scope over the whole proposition ('did not start doing something'), this is

expressed formally in a regular manner: with the negative verb in the Past and the content verb bearing the inchoative suffix *-li-* (8.2.2.1). When the inchoative operator remains outside the scope of negation ('started not doing something', that is, 'stopped doing something'), Udihe uses a special construction. It indicates that the action no longer takes place. The construction contains (in this order) the Present form of the negative verb *e-i*, the bare stem of the content verb, and the verb *ede-* 'become' in the Past tense with the corresponding agreement affix. Cf. (1705a) and (1705b):

(1705) a. *Ñ'aula* *e-si-ni* *soŋo-li.*
child NEG-PAST-3SG cry-INC
'The child didn't start crying.'

b. *Ñ'aula* *ei* *soŋo* *ede:-ni.*
child NEG cry become.PAST-3SG
'The child stopped crying.'

More examples of the inchoative negative construction are provided below. Note that in (1705d) the direct object is located between the negative verb and the content verb.

(1706) a. *Bi* *xunazi:* *ei* *ŋua* *ede:-ni.*
me sister.1SG NEG sleep become.PAST-3SG
'My sister stopped sleeping.'

b. *Jej'e-u* *ei* *uni* *ede:-ni.*
grandfather-1PL.EX NEG sick become.PAST-3SG
'Our grandfather stopped being sick.'

c. *Eitene* *ei-mi-de* *oño* *ede:-mi.*
now NEG-1SG-FOC write become.PAST-1SG
'I stopped writing now.'

d. *Ei-de* *in'ei-we* *koŋko* *ede:-ni.*
NEG-FOC dog-ACC beat become.PAST-3SG
'He stopped beating the dog.'

23.2.1.3. Alternating action

When the periphrastic construction of alternating action (7.10.1) includes the positive and the negative form of the same verb, negation is expressed with the Present stem of the negative verb, the content verb in a bare form, and the inflected Past or Perfect form of the verb *ede-* 'become'.

(1707) *Ba:-za* *ge-tigi* *ŋene-mu:i-ni* *ei*
place-N surface-LAT go-DES-3SG NEG
ŋene-mu:i *ed'e.*
go-DES become.PERF
'He sometimes wants to go to the forest, and sometimes does not want to.'

23.2.1.4. Negation of state

The stative negative construction is formed analytically with the copular verb *bi-* in the

corresponding personal form and the content verb: a stem followed by the contrastive clitic particle *-gdA* (12.1.1.8).

(1708) a. *Nua-ni* *tu:* *tu:* *ŋene-gde* *bi:-ni.*
he-3SG all all go-FOC be-3SG
'He is not coming for a long time.'

b. *Bi* *jexe-gde* *bi-mi.*
me sing-FOC be-1SG
'I don't sing.'

c. *Einеŋi* *diga-gde* *bi:-ni.*
today eat-FOC be-3SG
'He does not eat today.'

23.2.1.5. Copular constructions

There exist five formally different ways of negating copular clauses (Chapter 17) depending on the semantics and the formal organization of the construction.

23.2.1.5.1. Negation of existential and possessive constructions

Existential (17.2.1.3) and possessive (17.2.1.4) constructions, which require the Habitual impersonal copula *bie* in declarative sentences, are negated with the impersonal existential negation *anči* 'there is no, there are no' in various temporal forms (see 7.1.4). The existential meaning is shown in (1709) for the Present tense, in (1710) for the Past tense, and in (1711) for the Subjunctive. The negative possessive construction is shown in (1712).

(1709) a. *O-du* *tue* *ima:* *anči.*
this-DAT winter snow no
'There is no snow here in winter.'

b. *Min-du* *sata* *bie* *s'ei-de* *anči.*
me-DAT sugar be.PRES.HAB salt-FOC no
'I have sugar, but no salt.'

(1710) a. *Sele-gi-e-ni* *ni:-de* *anči*
wake-REP-PAST-3SG man-IND no
bi-si-ni.
be-PAST-3SG
'He woke up and nobody was there.' (K 176)

b. *Anna* *zugdi-du* *anči* *bi-s'e.*
Anna house-DAT no be-PERF
'Anna was not at home.'

(1711) *Timana* *Anna* *zugdi-du* *anči* *bi-ze.*
tomorrow Anna house-DAT no be-SUBJ
'Tomorrow Anna won't be at home.'

(1712) a. *Nua-ni* *unugu-ni* *anči.*

he-3SG disease-3SG no
'He does not have a disease.'

b. *Bi abuga-i anči.*
me father-1SG no
'I don't have a father.'

c. *Uti ni:-le omo gagda ŋala-ni anči.*
that man-LOC one another arm-3SG no
'This man does not have one arm.'

Existential and possessive copular constructions with the copula *ede-* 'become' are negated with the negative copula *anči* (often with the focus particle *–gdA*) and the verb *ede-* in the corresponding form. The resulting meaning is 'remain without', 'disappear'.

(1713) a. *Eitene dawa o-du anči ede:-ni.*
now salmon this-DAT no become.PAST-3SG
'In those days no salmon remained.'

b. *Min-dule mo:-do anči ede:-ni.*
me-LOC wood-FOC no become.PAST-3SG
'I remained without wood.'

c. *E:xi ic'a ede:-ni, anči ede:-ni.*
frog small become.PAST-3SG no become.PAST-3SG
'The frog became small (and) disappeared.'

23.2.1.5.2. Negation of habitual constructions

Copular constructions with the habitual meaning (17.1.2.2) are negated with the uninflected Present stem of the negative verb *ei* in combination with the Habitual form of the verb 'be' *bie.* This type of negation applies to adjectival or nominal constructions with a habitual or generic meaning (1714) including subjectless constructions (1715), as well as to destinative participial constructions (1716), and constructions of alienable possession (1717).

(1714) a. *Ei mo: gugda ei bie.*
this tree tall NEG be.PRES.HAB
'This tree is not tall.'

b. *Bi uñapti: aisi ei bie.*
me ring.1SG gold NEG be.PRES.HAB
'My ring is not gold.'

c. *Bi ge:-i ei bie.*
me fault-1SG NEG be.PRES.HAB
'I am not guilty.' (SK 259)

(1715) a. *Go:-do ei bie.*
long-FOC NEG be.PRES.HAB
'It wasn't long.'

b. *Xakti ei bie.*
dark NEG be.PRES.HAB
'It is not dark.'

(1716) *Odekolona* *umi-kči* *ei* *bie.*
eau.de.cologne drink-DP NEG be.PRES.HAB
'Eau de cologne is not for drinking.'

(1717) *Ei* *oloxi* *siniŋi* *ei* *bie.*
this squirrel yours NEG be.PRES.HAB
'This squirrel is not yours.'

23.2.1.5.3. Negation of a construction with a personal copula

Copular constructions that express a temporal state and normally require a personal non-habitual copula (17.1.1) are negated with the negative verb *e-* in the corresponding personal form and the content verb 'be' in the form *bie.* This negation type is, therefore, formally similar to the negation of non-copular constructions (23.2.1.1). In (1718) the negative adjectival construction with non-habitual copula is illustrated, in (1719) the construction with a quantifier, in (1720) the adverbial construction, in (1721) the nominal copular construction, and in (1722) the resultative construction. In adjectival constructions the adjective may precede the negative verb as in (1718a), but it may also be located between the negative verb and the verb *bie,* as in (1718b) and (1718c).

(1718) a. *Si* *zueze-i* *imexi* *e-ini* *bie.*
you table-2SG new NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'Your table is not new.'

b. *Nua-ni* *uga-ni* *e-ini* *lämugas'a*
he-3SG voice-3SG NEG-3SG high
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'His voice is not high.'

c. *Ei* *xeku* *e-ini* *umac'a* *bie.*
this rope NEG-3SG short be.PRES.HAB
'This rope is not short.'

(1719) *O-du* *sugdä:* *egdi* *e-ini* *bie.*
this-DAT fish much NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'There are not many fish here.'

(1720) *Go:* *e-zeŋe-i* *bie* *o-du.*
long NEG-FUT-1SG be.PRES.HAB this-DAT
'I won't be here long.' (K 159)

(1721) a. *Na:* *ni:-ni* *ei-mi* *bie.*
earth man-3SG NEG-1SG be.PRES.HAB
'I am not an earth person.'

b. *Pakula* *xuda-si:* *ni:* *e-ini*
Pakula fur-V.PRP man NEG-3SG
bie.

be.PRES.HAB
'Pakula is not a merchant.'

(1722) *Sugdä:-wa* *e:-ktu* *e-ini* *bie.*
fish-ACC clean-RES NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'The fish is not cleaned.'

An example of the negative copular construction in the subordinate clause in is (1582).

(1723) *Si* *bi* *anda-i* *ei* *bie* *bi-si* *bi*
you me friend-2SG NEG be.PRES.HAB be-PAST me
sin-e-we *e-muse-i-de* *ceze*.
you-0-ACC NEG-COND-1SG-FOC believe
'If you were not my friend I would not believe you.'

23.2.1.5.4. Negation of the Proprietive

The Proprietive forms with the suffix *-xi* (4.3.1) are negated in a special way. The Proprietive forms are not present in the negative construction. Instead, the possessed noun in the Partitive is combined with the impersonal copula *anči*. As in the non-negative counterpart, the construction in question does not contain any possessive noun phrase. However, as demonstrated in (1725), the Partitive can be formed from the nominal stem augmented by the suffix of inalienable possession *-ŋi-* .

(1724) a. *Nua-ni* *kesi-le* *anči.*
he-3SG luck-PART no
'He does not have luck.'
b. *Bi* *ag'a-i* *omo* *gagda* *bugdi-le* *anči.*
me brother-1SG one another leg-PART no
'My brother does not have one leg.'
c. *Timana* *bi* *eke-le* *anči* *bi-zeŋe-i.*
tomorrow me time-PART no be-FUT-1SG
'I will not have time tomorrow.'

(1725) *Saina* *zä:-ŋi-le* *anči* *bi:-ni.*
perhaps money-AL-PART no be-3SG
'Perhaps he does not have any money.'

In (1726) the copula *ede-* 'become' is illustrated within the construction in question.

(1726) a. *Bu* *mo:-lo* *anči* *ede:-mu.*
we wood-PART no become.PAST-1PL.EX
'We remained without wood.'
b. *Nua-ni* *zä:-la* *anči* *ede:-ni.*
he-3SG money-PART no become.PAST-3SG
'He remained without money.'

Note that proprietive adjectives in *-xi* are negated following the pattern in 23.2.1.5.3, cf.:

(1727) *Nua-ni* *meje-xi* *e-ini* *bie.*

he-3SG mind-ADJ NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB
'He is not clever.'

23.2.1.5.5. Desiderative construction

The desiderative copular construction (17.2.3.2) is negated by the uninflected Present stem of the negative verb *ei*, which precedes the Desiderative noun. This is illustrated in (1728), while (1729) shows the same construction with the copula *ede-* 'become'.

(1728) a. *Ei-de* *diga-mugdi.*
NEG-FOC eat-DESN
'He does not want to eat.'

b. *Eitene* *ei-de* *diga-mugdi.*
now NEG-FOC eat-DESN
'Now I don't want to eat.'

(1729) a. *Ei-de* *umi-mugdi* *ede:-ni.*
NEG-FOC drink-DESN become.PAST-3SG
'He stopped feeling thirsty.'

b. *W'ataŋi* *nua-ni* *diga-mugdi* *bi-si-ni,*
before he-3SG eat-DESN be-PAST-3SG
eitene *ei-de* *diga-mugdi* *ede:-ni*
now NEG-FOC eat-DESI become.PAST-3SG
'Previously he wanted to eat, now he has stopped wanting to.'

23.2.1.6. Subordinate clause

Negation in the subordinate clause is formally organized in the same way as in the main clause, that is, with the negative verb in the corresponding morphological form and the bare stem of the content verb. In the following examples the subordinate clause is marked with square brackets in the glosses.

23.2.1.6.1. Complement clause

Examples of the copular (1730a) and non-copular (1730b) participial complement clause are:

(1730) a. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *nua-ti* *elu* *ni:*
me know-1SG [he-3PL fair man
e-i-we-ti *bie.*
NEG-PRP-ACC-3PL be.PRES.HAB]
'I know that they are not fair people.'

b. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *si* *e-i-we-i* me
see.PAST-1SG [you NEG-PRP-ACC-2SG
etete.
work]
'I saw that you didn't work.'

23.2.1.6.2. Relative clause

Example of headed (1731) and headless (1732) negative relative clauses are:

(1731) a. *Uti* *ni:-we* *sa:-wu-i* *ba:-za*
that man-ACC know-PAS-2SG place-N
ge-le-ni *e-si-me-ni* *xuli.*
[surface-LOC-3SG NEG-PP-ACC-3SG go]
'You can recognize the man who has (never) gone to the forest.'

b. *Si* *ugai* *ei* *bie* *sina-wa*
you [heavy NEG be.PRP.HAB] sack-ACC
zawa:-i.
take.PAST-2SG
'You took a sack, a not heavy one.'

c. *Suŋta* *ei* *bie* *joxoso-wo* *olonzi*
[deep NEG PRP.HAB] river-ACC fording
dau-zeŋe-fi.
cross-FUT-1PL.IN
'We will cross by foot a river which is not deep.'

d. *sama* *e-i* *bie* *ni:*
sahman NEG-PRP be.PRES.HAB man
'a person who is not a shaman' (SK 157)

(1732) *Nede-je* *e-si-me-ni* *ada* *padig'a.*
put-IMP.2SG [NEG-PP-ACC-3SG get.ripe] separately
'Put those that are not ripe separately (about tomatoes).'

In the Present tense copular relative clause the content verb 'be' co-occurs with the negative verb in the form of either a regular Present Participle *bi*:(-) or the Habitual form *bie*. The former is normally found within the internal relative clause (19.2) in which the relative clause predicate (participle) follows the relativized noun and is marked by case and personal markers. Examples (1733)–(1735) show that the case suffix is either added to the bare participle form (examples (a)) or to the negative auxiliary participle (examples (b)).

(1733) a. *Bi* *ei-mi* *aju* *ni:* *elu* *e-iti*
me NEG-1SG like [man fair NEG-3PL
bi:-we.
be.PRP-ACC]
'I don't like people who are not fair.'

b. *Bi* *ei-mi* *aju* *ni:* *elu*
me NEG-1SG ike man fair
e-i-we-ti *bie.*
NEG-PRP-ACC-3PL be.PRES.HAB]
'I don't like people who are not fair.'

(1734) a. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *ni:-we* *lusa*
me know-1SG man-ACC [Russian

keje-we-ni *e-iti*
language-ACC-3SG NEG.PRP-3PL
egze-we.
understand-ACC]
'I know people who don't understand Russian.'

b. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *ni:-we* *lusa*
me know-1SG [man-ACC Russian
keje-we-ni *e-i-we-ti*
language-ACC-3SG NEG-PRP-ACC-3PL
egze.
understand]
'I know people who don't understand Russian.'

(1735) a. *Bi* *dia-si-e-mi* *gabzi* *ni:*
me say-IM-PAST-1SG [cheerful man
ei *bie-zi.*
NEG be.PRP.HAB-INST]
'I talked to a man who was not cheerful.'

b. *Bi* *sa:-mi* *gugda* *mo:* *e-i-we-ni*
me know [tall tree NEG-PRP-ACC-3SG
bie.
be.PRES.HAB]
'I know a tree which is not tall.'

23.2.1.6.3. Adverbial clauses

The following examples demonstrate different types of adverbial clauses with the negative verb in the corresponding form: the Purposive Converb (1736), the Conditional Converb (1737), and the Infinitive in the adverbial clause of manner (1738).

(1736) a. *ŋene-ze-mi* *bi* *lali* *e-lege-fi.*
go-SUBJ-1SG me [starve NEG-PURP-1PL.IN]
'I will go so that we don't starve.'

b. *Bi* *ugda-i* *ñusisi-zeŋe-i* *dogbo*
me boat-1SG resin-FUT-1SG [night
e-lege-ni *ise-pte-i.*
NEG-PURP-3SG see-DEC-PRP]
'I will resin the boat, so that it won't be seen at night.'

c. *Bu* *e-lege-u* *ŋua* *eniŋe*
[we NEG-PURP-1PL.EX sleep] mother
imaŋku-we *imasi-e-ni.*
tale-ACC tell-PAST-3SG
'The mother told a tale so that we don't fall asleep.'

d. *Bue-ni* *eme:-ni* *e-lege-mi* *etete.*
he-3SG come.PAST-3SG [NEG-PURP-SS work]
'He came in order not to do any work.'

(1737) a. *Si* *e-lisi:* *ŋene* *bu* *wakca-mi*
[you NEG-CC.2SG go] we hunt-INF

e-zeŋe-u *ñoni.*
NEG-FUT-1PL.EX can
'If you don't go, we won't be able to hunt.'

b. *Bi* *e-li* *olokto-si* *lali-muse-i.*
[me NEG-CC.SS cook-IM] starve-COND-1SG
'If I don't cook, I will be hungry.'

c. *Bi* *ule-we* *e-lisi:* *olokto* *bi*
[me meat-ACC NEG-CC.1SG cook] me
mafa-i *min-e-we* *ñaugdasi-zeŋe-ni.*
husband-1SG me-0-ACC curse-FUT-3SG
'If I don't cook meat, my husband will curse me.'

(1738) a. *Ule:-we* *ei-mi* *wa:* *zug-tigi*
[meat-ACC NEG-INF kill] house-LAT
e-zeŋe-u *eme-gi.*
NEG-FUT-1PL.IN come-REP
'Without finding meat, we won't return home.'

b. *Nua-ti* *ei-mi* *ča:la* *e-si-ti* *ono.*
he-3SG [NEG-INF want] NEG-PAST-3PL write
'They wouldn't have written (it) without wanting to.'

c. *Ei-mi-de* *etete* *kino-tigi* *ŋene:-ni.*
[NEG-INF-FOC work] cinema-LAT go.PAST-3SG
'He went to the cinema without working.'

If the subordinate clause contains the existential copular construction, the impersonal negative copula *anči* precedes the verb *bi-* in the corresponding form, for example, the Perfective Converb in (1739), the Conditional Converb in (1740), or the Infinitive in (1741). For non-existential copular constructions in the subordinate adverbial clause negation is formed with the Present stem of the negative verb *ei* and the corresponding form of the verb *bi-* (1742).

(1739) a. *Na:* *xu-ni* *anči* *bi-si-ni* *min-zuŋe*
[earth smell-3SG no be-PP-3SG] we-both
omo-si-gi-zeŋe-fi.
one-V-REP-FUT-1PL.IN
'If there is no earth smell, we two will unite again.'

b. *Bi* *eke-le* *anči* *bi-si*
[me time-PART no be-PAST]
e-muse-i *ŋene.*
NEG-COND-1SG go.
'If I didn't have time, I wouldn't go.'

(1740) *Sugzä:* *anči* *bi-lisi-ni* *lali-kce-zeŋe-fi.*
[fish no be-CC-3SG] starve-INT-FUT-1PL.IN
'If there is no fish, we will be hungry.'

(1741) *Su:* *anči* *bi-mi* *xai* *namai.*
[sun no be-INF] still warm
'Although there is no sun, it is still warm.'

(1742) *Nua-ni* *ei* *uni* *bi-si* *gəje* *ŋene-muse.*
he-3SG NEG be.ill be-PAST together go-COND

‘If he were not ill, he would have come (with us).’

23.2.1.6.4. Generalized relative clause

Affirmative generalized relative clauses can be both finite (18.3.2.1) and non-finite (19.5.2), but in the negative form only the non-finite construction is allowed. Sentences with the generalized negative relative clause express the non-existence of the class of objects characterized by the relative clause. The superordinate clause of such sentences is a negative existential construction with the existential negative copula *anči*. The relative clause is headed by an indefinite non-specific pronoun (9.6.2) with the negative interpretation, or an expletive word such as *ba:* ‘place, nature’. The relative clause predicate corresponds to the Destinative Participle (7.5.1.4). Like the regular relative clause (Chapter 19), the generalized negative relative clause can be prenominal or postnominal.

In prenominal clauses the Destinative Participle is not marked by a personal inflection. In most cases it immediately precedes the head (indefinite pronoun) as in (1743), but can be extraposed as well (1744). The Future passive participle can occasionally function as the predicate of such a relative clause (1745). The prenominal negative generalized relative clause normally has an impersonal interpretation.

(1743) a. *Diga-kči j’eu-de anči.*
[eat-DP what-IND] no
‘There is nothing to eat.’ (K 146)
b. *ŋene-kči ba:-ni anči.*
[go-DP place-3SG] no
‘There is no place to go.’

(1744) *O-du j’e-we-de anči umi-kči.*
this-DAT [what-ACC-IND] no [drink-DP]
‘There is nothing to drink here.’

(1745) *Nua-ni zugdi-du-ni j’eu-de anči diga-u-zeŋe.*
he-3SG house-DAT-3SG [what-IND] no [eat-PAS-FP]
‘There is nothing to eat in his house.’

The postnominal generalized relative clause usually includes the subject encoded by the Nominative noun phrase. However, the subject agreement is suppressed: the relative clause predicate (the Destinative Participle) always takes the 3rd person suffix *-ni* independently of the person and number of the subject, cf. (15.1.1.2.1).

(1746) a. *Bi nua-tigi-ni j’e-we-de dian-a-kči-ni* [me
he-LAT-3SG what-ACC-IND talk-0-DP-3SG]
anči.
no
‘I don’t have anything to talk about with him.’
b. *Bu i:-le-de bagdi-kči-ni anči bi-s’e.*
[we what-LOC-IND live-DP-3SG] no be-PERF
‘I don’t have anything to live in.’
c. *Minti j’e-uxi-de ŋene-kči-ni anči.*
[we what-LAT-IND go-DP-3SG] no
‘We don’t have anywhere to go.’

Note that the Nominative subject is located within the relative clause itself, as indicated by the bracketing. A piece of evidence for this comes from the position of adverbs: they can precede the relative clause subject but cannot follow it, as illustrated in (1747).

(1747) *O-du* *bi (*o-du)* *ni:-tigi-de*
this-DAT [me (*this-DAT) man-LAT-IND
dian-a-kči-ni *ančі*.
say-0-DP-3SG] no
'Here I don't have anyone to talk to.'

In the Northern dialect, the impersonal Infinitive can be used in the generalized negative relative clause.

(1748) *J'e-we-de* *tau-mu* *ančі.*
what-ACC-IND put-IMI no
'There is nothing to put (in the sack).' (SK 429)

23.2.1.7. Negative words

Udihe does not exhibit negative concord. No overt negative elements appear under the scope of sentence negation. Non-specific indefinite pronouns formed with the clitic particle *-dA* (9.6.2) function as negative pronouns.

Either the negative word itself (1749) or the noun phrase with the negative modifier (1750) must be strictly preverbal. In subjectless existential constructions the negative word is located before the predicative noun (1751).

(1749) a. *J'e-we-de* *a-ta-i* *b'a* *si.*
what-ACC-IND NEG-SUBJ-2SG get you
'You won't get anything.'

b. *Belie* *i:-le-de* *e-si-ni* *te:.*
fairy what-LOC-IND NEG-PAST-3SG sit
'The fairy did not sit anywhere.' (K 34)

c. *Zugdi-du* *ni:-de* *ančі.*
house-DAT man-IND no
'There is nobody in the house.'

(1750) *J'eu-de* *keje-we-ni* *e-zi*
what-IND word-ACC-3SG NEG-IMP.2SG
dian-a.
say-0
'Don't say any words.' (K 174)

(1751) *J'e-le-de* *okto* *ančі.*
this-LOC-IND medicine no
'There is no medicine anywhere.'

There can be several negative pronouns in a clause, all with a negative interpretation, cf.:

(1752) *Ni:-de* *j'e-we-de* *e-ini* *sa:.*
who-IND what-ACC-IND NEG-3SG know
'Nobody knows anything.'

23.2.2. Constituent negation

Constituent negation does not differ in a formal respect from sentence negation. When a constituent is negated but the contrasting alternative is not overtly expressed, the clause is interpreted as sentence negation. Constituent negation becomes apparent only in the situation of overt contrast, when the negated constituent is formally opposed to another semantically similar element (23.2.2.1). Only for some constituents is negation expressed by some specialized sentence constructions (23.2.2.2).

23.2.2.1. Contrastive constituent negation

When a contrastive focus constituent is negated, the contrasting element is also present in the sentence. It is in some way expressed in the conjoint clause with the affirmative interpretation. In the negative clause negation is expressed in a formally regular manner, while the verb in the conjoint clause takes the same morphological form. Examples (1753) present the negation of the nominal constituent, examples (1754) the negation of the predicative element of the copular construction, and example (1755) the negation of the finite verb.

(1753) a. *Nua-ni* *ei* *zugdi-le* *e-ini* *bagdi*
he-3SG this house-LOC NEG-3SG live
xoŋto-lo *bagdi:-ni.*
another-LOC live-3SG
'He lives not in this house but in the other one.'

b. *Bi* *Stepana-zi* *e-si-mi* *wakca,*
me Stepan-INST NEG-PAST-1SG hunt
Iwana-zi *wakca:-mi.*
Ivan-INST hunt.PAST-1SG
'I hunted not with Stepan but with Ivan.'

c. *Sele-me* *emuge-we* *bi* *ei-mi* *gele,*
iron-ADJ cradle-ACC me NEG-1SG ask
aisi-me-we *gele-mi.*
gold-ADJ-ACC ask-1SG
'I am not asking for an iron cradle, I am asking for a gold one.'
(Schneider 1937: 86)

(1754) a. *Bi* *moxo-i* *c'aligi* *e-ini* *bie*
me cup-1SG white NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB
xulaligi *bi:-ni.*

red be-3SG
'My cup is not white but red.'

b. *Ei b'ata* *e-ini* *bie* *aziga*
this boy NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB girl
bi:-ni
be-3SG
'This is not a boy, but a girl.'

(1755) G*iusa-wa* *e-si-mi* *wa:* *sieni-e-mi.*
roe-ACC NEG-PAST-1SG kill wound-PAST-1SG
'I didn't kill the roe, but wounded it.'

The contrastive alternative may be rendered with the expression *ei bie* 'not', cf.:

(1756) a. *Ei Iwana* *eme-gi-e-ni* *Petra*
this Ivan come-REP-PAST-3SG Peter
ei *bie.*
NEG be.PRES.HAB
'This is Ivan who has returned, not Peter.'

b. *Ise-je* *j'eu* *xokto-ni,* *käŋa:-s*
see-IMP.2SG what footstep-3SG deer-DIS
ogbö:-s.
elk-DIS
'See whose footsteps these are, a deer's or an elk's?'

(1757) *Käŋa* *ei* *bie,* *ogbö* *xokto-ni.*
deer NEG be.PERS.HAB elk footstep-3SG
'They are not the deer's, but the elk's (the footsteps).'

23.2.2.2. Non-contrastive constituent negation

Special constructions for non-contrastive constituent negation are used in certain cases, normally when the negated constituent expresses some kind of secondary predication. Such constructions are formed with the copula *anči* in certain case forms and the Partitive form of the possessed noun.

23.2.2.2.1. Negation of the circumstance adjunct

The construction with the negated circumstance adjunct (15.4.5.6) means 'without something'. It has two formal types. First, the adjunct can be negated with the negative copula in the Instrumental case (*anči-zi* <no-INST>), which follows the possessed noun in the Partitive form (1758). Personal pronouns do not have the Partitive form (1759). The circumstance adjunct is enclosed in brackets in examples below.

(1758) a. *Bi* *čaja-wa* *umi-mi* *sata-la* *anči-zi.*
me tea-ACC drink-1SG [sugar-PART no-INST]
'I drink tea without sugar.'

b. *Bi* *zueze-we* *tikpe-le* *anči-zi*
me table-ACC [nail-PART no-INST]

wo:-mi.
make.PAST-1SG
'I made a table without nails.'

c. *J'e-we* *bui-we-ni* *ku'ai-la* *anči-zi*
what-ACC animal-ACC-3SG [ear-PART no-INST]
b'akta-wan-a-i-ze.
hear-CAUS-0-IMP.2SG-HORT
'Let all animals listen (as if they were) without ears.'

d. *Mende-le* *anči-zi* *sigili-je.*
[end-PART no-INST] stir-IMP.2SG
'Stir without stopping.'

(1759) *Su* *anči-zi* *zuge* *b'a-mu* *bu.*
[you no-INST] trouble get.PAST we
'We had trouble without you.'

Second, in the construction in question the copula *anči* can take the Ablative case and is inflected with the 3rd person personal affix *-ni*, so its resulting form is *anči-digi-ni* <no-ABL-3SG>. The possessed noun then appears in the Nominative case. There does not seem to be any semantic difference between these two options.

(1760) a. *Ei* *suese* *anči-digi-ni* *nua-ni*
[this axe no-ABL-3SG] he-3SG
e-ini *xuli.*
NEG-3SG walk
'He does not walk without this axe.'

b. *Ei* *kusige* *anči-digi-ni* *e-ini* *etete.*
[this knife no-ABL-3SG] NEG-3SG work
'He does not work without this knife.'

23.2.2.2.2. Negation of the temporal adjunct

A temporal adjunct which is normally encoded by the Dative noun phrase (15.4.2.1) is negated with the Dative case of the negative copula inflected with the 3rd person personal affix (*anči-du-ni* <no-DAT-3SG>). Examples are:

(1761) a. *exe-ni* *anči-du-ni*
elder.sister-3SG no-DAT-3SG
'while her older sister is absent'

b. *Si* *sita-na-i* *anči-du-ni* *zugdi-du*
[you son-PL-2SG no-DAT-3SG] house-DAT
simu-simu *bie.*
quiet-quite be.PRES.HAB
'It is quiet in the house without your sons.'

c. *Nua-ni* *gagda-i* *anči-du-ni* *bagdi-mi*
[he-3SG friend-REF no-DAT-3SG] live-INF
e-ini *mute.*
NEG-3SG can
'He can't live without his friend (in the absence of his friend).'

d. *bua* *tue-ni* *xokto* *anči-di-ni* *ŋene-mi*

place winter-3SG road no-DAT-3SG go-INF
'walking in winter in the forest without a road' (SK 94)

The following example demonstrates that when the argument of the negative copula is a personal pronoun, the copula can take personal inflections other than that of the 3rd person.

(1762) *Bi* *ančі-du-i* *bagdi:.*
me no-DAT-1SG live.2SG
'You live without me.' (SK 778)

With respect to living persons similar meaning can be also rendered by means of the postposition *geun-di(le)-ni* 'in the absence of somebody' (see 10.2.1.3.2).

23.2.2.2.3. Negation of the Proprietive

The Proprietive is negated with the copula *ančі* and the Partitive form of the possessed noun. This construction behaves like most regular modifiers, that is, it can be either prenominal or postnominal (on postnominal extraposed modifiers see 24.2.2.2.4). In the prenominal modifying construction the copula is in the Nominative (1763). Such a negative modifier in the Nominative case normally functions as a co-predicative element (1764).

(1763) *Bi* *kusige-i* *bu-o:-mi* *ñukte-le* *ančі*
me knife-1SG give-PAST-1SG hair-PART no
ni:-du.
man-DAT
'I gave my knife to a bald person (a person without hair).'

(1764) a. *Nua-ni* *zä:-ŋi-le* *ančі* *eme:-ni.*
he-3SG money-AL-PART no come.PAST-3SG
'He came without money.'
b. *Bi* *zugdi-le* *ančі* *bagdi-mi.*
me house-PART no live-1SG
'I live without a house.'

Besides this, the negative possessive construction with the copula *ančі* can be conjoint to the clause; such cases are addressed in 18.1.2.2.2.

Chapter 24
Information structure and word order

This chapter deals with the effects of information structuring on the surface shape of the clause. We assume that the information structure is an independent level of clause representation that deals with the «packaging» of the information in the utterance. The relevant units of the information structure here considered as primitives are topic and focus. In their definition we will rely heavily on the practice of Lambrecht (1994) where they are identified in relation to one another and to the corresponding proposition. Topic will be understood as the subject about which the proposition is pragmatically construed (Lambrecht 1994: 131). The existence of a topic participant is presupposed by the speaker, so topic is always (a part of) the pragmatic presupposition of the utterance. Focus will be understood as «the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition» (Lambrecht 1994: 213). If the presupposition is lacking, the focus and the assertive part of the utterance coincide. Thus, every sentence has a focus, but not every sentence necessarily has a topic (if it lacks a pragmatic presupposition). Roughly speaking, sentence elements that do not correspond to the functions of topic and focus may be viewed as neutral with respect to information structure.

Although, strictly speaking, the notions «topic» and «focus» refer to relations at the level of information structure, we will use these terms to refer to the corresponding elements of the clause as well. Topic normally corresponds to a non-verbal constituent whose referent is mentioned in the discourse, although new topics are possible as well. As distinct from the topic, focus can correspond not only to the nominal constituent, but to a verbal constituent as well.

We will further assume that information structure functions stand in a certain mapping relationship to syntactic and semantic units. However, this is a matter of considerable controversy, and no attempt will be made to describe here such mapping relationships in Udihe. This chapter only concentrates on the correspondences between a particular information structure status and the linear order of the sentence elements. As demonstrated below, word order in Udihe is primarily motivated by information structure considerations, although grammatical information is also relevant.

Section 24.1 deals with word order at a clause level. Additional information about word order can also be found in other chapters, particularly those on questions and negation (Chapter 23), on the adverbs (10.1.7), and the particles (Chapter 12). Word order within a regular NP is treated in Chapter 13.

In some cases the information structure, together with semantics, conditions the sentence construction, that is, the encoding of semantic units by grammatical relations. Some remarks on this may be found in Chapter 16 on the valence-changing operations. Such alternative constructions at the level of the clause were discussed in Chapter 16. In section 24.2 we address the word order and information structure driven alternative encoding of sentence elements within a noun phrase, while in 24.3 we focus on copular constructions.

24.1. Word order at a clause level

Udihe exhibits certain typological features of a head-final SOV language: a head-final noun

phrase (Chapter 13) and relative clause (19.1), a left-branching complement embedded clause before the matrix verb (Chapter 20), postpositions (10.2), etc. Indeed, the SOV order is the most common statistically as well. The typical SOV order is illustrated by examples below.

(1765) a. *Mamasa* *ule:-we* *olokto-ini.*
old.woman meat-ACC cook-3SG
'The old woman is cooking meat.'

b. *Omölo-i* *wopti-we* *kimpigi-e-ni.*
granddaughter-1SG door-ACC close-PAST-3SG
'My granddaughter closed the door.'

c. *Činda-ziga* *jegdige* *ag'a-du* *kuge-we*
bird-PL hero brother-DAT bellows-ACC
kuge:-ti.
blow.PAST-3PL
'The birds blew (the fire) with bellows for the brother hero.'
(SKX 76)

Cross-linguistically, subject is known to correlate with topic information structure status, while the direct object is likely to encode the focus (in the sense of narrow focus). The SOV order in Udihe seems to be a result of three independent requirements: (i) the preverbal position of the focus (24.1.1), (ii) subject/topic initiality (24.1.2), and (iii) verb finality (24.1.3). Requirement (i) appears to be inviolable, therefore, when an element other than the direct object corresponds to the focus function, the SOV order is abandoned. Requirements (ii) and (iii) can easily be violated. As a result, the SOV order appears non-rigid, deviations being motivated by specific information structure requirements.

Elements that do not bear the focus or topic functions in the information structure seem to be located relatively freely in the sentence. Clausal adverbs tend to stand in the clause-initial position (10.1.7.1).

24.1.1. Focus position

The most important requirement of Udihe word order is the preverbal position of the focus element. In a clause that does not involve any constituents other than SOV, this, under normal discourse conditions, results in the preverbal position of the object. The reason for this is that in such sentences the object typically corresponds to the focus function, while the subject normally corresponds to the topic function. In clauses with a more complicated structure, the focus element is necessarily strictly preverbal independently of its semantic role. Other elements are located either before the focus element or after the verb. Different cases are exemplified below.

The focus element (especially the focus that bears an additional contrastive implication) is highlighted by a high pitch intonation. In the translations we will capitalize the element that corresponds to the focus function.

24.1.1.1. Question words

Question words are universally known to be pragmatically and formally associated with the focus. In Udihe, the position of the question word is necessarily strictly preverbal. On exceptions see 23.1.1.6. Examples of preverbal question words, clause-initial (1766) and non clause-initial (1767) are cited below.

(1766) a. *I:-le* *b'a-i* *si* *mamasa-na-mi?*
what-LOC find.PAST-2SG you wife-DEST-REF
'WHERE did you find a wife for yourself?' (K 146)

b. *Ei ni:* *bi:-ni* *Susana* *neŋu-ni?*
this man be-3SG Susan younger.sibling-3SG
'Is THIS MAN Susan's younger brother?'

(1767) a. *Um'a* *i:-du* *xuaja:-i?*
hook what-DAT break.PAST-2SG
'WHY did you break the hook?' (K 111)

b. *Sugzä:-wa* *j'eu* *diga-gi-e-ni?*
fish-ACC what eat-REP-PAST-3SG
'WHO ate the fish again?' (K 148)

24.1.1.2. Subject focus

When the subject bears a focus status, the possible word orders are OSV (1768a) or SVO (1768b). In (1768b)–(1768c) the focus bears an additional contrastive implication.

(1768) a. *Ei kusige-we* *min-du* *Iwana* *bu-ge.*
this knife-ACC me-give Ivan give-PERF
'This knife was given to me by IVAN.'

b. *Komo,* *si* *zomi:* *bi* *sugzä:-ŋi-we-i?*
Komo you steal.2SG me fish-AL-ACC-1SG
'Komo, is it YOU who steal my fish?' (K 148)

c. *Ei Iwana* *eme-gi-e-ni* *Petra* *ei*
this Ivan come-REP-PAST-3SG Peter NEG
bie.
be.PRES.HAB
'This is IVAN who has come, not Peter.'

24.1.1.3. Adverbial elements in focus

Certain (predicate) adverbials are likely to correspond to the focus function and are therefore mostly found in the immediately preverbal position (cf. 10.1.7.1). Examples of the preverbal focus on the instrumental noun phrase (1769a), the temporal adverb (17698b), and on manner adverbs (1770) are cited below. As can be seen, the direct object is separated from the verb by the focus element (1770).

(1769) a. *Jogoso* *tene* *asi* *kaŋgäs'a* *mo:* *uli-we*
river CONT very narrow tree water-ACC
xaña-zi dakpisi:-ni.
shadow-INST close-3PL
'The river is very narrow, the trees cover the water WITH SHADOWS.'

b. *Susana* *timana* *eme-zeŋe-ni?*
Susan tomorrow come-FUT-3SG
'Will Susan come TOMORROW?'

(1770) a. *Ei tege-we ge:-zi wo:-ti.*
this gown-ACC bad-INST make.PAST-3PL
'They had sewn this gown BADLY.

b. *Ei dogbo-ni sin-e-we ono-do*
this night-3SG you-0-ACC how-FOC
nixe-mi zawa-za-mi.
do-INF catch-SUBJ-1SG
'I will catch you this night ANYWAY.' (K 145)

When degree adverbials and quantifiers within a noun phrase bear the focus function, they are located immediately before the verb, while the head noun is postposed (see section 24.2.2.2 on discontinuous constituents).

24.1.2. Subject initiality

The subject is normally clause-initial, especially in the absence of any oblique constituents.

(1771) a. *Bi si anda-i bi-mi.*
me you friend-2SG be-1SG
'I am your friend.'
b. *Nua-ni pensija-wa taulagi-e-ni*.
he-3SG pension-ACC get-PAST-3SG
'He got a pension.'

Subject initiality can be violated in the following cases.

24.1.2.1. «Scene-setting» expressions

Clausal adverbs (sometimes referred to as «external topics» or «scene-setting» expressions) are normally situated clause-initially, and therefore precede the subject, cf. 10.1.7.1. They take scope over the whole clause and express spatial or temporal aspects of the situation described.

(1772) a. *Wei-du c'aligi ja: bi:-ni.*
garden-DAT white cow be-3SG
'In the garden there is a white cow.'
b. *Utem(i)-de pauza baŋcala:-ni.*
then-FOC roe kick.PAST-3SG
'Then the roe kicked (him).'
c. *Neŋi-ni timana suala teti-gi:,*
day-3SG tomorrow ski dress-REP.PRP
gulin'e.
leave.PERF
'The next day he put on his skis and left.'

24.1.2.2. Presentational construction

A new participant is usually introduced in the discourse as a subject within presentational constructions in which the correlation between the subject and the topic is violated. In Udihe the (indefinite) subject of presentational sentences is regularly postposed after the verb. It may be immediately postverbal, as in (1773), or separated from the verb by other lexical material, as in (1774).

(1773) a. *Tukä-ini* *pauza* *mo:kt'oi* *do-lo-ni.*
run-3SG roe bushes inside-LOC-3SG
'There is a roe running in the bushes.'

b. *Eme-kte:-ti* *tukca.*
come-DIST.PAST-3PL hare
'There the hares came.'

c. *Xegdi-le-ni* *tiŋmele:-ni* *omo* *seutige.*
bottom-LOC-3SG fell.PAST-3SG one nut
'One nut fell down.' (K 137)

d. *Kete* *b'äsa-la-ni* *bie* *gula.*
Kete river-LOC-3SG be.PRES.HAB rock
'There is a rock on the river Kete.' (SKX 308)

(1774) *Agda-si-mi* *adga-si-mi* *tiŋmele:-ni* *uta-digi* oar-V-INF
oar-V-INF fell.PAST-3SG that-ABL
kuliga.
snake
'He was mooring, mooring, (and) a snake fell from there.'

24.1.2.3. Predicate focus

The subject is postposed to the postverbal position when the focus extends over the verb alone. This covers the following cases: (i) an «urgent news» report (1775); (ii) when the verb is in potential contrast (1776) or questioned (yes-no questions as in (1777) and answers to them); or (iii) when the action itself is emphasized and presented with an effect of immediateness (1778).

(1775) a. *Buk-ki-ni* *Uza.*
die-PAST-3SG Uza
'Uza DIED.'(K 114)

b. *ŋene-zeŋe-i* *bi.*
go-FUT-1SG me
'I am LEAVING.' (K 148)

c. *Ge* *zeli-we* *is'e* *Pakula.*
well bulltrout-ACC see.PERF Pakula
'Well, Pakula saw a bulltrout (a sort of salmon).'

d. *Uta-digi* *tene* *kepte-mi* *ise-si:-te*
that-ABL CONT lie-INF see-IM.PRP-FOC
te:-gi-e-ni *gune* *belie-n(i)-de.*
get.up-REP-PAST-3SG EV girl-3SG-FOC
'While lying down he then saw that the girl GOT UP.' (K 145)

(1776) *Ono-do* *ja:* *sin-e-we* *uisigi-zeŋe-i* *bi.*
how-IND PROV you-0-ACC rescue-FUT-1SG me
'Whatever happens, I will RESCUE you.' (K 188)

(1777) *Diga-u su?*
eat-2PL you
'Did you EAT?'

(1778) a. *Jogoso-li* *solo-ini* *Pakula ugda-zi.*
river-PROL go.upstream-3SG Pakula boat-INST
'Pakula is MOVING UP the river in the boat.'
b. *Ute bede* *xuli-mi* *ji:n-e-m(i)* *bi.*
that like go-INF come-0-1SG me
'So I came WALKING.' (K 181)

24.1.3. Verb finality

Verb finality is violated by the subject postposed under certain conditions (24.1.2). In addition, it can be violated as a result of object postposing. When an element other than the direct object corresponds to the focus function, the direct object in the transitive clauses is likely to be postposed and stand after the verb (1779). However, it may also be located before the focus element, so variants such as (1780a) and (1780b) are both acceptable, while the latter is likely to express a greater degree of contrast.

(1779) *Nua-ti* *tutulu* *gele-masi:-ti* *kusige-we.*
he-3PL always ask-REC-3PL knife-ACC
'They always ask for a knife from each other.'

(1780) a. *Bi* *nua-ma-ni* *ŋala-zi:* *zawa-za-mi.*
me he-ACC-3SG hand-INST.REF take-SUBJ-1SG
'I would take him by the hand.'

b. *ŋala-zi:* *zawa-za-mi* *bi*
hand-INST.REF take-SUBJ-1SG me
nua-ma-ni.
he-ACC-3SG
'I would take him by the hand.'

In the language of the younger generation the object may be postposed without any particular information structure motivation, under the influence of Russian. This is possible even when the object is a (non-contrastive) focus, cf. (1781a) and (1781b).

(1781) a. *Pakula* *zeli-we* *is'e.*
Pakula bulltrout -ACC see.PERF
'Pakula saw a bulltrout (a sort of salmon).'
b. *Pakula* *is'e* *zeli-we.*
Pakula see.PERF bulltrout-ACC
'Pakula saw a bulltrout (a sort of salmon).'

Elements other than subject and direct object may occasionally follow the verb. They are normally all kinds of adjuncts (1782), as well as the modifiers of the focused verb (see 10.1.7.2).

(1782) a. *Nada* *kotoi-ziga* *bi-si-ti* *eni* *mule*.
seven bald-PL be-PAST-3PL mother with
'There lived seven bald ones with their mother.'
b. *Sita-ni* *tukä-na:-ni* *zugdi-tigi.*
child-3SG run-DIR.PAST-3SG house-LAT
'His son ran home.'

24.2. Information structure within the noun phrase

This section describes alternative organizations of the non-possessive (24.2.1) and possessive destinative (24.2.2) noun phrase that are conditioned by the different distribution of information structure functions between their components.

24.2.1. Non-possessive noun phrase

Here we focus on the alternative organization of the modified non-possessive noun phrase, mostly those in which the modifier corresponds to an adjective or a quantifier. As was argued in Chapter 13, the noun phrase is normally head-final. Attributive agreement in case is absent, while agreement in number is optional (13.2.2). The relation between the head and the non-possessive modifier is not encoded by any special morphological device. However, under conditions driven mainly by considerations of information structure there may be variance in word order and the encoding of the attributive relationship within a noun phrase.

Generally speaking, the regular organization of the noun phrase described in Chapter 13 is observed when both the modifier and the head noun bear the same status in the information structure (topic, focus, or neutral). This results in the noun phrase being unpartitioned from the point of view of information structure. When their statuses differ, either the modifier is raised (24.2.1), or the noun phrase is organized discontinuously (24.2.2).

24.2.2.1. Modifier raising

Certain types of modifiers can be raised to the head position. Typically, the construction is motivated by some sort of modifier's foregrounding. It is observed when the head noun and the modifier bear different information structure functions, namely, either the head is topicalized (cf. the topicalizing internal relative clause (19.2)) or the modifier is in (contrastive) focus, or both of these conditions hold.

(1783) *ŋene-mi* *jegdige* *xokto* *agdan-di-ni*
go-INF hero road middle-DAT-3SG
ogbie-we *wa:-ni,* *ogbie* *bogo-wo-ni.*
moose-ACC kill.PAST-3SG moose fat-ACC-3SG
'The hero was walking and on half way he killed a moose, a FAT moose.' (SKX 186)

However, this condition does not seem to be very strong. Sometimes modifier raising is available in the same contexts where a non-raising adjective-noun construction is used. For example, in

(1784a) a regular noun phrase (*saŋta mamaka* ‘old woman’) is coordinated with a moidifier-raising construction (*ni:nta saŋta-ni* ‘old man’). The same is in (1784b).

(1784) a. *Saŋta* *mamaka* *ni:nta* *saŋta-ni* *uli* old
old.woman man old-3SG water
kä:-la-ni *xeŋeful’e-si* *ut’asi* *Luŋie-tigi*
edge-LOC-3SG kneel-PP.SS then Lungie
xeŋki-si:-ti.
bow-IM-3PL
‘An old woman or an old man kneel down near the water and bow to Lungie.’ (SK 1043–1044)

b. *Ninta* *saŋta-ni* *bi-mi* *abuga* *bi-ze-i,*
man old-3SG be-INF father be-SUBJ-2SG
saŋta *a:nta-ni* *bi-mi* *eniŋe* *bi-ze-i.*
old woman-3SG be-INF mother be-SUBJ-2SG
‘If you are an old man, be my father, if you are an old woman, be my mother.’ (SKX 224)

The raised modifier acquires the following head properties: (i) it is an obligatory constituent of the clause; (ii) it bears morphological markers that show the external syntactic relations of the noun phrase in the clause (case markers); (iii) it is located in a typical head position, that is, phrase-finally; and (iv) it is marked by the possessive affix in the same way as the head of the possessive phrase (13.1), which suggests that the initial head nominal is demoted to the position of possessor. The structure of the noun phrase with the raised modifier is as follows:

(1785) noun – modifier + the case marker + the 3rd person personal affix *-ni*

The following modifiers undergo raising: adjectives (24.2.1.1), certain quantifiers (24.2.1.2), and the relative clause. The internal relative clause (the «topicalizing» relative clause) was discussed in 19.2. The information structure requirement that conditions this type of relative clause is basically the one that conditions the raising of other modifiers, namely, the topicalization of the head noun. Most quantitative nouns with a partitive meaning (13.3.3.2), numerals, possessive modifiers (13.1), modifiers expressed by a postpositional phrase (13.5), or the oblique-case noun (13.6) do not undergo raising, although some of them may be postnominal.

When the raised modifier construction is in its turn the head of the possessive phrase, the possessive affix *-ni* is replaced by the possessive affix that refers to the possessor of the possessive phrase. In (1786b) the raised quantificational noun (*tie* ‘pair’) bears the 2nd person personal marker, cf. the regular construction (1786a).

(1786) a. *si tie kolo-wo-i* ‘your pair of mittens’ (ACC)
<you pair mitten-ACC-2SG>
b. *si kolo tie-we-i* ‘your pair of mittens’ (ACC)
<you mitten pair-ACC-2SG>

24.2.2.1.1. Adjectival modifier raising

In (1787) we exemplify postnominal adjectival modifiers that bear the 3rd person personal marker *-ni* and a case affix indicating the syntactic role of the noun phrase. In these examples, adjectival modifiers bear new information (are in focus), and the head noun is part of a pragmatic

presupposition, i.e. (a part of) the topic. In addition the raised adjectival modifier may express a high degree of the quality, as in (1788).

(1787) a. *Bi zugdi ñamai-du-ni bagdi-mi.*
me house warm-DAT-3SG live-1SG
'I live in a warm house.'

b. *Ogbö bui kuaj'a-ni bi:-ni.*
elk animal swift-3SG be-3SG
'The elk is a swift animal.'

c. *Asasa, banixe, b'ata ni: baja-ni.*
thanks thanks boy man rich-3SG
'Thank you, thank you, dear fellow.'

d. *Bi čaja xekui-zi-ni daga:-mi.*
me tea hot-INST-3SG burn.PAST-1SG
'I burnt myself with hot tea.'

e. *Jegdige maNga-wa-ni teluŋu-si-ze-mi.*
hero strong-ACC-3SG story-V-SUBJ-1SG
'Let me tell about a strong hero.'

f. *Tuduze bombo-ni olokto-i.*
potato round-3SG cook-PRP
'He cooks round potatoes.'

g. *Ule: ñaligi-we-ni xekui uli-le*
meat raw-ACC-3SG hot water-LOC
ula-je.
wet-IMP.2SG
'Wet the raw meat with hot water.'

(1788) a. *Bi ali-de e-si: b'agdi-se b'ata*
me when-IND NEG-PAST.1SG meet-EXP boy
maŋga-wa-ni.
strong-ACC-3SG
'I have never met such a strong boy.'

b. *Bi od'o-i edi maŋga-wa-ni*
me grandfather-1SG wind strong-ACC-3SG
ise-si-e-ni.
see-IM-PAST-3SG
'My grandfather saw a very strong typhoon.'

c. *Bi ali-de e-si: ise kuliga*
me never NEG-PAST.1SG see snake
sagdi-we-ni.
big-ACC-3SG
'I have never seen such a big snake.'

24.2.2.1.2. Quantifier raising

Scalar quantifiers *egdi* 'many, much', *wac'a* 'little, few', *xa:* 'some' are raised under the same conditions as adjectives, and form the same construction, cf.:

(1789) a. *Bu ni: egdi-tigi-ni ŋene-mu.*
we man many-LAT-3GS go-1PL.EX

‘We visit many people.’

b. *Eineŋi* *ni:* *egdi-ni.*
today man many-3SG
‘There are many people today.’

The raising of the universal quantifier *teu* (11.2.2.1) is fairly frequent.

(1790) a. *Ni:* *teu-ni* *zeu-we* *diga-wa* *ča:la.*
man all-3SG food-ACC eat-ACC like
‘All people like eating.’

b. *Bi* *o-du* *ni:* *teu-me-ni* *sa:-mi.*
me this-DAT man all-ACC-3SG know-1SG
‘I know all the people here.’

c. *Ineŋi* *teun-di-ni* *eme-gi:-de*
day all-DAT-3SG come-REP.PRP-FOC
eme-gi:.
come-REP.PRP
‘He comes and comes again every day.’

d. *Ni:* *teun-tigi-ni* *lauli-mi* *gusi:-ni.*
man all-LAT-3SG dance-INF play-3SG
‘He is playing, dancing for all the people.’

Some quantitative nouns with a partitive meaning (13.3.3.1) can undergo raising as well.

(1791) *omo kolo tie-ni* ‘one pair of mittens’
<one mitten pair-3SG>

24.2.2.1.3. Lack of possessive marking

In particular cases the raised modifier is not marked for the 3rd person Singular, although otherwise the construction remains the same: the modifier is phrase-final and takes case markers indicating the role of the phrase in the external syntax. The lack of possessive marking is typically observed when the adjective modifies the indefinite pronoun (either the specific indefinite pronoun *j’eu-ke* (9.6.1) or the non-specific indefinite pronoun *j’eu-de* (9.6.2)), although for neither is the possessive affix totally impossible, as shown in (1793).

(1792) a. *Bi* *ise-mi* *j’eu-ke* *xulaligi* *bi:-ni.*
me see-1SG what-IND red be-3SG
‘I can see: there is something red.’

b. *J’eu-ke* *seuni-we* *t’osi-e-ni* *bize.*
what-IND scary-ACC dream-PAST-3SG must
‘He must have dreamt about something scary.’

c. *Gazi-je* *min-du* *j’eu-de*
bring-IMP.2SG me-DAT what-IND
uligdig’a-we-de.
beautiful-ACC-FOC
‘Bring me something beautiful.’

(1793) a. *Bu-je* *min-du* *j’eu-de*
give-IMP.2SG me-DAT what-IND

xekui-we-ni.
strong-ACC-3SG
'Give me something strong.'

b. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *j'eu-ke* *c'aligi-we-ni.*
me see.PAST-1SG what-IND white-ACC-3SG
'I saw something white.'

The content components of the compound adjectives (6.4.4) when raised within the noun phrase are never marked with the 3rd person possessive marker (1794). This also applies to some other adjectives (1795).

(1794) a. *Geŋgem* *xulu* *mo:-ni* *toŋdom*
slim ash.tree tree-3S straight
bede *bie.*
like be.PRES.HAB
'She is slim like a straight ash-tree.' (SKX 188)

b. *Guas'a-ni* *toči-neñeñe-de* *xukti-e-ni.*
bitch-3SG thin-ADJ-FOC run-PAST-3SG
'His very thin bitch came running.' (SKX 260)

(1795) a. *Bi* *si* *in'ei* *bubu-we* *ise:-mi.*
me you dog alike-ACC see.PAST-1SG
'I saw a dog like yours.'

b. *Bi* *soŋo* *seuni:-ŋku-we* *ise:-mi.*
me bear frightful-PL-ACC see.PAST-1SG
'I saw frightful bears.'

c. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *zueze* *xegie-ni*
me see-1SG house place.below-3SG
keŋku-we.
empty-ACC
'I saw the empty place under the table.'

d. *E:xi-we* *ja:* *ñoligi-zi* *o:-iti.*
frog-ACC eye green-INST make-3PL
'They make a frog with green eyes.' (SK 397)

e. *Omos'o* *iŋamukta-i* *boktoli* *tugbo:-ni.*
one tear-REF round drop.PAST-3SG
'He dropped one round tear.' (SKX 218)

Finally, the quantifiers *teu* 'all' and *egdi* 'a lot, many, much' may raise without being marked for the 3rd person Possessive.

(1796) a. *Ni:* *teu* *min-e-we* *sa-du.*
man all me-0-ACC know-PL
'Every man knows me.'

b. *Uti* *sewexi* *teu* *omo* *ba:-la*
that idol all one place-LOC
omo-si-e-k, *to:-lo* *jaktuna:-ni.*
one-V-PAST-EXPR fire-LOC kindle.PAST-3SG
'He gathered together all the idols in one place and lit the fire.'

c. *Sita-na-i* *teu* *aja* *bi:-ti.*

child-PL-1SG all good be-3PL
'All of my children are healthy.'

d. *Bi ñ'aula egdi-du bu-o:-ni konfeta-wa.*
me child many-DAT give-PAST-3SG candy-ACC
'I gave candy to many children.'

24.2.2.1.4. Number agreement in the phrase with a raised modifier

The rules of number agreement within the phrase with the raised modifier do not seem to differ from those that operate in the regular noun phrase (Chapter 13). The controller of agreement is the noun. Although plurality does not have to be morphologically marked on the noun itself, a semantically Plural noun triggers a Plural affix on the adjective, see the following example and also (1795b).

(1797) *Min-du mo: imexi-ŋku-we uŋkäla:-ti.*
me-DAT tree new-PL-ACC carry.PAST-3PL
'They brought me new wood.'

When the noun is formally in the Plural, number agreement is obligatory (cf. 13.2.2).

24.2.2.2. Discontinuous constituents

Discontinuous noun phrases appear in two cases: (i) when the modifier is in focus and located strictly preverbal, while the head noun is postposed; (ii) when the modifier stands at the end of the sentence, after the finite verb.

24.2.2.2.1. Adjectival modifier in focus

According to the general principle of Udihe word order (24.1), the focused constituent occupies an immediately preverbal position. Modifiers, when they bear a strong (contrastive) focus, may be located preverbally, while the head noun marked for case is postposed. Such a construction is mostly typical of different kinds of quantifiers and will be referred to as «quantifier float» (24.2.2.2.2), however, adjectival modifiers are also attested in focus position. Examples (1798b) illustrates a discontinuous adverbial clause.

(1798) a, *Seuni: seuni: xulis'e guŋ-ki-ni wful*
awful come.PERF say-PAST-3SG *Zaŋdalafu tene-le.*
Zandalafu CONT-FOC
'She said: the AWFUL Zandalafu came.' (K 105)

b. *Caixi e-zi xuli auŋa-digi.*
far NEG-IMP.2SG go night.shelter-ABL
'Don't go FAR AWAY from the night shelter.' (SK 252)

24.2.2.2.2. Quantifier float

The floated quantifier always has a morphologically bare Nominative form, as distinct from the constructions where the postposed quantifier agrees in case with the head nominal (13.3.5). The

floated quantifier, therefore, behaves morphologically as an unchangeable adverb rather than an adjective or other determiner.

The quantifiers that undergo floating are: the universal quantifiers *teu* and *käu* (in the Northern dialect) 'all', the scalar quantifiers *lä(si), egdi*, and *tä(si)* 'many, much, a lot', and – less frequently – some quantitative nouns with partitive meaning (13.3.2). Floated quantifiers do not inflect for case.

The floated quantifier is located in the immediately preverbal position and bears the focus function. Quantifier float is normally triggered by the subject, as shown in (1799) or the direct object, as in (1800). It seems that grammatical relations other than the subject and the direct object cannot trigger quantifier float. Typically the head noun immediately precedes the quantifier, but this is not necessary so. It may be postposed after the verb (1801).

(1799) a. *Mo:* *abdä:-ni* *teu* *guline-kte:-ti.*
three leaf-3SG all leave-DIST.PAST-3PL
'ALL the leaves of the tree fell down.'

b. *Si* *min-du* *teu* *gida-si-u-ze-i.*
you me-DAT all spear-V-PAS-SUBJ-2SG
'You will ALL be killed with a spear by me.' (K 158)

c. *Zuha* *dul'aŋki-ni* *kaunta* *egdi* *bagdi:.*
summer middle-3SG butterfly much live.PRP
'There are A LOT of butterflies in the middle of summer.'
(SK 1096)

(1800) a. *Xunxuze* *ni:-we* *läsi* *magi-e-ti*
robber man-ACC many kill-PAST-3PL
'Robbers killed MANY people.'

b. *Xaisi* *nada* *namu-wa* *teu* *dew-o:-ni.*
again seven sea-ACC all cross-PAST-3SG
'He crossed ALL seven seas again.' (K 181)

c. *Mafa* *gegbeŋku-we* *teu* *aptasi-e-ni.*
bear berry-ACC all squash-PAST-3SG
'The bear squashed all the berries.' (SK 924)

(1801) a. *Bi* *sin-digi* *läsi* *wa-zaŋa-i* *činda-wa.*
me you-ABL many kill-FUT-1SG bird-ACC
'I will kill MORE birds than you.'

b. *Läsi* *olokto:-ti* *zeu-we.*
much cook.PAST-3PL food-ACC
'They cooked LOTS OF food.'

c. *Ma:ma-la* *tä:* *wa:-ni*
grandmother-CONT much kill.PAST-3SG
sugzä:-wa-la *um'a-zi-la.*
fish-ACC-CONT hook-INST-CONT
'Grandmother killed LOTS OF fish with the hook.' (K 109)

d. *Ima:* *teu* *dei-zeŋe-ni* *xokto-wo.*
snow all cover-FUT-3SG road-ACC
'Snow will cover ALL the roads.'

e. *Bi* *moxo* *tapči* *gada:-mi* *gegbeŋku-we.*
me mug full collect.PAST-1SG berry-ACC
'We collected a WHOLE bowl of berries.'

f. *egdi* *lagbaŋ-ki* *bi-mi* *siekte ...*
much stick-PP be-INF thread
'if there were a lot of thread that had stuck ….' (SK 1096)

24.2.2.2.3. Extraposed modifier

The modifier that is located discontinuously from its head at the right edge of the clause is usually separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause, and bears a rising intonation. Formally constructions with the extraposed modifier are completely identical to the constructions with the non-adjacent relative clause (19.3). The extraposed modifier normally takes the case marker that indicates the syntactic role of the head nominal, but does not take a possessive suffix. Cf. construction (1802a) with modifier raising and (1802b), where the modifier is extraposed:

(1802) a. *Bu-je* *min-du* *j'eu-de*
give-IMP.2SG me-DAT what-IND
xekui-we-ni.
hot-ACC-3SG
'Give me something hot.'
b. *Min-du* *j'e-we-de* *bu-je*
me-DAT what-ACC-IND give-IMP.2SG
xekui-we-de.
hot-ACC-FOC
'Give me something hot.'

Since the head nominal within the clause is marked for case, its syntactic role is indicated twice in the sentence. We only have examples of the Accusative and Nominative noun phrases with postposed modifiers at our disposal. The head noun controls the Plural marking on the postposed modifier, as in (1804b) below. It is not entirely clear, however, whether we are here dealing with an instance of attributive agreement, or whether the modifier is clause-external and should be analyzed as substantivized.

There seem to be two forms of modifier postposing. The first is motivated by information structure considerations, namely, the afterthought status of the postposed element. By «afterthought» we mean an element added after the completion of the sentence to clarify an element of the clause, such as, for example, *sagdi bäsa-la* 'a large river' in (1803a) or *uti ninta-wa* 'that man' in (1803b).

(1803) a. *Omo* *bäsa* *i:ŋ-ki-ti,* *sagdi* *bäsa-la.*
one river come-PAST-3PL large river-CONT
'They reached one river, a large river.' (K 153)
b. *Uti* *mo:-ŋi-ni* *bue-we-ni* *a:kta-mi*
that tree-AL-3SG he-ACC-3SG chase-INF
tukte-li-e-ni, *uti* *ninta-wa.*
beat-INC-PAST-3SG that man-ACC
'The wooden sticks began to chase him, they began to beat this man.'

The most common situation, however, is when the modifier alone is postposed as an afterthought element. Typically it «doubles» the case marking of the head nominal, as in (1804), however, it may also appear unmarked for case, as in (1805). In the latter case we may in fact be dealing with

a coordinated construction (see 18.1.2.2).

(1804) a. *Xoŋto* *mamasa-wa* *gada-laga-ni* *nixe-ini*
other wife-ACC take-PURP-3SG do-3SG
paki-we *uligdig'a-wa.*
skilful-ACC beautiful-ACC
'He is going to take another wife, a skilful one, a beautiful one.'

b. *Bi* *zu-be* *soŋo-wo* *b'agdi-s'e-i*
me two-ACC bear-ACC meat-EXP.PERF-1SG
seuni:-ŋku-we.
scary-PL-ACC
'I met two bears, scary ones.'

c. *Ni* *aziga-ŋi-ni* *eme:-ni*
who girl-AL-3SG come.PAST-3SG
alagdig'a-i-de?
beautiful-FOC-FOC
'Whose girl has come, so beautiful?'

d. *Mo:-wo* *gada-ja* *egdi-we-de* *aka-i*
wood-ACC bring-IMP.2SG much-ACC-FOC
siesi-lege-i.
back-1SG warm-PURP-1SG
'Bring wood, a lot (of it), so that I warm up my back.' (K 171)

e. *Min-du* *j'e-we-de* *bu-je*
me-DAT what-ACC-IND give-IMP.2SG
emei-we-de.
sharp-ACC-FOC
'Give me something that is sharp.'

(1805) a. *Bi* *ni:-we* *ise:-mi* *jagdugu-xi.*
me man-ACC see.PAST-1SG spectacles-ADJ
'I saw a man, in spectacles.'

b. *Ni* *wo:-ni* *tege-ne-i* *ketu*
who make.PAST-3SG gown-DEST-2SG very
uligdig'a?
beautiful
'Who made you a dress, a very beautiful one?' (K 163)

The second case of the modifier extraposing is conditioned by formal considerations (the «heavy» modifier). «Heavy» modifiers are those that take an argument: two-place adjectives (6.3.3), postpositional phrases (10.2.3), and the negative modifier (18.1.2.2.2). Although they are not excluded from a head-adjacent position (see the examples in the corresponding sections), a strong tendency is observed for them to be located discontinuously. In (1806) we illustrate adjectives that take an oblique argument, and in (1807) postpositional phrases. In the latter case, the discontinuous modifier is normally unmarked for case. However, in (1808) the postposition takes a case marker.

(1806) a. *Bi* *ni:-we* *ise:-mi* *ami-mi*
me man-ACC see.PAST-1SG father-REF
bubui-we.

like-ACC
'I saw a man looking like my father.'

b. *Bi* *in'ei-we* *ise:-mi* *si*
me dog-ACC see.PAST-1SG you
in'ei-digi-de *maŋga-wa.*
dog-ABL-FOC strong-ACC
'I saw a dog stronger than yours.'

(1807) a. *Bi* *ise:-mi* *ñ'aula-wa* *Iwana bubu.*
me see.PAST-1SG child-ACC Ivan like
'I saw a child looking like Ivan.'

b. *Bi* *abuga-i* *ise:-mi* *Iwana* *zuŋe.*
me father-1SG see.PAST-1SG Ivan both
'I saw my father with Ivan.'

(1808) *Galakta-mi* *wa-li-la-mi* *maŋga* *ni:-we,*
seek-1SG kill-INC-PURP-SS strong man-ACC
men-e *kui:* *bede-we.*
REF-0 strength.REF like-ACC
'I am looking for a strong man to fight with, (a man) equally strong to me.' (SK 881)

24.2.2.3. Summary of the structure of the noun phrase

The table below presents different patterns of the structure of the non-possessive noun phrase with a possible information structure motivation. Patterns (1809c) and (1809d) are instances of the discontinuous noun phrase, which is shown with the symbol V (verb) intervening between its components.

(1809)

		possible information structure motivation
a.	[modifier N + case]	informationally unstructured noun phrase
b.	[N modifier + case + *ni*]	topicalized noun
c.	[modifier] V [N + case]	modifier in focus
d.	[N + case] V [modifier (+ case)]	afterthought modifier

24.2.3. Information structure in destinative constructions

In the regular possessive destinative noun phrases in the object role the head noun (the destinative object) encodes the person and number of the possessive modifier (the benefactive) by means of personal agreement affixes, see 13.1.

24.2.3.1. Topicalized object

The topicalized destinative object is encoded twice in the sentence: first within the regular destinative noun phrase, second, as the Accusative direct object promoted to sentence-initial position. Cf. (1810a), which illustrates the regular destinative construction, and (1810b) where the

topicalized object is encoded with the Accusative noun phrase *ei suese-we* ‘this axe’.

(1810) a. *Men-e* *neŋu-i* *suese-ne-ni*
REF-0 younger.sibling-REF axe-DEST-3SG
wo:-mi.
make.PAST-3SG
‘I made an axe for my younger brother.’

b. *Ei* *suese-we* *men-e* *neŋu-i*
this axe-ACC REF-0 younger.sibling-REF
suese-ne-ni *wo:-mi.*
axe-DEST-3SG make.PAST-1SG
‘This axe, I made it for my brother.’

The topicalized left-dislocated Accusative noun phrase is normally separated by a pause from the rest of the sentence, and should perhaps be analyzed as clause-external, cf. also the following example:

(1811) *Ei* *zugdi-we* *bi* *anda-i* *zugdi-ne-ni*
this house-ACC me friend-1SG house-DEST-3SG
wo-iti.
make-3PL
‘This house, they are building it for my friend.’

24.2.3.2. Modifier in focus

If the destinative object takes a modifier other than the destinative modifier (for example, an adjective) it may be focused. As was argued in 24.1.1, the major requirement of Udihe word order is the preverbal position of the focus element, with the result that certain focus modifiers must be placed in the preverbal position. This results in the discontinuous noun phrase (24.2.2.2). For destinative constructions another strategy applies: the focus modifier within the destinative noun phrase does not occupy the strictly preverbal position, but modifies the Accusative object located in the preverbal position. The object, therefore, is syntactically «doubled» as the Accusative object located in the preverbal position and as the Destinative object (normally clause-initial). The latter corresponds to the presuppositional (topical) part of the utterance.

(1812) a. *Bi* *men-e* *suese-ne-mi* *aja* *suese-we*
me REF-0 axe-DEST-REF nice axe-ACC
ga:zi-e-mi.
bring-PAST-1SG
‘As for an axe for myself, I brought a nice one.’

b. *Seudi-ne-i* *ñamai* *seudi-we* *gada-ja.*
kerchief-DEST-1SG warm kerchief-ACC buy-IMP.2SG
‘As for the kerchief for me, buy a warm one.’

c. *Bi* *men-e* *ami-mi* *tege-ne-ni*
me REF-0 father-REF gown-DEST-3SG
seule-me *sexi-we* *gazi-e-mi.*
silk-ADJ cloth-ACC bring-PAST-1SG
‘As for the clothes for my father, I brought a silk cloth.’

d. *Pakula* *ugda-na-mi* *imexi-we*
Pakula boat-DEST-REF new-ACC

wo:-ni.
make.PAST-3SG
'As for the boat for Pakula, he made a new one for himself.'

e. *Ulikte* *dili-ne-ni* *kuliga* *dili-ni*
lard head-DEST-3SG snake head-3SG
duo-ni *wo-iti.*
shape-3SG make-3PL
'As for the lard's head, they make (it in the) shape of a snake's head.'

24.2.3.3. Topicalized benefactive

The topicalized benefactive (the destinative modifier) is raised out of the modifier position within the destinative noun phrase and encoded by the independent Dative noun phrase. Obviously, it cannot be omitted from the sentence like a regular (non-topicalized) destinative modifier. The possessive modifier within the destinative noun phrase itself is absent but anaphorically referred to by means of the possessive affixes. Cf. (1813a) and (1813b).

(1813) a. *Bi* *au-na-ni* *gada:-mi.*
me cap-DEST-3SG buy.PAST-1SG
'I bought him a cap.'

b. *Bi* *nuan-di-ni* *au-na-ni* *gada:-mi.*
me he-DAT-3SG cap-DEST-3SG buy.PAST-1SG
'For him, I bought a cap.'

More example examples are:

(1814) a. *Men-e* *neŋu-du-i* *suese-ne-ni*
REF-0 younger.sibling-DAT-REF axe-DEST-3SG
wo:-mi.
make.PAST-1SG
'For my younger brother, I made this axe.'

b. *Ami-ni* *b'ata-ma* *sita-du-i*
father-3SG boy-ADJ child-DAT-REF
ada-na-ni *o:-ini.*
arrow-DEST-3SG make-3SG
'The father is making an arrow for his son.'

24.2.3.4. Summary on information structure within the destinative noun phrase

Below we present the patterns of organization of the possessive destinative constructions with possible information structure motivations. Symbol B here refers to the noun phrase that corresponds to benefactive (the potential recipient
of the destinative object), O denotes the object noun).(1815)

	possible information structure	motivation
a.	[B O + DEST + possessive]	informationally

unstructured noun phrase

b. [O + ACC] [B O + DEST + possessive] topicalized object

c. [B O + DEST + possessive] [modifier O + ACC]
modifier in focus

d. [B + DAT] [O + DEST + possessive] topicalized recipient

24.3. Information structure in copular constructions

On the regular structures of copular constructions see Chapter 17.

24.3.1. Intensifying the adjective

In adjectival copular constructions (17.2.2.1.1), the predicative adjective may take the 3rd person personal marker *-ni*. This situation expresses a certain semantic and perhaps information structure content, namely, the high degree of the feature denoted by the adjective, cf. the attributive adjectives that use the same device for the same purpose (24.2.2.1.1). Sentence (1816d) is an example of the Resultative Participle in the predicative position. The affix *-ni* here intensifies the meaning of the adjective.

(1816) a. *Bi sita-i ketu pag'a-ni.*
me son-1SG very stupid-3SG
'My son is very stupid.'

b. *Käŋa kuaja-ni.*
deer fast-3SG
'The deer is very fast.'

c. *Zua xekui-ni.*
summer hot-3SG
'The summer is very hot.'

d. *Tege guzaga-na-ktu-ni.*
gown tear-DIST-RES-3SG
'The gowns are all torn up.'

e. *Ei zä: sagdi-ni.*
this coin large-3SG
'This coin is (very) large.'

f. *Kuliga egdi-ni.*
snake much-3SG
'There are a lot of snakes.' (SK 1097)

24.3.2. Topicalized subject

The topicalized subject of copular constructions may be repeated twice within the sentence: first, in the clause-initial position as the subject, second, as the predicative element. The predicative word of the initial copular construction is demoted to the modifier position. For example, the construction (1817b) with the topicalized subject *Oloŋo wo:-ni* 'Olon mountain' is syntactically derived from the regular copular construction (1817a). The predicative part *gugda wo:* 'high

mountain' in (1817b) consists of the modifier *gugda* 'high' which corresponds to the initial predicate and the «doubled» subject *wo:* 'mountain'.

(1817) a. *Oloŋo* *wo:-ni* *gugda.*
Olon mountain-3SG high
'Olon mountain is high.'

b. *Oloŋo* *wo:-ni* *gugda* *wo:.*
Olon mountain-3SG high mountain
'As for Olon mountain, it is high.'

(1818) *Uti* *ni:* *aja* *ni:.*
that man nice man
'That man is nice.' (SK 82)

A range of copular constructions behave in this way: adjectival and nominative constructions (24.3.2.1), destinative constructions (24.3.2.23), and alienable possessive constructions (24.3.2.2).

24.3.2.1. Adjectival and Nominative constructions

Examples of adjectival and nominative copular constructions with the topicalized subject are presented in (1819) and (1820) respectively.

(1819) a. *Bi* *zugdi:* *mo:-mo* *zugdi.*
me house.1SG tree-ADJ house
'As for my house, it is made of wood.'

b. *Ei* *bäsa* *aja* *bäsa.*
this river nice river
'As for this river, it is nice.' (K 154)

c. *Ei* *'ana* *imexi* *'ana.*
this boat new boat
'As for this boat, it is new.'

(1820) a. *Ei* *mo:* *kuŋka* *mo:-ni* *bi:-ni.*
this tree cedar tree-3SG be-3SG
'As for this tree, it is a cedar.'

b. *Ei* *ñ'aula* *udie* *ñ'aula-ni* *bi:-ni.*
this child Udihe child-3SG be-3SG
'As for this boy, he is Udihe.'

24.3.2.2. Alienable possession constructions

In alienable possession copular constructions the predicative word corresponds to the noun with the alienable possession suffix *-ŋi-* (17.2.2.3). Such a noun does not function attributively. Therefore in constructions with the topicalized subject, the possessive modifier within the predicative noun phrase is expressed by the regular Nominative noun, cf.:

(1821) *Ei* *zugdi* *bi* *anda-na-i* *zugdi-ti.*
this house me friend-PL-1SG house-3PL

‘As for this house, it is my friends’ house.’

24.3.2.3. Destinative constructions

In the destinative copular constructions (17.2.2.2.1) the possessive destinative noun phrase in the predicative function expresses the designation of the subject participant (‘as my daughter’, ‘as our servant’, etc.). In constructions with the topicalized subject, the predicate corresponds to the destinative phrase, where the head (the noun in the Destinative case) lexically repeats the subject.

(1822) *Ei au bi abuga-i au-ne-ni.*
this cap me father-1SG cap-DEST-3SG
‘As for this cap, it is for my father.’

24.4. Topicalization of other constituents

24.4.1. Extra-clausal topic

Generally speaking, an extra-clausal topic promoted to the beginning of the sentence is not typical of Udihe, however, such a construction is available in rare cases. Sentences (1823) are examples of colloquial speech where the topicalized constituents corresponding to the possessor are extracted from the clause. The topicalized elements are separated by pauses from the rest of the sentence. The possessed noun phrase bears the possessive marking which anaphorically refers to the topicalized possessor.

(1823) a. *Tukti-kče-i getu nuati gä:ma-ti gula*
climb-INT-PRP PL they bone-3PL rock
xegien-du-ni bie.
bottom-DAT-3SG be.PRES.HAB
‘As for those who wanted to climb, their bones are at the bottom of the rock.’ (SKX 98)

b. *Biatu-ziga kawa do-nigi-ni keje-ti*
Biatu-PL tent inside-ABL-3SG voice-3PL
dio-pto:-ni.
hear-DEC.PAST-3SG
‘As for Biatu, their voices were heard from inside the tent.’ (SKX 88)

c. *Ni: bo:kto-zi su:le-i getu nua-ni*
man kidney-INST be.sick-PRP PL he-3SG
degdi-ni xuŋnalʲ-xuŋnalʲ bie.
face-3SG pale-pale be.PRES.HAB
‘Those people who have kidney disease, their faces are very pale.’ (SK 1017)

More regularly the possessive modifier can be topic-promoted out of the possessive copular construction, in which case the possessive marking on the predicative noun is missing and he construction can perhaps be reinterpreted as an existential construction (17.2.1.3).

(1824) a. *Nua-ni ila ke: in’ei bie.*
he-3SG three vicious dog be.PRES.HAB

‘As for him, he has three vicious dogs.’
(literally: ‘As for him, there are three vicious dogs.’)

b. *Bi mamasa-i uligdig’a-i ñukte*
me wife-1SG beautiful-FOC hair
bi-s’e.
be-PAST.HAB
‘As for my wife, she had beautiful hair.’
(literally: ‘As for my wife, there was beautiful hair.’)

Subject topicalization may be expressed by means of the Infinitive of the verb *bi-* ‘be’ *bi-mi* (which is also used as a lexicalized time adverb, typically at the beginning of the sentence, see 10.1.2.2). This is mostly typical of the Northern dialect.

(1825) a. *Mo: bi-mi o:kto bi-mi tu: lu:*
tree be-INF grass be-INF all bright
zegde-ini.
burn-3SG
‘The trees, the grass, they are all burning very brightly.’ (SKX 92)

b. *Tege-ni bimi buɬ-buɬ oño-mo.*
gown-3SG be-INF equal-equal ornament-ADJ
‘His gown, it is (covered) with equal ornaments.’ (SK 191)

c. *Tukca:-si ima:-si bi-mi, tukca bi-mi –*
hare-DIS snow-DIS be-INF hare be-INF
caligi, ima: bi-mi – xuŋuligi
white snow be-INF grey
‘Either this is a hare or snow; for a hare it is (too) white, for snow,
it is (too) grey.’ (SK 368)

24.4.2. Topicalization by means of the Infinitive

The Infinitive in the beginning of the sentence may serve to topicalize the concept denoted by this verb. It is either the same verb as the main verb (1826) of differs from it (1827).

(1826) a. *Uta bede gusi-mi egdi ni: gusi:-ti.*
that like play-INF many man play-3PL
‘As for this game, a lot of people play.’ (SKX 304)

b. *Oño-wo o:-mi-de onobui onobui*
ornament-ACC make-INF-FOC which which
oño-wo o:-i.
ornament-ACC make-PRP
‘As for making ornaments, they make all sort of them.’ (SK 732)

c. *Wa:-mi-ke e-zi wa:.*
kill-INF-FOC NEG-IMP.2SG kill
‘As for killing, don’t kill (anybody).’ (Schneider 1937: 82)

d. *Bu:-m(i)-de bu-te-m(i)-ze.*
give-INF-FOC give-PERM-1SG-HORT
‘As for giving (it), OK, I will give (it).’ (Schneider 1937: 86)

(1827) *Gusi-mi mafa-g’asi:-ti, nakta-g’asi:-ti.*
play-INF bear-V-3PL boar-V-3PL
‘As for playing, they play bear (hunting) and boar (hunting).’

Chapter 25
Texts

In this chapter we provide samples of the orthography that has been used to render the Udihe materials, namely, the Latin-based orthography of Schneider (text no. 1), the partly phonetic transcription based on Cyrillic which Kormušin (no. 2) and Sunik (no. 3) have adopted, the official Udihe orthography established by Simonov for the Northern dialect, on which see section 1.6.3 (text no. 4), and the Cyrillic orthography of Perexval'skaja (no. 5). Unless indicated otherwise, for these texts we have wholly preserved not only the orthography but also the punctuation and the paragraph divisions of the original sources. For technical reasons, the character *ŕ* here stands for a velar fricative *γ* reportedly present in the Northern dialect, and the character *ŋ* stands for a velar nasal. We apply them instead of other Cyrillic-based symbols used in the sources. We have also provided versions of these texts in our own phonological transcription, with glosses. The second part of the chapter (nos. 6–14) comprises texts recorded in the course of our fieldwork among the Bikin Udihe. They are published here for the first time. Consequently, texts no. 1–4 represent the Northern dialect, while all the other texts are from the Southern (Bikin) dialect.

In texts 6–11 we have used the following conventions. Unlike in the main text of the grammar, in this chapter we have marked «stylistic» phonological variations (see 2.1.5), such as vowel reduction (a reduced vowel is included in brackets) or vowel lengthening. Certain allophonic, free and idiolectal phonetic variations may also be reflected; on these see 2.1.3, 2.1.4, 2.2.3. Thus we were trying to preserve the individual properties of the speaker to some extent, remaining within the phonological transcription as much as possible. The symbols used are as follows:

{ }Russian words that are not integrated into the language, or occasionally entire sentences when the speaker slips into Russian. The same symbol marks the corresponding word in the translation. However, if the Russian word doubles a Udihe word in the same grammatical function, it is not repeated in the translation.

[ ] Passages of the text added by another speaker while listening to the text.

… Places that remained unclear.

< > Occasions when the storyteller accidentally uses one word instead of another and normally corrects himself or herself afterwards.

( ) In the Udihe text the brackets indicate parts of the word omitted by the speaker. In the translations they show words that do not have a counterpart in the Udihe sentence, as is the usual practice in this grammar.

The translations are neither entirely free, nor entirely literal. We have left some interjections untranslated, and also the «replacing» indefinite particle *aŋi,* which is used when the speaker is looking for the right word (9.6.4.4).

1. *Kuti* ‘Tiger’ (Čarušin 1935: 17)

Minti buadifi kuti wac’a bi↔, ṇamahi buadu-t↔n↔ ↔gdi. Kuti nāŋgi dīŋkini bihini. Iŋaktani soligiZi, p’aligiZi k↔d↔ṇ↔ṇ↔ ōi. Ut↔mi mōkt’oi, ōkt’oi donini utawa ↔uji is↔.

K↔ig↔ Zugdidu siŋ↔w↔ wākcaini, kahi bua xu↔ndini oloxiw↔ wākcaini, kuti-t↔n↔

naktaw↔ wākcaini, nī ’ow↔ni – mujiw↔, jehæwe-d↔, xōŋtow↔-d↔ wāini. Nīw↔-d↔ wāini. SlonoZi-t↔n↔ kuti ŋ↔l↔ini. Ņamahi buadu wākcai nī slonolo ūŋkasi, kutiw↔ wākcaiti, xaisi nāw↔-d↔ xoktodini ul↔iti tiŋm↔l↔g↔ni.

Minti	*ba:-di-fi*	*kuti*	*wac’a*	*bie,*	*ñamahi*
we	place-DAT-1PL.IN	tiger	few	be.PRES.HAB	warm
ba:-du	*tene*	*egdi.*			
place-DAT	CONT	many			

There are few tigers in our forests, but in warm countries there are many of them.

Kuti	*na:ŋgi*	*di:ŋki-ni*	*bihi-ni.*
tiger	manchu.bear	size-3SG	be-3SG

The tiger is similar in size to the Manchu bear.

Iŋakta-ni	*soligi -zi*	*p’aligi-zi*	*kede-ñeñe*	*o:-i.*
fur-3SG	orange-INST	black-INST	stripy-ADJ	make-PRP

Its coat has orange and black stripes.

Utemi	*mo:kt’oi*	*o:kt’oi*	*do-ni-ni*	*uta-wa*
therefore	bushes	grasses	inside-DAT-3SG	that-ACC
e-u-ji	*ise.*			
NEG-PAS-PRP	see			

Hence it cannot be seen in the grass and bushes.

Keige	*zugdi-du*	*siŋe-we*	*wakca-ini,*	*kahi*	*ba:*
cat	house-DAT	mouse-ACC	hunt-3SG	marten	place
xuon-di-ni	*oloxi-we*	*wakca-ini,*	*kuti tene*	*nakta-wa*	
top-DAT-3SG	squirrel-ACC	hunt-3SG	tiger CONT	boar-ACC	
wakca-ini,	*ni:*	*’o-wo-ni*	*mui-we*		
hunt-3SG	man	domestic.animal-ACC-3SG	horse-ACC		
jah-wa-da	*xoŋto-wo-do*	*wa-ini.*			
cow-ACC-FOC	other-ACC-FOC	kill-3SG			

The cat hunts for mice in the house, the marten hunts for squirrels in the forest,
and the tiger hunts for boars and kills men’s domestic animals, horses, cows and others.

Ni:-we-de	*wa-ini.*
man-ACC-FOC	kill-3SG

It also kills men.

Slono-zi	*tene*	*kuti*	*ŋele-ini.*
elephant-INST	CONT	tiger	be.afraid-3SG

But it is afraid of the elephant.

Ñamai	*ba:-du*	*wakca-i*	*ni:*	*slono-lo*
warm	place-DAT	hunt-PRP	man	elephant-LOC
u:ŋ-ka-si	*kuti-we*	*wakca-iti,*	*xaisi*	

sit-PERF-PC.SS tiger-ACC hunt-3PL also
na:-wa-da *xokto-di-ni* *ule-iti*
ground-ACC-FOC road-DAT-3SG dig-3PL
tiŋme-lege-ni.
fall-PURP-3SG
In warm countries hunters sitting on elephants hunt for tigers, and they also dig (holes) in the ground on the roads so that the tiger falls inside.

2. *Ada* 'Crossing the mountain' (Kormušin 1998: 14)

While rendering Kormušin's transcription we have removed some diachritic signs.

Хоӈто буатиги уэлэми кæмбувасуйи. ZэуŋиΨ, мэнэ а'пти кеукæмбувасийти, Zевэ уэлэми. Кæмбувасефи амæлан' сэхи paһиZини хулайти. Zеуэни хулами диганайти. Мэнэ най Zавайти хоŋто улилэ ŋэнэ. Уливэ умилэми мэнэ наŋизи солийти, согила'си умийти. Эмугдэй элэгэни уний. Кæмбуга войти. Ади ни бими, адима войти. Кæмбуга Zолони Zaŋa нэдэйти, йалаһ, утадиги Zэувэ, а'пти нэдэйти. Буатиги диганам диганам кэси гэлийти. Уйолони сэŋке нэдэйти. Сэŋке, Zэу – кеу Zэгдийни. Ни хэŋкийни:
– ЭZи-дэ сулэвэнэ, айанZи ва:ксаванZайи, н'ΨһПии-дэ айа ванZэйи, кэси биванZи.

Xoŋto *bua-tigi* *we:-le-mi* *kambu-wasi-u-ji.*
other place-LAT mountain-V-INF sacrifice-DIS-PAS-PRP
Crossing the mountain (going) to another place one makes a sacrifice.

Zeu-ŋi:, *men-e* *'apti* *kau* *kämbu-wasi:-ti*
food-AL.REF REF-0 provisions all sacrifice-DIS-3PL
zie-we *we:-le-mi.*
crest-ACC mountain-V-INF
They sacrifice all their food and provisions while crossing the crest of a mountain.

Kämbu-wasi-e-fi *amä:-la-ni* *se:xi*
sacrifice-DIS-PP-SS.PL after-LOC-3SG cloth
pahi-zi-ni *xula-iti.*
piece-INST-3SG tie-3PL
After making a sacrifice they tie a piece of cloth (to a tree).

Zie-we-ni *xula-mi* *digan-a-iti.*
crest-ACC-3SG tie-INF say-0-3PL
While tying it on a crest of the mountain they speak.

Men-e *na:-i* *zawa-iti,* *xoŋto* *uli-le* *ŋene.*
REF-0 earth-REF take-3PL other river-LOC go
They take (pieces) of their earth and go to another place (literally: river).

Uli-we *umi-le-mi* *men-e* *na:-ŋi-zi* *soli:-ti,*
water-ACC drink-SING-INF REF-0 earth-AL-INST.REF mix-3PL
sogil'a-si *umi:-ti* *emugde-i*
mix.PERF-PC.SS drink-3PL stomach-REF
e-lege-ni *uni.*

NEG-PURP-3SG hurt
Drinking water they mix it with their earth, they drink it after having mixed it so that the stomach does not hurt.

Kämbuga wo-iti.
altar make-3PL
They make an altar.

Adi ni: bi-mi adi-me wo-iti.
how.many man be-INF how.many-ACC make-3PL
How many people there are, so many they make.
Kämbuga zolo-ni zaŋa nede-iti, jalah, uta-digi
altar stone-3SG coal put-3PL coal that-ABL
zeu-we 'apti: nede-iti.
food-ACC provisions.REF put-3PL
They put hot coal on the altar stone, then they put their food, their provisions.

Bua-tigi digan-a-m(i) digan-a-m(i) kesi geli:-ti.
place-LAT say-0-INF say-0-INF luck ask-3PL
They talk to God, ask for luck.

Ujo-lo-ni seŋkie nede-iti. Seŋkie, zeu, käu zegdi:-ni.
top-LOC-3SG ledum put-3PL ledum food all burn-3SG
On the top they put some ledum. Ledum, food, everything is burning.

Ni: xeŋki:-ni, «E-zi-de su:le-wen-e,
man bow-3SG NEG-IMP.2SG-FOC ill-CAUS-0
ajan-zi wakca-wan-za-ja, ñühö-ŋi-de aja
good-INST hunt-CAUS-SUBJ-IMP.2SG sable-AL.REF-FOC good
wan-za-ja, kesi bi-wen-z(e)-i.»
kill-SUBJ-IMP.2SG luck be-CAUS-SUBJ-IMP.2SG
People are bowing (and saying:) «Don't make us ill, make us hunt well, make us kill sables well, make us have luck.»

3. *Sukpaj* 'The Sukpai' (Sunik 1968:231–232)

Сукпај б'іа?асадун'і, буа хуэндун'и омосого с'итэ багдіан'і. октомо јата?уду гэктим'и багдіан'і, чінда?а дэл'им'и, гэктиду багдіан'і. эн'ин'и тэгэд'ии капта?ас'і Zугдітігі гаZеан'і. уті батава ZуаŋчіZі гэгб'иŋиэти. кэс'им'и, Zобом'і багдеан'і, Zуа сугZава дігам'е, туэ улэвэ дігам'е, утэ-бэдэ н'інаан'і. имэхи колі одојс'ін'і сагді хотоло татус'інаан'і. татус'іас', эмэг'иэн'и, мэнэ багдіам'і кэсэкчээм'и Ziатігіі, утиђэтувэ татус'інађгіан'. мэнэ н'иф'и Zулэйхи ŋэнэлэн'и татус'інађан'і. минти Zуаŋчі татус'іан'і-бэдэ Zулэйхи ŋэнэZэіэф'и.

Sukpai b'asa-du-ni ba: xo:n-du-ni omo-s'o-go
Sukpai river-DAT-3SG place top-DAT-3SG one-ADJ-FOC
sita bagdi-e-ni.
child be.born-PAST-3SG
On the river Sukpai in the taiga a child was born.

Okto-mo *jat'au-du* *gekti-mi* *bagdi-e-ni,*
grass-ADJ birth.tent-DAT freeze-INF live-PAST-3SG
čind'a *dieli-mi* *gekti-du* *bagdi-e-ni.*
bird fly-INF freeze-DAT live-PAST-3SG
He was born frozen in a birth tent, in the cold time when birds are flying away.

Eni-ni *tege-di:* *kapt'a-si* *zugdi-tigi*
mother-3SG gown-DAT.REF wrap.PERF-PC.SS house-LAT
gazi-e-ni.
bring-PAST-3SG
His mother brought him home having wrapped him in her clothes.

Uti *b'ata-wa* *Zuaŋči-zi* *gegbi-ŋi-e-ti.*
that boy-ACC Zuanchi-INST call-REP-PAST-3PL
They named this boy Zuanchi.

Kesi-mi *zogbo-mi* *bagdi-e-ni,* *zua*
suffer-INF trouble-INF live-PAST-3SG summer
sugda-wa *diga-mie,* *tue* *ule-we* *diga-mie*
fish-ACC eat-INF winter meat-ACC eat-INF
ute *bede* *ni:-ne-ni.*
that like man-PL-3SG
He lived in sufferings and troubles, in summer he was eating fish, in winter – meat, as did (all) his people.

Imexi *koli* *odo-isi-ni* *sagdi xoto-lo*
new law become-PC-3SG large city-LOC
tatusi-ne:-ni.
study-DIR.PAST-3SG
When the new power came he went to study in a large city.

Tatusi-ge-si *eme-gi-e-ni* *men-e* *bagdi-e-mi*
study-PERF-PC.SS come-REP-PAST-3SG REF-0 live-PP-REF
kese-kce:-mi *zei-tigi:* *uti* *getu-we*
suffer-DUR.PP-REF kinsman-LAT.REF that PL-ACC
tatusi-ne-gi-e-ni.
teach-DIR-REP-PAST-3SG
After study he returned to the people with whom he lived suffering, he went to teach them.

Men-e ni:-fi *zuleixi* *ŋene-le:-ni* *tatusi-ne:-ni.*
REF-0 man-REF.PL forwards go-PURP-3SG teach-DIR.PAST-3SG
He went to teach his people so that they would go forwards.

Minti *Zuaŋči* *tatusi-e-ni* *bede* *zuleixi* *ŋene-zeŋe-fi.*
we Zuanchi teach-PP-3SG like forwards go-FUT-1PL.EX
We will go forwards, as Zuanchi was teaching (us).

4. *Ibenewe niŋka igbe:ni* ‘How the Chinese drove away the Japanese’ (Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Xasanova 1998: 320)

НиŋкаZиґа багдиати. Наму буґасатиґини эZэти игбэни (ваZаŋаZи игбэни) омо миŋга ни#вэ: хаталава, нинтава, мэнэ чаваи.

Ути-гэту мэнэ сэ⊥Zи багдилиати – ибэнэ одоти. Удиэ-бэдэ каваŋисими, багдилиати. Амаихи дауми, в‘алилафаи, эсити мутэ. Мэнэ гу#Zи мэнэ багдилиати.

Niŋka-ziga *bagdi-e-ti.*
Chinese-PL live-PAST-3PL
The Chinese lived.

Namu *bugasa-tigi-ni* *eze-ti* *igbe:-ni,*
sea island-LAT-3SG tsar-3PL chase.PAST-3SG
wa-zaŋa-zi *igbe:-ni,* *omo* *miŋga* *ni:-we,*
kill-FUT-INST chase.PAST-3SG one thousand man-ACC
xatala-wa, *ninta-wa,* *men-e* *čawa-i.*
girl-ACC woman-ACC REF-0 army-REF
Their tsar drove away to a sea island one thousand people, men, girls, women, and his army, because (otherwise) they had to be killed.

Uti *getu* *men-e* *seh-zi:* *bagdi-li-e-ti,*
that PL REF-0 clan-INST.REF live-INC-PAST-3PL
ibene *odo:-ti.*
Japanese become.PAST-3PL
They started to live in their own clans and become Japanese.

Udie *bede* *kawa-ŋisi-mi* *bagdi-li-e-ti.*
Udihe like tent-V-INF live-INC-PAST-3PL
They started living like the Udihe, making (grass) tents.

Amäixi *dau-mi* *w’ali-la-fai* *e-si-ti*
backwards cross-INF fight-PURP-SS.PL NEG-PAST-3PL
mute.
can
They couldn’t go back across (the sea) in order to fight.

Men-e *gu:-zi* *men-e* *bagdi-li-e-ti.*
REF-0 way.of.life-INST.REF REF-0 live-INC-PAST-3PL
They started living in their own way by themselves.

5. *Ogbö e:xi-de* ‘Elk and Frog’ (Perexval'skaja 1991c: 1–2)

Огбё ↔′хи-Zуŋ↔ багди↔ти. Г↔, огбё гун↔йни:
– Г↔линиг↔Z↔фи, ↔х↔й, минZуŋ↔. ТукяZафи сагди наму ↔г↔л↔, ŋиц’а наму ↔г↔л↔.
– Г↔, тукяZ↔!
Гулини↔ти-д↔. ↔′хи-гд↔ т↔тиг↔ŋи↔ни огбё х↔й↔тигини. Огбё тукя′ни-↔-↔.

Ляси тукя′ни, тукя′ни. Сагди наму ↔г↔л↔, ŋиц’а наму ↔г↔л↔. Тукя′ни-↔-↔. Д↔уми ↔к↔′ни. ↔к↔йси ути ↔киндини-д↔ли ↔′хи х↔й↔дигини х↔тиг↔н↔′ни. Огбё диһаŋкини:
– ↔′х↔й!
– А?
– Айа, к↔ту маŋга бий си. Би г↔й↔ ↔м↔г↔′й. Г↔, ња гулин↔Z↔фи!
↔′хи ња х↔й↔тигини. Г↔, ња тукя′ни огбё, лоŋцолиги, лоŋцолиги. Тукяй, тукяй. Ња ил↔-д↔л↔ ↔к↔′ни.
– ↔′х↔й!
– А?
– Айа, ↔йни им↔му ↔й ↔′хи!
Ња гулини↔ни ↔й-т↔н↔. Тукя′ни, тукя′ни. ↔л↔, атанами буд↔′ни-↔-↔ огбё.

Ogbo e:xi zuŋe bagdi-e-ti.
elk frog both live-PAST-3PL
Once upon a time there lived an Elk and a Frog.

Ge ogbo gun-e-ini «Geinige-ze-fi, e:xe-i,
well elk say-0-3SG compete-SUBJ-1PL.IN frog-VOC
min-zuŋe.
me-both
Well, the Elk said: «Frog, let us compete (in running) against each other.

Tuka-za-fi sagdi namu egelie, ŋic’a namu egelie».
run-SUBJ-1PL.IN big sea around small sea around
Let us run around the big sea, and around the small sea.»

«Ge tuka-za!»
well run-SUBJ
«Well, let us run!»
Gulini-e-ti-de.
go-PAST-3PL-FOC
They left.

E:xi-gde xetige-ŋi-e-ni ogbo xeje-tigi-ni.
frog-CONT jump-REP-PAST-3SG elk forehead-LAT-3SG
And the Frog jumped on the Elk’s forehead.

Ogbo tuka:-nie.
elk run.PAST-3SG
The Elk ran.

Lasi tuka:-ni, tuka:-ni.
very run.PAST-3SG run.PAST-3SG
It was running very much.

Sagdi namu egelie, ŋic’a namu egelie.
big sea around small sea around
Around the big sea, around the small sea.

Tuka:-nie.
run.PAST-3SG
It was running.

Deu-mi *eke:-ni.*
get.tired-INF stop.PAST-3SG
It got tired and stopped.

Eke-isi *uti* *ekindi-ni-deli* *e:xi*
stop-PC that when-3SG-CONT frog
xeje-digi-ni *xetige-ne:-ni.*
forehead-ABL-3SG jump-DIR.PAST-3SG
When it stopped, the Frog jumped from its forehead.

Ogbo *diaŋ-ki-ni* *«E:xie-i!».*
elk say-PAST-3SG frog-VOC
The Elk said: «Frog!»

«A?»
yes
«Yes?»

«Aja, *ketu* *maŋga* *bi:* *si.*
well very strong be.2SG you
«Well, you are very strong.

Bi *geje* *eme-gi-e-i.*
me with come-REP-PAST-2SG
You came here together with me.

Ge *na* *guline-ze-fi!»*
well again go-SUBJ-1PL.IN
Well, let us go again!»

E:xi *na* *xetige-ŋi-e-ni* *xeje-tigi-ni.*
frog again jump-REP-PAST-3SG forehead-LAT-3SG
The Frog jumped again onto its forehead.

Ge *na* *tuka:-ni* *ogbo,* *loŋcoligi* *loŋcoligi.*
well again run.PAST-3SG elk long.legged long.legged
Well, the long legged Elk ran off again.

Tuka-i, *tuka-i.*
run-PRP run-PRP
It is running, running.

Na *i:-le-dele* *eke:-ni.*
again what-LOC-IND stop.PAST-3SG
It stopped again somewhere.

«E:xie-i!»
frog-VOC
«Frog!»

«A?»
yes
«Yes!»

«Aja, e-ini imemu ei e:xi!»
well NEG-3SG drop this frog
«Oh, this Frog will not drop off!»

Ña gulini-e-ni ei-tene.
again go-PAST-3SG now-CONT
Then it went again.

Tukä:-ni, tukä:-ni.
run.PAST-3SG run.PAST-3SG
It was running, running.

Ele atana-mi bude:-nie ogbö.
soon be.out.of.breath-INF die.PAST-3SG elk
Soon the Elk collpsed exhausted and died.

6. Song (sung by Nadežda Pavlovna Kukčenko)

Ña:-wa kaja-m(i) kai-ŋku-zi kaja-m(i)
skin-ACC brake-INF brake-N-INST brake-INF
jexe-ze-m(i).
sing-SUBJ-1SG
I will sing about how we brake leather.

Ge: gune:ŋ kai-ŋku-zie gune ña:-wa kai-za-mie
Well EV brake-N-INST EV skin-ACC brake-SUBJ -1SG
Well, I will brake skin with the brake for skins

sita-na-mi uŋta-na-ti wo-logo-mi gune:ŋ,
child-PL-REF shoe-DEST-3PL make-PURP-SS EV
to make shoes for my children,

ami-tie uŋta-na-ni wo-logo-mi kai-za-mie.
father-3PL shoe-DEST-3SG make-PURP-SS brake-SUBJ-1SG
to make shoes for their father I will brake skin.

Käŋa-da ña:-wa-ni nakta-da ña:-wa-ni
deer-FOC skin-ACC-3SG boar-FOC skin-ACC-3SG
kai-za-mie gune:ŋ
brake-SUBJ-1SG EV
I will brake the deerskin and the boar skin

käŋa	*ña:-zi-ni*	*tene*	*xeigi-ne-tieŋ*	*wo-logo-mi*
deer	skin-INST-3SG	CONT	trousers-DEST-3PL	make-PURP-SS
gune:ŋ.				
EV				

to make trousers for them of deer skin.

Eili-ze-mie	*ña:-wa*	*gune*	*kai-za-mi*	*gune*
gown-SUBJ-1SG	skin-ACC	EV	brake-SUBJ-1SG	EV
jewe-jewe.				
INTER-INTER				

I will dress the skin and brake it.

7. *Ulikte* ‘Shaman lard’ (told by Nadežda Pavlovna Kukčenko)

Sama	*ulikte*	*ulikte-si:-ni.*
shaman	lard	lard-V-3SG

The shaman prepares the shaman lard.

Nakta	*imo:-wo-ni*	*xuaji-e-k,*		*kuliga*	*duo-ni*
boar	fat-ACC-3SG	cut-PAST-EXPR		snake	shape-3SG
dili-we-ni		*kuliga*	*duo-n(i)*	*bede*	*wo:-k.*
head-ACC-3SG		snake	shape-3SG	like	make.PAST-EXPR

He cuts the boar fat in the form of a snake, makes a head.

Uti	*aŋi-we*	*joxo-wo*	*toxolo:-k,*	*uli-we.*
that	IND-ACC	pot-ACC	put.on.fire.PAST-EXPR	water-ACC

He puts a pot on the fire and water.

Joxo	*do-lo-ni*	*nede-iti*	*ulikte-we*	*tene*
pot	inside-LOC-3SG	put-3PL	lard-ACC	CONT
ulikte-ne-ti		*olokto-lo:-ni.*		
lard-DEST-3PL		cook-PC-3SG		

They put shaman lard in a pot for cooking.

[Ulikte,]	*uti*	*joxo*	*wei-le-ni*	*mo:-wo*
lard	that	pot	on-LOC-3SG	stick-ACC
xeke:-k		*ulikte*	*agbu-le:-m(i).*	
tie.PAST-EXPR		lard	take-PC-SS	

He ties a little stick above the pot in order to take out the lard.

Ulikte	*a:da-lisi-ni,*		*a:da ...*	*bi-si-ni*	*šaman*
lard	get.ready-CC-3SG		ready	be-PC-3SG	shaman
em'e	*kä:-tigi-ni*		*joxo-ti(gi),*	*ŋala-zi*	*agbu-ini*
come.PERF	side-LAT-3SG		pot-LAT	hand-INST	take-3SG
ulikte-we.	*ŋala-zi*	*agbu-o:-k.*			
lard-ACC	hand-INST	take-PAST-EXPR			

When the lard is ready, the shaman comes to the pot, and takes the lard with his hands.

Uti mö:, ulikte mö:-lo-ni [zaw'a-si] ...
that neck lard neck-LOC-3SG take.PERF-PC.SS
mo:-lo xeke:-k, uta tu: sigbi: imo:-wo,
tree-LOC tie.PAST-EXPR that all squeeze.PRP lard-ACC
tu: sigbi: uli-we-ni.
all squeeze.PRP water-ACC-3SG
He takes the lard off the fire with his hands. He holds by its neck, ties (the lard) to the stick, and squeezes it all, squeezes the water.

Tu: sigbi-ge-si ŋala-zi zaw'a-si
all squeeze-PERF-PF.SS hand-INST take.PERF-PC.SS
gusi:.
play.PRP
Having squeezed it all, then he takes it with his hands, and plays.

Šamani-le-ini.
shamanize-V-3SG
He shamanizes.

Lauleli: lauli: lauli: lauli: ...
dance.PRP dance.PRP dance.PRP dance.PRP
He dances, dances.

Lauli: lauli: gusi-m(i) laulü-m(i) laulü-m(i)
dance.PRP dance.PRP play-INF dance-INF dance-INF
laulü-m(i) ni: teun-tigi-ni… laulü-m(i) gusi:-ni uti
dance-INF man all-LAT-3SG dance-INF play-3SG that
ulikte-zi.
lard-INST
He dances and plays dancing for all the people dancing with the lard.

Utebe gusi-mi metu-ge-si ña
so play-INF finish-PERF-PC.SS again
olokto-gi-e-k, olokto-m(i) a:da-isi-ni. ...
cook-REP-PAST-EXPR cook-INF ready-PC-3SG
So he finishes playing and cooks it again till it is ready.

Gele-i ni: tu: te:g'e-si zueze ned'e-si,
ask-PRP man all sit.PERF-PC.SS table put.PERF-PC.SS
gele-i ni: tu: te: g'e-si solim(i) olokt'o,
ask-PRP man all sit.PERF-PC.SS dried.fish cook.PERF
solimi.
dried.fish
All the audience sits down and sets up the table, they sit down, and cook a meal out of the dried fish.

Ña aŋi uli-zi {èto} dawa og'ou,
again IND water-INST this Siberian.salmon dry
dawa olokt'o-si solümi wo-iti.

Siberian.salmon cook.PERF-PC.SS dried.fish make-3PL
They cook {that} salmon again with water, and make a meal out of it.

Ge, ute solimi-zi diga-iti uti ulikte-we
well that dried.fish-INST eat-3PL that lard-ACC
imo:-wo tu: tu: dig'a-si.
fat-ACC all all eat.PERF-PC.SS
They eat lard and fat with this dried fish. They eat everything.

8. *Oloxi waŋba* 'Squirrel and Turtle' (told by Nadežda Pavlovna Kukčenko)

Oloxi waŋba zuŋe anda-mule bagdi-e-tie.
squirrel turtle both friend-N live-PAST-3PL
Squirrel and Turtle lived as friends.

Bagdie, oloxi gune: «Ge, ŋen(e)-ze-f(i) minti,
live.PRP squirrel say.PP well go-SUBJ-1PL.IN we
aŋi-we seutigi-we digan-a-za-fi.»
IND-ACC cone-ACC eat-0-SUBJ-1PL.IN
They lived, Squirrel said: «Well, let us go to eat cedar cones.»

Waŋba gune:-ni «Ge, ŋene-ze-f(i).
turtle say.PAST-3SG well go-SUBJ-1PL.IN
Turtle said: «Well, let us go.

Bi ono tukti-ze?»
me how climb-SUBJ
(But) how shall I climb up?»

Oloxi e-ini-de mute, «Bi tukti-ze-m(i).
squirrel NEG-3SG-FOC can me climb-SUBJ-1SG
(Since) it cannot (climb), Squirrel (said:) «I'll climb.

Sin-du ata-mi tugbu seutige-we?»
you-DAT NEG.SUBJ-1SG drop cone-ACC
Won't I drop cones (down) to you?»

ŋene:-tie, seutige mo:-lo i:ne:-tie.
go.PAST-3PL cone tree-LOC come.PAST-3PL
They went, came up to a cedar tree.

Oloxi tuktie, oloxi tuktie, waŋba-ŋi-ni
squirrel climb.PRP squirrel climb.PRP turtle-AL-3SG
xegienu alasie.
below wait.PRP
Squirrel is climbing, climbing, Turtle is waiting below.

Oloxi-ŋi-ni seutige-we diga-li-e-nie.
squirrel-AL-3SG cone-ACC eat-INC-PAST-3SG
Squirrel began to eat cones.

Käkčike nix'e, käkčike nix'e, käkčike.
INTER make.PERF INTER make.PERF INTER
Crack-crack, it goes, crack.

«*Si j'eu nixe-i uta-du?»*
you what do-2SG that-DAT
«What are you doing there?»

"Bi ei seutige-we ikteme-si-mi, ceme-n(i)-de anči,
me now cone-ACC gnaw-IM-1SG kernel-3SG-FOC no
afäktu m'ei-de.
empty only-FOC
«I am gnawing the cones, there are no kernels, nothing but empty ones.

Uta-wa ikteme-si-mi, afikäkči afikäkči.»
that-ACC gnaw-IM-1SG INTER INTER
I am gnawing them, crack-crack.»

Ge, ute ikteme-si:-we-ni ut(i) alasi:,
well that gnaw-IM.PRP-ACC-3SG that wait.PRP
waŋba alasi: ono-ko nixe-m(i)-de?
turtle wait.PRP how-IND do-INF-FOC
Well, Turtle is waiting for (Squirrel) gnawing nuts, what can it do waiting?

Oloxi tugbu-o:-ni seutige-ni mende-de.
squirrel drop-PAST-3SG nut-3SG whole-FOC
Squirrel dropped a whole pine cone.

Aŋi tugbu-si:-ni, tugbu jaza-ta, uti nixe:-ni.
IND drop-IM-3SG drop of.course-FOC that do.PAST-3SG
It dropped a lot, dropped of course, so it was.

Tugbu-si:-ni, uti waŋba-ŋi-ni zawa-mi ŋiŋme:-ni
drop-IM-3SG that turtle-AL-3SG take-INF swallow.PAST-3SG
seutige-we mende-de, ŋiŋme:-ni mende-de.
cone-ACC whole-FOC swallow.PAST-3SG whole-FOC
It dropped (a nut), Turtle picked it up and swallowed the whole cone.

Eu-gi-e-ni, oloxi gune:-ni «J'e-uxi
go.down-REP-PAST-3SG squirrel say.PAST-3SG what-LAT
ŋene-te bi seutige-ŋi:?»
go-FOC me cone-AL.SG
Squirrel came down and said: «Where has my cone gone?»

«Bi ŋiŋme:-i bi: uta-wa.
me swallow.PP-1SG be.1SG that-ACC
«I have swallowed it.»

«J'e-we *ŋiŋme:-i* *si* *uta-wa?*
what-ACC swallow.PAST-2SG you that-ACC
«Why have you swallowed it?

Bi *sin-e-we* *xeŋgi-ze-m(i).»*
me you-0-ACC trample-SUBJ-1SG
I shall trample on you.»

Xeŋgisi-li-e-ni *aka-la,* *xeŋgisi-mie*
trample-INC-PAST-3SG back-LAT trample-INF
jakta-gi: *jaza-ta,* *seutige-ŋi-we-ni*
belch-REP.PRP of.course-FOC cone-AL-ACC-3SG
jakta-gi:.
belch-REP.PRP
(Squirrel) began to trample on (Turtle's) back, and when it was trampling,
(Turtle) belched up the cone.
Jakta *ga:-gi-e-k,* *ña* *[weixi]*
belch take-REP-PAST-EXPR again up
tukti-gi-e-k, *seutige-ŋi:* *ña* *uta-wa*
climb-REP-PAST-EXPR cone-AL.REF again that-ACC
diga-li-gi-e-ni.
eat-INC-REP-PAST-3SG I
(Squirrel) picked it up and climbed up again and began to eat cones again.

Afikäkči *afikäkči* *ikteme-si:-ni.*
NTER INTER gnaw-IM-3SG
Crack-crack, Squirrel is gnawing the nuts.

"Ge, *ele,* *anči* *seutige,* *ŋene-ze-fi-ge,*
well enough no nut go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-HORT
ge *ŋene-ze-fi-ge.*
well go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-HORT
«All right, enough there are no nuts left, let's go.»

Uti *waŋba-ŋi-ni* *tagda-i* *jaza-ta,* *diga-mu:i-ni,*
that turtle-AL-3SG get.angry-PRP of.course-FOC eat-DES-3SG
xeŋgi-si-e-ni, *jaktagi-e-ni.*
trample-IM-PAST-3SG belch-PAST-3SG
Turtle was angry, of course, (when it) was going to eat, (Squirrel) trampled on it, it belched.

«Bi-de *timana* *gele-ze-mi* *sin-e-we.*
me-FOC tomorrow ask-SUBJ-1SG you-0-ACC
«Now I will invite you tomorrow.

Si-de *timana* *min-tigi* *eme-i,* *zima-zaŋa-i.*
you-FOC tomorrow me-LAT come-2SG visit-FUT-2SG
Now you should come tomorrow and visit me.

ŋene-ze-fi-ge.»
go-SUBJ-1PL.IN-HORT
Let us go.»

ŋene:-ti, *men-e-men-e* *zugdi-tigi:*
go.PAST-3PL REF-0-REF-0 house-LAT.REF
ŋene:-ni.
go.PAST-3SG
They went, each of them went to its own house.

«Timana *min-tigi* *zima-ta-i-ze,* *oloxi.»*
tomorrow me-LAT visit-PERM-2SG-HORT squirrel
«Come to me tomorrow, Squirrel.»

«Iŋke, *(g)uŋ-ki-ni,* *zima-ta-m(i)-ze.»*
OK say-PAST-3SG visit-PERM-1SG-HORT
«All right, it said, I will come.»

Waŋba *zugdi:* *ŋeni-e-k,* *muisi-ni* *«Bi*
turtle house.LAT go-PAST-EXPR think-3SG me
uti *oloxi-we* *einеŋi* *zawa-zaŋa-i,* *bi* *uta-wa*
that squirrel-ACC today take-FUT-1SG me that-ACC
kesu-si-zeŋe-i *ñaŋga-da.*
torture-IM-FUT-1SG little-FOC
Turtle came home and thought: «Today I will take (revenge on) Squirrel, I will torture it a little.»

ŋeni-e-k *uli-tigi,* *uli-tigi* *og'ou* *t'a*
go-PAST-EXPR river-LAT river-LAT dry fallen.tree
bi:-li.
be-3SG
It went to the river, there was a dry fallen tree (leading) to the river.

Aŋi *toŋo:-wo* *xeke-si-e-k* *aŋi-lege-mi* *uti ...*
IND loop-ACC tie-IM-PAST-EXP IND-PURP-SS that
oloxi-we *zawa-la:-m(i) …*
squirrel-ACC take-PURP-SS
(Turtle) tied loops to catch that Squirrel.

Xeku-zi *tu:* *toŋofu* *toŋo:* *lo-si-e-n(i),*
rope-INST all loop loop hang-IM-PAST-3SF
nesi-e-ni *uti* *aŋi-le* *t'a-la*
put-PAST-3SG that IND-LOC fallen.tree-LOC
uli-tigi, *t'a* *bie* *e-uze-le,*
river-LAT fallen.tree be.PRES.HAB this-N-LOC
xeke: *uti* *toŋofu-ziga* *aŋi-we* *xeku* *mei-we-ni.*
tie.PP that loop-DIM IND-ACC rope strong-ACC-3SG
It made the loops on the rope, put it on the fallen tree (leading) to the river, there was a fallen tree there, tied the small loops on a strong rope.

Ge *timana* *eme:-nie* *oloxi* *em'e,*
well tomorrow come.PAST-3SG squirrel come.PERF
em'e, *em'e,* *ge* *em'e.*
come.PERF come.PERF well come.PERF

Well, next day Squirrel came, it came.

«Ei, bi ono deu-ze-m(i) si e:-tigi:-ne?»
hey me how cross-SUBJ-1SG you side-LAT.2SG-CONT
«Hey, how should I cross the river to your bank?»

«Uti t'a-li t'a-la-i.»
that fallen.tree-PROL tree-V-IMP.2SG
«Go along the fallen tree.»

«J'eu bi:-ni uti montom-ziga-i uti t'a xo:n-dile-ni?»
what be-3SG that circle-PL-FOC that tree top-LOC-3SG
«Why are circles there on the fallen tree?»

«Aja, uti bei ute bede nesi-e-m(i).»
good that in.vain that like put-PAST-1SG
«That's all right, I have put them for no particular reason.»

E, (u)te t'a wei-le-ni t'a-la-li-e-ni
INTER that tree on-LOC-3SG tree-V-INC-PAST-3SG
oloxi.
squirrel
Squirrel began to cross the river along the fallen tree.

T'a-la-m(i) xeŋd'e jaza-ta uti, aŋi
tree-LOC-INF step.PERF of.course-FOC that IND
toŋofu-le-ni xeŋd'e jaza-ta
loop-LOC-3SG step.PERF of.course-FOC
tiŋmele:-ni uli-tigi.
fell.PAST-3SG river-LAT
Crossing it (Squirrel) of course stepped on them, it stepped on the loop and fell into the river.

T'a-ni bugdi-le-ni, ge, uti patanai
get.tied.PAST-3SG foot-LOC-3SG well that flounder
patanai, uli-le xaŋka-kca-i.
flounder river-LOC choke-INT-PRP
It got tied down with its foot, floundered, floundered, and nearly choked with water.

Uti aŋi waŋba-ŋi-ni ise-si: aja-zi-de
that IND turtle-AL-3SG see-IM.PRP good-INST-FOC
xaŋka-kca-i-we-ni, oloxi-ŋi:
choke-INT-PRP-ACC-3SG squirrel-AL.REF
xaŋka-kca-i-we-ni.
choke-INT-PRP-ACC-3SG
Turtle took a good look at the choking Squirrel.

«Anda, min-e-we xaulie weisi-gie, ele

friend	me-0-ACC		please	rescue-REP.IMP.2SG	soon
bude-m(i)	*bi,*	*bi*	*xaŋka-mi.»*		
die-1SG	me	me	choke-1SG		

«Friend, please, rescue me, I am dying, I am choking.»

«Aja,	*ñaŋga-da*	*ñaŋga*	*aŋi-nde-ze-m(i)*	*sin-e-we*
good	little-FOC	little	IND-SEM-SUBJ-1SG	you-0-ACC

[kesu-li-nde-ze-m(i)].
torture-INC-SEM-SUBJ-1SG
«All right, let me torture you a little.

Uti	*uli*	*do-lo-ni*	*ñaŋga*	*bi-nde*	*si.*
that	river	inside-LOC-3SG	little	be-SEM.IMP.2SG	you

Stay in the water for a while.

Si	*min-e-we*	*ono*	*xeŋisi-ge-i-de.»*
you	me-0-ACC	how	trample-PERF-2SG-FOC

How you trampled on me!»

«Aja,	*{bol'še}*	*[e-zeŋe-i]*		*sin-e-we*	*ute*
good	more	NEG-FUT-1SG		you-0-ACC	that
e-zeŋe-i		*nixe,*	*ge*	*aja*	*bi-ze-m(i),*
NEG-FUT-1SG		do	well	good	be-SUBJ-1SG
ele	*bude-le,*	*ele*	*xaŋka:-m(i).»*		
soon	die-FOC	soon	choke.PAST-1SG		

«All right, I will not treat you like that {again}, well, I will be good,
I am dying, I am choking (to death).»

Waŋba	*ise-si:,*	*ise-si:,*	*[oloxi]*	*ele*
turtle	see-IM.PRP	see-IM.PRP	squirrel	soon

xaŋka-li-e-ni.
choke-INC-PAST-3SG
Turtle sees: Squirrel is going to choke.

Aŋi-ni	*oloxi-ŋi-ni,*	*ŋene-mie*	*taŋda-gi-e,*	
IND-3SG	squirrel-AL-3SG	go-INF	let.out-REP-PP	
taŋda-gi-e,	*asta-gi-e-ni. …*			
let.out-REP-PP	release-REP-PAST-3SG			

Squirrel, (Turtle) went, took it out, took it out, and released it.

Toŋofu	*asta-gi-e-ni.*
loop	release-REP-PAST-3SG

It loosened the loop.

Tu:	*ñukto:-ni,*	*og'ou-gi-li.*
all	get.wet.PAST-3SG	dry-REP-3SG

(Squirrel) was wet through, then dried itself.

«Ge,	*waŋba,*	*a-wa*	*caixi*	*aja-zi*	*bi-zeŋe-fi,*
well	turtle	that-ACC	further	good-INST	be-FUT-1PL.IN
e-zeŋe-f(i)		*ute*	*nixe,*	*aja-zi*	*bagdi-zeŋe-fi.*
NEG-FUT-1PL.IN		that	do	good-INST	live-FUT-1PL.IN

«Well, Turtle, since this day we will be good (to each other), we will not act like this (again), we will live well.

Si	*min-ti(gi)*	*zima-i,*	*bi*	*sin-ti(gi)*	*zima-i.*
you	me-LAT	visit-2SG	me	you-LAT	visit-1SG

Come and visit me, and I will come to visit you.

Si	*min-e-we*	*ketige*	*wa:-i,*	*bi*	*tene*
you	me-0-ACC	nearly	kill.PAST-2SG	me	CONT
sin-e-we	*xeŋisi-mi*	*ketige*	*wa:-mi.*		
you-0-ACC	trample-INF	nearly	kill.PAST-1SG		

You nearly killed me, and I nearly killed you with my trampling.

A-wa	*caixi*	*aja-zi*	*xe:ti-zi*	*bagdi-zeŋe-fi,»*
that-ACC	further	good-INST	peaceful-INST	live-FUT-1PL.IN

guŋ-ki-ni.
say-PAST-3SG
Let us live in peace and friendship from now on,» it said.

Ute	*bede*	*bagdi-li-e-ti.*
that	like	live-INC-PAST-3PL

They began to live this way.

9. How they processed skin (told by Anna Sonljanovna Kančuga)

Uŋta-du.
boot-DAT
For making boots.

Nakta	*ña:-wa-ni*	*ga:-gi-e-k,*		*u:-li-u-(i)*
boar	skin-ACC-3SG	take-REP-PAST-EXPR		scrape-INC-PAS-PRP
alukta-wa-ni,		*ñoxo*	*alukta-wa-ni*	*tu:*
suede-ACC-3SG		first	suede-ACC-3SG	all
u:-ge-si		*pi:j-e:-k,*		*imo:-zi*
scrape-PERF-PC.SS		sprinkle-PAST-EXPR		fat-INST
pi:,	*uli:-zi*	*degbi-si:,*	*ut'asi*	*kaj-u-i.*
sprinkle.PRP	water-INST	wet-IM.PRP	then	brake-PAS-PRP

Having taken a boar skin one begins to scrape the inner side of it, first having scraped the inner side of the skin they sprinkle it with fat, wet it with water, then it should be braked.

Kai:	*kai:*	*kai:*	*kai:*	*kai:.*
brake.PRP	brake.PRP	brake.PRP	brake.PRP	brake.PRP

They brake and brake it.

Lä	*kai:*	*xekul(i)*	*dexi-de.*
very	brake.PRP	hot	till-FOC

They brake it very much till it gets hot.

Ut'asi	*xu:gi-e-ti*
then	turn-PAST-3PL

Then they turn it.

kai: *{uže* *mjagkaja}* *aŋi-nie-nie* *igbe-nie-nie*
brake.PRP already soft IND-3SG-3SG soft-3SG-3SG
eitene, *igbene:-n(i).*
now soften.PAST-3SG
It is {already} soft now, it has softened.

Cosu-i *ga:-gi-e-k,*
scraper-REF take-REP-PAST-EXPR
cosu-le-gi-e-k, *wagi-gi-e-k.*
scraper-V-REP-PAST-EXPR dry-REP-PAST-EXPR
Having taken a scraper they scrape it and dry it.

Og'oma-kta-n(i) *ña* *kai:,* *ña:-wa* *ña*
dry-RES-3SG again brake.PRP skin-ACC again
kai *kai:* *kai:* *kai:* *kai:.*
brake.PRP brake.PRP brake.PRP brake.PRP brake.PRP
They brake the dried skin again, brake and brake it.

Igbene-ilie *igbene-ilie* *igbene-ilie* *ña:,* *ña:*
soften-3SG soften-3SG soften-3SG skin skin
igbene-isi-ni *läs(i)* *aja-zi* *cosu-le-gi-e-k,*
soften-PC-3SG very good-INST scraper-V-REP-PAST-EXPR
gi:na-gi-e-k *uŋta* *wo-logo-m(i).*
cut-REP-PAST-EXPR boot make-PURP-SS
When the skin has softened, they scrape it properly and cut it out in order to make boots.
Uŋta *wo:-i,* *uŋta* *wo-logo-m(i)*
boot make-PRP boot make-PURP-SS
gi:na-gi-e-k.
cut-REP-PAST-EXPR
They make boots, cut out (the skin) in order to make boots.

Ut'asi *uŋta* *wo:-i.*
then boot make-PRP
Then they make boots.

Uŋta *w'o-si* *metu-ge-s(i)* *tene*
boot make.PERF-PC.SS finish-PERF-PC.SS CONT
saŋmi-u-i, *saŋmi-si-u-i.*
smoke-PAS-PRP smoke-IM-PAS-PRP
Having made boots, having finished one should smoke them.

Xo-ñieññie *ede-de-ili,* *saŋmi-si-u-i.*
yellow-ADJ become-V-3SG smoke-IM-PAS-PRP
One must smoke till they get yellow.

Saŋmi-si-m(i) *wadi-e-isi* *i:ŋti-n(i)* *wu:-i*
smoke-IM-INF finish-PAST-PC heel-3SG make.PAS-PRP
kiugi:.
smooth.PRP

After they finish smoking, they make the heel smooth.

K'olo-du *wo:-ili* *xai* *ute* *bede.*
mitten-DAT make-3SG too that like
They make mittens like this too.
Käŋa *ña:-wa-ni* *u:-i,* *{mezdra-wa-ni}*
deer skin-ACC-3SG scrape-PRP suede-ACC-3SG
aŋi *alukta-wa-ni* *u:-o:.*
IND suede-ACC-3SG scrape-PP
They scrape a deer skin, they scrape suede.

Ut'asi *düi-zi* *ula-si:,* *ula-si-mie* *cosu-le-i.*
then brain-INST wet-IM.PRP wet-IM-INF scaper-V-PRP
Then they wet it with brain and scrape.

Ula-si-mi *cosu-le-i,* *cosu-le-i,* *cosu-le-i.*
wet-IM-INF scraper-V-PRP scraper-V-PRP scraper-V-PRP
They wet and scrape, scrape.

Lä *ula-si:-ni,* *limbi-limbi* *ed'e.*
very wet-IM-3SG soaked-soaked become.PERF
They wet very much (till the skin) gets soaked.

Go: *go:* *aŋi* *ñuktui* *ñuktui* *limbi-limbi-de*
long long IND wet wet soaked-soaked-FOC
tu: *cosu-le-i,* *tu:* *cosu-le:,* *cosu-le:.*
all scraper-V-PRP all scraper-V.PP scraper-V.PP
They scrape, scrape for a long time till it gets wet through, gets soaked, they scrape and scrape.

Uli *uta* *tene* *wagi-si-gi:,* *wagi-si-gi:,*
water that CONT dry-IM-REP.PRP dry-IM-REP.PRP
cosu-le-i, *cosu-le-i,* *u-gi:-li* *wagi-e.*
scraper-V.PRP scraper-V.PRP dry-REP-3SG dry-PRP
Having dried water they scrape again, dry again, dry again, scrape, scrape, scraping they dry it.

Adi-me *{minut} ...* *aŋi* *tuŋa* *{minute}*
how.many-ACC minute IND five minute
wagi-sie, *ña* *ga:-gi-e,* *ña* *cosu-le-i,*
dry-IM.PRP again take-REP-PRP again scraper-V-PRP
cosu-le-i, *neptem-de* *cosu-le-i.*
scraper-V-PRP flat-FOC scraper-V-PRP
They dry (the skin) for five {minutes}, then they take (the skin) again (and) scrape, scrape, till it gets flat.

Ut'asi *ña* *wagi-gi:,* *xegiele* *soktu-gi:.*
then again dry-REP.PRP down spread-REP.PRP
After that they dry it again, spread it on the floor.
Wagi-si:, *wagi-si:,* *wagi-si:,* *ña* *cosu-le-i. ...*
dry-IM.PRP dry-PRP dry-PRP again scraper-V-PRP
They dry it, dry, dry, and scrape again.

{Sovsem} *og'ou-de* *tu:* *cosu-le-i* *cosu-le-i.*
completely dry-FOC all scraper-V-PRP scraper-V-PRP
They scrape it {when it is completely} dry.

{Sovsem} *og'ou-de* *cosu-le:-k,* *wagi-si-e-k,*
completely dry-FOC scraper-V.PAST-EXPR dry-IM-PAST-EXPR
kede-z(i) *lä* *kede-i* *kede-zi.*
dressing.tool-INST very dress-PRP dressing.tool-INST
They scrape it {when it is completely} dry; having dried it they dress it heavily with a dressing tool.
Kede-zi *kede-i* *kede-i.*
dressing.tool-INST dress-PRP dress-PRP
They dress it, dress with a dressing tool.

Ut'asi *gdeli* *ŋala* *k'olo* *wu:-i* *ja-za* *ebede*
then CONT hand mitten make.PAS-PRP of.course so
ele *sexi* *bede* *ede:-de* *ei-de.*
soon cloth like become.PP-FOC this-FOC
After that they make the mittens; (the skin) now becomes (soft) like cloth.

K'olo *gi:ne:-k,* *gi:ne:-k,* *uta k'olo*
mitten cut.PAST-EXPR cut.PAST-EXPR that mitten
wo:-k, *k'olo-ŋisi:,* *watuza* *wo:-i.*
make.PAST-EXPR mitten-V.PRP home.shoe make-PRP
They cut out the mittens, cut, sew the mittens, make the mittens, (or) make home shoes.

Saŋmiŋku-le *saŋmi-si:* *xo-ñieñie-de*
smoke-LOC smoke-IM.PRP yellow-ADJ-FOC
They smoke them over the smoke, (so that they get) yellow.

10. *Xaŋaŋku teluŋu* 'Story about the shaman's guessing' (told by Evdokija Ivanovna Kančuga)

[Omo *a:nta]* *zima:-n(i)* *sikie.*
one woman visit.PAST-3SG evening
One woman went on a visit in the evening.

Zima: *eme-gie ...*
visit.PAST come-REP.PRP
After visiting she came home.

Timadule *te:-gi-le-m(i)* *j'eu-ke le* *galakta-la:-m(i),*
morning get.up-REP-SEM-INF what-IND seek-PURP-SS.REP
nientile-m(i) *uti* *nekce-i* *aŋi-wa* *konz'o-ziga-i*
open-INF that chest-REF IND-ACC chest-DIM-REF
ic'ei-ziga-i-de.
small-DIM-FOC-FOC
In the morning she got up
and began to seek something, she opened her chest, small chest.

Niente-lisi-n(i) *j'eu-de* *anči,* *waiga-n(i)-de* *anči,*
open-CC-3SG what-IND no earring-3SG-FOC no *belepti-n(i)-de*
anči, *nö:-mo* *au-n(i)-de* *anči,*
bracelet-3SG-FOC no sable-ADJ cap-3SG-FOC no
keŋku-keŋku *esi-gi-e-ni* *uti* *aŋi-ni*
empty-empty become-REP-PAST-3SG that IND-3SG
nekce-ŋku-ni. ...
chest-N-3SG
When she opened it there was nothing, no earrings, no bracelets, no sable cap,
the chest had become empty.

Ge, *uta-wa* *«Xaŋasi-je* *min-e-we* *xaulie-de.*
well that-ACC guess-IMP.2SG me-0-ACC please-FOC
Well, then (she came to the shaman and said) «Guess (who has stolen it) please.

<B'a-gi-si-ni> *b'a-gi* *edeisini* *sin-e-we*
find-REP-PC-3SG find-REP.PRP if you-0-ACC
agda-gi-te-m(i)-ze.»
thank-REP-PERM-1SG-HORT
Whether you find it or not I'll thank you.»

Sama *dian-a-i* *«Bi* *mute-ze-m(i)* *uta-wa?»*
shaman say-0-PRP me can-SUBJ-1SG that-ACC
The shaman said: «Will I be able to?»

«Aja *mute-zeŋe-i.»*
good can-FUT-2SG
«Please, you will be able.»

"Ge, *ilekpe-si-ze-f(i).»*
well try-IM-SUBJ-1PL.IN
«Well, let us try.»

Ilekpe-sie *uti* *xaŋa-ŋku-zi.*
try-IM.PRP that guess-N-INST
He tried with the guessing tool.

Ge, *xaŋa-ŋku* *zolo-ŋi:* *ga:-gie,* *aŋi* *toli*
well guess-N stone-AL.REF take-PRP IND copper.disc
teti-gie.
dress-REP.PRP
Well, he took the guessing tool, the stone, he put on the copper disc.

«Ge, *xaŋa-ze-f(i).*
well guess-SUBJ-1PL.IN
«Well, let us guess.

Ge, *uti* *dian-a-i,* *ge,* *omo* *ni:* *bie,*

well that say-0-3SG well one man be.PRES.HAB
uti nixe bi-lisi-nie ono nixe-zeŋe-i?
that do be-CC-3SG how do-FUT-1SG
Well, he said, there is one man, what shall I do if it was he (who has stolen it)?

Ono-do e-zeŋe-i ute b'a-gie edeisini.»
how-FOC NEG-FUT-1SG that find-REP.PRP if
I'll do nothing (to him) if (the things) are found.»

Ge, uti ni: dian-a-i, ŋene:-k, dian-a-ini
well that man say-0-PRP go.PAST-EXPR say-0-3SG
«Ge, si ei dogbo-ni bi aŋi-we-i
well you this night-3SG me IND-ACC-1SG
bi duŋsi: zomi-ne-se:-i?
me thing.1SG steal-DIR-EXP.PAST-2SG
Well, she went and said to this man, she said: «Well, did you come to steal my things last night?

Si aja-zi ceze dian-a-isi-ni si ceze
you good-INST truth say-0-PC-3SG you truth
dian-a ceze dian-a ceze dian-a-i edeisini
say-0 truth say-0 truth say-0 –2SG if

zä: bu-te-m(i)-ze bi, tu: bu-ge-si
money give-PERM-1SG-HORT me all give-PERF-PC.SS
j'e-we zawa-m(i) j'e-we-de, min-(du)
what-ACC take-INF what-ACC-IND me-DAT
tu: bu-gi-e.
all give-REP-IMP.2SG
If you tell the truth I'll give you money, if you return everything you took, give me back everything.

J'eu ni:-d(e) e-zeŋe-i dian-a.»
what man-FOC NEG-FUT-1SG say-0 that-ACC
I'll tell nobody.»

Uta-wa ni: dian-a-i «Bi-de e-si-m(i) zawa.»
man say-0-PRP me-FOC NEG-PAST-1SG take
The man said: «I did not take it.»
«Si zawa-i.
you take-2SG
«You have taken it.

Bi t'osi-e-m(i). {Ona vret}.
me dream-PAST-1SG she lies
I dreamt it. {She is lying.}

T'osi-e-m(i) {govorit}, t'osi-e-m(i).
dream-PAST-1SG says dream-PAST-1SG
I dreamt it {she said}, I dreamt it.

Ge, dian-a-i, aja-zi dian-a-i.

well say-0-IMP.2SG good-INST say-0-IMP.2SG
Please, tell well.

Aja e-zi-de xagza ...
good NEG-IMP.2SG-FOC be.shy
Do not be shy.

Si e-lisi: bu-gi, sama-ti(g)i aŋi-zeŋe-i
you NEG-CC.2SG give-REP shaman-LAT IND-FUT-1SG
xaŋa-ŋku-ti(g)i sama gele-zeŋe-i.
guess-N-LAT shaman ask-FUT-1SG
If you don't return it, I will ask the shaman to guess.

Sin-du ge: bi-ze e-si: bu-gi.
you-DAT bad be-SUBJ NEG-PC.2SG give-REP
You'll be ill unless you give it back.

Ge, dian-a-i uti, xaulie, dian-a-i, xaulie
well say-0-PRP that please say-0-PRP please
bu-gi-e si, bi ni-tigi-de
give-REP-IMP.2SG you me who-LAT-IND
ali dian-a-i.»
when say-0-1SG
She said, please please, give it back, I'll tell nobody.»

Ono nixe-ze-m(i)?
how do-SUBJ-1SG
What should she do?

Ceze zawa:-n(i).
truth take.PAST-3SG
He has indeed taken it.

Ge, ceze zawa:-n(i) «Bi e-si-m(i) zawa»
well truth take.PAST-3SG me NEG-PAST-1SG take
zawa-m(i) gune «E-si-mi zawa» gun-e-ini.
take-INF EV NEG-PAST-1SG take say-0-3SG
Having taken it he still keeps saying: «I did not take it.»

Xai «E-si-m(i) zawa.
still NEG-PAST-1SG take
(He keeps saying:) «I did not take it.

E-si-m(i) zawa.
NEG-PAST-1SG take
I did not take it.

Bi e-si-m(i) nixe, e-si-m(i) zomi
me NEG-PAST-1SG do NEG-PAST-1SG steal

uta-wa.».
that-ACC
I did not do it, did not steal it.»

{Nu} *uti* *tene* *a:nta* *dian-a-i* *«{Nu}...* *bi,*
INTER that CONT woman say-0-PRP INTER me

bi *ono* *nixe?*
me how do
The woman said: «Well, what shall I do?

«Si *ge:»e-zi* *gun-e,* *<e-zi>* *min-tigi*
you bad NEG-IMP.2SG say-0 NEG-IMP.2SG me-LAT
e-zi *ge:* *muisi.*
NEG-IMP.2SG bad think
Do not blame me.

Zawa-m(i) *men-e* *zawa:-i* *e-ini-de*
take-INF REF-0 take.PAST-2SG, NEG-3SG
bu-gi:.
give-REP.3SG
You have taken it and do not return it.

Sin-tigi *ge:* *bi-zeŋe-ni.»*
you-LAT bad be-FUT-3SG
«You'll be ill.»

Ge, *omo* *aŋa-ni-de* *omo* *aŋa* *e-si-ni*
well one year-3SG-FOC one year NEG-PAST-3SG
bie *uti* *nixe-ze-mie* *bolo* *bolo-gi:,*
be.PRES.HAB that do-SUBJ-INF autumn autumn-REP.PRP
bude:-ni.
die.PAST-3SG
Less than a year later so it was, he died when the autumn came.

11. *Z'oto g'ai-de* 'Otter and Crow' (told by Alexandr Egorovič Pionka)

Z'oto *aŋi* *bi-mie,* *omo* *z'oto* *bi-si-ni,* *z'oto* *g'ai.*
otter IND be-INF one otter be-PAST-3SG otter crow
There once lived an Otter and a Crow.

Z'oto *tu:* *xuli:* *xuli:,* *diga-la-m(i)* *tu:* *wa:-i.*
otter all go.PRP go.PRP eat-PURP-SS all kill-PRP
Otter always goes (hunting), hunts all the time so that it could eat.

Zeuŋe-we:-s *zeuŋe* *wa:-ini,* *sugzä:-wa*
greenling-ACC-DIS greenling kill-3SG fish-ACC
galakta-ini *diga-la:-m(i).*
seek-3SG eat-PURP-SS

It kills greenlings (a variety of salmon), seeks for fish to eat.
Bi-mie *z'oto* *ei* *neŋi-ni* *omo* *neŋi-ni*
be-INF otter this day-3SG one day-3SG
muisi: *«Anda,* *aŋi* *g'ai-ma* *anda-tigi*
think.3SG friend IND crow-ADJ friend-LAT
ŋene-ze-m(i) bi.»
go-SUBJ-1SG me
So they lived, one day Otter thinks: «Let me go to my friend Crow.»

G'ai-ma *anda-n(i)* *z'oto* *bi-xi-ni,* *e,*
crow-ADJ friend-3SG otter be-PAST-3SG INTER
g'ai-ma *anda-ni* *eme:-ni.*
crow-ADJ friend-3SG come.PAST-3SG
Otter was Crow's friend, it came to its friend Crow.

«Ge, *g'ai* *anda,* *i:-digi* *em'e-i?*
well crow friend where-LAT come.PERF-2SG
«Hey, friend Crow, where are you coming from?

Alasi-e *diga-la-f(i)* *olokto-zo-m(i)* *bi*
wait-IMP.2SG eat-PURP-1PL.IN cook-SUBJ-1SG me
si *diga-laga-i.»*
you eat-PURP-2SG
Wait, I'll cook for you to eat in order that you eat.»

Kawa *do-lo-ni* *joxo-i* *toxolo-gi-e* *z'oto.*
tent inside-LOC-3SG pot-REF put.on.fire-REP-PP otter
In the house the Otter put the pot on the fire.

Joxo-i *toxolo:.*
pot-REF put.on.fire.PP
It put the pot on the fire.

Joxo-ni *xui:,* *xui-li-e-ni,* *joxo* *cul(i)*
pot-3SG boil.PRP boil-INC-PAST-3SG pot through
xuiŋ-ke *gunei* *z'oto.*
dive-PAST EV otter
The pot is boiling, began to boil, Otter dived right down.

Joxo *culi* *xuiŋ-ki-zi* *go:* *bi:* *go:* *go:-do*
pot through dive-PP-INST.REF long be.PRP long long-FOC
ei *bie* *ba:-za* *ge:-tigi* *omo* *uge*
NEG be.PRES.HAB place-N surface-LAT one bunch

tei *zeuŋe* *gazi-e-ni,* *omo* *uge* *tei.*
whole greenling bring-PAST-3SG one bunch whole
Having dived it very soon brought out a bunch of greenlings, a whole bunch.

Uta *tuge-zi* *olokto:-ni,* *g'ai* *diga-ili.*

that quick-INST cook.PAST-3SG crow eat-3SG
It cooked quickly, and Crow ate.

G'ai diga-m(i) metu-ili, bi-mie g'ai ŋene-ilie-ze
crow eat-INF finish-3SG be-INF crow go-3SG-FOC
dogbo-gi-u.
night-REP-PAS
Crow finished eating, so they lived, one evening Crow comes to Otter.

«G(e), anda, bi-de ele ŋeni-m(i)
hey friend me-FOC enough come-INF
agda:-mi si zeuŋe-we j'e-we
be.glad.PAST-1SG you greenling-ACC what-ACC
diga-waŋ-ki-me-i.
eat-CAUS-PP-ACC-2SG
«Hey, friend, I was walking (to you) too, I am glad that you fed me with greenling or anything else.

Si-de eme-i min-tigi.
you-too come-IMP.2SG me-LAT
Come to me too.

Timana gdali timana ca:-la-n(i)-da
tomorrow CONT tomorrow after-LOC-3SG-FOC
eme-te-i-ze.»
come-PERM-2SG-HORT
Come the day after tomorrow.»

E, z'oto bi: bi:.
INTER otter be.PRP be.PRP
Otter lived, lived.

«Ei bi anda-i diaŋ-ka "nuan-tigi-ni eme-i
this me friend-1SG say-PERF he-LAT-3SG come-IMP.2SG
gum(u)» g'ai. ŋeni-ze-m(i) bi, j'e-we-de
EV crow go-SUBJ-1SG me what-ACC-IND

egdi-we diga-wan-za» gum(u).
many-ACC eat-CAUS-SUBJ EV
«My friend Crow said I should come to her, I should go, she will feed me with many things,» it said.

G'ai-tigi ŋene-ili, «A, anda, eme:-i,
crow-LAT go-3SG INTER friend come.PAST-2SG
j'ewe gabak, j'e-we nixe-je, gabak.
INTER INTER what-ACC make-2SG INTER
It came to Crow, «Friend, you came, croak, how are you, croak.»

Eme-mie joxo-i toxolo-gi-e-n(i) g'ai xaisi.
come-INF pot-REF put.on.fire-REP-PAST-3SG crow too

When it came, Crow put the kettle on the fire, too.

Joxo-i *toxolo-gi-zi:* *xui-li-zi-ge,* *z'oto*
pot-REF put.on.fire-REP.PP-INST boil-INC.PP-INST-FOC otter
bagä:-za-la *te:-i.*
opposite-N-LOC sit-PRP
The kettle began to boil on the fire, the Otter sits opposite.

Joxo *culi* *xuiŋ-ku-nie* *g'ai.*
pot through dive-PAST-3SG crow
Crow dived into the kettle.

Alasi:, *ei* *eme-gi,* *alasi:,* *ei* *eme-gi,*
wait.PRP NEG come-REP wait.PRP NEG come-REP
alasi:, *ei* *eme-gi.*
wait.PRP NEG come-REP
(Otter) waits, it is not coming, (Otter) waits, it is not coming.

«J'eu *ŋene-i?»*
what go-PRP
«Why did she leave?»

Ba:-la *ise-kte-ne,* *ba:-la-da* *anči,*
place-LOC see-DIST-DIR place-LOC-FOC no
i:-le-de *anči,* *joxo* *düjxi-ni* *olokto-i.*
what-LOC-IND no pot inside-3SG cook-PRP
It went to look outdoors, nobody there, (Crow) is nowhere (to be found), it is being cooked in the pot.

Joxo *do-lo-ni* *ise-si-gi-ni,* *ei*
pot inside-LOC-3SG see-IM-REP-3SG this
saña *dugelilie* *xui:-ni* *gune* *joxo*
bird.excrement turbid boil-3SG EV pot
do-lo-ni.
inside-LOC-3SG
(Otter) looked into the pot (and sees): the water had become turbid with bird excrement boiling in the pot.

Ali *bude:-ni,* *{vse}?*
when die.PAST-3SG all
When did it die {and it was the end}?

E-si-n(i) *mute* *uli-tigi* *ŋene-kce-m(i).*
NEG-PAST-3SG can water-LAT put-INT-INF
It could not go into the water.

Ele *tete:-ni.*
enough end-SG
This is the end.

12. *Waŋba* ‘Turtle’ (told by Andrej Dzandzuleevič Suanka)

Waŋba	*ejekte*	*uli-le*	*e-ini*	*bagdi,*	*waŋba*
turtle	fast	water-LOC	NEG-3SG	live	turtle
bagdi-mi	*to:go*	*uli-le.*			
live-INF	quiet	water-LOC			

Turtles do not live in fast water, they live in quiet water.

To:go	*uli-le*	*bagdi-mi,*	*ni:-we*	*ise-i*
quiet	water-LOC	live-INF	man-ACC	see-PRP
susa:-n(i)-tene,		*xuine-ini*	*uli*	*düixi-ni.*
escape-3SG-CONT		dive-3SG	water	inside-3SG

They live in quiet water, and when they see a man they escape, they dive into the water.

Xuine-si-e-ti,	*e-zeŋe*	*b’a-gi.*
dive-IM-PAST	NEG-FUT	find-REP

If they dive, they will not be found.

Waŋba	*umakta-ni*	*egdi.*
turtle	egg-3SG	many

Turtle has a lot of eggs.

Umakta-ini	*egdi-we,*	*egde-ŋki,*	*egde-ŋki*	*umakta-ini,*
egg-3SG	many-ACC	many-ADV	many-ADV	egg-3SG
läsi	*egdi-me.*			
very	many-ACC			

It lays many eggs, lays a lot of them.

Za:	*tuŋa-ma-wa*	*umakta-ini.*
ten	five-ACC-ACC	egg-3SG

It lays fifteen eggs.

Uta	*oñokto-wo*	*ule-isi*	*[oñokto]*	*umakta-ini.*
that	sand-ACC	dig-PC?	sand	egg-3SG

It digs the sand and lays there its eggs.

Umakta-isi:-tene		*umakta-m(i)*	*metu-ge,*	*uta-wa*	*teu*
egg-PC-CONT		egg-INF	finish-PERF	that-ACC	all
deigi:-ni,	*teu*	*deigie.*			
cover-3SG	all	cover.PRP			

Having finished laying eggs it covers them all (with sand).

Uti	*su:-tigi*	*men-e*	*xekui*	*edisini*	*men-e*	*bagdi:-ni.*
that	sun-LAT	REF-0	warm	when	REF-0	live-3SG

They grow by themselves in the sun when it is warm.

Aŋi	*sita,*	*waŋba*	*sita-ni*	*ic’a-i-de,*	
IND	child	turtle	child-3SG	small-FOC-FOC	
ic’a-i-de,	*ic’a-i-de.*				

small-FOC small-FOC-FOC
Baby turtles are very very small.

Uta	*beje-ti*	*men-e*	*ñugie*	*su:-tigi*			
that	self-3PL	REF-0	come.out.PRP	sun-LAT			
solo-xi:,		*uli-tigi*	*egbe-xi:,*	*ute*	*bede*	*sagdi*	
go.upstream-IM.PRP		water-LAT	swim-IM.PRP	that	like	big	
ede-ini.							
become-3SG							

They come out to the sun by themselves, (go) up the stream, swim to the river, this way they grow up.

13. Making a fire (told by Susan Čufuevič Geonka)

Bu:-we	*galakte-iti*	*bita-la,*	*aja*	*aja*	*bu:-we.*
flint-ACC	seek-3SG	spit-LOC	good	good	flint-ACC

They seek a flint in the spit, a very good flint.

Sagdi	*bu:-we*	*b'a*	*ut'as(i)*	*zolo-zi*	*zolo-zi*	
big	flint-ACC	find	then	stone-INST	stone-INST	
kakta-sie,	*nekce-iti.*					
split-IM.PRP	keep-3PL					

When they find a big flint, they split it with the stones and keep it.

Uti	*zolo-zi*	*tene,*	*uti*	*bu:-zi*	*[wo:kto]*	
that	stone-INST	CONT	that	flint-INST	grass	
wo:kto	*bi:*	*siŋa-gdeli,*	*wo:kto*	*gegbi,*	*siŋa-gdeli….*	
grass	be.PRP	mouse-FOC	grass	name.PRP	mouse-FOC	

And with this stone, this flint (they kindle) grass called «mouse grass».

Uta-wa	*ŋala-zi:*	*teu*	*čifala:-k,*			
that-ACC	hand-INST	all	brake.PAST-EXPR			
čifala:n-zi-ni		*teu*	*aŋi-*	*bede*	*bi:-ni.*	
brake.PP-INST-3SG		all	IND-	like	be-3SG	

They brake it by hand, when it is broken, it looks like this.

[To:]	*to:-wo*	*ile-iti*	*nixe:n-zi.*
fire	fire-ACC	kindle-3PL	make.PP-INST

After that, they make fire.

Uti	*wo:kto*	*d'a*	*bede,*	*da:*	*bede*	*lemde lemde,.*	
this	grass	cotton.wool	like	cotton.wool	like	fluffy fluffy	
uta-zi	*uta*	*pu:si-mi:*	*to:*	*ile-iti.*			
that-3SG	that	blow-INF	fire	kindle-3PL			

This grass is like cotton-wool, very fluffy; then they make fire blowing on it.

Pusa:	*{kak*	*spička*	*ne*	*gorit*	*prosto}.*
sort.of.grass	like	match	not	burns	simply.

This grass {does not burn just like a match}.

Uti *nixe-gdeli* *d'a-ŋi-ni* *zegde-lisi-n(i)-de*
that do-FOC cotton.wool-AL-3SG burn-CC-3SG-FOC
pu:si-mi *pu:si-mi* *zegde-li:-ni.*
blow-INF blow-SS burn-INC-3SG
After that, they burn the cotton wool, they blow, blow, and burn (it).

Zegde-lisi-ni *uta-la* *taluga-zi* *[taluga*
burn-CC-3SG that-LOC birch.bark-INST birch.bark
guza-lie] *{ili}* *mo:-wo* *[mo:-wo* *mo:-wo]* *og'ou*
tear-3SG or tree-ACC tree-ACC wood-ACC dry
mo:, *sakta* *kua-inie,* *kua-kta* *kä:-li*
wood brush.willow shave-3SG shaving-N near-PROL
nede-i, *pu:si-mi* *zegde-li:-ni.*
put-PRP blow-INF burn-INC-3SG
When it starts burning, they tear off (a piece of) birch bark or put some wood, dry wood, {or} shave a brush willow and put the shavings nearby and it starts burning, while they are blowing.

To: *ile-iti* *uta-zi.*
fire kindle.PAST-3PL that-INST
They kindled fire with this.

Bi *uta-wa* *ise-si-e-mi.*
me that-ACC see-IM-PAST-1SG
I have seen this.

{Ja *videl}* *uta-wa.*
me saw that-ACC
{I have seen} this.

14. Old man Kanda and hares (told by Susan Čufuevič Geonka)

Zu: *mafas'a* *bagdi-e-ti,* *omo* *baja,* *omo* *zoŋku-s'e.*
two old.man live-PAST-3PL one rich one poor-N
There were two old men, one was rich, the other was poor.

Bagdi-mie *bagdi-mie*, *uti* *mafas'a,* *zoŋku* *mafas'a*
live-INF live-INF that old.man poor old.man
dian-a-ini *«[Bi]* *aŋi-we* *sina-si-je*
say-0-3SG me IND-ACC burden.frame-V-IMP.2SG
sina-wa.»
burden.frame-ACC
They lived, lived, the old man, the poor old man says (to his wife): «Pack my burden frame.»

Xaikte-we *jeu-gde-we* *s'ou-we* *sina-da-li.*
dry.grass-ACC what-FOC-ACC scoop-ACC burden.frame-V-3SG
She packed dry grass, a scoop, everything.

«Uli *kä:-la-ni* *kepte-ne-ze-m(i),* *tukca* *min-a-wa*

river near-LOC-3SG lie-DIR-SUBJ-1SG hare me-0-ACC
b'a-laga-li»....
find-PURP-3SG
«I will go and lie down near the river, so that the hares find me.»

Mamaka-ŋi:-gdeli «Si tene kawa-la tu: saŋa
wife-AL.REF-FOC you CONT bark.house-LOC all hole
likpisi-je, uke-we xuku-je, ilakä-wa kulegi-je.
plug-IMP door-ACC tie-IMP.2SG bast-ACC prepare-IMP.2SG
(He said) to his wife: «Plug up all the holes in the house, close the door, and prepare the bast.

Tukca min-a-wa b'a-gi:-si:-ni tu: wokti-we, saŋa
hare me-0-ACC find-REP-PC-3SG all door-ACC hole

tu: likpigi-je, to: xo:-lo-ni likpigi-je.
all plug-IMP.2SG fire over-LOC-3SG plug-IMP.2SG
When the hares find me, plug everything, the door, all the holes, plug (the flue) over the fire.

Uta bi: e-lege-ni tukca xo:n-tigi-ni
that be.PRP NEG-PURP-3SG hare outside-LAT-3SG
ŋene.»
go
(Do) so, so that the hares cannot escape outdoors.»

Ute- bede ŋene-gi-e-k, ŋene:-ni uli
that like go-REP.PAST-EXPR go.PAST-3SG river
kä:-tigi-ni.
near-LAT- 3SG
So he left, he went to the river.

Uli ŋä:-la-n(i) kepte:-k, kepte:-i, kepte:-i.
river bank-LOC-3SG lie.PAST-EXPR lie-PRP lie-PRP
He lay down on the river bank, he was lying for a long time.

Gagaga ele: sikie-gie ... omo tukca
INTER soon evening-REP.PRP one hare
eme:n-zi: kä-li.
come-PP-INST.SS near-PROL
In the evening one hare came up.

«*Od'o, Kanda od'o i:mi i:mi bude:-nie,*
grandfather Kanda grandfather why why die.PAST-3SG
haigugugu?
INTER
«Why did grandfather Kanda die?

Xaikta-ni-de bie haigugugu, to:-n(i)-de
dry.grass-3SG-FOC bePRES.HAB INTER fire-3SG-FOC
bie haigugugu, s'ou-n(i)-de bie,
be.PRES.HAB INTER scoop-3SG-FOC be.PRES.HAB
haigugugu, i:mi bude-nie?

INTER why die.PAST-3SG
There is dry grass for putting in the boots, the fire, the scoop, why did he die?

Ai-ŋ'ei *tukca-nie,* *haigugugu,* *eme-je-ue* *haigugugu,*
fir.tree-N hare-3SG INTER come-IMP-2PL INTER

sakt'ai *tukca-nie,* *die-le* *tukca-nie,*
willow.thicket hare-3SG far.from.river-N hare-3SG
haigugugu, *eme-je-ue* *haigugugu,* *od'o*
INTER come-IMP-2PL INTER grandfather
bude:-me-nie *haigugugu* *kawa-tigi* *neu-gi-lege*
die.PP-ACC-3SG INTER tent-LAT fetch-REP-PURP
haigugugu.»
INTER
Hares from the fir tree thicket, come here, hares from the brush willow thicket, hares from faraway places, come here, in order to fetch the dead grandfather back to his house.»

Ute.
that
(He sang) like that.

Tukca *eme-kte:-ni.*
hare come-DIS.PAST-3SG
The hares came from different places.

«E:, *uta* *bi:-te.»*
INTER that bi.PRP-FOC
«Ah, things are like this.»

Tu: *eme-kte:-ti.*
all come-DIS.PAST-3PL
All of them came.

[Mafa] *uti* *od'o* *mogolie* *mogolie*
old.man that grandfather around around
mogolie *jeukte-si:* *«Ge,* *bude:-mi*
around check-IM.PRP yes die.PAST-INF

neu-gi-ze-f(i) *kawa-tigi,* *mama-tigi*
fetch-REP-SUBJ-1PL.IN tent-LAT wife-LAT
neu-gi-ze-fie.»
fetch-REP-SUBJ-1PL.IN
They checked the old man all over, «Yes (indeed), he has died, let us bring him back to his house, to his wife.»

Neu-gi-li-e-ti, *neu-gi-e-k* *mafasa-wa,*
fetch-REP-INC.PAST-3PL f fetch-REP-PAST-EXPR old.man-ACC
neu-gi: *zug-tigi,* *kawa-tigi,* *neu-gi-e:,* *mede:*
fetch-REP.PRP house-LAT tent-LAT fetch-REP.PRP report
«Ei *od'o* *uli* *kä:-la-ni* *gekti-e-me-ni*
this grandfather river near-LOC-3SG freeze-PP-ACC-3SG

neu-gi-e-u.»
fetch-REP-PAST-1PL.EX
They started fetching, brought the old man back to his house, and reported: «Here, we have brought back the grandfather frozen, from near the river.»

«Aja, agda, aja», agda:-nie uti mamaka tukca
good be.glad good thank PAST-3SG that old.woman hare
neu-gi-e-me-ni.
fetch-REP-PP-ACC-3SG
«Good, thank you,» – the old woman thanked the hares which had brought (the old man).

Uti agda:-nie, agda:-nie, wokti tu: xekegi-si-e-k.
that thank-3SG thank-3SG door all tie-IM.PAST-EXPR
She thanked them and meanwhile closed the door.

Mafasa-ni xere xere te:-gi-mie oloŋki-zi
old.man-3SG quick quick get.up-REP-INF stick-INST
ŋene-wasi-e-ni j'eu-zi j'eu oloŋki bi-mie jeu,
beat-DIV-PAST-3SG what-INST what stick be-INF what
tamu-zi.
stick-INST
The old man got up quickly and beat (them) with a stick and with everything.

Tu: koŋko-si:-li, koŋko-do-i, tamu-zi koŋko-do-li
all beat-IM-3SG beat-SEM-PRP stick-INST beat-SEM-INC
omo aŋi-we tukca-wa ku'ai-la-ni p'ali-gde
one IND-ACC hare-ACC ear-LOC-3SG black-FOC
zegde-li tamu-zi.
burn-3SG stick-INST
He beat them and hit one hare's ears with a charred burnt stick.
{A} tamu paktana tamu-de [jala] jala zawa uti tamu
and stick hit stick-FOC coal coal ... take that stick
j'eu-gde-zi ... ku'ai-ni p'ali-gde.
what-FOC-INST ear-3SG black-FOC
And the stick with which he hit the hare was burnt, like coal.

Utemi [ku'ai] tukca ku'ai-ni p'aligi bi:, p'aligi,
then ear hare ear-3SG black be.PRP black
ku'ai due-ni p'aligi.
ear end-3SG black
That is why the hares' ears are black, the ends of the hares' ears are black.
Kanda mafa p'aligi tamu-zi cinge-da:-ni,
Kanda old.man black stick-INSTR hit-V.PAST-3SG
to: tamu-zi-ni. ...
fire stick-INSTR-3SG
The old man Kanda hit it with the black stick from the fire.

Uta-wa tukca-ŋi: tu: si:-si:, tu: zeute-ŋisi:.
that-ACC hare-AL.REF all skin-IM.PRP all food-V.PRP
They skinned their hares, cooked a lot of different food.

Baja *mafa-wa* *gele:-ti* *sauli-masi* *baja*
rich old.man-ACC invite.PAST-3PL have.feast-REC rich
mafa-wa *sauli-masi-le-fi* *gele:-ni ...*
old.man-ACC have.feast-REC-PURP-SS.PL invite.PAST-3SG
He invited the rich man to have a feast together.

Uti dian-a-ini, *«Ei* *zoŋku* *zoŋku* *mafas'a* *j'eu* *j'e-we*
that say-0-3SG this poor poor man what what-ACC
wa:-li *sauli-le-m(i)* *gele-ini* *minti-we?»*
kill.PAST-3SG have.feast-PURP-INF invite-3SG we.IN-ACC
He says, «What did the poor man kill to invite us for a feast?»

«A:, *tukca* *wa:-ni* *[sin-e-we]* *tukca*
INTER hare kill.PAST-3SG you-ACC hare
wa:-ni, *sauli-le-m(i)* *geli-ŋie»* *aŋi*
kill.PAST-3SG have.feast-PURP-SS invite-IC IND
mamaka-ŋi-ni *dian-a-ini.*
old.woman-AL-3SG say-0-3SG
«He killed hares to invite you for a treat,» says his wife.

«Ge, *ŋene-ze-f(i)»,* *ŋene:-ti.*
INTER go-SUBJ-1PL.IN go.PAST-3PL
«Well, let us go,» and they went.

Gele-ŋie *[baja-ni]* *zoŋku-s'e,* *läsi* *zeute-ŋisie*
invite-IC rich-3SG poor-N much food-V.PRP
tukca-zi, *tukca* *ule:-we-ni.*
hare-INST hare meat-ACC-3SG
The poor man invited (the rich one), cooked much food of the hares, the hare meat.

Uta *diga-si:,* *xauntasi:,* *«Si* *ono* *wa:-i* *tukca,*
that eat-IM.PRP ask.PRP you how kill.PAST-2SG hare

lä *egdi* *tukca-wa?*
very many hare-ACC
Then they ate, (the rich man) asked, «How did you kill so many hares?

Lä *egdi* *ono* *wa:-mu?*
very many how kill-INF
How can one kill so many?

[Si] *bi* *sin-digi-de* *egdi* *wa-zaŋa-i* *tukca-wa.*
you me you-ABL-FOC many kill-FUT-1SG hare-ACC
I will kill even more hares than you did.

Si *wac'a* *wa:-i.»*
you little kill.PAST-2SG
You killed little.»

«Ge, *maŋga-zi* *wal'a-ta-i-ze.»*
well strong-INST luck-PERM-2SG-HORT

«Well, good luck!»

Mafa *gdeli* *baja* *mafa* *zug-tigi* *ŋeni-e-k,*
old.man FOC rich man house-LAT go-PAST-EXPR
timana-ni *aŋi* *mamaka-ni* *dian-a-ini,* *«Dogdie,* *si!*
tomorrow-3SG IND wife-3SG say-0-3SG listen.IMP.2SG you
The rich old man went home and the next day he said to his wife, «Wife!
Sina-da-za-fie, *bi* *tukca-wa* *ceminele-ze-m(i),*
burden.frame-V-SUBJ-1PL.IN me hare-ACC cheat-SUBJ-1SG
uli *kä-la-ni* *kepte-ne-ze-mi,* *tukca* *min-a-wa*
river near-LOC-3SG lie-DIR- SUBJ-1SG hare me-0-ACC

gune *zug-tigi* *kawa-tigi* *gazi-le-ti.»*
EV house-LAT tent-LAT bring-PURP-3PL
Let us pack my burden frame, I will cheat the hares, I will go and lie near the river, so that the hares bring me back home.

«Si *j'eu* *mute-zeŋe-i,* *j'eu* *si...»* *mamaka-ni*
you what can-FUT-2SG what you old.woman-3SG
dian-a-ini.
say-0-3SG
«How can you (do this),» says his wife.

Ge, *[si* *ute* *be].*
well you that like
«Well, it will be like that.
Bi *ute* *be* *zoŋku ...»*
me that like poor
I (will do) like the poor man did.»

ŋene:-ni *sina-da-na:,* *uli* *kä:-tigi-ni*
go.PAST-3SG burden.frame-V-PC.SS river side-LAT-3SG
ŋene:-k, *uli* *kä-la-ni* *kepte-nie,*
go.PAST-EXPR river side-LOC-3SG lie.PAST-3SG
kepte:-i..
lie-PRP
He went to the river bank having packed the burden frame and lay near the river.

Ele *bude* *bede* *kepte-ini,* *kepte-ini.*
soon die like lie-3SG lie-3SG
He was lying as if he was going to die.

Omo *tukca* *eme:n-zi:,* *«Sakt'ai* *tukca-nie* *haigugugu,*
one hare come.PP-INST.SS willow.thicket hare-3SG INTER
mafa *i:m(i)* *bude:-nie* *haigugugu.*
old.man why die.PAST-3SG INTER
One hare came (and said), «Hares from the brush willow thicket, why did the old man die?

Ai-ŋ'ei *tukca-nie* *haigugugu,* *eme-je-ue* *haigugugu.»* fir.tree-N hare-
3SG INTER come-IMP-2PL.EX INTER
Hares from the fir-tree thicket, come here.»

Tukca-ni *em'e,* *sakt'ai* *tukca-ni* *bi:*
hare-3SG come.PERF willow.thicket hare-3SG be.PRP
tukca-ni *eme-kte:-ti,* *lä* *eme-kte:-li.*
hare-3SG come-DIV.PAST-3PL many come-DIV.PAST-3PL
The hares came up, hares living in the brush willow thicket
came together, many came.

Lä *tukca* *mogolie* *mogolie* *xuli:,* *jeukte-si:.*
many hare around around walk.PRP check-IM.PRP
Many hares walk around and check (if he is really dead).

«Neu-gi-ze-fi *kawa-tigi,* *mama-tigi*
bring-REP-SUBJ-1PL.IN tent-LAT old.woman
od'o-wo, *od'o* *gekte-i-we-ni.»*
grandfather-ACC grandfather freeze-PRP-ACC-3SG
«Let us bring the frozen old man back to the bark house, to his wife.»
Ge, *neu-gi-li,* *ge,* *eme-li* *omo* *tukca*
well bring-REP-3SG well come-3SG one hare
xukti-li-e-ni, *ku'ai-ni* *p'ali,* *ku'ai-ni* *due-ni*
skip-INC-PAST-3SG ear-3SG black ear-3SG end-3SG
p'aligi.
black
They started to carry him, here comes a hare with black ears, with black ends of the ears.

«Alasi-je-u *haigugugu,* *alasi-je-u* *haigugugu.*
wait-IMP-2PL.EX INTER wait-IMP-2PL.EX INTER
«Wait, wait!

E-zi-u *nixe!*
NEG-IMP-2PL do
Do not do it!

Tineŋi *min-e-we* *ute* *bede* *omo* *uti* *zoŋku* *Kanda*
yesterday me-0-ACC this like one that poor Kanda
mafa *min-e-we* *ute* *bede-gdeli,* *ku'ai-la-i*
old.man me-0-ACC this like-FOC ear-LOC-1SG

p'alig(i)-de *ku'ai-de* *aŋi.*
black-FOC ear-FOC IND
Yesterday one poor old man, Kanda mafa, (cheated) me like this, (that is why) my ears are black.

Uli-tigi *wende-je* *a-wa,* *uli-tigi*
water-LAT throw-IMP.2SG this-ACC water-LAT
wende-i, *gun-e-ini,* *mafasa-wa.»*
throw-IMP.2SG say-0-3SG old.man-ACC
Throw him, this old man, into the water, he said, throw him into the water.»

Gegege *uta* *düsi: ..,.* «*Uli-tigi* *wende-je*
INTER that hear.PRP water-LAT throw-IMP.2SG
haigugugu, *e-zi-u* *neu-gie* *haigugugu,»* *xe:ti:-ni.*

INTER, NEG-IMP-2PL carry-REP INTER shout-3SG
The old man heard it, «Throw him into the water, do not carry,» he shouted.

Xe:ti-m(i) *xe:ti-mi* *tukca* *ono-dom* *ono-dom*
shout-INF shout-INF hare how-IND how-IND
xukti-ne:-ni.
skip-DIR.PAST-3SG
Shouting the hares skipped this way and that.
«Gegege, *uli-tigi* *wende-ze-fi,* *uli-tigi*
INTER water-LAT throw-SUBJ-1PL.IN water-LAT
wende-je, *gun-e-ini.*
throw-IMP.2SG say-0-3PL
«Let us throw him into the water, throw him into the water, (the hare) said.

Tineŋi *xai* *uta-zi* *zoŋku* *zoŋku* *mafasa* *min-e-(we)*
yesterday too that-INST poor poor old man me-0-(ACC)
aŋi-e-ni *ute* *bede* *cemine:-ni.»*
IND-PAST-3SG this like cheat.PAST-3SG
Yesterday, too, the poor old man cheated me like this.»

Ge, *uli-tigi* *z'e* *wende-li: ...* *bogolo* *uli-tigi*
well water-LAT as.soon.as throw-3SG f fat water-LAT
wende... *jazata* *xelibe* *te:-gi-e-ni,*
throw of.course quick get.up-REP-PAST-3SG
omo *omo-wo* *tukca* *zuke* *zawa:-ni* *mafasa,*
one one-ACC hare hardly catch.PAST-3SG old.man
baja *mafa.*
rich old.man
As soon as they threw the fat old man into the water, the man, the old man, got up quickly and hardly caught one hare.

Ketige *uli-tigi* *wende:-ni.*
nearly water-LAT throw.PAST-3SG
They nearly threw him into the river.
ŋene:-ni *zug-tigi,* *ji:,* *tukca,* *sina-wa*
go.PAST-3SG house-LAT enter.PRP hare burden.frame-ACC
aŋi *neu-gi-e-ni.*
IND bring-REP-PAST-3SG
He went home, entered, brought back one hare and the burden frame.

«Ketige *min-e-we* *uli-tigi* *wende-du-ge* *tukca-ziga*
nearly me-0-ACC water-LAT throw-PL-PERF hare-PL
sañäwo:noni, *min-e-we* *cemine:-ni,* *ei* *omo-to*
damn me-0-ACC cheat.PAST-3SG this one-REST
tukca *zawa:-mi,* *omo-to* *tukca ...*
hare take.PAST-1SG one-REST hare
«The hares nearly threw me into the river, damn, they cheated me, I have caught only one hare, only one.»

Uti *zoŋku* *mafasa-de* *iñekte-ili,* *«Gegege,* *ono*
this poor old.man-FOC laugh-3SG INTER how

min-a-wa	*zakt'a-si:*	*tukca-du*	*uli-tigi*
me-0-ACC	do.like.another-PC.SS	hare-DAT	river-LAT
keti(ge)	*wende-wo:-ni.*		
nearly	throw-PAS.PAST-3SG		

The poor old man laughed, «Ha-ha-ha, he did like me, (but) was nearly thrown into the river by the hares.»

Chapter 26
Thematic lexicon

The thematic lexicon represents the core vocabulary of Bikin Udihe grouped into conventional semantic fields. The structure of the lexicon is to some extent based on Kibrik and Kodzasov (1990), however, it differs from it both in section divisions and in the position of concrete words. Within each section words are organized on semantic grounds, while the list of ideophones in 26.3 is presented alphabetically. The lexicon of the Northern dialect is fairly comprehensively represented in Simonov and Kjalundzjuga (1998–1999).

26.1. Nominals

26.1.1. Body

26.1.1.1. Head and neck

head	*dili*
neck	*müö*
skull	(of a bear) *zei*
chin, jaw	*zei*
face	*degdi*
cheek	*sasa*
Adam's apple	*kaŋue*
forehead	*xeje*
temple	*kämikte*
eye	*ja:*
wall-eye	*käktugu*
pupil of the eye	*niziga*
eyelash	*samikte*
eyebrow	*guluge*
eyelid	*kempukte*
ear	*ku'ai*
lobe of the ear	*cempukte*
nose	*ŋö:*
beak	*zogzo*
back of the head	*kekpese*
top of the head	*temuge*
mouth	*aŋma*
lip	*xeme*
tongue	*iŋi*
gum	*texe*
tooth	*ikte*
milk-tooth	*soŋoso ikteni*
fang	*guja, suka*

molar	*s'aiguni*
throat	*zokpo,* (sore) *kute*
bronchial tubes, wind pipe	*kogu*
palate	*ke*
muzzle, snout	*lüimo*
antlers, horns	*je:*

26.1.1.2. Trunk

body, trunk	*beje*
dead body	*buniŋe*
back	*aka*
side	*kente*
shoulder	*bogdolo*
breast	*xaba*
chest	*tiŋe*
udder	*xaba*
nipple	*xaba*
waist	*eŋeze*,(back part) *sogdö, da:ma*
penis	*w'oso*, (of a boy) *kaŋgu*
vagina	*wa:,* (of a girl) *luktei*
testicles	*bu:ŋi*
tail	*igi,* (of a fish) *kemdexi*
bottom, anus	*ai*

26.1.1.3. Extremities

arm	*ŋala*
paw	*bugdi*
elbow	*iso:*
hand	*ŋala*
fist	*saŋtu*
palm	*xaña*
finger	*uña,* (second) *sö:,* (third) *dulumti,* (fourth) *čimcai ag'ani,* (fifth) *čimcai*
phalanx	*to:*
thumb	*xo:*
nail	*waikta*
claw	*cof'o*
handful	*cof'o*
back of the hand, instep	*ŋumni, xaña umnini*
nipper	*euŋge*
foot of web-footed	*pataga*
sole	*xagdigi*
leg	*bugdi*
ankle	*kuandugu*
shin-bone	*uiŋki*
heel	*(ŋ)iŋti*
hip	*wo:*

knee	*xeŋe*
kneecap	*bölo*
lap	*bege*
hoof	(of a cow, deer, moose, boar) *(w)u:,* (one half) *kokco*
wing	*daptä*
fin	*zu:i,* (side) *usa,* (dorsal) *cösökö*

26.1.1.4. Internal organs and bones

heart	*mäwa*
lung	*eunte*
liver	*x'ei*
spleen	*a:mi*
stomach	*emugde*
gut	*sulukta*
tendon	*simu*
vein	*sakä umaktani*
marrow	*uma*
roe	*cafa*
bone	*gäma*
shoulder-blade	*sä:*
pelvis	*deuxi*
backbone	*ni:kta*
lumbar vertebrae	*da:ma*
fibula, radius	*ile*
thigh-bone	*boŋga*
joint	*zala*
cartilage	*kefutige, neptige*

26.1.1.5. Surface of the body

skin, hide	*nä, (*fish) *sugbu,* (of a bear) *ñata*
wool	*ñukte*
hair	*ñukte*
plait	*jakti,* (on the side) *xekele*, (behind) *bänza*
mane	*ñukte*
mole	*xanikte*
sore, scab	*koxo*
beard	*gu(z)akta*
moustache	*gu(z)akta*
feather	*ofokto*
pimple	*pusilakta*
scales	*e:je, ekte*
callosity	*sakta*
wound	*sie*
scar	*kalä*
bruise	*ñoko*
wrinkle	*bakči*

26.1.1.6. Soft substances and secretions

brain	*dui*
blood	*sakä*
sweat	*nieŋi*
tear(s)	*iŋamukta*
saliva	*zalä*
snivel, drool	*ligba*
bile	*silie*
gall	*zo:*
milk	*kos'o*
pus	*ñaŋña*
urine	*suo*
excrement	*amu*
bird' s dung, droppings	*saña*

26.1.2. Man

26.1.2.1. Kinship terms and related notions

relative	(of the same generation) *xa:,* (relative) *za:,* (by marriage) *seŋgite*
youth	*ñ'aula*
child	*sita*
boy	*b'ata*
girl	*xatala,* (small) *aziga*
man	*ninta*
woman	*a:nta*
old man	*mafasa, sagdinta*
old woman	*mamaka*, *sagdinta*
older man from the same kin	*od'o*
older woman from the same kin	*mama*
father	*abuga*
mother	*eniŋe*
son	*b'atama sita, b'ata*
daughter	*azigama sita, aziga*
grandmother	(father's or mother's elder sister) *mama*, (maternal*) laulou*, (paternal) *neinei*
grandfather	*od'o*, (paternal*) jeje*, (maternal) *lauje*
grandchild	*sunze, omölo*
brother	(elder) *ag'a,* (elder, of a woman) *ñazakta,* (younger) *neŋu*
sister	(elder) *exe,* (elder, of a man) *xuñazi,* (younger) *neŋu*
uncle	(mother's brother) *gos'o,* (father's elder brother) *daja* or *od'o*, (mother's sister's husband) *ifu*, (father's younger brother) *su:su*, (father's sister's husband) *gufu*
aunt	(father's sister) *gugu,* (father's elder brother's wife) *da:niŋa,* (father's younger sister, father's wife younger than mother) *exe,* (father's younger brother's wife) *se:niŋa,* (mother's elder sister)

	iñaŋa, (mother's brother wife) *gimu*
husband	*mafa*
wife	*mamasa*
spouse	*gagda,* (in an address) *dogdi*
bride	*mamasaŋati*
groom	*mafaŋati*
mother-in-law	*mama*, *eme*, (wife's mother) *ele*
father-in-law	*od'o, ama*
brother-in-law	(younger sister's husband) *keli,* (elder sister's husband) *auja*
sister-in-law	(wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife's younger sister) *bene*, (elder brother's wife) *seuze* or *exe*
son-in-law	*kodu*
cousin	*zalä,* (younger) *ñazakta,* (mother's elder sister's child) *to:xo*
nephew, niece	(elder sister's child) *neŋu,* (younger sister's child*) inas'a*
twins	*ad'au*
orphan	*aŋaza*
widow	*nau, nau a:ntani*
widower	*nau, nau nintani*
clan, kin	*ze:*
family	*zugdiŋke*
old maid, spinster	*xatala mamani*
bachelor	*poutuize*

26.1.2.2. Social roles

neighbour	*nimeŋke*
guest	*zima: ni:*
friend	*anda*
enemy	*bagäu*
master, owner	*xente*
ruler	*eze*
chief, boss	*zaŋgä*
oldest man	*sagdimzi*
hired worker	*lauzi, kekese*
servant	*elči*
soldier	*cawa:*
merchant	*xudasi: ni:*
teacher	*säŋsäŋa, učiteli*

26.1.2.3. Nationalities

Udihe	*udie*
Chinese	*niŋka*
Russian	*lusa*
Japanese	*i:bene*
Korean	*gauli*
Jakut	*joko*
Evenki	*kile*

Nanai	*maŋmu*
Oroch	*namuŋka*

26.1.3. Animals

female	(of small beasts) *guas'a*, (of fishes, birds) *eñece*, (of hoofed animals) *eni(n)*
male	(of small beasts) *mugeti,* (of fishes, birds) *amina,* (of hoofed animals) *logoso, etige* (of tiger and bear)

26.1.3.1. Domestic animals and fowl

domestic animal	*wo:*
cow	*ja:*
pig	*wagä*
horse	*mui*
dog	*in'ei*
puppy	*kasanziga*
cat	*keige*
hen	*n'au*
duck	*gaja*

26.1.3.2. Beasts

beast, animal	*bui*
badger	*jandasa*
racoon-dog	*nautu*
hare	*tukca*
squirrel	*oloxi*
fox	*sul'ai*
wolf	*ñeŋu*
chipmunk	*xualibanza*
mouse	*siŋe*
shrew	*čundie*
rat	*sagdi siŋe*
marten	*kai(a)*
lynx	*tibzexi*
hermine	*zelexi*
sable	*ñö:*
otter	*z'oto*, *zugu*
glutton	*oŋdo*
Siberian weasel	*solö*
Manchu deer	*käŋa,* (one-year old) *sigis'a,* (young) *barakča*
roe	*giusa, pauza*
moose	*ogbö*
boar	*nakta*, (one-year old) *sü:, gulugese,* (female) *atiga*, (male) *zei*
musk-deer	*anda*
tiger	*kuti*, (cub) *kuti xuga-ni,* (one-year-old) *kuti bakana-ni,* (two-

	years-old) *dükto*
snow leopard	*meku*
bear	*mafa, soŋgo*, (cub) *xuga,* (one-year-old) *bakana,* (Manchu) *na:niŋi,* (Himalayan) *guaizima*
leopard	*simoule*
lynx	*tibzexi*
pole-cat	*selende*
monkey	*xeuze*
jackal	*zaku*
bat	*elegdige*
flying squirrel	*bokto*

26.1.3.3. Birds

small singing bird	*čind'a*
bird of prey	*gäxi*
wild duck	*gaja,* (*Anas formosa) cuguse*
raven	*wali*
crow	*g'ai*
sparrow	*zätöu*
cuckoo	*keku*
owl	*guakči*
eagle-owl	*ukä, ga: mafa*
eagle	*käsa*
hazel-hen	*sumuxi*
wild goose or swan	*ñuŋñai*
heron	*ŋasaxi*
heath-cock	*aima*
woodpecker	*boxolo*, (big) *kuexi*
jay	*ju:xä*
wood pigeon	*ku:nti*
magpie	*pa:mp'ai*
night bird *(Otus sunia)*	*topto*

26.1.3.4. Cold-blooded animals, fishes, and water animals

fish	*sugzä*
greenling	*zauŋa*
bulltrout	*zeli*
burbot	*čä:*
salmon	(Siberian salmon) *dawa,* (humpback salmon) *oxo,*
crawfish	*ceŋdexi*
pike	*guese*
minnow	*ilondo*
chub	*jabada*
roach	*jalä*
sazan	*kaktä*
sig, whitefish	*kali*
bullhead	*las'a*

grayling	*ñugusa*
crucian	*duguaza*
goby fish	*l'asa*
Misgurnus anguillicaudatus	*sumundi*
shellfish	*ga:la*
snake	*kuliga*, (small) *miki*
frog	*e:xi*
toad	*ja:la*
tortoise	*waŋba*
grass-snake, sledge runner	*zabda*
snail	*zauda*
fry	*wajakta*
whale	*kalima*

26.1.3.5. Insects

insects	(in water) *kuliga,* (small) *kukpu*
worm	*kuligas'a,* (earth) *silikte*
fly	*gobo(do)*
wasp	*afun'au*
gadfly	*ige:*
bee	*kü: goboni*
mosquito	*ŋamakta,* (large) *cincaula,* (in autumn) *xumukte*
moth	*pöu*
ant	*iktente*
butterfly	*kuaña,* (night) *gawakta*
spider	*ataxi*
cockroach	*zaŋlaŋa*
flee	*sua*
loose	*kumuge*
forest-bug	*exinie*
tick	*käfa*
dragonfly	*gindaula*
caterpillar (hairy white)	*sefe*, (hairy green) *tuibo,* (not hairy) *ñolö*

26.1.4. Plants

26.1.4.1. Trees

tree	*mo:*
cedar	*kuŋka*
fir tree	*aikta*
birch tree	*talu,* (young) *cafakta*
oak tree	*oloŋkö*
Manchu nut tree	*kusikta*
poplar	*amigda*
larch tree	*ji:*
ash-tree	*bul'a*

aspen-tree	*xulu(gda)*
willow tree	*sakta*
elm	*tizaŋkä*
bird cherry tree	*isompo*
lime-tree	*eigde*
yew tree	*taktig'a*
cork tree	*kokto*
silver fir	*okto*
hawthorn	*zalikte*
Siberian apple-tree	*uliŋkä*

26.1.4.2. Bushes, shrubs, herbs

bushes, shrubs	*mokt'oi*
grass	*okto*
flower	*ila*, *xua*
berries	*gegbeŋku*
schizandra (a local creeper)	*usimpä, limonika*
barberry	*sa:*
raspberries	*etuŋgie bambatani*
blueberry	*dikte*
cranberry	*g'ata*
cowberry	*teukte*
berries of yew tree	*sama gegbeŋkuni*
red currents	*kosolo*
wild grapes	*musikte*
ginseng	*olondo*
poppy	*dajana*
lily	*gila*
Angelika (an edible plant)	*aunta*
hemp	*sikte*
honeysuckle	*xafakta*
goose-foot	*xucei*
a prickly bush	*kömpo*
fern	*ni:kte,* (*Pteridum*) *x'eutui bugdini*
horse-tail	*su:kte*
ledum	*seŋkie*
nettle	*xalaxai*
honey agaric	*zeŋmo*
moss	*labuge, lexeŋke*
water-plant	*kombokto*
slime, mire	*konolo*

26.1.4.3. Fruits, vegetables, crops

vegetables	*c'ai*
melon	*säŋguaza*
watermelon	*sigua*
grapes	*mesikte*

onion	*cuŋe*
garlic	*düce,* (wild) *disokto*
cucumber	*xuaŋgu*
potatoes	*tuduze, sañü*
squash	*wogu, siguli*
beans	*deuze*
pea	*tuli*
corn	*boulimi, boulime*
millet	*zakta*
rice	*zaŋmi*
green radish	*loboi*
mushroom (growing on trees)	*bot'o, mougu*

26.1.4.4. Parts of plants

wood	*mo:*
brushwood	*käfakta*
branch	(bough) *ga:,* (thin) *sue*
leaf	*abdä:*
bark	*wakta*
root	*texe*
acorn	*wikta*
bast	*ilakä*
nut	(cedar) *ikte,* (Manchu) *kusikta,* (hazel) *zeŋzegei*
seed	*ceme, ikte*
stamp	*mugd'a*
excrescence on a tree	*kanda*
thorn	*köŋpo*
pine-cone	(of fir-tree, larch tree) *koŋgolo,* (of cedar*) ñanta, seutige*

26.1.5. Food and drinks

food	*zeu*
flour, dough	*mäna, efe*
corn flour	*c'aza*
yeast	*mäna oktoni*
bread	*xeleba*
roasted flour with sugar	*mänca*
sugar, sweets	*sata*
salt	*s'ei*
honey	*kü:*
millet or rice broth	*zakta*
millet or rice porridge	(thick) *gampa,* (thin) *lala*
bun	*pampuška*
flat cake	(fried) *bula* or *kakčima,* (with bird-cherries) *ja:, galäŋa*
meat	*ule:*
meat dumplings	*maŋtu, bänči*

dried fish	(whole salmon) *ma:la,* (half of salmon) *ñamikta*, (salmon without roe) *deipte,* (cooked) *solimi*
boiled fish	*olo:*
raw fish	*t'ala*
fat	*imo:,* (boiled in pieces) *leme*
egg	*umakta*
potato meal	*läncei*
pickled vegetables	*saŋcaiŋisa*
soup	*colo,* (made of dried salmon) *solimi*
juice (of berries), broth	*sile*
tree sap (of birch)	*čöŋki*
milk	*ja: xabani*
vodka	*'ai*
tea	*čaja*

26.1.6. Clothes and jewellery

gown, dress	*tege*
trousers	*xeig I*
apron	*leli*
abdominal band	*deudeli*
(summer) shirt	*mokčö*
head-dress	*pumpu*
sleeve	*ukie*
scarf (made of squirrel tails)	*mo:pti*
cap	*au,* (winter hunting cap) *bogdo*
kerchief	*seuzine*
collar	*linze*
ear-flaps	*zauga*
belt	*umu,* (small) *telie*
footwear	*uŋta,* (home) *watuze*
mittens	(leather) *kol'o,* (cotton wool) *wambaxi,* (fabric) *kasama*
knee bandage	*wa'ipti*
jewellery	*jaŋza*
ring	*uñapti*
nose-ring	*s'a*
beads	*moŋoli*
earring	*weige*
bracelet	*belepti*
button	*to:*
spectacles	*jagdugu*
fan	*sanza*
hair lace	*weiptiŋke*

26.1.7. Material activity

26.1.7.1. Tools

instrument	*xazu*

braking tool	*kaiŋku*
scratching tool, scraper	*kede, (w)u:*
knife	*kusige*, (with crooked blade) *afili,* (for scratching the ornament) *u:dugu*
scissors	*xaza*
axe	*suese*
hatchet	(for the boat bottom) *xe:meŋku,* (for the boat inside, with crooked blade) *dosiŋku*
hammer	*xaluga*
saw	*züi*
hoe	*gautu*
drill	*oŋo*
awl, gimlet	*sigu*
plane	*tüifaŋa, tüibo*
nail	*tikpe,* (small) *cebe*
twist tool	*maktigi*
pincers	*euŋge*
file	*jö:*
sickle	*jandau*
crow	*keli*
spade	*guaŋčou*
mill	*lamo:*
stretching frame	*kaŋau*
bellows	*kuge*
anvil	*zile*
whetstone	*päŋku, sue*
fire-stone, flint	*bu:*
needle	*iŋme*
thimble	*uñapti*
thread	*siekte*

26.1.7.2. House objects and utensils

utensils, things	*xaläŋgie*
dishes	*tekpu*
spoon	*uniŋa*
sharp stick for taking meat	*sikpou*
ladle	*kuñzi*
scoop	*s'ou,* (for boiled fish) *juge*
chopsticks	*sabuga*
bowl	(wooden) *moxo*, (of birch bark) *xasa*
basin	*penze*
mug	*cawa*
plate	(wooden) *oto*, (china*) caŋmi*
bottle	*tukulu, baŋza*
caldron, pot	(large) *joxo, kala, loŋko*
sauce-pan	*maŋgwana*
kettle	*joxo, cuanza*
grater	*caŋku*
bucket	*mulexi,* (of birch bark) *mogu:*

grill	*länzi*
cutting board	*si:ŋku*
mat	*soktou*
rag, duster, nappies	*lugba*
broom	*akpuŋku*
oven	*zauxu*
stove	*biliči*
chair, stool, bench	*teŋku*
mirror	*xanaŋku*
table	*zueze*
chest	*konz'o*
box	(made of birch-bark) *xasa, komoxo*
backpack, burden frame	*sina*
cradle	*emuge*
(plank) bed	*kaŋa*
pillow	*zentu, tiu*
blanket	*xula*
mosquito curtain	*zampa*
store-house	*zali,* (small) *deke*
sticks for drying fish	*degumu*
scabbard	*komixi*
paper	*xauja*
lid, cover	*wopti, deipti*
handle	*xei*
rope	*xeku*
lock	*jausu*
key	*jausu luktaŋkuni*
hook	*ob'o*
pipe	*dei*
tobacco-pouch	*xali*
comb	*igdu, mele*
soap	*ji:ze*
toy	*guezeŋe, gusikči*
doll	*z'afa*
sack	*keudi, lamba*
bag	(for hunting) *padu,* (for tools) *puta*
money	*zä:*

26.1.7.3. Dwelling

city, town	*xoto(n)*
settlement	*bagdu, ige*
house	*zugdi,* (winter) *tueze*
tent, yurt	(grass) *kawa,* (bark) *colo, maiga*
night shelter	*aŋa*
door	*wopti*
doorway	*uke:*
roof	*zugdi xo:ni*
rafter	*saŋi*
floor	*weige, pala*

window	*pa:, coŋku*
wall	*kepte*
sleeping place	*bä:*
entrance hall	*utulu*
threshold	*uke: te:ni*
hearth	*to:pti*
flue	*saŋnämugu, tuŋmuge*
fence	*zaŋza*
nest	*xui,* (of a squirrel) *lo(gö)i*
burrow, hole	*agdu*, (in the tree roots*) gua*

26.1.7.4. Hunting, fishing

bow	*bei*
bow-string	*alaŋa ju:ni*
arrow	*tada,* (with the soft end, used by children) *zaŋta*
shaft of the bow	*alaŋa*
arbalest	*peu*
gun	*mä:usa, mäunda,* (small-calibre) *päkčika,* (double-barrel*) kab'ou*
cartridge	*ma:li*
fishing rode, hook	*um'a*
net	*adili*
harpoon	*meime,* (large) *zogbo*
trap	(iron) *kakpa, lau, ča:za,* (for small animals) *laŋi*
spear	*gida*
hunter's horn	*buniŋku*

26.1.7.5. Transportation

boat	(canoe) *ugda,* (large) *'ana,* (Russian) *temtige*
oar	*pataxi,* (for canoe, small paddle) *megu,* (long) *su:*
pole for pushing a boat	*gäu*
scull	*gäu*
sledge	*tuxi*
dog harness	*ala*
plane	*fuetiŋe*
train	*xuece*
carriage	*se:*
ski	*kiŋgele,* (fur-lined) *suala,*

26.1.7.6. Cloths

cloth	*sexi*
silk	*seule*

wool	*iŋakta, tanza*
brocade	*gäncu*
leather(n)	*ña:*
fish skin	*sugbu*
cotton wool, wadding	*d'a*
bast	*ilakä*
broadcloth	*zanza*

26.1.8. Non-material culture

26.1.8.1. Verbal activity

word, language	*keje*
name	*gegbi*
tale	*nimaŋku*
legend, story	*teluŋu*
riddle	*nagbuŋku*
news, information	*mede*

26.1.8.2. Music

shaman's tambourine	*uŋtu*
shaman's beetle	*koŋokto*
bells	*komokto*
flute	*kiŋula*
jaws harp	*kuŋkai*
string instrument	*zuläŋka*
song	*jexe*

26.1.8.3. Traditional beliefs and rituals

god	*bua*
shaman	*sama,* (evil) *kaŋmaŋku*
ritual pole	*tu:*
shaman mask	*xambaba*
shaman belt	*jampa*
idol of a good spirit	*sewexi*
spirit	(evil) *ogzo,* (*evil) amba,* (of nature) *eze,* (fire) *puzä*, (water) *temu*, (shaman's spirit) *sewe*
soul	*xaña, ege*
ream of dead	*bunige*
guessing stone	*xaŋaŋku*
straw dolls used by shamans	*pudeŋku*
sin	*sondo*
dragon	*muduli, süŋmu(li)*
altar	*pü*, *kesi geleŋku,* (Chinese) *möu*
gnome	*bagzä*
talisman	*boboi*

ritual lard	*ulikte*

26.1.8.4. Abstract notions

luck	*kesi*
misfortune	*zuge*
honor, respect	*gebu*
strength	*meje*
dream	*tokö*
sound	*uga*
voice	*keje*
illness, disease	*unugu*
pain	*uni*
fault	*baita*
smell, scent	*xu(n), bapta*
taste	*amta*
debt	*naŋda*
share, part	*obo*
law, custom	*koli*
shape	*due*
colour	*bono*
space	*colo*
part, piece	*pei*
end	*meje*
occasion	*muda*
circle	*monto*
side	*ogbo(n)*
half	*kakt'a(n)*
gap	*agda*
kind, sort, kin, age	*se:*
spare time	*eke*

26.1.9. Natural objects and substances

world	*ba:*

26.1.9.1. Earth

earth, soil	*na:*
taiga	*ba: xo:ni, ba:za geni*
hill, mountain	*we:*, (rocky) *käma*
rock	*gula*
cave	*oŋgo*
gorge	*zeu, jakpa*
mountain pass	*ada, tumie*
road, track	*xokto*
glen	*ala*
field, clearance	*biga*

bog	*n'au*
pit	*pöŋgo*

26.1.9.2. Water objects

water	*uli*
foam	*afuti*
flood	*mude*
wave	*jaki, xene*
drop	*sabda*
bubble	*komokto*
stream	*eje*
spring	*ñuxala*
lake	*toŋi*
sea	*namu(n)*
seashore	*kä:*
creek, back-water, gulf	*'asa*
river	*uli,* (small) *bäsa*
river-bed	*zu:*
river mouth	*data*
river-head	*de:*
arm of a river	*jogoso*
stretch of a river	*unakta*
fork of a river	*zawa*
blockage of a river	*moŋo, keŋme*
dried river-bed	*jaŋata*
turn of a river	*mogz'o*
river bend	*töŋo*
riverbank	*kä:*
ford	*oloŋko*
bridge	*deumi*
spit	*bita*
shallow	*ugbe*
rapids	*gidäŋku*
watering-place	*zempu*
spawning place	*dawasikči*
island	*bugasa*

26.1.9.3. Sky

sky	*ñaŋña(n)*
sun	*su:*
moon	*bä:*
star	*waikta*
cloud	*tokö*
rainbow	*agdi sauŋkini*
Mars	*xuakta*
Milky Way	*Kanda mafa duktama:ni* (literally: 'the old man Kanda's skiing')

Ursus Minor	*nada xatala*
Ursus Major	*zali baŋnä:ni*

26.1.9.4. Natural substances

gold	*aisi*
silver	*meŋmu*
iron	*sele*
tin	*jaŋtä*
copper	*tusi*
sand	*oñokto*
stone	*zolo*
dust	*p'ai*
clay	*t'apti*
lead	*tuza*
mud	*lifakta*, *tifakta*
ashes	*xulepte*
coal	*jala, zaŋa*
ice	*zuge*, (smooth river ice) *kägda*
resin	*ñute*
soda	*zäna*

26.1.9.5. Natural phenomena

wind	*edi*
storm	*si:*
thunder	*agdi*
rain	*tigde,* (with snow) *lada*
snow	*ima,:* (newly-fallen) *zaka*
fog	*tamña*
hail	*bono*
fire	*to:*
smoke	*saŋña*
frost	*gekti*
steam	*sogdo*
shade	*umni*

26.1.10. Time

year	*aŋa*
month	*bä:*
spring	*neki*
summer	*zua*
autumn	*bolo*
winter	*tue*
day	(when counting time*) neŋi-(ni),* (time of the day) *ineŋi-(ni)*
night	*dogbo*

evening	*sikie*
morning	*tima-(ni)*
dawn	*gäwa, ine*
noon	*saŋxua*

26.1.11. Spatial notions

south	*züe*, *fuleŋe*
north	*sugala*
place behind	*tauze-, ca:-,* (in movement) *amä:(za)-,* (on the back) *aka-*
place before	*zulie-, ñondu-, ño:-*
place on the left side	*dieŋe-*
place on the right side	*a:ŋa-*
place the opposite side	*bagä:(za)-*
place upstream	*solie(ze)-*
place downstream	*ezi(ze)-*
place far from the river bank or the fire	*die-*
place close to the river bank or the fire	*ŋä:-*
place inside	*do:-*
place outside	*ba:-*
place on the top	(at the pointed end) *due-*
place on the surface	*(w)ui-/we:-, ge:, ojo-*
place above	*xo:(n)-*
place below, under	*xegie-*
place between	*agda(n)-*
place along	*cu-*
place in the middle	*dulaŋki-,* (in the center) *taŋki-*
place close	*auze-, da:(s'a)-*
place near	*kä:-*
place far away	*go:-,* (very far) *cai-*
place on the side	*e:-, ogdo-*
corner	*koso(n)*
angle	*coto*

26.1.12. Adjectives

26.1.12.1. Colour

red	*xutaligi*
green	*ñöligi,* (emerald-green) *isenti*
white	*c'aligi*
yellow	*xoligi*
black	*p'aligi*
gray	*xuŋnaligi*
blue	*ñöligi*
orange	*soligi, kancantu*

brown	*xexeligi*
pink	*duŋmal'a*
purple	*duŋmal'a*
violet	*zidi*
dark	*xakti:*
pale	*käligi*
stripy	*kedeligi*
spotty	*toptoligi*
transparent	*gegze*

26.1.12.2. Taste

tasty	*xei, amtaxi*
untasty	*muktu*
sweet	*sata, zei*
sour	*zui*
bitter	*guači*
salty	*s'ei*

26.1.12.3. Form and size

big	*sagdi*
small	*ŋic'a*
tall, high	*gugda*
low	*neptes'e*
thin	(of round objects) *nemnes'e,* (of flat objects) *nemuges'e*
thick	(of flat objects) *dä:mi,* (of round objects) *bou*
wide	*eŋme*
narrow	*kaŋgäsa, käbau,* (of the internal space) *xaŋgäs'a*
deep	*suŋta*
shallow	*xaŋus'e*
short	*umac'a*
long	*wanimi*
ball-shaped	*bomboligi*
round	*montoligi, bombo*
flat	*nepteligi*
bulging, prominent	*kumpuligi*
pointed	*kicoligi*
sharp	*emei*
blunt	*e:de*
sparse, flimsy	*sembeligi*
sloping	*ŋeneptile*
crooked	*tokčigu, goj'ou*
concave	*zoŋgoligi*

26.1.12.4. Properties of men and animals

adult	*elu*

old	*sagdi*
fat	*bogo*
blind	*bali*
deaf	*koŋgo*
blind in one eye	*böŋgo*
hunch-backed	*boxo, logozo, logzolig*
strong	*kuixi, m'ai, maŋga*
weak	*ede*
ill	*unuguxi, sulei*
pregnant	*ge:nzi*
thin	*koŋo*
neat	*kika*
shaggy	*loxo, sezeligi*
curly	*kokčiligi*
naked	*mogzo, zoŋgo*
bald	*kotoi*
cheerful	*gabzi*
wicked, angry	*ke:*
alive, vivid	*inigi*
greedy-witted	*zana*
stupid	*diliga, paga, e:de*
clever	*mejexi*
skilful	*paki*
greedy	*digaŋku*
rich	*baja*
poor	*zoŋku*

26.1.12.5. Other physical properties

beautiful	*alagdig'a, uligdig'a*
nice, good	*aja*
bad	*ge:*
old	*da:mpi*
new	*imexi*
thin (of voice)	*limas'a*
high (of voice)	*lämuges'e*
low (of voice)	*eŋme*
loud	*igdi*
quite	*eke*
light	*enimes'e*
pliable	*zas'a*
hard	*m'ai*
wet	*ñuktu,* (of firewood) *ñaligi, čifoŋ'oi*
dry	*ñamai*, (a liquid) *bug*
cold	(weather) *iŋini:*, (objects) *gili:*
hot	*xekui*
prickly	*gaf'a*
bright	*ŋegze*
quick	*tuge*
swift	*ku'aja*

dirty	*tegbeni:*
clean	*ganziŋa*
empty	*keŋku*
full	*tapči*
whole	*muj'ei*
rotten	*ñäktu*
raw	*ñäligi*
slippery	*bugdi, käŋgu*
stinking	*xuxi*, *ñagdugu*
thick	(of food) *tekti:*

26.1.12.6. Other

left	*dieŋeze*
right	*aŋaza*
far	*go:*
near	*da:sa*
other	*xoŋto*
boring, tiring	*safani:*
funny	*ñemugdi*
interesting	*sebzeŋke*
scary, terrible	*seuni:*
difficult	*maŋga*
unusual	*egdeŋge*
few, not numerous	*wac'a*
many	*egdi*
cheap	*zas'a*

26.2. Verbs

26.2.1. Being

be	*bi-*
become	*ede-*
live	*bagdi-*
stay	*eki-*
appear	*ilaktan-*
disappear	*ančі-(gde) ede-*
get lost	*pama-*
hide	*digan-*
grow into	*bagdi-, ju:-*
turn into	*gua(lan)-*

26.2.2. Possession and change of possession

take	*zawa-*
buy	*gada-*
sell	*xudasi-*

fetch	*ge:ne-*
take with oneself	*xebu-*
take away	*ti:-*
treat	*sauli-*
catch, seize	*zawa-,* (with claws*) cokp'olo-*
hold	*zawasi-*
store, keep	*nekce-*
keep (animals)	*igisi-*
get	*b'a-*
use	*taulagi*-bring *gazi-*
take out	*ga:gi-*
steal	*zomi-*
find	*b'a-*
look for	*galakta-*
assemble	*gejene-*
gather, collect	*gegbe-, ga:gi-, tai-*
borrow	*naŋda-*
exchange	*kala-*
lose	*nodo-*
carry off, make away	*xuktu*
give	*bu-*
present	*suŋele-*

26.2.3. Motion

move	*ugi-*
go	*ŋene-*
travel	*xuli-*
stop	*eki-*
leave	*ŋene-*, *gulin-*
come	*eme-*
enter	*i:n-*
reach	*i:n-, nagda-*
return	*emegi-, mudaŋi-*
run	*tukä-*
escape	*susa-*
go down	*eu-*
go out	*ñu:-*
get up	*te:gi-*
climb	*tukti-*
cross	(a river) *dau-,* (a mountain) *we:li-*
walk, step	*gä:ŋa-*
step on	*xeŋde-*
fall	*tiŋme-*
rise	*degde-*
sit down	*te:-*
stand up	*ili-*
lie down	*kepte-*
perch	*do:-*
turn	*xu:gi-*

turn over	*kumte-*
swing, rock	*beke-*
let go	*tinda-*
follow, pursue	*'akta-, 'asi-*
catch up	*b'ono-*
fly	*dieli-*
flutter	*patana-*
stamp (dancing)	*leuli-*
crawl	*miki-*
sneak	*bujsi-*
jump	*xetigene-*
jump at, attack	*xokcu-, taunčile-*
gallop	*xukti-*
swim	*wajan-*
dive	(of a fish) *ñuxan-*, (of a man, a duck) *xuine-*
move up the stream	*sol'o-*
float down the stream	*eje-*
drive, turn out	*elemusi-*
carry on a sledge	*(j)uŋkäla-*
get on (a boat, a horse)	*una-*
ski	*duktama-*
moor	*agda-*
row with a paddle	*seude-*
push with a pole	*geude-*

26.2.4. Physical changes and influences (transitive**)**

put	*nede-*
hang	*l'o-*
drive out	*igbe-*
shake out	*giu-*
scratch	*negbeli-*,(with a scraper) *u:-*
tickle	*c'asi-*
press	*diŋe-*
squeeze	*si:-*
drag	*taŋda-, tana-*
pull	*taŋda-, ju:-*
carry	*neugi-, nexu-*
throw	*wende-*
drop	*tugbu:-*
hide	*zä:-*
hatch	*diŋe-, t'o-*
roll up	*likpa-*
strike, hit, beat	*koŋko-*, *paktana-,* (with an object) *dukte-*
break	*xai-,* (in two) *kaŋduli-*
twist out, dislocate	*xudugu-, xuduli-*
make a hole	*pogdogo-*
bend	*uwene-, kampi-*
touch	*wanta-*, *tuŋgala-*
push	*ana-, zoko-*

burn	*daga-*
kick	*baŋcana-*
kill	*wa-*
slaughter	*magi-*
wound	*siene-*
shoot	*mäusala-*
cut	*xua-,* (hair, beard) *kige,* (into small pieces) *zi:-,* (cut out) *gi:-*, (wood) *mine-*, (with an axe) *tokto-*
tear	(in pieces) *tagdi-*
wrap	*kapta-*
hew	*mo:lo-, xuaŋni-*
chop	*capca-, juosi-*
sharpen	*sule-*
open	*ñientile-*
kindle	*saula-*
extinguish	*su:si-*
lock	*jausule-, likpi-*
close	*kimpi-*
cover	*dakpi-*
smear, paint	*butu-*
tether	*xeke-*
untether	*lukte-*
tie up	*xeke-*
load	*teu-*
glue	*dagbu-,* (solid) *kamnu-,* (liquid*) ñoŋo-*
mix	*soli-*
stir	*sigilie-*
knead	*xo:-*
warm up	*ugdi-*
pour	*cudi-*, *kuŋgede-*, (out) *mantila-*
fill	*teu-*

26.2.5. Physical states and activities (intransitive)

stand	*ili-*
sit	*te:-*
hang	*l'oso-*
lie	*kepte-*
flow	*ekpene-*
bend	*neŋi-*
drawn	*jaŋsala-, ju:-*
squat	*čiso-*
fade	*amnä-*
get entangled	*ta-*
set (of the sun, moon)	*eŋe(gi)-*
melt	*une-*
boil	*xui-*
burn, catch fire	*zegde-*
freeze	*gakti-*

dry	*ogo-*
die out (of fire)	*su:-*
rot	*ñä:-*
grow mouldy	*xuŋnana-*
drip	*sabda-*
tear off	*loptogo-*
open	*nientile-, kokpigi-*
close	*kimpi-*
swell	*auli-*
break	*camna:-, buktaga-*
split	*kaktaga-*
burst	*puse(ge)-*
stick	*ta:-, lagban-, lakti-*
strike (of lightning)	*sakina-, talina-*

26.2.6. Physiological states and processes

sleep	*ŋua-*
wake up	*selegi-*, *mägda-*
dream	*t'osi-*
snore	*xuanti-, xeŋpi-*
eat	*diga-*
lap (of animals)	*dala-*
feed	*dalu-*
drink	*umi-*
get drunk	*sokto-*
be thirsty	*kogo-*
be hungry	*lali-*
choke	*xaŋka-*
choke with	*iku-, lua-*
choke down	*lua-*
suffocate	*xaŋka-*
chew	*sa:si-*
gnaw	*čika-,* (of a man) *kefuge-*, (of an animal) *ki(gi)xi-*
suck	*simisi-*
bite	*ikteme-*
kiss	*ñugi-*
swallow	*ŋiŋme-*
spit	*tu:nde-*
yawn	*zo:ni-*
blow	*pusi-*
belch	*jaktagi-*
itch	*utini-*
hiccough	*juku-*
breathe, sigh	*eikpesi-*
sneeze	*jeini-*
cough	*simpi-*
poison oneself	*jeusele-*
feel sick	*jemei b'a-*

catch a cold	*simpili-*
be ill	*sule-*
hurt	*uni-*
grow thin	*koŋo-*
twist	*xuduli-*
get cold	*gekti-*
faint	*ukana-*
sweat	*nieŋesi--*
urinate	(of a woman) *nuŋnugu-*
defecate	*amuktasi-*
ware (of)	*mili-*
start, shudder	*olokpono-*
weep, cry	*soŋo-*
sob	*suaini-*
water (of eyes)	*buli-*
get mad	*gulälali-*
give birth	*(sita) b'a-*
die	*bude-*
copulate	(of deer) *zawa(gdi)-,* (of birds) *po:-*
be tired	*deu-*
rest	*deumpi-*

26.2.7. Speaking and producing sounds

tell	*teluŋusi-*
say	*dian-, gun-*
talk, speak	*diasi-*
repeat	*alamasi-*
whisper	*sumumesi-*
ask	*xaundasi-,* (for something) *gele-*
explain	*ñumnisi-*, *alunusi-*
shout	*xeuti-*
pray	(ask for hunting luck) *kesi gele-*, (bow) *xeŋki-*, *möule-*
call, invite	*geisi-*
tease	*sunzu-*
complain	*xapti-*
scold	*nägda-*
gossip	*keku-*
scream	(of a bird of prey) *k'ägda-,* (of a woodpecker) *xokono-*
bark	*go:-*
roar	(of a tiger) *ŋamna-*
moan	*xokono-*

26.2.8. Perceptions and emotions

hear	*dodgi-*
listen	*düjsi-*
see	*ise-*

look	*isesi-*
glance	*eteŋi-*
smell	*ŋousi-*
feel, notice	*mede-*
want, agree	*ča:la-*
laugh	*iñe-*
smile	*iñemusi-*
love	*aju-*
like	*aju-*
be glad	*agda-*
be enthusiastic	*juede-*
dislike, hate	*galu-*
be afraid	*ŋele-*
be frightened	*bogoli-*
respect	*xeleni-*
be shy	*xagza-*
worry	*beŋtene-, xuaŋcule-*
be proud	*biulese-*
get bored	*safani: b'a-, ele-*
feel sorry	*muñali-*
get disgusted	*jemei b'a-*
be interested	*sebune-*
be angry	*sigdi b'a-, tagda-*
be surprised	*xono-*

26.2.9. Mental activity

believe	*ceze-*
suppose	*bodo-*
know	*sa:-*
forget	*oŋmo-*
understand	*egze-, b'apta-*
recognise	*tagda-*
think	*muisi-*
teach	*tatusi-*
learn	*tatusi-*
count	*taŋi-*
read	*taŋi-*
get accustomed	*ta(tu)ti-*
be expert at	*egze-*

26.2.10. Labour and everyday life

make	*wo:-*
work	*etete-*
build	*wo:-*
wash	*au-*
clean	*siki-, aunda-*
sweep	*akpu-*

peel	(potatoes) *kua-* , (fish) *e:-, sigie-*
wash oneself	*siki-*
wipe oneself	*akpisi-*
bathe	*egbesi-*
shave	*kiga-*
put on (clothing)	*teti-*
take off	(clothing) *asuktagi-,* (shoes) *luktagi-*
undress	*asukta-*
boil	*xui-*
cook	*olokto-*
roast	*kakčisi-*
smoke	(fish) *saŋmisi-,* (in big pieces) *seutesi-,* (skin) *ñusi-*
dry (in the air, sun)	*wagisi-*
process a skin	*eili-*
scrape a skin	*u:-, cosule-*
skin	*si:-*
brake leather	*kai-*
bark a birch tree	*uki-*
pluck	*ofodi-*
milk	*si:-*
saw	*züile-, la:-*
forge	*kuge-*, *tausi-*
plane	*kua-*
weave a rope	*tompo-*
cut down trees	*tugbu-, mo:lo-*
plant	*uje-*
dig	*ule-*
hunt	*wakca-,* (for fur animals) *batu-*
fish	*sugzäma-,* (with a fishing rope*) um'asi-,* (with a net) *adili-,* (with a harpoon) *aki-*, (at night) *taluna-*
set up a trap	*tule-*
take aim	*zu-*
orientate oneself	*zegeme-*
sew	*uli-*
embroider	*oño-*
write, draw	*oño-*
bring up	*igisi-*
take care	*tafäsi-*
marry	(of a woman) *mafala-,* (of a man) *mamasa-*
match-make	*seu-*
divorce, part	*dekte(gi)-*
compete	*geinigesi-*
rescue	*uisi-*
visit	*zima-*
play	*gusi-*
fight	*w'ali-*
pay	*tama-*
shamanize	*mouge-*

26.2.11. Modal and aspectual verbs

begin	*zafanda-*
finish	*mutu-*
stop	*wadi-*
can	*ñoni-*
be able	*mute-*
have to	*nixe-*
need	*zo:-*
be going	*kokpi-*
hurry	*xeline-*

26.3. List of ideophones

bakčam, bokčom	crooked (from pain)
bogdo-bogdo	overflowing
bokčom-bokčom	wrinkled
bom-bom	curled
bugdam	goggling
bugdumce-bugdumce	slippery
ča-ča	clapping wings
čak-čak	till dry
čak-čik	striking fire
c'am	till white
cau(-cau)	noisily, hissing
cef-cef	sharp
cek-cek	in readiness
cem-cem	sharp
čeŋei-čeŋei	ringing
ceŋdem	crooked
ceŋe-ceŋe	swinging
ceze-ceze	flimsy (of hair)
čige-lebele	urinating
čif(u)-čif(u)	wet through
čik-čik, čik-čigi	tiny
cili-cili	greasy
čim	slightly (bleeding)
čindem	thin (in waist)
ci:ŋge-ci:ŋge	dangling
cofok-cofok	the sound of male-deer hoofs
colo-colo	flimsy
cumda-cumda	torn very much
dakcai-dakcai	flapping wings
daŋdal(-daŋdal)	standing on end (of hair)
daŋdam, doŋdom	upright, standing on end
degbu-degbu	standing on end
dei-dei	frightened till one has goose-skin
doli-doli	fast (asleep)
dolo-dolo	deep (of little holes)
efu-efu	light, fluffy (of buns)

elusim	completely
gäga-gäga	growling much (of a dog)
gäll	boiled to pulp
gäŋdu-gäŋdu	completely
gar-gar	vivid
gete-gete	flimsy (of beard)
jala:-jala:	very black
jifu-jifu	not quite well (about health), tiredly
jiŋ(-jiŋ)	impudently
jolom	trough (to gnaw)
käbak	ringing
käf-käf	crackling (of trees fallen from the wind)
käl-käl	pale
kär-kär	the sound of shaving
käu-käu	squeaky
kedem	spotty
kef-kef	fallen from the wind (of trees)
kei-kei	steep; revenging
kembele:ke-kembele:ke	waddling
kemdeli-kemdeli	too fat (of a girl)
kerr-kerr, kärkär	crunching, cracking
kidem(-kidem)	standing on end (of hair, fur)
kigdum-kigdum	glossy, with a greasy spot
kiku-kiku	sound of squeaking
kilum	scowling
kitom-kitom	waddling
kixi-kixi, kixu-kixu	gnawing noise, the sound of snow crunch
kofi-kofi	completely (eaten or drunk)
kögbom	dead
koi-koi	scratching
kok-kok	hard
kokci-kokci	very ill
ko:ŋko-ko:ŋko	the sound made by a raven
kua-kua	rammed well
kuak-kuak	snoring
kuakta-kuakta	entirely, quite; completely dried out (about a river)
kulu-kulu	completely
kummäm-kummäm	all, entire (food)
kur-kur, kule-kule	in a hurry
kutum	the noise made when falling down
läbi-läbi	flexible
laŋga-laŋga	sticking (of snow to the ski or boots)
laxu-laxu	noiseless
läta-läta	loudly
lau-lau	very dusty
lebdeli	fluttering
lebdu-lebdu	flapping wings
lemde(-lemde)	fluffy
leŋke-leŋke	staggering (of walking)
liba-liba	dirty, muddy

limbi-limbi	soaked, weak
liŋa-liŋa	sticky
lokto-lokto, lopto-lopto	torn up, by jerks
loŋom-loŋom	tufted
loxo(-loxo)	curly (of a tree)
lou-lou	strong (fog)
lu-lu	blazing (of fire)
lü-lü	wet through
lumda-lumda	torn very much
lümde-lümde	wig-wag
mer-mer	to the ground (of cutting trees)
modor-modor	smeared with slobber
moŋtom-moŋtom	around
mugdi-mugdi	turning the behind
mur-mur, mul^{j}-mul^{j}	teethless
ŋafu-ŋafu	thick (of hair)
namu-namu	cozy
neptem	not light, flat (of buns)
nigbi-nigbi	strongly (of pulling)
nir-nir	easy (to peel off, to scale off)
ñoloŋ-ñoloŋ	limping
oŋom	falling off in shreds (of fur)
päktam	sticking easily
pali-pali	very black
p'am	till black
per-per, peli-peli	numb
peso	the sound made by a drinking female-deer
peu	boiling
pice-pice	into smithereens
piek-čik	knocking
pigdäm	inside
pili-pili	slippery
pitu-pitu	skiing
počo	hissing
poi-poi	flying around (of feathers)
pökč	cracking
po:lim	laughing until one falls
pölom, pölom	with a hole
pösok-pösok	the sound of female-deer's hoofs
pou-pou	dark (outside)
pukcem	till the belly distends (of eating)
pum-pum	sound of shaman tambourine
punäll, punärr	impression of the smoke from the top of the house
sagbam	immediately
sefe-sefe	rough, horny
sembe(l)-sembe(l)	like a sieve (holes)
sembele-sembele	immediately (to come)
sezeli-sezeli	shaggy
sezem	shaggy
sifall	very dusty

sim(u)-sim(u)	noiseless, quietly, silent
šöktoi	rushing
sopcom, sokcom	shaggy (of a beard)
sü'ak	grunt
suar-suar	sound of babbling water
tafa(ta)k	plump
tafu-tafu	through; soft
täk-täk, täŋ-täŋ	fast, hard, strong, tight
tak-tak	knocking
takčike	cracking
taŋci-taŋci	sound of hail falling on iron objects
tapči-tapči	full
tefu-tefu	swollen, soft
tegdim-tegdim	not tasty, with unpleasant smell
tembu-tembu	springy
teŋ-teŋ	just, exactly, in time, correct, straight
teu-teu	quite, silent
to:fo	plump
togo-togo	quiet (of water)
treks-teks	squeaking
tuŋmu-tuŋmu	shaking
xam	champing
xaŋna-xaŋna	dry
xaulum	entirely flooded
xei-xei	quiver, flutter
xeku-xeku	hop-hop
xuta-xuta	till red
waŋterl-waŋter, waŋtel-waŋtel	bow-legged
wekte-wekte	up to the top
weŋbek-weŋbek	waddling
zäka-zäka	growling much (of a dog)
zän-zäñann	aside (jumping)
zaŋa-zaŋa	ill in bed; laid up
zeŋge-zeŋge	staggering, shaking, swinging
zogbom-zogbom	hardly, with difficulty
zoŋgo-zoŋgo	naked
züle-züle	stripy

ADDITIONAL TEXTS:

8. Nada koto *‘Seven bald ones’ (told by Alexandr Egorovič Pionka)*

Bi-mie nada kotoi-ziga bi-si-ti eni mule. Tu: bi: bi:.
be-INF seven bald-PL be-PAST-3PL mother with all be.PRP live.PRP
Seven bald men lived with their mother. They lived, lived.

Ni: ule:-we-ni m’ei diga-i uti-getu. Aziga-da j’eu-de i:-ni b’a,
man meat-ACC-3SG only eat-PRP that-PL girl-FOC what-FOC kind-3SG find.PERF
They ate only man’s flesh. Whatever they find: a girl or somebody else,

a:-kta-i eni-ni zä:-isi-ni aziga eme-isi-n(i)-de.
catch-DIST-PRP mother-3SG hide-PC-3SG girl come-PC-3SG-FOC
they catch it, their mother was hiding the girl when she came.

Aziga xu-me-ni b’a-mie galakta-gi-li. Diga-i diga-i diga-i.
girl smell-ACC-3SG find-INF seek-REP-3SG eat-PRP eat-PRP eat-PRP
Having smelt the girl they began to seek. They were eating, eating, eating.

Eni-ni {govori} eni-ni dian-a-ini «Bi sagda-ŋi-e-m(i). Ni: uli-zeŋe-n(i),
mother-3SG mother-3SG say-0-3SG me old-V-PAST-1SG who sew-FUT-3SG
The mother said: «I have got old, who will sew,

su saŋa-wo-u j’e-we tege-we-u aisi-gi-zeŋe-n(i)?»
you hole-ACC-2PL what-ACC gown-ACC-2PL mend-REP-FUT-3SG
who will mend your torn things (clothes) and your gown?»

Uta-du nede-m(i) ei-mi-de bu-kce, xai diga-i uta aziga-wa.
that-DAT put-INF NEG-INF-FOC give-INT otherwise eat-PRP that girl-ACC
She put (the girl) there, did not want to give them to them, otherwise they would eat the girl.

Ute nixe-mie omo aziga eme:-n(i). Omo aziga. Aziga eme:n-zi «Digan-a si» mamaka diana:-ni.
that do-INF one girl come.PAST-3SG one girl girl come.PP-INST.SS hide-0 you old.woman say.PAST-3SG
Then one girl came. One girl. When she came the old woman said: «Hide yourself.»

Digan’a. «Ele sikie eme-gie, xai sin-e-we diga-du-ze.»
hide.PERF soon evening come-REP.PRP too you-0-ACC eat-PL-SUBJ
She hid. «They will come soon in the evening and might eat you too.

Sikie eme-kte-gie nada kotoi-ziga. Nada kotoi-de eme-kte-i
evening come-DIST-REP.PRP seven bald-PL seven bald-FOC come-DIST-PRP

In the evening seven bald men came. Seven bald ones came (and said:)

«Eniŋe, j'eu ni: xu:-ni bi:-ni?» "J'eu ni:-ni?J'eu ni:-ni xu:-ni bi-nie, {govori} eni-ni.
mother what man smell-3SG be-3SG what man-3SG what man-3SG smell-3SG be-3SG mother-3SG
«Mother, why is the human smell there?» «What human being? What human smell, there isn't any,

Tineŋi diga:-u-de bi-s'e-te, uti nixe:-ni bie, tineŋi diga-u, uti xu:-ni.»
yesterday eat.PP-2PL-FOC be-PERF-FOC that do.PP-3SG be.PRES.HAB yesterday eat-2PL that smell-3SG
said the mother. You ate this yesterday, this happened, you were eating yesterday, it smells.»

«{Net} xoŋto xu:-ni, imexi xu:-ni.» Gala-kta-i, gala-kta-ji,
other smell-3SG new smell-3SG seek-DIST-PRP seek-DIST-PRP
«No, some other smell, a new smell.» They are seeking, seeking.

puta do-lo-n(i) zä:-n(i) bi-si-n(i). Puta do-lo-ni zä:n-zi
bag inside-LOC-3SG hide.PP-3SG be-PAST-3SG bag inside-LOC-3SG hide.PP-INST.SS
She hid in a bag, she hid in the bag (and then)

utem(i) puta-la-i z'ä, utem(i) bugzalilö-i, ilakta-ŋi-e-n(i), utem(i) ñuga-si-e-n(i) gun(e),
then bag-LOC-REF hide.PERF then jump-PRP appear-REP-PAST-3SG then kiss-IM-PAST-3SG EV
jumped out, when she appeared again, they began to kiss her;

ñuga-si:, sasa-wa-n(i) kikugdo-ndo-i (ki)kugdo-nd'o. Zalä-zi tunt'e,
kiss-PRP cheek-ACC-3SG nibble-SEM-PRP nibble-SEM.PERF slobber-INST spit.PERF
they were kissing her, nibbling her cheeks, they slobbered over her,

čili-nde-gi:, bagdi-gi-e-ni ule:-n(i), anči esi-gi-ni. Keti-keti e-si-ti
grease-SEM-REP.PRP grow-REP-PAST-3SG meat-3SG no become-REP-3SG nearly-nearly NEG-PAST-3PL
they greased her (with spittle). Her flesh grew again quickly, nothing was left (no signs). They nearly killed her.

wa:, keti-keti-gede. Utebe nixe-mie tu: bi: tu: bi: aziga nado aziga susa-li-ni bize.
kill nearly-nearly-FOC so do-INF all be.PRP all be.PRP girl must girl escape-INC-3SG must
So they did. The girl was apparently preparing to escape.

Susa-laga-m(i) nixe:-ni aziga. Ni:-we diga-i ise-si:. Ei diga-i ise-si:,
escape-PURP-SS do.PAST-3SG girl man-ACC eat-PRP see-IM.PRP now eat-PRP see-IM.PRP

The girl was going to escape. (She) saw them eating people. (She) saw them eating (people),

xai ni:-we diga-iti. Uta-wa eni-ni eni-ni bi-mie tu: bi:, uta aziga lä ŋele-i.
still man-ACC eat-3PL that-ACC mother-3SG mother-3SG be-INF all be.PRP that girl very be.afraid-PRP
they keep eating people. Their mother was still there; the girl was very afraid.

ŋele-mie uta aziga muisi: «Ono ja-za-m(i)?» Mamaka, mamaka-la
be.afraid-INF that girl think.PRP how PROV-SUBJ-1SG old.woman old.woman-CONT
Being afraid the girl thinks: «What shall I do?» The old woman (said):

«Dili-we-ni, bi dili: kumuge-di-je uti mamaka, kumuge dili-we-ni.»
head-ACC-3SG me head.1SG louse-V-IMP.2SG that old.woman louse head-ACC-3SG
«Seek lice in my head, head (full of) lice.»

Dili-we-ni kumuge-di:, kumuge-di:, ei mamaka ŋua-ili kua-kua-gde.
head-ACC-3SG louse-V.PRP louse-V.PRP this old.woman sleep-3SG snore-snore-FOC
She sought louses in her head, sought, till the old woman fell asleep snoring.

ŋua-isi-ni jaska-n(i) do-lo-ni ili: galakta-i j'e-we dexem(i) j'e-we-ni uta aziga.
sleep-PC-3SG box-3SG inside-LOC-3SG stand.PRP seek-PRP what-ACC IND what-ACC-3SG that girl
When she has fallen asleep the girl seeks in the box, in the chest, she is standing and seeking for the different

Galakta-i, galakta-i, jaska-la-ni:, kuizü-le-ni: galakta-i.
seek-PRP seek-PRP box-LOC-3SG chest-LOC-3SG seek-PRP
things. She is seeking. seeking in the box, in the chest.

Ali-de wa:-ti aziga daktä:-ni, daktä:-ni: kendeikte-we-ni: j'e-we-j'e-we b'a-ni.
when-IND kill.PP-3PL girl wing-3SG wing-3SG feathering-ACC-3SG what-ACC-what-ACC find.PAST-3SG
She found wings, all the feathering and other (remains) of the girls they had killed previously.

O-lo cuge-ixi-ni {srazu} lagban-a-i, auza-la cuge-ini daktä:-wa-ni, dieli-ge-le.
this-LOC put-PC-3SG stick-0-PRP there-LOC put-3SG wing-ACC-3SG fly-PERF-FOC
She put them there, they stuck at once, she put the wings there.

Igi-we-ni cuge-i, {uže} cukpu-ni, uta aziga w'a, diga:-ti,
tail-ACC-3SG put-PRP feather-3SG that girl kill.PERF eat.PAST-3PL
She put on the tail, she already has feathers. They killed that (other) girl, ate her,

cukpu-n(i) sene esi-gi-e-n(i). Tege bede bi:-ni, uta teti-li.
feathers-3SG only become-REP-PAST-3SG gown like be-3SG that gown-INC.PRP

only the (tail) feathers were left. Like a gown, (so) she got dressed.

Dakcoi-dakcoi dieli-kce-il(i), baixi ŋene-mie dieli-e-ni. {Vse}. Sus'a.
waving-waving fly-INT-3SG outside go-INF fly-PAST-3SG escape.PERF
She flew outdoors waving (her wings). {That's all}. She escaped.

Susa-ini ŋene-mie <nada aziga-ziga> aŋi nada kotoi-ti-ziga ogbö wa:-fi
escape-3SG go-INF seven girl-PL IND seven bald-PL-PL moose kill.PP-SS.PL
When she escaped the seven bald men were skinning a dead moose

si: eni-fi diga-laga-ni. Uta-la ise-si: uta-gda aziga-gdeli {ne nado}
skin.PRP mother-REF.PL eat-PURP-3SG that-LOC see-IM.PRP that-FOC girl-FOC
so that their mother could eat. They looked there at the girl

aŋi tu:-tu: ŋene-mi dieli:-we-n(i)-de. Ei tunde:-ni xegixi. Tui ta-wa tunde-gi:-ni.
IND quiet-quiet go-INF fly-PRP-3SG-FOC this spit.PAST-3SG from.above INTER that-ACC spit-REP-3SG
who was flying noiselessly away. She spat (on them) from above, pah! spat there.

Nada kotoi ei sa:, weixi eteŋi:-li. Uta-digi [iŋgule] xaisie a:-li-li uta-wa.
seven bald see.PERF above look-3SG that-ABL at.once again pursue-INC-3SG that-ACC
The seven bald men did not know (it), they looked up. Then they began to pursue her again at once.

«E saŋñä aŋi, {gde} uti susa-ini bubu. Minti-de anana diga-u-zeŋe [nixe-fi].
INTER damn IND that escape-3SG EV we-FOC long.ago eat-PAS-FP make-1PL.IN
«Eh, damn! she has escaped, you see. We should have eaten her long ago.»

Nada g'äxi ede-mie xai dieli-ze, a:-iti. Aziga {davai} aŋi dieli:-de dieli: dieli:-de dieli: aziga,
seven kite become-INF too fly-SUBJ chase-3PL girl IND fly.PRP-FOC fly.PRP fly.PRP-FOC fly.PRP girl
They turned into seven kites and flew too, chased. The girl started flying, she is flying, flying, flying,

ele-ele buono-iti. Xegixi zoŋtolo-mie aziga gdeli. P'oloto-mie silikte-tigi gualana:-ni.
soon-soon catch-3PL from.above throw.herself-INF girl CONT turn.around-INF worm-LAT turn.PAST-3SG
they nearly catch (her) up, but the girl threw herself down from above. She turned around, turned into a worm.

Xutaligi silikte-tigi, na:-la bi:, na: do-lo-n(i) bi: silikte-tigi. Uta susa-i …
red worm-LAT earth-LOC be.PRP earth inside-LOC-3SG be.PRP worm-LAT that escape-PRP
A red worm which lives in the ground. She escaped,

nada silikte ede:n-zi susa-i. Aŋi a:-iti nada kotoi-ti.
seven worm become.PP-INST escape-PRP IND pursue-3PL seven bald-PL
she ran away when they turned into seven worms. The seven bald men pursued her.

Nada silikte ede:-ti, ele-ele buono-i. Ña aziga aŋi-ti(gi) cind'a-tigi gualana-mie,
seven worm become.PAST-3PL soon-soon catch-PRP again girl IND-LAT bird-LAT turn-INF
They turned into seven worms, and nearly caught her up. The girl turned into a bird again.

cind'a-tigi nada cind'a-da xai nada kotoi-ziga a:-iti nada cind'a ede-mie-de.
bird-LAT seven bird-FOC too seven bald-PL pursue-3PL seven bird become-INF-FOC
The seven bald men having become seven birds pursued her again.

Aziga muisi: «Ele bude-mi.» Ei omo-so ei omo-so bue-ni egdeŋke-ni bi:-ni.
girl think.PRP soon die-1SG this one-ADJ this one-ADJ he-3SG means-3SG be-3SG
The girl thinks: «Soon I'll die». She only has one last means left.

Uti egdeŋke-ni e-lisi-n(i) uisi {vse} wa-zaŋa-ti.» Susa-mie susa-mie …
that means-3SG NEG-CC-3SG save kill-FUT-3PL escape-INF escape-INF
«Unless this means saves me they will kill me.» She ran, ran, turned into mosquitoes,

ŋamakta-tigi gualana:-ni, uti ŋamakta, sagdie ŋamakta-tigi. Läs(i) egdi ŋamakta.
mosquito-LAT turn.PAST-3SG that mosquito big mosquito-LAT very many mosquito into many mosquitoes. Very many mosquitoes.

Ei eme-mie ta-wa zawa-i aŋma-la, ta-wa a-wa zawa-i aŋma-la, ta-wa.
this come-INF that-ACC take-PRP mouth-LOC that-ACC this-ACC take-PRP mouth-LOC that-ACC
They came, took (the mosquitoes) in the mouth, and took this one and that one in the mouth.

ŋamakta lä egdi j'e-we dexi. Uta aziga edede digeŋ-ki-ni ŋamakta do-lo-ni ….
mosquito very many what-ACC till that girl INTER hide-PAST-3SG mosquito inside-LOC-3SG
Very many mosquitoes. That girl hid among the mosquitoes.

ŋamakta lä dig'a. Ei, saŋñänawo:ni {govori}. «Anana-da wo:-do go: bi-mie-de
mosquito very eat.PERF INTER damn long.ago-FOC short-FOC long be-INF-FOC
They ate many mosquitoes. «Eh, damn! we should have eaten you long ago. Sooner or later

ali-de … sin-e-we diga-zaŋa-f(i) …, xai b'a-gi-zeŋe-fi.»
when-FOC you-0-ACC eat-FUT-1PL.IN still find-REP-FUT-1PL.IN
we'll eat you up, we will find you anyway.»

Ña aziga, ŋene-kte-ili, ni:-tigi gualana-ili aziga. ŋene-i, ŋene-i, ŋene-i,
again girl go-DIST-3SG man-LAT turn-3SG girl go-PRP go-PRP go-PRP
They went away and the girl transformed into a man. She went (by and by)

omo pö:loi bi: xokto-wo b'a-ni sikie. {Potom} ŋene-i. Kawa do-lo-ni bi:-ni,
one narrow be.PRP road-ACC find.PAST-3SG evening then go-PRP tent inside-LOC-3SG be-3SG
and in the evening she found a narrow path. She was walking. (She saw a shelter), in the shelter,

kawa do-lo-ni, kawa do-lo-ni bi:, uta kawa-ti(gi) ji:. Uti sewexi-nie Merge
tent inside-LOC-3SG tent inside-LOC-3SG be.PRP that tent-LAT enter.PRP that idol-3SG Merge
she came into the shelter, there are Merge's idols,

sewexi-ni mogolie ne-si-e-ni uti-getu. Zemui diga-i, diga-kca-i, <diga-zaŋa-mu>,
idol-3SG around put-IM-PAST-3SG that-PL hungry eat-PRP eat-INT-PRP eat-FUT-1PL.EX
they were put around (all over the house). She got hungry and ate, she wanted to eat,

diga-la:-m(i) galakta-i imo:-wo, sewie:-ni gakta:-ni imo:.
eat-PURP-SS search-PRP fat-ACC melt-3SG thicken.PP-3SG fat
sought (something) to eat. She found some thickened melted fat.

Uta bede čimčei-zi pö:loi diŋa-nd'a. Uta ze diga-la:-m(i) nix'e, ta-la gokc'ou,
that like finger-INST narrow crush-SEM.PERF that soon eat-PURP-SS do.PERF that-LOC crooked
She crushed a hole with her little finger. As soon as she was going to eat,

o-lo gokc'ou, sewexi-ni m'ei mukcugu-si:-n(i), {daraznila-da}.
this-LOC crooked idol-3SG only compete-IM-3SG tease-FOC
the idols began to make faces here and there, all the idols were competing in teasing her.

Uta-du ŋele-mi di(g)ana:-ni beixi ñuge:n-zi. {Koridor} aŋi uti utulu do-lo-ni
that-DAT be.afraid-INF hide.PAST-3SG outside go.out.PP-INST IND that entrance inside-LOC-3SG
She was afraid and hid, having gone outdoors. She hid at the entrance.

digana:-n(i) ba:-la. Merge eme-gi:-li kixukixu. Dogbo-gi-li-e-ni,
hide.PAST-3SG nature-LOC Merge come-REP-3SG INTER night-REP-INC-PAST-3SG
Merge comes back: crunch-crunch. The night came,

pou-te-gi-li-e-ni. Uta <eme-gi:-xi-ni> ei, eme-gi-en-zi galakta-i ni xuli-e-ni?
dark-V-REP-INC-PAST-3SG that come-REP-PC-3SG now come-REP-PP-INST seek-PRP who go-PAST-3SG

it grew dark. When he came back, he sought: who had come?

Ute j'eukte-si-gi-e-ni, imo:-wo bagba-nda-ixi-ni {palca-zi} bagba-nda:-n(i) nix'e
that look-IM-REP-PAST-3SG fat-ACC stick-SEM-PC-3SG finger-INST stick-SEM.PAST-3SG do.PERF
He had a good look, stuck his little finger in the fat a little,

imo:-wo, gakta:-i imo:-wo … [E-ini tigi. A-wa bagba-nda-i a-wa bagba-nda-i,
fat-ACC thicken-PRP fat-ACC NEG-3SG fit that-ACC stick-SEM-PRP that-ACC stick-SEM-PRP
and tried the thickened fat. (The finger) does not fit. He tries this one

a-wa bagba-nda-i, e-ini tigi.] Utemi čimčei-zi j'eukte-si:, {a kak ras ženščina} a:nta bize,
that-ACC stick-SEM-PRP NEG-3SG fit then finger-INST look-IM.PRP woman must
and that one, it does not fit. Then he tried with his finger, it must have been a woman,

a:nta čimčei-n(i). Čimčei-zi diga-la:-m(i) a:nta čimčei-zi. Uta j'eukta-si-e
woman finger-3SG finger-INST eat-PURP-SS woman finger-INST that look-IM-PAST
a woman's little finger. The woman has tried with her finger (seeking for something) to eat. Then he looked

«J'eu uta amba-ni bi-mi min-e-we wa-zaŋa bi-mi, amba bi-mi-de min-e-we alasi-m(i) wa:.
what that ghost-3SG be-INF me-0-ACC kill-FUT be-INF ghost be-INF-FOC me-0-ACC wait-INF kill
(and said:) «What sort of an evil ghost it was, it wanted to kill me.

J'e-uxi bi-m(i)-de min-e-we alasi-m(i) wa:.» {govorit} … Uta-digi belie bugzalilöi ñu:gi-e,
what-LAT be-INF-FOC me-0-ACC wait-INF kill that-LAT fairy jumping.out come.out-PAST
Wherever I am, it was waiting for me,» {he said}. Then the girl jumped out,

belie ñu:gien-zi {davaj} j'e-we «I:mi digaŋ-ki:?» I:mi di(ga)aŋ-ki:?»
fairy come.out.PP-INST.SS what-ACC why hide-PAST.2SG why hide-PAST-2SG
when she jumped out (he asked:) «Why did you hide? Why did you hide?»

«Si sewexi: ono-dom mukcugu-si:. … Goj'om o-lo goj'om mukcugu-si: buen-tigi.
you idol.2SG how-IND tease-IM.PRP crooked this-LOC crooked tease-IM.PRP he-LAT
«Your idols were teasing (me) in every possible way. They were making crooked faces at me, in this way and

Utem(i) a-wa ŋele-m(i) digana:-m(i).» «Si utebe nixe:-mi utebe nixe:-m(i) eme-gi-e.»
then that-ACC be.afraid-INF hide.PAST-1SG you so do.PAST-1SG so do.PAST-1SG come-REP-2SG
that way. That's why I was frightened and hid.» «Having done this, come in.»

Uti seuxi tu: tu: omo ba:-la omo-si-e-k, to:-lo jaxtuna:-ni.
that idol all all one place-LOC gather-IM-PAST-EXPR fire-LOC lighten.PAST-3SG
He gathered together all the idols, lit the fire.

Seuxi mo:-zi wo-si-so. {A potom} uta-digi nixe-i, bi: bi:, b'ata b'a-ti zube.
idol tree-INST make-IM-PP.PAS that-ABL do-PRP be.PRP be.PRP boy get.PAST-3PL two
The idols are made of wood. Then they lived, lived, gave birth to two boys.

Uta mamasa-n(i) t'o-si nada kotoi-ti eme-kte-iti. To-uxi eme-iti.
that woman-3SG dream-IM.PRP seven bald-3PL come-DIST-3PL that-LAT come-3PL
The woman dreams that the seven bald ones are coming. They came there.

«Ei neŋi-n(i) e-zi ŋene.» Ila-ma di:-ma dogbo-n(i) t'osi:, nada kotoi-ti eme-iti.
this day-3SG NEG-IMP.2SG go three-ACC four-ACC night-3SG dream.PRP seven bald-3PL come-3PL
«Do not go (hunting) today.» For three or four nights she dreams that seven bald ones are coming.

«Eme-zeŋe bi-mi bi tu:-ŋi-ne-i wo-jo, gune:-ni. Ila tu:.
come-FUT be-INF me pole-AL-DEST-1SG make-IMP.2SG say.PAST-3SG three pole
«If they come, make poles for me, she said. Three poles.

Uti mo:-zi aŋi {telefona stolba} uti tu:-ni. Omo tene xutiga-zi sele-xi,
that tree-INST IND that pole-3SG one CONT core-INST iron-ADJ
From this tree, like the telephone pole. One (pole) with an iron core,

xutiga-zi-es xutiga-ni-es xutiga-ni sele-zi xutiga-xi.» Uta-digi ute wo-isi-ni
core-INST-DIS core-3SG-DIS core-3SG iron-INST core-ADJ that-ABL that make-PC-3SG
a core of iron.» When he made them,

adi-ma neŋi-ni xai t'o:si:-n(i) nada kotoi eme:-n(i).
how.many-ACC day-3SG again dream-3SG seven bald come-3SG
she dreams again that the seven bald men are coming.

Uta-digi gdeli dž ji:n-e-kte-de ine:-s aŋi-es saŋxua <xide> nada kotoi-ti.
that-ABL FOC INTER come-0-DIST-FOC dawn-DIS IND-DIS midday till seven bald-3PL
Then they came before midday, seven bald ones.

Tuŋmuga cul(i) uti kawa do-lo-n(i) tuŋmuga cul(i) šöktoi o:-ini, omo sita-i sene cokpolo:-ni.
flue through that tent inside-LOC-3SG flue through rush make-3SG one son-REF only grip.PAST-3SG
She rushed out through the flue and gripped only one son.

Gagda-wa-ni {uže} diga-ili. Gagda sita-wa-ni … Omo sita-i sene cokpolo:-ni,
other-ACC-3SG eat-3SG other son-ACC-3SG one son-REF only grip.PAST-3SG
They have already eaten the other (son). She gripped only one son and

tu:-ŋi-li xetigene-ili. Uta kixi-kixi-kixi. «Ono nixe-ze-i?» J'eu-de em'e.
pole-AL-PROL.1SG climb-3SG that crunch-crunch-crunch how make-SUBJ-1SG what-IND come.PERF
climbed on her pole. They gnaw (at it): crunch, crunch. «What shall I do?» (She sees:) something is coming up.

G'ai eme-ixi-n(i) dian-a-ixi-ni «G'aj-a, g'ai nexus'e, g'ai nexus'e, (g)un-e-i.
crow come-PC-3SG say-0-PC-3SG crow-VOC crow brother crow brother say-0-PRP
When a crow came up she said: «Brother crow, brother crow,» she said.

Uti nexus'e gun-e-i gune. Men-e men-e baratiška bede diana-ini nexus'e (g)un-e-i g'ai nexu.
that brother say-0-PRP EV REF-0 REF-0 little.brother like say-3SG brother say-0-PRP crow brother
She addresses him as «brother» as if he were her brother.

G'ai nexe:, 'ain-tigi xaulie nada kotoi-de ele-ele wa-li-e-ni min-e-we.
crow brother brother-LAT please seven bald-FOC soon-soon kill-INC-PAST-3SG me-0-ACC
«Brother crow, please tell my husband (mistake: brother) that the seven bald ones are going to kill me.

[Ele nada kotoi-du diga-u-li-e-mi.] Omo tu:-ŋi: omo tu: {uže} tugbu-o:-t(i) kixin-zi m'ei.»
soon seven bald-DAT eat-PAS-INC-PAST-1SG one pole-AL.1SG one pole cut-PAST-3PL gnaw.PP-INST only
Soon I will be eaten by seven bald men. They have already knocked down one pole, have quite gnawed

<G'ai-tigi> gele-gi:-n(i). [«Bi si ja:-wa-i zogzo-lo:-m(i) alasi-mi.»
crow-LAT ask-REP-3SG me you eye-ACC-2SG peck-PURP-SS wait-1SG (through) it.» She calls her husband back. (The crow said): «I am waiting (for your death) to peck out your

Koto-ziga «Mafa-ni eme-gi:-ni-se, xelibe-de kige-u.] …
bald-PL hasband-3SG come-REP-3SG-FOC quick-FOC gnaw-1PL.EX
eyes.» The seven bald ones (said): «Her husband is coming, let us gnaw more quickly.»

Ti: kerr-kerr ti: kerr ikte-zi-ni kixi. Ña tugbu-o:-ti,
that gnaw-gnaw that gnaw tooth-INST-3SG gnaw again cut-PAST-3PL
They are gnawing with their teeth. They were knocking down (the tree) more and more,

ña … uti sele-me xutiga-zi ŋen'e. Uta-digi xai kixi. Uta-digi aŋi-lie wali eme:-ni,

again that iron-ADJ core-INST go.PERF that-ABL again gnaw that-ABL IND-3SG raven come.PAST-3SG
she climbed onto the pole with the iron core. Then they are gnawing again. Here a raven came,

ko:ŋko. «Wali nexu-e, ele nada kotoi-ziga min-e-we magi-e, gagda sita-wa-i diga:-ti.
croak raven brother-VOC soon seven bald-PL me-0-ACC kill-PAST other son-ACC-1SG eat.PAST-3PL
croak, croak. «Brother raven, the seven bald ones will murder me soon, they have eaten one of my sons.

<'Ain-tigi> sa-u-je, gune:-n(i). Ele ele omo-to xutiga-xi-zi,
brother-LAT know-CAUS-IMP.2SG say.PAST-3DG soon soon one-REST iron-ADJ-INST
Tell my brother (mistake instead of 'husband'), she said. soon only one pole

sele-zi xutiga-xi sene esi-gi-e-ni, sele-zi xutiga-xi-ni uta-la bi:-ni.»
iron-INST core-ADJ only become-REP-PAST-3SG iron-INST core-ADJ-3SG that-LOC be-3SG
with the iron core was left, the one with the iron core is there.»

Utebe dian-a, «Xaulie, xaulie-de.» «Aa, ko:ŋko, emne egelie ... dieli-e-ni,
so say-0 please please-FOC INTER croak once around fly-PAST-3SG
She spoke like this: «Please, please.» «Croak, the raven flew around,

si kei-we-i j'e-we xebu-ze-m(i), mute-ze-m(i) j'e-we {govorit} mute-ze-mi j'e-we,»
you word-ACC-2SG what-ACC take-SUBJ-1SG can-SUBJ-1SG what-ACC can-SUBJ-1SG what-ACC
I'll take your words with me, but am not sure if I will be able (to pass out the words),»

uti wali diani-e-ni. «Aja, xebu-je.» Uta ŋene:-n(i), dieli-e-ni. Jei, wali dieli-mie ei.
that raven say-PAST-3SG good take-IMP.2SG that go.PAST-3SG fly-PAST-3SG INTER raven fly-INF now
that raven said. «Please, take them.» So it flew. Here the raven is flying.

Ut(i) jegdige jegdige aŋi ogbö wa:-mi si:-mie bi:-ni. Uta xegise-li ko:ŋko {letaet} aŋi dieli:-ni,
that hero hero IND moose kill.PP-SS skin-INF be-3SG that above-PROL INTER IND fly-3SG
The man was skinning the killed moose. (The raven) croak, croak, flies down from above,

xegise-li eme-ge-si. «Bi sita-i diga-la:-m(i) wa:-mi,
above-PROL come-PERF-PC.SS me son-1SG eat-PURP-SS kill.PAST-1SG
comes from above. «I have killed so that my children could eat,

uta-wa diga-la:-m(i) eme-i bize wali,» gun-e-ini. Ñauŋda-ini uti wali, ñauŋda-ini.
that-ACC eat-PURP-SS come-PRP must raven say-0-3SG scold-3SG that raven scold-3SG
and it looks like a raven is coming to eat it.» He scolds the raven.

Wali guni:-n(i) «Utemi-ge e-zeŋe-i dian-a. Utem(i)-de ŋeni-m(i), sa-u-ne-m(i) eme:-mi.»
raven say-3SG then-FOC NEG-FUT-1SG say-0 then-FOC go-1SG know-CAUS-DIR-INF come.PAST-1SG
The raven said: «Then I won't tell you. Then I go, I came to tell you.»

«Ge, wali nexu, j'eu mede-ni?» «A, si sita-wa-i ele diga-li-e-ti,
well raven brother what news-3SG INTER you son-ACC-2SG soon eat-INC-PAST-3PL
«Well, brother raven, what's the news?» «They are going to eat your son,

omo sita-wa-i diga:-ti, omo gagda sita-ni eni-ti xebu-o:-ni.
one son-ACC-2SG eat.PAST-3PL one another son-3SG mother-3PL take-PAST-3SG
they have eaten one son, and the mother took with her the other.

Omo-to tu:-ŋi-le esi-gi-e-ni sele-zi xutiga-xi-zi.
one-REST pole-AL-FOC become-REP-PAST-3SG iron-INST core-ADJ-INST
The single pole with the iron core is left.

Xele ŋeni-e, (g)un-e-ini, wa-ŋna-gi-e. «Ge, wali nexu-e,
quick go-IMP.2SG say-0-3SG kill-DIR-REP-IMP.2SG well raven brother-VOC
Go quicker, (the raven) said, go and kill them.» «Brother raven,

sä:-wa ni-du-de e-zi diga-wan-a, ule:-we-ni emus'e diga, (g)un-e-ini.
shoulder-ACC who-DAT-IND NEG-IMP.2SG eat-CAUS-0 meat-ACC-3SG alone eat say-0-3SG
do not let anybody eat the shoulder, eat the meat alone, he said.

Ogbö ule:-we-ni emus'e diga, ... činď'a-du-de e-zi bu:,
moose meat-ACC-3SG alone eat bird-DAT-FOC NEG-IMP.2SG give
Eat the moose's meat alone, do not give it to the birds,

g'ai-du-de e-zi bu:, e-zi diga-wan-a.» Uta guline:-ni.
crow-DAT-FOC NEG-IMP.2SG give NEG-IMP.2SG eat-CAUS-0 that go.PAST-3SG
do not give it to the crow, do not let them eat it.» He left.

Merge emne ŋene-i, go: duktama-gi-ze, sä:ta sugala duktama-gi-e-n(i).
Merge at.once go-PRP long ski-REP-HORT noiseless ski ski-REP-PAST-3SG
Merge went at once, set off at once, skied long and noiselessly.

Uta duktama, ei ceze-de kixi-de, ... ele-ele tugbu-li-e-ti asi. Sele-le sen(e) zawa-si:-ni.
that ski INTER true-FOC gnaw-FOC soon-soon cut-INC-PAST-3PL very iron-LOC only hold-IM-3SG
He skis up, really, they are gnawing, just about to knock down (the pole). (The woman) is only holding the iron

Uta omo-mo gaxpa:-ni. «Ei, nexus'e, j'eu j'eu aŋi ... i:mi ŋua-i?
that one-ACC shot.PAST-3SG INTER brother what what IND why sleep-2SG
one. (Merge) shot one of them. (The bald one said:) «Hey, brother, why are you sleeping?

[Xele kixi-e, mafa-ni ele eme-gi-li-ge.»] Ña gagda-wa-ni gakpa:-ni.
soon gnaw-IMP.2SG husband-3SG soon come-REP-INC-PERF again another-ACC-3SG shoot.PAST-3SG
Her husband is about to come.» He shot one more.

«Ei, i:mi ŋua-i? Xeli kixe» gumu. Teu-me-ni gakpa-si-e-ni,
INTER why sllep-2SG quick gnaw EV all-ACC-3SG shoot-IM-PAST-3SG
«Hey, why are you sleeping? Gnaw quicker!» they said. He shot all of them,

tu: ŋua-kta-ili, bude-kte-ili. [Teu magi-e-ni.]
all sleep-DIST-3SG die-DIST-3SG all kill-PAST-3SG
all fell asleep, all died. He killed them all.

«Za:-bi bude-i-we-ni ei-mi imo:-wo {govorit} diga-laga-fi.»
brother-1SG die-PRP-ACC-3SG NEG-INF fat-ACC eat-PURP-SS.PL
«In order for us to eat the fat of the dead brothers,» he said.

Uta wa:-k, uti ule:-we-ni, tu: kasu-de su:na-si-e-k ule:-we-ni,
that kill.PAST-EXPR that meat-ACC-3SG all jerked.meat-FOC cut-IM-PAST-EXPR meat-ACC-3SG
He killed (them), dried their meat, cut finely the jerked meat.

wagi-si-e-k. Talu-zi ... nada xasa [wo:-k]. Uta-du ule: tu: teugi-si-e-k
dry-IM-PAST-EXPR birch-INST seven box make.PAST-EXPR that-DAT meat all put-IM-PAST-EXPR
He made seven boxes from birch bark. He put there all the meat.

uta-la. «G:ene si.» Go:-do e-ini bie «Uti kotoi-ti eni-ni, kotoi-ti eni-ni.
that-LOC take you long-FOC NEG-3SG be.PRES.HAB that bald-3PL mother-3SG bald-3PL mother-3SG
«Take (it).» Soon (he said to his wife): «Call the mother of the bald ones (and tell her):

Si sita-na-i mun-tugi eme-gi-e-ti, gune, em'e, xuli-se:-ti, wagi-e-ti. ...
you son-PL-2SG we-LAT come-REP-PAST-3PL EV come.PERF go-EXP.PAST-3PL dry-PAST-3PL
Your children came to us and set off, they have dried some meat.

Mun-dule imeni-e-ti ule:-we. Ute ge-ne-gi-e.» Uta eme:-ni.
we-LOC leave-PAST-3PL meat-ACC that take-DIR-REP-IMP.2SG that come.PAST-3SG
They left the meat with us. Go and take it.» She came (there).

Uti Merge mamasa-i kaja:-n(i) uti nada kotoi-ziga eni-we-ni gazi-lege-n(i),
that Merge wife-REF order.PAST-3SG that seven bald-PL mother-ACC-3SG bring-PURP-3SG
Merge told his wife to bring the seven bald men's mother, to call her.

aŋi ge-ne-lege-n(i). Mamasa-ni gazi-e-ni. Mamasa-n(i) gazi-e-n(i), eme-ili.
IND take-DIR-PURP-3SG wife-3SG bring-PAST-3SG wife-3SG bring-PAST-3SG come-3SG
The wife brought her. The wife brought her, she came.

Jegdige dia(n)-(a)-ini «{Von} nada namaŋkä si sita-na-i xuline-mi ña wakca-i. Ei ule:-we wagi-si-e-ti,
hero say-0-3SG seven box you son-PL-2SG hurry-INF again hunt-PRP this meat-ACC dry-IM-PAST-3PL
The hero said: «Your sons have left these seven boxes for meat when they were hurrying to hunt again;

seute-si-e-ti ule:-we. Ute ule: seute-si-e-me-ti xasa do-lo-ni teu-gi-si-e-ti. ...
smoke-IM-PAST-3PL meat-ACC that meat smoke-IM-PP-ACC-3PL box inside-LOC-3SG put-REP-IM-PAST-3PL
they dried this meat and smoked it. They put the smoked meat in the boxes.

Si a-wa gazi:, sina-da-gi:. A:-kta-n(i),
you that-ACC take.IMP.2SG shoulder.sack-V-REP.IMP.2SG nice-ADJ-3SG
Take it, carry it in the shoulder sack.

a:-kta-n(i) tege-we teti-gi-e, uŋtu-wa, bue-ti ule: diga-li-e.
nice-ADJ-3SG gown-ACC gown-REP-IMP.2SG boot-ACC he-3PL meat eat-INC-IMP.2SG
Put on (your) best gown and boots and begin to eat the meat,

imexi tege-we tu:-me-n(i), men-e nekce-i tege teti-gi-li:, utali xulegde.
new gown-ACC all-ACC-3SG REF-0 keep-PRP.SS gown gown-REP-INC.IMP.2SG then open
Put on all new clothes, which you kept for your funeral, then open it.» (She opened it.)

«A:, i:mi ñ'ädiga-mu:i-ni? ... Xasa pui b'an-zi i:mi ñ'ädiga-mu:i-ni? Xasa pui.»
INTER why youngest.son-V-3SG box through find.PP-INST.SS why youngest.son-V-3SG box through
«Why does it smell of my youngest son when you smell through the box?»

«Uta-digi [ŋala-zi] čifala:-ti xu:-ni bi-ze-ni, i:mi n'ädiga-mu:i-ni.»
that-ABL hand-INST crumple.PP-3PL smell-3SG be-SUBJ-3SG why youngest.son-V-3SG
«Maybe it smells because he has touched it with his hands.»

{Nu vot} zugdi-le-i ŋen'e, a:-kta-n(i)-de tege teti-g'e, uta xulegd'e.
house-LOC-REF go.PERF nice-ADJ-3SG-FOC gown dress-PERF that open.PERF
She went home, put on her best gown, and opened (the box).

Uta-wa xulegde-ixi-ni xasa-wa xulegde-i, <nada-wa> nada koto-ziga dili-ni m'ei,
that-ACC open-PC-3SG box-ACC open-PRP seven-ACC seven bald-PL head-3SG only
When she opened, when she opened the box, (she saw that) there were only the heads of the seven bald men

ikte-n(i) zaktim-ziga bi:-n(i). Uti mamaka-da «A, saŋänawo:ni, ebe nixe:n-zi ge tu: magi-e-ti.»
tooth-3SG bared-PL be-3SG that old.woman-FOC INTER damn so do.PP-INST well all kill-PAST-3PL
with bared teeth. The old woman (said): «Ah, damn, they did (it) like that, killed them all.»

Uti xeku xebu-mie mamaka me-mi lo:-ni mo:-lo.
that rope take-INF old.woman REF-ACC hang.PAST-3SG tree-LOC
The old woman took a rope and hanged herself on a tree.

Bude-ili mamaka {i} nada kotoi-ti. Ele utebe-de bi-si-ti. Malakta-ili.
die-3SG old.woman seven bald-3PL soon so-FOC be-PAST-3PL finish-3SG
The old woman and the seven bald men died. It was so. Finished.

9. Couxu Mä:tu *'Couxu Mjatu' (told by Alexandr Egorovič Pionka)*

Neŋu mule bi-si-ti. Omo belie omo nauŋzaka neŋu mule.
younger.sibling with be-PAST-3PL one fairy one boy younger.sibling with
There lived one girl with her younger brother.

Tu: bi:, bi:, bi:, tu: sugzä:-wa-da tu: wakca-i,
all be.PRP be.PRP be.PRP all fish-ACC-FOC all hunt-PRP
They lived, lived, lived, fished and hunted

j'e-we-de tu: wakca-i, utebe bagdi:-ti, ni-de anči.
what-ACC-IND all hunt-PRP so live-3PL who-IND no
for something all the time, so they lived, there was nobody (they had no parents) .

Ute bi-mie tu: xuli:, xuli:, xuli:, e: dogbo-w-o:-ti,
that be-INF all go.PRP go.PRP go.PRP INTER night-PAS-PAST-3PL
Once they walked, walked, stayed (in the forest) overnight,

dogbo ŋeni-mi lä ŋele-li-e:-ti, ŋä:-nigi tukti-gi-m(i).

night go-INF very be.afraid-INC-PAST-3PL riverbank-ABL climb-REP-INF
walking in the night they were very much afraid climbing from the riverbank.

Zuk-tigi aŋi zugdi-tigi ŋene-iti ŋä:-nigi. Ni cokpolo:-n(i).
house-LAT IND house-LAT go-3PL riverbank-ABL who catch.PAST-3SG
They went home from the riverbank. Somebody caught (the sister).

Exi-ni gun-e-ini «Ono dogbo-gi:-ni, uti (g)un-e-in(i), täk-täk zawa-za bi tege-le-i.»
sister-3SG say-0-3SG how night-REP-3SG that say-0-3SG fast-fast take-SUBJ me gown-LOC-1SG
The sister said: «Night has come, hold fast onto my gown.»

Uta ŋene-i, ŋene-i zuk-tigi, zuk-tigi ŋene-i, ŋene-i. Ei anči-gde, taŋda-da-wan-a-i
that go-PRP go-PRP house-LAT house-LAT go-PRP now no-FOC pull.away-SEM-CAUS-0-PRPR
He went home. (Suddenly) she disappeared, somebody pulled his sister away.

exi-we-ni. Uti exe: i:-le-de anči, j'eu-de anči. Ge, nauŋzaka men-e bei-zi emus'e
sister-ACC-3SG that sister what-LOC-IND no what-IND no well boy REF-0 body-INST alone
No sister anywhere, nothing is (there). The younger brother is left alone.

esi-gi-e-li. Xeigixi eteŋi-mi xunepte diga-i, weixi eteŋi-mi ñuxe:-we diga-i.
become-REP-PAST-3SG down look-INF ash eat-PRP up look-INF soot-ACC eat-PRP
He lookes down and eats ash, he looks up and eats soot.

Utebe bi-si-ni. Tu: bi: bi: bi: adi-adi aŋa-ni. Ei, sagdi-e-n(i)de sagdi
so be-PAST-3SG all be.PRP be.PRP be.PRP how.many-how.many year-3SG INTER big-PAST-3SG big
So he lived. He lived, lived, lived some years long. He grew up.

ede-ili. Sagdi ede:n-zi «J'eu-de ba:-ni bi exi-m(i) ŋene:-ni,
become-3SG big become.PP-INST.SS what-IND place-3SG me sister-1SG go.PAST-3SG
«I'll go to bring my sister back from wherever she went.»

exi-m(i) ge:-ne-gi-ze-m(i).» Galakta-na-gi:. B'a-gi:, b'a-gi:, ŋene:-n(i).
sister-1SG bring-DIR-REP-SUBJ-1SG seek-DIR-REP.PRP find-REP.PRP find-REP.PRP go.PAST-3SG
He went to seek her. He was looking for her, looking for her, went.

ŋene-mie ŋene-mie omo (i)ŋe-n(i) tei ŋene-i, ŋene-i. Sikie, sikie-ne:,
go-INF go-INF one day-3SG all go-PRP go-PRP evening evening-V.PRP
He went, went all day long, he went. (When) the evening came

omo xokto-wo b'a-ni, kölońońo xokto-wo. Uti culi ŋene-i.

one path-ACC find.PAST-3SG trodden path-ACC that along go-PRP
he found a trodden path. He went straight along it.

Omo kawa-la i:ŋ-ki-ni. Kawa-tigi i:-xi-ni, kawa-tigi i:-xi-ni ise-si-gi-e-ni,
one tent-LOC reach-PAST-3SG tent-LAT enter-PC-3SG tent-LAT enter-PC-3SG see-IM-REP-PAST-3SG
He came up to a shelter, having entered it he saw

omo kanda mafa mamaka-ŋi: mule bi:-ti. «Te, aŋa-si-e». I:-digi eme-nie
one kanda old.man old.woman-AL.REF with be-3PL well night.shelter-V-IMP.2SG what-ABL come-3SG
that one old man Kanda was living (there) with his wife. «Well, stay for the night.» He thinks:

j'e-we», gumu. «Aŋa-si-e.» Aŋa-si:. Uti caŋ'a-li:-ni.
what-ACC EV night.shelter-V-IMP.2SG night.shelter-V.PRP that sing-INC-3SG
where did he come from?» «Stay for the night.» He stayed. He began to sing:

Nexuse:, nexuse:,
brother brother
Younger brother, younger brother,

Ñauli-n(i)-de e-si:-deŋe,
young-3SG-FOC NEG-PAST.2SG-FOC
The young one,

Ñauli-n(i)-de bi-mi bi-mi-de.
young-3SG-FOC be-1SG be-1SG-FOC
The young one,

B'ata-wa-da aziga-wa-da
boy-ACC-FOC girl-ACC-FOC
A boy, a girl,

Ñauli-n(i)-de e-si: b'a j'e-we?
young-3SG-FOC NEG-PAST.2SG get what-ACC
Why did you not give birth to a child?

Ñauli-n(i)-de (g)un-e-in(i).
young-3SG-FOC say-0-3SG
The young one.

Ute dian-a-i, ute dian-a-ixi-ni «B'a bi-s'e-we, gune:-n(i) uti kanda mafa.
this say-0-PRP that say-0-PC-3SG get be-PERF-ACC say.PAST-3SG that Kanda old.man
He said like this, when he said this, «We gave birth (we had a daughter), said that old man Kanda.

Ute ŋen'e. Couxu mä:tu em'e-si kawa dagba-wa-ni ele xa(j)i-li-xi-ni bu-o:-m(i)
that go.PERF Couxu Mjatu come.PERF-PC.SS tent curtain-ACC-3SG soon break-INC-PC-3SG give-PAST-1SG
She disappeared. Couxu Mjatu came, nearly broke the tent curtain, I gave him (the daughter),

ŋele-m(i), amba. Ja:-ni sagdi, iŋi:-ni sagdi. Ja:-ni sagdi, saŋü di:ŋki-ni ja:-ni-de.
be.afraid-INF evil.spirit eye-3SG big tongue-3SG eye-3SG big potato size-3SG eye-3SG-FOC
being afraid, he is an evil spirit. His eyes are big, his tongue is big. His eyes are big, as big as potatoes.

Uta-digi ŋele-m(i) bu-o:-mi.» « Ge, bi timana gene-gi-zeŋe-i.»
that-ABL be.afraid-INF give-PAST-1SG well me tomorrow bring-REP-FUT-1SG
That is why I gave him (the daughter) being afraid.» «Well, tomorrow I'll go and bring her back.»

«E:, e-zi ŋene, e-zi ŋene, e-zi ŋene, e-zi ŋene. Uta-du w(a)-u-i, {govorit} amba j'eu.
INTER NEG-IMP.2SG go NEG-IMP.2SG go NEG-IMP.2SG go that-DAT kill-PAS-2SG evil.spirit what
«Do not go, do not go. He will kill you, (the old man said). He is an evil spirit.

Bue-ni kelʲ-kelʲ zuge bede bie, j'eu-de e-zeŋe-ni ete.» «A:, ŋene-zeŋe-i.»
he-3SG hard-hard ice like be.PRES.HAB what-IND NEG-FUT-3SG cut INTER go-FUT-1SG
Hard as ice, nothing can (cut) him.» «All the same, I will go.»

Timana te:gi-mi ŋene-ili. Ei ceŋeli-me zugdi-du bi:-ni uti. «Tukti-ŋku zoko-jo!»
tomorrow get.up-INF go-3SG this hang-ADJ house-DAT be-3SG that climb-N push.down-IMP.2SG
Next morning he got up and went. He lives in a hanging house. «Push down the ladder!»

Zoko:-n(i). Uta-digi uti bege-le-n(i) te:-si: bi:,
push.down.PAST-3SG that-ABL that knee-LOC-3SG sit-IM.PRP be.PRP
(The woman) pushed. Then he was sitting on (the woman's) knees

ele eme-gi-li:-n(i) Couxu mä:tu. Couxu mä:tu ise-si-gi-e-ni,
soon come-REP-INC-3SG Couxu Mjatu Couxu Mjatu see-IM-REP-PAST-3SG
when Couxu Mjatu came. Couxu Mjatu looked (and said):

«Bi mamasa-i, j'eu ni:-n(i), j'eu amba-n(i), j'eu te:-inie {govorit}? Čik-čik čik-čigi bo:lo-n(i) di:ŋki-ni,
me wife-1SG what man-3SG what ghost-3SG what sit-3SG tiny-tiny tiny-tiny bird-3SG size-3SG
«My wife, what sort of man, what evil ghost is sitting here? It is as big as a tiny bird,

čik-čigi bo:lo-n(i) di:ŋki-ni. J'eu-gde ata-i ŋene,
tiny-tiny bird-3SG size-3SG what-FOC NEG.PERM-2SG go
as big as a tiny bird. You will go nowhere,

sakä-i-de xegi-le-te sabda-nda-wan-a-i uta-wa,» dian-a-i Couxu mä:tu.
blood-2SG-FOC floor-LOC-FOC drop-SEM-CAUS-0-1SG that-ACC say-0-PRP Couxu Mjatu
I will drop your blood on the floor», Couxu Mjatu said.

Nauŋzaka gune:-n(i) «Ni: maŋga bi-mi, <si> bi bude-ze-mi-es, si bude-zeŋe:-s,» gun-e-ini <mamaka> aŋi
boy say.PAST-3SG man strong be-1SG you me die-SUBJ-1SG-DIS you die-FUT-DIS say-0-3SG old.woman IND
The boy said: «I am strong, either I will die or you.»

nauŋzaka. Ge, Couxu mä:tu (g)un-e-ini « Tiŋe(ni) aŋtugie, tiŋe(ni) aŋtugie,» {govorit} aŋi dian-a-ini.
boy well Couxu Mjatu say-0-3SG tomorrow bend.IMP.2SG tomorrow bend.IMP.2SG IND say-0-3SG
Well, Couxu Mjatu said: «Tomorrow put your chest (under my arrow).»

Uta aŋtuga-ini, tiŋeni tiŋeni aŋtuga-ixi-ni gakpa:-ni Couxu mä:tu.
that bend-3SG tomorrow tomorrow bend-PC-3SG shot.PAST-3SG Couxu Mjatu
He bent, the next morning when he put his chest there, Couxu Mjatu shot.

Nauŋzaka uti wuile-mie tada-wa-ni zawa:-ni.»Ge, si. Si-de … Couxu mä:tu {medlennyj}, ise-si-gi-ni j'e-le-de
boy that jump.aside-INF arrow-ACC-3SG take.PAST-3SG well you you-FOC Couxu Mjatu see-IM-REP-3SG what-LOC-IND
The boy jumped aside and took his arrow. «Well, you too.» Couxu Mjatu is slow; (the boy) looks where he has a weak (spot).

ede. J'e-uxi i:-n(i)-de ančі. Bi:-li, bi:-li, zuge m'ei-de.
weak what-LAT thing-3SG-FOC no be-3SG be-3SG ice only-FOC
There is nothing. He was made all of ice.

Zokpo:-ni cul zokpo:-ni cu:l ise-si-gi-ni, ñaŋga iŋme se:-n(i) bede
neck-3SG through neck-3SG through see-IM-REP-3SG small needle eye-3SG like
He is looking at his neck, a hole like a small needle eye

saŋa ñaŋga ise-kte-wen'e. «Tada, tada, bi bude-zeŋe-m(i) bi-li cul(i) ŋene-z(e)-i.
hole small see-DEC-CAUS.PERF arrow arrow me die-FUT-1SG be-CC.SS straight go-SUBJ-2SG
is seen. «Arrow, arrow, if I die, go straight ahead.

Bi e-zeŋe bude bi-li: zokpo:-ni cul(i)… ŋene-ze(-i)» gun-e-ini. Ute gakpa:-ni tada-wa.
me NEG-FUT die be-CC.SS hole-3SG through go-SUBJ-2SG say-0-3SG that shot.PAST-3SG arrow-ACC
If I don't die, get right into the hole.» He shot the arrow with all his might.

xagzali-gde. Tiŋme:-n(i) Couxu mä:tu, wa-ilie. Couxu mä:tu wa:n-zi ŋene:-k,
strongly-FOC fell.PAST-3SG Couxu Mjatu kill-3SG Couxu Mjatu kill.PP-INST go.PAST-EXPR
Couxu Mjatu fell, he killed him. Having killed Couxu Mjatu the boy came up,

ja:-wa-ni cokigö:-k, ŋiŋme:-k wo:-ni uti nauŋzaka.«Ge ŋeni-ze-fi.»
eye-ACC-3SG pick.out.PAST-EXPR swallow.PAST-EXPR do.PAST-3SG that boy well go-SUBJ-1PL.IN
picked out his eyes and swallowed them; that boy killed him. «Well, let us go.»

Uti Couxu mä:tu mamasa-wa-ni, aziga-wa «ŋeni-ze-f(i)», ŋala-la-n(i) juŋkala-gi:,
that Couxu Mjatu wife-ACC-3SG girl-3SG go-SUBJ-1PL.IN hand-LOC-3SG pull-REP.PRP
He pulled the wife of Couxu Mjatu by the hand, (saying:) «Let us go.»

ŋala-la-n(i) juŋkala-gi:. Kanda mafa-da «E:{govorit} gazi-e-m(i). «E:, čemne-i si,
hand-LOC-3SG pull-REP.PRP Kanda old.man-FOC INTER bring-PAST-2SG INTER lie-2SG you
He pulled her at the hand. (He said:) «Well, I brought (her)». The old man Kanda (said:) «You are lying,

ono j'emi amba-wa ono wa-zaŋa-i si? Zuge-de ei ete, gida ei ete, [tada ei ete].»
how why ghost-ACC how kill-FUT-2SG you ice-FOC NEG cut spear NEG cut arrow NEG cut
how can you kill the evil ghost? You cannot cut ice, neither a spear nor an arrow harms him.»

Ute-gde [je:-wa-ni] jakta-gi-e-n(i). «Adada, adada, j'e-du jakta: amba-ni ….»
that-FOC eye-ACC-3SG belch-REP-PAST-3SG INTER INTER what-DAT belch.PP evil.spirit-3SG
Then (the boy) belched out the eyes. «Oh, why did you, evil spirit, belch (my eyes)?»

[«Baixi wue-nde!]» Uta iŋgule uti aziga-wa mamasa-la-gi-e-li, uti aziga mamasa-la-gi-li.
outdoors throw-SEM that at.once that girl-ACC wife-V-REP-PAST-3SG wife-V-REP-3SG
«Throw them outdoors!» He married that girl at once.

Kanda mafa-tigi: «ŋenie,» men-e bi-si-ti, ŋeni-e-ti. B'ata-wa j'e-we b'a-mi
Kanda old.man-LAT go.IMP.2SG REF-0 be-PAST-3PL go-PAST-3SG boy-ACC what-ACC get-INF
(He said) to the old man Kanda: «Go,» they lived by themselves, they left. They gave

birth to sons,

b'a-si-e-ti, ila-ma:-si adi-ma:-si, tu: ele:-ni utebe bi-si-ni.
get-IM-PAST-3PL three-ACC-DIS how.many-ACC-DIS all finish.PP-3SG so be-PAST-3SG
they gave birth to three or more sons, this is the end.

10. Daŋña-kico *'Dannja-kico' (told by Nadežda Pavlovna Kukčenko)*

Xuñazi mule bagdi-e-ti jegdige. Bagdi:, bagdi:, xuñazi-n(i) diana:-n(i) «Ge, neŋun-tie, ...
sister with live-PAST-3PL hero live.PRP live.PRP sister-3SG say.PAST-3SG well younger.sibling-3PL
There lived one hero with his elder sister. They lived, lived, his sister said: «Well, brother,

gagda-na-m(i) galakta-na-i.» «I:-le galakta-na-za-m(i)?»
another-DEST-REF seek-DIR-IMP.2SG what-LOC seek-DIR-SUBJ-1SG
go to look for a match (a wife) for yourself.» «Where shall I seek her?»

«B'ata sagdi, ni: i:-l(e) ata-i b'a? Ba:ziga ŋene-i-ze timana.» Ge,
boy big man what-LOC NEG.SUBJ-2SG find early go-IMP.2SG-HORT tomorrow well
«(You are) a big boy, why shouldn't you find somebody? Set out early tomorrow.» Well,

neŋu-ni timana {odelsja}, su(g)ala titi-gi:, guline:-n(i). Neŋu-n(i) gulin-e-isi-ni
younger.sibling-3SG tomorrow ski gown-REP.PRP leave.PAST-3SG
younger.sibling-3SG leave-0-PC-3SG
next day the brother got dressed, put on the skis, and set out. After the brother left,

bue-ni-de xaisi titi-gi-si-ni, su(g)ala-i titi-gi:, gulin-e-li:. Uti dian-a-ini xuñazi
he-3SG-FOC also gown-REP-IM-3SG ski-REF gown-REP.PRP leave-0-INC.PRP that say-0-3SG sister
she also got dressed, put on the skis and set out too. She spoke like this:

Daŋña-kico daŋña-kico,
ridge-roofed ridge-roofed

Nexuse zuliele-n(i),
brother before-3SG
before the younger brother

Daŋña-kico ...
ridge-roofed

Daŋña kicoli-gde aŋa-na-m(i) wo:-li-gde, kicoli-gde aŋa-na-m(i) wo:-i.

ridge roofed-FOC shelter-DEST-REF make-3SG-FOC roofed-FOC shelter-DEST-REF make-PRP
She made a shelter for herself with a high sharp top, made a shelter.

Ana-na-m(i) wo:-i, pečka cuga-gi:, to: ila-gi:, zakta toxolo:-k.
shelter-DEST-REF make-PRP stove put.up-REP.PRP fire lighten-REP.PRP gruel put.on.fire.PAST-EXPR
She made a shelter and put up a stove; lit a fire and put the gruel on the fire.

Sikie ji-n'e. Neŋu-ni i:-ne-mi wopti-we nientele-ini. ... Ise-si: exi-ni,
evening come-DIR.PERF younger.sibling-3SG come-DIR-INF door-ACC open-3SG see-IM.PRP sister-3SG
Evening came. The younger brother comes and opens the door. He sees his sister,

ono ise-si:, xai exi-ni, i:-le-de ise-si:. Belie dian-a-i «J'e-we ise-si: jegdige si?
how see-IM.PRP too sister-3SG what-LOC-IND see-IM.PRP fairy say-0-PRP what-ACC see-IM.PRP hero
he looks again—his sister again, wherever he looks. The girl said: «Why are you looking, hero?

Zima bi-m(i)-de i:-mi [aŋa-si-je] ... Tu:-tu: bi:, j'e-we-de e-ini
you guest be-INF-FOC enter-INF night.shelter-V-IMP.2SG quiet-quiet be.PRP what-ACC-IND NEG-3SG
If you are a guest, enter, stay for the night.» He keeps silence, said nothing,

dian-a-da, ise-si:. ... Ise-si:, ise-si: ..., tu: lukta-sie, lukta-sie,
say-0-FOC see-IM.PRP see-IM.PRP see-IM.PRP all change-IM.PRP 3SG change-IM.PRP
is looking. The brother is looking, looking, she changed all her clothes

neŋu-mi neŋu-mi amä:la-n(i) su(g)ala-d'a.
younger.sibling-REF younger.sibling-REF after-3SG ski-V.PERF
and skied after her brother.

Daŋña-kico daŋña-kico,
ridge-roofed ridge-roofed

Nexuse zuliele-n(i)
brother before-3SG
before the brother

Daŋña-kico.
ridge-roofed

Nexuse zuliele-n(i)
brother before-3SG

before the brother

Daŋña-kicoli-gde-li zugdi-le-i eme-gi:, ña olokto-si:-li. ... Eme-gi-e-ni neŋu-n(i),
ridge-roofed-FOC-FOC house-LOC-REF come-REP.PRP again cook-IM-3SG come-REP-PAST-3SG
She came back home, began to cook again. The brother came back,

eme-gi-si-n(i) ...xaundasi: «Ono nixe-i si, nexus'e?» «B'a-mi bi belie-we
younger.sibling-3SG come-REP-PC-3SG ask.PRP how make-P2SG you brother find.PAST-1SG me girl-ACC
when he came she asked him: «How are things, brother?» I met a girl

si bu:fi-n(i)-de. Ono ise-si: si bu:fi-n(i). J'eu-de e-si: dian-a bi,
you similar-3SG-FOC how see-IM.1SG you similar-3SG what-IND NEG-PAST.1SG say-0 me
resembling you. Whenever I look you are alike. I said nothing,

xu:giŋie-i eme-gi-e-m(i).» «Ge, nexus'e, ba: xo:n-dile-ni j'e-me de(xe)m(i) ni: bi:.
turn-PRP come-REP-PAST-1SG well brother place top-LOC-3SG what-ADJ IND man be.PRP
turned back and went.» Well, brother, there are different people in the world.

Ni: bagäu-n(i)-de bi:, ni: d'ofo-n(i), d'ofo d'ofo omo-ti bagdi:-ti, bagäu omo-ti.» ...
man identical-3SG-FOC be.PRP man similar-3SG similar similar one-3PL live-3PL identical one-3PL
There are identical people, similar people, there live (people) identical to each other, doubles.»

Timana ña ŋen'e galakta-n'a. Ña ele-tigi ŋen'e. ... Xai uti ŋene:-ni.
be.PRP tomorrow again go.PERF seek-DIR.PERF again side-LAT go.PERF too that go.PAST-3SG
Next day he went to seek again. He went to the other side. And she set out too.

Xaisi exi-ni, ... xai exi-ni. Xai utebe ŋen'e. Neŋu-n(i) ŋene-isi-ni ña
too sister-3SG too sister-3SG too so go.PERF younger.sibling-3SG go-PC-3SG again
(He looks), his sister again. He left so again. When the brother left, (the sister said) again:

Daŋña-kico daŋña-kico,
ridge-roofed ridge-roofed

nexus'e zuliele-n(i)
brother before-3SG
before the brother

nexus'e zuliele-n(i).
brother before-3SG

before the brother

Xaisi exi-ni eme-gi-e-ni xaisi, exi-ni xai ute eme-gi-e-ni bue-ni
too sister-3SG come-REP-PAST-3SG too sister-3SG too that come-REP-PAST-3SG he-3SG
The sister went too, she came home too

ute ŋene: bede neŋu-m(i) zuliele-n(i). Neŋu-ni xai teluŋu-si:-ni «Xai si bu:fi b'a
that go.PP like younger.sibling-REF before-3SG brother-3SG again story-V-3SG again you similar find.PP
like she went (earlier) before her brother. The brother tells again: «Again I met (a girl)

bi-s'e-i.» «Bi diana:-m(i) bubu sin-tigi, bua xo:n-dule ono-fi dexem ni: bi:,
be-PERF-1SG me say.PAST-1SG EV you-LAT place top-LOC how-ADJ IND man be.PRP
resembling you.» «I had told you, there are different people on earth,

ni: d'ofo-n(i) bie. Ele omo bagdi-e bede bie. J'eu galakta-i?
man similar-3SG be.PRES.HAB soon one be.born-PP like be.PRES.HAB what seek-2SG
there are similar people. There are those (born) almost similar. What are you looking for?

Zawa-i si uta-wa,» <neŋu-n(i)> dian-e-ini. Neŋu-n(i) timana ña …
take-IMP.2SG you that-ACC younger.sibling-3SG say-0-3SG younger.sibling-3SG tomorrow again
Take her,» the younger brother (mistake instead of: sister) said. Next day the younger brother went to seek her again.

galakta-na:-n(i). Ele-ele galakt'a ŋene:-ni. Neŋu-m(i) ŋene-isi-ni
seek-DIR.PAST-3SG soon-soon seek.PERF go-PC-3SG younger.sibling-REF go-PC-3SG
Soon he went to seek (her). When the brother went,

bue-ni xai ŋene:-ni uti xokto-n(i) culi-ni. Zuliele-ni
he-3SG again go.PAST-3SG that road-3SG along-3SG before-3SG
she went again along his track. Before him (she is singing):

Daŋña-kico daŋña-kico daŋña-kico,
ridge-roofed ridge-roofed ridge-roofed

neŋu-m(i) zuliele-ni {opjat} …
brother-REF before-3SG
before the brother again.

Ise-si: xai exi-ni. Ise-si:, ise-si:, ña ŋene:-ni zugdi-ti(gi),
see-IM.PRP again sister-3SG see-IM.PRP see-IM.PRP again go.PAST-3SG house-LAT
(The brother) looks: his sister again. He looked, looked and went home again,

ise-si:, ise-si:, ŋene:-n(i) zugdi-ti(gi). Xai ute dian'a «Exe, si d'ofo-n(i)-de.
see-IM.PRP see-IM.PRP go.PAST-3SG house-LAT again that say.PERF sister you similar-3SG-FOC
looked, looked and went home again. And told again: «Sister, she is similar to you again.

I:-le ŋene:-me-ni si d'ofo-n(i)-de. Bi ta-uxi xuli-se:-mi, ta-uxi
what-LOC go.PP-ACC-3SG you similar-3SG-FOC me that-LAT go-EXP.PAST-1SG that-LAT
Wherever I go (girls) resemble you.

xuli-se:-mi, i:-le de(xe)m xuli-se:-mi, xai si bu:fi m'ei.»
go-EXP.PAST-1SG what-LOC IND go-EXP.PAST-1SG again you alike only
I walked here and there, I walked everywhere all (girls) resemble you.»

«Bi diana:-m(i) bie, ni: bagäu-mule bagdi:-ti, omo-ti. D'ofo-d'ofo bagdi:-ti.
me say.PAST-1SG be.PRES.HAB man identical-N live-3PL one-3PL similar-similar live-3PL
«I had said, there are doubles, the same people. People looking like each other exist.

Aja, gada-i si uta-wa.» ŋua:-ni. Timana ña gulin'e jaza. I:-n'e xaisi utebe.
good take-IMP.2SG you that-ACC sleep.PAST-3SG tomorrow again go.PERF of.course come-DIR.PERF again so
Please, take her.» They slept. In the morning of course he set out again. He came up again.

Xai belie-le i:-ne:-ni, xai exi-n(i) d'ofo-n(i)-de. Ei-ke i:j-e-nie. «I:-je.»
too fairy-CONT enter-DIR.PAST-3SG again sister-3SG alike-3SG-FOC now-FOC enter-PAST-3SG enter-IMP.2SG
He came to another girl, she was again resembling his sister. This time he entered. (The girl said:) «Enter.»

Asiktasi-e-nie, zakta sile umi-e, diga-la:-ni čaja umi-wen-e-i. Xaundasi:-lie
undress-PAST-3SG gruel broth drink-PAST eat-PURP-3SG tea drink-CAUS-0-PRP ask-3SG
He took off his clothes, drank gruel broth, ate, she let him drink tea with food. She asked:

«J'eu baita-ni, j'eu zuge-nie jegdige eme-i?» «J'eu baita-n(i)-de anči,
what business-3SG what business-3SG hero come-2SG what business-3SG-FOC no
«What business do you have, why have you, hero, come?» «I have no business,

j'eu zuge-n(i)-de anči. Bi emus'e bagdi-mi, gagda-na-m(i) galakta-m(i). Si-ne emus'e bi:,
what business-3SG-FOC no me alone live-1SG another-DEST-REF seek-1SG you-CONT alone be.2SG
I have no business. I live alone, I'm seeking a match. You are single,

bi-de emus'e bi-m(i). Utemi min-tigi mafa-la-i si.» Ča:l'a jaza-ta, aja-gi:.
me-FOC therefore me-LAT man-V-IMP.2SG you want.PERF of.course-FOC good-REP.PRP
I am single too. Therefore marry me.» She wanted, agreed, of course.

«Mafa-la-za-m(i), bagdi-ze-m(i).» Utem(i) bagdi-li-e-n(i). Mamasa-la-ili uti belie-we.
man-V-SUBJ-1SG live-SUBJ-1SG then live-INC-PAST-3SG wife-V-3SG that fairy-ACC
«I'll marry you, I'll live (with you).» Then they began to live, he married her.

Mamasa-lie bagdi:, bagdi:, exi-m(i)-de oŋmo-ili, zug(di)-ti(g)i ŋene-zeŋe-m(i)-de oŋm'o.
wife-3SG live.PRP live.PRP sister-REF-FOC forget-3SG house-LAT go-FP-SS-FOC forget.PERF
They got married, lived, lived, he forgot the sister, forgot to go home.

Wo:-ko go: bi:, sita-na-m(i)-de b'a-ili, b'ata-wa aziga-wa b'a-ti.
short-DIS long be.PRP child-PL-REF-FOC get-3SG boy-ACC girl-ACC get.PAST-3PL
They lived, eventually (sooner or later) gave birth to children: a boy and a girl.

B'ata-ŋi-ti {uže} sagdi ede:-li, čind'a-wa gakpa-si-li-e-ni. Činda gakpa-si-li-e-n(i),
boy-AL-3PL big become.PAST-3SG bird-ACC shoot-IM-INC-PAST-3SG bird shoot-IM-INC-PAST-3SG
Their boy already grew up and began to shoot birds. He began to shoot birds,

ami-ni zaŋta wo:-ni. Omo niŋñäna-wa gakpa:-ni. Ofokto-wo-ni pus'ei,
father-3SG arrow make.PAST-3SG one sparrow-ACC shoot.PAST-3SG feather-ACC-3SG scatter
his father made him an arrow. He shot a sparrow. His feathers scattered,

ñagda-si-lie-de «J'eu, gum(u), mäusa-si:, min-e-we zaŋta gakpa-si:? Näzakta-la b'a-ni b'ata,
scold-IM-3SG-FOC what EV gun-V.PRP me-0-ACC arrow shot-IM.PRP brother-LOC get.PAST-3SG boy
it began to scold (the boy): «Why are you shooting, hitting me with an arrow? She gave birth to a boy with her

j'eu aja bi-ze.» ... Site-ni tukä:-ni zugdi-tigi. «Eniŋe, eniŋe, čind'a ute bede diana:-n(i),
what good be-SUBJ child-3SG run.PAST-3SG house-LAT mother mother bird that like say.PAST-3SG
brother, what good can he be?» The boy ran home. «Mother, mother, a bird said (something) like this:

nua tue-gi-zeŋe-we-i ofokto-wo-i j'eu gumu gakpa-si:-nie? Näzakta-la b'a-ni b'ata,
he winter-REP-FP-ACC-1SG feather-ACC-1SG what EV shoot-IM-3SG brother-LOC get.PAST-3SG boy
why is he hitting my winter feathers? She gave birth to a boy with her brother,

j'eu aja bi-ze?» ute gune:-n(i).» Tu:-tu: bi-e, e-zi teluŋu-si: amin-tigi.
what good be-SUBJ that say.PAST-3SG quite-quite be-IMP.2SG NEG-IMP.2SG story-V.PRP father-LAT
what good can he be?» It said like this.» «Keep silent, do not tell your father.

Ami: eme-isi-ni e-zi dian-a. Činď a ono ata ñaugda-si-te mem(i)
father.2SG come-PC-3SG NEG-IMP.2SG say-0 bird how NEG.SUBJ scold-IM-FOC REF.ACC
When your dad comes do not tell him. How can a bird not scold (you),

gakpa-si-m(i). Tu: pali-si: sita-i. Dian-a ute nixe-i ami-n(i) eme-m(i),
shoot-IM-INF all distract-IM.PRP son-REF say-0 that make-PRP father-3SG come-INF
if you have hit it.» She distracts her son all the time. When the father came (the boy) was going to say,

teluŋu-si-kce-i, xelibe gele-gi: «Eme, eme,» j'eu-gde j'eu-gde ... pala-wasi:
story-V-INT-PRP quickly call-REP.PRP come come what-FOC what-FOC distract-DIV.PRP
wanted to tell, and (the mother) called him quickly: «Come, come.» She distracted her son in all possible ways

sita-i e-lege-n(i) teluŋu-si. ... Ali ami-m(i) eme-m(i) teluŋu-si-kce-i-we-ni,
son-REF NEG-PURP-3SG story-V when father-REF come-INF story-V-INT-PRP-ACC-3SG
so that he did not tell. When the father came home, he wanted to tell,

ei-de teluŋu-si-wen-e. Ti: emne-gde neŋe:-n(i) baixi,
NEG-FOC story-V-CAUS-0 that once-FOC go.PAST-3SG mother-3SG outside
(but) she did not let (her son) tell. One day (the mother) went outdoors

uli gaŋ-na-gi-e-n(i). Xaundasie uti b'ata «Eme-i bi kä:-la-i,
water fetch-DIR-REP-PAST-3SG ask.PRP that boy come-IMP.2SG me side-LOC-1SG
she went to fetch some water.(The father) asked the boy: «Come to me,

j'e-we teluŋu-si-kce-i, si dian-a min-tigi. Si eniŋe-i ei-ni teluŋu-si-wen-e.»
what-ACC story-V-INT-2SG you say-0 me-LAT you mother-2SG NEG-3SG story-V-CAUS-0
what you wanted to tell, say to me. Your mother does not let you tell.»

Uti e be bie uta, abuga. Bi činď a mäusa-si:. Niŋña-wa mäusa-la:-mi,
that this like be.PRES.HAB that father me bird gun-V.PRP sparrow-ACC gun-V.PAST-1SG
«It was so, father. I was shooting birds. I hit a sparrow,

ofokto-ni pus'ei-de. Ute ñaugda:-n(i) «Näzakta-la b'a-ni b'ata j'eu aja bi-ze.
feather-3SG scatter-FOC that scold.PAST-3SG brother-LOC get.PAST-3SG boy what good be-SUBJ
its feathers scattered. It scolded: «She bore him with her brother, what good can he be.

Utem(i) min-e-we
therefore me-0-ACC
That is why

tue-gi-zeŋe-i ofokto-wo-ni, ineŋi:, min-e-we mäusa-si:,» ute ñaugda-si:-ni …»
winter-REP-FP-1SG feather-ACC-3SG cold me-0-ACC gun-V.PRP that scold-IM-3SG
he is shooting (and fluffing up) my winter feathers; I am cold, he shot at me,» it scolded like that.

Zo:ŋgi: jaza-ta ute bi-ŋe: uti. «Bi xuñazi: bubui. I:-le ŋene:-m(i) bi,
recall.PRP of.course-FOC that be-IC that me sister.1SG similar what-LOC go.PAST-1SG
He recalled how he lived. «She looks like my sister. Wherever I went,

i:-le bi xuñazi:. Wa-zaŋa-i bi uta-wa, xuñazi: wa-zaŋa-i.» Wa:-ni xuñazi:,
what-LOC me sister.1SG kill-FUT-1SG me that-ACC sister.REF kill-FUT-1SG kill.PAST-3SG sister.REF
she was (everywhere). I'll kill her, I'll kill my sister.» He killed his sister,

wa:-k. Site-i tene bugdi-le-ni su:ne:-k, xeke-si-e-k,
kill.PAST-EXPR child-REF CONT leg-LOC-3SG string.PAST-EXPR tie-IM-PAST-EXPR
killed her. He strung his children's legs, tied them,

su(g)ala amä:la-n(i) xeke:-k. ŋene-i, ŋene-i, soŋgo xokto-wo-ni b'a-ni.
ski after-3SG tie.PAST-EXPR go-PRP go-PRP bear track-ACC-3SG find.PAST-3SG
tied them behind the skis. He walked, walked, found a bear's track.

Soŋgo xokto-ni cul(i) uŋkäla-i, jaza-ta. Jukta-si:, jukta-si:,
bear track-3SG along drag-PRP of.course-FOC carry-IM.PRP carry-IM.PRP
He dragged (the children) along the bear's track. He dragged,

su:-pti-gi-li soŋgo xokto-lo-ni. … Ute wende:-n(i) sita-na-mi soŋgo xokto-lo-ni.
untie-DEC-REP-3SG bear track-LOC-3SG that throw.PAST-3SG child-PL-REF bear track-LOC-3SG
they got untied on the bear's track. Here he threw the children.

Soŋgo xuli-mie eme-gi:. «E:, ni sita-ni bubui? Gazi-ze-mi bi a-wa,
bear go-INF come-REP.PRP INTER who child-3SG EV take-SUBJ-1SG me this-ACC
The bear comes. «Whose children are these? I will take them,

i:mi wende-le:-nie?» Gazi-e, igisi:-ni soŋgo, soŋgo mama. …
why throw-SING.PAST-3SG take-PAST bring.up-3SG bear bear female
why did they throw them away?» It took them, and brought them up, the female bear.

Xuñazi mule soŋgo igisi:, soŋgo-no-kto:-ti, soŋgo sita-ni ede:-ti.

sister with bear bring.up.PRP bear-V-DIST.PAST-3PL bear child-3SG become.PAST-3PL
She brought them up together with her bear cubs, they became bears, bear's children.

Utemi soŋgo ule:-we-ni ei-ti diga xuñazi näzakta-i wa:-ma-ni. Ute so:ndo-iti. ...
therefore bear meat-ACC-3SG NEG-3PL eat sister brother-REF kill.PP-ACC-3SG that sin-3PL
That is why a sister must not eat the meat of a bear killed by her brother. It is a sin.

11. Kuligama sita *'Snake-son' (told by Nadežda Pavlovna Kukčenko)*

Kanda mafa mamaka-ŋi: mule bagdi-e-ti. Bagdi:, bagdi:, sugdä-wa sugzä:n-zi
Kanda old.man old.woman-AL.REF with live-PAST-3PL live.PRP live.PRP fish-ACC fish.PP-INST
There once lived an old man with his old woman. They are living, living, they lived only on fish.

m'ei bagdi-e-ti. Kanda mafa-ŋi-n(i) adilisi-ne-i <adili>, sugzä: wa-isi-ni gazi:, olokto-i.
only live-PAST-3PL Kanda old.man-AL-3SG net-DIR-PRP net fish kill-PC-3SG fetch.PRP cook-PRP
Her old man went (usually) to his net, having fished he fetched the fish and she cooked it.

Ti emne neŋi-ni timadule «E-zeŋe-i ŋene bi, mamaka.» Ei-de wo:-ni
that once day-3SG morning NEG-FUT-1SG go me old.man this-FOC do.PAST-3SG
One day in the morning (the old man said:) «Old woman, I will not go fishing. It happened so that

ketu ge: tokö t'osi-e-mi». «I:mi e-zeŋe-i ŋene? J'e-we diga-zaŋa-f(i) timana-ni?
very bad dream dream-PAST-3SG why NEG-FUT-2SG go what-ACC eat-FUT-1PL.IN tomorrow-3SG
I had a very bad dream.» (The old woman) said: «Why won't you go fishing? What shall we eat tomorrow?

Aja, ŋene, d'asa-la ŋene, aja ŋene» gun-e-ini. Kanda mafa-ŋi-n(i) adili: zawa-kca-n'a guline:-nie,
good go close-LOC go good go say-0-3SG Kanda old.man-AL-3SG net.REF take-INT-PERF go.PAST-3SG
Please, go, go not far, please go.» The old man took the net and went,

guline:-nie, adili-si-nie. Adili-si: ta-la, adili-si: o-lo, adili-si:.
go.PAST-3SG net-V-3SG net-V.PRP that-LOC net-PRP this-LOC net-PRP
and netted. He netted there, netted here.

Sugzä:-wa i:-le-de e-si-ni wa:, anči sugzä:. Ut(i) aja-zi ise-si:-n(i),
fish-ACC what-LOC-IND NEG-PAST-3SG kill no fish that good-INST see-IM-3SG
Nowhere has he caught any fish, no fish. He took a good look:

tokö tokö p'ei-ni em'e gune lä agdi-ge-si. «Ge, susa-gi-ze-m(i) bi,
cloud cloud piece-3SG come.PERF EV very thunder-PERF-PC.SS well escape-REP-SUBJ-1SG me
a piece of cloud was coming and with a strong thunder-clap. «Well, I must escape,

min-e-we lä ñuktu-wen-zeŋe tigde. «Susa-gi-li. Amä:za-ni buono-li-li tokö,
me-0-ACC very wet-CAUS-FUT rain escape-REP-3SG after-3SG overtake-INC-3SG cloud
the rain will make me wet through.» He went away. Then the cloud began to overtake him,

agda-si-m(i), agda-si-m(i). Ge uta tiŋmel'e uta-digi kuliga, sagdi kuliga. Tiŋmele:-n(i),
moor-V-INF moor-V-INF well that fall.PERF that-ABL snake big snake fall.PAST-3SG IND
he was mooring, mooring. A snake, a great snake fell from there. It fell

lodka-ni kä:-tigi-ni ŋene:-n(i). ... «Ge, si min-e-we sita-la-zaŋa-i, sita-la-zaŋa-i?»
boat-3SG side-LAT-3SG go.PAST-3SG well you me-0-ACC child-V-FUT-2SG child-V-FUT-2SG
and went near the boat. «Will you adopt me?» (it said).

Täk-täk xeke-ini. «Ono sita-la-zaŋa-i bi sin-e-we? Si kuliga, bi ni:.» «Aja, sita-la-i.
fast-fast wind-3SG how child-V-FUT-1SG me you-0-ACC you snake me man good child-V-IMP.2SG
It wound round him very fast. «How can I adopt you? You are a snake, I am a man.» «Never mind, adopt me!

E-lisi: sita-la sin-e-we wa-zaŋa-i» (g)un-e-in(i). ŋele-ini, ono nixe-ze-te, ča:la:.
NEG-CC.2SG child-V you-0-ACC kill-FUT-1SG say-0-3SG be.afraid-3SG how do-SUBJ-FOC agree.PP
If you don't adopt me, I will kill you,» it said. (The old man) is afraid, what is to be done? He agreed.

«Ge sita-la-za-m(i), ge sita-la-za-m(i) bi, bi zugdi: ŋeni-e.»
well child-V-SUBJ-1SG well child-V-SUBJ-1SG me me house.1SG go-IMP.2SG
«OK, I will adopt you, come to my house.»

«Zugdi aŋi malu-le-ni bi zugdi-ne-i wo-to-i-ze uta-la saŋa-wa
house IND corner-LAT-3SG me house-DEST-1SG make-PERM-2SG-HORT that-LOC hole-ACC
(The snake said:) «Make a hole as a house for me in the corner of the house,

bi omoti saŋa culi i:-lege-i. «Iŋke,» (g)uŋ-ki-ni. Kuliga-da ŋene-ili. Ge, eme-gi:,
me alone hole through enter-PURP-1SG right say-PAST-3SG snake-FOC go-3SG well come-REP.PRP
so that only I can come in through the hole.» «All right,» he said. The snake went. (The

old man) began to

seu-de-gi:, tu: ili-gi:, te:-gi:, ili-gi:, te:-gi:. Mamaka eu-wo:-ni
row-V-REP.PRP all stand-REP.PRP sit-REP.PRP stand-REP.PRP sit-REP.PRP old.woman go.down-PAST-3SG
return, he is rowing, now he stands up, now he sits down. The old woman came down to the river

jaza-ta a:sa-li:-n(i) mafasa-ŋi-we-ni. Ise-si: ei mafas(a) ono nixe-ini, xeŋefu-le-gi:,
of.course-FOC meet-INC-3SG old man-AL-ACC-3SG see-IM.PRP this old.man how do-3SG knee-V-REP.PRP
of course to meet the old man. She sees what the old man is doing: now he kneels,

te:-gi:, ili-gi:, lä tuge seude-me-i. ŋä:-la i:gi-e, xelibe u:-gi-e-k.
sit-REP.PRP stand-REP.PRP very quick row-V-PRP bank-LOC come-PP quick get.out-REP-PAST-EXPR
now he sits down, now he stands up, he is rowing very quickly. He came to the bench, got out quickly.

«Ge, si min-e-we eineŋi-ni ŋene-weŋ-ki-ni, ono bie-te! «Bi e-zeŋe-i ŋene»
well you me-0-ACC today-3SG go-CAUS-PAST-3SG how be.PRES.HAB-FOC me NEG-FUT-1SG go
«Well, you have made me go away today, and what has happened! I said I did not want to go,

(g)un-e-mi jiŋ kaja:-i. Kuliga sita-la:-m(i) bi, kuliga zugdi-ne-n(i)
say-0-INF by.force order.PAST-2SG snake child-V.PAST-1SG me snake house-DEST-3SG
you compelled me by force. I have adopted a snake,

wo-zo-fi zugdi malu-le-n(i). Aŋi zugdi malu-le-n(i) ule-ze-f(i) na:-wa.
make-SUBJ-1PL.IN house corner-LOC-3SG IND house corner-LOC-3SG dig-SUBJ-1PL.IN ground-ACC
let us build a house for the snake in the corner. Let us dig the ground in the corner.

Sagdi-zi ule-zeŋe-f(i), sagdi kuliga.» Ono ja-za, ŋele-iti. Ule-li-e-ti zugdi-(zi)ga
big-INST dig-FUT-1PL.IN big snake how PROV-SUBJ be.afraid-3PL dig-INC-PAST-3PL house-DIM
Let us dig a (still) larger one, the snake is big.» What should they do, they are afraid. They began to dig

aŋi-le-ni coto-ŋo-lo-ni. Mafasa-ŋi mule ule-tie, ule-tie, ule-m(i) mute-li,
IND-LOC-3SG corner-AL-LOC-3SG old.man-AL.REF with dig-3PL dig-3PL dig-INF finish-3SG
in the corner of the house. The old woman with her husband dug, when they finished digging

sikie-gi:-li. Olokto-si-e, dig'a, ŋua-gi-e, ja-za-t(i). Sikie peite-kte-ili,
evening-REP-3SG cook-IM-PAST eat.PERF sleep-REP-PP PROV-SUBJ-3PL evening twilight-DIST-3SG
it was evening. They cooked, ate and went to bed, what shall they do. In the evening in the twilight

uti kuliga eme-gi-mi uta-uxi ñuxaŋ-ki-ni. Ze, ñuxan-a-mi gun-e-ini «Mamaka,
that snake come-REP-INF that-LAT jump.in-PAST-3SG FOC jump.on-0-INF say-0-3SG old.woman
the snake came home and got inside. It got inside and said: «Old woman,

timadule te:-gi:, bai ŋene-i.» E: ba:-la ule: käŋa ule:-ni bi: gune
morning get.up-REP.IMP.2SG out go-IMP.2SG INTER place-LOC meat deer meat-3SG be.PRP EV
get up in the morning and go outdoors.» (She went outdoors and sees:) there is flesh

wa-sa. Zawa:-ni uti käŋa ule:-we-ni. «Minti-du dogbo wa:-ni bi-ze-n(i),
kill-PP.PAS take.PAST-3SG that deer meat-ACC-3SG we-DAT night kill.PAST-3SG be-SUBJ-3SG
of a killed deer outside. She took the flesh. «He must have killed it for us in the night,

olokto-zo-f(i)-ge ule:-we.» Olokto-si:-n(i), ute gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] ise-i, utem(i) utem(i) omo zali wo:,
cook-SUBJ-1PL.IN-HORT meat-ACC cook-IM-3SG that every day-3SG see-PRP then then one barn do.PP
we'll cook the flesh.» She cooked it; they see, every day after

omo zali ede:-n(i) ba:-la. Gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] zali düixi-ni ule:, xuda-s(i), tu: gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni]
one barn become.PAST-3SG place-LOC every day-3SG barn inside-3SG meat fur-DIS all every day-3SG
a whole barn appeared outside. Every day there appeared flesh and fur in the barn, every day

zalu-pte-in(i) zali-ni. Zeu, mäna:, zakta, j'eu-j'eu i:-ni bie, tu: bie, sata.
fill-DEC-3SG barn-3SG food flour millet what-what kind-3SG all bi.PRES.HAB be.PRES.HAB sugar
the barn was filled. Food, flour, millet, sugar, there is everything.

Ge, uti mafasa mamaka-ŋi mule … kuliga-ŋi-n(i) tu: ŋene-i gä:ŋa neŋi-n(i),
well that old.man old.woman-AL.REF with snake-AL-3SG all go-PRP every day-3SG
Well, the snake of the old man and the old woman went out every day

dogbo eme-gi:-ni, uti kuliga wo:-i. {Uže} nada zali ede:-ni, zeu.
night come-REP-3SG that snake do-PRP seven barn become.PAST-3SG food
and came home every night, the snake did that. There have appeared {already} seven

barns, food.

J'eu-j'eu zeu-n(i) tu: bi:, tetu tu: bi: zali do-lo-ni. Ti emne ti emne neŋi-ni
what-what food-3SG all be.PREP clothes all be.PRP barn inside-LOC-3SG that once that once day-3SG
All kinds of food, clothes are in the barn. One day

kuliga, kuliga-ma sita-ni dian-a-in(i) «Ge, abuga-da eniŋe-de, bi mamasa-na-i galakta-na-u.»
snake snake-ADJ child-3SG say-0-3SG well father-FOC mother-FOC me wife-DEST-1SG seek-DIR-2PL
the snake-son said: «Well, father and mother, go and find me a wife.»

Mamasa dian-a-in(i) «Ni eme-ze minti-ti(gi), kuliga-ti(gi) ni mafa-la-za?» «Aja, ŋene,
old.woman say-0-3SG who come-SUBJ we-LAT snake-LAT who husband-V-SUBJ good go
The old woman said: «Who would come to us, who would marry a snake?» «Never mind, go,

Kanda mafa bie. Xai Kanda mafa-ti(gi) ŋene.»
Kanda old.man be.PRES.HAB still Kanda old.man-LAT go
there lives somewhere an old man Kanda. Still go to the old man Kanda.»

Eniŋe moxo-tigi zakta gampa-wa-ni olokto:-k, imo: nede:-k, uniŋa nede:-k.
mother bowl-LAT millet porridge-ACC-3SG cook.PAST-EXPR fat put.PAST-EXPR spoon put.PAST-EXPR
The mother cooked millet porridge, put some fat, put a spoon.

«ŋene, uti ila aziga, uti Kanda mafa aziga-ŋi-ni ila, omo-mo gene-jie uta-wa.
go that three girl that Kanda old.man girl-AL-3SG three one-ACC bring-IMP.2SG that-ACC
«Go, there are three girls, three daughters of the old man Kanda, bring one of them.

Ni ča:la-mi mafa-la-za ča:la edeisini uti moxo-wo t'oli-te-i-ze. Ča:la-m(i) edeisini
who agree-INF man-V-SUBJ want when that bowl-ACC produce-PERM-2SG-HORT what-INF when
Produce the bowl to the one who wants to marry. The one who wants (to marry)

uti uniŋa-zi uniŋa-la-mie diga-zaŋa-ti. Ei-m(i) ča:la e-zeŋe-ti zawa,
that spoon-INST spoon-V-INF eat-FUT-3PL NEG-INF want NEG-FUT-3PL take
will spoon up with the spoon and will eat. If (she) does not want she will not take it,

ute dian-a-ta-i-ze.» «{Ladno}, iŋke,» (g)uŋ-ki-ni. ŋene:-ni uti Kanda mafa-tigi.
that say-0-PERM-2SG-HORT right say-PAST-3SG go.PAST-3SG that Kanda old.man-LAT
you must say this.» «All right,» (the old man) said. He went to the old man Kanda.

Kanda mafa ... bagdi:-ti. Go:-do ei bie, Kanda mafa eme:-ni.
Kanda old.man live-3PL long-FOC NEG be.PRES.HAB Kanda old.man come.PAST-3SG
The old man Kanda and his family were living. Soon the old man Kanda came.

Kanda mafa a:sala-i. «E: Kanda mafa aŋi eme-jie, zima-jie.»
Kanda old.man meat-PRP INTER Kanda old.man IND come-IMP.2SG visit-IMP.2SG
Kanda mafa met him. «Old man Kanda, come, stay with me.»

«Zuge-xi bi-mi bi. Bi s(i)te-i min-e-we kaja:-ni, bi s(i)te-i-de kuliga (g)uŋ-ki-ni.
business-ADJ be-1SG me me son-1SG me-0-ACC order.PAST-3SG me son-1SG-FOC snake say-PAST-3SG
«I have come on business. My son has sent me, my son the snake said.

Ge, j'eu-de bi-ze-ni, si aziga-ŋi:, ila aziga. Ča:la-i-we-ti-de ei-we-ti-de
well what-IND be-SUBJ-3SG you girl-AL.2SG three girl want-PRP-ACC-3PL-FOC NEG.PRP-ACC-3PL-FOC
Well, let it be (so), you have daughters, three girls. Ask them if they want

xaundasi-jie, ei bi xebu-si-mi gampa olokto-mi ... ni ča:la-m(i) ni uniŋa-la,
ask-IMP.2SG this me bring-IM-INF porridge cook-INF who want-INF who spoon-V
(to marry him), here is cooked millet porridge with me, she who wants (to marry him) will scoop,

ei-m(i) ča:la e-zeŋe-ti uniŋa-la.» «Ge, aja-zi.» Eleči-n(i) eleči-n(i) gele-gi-n(i),
NEG-INF want NEG-FUT-3PL spoon-V well good-INST servant-3SG servant-3SG call-REP-3SG
she who does not want to will not scoop.» «Well, OK.» He called his servant:

eleči-n(i) gele-gi-n(i) «Ge, ŋene», exi-n(i), exi-n(i) ge:-ne sagdi exi-n(i).»
servant-3SG call-REP-3SG well go sister-3SG sister-3SG bring-DIR big sister-3SG
«Well, go and bring the older sister.»

Eleči-n(i) guliŋ-ki-ni «Exe, exe, sin-e-we od'o gele-gi:-n(i).
servant-3SG go-PAST-3SG sister sister you-0-ACC grandfather call-REP-3SG
His servant went: «Older sister, father is calling you.

Sin-e-we eme:-ni, omo Kanda mafa sin-e-we ge:ne-m(i) eme:-ni».
you-0-ACC come.PAST-3SG one Kanda old.man you-0-ACC engage-INF come.PAST-3SG
One old man Kanda came to betrothe you.»

Xelie teti-gi-si-e-ni, aja-zi teti-gi-si-e-k, ono jaza-ta.
quickly gown-REP-IM-PAST-3SG good-INST gown-REP-IM-PAST-EXPR how of.course-FOC

She dressed up quickly, dressed up nicely, what shall she do?

Eme-mi ise:-ni Kanda mafa ise:n-zi «Ge, sita-mie, sin-e-we ge:ne:-ni …
come-INF see.PAST-3SG Kanda old.man see.PP-INST.SS well child-1SG you-0-ACC engage.PAST-3SG
She came and saw the old man Kanda, having seen her, (he said): «Well, my child, he came to arrange

s(i)te-ni mamasa-na-ni. <Mamasa-ni> s(i)te-ni kuliga», uti mamasa-ni dian-a-ini.
child-3SG wife-DEST-3SG wife-3SG child-3SG snake that old.woman-3SG say-0-3SG
an engagement with you for his son. His son is a snake,» his wife said.

Ča:l(a) edeisini ei moxo-lo bi: aŋi-we gampa-wa uniŋa-la, ei-m(i) ča:la e-zi zawa.»
want when this bowl-LOC be.PRP IND-ACC porridge-ACC spoon-V NEG-INF want NEG-IMP.2SG take
If you agree, scoop the porridge in the bowl, if not, do not take it.»

Kä:-la ŋene-m(i) diaŋ-ki «Adada ei, kuliga-tigi ni ŋene-zeŋe-ni?» Ute gun-e-mie
side-LOC go-IMP say-PP INTER INTER snake-LAT who go-FUT-3SG that say-0-INF
She came closer and said: «Oh, dear! Who will go (to marry) to a snake?» Having said thus,

xulete-mie ŋene:-n(i) ut(i) aziga. Ge, uti ŋene-isi ña «Gagda aziga-ŋi-n(i) ge:-ne,» (g)uŋ-ki-n(i). …
turn-INF go.PAST-3SG that girl well that go-PC again other girl-AL-3SG bring-DIR say-PAST-3SG
the girl turned aside and left. Well, after she left he said «Go and bring another girl.»

Uti-de xaisi ute bede ei-n(i) ča:la.«Kuliga-ti(gi) ni mafa-la-za, ono mafa-la-za-m(i) kuliga-ti(gi)?»
that-FOC too that like NEG-3SG want snake-LAT who man-V-SUBJ how man-V-SUBJ-1SG snake-LAT
This girl does not want it either, like the other one. «Who will marry a snake, how can I marry a snake?»

Ge, omo-to esi-gi-e-n(i) ñ'ädiga aziga-ŋi-ni. … Uta ge ŋene:-ni, ge uti ge,
well one-REST become-REP-PAST-3SG youngest girl-AL-3SG that well go.PAST-3SG well that well
Only one is left, the youngest girl. Well, she went,

ŋene:-n(i) uti, ja-ma ja-ma xazu-i {uzeloka} nix'e-si xebu-li-e-ni,
go.PAST-3SG that what-ADJ what-ADJ belongings-REF do.PERF-PC.SS take-INC-PAST-3SG
she went having put all her belongings in a small parcel she has taken it,

mafa-la-la:-m(i) nixe-ini bize, ča:la-la:-m(i) nixe:-ni bize. Eme-mie eme-mie

man-V-PURP-SS make-3SG must want-PURP-SS do.PAST-3SG must come-INF come-INF
she must be going to marry, she must be going to agree. She came,

mafasa alu-i-we-ni {ložka} zawa-m(i) uniŋa-wa diga-mi ča:la-in(i). «Site», ami-n(i) gun'e
old.man serve-PRP-ACC-3SG take-INF spoon-ACC eat-INF want-3SG child father-3SG say.PERF
she took a spoonful of what the old man had served, ate it and agreed. Her father said:

«Ge, sita, ča:la-i?» «Ča:la-m(i) bi, ŋene-zeŋe-i.» Kapta-ziga wo:-k, xebu-si-n(i),
well child want-2SG want-INF me go-FUT-1SG parcel-DIM make.PAST-EXPR take-IM-3SG
«Well, my daughter, do you agree?» «I do agree, I will go.» She made a parcel, took it

kapta-li-e-ni ja-ma-ja-ma xazu-i. «Ei geje ŋene-zeŋe-i Kanda mafa-tigi.»
pack-INC-PAST-3SG what-ADJ-what-ADJ belongings-REF this with go-FUT-1SG Kanda old.man-LAT
and packed all her belongings. «With this I'll go to the old man Kanda.»

Kanda mafa-tigi ŋene-ini. ŋene-iti:. Zugdi-le em'e, mamaka-tigi dian-a-in(i)
Kanda old.man-LAT go-3SG go-3PL house-LOC come.PERF old.woman-LAT say-0-3SG
They went to the old man Kanda. They left. Having come home the old man said to his wife:

«Ei gazi-e-m(i) ei minti omölo-no-f(i) bi-zeŋe-ni belie. Ge, belie bi-mi
this bring-PP-1SG this we daughter.in.law-DEST-1PL.IN be-FP-3SG fairy well fairy be-INF
«This girl I have brought will be our daughter-in-law. She is a small girl and she

ŋic'a nixe-ze uti kuliga minti sita-fi ono dia-si-zeŋe-n(i). Bue-ni ča:la-m(i) eme:-ni.»
small do-SUBJ that snake we son-1PL.IN how say-IM-FUT-3SG he-3SG want-INF come.PAST-3SG
will do (things) like our snake-son will say. She has agreed to come.»

Tu: bagdi:, uti belie tu: bagdi:, uti emne ute muisi: «Bi ono bagdi-ze-m(i) bi? Ñ'aula bi-mi,
all live.PRP that fairy all live.PRP that once that think.PRP me how live-SUBJ-1SG me young be-1SG
So they lived, one day she thought: «How should I live? I am young,

mafa-xi bi-m(i)-de, mafa-i-de ei ise, ei dian-a, emus'e e bede te:-m(i).
man-ADJ be-1SG-FOC husband-REF-FOC NEG see NEG say-0 alone this like sit-1SG
married, but I don't see my husband, I do not talk, I sit alone like this.

Zeu-de bie, j'eu i:-ni tu: bie, nada zali tapči-de zeu-de tu: tu: bie.
food-FOC be.PRES.HAB what kind-3SG all be.RES.HAB seven barn full-FOC food-FOC all all be.PRES.HAB
There is food, there is everything, seven barns full, there is everything.

A bue-n(i) ei-m(i) ise. Ono bagdi-ze-m(i)?» ute muisi:-ni uti belie. Ge ute muisi-mi
but he-SG NEG-1SG see how live-SUBJ-1SG that think-3SG that fairy well that think-INF
But I do not see him himself. How should I live?» so thought the girl. While she was thinking

tima ge tima ŋua-gie, ge tima te:-gi-e-k. «E:, ono ŋua:-m(i)
morning well morning sleep-REP.PRP well morning get.up-REP-PAST-EXPR INTER how sleep.PAST-1SG
she fell asleep in the morning, then got up. «How (long) was I sleeping,

bi, saŋxua-dexi-de ŋua-m(i)-de zugdi do-lo-ni. … [I:n-e-i-we-n(i)-de e-si-m(i)
me noon-till-FOC sleep-INF-FOC house inside-LOC-3SG come-0-PRP-ACC-3SG-FOC NEG-PAST-1SG
I was sleeping till noon in the house. I did not see the sunrise.»

mede].» Malu-tigi eteŋi-e-ni, {uže} ni:-ne-gi-e-ni {uže} uti kuliga, … jegdige.
feel corner-LAT look-PAST-3SG man-V-REP-PAST-3SG that snake hero
She looked at the corner: the snake already turned into a man, a hero.

As(i) uligdig'a jegdige ŋua gune. O-li tene kuliga-n(i) tekpu-ni o-li bi:.
very beautiful hero sleep EV this-PROL CONT snake-3SG skin-3SG this-PROL be.PRP
A very handsome young man is sleeping. And here is the snake's skin.

Uta eke ŋene:-k kä:-tigi-n(i), eke xebu-si-e-k, läs(i) cokpolo:-ni
that quite go.PAST-EXPR side-LAT-3SG quite take-IM-PAST-EXPR very grip.PAST-3SG
She came quietly nearer, took it on the sly, gripped

kuliga-ma tekpu-we-ni. Cokpol'o, jegdige säta olokpo-no:-ni jaza-ta,
snake-ADJ skin-ACC-3SG grip.PERF hero at.once wake.up-DIR.PAST-3SG of.course-FOC
the snake's skin very quickly. She gripped it and the young man woke up at once of course,

tekpu-we-ni zawa:-ni belie. «Belie, e-zi zawa-ja bi tekpu-je,
skin-ACC-3SG take.PAST-3SG fairy fairy NEG-IMP.2SG skin-1SG me skin-1SG
the girl has taken his skin. «Girl, do not take my skin,

bi ele-le-ni xai e-si-mi i:n-e. E-zi zawa-i.» Uti belie diana:-n(i)
me time-LOC-3SG again NEG-PAST-1SG come-0 NEG-IMP.2SG take-IMP.2SG that fairy say.PAST-3SG

my time has not yet come (I have not entered my time). Do not take it.» The girl said:

«Bi ono bagdi-ze-m(i)? Si jegdige bi: bubu, bi tene gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] emus'e bagdi-mi. Min-du läs(i) safani.»
me how live-SUBJ-1SG you hero be.PRP EV me CONT every day-3SG alone live-1SG me-DAT very boring
«How should I live? You are a hero, but I live alone all the day long. I am very bored.»

«Ge, ceze bize uti-de safani. Xai eli-le-ni e-si-ni i:n-e bi kala-gi-zeŋe-i.»
well true must that-FOC boring yet time-LOC-3SG NEG-PAST-3SG enter-0 me turn-REF-PF-1SG
«Well, you are right, this must be boring. But the time has not come when I turn again (into a man).»

Uti tekpu-we-ni a: läs(i) kapta-gi-e-k, men-e aŋi-le-i konz'oi-ziga-le-i
that skin-ACC-3SG good very wrap-REP-PAST-EXPR REF-0 IND-LOC-REF box-DIM-LOC-REF
She has wrapped the skin well, put it into her box

ne:-gi-e-k, j'euce-le-gi-e-k, tu: nekce-i. Uti gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] wakca-i uti ninta {tože},
put-REP-PAST-EXPR lock-V-REP-PAST-EXPR all keep-PRP that every day-3SG hunt-PRP that man
and locked it, so she kept it all the time. The man went hunting (again),

gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] wakca-na-i. Gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] wakca-na-i. Ti: emne-de exi-ne-n(i) sa:-ili,
every day-3SG hunt-DIR-PRP every day-3SG hunt-DIR-PRP that once-FOC sister-PL-3SG know-3SG
he was hunting every day. He was hunting every day. One day her sisters learned,

zu: exi-ne-n(i) s'a. «Ge, ge, ge, minti nexus'e-fi mafa-ni kuliga guala(n-a)-gi-e-ni,
two sister-PL-3SG know.PERF well well well we younger.sister-1PL.IN man-3SG snake turn-0-REP-PP-3SG
two elder sisters knew. «Well well, our younger sister's snake-husband turned (into a man).

gualan-a-gi-e. ŋene-ze-m(i), minti uta c'asi-ne-ze-f(i) aŋi-we-ni tekpu-we-ni
turn-0-REP-PP go-SUBJ-1SG we that tickle-DIR-SUBJ-1PL.IN IND-ACC-3SG skin-ACC-3SG
Let us go and tickle her

daga-la:-f(i).» Ge, zuŋe eme-i, zuŋe eme-i, zawa-i nexu-m(i), ge, c'asi:,
burn-PURP-SS.PL well both come-PRP both come-PRP take-PRP younger.sister-REF well tickle.PRP
so that we burn the skin. Both of them went, took their younger sister, tickled,

c'asi:, atana-i jaza-ta, lä atana-i. «I:-le bie, i:-le bie,
tickle.PRP suffocate-PRP of.course-FOC very suffocate-PRP this-LOC be.PRES.HAB

this-LOC be.PRES.HAB
tickled so that she (nearly) suffocated. «Where, where

si kuliga tekpu-ŋi i:-le bie?» Uti etigi-ni ma:ma-ni od'o-ni
you snake skin-AL.2SG this-LOC be.PRES.HAB that father.in.law-3SG grandmother-3SG grandfather-3SG
is your snake skin?» Her father-in-law and mother-in-law

ŋua-iti, ei-ti dogdi. C'asi:-we-ni, xetisi:-we-ni ei dogdi. Ele bude-ili, c'asi:.
sleep-3PL NEG-3PL hear tickle.PRP-ACC-3SG tickle.PRP-ACC-3SG NEG hear soon die-3SG tickle.PRP
are asleep, they do not hear. Do not hear them tickling. They almost tickled her to death.

Ele ele sikie-gi-lisi-n(i) susa-gi-kte-iti. Gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] ute nixe-i, gä:ŋa. Ti: emne
soon soon evening-REP-CC-3SG escape-REP-DIST-3PL every day-3SG that do-PRP every that once
As soon as evening comes they run away. They do so every day. Once

diaŋ-ki-ni uti mafa-ni, Merge «Egdeŋke, belie, si i:mi koŋo-jo? Zeu-de bie,
say-PAST-3SG that man-3SG hero interesting fairy you why thin-2SG food-FOC be.PRES.HAB
her hero husband said: «I wonder, fairy, why are you growing thin? There is food,

j'eu-j'eu se:-ni zeu bie, ule:-de bie, imo:-de bie, j'eu zeu.
what-what kind-3SG food be.PRES.HAB meat-FOC be.PRES.HAB fat-FOC be.PRES.HAB what food
all kinds of food, meat, fat are there, all sort of food.

I:mi koŋo-i si? Lä koŋo-i bebu, gäma m'ei ede:-i.» Ute gune:-ni. Gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni]
why thin-2SG you very thin-2SG EV bone only become.PAST-2SG that say.PAST-3SG every day-3SG
Why are you growing thin? You are very thin, you see, only bones are left.» So he said. Every day

ute xaundasi-e, ei dian-a, ei dian-a. Ti: emne uti gune:-n(i). «Koŋo-mie, jegdige, i:mi koŋo-mie,
that ask-PP NEG say-0 NEG say-0 that once that say.PAST-3SG thin-1SG hero why thin-1SG
he asked this, she does not answer. Once she said. «Why am I growing thin, hero?

bi exi-ne-mi, zu: exi-ne-m(i) gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] min-e-we c'asi:-ti. Utem(i) koŋo-m(i).
me sister-PL- 1SG two sister-PL-1SG every day-3SG me-0-ACC tickle-3PL therefore thin-1SG
My sisters, two sisters, tickle me erery day. That is why I am growing thin.

Si aŋi tekpu-we(-i) gele-iti daga-la:-fi. Ute bede bi:-ni.» Utemi dian-a-ini jegdige «J'eu muñali:,
you IND skin-ACC-2SG ask-3PL burn-PURP-SS.PL that like be-3SG then say-0-3SG

hero what sorry.2SG
They ask for your skin to burn it. So it is.» Then the hero said: «Why do you spare it,

bu-je si uta-wa. Ele bu-i edeisin(i) bue-ti daga-zaŋa-ti uta-wa. Uti daga-isi-ni
give-IMP.2SG you that-ACC soon give-PRP.2SG when he-3PL burn-FUT-3PL that-ACC that burn-PC-3SG
give it (to them). As soon as you give it they will burn it. After they have burnt it

bi degde-zeŋe-i. Zegde-m(i) zedge-m(i) eme-gi-zeŋe-i. Uli-zi e-zi ma:ntila min-e-we.
me rise-FUT-1SG burn-INF burn-INF come-REP-FUT-1SG water-INST NEG-IMP.2SG pour me-0-ACC
I will rise up. I will return burning. Do not pour water on me.

Kä:-la-gde eme-zeŋe-i zegde-mie-de. Zegde-mi - tu: uti aŋi ono bi-s'e uti –
side-LOC-FOC come-FUT-1SG burn-INF-FOC burn-INF all that IND how be-PERF that
I will come near, burning. When I come burning – how was it? –

ge, bi eme-ge-sie e-zi ma:ntila uli-zi. Bi saŋña ... usili-zeŋe-i,
well me come-PERF-PC.SS NEG-INF.2SG pour water-INST be smoke roll.oneself-FUT-1SG
well, do not pour water on me. I will roll myself like smoke,

usili-zeŋe-i, tu: saŋña usili-m(i) usili-m(i) ñaŋña-tigi degde-ze-mi.
roll.oneself-FUT-1SG all smoke roll.oneself-INF roll.oneself-INF sky-LAT rise-SUBJ-1SG
rolling myself like smoke I will rise to the sky.

Bi ñaŋña ni:-ni bi-mi, na: ni:-ni ei-mi bie, uta-digi eme-gi-m(i)
be sky man-3SG be-1SG earth man-3SG NEG-1SG be.PRES.HAB that-ABL come-REP-INF
I am a sky man, I am not an earth man; returning from there,

(g)une:-n(i), sin-e-we mamasa-na-mi eme-mi ge:ne-zeŋe-i. Xaulie e-zi ma:ntila,
say.PAST-3SG you-0-ACC wife-DEST-REF come-INF fetch-FUT-1SG please NEG-IMP.2SG pour
he said, I will come and marry you. Please do not pour (water),

si ma:ntila edeisin(i) bi bude-ze,» gune. «Iŋke,» (g)uŋ-ki-ni. Soŋo-i jaza uti wa-zaŋa-wa-ti.
you pour if me die-SUBJ EV right say-PAST-3SG cry-PRP of.course that kill-FP-ACC-3PL
if you pour it I will die,» he said. «OK,» she said. She is crying of course about this, that they will kill him.

Ña wakca:n-zi, «e-zi ŋene,» gun(e)-de, xai ŋene-i, wakca-na-i, xai ŋene-i.
again hunt.PP-INST.SS NEG-IMP.2SG go EV-FOC still go-PRP hunt-DIR-PRP again

go-PRP
When he was going to hunt again, she said: «Do not go,» but he went hunting, went again.

Utem(i) ŋene-isi-ni exi-ni eme-kte-ili, zuŋe exi-ne-n(i). Ña c'asi-li-e-ti,
then go-PC-3SG sister-3SG come-DIST-3SG both sister-PL-3SG again tickle-INC-PAST-3PL
After he had left, the two sisters came, both sisters. They began to tickle her again,

c'asi-li-e-ti, atana: dexi c'asi:. «Saŋä, xetine-inie, ga:-gi-u-ze,
tickle-INC-PAST-3PL suffocate.PP till tickle.PRP damn cry-3SG take-REP-IMP.2PL-HORT
they tickled so, till she nearly suffocated. «Damn, she cries, take it,

uta aŋi bie konz'o do-lo-n(i) bi:. Xeli-xeli konz'o kakpa-si-e-k,
that IND be.PRES.HAB box inside-LOC-3SG be.PRP quick-quick box grab-PAST-EXPR
it is in this box.» They grabbed the box quickly,

omo to: il'a, omo tene ga:-gi:, to: zegd'e, uti pečka-tigi wende-le-mi
one fire kindle.PERF one CONT take-REP.PRP fire burn.PERF that stove-LAT throw-SING-INF
one of them is kindling the fire, the other is taking it out, after the fire was burning they threw it into the oven

susa-kta-ili. Tu: zegd'e, ga:-gi-kce-m(i)-de e-si-de kokpigi.
escape-DIST-3SG all burn.PERF take-REP-INT-INF-FOC NEG-PP-FOC manage
and escaped. (The skin) all burnt, (the fairy) did not manage to take (the skin) away.

ña go: ei zegde kuliga ña:-ni. Ge, etigi-n(i) mama-n(i) ŋene-wesi-li-e-nie.
again long NEG burn snake skin-3SG well father.in.law-3SG mother.in.law-3SG go-DIV-INC-PAST-3SG
The snakeskin burns quickly. The father-in-law and the mother-in-law began to fight.

«Ono ŋua-u, gune:-ni, su, e?» « Si-de si-de ña si-de ono ŋua-i,
how sleep-2PL say.PAST-3SG you INTER you-FOC you-FOC too you-FOC how sleep-2SG
«How can you sleep (so deeply)!» (one of them) said. «And you? You too, how do you sleep,

si-de ono ŋua-i, doli-doli ŋua-i, e-si:-de mede. Site-u ña:-wa-ni
you-FOC how sleep-2SG deep-deep sleep-2SG NEG-PAST.2SG-FOC hear child-1PL.EX skin-ACC-3SG
you sleep very deeply, you did not hear.

daga-ili, ŋene-kte-ili uti zube emende-ziga. G'e uti mafa-n(i) ze: ogbö wa:-m(i)
burn-3SG go-DIS-3SG that two which-PL well that husband-3SG soon elk kill-INF
Two witches have come and burnt our son's skin. At that time the (snake-)husband,

having killed an elk,

si:-ni bi-si-ni. Deu-wo:-ni, xekui esi-wen'e .... Xekui-mi xekui-mi
skin.PRP-3SG be-PAST-3SG get.tired-PAST-3SG hot become-C AUS.PERF hot-INF hot-INF
was skinning it. He got tired and hot. He was hotter, hotter and

zegde-li-e-n(i), si: wende-mie ge suala-da-gi-li-e-n(i) zugdi:, säta suala dagi-e-ni.
burn-INC-PAST-3SG skin throw-INF well ski-V-REP-INC-PAST-3SG house.LAT very ski burn-PAST-3SG
was on fire, stopped skinning and skied home, his skis were burning very much.

E:, mamasa-ni ise-si:-ni jaza bue-ni, ge, eme-gi:-we-n(i) jegdige,
INTER wife-3SG see-IM-3SG of.course he-3SG well come-REP.PRP-ACC-3SG hero
His wife sees him coming back, the hero came back

zegde-i to: tu: ... eme-ili. Ele i:n'e. «Xaulie, e-zi-u kuŋgede min-e-we uli-we.»
burn-PRP fire all come-3SG soon reach.PERF please NEG-IMP-2PL pour me-0-ACC water-ACC
all burning like fire. He will approach soon. «Please, do not pour water on me.»

Eni-ni mulexi zaw'a, alasi:-ni, ami-ni eni-ni tu:. «Ma:ma, od'o, e-zi-u kuŋgede,
mother-3SG bucket take.PERF wait-3SG father-3SG mother-3SG grandmother grandfather NEG-IMP-2PL pour
The mother and father took buckets and waited. (His wife said:) «Grandmother, grandfather,

bude-wen-e-u-de, bi-de e-zeŋe-i kuŋgede.» «Ge, xaulie bie, xai ge:ne-gi-zeŋe-i, belie,
die-CAUS-0-2PL-FOC me-FOC NEG-FUT-1SG well please bi.IMP.2SG still fetch-REP-FUT-1SG fairy
do not pour water or you will kill him, I won't either.» (The snake said:) «Please, fairy,

e-zi soŋo, sin-e-we.» Zegde-m(i) zegde-m(i) ele bude, {dyma} aŋi-we ise-si:.
NEG-IMP.2SG cry you-0-ACC burn-INF burn-INF soon die IND see-IM.PRP
do not cry, I will take you with me.» Burning he was about to die, smoke was seen.

Degdi-ge ñaŋña-dule-de, ise-si: uti eni-ni ami-ni mamasa-ni. Gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] w'ali:-ti
rise-PERF sky-LOC-FOC see-IM.PRP that mother-3SG father-3SG wife-3SG every day-3SG fight-3PL
He rose to the sky, the mother, father and wife saw him rising to the sky. Every day the two old people fight:

mafasa zuŋe «Ono e-si: dogdi, (g)un-e-ini, uti c'asi:-we-ti?
wife both how NEG-PAST.2SG hear say-0-3SG that tickle.PRP-ACC-3PL
«How did not you hear them tickling,» (one of them) said,

Ono ŋua-i ketu maŋa doli?» Ono nixe-ze-m(i), mo:-ŋi-fi-de malakta-li-ge,

how sleep-2SG very strong deeply how make-SUBJ-INF tree-AL-REF.PL-FOC finish-INC-PERF
«How can you sleep so deeply?» What will they do, their firewood came to an end,

zeu-ŋi-fi-de malakta-li-ge, tu: bagdi:, bagdi:. Uti belie ŋene:-n(i) ba:-za
food-AL-REF.PL-FOC finish-INC-PERF all live.PRP live.PRP that fairy go.PAST-3SG place-N
their food came to an end, they lived, lived. This fairy went to the forest.

ge-le-ni. Mo: mo:-lo-no-m(i) mo: texe-le-n(i) soŋo-m(i)-de ŋua-i. Sele-kpe-ŋi:-si:,
surface-LOC-3SG tree tree-V-DIR-INF tree stump-LOC-3SG cry-INF-FOC sleep-PRP wake.up-DEC-REP-IM.PRP
To fetch some fire-wood, and she fell asleep on a tree stump crying. When she woke up again,

lä mo: mo:-lo-so bie, uta-wa gazi: zugdi-ti(gi). Utebe bagdi:. Ge, ti emne belie
very tree tree-V-PP.PAS be.PRES.HAB that-ACC take.PRP house-LAT so live.PRP
(she saw) a lot of chopped fire-wood was nearby, she took it home. So she lived. Once the woman

t'osi: maſa-i. «Ge, bi-de sin-e-we tu: ise-si-mi wue-ze-ŋedi.
well that once fairy dream.PRP husband-REF well be-FOC you-0-ACC all see-IM-1SG top-N-ABL
dreamt of her husband: «Well, I am looking at you from above.

Gä:ŋa [neŋi-ni] ise-si-mi bi, eniŋe-i e-ini tinda. «Uti na: ni:-ni, si tene ba: ni:-ni.
every day-3SG see-IM-1SG me mother-1SG NEG-3SG let that earth man-3SG you CONT place man-3SG
I am looking every day, (but) my mother does not let me go. «She is an earth person, and you are a sky man.

Na: ni:-we-ni ono mamasa-la-zaŋa-i si? E-zeŋe-i mamasa-la na: ni:-we-n(i),
earth man-ACC-3SG how wife-V-FUT-2SG you NEG-FUT-2SG wife-V earth man-ACC-3SG
How can you marry an earth person? You will not marry an earth woman,

ba: ni:-ni bi-fi minti.» Bi tene čimne-zeŋe-i bi. Bi sin-e-we ge:-ne-gi-zeŋe-i.
place man-3SG be-1PL.IN we me CONT cheat-FUT-1SG me me you-0-ACC bring-DIR-REP-FUT-1SG
we are sky people» (she said). But I will cheat on her. I will go and bring you.

Ge:-ni-ge-s(i) nada-m(a) neŋi-ni, nada-m(a) dogbo-ni siki-zeŋe-i sin-e-we,
bring-PERF-PC.SS seven-ACC day-3SG seven-ACC night-3SG wash-FUT-1SG you-0-ACC
Having brought you, I will wash you seven days and seven nights, there won't be any smell of earth,

dogbo-ni siki-zeŋe-i. Ei, na: xu:-ni e-zeŋe-ni bie, na: xu:-ni
night-3SG wash-FUT-1SG INTER earth smell-3SG NEG-FUT-3SG be.PRE.HAB earth smell-3SG
I will wash you in the night. There won't be any smell of earth, you should not

e-lege-ni b'akta sin-digi. Uti eniŋe abuga diga-la:-ti lä wa-zaŋa-i,
NEG-PURP-3SG smell you-ABL that mother father eat-PURP-3PL much kill-FUT-1SG smell of earth. I will kill a lot of game in order that our mother and father may eat,

men-e bude-le dexi diga-laga-ti,» ute t'osi-mi. Ge, timadule te:-gie. «J'eu tokö-wo-ni
REF-0 die-N till eat-PURP-3PL that dream-INF well tomorrow get.up-REP.PRP what dream-ACC-3SG
eat till their dying day,» so she was dreaming. She woke up in the morning. «What a dream

t'osi-mi bi.» <Enin-ti(gi)> uti mamaka-ti(gi) mafasa-tigi dian-a-ini «E bede e bede
dream-1SG me mother-LAT that old.woman-LAT old.man-LAT say-0-3SG this like this like
I have dreamt!» She told the mother-in-law and father-in-law: «So and so I have dreamt.

t'osi-e-mi bi. E: <bi> si s(i)te-ne-ti eme-zeŋe-ni tokö-zi, mui-zi c'aligi
dream-PAST-1SG me INTER me you child-PL-3PL come-FUT-3SG cloud-INST horse-INST white
Your son would come with a cloud (riding) a white

mui-zi eme-zeŋe-ni. E-zi-u muñali min-e-we. Bi emus'e ono bagdi-ze-m(i)?
horse-INST come-FUT-3SG NEG-IMP-2PL sorry me-0-ACC me alone how live-SUBJ-1SG
horse. Do not feel sorry for me. How should I live alone?

Su mamasa mamaka esi-gi-e-u. Si diga-laga-i teti-le(ge)-i
you old.man old.woman become-REP-PAST-2SG you eat-PURP-2SG dress-PURP-2SG
You have become an old woman and an old man. (Your son) will kill everything for you to eat and to put on

tu: wa-zaŋa-ni, men-e bude-le-digi: diga-zaŋa-u. Bi ñaŋña wuixi-ni degde-li-e-m(i) nixe-m(i),
all kill-FUT-3SG REF-0 die-N-ABL.REF eat-FUT-2PL me sky above-3SG rise-INC-PAST-1SG do-1SG
till your dying day.

min-e-we ge:-ne-gi-zeŋe-ni. C'aligi mui-zi eu-gi-zeŋe-ni.»
me-0-ACC bring-DIR-REP-FUT-3SG white horse-INST come.down-REP-FUT-3SG
I am going to rise to the sky, he will come to take me. He will come down with a white horse.»

Ute t'osi:-m(i) dian-a-i, tu: alasi-li-e-n(i) mąfa-i eu-gi:-we-ni.
that dream.PRP-REF say-0-PRP all wait-INC-PAST-3SG husband-REF come.down-REP.PRP-ACC-3SG
She told them her dream and began to wait for her husband to come down.

Aja ise-si: gęje, aŋi-li c'aligi mui-zi c'aligi mui-zi eu-gi:-ni.
nice see-IM.PRP IND-3SG white horse-INST white horse-INST come.down-REP-3SG
They took a good look together, he is coming down on a white horse.

C'aligi mui-zi ... Soŋo-niŋa-si-li-e-ti jaza-ta uti. Omölo-n(i) ŋene-ini s(i)te-ni
white horse-INST cry-COM-IM-INC-PAST-3PL of.course-FOC that daughter.in.law-3SG go-3SG child-3SG
On a white horse. They began to cry together. Their daughter-in-law is leaving,

zuŋe jaza-ta. Uta u:na-gi-e-k. Dieli: dieli: wuixi. Wuixi dieli:-lie,
both of.course-FOC that mount-REP-PAST-EXPR fly.PRP fly.PRP up up fly-3SG
of course, with their son. She mounted (her husband's horse). (They) flew up, flew. They flew up

zugdi-ti gazi-e-k, uli-we tu: ... Nada-m(a) ŋeni-ni, nada-m(a) dogbo-ni
house-3PL take-PAST-EXPR water-ACC all seven-ACC day-3SG seven-ACC night-3SG
and reached their house; he (had prepared) water and everything. For seven days and seven nights

siki-si-e-ni mamasa-i. Siki-e-k aja-zi teti-gi-wene:-k.
wash-IM-PAST-3SG wife-REF wash-PAST-EXPR nice-INST gown-REP-CAUS.PAST-EXPR
he washed his wife Having washed her, he dressed her up.

«Ge, eniŋe-tigi: ŋene-ze-fi (u)ti ise-le(ge)-ni. ŋöu-si-ze sin-e-we aja-zi
well mother-LAT.1SG go-SUBJ-1PL.IN that see-PURP-3SG nose-V-SUBJ you-0-ACC good-INST
«Well, let us go to my mother so that she could have a look at you. She will smell you well

ŋöu-si-ze, ise-ze. Na: xu:-ni bi:-si-ni neu-gi-wen-ze sin-e-we.
nose-V-SUBJ see-SUBJ earth smell-3SG be-PC-3SG send-REP-CAUS-SUBJ you-0-ACC
and look at you. If there is any earth smell, she will send you back.

Na: xu:-ni anči bi:-si-ni min-zuŋe bagdi-mi omo-si-gi-ze-f(i), bagdi-li-gi-ze-f(i).»
earth smell-3SG no be-PC-3SG me-both live-INF one-V-REP-SUBJ-1PL.IN live-INC-REP-SUBJ-1PL.IN
If there is no earth smell, we will unite and live together again.»

Ge, nada-m(a) ŋeni-ni nada-m(a) dogbo-ni siki-e-k. «Ge, timana ŋene-ze-f(i)
well seven-ACC day-3SG seven-ACC night-3SG wash-PAST-EXPR well tomorrow go-SUBJ-1PL.IN
Well, he washed her seven days and seven nights. «Well, let us go tomorrow

eniŋe-tigi.» Timanaŋi enine-tigi timana zima:-ti. Ise-si:-ni, b'ata-ŋi: omo aziga gumu
mother-LAT tomorrow mother-LAT tomorrow visit.PAST-3PL see-IM-3SG boy-AL.REF one girl EV
to the mother.» They went to the mother the next day. (The mother) sees that her son is coming with a girl.

eme-ini. «Ei, eniŋe-i, bi mamasa-i. Si j'euktesi-je, ei ba: ni:-ni, na: ni:-ni ei
come-3SG this mother-VOC me wife-1SG you test-IMP.2SG this place man-3SG earth man-3SG NEG
«Mother, this is my wife. Test her, she is a sky woman, not an earth one.

bie. Si aja-zi ŋöu-si-je.» Ge, tugele:-ni, ŋala-wa-n(i) zawa-i, …
be.PRES.HAB you nice-INST nose-V-IMP.2SG well hug.PAST-3SG arm-ACC-3SG take-PRP
Take a good smell.» Well, she hugged her, took her arm, smelt,

ŋöu-si:-ni bei-we-n(i) … «Ceze-de ceze-de ba: ni:-ni. Na: xu:-ni ei-de b'apta.
nose-V-3SG trunk-ACC-3SG true-FOC true-FOC place man-3SG earth small-3SG NEG-FOC smell
she smelt her trunk. «You are right, I see, she is a sky woman. It does not smell of earth.

Ge, bagdi-ze-u, mamasa bagdi.» Bagdi:, tu: sita-na-i b'a-i, b'ata-na-i b'a-i.
well live-SUBJ-2PL wife live live.PRP all child-PL-REF get-PRP boy-PL-REF get-PRP
Well, live, live as a wife.» They lived, gave birth to children.

Uti ba:-la aŋi xaisi saŋa bi:-ni, woxti. Woxti nientele-i, ise-si: zuŋe. Ge mamaka mafasa
that place-LOC IND still hole be-3SG door door open-PRP see-IM.PRP both well old.man old.woman
There is a hole in the sky, a door. They both opened the door and looked. The old man and the old woman

men-e-men-e dili-le-i kitig'a, w'ali-du. «Si-de si ge-i», ti:-de«Si ge-i.
REF-0-REF-0 head-LOC-REF pull.PERF fight-PL you-FOC you bad-2SG that-FOC you bad-2SG
are pulling each other by their hair, are fighting. One of them said: «Your fault,» the other said: «Your fault.

Utem(i) nodo:-li sita-fi omölo-fi-de. Zeu-ŋi-fi-de malakta-ili.»
therefore loose.PAST-3SG child-REF.PL daughter.in.law-REF.PL-FOC food-AL-1PL.IN-FOC finish-3SG

That is why our son and our daughter-in-law were lost. The food has come to an end.»

Uti jegdige diana:-n(i) «Ge, bi diga-laga-ti zu:-ŋi-ne-i tu: nexu-ze-m(i).
that hero say.PAST-3SG well me eat-PURP-3PL food-AL-DEST-1SG all bring-SUBJ-1SG
The hero said: «Well, I will bring them food so that they can eat.

T'osi-wen-e-k-e-ze-m(i) e-lege-ti soŋo, ele.» Ge, ti emne mamaka
dream-CAUS-0-INTN-0-SUBJ-1SG NEG-PURP-3PL cry enough well that once old.woman
I will make them dream about me so that they do not cry, it's enough.» Once the old woman

te:-gi:-ni. «Ge, mafasa, bi ei dogbo-ni t'osi-m(i) j'eu-ke tokö-wo-ni.»
get.up-REP-3SG well old.man me this night-3SG dream-1SG what-IND dream-ACC-3SG
got up (and said:) «Well, old man, last night I dreamt a dream.»

«J'eu tokö-wo-n(i) t'osi-e-te?» «Ge, minti s(i)te-fi <eme> eme-zeŋe-ni
what dream-ACC-3SG dream-PAST-FOC well we child-1PL.IN come come-FUT-3SG
«What dream did you have?» «Well, our son will come back

minti diga-la:-fi ule:-we j'e-we, j'eu-j'eu zeu-we nixe-zeŋe-ni. «E-zi-u soŋo, (g)uŋ-ke,
we eat-PURP-1PL.IN meat-ACC what-ACC what-what food-ACC do-FUT-3SG NEG-IMP-2PL cry say-PERF
he will make meat, all kinds of food, so that we can eat. «Do not cry, he said,

bude-le dexi diga-la-m(i).» «Ceze ceze bize, alasi-ze-f(i).» Alasi: jaza-ta. Ge, eme-i,
die-N till eat-PURP-REF true true EV wait-SUBJ-1PL.IN wait.PRP of.course-FOC well come-PRP
(it is enough) to your dying day.» «All right, let us wait.» They began to wait, what should they do. Well, he

uti b'ata-ŋi-n(i), Merge eme-ilie. «Ge, eniŋe-de abuga-de, bi ba: ni:-ni bi-mie,
that boy-AL-3SG Merge come-3SG well mother-FOC father-FOC me place man-3SG be-1SG
came, their son, the Merge (hero) came. «Mother, father, I am a sky man,

e-zi-u soŋo. Su … zali(-u) tu: tapči-tapči zeu, ule: tu: tapči wa:-mi, uta-wa diga-mi
NEG-IMP-2PL cry you barn-2PL all full-full food meat all full kill.PAST-1SG that-ACC eat-INF
do not cry. Your barn is all full, I have killed a lot of game,

mala-i-za, bude-zeŋe-u. E-zi muisi, min-e-we min-e-we e-zi-de
consume-IMP.2SG-HORT die-FUT-2PL NEG-IMP.2SG think me-0-ACC me-0-ACC NEG-IMP.2SG-FOC

you will die eating it, consuming it. Do not think of me,

muisi, omölo-i-de e-zi muisi. Bu ba: ni:-ni degde-gi-u.
think daughter.in.law-REF-FOC NEG-IMP.2SG think we place man-3SG rise-REP-1PL.EX
do not think of your daughter-in-law. We, sky people, rose.

[Ba: xo:n-ti(gi)-ni degde-gi-e-mu].» ... {Proščala} deke-si:, deke-si:-n(i) ... sita-zi:,
place top-LAT-3SG rise-REP-PAST-1PL.EX leave-IM.PRP leave-IM-3SG child-INST.REF
We rose again to the sky.» They took leave, took leave of their child,

gulin-e-ili. Ge, uta bagdi-li:, mamaka-zi uti bagdi:, bue-ti-de ute bagdi:.
go-0-3SG well that leave-INC.PRP old.woman-INST that live.PRP he-3PL-FOC that live.PRP
he left. So lived (the old man) with the old woman, they were living. (One day the hero) sees.

Ti omo neŋi-ni uti jegdige
that one day-3SG that hero
One day that hero

wopti lä nientili-e-ni, ba:-digi ise-si:-li «Eme, eme, (g)uŋ-ki, ise-ne.» Aja-zi is'e,
door very open-PAST-3SG sky-BL see-IM-3SG come come say-PAST see-DIR good-INST see.PERF
opened the door, looks from the sky and said (to his wife): «Come, come, look!» She took a good look –

uti zu: exi-ni igbesi-ti. «Bi uti-getu-we säta saki-nde-ze-m(i) wa-zaŋa-i bi uti aziga-wa
that two sister-3SG bath-3PL me that-PL-ACC strong clap-SEM-SUBJ-1SG kill-FUT-1SG me that girl-3SG
two sisters were bathing. I will kill the girls with a strong (thunder-)clap.

uta-wa. Agdi-zi tigde-zi tokö-zi wa-zaŋa-i, agdi-zi sä:ta saki-nde-zeŋe-i
that-ACC thunder-INST rain-INST cloud-INST kill-FUT-1SG thinder-INST strong clap-SEM-FUT-1SG
I will kill both these girls clapping them strongly with thunder, rain and clouds.»

uti zuŋe-we aŋi belie-we.» ... «Gegege, tokö eme-li-ge-de, ele agdi-li-si-ge wo:-ini,
that both-ACC IND fairy-ACC INTER cloud come-INC-PERF-FOC soon clap-INC-IM-PERF do-3SG
(The girls said:) «Oh, look, a cloud appeared, soon (the thunder) will clap,

minti susa-gi-ze-f(i), teti-gi-ze-f(i)». Teti-gi-ze, säta saki-nda:-ni,
we escape-REP-SUBJ-1PL.IN gown-REP-SUBJ-1PL gown-REP-SUBJ strong clap-SEM.PAST-3SG

let us escape, let us dress.» They began to put on their clothes, there was a strong thunder clap,

{oboix} zuŋe-ti-we-de wa-ili {vot ètix} exi-me-ni. Zu: exi-me-ni wa:-gi-ili ...
both-PL-ACC-FOC kill-3SG sister-ACC-3SG two sister-ACC-3SG kill-3REP-SG
and both sisters were killed. Both sisters were killed.

{Vot oni} ba: ni:-ni ede:-ti:, bagdi:-ti, b'ata-wa aziga-wa b'a-ili.
place man-3SG become.PAST-3PL live-3PL boy-ACC girl-ACC get-3SG
They (the hero and his wife) became sky people, gave birth to a boy and a girl.

12. La:mo *'Mill' (told by Nadežda Pavlovna Kukčenko)*

Bagdi:-ti zu: ag'a-mule omo baja omo zo:ŋku. Zo:ŋku s(i)te-ne-n(i) lä egdi, baja-n(i) s(i)te-ne-n(i)-de ančі.
live-3PL two brother-V one rich one poor poor child-PL-3SG very many rich-3SG child-PL-3SG-FOC no
There lived two brothers: one was rich, the other poor. The poor one had many children, the rich one had none.

Zo:ŋ-zi bagdi:, j'e-we b'a-za, lalin-zi bi:.
poor-INST live.PRP what-ACC find-SUBJ starve.PP-INST.SS be.PRP
(The poor brother) lived poorly, what could he find? He starved.

Uti baja ag'a-la-i etete-ne-i. Moxo-ziga diga-la:-ti bu-i, uta diga-i.
that rich brother-LOC-REF work-DIR-PRP cup-DIM eat-PURP-3PL give-PP that eat-PRP
He went to work at his rich brother's. He gave a small cup so that they could eat, they ate it.

Nada sita-xi, s(i)te-ne-ni lali:-ti. Ti: emne mo:-wo mo:-lo-no-m(i) ŋene:-n(i),
seven child-ADJ child-PL-3SG starve-3PL that once tree-ACC tree-V-DIR-INF go.PAST-3SG
He had seven children, his children starved. One day he went to chop wood,

mo: texe-le-ni te:, muisi: «Ono bagdi-ze-m(i), s(i)te-ne-m(i) ono igisi-ze-m(i) bi?
tree stump-LOC-3SG sit.PP think.PRP how live-SUBJ-1SG child-PL-REF how bring.up-SUBJ-1SG me
sat on a stump and thought: «How should I live, how should I bring up my children?

Lä egdi s(i)te-ne-i. Zo:ŋku bi-mi.» ŋua-mi t'osi-e-n(i). «Ge, si e-zi,
very many child-PL-1SG poor be-1SG sleep-INF dream-PAST-3SG well you NEG-IMP.2SG
I have so many children. I am poor.» He fell asleep and dreamt: «Hey,

j'e-we-de e-zi muisi, e-zi-de soŋo. ŋeni-(j)e,
what-ACC-IND NEG-IMP.2SG think NEG-IMP.2SG-FOC cry go-IMP.2SG
do not think anything, do not cry. Go and

ŋene-mie xokto-lo b'a-za-i omo mui-we. Mui gazi-na: ŋene-te-i-ze zugdi-tigi.»
go-INF road-LOC find-SUBJ-2SG one horse-ACC horse take-PC.SS go-PERM-2SG-HORT house-LAT
on the road you will find a horse. Having taken the horse go home.»

Ele-ke sele-gi:. «J'eu t'okö-wo-n(i) t'osi-e-m(i) bi. ŋene-ze-m(i) ceze-de,
soon-FOC wake.up-REP.PRP what dream-ACC-3SG dream-PAST-1SG me go-SUBJ-1SG true-FOC
Suddenly he woke up. What a dream I have had. Let me go indeed,

j'eu-de bi:.» ŋene-ili, ŋene-ili, ceze-de xokto-lo omo mui bi:-ni, ... Zugdi ŋen'e.
what-IND be.PRP go-3SG go-3SG true-FOC road-LOC one horse be-3SG house go.PERF
whatever happens.» He went, went, there really is a horse on the road, there was everything (as in the dream).

Uke-le eme-g'e. Uti t'osi:-ni diaŋ-ki-ni, t'osi:-ni diaŋ-ki j'eu-ke
doorway-LOC come-PERF that dream.PRP-3SG say-PAST-3SG dream.PRP-3SG say-PAST what-IND
He went home. He came to the doorway. That one from the dream (literally: dreaming) spoke, some man spoke.

ni:-ni. Diana:-n(i) t'osi:-ni «Si mui-we gazi-e-zi zugdi-ti(gi) gazi-e edeisini
man-3SG say.PAST-3SG dream.PRP-3SG you horse-ACC bring-PAST-INST house-LAT bring-PP
The one from the dream said: «When you bring to the house the horse you brought,

ba:-la xeke. Ganziŋa seudine-we soktu-te-i-ze bue-ni xegie-le-ni.
when place-LOC tether clean kerchief-ACC spread-PERM-2SG-HORT he-3SG under-LOC-3SG
tether it outdoors. Spread out clean kerchiefs under it.

Uta «Mui, ze!» gun-te-i-ze. Lä sin-du läs(i) aŋi-we galäŋa-w(a) amukta-si-zeŋe-ni.
that horse HORT say-PERM-2SG-HORT very you-DAT very IND-ACC bun-ACC defecate-IM-FUT-3SG
Then say: «Horse, come on!» It will defecate for you a lot of buns.

Ute b'agdi-zeŋe-i, ute igisi-zeŋe-i sita-na-mi.» Ute tokö t'osi-e-ni.
that live-FUT-2SG that bring.up-FUT-2SG child-PL-REF that dream dream-PAST-3SG
You will live so, so you will bring up your children.» He dreamt like this.

Ute ŋene-mie mui b'an-zi gazi-en-zi ute teluŋu t'osi-e-m(i) d'ofo nixe:-ni.
that go-INF horse find.PP-INST.SS bring-PP-INST.SS that story dream-PP-SS like do.PAST-3SG
He went and found a horse, brought it and did exactly as the dream said.

Mui-ŋi: gazi-e-k, ba:-la xeke:-k. Mamasa diaŋ-ki-ni
horse-AL.REF bring-PAST-EXPR place-LOC tether.PAST-EXPR wife say-PAST-3SG
He brought his horse (home), tethered it outdoors. He said to his wife:

«Ge, si uta-wa soktu-je.» Ganziŋa seudine-we, c'aligi seu(di)ne-we, sagdi-we-de
hey you that-ACC spread-IMP.2SG clean kerchief-ACC white kerchief-ACC large-ACC-FOC
«Hey, spread it out.» He made his wife spread out a clean kerchief, a large white kerchief

mui xegie-le-n(i) mamasa soktu-wen-'e. Mafa diaŋ-ki-ni «Mui, ze!» (g)un-ki-n(i).
horse under-LOC-3SG wife spread-CAUS-PERF man say-PAST-3SG horse HORT say-PAST-3SG
under the horse. The man said: «Horse, come on!» he said.

Ge, mui-ŋi-ni amu-kte-si-li-e-ni galäŋa-wa m'ei-de,
well horse-AL-3SG excrement-V-IM-INC-PAST-3SG bun-ACC only-FOC
Well, his horse began to defecate nothing but buns,

lä c'aligi pampuška-w(a) amu-kte-si-li:, ga:gi-si:-ni, ga:gi-si:-ni.
very white bun-ACC excrement-V-IM-INC.PRP gather-IM-3SG gather-IM-3SG
it defecates a lot of white buns, he gathers, gathers.

Adi-adi zali tapči, amu-kte:-ni uti mui. Ute mui-ti(gi) dian'a «Ele»
how.many-how.many barn full excrement-V.PAST-3SG that horse that horse-LAT say.PERF enough
Several full barns, the horse has defecated it. Then he said to the horse: «Enough!"

(g)un-ki-ni, wadi-e-ni mui-ni. Diga-i jaza-ta. Ei-de eme ede:-ni
say-PAST-3SG stop-PAST-3SG horse-3SG eat-PRP of.course-FOC NEG-FOC come become.PAST-3SG
he said; the horse stopped. They ate of course. He stopped coming

uti baja ag'a-tigi:-de, ei-de etete-ne. Diga-la:-f(i) ei-de ge-ne. Muisi:-ni
that rich brother-LAT.REF-FOC NEG-FOC work-DIR eat-PURP-SS.PL NEG-FOC ask-DIR think-3SG
to his rich brother, does not come to work. Does not go to ask food. (His older brother) thinks:

«J'emi e-ini eme, diga-la:-f(i) ei ge-ne-du? Ise-ne-ze-m(i) bi, j'e-we nixe-iti.»
why NEG-3SG come eat-PURP-SS.PL NEG ask-DIR-PL see-DIR-SUBJ-1SG me what-ACC make-3PL

"Why does he not come, why do they not come to ask for food? Let me go and look at what they are doing.»

Uti baja ag'a-ni ise-ne-in(i). «J'emi e-u eme su, j'e-we diga-i,
that rich brother-3SG see-DIR-3SG why NEG-2PL come you what-ACC eat-PRP
The rich brother went to see. «Why do you not come, what do you eat,

j'e-le b'agdi-u su galä[ŋa-wa] lä egdi c'aligi m'ei-de?» «E, uti bi mui-ŋi: igisi:-ni
what-LOC find-2PL you bun-ACC very many white only-FOC INTER that me horse-AL.1SG feed-3SG
where have you found so many white buns?» «Eh, it is my horse who feeds me.

min-e-we. Bi t'okö-zi b'a-i mui-ŋi:.» «Min-du bu-je, bi-de
me-0-ACC me dream-INST find.PAST-1SG horse-AL.1SG me-DAT give-IMP.2SG me-FOC
The horse that I have found in my dream.» «Give it to me, I will also do as you did

nixe-ze-m(i) uti bede si bede min-du-de amu-kte-lege-ni galäŋa-wa egdi-we-de.»
make-SUBJ-1SG that like you like me-DAT-FOC excrements-V-PURP-3SG bun-ACC many-ACC-FOC
in order that it defecates for me a lot of buns.»

«Gazi-ze. Bi lä egdi. Bi mala [edeisini] gene-gi-ze-(i) uti.» Gazi-e-ni.
take-SUBJ me very many me finish when take-REP-SUBJ-1SG that take-PAST-3SG
«Take it. I have a lot. When it comes to an end I'll take it back.» (The rich brother) took (the horse).

«Utem(i) utebe dian-a-ta-i-ze bi ono ñumnisi-e-m(i) d'ofo-do.» Uta-wa gazi-e-k,
then so say-0-PERM-2SG-HORT me how teach-PP-1SG like-FOC that-ACC take-PAST-EXPR
«Then say exactly as I taught you.» He brought it,

ba:-la xeke-k, xai mamasa-ti(gi) diaŋ-ki «Ge, mamasa, si uti mui xegie-le-[ni]
place-LOC tether.PAST-EXPR too wife-LAT say-PAST well wife you that horse under-LOC-3SG
tethered it outdoors and said to the wife: «Hey, wife,

soktu-je c'aligi m'ei seudine-we, sagdi-we-de mui xegie-le-n(i).
spread-IMP.2SG white only kerchief-ACC large-ACC-FOC horse under-LOC-3SG
spread out a large white kerchief, under the horse.

Ute diana:-zi xeke:-ni uti ag'a-ni, kä:-tigi ŋen'e. «Mui, ze!» (g)uŋ-ki-ni.
that say.PP-INST.SS tether.PP-3SG that brother-3SG side-LAT go.PERF horse HORT say-PAST-3SG
Having spoken like this the older brother tethered it, came up. «Horse, come on!» he said.

«Mui, ze!» gun-e-isi-ni amu m'ei amu-kte-si-li-e-ni,
horse HORT say-0-PC-3SG excrements only excrement-V-IM-INC-PAST-3SG
After he had said «Horse, come on!» it began to defecate nothing but excrement,

j'eu-de galäŋa e-si-n(i)-de amu-kte. Ge, utem(i) ŋene-wesi:, ŋene-wesi:,
what-IND bun NEG-PAST-3SG-FOC excrement-V well then go-DIST.PRP go-DIST.PRP
it did not defecate any buns. Then he beats it, beats,

wa:-k aŋi uti mui-we. «J'eu gumu amu m'ei amu-kte-si:,
kill.PAST-EXPR IND that horse-ACC what EV excrement only excrement-V-IM.PRP
killed the horse. «Why does it defecate only excrement,

min-du galäŋa-wa-da ei amu-kte?» Wa:-ili mui-ŋi-we-n(i). Uti {bednyj} zo:ŋku neŋu-ni
me-DAT bun-ACC-FOC NEG excrement-V kill-3SG horse-AL-ACC-3SG that poor younger.sibling-3SG
why does it not defecate any buns for me?» He killed the horse. The poor younger brother (said:)

«Ono … nix'e bi mui-ŋi-ne?» «Mui amu m'ei amu-kte-si:-ni,
how make.PERF me horse-AL.1SG-CONT horse excrement only excrement-V-IM-3SG
«What happened to my horse?» «The horse defecates only excrement,

wa:-i bi uta-wa.» «J'e-du wa:-i si uta-wa, min-du ei-mi si bu-gi?»
kill.PAST-1SG me that-ACC what-DAT kill.PAST-2SG you that-ACC me-DAT NEG-INF you give-REP
I have killed it.» «Why did you kill it, why did not you return it to me?»

«Ono bu-gi-ze-m(i) bi sin-du, amu m'ei amu-kte-si: bubu?»
how give-REP-SUBJ-1SG be you-DAT excrement only excrement-V-IM.PRP EV
«How could I return it to you, you see it defecated only excrement?»

ŋene:-ni jaza-ta uti zo:ŋku neŋu-ni. J'e-we diga-za,
go.PAST-3SG of.course-FOC that poor younger.sibling-3SG what-ACC eat-SUBJ
The poor younger brother went of course. What would he eat,

tu: mala:-ni galäŋa-ŋi-nie. Ña ŋene:-n(i) ba:-za ge-ti(g)i,
all finish.PAST-3SG bun-AL-3SG again go.PAST-3SG place-N surface-LAT
all the buns came to an end. He went into the forest again,

ña mo:-ŋi-ne-m(i) mo:-lo-no:-n(i). Xai uti mo: xegie-le-n(i) te:-s(i) ña ŋua-nie,
again tree-AL-DEST-REF tree-V-DIR.PAST-3SG that tree under-LOC-3SG sit-PC.SS again sleep.PAST-3SG
went to chop firewood again. He sat again under that tree, fell asleep again

xai t'okö t'osi-e-ni xai ute bede. «Ge, ŋeni-e, ei ŋene-mie ja:-wa b'a-za-i.

again dream dream-PAST-3SG again that like well go-IMP.2SG now go-INF cow-ACC find-SUBJ-2SG
and had a similar dream: «Hey, go and going you'll find a cow.

Ja:-wa gazi-je, xai ute soktu-je, dian-a-i «Ja:, ze!» gun-te-i-ze.
cow-ACC take-IMP.2SG again that spread-IMP.2SG say-0-2SG cow HORT say-PERM-2SG-HORT
Take the cow, spread (it) under it, say: «Cow, come on!»

Ja:-ni xai lä galäŋa-wa amu-kte-ze ča:ma galäŋa-wa ... lä amu-kte-si-ze.
cow-3SG again many bun-ACC excrement-V-SUBJ twisted bun-ACC many excrement-V-IM-SUBJ
The cow will defecate for you a lot of buns, a lot of twisted buns.

Ute bagdi-zeŋe-i, sin-e-we igisi-zeŋe-ni uti ja:-ŋi:.» Ute t'okö t'osi-e-m(i)
that live-FUT-2SG you-0-ACC feed-FUT-3SG that cow-AL.2SG that dream dream-PAST-INF
So you will live, your cow will feed you.» Dreaming such a dream (he said):

«Ceze bi-ze ŋeni-ze-m(i) bi.» ŋene-mie ceze-de ja:-wa b'a-ni. Gazi-e-ni,
true be-HORT go-SUBJ-1SG me go-INF true-FOC cow-ACC find.PAST-3SG take-PAST-3SG
«I should go indeed.» He went and found a cow indeed. He brought it

mamasa-ti(gi) diaŋ-ki-ni«E bede ... ja:-wa gazi-je, xai ute soktu, (g)uŋ-ke,
wife-LAT say-PAST-3SG this like cow-ACC take-IMP.2SG again that spread say-PERF
and said to his wife: «So and so, take the cow, spread (under it),

xai galäŋ(a) amu-kte-zeŋe-ni, (g)uŋ-ke. Galäŋa tene ča:ma galäŋa ute-fi
again bun excrement-V-FUT-3SG say-PERF bun CONT twisted bun that-ADJ
it will defecate buns. The cow will defecate such buns.»

amu-kte-si-zeŋe-ni ja:. Ña ute soktu-o-n(i), ute ña ute
excrement-V-IM-FUT-3SG cow again that spread-PAST-3SG that again that
They spread the (kerchief) again,

amu-kte-si-li-e-n(i) ja:-ŋi-ni. Ña adi-adi zali tapci amu-kte-si:,
excrement-V-IM-INC-PAST-3SG cow-AL-3SG again how.many-how.many barn full excrement-V-IM.2SG
the cow defecated again. It defecated several buns again;

ute bagdi-li-e-ti, aja bagdi-li-e-ti, ña s(i)te-ne-n(i) diga-i, galäŋa xebu-kte-i.
that live-INC-PAST-3PL nice live-INC-PAST-3PL again child-PL-3SG eat-PRP bun take-DIS-PRP
they began to live like this, lived well, his children ate again, carried the buns.

Ña ag'a-ti mede-ili. «Xai ña j'eu-ke j'e-we-ni b'a-ti uti.
again older.brother-3PL learn-3SG again again what-IND what-ACC-3SG find.PAST-3PL that
The older brother learned again. «They have found something again.

Ña galäŋa uti diga-i sita-na-n(i). ŋene-ze-m(i) bi, j'e-we nixe-iti, ono nixe-iti?»
again bun that eat-PRP child-PL-3SG go-SUBJ-1SG me what-ACC do-3PL how do-3PL
His children eat flat cakes again. Let me go, what are they doing, how are they?»

Ña ŋene:-n(i). 'Ai neŋun-ti(gi) xaundasi-e-ni
again go.PAST-3SG older.brother younger.sibling-LAT ask-PAST-3SG
He went again. The older brother asked the younger brother:

«Ña i:-le b'a-i si uti ja:-wa-ni?» «Bi tokö-zi b'a-m(i) uti.
again what-LOC find-2SG you that cow-ACC-3SG me dream-INST find.PAST-1SG that
«Where did you find the cow for yourself again?» «I found it in the dream.

Ute bede ute bede diana:-m(i), bi diga-la:-i amu-kte-si:-ni galäŋa-wa m'ei.»
that like that lake say.PAST-1SG me eat-PURP-1SG excrement-V-IM-3SG bun-ACC only
I said so and so, it defecates nothing but flat cakes for me to eat.»

«Min-du-de bu-je bi-de amu-kte-wen-e-lege-i.» «Gazi-ze.»
me-DAT-FOC give-IMP.2SG me-FOC excrement-V-CAUS-0-PURP-1SG take-SUBJ
«Give it to me too, so that I may make it defecate for me.» «Take it.»

«Amu-kte-weŋ-ke-si neugi-zeŋe-i,» gumu. Gazi-e-ni ña,
excrement-V-CAUS-PERF-PC.SS return-FUT-1SG EV take-PAST-3SG again
«After I make it defecates I'll return it.» He took it again

xai ute nixe:-ni neŋu-m(i) nixe:-n(i) bede. Xeke:-k, soktu-o-k.
that make.PAST-3SG younger.sibling-REF do.PP-3SG like tie.PAST-EXPR spread-PAST-EXPR
and did as his younger brother had done. He tied (the cow), spread (around it).

«<Mui, ze>, ja:, ze!» (g)uŋ-ki-ni. Ge, ña ja: amu-kte-si-li amu sene,
horse HORT cow HORT say-PAST-3SG well again cow excrement-V-IM-3SG excrement only
«<Horse> cow, come on!» he said. Well, the cow began to defecate only excrement.

ña amu-kte-si-li. Ña ute wa:-ili uti ja:-ŋi-we-ni .... {Oj beda}.
again excrements-V-IM-3SG again that kill-3SG that cow-AL-ACC-3SG INTER trouble
He killed the cow, too. {It's a trouble}.

Wa:-ili. Neŋu-n(i) mala-ili zeu-ŋi-ti, mäna, zeu-ŋi:., galäŋa-ni mala:n-zi
kill-3SG younger.sibling-3SG consume-3SG food-AL-3PL flour food-AL.REF bun-3SG

consume.PP-INST.SS
He killed it. His younger brother consumed all the food, all the flour; having consumed the buns

eme:-ni ’ain-tigi. «Ag’a, ono nixe-i bi ja:-ŋi?
come.PAST-3SG older.brother-LAT older.brother how do-PRP me cow-AL.1SG
he came to his older brother. «Brother, how is my cow?

Tu: mala:-m(u) bu galäŋa, zeu-ŋi-f(i) tu: mala:-m(u).» «Wa:-i bi
all consume.PAST-1PL.EX we bun food-AL-1PL.REF.PL all consume.PAST-1PL.EX kill.PAST-1SG be
We have consumed all the flat buns, consumed all the food.» "I killed it,

uta-wa, amu-zi m’ei amu-kte-si:-n(i) bubu.» «I:m(i) e-si: bu-gi?»
that-ACC excrement-INST only excrement-V-IM-3SG EV why NEG-PAST.2SG give-REP
you see, it defecated nothing but excrement.» «Why did you not return it?»

«I:-du bu-gi-ze-m(i) bi uti amu amu-kte-i-we-n(i).»
what-DAT give-REP-SUBJ-1SG me that excrement excrement-V-PRP-ACC-3SG
«Why should I return one that defecated nothing but excrement?»

Wa:-ma-i ono nixe-ze-m(i)?» Soŋo-mie ŋene:-n(i) ze. «Ono nixe-ze-m(i)?
kill.PP-ACC-2SG how make-SUBJ-1SG cry-INF go.PAST-3SG FOC how make-SUBJ-1SG
«If you killed it, what should I do?» The younger brother went crying. «What should I do?

Mui-we ja:-wa tu: wa:-ili. J’eu diga-za-fi?» Ña mo: mo:-lo: jaza-ta,
horse-ACC cow-ACC all kill-3SG what eat-FUT-1PL.IN again tree tree-V.PP of.course-FOC
He killed the horse and the cow. What should we eat?» He went to chop fire-wood again,

mo: mo:-lo-no:-n(i), ña mo: mo:-ŋi-ne-m(i) mo:-lo-no-mie ña ŋua:-n(i).
tree tree-V-DIR.PAST-3SG again tree tree-AL-DEST-REF tree-V-DIR-INF again sleep-3SG
chopping wood he fell asleep again.

Ña t’osi:-ni tokö-wo. Zemui lali-mi lali-mi omo mo: mo:-lo-no-m(i), amai ŋua:-ni.
again dream-3SG dream-ACC hungry starve-INF starve-INF one tree tree-V-DIR-INF sleepy sleep-3SG
He dreamt again. Being hungry he was sleepy when he chopped wood.

«Ge, e-zi soŋo, s(i)te-ne-mi igisi-le:-m(i) ŋeni-ze. Ei si ŋene-isi: si uke-le-i
hey NEG-IMP.2SG cry child-PL-REF feed-PURP-REF go-SUBJ now you go-PC.2SG

you yard-LOC-2SG
«Hey, do not cry, go to bring up your children. This time you will find in your yard a mill;

aŋi bi-ze la:mo, la:mo xai (n)iŋka keje, (n)iŋka-me-zi la:mo. La:mo bi-ze si uke-le-i.
IND be-SUBJ mill mill again Chinese word Chinese-ADJ-INST mill mill be-SUBJ you yard-LOC-2SG
«*la:mo*» is another Chinese word, «*la:mo*» is in Chinese.

Ge, uti la:mo egelie soktu-te-i-ze, aŋi-ne kanza-na-ni wo:-k,
well that mill around spread-PERM-2SG-HORT IND-DEST chest-DEST-3SG make.PAST-EXPR
There will be a mill in your yard. Spread around the mill, make a chest for it,

soktu-o:-k. Mo:-lo-logo-n(i) mo:-ŋi-ne-n(i) wo:-k zawa-ŋku la:la.
spread-PAST-EXPR tree-V-PURP-3SG tree-AL-DEST-3SG make.PAST-EXPR take-N grind
spread. Make wooden handles (sticks).

Ge, lä mäna-wa la:la-za uti. Lä la:la-na-ja mäna-wa,
well much flour-ACC grind-SUBJ that much grind-DIR-IMP.2SG flour-ACC
Well, it will grind a lot of flour. Let it grind a lot of flour,

lä la:la-wan'a-s(i) zali do-lo-ni teugi-si-te-i-ze,
much grind-CAUS.PERF-PC.SS barn inside-LOC-3SG fill-IM-PERM-2SG-HORT
make it grind a lot of flour; you will be able to fill the barn and

s(i)te-ne-m(i) igisi-te-i-ze. ŋene-i, e-zi soŋo.» ŋene:-nie.
child-PL-REF feed-PERM-2SG-SUBJ go-IMP.2SG NEG-IMP.2SG cry go-3SG
feed your children. Go, don't cry.» He went.

Ceze-de eme-gi-si-ŋie uke-le-n(i) uti la:mo bi: bubu. Mamasa diaŋ-ki-ni
true-FOC come-REP-IM-3SG yard-LOC-3SG that mill be.PRP EV wife say-PAST-3SG
Really, when he came there was a mill in the yard. He said to the wife:

«Ge, uti la:mo soktu-te-i-ze uti la:mo egelie-de.» Mo: la:la wo:-k ede-fi,
hey that mill spread-PERM-2SG-SUBJ that mill around-FOC tree chest make.PAST-EXPR become-1PL.IN
«Hey, spread around the mill.» He made a chest for it,

zube-me ila-ma wo:-ti zawa-ŋku-ne-ni la:la. Uta diaŋ-ki-ni «La:mo, la:mo», guŋ-ki-ni.
two-ACC three-ACC make.PAST-3PL take-N-DEST-3SG grind that say-PAST-3SG mill mill say-PAST-3SG
made two or three handles in order that they should grind. Then he said: «Mill, grind.»

La:mo gun-e-isi-ni pontolo-li-e-ni uti, mäna-wa la:-li-e-n(i).

mill say-0-PC-3SG go.around-INC-PAST-3SG that flour-ACC grind-INC-PAST-3SG
When he said «mill», it started going round and started grinding flour.

Läs(i) mäna-wa la:-ni. Mäna-wa ma:dai tu:-gi-si:, tu:-gi-si:,
much flour-ACC grind.PAST-3SG flour-ACC sack put-REP-IM.PRP put-REP-IM.PRP
It ground a lot of flour. He filled the sacks with the flor, gathered it,

lä egdi tew-o:-ti mäna-wa. Adi-adi zali tew-o:-ti.
very much put-PAST-3PL flour-ACC how.many-how.many barn put-PAST-3PL
they gathered a lot of flour. They gathered several barns.

«Ge, ele bi-te-ze adi-ma-da aŋa-ni diga-zaŋa-fi ele.»
well enough be-PERM-HORT how.many-ACC-FOC year-3SG eat-FUT-1PL.IN enough
«Hey, stop, it will be enough for several years.»

Ña wadi-e-si teu-gi-e-ni, ña sa:-ni ag'a-ni.
again stop-PAST-PC put-REP-PAST-3SG again know.PAST-3SG older.brother-3SG
It stopped filling again, the older brother learned again.

«Ña i:-le b'a-ti uti, mäna-wa lä diga-iti mäna-wa, uti lä uti. Ono b'a-ni,
again what-LOC find.PAST-3PL that flour-ACC much eat-3PL flour that very that how find.PAST-3SG
"They must have found something again, they eat a lot of flour.

sa-ŋna-za-m(i) bi ña.» ŋene:-ni ña. «I:-le b'a-i si la:mo-no-m(i)-ne?»
know-DIR-SUBJ-1SG me again go.PAST-3SG again what-LOC find.PAST-2SG you mill-DEST-REF-CONT
I'll go and learn what they found.» He went again. «Where have you found a mill for yourself?»

«Tokö-zi b'a-m(i) tokö-zi t'osi-m(i). Ute mäna-wa la:-ni uti.
dream-INST find.PAST-1SG dream-INST dream-1SG that flour-ACC grind.PAST-3SG that
«I dreamt about it, dreamt in a dream. It grinds flour.

La:n-zi tapči tu:gi-si-e-m(i) sita-na-m(i) diga-la:-n(i).» «Min-du-de bu-je,
grind.PP-INST full put-IM-PAST-1SG child-PL-REF eat-PURP-3SG me-DAT-FOC give-IMP.2SG
When it has ground enough I gather it for my children to eat.» «Give it to me,

bi-de gazi-ze-m(i) uta-wa min-du-de mäna-wa la:-laga-ni.» «Gazi-de.
me-FOC take-SUBJ-1SG that-ACC me-DAT-FOC flour-ACC grind-PURP-3SG take-FOC
I will take it, too, in order that it grinds flour for me.» «Take it.

Zube-m(e) aŋa-ni ele bize bi mäna-ŋi:.» Gazi-e-n(i) ña uti la:mo-wo-n(i).

two-ACC year-3SG soon must me flour-AL.1SG take-PAST-3SG too that mill-ACC-3SG
I must have enough flour for two years.» He took the mill too.

Gazi-e-k, ute nede:-k, mo:-ŋi-ne-ni aja-zi ... a:-zi a:-zi
take-PAST-EXPR that put.PAST-EXPR tree-AL-DEST-3SG nice-INST nice-INST nice-INST
He took it, put it, put the wooden sticks nicely,

soktu-si-e-k mäna-wa la:-laga-ni. «La:mo!» (g)uŋ-ki-ni. «La:mo!» gune la:-li: jaza-ta,
spread-IM-PAST-EXPR flour-ACC grind-PURP-3SG mill say-PAST-3SG mill EV grind-INC.PRP of.course-FOC
spread around properly in order that it should grind. «Mill, (come on)!» he said. «Mill, come on!» he said and it

la:-li-m(i), la:-li-m(i), uti mo:-ŋi-ni bue-we-ni a:kta-mi tukte-li-e-ni uti ninta-wa.
grind-INC-INF grind-INC-INF that tree-AL-3SG he-ACC-3SG chase-INF beat-INC-PAST-3SG that man-ACC
started grinding, of course, it ground, ground, the wooden sticks began to run after him, began to beat this man.

Ninta-wa tukte-i, mamasa-wa-ni tukte-i-de, susa-wasi:, susa-wasi:, tukte-m(i), tukte-m(i).
man-ACC beat-PRP wife-ACC-3SG beat-PRP-FOC escape-DIV.PRP escape-DIV.PRP beat-INF beat-INF
They are beating the man, his wife; they run away, run away, it is beating.

Ono susa-wasi-ze uti? Deu, jaza-ta deu, ŋene-wesi:, tukte-i, tukte-i,
how escape-DIV-SUBJ that tired of.course-FOC tired beat-DIV.PRP beat-PRP beat-PRP
How could they run away? They were tired, of course, the mill is beating, beating,

wa:-ilie uti ninta-wa. Ña mamasa-wa-ni a:kta-si-li-e-ni uti mo:,
kill-3SG that man-ACC again wife-ACC-3SG chase-IM-INC-PAST-3SG that tree
it killed this man. Then this stick began to run after his wife,

mo:-zi a:kta-si-m(i) koŋko-si:, koŋko-si: mamasa-wa-ni-de ... zuŋe-ti tu: wa:-ni.
tree-INST chase-IM-INF beat-IM.PRP beat-IM.PRP wife-ACC-3SG-FOC both-3PL all kill.PAST-3SG
it ran after and bit the wife with wooden sticks too, it knocked, knocked the wife, killed both of them.

Ge, bagdi-e-ti uti neŋu-ne-ni. Uti mäna-wa diga-m(i), bagdi-e,
well live-PAST-3PL that younger.sibling-PL-3SG that flour-ACC eat-INF live-PP
Well the younger brother lived on eating. Eating the flour, he lived,

s(i)te-ne-mi igisi:-ni-de. Ele, ute mute-ini.
child-PL-REF feed-3SG-FOC soon that finish-3SG

brought up his children. The end, it ends like this.

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Index

The index is intended to facilitate a quick search for the most important grammatical categories. Since the grammar in general makes great use of cross-references, one or two references in the index should be sufficient to find an item throughout the grammar. The book has fairly detailed section division reflected in the table of contents. Not to repeat it, in most cases we have only referred here to the major section where the corresponding item can be found.

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Index

The index is intended to facilitate a quick search for the most important grammatical categories. Since the grammar in general makes great use of cross-references, one or two references in the index should be sufficient to find an item throughout the grammar. The book has fairly detailed section division reflected in the table of contents. Not to repeat it, in most cases we have only referred here to the major section where the corresponding item can be found.

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