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Grammatical Outline of Uilta (Revised)

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Abstract: The present paper, a revised and enlarged version of Tsumagari (1985a), is a sketch of Uilta, a Tungusic language spoken in Sakhalin. The first section includes a description of linguistic situation and a brief history of study. The second section is devoted to phonology and the third to morphological description. In the fourth section, various types of noun phrase and sentence structure are illustrated. Finally a short text with grammatical analysis is appended. Though the present sketch is far from a full grammatical description, it might be of some use for those who wish to get some general idea of this endangered language.

This paper owes much to the pioneering study in the southern dialect of Uilta by Professor Jiro Ikegami. Actually, some descriptions in this paper are no more than a brief summary of his analysis: especially most parts of phonology and morphology are basically following his framework. Additional data, mostly for syntactic description in section 4, were obtained by the present author from an Uilta speaker late Ms. Chiyo Sato (Uilta name Napka, 1910?–1985), who contributed much in the study of the Uilta language as the main consultant of Professor Ikegami. The first revised version of this sketch was contributed to a chapter of the Tungusic volume of grammatical description series. For some reason the volume has not appeared for several years, so that I will publish my chapter (with minor revisions) separately here with the permission of the volume editor Alexander Vovin.

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1. Introduction

Uilta is spoken in the Sakhalin Island by a very small number of people. Until recently the people was called Orok (or some variants) by their neighbors (including Nivkh, Ainu, Japanese and Russian), but they prefer their self-designation *uil'ta*～*ul'ta*, which has been admitted officially since 1991. The designation may be related to the Uilta word *ulaa* 'domestic reindeer'. Reindeer herding has been one of their traditional occupations and still maintained on a limited scale among the northern Uilta who live along the river Tym' and around the village Val. Another group is the southern Uilta who inhabit along the river Polonay down to near the city Polonaysk. There are a few dialectal differences between the two groups (Ikegami 1994a). According to the 1989 census, the total population of Uilta was 200, of which 44.7 per cent (89

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persons) were speaking Uilta as their mother tongue. Several recent data show increased numbers for the ethnic group (300–400 individuals), but the number of native speakers suffers a steady decrease down to between 25 persons (Ozolinja 2001) and only 16 (E. A. Bibikova p. c. 2007). The rest of people virtually speak Russian only. Their indigenous language has, therefore, been seriously endangered without any practical writing system or sufficient official support.

The first noteworthy record of the language was made by a Japanese explorer (supposedly Takeshiro Matsuura) in the mid 19th century, who wrote down about 350 Uilta words in Japanese syllabic letters (Ikegami 1971, 1993b). A more substantial documentation of the language, including some 2000 words with grammatical remarks and short texts, was made by B. Pilsudski in the early 20th century (Majewicz 1985a, 1985b, Tsumagari 1985b, 1987, Ikegami 1985). During the Japanese occupation of South Sakhalin (1905–45), some Japanese researchers investigated the Uilta language. Among them, Akira Nakanome published a small grammar with a glossary of 1000 words (Nakanome 1917, a German translation 1928). Hisaharu Magata, as a result of his researches from 1928, compiled a substantial volume of dictionary, which was published later in 1981 (Magata 1981). Furthermore, Hideya Kawamura collected lexical and folkloristic materials (Ikegami ed. 1983). After World War II, Jiro Ikegami began his strictly scientific researches with Uilta speakers who migrated from South Sakhalin into Hokkaido. He has published detailed descriptions on phonology (Ikegami 1953, 1955) and morphology (1956, 1959, 1973), as well as many texts (collected in 1984, enlarged in 2002 with a CD, Russian translation in 2007) and vocabulary (1997, with 4500 entries). He also contributed to the first Uilta primer with establishing the writing system for local education (Ikegami 1994b, 1996, 1998). The primer was published in 2008 as a result of collaboration with Uilta speakers and with the financial support of local enterprise (Ikegami et al. 2008).

In Russia, T. I. Petrova published grammatical descriptions both in a book form and as an article (Petrova 1967, 1968). After a long blank, A. I. Novikova and L. I. Sem made a concise grammatical sketch (Novikova and Sem 1997). As a contemporary specialist, L. V. Ozolinja reported the recent linguistic situation (Ozolinja 2002). She published two substantial dictionaries: Ozolinja (2001) includes some 12000 words, and Ozolinja and Fedjaeva (2003) combines 5000 word Uilta-Russian part with 4000 Russian-Uilta entries.

2. Phonology

2. 1 Consonant phonemes

Uilta has the following eighteen consonant phonemes: *p t k b d g m n ɲ ŋ c* [tʃ] *j* [dʒ] *s x l r w y* [j]. The velar *g* in intervocalic position is a fricative [*γ*]. The fricative *s* is usually realized as [s] before the open vowels *a o*, otherwise [ʃ∼sʲ]. The nasal *n* is palatalized before *i ɛ*, thus neutralized with *ɲ*: we employ *ni nɛ* rather than **ɲi* **ɲɛ*. The alveolars *t d* usually do not occur before *i ɛ*. The lateral *l* and the flap/fricative *r* followed by a voiceless consonant are often devoiced.

2. 2 Vowel phonemes

There are seven vowel phonemes in Uilta: rounded *o* [ɔ] *ö* [o∼ɵ] *u* and unrounded *a e* [ə]

i ɛ. Previous descriptions have often failed to recognize the vowel phoneme *ö* and confused it with *o u*, or *e* (see Ikegami 1953, Tsumagari 1980). The vowel ɛ usually appears in either a long vowel ɛɛ or a diphthong ɛ*u*, but in a few words occurs singly.

For further phonetic observations for each phoneme, see Ikegami (1955: 466–470, 1997: xii–xv). Note that Ikegami employs *č ǰ j ə ɵ e* for our *c j y e ö* ɛ.

2. 3 Vowel harmony

The vowels are divided as follows in view of vowel harmony:

close	*e*	*ö*			
			neutral	*u*	*i* ɛ
open	*a*	*o*			

The close vowels do not coexist with the open ones in a word, and vice versa. Neutral vowels can occur with either of them. Moreover *a u* may be followed not by *o* but by *oo*, and *e u* not by *ö* but by *öö*. According to the stem-vowels, most of suffixes and endings show the vowel-alternation either in four-way *a*～*e*～*o*～*ö* or in two-way *o*～*ö*. In the description below, suffixes and endings will generally be referred in the representative form with *a* or *o*.

2. 4 Syllable and mora

The syllable structure is generally represented as (C)V(V)(C), where the parenthesized elements are optional. Any consonant may occur in syllable-initial or syllable-final position. A syllable can further be divided into moras, which consist of a primary mora (=Pm below) and additional secondary moras (=Sm):

(C)V	(V)	(C)
Pm	Sm	Sm

The division into moras is valid for the formulation of pitch accent (see 2. 6). Any word consists of at least two moras, and monosyllabic words always contain VV. Thus there are no words with the shape of *(C)V(C).

2. 5 Consonant restrictions of a word

Any consonants except *r* may stand in word-initial position. Except for onomatopoeic words, word-final consonants are restricted to *m n l*, in which *m n* are further restricted within monosyllabic words. As a result of the syllable structure mentioned above, any consonant cluster occurs neither initially nor finally.

2. 6 Pitch accent

The accent is fixed and therefore non-phonemic in Uilta. The penultimate mora (if it is the secondary mora, then the preceding primary mora) of a word is pronounced in the highest pitch and therefore can be called the accent peak. Except for the words which have the accent peak on the first mora, the high pitch begins with the second mora and is maintained up to the accent

peak. The following is an example of words with the notation of accent (the high moras are marked with boldfaces): ***nar****i* 'man', ***moo*** 'tree', *pat****a****la* 'girl', *i****la****a* 'three', *i****sa****l* 'eye', *ŋ****a****ala* 'hand', *a****ŋ****ma* 'mouth', *g****ɛ****ul* 'oar', *u****nig****eri* 'star', *si****nasu****u* 'knife', *bu****wa****ata* 'island', *xa****usa****li* 'paper', *pu****uta****a* 'bag', ***ee****kte* 'woman', *xa****mda****tta* 'leaf', *xu****senn****ɛɛ* 'man', *i****sa****aptu* 'eyeglasses'.

For the details of the Uilta pitch accent, see Tsumagari (1983).

3. Morphology

3. 0 Morphological process

Morphological process in Uilta is basically suffix-agglutinative. However, some endings are fused with a certain type of stem, resulting in a consonant gemination and vowel lengthening or diphthongization:

e.g. *ute* + *be* [doorway+ACC]→ *uttee* 'doorway (ACC)'
ŋene + *ru* [go+IMP]→ *ŋenneu.* 'Go!'

3. 1 Noun

3. 11 Declension

3. 111 Simple case-endings

The simple nominative form has no ending and is employed as the basic stem for oblique cases. Some case-endings take different forms according to the stem-final phonemic structures which are roughly grouped into three types: -CV#, -VV#, and -(C)#. The stem-final *-n* of polysyllabic words may not appear in the simple nominative form.

		-CV#	-VV#	-(C)#
		'doorway'	'place in a dwelling'	'chest'
Nominative		*ute*	*bɛɛ*	*tuŋe*
Accusative	+*ba*	*uttee*	*bɛɛwa*	*tuŋembe*
Dative 'at'	-*du*	*utedu*	*bɛɛdu*	*tuŋendu*
Directive 'to'	-*tai*	*utetei*	*bɛɛtai*	*tuŋettei*
Locative 'in'	-*la*	*utele*	*bɛɛla*	*tuŋendule*
Prolative 'along, through'	-*kkɛɛ*-	*utekkɛɛ*-	*bɛɛkkɛɛ*-	*tuŋekkɛɛ*-
Ablatlve 'from'	-*duu*	*uteduu*	*bɛɛduu*	*tuŋenduu*
Instrumental 'by, than'	-*ji*	*uteji*	*bɛɛji*	*tuŋenji*
Designative 'as'	-*ddoo*-	*uteddöö*-	*bɛɛddoo*-	*tuŋendöö*-
Comitative 'with'	-*ndoo*	(*utendöö*)	(*bɛɛndoo*)	(*tuŋendöö*)

As shown above, the accusative ending +*ba* will be fused with the stem -CV#: such fusible endings will be marked by + hereafter. An exception to the distribution of accusative forms is found in the nominal stem *ulaa* 'domestic reindeer': we have *ulaa-ba* (ACC) instead of **ulaa-wa*. Note also the forms *ulaa-bi* (1S or SG.REF) and *ulaa-bari* (PL.REF) instead of **ulaa-wi* and **ulaa-wari* respectively (cf. 3. 112 and 3. 12 below). Hyphens after prolative and designative

show that each form further requires a personal ending (see 3. 12 below). Theoretical (non-practical) forms are parenthesized. English equivalents given to each case are of course rough makeshifts. For the full declensional paradigm, see Ikegami (1956), in which he employs the term 'allative' instead of our 'directive'.

3. 112 Reflexive case-endings

The reflexive case-endings have the meaning 'one's own' (SG or PL) in addition to the meaning of the corresponding simple case-ending. They refer to the same person(s) with the sentence subject. The ACC form actually has no case-marking, but never stands for a subject of a sentence. Other oblique forms can be regarded as a fusion of a simple case-ending and a reflexive ending +*bi* (SG) or +*bari* (PL) not only diachronically (Ikegami 1956) but in synchronic process as well (Hayata 1979).

i) Singular

	'one's own doorway'		'one's own place'	'one's own chest'
ACC	*-bi*	*utebi*	*bɛɛwi*	*tuŋembi*
DAT/INS/DESG	*-jji*	*utejji*	*bɛɛjji*	*tuŋenji*
DIR	*-takki*	*utetekki*	*bɛɛtakki*	*tuŋettekki*
LOC	*-lli*	*utelli*	*bɛɛlli*	*tuŋendulli*
PRO	*-kki*	*utekki*	*bɛɛkki*	*tuŋekki*
ABL	*-dukki*	*utedukki*	*bɛɛdukki*	*tuŋendukki*

ii) Plural

ACC	+*bari*	*utteeri*	*bɛɛwari*	*tuŋemberi*
DAT/DESG	*-ddoori*	*uteddööri*	*bɛɛddoori*	*tuŋendööri*
DIR	*-takkɛɛri*	*utetekkɛɛri*	*bɛɛtakkɛɛri*	*tuŋettekkɛɛri*
LOC	*-lari*	*uteleri*	*bɛɛlari*	*tuŋenduleri*
PRO	*-kkɛɛri*	*utekkɛɛri*	*bɛɛkkɛɛri*	*tuŋekkɛɛri*
ABL	*-dukkoori*	*utedukkööri*	*bɛɛdukkoori*	*tuŋendukkööri*
INS	*-jjɛɛri*	*utejjɛɛri*	*bɛɛjjɛɛri*	*tuŋenjɛɛri*

3. 12 Personal endings

The simple nominative form and the other simple case forms can be followed by one of the personal endings which indicate the person and number of possessor.

	SG	PL
1st	*-bi* (~VV-*wi*) [*-wwɛɛ*]	*-pu* [*-ppoo*]
2nd	*-si* (~C-*ci*)	*-su* (~C-*cu*)
3rd	*-ni*	*-ci*

The first person singular ending *-bi* is identical in shape with the singular reflexive ACC ending. In sentences, however, they are distinguishable because the reflexive form does not stand

for the subject of a sentence while the first person ending takes an alternative form in oblique cases as indicated above in square brackets. The third person singular form *-ni* can be employed not only for both numbers but also to refer to a non-human possessor or attribute (see 4. 14).

3. 13 Alienable possessive suffix

In possessive (reflexive or personal) forms, if the possessor is human, a certain semantic class of noun-stems are obligatorily followed by a suffix *-ŋu-* which indicates that the referent is alienably or indirectly possessed by the possessor. On the contrary, the lack of this suffix means that the referent is regarded as inalienable to the possessor. To such inalienable category belong the nouns meaning the parts of human body, relatives, clothing, utensils, and domestic animals etc. In some cases, however, it is difficult for outsiders to predict whether a noun will take this suffix or not in particular possessive constructions. Compare the following pairs which illustrate some preferred possessive forms of semantically related words:

ulise-bi	'my flesh'	vs.	*ulise-ŋu-bi*	'my meat'
ŋinda-bi	'my dog'	—	*böyö-ŋu-bi*	'my bear'
cikte-bi	'my louse'	—	*sura-ŋu-bi*	'my flea'
kitaam-bi	'my needle'	—	*kupe-ŋu-bi*	'my thread'

Examples of inflectional forms with this suffix:

patala-ŋu-ji-wwɛɛ [girl-AP-INS-1S] 'than my girl'
buda-ŋŋoori [rice-AP+REF.PL] 'ones' own rice (ACC)'

3. 14 Plural suffixes

Plurality is represented by the suffix *-l* or *-sal*, which can be attached to the stems meaning human, animals, and, in less cases, inanimate things: *nari-l*～*nari-sal* 'men, people', *ulaa-l* 'reindeer (PL)', *buwaata-l* 'islands'.

Some nouns have specific irregular forms for plural:

putte	'child'	—	*puril*	'children'
eekte	'woman'	—	*ekkel*	'women'
ŋinda	'dog'	—	*ŋinjil*	'dogs'

In general the use of plural forms is somewhat emphatic, and the unmarked form is also employed to refer to plural entities, especially when preceded by a numeral or a quantitative adjective: *ilaa nari* 'three men', *bara putte* 'many children'.

3. 2 Pronoun

Pronouns may be divided into four groups: personal, reflexive, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns. See Ikegami (1993a) for a detailed description.

3. 21 Personal pronouns

	SG	PL
1st	*bii*	*buu*
	[*min*-, ACC *mimbɛɛ*, GEN *mini*]	[*mun*-, ACC *mumbɛɛpe*, GEN *munu*]
2nd	*sii*	*suu*
	[*sin*-, ACC *simbɛɛ*, GEN *sini*]	[*sun*-, ACC *sumbɛɛpe*, GEN *sunu*]
3rd	*nooni* [*noon*-S.C.-*ni*]	*nooci* [*noon*-S.C.-*ci*]

(S.C.= Simple Case-ending)

Pronouns are inflected basically in the same way as nouns. The alternative stem or some irregular forms are given in square brackets above. Note that the first and second person pronouns have the genitive form, which is used either pre-nominally or as a substitute for the nominative subject in subordinate clauses (see (49) below). There is no distinction between exclusive and inclusive plural for the first person category, which is often found in other Tungusic languages. The use of the third person pronouns is, in fact, restricted: they refer to the third person only in contrast with another third person (Ikegami 1968). Usually, the third person is referred to by a demonstrative pronoun with or without a noun (see 3. 23).

3. 22 Reflexive pronouns

SG *meepi* (ACC) PL *meeperi* (ACC)
[*meen*-SG.REF.C.] [*meen*-PL.REF.C.]

(REF.C.=Reflexive Case-ending)

The reflexive pronoun 'oneself' refers to the same person(s) with the subject of a sentence. There is a genitive form *meene* (SG or PL) which attributes the following noun in reflexive possessive form (see 4. 13). The form *meene* may also function as an adverb: e.g. *meene dep-ci-wi.* [eat-PRES-1S] 'I eat for myself'.

3. 23 Demonstrative pronouns

	SG		PL
Proximal	*eri*	[*yee; ye*-, ACC *yewe*]	*eril*～*erisel*
Distal	*tari*	[*caa; ca*-, ACC *cawa*]	*taril*～*tarisal*

The singular forms *eri* and *tari* may be used both independently (with the oblique stems *ye*- and *ca*-) and attributively: in the latter case, they take the forms of *yee* and *caa* respectively before the oblique case nouns: e.g. *tari nari* 'that man (=he)'; *caa narrɛɛ* 'id. (ACC)'. The plural forms are employed only independently with the meaning 'these/those people'. For more distant referents, *tootori* and *taatari* (farther than *tootori*) are employed emphatically.

3. 24 Interrogative pronouns

xai 'what', *ŋui* 'who', *xaawu* [ACC *xaakkoo*] 'which', *xasu* [ACC *xasumba*] 'how many, how much'.

Each form functions also as an attribute: e.g. *ŋui ulaa-ni* 'whose reindeer?'

Incidentally, there are following interrogative adverbs: *xaali* 'when', *xooni* 'how', *xaidu* 'where' (the dative form of *xai* 'what'), *xaimi* 'why' (the coordinative converb form of the verb *xai-* 'do what').

3. 3 Numeral

3. 31 Cardinal

1 *gɛɛda*	2 *döö*	3 *ilaa*	4 *jiin*	5 *tunda*
6 *nuŋu*	7 *nada*	8 *jakpu*	9 *xuyu*	10 *joon*
11 *joon gɛɛda*	12 *joon döö*		20 *xori*	30 *ilaandoo*
40 *jiindoo*	50 *tundadoo*		60 *nuŋundoo*	70 *nadandoo*
80 *jakpundoo*	90 *xuyundoo*		100 *(gɛɛda) taŋgu*	
200 *döö taŋgu*	1000 *(gɛɛda) miŋga*			10000 *(gɛɛda) tume*

3. 32 Iterative

As a derivational numeral, the form with the suffix *-ra* or *-lta* represents the number of times:

1 *gɛɛdara*	2 *döörö*	3 *ilaalta*	4 *jiilte*	5 *tundalta*
6 *nuŋulte*	7 *nadalta*	8 *jakpulta*	9 *xuyulte*	10 *joolto*

These forms might occasionally serve as the ordinal number. The ordinal forms proper, found in some descriptions (Petrova 1967: 76, Magata 1981), are restricted mainly to reference to the months after pregnancy or birth according to Ikegami's observation (Ikegami 1997): e.g. *dööyyɛɛ-ni* 'the second month'.

3. 4 Verb

3. 40 Conjugation

Verbs are inflected by adding various verb-endings which are divided into four groups according to their function: (1) imperative endings, (2) final (finite) endings, (3) participle endings, and (4) converb endings. Some typical endings of each group are given below. Some of them will take quite different forms according to the type of stems. For the full conjugational paradigm, see Ikegami (1959), which was summarized in Ikegami (2001b).

3. 41 Imperative forms

Usual form: +*ru*～*-su*～*-du*

Polite form: *-ya*

Future form: *-ttaari*, *-ssaari* 'Do later on.'

The second person plural marker *-su* may be added to the above forms, except for the polite form *-ya*, which is followed by *-ltu* instead of *-su*. Incidentally, invitational meaning is expressed by the combination of the present participle 2 in +*ri* etc. (3. 43 below) and the 2P marker *-su*: e.g. *uiltadai-ri-su.* 'Let's speak in Uilta!'

3. 42 Final forms

Present form: +*rakka* (3S) [1/2: +*ra*-P_1-*ga*, 3P: +*rakkal*]

Present action witnessed by the speaker.

Past form: -*taa* (3S) [1/2: -*ta*-P_1-*ga*, 3P: -*takkal*]

Past action witnessed by the speaker.

Future form: +*rillaa* (3S) [1/2: +*rila*-P_1, 3P: +*rillaal*]

The parenthesized 3S means that the form is for the third person singular: the forms for the other persons and the third person plural are given in square brackets. P with a subscript indicates a particular set of the personal endings (see 3. 46 below). The final forms serve only as the predicate of a sentence and, actually, are less frequently used than the participle forms.

3. 43 Participle forms (Verbal-noun forms)

Present participle 1: +*ra*～-*si*～-*da*

Usually in the negative construction only (see 4. 23 below).

Present participle 2: +*ri*～-*si*～-*ji*

Often used as a predicate with P_2.

Past participle: -*xa(n-)* ～-*ci(n-)*

Often used as a predicate with P_2.

The participle forms +*ri* and -*xa* have three major functions: (1) an attribute of a noun (see 4. 15 below); (2) a verbal-noun, which may take a case-ending (see 4. 28); and, as mentioned above, (3) a predicate, which is used more commonly than the final forms proper. The final consonant *n* (or *m* before a labial) of the past participle will be appear when followed by the 1S personal ending -*bi* or the case-endings -*ba* (ACC) or -*du* (DAT) etc.

3. 44 Converb forms

Coordinative converb: -*mi* (PL -*mari*)

Simultaneous action by the same doer(s): '(with)—-ing'.

Subordinative converb: -*gacci*～-*kacci* (PL -*gaccɛɛri*～-*kaccɛɛri*)

Preceding action by the same doer(s): 'after—-ing'.

Conditional converb 1: -*pɛɛ* (PL -*pissaa*)

Perfect conditional action by the same doer(s): 'if, after—'.

Terminative converb: -*dalaa* 'until—'.

Conjunctive converb: -*ŋassɛɛ*(-P_3) 'while, during—'.

Without personal ending, action by the same doer(s); With P_3, action by a different doer(s).

Conditional converb 2: +*rai*-P_3

Imperfect conditional action by a different doer(s): 'if, when—'.

Conditional converb 3: +*kuta*-P_4

Perfect conditional action by a different doer(s): 'if, after—'.

Converb is a modifier of the main verb of complex sentences (see 4. 28 below). Some

converbs require personal marking of the doer, which is generally different from that of the main verb. Other converbs, which take no personal ending but have plural forms, usually share the same subject with the main verb.

3. 45 Example of some conjugational forms

The following is an example of conjugation for some different types of verb-stems, which consist of a -VV# stem (*waa-*), different classes of -CV# stem (*ŋene-*, *andu-*), a -C# stem (*buyal-*), and two irregular verbs (*bi-*, *e-*). Only fusible or variable endings are taken up here: the other endings above are added directly to any type of stems, except *+rakka* and *+rillaa* which can be added on the analogy of *+ra* and *+ri* respectively.

		'kill, hunt'	'go'	'make'	'break'	'be, exist'	'do not'
Stem		*waa-*	*ŋene-*	*andu-*	*buyal-*	*bi-*	*e-*
IMP	*+ru*	*waaru*	*ŋenneu*	*andusu*	*buyaldu*	*buu*	*ejjɛɛ*
PART	*+ra*	*waara*	*ŋennee*	*andusi*	*buyalda*	*bɛɛ*	
	+ri	*waari*	*ŋennɛɛ*	*andusi*	*buyalji*	*bii*	*esi*
	-xa	*waaxa*	*ŋenexe*	*anduci*	*buyalci*	*bicci*	*ecci*
CONV	*+rai-*	*waarai-*	*ŋenneeyi-*	*andusii-*	*buyaldai-*	*bɛɛyi-*	*esii-*
	+kuta-	*waawuta-*	*ŋeneute-*	*anduuta-*	*buyalkuta-*	*bigute-*	*eute-*

3. 46 Personal endings

Some verb-endings may be followed by one of the four sets of personal endings as shown below:

Verb endings		1S	1P	2S	2P	3S	3P
+ra, *-ta-*, *+rila-*	: P_1	*-mi*	*-pu*	*-si*	*-su*		
+ri, *-xa(n-)*	: P_2	*-wi*∼*-bi*	*-pu*	*-si*	*-su*	*-ni*	*-ci*
+rai-, *-ŋassɛɛ*	: P_3	*-wwɛɛ*	*-ppoo*	*-si*	*-su*	*-ni*	*-ci*
+kuta-	: P_4	*-wwɛɛ*	*-ppoo*	*-ssɛɛ*	*-ssoo*	*-nnɛɛ*	*-ccɛɛ*

4. Syntax

4. 1 NP structure

The head noun of noun phrases is always preceded by any kind of modifier.

4. 11 Adjective + Noun

Usually, adjective has no inflection and shows no agreement with the head noun in number, case and person: *aya ulaa* 'good reindeer', *aya ulaa-l* (PL), *aya ulaa-ba* (ACC), *aya ulaa-bi* (1S 'my good reindeer'). The following "adjective" should be regarded as nominalized: *ulaa aya-ni* [reindeer good-3S] 'the good (best) reindeer (lit. the good one of reindeer)'. According to Petrova (1967, 1968), who probably refers to a different dialect, adjective may take plural suffix in agreement with the plural head noun: *dāi-l duku-l* [large-PL house-PL] 'large houses' (Petrova 1968: 188), which corresponds to *daayi duxu-l* in our dialect.

4. 12 Numeral + Noun

Petrova (1967, 1968) also describes that a noun will take the plural form after a numeral. In our materials, however, a numeral will preferably be followed by an unmarked form: *ilaa nari* (~*ilaa nari-l*) 'three men'. Case-agreement (mostly only in accusative) is occasionally found between a numeral and a noun: *ilaa narrɛɛ* [three man+ACC]~*ilaam-ba narrɛɛ* [three-ACC man+ACC] 'three men (ACC)'.

4. 13 Pronoun + Noun

With a demonstrative pronoun: *eri nari* (ACC *yee narrɛɛ*) 'this man, he (him)', *tari nari-l* (ACC *caa nari-l-ba*) 'those men, they (them)'.

The first or second personal form of a noun, as well as the reflexive form, can be preceded by the corresponding genitive form of personal or reflexive pronouns, though such a genitive pronoun is omissible:

(min-i) ŋinda-bi [(I-GEN) dog-1S] 'my dog'
(min-i) ŋindaa-wwɛɛ [(I-GEN) dog+ACC-1S] 'id. (ACC)'
(sin-i) suŋdatta-ŋu-si [(you-GEN) fish-AP-2S] 'your fish'
(sin-i) suŋdatta-ŋŋoo-si [(you-GEN) fish-AP+ACC-2S] 'id. (ACC)'
(meene) ŋaala-bi [(oneself.GEN) hand-REF.SG] 'one's own hand (ACC)'

4. 14 Noun + Noun

Compound structure: *eekte putte* 'daughter, girl (lit. woman child)'. Cf. possessive structure: *eekte putte-ni* [woman child-3S] 'the woman's child'. The third person ending *-ni* is employed not only to refer to the human possessor but also to relate a non-human attribute with its head: *gasa omo-ni* [bird nest-3S] 'bird's nest', *xulda oo-du-ni* [box corner-DAT-3S] 'at the corner of the box'.

4. 15 Relative clause + Noun

A participle form followed by a head noun functions as a relative clause. Unless the head noun is the subject of the relative clause, the participle requires personal marking of the subject. Some nominal arguments other than subject and object can also be relativized without any indication of grammatical role in the relative clause:

suŋdattaa waa-xa nari 'the man who caught fish'
[fish+ACC catch-PAST man]
tari nari waa-xa-ni suŋdatta 'the fish which he caught'
[that man catch-PAST-3S fish]
suŋdattaa mii-xem-bi kucige 'the knife with which I cut fish'
[fish+ACC cut-PAST-1S knife]
suŋdattaa ekse-xe-si ostooli 'the table on which you put fish'
[fish+ACC put-PAST-2S table]

4. 2 Sentence structure

Sentences basically have the SOV type of word-order, though we can find many examples of

deviation from the principle (see the sample text in Appendix below). A predicate, usually placed on the sentence-final position, can make a full sentence even by itself. The following is not so much a formal syntactic analysis as a rough exemplification of Uilta sentences with minimum practical classification.

4. 21 Nominal/Adjectival sentences

No copula is needed in present tense. Instead, the predicate noun or adjective is optionally marked by a personal ending except for the third person:

(1) *bii uilta(m-bi).*
[I Uilta(-1S)]
'I am an Uilta.'

(2) *bii uilta bic-cim-bi.*
[I Uilta be-PAST-1S]
'I was an Uilta.'

(3) *sii purige(-si).*
[you young(-2S)]
'You are young.'

(4) *sii purige bic-ci-si.*
[you young be-PAST-2S]
'You were young.'

(5) *tari ulaa.*
[that reindeer]
'That is a reindeer.' (='that reindeer')

(6) *tari ulaa bic-ci(-ni).*
[that reindeer be-PAST(-3S)]
'That was a reindeer.'

(7) *yedu namauli.*
[here warm]
'It is warm here.'

(8) *yedu namauli bic-ci.*
[here warm be-PAST]
'It was warm here.'

4. 22 Existential/Possessive sentences

Possession is represented either as an existential sentence or by a possessive suffix *-lu* 'having, with'. The form in *-lu*, optionally preceded by the alienable suffix *-ŋu-*, may function either as a predicate (as in (12) and (13a)) or as a modifier of a noun (13b):

(9) *ostooli oyo-du-ni bicixe bii-ni.*
[table surface-DAT-3S book be+PRES-3S]
'There is a book on the table.'

(10) *tari nari dug-ji bii-ni.*
[that man house-REF.DAT be+PRES-3S]

'He is at home.'

(11) *min-du ilaa ulaa bii-ci/bii-ni.*
[I-DAT three reindeer be+PRES-3P/be+PRES-3S]
'I have three reindeer.'

(12) *bii ilaan-ji ulaa-lu-bi.*
[I three-INS reindeer-POSS-1S]
'id.'

(13a) *tari nari gumasikka-ŋu-lu.*
[that man money-AP-POSS]
'He has money.'

(13b) *gumasikka-ŋu-lu nari*
[money-AP-POSS man]
'the man who has money'

4. 23 Negative sentences

Negation is primarily expressed by the negative verb *e-* 'do not' with the participle form in +*ra* of negated verb:

(14a) *tari nari e-si-ni ŋennee.*
[that man NEG-PRES-3S go+PART]
'He doesn't go.'

(14b) *tari nari ŋennɛɛ-ni.*
[that man go+PRES-3S]
'He goes.'

(15a) *tari nari ec-ci-ni ŋennee.*
[that man NEG-PAST-3S go+PART]
'He didn't go.'

(15b) *tari nari ŋene-xe-ni.*
[that man go-PAST-3S]
'He went.'

Negation of nominal/adjectival sentences:

(16) *bii uilta e-si-wi bɛɛ.*
[I Uilta NEG-PRES-1S be+PART]
'I am not an Uilta.'

(17) *sii purige ec-ci-si bɛɛ.*
[you young NEG-PAST-2S be+PART]
'You were not young.'

(18) *tari mun-u ŋinda-pu e-si bɛɛ.*
[that we-GEN dog-1P NEG-PRES be+PART]
'That is not our dog.'

In existential/possessive sentences, instead of the negative verb, a negative adjective *anaa* 'no'

can be employed, with which the above-mentioned possessive suffix *-lu* takes the "prenegative" form in *-la* (as in (22)):

(19) *tamaciga nari e-si-ni bɛɛ.*
[such man NEG-PRES-3S be+PART]
'There is no such a man.'

(20) *tamaciga nari anaa.*
[such man no]
'id.'

(21) *goropci-du suŋdatta bic-cin-dee buda anaa bic-ci.*
[old.times-DAT fish be-PAST-CONC rice no be-PAST]
'In old times there was fish but no rice.'

(22) *sii gumasikka-ŋu-la anaa-si.*
[you money-AP-POSS no-2S]
'You have no money.'

Prohibition is expressed by the imperative form of the negative verb:

(23a) *ejjɛɛ ŋennee.*
[NEG.IMP go+PART]
'Don't go!'

(23b) *ŋenneu.*
[go+IMP]
'Go!'

Besides, there is a negative adverb *eccɛɛli* 'not yet', with which the negated verb in the participle form (+*ra*) will take a personal ending of the set P_I:

(24) *bii eccɛɛli ŋennee-mi.*
[I not.yet go+PART-1S]
'I don't go yet.'

4. 24 Interrogative sentences

An interrogative clitic *-i*〜*-yi* is added to the end of yes-no questions, with which a rising intonation is usually accompanied. In answer, the interjection word *ii* can be headed both for affirmative and for negative; for the latter, *anaa* 'no' is also employed:

(25a) *sii ŋennɛɛ-si-i?*
[you go+PRES-2S-Q]
'Do you go?'

(25b) *ii ŋennɛɛ-wi.*
[INTER go+PRES-1S]
'Yes, I go.'

(25c) *ii/anaa e-si-wi ŋennee.*
[INTER/no NEG-PRES-1S go+PART]
'No, I don't go.'

(26) *eri aya ulaa-yi?*
[this good reindeer-Q]
'Is this a good reindeer?'
(27) *sii ec-ci-si tukköö-yi?*
[you NEG-PAST-2S fall+PART-Q]
'Didn't you fall down?'

For wh-questions, there is another interrogative clitic *-ga*〜*-ka*, which is omissible:
(28) *eri xai-ga*?
[this what-Q]
'What is this?'
(29) *ŋui sinda-xa-ni(-ga)?*
[who come-PAST-3S(-Q)]
'Who came?'
(30) *sii xai-wa ite-xe-si(-ge)?*
[you what-ACC see-PAST-2S(-Q)]
'What did you see?'

4. 25 Comparative sentences

Adjectives and adverbs have no degree of comparison. The compared object takes the instrumental case:

(31) *eri moo caa moo-ji gugda.*
[this tree that tree-INS tall]
'This tree is taller than that tree.'
(32) *eri ŋinda caa ŋinda-ji kusalji tuksɛɛ-ni.*
[this dog that dog-INS fast run+PRES-3S]
'This dog runs faster than that dog.'
(33) *eri moo caa moo-du gese gugda.*
[this tree that tree-DAT alike tall]
'This tree is as tall as that tree.'
(34) *eri moo caa moo-ŋoci gugda e-si bɛɛ.*
[this tree that tree-like tall NEG-PRES be+PART]
'This tree is not so tall as that tree.'
(35) *eri moo tenee gugda.*
[this tree most tall]
'This tree is the tallest.'
(36) *eri moo ketuddeeni gugda.*
[this tree too tall]
'This tree is too tall.'

4. 26 Passive/Causative sentences

Passive/Causative sentences, as well as Optative/Intentional sentences below, are expressed

morphologically by adding a particular suffix to the verb-stem: for various verbal derivational suffixes, see Ikegami (1973). Both passive and causative employ the same suffix +*boon*- (glossed as CAUS below), which is fusible with the preceding stem and takes various shapes. As a rule, the agent in passive sentence takes the dative case, while in causative the agent (causee) is marked by the accusative. If there are two accusative arguments in a causative sentence by transitive verb, the causee usually precedes the patient (as in (40)), except for semantically obvious cases (as (41)):

(37a) *bii caa nari-du paac-cooc-cim-bi*.
[I that man-DAT hit-CAUS-PAST-1S]
'I was hit by him.'

(37b) *tari nari mim-bɛɛ paaci-xa-ni*.
[that man I-ACC hit-PAST-3S]
'He hit me.'

(38) *bii caa nari-du ulaa-bi waa-wooc-cim-bi*.
[I that man-DAT reindeer-REF.ACC kill-CAUS-PAST-1S]
'My reindeer was killed by him.'

(39) *bii caa narrɛɛ ŋenneuc-cim-bi*.
[I that man+ACC go+CAUS-PAST-1S]
'I let/made him go.'

(40) *bii caa narrɛɛ caa eektee itteuc-cim-bi*.
[I that man+ACC that woman+ACC see+CAUS-PAST-1S]
'I let him see her.'

(41) *yee möö-wö caa narrɛɛ ummoonu*.
[this water-ACC that man+ACC drink+CAUS+IMP]
'Let him drink this water!'

4. 27 Optative/Intentional sentences

The optative suffix is -*mu*-, and the intentional suffix is +*kita*-. They express wish and intention respectively. The last sentence below (45) is an example of combination with the passive/causative suffix:

(42) *bii cala ŋene-mu-si-wi*.
[I there go-OPT-PRES-1S]
'I wish to go there.'

(43) *bii cala ŋene-iccɛɛ-wi*.
[I there go-INT+PRES-1S]
'I intend to go there.'

(44) *bii e-si-wi deptu-mu-si*.
[I NEG-PRES-1S eat-OPT-PART]
'I don't want to eat.'

(45) *bii caa narrɛɛ depöök-kiccɛɛ-wi*.
[I that man+ACC eat+CAUS-INT+PRES-1S]
'I want him to eat.'

4. 28 Complex sentences

Various converbs are employed to make complex sentences. Note that the converbs with personal marking ((51) and (52)) have different subjects from those of main verbs (compare (52) with (50)):

(46) *patala ine-mi sinda-xa-ni.*
[girl smile-COOR come-PAST-3S]
'A girl came with smiling.'

(47) *bii dug-takki ŋene-gecci akpac-cim-bi.*
[I house-REF.DIR go-SUB lie-PAST-1S]
'I went home and lay down.'

(48) *putte bi-ŋessɛɛ yele sinda-xam-bi.*
[child be-CONJ here come-PAST-1S]
'While I was a child, I came here.'

(49) *sin-i sinda-dalaa bii xalacci-wi.*
[you-GEN come-TERM I wait+PRES-1S]
'Until you come, I will wait.'

(50) *tari nari sinda-pɛɛ ye-we iccɛɛ-ni.*
[that man come-COND this-ACC see+PRES-3S]
'If/After he has come, he will see this.'

(51) *tari nari sinda-uta-nnɛɛ bii ŋennɛɛ-wi.*
[that man come-COND-3S I go+PRES-1S]
'If/After he has come, I will go.'

(52) *tari nari sindaayi-ni bii ŋennɛɛ-wi.*
[that man come+COND-3S I go+PRES-1S]
'If he comes, I will go.'

Participle forms can make a noun clause and function as a sentence element with some case ending. The dative forms are used adverbially to express time, reason etc. :

(53) *tari nari buc-cin-du-ni bii soŋo-xom-bi.*
[that man die-PAST-DAT-3S I cry-PAST-1S]
'When he died, I cried.'

(54) *ŋeele sinda-xan-du-ni ulaa tuta-xa-ci.*
[wolf come-PAST-DAT-3S reindeer run.away-PAST-3P]
'When/Because a wolf came, reindeer ran away.'

(55) *bii sin-i/sii sinda-xam-ba-si saa-ri-wi.*
[I you-GEN/you.NOM come-PAST-ACC-2S know-PRES-1S]
'I know that you came.'

(56) *bii tari nari e-si-we-ni sindaa saa-ri-wi.*
[I that man NEG-PRES-ACC-3S come+PART know-PRES-1S]
'I know that he will not come.'

Concessive meaning is expressed by a clitic *-ddaa* 'yet':

(57) *tari nari sinda-xan-daa bii e-si-wi ŋennee.*
[that man come-PAST-CONC I NEG-PRES-1S go+PART]
'Even if/Though he has come, I will not go.'
(58) *tari eekte aya eekte-ddee bii e-si-wi anana-si.*
[that woman good woman-CONC I NEG-PRES-1S like-PART]
'Though she is a beautiful woman, I don't like her.'

Quotational sentences have no special marker:
(59) *tari nari möö-wö böö-ru uc-ci-ni.*
[that man water-ACC give-IMP say-PAST-3S]
'He told (me) to give (him) water.'
(60) *bii tari nari sinjɛɛ-ni möröcci-wi.*
[I that man come+PRES-3S think+PRES-1S]
'I think that he will come.'

Appendix: a sample text

The following is a sample text of legend (*teeluŋu*), which was collected and transcribed with Japanese translation by Ikegami (1984: 1–2, also in 2002 with an audio CD) and analyzed here by the present author.

tawa ede-ni
fire god-3S
goropci teeluŋu. asi-muna nari puret-tei beiŋde-xe-ni-ndee.
old legend. wife-POSS man taiga-DIR go.hunting-PAST-3S-HS.
beiŋde-gecci cii bic-ci-ni-ndee. xai-ddee böyöm-bö-ni mastaa
go.hunting-SUB for.long be-PAST-3S-HS. what-CONC beast-ACC-3S very
baram-ba waa-ga-ni-nda. andail-li nari nimeri-xe-ni-ndee.
many-ACC hunt-PAST-3S-HS. friend-3S man visit-PAST-3S-HS.
töyö-bujji gɛɛda waŋgai-wa waa-xa-ni-ndaa. bargi-xa-ni-ndaa.
treat-PUR one barren.reindeer-ACC kill-PAST-3S-HS. prepare-PAST-3S-HS.
bargi-gacci töyö-xö-ni-ndee. mit-tei dullee e-jjɛɛ böö-rö
prepare-SUB treat-PAST-3S-HS. me-DIR first NEG-IMP give-PART
uc-ci-ni-ndee. tawa-takki dullee böö-ru. e-si-wi böö-rö
say-PAST-3S-HS. fire-DIR+REF first give-IMP. NEG-PRES-1S give-PART
uc-ci-ni-ndee. meene dep-ci-wi. munali-si-wi. tari nari caa
say-PAST-3S-HS. oneself eat-PRES-1S. grudge-PRES-1S. that man that
dolbonnɛɛ cadu aunda-xa-ni-ndaa. gɛɛda mama un-ji-we-ni
night+ACC there stay-PAST-3S-HS. one old.woman say-PRES-ACC-3S
tolcici-xa-ni-ndaa. xai-wa-ddaa ga-pɛɛ-ddaa xai-wa-ddaa
dream-PAST-3S-HS. what-ACC-CONC buy-COND-CONC what-ACC-CONC

waa-pɛɛ-ddaa mit-tei eccɛɛli böö-rö. *xumana-mi elee*
hunt-COND-CONC me-DIR not.yet give-PART. get.thin-COOR almost
bu-ji-wi. *cimanaa sin-du gese ŋennɛɛle-mi.* *isu-mi*
die-PRES-1S. tomorrow you-DAT together go+FUT-1S. return-COOR
ite-tteerii. *eri duxu geem taullillaa.* *sɛɛlte-e punekte-e o-mi*
see-IMP. this house all burn+FUT. charcoal-and ash-and become-COOR
taullillaa un-ji-we-ni tolcici-xa-ni-ndaa tari nari. *cimanaani*
burn+FUT say-PRES-ACC-3S dream-PAST-3S-HS that man. tomorrow
cimai tee-gecci ŋene-xe-ni-ndee. *gɛɛda-ra aunda-gacci*
morning get.up-SUB go-PAST-3S-HS. one.time stay-SUB
isu-xa-ni-ndaa. *tede-ddee tari duxu geem anaa-nda.* *laxee*
return-PAST-3S-HS. true-CONC that house all no-HS. nearer
isu-wacci ite-xe-ni-ndee. *sɛɛlte-e punekte-e o-mi geem*
return-SUB see-PAST-3S-HS. charcoal-and ash-and become-COOR all
taulu-xa-ni-ndaa. *cikee bic-ci-nde goropci teeluŋu.*
burn-PAST-3S-HS. up.to.this be-PAST-HS old legend.

[**Free translation**]

The god of fire

This is an old legend. A man with his wife went hunting to taiga. He stayed there for long and hunted many games of every kind. One of his friends visited him as a guest. He killed a barren reindeer to treat the guest. He cooked the meat and served it to the guest. The guest said, "Don't serve me first. Offer it to your fire first." The host said, "I won't offer. I will eat for myself. I think it would be a waste." The guest spent the night there. In his dream an old woman said, "The man has never offered me anything he bought or hunted. I am getting thin and almost dying. Tomorrow I will go with you. When you return, you can see the whole house would have been destroyed by the fire and reduced to charcoal and ash." The next morning the guest got up and left. After spending one night, he returned only to find the house had truly disappeared. Getting nearer, he ascertained the house had all reduced to charcoal and ash by the fire. That is all about the old legend.

Abbreviations

ABL ablative case, **ACC** accusative case, **AP** alienable possession, **CAUS** causative, **CONC** concessive clitic, **COND** conditional converb, **CONJ** conjunctive converb, **CONV** converb, **COOR** coordinative converb, **DAT** dative case, **DESG** designative case, **DIR** directive case, **FUT** future, **GEN** genitive case, **HS** hearsay clitic, **IMP** imperative, **INS** instrumental case, **INT** intentional, **INTER** interjection, **LOC** locative case, **NEG** negative, **NOM** nominative case, **OPT** optative, $\mathbf{P}_{1_4}$ a set of personal endings, **PART** participle, **PAST** past participle, **PL** plural, **POSS** possessive, **PRES** present participle, **PRO** prolative case, **PUR** purposive converb, **Q** interrogative clitic, **REF** reflexive possession, **SG** singular, **SUB** subordinative converb, **TERM** terminative converb; **1S** 1st person singular, **2S** 2nd person singular, **3S** 3rd person singular, **1P** 1st person plural, **2P** 2nd person plural, **3P** 3rd person plural.

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