

## A Grammar of Udihe

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Keywords: Tungusic, Group II, reference grammar, genetical position

According to the latest census in 2010, the total population of Udihe is approximately 1,500, few of whom speak Udihe fluently as their mother tongue. The author has also confirmed the poor situation regarding the preservation of this language. Currently, only old people can speak Udihe; middle-aged people can barely understand it, and younger people do not understand it at all. Moreover, Udihe is rarely studied at school now. Currently, the Udihe live in four small villages along the branches of the Ussuri and the Amur Rivers in the regions of Khabarovsk and Primorye in the Russian far East. The four villages are as follows: Gvashugi on the basin of the Khor River (a branch of the Ussuri), Krasnyj Jar on the basin of the Bikin River (a branch of the Ussuri), Aguz on the basin of the Samarga River (flowing into the Sea of Japan), and Arsen'evo on the basin of the Anjuj River (a branch of the Amur). These four rivers share almost the same watershed, and Udihe have come and gone over the mountain to each other's villages. The traditional occupation of Udihe is hunting in the Sikhote Alin mountain range and the respective dialects of the four villages are Khor, Bikin, Samarga, and Anjuj, which do not differ greatly. This sketch is mainly based on the Bikin dialect, but will occasionally refer to the Khor dialect. The examples and investigation of forms in this sketch are based on fieldwork by the present author. Before the Soviet Union's settlement policy, Udihe were spread along each of the above-mentioned rivers. Formerly, Udihe had wider distribution to the south, particularly along the seashore of the Sea of Japan. Nanais call Udihe *namuNka* 'the habitants of the sea.' Besides the four dialects mentioned above, there were also Iman and Koppi (which nowadays have no speakers). The Udihe in Primorye lost their mother tongue to Chinese at an early stage. Even today, there remains an ethnic group called Tazy (from their self-designation) who are of Udihe or Nanai origin (the group of Nanai origin was called Gol'd). They speak a language similar to the ShanDong dialect of Chinese but preserve some characteristics of Udihe and/or Nanai with regard to culture. The total population of Tazy is approximately 200 (including a couple of speakers, according to the 2010 data) and most live in the village of Mikhajlovka on the basin of the Avvakumovka River (which runs into the Sea of Japan). For further information about their historical background, language, and culture (including a field report), see Kazama and Podmaskin (2002).

### PREVIOUS RESEARCH, DATA AND SOURCES

For a long time, Shnejder's concise grammatical and lexical description of the Khor dialect (Shnejder 1936) was the only source available in the study of this language. Recently, this situation has changed with the publication of the following works. Kormushin (1998) provides a grammatical description including several texts. This is an important work because the data are based on the Udihe dialects of

Iman, Bikin, Samarga, and Koppi. Nikolaeva and Tolskaja (2001) is another recent substantial description including several texts, while Girfanova (2002a) provides a concise and solid description. Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Khasanova (1998), Nikolaeva, Perekhvalskaja, and Tolskaja (eds. 2003), and Kazama (2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2007a, 2008a, 2009, and 2010a) are collections of Udihe texts (including folktales, legends, daily tales, and ethnological information). They comprise important primary data due to their sound materials. Simonov, Kjalundzjuga, and Khasanova (1998) comprises 74 texts (approximately 350 pages). Nikolaeva, Perekhvalskaja, and Tolskaja (eds. 2003) comprises 70 texts (approximately 192 pages), and Kazama (2004a–2010a) comprises 231 (approximately 1,182 pages). Kanchuga (2002, 2003, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2010, 2013, and 2015) are unique materials comprising autobiographical texts written by a native Udihe. Girfanova (2001) is a dictionary containing approximately 5,000 entries with etymological considerations. Nikolaeva and Tolskaja (2001) and Girfanova (2002a) provide solid bibliographies. For further information about previous research, see them.

## PROCESS OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Genetically, Udihe belongs to Group II of the Tungusic languages with Oroch and Hezhe, and shows the characteristics of this group. First, the following changes occurred in Group I and Group II languages, including Udihe: #*p*- > #*x*-, #*x*- > #*ø* (zero)-, -*p*- > -*w*-, -*mb*- > -*m*-, -*nd*- > -*n*-, -*ŋg*- > -*ŋ*-, -*u*- > -*i*-, -*md*- > -*mn*-, and -*ŋd*- > -*ŋn*-. Secondly, the following phonetic changes (the decline of syllabic final (codic) -*n*-, -*l*-, and -*r*-) occurred in Udihe and Orochi: -*ns*- > -*s*- (> -*h*- > -*ø*- in Ud.), -*lt*- > -*kt*-, -*ld*- > -*gd*-, -*lk*- > -*kk*- (> -*k*- in Ud.), -*lg*- > -*gg*- (> -*g*- in Ud.), -*lb*- > -*gb*- > -*bb*- (> -*b*- in Ud.), -*\*rp*- > -*kp*-, -*\*rb*- > -*gb*-, -*rm*- > -*mm*- (> -*m*- in Ud.), -*rk*- > -*kk*- (> -*k*- in Ud.), -*rg*- > -*gg*- (> -*g*- in Ud.), -*rŋ*- > -*ŋŋ*- (> -*ŋ*- in Ud.), -*mk*- > -*mp*-, -*mg*- > -*mŋ*- > -*ŋm*- > -*mm*- (> -*m*- in Ud.), -*pt*- > -*t*- and -*r*- > -*ø*- (for concrete examples, see Orochi). The droppings that occurred in homorganic nasal-voiced stop sequences (-*mb*- > -*m*-, -*nd*- > -*n*-, -*ŋg*- > -*ŋ*-) are important because the appearance of allomorphs of some grammatical elements (beginning with *b*, *d*, and *g*) resulted from this change (see accusative case, present indicative, repetitive-reversive aspect, durative-multidirectional aspect, etc.). The following correspondences are unique to Udihe. They represent the changes that occurred only in Udihe, one of which was the reduction and dropping of -*k*- and -*s*-, particularly between vowels. -*k*- > -*ʔ*- (see Vowels) > -*ø*- / *a*\_, *o*\_ : *inai*~*inʔi* ‘dog’ || Or. *inaki* || Nan. *inda* || Ewk. *ŋinakin*; *gai*~*gaʔi* ‘crow’ || Or. *gaaki* || Nan. *gaaki*. -*k*- > -*g*- / *u*\_, *i*\_ : *jugə* ‘ice’ || Or. *jukə* || Nan. *jukə* || Ewk. *jukə*, *bugasa* ‘island’ || Or. *boaca* || Nan. *boacaan* || Ewk. *buuka*, *xəigi* ‘trousers’ || Nan. *pəruu* || Ewk. *xərki* (but the following is an exception: *tuxi* (< *\*tuki*) ‘sleigh’ || Nan. *toki*). -*k*- > -*x*- / *ə*\_ *o*\_ : *əəxi* ‘frog’ || Or. *əəki* || Nan. *xərə(jəkə)* || Ewk. *əəkii*, *nəxusə* ‘younger brother’ || Or. *nəku* || Nan. *nəku* || Ewk. *nəkuu*, *oloxi* ‘squirrel’ || Or. *oloki* || Nan. *xulu* || Ewk. *ulukii*. These changes concerning -*k*- are also important to explain the appearance of allomorphs of some grammatical elements (see Verbal morphology). -*s*- > -*x*- > -*ø*-(/ *i*\_ or *i*\_)~*i*~*y*-. *mai* ‘strong’ || Or. *masi* || Nan. *masi*, *yaa* ‘eye’ || Or. *isa(g)* || Ul. *isal*, *yaa* ‘cow’ || Or. *ixa(n)* || Nan. *ixan*, *jia* ‘money’ || Or. *jixa* || Nan. *jixa*, *xauya* ‘paper’ || Or. *xausa(n)* || Nan. *xaosan*, *gaya*

‘waterfowl’ || Or. *gasa* || Nan. *gasa*. -*ks*- > -*ki*-: *sakia* ‘blood’ || Or. *səəksə* || Nan. *səəksə*, *sikiə* ‘evening’ || Or. *siiksə* || Nan. *siksə*, *tukia*- ‘to run’ || Ui. *tuksa*- || Ewk. *tuksa*-. -*c*- > -*s*-: *susa*- ‘to run away’ || Or. *cuca*- || Nan. *coca*-. *o*- > *wa*-: *wadi*- ‘to finish’ || Or. *odi*- || Nan. *xoji*-, *wai* ‘twenty’ || Or. *oi(n)* || Nan. *xorm*, *wagia* ‘pig’ || Or. *oggia(n)* || Nan. *olgian*, *wanimit* ‘long’ || Or. *yonimi* || Ewk. *yonim*, *waagi*- ‘to revive, to survive’ || Or. *uwa*-~*uya*- || Nan. *xora*- || Ewk. *uraa*-. The followings are minor and idiosyncratic changes: *x*- > *s*- (/i) *sitə* ‘child’ || Or. *xitə*, *sina* ‘tool like rucksack’ || Or. *xina* || Nan. *pma*, *gusi*- ‘to play’ (< \**kuxi*- < \**kupi*-) || Nan. *kupi*-. -*s*- > -*c*- (/C): *baŋcala*- ‘to kick’ || Or. *baŋsala*- || Nan. *baŋsala*-. -*n*- > -*l*-: *sələ*- ‘to wake up’ || Nan. *sənə*-. -*ks*-(?) > -*h*- (> -*ø*-): *jaliha* ‘saliva’ || Ewk. *jaliksə* || Or. *diluksa* || Nan. *jiloksa*. Probably due to the decline of vowel harmony in this language, /a/ sometimes corresponds to /ə/ in other Tungusic languages: *sakia* ‘blood’ || Or. *səəksə* || Nan. *səəksə* || Ewk. *səəksə*, *nakta* ‘boar’ || Or. *nəktə* || Nan. *nəktə*.

## SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

TABLE 1 UDIHE CONSONANTS

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	( <sup>2</sup> )
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>x</i>	
	<i>l</i>			
<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

In the Bikin dialect, /*c*/ is often pronounced as [ts] rather than [tɕ], and /*j*/ as [dz] not [dʒ] (except before /*i*/). This may be due to the influence of Chinese. Intervocalic /*g*/ is pronounced as [ɣ] ~ [x] ~ [ø] by some speakers: *digən(ə)*- ~ *dixən(ə)*- ‘to hide’; *digan(a)*- ~ *dian(a)*- ‘to say’; -*lAgA*- ~ -*lAA*- (purposive converb). Some of the previous research distinguishes /*ni*/ from /*ɲi*/, but no phonetical difference was observed by the author. Both are pronounced as [ɲi]. No minimal pairs are distinguished by this difference. In this description, these are regarded as neutralized and written as *ni* [ɲi]. On the other hand, *ti* and *di* clearly differ from *ci* and *ji* (in other words, palatalization does not occur for *ti* and *di*). Word-initial /*ŋ*/ may drop, particularly before /*i*/: *ɲicaa* ~ *icaa* ‘small.’ /*s*/ before /*i*/ is palatalized as [ɕ]. Some speakers may pronounce /*xi*/ for others’ /*si*/: -*isi*- ~ -*ixi*- (conditional converb). Intervocalic /*c*/ may be weakened as [s] by some speakers: *ɲicaa* ~ *icaa* ~ *isaa* ‘small.’ Udihe does not have /*r*/ at all. Even in recent loanwords, /*r*/ was dropped or changed to /*l*/: *mui* ‘horse’ || Or. *muri(n)*; *əli* ‘time, period’ || Nan. *ərin*. Sonorants (/l/, /w/, and /y/) are relatively rare in word-initial positions. With regard to /<sup>2</sup>/, see Vowels.

TABLE 2 UDIHE VOWELS

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i>	

There are five vowels in Udihe, which fall into groups of “hard,” “soft,” and “neutral,” distributed in accordance with vowel harmony rules. The hard vowels are /o/ and /a/. The soft vowel is /e/. The neutral vowels are /i/ and /u/. Hard vowels are articulated with retracted tongue root, and soft vowels with advanced tongue root. However, vowel harmony in Udihe is on the decline. /a/ in non-initial syllables may be pronounced as [e], particularly before /i/: *diga-i* EAT-pres.part [digei]. On the other hand, /ə/ may be pronounced [a] in some words: *minəwə* I(acc) [minawa]. According to the stem-vowels, most suffixes and particles show vowel-alternation in three-way *a~ə~o*. In the description below, the vowels *a~ə~o* in suffixes and particles will generally be referred to in the representative form *A*. /u/ may be pronounced as [o] in hard vowel words by regressive assimilation: *ugda* [ʊgda ~ ogda] ‘boat.’ Due to the historical change of -r-, -k-, and -s- dropping, many types of vowel sequence have occurred in Udihe, even sequences of three vowels. In these sequences, several kinds of mutual assimilation are observed: /ia/ [i<sup>h</sup>ea]~[æ]; /iə/ [i<sup>h</sup>e]; /io/ [i<sup>h</sup>œ]; /uə/ [u<sup>w</sup>ə~woo]; /ui/ [yi]; /au/ [oʊ]; /iau/ [jæo]; /uai/ [oai]; /iuə/ [jyø]. Examples are as follows: *kiana* [k<sup>h</sup>æNa] ‘deer’; *sikiə* [Sik<sup>h</sup>ie] ‘evening’; *diəli-* [d<sup>h</sup>eli] ‘to fly’; *ogbio* [ogb<sup>h</sup>ie] ‘moose’; *tokio* [tok<sup>h</sup>ie] ‘cloud’; *uə* [u<sup>w</sup>ə~woo] ‘mountain’; *duisi-* [dyisi] ‘to hear’; *pau pau* [pou pou] ‘dark (onomatopoeia)’; *jauŋa* [dzoʊNo] ‘trout’; *miausala-* [m<sup>h</sup>æosala] ‘to shoot’; *xuai-* [xoai] ‘to cut’; *ŋiuə* [ŋ<sup>h</sup>yø] ‘nose.’ According to these phonetic realizations, previous research set some more vowel or semivowel phonemes. For example, Shnejder (1936) set /æ/, /ə/, and /y/. In this description, these are interpreted as elements of vowel sequences. These mutual assimilations probably occurred as these phonetical diphthongs and triphthongs are pronounced as one syllable. This resembles Chinese, and the influence of Chinese should be considered here (e.g., in Chinese /niau<sup>3</sup>/ (one syllable) [n<sup>h</sup>ao] ‘bird’). Some younger speakers demonstrate phonemic consciousness, like *kjana* ‘deer’ and *jowŋo* ‘trout.’ Shnejder (1936) set two more vowel phonemes: the creaky vowel (V’V) and the breathy vowel (VhV). The creaky vowel is pronounced as follows: /ga<sup>2</sup>i/ [g<sup>2</sup>ai~ga<sup>2</sup>i~gai<sup>2</sup>~gai~gai] ‘crow’ (here, italics represent stiff vocal cords). The origin of the creaky vowel is intervocalic -k- (cf. Nan. *gaaki* ‘crow’). From the grammatical viewpoint, it is worth observing that the past indicative suffix has this phoneme (see Indicative mood). Recently, this phoneme has declined (at least in the Bikin dialect). Some speakers do not distinguish *ai* ‘hips’ and *a’i* ‘alcohol’ (< \**araki* || Nan. *araki*). The breathy vowel has probably been extinguished entirely and is not heard at all now (at least in the Bikin dialect). The origin of the breathy vowel is intervocalic -s-. According to Shnejder (1936), the following words had the breathy vowel: *gahæ* ‘waterfowl’ || Or. *gasa*; *imaha* ‘snow’ || Or. *imasa*; *mahi* ‘strong’ || Or. *masi*.

## SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

(C)(V)V(V)(C)

The distinction between short and long vowels is phonemic and very important in Udihe. Long vowels are interpreted as vowel sequence. There are many minimal pairs in this opposition: *okto* ‘medicine’ vs. *ookto*; *bagdi* ‘to live’ vs. *baagdi* ~ *ba<sup>2</sup>agdi* ‘to see, to meet.’ From the grammatical viewpoint, the distinction by vowel length is important: *amə-ø-mi* COME-pres.indic-s1 [ememi] ‘I come’ vs *amə-ə-mi* COME-past.part-s1 [emeemi] ‘I came.’ Monosyllabic free forms are always pronounced long: *bii* ‘I.’

## ACCENT AND INTONATION

Like other Tungusic languages, most Udihe words tend to place the primary stress on the first syllable. For an analysis of tone existence in Udihe, see Janhunen (1999).

## MORPHOLOGY

Inflection and derivation in Udihe depend entirely on suffixes. Reduplication is almost unused except in onomatopoeia and some other exceptions. There are almost no compounds, or words derived from compounds.

## NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

Like other “Altaic languages,” it is difficult to make clear-cut morphological distinctions between nouns, demonstrative pronouns, adjectives, and numerals.

## NOUNS

### DECLENSION

Udihe nouns can be divided into two main classes depending on declension: vowel-stem nouns and consonant-stem nouns (which have a hidden /n/). The hidden /n/ does not appear when the word has no suffix (e.g., nominative case, etc.). All C-stem nouns end with /n/. In Orochi, such words as *isa* ‘eye’ and *dəə* ‘face’ have hidden /g/ (< /l/ || Ui. *isal*, *dəral*), which appears for example with the accusative case: *isag-ba-ni* EYE-acc-s3poss; *dəəg-bə-ni* FACE-acc-s3poss. However, Udihe has entirely lost this final consonant or added another open-syllable element. *yaa* ‘eye’ (< *isa* < *isal*) conjugates as *yaa-wa* EYE-acc, *yaa-ni* EYE-s3poss. *dəgdi* ‘face’ (< *\*dərag-di* < *\*dəral-du*, see below). Shnejder (1936) pointed out that *juu* ‘two’ and *xaa* ‘brothers and sisters’ may show irregular forms like consonant-stem nouns: *juu-bə* TWO-acc; *xaa-bi* XAA-s1; *xaa-dila-i* XAA-loc-s1. In Udihe, it is probable that some stem extension occurred to avoid the homonymic clash of monosyllabic words. The homonymic clash is due to a series of consonant droppings that occurred widely in this language. Such extended stems have forms that seem as if the case suffix is attached: *juu-jugdi* ‘house (-di is like dative),’ *juu-jubə* ‘two (-bə is like accusative, Nan. *juər*).’ The suffix order of obligatory noun categories may be schematized as follows: STEM-case-personal possession. The suffixes of optional

categories ((in)alienable possession, diminutive, and number) precede obligatory categories.

## CASES

TABLE 3 UDIHE CASE MARKERS

	V-stem	C-stem
Nominative	(no marker)	
Accusative	-wA	-mA
Dative	-du	
Locative	-lA	-dulA
Prolative	-li	-duli
Directive	-tigi	
Ablative	-digi	
Instrumental	-ji	
Designative	-na(-poss)	

Adding to the cases above, we may consider the terminative *-dAlA* as a quasi-case: *inə-dələ ŋua-a-mi*. DAWN-term SLEEP-past.part-s1 ‘I have slept until the day dawned.’ This element not only functions as a case marker, but also as a converb: *i-mi ŋua-a-mi bii, suu gakpa-dala*. WHAT-sim SLEEP-past.part-s1 I, SUN SHINE-term ‘Why have I slept, until the sun shines?’ *-juŋA* (‘two with ~’) also behaves like a case suffix, attaching to the oblique stem of personal pronouns: *min-juŋə* I-juNA, *minti-juŋə* WE(INCLU.)-juŋA. Nouns with this suffix function as comitatives (functioning as the subject in a sentence), and it is mostly used with the 1pl. inclusive form of verbs: *min-juŋə diga-ja-fi*. I-juŋA EAT-fut-inclu.p1 ‘Let us eat with me,’ “*abuga sinə-wə, əniŋə-juŋə umi-ya,*” *gunə-i-ni*. FATHER YOU-acc, MOTHER-juNA DRINK-imp, SAY-pres.part-s3 “‘Papa, drink it with mama,” he says.’ The original meaning of this suffix was ‘two,’ which was used as a free form: *omo agaa-ni, omo xunaji-ni, tuu juŋə bagdi-i-ti*. ONE BROTHER-s3poss, ONE SISTER-s3poss, SO juŋA LIVE-pres.part-p3 ‘There is one elder brother and his younger sister; then, in that way, they two live along together.’

## NOMINATIVE

In the copulative sentence, neither the subject nor the complement require a case marker, so we can consider this (unmarked form) to be a nominative. The so-called translativ, namely the noun required by the verb ‘to become’ also takes no marker: *uti nii sagdi samaa ədə-ə-ni*. THAT MAN BIG SHAMAN BECOME-past.part-s3 ‘That man became a great shaman,’ *uti ajiga sagdi ədə-ə-ni*. THAT GIRL BIG BECOME-past.part-s3 ‘That girl has grown up.’ In causative sentences, the complement remains in the nominative: *sagdi ədə-wəŋ-ki-ni, baata-ŋi-yi*. BIG BECOME-caus-past.part-3s, BOY-ap-ref.poss ‘(S)he made that boy grow up.’ Like most Tungusic languages, Udihe has no genitive. The nominative form of the noun (i.e., without a marker) is used as the possessor: *songo agdu-ni* BEAR DEN-s3poss ‘den of bears.’

## ACCUSATIVE

The accusative marks the direct object. Sometimes, the direct object does not take the accusative marker, but such nouns without accusative markers do not imply an indefinite meaning like in Mongolian or Turkish. Words ending in the vowel *-i* may take an allomorph *-ya*: *cai-ya* TEA-acc ‘tea.’ Sometimes vowel stem nouns take the allomorph for the consonant stem (*-mA*). Such confusion seems to occur by analogy. Because the *-n* does not appear if it is not followed by other suffixes, the speaker will be unsure whether the noun has *-n* or not. The accusative may be used with verbs of movement: *uli-wə dau-wa-ti*. RIVER-acc ACROSS-past.part-p3 ‘They went across the river.’

## DATIVE

Sometimes, the allomorph *-di* is observed, probably due to the regressive assimilation (*-di-ni* < *-du-ni*). The dative case signals an indirect object or the location or time of an activity or existence: *uti mui-wə min-du buu-wə-ti*. THAT HORSE-acc I-dat GIVE-past.part-p3 ‘They gave me that horse’; *mənə mənə baa-du təə-i-ti*. OWN OWN PLACE-dat SIT-pres.part-p3 ‘They were sitting on their own places’; *uti əkkin-du ə-i-ti diga-wana songo ulə-wə-ni*. THAT TIME-dat NEG.V-pres.part-p3 EAT-caus BEAR MEAT-acc-s3poss ‘At that time, they did not let them eat the meat of bears.’ When the dative case is used with an adjective or the participle form of a verb (i.e., [participle-dat]), it functions like the English subordinate clause ‘when ~’: *ima sunta-du nakta-wa sua-la-ji aakta-si-i-ti*. SNOW DEEP-dat BOAR-acc SKI-ins CHASE-mul-pres.part-p3 ‘They used to chase boars skiing when the snow was deep’; *uti ‘druzhiba’ ədə-i-du-ni bələm aaji aaji waagi-a-ti*. THAT ‘DRUZHBA’ APPEAR-pres.part-dat-s3 MORE WELL WELL LIVE-past.part-p3 ‘When the electric saw called “druzhiba (friendship)” was invented and brought, they began to live better and better.’ The causee of the causative sentence takes the dative suffix: *bəin-du-ni=dəə diga-waŋ-ki-ni*. MAN-dat-3s.poss=EAT-caus-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he made him eat.’ The actor of passive sentences takes the dative (see impersonal voice).

## LOCATIVE

The locative case signals restricted (or definite) location: *jugdi-la iinə-ə-ti*. HOUSE-loc ARRIVE-past.part-p3 ‘They arrived home,’ *sii min-dulə iinə-tə-i=jə*. YOU I-loc ARRIVE-opt-s2=partic ‘Later, please drop by my house,’ *ukə-lə-ni doo-o-ni*. DOOR-loc SETTLE-past.part-s3 ‘(The bird) settled in the door.’ Locational nouns take the locative and do, not take the dative, to mean static location: *mui uyə-lə-ni uuna-gi-a-ni*. HORSE TOP-loc-s3poss RIDE-repet-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he rode on the horse.’ The locative case signals a part of an entity (e.g., a body part): *xaba-la-ni jawa-a-ni*. BREAST-loc-s3poss GRAB-past.part-s3 ‘He grabbed her on the breast,’ *ŋaala-la-ni jawa-i-ni*. ARM-loc-s3poss CATCH-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he caught him/her by the arm.’ The source from which the action of the subject or object is done is also signaled by the locative case: *inai jəu-wə aana-la ə-ləgə-ni jawa, inai xəkə-gi-ə-ni*. DOG FOOD-acc BOAT-loc NEG.V-purp-s3 TAKE, DOG TIE-repet-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he kept the dogs on a lead so that they would not take the food in the boat.’ *sun-dulə kəsi gəənə-i-ni*.

YOU(PLUR)-**loc** LUCK COME.AND.ASK-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he comes and asks you for good luck.’

### PROLATIVE

The prolative signals the place through which the motion passes or the activity is done: “*i-li əmə-gi-ə, uti?*” “*ui-li əmə-gi-ə.*” WHAT-**prol** COME-repet-past.part, THAT ABOVE-**prol** COME-repet-past.part ‘Where did he come from?’ ‘He came from the sky,’ *utauxi ɣənə-ə-ni, xokto-li-ti*. THERE GO-past.part-s3, FOOTPRINT-**prol**-p3 ‘(S)he went there along their footprints,’ *uli kia-li ɣənə-yə, ə-ji tagi-li ɣənə*. RIVER SHORE-**prol** GO-imp, NEG.V-imp MIDDLE(RIVER)-**prol** GO ‘Go along near the shore, do not go in the middle of the river,’ *muləkci saɲa-li-ni kuji-əsi umi-a-ni*. DRAWING.WATER.PLACE HOLE-**prol**-s3poss GET.DOWN-ant DRINK-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he got down and drank water through the hole in the ice at the place for drawing water.’

### DIRECTIVE

The directive case is used to signal the place toward which the motion of the subject or object is directed: *moo-tigi lagbana-a-ni* TREE-**dir** STICK-past.part-s3 ‘It stuck to the tree,’ *sitə-tigi-yi diəli-gi-ə-ni*. CHILD-**dir**-sg.ref.poss FLY-repet-past.part-s3 ‘She flew back to her own child.’ *uli-tigi iɲkuala-a-ni*. RIVER-**dir** BRING-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he drew and brought it to the river.’ It may be used with a temporal noun or participle to indicate a time limit: *uti agdaa-tigi-ni əmə-gi-i=liə maf-a-ni*. THAT BETWEEN-**dir**-s3poss COME-repet-pres.part=partic GRANDPA-s3poss ‘By that time, her husband comes back,’ *ələə bi-tə-ø=jə minti budə-i-tigi-fi=də*. ENOUGH BE-opt-s3=partic WE(INCLU) DIE-**pres.part-dir**-sg.ref.poss=partic ‘There is enough food till we die.’ It also signals the goal of the verb of perception (*isə*- ‘to see,’ *ətəɲi*- ‘to glance,’ etc.). It is used for the addressee of some verbs of speaking activity and some emotional verbs: *diana*- ‘to say,’ *təluɲusi*- ‘to tell,’ *sigdi baa*- ‘to feel ill of,’ *xəɲki*- ‘to bow.’ *sin-tigi gələ-i-ni minə-wə mamasa-na-mi*. YOU-**dir** WANT-pres.parts3 I-acc WIFE-desig-sg.ref.poss ‘He asks me for his wife to you.’

### ABLATIVE

The ablative signals a starting point in place or time: *buu omo baa-digi əmə-ø-u*. WE(EXCLU) ONE PLACE-**abl** COME-pres.indic-p1(exclu) ‘We have come from a place,’ *inə-i-digi təə-gi-ə-ni*. DAY.BREAK-pres.part-**abl** GET.UP-repet-past.part-s3 ‘After the day broke, (s)he got up.’

### INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental signals instruments and materials: *lugba-ji kapta-gi-a-ni*. CLOTH-**ins** WRAP-repet-past.part-s3 ‘She wrapped it in cloth again.’ When attached to a past participle, it signals the method or the way something is done: *gakpa-an-ji waa-a-ni*. SHOOT-**past.part-ins** KILL-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he killed it by shooting,’ *sugja-wa wakca-an-ji bagdi-i-ti*. FISH-acc HUNT-**past.part-ins** LIVE-pres.part-p3 ‘They live on fishing.’ Some emotional verbs require the instrumental case: *songo-ji ɣəələ-i-ni*. BEAR-**ins** BE.AFRAID-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he is afraid of bears.’ It also has a comitative

meaning: *mafa mamaka-ji bagdi-i-ti juŋə=də*. GRANDPA GRANDMA-**ins** LIVE-pres.part-p3 TWO=partic ‘The grandpa lives with grandma, they are two.’ When an adjective takes the instrumental case suffix, it functions adverbially: *namai-ji aa-ji kapta-gi-a-ni*. WARM-**ins** GOOD-**ins** WRAP-repet-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he wrapped her baby up warm and well.’ *wasan-ji wasan-ji obolo-o-ni*. LITTLE-**ins** LITTLE-**ins** DIVIDE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he divided them little by little amongst everyone.’

## DESIGNATIVE

The designative case is used only with the possessive suffix. Verbs that require the designative case are largely limited to “effective verbs” such as *baa-* ‘to find, to get,’ *woo-* ‘to make,’ *gəənə-* ‘to seek,’ *gada-* ‘to get, to buy.’ The objects of these verbs appear as the result of the verbal action. The meaning of the designative case is ‘something designated for someone (indicated by the possessive suffix).’ The designative case appears as the object of a transitive verb in many cases, but sometimes appears as the subject of an intransitive verb: *bii sii sitə-nə-i əmə-ə-mi*. I YOU CHILD-**desig**-s2 COME-past.part-s1 ‘I have come to be your child.’ Sometimes, it appears with the accusative in one sentence: *mamaasa-na-mi ajiga-wa baa-mi ŋəni-ə-ni*. WIFE-**desig**-sg.ref.poss GIRL-**acc** FIND-sim LEAVE-past.part-s3 ‘He found a girl for his wife and went away.’

## POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

TABLE 4 UDIHE POSSESSIVE MARKERS

	V-stem	C-stem
1sg.	-i (< *-bi)	-mi
2sg.	-i (< *-si)	
3sg.	-ni	
ref.sg.	-i (< *-bi)	-mi
1pl.exclu.	-u (< *-bu)	-mu
1pl.inclu.	-fi (< *-pi)	
2pl.	-u (< *-su)	
3pl.	-ti	
ref.pl.	-fi (< *-fAi < *-pAri)	

It is often the case that nouns possessed by 3pl. do not take the 3pl. suffix but the 3sg. suffix. It must be observed that when the ref.sg. possessive suffix follows the designative case, it appears as *-mi*.

## NUMBER

The suffix *-nA* indicates the plural of approximation: *nəŋu-nə-ni tuu bagdi-i~ bagdi-i*. YOUNGER.FAMILY.MEMBER-**nA**-s3 THUS LIVE-pres.part LIVE-pres.part ‘His younger brother and his family lived this way,’ *bii abuga-na-i ilaa xa-mula bi-si-ti*. I FATHER-**nA**-s1poss THREE BROTHERS-com BE-past.part-p3 ‘My father was one of the three brothers.’ The suffix *-jiga* (< *-jUkAn* cf. Nan. *nuucikəən-juən* ‘children’) indicates the collective plural: *ajiga-jiga* ‘girls,’ *gaya-jiga*

‘waterfowls,’ *in̄ka-jiga* ‘Chinese,’ *ənīŋə-jijə* *abuga-jiga* MOTHER-jigA FATHER-jigA ‘ancestors.’ The suffix *-gatu* mostly attaches to an adjective or verb participle: *wacaa-gatu* FEW-gAtu ‘those who are small members,’ *waagi-kt̄a-i-gatu* SURVIVE-dis-pres.part-gAtu ‘those who survived,’ *wakca-na-a-gatu* HUNT-dirint-past.part-gAtu ‘those who went hunting.’ The following are exceptions: *uti-gatu* THAT-gAtu ‘they,’ *xani-gatu* SOME-gAtu ‘someone (pl.), some of them.’ When attached to a participle, the scope of the plural extends over the verb phrase: *uli gada-i-gatu* WATER GET-pres.part-gAtu ‘those who go drawing water usually,’ *Jaali-du bi-i-gatu* JALI-dat BE-pres.part-gAtu ‘those who are living in the village Jali.’ This suffix is used only with nouns denoting human beings. See Kazama (2008b) for detail.

### ALIENABLE VS INALIENABLE POSSESSION

When possession is alienable (or ‘occasional,’ ‘indirect’), the suffix *-ŋi* appears before the possessive suffix (or constant/permanent proprietary): *xatala-ŋi-xi* GIRL-ap-prop ‘with a girl.’ Adjectives and demonstrative pronouns that are casually used as nouns must take this suffix in the possessive construction: *juəsi-məsi-ə-ti*, *əi-ŋi-ni* *tauxi buu-wə*, *tii-ŋi-ni* *əuxi buu-wə*. EXCHANGE(BRIDE)-rec-past.part-p3, THIS-ap-s3 THERE GIVE-past.part, THAT-ap-s3 HERE GIVE-past.part ‘They exchanged brides; to that side they gave a woman of this side and to this side they gave a woman of that side.’ Nouns of occupation or social status, food, plants, wild animals, fish, and birds may take this suffix. The frequency runs from higher to lower in the order given. Primary kinship terms, locational nouns, commodities, and parts of objects never take this form. See Kazama (2008c) for further details.

### DIMINUTIVE

The suffix *-jigA* (<\*-*jukaan*?) indicates the diminutive: *konjo-jiga* ‘small box made from bark of white birch,’ *jugdi-jiga* ‘small house,’ *uniga-jiga* ‘small spoon.’ Shnejder (1936) recorded some examples where this suffix means ‘toy ~’: *tuktun̄ku-jig²ə* ‘toy stairs,’ *xuəcə-jig²ə* ‘toy train.’ The suffix *-sa* (<\*-*caan*) is a half-fossilized diminutive. In the following examples, the following *bia* and *nəxu* are not used independently: *mafa-sa* GRANDPA-dim ‘old man or husband,’ *mama-sa* GRANDMA-dim ‘old woman or wife,’ *biasa* ‘small river,’ *nəxusə* ‘younger relative (especially brother or sister),’ *əmusə~omoso* ‘only one.’

### WORD FORMATION OF NOUNS

*-ŋku*(1) forms deverbal nouns, meaning instruments for the action of the verb, etc.: *dau-ŋku* ‘bridge’ (< *dau-* ‘to cross’), *doo-ŋku* ‘perch’ (< *doo-* ‘to perch’), *au-ŋku* ‘basin’ (< *au-* ‘to wash’), *nagbu-ŋku* ‘quiz’ (< *nagbu-* ‘to guess’), *dalu-ŋku* ‘food for domestic animals’ (< *dalu-* ‘to feed’), *tukti-ŋku* ‘ladder’ (< *tukti-* ‘to go up’). Nouns formed by *-ŋku*(2) mean ‘actor’: *diga-ŋku* ‘glutton’ (< *diga-* ‘to eat’), *mai-ŋku* ‘strong man’ (< *mai* ‘strong’). *-nta* is a fossilized suffix that forms a type of person: *aa-nta* ‘women’ (*aa-* < \**asa* ‘women, wife’), *nii-nta* ‘men’ (< *nii* ‘people’), *sagdi-nta* ‘old men’ (< *sagdi* ‘big’).

Deverbal nouns formed by *-kci* mean the place of action: *mulə-kci* ‘the place to draw water’ (< *mulə-* ‘to draw water’). This suffix is often used with the multiplicative-durative aspect to express habituality: *au-si-kci* ‘sink, water closet’ (< *au-* ‘to wash’). Deadjectival nouns are formed by *-la*: *gugda-la-ni* ‘height’ (< *gugda* ‘high’). *-xi* (< *-ki*) ~ *-i* (< *-ʔi* < *-ki*) is a fossilized suffix that appears in animal nouns. The cognate element of this is found in all Group I and II languages, but not in Group III *olo-xi* ‘squirrel,’ *sola-i* ‘fox,’ or *əə-xi* ‘frog.’ *-kta* is a fossilized suffix that appears in some types of collective nouns: *iŋa-kta* ‘bristle,’ *xai-kta* ‘grass,’ *guja-kta* ‘mustache,’ *iŋamu-kta* ‘tears.’ It also appears in a series of nouns denoting berries and trees: *təu-kta* ‘cowberry,’ *kio-kto* ‘brier,’ *jali-kta* ‘mayflower,’ *ui-kta* ‘acorn,’ *ai-kta* ‘spruce.’ *-pti* (< *\*-ptun* || Nan. *-ptOn*) and *-mugu* are fossilized suffixes that appear in some nouns of instrument: *too-pti* ‘oven’ (< *too* ‘fire’), *uə-pti* ‘door’ (< *urke* ‘door’), *saŋŋa-mugu* ‘chimney’ (< *saŋŋa* ‘smoke’). *-si* attaches to kinship terms and means the relative is dead (the suffix *-ŋasa* in Ulcha and Uilta seems not to be cognate with it, see Ulcha): *suusu-si-ni* ‘his/her dead uncle on his/her father’s side (younger than his/her father).’

## KINSHIP TERMS

Unlike other Tungusic languages, Udihe does not distinguish well between kinship terms of address and those of reference. Only *nəxusə* is usually used to address, and *nəŋu*-poss. is usually used to refer (both mean younger relatives, especially brothers and sisters). Furthermore, *ami*-poss. ‘father’ and *əni*-poss. ‘mother’ are used only to refer (*abuga* ‘father, papa’ and *əniŋə* ‘mother, mama’ are used in both ways). In Udihe, the kinship terms from the juniors’ viewpoint are used to address grown relatives: *gəə, əni-ni, sii yaŋca-i*. HEY, MOTHER-s3, YOU STEER-imp ‘Hey, mama, you steer! (He addressed to his own wife).’ Many kinship terms of Chinese origin are used in Udihe.

## LOCATIONAL NOUNS

Locational nouns are characterized by the following points. Namely, they take the locative (and the possessive suffix) to indicate the relative position against sth., and take the special directive *-(i)xi* (< *\*-iki* < *\*-ski*), and special accusative *-fa* (< *\*-pa*) to indicate the prolate meaning: *juliə-lə-ni* ‘before sth.,’ *julə-ixi* ‘forward,’ *juliə-fə* ‘ahead of sth.’; *amia-la-ni* ‘behind sth.,’ *ama-ixi* ‘backward,’ *amia-fa* ‘behind sth.’; *ui-lə-ni* ‘up sth.,’ *ui-xi* ‘upward,’ *ui-fə* ‘over sth.’; *xəgiə-lə-ni-xəgi-lə-ni* ‘underneath,’ *xəgi-xi* ‘downward,’ *xəgiə-fə* ‘under sth.’ These primary locational nouns do not take the dative case except *xəgi(ə)-* (*xəgi-du* ‘underneath’). Some quasi-locational nouns carrying the special accusative are observed: *kia-fa* ‘along the side of sth.,’ *dulgaa-fa* ‘around the center of sth.’ Secondary locational nouns are formed by the suffix *-ja* [zA] ‘the side of ~’: *baa-ja* ‘outside,’ *doo-jo* ‘inside.’ Udihe places and directions are determined based on their relative position against rivers and mountains. The following locational nouns have the special directive: *solo-ixi* ‘up the river,’ *əyə-ixi* ‘down the river,’ *bagia-ixi* ‘to the other side of the river,’ *ŋia-ixi* ‘riverside, near the river,’ *dii-xi-dui-xi* ‘mountainside, far from the river,’ *tagia-ixi* ‘to the center of the river.’

## PRONOUNS

TABLE 5 UDIHE PERSONAL MARKERS

	1sg.	2sg.	1pl.excl.	1pl.incl.	2pl.
Nominative	<i>bii</i>	<i>sii</i>	<i>buu</i>	<i>minti</i>	<i>suu</i>
Accusative	<i>minəwə</i>	<i>sinəwə</i>	<i>munəwə</i>	<i>mintiwə</i>	<i>sunəwə</i>
Dative	<i>mindu</i>	<i>sindu</i>	<i>mundu</i>	<i>mintidu</i>	<i>sundu</i>
Locative	<i>mindulə</i>	<i>sindulə</i>	<i>mundulə</i>	<i>mintidulə</i>	<i>sundulə</i>
Prolative	<i>minduli</i>	<i>sinduli</i>	<i>munduli</i>	<i>mintiduli</i>	<i>sunduli</i>
Directive	<i>mintigi</i>	<i>sintigi</i>	<i>mundigi</i>	<i>mintitigi</i>	<i>suntigi</i>
Ablative	<i>mindigi</i>	<i>sindigi</i>	<i>mundigi</i>	<i>mintidigi</i>	<i>sundigi</i>
Instrumental	<i>minji</i>	<i>sinji</i>	<i>munji</i>	<i>mintiji</i>	<i>sunji</i>
Possessive N.	<i>miniŋi</i>	<i>siniŋi</i>	<i>muniji</i>	<i>mintiŋi</i>	<i>suniji</i>

Udihe has no genitive forms of personal pronouns. Possessive pronouns formed by the suffix *-ŋi* are used as nouns: *sini-ŋi-wa nii=də ə-i jawa*. YOU-ŋi-acc WHO=partic NEG.V-pres.part TAKE ‘No one takes your things.’ However, this suffix does not have the extent of productivity observed in Nanai. Namely, it does not attach to common nouns. Shnejder (1936) pointed out that he had encountered only one example in which this form is used as the possessor: *mini-ŋi ag’a* ‘my elder brother.’ The author also identified some such examples in my own materials. The fluctuation between the unmarked form and the possessive form, like *mini-ŋi aga-wa-i* ~ *bii aga-wa-i*, is observed in the same text. Previous research considers *nua-ni* as the 3sg. pronoun (and *nuati* as the 3pl.), but these words have the characteristics of the so-called 4th person (obviative); when another 3rd person subject has already appeared, this 4th person pronoun is used. On this problem, see Kazama (2008d). When *nua-ni* (sg.) inflects, the word-final element *-ni* functions like a 3sg. possessive suffix. It comes after the case marker, and is declined as follows: *nua-ni* / *nua-ma-ni* / *nuan-di-ni* / *nuan-dila-ni* / *nuan-dili-ni* / *nuan-tigi-ni* / *nuan-digi-ni* / *nuan-ji-ni*. On the other hand, the element *-ti* in *nuati* (pl.) does not function like a 3pl. possessive marker. Therefore, *nuati* conjugates like a common noun as follows: *nuati* / *nuati-wa* / *nuati-du* / *nuati-la* / *nuati-li* / *nuati-tigi* / *nuati-digi* / *nuati-ji*. This conjugation type of *nuati* is a characteristic of Group II (including Hezhe). When a 3rd person is introduced to the utterance for the first time, *uti* ~ *uti nii* (pl. *uti-gatu*) ~ *bəyə* are used. Probably due to the analogy from the conjugation of *nuati*, such forms as *bəyə-ti*-CASE (*bəyə-ti* ‘they’ < *bəyə* ‘body, man, he/she’) are observed: *bəyə-ti-du buu-ə-mi*. BODY-p3poss-dat GIVE-past.part-s1 ‘I gave it to them.’ Furthermore, there is an indefinite pronoun *xani* ‘someone.’

## REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

Reflexive pronouns conjugate as follows: sg. *məən-mənəbəji* (< *mənə bəyə-ji* (*bəyə-ji* BODY-ins)) (NOM) / *məəmi* (ACC) / *məndi* (DAT) / *məndiləi* (LOC) / *məndili* (PRO) / *məntigi* (DIR) / *məndigi* (ABL) / *mənji* (INSTR); pl. *mənə mənə* (NOM) / *məəfi* (ACC) / *məəndifi* (DAT) / *məndiləfi* (LOC) / *məndilifi* (PRO) / *məntigifi* (DIR) / *məndigifi* (ABL) / *mənjiifi* (INSTR). The nominative form of the

reflexive pronoun is mostly used in the adverbial function: *sii mənə too ila-mi olokto-i=jo*. YOU **BY.ONESELF** FIRE BUILD-sim COOK-pres.part=partic ‘Please build a fire and cook by yourself,’ *mənə gusi-yə, sii*. **BY.ONESELF** PLAY-imp, YOU ‘Play by yourself (as you like),’ *bii mənəbaji əmə-gi-jəŋə-i, sin-tigi*. I **BY.ONESELF** COME-repet-fut.part-s1, YOU-dir ‘I will come to you by myself.’ The nominative form is also used as the possessor: *ono pama-ə-i sii, mənə jugdi-yi*. HOW GROPE-pres.indic-s2 YOU, **OWN** HOME-sg.ref.poss ‘Why do you need to grope around in your own house?,’ *mənə mənə baa-du bi-si-ti*. **OWN OWN** PLACE-dat BE-past.part-p3 ‘They were in their own places,’ *mənə doo-lo saŋliŋata-i-ti*. **OWN** INSIDE-loc TALK.OVER-pres.part-p3 ‘They talked it over amongst themselves.’

TABLE 6 UDIHE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	<i>əi</i> ‘this’	<i>təi</i> ‘that’	<i>uti</i> ‘that’
Nominative	<i>əi</i>	<i>təi</i>	<i>uti</i>
Accusative	<i>awa</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>utiwa</i>
Dative	<i>odu</i>	<i>tadu</i>	<i>utidu</i>
Locative	<i>olo</i>	<i>tala</i>	<i>utala</i>
Prolative	<i>oli</i>	<i>tali</i>	<i>utali</i>
Directive	<i>əuxi</i>	<i>tauxi</i>	<i>utauxi/utatigi</i>
Ablative	<i>odigi</i>	<i>tadigi</i>	<i>utadigi</i>
Instrumental	<i>oji</i>	<i>taji</i>	<i>utaji</i>

There are no semantic differences between the series of *təi* and *uti*. The *uti* series is used far more frequently. Adding to the forms above, *utə=bədə* ‘like that’ is often used. Such pairs as *tauxi əuxi* ‘this way and that’ and *tala ~ olo ~* ‘there ~ and here ~’ are also often used. Udihe conjunctions are undeveloped. Instead, the following expressions comprising demonstrative pronouns are used: *utadigi(=tənə)* ‘then, after that,’ *utaasi(=tənə)* ‘then, after that,’ *uta-digi ca-ixi* ‘from that time.’

### INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Udihe has the following interrogative pronouns: *yəu* ‘what,’ *yəwə* ‘what (ACC),’ *ilə* ‘where,’ *ili* ‘through where,’ *jəuxi* ‘where to,’ *idigi* ‘from where,’ *iji* ‘by what,’ *nii* ‘who,’ *aali* ‘when,’ *ono* ‘how,’ *ono bi-/yəu* ‘what kind of,’ *imi/idu* ‘why.’ Sentence final *yəu* ‘what’ functions like a modal particle, and makes a sentence of a Yes-No question: *sii nəxu-jəŋə-i yəu?* YOU BRING-fut.part-s2 **WHAT** ‘Will you bring her?’ *yaa-* is a kind of proverb and means ‘to do something like that’: *əi=kəə ə-si-ni=dəə soŋo ə-si-ni=dəə yaa*. NOW=partic NEG.V-past.part-s3=partic CRY NEG.V-past.part-s3 **DO.OTHERWISE** ‘Now, neither did she cry nor did she do otherwise.’ *yəu saŋa* means ‘something trifling,’ and a proverb *saŋa-* means ‘to do something trifling’ (the original meaning of *saŋa* is ‘dropping (of birds),’ and some phrases containing this word are widely used as curses, see Interjections). *sabuga-jiga=gda yəu saŋa-wa-ni=gda woo-i-ti gunə-ə*. CHOPSTICK-dim=partic **WHAT SANYA**-acc-s3poss=partic MAKE-pres.part-p3 SAY-pres.indic ‘They were making small chopsticks or something trifling like that,’ *yəu saŋa-wa-ni saŋa-kta-jəŋə-i, sii*. **WHAT SANYA**-acc-

s3poss SANYA-dis-fut.part-s2, YOU ‘What are you going to eat and live on? (blame)’ The word *yəu* and other interrogative pronouns are often used to form an ironic expression (a rhetorical question): *i-lə a-ta-mi yatasi bii*. **WHAT-loc** NEG.V-fut.indic-s1 BEAR.CHILD I ‘Where will I not bear a child? (Of course, I will bear it anywhere).’ *songo-ji ono a-ta ηəla=tə*. BEAR-ins **HOW** NEG.V-fut.ind BE.AFRAID=partic ‘How will she not be afraid of bears? (Of course, she will be afraid of bears).’ Dummy noun *əŋi* and dummy verb *əŋi-* are used to allow the speaker to gain time when (s)he cannot recollect the next word: *əŋi-wa-ni əŋi-ak, dili-wa-ni igdi-gi-ək aa-ji=da*. **ANI-acc-s3poss ANI-ser, HEAD-acc-s3poss COMB-repet-ser GOOD-ins=partic** ‘Then, they did her, that one, well... they combed her hair very well.’

## NUMERALS

The numerals up to 10 are 1 *omo*, 2 *juu~jubə~juŋə*, 3 *ila*, 4 *dii*, 5 *tuŋa*, 6 *juŋu*, 7 *nada*, 8 *jakpu*, 9 *yəyi*, 10 *jaa*. 20 *wai*, 30 *ilajaa*, 40 *dijəə*, and 100 *omo tango*. The numerals directly modify nouns, i.e., no numeral classifiers are used: *jubə ajiga əmə-ə-ti*. **TWO** GIRL COME-past.part-p3 ‘Two girls came.’ The numerals may take case and/or possessive suffixes because of their nominal character: *gəə nii jubə-mə waa-i, omo-mo waa-i*. **BAD MAN TWO-acc** GET-pres.part, **ONE-acc** GET-pres.part ‘A bad hunter used to get only one or two,’ *juŋə-ti təu ηənə-ktə-ə-ti*. **TWO-p3poss ALL** GO-mul-past.part-p3 ‘Both of them went away.’ Ordinal numerals: *omoiti, gagdani, iliati, diiəti, tuŋiati*. Other numeral derivatives include: *-lia* (multiplicative numerals) *ilaa-lia* ‘three times’; *-tuŋa ilaa-tuŋa* ‘all three,’ *dii-tuŋa* ‘all four’; *-niŋə ilaa-niŋə* ‘the thickness of three fingers (e.g., it is used to measure the thickness of animal fat)’; *-jima* (approximate number) *ilaa-jima* ‘about three.’

## ADJECTIVES

Because Udihe adjectives have the character of substantives, they may behave as nouns and take number and case suffixes: *wookto əgdi-lə ηənə-ə-ni*. **GRASS MUCH-loc** GO-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he went to the place which is rich with grass.’

## WORD FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

Udihe adjectives have neither inflectional comparatives nor superlatives. Instead, analytic adverbs such as *badi* ‘more’ and *coo* ‘most’ can be used (see Adverbs). On the other hand, there are suffixes that indicate the degree of an adjective. *-(A)ŋku* ‘more ~, rather ~ (subjective feeling)’ The author obtained the following examples: *sagdi-aŋku* ‘bigger,’ *ica-aŋku* ‘smaller,’ *wanim-aŋku* ‘thicker,’ *səbjə-ŋku* ‘more interesting,’ *səunii-ŋku* ‘more terrible.’ Other adjectival derivatives include the following: Contrastive-emphatic *-(n)dimA* (< *-duma* || Ul. *-dUmA*) derives adjectives from both adjectives and nouns: *sagdi-ndima* ‘bigger one,’ *icaa-ndima* ‘smaller one.’ Similitive *-laŋki-ni* (3rd per. *-ni* is obligatory) indicates the degree with a noun of standard: *əi bau-laŋki-ni moo* **THIS THICK-IANki-s3poss** TREE ‘a thick tree like this,’ *nii gugda-laŋki-ni xaikta* **MAN TALL-IANki-s3poss** GRASS ‘grass tall as a man.’ The constant/permanent propriative suffix *-xi* (< *-ki* < *\*-lku*) derives adjectives

from nouns such as relatives, portable things, parts of things, body parts, etc.: *bii sitə-xi bi-ø-mi*. I CHILD-**prop** BE-pres.indic ‘I have a child,’ *waakca-mi=daa miausa-xi bi-si-ti*. HUNT-sim=partic GUN-**prop** BE-past.part-p3 ‘They had their guns to hunt,’ *uta-digi ca-ixi sinə igi-xi ədə-ə-ni*. THAT-abl THAT-dir MOUSE TAIL-**prop** BECOME-past.part-s3 ‘Afterward, the mouse became with tail,’ *təgə-ni saŋa-xi bi-si-ni*. CLOTH-s3poss HOLE-**prop** BE-past.part-s3 ‘His cloth was with holes.’ *omo aanta bi-sə, unugu-xi*. ONE WOMAN BE-past.indic, SICK-**prop** ‘There was a woman, and she was sick,’ *xaisi ai-ŋi-xi=daa bi-i-ni*. FURTHERMORE ALCOHOL-ap-**prop**=partic BE-pres.part-s3 ‘Furthermore, they had drinks, too,’ *uta-du nii-xi bi-si-ni*. THAT-dat MAN-**prop** BE-past.part-s3 ‘There were some people.’ When the possessed object affixed with *-xi* takes a modifier, the modifier takes the instrumental case suffix. The construction is *-ji* N-*xi*: *juu-ji bugdi-xi buyi, uti coo manga*. TWO-ins LEG-**prop** ANIMAL, THAT MOST STRONG ‘There is an animal with two legs, it is the strongest.’ Udihe does not have the negative propriative free form *anaa*, which is found in most Tungusic languages. The function of *anaa* is supplied by *anci*: *bii nəŋu-lə=dəə anci əsi-gi-jə-mi*. I YOUNGER.FAMILY-1A=partic ANCI BECOME-repet-fut.indic-s1 ‘I will lose my sister.’ In this type of negative propriative phrase, the negated noun may take the suffix *-la* (see Negation). *-ma* indicates the material from which an object is made: *aisi-ma* ‘made of gold, golden,’ *naa-ma* ‘made from clay,’ *daa-ma* ‘made from cotton.’ *-ma* may also indicate attribution and nature: *baata-ma/ajiga-ma sitə* BOY-**ma**/GIRL-**ma** CHILD ‘son/daughter,’ *walaa-ma sitə* ‘the son who is a good-hunter,’ *buu aanta-ma bi-ø-u*. WE(EXCLU) WOMAN-**ma** BE-pres.indic-p1(exclu) ‘We are women,’ *baa-ma anda* HEAVEN-**ma** FRIEND ‘the friend from the heaven,’ *aanta-ma təgə* WOMAN-**ma** CLOTH ‘clothes for women.’ *-ligi* derivates color nouns: *caa-ligi* ‘white (|| Nan. *caagjan* ‘white’),’ *paa-ligi* ‘black (< \**paka* ‘black’ || Nan. *pakaa pakaa* ‘black’).’ *-ktu* forms denominal nouns: *aisi-ktu* ‘golden (< *aisi* ‘gold’),’ *afia-ktu* ‘empty.’

## ADVERBS

Some adverbs may be of Chinese origin: *təu* ‘all’ (< Chin. *dou*<sup>1</sup> ‘all’?), *xai* (< Chin. *hai*<sup>2</sup> ‘still’?). Some adverbs may be borrowings from Nanai, because the phonetic change did not occur: *coo* ‘most’ (|| Nan. *cuu* ‘most’), *ŋaŋga* ‘a little bit’ (|| Nan. *ŋaŋga* ‘a little bit’). If they were original Udihe words, they would have been *soo* (*s* < *c*) and *ŋaŋa* (*-ŋ-* < *-ŋg-*). When adjectives modify verbs adverbially, the adjectives take the instrumental suffix, but not always: *tugə-ji tukti-ə-ni*. FAST-ins GO.UP-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he climbed up fast.’ Degree adverbs: *asi-liasi-lia* ‘very,’ *asi aya*. ‘very good,’ *liasi əgdi*. ‘very much,’ *manga* ‘very (bad meaning)’ *manga xəkə*. ‘very hot,’ *kətu* ‘very, too ~’ *anana kətu aya bi-sə*. FORMER VERY GOOD BE-past.indic ‘It was very well before,’ *liata* ‘badly, terribly, violently,’ *liata ədinə-li-ə*. ‘The wind began to blow more terribly,’ *ŋaŋga* ‘a little’ *diga-nda-a-ni*, *ŋaŋga ŋaŋga=da*. EAT-sem-past.part-s3, LITTLE LITTLE=partic ‘(S)he ate a little bit,’ *mai* ‘strong’ *mai bi-i uligdiga* STRONG Be-pres.part BEAUTIFUL ‘very beautiful (bird).’ Qualitative adverbs: *tuu tuu* ‘silently’ *tuu tuu bi-si-ni*. QUIET QUIET BE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he was quiet,’ *əkuku* ‘fixedly, still’ *əkuku təə-i-ni*. STILL SIT-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he is sitting without movement,’ *cuuli(ni)* ‘straight,’ *cuuli ŋəni-ə-ni*.

**STRAIGHT** LEAVE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he came back directly,’ *təŋ* ‘straight’ *təŋ təŋ tukia-i*. **STRAIGHT STRAIGHT** RUN-pres.part ‘You run straight.’ *giə* ‘together,’ *iinigi* ‘alive,’ *waniga* ‘lying on one’s back.’ Quantitative adverbs: *təu* ‘all,’ *badi* ‘more,’ *badi badi soŋo-li-a-ni*. **MORE MORE** CRY-inc-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he began to cry more and more,’ *coo* ‘most’ *coo maŋga nii* **MOST STRONG MAN** ‘the strongest man,’ *bai* ‘(<Chin.?) merely, simply, in vain, free’ *bai xuli-sə-ə-mi bii*. **SIMPLY** COME.AND.GO-bac-past.part-s1 I ‘I have just gone around purposelessly,’ *bai bi-i nii*. **COMMON** BE-pres.part MAN ‘a common/average man,’ *siata* ‘completely.’ Some temporal adverbs are used frequently: *əi(=tənə)* (< *əsi* Nan. *əsi*) ‘now,’ *səbiə* ‘at first,’ *xai* ‘(<Chin.?) again,’ *naa* ‘more, again,’ *naa buu-yə*. **MORE** GIVE-imp ‘Give me more,’ *bələm* ‘more,’ *bələm bələm tugə-ji dələ-li-ə-ti*. **MORE MORE** FAST-ins FLY-inc-past.part-p3 ‘They began to fly faster and faster,’ *ələə* ‘already, soon’ *ələə əni-ni əmə-li-gə* **SOON** MOTHER-s3poss COME-inc-past.indic ‘His/her mother is coming soon,’ *ələə inə-li-gə* **ALREADY** DAWN-inc-past.indic ‘The day dawned already.’ *nəə* ‘immediately,’ *gaitu=gda* ‘immediately,’ *iŋgulə* ‘immediately,’ *iŋgulə ŋəni-ə-ni*. **IMMEDIATELY** LEAVE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he left immediately,’ *əmnə* ‘once,’ *giaŋa nəŋi* ‘every day,’ *omo nəŋi tai* ‘all day.’ The modal adverb *səinə* ‘probably’ (cf. Nan. *sainaa*) is often used with *bi-jə*: *səinə uti əmə-ə-ni bi-jə*. **PROBABLY** THAT COME-past.part-s3 **BE-fut.indic** ‘Probably that man has come.’ Comitative adverbs are formed by the suffix *-mulA*: *juu buliə əxi-mulə bi-si-ti*. **TWO GIRL ELDER.SISTER-com** BE-past.part-p3 ‘There were two sisters.’ This adverb is used for more than two people: *ilaa niinta xamula bi-si-ti*. **THREE MAN BROTHER-com** BE-past.part-p3 ‘There were three brothers.’

## INTERJECTIONS

Udihe has the following interjections: *xaku* ‘ah, wow (in surprise or with emotion)’: *soŋgo ədə-ə-ni xaku!* **BEAR BECOME**-past.part-s3 **XAKU** ‘Oh, she became a bear’; *ma* ‘here (take it!)’; *ətətə ~ adadadadada ~ ənənənənə* ‘ow (moan from pain).’ The following curses are used: *səŋa woooni ~ səŋa woononi ~ səŋa(ŋa) xəktiəni ~ səŋa xəktinəni ~ səŋa xəktigisiəni ~ səŋa xəktiŋisinəni* ‘God damn you! (woo- ‘to make,’ *xəkti-* ‘to jump’).’

## POSTPOSITIONS

*jiə-lə-ni* **CAUSE**-loc-s3 ‘because ~’: *gai-wa-ni galu-a-fi jiə-lə-ni xagja-mi waa-a-ti məə-fi*. **CROW**-acc-s3poss **HATE**-past.part-plur.ref.poss **REASON**-loc-s3.poss **HANG**-sim **KILL**-past.part-p3 **ONESELF**-plur.ref.poss ‘They committed suicide by hanging themselves because they hated the crow (which was indeed a great man).’ The simulative is *buufui- ~ buufi-* ‘like ~, as if it were ~.’ Due to its substantive character, it may take a case suffix or possessive suffix of the 3rd person: *bii buufui maŋga nii anci*. I **BUUFUI STRONG MAN NOTHING** ‘There is no one strong like me,’ *sii=tənə məə-mi buufi-ji woo-yo*. **YOU=partic ONESELF(acc) BUUFI-ins MAKE**-imp ‘Make a man of straw to the life of yourself!’ *isə-si-ə-ni, nuani əxi-ni buufi-ni=də, aanta*. **LOOK**-mul-past.part-s3 **HE ELDER.SISTER-s3poss BUUFI-s3poss=partic WOMAN** ‘He saw that she was the living image of his sister.’

## VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

### CONJUGATION

Udihe verb stems are divided into the following three groups: (1) V-stem verbs, (2) C-stem verbs, and (3) irregular verbs. However, the conjugations of the C-stem verbs and irregular verbs are in the process of regularization. In other words, the stems of those verbs have been expanded to V-stems. This general tendency of regularization is particularly observed in the Group II languages.

(1) V-stem verbs: Unlike the Group III languages, V-stem verbs and VV-stem verbs have the same conjugation. The verbs with stems ending in *-i* and *-u* (e.g., *umi-* ‘to drink,’ *buu-* ‘to give,’ etc.) have conjugations different from other vowel stem verbs (ending with *-a* and *-o*), when they are followed by suffixes beginning in *-k* (past final form and past participle). This difference is the result of phonetic change: *-g- < -k- / u\_, i\_* (see Process of development) and is not observed in other Tungusic languages.

(2) C-stem verbs: The stem-final consonant of C-stem verbs may be *-n*, *-p*, *-g*, *-m*, or *-\*r*. Most C-stem verbs are *-n* verbs (e.g., *gun-* ‘to say,’ etc.). Verbs whose stems expanded by the causative *-wAn(A)-* are also included here. The only frequently-used and non-expanded *-p* verb is *jəp-* ‘to eat.’ Verbs expanded by the reflexive *-p(tA)-* are also included here. There is only one example each of *-g*, *-m*, and *-\*r* stem verbs: *nag-* ‘to hit the target,’ *cam-* ‘to break (intransitive),’ and *bu-* (*< \*bur-*) ‘to die.’

(3) Irregular verbs: The irregular verbs consist of “mutative” and “stative” verbs. The mutative verbs include *nə(də)-* ‘to put,’ *ga(da)-* ‘to take, to get,’ and *ə(də)-* (*< o-do-*) ‘to become.’ The stative verbs include *bi-* ‘to be’ and *ə-* (Negative verb). The type of conjugation of stative verbs is a trace of the former substantial stative verbs. The conjugation of substantial stative verbs is well-preserved in Uilta (see Uilta and Ulcha).

Proto-Tungusic probably used to have three types of verbs: active, mutative (meaning “change of state”), and stative. The active verbs used to take the present indicative suffix *-rA-* (*-dA-/n\_*), the mutative *-dA-*, and the stative *-sA-* (or maybe *-si-*). In Udihe, *-rA-* became *-ø-* due to the historical change of *r* dropping. Afterwards, the *-dA-* of mutative verbs began to be reinterpreted as part of the stem by analogy (because most verbs are active). In Ewen, some verbs still conjugate that way: *ga-da-m* TAKE-indic-s1 ‘I take it.’ In Nanai, this element *-dAi*, followed by the original participle suffix *-i*, was unified into one allomorph of the new participle suffix: *ga-dii* (*< \*ga-da-i*). Otherwise, in the Group II languages (including Udihe), the element *-da* has been reinterpreted as part of the stem: *gada-i*. Only in the past indicative form can we find a trace of the former stem (see Indicative mood/Past). In the case of *-n* stem active verbs, first *-dA-* became *-A-* due to the phonetic change *-n- < -nd-*. Secondly, this element *-A-* began to be reinterpreted as part of the stem. In the same process, all former C-stem verbs are also now in the process of becoming V-stem verbs. Sometimes, the fossilized forms are used and fluctuation occurs between such irregular fossilized forms and new regular forms (see past final form). Nowadays, in most cases (except for the past tense), C-stem verbs behave like V-stem verbs, of which the stems are *gunə-*, *jəptə-*, *nagda-*, *camna-*, and *budə-* (hereinafter, “long stem”). In this description, such verb stems are represented as *gun(ə)-*, *jəp(tə)-*, *nag(da)-*, *cam(na)-*, and *bu(də)-*. In the morphemic analysis, the long stems are basically used except for some irregular fossilized forms.

In the same way, the long forms of the mutative verbs (*nə(də)-*, *ga(da)-*, and *ə(də)-*) are *nədə-*, *gada-*, and *ədə-*.

## FINAL FORMS

### INDICATIVE MOOD

#### PRESENT

The present final form *-ə-* conjugates as follows: 1sg. *diga-ə-mi* (< \**digarami* < \**digarambi*), 2sg. *diga-ə-i* (< \**digarasi* < \**digaransi*), 1pl. (excl.) *diga-ə-u* (< \**digarau* < \**digarapu*), 1pl. (incl.) *diga-ə-fi* (< \**digarapi*), 2pl. *diga-ə-u* (< \**digarasu*). In the case of C-stem and mutative verbs, the long stem is used. *bi-* ‘to be’ conjugates regularly (hereinafter, the situation is the same unless special information is given). Regarding the conjugation of the negative verb *ə-*, see Negation. Because the indicative mood is used when the speaker him/herself has experienced and witnessed the event, the present final form does not have 3rd person forms. To express a 3rd person’s action or event, the present participle is used: 3sg. *diga-i-ni* (< \**diga-ra-i-ni*); 3pl. *diga-i-ti* (< \**diga-ra-i-ti*). The present final form may indicate the immediate future: *ələə budə-ə-mi*. SOON DIE-**pres.indic**-s1 ‘I will die soon.’

#### PAST

The past final form *-A ~ -Aʔ* (< \**-kA*) conjugates as follows (*diga-* ‘to eat’): 1sg. *diga-aʔ-i* (< \**diga-ka-i*), 2sg. *diga-aʔ-i* (< \**diga-ka-si*), 3sg. *diga-aʔ-a* (< \**diga-ka*), 1pl. (excl.) *diga-aʔ-u* (< \**diga-ka-pu*), 1pl. (incl.) *diga-aʔ-a-ti* (< \**diga-ka-ti*), 2pl. *diga-aʔ-u* (< \**diga-ka-su*), 3pl. *diga-aʔ-a* (< \**diga-ka*). The former type of conjugation is well-preserved in the past final forms. However, the more regularized forms (long stem) are also used in some verbs, in which case the regularization is in a transitional situation. The conjugations of mutative verbs are as follows. *nədə-ə- ~ (nə-xə- (< nə-kə-))* ‘to put;’ *gada-a-* ‘to take, to get;’ *ədə-ə-* ‘to become.’ The conjugations of C-stem verbs and irregular verbs are as follows. [*-n* stem] *guŋ-kə- ~ (gunə-ə-)* ‘to say;’ [*-g* stem] *nagda-a- ~ (nak-ka-)* ‘to hit the target;’ [*-p* stem] *jəkpə- (< jəp-kə- by metathesis)* ‘to eat;’ [*-m* stem] *camna-a- ~ (caŋpa- (< cam-ka- by metathesis))* ‘to break (intransitive);’ [*-r* stem] *budə-ə- ~ (buk-kə- (< bur-kə-))* ‘to die;’ [stative verbs] *bi-sə- (< bi-cə-)* ‘to be;’ *ə-sə- (< ə-cə- negative verb)*. The suffix of the past final form has the allomorph *-gA* because it had initial *k* (see Conjugation). [*-i* stem and *-u* stem] *umi-gə-* ‘to drink;’ *buu-gə-* ‘to give.’ Here, the problem of evidentiality occurs again. The 3rd person form is used when the speaker has observed the event him/herself directly because the indicative mood is used when the speaker him/herself witnessed the event. If the speaker did not witness it, the participle form is used. Therefore, generally, indicative forms are used only in colloquial conversation, and are rare in folktales (except for direct narration of characters’ lines: ‘*ui-xi dəgdə-gi-gə. dəgdə-gi-ənji ŋəni-gə,*’ *guŋ-ki-ni*. UP-dir FLY-repet-**past.indic**. FLY-repet-im LEAVE-**past.indic**, SAY-past.part-s3 “‘I myself saw that (s)he flew up and flew away,’ (s)he said.’ When the past indicative is used with the inchoative aspect *-li* and the adverb *ələə* ‘soon,’ it indicates the immediate future: *ələə əmə-li-gə*. SOON COME-**inc**

**past.indic** ‘(S)he will come soon.’

## FUTURE

The future indicative *-ja* conjugates as follows: 1sg. *-ja-mi* (< *-jaam-bi*), 2sg. *-ja-i* (< *-ja-si* < *-jaan-si*), 3sg. *-ja* (< *-jaraa*), 1pl.(excl.) *-ja-u* (< *-jaa-pu*), 1pl.(incl.) *-ja-fi* (< *-jaa-pi*), 2pl. *-ja-u* (< *-jaa-su*), 3pl. *-ja* (< *-jaraa-l*).

## IMPERATIVE MOOD

The singular form of imperative is *-ya* (< *\*-ka??* < *\*-kal??*) and the plural is *-ya-u*.

## OPTATIVE MOOD

The optative mood is *-tA*-[personal suffix]=*jA*. The particle =*jA* is the obligatory element. The element *-tA*- may be cognate with the “verbal noun” of Ew. (*-dAA*-[personal suffix]) and the future imperative and purposive converb of Ewk. and Neg. (*-dAA*-[personal suffix]). *gəə əmə-tə-mi=jə ono ya-ja-mi*. OK COME-opt-s1=partic HOW DO.OTHERWISE-fut.indic-s1 ‘Ok, I will come home, otherwise what shall I do?’, *ayu-mi=da gada-ta-i=jə!* LIKE-sim=partic TAKE-opt-s2=partic ‘If you like her, please take her (later),’ *baata mənə toopti kia-du-ni gusi-tə=jə*. BOY BY.ONESELF FIREPLACE EDGE-dat-s3poss PLAY-opt=partic ‘Let the boy play around the fireplace.’

## SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

The subjunctive mood *-musA* conjugates as follows: 1sg. *diga-musa-i*, 2sg. *diga-musa-i*, 3sg. *diga-musa*, 1pl.exclu. *diga-musa-u*, 1pl.inclu. *diga-musa-ti*, 2pl. *diga-musa-u*, 3pl. *diga-musa*. This form has a counterfactual meaning like the English subjunctive, and is used in the main clause of conditional complex sentences: *uta-du=tana buyi əgdi bi-si=də omo baa-du bagdi-du-musə*. THAT-dat=partic ANIMAL MANY BE-past.part=partic ONE PLACE-dat LIVE-plur.-subj ‘If there had been many animals, they would have remained and lived there,’ *mənə=də utə-fi mafa-wa baa-sa bi-si=də aya bi-musə*. BY.ONESELF=partic THAT-plur.ref.poss HUSBAND-acc FIND-pass.part Be-past.part=partic GOOD BE-subj ‘If they had found such good husbands for themselves, it would have been good,’ *mamasa-xi bi-si, sitə-xi=də ədə-musə-i sii*. WIFE-prop BE-past.part, CHILD-prop=partic BECOME-subj-s2 YOU ‘If you had married, you would have had children,’ *sii ə-isi-i əmə bi-si, uti minə-wə waa-musa*. YOU NEG.V-cond-s2 COME BE-past.part, THAT I-acc KILL-subj ‘If you had not come, they would have killed me.’

## PARTICIPLES

Generally, participles have three functions: as attributive modifiers, as sentential arguments, or as predicates. The present participle *-i* conjugates as follows (*diga-* ‘to eat’): 3sg. *diga-i-ni*, 3pl. *diga-i-ti*. Stem-final *a* is often pronounced as [e]: *diga-i-ni* [digeini]. The past participle *-a(n)* (< *\*-xan*) ~ *-ya(n)* (< *\*-xan*) ~ *-wa(n)* (< *\*-xan*) ~ *-ki(n)* (< *\*-kin*) ~ *-si(n)* (< *\*-cin*) conjugates as follows: 1sg. *diga-*

*a-mi*, 2sg. *diga-a-i*, 3sg. *diga-a-ni*, 1pl. (exclu.) *diga-a-u*, 1pl. (inclu.) *diga-a-fi*, 2pl. *diga-a-u*, 3pl. *diga-a-ti*. All allomorphs have hidden *n*. Therefore, the accusative case marker added to this participle is *-mA*. Verbs whose stems end with *-i* take *-ya(n)* and those with *-u* take *-wa(n)*: *umi-ya(n)-* ‘to drink,’ *dəu-wə(n)-* ‘to get tired.’ C-stem verbs take the allomorph *-ki(n)* and some irregular verbs take *-si(n)* as follows: [mutative verbs]: *nədə-ə(n)-* ~ (*nə-xə-*) ‘to put’; *gada-a(n)-* ~ (*ga-si(n)-*) ‘to take, to get;’ *ədə-ə(n)-* ‘to become.’ [-*n* stem] *gun-ki(n)-* ~ *gunə-ə(n)-* (only 1pl. (exclu.) form is not \**gunki-u*, but *gunki-mu*, afterwards the same) ‘to say;’ [-*g* stem] *nagda-a(n)-* ~ (*nak-ki(n)-*) ‘to hit the target;’ [-*p* stem] *jəkpi(n)-* (< *jəp-ki(n)-* by metathesis) ‘to eat;’ [-*m* stem] *camna-a(n)-* ~ *caŋpi(n)-* (< *cam-ki(n)-* by metathesis) ‘to break;’ [-*r* stem] *buk-ki(n)-* (< *bur-ki(n)-*) ~ *budə-ə(n)-* ‘to die;’ [stative verbs] *bi-si(n)-* (< *bi-ci(n)-*) ‘to be,’ *ə-si(n)-* (< *ə-ci(n)-*). The future participle *-jAŋA* conjugates as follows (*diga-* ‘to eat’): 1sg. *diga-jaŋa-i*, 2sg. *diga-jaŋa-i*, 3sg. *diga-jaŋa-ni*, 1pl. (excl.) *diga-jaŋa-u*, 1pl. (incl.) *diga-jaŋa-fi*, 2pl. *diga-jaŋa-u*, 3pl. *diga-jaŋa-ti*. When the participle is used as a modifier, the head noun may be the actor, the object, the place, or something else of the verb in the subordinate clause. However, this construction is relatively rare in Udihe. Except for cases in which the head noun is the actor, the participle generally takes the personal suffix. The actor: *diəli-i mui-wə tugbu-yə!* FLY-**pres.part** HORSE-acc DROP-imp ‘Give me the horse that can fly,’ *xuktu-ə-ni nii-wa waa-a-ni?* CARRY.OFF-**past.part-s3poss** MAN-acc KILL-past.part-s3 ‘Did he kill the man who carried off his sister?’ the object: *bii aga-i bii isə-si-ə-mi miau-tigi kəsi gəənə-sə-ə-ni*. I ELDER.BROTHER-s1poss I SEE-mul-**past.part-s1** SHRINE-dir LUCK GO.AND.ASK-bac-past.part-s3 ‘My brother went and prayed to the shrine that I saw,’ the place: *ai-mi gəji-gi-sə-ə-mi xokto-wo-ni cuuli duktəmə-ə-ni*. ELDER.BROTHER-sg.ref.poss BRING-repet-bac-**past.part-sg.ref.poss** ROAD-acc-s3poss STRAIGHT GO.ON.SKI-past.part-s3 ‘She went on skis straight on the way along which she had brought back her brother,’ others: *damisi-i dai SMOKE-pres.part* PIPE ‘the pipe that you smoke,’ *ətigə-ni əmə-gi-i julia-lə-ni diga-jaŋa-fi*. HUSBAND-s3poss COME-repet-**pres.part** BEFORE-loc-s3poss EAT-fut.part-p1(inclu) ‘Let us eat it before her husband comes back.’ When a participle is used as a sentential argument, it takes case and personal possessive suffixes like nouns: *əxə ŋənə-i-wə-ni ə-ə-mi=də isə-si*. ELDER.SISTER GO-**pres.part-acc-s3** NEG.V-pres.indic-s1=partic SEE-mul ‘I did not see off my sister leaving,’ *nəŋu-mi ŋo-o-mo-ni taŋi-a-ni*. YOUNGER.FAMILY-sg.ref.poss WRITE-**past.part-acc-s3poss** READ-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he read what his/her younger brother had written,’ *songo ŋua-gi-an-dila iinə-ə-ti, agdu doo-lo-ni*. BEAR SLEEP-repet-**past.part-loc** ARRIVE-past.part-p3, CAVE INSIDE-loc-s3poss ‘They went into the cave where a bear had been sleeping,’ *xəbu-ən-ji kapta-i-ni*. BRING-**past.part-ins** WRAP-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he wrapped it in the cloth that she had brought.’ Udihe has the passive participle *-sA* (< *-cA*). It is used nominally, as a sentence argument, particularly as a nominal predicate: *ini mənəda sii-sə*. WHAT-s3poss WHOLE STRIPE-**pass.part** ‘The skin of everything there was entirely striped,’ *omo icai usi-sə* ONE SMALL BIND-pass.part ‘a small sheaf of bound grass,’ *jubə ŋaala-yi ə=bədə tiak tiak jawa-sa gunə-ə*. TWO HAND-sg.ref.poss THIS=partic TIGHT TIGHT HOLD-**pass.part** SAY-pres.indic ‘His/her two hands were crossed tightly this way,’ *jaŋa-wa ula-sa bi-ə gunə-ə*. TROUT-acc SOAK-**pass.part** BE-past.part

SAY-pres.indic ‘They say that a trout was soaked in water.’ The participle *-sA* is only attached to transitive verbs in which the result of the action remains. The productivity of this suffix is not high. The most popular past tense form in Ewk. and N., *-cA~cAA*, is probably cognate with this. For details concerning this suffix, see Kazama (2010b).

## CONVERBS

On morphological grounds, impersonal and personal converbs can be distinguished. Personal converbs conjugate for person, and can (or must) takes a subject different from the subject of the main clause. Impersonal converbs do not conjugate, or conjugate only for number, and usually take the same subject as the main clause.

TABLE 7 UDIHE CONVERBS

		singular	plural
Impersonal	Simultaneous Converb	<i>-mi</i>	( <i>-mAi</i> )
	Anterior Converb	<i>-(gA)Asi</i>	
	Attendant Converb	<i>-nAA</i>	
	Continual Converb	<i>-mdi</i>	
	Serial Converb	<i>-Ak</i>	
Personal	Conditional Converb	<i>-(l)isi-[personal possession]</i>	
	Purposive Converb	<i>-lAgA-[personal possession]</i>	
	Remote Past Converb	<i>-ŋiA-[personal possession]</i>	
	Immediative Converb	<i>-Anji-[personal possession]</i>	

## IMPERSONAL CONVERBS

The simultaneous converb is *-mi*. In Khor dialect, the opposition of number remains (sg. *-mi* / pl. *-mAi*), but in the Bikin dialect it does not. The plural form *-mAi* in Khor dialect is derived from *-mAri* (|| Nan. *-mAArI*). This converb has the following uses. (1) simultaneous use: *sitə-fi igisi-mi bagdi-a-ti*. CHILD-plur.ref.poss BRING.UP-**sim** LIVE-past.part-p3 ‘They lived keeping their children,’ *joŋnou ədə-mi diəli-ə-ni*. BEE BECOME-**sim** FLY-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he became a bee and flew away,’ *ipə-mi isə-si-i-ni*. SMILE-**sim** SEE-mul-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he looks at it smiling.’ (2) anterior use: *ŋənə-mi səusə-wə-ni jawa-a-ni*. GO-**sim** AX-acc-s3poss TAKE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he went and took the ax,’ *sitə-yi waa-mi xuli-sə-ə-ni*. CHILD-sg.ref.poss KILL-**sim** COME.AND.GO-bac-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he killed his/her own child and went back.’ (3) conditional use: *caala-mi diga-ya-u*. AGREE-**sim** EAT-imp-p2 ‘If you agree with it, eat it,’ *əmnə gaagi-mi uni anci əsi-gi-i=yajata*. ONCE PULL-**sim** PAIN NOTHING BECOME-repet-pres.part=partic ‘Once (s)he pulled it out, the pain disappeared,’ *bii mafa-xi bi-mi, i-mi əmə-jə-mi=dəə*. I HUSBAND-prop BE-**sim**, WHAT-**sim** COME-fut.indic-s1=partic ‘If I had had my husband, why would I have come?’ *nau-ji tama-gi-jaŋa-yi diana-a bi-mi nau-ji tama-gi-i-ti*. CHICKEN-ins SACRIFICE-repet-fut.part-sg.ref.poss SAY-past.part BE-**sim** CHICKEN-ins SACRIFICE-repet-pres.part-p3 ‘If they said that they will make it up with a chicken, they sacrificed the chicken to their god.’ (4) adversative use (with the particle =*daa*): *ono=do wəəndələ-mi=dəə xai*

*təə-gi-i gunə-ə*. HOW=partic THROW-**sim=partic** AGAIN GET.UP-repet-pres.part SAY-pres.indic ‘He threw her again and again, but she stood up.’ (5) use as a (semantical) main verb for some auxiliary verbs (see Auxiliary verbs). In Group I languages, the conditional use is the main function. In uses (3) and (4), different subjects may be observed between clauses. For details on the functional differences of the converb *-mi* in Tungusic languages, see Baek (2014). This converb forms a common phrase for permission / encouragement / instruction *-mi aya: təulə-əsi gəji-mi=da aya*. LOAD-ant CARRY-**sim=partic** GOOD ‘You had better (or You must) carry it loaded on the sleigh.’ The anterior converb is *-Asi ~ -gAAsi* (for the stem ending with *-i* or *-u*, but fluctuation is observed: *təti-əsi ~ təti-gəəsi* ‘to put on’) *~ -kAAsi* (for the stem ending with *-n*, but fluctuation is observed: *tagda-wəŋ-kaasi ~ tagdawana-asi* ‘to make someone get angry’) *~ -səəsi* (< *-cəəsi*, to *bi-* and *ə-*). It is probably cognate with Ui. *-gacci* (< *-kaaci?*): *moo-wo jawa-asi cingə-ə-ni*. WOOD-acc TAKE-**ant** HIT-past.part-s3 ‘She took a stick and hit him,’ *olokto-osi diga-asi wookto kiga-nasa-a-ni*. COOK-**ant** EAT-**ant** GRASS REAP-dirint-bac-past.part-s3 ‘She cooked, ate, went, and came back from mowing,’ *kəptə-wəŋ-kəəsi dai-ya*. LIE-caus-**ant** COVER-imp ‘She covered him after she made him lie,’ *bi-səəsiə əmə-gi-gə gunə-ə*. BE-**ant** BE-**ant** COME-repet-past.indic SAY-pres.indic ‘After a while, (s)he came back.’ This converb allows only the same subject as that of the main clause. The attendant converb is *-nAA* (< *-nAkAn* || Ew *-nAkAn*). The main clause verbs are usually verbs of motion: *moxo-yi gəji-naa ŋəni-ə-ni*. BOWL-sg.ref.poss HOLD-**at** LEAVE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he set off with his/her own rice bowl,’ *ai-wa xəbu-nəə əmə-ə-ni*. ALCOHOL-acc BRING-**at** COME-past.part-s3 ‘He has come with a bottle of alcohol,’ *ama-ixi tukia-gi-a-ni iŋkuala-naa=gda*. BACK-dir RUN-repet-past.part-s3 DRAG-**at=partic** ‘(S)he ran backward dragging it.’ The continual converb is *-mdi: siusi-mi=də ə-si-ni təə-gi, əxi-ni diga-laga-ni moxo-wo uiyə nədə-mdi*. CALL-**sim=partic** NEG.V-past.part-s3 GET.UP-repet, ELDER.SISTER-s3poss EAT-purp-s3 BOWL-acc ABOVE PUT-**cont** ‘Her elder sister called her but she did not wake up, letting the bowl of food (which her sister had brought) lie as it was (near her head),’ *bii ŋaala-la-i jawa-mdi budə-ə-ni*. I HAND-loc-s1poss HOLD-**cont** DIE-past.part-s3 ‘He died holding my hand.’ This converb allows different subjects between clauses: *uəpti imi niəntilə-mdi~ uti əjiga-wa isə-si-mi maka-i=liə*. DOOR WHAT-**sim** OPEN-**cont** THAT GIRL-acc SEE-mul-**sim** STAGGER-pres.part=partic ‘Somehow, the door was open, and he was staggered to see her.’ The serial converb *-Ak* is often used for a series of more than two verbs, and often takes the special verb *ə-* (it is probably cognate with *ədə-* (< *o-do-*) ‘to become’) in the end: *nia-ŋi-wa-ni jawa-ak jia-ak ə-ə-ni*. SKIN-ap-acc-s3poss TAKE-**ser** HIDE-**ser** BECOME-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he took the skin and hid it,’ *bəyə-ni ulə-wə-ni olokto-ok diga-wana-ak ə-ə-ti*. MAN-s3poss MEAT-acc-s3poss COOK-**ser** EAT-caus-**ser** BECOME-past.part-s3 ‘They cooked his meat and made him eat it,’ *waa-ak uli-tigi iŋkuala-ak bugə-ak ə-i=liə*. KILL-**ser** RIVER-dir CARRY-**ser** BURY-**ser** BECOME-pres.part=partic ‘They killed it, carried it to the river, and buried it,’ *sitə-yi əgbəsi-wənə-ak, siki-ak, kapta-gi-ak, xabau-si-ak, ba-ixi niu-wək joŋnou ədə-mi diəli-ə-ni*. CHILD-sg.ref.poss BATH-caus-**ser**, WASH-**ser**, WRAP-repet-**ser**, NURSE-mul-**ser**, OUTDOORS-dir GO.OUT-**ser** BEE BECOME-**sim** FLY-past.part-s3 ‘She bathed her child, washed him, wrapped him, nursed him, went outside, changed into a bee, and

flew away.’ Instead of *ə-*, the verb *nixə-* ‘to do’ is also used.

### PERSONAL CONVERBS

The conditional converb is *-isi* (< *-icia?* < *-UcIA?* || Or. *-icaa* || Nan. *-OcIA*). This suffix does not take a reflexive personal suffix, and takes only a different subject from that of the main clause. It has a wide meaning and is translated as ‘when~,’ ‘after,’ and ‘if.’ However, in counterfactual conditional sentences, it is not used, and *bisi* is used instead (see Subjunctive mood): *sikiə-isi-ni əmə-gi-du-gə gunə-ə*. GET.EVENING-**cond**-s3 COME-repet-plur-past.indic SAY-pres.indic ‘When evening had come, they returned,’ *ɣəni-isi-ti ɣnə-niɣəsi-ə-ti*. LEAVE-**cond**-p3 LAUGH-multi-past.part-p3 ‘After they<sub>i</sub> left, they<sub>j</sub> laughed.’ *bii budə-isi-i, əi kusigə xəgi-xi tiɣmə-jəɣə-ni*. I DIE-**cond**-s1, THIS KNIFE DOWN-dir FALL-fut.part-s3 ‘If I die, this knife will fall down,’ *ə-isi-i galula ya-ja=ta*. NEG.V-**cond**-s2 DISLIKE DO.OTHERWISE-fut.indic=partic ‘If you do not dislike it, it will be so.’ We can find a few examples of *-lisi* in some texts. Its function seems to be the same as that of *-isi*. However, it can take a reflexive personal suffix, and can take the same subject as that of the main clause: *ɣəu=dəə mənɣa baa-lisi-yi, sii=tənə minə-wə gələ-gi-tə-i=jə*. WHAT=partic HARD HAVE-**cond**-sg.ref, YOU=partic I-acc WANT-repet-opt-s2=partic ‘When you have some problems, please call me,’ *sikiənə əsi-gi-lisi-ni ɣəni-ə-ni*. EVENING BECOME-repet-**cond**-s3 LEAVE-past.part-s3 ‘When evening came, (s)he went away,’ *timanəɣi ə-lisi-i əmə-gi, aɡaa budə-ə-ni gun-tə-i=jə*. TOMORROW NEG.V-**cond**-s1 COME-repet, ELDER.BROTHER DIE-past.part-s3 SAY-opt-s2=partic ‘If I do not come back tomorrow, please say, “My brother died”,’ *ə-lisi-i buu-gi, aana-wa-i uli-tigi ə-jəɣə-i tiaug-i*. NEG.V-**cond**-s2 GIVE-repet, BOAT-acc-s2 RIVER-dir NEG.V-fut.part-s1 PUSH-repet ‘If you do not bring him back to me, I will not push your boat to the river.’ Each of the languages in Groups I and II (except Ud., i.e., Or. and Hz) have another conditional converb, probably of the same origin (Ewk. *-rak-* etc. || Ew. *-rak-* etc. || Or. *-aki-* etc. || Hz *-ki-* etc.), but in Udihe there is no correspondent form. For details concerning the differences in conditionals in Tungusic languages, see Baek (2015). The purposive converb is *-lagA-* and is often weakened to *-layA-* ~ *-lAA-* ~ *-lA-*. This suffix can take a reflexive personal suffix (It must be observed that when the ref.sg. possessive suffix follows this converb, it appears as *-mi*). Furthermore, the subject in the clause of this converb may be the same subject as that of the main clause: *sokto-jo-mi sii ɣua-laga-i*. SPREAD.MATRESS-fut.indic-s1 YOU SLEEP-**purp**-s2 ‘I spread a mattress so that you can sleep,’ *mənə diga-laga-mi mənə waa-jaɣa-i sii*. BY.ONESELF EAT-**purp**-sg.ref BY.ONESELF GET-fut.part-s2 YOU ‘You will hunt animals by yourself so as to eat and live by yourself,’ *daisa-i-ti, nii ə-ləɡə-ni isə*. HIDE-pres.part-p3, MAN NEG.V-**purp**-s3 SEE ‘They hid it so that no one would see it.’ The subject in the clause of this converb may be inanimate: *olokto-gi-i-ti aa-ji aada-laga-ni*. COOK-repet-pres.part-p3 GOOD-ins BOIL-**purp**-s3 ‘They cooked so that it cooked well.’ *diga-laga-* (< *diga-* ‘to eat’) is used as a noun to mean ‘food’: *bii sinə-wə diga-laga-mi waa-wana-laga-mi ɡaji-a-mi*. I YOU-acc EAT-**purp**-sg.ref GET-caus-purp-sg.ref BRING-past.part-s1 ‘I brought you to make you hunt my food.’ In this case, the converb forms a phrase [*V-laga-ref.pers. nixə-*] with the verb *nixə-* ‘to do,’ meaning ‘to try to V’: *minə-*

*wə waa-laga-mi nixə-i-ni bi-jə, uti.* I-acc KILL-**purp**-sg.ref **DO**-pres.part-s3 BE-fut.indic, THAT  
 ‘Probably that man is trying to kill me,’ *bii liasi aa-mu-i, ŋua-laga-mi nixə-ø-mi* I VERY SLEEP-nec-  
 pres.part, SLEEP-**purp**-sg.ref **DO**-pres.indic-s1 ‘I feel very sleepy, I decided to sleep.’ The remote  
 past converb is *-ŋiA-* (< *-ŋAsA-* Or. *-ŋAsA-* || Neg. *-ŋAsA-* || Ew. *-ŋsi-*). This suffix can take a reflexive  
 personal suffix and the subject in the clause of this converb may be the same subject as that of the  
 main clause: *sagdinta mun-tigi icaa bi-ŋiə-fī təlun-si-ə-ni.* OLD.MAN WE(EXCLU)-dir LITTLE  
 BE-**repast**-plur.ref TELL-mul-past.part-s3 ‘The old man told us when we were little,’ *bii əniŋə-i sikə*  
*bi-ŋiə-ni omo nii gada-a-ni bi-sə.* I MOTHER-s1 YOUNG BE-**repast**-s3 ONE MAN TAKE-past.part-  
 s3 BE-past.indic ‘When my mother was young, a man took her away,’ *anana buu icaa bi-ŋiə-u, əniŋə-*  
*jigə abuga-jiga təlun-si-ə-ti.* FORMER WE(EXCLU) LITTLE BE-**repast**-p1(exclu), MOTHER-plur  
 FATHER-plur TELL-mul-past.part-p3 ‘In the old days when we were little, our mothers and fathers  
 told us,’ *bii uta-la xuli-sə-ŋiə-i~, omo ŋaula gusi-gə gunə-ø.* I THAT-loc COME.AND.GO-bac-**repast**-  
 s1, ONE YOUTH PLAY-past.indic SAY-pres.indic ‘When I went there, there played a young boy.’  
 The immediative converb *-Anji-* is probably derived from a combination of the past participle and  
 instrumental case. Also, in Ew. and Nan., there are immediative converbs derived from the  
 combination of the participle and instrumental case, but these are from present participles (not the past  
 participle). Different from other personal converbs, this converb takes only the same subject. The  
 reflexive personal suffix is optional: *saa-anji xokco-i-ti.* KNOW-**im** ATTACK-pres.part-p3 ‘No  
 sooner do they know it than they attack us,’ *jawa-anji-yi gakpa-a-ni.* TAKE-**im**-sg.ref SHOOT-  
 past.part-s3 ‘No sooner had he taken the gun than he shot it,’ *əŋala-anji-fī wakca-na-a-ti.*  
 SET.UP.TENT-**im**-plur.ref HUNT-dirint-past.part-p3 ‘They set up their tent and went hunting at once.’

## NEGATION

TABLE 8 UDIHE NEGATIVE VERBS

past indicative	<i>ə-sə</i> -PERSON. (< <i>ə-cə-</i> )
future indicative	<i>a-ta</i> -PERSON.
present participle	<i>ə-i</i> -PERSON. (< <i>ə-si-</i>    Ui. <i>ə-si-</i> )
past participle	<i>ə-si</i> -PERSON. (< <i>ə-ci-</i>    Ui. <i>ə-ci-</i> )
future participle	<i>ə-jəŋə</i> -PERSON.
passive participle	<i>ə-ptilə</i>

In the negative construction, the negative verb comes first and the negated verb follows, like Or.,  
 Ui. and the Group I languages. Negated verbs (except *bi-*) take the same form as the stem (including  
 the expanded stem by stem formative suffixes); in other words, they take no suffixes. Historically, they  
 took *-rA* as did most other Tungusic languages. The negated form of the verb *bi-* ‘to be’ is *biə* (< *bisə*)  
 ~ *bi* (< *birə?*). Prohibition is expressed by sg. *ə-ji* V and pl. *ə-ju* ~ *ə-ji-u* V (< *əjisu* < *əjilsu* || Or. *əjisu*  
 || Ew. *əjilsu*): *min-ji ə-ji ŋəələ.* I-ins **NEG.V-imp** BE.AFRAID ‘Do not be afraid of me,’ *suu ə-ji-u=də*  
*soŋo, mənə bagdi-ta-u=ja.* YOU(plur) **NEG.V-imp-p2**=partic CRY, BY.ONESELF LIVE-opt-

p2=partic ‘Do not cry, and please live by yourselves.’ If the scope of negation is wide, the negated predicate may become a negated phrase consisting of certain words: *ə-ji xəlinə-mi buu*. **NEG.V-imp** MAKE.HASTE-sim GIVE ‘Do not give it in a hurry!’, *ə-ji əkəə giana*. **NEG.V-imp** SLOW WALK ‘Do not walk so slowly!’ The verbal character of negative verbs is maintained so well that we can find examples of them in participle forms and converbs (in other words, negative verbs fully conjugate): *məu-mi isə-i-ti*, *əmə-i-wə-i=də*, *ə-i-wə-i=də*. **PERFORM.SHAMANISM-sim SEE-pres.part-p3**, **COME-pres.part-acc-s2poss=partic**, **NEG.V-pres.part-acc-p2poss=partic** ‘They perform shamanism to see whether you will come or not,’ *uta-asi nii-du buu-jəŋə-i*, *sin-du ə-mi buu=nə*. **THAT-ant WHO-dat GIVE-fut.part-s1**, **YOU-dat NEG.V-sim GIVE=partic** ‘Then, to whom shall I give my daughter, if I do not give her to you.’ For the meaning of nonexistence, the independent negative noun *anci* is used as a predicate: *baa xəgiə-lə-ni min-digi mənəa nii anci*. **SKY BELOW-loc-s3poss I-abl STRONG MAN NOTHING** ‘Under the sky, there is no one stronger than me.’ The form *anci* is found only in Udihe and Hezhe (similar forms are *aacca* in Ew. and *aacin* in Ewk. and Neg.). The following sentence shows the nominal character of *anci*: *bəyə-ti suu anci-du mənə məu-jəŋə-ti*. **MAN-p3poss YOU(plur) NOTHING-dat BY.ONESELF PERFORM.SHAMANISM-fut.part-p3** ‘They will perform shamanism when you do not.’ When *anci* is not the predicate and comes before *bi-* ‘to be’ or *ədə-* ‘to become’ functioning adverbially, the negated noun may take a suffix *-lA*: *sitə-lə anci bi-ə-mi*. **CHILD-IA NOTHING BE-pres.indic-s1** ‘I do not have any children.’ The form of this suffix is similar to the locative case, but differs because it does not have the allomorph *-dula*. ‘No’ is usually expressed by a negative verb, but *anci* is also used (‘Yes’ is *inəkə*).

#### DERIVATIONAL CATEGORIES (BY STEM-FORMATIVE SUFFIX)

TABLE 9 UDIHE DERIVATIONAL CATEGORIES

Voice	Causative	-wAn(A)-
	Impersonal	-u-
	Reciprocal	-mAsi-
	Reflexive	-p(tA)-
	Comitative	-gdi-
Aspect	Repetitive-reversive	-gi-
	Inchoative	-li-
	Distributive	-ktA-
	Multiplicative-durative	-si-
	Semelfactive	-ndA-
	Durative-multidirectional	-wAsi- ~ -mAsi
	Non-intentional-inchoative	-mulA-, -lAA-
Others	Directional-intentional	-nA-
	Backward-directional	-sA-
	Intentional	-kcA-
	Necessitative	-mu-
	Similative	-gAsi-
	Plural	-du-
	Multiple	-niŋəsi-

Derivational categories consist of voice, aspect, and others. More than one stem-formative suffix may be attached to a verb stem, creating a verbal complex. In that case, both voice-aspect order and aspect-voice order are observed. The following examples are found in texts: *diga-wana-li-a-ni* EAT-**caus-inc**-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he began to make/let him/her eat,’ *ii-wana-ktā-ə-ti* ENTER-**caus-dis**-past.part-p3 ‘They made/let them enter,’ *asu-ktā-si-wana-i-ni* TAKE.OFF-**dis-mul-caus**-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he made/let him take off his/her clothes,’ *kāptā-gi-wana-i-ni* LIE-**repet-caus**-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he made/let him/her lie down again.’

## VOICE

The causative voice *-wAn(A)-* (< *-wkAn-* < \**-bUkAAAn-* || Ew. *-wkAAAn-* || Nan. *-(bO)wAAAn-* || Or. *-UkAn-* || Hz. *-kunA-*) has several uses as follows. (1) causative use (has a broad meaning between ‘make someone do’ and ‘let someone do’): *xābu-yā-u,* *jugdi doo-lo-ni xābu-wāḡ-ki-ni*. CARRY-imp-p2, HOUSE INSIDE-loc-s3 CARRY-**caus**-past.part-s3 ‘“Carry them in!” (s)he said and (s)he made them carry the things into the house,’ *amusā susa-gi-wāḡ-ki-ti*. ONLY.ONE ESCAPE-**repet-caus**-past.part-p3 ‘They let only one (rabbit) run away,’ *minti-wā yāu=dāā ə-jāḡ-ə-ni bi-wānā*. WE(INCLU)-acc WHAT=partic NEG.V-fut.part-s3 BE-**caus** ‘They do not let us be as we are now,’ *gāā sii, ə-ji tiḡmā-wānā, ə-ji budā-wānā*. HEY YOU, NEG.V-imp DROP-**caus**, NEG.V-imp DIE-**caus** ‘Hey you, do not drop him, do not make him die (carelessly)’ (cf. *ə-ji waa*. ‘Do not kill him (intentionally)’). Usually, the causee appears in the accusative case, regardless of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. When it is transitive, the causative sentence may have a double accusative: *uti niinta-wa ili-wana-i-ni*. THAT MAN-acc STAND-**caus**-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he made that man stand,’ *uti nii-wa diga-wana-li-a-ni*. THAT MAN-acc EAT-**caus-inc**-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he started to make the man eat food.’ However, the causee is also observed in the dative case: *soḡgo ulā-wā-ni ə-i-ti diga-wana xunaji-du-yi*. BEAR MEAT-acc-s3poss NEG.V-pres.part-p3 EAT-**caus** SISTER-dat-sg.ref.poss ‘They do not let women eat the meat of bears.’ (2) to form a transitive verb: *aada-wana-* ‘to boil (tr.)’ (< *aada-* ‘to boil (intr.)’), *aasi-gi-wana-* ‘to cure, to repair, to correct’ (< *aasi-gi-* ‘to get well again’). (3) to retain the same subject as the main clause (in a subordinate clause) or between sentences. In this case, the causative may have a passive meaning in the context: *ḡua-a-ni~ adi adi nāḡi-ni dogbo. kāsā-ə~, ono a-ta ḡua=ta, ḡaala-la-ni tiak tiak lakti-wana-asi iḡkuala-wāḡ-ki-ni*. SLEEP-past.part-s3 HOW.MANY HOW.MANY DAY-s3poss NIGHT. SUFFER-past-part, HOW NEG.V-fut.indic SLEEP=partic, HAND-loc-s3 TIGHT TIGHT STICK-**caus-ant** CARRY-**caus**-past.part-s3 ‘For a few days, he slept all the time. He suffered, why will he not sleep! His hand stuck to the demon, and he was dragged along a long way.’ The impersonal voice is *-u-*. It has present (*-u-i*) and future (*-u-jāḡa*) forms, but no past (\**-u-wa*). The impersonal voice has a broad meaning, and may express (1) proper action (in English ‘should ~’): *ono nixā-u-jāḡa*. HOW DO-**impers**-fut.part ‘How should we act?’ *ono bagdi-u-jāḡa*. HOW LIVE-**impers**-fut.part ‘How should we live?’ (2) spontaneous action: *gāā, waa-u-i*. OK, KILL-**impers**-pres.part ‘OK, let us kill it.’ *min-du baḡcala-u-i*. I-dat KICK-**impers**-pres.part ‘Let me kick it.’ (3) general or usual events: *tukia-mi ə-u boono, yāu?* RUN-sim NEG.V-**impers** CATCH.UP,

WHAT ‘Even if we run, we cannot catch up with it; what is it [a riddle]?’, *diga-mi ə-u mala-pta, yəu*. EAT-sim NEG.V-**impers** RUN.OUT-nonint, WHAT ‘One eats it, but it does not run out, what is it [a riddle]?’, *odoo mafa waa-a-ma-ni ə-u-i jawa*. TIGER GRANDPA GET-past.part-acc-s3 NEG.V-**impers**-pres.part TAKE ‘We must not take the prey that the tiger got.’ *anana əjən mafa mənəbəji=məi woo-u-i bi-sə, jugdi-na-fi*. FORMER CHIEF GRANDPA BY.ONESELF=partic MAKE-**impers**-pres.part BE-past.indic, HOUSE-desig-p1 (inclu) ‘In the old days, the chief used to make our house only by himself.’ (4) possibility (in English ‘can ~’): *ə=bədə baajaga-du bagdi-i mamasa-na-mi i-lə gada-ja-mi, xuli-u-i*. THIS=partic FOREST-dat LIVE-pres.part WIFE-desig-sg.ref.poss WHAT-loc GET-fut.indic-sg.ref.poss, COME.AND.GO-**impers**-pres.part ‘We live in such a forest, where can you find your wife? You should go,’ *əi o-du yəu=də saŋa-wa-ni ə-u-i waa*. NOW THIS-dat WHAT=partic BAD-acc-s3 NEG.V-**impers**-pres.part GET ‘Nowadays, we can hunt no good animals here.’ (5) passive: *nəxusə, ələə nii-du waa-u-laga-mi nixə-i yəu sii utə=bədə*. YOUNGER.SISTER, SOON MAN-dat KILL-**impers**-purp-sim DO-pres.part WHAT YOU THUS=partic ‘My sister, do you act so as to be killed by them soon?’, *sukti-jə-fi ə-ji-u məisi. yaandaa diga-u-ja min-du*. ESCAPE-fut.indic-plur.ref NEG.V-imp-p2 THINK. AFTER.ALL EAT-**impers**-fut.indic I-dat ‘Do not think that you can run away from me, you will be eaten by me after all,’ *nii-du waa-u-laga-mi nixə-i yəu, sii utə=bədə*. MAN-dat KILL-**impers**-purp-sg.ref DO-pres.part WHAT, YOU THUS=partic ‘Are you doing so, so that you will be killed?’ The reciprocal voice is *-mAsi* (< *-mAc* || Ew. *-mAc* || Nan. *-mAAcI*): *tata-masi-* ‘to pull each other,’ *koŋko-mosi-* ‘to hit each other,’ *waali-masi-* ‘to fight,’ *titi-məsi-* ‘to scramble,’ *juəsi-məsi-* ‘to interexchange (brides),’ *dili-masi-* ‘to scuffle.’ The reflexive voice (non-intentional or non-control) is *-p ~ ptA* (< *-p-ta* || Ewk. *-p-*): *ono budə-jə-mi. əi nəə=nə ə-i-wə-ni budə-ptə*. HOW DIE-fut.indic-s1. NOW JUST=partic NEG.V-pres.part-acc-s3 DIE-**nonint** ‘Why will I die? I will not die immediately now,’ *liasi ŋua-kpa*. VERY SLEEP-**nonint**-past.indic ‘I had a very good sleep’ (< *ŋua-p-ka* by metathesis, but fluctuation is observed: *ŋua-kpa ~ ŋua-pta-a*), *ai-ni nodo-pto-i-ni*. ELDER.BROTHER-s3poss MISS-**nonint**-pres.part-s3 ‘His/her brother went missing,’ *mala-kpa*. RUN.OUT-**nonint**-past.part ‘The end (folktales, etc.),’ *isə-ptə-* ‘to be seen,’ *dui-ptə-* ‘to be heard,’ *cika-ptə-* ‘to fall into pieces.’ The following verb is a unique example that shows an irregular form: *sau-ptə-* ‘to be known (< *saa-* ‘to know’).’ The comitative voice is *-gdi* (< *-ldi*), but it has lost its productivity and remains only in the following verb stems: *baa-gdi-* ‘to meet’ (< *baka-ldi-*), *asa-gdi-* ‘to meet.’

## ASPECT

The repetitive-reversive is *-gi* (< *\*-rgu* || Hz. *-rgi* || Nan. *-gO*) ~ *-ŋi* (to the stem ending with *-n* (synchronically analyzed as *-n* dropping, historically analyzed as *-ŋi* < *-ŋ-gi*): *ilakta-ŋi-a-ni* APPEAR-**repet**-past.part-s3 ‘to appear again’ (< *ilaktana-*). Some verbs show an irregular form for this aspect: *ŋəni-* (< *\*ŋənu-* || Nan. *ənu-* < *ŋənu-*) ‘to leave’ (< *ŋənə-* ‘to go’), *gaagi-* ‘to get sth. again’ (< *gada-* ‘to get’). This suffix indicates the following meanings with each verb stem: *təə-gi-* ‘to sit down again,’ *ili-gi-* ‘to stand up again,’ *sələ-gi-* ‘to wake up again,’ *ayasi-gi-* ‘to get well again,’ *tukia-gi-* ‘to run

back, to run in the opposite way, to run again,’ *ihkuala-gi-* ‘to draw sth. back, etc.,’ *xəuti-gi-* ‘to cry again and again,’ *təti-gi-* ‘to put on (clothes) as usual,’ *buu-gi-* ‘to return, to give sth. back.’ Verbs meaning the coming of time or season usually take this suffix: *sikiə-gi-ə-ni* GET.EVENING-repet-past.part-s3 ‘become evening (again or as usual)’ *dogbo-gi-* GET-NIGHT-repet- ‘become night (again or as usual).’ The inchoative is *-li* (< *-lu-* || Nan. *-lO-*): *soŋo-li-* ‘to start to cry,’ *olokto-li-* ‘to start to cook,’ *bagdi-li-* ‘to start to live,’ *diga-wana-li-* ‘to start to make someone eat.’ The following verb is realized with a lexically unique meaning: *waa-li-* ‘to fight, to start to hunt’ (< *waa-* ‘to kill’). Another inchoative (in which the action suddenly begins) found in some Tungusic languages (e.g., Nan. *-psin-* || Neg. *-sin-*) has lost its productivity and its fossilized form is found only in the verb *təə-fin-* ‘to sit for a while, to rest’ (*-fin-* < *-pin-* < *-psin-*). The distributive is *-kta-*: *asu-kta-* ‘to take various clothes,’ *susa-kta-* ‘to run away in all directions,’ *waa-gi-kta-i-gatu* GET-repet-dis-pres.part-plur ‘people who always hunt various animals.’ *ŋua-kta-i=liə* ‘They are all sleeping.’ If it is used with transitive verbs, it may mean the plentifulness of the object: *nii-wa təu jawa-kta-i-ti*. MAN-acc ALL CATCH-dis-pres.part-p3 ‘They caught all the men.’ The following verb is realized with a lexically unique meaning: *gala-kta-* ‘to seek, to look for’ (< *gələ-* ‘to want’). The multiplicative-durative is *-si* (< *-ci* || Nan. *-cI-*): *maa-si-* ‘to scatter,’ *sasaa-si-* ‘to whisk,’ *tai-gi-si-* ‘to gather,’ *jawa-si-* ‘to hold’ (< *jawa-* ‘to catch’). *maa-si-* and *sasaa-si-* are lexicalized, and \**maa-* and *sasaa-* are not used. The aspectual meaning of the multiplicative-durative can be expressed by the repetition of the simultaneous converbs: *diəli-mi=ə diəli-mi=ə* ‘flew and flew,’ *bi-mi~ bi-mi~* ‘lived and lived,’ *punguli-mi punguli-mi ilaalia punguli-mi*, TURN-sim TURN-sim THREE.TIMES TURN-sim ‘turned and turned, three times turned,’ *ŋənə-mi ŋənə-mi joni-li-a-ni*. GO-sim GO-sim BE.ABLE-inc-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he went skiing on and on, and (s)he became able to ski well.’ The semelfactive is *-nda-* (|| Or. *-nda-*, no cognate forms seem to be found in any other Tungusic language): *nanğa təə-nda-ək*, *cai-ya umi-a-ni*. LITTLE SIT-sem-ser, TEA-acc DRINK-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he sat briefly and drank a cup of tea,’ *juŋzə-jigə-wə umi-nda-a-ni*. CUP-dim-acc DRINK-sem-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he drank a small cup of alcohol,’ *ta-du buu-nda-ə*, *o-du buu-nda-ə*, *mala-a-ni*, *ai-ŋi-yi*. THAT-dat GIVE-sem-past.part, THIS-dat GIVE-sem-past.part, RUN.OUT-past.part-s3, ALCOHOL-ap-sg.ref.poss ‘(S)he poured a little here, and a little there, the alcohol ran out.’ The durative-multidirectional is *-wAsi-~-mAsi-* (< *-m-bAsi-* || Oroc. *-wAcI-* || Ui. *-pAcI-* || Nan. *-AcI-~-wAcI-*). This suffix expresses ‘to repeat an action in time or space,’ and is often used with verbs of motion: *tukia-wasi-* ‘to run around, to run to and fro,’ *susa-wasi-* ‘to run away to and fro,’ *diə-wəsi-* ‘to fly around,’ *dau-wasi-* ‘ferry sth. across the river to and fro,’ *waya-masi~wuya-masi-* ‘to swim to and fro’ (< *wuyan-* ‘to swim’), *juxa-masi-* ‘to creep around’ (< *juxan-* ‘to creep’). The non-intentional-inchoative has the forms of *-mulA* and *-IAA*. It functions adverbially in the sentence (therefore, it can be classified as a converb): *tiŋmə-mulə giana-a-ni*. FALL-mulA WALK-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he walked almost falling,’ *kətiŋə tiŋmə-ləə-ni nəŋu-ni cokpolo-gi-a-ni*. ALMOST FALL-IAA-s3 YOUNGER.FAMILY-s3poss GRAB-repet-past.part-s3 ‘She almost fell and her sister grabbed and supported her.’

## OTHERS

The directional-intensive is *-nA-*: *isə-nə-* ‘to go and see,’ *təə-nə-* ‘to go and sit.’ Some verbs show irregular forms: *gəənə-* ‘to go to look for sth. (< *gələ-* ‘to want’),’ *wa-ŋna-* ‘to go and kill (< *waa-* ‘to kill’),’ *ga-ŋna-* ‘to go and get (< *gada-* ‘to get’),’ *wo-ŋno-* ‘to go and make (< *woo-* ‘to make’).’ The backward-directional is *-sA-*: *xuli-sə-* ‘to go around and come back,’ *gaji-sa-* ‘to bring back.’ The combination of the two suffixes above expresses ‘to go to do it and come back’: *wookto kiŋa-na-sa-a-ni* GRASS CUT-**dirint-bac**-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he went to cut the grass and came back.’ The intentional is *-kcA-* (< *-kica-* || Nan. *-(k)IcA-*). If this suffix is used, the action ends incomplete (half-finished): *təə-kcə-mi=də bua anci*. SIT-**kcA**-sim=partic SPACE NOTHING ‘(There were many people and) if someone wanted to sit down, there was no room for them,’ *ii-kca-mi ŋəələ-li-ə-ti*. ENTER-**kcA**-sim BE.AFRAID-inc-past.part-p3 ‘He intended to enter but he began to fear going in,’ *yəu diana-kca-i kani-a-ni*. WHAT SAY-**kcA**-pres.part STOP-past.part-s3 ‘He was about to say something but he stopped.’ The following verb is realized with a lexically unique meaning: *wa-kca-* ‘to hunt’ (< *waa-* ‘to kill’ cf. Nan. *waa-Ica-* ‘to hunt’ (< *waa-* ‘to kill’)). The necessitative is *-mu-*. The predicate with this suffix may take the dative subject: *kətu a-mu-i min-du*. TOO SLEEP-**nec**-pres.part I-dat ‘I feel very sleepy,’ *minə-wə waa-mu-isi-ni buu-wə-mi*. I-acc KILL-**nec**-cond-s3 GIVE-past.part-s1 ‘Because he wanted to kill me, I gave it to him,’ *bəyə-ni nii-wa diga-mu-i-wa-ni waa-i=yajata*. MAN-s3poss MAN-acc EAT-**nec**-pres.part-acc-s3poss KILL-pres.part=partic ‘I killed the man who had wanted to eat people.’ The simulative *-gAsi-* (< *-kaaci-*) marks the meaning of make-believe, light action, and play: *məu-gəsi-i=gda gusi-ə-ti*. DO.SHAMANIC.PERFORMANCE-pres.part=partic PLAY-past.part-p3 ‘They played, imitating the performance of a shaman.’ *takti-gasi-* ‘to play, striking sticks against each other’ *moo-ji takti-gasi-nji=də gusi-ə-ti*. WOOD-ins STRIKE-**gAsi**-ins=partic PLAY-past.part-p3 ‘They played, striking sticks against each other.’ The following two verbs are probably lexicalized verbs with this suffix: *agdi-gasi-* ‘to thunder’ *wai-gasi-* ‘to scratch.’ The plural (of the subject) is *-du-* (there are no cognate forms in any other Tungusic language): *jubə sonŋo əmə-du-gə*. TWO BEAR COME-**plur**-past.indic ‘Two bears came,’ *diga-a, diga-a, ŋəni-ktə-du-gə gunə-ə*. EAT-past.part, EAT-past.part, LEAVE-dis-**plur**-past.indic SAY-pres.indic ‘They ate and ate, and left to the way of each.’ Interestingly, this suffix may follow the inflectional suffix: *nədə-ə-du gunə-ə*. PUT-past.part-**plur** SAY-pres.indic ‘It is said that they put them.’ However, in most examples, this suffix appears before the inflectional suffix. Therefore, here I regard this as one of the stem formative suffixes. Kazama (2008b) pointed out that this suffix is always used for events that are witnessed by the speaker himself/herself (meaning that this suffix has a function related to evidentiality). Baek (2013) pointed out that this suffix is used only for the 3rd person subject. The multiple (of the subject) is *-niŋAsi-* (there are no cognate forms in any other Tungusic language): *nada ajiga-jiga sugbu-wə koŋko-niŋəsi-i-ti gunə-ə* SEVEN GIRL-**plur** FISH.SKIN-acc BEAT-multi-pres.part-p3 SAY-pres.indic ‘Seven girls were beating fish skins (to make them soft).’

## WORD FORMATION OF VERBS

Some nouns convert their part of speech without any derivational suffix: *yaxə* ‘to sing a song (< *yaxə* ‘song’).’ Sometimes, these verbs may take a cognate subject or cognate object: *tətigə təti-gəəsi* **CLOTH PUT.ON-ant** ‘putting clothes on.’ The denominal verb suffix *-la* (probably < Manchu < Mongolian) is widely used: *jogbo-lo-* **LANCE-IA-** ‘to spear fish’; *waiga-la-gi-* **EARRING-IA-repet** ‘to put on earrings.’ There are some non-productive denominal suffixes *-da-*, *-di-*, *-si-*, and *-maSi-*: *sina-da-* **TOOL.LIKE.RUCKSACK-da-** ‘to shoulder one’s rucksack’; *kumugə-di-* **LOUSE-di-** ‘to remove lice from hair’; *talaa-si-* **SLICED.RAW.FISH-si-** ‘to slice raw fish’; *iktə-məsi-* **TOOTH-mAsi-** ‘to bite’; *gida-masi-* **SPEAR-mAsi-** ‘to tilt at sth., to pierce.’ The denominal suffix *-ηisi-* means ‘to make ~’: *jugdi-ηisi-* ‘to make a house (< *jugdi* ‘house’),’ *uŋta-ηisi-* ‘to make shoes (< *uŋta* ‘shoes’),’ *əmuɡə-ηisi-* ‘to make a cradle (< *əmuɡə* ‘cradle’),’ *oŋo-ηisi-* ‘to draw figures (< *oŋo* ‘pattern, figure’),’ *xokto-ηisi-* ‘to leave footprints (< *xokto* ‘road, footprints’),’ *lala-ηisi-* ‘to cook gruel (< *lala* ‘gruel’),’ *saya-ηisi-* ‘to dig a hole (< *saya* ‘hole’).’ This interesting lexical suffix in Udihe does not have any cognate elements in other Tungusic languages. The independent word ‘to make’ in Udihe has the form *oo-*, which is entirely different from this suffix. The denominal suffix *-ma-* attaches to the noun that refers to wild animals or fish, and means ‘to go to hunt/catch ~’: *oloxi-ma-* ‘to go to hunt squirrels (< *oloxi* ‘squirrel’).’ Suffixes like *-ηisi-* and *-ma-* represent the kind of polysynthetic character of Udihe (See Kazama 2011). The deadjectival and denominal verb-derivational suffixes *-na-* and *-si-* mean ‘to become ~’: *manga-na-* ‘to become strong (< *manga* ‘strong, hard’);’ *nii-na-* ‘to become a human being (< *nii* ‘man’);’ *baya-si-* ~ *baya-na-* ‘to become rich (< *baya* ‘rich’).’

## AUXILIARY VERBS

*bi-* ‘to be, to exist’ and *ədə-* ‘to become’ may function as auxiliary verbs and form sentences with a complex tense: *ŋamai-ji aa-ji kapta-a-ni bi-sə, ami sinə-wə*. **WARM-ins GOOD-ins WRAP-past.part-s3 BE-past.indic**, **FATHER YOU-acc** ‘It seems that your father had wrapped you up warm and well,’ *səinə utə=bədə budə-ŋəŋə-ni bi-si-ni bi-ja*. **PROBABLY THAT=partic DIE-fut.part-s3 BE-past.part-s3 BE-fut.indic** ‘Probably I was going to die like this,’ *niinta uisi-ə-ni bi-isi-ni, ami-mi gun-ŋə-mi*. **MAN SAVE-past.part-s3 BE-cond-s3, FATHER-sg.ref.poss SAY-fut.indic-s1** ‘If a man saved my life, I would call him my father.’ The following auxiliary verbs take the verb in simultaneous converb form and realize the potential meaning: *-mi mutu-* ‘can ~ may (situational potentiality)’; *əgə-* ‘to understand’; *saa-* ‘to know’; *noni-* ‘can (ability)’: *diga-mi mutu-ə-ni*. **EAT-sim BE.ABLE-past.part-s3** ‘(S)he could eat it,’ *a-ta-i=daa waa-mi mutu ŋaa minə-wə*. **NEG.V-fut.indic-s2=partic KILL-sim BE.ABLE STILL I-acc** ‘Still, you will not be able to kill me.’ *nixə-* ‘to do’ expresses intention to do that action: *yəu budə-kə-mi nixə-i yəu*. **WHAT DIE-kəA-sim DO-pres.part WHAT** ‘Why are you going to die?’ *nixə-* is also used for the periphrastic construction (see the serial converb *-ak*).

## COPULA

When the subject is 3rd person in an affirmative and present sentence, no copula is used: *uti bii sitə-i*.

THAT I CHILD-s1poss ‘That is my child.’ In the case of the subject being 1st or 2nd person, the copula *bi-* may be used: *yəu nii-ni bi-ø-mi bii*. WHAT MAN-s3poss **BE-pres.indic-s1** I ‘What a (bad) man I am.’

## PARTICLES

For details concerning Udihe particles, see Kazama (2007b). *=buubu(i)* functions like a tag question in English: *taa buu əniŋə-u təə-i-ni=buubui=tə?* THERE WE(EXCLU) MOTHER-pl(exclu)poss SIT-pres.part-s3=**partic**=partic ‘Look, our sister is sitting there, can’t you see?’ *əi nii=buubu=nə*. THIS MAN=**partic**=partic ‘It is a human being, isn’t it.’ *anci=buubui*. NOTHING=**partic** ‘It seems that there are none of them.’ Shnejder (1936) gave *bəsə-* as the past form of *bəəbu-* and maintained that these forms were conjugated by person, but the author could not identify *bəsə-* or the conjugated forms thereof. The simulative is *=bədə(əsi): əəxi=bədə lagbana-i-ni*. FROG=**partic** STICK-pres.part-s3 ‘(S)he was sticking to the wall like a frog.’ *yəu saŋaa=bədə diana-i*. WHAT FOOL=**partic** SAY-pres.part ‘What are you saying like a fool?’ The most frequent example with this particle is *utə=bədə(əsi)* ‘like this.’ *=gda(=la)* is an emphasis marker: *əi=gda~ waagi-a-ni*. NOW=**partic** REVIVE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he revived just at that time.’ This particle is often used with reduplicated interrogative pronouns, and in this case, they function together as an indefinite phrase: *ono=gdo ono=gdo gada-a-ni*. HOW=**partic** HOW=**partic** TAKE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he brought it somehow.’ *yəu=gda yəu=gda giama-ni bi-ə gunə-ø*. WHAT=**partic** WHAT=**partic** BONE-s3poss BE-past.part SAY-pres.indic ‘There were many kinds of bones and things like that.’ *gaitu=gda* ‘quickly’ is a frequent fixed phrase containing this particle. The cumulative is *=da(A): əxi-ni=də gəənji ədə-ə-ni, nəŋu-ni=də gəənji ədə-ə-ni*. ELDER.SISTER=**partic** PREGNANT BECOME-past.part-s3, YOUNGER.FAMILY.MEMBER-s3poss=**partic** PREGNANT BECOME-past.part-s3 ‘The elder sister also got pregnant, and the younger also got pregnant.’ When the verb-final word order is broken for a pragmatic reason, this particle is attached to the extraposed element: *sitə-yi kapta-gi-a-ni aya-ji=da*. CHILD-sg.ref.poss WRAP-repet-past.part-s3 GOOD-ins=**partic** ‘(S)he wrapped his/her own child well.’ When this is used with an interrogative pronoun, this expression indicates total negation: *yəu=də ə-si-ni diana*. WHAT=**partic** NEG.V-past.part.s3 SAY ‘(S)he did not say anything,’ *nii-wə=də ə-si-fi isə*. WHO-acc=**partic** NEG.V-past.part-pl(inclu) SEE ‘We did not see anyone.’ If it is used with the impersonal adverb *-mi*, they function together like ‘but’ in English: *ono=do wəəndə-mi=dəə xai təə-gi-i gunə-ø*. HOW=**partic** THROW-sim=**partic** AGAIN GET.UP-repet-pres.part SAY-pres.indic ‘Though he threw him again and again, still he rose up again.’ In this case, the adverb may take a subject different from that of the main clause. The interrogative (used only in Yes-No questions) is *=nuu: sii mafa-xi bi-i=nuu?* YOU HUSBAND-prop BE-pres.part=**partic** ‘Do you have your husband?’, *əmə-jəŋə-i=nuu ə-jəŋə-i=nuu?* COME-fut.indic-s2=**partic** NEG.V-fut.part-s2=**partic** ‘Will you come or not?’, *tukpu=nuu, yəu=nuu?* BOAT=**partic**, WHAT=**partic** ‘Is that a boat, or what is it?’ The interrogative (used only in selective questions) is *=gu*. When this particle attaches to reduplicated interrogative pronouns, they function together as an indefinite phrase: *aana-wa ono=gu*

*ono=gu joko-ta-i=ja, ŋia-ixi, uli-tigi.* BOAT-acc HOW=**partic** HOW=**partic** PUSH-opt-s2=**partic**, SHORE-dir, RIVER-dir ‘Please somehow push the boat to the shore of the river.’ *ii=gu ii=gu jawa-gi-a-ni.* WHAT=**partic** WHAT=**partic** TAKE-repet-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he took some and other things again.’ =*gumu* is a similitive or ironical question marker: *ŋua-mi=gumu kəptə-ə-ni.* SLEEP-sim=**partic** LIE-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he was lying as if (s)he were sleeping.’ *yəu=dəə a-ta-mi baa=gumu diga-laga-mi.* WHAT=**partic** NEG.V-fut.indic-s1 FIND=**partic** EAT-purp-sg.ref ‘Why can’t I find any foods, of course there were.’ =*ja* is used with the imperative form and means a polite order: *mənə ŋua-i=ja sii.* BY.ONESELF SLEEP-pres.part=**partic** YOU ‘Please sleep, as you like.’ *diga-ə-u=ja suu mənə=də.* EAT-pres.indic-p2=**partic** YOU(plur) BY.YOURSELF=**partic** ‘Please eat it, as you like.’ =*yaja(=ta)* is a marker of assertion or confirmation: *baa-la nədə-i=yajata, i-du gada-ja.* OUTSIDE-loc PUT-pres.part=**partic**, WHAT-dat TAKE-fut.indic ‘Of course I put it outside; otherwise, where can I bring and put it.’ =*kə(ə)* functions as an emphasis marker: *sii sitə-wə-i=kəə waa-du-ja.* YOU CHILD-acc-s2=**partic** KILL-plur-fut.indic ‘Now, they will kill your own child,’ *əi=kəə ə-si-ni=dəə soŋo.* NOW=**partic** NEG.V-past.part-s3=**partic** CRY ‘(S)he did not cry this time.’ When this particle attaches to an interrogative pronoun, they function together as an indefinite phrase: *yəu=kəə bi-sə.* **WHAT=partic** BE-pres.indic ‘There was something.’ *yəu=kəə yəu=kəə təu* **WHAT=partic** **WHAT=partic** ALL ‘this and that and more, all of them’ =*liə*, =*jənə*, and =*giəni* are assertion or confirmation markers. They attach to the predicate, and emphasize it: *əmə-i=liə uti mamaka.* COME-pres.part=**partic** THAT OLD.WOMAN ‘She came, that old woman.’ *ya-uxi xuli-i, nəxusə? bai xuli-sə-ə-mi=jənə, yəu xuli-jə-mi.* WHAT-dir COME.AND.GO-pres.part, YOUNGER.FAMILY? JUST COME.AND.GO-bac-past.part=**partic**, WHAT COME.AND.GO-fut.indic-s1 ‘Where have you been, my sister?’ ‘I have just walked around here, where shall I go far?’ =*ma-i~mali* means ‘nothing but ~, only ~’: *nada ajiga, xatala=ma-i=də.* SEVEN GIRL, WOMAN=**partic**=**partic** ‘Seven girls, only women.’ *giama=mai əsi-gi-ə-ni.* BONE=**partic** BECOME-repet-past.part-s3 ‘There were only bones left over.’ *uta-la=mai bi-i-ni.* THAT-loc=**partic** BE-pres.part-s3 ‘They are found nowhere but there.’ =*nA* is a topic marker in an interrogative sentence: *sii=nə aali əmə-ə-i?* YOU=**partic** WHEN COME-pres.indic-s2? ‘As for you, when did you come?’ *utə-mi bii=nə yəu mamaasa-ni bi-ə-mi.* THUS-sim I=**partic** WHAT WIFE-s3 BE-pres.indic-s1 ‘If so, how can I be called his wife.’ =*sAnA* means ‘only’: *bii omoto ajiga-ŋi-yi=sənə bi-i-ni sitə-yi.* I ONE GIRL-ap-sg.ref.poss=**partic** BE-pres.part-s3 CHILD-sg.ref.poss ‘I have only one daughter, as my child.’ To wonder is expressed by =*As* ~ =*As* (Nan. =*Os*), which is often used in an alternative question: *miaundala-a-ni ilaa=as, dii=əs, maali-wa.* SHOOT-past.part-s3 THREE=**partic**, FOUR=**partic**, bullet-acc ‘He shot the gun, three times, or four times.’ =*tA* forms an ironic wh-question with the future indicative: *ono ya-ja=tA.* HOW DO.OTHERWISE-fut.indic=**partic** ‘What shall we do?’ *i-lə saa-ja=tA.* WHAT-loc KNOW-fut.indic=**partic** ‘From where can (s)he know that?’ =*tAnA* (Nan. =*tAnii*) marks a topic and/or contrastive element: *olokto-o-ni uti əxi-ni. nəŋu-ni=tənə xulaa kum kəptə-gi-ə-ni.* COOK-past.part-s3 THAT ELDER.SISTER-s3poss. YOUNGER.FAMILY-s3poss=**partic** BLANKET onomatopoeia LIE-repet-past.part-s3 ‘The elder sister cooked, but the younger sister was lying with a blanket.’ There are no particles for indicating

quotations: *timana-ŋi-yi ə-lisi-i əmə-gi, agaa budə-ə-ni gun-tə-i=jə*. TOMORROW-ap-sg.ref.poss NEG.V-cond-s1 COME-repet, BROTHER DIE-past.part-s3 SAY-opt-s2=partic ‘If I do not come back tomorrow, please say, “My brother has died”.’

## SYNTAX

Udihe is a verb-final language, and its basic word order is SOV and modifier-modified. It seems more frequently the case in Udihe than in other Tungusic languages that the 1st and 2nd person subject (and object) may be added at the end of a sentence: *ə-ji ŋənə ə-sə-i gunə=nu bii sinə-wə*. NEG.V-imp GO NEG.V-pres.indic-s2 SAY=partic **I YOU-acc** ‘“Don’t go,” I said to you.’ This is probably due to the decline of distinctiveness between the inflectional forms of verbs. If the inverse order occurs, the particle =*dA* may be used (see Particles), but it is not obligatory. Almost no concord is observed between modifying and modified elements. Only in the case of a numeral or quantitative adjective may the modifier also take the accusative case: *uti dii-ma aanta-wa gaji-a-ti, təu=də*. THAT FOUR-acc WOMAN-acc TAKE-past.part-p3, ALL=partic ‘They took all four women.’ However, cases are also observed in which only the numeral takes the accusative and the head noun does not (particularly in time or period phrases): *wai-ma aŋa-ni ŋua-a-ni*. TWENTY-acc YEAR-s3 SLEEP-past.part-s3 ‘He slept for twenty years.’ When the numeral or quantitative adjective is postposed (meaning that the inverse order of modifier-modified is realized), the modifier takes the accusative case: *moo əgdi-wə bukta-si-a-ni*. WOOD MUCH-acc CHOP-mul-past.part-s3 ‘(S)he chopped much wood.’ Like other Tungusic languages, when an oblique case argument with the 3rd person possessive suffix (not with the reflexive) appears in a sentence containing a 3rd person subject, the argument is interpreted as belonging to the ‘4th’ person (obviative): *uti nii ulə-ŋi-wə-ni diga-a-ni*. THAT MAN MEAT-ap-acc-s3poss EAT-past.part-s3 ‘That man ate someone’s meat,’ *uti nii ulə-ŋi-yi diga-a-ni*. THAT MAN MEAT-ap-sg.ref.poss EAT-past.part-s3 ‘That man ate his own meat.’ A kind of relative clause may be formed by an interrogative pronoun, and the so-called correlative construction (which does not have a relative pronoun as the head noun, like ‘what’ clauses in English) is formed: *nii=dəə ə-i ətətə, ə-i-ni diga*. WHO=partic NEG.V-pres.part WORK, NEG.V-pres.part-s3 EAT ‘The rule is that nonworkers shall not eat.’ For details concerning the formation of the correlative construction in Udihe and the distribution of this type of construction in Tungusic languages, see Baek (2011) and Baek (2012).

## LEXICON

First, let us examine some characteristic words of basic vocabulary in Udihe. The following are instances where Udihe uses different words for words of the same or similar meaning in other Tungusic languages: *abuga* ‘father’ || Ek, Oc, Ul *ami(n)-*, *sai* ‘salt’ || Ek. *dawsun* || Nan. *daoson*, *uti* ‘this’ || Ek, Ut. *əri. diga-* ‘to eat’ (< \*dirga-? || Ul. *dirga-* ‘to lack for nothing’) || Ek, Oc, Ul *jəp-* ‘to eat,’ *gəə* ‘bad’ || Ek. *əruu* || Nan. *orkin*. The following are instances where a change of meaning has occurred in Udihe or in Group II: *uli* ‘water, river’ || Or. *uli* ‘river’ || Ek, Or. *muu* ‘water,’ *sagdi* ‘big’ || Or, Hz. *sagdi* ‘big’ || Ek, Ul. ‘old (men).’ Some idiomatic expressions are also observed: *sigdi baa-* ‘to be angry,’ *gəənji*

*bi-/ədə-* ‘to be/get pregnant’ *gooko daaka* (*ŋənəəni/diəliəni*) ‘went/flew far.’ The Udihe language has rich onomatopoeia, and onomatopoeic words often have exceptional syllabic structures: *cəŋgə cəŋgə* ‘swinging,’ *bombolia* ‘rolling,’ *cauŋ* ‘falling splash (into the water)’ *ləmdu ləmdu* ‘(a bird) flapping about,’ *pɥŋa* ‘a plume of smoke,’ etc. The following are loanwords from Mongolian (perhaps through Manchu): *mui* ‘horse’ (< *morin*), *dami* ‘tobacco,’ etc. The following are loanwords from Chinese (perhaps through Manchu): *duŋsi* ‘thing’ (< Chin. *dong<sup>1</sup>xi*), *juəzə* ‘table’ (< Chin. *zhuo<sup>1</sup>zi*), *wanba* ‘turtle’ (< Chin. *wang<sup>2</sup>ba*), *santu-* ‘fist’ (< Chin. *quan<sup>2</sup>tou*), *saŋdiausala-* ‘to hang oneself’ (< Chin. *shang<sup>4</sup>diau<sup>4</sup>sha<sup>1</sup>*), etc. Chinese words ending with *-n* or *-ŋ* are open-syllabled by the addition of a vowel: *iibənə* ‘Japanese’ (< Chin. *yí<sup>4</sup>bən* < *ri<sup>4</sup>bən*), *kaya* ‘Korean floor heater’ (< Chin. *kang<sup>4</sup>*), *ganjiŋa* ‘clean’ (< Chin. *gan<sup>1</sup>jing*), *xaunda-* ‘to ask (a question)’ (< ?Chin. *fa<sup>1</sup>wən<sup>2</sup>*), *asasa* ‘thank you’ (< ?Chin. *xiə<sup>4</sup>xiə*), *təu* ‘all’ (< ?Chin. *tou<sup>1</sup>*), etc. The following words may be loan words from Nanai, because the phonetic change *-ŋ- < -ŋg-* would have occurred if they were original Udihe words: *ŋaŋga* ‘a little bit’ *maŋga* ‘very, bad’ (*maŋa* ‘strong’ is probably the original word corresponding to this). Of course, there are now many loanwords from Russian. Sometimes, a verb is also formed from a loanword by the derivative suffix *-la-*: *suwaajiba-la-* ‘to marry’ (< Rus. *svad’va* ‘wedding’). Udihe kinship terms have a very complicated system. Some words are borrowed from Chinese: *suusu* ‘the younger brother of father,’ *guufu* ‘the husband of the sister of father,’ *iifu* ‘the husband of the younger sister of mother,’ etc. It is/was taboo for Udihe to know the name of their parents. Udihe has a rich oral literature, which is divided into the following genres: *(n)imaŋku* ‘folktales’ and *təluŋu* ‘legends.’ Alliteration is not observed in such oral literature unlike in that of Nanai.

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## ウデヘ語文法

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キーワード：ツングース諸語，グループ II，参照文法，系統的位置

本稿では、ウデヘ語の音韻体系と文法体系を、筆者の現地調査によるデータに基づいて記述した。現地調査は主に沿海州クラスヌイ・ヤール村を中心に行ったため、本稿の記述はウデヘ語ビキン方言に基づくものといえる。音韻・文法体系を記述するとともに、ツングース諸語の他の言語とのウデヘ語の間に見られる音韻対応に注目し、特にウデヘ語と共にツングース諸語のグループ II に分類されるオロチ語およびヘジェン語との音対応を詳しく扱うことによって、ツングース諸語全体におけるウデヘ語の系統的位置の解明を試みた。