Udmurt

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0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The language described here is literary written Udmurt, for which there are prescriptive rules and a standardized orthography. This variety is based on the central dialect of Udmurt, sharing common features with the northern as well as with the southern dialect.

0.1 Socio-and geolinguistic situation

Udmurt belongs to the Permian branch of the Uralic language family. Its closest linguistic relative is Komi; the two languages are not mutually intelligible. Udmurt is the self-designation (older name: Votyak).

According to the last census (1989), 747.000 people declared themselves to be of Udmurt nationality. Of these approximately 520.000 (= c. 70%) speak Udmurt as their mother tongue. About two thirds (c. 496.500) of the Udmurts live in the Udmurt Republic (Udmurtia; 1.609.000 inhabitants; 42.000 km^2; capital: Izhevsk/Izhkar, 650.000), which forms a part of the Russian Federation and is located between the Vyatka and the Kama Rivers. The Udmurts are thus a minority within their own republic (c. 31%, Russians 59%, Tatar 7%), although in the rural areas they form the majority. One third lives outside the Udmurt Republic, mainly in the neighbouring republics of Bashkiria (c. 24.000) and Tatarstan (c. 25.000) and in the Kirov (c. 22.000) and Perm region (c. 32.000); the remaining 150.000 Udmurts live in scattered settlements in the former Soviet Union, chiefly in cities. While the former groups of Udmurts have preserved their language very well, the mother-tongue speakers in the latter groups are already in the minority and will probably become completely russified.

Usually the Udmurts are bi-, even trilingual. The second language is generally Russian, the third Tatar. Russian is the language of the cities, of the administration and the official life, of the mass media and traffic, while Udmurt is the language of the countryside, the family and agriculture. The younger generation speaks better Russian than the older, the older better Udmurt than the younger. Extensive code-switching to Russian (phrases, semi-sentences, proverbs) can be observed very often and is not always connected with the subject-matter, which may be better expressed in Russian. Not seldom the reason is carelessness, an attitude depending on the general low esteem of the language among its speakers.

In the Udmurt Republic only in a part of the schools (in 360 schools with about 31.100 pupils, that makes about a third of Udmurts of school age) is Udmurt teaching language and school subject, mostly in first classes. Those schools are located exclusively in rural areas. Some subjects are taught only in Russian (e. g. mathematics, history, geography etc.). In addition the

school situation suffers a lack of teachers and teaching materials. The university of Izhevsk offers the possibility to study Udmurt language and literature.

In the mass media Udmurt plays a very subsidiary role. There are only some newspapers (none of them is published daily) and periodicals with a very limited number of copies. Books are seldom published in Udmurt as well. Radio programmes in Udmurt are transmitted on average 2,5 hours per day, TV programmes only half an hour.

Even though Udmurt has gained an official status in the last decade, there is until now no language law which regulates the official use of Udmurt within the Republic due to strong opposition of the majority of their inhabitants.

0.2 Dialects and language contact

Udmurt dialects are usually divided into five dialect areas:

1) The northern dialect is spoken in the northern part of the Udmurt Republic and in the neighbouring Kirov region. Center of this area is the second largest town of Udmurtia, Glazov.

2) A dialect of its own in the North is represented by the language of udmurtized Tatars, the Besermans.

3) The central dialect area is situated in the middle of the republic, to which belongs the region of the capital Izhevsk.

4) The southern dialect is spoken in the southern parts of the republic.

5) Eight subdialects spoken in Bashkiria and Tatarstan form the peripheral dialect.

There are no significant differences between these dialects and they present little or no obstacle to mutual comprehension. The main differences are in the phonological systems (number of vowels and affricates) and in the lexicon, morphology and syntax are nearly identical.

Language contact has been an important factor in the development of the Udmurt lexicon as well as its grammar. Contact languages are Turkic (Chuvash and Tatar) and Slavic (Russian) languages:

a) The oldest layer of loanwords is of Chuvash (or Volga Bulghar) origin, dating back to the period between the ninth/tenth and the thirteenth century (during this time the Udmurt paid tribute to the Chuvash) and containing more than a hundred loanwords.

b) The chronologically following layer is the Tatar, dating back to the thirteenth century (as a consequence of the Mongolian invasion), containing more than four hundred loanwords (in some dialects even more, with the Tatar influence continuing to the present day).

c) Udmurt borrowed the first Russian loanwords already before the fall of Kazan (1552), but contact with Russian increased after this event when the whole Udmurt region came under Russian domination. By 1917, some six to eight hundred Russian loans had been borrowed into Udmurt.

0.3 Research on Udmurt

The first Udmurt specimens were collected by Germans during the eighteenth century "word collecting" period of the Russian Academy. The first data were put down in writing by D. G. Messerschmidt in 1726 (hitherto still unpublished, see Napolskikh 1998). Some words are in Ph. J. v. Strahlenbergs "Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia" (1730), a list of about 300 words is included in G. F. Müllers "Sammlung Russischer Geschichte" (Vol. III, 1758)[1], a list of 280 words in P. S. Pallas "Linguarum totius orbis comparativa" (1787-89). The first text is a little poem in honour of Catharine the Great (1767). The first grammar was published in 1775 ("Sočinenija prinadležaščija k grammatike votskago jazyka"), the first dictionaries were written at the end of the 18th century (Damaskins materials are still unpublished, Krotovs "Udmurtsko-russkij slovar'" was published in 1995).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, merely one short sketch about the "Die wotjakische Declination" by H. C. Gabelentz was published. The second half of the century was the most productive period with regard to collecting texts and word materials: the collections of the Hungarian B. Munkácsi as well as those of the Finn Y. Wichmann are the most important one and their dictionaries - Munkácsi's "A votják nyelv szótára" (1890-96) and Wichmann's "Wotjakischer Wortschatz" (1987, edited by M. Korhonen), text samples and linguistic works remain indispensable to ths day for studying the history and the dialects of Udmurt.

In the twentieth century, the Udmurts themselves took over the research of their language. The most remarkable results are the descriptive grammar of modern (written) Udmurt in three volumes ("Grammatika sovremennogo udmurtskogo jazyka", 1962: Fonetika i morfologija, 1970: Sintaksis prostogo predloženija, 1974: Sintaksis složnogo predloženija) and some dictionaries (T. Borisov's "Udmurt kyll'ukam", 1932, 1991; Udmurtsko-russkij slovar', 1983; Russko-udmurtskij slovar', 1956). Furthermore especially researchers in Russia, Finland and Hungary were/are engaged in the research on Udmurt.

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[1] J. E. Fischer, who is often mentioned as a collector in this context, merely copied the word lists of Müller and used them in his own works (see Winkler 1997).

1. PHONOLOGY

In the literary language Cyrillic letters are used according to the principles of Russian ortho-graphy. Five sounds lacking in Russian are indicated with diacritical marks (appendix).

In this book, Udmurt is written with a Latin-based alphabet with diacritics in agreement with Finno-Ugric transcription.

1.1 Vowels

The literary language has 7 vowels:

	Front	Back	
		Unrounded	Rounded
High	i	$i̯$	u
Mid	e	$ę$	o
Low		a	

The classification of $i̯$, $ę$ and a is controversial; they are sometimes also classified as central vowels (Alatyrev 1983: 564).

All vowels occur in the first and the non-first syllable, in suffixes u is very rare and $ę$ does not appear at all (with the exception of *ęvęl* 'there is no'. Unstressed vowels are never reduced with regard to quality. The most frequent vowel is $i̯$, followed by a, e, o, i, u and $ę$.

There is no distinctive vowel quantity. Accordingly sequences like *ti̯in* 'lake (In.)' are heterosyllabic. However, stressed vowels are articulated somewhat longer than non-stressed (Grammatika I: 22).

Udmurt has no diphthongs, with the following exceptions:

a) the word *tau* 'thanks';

b) in some words, *-ua-* and *-ui-* (the last only in the group of the numeral 'three') occur, which can be interpreted as diphthongs (as the orthography suggests): u is not syllabic. Its occurrence is restricted and predictable: only after initial k and before a (or i in the named group) and only in stems (so *ku-as* 'in his skin' [-as: IN/3SG] does not belong to these cases). In these cases u is pronounced as a bilabial semivowel.

So sequences like *vui* 'come (3SG/PRET)' have a syllable boundary between the two vowels. *j* is classified as a consonant.

In the Finno-Ugric context, the lack (historically: decline) of vowel harmony is just as remarkable as the clear dominance of the back vowels, which otherwise occurs only in the closely related Komi language. Stem-vowel alternations within a group of words belonging etymologically together, which for example occur very often in the related Khanty language, are rare in Udmurt and are restricted to the following cases (almost all pronominal): o ~ $i̯$ and a ~

$i̯$, namely *mon* 'I' ~ *mi̯n-am* (GEN), *mi̯n-ešti̯m* (Abl.), *mi̯n-i̯m* (DAT), in this way also *ton* 'you'; *so* 'he, she' ~ *si̯-če* 'such'; *val* ~ *vi̯lem* petrified preterite vs participle of the existential verb; and in the area of the verbs $i̯$ ~ i ~ 0 (see 2.4).

1.2 Consonants

Udmurt has 26 consonants:

		Labials		Dentals		Palatals	Velars
		bilabial	labiodental	dental	postalveolar		
Stops	voiceless	p		t		t'	k
	voiced	b		d		d'	g
Affricates	voiceless				$č$	$č́$	
	voiced				$ǯ$	$ǯ́$	
Fricatives	voiceless			s	$š$	$š́$	
	voiced		v	z	$ž$	$ž́$	
Nasals		m		n		$ń$	
Laterals				l		l'	
Trills				r			
Semivowel						j	

c, f, $χ$ occur only in recent Russian loanwords.

Sometimes the palatals are interpreted as palatalized dentals (which is also suggested by the orthography, cf. Russian). This interpretation is contradicted by the articulation of $š́$ and $ž́$, which clearly differ from the articulation of a palatalized sibilant (as in Russian); cf. Grammatika I :27ff.

j is sometimes classified as a fricative, probably for systematic reasons. Phonetically it is a semi-vowel.

The area of the obstruents is characterized by the opposition of voiced and voiceless consonants, which is very rare in the Finno-Ugric languages. The opposition is maintained in the anlaut too. In comparison to the other Finno-Ugric languages the area of fricatives and affricates is well developed.

In initial position t', d' and $ž́$ do not occur (or very rarely), in genuinely Udmurt words r does not either, whereas $ǯ$ (< *r) is found practically only in this position.

The most frequent consonant in Udmurt is k, then follow s, t, n, m, l and $š́$, the affricates and the palatals are the rarest. The proportion between vowels and consonants amounts to 100 : 129.

There is no systematically developed opposition between long and short consonants. Long consonants are found at the morphemic boundary, when a suffix with a certain initial consonant

is joined to the stem with a final consonant of the same kind. In such cases the quantity can be phonemic, cf. *kiľ'ini* 'lie' vs *kiľľ'ini* 'remain'.

As in most Finno-Ugric languages, consonant clusters are very rare in initial position - only as a result of syncope (cf. *tros* 'much' < *tiros*) or in younger loanwords - and restricted in final position (only liquid + C, cf. *murt* 'human being', *parś* 'pig'); in older loanwords the clusters are dissolved by epenthesis (cf. *buris* < russ. *brus* 'beam').

1.3 Syllable structure

Simple words have the following structure in Udmurt:

V (rare, cf. *u* 'rupture (med.)'), VC (*im* 'mouth'), CV (*pi* 'boy'), VCV (*olo* 'perhaps'), VCCV (*inti* 'place'), CVC (*bur* 'good'), CVCC (*murt* 'human being'), CVCV (*busi* 'field'), CVCCV (*šundi* 'sun') und CVC(C)VC (*suzer* 'sister'). The monosyllabic simple words are more frequent.

The structure of grammatical elements is mostly monosyllabic (sometimes bisyllabic); besides, there are elements consisting only of a consonant (cf. *uža-ś* 'hardworking' (literally 'working').

The structure of morphemic sequences is not principally different from simple words.

The nucleus of a syllable is always a vowel in Udmurt.

1.4 Stress

The stress is of the quantitative-dynamic type and generally falls on the last syllable. In inflected words it is always the inflexional suffixes that are stressed, never the stem itself (see below). That means, depending on the length of the suffix order different suffixes are stressed: *uknó* 'window', *ukno-ós* 'windows' (PL), *ukno-os-sí* 'their windows' (3PL), *ukno-os-si-lén* 'of their windows' (GEN), *ukno-os-si-len-éz* 'that of their windows' (NOMIN) etc.

A stressed syllable is somewhat longer than an unstressed one. Other suprasegmental components (sound intensity, tone height) separate from fall on the first syllable (Baitchura 1973: 86f.).

Exceptions from the above mentioned rule are the following:

1) Verbal forms of the IMP 2SG/PL: *véra* 'say!', *vérale* (PL) 'say!'; in the periphrastically built forms of the 3SG/PL (cf. 2.4.2.2) the particle preceding the verbal form bears the stress: *méd minoz* 'let him/her go'.

2) Negative verbal forms (cf. 2.4.3): *mon ug tódiški/ug tódi/ej tódi* 'I don't know/won't know/didn't know' (except the sc perfect). In negative forms of the IMP 2SG/PL the stress falls either on the preceding particle or on the first syllable of the verb: *én vera ~ en véra* 'don't

say!', in those of the IMP 3SG/PL always on the particle (resp. on its second syllable): *medáz minele* 'don't let them go!'.

3) Intensive reduplicated adjectives: cf. *górd-gord* 'very red'.

4) Prefixed pronouns and adverbs containing *no-*, *kot'-*, *olo-*, like *nokin* 'nobody', *kot'kin* 'every' (see 2.3.2.6 and 7).

5) Pronouns and adverbs containing *kud-*, *og-*, *so-*, *ta-* and *ma-*, like *makem* 'how', *sokem, takem* 'so'.

In some derived words there is no strict rule for the position of stress as in such with the prefix *olo-* (*olókin ~ olokín* 'anyone') or with the suffix *-ak* (*čáľak ~ čalák* 'quick'); cf. Keľmakov/ Häkkinen 1999: 17ff., Tarakanov 1998: 69ff. and Csúcs 1990: 29.

In rare cases stress can be phonemic because of the homonymy of the IND.3SG and the IMP. 2SG: *koškė* 'he leaves' vs *kóške* 'leave!'.

In principle the rule to stress the last syllable is valid even for borrowings (like *knigá* < russ. *kníga*), but its domain can be reduced in the case of intensive bilingualism.

1.5 Morphonology

1.5.1 Syncope

A word with the structure (C)VCVC shows syncope of an unstressed *i* (rarely *o* or *e*) in the second syllable preceded and/or followed by a liquid or a nasal (sometimes plosives), when a vowel-initial suffix is added and the word structure would result in a sequence of three (or more) open syllables, cf. *kužim* 'strength' + adjective-forming suffix *-o* > *kužmo* 'strong' or *turin* 'hay' + verb-forming suffix *-a-* + INF *-ni* > *turnani* 'to cut', *gibed* 'reat' > *gibdani* 'smoulder'.

1.5.2 Paragogic consonants

In some nouns with a final consonant in the nominative a *k*, *m* or *t* is inserted before a suffix with an initial vowel: *ńules* 'forest', *ńulesk-in* 'in the forest', but *ńules-mi* 'our forest'; *um* 'sleep', *umm-e* 'my sleep', but *um-tek* 'without sleep'; *kik* 'two', *kikt-eti* 'second', but *kik-li* 'to two (DAT)'. Exceptions: *kik-e* 'my two', *ńules-e* 'my forest'.

Historically the forms with the paragogic consonant represent the older state (with the exception of some analogical forms): After the decline of the final vowel the consonant cluster in the medial position came to be in the final position and the last part of the cluster declined (for example in the nominative).

1.5.3 Assimilations

The following regressive phenomena are not indicated by the orthography.

1) Voice: In a sequence of the two consonants (for example at the morpheme boundary) the second adjusts the first, cf. *lịd* 'number', *lịd-tek* [*lịttek*] 'without number'; *čurịt* 'hard', *čurịt-ges* [*čurịdges*] 'harder'.

2) Manner of articulation: The dental stops *t* and *d* are completely assimilated by a following palatal affricate, cf. *lịd* 'number', *lịd-žịnị* [*lịžžịnị*] 'to calculate'.

3) Place of articulation: Dentals are assimilated by palatals, cf. *bun* 'bast', *bun-žịnị* [*buńžịnị*] 'become frayed'.

The hiatus-blocker and the progressive assimilations mentioned in the literature occur only in certain categories and with certain suffixes and they are therefore interpreted as suffix variants within the morphology.

2. MORPHOLOGY and MORPHOSYNTAX

2.1 Preliminary remarks

The morphological structure of the Udmurt language is strongly agglutinative. Words can easily be divided into a linear sequence of distinct morphemes, the boundaries are usually clear-cut; quantitative and qualitative assimilations appear rarely (cf. 1.5.3).

The overwhelming majority of affixes are suffixes; there are some prefixes, which have exclusively word-forming, never transmutational function (but, as a rule, attract stress).

The suffixes mostly have a single shape and a single function, cf. *vera-škị-li-ško-dị* (REFL-FREQ-PRS-2PL) 'you talk often to each other' or *l'uk-et-jos-ịz-tek* (DER-PL-3SG-CAR) 'without its parts'. There are some exceptions:

a) Suffix variants, for example (1SG) *eš-e* 'my friend', *kẹt-ị* 'my stomach', *jịrši-je* 'my hair' or (2PL) *val-dị* 'your horse', *gurt-tị* 'your village'.

b) Homonymy of suffixes, for example *gurt-ez* (a) 'village (ACC.)' und (b) 'his/her village (NOM/3SG)'; *vera-lo* (a) 'they say (PRS/3PL)' and (b) 'I will say (FUT/1SG)' or *-jos* functioning as a plural marker or a collective suffix.

c) Portmanteau-suffixes, i. e. a suffix has more than one function at the same time: *mịn-o* (FUT/1SG) 'I shall go', *mịn-i* (PRET/1SG) 'I went' or particularly the PX/3SG.

d) Zero morphemes: A category is expressed by the form of the word itself (i. e. without a separate suffix), for example the nominative in general, the accusative of the indefinite object, the dative of the personal pronouns (1SG *mịnịm* 'to me' can only historically be analysed into the stem *mịn-* and a PX/1SG) or the preterite of the stems ending in *a*.

The parts of speech usually have their own suffixes. There are however some suffixes occurring in more than one part of speech, for example:

1) The PX/3SG *-(j)ez* is a nominalizer too. Almost every form of a word can be transformed into a noun with the help of this suffix (cf. Alatyrev 1970), for example

(1)   *ton*   *ponna-jez*

      you   because of/POSTP-/NOMIN

      'who/which is because of you'

(2)   *vuza-no-jez*

      sell-PART-NOMIN

      'which is to be sold'

2) The plural marker *-(j)os* occurs outside the area of the nouns, namely with postpositions and particles as, for example, *kaď* 'like':

(3)   *ton-en*   *seren-jos*
        you-INSTR   because of/POSTP-PL
        'those because of you'

(4)   *vižtem kaď-jos*   *ę-z*   *vala-le*   *so-je*
        stupid like-PL   NV/PRET-3PL   verstehen-NF/PRET   DEM-ACC
        'Such stupids didn't understand it'

3) The suffix of the comparative is also found in connection with substantives and verbs, partly with different function (cf. 2.3.4.1):

(5)   *aľi mon no*   *viši-ško-ges*
        now   I   too   be ill-PRS/1SG-COMP
        'Now I too am a little bit ill'

(6)   *brat-ed-lị-ges-ez*   *šekịt*   *val*
        Brother-2SG-DAT-COMP-NOMIN   heavy   COP/PRET
        'That, which belonged more/exactly to your brother, was heavy'

Lexemes belonging to the inflexional parts of speech can be divided into vowel and consonant stems, which is, with regard to the inflexion, of no importance. The stems are mostly invariable (but cf. 1.5.1 and 1.5.2), the suffixes are agglutinated without changing the stem. There are only some nouns which have two stems (cf. 1.5.2). In Russian loanwords ending in -*ija* or -*ije* (for example NOM/SG *konferencija, sobranije* 'meeting') inflexional suffixes are agglutinated to the stem without -*ja*/-*je*, as for example *konferenci-ịn* 'in the conference'. Exceptions are personal nouns like *Estonija* or *Marija*: *Estonija-ịn* 'in Estonia'.

Apart from word stems and affixes there are some clitics like -*a* (marker of yes/no-questions). The order of stem and affixes is the following: (prefix) - stem - derivational suffix(es) - inflexional suffix(es) - clitic. Suffixes of the same type (case, number, possession) can occur in a morpheme sequence even twice, namely on the one hand in certain constructions - either pleonastically (for example *til-e-d-lị* 'you (PL; DAT)' with *e* and *lị* marking the dative) or of a different kind (for example *ul-laň-e* 'downwards', with *laň* marking the approximative and *e* the illative) - or on the other hand depending on contextual conditions (cf. 2.4.4.4 und 2.3.5).

On the whole, Udmurt is highly synthetic, the existence of analytical expressions is very limited.

2.2 Parts of speech

Udmurt nouns and verbs usually differ from each other (but cf. 2.1), as do the corresponding derivational and inflexional (except possessive suffixes and personal suffixes, which are almost identical) suffixes. Cases like *mertčem* 'splinter; it went into [PERF]; has gone into [PART]' are very sporadic.

Within the area of the nouns the boundary is not as clear. Simple words can be substantives, adjectives and adverbs and only the concrete syntactical behaviour or the context clarifies the difference: *peš* 'hot; heat; hotly'. Because Udmurt has only one declension, this can be the case with inflected forms too.

The boundary between the nominal parts of speech and the so-called particles is unclear as well. Some adverbs and postpositions can be inflected for case and number, partly for possession. Subgroups within this third group can be classified only by syntactical or semantic criteria and the border is not always exact, cf. *vịlịn* 'at the top (adverb); on (postposition)' or *bere* 'after (postposition); when (conjunction)'.

2.3 Nominal morphology

2.3.1 Nouns

Udmurt nouns distinguish the following categories: Number, case, possession and definiteness. There are no grammatical categories of gender, class or animacy. Natural gender is expressed lexically (*ataj* 'father' - *anaj* 'mother', *kart* 'man' - *kịšno* 'woman', *atas* 'cock' - *kureg* 'chicken').

The order of the categories is the following: (stem) - number - case - possession (or possession - case). With regard to the two last-mentioned categories the order depends on the case.

The suffixes are agglutinated to the NOM SG, which is the lemma in the dictionaries.

Nouns function as complements, adjuncts, possessive and non-possessive modifiers and finite predicates.

2.3.1.1 Number

Udmurt has two numbers, singular and plural. The singular has no own marker, that of the plural is *jos ~ os*, the first after consonants, the second after vowels, *gurt-jos* 'villages', *gurež-jos* 'hills', *uj-jos* 'nights' and *korka-os* 'houses', *kižiľi-os* 'stars'.[2]

The plural often remains unexpressed, if it is deducible from the context, as

(7)   *pi-jez*   *vaň*
        son-3SG   EX/PRS
        'She has a son/sons'

After numerals and quantifiers the singular is used as well, *viť aďami* 'five men', *tros pol* 'many times'; sometimes the plural occurs in such cases, which might be a young phenomenon (perhaps due to Russian influence).

There are no *pluralia tantum* in Udmurt, but *singularia tantum* like *vej* 'butter', *ʒuždala* 'height' or expressions for paired things like *šin* 'eye, eyes', *kuas* 'ski, skies'; if the single thing has to be

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[2] In the dialects -*jos* is used even after a vowel.

expressed, *pal* 'half' must be used: *pal šin* 'one eye' (lit. 'halfeye'). The use of the plural in such cases (*bamjos* 'cheeks') is caused by Russian influence.

The suffix of the plural functions as collective suffix, too (in this case possibly after case suffixes, cf. 2.3.5), as *agaj-jos* 'the uncle and his family'; cf. 2.1 too.

2.3.1.2 Case

Like most of the other Finno-Ugric languages, Udmurt possesses a great number of cases, among them many local cases: 7 of the 15 cases are local cases, of which, however, only three are connected to a set (in Finnish 2, in Hungarian 3 sets): Inessive (where?), elative (from where?) and illative (where to?); the other local cases - approximative (in which direction?), transitive (along where?), terminative (to which point?) and egressive (from which point?) - are used to express specific local or directional relations. The remaining 8 cases are nominative, genitive, accusative, dative as well as ablative, caritive, instrumental and the so called adverbial. Nouns denoting animate referents are inflected only for the grammatical cases. Because the local cases partly have abstract functions, too, and some nouns denote a duty or a job, local cases also occur agglutinated to those nouns, cf. *dišetiš-in užani* 'to work as a teacher'. Specific local or directional relations are otherwise expressed by a postpositional structure, as for example *anaje puškin* (~ *šulmaz* ~ *ketaz*) 'in my mother' (lit. 'my mother in the inside ~ in the heart ~ in the stomach').

Morphologically the suffixes are either simple (that is not compounded; they are historically primary) or compounded (historically secondary). To the latter group belong all the suffixes formed with the coaffix *l* (genitive, ablative, dative, approximative) as well as the egressive and the adverbial.

Case suffixes[3]

Distribution Case		-V-	*korka*	*Možga*	*ńules(k-)*	*ki*	-PL-	-PX-
Nominative	0							
Accusative		0, -ez	-jez					0,-iz ~ -ti	-e/-es
Genitive		-len							
Ablative		-leš							
Dative		-li							
Caritive		-tek							
Adverbial		-ja							
Instrumental		-en	-jen			-in	-in		-eni-

	-lań				
Approximative	-lań				
Inessive	-in	-n	-la-n		
Illative	-e	-je	0	-la	-i	-i
Elative	-iš	-š	-la-š		-išti-
Egressive	-išen	-šen	-la-šen		-išeni-
Transitive	-eti	-jeti	-ti	-ti	-ti
Terminative	-ož				-oža-

The distribution of the variants:

1) See below for the difference between the accusative with and without suffix.

2) The suffixes with initial *j* (accusative, instrumental, illative and transitive) occur - in contrast to the suffix of the plural - after a vowel resp. vowel stem (historically: hiatus blocker): *busi-je* 'into the field'. Exceptions are vowel stems with *e* and *u* as well as monosyllabic words with a final *-i*: *ti-e* 'into the lake', *je-e* 'into the ice', *gu-e* 'into the pit'.

3) The suffixes of the local cases without a vowel are used, when nouns denoting a locality end in *-a*, cf. *korka-n* 'in the house', *korka* 'into the house', *korka-š* 'out of the house'.

4) The coaffix *-la* with the local case suffixes is used for local names ending in *-ja, -ga, -ka, -ra* and *-la* (historically tribal names).

5) The illative ending in *-i* appears in a few nouns like *ńules* 'forest', *ńuleski* 'into the forest'.

6) The use of the instrumentals in *-in* is restricted to a limited number of nouns (especially designations for parts of the body and kinship terms) like *ki-in* 'with the hand(s)'.

7) The illative in *-i* and the instrumental in *-in* (identical with the inessive) are used after the plural marker *-os/-jos*. The variants of the plural accusative are in free variation in the literary standard (*-iz* is characteristic of the southern, *-ti* of the northern dialect). The suffix of the transitive appears without the initial vowel after the plural marker (but cf. before the pluralic suffixes of possession).

8) After PX denoting a single possessor the suffix of the accusative is *-e* (*pid-d-e* 'your leg'), after such denoting more than one possessor *-es* (*gurt-m-es* 'our village').

There are several more variants for the pronouns (cf. 2.3.2).

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[3] The variants of the pronouns remain unconsidered.

Declension paradigms

Singular

	Consonant stem	Vowel stem
Nominative	*kar* 'town'	*busi̯* 'field'
Accusative	*kar; karez*	*busi̯; busi̯jez*
Genitive	*karlen*	*busi̯len*
Ablative	*karleš*	*busi̯leš*
Dative	*karli̯*	*busi̯li̯*
Caritive	*kartek*	*busi̯tek*
Adverbial	*karja*	*busi̯ja*
Instrumental	*karen*	*busi̯jen*
Approximative	*karlań*	*busi̯lań*
Inessive	*kari̯n*	*busi̯i̯n*
Illative	*kare*	*busi̯je*
Elative	*kari̯š*	*busi̯i̯š*
Egressive	*kari̯šen*	*busi̯i̯šen*
Transitive	*kareti*	*busi̯jeti*
Terminative	*karoź*	*busi̯oź*

Plural

Nominative	*karjos*	*busi̯os*
Accusative	*karjos; karjosi̯z, karjosti̯*	*busi̯os; busi̯osi̯z, busi̯osti̯*
Genitive	*karjoslen*	*busi̯oslen*
Ablative	*karjosleš*	*busi̯osleš*
Dative	*karjosli̯*	*busi̯osli̯*
Caritive	*karjostek*	*busi̯ostek*
Adverbial	*karjosja*	*busi̯osja*
Instrumental	*karjosi̯n*	*busi̯osi̯n*
Approximative	*karjoslań*	*busi̯oslań*
Inessive	*karjosi̯n*	*busi̯osi̯n*
Illative	*karjosi̯*	*busi̯osi̯*
Elative	*karjosi̯š*	*busi̯osi̯š*
Egressive	*karjosi̯šen*	*busi̯osi̯šen*
Transitive	*karjosti*	*busi̯osti*
Terminative	*karjosoź*	*busi̯osoź*

Case functions:

1. Nominative: 0

1.1 The nominative is the case of the subject:

(8) *ki̯šnomurt*   *puk-e*   *skamja*   *vili̯n*
 woman(-NOM)   sit-PRS/3SG   bench(-NOM) POSTP
 'The woman is sitting on the bench'

(9) *vu*   *ęvęl*
 water(-NOM) NEX
 'There is no water'

1.2 The nominal predicate appears in the nominative:

(10) *so*   *di̯šeti̯š*
 he/she teacher(-NOM)
 'He/she is a teacher'

1.3 Nouns in the nominative case function as possessive and non-possessive modifiers (see below - genitive - too):

(11) *kali̯k*   *kuara*
 voice(-NOM)   people(-NOM)
 'the voice of the people'

(12) *korka*   *ęs*
 house(-NOM) door(-NOM)
 'the door of the house, front door'

(13) *vu*   *vedra*
 water(-NOM) bucket(-NOM)
 'bucket'

(14) *zarńi*   *zundes*
 gold(-NOM) ring(-NOM)
 'gold ring, ring of gold'

1.4 The overwhelming majority of the postpositions governs an object in the nominative; cf. (1) and:

(15) *mi*   *dor-i̯n*
 we(-NOM) side-IN
 'near us, at our home'

1.5 The nominative is used in addressforms. There is no vocative.

2. Accusative: 0, -ez, -jez, -iz ~ -ti̧, -e/-es

2.1 The accusative is the case of the direct object of transitive verbs. The accusative without a suffix is used, if the object is indefinite, whereas the other the suffixes -ez, -jez, -iz ~ -ti̧ appear, if the object is definite. According to the common definition the following constituents are definite: personal names, personal pronouns, nouns with a PX, all constituents nominalized by the suffix identical with PX 3SG and nouns with appropriate attributes (demonstrative pronouns, adjectives, numerals, marked with DEF); the context, too, can determine the definiteness of a constituent. In principle this definition is valid for pluralic direct objects too, but definiteness is not as clear-cut as for singular constituents. As a rule the unmarked accusative object takes the position to the right of the verb. Some examples:

(16) mon kńiga li̧dž-i
      I   book(-ACC) read-PRET/1SG
      'I read a book'

(17) mon (ta) kńiga-jez li̧dž-i
      DEM book-ACC read-PRET/1SG
      'I have read this book' or 'the book (about which we just talked)'

(18) Leńin jegit-jos-li̧ sajki̧t šures ušt-i̧-z vi̧l' ulon-e
      PN   young-PL-DAT clear   way(-ACC) open-PRET-3SG new life-ILL
      'Lenin opened a bright way into a new life for the youth'

(19) jua-š-ez-li̧ otvet šot-i̧-z
      ask-PART-NOMIN-DAT answer(-ACC) give-PRET-3SG
      'He gave an answer to someone who asked'

(20) val-m-es ńulesk-i̧ lež-i̧-mi̧
      horse-1PL-ACC forest-ILL leave-PRET-1PL
      'We have sent our horse into the forest'

However, there are cases in which definiteness in the narrow sense does not explain the use of the marked accusative. Definiteness seems to be connected with other semantic categories like resultativity, totality or animacy (Кондратьева 2000):

(21) mon žuk/žuk-ez ši-i
      I   porridge(-ACC)/-ACC eat-PRET/1SG
      'I have eaten (the) porridge'

(22) ži̧taže mon dori̧š už/už-ez lešti̧-sa puk-i
      in the evening I house work(-ACC)/-ACC do-GER sit-PRET/1SG
      'In the evening I sat and did some/the whole house work'

(23) mon urami̧š ľek puni̧-jez/čeber korka adž-i
      I   street-EL malicious dog-ACC/nice house(-ACC) see-PRET/1SG
      'I saw a malicious dog/a nice house on/in the street'

In other words, the marked accusative is used if the object itself is focused, whereas the unmarked is employed if the action itself bears the logical accent.

2.2 Adjuncts of time, distance etc. appear in ther accusative too; in such cases the verb need not be transitive:

(24) mon ta kar-i̧n bi̧des arńa ul-i
      I   DEM town-IN whole year(-ACC) live-PRET/1SG
      'I lived in this town for a whole year'

3. Genitive: -len

3.1 The genitive serves primarily as the case of adnominal modifiers expressing possession in a wider sense. In this case the governing constituent bears a corresponding PX:

(25) ta so-len pi-jez
      DEM he/she-GEN son-3SG
      'This is his/her son'

(26) so-len pi-jen-i̧z
      his/her-GEN son-INSTR-3SG
      'with his/her son'.

As mentioned above (see nominative) even the mere nominative serves as a possessive modifier. The difference between the possessive modifier in the NOM and in the GEN is that by the help of the former a general relation is expressed whereas with the latter a concrete object is meant:

(27) ni̧l derem   vs (27') ni̧l-len derem-ez
      girl dress   girl-GEN dress-3SG
      'girl's dress'   'a (concrete) dress of a (concrete) girl'

If in the so-called habeo-construction - like most Finno-Ugric languages Udmurt has no verb with the meaning 'to have' - the possessor is explicitly expressed, this adnominal constituent also appears in the genitive:

(28) kin-len už-ez evel?
      who-GEN work-3SG NEX
      'Who has no work?'

In certain constructions the agent usually appears only in the form of PX agglutinated to nominal verb forms. If the possessor is explicitly expressed (for contrastive reasons), this constituent is used in the genitive, too:

(29)   *mịnam ši-jem-e*   *pot-e*
       I-GEN eat-PART-1SG   leave-PRS/3SG
       'I want to eat'

3.2 In possessive relations the nominal predicate occurs in the genitive as well. In this case the governing noun bears no PX:

(30)   *ta*   *tir*   *Oleksan-len*
       DEM   axe(-NOM)   PN-GEN
       'This axe is Oleksan's, belongs to Oleksan'

4. Ablative: *-leš*

4.1 The ablative has the same function as the genitive (s. 3.1), if the governing constituent functions as a direct object in the sentence:

(31)   *so*   *kolchoz-leš*   *busị-z-e*   *vožmat-i-z*
       he/she   kolkhos-ABL   field-3SG-ACC   show-PRET-3SG
       'He/she showed the field of the kolkhos'

So the use of these two cases as adnominal modifiers is complementarily distributed, cf.

(32)   *so*   *kolchoz-len*   *busị-ja-z*   *mịn-i*
       he/she   kolkhos-GEN   field-ILL-3SG   go-PRET/1SG
       'He/she went on the field of the kolchos'

4.2 Some verbs govern an ablative complement like *kịškanị* 'to be afraid of', *mẹzmịnị* 'to pine', *vatịnị* 'to hide from'.

4.3 Adjuncts expressing the origin, source, cause or the material appear in the ablative:

(33)   *mon*   *so-leš*   *gožtet*   *bašt-i*
       I   he/she-ABL   letter(-ACC)   get-PRET/1SG
       'I got a letter from him'

(34)   *šunịt-leš*   *lịmị*   *šuna*
       heat-ABL   snow(-NOM)   melt(-PRS/3SG)
       'The snow is melting from the heat'

Besides, verbs of asking (*juanị* 'to ask' or *kurịnị* 'to beg') demand ablative complements, like in many Finno-Ugric languages.

4.4 The ablative is the case of nominal predicates denoting the material:

(35)   *ta*   *pukon pu-leš*
       DEM   chair   wood-ABL
       'This chair (is made) of wood'

4.5 In comparative structures the standard of comparison is expressed by an ablative constituent while the adjective remains unmarked or bears the comparative suffix (not obligatory).

(36)   *litr-leš*   *ẹžịt(-ges)*
       liter-ABL   little(-COMP)
       'less than one liter'

4.6. There is one postposition governing an ablative object: *ažlo* 'before (temporal)', z. B. *ta-leš ažlo* 'before' (lit. 'before this').

5. Dative: *-lị*

5.1 The dative functions as a complement case, as the case of the indirect object usually expressing the aim of the action:

(37)   *so*   *gožtet*   *eš-ez-lị*   *ịst-i-z*
       he/she   letter(-ACC)   friend-3SG-DAT   send-PRET-3SG
       'He/she sent a letter to his/her friend'

There are some verbs with a dative complement expressing something else:

(38)   *so*   *sured*   *keľš-e*   *mịnịm*
       DEM   picture(-NOM)   please-PRS/3SG   ich-DAT
       'I like this picture'

To these verbs belong for example: *šumpotịnị* 'to be glad', *pẹrmịnị/pẹrmịtịnị* 'to change into', *dịšịnị* 'to get used to', *akịltịnị* 'to bother', *pajmịnị* 'to be surprised at', *šinmaškịnị* 'to fall in love' etc.

5.2 Dative adjuncts have two functions, final or temporal. In the former cases the adjunct expresses the aim, in the latter the temporal extension of the action.

(39)   *ńań-lị*   *magažin-e*   *mịnị-nị*
       bread-DAT   shop-ILL   go-INF
       'to go shopping for bread'

(40)   *už-e*   *odig*   *žịt-lị*   *tịrm-o-z*   *na*
       work-1SG   one   evening-DAT   to be enough-FUT-3SG   still
       'My work is still enough for one evening'

5.3 In some constructions with necessive or permissive meaning the agent appears as a dative constituent (cf. 2.4.2.2.3).

5.4 In predicative structures expressing the age of something, this constituent appears in the dative:

(41)   *kẹńa*   *ares*   *tịnịd?*
       how much   year   you-DAT
       'how old are you?'

5.5 Finally there are some postpositions demanding the dative: *matịn* 'near', *kịďokịn* 'away from', *pumit* 'against', *luịsa* 'because of' and *bịde* 'every' (z. B. *žịt-lị bịde* 'every evening').

6. Caritive: *-tek*

6.1 Caritive adjuncts express the meaning that the action goes without a person or thing:

(42)   *so   mumi-tek   bubi-tek   bud-i-z*
        he/she mother-CAR   father-CAR   grow up-PRET-3SG
        'He/she grew up without mother and father'

6.2 Caritive constituents can function adnominally too:

(43)   *pinal-jos-tek   ulon   tuž   mezmit*
        child-PL-CAR life(-NOM)   very   sad
        'Life without children is very sad'

7. Adverbial: *-ja*

7.1 Adjuncts expressing according to which something is done appear in the adverbial:

(44)   *mi plan-mi-ja   čukaže   tatiš   košk-o-mi*
        we plan-1PL-ADVL   tomorrow   from here   leave-FUT-1PL
        'According to our plan we will leave from here tomorrow'

(45)   *bigat-em-e-ja*
        be able-PART-1SG-ADVL
        'according to my ability'

7.2 Adnominal:

(46)   *Udmurt   kil-ja   dišetiš*
        Udmurt   language-ADVL   teacher
        'teacher of Udmurt language'

(47)   *Gumanitarnoj   todos-jos-ja   fakul'tet-jos*
        arts   science-PL-ADVL   faculty-PL
        'faculties of the arts'

8. Instrumental: *-en, -jen, -in*

8.1 Instrumental adjuncts marks the instrument of an action. It also marks accompaniment and thus it has comitative meaning too: *tir-en/Pedor-en užani* 'to work with the axe/with Fedor', *pojezd-en minini* 'to go by train', *puriš kost'um-en* 'in a grey suit', *udmurt kil-en* 'in Udmurt' etc.

8.2 Some verbs have an instrumental complement as for example *todmatskini* 'to get to know', *šudini* 'to play', *l'ukiškini* 'to separate, to leave', *ešjaškini* 'to become friends', etc.

8.3 Subjects are coordinated by the use of the instrumental:

(48)   *otin   kišno-jen   kart-en   kutsašk-o*
        there   man-INSTR   woman-INSTR   thresh-PRES/3PL
        'there the man and the woman are threshing'

8.4 Adnominal:

(49)   *očki-jen   piosmurt   pot-i-z   korka-ś*
        glasses-INSTR   man   leave-PRET-3SG   house-EL
        'The man with the glasses came out of the house'

8.5 Postpositions: *seren, jirin, valče* 'because of', *čoš* 'together with', *artin* 'beside'.

9. Approximative: *-lań*

Approximative adjuncts express the (local or temporal) direction of an action:

(50)   *so   šur-lań   biž-i-z*
        He/she river-APPR   run-PRET-3SG
        'He/she ran in the direction of the river'

(51)   *kuaž   sižil-lań   kariš-k-e*
        'weather(-NOM)   autumn-APPR   get-PRS/3SG
        'It's getting autumn'

10. Inessive: *-in, -n, -la-n*

Constituents appearing in the inessive (mostly adjuncts) have three functions:

a) expressing the location: *gurt-in* 'in the village', *busi-in* 'in the field', *korka-n* 'in the house', *Možga-lan* 'in Možga' etc.

b) expressing the time (cf. illative):

(52)   *vit'   čas-in   Ondi   bert-i-z   gurt-e*
        five   o'clock-IN   PN   come back-PRET-3SG   home-ILL
        'At five o'clock Ondi came back home'

(53)   *kildit-emin   so   1930   ar-in*
        found-PART   he/she   year-IN
        'It was founded in the year 1930'

c) expressing the occupation:

(54)   *dišetiš-in   uža-ško*
        teacher-IN   work-PRS/1SG
        'I'm working as a teacher'

11. Illative: *-e, -je, 0, -la, -i*

The functions of the illative are *mutatis mutandis* similar to those of the inessive:

a) marking the destination of a motion:

(55)   *korka   pir-i-z*
        house-ILL (zero-suffix)   go in-PRET-3SG
        'He/she went into the house'

(56)   *mi šur-e*   *pịr-i-mị*

we river-ILL   go in-PRET-1PL

'We went into the river'

b) marking the time:

(57)   *vitʹ*   *čas-e*   *Ondi bert-i-z*   *gurt-e*

five   o'clock-ILL   PN   come back-PRET-3SG   home-ILL

'At five o'clock Ondi came back home'

Obviously there is no difference between the use of the inessive and the illative. The use of the inessive is probably caused by Russian influence.

c) marking the occupation someone wishes to take up:

(58)   *dịšetiš-e*   *dịšetsk-i*

teacher-ILL   study-PRET/1SG

'I became a teacher'

12. Elative: *-iš̌, -š̌, -la-š̌, -ịšt̬ị-*

12.1 Elative adjuncts express the starting point of a motion or action (cf. also egressive, 13):

(59)   *anaj*   *gurt-ịš̌*   *pot-i-z*

mother(-NOM)   village-EL leave-PRET-3SG

'Mother came out of the village'

(60)   *gazet-ịš̌*   *tros*   *vịlʹ*   *ivor-jos*   *todị-nị*   *lu-e*

newspaper-EL a lot   new   news-PL   hear-INF   can-PRS/3SG

'In the newspapers one can read a lot of news'

Cf. too: *mẹlʹ-ịš̌ čečị* 'nectar honey'.

12.2 Some verbs govern an elative complement, as for example 'to find' oder 'to finish':

(61)   *vańʹ-ze*   *ti*   *šeďt-o-dị*   *ta*   *kńiga-ịš̌*

all-ACC   you   find-FUT-2PL   DEM   book-EL

'You will find all in this book'

(62)   *mon*   *uža-m-ịš̌*   *dugd-i*

I   work-PART-EL   finish-PRET/1SG

'I finished my work'

12.3 Examples of adnominal elative constituents:

(63)   *Ižkar-ịš̌*   *universitet*

PN-EL   university(-NOM)

'University of Iževsk'

(64)   *todmo-os-ịšt̬ị-mị*   *kotʹkin*

friend-PL-EL-1PL   every(-NOM)

'every one of my friends'

13. Egressive: *-ịšen, -šen, -la-šen*

Egressive adjuncts have two meanings:

a) local: starting point of an action:

(65)   *Ižkar-ịšen Moskva-ož pojezd-en*   *mịn-i*

PN-EGR   PN-TER   train-INSTR   go-PRET/1SG

'I went by train from Iževsk to Moscow'

(66)   *avtobus*   *ot-ịšen*   *ẹ-z*   *pot-ị*   *ińi*

bus(-NOM)   there-EGR NV/PRET-3SG   leave-NF   more

'There was no bus going from there'

An egressive adjunct expresses a place, across which the motion is continued:

(67)   *mi so-in*   *Moskva-ịšen pumišk-i-mị*

we he/she-INSTR PN-EGR   to meet-PRET-1PL

'We met him/her in Moscow (on our trip to X)'

b) temporal: beginning of a period of time:

(68)   *1930 ar-ịšen Ižkar-ịn*   *universitet*   *vań*

year-EGR   PN-IN   university(-NOM) EX/PRS

'Since 1930 there has been a university in Iževsk'

(69)   *sižịl-ịšen*   *tol-ož*

autumn-EGR   winter-TER

'from autumn to winter'

14. Transitive: *-eti, -jeti, -ti*

Transitive constituents express the way of an action: *šur-eti* 'along the river', *ukno-jeti* 'through the window' and is used in cases like the following:

(70)   *anaj*   *nịl-ze*   *ki-ti-z*   *vož-i-z*

mother(-NOM)   daughter-ACC hand-TR-3SG take-PRET-3SG

'The mother took her daughter by the hand'

15. Terminative: *-ož*

The terminative is the counterpart of the egressive:

a) local: aim or destination of an action:

(71)   *mi*   *šur-ož*   *bịž-i-mị*

We   river-TER   run-PRET-1PL

'We ran to the river' (cf. 50 and 56)

(72) Ižkar-ož   samol'ot-en   lobi̯-ni̯   lu-e
     PN-TER   plane-INSTR   fly-INF   can-PRS/3SG
     'It's possible to fly by plane to Iževsk'

b) temporal: end of a period of time, cf. (69) and *čukna-ož* 'until/by the morning').

2.3.1.3 Possession

The person and number of possessors are inflexionally realized through the use of possessive affixes. These two categories form a unit and they are not separable from each other. The possessive suffixes are mostly identical with the verbal personal suffixes.

Possessive suffixes

Distribution Person/Number	-V-	vcl.C	ket	-PL-	Obl. Cases		
					ACC	IN	INSTR
1. Singular	-e	-je	-i̯	-i̯	-m-	-(j)am	-i̯m
2. Singular	-ed	-jed	-i̯d	-i̯d	-d/t-	-(j)ad	-i̯d
3. Singular	-ez	-jez	-i̯z	-i̯z	-z/s-	-(j)az	-i̯z
1. Plural	-mi̯				-m-	-(j)ami̯	-i̯mi̯
2. Plural	-di̯		-ti̯		-d/t-	-(j)adi̯	-i̯di̯
3. Plural	-zi̯		-si̯		-z/s-	-(j)azi̯	-i̯zi̯

Distribution of the variants:

1) The PX with *j* in the SG are used with vowel stems, cf. *busi̯-je* 'my field', except again (cf. the case suffixes) *e-*, *u-* and monosyllabic *i̯-*stems.

2) The PX with voiceless obstruents in the PL appear after voiceless consonants: *eš-ti̯* 'your friend', *eš-jos-ti̯* 'your friends'.

3) The PX with *-i̯-* (instead of *-e-*) appear:

a) with a group of words, mostly expressions for parts of the body, for inner and outer characteristics and for time units and kinship terms, in the nominative and some other cases (cf. 6), for example *ket-i̯* 'my stomach', *vi̯n-i̯d* 'your sister';

b) after the plural marker, *eš-jos-i̯z* 'his/her friends'.

4) The 1SG has its own (historically primary) suffix *-m* in some oblique cases. In the accusative this *m* follows directly after the stem resp. the plural marker: *eš-m-e* 'my friend (ACC)', *eš-jos-m-e* 'my friends (ACC)'.

In all the other persons the consonant alone is used (voiceless obstruent after voiceless consonant) followed by the accusative suffix which differs in the SG from the PL: *eš-t-e* 'your friend (ACC)' vs *eš-t-es* 'your (PL) friend (ACC)'.

5) Inessive and illative with PX have merged. Their vowel differs from the one in the other cases (*-a-* vs *-e-*, *-i̯-*): *gurt-a-z* 'into his village, in his village', *busi̯-ja-mi̯* 'onto our field, on our field'.

6) If PX follows CX (see below), the vowel is *i̯*, in the instrumental, elative, transitive and the egressive, as for example *eš-en-i̯m* 'with my friend'.

The order of CX and PX is not always the same in Udmurt (different from Finnish or Hungarian), depending on the age of development of the cases and on secondary anlogical tendencies. The distribution of the two orders is the following:

1. CX - PX: Instrumental, inessive, illative, elative, transitive, egressive;

2. PX - CX: Accusative, genitive, ablative, dative, caritive, adverbial, approximative (therefore all cases formed with the coaffixe *-l-*);

3. PX - CX or CX - PX: Both are possible in the terminative. In the case of CX - PX the PX variants typical for the inessive resp. illative are used.

As already mentioned the function of the PX is the indication of the possessor. Besides PX 3SG and to a small extent the 2SG also have other functions (sometimes connected with occurrence of other variants):

1) The PX/3SG serves for marking definiteness (primarily in the area of the object and the attribute) and as a nominalizer (cf. 2.3.5). These three areas of using this PX resp. the identical suffix are different from each other.

2) Sometimes PX 2SG, too, is used for expressing definiteness of the subject (cf. Kel'makov 2000: 24).

Case suffixes + possessive suffixes[4]
Possession in the singular

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative	-e/-i̯	-ed/i̯d	-ez/i̯z	-mi̯	-di̯	-zi̯
Accusative	-m-e	-d-e	-z-e	-m-es	-d-es	-z-es
Genitive	-e-len	-ed-len	-ez-len	-mi̯-len	-di̯-len	-zi̯-len
Ablative	-e-leś	-ed-leś	-ez-leś	-mi̯-leś	-di̯-leś	-zi̯-leś
Dative	-e-li̯	-ed-li̯	-ez-li̯	-mi̯-li̯	-di̯-li̯	-zi̯-li̯
Caritive	-e-tek	-ed-tek	-ez-tek	-mi̯-tek	-di̯-tek	-zi̯-tek
Adverbial	-e-ja	-ed-ja	-ez-ja	-mi̯-ja	-di̯-ja	-zi̯-ja
Instrumental°	-eni̯-m	-eni̯-d	-eni̯-z	-eni̯-mi̯	-eni̯-di̯	-eni̯-zi̯
Approximative	-e-lań	-ed-lań	-ez-lań	-mi̯-lań	-di̯-lań	-zi̯-lań
Inessive°	-a-m	-a-d	-a-z	-a-mi̯	-a-di̯	-a-zi̯
Illative°	-a-m	-a-d	-a-z	-a-mi̯	-a-di̯	-a-zi̯
Elative°	-i̯šti̯-m	-i̯šti̯-d	-i̯šti̯-z	-i̯šti̯-mi̯	-i̯šti̯-di̯	-i̯šti̯-zi̯
Egressive°	-i̯šeni̯-m	-i̯šeni̯-d	-i̯šeni̯-z	-i̯šeni̯-mi̯	-i̯šeni̯-di̯	-i̯šeni̯-zi̯
Transitive°	-eti-m	-eti-d	-eti-z	-eti-mi̯	-eti-di̯	-eti-zi̯
Terminative	-e-oź	-ed-oź	-ez-oź	-mi̯-oź	-di̯-oź	-zi̯-oź or
	-oźa-m	-oźa-d	-oźa-z	-oźa-mi̯	-oźa-di̯	-oźa-zi̯

Possession in the plural

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative	-jos-i̯	-jos-i̯d	-jos-i̯z	-jos-mi̯	-jos-di̯	-jos-zi̯
Accusative	-jos-m-e	-jos-t-e	-jos-s-e	-jos-m-es	-jos-t-es	-jos-s-es
Genitive	-jos-i̯-len	-jos-i̯d-len	-jos-i̯z-len	-jos-mi̯-len	-jos-ti̯-len	-jos-si̯-len
Ablative	-jos-i̯-leś	-jos-i̯d-leś	-jos-i̯z-leś	-jos-mi̯-leś	-jos-ti̯-leś	-jos-si̯-leś
Dative	-jos-i̯-li̯	-jos-i̯d-li̯	-jos-i̯z-li̯	-jos-mi̯-li̯	-jos-ti̯-li̯	-jos-si̯-li̯
Caritive	-jos-i̯-tek	-jos-i̯d-tek	-jos-i̯z-tek	-jos-mi̯-tek	-jos-ti̯-tek	-jos-si̯-tek
Adverbial	-jos-i̯-ja	-jos-i̯d-ja	-jos-i̯z-ja	-jos-mi̯-ja	-jos-ti̯-ja	-jos-si̯-ja
Instrumental°	-jos-ini̯-m	-jos-ini̯-d	-jos-ini̯-z	-jos-ini̯-mi̯	-jos-ini̯-di̯	-jos-ini̯-zi̯
Approximative	-jos-i̯-lań	-jos-i̯d-lań	-jos-i̯z-lań	-jos-mi̯-lań	-jos-ti̯-lań	-jos-si̯-lań
Inessive°	-jos-a-m	-jos-a-d	-jos-a-z	-jos-a-mi̯	-jos-a-di̯	-jos-a-zi̯
Illative°	-jos-a-m	-jos-a-d	-jos-a-z	-jos-a-mi̯	-jos-a-di̯	-jos-a-zi̯
Elative°	-jos-i̯šti̯-m	-jos-i̯šti̯-d	-jos-i̯šti̯-z	-jos-i̯šti̯-mi̯	-jos-i̯šti̯-di̯	-jos-i̯šti̯-zi̯
Egressive°	-jos-i̯šeni̯-m	-jos-i̯šeni̯-d	-jos-i̯šeni̯-z	-jos-i̯šeni̯-mi̯	-jos-i̯šeni̯-di̯	-jos-i̯šeni̯-zi̯
Transitive°	-jos-ti-m	-jos-ti-d	-jos-ti-z	-jos-eti-rii	-jos-eti-di̯	-jos-eti-zi̯
Terminative	-jos-i̯-oź	-jos-i̯d-oź	-jos-i̯z-oź	-jos-mi̯-oź	-jos-ti̯-oź	-jos-zi̯-oź or
	-jos-oźa-m	-jos-oźa-d	-jos-oźa-z	-jos-oźa-mi̯	-jos-oźa-di̯	-jos-oźa-zi̯

[4] The list does not contain any variants. Those which are listed are used after consonant. See above for the variants. "°" indicates the cases with the order CX - PX.

Separate forms for reflexive possessives are lacking, so the regular possessive affixes are used in the reflexive function:

(73) so   ni̯l-i̯n-i̯z   veraśk-i-z
   He/she daughter-INSTR-3SG talk-PRET-3SG
   'He/she talked to his/her daughter'

Examples of the use of PX:

1. A noun accompanied with a genitive attribute always has a PX:

(74) Ondi-len   ni̯l-i̯z
   PN-GEN   daughter-3SG
   'The daughter of Ondi'

(75) pi-je-len   ki̯śno-jez-len   vi̯n-i̯z
   son-1SG-GEN wife-3SG-GEN   sister-3SG
   'The sister of the wife of my son'

If the reference of the PX ist clear (1st and 2nd persons) the genitive attribute is used only if the person has to be emphasized:

(76) (mi̯nam)   pi-je
   I-GEN   son-1SG
   'my son'

2. Habeo-construction:

(77) so-len   už-ez   ęvel
   he/she-GEN   work-3SG NEX
   'He/she has no work'

In this case, too, the genitive attribute appears only if the denoted person is emphasized:

(78) (mi̯n-am) ki̯k   pinal-e   vań
   I-GEN   two   child-1SG EX/PRS
   'I have two children'

In the habeo-construction the constituent expressing possession obligatorily bears the PX denoting the possessor. If the denotation is different, must be used another structure:

(79) kin   dor-i̯n   (~ ki-i̯n)   kńiga-je?
   who   side-IN   (hand-IN)   book-1SG
   'Who has my book?'

3. Postpositional syntagms:

If the postposition in question belongs to the group of declined/declineable postpositions, the PX is added in any case to the postposition:

(80) *žek* *ul-in*

 table under-IN

 'under the table'

(81) *(min-am)* *žek-e*

 I-GEN table-1SG

 'my table'

(82) *žek* *ul-a-m*

 table under-IN-1SG

 'under my table'

Otherwise the PX is added to the noun:

(83) *nilpi-os-i* *ponna*

 child-PL-1SG for

 'for my children'

2.3.1.4 Definiteness

Definiteness can be marked morphologically in Udmurt. Strictly speaking it is a kind of contrastive emphasis whose background need not be expressed explicitly in the context.

The domain of this category are the primarily attributively used parts of speech, i. e. cases like:

(84) *badžim-eš-jos-az* *gurt-jos-in*

 large-PL-PL-DEF/IN village-PL-IN

 'in the large villages'

In the field of the accusative object the ending is traditionally classified as a case suffix (see above):

(85) *mon* *(ta)* *kńiga-jez* *lidž-i*

 I DEM book-ACC read-PRET/1SG

 'I have read this book' or 'the book (about which we just talked)'

Examples of the use in the field of the subject:

(86) *guždor* *vilin* *turin-ez* *čeber*

 meadow(-NOM) on grass-DEF beautiful

 'On the meadow the grass is beautiful'

(87) *kalik-ez* *troz*

 people-DEF much

 '(there is) a lot of people'

The last example reveals another function of the definite suffix, namely a kind of partitive; literally 'of the people much'.

The declension of nouns with the definite suffix is identical with that of nouns + PX 3SG except the following cases: elative (here *-ez-iš* vs *-išti-z*), egressive (here *-ez-išen* vs *-išeni-z*) and

transitive (here *-ez-eti* vs *-(j)eti-z*). The order CX and DEF is therefore more standardized than CX and PX 3SG. Cf. the paradigm in 2.3.5.

2.3.2 Pronouns

The pronouns can be divided in two groups, primary (and non-compounded) and secondary (compounded) stems. To the first group belong personal, reflexive, (some) interrogative and demonstrative pronouns,to the second indefinite, reciprocal, some demonstrative and quantitative pronouns.

The inflexion of pronouns differs from that of nouns in the following ways:

1) There are some kind of variants not appearing in the field of nouns.

2) Partly different case suffixes are used.

3) In some cases a pleonastic PX forms a unit with the CX.

The pronouns have different functions, they are pro-nouns, pro-adjectives and pro-adverbs. As a rule they are inflected, as pro-nouns generally and as pro-adjectives (that is in attributive function) only if they bear DEF.

2.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

The deviations mentioned above concern the personal pronouns of the 1SG/PL and 2SG/PL, namely:

1) Stem variants: in the singular *mon-* ~ *min-*, *ton-* ~ *tin-* (the last one in the genitive, ablative and dative), in the plural *mi-* ~ *mil'-* and *ti-* ~ *til'-* (the latter in the accusative und instrumental too);

2) other case suffixes: accusative 0 or *-ez* vs *-e* (cf. accusative of nouns with PX); ablative *-leš* vs *-ešt-*, besides the suffixes of genitive and dative fused with the PX;

3) Additional PX appear in the accusative, ablative, dative (PL) and instrumental (PL and SG only in the southern dialects), fused with the CX in the genitive, dative (SG, PL only in the northern dialects).

The personal pronoun of the 3rd person, identical with the demonstrative pronoun, is inflected like the nouns. As said above, nouns denoting animate referents are inflected only according to the grammatical cases. The parallel forms are dialect variants (S = southern, N = northern), both are permitted in the literary standard.

Declension of the personal pronouns

		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative		*mon*	*ton*	*so*	*mi*	*ti*	*so-os*
Accusative	(S)	*mon-e*	*ton-e*	*so-je*	*miľ-em-iz*	*tiľ-ed-iz*	*so-os-iz*
	(N)				*miľ-em-di*	*tiľ-ed-di*	*so-os-ti*
Genitive		*min-am*	*tin-ad*	*so-len*	*miľ-am*	*tiľ-ad*	*so-os-len*
Ablative		*min-ešti-m*	*tin-ešti-d*	*so-leš*	*miľ-ešti-m*	*tiľ-ešti-d*	*so-os-leš*
Dative	(S)	*min-im*	*tin-id*	*so-li*	*miľ-em-li*	*tiľ-ed-li*	*so-os-li*
	(N)				*miľ-em*	*tiľ-ed*	
Caritive		*mon-tek*	*ton-tek*	*so-tek*	*mi-tek*	*ti-tek*	*so-os-tek*
Adverbial		*mon-ja*	*ton-ja*	*so-ja*	*mi-ja*	*ti-ja*	*so-os-ja*
Instrumental	(S)	*mon-en*	*ton-en*	*so-in*	*miľ-em-in*	*tiľ-ed-in*	*so-os-in*
	(N)	*mon-eni-m*	*ton-eni-d*		*miľ-eni-mi*	*tiľ-eni-di*	
Approximative		*mon-lań*	*ton-lań*	*so-lań*	*mi-lań*	*ti-lań*	*so-os-lań*

Local relations are marked by a postposition plus PX: *vila-m* 'on me', *dora-d* 'to you', *ula-mi* 'below us' etc. (the postpositional structure - personal pronoun instead PX - is possible, too: *mon vilin* etc).

The additional use of the genitive of the personal pronoun marks the emphasizing of the possessive relation: *eš-e* 'my friend' vs *minam eš-e* 'MY friend'. The ablative of the personal pronoun is used, if the noun (= head) itself stands in the accusative: *mineštim eš-me* 'MY friend (ACC)'. Still more emphasizing is the use of the genitive resp. ablative of the personal pronoun if it bears the DEF and therefore shows agreement with the noun: *min-am-ez gurt-e* (NOM.) 'just my village', *min-am-ez-leń gurt-e-leń* (GEN), *min-am-ez-li gurt-e-li* (DAT), *min-ešt-im-ez gurt-m-e* (ACC) etc.

2.3.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are simple and compounded demonstrative pronouns. As shown below, deictic and anaphoric demonstratives oppose two degrees of deixis: proximal and distal deixis. The Udmurt inventory is the following:

1. Deictic demonstratives:

proximal	distal
ta 'this'	*so* 'that'
ta-iz 'this very'	*so-iz* 'that very'

2. Anaphoric demonstratives:

tače 'like this'	*siče* 'like that'
tače-jez 'like this very'	*siče-jez* 'like that very'

3. Quantifying demonstratives:

ta-minda 'this much'	*so-minda* 'that much'

The second pairs of the first two groups consist of stem + DEF. The second part of the quantifying demonstratives is an also independently occurring word with the meaning 'about, approximately'.

The inflexion of the demonstrative pronouns is very regular and follows that of the nouns. That of the demonstratives + DEF is equal to the inflexion of the nouns + PX3SG (that is, it differs from other parts of speech + DEF). The paradigm of the non-compounded pronouns is again suppletive inasmuch as the forms of the local cases are formed by postpositions (the terminative of the compounded pronouns, too).

Declension of the demonstrative pronouns

	SG		PL	
Nominative	*ta*	*ta-iz*	*ta-os*	*ta-os-iz*
Accusative	*ta-je*	*ta-ze*	*ta-os-iz/-ti*	*ta-os-se*
Genitive	*ta-len*	*ta-iz-len*	*ta-os-len*	*ta-os-iz-len*
Ablative	*ta-leš*	*ta-iz-leš*	*ta-os-leš*	*ta-os-iz-leš*
Dative	*ta-li*	*ta-iz-li*	*ta-os-li*	*ta-os-iz-li*
Caritive	*ta-tek*	*ta-iz-tek*	*ta-os-tek*	*ta-os-iz-tek*
Adverbial	*ta-ja*	*ta-iz-ja*	*ta-os-ja*	*ta-os-iz-ja*
Instrumental	*ta-in*	*ta-in-iz*	*ta-os-in*	*ta-os-in-iz*
Approximative		*ta-iz-lań*		*ta-os-iz-lań*
Inessive		*ta-ja-z*		*ta-os-a-z*
Illative		*ta-ja-z*		*ta-os-a-z*
Elative		*ta-išti-z*		*ta-os-išti-z*
Egressive		*ta-išeni-z*		*ta-os-išeni-z*
Transitive		*ta-jeti-z*		*ta-os-eti-z*
Terminative		*ta-iz dorož*		*ta-os-iz dorož*

By postponed *ik* (for example *so ik* 'just that', *siče ik* 'just like that') the referential identity is expressed (probably according to the Russian *же*).

2.3.2.3 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronoun has three stem variants: *as-*, *ač-* (only in the singular) and *aš-* (only in the plural). In the singular *as-* and *ač-* are clearly distributed: *as-* in the accusative, the *l*-cases (GEN, ABL, DAT) und the instrumental, *ač-* elsewhere.

The reflexive pronoun is always inflected with PX. In the singular paradigm the endings are largely identical with those of the personal pronouns (except ACC, here without *l*, and the 3SG which follows the pattern of the other reflexives and not that of the nouns), that means, the order of CX and PX depends on the case. The plural paradigm in contrast is very uniform: stem - PX -

(PL -) CX. Only the southern variants of ACC and INSTR deviate, because they bear two PX. As said above, the paradigm contains only the grammatical cases.

Declension of the reflexive pronouns

		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative		aćim	aćid	aćiz	aš-me-os	aš-te-os	aš-se-os
Accusative	(S)	as-m-e	as-t-e	as-s-e	aš-me-m-iz	aš-te-d-iz	aš-se-z-iz
	(N)				aš-me-di	aš-te-di	aš-se-zi
Genitive		as-lam	as-lad	as-laz	aš-me-len	aš-te-len	aš-se-len
Ablative		as-lešt-im	as-lešt-id	as-lešt-iz	aš-me-leš	aš-te-leš	aš-se-leš
Dative		as-lim	as-lid	as-liz	aš-me-li	aš-te-li	aš-se-li
Caritive	(S)	aćim-tek	aćid-tek	aćiz-tek	aš-me-tek	aš-te-tek	aš-se-tek
	(N)				aš-me-os-tek	aš-te-os-tek	aš-se-os-tek
Adverbial	(S)	aćim-ja	aćid-ja	aćiz-ja	aš-me-ja	aš-te-ja	aš-se-ja
	(N)				aš-me-os-ja	aš-te-os-ja	aš-se-os-ja
Instrumental	(S)	as-en-im	as-en-id	as-en-iz	aš-me-m-in	aš-te-d-in	aš-se-z-in
	(N)				aš-me-os-in	aš-te-os-in	aš-se-os-in
Approximative		aćim-lań	aćid-lań	aćiz-lań	aš-me-lań	aš-te-lań	aš-se-lań
	(N)				aš-me-os-lań	aš-te-os-lań	aš-se-os-lań

Examples of the function:

The genitive form is used for emphasizing the possessive relation:

(88)   *as-lam*   *korka-je*

                 house-1SG

              'my own house'

Pro-adjective functions:

1) Following a noun (especially personal pronouns and names) and being in agreement with them it emphasizes the referent of the noun:

(89)   *mon*   *aćim*   *so-li*   *kužim-ez*   *šot-i*

        I   myself-1SG   he/she-DAT   gift-ACC   give-PRET/1SG

        'I myself gave him the gift'

(90)   *so*   *minim*   *kužim-ze*   *as-lim*   *šot-i-z*

        he/she   I-DAT   gift-ACC/3SG   myself-DAT/1SG   give-PRET-3SG

        'He/she gave me myself the gift'

2) The stem *as-* alone as well as the forms of GEN resp. ABL (if the governing constituent functions as a direct object in the sentence) are used as an adjective with the meaning 'own':

(91)   *so*   *as*   *kil-in-iz*   *verašk-e*

        he/she   language-IN-3SG   speak-PRS/3SG

        'He speaks in his own language'

Usually the governing constituent bears PX, but it is used without PX as well.

2.3.2.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocals are compounded and consist of the variants of the numeral 'one', *og* and *odig*, namely *og - og-*, *odig - og-* or *odig- - og-*, to which the respective PX is added, either only to the first part or to both: 1PL *og-ogmi ~ odig-ogmi ~ odigmi-ogmi*.

The inflexion follows the pattern of the nouns with PX (2.3.1.3). The CX appears only on one part of the compound; if it is added to the second, the first does not even bear PX: *og-ogmes ~ odig-ogmes ~ odigmes-ogmi* (1PL/ACC), *og-ogmilen ~ odig-ogmilen ~ odigmilen-ogmi* (1PL/GEN) etc. The forms of the nominative are used with postpositions: *ogmi dorin ogmi* or *og-ogmi dorin* 'we together'.

2.3.2.5 Interrogative/relative pronouns

The most important interrogatives are simple words. Udmurt has the following inventory: *kin* 'who (persons)', *ma, mar* 'what (non-persons)'[5], *kiče* 'what kind', *kud* 'which' and *keńa* 'how much'; compounded: *kud-iz* (with DEF) 'which' and *kud-mi, kud-di, kud-zi* 'which of us/you/ them' (with PX1PL/2PL/3PL). *Ma, mar* are free variants. The use of *kud* (without DEF) is very restricted (for example *kud palaš* 'from which side').

The non-compounded interrogatives decline like nouns (for example *kin-e* (ACC), *kin-len* (GEN), *ma(r)-li* (DAT), *ma-in/mar-en* (INSTR)), *kud-iz* is declined like an adjective + DEF and the other compounded interrogatives follow the pattern of nouns with corresponding PX. Again only the grammatical cases of *kin* are in use.

Examples:

(92)   *kin-ed*   *vań*   *korka-d?*

        who-2SG   EX/PRS   house-(IN)/2SG

        'Who is in your house'

(93)   *kud-iz-li*   *pi-jed-li*   *korka*   *pukt-i-d?*

        which-DEF-DAT   son-2SG-DAT   house(-ACC)   build-PRET-2SG

        'For which one of yours did you build a house?'

The interrogative pronouns function as relative pronouns, too (see 3.3.2).

2.3.2.6 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns are compounded and consist of the interrogative as the pronominal component. The second element is either a prefix (*no-*[6]) or a particle (suffixed or postponed *ke* 'if, when', prefixed *olo* 'perhaps').

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[5] Recently *kin* has been used for animate, *ma(r)* for inanimate objects due to Russian influence.

[6] *ńeno-* is used in the dialects and in poetic style.

olo-kin	'someone'	*(ńe)no-kin*	'no one'	*kin ke ~ kinke*	'whoever'
-ma(r)	'somewhat, -thing'	*-ma(r)*	'nothing'	*ma(r)ke*	'whatever'
-kud(iz)	'some, any'	*-kud(iz)*	'nobody'	*kudiz ke*	'whichever'
-kiče	'some kind'	*-kiče*	'none'	*kiče ke*	'which kind ever'
-keńa	'some, several'	*-keńa*	'none at all'	*keńa ke*	'some, several'

The indefinites are declined like the corresponding interrogative pronouns. In the case of *kinke* (with suffixed *ke*) the inflexional endings are added to the end of the word (for example DAT *kinkeli*), in the case of *kin ke* to *kin*: *kinli ke*. If a (pluralic) PX is added to the pronoun (for example *nokinmi* 'no one of us'), it declines like a noun + PX.

2.3.2.7 Quantitative pronouns

Quantitative pronouns are partly compounded, partly simple words. To the first group belong those formed with the prefix *kot'-* (probably from the Russian *хоть*) and interrogatives: *kot'kin* 'anyone, everyone, no matter who', *kot'ma(r)*, *kot'kud(iz)*, *kot'kiče* 'anything, everything, no matter what', *kot'keńa* 'no matter how much'. In the second group are *vań*, *vańmiz* 'all', which is identical with the existential verb *vań* 'there is/are', *muket* 'other' and *bides* 'all'.

For the declension see 2.3.2.6. *vańmiz* declines like an adjective + DEF.

Part of the quantitative pronouns are the numerals, derived by *-na* and provided with PX expressing the number of the persons to which the PX refers: *og-na-m* 'I alone', *kik-na-mi* 'we both', *vit'-na-di* 'you five'. Their declension deviate from that of the nouns + PX in so far as it has a uniform order of PX and CX and it uses some different CX (ACC of the pluralic PX). As an example the paradigm of 'one' ('I alone', 'you alone' etc.) is given below.

Declension of the pronominalized numerals

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Nominative	*og-na-m*	*og-na-d*	*og-na-z*	*og-na-mi*	*og-na-di*	*og-na-zi*
Accusative	*og-na-m-e*	*og-na-d-e*	*og-na-z-e*	*og-na-m-esti*	*og-na-d-esti*	*og-na-z-esti*
Genitive	*og-na-m-len*	*og-na-d-len*	*og-na-z-len*	*og-na-mi-len*	*og-na-di-len*	*og-na-zi-len*
Ablative	*og-na-m-leš*	*og-na-d-leš*	*og-na-z-leš*	*og-na-mi-leš*	*og-na-di-leš*	*og-na-zi-leš*
Dative	*og-na-m-li*	*og-na-d-li*	*og-na-z-li*	*og-na-mi-li*	*og-na-di-li*	*og-na-zi-li*
Caritive	*og-na-m-tek*	*og-na-d-tek*	*og-na-z-tek*	*og-na-mi-tek*	*og-na-di-tek*	*og-na-zi-tek*
Adverbial	*og-na-m-ja*	*og-na-d-ja*	*og-na-z-ja*	*og-na-mi-ja*	*og-na-di-ja*	*og-na-zi-ja*
Instrumental	*og-na-m-en*	*og-na-d-en*	*og-na-z-en*	*og-na-mi-jen*	*og-na-di-jen*	*og-na-zi-jen*

2.3.3 Numerals

Synchronically the cardinal numerals 1-10, 20, 30, 100 and 1000 are simple words. The decimal numerals from 40 to 90 are derived by *-don/-ton* and all the other numerals are simply compounds with the smaller numeral at the end.

Numerals as attributes are never inflected (no agreement) except when they bear DEF. The governing constituent appears in the singular or in the plural; the latter is a secondary phenomenon.

Cardinal numbers

1	*odig*	10	*das*	100	*šu*	1000	*šurs*
2	*kik*	20	*kiž*				
3	*kuiń*	30	*kuamin*				
4	*ńiľ*	40	*ńiľdon*				
5	*viť*	50	*viťton*				
6	*kuať*	60	*kuaťton*				
7	*šižim*	70	*šižimdon*				
8	*ťamis*	80	*ťamiston*				
9	*ukmis*	90	*ukmiston*				

Examples of compounded cardinals: *das odig* 'eleven', *kiž kik* 'twenty two', *kik šu kuamin viť* 'two hundred thirty five' etc.

(94)

ńiľdon	*viť*	*skal-li ~ skal-jos-li*	*gid*	*lešt-i-zi*
forty	five	cow-DAT ~PL-DAT	barn(-ACC)	build-PRET-3PL

'They built a barn for 45 cows'

(95)

odig-az	*siče*	*korka-n*	*viľ*	*škola*
one-IN/3SG	like that	house-IN	new	school(-NOM)

'In one of such houses there is a new school'

The cardinal numerals are declined for case, possession and definiteness like nouns. Only the last part of compounded numerals receives the ending.

Ordinals are derived from cardinals by the suffix *-eti* (suppletive *ńiriš-eti* 'first', but in compounded numerals *odig-eti*), fractionals by *-mos*.

(96)

so	*ul-i-z*	*kuamin*	*ńiľ-eti-jaz*	*kvarťira-in*
he/she	live-PRET-3SG	thirty	four-ORD-DEF/IN	apartment-IN

'He/she lived in the apartment number 35'

(97)

kuiń	*ńiľ-mos*
three	four-FRAC

'three quarters'

An approximate quantity or value is expressed - besides by lexical means - in the following way:

a) by *og* ('one'): *og ukmiston mašina* 'about 90 cars';

b) by deriving the numeral by *-o*: *das-o minut-jos* 'about 10 minutes'.

2.3.4 Adjectives

Morphologically adjectives differ from nouns in the following respect:

a) The derivational suffixes for adjectives (s. 2.3.4) are different from those for nouns (but there are many underived adjectives which do not differ from underived nouns).

b) Adjectives are inflected with regard to comparison (the comparison suffix however appears with nouns, too - in other functions, see 2.5.3).

c) Without DEF they are declined only with regard to number.

In attributive function the adjective precedes the governing constituent and it does not show agreement with regard to case, but probably to number in the case of the plural. The plural suffix of the adjective is *-eś*:

(98)   *badžim   gurt-jos*   (98')   *badžim-eś gurt-jos*

      large   village-PL   large-PL   village-PL

      'large villages (in general)'   'large villages (everyone is large)'

The difference between (98) and (98') is that in the latter the individual units are to the fore.

(99)   *badžim(-eś)   gurt-jos-in*

      large(-PL)   village-PL-IN

      'in large villages'.

If provided with DEF, the adjective attribute agrees in case as well with the governing constituent:

(100)   *badžim-eś-jos-iz   gurt-jos*

       large-PL-PL-DEF   village-PL

       'the large villages'

(101)   *badžim-eś-jos-az   gurt-jos-in*

       large-PL-PL-DEF/IN   village-PL-IN

       'in the large villages'

In cases like these the plural is expressed twice because the suffix of definiteness also demands marking with respect to number. The declension of adjectives + DEF is like that of nouns + PX 3SG.

As a predicative noun the adjective agrees with regard to number too:

(102)   *gurt-jos   badžim-eś*

       village-PL   large-PL

       'The villages are large'

2.3.4.1 Comparison

1) The absolute degree is unmarked.

2) The comparative is formed with the suffix *-ges* (or *-gem*). In predicative function the plural suffix *-eś* precedes the comparative suffix. The compared constituent is marked either by the ablative or by nominative + postposition *šariś* 'of, about':

(103)   *kilometr   iškem-leś/iškem   šariś   vakči-ges*

       kilometer(-NOM)   mile-ABL/(NOM)   about   short-COMP

       'A kilometer is shorter than a mile'

(104)   *otin   pispu-os   žužit-eś-ges*

       there   tree-PL   high-PL-COMP

       'There the trees are higher'

The use of the comparative is not obligatory. If the (syntactic) context is clear (for example if there is a compared constituent in the ablative or as a postpositional constituent), the use of the positive is possible as well:

(103')   *kilometr iškem-leś/iškem šariś vakči*

The semantic difference is that, that in (103') only the difference is emphasized, whereas in (103) priority is given to the extent of the difference.

If the adjective in attributive function is declined (because of DEF), the comparative suffix can precede or follow (this is the rule) the other inflexional suffixes:

(105)   *badžim-ez-len-ges   gurt-len*   (oder: *badžim-ges-ez-len*)

       large-DEF-GEN-COMP   village-GEN

       'of this larger village'

The comparative suffix *-ges/-gem* occurs added to adverbs (*kema-ges* 'longer') as well as to certain particles (*tros-ges* 'very') too.

Apart from this comparative function the suffix can also express just the opposite, namely indicate the smaller degree of the quality; in this case the syntactical context differs from that of the real comparison in that is there is no compared constituent marked by the ablative or nominative + postposition *šariś* 'of, about':

(106)   *Sandir-len čagir-ges   šin-jos-az   šinkil'i-os pot-i-zi*

       PN   blue-"COMP"   eye-PL-ILL/3SG   tear-PL   leave-PRET-3PL

       'Tears welled up in Sandirs bluish eyes'

-ges/-gem can actually even be added to finite verbal forms (and to gerunds, participles, predicative nouns) as the last part of the sequence of suffixes. It marks the extent of the predication and its scale extends from 'more' to 'less' due to the fact that the suffix has two functions which are not always syntactically differentiated: the version depends on the context.

(107)   *al'i   mon no   viši-śko-ges*

       now   I   too   be ill-PRS/1SG-QUANT

       'Now I'm a little bit ill too'

(108)   *soku   otin   ke   lui-sal-mi,   vala-sal-mi-ges*

       then   there   if   be-KOND-1PL   understand-KOND-1PL-QUANT

       'If we had been there at that time, we would understand it (a little bit) better'

3) There is no morphologically formed superlative, but there are some analytic possibilities:

a) the particle *samoj* (borrowed from Russian) + positive (+ DEF, if necessary): *samoj badžim* 'biggest';

b) the quantitative pronouns *vaṅmiz* 'all', *koťkin, koťma, koťkudiz* 'no matter who/what' in the ablative + positive (+ DEF, if necessary): *vaṅmizleś vịľ* 'newest';

c) the combination of the adjective in the ablative + *no* + the same adjective in the positive: *tẹḍi-leś no tẹḍ i* 'whitest'.

4) A kind of superlative - better: intensive - can be formed with the help of particles or by reduplication:

a) the particles *tuž, ukịr, jun* 'very' + positive, z.B. *jun mur* 'deepest' or in predicative function *tuž* + COMP *-ges* + positive: *tužges no vịľ* 'newest';

b) reduplication of the lexeme: *gord-gord* 'reddest'.

5) There is no morphologically formed equative in Udmurt. Paraphrases use lexical means and the positive: *kaď* 'like' or *bịdža* 'as big as etc.'.

2.3.4.2 Adverbs

The number of simple words is small (that means, of such lexemes that are only adverbs). Morphologically they do not differ from other parts of speech. Examples: *junme* 'in vain', *jalan* 'always', *kema* 'a long time' etc.

In most cases verbal modification is expressed by morphologically unmarked adjectives (in the positive and the comparative degree) and (in some cases) nouns, for example *sižịl* 'in autumn'. Besides there are some adverbs derived from adjectives or nouns. A few of them are petrified sporadic cases, like *tolalte* 'in winter' (*tol* 'winter'), whereas the others form small groups; their derivational suffixes are not or only restrictedly productive. To these belong:

-bịt for nouns marking time of day and year, for example *lum-bịt* 'the whole day', *gužem-bịt* 'the whole summer'.

-(s)kịn for the same kind of nouns, for example *ar-skịn* 'through the year', *uj-bịt-skịn* 'through the whole night' and for derived simple cardinal numerals marking a period of time, *das-oj-skịn* 'in the course of 10 days'. To a small extent this suffix derives adverbs like *umoj-skịn* 'during good times' (*umoj* 'good').

-oj derives expressions for period of time from cardinal numerals, *kịkt-oj* 'through two days (and nights)'.

-ak derives adverbs of manner like *čal-ak* 'quietly' (from *čal*), *vaj-ak* 'wide open' (from *vaj* 'fork').

-(j)en (identical with INSTR), for example *žog-en* from *žog* 'fast' or *og-en* 'alone, separate' from *og* 'one', *kịk-en* 'in twos' from *kịk* 'two'.

-iś (identical with EL), for example *kužm-iś* 'by force' (from *kužịm* 'force').

Spatial adverbs are typically distributed among regular series with local cases, for example:

	IN	ILL	EL	EGR	TER	TR	APPR
'here'	tat-ịn	tat-ći	tat-iś	tat-ịšen	tat-ći-ož	ta-ti	ta-laṅ
'there'	ot-ịn	ot-ći	ot-iś	ot-ịšen	ot-ći-ož	o-ti	o-laṅ
'nowhere'	no-kịt-ịn	no-kịt-ći	no-kịt-iś	no-kịt-ịšen		no-kị-ti	
'below'	ul-ịn	ul-e	ul-iś	ul-ịšen		ul-ti	ul-laṅ
'up'	vịl-ịn	vịl-e	vịl-iś	vịl-ịšen		vịl-ti	vịl-laṅ

Other possibilities to form adverbs are combining either different lexemes with the same endings (like *šintem-peľtem* 'carefree, -less' (lit. 'without eyes- without ears'), *ujen-nunalen* 'day and night') or the same lexeme twice (like *dịrịn-dịrịn* 'from time to time' (lit. 'in the time-in the time')) etc.

2.3.5 Nominal categorizers

The derivative formation of nouns is weakly developed with regard to the agglutinative character of the language, a phenomenon which is not rare in the Finno-Ugric languages.

One can distinguish three kinds of nominal categorizers:

a) Those taking a declined noun (or even a syntagm) as their basis,

b) those which derive nouns from verbs and

c) those which operate within the area of nouns.

1) By means of PX3SG[7] declined nouns can be "nominalized". Semantically they are shortened, synthetic expressions of complex expressions, the nominalizer marking the known (from the context) part without designating it explicitly:

(109) *Ivan-len gurt-ez* - (109') *Ivan-len-ez*
PN-GEN village-3SG PN-GEN-NOMIN
'village of Ivan' 'that of Ivan'

(110) *Ivan-len-ez-len ľipet-ez*
PN-GEN-NOMIN-GEN roof-3SG
'the roof of that of Ivan'

---

[7] The declension of those nouns is equal to nouns + DEF deviating in EL, EGR and TR from nouns + PX/3SG ab. Example:

Nominative	gurt-len-ez	Approximative	gurt-len-ez-laṅ
Accusative	gurt-len-ze	Inessive	gurt-len-a-z
Genitive	gurt-len-ez-len	Illative	gurt-len-a-z
Ablative	gurt-len-ez-leś	Elative	gurt-len-ez-iś
Dative	gurt-len-ez-li	Egressive	gurt-len-ez-ịšen
Caritive	gurt-len-ez-tek	Transitive	gurt-len-ez-eti
Adverbial	gurt-len-ez-ja	Terminative	gurt-len-ez-ož
Instrumental	gurt-len-en-ịz		

(111)   *eš-jos-mi̧-len-jos-i̧z-li̧*
        friend-PL-1PL-GEN-PL-NOMIN-DAT
        'to those of our friends/belonging to our friends'

The basis can be a declined noun (*ton-en-ez* 'that, which is with you', INSTR from 'you'), adverbs (like *tati̧š-ez* 'that, which is from there'), postpositional syntagms (like *ton ponna-jez* 'that, which is for you', *ponna* 'for') and infinite verbal forms (like *vuza-no-jez* 'that which is to be sold', s. 2.4.5.2).

2) Deverbal categorizers only form substantives, like *-on/-n* (*verašk-on* 'conversation' from *veraškini̧* 'to talk'; rarely used as adjectives too), *-et* (*jurtt-et* 'help' from *jurtti̧ni̧* 'to help') or *-em/-m* (*puk-em* 'chair' from *puki̧ni̧* 'to sit'); this last form is identical with the ending of the participle perfect. There is no semantic difference between these two forms, but a syntactical: While the participle form retains its government pattern, the deverbal derived substantive behaves like a real noun in the sense that it governs only adnominal modifiers in the genitive. In practice the difference is not always clear.

3) Denominal categorizers to a larger extent form adjectives - like *-o* (*kužmo* 'strong' from *kuži̧m* 'strength'), *-tem* (*vutem* 'without water' from *vu* 'water') - and some substantives, like *-li̧k* (*tazali̧k* 'health' from *taza* 'healthy'; suffix borrowed from Tatar). The suffix *-jos* identical with the plural marker forms collective nouns, even from declined nouns like *aš-me-len-jos* 'those who belong to us' (reflexive pronoun + 1PL + GEN + COLL).

There are no morphological means for marking the categories equative, diminutive and augmentative.

2.4 Verbal morphology

Verb-forms can be classified as finite and infinite. A finite verb-form is marked for the categories tense/mood and for person/number in agreement with the subject; there is no morphological finite passiv. These four categories are not limitlessly compatible with each other. Besides the morphologically marked categories there are also those marked with the help of derivative or lexical means (2.4.5 and 2.4.2.2).

The main categories are synthetically formed. The order of these categories is the following: (stem) - tense/mood - person (- number). Analytically formed are certain tense- and mood-forms (by means of particles = infinite auxiliary verbs) and all negative forms (with the help of a negative verb).

The infinite verbal forms are synthetically formed. They are used in functions typically fulfilled by other parts of speech: participles (used as noun modifiers), gerunds (verbal adverbs), infinitive and action nominals (verbal nouns).

Udmurt has *i̧*- and *a*-stems and corresponding to them two conjugational classes. Synchronically there are no semantic differences between these two classes; historically the *a*-stems are derived by the frequentative *-al-* (the *-l-* is preserved in the PRS 3PL). Morphologically these two stems differ from each other: the *a*-stems always keep the stem-vowel (= *-a*), whereas in the *i̧*-stems the alternations $i̧ \sim i \sim 0$ occur:

a) The stem vowel disappears, when the anlaut of the suffix is a vowel: **mi̧ni̧-o > mino* 'I shall go': $i̧ > V_x /\_\#V_x$ (-).

b) The stem-vowel changes into *i* before a suffix with initial palatal C (= *š́*, *ĺ*): $i̧ > i/\_\#š́$(-) (but before non-palatal C *i̧*: *mi̧ni̧-mte-jez* 'they say that he has not gone'; *mi̧ni̧-sal* 'I would go'; *gožti̧-ti̧-ni̧* 'to let write').

The traditional approach says that there are two stems, a longer one with this *-i̧* and a shorter one without this *i̧* (and *i* as part of the following suffix).

Udmurt has no conjugateable verb 'to be', but only two petrified forms of it, the preterital form *val* and the form of the participle *vi̧lem* also expressing modal nuances. These two forms are also used as a kind of an existential verb, which has a corresponding form of the present: *vań*.[8] The negative forms are: present *ęvęl*, preterite *ej val* and participle *vi̧lem ęvęl* resp. *vi̧limte*. These particles show verbal behaviour in so far as they take the same position in a clause as real verbs, namely usually the clause-final. On the other hand *ęvęl* and *vań* appear with the case suffix of the instrumental:

(112)   *końdon*   *ęvęl-en*
        money   NEX-INSTR
        'due to lack of money'

(113)   *ton*   *vań-en*   *umoj*   *uli̧-ško*
        you   EX-INSTR   well   live-PRS/1SG
        lit. 'I live well having you'

ęvęl even occurs derived: *ęvęl-tem* 'lacking' (lit. NEX-without). In this case the derivational suffix does not add any new semantic nuance to the word, but transfers it to an adjective.

The form of the dictionary is the infinitive (ending in *-ni̧*), preceded by the vowel of the stem (*-a* resp. *-i̧*).

2.4.1 Personal suffixes

In Udmurt the categories person and number cannot always be strictly distinguished. Besides, the marking is not always very clear: On the one hand, different suffixes are used for one category, on the other hand one suffix can partly mark different categories. In parts of some

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[8] According to that three functions - EX/PRET, COP/PRET and AUX/PRET - are related to *val*. By the way, *vań* is homonymous with the word for 'all'.

categories there is no marking of person and number. Udmurt has the following personal suffixes:

	SG		PL		Negative verb SG		PL	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
1st person	0	-j	-m(i)		-g	-j	-m	
2nd person	-d	0	-di	-ele	-d	-n	-d	-n
3rd person	-z	-e/0	-zi	-o/-lo;	-z	-g	-z	-g

(1) shows the regular suffixes, (2) the variants:

a) 1SG: *j* (< *i*, historically the marker of the preterite) appears in the preterite of the *a*-stems and the negative verb.

b) 2SG/PL: the suffixes of the imperative.

c) 3SG/PL: the suffixes of the present (-*i*/*a*-stems).

These personal suffixes are identical with the corresponding PX of the nouns except 1SG. It should be mentioned that the 3PL is used in a generic sense too, like

(114) *tatin uža-lo*

      here   work-PRET/3SG

      'They work here'

2.4.2 TAM-system

Tense categories exist in the indicative and the evidential.

2.4.2.1 Tense/Aspect/Aktionsart

1. The marker of the **present** in the 1st and 2nd persons is -*ško*- (historically a frequentative suffix). The 3SG has no ending in the *a*-stems, but -*e* in the *i*-stems. The 3PL is formed by adding -*lo* in the *a*-stems, -*o* in the *i*-stems.

	i-stem	*a*-stem
	mini-ni 'go'	*uža-ni* 'work'
1 SG	*mini-ško*	*uža-ško*
2 SG	*mini-ško-d*	*uža-ško-d*
3 SG	*min-e*	*uža*
1 PL	*mini-ško-m(i)*	*uža-ško-m(i)*
2 PL	*mini-ško-di*	*uža-ško-di*
3 PL	*min-o*	*uža-lo*

The present is not only used for actions taking place at the current point of time, but also for those which will take place in the very near future:

(115) *mon   čukaže   koški-ško*

      I   tomorrow leave-PRS/1SG

      'I'll leave tomorrow'

2. The **future** (historically present) is formed with -*o*- in the *i*-stems, by -*lo*- in the *a*-stems:

1 SG	*min-o*	*uža-lo*
2 SG	*min-o-d*	*uža-lo-d*
3 SG	*min-o-z*	*uža-lo-z*
1 PL	*min-o-m(i)*	*uža-lo-m(i)*
2 PL	*min-o-di*	*uža-lo-di*
3 PL	*min-o-zi*	*uža-lo-zi*

The function of the future tense is indifferent with the regard to aspect, it is used both for resultative and irresultative actions.

3. Preterite and Pluperfect

Udmurt has two morphological and one lexical means to form past tenses, namely the (proto-Uralic) preterital suffix **i* (which is conserved as *j* in the 1SG of the *a*-stems), the (also proto-Uralic) marker of the perfect participle -*m* and the petrified verbal form *val* (see above). Forms with the participle suffix have modal functions, too (2.4.2.2), as a marker of tense it always appears with PX and in connection with *val*. Besides, *val* occurs in morphologically formed finite verbal forms of other tenses (present, future, preterite), transferring their specific features into the past.

3.1 Preterite I-IV

3.1.1 There is a difference between the two stems: the *i*-stems have the marker *i* for the preterite I, in the *a*-stems there is no separate one, the personal marker is simply added to the stem.

1 SG	*min-i*	*uža-j*
2 SG	*min-i-d*	*uža-d*
3 SG	*min-i-z*	*uža-z*
1 PL	*min-i-m(i)*	*uža-mi*
2 PL	*min-i-di*	*uža-di*
3 PL	*min-i-zi*	*uža-zi*

The preterite I, too, is indifferent with regard to aspect. For a special use of this tense see (3.3.2.1.1).

3.1.2 The preterite II is formed with the *(e)m*-participle (cf. 2.4.5.2) + PX + *vań*:

1 SG	*min-em-e vań*	*uža-m-e vań*
2 SG	*min-em-ed vań*	*uža-m-ed vań*
3 SG	*min-em-ez vań*	*uža-m-ez vań*

1 PL	mịn-em-mị vań	uža-m-mị vań
2 PL	mịn-em-dị vań	uža-m-dị vań
3 PL	mịn-em-zị vań	uža-m-zị vań

Strictly speaking these forms are not finite, but nominal + existential verb. According to this the explicitly expressed agent appears in the genitive, like *mịnam mịneme vań* (lit. 'my gone exist'). Semantically the preterite II is used for a completed action in the past (this the traditional definition), but usually there is an additional meaning, namely the general action has already taken place.

(116) *jazyčnik ...*   *kịl-em-e*   *vań*   *so*   *kịl-ez*
      (a Russian word) hear-PART-1SG EX/PRS DEM   word-ACC
      'Jazyčnik ... I heard this word (already)'

(117) *Mami, mon solị nim no šoti: Fram. Kịlemed vań-a sịče nimo punịjez? - Vań, Tol'ik, kịleme vań.*
      'Mummy, I gave it the name *Fram*. Have you already heard about a dog with such a name? - Yes, Tol'ik, I've already heard.'

3.1.3 The preterite III (the so-called durative preterite) is formed by the forms of the present + *val* like *mịniško val, mịniškod val* etc. As said above, *val* transfers, so to speak, the present into the past. According to this it expresses an irresultative continuous action of the past.

(118) *škola-ịn*   *uža-ku-m,*   *mon* *pinal-jos-tị*   *ožị ik dịšeti-ško*   *val*
      school-IN   work-GER-1SG   I   child-PL-ACC so   teach-PRS/1SG   AUX
      'When I worked in school I used to teach the children in this way'

But it's used even if the action has not taken place:

(119) *mon* *ton dorị* *pịri-ško*   *val,* *no ton* *gurt-ad*   *vịlịmte-jed*
      I   you to   go in-PRS/1SG   but   you   home-IN/2SG   NEX/PERF-2SG
      'I wanted to visit you, but it seemed that you haven't been at home'

3.1.4 The preterite IV (the so-called iterative preterite) consists of the forms of the future + *val*: *mịno val, mịnod val* etc. It expresses a repeated action in the past. In literary Udmurt only the forms of the 3rd persons are in use (the use of alternative possibilities is preferred: PRET III or iterative derivational suffix + PRET I).

(120) *anaj-ez*   *veš* *ožị vetl-o-z*   *val*
      mother-3SG always so go-FUT-3SG   AUX/PRET
      'His mother was always going in this way'

3.2 Pluperfect I-II

3.2.1 The pluperfect I is formed with the forms of the preterite I + *val* like *mịni val, mịnid val* etc. It corresponds semantically to the preterite I but refers to an earlier time.

3.2.2 The pluperfect II follows the pattern of the preterite II, but additionally has *val* (*mịn-em-e vań val* 'I had gone', Nasibullin 1984: 40). There is an alternative possibility (Kel'makov/Hännikäinen 1999: 245) without *vań* and in the 1SG and 3SG without marking person:

1 SG	mịn-em val	uža-m val
2 SG	mịn-em-ed val	uža-m-ed val
3 SG	min-em val	uža-m val
1 PL	mịn-em-mị val	uža-m-mị val
2 PL	mịn-em-dị val	uža-m-dị val
3 PL	mịn-em-zị val	uža-m-zị val

Semantically it is the resultative counterpart of the preterite II referring to an earlier time. In contrast to the forms of the preterite and the pluperfect hitherto treated the pluperfect II can express evidential nuances depending on the context (Alatyrev 1983: 578); in this case it is replaceable by forms of the pluperfect + *vịlem*.

Overview over the tense-aspect-aktionsart-complex

Tense:	Present	Future	Preterite				Pluperfect	
			I	II	III	IV	I	II
Aspect/Akt.:	indifferent	indifferent	perfective	durative	iterative		indifferent	perfective
Formation	synth.	synth.	synth.	analyt.	analyt.	analyt.	analyt.	analyt.
Marker:	-šk-	-o-	-i-	nomin./vań	-šk-/val	-o-/val	-i-/val	nomin./val

For the derivative possibilities to express aktionsarts and nuances of aspect see 2.4.4.2, for the analytical possibilities 2.4.5.3.

2.4.2.2 Mood

Udmurt has four moods. Traditional Udmurt grammar operates only with three moods, indicative, imperative and conditional. The category "evidential" is usually classified as a category of tense.

The first three moods are formed synthetically, the evidential only partly so.

These four moods can be divided into two semantically defined groups depending on whether the proposition is real or unreal. In connection with this the category "tense" operates only within the group of the real moods.

2.4.2.2.1 Real moods

1. The **indicative** is morphologically unmarked.

2. Udmurt has lexical and morphological means for expressing the **evidential**. To the first belong *pe* and *vịlem*, to the second the so-called perfect.

2.1 The sc perfect differs from the hitherto treated paradigms of tense, because it is indifferently formed with regard to morphology. Its marker is *-(e)m-* (identical with that of the participle, 2.4.5.2). Only in the 2SG and 3SG it is added directly to the stem, the personal suffixes (actually PX) are used optionally. In the 1SG and 1PL it is added to the stem + suffix *-šk-*, which is

identical with the present marker (and historically a frequentative); in the 1SG there is no personal suffix. In the 2PL and 3PL another frequentative suffix is added to the stem, *-l'l'a-;* the use of personal markers following the perfect suffix is again optional.

1 SG	*mịn-išk-em*	*uža-šk-em*
2 SG	*mịn-em(-ed)*	*uža-m-(ed)*
3 SG	*min-em(-ez)*	*uža-m-(ez)*
1 PL	*mịn-išk-em-mị*	*uža-šk-em-mị*
2 PL	*mịni-l'l'a-m(-dị)*	*uža-l'l'a-m(-dị)*
3 PL	*mịni-l'l'a-m(-zị)*	*uža-l'l'a-m(-zị)*

As said above, the perfect is traditionally classified as a tense category, because it expresses the completedness, the result of an action. As a rule the use of the perfect is connected with evidential nuances. That means, the existing result suggests an action which has produced this result, but the exact course or development of the action is unclear, because it is always indicated that the speaker was not a witness to the action and he is unsure how this result was exactly caused. Maybe there are some semantic groups of verbs which do not (or not always) receive evidential interpretations (s. Leinonen 2000: 423ff. with regard to the closely related Komi language).

"Evidential" (in the linguistic literature also named "narrative", "indirective", *modus obliquus* etc.) is here meant as a generic term for several nuances (first two examples from Serebrennikov 1960):

a) evidential proper: there is a source having witnessed the action.

(121) *todam lịktiz odig frontoviklen veramez. So jarate vịlem odig nịlez. Soiz, ton šamen, kịl veram. žịnị ar no ortčịmte muketse šeďtem.*

'I remembered what a frontline soldier told. It appeared that he had loved a girl. It turned out that he had given her his word. It appeared that after not even a half year (lit. a half year hadn't passed and) he had already found another (girl)'

With this meaning the sc perfect is used especially in stories heard from others and in certain folklore genres like legends or tales.

b) inferential: from the result one can draw conclusions with regard to the action having taken place.

(122) *žus vaďsịš jun kort rešetkajo uknojez šeďtiz ... Ažlo tatịn kladovka vịlem, šędske*

'Opposite the plank bed he found by trying a window with a solid iron grille ... It seems, that this here must earlier have been a little room'

c) mirative: the result is unexpected, contradicts the expectation.

(123) *vot veď   kịče   ton   aďami   vịlem-ed*

      (Russ. particles)   such   you   man   see 5.2 (+ 2SG)

      'Well, well, such a man you are!'

2.2 *vịlem* is the PART PERF of the existential verb and has the same semantic nuances as the sc perfect (based on the PART PERF as well) and here too the modal is the primary. *vịlem* functions as an evidentializer based on the completed action.

2.2.1 Verbal forms of the sc perfect + following *vịlem* mark the evidential referring to an earlier time. These forms are partly synonymous to those of the pluperfect II.

2.2.2 With the help of *vịlem* and in connection with forms of the present, future and preterite I more evidential forms of the past can be formed (that means the evidential counterparts to the tenses formed with *val*). There is no common opinion in the linguistic literature about the subtle meanings of these forms and besides the whole system is apparently not very stable, which is indicated by for example the mutual replaceability (for example in the case of the two paradigms for referring to an earlier time).

2.2.3 *vịlem* appears in connection with IMP 2SG/PL too: *vịlem* changes direct demands into quasi-indirect ones and thereby weakens them:

(124) *lešti   vịlem*

      make(-IMP/2SG)

      '(Please) do it'

2.3 *pe* "signifies that the content of a proposition represents another linguistic act: a citation or general hearsay" (Leinonen 2000: 420). Because *pe* indicates the source of the evidence, it can appear in connection with every tense form (even future and present), even with the sc perfect and forms with *vịlem* specifying the unspecified evidential meaning of these forms.

2.4.2.2.2 Irreal moods

3. The paradigm of the **imperative** is incomplete: There are only the forms of the 2nd and 3rd persons. The 2SG of the *a*-stems ends in this *a*, of the *i*-stems in *i* only, if this vowel is preceded by two (or more) consonants, otherwise the form is identical with the shorter stem. In the 2PL the *a*-stems get the suffix *-le*, the *i*-stems *-e*; in analogy to the *a*-stems the suffix *-le* is also used for the *i*-stems. Deviating from most other verbal forms, the imperatives bear the main accent on the first syllable; in the syntagmas of the 3rd persons, formed with the particle *med* + the corresponding forms of the future tense, the particle receives the accent.

Examples (*lịkti-nị* 'to come'):

2 SG	*mịn*	*lịkti*	*uža*
3 SG	*med mịn-o-z*	*med lịkt-o-z*	*med uža-lo-z*
2 PL	*mịn-e(-le)*	*lịkt-e(-le)*	*uža-le*
3 PL	*med mịn-o-zị*	*med lịkt-o-zị*	*med uža-lo-zị*

For the 1PL the corresponding form of the future tense is used, to which occasionally the *-e* of the IMP 2PL is added: *min-o-m(-e)* 'let's go'.

The illocutionary force of the imperatives can be increased by putting in front *ojdo* resp. PL *ojdole*[9] (with the accent on the first syllable, too) and weakened by following *val*. For IMP + *vilem* see below.

4. The marker of the **conditional** mood is *-sal-* added to the stem. The personal suffixes are used in the SG only optionally.

1 SG	*mini-sal*	*uža-sal*
2 SG	*mini-sal(-id)*	*uža-sal(-id)*
3 SG	*mini-sal(-iz)*	*uža-sal(-iz)*
1 PL	*mini-sal-mi*	*uža-sal-mi*
2 PL	*mini-sal-di*	*uža-sal-di*
3 PL	*mini-sal-zi*	*uža-sal-zi*

The tense reference includes the past, too: 'I would go ~ I would have gone', though there is a separate analytic formation of the past conditional, as well (Grammatika, II: 121), namely + *val* (like 1SG *mon minisal val* etc.).

2.4.2.2.3 Modal constructions

Udmurt has a number of constructions expressing modal functions, which are formed according to a fixed syntactic pattern.

1. Personal constructions:

With the structure finite verb (in present or synthetically formed past tenses) + *luoz* (FUT 3SG of 'to get, become' (similar to the structure finite verb + *vilem*) one can express the probability of the predication. But this *luoz* gives only a modal, not a temporal nuance (FUT!) to the whole expression:

(125) *ton tunne žaď-i-d   lu-o-z*
        you   today   tire-PRET-2SG   get, become-FUT-3SG
        'You are probably tired today'

2. Impersonal constructions:

2.1 Agent/DAT + particle or modal verb/3SG (+ tense or mood) + main verb/INF (like in Russian): *kule* 'necessary', *jara* 'may' and *lue* 'can':

(126) *so-li   tros uža-ni   kule*
        he/she-DAT a lot   work-INF   necessary (cannot be inflected)
        'He has to work a lot'

---

[9] Corresponding to Russian *davaj* resp. *davajte*.

(127) *min-im   piri-ni   jara-a?*
        I-DAT   come in-INF   may-IC
        'May I come in?'

2.2 Main verb in PART PERF + PX (= agent; if this must be expressed explicitly, it stands in the GEN because of its referring to PX) + *luini* 'can' or *potini* 'leave'/3SG (+ tense or mood):

(128) *(min-am)   ši-jem-e   pot-e*
        I-GEN   eat-PART-1SG   want-PRS/3SG
        'I want/would like to eat'

2.4.3 Negation

In Udmurt the sentence negation is expressed mostly with the help of a negative verb which is always marked for person/number, only partly for tense. The main verb is always infinite (no agreement with regard to person, but the negative forms of SG are different from those of PL), but has its marker in the present. The prohibitive has its own forms. Deviating are:
1) Conditional: conjugated main verb + negative particle
2) Sc perfect: negation is marked with the help of an own (derivative) suffix.

Most of the negative verbal phrases show a different stress pattern, see 1.4.

	present		future		preterite I	
	i-stem	*a*-stem				
1 SG	*ug mini-šk-i*	*ug uža-šk-i*	*ug min-i*	*ug uža*	*ej min-i*	*ej uža*
2 SG	*ud mini-šk-i*	*ud uža-šk-i*	*ud min-i*	*ud uža*	*ed min-i*	*ed uža*
3 SG	*ug min(-i)*	*ug uža*	*uz min-i*	*uz uža*	*ez min-i*	*ez uža*
1 PL	*um mini-šk-e*	*um uža-šk-e*	*um min-e*	*um uža-le*	*em min-e*	*em uža-le*
2 PL	*ud mini-šk-e*	*ud uža-šk-e*	*ud min-e*	*ud uža-le*	*ed min-e*	*ed uža-le*
3 PL	*ug min-o*	*ug uža-lo*	*uz min-e*	*uz uža-le*	*ez min-e*	*ez uža-le*

In the plural of the future and preterite tense *-le* (instead of only *-e*) is also used in the *i*-stems (like *em minele*). In the singular of the same tenses the variant without *-i* (after simple consonant or vowel) is in use (like *mon ug min* etc.).

With regard to the personal suffixes the present paradigm is more syncretistic than that of the preterite, still distinguishing 1SG and 3SG. On the one hand the negative verb has by and large the same shape in the present and the future, on the other hand the negative form of the main verb is identical in the future and the preterite.

For negation of the analytically formed tenses, *evel* (instead of *van*) is used (a) or the above mentioned negation patterns are combined with *val* (b). In the nominal pluperfect II a negative counterpart to the participle suffix, *-mte* (instead of *-(e)m*) is used.

(a) preterite II: 1SG (*minam*) *min-em-e/uža-m-e evel* etc.

(b) preterite III: 1SG (*mon*) ug *mịn-išk-ị val* etc.

     preterite IV: 1SG (*mon*) ug *mịn-ị val* etc.

     pluperfect I: 1SG (*mon*) *ej mịn-ị val* etc.

(c) pluperfect II: 1SG (*mon*) *mịnị-mte-je val*, 2SG (*ton*) *mịnị-mte-jed val*, 3SG (*so*) *mịnị-mte val* etc..

The negative imperative (= prohibitive) has own means, namely the particles *en* for the second and *medaz* for the third persons (both with the main stress within the verbal syntagm, 1.4.):

imperative: 2 SG   *en mịn(-ị)*   *en lịkt-ị*   *en uža*

           3 SG   *medaz mịn-(ị)*   *medaz lịkt-ị*   *medaz uža*

           2 PL   *en mịn-e(-le)*   *en lịkt-e(-le)*   *en uža-le*

           3 PL   *medaz mịn-e(-le)*   *medaz lịkt-e(-le)*   *medaz uža-le*

In the conditional the main verb is conjugated like in the affirmative paradigm and the negative verb of the 3SG PRET is used for the whole paradigm - here the opposite principle.

conditional: 1 SG   *ej mịnị-sal*   1 PL   *ej mịnị-sal-mị*

            2 SG   *ej mịnị-sal(-ịd)*   2 PL   *ej mịnị-sal-dị*

            3 SG   *ej mini-sal(-ịz)*   3 PL   *ej mịnị-sal-zị*

The sc perfect has two variants of negation: either *evẹl* + affirmative form or above mentioned negative participle suffix which is added to suffixed stems used in the affirmative forms:

sc perfect: 1 SG   *mịni-škị-mte-je*   1 PL   *mịni-škị-mte-mị*

           2 SG   *mịnị-mte-jed*   2 PL   *mịni-l'l'a-mte-dị*

           3 SG   *mịnị-mte-jez*   3 PL   *mịni-l'l'a-mte-zị*

The other negative evidential paradigms + *vịlem* are formed *mutatis mutandis*.

The negation of separate constituents is marked in the same way, but can be made more clear by word order or morphological means:

(129)   *ńań*   *mon*   *ẹ-j*   *šiị*

       bread(-ACC)   I   NV/PRET-1SG   eat(-NF/PRET)

       'I didn't eat any bread'

(130)   *mon*   *u-g*   *šiị-škị*   *ńań-ez*

       I   NV/PRS-1SG   eat-NF/PRS   bread-ACC

       'I do not eat that bread'

(131)   *nenokin no*   *gurt-ịn*   *evẹl*

       nobody   house-IN   NEX

       'Nobody is at home'.

2.4.4 Verbal categorizers

2.4.4.1 Verbalizers

Verbs are derived from adjectives and nouns by means of derivational suffixes. Some of the most important are:

a) -*ị*-, for example *zorịnị* 'to rain' (*zor* 'rain'), *keńešịnị* 'to talk, discuss' (*keńeš* 'meeting') etc.

b) -*a*-, *adresanị* 'to address' (*adres* 'Address'), *vuzanị* 'to sell' (*vuz* 'goods') etc.

c) -*mị/ma*-, *perešmanị* 'to get older' (*pereš* 'old'), *žịtmịnị* 'to be getting late' (*žịt* 'evening');

d) -*dị*-, *vịl'dịnị* 'renew' (*vịl'* 'new');

e) -*žị*-, *il'žịnị* 'to decay, rot' (*il'* 'damp');

f) -*jị/ja*-, *pusjịnị* 'to mark' (*pus* 'mark, sign');

g) -*tị*-, *gožtịnị* 'write' (*gož* 'line') etc.

2.4.4.2 Aktionsart/Aspect

Udmurt has a number of suffixes (partly identical with verbalizers) marking a resultative/perfective vs irresultative/imperfective action or momentary/punctual vs frequentative/iterative action. Some examples: *lobanị* 'fly' (habitual, not in one direction, russ. *летать*) vs *lobịnị* (punctual, in one direction, russ. *лететь*); *baštịnị* 'take' (resultative) vs *bašjanị* (irresultative). The number of pairs of this kind is limited, that means the suffixes are not productive (for an overview see Serebrennikov 1960: 140 and Alatyrev 1983: 582); besides see 2.4.5.3.

On the other hand there are two very productive derivational suffixes for forming iterative/frequentative, durative and momentary verbs, namely -*lị*- (*ị*-stems) and -*l'l'a*- (*a*-stems), for example *lobal'l'anị* 'fly often' (not in one direction), *girịlịnị* 'plough regularly (irresultative)' resp. 'plough some places here and now' to *girịnị* 'plough (irresultative)'.

2.4.4.3 Valence-changing affixes

Udmurt has two very productive suffixes, -*(i)škị*- (also -*skị*-) for forming reflexives and -*tị*- for causatives.

a) Reflexive verbs: transitive verbs lose one complement by deriving with this suffix, like *dịšetskịnị* 'learn' (from *dịšetịnị* 'teach'), *dišaškịnị* 'get dressed' (from *dišanị* 'dress)', *veraškịnị* 'talk' (from *veranị* 'say') etc.

Following the Russian pattern one can use such derived verbs in the 3rd persons with a passive nuance:

(132)   *ta*   *busị*   *tabere* *traktor-en*   *giri-šk-e*

       DEM   field(-NOM)   now   tractor-INSTR   plough-REFL-PRS/3SG

       'This field is ploughed by the tractor now'

b) Causative verbs: transitive and intransitive verbs receive one complement more if they are derived by means of this suffix:

(133)   *mon*   *gožtet*   *gožti-ško*

        I   letter(-ACC)   write-PRS/1SG

        'I wrote a letter'

(134)   *mon*   *so-je*   *gožtet*   *gožti-ti-ško*

        I   her/she-ACC   letter(-ACC)   write-CAUS-PRS/1SG

        'I let him write a letter'

2.4.4.4 Fiktivnost

Udmurt has a derivational suffix marking primarily that the action expressed by the verb does not really take place, but only seems to. The suffix -*mjaški*- (-*emjaški*- in the - shorter - *i*-stems) is compounded: -*m*- = PART PERF (used in the sc perfect/evidential too, see 2.4.2.2), -*ja*- is historically identical with the suffix of ADVL and the last part -*ški*- = just mentioned REFL. Examples: *gir-emjaškini* 'pretend ploughing', *uža-mjaškini* 'pretend working'.[10] Depending on the meaning of the verb (and perhaps on the context) this suffix can even mark that the action in question takes place only on a small scale: *zor-emjaškini* ('pretend to rain' =) 'rain a little bit'. There is a negative counterpart of this suffix, -*mte-jaškini*: *vala-mte-jaškini* 'pretend not understand', which can also mean 'not pretend to understand'.

Even to already derived verbs this suffix can be added and this complex for its part can be derived further, *lidži-li-t-emjaški-l-ini* (read-FREQ-CAUS-FIKT-FREQ-INF) 'often pretend that someone lets someone read often'.

2.4.4.5 Borrowings

Verbs borrowed from Russian are not declined very often, but receive the autochtonous Udmurt verb *karini* 'to do' as an accompanying verbal element, which follows the original Russian verb (in INF) and is conjugated: Russian *štrafovat'* 'to fine', Udmurt *štrafovat' karini* 'to fine', PRS 1SG *mon štrafovat' kariško* 'I fine' (if the Russian verb is a reflexive one [-*sja*], then the reflexive variant of this Udmurt verb is used, too: *kariškini*).

2.4.5 Verbal modifiers
2.4.5.1 Infinitive

The infinitive is formed with -*ni* in both stems and is morphologically unchangeable. Depending on the verb of the higher sentence, the infinitive can function as a subject,

(135)   *dišetski-ni*   *noku*   *ber*   *evel*

        learn-INF   never   late   NEX

        'It's never too late to learn'

---

[10] There are alternative periphrastic expressions: *uža-m karini* ('make') or *luini* ('be, get, become, can').

as an object,

(136)   *mon*   *lidžiški-ni jarati-ško*

        I   read-INF   like-PRS/1SG

        'I like reading'

as an adjunct,

(137)   *kolchoznik-jos*   *turna-ni*   *min-i-zi*

        kolkhoznik-PL   mow-INF   go-PRET-3PL

        'The kolkhozniks went mowing'

and as an attribute:

(138)   *eš-e-len*   *uža-ni*   *milkid-iz*   *ej*   *val*

        friend-1SG-GEN   work-INF   mood-3SG   NEX/PRET

        'My friend was not in the mood to work'

The nominal character of the infinitive becomes evident, when it appears in connection with a postposition (only *ponna* and *viliš* 'for'):

(139)   *ta*   *kniga-jez*   *lidži-ni*   *viliš*   *til'ed-li*   *čekti-ško*

        DEM   book-ACC   read-INF   for   you-DAT   suggest-PRS/1SG

        'I suggest you read this book'

(140)   *fil'm-ez*   *adži-ni*   *ponna likt-ono*   *karišk-i*

        film-ACC   watch-INF   for   come-PART   decide-PRET/1SG

        'I decided to come to watch the film'

2.4.5.2 Participles

Udmurt has four participles that do not have a term of their own, but can be quite adequately expressed by PRS ACT, PRS PASS and PERF ACT/PASS; the fourth serves for expressing potentiality. All function both as attributes and predicates (with regard to agreement like adjectives, see 2.3.4).

1. The participle ending in -*š* corresponds to PART PRS ACT: *mini-š* 'going' (to *minini* 'go'), *vera-š* 'saying' (*vera-ni* 'say'). As a predicate this participle is inflected for number. Besides there are cases of nominalizing like *dišeti-š* 'teacher' (*dišetini* 'teach') or *uža-š* 'worker' (*užani* 'work') and these cases are declined like other nouns.

The combination of this participle + finite form of the verb *luini* replaces the corresponding finite form of the main verb without any additional meaning: *liktiš luoz* = *liktoz* 'he will come'. The negative form is -*š-tem* like *lidžištem* 'not reading'.

2. The participle with -*em* (*i*-stems) resp. -*m* (*a*-stems) corresponds to a PART PERFECT/PASS, depending on the context and/or transitivity/non-transitivity of the verb. It always marks the perfectiveness of the expressed action. Examples: *liktem* 'arrived', *lidžem* 'read'. In case of the passive attributive use the agent appears in the GEN or ABL:

(141) so-len/so-leš   lidž-em   kniga
       he/she-GEN/ABL read-PART book
       'the book read by him/her'

(142) so   likt-em
       he/she come-PART
       'He/she has (obviously) come'[11]

(143) so ber   kil'-em-ed   kaď
       he late   stay-PART-2SG as if
       'He probably came late'

Besides there are cases of nominalizing, like uža-m 'work' or kul-em 'death' and the participle is part of periphrastically formed tense and mood forms (see 2.4.2.1 and 2).

The negative counterpart is -mte: lidži-mte 'unread'.

This participle even appears declined, either in the INSTR resp EL (see below, 2.4.5.3, 5) or in the IN: -(e)m-in, negative + evel. It functions as a predicate and particularly emphasizes the resultative character of the action expressed by the verb.

(144) šures   tupat-em-in   evel
       path(-NOM) repair-PART-IN NEX
       'The path is not repaired'

(145) dišetiš   likt-em-in
       teacher(-NOM) come-PART-IN
       'The teacher has arrived'

3. The participle with -ono (i-stems) resp. -no (a-stems) corresponds to a PART PRS PASS rendering the necessity of carrying out an action: lidž-ono kniga 'the book which must be read'. The agent appears in the GEN, when the participle functions as an attribute

(146) so-len   lidž-ono   kniga
       he/she-GEN read-PART book
       'The book which must be read by him/her'

and in DAT, when it is a predicate:

(147) minim gurt-e   min-ono
       I-DAT house-ILL go-PART
       'I must go home' (lit. 'to me must be gone home')

Marking the agent by PX is possible as well: gurte minono-e.

Negative: -ontem resp. -ntem as an attribute, the affirmative form + evel as a predicate.

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[11] This form of the PART is identical with the 3SG of the sc PERF having evidential meaning.

4. The participle with -mon marks the potentiality of the action expressed by the verb: lidži-mon kniga 'a book which can be read', gažamon aďami 'a respectable man' or:

(148) turin   turna-mon
       grass(-NOM) cut-PART
       'The grass can be cut' ('is in such a condition that ... ')

As a predicate it shows agreement with regard to number: kniga-os lidži-mon-eš 'books which can be read'. In this function evel is used for negation.

2.4.5.3 Gerunds

Udmurt has five resp. six gerunds (one of them is identical with a participle, another two are inflected participles). The gerunds function as verbal adverbs, serves for subordinating clauses or are part of a converb structure. All the suffixes are added to the stem with the vowel (-i resp -a).

1. The gerund with -sa, negative -tek functions both as an adverb of manner and temporal relations (simultaneity and anteriority)

(149) so   kirža-sa   porja-z
       he/she sing-GER talk a walk-PRET/3SG
       'He/she walked singing'

(150) so   vuž   kirža-n-jos-ti   kirža-sa   porja-z
       he/she old   sing-NOMIN-PL-ACC sing-GER talk a walk-PRET/3SG
       'He/she walked singing old songs'

(151) dirti-tek   lidž-e
       to hurry-GER read-PRS/3SG
       'He/she is reading without hurry'

(152) Kima, korka   piri-sa,   žek   šeri   pukš-i-z
       PN   house (-ILL) go in-GER table behind sit down-PRET-3SG
       'Having gone into the house Kima sat down at the table'

(153) Ondi gurt-e   berti-sa,   mon so-li   ukšo   šot-i-z
       PN   house-ILL come-GER   I   he-DAT   money(-ACC) give-PRET-3SG
       'When Ondi came home, I gave him the money'

In connection with the following particles no or viliš this gerund can even function as a concessive adverb.

Whereas in these just mentioned cases the meaning of **both** verbs becomes evident, the two actions entering a certain relation, there are structures formed by this gerund and a limited group of verbs expressing only one action. The meaning of the verb in the gerund is modified by the

meaning of the finite verb in the sense of aktionsarts[12]: The modifying verb bears the grammatical information, whereas the modified verb remains uninflected (except for GER) and functions only as the bearer of the lexical meaning. The border between these two types of verbal structures containing a gerund can not always be exactly determined, especially if both verbs belong the same semantic area (in this case, of course, the verbs in question do not have the modifying functions of the kind mentioned below). There are different opinions with regard to the question of which verbs belong to the group of modifiers: at least the below mentioned are undisputed.

One can distinguish the following aktionsarts marked by the following verbs:

1. Non-transformative aktionsart, that means an action is lasting, in process, and there is no clear direction or aim in or to which the action will be continued: *uḷiṇi* 'live, be' (the most frequent of this group, probably because of its vague meaning), *pukiṇi* 'sit', *kiḷ'ḷiṇi* 'lie' and *vetḷiṇi* 'go'. Semantically, the action they express is undirected (even *vetḷiṇi*, russ. *ходить*). Examples: *viši-sa uḷiṇi* 'to live in permanent ill condition' (*višiṇi* 'be ill'), *žugiśki-sa kiḷ'ḷiṇi* 'fight (often, constantly)' (*žugiśkiṇi* 'fight'), *čirdi-sa pukiṇi* 'be engaged in singing' (*čirdiṇi* 'sing').

2. Initial-transformative aktionsart, that means the beginning of an action: *koškiṇi* 'leave' (the most frequently appearing verb in such structures), *ležiṇi* 'let' and *keḷ'tiṇi* 'leave (behind)': Examples: *kirža-sa ležiṇi* 'begin to sing' (*kiržaṇi* 'sing'), *kiška-sa koškiṇi* 'to become frightened' (*kiškaṇi* 'be frightened'), *poti-sa koškiṇi* 'to go outside' (*potiṇi* 'leave').

3. Final-transformative aktionsart, that means a part of an action comes to an end (but the whole action is continued): *vuiṇi* 'come, ripen', *vuttiṇi* 'deliver', *bidtiṇi* 'end, finish', *baštiṇi* 'take, buy', *šotiṇi* 'give', *poniṇi* 'put, place, set', *kuštiṇi* 'throw': *gožti-sa vuttiṇi* 'complete the writing' (*gožtiṇi* 'write'), *iži-sa vuiṇi* 'have a good night's sleep' (*ižiṇi* 'sleep'), *vaji-sa kuštiṇi* 'bring over' (*vajiṇi* 'bring').

Depending on the meaning of the modified verb, secondary nuances can come to the fore. Udmurt has probably borrowed the pattern for those constructions from Tatar.

2. Gerunds with *-ku*[13] have the function of temporal adverbs or adverbal clauses (simultaneity). To this gerund a PX (with exceptional *-m* in the 1SG) can be added.

(154)   *mon*   *so-je*   *bakča-je*   *miṇi-ku(-m)*   *adž-i*
     I   he/she-ACC   garden-ILL   go-GER(-1SG)   see-PRET/1SG
     'Going into my garden I saw him/her'

(155)   *(mon)*   *gurt-e*   *berti-ku(-m),*   *dišetiš-m-e*   *pumita-j*
     (I)   house-ILL   come-GER(-1SG)   teacher-1SG-ACC   meet-PRET/1SG
     'Arriving at home I met my teacher'

3. Gerunds with *-tož* mark the temporal frame or limit of an action expressed by the finite verb. To this gerund, too, a PX (with *-a* as the connecting vowel) can be added.

(156)   *ńulesk-i*   *vui-tož*   *kirža-mi*
     forest-ILL   come-GER   sing-PRET/1PL
     'We sang until we came into the forest'

(157)   *žaďi-tož-az*   *biž-i-z*
     become tired-GER-3SG   run-PRET-3SG
     'He ran until he became tired'

4. As already mentioned, the participle with *-mon* appears as a gerund with the same meaning:

(158)   *vala-mon*   *vera-ški-z*
     understand-GER   speak-PRET/3SG
     'He spoke comprehensibly'

5. The inflected participles with *-m* - EL *-(e)m-iš*, negative *-mteis*, and INSTR *-(e)m-en*, negative *-mtejen* function as a causal adverbs or adverbal clauses. Addition of a PX is possible in this case, too, (connecting vowel is *-i-*, EL *-ti-*).

(159)   *više-m-en-im*   *ta*   *už-ez*   *ę-j*   *lešti*
     be ill-PART-INSTR-1SG   DEM   work-ACC   NV/PRET-1SG   do (-NF)
     'Because of my illness I didn't do this work'

In connection with verbs meaning 'finish' (see 2.3.1.2, 12) the action which must be finished can be expressed with this gerund in EL: *kopa-miš dugd-i-z* 'he finished digging'.

2.5 Other grammatical classes

The remaining parts of speech form a morphologically heterogeneous group. One small part shows a very restricted inflection, the greater part does not. With regard to word formation they are different as well: simple lexemes (which are used for the formation of other parts of speech, like *olo* 'perhaps', *ke* 'if', inflected pronouns or lexemes based on a pronoun (like *soin* 'therefore', INSTR of *so* 'he, she, that', *sobere* 'then', lit. 'after that'), inflected nouns (like *bere* 'after', ILL of *ber* 'back side', *dirja* 'during', ADVL of *dir* 'time') or inflected verbs (like *šuisa* 'that (conj.)', GER of *šuiṇi* 'say') etc.

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[12] In the literature one can find different opinions about the function of these constructions. See Schönig (1984: 13ff.) for an overview and for arguments in favour of the opinion that they mark aktionsarts.

[13] The ending *-u* is unique; cf.1.1.

This group can be divided in subgroups with the help of syntacto-semantic criteria. This classification implies that a lexeme can belong to different groups, depending on the position in the clause. Baušev (1929: 36) mentions, for example: *min al'i* 'go on!' (*al'i* here modal particle) vs *al'i min* 'go now!' (*al'i* here adverb of time). But there are cases in which a lexeme has different functions in the same position and one can decipher the meaning only with the help of the context (examples from Baušev):

(160)   *tin-ad*   *pira-m-ed*   *bere,*   *kuno*   *vu-i-z*   *na*
        you-GEN   go in-PART-2SG   after/POSTP   guest   come-PRET-3SG   yet
        Lit.: 'After your gone in, guests came yet'
        'After you had come in, there arrived still guests'

(161)   *ton*   *vetli-ško-d*   *bere,*   *mon no*   *min-o*
        you   go-PRS-2SG   when/CONJ   I   too   go-FUT/1SG
        'When you go, I'll go too'

2.5.1 Postpositions

The postpositions govern constituents in the NOM, very few exceptions the DAT, INSTR or ABL (see 2.3.1.2).

The greater part of the postpositions can be inflected for case and possession. Apart from exceptions like *dir-ja* 'during' with the ADVL case inflection is limited to the seven local cases, similar to the spatial adverbs, but not all postpositions which can be inflected actually appear inflected in all these seven cases. The case suffixes are identical with those of the nouns (see 2.3.1.2): (IN) *žek ul-in* 'below the table', (ILL) *žek ul-e* 'under the table', (EL) *žek ul-iš* 'from under the table' etc. For the use of PX in postpositional syntagms see 2.3.1.3.

Some postpositions function as an adverb, like *ulin* 'down'.

2.5.2 Prepositions

In Udmurt the the prepositions are not old and their number very restricted. There are only three, *biden, kotir* 'per, one by one' and *og* 'about', and they demand the NOM.

2.5.3 Particles

The particles can be divided in subgroups regarding their functions, their positional features (some of them are placed after the corresponding constituent) and the question whether they appear independently or not.

a) Degree particles: they are focus-binding and their semantic function is scaling (up or down) or quantifying. For example *čapak, samoj* 'just', *gine* 'only' (always following), *ke no* (following) 'at least', *no* 'too' (following), *ik* 'even' (following), *(i)ńi* 'already' (following), *na* 'still, yet' (following), *tuž* 'very', *-ges* (added to nouns) 'just' etc.

b) Modal particles modify the illocutionary force of the sentence and their use is mostly sentence-type-sensitive, for example *ben* 'surely not (in yes/no interrogative sentences)', *šat* and

meda ('really?') intensifying the interrogative character, *ik* 'actually (in narrative sentences)', *val* weakening the illocutionary force of imperative sentences, *ojdo* (following) giving an encouraging nuance to the illocutionary force of imperative sentences, etc.

c) Sentence/epistemic and attitudinal adverbials expressing the speaker's attitude to the content of the sentence: *olo, leša* 'perhaps, probably', *dir* 'probably', *pe* 'they say', *kaď* 'it seems' etc.

d) Indicators of the sentence type: the enclitics *-a, -te* indicate a yes/no interrogative sentence.

e) Others: *ben, o-o* 'yes', *evel* 'no'; *tani* 'there, here' (russ. *vot*), *ut'* 'behold!', *iške* 'so' etc.

2.5.4 Conjunctions

In the Uralic (or Finno-Ugric) languages conjunctions are of late origin (there are none which can be reconstructed for the proto-language). Borrowings and calques are not rare. The number of conjunctions is not great.

There are no clear syntactic criteria for distinguishing coordinative and subordinative conjunctions, but only semantic ones.

1) The most important coordinative conjunctions are: *no* 'and, also', *sobere* 'then', *soin ik* 'therefore', *oži ik* 'also, likewise', *no ... no* 'both ... and', *gine ... no* or *gine evel ... no* 'not only ...but also'; *jake* 'or', *jake ... jake* or *olo ... olo* 'either ... or', *noš* 'but', *a* 'but'.

2) The subordinative conjunctions differ from each other with regard to their positional characteristics and to their morphological shape (simple word vs inflected form vs syntagm).

a) sentence-final position: *bere* 'if'; *dirja* 'when' (actually ADVL to 'time'); *kaď* 'as if'; *šuisa* '(so) that' (actually 'saying', perhaps Tatar influence); *viliš* 'although';

b) sentence-final or in the middle after a constituent: *ke* 'if; when'; *ke no* 'although' (actually 'even though'); *gine (no)* 'as soon as';

c) sentence-initial: *ugoš, mali ke šuono* 'because' (lit. 'if why to say').

3. BASIC SYNTAX

3.1 Sentence types

In Udmurt one can distinguish two sentence types, verbal and nominal/copular clauses. The center of the predication is the finite verb in the first, nouns or nominal forms of the verb in the latter cases; to these belong the so-called existential clauses also having an infinite, non-inflectable existential verb as the predicate.

3.1.1 Verbal clauses

The finite verb shows agreement with the grammatical subject, not with the object (Udmurt has no objective conjugation). Formal agreement in person is obligatory, while number agreement may sometimes be based on semantic rather than on formal considerations, for example

(162) *otin   kišno-jen   kart-en   kutsašk-o*
      there   man-INSTR   woman-INSTR   thresh-PRES/3PL
      'the man and the woman are threshing over there'

3.1.1.1 Intransitive clauses

In the intransitive clause the verb does not take any arguments except for the subject, or it takes oblique object arguments. To these belong arguments in the DAT, ABL and INSTR as well as postpositional syntagms and infinitive structures.

(163) *tol   vu-i-z*
      winter come-PRET-3SG
      'winter came'

(164) *so soku   šemja   šariš   e-z   malpa*
      she at that time   family(-NOM) about/POSTP NV/PRET-3SG   think(-NF)
      'At that time she didn't think about the family'

(165) *so   pužijatski-ni   dišetsk-e*
      she   embroider-INF   learn-PRES/3SG (+ DAT)
      'She is learning to embroider'

3.1.1.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive verbs take at least two arguments: a subject and a direct object. If the direct object is indefinite, it appears in the NOM (= unmarked), if it's definite, in theACC (see 2.3.1.2).

(166) *mon   ńulesk-in val-ez/val   adž̌-i*
      I(-NOM)   forest-IN horse-ACC/0 see-PRET/(1SG)
      'I saw the/a horse in the forest'

There are cases of the occurrence of two direct objects in a clause,

(167) *mon   so-je   gožtet   gožti̯-ti̯-ško*
      I   her/she-ACC letter(-ACC) write-CAUS-PRS/1SG
      'I let him write a letter'

and, of course, of one direct and one indirect object or other kinds of complement, for example:

(168) *mon   ač̌-im   so-li̯   kuži̯m-ez   šot-i*
      I   myself-1SG   he/she-DAT   gift-ACC   give-PRET/1SG
      'I myself gave him the gift'

3.1.2 Nominal clauses

In Udmurt the following structures have no finite verb:

a) predicative structures in a wider sense and

b) existential clauses (including habeo-structures).

The difference between these two types of nominal clauses is evident in the non-negative PRES: Whereas there is no verbal element in predicative structures at all, the non-inflectable existential verb *vań* occurs in the latter ones. In all other cases the two types behave in the same way: the "verbal" element is the existential verb mentioned, actually a particle, which manifestations are all petrified (NEX, PRET and sc PERF) and do not form a paradigm corresponding to that of other verbs:

a) negative present (= NEX): *evel* 'there is not';

b) preterite: *val* 'there was' (existential verb as well as a petrified preterite of a former verb 'to be'), negative *val evel*;

c) sc perfect: *vilem* 'they say, there was', negative *vilimte* resp. *evel vilem*.

The form of the future tense is a suppletive belonging to a paradigm of a regular verb (*luini* 'be, get/become, can') and behaving like this (with regard to agreement).

The predicative element may be represented by nouns (even declined), adjectives, pronouns, participles, numerals, some adverbs and postpositional phrases:

(169) *so   udmurt   (/val)*
      he/she   Udmurt
      'He/she is (/was) an Udmurt'

(170) *ton   kin?*
      you   who
      'Who are you?'

(171) *ta   ded'i   Ivan   Peti̯r-len*
      DEM   sledge   PN   ' PN-GEN
      'This sledge belongs to Ivan's Petyr'

(172)   *mi   Iževsk-in   val*
         we PN-IN   EX/PRET
         'We were in Izhevsk'

(173)   *ataj-e   ton   kaď   val*
         father-1SG you like   COP/PRET
         'My father was like you'

(174)   *kilometr   iškem-leš/iškem   šariš   vakči-ges*
         kilometer(-NOM) mile-ABL/(NOM)   about short-COMP
         'A kilometer is shorter than a mile'

Predicative nouns show agreement with the subject with regard to number:

(175)   *gurt-jos   badžim-eš*
         village-PL large-PL
         'The villages are large'

(176)   *vań   korka-os-si   ta-lań-eš*
         all   house-PL-3PL   DEM-APPR-PL
         'all houses (are) in this direction'

To the predicative structures belong even those containing a infinite verb (= PART):

(177)   *dišetiš   likt-em-in*
         teacher(-NOM)   come-PART-IN
         'The teacher has come'

(178)   *tolon   bert-ono   val*
         yesterday return-PART COP/PRET
         'Yesterday they should have come home'

Existential clauses have even in the PRS a kind of verbal form as mentioned above:

(179)   *škola   gurt-ad   vań-a?*
         school(-NOM)   village-IN/2SG   EX/PRS-IC
         'Is there a school in your village?'

Habeo-structures replacing the missing verb 'to have' are existential clauses as well:

(180)   *so-len   kuiń   ńil-iz   vań*
         he/she-GEN   three daughter-3SG EX/PRS
         'He/she has three daughters'

3.1.3 Yes/no-interrogative sentences

Yes/no-interrogative sentences can be marked morphologically or merely by intonation. In the first case the clitic *-a, -o* (or *-te*) is attached to the focus of the question, in the latter this is stressed by intonational means. The word order does not differ obligatorily from that of narrative sentences:

(181)   *vetl-i-d-a   ton   bakča-je?*
         go-PRET-2SG-IC you   garden-ILL
         'Did you go to the garden?'

(182)   *min-im   piri-ni   jara-a?*
         I-DAT   come in-INF   may-IC
         'May I come in?'

(183)   *ton   udmurt-a?*
         you(-NOM)   PN-IC
         'Are you Udmurt?'

3.1.4 Wh-interrogative sentences

The essential feature of these interrogative sentences is the appearing of an interrogative pronoun or adverb (with either *k-* or *m-* in the initial position, for example *kin* 'who' or *mar* 'what'). Neither is the position of this pronoun/adverb strictly determined nor does the word order of the whole sentence differ obligatorily from a non-interrogative sentence:

(184)   *kin-len   už-ez   evel?*
         who-GEN work-3SG NEX
         'Who has no work?'

(185)   *ton   kin?*
         you   who
         'Who are you?'

(186)   *anaj-ataj   mar   šu-o-z?*
         mother-father what   say-FUT-3SG
         'What will the parents say?'

The clitic for marking questions can be attached to interrogative pronouns/adverbs, too: *kin-o* 'who?'.

3.1.5. Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences containing the verbal form IMP 2SG/PL are clearly marked by the interaction of the verbal form and the occurring/non-occurring subject. Placing of the IMP at the beginning of the sentence is not obligatory and even the personal pronoun 2SG/PL as subject occurs frequently (in the neutral position at the beginning of the sentence):

(187)   *ton   so-je   en   išti*
         you   DEM-ACC   NV/IMP   lose(-VN/IMP)
         'Don't lose it (you)!'

3.2 Simple sentence

3.2.1 Grammatical relations

1) As **subject** a noun (usually in the NOM, rarely in the INSTR) as a rule appears, but it can be lacking depending on the context.

(188)   *kišnomurt*   *puk-e*   *skamja*   *vi̮li̮n*
       woman(-NOM)   sit-PRS/3SG   bench(-NOM)   POSTP
       'The woman is sitting on the bench'

(189)   *oti̮n*   *kišno-jen*   *kart-en*   *kutsašk-o*
       there   man-INSTR   woman-INSTR   thresh-PRES/3PL
       'the man and the woman are threshing over there'

As said above the grammatical subject shows agreement with the (finite verbal) predicate. The infinitive can be in the subject position as well:

(190)   *Udmurt*   *šamen veraški̮ni̮ kapči̮ e̮ve̮l*
       PN   on   speak, talk   easy   NEX
       'It's not easy to speak Udmurt'

Besides there are predicates with a meaning that does not demand the presence of a subject, like *zor-e* 'it is raining' or *pejmi̮t* 'it is dark': Udmurt has no "place marker subject" (like 'it').

Generic sentences expressing potentiality or necessity of performing the action have no subject either, their predicate appears in 3SG of corresponding verbs (*luini̮, jarani̮* and *bi̮gani̮* 'can), in PART PRS PASS or as *kule* 'it is necessary'; the logical subject of the latter mentioned structures stands in the DAT.

(191)   *so-li̮*   *tros*   *uža-ni̮*   *kule*
       he/she-DAT   a lot   work-INF   necessary (cannot be inflected)
       'He has to work a lot'

(192)   *mi̮n-i̮m*   *gurt-e*   *mi̮n-ono*
       I-DAT   house-ILL   go-PART
       'I must go home'

2) As mentioned above (2.3.1.2., 2) in the area of the direct **object** there exists an opposition between definite or indefinite object accompanied by different morphological marking: indefinite/NOM vs definite ACC.

(193)   *mon*   *ńulesk-i̮n*   *val-ez/val*   *adž̮-i*
       I(-NOM)   forest-IN   horse-ACC/0   see-PRET/1SG
       'I saw the/a horse in the forest'

The infinitive can function as a direct object, too:

(194)   *tros*   *medi̮-ško-mi̮*   *lešti̮-ni̮*
       a lot   want-PRS-1PL   do-INF
       'We want to do a lot'

Indirect objects stand in DAT:

(195)   *so*   *eš-ez-li̮*   *gožtet*   *i̮st-i-z*
       he/she   friend-3SG-DAT   letter(-ACC)   send-PRET-3SG
       'He/she sent a letter to his/her friend'

Besides, some verbs demand complements in the ABL, INSTR or EL as well as postpositional syntagms and infinitive structures.

3) **Adjuncts** can be for example: inflected nouns (*korka-n* 'in the house'), uninflected adjectives (= adverbs, like *umoj* 'well'), postpositional syntagmas (like *mi dori̮n* 'at our home'), adverbs (simple like *jalan* 'always', derived like *čal-ak* 'quietly', partly inflected like *tat-i̮n* 'here'), infinite verbal forms like

(196)   *više-m-en-i̮m*   *ta*   *už-ez*   *e̮-j*   *lešti̮*
       be ill-PART-INSTR-1SG   DEM   work-ACC   NV/PRET-1SG   do (-NF)
       'Because of my illness I didn't do this work'

etc.

3.2.2 Noun phrase

A noun phrase consists of a head and optional modifiers. Besides nouns and pronouns, the above mentioned (2.3.5) nominalized elements can function as a head. Modifiers can be nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, participles and relative clauses. With the exception of the relative clauses introduced by a interrogative/relative pronoun and followed by a finite verb the modifiers precede their head as a rule.

(197)   *li̮z*   *ki̮šet*   vs (196')   *ki̮šet*   *li̮z*
       blue   shawl   shawl   blue
       'blue shawl'   'The shawl is blue'

The order of the modifiers is the following: pronoun (DEM, but also indefinite or quantitative) - GEN - numeral (only in connection with DEM, not with indefinite/quantitative pronoun) - adjective attribute/participle relative clauses/noun - head.

3.2.2.1 Non-possessive noun phrases

There is no agreement between the modifier(s) - pronouns, numerals, adjectives and participles - and their head except for those with DEF (see 2.3.1.4) and the adjectives with regard to number; cf. 2.3.4 and:

(198)   *so*   *vit'*   *badž̮i̮m*   *korka-n*
       DEM   five   large   house-IN
       'in those five large houses'

Nouns as modifiers can appear in uninflected (= NOM) or declined form. If the modifier is uninflected, it expresses the material, like

(199) zarńi   zundes
       gold(-NOM)   ring(-NOM)
       'gold ring, ring of gold'

or the purpose:

(200) vu   vedra
       water(-NOM) bucket(-NOM)
       'bucket'

Examples of declined nouns in adnominal position:

(201) pinal-jos-tek   ulon   tuž   mezmit
       child-PL-CAR   life(-NOM) very   sad
       'Life without children is very sad'

(202) Udmurt   kil-ja   dišetiš
       Udmurt   language-ADVL   teacher(-NOM)
       'teacher of Udmurt language'

(203) Ižkar-iś   universitet
       PN-EL   university(-NOM)
       'University of Iževsk'

(204) očki-jen   piosmurt pot-i-z   korka-š
       glasses-INSTR   man   leave-PRET-3SG   house-EL
       'The man with the glasses came out of the house'

Examples of relative clauses, realized by a participle:

(205) so-len   lidž-ono   kńiga-jez
       he/she-GEN   read-PART   book-DEF
       'The book which will be read by him/her'

(206) kar-iš   bert-em   Oleksan
       town-EL   return-PART   PN
       'Oleksan, who returned from the town'

(207) es   dorin   sil-iš   ad'ami
       door(-NOM)   at   stand-PART   man
       'the man who stands at the door'

Postpositional syntagmas as adnominal modifiers always demand a infinite verb: es dorin ad'ami is either inacceptable or es dorin functions as an adverb of place.

3.2.2.2 Possessive noun phrases

As a rule possessive noun phrases consist of a PX added to the head and a partly obligatory, partly optional constituent in GEN resp. ABL. This constituent is optional, if the reference of the PX is clear (in the 1st and 2nd persons of PX), and then it is used for emphasizing:

(208) (minam)   pi-je
       I-GEN   son-1SG
       'my son'

(209) (min-am) kik   pinal-e   vań
       I-GEN   two   child-1SG   EX/PRS
       'I have two children'

This constituent is obligatory, if the reference marked by the PX is unclear:

(210) Ondi-len   nil-iz
       PN-GEN   daughter-3SG
       'The daughter of Ondi'

(211) so-len   už-ez   evel
       he/she-GEN   work-3SG   NEX
       'He/she has no work'

(212) pi-je-len   kišno-jez-len   vin-iz
       son-1SG-GEN   wife-3SG-GEN   brother-3SG
       'The brother of the wife of my son'

The ablative is used if the head itself stands in the accusative resp. function as a direct object:

(213) so   kolchoz-leš   busi-z-e   vožmat-i-z
       he/she kolkhos-ABL   field-3SG-ACC   show-PRET-3SG
       'He/she showed the field of the kolkhos'

A special case of a possessive noun phrase is the one modified by a undeclined noun (in NOM):

(214) korka   es
       house(-NOM)   door(-NOM)
       'the door of the house, front door'

3.2.3. Verb phrase

In the verbal phrase the position of the finite verbal element is not fixed in the sense that it always appears for example in the last position. The finite element is positioned in front of the infinite in the following cases:

a) in all tenses and moods formed with the infinite elements *val* resp. *vı̣lem* and *luoz*[14];

b) in negative forms built with a negative verb; exceptions are the negative imperative (if there is any finite element, than the following main verb) and the negative conditional formed with an infinite negative verb.[15] The negative verbs bear the stress of the phrase (like for example some prefixes too).

In all other cases the finite verb stands behind all other parts of the verb phrase.

3.2.4 Word order

In unmarked discourse contexts the word order is SOV. Even if, for example, the object consists of a sentence embedded with or without a conjunction or is realized by an interrogative pronoun, the order is kept in this way. See 3.3.2.1.2 and:

(215)   odig   murt   so-je   kij   leka-z   šuı̣-sa   malpa-z
        one   man   he-ACC snake bite-PRET/3SG that believe-PRET/3SG
        'The man believes that the snake has bitten (him)'

(216)   anaj-ataj   mar   šu-o-z?
        mother-father what say-FUT-3SG
        'What will the parents say?'

The position of the object and the adjuncts between the subject and the predicate is relatively free.

This SOV order is even used in non-narrative sentences, but there they do not seem to be unmarked. There are two reasons for deviate word orders:

1. discourse or context conditions and

2. the influence of Russian (especially in contemporary language).

The general rule is that the modifier precedes the modified (see above).

3.3. Complex sentences

3.3.1 Coordination

For the coordinative conjunctions see 2.5.4. Coordinating clauses by conjunctions is the rule, mere juxtaposition seldom appears. Some examples:

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[14] Meant are cases like

(125)   ton   tunne   žaď-i-d   lu-o-z
        you   today   tire-PRET-2SG get, become-FUT-3SG
        'You are probably tired today'

[15] Apart from the question of which element is finite or infinite the negative verbal element is nearly always positioned before the main verb. The only exception is the preterite II (1SG: *mı̣nam mı̣n-em-e ǝvǝl*).

(217)   tol   vu-e   no,   lı̣mı̣   uš-e
        winter   come-PRS/3SG   and   snow   fall-PRS/3SG
        'The winter comes and the snow falls'

(218)   Gerej   skal   kı̣sk-e,   noš   Laďok pudo   vožma
        PN   cow(-ACC)   milk-PRS/3SG   but   PN   cattle look after (-PRS/3SG)
        'Gerej milks the cow, but Laďok looks after the lifestock'

(219)   ma   kari̱-nı̣ e̱-z   todı̣:   olo   žek   šerı̣n ik
        what   do   NV/PRET-3SG   know(-NF)   either table behind
        puk-ono   olo sult-ono
        sit-PART   or stand-PART
        'He did not know, what to do: to sit at the table or stand'

3.3.2. Subordination

One can distinguish three types of subordinative structures:

a) those with a finite verb and a subordinative conjunction resp. relative pronoun,

b) those with a finite verb and without a subordinative conjunction resp. relative pronoun and

c) those with an infinite verbal form and without a conjunction.

Both types without conjunction resp. relative pronoun seem to be the older ones, as is generally the case in the Uralic languages. This is reflected in the relatively small number of subordinative conjunctions, in the possibility of replacing them (especially structures with relative pronouns) by infinite verbal structures and in the fact, that the foreign pattern (Turkic and Russian) of such structures is clearly discernible.

There is no principal difference in word order between an subordinated and a non-subordinated clause.

3.3.2.1 Finite clauses

3.3.2.1.1 Syndeton

The use of finite clauses is always connected with the use of either subordinative conjunctions (2.5.4) or relative pronouns resp. adverbs. The lexemes used as such conjunctions mostly have other functions, too, and the relative pronouns are identical with interrogative pronouns (2.3.2.5). None of them control special syntactical patterns characteristic only of subordinative clauses. That means that the subordinating function of a lexeme can be extracted only from the context or - rarely - from the semantics of the lexem.

As said above (2.5.4) the subordinative conjunctions differ from each other with regard to their positional characteristics and to their morphological shape (simple word vs inflected form vs syntagm). Examples with the most important conjunctions:

(220) șilal   kišt-i-d   ke, kereton   lu-o-z[16]
salt(-ACC) spill-PRET-2SG if quarrel   be-FUT-3SG
'If someone spills salt, there will be quarrel'

(221) šundi̦ ǯuža-z   ke no,   kež̦it val   na
sun   rise-PRET/3SG although cold COP/PRET still
'Although the sun had risen, it was still cold'

(222) pinal-jos   korka-n g̦vel di̦rja, mon kńiga   li̦dǯi-ško
child-PL(-NOM) house-IN NEX while I   book(-ACC) read-PRS/1SG
'While the children are not at home, I read a book'

(223) mon Možga-lan vordišk-i,   mali̦ ke šuono, anaj-ataj-e
I   PN-IN be born-PRET/1SG because   mother-father-1SG

oti̦n ul-i-zi̦
there live-PRET-3PL
'I was born in Možga, because my parents lived there'

(224) ki̦ľem gožtet-am   mon gožt-i   val,   pi-jeni̦-m
last letter-IN/1SG I   write-PRET/1SG AUX/PRET son-INSTR-1SG

sanatori-je   vetl-i   šui̦sa
sanatorium-ILL go-PRET/1SG
'In my last letter I had written that I went to the sanatorium with my son'

Šui̦sa is also used for all kind of indirect discourses, in reported declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory sentences, for example:

(225) Pedor vera-z,   so vańmi̦z šari̦š tod-i-z   šui̦sa
PN say-PRET/3SG he all   about know-PRET-3SG that
'F. said that he knows about it all'

(226) so jua-z   čukaže li̦kt-o-mi̦-a   šui̦sa
he ask-PRET/3SG tomorrow come-FUT-1PL-IC that
'He asked, if we will come tomorrow'

There are cases of merging indirect with direct speech. The first example shows the subject of the embedded clause in the accusative (that means governed by the *verbum dicendi*), in the second the person of the subject is that of the direct speech:

(227) ti   mon-e čuri̦t murt šui̦sa en   malpa-le
you I-ACC stingy man that NV/IMP think-NF/2PL
'Don't think that I'm a stingy man'

---

[16] The typical use of the tenses is: PRET in the conditional clause and FUT in the superordinate clause.

(228) Vlaďimir șiče kuraški̦-sa as-se   uli   kari-ško   šui̦sa malpa-m
PN   such ask-GER self-ACC under do-PRS/1SG that   think-PERF/3PL
'Vlaďimir thought that he (lit.: I) humbled himself by asking for it'

In contemporary colloquial speech the use of the Russian as well as the corresponding Udmurt conjunction in one and the same clause does not appear rarely. Either the Russian conjunction is positioned at the beginning and the Udmurt at the end of the clause or the Udmurt follows the Russian directly (depending on the positional feature of the Udmurt conjunction): *čto ... šui̦sa* 'that', *jesli ... ke* 'if', *choťa ... ke no* 'although' etc.

(229) mon todi-ško,   čto so li̦kt-o-z   šui̦sa
I   know-PRS/1SG that he come-FUT-3SG that
'I know that he will come'

Relative clauses:

(230) ton važ vala-d,   kin   lu-ono   ti̦n-i̦d
you early understand-PRET/3SG who be-PART you-DAT
'You early have understood, who will be necessary for you'

(231) verašk-i   todmo-en-i̦m,   kud-ze   uram-i̦n pumita-j
talk-PRET/1SG friend-1SG-INSTR REL-ACC street-IN meet-PRET/1SG
'I talked with my friend, who I met on the street'

šui̦sa can appear in such relative clauses as an additional formal marker for subordination:

(232) soku tod-em   ińi,   kin-e   šot-ono   šui̦sa
then know-PERF/3PL already who-ACC give back-PART that
'At this time he already knew, who would be given (as wife)'

3.3.2.1.2 Asyndeton

This kind of subordination is connected with *verba dicendi*. Usually the object of these verbs appears as indirect speech in a subordinate clause with the conjunction *šui̦sa* (s. 3.3.2.1.1). But their object can be a clause of direct speech embedded in the higher sentence without conjunctions. As a rule the clause of the direct speech (as the object) is positioned directly in front of the *verbum dicendi*. The order of the subordinate clause as well as the expression of its subject is the same like in the unembedded case.

(233) Epifanij vańze no adǯi-ško   šu-em
PN   all-ACC see-PRS/1SG say-PERF/3SG
'Epifanij said: "I see all"'

(234) Slavjan-jos každoj gurt-i̦n gurtkužo vań koža-lo   vi̦lem
Slav-Pl   every house-IN house-spirit EX think-PRET/3PL Evident.
'It is said that the Slaves thought that there is a house-spirit in every house'

A second type indicates the subordination by marking the subject of the embedded direct speech with the accusative suffix, that means one directly governed by the *verbum dicendi*.

(235) *Perun-ez   soos   urod   inmar   šui-ľ'am*
       PN-ACC   they   bad   god   say-PERF/3PL
       'They have said that Perun is a bad god'

(236) *mi   ton-e   bir-i-d   koža-m*
       we   you-ACC   be killed-PRET-2SG   think-PRET/1PL
       'We thought that you were killed'.

3.3.2.2 Infinite clauses

Structures with the following four verbal forms belong to this kind of subordination: (1) infinitive, (2) nouns derived from verbs by the suffix *-on/-n*, (3) participles and (4) gerunds. Their use is not connected with a separate subordinating element.

These four structures serve for different purposes and are only occasionally interchangeable. There is one important difference in the syntactical functions they have: Gerunds are only adverbs of manner, cause and temporal relations (simultaneity and anteriority), present participles only attributes; the other ones appear in all syntactical functions. A second difference exists with regard to subject and time reference between the embedded and the higher sentence: In the case of infinitive structures and present participles reference is identical in both respects, only time reference in the case of the nouns with *-on*. In all other cases time and subject reference varies or can vary. Besides there are differences with regard to semantics and syntactical usability, for example between an infinitive form (indeclinable) and a noun derived by *-on*.

Different time reference can be inherent to the verbal form or expressed by appropriate postpositions. When the subject of the subordinate clause is different from that of the higher one, there are two ways to express it (that does not mean that the possibility to express it in both ways exist for every structure):

1. It is expressed by PX on the infinite verbal form; when the reference has to be clarified by a personal name, a noun etc., it appears additionally and is marked by GEN.

2. The subject occurs as a separate (nominative) constituent like in any non-subordinate clause. Both possibilities can be found, for example, in the case of nouns with *-on*: instead of *jegit-jos pumišk-on dir-ja* the version *jegit-jos-len* (GEN) *pumišk-on-zi* (3PL) *dir-ja* or *pumišk-on-zi dir-ja* alone (if the reference is clear) can be used, as well. The second is the only one in structures with a *sa*-gerund.

(1) As mentioned above (2.4.5.1) the **infinitive** structure can function in the higher sentence as subject, object (or complement), adjunct (of purpose) and attribute depending on the governing

verb. It is characteristic of such clauses that their subject reference as well as their time reference does not differ from the higher sentence. For example sentences see 2.4.5.1.

(2) **Nouns** derived from verbs by the suffix *-on/-n* can keep their verbal government:

(237) *kil-jos-ti   dišet-on*
       language-PL-ACC   teach-NOMIN
       'teaching of languages'

Therefore, they can form subordinate structures functioning in the higher sentence as subject, complement, adjunct and attribute. The subject reference in both clauses is not necessarily the same. When the clause serves as an object the nominalized verb receives the case ending resp. the postposition governed by the verb of the higher sentence:

(238) *jegit-jos   pumišk-on   dir-ja pereš   vu-i-z*
       youth-Pl   meet-NOMIN   during old man   come-PRET-3SG
       'During the meeting of the youths the old man came'

(239) *sajkit salkim-in   pumišk-on-mi   dir-ja pereš   vu-i-z*
       cool shadow-IN   meet-NOMIN-1PL   during old man   come-PRET-3SG
       'During our meeting in the cold shadow the old man came'

(240) *malpaški   soos-ti kiži   vošt-on   šariš*
       think(-IMP/2SG)   they-ACC how   change-NOMIN   about
       'Think about how to change them'

(3) Structures containing a **participle** can have different functions depending on the kind of participle.

a) Subordinate clauses with the participles PRS ACT (*-ś*) or PRS PASS (*-ono/-no*) operate as an attribute to a constituent of the higher sentence. Time reference is the same as in the higher sentence, but subject reference can be different:

(241) *restoran-in   puki-ś   eš-jos-me   adž-i*
       restaurant-IN   sit-PART   friend-PL-1SG-ACC   see-PRET/1SG
       'I saw my friends sitting in the restaurant'

(242) *mon   so-leš   lidž-ono   kñiga-z-e   adž-i*
       I   he-ABL   read-PART   book-3SG-ACC   see-PRET/1SG
       'I saw the book which must be read by him'

b) Subordinated clauses with participle PERF ACT/PASS are very widespread and they appear in all syntactical functions (subject, object/complement, adjunct of time, cause and manner and attribute). Reference of time and subject can be differ from that of the higher sentence:

(243)   *mon*   *so-je*   *gurt-e*   *bert-em-e*   *bere*   *lešt-o*
       I   it-ACC   home-ILL   come-PART-1SG   after   do-FUT/1SG
       'I will do it after coming home'

(244)   *mon*   *so-je*   *gurt-e*   *Pedor-len*   *bert-em-ez*   *bere*   *lešt-i*
       I   it-ACC   home-ILL   PN-GEN   come-PART-3SG   after   do-PRET/1SG
       'I did it after Fjodor come home'

Instead of *berteme bere* the use of *bertem beram* (IN/1SG) is possible as well. Other temporal relations expressed with this participle but with another postposition are: *dịrịš* 'since then', *ažlo* (+ ABL) 'before', *bịde* (+ DAT) every time when' and *dịrja* 'during'.

(245)   *soos*   *intịjašk-i-zị*   *tẹl*   *jẹtịlị-mte*   *intịje*   (attribute)
       they   settle down-PRET-3PL   wind   hit-PART   place-ILL
       'They settled down at a place, where the wind does not affect (them)'

(246)   *Dangịr-len*   *šurlo-ze*   *šotị-mte-jez*   *so-lị*   *jara-z*   (subject)
       PN-GEN   sickle-ACC   give-PART-3SG   she-DAT   like-PRET/3SG
       'She liked it that Dangịr didn't give his sickle'

(247)   *mon*   *so-len*   *dano*   *učonoj*   *lu-em-ez-lị*
       I   he-GEN   well-known   scientist   become-PART-3SG-DAT
       u-g   *pajmịškị*   (object)
       NV/PRS-1SG   be surprised(-NF)
       'I'm not surprised that he has become a well-known learned'

(4) Clauses containing one of the **gerunds** have the function of an adverb (manner, time, cause or with a concessive meaning) in the higher sentence. The time reference as well as the subject reference can differ from that of the higher sentence. Some examples (for more see 2.4.5.3)

(248)   *Kima, korka*   *pịrị-sa,*   *žẹk*   *šẹrị*   *pukš-i-z*
       PN   house (-ILL)   go in-GER   table   behind   sit down-PRET-3SG
       'Having gone into the house Kima sat down at the table'

(249)   *Ondi*   *gurt-e*   *bertị-sa,*   *mon*   *so-lị*   *ukšo*   *šot-i*
       PN   house-ILL   come-GER   I   he-DAT   money(-ACC)   give-PRET/1SG
       'When Ondi came home, I gave him the money'

(250)   *(mon)*   *gurt-e*   *bertị-ku(-m),*   *dịšetịš-m-e*   *pumita-j*
       (I)   house-ILL   come-GER(-1SG)   teacher-1SG-ACC   meet-PRET/1SG
       'Arriving at home I met my teacher'

(251)   *žadʹị-tož-az*   *bịž-i-z*
       become tired-GER-3SG   run-PRET-3SG
       'He ran until he became tired'

(252)   *više-m-en-ịm*   *ta*   *už-ez*   *ẹ-j*   *lešti*
       be ill-PART-INSTR-1SG   DEM   work-ACC   NV/PRET-1SG   do (-NF)
       'Because of my illness I haven't done this work'

4. SAMPLE TEXT

The following text is a short extract of a play published in the main newspaper of Udmurtia (*Udmurt duńńe*) in November 2000. Thus it is fixed spoken colloquial Udmurt.

1.   *Mịn, mịn,*   *mon*   *ton-e*   *u-g*   *kutịškị.*
    go(-IMP/2SG)   I   you-ACC   NV/PRS-1SG   catch(-NF)

2.   *Užaš-jos-sị*   *ton-tek*   *no multes,*   *leša:*   *šu-en,*
    worker-PL-3PL   you-CAR   too superfluous   probably   hundred-INSTR
    šurs-en   *ulʹlʹa-lo*   *ịńi.*
    thousand-INSTR   drive-PRS/3PL   already

3.   *Tolon*   *buskelʹ-jos-mị*   *dorị*   *pota-j.*
    yesterday   neighbour-PL-1PL   to   visit-PRÄT/1SG

4.   *Kužo-zị*   *divan vịle*   *ležk-em,*   *pịd-jos-s-e*
    head of the household-3PL   divan on   sit down-PERF/3SG   leg-PL-3SG-ACC
    borddor-ez   *vịle*   *tịrị-sa*   *kịlʹlʹ-e.*
    back of the divan-3SG   on   lay-GER   lie-PRS/3SG

5.   *Ma*   *lu-i-z,*   *jua-ško?*
    what   be-PRET-3SG   ask-PRS/1SG

6.   *Tunne*   *šutetsk-on*   *nunal-ed*   *šat?*
    today   rest-NOMIN   day-3SG   really

7.   *Bịdes tolež ta*   *divan vịlịn*   *kịlʹlʹi-ško*   *ńi,*   *pe,*
    whole month this   divan on   lie-PRS/1SG   already   they say
    cech-mị-len   *ku*   *uža-nị*   *kutsk-on-ez*   *todmo evel.*
    department-1PL-GEN   when   work-INF   begin-NOMIN-3SG   known NEX

8.   *Kin-e*   *gine*   *u-g*   *šịždị!*
    who-ACC   only   NV/PRS-3SG   blame(-NF)

9.   *Zavod-ịš*   *inžener-jos*   *bordịšen kutskị-sa,*   *Moskva-e*   *no vu-e,*
    factory-EL   engineer-PL   from   begin-GER   PN-ILL   too come-PRS/3SG
    Kremlʹ-e no   *pịr-a,*   *deputat-jos-ịz*   *vera-n-ez*   *evel ńi.*
    PN-ILL   go in-PRS/3SG   deputy-PL-DEF   speak-NOMIN-3SG   NEX any more

10. *Og-ze,   pe,   muket-in-iz   geržatek   uža-lo.*
    the one-ACC   they say   other-INSTR-DEF   connect-GER   work-PRS/3PL

11. *Pujijez   peľt-o-peľt-o   no,   ta-iz   peľ   pidsaški-mon   pušt-e.*
    bag-ACC   blow-PRS/3PL   and   DEM-DEF   ear   close-GER   explode-PRS/3SG

12. *Vań   maď-em-ze   vera-lo-d   šat?*
    all   tell-PART-3SG/ACC   say-FUT-3SG   really

13. *Kil   vil-a-z   šuži-jez no,   umoj-ez no   val.*
    tongue on-IN-3SG   stupid-DEF   good-DEF   EX

Translation

1. Go, go, I don't hold you back.

2. Their workers are probably superfluous without you too. They are already dismissing them in hundreds, thousands.

3. Yesterday I visited our neighbours.

4. The head of their household has sat down on the divan and is lying there with his legs on the back of the divan.

5. What has happened, I asked?

6. Is your rest-day today?

7. They say, he has been lying on this divan the whole month already and they don't know, when they (will) start to work in his department.

8. Who does he not blame!

9. Starting with the engineers, then he comes to Moscow, goes to the Kremlin, not to mention the deputies.

10. They work without connecting one thing with the other, they say.

11. They blow and blow in the bag until it explodes and the ears get closed.

12. Will you really tell all he said?

13. On his tongue was the stupid as well as the good.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative		NF	negative form (of the main verb)
ADV	adverb		NOM	nominative
ADVL	adverbial (case)		NOMIN	nominalizer
ACC	accusative		NV	negative verb
ACT	active		ORD	ordinal (derivation)
APPR	approximative		PART	participle
AUX	auxiliary verb		PASS	passive (voice)
CAR	caritive		PERF	perfect
CAUS	causative (derivation)		PL	plural
COLL	collective (derivation)		PN	personal name
COMP	comparative		POSTP	postposition
COP	copula		PRS	present
CX	case (suffix)		PRET	preterite
DAT	dative		PX	possessive (suffix)
DEF	definite		REFL	reflexive (derivation)
DEM	demonstrative pronoun		REL	relative pronoun
DER	derivation		SG	singular
EGR	egressive		TER	terminative
EL	elative		TR	transitive (case)
EX	existential verb			
FIKT	*Fiktivnost*			
FRAC	fraction			
FREQ	frequentative (derivation)			
FUT	future			
GEN	genitive			
GER	gerund			
IC	interrogative clitic			
ILL	illative			
IMP	imperative			
IN	inessive			
IND	indicative			
INF	infinitive			
INSTR	instrumental			
NEX	negative existential verb			

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Appendix: Transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet

Vowels:

	Front	Back	
	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	i/ü ~u	į/ы ~ьы	u/у ~ю
Mid	e/э ~e	ẹ/ö ~ьö	o/о ~ё
Low		a/а ~я	

The first letter of a pair stands after a non-palatal, the second after a palatal consonant.

Consonants:

		Labials		Dentals		Palatals	Velars
		bilabial	labiodental	dental	postalveolar		
Stops	voiceless	p/n		t/m		t́/mь	k/к
	voiced	b/б		d/д		d́/дь	g/г
Affricates	voiceless				č/ч	ć/ч	
	voiced				ǯ/эѕ	ź̌/з̌	
Fricatives	voiceless			s/c	š/ш	ś/cь	
	voiced		v/в	z/з	ž/эж	ź/зь	
Nasals		m/м		n/н		ń/нь	
Laterals				l/л		ĺ/ль	
Trills				r/р			
Glides						j/й	

With the exception of the affricates there are no separate letters for the palatals. They are written with the letters for the dentals + ь or with the corresponding vowel grapheme (я, е, и, ё, ю). Palatal geminates are marked only with one ь (кылльыны, not *кыльльыны 'lie').

The vowel letters я, е, ё, ю mark the glide j + corresponding vowel after a vowel, ь or ъ (вияны = vijanį, музъем = muzjem, басьяны = baśjanį). Accordingly the letter й is used before i, į and ẹ (пусйыны = pusjįnį).