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THE 2<sup>ND</sup> PAST IN THE PERMIC LANGUAGES

FORM, FUNCTION, AND A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS  
FROM A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

M.A.THESIS

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*Were a language ever completely "grammatical," it would be a perfect engine of conceptual expression. Unfortunately, or luckily, no language is tyrannically consistent. All grammars leak.*

*Edward Sapir, Language. 38*

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## List of abbreviations

|                      |                                      |                      |                  |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| NOM                  | nominative                           | ACC                  | accusative       |
| PERF                 | perfect                              | PTCP                 | participle       |
| COP                  | copula                               | PASS                 | passive          |
| T-A-M                | tense-aspect-modality                | ART                  | article          |
| SG                   | singular                             | PL                   | plural           |
| COM                  | comitative                           | TERM                 | terminative      |
| ABL                  | ablative                             | GEN                  | genitive         |
| INESS                | inessive                             | NEG                  | negation verb    |
| ADESS                | adessive                             | DAT                  | dative           |
| PP                   | postposition                         | INSTR                | instrumental     |
| ko                   | Komi                                 | ud                   | Udmurt           |
| fi                   | Finnish                              | Vx                   | verbal ending    |
| Px                   | possessive suffix                    | 1 <sup>st</sup> past | first past tense |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> past | second past tense                    | lpN                  | Northern Lappish |
| lpS                  | Southern Lappish                     |                      |                  |
| SAE                  | Standard Average European            |                      |                  |
| PCU                  | perception-cognition-utterance verbs |                      |                  |

## List of abbreviations in non-Uralic examples

|       |   |      |                            |
|-------|---|------|----------------------------|
| PRF   | perfective (Central Pomo)               | PRE  | precision (S. Tepehuan)    |
| PE    | perceived evidence (S. Tepehuan)        | SUB  | subordinator (S. Tepehuan) |
| TEM   | temporary (S. Tepehuan)                 | DIR  | direction (S. Tepehuan)    |
| REU   | reported evidence unknown (S. Tepehuan) | EXT  | extent (S. Tepehuan)       |
| REK   | reported evidence known (S. Tepehuan)   | EXS  | existential (S. Tepehuan)  |
| RLZ   | realization (S. Tepehuan)               |      |                            |
| GRAD  | graduative (Nootka)                     | MOM  | momentaneous (Nootka)      |
| QUOT  | quotative (Nootka)                      | CAUS | causative (Nootka)         |
| LOC   | locative (Lhasa Tibet)                  | DAT  | dative (Lhasa Tibet)       |
| PRES  | present tense (Turkish)                 | MIR  | mirative (Turkish)         |
| MOD   | modal (Turkish)                         | IMPF | imperfective (Hare)        |
| ASUMP | assumed/assumptive (Tuyuca)             | APP  | apparent (Tuyuca)          |
| PRET  | preterite (Turkish)                     | PERF | perfect (Turkish)          |

ATTR attributive (Yukaghir)

FUT future (Yukaghir)

INFR inference (Yukaghir)

STAT stative (Yukaghir)

DES desiderative (Yukaghir)

DST distributive (Yukaghir)

INTR intransitive (Yukaghir)

### **Other abbreviations**

GSUJ = *Грамматика современного удмуртского языка. I. Фонетика и морфология*

OFUJ = ОФУЯ = *Основы финно-угорского языкознания – марийский, пермские и угорские языки.*

RUS = *Русско-Удмуртский Словарь*

SKJ = *Современный Коми язык*

URE = *Удмуртская Республика Энциклопедия*

КПЯ = *Коми-пермяцкий язык*

Givón 2001 I = *Syntax vol I*

Givón 2001 II = *Syntax vol II*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The participles of Komi and Udmurt have been an object of investigation for more than half a century (e.g. Fokos-Fuchs 1958, Perevoščikov 1959, Stipa 1960, Cypanov 1997, Kalinina 2001, Ylikoski 2001). Of special interest since Serebrennikov's monograph is occupied by the so-called 2<sup>nd</sup> past tense<sup>1</sup> in the Permic<sup>2</sup> languages and its function (Serebrennikov 1960: 59-66; 118-120).

Whereas the 1<sup>st</sup> past shares all structural features with present and future tense - it uses the same verbal endings in both future/present and 1<sup>st</sup> past, the negation is based on the use of the negation verb which is marked for tense and person and is followed by the stem of the main verb - it is opposed to the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. Although the 2<sup>nd</sup> past behaves syntactically as a verb and can take subjects and objects, it is though based historically on a participle. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past is not marked with the verbal endings, but uses the corresponding possessive suffixes instead. Further, it's not negated by the negation verb but by a negative existential and the main verb remains marked for person. Beside the structural opposition, both tense forms differentiate in semantic aspects as well. The 1<sup>st</sup> past can be classified as a general past and is the preferred coding device for any past events. The role of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is fuzzier and incorporates several different functions: it can serve as a more distant relative past tense, it can behave as a perfect and it is said to be the preferred means for reporting not eyewitnessed events.

The interest in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past increased in the last two decades when the notion of evidentiality became a popular object in contemporary linguistics. Over the last couple of years, the evidential function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past attracted the attention of several scholars, mostly from Western Europe (e.g. Baker 1984, Leinonen 2000, Leinonen & Vilkuna 2000) with the exception of the native Komi scholar Cypanov (Cypanov 2002). Usually, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past was classified as a (resultative) past tense with a certain evidential function and these results corresponded with the description in SKJ and GSUJ. Still, a finer distinction was not introduced.

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<sup>1</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> past is known under different names, here some examples: Emel'janov 1927: 155 *историческая форма*; Uotila 1937: 55 *Perfekt*; Bubrikh 1949: 119 *неочевидное прошедшее время*; Fuchs 1954: 152 *perfectum historicum*; SKJ 1955: 214- *прошедшее-результативне*; GSUJ 1962: 202- *второе прошедшее время*. For the sake of clarity I will use the neutral term 2<sup>nd</sup> past (=2<sup>nd</sup> past tense) throughout my thesis.

<sup>2</sup> I do not consider Permjak Komi to be an independent language. Further on I will operate with only two Permic languages: Udmurt and Komi; Komi comprises both Zyrian Komi **and** Permjak Komi. If any phenomenon in Permjak Komi does not match the Zyrian pattern, this will be stated explicitly. Please note that other scholars usually of Russian origin do not follow this distinction.

Two new positions about the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past were introduced recently by Winkler and Leinonen. In Winkler's grammar (Winkler 2001: 49-51), the 2<sup>nd</sup> past was separated from its place in the tense system of Udmurt and was transferred to the mood system. According to Winkler the 2<sup>nd</sup> past lacks a temporal function and must therefore be qualified as an evidential which in return is part of Udmurt's mood system. Also Leinonen changed her position recently. In 2000 she neither wanted to classify the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in a study of evidentiality in Komi (Leinonen 2000: 436-437) or in a tempus study of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Komi and Udmurt (Leinonen & Vilkuna 2000: 511-512) as purely evidential. In 2003 Leinonen obviously changed her mind. In her short comparative sketch of Russian and Komi she states: "Both languages [Russian and Komi F.S.] have the same moods (indicative, imperative and conditional, the later marked in both languages by a particle). Additionally, the Komi evidential could be called a mood" (Leinonen 2002: 200). This is actually the same interpretation as Winkler has proposed for Udmurt in 2001.

In a review of Winkler's Udmurt grammar, Napol'skikh severely criticizes Winkler's interpretation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as not belonging to the tense system. According to Napol'skikh the evidential meaning is only attested in folklore (Napol'skikh 2003: 298 and p.c.) and Winkler's interpretation must be considered inappropriate. Bartens' recent monograph about the Permic languages does not present any own opinion on the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past and follows the definition given by SKJ and GSUJ which describe the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a past with further evidential function. (Bartens 2000: 207-208)

### **1.1. Motivation of this thesis**

The aim of this thesis is to reinvestigate the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The recent progress in evidential studies has not yet been applied to Komi and Udmurt, while paradoxically the Permic 2<sup>nd</sup> past has been used to illustrate the notion of evidentiality rather frequently.<sup>3</sup> This rather schizophrenic situation and the sketch presented in 1.1. should be motivation enough to justify the need of more detailed research regarding the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

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<sup>3</sup> Permic is used in Aikhenvald & Dixon 1998, Aikhenvald 2003; Udmurt is used in Bybee et al 1994. Also the intolerance towards functional interpretations in Uralic needs clarifying, statements such as eg. Honti 2002 should be abandoned: "Diese Kategorie ist unter vielen Namen bekannt, z.B. d. Narrativ, Absentiv, indirekte Erlebnisform, engl. inferential, indirectial, russ. время неочевидного действия. Ich habe nicht die Absicht, mich mit dem terminologischen Durcheinander zu befassen, im Folgenden nenne ich die behandelte Kategorie ganz einfach Auditiv." (Honti 2002: 22)

### 1.1.1. Structure of the thesis

The remaining part of chapter 1 discusses the 2<sup>nd</sup> past's morphology and contrasts it with the pre-nominal usage of the *m*-participle. In chapter 2 the interpretation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in earlier research is presented and the chapter ends with a short survey of compound tenses which can be formed with the help of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past (both finite verbs in 2<sup>nd</sup> past and copulas in 2<sup>nd</sup> past). Chapter 3 consists of several surveys which present and discuss form and function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as sketched in earlier grammars and in dialectological research. The discussion ends with several diachronic remarks. In chapter 4, the cross-linguistic diversity of evidentiality, its possible interpretations and typological classifications are discussed. The chapter ends with short remarks about the development of evidentiality and its grammaticalization. Chapter 5 presents the recent discussion in the study of perfects, anteriors and resultative constructions. Chapter 4 and 5 form the theoretical background for chapters 6 and 7. In chapter 6 the form to function mapping of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is presented. The usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is analyzed separately for Permjak Komi, Zyrian Komi and Udmurt. In chapter 7, several comparative questions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past are addressed. This chapter tries to answer the question, whether the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Komi and Udmurt is triggered by the same conditions. In the final chapter 8, I'll define the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past based on evidence from my database. Most of the examples in chapters 1-5 are glossed, although the glossing systems vary. Whereas all necessary Udmurt and Komi examples are glossed morphologically, the glossing of cited examples follows the original glossing and has not been changed. Examples in chapters 6, 7 and 8 remain unglossed, the original translation (German and Finnish) is given.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.1.2. Some remarks about methodology

The approach used in this M.A. thesis is functional typological following the framework presented by Lambrecht (Lambrecht 1994) and Givón (Givón 1995; 2001). I do not deny the importance of historical linguistics but understand its importance rather the way as sketched by Greenberg (Greenberg 1979) or Bybee (Bybee 1985; Bybee et al 1994). A strict separation of diachrony and synchrony as promoted by Saussure and his followers has turned out to introduce more obstacles than solutions. Saussure's idea of a

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<sup>4</sup> The phonetic writing in chapters 6 and 8 is simplified. Generally the writing of consonants remained as in the original publication. Additional vowel quality modifying diachritics have been omitted due to typographic restrictions. Vowel quality has generally been preserved. These modifications do not affect the argumentation of my thesis: I'm not interested in phonetic form but in its meaning.

strict separation between these two fields prevents to operate with diachrony to explain irregularities in synchrony.

### **1.1.3. The practical organization of the material**

The material, which is used for analysis comes from four different sources:

- Syrjänische Texte I-IV [ST] (Uotila - Kokkonen 1989 - 1995)
- Udmurtin murteet [UM] (Kel'makov & Saarinen 1994)
- Volksdichtung und Volksbräuche der Wotjaken [VW] (Munkácsi - Fuchs 1952)
- The Turku – VOLGCOMP corpus (<http://www.utu.fi/hum/sgr/VolgaPalv.htm>)

ST, UM and VW are used for the first part of the thesis, which concentrates on form and function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in a particular language. The material of ST and VW was sampled randomly, which was necessary because an exhaustive analysis of these texts would go beyond the scope of a single M.A. thesis. The texts in UM were worked through completely.

Although the primary aim was to provide a sample with a more or less even amount of texts from every dialect, this principle had to be abandoned quite early. This is due to the quality of the collected texts which do not offer the best-possible prerequisites for a morphosyntactic research. All the texts used for this thesis are indeed older than one would guess by looking at their date of publication but the age of the material turned out to become the main problem for this thesis.

### **1.1.4. Udmurt textual material**

VW represents the language usage of a handful Udmurt POW during the First World War, which was documented by Munkácsi in a POW camp in Esztergom, Hungary. Due to the intensive collaboration between linguists and folklorists in Uralic studies in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Munkácsi's collection follows this trend and is made up almost exclusively by folktales, legends, and to a lesser extent by ethnological narratives. Without any doubt, the value of this collection is higher for folklorists and dialectologists than for a synchronic morphosyntactic analysis. The analysis is also hindered by two facts; actually most of the material derives from Southern Udmurt informants (see appendix) and Munkácsi has altered some texts in later years (see Fuchs 1952 XXVI-XXX; 535-707). It should be obvious, that a thorough analyze of a tricky

category as perfect-evidentiality can not be based exclusively on folklore alone.<sup>5</sup> Because of this, the material was enhanced with texts from UM. The order of the material in UM shows some holes. The missing texts were worked through but due to the abundance of folklore from VVW I decided not to take more traditional narratives into the analysis.<sup>6</sup>

#### **1.1.5. Komi textual material**

Uotila collected his material from Komi POW in 1942-1943 (see ST I: IX-XI). A small amount of texts were collected already earlier and derive from Uotila's trip to a small Komi community in Petsamo (at this time a part of Finland, nowadays situated in the Russian Federation) in 1930. (ST II: 168-163)

Perhaps the most significant difference between Uotila and Munkácsi's collections lies in the quality of their texts. Uotila's collection consists not only of folklore but comprises also all kinds of historical and autobiographic narratives. True, also Uotila's material does not represent all Komi dialects and narrative genres evenly but still offers a better starting point than VVW.

#### **1.1.6. More on the organization of the material**

ST, VVW and UM are used for studying the 2<sup>nd</sup> past for each language separately. The total amount of texts and their origin can be found in the appendixes, the material has been sorted according to the following pattern:<sup>7</sup>

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <b>Personal narrative</b>      | (autobiographic mainly in 1 <sup>st</sup> person)     |
| <b>Other narrative</b>         | (unclassifiable narratives in 3 <sup>rd</sup> person) |
| <b>Ethnographic narratives</b> | (narratives mainly in 3 <sup>rd</sup> person)         |
| - hunting                      |   |
| - fishing                      |   |
| - farming methods              |   |
| - handicraft                   |   |

#### **Traditional narratives**

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<sup>5</sup> This should become more obvious if anyone would try to write a grammar of Estonian which would be based solely on Kreutzwald's fairytales.

<sup>6</sup> The only material which has not been taken into account are songs.

<sup>7</sup> Several texts with a dubious story line have been grouped in more than one group, but this is more a folkloristic problem than a linguistic. The idea for arranging the texts according to this pattern has been taken from Nakayama 2001.

- folktales
- legends

**Mythological narratives** (this category is typical for Udmurt only)

### **Dreams**

For the comparative study of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past, parts of the unpublished VOLGCOMP parallel corpus compiled by the FU Department of the University of Turku were used.<sup>8</sup> The material used in this thesis comes from the *Pavlik Morozov* corpus. The original Russian version (about 60 pages) and its translation (Zyrian Komi, Permjak Komi, Udmurt and Finnish) have been divided in 1608 units and should be available as an net-based corpus in the nearer future.<sup>9</sup>

### **1.2. Permic Verb inflection – a short survey**

The following survey presents the most important structural features of Permic verbal inflection with special reference to the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. This is appropriate due to several considerations: both Permic languages, although rich in verbal morphology have a poor modal system and lack a grammatical passive voice. Komi has only two moods, indicative and imperative<sup>10</sup>, Udmurt has an additional conditional. The Udmurt conditional comprises both present and past meanings. A separate analytic past conditional is known, too, but it occurs very infrequent. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permic can not be combined with imperative (both Komi and Udmurt) or conditional (Udmurt). That's why it is possible to concentrate the following sketch solely on structural features of verb inflection in indicative (present, past, future). The paradigms presented are taken from SKJ and GSUJ.

Dialectal features and remarks on the origin of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past will follow in chapter 3.

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<sup>8</sup> The corpus has been kindly provided by PhD Jorma Luutonen; more information can be obtained under <http://www.utu.fi/hum/sgr/VolgaPalv.htm>.

<sup>9</sup> One unit matches at least one sentence but this is no safe generalization when working with the corpus.

<sup>10</sup> Recently, Leinonen proposed an additional conditional Leinonen 2002: 200. As her suggestion for an independent category of evidentiality, she does not define this category either.

## 1.2.1. Komi verb inflection in present, future and 1<sup>st</sup> past

### 1.2.1.1. General features

The Komi verb is conjugated two moods (indicative, imperative) and in three tenses (present, past and future). The imperative paradigm is defective, it lacks both 1<sup>st</sup> person forms and inflection for tense.

Komi has only one conjugation class. When inflected affirmatively, the verb agrees with its subject in person and number. Tense markers are nearer to the stem than verbal endings, but 1SG is not marked for person in any tense. Due to the fact, that negation differs considerably, this will be treated separately.

Table 1. 1<sup>st</sup> past, present and future tense in SKJ

| ГИЖ-НЫ 'to write' |                      |            |            |                      |             |             |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| affirmative       |                      |            | negative   |                      |             |             |
| p/n               | 1 <sup>st</sup> past | present    | future     | 1 <sup>st</sup> past | present     | future      |
| 1SG               | гиж-и                | гиж-а      | гиж-а      | э-г гиж              | о-г гиж     | о-г гиж     |
| 2SG               | гиж-и-н              | гиж-а-н    | гиж-а-н    | э-н гиж              | о-н гиж     | о-н гиж     |
| 3SG               | гиж-и-с              | гиж-ö      | гиж-а-с    | э-з гиж              | о-з гиж     | о-з гиж     |
| 1PL               | гиж-и-м              | гиж-а-м    | гиж-а-м    | э-гö гиж-öй          | о-гö гиж-öй | о-гö гиж-öй |
| 2PL               | гиж-и-нныö           | гиж-а-нныö | гиж-а-нныö | э-нö гиж-öй          | о-нö гиж-öй | о-нö гиж-öй |
| 3PL               | гиж-и-сны            | гиж-ö-ны   | гиж-а-сны  | э-з гиж-ны           | о-з гиж-ны  | о-з гиж-ны  |

### 1.2.1.2. Present/Future tense

The category future can be distinguished morphologically only in 3SG and 3PL forms, otherwise it coincidences with the present tense paradigm.<sup>11</sup>

In negation, the situation is a little trickier. Komi uses a negation verb (stem *о-*), this verb does not take the same verbal endings (Vx) as in the affirmative conjugation, beside 2SG. In singular negation, the negation verb is followed by the stem of the negated verb. However, in plural negation, certain stem alternations (1SG эг гиж; 1PL эгö гижöй) occur which might be attributed to functional overloading on the negation verb. In 1PL and 2PL, an additional vowel is added to the negation verb (to mark plurality) but the negated verb is also modified and appears in the imperative 2PL form. The negation verb for 1SG, 3SG and 3PL is homonym, too. Only the alternation in the negated verb indicates number. This shows the functional insufficiency of the negation verb which must encode missing information on the negated verb, too.

<sup>11</sup> Present tense 3SG & 3PL forms are marked by portmanteau morphemes whereas the future tense marks tense and number separately.

### 1.2.1.3. 1<sup>st</sup> past

The 1<sup>st</sup> past is marked with the past tense marker *-i-* which, besides 1SG is followed by the appropriate Vx.

The 1<sup>st</sup> past, too, is negated by a negation verb, which has a suppletive stem for past in *e-*. The same functional problems occur in the past, otherwise the paradigm behaves as in the present tense (see above).

### 1.2.2. Komi verb inflection in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past

Table 2. 2<sup>st</sup> past in SKJ

| ГИЖ-НЫ 'to write' |                  |                      |
|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| p/n               | affirmative      | negative             |
| 1SG               | ∅                | ∅                    |
| 2SG               | <i>гижӧмыд</i>   | <i>абу гижӧмыд</i>   |
| 3SG               | <i>гижӧма</i>    | <i>абу гижӧма</i>    |
| 1PL               | ∅                | ∅                    |
| 2PL               | <i>гижӧмныд</i>  | <i>абу гижӧмныд</i>  |
| 3PL               | <i>гижӧмаӧсь</i> | <i>абу гижӧмаӧсь</i> |

Already structurally the 2<sup>nd</sup> past differs considerably from the other paradigms, because it is built on the participle in *-ӧm* and has therefore a nominal nature. In standard Komi forms for 1SG and 1PL are missing. According to its nominal nature 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms are marked by the according possessive suffix which differ from the verbal endings. The *-a* in 3SG is actually the ending of the adverbial case and no Px<sup>12</sup>; in 3PL the adverbial case ending is followed by the predicative plural marker *-s*.

In negation the negative existential *abu* 'is not' is used instead of the negation verb and the negated 2<sup>nd</sup> past remains in its fully inflected form.

Table 3. Vx and Px in standard literary Zyrian Komi

| person | Vx  | Px          |
|--------|---|-------------|
| 1SG    | ∅   | <i>-ej</i>  |
| 2SG    | <i>-n</i>   | <i>-id</i>  |
| 3SG    | <i>-s</i> (fut); <i>-e</i> (pres), <i>-s / ∅</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> past) | <i>-is</i>  |
| 1PL    | <i>-m</i>   | <i>-nim</i> |
| 2PL    | <i>-nnid</i>  | <i>-nid</i> |
| 3PL    | <i>-asnı̄</i> (fut); <i>-ösnī</i> (pres)                               | <i>-nis</i> |

<sup>12</sup> This ending *-a* is frequently submitted, both in singular and plural.

### 1.2.3. Udmurt verb inflection in present, future and 1<sup>st</sup> past

#### 1.2.3.1. General features

The Udmurt verb is conjugated in three moods (indicative, imperative, conditional) and in three tenses (future, present, past). The imperative paradigm is defective, it lacks both, 1SG forms and inflection for tense.<sup>13</sup>

Udmurt verbs are usually divided in two conjugation classes, the class can always be determined by the vowel preceding the infinitive marker. The verbs of the so called first conjugation end in a high unrounded ilabial back vowel (orthographically realized as -ы-), the verbs of the second conjugation show an -а before the infinitive marker -ны .

As in Komi, 1SG is never marked.

Table 4. 1<sup>st</sup> past, present and future tense in Udmurt -1<sup>st</sup> conjugation

| учкы-ны 'to see' ; сылы-ны 'to stand'; мысьы-ны 'to wash' |                      |                        |                      |                      |                       |                         |
|---|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| affirmative   |                      |                        | negative             |                      |                       |                         |
| p/n   | 1 <sup>st</sup> past | present                | future               | 1 <sup>st</sup> past | present               | Future                  |
| 1SG   | <i>учк-и</i>         | <i>сыл-йсько</i>       | <i>миськ-о</i>       | <i>ӧ-й учкы</i>      | <i>у-з сыл-йськ-ы</i> | <i>у-з миськ-ы</i>      |
| 2SG   | <i>учк-и-д</i>       | <i>сыл-йсько-д</i>     | <i>миськ-о-д</i>     | <i>ӧ-д учкы</i>      | <i>у-д сыл-йськ-ы</i> | <i>у-д миськ-ы</i>      |
| 3SG   | <i>учк-и-з</i>       | <i>сыл-э</i>           | <i>миськ-о-з</i>     | <i>ӧ-з учке</i>      | <i>у-з сыл-(ы)</i>    | <i>у-з миськ-ы</i>      |
| 1PL   | <i>учк-и-мы</i>      | <i>сыл-йсько-м (ы)</i> | <i>миськ-о-м (ы)</i> | <i>ӧ-м учке (ле)</i> | <i>у-м сыл-йськ-е</i> | <i>у-м миськ-е (лэ)</i> |
| 2PL   | <i>учк-и-ды</i>      | <i>сыл-йсько-ды</i>    | <i>миськ-о-ды</i>    | <i>ӧ-д учке (ле)</i> | <i>у-д сыл-йськ-е</i> | <i>у-д миськ-е (лэ)</i> |
| 3PL   | <i>учк-и-зы</i>      | <i>сыл-о</i>           | <i>миськ-о-зы</i>    | <i>ӧ-з учке (ле)</i> | <i>у-з сыл-о</i>      | <i>у-з миськ-е (лэ)</i> |

Table 5. 1<sup>st</sup> past, present and future tense in Udmurt - 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation

| юа-ны 'to ask'; ужа-ны 'to work'; малпа-ны 'to think' |                      |                        |                    |                      |                       |                  |
|---|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| affirmative   |                      |                        | negative           |                      |                       |                  |
| p/n   | 1 <sup>st</sup> past | present                | future             | 1 <sup>st</sup> past | present               | future           |
| 1SG   | <i>малпа-й</i>       | <i>ужа-сько</i>        | <i>юа-ло</i>       | <i>ӧ-й малпа</i>     | <i>у-з ужа-ськ-ы</i>  | <i>у-з юа</i>    |
| 2SG   | <i>малпа -д</i>      | <i>ужа-сько -д</i>     | <i>юа-ло-д</i>     | <i>ӧ-д малпа</i>     | <i>у-д ужа-ськ-ы</i>  | <i>у-д юа</i>    |
| 3SG   | <i>малпа -з</i>      | <i>ужа</i>             | <i>юа-ло-з</i>     | <i>ӧ-з малпа</i>     | <i>у-з ужа</i>        | <i>у-з юа</i>    |
| 1PL   | <i>малпа-мы</i>      | <i>ужа-сько -м (ы)</i> | <i>юа-ло-м (ы)</i> | <i>ӧ-м малпа-ле</i>  | <i>у-м ужа-ськ-е</i>  | <i>у-м юа-лэ</i> |
| 2PL   | <i>малпа-ды</i>      | <i>ужа-сько -ды</i>    | <i>юа-ло-ды</i>    | <i>ӧ-д малпа-ле</i>  | <i>у-д сыл-йськ-е</i> | <i>у-д юа-лэ</i> |
| 3PL   | <i>малпа-зы</i>      | <i>ужа-ло</i>          | <i>юа-ло-зы</i>    | <i>ӧ-з малпа-ле</i>  | <i>у-з ужа-ло</i>     | <i>у-з юа-лэ</i> |

<sup>13</sup> Sometimes the 3SG & PL imperative forms are considered to be optatives. In some Southern Udmurt dialects complete optative paradigms can be found, but these paradigms are not part of standard Udmurt (see Kel'makov & Saarinen 1994: 127-126; Kel'makov 1998: 145-146). Winkler 2001: 51 does not mention a separate optative.

In affirmative inflection the Udmurt verb agrees with its subject. As in Komi, the first person is always unmarked and consists of stem and tense marker. In contrast to Komi, Udmurt has an overtly marked future which is formed with the suffix *-o-*<sup>14</sup>. The first past is marked with the past tense marker *-i-* and is followed by the appropriate Vx.

Udmurt, too, uses a negation verb; in present and future tense its stem is *u-* in the 1<sup>st</sup> past *e-*. Although the Udmurt negation resembles the Komi patterns, it's far away from being identical.

### 1.2.3.2. Present tense

The affirmative present tense is marked overtly by the suffix *-(i)ško-* in both conjugation. In the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation, the tense marker is *-iško-*, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation the *-i-* is dropped before the stem final *-a* and therefore the suffix is *-ško-*. In the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation, 3SG and 3PL are not marked for tense separately, both persons are marked by a portmanteau morpheme.

Also in the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation, both 3SG and 3PL are unmarked for tense. The difference here lies in the 3SG which is completely unmarked and represents the bare stem, whereas the corresponding plural form is marked by a portmanteau morpheme.<sup>15</sup>

In negation, the situation is a little trickier. The present stem of the negation verb is *u-* for both conjugations but as already known from Komi, the Vx of the negation verb do not match with the Vx of the affirmative besides in 2SG. The negation verb for 1SG, 3SG and 3PL is homonym, the negated verb itself contains the necessary information which form one is dealing with. In both negations, the negated verb undergoes stem alternation in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms and changes their final vowels, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms remain in their affirmative forms.

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<sup>14</sup> Historically, the Udmurt future is the cognate of the Komi present/future tense. The Udmurt present tense is an Udmurt innovation, the present tense suffix *-(i)ško-* is derived from a frequentative suffix.

<sup>15</sup> The synchronic interpretation of 3PL forms of verbs belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation attaches no special function to the *-l-* of the formant. Therefore one should list it as *-lo*.

### 1.2.3.3. Future tense

The future tense is marked by the suffix *-o-* which, beside 1SG is followed by the corresponding Vx.

In negation, the negation verb uses the same stem as for present tense and again the negation verb's Vx do not correspond to the Vx as used in the affirmative conjugation. The difference between future and present tense negation concerns the 3SG which now differs from the 1SG; but now 3SG is homonym with 3PL. The necessary stem alternations (2SG уд юа 2PL уд юаЛЭ) occur also in the future tense negation. In the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation, the negation verb is followed by the so called full verbal stem (Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 27) in singular and by the imperative 2PL form in the plural. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation, the negation verb is followed by the stem in singular and the imperative 2PL stem in all plural forms.<sup>16</sup> These forms in *-le* generalize and are getting used more and more in the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation also. (see parallel forms in brackets)

### 1.2.3.4. 1<sup>st</sup> past

The differences in present tense conjugation of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation verbs are realized in the 1<sup>st</sup> past as well. Still, the present tense conjugation is more uniform than 1<sup>st</sup> past conjugation, both conjugations are marked overtly for present tense. In 1<sup>st</sup> past, the situation differs. In general, the formant for the 1<sup>st</sup> past is *-i-*.<sup>17</sup> In 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation, the past tense marker is connected to the short verbal stem and is followed by the corresponding Vx. For negation, the negation verb uses a suppletive stem in *ε-* which is followed by Vx (also here no correspondence!) and as a matter of fact, the negation verb for 1SG is double marked for past by past stem and past tense suffix. The other forms follow the same pattern as encountered in future tense negation. (see above)

The 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation behaves somehow oddly in the 1<sup>st</sup> past, only the 1SG is marked for tense; in all other persons, the past tense marker merges with the stem vowel *-a-* and leaves no visible traces.<sup>18</sup> To put it differently, only the 1SG of the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation shows overt marking for past tense, the other forms remain unmarked. In negation, the same problems as sketched under 1.3.3.3. occur and therefore they will not be repeated.

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<sup>16</sup> The stem variation is known only in 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation e.g. *мыныны* 'to go' → full stem *мыны* → short stem *мын*. The stem in 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation does not change *ужаны* 'to work' → stem *ужа*.

<sup>17</sup> *-j* in word final position.

<sup>18</sup> Formally, this would support the interpretation of *-a* as a portmanteu besides 1SG.

### 1.2.4. Udmurt verb inflection in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past

The Udmurt 2<sup>nd</sup> past, similar to the corresponding Komi 2<sup>nd</sup> past differs entirely from the other paradigms mentioned above because it is based on a participle form. In negation, two different strategies are used: the analytic construction follows the same pattern as already encountered in the Komi examples and uses the negative existential *evəl* instead of the expected negation verb. The synthetic construction uses a negation infix (=caritative suffix).

Table 6. 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt -1<sup>st</sup> conjugation учкы-ны ‘to see’

| p/n | affirmative   | negative analytic  | negative synthetic |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1SG | учки-ськ-ем   | өвөл учкиськем     | учкиськымтэ        |
| 2SG | учк-ем(ед)    | өвөл учкем(ед)     | учкымтэед          |
| 3SG | учк-ем(ез)    | өвөл учкем(ез)     | учкымтэ(ез)        |
| 1PL | учкиськ-ем-мы | өвөл учкиськеммы   | учкиськымтэмы      |
| 2PL | учкиллям(ды)* | өвөл учкиллям(ды)  | учкиллямтэ(ды)     |
| 3PL | учкиллям(зы)* | өвөл учкиллям(зы)* | учкиллямтэ(зы)     |

Table 7. 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt - 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation тодманы ‘to know’

| p/n | affirmative    | negative analytic  | negative synthetic |
|-----|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1SG | тодма-ськ-ем   | өвөл тодмаськем    | тодмаськымтэ       |
| 2SG | тодма-м(ед)    | өвөл тодмам(ед)    | тодмамтэед         |
| 3SG | тодм-ам(ез)    | өвөл тодмам(ез)    | тодмамтэ(ез)       |
| 1PL | тодмаськ-ем-мы | өвөл тодмаськеммы  | тодмаськымтэмы     |
| 2PL | тодмаллям(ды)* | өвөл тодмаллям(ды) | тодмаллямтэ(ды)    |
| 3PL | тодмаллям(зы)* | өвөл тодмаллям(зы) | тодмаллямтэ(зы)    |

The structural analyzes of the paradigms reveal surprising facts:<sup>19</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> person forms consist actually of a combination of a finite and an infinite element. The *-śk-* is actually the present tense marker which is followed by the participle marker.<sup>20</sup> The 1PL form, structurally based on the singular form is the only form in the whole paradigm which needs obligatory marking for person. 2SG and 3SG are formed by the participle which can be marked optionally for person. 2PL and 3PL are only optionally marked for person, both they can be distinguished morphologically

<sup>19</sup> In this form, the only difference between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation lies in the realization of the participle marker. In the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation, *-em* is added to the short stem, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation only *-m* is added.

<sup>20</sup> The present tense marker is without any obvious function.

\* The correct glossing of these forms end in *l'l'-am+Px* which is not possible due to the problems of cyrillic orthography

from the singular forms. The stem of the 2PL and 3PL is modified, before the participle marker *-m* the frequentative suffix *-l'l'* is inserted.<sup>21</sup>

The existence of two different forms of negation is conditioned by the fact, that standard written Udmurt accepts two different dialectal variants: the analytic negation with *ev̄el* is typical for the Northern dialects<sup>22</sup> and the synthetic negation for the Middle and Southern dialects. I will return to this in the next chapter.

Similar to Komi, the Udmurt 2<sup>nd</sup> past does not use the according Vx but the necessary Px.<sup>23</sup> The formants do not correspond in all persons as can be seen from the following table:

Table 8. Vx and Px in standard literary Udmurt

| person | Vx  | Px       |
|--------|---|----------|
| 1SG    | ∅   | -e/je    |
| 2SG    | -d  | -ed/jed  |
| 3SG    | -z (fut); -e/je (pres 1 <sup>st</sup> conj.)<br>∅ (pres 2 <sup>nd</sup> conj.)<br>-z (1 <sup>st</sup> past) | -ez/jez  |
| 1PL    | -m(i)   | -m̄i     |
| 2PL    | -d̄i  | -t̄i/d̄i |
| 3PL    | -z̄i (fut & 1 <sup>st</sup> past)<br>-o (pres 1 <sup>st</sup> conj.)<br>-lo (pres 2 <sup>nd</sup> conj.)    | -s̄i/z̄i |

<sup>21</sup> This modification is unusual, because the frequentative suffix *-l'l'*, besides the stem modification role in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past, can't be attached to verbs of the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation. Bartens comments this development like this: "Ei sinänsä ole ihmeellistä, että käyttöön on otettu frekventatiivisuffiksi silloin, kun ilmaukselle on haluttu antaa monikollinen merkitys" (Bartens 2000: 205).

<sup>22</sup> This is a Komi - Northern Udmurt isogloss!

<sup>23</sup> In standard written Udmurt 2<sup>nd</sup> past 1SG is not marked with a Px but unmarked.

### 1.3. A synchronic description of the *m*-participle in contemporary Komi and Udmurt

The *m*-participle in contemporary Komi and Udmurt has two different functions: in pre-nominal position it behaves as an attribute, in post-nominal function it occupies the verbal slot in the clause. When used as pre-nominal modifier, the meaning of the participle depends on the transitive or intransitive nature of the verb in question. Participles derived from intransitive verbs show active features; participles derived from transitive verbs show passive features. This distinction is based on semantic principle, morphologically the participle is homonym.<sup>24</sup> Because the pre-nominal use not of interest here, basic examples will be enough.<sup>25</sup> The Komi examples derive from Cypanov 1997, the Udmurt examples from Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999 and are enhanced with own examples.

#### 1.3.1. Pre-nominal use in Komi

In attributive position, the *m*-participle behaves as any other pre-nominal modifier (1a) and (1b). As a pre-nominal modifier it can be combined with other modifiers e.g. numerals (2), adjectives or with other pre-nominal NPs.

##### a) Intransitive verbs

(1a) *во-öма йöз*

arrive-PTCP people

people that have arrived

(Cypanov 1997: 132)

(1b) *пöрысь морт*

old man

an old man

(2) *кык во-öма морт*

two arrive-PTCP man

two man that have arrived

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<sup>24</sup> The Finnic languages encode active and passive participles separately e.g. fi: saapu-**nut** vieras (active) 'the guest who has arrived' vs. kirjoite-**ttu** kirje (passive) 'a written letter'.

<sup>25</sup> Further work on participles Cypanov 1997 and Ylikoski 2001 for Komi; Perevoščikov 1959 and Kalinina 2001 for Udmurt.

b) Transitive verbs

The participle expresses a passive meaning when it derives from a transitive verb (3); also this construction can be accompanied by pre-nominal modifiers (4):

- (3) *зиж-ӧм писъмӧ*  
write-PTCP letter  
a written letter (Cypanov 1997: 144)

- (4) *кык зиж-ӧм писъмӧ*  
two write-PTCP letter  
two written letters

### 1.3.2. Pre-nominal use in Udmurt

The pre-nominal usage of the participle as encountered in Komi is identical in Udmurt. In attributive position, the *m*-participle behaves as any other pre-nominal modifier (5a) and (5b). As a pre-nominal modifier it can be combined with other modifiers e.g. numerals (6), adverbs (7) or with other pre-nominal NPs (8).

- (5a) *ногра-м писпу*  
fall-PTCP tree  
a fallen tree (Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 206)

- (5b) *чебер писпу*  
beautiful tree  
a beautiful tree

- (6) *кык ногра-м писпу*  
two fall-PTCP tree  
two fallen trees

- (7) *кемалась ногра-м писпу* (Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 206)  
long time ago fall-PTCP tree  
a tree that fell a long time ago

- (8) *тунне поезд-эн лыкт-эм кунно* (Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 206)  
 today train-COM come-PTCP guest  
 A/the guest who arrived today by train

The participle expresses a passive meaning (9) when it derives from a transitive verb; also this construction can be accompanied by pre-nominal modifiers (10) and (11):

- (9) *гожт-эм гожэт*  
 write-PTCP letter  
 a written letter  
 (Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 206)

- (10) *пум-озя-з гожт-эм гожэт*  
 end-TERM-PX3sg write-PTCP letter  
 a finished letter (lit. a to the end written letter)  
 (Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 206)

- (11) *кык пум-озя-з гожт-эм гожэт*  
 two end-TERM-PX3sg write-PTCP letter  
 two finished letters (lit. two to the end written letter)

### 1.3.3. Agentive constructions

In passive meaning the *m*-participle can also be accompanied by an agent. In Udmurt, the agent is then marked with the ablative (12), adessive/genitive (13) or nominative with additional Px (14). (Examples from Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 206)

- (12) *анай-лэсь вур-ем дэрем-ез*  
 mother-ABL sew-PTCP shirt-ACC  
 a shirt made by mother

- (13) *атай-лэн ул-эм гурт-э-з*  
 father-GEN live-PTCP village-INESS-Px.3SG<sup>26</sup>  
 the village where my father lived in

<sup>26</sup> The inessive is realized with a portmanteau morpheme and can not be analyzed further.

- (14) *зожъ-ям зожтэт-ъёс-ыз*  
 write-PTCP letter-PL-PX3sg  
 letters written by him (lit. his written letters)

In Komi, agentive constructions can be accompanied by an agent in the adessive/genetive case (15), in the instrumental case (16) and in the ablative (17):

- (15) *корысь старукалөн сетём сумкаыс сылы дум вылад уси.*  
 beggar-NOM old woman-ADESS give-PTCP bag-Px3SG he-DAT mind on-PP.PX2SG fall-1<sup>st</sup>  
 PAST.3SG  
 'The bag, which was given to him by the beggar came into his mind.'  
 (Bubrikh 1949: 128)

- (16) *zakoneŋ urt'šiteŋ kade*  
 law-INSTR determine-PTCP time  
 as determined by law  
 (Wiedemann, cited by Stipa 1960: 109)

- (17) *босьтис сэсся поплысь вайём плеть.*  
 take-1<sup>st</sup> PAST then priest-ABL bring-PTCP lash  
 'He took the lash which was brought by the pope.'  
 (Bubrikh 1949: 131)

#### 1.3.4. The *m*-suffix as a means of word formation

For the sake of completeness, another function of the *m*- participle must be mentioned. Besides its function as a pre-nominal modifier, it can be used as a means of derivation.

ko: *velöd'ćöm* 'learning' from *velöd'ćyny* 'to learn'

ud: *pukem* 'sitting' from *pukyny* 'to sit'

ud: *ujam* 'swimming' from *ujany* 'to swim'

(Bartens 2000: 125-126).

This function is of no importance for the scope of this work. (for further treatments see Serebrennikov 1963: 299; Cypanov 1997: 128; Bartens 2000:125-126; Kalinina 2001: 84-85)

#### 1.4. The temporal and evidential usage

Komi: (18) *Коля тӧрыт локт-ӧм.*  
Kolja arrived yesterday / Kolja seemingly arrived yesterday.

Udmurt: (19) *Коля толон лыкт-эм.*  
Kolja arrived yesterday / Kolja seemingly arrived yesterday

The usage as seen in (18) and (19) will be the central issue of this work. The first interpretation ‘Kolja arrived yesterday’ is a proper perfect and states the result of a former action which has consequences for the present. Still, it has another function, which indicates that the narrator has not witnessed the event himself but relies on e.g. hearsay, inference etc. This is a manifestation of evidentiality which will be introduced in chapter 4. The main question which arose in recent years was the **concrete** nature of this grammatical category. Whereas both functions, perfect and perfect with evidential shading, have been known for quite a long time, the introduction of the notion of evidentiality has led to questions of the primary function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

## 2. RESEARCH ON THE 2<sup>ND</sup> PAST

Although the noneyewitnessed use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past has been known for more than fifty years, it has never received a detailed study.<sup>27</sup> The first and for many years the only treatment and interpretation derives from Serebrennikov<sup>28</sup> (1960<sup>29</sup>) and only recently Leinonen (2000) and Leinonen & Vilkuna (2000) have started to approach the question without turning to much attention to Serebrennikov.<sup>30</sup> Baker's approach, although based on own material, is pretty much a delayed answer to Serebrennikov 1960. The path followed by Cypanov, who recently published several articles together with Leinonen, is understandably somewhere in between. Although Winkler's grammar is normative, I have chosen to address his argumentation under research, because it is the first concise Western grammar on Udmurt after Wiedemann.<sup>31</sup>

### 2.1. Serebrennikov 1960, 1963

The main points of Serebrennikov were developed in his analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Komi (Serebrennikov 1960: 58-66) which he transferred to his treatment of the same category in Udmurt (118-120). Serebrennikov claims, that the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past must be split up in two functions, the proper perfect and the "modal perfect" (63) which can be derived from the basic concept of the category perfect. Still, he considers the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a perfect as its first meaning, the notions of "modal perfect" (hearsay, inference) are supposed to be secondary.

As a next step, Serebrennikov's separates the verb 'to be' with its possible 2<sup>nd</sup> past form from the perfect. By this, he introduces a new category (perhaps even mood?) in

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<sup>27</sup> I hereby refer only to publications known on an international level. Without any doubts, one will also encounter publications in proceedings of the Universities of Iževsk and Syktyvkar and local journals, but due to the fact that questions of morphosyntax and synchrony are widely ignored (at least outside the field of normative grammar) I have not seen any purpose to start a search for those articles. Besides, synchronic research in Permian has not abandoned the spirit of Vinogradov's "Russkij jazyk". The only theoretical literature in Kalinina 2001 concerning converbs is still Vinogradov (sic!) and as long as newer literature cannot be / is not introduced (I'm fully aware of the financial problems, which are connected with this question) I do not feel the need to take such works with the exception of Cypanov's into account.

<sup>28</sup> Serebrennikov's interpretation became prevailing for the next decades and that's why it is not necessary to present OFUJ separately, because its argumentation follows Serebrennikov without any modification.

<sup>29</sup> I wish to stress the fact, that the basics of his work are even older, probably from the beginning of the 1950s, because the whole monograph must be based on Serebrennikov's Candidate of Philology thesis. The "avtoferat" was published in 1956 and was extensively used by Stipa 1960.

<sup>30</sup> Aikhenvald bases her entire argumentation on Serebrennikov 1960, but this should be obvious because Aikhenvald is not a scholar with an Uralistic background.

<sup>31</sup> Fokos-Fuchs 1954 and Uotila 1937 can't be classified as grammars but only as grammatical sketches, also Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999 is clearly written for pedagogical usage and they will not be mentioned here.

Permic, which he calls absentive. This form occurs in those analytic past tenses, which are formed with the 2<sup>nd</sup> past of ‘to be’ and have a narrative function. These forms are presented in the discussion under 2.8.

Serebrennikov believes that the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a perfect is an independent innovation in both Permic languages and a category perfect did not exist in the Proto-Permic (Serebrennikov 1963: 258-259). It is very interesting, that Bartens (2000) does not even mention Serebrennikov’s ideas about the origin of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past at all.

## 2.2. Stipa 1960

Stipa’s work addresses the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the overall framework of the usage of non-finite verb forms in Permic. Also in this work, Serebrennikov’s influence can be seen quite clearly.<sup>32</sup>

Stipa states the obvious structural morphosyntactic peculiarities of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past (73-76) and finishes his overview about the history of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past with the question how the functional differentiation between the nominal and verbal usage could be explained but does not reach a conclusion (76). Stipa’s treatment of agentive constructions (166-170) must be mentioned but is not of further importance for the aim of this thesis. Of interest is Stipa’s account (190-200) which I discuss in more detail. A basic problem for Stipa is the function of the *m*-participle in subordinate sentences in Komi or in subordinated converb constructions in Udmurt which he connects to forms of indirect speech

- (1) Udm: *soleś kyzi ozi luemze um todyške*  
he-ABL how such be-PTCP-ACC3SG NEG.1PL know  
‘wie er so geworden ist, wissen wir nicht’

In this particular Udmurt construction the participle is marked as accusative 3SG which can’t be attached to the verbal 2<sup>nd</sup> past and this is not part of my thesis. The situation in Komi is a little more different and Stipa was not quite sure how to deal with the same phenomenon in Komi because his example could be interpreted as participle form or as verb. Here an example from the Ižma dialect:

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<sup>32</sup> Stipa based his argumentation to a large degree on Serebrennikov’s “avtoreferat“ from 1956.

- (2) *me dumaiti: munema te pišijnj*  
 I think-1<sup>st</sup> past1SG go-PTCP you wash-INF  
 ‘Ich dachte: du seiest in die Sauna baden gegangen’

Stipa assumed, that *munema* must be participle and not verbal, because it is not marked with 2SG. Still, in the Ižma dialect, both *-ema* and *-emjd* are used for 2SG (see 3.3.3. on the Ižma dialect) and this is a clear case that *munema* must be considered to be a verb in 2SG. The correct interpretation is:<sup>33</sup>

- (3) *me dumaiti: munema te pišijnj*  
 I think-1<sup>st</sup> past1SG go-2<sup>nd</sup> past 2SG you wash-INF  
 ‘Ich dachte: du seiest in die Sauna baden gegangen’

Later Stipa correctly states, that although the Permic “modus obliquus” resembles the same category in Livonian and Estonian it must be of different origin and connects it with the perfect and its related meanings (192-200). Still, Stipa does not present own ideas in this discussion but bases his argumentation solely on Serebrennikov’s argumentation of perfect and absentive which will not be repeated here.

### 2.3. Baker 1983

Baker’s article (Baker 1983) was the first time that severe criticism against the common sense definitions which attributes two functions to the perfect (expressing unwitnessed events; modal shade) was launched. His conclusion about the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past has much in common with the idea of *mediativity* as promoted nowadays by Guentchéva et al and Lazard.

“Serebrennikov’s theory that the second tense is a *pure perfect* tense which is employed to stress the end product of the action rather than the process of its execution goes far in explaining the constraints upon its usage. It also show us, by implication, that the second past is not a strictly temporal tense in that is not primarily concerned

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<sup>33</sup> This is precisely the same interpretation as presented by Sidorov which has been attacked by Stipa. This also a perfect case to demonstrate, that the morphological sketches of Uotila and Wichman on which Stipa relies do not offer anything for syntactic research - syntax cannot be explained by morphology. This should be obvious by this example, because a simple declarative VP can’t be made up by two infinitive verbs.

with the timing of the action as such or its completion, but with its results which are, in fact, evident in the presence.” (Baker 1983: 79)

Because the action must have already taken place in order to use the 2<sup>nd</sup> past, it is sufficient to give it a place in the past tense system – although with a different prerequisite. The clear connection to mediativity can be seen in this quotation: “The tense [2<sup>nd</sup> past F.S.] reflects the narrator’s deliberate spacing of himself from the action of the verb. [...] The narrator’s detachment from the action of the verb expressed by the second past tense can be in the spatial / temporal terms of not being present when it occurred; in sensory terms of not being consciously occupied with it, though present; in emotional terms of being mentally or spiritually unaffected by it.” (79; 80)

In the course of his article, Baker attaches the same function also to impersonal constructions with the logical subject in the genitive case and the verb in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The use of 1<sup>st</sup> persons is also explained by his idea of creating detachment from the action and reminds the discussion between DeLancey and Lazard (presented in 4.4.) or strictly speaking the psycholinguistic ideas as presented by Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1982), although the latter have not been mentioned by Baker.

#### 2.4. Cypanov 1991, 1997, 2002

Cypanov is the only native scholar who has taken part in this discussion. His first article from 1991 is not related directly to the question of usage but is more of a normative nature. Due to the fact, that many writers introduced forms for 1<sup>st</sup> persons from their dialects into standard written Komi, Cypanov argues in favor for the addition of 1<sup>st</sup> person forms into new textbooks and grammars:

Table 8. Formants of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Zyrian Komi according to Cypanov (1991: 30)

| person          | singular      | plural  |
|-----------------|---------------|---|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | - <i>ema</i>  | - <i>emaes</i>                                      |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | - <i>emid</i> | - <i>emnid</i> / - <i>emnides</i> / - <i>emides</i> |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | - <i>ema</i>  | - <i>emaes</i> / - <i>emas</i> / - <i>emni</i>      |

The paradigm is transparent, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms have been transferred to 1<sup>st</sup> person and the new forms for 2PL are actually a combination of three different suffixes (PTCP + Px2PL + adjective plural marker or instead of the Px2PL the corresponding Px2SG). It’s obvious that both forms must be of secondary origin. The usage of the 1<sup>st</sup> person forms is only sketched and offers, beside a handful of examples, nothing new for the

discussion. Still, his call remained unheard and even in his own textbook (Cypanov 1992) and a textbook which was compiled under his chairing (Cypanov 1999) these forms were not introduced.

Cypanov's monograph about the Komi participles (Cypanov 1997) does not add anything interesting to the synchronic research of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past (127-157). Cypanov's characterization of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past's usage is based mainly on Baker (1983), which has been modified by some minor semantic observations. These observations are concerned mainly with the semantics of the participle itself and not with its verbal nature. Also the diachronic aspect offers no new interpretation and relies solely on Serebrennikov 1960 and 1963.

Cypanov's 2002 article rephrases Leinonen (2000) and Leinonen & Vilkuna (2000). He groups the findings about the nature of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past into this table (172):

Table 9. Usage of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Zyrian Komi according to Cypanov 2002

| <b>факторы</b>                                       | <b>глаголы в I<br/>прош. вр.</b> | <b>глаголы в II<br/>прош. вр.</b> |
|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| эвиденциальность                                     | - (+)                            | +                                 |
| результативность                                     | - +                              | +                                 |
| отчуждение говорящего от действия глагола            | -                                | +                                 |
| уверенность / неуверенность                          | +                                | -                                 |
| доверительность / неполная доверительность источнику | +                                | -                                 |
| указание на источник сведений о действии             | -                                | +                                 |

From this table, it is not surprising, that Cypanov, too, explicit rejects the idea of a dichotomy 1<sup>st</sup> past (witnessed) vs. 2<sup>nd</sup> past (noneyewitnessed): “В современном коми языке уже нельзя говорить об эвиденциальности как об основном или единственном факторе, определяющем употребление основных синтетических прошедших времен – I или II (традиционно претерита и перфекта). (Cypanov 2002: 174)

## **2.5. Leinonen 2000**

So far this is the only specialized study dedicated to the problem of evidentiality in Komi. Without any doubt, Leinonen's merit is her approach far from the framework of common sense (which means excessive use of those few scattered remarks which can be found in the relevant literature<sup>34</sup>) but relying extensively on a data-driven approach and an elaborated theoretical background. She demonstrates, that the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past, besides modifications which can be attributed to the inherent meaning of the verb itself, resembles clearly the usage as encountered in Turkic languages (hearsay, inference). Mirativity in 1<sup>st</sup> person is, if the according form is missing in the (dialectal) paradigm, expressed by the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun / noun in the genitive and the participle in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past which is modified with a reflexive suffix.

Leinonen proposes the usage of Larson's notion of postterminality<sup>35</sup> for Komi. She also addresses the problem of compound tenses in Komi. She shows, that the use of 'to be' in 2<sup>nd</sup> past can only be explained in an evidential framework and this interferes with analytic pasts which are formed with 'to be-2<sup>nd</sup> past' or 'main verb-2<sup>nd</sup> past' + 'be-1<sup>st</sup> past.' Because the research on analytic pasts in Permian is generally very poor, her contribution to the question of analytic past tenses is not as exhaustive as her argumentation on the proper 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

## **2.6. Leinonen & Vilkuna 2000**

Due to a different framework, the question of evidentiality in Permian is addressed only superficially. Also several questions dealing with comparative aspects of evidentiality in Komi and Udmurt have been addressed for the first time since Serebrennikov. The second part of my thesis, the comparative analysis of its usage in Komi and Udmurt has been inspired by those few lines presented in this article.

## **2.7. Winkler 2001**

As has already been mentioned for several times, Winkler's interpretation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is completely new and treats it as a part of Udmurt's modal system. Winkler distinguishes three possible usages; examples (4) and (5) are originally from Serebrennikov 1960:

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<sup>34</sup> Obviously due to her background as a slavist who has acquired command of Komi.

<sup>35</sup> "Postterminality, the view of the event after the transgression of its relevant limit, presents through the result, whatever it is, an indirect perspective on the event. The indirect view creates an element of distance and uncertainty concerning the actual realization of the event." (Leinonen 2000: 436)

- (4) *todam liktiz odig frontoviklen veramez. So jarate vjlem odig njez. Soiz, ton šamen, kjl veram. žijnj ar no ortčjnte muketse šed'tem.*

‘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).’

Winkler calls this category “evidential proper: there is a source having witnessed the action.” This is the default option for “stories heard from others and in certain folklore genres like legends or tales” (Winkler 2001: 50). Unfortunately this is a very misleading labeling and *hearsay* would have been a better fitting name.

The other categories are identified with the labels inferential and mirative and need no further commenting, because their semantics correspond to the same categories elsewhere (see chapter 4).

- (5) *žus vad'sjš junk ort rešetkajo uknojez šed'tiz...Ažlo tatjn kladovka vjlem, šedse.*

‘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.’<sup>36</sup>

- (6) *vot ved' kjče ton ad'ami vjlem-ed.*

(Russ particles) such you man see-MIR.2SG

‘Well, well, such a man you are!’

## 2.8. Analytic past tenses with participation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past

The situation concerning research of form and function of the Permic past tenses needs further research and that’s why the following remarks are preliminary. Principally, there are several analytic past tenses, but not all of them are in the scope of the following discussion. The importance of the form of the copula for this question has been underestimated frequently in several Komi sketches and grammars. Uotila did not pay attention to this at all in his description of what he called *Imperfekt*. “Das Wort *vęli* (P *vęvi*) kann auch vor dem Hauptverb stehen. Statt dessen kommt bisweilen die Form

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<sup>36</sup> A background description would have been appropriate, because a mirative interpretation is also possible.

*velem* oder *velema vor*” (Uotila 1937:56). SKJ (287-288) calls *veli* and *velem* (‘to be’ in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> past) particles which are used to form analytic tenses. Although these errors were made in Komi grammars, Udmurt has also its peculiarity which have not been handled comprehensively. Both, the function and the overall number of analytic past tenses need further research.

### **2.8.1. Excursus - The ordering of verb and auxiliary**

In Udmurt the ordering of verb and auxiliary is rather stable and behaves as one expects from a typical OV language, the main verb ( $V_{\text{main}}$ ) is followed by the auxiliary (Aux) and person is marked on the main verb only. Principally this is also the case for Komi, still some modifications have occurred. Although Komi shows many traits of a typical OV (Gen+N; NP+PP) language, its basic word order in declarative transitive sentences is VO (SOV is also possible but less frequent). This change has also taken over to ordering of verb and auxiliary, because both possibilities V+Aux and Aux+V are encountered. Still, only the main verb receives personal marking and any differences in meaning have not been attested. The free choice  $V_{\text{main}}+\text{Aux}$  or  $\text{Aux}+V_{\text{main}}$  must be connected to the change from OV  $\rightarrow$  VO which is conditioned by Russian but  $\text{Aux}+V_{\text{main}}$  or  $V_{\text{main}}+\text{Aux}$  is not a feature of Russian. In several Russian dialects, a similar possessive resultative  $\text{Aux}+V_{\text{main}}$  (see chapter 5) is known. Whether there is a direct connection is still unsolved (see Leinonen & Vilkuna 2000).

### **2.8.2. Analytic past tenses with 2<sup>nd</sup> past copulas**

Here I will list only those forms, which have been identified by Serebrennikov 1960<sup>37</sup>, Leinonen (2000: 433-436) and Kel'makov & Hännikäinen (1999: 245-246) as having evidential features.<sup>38</sup> The description of their usage is very vague, which reflects the inadequate state of the art in contemporary research. In some cases, the evidential note is based on speculations, e.g. Kel'makov & Hännikäinen present paradigms with both copulas (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> past) but do not report any possible variation in meaning; in this case, I assume an evidential note due to the use of the copula in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

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<sup>37</sup> Serebrennikov's "absentive".

<sup>38</sup> The discussion in Leinonen & Vilkuna 2000 does not offer any additional data of relevance.

### 2.8.2.1. V<sub>main</sub> - Pres + copula-2<sup>nd</sup> past

Table 10. The durative evidential past tense in Zyrian Komi and Udmurt

| person | Komi           | Udmurt <sup>39</sup> |
|--------|----------------|----------------------|
| 1.sg   | муна вӧлӧм     | мыно вылэм           |
| 2.sg   | мунан вӧлӧм    | мынод вылэм          |
| 3.sg   | мунӧ вӧлӧм     | мыноз вылэм          |
| 1.pl   | мунам вӧлӧм    | мыномы вылэм         |
| 2.pl   | мунанныд вӧлӧм | мыноды вылэм         |
| 3.pl   | мунӧны вӧлӧм   | мынозы вылэм         |

This form is called the durative past, which has a testified evidential shade as opposed to the same construction with the copula in 1<sup>st</sup> past. This paradigm has been discussed by Serebrennikov (1960: 75-76; 80; 126), Leinonen (2000: 433) and Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 246-247). This paradigm is missing in Fuchs 1954.

Komi: *Setcö i dzebs'öma völäm šyskyd.*

there Prtc hide-Refl-2Pst-3SG Cop-2Pst-3Sg escapee-DefNom

(It appeared, turned out that) there the escapee had hid himself.

(Popov 1994 cited by Leinonen 2000: 435)

Udmurt: *вазен дыръя татын нукоз вылэм крезьчи.*

old-INST time here sit-FUT3Sg COP-2<sup>nd</sup> PAST.3sg

In olden times, the musician used to sit / was sitting here.

(Serebrennikov 1960: 126)

Udmurt has also a paradigm, where the present tense is used. Still, according to the descriptions presented by Serebrennikov (1960: 132-133) and Kel'makov & Hännikäinen (1999: 245) its function is a relative past, which describes durative but not long lasting events, integrated in another action.

<sup>39</sup> The Udmurt present tense marker *-šk-* is an innovation in Udmurt, this paradigm presented here (based on the future) is the etymological and functional cognate of the Komi paradigm.

Table 11. The durative evidential past tense in Udmurt

| person | Udmurt          |
|--------|-----------------|
| 1SG    | МЫНЙСЬКО ВЛЭМ   |
| 2SG    | МЫНЙСЬКОД ВЛЭМ  |
| 3SG    | МЫНЭ ВЛЭМ       |
| 1PL    | МЫНЙСЬКОМЫ ВЛЭМ |
| 2PL    | МЫНЙСЬКОДЫ ВЛЭМ |
| 3PL    | МЫНО ВЛЭМ       |

(Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 245)

### 2.8.2.2. $V_{main}$ - 2<sup>nd</sup> past + copula-2<sup>nd</sup> past

This form has not been reported for Komi, neither by SKJ nor by Serebrennikov (1960; 1963). According to Leinonen's survey it has been described in several sketches in later years and is seen as an evidential pluperfect in contrast to the same category which uses the copula in the 1<sup>st</sup> past but the data is scarce.

The cognate form (identical in usage) in Udmurt, too, is far from being transparent. Compare the following paradigms which have been presented by Serebrennikov (1960: 122) and Kel'makov & Hännikäinen (1999: 245)

Table 12. The evidential pluperfect in Zyrian Komi and Udmurt

| person | Serebrennikov    | Kel'makov & Hännikäinen |
|--------|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1SG    | МЫНЙСЬКЕМ ВЛЭМ   | МЫНЙСЬКЕМ ВЛЭМ          |
| 2SG    | МЫНЙСЬКЕД ВЛЭМ   | МЫНЭМЕД ВЛЭМ            |
| 3SG    | МЫНЭМ ВЛЭМ       | МЫНЭМ ВЛЭМ              |
| 1PL    | МЫНЙСЬКЕММЫ ВЛЭМ | МЫНЙСЬКЕММЫ ВЛЭМ        |
| 2PL    | МЫНЭМДЫ ВЛЭМ     | МЫНЙЛЛЯМДЫ ВЛЭМ         |
| 3PL    | МЫНЭМЗЫ ВЛЭМ     | МЫНЙЛЛЯМЗЫ ВЛЭМ         |

Serebrennikov's paradigm can be explained in a dialectological framework but not 2SG which must be a printing error. The differences in the main verb's plural forms will be addressed under 3.8.2.

### 2.8.8.3. Negation of analytic tenses

The negation of the compound pasts with non-2<sup>nd</sup> pasts as finite verbs behave uniformly in both languages and therefore a further presentation in a table is unnecessary. In those cases, the finite verb is negated according to its usual negation (future, present/future, 1<sup>st</sup> past) and uses the usual negation verb.

Constructions containing the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as finite part of the constructions are more complicated. First, I'm not aware of a paradigm neither in any Komi grammar nor in

any article. Standard written Udmurt is reported to negate the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in this construction exclusively with the caritative. (See Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 245 for the paradigm). Note, that in this case 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms are unmarked for person, but 1SG is.

### 3. FORM AND FUNCTION OF THE 2<sup>ND</sup> PAST IN GRAMMARS AND GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES

There are surprisingly many grammatical sketches for literary Komi and Udmurt available but although the amount of grammatical sketches and grammars for literary Komi and Udmurt seems to be even, this is not the case for dialectal studies. Research in Zyrian Komi dialects is in a favorable state, all dialects have been described and all descriptions have been published. Unfortunately this is not the case for Udmurt. Although Udmurt scholars, too, compiled grammatical sketches for different dialects as Candidate of Philology theses, most of them have never been published. The following overview is based on the most prominent grammars and grammatical sketches<sup>40</sup>, if possible, the forms are given in the original orthography / transcription.<sup>41</sup> The main point of interest is the question, (a) whether the 2<sup>nd</sup> past has been listed as a verb, (b) how it has been called and (c) whether its use has been described.<sup>42</sup>

#### 3.1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Old Permian

Lytkin's Old Permian grammar lists the 2<sup>nd</sup> past under verbal morphology (Lytkin 1952: 113). It is called noneyewitnessed-resultative past - неочевидное прошедшее (результативное) and forms for 3SG and 3PL are presented. This is of course not surprising; the bible is narrated in 3<sup>rd</sup> person and the remaining fragments of Old Permian apparently contained no other forms.

3SG -*öm*      3PL -*ömныс*

#### 3.2. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in grammars and grammatical sketches of contemporary Zyrian Komi

##### 3.2.1. Castrén 1844

Castrén's dissertation from 1844, which was based on his fieldwork on the Ižma-dialect, does not list the 2<sup>nd</sup> past under verbal morphology. He reports a participium passivum in *-äma / \*öma*, a nomina verbalia actum in *-äm / \*öm* (75) and agentive constructions which uses the participium passivum with the genitive. (86)

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<sup>40</sup> This overview is representative but of course not exhaustive.

<sup>41</sup> Those sketches in Языки народов СССР or Языки мира or OFUJ are excluded.

<sup>42</sup> These prerequisites should not be understood wrongly, even if several grammars have not mentioned the points in question, this is not meant to tear down their overall importance!

### 3.2.2. Wiedemann 1847

Wiedemann's sketch is actually a little older than Castrén's but was published later. Wiedemann mentions the *m*-participle but does (Wiedemann 1847: 69-73) not explicitly state the verbal usage and its function.

### 3.2.3. Kuratov 1860s

Whether Kuratov's sketch from 1865-1866 contains the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as an independent paradigm under verbal morphology has not been reported<sup>43</sup> but for the first time, a whole paradigm was presented. According to Serebrennikov (1960: 41) Kuratov called the 2<sup>nd</sup> past второе прошедшее время and forms for 1<sup>st</sup> persons were presented. Unfortunately its function is not mentioned.

Table 13. Paradigm of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past according to Kuratov 1860s

| person          | singular | plural  |
|-----------------|----------|---------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | -öм      | -öмаöсь |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | -öмыö    | -öмныö  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | -öм      | -öмны   |

(Kuratov 1939; cited by Serebrennikov 1960: 61)

### 3.2.4. Wiedemann 1884

Wiedemann's second Komi grammar was published in 1884. Whereas Wiedemann's first grammar was based solely on bible translations he obtained in earlier years, his 1884 grammar is based on additional material which he collected during fieldwork.<sup>44</sup> Concerning the 2<sup>nd</sup> past, the situation has not changed; it is not presented under verbal morphology. But, he explicitly states the use of the *m*- participle as another variety to express the *Präteritum*. Although the usage is known in Komi and Udmurt, it's more frequent in Udmurt. (Wiedemann 1884: 165)

<sup>43</sup> My information is based on Serebrennikov I could not check this data myself.

<sup>44</sup> Serebrennikov 1960: 42 supposes, that Wiedemann has not been aware of Kuratov's grammar because Wiedemann's interpretation of the past tense system did not mention the idea of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a verb as propagated by Kuratov several years earlier.

### 3.2.5. Uotila 1937

Uotila (1937: 57-58) was the first western scholar who listed the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the verbal paradigm. Uotila did not describe its use at all, but takes dialectal forms into account. The paradigm, which he called *Perfekt*, is described as follows:

Table 14. The affirmative 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Uotila's "Syrjänische Chrestomathie"

| Affirmative     |   |   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| person          | singular  | Plural  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | V: <i>munɛmjɔd</i> 'du bist gegangen'   | V: <i>munɛmnjɔd</i>   |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | V, S, Peč, L: <i>munɛma</i> ;<br>I: <i>munema</i> ;<br>U: <i>munɛ·ma</i> ;<br>S, L, P: <i>munɛm</i> ;<br>PO: <i>kerəm</i> | V, S, Peč, L: <i>munɛmaeś</i> ;<br>I: <i>munemaeś</i> ;<br>U: <i>munɛ·ma·eś</i> ;<br>L, P: <i>munɛmaś</i> ;<br>PO: <i>kerəmaś</i> ;<br>S, L: <i>munɛmnj</i> |

Table 15. The negative 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Uotila's "Syrjänische Chrestomathie"

| negative        |   |  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| person          | singular  | plural   |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | <i>abu munɛmjɔd</i>   | no example   |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | <i>abu munɛma</i><br>S: <i>abj munɛma</i><br>PO: <i>obə kerəm</i> | <i>abu munɛmaeś</i> ;<br>S: <i>abj munɛmnj</i> od. <i>munɛmaeś</i><br>PO: <i>obə kerəmaś</i> ; |

### 3.2.6. Bubrikh 1949

Bubrikh's grammar lists the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a verbal paradigm (1949:119). Here this form is called the not-witnessed past - неочевидное прошедшее время. Bubrikh mentions that the 3PL 2<sup>nd</sup> past has a second variant in *-öмны*.

Table 16. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Bubrikh 1949 - мунны 'to go'

|                 | affirmative    |                  | negative           |                      |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| person          | singular       | plural           | singular           | plural               |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | <i>мунӧмыд</i> | <i>мунӧмныд</i>  | <i>абу мунӧмыд</i> | <i>абу мунӧмныд</i>  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | <i>мунӧма</i>  | <i>мунӧмаӧсь</i> | <i>абу мунӧма</i>  | <i>абу мунӧмаӧсь</i> |

Bubrikh explains the use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as follows (124): it is used, when the speaker's knowledge has not been directly for instance when he relies on the inferred result or on someone's report. 1<sup>st</sup> person forms are missing, the 1<sup>st</sup> person speaker(s) is/are always aware of his/their knowledge and therefore this form is contraindicated.

### 3.2.7. SKJ 1955

So far, SKJ is the only academic grammar of Komi. Although written almost 50 year ago, it still has not lost its normative function. Due to the fact, that all later grammatical sketches, for example the sketches in Языки народов СССР or Языки мира, are based on SKJ, it is sufficient to concentrate solely on SKJ. This is valid for Permjak Komi and Udmurt as well.

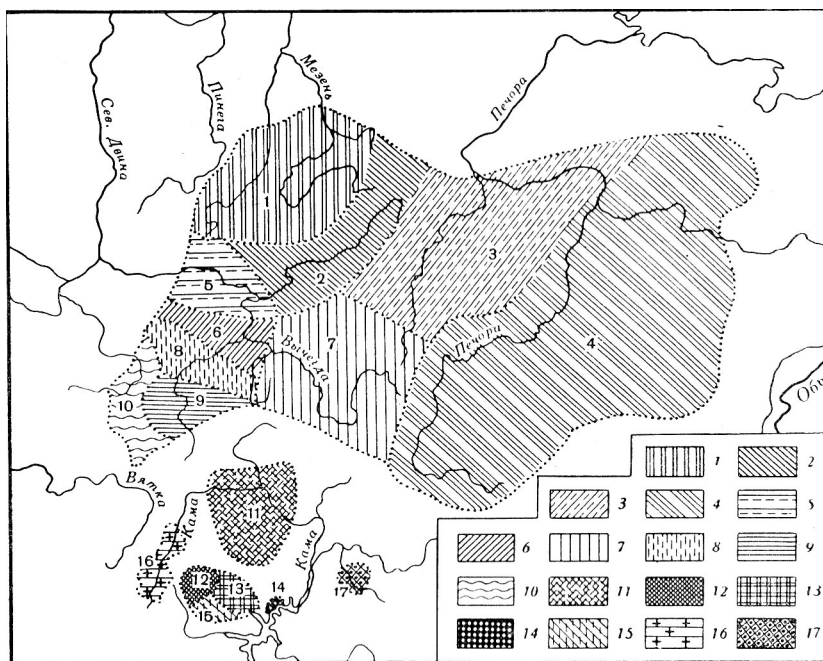
Also here, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is listed under the verbal paradigm (214-216; 219) and is called the resultative past - прошедшее результативное. One even finds a short characterization for its usage. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past often, but not always, denotes action which was not eyewitnessed or is doubtfully presented. According to SKJ the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past contrasts with the other Komi tenses (future/present, 1<sup>st</sup> past) because it denotes the result of an action. As for SKJ, the form for 1SG and 1PL are not presented. (гижны 'to write')

Table 17. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in SKJ

|                 | affirmative    |                  | negative           |                      |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| person          | singular       | plural           | singular           | plural               |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | <i>гижӧмыд</i> | <i>гижӧмныд</i>  | <i>абу гижӧмыд</i> | <i>абу гижӧмныд</i>  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | <i>гижӧма</i>  | <i>гижӧмаӧсь</i> | <i>абу гижӧма</i>  | <i>абу гижӧмаӧсь</i> |

### 3.3. THE 2<sup>ND</sup> PAST IN ZYRIAN KOMI DIALECTS

The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in all newer grammars and grammatical sketches is defective. This is based on the fact, that standard literary Zyrian Komi is based on the Syktyvkar dialect, which has no forms for 1SG and 1PL. This is by no means representative, because other Zyrian Komi dialects actually have a complete paradigm. Here the paradigms of the different dialects will be presented in geographic order, starting with the Northern dialects.<sup>45</sup> I will not discuss the use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past according to the grammars. If there are any descriptions at all, they do not give any information which would add something to the scarce description in SKJ. Forms diverging from standard Komi will be followed by a short commentary. All forms are given, if possible, in original transliteration.



(OFUJ 1976: 114)

Zyrian Komi: 1 Udora 2 Vym 3 Ižma 4 Pechora 5 Upper-Vychegda 6 Middle Vychegda or Syktyvkar 7 Lower Vychegda 8 Middle-Sysola 9 Upper-Sysola 10 Luza-Letka

Permjak Komi: 11 Northern dialect group 12 – 15 Southern dialect groups 12 Kudymkar-Ińva

13 Lower Ińva 14 Oń 15 Ńerdva 16 Upper Kama or Zjuzdin

17 Jaz'va Komi

<sup>45</sup> Wichmann / Uotila 1942, too, offer a sketch of several Zyrian Komi and Permjak Komi dialects. (Zyrian Komi: Vychegda, Sysola, Pechora, Luza, Ižma, Udora; Permjak Komi: Jushva dialect) It seems, that these sketches are based on textual examples, because even forms for 2<sup>nd</sup> persons are not presented. Therefore, I have chosen not to use this material here.

### 3.3.1. Udora dialect

Sorvačova & Beznosikova (1990: 67-68) present a paradigm, where forms for all persons are present.

Table 18. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Udora dialect

| person | affirmative  | negative  |
|--------|--|---|
| 1SG    | - <i>ömö</i> , - <i>öma</i>                          | <i>аб(у) карöма</i> ; <i>аб(у) эрöма</i>  |
| 2SG    | - <i>öмыд</i> , - <i>öмыт</i>                        | <i>аб(у) карöмыд</i> ; <i>аб(у) эрöмыд</i>  |
| 3SG    | - <i>öm</i> , - <i>öma</i>                           | <i>аб(у) карöм(а)</i> ; <i>аб(у) эрöм(а)</i>  |
| 1PL    | - <i>öмным</i>                                       | <i>аб(у) карöмным</i> ; <i>аб(у) эрöмным</i>  |
| 2PL    | - <i>öмныд</i>                                       | <i>аб(у) карöмныд</i> ; <i>аб(у) эрöмныд</i>  |
| 3PL    | - <i>öмны(с)</i> , - <i>öмаэс'</i> , - <i>öмаöс'</i> | <i>аб(у) карöмны(с')</i> ; <i>аб(у) карöмаэс'</i><br><i>аб(у) эрöмны(с); аб(у) эрöмаэс'</i> |

The second form attested for the 1SG is the form for 3SG, the origin of -*ö* is usually explained, that is a reflex of the Px1SG -*öj*. Udora is the only Komi dialect, which has an independent 1SG form. In all other dialects, the 3SG has been transferred to 1SG. 1PL is formed by adding Px1PL to the participle stem, this is also unusual. (See also Serebrennikov 1963: 259-260; Bartens 2000: 204)

The diversity in the 3PL forms needs some further explanation:

- -*öмны(с)* is formed analogically after the 1<sup>st</sup> past 3PL form  
*найö гижöнис* 'They wrote' → -*öмны(с)*
- -*öмаэс'* and -*öмаöс'* use the plural suffix, which can be identified as the same plural suffix to be encountered in attributive agreement:  
*ныв мича* 'The girl is pretty' → *нывъяс мичаöсь* 'The girls are pretty'

### 3.3.2. Vym dialect

Žilina (1998: 119) presents a complete paradigm of the verb *муныны* 'to go'.

Table 19. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Vym dialect

| person | affirmative                            | negative                                       |
|--------|--|--|
| 1SG    | <i>мун-öма</i> ; <i>пукт -öма</i>      | <i>абу мун-öма</i> ; <i>абу пукт -öма</i>      |
| 2SG    | <i>мун-öмыд</i> ; <i>пукт-öмыд</i>     | <i>абу мун-öмыд</i> ; <i>абу пукт-öмыд</i>     |
| 3SG    | <i>мун-öма</i> ; <i>пукт-öм</i>        | <i>абу мун-öма</i> ; <i>абу пукт-öм</i>        |
| 1PL    | <i>мун-öмаöс'</i> ; <i>пукт-öмаöс'</i> | <i>абу мун-öмаöс'</i> ; <i>абу пукт-öмаöс'</i> |
| 2PL    | <i>мун-öмныд</i> ; <i>пукт-öмныд</i>   | <i>абу мун-öмныд'</i> ; <i>абу пукт-öмныд</i>  |
| 3PL    | <i>мун-öмаöс'</i> ; <i>пукт-öмаöс'</i> | <i>абу мун-öмаöс'</i> ; <i>абу пукт-öмаöс'</i> |

The forms for 1SG and 1PL are identical with the forms for 3SG and 3PL. The suffix in the 3PL *-öc'* is the same as in the attributive congruence mentioned for the Udora dialect.

### 3.3.3. Ižma dialect

Also for the Ižma dialect a complete paradigm is presented. (Saharova & Sel'kov 1976:80)

Table 20. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Ižma dialect

| person | affirmative                      | negative                           |
|--------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1SG    | <i>-эма</i>                      | <i>абу мунэма</i>                  |
| 2SG    | <i>-эма (-эмыд)</i>              | <i>абу мунэма, абу мунэмыд</i>     |
| 3SG    | <i>-эма</i>                      | <i>абу мунэма</i>                  |
| 1PL    | <i>-эмаэс' (-эмаас')</i>         | <i>абу мунэмаас'</i>               |
| 2PL    | <i>-эмаэс' (-эмаас', -эмныд)</i> | <i>абу мунэмаас', абу мунэмныд</i> |
| 3PL    | <i>-эмаэс' (-эмаас', -эмны)</i>  | <i>абу мунэмаас'</i>               |

The forms for 1SG and 1PL are identical with the forms for 3SG and 3PL but if one takes a closer look, one can identify different paradigms. The forms given without brackets do not agree in person, just in number. The form used in the singular is a generalization of the 3SG form. The plural forms (generalized forms of 3PL) in *-эс'* use the plural suffix encountered in the attributive congruence (see Udora dialect). The forms in *-ас'* instead use the plural suffix of the nominal inflection (нывьяс 'girls'). For *-эмны* see also Udora dialect. Here the 3PL present tense is used *найö гижöны* 'They write'.

### 3.3.4. Pechora dialect

Saharova & Sel'kov & Kolegova (1976: 37) presents a paradigm, which besides 3PL does not differ from standard Komi.

Table 20. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Pechora dialect

| <b>person</b> | <b>affirmative</b>              | <b>negative</b>   |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 2SG           | - <i>ömyd</i>                   | <i>тэ абу мун-öмныd</i>                                       |
| 3SG           | - <i>öma</i>                    | <i>сийа абу мун-öма</i>                                       |
| 2PL           | - <i>öмныd</i>                  | <i>ти абу мун-öмныd</i>                                       |
| 3PL           | - <i>ömaöc', -ömaac', -öмны</i> | <i>найа абу мун-öмаöc', (-ömaac'),<br/>найа абу мун -öмны</i> |

For a discussion of 3PL forms see Udora dialect.

### 3.3.5. Upper Vychegda dialect

Also in the Upper Vychegda dialect the paradigm is defect and lacks forms for 1SG and 1PL (Sorvatšova & Saharova & Guljaev 1966: 99).

Table 21. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past formant's in the Upper Vycgeda

| <b>person</b> | <b>affirmative</b>     | <b>negative</b> |
|---------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 2SG           | - <i>эmyd</i>          | not reported    |
| 3SG           | - <i>эma</i>           | not reported    |
| 2PL           | - <i>эмниd</i>         | not reported    |
| 3PL           | <i>эmac' (-эmaac')</i> | not reported    |

### 3.3.6. Middle Vychegda or Syktvkar dialect

The Middle Vychegda dialect is nowadays called the Syktyvkar dialect. The paradigm for this dialect is presented due to formal reasons; if disregarding it, the presentation would be incomplete. Still, the presentation is sophisticated, because the Middle Vychegda dialect is actually the dialect, on which literary Zyrian Komi is based. The paradigm given below (Žilina & Baraksanov 1971: 131) lacks, as one expects, the forms for both 1SG and 1PL.

Table 22. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Midde Vychegda dialect

| <b>person</b> | <b>affirmative</b>   | <b>negative</b>  |
|---------------|--|--|
| 2SG           | <i>мун-өмыд</i><br><i>пукт-өмыд</i>  | <i>абу мун-өмыд</i><br><i>абу пукт-өмыд</i>  |
| 3SG           | <i>мун-өма</i><br><i>пукт-өма</i>  | <i>абу мун-өма</i><br><i>абу пукт-өма</i>  |
| 2PL           | <i>мун-өмныд</i><br><i>мун-өмыдөс'</i><br><i>пукт-өмныд</i><br><i>пукт-өмыдөс'</i> | <i>абу мун-өмныд,</i><br><i>абу мун-өмыдөс</i><br><i>абу пукт-өмныд</i><br><i>абу пукт-өмыдөс'</i>   |
| 3PL           | <i>мун-өмаөс' (мун-өмас')</i><br><i>пукт-өмаөс' (пукт-өмас')</i>                   | <i>абу мун-өмаөс'</i><br><i>(абу мун-өмас')</i><br><i>абу пукт-өмаөс'</i><br><i>(абу пукт-өмас')</i> |

### 3.3.7. Lower Vychegda dialect

The Lower Vychegda dialect was used for the bible translations of Saint Stephan (Bartens 2000: 27). According to Sorvačova's description (1977: 48) this dialect has a form for the 1SG (which is identical with 3SG) but surprisingly no form for 1PL.

Table 23. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Lower Vychegda dialect

| <b>person</b> | <b>affirmative</b>       | <b>negative</b>           |
|---------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1SG           | <i>-өма (-эма)</i>       | <i>абу мунөма</i>         |
| 2SG           | <i>-өмыд (-эмыд)</i>     | <i>абу мунөмыд</i>        |
| 3SG           | <i>-өма (-эма)</i>       | <i>абу мунөма</i>         |
| 1PL           | not reported             | not reported              |
| 2PL           | <i>-өмныд (-эмныд)</i>   | <i>абу мунөмныд (өс')</i> |
| 3PL           | <i>-өмаөс' (-эмаөс')</i> | <i>абу мунөмаөс'</i>      |

### 3.3.8. Middle Sysola dialect

The paradigm (пырны 'to enter') presented by Kolegova & Baraksanov (1980: 49) excludes 1SG and 1PL forms.

Table 24. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Middle Sysola dialect

| <b>person</b> | <b>affirmative</b>                                | <b>negative</b>   |
|---------------|---|---|
| 2SG           | <i>-өмыд</i>                                      | <i>абы, абу пырөмыд</i>   |
| 3SG           | <i>-өм, -өма</i>                                  | <i>абы, абу пырөм, пырөма</i>                                     |
| 2PL           | <i>-өмныд, өмыдөс'</i>                            | <i>абы, абу пырөмныд,</i><br><i>пырөмыдөс'</i>                    |
| 3PL           | <i>-өмны, -өмас', -өмаөс', -</i><br><i>өмаас'</i> | <i>абы, абу пырөмны, пырөмас', пырөмаөс',</i><br><i>пырөмаас'</i> |

### 3.3.9. Upper Sysola dialect

The paradigm presented by Žilina (1975: 118-119) excludes forms for the 1SG and 1PL. The plural forms are identical and do not agree in person.

Table 25. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Upper Sysola dialect

| <b>person</b> | <b>affirmative</b>                                | <b>negative</b>   |
|---------------|---|---|
| 2SG           | <i>мун-öмыд<br/>пукт-öмыд</i>                     | <i>абы мун-öмыд<br/>абы пукт-öмыд</i>                   |
| 3SG           | <i>мун-öма / мун -öм<br/>пукт -öма / пукт -öм</i> | <i>абы мун-öма / мун-öм<br/>абы пукт -öма / пукт-öм</i> |
| 2PL           | <i>мун-öмаöс'<br/>пукт-öмаöс'</i>                 | <i>абы мун-öмаöс'<br/>абы пукт-öмаöс'</i>               |
| 3PL           | <i>мун-öмаöс'<br/>пукт-öмаöс'</i>                 | <i>абы мун-öмаöс'<br/>абы пукт- öмаöс'</i>              |

### 3.3.10. Luza-Letka dialect

The paradigm presented by Žilina (1985: 77-78) is interesting. According to her description the Luza variety has no forms for 1SG and 1PL. The Letka variety has a form for 1SG but not for 1PL.

Table 26. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Luza subdialect

| <b>person</b> | <b>affirmative</b>                       | <b>negative</b>                                  |
|---------------|--|--|
| 2SG           | <i>мун-öмыд<br/>пукт-öмыд</i>            | <i>абы мун-öмыд<br/>абы пукт-öмыд</i>            |
| 3SG           | <i>мун-öм (-öма)<br/>пукт -öм (-öма)</i> | <i>абы мун-öм (-öма)<br/>абы пукт -öм (-öма)</i> |
| 2SG           | <i>мун-öмныд (-öмныдöс', -öмыдöс')</i>   | <i>абы мун-öмныд<br/>абы пукт-öмныд</i>          |
| 3SG.          | <i>мун-öмны (-öмаöс')</i>                | <i>абы мун-öмны (-öмаöс')</i>                    |

Table 27. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Letka subdialect

| person | affirmative   | negative  |
|--------|---|---|
| 1SG    | <i>мун-öма</i><br><i>пукт-öма</i>                       | <i>абы мун-öма</i><br><i>абы пукт-öма</i>                       |
| 2SG    | <i>мун-öмныд</i><br><i>пукт-öмаыд</i>                   | <i>абы мун-öмыд</i><br><i>абы пукт-öмыд</i>                     |
| 3SG    | <i>мун-öм (-öма)</i>                                    | <i>абы мун-öм (-öма)</i>  |
| 1PL    | Ø   | Ø   |
| 2PL    | <i>мун-öмныд</i><br><i>пукт-öмныд</i>                   | <i>абы мун-öмныд</i><br><i>абы пукт-öмныд</i>                   |
| 3PL    | <i>мун-öмны (-öмаöс')</i><br><i>пукт-öмны (-öмаöс')</i> | <i>абы мун-öмны (-öмаöс')</i><br><i>абы пукт-öмны (-öмаöс')</i> |

As for the Letka dialect, 1SG and 3SG are identical.

### 3.4. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permjak Komi

As already mentioned, Zyrian Komi and Permjak Komi are held to be two different languages in Russia. That's why an independent Permjak Komi written standard was introduced in the 1920s. Although even the native Komi researcher Lytkin did not recognize Permjak Komi as an independent language but only as a Komi dialect, Permjak Komi, up till now, is still be seen as an independent language. From a linguistic point of view, there are no obstacles to unite Zyrian Komi and Permjak Komi in one written language (see Bartens 2000: 29-32). As already mentioned earlier, Permjak Komi is not recognized as an independent language outside Russian linguistics.

#### 3.4.1. Rogov 1860

Rogov's merit for the study of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Permic languages can not be underestimated. Rogov was the first grammarian, who correctly identified the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as an own tense (1860: 53-). Besides, he wrote that the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is used to report noneyewitnessed events and even gave two examples: *отъяр баитöны, сыја воктöм* 'люди говорят, он пришёл'<sup>46</sup> and *отъяр висјтависö, ныја воктöмасј* 'люди сказывали, они пришли'. Still, Rogov reports only 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms and according to him, the choice between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> past is only possible in 3<sup>rd</sup> person. (53-54; 59)

<sup>46</sup> Orthography is normalized and follows contemporary Russian orthography.

### 3.4.2. KPJ 1962

KPJ presents a defective paradigm similar to the one presented in SKJ. In KPJ the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is called second past tense - второе прошедшее. It is added that it is a not eyewitnessed perfect – неочевидное, перфект. The usage does not differ from the description presented as in SKJ and as a matter of fact, even the same verb was chosen for illustration (KPJ 254; 286).

Table 28. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in literary Permjak Komi

| person | affirmative                       | negative                                      |
|--------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 2SG    | <i>гижӧмыт;</i><br><i>гижӧмат</i> | <i>абу гижӧмыт;</i><br><i>абу гижӧмат</i>     |
| 3SG    | <i>гижӧм;</i><br><i>гижӧма</i>    | <i>абу гижӧм;</i><br><i>абу гижӧма</i>        |
| 2PL    | <i>гижӧмныт</i>                   | <i>абу гижӧмась;</i><br><i>(абу гижӧмныт)</i> |
| 3PL    | <i>гижӧмась</i>                   | <i>абу гижӧмась</i>                           |

### 3.5. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permjak Komi dialects

In Batalova's dialectological sketch (Batalova 1975: 184-186) no forms for 1<sup>st</sup> person were reported. The variation in Permjak dialects is relatively small and these peculiarities do not offer any spectacular consequences. The 3SG in *-ӧма* seems to be the default option in Northern dialects, whereas the form in *-ӧм* is said to be encountered elsewhere. The variation in the plural forms is more interesting. Most of the Northern dialects use in both 2PL and 3PL *-ӧмӧсь*, the literary form *-ӧмась* is typical for the Southern dialects. Batalova does not offer evidence for the use of the personalized form (with an additional Px) in 2SG and 2PL. This could mean, that in spoken Permjak Komi the participle does not agree in person but only in number (see Udora).

### 3.6. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Jaz'va Komi dialect

The isolated Jaz'va dialect is known for its phonological peculiarities which represent a more archaic form and therefore it is of great interest for the historical phonology of the Permic languages. When examining the 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts morphology, it is a rather typical Komi dialect and the paradigm does not differ extensively from other Komi dialects. The paradigm as reported by Lytkin (1961: 67) has no forms for 1SG and 1PL and the forms do not agree in person, just in number.

Table 29. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Jaz'va Komi dialect

| person | affirmative | negative     |
|--------|-------------|--------------|
| 2SG    | мунем(а)    | обе мунем(а) |
| 3SG    | мунем(а)    | обе мунем(а) |
| 2Pl    | мунемас'    | обе мунемас' |
| 3Pl    | мунемас'    | обе мунемас' |

### 3.7. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt

#### 3.7.1. Mogilin 1786

The first grammatical sketch of Udmurt (Mogilin 1786) did not identify the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as verbal category, but the *m*- participle is listed correctly under Причастіе прош. врем. и супинум (Mogilin 1998: 169). Still the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is not mentioned, whether under verbs nor under participles.

#### 3.7.2. Wiedemann 1851

Although Wiedemann, too, did not present the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as verbal paradigm, he was aware, that it was used verbally in some of the bible translations he worked with. (Wiedemann 1851: 132-133)

#### 3.7.3. Wiedemann 1884

Later Wiedemann became fully aware, that the *m*-participle could be used verbally and that this usage was more dominant in Udmurt as in Komi (165) but he did not present this as a paradigm. A more important observation in a footnote seems to be completely ignored in research although it has a severe consequence for the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup>. In several Southern Udmurt bible translations Wiedemann could encounter the following usage:

“Offenbar dem Tatarischen entleht ist es, dem Verbalnomen [-(*e*)*m* F.S.] noch dyr anzuhängen taje dyšmon murt karemdyr.“ (Wiedemann 1884: 166 footnote)

Indeed, this is a Tatar construction (which has cognates in other Turkic languages) and this feature plays a critical role. This demonstrates that bilingual Udmurts understood the function of the Tatar perfect corresponding to the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt

and marked it with the Tatar copula particle, which has no significant function in Udmurt.

### 3.7.4. Aminoff & Wichmann 1896

Aminoff & Wichmann (1896) do not present the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a verb. It is presented under verbal nouns in *-em/am* (40) having different functions. When used as “personal participle” it expresses a perfect historicum e.g. *veram* ‘(on) sanonut, sanoj’ or *ad’žem* ‘(on) nähnyt, näki’ (40-41). A complete paradigm is missing. The negation as an own category is also missing, but Aminoff mentions the verbal noun in *-mte* (*-emte*, *-amte*) which is the negative form of the *-em*, *-am* verbal noun.

### 3.7.5. Emel’janov 1927

Emel’janovs grammar introduces the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a verb. According to my data this was the first time that the 2<sup>nd</sup> past was considered to be a verb in a grammar of Udmurt. Following Aminoff, Emel’janov calls the 2<sup>nd</sup> past historical form – историческая форма. There is one unique feature in Emel’janovs grammar, which besides his grammar does not exist in any other Udmurt grammar: Emel’janov did not list forms for 1SG and 1PL. The paradigm given by him (155) presents the following forms (басьтыны ‘to take, to buy’) but lacks a description for negative forms and description of usage:

Table 30. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in literary Udmurt according to Emel’janov 1927

| person | affirmative            |
|--------|------------------------|
| 2SG    | <i>baštemed</i>        |
| 3SG    | <i>baštem</i>          |
| 2PL    | <i>baštemdi</i>        |
| 3PL    | <i>baštil’l’am(zi)</i> |

### 3.7.6. Fuchs 1954

Fuchs’ grammatical sketch (1954: 152-153) is based on own work and fragments from other grammatical sketches. Fuchs presents a verbal paradigm which includes forms for every person (transcription slightly modified) which he calls *Perfectum historicum*:

Table 31. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Fuchs’ “Grammatischer Abriss”

| person | affirmative                             |
|--------|---|
| 1SG    | <i>užikem</i> ‘ich habe geschlafen’     |
| 2SG    | <i>söremed</i> ‘du hast vernichtet’     |
| 3SG    | <i>ad’d’žem</i> ‘er sah’                |
| 1SG    | <i>goštil’k’jam</i> ‘wir schrieben’     |
| 2SG    | <i>pukšil’l’amdi</i> ‘ihr setztet euch’ |
| 3SG    | <i>minil’l’jam</i> ‘sie gingen’         |

Fuchs does not offer a paradigm for negation (at least no paradigm, which deals solely with the 2<sup>nd</sup> past). He just mentioned the verbal noun in *-mte/mta* (162) but does not explicitly express, that it negates the 2<sup>nd</sup> past, although he presents some examples, e.g. *ad'd'zil'l'amte* ‘sie sahen nicht’.

### 3.7.7. Perevoščikov 1956

Perevoščikov’s grammatical sketch in RUS was the last grammatical sketch for Udmurt before the publication of GSUJ in 1962. He presents a paradigm, which shows forms for all persons as well as for negation (1328-1329). The table shows just forms for the verbs of the so-called first conjugation (ы-stems) – *мыныны* ‘to go’:

Table 32. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in literary Udmurt according to Perevoščikov 1956

| person | affirmative                                    | negative   |
|--------|--|--|
| 1SG    | <i>мын-иськем</i><br>‘я шёл (оказывается)’     | <i>мын-иськы-мтэ</i><br>( <i>öвöл мын-иськем</i> )<br>‘я не шёл (оказывается)’   |
| 2SG    | <i>мын-эм-ед</i><br>‘ты шёл (оказывается)’     | <i>мын-ымтэ-ед</i><br>( <i>öвöл мын-эм-ед</i> )<br>‘ты не шёл (оказывается)’     |
| 3SG    | <i>мын-эм-ез</i><br>‘он шёл (оказывается)’     | <i>мын-ымтэ-ез</i><br>( <i>öвöл мын-эм-ез</i> )<br>‘он не шёл (оказывается)’     |
| 1PL    | <i>мын-иськем-мы</i><br>‘мы шли (оказывается)’ | <i>мын-ымтэ-мы</i><br>( <i>öвöл мын-иськем-мы</i> )<br>‘мы не шли (оказывается)’ |
| 2PL    | <i>мын-эм-ды</i><br>‘вы шли (оказывается)’     | <i>мын-ымтэ-ды</i><br>( <i>öвöл мын-эм-ды</i> )<br>‘вы не шли (оказывается)’     |
| 3PL    | <i>мын-эм-зы</i><br>‘они шли (оказывается)’    | <i>мын-ымтэ-зы</i><br>( <i>öвöл мын-эм-зы</i> )<br>‘они не шли (оказывается)’    |

In his grammatical sketch, the default negation is said to be the synthetic form. Comparing the forms to Emel’janov and Fuchs’, one can see that there are discrepancies between their plural forms. This will be reevaluated under 3.8.2. The usage is not explained thoroughly, it is only mentioned that the form can be used, both as perfect and as a means to report noneyewitnessed actions.

### 3.7.8. GSUJ 1962

This is the one and only academic grammar of Udmurt so far. Due to its normative fact, it must take meaning into account and that’s why it has a short characterization for the use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past which is called the 2nd past tense – второе прошедшее время. The tables show both conjugations:

Table 33. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in literary Udmurt according to GSUJ - 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation учкыны 'to look'

| person | affirmative         | negative analytic        | negative synthetic    |
|--------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1SG    | <i>учкиськем</i>    | <i>öвöл учкиськем</i>    | <i>учкиськымтэ</i>    |
| 2SG    | <i>учкем(ед)</i>    | <i>öвöл учкем(ед)</i>    | <i>учкымтэед</i>      |
| 3SG    | <i>учкем(ез)</i>    | <i>öвöл учкем(ез)</i>    | <i>учкымтэ(ез)</i>    |
| 1PL    | <i>учкиськеммы</i>  | <i>öвöл учкиськеммы</i>  | <i>учкиськымтэмы</i>  |
| 2PL    | <i>учкиллям(ды)</i> | <i>öвöл учкиллям(ды)</i> | <i>учкиллямтэ(ды)</i> |
| 3PL    | <i>учкеллям(зы)</i> | <i>öвöл учкем(ез)</i>    | <i>учкеллямтэ(зы)</i> |

Table 343. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in literary Udmurt according to GSUJ - 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation тодманы 'to know'

| person | affirmative          | negative analytic      | negative synthetic     |
|--------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1SG    | <i>тодмаськем</i>    | <i>öвöл тодмаськем</i> | <i>тодмаськымтэ</i>    |
| 2SG    | <i>тодмам(ед)</i>    | <i>öвöл тодмам(ед)</i> | <i>тодмамтэед</i>      |
| 3SG    | <i>тодмам(ез)</i>    | <i>öвöл тодмам(ез)</i> | <i>тодмамтэ(ез)</i>    |
| 1PL    | <i>тодмаськеммы</i>  | <i>öвöл тодмаськем</i> | <i>тодмаськымтэмы</i>  |
| 2PL    | <i>тодмаллям(ды)</i> | <i>öвöл тодмам(ед)</i> | <i>тодмаллямтэды</i>   |
| 3PL    | <i>тодмаллям(ды)</i> | <i>öвöл тодмам(ез)</i> | <i>тодмаллямтэ(зы)</i> |

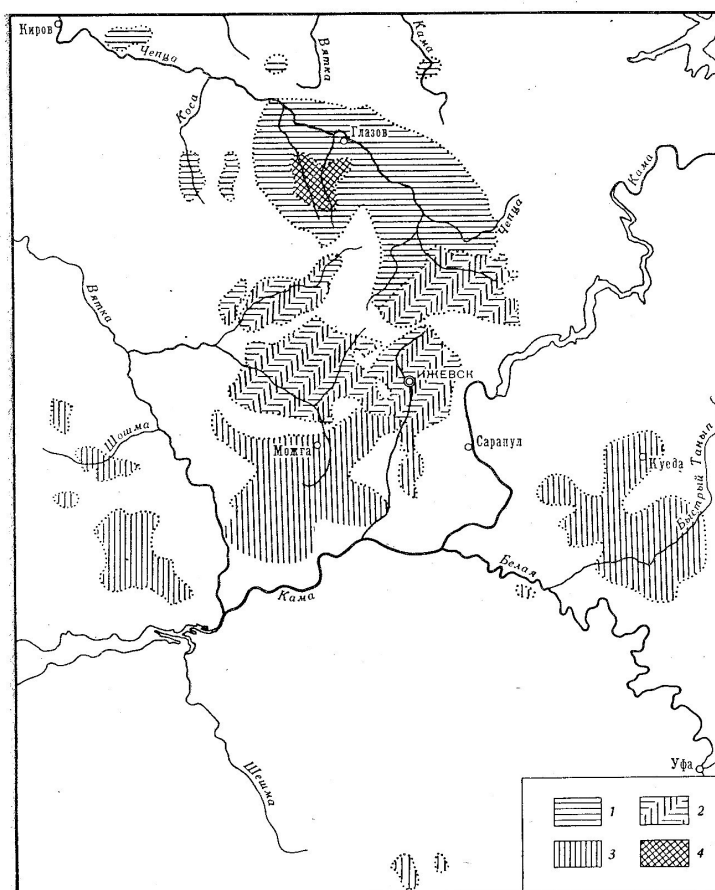
According to GSUJ (204-206) the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is primarily used to present the result of an action. Besides it reports facts, which were noneyewitnessed by the speaker.

### 3.7.9. Winkler 2001

Winkler's Udmurt grammar (Winkler 2001: 49-51) does not contain any other (morphological) forms than presented in GSUJ. What distinguishes his analysis from any other analysis done so far is the fact, that Winkler does not consider the 2<sup>nd</sup> past to be a past tense. According to him, it belongs to the mood system. Its usage is described as (a) evidential proper, (b) inferential and (c) mirative.

### 3.8. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt dialects

It has already been mentioned, that Udmurt dialectology is not as well developed as its Komi counterpart. That's why the survey of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt dialects is preliminary and has to be taken with a grain of salt. Usually four main dialects, which split up in additional smaller groups, are distinguished but this problem is not yet settled. (Kel'makov & Saarinen 1994: 26-28; Kel'makov 1998: 41-44).



1 Northern Dialects 2 Central Dialects 3 Southern Dialects 4 Beserman Dialect (map: OFUJ 107)

### 3.8.1. General remarks<sup>47</sup>

According to the status quo in Udmurt dialectology, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past appears dialectically in two different paradigms which are called the Bavly and the Kyrykmas paradigm. The Bavly paradigm can only be encountered in a rather small area in the southernmost part of the Southern dialects (namely in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan):

Table 35. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past Bavly paradigm

|                 | singular           | plural           |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | <i>mîn-em-e</i>    | <i>mîn-em-mî</i> |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | <i>mîn-em-ed</i>   | <i>mîn-em-dî</i> |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | <i>mîn-em-(ez)</i> | <i>mîn-em-zî</i> |

(Kel'makov / Saarinen 1994:133; Kel'makov 1998: 151)

<sup>47</sup> All verbs in the Udmurt dialectal examples are variations of мыныны 'to go'.

The Bavly paradigm is a straightforward paradigm without defective forms and has been reported also for the Krasnoufim dialect (also belonging to the Southern dialect group).

The second paradigm (Kyrykmas-type) is spread in all other dialects, e.g. also in the Beserman dialect:

Table 35. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past Kyrykmas paradigm and the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Beserman

|                 | Kyrykmas           |                        | Beserman                       |                                  |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|                 | singular           | plural                 | singular                       | plural                           |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | <i>mə̃n-išk-em</i> | <i>mə̃n-išk-em-mə̃</i> | <i>mən-s<sup>o</sup>k-em-e</i> | <i>mən-s<sup>o</sup>k-ém-mə̃</i> |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | <i>mə̃n-em-ed</i>  | <i>mə̃n-i'l'am-də̃</i> | <i>mən-em-ed</i>               | <i>mən-əl'l'am-də̃</i>           |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | <i>mə̃n-em</i>     | <i>mə̃n-i'l'am</i>     | <i>mən-em-ez</i>               | <i>mən-əl'l'am-zə̃</i>           |

(Kel'makov & Saarinen 1994: 133-134; Kel'makov 1998: 151-152)

Kel'makov stresses the fact, that the Northern dialects do not mark 3PL with the corresponding Px which is said to be typical for Beserman. Still, this does not tell the whole story, because although Beserman modifies the stem besides 2SG and 3SG, the Px marking follows the Bavly type. (1SG marked, 3SG marked)

When focusing on negation, the situation shows even more clearly the well known Southern traits of Beserman.<sup>48</sup> As already mentioned, Udmurt has two different possibilities for negating the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The Northern dialects make up an isogloss with all varieties of Komi because they use an analytic negation ko: *abu ud: evel*, whereas the synthetic construction is preferred in Southern Udmurt dialects. Beserman allows the usage of both negations (see also Tepl'jašina 1970:231) but there is a tiny fact that has more far-reaching consequences as it would be expected:

Table 36. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Beserman after Tepl'jašina

|     | Beserman               | Southern dialects             |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2PL | <i>ti mənəmtedə̃</i>   | <i>ti m̃jnil'l'amedij̃</i>    |
| 3PL | <i>soos mənəmtəzə̃</i> | <i>soos m̃jnil'l'amtetij̃</i> |

<sup>48</sup> Although the Beserman Udmurts live nowadays in Northern Udmurtia, they are of Southern origin. Their Southern traits can be seen in both language and culture. For further details and literature see Napolskich 2003: 288-289.

Kel'makov points out, that the nearest cognates to the negative 2PL and 3PL forms of Beserman can be found in the Southern dialects Kukmor and Šošma (both spoken in Tatarstan). There seems to be another reason, why these forms are of peculiar interest. The component *-l'ʼa-* which modifies the stem of the 2PL and 3PL is the frequentative suffix. When comparing the Bavly-type with the positive forms of the Kyrykmas type and with the 2PL & 3PL negated forms of Beserman, it should be obvious, that the frequentative suffixes cannot be of old origin - otherwise they would be attested also in the negative stem. Also the analytic 2PL & 3PL negation in Beserman does not use the modified stem *əvəl vel'ʼemed* (Tepl'jašina 1970: 231). Also in a smaller subdialect of the Southern group, a similar pattern can be found (which has not been mentioned by Kel'makov at all). In the description of the Transkama dialects (*Закамские говоры*) Nasibullin (1972: 145) shows, that both paradigms are used in plural negation - also in 1PL.

Table 37. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in the Transkama dialect

| Transkama |                        |  |
|-----------|------------------------|--|
|           | <b>affirmative</b>     | <b>negative</b>                            |
| 1PL       | <i>m̄j̄niškemm̄j̄</i>  | <i>m̄j̄nišk̄j̄mtem̄j̄, m̄j̄n̄j̄mtem̄j̄</i> |
| 2PL       | <i>m̄j̄nil'ʼamd̄j̄</i> | <i>m̄j̄nil'ʼamted̄j̄, m̄j̄n̄j̄mted̄j̄</i>  |
| 3PL       | <i>m̄j̄nil'ʼam</i>     | <i>m̄j̄nil'ʼamte, m̄j̄n̄j̄mtezi</i>        |

Note, that the Bavly type negation marks 3PL whereas the corresponding *Kyrykmas*-type is unmarked for person.

### 3.8.2. Competing paradigms in Udmurt

As far as I know, nobody in Western Uralistics<sup>49</sup> has ever addressed the paradigm changes which were introduced in GSUJ. Compare the following affirmative paradigms from three different Udmurt grammars:

<sup>49</sup> I do not have any information for this from Russian and Hungarian sources either.

Table 38. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past – competing paradigms

| person | Emel'janov            | Perevoščikov       | GSUJ                |
|--------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1SG.   | ∅                     | <i>мынйськем</i>   | <i>учкиськем</i>    |
| 2SG    | <i>baštemed</i>       | <i>мынэмед</i>     | <i>учкем(ед)</i>    |
| 3SG    | <i>baštem</i>         | <i>мынэмез</i>     | <i>учкем(ез)</i>    |
| 1PL    | ∅                     | <i>мынйськеммы</i> | <i>учкиськеммы</i>  |
| 2PL    | <i>baštemdi</i>       | <i>мынэмды</i>     | <i>учкиллям(ды)</i> |
| 3PL    | <i>baštil'lam(zi)</i> | <i>мынэмзы</i>     | <i>учкеллям(зы)</i> |

It is obvious, that in the course of 1927-1962 several different (competing? F.S.) paradigms have been propagated in Udmurt linguistics. Still, it is impossible to give any sound explanation for this variation in both stem modification and Px marking. Emel'janov was born in the Northwestern region of the Kirovskaja oblast (URE 317), Perevoščikov in the what is nowadays known as Kez district (URE 548). According to my knowledge of Udmurt dialectology this qualifies both speakers as belonging to the Northern dialects and according to the above presented sketch one would await a paradigm close to the Kyrykmas type which is the paradigm as propagated in GSUJ. The most impressive difference between Emel'janov and Perevoščikov on the one side and GSUJ on the other side is person marking. The paradigm in GSUJ has besides 1<sup>st</sup> person forms only agreement in number but not in person (if one interprets the frequentative suffix in 2PL and 3PL as plural marking). The forms propagated by Perevoščikov follow the markedness criteria of the 1<sup>st</sup> past. Emel'janov's paradigm is a curious mixture, his 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms behave as in GSUJ but 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms are marked separately.

### 3.9. The origin of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past – preliminary remarks

The crucial point in the reconstruction of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past has been the question of the possible existence for 1<sup>st</sup> person forms and the origin of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. First, I argue, that the question of the synchronic use of the 1<sup>st</sup> person forms can not be excluded from the overall question whether it should be reconstructed or not. Second, typological considerations must be taken into account, too. That's why I disagree fundamentally with the reconstructions of both Serebrennikov (1963) and Csúcs (2001). Serebrennikov proposed that a category perfect did not exist in Permic and that the 2<sup>nd</sup> past was an independent innovation in both languages (Serebrennikov 1963: 257-259). Csúcs reconstructs the perfect into Proto-Permic as an inner-Permic innovation but denies the existence of 1<sup>st</sup> person forms. Still, this question has an additional areal component,

namely that fact, that evidentiality is also spread in the other languages of the Volga-Kama Sprachbund (with the exception of both Mordvinic languages) or to state it concretely a feature of all Turkic languages which also has spread to several neighboring languages, e.g. Bulgarian and Tadjik (Johanson 1998). The interpretation of Serebrennikov, who did not see any obvious connection between the Turkic languages, the spread of compound tenses and evidentiality in Permic is supported nowadays by Honti (e.g. Honti 2002). Another Hungarian scholar, Berezcki is the most eager supporter of the Turkic origin of compound tenses who has published rather extensively on this subject (e.g. Berezcki 1992 with further references). In some cases Berezcki seems to be too generous in his contact interpretations but nevertheless, he is one of the few Eastern European scholars, if not the only, who has questioned Serebrennikov's findings rather early. Honti and Berezcki have been criticizing each other frequently and the interested reader is referred to the mentioned articles of Honti and Berezcki.<sup>50</sup>

Returning to Csúcs's approach not reconstructing 1<sup>st</sup> person forms for Proto-Permic is perhaps the easiest way to go but not the most appropriate. Perfects can grammaticalize to evidentials (for a further discussion see chapter 4 & 5), which obviously has happened in Permic as well. In this case a 1<sup>st</sup> person has existed earlier and may have been lost or the system is under rearrangement nowadays. If, and only if the 2<sup>nd</sup> past has been introduced as (hearsay) evidential already in Common Permic then Csúcs's approach is justified. Due to typological facts of grammaticalization and the areal distribution which clusters around the prominence of Turkic languages I reject Csúcs's approach.

The last possibility, which to my best knowledge has not yet been proposed (and which I consider the least convincing) would classify this use of the perfect as an old trait which can be encountered in Permic and Ob-Ugric. Although Mari has also an evidential second past, it has a different history (it's a grammaticalization of a converb)

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<sup>50</sup> I personally adopt a point of view which stands closer to Berezcki than to Honti. This has the following reason: Honti ignores practically Western Turkology at all and operates only with Russian Turkology from the mid 1960s. It should be obvious, that interdisciplinary research in morphosyntax (both diachronic and synchron) should not start with the results from mostly pre-structuralist Russian linguistics but needs newer ideas. The shortcomings should be obvious, usually native scholars do not yet take part in the study of evidentiality and the value of the findings of evidentiality in older Russian publications for Komi and Udmurt has been demonstrated clearly in chapter 2. The evidence presented in recent years by Johanson and others offers new dimensions for interdisciplinary research. The homogeneity of evidential systems in Turkic and the astonishing similarity in those Finno-Ugric languages which stand in long lasting contact to Turkic languages is neither a case of pure chance nor a recent phenomenon.

and must be excluded. Also the Estonian usage of the past participle without a copula *Mees sõitnud Tallina* ‘A man went to Tallinn’ which has a noneyewitnessed meaning can’t be included because the Finnic *-nUt* participle is not the etymological cognate of the *m*-participle. The correct cognate would be the Finnish agentive construction *hänen tekemänsä työn/työtä* ‘the work done by him’ which is perfective but still not verbal! The Lappish participle, e.g. IpN *boahtin* uses the *-ma* participle (*-ma* > *-m* > *-n*) but adds an copula and behaves as the same Finnic constructions. In IpS the copula (and also in several Eastern Lappish varieties) is not used, but the *m*- participle has no documented evidential meaning. Here the discussion leaves the Permic framework and we enter the complex of questions which is connected with the question of the origin of compound pasts and this lies outside the horizon of this thesis. (see Bartens 1993 and Honti 1997 for a furthergoing discussion)

The question of reconstruction and historical development has been scratched here and I will return to this question only after the synchronic analysis, because I reject reconstructions which are based on morphological irregularities and not on an integrated approach MEANING – FORM and its historical development.

## 4. EVIDENTIALITY

### 4.1. Opening remarks

The common sense definition of evidentiality could be paraphrased like this: evidentiality is an information source concept which codes the evidence the speaker relies on for his proposition. Although every language has probably some lexical means for the expression of evidentiality, it is the grammaticalized form of evidentiality which attracted research in recent years. (e.g. Chafe & Nichols 1986; Guentchéva 1996; Johanson & Utas 2000; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2003).

According to the general survey presented by Dendale & Tasmowski (2001: 339-347; especially 339-341) the term *evidentiality* was coined by Boas in his posthumously published grammar of Kwakiutl (1947). The term was further mediated by Jakobson in 1957:

“EVIDENTIAL is a tentative label for the verbal category which takes into account three events – a narrated event, a speech event, and a narrated speech event [...], namely the alleged source of information about the narrated event.”

(Jakobson [1957] 1971: 135).

Actually, almost half a century earlier the semantic concept of evidentiality has been described (of course not under the same name) but Dendale & Tamowski’s survey mentions the first encounters (namely Boas and Sapir) too superficially.<sup>51</sup> Still it seems, that many basic problems concerning evidentiality did actually not arise during the last decades but seem to be a paraphrasing of Boas’ and Sapir’s findings and that’s the reason why I wish to emphasize Boas’ and Sapir’s contribution in detail.

Dendale & Tasmowski’s correctly present a passage of Sapir’s statement in “Language”, when he addresses the urgency of investigating “[...] how frequently the form expresses the source or nature of the speaker’s knowledge (known by actual experience, by hearsay, by inference) [..]” (Sapir 1921: 108-109). En passant they mention “The Handbook of American Indian languages I”, too, but Boas’ and Sapir’s important contributions to the problem of *evidentiality* are ignored completely. In Boas’

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<sup>51</sup> Already in the end of the 19th century in several grammars of Bulgarian and Albanian the problem was encountered. Besides Boas and Sapir, also several German Africanists have reported several evidential categories in African languages about the same time. (Guentchéva 1996: 14-15)

“Introduction” some evidential features of Kwakiutl were introduced for the first time to a wider public:

“[...] it will be recognized that in each language only a part of the complete concept that we have in mind is expressed, and that each language has a peculiar tendency to select this or that aspect of the mental image which is conveyed by the expression of thought. To use again the example which I mentioned before, *The man is sick*. We express by this sentence, in English, the idea, *a definite single man at present sick*. In Kwakiutl this sentence would have to be rendered by an expression which would mean, in the vaguest possible form that could be given to it, *definite man near him invisible sick near him invisible*. Visibility and nearness to the first or second person might, of course have been selected in our example in place of invisibility and nearness to the third person. An idiomatic expression of the sentence in this language would, however, be much more definite, and would require an expression somewhat like the following, *That invisible man lies sick on his back on the floor of the absent house*. [...] If we take into consideration further traits of idiomatic expression, this example might be further expanded by adding **modalities** [my highlighting F.S.] of the verb; thus the Kwakiutl [...] would require a form indicating whether this is a new subject introduced in conversation or not; and, in case the speaker had not seen the sick person himself, he would have to express whether he knows **by hearsay** or by **evidence** that the person is sick, **or whether he has dreamed it**. [my highlighting F.S.]” (Boas 1911a: 43)

Unfortunately Boas himself did not take his discovery too serious: “It seems, however, better not to complicate our present discussion by taking into consideration the possibilities of exact expression that may be required in idiomatic forms of speech [...]. (Boas 1911a: 43)

In his 1911 Kwakiutl sketch Boas presents some suffixes, which denote “source of information” (Boas 1911b: 496)

|                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <b>-<i>l(a)</i></b>             | It IS SAID [WORD-s. <sup>52</sup> ]                         |
| <i>xE'nLela<sup>l</sup></i>     | very much, it is said                                       |
| <i>k·!ē's<sup>l</sup>at!a</i>   | but not, it is said   |
| <i>lā'<sup>l</sup>laē</i>       | then, it is said, he-                                       |
| <br>                            |   |
| <b>-<i>Emsk<sup>u</sup></i></b> | AS I TOLD YOU BEFORE [WORD-S.]                              |
| <i>g·āxEmsk<sup>u</sup></i>     | he has come – as you ought to know, since I told you before |
| <br>                            |   |
| <b>-<i>Eng·a</i></b>            | IN A DREAM [WORD-S.]  |
| <i>laE'ng·a</i>                 | in a dream it was seen that he went                         |
| <br>                            |   |
| <b>- <i>xEnt</i></b>            | EVIDENTLY (as is shown by evidence) [WORD-S.]               |
| <i>k·!eâ'saaxEnt</i>            | evidently nothing   |
| <i>k·!e'sxEnt</i>               | evidently not   |

Another important fact was observed by Sapir in his Takelma grammar (Sapir 1922). Whereas Boas reported the function of clitics for the marking of information source in Kwakiutl, Sapir found that the choice of different tenses can function as a source of information marking, too. Sapir reported:

“The inferential implies that the action expressed by the verb is not directly known or stated on the authority of the speaker, but it is only inferred from the circumstances of the case or rests on the authority of one another than the speaker. Thus, if I say THE BEAR KILLED THE MAN, and wish to state the event as a mere matter of fact, the truth of which is directly known from my own or another's experience, the aorist form would normally be employed:

*mena'* (bear) *yap!a* (man) *t!omōk'wa* (it killed him)

If I wish, however, to imply that is not definitely known from unmistakable evidence that the event really took place, or that it is inferred from certain facts (such as the finding of the man's corpse or the presence of a bear's footprints in

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<sup>52</sup> Read: added to the full word (Boas 1911b: 456).

the neighborhood of the house), or that the statement is not made on my own authority, the inferential would be employed:

*mena' ya!a dōmk'wak* 'it seem that the bear killed the man; the bear must  
have, evidently has, killed the man

Inasmuch as mythical narration is necessarily told on hearsay, one would expect the regular use of the inferential in the myths; yet in the great majority of cases, the aorist was employed, either because the constant use of the relatively uncommon inferential forms would have been felt as intrusive and laborious, or because the events related in the myths are to be looked upon as objectively certain. The inferential is also regularly employed in expressing the negative future." (Sapir 1922: 158-159)

These two examples from the first encounters with evidentiality have not lost their actuality at all:

- a) How can a language grammaticalize the semantic concept of evidentiality, e.g. information source marking? Whereas Kwakiutl uses clitics, Takelma encodes evidentiality in the use of different tenses.
- b) Is evidentiality an independent grammatical category or should it be considered as a subdomain of modality? Boas prefers the modal interpretation, whereas Sapir's interpretation seems more reserved.
- c) Is evidentiality related to the truth concept of a proposition or is it concerned with the marking of the speaker's information?

The fact, that evidentiality has not been encountered in SAE must be considered the decisive factor why the general interest is of rather recent origin and this goes hand in hand with the emancipation of other languages in Western European linguistics.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>54</sup>

One of the first works, Haarmann's "Die indirekte Erlebnisform als grammatische Kategorie – eine eurasische Isoglosse" (1970) which addressed

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<sup>53</sup> That means of course other languages than English.

<sup>54</sup> Perhaps the pragmatic turn in linguistics as a direct reaction to Wittgenstein's "Philosophische Untersuchungen" and the Oxford ordinary language philosophy might have influenced this development as well, but surely only to a lesser degree.

different aspects of evidentiality from a wider areal perspective was published actually more than a decade before the rise of general interest after the publication of Chafe & Nichols 1986. Surprisingly, Haarmann's work remains almost unknown outside Uralic linguistics. The strength of Haarmann's study is not his theoretical research of what he called "forms of indirect experience" but his systematic collection of a phenomenon spread all over Eurasia and its different linguistic families. Besides evidence from Finno-Ugric and Samoyed languages, he presented similar phenomena from Indo-European, Turkic, Yukaghir, Mongolian, Manchu-Tungusic and several Caucasian languages. To my best knowledge this work has not been challenged and waits for a thorough reinvestigation from a more typologically orientated perspective.

#### 4.2. A survey of evidentiality

Before entering the discussion in the Permic languages, some examples from other languages shall demonstrate the cross-linguistic manifestation of *evidentiality*. The following examples introduce several evidential systems in five genetically unrelated languages:

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| Nootka            | (Wakashan / British Columbia, Canada)    |
| Southern Tepehuan | (Uto-Aztecan / Mexico)                   |
| Central Pomo      | (Hokan / Northern California)            |
| Turkish           | (Turkic / Turkey)                        |
| Yukaghir          | (isolated / Yakutia, Russian Federation) |

##### 4.2.1. Evidentiality in Nootka

In the analysis of Nootka morphosyntax, Nakayama (2001) reports a mood which he calls "quotative" and which is used "to indicate that an action, event or state is reported by third parties and that the speaker does not have direct knowledge of it."

|    | quotative |           | indicative |        |
|----|-----------|-----------|------------|--------|
|    | sg        | pl        | sg         | pl     |
| 1. | -wa·ʔkás  | -wa·ʔičin | -i·š       | -ni·š  |
| 2. | -wa·ʔck   | -wa·ʔcu:š | -ʔck       | -ʔcu:š |
| 3. | -wa·ʔiš   | -wa·ʔ iš  | -ʔi·š      | -ʔi·š  |

- (1) *waaʃiʌwa·ʒck.*  
 waʃ -[L] -ʃiʌ -wa·ʒick  
 go.home -GRAD -MOM -QUOT.2sg

'[They say] you are going home.'

- (2) *hiniwa·ʒš q<sup>w</sup>ayaaćikmit*  
 hin -in -wa·ʒiš q<sup>w</sup>aya:ćik -mi·t  
 get.there coming -QUOT.3 wolf -son.of

'[They say] the son of Wolf came.'

- (3) *tiičmahsamiwa ʒš ćawaak.*  
 ti:č -mahsa -'ap -it -wa·ʒi-š ćawa:k  
 live -wanting.to -CAUS -PAST -QUOT.3 one

'[They say] one [of the warriors] wanted to save his life.

(Nakayama 2001: 32)

#### 4.2.2. Evidentiality in Southern Tepehuan

A more complex system of evidentiality has been reported for Southern Tepehuan by Willet (1991:161-166). As in the description of Nootkan, evidentiality is mentioned in the chapter dedicated to epistemic modality. Information source in Southern Tepehuan is marked according to, whether the evidence was (a) perceived by the speaker (first-hand knowledge), (b) reported to the speaker (second-hand or third-hand knowledge)<sup>55</sup> or (c) can be inferred to circumstantial evidence. Southern Tepehuan uses four grammatical particles which indicate the source of evidence:

*dyo* - perceived by speaker

*sap* - reported to speaker, unknown to hearer

*sac* - reported to speaker, previously known to hearer

*vac* - inferred

#### Perceived evidence

If an event is personally attested<sup>56</sup> the particle *dyo* is used. This particle is used normally in response to a question or a declaration. It may stand after the whole predicate, in this

<sup>55</sup> as named by Willett.

<sup>56</sup> Personal attestation includes also sensory evidence.

function it attests the entire situation (4) but is also possible to use this particle as a kind of focus particle. In this case it stresses only a part of the predication (5).

(4) *Tujuan- 'iñ dyo*  
 work-1s PE  
 (Yes,) I'm working.

(5) *Jiñ-capiasa dyo gu cavay tacav na-ñ ca- 'uhlis.*  
 1s-kick PE ART horse yesterday SUB-1s TEM-unsaddle  
 The horse kicked me yesterday while I unsaddled it.

### Reported evidence

Two different grammaticalized possibilities for reported evidence are in usage.

The first possibility – the particle *sap* is in use, when the reported evidence is only known to the speaker but not to the hearer. This particle can be used in both, everyday conversation but and in folklore. In conversation it marks the fact that the information was obtained by the speaker from another person (6) or is supposed to be a form of general knowledge. The use in folklore extends the conversational usage; in this case *sap* means that the source is reliable, e.g. oral tradition, wisdom of the elders etc (7).

(6) *Oidya- 'ap gum tat. Jimi-a' sap para Vódamtam cavuimuc.*  
 go-with-FUT-2s ART-2s father go-FUT REU to Mezquital tomorrow  
 (You) should accompany your father. He says he's going to Mezquital tomorrow.

(7) *Ma'n mu-pai' sap quio gu ma'ncam.*  
 one there-where REU live ART person.  
 (It is told that) there once lived a man in a certain place.

The use of the particle *sac* reminds the hearer, that he already is aware of the information which is given to him. So, this is a kind of reference to a statement heard by both participants of the conversation earlier (8) or reminds the hearer of a conversation of his earlier utterance (9). In this case, it serves as an anaphoric reference.

(8) *Añ mi'-ñi dyír ja'c jim na sac jir Járax Cham.*

1s there-PRE from DIR come SUB REK EXS-crab place  
I'm coming from a place over there called "Crab Place".

(9) *Va-jípír gu-m bí na-p sac tu-jugui-a'.*

RLZ-get\_cold ART-2s food SUB-2s REK EXT-eat-FUT  
Your food is already cold. (You said) you were going to eat.

### **Inferential evidence**

The particle *vac* marks the proposition, when the existing evidence is based on the result of a situation. Note, that the "specific type of evidence upon which this inference is based, however is not made explicit" (Willet 1991: 165)

10) *Dáman dara-t vac dyi turasno. Pui' cu-t va' ia'ray gu jívíhl.*

shallow sit-P1 INF ART peach. thus SO-P1 then fell ART wind.

These peach trees must have been planted shallowly. That's why the wind blew them over.

### **Mixed information source marking in Southern Tepehuan**

In the end of his chapter on evidentiality, Willet discusses a phenomenon, where both particles *dyo* (perceived evidence) and *vac* (inferred evidence) can be combined. In most of the cases, *dyo* behaves as an interjection but he continues: "All those that are not [cases, when *dyo* is not used as an interjection F.S.] are used in a situation in which the speaker is making an inference based on information the hearer has just given him. He indicates by the presence of *vac* that his conclusion is in fact an inference but that since he has just heard the information on which it was based, it is also in a sense based on perceived evidence. For instance, immediately preceding the utterance given in (11) [numeration changed according to my theses F.S.], the hearer has just informed the speaker that it takes a day and a half to walk to his reach from where they are now talking."

(11) *Uh, jir-míc dyo vac.*

INT EXS-far PE INF.

Wow, it's a long way then.

#### 4.2.3. Evidentiality in Central Pomo

An even more complex system of evidentiality can be encountered in Central Pomo. Due to its richness it plays a decisive role in the theoretical study of evidentiality and this is also the decisive factor why Central Pomo is represented in this survey. According to Mithun (1999: 181) Central Pomo uses a set of 7 different evidential enclitics which are listed below:

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| = <i>ʔma</i>          | general knowledge                              |
| = <i>ya</i>           | firsthand personal experience (usually visual) |
| = <i>ʔdoma/= ʔdo·</i> | hearsay evidence                               |
| = <i>nme·</i>         | auditory evidence                              |
| = <i>ʔka</i>          | inference                                      |
| = <i>la</i>           | personal experience of own action              |
| = <i>wiya</i>         | personal affect                                |

- (12) *č<sup>h</sup>émul= ʔma* 'it rained' (That's an established fact.)
- (13) *č<sup>h</sup>émul=ya* 'it rained' (I know because I was there and saw it.)
- (14) *č<sup>h</sup>émul= ʔdo·* 'it rained' (I was told.)
- (15) *č<sup>h</sup>émul=nme·* 'it rained' (I heard the drops on the roof.)
- (16) *č<sup>h</sup>émul= ʔka* 'it rained' (Everything is wet.)
- (17) *da-čé-w=la*  
pulling-seize-PRF-PERSONAL.AGENCY  
'I caught it' (I know because I did it)
- (18) *da-čé-w=wiya*  
pulling-seize-PRF=PERSONAL.AFFECTEDNESS  
'I got caught' (I know because it happened to me)

In the course of Mithun's chapter on evidentiality she describes also how the notion of evidentiality has been described in grammars of different Native American languages (Mithun 1999: 181-186). Mithun's survey once again shows, that evidentiality has been

described as a part of the mood system or as a distinctive category of grammar. This choice bears proof that there are pro and cons for this approach in individual languages.

#### 4.2.4. Evidentiality in Turkish and Turkic

Probably one of the best studied languages concerning evidentiality is Turkish, perhaps because it was addressed already before the publication of Chafe & Nichols (e.g. Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1982<sup>57</sup>; Dahl 1985: 149- ) and Turkish as a whole was one of the favorite non-Indo European languages in earlier years.

In recent years, a new Turkology handbook (Johanson & Csató 1998) and a collection of articles on evidentiality in Turkic and its neighboring languages were published (Johanson & Utas 2000). Turkish is also represented in several articles in Aikhenvald & Dixon 2003, especially in Johanson (2003). Also from an Uralic point of view, at least when speaking about evidentiality it is obligatory to pay attention to the Turkic language family, because several Uralic languages stood and still stand in intensive contact with different Turkic languages (*Volga-Kama Sprachbund*) and evidentiality in these languages has been linked to Turkic influence.

##### 4.2.4.1. *-di*, *-miş* and *-Imiş* in contemporary Turkish<sup>58</sup>

Turkish verbal inflection is rich and different tenses can be distinguished morphologically. Still, evidentiality is no overtly marked category in Turkish and manifests itself only in past tenses. For a comparison of the usage of *-di* and *-miş* consider examples (19) and (20):

(19) *Ahmet gel-di.*

Ahmet come-PRET-3sg

‘Ahmet came / has come’

(20) *Ahmet gel-miş*

Ahmet come-PERF-3sg

‘Ahmet came / must have come’

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<sup>57</sup> A shorter variant of this paper appeared in Chafe & Nichols 1986 – Unfortunately I could not obtain a copy of the earlier paper but have to rely solely on Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986.

<sup>58</sup> Due to the Turkic vowel harmony, suffixes can occur in different shapes. The capitalized vowel in a suffix stands for the default vowel, which can change due to the phonological rules of allomorphy. This writing is essentially the same as in fi: -ssA, -stA, -nA etc.

Whereas in (19) *-di* behaves as a default past the example (20) differs in two respects; *-miş* is used when the evidence is:

a) inferential, i.e. the speaker sees a personal belonging of Ahmet in the front hall (e.g. his coat, his shoes etc) but has not yet seen Ahmet

b) hearsay, i.e. the speaker has been told, that Ahmet has arrived but the speaker has not yet seen him. (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986: 159-160)

The modal copula particle *-İmiş* differs both, semantically and morphologically from *-miş*. Its main function is *indirect evidence* or *inference*; it can not be added to verbs and is temporarily neutral.

(21) *Erol hasta imiş*

Erol ill mod-COP

‘Erol is supposed to be ill’

(22) *Bu biber amma da acıymiş.*

This paprika really hot-mod-COP

‘This paprika is really hot’ (as it turns out)

(Ersen-Rasch 2001:132; Csató 2000)

#### 4.2.4.2. The historical development in Turkish and other Turkic languages

In recent years, Johanson (1998a; 1998b; 2000; 2003) and Csató (2000) have dealt extensively with the semantics and the historical development of indirectivity<sup>59</sup> and postterminality in Turkish and Turkic.

Although the formal marking of indirectivity may vary in contemporary Turkic languages, the semantic concept of indirectivity and its closeness to postterminality can be observed throughout the whole family, from the earliest time on (see the Old Eastern Turkic examples in Johanson 2000: 66)<sup>60</sup>. Also its syntactic distribution is fairly uniform: “Turkic indirective marking only applies to asserted sentences, i.e. those with a contradictable content. It also has a marginal use in certain interrogative sentences. It does not occur in embedded clauses that are integrated into sentences and thus not asserted as such.” (Johanson 2000: 61)

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<sup>59</sup> In recent years, inferentiality has been replaced with indirectivity in Turcology. Indirectivity was coined as a new cover term for hearsay, inferential and admirative. (Johanson 2000: 61)

<sup>60</sup> Though Azeri is reported having lost the indirect meaning; this is perhaps due to Persian influence.

Probably the most important fact is mentioned in the end of Johanson 2000, where he states, that although *-miş* and *-İmiş* are “certainly epistemic in the sense that they concern the dimension of experience, but their task is not to express the speaker’s attitude to the truth of the propositional content or the foreign origin of the speaker’s knowledge.” (2000: 81-82). That’s why *-miş* in sentence (23) marks neither foreign source nor logical conclusion. In (24) it is also possible to state when it is based on direct perception of the event - in both cases, it’s the postterminal interpretation.

(23) *Çorba çok güzel ol-muş.*  
 soup very good be-PERF.3SG  
 ‘The soup is [as I perceive by tasting] very good.’

(24) *Ahmet gel-miş*  
 Ahmet come-PERF.3SG  
 ‘Ahmet came / must have come’

There is still a function of the Turkish perfect to mention. Its interpretation gains more and more attention due to the growing impact of cognitivism in linguistics and is directly linked to Aksu-Koç & Slobin’s notion of the “unprepared mind.” The Turkish perfect can be used in case of surprise [“information is outside the speaker’s awareness”] e.g. upon awakening over one’s book:

(25) *Uyu-muş-um.*  
 sleep-PERF.1SG.  
 ‘I must have fallen asleep.’

(Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986: 160)

#### 4.2.4.3. Excursus: Perfect in Tatar and Chuvash

According to Johanson (see above) the close relation between postterminality and indirectivity can be encountered in almost all other Turkish languages as well. The following notices on Tatar and Chuvash are due to their active participation in the Volga-Kama Sprachbund. The Tatar perfect offers no problems and Tumaševa’s description corresponds to the Turkish equivalent (Tumaševa 1986: 38-42). Note, that perfect marker in Tatar is *-gan* which is then followed by the necessary Vx.

The situation in Chuvash is somehow more problematic. The Chuvash sketch by Andreev (1966: 43-65) does not present an independent paradigm for the perfect but it is listed under participles (55-56). Clark's sketch (1998) mentions the Chuvash perfect as a "postterminal with indirective nuances" under which lacks an overtly marked category for person and number. (Clark 1998: 444)

#### 4.2.5. Evidentiality in Yukaghir

The last language in this small survey is Tundra Yukaghir (Maslova 2003a,b). The finite verb in Yukaghir takes one of the following Tense-Aspect-Mode forms:

|                   |                       |                                    |
|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Witnessed:        | <i>wie-m</i>          | '(s)he made'                       |
| Progressive:      | <i>wie-nu-m</i>       | '(s)he is/was making'              |
| Habitual/Generic: | <i>wie-nun-u-m</i>    | '(s)he makes/used to make'         |
| Future:           | <i>wie-te-m</i>       | '(s)he will make'                  |
| Prospective:      | <i>wie-mori-m</i>     | '(s)he is (about) to make'         |
| Imaginative:      | <i>at-wie -m</i>      | '(s)he would make'                 |
| Inferential:      | <i>wie-l'el-u-m</i>   | 'it turns out that (s)he has made' |
| Hypothetical:     | <i>wie- l'el-te-m</i> | '(s)he probably made'              |

Yukaghir operates with a morphological opposition between direct realis and inferential forms (*-l'el-*). The latter is used to express inference from hearsay or from indirect evidence (visible traces of the situation) and signals, that the situation has not been witnessed.

- (26) *taŋ me:me: naha: motlorqo-j-ben=ŋo:-l'el*  
 that bear very thin-ATTR-NR=COP-INFR(INTR:3SG)  
 'That bear was very thin [as can be seen from his traces].'

(Maslova 2003b: 222)

The situation in (27) is a little trickier:

- (27) [... ] *aji:-l'el-u-m, šar qoha-s'* [...]  
 shoot-INFR-0-TR:3 something burst-INTR:3sg  
 ... (then) he shot, something burst... [During a hunting trip, the speaker hears the sound of shot and infers that his fellow hunter (whom he cannot see at the time of situation) made a shot.]

According to Maslova this example works on two different levels. “This example is particularly interesting since the same piece of auditory sensory evidence (the speaker hears the shot) is conceived of as direct evidence (eyewitness) for one situation, but as the basis of inference (noneyewitness) for the other. The contrast is determined by the fact that the verb *qoha(j)*- ‘burst’ signifies a sound, i.e. a situation which can only be perceived by hearing, which is not the case for the situation of shooting. (Maslova 2003b: 223)

The hypothetical is a combination of the evidential marker (*-l'el-*) and the future marker (*-te-*) and expresses hypothesis with non-future temporal reference.

- (28) *law-je-bun'-ie-l'el-te-j-mut*  
 drink-NR-DESD-INGR-INFR-FUT-INTR-2pl  
 ‘You probably want to drink.’

The last form of combination of different mood markers, the inferential can be applied to imaginative and habitual/generic forms:

- (29) *lewej-meŋ ta-ŋudeŋ ū-j-uol-e-r at-am-uo-l'e-n'*  
 summer-TMP DST-DIR go-0-STAT-0-SS 1MG-good-STAT-INFR-INTR (3)  
 ‘(It turned out that) it would be good to go there in the summer.’

(both Maslova 2003a: 27)

Yukaghir does not permit other combinations of its TAM markers.

### 4.3. Evidentiality and epistemology

As mentioned earlier, evidentiality is linked to the concept of epistemology but that's also where common sense ends. The debate can be broken down quite easily into two quite fundamental positions which will be presented in this paragraph. The first one is maintained by Palmer (Palmer 2001), according to whom evidentiality must be linked to mood and modal systems. Palmer claims, that due to the explicit linking between evidentials and truth concepts, evidentials can't be distinguished from other moods as e.g. subjunctives, conditionals etc. The other viewpoint is held by typologically orientated linguists, who classify the function of evidentiality exclusively as a concept of information source marking without any obligatory interference with mood and modality systems.

#### 4.3.1. Evidentiality as a modal concept

According to Palmer, evidentiality has its special place in propositional modality which he groups as follows (Palmer 2001: 22)

Propositional modality

Epistemic

Speculative

Deductive

Assumptive

Evidential

Reported: Reported (2), Reported (3), Reported (Gen)

Sensory: Visual, non-Visual, Auditory

This is intermingled with Palmer's basic assumption, that "epistemic and evidential modality are concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition" (Palmer 2001: 24). Palmer has to admit, that it is often hard to draw a line between several extensions because they can be parts of both systems (see Palmer 2001: 28-29):

(30) John must be in his office now. (deductive)

(31) John will be in his office. (assumptive)

Still, deductives and assumptives can be part of the evidential system of a language, e.g. Tuyuca (a Tucano language of Colombia) which marks verbs for visual, auditory, inferential (32), reported and assumptive (33):

(32) *dúga apé-yi.*

soccer play+3SG+PAST-APP

'He played soccer' (I have evidence, perhaps distinctive shoe prints)

(33) *dúga apé-hiyi.*

soccer play+3SG+PAST-ASSUMP

'He played soccer' (It is reasonable to assume)

Palmer (29) denies the possibilities of mixed systems which may contain markers of both judgments and evidentials and continues: "It would be reasonable to say that Deductive and Assumptive can be seen as both judgments and evidentials in that the relevant judgments are based upon evidence – in the case of Tuyuca from visual evidence and from what is more generally known. As such these fit into systems that are primarily either epistemic or evidential." (Palmer 2001:29)<sup>61</sup>

The last point, in which Palmer's ideas get into great difficulties, is the role of declaratives and markedness (Palmer 2001: 64-68). "It is generally the case that in languages with epistemic modal systems, there is a form that is unmarked for modality, and which, notionally, simply makes an unqualified assertion. It can thus also be seen as Realis, while the modal forms are Irrealis" (64). Still, languages with a highly specialized evidential system have been reported to use the unmarked declaratives (the boy is eating) very seldom (e.g. Central Pomo, Tuyuca) but indeed mark every proposition according to its information source. Palmer tries to get rid of this of this dilemma by stating, that evidentials which are classified as reporting "general knowledge" are very close to declaratives (66). As the remaining chapter of Palmer's description fight with problems of a rather similar kind, essentially this point needs further research.

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<sup>61</sup> Recently Haspelmath (2003) has argued, that notions as primary and secondary functions should be abandoned. Instead the notion of 'semantic maps' and 'semantical networks' could help to solves such problems, because functions, that are clearly attributed to more than one member of a linguistic structure are hard to allocate in questions of primaryness and secondaryness. I warmly welcome this theoretical observation.

### 4.3.2. Evidentiality as an independent grammatical category

The opposite position to Palmer's idea of a modal basis for evidentials is represented mostly by typologically orientated linguists. Although the typological perspective offers a broader approach and may produce other results than Palmer, one still has to take the typological achievements with a grain of salt. First of all, although several conferences were organized and their proceedings have been published, there is surprisingly little material which addresses evidentiality in a special language in a more comprehensive way. One of these few exceptions<sup>62</sup> is Floyd's account on evidential categories in Wanka Quechua (Floyd 1999). Despite the publishing date 1999 it is based on Floyd's PhD from 1993 and this becomes obvious in his theoretical treatment of the problem, which does not represent the state of the art in 1998. Besides, Floyd's treatment of the subject from a cognitive point of view does not make it easier to use.

Although the progress in cross-linguistic comparison of evidential systems has led to the first typological generalizations already more than a century ago (Willet 1988), linguistic research in this particular area is still rather infantile and Aikhenvald's "Introduction" (Aikhenvald 2003) is definitely too optimistic. Still, the recent approaches show, that evidentiality seems to be more than just a sub-domain of epistemic modality (Givón 2001 I: 326-329; Aikhenvald 2003a: 1; 23-).

"The phenomenon of *evidentiality* overlaps to quite an extent with epistemic modality. Still, in many languages the two form distinct grammatical sub-systems. Rather than pertaining directly to subjective certainty, grammaticalized evidential systems code first and foremost the *source* of the evidence available to back up an assertion, and only then, implicitly, its *strength*. It is that implicit connection that, in turn, links evidentiality to subjective certainty."

(Givón 2001 I: 326)

Givón continues by showing, that evidentials need not be used in all four domains of epistemic modality; according to his re-definition of classical philosophical epistemology only realis assertion and negative assertion need additional supporting evidence, presupposition and irrealis assertion are outside the scope of evidentiality.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Besides works on Turkish and Turkic.

<sup>63</sup> Givón concludes, that if irrealis and grammaticalized evidentiality are expressed together the only possible interpretation can only mean epistemic certainty.

#### 4.4. Evidentiality vs. mediativity

This paragraph deals with terminological problems that have arisen in recent years. Whereas evidentiality is the default name in Anglophone linguistics, its look-alike in Francophone linguistics is called *médiatif* simply, because the French *évidence* means exactly the opposite in English - obviousness. Still, as demonstrated by Guentchéva et al (1996) and Lazard (1999), the problem is not just terminological but also conceptual. Evidentiality is concerned with the source of the information, mediativity “focuses on the special character of utterances mediated by references to the evidence, i.e. on distances between speakers and what they say” (Dendale & Tasmowski 2001: 341).

In demonstrating the effect of a mediative interpretation Lazard turns back to a well known Turkish example:

- (33) *kızınız çok iyi piyano çal-iyor-muş.*  
daughter-Px2PL very good piano play-PRES-MIR  
Your daughter plays the piano very well.

Wherever the inferential, hearsay or postterminal interpretation is not appropriate, this should be an instance of mediativity, which means that the event is acknowledged without specifying how it happened. By these means, abstract distance is introduced to the discourse which can not be achieved by using the unmarked form (Lazard 1998: 92-95). Still, this distinction is not yet made on a general level and whether mediativity will be accepted as a new concept remains open.

#### 4.5. Mirativity

Another concept which has been treated under evidentiality is *mirativity*. Mirativity, according to DeLancey (1997; 2001) is the marking of unexpected information with means of evidential categories. Although both categories are linked semantically rather tightly, there are conceptual reasons, why both categories should be kept apart. Actually, this is nothing really new, because the linguistic marking of surprise with evidential means has been documented earlier. A fair amount of DeLancey’s argumentation is actually based on earlier papers by Aksu-Koç & Slobin and unsurprisingly DeLancey (1997) starts his discussion with Turkish material. DeLancey’s interpretation of (33) stresses the fact, that this would be another form of the “unprepared mind” or as DeLancey prefers to call it as an instance of “new

knowledge.” Any form of newly acquired unanticipated knowledge is therefore no manifestation of evidentiality but a form of mirativity. In the concrete example (33) the speaker is prepared that the daughter plays the piano well, but the excellence surprises the estimations of the speaker which leads to this otherwise hard to interpret construction. A special problem addressed by DeLancey is the status of 1<sup>st</sup> persons in these systems, because evidentiality for 1<sup>st</sup> persons is harder to explain than a mirative function. There are contexts, where the lack of consciousness (unprepared mind) can not explain the usage of a 1<sup>st</sup> person, e.g. Hare (an Athabaskan language):

(34) *júhye sa k'ínayeda.*  
 hearabout bear walk.around.IMPF  
 ‘There was a bear walking around.’

(35) *júhye sa k'ínayeda lō*  
 ‘I see there was a bear walking around.’

(36) *heee, gúhde daweda! ch'ifi dach'ída lō.*  
 hey up.there sit guy sit mir-particle  
 ‘Heey, (he’s) sitting up there! The guy is sitting up there.’

Whereas in (35) the use of the sentence final particle *lō* could be explained as inferential, in (36) it is impossible and must be mirative.<sup>64</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> person problem is even more significant in Lhasa Tibetan, (37) and (38) demonstrate the use of the existential copulas *yod* and ‘*dug*’.

(37) *nga-r dngul tog=tsam yod.*  
 I-LOC money some exist  
 ‘I have some money.’ (e.g. I brought some with me) → prior knowledge

(38) *nga-r dngul tog=tsam ‘dug.*  
 I-LOC money some exist  
 ‘I have some money.’ (quite to my surprise)

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<sup>64</sup> *lō* can only be used as a mirative marker with imperfective aspect, its natural explanation with perfective verbs is evidential.

Still, this system has severe restrictions. The marking is restricted to first person in statements and two second person in direct questions. Second and third persons in statements, as well as first and third person in questions trigger the mirative form ‘*dug*’.

(39) *kho-r dngul tog=tsam ‘dug*  
he-DAT money some exist  
‘He has some money.’

(40) \**kho-r dngul tog=tsa yod*

The same phenomenon is also coded in verbal inflection but this leads far beyond the scope of this survey. Still, DeLancey’s ideas have not been unchallenged, Lazard’s article (1999) is meant as a direct comment to the whole idea of mirativity, which according to Lazard would be better explained in the framework of mediativity. Curnow (2000) instead points out, that the difference as seen in (39) and (40) need not be seen as grammaticalized mirativity and offers an explanation which contradicts DeLancey’s interpretation.<sup>65</sup>

## **4.6. Evidentiality from a typological perspective**

### **4.6.1. The first typological generalizations**

The typological research in evidentiality began in the 1980s. The first steps by Chung & Timberlake (1985: 244-246) have to be mentioned for the sake of completeness, though their impact was marginal. Also their proposal to call the phenomenon “epistemological mood” never became generally accepted. More serious attempts by Bybee (1985) Anderson (1986) and Willet (1988) improved the situation with several basic findings which still have not lost their importance. Bybee showed that evidentiality modifies the whole proposition and not only the verb itself. Further, this does not affect the situation in itself but only the speaker’s attitude (Bybee 1985: 22; 165-). Another important cross-linguistic finding is the fact that evidentials tend to be less-finite than other verbal categories<sup>66</sup> (Bybee 1985: 184).

Anderson, who interpreted all data from the articles in Chafe & Nichols 1986 draws the following conclusions (Anderson 1986: 274-275):

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<sup>65</sup> I do not fully understand the argumentation and I will not try to present it here.

<sup>66</sup> This result comes from a sample of 50 unrelated languages which is used in Bybee 1985.

- a) Evidentials show the kind of justification for a factual claim which is available to the person making that claim, whether
  - direct evidence plus observation (no inference needed)
  - evidence plus inference
  - inference (evidence unspecified)
  - reasoned expectations from logic or other facts
 and whether the evidence is auditory, or visual, etc.
- b) Evidentials are not themselves the main predication of the clause, but are rather a specification added to a factual claim ABOUT SOMETHING ELSE
- c) Evidentials have the indication of evidence as in a) as their primary meaning, not only as a pragmatic inference.
- d) Morphologically, evidentials are inflections, clitics, or other free syntactic elements (not compounds or derivational forms)

This leads him to several generalizations (277-278)

- a) Evidentials are normally used in assertions (realis clauses), not in irrealis clauses, nor in presuppositions.
- b) When the claimed fact is directly observable by both speaker and hearer, evidentials are rarely used or have a special emphatic or surprisal sense [nowadays called mirativity F.S.]
- c) When the speaker (first person) was a knowing participant in some event (voluntary agent; conscious experiencer), the knowledge of that event is normally direct and evidentials are then often omitted.
- d) [...]

Other aspects of Anderson's article treat questions of grammaticalizations and cognitivism, the first will be addressed a little later, the second is outside the scope of my thesis.

Willet's article, although concerned more with questions of grammaticalizations readdresses several findings of Anderson. Still, the most important part of his work is the first systematic hierarchical presentation of evidentiality, which has been rearranged only recently by Aikhenvald in 2003. This is Willet's presentation with slight graphic changes:

|                   |                          |                 |  |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--|
|                   |                          | → Visual        |  |
|                   | <b>Direct – Attested</b> | → Auditory      |  |
|                   |                          | → Other hearsay |  |
| Types of Evidence |                          |                 |  |
|                   |                          | → Second-hand   | (2 <sup>nd</sup> + 3 <sup>rd</sup> = both hearsay) |
|                   | <b>Reported</b>          | → Third-hand    |  |
|                   |                          | → Folklore      |  |
|                   | <b>Indirect</b>          |                 |  |
|                   | <b>Inferring</b>         | → Results       |  |
|                   |                          | → Reasoning     |  |

(Willet 1988: 57)

All three approaches (Anderson, Bybee, Willet) start from a similar prerequisite, which links evidentiality to modality. Whereas nowadays the modal component of evidentiality gets severely criticized, the evidential hierarchy presented by Willet is still valid. (See e.g. Givón 2001 I: 326-329).

#### 4.6.2. Evidentiality and grammatical dependencies

A significant turn in the study of evidentiality was its emancipation as an independent grammatical category during the last years.<sup>67</sup> This had several necessary readjustments in grammatical theory as well as demonstrated by Aikhenvald & Dixon in 1998. Whereas the dependencies perfect and non-perfects and case marking in several Iranian languages are known widely<sup>68</sup>, Aikhenvald & Dixon addressed the questions, whether there are any dependencies between evidentials and other categories. Most of their findings are preliminary<sup>69</sup> but offer interesting implications (69-71):

1. **Tense > evidentiality**: Some languages may have tenses and evidentiality as independent systems, with the full set of evidentiality choices made in each tense (e.g. Quechua). Jawara (a Samoan language) has an eyewitness/nonewitness distinction in past tenses only. Tuyuca has five evidential choices for past tense but only four in present tense (second-hand marking is impossible in present tense).

<sup>67</sup> This is a bit one-sided, because I have not followed the discussion outside typological linguistics.

<sup>68</sup> Non-perfects trigger nom-acc case marking, perfects trigger abs-erg case marking. A generally well known language in this discussion is Pashto.

<sup>69</sup> I will not rely on their argumentation which uses evidence from Permic languages because they are under investigation in my thesis.

2. **Evidentiality > {tense and aspect}**: Estonian uses four tenses in nonreported evidentiality (future/present, simple past, perfect, pluperfect) but *-vat* neutralizes the past tense distinction and can be used only in present and past tense.<sup>70</sup> A similar phenomenon is reported for Bulgarian.
3. **Evidentiality > {person and number}**: evidentials are less-finite, Aikhenvald & Dixon present evidence from Estonian again: *-vat* can't be marked for person as its nonevidential counterparts.

Aikhenvald & Dixon's dependencies **{Tense and evidentiality} > person** and **{Polarity, tense and evidentiality} > {person and number}** are based solely on Permic evidence from OFUJ and will not be dealt with here.

#### 4.6.3. The latest classification – Aikhenvald 2003

The ideas represented in Aikhenvald & Dixon 1998 have been elaborated in Aikhenvald 2003. The overall morphosyntactic starting point is as this: "Evidentiality may be independent of clause type, modality or tense-aspect choice. Alternately, evidentiality may be fused with a tense-aspect marker; or a choice made in the evidentiality system may depend on tense, aspect, or clause type. Evidentials may acquire specific uses in discourse as a means of backgrounding or foregrounding information; the ways in which evidentials are employed may correlate with narrative genres." (Aikhenvald 2003: 2)

In the course of her "Introduction", Aikhenvald proposes a new organization of evidentiality systems (3-6) which splits up in two broader types called type (I) and type (II). Type I does not specify the source of information, which means that it was obtained indirectly. As Aikhenvald notes, this coincides with Johanson's term indirectivity and is said to be a characteristic feature of Turkic, a number of Iranian and Finno-Ugric languages.<sup>71</sup> Languages of the type (II) fall into several subtypes, which depend on the

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<sup>70</sup> Slightly reformulated.

<sup>71</sup> This is a very lousy statement by Aikhenvald because she addresses more Uralic languages in the run. The laymen gets an opinion that seemingly most other Uralic languages have a grammaticalized form of evidentiality. To my best knowledge, Finnish, Votic, Veps, Karelian, Lydian, Sami, Mordva and Hungarian do not have grammaticalized evidentials – those languages in question here are Mari, Udmurt and Komi. This should be mentioned explicitly but remains undone.

specified number and kinds of sources. These again are subdivided by Aikhenvald in following subtypes:

#### **A1. EYEWITNESS AND NOTEYEWITNESS**

Mostly encountered in past tenses, this is said to be the case in e.g. Yukaghir, Godoberi (North-east Caucasian), Jarawara (Andamese – India)

#### **A2. NONFIRSTHAND AND EVERYTHING ELSE**

According to Aikhenvald nonfirsthand covers inference based on visible traces and reported information. (e.g. Abkhaz – Caucasus, Ob-Ugric, Nenets, Enets and Selkup)

#### **A3. REPORTED (OR ‘HEARSAY’) AND EVERYTHING ELSE**

This is said to be the most widespread system in cross-linguistic perspective. There, the reported term is marked whereas the non-reported (‘everything else’) is not marked. Besides several South-American languages and Lezgian (Caucasus) also Estonian and Livonian are supposed to belong to this group.

Because the more sophisticated systems are of lesser importance for the thesis, they will be mentioned by name only.

Three terms systems:

**B1. VISUAL (OR DIRECT), INFERRED, REPORTED**

**B2. VISUAL, NONVISUAL SENSORY, INFERRED**

**B3. NONVISUAL, SENSORY, INFERRED, REPORTED**

Four terms systems:

**C1. VISUAL (OR DIRECT), NONVISUAL SENSORY, INFERRED, REPORTED**

**C2. VISUAL, INFERRED (1), INFERRED (2), REPORTED**

**C3. NONVISUAL SENSORY, INFERRED (1), INFERRED (2), REPORTED**

**C4. VISUAL, INFERRED, REPORTED (1), REPORTED (2)**

Two points in Aikhenvald need to be mentioned which turn out to be useful. The first notion is Aikhenvald’s conception of functional markedness. This problem was already brought about by Palmer in his discussion of markedness. Whereas the classical concept

of markedness fails in those languages which mark all statements according to the source of information (Palmer's interpretation of "general knowledge" as an instance of unmarkedness), Aikhenvald proposes a concept of functional unmarkedness, which albeit the formal marking can be considered to be unmarked. (7)

The second notion worth to mention is her idea of "evidential strategies." Compare the following Estonian (1a) (1b) and Finnish examples (1b):

(1a) *Sul pidi olema palju raha*  
'You are said to have a lot of money'

This evidential strategy (the questioner relies on someone else's information) is perfectly correct and can be used to replace the proper evidential *-vat*:

(1b) *Sul olevat palju raha*  
'You are said to have a lot of money'

Both constructions are not homonymous; the modal shading in (1a) seems to be stronger than in (1b).

In contrast, Finnish has no grammaticalized evidential but nevertheless it has a evidential strategy:

(2) *Hän on kuulema rikas*  
'He is said to be rich' (lit. to be heard)

#### **4.7. How evidentials grammaticalize**

Already in Anderson and Willets articles (Anderson 1986; Willet 1988) the question of grammaticalization of evidentials has been addressed. Much of their findings have been corrected or improved and here is not the right place to present all the arguments – especially when two contemporary hot topics such as evidentiality and grammaticalization would be combined.<sup>72</sup> Several different patterns have been encountered which have occurred in different parts of the world:

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<sup>72</sup> For a survey of grammaticalization the reader is referred to the relevant literature.

#### **4.7.1. Grammaticalization of verbs of speech or perception**

Three examples (all Willet 1988:79) demonstrate the origin of evidential markers from verbs of speech or perception. Wintu (Penutian – California) marks non-visual evidentials with *-nthEr* which derives from proto-Wintun *\*mut-* ‘hear, sense, feel’ plus *\*-hEr* passive.

The Makah (Wakashan – Washington, USA) non-visual evidential *--qʔad* comes from a verb-like formative suffix description of noises. For reported evidence (third-hand), Makah uses *-waad* which derives from *waa* ‘say’ plus the passive suffix *-ʔit*.

#### **4.7.2. Loan**

Wanka Quechua has three different evidentials (*-mi* ‘direct’, *-shi* ‘reportative’ and *-chri* ‘inference’. Still, only *-mi* seems to be an autochthonous development, both ‘reportative’ and ‘inference’ markers are said to be loaned from the neighboring language Aymara. (Floyd 1999: 37-39)

#### **4.7.3. From perfects to evidentials**

This is the most usual development which has been described frequently. Perfects and evidentials share a semantic parallel which makes the development transparent. A perfect presents the result of a past action. “This meaning is very close to the evidential meaning of an inference from results, which indicates that a past action is known or inferred on the basis of a current state.” (Bybee et al 1994: 96)

That’s why so many languages in Eurasia use (historical) perfect participles as evidentials whether we speak of proper evidentials or just of extensional meanings which are attached on perfect participles (Turkic, Komi, Udmurt, Armenian, some Iranian languages and several Caucasian languages). This development finds confirmation from the fact, that evidentials are cross-linguistically less-finite categories in verbal inflection.

## 5. THE PERFECT AND RELATED SENSES

### 5.1. Introductory remarks

In contrast to evidentiality, the study of T-A-M systems has a long history and that's why this overview must be restricted. This survey will be limited to publications of the last decades (Dahl 1985; Nedjalkov 1988<sup>73</sup>; Bybee et al 1994, Lindstedt 2000) but one should not forget e.g. Jespersen's "Philosophy of grammar" or the works of Reichenbach and Vendler which have not lost their importance.

The study of the perfect has been approached from several angles, but none of the three publications (Dahl 1985; Nedjalkov (ed) 1988; Bybee et al (1994), has dealt exclusively with the perfect. The articles in Nedjalkov (ed 1988) focuses on statives, resultatives and passives which clearly interact with the perfect. Dahl (1985) addresses the perfect on 34 pages ("The perfect (PFCT) and its relatives" 129-163), Bybee et al (1994) do the same on 54 pages ("Anterior, Perfect, and Related Senses" 51-105). From a methodological point of view, all three approaches differ from each other. The articles in Nedjalkov 1988 are based on Nedjalkov & Jaxontov's questionnaire (1988: 57-62), on material from fieldwork and on analyze of grammars and earlier articles. Dahl's approach relies exclusively on questionnaires (Dahl 1985: chapter 2; 198-206), Bybee et al (1994) approach the problem exclusively from grammatical descriptions. The uniting fact is that all approaches are based on a semantic definition of the perfect.

### 5.2. The perfect as a cross-linguistic valid category

One of one of the major contributions of Dahl 1985 is the finding of a cross-linguistic valid definition for the category perfect (129-163). Although not all languages have a perfect, it is still a widely spread category.<sup>74</sup> The majority of the languages in Dahl's sample mark perfects periphrastically with an auxiliary and a past participle or "with a similar verbal form" (Dahl 1985: 129).

### 5.3. Perfect vs. anterior

Bybee et al (1994) do not operate with *perfect* but with *anterior*s. "Anterior" (or "perfects," as they are often called) differ from completives in being relational: an anterior signals that the situation occurs prior to reference time and is relevant to the

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<sup>73</sup> I hereby refer to the English version "Typology of Resultative Constructions". The English version is revised and enlarged and differs from the Russian version "Tipologija rezul'tativnykh konstruksii" Leningrad: Nauka. 1983.

<sup>74</sup> For statistical data see Dahl 1985: 129-130.

situation at reference time. Anteriors are typically translated with the English Perfect and often accompanied by the relational adverbs ‘already’ and ‘just’. Anteriors may occur with past or with future tense marking.” Bybee et al (1994: 54)

The usage of anterior instead of perfect is explained as a purely terminological choice. According to Bybee et al (1994: 55) this would avoid any misunderstanding between *perfect* and *perfective* which could be held apart better when using anterior instead.<sup>75</sup>

#### **5.4. Cross-linguistic PERFECT vs. language individual perfects**

The current common-sense definition of the PERFECT prototype according to Lindstedt (2000: 366) involves the following points:

- 1) A past situation must be of relevance from a present point of view.
- 2) The perfect must be detached from other past facts, i.e. non-narrativity.

The second point has a severe implication, which helps to differentiate the gram PERFECT from the category perfect as it has been used in normative grammar. That means, the perfect in Latin or Serbo-Croatian grammars is not a valid PERFECT, because it can be used as a narrative tense. Based on this distinction, the Latin perfect is a perfective past tense, and the Serbo-Croatian perfect must be classified as a general past tense (=preterite).

This rather loose framework of the present relevance can be subdivided in several related notions, which have been discussed comprehensively in Nedjalkov (1988).

#### **5.5. Resultative constructions**

The finding, that perfects and resultatives are not synonymous categories has been overlooked for long years and that is the merit of Nedjalkov (1988) to demonstrate the need to distinguish between them. The importance of this finding is demonstrated by the fact, that this monograph has been revised, translated into English and published in Holland – a fact that has not happened often during the period of the cold war.

The basic definition of resultative constructions needs a more extensive presentation and it will be introduced more detailed. The following description is based entirely on Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988.

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<sup>75</sup> In all publications one can encounter the warning that perfect and perfective are not to be mixed. This warning seems to be of no relevance for Uralic linguistics where both notions have been kept separated.

### 5.5.1. Defining the semantic primitives

The basic types of predicated properties, irrespective of their formal encoding in the languages of the world are:

- Actions (e.g., ‘*to build*’, ‘*to break*’)
- States (e.g., ‘*to stand*’, ‘*to be broken*’)
- Qualities (e.g., ‘*to be long*’, ‘*to be kind*’)

Actions (and states) are characterized by change in time whereas state and quality are of a stable unchangeable nature. The basic difference between state and quality are, that states are not permanent features of an object (thing or person) or its invariable distinctive characteristics because it has a beginning, and it can end, too. Actions differ from states, because they need an input of energy; quality is not absolute because it can possess different degrees. Interactions between these types are possible and predicates can belong to more than one class (and could also not fall into any of them).

### 5.5.2. More on states

States can be subcategorized into natural (or primary) and secondary states. Natural states (‘*to lie*’, ‘*to understand*’) come into being by itself, with or without the help of an agent. In contrast, secondary states are results of actions and activities, and they are expressed by derived forms. Primary states are neutral to coding.

Another subcategorized of states into temporary (e.g. ‘*to sleep*’), stable (e.g. ‘*to know*’) and irreversible states (e.g. ‘*to be ripe*’) is also possible. Temporary states may be acquired repeatedly. They are physical states, which may be discontinued at will or through interference (e.g. if a sleeping person is woken). Also stable states may come to an end (‘*he knew it, but forgot*’) but they are usually terminated after a certain period of time. Stable states are usually two-actant states (typically emotional, e.g. ‘*to love*’, ‘*to be afraid of*’) and can be intensified (‘*to love very much*’). Irreversible states, always result from action or process, and can not be reversed. They are typically expressed by derived forms, such as participles or deverbal adjectives.

### 5.5.3 Terminative and durative verbs vs stative and lexical statives

Terminative verbs (e.g. ‘*to sit down*’, ‘*to fall*’) denote transition from one state to another. Also verbs that denote purposeful actions which cannot continue after the purpose is achieved (e.g. ‘*to peel a potato*’) are terminative. Verbs are durative (non-terminative) if they do not imply a definite purpose (e.g. ‘*to sing*’, ‘*to look*’), or express

a state (e.g. 'to sit', 'to know'). The terminative/durative nature of verbs does not necessarily correlate with aspect, besides resultatives are usually derived from terminative verbs.

Stative verbs can be formed by grammatical means (grammatical verb forms, derived verbs) but also lexically, e.g. verbs (e.g. *to sit*), adjectives (e.g. 'afraid', 'aware'). Nedjalkov & Jaxontov restricted themselves only to non-lexical statives.

#### 5.5.4. Statives and resultatives

Statives express a state of a thing without any implication of its origin; resultatives express both a state and the preceding action it has resulted from. That's why statives may denote natural, primary states which do not result from previous events and (1a) can be replaced by (1b)

(1a) *Na stene visjat kartina*  
On wall hangs picture  
'There hangs a picture on the wall'

(1b) *Na stene povešena kartina*  
On wall hung-PAST PART-PASS picture  
'A picture is hung on the wall'

But in (1c) the verb *visjat* 'hang (are hanging)' cannot be replaced by the short-form (predicative) past passive participle.

(1c) *Na vetkax visjat jabloki*  
On branches hang apples  
'There are apples hanging on branches'

In the following example, there is a past participle denoting a stative meaning, because there is there no previous event:

(2) *The village is surrounded by woods.*

Summing up, the lexical stative in (1a) does not indicate whether there has been any previous action or not, (1b) expresses a state that has resulted from the previous action of hanging up the picture. (2) is stative, because there it is not a result of a previous action.<sup>76</sup>

In the end of their basic introductory survey, Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 7) add, that it is not always possible to distinguish between resultatives and statives. Both share a number of important properties and many claims about the resultative are valid for statives, too. Therefore their use of *resultative* involves both notions.

### 5.5.5. Diathesis types of resultatives

According to Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 8) the following diathesis types can be distinguished. Types 1-3 are presented separately because they have a higher frequency than 4-6.

- 1) the subjective resultative
- 2) the objective resultative
- 3) the possessive resultative
- 4) the oblique-objective resultative
- 5) the subjective-impersonal resultative
- 6) the objective-impersonal resultative

#### 5.5.5.1. Subjective and objective resultative

The following examples demonstrate the notion of subjective (3) and objective (4) resultatives:

- (3) *John's eyes have inflamed* → *John's eyes are inflamed*  
(4) *John has opened the door* → *The door is opened*

In general, the underlying subject of the state is co-referential with either the underlying subject or the object of the previous action. In (3) the underlying subject of the state is co-referential with the subject of the preceding action, in (4) it is the same with respect

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<sup>76</sup> The basic definitions proposed by Nedjalkov & Jaxontov are fairly coherent but when integrating textlinguistical contexts and leaving the syntactical framework behind, the situation becomes fuzzy. This will be demonstrated in the practical part of the work.

to the object. Subjective resultatives are usually derived from intransitive verbs, objective resultatives from transitive verbs.

#### 5.5.5.2. Possessive resultative

This form is a little harder to grasp. “A resultative form may be derived from a transitive verb and have a subjective diathesis if the underlying object of the previous action refers to a body part or possession of the underlying subject or to something in immediate contact with the latter. In these cases the result of the action affects the underlying subject rather than the immediate patient of the action. This variety of the resultative is termed here the possessive resultative.” (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 9)

The following examples are not recognized in standard written Russian, but have their place in dialects and in colloquial usage, the suffix *-ši/-vši* is attached to the past gerund.

(5a) *On nadel šapku*  
He put-on hat  
‘He has put on a hat’

(5b) *On (byl) nade-vši šapku*  
He (was) put-on-GER hat  
‘He has put on a hat’

#### 5.5.6. Interaction between perfect, resultative and passive

As seen in example (4) the categories can but need not interfere with other grammatical categories. In example (4) the object resultative is expressed with a passive form. There are also other combinations possible, e.g. resultative and perfect are expressed in one form, resultatives exist but a perfect is missing etc. The interaction between different categories and their theoretical underpinnings are part of the discussion in both Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988 (37-49) and the monograph Nedjalkov (ed) 1998. Leinonen (2001) and Leinonen & Vilkuna (2001) have also used Nedjalkov & Jaxontov’s criteria.

## 5.6. Some selected paths of perfect grammaticalization

This question has been addressed in both Dahl 1985 and Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988 but only to a minor degree. These questions are addressed comprehensively in Bybee et al (1994) and their monograph represents the state of the art. I do not see the need to present all possible forms of perfect grammaticalizations and/or their further developments. For this I refer to the third chapter of Bybee et al. Only those findings which shed light on the problems addressed in this thesis will be presented now.

### 5.6.1. Young vs. old anteriors

As already mentioned in chapter 1, Bybee et al (1994) use Udmurt in their sample. So far, I have kept Permic languages outside the theoretical part of my work but in this point, which is also the last major point before I will proceed with an analysis of my data, I will make an exception. The point of departure is the discussion of old anteriors vs. young anteriors (Bybee et al 1994: 78- ). According to Bybee et al, the Romance and Germanic grams which have an attested function of anteriority are of rather recent origin and have developed out of resultative constructions (68-69). These anteriors are called young anteriors and their development could be followed due to the attested long history of these languages. In contrast, old anteriors “represent an intermediate stage between pure anterior and past or perfective. These grams have anterior as a use but also have other uses suggestive of more grammaticized meanings” (78). According to Bybee et al, the Udmurt 2<sup>nd</sup> past is an old anterior. The following table presents Bybee et al’s claim that bound anteriors are older.

Table 39. Percentages of Young and Old Anteriors Written Bound

|                      | $\Sigma$ languages in sample | Written Free | $\Sigma$ languages in sample | Written Bound |
|----------------------|------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| Young anteriors      | 38                           | 69%          | 17                           | 31%           |
| <b>Old anteriors</b> | 11                           | 37%          | 19                           | <b>63%</b>    |
| Perfectives          | 7                            | 23%          | 24                           | 78%           |
| Pasts                | 5                            | 19%          | 21                           | 81            |

(Bybee et al 1994: 81 slightly modified)

### **5.6.2. Old anteriors and evidentiality**

In the sample of languages having old anteriors, Inuit and Udmurt use an anterior as means of expressing evidentiality. Probably Margi, a Chadic language of Nigeria and Baluchi, an Indo-Iranian language of Pakistan express evidentiality with an anterior. In all four cases, the anterior is bound.

### **5.6.3. From anteriors to evidentials**

The last important path of grammaticalization has been mentioned already under 3.9. Whereas the argumentation is sound, Bybee et al conducted a major mistake in their argumentation. “The development of resultatives or anteriors into evidentials of indirect evidence is well known in Turkish, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Georgian and it is sometimes regarded as an areal phenomenon [...]. However, the same developments also occur in other parts of the world, as in Tibetan languages [...]. In our sample, we have evidence for this development in three languages which lie outside the proposed “area”: Udmurt (west-central Russia), Inuit (Greenland), and Tucano (Columbia). (95)

As a matter of fact, which already has been mentioned under 3.9., Udmurt does not lie outside the proposed area but rather in the middle!

### **5.7. Closing remarks – perfects, anteriors and evidentiality or why noneyewitnessed is not always a case of evidentiality**

In relevant literature there is an abundance of examples for perfects and noneyewitnessness which necessarily must not be interpreted as manifestations of evidentiality for instance in Sanskrit: “According to the Hindu grammarians, the perfect is used in narration of facts not witnessed by the narrator; but there is no evidence of its being either exclusively or distinctively so employed at any period.” (Whitney 1964 § 821)

Also the Swedish perfect has an inferential usage. Example (6) is an evergreen and can be encountered in almost all major publications from the last decades (here cited from Lindstedt 2000: 376). Here the inferential perfect is used while investigating a burglary where footprints beneath a window are visible:

(6) *Tjuven har kommit in genom det här fönstret.*

Thief-DEF have-PRES come-SUP in through DET.NT here window-DEF.NT

The thief entered the house by this window / The thief must have entered the house by this window.

According to Lindstedt (2000: 376) this usage is possible in standard Finnish, (analytic perfect) and Estonian uses the analytic past tense in this context, too.<sup>77</sup> Summing it up, nobody would attest a grammatical category of evidentiality in Swedish or Sanskrit which is based on the secondary reading of the perfect which can be used to express inferentiality. The problem of the Permic languages is actually not that far away from this point. In a different context, Lazard has criticized several shortcomings of grammaticalization theory of evidentials. Lazard, too, warns of too eager evidential reinterpretations of perfects in Eastern Armenian, Georgian and Zyrian Komi. “These languages cannot be said to possess a grammatical category of evidential or meditative, since there is no *signifiant* whose specific *signifié* would be a reference to evidence. The evidential meaning is only one of the possible meanings of the perfect, a verbal inflection which has also other uses.” (Lazard 1999: 98)

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<sup>77</sup> The Estonian *-vat* is not possible, because it is no 2<sup>nd</sup> hand information but personally perceived evidence.

## **6. THE 2<sup>ND</sup> PAST IN KOMI AND UDMURT**

### **6.1. General remarks**

#### **6.1.1. Texts between TEXT and DISCOURSE**

For a better understanding of the following practical part, several theoretical problems must be mentioned. In several points the used material is located in a linguistic “no-man’s-land”, between text linguistics and discourse analysis. Although most of the texts should be classified as colloquial speech, its peculiarities (pauses, intonation, fillers etc) have not been marked in the texts. Yet, it is not justified to approach both, neither Uotila’s, Munkácsi’s nor the texts presented in Kel’makov & Saarinen 1994 from a text linguistic point of view. The language of the texts is clearly less complex than written standard Komi or Udmurt. Besides without the slightest doubts, the informants have not thought about the fact that their narratives would become published and therefore the encountered texts are stylistically rather simple. As already mentioned under 1.2. some of the texts in Munkácsi (1952) have been clearly rearranged and this surely estranges them from their original composition. Still, the majority should represent a more or less original state. The results of these rather superficial observations are more complicated than it is possible to address in this framework. The fact, that it is not always possible to define the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in its own context (=in one sentence), the necessary background must be taken into consideration as well. Unfortunately the background needs not to be present in the same sentence and this introduces a text linguistic component into the analysis.

#### **6.1.2. Distribution of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in different genres**

The fact, that the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is more frequent in Udmurt than its equivalent in Komi has been stated by Wiedemann (“Der Gebrauch des Nomens auf *-m* für das Präteritum ist auch ein doppelter, ebenfalls im Wotjakischen viel ausgebreiteter als im Syrjänischen.” 1885: 165) and at least since Serebrennikov (1960), the dependencies between different genres and the frequency of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past have been known.<sup>78</sup> Still, these dependencies should be seen as tendencies not as laws and text modality (true vs. less true) does not collide with the use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The relative frequency is higher in Udmurt than in Komi, but except the usage in traditional narratives where Udmurt uses the 2<sup>nd</sup> past with a higher frequency than Komi (almost as a default) the distribution in other genres is

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<sup>78</sup> Supposably even earlier but I have no evidence for this.

clearly not corresponding to the question of truth content. This general finding supports the pragmatic approach according to which evidentiality is a means of information source marking and not primarily connected to modal concepts of truth – in case if the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is not used as a perfect-like category.

The analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past for both varieties of Komi follows the order of Uotila's texts in "Syrjänische Texte" and starts with Permjak Komi.<sup>79</sup>

## 6.2. Function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permjak Komi

### 6.2.1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past as framing

When operating on a textual level, the Permjak 2<sup>nd</sup> past has two major functions. First, it can be used to frame a whole text/event. This function is mainly used in traditional narratives; here the opening lines in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past create a framework of distance. This is a popular stylistic means which can be encountered in both Komi and Udmurt; still, this framing is less productive in both Komi varieties. (1) and (2) are typical starts for a Permjak traditional narrative but nevertheless I have encountered several traditional narratives, where not a single 2<sup>nd</sup> past could be encountered, although one would await its use, an example is given in (3):

- (1) *kor-ke sluzitl<sup>ě</sup>maš' salda-ttez po dvatsak' pjağ\_geden. i etik sluzitem dvatsak' pjağ\_godo-v. i sija sluzitem baraba-ńšikijn i le dž<sup>ě</sup>maš' siję gortas.*

Einst dienten alle Soldaten fünfundzwanzig Jahre. Einer hat fünfundzwanzig Jahre gedient. Er diente als Trommler, und er wurde nach Hause entlassen. [NP 12; 14]

- (2) *ker-ke ovem d'ere-vñajñ krešt'a-nin, bed'ñak. sijven inka kuvema. kol't'š<sup>ě</sup>em nivyka basek. a d'ere-vñaas ovema dova-nivyket. no sija nivykais vevema ñe--basek. mužik getra-š<sup>ě</sup>em i bošt<sup>ě</sup>ema etę deva-sę. i nivykas mužikviš' pondem umel'a vid'žni. aššis nivyę verde jeven i smetanaen.*

Einmal lebte in einem Dorf ein armer Bauer. Seine Frau war gestorben. Zurück blieb ein schönes Mädchen. Und im Dorf wohnte eine Witwe mit (ihrer) Tochter. Aber dieses Mädchen war nicht schön. Der Mann heiratete und nahm diese Witwe (zur Frau). (Die Frau) begann für die Tochter des Mannes schlecht zu sorgen. Ihr eigenen Tochter verpflegt sie mit Milch und saurer Sahne [...]. [PS 150; 258]

<sup>79</sup> An appendix how to find the texts in the original text volumes is given in the end of the thesis.

- (3) *d'ere-ńajń ovis muž-ik. siven inka kuvis. kol't't'šisε t'šel'at' \_kįka, zonka i nivka.*

In einem Dorf wohnte ein Mann. Seine Frau starb. Die Kinder blieben zu zweit zurück, ein Junge und ein Mädchen. [SP 149;256]

Probably the most decisive difference between the Komi varieties and Udmurt is the strategy how to continue after an opening framing. Usually the Komi varieties continue in historical present tense (sometimes even future) or in 1<sup>st</sup> past. This change is usually explained as a stylistic means for introducing closeness to the plot.

- (4) *kor-kε velemaš stari-g\_da staru-ka. nįlen šoini nem abu velem. stari-k munas verε. oš kuilε kolo-da bokįn.*

Es waren einmal ein alter Mann und eine alte Frau. Sie hatten nichts zu essen. Der Alte geht in den Wald. Ein Bär liegt neben einem Klotz. [NP 14;26]

In this concrete example, the verbs after the break are in the future tense ('to go') and in historical present tense ('to lie').

In my Permjak data base, I have encountered only three traditional narratives, which are narrated completely in 2<sup>nd</sup> past [SP 61; SP 62; SP 63]. I do not wish to draw sound conclusions, because all texts come from the same informant. The relative small amount of Permjak texts and this isolate phenomenon seems to point into the direction, that this usage is rather untypical.

Summing up the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past on this level leaves no other possibility than to classify the usage as 3<sup>rd</sup> hand/folklore in the framework of Willet (1988). The temporal-deictic function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in this context is rather weak, because the event could have happened anytime, hypothetically also at the present moment. The distance, which is introduced when using the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in this context, should therefore be seen as its primary function and especially in this case, the boundaries between temporality and modality become very fuzzy. In any case, according to the present common-sense definition of the category PERFECT this usage can't be classified within this context.

### 6.2.2. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past – evidential or perfect?

The second function uses the 2<sup>nd</sup> past differs from the above presented usage. The second function has its clear semantic connection with the temporal-deictic use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. Besides it has the well known evidential extension, too. It is used in the context, when a past action/situation has an implication for the present situation and in this question we come closer to the category perfect and/or evidential. This means, that this usage can only be found in smaller units of a text and will be under further investigation. First I will present those cases, where the interpretation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in my Permjak database is compelling evidential.

#### 6.2.2.1. The inferential usage

Almost a prototypical case of inferentiality can be encountered in the following short Southern Permjak narration. The narration reports the quarrel between the narrator and several boys from the neighboring village. As long as the narrator reports his own involvement, he uses the 1<sup>st</sup> past (here underlined). After his uncle hid him in his cellar, the narrator uses the 2<sup>nd</sup> past (bold) and reports what he infers what the boys were doing in this situation (while hiding in the cellar, he can not eyewitness the situation). The most interesting point in this discussion is the fact, that his inferential interpretation is ended with the 1<sup>st</sup> past *no ez ad'd'že* ('to see' 1<sup>st</sup> past NEG-3PI) 'but did not see me.' The narrator himself notices that his pursuers have not found him and changes into 1<sup>st</sup> where, the default past gets a perfect interpretation.

- (5) *i pondi bai-t't'sinj nivykaesket. i sija d'ere-vhaiš zonkaez pondisε meng vartvinj. i d'ad'a meng **mèzdis**, nuētis gortas i d'žebis džodž-u<sup>v</sup>ε. i zonkaez bjtsen meng **koššemaš**, **mēdemaš** purttežen vunda-vnj, no ez ad'd'že. d'ad'aε vorota **pēdnavema**. i d'ad'a zonkaesε **bēbē-tem**, što "s a n k o munis gortas".*

Ich begann mit den Mädchen zu plaudern. Die Burschen dieses Dorfes begannen mich zu verprügeln. Der Onkel machte ich los (aus der Rauferei) und brachte mich zu sich nach Hause und versteckte mich im Keller. Alle Burschen suchten mich, wollten mich mit den Messern stechen (eigentlich schneiden), aber sie fanden mich nicht. Mein Onkel verschloss das Tor. Der Onkel führte die Burschen an, (er sagte) dass "Sanko nach Hause gegangen ist." [PS 185; 295]

The next example (6) is part of a traditional narrative. In the course of the narrative, the narrator switches his perspective and speaks for the main character. This change in perspective introduces also a change in tempus choice. The main character finds a carcass of a wolf on his way home. Because the carcass is still warm, the main character infers (in 2<sup>nd</sup> past) that he can't be dead for long:

(6) *mǐžj·k t'šet t'sas dod'd'ís, boštas rut's kijas, šu<sup>v</sup>ε: "he važen ku<sup>v</sup>ema, išš<sup>ε</sup> šonjt"*

Der Mann steigt vom Schlitten, nimmt den Fuchs in die Hand und sagt: „Der ist vor kurzem gestorben, er ist noch warm. [PS 94; 196]

In example (7) when interpreted as a whole, the inferential usage seems to be the most plausible interpretation. This is part of a traditional narrative, where a returning soldier plays the major role. On his way home, he asks for night shelter and enters the house of a rather unfriendly family. He sits down and sees an owl walking over the floor:

(7) *bordj's t'šegem. a sijε kež'a·jinj's vijema.*

Sein Flügel war gebrochen. Und der Hausherr hat ihn geschlagen. [NP 15; 26]

Still, this interpretation holds only when integrating both sentences into the analysis. The first sentence consists of a possessive resultive (see 5.5.5.2.) and it's only the second sentence which explains, how the state (broken wing) has evolved. The context of the unfriendly family helps to infer, that the host must have beaten the owl.

#### 6.2.2.2. The mirative usage

In the Permjak database, clear examples for miratives were hard to find. The following example is the only one, where a mirative interpretation is the most likely. It comes from another traditional narrative which is rather untypical, because it is narrated almost completely in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The conversational parts, too, are highly untypical, because the narrator uses the evidential particle *pe* in almost every sentence of direct speech of the main characters. Still there is one form, where the mirative interpretation is appropriate. The twelve thieves come back home and find that their house has been cleaned, the oven is fired and dinner has been prepared. They start to talk to each other:

(8) “*k'in-ke-pe k'er-kuas vevem*“

Jemand ist im Haus gewesen. [PS 63; 136]

An inferential interpretation could be possible as well, but the fact that the situation has been encountered rather unexpectedly favors a mirative interpretation.

In (9), the explanation could be inferential or mirative. I prefer a mirative interpretation but this case is open for further discussion. The traditional narrative tells the fate of two children, who ended up in the house of an old woman in the woods. The children are treated well, but suddenly the old woman decides to roast the boy in the oven. The girl pushes the old woman in the oven and the witch burns alive.

(9) *eta staru-ka vevem vovše-bñi(tsa).*

Die Alte war eine Hexe. [PS 149; 258]

The mirative usage of the copula here operates with the idea that the kids were not aware, that the old lady might be a witch. It is a surprising fact that the nice old lady who treated them so well suddenly turned out to be evil. The inferential interpretation operates with the presupposed knowledge that the children already knew, that this nice old lady might be a witch and the use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is then a means of inference – it turned out that the old lady was a witch, because she behaved like a witch. Both interpretations are open, though I prefer the mirative interpretation.

### 6.2.2.3. The hearsay usage

This is the category, which imposes the most difficult problems in the interpretation. In case of folklore the situation is clear. In narratives with a higher personal involvement the situation is fuzzy and the borderline between perfect and evidential is hard to draw. Another fact has already been mentioned by Leinonen but unfortunately she did not pay any further attention to the question how transitivity and evidentiality are mixed. Leinonen states: “Although 2<sup>nd</sup> past forms are formed from any verb, there seem to be certain semantically conditioned factors influencing the interpretations. 2<sup>nd</sup> past forms of telic (terminative) verbs with resultative meaning do not always receive evidential interpretations, in which case they could be called simple resultatives” (Leinonen 2000: 423). This problem plays a more important role than one believes, because as correctly

stated by Leinonen almost every 2<sup>nd</sup> past could be interpreted evidential (424). I wish to demonstrate this with the following two examples. In example (10) it is clear from the context that the narrator has not witnessed the action himself. The whole event most likely has happened; a man lost his horse and finds it killed by a bear. He erects a trap at this place and hopes to kill the bear. The whole story (the narrator has not seen it himself) is reported in historical present/future tense besides this small part. After having spent some days at home, the main character returns to the trap:

(10) *piša-l'jś ošsε **lijem**. ošjś **višsem**.*

Die Flinte hat den Bären erschossen. Der Bär ist tot. [NP 49; 118]

SOV in the first sentence has no implications; otherwise this example is very similar to the example in (7), only the order of the sentences is the other way round. The event has happened in the past and is noneyewitnessed, that's why this should be a case of hearsay.

The next incident has most likely happened but the narrator has not seen it himself. It is a story about three girls who came to attend a party in the neighboring village. The narrator knows that after the girls have crossed the creek, the dam was opened and when the girls tried to cross the same creek in the evening they tumbled and drowned. The plot of the story is until this moment narrated in 1<sup>st</sup> past. The last sentence of this narration, which describes the states of the corpses after they were found, is presented in 2<sup>nd</sup> past:

(11) *nijε koššisε kjk vun vaiš. si berjn tol'ko ad'd'žisε. εd'd'e-n voemaš' **noštemeš**,  
bides **piktemeš**.*

Man suchte sie im Wasser zwei Tage lang. Erst danach fand man sie. Sie waren sehr hässlich geworden und alle waren aufgeschwemmt. [PS 142; 246]

The interpretation of the last verbs is without any doubts ambiguous and a resultative interpretation could be possible. Theoretically it would even be possible to have an inferential or even a mirative interpretation, but this is again connected to the question how much context one should integrate into the interpretation. The inferential/mirative interpretation would be appropriate if the narrator would have been an eyewitness but

this seems not to be the case. Although intransitive verbs can be easily interpreted as non-evidential, the whole setting of the story makes the hearsay interpretation the most likely.

#### 6.2.2.4. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in dreams

It is known, that languages which have a grammaticalized evidential can use 1<sup>st</sup> person evidentials for the narration of dreams. In Uotila's Permjak texts one dream has been documented and it happens to be reported in 2<sup>nd</sup> past – unfortunately not in 1<sup>st</sup> person. Although the three verbs which occur in 2<sup>nd</sup> past are intransitive, it is impossible to interpret the situation as non-evidential. This example is unique and I do not have any other examples for this usage in any other of the Permic languages.

- (12) *muni me pos kuža i k'erēs voktis. k'erēs jivε kai. inkaez pukavemaš kijen. mestaas, tet't'sε, važ i'd'zasvyn pukavemaš. i k'erēs kruta bũždem. i set't'sin šed mu tjdavε.*

Ich ging über eine Brücke, und es kam ein Hügel. Ich kletterte auf den Gipfel des Hügels. Da sassen Frauen zu zweit. Im Platz schienen sie auf altem Stroh zu sitzen. Der Hügel war steil eingestürzt. Dort sah man schwarze Erde. [PS 144; 248]

While working with my Komi and Udmurt informants, no one was comfortable with a dream narrated in 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The preferred choice would be historical present or the 1<sup>st</sup> past plus the evidential particle *pe / pe*.

#### 6.2.2.5. Critical examples - the narrator's involvement

In several traditional narratives, I have found 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts in the course of the text and not in the text organizing function as mentioned under 6.1. The interpretation of these forms is situated in the no-man's land between linguistics and literary studies and I'll not have to say much about this, because this point is located outside the scope of contemporary research in evidentiality. The only helping hand I found was Givón (2002 chap 8) but he starts from a completely different angle namely perspective change in novels and its implications for linguistic analysis. The usual difference between 1<sup>st</sup> person and 3<sup>rd</sup> person narrators lies in the involvement of the narrator. A 1<sup>st</sup> person narrator is part of the plot and the knowledge is reflected by his mind – he knows the hard facts due to own involvement and this licenses his knowledge. Externally objective contents can be

accessible to the other participants, but internal states are only characteristic of the narrator himself. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person narrator is quite the opposite or in Givón's words: "An alternative to first-person narration seems to be for the writer to retain control of the perspective, then vest it in some *omniscient narrator* of often murky ontology. That person has gained access to the hard-core 'facts' of the story by some licensing arrangement entirely outside the narrative itself. Unlike the first-person narrator, who has clear existence inside the narrative frame, the omniscient narrator resides *outside the frame*." (Givón 2002: 263)

Givón continues with the question, if mental states when expressed in 3<sup>rd</sup> person narrations are the mental states of the narrator or the mental states of the participants. The conclusion he draws attributes the mental states of 3<sup>rd</sup> person narrators exclusively to the characters and not to the narrator himself. (Givón 2002: 264)

This has several implications for the analysis of the next examples. When operating with the idea, that the narrator has complete knowledge of all hard-core facts involved with the story, any evidential interpretation is superfluous, because the omniscient narrator would not need them. In this case, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past should be very close to anteriority. I would not exclude the possible stylistic effects, but the narratives I used are of a rather simple kind and the need for stylistic effects should be very limited.

If Givón's idea of perspective change is correct, even the following examples can be interpreted evidentially:<sup>80</sup>

In the course of this traditional narrative, a fox steals fishes from a sledge. While eating his prey, he meets a wolf. The wolf asks how the fox got so many fishes. The fox lies and tells the wolf to go fishing. He should use his tail as a fishing rod as the fox did; he should sit for a while and then many fish will come. The wolf follows the advice and sits down and starts fishing:

(13) *vot pukavas keinjs t'šas, pešvas bežsē, je tša šedem t'šeri'js.*

Der Wolf sitzt eine Stunde lang, prüft seinen Schwanz und es sind (erst) wenige Fische gekommen. [PS 94; 198]

This 2<sup>nd</sup> seems to be mirative. The wolf relies on the fox, who told him that it is easy to fish with the own tail. Still, after having been sitting for an hour, he finds out that he has

<sup>80</sup> Givón's "mental attitudes" is rendered as general knowledge.

not succeeded as well as he was told which is clearly surprising. The narration continues in historical present/future. The wolf gets beaten up badly by women who come to the river. He is injured so badly, that his brains can be seen. After a while he meets the fox again – now in the woods. The fox mocks the wolf by telling him, that also he got beaten up badly and that his brains can be seen as well. This is of course a lie and the narrator inserts the following explanation:

(14) *(ru(t)ʹšj̄s šojem kvašna·šis nańs̄ i jurs̄ mara·jtem.)*

(Der Fuchs hatte aus dem Backtrog Teig gefressen und seinen Kopf beschmutzt.) [PS 94; 196]

In this case, the information must come from the narrator himself; there is no evidence for another interpretation. Because the narrator shows his omniscience, this must be a real anterior!<sup>81</sup>

The perspective switch would change the interpretation of the following parts of a traditional narrative, too. This narrative [PS 149] starts already unusually, because it opens with 1<sup>st</sup> past. The content of the narrative is rather simple; the stepmother wants to get rid of the children. For this she prepares a plan and locks the children into a room:

(15) *no jbe·ss̄ ma(t)ʹšeka igna·vem zamo·kv̄. i tʹš̄elʹad ez verm̄ petnj̄*

Aber die Stiefmutter hatte die Tür mit einem Schloss verriegelt. Die Kinder konnten nicht hinausgehen. [PS 149; 258]

This usage here should be classified as inferential. The children know that the new stepmother does not like them and they inferred that it must have been her, who locked them in. The narrative continues with the first try how the stepmother wants to leave the children in the woods but they return because they could mark their way. The children understand, that this will happen a second time and they try to get something for marking the way for future cases, too. The next time, they try to mark their way with breadcrumb but this fails:

(16) *no petnj̄ gortanj̄s ez adʹdʹž̄. nań-kre·škies\_kaj̄jez ektemaš̄, šojemaš̄*

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<sup>81</sup> Of course, a possible rearrangement of the original text would be possible too. But this could be shown only if working with the original material in Helsinki.

Aber sie fanden (den Weg) nicht, um nach Hause zu gehen. Die Vögel hatten die Brotkrumen aufgesammelt und gefressen. [PS 149; 258]

There is not a slightest hint of birds until this part of the narrative. The inferred interpretation must therefore result the knowledge of the children and not the mental state of the narrator.

After a longer journey, they finally return home:

(17) *i vokitse gortanjs. a ma t šeka užè kuvema.*

Sie kamen nach Hause. Und die Stiefmutter war schon gestorben. [PS 149; 258]

This should be another instance of inferred evidence; the returning children do not find the stepmother back home and conclude that she must be dead.

### 6.3. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Zyrian Komi

The following paragraphs deal with the semantic interpretations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Zyrian Komi. The discussion of the Zyrian material can be conducted on a very high level, because Uotila's textual collections offer material from different genres and is both quantitatively and qualitatively better than published Udmurt and Permjak Komi texts.

#### 6.3.1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past as framing

Traditional Zyrian Komi narratives (1) (2), too, can be framed with the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. As for Permjak, this is not obligatory (3):

(1) *jona važen saldatin služitlemaš jez kiž'-vit voen. kor-ke et'i vo kutas petni saldat gortas kižž'-vit vo saldatin služitem bert'i.*

Vor sehr langer Zeit dienten die Menschen fünfundzwanzig Jahre als Soldaten. Einmal, in einem Jahr, beginnt ein Soldat nach Hause zu gehen, nachdem er fünfundzwanzig Jahre als Soldat gedient hat. [UVy 16;48]

(2) *kor-ke kik mort etlaasemaš et'i udž\_viljn. iz perjemaš. sen naja jona tedmašasni.*

Einmal waren zwei Männer mit der gleichen Arbeit beschäftigt. Sie arbeiteten im Steinbruch. Dort lernen sie sich kennen. [LVy 137; 212]

(3) *olis peris mamked m a r t i n. nalēn ŋi-nēm iz vev.*

Es lebte (einmal) mit seiner alten Mutter der Martyn. Sie hatten nichts.

Whereas I found three traditional narratives narrated in 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permjak Komi, I have not encountered this phenomenon in my Zyrian Komi database. Note, that Leinonen, too, found only one traditional narrative narrated in 2<sup>nd</sup> past in her database (Leinonen 2000: 425).<sup>82</sup>

### 6.3.2. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past with evidential shading

In this paragraph all encountered usages of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past will be discussed. The encountered material has been sorted according to several semantic domains (inferentiality, mirativity, hearsay). The paragraph on the usage of 1<sup>st</sup> person forms and perspective switching are excluded from this grouping and will be discussed separately.

#### 6.3.2.1. The inferential usage

Under this usage, several semantically related phenomena can be subsumed. The main idea of inferentiality is the idea of diagnostic knowledge. The result can be inferred from sensory evidence (e.g. footprints) and from logical deduction. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past can encode the semantic concept of inferentiality. It may appear in main or subordinate clauses, but according to the material from my database, I have not encountered differences in meaning. The following examples demonstrate how the 2<sup>nd</sup> past encodes sensory visual evidence:

Example (4) from a traditional narrative tells the story of Ivan who repeatedly robs the Czar's bank with his friends. In the morning, the czar goes to his bank, because he was afraid of another robbery and controls the lock. He sees that the lock has not been touched:

(4) *a gosuda-r pondis preveri-tñj. i pjris. toman abu veržillema.*

Aber der Herrscher begann die Bank zu überprüfen. Und er trat ein. Das Schloss hatte sich nicht von der Stelle gerührt. [Pe 162; 210]

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<sup>82</sup> This traditional narrative came from the Luza-Letka dialect.

Examples (5) and (6) show again how the evidence is inferred from visible traces. In (7) the inference is expressed in the main clause and in its complement:

- (5) *i jona trudnε loε koršni potomu-što jona **olεma** i kok-tuinas **putajεma** asšinijs ovmεssε, medim on ad'd'ži.*

Und es ist schwer zu suchen, weil (sie) dort (lebhaft) gewesen sind, und ihren eigenen Aufenthaltsort haben sie mit Fusspuren durcheinandergebracht, damit du (sie) nicht siehst. [UVy 83;154]

- (6) *me ešša ad'd'ži lola kok-tui. seti **munεmaεš** lola kεkjà-mijs kj-mijn.*

Dann sah ich Elchspuren. Dort waren etwa acht Elche gelaufen. [LVy 176; 296]

- (7) *munigen εt'ik kolodaval'ežnik vomen, oškid **vuđžema** da vir **petema**. da mi tεdim, miji oškidli **veškalema** pul'ais.*

Unterwegs (sahen wir,) hat der Bär einen windbrüchigen Baum überquert, und Blut ist (darauf) gekommen. Und wir erfuhren, dass die Kugel den Bären getroffen hat. [UVy 287;410]

Example (8) seems pretty close to anteriority (the German translation uses pluperfect) but the background favors an inferential interpretation. The men shot the bear several times but were not sure, whether they killed him or not. When they reach the corpse and see that the bear has fallen on his back (which seems to be a rather untypical position for a bear) the hunters believe, that they finally must have killed it:

- (8) *mi munim da oškid **kulema** nin mijan lijemšid da gats' **ušema** koloda bokε.*

Wir gingen (hin), und der Bär war schon tot durch unsere Schüsse, und er war neben einem Holzklötz auf den Rücken gefallen. [UVy 287;412]

In (9) and (10) the gathered children assume from the visible traces, that it was a bear who was hunting their cows. The investigation of the tracks takes some time, and as long as the investigation is conducted, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is used:

- (9) *„kot-kε **vetlema** ku,tšēm vod'žž!“ liš-vase **kjškεma**, a jerijs εtar ponijs zev l'ok, rošši da zev tšekid ponel'. kor gegeriz\_gegertim, loktim bi doras da t'šel'ad'li vištalam mukεdijslj: kot-kε vod'žž **vetlema** ta-lun.“*

„Wie früh ist doch jemand (hier) gegangen!“ Der Tau ist getrocknet, und das eine Ende der Einfriedung ist sehr schlecht, (dort gibt es) Gehölz und sehr dichte junge Fichten. Als wir rundherum gegangen waren, kamen wir ans Feuer und erzählen den anderen Kinder: „Jemand ist heute früh (dort) gegangen.“ [MS 65;98]

- (10) *asjlnad kor kjtšoltim, ljs-vate vĕli kjskĕma. sije vĕlĕma oš. seni i kuĭle vĕlĕm po,tšez\_doras tšĕkjĭd inas. seš'a lun-šer gegerĭd mešte kutĕma. kor mešte kutĕma, oksjnĭ kutis. meškĭs okešte, a oškĭs ešše ědje okešte. seš'a kor meškĭd loktis, sije ošš'ĭs ber mjnĕma. loktis zavor dorĕ. stavĭs vir. međ meškĭd, ĭdžĭt-š'era meškĭd, mezdĕma.*

Am Morgen, als wir (um die Einfriedung) herumliefen, war der Tau getrocknet. Das war ein Bär. Dort hatte er eben gelegen, neben dem Zaun im Dickicht. Dann hatte er gegen Mittag eine Kuh angefallen (eigentl. gefangen). Als er die Kuh angefallen (eigentl. gefangen) hatte, begann sie zu brüllen. Die Kuh brüllt, aber der Bär brüllt noch lauter. Dann, als die (andere) Kuh kam, war die (erste) Kuh wieder von dem Bären losgekommen. Sie kam ans Gatter. Alles ist voller Blut. Die andere Kuh, die Kuh mit den grossen Hörnern, hatte sie befreit. [MS 65;100]

The children return to the village and tell the adults, that the cows were attacked by a bear. The adults do not believe and assume that the children were cruel to the cows. After having a closer look the adults, too, see the traces of the bear (subordinate clause):

- (11) *šuvĕnĭ mužĭkĭjas: „ti balu ĭtemnjĭd, pu pĕredĕmnĭd meš vĭlad.“ seš'a vidlalisnĭ buržĭka. seš'a ĭ tĕdisnĭ, mjĭ gĭžjalema oš.*

Aber die Männer sagen: „Ihr habt euch einen Spass gemacht, ihr habt einen Baum auf die Kuh stürzen lassen.“ Dann sah man genauer nach. Da stellte man dann auch fest, dass ein Bär (die Kuh) zerschunden hatte. [MS 65;100]

Examples (12) and (13) are taken from a personal narrative where the narrator reports, how he worked as a lumberjack for the first time in his life. While working, he becomes aware, that his horse is gone. He follows it, finds it and sees how it became stopped (all 12). Still, he does not reload all timber on the sledge (not quoted here):

- (12) *mĭjan kertĕ puktiG\_kosti menam vĕlĕĭ munĕma. suvedĭ, suvedĭ, ĩe-ki\_d'zi oG\_su. pramo me let't'si kat'išišĕ dored'ž. a vĕlĕĭ ĩe-ken abu. vĕlĕĭ munĕma*

*ker-kà-munan tuj vjti. menam dod'd'in veli kik ker. gēni(t'sen muni, da vlej sulale, dod'-vožjis krukāsema puε.*

Während wir den Baumstamm (auf den Schlitten) legte, ist mein Pferd (weg)gelaufen. Ich verfolge (es), ich verfolge (es), ich hole (es) überhaupt nicht ein. Ich gehe direkt bis zur Sammelstelle hinunter. Aber mein Pferd ist nirgends. Mein Pferd ist den nach Hause führenden Weg entlanggelaufen. Auf meinem Schlitten waren zwei Baumstämme. Ich rannte, und mein Pferd steht da, die Schlittendeichsel ist an einem Baum hängengeblieben. [UVy 120;202]

In (13) the narrator and his brothers are on the way back to the camp and pass the place, where the narrator found his horse. The narrator has not told his brothers about the incident reported in (12). The comment of the narrator's brother Varlam is therefore not to be analyzed as a quotative but as a switch in perspective were the narrator utters Varlam's inference:

(13) *v a r l a m šu<sup>v</sup>ε: "kot-kε kersε kol'ema ker-kà loktan tuj vjle."*

Varlam sagt: „Jemand hat einen Baumstamm auf dem nach Hause führenden Weg liegengelassen.“ [UVy 120;202]

Auditory evidence and 2<sup>nd</sup> past were very rare and (14) is the only clear example to present. Note, that the second auditory evidential is a negated evidential durative!

(14) *mi sultim stavnim da kijlam, vεlem-kε m a k š' i m v a n eid mijanes t'suksale meš-jaite t'el'ega puktini. εtnasen oz vεlem vermi da sijen ij ukjedle, t'suksale.*

Wir alle blieben stehen und horchten, es schien, Maksim-Vane ruft nach uns, um den Kadaver der Kuh auf den Wagen zu legen. Allein konnte er (es) nicht, und deshalb macht er auch Huhu, ruft. [UVy 287;410]

So far, the inference was based on sensory traces but there is another possible form of inference which is based on logical deduction. I have decided to treat this category separately, because this kind of logical deduction does not necessarily need sensory evidence.<sup>83</sup> In example (15) sensory evidence plays a role in the decision where to start looking for the hunted bear. Although the concrete location influences the choice, it is

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<sup>83</sup> It looks to me, that logical deduction may somehow be related to the concept of general knowledge, but I have no proof for this.

the general knowledge that the bear would take the most appropriate way to hide himself from the hunters. This is logical deduction, because the hunters reportedly can not see any direct traces:<sup>84</sup>

(15) *bat'ε šu'ε: "nave-rne-pε etati koz-vεras pišjema"*

Der Vater sagt: „Wahrscheinlich ist er hier hindurch in den Fichtenwald geflohen.“ [UVy 287;410]

Example (16) is also a form of logic deduction; the narrator was told to bring the neighbor's dog to the hunters. This takes some time and he is anxiously awaited:

(16) *menε jona nin viD t'šišemas:*

Man hat schon lange auf mich gewartet: [UVy 287;414]

Example (17) cannot be explained in any other way than logical deduction, because the narrator was unconscious and therefore cannot have any sensory evidence:

(17) *menam t'šibej bok-vj t'sužjšt'šis, da me uši t'šibe vlijš da ni-nem oG\_pomnit, pirtēma mene mamε ker-kaε.*

Mein Fohlen schlug seitwärts aus, und ich fiel vom Rücken des Fohlens, und ich erinnere mich an nichts. Die Mutter hat mich dann drinnen ins Haus getragen. [UVy 120;204]

As already mentioned above, the inferential 2<sup>nd</sup> past can also be used in complements, too. (See 7). In all these cases I could not find a different meaning than in those constructions, where the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is used inferentially in main clauses. All complements I have found behave rather uniformly and it is appropriate to ask the question, whether this is pure chance or whether the choice of a complement in 2<sup>nd</sup> past is conditioned by semantic factors. To make it short, it's not chance. After having checked (18)-(22) within Givón's framework of verbal complements my examples<sup>85</sup> follow the pattern of complementation according to the patterns of PCU verbs (perception-cognition-utterance verbs). I will not list the syntactic and semantic features which are attributed to this construction; the reader is referred to Givón (2001 II chap 12) but examples (18)-(21) behave according to this prototype. Givón does not explicitly address the problem

<sup>84</sup> Still, the effort of the bear brings him no luck and he gets killed.

<sup>85</sup> One still could add (7) and (11) to these examples.

of evidentials with PCU verbs and I will try to enhance his argumentation. From (18)-(21) it should become obvious, that the main verb which belongs to the semantic class of PCU verbs is dependent of the state it described. This state is realized in the (object) complement. Still, the main verb introduces only the means how the narrator became aware of the evidence. Both events are dislocated in time which is the prerequisite for the evidential interpretation in Komi.

(18) *vidlisni i ad'd'žisni, mij verne seti **vglem** i pirenj.*

Sie untersuchten sie und bemerkten, dass sie (=die Diebe) sicher auf jenem Weg hereingekommen waren. [Pe 162; 212]

(19) *me muni, peti verε. me ad'd'ži, mij **munema** rut's, kok-tujsε. i me sije kijtšōtedi ližen kok-tujsε.*

Ich brach auf, ging in den Wald. Ich bemerkte Spuren, (die zeigten), dass (dort) ein Fuchs gelaufen ist. Und ich lief auf Skiern um die Spuren herum. [UVy 103;180]

(20) *a mamε d'žik-pjr i geger-vovis (poñimañtis), mij **žugedema** sakarni(t'sa.*

Aber Mutter begriff ja sofort, dass er die Zuckerdose zerbrochen hat. [UVy 115;190]

(21) *me muni sija lunjaz\_beras bara kijšni. muni, da nitε **nollema**<sup>86</sup> koD-kε. me tēdmali, **nollema** oš. me d'žik dinas eg mun. tēda, oš **nollema** pōz vijε.*

Ich ging nach diesen Tagen wieder auf die Jagd. Ich ging, und jemand hat Moos geschleppt. Ich wusste, (dass) ein Bär (es) geschleppt hat. Ich ging nicht ganz nahe heran. Ich weiss, der Bär hat (es) für (seine) Höhle geschleppt. [UVy 112;188]

<sup>86</sup> This of course is no instance of PCU and is outside this discussion. Note, that the following clauses are eliptic and the complementizer *mij* is not realized.

### 6.3.2.2. The mirative usage

The mirative usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Zyrian Komi can be demonstrated better than for Permjak Komi. This is of course conditioned by the fact, that my Zyrian database is larger. The mirative interpretation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is possible in both main clauses and verbal complements. The encountered mirative 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts have been arranged to three groups. In examples (22)-(27) the 2<sup>nd</sup> past expresses mirativity in direct speech. Besides the mirative interpretation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past, several particles (*pe*, *ved*, *vot* - the last two of Russian origin) stress the mental state of surprise/unexpected information:

(22) “ *no-pe, taj-ke-pe vijas, te-pe polijš v<sup>l</sup>elemid.* “

„Na, der hat mich ja fast getötet, und da warst ein Feigling.“ [Pe 164; 226]

(23) “ *vi<sup>d</sup> ž<sup>l</sup>ed ved, leš<sup>l</sup>edemaš i<sup>d</sup>žid geš<sup>l</sup>tba.* “

„Schau doch, sie haben ein grosses Fest vorbereitet.“ [UVy 291;444]

(24) *bez\_zev jona sker<sup>l</sup>maz\_da šu<sup>v</sup>ε: “piš<sup>l</sup>jema! p<sup>l</sup>ir-ž<sup>l</sup>ε v<sup>l</sup>et<sup>l</sup>eda da jurs<sup>l</sup>ε k<sup>l</sup>erala.* “

Der Wassergeist wird sehr, sehr wütend und sagt: “Er ist geflohen! Bald hole ich ihn ein und schlage ihm den Kopf ab.“ [LVy 140; 240]

(25) “*vot, v<sup>l</sup>el<sup>l</sup>ema kodjas naja aš<sup>l</sup>n<sup>l</sup>is!*“

Sieh an, sie selbst sind es die hier waren. [LVy 140; 242]

Examples (26) and (27) need some further extra explanation. (26) comes from a traditional narrative; the son of the fox must marry but wants to take his own mother as his bride, because he does not see the need to marry someone unknown. The father tries to explain, why he can't marry his mother. The young fox still does not get the point, because he believes that his father and mother have known each other forever and gets badly surprised when he hears, that also his father and his mother have been strangers. In this context the young fox utters:

(26) “*k<sup>l</sup>iš<sup>l</sup>-n<sup>l</sup>ε t<sup>l</sup>eDtemtes, te taj-n<sup>l</sup>ε t<sup>l</sup>edsaes v<sup>l</sup>ajemid ment š<sup>l</sup>im mames*“

„Wieso eine Unbekannte, du hast doch auch eine Bekannte genommen, meine Mutter.“ [UVy 291;438]

In (27) and (28) the mirative is encoded with a PCU construction and I have chosen to interpret both examples as mirative because the surprise factor dominates over the pure inferential interpretation.

- (27) *“to-pe to, durakid, miji vɛt šema!” iva-n p̄iris da šuʷε: “no, bat ʷško, gaš-kε pε sk̄ermin da!” a bat ʷško šuε: “ēg, kut̄šem sk̄ermem!”*

„Sieh doch, was der Tor getan hat.“ Ivan trat ein und sagt: „Na, Alter, vielleicht bist du ja doch zornig geworden.“ Aber der Alte sagte: „Nein, weshalb wäre ich denn zornig geworden. [Pe 162; 204]

- (28) *me adʹdʹža, ur p̄idʹdʹvid kat̄dema menam ponjid oš-pi.*

Ich sehe, dass mein Hund statt eines Eichhörnchens ein Bärenjunge hinaufgetrieben hat. [LVy 177; 296]

Mirative 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts could be found in third person narrations as well. (29) and (30) are definite candidates for mirative interpretation.

- (29) *a mijan v̄l̄is v̄l̄em j̄ej̄italε, j̄ej̄imema.*

Aber unser Pferd gebärdet sich wie toll, es war toll geworden. [MS 69;106]

- (30) *oškis v̄lema zel gosa. [...]b̄itsen šenž̄eni, m̄ij̄ iž̄tta p̄ v̄lema miš̄tem tʹš̄už̄emid.*

Der Bär war sehr fett. Alle wundern sich, von welcher Grösse das hässliche Gesicht war. [UVy 287;416]

In several cases it's the context which gives the appropriate framework for interpretation. In the following two cases the mirative interpretation is most likely connected with the narrator's change of perspective. Both examples (31) and (32) come from traditional narratives. Already the context refers to a possible mirative explanation. When I was rechecking these examples with my Zyrian informant, he confirmed my mirative interpretation because he saw the change in perspective, too. In (31) the narrator takes part with the main character of the tale, because he has to fulfill an inhuman task. In deep grief he goes to bed:

- (31) *p e d e r a s i j n a s t ' š e t ' t ' š i s, t o e š i n e d i s a d ' d ' ž ' ε: š o g e k t a r g e r ε m a, k e d ž ' ε m a, v u n d ε m a, v a r t ε m a, i z ε m a i p e ž a l ε m a v i l ' n a n.*

Als Peder am Morgen aufstand, da sieht er aus dem Fenster: Hundert Hektar sind gepflügt, es ist gesät, geerntet, gedroschen, gemahlen, und ein frisches Brot ist gebacken. [MS 91;152]

This is pretty much the same in (32):

- (32) *a s i j n a s s a r v i d ' z e d ε, n i - n e m a b u, s t a v i s m a r t i n l e n v o š ε m a.*

Am Morgen bemerkt der Zar, (dass) nichts da ist, alle (Besitzer) Martyns sind verschwunden. [LVy 138; 228]

### 6.3.2.3. The hearsay usage

This usage is the least difficult to determine. In this function, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past encodes second hand knowledge. Due to the abundance of examples, I have chosen 10 clear and representative examples for demonstration. (37)-(44) show the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in main clauses, in addition (42)-(44) are examples from direct speech. In (45) and (46) the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is part of the complement clauses.

- (37) *j a r a n t ' u r m ā p u k s e d e m ā s g u š a š e m i š. k u j i m v o n i n p u k a l e m a.*

Eine Samojede wurde wegen Diebstahls ins Gefängnis gesteckt. Drei Jahre hat er schon gegessen. [Iž/Pets 136; 170]

- (38) *k o r ś t ' e p a n p e r i m s k e i k i y t i s j e m – v a k u ž a i s, d ' z e l ' a p u r j e n, s i l i k o ś s a j e z i s g o r z e m a e ś s e k i: „ ś t ' e p a n ε, ś t ' e p a n ε, b a r a u r - j a i t s ε ś o j a m ! “*

Als Stephan von Perm auf einem kleinen Floss den Fluss Vym hinabfuhr, da riefen die Einwohner von Koś ihm zu: „Stephan, Stephan, wir essen nur Eichkatzenfleisch.“ [Vy 174; 240]

- (39) *s e t e n v a š i š a n n i n o m e l ' i s o v l e m a. n e - k u t š e m m o l ' i t v a e n n e p e r n a - p a s e n s i j š o z m u n n i v e l e m p o ž. p e r i š j e z i s v e l e m n o v l e n i k u š a k j a s. s i j ε k u š a k j a s n a s t o l ' k ε i v e l e m p o ž ε š o r š i s m o r t s ε p e t k e d n i, k o r o m e l ' i s s i j e e s k i r j i v š i s t a b a n i t a s. s i p o n d a i e n i - n a z o n k a s l i k e t š – p o n ε k ε m u n n i r i t i n, ž e p j a s a d k o l e k u š a k j a s p u k t i n i, m e d š e d - š o r v o m e n i d b u r a v u d ž n i.*

Dort wohnte schon seit alters her ein Teufel. Weder mit irgendwelchen Gebeten noch sich bekreuzigend konnte man dort gehen. Die alten Leute trugen Gürtel. Nur mit diesen Gürteln konnte man einen Menschen aus dem Bach ziehen, wenn der Teufel ihn vom Steilufer

hinabstösst. Aus diesem Grund müssen auch heute die Jungen, wenn sie abends nach Kōpčon gehen müssen, sich Gürtel in die Taschen stecken, um šegd-sor gut zu überqueren. [PrS 129; 200]

- (40) *et'ikiš sijε izema mel'ni,t'šaj̄n. a kodir sij̄len izš̄is, seki v̄eli jona pem̄id daī sijε kol't't'š̄ema už̄ni set't'š̄ε.*

Einmal soll er in der Mühle gewesen sein, um (Getreide) zu mahlen. Und als sein (Getreide) gemahlen ist, da war es sehr dunkel, und er soll zum Schlafen dort geblieben sein. [MS 41;64]

- (41) *d'et'i-na kiš-kε k̄iv̄lema šo t'š̄elkevēi d asija žε i koras šo t'š̄elkevēi.*

Das Kind hat irgendwo (von) hundert Rubel (sprechen) gehört, und so verlangt es hundert Rubel. [LVy 138; 220]

- (42) *„m a r p a –t'ekaid te-r̄it-na ad'd'ž̄ilema d e r ε veštiš šura bagun, b̄it't'e-kε zē īdž̄id kuk.“*

„Tante Marpa hat erst gestern gegenüber von Dörö(s Haus) ein gehörntes Wasserungeheuer gesehen, wie ein sehr grosses Kalb.“ [UVy 119;198]

- (43) *nīliš šuv̄ε bat'isl̄i: “te pε āt'š̄id s̄i bat'k̄ed sēg(laše-n̄ije šetlem̄id, mīj pε te dolžen šetn̄i men̄ε s̄i saje.“*

Das Mädchen sagte zum Vater: „Du selbst hast mit seinem Vater vereinbart, dass du mich ihm zur Frau geben musst.“ [LVy 137; 214]

- (44) *“g a b ε, v̄el̄id jēim̄ema, t'š̄et't'š̄ī ed̄je. kēs̄jen̄i ten̄ε sude š̄etn̄i. g a r j āin as̄ilnas mēs̄jasse v̄el̄id kurt't'š̄alema k e d'ž̄ – v ī l̄in š̄ i d e r – e n̄ d r e ī ēš̄iñ ul̄in. mēsse kurt't'š̄alema š̄ e r a – š̄ t e p a n l ī š̄. i kurt't'š̄alema š̄ e r a – ēḡrēε [...]. sēša kut̄ema v̄et̄līš̄ni t'š̄ipan bēriš̄. sēša t'š̄ipan bēriš̄ v̄et't'š̄ema š̄ i d e r – e n̄ d r e ī leb-ul̄ε. set't'š̄ε p̄ed̄lalemaš̄. seni ēni v̄el̄id. kole k̄ail̄in̄i ed̄jen̄ž̄ik.*

Gabö, dein Pferd ist toll geworden, steh schnell auf! Dich will man verklagen. In Garja hat dein Pferd am Morgen in *k̄ed'ž̄-v̄il* unter dem Fenster von S'ider-Öndrej die Kühe gebissen. Es hat die Kuh von S'era-S'tepan gebissen. Es hat auch S'era-Ögrö gebissen (...). Dann hat es begonnen, den Hühnern nachzustellen. Dann verfolgte es die Hühner bis unter das Schutzdach von S'ider-Öndrej. Da hat man es eingesperrt. Dein Pferd ist jetzt dort. (Du) muss(t) schleunigst hinaufgehen. [MS 69;108]

- (45) *periš jez vištavleni, meji abja (tš o jijn da dorsa d'erevhajajas velemni una tediš-jez, kodjas vodžž kežlž vermilemni vištavni vijl'-torjas.*

Die alten Menschen erzählen, dass es in Ab'jačoj und in den nahegelegenen Dörfern viele Wahrsager gab, die Neuigkeiten im voraus berichten konnten. [LL 12;18]

- (46) *os\_kε pε pondi šetni, to vištav, miĵ tejad bat'id menam bat'ked šetemaes se(tšem-tε karĵn seglaše-nije popli, miĵ mi dolženeš etlaasni teked.*

Wenn er (dich mir) nicht geben wird, dann erzähle (ihm), dass dein Vater mit meinem Vater in der und der Stadt dem Pfarrer einen Vertrag übergeben hat, dass wir beide uns zusammentun müssen. [LVy 137; 214]

#### 6.3.2.4. 2<sup>nd</sup> past and ego

Whereas the system of evidentiality has no sincere problems with 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms, the role of 1<sup>st</sup> persons in evidential systems has caused several problems (Curnow 2001, 2002). Whereas a 1<sup>st</sup> person dream is perfectly possible in languages with an evidential system, even this interpretation does not make sense when talking about real world events. When using a 1<sup>st</sup> person evidential in Estonian one usually talks about the opposite e.g. *Mul olevat palju raha? Kes sulle seda ütles?* 'I'm supposed to have a lot of money? How told you this?' This usage (and the necessary intonation) show, that the opposite fact is true. One can construe other cases, but a **simple declarative** *Mul olevat raha* 'I'm rich' is not possible, because I should be aware about my financial status. That's why the evidential status of 1<sup>st</sup> persons is a rather problematic case.<sup>87</sup> In several languages (for a list see Curnow 2002) another possible interpretation, the so called non-volitionality usage of 1<sup>st</sup> persons is reported. The non-volitional idea means, that the speaker is somehow mentally detached from his present state of mind and that he has no control over the situation. Leinonen (2000) approaches the phenomenon in Komi formally. She splits the regular 1<sup>st</sup> person usage where the subject is represented in nominative from those cases, where it appears in genitive and is accompanied with a reflexive verb in 3<sup>rd</sup> person (ibid 429-433). In the first case she speaks of the perfect-like usage, in the latter case she speaks of impersonal evidentiality. This formal approach is justified, but the semantics are not as clear cut as Leinonen sees them. Most of my examples follow the pattern, which Leinonen called "impersonal evidentiality" and I have only two examples (which repeat themselves) for a 2<sup>nd</sup> past

<sup>87</sup> This is essentially the same argumentation as used by Bublikh 1949 for Zyrian Komi.

according to her perfect-like usage. These two “perfect-like examples” (50)-(52) have a drastic non-volitional shade (several examples of Leinonen’s perfect-like usage have a drastic non-volitional shade, too e.g. her examples 19-22) and its questionable how sound the formal interpretation really is. In the same paragraph, Leinonen tried to subclassify several cases of “impersonal evidentiality” as miratives or inferentials. Whether such a subclassification is needed remains doubtful. Miratives and inferentials are both different shades of diagnostical knowledge and I don’t see the need to make such fine distinctions in this point – the notion of non-volition should do it without further subdivisions. Otherwise I agree with Leinonen, that there can be 1<sup>st</sup> person perfect-like constructions (her examples 23-24), but more examples are needed for further research before safe conclusions can be drawn.

Coming back to my data, all 1<sup>st</sup> person examples in my database are products of non-volitional states and happen to be reflexives. In all examples (47)-(53) the narrator is non-volitional of the situation. In (47) he sleeps and in all the other cases he is drunk. In (47)-(49) the subject is in the genitive. Examples (50)-(53) have a subject in nominative case and the reflexive verb in 1SG (synonym to 3SG) which is interesting, because according to the grammar of the Middle Sysola dialect, no 1<sup>st</sup> person forms are reported.

- (47) *sija pukšis turjn-dod’ vjε. ne-djr-mjšt’i menam unmoššema dod’d’ε. i kijnmjnj pondi da sad’mi. menam juriš šapkà ušema. me kol’i šapkateg.*

Er setzte sich auf den Heuschlitten. Nach einer Weile war ich auf dem Schlitten eingeschlafen. Ich begann zu frieren und erwachte. Mein Hut war mir vom Kopf gefallen. Ich war ohne Hut.  
[UVy 120;200]

- (48) *kεsji seni užnj zavodas vež-añε ordjn. no mejam kod’d’žišema da vojnas kod-jurnad gortε pondišema let’š’ijnj. a gortεdžž’ let’š’ijnj š’ižim vers. me let’š’i. a let’š’emε og prameja tεdal, kod’d’žišema da.*

Ich hatte vorgehabt, in der Fabrik bei der Patentante zu übernachten. Aber ich war betrunken, und in der Nacht begann ich in meinem Rausch nach Hause zu gehen. Aber bis nach Hause hinab sind sieben Werst zu gehen. Ich ging hinab. Aber ich weiss wirklich nicht, dass ich hinabgehe, betrunken wie ich war. [MS 68;104]

- (49) *gortε vojim da me juji vina. vεli menam gudek. mejam jona jušema da gudektε pazedliššema. mamnjmlen sije gudek-torjassε t’š’ek’verik tjr ektεma.*

Wir gelangten nach Hause, und ich trank Branntwein. Ich hatte eine Harmonika. Ich war sehr betrunken und hatte die Harmonika zerbrochen. Unsere Mutter hatte einen viertel Eimer von diesen Harmonikastückchen aufgesammelt. [LVy 180; 302]

- (50) *seša poskas tangis k'el'egajs da me sad'mi, set't'sed'ž'ž pjr užšema karšajš, ni-nem eK\_tedli.*

Dann blieb der Wagen auf der Brücke stecken und ich wachte auf, von der Stadt an bis dahin hatte ich die ganze Zeit geschlafen, ich wusste von nichts. [MS 57;88]

- (51) *velekas voDt'sema sijtil bereg doras, d'žik va doras. sad'mi da vi d'žeda etarę mędarę. etaras va. me povži. "kęni me? kj d'ži me tatt'sę voji?"*

Unterwegs schlief ich am Ufer der Sysola, direkt am Wasser. Ich wachte auf und schaue in die eine Richtung und in die andere. Auf der einen Seite ist Wasser. Ich erschrak. „Wo bin ich? Wie bin ich hier hergekommen?“ [MS 68;104]

- (52) *"vaj edježik vu(džed! kįnma, pekmel l'a boštis. velekas užšema."*

„Setze mich nur schneller über! Ich friere, ich bin verkatert! Ich habe unterwegs übernachtet..“ [MS 68;104]

- (53) *me šu'a: "užšema velekas, ok ted loktemę."*

Ich habe unterwegs übernachtet, ich weiss nicht, wie ich (her)gekommen bin.“ [MS 68;104]

The last example (54) for 1SG usage is ambiguous and my Komi informant and I disagreed in interpretation. The background offers support for both interpretations and that's why I treat it as the last example in this discussion. The story is about a boy, who went for the first time with his mother out to the fields. When returning home in the evening he says:

- (54) *da drugjas menę ker-ka dorįn viD't'sišeni da vežaleni me vļę, maijbirej vetlema itškini.*

Und die Freune erwarten mich beim Haus und beneiden mich, ich Glücklicher bin (zum Heu)mähen gewesen. [UVy 116;192]

Whereas I interpreted this utterance as anterior, my informant wanted to see a mirative. According to his interpretation, the boy himself is still surprised that he went out to the fields and worked the whole day.

### 6.3.3. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past as anterior

This is probably the most critical part of the analysis, because several of the examples could turn out to obtain an evidential-like shading. The examples presented here have been labeled anterior because we (my informant and I) could not construe a convincing evidential background. In several cases this choice became easy, especially when the verb's inherent meaning is highly resultive and it appeared additionally in 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms with a passive reading. Komi has no grammatical passive and 3<sup>rd</sup> person can express passive-like meanings. The correlation between resultives and passives has been mentioned in chapter 5 and this link proves very helping for the determination of the anterior use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. If the agent is suppressed it is not of primary importance who did it but the result becomes important. This diminishes the possible evidential interpretation; the source of action is of minor importance and that's where resultatives and anteriors meet.

Example (55) is the only example for a subjective resultive in my database:

(55) *i v a n munas t'ést ordas nıles kažtjvni. seten t'šukart t'šemağs stav redjasıs.*

Ivan geht zum Schwiegervater, um seiner Tochter zu gedenken. Dort waren alle Verwandten versammelt. [LVy 137; 218]

Examples (56)-(65) are cases of objective resultatives. I have chosen to present them as a semantic class, although it would have been possible to present them from a syntactic point of view, too. In all cases the passive-like character makes it hard to interpret these cases as evidentials because the systematic suppression of the agent gives rise to the result and not the way how it became achieved. Besides examples (56) and (57), all other examples should be understandable from their inherent context. Examples (56) and (57) derive from an ethnological narrative, where the narrator told Uotila, how to erect a traditional Komi tent.

(56) *i ħartala-tòrjen ętlà kertalemaś*

Sie sind mit einem Stück Wurfscnhlinge zusammengebunden. [Iž 16; 22]

(57) *(ħuk, sije vijjm ker-vol l'ıs vurema, keķja-mıs metra pašta, šižim metra soda, stavis das-keķja-mıs ker-vol l'ıs vurema, peđ ħit t'śε vijlas kipedni.)*

(núk – das wird aus Rentierfell genäht, acht Meter breit, sieben Meter hoch, aus insgesamt achtzehn Rentierfellen genäht, das hebt man über die (innere) Zeltdecke) [Iž 16; 22]

(58) *dod'jas tjr tevar tet'sema.*

Die Schlitten sind vollgeladen mit Waren. [Iž 27; 36-38]

(59) *sett'si gižema: kik-šo keĳja-miz-das keĳja-mis t'selkevej da veti-min ur-don mijan sultema oškidlen jajis.*

Darauf war geschrieben: Ein Preis von 288 Rubel und 50 Kopeken wurde uns bezahlt für Bärenfleisch. [UVy 287;416]

(60) *agasjasjs vevleni pujš, kodlen t'suňjasjs ve(t'sema kertjš.*

Die Eggen waren aus Holz, ihre (eigentl. deren) Zähne sind aus Eisen gemacht. [LL 3;8]

(61) *vugrašjšjas t'serik\_kijenj vugjr-šat'jasen, kodj ve(t'sema ta'd'ži: boštema suňjs; suňjs ponas kertalema vugjr a međ ponnas suňjsjs kertavšę šad'-dore*

Die Angler fangen Fische mit der Angel, die so gemacht sind: man hat eine (Angel)schnur genommen, am Ende der Schnur einen Haken befestigt, und das andere Ende des Hakens befestigt man an der Angelrute. [LL 5;12]

(62) *beslen zev j,džjd seni olemjs da suvtedlema stolbjas, stolb jilas mort-jurjas.*

Der Wassergeist hat dort einen sehr grossen Besitz, und (dort) sind Pfähle aufgestellt, auf den Pfählen sind Menschenköpfe. [LVy 140; 238]

(63) *verališjd boštis tsentra-lnej-piššal'. zarad'itema ur vjlg drebjen.*

Der Jäger nahm den Hinterlader. Er war für Eichhörnchen mit Schrot geladen. [Ud 189; 318]

(64) *ętt'sid add'žis, ęt'ik ker-ka ešin ulę po(tšisas ęšedemaš mišškem kelujjas.*

Einmal sah er, unter dem Fenster eines Hauses sind auf den Zaun gewaschene Sachen gehängt. [UVy 291;442]

(65) *i asj-vod'ž t'set't'si-mišť i saldatlen d'ehga-jaštšikid vošęma.*

Am Morgen, nachdem sie aufgestanden sind, ist die Geldkiste des Soldaten verschwunden. [UVy 16;50]

Example (66) is the only case of a possessive resultative in my database. It comes from a traditional narrative where the sentence was uttered in direct speech. The lack of an agent clearly increases the non-evidential interpretation, it's the result which is stressed:

- (66) “*et'ik šinmis rež'-ulje bjtškišlema, veškid šinmis d'žiked'ž bjrlj. [...]*“  
 „Ihr eines Auge hat ein trockener Zweig durchbohrt, ihr rechtes Auge wurde völlig zerstört  
 [...]“.[UVy 291;440]

The fact, that intransitive (and resultative) verbs are hard to interpretate evidentially has been mentioned earlier. This holds for example (67)-(69), too. Note that the last example in (69) is transitive, though.

- (67) *no njljs kulema nin, oz lolav.*  
 Aber das Mädchen war schon tot, es atmete nicht. [LVy 137; 216]
- (68) *no babajs šu<sup>v</sup>ε: “abu, sija pε mijan kulema nin!”*  
 Aber seine Frau sagt: „Nein, unsere ist schon tot!“ [LVy 137; 218]
- (69) *asjv-vod'žnas poplen getjrjs petas mešjaz\_dinε. mešjas stavjs kulemaεš. a oš zev jona užε. pob\_getjr pjras k'er-kaas da berdemεn vištalε poplj: „stav mešjasjD\_kulemaεš!“ pop šu<sup>v</sup>ε: “gospod'i pomiluj! meĵ-nε nalj loema?”*  
 Am Morgen geht die Frau des Pfarrers zu den Kühen. Alle Kühe sind tot. Aber der Bär schläft ganz fest. Die Frau des Pfarrers tritt ins Haus und erzählt weinend dem Pfarrer: „Alle Kühe sind tot!“ Der Pfarrer sagt: „Der Herr erbarme sich! Was ist ihnen zugestossen?“ [LVy 138; 220]

Transitive verbs are said to be harder to interpretate as non-evidential but the following examples (70)-(72) are nevertheless good candidates for non-evidential anteriors.

- (70) *ń e – š m e ĵ k a sε gosuda-r pukšedema t'šardakε. a taje sar eših' ūtis bjđ lun una tjšεt'ša mort preĵd'ite.*  
 Der Herrscher hat Nesmejka in einen Bodenraum gesetzt. Und unter dem Fenster dieses Zaren gehen jeden Tag viele Tausend Männer vorbei. [UVy 16;48]
- (71) “*ĵdžid žε bur ti veĵt'šemnid, oškes kjemnid. una meškes nin taje mištem t'šuzem šojis.[...]*“

„Eine grosse, gute (Tat) habt ihr getan, den Bären habt ihr erlegt. Viele Kühe hatte dieses hässliche Gesicht schon gefressen. [...]“ [UVy 287;416]

(72) *prijo-mštšikis petiz\_da mužikes medalema oš jaite k u l e m – d i n e k jledni.*

Der Empfänger kam heraus und stellte einen Mann ein, um das Bärenfleisch stromabwärts nach Kulömdin zu transportieren. [UVy 287;416]

The following examples are my only examples for 2<sup>nd</sup> past anteriors in complex clauses. Examples (73) and (74) are from complement clauses (PCU), (75)-(77) have anterior 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts in relative clauses:

(73) *i premys vištalisnj, una-ε kjemnj, mamlj vištalisnj, i oš-kijem vištalisnj.*

Sie erzählten der Mutter, wieviel Beute sie erjagt hatten, und von der Bärenjagd erzählten sie. [Pe 163; 220]

(74) *kor ru d'žeg petas, kež'a'in vi d'žedle, abj-ε kol'em puste j mestajas. keni kol'ema, set't šj bara ke d'žeg.*

Wenn die Saat aufspriest, prüft der Bauer, ob leere Stellen übriggeblieben sind. Wo (solche) geblieben sind sät er erneut [LL 3; 8]

(75) *i šu<sup>v</sup>ε: “eni kutan spravit't šinij. kodi babajs teng tšikedema, sija pondas ti eših uvti vetledlenj gel'iken veža<sup>v</sup>un mįsti.”*

Und sie sagt: „Jetzt beginnst du gesund zu werden. Das Weib, das dich verhext hat, beginnt in einer Woche mit einem Reiserbesen unter eurem Fenster herzugehen.“ [LVy 148; 252]

(76) *a jaranjas veli pukalenj, kįtiš vid\_duše vijemnj.*

Aber die Samojuden sassen gerade dort, wo fünf Stück getötet worden sind. [Pe 164; 222]

(77) *porem nol'-pel'esa pūr, keni kertalema tiše t'š'a kubometr ver.*

*porem* 'Fähre' ist ein viereckiges Floss, das aus tausend Ster Holz gebunden wird. [LL 14;20]

Summing up the discussion, all presented possible anteriors are clearly outnumbered by those 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts with an evidential shading in my database. Whereas I have not presented all inferential and hearsay 2<sup>nd</sup> past, (55)-(77) are all anteriors I could encounter in my

database. This tendency shows that the temporal 2<sup>nd</sup> past is by no means the default option in the texts I have analyzed. This should hold for Komi in general.

#### 6.3.4. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past and pluperfects

As mentioned in chapter 2, the overall description of periphrastic past tenses in Komi grammars is weak. Since Serebrennikov 1960 it has been generally accepted, that the rapid loss of periphrastic pasts in Komi must be connected to Russian impact and the absent of compound tenses in Russian. This argument is sound, but my data can't support this finding, because the textual frequency of pluperfects was very low. As mentioned in chapter 2 the difference in information source concepts for pluperfects depend on the copula: 1<sup>st</sup> past copula triggers non-evidential, 2<sup>nd</sup> past copulas evidential interpretation. Although this formal argument seems clear, it collides with the semantics of pluperfects. A distant past is easier to interpret evidentially than a more recent past and a lot of the encountered non-evidential pluperfects in my database could be interpreted evidentially without major problems. In several cases one would expect a copula in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past (e.g. in the traditional narrative PE 162), but this is not the case. In my database I have only one negative evidential pluperfect, this example has been mentioned earlier.

Because the formal analysis of the pluperfect (main verb 2<sup>nd</sup> past copula in 1<sup>st</sup> past) attributes non-evidential meaning to it, I do not see the need to pay much attention to additional semantic labeling. Still, examples (78)-(80) differ from the rest of the examples, because the subject is realized in the genitive case. According to my informant, this usage adds a slight modal shading on the agent and could be compared to the Estonian construction *tal oli vaja teha midagi* 'he had to do something'. An interesting, but isolated case is example (80), where a 1SG pluperfect is presented.

(78) *a nalen premis **kijema vgli** una kod' nin.*

Und sie hatten schon viel Beute erjagt. [Pe 163; 220]

(79) *i vojis voj. naja munisnj bank dorε. zna(t) šit, i v a · nlen **vgli tedmalema** nin,  
kiti pjrni*

Es wurde Nacht. Sie gingen zur Bank. Ivan hatte also schon festgestellt, auf welchem Weg man hineingehen muss. [Pe 162; 210]

- (80) *menam ta<sub>d</sub>'ž'i loji oškēs kjema.* [...] meša "bat'ε, ur *pjd'd'iid menam b u sejd uvtis oškēs. no ešša menam ta<sub>d</sub>'ž'i loji oškēs vjema.*

So kam ich dazu einen Bären zu erlegen. [...] Ich sagte: „Vater, satt eines Eichhörnchens bellte mein Busö nach einem Bären. Na, so kam ich dazu, einen Bären zu töten. [LVy 177; 298]

This is the only intransitive example from my database:

- (81) *nalen bat' ez-nin vel, vgli kulema.*

Sie hatten keinen Vater mehr, er war gestorben. [Pe 163; 218]

(82) and (83) are the only objective resultive in my database:

- (82) *bēt ška vgli puktema da bokε.*

Das Teerfass war ja bereits gestellt worden. [Pe 162; 212]

- (83) *mijan vgli gortjn se<sub>t</sub>šem slu(t'šai. t'at'e vgli arestu jtema seki.*

Bei uns zu Hause ereignete sich ein solcher Vorfall. Der Vater war damals gefangen. [Vy 173; 238]

In examples (84) and (85) the 2<sup>nd</sup> past appears with transitive verbs, and in (86) with an object complement.

- (84) *iva-n sija kjd'žž bjt t'ε vgli kupet š kjšašema, kjd'ž'i olle kupet š.*

Ivan, (d)er war sozusagen als Kaufmann verkleidet, wie der Kaufmann zu sein pflegt. [Pe 162; 208]

- (85) *t'ešt'is žat'islen vgli ad'd'žema rijta dorse ož-gu.*

Der Schwiegervater meines Schwagers hat gerade gegen Abend ein Bärenlager entdeckt. [Pe 164; 224]

- (86) *p e d e r dij ez dumajt i stavse vištalis, ku<sub>t</sub>š'em šog vgli ušema jur vjlas.*

Translation: Peder überlegte nicht lange, er erzählte alles, welcher Kummer über ihn gekommen war. [MS 91;150]

The only example, which has a negated evidential plural (inferential) is repeated for convinience:

- (14) *mi sultim stavnim da kılzam, vglem-kε m a k š i m v a n eid mijanes tšuksale  
mεs-jaıte t'el'ega puktini. εtnasen oz vglem vermi da sijen ij ukjedle, t'šuksale.*

Wir alle blieben stehen und horchten, es schien, Maksim-Vane ruft nach uns, um den Kadaver der Kuh auf den Wagen zu legen. Allein konnte er (es) nicht, und deshalb macht er auch Huhu, ruft. [UVy 287;410]

#### 6.4. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt

The past tense system of contemporary Udmurt is richer than the system of both Komi varieties. The usage of compound pasts in Udmurt is more frequent, too. The most striking difference between Udmurt and the Komi varieties is the fact, that Udmurt has a proper resultative construction in *-(e)mjn* which is based on the *m-* participle and the inessive case *-jn*.<sup>88</sup> This construction does not take possessive suffixes. Although morphologically infinite this resultative construction behaves syntactically as a finite verb and can be used with compound tenses. It can be formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs. Although frequently attested in 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms, it can be used in all persons<sup>89</sup>; in this case pro-drop is not possible because the resultative construction is not marked for person.

As already mentioned earlier, the discussion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt could not be based on a basis as solid as for Zyrian Komi. This is a consequence of the published material, which is made up overwhelmingly by traditional narratives. The material in Munkácsi 1952 is not suited for this discussion and these texts are excluded from the discussion which deals with qualitative interpretation.

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<sup>88</sup> Stipa's interpretation of the resultative construction as a another manifestation of the "modus obliquus" is not correct (1960: 196). According to Stipa, the ending should be analyzed as an instrumental. Principally this interpretation is possible, too, but I do not intend to go deeper into this discussion.

<sup>89</sup> The last point is missing in Winkler's grammar (2001: 58).

#### 6.4.1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past as framing

In this case Udmurt differs radically from both Komi varieties. Traditional narratives are framed and narrated exclusively in 2<sup>nd</sup> past.<sup>90</sup>

- (1) *okpol uin jegit n̄l vu ponna koloč č'a dorj **potem**, inm̄jn toliž, pe, pište **v̄ilem**. jun urod ulonez, vi-d'imo, **v̄ilem-a**, mara ta n̄llen. toližez až ž'isa šue, pe: - e, toliž mum̄ikaje, toliž mum̄ikaje, žut val ton mone as dorad. soje kilsa, toliž **žutem**. al'no až ž'in̄j lue na toližis̄ karnanen n̄lez.*

[PM Kez 20; 192]

Kerran yöllä nuori tyttö lähti kaivolle vettä hakemaan. Taivaalla loisti kuu. Kovin huonoa, mitä lie, oli ilmeisesti tämän tytön elämä. Nähdessään kuun hän sanoo:

- Voi, emoseni kuu, emoseni kuu, nostaisitpa minut luoksesi. Tämän kuullessaan kuu nosti hänet [luokseen]. Vielä nytkin voi nähdä kuussa tytön korentoineen. [PM Kez 20; 192]

- (2) [...] *duñne k̄lduku, soos ogažin pe, uuo vau aj. berat touežlj̄ vujom̄jn̄ **kuskem** šundi: veš, pe, juḡiten̄jz̄ ušjaške no, a tolež siče, pe, juḡit̄ ēvēu. vot šundi doris̄ **koškem** so no, soini k, leša, uj no nunā **luil'lam**. [...]*

Maailmaa luotaessa ne elivät vielä yhdessä. Sitten aurinko alkoi kyllästyttää kuuta; aina se ylpeilee valollaan, mutta kuu ei ole nii valoisa. Niinpä se lähti auringon luota ja sen vuoksi kaiketi syntyivät yö ja päivä. [VM V 44; 220]

- (3) *tuš kemāuas̄ pil'emjos, pe, tuž uuj̄n̄ **v̄juil'lam**. udmurtjos̄ vešašk̄ik̄iz̄j, pi'lemjos, pe, j̄jrazī jet̄juizi. kaūik̄ soku uue **v̄juem** tuš kapč'i: in̄miš̄ uuj̄s̄jos̄ muzjem̄ v̄jutī vetlo **v̄juem**, ad'amijos̄jz̄ dišet̄isa. in̄ tuž č'̄juk̄jt̄, pe, vau, l̄im̄j kad'. adjamijos̄ uuj̄l'lam tuž umoj.*

Oikein kauan sitten pilvet olivat olleet hyvin alhaalla. Udmurttien rukoillessa pilvet koskettivat heidän päätänsä. Kansan oli silloin ollut oikein helppoa elää: taivaan asukkaat olivat kulkeneet maan päällä opettaen ihmisiä. Taivas oli ollut hyvin puhdas, lumen kaltainen. Ihmiset olivat eläneet erittäin hyvin. [EM PP 70; 256-258]

This usage is more than a tendency. I did not check the distribution of tenses in the folktales in Munkácsi (1952 chap VI), because I did not feel the need to continue after having worked myself through chapters I-IV. Still I propose, that these narratives will

<sup>90</sup> For furthergoing comments see 6.2.1.

be narrated with more than chance in 2<sup>nd</sup> past, too. This should become obvious with reference to the following point. The following table shows the correlations between traditional narratives and choice of tense based on an analysis of Munkácsi's texts in chapter II "Aus dem Volksglauben" and chapter III "Bärenkult und Jagdleben":<sup>91</sup>

| chapter                     | Σ of texts | Σ of texts in 2 <sup>nd</sup> past | Σ of texts in present and 1 <sup>st</sup> past |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|--|
| II Aus dem Volksglauben     | 59         | 54                                 | 5  |
| III Bärenkult und Jagdleben | 23         | 19                                 | 4  |

When choosing a statistical approach, the numbers show a clear correlation: 92% of the texts in chapter II and 83% in chapter III are narrated in 2<sup>nd</sup> past. After having examined those texts which are narrated in non-2<sup>nd</sup> past the correlations become even clearer. Those 9 texts, which are narrated in present tense or 1<sup>st</sup> past, have an ethnological storyline. When these texts are excluded, one ends up with a 100% correspondence. This is of course not representative, because the database is rather small. Still, even if one would increase the number of texts the result will most likely remain in the 90s%.

#### 6.4.2. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past with evidential shading

Due to the fact, that Udmurt has a grammaticalized frequent resultative construction, the inherent meaning of the verb seems to be of lesser importance in the overall interpretation. In both Komi varieties intransitive verbs were harder to interpret evidentially than transitive verbs; this correlation seems to be unknown in Udmurt. This leads to the question, whether there is a possible connection between the rise of the resultative construction and the absence of this correlation in Udmurt or if this is due to the smaller database. Unfortunately I can't give proof to any of these speculations.

Another fundamental difference between Komi and Udmurt must be mentioned, because this turns out to be the deciding factor for the following contrastive analysis. Although Udmurt and Komi are highly agglutinating languages, they differ in syntax and this will become obvious in the discussion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt. In contrast to Komi, Udmurt avoids subordinate clauses with finite verbs and expresses this with converb constructions. That means, that Udmurt has no relative clause (at least not in its classical SAE sense) and the frequency of verbal complements is lower than in Komi.

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<sup>91</sup> I beg pardon from folklorists who most surely would not call those texts traditional narratives. My interpretation is based on linguistic intolerance.

In the course of the paragraph, the same form-function mapping as for both Komi varieties will be discussed and a short paragraph on resultative constructions will close this paragraph.

#### 6.4.2.1. The inferential usage

The usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past for coding inferentially obtained information has been encountered in the following examples. Most of the cases have not been encountered isolated; they are part of longer constructions and are accompanied with other verbs in 2<sup>nd</sup> past or other past tense constructions. In several cases, the complete background had to be integrated.<sup>92</sup> Example (4) demonstrates this problem. This is the opening of a historic narrative (with several elements typical for traditional narratives). The narrative is dominated by 2<sup>nd</sup> past narration and the example is embedded in a series of 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts. Still, there is a switch in perspective which stands completely outside the context and this seems to be an inferential comment introduced by the narrator. The comment is not based on any traces but seems to represent the general knowledge diagnose. Wherever many people live together, some of them must be richer than others:

- (4) *variš, pe, soku zek gurt ni val, kaližkez no tros **vilem** ni. vi-d'imo, pelazi uzirjoszjzges no **vilem**. i tiñ kik bratjos šemjajazi ulo **vilem**.*

Bliz-Varyž oli silloin jo iso kylä, väkeäkin [siellä] oli jo paljon. Ilmeisesti heidän juokossaan oli rikkaampiakin. Ja niin kaksi veljeä eli perheessään. [PM Bal 17; 188]

Example (5) is not clearer but should be interpreted inferentially, too. Although a hearsay account (heard from the narrator's mother) could be possible, too. The narrator and his friend are out and tease a ram. The narrator gets knocked out by the ram and his friend leaves him lying alone.

- (5) *kema gine mon otjn **kjl'škem**. mame ušantjiš **vuem** no **ažž'em**, pe: gid ažjn mon **kjl'iško**. žo-gak pjlatem no korka **pirtem**. noš kijnmesam al' i ke no pusez vañ na.*

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<sup>92</sup> This brings examples along, which should be mentioned under another heading later. This was not possible to avoid.

Olin maannut siellä melko pitkään. Äitini oli tullut työstä ja nähnyt: minä makaan lampolan edessä. Nopeasti hän oli valellut minua vedellä ja kantanut taloon. Mutta otsassani nytkin vielä on jälki. [VM U; 37; 212]

Example (6) points directly to an inferential interpretation. The villagers infer that the heavy rain was most likely the wrath of the god Inmar, because the villagers changed the holy place. The inference seems to be the narrator's interpretation, because she asks the neighbour. Interestingly, the question is uttered as an evidential pluperfect!

(6) *odik pol, pe, l'ek zor uknoostj **pil'ilem**. vešaškon mestazes voštemzj evel, pe, leša, jaram inmarlj. paršez no vešan ug le:ž'o vjlem, leša, o-te anna?*

Kerran voimakas sade rikkoi ikkunat. [Se, että] he olivat vaihtaneet uhripaikan, ei ilmeisestikään miellyttänyt Inmaria. Sikaakaan ei varmaan saanut antaa uhriksi, eikö niin, Anna? [VM Šar 50; 226]

The interpretation of (7) as inferential is largely based on formal reasons (see the remarks at the beginning of this paragraph). A resultative can't be excluded completely, but a resultative should be expressed morphologically in this case and the diagnostic interpretation seems to prevail.

(7) *čukažiaz čukna važ ik sulti no mjni. kaljkez bazare tros **l'ukaškem**.*

Seuraavana päivänä aamulla nousin hyvin aikaisin ja lähdin. Väkeä oli kerääntynyt torille paljon. [VM Šar 52; 232]

The following example is a stylistically motivated inferential 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The speaker tells about a strange event which took place on a Monday. The inferential utterance (it turned out the case, that my Monday was strange, too) creates the frame for a rather strange story to follow:

(8) *poñd'el'ńikes šekjt nunal šuo uk, ožj ik van vjlem.*

Maanantaihan sanotaan raskaaksi päiväksi, [ja] sellaisenhan se olikin. [VM Šar 52; 232]

The last example is most likely an inferential 2<sup>nd</sup> past, too. The narrator tells about her childhood and about the poverty of the family. Whereas the uncles seem to be richer, the father had a hard fortune and the following utterance seems to a sudden diagnostic

flashback into her childhood were the narrator most probably has not understood the situation in its whole dimension:

(9) *ataje m<sup>3</sup>nam jun kuražž'ž'ēsa ulem.*

Minun isäni eli kovasti kituuttaen. [PE Bess 132; 350]

#### 6.4.2.2. The mirative usage

The mirative usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past can be seen in the following examples. Example (10) and (11) come from a personal narrative which contains a strong element typical for traditional narratives. The chosen examples contain these elements, too. The narrator reports, how he became invited by a man while he was on his way to the market. He accepts the invitation and in the course of the next lines it turns out, that the man is a water-spirit. When entering the underwater realm the narrator is surprised, that the water-spirits live the same life as humans. In both Udmurt and Komi, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past copula can be used in inferential or in mirative contexts:

(10) *so mone vu ule pirtiz. otjn no sooslen muzjem vjln kad'ik ulonzj vjlem. vu uljn mone šudiz no jžijnj kosiz.*

Hän vei minut veden alle. Sielläkin heillä elämä oli sammanlaista kuin maan päällä. [PM Glaz 6; 168]

The next day, the narrator is brought back to the surface by the water-spirit. The narrator has spent one night in the realm of the water-spirit ('to sleep' is in 1<sup>st</sup> past) but to his own surprise he discovers, that one year has passed in the human world:

(11) *mon pajmi: so ik nunal so, so ik č'islo no, tol'ko arez muket. odig nunal mon so dorjn jži no, bjdes ar orčč'em.*

Minä hämmästyin: on sama päivä, sama [kuukauden] päivä, vain vuosi on toinen. Nukuin yhden yön hänen luonaan, ja kokonainen vuosi kului. [PM Glaz 6; 168]

The next example is taken from a personal narrative. The narrator reports, how he and his friend try to court girls. After the first try, they leave for a more distant village and to their surprise they find, that the local traditions differ from their own:<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> In the following sentences, the narrator repeats once more, that these traditions were a surprise for him.

(12) *a vot keze ken kurani vetlim no, otijn obj-č'ajjossj vo-ksó muketeś vjilil'ŧ'am.*

Ja kas Keziin[kin] menimme tyytöä kosimaan, mutta siellä tavat olivat aivan toiset. [PM Deb 27;200]

The last example for a mirative interpretation is integrated in a larger context. The overall interpretation of this part is rather murky. The narrator tells a story about her aunt who got lost and how she was found some days later. The narrator has not seen the event personally which would classify the event as a matter of hearsay. Still the first sentence does not fit into the typical hearsay context, the verbs of the first sentence are all in 1<sup>st</sup> past and only the verb *vujni* 'to return' is in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. Based on this and the use *vokso*<sup>94</sup> to emphasize the surprising moment, I would interpret the first sentence as a manifestation of mirativity. The second sentence is without any doubts a hearsay usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

(13) *es še-t'te nokijtjś no, kuiñ nunal uč'č'azj, noš apa vo-ksó muket ašti vuem, muket śikj's. soje ujin vajil'ŧ'am, hjl'e-tjaz uje olokni-njos kel'al'ŧ'am.*

Mistään [tätiä] ei löydetty, kolme päivää etsittiin, mutta täti palasi aivan toiselta suunnalta, toisesta metsästä. Hänet tuotiin yöllä, neljäntenä yönä jotkut saattoivat hänet [kotiin]. [VM Šar 48; 226]

#### 6.4.2.3. The hearsay usage

This is the usage, which I have encountered the most in my database. The usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in hearsay interpretation can be used to report 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> hand knowledge and as has already been mentioned, folklore. For Udmurt, the folklore usage means mythical and ritual narratives, too. The following examples have been chosen, because they are all cases of 2<sup>nd</sup> hand hearsay and exclude folklore usage. This is a choice of convenience; the usage in folklore is uniform and offers less interesting material than the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> hand knowledge. Although the main point in this paragraph are simple 2<sup>nd</sup> past forms, there are several cases of compounds which could not be left unmentioned; otherwise too much context would be missing.

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<sup>94</sup> I have found no evidence whether *vokso* should be analyzed as modal adverb or particle, I would prefer an interpretation based on a particle-like basis.

Example (14) is an almost prototypic instance of hearsay. From the start (and the choice of tense) of the narration it becomes obvious, that the narrator still has seen the spruce. The rest of the story is hearsay and therefore reported in 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

- (14) *gurtmjlen palʹan palaz, busj šorjn, azlo sʹiliz baž`ž`im kiz. žužjt no paškjt val so. alʹi evel n ike no, ta intijes kizja nimalo. gurt puskjku, telʹes koralʹam no ta odik kizez gjne **kelʹtilʹam**. šunj kutkilʹam soje baž`ž`imkiz.*

Vasempaan kylästämmä, pellon keksellä, seisoi aikaisemmin iso kuusi. Se oli iso ja leveä. Vaikka sitä nyt enää ole, tätä paikkaa nimitetään kuusen mukaan. Kylää perustettaessa metsä hakattiin, ja tämä yksi kuusi vain jätettiin jäljelle. Sitä alettiin kutusa Isoksi Kuuseksi. [VM V 46; 224]

Examples (15)-(17) further demonstrate the hearsay usage. In example 16 a very interesting syntactic construction *uč`č`asa ulilʹam* involving the 2<sup>nd</sup> past demonstrates ultimately the verbal character of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. This is a typical converb construction which consists of the converb in *-sa*<sup>95</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> past of ‘to live.’ Two infinite constructions as a predicate are not allowed in Udmurt syntax and therefore this clearly demonstrates the verbal character of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

- (15) *gražda·nskoj vojna dʹirja gurjn ulišjos **koškilʹam** nuleskj. otjn vʹilem jun kuž no paškjt nukez. gurtazj neno·kičē životez no **eveñ kelʹtilʹam**, č`i·stozes šgrazj **nuilʹam**.*

Kansalaissodan aikana kylän asukkaat menivät metsään. Siellä oli erittäin pitkä ja leveä rotko. Kylään he eivät jättäneet mitään eläimiä, kaiken he veivät mukanaan. [PM Kez 23;194]

- (16) *uljnʹj **ljktilʹam** č`epca palaš. azlo nuleso mesta, pe, uč`č`asa uljli·zj. sere uč`č`asa **ulilʹam** no mesta **šettilʹam**.*

Translation:

Čepcan puolesta on muutettu [tänne]. Ensin on etsiskelty mestäistä paikka. Sitten etsiskeltiin ja löydettiin paikka. [PM Kez 25; 196]

- (17) *milʹam gurtamj tuž erekč`i aña mitrič` nimo piosmurt **ulem**.*

Meidän kylässämme asui Aña Mitryč`-niminen mies, suurenmoinen petkuttaja. [VM Sel; 35; 210]

<sup>95</sup> *-sa* expresses simultaneity, sometimes anteriority, too.

The following example is a report about olden times. Besides, the second sentence, there are no further problems with this example. The overall question is, why is the 2<sup>nd</sup> past copula used in the second sentence - *so č'erk maktal vālem*. Whether the *kuala* belonged to the Mikon family is of lesser importance and may be marked with 2<sup>nd</sup> past, but the existence of a *kuala* in older times is a hard fact (general knowledge) and the description of their size is made in 1<sup>st</sup> past. The only reasonable explanation to offer would be to call the first *vylem* anterior, but because this example is isolated one should not overestimate its importance.

- (18) *mar so kuala-ua? so č'erk maktal vālem. gurtān zek kuala no peč'ī kuala, pe, lue val. zek kuala mikonjosnān vālem. peč'ī kuala po-grep kad' gine val, otān ik jel vožo. l'ukaskālāl'ām no šijāsa-juāsa ulālāl'ām.*

Mikä se *kuala* [rukouskota, kesäkota, keittokota] on? Se oli ikään kuin kirkko. Kylässä oli iso *kuala* ja pieni *kuala*. Iso *kuala* oli Mikonin [perheen]. Pieni *kuala* oli vain kellarin kaltainen, sielläkin säilytetään [kesällä] maitoa. [Sinne] keräännyttiin ja [siellä] syötiin ja juotiin. [PM Glaz 8; 170]

Examples (19)-(21) are longer hearsay narratives presented in 2<sup>nd</sup> past. Please note the change in perspective at the end of example 19 where the narration switches to 1<sup>st</sup> past:

- (19) *ta gurtjn uljšjoslen ko-t'kut korikalen val aslaz nīmiz [...] vit' korka oňč'aos vjljl'ām. vit' pios. soos peljš odigez vjlem kuažen obid'emez vižmjn no, kjnaren no, jmnjrjn no. solen nīmiz oňč'a, soini kjlēm sooslj korka nīm – oňč'aos. oňč'alēn vjlem na pijež t'opan. so zek budem beraz, jun jarate vjlem oxothikanj, ta oxothik asleštjs pize no djšetem oxothikanj. piježlen nīmiz vjlem ol'eksan. odik pol o ol'eksan gondjrlj puktem samostrel. puktem beraz, kje-ti nunalaz, so samostrelas šgdēm aslaz ais t'opan. ožj ol'eksan ajje kel'tis pjttek. pjdze t'opanleš vandi-zj, no sobere so ačiz leštjlis pu pjđ, soin vetljliz.*

Tässä kylässä jokaisen talon asukkailla oli oma nimi. Viisi taloa oli Oňč'an [sukua]. Viisi poikaa. Heistä yksi oli jumalan vahingoittama sekä järjeltään, voimiltaan että kasvoiltaan. Hänen nimensä oli Oňč'a, hänen mukaansa jäi heille talon nimeksi Oňč'a. Oňč'alla oli vielä poika, T'opan. Isoksi kasvettuaan tämä rakasti kovasti metsästämistä [ja] tämä metsästäjä opetti oman poikansakin metsästämään. Hänen poikansa nimi oli Ol'eksan. Kerran Ol'eksan asetti karhua

varten itselaukaisevan jousen. [Jousen] asettamisen jälkeen toisena päivänä sen jousen eteen joutui hänen oma isänsä T´opan. Näin Ol´eksan tuhosi isänsä jalan (‘jätti isänsä jalattomaksi’). T´opaniilta leikattiin jalka, ja sen jälkeen hän teki itse puujalan [ja] käveli sillä. [PM Jar 1; 156]

- (20) *išemez uk to·tkj, malj ožj šuo. oti, pe šibire kel´alo **vjlem**, ka·torgaje, al´i no trakez vañ na. kžžj val aj, kat´eri-na ftoroj-a, mar-a? so uk, pe, **košem**, trak durti kjšpu merttjn.*

Yšemin [kylästä] en tiedä, miksi sitä niin kutsutaan. Sitä kautta (‘siellä’) sanotaan lähetetyn [ihmisiä] Siperiaan, pakkotyöhön, vielä nytkin [siellä] on maantie. Miten se oli, Katariina II vai mikä? Hänhän oli käskenyt istuttaa maantien varrelle koivuja. [VM JB 54; 234]

- (21) *so vešaskones korazj. pe·rvoj i´ kommuńisjos čogil´am – tēd´i il´a no jasa´ l´ogor. jasa´ l´ogor vojnaiš i´ **berjnte**. bertos šusa vozmawo vañ iñi, no tiñi: bertiš marke rañit´ lusa **kuem**. noš tēd´i il´o´ kema **kuraž´ž´em**, „pežsa **kjil´em**“ - vjltjrze ko·pa´ potos **baštem**.*

Se uhripaikka kaadettiin. Ensimmäisenä iskivät kirveellä kommunistit: *Tēd´i Il´a* (‘valkea Il´a’ virall. Belov) ja L´ogor Jasak. Jasakin L´ogorhan ei palannut sodasta. Odottivat jo häntä ajatellen, että hän tulee, mutta kas: palatessaan hän haavottui [ja] kuoli. Mutta *Tēd´i Il´a* kärsi pitkään, mätäni [elävältä] (‘paistujen makasi’) – hänen ruumiinsa oli kokonaan mätäpaiseiden peitossa. [EM PP 65; 248]

The last example (22) consists of several different usages of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The first two forms in 2<sup>nd</sup> past, though formed from the same verb have different functions. Both examples are instances of hearsay, but second example is a hearsay-quotative. The third 2<sup>nd</sup> past is most probably a proper anterior and the last 2<sup>nd</sup> past must be interpreted as an inferential:

- (22) *uaškalajos pukšjkj, gondjř tjros **vjlem**. seje tiñi al´i gondjřñik šuo. ač´im uk to·diškj, peršataj no, ataj no ožj šuožj **vjlem**. mil´am d´ozjoslen, ma, **a´žemzj evel** ta palaš gondjřjosjz. gondjřez **vjlem** ik, djř, ožj ej šu·jsalzj.*

Kun esi-istä asettuivat [sinne, siellä] oli paljon karjuja. Nytkin sitä kutsutaan Karhurotkoksi. Itse en tiedä, [mutta] isoisö ja isä sanoivat niin. No, meidän ikätoverimme eivät vielä ole nähneet tällä seudulla karhuja. Karhuja oli epäilemättä kuitenkin ollut, [muuten sitä] ei niin nimitettäisi. [PE KT 122; 330]

#### 6.4.2.4. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past and ego

Three examples for 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts in 1<sup>st</sup> person will be discussed here; several other (compound) 1<sup>st</sup> person examples must be spared for other purposes and will be demonstrated later.

(23) and (24) are clear instances of non-volitionality.

(23) *uk to·tkj, kiž'j mi umme uškemmj.*

En tiedä, miten me nukahdimme. [VM JB 59; 242]

(24) *suzere obedasa kəl'iz. užonnam veraškânâ kuč'ikiškem.*

Pikkusiskoni jäi syömään. Unissani aloin puhella. [PE Bess 134; 352]

Example (25) is a little trickier. Let aside the first example, which seems to be a case of inferentiality, it looks like a series of anteriors.

(25) *sere jiraz liktem, išan dir, ta šusa. asleštiz beriktem dišse, ošpijezleš – šezel'čaze, bukoze. "o·stemmar!" šuem, pukšem deđ'ijaz no virž'em.*

Sitten juolahti päähäni, että se on varmaan paha [haltia]. Itseltäni vaatteet käänsin nurin, härältä setolkan [ja] luokin. "Jumala siunatkoon" sanoin, istuuduin rekeen ja lähtin liikkelle. [PM Glaz 11; 174]

#### 6.4.2.5. Evidential durative pasts

The interpretation of the so called evidential durative past makes no problem, all cases are clearly evidential. This form is relatively frequent. Examples (26) and (27) present affirmative forms, (28) and (29) negative forms – both in 3SG.<sup>96</sup> The semantics of the durative evidential past seems to cover habitual meanings, too. In (26), the first two sentences present a durative non-evidential and a durative evidential:

(26) *taje minim gil'atajzije veraloz val. odik pol gurt viltimi lapektiges gine **lobd'o** vilem turi d'ad'ed'os šunit pala. utoriš zok mikolaj **kutem** no **kel'tem** odik d'ad'e'zes.*

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<sup>96</sup> Note, that example 29 is a interrogative sentence!

Tästä appeni tapasi kertoa. Kerran kylämme yli lensi aivan matalalta villejä hanhia [matkalla] lämpimille seuduille. Zek-Mikolaj Nikolaškinon [kylästä] pyydysti ja piti yhden hanhista. [PE Bav 113; 304]

- (27) *šemonen ondien tel'in ulo vjlem, pu daśasa. žytaže bertem berazi, gubien šjt peštjnĭ malpal' am. šurjś kot'eloken vu omjrtil' am.*

Šemon ja Ondi asuivat metsässä puuta kaataen. Illalla palatuaan he ajattelivat keittää sienistä keittoa. He ammensivat pakkiin vettä joesta. [VM JB 55; 234-236]

- (28) *baž'ž'ân-baž'ž'ân nuleslen šoraz vâlem baž'ž'ân šur. ta šurlen vuez tuž č'âlkât vâlem. no-kiñ ta šurez uk to-dâ vâlem.*

Valtavan metsän keskellä oli iso joki. Sen joen vesi oli erittäin kirjasta. Kukaan ei ilmeisesti tuntenut tätä jokea. [EM PP 91; 282]

- (29) *odik pol, pe, l'ek zor uknoostj pjl'jlem. veśaśkon mestazes voštemzj evel, pe, leśa, jaram inmarlj. parśez no veśan ug le-ž'o vjlem, leśa, o-te anna?*

Kerran voimakas sade rikkoi ikkunat. [Se, että] he olivat vaihtaneet uhripaikan, ei ilmeisestikään miellyttänyt Inmaria. Sikaakaan ei varmaan saanut antaa uhriksi, eikö niin, Anna? [VM Šar 50; 226]

#### 6.4.2.6. Evidential pluperfects

The database contains only one evidential pluperfect:

- (30) *ta nuk dorĭn kjk-kuñ korkan porjos ulo val. udmurtjosleś l'ukiśkĭsa, soosĭn terĭtek, oč'č'ĭ nuk dorĭ koškil' am. noš bjdes gurt kĭljmte ni, leśa. ožĭ ik bjril' am-a, koškil' am-a, uk to-škĭ ni. korkossj kĭlem vjlem no, soini k vužkorkańuk šuil' am.*

Tämän rotkon lähellä eli kaksi-kolme taloa mareja. Udmurteista erottuaan, [kun] eivät olleet tulleet näiden kanssaan toimeen, he lähtivät sinne rotkon lähelle. Mutta kokonaista kylää ei [sinne] ilmeisesti enää muodostunut. En enää tiedä, menehtyivätkö he niin vai lähtivätkö pois. Heidän talonsa olivat jääneet, juuri sen vuoksi [paikkaa] kutsutiin Vužvorkańukiksi ('vanhojen talojen rotkoksi') [EM AL 80; 248]

### 6.4.3. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a proper anterior

Because Udmurt has a productive grammaticalized form for expressing resultativity, the interpretation of 2<sup>nd</sup> pasts without evidential shading should be instances of anteriority. That means that in these cases it's not the result but the situation as a whole which has consequences for the ongoing situation. This might collide with the semantics of the verb as for example in (34).

#### 6.4.3.1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past as anterior

The following examples (31)-(33) seem to be good candidates for an anterior interpretation. (31) is a dialogue from a traditional narrative. The anterior interpretation is mainly based on the two conditionals *pejasal* 'I would cheat' which make no sense in a mirative or an inferential situation.

- (31) - *ma otjn pukkod? tek pukjč'čož, mone pe·ja-ka lu·čče kįžj ke.*  
- *pejasal, ke, pejasal, dij, no, pejal l'askon pujjme gurte kel'tiškem. a ton kįccj mįnkod? [...]*  
- Mitä siinä istut? Toimettomana istumisen asemasta petkutapa mielummin minua jollain tavoin.  
- Petkuttaisinpa kuin petkuttaisinkin varmaan, mutta jätin petkutuspussini kotiin. Entä sinä? Minne olet menossa? [PM Kez 22; 194]

Neither in (32) nor in (33) inferentiality seems to be necessary for the interpretation, because the state of being not-present is described and stressed. This state of course results from the former leaving, but has no other interference in these cases.

- (32) *nįlme šotiško val. kaljık lač'ak šuldįrjaško: šuan bere šuan ni. vań rodńami l'ukaškemjń, stancijs pije gine bertjńte – jęl nusa mįniz val.*  
*Naitin tyttäreni. Väkeä on valtavasti, [kaikki] pitävät hauskaa: kun kerran on häät, niin on häät. Koko sukumme on kerääntynyt, poikani vain ei ollut vielä palannut asemalta – hän meni [sinne] maitoa viemään. [PM Kez 24; 196]*
- (33) *mon totko na: apa kuiń č'askjń kotjrtjńj mįnem no įšiz.*  
Muistan ('tiedän') vielä: tati lähti kolmelta kokomaan [karjaa] ja katosi. [VM Šar 48; 226]

### 6.4.3.2. Non-evidential pluperfects

Only one example for a non-evidential pluperfect could be found in my database. This happens to be a 1SG, but because of the fact that the copula is realized in 1<sup>st</sup> past no evidential interpretation is possible.

- (34) *noš gurtmĭ ke ja-rasal, oto vaň uolnme no tatĭn ej o-rč'č'itĭsal. odig dĭre koškĭnĭ malpam val, noš mon śures so pala potsa, korka šoram uč'ki no tuž žal' potis korkaje.*

Mutta jos en olisi pitänyt kylästämmä, en ehkä olisi vietänyt koko elämäni täällä. Yhteen aikaan ajattelin lähteä, mutta minä menin tien toiselle puolelle, katsoin taloani, ja minun tuli kovi sääli taloa. [VM U; 39; 214]

### 6.4.4. The resultative construction

As it has been mentioned for several times, Udmurt has a grammaticalized resultative construction. The frequency in my database is rather low and all examples I encountered will be presented in the next paragraphs. Interestingly, the basic resultative construction was the least encountered.

#### 6.4.4.1. The proper resultative construction

The basic resultative construction appears twice in the following short narration and nowhere else in my database. Although the resultative construction presents only the result of an action it has some kind of evidential shade in the second example (probably due to *akĭr* 'certainly') and not to its transitive meaning.

- (35) *vuž egra gurt karman gurt inĭtiis liktemĭn. pe-rvoj liktil'Am atamanovjoslen, krest'anovjoslen vižĭzi. so vakĭt tatĭn pĭrĭnĭ luontem śed ħules vĭlem. tolzes potĭnĭ balagan porma korka leštil'Am, so gurežez al'ĭ no balangurež šuo. ta gurtiś, akĭr lukiskemĭn vil'gurt, pukl'ŏ, murkemĭr. ž'arĭka vižĭ šuo val vannapaljosĭz.*

Staraja Igran kylä on siirtynyt [tänne] Karmanovon kylän paikalle. Ensimmäisinä olivat tulleet Atamanovien [ja] Krest'janovien esi-isät. Siihen aikaan täällä oli ollut läpätunkematon synkkä metsä. Talvehtimista varten rakennettiin havumajan kaltainen talo, sitä vuorta [jolla se sijaitsi] kutsutaan vieläkin. Balangurežiksi ('havumajavuoreksi'). Tästä kylästä käsin ilmeisesti

asutettiin Vil'gurt, Pukl'ó, Mukemjr. [Kadun] yläpään asukkaiden sanottiin olevan ž'ajkan sukua. [EM PP 77; 267]

#### 6.4.4.2. The resultative pluperfect

The resultative construction with the meaning of a pluperfect can be encountered in the following examples. Interestingly all forms are semantically passive.

(36) *kizne vuim no, soos kortnaškemjn ni val.*

Saavuimme [Malaja] Kiznaan, mutta he olivat jo lukineet [portin]. [PM Deb 27;198]

(37) *tuš šuldjr val važen tortimjn. č'erk azbar kotjrtemjn val žel'ez·noj zaboren, so ša·koj uzorjosjn leštemjn val. ul'ča šorti kjk čur urobo pjt'j gine kįstiške val, ul'ča bjdes vož·vož ožojen šobjrskemjn val.*

[...] Aikaisemmin Tortymissa oli hyvin mukavaa. Kirkon piha oli ympäröity rauta-aidalla, se oli koristeltu kaikenlaisilla ornamenteilla. Tien ('kadun') keskellä oli vain kaksi rattaanjäkien uraa, koko tie oli vihreän ruohon peitossa. [PM Kez 26;198]

#### 6.4.5. The evidential pluperfect

The last two examples (38)-(39), are clear cases for an evidential resultative pluperfect. In both cases it's an incident of 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> hand hearsay knowledge.

(38) *vortskem gurtme nimalo val juškojil šujša. solen nimis ponemjn vjlem juško šurlen kutskoñnijzlj šujša.*

Syntymäkylääni nimitettin Juškojliksi. Sen nimi oli anettu Juško ('joutsenien')-joen alkulähteen takia. [PM Jar 1; 156]

(39) *tj·š'š'u šemost šejšat vošmom godu uštemjn vjlem torimjn pu č'erk.*

Vuonna 1768 avattiin Tortymissa puukirkko. [PM Kez 26;198]

## 7. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE 2<sup>ND</sup> PAST

### 7.1. Opening remarks

This paragraph introduces a new dimension into the ongoing research on the Permian 2<sup>nd</sup> past. So far, the interest of recent studies was focused only on the 2<sup>nd</sup> past of the individual languages but a comparative analysis has been missing.

It has been mentioned in the literature, that the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt and Mari resembles each other (Serebrennikov 1960: 65; Cypanov 2002: 168-170) but this empirical claim has never been proved. The same was claimed for Komi and Udmurt, too. Cypanov (2002) and Leinonen & Vilkuna (2000) have addressed the problem, but here one stands in front of the same problem: frequency and usage are two different possibilities of analysis and frequency does not explain usage. So far contemporary research has not left the stage of frequency studies. The practical question is how to conduct a comparative research when both languages are not one's native languages. In recent years, the usage of new bible translation has found some popularity, especially in Finland. Whereas this is a legitimate approach, I have not chosen to go this way; the new bible translations for Komi and Udmurt have not yet left the trial phase and revisions of the published trial editions will most probably occur. Besides, the language of the bible is stylistically highly marked and without any doubts not the most representative source of concrete language use. This should be borne in mind, especially if the output of literature is rather small and literacy in the first language is far from being the standard case. This applies to all Uralic languages spoken on the territory of the Russian Federation and most probably to the Saami languages, too.

The other possible choice is translated literature and in this case, the problem of authenticity is existent, too, but probably to a minor extent. Jorma Luutonen and the Department for Finno-Ugric Linguistics at the University of Turku prepare several parallel corpuses for different languages of the Volga-Kama area<sup>97</sup> and I have been granted the privilege to be the first user. I was given two corpuses of the coming VOLGCOMP parallel corpus: *Suomi eilen ja tänään* and *Pavlik Morozov*. The coming corpuses based on the translations of *Suomi eilen ja tänään* (further SET) and *Pavlik Morozov* (further PM) are of different quality and after a thorough analysis, I have chosen to work with the PM corpus. Despite its political background, the PM corpus is clearly better than the SET corpus. The language use of SET is contemporary, but the

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<sup>97</sup> <http://www.utu.fi/hum/sgr/VolgaPalv.htm>

thorough analysis of the texts has shown, that the translators did not follow the Finnish version, but often have mixed the Finnish original and the Russian translation. The decisive problem is the fact, that the Finnish and the Russian version are not 100% compatible. In several cases, the Udmurt translator translated a passage following the Finnish original, where the Komi translator has chosen the Russian variant and vice versa. This inconsistency in translation makes it impossible to use the Udmurt and Komi variants for a comparative analysis and I had to abandon it.

Putting aside the political background of Pavlik Morozov, the translation is very good<sup>98</sup> and although the book was intended for the Soviet youth<sup>99</sup>, its language use can be deemed suitable for morphosyntactic research. The rare fact, that this book has been translated into Udmurt, Zyrian Komi **and** Permjak Komi makes it even possible to shed light on the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in both Komi variants.

## 7.2. Problems with the Pavlik Morozov corpus

The PM corpus is still in a very basic shape and at the moment it can be searched only as a .txt or .doc file. For this the texts were transliterated using a different system than the usual Finno-Ugric transcription. Only by doing so, the compatibility of the transliteration and .txt/.doc searching function could be guaranteed.<sup>100</sup> This means, that I had to transform the Turku transliteration once more to obtain a suitable text for further working. The Turku transliteration guarantees a complete restoration of the text into

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<sup>98</sup> This is obviously due to the content of the book and the time of its translation (1950s).

<sup>99</sup> Although the content of the book is widely known in former Eastern Europe, the actor Pavlik Morozov was unknown to me before and that's why a very short characterization of the main character and the book's content is in order:

“If your father or mother had committed a serious crime, would you report it to the authorities? This was the question that the story of Pavlik Morozov posed to Soviet youth. In 1932, Pavlik Morozov, a fourteen-year old peasant lad was murdered allegedly in revenge for having denounced his father as a kulak who had hoarded grain. His murder resulted in a show trial in the Morozovs' village, Gerasimovka, in Sverdlovsk oblast. Pavlik was lauded as a Soviet hero -- by, among others, Maksim Gorky at the Soviet Writers' Congress in 1934 -- and adopted by the Pioneers as their patron saint. Statues of the boy were erected in Soviet towns, his name was invoked at meetings and in oaths, and the story of his martyrdom was told in inspirational children's books.

According to Iurii Druzhnikov, a Soviet writer who investigated the legend of Pavlik Morozov in the 1970s, almost everything about it was factually inaccurate. Pavlik's father was not a kulak but the chairman of a remote rural soviet. Pavlik accused him not of having hoarded grain, but rather of having attested that a recently arrived kulak deportee was a poor peasant from Gerasimovka. Pavlik may have been motivated to denounce his father not out of an (extreme) desire to uphold Soviet law, but because Grigorii Morozov had abandoned Pavlik's mother to move in with a younger woman. The bodies of Pavlik and his younger brother were found in a forest a few months after the arrest of their father. Whether their relatives had murdered them remains unclear. Finally, Pavlik was not and had never been a Pioneer.“

<http://www.soviethistory.org/index.php?action=L2&SubjectID=1934pavlik&Year=1934>

<sup>100</sup> The principles can be found under <http://www.utu.fi/hum/sgr/TranslKyr.gif>

their original orthography, but I was forced to work with a latinized orthography, because my software did not support the macros I was given in Turku. That's why I had to readjust the latinized Turku transliteration. This led to the problem, that several cases of palatalization have not been marked in the texts. After checking the texts for several times, some errors might have remained and I take the responsibility for these shortcomings. Still, this inconsistency in phonetic form has no impact on the semantic analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. Please note that the transliteration in this chapter differs from the one used in chapter 6; *ǰ* has been replaced by *y* and *ǧ* by *ö*, other small adjustments should explain themselves in context.

### **7.3. The role of the narrator**

The same observations concerning the involvement of the narrator as in chapter 6 apply for the following analysis, too. In general, Pavlik Morozov is narrated in third singular from a highly omniscient perspective, but not without several restrictions. The translation shows several passages, where the perspective of the omniscient narrator has been reinterpreted by the translators. The clearest example is in the beginning of the book; in the original text, units 60-69 present a clear flashback – the main characters pass two crosses, which stand next to the road they follow. The destiny of a merchant and his wife who were killed while travelling on the same road is reported. There is no hint in the narration, whether the narrator has seen the incident or not. The Zyrian Komi translator chose the omniscient perspective which resulted in a 1<sup>st</sup> past translation. The Udmurt and Permjak translators interpreted the passage as hearsay and translated it with the 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

### **7.4. The presentation of the material**

The rest of the paragraph I will discuss the 48 clear cases with the participation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past (from evidential to pluperfect) which I could find in the corpus. The order of the examples follows a coherent fixed pattern. The first example comes from the Finnish translation (S); this is followed by Zyrian Komi (Z), Udmurt (U) and Permjak Komi (P). The forms which will be discussed are presented in bold letters. The presentation starts with those cases, where the 2<sup>nd</sup> past has been found in all Permic varieties and consequently ends with examples for an isolated 2<sup>nd</sup> past usage in individual Permic varieties.

#### 7.4.1. All Permic varieties show 2<sup>nd</sup> past

The nine examples which use a 2<sup>nd</sup> past uniformly code the same concepts. Examples (1)-(4) are cases of inferential interpretation. In isolation example (2) could be interpreted as anterior and/or resultative. Still, when taking the context of (2) into consideration, it must be connected to example (1) and that's how it receives an inferential shade. Examples (3) and (4) explain themselves.

- (1) S57 *Ne olivat lahoontuneet, kallistuneet sateista ja tuulista, mutta yhä vain pysyivät pystyssä.*  
Z57 ***Sismömaös**, töv da zer ulyn **pölyntčömaös**, no vek na sulalöny.*  
U57 *Zor-kot ulyn no töl šoryn **sišmil'lam** no **čukinal'lam** ni, oz'y ke no, sylo na.*  
P57 ***Sismömaš**, **pöliñtčömaš** tövvezšaň da zerrezšaň, no šo ešö sulalöny.*
- (2) S70 - *Vasja setä, ristipä, tuota noin, ovat lahoontuneet...*  
Z70 - *D'ad'a Vaša, a öd krestjasys, sidz šuny, **sišmömaös**...*  
U70 - *Vaša agaj, ben kirošjossy **sišmil'lam** ini uk...*  
P70 - *D'ad' Vaš, a ed kresttez, vidzöt, **sišmömaš**....*
- (3) S531 *Mutta osottautui, etteivät asiat Gerasimovkassa olleetkaan kunnossa.*  
Z531 *No, **völömkö**, Gerasimovkayn delöjas abu burös.*  
U531 *Noš Gerasimovkayn užjos užjamoneš **vilymte***  
P531 *No **völöma**, čto Gerasimovkayn deloes umöl'ös.*
- (4) S1212 *Joku oli työntänyt hänen kaulansa alle palavan kekäleen.*  
Z1212 *Kodkö **šujöma** gol'a ulas lomtyšyš gölövnja.*  
U1212 *solen jyr ulaz kin ke no žuaš seregpum **dongem**.*  
P1212 *sivi uvtas kinkö **šujyštöma** sotčan golovnja.*

In example (5), Komi and Udmurt use a 2<sup>nd</sup> past as a mirative. In this case, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is situated in the complement of a PCU construction. This is the only example for a mirative, which is realized as a 2<sup>nd</sup> past:

- (5) S1013 - *Mutta katsopa, mitä hän löysi tänään eteisestä.*  
Z1013 - *A so vidzödly, myj sijö **addzöma** poszodzyš.*  
U1013 - *Tani učky, mar **šed'tem** so tunne korkaz'yš.*  
P1013 - *A vot vidzöt, myj sija posözdsis talun **adzzöma**.*

Interestingly, a 2<sup>nd</sup> past in a clear hearsay situation could be encountered only one time in the whole corpus. As for the mirative construction, it's embedded in a PCU

complement. Whereas the situation in the complement is uniform, the form of the PCU verb 'to hear' differs in Komi and Udmurt. Both Komi varieties use the 1<sup>st</sup> past for the PCU verb but the Udmurt translator has chosen a pluperfect:

- (6) S782 - *Kuulin, että teille on tullut joku piirikomiteasta?*  
 Z782 - *Me kyvli, rajonyś pö kodkö **voöma** tijanö?*  
 U782 - *Mon kylem val, ti dory rajonyś kin ke **lyktem** šuysa.*  
 P782 - *Me kyli, tijanö kinkö rajoniś **loktöm**?*

The remaining examples were interpreted as anteriors, simply because no evidential shading could be attributed to it. In example (7), the 2<sup>nd</sup> past stresses the anterior state of having found a suspicious flyer in the passive-like 3PL. In (8) the boy reports that they have arrived late, because they were far from home. The Zyrian 1PL is in the usual reflexive derivation which is needed for 1<sup>st</sup> person forms in standard Komi, Permjak must be a transliteration error in the files. If this turns out to be the case, this would be sensational because no 1<sup>st</sup> person forms have been reported in literature on Permjak. In (9), Udmurt describes grandmother's hunched shoulders with a resultative construction; the other verbs are in 2<sup>nd</sup> past as in Komi.

- (7) S1035 *Kävi eilen naapurissa, niin siellä olivat myöskin löytäneet tällaisia kirjelappuja.*  
 Z1035 *Töryt vetlis sosedjasö, seni tatsöm žö gižödjas **adzömaoš**.*  
 U1035 *Tolon buskel'jos dory vetliz, soos no syče gožtetjos **šed'til'l'am**.*  
 P1035 *Sija tön soseddez ordö vetlis, dak setč'in tožö setšöm zapisk'esö **adzömaś**.*
- (8) S168 - *Olimme kaukana, isä...*  
 Z168 - *Ylödz **munśöma**, papa...*  
 U168 - *Kyd'oke **pyriškemmy**, ataje...*  
 P168 - *Ylö **pyrimö**, t'at'u...*
- (9) S143 *Mummon nenä riippuu aito vanhusmaisesti sopottavien huulten yläpuolella, pää on painunut olkapäiden väliin ja hänen hartiansa ovat kumarassa.*  
 Z143 *Bablön nyrys dzik pörysjaslön moz **öšödčöma** tšetškyś vomdorjasödzyś, juryś **pyröma** pel'pomjasas, a myškas - görb.*  
 U143 *Pešanajlen perešmysa nyryz no piñtem ym doroz'az **ošiškem** ni, jyryz pel'pumjosyz visky **yšemyn**, tybyryz **gubyrskemyn**.*  
 P143 *Babyslön nyrys staruhalön moz **öšötčöma** piñtöm ömys veštyn, juryś **kysšöma** pel'ponnezas, pel'ponnez sajyn - gorb.*

#### 7.4.2. Komi 2<sup>nd</sup> past – Udmurt resultative construction

In the following cases (10)-(12), if concentrating solely on Komi, the missing agents would favor an anterior or respective an objective resultative interpretation. Due to the fact, that Udmurt uses the resultative construction in these cases, the resultative interpretation becomes compelling. The passive interpretation of examples (10)-(12) are based on the semantic transitivity of the used verbs.

- (10) S524 - *Se on nyt kumminkin naulattu kiinni.*  
Z524 - *Öni sijö pövjön **tuvjalöma** žö-a.*  
U524 - *So al'i syče ik **pytsamyn uk.***  
P524 - *Sija öni všo ravno **pödnalöm.***
- (11) S673 *Sinne on merkitty näin: keskivarakas Kulukanov Arseni Ignatjevitch.*  
Z673 *Sidzi i **gižöma**: Arsenij Ignat'evič' Kulukanov serednjak*  
U673 *Oz'y ik **gožtemyn**: serednjak Kulukanov Arsenij Ignat'evič'.*  
P673 *Sidz i **gižöma**: serednjak Kulukanov Arsenij Ignat'evič'.*
- (12) S1148 *Rintamuksessa on vihreä koruompelus.*  
Z1148 *Morössö vižön **vyšivajtöma**...*  
U1148 *Gad' vylyz vožen **pužyjatemyn**...*  
P1148 *Moros vylas zel'onöjön **serötöma**...*

The verbs in the Komi translations of example (13) are in the durative non-evidential pluperfect which overrides automatically the non-evidential interpretation of the intransitive verb. The Udmurt construction, too, is in a non-evidential past tense, correctly speaking in the non-evidential durative past resultative. The same holds for (14). This example shows an important typological difference between Komi and Udmurt. Whereas Komi can loan Russian verbs, (koZ: *ранитны* < ru: *ранить* 'to become wounded') Udmurt uses a pro-verb construction which uses the loaned lexeme (in this case the verb *ранить*) and adds *карыны* 'to make' which fills the verbal position.<sup>101</sup>

- (13) S462 *Kokous oli mennyt pilalle.*  
Z462 *Sborsö **völi torköma.***  
U462 *Sbor kuspeti **karemyn val.***  
P462 *Sbor **völi dzugöm.***

<sup>101</sup> The same is true for 13 *kuspeti karemyn val.* but I could not identify the lexeme.

- (14) *S1568 Andrei Tshubar - se sama pitkä, harteikas ukrainalainen, josta jo aikaisemmin sinulle kirjoitin - hyppäsi ensimmäisenä jääkylmään veteen, huolimatta siitä, että oli haavoittunut jalkaan.*  
*Z1568 Andrej ěubar' - sijö ydžyd, paškyd pel'pomjasa ukrainecys, kod jylys me tenyd gižli nin vodzdžyk - medvodz čěččyštis jia vaas, sy vylö vidzödtög, myj ranitčöma völi kokys.*  
*U1568 Mi pölys samoj žužytez, paškyt pel'pumo ukrainec - so šarys mon tynyd az'vyl no gožjaj ini - Andrej ěubar', pydyz ranit' karemyn ke no val, jö kad' kez'yt vue kot'kinleš az'lo tetčiz.*  
*P1568 Andrej ěubar' - sija samöj vylyn mygöra, paškyt pel'pona ukrainecys, köda jyliš me giži ni tenyt odžžyk - pervöj čěččövtis jya vaö, köt' i völi ranitöma kokas*

#### 7.4.3. All Permic varieties use a participle in different constructions

Although with minor importance for the actual discussion, example (15) shows the different time conception of the translators. The construction itself is resultative. Zyrian uses the simple 2<sup>nd</sup> past, Permjak a non-evidential pluperfect – both in the relative clause. Udmurt has no proper relative clause (at least not from an SAE point of view) and instead of a relative clause two simple clauses are used. The resultative construction appears in the same semantic position as in Komi.

- (15) *S1015 Se oli ruudukkaan vihkon lehdestä reväisty palanen, johon oli koukeroisella käsialalla kirjoitettu:*  
*Z1015 Tajö völi tetrad'yš kletčatöj listlön kusök, kodös gižöma nerovnoj bukvačasön:*  
*U1015 So val tetrad'yš kesem kečato listlen judesez. Otyň kyryž-kongyl' bukvaosyn gožtemyn:*  
*P1015 Eta völi tetradiš kletčatöj listok torok, köda vylyn noštöm bukvaezön völi gižöma:*

#### 7.4.4. 2<sup>nd</sup> past in both Komi varieties but not in Udmurt

The homogeneity in both Komi varieties is known, but detailed contrastive work in morphosyntax is missing. Surprisingly, the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in both Komi varieties differs more than I expected. Examples (16) and (17) were the only cases, where Zyrian and Permjak Komi differ from Udmurt. In example (16) the lack of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt is due to a different translation (Komi passive participle vs Udmurt demonstrative pronoun).

- (16) S810 *Annettu kansalaiselle ..... siitä, että hän on todellakin Uralin alueen, Tavdinskin piirin Gerasimovkan kylän asukas ja omasta tahdostaan poistuu asuinpaikaltaan.*  
 Z810 *Šetöma tajös graždanin ..... sy jylyš, myj sijö dejstvitel'no javl'ajtčö Ural'skøj oblast'sa, Tavdinskøj rajensa, Gerasimovka šiktsa olyšön, da aslas kösjöm serti munö olan mestašys.*  
 U810 *Ta\_\_\_\_\_graždanin zemze ik Ural'skoj ob-last'yš, Tavdivskoj rajonyš Gerasimovka seloyn uliš lue no as mylkyd karemezja ulon intyyštyz koške*  
 P810 *Šetöma graždaninlö ..... syy, čto sija dejstvitel'no javl'ajtčö Ural'skøj oblastiš, Tavdinskøj rajoniš, Gerasimovka seloiš olišön, i olan mestašis munö aslas želaňno šörti bednjak.*

In (17) the necessive construction has been interpreted differently. Both Komi varieties use an impersonal non-evidential pluperfect, Udmurt uses the necessive particle *kule* with the copula in the 1<sup>st</sup> past which results in a durative.

- (17) S969 *Kello kahdeksitoista päivällä oli lukutuvalla määrätty pidettäväksi pioneerien dramaattisen piirin harjoitukset.*  
 Z969 *Das kyk čas lun kežlö izba-čital'naö völi indöma pionerskøj dramkružoklyš repeticija.*  
 U969 *Das kyk časyn nunaze lydžon korkan pionerjoslen dramkružoksylen repeticiez ortčyny kule val.*  
 P969 *Lunnas dvenadcat' časö izba-čital'ňayn völi naz-načütöma pionerskøj dramkružoklön repeticija.*

#### 7.4.5. 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Zyrian Komi and Udmurt but not in Permjak Komi

Examples (18) and (19) have a clear evidential shade and it is surprising, why Permjak Komi uses a different strategy in these cases. Example (18) is a case of inferentiality, the main character Pavel and his friend Motja want to visit their friend Jakov. They see Jakov through the window and Motja sees a pale Jakov which leads him to the conclusion that he must be ill. Why the Permjak translation does not follow this usage is not clear.

- (18) S1003 - *Hän on varmaankin sairas.*  
 Z1003 - *Višmöma, burakö.*  
 U1003 - *Višyny ušem, šödske.*  
 P1003 - *Nat'tö, šogavny pondis.*

Example (19) is a case of inferentiality in 1SG. Motja lies in bed and tells Pavel about his stomach-ache. The only possible explanation for the 1<sup>st</sup> past in Permjak Komi would

be, that the Zyrian reflexive 1<sup>st</sup> person construction is not known in Permjak but this has never been mentioned in the literature.

- (19) S1378 - *Vatsaa kivistää* , - *tunnusti hän alakuloisesti*, - *söin liiaksi karpaloita...*  
 Z1378 - *Kynömöj višö*, - *šogpyrys vištasis Motja*, - *vyvtidžyk šojsöma turipuvtö...*  
 U1378 - *Köty više*, - *kötžož pyr veraz Motja*. – *Ňurmul'yez tros šiiskem...*  
 P1378 - *Kynömö višö*, - *vištalis sija šogön*. - *Turimol'sö unaöv šoji...*

Examples (20) and (21) are most likely cases of colliding past tense interpretations. Usually, the 1<sup>st</sup> past is interpreted as the default past tense (because it's neutral to aspect) and that's probably why Permjak Komi uses the 1<sup>st</sup> past were Zyrian Komi and Udmurt use the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. In both cases, the interpretation is non-evidential and therefore (20) and (21) should be regarded as anteriors:

- (20) S1158 - *Hänelle*, - *Pavel nyökäytti Motjaan päin*, - *antoivat tänään kyläneuvostossa luettelon niistä, jotka eivät halua täyttää viljanhankintatehtäviä.*  
 Z1158 - *So syly*, - *Pavel jurnas indis Motja vylö*, - *talun sel'sovetyn spisok šetömaoš*, *kodi oz kösjy myntyny nañ.*  
 U1158 - *Tini soly*, - *Pavel Motja pala jyrnyz šontiz*, - *sel'sovetyn tunne spisok šotil'l'am gosudarstvoly nañ tyryny pumit luišjoslen nimitulenyzy.*  
 P1158 - *Von sylö*, - *Pavel kačyknitis jurnas Motjalañö*, - *sel'sovetyn talun šetisö spisok, kinnez oz by šetö gosudarstvolö nañsö.*
- (21) S1096 *Hän oli kuin poika, osasipa ampuakin pyssystä: isä oli opettanut.*  
 Z1096 *Sijö* - *bytt'ö detinka, vesig ruž'eyš lyjšyny kužö: bat'ys velödöma.*  
 U1096 *So piosmurt kad', ešma pyčalen ybyliškyny no bygate: ataez dyšetem.*  
 P1096 *Sija* - *kycz zonkaok, nel'ki ruž'joiš kužö lyjšyny: ajys velötis.*

Example (22) presents a situation, where all three Permic varieties differ from each other. The interpretation of the example is a straightforward case of pluperfect. Still, only Zyrian Komi uses a pluperfect, Udmurt the resultative construction and Permjak Komi a lexical resultative.

- (22) S874 *Käymäportti oli lukittu.*  
 Z874 *Kalitkays völi ignalöma.*  
 U874 *žez'y pytsamyn.*  
 P874 *Vorotkays völi pödana.*

#### 7.4.6. 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt and Permjak Komi but not in Zyrian Komi

Examples (23)-(26) have been mentioned under 7.3. as the encountered flashback problem and consequently they have to be interpreted as cases of hearsay.

- (23) S60 *Niitä saapui tänne pohjois-Uralille Jekaterinburgista. He kaupitsivat helmiä, viinaa, halpoja pyssyjä ja ostivat polkuhinnalla metsästäjiltä turkiksia.*  
 Z60 *Najö volyvlysný tatčö, Ural vojvylö, Ekaterinburgsañ, vuzasisny sikötšjasön, vinaön da dontöm ruž' ejasön, dontöm-donyš nõbavlisny võralýšjaslyš dona zver' kujas.*  
 U60 *Tatčy, Urallen ujpalaz, soos vuyli'l' am Ekaterinburgys (tabere Sverdlovsk), vešjoyn, kabak vinaen, duntem pyčaljJosyn vuzkaro no pöjšurašjosleš pöjšur kuosses duntem dunyn bašjalo vylem.*  
 P60 *Vovlömaš nija tatčö, Ural severö. Ekaterinburgis (öni Sverdlovsk), **torgujtömaš** pristežžezön, vinaön da dontöm ruž'joezön, a Iralissez. liš dontöma boštalömaš pušnina.*
- (24) S62 *Hän ampui haulikollaan ja murskasi kauppiaan pään.*  
 Z62 *Lyjis drobovikys da žugödis kupečlyš jursö.*  
 U62 *Pöjšuran pyčalyštyz **ybem** no kupeclen jyraz **jöttem**.*  
 P62 ***Lyjöma** ohotniččöj ruž'jois i **inmöma** kupeclö juras.*
- (25) S63 *Kauppiaan pyylevä vaimo hyppäsi rattailta ja syöksyi pensaikkoon kauheasti huutaen.*  
 Z63 *A kupečlön kyz götyrys čėččyštis telegays da, l'okys gorzigtyr, usködčis kustjas pövstö.*  
 U63 *Noš kupeclen zök kyšnoez uroboštyz **tetčem** no, šimes kuaraen čerekjasa, kuakjos pöly **pegžem**.*  
 P63 *A kupeclön kyz inys **čėččövttöma** taratajkasis da, böbiš gorötlömön, **uskötčöma** kusttezö.*
- (26) S64 *Murhaaja saavutti hänet aukeamalla ja lopetti toisella panoksella.*  
 Z64 *Mortviyš vötödis sijös erd vylын da pomalis möd zarjadön.*  
 U64 *Ad'ami viiš soe kyr intyysen **sutem** no kyketi zarjadenyz **viem**.*  
 P64 *Mortvijišys **vötöma** sijö ludovka vylas i **vijöma** sijö mödik zarjadön.*

Examples (27) and (28) are probably to analyze as (20) and (21). In case (27) a theoretical chance for a mirative would be possible, but the context is too weak to justify this interpretation. (28) is in the same vein, but the anterior looks more natural, too.

- (27) S345 *Hän on oppinut niin mainiosti laittamaan tiemerkkejä.*  
 Z345 *Vyvti nin bura velalis sijö dorožnoj znakjas puktavny.*  
 U345 *Šures vyle todmetjos puktylyny tuž umoj **dyšem** so.*  
 P345 *Ödd'ön ni bura sija dorožnoj zkakkesö **velalöma** kerny.*

- (28) S407 *Hän oli niin kalpea, että tiheät pisamat hänen kasvoillaan näkyivät entistä selvemmin.*  
 Z407 *Sijö satšöm bled, myj sylön čužöm vylas suk berinjasys tödčisny eššö jondžyka muköddyrsa dorys.*  
 U407 *So kyškamenyz jug-jug kösekte**m**, bamyštuz nap pužyosyz sin šory ukata jun jöto.*  
 P407 *Sija syrk'jalö i sybura bledötö**ma**, čto sy čužöm vylын tšök ponputššez tydalöny ešö buražyk, neželi pyr.*

The last two examples have a clearly resultative shade. In (29), Zyrian Komi uses the default 1<sup>st</sup> past, Udmurt a resultative construction and Permjak the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in 3PL.

- (30) S353 *Kun suoritettiin nimenhuuto, niin osottautui, että läsnä oli kymmenen henkeä.*  
 Z353 *Kor nuödisny pereklička, tydovčis, myj sbor vylын prisutstvujtö das mort.*  
 U353 *Pereklička ortčytem bere todmo luiz: sbore das murt lyktemyn.*  
 P353 *Kerisö pereklička: sbor vylö **loktömaš** das mort.*

(30) is a little trickier, in the Zyrian translation, the Russian adjective тревожный 'anxious, uneasy, troubled' is used, whereas in Udmurt a resultative construction and in Permjak a participle is used. Semantically all three constructions are subjective resultative, but only Udmurt and Permjak are morphological resultatives – the Zyrian resultative is lexical.

- (30) S401 *Hänen kasvonsa olivat levottomat.*  
 Z401 *čuzömys sylön trevožnoj.*  
 U401 *Solen ymnyryz šuerskemyn.*  
 P401 *Sylön čuzömys povz'ö**m***

In the following paragraphs I will discuss those cases, where only one of the Permic languages has used a 2<sup>nd</sup> past and if possible, I try to explain these cases.

#### 7.4.7. 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Zyrian Komi only

Only in one example, (31) a mirative meaning has been translated with the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Zyrian Komi. The other example (32) is an irrealis condition in a conditional sentence, where the irrealis is marked by a 2<sup>nd</sup> past. This example must be mentioned, but

otherwise this phenomenon is not part of the discussion in the thesis. All other cases (33)-(36) are anteriors and are cases as discussed in (20), (21), (27), (28).

- (31) S1299 *Pavel istuutui hänen viereensä, kattoi veljen peitteellä ja ajatteli: "Miten isoksi Roman on kasvanut!*  
Z1299 *Pavel pukšis orččön, šebrödis voksö eškynön da dumyštis: "Kutšöma nin bydmöma Romkanym!*  
U1299 *Pavel so vözy pukšiz, vynze odejaloen šobyrtiz no malpaz: "Badžym budiz ni Romka!*  
P1299 *Pavel pukšis ordčön, šebrealis vonsö odejaloön, dumajtyštis: "Ydžyta ni bydmis Romkays!*
- (32) S1488 - *Ette tehneet niinkuin olisi pitänyt...*  
Z1488 - *Abu sidzi vöčömyd...*  
U1488 - *Öd bygate...*  
P1488 - *Ne sidz udžalit...*
- (33) S22 *Eivätkä housunikaan ole vielä kuivuneet järven jäleltä.*  
Z22 *A menam so gačöj abu na košmöma tyad kötašömys, vidzödly köt'.*  
U22 *Noš mynam, učky al'i, tyyn kotmem štanie no öz kuašmy na.*  
P22 *A menam ešö veš'janö tyas vadöm böryn ez košmy, vidzöt.*
- (34) S133 *Illalliselle oli tullut vieraiksi Trofim Morozovin vanhemmat - Serjoga vaari ja Ksenija mummo ja heidän kanssaan yhdeksäntoistavuotias Trofimmin veljenpoika Danila.*  
Z133 *Užnajtny voömaoš göst'jas, Trofim Morozovlön bat'mamys, - Sergej ded da Ksenija bab, a naköd Trofimlön das ökmys arösa plemjannik Danila.*  
U133 *Siškon azely kunoos lyktizy, Trofim Morozovlen anaj-atajjosyz - Serjoga pešataj no Ksenija pešanaj, soosyn čoš ik Trofimlen plemjannikez - das ukmys aresem Danila.*  
P133 *Užin kežas loktisö gössez, Trofim Morozovlön ajmamys, - ded Serjoga da bab Ksenija, a nyköt - Trofimlön devjatnadcat'godsja lemjannik Danilo.*
- (35) S903 *Poika ymmärsi, mitä varten Serjoga vaari oli tullut ja hänet valtasi katkera suuttumus.*  
Z903 *Detinka gögörvöis, myjla voöma Sergej dedys, da ydžyd skörlun šymyrtis sijös.*  
U903 *Serjoga pešataezleš maly lyktemze pijaš valaz no kötyz žož luiz.*  
P903 *Zonočka vežörtis, myjlö loktis Serjoga dedys, i sija ödd'ön lögasis da öbiditčis.*

- (36) S1541-1542 *Avaamatta sitä hän katsoo kauan ja liikuttuneena vaaleansiniseen kirjekuoreen, ikäänkuin yrittäen nähdä sen, joka on kirjoittanut osoitteen: "Krimi, Alupka, Sevastopolinkatu N° 4, Tatjana Semjonovna Morozovalle".*  
 Z1541 *Pišmösö voštytög sijö dyr na volnujtčömön vidzödö göluböj konvert vylö, bytt'ö zil'ö suvtödny šin vodzas sijös, kodön gižöma tajö adressö:*  
 U1541 *Soe soku ik öz ušty. Kema učkysa uliz žaryt lyz konvert šory, adres gožtišse adžžyny turte kad':*  
 P1541 *Pišmosö oštytödz sija dyr i volnujtčömön vidzötö goluböj konvert vylö, byt'tö starajtčö adžžyny sijö, kingižis eta adresliš kyvvesö:*

#### 7.4.8. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt only

The following examples do not differ from the Zyrian examples in 7.8.1. There is one clear hearsay 2<sup>nd</sup> past from the flashback sequence, which surprisingly has been translated in 1<sup>st</sup> past in Permjak Komi (37). All other examples (38)-(41) are anteriors, perhaps a slight shade of inferentiality could be seen in (41) but still this seems not to be the main function.

- (37) S67 *Ja komissarius kirjoitti pöytäkirjaansa: Puolisot löydettiin murhattuina; murhaajaa ei ole löydetty".*  
 Z67 *I protokolas pristav gižis: "Šuriny kod tödö kodön viöm gozja".*  
 U67 *Protokolaz pristav gožtem: "Kyšnoen karten viemen šed'temyn, viisez todmo övöl".*  
 P67 *I protokolyn pristav gižis: "Adžžömös vijöm kupec. da kupčiha, kin vijis – tödny egö vermö".*
- (38) S85 *Ukrainassa ja Kubanilla talonpojat ovat jo yhtyneet kolhooseihin, mutta kulakit häiritsivät siellä.*  
 Z85 *Ukrainayn da Kuban'yn mužikjas kolhozjasö nin ötuvtčisny, a kulakjas mešajtčisny.*  
 U85 *Ukrainayn no Kuban'yn krest'janjos kolhozjosy ogazejaškil'v'am ini, noš kulakjos soosly l'uketo.*  
 P85 *Ukrainayn da Kubam'yn mužikkez kolhozzežö ötlaasisö, a kulakkez mešajtisö.*
- (39) S88 *Se on, lapset, oikein tehty!*  
 Z88 *Delöys, čel'ad', pravil'nöj!*  
 U88 *Šoner leštil'v'am!*  
 P88 *Deloys, čel'ad', pravil'nöj!*
- (40) S563 *Veditte miehen kokonaan keskusteluihinne!*  
 Z563 *Džiködz manitinnyd mortsö!*  
 U563 *Vot noril'v'am ad'amiez!*  
 P563 *Sovsem mortyslö znika od šetö!*

- (41) *S1373-1374* *Ensin he poikkesivat Jashaa tapaamaan, hän ei ollut kotona.*  
*Z1373* *Pervoj pyralisny Jakovös nuödny.*  
*U1373* *Nyryś ik soos Jakovez öt'yny pyrizy.*  
*P1373* *Pervo pyralisö korny Jakovös.*

- S1373-1374* *Ensin he poikkesivat Jashaa tapaamaan, hän ei ollut kotona.*  
*Z1374* *Sijö ez vöv gortas.*  
*U1374* *Noš soiz doraz **vylymte**.*  
*P1374* *Sija gortas ez vöv.*

### 7.8.3. 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permjak Komi only

Examples (41)-(43) are from another flashback situation, which is unrealized in the Zyrian Komi and Udmurt translation. These examples are clear cases of hearsay and need no further explanation.

- (41) *S145* *Nuorena ollessaan, tsaarin aikana, oli Serjoga vaari asunut Vitebskin läänissä, palvellut siellä vanginvartijana.*  
*Z145* *Tomdyrjiys, car' dyrji, Sergej ded olis Vitebsköj gubernijayn, služitis seni t'uremnöj nadziratel'ön.*  
*U145* *Egit dyrjaz, eksej dyrja, Serjoga pešataj Vitebskoj guberniyn uliz, t'ur'mayn nadziratel' val.*  
*P145* *Tomnas, car' dyrni, ded Serjoga olöma Vitebsköj gubernijayn, **služitöma** setč'in t'uremnöj nadziratel'ön.*
- (42) *S146* *Hän oli ollut hyvissä väleissä päällystön kanssa ja säästänyt rahoja.*  
*Z146* *Olis načal'stvoköd družnöja, čöžis deŋga.*  
*U146* *Načal'stvoen tupasa uliz, ukšo l' ukaz.*  
*P146* *Načal'stvoköt aśśö **vidzöma** bura, **čukörtöma** deŋga.*
- (43) *S147* *Sitten hän oli siirtynyt perheineen Gerasimovkaan, Uralin asumattomille maille ja alkanut hankkia itselleen taloutta.*  
*Z147* *A seśša sem'janas munis Gerasimovkaö, pustujtyś ural'sköj mujas vylö, kutis ovmös lösödny.*  
*U147* *Sobere sem'jaenyž Uralyś kuštem muzemjos vyle, Gerasimovkae, lyktiz no hozjajstvo zavod'yny ödjaz.*  
*P147* *A sy böryn sem'janas **loktöma** Gerasimovkaö, pustöj ural'sköj muez vylö, **pondöma** zavoditny hozjajstvo.*

The last two examples (44) and (45) show an interesting solution in Permjak Komi. Whereas Zyrian Komi and Udmurt use 1<sup>st</sup> past, the Permjak Komi translation used a pluperfect. This shows, that the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as an anterior has a wider range and incorporates several semantic aspects of more distant pasts in its usage.

- (44) S1017 *Pyhässä Jerusalemin kaupungissa on kuultu herran ääni, ja herra on sanonut, että joka kolhoosiin menee, hän ei tule saamaan siunausta.*  
Z1017 *Kylö völi svjatöj kar Ierusalimyn gospod'lön gölös, da šuis gospöd', kodi kolhozö pyras, oz lo syly blagoslovenie.*  
U1017 *Svjatöj Ierusalim gorodyn inmarlen kuaraez kyliškiž, so šuiz kin ke kolhoze pyriz ke, soe inmar kargaloz.*  
P1017 *Ierusalim svjatöj gradyn völi kylöma gospod'lön golos, i vištalis gospod': kin gižšas kolhozö, sylö oz lo blago-slovenno.*
- (45) S1484 - *A-a-a... Kaikki muu tapahtui kuin sumussa.*  
Z1484 - *A-a-a...Sešša stav'is völi bytt'ö tšyn pytškyn.*  
U1484 - *A-a-a...So nomyr no öz vala ni. Vañmyz čyn pöly yšiz kad'.*  
P1484 - *A-a-a...Bydös muködys völi veztöma kydz byt'tö tšynön.*

## 8. THE 2<sup>ND</sup> PAST: A PRELIMINARY DEFINITION

The following definition is strictly speaking preliminary, because it is based on the material I used in my database. Other, published, findings will be ignored for a moment. As already mentioned, the corpus is unbalanced both quantitatively and qualitatively. Therefore the findings are preliminary and do not offer more than tendencies. Still, in a field of research, where form-function questions have been ignored outside the scope of normative grammar every contribution should be welcome.

### 8.1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Komi

The semantic principles which can be expressed in both Komi varieties are fairly similar. In simple declarative sentences, both Komi varieties use the 2<sup>nd</sup> past to express inferentially obtained knowledge (1)-(2)<sup>102</sup>, mirativity (3)-(4) and hearsay (5)-(6):

- (1) *me ešš'a ad'd'ž'i lola kok-tuĭ. seti munemaēš' lola kekjà-mĭs kj-mĭn.*

Dann sah ich Elchspuren. Dort waren etwa acht Elche gelaufen. [LVy 176; 296]

- (2) *mĭžĭ-k t'set't'sas dod'd'is, boštas rut's kijas, šu'ε: "he važen ku'ema, ĭšš'ε šonĭt"*

Der Mann steigt vom Schlitten, nimmt den Fuchs in die Hand und sagt: „Der ist vor kurzem gestorben, er ist noch warm. [PS 94; 196]

- (3) *"no-pe, tai-ke-pe vijas, te-pe polijš' velemĭd."*

„Na, der hat mich ja fast getötet, und da warst ein Feigling.“ [Pe 164; 226]

- (4) *"k'in-ke-pe k'er-kuas vevem"*

Jemand ist im Haus gewesen. [PS 63; 136]

- (5) *ĕt'ikiš' sijε izema mel'ni(t'sajĭn. a kodĭr sijĭn izš'is, seki vĕli jona pemĭd dai sijε kol't't's'ema už'ni set't's'ε.*

Einmal soll er in der Mühle gewesen sein, um (Getreide) zu mahlen. Und als sein (Getreide) gemahlen ist, da war es sehr dunkel, und er soll zum Schlafen dort geblieben sein. [MS 41;64]

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<sup>102</sup> odd = Zyrian Komi; even = Permjak Komi

- (6) *nijε koššisε kik vun vaiš. si berjn tol'ko ad'd'žisε. εd'd'e-n voεmaš'noštεmeš', bides pikεmeš'.*

Man suchte sie im Wasser zwei Tage lang. Erst danach fand man sie. Sie waren sehr hässlich geworden und alle waren aufgeschwemmt. [PS 142; 246]

For the usage of 1<sup>st</sup> person forms, I have no clear evidence from Permjak Komi. The usages of the 1<sup>st</sup> person forms in Zyrian Komi were all clear cases of non-volitionality:

- (7) *me šu'a: "užš'ema velekas, ok ted loktεmes."*

Ich habe unterwegs übernachtet, ich weiss nicht, wie ich (her)gekommen bin.“ [MS 68;104]

The interpretation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as anterior is still possible although these instances were relatively scarce in my database. Because my Permjak Komi database does not contain clear examples for this, only Zyrian data will be shown. In many cases, the anterior interpretation was conditioned by objective resultative constructions (8) which are expressed with 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms or by intransitive verbs (9) which have a higher non-evidential reading than transitive verbs. Still, transitive verbs can obtain a non-evidential reading, too (10).

- (8) *dod'jas tjr tevar tet'sema.*

Die Schlitten sind vollgeladen mit Waren. [Iž 27; 36-38]

- (9) *no nilis kulema nin, oz lolav.*

Aber das Mädchen war schon tot, es atmete nicht. [LVy 137; 216]

- (10) *"i,džid žε bur ti ve(t's'emnid, oškes kijemnid. una meškes nin tajε mištem t'sužem šojis.[...]"*

„Eine grosse, gute (Tat) habt ihr getan, den Bären habt ihr erlegt. Viele Kühe hatte dieses hässliche Gesicht schon gefressen. [...]"[UVy 287;416]

Also verbal complements can take extensions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> past, and in all cases, these verbal complements were cases of PCU complements. The interpretation of 2<sup>nd</sup> past with PCU complements is overwhelmingly evidential, in example (11) inferential:

- (11) *me muni sija lunjaz\_beras bara kjišni. muni, da nitse nollema<sup>103</sup> koD-kε. me tēdmali, nollema oš. me d'zik dinas eg mun. tēda, oš nollema pòz vjle.*

Ich ging nach diesen Tagen wieder auf die Jagd. Ich ging, und jemand hat Moos geschleppt. Ich wusste, (dass) ein Bär (es) geschleppt hat. Ich ging nicht ganz nahe heran. Ich weiss, der Bär hat (es) für (seine) Höhle geschleppt. [UVy 112;188]

The 2<sup>nd</sup> past can be used in relative clauses as well, those few examples I have encountered have a non-evidential usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past.

- (12) *a jaranjas veli pukalenj, kitiš vid\_dušse vijemni.*

Aber die Samojuden sassen gerade dort, wo fünf Stück getötet worden sind. [Pe 164; 222]

The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Komi was found in declarative sentences only. The syntactic distribution is attested in both main and dependent clauses. Whereas PCU constructions prefer evidential interpretation, the relative clause is open to both interpretations.

## 8.2. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt

The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt can be used to code the same semantic concepts as in Komi. These concepts are inferentiality (13) mirativity (14) and hearsay (15):

- (13) *kema gine mon otjn kil'škem. mame ušantjiš vuem no ažž'em, pe: gid ažjn mon kil'iško. žo-gak pjlatem no korka pirtem. noš kijnmesam al' i ke no pusez vañ na.*

Olin maannut siellä melko pitkään. Äitini oli tullut työstä ja nähnyt: minä makaan lampolan edessä. Nopeasti hän oli valellut minua vedellä ja kantanut taloon. Mutta otsassani nytkin vielä on jälki. [VM U; 37; 212]

- (14) *so mone vu ule pjrtiz. otjn no sooslen muzjem vjln kad'ik ulonzj vjlem. vu uljn mone šudiz no jžjn kosiz.*

Hän vei minut veden alle. Sielläkin heillä elämä oli sammanlaista kuin maan päällä. [PM Glaz 6; 168]

<sup>103</sup> This of course is no instance of PCU and is outside this discussion. Note, that the following clauses are elliptic and the complementizer *mji* is not realized.

- (15) *gražda·nskoj vojna dirja gurjn ulišjos koškil'ʼam nuleskj. otjn vjlem jun kuž no paškjt nukez. gurtazj neno·kijče životez no eვენ kel'til'ʼam, č'i·stozes šgrazj nuil'ʼam.*

Kansalaissodan aikana kylän asukkaat menivät metsään. Siellä oli erittäin pitkä ja leveä rotko. Kylään he eivät jättäneet mitään eläimiä, kaiken he veivät mukanaan. [PM Kez 23;194]

The usage of 1<sup>st</sup> person forms in Udmurt in my database was both non-volitional (16) and anterior (17):

- (16) *suzere obedasa kâl'iz. užonnam veraškânâ kuč'ikiškem.*

Pikkusiskoni jäi syömään. Unissani aloin puhella. [PE Bess 134; 352]

- (17) - *ma otjn pukkod? tek pukjč'čož, mone pe·ja·ka lu·čče kijži ke.*  
- *pejasal, ke, pejasal, dir, no, pejal'l'askon pujjme gurte kel'tiškem. a ton kijccj mjnkod? [...]*

- Mitä siinä istut? Toimettomana istumisen asemasta petkutapa mielummin minua jollain tavoin.

- Petkuttaisinpa kuin petkuttaisinkin varmaan, mutta jätin petkutuspussini kotiin. Entä sinä?

Minne olet menossa? [PM Kez 22; 194]

Udmurt can use the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in PCU complements too (18), otherwise the usage in subordinated clauses is not possible, because Udmurt uses non-finite converb constructions and lacks subordinated clauses.

- (18) S782 - *Kuulin, että teille on tullut joku piirikomiteasta?*  
U782 - *Mon kylem val, ti dory rajonyš kin ke lyktem šuysa.*

As for Komi, the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in my Udmurt database has been found almost exclusively in declarative sentences. In one case, a 2<sup>nd</sup> past has been found in a question.

- (19) *odik pol, pe, l'ek zor uknoostj pijl'jlem. vešaskon mestazes voštemzj evel, pe, leša, jaram inmarlj. parsez no vešan ug le·ž'o vjlem, leša, o-te anna?*

Kerran voimakas sade rikkoi ikkunat. [Se, että] he olivat vaihtaneet uhripaikan, ei ilmeisestikään miellyttänyt Inmaria. Sikaakaan ei varmaan saanut antaa uhriksi, eikö niin, Anna? [VM Šar 50; 226]

### 8.3. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permian – evidential, modal, temporal or something else?

The comparative analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past shows, that the usage in Komi and Udmurt is fairly uniform. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past can be used to express anteriority and anteriority with evidential shadings such as inferentiality, mirativity and hearsay. This is possible in both main clauses and in PCU complements. The only major difference inside Permian is the usage in subordinated clauses. Whereas Zyrian and Permjak Komi have finite subordinated clauses, subordinated clauses in Udmurt are infinite and that's why the 2<sup>nd</sup> past can occur only in both Komi varieties. The overall question is the concrete nature of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. Summing up the discussion, Permian has **no** grammaticalized evidential system, because the function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is not exclusively a means for indicating evidentiality. There is no one to one mapping of form and function, because the 2<sup>nd</sup> past can express three different shadings of evidentiality in one form. The fact that evidentiality in Permian occurs only in past tense is not a sufficient criteria for or against an evidential interpretation. The clear form to function mismatch is the main criterion which speaks against an evidential interpretation (see 5.8. and Lazard 1999: 98). This means that the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permian can be used as an evidential strategy, but it is no proper evidential. That's why I support Napolskich's rejection of Winkler's idea of a modal category evidential in Udmurt.

The evidential strategy falls into the first group of Aikhenvald's new classification of evidentials and the Permian 2<sup>nd</sup> past is nothing else than an evidential strategy. This does not contradict but enhances Leinonen's interpretation (2000: 436), which attributes evidentiality in Permian to the particles ko: *pe* ud; *pe* and the 2<sup>nd</sup> past participle of 'to be' ko: *velem*<sup>104</sup> ud: *vilem*.

### 8.4. Clearing the terminological chaos - how to call the 2<sup>nd</sup> past and how not

A legitimate question for normative grammar is the fact, how to call the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. This question is intermingled with the question of grammatical tradition, which in the case of Uotila, Fuchs and Winkler follows the traditional European tradition of Latin and Greek grammatical traditions, whereas SKJ, KPJ and GSUJ follow the Slavonic/Russian tradition. Therefore labeling the 2<sup>nd</sup> past as perfect, preterite, resultative or any other similar concept tells much more about the grammarian than the language itself. The

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<sup>104</sup> In several texts, besides *velem* a form *velem-ke* could be found. The later copula consists of the verb 'to be' and an interrogative article *ke* which nowadays is a suffix expressing indefiniteness e.g. *korke* 'at some time'. According to Leinonen 2001 and SKJ, the usage in literary Komi is not synonymous. In my database however, I could not encounter any differences in meaning.

easiest way would be to follow the division of the main past tenses in 1<sup>st</sup> past and 2<sup>nd</sup> past, with additional information about its usage. In this context, I want to readdress my quotation of Honti 2002 from chapter 1. In this article, Honti addresses compound tenses in the Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga-Kama area. His working definition of “Auditiv” has the same shortcomings as the definitions presented earlier, because this definition simply does not contain all necessary extensions. For convenience I repeat the quotation: “Diese Kategorie [semantics of compound pasts F.S.] ist unter vielen Namen bekannt, z.B. d. Narrativ, Absentiv, indirekte Erlebnisform, engl. inferential, indirectial, russ. время неочевидного действия. Ich habe nicht die Absicht, mich mit dem terminologischen Durcheinander zu befassen, im Folgenden nenne ich die behandelte Kategorie ganz einfach Auditiv.“ (Honti 2002: 22)

As has been shown in this thesis “Auditiv” is just one instance of evidential marking. If the functions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past and hereby also the function of the compound tenses with participation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past really need labeling, it should be done like Willett (1988) did. The main semantic concept behind the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is the concept of information, which was not observed personally.

|          |                  |  |
|----------|------------------|--|
|          |                  | → Second-hand (2 <sup>nd</sup> + 3 <sup>rd</sup> = both hearsay) |
|          | <b>Reported</b>  | → Third-hand   |
|          |                  | → Folklore   |
| Indirect |                  |  |
|          | <b>Inferring</b> | → Results  |
|          |                  | → Reasoning  |

(Willett 1988: 57)

The status of mediativity in this system will be discussed under 8.6.

### 8.5. Some notes about the historical dimension

In 3.9. the historical dimension and problems of reconstruction have been mentioned. The lack of older sources for Komi and Udmurt (Old Permian texts for syntactical studies of this kind are useless) complicates the situation and evidence from diachronic typology must be used instead. The fact that anteriors can develop into evidentials is known (Bybee et al 1994: 97). This development is not straight; usually anteriors develop first into resultatives or to perfects (in the sense of Lindstedt 2000) which then develop an evidential meaning. Due to missing older sources for Komi and Udmurt, one

has to operate with the same concept for Permic too. This means, if the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is an autonomous Permic innovation, then 1<sup>st</sup> person forms must have been known, already in earlier stages of Permic (not necessarily Proto-Permic). The growth of the evidential strength of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in later times could have led to the loss of 1<sup>st</sup> person forms in several Komi and Udmurt dialects. In the latest stage, the first person forms were reintroduced, in Komi the 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms were transferred to 1<sup>st</sup> person, in Udmurt a new irregular (from a morphological point of view) form for 1<sup>st</sup> person arose. The rise of this form introduced also the concept of non-volitional usage in 1<sup>st</sup> person. Whereas this interpretation sounds convincing, it nevertheless has to accept a challenge from a dialectological perspective. If the principle of lateral areas is right, than the 1<sup>st</sup> person forms in the Komi Udora dialect and the Udmurt Bavly paradigm (both situated at the opposite ends of the Permic linguistic area) can't be instances of newly arisen forms but must be archaisms. This of course tells nothing about their usage but from a morphohistorical point of view they could be relicts of the old Inner-Permic innovation. In any case, Csúcs's reconstruction of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms only seems very unlikely, at least from a diachronic typological perspective. Serebrennikov's idea, that the modal component of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past is an independent innovation in Komi and Udmurt seems very unlikely, too. The evidential strength of perfects would make this interpretation theoretically possible. Still, Udmurt and Komi are genetically fairly close and that's why an interpretation based on common heritage seems more convincing. This does not mean that the 2<sup>nd</sup> past existed already in Proto-Permic. Foreign influence seems to be likely – but this is not in the scope of this discussion.

A clearly autonomous development is the Udmurt resultative construction in -*(e)mjn* which seems to be an answer to preserve the former perfect function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. The drift of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past to a means of evidential strategy resulted in a functional vacuum. This was filled by the grammaticalization of the resultative construction.

### **8.6. Evidentiality, mediativity, postterminality and the Permic languages**

Since DeLancey's 1997 article, mirativity is seen as an extension of evidentiality. The closeness of mirative and evidential marking is striking - many languages express mirativity with the same means as evidentiality – and this is the case in the Permic languages, too. Still, there is one discrepancy in this discussion, which seemingly has not been taken into account. The evidential strategy in the Permic languages allows the 2<sup>nd</sup> past to encode mirativity with the same means, but in this case mirativity differs

radically from the usual usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past. (20) is an example for mirativity, (21) for inferentiality:

(20) “ *no-pe, tai-ke-pe vijas, te-pe polijš velemid.* “

„Na, der hat mich ja fast getötet, und da warst ein Feigling.“ [Pe 164; 226]

(21) *me ešša ad'd'ži lola kok-tuj. seti munemaesš lola kekjà-mis kj-mjn.*

Dann sah ich Elchspuren. Dort waren etwa acht Elche gelaufen. [LVy 176; 296]

Whereas both cases are diagnostic, there is a striking difference how the event was perceived. In (20) it was perceived personally, in (21) the passing of the elks is inferred from the traces. The personal involvement, which's result is only understood later is the crucial point. The fact that the information is not obtained directly unites mirativity and evidentiality, but mirativity needs personal involvement. And it is this small fact, which has not been integrated into the overall discussion of mirativity and evidentiality. The resulting shortcoming still awaits a more thorough explanation in this framework.

The shortcomings of mirativity have been criticized partly by Lazard (1999) who propagates to abandon this concept in favor of the mediative interpretation. As mentioned under 4.4. the French concept of mediativity does not specify the origin of the information source per se, but concentrates on the indirect nature. Therefore the French approach (Guentchéva et al 1996) seems to concentrate more on the structural possibilities of how to express the indirect evidence and not how to classify it. The way, how the Permian 2<sup>nd</sup> past expresses both indirect (inferentiality, hearsay) and direct but delayed evidence (mirativity) in one form allows the question, whether the French system of mediativity might not be suited better to describe the Permian 2<sup>nd</sup> past and all other languages of the Aikhenvald type I.

Last, the concept of postterminality as coined by Lars Johanson was introduced to the description of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Permian by Leinonen. The concept of postterminality seems to be close to the French concept of mediativity. So far, the concept of postterminality is used in Turkology only, (with the exception of Leinonen 2001) and a concrete contrastive research mediativity vs. postterminality is needed to get more insight in the theoretical background.

## 8.7. Outlook – the typological dimension

When comparing the Permic 2<sup>nd</sup> past to other languages in Eurasia, the evidential strategy of the Permic languages is fairly common. Own typological observations in the linguistic area of Eurasia confirm this. According to Aikhenvald’s classification, Eurasia is dominated by type I and type II A systems, which do not contain more than a maximum of two different markers of evidence.

My closing remark corrects one error in Aikhenvald & Dixon (1998: 71)

“{**Polarity, tense and evidentiality**} > {**person and number**} [The choices available in the person and number system depend on the choices that are made in the polarity, tense, and evidentiality system]. In Udmurt all three persons and both numbers are neutralized in past noneyewitness, within a negative clause. (Aikhenvald & Dixon 1998: 71)

Table 40. The 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt - 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation учкыны ‘to see’

| <b>p/n</b> | <b>affirmative</b> | <b>negative analytic</b> | <b>negative synthetic</b> |
|------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1SG        | учки-ськ-ем        | өвӧл учкиськем           | учкиськымтэ               |
| 2SG        | учк-ем(ед)         | өвӧл учкем(ед)           | учкымтэд                  |
| 3SG        | учк-ем(ез)         | өвӧл учкем(ез)           | учкымтэ(ез)               |
| 1PL        | учкиськ-ем-мы      | өвӧл учкиськеммы         | учкиськымтэмы             |
| 2PL        | учкиллям(ды)       | өвӧл учкиллям(ды)        | учкиллямтэ(ды)            |
| 3PL        | учкиллям(зы)       | өвӧл учкиллям(зы)        | учкиллямтэ(зы)            |

When taking a closer look one has to readjust this statement. 1<sup>st</sup> persons are always possible to distinguish from each other, because 1PL does not drop the Px in negation and 1SG is unmarked in any case. Whereas person marking is optional in both singular and plural, the stem alternations make it possible to distinguish between plural and singular. Person marking tells not the whole story of the 2<sup>nd</sup> past in Udmurt!

## REFERENCES

The following abbreviations are used:

ALH = Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae, Budapest

FUF = Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen, Helsinki

MSFOu = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki

JSFOu = Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki

LU = Linguistica Uralica, Tallinn

CSL = Cambridge Studies in Linguistics

CTL = Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics

TSL = Typological Studies in Language

ЯН СССР II = Языки народов СССР II – Тюркские языки. Москва 1966: Наука

LT = Linguistic Typology

JoP = Journal of Pragmatics

SIL & UTA = Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington  
Publications in Linguistics

CLS = Cambridge Language Surveys

TYSYKLT = Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja,  
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## TEXT COLLECTIONS

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Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук.

Москва (Library of the Chair of Uralic Languages, University of Tartu).

## APPENDIX KOMI

Distribution of texts according to dialect:

| dialect          | texts in lines $\Sigma$ | %   |
|------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| Ižma             | 354                     | 8%  |
| Ižma/Pech        | 43                      | 1%  |
| Pech             | 451                     | 11% |
| Vy               | 40                      | 1%  |
| LL               | 195                     | 5%  |
| MS               | 590                     | 14% |
| PrS              | 154                     | 4%  |
| LVy              | 616                     | 15% |
| Ud               | 140                     | 3%  |
| UVy              | 879                     | 21% |
| Northern Permjak | 400                     | 9%  |
| Southern Permjak | 342                     | 8%  |

Texts according to genre (Zyrian Komi):

| genre                      | texts in lines $\Sigma$ | %   |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| traditional narrative      | 1722                    | 49% |
| ethnological narrative     | 192                     | 6%  |
| other / trad. narrative    | 29                      | 1%  |
| other narrative            | 319                     | 9%  |
| personal / ethn. narrative | 30                      | 1%  |
| personal narrative         | 1178                    | 34% |

Texts according to genre (Permjak Komi):

| genre                  | texts in lines $\Sigma$ | %   |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| traditional narrative  | 500                     | 68% |
| ethnological narrative | 5                       | 1%  |
| other narrative        | 46                      | 6%  |
| personal               | 188                     | 25% |
| dream                  | 3                       | <1% |

List of used texts:

| source | dialect          | text | genre                 | length in lines # |
|--------|------------------|------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 1    | Personal narrative    | 9                 |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 2    | Personal narrative    | 11                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 3    | Personal narrative    | 12                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 4    | Personal narrative    | 18                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 5    | Personal narrative    | 10                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 6    | Personal narrative    | 4                 |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 7    | Personal narrative    | 9                 |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 8    | Personal narrative    | 28                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 9    | Personal narrative    | 19                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 12   | Traditional narrative | 93                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 13   | Traditional narrative | 90                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 14   | Traditional narrative | 8                 |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 15   | Traditional narrative | 79                |
| ST I   | Northern Permjak | 49   | Other narrative       | 10                |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 61   | Traditional narrative | 28                |

|        |                  |     |                         |     |
|--------|------------------|-----|-------------------------|-----|
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 62  | Traditional narrative   | 17  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 63  | Traditional narrative   | 39  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 88  | Ethnographic narrative  | 5   |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 89  | Personal narrative      | 5   |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 93  | Traditional narrative   | 42  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 94  | Traditional narrative   | 21  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 100 | Personal narrative      | 10  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 122 | Traditional narrative   | 9   |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 135 | Traditional narrative   | 4   |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 136 | Other narrative         | 24  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 137 | Personal narrative      | 6   |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 138 | Personal narrative      | 9   |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 139 | Personal narrative      | 12  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 140 | Personal narrative      | 18  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 142 | Other narrative         | 12  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 144 | Dream                   | 3   |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 149 | Traditional narrative   | 42  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 150 | Traditional narrative   | 28  |
| ST I   | Southern Permjak | 185 | Personal narrative      | 8   |
| ST II  | Iž               | 1   | Personal narrative      | 15  |
| ST II  | Iž               | 2   | Ethnological narrative  | 13  |
| ST II  | Iž               | 3   | Other narrative         | 3   |
| ST II  | Iž               | 4   | Traditional narrative   | 3   |
| ST II  | Iž               | 5   | Traditional narrative   | 2   |
| ST II  | Iž               | 6   | Traditional narrative   | 1   |
| ST II  | Iž               | 7   | Traditional narrative   | 3   |
| ST II  | Iž               | 14  | Ethnological narrative  | 30  |
| ST II  | Iž               | 15  | Ethnological narrative  | 36  |
| ST II  | Iž               | 16  | Ethnological narrative  | 8   |
| ST II  | Iž               | 17  | Ethnological narrative  | 3   |
| ST II  | Iž               | 26  | Personal narrative      | 10  |
| ST II  | Iž               | 27  | Traditional narrative   | 89  |
| ST II  | Iž               | 28  | Traditional narrative   | 113 |
| ST II  | Iž               | 54  | Personal narrative      | 25  |
| ST II  | Iž/Pech          | 135 | Historical narrative    | 13  |
| ST II  | Iž/Pech          | 136 | Historical narrative    | 26  |
| ST II  | Iž/Pech          | 143 | Historical narrative    | 4   |
| ST II  | Pe               | 161 | Historical narrative    | 21  |
| ST II  | Pe               | 162 | Traditional narrative   | 226 |
| ST II  | Pe               | 163 | Traditional narrative   | 70  |
| ST II  | Pe               | 164 | Other narrative         | 29  |
| ST II  | Pe               | 165 | Other narrative         | 29  |
| ST II  | Pe               | 166 | Personal narrative      | 4   |
| ST II  | Pe               | 167 | Personal narrative      | 12  |
| ST II  | Pe               | 168 | Personal narrative      | 60  |
| ST II  | Vy               | 172 | Personal narrative      | 6   |
| ST II  | Vy               | 173 | Personal narrative      | 28  |
| ST II  | Vy               | 174 | Other / trad. narrative | 6   |
| ST III | LL               | 1   | Personal narrative      | 22  |
| ST III | LL               | 2   | Traditional narrative   | 46  |
| ST III | LL               | 3   | Ethnological narrative  | 16  |
| ST III | LL               | 4   | Ethnological narrative  | 19  |
| ST III | LL               | 5   | Ethnological narrative  | 14  |
| ST III | LL               | 6   | Ethnological narrative  | 11  |
| ST III | LL               | 7   | Ethnological narrative  | 9   |
| ST III | LL               | 8   | Ethnological narrative  | 14  |
| ST III | LL               | 9   | Ethnological narrative  | 9   |
| ST III | LL               | 10  | Ethnological narrative  | 8   |

|        |     |     |                            |     |
|--------|-----|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| ST III | LL  | 11  | Personal narrative         | 7   |
| ST III | LL  | 12  | Other narrative            | 10  |
| ST III | LL  | 13  | Other narrative            | 8   |
| ST III | LL  | 14  | Ethnological narrative     | 2   |
| ST III | US  | 20  | Personal narrative         | 8   |
| ST III | MS  | 41  | Other narrative            | 8   |
| ST III | MS  | 56  | Personal narrative         | 25  |
| ST III | MS  | 57  | Personal narrative         | 25  |
| ST III | MS  | 58  | Personal narrative         | 9   |
| ST III | MS  | 59  | Personal narrative         | 9   |
| ST III | MS  | 60  | Personal narrative         | 13  |
| ST III | MS  | 61  | Personal narrative         | 18  |
| ST III | MS  | 62  | Personal narrative         | 13  |
| ST III | MS  | 63  | Personal narrative         | 45  |
| ST III | MS  | 64  | Personal narrative         | 12  |
| ST III | MS  | 65  | Personal narrative         | 41  |
| ST III | MS  | 66  | Personal narrative         | 18  |
| ST III | MS  | 67  | Personal narrative         | 11  |
| ST III | MS  | 68  | Personal narrative         | 18  |
| ST III | MS  | 69  | Personal narrative         | 91  |
| ST III | MS  | 91  | Traditional narrative      | 234 |
| ST III | PrS | 121 | Traditional narrative      | 29  |
| ST III | PrS | 122 | Traditional narrative      | 11  |
| ST III | PrS | 123 | Traditional narrative      | 10  |
| ST III | Prs | 124 | Traditional narrative      | 21  |
| ST III | PrS | 125 | Traditional narrative      | 13  |
| ST III | PrS | 126 | Traditional narrative      | 4   |
| ST III | PrS | 127 | Traditional narrative*     | 9   |
| ST III | PrS | 128 | Traditional narrative      | 11  |
| ST III | PrS | 129 | Traditional narrative      | 9   |
| ST III | PrS | 131 | Personal narrative         | 7   |
| ST III | PrS | 132 | Personal / Ethn. narrative | 6   |
| ST III | PrS | 133 | Personal / Ethn. narrative | 5   |
| ST III | PrS | 134 | Personal / Ethn. narrative | 10  |
| ST III | PrS | 135 | Personal / Ethn. narrative | 9   |
| ST III | LVy | 137 | Traditional narrative      | 98  |
| ST III | LVy | 138 | Traditional narrative      | 88  |
| ST III | LYy | 139 | Traditional narrative      | 96  |
| ST III | LVy | 140 | Traditional narrative      | 191 |
| ST III | LVy | 148 | Personal narrative         | 8   |
| ST III | LVy | 156 | Historical narrative       | 19  |
| ST III | LVy | 171 | Other / trad. narrative    | 8   |
| ST III | LVy | 172 | Other / trad. narrative    | 15  |
| ST III | LVy | 174 | Personal narrative         | 9   |
| ST III | LVy | 176 | Personal narrative         | 19  |
| ST III | LYv | 177 | Personal narrative         | 19  |
| ST III | LVy | 179 | Other narrative            | 21  |
| ST III | LVy | 180 | Personal narrative         | 25  |
| ST III | Ud  | 186 | Other narrative            | 21  |
| ST III | Ud  | 187 | Other narrative            | 31  |
| ST III | Ud  | 188 | Personal narrative         | 27  |
| ST III | Ud  | 189 | Other narrative            | 21  |
| ST III | Ud  | 190 | Personal narrative         | 15  |
| ST III | Ud  | 205 | Other narrative            | 19  |
| ST III | Ud  | 212 | Personal narrative         | 6   |
| SV IV  | UVy | 16  | Traditional narrative      | 41  |
| SV IV  | UVy | 21  | Other narrative            | 36  |
| SV IV  | UVy | 82  | Personal narrative         | 21  |

|       |     |     |                       |     |
|-------|-----|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| SV IV | UVy | 83  | Personal narrative    | 36  |
| SV IV | UVy | 102 | Personal narrative    | 5   |
| SV IV | UVy | 103 | Personal narrative    | 4   |
| SV IV | UVy | 111 | Personal narrative    | 11  |
| SV IV | UVy | 112 | Personal narrative    | 20  |
| SV IV | UVy | 115 | Personal narrative    | 10  |
| SV IV | UVy | 116 | Personal narrative    | 31  |
| SV IV | UVy | 117 | Personal narrative    | 18  |
| SV IV | UVy | 118 | Personal narrative    | 28  |
| SV IV | UVy | 119 | Personal narrative    | 44  |
| SV IV | UVy | 120 | Personal narrative    | 77  |
| SV IV | UVy | 241 | Traditional narrative | 159 |
| SV IV | UVy | 287 | Personal narrative    | 193 |
| SV IV | UVy | 291 | Traditional narrative | 106 |
| SV IV | UVy | 352 | Traditional narrative | 39  |

## APPENDIX UDMURT

Distribution of texts according to dialect:

| dialect            | texts in lines $\Sigma$ | %   |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| Northern Dialect   | 505                     | 38% |
| Central Dialect    | 307                     | 22% |
| Southern Dialect   | 390                     | 28% |
| Peripheral Dialect | 22                      | 9%  |
| Besserman          | 47                      | 3%  |

Texts according to genre:

| genre                     | texts in lines $\Sigma$ | %   |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| ethno. / ritual narrative | 18                      | 1%  |
| ethno. / trad. narrative  | 47                      | 3%  |
| ethnological narrative    | 211                     | 15% |
| historical narrative      | 93                      | 7%  |
| mythic narrative          | 38                      | 3%  |
| other / trad. narrative   | 43                      | 3%  |
| other narrative           | 145                     | 11% |
| pers. / ethno. narrative  | 29                      | 2%  |
| pers. / hist. narrative   | 11                      | 1%  |
| pers. / trad. narrative   | 181                     | 13% |
| personal narrative        | 281                     | 21% |
| trad. / hist. narrative   | 19                      | 1%  |
| traditional narrative     | 255                     | 19% |

### Northern Dialect (Pohjoinen murreryhmän PM)

PM-Jar = Jarin area; PM-Glaz = Glavoz; PM-Juk = Jukamensk area;

PM-Kras = Krasnogorsk area; PM-Bel = Balezin area; PM-Kez = Kez area

PM-Igr = Igra area

### Central Dialect (Välimurteet VM)

VM-Sel = Selta area; VM-U = Ufa area; VM-Vav = Vavož area; VM-Šar = Šarkan area

VM-JB = Jakšur-Bod'ja area

### Southern Dialect (Eteläinen murreryhmä EM)

EM-PP = Pič'i Purga area; EM-Mo = Možga area; EM-Kiz = Kiz'ner area;

EM-Gr = Grah area; EM-Ki = Kijasa alue; EM-Og = Ogyrič' alue

### Peripheral dialects (Perifeeriset etelämurteet PE)

PE-Šoš = Šošman dialect; PE-Kuk = Tatarstan Kykmor area; PE-Bav = Tatarstan Bavli area

PE-KT = Kamatakainen L. Bujin-Tanip dialect; PE-Tat = Tatyšly dialect

PE-Bess = Besserman dialect

| source | dialect | text | genre                     | length<br>in lines # |
|--------|---------|------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| UM     | PM-Jar  | 1    | historical narrative      | 74                   |
| UM     | PM-Jar  | 2    | ethnological narrative    | 9                    |
| UM     | PM-Jar  | 3    | traditional narrative     | 12                   |
| UM     | PM-Glaz | 6    | pers. / trad. narrative   | 17                   |
| UM     | PM-Glaz | 7    | pers. / trad. narrative   | 6                    |
| UM     | PM-Glaz | 8    | ethnological narrative    | 16                   |
| UM     | PM-Glaz | 9    | ethnological narrative    | 5                    |
| UM     | PM-Glaz | 10   | pers. / trad. narrative   | 12                   |
| UM     | PM-Glaz | 11   | pers. / trad. narrative   | 43                   |
| UM     | PM-Jak  | 12   | ethno. / trad. narrative  | 21                   |
| UM     | PM-Kras | 13   | ethnological narrative    | 18                   |
| UM     | PM-Bal  | 14   | traditional narrative     | 50                   |
| UM     | PM-Bal  | 16   | ethno. / ritual           | 8                    |
| UM     | PM-Bal  | 17   | trad. / hist. narrative   | 19                   |
| UM     | PM-Bal  | 18   | ethno. / ritual           | 10                   |
| UM     | PM-Bal  | 19   | ethnological narrative    | 9                    |
| UM     | PM-Kez  | 20   | historical narrative      | 7                    |
| UM     | PM-Kez  | 21   | personal narrative        | 10                   |
| UM     | PM-Kez  | 22   | traditional narrative     | 15                   |
| UM     | PM-Kez  | 23   | historical narrative      | 6                    |
| UM     | PM-Kez  | 24   | personal narrative        | 13                   |
| UM     | PM-Kez  | 25   | historical narrative      | 6                    |
| UM     | PM-Kez  | 26   | pers. / hist. narrative   | 11                   |
| UM     | PM-Deb  | 27   | personal narrative        | 21                   |
| UM     | PM-Deb  | 28   | personal narrative        | 8                    |
| UM     | PM-Deb  | 29   | traditional narrative     | 6                    |
| UM     | PM-Deb  | 30   | personal narrative        | 23                   |
| UM     | PM-Deb  | 31   | personal narrative        | 13                   |
| UM     | PM-Igr  | 32   | personal narrative        | 13                   |
| UM     | PM-Igr  | 33   | ethnological narrative    | 16                   |
| UM     | PM-Igr  | 34   | ethnological narrative    | 8                    |
| UM     | VM-Sel  | 35   | other narrative           | 9                    |
| UM     | VM-Sel  | 36   | other / trad. narrative   | 12                   |
| UM     | VM-U    | 37   | personal narrative        | 11                   |
| UM     | VM-U    | 38   | personal narrative        | 10                   |
| UM     | VM-U    | 39   | personal narrative        | 25                   |
| UM     | VM-U    | 40   | personal narrative        | 30                   |
| UM     | VM-V    | 41   | other / trad. narrative   | 10                   |
| UM     | VM-V    | 42   | ethno. / trad. narrative  | 4                    |
| UM     | VM-V    | 43   | ethnological narrative    | 6                    |
| UM     | VM-V    | 44   | traditional narrative     | 7                    |
| UM     | VM-V    | 46   | other narrative           | 7                    |
| UM     | VM-V    | 47   | ethnological narrative    | 9                    |
| UM     | VM-Šar  | 48   | personal narrative        | 31                   |
| UM     | VM-Šar  | 49   | personal narrative        | 19                   |
| UM     | VM-Šar  | 50   | other narrative           | 7                    |
| UM     | VM-Šar  | 51   | personal narrative        | 5                    |
| UM     | VM-Šar  | 52   | person. / trad. narrative | 26                   |
| UM     | VM-JB   | 54   | other narrative           | 6                    |
| UM     | VM-JB   | 55   | traditional narrative     | 8                    |
| UM     | VM-JB   | 56   | person. / trad. narrative | 10                   |

|    |         |     |                           |    |
|----|---------|-----|---------------------------|----|
| UM | VM-JB   | 57  | person. / trad. narrative | 11 |
| UM | VM-JB   | 59  | person. / trad. narrative | 34 |
| UM | VM-JB   | 60  | other narrative           | 10 |
| UM | EM-PP   | 62  | ethnological narrative    | 4  |
| UM | EM-PP   | 63  | ethnological narrative    | 4  |
| UM | EM-PP   | 64  | personal narrative        | 11 |
| UM | EM-PP   | 65  | ethnological narrative    | 32 |
| UM | EM-Mo   | 66  | pers. / trad. narrative   | 22 |
| UM | EM-Mo   | 67  | traditional narrative     | 47 |
| UM | EM-Mo   | 68  | other narrative           | 6  |
| UM | EM-Mo   | 69  | ethnological narrative    | 7  |
| UM | EM-Kiz  | 70  | mythic narrative          | 14 |
| UM | EM-Kiz  | 71  | ethnological narrative    | 11 |
| UM | EM-Gr   | 72  | traditional narrative     | 9  |
| UM | EM-Gr   | 73  | personal narrative        | 7  |
| UM | EM-Gr   | 74  | mythic narrative          | 24 |
| UM | EM-Gr   | 76  | other narrative           | 11 |
| UM | EM-Gr   | 77  | other narrative           | 6  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 78  | ethnological narrative    | 8  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 79  | personal narrative        | 13 |
| UM | EM-AI   | 80  | other narrative           | 5  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 81  | ethnological narrative    | 7  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 82  | traditional narrative     | 9  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 83  | ethnological narrative    | 4  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 84  | traditional narrative     | 9  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 85  | ethnological narrative    | 15 |
| UM | EM-AI   | 86  | ethno. / trad. narrative  | 13 |
| UM | EM-AI   | 87  | ethno. / trad. narrative  | 9  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 88  | traditional narrative     | 44 |
| UM | EM-AI   | 89  | traditional narrative     | 8  |
| UM | EM-AI   | 90  | traditional narrative     | 12 |
| UM | EM-AI   | 91  | traditional narrative     | 8  |
| UM | EM-Og   | 92  | traditional narrative     | 11 |
| UM | PE-Šoš  | 96  | other narrative           | 8  |
| UM | PE-Kuk  | 104 | other narrative           | 7  |
| UM | PE-Kuk  | 106 | other narrative           | 15 |
| UM | PE-Kuk  | 108 | other / trad. narrative   | 21 |
| UM | PE-Bav  | 113 | other narrative           | 7  |
| UM | PE-Bav  | 114 | ethnological narrative    | 23 |
| UM | PE-KT   | 122 | other narrative           | 8  |
| UM | PE-Tat  | 126 | other narrative           | 26 |
| UM | PE-Tat  | 130 | other narrative           | 7  |
| UM | PE-Bess | 132 | pers. / ethno.narrative   | 23 |
| UM | PE-Bess | 133 | pers. / ethno. narrative  | 6  |
| UM | PE-Bess | 134 | personal narrative        | 18 |

### Dialects according to Munkácsi's classification

G = Glazov dialect; J = Jelabuga dialect; K = Kazan dialect; P = Perm dialect;  
 S = Sarapul dialect; Sa/Sam = Samara dialect; U = Ufa dialect; UB = Ufa dialect as  
 spoken in the area of Birsk

| source | dialect | text | genre                  | length<br>in lines # |
|--------|---------|------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Mun I  | S       | 1,1  | Ethnological narrative | 8                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 1,2  | Ethnological narrative | 7                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 1,3  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 1,4  | Ethnological narrative | 17                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 1,5  | Ethnological narrative | 10                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 1,6  | Ethnological narrative | 5                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,1  | Ethnological narrative | 10                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,2  | Ethnological narrative | 10                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,3  | Ethnological narrative | 9                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,4  | Ethnological narrative | 11                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,5  | Ethnological narrative | 8                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,6  | Ethnological narrative | 23                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,7  | Ethnological narrative | 14                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,8  | Ethnological narrative | 20                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,9  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 2,10 | Ethnological narrative | 10                   |
| Mun I  | K       | 3,1  | Ethnological narrative | 6                    |
| Mun I  | K       | 3,2  | Ethnological narrative | 5                    |
| Mun I  | K       | 3,3  | Ethnological narrative | 6                    |
| Mun I  | K       | 3,4  | Ethnological narrative | 6                    |
| Mun I  | K       | 3,5  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | K       | 3,6  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | K       | 3,7  | Ethnological narrative | 9                    |
| Mun I  | K       | 3,8  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 4,1  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 4,2  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 4,3  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 4,4  | Ethnological narrative | 9                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 4,5  | Ethnological narrative | 5                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 4,6  | Ethnological narrative | 3                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 5,1  | Ethnological narrative | 10                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 5,2  | Ethnological narrative | 5                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 5,3  | Ethnological narrative | 6                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 6,1  | Ethnological narrative | 7                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 6,2  | Ethnological narrative | 5                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 6,3  | Ethnological narrative | 8                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 6,4  | Ethnological narrative | 4                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 6,5  | Ethnological narrative | 8                    |
| Mun I  | S       | 6,6  | Ethnological narrative | 19                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 6,7  | Ethnological narrative | 11                   |
| Mun I  | J       | 7    | Ethnological narrative | 31                   |
| Mun I  | K       | 8,1  | Ethnological narrative | 11                   |
| Mun I  | K       | 8,2  | Ethnological narrative | 10                   |
| Mun I  | K       | 8,3  | Ethnological narrative | 15                   |
| Mun I  | K       | 9    | Ethnological narrative | 21                   |
| Mun I  | S       | 10   | Ethnological narrative | 5                    |

|        |     |      |                        |    |
|--------|-----|------|------------------------|----|
| Mun I  | S   | 11,1 | Ethnological narrative | 5  |
| Mun I  | S   | 11,2 | Ethnological narrative | 5  |
| Mun I  | S   | 11,3 | Ethnological narrative | 3  |
| Mun I  | S   | 12,1 | Ethnological narrative | 8  |
| Mun I  | S   | 12,2 | Ethnological narrative | 11 |
| Mun I  | S   | 13,1 | Ethnological narrative | 11 |
| Mun I  | S   | 13,2 | Ethnological narrative | 10 |
| Mun I  | S   | 13,3 | Ethnological narrative | 12 |
| Mun I  | S   | 13,4 | Ethnological narrative | 2  |
| Mun I  | S   | 14,1 | Ethnological narrative | 9  |
| Mun I  | S   | 14,2 | Ethnological narrative | 7  |
| Mun I  | S   | 14,3 | Ethnological narrative | 11 |
| Mun I  | S   | 14,4 | Ethnological narrative | 5  |
| Mun I  | S   | 14,5 | Ethnological narrative | 10 |
| Mun I  | S   | 14,6 | Ethnological narrative | 8  |
| Mun I  | S   | 14,7 | Ethnological narrative | 6  |
| Mun II | S   | 15,1 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun II | S   | 15,2 | Traditional narrative  | 6  |
| Mun II | S   | 15,3 | Traditional narrative  | 6  |
| Mun II | S   | 15,4 | Traditional narrative  | 7  |
| Mun II | S   | 16,1 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II | S   | 16,2 | Traditional narrative  | 7  |
| Mun II | S   | 16,3 | Traditional narrative  | 12 |
| Mun II | S   | 16,4 | Traditional narrative  | 4  |
| Mun II | S   | 17,1 | Trad/Ethno narrative   | 4  |
| Mun II | S   | 17,2 | Trad/Ethno narrative   | 2  |
| Mun II | S   | 17,3 | Trad/Ethno narrative   | 3  |
| Mun II | S   | 18,1 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II | S   | 18,2 | Traditional narrative  | 4  |
| Mun II | S   | 19,1 | Traditional narrative  | 7  |
| Mun II | S   | 19,2 | Traditional narrative  | 6  |
| Mun II | S   | 19,3 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II | S   | 19,4 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun II | S   | 19,5 | Traditional narrative  | 7  |
| Mun II | S   | 20,1 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II | S   | 20,2 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun II | S   | 20,3 | Traditional narrative  | 18 |
| Mun II | J   | 21,1 | Traditional narrative  | 7  |
| Mun II | J   | 21,2 | Traditional narrative  | 15 |
| Mun II | J   | 21,3 | Traditional narrative  | 6  |
| Mun II | J   | 22,1 | Traditional narrative  | 10 |
| Mun II | J   | 22,2 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II | J   | 22,3 | Traditional narrative  | 12 |
| Mun II | J   | 22,4 | Traditional narrative  | 5  |
| Mun II | G   | 23,1 | Traditional narrative  | 6  |
| Mun II | G   | 23,2 | Traditional narrative  | 11 |
| Mun II | G   | 23,3 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun II | S   | 24,1 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun II | S   | 24,2 | Traditional narrative  | 3  |
| Mun II | J/S | 25,1 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II | J/S | 25,2 | Traditional narrative  | 11 |
| Mun II | J/S | 25,3 | Traditional narrative  | 14 |
| Mun II | J   | 26,1 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun II | J   | 26,2 | Traditional narrative  | 4  |
| Mun II | J   | 27,1 | Traditional narrative  | 12 |
| Mun II | J   | 27,2 | Traditional narrative  | 10 |
| Mun II | J   | 27,3 | Traditional narrative  | 18 |
| Mun II | J   | 27,4 | Traditional narrative  | 4  |

|         |     |      |                        |    |
|---------|-----|------|------------------------|----|
| Mun II  | S   | 28   | Other/Trad narrative   | 12 |
| Mun II  | S   | 29,1 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II  | S   | 29,2 | Traditional narrative  | 12 |
| Mun II  | S   | 29,3 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II  | S/G | 30,1 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun II  | S/G | 30,2 | Traditional narrative  | 11 |
| Mun II  | S/G | 30,3 | Traditional narrative  | 10 |
| Mun II  | S/G | 30,4 | Traditional narrative  | 2  |
| Mun II  | S   | 31,1 | Traditional narrative  | 6  |
| Mun II  | S   | 31,2 | Traditional narrative  | 7  |
| Mun II  | S   | 31,3 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II  | S   | 31,4 | Traditional narrative  | 4  |
| Mun II  | S   | 32,1 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun II  | S   | 32,2 | Traditional narrative  | 13 |
| Mun II  | S   | 32,3 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun II  | S   | 32,4 | Traditional narrative  | 16 |
| Mun II  | S   | 32,5 | Traditional narrative  | 10 |
| Mun III | J   | 34,1 | Ethnological narrative | 3  |
| Mun III | J   | 34,2 | Ethnological narrative | 5  |
| Mun III | J   | 34,3 | Ethnological narrative | 7  |
| Mun III | J   | 34,4 | Ethnological narrative | 4  |
| Mun III | J   | 35,1 | Traditional narrative  | 4  |
| Mun III | J   | 35,2 | Traditional narrative  | 6  |
| Mun III | J   | 35,3 | Traditional narrative  | 11 |
| Mun III | S   | 36,1 | Traditional narrative  | 7  |
| Mun III | S   | 36,2 | Traditional narrative  | 14 |
| Mun III | S   | 36,3 | Traditional narrative  | 7  |
| Mun III | S   | 36,4 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun III | S   | 36,5 | Traditional narrative  | 2  |
| Mun III | G   | 37,1 | Traditional narrative  | 13 |
| Mun III | G   | 37,2 | Traditional narrative  | 13 |
| Mun III | G   | 37,3 | Ethnological narrative | 8  |
| Mun III | S   | 38,1 | Traditional narrative  | 9  |
| Mun III | S   | 38,2 | Traditional narrative  | 10 |
| Mun III | G   | 39,1 | Traditional narrative  | 6  |
| Mun III | G   | 39,2 | Traditional narrative  | 13 |
| Mun III | G   | 40,1 | Traditional narrative  | 8  |
| Mun III | G   | 40,2 | Traditional narrative  | 13 |
| Mun III | G   | 40,3 | Traditional narrative  | 11 |
| Mun III | G   | 40,4 | Traditional narrative  | 12 |
| Mun IV  | S   | 41,1 | Ritual & Prayer        | 4  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 41,2 | Ritual & Prayer        | 4  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 41,3 | Ritual & Prayer        | 3  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 41,4 | Ritual & Prayer        | 2  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 41,5 | Ritual & Prayer        | 4  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 41,6 | Ritual & Prayer        | 4  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 41,7 | Ritual & Prayer        | 2  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 41,8 | Ritual & Prayer        | 2  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 45,1 | Ritual & Prayer        | 7  |
| Mun IV  | S   | 45,2 | Ritual & Prayer        | 13 |
| Mun IV  | S   | 45,3 | Ritual & Prayer        | 5  |
| Mun IV  | J   | 46,1 | Ritual & Prayer        | 6  |
| Mun IV  | J   | 46,2 | Ritual & Prayer        | 6  |
| Mun IV  | K   | 47,1 | Ritual & Prayer        | 3  |
| Mun IV  | K   | 47,2 | Ritual & Prayer        | 7  |
| Mun IV  | G   | 48,1 | Ritual & Prayer        | 3  |
| Mun IV  | G   | 48,2 | Ritual & Prayer        | 4  |
| Mun IV  | J   | 50,1 | Ritual & Prayer        | 4  |

|        |    |      |                    |    |
|--------|----|------|--------------------|----|
| Mun IV | J  | 50,2 | Ritual & Prayer    | 3  |
| Mun IV | J  | 50,3 | Ritual & Prayer    | 11 |
| Mun IV | J  | 50,4 | Ritual & Prayer    | 3  |
| Mun IV | J  | 50,5 | Ritual & Prayer    | 5  |
| Mun IV | Sl | 54,1 | Ritual & Prayer    | 7  |
| Mun IV | Sl | 54,2 | Ritual & Prayer    | 5  |
| Mun IV | Sl | 54,3 | Ritual & Prayer    | 6  |
| Mun IV | J  | 55,1 | Ritual & Prayer    | 5  |
| Mun IV | J  | 55,2 | Ritual & Prayer    | 9  |
| Mun IV | J  | 55,3 | Ritual & Prayer    | 9  |
| Mun IV | S  | 57,1 | Ritual & Prayer    | 7  |
| Mun IV | S  | 57,2 | Ritual & Prayer    | 6  |
| Mun IV | S  | 57,3 | Ritual & Prayer    | 11 |
| Mun IV | S  | 57,4 | Ritual & Prayer    | 4  |
| Mun IV | J  | 58,1 | Ritual & Prayer    | 5  |
| Mun IV | J  | 58,2 | Ritual & Prayer    | 5  |
| Mun IV | J  | 59   | Ritual & Prayer    | 5  |
| Mun IV | S  | 60   | Personal narrative | 9  |
| Mun IV | J  | 61   | Personal narrative | 9  |
| Mun IV | J  | 62,1 | Personal narrative | 3  |
| Mun IV | J  | 62,2 | Personal narrative | 4  |
| Mun IV | J  | 62,3 | Personal narrative | 5  |
| Mun IV | J  | 62,4 | Personal narrative | 4  |
| Mun IV | J  | 62,5 | Personal narrative | 2  |

## PERMI KEELTE TEINE MINEVIK

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### VORM, FUNKTSIOON JA VÖRDLEV ANALÜÜS TÜPOLOOGIA TAUSTAL

#### Kokkuvõte

Käesolev magistritöö käsitleb permi keelte teist minevikku (SKJ 1955 прошедшее-результативне; GSUJ 1962 второе прошедшее время) ja uurib selle funktsioone komi ja udmurdi keeles nii eraldi kui ka võrdlevalt. Viimaste aastate uuringud käsitlevad permi keelte teist minevikku evidentsiaalse kategooriana. E. Winkler (2001) ja M. Leinonen (2002) on näinud permi keelte teises minevikus juba kõneviisi. Just seda käsitlust kritiseeris V. Napolskih (2003) E. Winkleri udmurdi grammatikat retsenseerides. Ka käesoleva töö autor ei näe teises minevikus kõneviisi.

Esimeses peatükis tutvustatakse töö ülesandeid, metodoloogiat, permi keelte *m*-partitsiipi ning teist minevikku morfoloogia ja morfosüntaksi taustal.

Teine peatükk annab ülevaate teise mineviku käsitlemisest erinevates uuringutes (Serebrennikov 1960; Stipa 1960; Cypanov 1997; Leinonen 2000; Leinonen & Vilku 2000; Winkler 2001). Samuti antakse ülevaade liitaegadest, mida saab teise mineviku abil moodustada.

Kolmandas peatükis vaadeldakse teist minevikku vanemates grammatikates ja permi keelte murretes. Peatükk lõpeb ajaloolis-võrdleva kommentaariga.

Neljandas peatükis räägitakse lähemalt erinevatest evidentsiaalsuse väljendamise grammatikaliseerunud võimalustest. Näited pärinevad nootka, lõunatepehuani, keskpomo, türgi ja jukagiiri keelest. Evidentsiaalsust käsitleti 1980. ja 1990. aastail tihti modaalsuse alaliigina, kuid nii funktsionaalse tüpoloogia kui ka pragmaatika taustal tuleb selline käsitlus tagasi lükata. Evidentsiaalsus on eelkõige informatsiooni päritolu mõiste ja alles siis see võib, aga ei pruugi olla seotud modaalsusega. Ka käesolevas töös peetakse evidentsiaalsust informatsiooni mõisteks. Neljas peatükk lõpeb evidentsiaalsuse hierarhia ja grammatikaliseerumise esitamisega.

Viiendas peatükis tutvustatakse mõisteid perfekt, resultatiivsus ja staatilisus (Dahl 1985; Nedjalkov [1983] 1988; Bybee et al 1994; Lindstedt 2000). Alles pärast V. Nedjalkovi üldkeeleteadusesse ilmumist hakati resultatiivsust/staatilisust perfektist eristama. Ka permi keeltes on mõistlik resultatiivsus/staatilisus perfektist lahus hoida, mida on käesolevas töös ka tehtud. Peatükk lõpeb perfekti grammatikaliseerumise ülevaatega.

Kuuendas peatükis uuritakse teise mineviku kasutust permikomi, sürjakomi ja udmurdi keeles. Materjalina on kasutatud T. E. Uotila „Syrjänische Texte 1-4“ ja V. Kel'makovi ja S. Saarineni „Udmurtin murteet“.

Seitsmendas peatükis uuritakse teise mineviku kasutust võrdlevalt. Aluseks on Turu ülikooli avaldamata Pavlik Morozovi paralleelkorpus, mis sisaldab raamatu „Pavlik Morozov“ tõlkeid permikomi, sürjakomi ja udmurdi keeles. Tulemus ei paku suuri üllatusi. Teise mineviku kasutus eri keeltes erineb vaid üksikutel juhtudel, mis on põhjustatud ilmselt tõlkijate erinevatest tekstikontseptsioonidest. Põhikasutus on siiski väga ühtlane.

Kaheksandas peatükis vaadatakse üle tulemused kasutatud materjali põhjal (Syrjänische Volksdichtung; Udmurtin murteet; Pavlik Morozov). Nii permikomi kui ka sürjakomi keeles on kasutus ühtlane. Teise mineviku abil väljendatakse järgmisi informatsiooni päritolu mõisteid. Teist minevikku kasutatakse, kui informatsioon põhineb kuulujuttudel (ingl. *hearsay*), järeldusel (ingl. *inference*) ja imestusel/üllatusel (ingl. *mirativity*). Peale nende funktsioonide on teine minevik kasutusel veel ka tavalises ajalises funktsioonis perfektina. Kasutatud materjalis esines teine minevik komi keeles nii pea- kui ka kõrvallauses. Teist minevikku leiti ainult väitlausetest.

Teise mineviku kasutus udmurdi keeles ei erine komi kasutusest. Teine minevik täidab udmurdi keeles samu funktsioone, mida komi keeleski. Kuna udmurdi keeles pole finitiseid kõrvallauseid, siis erineb kasutus ainult selles punktis. Teist minevikku leiti udmurdi keeles peamiselt väitlausetest. Materjalis leidunud ühes küsilause oli samuti kasutatud teist minevikku. Kuna küsilause ja eitatud evidentsiaal ei luba evidentsiaalset tõlgendust on see konkreetne konstruktsioon seotud episteemilise kindlusega (nii Givón 2001 I: 327) ja tegemist on retoorilise küsimusega.

Permi keeled kuuluvad evidentsiaalsuse tüüp I alla (Aikhenvald 2003 järgi), kuid teine minevik pole puhas evidentsiaal, sest ühel vormil on rohkem kui üks tähendus. Sellepärast peab permi keelte teist minevikku käsitlema *evidentsiaalse strateegiana*.

Kaheksanda peatüki viimased punktid käsitlevad nii keeleajalugu kui ka üldist keeleteadust. Lähemalt vaadatakse probleeme, mis tulenevad esimese isiku vormide algpermi keelde rekonstrueerimisega S. Csúcsi (2001) poolt ja B. Serebrennikovi (1960; 1963) arvamusel, et teine minevik tekkis iseseisvalt nii komi keeles kui ka udmurdi keeles. Üldkeeleteaduse taustal tekib küsimus, kas prantsuse üldkeeleteaduse tarvitav mõiste mediatiivsus (pr. *médiatif*) iseloomustaks permi keelte teise mineviku olemust paremini kui ingliskeelse keeleteaduse mõiste evidentsiaalsus.

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