73 The Mari genitive always has the suffix *n*. In phrases cited by Castrén either the nominative or genitive can be used in the modifier position (only pronouns are obligatorily in the genitive, cf. *kyn ergǝ̂*).

74 In Southern Saami the Proto-Uralic accusative ending **m* appears as a labial stop *b* as well (cf. Korhonen 1981: 214).

75 The consecutive is given as a separate case (причинный падеж) in Savatkova's (2002: 102) Hill Mari grammar with the suffix vowel-harmony variants *lanen, länen.*

76 Both *š* in Mari and *h* in Karelian originate in the Finno-Volgaic **s.* All three Proto-Finno-Ugric sibilants (*s, ś, š*) have become *š* in Mari. Castrén calls Karelian a dialect, in the Swedish manuscript he speaks of "Karelian Finnish".

77 The element **k* is the suffix of the old Finno-Ugric lative. It functions (without *š*) in adverbs and postpositions as the so-called unproductive illative. (Alhoniemi 1993: 62–63.) This element is, however, not identical to the one in the ablative (G) and superlative (H).

78 A misprint *aijäge* was in the printed version, the correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript.

79 Neither of the mentioned comitative suffixes are cognates of the Mari *ge.* The Estonian *ga* originates in the postposition *kanssa* 'with', and the Northern Saami *guim* (in the comitative plural) can

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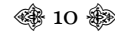
III   Nominals

A. Nouns

Case

§ 10 Cheremis nouns lack gender as in all Finnish languages; furthermore, they lack the dual number which exists in some Finnish languages and also many cases that occur in Finnish and other related languages.

Cheremis only has the following cases:

A. The *nominative* has no suffix.

B. The *genitive*, which is either identical to the nominative, e.g., *kek šǝldǝr* 'bird's wing' (bird-wing), *pört-leväš* 'ceiling of the room' (room-ceiling), or ends in *n* as in Finnish, e.g., *ǝ̂štǝräš* or *ǝ̂štǝräšǝn mǝ̂žär* 'kaftan of (home-made) linen', *kyn ergǝ̂* 'whose son', *in* (*iin*) *dǝr* 'edge of the ice'.[73] The suffix *n* also occurs in *possessive adjectives*, which cannot always be distinguished from the genitive.

C. The *accusative* ends in *m* as in Samoyed, e.g., *ätjäm* 'father', *ergǝm* 'son'. The Lappish language has a related suffix *b*.[74]

D. The *dative*, which in Finnish ends in *llen* (*lle*) has a related suffix in Cheremis: *lan, län,*

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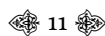
e.g., *Ɉəmələn* 'to God', *ätjälän* 'to father'. Sometimes the dative is used to replace the *consecutive* case and then it easily takes the suffix *länen*, e.g., *ergälän* or *ergälänen kejem* 'I go to (fetch) one's son'.[75] (See § 47 Letter I.)

E. The *illative* expresses movement into a place and ends in *škə*, *škä*, *š*, but in adverbs and postpositions it ends in *kə*, *kä*, *k*, e.g., *alaškə* (*alaš*) *pərən* 's/he went into town', *šärgäškä kejen* 's/he went into the forest'. Its original form is undoubtedly *š*, which corresponds to the suffix *h* of the illative in the Karelian dialect.[76] The syllable *kə*, *kä* occurs also in the ablative and superlative;[77] it may have its origin in the particle *ke*, which sometimes functions as a comitative case, e.g., *ätjäge*[78] 'father too, with father'. Confer the Estonian instructive in *ga* and Lappish instructive in *guim*.[79]

F. The *inessive*, which denotes being inside a space, ends in *štə*, *štä*, *št*, e.g., *alaštə* 'in town', *šärgäštä* 'in the forest'. The suffix of the inessive in Finnish is *ssa*, *ssä*, in Lappish *št*, in Estonian *s*.[80]

G. The *ablative* or *elative* ends in *käc* (*gäc*), but in some adverbs and postpositions as well as nouns ending in *k* or *g* the suffix is *əc*, *äc*, *c*, e.g., *vätkäc* 'out of the water', *šymbelgäc* 'from a/the brother'.[81] The suffix in *c* (*ts*) can most likely be considered original and it corresponds to the Finnish elative in *šta*, *štä*, the Lappish and Estonian elatives in *št*, the Zyrian *s* (*ys*)[82], etc.[83] The meaning of the ablative refers especially to inner space[84], but it is often used in the same sense as the ablative in other Finnish languages.

be traced back to the Baltic loanword *guoibmi* 'companion'. (SSA1: 276, 301.)

80 The Finnish and Estonian inessive suffixes are etymologically identical to Mari *štə* < **snA*; the Northern Saami *s(t)* goes back to the old elative suffix **stA* (but it has the meanings of both inessive and elative, because the two suffixes have merged, see Korhonen 1981: 222–224).

81 *käc* is a postposition, although it has been presented in some early grammars as a case ending because of its lack of stress. It originates in the noun *körgä* 'inside(s)' and ends in the unproductive elative suffix *c*, which goes back to the Proto-Uralic ablative **tA*. The unproductive elative suffix is used – as Castrén also notes – with adverbial and postpositional stems. *käc* does not adapt to vowel harmony, as it is not a case ending. See marginal note 69.

82 The Zyrian sibilants should have a palatalized *ś*.

83 The suffix *c* (< **tA*) can be found as the second segment in the Finnish, Estonian and Northern Saami suffixes mentioned above. The Komi *ś*, also found in Udmurt, is not of the same origin, but a Permic innovation (Rédei 1988: 380–381).

84 I.e. 'from inside'.

85 According to present-day theory, *gač* is a postposition. It lacks stress but does not adjust to vowel harmony. The stem *vǝ̆l-* can function both as an adverb and as a postposition.

86 All the caritive suffixes listed by Castrén originate in the common Finno-Ugric caritive suffix **ptAk* (Korhonen 1981: 226–227).

87 According to present-day knowledge *don(o)* is a postposition originating in the Finno-Ugric stem **tarɜ* 'vicinity' (UEW 512); *no* is the ending of the unproductive inessive.

88 Depending on the context, several cases can be used instead of essive in Hill Mari e.g., lative, inessive, genitive. The postposition *dono* cannot function as an essive. (Saarinen 2017: 261–281.)

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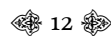
The Cheremis ablative case sometimes also functions like the Zyrian *prosecutive*, which expresses movement along a surface, e.g., *vǝ̆tkǝc* 'along water', *lǝmgǝc* 'along snow'.

H. The *superlative* expresses movement over a space and ends in *kadč*, *gadč*, e.g., *vǝ̆tkadč* 'over water', *lǝmgadč* 'over snow'. The superlative can be taken for a case with the same reason as the illative, inessive and ablative. The suffix *kadč* can not be considered a postposition, as it cannot take any case endings like the other postpositions; on the contrary, this suffix can be attached to them like any other case endings, e.g., *vǝ̆lgadč* 'over the upper part'.[85]

I. The *caritive*, which expresses lack and deficiency, ends in Cheremis in *te*, *de*, e.g., *ypte* 'without hair', *imde* 'without a needle'. In Finnish and Estonian the caritive ends in *tta* (*ttä*), *taˀ* (*täˀ*), in Lappish in *tagˀa*, in Zyrian in *täg*, etc.[86]

K. The *instructive* which expresses an instrument with which something is made ends in *ton*, *don*, e.g., *pǝ̆lǝ̈šton* 'with an ear', *kǝ̈zǝ̈don* 'with a knife'. This ending seems to be composed in some way; because the usual suffix of the instructive in Finnish is the mere letter *n*.[87] The same suffix also occurs in Cheremis, especially in adverbs; because of its similarity with the genitive it has not been fully preserved. This is also the reason why the instructive singular in Finnish has mostly disappeared. As in Russian, the factive or essive in Cheremis are also expressed with the help of the instructive.[88]

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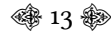
§ 11 The *allative*, *adessive* and even *ablative*, which in Finnish and other related languages express external relations, are translated into Cheremis with postpositions. Characteristic of the mentioned cases in other Finnish languages is the liquid *l*. The same characteristic *l* occurs in Cheremis in the dative and, in dialects, also in the ablative, which according to the Kazanʹ grammar ends in *lec*.[89] Traces of the missing *essive* are manifest in various postpositions and adverbs ending in *nə*, *nə̈*, which bear the meaning of inessive, a meaning which the essive not infrequently has in other Finnish languages, too.[90] – The Finnish languages usually lack *vocative*. The case proposed for Cheremis as such in the Kazanʹ grammar is nothing other than a nominative with the suffix of the first person singular.[91]

§ 12 The *plural* sign is *və̈lä* (*vlä*)[92] and it takes the same case endings as the singular. Other Finnish languages do not have anything that would correspond to *və̈lä*; unless the Finnish suffix *löt*, *löitä* is not comparable to it.[93]

[89] The ablative *leč*, *lec* is found in some of the eastern dialects and also in the north-western dialect (Sebeok – Raun 1956:14). *c* at the end is the unproductive elative < **tA* (see marginal note 83).

[90] The suffix *nə*, *nə̈* is that of the unproductive inessive, which occurs in a couple dozen adverbs and postpositions, and it goes back to Finno-Ugric **nA*.

[91] Some Mari dialects have vocative suffixes *j*, *kaj* borrowed from the Turkic languages; they usually occur in kinship terms and names of close relatives (Bereczki 2002: 42).

[92] In standard Hill Mari the form *wlä* is used, but in the dialects two-syllable forms with a schwa are also found.

[93] Mari (as the Permic languages) has lost the original Finno-Ugric plural sign *t* in nouns. Mari has adopted new plural suffixes from neighbouring languages, among them *wlä* in Hill Mari and *wlak* in the eastern dialects, which both trace back to a Turkic word meaning 'group; herd'. (Cf. Luutonen 1997: 56–57.)

94 According to modern grammars, Hill Mari has 10 cases: in addition to the nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, illative, inessive and caritive described by Castrén, there are also the lative (suffix *eš*), modal-comparative (*la*, *lä* borrowed from the Turkic languages) and comitative (*ge*, *ke*) (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 48; Vikström – Zorina 2010). Savatkova (2002: 94) adds an additional causative (*lanen*, *länen*) to these (see D. above).

95 In the original "can be either *a* or *ä*, *e*".

96 In the original *Jumavylä*. According to Ramstedt's texts (1902) the first vowel of the plural suffix is always a front schwa regardless of the quality of the preceding vowel.

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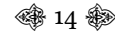
Declension

§ 13 Thus substantives follow this paradigm in the Cheremis language:[94]

Nominative	–
Genitive	– or *n*
Accusative	*m*
Dative	*lan*, *län*
Illative	*škə*, *škə̑*
Inessive	*štə*, *štə̑*
Ablative	*kə̑c*, *gə̑c*
Superlative	*kadč*, *gadč*
Caritive	*te*, *de*
Instructive	*ton*, *don* or *n*

N.B. If the stem ends in a consonant, the suffix can not be directly attached to it and an extra vowel has to be added, which can be either *ə* or *ə̑* depending on the hard or smooth vowel of the stem.[95]

§ 14 In order to illustrate the above scheme which applies to all nouns, some examples are now given.

1.

	Singular		Plural
Nom.	*Jəmə* 'God'	Nom.	*Jəməvölä*[96]
Gen.	*Jəmə*, *Jəmən*	Gen.	*Jəməvölä* or *Juməvölän*
Acc.	*Jəməm*	Acc.	*Jəməvöläm*
Dat.	*Jəməlan*	Dat.	*Jəməvölälän*

❧ 15 ❧

Illat.	*Jəməškə*	Illat.	*Jəməvəläškə*
Iness.	*Jəməštə*	Iness.	*Jəməväläštə*
Abl.	*Jəməgäc*	Abl.	*Jəməvälägäc*
Superl.	*Jəməgadč*	Superl.	*Jəməvälägadč*
Carit.	*Jəməde*	Carit.	*Jəməväläde*
Instr.	*Jəmədon*	Instr.	*Jəməvälädon*

2.

	Singular		Plural
Nom.	*Pört* 'house'	Nom.	*Pörtvələ*
Gen.	*Pört, Pörtən*	Gen.	*Pörtvələ* or *-vələn*
Acc.	*Pörtəm*	Acc.	*Pörtvəläm*
Dat.	*Pörtlän*	Dat.	*Pörtvələlän*
Illat.	*Pörtəškə*	Illat.	*Pörtvələškə*
Iness.	*Pörtəštə*	Iness.	*Pörtvələštə*
Abl.	*Pörtkäc*	Abl.	*Pörtvälägäc*
Superl.	*Pörtkadč*	Superl.	*Pörtvälägadč*
Carit.	*Pörte* (instead of *pörtte*)	Carit.	*Pörtvəläde*
Instr.	*Pörton* (instead of *pörtton*)	Instr.	*Pörtvälädon*

3.

	Singular		Plural
Nom.	*Šymbel* 'brother'	Nom.	*Šymbelvələ*
Gen.	*Šymbel, Šymbelän*	Gen.	*Šymbelvələ* or *-vəlän*
Acc.	*Šymbeläm*[97]	Acc.	*Šymbelvəläm*
Dat.	*Šymbelän*[98]	Dat.	*Šymbelvələlän*
Illat.	*Šymbelškə*	Illat.	*Šymbelvələškə*
Iness.	*Šymbelštə*	Iness.	*Šymbelvələštə*
Abl.	*Šymbelkäc*	Abl.	*Šymbelvälägäc*
Superl.	*Šymbelkadč*	Superl.	*Šymbelvälägadč*
Carit.	*Šymbelde*	Carit.	*Šymbelvəläde*
Instr.	*Šymbeldon*	Instr.	*Šymbelvälädon*

99 The suffix *rak*, *räk* has been borrowed from the neighbouring Turkic languages, where it has the function of comparative (cf. Bereczki 2002: 60–61).

100 Usually in Hill Mari *purə* 'good'.

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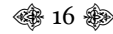
B. Adjectives

Declension

§ 15 The adjectives in Cheremis are declined in the same way as substantives, e.g., *jažo* 'excellent', acc. *jažom*, dat. *jažolan*, abl. *jažogǝc*, pl. *jažovǝlä*. But if they occur as attributes to nouns they are not declined, e.g., *jažo edem* 'an excellent person', dat. *jažo edemlän*, pl. *jažo edemvǝlä*.

Degree of comparison

§ 16 The comparison in Cheremis, as in many other Finnish languages, is incomplete. If the adjective is used alone, i.e. without mentioning the standard of comparison, then the comparative is expressed with the diminutive[99] ending *rak*, *räk*, e.g., *kužǝrak šymbel* 'taller brother' or 'tallish (Ru. *долговатый*) brother', *pingǝdǝräk edem* 'stingier, a bit stingy person'. But if the diminutives with *rak*, *räk* are joined with another component part of sentence in the ablative case, then they get both the meaning of comparative and diminutive, e.g., *mǝnjgǝcem kogorak* 'a little taller than me', *šymbelgǝc pingǝdǝräk* 'a little stronger than the brother'. Furthermore, a positive degree constructed in the same way with the ablative can take the function of comparative, e.g., *mänjgǝcem bur*[100] 'better than me', *šymbelgǝc kogo* 'bigger than the brother'. – In Cheremis the superlative is expressed periphrastically with the adverbs *piš* or *proc* 'very', or with a pronoun borrowed from Russian *samoj*, e.g., *piš*, *proc*, *samoj jažo* 'most excellent'.

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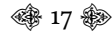
C. Numerals

Cardinals

§ 17 Some cardinals in Cheremis have two endings: one long, the other short. The long one is used when the numeral ſtands alone, i.e. without a noun in the sentence; but if a noun follows it, the shorter form is used.

The double forms are found in cardinals 1, 2, etc. until 7, which are the original cardinals, both here and in other Finnish languages. The Cheremis cardinals are:

1.	*Iktăt (iktĕ)*	*Ik*
2.	*Koktət (koktə)*	*Kok*
3.	*Kəmət*	*Kəm*
4.	*Nălät*	*Năl*
5.	*Văzăt*	*Văc*
6.	*Kudət*	*Kut*
7.	*Šămăt*	*Šăm*
8.	*Kändäχšä*	
9.	*Əndeχšä*	
10.	*Lu*	*Luat*[101]
11.	*Luat iktăt*	*Luat ik*
12.	*Luat koktət*	*Luat kok*
13.	*Luat kəmət*	*Luat kəm*
14.	*Luat nălät*	*Luat năl*
15.	*Luat văzăt (Luckə)*	*Luat văc*
16.	*Luat kudət*	*Luat ut*
17.	*Luat šămăt*	*Luat šăm*
18.	*Luat kändäχšä*	
19.	*Luat əndeχšä*	

101 The form *luat* is a misprint or an error: *lu* does not have a longer form. The *at* which can be seen in the names of the numbers 11–19 is a clitic denoting 'and'.

102 The word for kopeck is *ər* < *ur* 'squirrel'.

❖ 18 ❖

20.	*Koklə*
30.	*Kəmlə*
40.	*Nällä (Nällu)*
50.	*Väzlä (Väzlu)*
60.	*Kutlu*
70.	*Šämlu*
80.	*Kändäχšlu*
90.	*Əndeχšlu*
100.	*Šydä*
200.	*Kok šydä*
300.	*Kəm šydä*
400.	*Näl šydä*
500.	*Vät šydä*
600.	*Kut šydä*
700.	*Šäm šydä*
800.	*Kändäχ šydä*
900.	*Əndeχ šydä*
1000.	*Täžem*

N.B. The Kazan′ Grammar mentions that in money counting instead of *lu šydər* '10 roubles' (i.e. ten hundred kopecks[102]) people prefer saying *täžem ur* 'thousand kopecks'; and instead of *šydä šydər* 'hundred roubles' they say *mešak oksa* 'a sack of money'.

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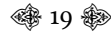
§ 18 Cardinals without an accompanying substantive are declined regularly, e.g., *iktə̑*, dat. *iktə̑län*, *koktə̑lan*, *kə̑mə̑tlan*, *nə̑lə̑län*, *lulan*, acc. *vəzə̑təm*, *kudə̑təm*, *šə̑mə̑təm*, pl. *iktə̑vä̆lä*, *koktə̑vä̆lä*, *kə̑mə̑tvä̆lä*, etc. Combined with a noun, cardinals are regarded as adjectives and therefore they are not declined.

Ordinals

§ 19 Ordinals are formed in various ways. Namely, the two first ordinal numbers are expressed with independent words as in most languages: *pə̑rtäri* or *pə̑rtärišə̆* 'first', *vesə̆* 'second'. The ordinals from three to seven are formed from cardinals by using the ending *mšə̆*[103], e.g., *kə̑mšə̆* 'third', *nə̑lə̑mšə̆* 'fourth', *vəzə̑mšə̆* 'fifth', *kudə̑mšə̆* 'sixth', *šə̑mšə̆* 'seventh'[104]. To other ordinals the suffix *žə̆* (*šə̆*)[105] is attached directly after the cardinal, e.g., *kändäχšə̆žə̆* 'eighth', *lužə̆* 'tenth', *luat iktə̑tšə̆* 'eleventh', etc.

Collectives and distributives

§ 20 Collectives and distributives are formed as in Finnish, Zyrian and other languages by adding the case ending of instructive *n*, *ə̑n*, *ə̆n* to cardinals, e.g., *koktə̑n* 'the two of us', *kə̑mə̑tə̑n* 'in a group of three', *nə̑lə̑tə̑n*, *kändäχšə̆n*, *lun*, etc.

103 The ending has two variants according to vowel harmony: *mšə̆* and *mšə̑*.

104 The forms *kə̑mšə̑* and *šə̑mšə̆* have a shorter variant of the suffix, which can also be used with the numbers 1 and 2: *ikšə̆* 'first' and *kokšə̑* 'second' (Savatkova 2002: 151–152).

105 And *žə̑*, *šə̑*, respectively.

106 'layer'.
107 Castrén's etymology is incorrect: both words are of Finno-Ugric origin but not related to each other (UEW 353, 412).
108 '(one) time'.
109 The clitic *ak*, *äk*, borrowed from Chuvash, functions as a coordinating element, when attached to paired members of an expression (cf. Fedotov 1965: 39; Saarinen 1986: 42–46).

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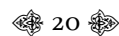
Multiplicatives

§ 21 Multiplicatives are formed by combining cardinals with *padčaš*[106] (from *padč* 'tail, end')[107], e.g., *kokpadčaš* 'twofold', *kəmbadčaš* 'threefold', *nəlbadčaš* 'fourfold', *lubadčaš* 'tenfold', etc. According to the Kazan′ Grammar, multiplicatives can also be expressed with the genitive of cardinals, e.g., *koktən* 'twofold', *luən* 'tenfold', etc.

Iteratives and temporals

§ 22 Both iteratives and temporals take the ending *kana* (*kanak*), *gana* (*ganak*), *känä* (*känäk*), *gänä*, (*gänäk*)[108]. Iteratives attach this ending to cardinals and temporals to ordinals, e.g. *ikänä* or *ikänäk* 'once', *pərtärigänä* or *-gänäk* 'first time', *kokana* or *kokanak* 'twice', *weskänä* or *-känäk* 'second time', *kəmgana* or *kəmganak* 'three times', *kəmšəgana* or *-ganak* 'third time'.

Fractions

§ 23 The following words are used for expressing fractions (fractional numbers): *pelə*, *peläk* 'half' and *pai* 'part', e.g., *pelə* 'half', *iktäk peläk*[109] 'one and a half', *koktak peläk* 'two and a half', *nəlötäk peläk* 'three and a half', *kəm bai* 'one third', *nəl bai* 'one fourth', *vəc pai* 'one fifth', etc.

<div align="center">❦ 21 ❦</div>

D. Pronouns

Personal pronouns

§ 24 The personal pronouns are: *mȧnj* 'I' (Fi. *minä*), pl. *mä* 'we' (Fi. *me*), *tȧnj* 'you (sg.)' (Fi. *sinä*, or, if the original form is considered: *tinä*), pl. *tä* 'you' (Fi. *te*), *tidȧ* (*tȧdȧ*) 'this' (Fi. *tämä*), pl. *ninȧ* (*nȧnȧ*) 'those' (Fi. *nämä*).[110] In the plural, personal pronouns can also take the plural ending *vȧlä*. The declension of personal pronouns, especially of the first and second persons is both incomplete and irregular, and it deviates from the general paradigmatic declension; the pronouns *mȧnj* and *tȧnj*, however, do take some of the normal case suffixes. They are declined as follows:

Singular

Nom.	*Mȧnj* 'I'	*Tȧnj* 'you'	*Tȧdȧ* 's/he'
Gen.	*Mȧnjȧn*	*Tȧnjȧn*	*Tȧdȧn*
Acc.	*Mȧnȧm*	*Tȧnȧm*[111]	*Tȧdȧm*
Dat.	*Mȧlän*	*Tȧlät*	*Tȧdȧlän*
Abl.	*Mȧnjgȧcem*	*Tȧnjgȧcet*	*Tȧdȧgȧc*
Superl.	*Mȧnjgadčem*	*Tȧnjgadčet*	*Tȧdȧgadč*
Instr.	*Mȧnjdonem*	*Tȧnjdonet*	*Tȧdȧdon*

Plural

Nom.	*Mä* or *mävȧlä*	*Tä* or *tävȧlä*	*Nȧnȧ* or *nȧnȧvȧlä*
Gen.	*Mämnän* or *mänmän*	*Tämdän* or *tändän*	*Nȧnȧn*
Acc.	*Mämnäm* or *mänmäm*	*Tämdäm* or *tändäm*	*Nȧnȧm*
Dat.	*Mälänä*	*Täländä*	*Nȧnȧlän*
Abl.	*Mägȧcnä*	*Tägȧctä*	*Nȧnȧgȧc*
Superl.	*Mägadčna*	*Tägadčta*	*Nȧnȧgadč*
Instr.	*Mädonna*	*Tädonda*	*Nȧnȧdon*

110 Castrén gives two forms as variants of both the third person singular and plural. They are, however, in both cases two different demonstrative pronouns with different etymologies: his *tidä* (*tidȧ* < Uralic *tä 'this') is 'this', *tedä* (*tȧdȧ* < Uralic *to 'that') 'that; it, s/he', and *ninä* (*ninȧ* < Finno-Permic *nä 'this') 'these', *nenä* (*nȧnȧ* < Finno-Volgaic *no 'that') 'those; they' (UEW 300, 306, 513, 526–527).

111 For some reason Castrén omits the sign of palatalization in the accusative of the first and second persons plural; in the original as well as in the Swedish manuscript: *minim*, *tinim* (cf. the genitive).

112 Mari allows for double case marking with the genitive: another case ending (often that of a local case) can be added after the genitive suffix. In this instance, the genitive-form modifier assumes the noun phrase head position and the subsequent case suffix is attached directly to it. (Cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 51, 79–80.)

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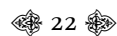
N.B. The other cases are formed with postpositions, e.g., *mănj văkem* 'to me', *mănj vălnem* 'in me', *tănj văket, vălnet* 'to you, in you', *mănjgăcem basna* 'without me', *tägăčtä basna* 'without you (pl.)', etc.

Possessives

§ 25 Possessive pronouns are expressed with personal pronouns in the genitive case. Thus they are: *mănjăn* 'my', *tănjăn* 'your', *tădăn* 'his/her', *mänmän* 'our', *tändän* 'your', *nănăn* 'their'. Their inflection follows totally that of other nouns. E.g., *mănjăn*, gen. *mănjănăn*, acc. *mănjănăm*, dat. *mănjănlän*, pl. *mănjănvălä*, etc.[112]

Reflexives

§ 26 The reflexive pronoun *ške* 'self' (Fi. *itse*) adapts the declension of personal pronouns in the following way:

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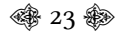
Singular

	1.	2.	3.
Nom.	*Mănj ške* 'myself'	*Tănj ške* 'yourself'	*Tădă ške* 'him/herself'
Gen.	*Škămăn*	*Škămedăn*	*Škămăžăn*
Acc.	*Škămăm*	*Škămedăm*	*Škămdžăm* *) 113
Dat.	{ *Šlănem* **) *Škălănem*	{ *Šlănet* *Škălănet*	{ *Šlăndžă* *Škălăndžă*
Abl.	*Škăgăcem*	*Škăgăcet*	*Škăgăcăžă*
Superl.	*Škăgadčem*	*Škăgadčet*	*Škăgadčăžă*
Instr.	*Škădonem*	*Škădonet*	*Škădondžă*

Plural

	1.	2.	3.
Nom.	{ *Mä ške* *Mä škevălä*	{ *Tä ške* *Tä škevălä*	{ *Nănă ške* *Nănă škevălä*
Gen.	*Škămnän*	*Škămdän*	*Škămăštăn*
Acc.	*Škămnäm*	*Škămdäm*	*Škămăštăm*
Dat.	{ *Šlänä* *Škăvălänä*	{ *Šländä* *Škăvăländä*	{ *Šlänăšt* *Škăvălänăšt*
Abl.	{ *Škăgăcnä* *Škăvălägăcnä*	{ *Škăgăctä* *Škăvălägăctä*	{ *Škăgăcăšt* *Škăvălägăcăšt*
Instr.	{ *Škădonna* *Škăvălädonna*	{ *Škădonda* *Škăvălädonda*	{ *Škădonăšt* *Škăvălädonăšt*

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*) This is formed from the second person.

**) The singular forms of dative *šlänem*, *šlänet* and plural *šlänä* are shortened forms of *škălänem*, *škălänet*, *škălänä*, respectively.

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113 Castrén explains this form as influence from the 2nd person. However, here the *d* is a pleonastic consonant which emerges between a nasal and a sibilant, see above under § 5. *Consonant alternations.*

114 In § 28 and § 29 "suffixes" refer to possessive suffixes.

115 Here Castrén uses "personal suffixes" to indicate possessive suffixes.

116 I.e. a schwa: *ə* or *ə̈*

❧ 24 ❧
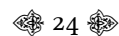
§ 27 The substantive *ške* is the origin of the *reflexive adjectives*: *škämä* or *škämemän*, *škämedän*, *škämäžän*, *škänän*, *škämdän*, *škämäštən* 'mine, yours, his/hers', etc. All that was said about possessive adjectives in § 25 applies to these, too.

Suffixes[114]

§ 28 Neither possessive nor reflexive adjectives are Cheremis in origin, as they are missing from other Finnish languages, too. Instead, either the genitive of personal pronouns is used, or the so-called personal suffixes[115]. They also exist in Cheremis and can be used either with or without a preceding personal pronoun, substantive or adjective. E.g., *ätjäm*, *mə̈nj ätjäm*, *mə̈njən ätjäm* 'my father'. The suffixes in Cheremis are:

	1	2	3
Sing.	*m*	*t*	*žə*
Plur.	*na* (*nä*)	*da* (*dä*)	*št*

In the first and second person singular, an *e* is added to the noun before the suffix irrespective of whether the stem ends in a vowel or a consonant. In the latter case the *e* is obligatory for pronunciation, but in the former case it is pleonastic and can be omitted, e.g., *ätjäem* or *ätjäm* 'my father', *ätjäet* or *ätjät* 'your father'. In the suffixes of all other persons, the linking vowel always vanishes, when pronunciation allows it. In nouns ending in *e*[116], this vowel is prolonged in the first- and

❧ 25 ❧
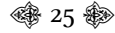
second-person singular forms. If the last vowel of the stem lacks stress and is a schwa, it is omitted in the first and second persons, but it remains in other persons. E.g., *kornə* 'road', *kornem* 'my road', *kornet* 'your road', *kornəžə* 'his/her road'. In general, nouns ending in consonants always add an extra vowel to suffixes where several consonants would otherwise collide.

§ 29 The suffixes in Cheremis can be attached both to nominal stems and case endings. In the nominative and accusative singular, they are attached to the stem, but in all other cases in singular they can be attached to both. In the plural, however, the suffixes can be attached 1. to the stem, 2. to the plural marker, 3. to the case suffix except for nominative and accusative in a way that can be seen in the following examples:[117]

117 The order of morphemes in Mari is rather free, especially in the plural (cf. Luutonen 1997), however, Castrén's tables of possible combinations exceed those of any other grammar.

118 Examples: *imni* 'horse', *pört* 'house, hut'.

119 In the printed version of EGT, stress is marked in only a couple of forms. Here the accent mark is given according to the Swedish manuscript. Castrén always writes *imni*, even though the *n* is palatalized (*ń*).

❖ 26 ❖
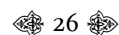
Nouns in Singular[118]

With personal suffix in singular

	1.	2.	3.
Nominative	{ *Imníem*[119] *Imnim*	{ *Imníet* *Imnit*	*Imnížǝ*
	Pörtem	*Pörtet*	*Pörtšǝ*
Genitive	{ *Imniémǝn* *Imnimǝn* *Imnínem* }{	*Imniédǝn* *Imnidǝn* *Imnínet* } {	*Imnížǝn* *Imníndžǝ*
	{ *Pörtémǝn* *Pörtǝnem*	{ *Pörtédǝn* *Pörtǝnet*	{ *Pörtšǝn* *Pörtǝndžǝ*
Accusative	{ *Imniémǝm* *Imnimǝm*	{ *Imniédǝm* *Imnidǝm*	*Imnížǝm*
	Pörtémǝm	*Pörtédǝm*	*Pörtšǝm*
Dative	{ *Imniémlän* *Imnimlän* *Imnilänem* }{	*Imniétlän* *Imnitlän* *Imnilänet* } {	*Imnížlän* *Imniländžǝ*
	{ *Pörtemlän* *Pörtlänem*	*Pörtetlän* *Pörtlänet*	*Pörtšǝlän* *Pörtländžǝ*
Illative	{ *Imniemǝškǝ* *Imnimeškǝ* *Imniškem* }{	*Imnietǝškǝ* *Imnitǝškǝ* *Imnišket* } {	*Imnižǝškǝ* *Imniškǝžǝ*
	{ *Pörtemǝškǝ* *Pörtǝškem*	{ *Pörtetǝškǝ* *Pörtǝšket*	{ *Pörtšǝškǝ* *Pörtǝškǝžǝ*

❧ 27 ❧

[Nouns in Singular]

With personal suffix in plural

1.	2.	3.
Imnínä	*Imnídä*	*Imništ*
Pörtnä	*Pörtə̑*[120]	*Pörtə̑št*

1.	2.	3.
Imnínän	{ *Imnídän* / *Imníndä*	{ *Imníštə̑n* / *Imnínə̑št*
Pörtnän	{ *Pörtän* / *Pörtändä*	{ *Pörtə̑štə̑n* / *Pörtə̑nə̑št*

1.	2.	3.
Imnínäm	*Imnídäm*	*Imníštə̑m*
Pörtnäm	*Pörtäm*	*Pörtə̑štə̑m*

1.	2.	3.
{ *Imninälän* / *Imnilänä*[121]	{ *Imnidälän* / *Imniländä*	{ *Imníštlän* / *Imnilänə̑št*
{ *Pörtnälän* / *Pörtlänä*	{ *Pörtälän* / *Pörtländä*	{ *Pörtə̑štlän* / *Pörtlänə̑št*

1.	2.	3.
{ *Imninäškə̑* / *Imniškə̑nä*	{ *Imnidäškə̑* / *Imniškə̑dä*	{ *Imništə̑škə̑* / *Imniškə̑št*
{ *Pörtnäškə̑* / *Pörtə̑škə̑nä*	{ *Pörtäškə̑* / *Pörtə̑škə̑dä*	{ *Pörtə̑štə̑škə̑* / *Pörtə̑škə̑št*

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120 A shortened form: *pörttä* > *pörtä*. Similar contracted forms often appear in this paradigm.

121 A shortened form of *imni-lännä*.

❈ 28 ❈

Inessive	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imniem\check{a}\check{s}t\check{a} \\ Imnime\check{s}t\check{a} \\ Imni\check{s}tem \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imniet\check{a}\check{s}t\check{a} \\ Imnit\check{a}\check{s}t\check{a} \\ Imni\check{s}tet \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imni\check{z}\check{a}\check{s}t\check{a} \\ Imni\check{s}t\check{a}\check{z}\check{a} \end{array}\right.$
	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rtem\check{a}\check{s}t\check{a} \\ P\ddot{o}rt\check{a}\check{s}tem \end{array}\right.$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rtet\check{a}\check{s}t\check{a} \\ P\ddot{o}rt\check{a}\check{s}tet \end{array}\right.$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rt\check{s}\check{a}\check{s}t\check{a} \\ P\ddot{o}rt\check{a}\check{s}t\check{a}\check{z}\check{a} \end{array}\right.$
Ablative	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imniemg\ddot{a}c \\ Imnimg\ddot{a}c \\ Imnig\ddot{a}cem \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imnietg\ddot{a}c \\ Imnitg\ddot{a}c \\ Imnig\ddot{a}cet \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imni\check{z}g\ddot{a}c \\ Imnig\ddot{a}c\ddot{a}\check{z}\ddot{a} \end{array}\right.$
	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rtemg\ddot{a}c \\ P\ddot{o}rtk\ddot{a}cem \end{array}\right.$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rtetg\ddot{a}c \\ P\ddot{o}rtk\ddot{a}cet \end{array}\right.$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rt\check{s}\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}c \\ P\ddot{o}rtk\ddot{a}c\ddot{a}\check{z}\ddot{a} \end{array}\right.$
Superlative	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imniemgad\check{c} \\ Imnimgad\check{c} \\ Imnigad\check{c}em \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imnietkad\check{c} \\ Imnitkad\check{c} \\ Imnigad\check{c}et \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imni\check{z}gad\check{c} \\ Imnigad\check{c}\partial\check{z}\partial \end{array}\right.$
	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rtemgad\check{c} \\ P\ddot{o}rtkad\check{c}em \end{array}\right.$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rtetkad\check{c} \\ P\ddot{o}rtkad\check{c}et \end{array}\right.$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rt\check{s}\ddot{a}gad\check{c} \\ P\ddot{o}rtkad\check{c}\partial\check{z}\partial \end{array}\right.$
Instructive	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imniemdon \\ Imnimdon \\ Imnidonem \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imnieton \\ Imniton \\ Imnidonet \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imni\check{z}don \\ Imnidond\check{z}\partial \end{array}\right.$
	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rtemdon \\ P\ddot{o}rtonem \end{array}\right.$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rteton \\ P\ddot{o}rtonet \end{array}\right.$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} P\ddot{o}rt\check{s}\ddot{a}don \\ P\ddot{o}rtond\check{z}\partial \end{array}\right.$
Caritive	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imniemde \\ Imnimde \\ Imnidem \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imniete \\ Imnite \\ Imnidet \end{array}\right\}$	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} Imni\check{z}de \\ \\ Imnide\check{z}\partial \end{array}\right.$
	$P\ddot{o}rtemde$	$P\ddot{o}rtete$	$P\ddot{o}rt\check{s}\ddot{a}de$

❧ 29 ❧
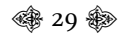
$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imninäštä} \\ \textit{Imništänä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imnidäštä} \\ \textit{Imništ ̆ädä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imništ ̆äštä} \\ \textit{Imništ ̆äšt} \end{array}\right.$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtnäštä} \\ \textit{Pört ̆äšt ̆änä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pört ̆äštä} \\ \textit{Pört ̆äšt ̆ädä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pört ̆äšt ̆äštä} \\ \textit{Pört ̆äšt ̆äšt} \end{array}\right.$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imninäg ̆äc} \\ \textit{Imnig ̆äcnä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imnidäg ̆äc} \\ \textit{Imnig ̆äctä} \end{array}\right.$ $\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imništkäc} \\ \textit{Imnig ̆äcäšt} \end{array}$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtnäg ̆äc} \\ \textit{Pörtk ̆äcnä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtäg ̆äc} \\ \textit{Pörtk ̆äctä} \end{array}\right.$ $\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pört ̆äštkäc} \\ \textit{Pörtk ̆äcäšt} \end{array}$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imninägadč} \\ \textit{Imnigadčna} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imnidägadč} \\ \textit{Imnigadčta} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imništkadč} \\ \textit{Imnigadčəšt} \end{array}\right.$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtnägadč} \\ \textit{Pörtkadčna} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtägadč} \\ \textit{Pörtkadčta} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pört ̆äštkadč} \\ \textit{Pörtkadčəšt} \end{array}\right.$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imninädon} \\ \textit{Imnidonəna}^{122} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imnidädon} \\ \textit{Imnidonəda} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imništon} \\ \textit{Imnidonəšt} \end{array}\right.$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtnädon} \\ \textit{Pörtonəna} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtädon} \\ \textit{Pörtonəda} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pört ̆äšton} \\ \textit{Pörtonəšt} \end{array}\right.$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imninäde} \\ \textit{Imnidenä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imnidäde} \\ \textit{Imnidedä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Imnište} \\ \textit{Imnidešt} \end{array}\right.$

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtnäde} \\ \textit{Pörtenä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pörtäde} \\ \textit{Pörtedä} \end{array}\right.$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Pört ̆äštä} \\ \textit{Pörted ̆äšt} \end{array}\right.$

122 These instructive forms, which Castrén writes *imni-donana*, *pörtonada*, etc., show the longer variant of the original postposition (cf. § 10. K. above and marginal note 87).

❖ 30 ❖

Nouns in plural

With personal suffix in singular

	1.	2.	3.
Nominative	*Imniemvälä* *Imnimvälä* *Imniväläm*	*Imnietvälä* *Imnitvälä* *Imnivälät*	*Imnižävälä* *Imniväläžä*
	Pörtemvälä *Pörtväläm*	*Pörtetvälä* *Pörtvälät*	*Pörtšävälä* *Pörtväläžä*
Genitive	*Imniemvälän* *Imnimvälän* *Imnivälämän* *Imnivälänem*	*Imnietvälän* *Imnitvälän* *Imnivälädän* *Imnivälänet*	*Imnižävälän* *Imniväläžän* *Imniväländžä*
	Pörtemvälän *Pörtvälämän* *Pörtvälänem*	*Pörtetvälän* *Pörtvälädän* *Pörtvälänet*	*Pörtšävälän* *Pörtväläžän* *Pörtväländžä*
Accusative	*Imniemväläm* *Imnimväläm* *Imnivälämäm*	*Imnietväläm* *Imnitväläm* *Imnivälädäm*	*Imnižäväläm* *Imniväläžäm*
	Pörtemväläm *Pörtvälämäm*	*Pörtetväläm* *Pörtvälädäm*	*Pörtšäväläm* *Pörtväläžäm*
Dative	*Imniemvälälän* *Imnimvälälän* *Imnivälämlän* *Imnivälälänem*	*Imnietvälälän* *Imnitvälälän* *Imnivälätlän* *Imnivälälänet*	*Imnižvälälän* *Imniväläžlän* *Imniväläländžä*
	Pörtemvälälän *Pörtvälämlän* *Pörtvälälänem*	*Pörtetvälälän* *Pörtvälätlän* *Pörtvälälänet*	*Pörtšävälälän* *Pörtväläžlän* *Pörtväläländžä*
Illative	*Imniemväläškä* *Imnimväläškä* *Imnivälämäškä* *Imniväläškem*	*Imnietväläškä* *Imnitväläškä* *Imnivälädäškä* *Imniväläšket*	*Imnižväläškä* *Imniväläžäškä* *Imniväläškäžä*

etc. etc.

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[Nouns in plural]

With personal suffix in plural

	1.	2.	3.

{ *Imninävəlä* { *Imnidävəlä* { *Imništvəlä*
  Imnivəlänä   *Imnivəlädä*   *Imnivəläšt*

{ *Pörtnävəlä* { *Pörtävəlä* { *Pörtəštvəlä*
  Pörtvəlänä   *Pörtvəlädä*   *Pörtvəläšt*

{ *Imninävəlän* { *Imnidävəlän* { *Imništvəlän*
  Imnivəlänän   *Imnivəlädän*   *Imnivəläštən*
  Imnivəlänä   *Imnivəländä*   *Imnivəlänəšt*

{ *Pörtnävəlän* { *Pörtävəlän* { *Pörtəštvəlän*
  Pörtvəlänän   *Pörtvəlädän*   *Pörtvəläštən*
  Pörtvəlänä   *Pörtvəländä*   *Pörtvəlänəšt*

{ *Imninävəläm* { *Imnidävəläm* { *Imništvəläm*
  Imnivəlänäm   *Imnivəlädäm*   *Imnivəläštən*

{ *Pörtnävəläm* { *Pörtävəläm* { *Pörtəštvəläm*
  Pörtvəlänäm   *Pörtvəlädäm*   *Pörtvəläštəm*

{ *Imninävəlälän* { *Imnidävəlälän* { *Imništvəlälän*
  Imnivəlänälän   *Imnivəlädälän*   *Imnivəläštlän*
  Imnivəlälänä   *Imnivəläländä*   *Imnivəlälänəšt*

{ *Pörtnävəlälän* { *Pörtävəlälän* { *Pörtəštvəlälän*
  Pörtvəlänälän   *Pörtvəlädälän*   *Pörtvəläštlän*
  Pörtvəlälänä   *Pörtvəläländä*   *Pörtvəlälänəšt*

{ *Imninävəläškä* { *Imnidävəläškä* { *Imništvəläškä*
  Imnivəlänäškä   *Imnivəlädäškä*   *Imnivəläštəškä*
  Imnivəläškənä   *Imnivəläškədä*   *Imnivəläškəšt*

etc. etc.

123 The plural suffix *mǝt* is more widely used in Meadow-Eastern Mari, where it expresses group plural, i.e. a qualitatively heterogeneous group of people bound by some spatial or family relations (Alhoniemi 1993: 70). According to Savatkova (2002: 90), in Hill Mari *mǝt* is used as a normal plural marker without semantic restrictions but only in some of the dialects spoken on the left bank of the River Volga. It does not follow vowel harmony.

124 As can be seen in the following paradigms, the suffix *mǝt* is placed between the possessive suffix and the case ending.

125 The *m* of the first-person-singular possessive suffix is elided with the initial *m* of the plural ending *mǝt*.

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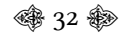
N.B. In order to avoid unnecessary minuteness, the rest of the cases can be left out, as their inflection can be understood on the basis of the given paradigms. It must be stated here that in the plural case forms with suffixes, *mǝt* can also be used instead of *vǝlä*.[123] It is always placed between the stem with personal suffix and the case ending. Otherwise its declension is regular.[124]

	1.	2.	3.
Nominative (Sing. suff.)	{ *Imniemǝt*[125]	{ *Imnietmǝt*	
	Imnimǝt	*Imnitmǝt*	*Imnižmǝt*
(Plur. suff.)	*Imninämǝt*	*Imnidämǝt*	*Imništmǝt*
Genitive (Sing. suff.)	{ *Imniemǝtǝn*	{ *Imnietmǝtǝn*	
	Imnimǝtǝn	*Imnitmǝtǝn*	*Imnižmǝtǝn*
(Plur. suff.)	*Imninämǝtǝn*	*Imnidämǝtǝn*	*Imništmǝtǝn*
Accusative (Sing. suff.)	{ *Imniemǝtǝm*	{ *Imnietmǝtǝm*	
	Imnimǝtǝm	*Imnitmǝtǝm*	*Imnižmǝtǝm*
(Plur. suff.)	*Imninämǝtǝm*	*Imnidämǝtǝm*	*Imništmǝtǝm*
Dative (Sing. suff.)	{ *Imniemǝtlän*	{ *Imnietmǝtlän*	
	Imnimǝtlän	*Imnitmǝtlän*	
	etc.	etc.	

Furthermore, even the usual plural marker *vǝlä* can take the ending *mǝt* in forms with personal suffixes. In such instances the suffix is attached directly after *vǝlä*, e.g., *imnivǝlämǝt*, *imnivǝlätmǝt*, etc.

❧ 33 ❧
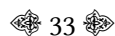
Demonstratives

§ 30 The demonstrative pronouns are: *sedə* 'that, it' (Fi. *se*), Pl. *sedəvəlä*, and *tidə* (*ti*) 'that, s/he'[126]. They can be used both as personal and as demonstrative pronouns. They can be inflected quite regularly, but they lack the same cases as personal pronouns.
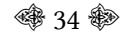
Interrogatives

§ 31 The original interrogative pronouns in the language are: *kü* 'who' (Fi. *ku*, *ke*)[127], pl. *küvəlä*; *ma* 'what' (Fi. *mi*), pl. *mavəlä*, which are inflected in the following way:

Singular

Nom.	*Ky*	*Ma*
Gen.	*Kyn*	*Man*
Acc.	*Kym*	*Mam*
Dat.	*Kylän*	*Malan*
Abl.	*Kygəc* or *kyngəc*	*Magəc* or *mangəc*
Superl.	*Kygadč* or *kyngadč*	*Magadč* or *mangadč*
Instr.	*Kydon* or *kyndon*	*Madon* or *mandon*

Plural

Nom.	*Kyvəlä*	*Mavəlä*
Gen.	*Kyvəlän*	*Mavəlän*
Acc.	*Kyvəläm*	*Mavəläm*
Dat.	*Kyvəlälän*	*Mavəlälän*
Abl.	*Kyvəlägəc*	*Mavəlägəc*
Superl.	*Kyvəlägadč*	*Mavəlägadč*
Instr.	*Kyvəlädon*	*Mavəlädon*

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128 This form does not seem to exist in modern Mari.

129 In modern Hill Mari *nigyät*. The form *nigy* also appears in the same meaning but without the clitic *ät*.

130 In modern grammars, this mood is called the desiderative, and it expresses desire to do something.

131 Actually, Hill Mari has two simple preterites: of these, the first one expresses self experienced action, and the second, among others, evidentiality. As Castrén mainly used biblical texts, he very seldom came across forms of the first preterite. Thus the past tense he describes in his grammar is the second preterite. Castrén interprets the forms of the first preterite found in the Kazan′ grammar as dialectal variants. Mari also has four compound past tenses, but they are not mentioned in EGT.

132 'to be, to become'.

❦ 34 ❦

Derived pronouns

§ 32 Of these other interrogative, relative, indefinite, negative pronouns are formed by means of derivation and composition, such as: *kədə, kədəžə* 'who, which', *madə*[128] 'which', *mazarə, manjarə* 'which in order; how big', *maganjə* 'what kind of', *tegenjä* 'this kind of', *kü gänjät, kədə gänjät, kədəžə gänjät* 'somebody', *ma gänjät, madə gänjät* 'something', *nigyat*[129] 'nobody', *nimat* 'nothing', etc. In pronouns formed with *gänjät*, the main word is declined, whereas the clitic *gänjät* remains undeclined. In the negative *nigyat, nimat* pronouns, *nigy* and *nima* are declined and *at* or *ät* are attached to the case ending, e.g., dat. *nigylänät, nimalanat*, acc. *nigymät, nimamat*, and so forth.

IV   Verbs

General characteristics

§ 33 The general characteristics of the verb in Cheremis include: 1. a double inflexion, *affirmative* and *negative*; 2. six moods, namely, *indicative, optative*[130], *imperative, infinitive, gerund, participle*; 3. two tenses: *present* and *preterite*;[131] 4. *two numbers* and *three persons*. *Passive forms* do not exist, *conjunctive* is expressed with conjunctive particles, *future tense* is expressed with either the *present* or the auxiliary verb *liäm*[132]. Only the infinitive has a special future form derived from the present infinitive. The preterite only occurs in