❧ 75 ❧

§ 65

The negative pronouns are constructed based on the Russian language: *n[j]ikod* 'no one' (Ru никто), *n[j]ikučäm* 'no, not anything like', *n[j]inäm* 'nothing' (Ru ничто) etc. The Zyrian language, as other Finnic languages, expresses all negative forms of the verb according to their own character and system.[233]

IV   Verbs

§ 66

While Zyrian abounds in declensional endings, it is lacking in conjugational endings (tense and mood). As in other Finnic languages, Zyrian has but two tenses: present and preterite, where the present simultaneously covers for the future, and the preterite – the imperfect, perfect and past perfect[234]. The Zyrian language also lacks the conjunctive and optative, which are used in the Finnish and Lappish languages. Influence of the Russian language, which shows the same construction as Zyrian, is highly suspect. The gerund and some deverbal nouns have been retained.[235] There is also a negative conjugation, characteristic of all Finnic languages. The passive conjugation form has come from Russian. Otherwise, Zyrian has numerous verbal forms with which to compensate for tenses, moods and even the passive.

233 The standard forms are: *ńekod* [некод], *ńekučöm* [некутшöм], *ńinöm* [нинöм]. Cf. paradigm of the standard negative indefinite pronoun *ńekod* [некод]: ÖKK: 189.

234 According to ÖKK (pp. 237–261), there are nine tenses in Komi: four simple tenses: present, 1st future, 1st past (1st preterite) and 2nd past, which is a quotative past tense (2nd preterite, perfect), as well as five compound tenses: 2nd future, 3rd past (continuative past, imperfect), 4th past (quotative, completed action, past perfect), 5th past (quotative, continuative past) and 6th past (quotative, completed past).

235 ÖKK (pp. 231–236, 324–403) presents two moods: the indicative and imperative and a wealth of infinite forms: infinitive, six participles and 21 gerunds. Traditionally (e.g. Bartens 2000: 233, 248; Rédei 1978: 112–115), the enumeration has consisted of four participles and six gerunds (seven in some dialects). The conditional is formed analytically with the help of the particle *eśkö(n)* [эськö(н)]; the verb can be in different tenses of the indicative. ÖKK presents the particle *eśkö(n)* [эськö(н)] with the indicative (p. 233). In a like manner, the optative is formed analytically with the help of the particle *med* [мед]; the verb can be in the various tenses of the indicative.

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§ 67

When it comes to tenses, moods and the forma-
tion of numerous verb forms, the following matters
should be noted:

1. Verbs have tended towards shorter stems in
much the same way as nominals by eliding the final
vowel.

2. The stem vowel which has turned into *y* is elid-
ed everywhere when two or more consonants are
joined and it is no longer necessary. Verbs ending in
[1sg] *-ala* shorten their stems through contraction.

3. The final vowel is retained in the first- and
third-person singular of the indicative present and
preterite, but the final consonant is dropped, due to
which the vowel separates from the stem and forms
the ending. This vowel cannot be returned to the
stem, because indication of person and not defini-
tion is dependent upon it.

4. Let it be said, that when the stem-final vowel
is elided or joined to a preceding vowel or it sim-
ply expresses person, the vowel no longer belongs
to the stem when we consider the present-day lan-
guage form.

5. But when the issue is tense formation, the
vowel must be returned to the stem, since all verb
forms have originally been formed from a stem end-
ing in a vowel, which is retained in the first-person
singular of the indicative active present. This stem is
readily used for deriving tense forms: the active in-
dicative present and preterite, the passive participle,

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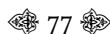
deverbal nouns, and moreover: the frequentative form of the verb *-ala* and effective *-äda*[236].

6. The imperative second person is the most important in verbal inflection: the same stem is shared in the derivation of the infinitive, the active present participle and preterite gerund[237], the verb of negation, passive form of verbs, semelfactive and diminutive verbs in *-la*, which all change the stem-final vowel to *y* and, where possible, elide it.

7. The final *y* of the imperative is primary. It is only found in verbs with two consonants at the end, e.g. *tözda* 'I worry, take care', imperat. *tözdy*; *sjökta* 'I am pregnant', imperat. *sjökty*. Likewise, inf. *sjöktyny*, act. part. *sjöktysj*, gerund *sjöktyg* etc. If a verb ends in either one consonant or a diphthong, the *y* is elided, e.g. *kara* 'I do/make', imperat. *kar*; *muna* 'I go', imperat. *mun*; *jua* 'I drink', imperat. *ju*; *voa* 'I arrive', imperat. *vo*. Thus: inf. *karny*, *juny*, pret. gerund *karmys*[*j*], *jumys*[*j*], etc. Sometimes the *y* is also elided if one of the two stem-final consonants is a liquid or a sibilant followed by *j*, e.g. *tyrta* 'I fulfill', imperat. *tyrt*; *uzja* 'I fall', imperat. *uzj*[238]; *vidzja* 'I keep, care for', imperat. *vidzj*. Verbs in *-sta* lose the stem-final vowel in the second-person singular imperative and elide the final consonant in the Ižma dialect, e.g. *bosta* 'I take', imperat. *bos*[239], inf. *bosny*[240] etc. Frequentatives ending in *-ala* contract the imperative *aly* to *oo* (see § 12) e.g. *vistala* 'I tell', imperat. *vistoo*, inf. *vistoony*, pret. gerund *vistoomys*[241] etc. The formation of other present-tense indicative- and imperative-based tenses are explained below.

236 Cf. § 82 – § 84.
237 See verb tables starting in § 69.
238 This form of the verb 'to fall' should be *usja* 'I fall', and *usj*, the verb 'to sleep' would be *uzja* 'I sleep' and *uzj*.
239 Should be *bosj*. Castrén gives this correction in his letter to Sjögren (2/14 Nov. 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, p. 324).
240 Should be *bosjny*. In the literary language, the infinitive is *bostny* [босьтны] and the imperat. second-person singular is *bost* [босьт]. This is a basic verb, not a derivation.
241 The verb is *vistoony* > *visjtoony*, all forms have the palatalized stem *visj-*; in the literary language *visjtavny* [висьтавны]; *vistoomys* should be *visjtoomysj*.

242 The Komi language only has one conjugation type, and likewise one declension. (Udmurt has two conjugations.) According to modern research, Komi verb stems either end in a vowel *y* or a consonant. In the time of Castrén, however, the description of verb stems was founded on the first-person singular present form of the verb, hence all verbs were described with vowel stems, and one type also had a consonant stem, which may have caused Castrén – like Sjögren – to advocate a two-conjugation system. For more on verb stems, see ÖKK: 209–210 and Bartens 2000: 178–179.

243 Here Castrén refers to the long vowel in the Ižma dialect: The suffix *-al-* in word-final position or before a consonant becomes *-oo-*, e.g. *sulala* : *sulavny*/*sulalny* [сулавны, сулалны] 'to stand' > in the Ižma dialect *suloony* [сулооны].

244 Two paragraphs have been given the same number 69. On this page, it is now given as § 69 [a] and on page 84 as § 69 [b].

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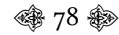
§ 68

Others divide the verbs into two conjugation types, of which one contains a hard vowel and the other a soft vowel at the end of the stem. This division does not work in the Ižma dialect, where the stem-final vowel is always hard – the letter *a*. Here the entire distinction in conjugation is due to vowel elision and contraction, which we have dealt with in the previous paragraph [67:]7. There are two conjugations and likewise two declensions: the first retains the stem-final vowel in all forms, and the second does not[242]. The second conjugation entails three types: 1) verb stems ending in a single consonant whose final vowel is elided; 2) single-syllable stems that end in a diphthong; these do not merely elide the final vowel but also contract the *oä* to *oo* everywhere; 3) the frequentative verbs ending in *ala* that contract the *aly* to *oo*[243].

§ 69 [a][244]

Further observations on verbs are: 1) the active form [*A*], 2) the passive form [*B*], 3) the negative conjugation [*C*], 4) the auxiliary verbs [*D*], 5) many kinds of derived verbs [*E*]; which all are discussed in different chapters.

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A. Active

Types of conjugation

I Conjugation   II Conjugation
Indicative
                                              1   2   3
Present

Sing.	1.	-a
	2.	-an
	3.	-ä (*-ö) or -as[245]
Plur.	1.	-am
	2.	-annyd
	3.	-änys or -asnys[246]
		(*-öny or -önys)

Preterite

Sing.	1.	-i (*-y)
	2.	-in (*-yn)
	3.	-i or is (*-y or -ys)
Plur.	1.	-im (*-ym)
	2.	-innyd (*-ynnyd)
	3.	-inys or -isnys[247]
		(*yny or -ysny)[248]

Imperative

Sing.	1.	med -a[249]		
	2.	-y	cons. vowel	-oo
	3.	med -ä (*-ö) or -as		
Plur.	1.	med -am		
	2.	-ä (*-ö)		
	3.	med -änys or -asnys		
		(*-öny, -asny, -önys)		

245 Castrén recognizes a future in Komi (cf. § 66), but he does not provide a separate future paradigm, which is only distinct from the present in the 3rd person, here the present suffixes -ä, -änys [-э, -эныс] followed by the future suffixes: -as, -asnys [-ас, -асныс]. (Cyrillic forms, see ID: 80.)

246 In the Ižma dialect, the 3rd person plural ending (present, 1st future and 1st past) takes a characteristic s: -nys [-ныс], in the literary language -ny [-ны].

247 See note 246.

248 Castrén uses the * mark to indicate differences in various dialects.

249 Surprisingly, Castrén presents a sg. 1st person imperative. In fact, it, as is the case of other forms constructed with the med particle, is an optative. According to ÖKK (pp. 234–235), the literary language only has imperative forms for the second persons singular and plural, and the first-person plural, e.g. munny [мунны] 'to go': 2SG mun [мун], 2PL munöj [мунöй] and 1PL munam(öj) [мунам(öй)]. Cf. § 70.

250 Komi only has one infinitive. Here and in the paradigms on subsequent pages, the form ending in *-tedzj* [-тэдз] is a temporal gerund. The literary form is *-töd´ź* [-тöдз]. Cf. § 72.

251 Cf. § 71, note 269.

252 Cf. § 72, note 272.

253 For more on these verbal nouns, see § 71.

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Infinitive

		1	2	3
Nom.	*-yny*	*-ny*	*-ny*	*-oony*
Term.	*-ytedzj*[250]	*-tedzj*	*-tedzj*	*-ootedzj*

Participle[251]

Active	*-ysj*
Passive	*-äma* (*-öma)

Gerund[252]
Present

Nom.	*-yg*
Instr.	*-ygän* (*-ygön)

Preterite

Nom.	*-ymys[j]* (*-ymys[j]t)	*-mys[j]*	*-mys[j]*	*-oomys[j]*
Instr.	*-ymys[j]tän* (*-ymys[j]tön)	*-mys[j]tän*	*-mys[j]tän*	*-oomys[j]tän*

Verbal noun[253]

Actum	*-äm* (*-öm)
Agendum	*-an*

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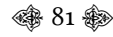
Paradigms

Indicative
Present

	I			II:1
Sing. 1.	*ysta*	Sing. 1.		*kara*
	'I send'			'I do'
2.	*ystan*		2.	*karan*
3.	*ystä* / *ystas*[254]		3.	*karä* / *karas*[255]
Plur. 1.	*ystam*	Plur. 1.		*karam*
2.	*ystannyd*		2.	*karannyd*
3.	*ystänys* /		3.	*karänys* /
	ystasnys[256]			*karasnys*[257]

Preterite

Sing. 1.	*ysti*	Sing. 1.		*kari*
2.	*ystin*		2.	*karin*
3.	(*ysti*) or *ystis*		3.	(*kari*) or *karis*
Plur. 1.	*ystim*	Plur. 1.		*karim*
2.	*ystinnyd*		2.	*karinnyd*
3.	*ystinys* or		3.	(*karinys*) or
	ystisnys			*karisnys*

Imperative

Sing. 1.	*med ysta*	Sing. 1.		*med kara*
2.	*ysty*		2.	*kar*
3.	*med ystä*		3.	*med karä*
	or *ystas*			or *kara*
Plur. 1.	*med ystam*	Plur. 1.		*med karam*
2.	*ystä*		2.	*karä*
3.	*med ystänys*		3.	*med karänys*
	or *ystasnys*			or *karasnys*

254–257 Here / distinguishes between the present tense (before the slash) and future (after). This distinction is only found in the third-person forms.

❖ 82 ❖

Infinitive

Nom.	*ystyny*	Nom.	*karny*
Term.	*ystytedzj*	Term.	*kartedzj*

Participle

Act.	*ystysj*	Act.	*karysj*
Pass.	*ystäma*	Pass.	*karäma*

Gerund
Present

Nom.	*ystyg*	Nom.	*karyg*
Instr.	*ystygän*	Instr.	*karygän*

Preterite

Nom.	*ystymys[j]*	Nom.	*karmys[j]*
Instr.	*ystymys[j]tän*	Instr.	*karmys[j]tän*

Verbal noun

Actum	*ystäm*	Actum	*karäm*
Agendum	*ystan*	Agendum	*karan*

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Indicative
Present

	II:2			II:3
Sing. 1.	*voa*[258]		Sing. 1.	*vistala*[259]
	'I come'			'I tell'
2.	*voan*		2.	*vistalan*
3.	*voä, voo* /		3.	*vistalä* /
	voas[260]			*vistalas*[261]
Plur. 1.	*voam*		Plur. 1.	*vistalam*
2.	*voannyd*		2.	*vistalannyd*
3.	*voänys, voonys* /		3.	*vistalänys* /
	voasnys			*vistalasnys*

Preterite

Sing. 1.	*voji*		Sing. 1.	*vistali*
2.	*vojin*		2.	*vistalin*
3.	(*voji*) or *vojis*		3.	*vistali* or *vistalis*
Plur. 1.	*vojim*		Plur. 1.	*vistalim*
2.	*vojinnyd*		2.	*vistalinnyd*
3.	(*vojinys*) or		3.	*vistalinys* or
	vojisnys			*vistalisnys*

Imperative

Sing. 1.	*med voa*		Sing. 1.	*med vistala*
2.	*vo*		2.	*vistoo*
3.	*med voä, voo*		3.	*med vistalä*
	or *voas*			or *vistalas*
Plur. 1.	*med voam*		Plur. 1.	*med vistalam*
2.	*voä* or *voo*		2.	*vistalä*
3.	*med voänys,*		3.	*med vistalänys*
	voonys or			or *vistalasnys*
	voasnys			

258 The verb *vony* [воны] 'to come, to arrive' is found with a word-initial *w* in Castrén's manuscript (the reason for this may be Sjögren's grammar of Komi in German), Castrén has corrected these himself at the time of publication and requested corrections before the publication of the grammar (see p. VIII).

259 *vistoony* > *visjtoony*, all forms have the palatalized stem *visj-*; in the literary language *visjtavny* [висьтавны].

260, 261 In all third-person forms the diagonal / distinguishes between the present tense (before the slash) and future (after).

❖ 84 ❖

Infinitive

Nom.	*vony*[262]	Nom.	*vistoony*[263]
Term.	*votedzj*	Term.	*vistootedzj*

Participle

Act.	*voysj*	Act.	*vistalysj*
Pass.	*voäma*	Pass.	*vistaläma*

Gerund
Present

Nom.	*voyg*	Nom.	*vistalyg*
Instr.	*voygän*	Instr.	*vistalygän*

Preterite

Nom.	*vomys[j]*	Nom.	*vistoomys[j]*
Instr.	*vomys[j]tän*	Instr.	*vistoomys[j]tän*

Verbal noun

Actum	*voäm*	Actum	*vistaläm*
Agendum	*voan*	Agendum	*vistalan*

116

❧ 85 ❧
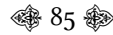
§ 69 [b][264]

To proceed with the peculiarities of verb forms, it has become apparent from the types of conjugations that the Ižma dialect has required a vowel from the characteristic letter of the indicative present throughout all conjugations. In the first person, the letter *a* simultaneously forms the suffix, from which, indeed, the liquid *m* has been dropped (from the personal pronoun *me*) in distinction from the first-person plural, a suffix that is still retained in the dialect. The letter *m* is the ending indicating the first person in Lappish and originally in Finnish [as well]. The second person ends in -*n* (*an*), which is the consonant appearing in the personal pronoun dative singular: *te*[265], Fi *sinä*, Lapp. *don*. The third person singular has two suffixes, one being -*ä*, the other -*as*. The change of the characteristic letter *a* of the present tense to *ä* is necessary for distinguishing the third-person form from that of the first. The suffix -*s* comes from the third-person suffix *sya* and also appears in the suffix forms of nouns. – The first person plural ends in -*m*, and it is related to the personal pronoun *mi*; the second person plural is formed from the singular of the same person by means of the suffix -*nyd*, which is the same in verbs and nominals. In the same way, the third person plural arises from the third person singular *ä* or *as* and the nominal suffix -*nys* rendering the third person plural -*änys* or -*asnys*. The characteristic letter of the preterite is *i* in Zyrian, Finnish and Lappish alike, persons are formed in the same way as in the present tense.

264 Two paragraphs have been given the same number 69. On this page, it is now given as § 69 [b] and on page 79 as § 69 [a].

265 Cf. § 57: The 2nd person singular pronoun *te* and its dative form *ten*.

266 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

267 The actual imperative forms are the second-person forms, the *med* particle is used in the formation of the optatives in all persons (cf. Bartens 2000: 219–221). Castrén also gives the imperative for first person singular and plural (optative) forms. ID (p. 87) and Rédei (1978: 107) give second person singular and plural as well as first-person-plural forms in the imperative paradigm, third-person forms are *med* optatives. (See also ÖKK: 233–236.)

268 Cf. § 45: the same particle *med* is used to form the superlative of some adjectives and adverbs.

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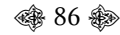
N.B. Other grammarians not only enumerate the indicative present tense and preterite (which they call the imperfect) but also the past perfect and future. The tense they refer to as the past perfect, however, is nothing more than a frequentive preterite, which, as in Russia, sometimes gives the meaning of the past perfect. As for the future, the present -*as*[266] does, in fact, indicate the future, but not necessarily in the Ižma dialect, where some verbs, especially active verbs, favor the suffix *as*, pl. *asnys*, and in the preterite *is*, pl. *isnys*; other verbs, however, take *ä*, pl. *änys*, pret. *i*, pl. *inys*, most often there is no preference. Some verbs allow both forms, where only the suffix *as* forms the future. Otherwise, the use of both forms in the Ižma dialect is very indistinct.

§ 70

The imperative[267] forms its first and third person in sg. and pl. from the present indicative with the help of the particle *med*[268]. The second person pl. the stem *a* into *ä*. We spoke of the second person sg. above; however, it must be added here: 1) the letter *y* in the full form of the imperative is often pronounced as the letter *e*, 2) the last vowel of the imperative is also dropped in corrupt Finnish dialects, and 3) the ending contracts after the liquid letters *l* and *n* have been dropped, e.g. *menen* 'I go', imperat. *mene* or *mee*; *tulen* 'I arrive', imperat. *tule* or *tuu*; *olen* the 'I am', imperat. *ole* or *oo*.

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§ 71

The passive preterite participle *äma* is readily formed from the present indicative as are also the verbal nominals *äm* and *an*. The participle *äma* and the deverbal noun in *äm* were originally one and the same form and are still used interchangeably, e.g. *meam karäma* or *karäm* 'done by me', Fi *minun tekemä*; *meam sjojäma* 'eaten by me', Fi *minun syömä*. Apparently both forms correspond in both meaning and ending to the *nomen acti: ma (mä)* in the Finnish language. The fact that the participle meaning is hardly original becomes apparent since intransitive verbs also use the ending *-äma*. The ending *an*, which some, for no reason, refer to as a gerund, is sometimes used to indicate obligation, frequently, however, it merely has the meaning of a [deverbal] noun, e.g. *sjojan* 'food' ('eating', *sjoja* 'I eat'), Fi *syöminen*; *vundan* 'harvest' ('cutting', *vunda* 'I cut'); *vorsan* 'toy, instrument, game', from *vorsa* 'I play'; *synan* 'comb', from *syna* 'I comb'; *šyran* 'scissors', from *šyra* 'I cut'; *vosťan* 'key', from *vosťa* 'I open'; *pečkan* 'distaff', from *pečka* 'I spin'; *gižtan* 'line', from *gižta* 'I carve' etc.[269]

269   According to ID (pp. 100–101) there are five participles in the Ižma dialect: -ыс', -эм/-эма, -ан, -ана and -тэм. According to Bartens (2000: 233) there are four participles in Komi: a present participle -*yś* [-ысь], and the past participles -*öm* [-öм] and -*öma* [-öма] and a caritive participle -*töm* [-тöм], according to ÖKK (p. 325) those four and -*an* [-ан], -*ana* [-ана]. Bartens (2000: 243) does not accept -*an*/-*ana* forms to be participles, but Rédei does (1978: 112–113).

270 The derivational ending *al/ av* changes to *-oo-* in the Ižma dialect when it is followed by a suffix beginning in a consonant.

271 The active participle ending in the literary language is *-yś* [-ысь], it indicates an incomplete action and is used in the regular derivation morpheme to indicate the doer – *nomen agentis.*

272 Castrén mentions gerunds suffixed with *-ig* [-иг] (pres.) and *-mys* [-мысь(т)] (pret.) with their nominative and instrumental forms (*-sj* should be palatalized: *-mysj*). According to ID (pp. 101–102) there are five participles in the Ižma dialect: -иг (-игэн), -тэдз (-тэдзйа), -тэг (-тэгйа), -эмэн and -са. According to Bartens (2000: 248–) and Rédei (1978: 113–115) there are six gerunds (seven in some dialects): *-ig* [-иг], *-mön* [-мöн], *-ömön* [-öмöн], *-myś(t)* [-мысь(т)], *-töd´z* [-тöдз] and *-tög* [-тöг]. According to ÖKK (p. 344–) there are 21 gerunds in Komi. The number here has been attained by counting the separate case forms of the gerunds listed as their own gerund forms. Here the traditional term "gerund" is used to indicate deverbal adverbs, which elsewhere and in more recent literature may be referred to as converbs in distinction from deverbal nouns, cf. Ylikoski 2001: 199–.

273 Should be *vesjkä.* Komi only has two moods: the

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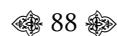
§ 72

The imperative belongs together with the infinitive, the active participle, and the gerund. The infinitive ends in *-ny*, either with or without a connecting vowel (*y* or *oo*[270]), which is the same as in the imperative. After a consonant cluster, the participle retains the stem-final vowel, which has changed to *y*. Just as the passive participle is derived from the verb, so too is the active participle *nomen actoris*, whose original meaning is still evident in many verbs, e.g. *karysj* 'maker', *velädysj* 'teacher', *korysj* 'beggar', etc.[271] Otherwise, this form does not allow for any sense of tense. The gerunds[272] with the suffix *yg* and *mys* (**myst*) are seldom found in the nominative. The gerund present always has a connecting vowel, so that consonant clusters are not formed. The preterite leaves the connecting vowel out when it is left out of the imperative.

§ 73

In Zyrian, the conjunctive is expressed with the particle *veskä* (**veskö*)[273]. There are no traces of an actual conjunctive, but what is found in Finnish as the conjunctive marker (in other words the syllable *-ne*), is observed in the Zyrian infinitive, whose *y* sounds the same as *e*.

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B. Passive

§ 74

The ending of the passive is *-sja* or *-cja* (Ru -ся), which is added to the second person of the imperative. Since the passive ending comes from the Russian language, it is often used as a reflexive verb, which is the sense always indicated by the participle. Therefore, the passive is rendered with an auxiliary verb. The conjugation of passive verbs is similar to that of active verbs throughout.[274]

Indicative
Present

Sing.	1.	*ystysja* 'I set off [intr.]'	1.	*karsja* 'I prepare myself'	1.	*cjukartcja* 'I gather together [intr.]'
	2.	*ystysjan*	2.	*karsjan*	2.	*cjukartcjan*
	3.	*ystysje* or *-jas*[275]	3.	*karsje* or *-jas*	3.	*cjukartcje* or *-jas*
Plur.	1.	*ystysjam*	1.	*karsjam*	1.	*cjukartcjam*
	2.	*ystysjannyd*	2.	*karsjannyd*	2.	*cjukartcjannyd*
	3.	*ystysjenys* or *-jasnys*[276]	3.	*karsjenys* or *-jasnys*	3.	*cjukartcjenys* or *-jasnys*

Preterite

Sing.	1.	*ystysji*	1.	*karsji*	1.	*cjukartcji*
	2.	*ystysjin*	2.	*karsjin*	2.	*cjukartcjin*
	3.	(*ystysji*) or *-jis*[277]	3.	(*karsji*) or *-jis*	3.	(*cjukartcji*) or *-jis*[278]
Plur.	1.	*ystysjim*	1.	*karsjim*	1.	*cjukartcjim*
	2.	*ystysjinnyd*	2.	*karsjinnyd*	2.	*cjukartcjinnyd*
	3.	(*ystysjinys*) or *-jisnys*[279]	3.	(*karsjinys*) or *-jisnys*	3.	(*cjukartcjinys*) or *-jisnys*

indicative and imperative. Castrén refers to the conjunctive (conditional), which is formed in Komi with the help of the particle *vesjke* [веське] (in the literary language *eśkö(n)* [эсько(н)]) and the verb in the indicative mood. In Finnish, the morpheme *-ne-* is the potential marker, which is not a cognate of the infinitive ending *-ny* from proto-Permic; *-ny* is a reflex of the Finno-Ugric deverbal nominal derivation element **nV*, maybe with a final lative **k* (Bartens 2000: 228).

274 The Komi reflexive suffix *-ś-* [-сь-] and its affricate sibling *-ć-* [-ч-] (with their infrequent voiced allomorphs *-ź-* [-зь-] and *-dʹź-* [-дз-]), are also used in forming the impersonal construction and passive (ÖKK: 272–283). According to Bartens the *-ś-* derivation can be reflexive, reciprocal, automotive, passive, resultative, continuative and habitual, whereas there are also *-aś-* derivations used as reflexives (2000: 284–285; cf. ID: 94–96).

275–277 In all 3rd person forms the word *or* distinguishes between present tense (before) and future (after).

278 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

279 See note 275.

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Imperative

Sing.	2.	*ystysj*	2.	*karsjy*	2.	*cjukartcjy*
Plur.	2.	*ystysje*	2.	*karsje*	2.	*cjukartcje*

Infinitive

Nom.	*ystysjny*	*karsjyny*	*cjukartcjyny*
Term.	*ystysjtedzj*	*karsjytedzj*	*cjukartcjytedzj*

Participle

1.	*ystysjysj*	1.	*karsjysj*	1.	*cjukartcjysj*
2.	*ystysjema*	2.	*karsjema*	2.	*cjukartcjema*

Gerund
Present

Nom.	*ystysjyg*	*karsjyg*	*cjukartcjyg*
Instr.	*ystysjygän*	*karsjygän*	*cjukartcjygän*

Preterite

Nom.	*ystysjmys[j]*	*karsjymys[j]*	*cjukartcjymys[j]*
Instr.	*ystysjmys[j]tän*	*karsjymys[j]tän*	*cjukartcjymys[j]tän*

Verbal noun

Actum	*ystysjem*	*karsjem*	*cjukartcjem*
Agendum	*ystysjan*	*karsjan*	*cjukartcjan*

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§ 75

In the paragraphs concerning the change of letters, we have expressed 1) the change of the passive ending *-sja* to *-cja* after *d*, *t* and *j* (§ 15), 2) and after a long vowel to *-zja*, 3) the linking vowel *ä* becomes *-e* before the suffix (§ 8, E).[280]

Here something may be added concerning the formation of the passive:

1. Many passive verbs do not have [correlating] active forms, and all frequentatives lacking simple active forms gain them in the passive, e.g. *gögressja* 'I surround' (*gögräs* 'round'), *kynämasja* 'I become pregnant' (*kynäm* 'stomach'), *bertcja* 'I fight, struggle' (Ru борю[с]ь), *pörtcja* 'I take (my clothes) off', *lögasja* 'I get mad at' (*lögala* id.), *pinjasja* 'I fall out (with someone)' (*pinjala*), *čuksasja* 'I keep on shouting at someone' (*čuksala* 'I shout') etc.[281]

2. The frequentatives are always formed from simple active forms by adding *-la* after the passive ending, e.g. *bergäda* 'I turn', frequ. *bergädala*, pass. *bergedcja*, whence frequ. *bergedcjala*; *cjukarta* 'I collect', frequ. *cjukartala*, pass. *cjukartcja*, frequ. *cjukartcjala*.

3. The passive may serve as the base for various verbal derivations, e.g. *kulja* 'I skin', *kul[j]sja* 'I take (my clothes) off'', *kul[j]sjeda* 'I make somebody take off his/her clothes'; *poozja* 'I am afraid', *poozjeda* 'I frighten'; *sotcja* 'I burn myself', *sotcjyšta* 'I burn myself quickly'.[282]

280 Cf. § 74, note 274.
281 Cf. § 74, note 274. What Castrén calls passive verbs are verbs with reduced argument valency, i.e. reflexive and reciprocal derivations. According to Bartens the meaning of the verbs is contextually defined (2000: 284–285).
282 See note 281.

283 The example word *og* is the ind. pres. 1st person sg. of the *o*-stemmed negative auxiliary. *abu* is a word of negation used in existential and possessive negation. It is also used to express negation in the past tenses II, IV and VI. Hamari refers to *abu* as a negative existential word as opposed to the term negative particle forwarded by Rédei and ID. (Cf. Hamari: 2001, 33; Rédei 1978: 107–108; ID: 114–115.)

284 The predicate plural suffix should be *-äsj*, as with adjectives, see § 44. Sg. *abu*, pl. *abuäsj* in the literary language *abu*, *abuösj* [абу, абуӧсь].

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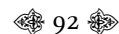
C. *Negative conjugation*

§ 76

Negation is expressed in all Finnic languages with its own auxiliary verb form, and in Zyrian this involves two separate stems: 1) The personal particle *og* 'pres. 1sg', 2) and the word *abu*, which serves as the negation for the verb *exist* [*verbum substantivum*][283], Ru нѣтъ, e.g. *njanj abu* 'no bread exists', (Ru хлѣба нѣтъ). The verb of negation *abu* lacks tense and person, but in the plural it takes the nominal ending *-äs*[284] in all persons, e.g. *mi abuäs* 'we are not', Ru насъ нѣтъ, *pujas abuäs* 'no trees exist', Ru деревъ нѣтъ. In the Ižma and Udora dialects, *abu* is used as the negative auxiliary for the passive preterite, e.g. *me abu ysłäma* 'I was not sent'. Uncharacteristic of the language, it also appears occasionally before the infinitive, gerunds and participles whose negation is indicated with the form of negation used for nominals.

§ 77

Negative particles are conjugated in Finnish and Lappish in all sg. and pl. persons, but the verb itself takes a form equivalent to the second person singular imperative and remains unchanged. In the Zyrian language, the negative conjugation of *og* is the same for pl. and sg. [first person], but the verb changes. Singular [forms] are equivalent to the

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second person singular imperative; the first and second person pl. take the second person pl. imperative form; the third person pl. derives from the second person sg. imperative, which then takes the additional ending *-nys*.

The verb of negation conjugates as observed in the paradigm:

Indicative
Present[285]

Sing.	1.	*og kar* 'I do not do/make'
	2.	*on kar*
	3.	*oz kar*
Plur.	1.	*og karä*
	2.	*on karä*
	3.	*oz karnys* (*karny)

Preterite

Sing.	1.	*ig kar* (*eg)
	2.	*in kar* (*en)
	3.	*iz kar* (*ez)
Plur.	1.	*ig karä* (*eg)
	2.	*in karä* (*en)
	3.	*iz karnys* (*ez karny)

Imperative[286]

Sing.	1.	*med og kar*
	2.	*in kar* (*en)
	3.	*med oz kar*
Plur.	1.	*med og karä*
	2.	*in karä* (*en)
	3.	*med oz karnys*

[285] In the Ižma dialect, the indicative present of the negative auxiliary takes an *o*-stem, identical to that found in the literary language, but the preterite stem is *i*- while its literary counterpart is *e*-. Here Castrén provides literary *e*- forms in parentheses.

[286] Cf. § 70, note 267.

287 Apparently, Castrén wants to say *abu karäma* or *kartäg*.

288 Cf. § 66, where Castrén speaks of one preterite, which would concord with the views expressed by Sjögren, but the forms he provides here would indicate what today is known as the 2nd past (or perfect).

289 The Komi verb is treated here as an auxiliary verb, existential-possessive in nature, with two forms in the present tense: in Ižma and a few other dialects, the form is *vyjym* [выйым, выйiм] and in the literary language *em* [эм].

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Infinitive

kartäg or *abu karny*

Participle

Act.	*kartäm* or *abu karysj*
Pass.	*karämtäm* or *abu karäma*

Verbal noun

Actum	*karämtäm*
Agendum	*karantäm* or *karantäg*

N.B. 1. The gerund is formed with *abu* or the infinitive *kartäg*[287].

N.B. 2. The negative passive forms are conjugated in the same way, with the exception of the preterite[288], which can be expressed by *abu* and the pass. part. (see § 76, cf. § 78, N.B. 1)

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D. Auxiliary verbs

§ 78

Thus, we may speak of a copula: *vyjym* (*em) 'is, exists'[289], pret. *völi* (*völy); *loa* 'I will be', Ru буду and *kucja*[290] 'I am going to', Ru стану. *vyjym* and *völi* are auxiliary verbs in the passive preterite, e.g. *me vyjym* (*völi*) *yśťäma* 'I was sent'. *loa*, and more often *kucja* make the future forms[291] both in active and in passive. The pass. pres. is expressed both with the passive proper form and with some manner of circumlocution. The verbs *loa* and *kucja* are conjugated regularly, *vyjym* has an irregular inflexion.

Indicative
Present

Sing.	1.	*vyjym* (*em)[292]
	2.	*vyjym* (*em)
	3.	*vyjym* (*em)
Plur.	1.	*vyjymäs*[*j*] (*vyjymös[*j*], *emös*[*j*])
	2.	*vyjymäs*[*j*] (*vyjymös[*j*], *emös*[*j*])
	3.	*vyjymäs*[*j*] (*vyjymös[*j*], *emös*[*j*])

Preterite

Sing.	1.	*völi*
	2.	*völin*
	3.	*völi*
Plur.	1.	*völim*
	2.	*völinnyd*
	3.	*völinys* or *-snys* (*völyny)

Imperative[293]

Sing.	2.	*vyjym te*
Plur.	2.	*vyjymäs*[*j*] *ti*[294]

290 The auxiliary verb used for forming the analytic future in the Ižma dialect is *kućyny* [кучыны], whereas the literary language uses *kutny* [кутны] (ID: 168).

291 The verb 'to be' in Komi is suppletive and has future forms in the verb *lony* [лоны] 'to become, will be'. The 1st future tense only distinguishes forms in the 3rd person. The compound 2nd future tense is formed with the auxiliary verbs *kutny* [кутны], *mödny* [мӧдны] and *pondyny* [пондыны]. (ÖKK: 209, 241–246.)

292 The form *vyjym* appears in Castrén's manuscript with only a few exceptions in *vyijym*. The "erroneous form" *vyijym* occurs in the published grammar. This has been corrected to *vyjym* throughout. The form in *i* is not attested in ID or KSK. It appears that the form *vyijim* with an extra *-i-* stems from the form *wыjым*, which abounds in the manuscript, and the second upright of the Cyrillic *ы* may have been construed as the letter *i*.

293 The imperative forms would be formed from the verb *lony* [лоны] in the standard language.

294 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

295 Mistake? The terminative would have to be *vöötedzj*? Cf. note 250.

296 Here Castrén divorces himself from the thoughts of pluperfect and future posited by Gabelentz (1841: 32). Though some pluperfect forms (ÖKK: 256–258, 4th past (or plusquamperfect) can be found in his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, e.g. in chapter V.

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Infinitive

Nom.	*vööny*
Term.	*vöötäg*[295]

Participle

völysj

Gerund
Present

Nom.	*völyg*
Instr.	*völygän*

Preterite

Nom.	*vöömys[j]*
Instr.	*vöömys[j]tän*

Verbal noun

Actum	*völäm* or *völäma*
Agentum	*völan*

N.B. 1. The present form *völa* (Fi *olen*) and the imperative *völy*, cf. *vöö* (Fi *ole* cf. *oo*) have disappeared from the language being similar to *vöö* 'horse' and its consecutive case form *völa*. But the imperat. *vöö* appears sometimes in the negative passive form, e.g. *og vöö ystäma* pro *abu ystäma.*

N.B. 2. The frequentative form *vööla* is derived from the verb *völa*, and its preterite form is *vööli* (**vööly*), which Gabelentz considered to be a pluperfect (cf. § 69, N.B.). The copula *vyjym* 'to be' forms its future in *voa*, which, at least in the Ižma dialect, means 'I arrive'.[296]

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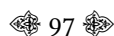
E. Derived verbs

§ 79

Verbs are derived from other verbs as well as nominals and adverbs. For the most part, verbs retain their transitivity or intransitivity in derivation. Certain types of verb derivations arise from nominals and adverbs, on the one hand, while other types arise from verbs, on the other; many can be formed from both. The main points of the forms of common verb derivations must be mentioned here.

§ 80

Factitive verbs indicate becoming or changing into something, and are usually formed from nouns. Some are formed by merely adding the letter *a* to the end of the nominative, e.g. *kyyz* 'thick', *kyyza* 'I get fat(ter)'; *sim* 'rust', *sima* 'I rust'. Nominals ending in *-yd* elide *y*, e.g. *jugyd* 'light, clear', *jugda* [1SG < *jygdyny* 'to become light']; *pemyd* 'dark', *pemda* [1SG < *pemdyny* 'to become dark']297; *jedžyd* 'white', *ježda* [1SG < *jedždyny* 'to clear (up)'], and also *sjökta* 'I become heavy' from *sjökyd* 'heavy; difficult', *läčta* 'I become sharp' from *läčyd* 'sharp'. The actual ending of the factitive is *-ma*, originally *-mam*298, which is also the factitive verb marker in the Lappish language. E.g. *kos* 'dry', *kosma* 'I become dry'; *konjär* 'poor', *konjärma* 'I get poorer'; *va* 'water', *vama* 'I become wetter'; *ji* 'ice', *jima* 'I freeze/ice';

297 The verbs (given here in literary form) *jugdö* [югдӧ] 'it is clearing (up)', *pemdö* [пемдӧ] 'it is getting dark' are impersonal verbs often referring to meteorological phenomena and only occur in the third person.

298 The denominal factitive derivational suffix *-m* comes from a period before Proto-Permic, according to Bartens, the suffix has a translative character in Komi (2000: 282).

299 The stem of these two words is palatalized: *sjer-*.

300 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

301 The stem of these three words is palatalized: *vösnj-*. See note 153 and Vocabulary.

302 The momentaneous derivational morpheme is *t*, which is also found as part of the combinatory morpheme *št*. Its equivalent in Finnish is the *AhtA* morpheme. Komi also has a combinatory derivational morpheme in *ökt*. (Bartens 2000: 287–288, 277–278.)

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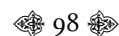
ram 'quiet', *ramma* 'I become calmer/quieter; *tyr* 'full', *tyrma* 'I am enough [< *tyrmyny* 'to be enough']'; *važ* 'old', *važma* 'I grow older'; *gaž* 'joy', *gažma* 'I become happier'; *sera* 'multi-coloured, varied, mixed', *sera*[299] 'I become varied'; *ötik* 'one', *ötikma*[300] 'I become lonelier, more forsaken'. When adjectives with the suffix -*yd* do not allow the formation of a factitive verb with the deletion of *y*, due to the coincidence of several consonants, they are sometimes formed with the suffix -*ma*, e.g. *ydžyd* 'big', *ydžydma* 'I become bigger'. Factitive verbs are seldom derived from adverbial forms, e.g. *vösnyd* 'thin', *vösni* 'thinly', *vösnima* 'I become thinner'[301].

§ 81

Momentaneous verbs are used to express singular or sudden actions. They end in -*šta* (*-*šta*)[302] and are formed from the second-person imperative with *y*, e.g. *seta* 'I give', *setyšta* 'I give once, quickly': *juka* 'I divide', mom. *jukyšta*; *čapka* 'I catch', mom. *čapkyšta*; *jua* 'I drink', mom. *juyšta* etc. There are also non-derived momentaneous verbs, e.g. *vešta* 'I move once'. Momentaneous forms are derived from frequentative verbs in the same way as passives, e.g. *sjölala* 'I spit', mom. *sjölyšta* (from a hypothetical root *sjöla*), frequ. *sjölyštala* (see § 75). In the Lappish language, momentaneous verbs are also formed with the suffix -*štam*; some have approximately the same suffix in Finnish, e.g. *valkai-sen* 'I lighten', inf. *valai-šta*.

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§ 82

Effective verbs[303], whose meaning indicates making or having made, derive from both nominals and verbs. They are formed in many ways:

1) From the primary stem of the verb, in other words, the first person singular final *a* is changed to *ä* to which the suffix *da* is then added, e.g. *zelda* 'I tighten (intr.)', *zeldäda* 'I make tight'; *dženda* 'I cut off', *džendäda* 'I shorten'; *džömda* 'I stagger', *džömdäda* 'I shake'; *sad[j]ma* 'I wake up', *sad[j]mäda* 'I wake up (tr.)'; *ramma* 'I rest', *rammäda* 'I calm (someone)'; *kusa* 'I go out, get extinguished', *kusäda* 'I extinguish, turn off'; *vöjpa* 'I speak', *vöjpäda* 'I convince'; *töda* 'I know', *tödäda*[304] 'I let know'; *lönja* 'I become/fall quiet', *lönjeda* 'I calm'.

2) Some are formed from the shortened imperative with the ending *ta* *), e.g. *jua* 'I drink', *juta* 'I give to drink'; *ka'a* 'I climb', *kata* 'I take up, bring up'; *pyra* 'I go in', *pyrta* 'I carry in'; *pöda* 'I suffocate, drown', *pödta* 'I suffocate, drown (tr.); *voša* 'I disappear', *vošta* 'I lose'.[305]

———————

*) This can, in our view, be regarded as evidence in these and similar words, not all of which, however, are found in the Ižma dialect.

303 Nowadays the term *effective* has been replaced by *causative*. In the literary language, the derivational ending is *öd* [öд]. The effectives shown in this paragraph (1 and 2) are further exhibited by Rédei as actual deverbal transitive suffixes, which belong to the group of causative and factive suffixes (1978: 115–116).

304 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

305 The *d/t* derivative suffix can be traced back to at least Proto-Permic, it is a reflex of the *tA derivational ending, as can also be said of the *öd* suffix, it may well be Uralic (Bartens 2000: 276–280).

306 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

307, 308 In 3 and 4 Castrén presents the *d*/*t* derivational endings as producing denominals (cf. Rédei 1978: 115–116).

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3) Effectives derived from nominals take the ending *ta*, seldom *da*, e.g. *kos* 'dry', *košta* 'I dry'; *tyr* 'full', *tyrta* 'I fill'; *suk* 'thick', *sukta* 'I thicken'; *njukyl*[*j*] 'bend', *njukyl*[*j*]*ta* 'I bend'; *gögär*[306] 'circle, round', *gögärta* 'I surround'; *njaśtjiesj* 'dirty', *njaśł*[*j*]*ies*[*j*]*ta* 'I dirty'; *tyrtäm* 'empty', *tyrtämta* 'I empty'; *s*[*j*]*intäm* 'blind', *s*[*j*]*intämta* 'I blind (something)'; *n*[*j*]*im* 'name', *n*[*j*]*imta* 'I name, call'; *nyž* 'blunt', *nyžda* 'I become blunt'; *myž* 'fault', *myžda* 'I accuse'.[307]

4) Many effectives are formed on the basis of the root. Ones that are derived from frequentatives always require a simple root, e.g. *ljapkyd* 'low', *ljapkäda* 'I lower' (from the root *ljapka*); *ves*[*j*]*kyd* 'right', *ves*[*j*]*käda* 'I straighten' (root *ves*[*j*]*ka*): *lögala* 'I am angry', *lögäda* 'I anger' (root *löga*); *velala* 'I get used to', *veläda* 'I teach'.[308]

5) Effective verbs whose meaning is pronouncedly transitive, are the basis of further derivations for effective verbs, e.g. *dasjeda* 'I prepare', *dasjedäda* 'I make (someone) prepare'; *öša* 'I am hanging', *ošäda* 'I hang (something)', *öšädäda* 'I make someone hang something'; *pöra* 'I fall', *pöräda* 'I fell, cut down', *pörädäda* 'I have someone fell/cut down'.

N.B. The endings of effective verbs in Finnish are: [1SG] *tan*, *tän*, inf. *ta*, *tä*, in Lappish: [1SG] *tam*, inf. *tet*. These are in complete correlation with the effective verb endings in Zyrian: *ta*, *da*, originally: *tam*, *dam*.

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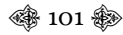
§ 83

The *-la* ending is used to form both frequentative and diminutive verbs. Frequentative verbs are formed from first-person singular indicative present, e.g. *giža* 'I write', *gižala* 'I write often', *kara* 'I make/do', *karala* 'I often make/do'; diminutives are formed from the second-person [singular] imperative, e.g. *gižla* 'I write a little or seldom', *karla* 'I make/do a little or seldom'.[309] In Finnish, frequentatives are formed with the ending [1SG] *-len*, inf. *-lla*, and in Lappish with the ending [1SG] *-dam*, occasionally *-alam*. Diminutives in Lappish end in [1SG] *-lam*, inf. *let*.

§ 84

Frequentatives are also formed from nominals by adding the ending *la* to the nominative with the linking vowel *a*, e.g. *vyj* 'butter, grease', *vyjala* 'I grease'; *lju* 'spit', *ljuala* 'I spit'; *läm* 'glue', *lämala* 'I glue'; *med* 'pay, salary', *medala* 'I employ'. Frequentatives formed from two-syllable nominals that end in consonants elide the final vowel in the nominal [stem], e.g. *gogyn* 'scraper', *gognala* 'I scrape'; *vugyr* 'hook', *vugrala* 'I fish'; *toman* 'bolt, lock', *tomnala* 'I bolt, lock'.[310]

N.B. 1. These and in general all frequentatives lacking a verbal root have non-derived definitions [i.e. they do not have frequentative or diminutive meanings].

N.B. 2. No [*la*-] diminutives are derived from nominals, because they cannot be distinguished from nominals in the consecutive case.

309 *-l-* and *-al-/-av-* derivational suffixes indicate not only a frequency of actions but their brevity and boundedness as well (Bartens 2000: 275).

310 No frequentative feature is observable in these examples, as they are derived with the denominal ending *-al-/-av-*, which, when in a closed syllable, changes to *oo* in the Ižma dialect. Compare the infinitives of the literary language with those given by Castrén for the Ižma dialect examples:

люавны > люооны,
медавны > медооны,
гогнавны > гогнооны,
вугравны > вугрооны,
томнавны > томнооны
(KRK; KSK 1, 2).

311 Misprint: should be *gižoo*.
312 Misprint: should be *gižooly*.
313 In Komi, the frequentative derivational suffix in *l* can also be repeated once or twice. In addition to *-l-*, ID mentions a plethora of others in the Ižma dialect: *-lyll-*, *-lyyl-*, *-yyl-*, *-lyl-* and *-edl-* as well as *-oo-* (< *-al-*), which may also be a reflexive (ID: 89–90, 94).

❦ 102 ❦
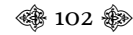
§ 85

Both diminutives and frequentatives are formed by adding special sequences/forms to the second-person [singular] imperative forms.

Diminutive		
gižla	imperat.	*gižly*
gižlyla	imperat.	*gižlyy*
gižlyyla	imperat.	*gižlyyly*
gižlyylyla		

Frequentative		
gižala	imperat.	*gizoo*[311]
gižoola	imperat.	*gizooly*[312]
gižoolyla		

Actually, there is no particular difference in the meaning of the forms. It is seldom that all [combinations] are derived from the same verb; instead each verb preferably forms one frequentative and one diminutive type. Longer types are derived from short roots, and shorter types from long ones.[313]

§ 86

Deverbal derivations are combined in different ways; the forms/sequences used most often are as follows:

❖ 103 ❖
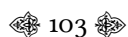
1. Factive-effectives, e.g. *burma* 'I get better', *burmäda* 'I heal, cure'; *ramma* 'I calm (down)', *rammäda* 'I calm (tr.)'; *šomma* 'I turn sour', *šommäda* 'I sour'. These are the bases of new effectives, e.g. *rammädäda* 'I make someone become calm', *šommädäda* 'I make (something) go sour'.

2. Factive-momentaneous verbs, e.g. *kosma* 'I dry', *kosmyšta* 'I dry a little'.

3. Factive-frequentatives, e.g. *bydma* 'I grow', frequ. *bydmala*; *sukma* 'I thicken', frequ. *sukmala*.

4. Momentaneous-effective or effective-momentaneous verbs, e.g. *sjölyšta* 'I spit quickly', eff. *sjölyštäda*; *juta* 'I give drink', mom. *jutyšta*.

5. Effective-frequentatives, e.g. *burdäda* 'I heal', frequ. *burdädala*; *käräda*[314] 'I have (something) made', frequ. *karädala*.

6. Diminutive-frequentatives, e.g. *gižla* 'I write a little', frequ. *gižlala, gižloola, gižloolyla*.

314   Misprint: should be *karäda*.