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'.

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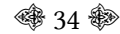
Derived pronouns

§ 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

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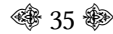
the indicative, gerund and participle. The Kazan′ grammar gives some verbs two preterites; but perhaps one of them is based on some dialectal variation, which is unknown to me. The *participle forms* can also be used as verbal nouns, present as *actor*, preterite as *act*.
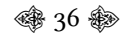
Conjugation

§ 34 The first person singular in Cheremis verbs ends either in *am*, *äm* or in *em*. In this respect they are divided into two conjugations: 1. those which have a stem ending in *a*, *ä*; 2. the ones whose stem ends in *e*. The former ones preserve *a* and *ä* in the indicative present tense and preterite.[133] In other moods the last vowel of the stem is omitted, unless, by chance, the clash of several consonants requires it to remain. The stem-final vowel is also omitted in verbs ending in a diphthong in the whole ind. preterite and in the ind. present plural; these forms are derived from the 2nd person imperative.[134] In the second conjugation the final vowel of the stem is always preserved as such in indicative present and preterite, often also in the second person singular of the imperative.[135] The most essential differences between the two conjugations are: 1. the 3rd person singular of the indicative present tense ends in *eš* in the first conjugation, but in the second in *a*, *ä*; 2. the consonant clusters in the first conjugation are avoided by omitting the last consonant, whereas in the second by adding an auxiliary vowel, etc.

§ 35 The general scheme of verbal conjugation is as follows:

133 Actually, the *a* or *ä* is preserved only in 1sg and 2sg of the present tense; in the other forms of the present and in the preterite the vowel changes into a schwa: *ə* or *ə̈*.

134 The form of the 2nd person imperative is the pure consonant stem. The first or so-called *am* conjugation uses both vowel and consonant stems, whereas in the second conjugation only vowel stems are possible.

135 The stem vowel is *a* or *ä* also in 3pl of the present tense, whereas in the imperative it is a schwa.

136 Both variants *žə* and *žӭ* are used according to vowel harmony.

137 According to Hill Mari vowel harmony rules, after *e* the following syllables should have front vowels. As the (second) preterite is originally a compound form of the gerund ending in *ə/ӭn* and *əlam* 'be', the variation mentioned in Castrén's footnote might have historical roots.

❧ 36 ❧

	1st Conjugation		2nd Conjugation
	1. Indicative		
	Present tense		

	1st Conjugation		2nd Conjugation	
Sing. 1.	*-am, äm*	Sing. 1.	*-em*
2.	*-at, ät*	2.	*-et*
3.	*-eš*	3.	*-a, ä*
Plur. 1.	*-əna (na), ӭnä (nä)*	Plur. 1.	*-enä*
2.	*-əda (da), ӭdä (dä)*	2.	*-edä*
3.	*-ət, ӭt, t*	3.	*-at, ät*

Preterite

	1st Conjugation		2nd Conjugation
Sing. 1.	*-ənam (nam), ӭnäm (näm)*	Sing. 1.	*-enäm* **)
2.	*-ənat (nat), ӭnät (nät)*	2.	*-enät*
3.	*-ən, ӭn, n*	3.	*-en*
Plur. 1.	*-ənəna* *) *(nəna),* *ӭnӭnä* *) *(nӭnä)*	Plur. 1.	*-enӭnä* ***)
2.	*-ənəda* *) *(nəda),* *ӭnӭdä* *) *(nӭdä)*	2.	*-enӭdä* ***)
3.	*-ənət (nət), ӭnӭt (nӭt)*	3.	*-enӭt*

2. Optative

	1st Conjugation		2nd Conjugation
Sing. 1.	*-nem*	Sing. 1.	*-nem*
2.	*-net*	2.	*-net*
3.	*-nežӭ*	3.	*-nežӭ*
Plur. 1.	*-nenä*	Plur. 1.	*-nenä*
2.	*-nedä*	2.	*-nedä*
3.	*-nešt*	3.	*-nešt*

3. Imperative

	1st Conjugation		2nd Conjugation
Sing. 2.	–	Sing. 2.	–
3.	*-žӭ*	3.	*-žӭ*[136]
Plur. 2.	*-da, dä*	Plur. 2.	*-da, dä*
3.	*-št*	3.	*-št*

*) These endings are usually shortened to *ənnä, ӭnnä, ənda, ӭndä* because of a sharp last syllable.

**) We have also heard endings: *enam, enat, en, enəna, enəda, enat.*[137]

***) Or: *ennä, endä.*

❖ 37 ❖

4. Infinitive

Pres. Fut.	aš, äš šaš, šäš	Pres. Fut.	aš, äš šaš, šäš[138]

5. Gerund

Pres.	məla, mälä məkə (məngə), mäkä (mängä)	Pres.	məla, mälä[139] məkə (məngə), mäkä (mängä)[140]

6. Participle

Pres. Act. Pret. Pass.	šə mə, mä	Pres. Act. Pret. Pass.	šə[141] mə, mä

N.B. 1. The last vowel *a* in the 3rd person pl. pres. and pret. indicative and in the imperative comes near to a variety of *ä*; as for *ä*, it is pronounced in almost the same places as an *e*. It is only this which distinguishes 3rd person pl. pres. & pret. indicat. from the 2nd person sg.[142]

2. The second person imperative is marked with the sign * because of its undefinable ending.[143] In the first conjugation, as was already stated, the imperative can be shortened and end in a vowel or a consonant; but in the second conjugation the imperative always ends in a vowel. In addition to the short ending of the second person imperative, a longer form is also used: *ma, mä*, pl. *mada, mädä*, which is attached to the same stem.[144] The clitic *ok* can also be added to the second persons of the imperative sing. and pl. This ending corresponds in meaning with the Russian enclitic particle *ko*, e.g., *puok, puemä*, Ru. *дайко*[145].

138 The "future infinitive" is nowadays classified as a future-necessive participle expressing action that will happen or has to happen. The suffix goes back to *š* of the active participle and *aš* of the infinitive or identical nominal derivative suffix. A future participle with the same meaning and fairly similar appearance is found in the neighbouring Turkic languages, too. (Bereczki 2002: 116.)

139 The gerund expresses simultaneous action with the predicate. The necessive infinitive found in Hill Mari (but not included in EGT) has the same form.

140 The gerund expresses action preceding that of the predicate. It is derived from the passive participle and a postposition *münkö* 'after'. (Bereczki 2002: 128.)

141 The active participle has two variants according to vowel harmony: *šə, šä*.

142 The last vowel in the 3rd person plural of present and preterite is a schwa, and in this edition it has been written with the *ə* and *ä* characters, accordingly. In the 2nd person singular, the last vowel is *a, ä*, i.e. a full vowel.

143 In the printed version, the asterisk found in the Swedish manuscript has been replaced with a hyphen.

144 The clitic *ma, mä* gives the imperative a persuasive tone (cf. Savatkova 2002: 189–190).

145 'give!'.

146 In the Swedish manuscript, Castrén gives paradigms of four verbs: apart from the verbs in EGT also *kəralam* 'I plough', *kəralat, kəraleš, kəralna, kəralda, kəralət*, pret. *kəralnam, kəralnat, kə-raln, kəralnəna, kəralnəda, kəralnət*, opt. *kəralnem, kəralnet, kəralnežə, kəral-nenä, kəralnedä, kəralnešt*, imp. 2sg *kəral, kəraləma, kəralok*, 3sg *kəralžə*, 2pl *kəralda, kəralməda, kəral-daok*, 3pl *kəraləšt*; inf. pres. *kəralaš*, fut. *kəralšaš*, ger. pres. *kəralmələa*, pret. *kəral-məkə (kəralməngə)*, part. pres. *kəralšə*, pret. *kəralmə*.

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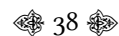
§ 36 In order to get a clearer picture of the most important differences in the conjugation of verbs, some paradigms are given:

First conjugation[146]

Indicative
Present tense

	1.		2.		3.
Sing. 1.	*Lədam* 'I read'	Sing. 1.	*Läktäm* 'I go'	Sing. 1.	*Ɉyäm* 'I drink'
2.	*Lədat*	2.	*Läktät*	2.	*Ɉyät*
3.	*Lədeš*	3.	*Läkteš*	3.	*Ɉyeš*
Plur. 1.	*Lədəna*	Plur. 1.	*Läktänä*	Plur. 1.	*Ɉynä*
2.	*Lədəda*	2.	*Läktədä*	2.	*Ɉydä*
3.	*Lədət*	3.	*Läktät*	3.	*Ɉyt*

Preterite

	1.		2.		3.
Sing. 1.	*Lədənam*	Sing. 1.	*Läktänäm*	Sing 1	*Ɉynäm*
2.	*Lədənat*	2.	*Läktänät*	2.	*Ɉynät*
3.	*Lədən*	3.	*Läktän*	3.	*Ɉyn*
Plur. 1.	*Lədə-nəna* *⁾	Plur. 1.	*Läktə-nänä* *⁾	Plur. 1.	*Ɉynə-nä* *⁾
2.	*Lədə-nəda* **⁾	2.	*Läktə-nädä* **⁾	2.	*Ɉynə-dä* **⁾
3.	*Lədənət*	3.	*Läktänät*	3.	*Ɉynət*

*⁾ Or: *Lədənna, Läktönnä, Ɉynnä*.

**⁾ Or: *Lədənda, Läktändä, Ɉyndä*

147 In the third persons of the optative and imperative, the personal endings trace back to possessive suffixes.

❧ 39 ❧

Optative

Sing. 1.	*Lətnem*	Sing. 1.	*Läknem*	Sing. 1.	*Ɉynem*
2.	*Lətnet*	2.	*Läknet*	2.	*Ɉynet*
3.	*Lətnežə*	3.	*Läknežə*	3.	*Ɉynežə*[147]
Plur. 1.	*Lətnenä*	Plur. 1.	*Läknenä*	Plur. 1.	*Ɉynenä*
2.	*Lətnedä*	2.	*Läknedä*	2.	*Ɉynedä*
3.	*Lətnešt*	3.	*Läknešt*	3.	*Ɉynešt*

Imperative

Sing. 2.	*Lət* *)	Sing. 2.	*Läk* *)	Sing. 2.	*Ɉy* *)
3.	*Lətšə*	3.	*Läkšə*	3.	*Ɉyžə*
Plur. 2.	*Lətta* **)	Plur. 2.	*Läktä* **)	Plur. 2.	*Ɉydä* **)
3.	*Lədəšt*	3.	*Läktəšt*	3.	*Ɉyšt*

Infinitive

Pres.	*Lədaš*	Pres.	*Läktäš*	Pres.	*Ɉyäš*
Fut.	*Lətšaš*	Fut.	*Läkšäš*	Fut.	*Ɉyšäš*

Gerund

Pres.	*Lətməla*	Pres.	*Läkməlä*	Pres.	*Ɉytməlä*
Pret.	*Lətməkə* ***)	Pret.	*Läkməkə* ***)	Pret.	*Ɉytməkə* ***)

Participle

Pres. act.	*Lətšə*	Pres. act.	*Läkšə*	Pres. act.	*Ɉyšə*
Pret. pass.	*Lətmə*	Pret. pass.	*Läkmə*	Pret. pass.	*Ɉymə*

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*) Or: *Lədəma, Lətok*; *Läktəmä, Läkok*; *Ɉymä, Ɉyok*.

**) Or: *Lədəmada, Ləttaok*; *Läktəmädä, Läktäok*; *Ɉymädä, Ɉydäok*.

***) Or: *Lətməngə, Läkməngə, Ɉüməngə*.

148 According to Hill Mari vowel harmony, front vowels should always follow *e*, even if the stem has back vowels, cf. marginal note 137.

149 Here, Castrén gives alternative forms even for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons plural.

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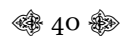
Second conjugation

Indicative
Present tense

	1.		2.		3.
Sing. 1.	*Loem* 'I grasp'	Sing. 1.	*Tylem* 'I pay'	Sing. 1.	*Jalštem* 'I tie'
2.	*Loet*	2.	*Tylet*	2.	*Jalštet*
3.	*Loa*	3.	*Tylä*	3.	*Jalšta*
Plur. 1.	*Loenä*	Plur. 1.	*Tylenä*	Plur. 1.	*Jalštenä*
2.	*Loedä*	2.	*Tyledä*	2.	*Jalštedä*
3.	*Loat*	3.	*Tylät*	3.	*Jalštat*

Preterite

	1.		2.		3.
Sing. 1.	*Loenäm* *⁾	Sing. 1.	*Tylenäm* *⁾	Sing. 1.	*Jalštenäm* *⁾
2.	*Loenät*	2.	*Tylenät*	2.	*Jalštenät*
3.	*Loen*	3.	*Tylen*	3.	*Jalšten*
Plur. 1.	*Loenᵊnä* **⁾	Plur. 1.	*Tylenᵊnä* **⁾	Plur. 1.	*Jalštenᵊnä* **⁾
2.	*Loenᵊdä* ***⁾	2.	*Tylenᵊdä* ***⁾	2.	*Jalštenᵊnä* ***⁾
3.	*Loenät*	3.	*Tylenät*	3.	*Jalštenät*

―――――――

*⁾ Or: *Loenam, Tylenam, Jalštenam; Loenat, Tylenat, Jalštenat;*[148] *Loenᵊna, Tylenᵊna, Jalštenᵊna; Loenᵊda, Tylenᵊda, Jalštenᵊda; Loenᵊt, Tylenᵊt, Jalštenᵊt.*[149]

**⁾ Or: *Loennä* (*Loenna*), *Tylennä* (*Tylenna*), *Jalštennä* (*Jalštenna*).

***⁾ Or: *Loendä* (*Loenda*), *Tylendä* (*Tylenda*), *Jalštendä* (*Jalštenda*).

❖ 41 ❖

Optative

Sing. 1.	Lonem	Sing. 1.	Tylnem	Sing. 1.	Ɉalštənem
2.	Lonet	2.	Tylnet	2.	Ɉalštənem
3.	Lonežä	3.	Tylnežä	3.	Ɉalštənežä
Plur. 1.	Lonenä	Plur. 1.	Tylnenä	Plur. 1.	Ɉalštənenä
2.	Lonedä	2.	Tylnedä	2.	Ɉalštənedä
3.	Lonešt	3.	Tylnešt	3.	Ɉalštənešt

Imperative

Sing. 2.	Lo *)	Sing. 2.	Tylä (Tyl) *)	Sing. 2.	Ɉalštə *)
3.	Ložə	3.	Tylžä	3.	Ɉalštəžə
Plur. 2.	Loda **)	Plur. 2.	Tylädä (Tyldä) **)	Plur. 2.	Ɉalštədä **)
3.	Lošt	3.	Tyläšt (Tylšt)	3.	Ɉalštəšt

Infinitive

Pres.	Loaš	Pres.	Tyläš	Pres.	Ɉalštaš
Fut.	Lošaš	Fut.	Tylšäš	Fut.	Ɉalštəšaš

Gerund

Pres.	Loməla	Pres.	Tylmälä	Pres.	Ɉalštəməla
Pret.	Loməkə ***)	Pret.	Tylmäkə ***)	Pret.	Ɉalštəməkə ***)

Participle

Pres. act.	Lošə	Pres. act.	Tylšä	Pres. act.	Ɉalštəšə
Pret. pass.	Lomä	Pret. pass.	Tylmä	Pret. pass.	Ɉalštəma

*) Or: *Loemä, Lo'ok*; *Tylemä, Tyläok*; *Ɉalštemä, Ɉalštäok* (*Ɉalštok*).

**) Or: *Loemädä, Lodaok*; *Tylemädä, Tylädäok* (*Tüldäok*); *Ɉalštemädä, Ɉalštädäok*.

***) Or: *Loməngə, Tylmängä, Ɉalštəməngə*.

150 For more about the conditional mood in Hill Mari, see Alhoniemi 1993: 116–118.

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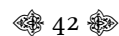
§ 37 The particle *əljə* (*iljä*, *äljə̆*) is used for expressing the conjunctive, which most likely is of the same origin as the auxiliary verb *əlam*, just as the particle *бы* in Russian, which, without doubt, is derived from the same root as the auxiliary *быть*. The particle *əljə* can be added to both the indicative and optative, e.g., *tolam əljə* 'I may come', *tolnam əljə* 'I would come'. The enclitic particle *əlgec* 'if' is formed from the same root *əljə*, e.g., *tolam əlgec* 'if I come', *tolnam əlgec* 'if I had come', *tolnem əlgec* 'if I want to come'. Instead of these forms, one can, in daily speech, often hear contracted forms derived by eliminating the suffixes of mood and person of the verb and the first syllable of the particle *əlgec*. Combined in this way, the combined and shortened form is inflected here only in the usual optative; e.g., *tolgecem* 'if I were to come', *tolgecet*, *tolgecä̆žə̆*, pl. *tolgecänä*, *tolgecä̆dä*, *tolgecä̆št*; further: *užgecem* 'if I were to see', etc. According to the Kazan′ grammar these forms are common in all tenses. The word *əlnežə̆* can also be added to the indicative and optative, it has the meaning of a conjunctive particle and is actually the third person singular of the optative of the auxiliary verb *əlam*, e.g. *tolam*, *tolat əlnežə̆* 'I, you may come', *tolnem əlnežə̆* 'I would come', *tolnam əlnežə̆* 'I would have come', etc.[150]

❧ 43 ❧

§ 38 Instead of the usual ending *nat*, *nät* in the third person plural of the indicative preterite, the ending *ebə̈* occurs rather often attached to the second person imperative, e.g., *užebə̈* 'they saw', *tylebə̈* 'they sold', *jyebə̈* 'they drank'.[151] The characteristic letter *b* occurs in the negative conjugation, too, e.g., *ak kodəleb* 'they don't accompany', and, according to the Kazan′ grammar, it also occurs in the third person plural of the present tense in the auxiliary verb *liäm*. Undoubtedly, this *b* in the Cheremis language is of the same origin as the paragogic ending *pi* (*vi*) in the third person in the Finnish language.

N.B. The narrow limits that we have set for this booklet, prevent us from making a more extensive interpretation of the correspondences which prevail in the verbs and their inflexions between the Finnish and Cheremis languages. Here, we only draw attention to the fact that both languages have an optative with the same marker *ne*[152]; the Finnish *nomen acti* also ends in *ma* (*mä*); the endings of the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural are related, and in both languages they coincide with the personal pronouns.

151 Mari has two simple past tenses, the 1st and 2nd preterite. The former is said to describe self-evidenced or experienced action, whereas the latter would bear the meaning of evidentiality. In the early grammars, especially in the ones by Castrén and F.J. Wiedemann, only the second preterite is presented, as the first preterite seldom occurred in the text material they used. The suffix *ebə̈* is the regular ending of the third person plural in the 1st preterite.

152 I.e. the potential mood in Finnish.

❧ 44 ❧

Auxiliary verbs

§ 39 The auxiliary verbs *əlam* 'I am' and *liäm* 'I shall be' do not diverge from the general conjugation scheme.

Indicative
Present tense

Sing. 1.	*Əlam*	Sing. 1.	*Liäm*
2.	*Əlat*	2.	*Liät*
3.	*Əleš*	3.	*Lieš*
Plur. 1.	*Əlna (ələna)*	Plur. 1.	*Linä*
2.	*Əlda (ələda)*	2.	*Lidä*
3.	*Ələt*	3.	*Lit*

Preterite

Sing. 1.	*Əlnam*	Sing. 1.	*Linäm*
2.	*Əlnat*	2.	*Linät*
3.	*Ələn*	3.	*Lin*
Plur. 1.	*Əlnəna (ələnəna or ələnna)*	Plur. 1.	*Linӛnä*
2.	*Əlnəda (ələnəda or ələnda)*	2.	*Linӛdä*
3.	*Əlnət*	3.	*Linӛt*

Optative

Sing. 1.	*Əlnem*	Sing. 1.	*Linem*
2.	*Əlnet*	2.	*Linet*
3.	*Əlnežӛ*	3.	*Linežӛ*
Plur. 1.	*Əlnenä*	Plur. 1.	*Linenä*
2.	*Əlnedä*	2.	*Linedä*
3.	*Əlnešt*	3.	*Linešt*

❖ 45 ❖
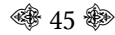
Imperative

Sing. 2.	*Əli*[153]	Sing. 2.	*Li*
3.	*Əlžə*	3.	*Ližə*
Plur. 2.	*Əlda*	Plur. 2.	*Lidä*
3.	*Ələšt*	3.	*Lišt*

Infinitive

Pres.	*Əlaš*	Pres.	*Liäš*
Fut.	*Əlšaš*	Fut.	*Lišäš*

Gerund

Pres.	*Əlmǝla*	Pres.	*Limälä*
Pret.	*Əlmǝkǝ*	Pret.	*Limäkǝ*
	(*Əlmǝngǝ*)		(*Limängǝ*)

Participle

Pres.	*Əlšǝ*	Pres.	*Lišǝ*
Pret.	*Əlmǝ*	Pret.	*Limǝ*

N.B. The auxiliary verb *ǝlam* in common speech is often pronounced as *elam, ilam* (*eläm, iläm*). If the noun at times functions as a predicate, then the auxiliary loses its first vowel as in the Samoyed language. E.g., *ätjäläm* 'I am a father', *ätjälät, ätjä, ätjälnä, ätjäldä, ätjälǝt, ätjälnam, ätjälnem*, etc.; *ukelam, ukelnam, ukelnem*,[154] etc.

153 According to modern grammars, the imperative can only be formed from the stem *li-*.

154 Castrén does not give a translation for these forms. They can be translated as 'I am not, I was not, I did not want to be'. *Uke* is, however, the negative existential '(there) is not', i.e. the given forms can literally be read as 'there is no me, etc.' (cf. Moisio – Inaba 2014: 236–238).

155   The form of the second person singular of the imperative is the plain verb stem.
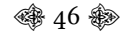
§ 40 As observed above, *liäm*, which may originally have been a conjunctive form corresponding to the Finnish *lienen* (*lien*), is used as an auxiliary for future tense, e.g., *ĭštäš liäm* 'I am going to make', *jyäš liäm* 'I am going to drink'. Furthermore, the whole passive form in Cheremis is composed from the auxiliary *əlam* and the passive participle, e.g., *kodələmə əlam* 'I am accompanied', *kodələmə əlnam* 'I was accompanied', *kodələmə əlnem* 'I may be accompanied' (pres., conj.), *kodələmə liäm* (fut.), etc.

Negative conjugation

§ 41 The Finnish languages generally lack negative particles and express negation with a special form of conjugation, in such a way that the negative is inflected, whereas the main verb usually remains unchanged. In the Cheremis language, the negative is inflected in the indicative, optative and imperative. The second person singular affirmative form of the imperative[155] is added unchanged to these, except for the 3rd person plural of the present tense, which in all these moods takes the ending *b*. It is to be noted, however, that, in the present tense, the negative is always placed before the affirmative verb, whereas in the preterite the positions are reversed. In other moods, the affirmative verbs are inflected according to the general rule, and negation is expressed with the word *agəl* placed after the verb; this form consists of the negative verb of the 3rd person indicative present tense joined with the auxiliary verb. The paradigm of negation is the following:

❦ 47 ❦

Indicative
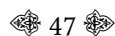
Present tense		Preterite	
Sing. 1.	*Am*	Sing. 1.	*-telam, -delam*[156]
2.	*At*	2.	*-telat, -delat*
3.	*Ak*	3.	*-te, -de*
Plur. 1.	*Ana*	Plur. 1.	*-telna, -delna*
2.	*Ada*	2.	*-telda, -delda*
3.	*Ak*	3.	*-telət, -delət*

Optative

Sing. 1.	*Ǝnem*
2.	*Ǝnet*
3.	*Ǝnežə*
Plur. 1.	*Ǝnenä*
2.	*Ǝnedä*
3.	*Ǝnešt*

Imperative

Sing. 2.	*It*
3.	*Ǝndžə*
Plur. 2.	*Ida* (*Idä*)
3.	*Ǝnešt*

§ 42 When connected to affirmative verbs, the negative inflection is mostly regular. In the indicative preterite of the verbs of the second conjugation, however, the final vowel of the imperative[157] is often omitted if the nearby consonants allow it. The verbs *wazam* 'I fall' and *tylem* 'I pay' are given as examples of both conjugations.

156   According to modern grammars, the personal ending always has *a* in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural even though it follows a syllable with *e* (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 114; Savatkova 2002: 202). In EGT all the four forms are written with an *ä*, but in the original Swedish manuscript the correct forms with *a* are given (as in this publication, too). This form is based on the negative gerund in *-te* followed by the auxiliary *əlam*.

157   I.e. of the stem.

158 Some old words have the alternation -z- : -c-.

159 In EGT *ənešt tylə̑* (*əneš tylə̑*), but in the Swedish manuscript (and in this edition) correctly.

❦ 48 ❦
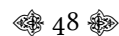
Indicative
Present

	1			2
Sing. 1.	*Am vac*[158]	Sing. 1.		*Am dylə̑*
2.	*At vac*	2.		*At tylə̑* (*a tylə̑*)
3.	*Ak vac*	3.		*Ak tylə̑*
Plur. 1.	*Ana vac*	Plur. 1.		*Ana dylə̑*
2.	*Ada vac*	2.		*Ada tylə̑*
3.	*Ak vazeb* (*vaceb*)	3.		*Ak tyleb*

Preterite

	1		2
Sing. 1.	*Vactelam*	Sing. 1.	*Tyldelam* (*tylə̑delam*)
2.	*Vactelat*	2.	*Tyldelat* (*tylə̑delat*)
3.	*Vacte*	3.	*Tylde* (*tylə̑de*)
Plur. 1.	*Vactelna*	Plur. 1.	*Tyldelna* (*tylə̑delna*)
2.	*Vactelda*	2.	*Tyldelda* (*tylə̑delda*)
3.	*Vactelə̑t*	3.	*Tyldelə̑t* (*tylə̑delə̑t*)

Optative

	1		2
Sing. 1.	*Ə̑nem vac*	Sing. 1.	*Ə̑nem dylə̑*
2.	*Ə̑net vac*	2.	*Ə̑net tylə̑* (*Ə̈nə̑ tylə̑*)
3.	*Ə̑nežə̑ vac*	3.	*Ə̑nežə̑ dylə̑*
Plur. 1.	*Ə̑nenä vac*	Plur. 1.	*Ə̑nenä dylə̑*
2.	*Ə̑nedä vac*	2.	*Ə̑nedä dylə̑*
3.	*Ə̑nešt vazeb* (*vaceb*)	3.	*Ə̑nešt tyleb* (*Ə̈neš tyleb*)[159]

Imperative

	1		2
Sing. 2.	*It vac*	Sing. 2.	*It tylə̑* (*I tylə̑*)
3.	*Ə̑ndžə̑ vac*	3.	*Ə̑ndžə̑ dylə̑*
Plur. 2.	*Ida vac*	Plur. 2.	*Idä dylə̑*
3.	*Ə̑nešt vazeb* (*vaceb*)	3.	*Ə̑nešt tyleb* (*Ə̈neš tyleb*)

❦ 49 ❦

Infinitive

Pres. Fut.	Vazaš (vacaš) agəl Vacšaš agəl	Pres. Fut.	Tyläš agəl Tylšäš agəl

Gerund

Pres. Pret.	Vacməla agəl Vacməkə (-məngə) agəl	Pres. Pres.	Tylmälä agəl Tylmäkä (-mängä) agəl

Participle

Pres. Pret.	Vacšə agəl Vacmə agəl	Pres. Pret.	Tylšä agəl Tylmä agəl

N.B. Apart from the above given forms, the indicative preterite has the following paradigm originating in the Tatar language.[160]

Preterite

| Sing. 1. 2. 3. Plur. 1. 2. 3.	Šə̈m vac Šə̈c vac Š vac (Ə̈š vac) Šnä vac Štä vac Š vazeb (vaceb), (Ə̈š vazeb or vaceb)	Sing. 1. 2. 3. Plur. 1. 2. 3.	Šə̈m dylä Šə̈c tylä Š tylä (Ə̈š tylä) Šnä dylä Štä dylä Š tyleb (Ə̈š tyleb)

§ 43 The auxiliary verbs *əlam* and *liäm* are also inflected regularly in the negative forms, except for the indicative present where the stem *əl* of the verb *əlam* changes into *al*[161] when connected to the negative auxiliary.

Both auxiliaries follow here, inflected in the negative forms:

160 This is the normal paradigm of the first preterite (cf. marginal notes 131 and 151). It is not of Tatar origin. The stem vowel is *ə̈-* in the preterite, which can only be seen in the forms (in parentheses) of the 3rd persons. In other persons it has been lost. *š* is originally the past tense marker.

161 The form *al* is only found in 1PL and 2PL. The schwa is preserved in all the singular forms and 3PL.

162 'I shall not be/become'.

163 In EGT all the personal end-
ings have a front vowel, but,
in the Swedish manuscript
(and here), the correct forms
with back vowels are given
(cf. marginal note 137).

❧ 50 ❧
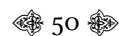
Indicative
Present

Sing. 1.	Amǝl	Sing. 1.	Am li[162]
	'I am not'		
2.	Atǝl	2.	At li
3.	Agǝl	3.	Ak li
Plur. 1.	Anal	Plur. 1.	Ana li
2.	Adal	2.	Ada li
3.	Agǝleb	3.	Ak lieb

Preterite

Sing. 1.	Ǝltelam	Sing. 1.	Litelam[163]
2.	Ǝltelat	2.	Litelat
3.	Ǝlte	3.	Lite
Plur. 1.	Ǝltelna	Plur. 1.	Litelna
2.	Ǝltelda	2.	Litelda
3.	Ǝltelǝt	3.	Litelǝt

or:

Sing. 1.	Šǝ̈m ǝl	Sing. 1.	Šǝ̈m li
2.	Šǝ̈c ǝl	2.	Šǝ̈c li
3.	Ǝ̈š ǝl	3.	Ǝ̈š li
Plur. 1.	Šnä ǝl	Plur. 1.	Šnä li
2.	Štä ǝl	2.	Štä li
3.	Ǝ̈š ǝleb	3.	Ǝ̈š lieb

Optative

Sing. 1.	Ǝ̈nem ǝl	Sing. 1.	Ǝ̈nem li
2.	Ǝ̈net ǝl	2.	Ǝ̈net li
3.	Ǝ̈nežǝ̈ ǝl	3.	Ǝ̈nežǝ̈ li
Plur. 1.	Ǝ̈nenä ǝl	Plur. 1.	Ǝ̈nenä li
2.	Ǝ̈nedä ǝl	2.	Ǝ̈nedä li
3.	Ǝ̈nešt ǝleb	3.	Ǝ̈nešt lieb

❧ 51 ❧

Imperative

Sing. 2.	*It əl*	Sing. 2.	*It li*
3.	*Əndžə əl*	3.	*Əndžə li*
Plur. 2.	*Ida əl*	Plur. 2.	*Idä li*
3.	*Ənešt əleb*	3.	*Ənešt lieb*

Infinitive

Pres.	*Əlaš agəl*	Pres.	*Liäš agəl*
Fut.	*Əlšaš agəl*	Fut.	*Lišäš agəl*

Gerund

Pres.	*Əlmǝla agǝl*	Pres.	*Limǝlä agǝl*
Pret.	*Əlmǝkǝ*	Pres.	*Limǝkǝ*
	(-mǝngǝ) agǝl		*(-mǝngǝ̌) agǝl*

Participle

Pres.	*Əlšǝ agǝl*	Pres.	*Lišǝ agǝl*
Pret.	*Əlmǝ agǝl*	Pret.	*Limǝ agǝl*

§ 44 Further, in the Cheremis language, the negation word *uke* occurs, which corresponds to the Zyrian *abu* 'there is not' and the Russian *нѣтъ*.[164] This negation is inflected so that the ending of the auxiliary *əlam* is suffixed to it (see under § 39 N.B.) in all moods and persons except the 3rd person singular of the indicative present tense, where nothing is added to this *uke*. Examples are indicative present tense: *ukelam* 'I am not', *ukelat, uke, ukelna, ukelda, ukelət*; pret. *ukelnam* etc.; optative: *ukelnem*; imperat. *ukel*; gerund *ukelmǝla, ukelmǝkǝ*; part. *ukelšǝ, ukelmǝ*.

164   *uke* is the negative existential 'there is not'. However, it has many different functions, and it can be used as an adjective, a noun, an adverb and a particle. (Moisio – Inaba 2014: 231–239.)

165 In present-day grammars, Castrén's negative adjective is classified as a negative participle.

166 The denominal derivative suffix is found in nearly all Uralic languages. The Finnish -nen is, however, not a cognate (Galkin 1966: 74–76; Lehtisalo 1936: 110–113).

167 The causative derivative suffix -t is of Finno-Ugric origin. In Mari it is both denominal and deverbal. (Galkin 1966: 106–109.)

❧ 52 ❧
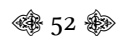
§ 45 The negative form of the passive consists of the combination of the participle in *mǝ* and the negative auxiliary *amǝl*, e.g., *kǝčälmǝ amǝl* 'I have not been searched for'; or by using the negative adjective form *tǝmǝ*, *dǝmǝ* *⁾ [165] and the affirmative form of the auxiliary, e.g., *kǝčältǝmǝ ǝlam*.

Derived verbs

§ 46 Verbs can be derived from both nouns and verbs. The most common ones are:

1) *Factives* in *-emäm*, Zyr. *ma* (*mam*), Fi. *-nen*,[166] e.g., *yštǝ* 'cold', *yštemäm* 'I get cold', *šoxšǝ* 'hot', *šoxšemäm* 'I get hot', *nezer* 'poor', *nezeremäm* 'I become poor', *paremäm* 'I get better', etc.

2) *Effectives* in *-tem*, Zyr. *da*, *ta* (*dam*, *tam*), Fi. *tan* (*tän*), Lapp. *tam*,[167] e.g., *jörem* 'I go out (of fire, etc.)', *jörtem* 'I put out, extinguish', *pǝrem* 'I go in', *pǝrtem* 'I let (somebody) in', *jǝlem* 'I burn', *jǝlatem* 'I set on fire'. Some effective verbs with a stem ending in a vowel add the the letter *k* to the suffix, e.g. *jyäm* 'I drink', *jyktem* 'I let somebody drink', *šoam* 'I come', *šoktem* 'I bring'.

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*⁾ The syllable *tǝ* (*dǝ*) in this adjective is nothing but the case ending of the caritive *te*, *de* (see § 10: I) connected with the ending of the preterite participle. The syllable *te* in the preterite of the negative verb (*ǝltelam*, *litelam*) is of the same origin.

❦ 53 ❦
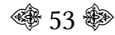
3) *Diminutives* in *-lam, -läm* (*alam, äläm*), Lapp. *-lam*, Zyr. *-la* (*-lam*), Fi. *-len*, e.g., *kaštam* 'I go', *kaštalam* 'I walk a bit', *poktem* 'I chase', *poktalam* 'I chase a bit'. Combining the diminutive suffix with the effective one forms *diminutive-effectives* in *ltem*, e.g., *šagalam* 'I get up', dim.-eff. *šagaltem* 'I lift', *sirem* 'I write', dim.-eff. *sirältem.*[168]

4) *Frequentatives* in *kalem, kälem*, e.g., *kaštam* 'I go', *kaštəkalem* 'I walk around', *sirem* 'I write', *sirkälem* 'I often write', *kodəlam* 'I accompany', *kodəlkalem* 'I often accompany'.[169]

There are also some other verb forms, e.g., *-štam, -štäm, -štem*, but their real meaning is not known to me.[170]

168 The diminutive-momentaneous suffix *al* is of Uralic origin. (Galkin 1966: 122–126.)

169 The frequentative suffix *kal* is of Turkic origin (Fedotov 1965: 48; Galkin 1966: 104–105).

170 The (mostly) frequentative suffix *št* produces verbs of the first conjugation, but there are some exceptions, where the derived verb belongs to the second conjugation.