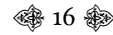52 Inf. = Infinitivus (La). Cast-
rén used this old term for
the modern Finnish partitive
case. In the Komi language
there is no case called parti-
tive.

❧ 16 ❧

III   Nominals

A. Nouns

§ 24

All languages of Finnic origin are entirely lacking
in gender, but they are full of case form complexity.
Cases are not only used for the expression of activ-
ity, which is found in the Zyrian cases nominative,
genitive, dative, accusative, infinitive[52], ablative 2,
instructive, including space as expressed by the es-
sive, factive and caritive. In fact, cases are also used
to address various spatial relations, which, in other
languages, are expressed by prepositions, but, in
the Finnic languages and especially in Zyrian, they
are expressed by the allative and illative, adessive
and inessive, ablative 1, elative, consecutive and
prosecutive.

N.B. There is a lack of prepositions in Finnish,
but since cases are never sufficient for ad-
dressing a myriad of spatial relationships, ad-
ditional postpositions have developed in the
language to cover the needs of a more culti-
vated means of expression. Many postpositions
have lost their concrete meaning, and they are
used just as abstractly as prepositions in other

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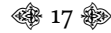
languages. In their specific meanings, however, postpositions always serve as the cases of nominals, and they may be derived from any noun for expressing the situation in an intuitive manner. Thus, for example, the [Latin] expression: *sedet ad mensam* is expressed using the following circumlocution: *sedet ad marginem mensae*, Fi 'istuu pöydän vieressä', Zyr. *pysan*[53] *doryn*[54]. – Due to the intuitive character of postpositions, they serve as an exceptional means of expressing spatial relations. There are, of course, postpositions that express relations between abstract concepts, but these are always derived from nouns, and they have a certain specific meaning not found in prepositions.

§ 25

Zyrian has the following cases:

1. The nominative includes the stem of the noun, which originally ended in a vowel but has subsequently undergone many changes.

2. The genitive does not have its own ending, it is expressed either by the nominative, e.g. *pu kyrs* 'tree bark' or by the adessive, e.g. *adzja pulän kyrs*[55] 'I see the bark of the tree' ([La] *ad arborem*) or by elative, e.g. *pulys*[*j*] *kyrs kulji* 'I peeled bark off the tree' ([La] *ab arbore*). The actual genitive suffix is also missing in Lappish and Estonian, but there are traces left, which indicate that these languages have once had genitives with the very *-n* ending

53 Should be *pyzan* (see Vocabulary).

54 Both the Finnish and the Komi would translate as 'next to the table'. The translation 'at the table', in contrast, would be *pöydän ääressä* in Finnish and *pyzan sajyn* in Komi.

55 *adzja pulän kyrs* 'I see the bark of the tree'. This should be: *adzja pulysj kyrs*. The noun modifier of an object should be in the ablative case *-lyś*, or as Castrén calls it, the "elative".

56 The term adessive has subsequently been abandoned, and the *-lön* case in modern grammars is now called the genitive. The ending has developed from the combination of an *l* element and the **nA* locative (Bartens 2000: 82). Cf. § 25:9, note 71.

57 Inf. = Infinitivus (La). Castrén used this old term for the modern Finnish partitive case.

58 The accusative does not necessarily take an ending, or the suffix for marking it is *-ös* [-öc] in both the singular and plural. The sibilant is interpreted originally as the sg3px marker, and the suffix-initial vowel is considered a hold over from the old accusative ending in **m*, after being lost the case was emphasized with a possessive suffix. The vowel-final forms sg3px *-sö* [-cö] and sg2px *-tö* [-тö] can evidence the loss of a final consonant (perhaps **m*). (Bartens 2000: 80–82.) Marking of the object in Komi is defined by definiteness and animacy. A definite object takes the accusative case. In general, when the object is definite and animate, the case marking is *-ös*, if it is definite but inanimate, it is *-sö*. Dative objects are also found in the dialects. (Bartens 2000: 80, 92, 333; Baker 1985: 117–; Klumpp 2008: 167–216; Popova – Sažina 2014: 103–105, 246.)

59 Castrén merely uses the word suffix when speaking of possessive suffixes.

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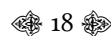
found in the Finnish language. It is possible that this case existed a long time ago in Zyrian, too, and we find it credible that the adessive has been derived from the *la* or *lä* ending (as in the Finnish adessive) and the same genitive ending *-n*. The language has discarded its original genitive, as it was identical to the instructive; a fact of why Finnish has nearly lost all use of its own instructive case in the singular.[56]

3. The accusative does not have its own ending in Finnish or Lappish, rather the object function is expressed with either the nominative or the genitive (in the singular) or the infinitive[57]. In Zyrian the accusative tends to be replaced by the nominative. Nominals indicating living being names that end in consonants take their own ending in *-äs* (**-ös*) ✝) in the singular and plural. This ending has without doubt developed from the accusative first-person singular possessive suffix, which sounds the same *).[58]

✝) We use the * mark to indicate differences in various dialects.

*) The [px] suffix[59] is often used in the Ižma dialect. The third-person suffix[60] is frequently missing from other cases, in the accusative, however, it is retained. If the suffix is sometimes left out, the accusative is used unrestrictedly, e.g. *adzja mortäs* 'I see the man'. It is also used in the first person: *adzja meam*[61] *mortäs* 'I see my man'; one cannot, however, say: *adzja tead*[62] *mortäs* (rather *morttä*) 'I see your man', *bos[j]ti sya*[63]

❦ 19 ❦

4. The instructive ends in *-än* (*-ön*)[64], e.g. *mortän* 'as a man', *purtän* 'with a knife'. The same instructive suffix is found in Finnish and Lappish but without any onset vowel/letter, which in Zyrian is clear and non-volatile. In Finnish and Lappish, the quality of the onset letter depends on the last stem vowel. The instructive is used to replace the essive, as in Russian.

5. The caritive comes with the ending *-täg* (*-tög*) or *-tägja*[65], Lapp. *tagha*, Fi *-tta*, *-tah*, *-tak*, Est *ta*; e.g. *njanjtäg* or *njanjtägja* 'without bread'; *kerkatäg* or *kerkatägja* 'without a house'.

6. No doubt, the dative ending *ly* was originally an allative, and still it is sometimes used instead of the illative[66], although it only expresses the meaning of dative, e.g. *Jenly* 'to God', *mortly* 'to the man'. The suffix *-ly* corresponds to the allative suffix *-le* not only in Finnish but in Estonian and Lappish, as well. The letter *l* is known in all outer local cases (allative, adessive, ablative, consecutive); the final *e* changes into *y* in Zyrian.[67]

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purtäs (rather *purtsä*) 'I took his/her knife', which clearly indicates that the *-äs* ending stems originally from the first-person singular ending. It is readily observed that the language has used the suffix for expressing the accusative meaning, as suffixes in Zyrian have lost their real meanings and now only indicate a specific form of the noun.

60 Could this be a mistake? Castrén is referring to *-äs*, which is the first-person singular suffix.

61 These are genitive attributes that should be in the form abl. 1 (see pp. 51–53 and § 58).

62 These are genitive attributes that should be in the form abl. 1 (see pp. 51–53 and § 58).

63 Mistake: *sya* in nominative; should be in the form abl. 1 (see pp. 52–53).

64 Nowadays, the term instrumental is generally used for the instructive, it ends in *-ön* [-öн]. Just as in the genitive and inessive, this form derives from the old locative case in *nA (Bartens 2000: 83–84).

65 The caritive ending *-tög* [-тör] contains a caritive element *ktV and a lative *k (Bartens 2000: 84). Hamari (2011: 37–) uses the term *abessive* and reserves the term *caritive* for *-töm*, the denominal adjective and negative participle suffix.

66 Could this be a mistake? Castrén only discusses the dative and allative here.

67 The dative ending *-ly* [-лы] contains an *l* element followed by a reflex of the lative *k, which has subsequently disappeared (as in the illative). The dative, genitive and ablative 1 represent what appears in the Balto-Finnic languages as an *l* series of cases. In Komi, however, these are not external local cases. They express functions associated with animate entities: habitive, dative and abdative. (Bartens 2000: 82–83.)

68 Should be *dilanj* (*di* 'island' instead of *ti*, which was probably confused with *ty* 'lung; lake', see Vocabulary).

69 The *l* element of the Komi allative is a reflex of the same element found in the Balto-Finnic local cases. In modern terminology, it is known as the approximative case, with the ending *-lań* [-лань]. It is also used as a coaffix with all of the Komi local cases, which has meant the emergence of 7 new local cases consisting of two case constituents: *-lańyn, -lańyś, -lańö, -lańśań, -lańöd, -lańti, -lańöd´ź* [-ланьын, -ланьысь, -ланьö, -ланьсянь, -ланьöд, -ланьти, -ланьöдз]. (ÖKK: 60–61.)

The allative (or approximative) does not appear in the grammars by Sjögren and Gabelentz.

70 The "aspiration" found in the illative is presumably a reflex of *k in the lative ending. After the loss of the lative *k, the illative function is borne only by the vowel *ö* (Bartens 2000: 85). Castrén writes the Ižma illative with the vowel *ä'*, which is represented by [-э] in the dialect monograph (ID: 44), the literary norm is [-ö], i.e. there is no aspiration identified.

71 In his adessive, Castrén distinguishes the functions of the habeo-construction and the owner attribute.

Here, it would appear Castrén means the adessive in Komi does not have the function of an external spatial case marker, as it does in Finnish, and he accurately indicates

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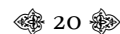
7. The allative means movement to or towards a place, it is expressed with the ending *-lanj*, which is commonly used in Zyrian, e.g. *jaglanj* 'towards the forest' (къ лѣсу), *morjelanj* 'towards the sea', *tilanj*[68] 'towards the island', *mortlanj* 'towards the person'. After the change of meaning to the primary allative, a new case seems to be born from the consecutive in *-la*[69].

8. The illative, which expresses movement into a space (inner part), ends in *-ä'* (**-ö'*); e.g. *mortä'* 'into a man', *kerkaä'* 'into a house'. The aspiration at the end, which has a sharpness that might be expressed with *h*[70], is used in the formation of the Finnish illative, which ends in *hVn*, originally *-h*, and which even today is found in the Karelian dialects of Russia, e.g. *kulkku* 'throat', illat. *kulkkuh*; *wenehe* 'boat', illat. *weneheh*. In Zyrian the illative replaces the factive [construction], e.g. *kiä' karis* 'he/she made (it) into a hand', Fi *teki kädeksi*.

9. The adessive ends in *-län* (**-lön*), expressing:

1. Stationary external local case, e.g. *pulän vyjym kyrs* 'a tree has bark'; *mortlän vyjym kerka* 'a person has a house'. The adessive in Finnish also has this habeo sense, e.g. *puulla on kuori, ihmisellä on huonet*; but the Zyrian adessive is scarcely used in its pure meaning, instead this function is generally expressed with a postposition.[71]

❖ 21 ❖

2. The genitive expresses the owner, e.g. *kučlän poz* 'nest of eagle', *kerkalän vejt* 'roof of a/the house' (see earlier).

10. The inessive uses the ending *-yn*, which is a good equivalent to the essive *-na* in the Finnish and Estonian languages, and is still a better equivalent to the essive ending *-n* in Lappish. The final *-a* has dropped away and *-y* is a connecting letter[72]. The essive often bears the meaning of the inessive as well, that is, it indicates stationary in place (inside), e.g. *istuu kotona* l. *koissa* 'he/she sits at home', in Zyrian *gortyn pukalä*.

11. Ablative 1 ends in *-lys[j]* (Fi *-lta*, Est *-lt*, Lapp. *-ld*), here we once again observe the consonant typifying external locative cases. *y* is a connecting vowel, *s*, however, is a reflex of *t*, as in the nominative plural (cf. § 3). Ablative 1 is called the possessive by others, because sometimes it is used to replace the genitive. Its meaning, however, is not possessive, rather, to the contrary, it is privative, e.g. *pulys[j] uu kerali* 'I cut a branch from the tree' ([La] *ab arbore*); *vokälys[j] paskäm bosti*[73] 'I took the cloth(es) from my brother' ([La] *a fratre meo*). What Gabelentz says about the same meaning of ablative 1 and the adessive, is not true in the Ižma dialect, even though the genuine ablative meaning is no longer to be found except in a few individual expressions, e.g. *korny ajlys[j]* 'to ask from the father, Fi *pyytää isältä*; *jualis nylys[j]* 'he/she asked from them', Fi *kysy[i] niiltä* (see Gab[elentz], p. 56).[74]

the external spatial case in Komi is expressed with postpositions. Since Castrén's time, the *-lön* [-лӧн] case has generally been called the genitive. The term *adessive* instead of *genitive*, however, has been used since by scholars, e.g. Uotila (1938: 46).

[72] The inessive ending in the literary language *-yn* [-ын] is the reflex of the **nA* locative case (Bartens 2000: 84–85).

[73] Should be *pasjkäm bosjti*, cf. KSK 2: паськем; KSK 1: босьны.

[74] The ablative is not an external local case in Komi, instead it serves as an abdative case for animate entities; in the literary language, the suffix is *-lyś* [-лысь]. The ablative is derived from a combination of the *l* element and the proto-Permic *Vś* source case. Castrén has left the palatalization of the sibilant unspecified, so have Sjögren (1834: 156) and Gabelentz (1841: 8–11) before him, but Savvaitov (1849: 8–10) no longer does this, according to the dialect monograph, the ending [-лыс'] has a palatal sibilant (ID: 43–44). Komi has a complementary genitive-ablative distribution in the possessor attribute position: the ablative attribute must be used, when its head is object in the clause, elsewhere a genitive attribute is used (Bartens 2000: 82–83). The ablative case is also called the genitive-ablative (Rédei 1978: 75). Here the editors have corrected all instances of the ablative 1 to *-lys[j]*.

75 Nowadays, ablative 2 (in Castrén's notes *privativus*) is called the egressive, and its ending in the literary language is *-śań* [-сянь]. This ending has the same *-ś* element as that found in the elative. Castrén leaves the palatalization of the sibilant unmarked, according to the dialect monograph the palatal sibilant is part of the ending [-с'ан'] (ID: 44). The egressive has an abdative function, as does the *-lyś* ablative. The editors note that *s* followed by *ä* in *-sänj* must indicate a palatalized *-ś*.

76 The elative ending is *-yś* [-ысь], and it has an unclear history (Bartens 2000: 85). Here as well Castrén has originally left the palatalization of the case-final sibilant unmarked; so have Sjögren (1834: 156) and Gabelentz (1841: 8–11), but Savvaitov (1849) has no longer done this. The editors have corrected all instances of the elative to *-ys[j]*.

77 In the literary language: *kerös* [керöс]) 'hill(side)'. Castrén's Latin translation for *keräs* (KSK 1: керес) is *vicus* 'village', which might be a mistake or may have an extended meaning 'village on hillside'.

78 The consecutive does not appear in the grammars by Sjögren and Gabelentz, hence Castrén has enriched the description of the Komi declension system by recognising the final character of this case, which ends in *-la* [-ла]. The suffix-final lative **k* has been lost.

79 The consonant elements of the endings are deemed to be reflexes of the same ending,


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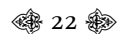
12. Ablative 2 is generally used for the expression of cause and origin, without specifying an internal-external dichotomy. Ablative 2 ends in *-sänj* (*-seänj*, *-sjanj*) and appears to be a reflex of the elative, in approximately the same way as the allative is a reflex of the consecutive[75]. E.g. *Jensänj* 'from God'; *voksänj* 'from a brother; *musänj* 'from the land/country'.

13. The elative, which expresses motion from a location (internal), ends in *-ys[j]*[76], and its relation to the elative in Finnish (*-šta*) and Lappish (*-št*) is evident from the rule that does not allow two consonants at the end of a syllable. E.g. *vays[j]* 'from the water'; *juys[j]* 'from a/the river'; *keräsys[j]*[77] 'from a/the village.

14. The consecutive *-la*, which is characteristic of Zyrian, is a reflex of the external locative cases with both the presence of the letter *l* and the meaning in tact[78]. Namely, it indicates motion towards a place for the procurement of something to be brought back, e.g. *vala muni* 'he/she went for water', Ru за водою.

15. The prosecutive, which expressed motion up to or past, ends in either *-äd* (**-öd*) or in postpositions and adverbs mainly in *-ti*[79]. The same case occurs in Finnish and ends in *-tte*, *-tteh*, *-tse*. This, undoubtedly, was the original transitive[80] ending in Zyrian, as well, but *e* has changed into either *i* or, after vowel change, into *ä*, e.g. *muäd* 'along the land', *vomäd* 'along the mouth'.

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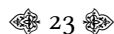
16. The terminative ending *-edzj*[81] express-es movement to the end or edge of a place, e.g. *karedzj muni* 'I went all the way to town'.

N.B. 1. The vocative was presumed by Sjögren to be indicated by the ending *-ö* (*-e*), Gabelentʒ, however, abandoned this, consider-ing it merely an exclamation. The Ižma dialect shows the vowel *-ö* (here *-ä*) to be the first-person nominative suffix.[82]

N.B. 2. From what has been briefly discussed in the preceding paragraphs on case forms, it appears they are quite closely related in Finnish and Zyrian. The thought and character of the cases, as well as their meaning and even their endings could not be more similar de-spite their representing different languages.[83]

§ 26

The plural in the nominative ends in *-jas*, origi-nally *-äs*, where the meaning of the letter *ä* in the ending is merely that of a connective vowel, *s*, on the contrary, is equivalent to that of Lap-pish in the plural *h*, and Finnish *t*. Other cases are formed after the same fashion in the singular and plural.[84]

reflexes of the Uralic source case **tA*. (Bartens 2000: 87.) Chrestomathies written after Castrén (SChr., p. 48; Rédei 1978: 77–79) mention two prolative cases: the prosecu-tive *-öd* and the transitive *-ti*, but the dialect monograph only presents one case Ru переходный (ID: 44). ÖKK (p. 61) mentions two case forms: 1 *vudžan* [-öд] and 2 *vudžan* [-ті]. Many Komi readers, however, only men-tion one case, as did Castrén, the prosecutive (Ru переход-ный, Komi вуджан), which, however, has two endings *-öd* [-öд] and *-ti* [-ті] (cf. Cypanov 2015: 216; Punegova 2015: 262).

80   This is a mistake: transitive should be prosecutive (see Corrigenda).

81   The terminative ending in *-öd′ź* [-öдз] is assumed to be a reflex of **ć*, from which the Finnish prolative ending *-itse* appears to be derived (Bar-tens 2000: 87).

82   The vocative case in Sjögren's grammar (1834), which was abandoned by Gabelentz (1841), was abandoned in Cast-rén's declension, as well. He regarded the *-ö* suffix as mark-ing the first-person singular possessor, which is indicated by the *-öj* suffix in the stand-ard language.

83   The only case missing from the Komi case system outlined by Castren is the comitative, which is indicated by *-köd* [-köд] in the standard lan-guage, and [-кэд] in the Ižma dialect (ID: 43). More recent grammars (i.a. ÖKK) include the preclusive/comparative

(Komi *ötkodjalan*) *-śa* [-ся], which is found in the dialects with usage as a standard of comparison. Cases have been enumerated in different grammars of Komi over time as 6–25. Castrén presents 16 here, which as a number (with little variation) has been retained for approximately 150 years, until ÖKK, the first descriptive grammar written in Komi (2000: 61) extended the case system with two-layered cases, after which the number of cases in Komi has risen to 25. In the sources used by Castrén, the number of cases were: Flërov 6, Sjögren 13 and Gabelentz 13 cases.

84 Body parts that occur in pairs as well as clothing used to cover them are generally referred to in the singular. The Komi additive plural, in *jas*, can also be as an associative plural with kinship terms and proper nouns, a group indicated by the noun mentioned includes associates as well, e.g. *Ivanjas* 'Ivan and his associates'. The plural suffix *-jas* [-яс] has grammaticalized from the substantive *jöz* [йӧз] 'people'. The etymological comparison with Finnish and Saami is incorrect. (Bartens 2000: 73. 76.)

85 Nowadays, only one declension is posited. Some nouns and adjectives have allomorphic alternation between stems ending in 1 or 2 consonants. This is word specific and does not require the

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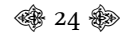
a) Declension of nouns

§ 27

We have already noted that nominals in Zyrian, as in Finnish, Lappish and Estonian, have lost the final vowel of their stems. Most frequently, the missing vowel is *i*, which has either been dropped directly or after an intermittent change to *j* (ь), which, in fact, often returns to soften a subsequent *ä* to *e*. The final vowel in many nominals has also been dropped after two consonants, which has in turn resulted in the dropping of the second consonant in the nominative. – Many nominals have, in addition to this, also lost the consonant *l* in the nominative. In this way, two declensions are born, a regular and an irregular declension. In the former, the stem remains unchanged in all cases, where it bears the form of the nominative singular; in the latter, some of the cases take an extra consonant.[85]

N.B. Those familiar with Finnish readily understand that this dichotomy is nothing other than the division between words with even and odd-numbered syllables found in the grammar of Finnish by Vhael[86], where nominals in odd-numbered syllables have one or more letters missing in the nominative.[87]

§ 28

Here is the common model for both declensions:[88]

❖ 25 ❖

	Singular			Plural
Nom.	vowel or cons.	Nom.		*-jas*
Gen.	–	– or *-län*	Gen.	– or *-jaslän*
		(*-*lön*),		(*-*jaslön*),
		-lys[*j*]⁸⁹		*-jaslys*[*j*]
Accus.	–	– or *-äs*	Accus.	– or *-jasäs*
		(*-*ös*)		
Instr.	*-än* (*-*ön*)	Instr.		*-jasän* (*-*jasön*)
Carit.	*-täg* or (*-*tög*),	Carit.		*-jastäg* or
	-tägja			(*-*jastög*),
				-jastägja
Dat.	*-ly*	Dat.		*-jasly*
Allat.	*-lanj*	Allat.		*-jaslanj*
Illat.	*-ä'* (*-*ö*)	Illat.		*-jasä'* (*-*jasö*)
Adess.	*-län* (*-*lön*)	Adess.		*-jaslän* (*-*jaslön*)
Iness.	*-yn*	Iness.		*-jasyn*
Abl. 1.	*-lys*[*j*]	Abl. 1.		*-jaslys*[*j*]
Abl. 2.	*-sänj*	Abl. 2.		*-jassänj*
Elat.	*-ys*[*j*]	Elat.		*-jasys*[*j*]
Consec.	*-la*	Consec.		*-jasla*
Prosec.	*-äd* (*-*öd*)	Prosec.		*-jasäd* (*-*jasöd*)
Term.	*-edzj*	Term.		*-jasedzj*

§ 29

Some nominals decline regularly and some irregu-
larly, or use different words: when a consonant is
lost in the nominative, it cannot be described ac-
cording to rules of the grammar, rather it must be
learned along with the word itself. Regular nomi-
nals, both those ending in vowels and consonants,
decline in the same way with the distinction that
animate nouns ending in consonants form the ac-
cusative with the ending *-äs.*

existence of a second de-
clension.

86   Vhael, Bartholdus: *Gramma-
tica Fennica*, 1733.

87   The concept of stems with
an even vs. an odd num-
ber of syllables is found in
the third declension class of
Latin, *ars* : *artis* vs. *vulpes* :
vulpis. (Antti Ijäs, p.c.)

88   According to the Ižma dia-
lect monograph (ID: 43–44)
the case endings in the dia-
lect are:

ɴᴏᴍ	–	ɪɴᴇ	-ын
ɢᴇɴ	-лэн	ᴘᴏss	-лыс'
ᴀᴄᴄ	-эс, –	ᴇɢʀ	-с'ан'
ɪɴsᴛʀ	-эн	ᴇʟᴀ	-ыс'
ᴀʙᴇ	-тэг	ᴄᴏɴsᴇᴄ	-ла
	-тэгйа	ᴘʀᴏsᴇᴄ	-ти
ᴅᴀᴛ	-лы		-эд
ᴀᴘᴘʀ	-лан'	ᴛᴇʀᴍ	-эдз
ɪʟʟ	-э	ᴄᴏᴍ	-кэд

The comitative case is
lacking in Castrén's gram-
mar.

89   In his examples, Castrén also
presents the ablative ending
among the genitive endings,
which can be seen as an in-
dication of its use for mark-
ing the object attribute in a
transitive clause (see § 25:11).
N.B. Castrén uses the * mark
to indicate differences in
various dialects.

90 Castrén used an illative ending *-h* in singular and plural in his notes (cf. Anmärkningar till Syrjänska språkets Grammatik), but has changed it to an apostrophe as seen in the tables § 30–31. Cf. § 2 and § 25:8.

91 See note 90.

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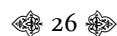
I Regular declension

§ 30

	Singular		Plural
Nom.	*mort*	Nom.	*mortjas*
	'man; person'		
Gen.	*mort, mortlän, mortlys[j]*	Gen.	*mortjas, mortjaslän, mortjaslys[j]*
Accus.	*mortäs*	Accus.	*mortjasäs*
Instr.	*mortän*	Instr.	*mortjasän*
Carit.	*morttäg* or *-tägja*	Carit.	*mortjastäg* or *-tägja*
Dat.	*mortly*	Dat.	*mortjasly*
Allat.	*mortlanj*	Allat.	*mortjaslanj*
Illat.	*mortä'*[90]	Illat.	*mortjasä'*
Adess.	*mortlän*	Adess.	*mortjaslän*
Iness.	*mortyn*	Iness.	*mortjasyn*
Abl. 1.	*mortlys[j]*	Abl. 1.	*mortjaslys[j]*
Abl. 2.	*mortsänj*	Abl. 2.	*mortjassänj*
Elat.	*mortys[j]*	Elat.	*mortjasys[j]*
Consec.	*mortla*	Consec.	*mortjasla*
Prosec.	*mortäd*	Prosec.	*mortjasäd*
Term.	*mortedzj*	Term.	*mortjasedzj*

	Singular		Plural
Nom.	*ki*	Nom.	*kijas*
	'hand; arm'		
Gen.	*ki, kilän, kilys[j]*	Gen.	*kijas, kijaslän, kijaslys[j]*
Accus.	*ki*	Accus.	*kijas*
Instr.	*kiän*	Instr.	*kijasän*
Carit.	*kitäg* or *-tägja*	Carit.	*kijastäg* or *-tägja*
Dat.	*kily*	Dat.	*kijasly*
Allat.	*kilanj*	Allat.	*kijaslanj*
Illat.	*kiä'*[91]	Illat.	*kijasä'*
Adess.	*kilän*	Adess.	*kijaslän*
Iness.	*kiyn*	Iness.	*kijasyn*

<div align="center">✦ 27 ✦</div>
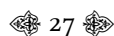
Abl. 1.	*kilys[j]*		Abl. 1.	*kijaslys[j]*
Abl. 2.	*kisänj*		Abl. 2.	*kijassänj*
Elat.	*kiys[j]*		Elat.	*kijasys[j]*
Consec.	*kila*		Consec.	*kijasla*
Prosec.	*kiäd*		Prosec.	*kijasäd*
Term.	*kiedzj*		Term.	*kijasedzj*

II Irregular declension

§ 31

This is for nominals:

a) That have lost the letter *l*, which has been lost through contraction in the nominative, but regain it before other case endings beginning in vowels, i.e. in the instructive, illative, inessive, elative, prosecutive and terminative.[92]

Singular	
Nom.	*nyy* 'girl; daughter'
Gen.	*nyy, nyylän, nyylys[j]*
Accus.	*nyy*[93]
Instr.	*nylän*
Carit.	*nyytäg*
Dat.	*nyyly*
Allat.	*nyylanj*
Illat.	*nylä'*
Adess.	*nyylän*
Iness.	*nylyn*
Abl. 1.	*nyylys[j]*
Abl. 2.	*nyysänj*
Elat.	*nylys[j]*
Consec.	*nyyla*
Prosec.	*nyläd*
Term.	*nyledzj*

92 The Ižma dialect represents the so-called *l* : ∅ type. In syllable-final position, the consonant *l* is lost and the preceding vowel is lengthened. In this manner, the Ižma dialect has gained a long vowel, the like of which is unknown in the literary standard. When the vowel is *e*, no lengthening occurs, instead *l* becomes *j* (*zel/zev* > *zej* 'very').

Traditionally the division of Komi dialects has been based on the reflex of the Proto-Permic **l*; there are four different reflexes:

1. *l* is retained in all positions, as is the case in the southern dialects of Komi-Zyrian in particular.

2. *l* : *v* (when *l* does not begin a syllable, it changes into *v*), e.g. in the Middle Vyčegda dialect, the basis of the Komi literary language.

3. *l* : ∅ (when *l* has not begun a syllable, it has been lost with a simultaneous lengthening of the preceding vowel), this is the dialect type Ižma represents.

4. *l* has disappeared leaving a reflex in a denti-labial *v* or a bilabial *w*. This type is found in the southern dialects of Komi-Permyak. (Bartens 2000: 48–49.)

93 Could be *nyläs*. Nominals indicating names of living beings tend to take their own ending in *-äs* [-öc] in the singular and plural (see § 25:3 and note 58).

94 Mistake: should be *cjöö*, as in Vocabulary. See KSK 2: [чӧӧ].

95 In Komi some words have stem variation, the matter at issue is one of allomorphic variation in certain noun stems. The main stem type where this occurs ends in a single consonant in the nominative singular. The second allomorph occurs when followed by a grammatical morpheme beginning with a vowel, and the word stem then shows a consonant cluster ending in *k*, *t* or *m* or *j*. The two-consonant stem often represents a more original type (e.g. *śin : śinm-* 'eye' < *nm < *lm < *śilmä). There are also secondary allomorphs, and the two-stem type has analogically spread. (Bartens 2000: 69–70.)

On the next few pages you will find example paradigms of stems with two-consonant clusters. The stems are lengthened with -*m*-, -*k*- and -*t*-; Castrén treats stems in -*j*- as a separate phenomenon (see § 31:c).

28
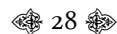
The plural is declined regularly: nom. *nyyjas*, instr. *nyyjasän*, illat. *nyyjasä'*, iness. *nyyjasyn* etc.

N.B. 1. Most of the nouns with nominatives in a long vowel quantity originating from the contraction of the letters *l* or *v* with the preceding vowel are declined in a similar way, e.g. *kyy* 'language; tongue', *yy* 'remote', *vyy* 'up(per)' and compounds: *asyvyy* 'east', *rätoovyy* 'west', *lunvyy* 'south', *vojvyy* 'north'; *köö* 'rope', *töö* 'wind; winter', *jöö* 'milk', *vöö* 'horse', *čöö*[94] 'silent', *pöö* 'side', *uu* 'lower part' and compounds: *kodzjuu* 'star', *kotkodzjuu* 'ant', *dzjodzjuu* 'worm', *peljuu* 'pillow', *kokuu* 'footstool; pasture', *loo* 'spirit', *soo* 'salt' and all diminutives in -*oo*, e.g. *rätoo* 'west', *panoo* 'pearl barley', *seroo* 'nit', *jumoo* '(malted) food made of flour and water' ([La] *cibus e farina et aqua praeparatus*) (Ru сусло) and diminutive adjectives, e.g. *tölöö* 'winter (adj.), *tuusoo* 'spring (adj.)', *džendoo* 'rather short', *pemdoo* 'rather dark', *gögräsoo* 'roundish', *kuzjoo* 'longish', *vežoo* 'holy', *arsjoo* 'autumnal'.

N.B. 2. When the letter *l* returns to the declension, the previous vowel shortens, and the latter disappears, e.g. *nylä'*, not *nylyä'*, nom. *nyly*.

N.B. 3. Sometimes the contracted form is used, even though the suffix starts with a vowel, e.g. illat. *nyyä'*, iness. *nyy'yn*, elat. *nyy'ys*[*j*].

b) Monosyllabic words, which have originally been two-syllable words, have lost a vowel in the end of the nominative. Of two final consonants, the last consonant (*m*, *k*, *t*) drops away except in cases which start with a vowel.[95]

❖ 29 ❖

1.

Nom.	*jen* 'God'
Gen.	*jen, jenlän, jenlys*[*j*]
Accus.	*jenmäs*
Instr.	*jenmän*
Carit.	*jentäg* or *-tägja*
Dat.	*jenly*
Allat.	*jenlanj*
Illat.	*jenmä'*
Adess.	*jenlän*
Iness.	*jenmyn*
Abl. 1.	*jenlys*[*j*]
Abl. 2.	*jensänj*
Elat.	*jenmys*[*j*]
Consec.	*jenla*
Prosec.	*jenmäd*
Term.	*jenmedzj*

2.

Nom.	*muös*[96] 'cow'
Gen.	*muös, muöslän, muöslys*[*j*]
Accus.	*muös*[97]
Instr.	*muöskän*
Carit.	*muöstäg* or *-tägja*
Dat.	*muösly*
Allat.	*muöslanj*
Illat.	*muöskä'*
Adess.	*muöslän*
Iness.	*muöskyn*
Abl. 1.	*muöslys*[*j*]
Abl. 2.	*muössänj*
Elat.	*muöskys*[*j*]
Consec.	*muösla*
Prosec.	*muöskäd*
Term.	*muöskedzj*

96 Castrén must have heard something and added an intermittent *u* between the word-initial *m* and a subsequent mid central vowel *ö*: *muös*, in the modern orthography, however, this is *mös* [мӧс]. There are four such words in the vocabulary.

97 Could also be *muöskös*. Nominals indicating living being names tend to take their own ending in *-äs* [-ӧс] in the singular and plural (see § 25:3 and note 58).

98   The 3rd group need not be a separate group; it has the same stem consonant *-k-* and the same declension as the 2nd group.

99   Could also be *oškäs*. Referential nominals indicating living being names tend to take their own ending in *-äs* [-öc] in the singular and plural (see § 25:3 and note 58).

❧ 30 ❧

3.[98]

Nom.	*oš* 'bear'
Gen.	*oš, ošlän, ošlys*[*j*]
Accus.	*oš*[99]
Instr.	*oškän*
Carit.	*oštäg* or *-tägja*
Dat.	*ošly*
Allat.	*ošlanj*
Illat.	*oškä'*
Adess.	*ošlän*
Iness.	*oškyn*
Abl. 1.	*ošlys*[*j*]
Abl. 2.	*ošsänj*
Elat.	*oškys*[*j*]
Consec.	*ošla*
Prosec.	*oškäd*
Term.	*oškedzj*

4.

Nom.	*šep* 'spike, ear'
Gen.	*šep, šeplän, šeplys*[*j*]
Accus.	*šep*
Instr.	*šeptän*
Carit.	*šeptäg* or *-tägja*
Dat.	*šeply*
Allat.	*šeplanj*
Illat.	*šeptä'*
Adess.	*šeplän*
Iness.	*šeptyn*
Abl. 1.	*šeplys*[*j*]
Abl. 2.	*šepsänj*
Elat.	*šeptys*[*j*]
Consec.	*šepla*
Prosec.	*šeptäd*
Term.	*šeptedzj*

❖ 31 ❖
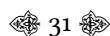
N.B. 1. The words declined according to the first paradigm are: *sin*[100] 'eye', *un* 'sleep', *pon* 'dog', *anj*[101] 'wife', *zon* 'boy; son', *kun* 'lye'; the ones declined according to the second are: *is* 'smell', *pes* 'firewood', *vos* 'vomit', *lys* 'branch of an evergreen tree', *pos* 'bridge', *tes*[102] 'oat flour', *tjös* 'board of the roof', *mus* 'liver'; the ones declined according to the third are: *myš* 'back', *öš* 'ox, bull', *toš* 'beard'; and there is one declined according to the fourth: *zep*[103] 'pocket'.

N.B. 2. The nouns *muös*, *oš*, *öš*, in contrast to this rule, do not take the accusative suffix *äs*, at least in the Ižma dialect.[104]

c) The letter *j* is taken before the final vowel:

1) In many single-syllable words, which undoubtedly have originally consisted of two syllables ending in *i*.[105]

2) In single-syllable words which end in either a long vowel or a diphthong.

The first [group] includes the words: *zib* 'pole, stick', instr. *zibjen*, *id* 'barley', illat. *idje'*, *kyd* 'chaff', iness. *kydjyn*, *zud* 'grindstone', elat. *zudjys*[*j*], *byg* 'foam', prosec. *bygjed*, *gög* 'navel', term. *gögjedzj*, *gag* 'insect', *tug* 'brush, broom', *cjag* 'chip', *val* 'wave', *džyn* 'half', *gyr* 'mortar', *gör* 'plough', *pur* 'raft', *ker* 'log', *kor* 'leaf', *tor* 'piece', *myr* 'stump', *dar* 'ladle', *dooz*[106] 'vessel, dish', *gez* 'rope',

100 The word *sjin* is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. (See KSK 2: син).

101 *anj* does not belong to this group; it has no -*m*-stem.

102 The word *tesj* is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. (See KSK 2: тэсь).

103 The word *zjeb* is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. (See KSK 1: зеп).

104 These animal names *m(u)ös* 'cow', *oš* 'bear' and *öš* 'ox, bull' (in the literary language: мöс, ош and öш) generally take accusative endings, as is also the case with other animate entities.

105 This is a fourth group of two-stem words where the stem is lengthened by a subsequent -*j*-. Cf. § 31:b), note 95. Originally most of the words given in this first group have had two stems, but the quality of the final vowel is not specifically limited to *i*, as seen in KESKJa.

106 In these one-syllable words ending in voiced consonants, Castrén gives a long vowel that is not the result of a dropped letter *l*. ID (pp. 13–14) views this as being the result of emphatic stress, and Castrén has carefully only given a few example words, even though there would have been numerous words available. Some single-syllable words might have long-vowel or semi-long-vowel variants in certain contexts. Cf. KSK 1: *doz* [доз], no long-vowel variant.

107 KSK 1: *iz* [из], no long-vowel variant.

108 KSK 1: *koz* [коз], no long-vowel variant.

109 KSK 1: *vez* [вез], no long-vowel variant.

110 The word *jus > jusj/juś* [юсь] is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. So, *juś* does not belong to this group. (See KSK 2).

111 The word *rys > rysj/ryś* [рысь] is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. So, *ryś* does not belong to this group. It does, however, have an extended stem *ryś : ryśk-*. (See KSK 2).

112 The words: *pai, toi, tui* have no diphthongs but a vowel + *j* (> *paj, toj, tuj*). Before case endings there is no extra *j*, e.g. INSTR: *pajön, tojön, tujön*. But *pei* (< *pel*) has a *j*-stem, e.g. INSTR *pejjön*. So does *pii* (< *pil*), too, e.g. INSTR *pijjön*. Ižma belongs to the *l* : ∅ dialect type, and thus *l* has been lost to a lengthening of the preceding vowel, but not *e* and *i*; *l > j* after these two vowels, cf. also KSK 2: *pij* [пий], SW: *pii*.

Long vowels in the Ižma dialect have emerged in single-syllable words ending in *v* or *l*, and they have two stems. The consonant clusters lengthened in *-m-*, *-k-*, *-t-* and even *-j-* are seen in the standard language, e.g. *pev : pevj-* ; *piv : pivj-*.

113 In speech, *j* and *v* are known to be used to avoid hiatus, but they are not used in the

❀ 32 ❀
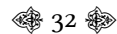
poz 'nest', *iiz*[107] 'stone', *kooz*[108] 'spruce', *veez*[109] 'tendon, string', *jus*[110] 'swan', *pors* 'pig', *rys*[111] '[cottage] cheese', *mež* 'ram', *vudž* 'arch', *vuž* 'root', *yž* 'sheep' etc. It may be that these and other nominals in other dialects actually end in *j*, as may be ascertained from the research of the structure of the Zyrian language edited by Sjögren.

The second group contains: 1) *pai* 'part', *pei* 'thumb', *toi* 'louse', *tui* 'road'; instr. *paijen, toijen*, illat. *paije', toije'* etc. 2) *pii* 'cloud', *syy* (*syli*) 'lap, arms, fathom', *tuu* 'nail', *uu* 'branch', *puu* 'lingonberry' (vaccinium vitis idaea); instr. *piijen, syyjen, uujen*; elat. *tuujys*[*j*], *puujys*[*j*], *uujys*[*j*] etc.[112]

N.B. 1. For a more fluent pronunciation, nominals ending in *i* are sometimes pronounced with a *j* before the onset vowel of a case form, e.g. *ki* 'hand', instr. *kiän* or *kijen*, *bi* 'fire', instr. *biän* or *bijen* etc.[113] The consonant *j* is used in Finnish in the same way to separate two vowels, e.g. *meiän* or *meijän*, *niien* or *niijen*, *veän* or *vejän* etc.

N.B. 2. Some single-syllable words ending in *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, or other such diphthongs change their *i* to *j* and move it into the subsequent syllable. These words have undoubtedly been two syllables long where the second syllable has begun with *j*. When the word-final *i* in the nominative dropped, the *j* has formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel. For this reason, such nominals are written correctly as: *voj* 'night', *jaj* 'meat, flesh', *jöj* 'mad, fool', *aj* 'father' (Fi *äijä*); illat. *voje', jöje', aje'*; instr. *vojen, jöjen, ajen*.[114]

❧ 33 ❧
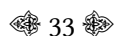
N.B. 3. The nouns *pii*[115], Fi *pilvi*; *syy*, Fi *syli*; *sjuu*, Fi *suoli*; *puu*, Fi *puola* and other such words indicate the loss of the letter *l* in comparisons between Zyrian and Finnish. This consonant, however, does not return in declension, and thus there are other words in different cases that sound the same, e.g. *pulys*[*j*] 'from the tree', *sylys*[*j*] 'from him/her/it', *pilys*[*j*] 'from the son/ boy' etc.

N.B. 4. Sjögren and Gabelentz believe that the change *ä* to *e* after *j* is due to a rule found in Finnish for hard and soft vowels. The letter *j*, in their opinion, was actually *i* in origin, but they have arrived at this conclusion erroneously, as they saw *i* presupposes *e* in the ending for the sake of softness. It must be mentioned that the letter *ä* is itself soft, and the preceding *i* in Finnish actually presupposes an *ä* in the ending, not an *e*. By the same merit *ä* in Zyrian is retained after *i*, as is indicated in the example *ki*. In our opinion, Zyrian appears to follow a Russian lead in this vein, where the sound *jä*, which at times is indicated with ѣ, is to be pronounced *je*.[116]

d) The noun *pi* 'son, boy', Fi *pojka* always takes the final *j* and is declined irregularly in the plural and takes *-an* instead of *-jas*, *seldom -anjas*, and even more seldom *-jas*.

standard orthography (Bartens 2000: 68). Cf. § 18.

114 There is no diphthong in the received literary language or in the Ižma dialect (see § 6, note 25). Nor are these vowel + *j* combinations considered diphthongs.

115 Ižma belongs to the *l* : ∅ dialect type, and thus *l* has been lost to a lengthening of the preceding vowel, but not *e* and *i*; *l* > *j* after these two vowels. This should not be *pii* but *pij* (cf. § 31, note 112), thus it cannot be confused with *pi* 'son, boy'.

116 Cf. § 8:E). The grapheme *ä* does not appear as such in the Komi language. Castrén writes *ä* in the Ižma dialect in non-first syllables where the literary standard calls for *ö*. In the Finno-Ugric transcription system the *ä* used by Castrén can be equated with the mid front vowel *ɛ*, which in the Cyrillic rendition of the Ižma dialect is written with [э]. Castrén also uses the letter *ä* preceded by *s* in his rendition of ablative 2 *-sänj* [-сянь], which might indicate fronting to the underlying *a*.

117 Could also be *pijanäs*. Nominals indicating living being names tend to take their object marking in *-äs* [-öc] in the singular and plural (see § 25:3 and note 58).

❦ 34 ❦

Plural

Nom.	*pijan* 'sons; youngsters, pups'
Gen.	*pijan, pijanlän, pijanlys*[j]
Accus.	*pijan*[117]
Instr.	*pijanän*
Carit.	*pijantäg*
Dat.	*pijanly*
Allat.	*pijanlanj*
Illat.	*pijanä'*
Adess.	*pijanlän*
Iness.	*pijanyn*
Abl. 1.	*pijanlys*[j]
Abl. 2.	*pijansänj*
Elat.	*pijanys*[j]
Consec.	*pijanla*
Prosec.	*pijanäd*
Term.	*pijanedzj*

The word *byd* 'all', is declined in the same way: pl. *bydän*, accus. *bydänäs*, elat. *bydänys*[j] etc.

b) Declension of derived nouns

§ 32

The Zyrian language does not enjoy the luxury of an extensive quantity of derivations, neither in denominal nor in deverbal form, as is present in other Finnic languages. With regard to derived nominals, this language is quite poor, because all meanings that by nature presuppose a derived form, such as abstract nominals, are expressed with Russian words. But words that in some manner

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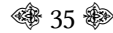
may be indicated as derivations are to be listed here, with the exception of deverbal nouns expressing agent, action or act, which will be addressed later.

§ 33

The diminutive nouns ending in *-öj* and *-ly* only appear in the nominative, and in general they do not appear in the standard language but in poetry. The ones ending in *-öj* appear to be derived from the homonymous interjection[118]. They have a sense of pity in their use, diminutives in *-ly* are used for praise. Examples of both varieties: *mamöj*, from the nominative *mam* 'mother'; *äjöj* from *äj*[119] 'father'; *voköj* from *vok* 'brother'; *olemöj* from *olem* 'life' ([Fi] *elo*[120]); *kujlemaöj* from *kujlema*, pass. part[iciple] of *kujla* 'I lie'; *pysanly* from *pysan*[121] 'table'; *burly* from *bur* 'good'; *juanly* from *juan* 'drink'; *lunly* from *lun* 'day'; *pööly* from *pöö* 'side, board' etc.[122] The disappearance of *l* following a vowel should be noted in diminutives ending in *oo*, e.g. *rätöö*, *panoo*, *jumoo* etc. See § 31, N.B. 1.

§ 34

The nouns with a *-ka* ending have been derived from other nouns, the relevance of this derivation type is growing, e.g. *kerka* 'house' (*ker* 'log'), *ajka* 'father-in-law' (*aj* 'father, male'), *inka*[123] 'mother-in-law' (*inj* 'female').[124]

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118 In standard Komi, *-öj* [-öй] indicates the 1SG possessor. It is used in a word of address as a diminutive or marker of endearment.

119 Should be *ajöj, aj* (see Vocabulary).

120 The correct etymological comparison is Fi *elämä* (in Komi literary language *olöm*).

121 Should be *pyzan* [пызан] (see KSK 2).

122 Examples of the *-ly* suffix are found in 7 laments (published in *Häälauluja* 1878), where the *-ly* suffix appears to be a dative object, the type of which is mentioned in ID (pp. 66–67) and found in a few Komi dialects. Komi researchers do not consider the *-ly* suffix to be a diminutive marker. In his presentation of the Finnish *-le* suffix, Castrén makes reference to a correlating suffix in Komi, see *Fennica*, pp. 714, 724. See § 25 and more about the dative object in Bartens 2000: 333–334; Baker 1985: 202–221; Klumpp 2008: 167–216; Popova – Sažina 2014: 102–105.

123 Should be *injka* [инька] (see KSK 1).

124 These examples are lexicalizations, but the *-ka* suffix is used generally as a diminutive suffix or as a sign of endearment.

125 Should be *koräsj* [коресь] (see KSK 1).

126 Misprint: should be *šomäs* [шомес] (see KSK 2).

127 Misprint: should be *šom* [шом] (see KSK 2).

128 Should be *amäsj* [амесь] (see KSK 1).

129 Shoud be *sjijes* [сиес] (see KSK 2).

130 Some suffixes are mixed. Should be *-ysj*: *tölysj* [тӧлысь], *kölysj* [кӧлысь], *ezysj* [эзысь] and *vurdysj* [вурдысь] (see KSK 1, 2; KRK); *votys* has a deverbal suffix *-ös* in the literary language, *votös* [вотӧс] < *votny* [вотны] 'to pick' (see KRK).
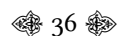
❧ 36 ❧

§ 35

Nominals ending in *-as* and *-äs* (*-es*) that are derived from either verbs or other nominals allow for many kinds of meanings. The ones that are derived from verbs often bear a meaning of medium or instrument, e.g. *majtas* 'cream' from *majta* 'I grease'; *domas* 'patch' from *doma* 'I patch'; *sartas* 'shake, shingle'; *murtäs* 'measure' from *murtala* 'I measure'. Others, especially those derived from nominals, cannot be derived from a general meaning, as is demonstrated in the following examples: *koljas* 'trash, remainder', (*kolja* 'I leave (tr., intr.)'); *idzjas* 'straw', (*id* 'barley'); *peljes* 'corner', (*pelj* 'ear'); *keräs* 'slope', (*ker* 'hill'); *koräs*[125] 'birch whisk', (*kor* 'leaf'); *somäs*[126] 'fermentation', (*som*[127] 'sour'). Some are simple word forms without derivation, e.g. *pydäs* or *pyd* 'bottom, ground', *pidzjes* 'knee', *kymäs* 'forehead', *veräs* 'husband'; *moräs* 'chest, breast'; *tagäs* 'threshold', *amäs*[128] 'plough', *voljes* 'insole'; *sijes*[129] 'horse collar'; *pyčkäs* 'inside' (Fi *sisä*) etc.

§ 36

Nominals that end in *-ys* [/-*ysj*], ones derived from nominals or ones lacking any root, are just as unclear in meaning as the previous, e.g. *tölys* 'month', (*töö* 'wind'), *kölys* 'wedding' (*köö* 'rope'); *tulys* 'spring'; *votys* 'berry'; *esys* 'silver'; *uutys* 'lining' (подкдадка, *uu* 'under'), *sjumys* 'birch bark'; *vurdys* 'mole' etc.[130]

❧ 37 ❧

§ 37

Deverbal nouns ending in *-äd* that specifically in-
dicate a medium, e.g. *körtäd* 'bandage, ligament'
from *körtala* (a lost root: *körta*) 'I tie, bind'; *sodtäd*
'addition' from *sodta* 'I add, increase'; *ortsäd*[131]
'help' from *ortsala* (*ortsa*) 'I help'; *soräd* 'mix-
ture' from *sora* 'I mix'; *tupräd* 'roll, bundle' from
tuprala 'I wrap, roll' etc.[132]

§ 38

Nominals are formed from these that end in *-äda*,
which are actually adjectives, even though they
are generally used as nouns, e.g. *körtäda* 'bound';
tupräda 'roll, scroll, bundle'; *soräda*, mixture;
sodtäda 'addition, growth'.

§ 39

The nouns ending in *-a'* (*ah*) are derived from ad-
jectives and are abstract, the quality of which is
expressed, e.g. *jugda'* 'brightness', (*jugyd* 'bright,
light'); *pemda'* 'darkness' (*pemyd* 'dark'); *kurda'*
'bitterness' (*kuryd* 'bitter'), *kyyza'* 'thickness'
(*kyyz* 'thick'); *kuzja'* 'length' (*kuzj* 'long').

131   Also in the form ортсэг,
      from the verb ортсооны
      (KSK 1: 1085). In the liter-
      ary language: *otsög* [отсöг],
      otsavny [отсавны] (KRK).

132   In the literary language this
      deverbal ending is *-öd* [-öд];
      it is a reflex of Proto-Uralic
      and is used to form names of
      results or instruments (Bar-
      tens 2000: 127).

133, 134   Cf. § 31, note 107.

135   The compound word *peljuu* is a result of the combination *pelj* 'ear' + *uu* 'underside', whereas the Finnish analogous form *päänala* comes from the combination *pään* 'of the head' + *ala* 'underside, base'.
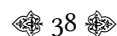
❧ 38 ❧

§ 40

Of the nominals that end in *-äg* (*-eg*) and *-täg*, some are non-derived, e.g. *dzjodzjeg* 'goose', *rudzjeg* 'rye', and others are derivations that indicate vessels or things that are hollow or have some other latent space, e.g. *susjeg* 'grain-chest'; *solantäg* 'salt vessel', *majeg* 'pole; post'; *iiztäg*[133] 'match'.

§ 41

The nouns with the ending *-in* have the meaning of a place. Some of them are derived from adjectives, e.g. *pemydin* 'dark place' from *pemyd* 'dark'; *jugydin* 'light place' from *jugyd* 'light'; *iizjesin* 'a stony place, rocky soil' from *iizjes*[134] 'stony'. Most of them are derived from verbs with the ending *-an*, e.g. *olanin* or *loozjanin* 'residence, dwelling' from *ola*, *loozja* 'I live', *olan*, *loozjan* 'habitation'; *vetlanin* 'walkway, entrance' from *vetla* 'I walk, go'; *puktysjanin* 'vagina, setting place' from *puktysjan* 'position' (*pukta* 'I put', pass. *puktysja*); *juanin* 'drinking place' from *jua* 'I drink', *juan* 'drink' etc.

§ 42

Nouns often form compounds, e.g. *vador* 'shore', literally 'water side', *peljdjin* 'temple (anat.)', literally ear nearness, end; *kipydäs* 'palm', literally 'hand bottom'; *peljuu*[135] 'pillow', Fi *päänala*.

❦ 39 ❦
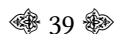
B. Adjectives

§ 43

Adjectives, just like nouns, take no specific ending in the nominative, which is the situation in the Finnish and Lappish languages as well. Zyrian concurs with Finnish and Lappish in this usage, since many adjectives are simultaneously both nouns and adverbs, e.g. *bur* 'good, goodness, well'; *ljok* 'bad, malevolence, poorly'; *tyr* 'full, fullness, fully'; *kyn* 'cold, coldness, coldly'; *jugyd* 'bright, light, lightness; world', (Ru свѣтъ 'light; world'); *pemyd* 'dark, darkness'; *ödja* 'quick, quickly', etc.[136]

§ 44

The adjective declension is just like that of the noun, when they [adjectives] are nouns by meaning. When used together with nouns, adjectives take no declension, e.g. *tom kerkaä'* [137] 'into a new house', *tom kerkayn* 'in a new house', *tom kerkays*[*j*] 'from a new house'. The plural of adjectives ends in *-jas* or *-äsj* (*-ösj*)[138]. The ending *-äsj* is always attached to the predicate [predicative], but attributes may take either ending, as adjectives in the nominative singular do before nouns in the plural, e.g. *tom* or *tomjas* or *tomäsj kerkajas*, *kerkajasly*, *kerkajasys*[*j*] etc.[139]

136 In the Ižma dialect, adverbs are mainly formed from adjectives using the *-a* or *-aa* derivational ending (cf. § 96; ID: 105–106).

137 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

138 The plural ending for adjectives in the Ižma dialect is *-εś* [-эс'], in the literary language this is *-öś* [-öсь] (ID: 58; ÖKK: 98). The predicative structure in Komi has number agreement, all nominal predicates adhere to it. The plural ending *-jas* [-яс] may be used when the adjective is used as a noun, e.g. *tomjas* 'the young ones, youth', *tomdžykjas* 'the younger ones'.

139 As an adnominal attribute, the adjective does not decline; it does not take a plural ending either (ÖKK: 97). Adjectives are frequently declined in the predicative plural, accusative and instrumental, which only happens when they are in what would be the NP head position. Here, of course, virtually all cases are possible.

140 The comparative marker in the literary language is also *-džyk* [-джык]; it operates as an enclitic particle that attaches to words in other word classes as well and affects the intensity of the meaning of the work. The standard of comparison is expressed in the elative or preclusive cases, or it is expressed with the postposition *doryś* [дорысь]. When the standard of comparison is marked, the adjective may occur in the positive form, too. (ÖKK: 80–81, 119, 454; Rédei 1978: 82–84.)

141 The superlative construction is formed from the positive form of the adjective either synthetically with the prefix *med-* [мед-] or analytically with the particle *medśa* [медся] (in the Ižma dialect [мэд] and [мэт'ча], see ID: 59) or syntactically by preposing the elative form *stavśys* [ставсьыс] / *bydönyś* [быдöнысь] 'of all' before the positive form of the adjective (ÖKK: 117; Rédei 1978: 82–83).

142 *zev* [зэв] 'very' (in the Ižma dialect, *zej* [зэй]) is the most common intensifier adverb, other intensifiers are frequently attested in the language, e.g. ideophones are used (cf. ID: 103; ÖKK: § 24).

143 See § 44.

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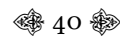
§ 45

[Morphologically] the comparison of adjectives is defective. The ending of the comparative is *-džyk* (*-čyk*)[140], e.g. *burdžyk* 'better', *donadžyk* 'more expensive', but the superlative has no proper ending of its own. It is compensated 1) by the particle *med*[141], e.g. *med vodzja* 'first', *med bur* 'best', 2) with the adverb *zej* 'very'[142], e.g. *zej sjökyd* 'very difficult', 3) with the nominative of adjective *byd* 'all' *tai bydänys[j]* 'of all' (Ru всѣхъ), e.g. *byd tai bydänys[j] dzjölja* 'the smallest, the smallest of all' (всѣхъ меньшій). The comparative and the superlative are declined as the positive. The comparative, however, has the ending *-äsj* in the plural as adjectives.[143]

§ 46

The ending of the comparative in the Ižma dialect does not mutate (*-džyk*, not *-čyk*). If this ending is not possible, according to the nature and rules of the language, it is added directly to the stem, the stem itself changes, e.g. *ljok*, comparat. *ljogdžyk*, (not *ljokčyk*). It is also to be noted that adjectives that end in a vowel sometimes lose it in the comparative, e.g. *una* 'many, much', comparat. *undžyk* or *unadžyk*.

❖ 41 ❖
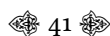
§ 47

Many adverbs and even nouns are compared like adjectives when they are used as adverbs, e.g. *zej* 'very', comparat. *zejdžyk*, superlat. *med zej*; *ylyn* 'faraway', comparat. *ylyndžyk*, superlat. *med ylyn*; *dorä*'[144] 'next to, border' ('near' from *dor* 'side'), comparat. *dorädžyk* 'nearer' ('nearer', Fi *vieremmäksi* from *vieri* 'side'); *šörä*'[145] 'in the middle' (*šör* 'middle'), comparat. *šörädžyk* 'closer to the middle' (Fi *keskemmälle*, from *keski* 'middle'). The adverbs with *-aa* take the ending of comparative between the stem and the ending of the positive, e.g. *buraa* 'well', comparat. *burdžykaa*[146], 'worse'[147].

§ 48

Adjectives are often derived from nouns, and they have numerous endings:

1. *-a* (*-ja*), e.g. *dona* 'expensive, dear' (*don* 'merit, price'), *göna* 'hairy, furry' (*gön* 'hair, fur'); *vema* 'wise' (*vem* 'brain'); *vyna* 'strong' (*vyn* 'power'); *myža* 'guilty' (*myž* 'cause'); *myykyda* 'understanding' (*myykyd* 'mind'); *sjura* 'horn-like' (*sjur* 'horn'). Some adjectives ending in *a* appear to be formed using the elative case, after the last letters have swapped places and *y* has changed to *j*[148], e.g. *vosja* 'annual' (*vo* 'year', elat. *voys*[*j*]): *gusja* 'secret' (*gu* 'pit', elat. *guys*[*j*]).

144, 145 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

146 The Ižma adverbial derivational ending *-aa* can be seen in the adverb *burdžykaa*; the literary forms are *burdžyka* [бурджыка] and also the infrequent *buradžyka* [бураджыка].

147 A mistake occurred in the translation from Komi *burdžykaa* to Latin *pejus* ('worse'), the correct translation for *burdžykaa* is 'better'. Actually, one line seen in the manuscript, is missing in the grammar:

buraa 'well', comparat. *burdžykaa* ['better'; *ljokaa* 'badly', comparat. *ljokdžykaa*] 'worse'.

148 Elative *-ysj* ≠ adj. *-sja.*

149 The stem-final -*l* of the Ižma dialect is retained in single-syllable words before suffixes with onset vowels (cf. § 31).

150 This must be a lost consonant, i.e. the letter *l*.

151 The derivational ending -*a* [-a], *nomen possessoris* (proprietive), is very productive. The endings -*a* [-a], -*ja* [-я] and -*śa* [-ся] are found in the literary language and the latter is used especially in the derivation of adjectives from temporal nouns (ID: 61; ÖKK: 109). Cf. KSK 2: *pij* [пий], SW: *pii*, note 112.

152 Castrén's "intensive" adjectives have a proprietive meaning that might be illustrated in the Finnish compounds *iso-sarvinen* 'big-horned', *pitkä-karvainen* 'long-haired'.

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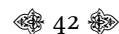
Adjectives ending in *a* are seldom derived from vowel-final nouns. When it does happen, however, the consonant *j* is inserted between the stem and the suffix, e.g. *bi* 'fire', *bija* 'fiery, burning'; and *i* and *e* change to *j*, e.g. *asy* 'morning', *asja* 'morning (adj.)'; *öni* 'now', *önja* 'current, present'. Some nouns take the letter *j* after a liquid consonant, e.g. *lun* 'day', *lunja* 'daily'; *šör* 'middle', *šörja* 'middle (adj.)'. Adjectives ending in *a* that are derived from nouns and lose a consonant take this consonant back in derivation, e.g. *jöla* 'milky' (*jöö* 'milk'); *töla* 'windy' (*töö* 'wind'); *sola* 'salty' (*soo* 'salt');[149] *s[j]inma* '-eyed' (*s[j]in* 'eye'); *iska* 'smelly' (*is* 'smell'). Adjectives derived from nouns that do not regain a lost vowel[150] take *j* after the contracted vowel, e.g. *piija* (seldom: *pila*) 'cloudy' (*pii* 'cloud', iness. *piijyn*); *sjuuja* (not *sjula*) 'intestinal' (*sjuu* 'intestine', elat. *sjuujys[j]*); *syyja* 'fathom long' (Fi *sylinen*) etc.[151]

N.B. Finnish actually has adjectives that end in -*a* (-*ä*) or -*ja* (-*jä*), e.g. *korkia*, *laaja*, *surkia*, *valkia*, but these are not derivations, and they have a different meaning. Zyrian adjectives ending in -*a* (-*ja*) are equivalent to the intensifier[152] adjectives of the Finnish language with the ending -*nen*, e.g. *vaivanen*, *sarvinen*, *karvanen*.

❧ 43 ❦
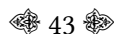
2. *-yd* or *-id* is an ending that is affixed espe-cially to primitives; adjectives in this ending also bear the meaning of a noun, e.g. *sjökyd* 'load, heavy', *pemyd, jugyd* (see § 43). Some adjectives in *-yd* (*-id*), however, appear to be derived from adverbs, e.g. *kokni* 'easy', *koknid* or *koknyd* 'easy, light'; *vösni* 'thinly', *vösnid* or *vösnyd* 'thin'.[153] It could be that the modern adverb ending was originally that of an adjective, as is the case in the Lappish language, where the genuine vowel-final adjectival ending has at times been extended with the letter *-d*, e.g. *roakkad* 'bold, brave', (Fi *rohkia*), *vuoiggad* 'right', (Fi *oikia*), which undoubtedly have emerged from the lost roots *roakki* and *vuoiggi*, which serve as the actual base for deriv-ing the [adnominal] adjective attribute forms: *roakkis, vuiggis.*

3. *-äs* (*-es*) provides the adjectival charac-ter power, e.g. *sjuräs* 'horned' (*sjur* 'horn', *sjura* 'horned', *nomräs* 'wormy' (*nomyr* 'worm'), *bygjes* 'foamy' (*byg* 'foam'), *gögräs* 'round' (*gögär* 'sur-roundings') etc.[154]

4. *-sa*, is a spatial adjective ending, e.g. *gögärsa*[155] 'surrounding', *pydžägsa*[156] 'situated/ located in bosom' (*pydžäg* 'bust, bosom'); *uusa* or *ulysa* 'under (adj.)' (*uu* 'under'): 1 *yysa, ylysa* 'distant, remote' (*yy* 'far away'), *vyysa* 1. *vylysa* 'upper, superficial' (*vyy* 'upper part, surface'), *asyvyysa* 'eastern', *lunvyysa* 'southern', *muusa* 'underground' from *mu* 'land, ground' and *uusa* 'under'[157].

153 The adjective derivational end-ing *-yd* [-ыд] is unproductive, and it is associated with the Balto-Finnic ending **eTA* as well as an even older deverbal derivational ending (Bartens 2000: 141). Some *-yd/-id* ad-jectives, such as Ižma *koknjid* [кокнид] also have a short-er form in *-i* (*koknji* [кокни]), which might also have an ad-verbial reading, even though Ižma also has adverbs ending in *-a* (*koknjia* [кокниа]) (KSK 1: 694–695), and contextual translations into English are al-ways adjectives. See also KSK 1: 272: *vösni, vösnid > vösnji, vösnjid* [вöсни, вöснид].

154 The derivational ending in the literary language takes the form *-öś* [-öсь], even though Castrén has left palataliza-tion unmarked here (should be written: *sjuräsj, nomräsj* and *bygjesj*); it is used in forming *nomen possessoris* adjectives, whose meaning may indicate excess as well, cf. adjectives in *a*: *vyja ńań* 'sandwich (liter-ally: buttery bread)' and *vijöś ki* 'greasy hand'. The adjective *gögräs* does not belong to this group; it does not have a pal-atalized *sj*, in the literary lan-guage it is *gögrös* [гöрпöc].

155 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

156 Should be *pidžegsa, pidžeg* [пиджегса, пиджег].

157 The derivational ending in *-sa* [-ca] is used for forming ad-jectives from spatial nouns in the literary language *nomen possessi* and *-śa* [-ся] for anal-ogous adjectives form tempo-ral nouns (ÖKK: 110; Bartens 2000: 141).

158 The literary adjectival derivational ending *-ov* [-ов] has an allomorph *-oo* in the Ižma dialect, which is used for forming diminutives, including temporal adjectives that are expressed in the literal language with the ending *-sja* [-ся] (ID: 61–62). The adjectives *tölöö* and *arsjoo* are not diminutives, but adjectives derived from nouns *töö* 'winter' and *ar* 'autumn' with adjective suffixes *-oo* and *-sjoo*. In the literary language: *tövśa* [тöвся] and *arśa* [арся].

159 This derivational ending is misplaced, it should be described under numerals, and it is described again in § 51.

160 Should be *sjintäm*, *sjin*.

161 *-töm* [-тöм] (in the Ižma dialect [-тэм]) is a caritive derivational suffix (Hamari 2011: 37). It is used to form the antonym to adjectives in *-öś* and *-a*.

162 See Corrigenda: *kos-soj (?)*. This must be a mistake.

163 The comparison with Finnish is structural, not etymological.

❦ 44 ❦

5. *-oo* reduces the intensity of the adjective, thus adjectives in *oo* are called diminutives, e.g. *dzjöljaoo* 'smallish', *gögräsoo* (кругловашый) 'roundish', *kuzjoo* 'longish' (долговатый, *kuzj* 'long'), *töloo* 'winter (adj.)', *arsjoo* 'autumnal', *pemdoo* 'rather dark' etc.[158]

6. *-ad*, which is the ordinal numeral ending, represents the Finnish ending *-si*, originally *-ti* (cf. § 25:15) and the Lappish *-ad*.[159]

7. *-täm* (*-töm*), Fi *-toin* (*-töin*), Lapp. *-tebme* (*-tem*) is the negative ending, used in both denominal and deverbal derivation, e.g. *sintäm*[160] 'blind' (*sin* 'eye'), *peljtäm* 'deaf' (*pelj* 'ear'), *myykydtäm* 'crazy' (*myykyd* 'mind'), *gozjatäm* 'unpaired', (*gozja* 'pair'), *pootäm* 'fearless' (*pola* 'I am afraid', imperat. *poly* or *poo*), *ottäm* (orig. *otatäm*) 'narrow', (*ota* 'side') etc.[161]

§ 49

Adjectives are combined 1) with adjectives, e.g. *ydžyd-toša* 'with a big beard'; Fi *pitkäpartanen*; *ydžyd-koka* 'with big feet', Fi *isojalkanen*; 2) with nouns, e.g. *kos-soja*[162] 'with withered arm(s)', Fi *kuiva-käsi*; *tujvyysa* 'travelling, road', Fi *matkan-alanen*; *muusa* 'underground', Fi *maan-alanen*.[163]

❧ 45 ❧

C. Numerals

§ 50

This table is necessary for the illustration of kinship between the cardinal numerals in the Zyrian, Finnish and Lappish languages:[164]

	Zyrian	Finnish	Lappish
1.	ötik [or ötjik]	yksi (orig. ykte or yhde)	oft (*okt, akt)
2.	kyk	kaksi (orig. kakte or kahde)	guoft (*kuokta, kuokt)
3.	kujim (kuim)	kolme	golm
4.	njolj	neljä	njälja (*nelje)
5.	vit	viisi (orig. viite)	vitta 1. vit
6.	kvajt	kuusi (orig. kuute)	gutta (*kot, kut)
7.	sizim [sjizjim]	seitsemän	čečča
8.	kökjaamys[165]	kahdeksan	gauttse (*kaktse)
9.	okmys (*ökmys)	yhdeksän	ofttse (*oktse)
10.	das	kymmenen	loghe (*lokke)
11.	dasötik [or das ötjik][166]	yksi toista kymmentä	oft nubbe lokkai
12.	daskyk	kaksi toista kymmentä	guoft nubbe lokkai
13.	daskujim	kolme toista kymmentä	kolm nubbe lokkai
20.	kyzj	kaksi kymmentä	guoft loghe
30.	komyn	kolme kymmentä	golm loghe
40.	njeljaamyn	neljä kymmentä	njälja loghe
50.	vetyymyn	viisi kymmentä	vit loghe
60.	kvajtyymyn	kuusi kymmentä	gut loghe

164 The Finnish and Lappish numerals appear in the forms given by Castrén; they do not correspond entirely with the modern orthographies of the languages.

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

165 The Komi dialect dictionary (KSK) gives Ižma dialect forms of the numerals 8, 40–60, 80 with short vowels in the second syllable, e.g. kökjamys [көкъямыс] instead of Castrén's kökjaamys.

166 The compound numerals 11–19 are written in the literary language with white space das ötʹi(k), das kyk, das kujim etc., they are not written as single words in Komi-Zyrian.

167 See Corrigenda: *ökmys*, which must be a mistake. Cf. ID: 63 and KSK 1: 1067: *okmys* [окмыс].

168 *kökjamys* [көкъямыс] '8' and *ökmis* [өкмыс] '9' are built on the numerals *kyk* '2' and *öt́ik* '1' with the *mys* element, which has possibly changed into the *myn* element found in the tens (30–60) (Bartens 2000: 143).

169 Cf. Sjögren 1834: 158–159.

170 Misprint: should be *-haaranen*.

171 Should be: 'one from ten'; in Castrén's Latin, mistakenly *unum e duo* 'one from two'.

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70.	*sizimdas* [*sjizjimdas*]	*seitsemän kymmentä*	*čečča loghe*
80.	*kökjaamysdas*	*kahdeksan kymmentä*	*gauttse loghe*
90.	*okmysdas*	*yhdeksän kymmentä*	*ofttse loghe*
100.	*sjo*	*sata*	*čuotte*
1000.	*tiisacja* (*sjurs)	*tuhat*	*duhat*

N.B. 1. Most evidently, the cardinal numerals correspond until seven. Sjögren has attempted to prove the kinship of the numerals eight and nine, and he has shown that in the three languages mentioned the numbers are derived from the numerals one and two, thus *kökjaamys* and *okmys*[167] derive from the numerals *kyk* 'two' and *ötik* or *ök* 'one', connected with the elative form from the lost numeral *jaam* 'ten' (*jang*, *jong* in the Ostyak language), thus two or one from ten, rendering eight and nine.[168] He believes the same formulation is used in Finnish, where the ending *san* (*sän*) is assumed in the numerals *kahdeksan* and *yhdeksän* to be a reflex of a since disappeared ablative *san* (*sän*), *sänj* in Zyrian, the preceding letter *k* must be a reflex of the numeral-nominal *kymmenen* 'ten'.[169] We are, however, more pleased with the opinion held of the numeral-nominals *seitsemän*, *kahdeksan*, *yhdeksän*, *kymmenen* representing a genitive reading of the nominatives *seitsen*, *kahdeksa*, *yhdeksä*, *kymmen*, which are still used in compound words e.g. *seitsen-sarvi*, *kahdeksa-jalka*, *yhdeksä-kaaranen*[170], *kymmen-sorminen*. In the formulation of cardinals in Zyrian *kökjaamys* and *ökmys* from *kyk*, *ök* and *jaam*, it should be noted that the elision of the long vowel [in the number] *ökmys* is both difficult to comprehend and limited. In addition, *ötik* is not the

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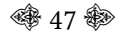
source of *ök*, but rather *ötk*, which is realised in a consonant conglomeration *öt*, which is in use as an abbreviated form. *Ökmys* is easily derived from *ötik* and *kym* (Fi *kymmenen*), elat. *ötikkymys*[*j*], etc. *ötkkymys*[*j*] or *ötkymys*[*j*] one from two[171]. According to § 9 *y* is dropped from the middle of the word, which leaves *ötkmys*. Here two consonants have combined in the word-final syllable, with the first of the two being dropped, but without the stem *kym* being affected too much. – *Kökjaamys* is probably more suitably derived from *kök* and *jaam*, thus the origin of this is in the cardinal numerals, not only *njeljaamyn*, but probably also *vetyymyn* and *kvajtyymyn*.[172]

N.ʙ. 2. Cardinal numerals between ten and twenty are formed in many ways in Zyrian and Finnish: by adding the words 'one' and 'two' to 'ten' (ten one, ten two etc.) thus arriving at one, two of the second ten.[173] The same holds for a majority of the remaining numerals. Clearly the numerals in Zyrian, Finnish and Lappish correlate with each other up to the number seven, which at the same time ends the series of original primitive numerals.[174] Hence it is suitable to suggest that the Finnic peoples have at some time only counted this far, because the number seven was considered holy. The number *ten* is also a reflex of a primitive word, the name for it varies from language to language, whence we can conclude that the number is of a later origin. The word *das*[175] in Zyrian comes from the Russian word десять. The word for hundred *sjo*, [Fi] *sata*, [Lapp.] *čuotte* is also originally Russian (сто) and therefore formed from two consonants running together[176].

N.ʙ. 3. Cardinal numerals have regular declension, but they occur less frequently in the plural.

172 The literary written forms are: *komyn* [комын] '30', *ńeľamyn* [нелямын] '40', *vetymyn* [ветымын] '50' and *kvajtymyn* [квайты-мын] '60'. These tens are constructed according to the pattern 3/4/5/6 + 10. The -*myn* element, which is found in Hungarian and Mansi, is posited to be a reflex of the Finno-Ugric proto language **mVnV* '10'. (Honti 1993: 117; Bartens 2000: 144.)

173 The compound numerals 11–19 are formed according to the principle 10 + 1 > *das ötˊi(k)* [дас öти(к)].

174 *śiźim* [сизим] is a reflex from the Finno-Permic proto-language; *ötˊik* [öти(к)], *ku(j)im* [куим], *ńoľ* [нёль] and *kvajt* [квайт] are reflexes from the Finno-Ugric proto-language, while *kyk* [кык] and *vit* [вит] are reflexes from the Uralic proto-language. (Bartens 2000: 142.)

175 *das* [дас] '10' is an Iranian loan in the Permic languages; *śiźimdas* [сизимдас], *kök-jamysdas* [кöкъямысдас] and *ökmysdas* [öкмысдас] '70–90' follow the structure '7/8/9 + 10'; *kyź* [кызь] '20' is proto-Permic, a correlating numeral is also found in the Ugric side. The compound numerals 21–29 are formed according to the principle 20 + 1 > *kyź ötˊi(k)* [кызь öти(к)]. The same principle is followed by the other tens as well. (Bartens 2000: 143–144.)

176 *śo* [сё] '100' and *śurs* [сюрс] '1000' are Indo-Iranian loans (Bartens 2000: 144).

177 The Ižma derivational ending *-äd* [-эд] is *-öd* [-öд] in the literary language, which correlates with *-nte-* in Finnish. The point at issue is apparently **ntV*, which was present in the Finno-Ugric proto-language. (Bartens 2000: 145–146.)

178 The literary language form is *möd* [мöд], the form *kyköd* [кыкöд] is also possible, especially in combination with preceding tens.

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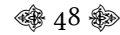
§ 51

The ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinal numerals with addition of the final *-äd*[177], which is the same suffix as *-ad* in Lappish and *-ti* or *-si* in Finnish, cf. § 48:6. The ordinal numeral *medvodzja* 'first' is a superlative from the positive *vodzja* 'in front', a stem *vodzj* 'before', Fi *esi*, from which *esimäinen* 'first', Lapp. *vuostas*. The ordinal numeral *muöd* 'second, other' is used as in Finnish *muu*, Lapp. *mubbe*, *mubbad*, *nubbe* 'other, second'. The conformity in the rest of the ordinalia of these three languages is seen in this figure:

	Zyrian	Finnish	Lappish
1.	*medvodzja*	*esimäinen*	*vuostas*
2.	*muöd*[178]	*toinen*	*mubbe* or *nubbe*
3.	*kojmäd*	*kolmas*	*goalmad* or *kolmad*
4.	*njoljed*	*neljäs*	*njäljad* or *neljad*
5.	*vitäd*	*viides*	*vidhad* or *vitad*
6.	*kvajtäd*	*kuudes*	*gudhad* or *kotad*
7.	*sizimäd* [*sjizjimäd*]	*seitsemäs*	*čečad*
8.	*kökjaamysäd*	*kahdeksas*	*gavtsad* or *kaktsad*
9.	*okmysäd*	*yhdeksäs*	*oftsad* or *oktsad*
10.	*dasäd*	*kymmenes*	*loghad* or *lokkad*

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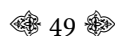
11.	*dasötikäd*	*yhdes toista*	*vuostas nubbe*
	[or *das ötjikäd*][179]	*kymmentä*	*lokkai*
12.	*daskykäd*	*kahdes toista*	*mubbad*
		kymmentä	(or *nubbe*)
			nubbe lokkai
13.	*kuimkykäd*[180]	*kolmas toista*	*goalmad*
		kymmentä	*nubbe lokkai*
20.	*kyzjed*	*kahdes*	*guoft loghad*
		kymmenes	or *lokkad*
30.	*komynäd*	*kolmes*	*golm loghad*
		kymmenes	or *lokkad*
100.	*sjoäd*	*sadas*	*čuodhad*

§ 52

Distributive numerals in the Zyrian and Finnish languages are formed from cardinals in the instructive case, e.g. *kykän* 'two each', Fi *kaksin*; *kuimän* 'three each', Fi *kolmin*; *njoljen*[181] 'four each', Fi *neljin*; *vitän* 'five each', Fi *viisin*; *kökjaamysän* 'eight each', Fi *kahdeksin*; *dasän* 'ten each', Fi *kymmenin*, pl. *dasjasän*, Fi *kymmenittäin*; *sjoän* 'hundred each', Fi *sadoin*, pl. *sjojasän*, Fi *sadottain* etc.[182] It should be noted that in the [Balto-]Finnic languages, where the instructive sg. is not used much, distributives are formed with the instr. pl. In the Zyrian language, distributives are often connected with [possessive] suffixes, e.g. *ötnan*[183], *ötnad*, *ötnas* 'I, you, he/she/it alone', *ötnanum*, *ötnanyd*, *ötnanys* 'we, you, they alone', *kyknanum*, *kyknanyd*, *kyknanys* 'we, you, they two together', *kuimnanum* etc.[184]

179 The ordinal numerals 11–19 are written with a space between words as in the cardinal numerals as well, cf. note 166.

180 *kuimkykäd* must be a mistake, it should be *daskojmäd* [дас коймöд] (cf. § 50: the cardinal numeral 13).

181 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

182 The instrumental-case numerals are modal quantifying adverbs (Bartens 2000: 145; ÖKK: 153–154). Castrén used the case name instructive, modern researchers use instrumental (cf. § 25:4 and note 59).

183 Mistake? Cf. ID: 64: *ötnam*.

184 When the morpheme *nan* is added to a cardinal numeral, a collective quantifier expression is formed. In this form, it serves as an adnominal attribute. It then takes a possessive marker to indicate whether the collective is associated with us, you or he/she/it, them. For this reason, the expression is often regarded as a pronoun. The numeral 1 (*öt´ik > öt-*) is abbreviated and takes a shorter morpheme *na* followed by a px: *ötnam* [öтнам] 'I alone' etc. (Bartens 2000: 146–147; ÖKK: 146, 150–151, 158.)

185 This is a matter of adverbs expressing repetition or quantifier adverbs, which are numerals in the elative case (Bartens 2000: 145; ÖKK: 153–155). Rédei refers to these with the term multiplicative (1978: 86).

186 In the dialect dictionary, these words are presented as adjectives: *ötpövsa* [öт-пöвса] 'in one row, one-layered' and *ötkyza* [öткыза] 'of the same thickness' (KSK 2: 34, 39). Cf. § 56.

　　The comparison with Finnish is structural, not etymological.

187 The literary form is *džyn* [джын] 'half', *ötî da džyn* [öти да джын] or using the instrumental case *ötîön džynjön* [öтиöн-джынйöн] 'one and a half'.

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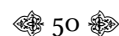
§ 53

Iteratives and temporals too are formed in the same way in both Finnish and Zyrian, namely, with the elative case of cardinal and ordinal numerals; an exception is the iterative *ötpir* 'once', not *ötikys*[*j*]. The others are: *kykys*[*j*] 'twice', [Fi] *kahdeṡti*, orig. *kahdeṡta*; *kujimys*[*j*] 'three times', Fi *kolmaṡti*; *sizimys* [> *sjizjimysj*] 'seven times', Fi *seitsemmäṡti*; *kökjaamysys*[*j*] 'eight times', Fi *kahdeksaṡti*. The temporals are formed in the same way: *medvodzjays*[*j*] 'for the first time', Fi *esimäiseṡti*; *muödys*[*j*] 'for the second time', Fi *toiseṡti*; *kojmädys*[*j*] 'for the third time', Fi *kolmanneṡti*; *njoljedys*[*j*] 'for the fourth time', Fi *neljänneṡti*.[185]

§ 54

Multiplicatives are derived as composites from cardinals and the [words] *pöösa* or *kyyza*, e.g. *ötpöösa* or *ötkyyza* 'single, simple', Fi *yksinkertanen*; *kykpöösa* or *kykkyyza* 'double', Fi *kaksinkertanen*; *kujimpöösa* or *kujimkyyza* 'triple' etc. The noun *kyyza* specifically means 'thickness, density'; the adjective *pöösa* is not used by itself; it is derived from the noun *pöö* (see Vocabulary).[186]

§ 55

Fractions, the expression of halves is described in this way: *džyn* 'half', *muödys*[*j*] *džyn*[187] 'half of the second, one and a half', *kojmädys*[*j*] *džyn* 'half of the third, two and a half'. Other parts are constructed with the noun *paj* 'part' e.g. *kojmäd paj* 'third part', *njoljed paj* 'fourth part'.

188 This proprietive as apparent in the example indicates monetary notes that have the numerals *kyk* '2' → *kyka* 'having 2', *sjo* '100' → *sjoa* 'having 100' printed on them. (Cf. Guillaume 2017: 30–40.)

189 Cf. paradigm given in the dialect monograph: ID: 64, literary language: ÖKK: 163.

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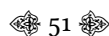
§ 56

In the Zyrian language, there are also adjective [like] numerals, which consist of a cardinal expressing how many things there are in itself, as in *kyka, kuima, kyzja, dasötika, sjoja*, e.g. *sjoja lis* ([La] *rubelos*) '(bank)note of 100 rubles'.[188]

D. Pronouns

§ 57

The personal pronouns are: *me* 'I', Fi *minä*, Lapp. *mon*; pl. *mi* 'we', Fi *me*, Lapp. *mi*; *te* 'you (sg.)', Fi *sinä* (orig. *tinä*), Lapp. *don* (*ton*); pl. *ti* 'you', Fi *te*, Lapp. *di* (*ti*); *sya* 'he, she, it', Fi *hän, se*, Lapp. *son*; pl. *nya* 'they', Fi *he, ne*, Lapp. *si*. Pronouns for the third person form their cases from irregular nominative case forms sg. *sy* (Fi *se*) and pl. *ny*. In addition, the declension of personal pronouns, especially the first and second person, is always subject to many exceptions, which can be seen in the paradigm:

Singular[189]

	me 'I'		*te* 'you (sg.)'
Nom.		Nom.	
Gen.	*menam, mejam, meam*	Gen.	*tenad, tejad, tead*
Accus.	*menä*	Accus.	*tenä*
Instr.	*menam*, (*meön)	Instr.	*tenad* (*teön)
Carit.	*metägä* or *metägjaä*	Carit.	*tetägyd, tetägjayd*
Dat.	*men, menum* (*menym)	Dat.	*ten, tenyd* (*ted)
Allat.	*melanje*	Allat.	*telanjyd*

190 Mistake: it should be Consec. In his letter to Elias Lönnrot (11/23 June 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, 302) and in his dissertation (cf. Castrén 1844: 10) Castrén has used the case name *Secutivus*, but later has changed it to *Consecutivus* 'consecutive'.

191 Mistake: it should be Prosec. Castrén has used the case name Praeteritivus instead of Prosecutivus 'prosecutive' in his letter to Lönnrot (11/23 June 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, 302).

192 Castrén uses the ' mark in the terminative forms to indicate the morpheme boundary.

193 Cf. paradigm given in the dialect monograph: ID: 65, literary language: ÖKK: 163.

194, 195 The accusative forms of the Ižma 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns can also take the ending -te, cf. Castrén's -tä [-тэ], the literary language, however, only uses the accusative suffix -ös [-öc] (ID: 66; Bartens 2000: 151–152).

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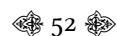
Illat.	*meam*	Illat.	*tead*
Adess.	*mejam, menam*	Adess.	*tejad, tenad*
Iness.	*meam*	Iness.	*tead*
Abl. 1.	*mencjum* (**mens[j]im*)	Abl. 1.	*tencjyd* (**tens[j]id*)
Abl. 2.	*mesänje*	Abl. 2.	*tesänjyd*
Elat.	*mesjum* (**meys[j]*)	Elat.	*tesjyd* (**teys[j]*)
Consec.	*melaä*	Secut.190	*telayd*
Prosec.	*Meädä*	Praet.191	*teädyd*
Term.	*me'edzje*	Term.	*te'edzjyd*192

Plural193

Nom.	*mi* 'we'	Nom.	*ti* 'you (pl.)'
Gen.	*mijan, mian*	Gen.	*tijan* or *tian*
Accus.	*mijantä, miantä* (**miandö, mijanös*)194	Accus.	*tijantä, tiantä* (**tiandö, tijanös*)195
Instr.	*minanum* (**mianön*)	Instr.	*tinanyd* (**tianön*)
Carit.	*mitägnum, mitägjanum*	Carit.	*titägnyd, titägjanyd*
Dat.	*mijan* (**mijanly*)	Dat.	*tijan* (**tijanly*)
Allat.	*milanjnum*	Allat.	*tilanjnyd*
Illat.	*mianum*	Illat.	*tianyd* (**tijanö*)
Adess.	*mijan*	Adess.	*tijan*
Iness.	*mianum*	Iness.	*tianyd* (**tijanyn*)
Abl. 1.	*mijancjunum* (**mijancjumys[j]*)	Abl. 1.	*tijancjynyd*
Abl. 2.	*misänjnum*	Abl. 2.	*tisänjnyd*
Elat.	*misjunum*	Elat.	*tisjynyd* (**tijanys[j]*)
Consec.	*milanum*	Consec.	*tilanyd*
Prosec.	*miednum*	Prosec.	*tiednyd*
Term.	*miedzjnum* (**mijanödzj*)	Term.	*tiedzjnyd* (**tijanödzj*)

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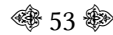
	Singular			Plural
Nom.	*sya*[196]	Nom.		*nya* (**nyja, naja,*
	'he, she, it'			*syjajös*)[197] 'they'
Gen.	*sy, sylän,*	Gen.		*ny, nylän, nylys*[*j*]
	sylys[*j*]			(**najalön, nalön,*
				syjöslön)
Accus.	*syje, syä*	Accus.		*nyje*[198] (**najaös, nyjaös,*
	(*syjes)			*syjajasös, syjöstö*)
Instr.	*syjen, syän*	Instr.		*nyän* (**najaön,*
				syjejasön)
Carit.	*sytäg,*	Carit.		*nytäg, nytägja*
	sytägja			
Dat.	*syly*	Dat.		*nyly* (**najaly,*
				naly, syjösly)
Allat.	*sylanje*	Allat.		*nylanje*
Illat.	*syä'*	Illat.		*nyä'*
Adess.	*sylän*	Adess.		*nylän*
Iness.	*sy'yn*	Iness.		*ny'yn*[199]
Abl. 1.	*sylys*[*j*]	Abl. 1.		*nylys*[*j*]
Abl. 2.	*sysänj*	Abl. 2.		*nysänj*
Elat.	*sy'ys*[*j*]	Elat.		*ny'ys*[*j*] (*najays[*j*])[200]
Consec.	*syla*	Consec.		*nyla*
Prosec.	*syäd*	Prosec.		*nyäd*
Term.	*syedzj*	Term.		*nyedzj* (*najaedzj)

N.B. 1. In the pronouns, the third person deviates from the rule: 1) in the nominative sg. and pl. there is an *a* added to the end; 2) the accusative and allative in both numbers drop the *ä*, which renders the first person as the original form.

N.B. 2. Much of what appears to be irregular in the personal pronouns *me* and *te* is due to their suffix use and is regular. Thus, the illative and inessive forms *meam, tead* as well as the adessive

196 In the literary language, the 3rd person sg. is *sijö* [сийö], the case endings are added to the stem *sy-* [сы-], as shown in the Ižma dialect paradigm. The accusative form *syje* [сийэ] deviates from the literary form *sijös* [сийöс]. Cf. paradigm given in the dialect monograph: ID: 64, literary language: ÖKK: 163.

197 In Ižma, there are two 3rd persons pl. variants in use *nya* [ныа] and *naja* [найа], the single-syllable stem *ny-* [ны-] is the base for all oblique case forms. *naja* is deictically a "proximate" pronoun, it points to visible or more proximate, familiar persons, *nya* on the other hand is deictically "distal". (ID: 64–65; Bartens 2000: 155.) Cf. paradigm given in the dialect monograph: ID: 65, literary language: ÖKK: 165.

198 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

199 Castrén uses an apostrophe ' to indicate the morpheme boundary in the inessive and elative forms.

200 Castrén uses the ' mark in the elative forms to indicate the morpheme boundary.

201 1st and 2nd person pronouns sg. *me* [ме] and *te* [тэ] are abbreviated from the proto-Permic forms *mVn, *tVn and the consonant *n* appears in the grammatical cases (acc., gen., dat. and abl.), other cases build upon the nominative stem (Bartens 2000: 149–151; ÖKK: 162–165).

202 Misprint: should be *tijanys*[*j*].

203 The plural paradigms of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns *mi* [ми] and *ti* [тı] are entirely based on the genitive forms *mijan* [миян] and *tijan* [тıян] (Bartens 2000: 153; ÖKK: 163).

❧ 54 ❧
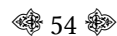
mejam, tejad are regularly formed from one and the same illative: *meä', teä'* (cf. § 59, N.B. 1).[201] Here we will note that these are personal pronouns, and that personal pronouns take the letter *j* in the sg. adessive and pl. dative, adessive and ablative 1. to distinguish external and internal locative cases, and that in the dative and adessive, the pl. possessive suffixes are left off. – The instructive sg. *menam, tenad* comes from the absolute pronoun stem: *meyn, teyn*; the ablative 1. *mencjum, tencjyd* cannot be derived from anything other than [the words] *menys*[*j*], *tenys*[*j*], where *n* is superfluous. The pronouns *me* and *te* in the elative are *meys*[*j*], *teys*[*j*], from which the forms with [possessive] suffixes *mesjum, tesjyd* are formed. In the same way the pl. dative and adessive forms *mijan, tijan* have been derived from the absolute illative forms *miä', tiä'* with a sg. ending. The illative and inessive, which are of the same origin, are: *mianum, tianyd*, with a pl. [possessive] ending. The instructive forms *minanum, tinanyd* are regularly formed from the simple forms *miyn, tiyn*; the same can be said of the elative *misjunum, tisjynyd* [from the forms] *miys*[*j*], *tiys*[*j*]. The ablative 1 *mijancjunum, tijancjynyd* require *mijanys*[*j*], *tianys*[*j*][202] in the absolute position; they are irregularly formed from the dative. The whimsical ablative form *mijancjumys*[*j*] has come from [the form] *mianys*[*j*] with a sg. ending (*mijancjum*), to which the new elative ending has been added.[203] – With complete deviation from the rule come:

❦ 55 ❦
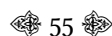
1) the accusative sg. *menä*, *tenä*; 2) dative sg. *men*, *ten*, 3) accusative pl. *mijantä*, *tijantä*. The dative and accusative sg. are undoubtedly reflexes of an old form that contains the letter *n*, which has been retained in the personal pronouns of kindred languages. The *ä* vowel of the latter accusative sg. is the suffix of the first person, which the second person has required for reasons of symmetry. Since *ä* is also the illative ending, it suits to present the dative forms *men* and *ten* as having their origins in the illative, which has lost its vowel, in order to avoid ambiguity between the dative and accusative forms. – The accusative pl. appears to have derived from the genitive and the second-person [possessive] ending. The remaining cases are regular.[204]

§ 58

Personal suffixes[205] are characteristic of all Finnic languages. In Zyrian they have changed to such an extent that they only express the finite form of the nominal with no regard for the person indicated in the ending. This explains both the accusative ending -*äs* for nouns and the special formulation of personal pronouns with [possessive] suffixes. Since the characteristics of the endings have changed so much, a nominal with a [possessive] suffix requires a possessive pronoun, which presents itself as a personal pronoun in the genitive or as the adjectival pronoun *as*[206] or before an object in the ablative 1. of a personal pronoun.

204 What Castrén has provided here in the N.B. on the etymologies of the case forms of personal pronouns is quite complex and for the most part erroneous in light of modern research (cf. Bartens 2000: 149–156).

205 i.e. possessive suffixes; Castrén uses the simple term suffix for possessive suffixes. Possessive suffixes and possessive declension are presented in modern grammars together with nouns, Castrén presents them in his grammar under pronouns.

206 Cf. § 61: Reflexive pronoun *as*.

207 See note 205.

208 The PX suffixes of the literary language are: sg.: 1st *-öj* [-öй] and *-ym* [-ым] (mainly complementary distribution), 2nd *-yd* [-ыд], 3rd *-ys* [-ыс]; pl.: 1st *-nym* [-ным], 2nd *-nyd* [-ныд], 3rd *-nys* [-ныс]. In Komi, PX suffixes are used not only for the expression of possessive relations but also demonstrative relations, especially the 2nd and 3rd sg. PX, which can be attached to nearly all word classes (ÖKK: 54–57, 61). In addition to possession they can be used to express identifiability, concreteness, familiarity, in certain situations also specificity and emphasis (cf. Leinonen 2006: 111–112).

209 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

210 The accusative PX forms of the literary language are (ÖKK: 61, 69–74):

sg.: 1st *-ös* [-öc], ∅, 2nd *-tö* [-тö], 3rd *-sö* [-cö]

pl.: 1st *-nymös* [-нымöc], 2nd *-nydtö* [-ныдтö], 3rd *-nysö* [-нысö]

211 Misprint: the illative form should be *purtä'*.

212 The proto-Permic source case **yś* has a reflex in the Komi elative, ablative and egressive. Castrén does not indicate palatalization in these case endings, which he expresses otherwise with the consonant *j*. In this example, the connective consonant *j* can mean the palatalization of the source case.

❧ 56 ❧
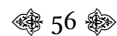
§ 59

The suffixes[207] in the Zyrian language are[208]:

[PX] suff. sing.: 1. *ä* or *m* (*um*, **im*) 2. *d* (*yd*) 3. *s* (*ys*)
[PX] suff. plur.: 1. *num* (**nym*)　　 2. *nyd*　 3. *nys*

of which the suffix *m* of the first-person sg. is only added to the inner local cases (illative, inessive, elative) and the instructive; all other case suffixes take *ä*. The accusative [possessive] suffixes have been taken from the formula below:

　　Sing.: 1. *äs*　　 2. *tä*　　　　 3. *sä*
　　Plur.: 1. *numäs* 2. *nydtä*[209] or *nydä* 3. *nysä*

which are attached regularly to the end of the nominative. The suffix of the accusative pl. is a combination of the suffixes for sg. and pl., from which it becomes apparent that not only *-äs* but also *-tä* and *-sä* are used as the ending for the case.[210]

N.B. 1.　It must be repeated here what has been said earlier about letter variation in nominals undergoing suffixation (see § 8). In the illative the suffix *ä* changes to *a* before an ending (*purtä*[211], [PX] suff. *purtam*), in the instructive the final letters switch places and *ä* changes to *a* (*purtän*, suff. *purtnam*). The elative also changes letters and in the Ižma dialect *s* changes to *c* after *d* and *t*, *y* changes to *u* before the first-person ending, and in all persons a connective consonant *j* is attached before a vowel (*purtys*[*j*], suff. *purtcjum*)[212]. The Ižma dialect also changes the *y* in the first-person plural to *u*. Due to the analogical formation of the instructive and elative, the inessive would not be distinguishable from the nominative with a plural possessive affix (*purtyn*, suff. *purtnum*), which is where the illative

❦ 57 ❦
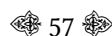
suff. is used to compensate for it. At this point, it should also be noted that the dative, adessive and ablative[213] are attached between the stem and the [possessive] ending. The caritive and allative can take a [possessive] ending both word-finally and internally, except in the regular declension of the caritive sg. of the first person.[214]

N.B. 2. Nominals that lose the consonant *l* or some other letter in the nominative, but get it back in the absolute declension, also take their [PX] suffixes according to the same rule.

N.B. 3. As in other languages, the [possessive] endings in Zyrian have a close kinship with the personal pronouns. Thus, the pronoun *me* contains the letters *m* and *ä* with minimal differences, which form the [possessive] suffix for the first-person singular. The second-person suffix *d* is like the pronoun *te*; the third-person *s* is apparent in *sya*. These correlate to a greater extent with the endings in Lappish: *m* (*mon*), *t* (*don*), *s* (*son*) and to a lesser extent with those in Finnish: *ni*, *si*, *nsa* or *nsä*. In the pl. endings: *num* (*nym*), *nyd*, *nys* appear with the same letters in the end; *y* is an auxiliary letter and *n* is added [and *n*] can be observed in the singular and plural possessive suffixes[215].
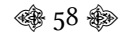
§ 60

In order to present the study of suffixes, it is inevitable that we present some paradigms of the [possessive] suffix declension of nouns: two regular, two irregular, two ending in vowels and two ending in consonants, i.e. *purt* 'knife', *kerka* 'house'; *muös* 'cow', *nyy* 'girl, daughter'.

213   Should be: ablative 1 and consecutive (see Corrigenda).

214   The ordering of possession and case markers: PX + CX: gen., abl., dat., com., consec., acc., instr. and CX + PX especially in cases indicating spatial relations. In some instances both orders are possible. (cf. ÖKK: 60–62; Bartens 2000: 117.)

215   In Komi the *n* element expresses plural in both the possessive declension and in conjugation.

216   The inessive is missing from all possessive declension tables in § 60. The inessive is identical to the illative (cf. ID: 50–51). According to ID, the inessive, illative and transitive cases plural become apparent in postpositional constructions, (pp. 49–53, example word *mam* 'mother'). In the manuscript Castrén has noted: Inessivus = Illativus (cf. Anmärkningar till Syrjänska språkets Grammatik).
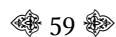
❦ 58 ❦

I Regular declension[216]

Singular

				1
Nominative	*purt* 'knife' *kerka* 'house'	*purt- kerka-*	}	*ä*
Accusative	*purt kerka*	*purt- kerka-*	}	*äs*
Instructive	*purtän kerkaän*	*purtna- kerkana-*	}	*m*
Caritive	*purttäg kerkatäg* or	*purttäg- kerkatäg-* or	}	*ä*
	purttägja kerkatägja	*purttägja- kerkatägja-*	}	*ä*
Dative	*purtly kerkaly*	*purt- kerka-*	}	*äly*
Allative	*purtlanj kerkalanj*	*purtlanj- kerkalanj-*	}	*e* *)
Illative	*purtä' kerkaä'*	*purta- kerka'a-*	}	*m*
Adessive	*purtlän kerkalän*	*purt- kerka-*	}	*älän*
Ablative 1.	*purtlys[j] kerkalys[j]*	*purt- kerka-*	}	*älys[j]*

*) or: *purtälanj, kerkaälanj, -ydlanj, -yslanj* etc.

❦ 59 ❦

[Singular]

2	3	1	2	3
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
tä	*sä*	*numäs*	*nydtä* or *nydä*	*nysä*
d	*s*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
yd *)	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
yd **)	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
ydly	*ysly*	*numly*	*nydly*	*nysly*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
d	*s*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
ydlän	*yslän*	*numlän*	*nydlän*	*nyslän*
ydlys[j]	*yslys[j]*	*numlys[j]*	*nydlys[j]*	*nyslys[j]*

*) or: *purtydtäg, kerkaydtäd*[217]*, -yśtäg, -numtäg* etc.
**) or: *purtydtägja, kerkaydtägja, -yśtägja, -numtägja* etc.

❦ 60 ❦

[I] Regular declension

Singular

				1
Ablative 2.	*purtsänj* *kerkasänj*	*purtsänj-* *kerkasänj-*	}	*e*
Elative	*purtys[j]* *kerkays[j]*	*purtsj-* *kerkasj-*	}	*(u)m*
Consecutive	*purtla* *kerkala*	*purt-* *kerka-*	}	*äla*
Prosecutive	*purtäd* *kerkaäd*	*purtäd-* *kerkaäd-*	}	*ä*
Terminative	*purtedzj* *kerkaedzj*	*purtedzj-* *kerkaedzj-*	}	*e*

Plural

Nominative	*purtjas* *kerkajas*	*purtjas-* *kerkajas-*	}	*ä*
Accusative	*purtjas* *kerkajas*	*purtjas-* *kerkajas-*	}	*äs*
Instructive	*purtjasän* *kerkajasän*	*purtjasna-* *kerkajasna-*	}	*m*
Caritive	*purtjastäg* *kerkajastäg*	*purtjastäg-* *kerkajastäg-*	}	*ä*

❖ 61 ❖

[Singular]

2	3	1	2	3
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
(y)d	*(y)s*	*(u)num*	*(y)nyd*	*(y)nys*
ydla	*ysla*	*numla*	*nydla*	*nysla*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*

[Plural]

2	3	1	2	3
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
tä	*sä*	*numäs*	*nydtä* or *nydä*	*nysä*
d	*s*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
yd [*]	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*

---

[*] or: *purtjasydtäg, kerkajasydtäg, -ysłäg, -numtäg* etc.

❧ 62 ❧

[I] Regular declension

Plural

			1
[Caritive] *purtjastägja* *kerkajastägja*	*purtjastägja-* *kerkajastägja-*	}	*ä*
Dative *purtjasly* *kerkajasly*	*purtjas-* *kerkajas-*	}	*äly*
Allative *purtjaslanj* *kerkajaslanj*	*purtjaslanj-* *kerkajaslanj-*	}	*e* *)
Illative *purtjasä'* *kerkajasä'*	*purtjasa-* *kerkajasa-*	}	*m*
Adessive *purtjaslän* *kerkajaslän*	*purtjas-* *kerkajas-*	}	*älän*
Ablative 1. *purtjaslys[j]* *kerkajaslys[j]*	*purtjas-* *kerkajas*	}	*älys[j]*
Ablative 2. *purtjassänj* *kerkajassänj*	*purtjassänj-* *kerkajassänj-*	}	*e*
Elative *purtjasys[j]* *kerkajasys[j]*	*purtjasj-* *kerkajasj-*	}	*(u)m*
Consecutive *purtjasla* *kerkajasla*	*purtjas-* *kerkajas-*	}	*äla*
Prosecutive *purtjasäd* *kerkajasäd*	*purtjasäd-* *kerkajasäd-*	}	*ä*
Terminative *purtjasedzj* *kerkajasedzj*	*purtjasedzj-* *kerkajasedzj-*	}	*e*

*) or: *purtjasälanj, kerkajasälanj, -ydlanj, -yslanj* etc.

❖ 63 ❖

[Plural]

2	3	1	2	3
yd *)	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
ydly	*ysly*	*numly*	*nydly*	*nysly*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
d	*s*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
ydlän	*yslän*	*numlän*	*nydlän*	*nyslän*
ydlys[j]	*yslys[j]*	*numlys[j]*	*nydlys[j]*	*nyslys[j]*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
(y)d	*(y)s*	*(u)num*	*(y)nyd*	*(y)nys*
ydla	*ysla*	*numla*	*nydla*	*nysla*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*

*) or: *purtjasydtägja, kerkajasydtägja, -yśtägja, -numtägja* etc.

218 Cf. § 31.
219 In words beginning with *m*, Castrén has written the letter *u* before ö: *muös* 'cow', the literary form is *mös* [мöс] (see Vocabulary).
220 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

❖ 64 ❖

II Irregular declension[218]

Singular

				1
Nominative	*nyy*	*nyl-*	}	*ä*
	muös[219]	*muösk-*		
Accusative	*nyy*	*nyl-*	}	*äs*
	muös	*muösk-*		
Instructive	*nylän*	*nyyna-*	}	*m*
	muöskän	*muösna-*		
Caritive	*nyytäg*	*nyytäg-*	}	*ä* *)
	muöstäg	*muöstäg-*		
Dative	*nyyly*	*nyl-*	}	*äly*
	muösly	*muösk-*		
Allative	*nyylanj*	*nyylanj-*	}	*e* **)
	muöslanj	*muöslanj-*		
Illative	*nylä'*	*nyla-*	}	*m*
	muöskä'	*muöska-*		
Adessive	*nyylän*	*nyl-*	}	*älän*
	muöslän	*muösk-*		
Ablative 1.	*nyylys[j]*	*nyl-*	}	*älys[j]*
	muöslys[j]	*muösk-*		
Ablative 2.	*nyysänj*	*nyysänj-*	}	*e*
	muössänj	*muössänj-*		

*) or: *nylätäg, muöskätäg*[220]; *nyytägjaä, muöśtägjaä; nylätägja, muöskätägja* etc.
**) or: *nylälanj, muöskälanj, -ydlanj, -yslanj* etc.

❖ 65 ❖

[Singular]

2	3	1		2	3
yd	ys	*nyy-muös-* } *num*		*nyd*	*nys*
nyy-muös- } *tä*	*sä*	*numäs*		*nydtä* or *nydä*	*nysä*
d	*s*	*num*		*nyd*	*nys*
yd	*ys*	*num*		*nyd*	*nys*
ydly	*ysly*	*nyy-muös-* } *numly*		*nydly*	*nysly*
yd	*ys*	*num*		*nyd*	*nys*
d	*s*	*num*		*nyd*	*nys*
ydlän	*yslän*	*nyy-muös-* } *numlän*		*nydlän*	*nyslän*
ydlys[j]	*yslys[j]*	*nyy-muös-* } *numlys[j]*		*nydlys[j]*	*nyslys[j]*
yd	*ys*	*num*		*nyd*	*nys*

❀ 66 ❀

[II] Irregular declension

Singular

			1	
Elative	*nylys[j]*	*nyysj-*	}	*(u)m*
	muöskys[j]	*muösj-*		
Consecutive	*nyyla*	*nyl-*	}	*äla*
	muösla	*muös-*		
Prosecutive	*nyläd*	*nyläd-*	}	*ä*
	muöskäd	*muöskäd-*		
Terminative	*nyledzj*	*nyledzj-*	}	*e*
	muöskedzj	*myöskedzj-*		

Plural

Nominative	*nyyjas*	*nyyjas-*	}	*ä*
	muösjas	*muösjas-*		
Accusative	*nyyjas*	*nyyjas-*	}	*äs*
	muösjas	*muösjas-*		
Instructive	*nyyjasän*	*nyyjasna-*	}	*m*
	muösjasän	*muösjasna*		
Caritive	*nyyjastäg*	*nyyjastäg-*	}	*ä *)*
	muösjastäg	*muösjastäg-*		
Dative	*nyyjasly*	*nyyjas-*	}	*äly*
	muösjasly	*muösjas-*		

———————

*) or: *nyyjaśtägjaä*, *muösjaśtägjaä* etc.

98

❖ 67 ❖

[Singular]

2	3	1	2	3
(y)d	*(y)s*	*(u)num*	*(y)nyd*	*(y)nys*
ydla	*ysla*	*numla*	*nydla*	*nysla*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*

[Plural]

2	3	1	2	3
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
tä	*sä*	*numäs*	*nydtä* or *nydä*	*nysä*
d	*s*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
ydly	*ysly*	*numly*	*nydly*	*nysly*

❖ 68 ❖

[II] Irregular declension

Plural

			1
Allative	*nyyjaslanj* *muösjaslanj*	*nyyjaslanj-* *muösjaslanj-*	} *e* *)
Illative	*nyyjasä'* *muösjasä'*	*nyyjasa-* *muösjasa-*	} *m*
Adessive	*nyyjaslän* *muösjaslän*	*nyyjas-* *muösjas-*	} *älän*
Ablative 1.	*nyyjaslys[j]* *muösjaslys[j]*	*nyyjas-* *muösjas-*	} *älys[j]*
Ablative 2.	*nyyjassänj* *muösjassänj*	*nyyjassänj-* *muösjassänj-*	} *e*
Elative	*nyyjasys[j]* *muösjasys[j]*	*nyyjasj-* *muösjasj-*	} *(u)m*
Consecutive	*nyyjasla* *muösjasla*	*nyyjas-* *muösjas-*	} *äla*
Prosecutive	*nyyjasäd* *muösjasäd*	*nyyjasäd-* *muösjasäd-*	} *ä*
Terminative	*nyyjasedzj* *muösjasedzj*	*nyyjasedzj-* *muösjasedzj-*	} *e*

*) or: *nyyjasälanj, muösjasälanj, -ydlanj, -yslanj* etc.

❦ 69 ❦

[Plural]

2	3	1	2	3
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
d	*s*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
ydlän	*yslän*	*numlän*	*nydlän*	*nyslän*
ydlys[j]	*yslys[j]*	*numlys[j]*	*nydlys[j]*	*nyslys[j]*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
(y)d	*(y)s*	*(u)num*	*(y)nyd*	*(y)nys*
ydla	*ysla*	*numla*	*nydla*	*nysla*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*
yd	*ys*	*num*	*nyd*	*nys*

221 Rédei also calls this the reflexive pronoun (1978: 92–94), but Bartens (as ÖKK: 169) calls it an emphatic/intensifying personal pronoun, because it can be used not only as a reflexive pronoun but also as an independent pronoun. It has two stems: *ać-* [ач-] with a vowel-initial suffix and its allomorph *aś-* [ась-] with a consonant-initial suffix as well as a second stem *as-* [ac-]. (Bartens 2000: 158–.)

222 Cf. paradigms in the dialect monograph (ID: 72) and that in the standard language (ÖKK: 170); there the stems *aś-* and *as-* are more clearly illustrated than in Castrén's table.

❦ 70 ❦
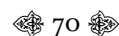
§ 61

Originally, the reflexive pronoun *as*[221] '-self, -selves', was undoubtedly a noun, and one in a declined form at that, with the expressive weight of a noun. Here it undermines its very status as an adjective, such that before nouns it does not decline. When it, at times, appears without a noun, it declines regularly in the singular. The plural *asjas* is never used. In the Ižma dialect *as* appears less often than its suffixed forms: *acjum, acjyd, acjys*, whose declension is irregular in the singular. The plural *jas* is not even used in [the possessive] declension, instead the singular *as* forms plural with a plural [possessive] ending.

Singular[222]

	1	2	3
Nom.	*acjum* ['myself']	*acjyd* ['yourself']	*acjys* ['himself, herself, itself']
Accus.	*acjumäs*	*as[j]tä*	*ass[j]ä*
Instr.	*asnam*	*asnad*	*asnas*
Carit.	*astägä* *)	*astägyd*	*astägys*
Dat.	*aslum*	*aslyd*	*aslys*
Allat.	*aslanje*	*aslanjyd*	*aslanjys*
Illat. & Iness.	*asam*	*asad*	*asas*
Adess.	*aslam*	*aslad*	*aslas*
Abl. 1. & Elat.	*assjum*	*assjyd*	*assjys*
Abl. 2.	*assänje*	*assänjyd*	*assänjys*
Consec.	(*aslaä*	*aslayd*	*aslays*)
Prosec.	*asädä*	*asädyd*	*asädys*
Term.	*asedzje*	*asedzjyd*	*asedzjys*

*) Cf. § 60.

❖ 71 ❖
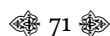
Plural[223]

|	1	2	3
Nom.	*as[j]num*	*as[j]nyd*	*as[j]nys*
	['ourselves']	['yourselves']	['themselves']
Accus.	*as[j]numäs*	*as[j]nydtä*	*as[j]nysä*
		or *-dä*	
Instr.	*asnanum*	*asnanyd*	*asnanys*
Carit.	*astägnum* *)	*astägnyd*	*astägnys*
Dat.	*aslunum*	*aslynyd*	*aslynys*
Allat.	*aslanjnum*	*aslanjnyd*	*aslanjnys*
Illat.	*asanum*	*asanyd*	*asanys*
Adess.	*aslanum*	*aslanyd*	*aslanys*
Abl. 1. & Elat.	*assjunum*	*assjynyd*	*assjynys*
Abl. 2.	*assänjnum*	*assänjnyd*	*assänjnys*
Consec.	(*aslanum*	*aslanyd*	*aslanys*)
Prosec.	*asädnum*	*asädnyd*	*asädnys*
Term.	*asedzjnum*	*asedzjnyd*	*asedzjnys*

N.B. The same kind of nominative has been derived from another form, containing the letter *t* (*ats*, *atse*[224], Fi *itse*). In the singular, the first-person accusative is formed from the nominative *acjum*, but in other persons the suffixes are added to the root *as*. The dative, adessive and consecutive do not take [possessive] suffixes on the stem but on the end, in both the sg. and pl. The adessive, which is used quite seldom, however, changes *ä* to *a* and drops the final *n*.

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*) Cf. § 60.

223 Cf. paradigms in the dialectic monograph (ID: 72–73) and those in the standard language (ÖKK: 170); there the stems *aś-* and *as-* are more clearly illustrated than in Castrén's table.
224 See § 61, note 222.

225 The demonstrative pronoun *tajö* [тайö] 'this' has an emphatic counterpart with the prefix *e-*. The standard form is *etaja* [этайö] 'this one here, this very' (the same is seen with pronoun *sijö* [сийö] > *esijö* [эсийö] 'that one there, that very one').

226 Cf. paradigms in the dialect monograph (ID: 77), declension is given there for the distal deictic pronoun: sg. *etija* [этийа] 'that one there, that very one', pl. *enija* [энийа] 'those there, those very ones'. For the paradigms in standard language, see ÖKK: 185. Cf. Preface, VI, 2.

227 See note 226.

❖ 72 ❖
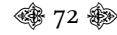
§ 62

The demonstrative pronouns in the Zyrian language are: *sya* 'it', which is used simultaneously as a personal pronoun (see above), *etaja* or *taja*[225] 'this'. In the other dialects a demonstrative pronoun *ezda* 'just this', pl. *ezdajas* is still found, which is also known in the Ižma dialect but used sometimes only in the nominative. The pronouns *etaja*, pl. *enaja* form their cases from *eta*, pl. *ena*, which are also used in the genitive. *Taja*, having no plural, is declinated in the singular as *etaja*, that is as if the nominative stem were *ta*.

	Singular[226]		Plural[227]
Nom.	*etaja*	Nom.	*enaja*
	'this here'		'these here'
Gen.	*eta, -län,*	Gen.	*ena, -län,*
	-lys[j]		*-lys[j]*
Accus.	*etaje*	Accus.	*enaje*
Instr.	*etaän*	Instr.	*enaän*
Carit.	*etatäg*	Carit.	*enatäg*
Dat.	*etaly*	Dat.	*enaly*
Allat.	*etalanj*	Allat.	*enalanj*
Illat.	*etaä'*	Illat.	*enaä'*
Adess.	*etalän*	Adess.	*enalän*
Iness.	*etayn*	Iness.	*enayn*
Abl. 1.	*etalys[j]*	Abl. 1.	*enalys[j]*
Abl. 2.	*etasänj*	Abl. 2.	*enasänj*
Elat.	*etays[j]*	Elat.	*enays[j]*
Consec.	*etala*	Consec.	*enala*
Prosec.	*etaäd*	Prosec.	*enaäd*
Term.	*etaedzj*	Term.	*enaedzj*

❖ 73 ❖
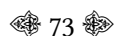
§ 63

The interrogative and relative pronoun: *kod* or *kody* 'who', Fi *ku, kuka*[228], Lapp. *gi, gutte* are declined regularly in sing. and plur. The interrogative pronoun *myj* 'what', Fi *mi*, is also declined regularly in the singular, but in the plural it borrows the cases of the pronoun *kod*.[229]

Singular

Nom.	*kod, kody* 'who'	Nom.	*myj* 'what'
Gen.	*kodlän,* *kodlys[j]*	Gen.	*myjlän,* *myjlys[j]*
Accus.	*kodäs*	Accus.	*myj*
Instr.	*kodän*	Instr.	*myjjen*
Carit.	*kodtäg*	Carit.	*myjtäg*
Dat.	*kodly*	Dat.	*myjly*
Allat.	*kodlanj*	Allat.	*myjlanj*
Illat.	*kodä'*	Illat.	*myjje'*
Adess.	*kodordyn*[230]	Adess.	*myjlän*
Iness.	*kodyn*	Iness.	*myjjyn*
Abl. 1.	*kodlys[j]*	Abl. 1.	*myjlys[j]*
Abl. 2.	*kodsänj*	Abl. 2.	*myjsänj*
Elat.	*kodys[j]*	Elat.	*myjjys[j]*
Consec.	*kodla*	Consec.	*myjla* or *myjlja*
Prosec.	*kodäd*	Prosec.	*myjjed*
Term.	*kodedzj*	Term.	*myjjedzj*

228 The comparison is correct, but the Finnish counterpart is not relative, only interrogative.

229 Cf. paradigms in the standard language (ÖKK: 187). In the dialect monograph (ID) there are forms *myj* [мый], instr. *myjän* [мыйэн] and pl. nom. *myjjas* [мыййас]; the pronoun *myj*, if needed, takes plural forms, too (cf. ID: 78, 181). The editors, however, use the form *myj*, which is encountered more often in the manuscript.

230 The form *kodordyn* seems to have been formed by joining the words *kod* 'who' and a postposition *ordyn* 'at, by'. See also the plural form, p. 74.

231 Cf. ID: 79, where the particle *-kε* [-кэ] may seem to alternate with the lexicalized 3sg *-śurε* [-с'урэ].

For standard paradigms of the indefinite pronouns *kodkö* [кодкö] 'somebody (indefinite, non-specific)', *kodśurö* [кодсюрö] 'somebody (indefinite, specific)', *myjkö* [мыйкö] 'something (indefinite, non-specific)', *myjśurö* [мыйсюрö] 'something (indefinite, specific)', see ÖKK: 191–194.

232 In this paragraph, Castrén actually offers some indefinite pronouns and interrogative and relative pronouns used like adjectives, in the absence of the quantifier pronouns *stav* [став] 'all', *byd* [быд] 'each', *möd* [мöд] and *muköd* [мукöд] 'other' and the reciprocal pronouns *möda-möd* [мöда-мöд] 'one another', *öta-möd* [öта-мöд] 'each other'.

❧ 74 ❧

	Plural
Nom.	*kodjas*
Gen.	*kodjaslän* or *-lys*[*j*]
Accus.	*kodjasäs*
Instr.	*kodjasän*
Carit.	*kodjastäg*
Dat.	*kodjasly*
Allat.	*kodjaslanj*
Illat.	*kodjasä'*
Adess.	*kodjasordyn*
Iness.	*kodjasyn*
Abl. 1.	*kodjaslys*[*j*]
Abl. 2.	*kodjassänj*
Elat.	*kodjasys*[*j*]
Consec.	*kodjasla*
Prosec.	*kodjasäd*
Term.	*kodjasedzj*

§ 64

The pronoun adjectives are born of both derivation and combination: *kučäm* 'what kind of', Fi *kummoinen*; *sečäm* 'such, like that', Fi *semmoinen*; *tačäm* 'this kind, Fi *tämmöinen*; *kodkä* or *kodykä* 'someone', Fi *joku* (orig. *kuka*); *myjkä* 'something', Fi *mikä*; *kučämkä* 'some kind of' (Ru какій ли); *tačämkä* and *sečämkä* 'this kind of, that kind of (Ru такій ли). All of these are regularly declined in both numbers, and they are regarded as indefinite pronouns when followed by the particle *kä* (*kö*, Fi *ko*, *kö*) 'if' (Ru ли) in compositions, where case endings are added to the stem before the particle, e.g. *kodkä*[231], iness. *kodynkä*, elat. *kodys*[*j*]*kä*, pl. *kodjaskä*, as in the Finnish language: *kuka*, *kunka*, *kullenka*, pl. *kutka* etc.[232]

❦ 75 ❦
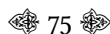
§ 65

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.