

Past tense in Permic languages

An overview of tense systems in Permic languages with
historical perspectives on tense categories in Uralic

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Verbs in Uralic

- Can inflect in...
 - Tense
 - Modus
 - Aspect – usually not a morphological category, aspect is expressed in other ways, aspectual affixes exist in Hungarian and – kind of – Estonian
 - Polarity (POS-NEG)
 - Person and number of the **subject** (singular, DUAL, plural!)
 - Person and number of the **object (object conjugation!)**
- Many Uralic languages show traces of nominal forms in their verb inflection
 - e.g. Finnic 3rd person forms:
 - est. *ta lähe-b* (he go-3SG.PRS > **pA* present participle)
 - fi. *he lähte-vät* (they go-3PL.PRS > **pA* + plural *t*)
- The use of non-finite clauses (nominal forms) is still quite common in Uralic languages

Personal conjugation in PU (Janhunen 1982)

verbal personal endings		cf. the personal pronouns
sg. 1.	-m	*mun
2.	-n ~ -t	*tun
3.	-∅	
du. 1.	? -mäjn/-mäjn	
2.	? -täjn/-täjn	
3.	-kə(-)	
pl. 1.	-mät -mät	*me-
2.	-tät -tät	*te-
3.	-t	

	absolute	gen. & obl.	accusative
sg. 1.	-mə	-nə	-mə
2.	-tə	-ntə	-mtə
3.	-să -să	-nsă -nsă	-msă -msă
pl. 1.	-mät -mät	-nät -nät	-mät -mät
2.	-tät -tät	-ntät -ntät	-mtät -mtät
3.	? -sät -sät	-nsät -nsät	-msät -msät
du. 1.	? -mäjn -mäjn	-näjn -näjn	-mäjn -mäjn
2.	? -täjn -täjn	-ntäjn -ntäjn	-mtäjn -mtäjn
3.	? -säjn -säjn	-nsäjn -nsäjn	-msäjn -msäjn

- Verbal (subject) conjugation

- Possessive suffixes (used with nominal verb forms and possibly object conjugation)

Object conjugation – what?

- Object conjugation: the object is marked in the verb as well as the subject (number & sometimes even person)
- Janhunen (1982) suggests, that in the object conjugation, verbal personal suffixes were substituted by possessive suffixes
- Object conjugation exists in the Ugric languages as well as Mordvin
- There is no consensus on whether Proto-Uralic had object conjugation or not, but other groups also show traces of px's in some verbal inflection paradigms (Permic!)

Verbal categories in Proto-Uralic

- Tense
 - System was built on an unmarked aorist form and nominal verb forms
 - The temporal value of the aorist was dependant on the semantics of the verb
 - Nominal verb forms (participle predecessors) had a temporal value based on the function of the marker
 - The category of aspect has been suggested to have played a role:
 - The semantics of the aorist lexeme defined the aspectual category, which then defined the default temporal value:
 - Stative/durative verbs → imperfective aspect → present tense
 - Dynamic verbs → perfective aspect → past tense
- Person
 - Singular, dual, plural
 - Personal suffixes originate in old personal pronouns
- Modus
 - Indicative
 - Imperative **k*
 - (Potential **ne?*) (the original function of this modal category is unclear)

Tense systems in Uralic languages

- The number of tenses, especially as far as the **synthetic or simple forms are concerned**, is rather small in the Uralic languages. More than one category of the simple past tense occurs in Cheremis, Permic and Hungarian [?], where there are two simple past tenses. (Tauli 1966)
 - ← actually, the tense systems in some languages are rather complex!
- Morphologically the category of tense [in Proto-Uralic] can be divided into two types: the conjugation without special tense markers, and the conjugation of the tense morphemes (Janhunen 1982)
- The ordinary conjugation without a tense morpheme was probably originally neutral with regard to time, forming an aorist that could refer to present, future, or even past actions depending upon the semantics of the verb (a similar system exists today in Samoyed). (Janhunen 1982)
- The non-aorist tense forms were all based on verbal nouns: any verbal noun could be used as a predicate and conjugated for person. (Janhunen 1982)

Verbal categories in Proto-Uralic: nominal forms (participles) and tense markers (Janhunen 1982)

Nominal verb forms

Marker	Function
<i>-j</i>	Action, actor, ?compl. action
<i>-k</i>	Action, incompl. action
<i>-mǎ/-mä</i>	Action, circumstances of act.
<i>-mǝ</i>	Action, completed action
<i>-pǎ/-pä</i>	Action, actor
<i>-śa/-śä</i>	Action, actor, ?compl. action
<i>-ta/-tä</i>	Action, actor

Tense markers

Marker	Function in PU	Later functions
<i>-j</i>		Past
<i>-mǝ</i>		Past (perfect)
<i>-pǎ/-pä</i>		Present
<i>-śa/-śä</i>	Past	

In most of the present-day Uralic languages (esp. FU) the markerless aorist has tended to recede. New tense conjugation systems have been built through complex mixing of various verbal noun formatives and rudiments of the aorist. (Janhunen 1982)

Jaakko Häkkinen's view (Häkkinen 2011)

Tapamuodot eli modukset		
<i>indikatiivi</i>	---	(perusmuoto)
<i>imperatiivi</i>	-k ~ -ka	(käskymuoto)
<i>konjunktii</i>	-ni	(mahto/ehtomuoto)

Aikamuodot eli tempukset		
<i>aoristi</i>	---	(epämääräinen aika)
<i>preesens</i>	-k	(nykyaika)
<i>preteriti</i>	-sj ~ -j	(mennyt aika)

Nominaalimuodot		
<i>imperfektiiv</i>	-pa	(päättymätön tekeminen)
<i>perfektiiv</i>	-ma	(päättynyt tekeminen)
<i>kielteinen partis.</i>	-ma-kta(ma)	(tekemättömyys)
<i>infinitiivi</i>	-tak	(tekemisen perusmuoto)
<i>tekijäpartisiippi</i>	-ja	(tekijä)

Tense systems in Uralic: how were they formed? (Bartens 1993)

- All the Uralic languages have at least two past tenses
- In most Uralic languages, past tense systems are built on two markers:
 - **j* for imperfect (in some languages **ś*)
 - **m(V)* for perfect/evidential
- In many Uralic languages the participles and tense markers originate in the same forms
 - Fi. *kirjoittaa* 'write' *kirjoit-i-n* (write-IMP-1SG 'I wrote') > **j*, also *kirjoitta-ja* (write-DER) 'writer' *-ja* > **j*
- A temporal opposition quite typically forms between two tense forms that originate in two different participles: the completed action participle and the incomplete action participle
 - Fi. *kirjoittaa* 'write' ***kirjoit-i-n*** (write-IMP-1SG 'I wrote') *i* > **j* (simple past)
 - Fi. *Ole-n kirjoitta-nut* (be-1SG write-PTCP 'I have written') (present perfect)
 - (It can be argued if the difference of the simple past and present perfect is aspectual or temporal, but I would like to call it a difference of viewpoint.)
 - Udm. So ***koshk-i-z*** (he leave-1PST-3SG 'he left') *i* > **j* (1st past)'
 - Udm. So ***koshk-em*** (he leave-2PST.3SG 'he has [apparently] left/i've been told he left') *em* > **mV*

Tense systems in Uralic: how were they formed? (Bartens 1993)

- Furthermore, the present conjugation in various Uralic languages contains elements of the old nominal forms as well:
 - Traces of the old deverbal marker of incomplete action/actor **k* are found in many languages, also the present tense forms of Finnic and Permic
 - ...as well as the **pa/pä*, which is also the origin of the present participle in Finnic (*v(A)*)
 - Also the marker **j* is linked to some present tense forms in some languages
- Bartens assumes a connection between the imperfect markers and imperfectivity: therefore the **j*-marker would have been an incomplete action marker – at least at some point
 - This kind of contradicts Janhunen's view

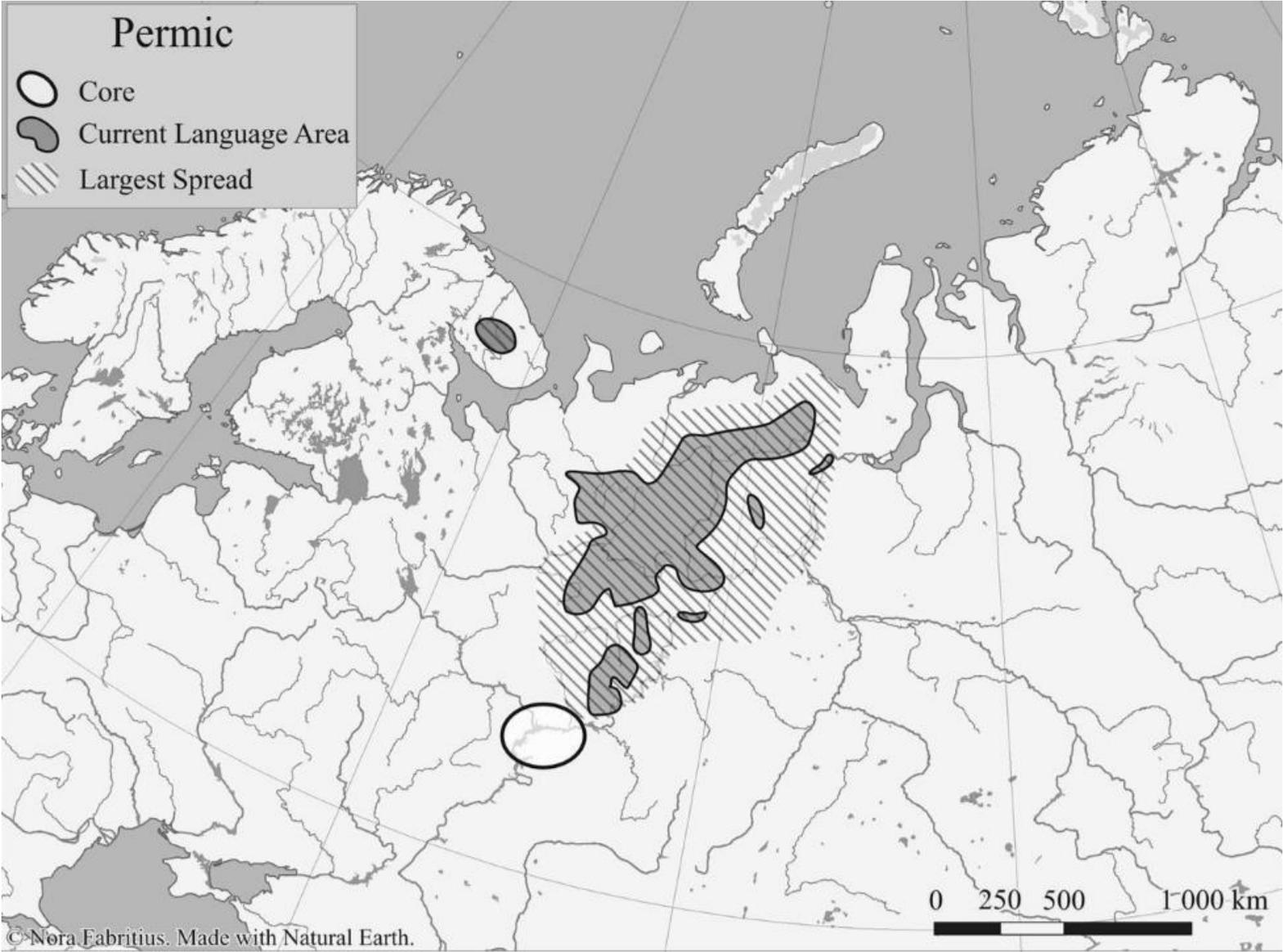
Tense systems in Uralic: Object conjugation and subject conjugation

- Bartens (1993) also assumes a connection between the object conjugation and perfective aspect as well as the subject conjugation and the imperfective aspect
- Quite often the present tense and simple past forms (**j*-past) contain traces of subject conjugation whereas the perfect and future forms contain traces of object conjugation
 - As the perfect is often based on a participial (=nominal) form, it is not surprising to find traces of the object conjugation, which basically means possessive suffixes – the object conjugation is often based on nominal personal suffixes (=PX), whereas the subject conjugation is based on verb-bound personal endings (=VX)
- A compelling theory – perfective aspect is also linked to a higher level of transitivity, as well as definiteness of the object, which again is linked to object conjugation
 - Has its flaws though

Tense in Permic:

Permic languages

- The Permic languages represent a branch of the Uralic language family
- Udmurt and Komi
 - Komi: ca. 219,000 speakers (Ethnologue)
 - Komi is traditionally still divided into two variants, Komi Zyrian and Komi Permyak
 - Udmurt has ca. 340,000 speakers (Ethnologue)
 - The languages are spoken in central and northern Russia, and both are minority languages in their titular republics
 - Despite the relatively high amount of speakers, still considered endangered languages





(Map: Svetlana Jedygarova 2019)

Verb in Permic

- Inflects in...
 - Person (6 persons, no dual conjugation)
 - Tense
 - Present
 - Future (!)
 - 1st (simple) past
 - 2nd (simple) past
 - Compound past tenses!
 - Modus
 - Indicative
 - Imperative
 - Optative
 - Conditional (only in udmurt)

Tense in Permic

- Four simple tenses
 - As stated before: present, future, 1st past, 2nd past
- Compound tenses:
 - Udmurt has 4-7, depending on how you count: compound tenses consist of a finite form of the main verb and a non-finite (past) auxiliary *val/vilem* (1st past / 2nd past)
 - Komi has 2-4, again depending on how you count: the system is mostly similar to Udmurt, and the forms consist of the same elements (auxiliary *vęli/vęleḡm*)

Present tense in Permian

	UDMURT		KOMI
	I CONJUGATION <i>mjnɨnj</i> 'to go'	II CONJUGATION <i>užanj</i> 'to work'	<i>munɨj</i> 'to go'
INF	<i>mjnɨnj</i>	<i>užanj</i>	<i>munɨj</i>
1SG	<i>mjniško</i>	<i>užaško</i>	<i>muna</i>
2SG	<i>mjniškod</i>	<i>užaškod</i>	<i>munan</i>
3SG	<i>mjne</i>	<i>uža</i>	<i>munɨ</i>
1PL	<i>mjniškomj</i>	<i>užaškomj</i>	<i>munam</i>
2PL	<i>mjniškodj</i>	<i>užaškodj</i>	<i>munannjd</i>
3PL	<i>mjno</i>	<i>užalo</i>	<i>munɨnj</i>

- Similarities:

- 3SG:

- Marker *e* ~ *ɨ* a merged vowel (vowel merge?)

- Originates in the PU deverbalizer **k* (incomplete action) – as expected for a present tense marker

- 1SG *-o/-a*-marker (vowel correspondance *o* ~ *a*), see future!

- Differences:

- Personal endings: 2SG *-d* ~ *-n*

- Most likely PU *Vx *t* ~ **n*

- Udmurt derivational suffix *-śk-*

- *-śk-* = an old frequentative suffix

Future tense in Permic

	UDMURT		KOMI
	I CONJUGATION	II CONJUGATION	
INF	<i>mjnjnj</i>	<i>užanj</i>	<i>munnj</i>
1SG	<i>mino</i>	<i>užalo</i>	<i>muna</i>
2SG	<i>mjnod</i>	<i>užalod</i>	<i>munan</i>
3SG	<i>mjnoz</i>	<i>užaloz</i>	<i>munas</i>
1PL	<i>mjnomj</i>	<i>užalomj</i>	<i>munam</i>
2PL	<i>mjnodj</i>	<i>užalodj</i>	<i>munannjd</i>
3PL	<i>mjnozj</i>	<i>užalozj</i>	<i>munasnj</i>

- Similarities:
 - Apart from the personal endings: everything
 - NB: except for the 3rd person forms, Komi present and future paradigms are identical
- Differences: ?
- Future 1SG and 2SG = present
- ...except for: 3rd person
 - In both languages, the 3rd person forms clearly originate in possessive suffixes
 - There seems to be a connection to (the old) object conjugation (which no longer exists in Permic)
 - Future tense – object conjugation – perfectivity?

Future tense in Proto-Permic?

The present and future tenses in Proto-Permic according to Csúcs (2005)

	PRESENT	FUTURE
1SG	<i>muna</i>	<i>muna</i>
2SG	<i>munad</i>	<i>munad</i>
3SG	<i>mune</i>	<i>munas/munaz</i>
1PL	<i>munamj</i>	<i>munamj</i>
2PL	<i>munadj</i>	<i>munadj</i>
3PL	<i>?muna</i>	<i>munasj/munazj</i>

- Csúcs: Proto-Permic had separate present and future paradigms which differed only in the 3rd person forms (Csúcs 2005)
- Px in 3rd person future forms: old objective conjugation, which Bartens (1993) connects with the perfective aspect
- The connection between the perfective aspect and the future is a recognised phenomenon in general linguistics

1st past in Permic

	UDMURT		KOMI
	I CONJUGATION	II CONJUGATION	
INF	<i>mjnijnj</i>	<i>užanj</i>	<i>munnj</i>
1SG	<i>mini</i>	<i>užaj</i>	<i>muni</i>
2SG	<i>mjnid</i>	<i>užad</i>	<i>munin</i>
3SG	<i>mjniz</i>	<i>užaz</i>	<i>munis</i>
1PL	<i>mjnimj</i>	<i>užamj</i>	<i>munim</i>
2PL	<i>mjnidj</i>	<i>užadj</i>	<i>muninnjd</i>
3PL	<i>mjnizj</i>	<i>užazj</i>	<i>muni(s)nj</i>

- Similarities: many
- The marker *i* originates in the old complete action/actor marker **j* (see previous slides!)
- The suffixes show traces of the old Px's – as could be expected for a tense of completed action

2nd past in Permic

	UDMURTTI		KOMI
	I CONJUGATION	II CONJUGATION	
INF	<i>mjnĵnj</i>	<i>užanj</i>	<i>munĵj</i>
1SG	<i>mjniškem</i>	<i>užaškem</i>	-
2SG	<i>mĵnemed</i>	<i>užamed</i>	<i>munĵmĵd</i>
3SG	<i>mĵnem</i>	<i>užam</i>	<i>munĵma</i>
1PL	<i>mjniškemmĵ</i>	<i>užaškemmĵ</i>	-
2PL	<i>mĵnil'ĵamdi</i>	<i>užal'ĵamdi</i>	<i>munĵmĵd</i>
3PL	<i>mĵnil'ĵam(zj)</i>	<i>užal'ĵam(zj)</i>	<i>munĵmaĵś</i>

- Formed with the Permic completed action participle *-Vm*
- Is often called the **evidential past** – the meaning is otherwise quite similar to the 1st past, but is a form of indirect speech (the speaker themselves is not the source of knowledge)
- Originates in the Proto-Uralic completed action participle *-mV*
- Similarities:
 - Forms are based on the *Vm*-participle
- Differences:
 - No 1st person forms in Komi (or is there?)
 - In Udmurt, the personal conjugation has gotten out of hand
 - In Komi the participle gets a derivational suffix *a* (adjective)

But how are the tenses used?

- Future and present tense are used pretty much as expected – present tense describes actual events and actions and/or common knowledge/facts, future tense refers to possible future events
- 1st past is used as the main past tense for narration of past events
- 2nd past is used for...
 - Indirect speech
 - Inference
 - Mirative
- In literature, the “historical present” or narrative present is also used
- When the narrative present is used, also 1st and 2nd past are often used in the same context, which might leave the reader a bit confused – why are they not being consistent!?
- The next piece of text shows some interesting use of temporal forms:

Corpus text

- *Tšukažejaz važ ik **sajkaz (1PST)**.*
 - 'In the morning, he woke up.'
- *Anajez **koškemjn (RES) iíni**.*
 - 'His mother is already gone.'
- *Suzerez **íže (PRS) na**.*
 - 'His sister still sleeps.'
- *Mat'i ukno dorj **myniz (1PST): kiče kuaž?***
 - 'Mat'i went to the window: how is the weather?'
- *Ujin ljmj **ušem. (2PST)***
 - 'In the night, snow has fallen.'
- *Kudog intiosj l'ukjos **pukšil'l'am (2PST)***
 - 'In some places, snowdrift has landed.'
- *Dišaškjsa pijaš kuasen urame **potiz (1PST)***
 - 'The boy dressed up and went out.'

The resultative participle

- In both Permic languages, a special resultative participle is used in certain contexts – also called the predicative participle
- Udmurt: *-(e)mjn*
 - *Ukno ustemjn.* 'the window is open'
 - *Mon šiiškemjn.* 'I have eaten (enough).'
 - Difference between 1PST/2PST/RES:
 - PST1: *Mon kijnmi.* 'I caught a cold.'
 - PST2: *Mon kijnmiškem.* 'I have [apparently] caught a cold.'
 - RES: *Mon kijnmemjn.* 'I am ill.'
- Komi: *-(e)ma*
 - In Komi, the forms is basically identical with the 2PST forms, so it is difficult to tell these forms apart – and is there any reason to do so?

Past in Permic: compound tenses

- In addition to simple past tenses, there are also various compound tense forms in both Permic languages
- There are two models for forming compound tenses:
 - Finite main verb + auxiliary 'be' (in past tense)
 - Participial form of the main verb + auxiliary 'be' (in past or present tense, depending on the form)
- Word order:
 - Udmurt: SOV (can be considered a Uralic feature, although some of it is probably due to convergence between the surrounding Turkic SOV languages and the Volgaic Uralic languages), so auxiliary comes after the main verb
 - Komi: mostly SVO – auxiliary most often precedes the main verb, but there is variation
 - The differences between the Udmurt and Komi prototypical word orders (and many other things) can be explained through different emphasis in language contacts
 - Udmurt – stronger Turkic influence
 - Komi – stronger Russian influence
- Compound tenses are inadequately described in grammars – further research is required

Durative compound tense

- The durative compound tense:

- PRS main verb + auxiliary udm. *val* / ko. *vęli* (1PST) or udm. *vylem* / ko. *vęlema* (2PST)

- Udmurtti

- *Škola-in* *uža-ku-m,* *mon* *pinal-jos-tj*
school-INE work-GER-1SG I child-PL-ACC

- *ožj* *ik* ***djšet-išk-o*** ***val.***
like.that PTCL teach-PRS-1SG be.1PST

- 'While working at the school, I also taught kids.'

- Komi

- *A* *me* *šemśę* ***vęli*** ***čęž-a,*** *o-g* *šo-j.*
but I money be.1PST save-1SG.PRS NEG.1SG.PRS eat-1PST.1SG

- 'But I was saving money, I didn't eat.'

Durative compound tense

- The durative past tense is primarily used to describe actions with an imperfective aspect, as incomplete actions in progress over a specific period
- Is often used to describe actions and events that create sort of on-going surroundings for the main narrative sequences/events (usually expressed in 1PST)
- Aspect: imperfective
- A common tense form in my materials for both Komi and Udmurt
- May also appear with the evidential auxiliary *v̆ilem/v̆eļem*
- As the structure is found in both Permic languages, it can be assumed to have been existed in Proto-Permic
 - If this is true, could it have been the imperfective pair of the 1st past?

Habitual compound tense?

- Both languages also have a habitual construction
 - FUT main verb + auxiliary in past tense
- The function of the form is very similar to the durative, but instead of durative, habitual: 'used to something'
- In both languages, this structure is rare in comparison to the durative
- Actually, the durative may also get the habitual meaning:
 - If the main verb gets a frequentative suffix
 - If the word 'often' is used
 - If the semantics of the verb allow it
- In Komi, the structure is also quite difficult to tell apart from the actual durative form, as the future tense forms differ from the present tense only in 3rd person

Pluperfects

- Both languages have also structures that resemble pluperfects
 - 1PST/2PST main verb + auxiliary 'be' in past tense
 - RES main verb + auxiliary 'be' in past tense (although in Komi, this is pretty much the same as 2PST + auxiliary 'be')
- In Udmurt:
 - 1PST + *val*
 - 2PST + *vjlem(/val?)*
 - RES + *val / vjlem*
- In Komi:
 - 2PST + *vęli/vęļem* (although *vęli* seems significantly more common)
- These structures are also called *distant pasts*, as they can be used in referring to events or actions in an indefinite, distant past

1ST PLUPERFECT (Udmurt, ~~Komi~~)

- Udmurt:

- *Vań* *na* *udmurt-ez* *djšet-iś* 9 *bibliotekar-jos-j*
EXS.PRS still udmurt-ACC learn-PTCP1 9 librarian-PL-1SG.PX

- *no!* *Ta-os-jz-lj* *aći-m* *čekt-i* *val* *kurs-jos-j*
also this-PL-3PX-DAT self-1SG.PX suggest-1PST be.1PST course-PL-ILL

- *vetl-jnj.* *Soglaš* *kariśk-i-zj,* *no* *kur-i-zj:*
come-INF agreement make-1PST-3PL and ask-1PST-3PL

- *dor-azj* *as-lj-m* *vujl-ono.*
PSTP-ILL.3PL.PX self-DAT-1SG.PX come-PTCP3

- 'There are also still nine librarians learning udmurt! I myself **suggested** [had suggested, suggested earlier] they come to the courses. They agreed and asked me to come to them myself.'

2ND PLUPERFECT (Udmurt & Komi)

- Udmurt

- *Odig gine skal-z-e tala-zj. Ogpolaz Sibir-e*
one only cow-3SG.PX-ACC take-1PST.3PL once Siberia-ILL
- *kel'an viliš vit' nilpi-jen valče sleigh-ILL dęd'j-je*
taking in.order.to five child-INSTR together sleigh-ILL
- *pukt-il'la-m vij-em ni. Vjl-azj diškut-en gine*
put.to.sit-3PL-2PST olla-2PST already top-ILL.3PLclothes-INSTR only
- *kel't-il'la-m.*
leave-3PL-2PST

- 'They only took one cow. Once [before] they had already put him in a sleigh with five children in order to be taken to Siberia. They only left them clothes on [they were left only the clothes they had on them].'
- In Udmurt, the auxiliary is most often ***vij-em*** (evidential) but also, although very rarely, *val*
- The structure also exists in Komi, although in Komi, the situation with the auxiliary is the other way around (the non-evidential is much more common)

3RD PLUPERFECT:

THE RESULTATIVE PLUPERFECT (Udmurt, Komi?)

- The udmurt resultative pluperfect:
 - *-(e)myn*-participle of the main verb + *val* / *vylem*
 - Both *val* and *vylem* are possible, but *val* is much more common
 - The main verb is in a resultative participle form: is formed with the completed action participle *-(e)m* combined with the inessive suffix *-yn* (in)
- As said before, this form also exists in Komi, but the form is identical to the 2nd past in 3rd person
- Thus, it seems that the so-called 2nd pluperfect in Komi has all the functions of the 3 pluperfects in Udmurt
- So...
 - Komi: 1 pluperfect structure
 - Udmurt: 3 pluperfect structures

RESULTATIVE PLUPERFECT: Udmurt

- *Pisatel'-ez* *bur-e* *vajj-nj* *Piči Purga* *joros* *biblioteka-je* *uno*
writer-ACC good-ILL bring-INF Piči Purga area library-ILL a.lot
- *kaljk* *ljukaškjl-i-z.* *Pisatel'-len* *tuspuktem-jos-jn-jz,* *knigaos-jn-jz* *no*
people gather-1PST-3SG writer-GEN photo-PL-INE-3PX book-INE-3PX and
- *žurnal-gazet-jos-jn* *pečatlaš-k-em* *už-jos-jn-jz* *tunšjiko*
journal-magazine-PL-INE print-PTCP2 work-PL-INE-2PX interesting
- *vjstavka* *lešt-em-jn* *va-l.*
exhibition make-RES be-1PST

- 'A lot of people gathered into the library of Pichi Purga to honour the writer. An interesting exhibition was made of the writer's photos, books and articles.'
- The resultative pluperfect structure is the structure that resembles the "western" pluperfects the most
- The resultative pluperfect is most common in impersonal structures, where the grammatical subject is the semantic object (patient)

Compound tenses in Permic: summary

Udmurt

	Function	Form of main V	Auxiliary
Imperfective compound tenses	Durative	Present	<i>val</i> <i>vjlem</i>
	(Habitual)	(Future)	<i>val</i> <i>vjlem</i>
Distant past compound tenses (pluperfects)	1. pluperfect	1 st past	<i>val</i>
	2. pluperfect	2 nd past	<i>(val?)</i> <i>vjlem</i>
	3. pluperfect (resultative)	-(e)myn participle	<i>val</i> <i>vjlem</i>

Komi

	Function	Form of main V	Auxiliary
Imperfective compound tenses	Durative-habitual	Present -future	<i>vęli</i>
			<i>vęļem</i>
Distant past compound tenses (pluperfects)	Pluperfect	2 nd past	<i>vęli</i>
			<i>vęļem</i>

UDMURT PLUPERFECTS

	1ST PLUPERFECT	2ND PLUPERFECT	3RD PLUPERFECT
Transitive, active, non-evidential	+	-	-
Transitive, active, evidential	-	+	-
Transitive, passive, non-evidential	-	-	+
Transitive, passive, evidential	-	-	+
Intransitive, resultative, non-evidential	(+)	-	+
Intransitive, resultative, evidential	-	(+)	+
Intransitive, non-resultative, non-evidential	+	-	-
Intransitive, non-resultative, evidential	-	+	-

Udmurt experiential perfect

- *Mami, mon so-lj nim no šot-j:*
mom I it-DAT name also give-1PRT.1SG
- *Fram. **Kil-em-ed** vaň-a šiče nim-o*
Fram hear-PTCP2-2SG.PX be.PRS-Q such name-DER
- *punj-jez?*
dog-ACC.3SG.PX
- 'Mom, I gave it a name, too: Fram. Have you heard of a dog named like that?'
- Main verb in *-(e)m*-participle + PX + present auxiliary

The origins of the compound tenses

- The compound tenses, especially the model finite "main verb + past auxiliary" is traditionally explained to be a Turkic loan
- Corresponding forms are also found in Mari
- This explanation is somewhat problematic: the forms are found in both Permic languages, but the Turkic contacts have been rather short-term during the time of Proto-Permic
 - The forms are also not found in the neighboring Turkic languages, so the explanations are mostly based on weak speculation: "these forms might be a loan from a Turkic language, that might have had these forms, but even for that, there is no strong evidence"
- The possibility of internal development should definitely not be ruled out
- Similar structures or traces of similar older structures are also found in Hungarian (although Hungarian has definitely been under heavy Turkic influence!) and some Samoyed variants

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