The modern Udmurt language is spoken by a minority people who have settled in the region between Kama and Volga rivers of the Russian Federation. Since almost all the speakers are Udmurt-Russian bilinguals, intensive direct borrowings from Russian. The standard Udmurt language has purist character and exists mostly as a written and official language. However Udmurt has specific categories that do not exist in the Komi language, some of them had appeared under the influence of contact Turkic languages.

The material of this chapter is based on the standard language. Linguistic judgments are made by Svetlana Edygarova and Yulia Speshilova who are native speakers of Udmurt, representing Middle and Northern dialects. Several examples from newspapers are also given.

Svetlana Edygarova has her doctoral thesis on Possessive category in Udmurt and she had investigated negation and has research on morphosyntactic variation in Permian languages. Yulia Speshilova investigates language versions and variation in the modern Udmurt. Orsolya Tánczos’s doctoral thesis on causative constructions in Udmurt and her research interests include syntax, Information Structure, language change, subordinations in the Udmurt language.

1.1. Basic word order in a sentence

1.1.1 Finite verb and its arguments
Traditionally Udmurt is considered to be an S(ubject) – O(bject) – V(erb) language (e.g. Winkler 2001, 2011, Vilkuna 1998, Timerhanova 2011). However in today’s language we can discover that the S V O also appears as a basic word order, especially among the Russian-dominant speakers (Asztalos & Tánczos 2014).

(1) Maša s’ion das’a-z.
Masha meal.NOM prepare-1PRT:3SG
‘Mary prepared a meal.’

(2) Maša das’a-z s’ion.
Masha prepare-1PRT:3SG meal.NOM
‘Mary prepared a meal.’

1.1.2 Non-finite verb and the object
In non-finite verb constructions the situation is similar to sentences with a finite verb. The only difference is that the object has to be adjacent to the non-finite constructions – since it is the argument of the non-finite verb. The non-finite with its object can appear either at the left or the right side of the matrix predicate as illustrated in (3) and (4).

(3) Maša-len [s’ion das’a-m-ez] Ḗ-z pot-y.
Masha-GEN meal.NOM prepare-PTC:3SG NEG/1PRT-3 come.out-SG
‘Mary did not want to prepare a meal.’

(4) Maša-len Ḗ-z pot-y [s’ion das’a-m-ez].
Masha-GEN NEG/1PRT-3 come.out-SG meal.NOM prepare-PTC:3SG
‘Mary did not want to prepare a meal.’

1.1.3 Word order in imperatives
In imperative sentences the word order of the constituents (verb, object) is different from the affirmative sentences, as illustrated in example (5) in which the verb appears in sentence initial position and precedes the object.

(5) Das’a s’ion! prepare.IMP:2SG meal.NOM
‘Prepare a meal!’

The order of constituents in negative imperatives is similar to the imperatives; the only different is that the negative auxiliary appears before the imperative verb and the object cannot intervene between the negative auxiliary and the verb following the rules of negation in Udmurt (see section 1.2)

(6) En (*s’ion) das’a s’ion!
NEG meal.NOM prepare.IMP:2SG meal.NOM
‘Don’t prepare a meal!’

1.1.4 Pronominal objects
Pronominal objects do not behave differently from nouns; they can appear between the subject and the verb or in the case of Russian-dominant speakers they can appear at the right side of the finite verb.

(7) Mi (so-je) ad’z’-i-m (so-je).
IPL 3sg-ACC see-1PST-1PL 3sg-ACC
‘We saw him’

In non-finite constructions the situation is similar to the sentences in example (3) and (4): the non-finite verb with its object can appear at both sides of the matrix predicate (8).

(8) Mil’am ([so-je ad’z’-em-my]) ç-z pot-y ([so-je ad’z’-em-my])
1PL:GEN 3SG-Acc see-PTC-1PL NEG/1PRT-3 come.out-SG 3SG-Acc see-PTC-1PL
‘We did not want to meet him.’

1.1.5 Sentences without a copula
Udmurt, similarly to some of other Uralic languages, is a copula-drop language. The copula is not overtly present in present tense indicatives with nominal (9) and adjectival (10) predicates.

(9) Saša emjas’.
Sasha doctor.NOM
‘Sasha is a doctor.’

(10) Mon peres’.
1SG old.NOM
‘I am old.’

However, there are two copulas in Udmurt: van’ ‘to be’ and luyny ‘to become’, but it is important to note here that luyny can be considered as copula only in the future tense, as in (12) and the van’ copula appears as val in past tense (11). The distribution and the morphological properties of the two copulas are different: van’ ‘to be’ does not agree with the subject while luyny ‘to become’ agrees in person and number with the subject and can occur in all tenses (12-13):

(11) So emjas’ val.
3SG doctor.NOM be.PST
‘She/he was a doctor.’

(12) Mon emjas’ lu-o.
1SG doctor.NOM become-FUT.1SG
‘I will become a doctor.’

(13) Mon emjas’ lu-i.
1SG doctor.NOM become-PST.1SG
‘I became a doctor.’

The copula is covert in Udmurt specificational sentences in (14) and (15) in all persons:

(14) Mynam tuž-ges no umoj eš-e Ivan.
1SG.GEN very-CMP PRC good friend-1SG Ivan
‘My best friend is Ivan.’

(15) Mon kivaltis’.
1SG director
‘I am the director.’

Unlike in predicational and specificational sentences, the appearance of the copula van’ ‘to be’ is obligatory in existential and possessive sentences, regardless of tense:

(16) Innmar van’.
God be.PRS
‘There is a God.’

(17) Komnata-yn stud’ent-jos van’
room-INESS student-PLN be.PRS
‘There are students in the room.’

There is a difference between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate in predications. APs obligatorily agree with the subject in number.¹

(18) a. Mon peres’.
1SG old.NOM
‘I am old.’

b. Mi peres’-es’.²
1PL old-PL
‘We are old.’

¹ Number agreement on NPs, on the other hand, seems to be subject to idiolectal variation, because not all native speakers produce number-agreement on the NP. Some informants prefer to use the nominal plural marker on predicate NPs instead:

(1) Mon emjas’.
1SG doctor.NOM
‘I am a doctor.’

(2) Mi emjas’-jos.
1PL doctor-PLN.NOM
‘We are doctors.’

² In Udmurt AP predicates have a special plural marker -es’ which does not occur in as agreement between the head and the adjective with attributive adjective (more on attributive adjectives see section 2.1.2).
The negative form of the copula in Udmurt is the negative particle e\v e\l \ 'not is'. Contrary to the non-negative sentences presented above the appearance of the e\v e\l is obligatory in all of the different sentence types (see section 1.2.4 for more information).

(19) S\a\sha  emjas'  e\v e\l.
    Sasha  doctor.NOM  NEG
    ‘Sasha is not a doctor.’

(20) Mon  peres’  e\v e\l.
    1SG  old.NOM  NEG
    ‘I am not old.’

(21) Komnata-yn  stud’ent-os  e\v e\l.
    room-INESS  student-PL  NEG
    ‘There are not students in the room.’

1.1.6 Location of adverbs

In Udmurt adverbs like ‘yet’ can occur in two different positions: 1. between the negative auxiliary and the finite verb (22) or 2. at the end of the clause (23). Appearance of the adverb in other positions makes the sentence ungrammatical.

(22) Ma\sha-len  s’ion  das’a-m-ez  e\z  na  pot-y
    Masha-GEN  meal.NOM  prepare.PTC-3SG  NEG/1PRT-3  yet  come.out-SG
    ‘Mary did not want yet to prepare a meal.’

(23) Ma\sha-len  s’ion  das’a-m-ez  e\z  pot-y  na
    Masha-GEN  meal.NOM  prepare-PTC-3SG  NEG/1PRT-3  come.out-SG  yet
    ‘Mary did not want yet to prepare a meal.’

Interestingly, the sentence final position is not available in that case where the matrix predicate precedes the non-finite construction.

(24) *Ma\shal-en  e\z  pot-y  s’ion  das’a-m-ez  na
    Masha-GEN  NEG/1PRT-3  come.out-SG  meal.NOM  prepare-PTC-3SG  yet

1.2 Negation

1.2.1 A negative auxiliary

As many other Finno-Ugric languages, Udmurt has negative verbs (Edygarova 2015). Negative verbs appear in the present, future and 1st past tense (the 1st preterite) and precede the lexical verb. In all tense paradigms, the negative verb bears personal markers; and number is marked on lexical verb. In the future and the 1st preterite (past) the tense is marked on negative verb, while in the present the tense marker links to lexical verb, as in (25) – (30).

(25) Ton  gurt-e  bert-is’ko-d.
    2SG  home-ILL  come.back-PRS-2SG
    ‘You go back home.’

(26) Ton  gurt-e  u-d  bert-is’k-y.
    2SG  home-ILL  NEG-2  come.back-PRS-SG
    ‘I do not go back home.’
Negative verb appears also in some other cases. In particular, optative has two paradigms of negations: with negative verb and negative particle.

### 1.2.2 Additional auxiliary verbs with negation

In the second preterite two ways of negation are possible: the negation can be expressed by negative bound morpheme –mte which at the same time express past non-evident tense and negation. Person and number in this case are marked by possessive suffixes (but irregularly) which are attached to the end suffixes’ chain. This kind of morphological negation is typical for the southern dialect. As R. Bartens claims, this negation pattern was borrowed from Turkic languages (Bartens 2000: 203). Another way of negation in the second preterite is using negative particle evel. The particle precedes the main verb; tense, person and number are marked on the main verb, which have the same form in affirmative form. This type is used in the northern dialect of Udmurt, as in (31) and (32).

#### (31) Petyr gurt-e bert-em.
Peter home-ILL come.back-2PRT:3SG
‘Peter, apparently, came back home.’

#### (32) Petyr gurt-e berty-mte-jez.
Peter home-ILL come.back-NEG/2PRT:3SG
‘Peter, apparently, did not come back home.’

#### (33) Petyr gurt-e evel bert-em.
Peter home-ILL NEG come.back-2PRT:3SG
‘Peter, apparently, did not come back home.’

Different negative particles are used in imperative and conditional. However, in the past those negative particles behaved as negative verbs (Edygarova 2015: 272-275). In optative negative verb can be used as well as negative particle.

#### (34) Myn!
go.IMP:2SG
‘Go!’

#### (35) En myny!
NEG go.SG
‘Don’t go!’
1.2.3. Word order in negative finite sentences
In affirmative indicative sentences the verb or predicate, as a rule, takes the final position. In the negative sentences, the verb has the same place, and the negative verb precedes the lexical verb, and cannot be separated by other words. Only adverbial particles can be placed in-between. Also the conjunction ke ‘if’ takes the place in-between negative and lexical verbs (Edygarova 2015: 278). Pronominal subject can interfere in the case of focusing. In the second preterite when negative particle is used, it precedes the main verb as well. Negative particles in imperative, conditional and optative also precede verbs.

1.2.4. Negation of non-finite clauses
Nonverbal clauses are typical for Udmurt, as in (38). In negative nonverbal clauses negative particle ēvel is used in present tense; and it takes sentence final position, as in (39).

(38) Nylaš džužyt.  
girl tall  
‘A girl is tall.’

(39) Nylaš džužyt ēvel.  
girl tall NEG  
‘A girl is not tall.’

However, in the future and past tenses different negative structures are used instead of the particle ēvel. In the first preterite negative particle ej precedes and combines with the verb val (past form from van’ ‘to be; exist’verbs); and has only singular form, as in (40).

(40) Nylaš džužyt ej val.  
girl tall NEG/FUT-3 be/SG  
‘A girl was not tall.’

In the second preterite two negative structures exist: (1) With negative participle ēvel vylem in singular and ēvel vylil’l’am in plural. (2) And with negative suffix –mte: vylmte in singular and vylil’l’amte in plural, as in (41) and (42).

(41) Nylaš džužyt vylmte.  
girl tall be/SG-NEG/2PRT  
‘A girl was not tall.’

(42) Nyl-jos džužyt vyl-il’l’a-mte.  
girl-PL tall be-PL-NEG/2PRT  
‘Girls were not tall.’
However, in the future regular negative verb appears instead of a particle. In particular, the negative verb uz combines with the verb luyny 'to be; to happen'; and has singular and plural form: uz lu (SG) and uz lue (PL), as in (43).

(43) Nylaš džužyt u-z lu-y.
girl tall NEG/FUT-3 be-SG
‘A girl will be not tall.’

Negation in subordinate clauses with the conjunction šuysa ‘that’ corresponds to verbal or nonverbal sentential negation, as in (44).

(44) Tod-is’ko, so u-z lykt-y šuysa.
know-PRS.1SG 3SG NEG/FUT-3 come-SG that
‘I know, that (s)he will not come.’

1.3 Complex main clauses

1.3.1 Regular yes/no questions
In Udmurt there is a special question particle -a (other variants are -o and -te) appearing in the yes/no questions as illustrated in example (45).

(45) Maša s’ion das’a-z -a?
Masha meal.NOM prepare-1PST:3SG Q
‘Did Masha prepare a meal?’

1.3.2 The question particle
The question particle is always attached to the constituent in question, as illustrated in the following examples (46)-(48). This means that there is no need to any changes regarding the positions of the constituents; the host with the questions particle appears in its original position.

(46) Maša -a das’a-z s’ion
Masha Q prepare-1PST:3SG meal.NOM
‘Was it Mary who prepared a meal?’

(47) Maša das’a-z -a s’ion
Masha prepare-1PST:3SG Q meal.NOM
‘Did Mary prepare a meal?’

(48) Maša das’a-z s’ion -a
Masha prepare-1PST:3SG meal.NOM Q
‘Was it a meal that Mary prepared?’

(49) Šyd -a Maša das’a-z?
soup.NOM Q Masha prepare-1PST:3SG
‘Was it a soup that Mary prepared?’

1.3.4 Content (WH-) questions

3 The other way to express a yes/no questions in Udmurt is by intonation. In this case, the appearance of the question particle is not obligatory (Winkler 2001).
In Wh-questions the appearance of an interrogative pronoun is obligatory, mostly at the beginning of the sentence.

(50) Ma(r) Maša das’a-z?
    what Masha prepare-1PST:3SG
    ‘What did Mary prepare?’

1.3.5 Word order in WH-questions
The word order of the WH-questions is not so strict. In the standard variation, the WH-word attracts the verb to its right side as illustrated in example (50) above, but in spoken language the predicate can easily appears in its sentence final position, as in example (51).

(51) Ma(r) Maša das’a-z?
    what Masha prepare-1PST:3SG
    ‘What did Mary prepare?’

*1.3.6 Question words

(52) Kin ‘who’
    Ma(r) ‘what’
    Kytyn ‘where’
    Ky ‘when’
    Kyz’y ‘how’

*1.3.7 Location of WH-words
However, the standard position of the WH-word is at the beginning of the clause, the word order is not so strict in WH-questions in Udmurt. For instance a topicalized item can precedes the WH-word as illustrated in example (53) where the Maša ‘Mary’ is in sentence initial topic position or in example (54) where Saša, the topic of the sentence also precedes the WH-word kytyn ‘where’.

(53) Maša ma(r) das’a-z?
    Masha what prepare-1PST:3SG
    ‘What did Mary prepare?’

(54) Saša kytyn ul-e?
    Sasha where live-PRS:3SG
    ‘Where does Sasha live?’

The only position, which makes the sentence ungrammatical, if the WH-word appears at the end of the clause.

(55) *Maša das’a-z ma(r)?
    Masha prepare-1PST:3SG what
    ‘What did Mary prepare?’

(56) *Saša ul-e kytyn?
    Sasha live-PRS:3SG where

4 The position of the WH-word has a strong connection to the focus position in the languages. For the position of the foci see section 1.3.8 in this Chapter and more detailed description see Chapter xxx.
‘Where does Sasha live?’

*1.3.8 Old and new information*

Tron’ina (1984) and Vilkuna (1998) argue in their paper that in Udmurt the old information always appears at the beginning of the sentence and new information in the discourse mainly appears at the second part of the sentence. Following their observations Tánczos (2011) draws a more precise picture and she argues that there are two available positions in the Udmurt sentence for the new information: 1. preverbal position (57) and 2. the sentence final position (58).

(57) Kemalas’ ěvgl mon tuž umoj kn’iga lyď’z’-i
long.time NEG 1SG very good book.NOM read-1PST:1SG
‘I recently read a really good book.’

(58) Kemalas’ ěvgl mon lyď’z’-i tuž umoj kn’iga.
long.time NEG read-1PST:1SG very good book.NOM

The old information appears most of the time in sentence initial position.

(59) So čeber derem-ez mil’em vunety-ny kule.
that nice dress-ACC we:DAT forget-INF need
‘That nice dress, we have to forget.’

Although what is typical in SOV languages that the old information can appear at the end of the sentence as an afterthought (right dislocation). This strategy is also available for the old information in Udmurt.

(60) Mil’em vunety-ny kule so čeber derem-ez.
we:DAT forget-INF need that nice dress-ACC
‘That nice dress, we have to forget.’

2.1 The structure of the NP (or DP)

2.1.1 The possessive construction(s)

The category of possession is a semantic category, therefore grammatical coding of possessive relationships depends on semantic content of two items, which are in possessive relationships. Furthermore, the grammatical coding depends on type of the relationship and discursive status of those items. Thus, typical possessive situation, where the possessor is an animate and an active controller, and the possessee is a concrete item (Heine 1997: 39), as in the case of ‘John’s bird’ in Udmurt is encoded by the construction with genitive and possessive suffix, as in (61). The present possessive NP presents the construction with so-called double marking, where the possessor is marked twice: by genitive and possessive suffix (Edygarova 2010).

(61) pinal-len šudon-ez
child-GEN toy-3SG
‘the toy of a/the child’

Possessive suffix agrees with the possessor in person and number, and its’ use is obligator, e.g. (62).

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3 The sentence final position seems to appear in the language for the influence of the Russian language (See Tánczos 2011, Asztalos xxx). For Russian information stucture see Baylin (2010), XXX.
When the possessee is a direct object in the sentence, the genitive marker changes into ablative, what is typical for all Permian languages (for Udmurt and Komi languages) (see more in Assman et al. (2013), as in (63).

(63) Mon pinal-jos-les’ šudon-jos-s-es ad’z’-i.
    1SG child-PL-ABL toy-PL-3SG-ACC:PL see-1PST:1SG
    ‘I saw toys of children.’

Whole-part relationships, as a rule, are expressed by juxtaposing, as in (64) where whole apron precedes the part tip.

(64) S’in-jos-s-e ajšet pum-yn-yz tšušyl-i-z Anna kenak
    eye-PL-3SG-ACC apron tip-INST-3SG dry-1PST-3SG Anna aunt
    ‘Aunt Anna dried her eyes with the apron tip.’ (Udmurt dunne: 02.12.2008)

If the possessor is an inanimate entity and has no status of an active controller, it is marked by elative, as in (65).

(65) Udmurt kun un’ivers’it’et-ys’ dyšetis’
    Udmurt state university-ELA teacher
    ‘A teacher of Udmurt State University’ (Invožo 2007: 25)

In cases when the possessor presents as a deixis and an anaphor, the construction with a noun and a possessive suffix is used. Words, which signify notions with a high degree of the possession (e.g. parts of whole entities, inherent properties of entities, etc. Eddygaova 2010a: 43-54; Eddygarova 2010b), as a rule, have always possessive marker, e.g in (66).

(66) Georgij₁ s’in-z₁-e džut-i-z, Faina₂-jez jyr-ys’eny-z₂ pyd-oz’a-z₂ učk-i-z
    Georgi eye-3SG-ACC rise-1PST-3SG Faina-ACC head-EGR-3SG leg-TER-3SG look-1PST-3SG
    ‘Georgi raised his eyes and looked at Faina from head to toe.’ (Krasil’nikov 1991: 129)

The deictic possessor can be also presented as a pronominal possessor. However, such possessor typically behaves as a complement, e.g.:

(67) Mynam kn’iga-je van’.
    1S:GEN book-1SG BE.PRS
    ‘I have a book.’

Pronominal possessor can also present as an attribute, if it is under the focus, as in (68).

(68) So mynam kn’iga-je.
    DEM 1SG:GEN book-1SG
    ‘It is my book.’

2.1.2 Attributive adjective
Attributive adjectives typically precedes the head, as in (69).

(69) Tšuž tyloburdo tšuž džěk vyl-yn puk-e.
yellow bird   yellow table   UP-INE   sit-PRS:3SG
‘The yellow bird sits on a yellow table.’

2.1.3 Combining a possessor and an adjective
Adjectives precede a possessor, as in (70).

(70)  
Sasha-len  tišuž  tyloburdo-jez  Sasha-len  tišuž  džek  vyl-a-z  puk-e.
Sasha-GEN  yellow  bird-3SG  Sasha-GEN  yellow  table  UP-INE-3SG  sit-PRS:3SG
‘Sashas’s yellow bird sits on his yellow table.’

2.1.4 Adjectival concord
Attributive adjectives, as a rule, do not agree in case with the head noun, e.g. (71).

(71)  
Petyr piči  pi-ly  šudon  s’ot-i-z.
Peter  small  boy-DAT  toy-NOM  give-1PST-3SG
‘Peter gave a toy to a little boy.’

However, if an adjective bears determinative (or demonstrative) suffix –(j)ez, the case concord appears, as in (72).

(72)  
Petyr piči-jez-ly  pi-ly  šudon  s’jot-i-z.
Peter  small-DET-DAT  boy-DAT  toy-ACC  give-1PST-3SG
‘Peter gave a toy to the smallest (from several) boy.’

Attributive adjectives traditionally do not have concord in number with the head noun, e.g (73).

(73)  
Petyr-len  kyk  pi-jez.
Peter-GEN  two  son-3SG
‘Peter has two sons.’

However, lately, under the influence of Russian language, the concord in number became typical, as in (74).

(74)  
Petyr-len  kyk  pi-os-yz.
Peter-GEN  two  son-PL-3SG
‘Peter has two sons.

2.2 Subordinate (finite) clauses
In Udmurt subordinations can be expressed both with non-finite and finite embedded clauses. Finite subordination has developed in the language because of the influence of the Russian language (Tánczos 2013, 2014).

2.2.1 Finite embedded yes/no questions
Yes/no questions can be embedded in Udmurt with finite verbs, as illustrated in example (75).

(75)  
Saša  pajm-i-z  Maša  s’ion  das’a-z  šuysa?
Sasha,NOM  wonder-1PST-3SG  Masha,NOM  meal,NOM  prepare-1PST:3SG  that
‘Sasha wondered if Mary had prepared a meal.’

In embedded yes/no questions contrary to matrix yes/no questions the appearance of the -a question particle is not possible if the complementizer šuysa ‘that’ also occurs in the sentence. However, if the
complementizer does not appear the usage of the question particle is possible (but not obligatory) as in example (76).

(76) \(Saša\ jua-z\ Maša\ s’ion\ das’a-z\ -a?\)
  Sasha ask-1PST:3SG Masha meal:NOM prepare-1PST:3SG Q
  ‘Sasha asked if Mary had prepared a meal.’

2.2.2 Finite embedded WH-questions
WH-question can also be embedded with finite matrix verb (77). In these sentences the WH-word in the embedded clause appears at the beginning of the clause just as it was shown in matrix WH-questions (see section xxx). Syntactic properties are similar to matrix WH-questions: the predicate can follow (77) or precedes the object (78).

(77) \(Saša\ jua-z\ maly\ Maša\ e\ ɿ\ s’ion\ e\ ɿ\ das’a\)
  Sasha ask-PST:3SG why Masha NEG/PST-3 prepare:SG
  ‘Sasha asked why Mary had not prepared a meal.’

(78) \(Saša\ jua-z\ maly\ Maša\ e\ ɿ\ s’ion\ das’a\ s’ion\)
  Sasha ask-PST:3SG why Masha NEG/PST-3 prepare:SG meal:NOM
  ‘Sasha asked why Mary had not prepared a meal.’

2.2.3 Finite embedded clauses
In today’s language the finite embedded clauses are possible.

(79) \(Maša\ vera-z\ (obyčno)\ so\ (obyčno)\ s’ion\ u-g\)
  Masha say-PST:3SG usually 3SG usually meal:NOM NEG/PRS-3
  prepare:SG that
  ‘Mary said that she does not usually prepare food.’

The position of the embedded clause can be preverbal (80a), it can precede (80b) or follow (80c) the matrix clause.

(80) a) \(Saša\ tolon\ [kino-je\ myn-o-z\ šuysa]\ malpaz.\)
  Sasha yesterday cinema-ILL go.PAST:3SG that think.PAST:3SG
  ‘Sasha thought yesterday, that he will go to the cinema.’

  b) [kino-je\ myn-o-z\ šuysa] Saša tolon malpaz.

  c) Saša tolon malpaz [ kino-je\ myn-o-z\ šuysa]

In finite subordinated clauses, the appearance of complementizers is possible. The complementizers can be divided into several groups based on the origin (see e.g. Sutov 1990, Leinonen 2009, Kelmakov 2000). In Udmurt the complementizers can be a) borrowed from the Russian Languages which has a huge effect on these languages (e.g. čto ‘that’), b) developed from postpositions (e.g. bere ‘after’) and c) developed from verbs (e.g. šuysa ‘that’)^6 or d) they can be developed from reduced non-finite clauses (e.g maly ke shuono ‘because’).

(81) a) \(Mon\ vera-j,\ čto\ so\ s’ion\ das’a.\)
  1sg say-PST:1SG that 3SG meal:NOM prepare.PRS:3SG

^6 Šuysa is grammaticalized from the converbial form of šuyny ‘to say’
'I said that she is preparing a meal.'

b) Saša Maša-ly s’ion das’a-z, pumis’k-em-zy bere.
Sasha Masha-DAT meal:NOM prepare-PST:3SG meet-PTRC-3PL after

‘Sasha prepared a meal to Masha after that they met.’

c) Mon vera-j, so s’ion das’a šuysa.
1sg say-PST:1SG 3SG meal:NOM prepare.PRS:3SG that

‘I said that she is preparing a meal.’

d) Saša s’ion das’a-z, maly ke šyono, s’i-em-e
Sasha meal:NOM prepare-PST:3SG why if say:PTRC eat-PTRC-1SG
pot-e val.
come.out-PST:3SG AUX.PST

‘Sasha prepared a meal because I was hungry.’

The complementizer also can be grouped by their positions in the sentence, hence there are clause-final complementizers such as šuysa ‘that’, clause-initial (čto ‘that’ or maly ke šuono ‘because’) and clause-internal one (e.g. ke ‘if’). It is need to be assumed that the positions of the complementizer in the sentence may relate to its origin, since clause-final complementizers are original and developed from verbs or postpositions and clause-initials are always borrowed from Russian or if they original, syntactically complex (developed from a non-finite clause).

The general subordinator of Udmurt is šuysa ‘that’. Although the appearance of the item is not obligatory, it can be omitted in certain circumstances (e.g. 82), but it is obligatory in subjunctive embedded clauses.

(82) Saša vera-z Maša s’ion med das’a-lo-z šuysa.
Sasha say-PST:3SG Masha meal:NOM PRT prepare-FUT-3SG that

‘Sasha ordered that Masha should prepare a meal.’

Interestingly – mainly in the spoken language – both of the Udmurt and the Russian complementizers can appear together in the same clause as an intermediate stage of the change (Tánczos 2013). In example (83) the Russian čto stands at the beginning of the clause following the Russian syntactic rules, and the original C, šuysa stands at the end of the clause. Both complementizers have the same interpretation ‘that’.

(83) Mon vera-j, čto so s’ion das’a šuysa.

7 The čto- šuysa C-pair is not the only one we can find in Udmurt: jesli ... ke ‘when, if’, hoša ... ke no ‘although’ (Winkler 2011), raz ... bere ‘once, after’ (Salánki 2007).

Double complementizers occur not just in Udmurt but in other Uralic languages or in their dialects. For instance, in a dialect of the Komi language (Izhemsky dialect) also appears this construction (ia). Interestingly, for nowadays Izhemsky-Komi is said to be a VO languages, but the Comps still keep their head-final position (Leinonen 2009). Similarly to Udmurt Mari language is an OV language with double Comps (ib).

(i) a) Izhemsky-Komi
Jes’l'i vaj-annyid ke
if (ru) bring-pres.2pl if (k)
‘if you brought...’

(Leinonen 2009)

b) Mari
Nu hot’a šonet, što ruš ulåt manán.
PRT PRT think.PRES.2SG that (ru) Russian:NOM be.PRES.2PL that (m)

‘Although, you think, they are Russians.’

(Efremova 2012)
I said that she is preparing a meal.

In today’s Udmurt three variations of the subordination coexist: i) subordination with the native Comp, ii) subordination with the borrowed Comp and iii) subordination with double Comps. Although there are no semantic differences between the sentences with the borrowed and with the original subordinator, we can find some syntactical differences between the two types. In the following the similarities and the differences will be shown (see Tánczos 2013, 2014).

The similarities are the following: 1) Both can be complement (84a-b), 2) or adjuncts (85a-b), 3) Topicalization is possible with both Comps (86a-b).

(84) a) So vera-z, ton otyn val šuysa.
    3SG say-PST:3SG 2SG there be.PST that
    ‘He said that you were there.’

b) So vera-z, čto ton otyn val.
    3SG say-PST:3SG that 2SG there be.PST

(85) a) Saša vera-z, Maša med uja-lo-z šuysa.
    Sasha SAY-PST:3SG t Masha PRT swim-FUT-3SG that
    ‘Sasha said let Masha swim.’

b) Saša vera-z, čto med Maša uja-lo-z.
    3SG go:PST:3SG t that PRT Masha swim-FUT-3SG

(86) a) Mon osk-is’ko, [tynes’tyd ta kñiga-d-e], soos dunja-sal-zy šuysa.
    1SG believe-PRS:1SG 2SG:ABL this book-2SG-ACC 3PL appreciate-COND-3PL that
    ‘I believe, that they would appreciate your book a lot.’

b) ..., čto [ta kyrd’z’an-ez] soos kyrz’d’a-zy
    that this song-ACC they sing-PST:3PL
    ‘..., that they sung that song’

The first differences between the two types of embedded clauses is the position of the embedded clause, since clause introduced by šuysa can appear in postverbal and preverbal positions (87a-b), unlike čto, which only occurs in postverbal position.

(87) a) Voz’mat-ele každoj nunal, čto ogd-es jarat-is’ko-dy.
    show-IMP.2PL every day that each-other-ACC love-PRS.2PL

b) * čto og-ogdes jaratis’kody, voz’mat-ele každoj nunal
    ‘Show every day that you love each other.’

The second one is the type of the subordination because šuysa can appear together with non-finite subordination (88a), unlike čto, which is cannot (88b).

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* But topicalization above šhto is not possible

(i) ..., *[ta kyrd’z’an-ez] čto soos kyrd’z’a-zy
    this song-ACC that 3PL sing:PRS:3PL
    ‘..., that they sung that song’
(88) a) So ujani šuysa vetl-i-z.
   3SG swim.INF that go-PST-3SG
   ‘He went to swim.’

   b) So ujani (*čto) vetl-i-z.
   3SG swim.INF that go-PST-3SG
   ‘He went to swim.’

Appearing together with Wh-words possible with šuysa (89a) and not possible with čto (89b):⁹

(89) a) Mon jua-s’ko, kytyn (ul-is’ko-d) ton (ul-is’ko-d) šuysa.
   1SG ask-PRS:1SG where live-PRS-2SG 2SG live-PRS-2SG that
   ‘I am asking, where you live.’

   b) *Mon jua-s’ko, čto kytyn ton ul-is'ko-d.
   1SG ask-PRS:1SG that where 2SG live-PRS-2SG
   ‘I ask that where you live.’

Observing the syntactic properties of the subordinations with the double complementizers it is clearly
seen that they behave just as the subordinations with čto. They can be both complements and adjuncts,
but the position of the clause is only postverbal. Topicalization is possible in the clausal domain, but
WH-words do not occur together with the complementizers.

2.3 Non-finite clauses

2.3.1 Non-finite verb forms

In Udmurt, there are at least 10 different non-finite forms (Winkler 2001, 2011, Georgieva 2012). This
rich non-finite morphology is a common property of the Uralic languages. Non-finite
subordination is preferred to finite subordination even in those languages in which finite
subordinators have already appeared due to Russian influence (Tánczos 2013).

In today’s language the following non-finite forms are used most frequently: infinitive (90a),
adverbial participles (aka gerund or converb) (90b-d) and adjective participles (90e-h).

(90) a. Mon tod-is’ko [s’ion das’a-nyj].
   1SG know:1SG meal:NOM prepare-INF
   ‘I can make meal.’

In Russian the čto is the typical complementizer of embedded declarative indicative clauses (ia) and it cannot be
combined with question predicates in the matrix clause (ib) (Baylin 2011):

(i) a) Ja dumaju, [čto [Ivan smotrit televizor]].
   ‘I think that Ivan is watching TV.’

   b) *Ja sprosil, [čto [Ivan smotrit televizor]]
   ‘I asked that Ivan is watching TV.’

Contrary to Russian in Udmurt the čto has a wider use, consider the following examples (iia-b):

(ii) a) Mon tod-is’ko, čto so lykt-o-z (šuysa)
    1SG know-PRS:1SG that (ru) he/she arrive-FUT-3SG that (ud.)
    ‘I know he/she will arrive.’

   b) Mon jua-j, čto Ivan televizor učk-e -a (šuysa)?
   1SG ask-PAST.1SG that (ru) Ivan TV watch-PRES.3SG PRT
   ‘I asked that Ivan watches TV.’

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⁹ In Russian the čto is the typical complementizer of embedded declarative indicative clauses (ia) and it cannot be
combined with question predicates in the matrix clause (ib) (Baylin 2011):
b. Saša [s’ion das’a-ky] jalan Maša s’arys’ malpa.
Sasha meal.NOM prepare-CONV always Masha about think.PRT:3SG
‘Sasha always thinks about Mary while he is preparing meal.’

c. Saša [s’ion das’a-toz’a-z] t’elevizor učk-i-z.
Sasha meal::NOM prepare-CONV-3SG television watch-PST-3SG
‘Until the meal was prepared Sasha was watching the television.’

d. Saša [Maša-ly s’ion das’a-sa] koš’k-i-z.
Sasha Masha-DAT meal.NOM prepare-CONV go.away-PST:3SG
‘Sasha left away after preparing the meal for Masha.’

e. Saša [s’ion das’a-s’ nyl-ez] ad’z’-i-z.
Sasha meal.NOM prepare-PTCP girl-ACC see-PST-3SG
‘Sasha saw a girl that was preparing a meal.’

f. Saša [tolon Maša-les’ das’a-m s’ion-z-e] s’i-e.
Sasha yesterday Masha-ABL prepare-PTCP meal-3SG-ACC eat-PST:3SG
‘Sasha is eating the meal that was prepared by Masha yesterday.’

g. [S’ion das’a-myn in’i], s’i, s’i.
meal prepare-PTCP already, eat.IMP::2PL eat.IMP::2PL
‘The meal has been prepared already, eat, eat.’

h. [Saša-ly s’ion das’a-no] urok-ly.
Sasha-DAT meal::NOM prepare-PTCP class-DAT
‘Sasha has to prepare a meal to the class.’

*2.3.2 Case on non-finite verb forms
Non-finite verb form -em can carry cases only when it occurs in complemen ter position.

(91) Saša s’ion da’sa-m-ly tuž šumpot-i-z.
Sasha meal.NOM prepare-PTCP-DAT very happy-PST-3SG
‘Sasha was very happy for the meal preparing.’

2.3.3: Tense, agreement and negation with non-finite forms
What is common to the non-finite verbs of Udmurt is that they lack tense morphology. They differ regarding the agreement features, however, since gerunds (and their negative form as well) bear agreement, while infinitives and participles do not.
Non-finite verbs in adverbial and temporal clauses bear agreement features (92).

(92) a. Berty-toz’a-m
come.back-PTCP(GER)-1SG
‘until I come back’

b. Gožja-ku-zy
write-PTCP(GER)-3PL
‘when they are writing’

They can agree either with the subject of the matrix clause or with the subject of the embedded clause (see Georgieva 2012, 2016).
All of the forms in (90d-h) have a negative counterpart (see section 1.2.2).

2.4 Relative clauses

2.4.1. Non-finite relative clauses
In Udmurt – similarly to the other Uralic languages – the original relative clause is prenominal and non-finite and there is no relative complementizer or relative pronoun in the clause.

(93) Saša [pes’ataj-en pukt-em] korka-n kyk ar ul-e in’i
Sasha grandfather-INSTR built-PTCP house-INESS two year live-PRS.3SG already
‘Sasha has been living in the house that was built by his grandfather for two years.’
(Dékány & Tánczos 2015)

2.4.3. Finite relative clauses:
In the contemporary language the finite, postnominal relative clause also appears, following the Russian pattern. In these clauses, the overt relativizer is obligatory.

(94) veras’k-i todmo-jeny-m [kudiz jarat-e/jarat-i-z kotšyš-jos-ty]
talk-PST.1SG friend-INSTR-1SG REL.NOM like-PRS.3SG/ like-1PST-3SG cat-PL-ACC
‘I talked to my friend who likes/liked cats.’
(Dékány & Tánczos 2015)

*2.4.4 Relative pronouns
Winkler (2001) states that in Udmurt interrogative pronouns such as kin ‘who’, mar ’what’, etc. function as relative pronouns. However, he also claims that the usages of kud ’which’ is restricted as a WH-word and it is more characteristically used as relative pronoun. In this function kud is compounded with a demonstrative suffix -iz. Suihkonen (2005) argues that the demonstrative suffix is used to restrict the function of kud pronouns to relative pronouns.
As a relative pronoun kudiz ‘which’ can be marked with cases or can be merged with postpositions.

(95) [Kud-jos-ez-lə pin’al’-l’os-lə mon vož- me pot-i], soos
which-PL-DET-DAT child-PL-DAT 1SG anger-1SG:ACC come.out-PST.3SG 3PL
pegʒ’-izʒ.
run-PST.3.PL
‘The children, which I got angry at, have run away.’
(Belyaev 2012, ex. 14)

2.5 Reflexives and anaphoric binding

2.5.1 Reflexives

(96) Mari vęs’ lu-i-z.
Mary pain be-1PST-3SG
‘Lit. Mary became painful.’

There is one more possibility to create similar construction with the reflexive pronoun as (in singular) and as’ (in plural), as in (97). The pronoun always has possessive binding.

(97) Mari as-s-e vęs’ kar-i-z.
Mary herself-3SG-ACC pain do-1PST-3SG
‘Lit. Mary made painful herself.’
The difference between (96) and (97) is that in the former case Mary had hurt accidentally, while in the latter she did it intentionally. Furthermore, there is one more possibility with reflexive suffix -s’k-, as in (98) and (99).

(98) Mari šuk-k-is’k-i-z.
Mary hit-REF-1PST-3SG
‘Lit. Mary hit herself.’

(99) Mi pyla-s’k-i-m.
1PL wash-REF-1PST-1PL

2.5.2 The reflexive morpheme
The reflexive suffix -s’k- links to transitive verbs and creates intransitive reflexive verbs e.g. dis’any ‘to dress (smth, smb)’ and dis’as’kyny ‘to dress itself’; vandyny ‘to cut (smth)’ and vandis’kyny ‘to cut itself’. The same suffix has also reciprocal meaning, e.g. ad’z’yny ‘to see (smb, smth)’ and ad’z’is’kyny ‘to see (each other)’. Furthermore, when the reflexive pronoun as ‘itself’ is involved, as in (97), possessive suffices are used as well to indicate a reflexive person.

2.5.3 Anaphoric binding

(100) Mari Petyr-ez as-s-e suresetany kos-i-z.
Mary Peter-ACC itself-3SG-ACC draw.INF ask-1PST-3SG
‘Mary asked Peter to draw himself.’

(101) Mi as’-me-dy s’inučkon-ys’ ad’z’-i-m.
1PL itself-1PL-ACC.PL mirror-ELA see-1PST-1PL
‘We saw ourselves in the mirror.’

2.5.4 The anaphoric morpheme
In the examples (100) and (101) the same reflexive pronoun as corresponds to the ‘self’. The pronoun always bears a possessive suffix, which indicates the referent person.

2.5.5 Binding the anaphor
In (101) the situation is ambiguous. The interpretation can be both: Peter is drawing a picture of Peter or Mary.

2.5.6 The reciprocal construction

(102) Mi og-og-mes-t y ad’z’-i-my.
1PL one-one-1PL-ACC see-1PST-1PL
‘We saw each other.’

(103) Mi ad’z’-is’k-i-m.
1PL see-REF-1PST-1PL
‘We met (saw each other).’

2.5.7. The reciprocal morpheme
The construction is possible to translate by 2 ways: with the pronoun each-other, which is composed from double use of the number one with following possessive suffix and respective case suffix.