

The semantic profile of the past evidential in Udmurt in contemporary texts

0. Aim of the paper

The paper discusses the semantic profile of the verb forms expressing evidentiality in the Udmurt language. It discusses the typological features of the Udmurt evidential system and the evidential past in particular. The paper focuses on the semantic features of the paradigm associated with non-firsthand evidentiality in Udmurt and briefly reviews its relation to other categories. The paper also provides details about the functional distribution of the category within the research data.¹

1. The Udmurt language

Udmurt is a language of the Permic subgroup of the Uralic language family, which is spoken by appr. 340 000 speakers. Most of them live in the Udmurt Republic in the Russian Federation, which is located between the Vyatka and Kama rivers. The ethnic population is 554 000 according to the census held in 2010 (Ethnologue).² The Udmurts form a minority in their own republic: Udmurts make up 28% of the republic's population, while Russians make up 62.2%.

The Russian language is dominant in cities and the administrative life. Only 62% of Udmurts speak Udmurt, while all of them speak Russian (and in the southern areas usually Tatar as well). Therefore, the speakers are mostly Udmurt-Russian bilinguals. (Salánki – Kondratieva 2018: 166–167) On the EGIDS scale Udmurt is considered a threatened language (Ethnologue).

Udmurt is part of the Volga-Kama linguistic area, which comprises Mari, Chuvash, Tatar and Bashkir, whereas Erzya, Moksha and Komi (Zyrian and Permyak) are on the periphery of the area (Helimski 2003: 159).

2. General features of Udmurt evidentiality

Based on Aikhenvald's classification of evidential systems, Udmurt has a two-term evidential system distinguished only in the past tenses (Aikhenvald 2004: 28). The choices of firsthand and non-firsthand evidential are possible in the system (Skribnik & Kehayov 2018: 539). In related literature of the Udmurt language, synthetic past tense forms associated with firsthand

¹ Many thanks to the reviewers for their useful comments on the paper.

² <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/udm>; last visited: 30/09/2019

evidentiality are mostly referred to as 1st past, while the synthetic past tense forms associated with non-firsthand evidentiality are called 2nd past.³

The literature discussing Udmurt evidentiality and/or Udmurt tense system does not form a coherent opinion about the relationship of the 1st and 2nd past. Udmurt descriptive grammars (cf. GSUJ 1970, Tarakanov 2011: 189), textbooks (cf. Kelmakov-Hännikäinen 1999: 182; Kozmács 2002: 86) and evidential handbooks (cf. Aikhenvald 2004: 28; Skribnik–Kehayov 2018: 539) claim that the principle of choice between the 1st and 2nd past is eyewitness or first-handedness. According to this principle the 1st past is used in the case of witnessed events and the 2nd past in the case of unwitnessed (especially reported, inferred) events.

However, according to Siegl (2004: 12) 1st past is a general/evidential-neutral past tense. Consultation with native speakers clearly suggests that 1st past does not necessarily indicate a witnessed event and in everyday speech it basically functions as a “default” past tense (cf. example 1, which is from the Udmurt wikipedia article of Alexandr Sergeyevich Pushkin).
Context: Asserting the date of Pushkin’s wedding.

(1) udm.wikipedia.org;⁴ last visited: 12/01/2020

1831-ti ar -jn 15-ti kwartolež-e Puškin kjšnojašk-i -z (...).
1831-ORD year-INE 15-ORD May -ILL Pushkin marry -1PST-3SG
'In 1831, on the 15th of May, Pushkin got married.'

But in contrast with 2nd past forms 1st past can be associated with direct experience, firsthandness and accurate knowledge (cf. example 2 and 3).⁵ Example 2 is from an Udmurt language newspaper (*Udmurt Duńne*), example 3 is the same sentence but with the verb form modified by the author of the article in order to contrast the two past tenses.

Context: The beer consumption of the Russian Federation.

(2) *Udmurt Duńne*;⁶ 31/01/2019; last visited: 12/01/2020

Kjlem ar kuspjn Rossi -jn uliš -jos 8 milliárd litr sur jui -llam.
Last year PP Russia -INE inhabitant -PL 8 billion litre beer drink-2PST.3PL
“During the last year Russian inhabitants consumed 8 billion liters of beer.”

³ Udmurt has a synthetic „pair” of past tenses, which are the so called 1st and 2nd past (also named as praeterite and perfect in some literature cf. Csúcs 1990). It also has four pairs of analytic past tenses formed with a finite verb form and the 1st or 2nd past form of the existential verb as an auxiliary. (Kozmács 2002: 86)

⁴ udm.wikipedia.org/wiki/Пушкин,_Александр_Сергеевич

⁵ The explanation of example 2 and 3 are based on interviews conducted with native speakers by the author of the article in May 2019.

⁶ <https://www.yumpu.com/xx/document/read/62377722/ud7-25720>

(3) example 2 modified

Kjlem ar kuspin Rossi -jn ulis -jos 8 milliard litr sur jui -i -zi.
Last year PP Russia -INE inhabitant -PL 8 billion litre beer **drink-1PST-3PL**
“During the last year Russian inhabitants consumed 8 billion liters of beer.”

According to native informants the difference between example 2 and 3 can root in the accuracy and reliability of the information and also in the authenticity of the information source. Example 2 (with the 2nd past form) could be suitable in a context in which the accuracy of the information is questionable (it could be less or more than 8 billion) or if the information source is indirect or the authenticity of the source is not strong (e.g. lay people talk about the topic). Example 3 (with the 1st past form) may be applicable if the assertion is based on an official document or statistics and it can be considered more accurate and credible. The 1st past also suggests that the speaker themselves conducted research on the topic, hence they have an authentic source. But it is important to mention that the use of the 1st past does not exclude an indirect information source. It is also applicable if the speaker read about it in the newspaper or saw it on television.

Since the 1st past mostly functions as a general past tense, but in specific cases it is related to firsthand information, it can be assumed that this past tense is becoming evidentially neutral.⁷ Because of this ongoing process, a change in the typological classification of Udmurt evidentiality should be taken into consideration, since it no longer seems to be a two-term system, which comprises a firsthand and non-firsthand evidential form, but one which opposes an evidential and non-evidential past.

The marker of the evidential past is polyfunctional and these functions are presumed to be historically polysemous. It covers several semantic contents in relation to evidentiality, such as inference and hearsay⁸. Evidential past forms can have additional connotations as well, such as mirativity. In tales and folklore texts the 2nd past functions as an attribute of genre. Evidential forms conjugated for 1st person may indicate the speaker’s lack of control. (Winkler 2001; Siegl 2004; Kubitsch 2018; Skribnik-Kehayov 2018). With the imperative it encodes modal attenuation (Winkler 2001). It is important to mention, that 2nd past forms do not inherently encode a reduced degree of certainty and the above-mentioned functions are highly context dependent.

⁷ Note, that Russian – a language which lacks evidentiality as a grammatical category has a strong influence on Udmurt, especially in the younger generations. It is possible that for elder speakers 1st past is more strongly associated with firsthand knowledge. However, this hypothesis needs further investigation.

⁸ Quotation is expressed with a quotative/modal particle *pe* (Leinonen 2000: 420). The particle has various functions, evidential and non-evidential as well. It may function as a quotative index, as marker of reported and inferred evidentiality and as a discourse particle with hedging function (cf. Teptiuk 2019).

Historically, the paradigm of the evidential past has nominal origins, it is based on the perfect participle and as a tense it presumably existed already in Proto-Permic (Bartens 2000: 202–203; Kozmács 2008: 172). Originally, the 2nd past was possibly a perfect tense. However, in contemporary Udmurt, 2nd past is an evidential past tense and it does not have a non-evidential, solely temporal use.⁹ The use of a (historically) perfect form as an evidential in all probability has emerged due to the influence of Turkic languages in the Volga-Kama area (Tatar, Chuvash and Bashkir) (Skribnik-Kehayov 2018: 542).

There is a typological generalization concerning perfect meanings and evidentiality (especially inferentiality) (Comrie 1976: 110). In several languages (like the frequently cited Turkish or Bulgarian) perfect forms or such forms which are historically derived from perfect, express evidentiality (cf. Izvorski 1997).

The general features of Udmurt evidentiality (a less-differentiated evidential system with a polyfunctional marker based on a perfect form), apply to other languages in the Volga-Kama area that have evidentiality as a grammatical category.¹⁰

3. Data and research

Corpus data serves as the foundation of the research. The data are entries of blogs written by Udmurt native speakers. Blogs were selected as their language is closer to the spoken varieties of Udmurt (e.g. containing Russian elements) than other available types of texts.¹¹ These blogs do not address a specific genre or topic, posts are written in informal, diary-style. Entries were randomly selected, but they contain at least one 2nd past form. The posts are from fourteen blogs,¹² written between 2011 and 2018.

The corpus data comprise 85 880 tokens. Three hundred entries were examined altogether. The research material contained 1113 past evidential forms.

The semantic connotations of evidential forms were established by analyzing the context and by consulting with an Udmurt native speaker, who is currently affiliated with the University of Szeged as the lecturer of Udmurt language. Moreover, some results of a questionnaire and

⁹ In Komi, which is the closest related language of Udmurt and has a considerably similar evidential system, the 2nd past has non-evidential uses as well, such as resultativity (cf. Leinonen 2000).

¹⁰ In the Volga-Kama linguistic area only Mordva (Erzya and Moksha) lack of the category of evidentiality.

¹¹ There are journals written in Udmurt, but these texts are highly standardized, and journalists deliberately try to exclude Russian elements.

¹² See the addresses of the blogs in the references.

interviews with native speakers, which were conducted by the author, are also included as a guideline in order to establish the semantic connotation of 2nd past forms.¹³

The aim of the research is to assess the semantic profile of the 2nd past. In order to do this the following questions have been posed.

- Are there any functions of the 2nd past in the research material which have yet to be discussed in the previous studies of Udmurt evidentiality?
- How 2nd past forms are related to other categories (e.g. mood, person)? How this relation affects the interpretation of the 2nd past?
- What is the functional distribution of the 2nd past in the research material?

4. Use and function of the 2nd past in the research material

The following section is going to discuss in detail the functions associated with the 2nd past forms. These are the following: hearsay (4.1), inference (4.2), genre marking (4.3) mirativity (4.4) and lack of control (4.5).

4.1 Hearsay

One of the most prominent function of the non-firsthand evidential in Udmurt is expressing information acquired through hearsay. Example (4) illustrates this function of the 2nd past.

(4) vamentul.blogspot.ru; 06/03/2014; last visited: 19/11/2018

Context: The speaker's grandmother reminisces about her own youth. The speaker reports the information about her grandmother's life.

Pereš čužaj -e žuč gurt -jš vjl-em.
old grandmother -POSS.1SG Russian village -ELA be -2PST.3SG

Biž -em udmurt-jos dori.
marry -2PST.3SG udmurt-PL PP

'My old grandmother was from a Russian village. She married into an Udmurt family.'

In the research material 614 instances of the 2nd past expressed hearsay information. This is 55% of all evidential forms examined in the study. It is important to mention that describing a

¹³ Since the aim of the paper is to discuss the functions of the 2nd past in texts of blogs, the methodology and the results of the above-mentioned interviews and questionnaire will not be introduced in this paper.

series of actions of an unwitnessed event involves more verbs than a single personal inference (cf. example 5). Note the consequent use of the 2nd past.

(5) vuflower.blogspot.ru; 11/03/2015; last visited: 07/01/2020

Context: The speaker's father lost his phone in Moscow. Her mother told her about it on the phone. She retells the story.

Už -ze lešt -em no, mjn-em so Krasnoj plošad'-e.
 work -ACC.POSS.3SG **do** -2PST.3SG PTC **go** -2PST.3SG he red square -ILL

Kotirsk -em. Sere miľim -en ćaj ju-em. Miľim -ze
go.round-2PST.3SG then pancake -INST tea **drink**-2PST.3SG pancake -ACC.POSS.3SG

t'elefon -az tus pukt-em, karman-az ut'alt-em.
 phone -ILL.POSS.3SG picture **take**-2PST.3SG pocket -INE.POSS.3SG **keep**-2PST.3SG

Sere eššo porj -am na. B. Němcov -ez bjd't-em viž vile no
 then again **walk** -2PST.3SG yet B. Nemtsov-ACC kill -PTCP.PRF bridge PP PTC

vuj -l -em. Karman-az pjr -e no – t'elefon-ez evel.
arrive-FRQ-2PST.3SG pocket -ILL.POSS.3SG reach.into-PRS.3SG and phone -POSS.3SG NEG

Utć-am– utć-am – evel šed't-em. Vokzal pala minjini
search-2PST.3SG **search** -2PST.3SG NEG **find**-2PST.3SG station PP go

karišk -em, pojezd -leš kjl' [-em] -ez¹⁴ šusa kjška -sa.
decide-2PST.3SG train -ABL miss -NMLZ -POSS.3SG that fear -CVB

'He did his job, went to the Red Square. He went around it. Then he drank a tea and had a pancake. He took a picture of the pancake with his phone, and then kept it in his pocket. Then he had a walk again. He even visited the bridge, on which B. Nemtsov had been killed. He reaches into his pocket – there is no phone. He was looking for it, looking for it – did not find it. He decided to go to the station fearing that he would miss the train.'

A significant difference between example 4 and 5 is that in the case of example 4 the speaker reports a bit of information acquired from someone who has direct experience (i.e. her grandmother speaks about her own life), whereas in example 5 neither the speaker, nor her source has direct experience (i.e. her mother reports to her what his father has done). As we can see, the 2nd past is applicable in reporting secondhand and thirdhand information as well.

As it was mentioned in section 2, evidential forms in Udmurt do not encode the speaker's uncertainty or reduced commitment to the truth-value of the information in question (cf. example 6, 7). The 2nd past merely expresses that the speaker has non-firsthand (hearsay) information.

¹⁴ The original text contains the form *kj'lez*, however correctly it is *kj'lemez*.

(6) marjamoll.blogspot.ru; 06/08/2014; last visited: 07/01/2020

Context: The story and details of a windmill in Udmurtia. The speaker acquired the information in a museum and reported it.

So tɛlvuko -ez pukt-em Fjedor Efimovič Dragmirov 1912 -ti ar -jn.
that windmill -ACC **build-2PST.3SG** Fjedor Efimovich Dragmirov 1912 -ORD year-INE

‘That windmill was built by Fjedor Efimovich Dragmirov in 1912.’

(7) kepics.tumblr.com; last visited: 03/01/2019

Context: The speaker and her family visited the castle Neidstein. She reports about it.

2006-ti ar -jn Ńikolas Kejdž bašt-em ta izkar -ez,
2006-ORD year -INE Nicolas Cage **buy-2PST.3SG** that castle -ACC

noš 2009 -ti ar -jn vuza-m.
but 2009 -ORD year -INE **sell-2PST.3SG**

‘In 2006 Nicolas Cage bought that castle, but he sold it in 2009.’

The 2nd past codes that the information is from an indirect source, but when it comes to public knowledge, which is objective by nature, 1st past is preferred, even though the source is indirect (cf. example 3 in section 2).

(8) udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru; 02/11/2014; last visited: 07/01/2020

Context: The speaker read an article in Komsomolskaya Pravda about a Wall Street broker, who had lost 100 kg. He had been trying to lose weight, but nothing had helped. Then his whole life had changed on 11th of September 2001. The speaker reports in her entry what she read in the article.

Vań ulon-ez voštišk-em 11 šent'abr' bere 2001 ar -jn.
whole life -POSS.3SG **change-2PST.3SG** 11 September PP 2001 year -INE

So kule vjl -em lobžj -nj so samol'ot -jn, kud-ze
He **have.to be -2PST.3SG** fly -INF that aeroplane -INST that-ACC

t'errorist-jos zaxvat'it' kar -i -zj.
terrorist -PL **hijack.INF do -1PST -3PL**

‘His whole life has changed on 11th of September 2001. He should have travelled on the flight which the terrorists hijacked.’

In example 8 the information source is indirect. Information related to the broker is reported in the 2nd past, but the fact of the hijacking is in the 1st past. It is evident that the events of 11th

September were well documented in the media, hence it is public information.¹⁵ Example 8 illustrates what was mentioned in section 2: the 1st past seems to be a “default”, non-evidential past tense, but when it is contrasted with the 2nd past it may emphasize factuality and accuracy. In the corpus the 2nd past conveys reported information in 55% of all instances (614 tokens). In other words, in the research material the most frequent use of 2nd past forms are to express hearsay.

4.2 Inference

In the case of inference getting the information is based on the result of an event via a visible trace or tangible evidence (Aikhenvald 2004: 63). The Udmurt evidential past expresses the semantic content of inference as well. Referring to information acquired through inference is another prominent use of 2nd past forms. In the research material 218 instances of the 2nd past conveys inference (19,5%). The following examples (9, 10) illustrate the inferential use of the 2nd past.

(9) kepics.tumblr.com; 03/04/2014; last visited: 03/01/2019

Context: A Hungarian-Udmurt family leave some milk and cookies for Santa Claus for the night. In the morning they see that the milk and cookies have disappeared. The absence of the milk and cookies is visible evidence (serving as a basis for inference) for Santa Claus’s visit.

Mikulaš-Tolbabaj jel -mes no ju-em,
 Santa Claus milk -ACC.POSS.1PL PTC **drink-2PST.3SG**

pečehña -mes no ši-em!
 cookie -ACC.POSS.1PL PTC **eat-2PST.3SG**

‘Santa Claus drank the milk and ate the cookies.’

(10) burdjos.ru; 29/08/2012; last visited: 07/01/2020

Context: The speaker looks out the window of her car and sees that the once green forest is now red, the trees have died. She thinks that there has been a fire, but later she is told that there has been a drought recently. Because the forest has turned red, the speaker infers the death of the trees and the possible fire.

Kotjr vož ñules -jos gordektj-sa sjl -o, pispu-os kuli -ñlam
 around green forest -PL turn.red -CVB stand -PRS.3PL tree -PL die **-2PST.3PL**

¹⁵ Based on other research by the author it can be concluded that speakers prefer to use 1st past referring to information acquired through the media. However, the use of 1st past is not exclusive in such cases.

Tiľpu ortć -em šat, malpa -j nįriś, sobere valekt -i -zj:
 fire **happen -2PST.3SG** PTC think[1PST]-1SG first then explain-1PST-3PL
keś kuaż sįl -em¹⁶ ińi kįk -kuiń ar.
 dry weather stand -2PST.3SG already two -three year

'The green forests around turned red, the trees died. There had been a fire, I thought first, but then it was explained to me: there has been drought for 2-3 years now.'

The inferential and hearsay readings of the 2nd past are the most prominent ones in the research data. They make up 74% of all the instances. The following connotations of the 2nd past are less canonical from an evidential point of view: the 2nd past as genre marking/framing, the 2nd past as mirative, and 1st person 2nd past forms as to encode lack of control.

4.3 Genre marking and framing

As Aikhenvald (2004: 9) establishes, languages with evidentiality tend to develop conventions concerning preferred choices in different discourse genres, hence an evidential can be viewed as a token of a genre. Narrative texts cannot be completely prescind from source of information either: folklore texts or tales are mostly rooted in oral tradition, so non-firsthand evidentials might express hearsay as well. In some classification of the semantic categories related to evidentiality, folklore is considered to be a subcategory of reportativity (Willett 1988: 57).

In Udmurt the 2nd past is the typical tense for narrating tales, stories, and other traditional genres (Kozmács 2002: 86; Siegl 2004). Udmurt folklore texts are almost exclusively narrated in the 2nd past (Siegl 2004: 129). The research contained four tales, four legends and sagas, and four other stories (12 altogether). In respect of the past tense forms found in these texts, five narratives (42%) consequently use the 2nd past (cf. example 11).

(11) marjamoll.blogspot.ru; 24/02/2015; last visited: 07/01/2020

Context: This is an old tale related to an ancient spirit (Sun-Mother) in the traditional faith of Udmurts. The speaker finds this story on a grave and quotes it. (2nd past forms are in bold in the text and the glossary of past tense forms is also marked linearly in the text in square brackets.)

¹⁶ This 2nd past verb is not made bold because this section focuses on the inferential use. The verb *sįlem* is in this context refers to hearsay information because the speaker was told about the dry weather. This example also illustrates how context-dependent the functions of the evidential past are.

*Kuke no vaškala udmurtjos Inmarjossijl̄j oskemiš **dugdillam**[2PST.3PL] no Šundi-mumj sooslj̄ šunjtse šotemiš **dugdem**[2PST.3SG]. Ožj perešjos Varñi ñimo pijašez **kelállam**[2PST.3PL] utćani Šundijez. Pijaš soje gurt durjś **šed'tem**[2PST.3SG]. Šundi-Mumj soje adžisa šue: mon nokinlj̄ no adžiškiškj̄. Noš ton liktid bere, šuo tñid: merttj pužim - Inmaren veraškñj, merttj kiz - kuažen veraškñj. Merttj kžpu - kuažlj̄ jibbjirttjñj. Pijaš ožj ik **leštem**[2PST.3SG] no Šundi-Mumj kaliklj̄ noš ik šunjtse šotjñj **kutskem**[2PST.3SG].*

'Some time the ancient Udmurts **had stopped**[2PST.3PL] believing in their gods and Sun-Mother **had stopped**[2PST.3SG] giving them warmth. So, the old ones **had sent**[2PST.3PL] a boy named Varñi to find Sun. The boy **had found**[2PST.3SG] her at the end of the village. Sun-Mother tells him: I do not appear to anybody. But since you have come, I'll tell you: plant pine to talk to God, plant spruce to talk to the spirit of weather. Plant birch to beg to the spirit of weather. The boy **had acted**[2PST.3SG] accordingly, and Son-Mother **had started**[2PST.3SG] giving warmth to the people again.'

However, in the data under consideration switches to 1st past forms can also be found (seven narratives; 58%). Such changes cannot be explained neither by the change of information source nor by a perspective change in the narrative. Example 12 is an excerpt from a tale (from the beginning). The first section is narrated in 2nd past but after a conversation between the two characters the storyteller goes on in 1st past.

(12) [kepics.tumblr.com](https://www.tumblr.com/kepics), 22/06/2015; last visited: 05/01/2018

Context: This is an Udmurt translation of a German tale made by the speaker. (2nd and 1st past forms are made bold in the text. The glossary of past tense forms is also marked linearly in the text in square brackets.)

*Kemalaš-kemalaš djre punj ñuleskñ dolak ognaz **ulem**[2PST.3SG]. **Akij'tem**[2PST.3SG] solj̄ sjiče ognaz ulon, asljz eš utćani **kutskem**[2PST.3SG]. Ben solj̄ eš no sjičejez **kule vjlem**[2PST.3SG]: dunñejñ so samoj kužmo no nokinleš kjškaštem med luoz. Mjñe so ludkeć dorj̄ no vera: - Ludkeć, ojdo čoš ulom. - Ojdo, mon pumit evel, - šue ludkeć. **Kutskizj**[1PST.3PL] soos čoš uljñj. Ogpol ujñ punj ñuleskñś čaštjrtemez kļlisa utjñj **kutskiz**[1PST.3SG].*

'A long time ago a dog **lived**[2PST.3SG] alone in the forest. It **bored**[2PST.3SG] him living so alone, he started to look for a friend. But of course, he **needed**[2PST.3SG] such a friend: the strongest in the world and who is not afraid of anybody. He goes to the rabbit and says: - Rabbit,

let's live together. – Let's do it, I am not against it, - says the rabbit. They **started**[1PST.3PL] living together. One night the dog, hearing rustling, **started**[1PST.3SG] to bark.'

The phenomenon of switches in past tenses in example 12 is characterized by Siegl (2004: 99) as framing. The opening lines of 2nd past create a framework of distance and convey the fact that it is a tale or legend (or any other text of a fictitious genre). Siegl (2004) examining folklore texts establishes that the use of 1st past forms after the opening framing is more typical for Komi than Udmurt. This phenomenon can be observed in the research material as well. In four stories only the opening is written in the 2nd past, however these stories are not tales or legends. In such cases with the 2nd past in the opening the speaker relates the story to the audience (cf. framing) and uses it as a stylistic instrument to substantiate storytelling.

Considering tales and legends in the corpus under investigation it can be concluded that the 2nd past as a conventional genre marking is still present (cf. five narratives in the research data used the 2nd past consequently throughout the whole storytelling). However, the fact that the 1st past is becoming a general past tense and the 2nd past functions as framing, switches in past tenses may appear in narration.

4.4 Mirativity

Mirativity is referred to as the grammatical marking of unprepared mind or new information that may result in speaker's surprise (DeLancey 1997). According to Slobin & Aksu (1982) on Turkish, the speaker's immediate experience of an event does not correlate with the speaker's expectations. Mexas (2016: 10) defines mirativity as the marking of realization which is a transition from a state of lacking awareness to a state of awareness. Peterson (2010) characterizes the mirative readings of evidentials as a result of conversational implicature. Mirativity is shown to be linked to the semantics and pragmatics of evidentiality (Peterson 2010: 132).

The Udmurt evidential past can function as a mirative strategy. A mirative strategy is when a primarily not mirative marker has mirative meaning as a contextual pragmatic enrichment (Aikhenvald 2012: 472). The mirative meaning of the 2nd past is always implied.

In the corpus the 122 mirative instances (11%) can be divided into two subcategories. In both cases, the effect involves an information update (that is usually unexpected), but the reason for the mirative interpretation is different. A certain instance can have mirative interpretation because of the speaker's deferred realization (55 cases of 122; 45%). Deferred realization is a post-factum inference that is based on something that the speaker had previously witnessed but only later realized the exact meaning it revealed (Aikhenvald 2012: 468). Or, a

certain instance can have mirative connotation because the information is surprisingly new or unexpected for the speaker (67 cases of 122; 55%). In the case of a speaker's deferred realization, the speaker has always witnessed the event in question, while in the case of unexpected information the speaker's direct perception is irrelevant; what is important is that there is a "distance" between the speaker's preconceptions and their immediate experience.

Example 13 and 14 illustrates the speaker's deferred realization. In example 13 the 2nd past is used because despite the speaker had direct perception (as she was speaking to the man), she did not know who he was until she looked him up on the internet.

(13) marjamoll.blogspot.ru; 17/10/2013; last visited: 09/01/2020

Context: The speaker has a conversation with a man on the bus. She sees the logo of a sport club of Izhevsk on the man's jacket. She asks whether he is a sportsman. The man says he used to be but now he is a trainer. The speaker realizes later (after looking up on the internet) that he is the manager of the sport club.

Vorgoron-e Aleksej Vasiljevič Suncov vjl-em.
man-POSS.1SG Aleksej V. S. **be-2PST.3SG**

'The man was Aleksej V. Suntsov.'

Deferred realization often involves the process of inference as well (cf. example 14). In example 14 the past evidential form is used because the speaker realizes post-factum (upon her arrival) that thistles stuck on her clothes.

(14) muketulon.tumblr.com; 10/11/2014; last visited: 17/07/2018

Context: The speaker's aunt visits the family. As she arrived there, she realizes that thistles had stuck on her clothes.

Tiñi uk kopak ługj łakišk-em bordam!
here PTC all thistle **stick -2PST.3SG** PP

'Look, thistles all stuck on me!'

A rather special case of deferred realization is encountered with 1st person 2nd past forms. In Udmurt 1st person past evidential forms indicate the speaker's lack of control over a given situation (Siegl 2004; Kozmács 2008; Skribnik-Kehayov 2018; Kubitsch 2018). In the corpus there are 40 1st person 2nd past forms. However, with 1st person evidential forms the mirative meaning is often implicated as well (19 instances; 47% of all 1st person 2nd past forms in the corpus). The notion of deferred realization may appear when the speaker become aware of the execution of a nonvolitional/uncontrolled action not at the time of its execution but only later

through the process of inference (Curnow 2003: 47). This can be seen in example 15 and 16. The actions described in the examples were performed unintentionally, and the speaker had a realization only after the actions had already happened.

(15) udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru; 20/09/2015; last visited: 17/08/2018

Context: The speaker had a very rough day. As she was going home by tram, she realized that the tram had passed the stop she needed to get off at.

Ongira-m kad', ostanovka-me no ortči-škem.
numb -PTCP.PRF like stop -ACC.POSS.1SG **pass-2PST.1SG**

'I was numb as I passed the stop.'

(16) udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru; 20/12/2014; last visited: 17/08/2018

Context: The speaker participated in a sports competition. It was her first competition and she didn't think she would win, so she had trained very hard. After the competition she realized that she had lost 2 kilos in a week during the preparations.

Arña kusp-jn 53 kilo -jś 51 kili -škem.
week PP -INE 53 kilo -ELA 51 **remain-2PST.1SG**

'I lost 2 kilos in a week.'

It is important to mention that not all 1st person 2nd past forms convey deferred realization (cf. section 4.5).

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this section, a certain instance can have mirative connotation because the information is surprisingly new or unexpected for the speaker (cf. example 17 and 18). In such cases the realization is not deferred, and it is irrelevant whether the speaker had direct perception of the event in question or not.

(17) burdjos.ru; 18/05/2014; 09/01/2020

Context: The speaker visited Kazan with her friends. 2nd past indicates that she had not expected the city to be as beautiful as it was.

Ćeber ik vijl -em Kazań...
beautiful PTC **be -2PST.3SG** Kazan

'Kazan was really beautiful (...).'

(18) vuflower.blogspot.ru; 06/10/2014; last visited: 17/07/2018

Context: There was a celebration organized for the teachers of a school. The speaker is one of the teachers. Entering the room where the celebration would be held, she was surprised that half of the room was filled with children instead of teachers.

Žinj-leš tros-ez zal -jn pinal -jos puk -o vijl -em!
half-ABL lot -DET room -INE gyerek -PL sit -3PL.PRS be-2PST.3SG

'More than half of the room was filled with children!'

In some cases (7 of 122) of the 2nd past encoding mirativity, the formally past tense can refer to events/states that are effectual in the present (cf. example 19).

(19) zangarik.ru; 28/08/2012; last visited: 12/01/2020

Context: The speaker visits her family. Her parents read her article written in an Udmurt journal. They criticize her, because she used a Russian word, although there is an Udmurt one. She comments on this that it seems to be that editors live at home too. The nature of the criticism is unexpected for the speaker.

Dorjn ik redaktor-jos ul -o, vijl -em.
at.home PTC editor -PL live -PRS.3PL be -2PST.3SG

'Editors live at home too.'

As this section is instantiated, the Udmurt evidential past is used to encode mirativity. In such cases mirativity is an implicated meaning, the 2nd past functions as a mirative strategy. The modality of the sentences (exclamative) and the use of emphatic particles (13 instances of 122; 10%) also strengthen the mirative interpretation. Two subgroups of instances can be established based on the source of mirative reading. These can be the speaker's deferred realization or the unexpectedness of the information. Deferred realization seems to be a borderline category between the conventional evidential content and the mirative interpretation. On the one hand it is connected to evidentiality, since it involves inference despite the direct perception of the information. On the other hand, this newly understood information can be considered surprising. In my opinion, this "dual nature" of instances of deferred realization might illustrate the evolution of the non-firsthand evidential as a mirative strategy (cf. Aikhenvald 2012: 471). In the other cases which convey mirative meaning the source of information is irrelevant – in such cases it seems that the 2nd past encodes purely (cf. example 17, 18 and 19) the fact that the experience of an event does not correlate with the speaker's expectations.

4.5 Speaker's lack of control

The content of lack of control or non-volitionality in Udmurt is restricted to 1st person context (and according to Curnow 2003: 42–43, in other languages as well). In languages with grammatical evidentiality if 1st person evidential forms are allowed, they tend to have some additional or special meaning, other than referring to the information source (Aikhenvald 2004: 219–220, Curnow 2002). The interpretation of such forms is typically connected to volition or control. This is called first-person effect (Aikhenvald 2015: 259). As it was mentioned in section 2 and 4.4, Udmurt 1st person 2nd past forms indicate the speaker's lack of control. Mirative (deferred realization) reading is also frequently, but not always implicated (19 of 40 instances). 13 instances (32%) of 1st person 2nd past forms encode merely the speaker's lack of control (without mirative reading).

In example 20 the 2nd past encodes merely the speaker's lack of control/intention. This interpretation is non-contextual, the grammatical form (evidential past in 1st person) inherently encodes the speaker's lack of control.¹⁷

(20) udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru; 17/04/2017; 08/01/2020

Context: The speaker strained her waist.

Kus -me vjrzjiti -škem.
waist -ACC.POSS.1SG strain -2PST.1SG

'I strained my waist.'

The remaining eight cases (20%) of 1st person 2nd past forms express hearsay. The speaker is told about their own actions, either because they were not in a conscious state (e.g. they were sleeping, were drunk) or because they cannot recall them (e.g. they were little children, or the actions simply did not happen – cf. gossiping). Note that in such cases the speaker's lack of control can be attested – the speaker was not „in charge” of their own actions. In four cases the quotative particle *pe* also appears to emphasize that the information is based on someone else's utterance (cf. section 5.1 on the 2nd past form and the quotative particle, see also example 22).

¹⁷ In the 2nd past paradigm the *-šk* derivational suffix appears on 1st person forms. The suffix has various functions in the Udmurt language, the most frequent ones are expressing reflexivity and intransitivity (cf. Kozmács 2008). According to Kozmács (2008: 175–176) the *-šk* derivational suffix appeared on 1st person forms because of lack of control in order to morphologically encode (with its valence-decreasing function) the agent's suppression.

5. Constructions involving the 2nd past

Typologically, there are various interactions and dependencies between evidentiality and other categories such as tense, aspect, mood, modality or person (Aikhenvald 2015: 247). Some interactions have been discussed in the previous sections, such as the interaction with person (cf. 1st person 2nd past forms – example 16 and 20) or the interaction with tense (cf. evidential distinction is made only in past tenses and the marking of evidentiality is built into the past tense system).

In this section constructions involving the 2nd past are going to be discussed. The following structures occurred in the corpus:

- 2nd past in combination with the quotative/modal particle *pe*
- 2nd past with the epistemic adverbials *leša* ‘apparently, probably’ and *vildj* ‘perhaps, possibly’
- the 2nd past form of the existential verb with the necessitive participle
- the 2nd past form of the existential verb with the imperative and optative

The 2nd past in combination with the quotative particle and modal adverbials encode connotations related to evidentiality. The past evidential form of the existential verb in combination with the necessitive participle and the imperative convey non-evidential, but modal meanings.

5.1 2nd past and the quotative/modal particle *pe*

Udmurt has the particle *pe* to express quotation (Leinonen 2000: 420). Moreover, the particle can function as a marker of reportative and inferred evidentiality and as a discourse particle with hedging function (Teptiuk 2019). In the data under consideration the 2nd past co-occurs with the *pe* in the same clause in 33 cases. Their co-occurrence is significant, because both *pe* and the 2nd past keep their original meaning (evidential or, for example, lack of control in example 22). Double marking of information source in languages may appear to express that the information in the clause is from different sources. Hence double marking is never redundant (cf. Aikhenvald 2004: 94–95). Despite there are formally two separate evidential markers, they do not encode that the information is acquired through different sources: the 2nd past frames the clause as indirect/unwitnessed and *pe* functions as a quotative and emphasizes that the information is the result uttered by someone else, usually specified in the context (cf.

example 21, 22 and 23).¹⁸ The particle *pe* specifies the indirect source encoded by the 2nd past. It also can decrease the epistemic responsibility of the speaker: since the 2nd past does not have epistemic overtones, emphasizing that the information is uttered by someone else the speaker can distance themselves. The use of the 2nd past and the *pe* particle seems like instances when the same evidential marker occurs more than once – typologically, the reasons for this type of double marking are usually pragmatic (cf. Aikhenvald 2004: 95 on Tariana and Baniwa).

(21) udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru; 28/09/2013; last visited: 12/01/2020

Context: The speaker takes a taxi. She is speaking on her phone in Udmurt. After the phone conversation the taxi driver praises her in Russian, that she is very fine, because she speaks in Udmurt, since that is quite rare to hear. The speaker comments that the driver’s mother was Udmurt.

Anaj -ez, pe, udmurt vijl-em.
 mother-POSS.3SG Q Udmurt be-2PST.3SG

‘His mother, he says, was Udmurt.’

The speaker cannot have direct information about the mother of an unknown taxi driver in the capital of the Republic, hence the 2nd past. Also, she reports this information based on the utterance of the taxi driver. In my opinion the distancing effect of the particle *pe* can be observed here. The taxi driver speaks in Russian, but he claims that his mother was Udmurt. With inserting *pe*, the speaker is able to distance herself: the information may be either true or false, it is not her “responsibility” since she only reports the words of someone else.

(22) udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru; 22/09/2013; last visited: 12/01/2020

Context: The speaker was very sick when she was a little child. The healers put her into the oven, because coal was considered to be medicine. The speaker got better right away.

Sobere, pe, srazu jena -škem.
 then Q right.away recover -2PST.1SG

‘Then I, they say, have recovered right away.’

The speaker cannot remember the events, since she was only a little child and she was not in control of the events happened around/with her. She can only know about these events, because someone else has told her. The quotation particle *pe* emphasizes that the information is based on someone else’s utterance.

¹⁸ Many thanks to Denis Teptiuk for the vivid and enlightening discussion about the topic.

(23) marjamoll.blogspot.ru; 03/08/2014; last visited: 12/01/2020

Context: The speaker visits an Udmurt village, Ivanovo-Samarsk. They are welcomed with different kind of drinks and food. The speaker comments that they have been preparing to welcome them the whole week.

Bides arña, pe, milemiz pumita -ni daśaški -llam.
whole week Q us welcome -INF prepare -2PST.3PL

'The whole week, they say, they were preparing to welcome us.'

The speaker does not have direct perception of the preparation, therefore the 2nd past, but *pe* further specifies this indirect information source.¹⁹ The example also illustrates the summarizing function of the particle: it cannot be expected that several speakers actually uttered that they have been preparing for the whole week, but based on several utterances this piece of information can be represented as the most important one (cf. Teptiuk 2019: 113).

5.2 2nd past and epistemic adverbials

In the research material in 24 cases 2nd past verb forms co-occurred with epistemic adverbials. The adverbials *leša* 'apparently, probably' (22 instances) and *vildji* 'perhaps, possibly' (2 instances) appeared. The reading of such constructions is either inference (cf. example 24) or assumption (example 25). While inference is based on visible, tangible evidence or result, assumption is based on other than visible results. This may be a mental construct, logical reasoning, previous or general knowledge. (Aikhenvald 2004: 63)

(24) marjamoll.blogspot.ru; 21/07/2014; last visited: 12/01/2020

Context: The speaker was at a festival. She did not like the music, she was bored. As she saw the face of her friends, she thought that they were bored too.

Soos no akilti -llam ni, leša.
they too be.bored -2PST.3PL already apparently

'Apparently, they were already bored too.'

¹⁹ Without the particle *pe* inference would be a more plausible analysis – different kinds of food and drinks would serve as tangible evidence for inference.

In this example there is a visible trace for inference (facial expression). The epistemic adverbial weakens the assertion. However, there are instances (17 in the corpus) when the combination of the 2nd past and the epistemic adverbial encode assumption.

(25) marjamoll.blogspot.ru; 04/12/2013; last visited: 20/01/2020

Context: In the dormitory there are boys, who are extramural students. Since in the exam period they had nothing to do, they started to visit girls' rooms and there was one girl in particular, who was frequently visited. The girl's boyfriend started to become jealous of these boys. One day after midnight all the boys from their wing picked a fight with these extramural students. Later, the same night the speaker hears fighting again.

Zaočnik *-jos noš ik so njl -jos dorj l'ikt'i -llam leša (...)*
extramural.students -PL again that girl -PL PP **come-2PST.3SG** **probably**

'Probably the extramural students came again to those girls.'

In example 25 the speaker's previous knowledge is the basis of her assumption. In 17 instances the combination of the 2nd past and modal adverbials convey assumption and in seven examples the 2nd past encodes inference and the modal adverbial indicates the speaker's uncertainty.

5.3 2nd past and the necessitive participle

The necessitive participle renders the necessity of carrying out an action, e.g. *eskerono už* 'the matter which must be investigated' (Csúcs 1998: 291). The co-occurrence of the necessitive participle and the 2nd past form of the existential verb (*vilem*) was attested 13 times in the corpus. From these 13 instances seven can be considered as non-compositional structures.²⁰ These structures refer to an action which the speaker found desirable to have been carried out in the past, but they were not (cf. example 26). Therefore, the structure expresses irreal modality and does not have evidential connotation.

(26) zangarik.ru; 28/06/2012; last visited: 12/01/2020

Context: The speaker visited a singing contest as a spectator and commented on the participants' performance. In one of the performances she finds the dresses of the background dancers

²⁰ In the instances (6) the meaning of the necessitive participle and the 2nd past form of the existential verb is compositional. In such cases the necessitive participle refers to the necessity of carrying out an action and the existential verb in the 2nd past renders mirativity expressing that the speaker realizes only post-factum the necessity characterized by the participle.

inappropriate, because as they were spinning everybody could see under their skirts. She states how they should have dressed up.

Jake derem kuž -ges kule, jake derem ule make
or dress long -COMP have.to or dress PP something

diša -no na vjl-em.
dress -PTCP.NESS yet be-2PST.3SG

‘Either the dress should have been longer, or they should have put something on under their dresses.’

5.4 2nd past with the imperative mood

In Udmurt the paradigm of the imperative is incomplete: only 2nd and 3rd person forms exist. 2nd person forms are expressed basically with the verb stem and 3rd person forms with a construction comprises the *med* particle and the corresponding form of the future tense.²¹ (Winkler 2001: 51).

In the corpus five instances are attested in which a verb in the imperative co-occurred with the 2nd past form of the existential verb. Two instances represent 2nd person forms (cf. example 27), and three instances 3rd person forms (cf. example 28). Just as in 5.3, these constructions are modal as well.

(27) vuflower.blogspot.ru; 18/12/2014; last visited: 12/01/2020

Context: The speaker complains about living in the city. Also says that nowadays even in the villages people cannot run a farm, because there is not enough workforce (since the youngsters migrate to the cities). She wishes the youngsters came back (but she knows that this is quite unlikely, since the lands are very expensive).

Bert -e vjl -em jegit -jos!
return -IMP.2PL be -2PST.3SG young -PL

‘Come back young ones!’

²¹ In Southern Udmurt there is a complete paradigm of a mood formed with the *med* particle and the future tense. It is considered to be optative mood. The construction is used only in subordinate clauses (Edygarova 2015: 273–274).

(28) burdjos.ru; 26/09/2012; 12/01/2020

Context: The speaker attended to a program organized by an Udmurt television channel. They spent 2 hours in the studio, so their discussion would not remain only spoken (but there will be a record of it).

Kiĵ *viĵin gine meda -z kiĵi* *viĵ -em tunne veraskem.*
tongue PP only NEG.IMP-3 remain.CNG be -2PST.3SG today discussion
'(So) today's discussion would not remain only spoken.'

Despite the small number of examples, it is worthwhile to discuss this construction, because there is discrepancy in the literature and in the speaker's judgement in respect of the possibility and meaning of the construction. According to Winkler (2001: 51) using the 2nd past form of the existential verb after an imperative form can change a direct command into a quasi-indirect one and thereby weakens them.²² At the same time Siegl (2004: 17) claims that the 2nd past cannot combine with the imperative.

Based on a questionnaire made by the author, regarding the 2nd person imperative and the 2nd past, 33 informants out of 76 (39%) claimed that they do not use such forms, however, they were able to assign meaning to them. The informants characterized the meaning of such forms as a "soft request" which is not necessary to be done or a "desire", which is likely not to be become true (cf. the context of example 27). Also, 48 informants (63%) drew a parallel between the meaning of the construction consisting of the imperative and the 2nd past and the construction of the necessitive participle and the 2nd past (cf. section 5.3). Native speakers associated a similar function with 3rd person imperative forms: the construction expresses the speaker's desire, but the 2nd past form of the existential verb makes it more "emotional" and "softer".

Instances of the imperative and the 2nd past form of the existential verb in combination illustrate modal attenuation. The 2nd past form attenuate the illocutionary force. The 1st past form of the existential verb (*val*) serves the same function (cf. note no. 22), but with the 2nd past form the attenuation is even more pronounced.

²² The 1st past form of the existential verb has the same function. Inserting the 1st past form of the existential verb after an imperative form weakens the illocutionary force, expresses request instead of command. This strategy is conventionalized in Udmurt. (Winkler 2001: 52)

6. Functional distribution of 2nd past forms in the corpus

The following figure (Figure 1) illustrates the functional distribution of the 2nd past in the corpus. Percentages are approximal values.

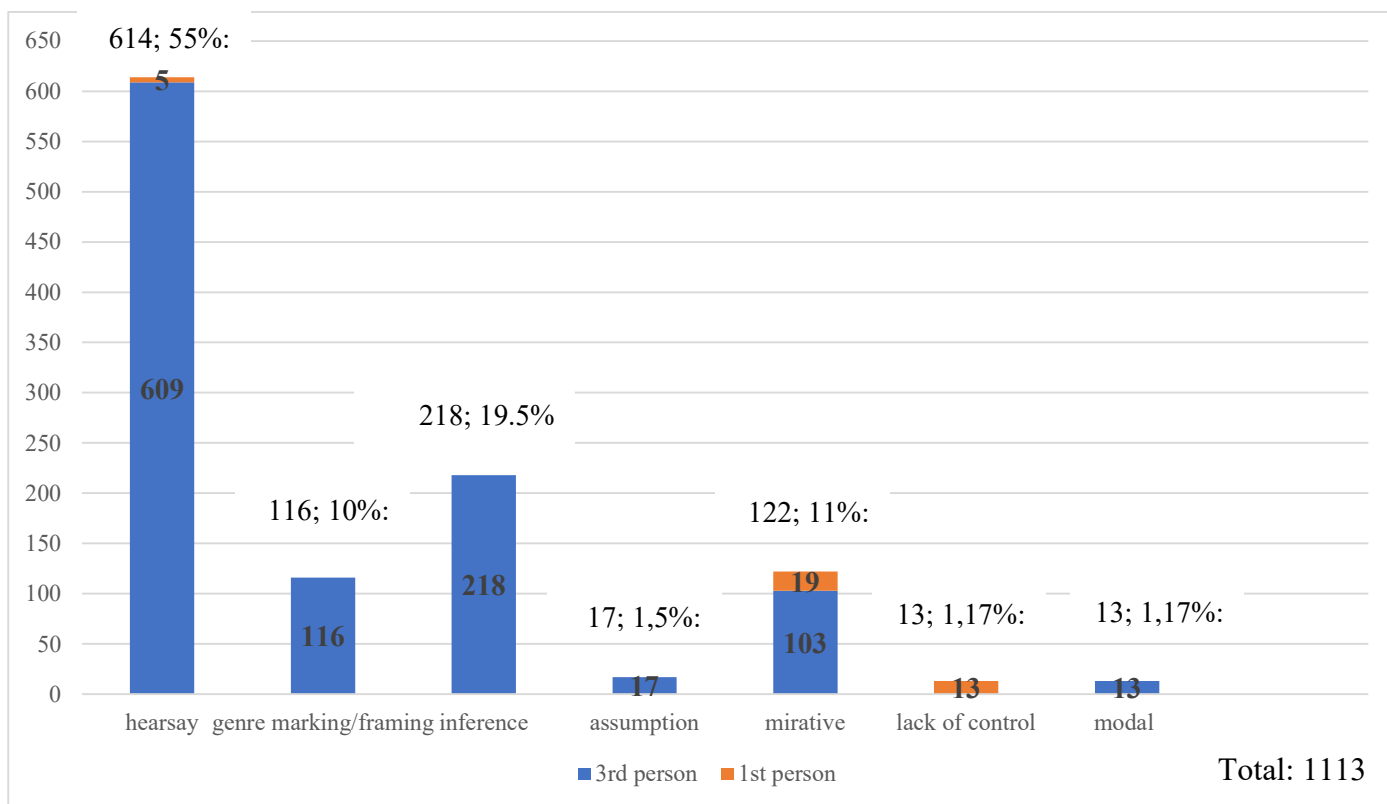


Figure 1. Functional distribution of 2nd past forms

As Figure 1 shows 2nd past forms encoded hearsay information in more than half of their occurrences (614 instances, 55%). The second most prominent function of the 2nd past is encoding inference (218 instances, 19,5%), the third one is expressing mirativity (122; 11%). The high number of hearsay occurrences can be explained with the fact that reporting an event acquired through hearsay involves a larger number of verbs (since a whole chain of actions are described) than for example a single personal inference (cf. section 4.1, example 5).

A relatively high number of occurrences of the 2nd past as genre marking and framing can be observed because out of the 12 narratives examined in this research, five used 2nd past forms consequently throughout the whole narrative (cf. section 4.3). Instances of the 2nd past conveying the speaker's lack of control is rather rare. This reading is restricted to 1st person contexts and it covers a narrow domain of meanings (cf. section 4.5). Also, beyond the speaker's lack of control, the mirative meaning is frequently implicated: the speaker realizes that they acted nonvolitionally only post-factum (cf. section 4.4). Past evidential forms in combination with other grammatical elements are possible to use to convey assumption (cf.

section 5.2) and modal meanings (modal attenuation, cf. section 5.4), but such instances are considerably rare.

Based on the qualitative analysis carried out on the data under consideration it can be concluded that 2nd past forms in Udmurt most frequently express hearsay, inference and mirativity.

7. Conclusion

The paper discussed the uses of verb forms expressing evidentiality in Udmurt. A qualitative and quantitative analysis has been carried out on contemporary texts in order to determine the functions of the past evidential, also known as the 2nd past tense.

The Udmurt past evidential has shown various interpretation in the research material. The following semantic contents (cf. Figure 1) has been attested: hearsay, genre marking/framing, inference, mirative, lack of control and in combination with other grammatical elements/categories, it conveys assumption and modal meanings as well.

Among these connotations, assumption has not yet been discussed in the existing literature on Udmurt evidentiality. Although all the other functions of the 2nd past has been mentioned (cf. section 2) in earlier research, the paper provided a more elaborated discussion about the uses of the past evidential. In the paper it has been established that mirative is an implicated connotation of the 2nd past, and that mirative instances can be divided into two subgroups based on the origin of mirative connotation. These are deferred realization and unexpectedness (cf. section 4.4). Also, it has been shown that a large number of 1st person 2nd past forms have mirative interpretation, however such forms still convey the speaker's lack of control (cf. section 4.4 and 4.5). The genre marking and framing function of the 2nd past can be attested not only in folklore texts (cf. Siegl 2004), but in other types of narratives as well (cf. 4.3).

The paper also discussed some constructions including past evidential forms. These are the following: past evidential with the quotative particle *pe* in the same clause, past evidential with modal adverbials, past evidential with the necessitive participle and past evidential with the imperative mood.

Among these constructions only the 2nd past and the imperative has been briefly discussed before (cf. Winkler 2001). Based on the results it can be established that the past evidential form of the existential verb is compatible with the imperative mood and it expresses modal attenuation, just as its 1st past counterpart (cf. 5.4). Similarly, the co-occurrence of the

existential verb in 2nd past and the necessitive participle conveys modal meaning (5.3). Only the existential verb can participate in such constructions.

In the case of the co-occurrence of the evidential past and the quotative particle, both constituents keep their original meaning – the 2nd past indicates that the information is indirect and the quotative particle emphasizes that this non-witnessed information is based on someone else's utterance (cf. 5.1). The 2nd past co-occurring with modal adverbials may encode either inference or assumption (cf. 5.2). In the case of inferential meaning the structure is compositional, the 2nd past encodes inference and the modal adverbial the speaker's uncertainty. In the case of a non-compositional structure they jointly express assumption.

Apart from the main topic of the paper, the semantic profile of the 2nd past, the relationship of the 1st and 2nd past was briefly discussed in section 2. It is important to emphasize that there seems to be an ongoing change in the evidential system of Udmurt, which may result in a change in the typological classification of Udmurt evidentiality (as comprising an evidential and non-evidential past tense form). Comprehensive research involving different genres of texts and speakers of different generations can help to record the ongoing changes in the evidential system and characterize the relationship of the 1st and 2nd past as well.

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Addresses of blogs included in the research:

burdjos.ru

kepics.tumblr.com (currently unavailable; content is available in the Udmurt corpora:

udmurt.web-corpora.net)

krestyaninova.blogspot.ru

kyshnomurt.ru (currently unavailable; content is available in the Udmurt corpora:

udmurt.web-corpora.net)

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