

S. A. MAKSIMOV, T. I. PANINA (Izhevsk)

ON THE CATEGORY OF CLUSIVITY IN THE UDMURT LANGUAGE

Abstract. The paper demonstrates the existence of an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the pronominal forms of the Udmurt language, which exhibits two forms of first person plural — *ми* and *асьмеос*. The pronoun *ми* 'we' is exclusive as it is used when the addressee or addressees are excluded from the set of referents which also contains the speaker, in other words, *ми* 'we' = 'I + he/she/they', i.e. 'speaker and other(s)'. The pronoun *асьмеос* 'we' is inclusive, as it is used when the addressee or addressees are included in the group of the speaker, i.e. *асьмеос* 'we' = 'I + youSG/youPL'. The Udmurt language seems to be the only language spoken in Europe that has the opposition of 'we' inclusive and 'we' exclusive. It is noteworthy that an inclusive form has appeared in the Yiddish idiom spoken in Udmurtia under the influence of the Udmurt language.

Keywords: Udmurt language, pronouns, clusivity, inclusive, personal pronouns, emphatic personal pronoun, possessive pronoun, Udmurt idiom of Yiddish.

1. Pronouns are one of the most peculiar lexical-semantic groups of words. Their peculiarity is primarily related to the ambiguousness of the meaning they convey. In her research O. N. Seliverstova argues that the elusive semantics of pronouns resulted in developing diverse perspectives on their meanings. Some researchers consider pronouns to be words which lack lexical semantics or words the meanings of which vary depending on the situation and context, whilst other investigators state that the semantics of pronouns are multifarious and compound (Селиверстова 1988 : 3).

Pronouns are described in all descriptive grammars of the Udmurt language, including the first Udmurt grammar book (for example, Сочинения 59—64; ГСУЯ 167—187; Алатырев 1983 : 574—578; 2008 : 844—849), researches on territorial dialects (Тепляшина 1970 : 183—207; Карпова 1997 : 118—130; Люкина 2016 : 90—105), and other publications (Тараканов 2001; Кельмаков 2005). But so far no monograph on the Udmurt pronouns has been published. Each following study, as a rule, supplements, clarifies or discusses a separate aspect of the pronominal system in more detail. However, there is no consensus of opinion among linguists on terminology and the number of pronominal subtypes.

The article deals with the following category of pronouns: *ачим* 'myself / me personally', *ачид* 'yourself / youSG personally', *ачиз* 'himself / him

personally; herself / her personally; itself / it personally', *асьмеос* 'ourselves / us personally', *асьтэос* 'yourselves / youPL personally', and *асьсэос* 'themselves / them personally'. According to the Russian linguistic tradition, the term *определятельные местоимения* 'attributive pronouns' is the most suitable one for this group of pronouns. As the Udmurt pronouns indicate person, they are also called *лично-определятельные местоимения* 'personal attributive pronouns' or *определятельно-личные местоимения* 'attributive personal pronouns'.

The discussed pronouns can also be used in combination with personal pronouns: *мон ачим* 'I myself', *тон ачид* 'youSG yourself', *со ачиз* 'he himself / she herself / it itself', *ми асьмеос* 'we ourselves', *тй асьтэос* 'youPL yourselves', and *соос асьсэос* 'they themselves'. In this case they reinforce the corresponding personal pronoun and therefore they are called *усилительно-личные местоимения* 'emphatic personal pronouns'.

However, in many oblique cases pronouns of the described category can be used as reflexive pronouns. According to our observations, these pronouns are semantically reflexive at least in five cases out of the nine cases they inflect for. As an example, we will provide the pronominal inflection for the accusative case: *асме* '(I) myself', *астэ* '(youSG) yourself', *ассэ* '(he/she/it) himself/herself/itself', *асьмеды* ~ *асьмемыз* '(we) ourselves', *асьтэды* ~ *асьтэдыз* '(youPL) yourselves', *асьсэды* ~ *асьсэзыз* '(they) themselves'; and for the dative case: *аслым* '(I) to myself', *аслыд* '(youSG) to yourself', *аслыз* '(he/she/it) to himself / to herself / to itself', *асьмелы* '(we) to ourselves', *асьтэлы* '(youPL) to yourselves', and *асьсэлы* '(they) to themselves'. Considering the above-mentioned functional property of the described pronouns, I. V. Tarakanov suggested using the term *усилительно-лично-возвратное местоимение* 'emphatic personal reflexive pronoun'.

As we can see, one and the same subtype of a pronoun is described as emphatic personal (*усилительно-личное*), personal attributive (*лично-определятельное*), attributive personal (*определятельно-личное*) or emphatic personal reflexive (*усилительно-лично-возвратное*). Different names refer to different structural and functional properties of the analyzed pronouns.

2. The Udmurt pronoun *асьмеос* is of considerable interest to us as, besides the above mentioned semantics, it is also used as the inclusive personal pronoun conveying the meaning 'youSG and I' and 'youPL and I'. Moreover, its genitive form *асьмелэн* 'my and yourSG/PL' and ablative form *асьмелэсь* 'my and yourSG/PL' can also function as inclusive possessive pronouns.

The present paper addresses the topic of exclusive and inclusive pronouns in the Udmurt language and aims to describe the existing opposition of the clusivity forms in the pronominal sphere. The problem discussed in the article is crucially important as the category of clusivity in the Udmurt language has never been studied so far.

In linguistics, clusivity denotes the phenomenon of inclusive—exclusive distinction and simultaneously comprises both members of the opposition. This term was first coined by Viktor Elšík (2000) and was readily accepted by linguists (Clusivity. Typology and Case Studies of the Inclusive-Exclusive Distinction 2005). The inclusive pronoun is used in referring to the speaker plus at least one addressee, for instance, in the Tagalog language:

kata 'you and I' and *tayo* 'you and I and at least one other'. An inclusive form which is used to refer to a single speaker and a single addressee is called 'dual', while one which refers to more than these is generally called 'first plural inclusive' in opposition to 'first plural exclusive'. The languages that have an opposition of 'we' inclusive and 'we' exclusive are called inclusive languages. They are mostly spoken in Central and Southeast Asia, Pacific Islands, Australia, the Americas and Africa (JIЭC 193). Languages lacking inclusives in their pronominal systems are called non-inclusive languages, among which are languages spoken in Europe. The inclusive is traditionally explained as an elaboration of the meaning of the first-person plural pronoun 'we' and considered as a subcategory within the first person, but nowadays researchers argue that inclusives should be treated as a separate grammatical person (Daniel 2005).

2.1. Taking into consideration the semantic features of the Udmurt word *асьмеос* it may be regarded as 'we' inclusive, i.e. an addressee or addressees are included in the set of referents which also contains the speaker ('I):

2.1.1. *асьмеос*

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1) = 'I + youSG' | — English <i>we</i> 'youSG and I' |
| 2) = 'I + youSG ¹ + youSG ² + ...' = 'I + youPL' | — English <i>we</i> 'youPL and I' |
| 3) = 'I + youSG ¹ + youSG ² + ...
+ he/she ¹ (+ he/she ² + ...)' = 'I + youPL' | — English <i>we</i> 'youPL and I' |
| 4) = 'I + youSG
+ he/she ¹ (+ he/she ² + ...)' = 'I + youPL' | — English <i>we</i> 'youPL and I' |

In all Udmurt dialects this pronoun has similar meanings, although it can be pronounced differently, for example: in the peripheral southern Udmurt dialects *асьмеёс*, in the southern Udmurt dialects *асьмес* and *асьмеёс*, in the middle Udmurt dialects *асьмеес*, *ачмеёс* and *ачмес*, and in the northern Udmurt dialects *ачимес* (Борисов 1932 : 19). As the pronominal systems of the Russian language and other languages spoken in Europe lack inclusives, the Udmurt pronoun *асьмеос* had not been identified and described as a personal pronoun in grammar books, dictionaries and textbooks by the late 1990s. It used to be defined as attributive personal pronoun (УРС 1983 : 34; УРС 2008 : 50). The idea of classifying *асьмеос* as a personal pronoun was first put forward by Sergei Maksimov, one of the authors of the present study. He proposed that István Kozmács include this pronoun in his coursebook on the Udmurt language for Hungarian students (Козмач 1998). The meanings of the pronoun *асьмеос* both as a personal pronoun and as a reflexive one were also provided in the Udmurt-Finnish dictionary, so the inclusive meanings of the possessive pronouns *асьме* and *асьмелэн* were given separately (Maksimov, Danilov, Saarinen 2008 : 20). On S. Maksimov's recommendation, *асьмеос* was classified as a personal pronoun and briefly described by E. V. Nazarova in her textbook on the Udmurt language (Назарова 2012 : 56).

Examples provided below demonstrate how this pronoun is used in the Udmurt language.

- (1) *А с ь м е о с — удмурт-ъёс*
 we-PRON.PERS.INCL Udmurt-PL
 'We [youPL and I] are the Udmurts' (it can be said only by an Udmurt person addressing only Udmurt people)
- (2) *А с ь м е о с со-е тодыны*
 we-PRON.PERS.INCL that-ACC.PRON know-INF
но котьку тод-а-мы
 and-CONJ always-ADV memory-INESS-PXPL1
возьыны кулэ (Светлый путь, 2011.03.10. УдмКорп.)
 keep-INF necessary-ADV.PRED
 'We [youPL and I] have to know it and always keep it in mind'
- (3) *А с ь м е о с со-е ум лэсьтэ**
 we-PRON.PERS.INCL that-ACC.PRON not-NEG do-FUT.PL1
 'We [youSG/youPL and I] will not do that'
- (4) *А с ь м е о с вераськ-и-мы ни вал со сярысь*
 we-PRON.PERS.INCL discuss-PAST-PL1 already-ADV be-PAST it-PRON about-PP
 'We [youSG/youPL and I] have already discussed it'
- (5) *А ч и м е с озьы ялам вашкала сямен аналскы-са*
 we-PRON.PERS.INCL so-ADV still-ADV old-ADJ in the way-PP be passive-CV
улицько-м (Азьлань, 1925.07.17.)
 live-PRES.PL1
 'We [youPL and I] are still living passively as in the olden days'
- (6) *Трос-эз а ч м е о с газет'-я Китай-ын война*
 many-PXSG3.EMPH we-PRON.PERS.INCL newspaper-ADVE China-INE war-ADJ
мынон-эз тодиськ-о-м (Азьлань, 1925.08.05.)
 going-ACC learn-PRES-PL1
 'Many of u s [youPL and I] learn about the war in China from newspapers'
- (7) *Чилийской министр'-ес а с л э м д ы* (лит. *асьмеды*) *война-ен*
 Chilean-ADJ minister-PL we-ACC.PRON.PERS.INCL war-INSTR
лыкт-о-м шуыса кышкат-о (Азьлань, 1925.07.14.)
 come-FUT-PL1 that-CONJ scare-PRES-PL3
 'Chilean ministers are scaring u s [youPL and I] that they will make a war'
- (8) *а с м э с - т ы* (лит. *асьмеды*) *со* *толон*
 we-PRON.PERS.INCL-ACC she-PRON.PERS yesterday-ADV
вит'-э был-эм, *туннэ* *кэз-э*
 wait-PRES.SG3 be-PAST.SG3.EVID today-ADV Kez-ILL
мын-эм (Карпова 2018 : 261)
 go-PAST.SG3.EVID
 'She turns out to have expected u s [youSG and I] yesterday, and today she has left for [the town of] Kez'

2.2. *ми* is 'we' exclusive, i.e. the addressee ('youSG') or addressees are not included in the set of referents which also contains the speaker ('I'):

* Example sentences with no primary source provided are the authors' own examples.

2.2.1. *ми*

- 1) = 'I + he/she^{a**} (+ he/she^b + ...)' ↔^{***} 'youSG'
 — English *we* 'he/she/they and I s[but without youSG]'
- 2) = 'I + he/she^a (+ he/she^b + ...)' ↔ 'youSG + he/she¹ (+ he/she² + he/she³...)'
 — English *we* 'he/she/they and I (but without youPL)'

The semantics of the pronoun *ми* does not actually emphasize the number of people referred to but highlights the fact that the addressee or addressees are excluded from the group of the speaker. The discussed pronoun may be generally presented as *ми* = I + he/she/they.

The name of the booklet on the Udmurt people written by ethnologist V. E. Vladykin for those who are going to visit the Udmurt Republic could serve as a representative example: *Зечесь-а? Ми — удмуртъёс* 'Hello! We are the Udmurts' (it suggests that the author addresses non-Udmurts).

Other examples from published sources:

- (9) *Ми одно тй-ледлы*
 we-PRON.PERS.EXCL definitely-ADV you-PRON.PERS.PL-DAT
юртт-о-м! (Удмурт дунне, 2009.12.11. УдмКорп.)
 help-FUT-PL1
 'We will definitely help you [youSG/youPL]!'
- (10) *Ми лемлы туннэ шулдыр.*
 we-DAT.PRON.PERS.EXCL today-ADV merry-ADJ.PRED
Тй-ледлы но озьы мед лу-о-з
 you-PRON.PERS.PL-DAT also-PART likewise-ADV let-PART be-FUT-SG3
шуыса, мылкыд кариськ-о-м (Гаврилов 58)
 that-CONJ wish-OBJ do-PRES-PL1
 'We are having fun today. We wish you the same'
- (11) *ти ми доры ө' лы'тэ ке, /*
 you-PRON.PERS.PL we-PRON.PERS.EXCL to-PP not-NEG come-PAST.PL2 if-CONJ
ми ти доры өм кэ мынэ, /
 we-PRON.PERS.EXCL you-PRON.PERS.PL to-PP not-NEG if-CONJ go-PAST.PL1
кыт-исэн ук, мар-исэн ук /
 where-EGR -ever-PART.EMPH what-EGR -ever-PART.EMPH
огазын но ул-о-мы? (Кельмаков 2015 : 52).
 together-ADV PART.EMPH live-FUT-PL1
 'If you do not visit us, / If we do not visit you, / Where and how / will we get on well with you?'

It is noteworthy that a subtle difference between the two pronouns — *ми* and *асьмеос* — was perceived by those who speak the Yiddish idiom in Udmurtia (so called Udmurtish). The word *ashmes* was borrowed from Udmurt dialects (< *асьмес*, *ачмес*) to refer to the people of the commu-

** As a part of inclusive pronouns the third person in the group of the speaker 'he/she¹ (+ he/she² + ...)' corresponds with the third person in the group of the listener, and as a part of exclusive pronouns the third person in the group of the speaker 'he/she¹ (+ he/she² + ...)' does not correspond with the third person in the group of the listener 'he/she^a (+ he/she^b + ...)' and therefore they are marked with different symbols.

*** The symbol ↔ indicates that the listener / group of listeners is not included in the group of the speaker.

nity, i. e. to those who speak the above-mentioned idiom. Moreover, in conversational speech the word had a narrower meaning — 'a group of people; close friends; a close-knit group of people; people who trust each other; you and I'. The loanword from Udmurt is synonymous with dialectal words which are German in origin — *ikhtu* (< Yiddish *ikh* 'I' + *du* 'you') in the Izhevsk subdialect of the Yiddish language and *ishtu* in the Sarapul and Votkinsk subdialects.****

2.3. The English concept *we* could be presented as follows:

2.3.1. *we*

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------|----------------|
| 1) = 'I + youSG' | 'youSG and I' — Udmurt | <i>асьмеос</i> |
| 2) = 'I + youSG + he/she ¹ (+ he/she ² ...)' | 'youPL and I' — Udmurt | <i>асьмеос</i> |
| 3) = 'I + he/she' | 'he/she and I' — Udmurt | <i>ми</i> |
| 4) = 'I + he/she ^a + (he/she ^b ...)' | 'they and I' — Udmurt | <i>ми</i> |

Nowadays, influenced by the Russian language the Udmurt word *асьмеос* as a personal pronoun is being replaced with the pronoun *ми* ('we' = 'I + he/she/they'). Contemporary song lyrics confirm this process: *Ойдо, нылаш ми тонэн пумиськом!* 'Girl, let's meet!' — instead of *Ойдо, нылаш асьмеос пумиськом!* According to the traditional Udmurt way of thinking, a young man does not ask a girl out on a date, but suggests that she meet with him and somebody else, for example, his friends: ... *ми тонэн ...* 'Girl, let me and he/she/they meet with you!'.

As we have observed, the process of replacing *асьмеос* started in the late 20th century. Most people born in the 1970s—1980s tend to not use this pronoun although they to some extent understand its specific meaning, but the youngest generation speaking Udmurt is usually puzzled by the idea of translating the Russian pronoun *мы* 'we' with the Udmurt word *асьмеос*.

2.4. As mentioned above, the pronoun *асьмеос* is also an emphatic personal pronoun composed of the stem *ась-/ач-* '-self'. It derives from the reconstructed Finno-Ugric protoform **iče ~ *iše* that originally meant 'shadow; soul-shadow'; some correspondences can be found in the Yukaghir languages (КЭСК 1999 : 34; UEW 79). Some dialect forms of this pronoun in the oblique cases derive from the velar-final stem *ac-*, which is also used as the individual word *ac* '[one's] own'. The word is believed to have originated in the proto-Permian period (КЭСК 1999 : 34; see also Csúcs 2005 : 236).

In this case Udmurt emphatic personal pronouns are typologically equivalent to the corresponding pronouns in the closely related Komi language and the neighboring Tatar:

Udmurt	Komi	Tatar
<i>ась-ме-ос</i> 'ourselves'	<i>ась-н-ым</i>	<i>үз-ебез</i>
self-PX1.ACC-PL	self-PL-PX1	self-PX1.PL
<i>ась-тэ-ос</i> 'yourselves'	<i>ась-н-ыд</i>	<i>үз-егез</i>
self-PX2.ACC-PL	self-PL-PX2'	self-PX2.PL
<i>ась-сэ-ос</i> 'themselves'	<i>ась-н-ыс</i>	<i>үз-ләр-е</i>
self-PX3.ACC-PL	self-PL-PX3	self-PL-PX3

**** The information was provided by Aleksei Vladimirovič Altyntsev (born in Izhevsk in 1989), a PhD student at the Department of Ecology and Natural Resource Management, Institute of Natural Science, Udmurt State University (Izhevsk, Russia).

However, in the Komi and Tatar languages the emphatic first person plural pronouns are not used as the first person inclusive.

The emphatic personal pronoun *асьмеос* is usually accompanied with the first-person plural pronoun *ми* 'we' — *ми асьмеос* 'we ourselves' or the intensifying particle *ик* — *асьмеос ик* '(we) ourselves':

- (12) *Малы ке шуоно ми асьмеос*
 because-CONJ we-PRON.PERS.EXCL ourselves-PRON.PERS.EMPH
ик кырза-м, экт-й-м, асьмеос
 PART.EMPH sing-PAST.PL1 dance-PAST-PL1 ourselves-PRON.PERS.EMPH
ик удмурт калык-лэсь йылол-ъёс-сэ-с
 PART.EMPH Udmurt-ADJ people-ABL custom-PL-PX3.ACC-PL
возьматъя-м (Удмурт дунне, 2010.07.02. УдмКорп.)
 show-PAST.PL1
 'Because we ourselves sang and danced, and we ourselves staged the Udmurt customs'

- (13) *egjř a ś m i o s*
 charcoal-OBJ ourselves-PRON.PERS.EMPH
lešt-řl-i-mj (Sep, Igra district, Udmurtia) (Keřmakov, Saarinen 1994 : 206)
 make-ITER-PAST-PL1
 'We made charcoal ourselves'

- (14) *Ачимес ик мыдлань улэм-ен, мыдлань*
 ourselves-PRON.PERS.EMPH PART.EMPH incorrect-ADJ living-INSTR incorrect-ADJ
ужам-ен кресян калык-лы син аз-я-зы
 working-INSTR peasant-ADJ people-DAT eye before-INESS-PX.PL3.PP
сыче-ен ачкыськ-о-мы (Азьлань, 1925.12.29.)
 such-INSTR.PRON look like-PRES-PL1
 'As we ourselves lead an incorrect lifestyle and choose incorrect methods of working, we are seen the same way by peasants'

2.5. *асьме* and *асьмелэн* are inclusive forms of possessive pronouns and can be expressed as follows: *асьме(лэн)* 'my + yourSG/yourPL'. The former usually functions as an attribute, but the latter can also be used as a predicate. Examples:

- (15) *Со удыс-эз азинтон-эн-ыз асьме*
 that-PRON.DEM sector-ACC development-INSTR-PX3 our-PRON.POSS.INCL
шаер котькин-лы тодмо
 homeland everybody-DAT.PRON famous-ADJ.PRED
лу-и-з (Удмурт дунне, 2008.05.16. УдмКорп.)
 become-PAST-SG1
 'Having developed that sector, our [my and yourPL, i.e. Udmurt] homeland has become famous'

- (16) *Вашкала ар-’ес-ы ачиме* (лит. *асьме*) *кресян куанер*
 old-ADJ year-PL-ILL our-PRON.POSS.INCL peasant-ADJ poor-ADJ
калык-ез валэктись эй ке вал (Азьлань, 1925.07.17.)
 people-ACC enlightener not-NEG if-NEG be-PAST
 'Since there was nobody to enlighten our [my and yourPL] poor peasant people in days of old'

- (17) *Кылтэм калык-ъёс өвёл, нош асьмелэн*
 languageless-ADJ nation-PL not but-CONJ our-PRON.POSS.INCL
анай кыл-мы та ви-е туж кышкыт
 mother-ADJ tongue-PX.PL1 this-PRON moment-ILL very-ADV dangerous-ADJ
юздур-е сюр-ем-ын (Удмурт дунне, 2012.11.07. УдмКорп.)
 situation-ILL get into-PCPL.PAST-INESS
 'There are no nations lacking languages, but o u r [my and yourPL,
 i.e. Udmurt] mother tongue is in enormous danger nowadays'
- (18) *kema mĭn-em ĩules-jos-t'i, a*
 for a long time-ADV go-PAST.SG3.EVID forest-PL.PROL and-CONJ
a ś m e - l e n ved' ĩules-jos tatiĭn
 we-PRON.PERS.INCL-GEN PART.EMPH forest-PL here-ADV
ve'zd'e (Bliz-Varyž, Balezino district, Udmurtia) (Kel'makov, Saa-
 all around-ADV rinen 1994 : 188)
 'He went through forests for a long time, and forests are everywhere
 here, you know (literally: all around u s [youSG/youPL and me])'
- (19) *А с л а м* (лит. *асьме, асьмелэн*) *калык йэло-вэйо*
 Our-PRON.POSS.INCL people prosperously-ADV
улыны быгат-о-з (Азьлань, 1925.07.17.)
 live-INF be able-FUT-SG3
 'O u r [my and yourPL] people will be able to live prosperously'

In point of fact, the word *асьмелэн* in sentence 18 is not a possessive pronoun, but a genitive form of the personal pronoun *асьмеос*. However, this example is useful in comparing personal and possessive pronouns.

Inclusive possessive pronouns *асьме, асьмелэн* are homonymous with possessive pronouns derived from the emphatic first person pronouns non-singular. The complete paradigm of the emphatic personal pronouns and possessive pronouns which are formed from the emphatic personal ones is as follows:

emphatic personal pronouns	possessive pronouns / inclusive possessive pronouns
<i>асьме-ос</i> 'ourselves'	<i>асьме, асьме-лэн</i> 'our / our own'
<i>асьтэ-ос</i> 'yourselves'	<i>асьтэ, асьтэ-лэн</i> 'your / your own'
<i>асьсэ-ос</i> 'themselves'	<i>асьсэ, асьсэ-лэн</i> 'their / their own'

Possessive pronouns developed from emphatic personal pronouns are generally used either with the exclusive possessive pronoun *милям* 'our' (see 2.6) — *милям асьмелэн* 'we have ... our own...' or with the emphatic particle *ик* — *асьмелэн ик* 'our own'. Sometimes it is rather difficult to differentiate between the possessive pronoun and a genitive form of the emphatic personal pronoun as they are homonymous words, for example:

- (20) *Ми — ми өвёл, милям*
 we-PRON.PERS.EXCL we-PRON.PERS.EXCL.PRED not our-PRON.POSS.EXCL
асьмелэн уробо-мы (Гаврилов 9)
 our own-PRON.POSS.EMPH cart-PX1.PL
 'We are not to blame (literally: we are not we, w e have o u r o w n
 cart)'
- (21) *Озъы ке но асьмелэн ик вань*
 anyway-CONJ our own-PRON.POSS.EMPH PART.EMPH be/exist-PRES

симфонической оркестр-мы (Митрофанов)
 symphonic-ADJ orchestra-PX1.PL
 'Anyway we have our own symphony orchestra'

2.6. *милям* is an exclusive possessive pronoun associated with the personal pronoun *ми*:

2.6.1. *милям*

- 1) = 'my + his/her' — English *our* 'our, but not yourSG'
 2) = 'my + his/her^A + his/her^B + ...' — English *our* 'our, but not yourPL'

Thus, it may be formulated as follows: *милям* 'my + his/her/their'.

- (22) *Милям гинэ, милям ульча-ос-мы*
 our-PRON.POSS.EXCL.PL1 only-PART our-PRON.POSS.EXCL.PL1 street-PL-PX1.PL
шулдыр-есь (a line from a folksong)
 nice-PL.ADJ.PRED
 'Only our [but not yourSG/yourPL], our village streets are nice'
- (23) *ми'а м гурт-ын нэрэс' замбай*
 our-PRON.POSS.EXCL.PL1 village-INESS old-ADJ MALE NAME
выл-эм (Кельмаков 2015 : 162)
 be-PAST.SG3.EVID
 'The old man called Jambay lived in our village'
- (24) *Сютэм-ъёс-лы сюрес пытсаськ-о-ды, иське*
 hungry-PL-DAT road-OBJ block-PRES-PL2 then-PRNTH
А милям
 but-CONJ we-PRON.PERS.GEN.PL1.EXCL / our-PRON.POSS.PL1.EXCL
нянь-мы вузаны но тырм-о-з,
 bread-PX1.PL sell-INF even-PART.EMPH suffice-FUT-SG3
тодйськ-о-д ук (ТИК/Кенеш/С/11 : 61–62)
 know-PRES-SG2 PART.EMPH
 'You are blocking the road for the hungry then. But you know, we have enough bread even for sale'

In the latter example the pronoun *милям* is a genitive of the pronoun *ми*, but at the same time it can also be considered as a possessive pronoun. In any case, here we deal with exclusive pronouns, not with inclusive ones.

3. Above we provided a description of the inclusive pronoun *асьмеос* and revealed some semantic and functional dissimilarities between the exclusive pronoun *ми* and the inclusive *асьмеос*, as well as between *асьмеос* and its grammatical homonym, i. e. the emphatic personal pronoun *асьмеос*, which the discussed inclusive pronoun derives from. We also demonstrated that the category of clusivity in the Udmurt language includes not only personal pronouns, but possessive ones as well: *асьме*, *асьмелэн* 'my and yourSG/yourPL' — *милям* 'our, but not yourSG/yourPL'. It is noteworthy that in languages with an inclusive-exclusive opposition in the pronominal sphere, there is also often a parallel morphological opposition of verb person markers, but in the Udmurt language this type of opposition is not found in verb agreement suffixes.

The second questionnaire of the linguistic atlas of languages spoken in Europe (ALE) contains a question to reveal inclusive pronouns and provides

an example from the French language: the pronoun *nous autres* 'we and others' includes an addressee or addressees, and contrariwise the pronoun *nous* 'we' excludes them (JIAE 77). Unfortunately, the ALE committee members could not find the inclusive in the Udmurt language despite the existing opposition *ми* — *асьмеос* (suppletive form). It may be associated with the fact that languages spoken in Europe lack morphological forms of the category of clusivity, and as for the French *nous autres* 'we and others' and the Russian *мы с тобой / с вами* 'youSG/youPL and I', they are not single words, but combinations of lexical units.

Geographically, the closest language which was brought to the attention of linguists interested in the category of clusivity, or more specifically in second person clusivity, is Abkhaz, a Northwest Caucasian language. The widespread grammars of George B. Hewitt present a pronominal paradigm which demonstrates the existence of the inclusive-exclusive distinction both in the first-person and the second-person non-singular (see Hewitt 2000). However, other researchers express doubts about an inclusive/exclusive opposition in the mentioned language or even state that there is no evidence for it (Simon 2005 : 121—124). New data from the Bavarian dialect of German allowed Horst J. Simon to suggest that the usage pattern of honorific pronouns of address is similar to the clusivity contrast, albeit it is intertwined with the grammatical category of respect (Simon 2005).

Inclusive pronouns are generally used in languages of those peoples who run a traditional economy. This observation may indicate that the category of clusivity in the Udmurt language is a relic of the past. However, the lack of the analyzed category in other languages spoken in Europe, including the closely related Komi and Komi-Permyak languages as well as the related Mansi and Khanty languages, the native speakers of which have preserved their traditional way of life, makes us question this assumption. Further research on the topic needs to be conducted to provide a convincing answer.

Addresses

S. A. Maksimov

Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature (Izhevsk)

E-mail: makser02@yahoo.com

T. I. Panina

Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature (Izhevsk)

E-mail: tipanina@mail.ru

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — first person, second person, third person; **ADJ** — 1) Adjective, 2) adjectival form of the noun; **ADV** — Adverb; **ADVE** — Adverbial (case); **ACC** — Accusative; **CONJ** — Conjunction; **CVB** — Converb; **DAT** — Dative; **EGR** — Egressive; **EMPH** — Emphatic; **EVID** — Evidentiality; **EXCL** — Exclusive (pronoun); **FUT** — Future (tense); **GEN** — Genitive; **ILL** — Illative; **INCL** — Inclusive (pronoun); **INE** — Inessive; **INF** — Infinitive; **INSTR** — Instrumental; **ITER** — Iterative; **NEG** — Negative verb; **OBJ** — Object (zero-terminus accusative); **PART** — Particle; **PAST** — Past (tense); **PCPL** — Participle; **PERS** — Personal (pronoun); **PL** — Plural; **PP** — Postposition; **PRED** — 1) Predicate, 2) predicative adverb; **PRES** —

Present (tense); **PROL** — Prolative; **PRON** — Pronoun; **POSS** — Possessive (pronoun); **PRNTH** — Parenthesis; **Px** — Possessive marker; **SG** — Singular;

ALE — Atlas Linguarum Europae I: 1–7, Assen—Maastricht—Roma 1983—2007; **ТІК** — Turku—Izhevsk Corpus. Турку—Ижевск Корпус, Турку 2002 (CD-ROM); **Азьлань** — Азьлань. Газета; **Гаврилов** — И. Г. Гаврилов, Сузэръёс. Пьесаос, Ижевск 1974; **ГСУЯ** — Грамматика современного удмуртского языка: фонетика и морфология, Ижевск 1962; **ЛАЕ** — Лингвистический атлас Европы. Второй вопросник, Москва 1981; **ЛЭС** — Лингвистический энциклопедический словарь, Москва 1990; **Митрофанов** — В. Я. Митрофанов, Кияз крезез, сюлмаз кырзанэз. — Удмурт дунне, 2001.03.30; **Светлый путь** — Светлый путь. Газета; **Сочинения** — Сочинения принадлежащая къ грамматикъ вотского языка. Въ Санктпетербургъ при Императорской Академіи наукъ 1775 года. Первая научная грамматика удмуртского языка, Ижевск 1975; **УдмКорп.** — Корпус удмуртского языка. Сост. М. Медведева, М. Архангельский. <http://web-corpora.net/UdmurtCorpus/search/index.php?interface>; **Удмурт дунне** — Удмурт дунне. Газета; **УРС 1983** — Удмуртско-русский словарь, Москва 1983; **УРС 2008** — Удмуртско-русский словарь, Ижевск 2008.

REFERENCES

- Clusivity. Typology and Case Studies of the Inclusive—Exclusive Distinction, Amsterdam—Philadelphia 2005 (Typological Studies in Language 63).
- Csúcs, S. 2005, Die Rekonstruktion der permischen Grundsprache, Budapest.
- Daniel, M. 2005, Understanding Inclusives. — Clusivity. Typology and Case Studies of the Inclusive—Exclusive Distinction, Amsterdam—Philadelphia (Typological Studies in Language 63), 3–48.
- Elšík, V. 2000, Dialect Variation in Romani Personal Pronouns. — Grammatical Relations in Romani. The Noun Phrase, Amsterdam (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 211), 65–94.
- Hewitt, G. B. 2000, Abkhaz. A Descriptive Grammar, New York.
- Кельмаков, В., Saارينen, S. 1994, Udmurtin murteet, Turku—Izhevsk.
- Максимов, С., Данилов, В., Saارينen, S. 2008, Udmurtilais-suomalainen sanakirja. Удмурт-финн кылсузъет, Turku.
- Simon, H. J. 2005, Only You? Philological Investigations into the Alleged Inclusive—Exclusive Distinction in the Second-Person Plural. — Clusivity. Typology and Case Studies of the Inclusive—Exclusive Distinction, Amsterdam—Philadelphia (Typological Studies in Language 63), 113–150.
- Алатырев В. И. 1983, Краткий грамматический очерк удмуртского языка. — Удмуртско-русский словарь, Москва, 563–591.
- — 2008, Краткий грамматический очерк удмуртского языка. — Удмуртско-русский словарь, Ижевск, 827–864.
- Борисов Т. К. 1932, Удмурт кыллюкам. Толковый удмуртско-русский словарь, Ижевск.
- Карпова Л. 1997, Фонетика и морфология среднечепецкого диалекта удмуртского языка, Тарту.
- — 2018, Диалекты северного наречия удмуртского языка. Формирование и современное состояние. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора филологических наук, Ижевск.
- Кельмаков В. К. 2005, К проблеме морфемного членения удмуртских личных местоимений. — Congressus Decimus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum. Pars 2. Linguistica. Summaria acroasium in sectionibus, Joshkar-Ola, 79–81.
- — 2015, Образцы удмуртской речи 3. Южные говоры 1, Ижевск.
- Козмач И. 1998, Удмурт кыл. Дышетскон книга. Udmurt pyelvkönyv, Сэгед—Кечкемет.
- Люкина Н. М. 2016, Фонетико-морфологические особенности языка лекминских и юндинских бесермян, Ижевск.
- Назарова Е. В. 2012, Удмурт кыл: дышетскон книга, Ижевск.
- Селиверстова О. Н. 1988, Местоимения в языке и речи, Москва.

- Т а р а к а н о в И. В. 2001, К вопросу о грамматических значениях усиительно-личных местоимений в удмуртском языке. — Международный симпозиум по дейктическим системам и квантификации в языках Европы и Северной и Центральной Азии. Тезисы, Ижевск, 151—152.
- Т е п л я ш и н а Т. И. 1970, Язык бесермян, Москва.

С. А. МАКСИМОВ, Т. И. ПАНИНА (Ижевск)

О КАТЕГОРИИ ИНКЛЮЗИВНОСТИ МЕСТОИМЕНИЙ В УДМУРТСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Работа посвящена вопросу о наличии категории инклюзивности у удмуртских местоимений. В удмуртском языке личное местоимение 1 л. мн. ч. ('мы') может выражаться с помощью двух лексем — *ми* и *асьмеос*. Местоимение *ми* эксклюзивно: употребляется, когда слушатель ('ты') / группа слушателя ('вы') не включается в группу говорящего ('я'), т. е. *ми* = 'я + он/они'. Местоимение *асьмеос* инклюзивно: употребляется, когда слушатель / группа слушателя включается в группу говорящего: *асьмеос* = 'я + ты/вы'. Удмуртский, по-видимому, является единственным языком Европы, в котором местоимения имеют категорию инклюзивности. Следует отметить, что под влиянием удмуртского эта категория появилась и в удмуртском идиоме идиша.