

## Habituality in Udmurt

In my presentation, I aim to specify the ways habituality is expressed in Udmurt, an endangered Finno-Ugric language in the Russian Federation.

First, I would like to address some central issues relating to the notion of habituality and its connection with the notions of pluractionality, iterativity, and gnomic imperfectivity, as there are differing opinions among scholars working in this field. After that, I will discuss the expressions of habituality in the Udmurt dialects and in the literary language, relying on dialectal texts, a novel, as well as blogs, and modern short stories. I would like to take into consideration the analysis of, e.g., Bertinetto and Lenci (2012) and examine, how my data fits in with their analysis.

In Udmurt, habituality can be expressed by a number of markers (they denote habitual meaning alongside other meanings):

1. The frequentative suffix can denote events that happen regularly and are characteristic of a whole period, thus, that are habitual events:

(1) Northern (Kelmakov 2006: 174)

уал'л'ана	калык-йос	каждой	ар-э	гэрбэр	праз'ник	нунал-э
long.time.ago	people-PL	every	year-ILL	gerber	festival	day-ILL
оццы	л'укас'кы-л-и-зы.					
there.ILL	get.together-FRV-1PST-3PL					

'A long time ago, people got together every year at a festival called 'gerber'.'

In very rare cases, frequentative suffix occurs with stative verbs, describing situations which are characteristic of a time period:

(2) Northern (Kelmakov 2006: 185)

вал'л'он	йун	трос	инмар-лы	оскы-л-и-зы
long.time.ago	very	much	God-DAT	believe-FRV-1PST-3PL

'A long time ago, lots of people used to believe in God.'

These kinds of situations are referred in some works as habituals (see, e.g., Comrie 1976), too.

2. One of the functions of a compound tense, the so-called durative preterite is to describe a situation which is habitual:

(3) Southern (Kelmakov 2006: 222)

акашка	дърйа	куржпуз	буйа-с'к-ом	вал.
Easter	time	egg	paint-PRS-1PL	COP.1PST

'At Easter we used to paint eggs.'

It occurs with stative verbs, too (without any pluractional meaning):

(4) Northern (Kelmakov 2006: 173)

уал'л'о	отын	удмурт'т-'ос	ул-о	вал
long.time.ago	there	Udmurt-PL	live-PRS.3PL	COP.1PST

'A long time ago, Udmurts used to live there.'

3. Another compound tense, the so-called future preterite seems to be able also to express habituality (Kelmakov – Hännikäinen 2008: 70). It seems to occur in very rare cases, though: e.g., there are no examples found in the Udmurt novel and only one in the dialectal texts so far:

(5) Central (Kelmakov 2006: 211)

вав-ед	вера-ло-з	вал
grandmother-Px2SG	say-FUT-3SG	COP.1PST

‘Your grandmother used to say it.’

I plan to specify the partially overlapping functions of these tenses and the frequentative suffix. I plan also to examine the role of different adverbials that are compatible with pluractional sentences.

#### Literature

Bertinetto, Pier Marco – Lenci, Alessandro 2012. Habituality, Pluractionality, and Imperfectivity. In: Binnick, Robert (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*. Oxford University Press. 852–880.

Comrie, Bernard 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kelmakov, V. K. 2006. *Kratkij kurs udmurtskoj dialektologii*. Izhevsk.

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