

On the functions of the Udmurt frequentative suffix

Laura Horváth

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest



1. Functions and alternations of frequentative (FRV) suffix

alternants (FRV suffix)	-ЛЫ-	-ЛЛЯ-
verb stems	1. -Ы-	2. -а-/-я-
examples	<i>пoты-лы-ны</i> ‘to go out (more than once)’	<i>вeра-лля-ны</i> ‘to say (more than once)’

- productive
- multiple action (e.g., Serebrennikov 1960, Karakulova 1997, Perevoschikov 1962, Bartens 2000, Winkler 2011, Kelmakov – Hännikäinen 2008)
- continuous, durative action (A. Kövesi 1965, Serebrennikov 1960)
- usually added to the simple past (PST1): aspectually neutral in the Permic languages (see, e.g. Serebrennikov 1963: 316)
- with compound tenses
- Kelmakov and Hännikäinen (2008=1999: 70): frequentative preterite (regular events) ~ frequentative suffix (simple past)
- Serebrennikov (1960:131): FRV suffix (simple past) ~ durative preterite (durativity) in the past

2. Classification, terminology

2.1 The notion of habituality and the role of repetition

*„It may be easiest to characterize HAB by what it is not.”
(Dahl 1985: 97)*



- Differing opinions:
 - notion of habituality
 - connection between habituality and other values
- role of the **repetition**
 1. Comrie (1976), Mønnesland (1984): events can be habitual even if there is no repetition involved, e.g.
 - (1) *Simon used to believe in ghosts.* (Comrie 1976: 27)
 - Comrie: repetition is ***not excluded*** (Comrie 1976: 28)
 - Mønnesland:
 1. frequentative habitual: cases involving repetition
 2. stative habitual: no repetition involved, e.g.
 - (2) *I used to know him* (Mønnesland 1984: 59)
 2. repetition is ***always*** involved (e.g., Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, Bertinetto and Lenci 2012, LeBlanc 2010)
- **characteristic property**
 - the decision that a situation is characteristic is not in itself linguistic (e.g., Comrie 1976: 28)
 - theories with **scalarity**: Bertinetto and Lenci (2012), Mønnesland (1984)

2.2 Iteratives and other values: subtypes of repetition

- Repetition:

a) separate time frame of micro-events

b) time frame: closed or opened

- Bertinetto and Lenci (2012):

1. event-internal pluractionality: the event consists of more than one sub-event occurring in one and the same situation (Bertinetto and Lenci 2012: 852)

(3) *Yesterday at 5 o'clock John knocked insistently at the door*

➤ Bybee et.al (1994: 317), LeBlanc (2010: 67): **iterative**

2. event-external pluractionality: the same event repeats itself in a number of different situations – different occasions (Bertinetto and Lenci 2012: 852).

- Bertinetto and Lenci (2012: 852): iterativity, habituality: subtype of event-external pluractionality

➤ specifying the number of micro-events: **iterative** events

(4) (Bertinetto and Lenci 2012: 855)

Last year, John visited his mother eleven times.

- event-internal pluractional events; the number of the micro-events is strictly specified

(5) *The lecture stood up, caughed five times, and said...* (Comrie 1976: 27)

- **Frequentativity:**

- Bybee et al. (1994): event occurs frequently but not necessarily habitually
- Kiefer: Aktionsart, expresses nonregular, sporadic repetition (Kiefer 2006: 151)
- frequentativeness is used sometimes as the synonym of repetition:
 - frequentative suffix?
 - pluractional suffix? (but: not always pluractional)

3. Sources of data

1. Udmurt blogs

- udmurto4ka <http://udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru> (~20 000 tokens)
- marajko <http://marjamoll.blogspot.ru> (~20 000 tokens)

2. Dialectal texts (Northern and Southern):

➤ Northern

- Kelmakov 2006 = В. К. Кельмаков 2006. Краткий курс удмуртской диалектологии. Izsevszk. (2812 tokens, 15074n)
- Kelmakov - Saarinen 1994. Udmurtin murteet. Turku – Izsevszk (1722 tokens, 10715n)

➤ Southern

- Kelmakov 2006 (4896 tokens, 25618n)

3. Questionnaires (Izhevsk and in Northern Udmurtia: Aleksandrovo: 05.2015)

4. Literary language

- Rodionova 2011=Елена Родионова 2011. Kosztolányi Dezső. Novellák. / Дэжё Костолани. Веросьёс. Izhevsk.

5. Structured interviews (Izhevsk, Aleksandrovo, Gyja, 05.2015)

4. Functions of FRV suffix



4.1 Event-internal pluractionality

- repetition within the same situation

(6) Udm. (udmurto4ka)

но ванды-л-й-з вань помидор-ъёс-ты.

CONJ cut-FRV-PST1-SG3 all tomato-PL-ACC

'and [he] cut all the tomatoes '



4.2. Event-external pluractionality

4.2.1 strictly specified number of micro-events

- time frame of the situation is closed ('two times a week': excluded)
- Bertinetto and Lenci (2012): iteratives: interval-closure – perfective tenses (French aspectual system):

(7) Pendant l'année passée, Jean a visité [PF] sa mère onze fois. ITER

(8) *Pendant l'année passée, Jean visitait [IPFV] sa mère onze fois. HAB

'Last year, John visited his mother eleven times.'

- Udmurt: specified number of actions: Ø FRV suffix, Ø other aspectual values

➤ Examples from blogs: unmarked (9\10)

(9) blog (udmurto4ka)

Виза лэсьтон ласянь 10 пол но консульство-е ветл-й-м кадь.

visa doing in.connection 10 time CONJ embassy-ILL go-PST1-PL1 like

'We went to the embassy like 10 times to arrange [our] visa.'

- PST1: aspectually neutral (Serebrennikov 1963: 316)

- Exeption: FRV suffix is used
 - *вуыны* ‘to arrive’ – with FRV suffix: ‘to visit’ (~ Hun. meglátoGAT)

(10) (udmurto4ka)

Кык пол та гурт-э вуы-л-эм-е вань дуно эш-е доры.

two times this village-ILL arrive-FRV-PTCP-SG1 COP.PRS dear friend-SG1 to

‘I visited this village twice to meet a dear friend of mine.’

- questionnaire:

(11) *На прошлой неделе я три раза поругалась со своей сестрой.*

‘ Last week I had a fight with my sister three times.’

➤ 100 % (25 informants): simple past without FRV suffix, e.g.:

(12) *Кылем арняе мон апаеным куинь пол даллаш-и.*

argue-PST1.SG1

4.2.2 not strictly specified -> Habituals?

- Bertinetto and Lenci (2012: 855): even if the numerical specification is sharp, the event-interval is closed (PFV) : ‘certain number of times’ , ‘several times’

➤ Udmurt: FRV suffix + ‘several times’, ‘many times’

(13) lit. (Rodionova 2011: 45)

<i>Дор-а-з</i>	<i>трос</i>	<i>пол</i>	<i>гинэ</i>	<i>кылы-л-й-з</i>	<i>контора</i>	<i>сярысь.</i>
home-INE-SG3	many	time	PRT	hear-FRV-PST1-SG3	office	about

‘He has heard many times at home about the office.’

□ Questionnaire: *трос пол*, *кӧня ке пол*: with FRV suffix

+ *пумиськыны* ‘to meet’ (,Egor met with his friends many times earlier’)

- *кӧня ке пол* ‘couple of times’: FRV (10), dur.pret (1)
- *трос пол* ‘several times’: FRV (9), FRV+dur.pret. (1)

➤ two times ↔ ‘couple of times’ , ‘several times’

➤ Habitual events?

➤ ‘couple of times’ – characterizing property?

➤ ‘couple of times a week’: habitual

4.3 Event-external pluractionality: habituality

(14) Northern (Kelmakov 2006: 174)

<i>уал'л'ана</i>	<i>калыкйос</i>	<i>кажной</i>	<i>арэ</i>	<i>гэрбэр</i>	<i>праз'н'ик</i>
long.time.ago	people-PL	every	year-ILL	gerber	festival
<i>нунал-э</i>	<i>оуцы</i>	<i>л'укас'кы-л-и-зы.</i>			
day-ILL	there	get.together-FRV-PST1-3PL			

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

- with cyclicity adverbial:

(15) (Rodionova 2011: 29)

<i>Озы</i>	<i>ке</i>	<i>но,</i>	<i>нылаи</i>	<i>котькуд</i>	<i>нунал</i>	<i>лыкты-л-й-з.</i>
so	if	CONJ	girl	every	day	come-FRV-PST1-SG3

'Nevertheless, the girl came every day.'

+ frame adverbials ('when I was a child)

+ frequency adverbials: high frequency (e.g., 'often'), sporadic, low frequency ('seldom', 'sometimes'), 'never'

- *ноку но* ‚never’ + FRV suffix

(16) (udmurto4ka)

<i>Таёе дуно</i>	<i>кузьым ноку</i>	<i>өз</i>	<i>кузьмаллялэ</i>	<i>кадь</i>	<i>на.</i>
such expensive	gift	never	NEG.PST1.PL3	present.CNG.FRV.PL3	like yet

‘Such expensive gift has never given to me, I think.’

□ without any adverbial

(17) lit. (Rodionova 2011: 19)

<i>Куанер</i>	<i>служащей-ёс</i>	<i>гинэ</i>	<i>шутэтскы-л-й-зы</i>	<i>татын.</i>
poor	officeholder-PL	PRT	rest-FRV-PST1-PL3	here

‘Poor officeholders used to spend their summer holidays here.’

□ **PRS** (but in other cases: unmarked):

(18) (udmurto4ka)

<i>Эшио</i>	<i>йыр-ы</i>	<i>берло</i>	<i>дыр-е</i>	<i>висьы-л-э</i>
CONJ	head-SG1	last	time-ILL	pain-FRV-PRS.SG3

‘And recently I use to have a headache.’

4.4 stative verbs with a characterizing property

- Serebrennikov (1960: 131): durative preterite with ‘know’, ‘like’, ‘to be able to’ (continuous past)
- FRV suffix (PST1):
 - the event is not pluractional, but the situation is viewed as a characteristic feature of a whole period:

(19) Northern (I Nr. 33)

Мон дышетскы-ку-м удмурт кыл-эз тузь яраты-л-й.

SG1 study-PTCP-SG1 Udmurt language-ACC very like-FRV-PST1.SG1

‘When I was at school, I liked Udmurt language very much.’

➤ Monnesland: stative habituals, in Comrie (1976): habituals

↔ Bertinetto and Lenci(2012), LeBlanc (2010) , Bybee et al. (1994): not habituals

- Stative habituals? Continuous nonhabitual nonprogressive actions? Type of gnomic imperfectives?
- Kiefer: statives are not part of the imperfective-perfective dichotomy (Kiefer 2006: 31)
 - Udmurt: similar aspectual markers like the habituals have

- *оскыны* ,believe’

(20) 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.’

- + framing adverbials, cyclicity adverbials
- – reiteration adverbials, frequency adverbials

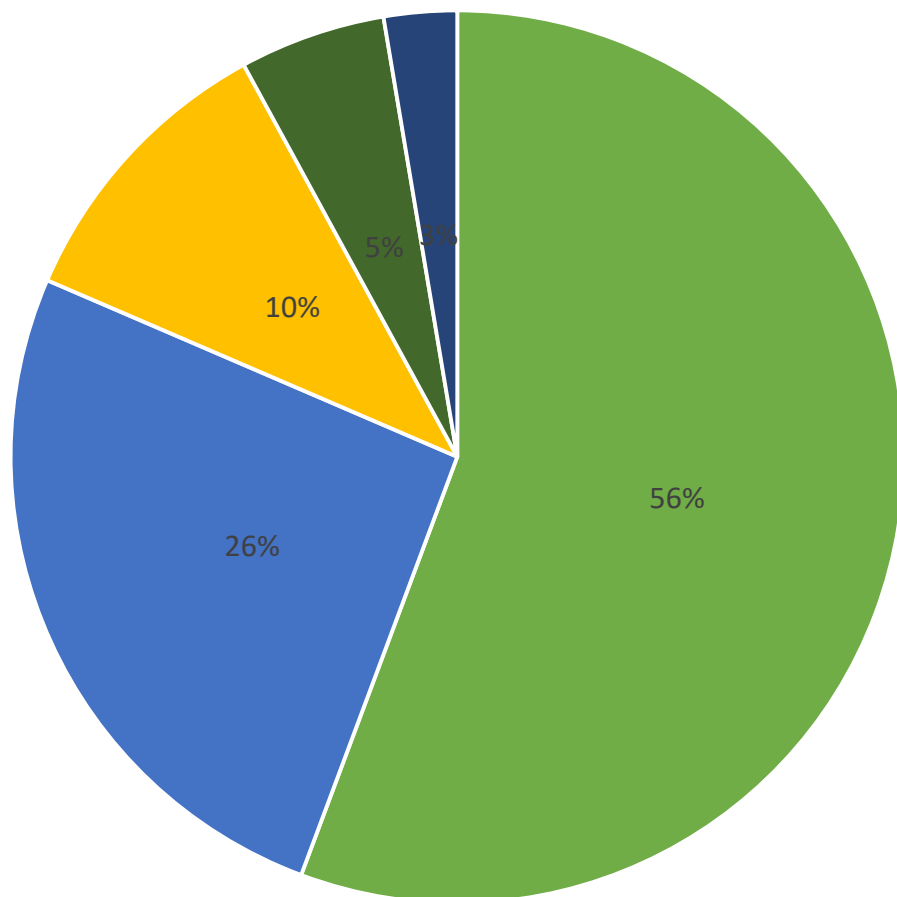
В прошлом очень много веровали в Бога.

- Questionnaire (Aleksandrovo: school teachers, university of Izhevsk: students)

(21) В прошлом очень много веровали в Бога.

- 37 answers

➤ FRV: not just in older dialectal texts: questionnaire, structured interviews



- dur.pret.
- FRV suffix (simple past)
- simple past
- plusq.perfect
- dur.pret+FRV suffix

5. Nonpluractional actions (-characterizing property)

(22) Northern (Kelmakov 2006: 190)

минам *сват'т'а-йэ* *окнол* *с'ук-э* *йыромы-л-эм.*

SG1.GEN mother.of.son-in-low once forest-ILL get.lost-FRV-PST2.3SG

‘One from my relatives (mother of my son-in-low/daughter-in-low) once got lost in the forest.’

↔

(23) blog (marjamol)

Огнол *гурт-э* *берт-й* *но....*

Once home-ILL return-PST.SG1 CONJ

‘ Once I went home and...’

- **Negation**

(24) Central (Kelmakov 2006: 199)

[нулэсбуба] кыз улэ пуктиз но кэл'тиз,
 '[forest spirit] sit me under the spruce',

<i>вырзЫ-лы-ны</i>	<i>но</i>	<i>өй</i>	<i>бызаты.</i>
move-FRV-INF PRT	NEG.PST1.SG1		be.able.CNG

‘ I couldn’t even move.’

куин нунал отын, нэ, ули.

‘ I lived there for three days.’

➤ Russian: imperfective verb

➤ the actual period of non-performance of the action is mentioned

➤ imperfective verb form in negative constructions (see, e.g. Borrás and Christian 1971:141)

(25) Northern (Kelmakov 2006: 193)

<i>ву-эз</i>	<i>но</i>	<i>куты-лы-н</i>	<i>уз</i>	<i>йара</i>	<i>вал,</i>	<i>нэ.</i>
water-ACC	PRT	take-FRV-INF	NEG.PRS.SG3	be.allowed.CNG	AUX.PST1	PCL

‘ It used to be forbidden to bring water [in summer, in vozho time]’



6. Functions of FRV suffix: summary

1. Event-internal pluractionality
2. Event-external pluractionality
 - a) [The number of micro-events is specified (rare)]
 - b) The number of micro-events is NOT strictly specified: e.g.,
кõня ке пол ‘couple of times’ ?
 - c) Habituality 
3. –pluractionality, +characterizing property (stative verbs)
4. –pluractionality, –characterizing property

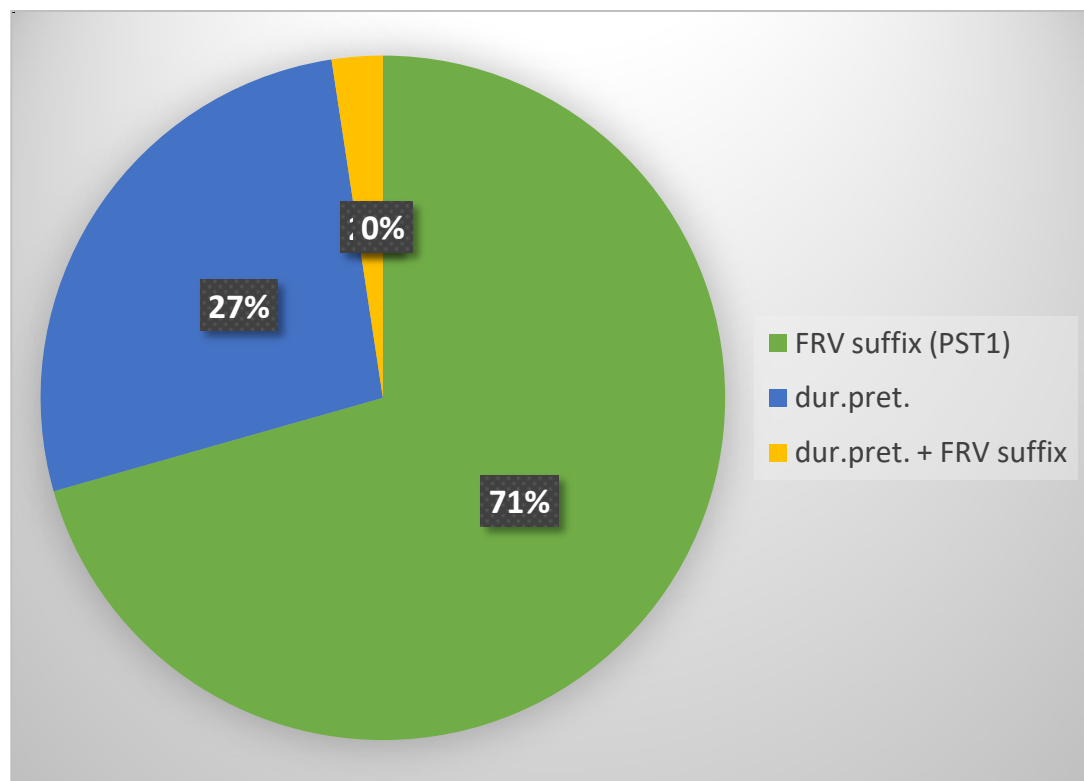
Function	Marker(s)	Structure of the markers
+ pluractionality (event-external=EE) + characterizing property (gnomic property): Habituality (PST)	1. Frequentative suffix 2. Durative preterite 3. Dur.pret. + Frequentative suffix 4. Frequentative preterite (rare)	1. -лы-, -ля- 2. VRB.PRS + COP.PST1/PST2 3. VRB.FRV.PRS + COP.PST1/PST2 4. VRB.FUT + COP.PST1/PST
+ EE pluractionality + characterizing property: Habituality (PRS)	1. Frequentative suffix 2. Ø	1. -лы-, -ля-
-pluractionality + characterizing property (Non-progressive continuous?)	1. Frequentative suffix 2. Durative preterite	1. -лы-, -ля- 2. VRB.PRS + COP.PST1/PST2

- With different types of adverbs?
- Dialectal factors → corpus-based research: material from the Northern and Southern dialects

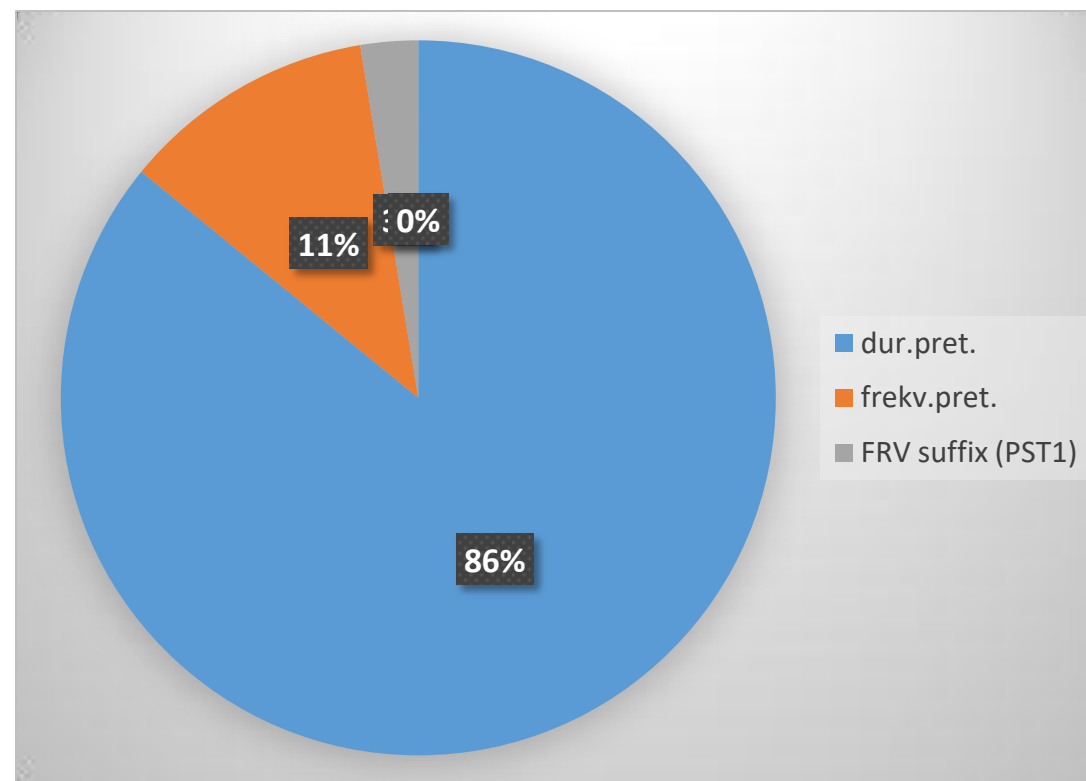
6.1 Expressing habituality in Udmurt dialects

Horváth (2015):

Northern Udmurt



Southern Udmurt



7. Further goals

- may caused by dialectal factors
- proposition:
 - FRV suffix in habitual function: used originally in the North
 - (historically longer, stronger Russian influence: pluractionality and imperfectivity are historically linked with each other (Dahl 1985: 84))
 - Dur.pret. in habitual function.: used originally in the South
 - (Russian influence: lesser significant, Tatar, Bashkir influence: compound tenses)
- material: 70's-90's – now?
- questionnaires, structured interviews: current situation

8. References

- A. Kövesi Magda 1965. A permi nyelvek ősi képzői. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Bartens, Raija 2000. *Permiläisten kielten rakenne ja kehitys*. Helsinki.
- Bertinetto, P.M. – Lenci, A. 2012. Habituality, Pluractionality, and Imperfectivity. In: Binnick, Robert (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*. Oxford University Press. 852–880.
- Borras, F.M. . – Christian, R.F.1971. *Russian Syntax. Aspects of modern Russian syntax and vocabulary*. Oxford, Clarendon.
- Bybee, J. L. – Perkins, R. – Pagliuca, W. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Dahl, Östen 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Basil Blackwell. Oxford–New York.
- Horváth Laura 2015. Habitualitás kifejezése udmurt nyelvjárásokban. In É. Kiss Katalin – Hegedűs Attila – Pintér Lilla (eds.) *Nyelvelmélet és dialektológia 3*. PPKE BTK, Elméleti Nyelvészeti Tanszék – Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszék, Piliscsaba, 99–125.
- Karakulova = Каракулова, М.К. 1997. Категория вида в удмуртском языке. - *Пермистика* 4. Ижевск. 43–51.
- Kelmakov, V.K. – Hännikäinen, S. 2008 (=1999). *Udmurtin kielioppia ja harjoituksia*. Helsinki.
- Kelmakov, V.K. – Saarinen, S. 1994. *Udmurtin murteet*. Turku – Izhevsk.
- Kiefer Ferenc 2006. *Aspektus és akcióminőség különös tekintettel a magyar nyelvre*. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.

- LeBlanc, Carmen L. 2010. Coding compositional aspect in French. In Walker, James A. (ed.) *Aspect in Grammatical Variation*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam-Philadelphia. 65-81.
- Mønnesland, Svein 1984. The Slavonic Frequentative Habitual. In: Tommola, Hannu–de Groot, Casper (eds.): *Aspect Bound. A voyage into the realm of Germanic, Slavonic, and Finno-Ugrian aspectology*. Foris Publications. Dordrecht–Cinnaminson. 53–77.
- Perevoscsikov = Перевощиков 1962. Грамматика современного удмуртского языка. Фонетика и морфология. Ижевск.
- Serebrennikov = Серебренников, Б. А. 1960. Категории времени и вида в финно-угорских языках пермской и волжской групп. Москва.
- Serebrennikov = Серебренников, Б. А. 1963. Историческая морфология пермских языков. Москва.
- Winkler, E. 2011. *Udmurtische Grammatik*. Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.
- Zaguljaeva = Загуляева, Б. Ш. 1984. Сложные формы давнопрошедшего времени в некоторых удмуртских диалектах. – Вопросы грамматики удмуртского языка. Устинов. 62–70.

Thank you for your attention!

- The presentation was supported by the OTKA (Hungarian Scientific Research Found; project number: FNN 107793; “Multilingual practices in Finno-Ugric communities”)

