

The Notion of Aspect – Aspect in Udmurt

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1. Aspect

- no valid definition
- varied theoretical approaches
- complex terminology
- Definition of aspect or definition of aspects?
 - viewpoint aspect, grammatical aspect, situation aspect, lexical aspect, telicity aspect
- Verkuyl (1972, 2012): compositional nature of aspect (<Poutsma 1926, Jakobsohn 1933): verb is not the only factor in providing aspectual information (<-> linguists studying Slavic languages)
 - Russian grammar tradition: aspectual difference between IPFV and PFV form of a verb: treated as a matter of the verb (not: phrase structure) (non-compositional approach) (Verkuyl 2012: 574–575)
- Comrie (1976: 3): „aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”
 - aspect operates on the level of situations
- Borik 2006 (20–21):

- aspect defines the internal temporal properties of the events, characterizes the way the events 'unfold' in time
 - common view of aspect, which is not entirely correct („misleading” or „simply wrong”)
- grammatical aspect-systems: binary contrasts (Imperfective/Perfective), complexes of binary contrasts (Simple vs. [Progressive vs. Habitual] in Gaelic, Simple vs. Progressive in English) (Gvozdanović 2012: 784)
- Russian aspect: IPFV:PFV
- habitual (imperfective) sentences: PRS-PFV forms (*vsegda* ‘always’, *inogda* ‘sometimes’, *často* ‘often’, and *každyj d'en'* ‘every day’) in specific circumstances: prediction/subject’s potentiality to perform the action (Mønnesland 1984: 58, Forsyth 1970: 173–176), otherwise: IPFV (Borik 2006: 94)

(1) Russian *oni* *vsegda* *pobjut*.
 they always win.PFV.3PL
 ‘They always win.’ (Forsyth 1970: 175)

- manner adverbials:
 - imperfective aspect (Dahl 1985: 77)
 - the action itself – rather than its result – is relevant
 - the emphasis is made on the progress instead of the result

(2) Russian *on* *pisal* *pišmo* *medlenno*.
 he write.PST.IPFV.MASC.SG letter slowly
 ‘He wrote the letter slowly.’ (Dahl 1985: 77)

- ‘fast’: “quite all right with the perfective aspect” (Dahl 1985: 77)

(3) Russian *on* *na-pisal* *pišmo* *bystro*.
 he PFV-write.PST.MASC.SG letter fast
 ‘He wrote the letter fast.’ (Dahl 1985: 77)

- Present tense used for narration about past events (Historical Present):
 - Russian: IPFV (PFV: unexpected event-modality)
 - Czech: IPFV/PFV

- Aspect as a cross-linguistically valid category
 - aspect and aspectual meaning
 - lexical or grammatical
 - The Grammar of Tariana: heterogenous aspect markers, „we call them 'aspectual' for short” (Aikhenvald 2013: 324)
 - 'Short duration, little by little' *-ina*, Habitual prescribed *-hyuna*; Customary *-hope*; Habitual repetitive *-nipe*; Anterior *-nhi*; Non-completed ongoing *-daka*; Non-completed ongoing proximate *-sida*; Already accomplished (perfective-like)-*sita*; Repetitive *-pita*, *-ta*; Completive *-niki*; Not quite completed *-maña* 'just about, almost'

(4) Tariana *pi-whawheta-ina*
 2sg-rest-LITTLE.BY.LITTLE
 'have a little rest' (Aikhenvald 2003: 324)

(5) Tariana *wadena nu-ñami-maña nu-miña nuka.*
 just_about 1SG-die-ALMOST 1SG-float 1SG.arrive
 'I almost died (by drowning) (but) managed to float.' (Aikhenvald 2003: 342)

2. Aspect and tense

Aspectival form and temporal meaning can be linked:

- Hungarian: PRS-PFV prefixed verbs: future time reference

(6) Hungarian *meg-íro-m a cikk-et.*
 PFV-write-1SG ART article-ACC
 'I am going to write the article.'

- tenses with aspectual meaning (Comrie 1976: 66–84)

(7) *he comes here*: HABITUAL

(8) *he is coming here* (PRS reference): PROGRESSIVE

(9) *he comes here* (future time reference): PERFECTIVE: *when he comes here, I'll tell him* (Comrie 1976: 68)

Hewson 2012:

- distinguishing tense and aspect: confusion in the literature
- tendency of describing linguistic items in terms of their function (vs. category):
“If I use a kitchen knife as a screwdriver, I still return it to the kitchen drawer with the cutlery” (Hewson 2012: 512)

3. Viewpoint aspect

- IPFV:PFV

(10) *John was reading* (IPFV) *when I entered* (PFV). (Comrie 1976: 3)

- Comrie (1976: 3–6, 16–26):
- PFV: denotes a complete situation as a single unanalysable whole, no attempt is made to divide it into phases
- IPFV: looks at the situation from inside, concerned with the internal structure of the situation, indicates a situation in progress
- PFV events: indivisible temporal structures, IPFV: divisible
- not an objective difference between the situations; different viewpoint of the speaker:

(11) *John read that book yesterday. While he was reading it, the postman came.*

Smith (1991: 65–77): viewpoint aspect

- PFV: complete situations with endings, presents a situation as a whole

I F

////////

- IPFV: open temporal structures, presents part of a situation, with no information about the endpoints:

I....////...F

Perfect

- event occurs before reference time (e.g., present), its result remains relevant for the discourse situation at the reference time (Comrie 1976: 12, Svantesson 1994: 269)

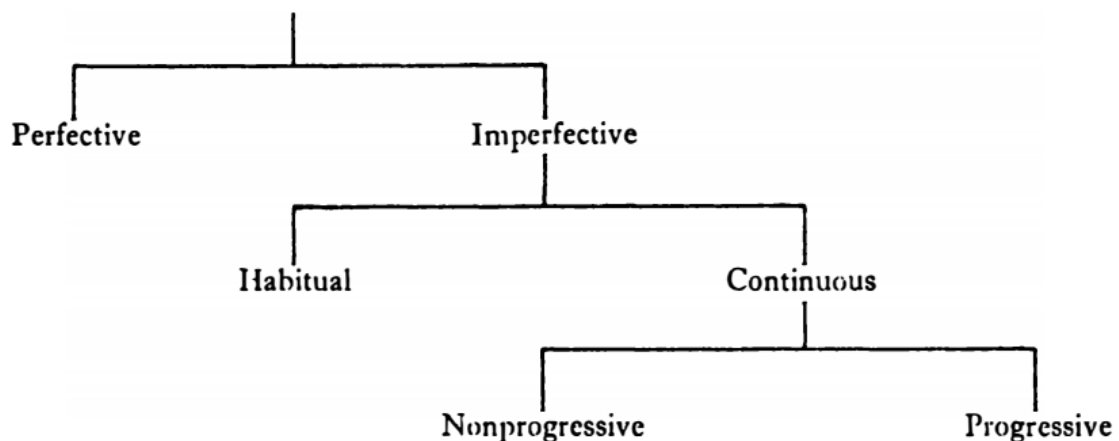
(12) *his arm has been broken* (Comrie 1976: 12)

(13) *Tomorrow I will have eaten before my wife comes home.* (Svantesson 1994: 270)

- problematic category: multiple meanings and uses within a given language and cross-linguistically
 - Aspect or tense? (see Ritz 2012)
 - Comrie (1976: 52): traditional terminology → „aspect”
 - but: „it is an aspect in a rather different sense from the other aspects”

4. Imperfective categories

Table 1. *Classification of aspectual oppositions*



(Comrie 1976: 25)

- Continuousness: imperfectivity that is not habituality (Comrie 1976: 26, 33)
 - no examples
- Progressive: situation in progress that doesn't include habituality (Comrie 1976: 33)
- Nonprogressive continuous?
 - no examples

- Nonprogressive: doesn't include progressive meaning (Comrie 1976: 33)
- Nonprogressives: habituals
- Criticism: nonprogressive is not defined; continuous, progressive: defined by the absence of properties (Bybee et al. 1994: 137–138, Mair 2012)

Progressive and continuous

PROGRESSIVE:

- “views an action as ongoing at reference time” (Bybee et al. 1994: 126)
- on-going activity, not stative (Dahl 1985: 91–93)

(14) **Sara is knowing the answer* (Bybee et al. 1994: 126)

- projected to continue in the immediate future, but could easily change or cease (Timberlake 2007: 304)
- often in conflict with other situations (Timberlake 2007: 304), „frames another situation” (Comrie 1976: 30):

(15) *When I visit John, he'll recite his latest poems.* (loc.cit.)

- (my arrival....John's recital)

(16) *When I visit John, he'll be reciting his latest poems.* (loc.cit.)

- (John's recital...my arrival...John's recital)

- Present: reference time coincides with speech time
- Past/future: event time is the reference time of the PROGR event (Kiefer 2006: 95)
- English Progressive: broader meaning (events not in progress at reference time → “continuous restricted to dynamic verbs”) (Bybee et al. 1994: 317)

(17) *I am writing a book.*

CONTINUOUS

Mair (2012)

- progressive: dynamic predicate
- continuous: additionally covers stative predicates:

(18) *I understand Mokilese.*

- progressive as a sub-type of continuous (Comrie): problematic
 - But: „In languages with a true continuous aspect, (...) both *understand* and *study* could carry the same marking” (Mair 2012: 806)
- Cantonese: grammaticalized progressive and continuous

(19) Cantonese *ngoihbihn lohk-gán yúh.*
 outside fall-PROG rain
 'It's raining outside.' (Mair 2012: 807)

(20) Cantonese *ngoihbihn lohk-jyuh yúh.*
 outside fall-CONT rain
 'It's raining outside.' ('It keeps raining outside.')

- *gán*: describes the action of rain falling
- *jyuh*: presents the weather as a continuing situation
- ? continuative 'keep doing sg' (dynamic verbs) (cf., e.g. Bybee et al. 1994)

(21) Indonesian *senyum ~ senyum*
 smile ~ smile
 'keep smiling' (Štekauer et al. 2012: 127)

Habituality and related notions

- “It may be easiest to characterize HAB by what it is not” (Dahl 1985: 97)
- characteristic events: customary or usual
- problematic: decision as to whether a situation is characteristic or not is not in itself a linguistic one (cf. Comrie 1976: 28)
- cline-like nature (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012, Mønnesland 1984)
- ‘seldom’, ‘sometimes’, ‘never’ (events at the end of the frequency scale)
- role of repetition
 - HAB without repetition (Comrie 1976, Mønnesland 1984: „frequentative habitual” vs. „stative habitual”)

(22) *Simon used to believe in ghosts* (Comrie 1976: 27)

- repetition is always involved (e.g., Bybee et al. 1994, Bertinetto & Lenci 2012, LeBlanc 2010)
 - Bertinetto & Lenci (2012): habituals are gnomic imperfectives
 - attitudinal (*John smokes cigars*), potential (*John speaks French*), individual level predicates (*Elina is Finnish*), generics (*Dogs have four legs*):
 - +characterizing property/gnomicity, -pluractionality
 - habitual: +characterizing property/gnomicity, +pluractionality
 - types of repetition (Bertinetto and Lenci 2012: 852):
- (23) event-internal pluractionality: *Yesterday at 5 o'clock John knocked insistently at the door.*
- Bybee et al. 1984 : iterativity
- (24) event-external pluractionality: *John swam daily in the lake.*
- subtypes: habituality, iterativity
 - by specifying the number of micro-events and closing the time frame: iterative events
- (25) *Last year, John visited his mother eleven times.* (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012: 855)
- iterativity in other works = repetition (Štekauer et al. 2012, Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985)
 - Kiefer 2006: **Aktionsart** (Actionality)
 - regular repetition: iterativity
 - irregular repetition: frequentativity
- (26) Hung. *meg~meg-áll*
 PFV~PFV-stand.3SG
 '(s)he occasionally stops'
- RED: adds a fixed meaning component (not derivable from the meaning of the preverb itself) (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 28)
- (27) North. Mansi *χāp-ə̃m* *χot-χot-wis-l-ə̃m.*
 boat-1SG away-away-take-PRS.OBJ-1SG
 'I can hardly take my boat away' (Németh 2015)
- the event may not going to occur or it has almost taken place (Németh 2015)

- Reduplication: pluractionality of verbs (event pluralization), frequentativity, continuation, progressivity, habituality, inchoativity (inceptives) (cf. Inkelas 2014: 173–174)

- irregular repetition (spasmodic, intermittent, haphazard actions) (Štekauer et al. 2012: 112, 126–127):

(28) Amele *fag<~fug~>doc*

stick<~RED>stick

‘stick repeatedly in a haphazard manner’ (Štekauer et al. 2012: 112)

- irregular repetition (or: plurality of location and time) (Štekauer et al. 2012: 128):

(29) Gã *jò-jò-ó-I*

dance-dance-ITE-PL

‘dance in several places or on several occasions’ (Štekauer et al. 2012: 128)

- pluractionality (?habituality):

(30) Māori *pätai~tai*

ask~RED

‘ask frequently’ (Štekauer et al. 2012: 126)

- habituality:

(31) Permyak *körkö* *me* *ker-l-i* *šanga-ez.*

long_time_ago I *make-FREQ-PST.1SG* *shanga-PL*

1. ‘I did once shangas a long time ago.’

2. ‘A long time ago, I used to make shangas (many times).’ (L. P.)

(32) Permyak *körkö* *me* *ker-l-yvl-i* *šanga-ez.*

long_time_ago I *make-FREQ- FREQ PST.1SG* *shanga-PL*

‘A long time ago, I used to make shangas (many times).’ (L. P.)

- reduplication prevents ambiguousness

Exercise 1.

5. Progressivity, habituality, and related aspectual meanings in Udmurt

- PROG

- (33) Udm. *ton, otčy pyry-ku-m, šobret*
 you there.ILL enter-PTCP-1SG blanket
ulyñ kyl'ł-išk-od ñi val.
 under lie-PRS-2SG PCL AUX.PST
 ‘When I went inside there, you were already lying under the blanket.’
 (Matveyev 2005: 116)

- PRS-HAB

- (34) Udmurt *kot'ku uram-e pot-is'k-o šuniť dis'as'ki-tek.*
 always street-ILL go.out-PRS-1SG warm dress-CVB.ABE
 ‘I always [...] go out to the street without being dressed warmly.’
 (UdmCorp.)

- PST-HAB

+ pluractionality (event-external)	1. Frequentative suffix (simple past=PST1)	1. <i>-li / -l'la</i>
+ characterizing property (gnomic property)	2. Durative preterite	2. V.PRS +
+ PST	3. Durative preterite + frequentative suffix	AUX.PST1/PST2
	4. Frequentative preterite (rare)	3. V.FRV.PRS +
		AUX.PST1/PST2
		4. V.FUT +
		AUX.PST1/PST2

(cf. Horváth 2015: 113, 2018a: 98)

- (35) Udmurt *miłam tatyn kolhoz-yn no kar-yl-o val*
 we.GEN here kolkhoz-INE PCL do-FQV-3PL AUX.PST
no mar ke ałi analt-i-zy.
 and what PCL now neglect-PST-3PL
 ‘They used to do it in our kolhoz, but not any more.’ (Informant)

- -pluractionality, + characterizing property (Mønnesland 1984: stative habitual):

(36) Udm. *mon maly ke pešaj šöry pići*
 I why PCL grandmother behind.ILL little
dyr-jam otčy vetly-ny jarat-ışk-o val.
 time-ILL.1SG there.ILL go-INF like-PRS-1SG AUX.PST
 'In my childhood, for some reason, I very much liked to go there [to the garden] behind my grandmother.' (UdmCorp.)

(37) Ud. *mon dyšetsky-ku-m udmurt kyl-ez tuž jaraty-l-i.*
 I learn-PTCP-1SG Udmurt language-ACC very like-FQV-PST.1SG
 'When I was a student, I liked Udmurt language very much.' (Informant)

6. Lexical aspect

- distinguishes between states (*it exists*), activities (*it is boiling*), accomplishments (*write a letter*), and achievements (*find a book*) (Vendler's verb classes, cf. Vendler 1957)
- Comrie 1976, Smith 1991: + semelfactives (*Mary coughed*)
- English states, achievements lack the PROGR form (cf., Gvozdanović 2012):

(38) **It was existing.* (state)

(39) **I was finding a book.* (achievement)

But:

(40) *It was boiling.* (activity)

(41) *I was writing a letter.* (accomplishment)

- Temporal features of the situation types (Smith 1991: 20)

	Static	Durative	Telic
State	+	+	-
Activity	-	+	-
Accomplishment	-	+	+
Semelfactive	-	-	-
Achievement	-	-	+

- **Telic/atelic:**
 - bounded/terminative/telic/liminal events: inherent boundary
 - atelic events: no boundary
- Situation types and adverbials (cf. Gvozdanović 2012):
- Adverbials of temporal duration + states, activities

(42) *It existed for two hours.*

(43) *It boiled for two hours.*

But:

(44) **I reached the top for two hours.*

! (45) *He wrote a letter for twenty minutes.*

Gvozdanović (2012):

- focus is made on the process which leads to the endphase
- the result is not included in the interpretation

(46) *He wrote a letter for twenty minutes. Then he decided not to finish it.*

- Frame adverbials + accomplishments/achievements

(47) *I wrote a letter in two hours.*

- states, activities

(48) **I walked in two hours.*

But:

- activity → accomplishment

(49) *I walked to the castle in two hours.*

- lexical aspect can be viewed as compositional (cf. Gvozdanović 2012, Verkuyl 1972, 2012): verbs + arguments
- lexical aspect (compositional: V + arguments)+ modifiers + context + viewpoint = grammatical aspect

7. Aktionsart

- Slavic linguistic tradition:
 - modes of action: „derived verbal lexical-aspect classes which denote phases or quantification” (Gvozdanović 2012: 783)
 - different types of temporal meanings (Borik 2006: 21)

- IPFV:PFV: aspect; further semantic groupings of verbal predicates:
Aktionsart (Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000: 189)

(50) Russian *po-rabotať*

PRX-work.INF

'work for a while' (Gvozdanović 2012: 783)

(51) Hung. *el-játszadozni*

PRX-play.INF

'play for a while'

- Kiefer (2006: 167–168): delimitative Aktionsart

(52) Russian *za-peť*

PRX-sing.INF

'begin to sing' (Gvozdanović 2012: 784)

- describes the manner in which the action is performed, e.g. in Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003: 342):

-d(h)ala 'touch the surface, unsticking or scratching it

-hala 'spread over entire surface'

-kawhi 'do early in the morning'

- Bertinetto & Delfitto (2000): Aktionsarten - lexical aspect (telic/atelic predicates, states, activities, accomplishments, achievements)

8. Grammaticalized converb constructions in Udmurt

- ▶ Converb clauses with *-sa* converb: manner adverbials, adverbial subordination; simultaneous or posterior/anterior action (Georgieva 2018: 87)

(53)Udm. *Ižkar-yn, mon dory kotyr-ez*
Izhkar-INE I to belonging-ACC
kel'ty-sa, košk-i-m bilet-jos-ly Syrjez-e.
leave-CVB go_away-PST-1PL ticket-PL-DAT Syryez-ILL

'In Izhkar, after leaving our belongings in my place, we went to buy tickets to Syryez.' (UdmCorp.)

- phasal verbs, postural verbs, motion verbs, verbs denoting other activities (e.g., ‘give’, ‘take’, ‘throw’): main verb-like but are interpreted rather as aspectualizers/auxiliaries
- the subject of the converb and the second verb are co-referential, switch-reference is excluded
 - ▶ mood, polarity, aspect and tense values are marked on the V

(54) Udm. *tros dyr luy-sal ke, bydes*
 much time be-COND.3SG if whole
ulon-ze vera-sa kušty-sal
 life-3SG.ACC speak-CVB throw-COND.3SG
 ‘if he had more time, he would tell the story of his whole life’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ frequentative suffix

(55) Udm. *žurnal-jos-yś so-ly siž-em statja-os-ty*
 journal-PL-ELA (s)he-DAT dedicate-PTCP article-PL-ACC
kuddyr as-ly-z vandy-ly-sa kel'ty-l-i-z.
 sometimes him(her)self-DAT-3SG cut-FQV-CVB leave-FQV-PST-3SG
 ‘(S)he would sometimes cut the articles from the newspapers about that topic [fishing]’ (UdmCorp.)

- single event

- the vast majority of the examples are not clear-cut cases due to the nature of the grammaticalization processes
 - between the two endpoints of a grammaticalization cline (cf. Heine 1993: 53–69, Anderson 2006: 4–5)
- Argument structure and interpretation

(56) *no šures vyle ton-e žugy-sa kel't-o-zy*
 and road on.ILL you-ACC beat-CVB leave-FUT-3SG
 ‘and they will beat you and then leave you on the road’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ illative argument-> consecutive events

(57) *kin-e ke ki-yn-yz no dongy-sa kel't-i-z*

who-ACC PCL arm-INS-3SG PCL bump-CVB leave-PST-3SG

‘(s)he bumped somebody with his/her arm’ (UdmCorp.)

* ‘(s)he bumped somebody with his/her arm and left him/her [there]’

- ▶ no illative argument, rather a single event

(58) *vetl-em-zes* *odno* *ik* *gožty-sa* *kel't-o*
visit-PTCP-ACC.3PL definitely PCL write-CVB leave-FUT.1SG

‘I am definitely going to write everything about their visit.’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ actual event of leaving can be ruled out : *‘I’m going to write their visit and leave it (to my blog)’.

- *koškyny* ‘go away’

- ▶ Direction + PFV

(59) *śin* *až-yšt-ym* *lobžy-sa* *košk-i-z*
eye in_front_of-ELAT-1SG fly-CVB go_away-PST-3SG

‘it flew away so I cannot see it anymore’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ Change-of-state marker, PFV

(60) *peša-sa* *ik* *košk-i*
sweat-CVB PCL go_away-PST.1SG

‘A cold sweat came over me.’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ PFV aspectual auxiliaries: IPFV aspectual markers can be attached to them

- ▶ aspectual value of the event can be changed:

(61) *pinal-jos-me* *ma-in* *śud-yny* *jormy-sa,*
child-PL-ACC.1SG what-INS feed-INF be_indigent-CVB

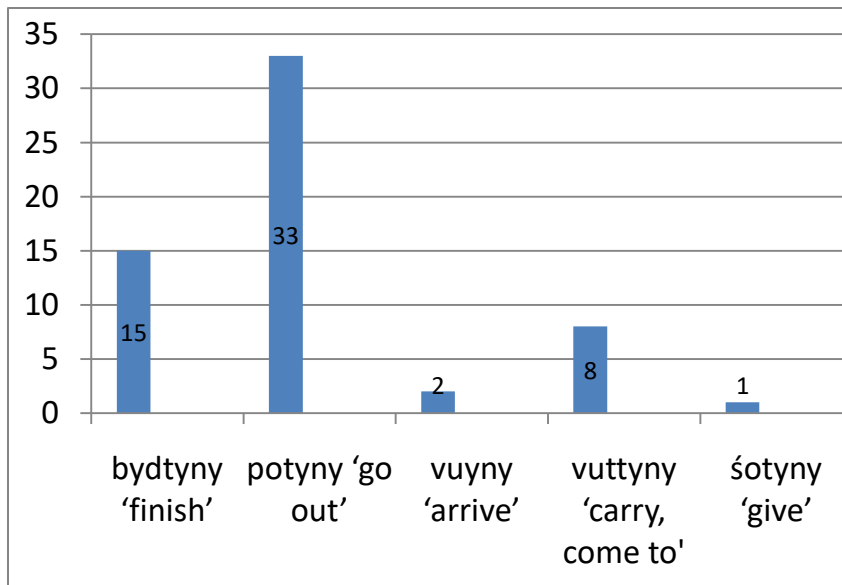
ujbyt *berdy-sa* *pot-y-l-i.*

all_night cry-CVB go_out-FQV-PST.1SG

‘I could not give my children any food, I used to burst into tears all night.’

- ▶ *lyžžyssa* + PFV CVB

- ▶ Udmurt Corpus: 59 tokens / 7 million tokens



(62) *al'i M. Bulgakov-leś, F. Dostojevskij-leś vañ*
 now M. Bulgakov-ABL F. Dostoyevskiy-ABL all_of
proizved'eñi-os-ses lyžžy-sa pot-i
 work-PL-ACC.3PL read-CVB go_out-PST.1SG

'I have read all of the works of M. Bulgakov and F. Dostoyevskiy' (UdmCorp.)

- less-used perfective auxiliary verbs: tend to retain parts of their lexical semantics

- *šotyny* ('give') > benefactive

(63) *tazalyk-ez l'abž-em-en, bydes gažet-ez*
 health-3SG weaken-PTCP-INS whole newspaper-ACC
lyžžy-sa šot-išk-o.
 read-CVB give-PRS-1SG

'Because he is not in a good condition, I read [for him] the whole newspaper.'
 (UdmCorp.)

- benefactives < 'give' (see, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 149–151)

- *kyl'lyny* 'lie'

- ▶ postural verbs as imperfective auxiliaries: cross-linguistically common
 (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 193–194, 276–9, 280–282)

(64) *pydesjašk-i no učky-sa kyl'-išk-o.*
 kneel_down-PST.1SG and watch-CVB lie-PRS-1SG

‘I got down on my knees and watched’

*‘I got down on my knees and lay [there] watching’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ Delimited imperfective events (Timberlake 2007: 294)

(65) 2 čas olomar daurt-ysa kyll'-i-zy :) (UdmCorp.)

2 hour something do-CVB lie-PST-PL3

‘they did something for two hours’(*‘they did something for two hours, lying’)

- ▶ context: rehearsal of a singing group
- ▶ syntactic context, pragmatic implications: the lexical meaning-interpretation of the *kyll'yny* can be ruled out

- ▶ PRS-HAB

(66) maly mon so sovremennoj literatura-jez

why I DEM modern literature-ACC

ližžy-sa kyll'-išk-o

read-CVB lie-PRS-1SG

‘why do I read always today’s literature, (it’s not at all understandable)’
(Informant)

- ▶ PST-HAB

(67) ažlo jua-sa ug kyll'-o val,

in_former_times ask-CVB NEG.PRS lie-CNG.3PL AUX.PST

luška-lo no tiñi.

kidnap-3PL and PCL

‘They would not ask before, they just kidnapped [the women] and that was it.’
(UdmCorp.)

Exercise 2.

9. Aspect and code-switching (Udmurt)

(Horváth 2018a, 2018b)

- inserted Russian verbs (INF)
 - + adaptation suffix (-t)

(68) *t'elevizor tažy perekl'učat'-t-ışa ul-k-o.*
 television this_way switch_over:INF.IPFV_{RUS}-NTVZ-CVB live-PRS-1SG
 'I just keep switching the TV over.' (Informant)

○ + *karyny* 'do'

(69) *soos mar ke muso gine*
 3PL what PCL lovely PCL
sporit' kar-o val.
 argue:INF.IPFV_{RUS} do-PRS.3PL AUX.PST
 'They were arguing in a very lovely way.' (UdmCorp.)

- common adaptation strategy cross-linguistically (Winford 2010, Muysken 2000)
- Udmurt speakers have to choose between the IPFV/PFV form of Russian infinitives
- Russian infinitives can contribute to the aspectual meaning of Udmurt matrix clauses

(70) *produkty zakazyvat' kar-išk-om.*
 product:PL_{RUS} order:INF.IPFV_{RUS} do-PRS-1PL
 'We order products.' (Informant)

(71) *mon zakazat' kar-i zyret-en taban'*
 I order:INF.PFV_{RUS} do-PST.1SG zyret-INS taban'
 'I ordered taban' ['Udmurt pancake'] with zyret ['sauce from milk, egg, and flour'].'

- PST-HAB: overt markers

(72) *soos biznesmen-jos val, ad'ami-os, kud-jos-iz*
 they businessman_{RUS}-PL be.PST person-PL who-PL-DEM
kot'kud no riskovat' kar-o val
 all.of PCL risk.INF.IPFV_{RUS} do-PRS.3PL AUX.PST

aśse-len *ulon-azi.*
 themselves-GEN life-INE.3PL

‘They [...] were businessmen, people, who all used to take risks in their lives.’
 (UdmCorp.)

(73) *žuć* *kyl-yn* *umoj* *veras'k-is'k-o* *val,*
 Russian language-INE good speak-PRS-1SG AUX.PST
no *rod-ez* *putat'* *kar-yl-i.*
 but gender_{RUS}-ACC mix_up.INF.IPFV_{RUS} do-FRV-PST.1SG

‘I used to speak Russian well, but I used to mix up the genders.’ (Informant)

- Udmurt matrix verbs take the same aspectual markers as Udmurt past habituales usually have

- PRS-HAB: grammatically unmarked/marked by FQV

(74) *kuletem* *arberi-os-ty* *zapominat'* *kar-iš'k-o.*
 unnecessary thing-PL-ACC remember:INF.IPFV_{RUS} do-PRS-1SG

‘I remember unnecessary things.’ (Informant)

- habitual aspectual value becomes more explicit than it is without using INF_{RUS}.

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