

Pre-mirative context marking and epistemic authority in the *val*-based analytic past constructions of Udmurt

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In Udmurt, there are several analytic verbal forms, of which some have seemingly overlapping functions (see Saraheimo 2022, Saraheimo & Kubitsch 2023). Two of these are the first remote past or pluperfect (1) and the imperfective past (2), where the former combines the evidentially neutral first past form of the main verb and the unchanged past form of the 'be'-verb (*val*) and the latter a present tense form with *val*. Both constructions have two comparable functions, namely that of an interrupted or discontinuous action, or an action that is in contrast with the following information (3), as well as an emphatic function connected to assertivity (Saraheimo & Kubitsch 2023, Kubitsch 2024).

- (1) *Odig kıl gine vera-j val.*
one word only say- PST1.1SG be.PST1
'I had only said one word.'

- (2) *So vakıt-e uj klub-jn uža-ško val.*
that time-ILL night klub-INE work-PRS.1SG be.PST1
'At that time I was working at a nightclub.'

- (3) *Mon ton-e badžım ni koža-j val,*
I you-ACC big already reckon-PST.1SG be.PST1
noš ton veš anaj-ed-len vera-m-ez-ja
but you always mother-POSS.2SG-GEN say-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ADV
gine uli-škod vılem...
only live-PRS.2SG be.PST2
'I've reckoned you as a grown up, but you always turn out to act as your mother says...'

The study aims to describe these functions in more specific terms, and to dissect the differences in the meaning of the constructions, in other words, when and why the main verb shall manifest in present tense and when in the first past. The data is drawn from newspaper articles and blog texts and complemented by consulting native speakers. Preliminary results show that instead of marking an aspectual or modal category of a discontinuous action or an action with unprecedented results, both constructions mark a pre-mirative context (see e.g. Skribnik 2023). While PST1 + *val* is used broadly with a variety of verbs with different

semantics, PRS + *val* is prone to be chosen with stative verbs with inherently imperfective semantics. The use of the analytic constructions including *val* in general seems to be connected to endophoric events, which is in line with observation's done by Spets (2023) for similar analytic constructions in Mari and other studies on the use of pluperfects in narration in general (Pallaskallio 2016; Lund 2015). The assertive function of the constructions has presumably risen from this tendency. The effect has been enhanced by the existence of evidential opposition with the evidential second past form of the 'be'-verb *vylem*, the use of which has been associated with a lower level of epistemic authority (Kubitsch 2024).

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