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BALTIC FINNIC VERBAL DERIVATION AND THE ASSIMILATION OF RUSSIAN LEXEMES

1. The occurrence of large numbers of Russian lexemes in the Baltic Finnic languages has been the subject of many studies, ranging from such general works as J. Mikkola (1938) and J. Kalima's major lexical study (1955) to studies of individual languages such as A. Krawczykiewicz's work on Veps (1972) and H. Haarmann's analysis of Ingrian (1984). These studies provide lists of such lexemes, occasionally classifying them according to semantic fields, and some of them also provide detailed descriptions of the phonological processes involved in their assimilation by one or another Baltic Finnic language. Especially valuable are works devoted to individual morphological categories, e.g., M. Ojanen (1985) on the adjective in Ludic Karelian, J. Oispuu (1988) on the noun in Djorža Karelian, and A. Kährik (1980) on the verb in Veps. Unfortunately, the derivational processes by means of which new Baltic Finnic forms are generated from borrowed lexemes receive comparatively little attention.¹ This subject deserves close study, however, because the existence of such derived forms implies a deeper level of assimilation than does the simple adaptation of Russian verbs, nouns, and adjectives to the Baltic Finnic flecational system. The latter process is characteristic of all language contact situations in which people are bilingual speakers of their native language (L1) and a socially dominant language (L2; in this case Russian), whether or not L1 and L2 are related. An L2 lexeme only casually used by a speaker of L1 in an L1 speech act is not likely to take part in native derivational processes. At the very least, then, we can assert that those lexemes participating in Baltic Finnic derivation play a more important role in the speaker's language than those that do not.

The present study is an analysis of new verbal forms derived from Russian verbal lexemes. These forms have been attested in a continuum of dialects and languages that extends from North Karelian in the northwest through Olonets and Ludic Karelian to Veps, and thence to Tichvin, Valdai, and Tver' (recently known as Kalinin) Karelian in the southeast.²

2. The structure of borrowed verbal forms in Karelian and Veps may be described as follows:

(R PREFIX+) R ROOT + RF STEM MARKER + F ENDING(S)

	Rp	—	Rr	—	RFm	—	Fe
E.g.: Ol.	<i>pre</i>		<i>urat</i>		<i>i</i>		<i>ttih</i>

R=Russian, F=Finnic, and the designation RF indicates that a particular element (in this instance the stem marker represented by m) is phonetically identical in the two languages. The term *endings* (e) represents tense markers and person markers for finite forms, and such designations as the infinitive I and III markers for non-finite forms. A Russian prefixal element (Rp) may or may not be present, depending on the source lexeme; in the body of the present study this element is disregarded, as it is imma-

terial to the point of the analysis. The mechanisms regulating the combination of Finnic endings with Russian stems have been described in detail by this author in other studies (see for example Pugh 1990), so I shall only summarize them here (2.1 — 2.2).

2.1. The stem of the borrowed verb is based on the Russian non-past paradigm; the new Baltic Finnic verb is accepted by speakers as belonging to one of only two stem-types, the markers of which are *-Vj-* (graphically represented as *-Vi-* in Finnic) and *-i-*. It is precisely because the verbs come from such a large number of different Russian stem-types that this reanalysis, or redistribution, must take place: in order for a Russian verb to function in the Karelo-Veps system, it must conform to some natively occurring pattern. As it happens, conjugational types with the markers *-Vj-* and *-i-* exist in Baltic Finnic as well as in Russian: Finnic *nai-* 'to get married', *ui-* 'to swim', and *sopi-* 'to suit, fit' (here *-i-* < underlying *e*), *muni-* 'to lay eggs', etc.; cf. Russian *плавай-* 'to swim', *советуй-* 'to advise', and *говори-* 'to speak, say', *звони-* 'to call (telephone)'³. The latter of these two markers (*-i-*) appears to be more prevalent in Baltic Finnic: of the 45 Finnish conjugational types listed by R. Austerlitz, in descending order of frequency *-i-* (e.g. *sallia*) occupies position 5, while *Vj-*-types are found at positions 8 and 10 (*nai-da* and *haravoi-da*, respectively); when taken together, however, 8 and 10 outnumber 5 (1965 : 41). In Russian the *Vj-*-stems are collectively outnumbered by the non-*Vj-* verb; all Russian verbs of non-*Vj-*-stems are assimilated in the Karelo-Veps system with ease as members of the *-i-* conjugational type (hereafter: new *i*-stems).

Although the *-Vj-* type is well represented in Baltic Finnic, a large number of *Vj-*-stems, in particular those verbs with the marker *-oi-*, are derived from Finnic substantival *a*-stems (so Fin. *harava* > *haravoi-*, *elämä* > *elämöidä*, etc.); this stem marking element was subsequently extended to forms that were not originally *a*-stems, and is especially evident in borrowings such as *filosofoi-da*, *fantasoi-da*, and the like. The status of so many Finnic *-Vj-* verbs as denominal derivatives, and the statistically smaller presence of this stem-type as a whole in Russian, have consequences for the occurrence in Karelian of Russian verbs of this stem type. Specifically, because verbs of this type, even natively derived verbs such as *naida*, are somehow felt not to be unequivocal members of the morphological class verb, the process of assimilating Russian *-Vj-* verbs to the Karelian system requires the addition of a peculiarly verbal element to mark them as +verb.⁴ This element is the originally intransitive and/or reflexive marker *-č-*, which is present before vocalic endings but truncated before consonantal endings. The suffix is technically *-če-*, but the data indicate that the speaker identifies the vocalic element *-e-* as a marker of the present tense, and therefore as part of a following desinence, as is the case with the preterite marker *-i-*; in non-finite forms of the verb *-e-* is considered to be not present. The same reinterpretation of stem-final vowels as tense markers occurs in Komi and Mordvin (Майтинская 1979 : 45—46). Our data dictate, then, that we should treat the vocalic element *-e-* as a special entity belonging neither to the suffix *-č-* nor to the ending. This principle is followed in the segmentation of forms below. Compare the following examples of new *-i-* stem and *-Vj-* stem verbs:

-i- stems

-piš-i- 'write', e.g. Ol. *podpišši-hez* 'he signed, subscribed';

-gotov-i- 'prepare', e.g. Veps *prigotovi-ba* 'they prepared';

-hvat-i- 'seize, take', e.g. KarN *hvatit-tih* 'they grasped';

-ber-i- 'take', e.g. Tv. *probeŋi-e* 'to penetrate (e.g., the cold)';

-vern-i- '(re)turn', e.g. Veps *verni-ŋ* 'I turned over (trans.)'⁵

-Vj-Stems

-*gul-aj-* 'walk, stroll' e.g. Tich. *gulai-č-i-n*, Val. *guläi-mah* 'I stroll; to stroll'; cf. the same pattern in native Karelian *naja-naičen* (Fin. *naida*);

-*torg-uj-* 'trade', e.g. Val. *torgui-mah*, *torgui-čč-i* 'to trade; he/she traded';

-*dum-aj-* 'think', e.g. KarN *dumai-čč-i-ma*, Val. *dumai-mah* 'we thought; to think';

-*prazn-uj-* 'celebrate', e.g. Ol. *pruaznui-č-e-mmo*, *pruaznui-ja* 'we celebrate; to celebrate'.

2.2. These examples show the occurrence of the suffix *-č-* in the presence of a vocalic ending, but the loss thereof when followed by a consonantal ending (including the infinitive marker, which is interpreted as *-ja*).⁶ The use of this suffix in Karelian is therefore reduced to the level of being a marker of morphological class in the examples cited above; crucial evidence of this transformation is its occurrence with intransitive as well as with transitive verbs. The original function of this element as an indicator of intransitivity and/or reflexivity is also frequently found, however. When the suffix occurs in *-i-* stems, where it is not needed as a \vdash verb marker, this function is almost without exception the only one possible. In strongly intransitive or reflexive verbs of the *-Vj-* type we find a reduplicated suffix, the first of which is derivational (as above), while the second is the true marker of the syntactic properties of the verb. These two elements are accordingly differentiated by the designations (Fs) and Fs, respectively, reflecting the limited role of the former as a \vdash verb marker. The *-Vj-* verbs listed above therefore have the structure Rr-RFm-(Fs)-Fe, where (Fs) $> \emptyset$ /_C (is truncated before a consonant); verbs of the *-i-* type are simply described as Rr-RFm-Fe. Compare the examples cited above with the following true intransitives/reflexives:

-*prošt-i-* 'forgive', e.g. Tich. *prošt-iečče-maa* 'to say goodbye' < Rus. *проститься*;

-*poluč-i-* 'receive', e.g. Tich. *polučč-iečče-oo* 'it turns out' < Rus. *получиться*; but:

-*venč-aj-* 'get married', e.g. Tv. *venčai-čč-ieče-t* 'you get married' < Rus. *венчаться*;

-*obiž-aj-* 'be offended', e.g. Tv. *obižai-čč-ieči* '(s)he was offended' < Rus. *обижаться*.

From these examples we see that the full syntactic suffix is actually *-ieče-*. In order to function simply as a derivational marker in *-Vj-* verbs, the suffix is simplified to such an extent that only the affricate remains, and it occurs only in the strong grade; forms such as these have the structure Rr-RFm-(Fs)-Fs-Fe. Should the syntactic element be affixed to a verb with the stem marker *-i-*, resulting in the contiguity of two identical vowels, then the stem marker is truncated: in the first two examples (above) we see the structure Rr-[RFm]-Fs-Fe, where the underlying RFm $> \emptyset$. The suffix-final vowel *-e-* is also truncated when in the presence of a following tense marker (*-i-* for past; *-e-* is interpreted as a marker of the present here, just as it is in the derivational suffix). Because of the special dual position of the suffix *-ieče-* in the system we shall not discuss it in the context of deverbal derivation of verbs, to which this study is devoted.

3. If we accept the idea, as I think we should, that the participation of given Russian lexemes in Baltic Finnic derivational processes signals a deeper level of assimilation, then it is clearly necessary to focus our attention on these lexemes and on the mechanisms that transform an

essentially Russian lexeme into one that is decidedly Baltic Finnic. The processes of particular interest are those involving suffixal elements that provide a verbal form with *Aktionsart* distinctions that 1) may be lacking in the unsuffixed base form borrowed from Russian or 2) are expressed in Russian as a function of verbal aspect. These include, *inter alia*, such notions as «action of limited duration» and «repeated (or habitual) action».

In the texts that were analyzed for this study, several different Baltic Finnic suffixes were found affixed to borrowed Russian verb stems; often these are attested side by side with the unsuffixed lexemes. The structure of the new verb forms may be described as follows:

(R PREFIX+) R ROOT + (RF STEM MARKER+) F SUFFIX +
+ (F STEM +) F ENDING(S)

	Rp	Rr	RFm	Fs(Fs'Fs'')	Fm	Fe
E.g.	<i>u</i>	— <i>ber</i>	— <i>i</i>	— <i>ksendel</i>	— \emptyset	— <i>i-mme</i>

The example cited here (from Ludic Karelian) is discussed in 3.3 below. Note that we do not always find a Russian stem marker before the Finnic derivational suffix (there is one in this particular example), and we do not always find a Finnic stem marker following the derivational suffix; as we shall see, sometimes it is simply truncated. Because verbal derivation may involve multiple suffixation, *Fs'* and *Fs''* represent additional suffixes. Lack of the Russian stem marker, that is, its replacement by a Finnic marker, can indicate that the form has been in the Finnic system for a long time already; in practice, then the structure can become *Rr-Fm-Fs-(Fm)-Fe*. Very often older borrowings do not conform to the patterns described in 2.0 above, and reflect only native Finnic stem forms. A few examples from Kalima 1955 can be cited to illustrate this point:

Kar. *abi-voi-* 'to insult' < Rus. *обид-а, обидеть* 'insult'; in this example we find not only a F stem marker in place of the original R marker, but a change in the shape of the root form as well (*abid-* > *abi-* + *-v-*);

Ol. *briedi-e* 'to shave', Lud. *briedi-dä* < Rus. *брить*; here we have, as Kalima points out, analogical replacement of the original stem-final *-j-* by *-d-*; but compare the expected stem in Veps *brei-da* < Rus. *брей-*;

Votic *mäs-ä-tä* 'bother' < Rus. *мешать*; here the R stem marker (*-aj-*) has been replaced by a F stem marker (*-a-*).

As we shall see from the examples cited in 3.1–3.8, when Russian verbs occur with Baltic Finnic derivational suffixes, they are as a rule verbs with the phonologically simpler of the two stem markers, i.e., with *-i-* rather than with *-Vj-*. The exceptions to this rule are found in Veps and Ludic Karelian: these areas appear to be the most active of the Karelo-Veps region, because the number and variety of new forms generated is rather substantial.

All forms cited are glossed in English as well as in the language of the translations provided for the texts in question (Russian, Finnish, and Estonian). Constituent morphemes of the forms are identified according to the models above (Rr, RFm, etc.).

3.1. The suffix *-ld-* indicates momentaneous or one-time action, and is attested three times with Russian stems in our texts:

Tv. *služž-i-ld-i* 'she served; послужила'

— *služž-i-* + *-ld-* + [*-i-*] + *-i*

Rr-RFm-Fs-[Fm]-Fe

Tv. *vešel-ieče-ld-i-ä* 'to have a good time; повеселиться'

-*vesel[-i-]* + *-ieče-* + *-ld-* + *-i-* + *-ä*

Rr- [RFm]- Fs - Fs' - Fm - Fe

Ol. *träs-ä-ld-ih* 'will shake off; стряхнет'

-*träs[-i-]* + *-ä-* + *-ld-* + *-ih*

Rr-[RFm]-Fm - Fs - Fe

The structure of the first two of these forms clearly conforms to the formula described above. In the first example the F stem marker *-i-* is truncated in the presence of the following tense marker; which is also *-i-* (Fm > Ø); the second form reflects the truncation or deletion of the RF stem marker *-i-* in the presence of the following intransitive-reflexive suffix (RFm > Ø). It is important to understand that the element *-i-*, which is identified as RFm when following Rr, can only be identified as Fm when it follows Fs; an element F will not occur to the left an element RF because the process of Finnicization takes place from right to left. The last example cited above reflects the complete assimilation of this verb to native conjugational patterns, resulting in the deletion or replacement of the expected RF stem marker by the F stem marker *-a/-ä-* (RFm > Ø). This certainly indicates a more complete level of assimilation than is the case in the other two examples (cf. *mäsätä* in 3.0 above); if we examine the morphemic progression above as a set of elements R and F, it is clear that the farther to the left that F-elements are found (and the greater their number) the deeper the level of assimilation, especially if RFm is eliminated.

3.2. The suffix *-ahta-* occurs more frequently, and in all dialects/languages; this is a formant that can impart the sense of limited duration, one-time action, or the onset of an action:

Tv. *brizg-ahe-ttih* 'they splashed (once); брызнули' < Rus. *брызгать*;

Lud., Tich. *buļ-ahta-a* 'gurgles (once); булькает' < Rus. *булькать/булькнуть*;

Ol. *bur-aht-ih* 'barked out, growled out; буркнул' < Rus. *буркать/буркнуть*;

Veps *krik-ahta-ski* 'they shout out; выкрикивают' < Rus. *крикнуть*;

KarN *plak-aht-i* 'he/she burst into tears, burst out crying; тут же в слезы' < Rus. *плакать*.

Especially noteworthy among these verbs are three variations on the Russian root *скок-* 'jump' (Russian substantives *скок* 'galloping', *скак* in *на всем скаку* 'at full tilt', Russian verbs *скакать*, *скаку* 'hop, gallop' (*вы-*)*скокить* 'jump (out)'; initial *s-* has been lost in some of the forms, possibly under the influence of the phonetically similar form *качать* 'to rock, swing':

Tv. *koč-ahe-ttih* 'they jumped out; выскочили'. This verb is cited in KKS 2 : 354;

Val. *koč-aht-i* 'he jumped; hüppas';

Tv., Tich., Veps. *skok-aht-i-a* 'to jump; прыгнуть';

Tv. *skoč-aht-i* 'he jumped; прыгнул'.

We note that the presence of the suffix *-ahta-* has resulted in the loss of RFm in all of the above forms: as a rule, the resulting forms have the structure Rr-Fs-Fm-Fe, and the degree of assimilation is high. Several of the stems occurring with this suffix assume a form that is not entirely expected, and require more detailed analysis.

A comparison of the borrowed or assimilated forms with their Russian glosses shows the clear functional similarity between Baltic Finnic *-ahta-* and the Russian suffix *-ну-*. Closer study suggests, however, that the Rus-

sian suffix is sometimes interpreted by a Baltic Finnic speaker as *-Cny-*. Thus, for instance, in the base forms *булькнү-* and *буркнү-* it is the cluster *-kny-* that is replaced by the native derivational suffix. It is possible that such Russian pairs as *крикнуть* (*крик-нү/кричатъ*) have helped to create the impression that this complex cluster is a suffix, because the etymological connection between *-k-* and *-č-* has been lost for the speaker in this verb pair: the absence of a clear *-k-* in the imperfective verb allows the cluster *-kn-* as a whole to be interpreted as a perfectivizing or *Aktionsart* element (which then replaces *-č-*). This pattern is subsequently extended to other verbs such as *булькнүть* and *буркнүть*.

The form *krik-ahta-* is interesting because we do not find the expected replacement of *-kn-* (Rus. *крикнуть*) by *-ahta-* seen above: if *-kn-* were lost we would be left with the difficult sequence **kriahta-*; presumably root-final *-k-* can be retained here 1) under the influence of the Russian substantive *крик* 'shout', 2) by the necessity of having a root-final consonant, and 3) modelled on Russian dialect *крикай-*, which does have *-k-* in the stem. In the case of *plak-ahta-*, stem-final *-k-* is unjustified (as opposed to root-final *-k-*, which is justified), because the Russian non-past stem contains the affricate *-č-*, which should appear in the stem of the borrowed form (cf. comparable Karelian verbs based on the stems *-пиши-* and *-скажи-*); as there is no perfective **плакнүть*, we can only assume that the new Karelian verb came about by analogy with such forms as *krik-ahta-*. The same might be said of *brizgahettih*, because the stem of *бризгать* in literary Russian is *бризж-*; in the instance, however, the Karelian form is certainly based on the Russian dialect stem *брызгай-* (CPHG 3 : 214; cf. *крикай-* above). We note from the above examples that Fm can be either *-i-* (as in *skokahtia*) or *-a-* (as in *bulah-taa*).

3.2.1. In one example from Olonets Karelian we find the formant *-ht-* (< *-ahta-*) together with the frequentative suffix *-ele-*: *ñuw-ht-ele-mah* 'began sniffing; стал нюхать'; structure: Rr-Fs-Fs'-Fe: *-ahta-* > *-ah-* when followed by *-ele-*. This form is based on Russian *нюх-*, in which *-x-* (= Karelian *-h-*) is clearly a root-final element, but the Karelian speaker evidently interprets *-x-* (*-h-*) as part of the suffix *-(a)hta-*. A form very similar to this one occurs in the same dialect, but in place of *-h-* we find the dental spirant *-s-*: *ñuw-st-elow* 'gets used to the smell of; принюхивается'. The assimilation of the velar χ or *h* to the following dental *t* (that is, $h > s$) has almost completely obscured the connection between the Karelian form and the original Russian root; the connection between *-st-* and the suffix *-ahta-* is now also severed, and it appears that the meaning of this new verb is, strictly speaking, no longer compatible with that of other derivatives with the suffix *-ahta-*.⁷ Many other verbs based on the root *нюх-* are attested in Karelian, e.g. *ñuhaija* (< Rus. *нюхай-*), *ñuhissa*, *ñuhata* (KKS 3 : 535).

3.3. The complex suffix *-ksendele-* is described by Rjagojev as consisting of the elements *-kše-nd-ele-*, and expresses an action of a drawn out or repetitive nature (Рягоев 1977 : 192). Three verbs with this suffix are identified in our collection of Ludic Karelian texts, and have the structure Rr-RFm-Fs-Fe (where Fs < FsFs'Fs''):

plet-i-ksendel-in 'I was (or kept) twisting, twining; punoskelin',

-i-ksendele-i-n

smeñ-i-ksendel-imme 'we were (kept) changing; muuttelimme'

-i-ksendele-i-mme

uber-i-ksendel-imme 'we were (kept) mending; korjasimme'

-i-ksendele-i-mme

Because the suffix is originally *-ksendele-*, then in these three examples the past tense marker *-i-* may be said to induce the truncation of the suffix-final *-e-* (*ksendele-* > *-ksendel-*). The following examples are given in the dictionary form, the infinitive, in Virtaranta 1976: *luad-i-ksendel-ta*, *mahn-i-ksendel-ta*, *o-bei-i-ksendel-ta*, *pri-meļ-i-ksendel-ta*, *pro-id-i-ksendel-ta*. In general, the meaning of any verb suffixed in this manner is 'to do X (=meaning of the base form) continually'. Cf. the similar, and probably etymologically related, Finnish suffix *-skentele-* (Hakulinen 1961 : 181).

3.4. The Finnic causative/curative suffix *-tt-* is found several times affixed to Russian stems; the structure of the following verbs is Rr-RFm-Fs-Fm-Fe:

KarN *kost-i-tt-a-mah* 'to entertain, treat; гостить'. Compare KarN *kostimah* 'to be a guest' (KKS 2 : 347); these verbs are commonly found in other Karelian dialects, as well as in Veps;

KarN *muan-i-tt-i* 'seduced, enticed; соблазнил' < Rus. *манить* 'attract, lure' (and KKS 3 : 335). Here we note the truncation of the F stem marker *-a-* in the presence of the following tense marker *-i-*.

In addition to *muañ-i-tt-a-da*, Virtaranta 1976 lists the following five examples as occurring in Ludic Karelian: *druaž-i-tt-a-da*, *prim-i-tt-a-da*, *prošt-i-tt-a-da*, *spruav-i-tt-a-da*, *uiđ-i-tt-a-da*.

3.41. The suffix *-tt-* can also occur together with other derivational elements as part of a complex suffix, e.g. with the reflexive/intransitive marker *-u-* and the frequentative suffix *-ele-* (cf. 3.21 and 3.3 above):

KarN *paj-a-t-utt-oo* 'to have/cause to be read sung (here in reference to a church service; заказать)'. This is an older borrowing, reflected first of all in the occurrence of the stem marking element Fm *-a-*: Rr *paj-* Fm *a-* Fs (*t*)t- Fs' *-utt-* Fe *-oo*; in effect, Rr *paj-* is identical to the Russian stem *бай-* (*баю, баешь*). We note that this particular form is doubly suffixed for causativity (*-utt-* < *-u-tt-*). Kalima cites the simple transitive variant of this verb, marked only once for causativity, e.g. Fin. *pajattaa*, Olo. *pajattoa*, Veps *pajatada* (1955 : 101).

OI. *muan-i-tt-el-i-it* 'deceived many times; обманывал (не раз)'. In such cases, where Fm *-i-* is retained before the past tense marker, we have the full complement of morphemes: Rr-RFm-Fs-Fs'-Fm-Fe.

Multiple suffixation of this kind is common in Baltic Finnic, as in Kar. *nakšoa* 'to hew, chop', from which the momentaneous verb *nakšah-toa* is derived, from which in turn the causative *nakšahuttoa* is derived (KKS 3 : 451).

3.5. The suffix *-utu-* expresses reflexivity and/or intransitivity, and corresponds approximately to the Russian reflexive particle-suffix *-ся*. It is particularly interesting that all of the examples cited below are from the northern Karelian regions, specifically North Karelian and Olonets; in the southern regions, e.g. in Tver and Tichvin, on the other hand, we find the suffix *-ieče-* (cf. 2.0 above):⁸

KarN *mol-i-udu-u* 'implored (implores); взмолилась', and cf. KKS 3 : 343;

OI. *muañ-i-udu-u* 'is deceived; обманется';

KarN *prošt-i-utu-mah* 'excuse oneself; проститься';

KarN *ei rođ-i-utu* 'did not come about; не вышло';

KarN *soklašš-i-utu-u* 'agrees; соглашается'. We are especially fortunate to be able to compare this particular form with other suffixed variants found elsewhere in the region: Tich. *soglass-ieččo*, KarN *soglass-i-zu-ttii* (see below), and Veps *soglas-i-hezoi*. All of these forms

express the same meaning and have the same syntactic characteristics as *soklassiutu-*;

KarN *sual-i-utu-n* 'feel sorry for; жалдеу';

KarN *voln-ui-čč-i-utu-o* 'worry; волноваться'.

In all but the last of these forms we see the structure Rr-RFm-Fs-Fe. In the last example the suffix *-utu-* occurs in place of the expected reduplicated suffix *-ieče-* (cf. *venčai-čč-ieče-t*) and the F stem marker *-i-* occurs between the derivational suffix *-čč-* and *-utu-*: Rr-RFm-(Fs)-Fm-Fs-Fe. It appears that the presence of this Fm is required by the occurrence of the preceding +verb marker *-č-*: were this a syntactic suffix, that is, a derivationally meaningful element Fs instead of (Fs), Fm would be unnecessary (cf. other examples of Fs-Fs'-Fs'' above!). This form also deserves special mention because it belongs to the *-Vj-* class verbs, members of which occur only rarely with Baltic Finnic derivational formants.

3.5.1. Numerous suffixal formants containing the element *-u-* are used to express the idea of intransitivity/reflexivity, e.g., *-utu-* (above) and *-zu-* (below); the vowel *-u* alone is widely found in native Finnic formations, as we see, for instance, in Finnish and Estonian (*valmistaa*, *valmistua*, and *valmistada*, *valmistuda* 'to prepare' and 'to prepare oneself', resp.). In the texts studied for the present analysis only one form based on a Russian stem has been identified with this simple suffix, viz. North Karelian *vesel-y-i-jäh* 'they have fun; веселятся'. What makes this form particularly interesting is the order of its constituent elements: the suffix *-u-* (here *-ü-*) occurs before the stem marker *-i-*, as compared with the suffix *-utu-* above, which occurs after the stem marker. The structure Rr-Fs-RFm-Fe is not possible, however, and *-i-* can only be interpreted as Fm, not as RFm (see 3.1 above). This example suggests that the root *vesel-* is solidly assimilated in the idiolect of the speaker who used it.

The assumption that *vesel-* is well assimilated not just in this speaker's idiolect/dialect, but throughout Karelian, is supported by the following. Olonets Karelian examples: *veše-ld-y-ttih* 'they became cheerful; повеселели', and *veše-ld-y-i* 'was tipsy; был навеселе'. Remarkable in these two forms is the reinterpretation of root-final *-l-* as part of the suffix *-ld-*, following the loss of the original RFm; this is the same phenomenon observed in *ñuwht-* (3.2.1 above). Ludic *vesel-zu-da* (cited in Virtaranta 1976) also lacks the RFm, and offers further evidence for the perception of this lexeme as one now native to the Baltic Finnic system; cf. other forms cited in 3.6 below, in which *-i-* is retained before *-zu-*.

3.6. The suffix *-zu-* is found in the geographically central region that includes Olonets Karelian, Ludic Karelian, and Veps. According to M. I. Zajceva this formant can be an inchoative marker, although at times there is little semantic difference between the base form and the new form with *-zu-* (Зайцева 1978 : 123). All of the examples cited in this study (only a few of the large number attested) come from Ludic Karelian. On the basis of several of these forms it appears that the suffix *-zu-* can indeed express inception, the onset of some process. In addition, the verbs attested in our texts can all be characterized as generally intransitive, in keeping with the function of the vocalic element *-u-* discussed in 3.5 and 3.5.1 above. Most of the verbs consequently have Russian counterparts, or are based on models, with the reflexive particle/suffix *-ся*:

do-gađ-i-zu-id 'you noticed; huomasi';

kolot-i-zu-ime 'we knocked; kolkutimme; cf. the base form *kolottie*

'knock, pound' that is attested in all dialects of Karelian (and KKS 2 : 299);

- pro-prav-i-zu-in* 'I revived; virkosin';
- pri-god-i-zou* 'its suits, fits; sopii';
- prost-i-zu-ime* 'we said farewell; hyvästelimme';
- rod-i-zu-i žiäl* 'began to feel sorry for; tuli sääli';
- skopp-i-zou* 'accumulates, piles up; kerääntyy'; this form occurs next to the transitive base *skoppi-*;
- sluttš-i-zu-l (ttš=čč)* 'happened, occurred; sattui';
- smeñ-i-zou* 'moves; muuttuu';
- so-glašš-i-zu-ttii* 'made or reached an agreement; tekivät sopimuksen';
- spruav-i-zu-in* 'I improved (intransitive); paranin', next to transitive *spruavi-*;
- pidau star-ai-zu-da* 'to try; on yritettävä'; note the -Vj- stem marker;
- träšš-i-zu-tau* 'shakes; tärisevät';
- ugod-i-zou* 'happens; sattuu';
- za-dor-zu-ttii* 'became provocative, intense; yltyivät'.

In the last example we note the uncharacteristic loss of the stem marker *-i-* before the suffix *-zu-* (Rus. *задориться*); whereas the prevailing structure is Rr-RFm-Fs-Fe, here it is clearly Rr-Fs-Fe (cf. *vešel-zu-da* above), again, an indication of the extent to which this form is assimilated in the speaker's language. As is the case with other suffixes discussed above, the suffix *-zu-* can occur together with other derivational formants (see 3.7.1 below).

3.7. In the Veps texts several verbs based on Russian lexemes were found with the suffix *-škande-/škanze-* which, as it happens, also marks the inception of an action; as a natural extension of its original meaning this inchoative suffix can also function (in the non-past conjugation) as an indicator of future time, which is otherwise not expressed formally.⁹ The same suffix also occurs in Ludic Karelian (Зайцева 1978 : 108), and one such form, cited below, was indeed identified in our Ludic texts. We note that Russian stems can come from *-i-* as well as from *-Vj-* verbal types in the formation of new Veps verbs:

- konč-i-škanž-ihe* 'it began to come to an end; начало кончаться';
 - reš-i-škanž-ihe* 'they began settling accounts; начали рассчитываться';
 - stuk-u-č-i-škaaz* (<*škanz*) 'he began knocking; начал стучать';
 - zdrog-ai-škanž* 'began shuddering; начал вздрагивать';
 - čvet-i-škand-e-b* 'will begin to bloom; зацветает';
 - čok-oi-škanž* '(it) began stabbing/pricking; закололо'.
- Lud. *ei luub-i-škann-u* 'took a dislike to; не влюбила';

The structure of these forms is Rr-RFm-Fs-Fe (where Fe can = \emptyset). In *stukučiškaaz* we appear to see the root *stuk-* (cf. Rus. *стукнуть*), extended by stem-final *-č-* from the Russian base verb *стучать*; the structure can still be described as Rr-RFm-Fs-Fe, if we take Rr to represent the extended root *stuku-č-*. If *-u-* is identified as the reflexive/intransitive marker seen in *vešelyijäh* (above), then this form would be very irregular indeed: Rr-Fs-(?= (Fs) or Rr')-Fm-Fs-Fe. The last form cited reflects the replacement of the original RFm *-aj-* by the F marker *-oj-*, which can also be designated RF, however, because of its presence in the Russian system; *открой-*, etc.

The suffix *-ška-* (*-ške-*) is the first element of the complex suffix *-škande-/škanze-*; it should, however, be considered a variant of the latter formant, for it has the same derivational and semantic functions. In some

of the following examples (also from Veps) the expression of future time is somewhat stronger than it is in those containing *-škande-/škanze-*, but they ought nevertheless to be included in our study. The following all have the structure Rr-RFm-Fs-Fe-:

- bol-i-ške-tas* 'will be ill (for a long time); будет болеть';
prazn-ui-ška-mai 'we will celebrate; будем праздновать';
spoř-i-ška-tihe 'they began to fight; заспорили';
ii vēsel'-i-ška-koi 'they will not gladden/cheer (trans.); не повеселят';
zavod'-i-ška-n 'I shall start; начну'.

3.7.1. Extremely interesting are four verbs in which the suffix *-zu-* (cf. above) occurs together with other derivational suffixes discussed above; all are attested in Ludic Karelian and are cited in Virtaranta 1976: *mol'-i-zu-ška-ta* 'alkaa rukoilla; begin to pray', *sluttš'-i-zu-ksendel-ta*, *vod'-i-zu-ška-ta*, *ševēl'-i-zu-ška-ta*. These forms have the structure Rr-RFm-Fs-Fs'-Fe.

3.8. The veps frequentative suffix *-ske-* occurs in one form attested in the texts analyzed, in this instance as part of a complex suffix containing *-ske-* and *-nde/nze-* (compare *-škande-/škanze-* above): *skoř-i-skenž'* (she) gathered up, piled up (habitually); скапливала'. One can analyze this form simply as Rr-RFm-Fs-Fe, where $Fs < Fs + Fs'$; in other words, *-skenz-* is treated in the same way as *-škande-* and *-skendele-*, which can be considered to represent a single complex suffix.

4. **Conclusion.** The data presented in this study contribute to our understanding of the processes that facilitate the assimilation of Russian verbal lexemes in Baltic Finnic, specifically in Karelian and Veps. It is possible to distinguish between three phases of assimilation, which can, perhaps, also be described as levels, thereby implying greater or lesser degrees of assimilation:

1. The adaptation of a given lexeme to native morphological (fleclional) processes, often involving changes at the original Russian stem-boundary: forms must be identified either as *-i-* type or *-Vj-* type verbs in order to take part in Baltic Finnic conjugation. Usually, at this level, it is impossible to say whether or not a form has been to any extent assimilated: we must limit our discussion instead to its use by the individual speaker.
2. The involvement of such lexemes in purely native Baltic Finnic derivational processes (realized as predesinential suffixation): this stage may already with some confidence be labelled assimilation, or borrowing. The participation of originally Russian lexemes in processes of multiple suffixation may be interpreted as strong evidence of assimilation to and acceptance by the system.
3. The passage of a borrowed form from that of a stem type originally describable as RF to one of a purely Finnic type (e.g., where the marker is *-a-* rather than *-i-* or *-Vj-*) represents the highest level of assimilation; this stage of evolution is clearly visible in the oldest layer of borrowings.

Central to the problem at hand is the unrelatedness of the two linguistic systems in contact. Individual components of these systems (in this instance the verb) can be so different that some mechanism has to account for distinctions present in one language but absent in the other; this, in turn, can occur only after the morphological (fleclional) adaptation of forms has established itself as regular. In other words, the occurrence of F elements must proceed from right to left in the borrowed lexeme, beginning with Fe. First, in the realm of syntax, we find that many intransitive and/or reflexive Russian lexemes adopted by speakers of Finnic

languages are in need of overt markers identifying them as such to the user and listener; the number of suffixal formants involved is, as we have seen, rather large (including *-ieče-*, *-u-*, *-zu-*, *-utu-*), therefore such derivational patterns must be considered significant, and even basic. Second, the fact that Russian verbs are characterized by one of two aspects in the source language is not immediately relevant for their occurrence in the speech of Baltic Finns: their lexical meaning is primary, and verbs of both Russian aspects are freely used. Because specific aspect-based *Aktionsart* meanings of a given Russian verb are not formally transmitted into Karelian (that is, overtly), it becomes necessary to derive new forms indicating such nuances as inception, one-time or completed action, drawn-out or repeated action, etc., using native derivational formants (*-ld-*, *-ele-*, *-ahta-*, etc.). Of these special *Aktionsart* derivations, the expression of inchoativity is probably the most interesting. Instead of using a native Baltic Finnic verb meaning 'to begin' to express this notion, derivational suffixes (*zu-*, *-škande-/škanze-*, *-ška-*) are utilized. It seems to me that this is not altogether a chance occurrence, because the semantic field denoting 'beginning' does appear to be in a state of flux in Karelo-Veps; I have examined this question in a recent article.¹⁰

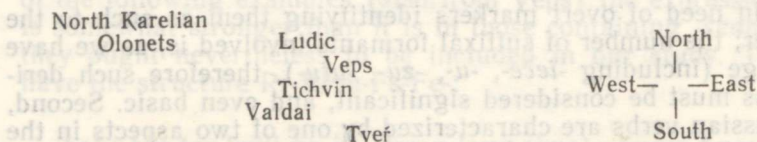
Equally interesting to the linguist is the level of activity in the various Baltic Finnic dialects and languages vis-à-vis one another. Thus, for instance, it becomes clear that more attention ought to be focussed on Ladic and Veps in future studies: the present analysis indicates that they are characterized by a particularly high level of activity in the derivation of new verbal forms. We note, for instance, not only a large number of suffixed forms (e.g., with *zu-*, *-škande-*, *-ška-*) but also some participation of verbs of the *-Vj-* type in derivational suffixation in these two areas; only one suffixed *-Vj-* form in our texts is found outside of Ladic and Veps (in North Karelian). Especially interesting in this regard is the fact that Veps and Ladic Karelian, historically based on Veps and now considered to be transitional between Veps and Olonets Karelian, are centrally located in the geo-linguistic continuum. The data from these two languages therefore speak strongly in support of M. Korhonen's theory of lateral areas, according to which languages or varieties of a language located in the center of a linguistic region exhibit a greater degree of innovation than do those on the periphery.¹¹

The phenomena discussed in this study are at the heart of the process which transforms the identity of a given verbal lexeme from that of a more or less Russian form, casually used by Baltic Finns, through various stages of assimilation to that of a lexeme firmly entrenched in the Baltic Finnic system. It is at this final stage that we can truly describe such a form as a loanword. More studies of this kind will naturally have to be undertaken, taking into consideration a wider range of dialects (languages) and material, in order to develop our picture of the assimilatory and derivational patterns with as much detail as possible.

Notes

¹ The opposite process, viz. the derivation of new verbal forms using borrowed Russian suffixes (e.g. *-ui-* and *-ni-*) with native Finnic roots has been discussed by J. Mägiste (1968) and is also mentioned by M. I. Zajceva (Зайцева 1978: 126-7).

² The geographic distribution of the dialects under consideration relative to one another is approximately as follows:



Abbreviations used in this study are: Kar. — Karelian; Fin. — Finnish; Est. — Estonian; KarN — North Karelian; Ol. — Olonets; Lud. — Ludic; Tich. — Tichvin; Val. — Valdai; Tv. — Tvef. The collections of texts analyzed for the present study are Конкка 1963; Тупицына 1967; Макаров 1959; 1963; Макаров, Рягоев 1969; Palmeos 1962; Рягоев 1980; Virtaranta 1963, and Зайцева 1969.

³ This is not to say that the Russian stem-marking element *-Vj-* is morphologically or historically identical to the element *-Vj-* in *naj-*; it is important merely to note that the phonetic sequence is present in stem-final position in both systems. Note that we include here as Russian *-Vj-* stems the stem types *-aj-*, *-uj-* (= *-ova-*), *-oj-*, and *-ej-*.

⁴ This is true, with some exceptions, only for Karelian. Veps is set apart from Karelian in this respect because the *-Vj-* type is not uncommon: the Russian suffix *-uj-* has come to occur rather frequently with native Veps roots, meaning that a '+VERB' marker is not necessary as it is in Karelian: *-živl-aj-* 'live', e.g. Veps *viživlāj-im* 'we survived'. In other Baltic Finnic languages, and indeed also in Komi, a verb marker is also needed, sometimes even for *-i-* stem verbs (Pugh 1990).

⁵ These verbs belong respectively, to the Russian stem-types identified in Slavic linguistic literature (e.g. C. Townsend 1975) as *a-*, *i-*, non-syllabic-*a-* and *nu-* stem types; of these all but the *i-* stem type are classified as I conjugation in Russian.

⁶ This pattern is the rule in the overwhelming majority of *-Vj-* forms attested in the texts, but apparent exceptions to this rule do exist. If we examine only those forms based on Rus. *dumaj-* 'think', for instance, we can discern the makings of an alternate pattern of assimilation; in particular, several instances across a variety of dialects reflect the affixation of a finite ending directly to the marker *-Vj-* without the expected suffix *-č-*: Ol. *duwmaj-mmo* (but *dumaj-č-e-mmo* also Ol.); Tich. *dumaj-n* (but *dumaj-č-e-n* also Tich.); Tv. *duwmaj-t* (but *duwmaj-č-e-n* also Tv.). Rather than interpreting these forms as exceptions, however, I believe there to be a change in the relationship between the desinence and the suffix, brought about by the ambiguous role played by the vocalic element *-e-* in the system. The desinences involved in these examples must be felt by the speaker to be *-mmo*, *-n*, and *-t*, rather than *-emmo*, *-en*, *-et*, presumably because *-e-* is interpreted as redundantly marking the present tense (\emptyset , or the lack of an overt marker, serves just as easily in opposition to past tense *-i-*); it can therefore be lost altogether. Lacking a connecting vowel, then, the presence of a consonantal desinence causes the suffix *-č-* to be deleted, as expected according to the rule formulated above.

⁷ It is also possible that this suffix simply represents the denominal formant *-(i)sta- /-(i)stā-* (Hakulinen 1961 : 196), but such a formant is unlikely to take part in the formation of a deverbal verb.

⁸ Russian verbs are assimilated somewhat differently in the two regions; for instance, the reduced morphological marker *-č-* is found more frequently in the south than it is in the north. This is most likely a function of the differing degrees and length of Russian influence (and distance from Finnish linguistic territory) that characterize the two areas. This phenomenon will be the subject of a special study.

⁹ The reinterpretation of derivational elements (e.g. formants indicating repetitive action or duration) as markers of tense is well known from other Finno-Ugric languages; cf. Майтинская 1979 : 43. My thanks to Robert Austerlitz of Columbia University for this and other helpful observations.

¹⁰ The End of 'Beginning' in Karelo-Veps?, forthcoming (b). In this article I study, e.g., the use of the assimilated verb *zavodie* 'to begin', the use of large numbers of other Russian verbs with the prefix *za-*, and the changing nature of Baltic Finnic verbs expressing 'to begin'.

¹¹ I have cited this theory in previous studies with regard to other aspects of the assimilation of Russian borrowings in Karelo-Veps; it is extremely insightful and is clearly applicable to the linguistic dynamics of practically any given geo-linguistic region.

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СТЕФАН М. ПЬЮ (Дурэм)

ПРИБАЛТИЙСКО-ФИНСКОЕ ГЛАГОЛЬНОЕ СЛОВООБРАЗОВАНИЕ И АССИМИЛЯЦИЯ РУССКИХ ЛЕКСЕМ

Проанализированные автором материалы показывают, что глагольные заимствования из русского языка в полной мере могут действовать как ассимилированные члены карельской и вепской языковых систем. Особенно важным процессом в этом отношении является слияние значительного количества русских основ с прибалтийско-финскими словообразовательными суффиксами; участие русских лексем в данном процессе служит доказательством довольно глубокой ассимиляции данных лексем в рассмотренных диалектах и языках. Наиболее интересны следующие результаты анализа:

- 1) разные понятия русского глагольного вида передаются с помощью прибалтийско-финских суффиксов;
- 2) суффиксальное выражение понятий начала действия (т. е. инхоативности) сравнительно часто наблюдается в этих глаголах.