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## FREQUENTATIVE AND MOMENTATIVE VERBAL DERIVATION IN VEPS

**Abstract.** This article examines the structure, use and semantics of frequentative and momentative verbal derivation in Veps. The study is based on a corpus of context-embedded derivatives collected firstly from early twentieth century texts and secondly from spoken and written present day Veps. Veps derivation is compared to Finnish and Estonian and to a lesser extent to Karelian. Finnic verb derivatives are basically transparent and mutually understandable but they are used in different contexts and their degree of productivity varies. In present-day Veps frequentative derivatives are commonly used in those syntactic contexts in which their Finnish and Estonian cognates could not be used. Variation in both frequentative and momentative suffixes has diminished, and only the shortest suffixes *-(e)le* and *-(a)hta* are productive.

**Keywords:** Veps, verbal derivation, syntax, momentative derivation, frequentative derivation, language change, aspect.

### 1. Introduction

This study aims at shedding light on the form, semantics and use of frequentative and momentative derivatives in Veps. In Estonian and Finnish research this kind of derivation (in addition to continuative and inchoative derivation) is called *m o d i f y i n g d e r i v a t i o n* — seen typically as adding to the quality of action by modifying the semantics of the stem without changing its valence or subject-object relations (cf. Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 § 351; Erelt, Kasik, Metslang, Rajandi, Ross, Saari, Tael, Vare 1995 : 426; Kangasmaa-Minn 1982 : 43–44). The differences between derivatives are based on the lexical meaning of their stems, and not on the semantic variety of the suffixes. In the Finnic languages modifying derivation is typically optional, but in the case of Veps this would not be a completely adequate solution. Our main hypothesis is that morphotactic restrictions in Veps verbal derivation are eroding and the use of verbal derivatives in the contemporary Veps language is increasing.

Frequentatives typically express a durative, constant and iterative action. In example (1) the suffix *-ele* (*ujelda*) gives the simple base (*ujuda* 'swim') an extra meaning of iterative movement.

- (1) *Vede-n pä-l u j - e l e - b a vedenmäričija-d.*  
 water-GEN top-ADE swim-FREQ-1PL water strider-PL  
 'Water striders swim/are swimming above the surface of the water.'  
 (Kodima 106)

Momentative derivatives, contrary to frequentative ones, point to action that is short in duration. Example (2) illustrates the use of a momentative derivative (*heikahta*) as opposed to a simple base (*heikta* 'shout'), which gives the action the connotation of a hasty shout.

- (2) *Jäl'ges Vas'a h e i k - a h t - i: Löuz-i-n!*  
 after Vas'a shout-MOM-PST.3SG find-PST-1SG  
 'Then Vas'a called out: I found [it]!' (Kodima 106)

Frequentative and momentative derivation have an opposite effect on the duration of the action to that expressed by the underived stem. Thus, derivations affect the aspect of a given verb. In Finnic language research modifying derivation is commonly perceived as a lexical phenomenon, whereas aspect is marked in the object or with temporal adverbs. Derivation may affect *Aktionsart*<sup>1</sup> and the aspect of the whole sentence, unless another element embeds constraints.

Veps derivation is particularly interesting in the light of cases such as example (3) in which it is unclear why the verb *tuugoida* 'understand' (Зайцева, Муллонен 1972 : 587: *tuukuida* < most probably Russian *толк* 'sense') is not used instead of the frequentative derivation, because the base verb in itself displays a durative action.

- (3) *Hö i t u u g o i - l - i - b a čom-in.*  
 they and understand-FREQ-PST-3PL nice-INST  
 'They also understood [us] well.' (Mäggärv)

### 1.1. Earlier studies of Veps verbal derivation

In his seminal Veps syntax Kettunen (1943 : 445) notes the frequent use of frequentatives in functions of habitual or constantly repeated action. Considerably later, M. Zajceva describes the whole Veps verbal derivational system (Зайцева 1978). In addition to listing the allomorphs of different suffixes, she provides a large number of examples and analyses the semantics and historical development of verbal derivation. M. Zajceva's work is a valuable insight into a native speaker's perception of Veps verbs and their counterparts in Russian. The deviations from the shared Finnic derivation pattern she explains as blurring the basic meaning of the derivative (Зайцева 1978 : 28, 79). My observations do not support M. Zajceva's contention that the Veps derivation is similar to other Finnic languages, yet more productive.

Lehtinen (1985; 1990) points out the possibility of Russian influence on Veps derivation. According to him, Veps momentative and frequentative suffixes tend to express the same meanings as Russian aspectual verb pairs.

<sup>1</sup> *Aktionsart* and derivational aspect influence the relationship between the verb and tense. *Aktionsart* is typically distinguished from *grammatical aspect* that makes the distinction between imperfectivity and perfectivity of the action that no other element of the sentence can neutralise.

He supposes that those aspectual meanings that are close to original connotations of Finnic derivatives were borrowed and became more common (Lehtinen 1990 : 59–61). Lehtinen examines the conative and habitual meanings of frequentative derivations in more detail as well as the connotation of deminutivity in momentative derivations.

## **1.2. Data and methodological starting points**

In this paper data have been drawn from early 20th century Veps texts and 21st century texts and recorded speech. The old data consist of texts collected by Kettunen and Siro (1935), and Setälä and Kala at the end of 19th century (*Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista* 1951). The present-day sample has been taken from the newspaper "Kodima", the only monthly Veps newspaper. The analysed data include 200 sentences with one or more frequentative or momentative derivative verbs from both the old and new material. Thus, altogether 400 morphologically recognisable derivatives were collected and analysed. Furthermore, I used recordings of spoken Veps collected during fieldwork in the central Veps villages Ladv and Mäggärv in 2006 and 2007. The data consist of 430 clauses of which 290 contain a frequentative derivative.

A change in frequency of momentative and frequentative derivatives can be seen in my data. In 200 occurrences gathered from Kettunen, Siro 1935 and *Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista* 1951 momentatives and frequentatives are distributed quite evenly, but the data from 21st century give evidence of a more considerable difference between frequencies. Less than 25 per cent of the 200 clauses collected from Kodima include a momentative derivative. The Ladv-Mäggärv corpus of 60 clauses only includes a few momentatives.

Our point of departure has been the assumption that the Finnic derivation system has a common origin and the most common functions of Finnish, Estonian, Veps and Karelian derivatives correspond to the basic Finnic type. Earlier studies show that the modifying derivation is more common in the Eastern Finnic languages (Karelian, Lude, Veps) (Laakso 1989 : 61; Lehtinen 1979 : 4). An areal difference suggests that Russian may have influenced Eastern Finnic derivation. However, the variety of current Veps derivational suffixes is significantly more modest than Laakso maintains. In the following I shall point out the deviations from the assumed Finnic system by comparing Veps to Estonian and Finnish.

## **2. Morphotactic features of momentative derivation**

M. Zajceva lists the following momentative suffixes in Veps: *-aida*, *-alda*, *-ahta/-hta* and *-ni* (Зайцева 1978). The first three have a cognate in other Finnic languages, whereas the suffix *-ni* occurs only in Karelian and Veps. According to M. Zajceva and L. Markianova *-ni* is an equivalent to the Russian suffix *-nu*, borrowed first as a part of those Russian-based derivatives that later spread analogically to Veps or Karelian stems (Зайцева 1978 : 127–129; Маркианова 1985 : 123). There are some occurrences of the suffix *-ni* in the old data, such as in example (4), where *-ni* is attached to the Veps stem *hüptä*.

- (4) *Netse mužik i h ü p-n i-h e koivu-s-päi [---]*  
 that man and jump-MOM.PST-REFL birch-INE/ELA-FROM  
 'That man jumped down from the birch.' (Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951 : 22)

However, there is no evidence of the use of *-ni* in the 21st century data. Nor are the suffixes *-aida* and *-alda* productive in contemporary spoken Veps either. The productiveness of *-aida* is doubtful in the light of the old data as well, since I found no occurrences at all. As regards *-alda*, M. Zajceva claims that it is productive in Southern Veps (Зайцева 1978 : 83). I suggest that the use of *-ni* has ceased being productive in Veps as have the two native suffixes *-aida* and *-alda*.

Table 1

## Frequency of different momentative suffixes

Suffix	Frequency	Examples
<i>-ahta</i> <i>-hta</i>	Around 90% of all momentatives, only productive suffix in new data	<i>ken-se skokkahti tele</i> 'someone jumped onto the road' <i>lainahtad verest il'mad</i> 'you take a breath of fresh air' <i>milen tegob mel' johhta</i> 'I feel like having a little drink' <i>kukei laulahti</i> 'the cock crowed'
<i>-aida</i>	no occurrences	<i>potkaida</i> 'kick' (Зайцева 1978 : 93)
<i>-alda</i>	some occurrences in the old data	<i>anda nolalta härkmut</i> 'let me lap up the scoop' <i>Ukk huikalz</i> 'man shouted out'
<i>-ni</i>	single occurrences in the old data	<i>händikaz krikni</i> 'wolf cried'

The only productive momentative suffixes in contemporary Veps in my data are the suffixes *-ahta*<sup>2</sup> and *-hta*<sup>3</sup>.

## 2.1. Underived verb stems of momentative derivations

The analysed old momentative data consists of 26 different stems (including descriptive stem-like elements). The new data contains 16 different stems of which five occur only once. The momentative derivatives in Veps can be both transitive and intransitive. Seven out of 38 different derivatives are transitive, suggesting that intransitivity is more typical in momentative derivation. Typically intransitive momentatives are sound or motion verbs.

<sup>2</sup> *-ahta* has an allomorph *-ähta-* (e.g. *bräkkähtada* 'bleat'), but there seems to be no regularity in the vowel alternation of the suffix.

<sup>3</sup> According to M. Zajceva *-hta-* ja *-ahta-* suffixes are represented in Southern Veps and have undergone the sound change *ht > st* (Зайцева 1978 : 90). However, my data includes only Northern Veps examples. However, this phonetic change does not affect the meaning of the suffix.

Table 2

## Base lexemes of momentatives

1. Sound and motion verbs: typical Finnic momentatives		
	Motion	Sound
1.1 descriptive base	<i>tropptahtada</i> 'fall' <i>hogahtada</i> 'dash ahead' <i>roimahtada</i> 'fall down' <i>skokkahtada</i> 'jump'	<i>kolahtada</i> 'knock; slam' <i>helähtada</i> 'sound; ring' <i>bräkkähtada</i> 'bleat' <i>heikahtada</i> 'shout' ( <i>heikta</i> )
1.2 intransitive Veps base	<i>hüpta</i> 'jump' > <i>hüpähtada</i> <i>hašketä</i> 'take a step' > <i>haškahtada</i> <i>joksta</i> 'run' > <i>joksehtada</i> <i>likta</i> 'move' > <i>likahtada</i> <i>mända</i> 'go' > <i>mänehtada</i>	<i>laalda</i> 'crow (of a cock)' > <i>lauahtada</i>
1.3 Russian base	<i>maihahta</i> , Rus. <i>махнуть</i> 'wave' <i>šarahtada</i> , Rus. <i>шарахнуть(ся)</i> 'throw oneself at'	<i>krikni</i> , Rus. <i>крикнуть</i> 'scream'
2. Other verbs		
	Transitive base	Intransitive base
Veps base	<i>kakta</i> 'look' > <i>kacuhtada</i> <i>lainata</i> 'swallow' > <i>lainahtada</i> <i>sirtä</i> 'move' > <i>sirdähtada</i> <i>joda</i> 'drink' > <i>johtta</i> [ <i>nolta</i> ] 'lick' > <i>nolalta</i> <i>nähta</i> 'see' > <i>nägehtada</i> <i>söda</i> 'eat' > <i>söhtta</i>	<i>eläida</i> 'live' > <i>elähdada</i> <i>kazda</i> 'grow' > <i>kazvahtada</i> <i>henkta</i> 'breath' > <i>hengahtada</i> <i>adiv</i> 'guest' > <i>adivoota</i> : <i>adivoiče-</i> 'visit' > <i>adivoičehtada</i>

Descriptive or onomatopoeic momentatives are typical of all Finnic languages, as new descriptive momentatives are easily created by means of analogy (cf. Hakulinen, Vilkkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 : 306). Most Finnish *-Ahta* momentatives, for instance, are descriptive and Estonian *-ata* momentatives typically express onomatopoeic sounds of nature (Hakulinen, Vilkkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 : 308; Erelt, Kasik, Metslang, Rajandi, Ross, Saari, Tael, Vare 1995 : 453–454). The words *maihahta* 'wave', *šarahtada* 'throw oneself at something' ja *krikni* 'scream' are diachronically unambiguous Russian motion and acoustic verb stems. They also indicate a double marking of momentativeness because the lexical stems *махнуть* ja *крикнуть* are semantically momentaneous.

It is noteworthy that a third of my data does not belong to those typical Finnic momentatives described above. They are hard to divide into smaller semantic components for which reason I have chosen to group them on the basis of transitivity in table 2. The most interesting of these

do not occur in Finnish and Estonian and will be discussed in more detail in section 4.1.3.

## 2.2. Momentative suffixes *-ahta* and *-hta*

The Veps suffixes *-ahta* and *-hta* have productive equivalents in Finnish, Estonian and Karelian (Erelt, Kasik, Metslang, Rajandi, Ross, Saari, Tael, Vare 1995 : 453–455). It has been maintained that Finnish and Karelian have only one successor to the historical *-ht*-suffix (on history of the suffix, see Laanest 1975 : 182; Зайцева 1978 : 91). The initial vowel *-A* of the Finnish *-Ahta* is considered as a part of the suffix (Hakulinen 1979 : 257; Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 : 360; Koivisto 2006), even though it does not belong historically to the suffix (Laanest 1975 : 182). In Karelian the corresponding suffix is *-hta* which is always realised as *-Ahta* because it causes a vowel change in the stem (Koivisto 2006 : 545–553; Маркианова 1985 : 116–118). However, it is not clear whether the Veps *-hta* ja *-ahta* should be treated as separate suffixes rather than allomorphs because of their different morphotactic characteristics. The suffix *-hta* does not affect the stem vowel of the word stem as evidenced in *näh-ta* (see-INF): *näge-n* (see-1SG) > *näge-hta-da* (see-MOM-INF) 'see', *olda* : *ole-n* > *ole-hta-da* 'be', *išt-ta* : *ištu-n* > *ištu-hta-da* 'sit'. In addition, the suffix *-hta* can be combined with the vowel stem of a monosyllabic base form as in examples (5) and (6) or to existing derivated stems as shown in example (7).

- (5) *Homenc-oo ištu-hoo s ö - h t - m - h ä. Zavod-i-ba s ö - h t - t ä.*  
 morning-ALL sit-REFL.3SG eat-MOM-INF-ILL begin-PST-3PL eat-MOM-INF

'In the morning they sat down to eat a little. They began to eat a little.'  
 (Kettunen, Siro 1935 : 10)

- (6) *Milen jo tego-b mel' škol-ha män-dä ani pahoon,*  
 I already make-3SG mind school-ILL go-INF very badly  
*rouno ku kezaa vilu-d ve-t j o - h t - t a.*  
 ravno(Ru) like summer.ADE cold-PTV water-PTV drink-MOM-INF

'I want to go to school as much as I want to drink cold water in the summer.'  
 (Kettunen, Siro 1935 : 3)

There are no restrictions on combining the suffix *-hta* to the monosyllabic verbal stem in examples (5) *sö-da* ja (6) *jo-da*. In contrast to Veps, the Finnish equivalents *syö-dä* and *juo-da* cannot take the momentative suffix *-ahta* because the stem endings and the suffix begin with a vowel (*\*syö-ähta-ä*, *\*juo-ahta-a*) (cf. Koivisto 2006 : 560).

Also, longer roots consisting of polysyllabic stems can be modified with momentative suffixes. Moreover, they can be attached to derived verbs, such as deverbal continuatives and frequentative *-ele* derivatives as well as the denominal *-ičče* (Зайцева 1978 : 88).<sup>4</sup> In example (7) the momentative derivation is based on the denominal derived verb *adivo-ičče-* (< *adiv*

<sup>4</sup> According to Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 : 302, as a rule, derived stems or polysyllabic stems cannot be derived with momentative suffixes in Finnish. L. Hakulinen (1979 : 257) and K. Wiik (1978 : 175–178) maintain that the only exception are continuative derivatives.

'guest').<sup>5</sup> The suffix *-hta* is attached to a derived stem and followed by the reflexive inflective suffix *-mei*.

- (7) *Dumai-n, vähäže-n a d i v o i č ě e - h t a - m e*  
 think-SG1 little-GEN visit-MOM-REFL.1PL

*da möst aja-m Piter-he.*

and again drive-1PL St.P.-ILL

'I thought we'd pay a short visit and then travel on to St Petersburg again.' (Kettunen, Siro 1935 : 4)

The Veps *-ahhta* is most typically combined with an onomatopoeic or descriptive stem that either loses its final vowel or is transformed into the vowel *a ~ ä* (see Зайцева 1978 : 89–90). The suffix *-ahhta* may be attached to all descriptive sound and motion verbs according to evidence based on the data used in the current study.

Unlike Finnish, the Veps *-ahhta* and *-hta* can be combined with both transitive and intransitive stems. In Finnish *-Ahta* can only be attached to an intransitive verb, whereas transitive stems are derived by means of the suffix *-Aise*. This suffix does not have any formal or functional cognate in Veps in which *-hta/-ahhta* covers the uses of both the Finnish *-Ahta* and *-Aise* (cf. Wiik 1978 : 179).

### 2.3. Semantic restrictions of momentative derivation

There are fewer semantic restrictions concerning the lexical stem of momentative derivatives in Veps than in Finnish and Estonian. According to Wiik (1978 : 175–176), in Finnish it is not possible for a static verb such as *rakastaa* 'love', *sietää* 'stand; resist', *surra* 'grieve' to be used as the stem of a momentative derivative. Nor is it reasonable to mark the momentativity of a momentaneous stem such as *alkaa* 'begin', *löytää* 'find', *kadottaa* 'lose'. The following examples (8) and (9) show that in Veps momentatives of this kind are used.

- (8) *Voib-ik ken-ni tei-den heimolaiž-i-špäi tul-da*  
 can-Q who-ever you-GEN relative-PL-ELA come-INF

*tei-den-noks e l ä - h t a - d a ?*

you-GEN-LOC live-MOM-INF

'Could some relative of yours come and live with you for a while?' (Kodima 111–112)

The Veps *elada* 'live' defines a static state. The momentative suffix *-hta* makes the state of action contemporary and the duration of the action short. In Finnish the corresponding derivation *elä-htä-ä* has a lexicalised meaning 'to become worn out'. In Veps the derivative is transparent. In example (9) the verbal stem *lainata* 'to take a breath', as opposed to *henketa* 'to breath [constantly]', is momentaneous. Nevertheless, there are several momentative derivations in my data.

- (9) [---] *jokse-d irda-le i sigä l a i n a - h t a - d veres-t il'ma-d.*  
 run-2SG yard-ALL and there breath-MOM-2SG fresh-PTV air-PTV

'You run out and take a breath of fresh air.' (Kodima 106)

<sup>5</sup> Cognate to the Finnish suffix *-itse*: *kesti* 'celebration' > *kestitä* 'wine and dine' : *kestitsen* (see Hakulinen 1979 : 285).

According to M. Zajceva there is a slight semantic difference between the allomorphs *-ahta* and *-hta* (Зайцева 1978 : 86–90, 148). She claims that the primary function of *-hta* is deminutivity and weak intensity, whereas the *-ahta* derivatives are clearly momentaneous and the action takes place only once. Furthermore, she mentions the connotations of suddenness and a rapid termination of the action of *-ahta* derivatives. The data analysed in the current study does not support M. Zajceva's view, as shown in section 4.1.3.

### 3. Morphotactic features of frequentative derivation

The Veps frequentative suffixes are *-(e)le*, *-ske(le)* and *-nde* that can be combined with one another (Zaiceva 2003 : 119–120; Зайцева 1978 : 28). My data does not show a diachronic difference in the productivity of the different frequentative suffixes, since the *-(e)le*-derivatives are the most productive frequentatives in both the old and the new data.

Table 3

Frequency of frequentative suffixes

Suffix	Frequency	Examples
<i>-(e)le-</i>	almost all frequentatives in my data	<i>lekarid-ki saneliba</i> 'the doctors also kept saying' <i>pidab ajeltas</i> 'must go/visit somewhere' <i>lehteses lugten</i> 'I read in the paper'
<i>-ske(le)-</i>	few stems, both data	<i>äi turistoid tuleskeleb</i> 'many tourists come' <i>ii ehtind tosketa</i> 'didn't have time to bring' <i>svadib-päiväl ambuskenziba</i> 'they were shooting on the wedding day'
<i>-nde-</i>	<i>joksta</i> -stem only	<i>kondi joksenzi</i> 'the bear ran' <i>joksende lavadme</i> 'run around the floor'

Generally speaking, the Veps frequentative derivation is considerably more productive than in Finnish and Estonian (cf. Зайцева 1978 : 28; see also Laakso 1989 : 61), although frequentative derivation is considered very productive in Finnish, also. The Finnish frequentative suffixes are *-ele* (*-ile*) ja *-skele* (*-skentele*) (Ojanen, Uotila-Arcelli 1978 : 249; Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 : 299). The Estonian cognate is *-le* and its less productive variants *-skle* ja *-tle* (Kasik 2004 : 41). The *-ele* suffix has cognates in all Finnic languages and, as a matter of fact, the *-l* frequentative has etymological cognates in many other Finno-Ugric languages (Laanest 1975 : 183; Hakulinen 1979 : 261). "Iso suomen kielioppi" (Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004) describes the contemporary Finnish *-ile* and *-ele* suffixes as being allomorphs of the same *-le* suffix, in contrast to Hakulinen (1979) or Koivisto (2006). However, according to Hakulinen the original historical suffix is *-le*. The Finnish suffixes *-ile* and *-ele* differ from their historical Veps cognate *-(e)le*, because the Finnish *-ile* can be combined with a noun, unlike the Veps suffix which can only be used in connection with derived verbal stems.

### 3.1 Verbal stems of frequentative derivations

In the analysed data there are 65 derivations of different verbal stems. Of these 17 are found both in the old and new data. The words *käv-el-ta* : *käv-ele-n* (*käulen*) (< *kävu-da* 'go somewhere; visit'), *kac-el-ta* : *kac-le-n* (< *kac-ta* 'look at') and the reflexive verb *aj-el-ta-kse* : *aj-ele-moi* (drive-FREQ-REFL.SG1) (< *aja-da* 'drive'), for instance, are frequent derivations in the data as a whole. Moreover, there are derivations that are morphotactically impossible in Finnish and Estonian: *sa-da* (get-INF) > *sa-le-n* (get-FREQ-1SG) 'get', *to-da* (bring-INF) > *to-le-n* (bring-FREQ-1SG) 'bring', *luge-da* (read-INF) > *lug-le-n* (read-FREQ-1SG) 'read'. Table 4 presents infinitives of those frequentatives that are given in Зайцева, Муллонен 1972, other derivatives are given in the form<sup>6</sup> in which they exist in my data.

A third of the frequentative derivations consists of verbs of motion (group 1) as indicated in Table 4. In the old data (group 2) they are even more frequent and are typically somatic transitive verbs of cognition. The first two groups include half of the verbal stems. Some etymological cognates of these derivations are transparent in Finnish, some are lexicalised. Some verbs such as the Standard Finnish *nähdä* 'see' cannot be derived at all. As regards Russian, there are only two verbal stems that are unambiguous Russian borrowings, and these are *пробовать* 'try; try on' and *переводить* 'translate'. In Veps these items share the morphological properties of endogenous Veps lexemes.

- (10) [---] *poig i läkś, ott' kotaiže-n i*  
 son and go.1SG.PST take.1SG.PST shoe-GEN and  
*läk-ś pro b i s k - e l - m a - h a.*  
 go-1SG.PST try-FREQ-INF-ILL

'The son left, took the shoe and started trying it on.' (Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951 : 52)

- (11) *Hii mii-de kele-u perevod-l-i-b a.*  
 they us-POSS language-ALL translate-FREQ-PST-3PL

'They translated [from Russian] into our language.' (Mäggärv 2007)

Half of the verbal stems do not show shared semantic features. Most of the words included in the third group are not presented in Зайцева, Муллонен 1972, nor in more recent Veps dictionaries (Zaiceva, Mul-lonen 1995; Zaiceva 2010) and Зайцева 1978. Many of these occur only once, but some verbs such as *ole-ske-l-da* (be-FREQ-FREQ-INF) < *olda* 'be' are very frequent. Most of the latter derivation type are found in the new data.

### 3.2. Frequentative suffixes *-ele* and *-le*

The Veps suffix *-le* can only be attached to a monosyllabic stem. The Russian stems are an exception to this rule. Compared to Veps, Finnish is some-

<sup>6</sup> According to M. Zajceva (Зайцева 1978 : 72) the infinitives based on a monosyllabic lexical stem in fact include two frequentative suffixes *lo-u-da*, where *u < l* (*le-l-da*), i.e. *sada > salelda*. The suffix, however, is used as a single *-le* when inflected and does not prove that these examples would display double suffixing.

## Examples of frequentative base verbs

1. Verbs of motion	2. Verbs of cognition, transitive	3. Other verbs	4. Frequentatives used as base for reflexive inflection
<b>Transitive</b>	<i>kacta</i> 'look' > <i>kacelta</i>	<i>jätta</i> 'leave' <i>jätli</i> PST-3SG	<i>ajelta</i> 'drive' > <b><i>aje-le-se</i></b>
<i>heitta</i> 'throw' > <i>heitelta</i>	<i>kulda</i> 'hear' > <i>kundelta</i>	<i>lugeda</i> 'read' <i>luglen</i> 1SG	<i>pidelda</i> 'stay' <i>Ii sa mina sinunke</i>
<i>leta</i> 'lift' > <i>lendelta</i>	<i>nähta</i> 'see' <i>nählin</i> SG1PST	<i>mahtta</i> 'be able to' <i>mahteli</i> PST.3SG	<b><i>pid-el-das</i></b> 'I cannot stay with you'
<i>kukerda</i> 'bring down' > <i>kukerdelda</i>	<i>küzuda</i> 'ask' > <i>küzelta</i>	<i>mecata</i> 'hunt' <i>mecteliba</i> PST-3PL	<i>sobdakse, soptas, sobidakse</i> (REFL) 'dress' <i>kut</i>
<i>küksta</i> 'throw out; chase' > <i>kükselta</i>	<i>sanuda</i> 'say' > <i>sanelta</i>	<i>oigeta</i> 'send' <i>oigendeleb</i> SG1	<b><i>sob-el-ti-he</i></b> 'how they used to dress'
<i>oigeta</i> 'send' > <i>oigendelda</i>	<i>johtutada</i> 'remember' > <i>johtutelda</i>	<i>olda</i> 'be' <i>oleskeliba</i> PST-3PL	<i>tervehtelda</i>
<i>tacta</i> 'throw' > <i>tacelta</i>	<i>mušta</i> 'remember' > <i>muštelda</i>	<i>ostta</i> 'buy' <i>ostleba</i> 3PL	'kiss, salute'
<i>vedada</i> 'pull' > <i>vedelta</i>	<i>tahtoida</i> 'want' <i>tahtoi-l-i-ba</i> FREQ-IMPF-PL3	<i>otta</i> 'take' <i>otliba</i> PST-3PL	<i>minun milaşkan</i>
<i>taboita</i> 'catch' > <i>taboitelda</i>		<i>ozutada</i> 'show' <i>ozuteliba</i> PST-3PL	<b><i>tervehteldas</i></b> 'they are kissing my bride'
<i>vişkaiita</i> 'throw' > <i>viškoitelda</i>		<i>pidada</i> 'keep' <i>pidelime</i> PST-3PL	
<b>Intransitive</b>		<i>pästta</i> 'let' <i>pästlime</i> PST -PL1	
<i>ajada</i> 'drive' > <i>ajelta</i>		<i>sada</i> 'get' <i>saliba</i> PST-3PL	
<i>joksta</i> 'run' > <i>jokseta, jokselta</i>		<i>sötta</i> 'feed' <i>sötliba</i> PST-3PL	
<i>kirbota</i> 'fall' > <i>kirpelta</i>		<i>rata</i> 'work' <i>radel</i> PST.3SG	
<i>langeta</i> 'fall' > <i>lanktelda</i>		<i>rikta</i> 'kill' <i>rikelthe</i> PST-PASS	
<i>leta</i> 'fly' > <i>lendelda</i>		<i>tehta</i> 'make' <i>tehli</i> PST.3SG	
<i>käüida</i> 'go' > <i>käüileda</i>		<i>toda</i> 'bring' <i>toskendeb</i> 3SG	
<i>kävuda</i> 'go' > <i>kävelta</i>		<i>vajehtada</i> 'change' <i>vajehteliba</i> PST-3PL	
<i>lähtta</i> 'leave' > <i>lähtelta</i>		<i>varastada</i> 'wait' <i>varasteli</i> PST.3SG	
<i>tulda</i> 'come' > <i>tuleskelda, tulelta</i>		<i>voida</i> 'can' <i>voili</i> PST.3SG	
<i>ujuda</i> 'swim' > <i>ujelta</i>		<i>zavotta</i> 'begin' <i>zavodli</i> PST.3SG	

what different and may display derivations of monosyllabic stems but in such case the suffix must always be a double derivation *-ske(nte)le-*, because the vowel-headed *-ele* cannot be attached to the vowel stem (Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 : 354).

- (12) *Mäne-b kuna raffaz-e, ka soba-d i sapka-d sa-l' i.*  
 go-1SG when people-ILL then cloth-PL and boot-PL get-FREQ.PST  
 'Whenever he went to pay a visit he [tried to get] got clothes and boots.' (Kettunen, Siro 1935 : 31)

In example (12) the suffix *-le-* is manifested in the allomorph *-l-*, as *e* merges with *i* in the past tense. According to M. Zajceva, this kind of derivation is productive only in Southern and Eastern Veps (Зайцева 1978 : 77). Nevertheless, my data show that in contemporary written and spoken Veps it is productive by all criteria (see e.g. *to-da* in example (27)).

Stems other than the monosyllabic take the suffix *-ele*. The way in which it is manifested depends on two morphological rules: the quality of the stem vowel and the syllable structure that may trigger syncope. If the stem vowel is *e*, the first vowel of the suffix merges with it. In certain cases inflected *-ele* derivatives look like *-le* derivatives as in example (13). However, this is not the case, because the similarity between the two suffixes is caused by morphophonological alternation and the Veps syncope.<sup>7</sup>

- (13) *Vaiše harva-d a n d-l-i-b a vastus-t, miše Ošta-n*  
 only few-PTV give-FREQ-PST-3PL answer-PTV that Ošta-GEN  
*külä-s elä-ba vepsläiže-d.*  
 village-INE live-3PL Veps-PL  
 'Only few answered that there are Veps people living in the village of Ošta.' (Kodima 111–112)

In the present tense the frequentative derivation of the verb *ant-ta: anda-b* 'give' is inflected as *and-le-da: and-le-b*. The reconstructions of the syncope forms in 3SG are *\*an-ta-pi* > *\*ante-le-pi*, and demonstrate the importance of syllable structure for syncope. This takes place in the second syllable if the first syllable ends in a consonant and the second syllable in a short vowel. Consequently, the disyllabic derivation in Veps is *and-le-* and the suffix loses its first *e* in the second syllable of the given word.

As a rule, Veps frequentative derivations are deverbal (Зайцева 1978 : 76) unlike the Finnish derivations. There is one exception in my data, namely, the Veps *kuvitelda* 'take photographs' ?< *kuva* 'picture', in which the Finnish influence on the Veps literary language is the obvious explanation (Finnish *kuvata* 'film; photograph' (v.)). The main difference between Veps and Finnish is that the Veps *-e(le)* can be attached to almost any verbal stem and the use of derivatives seems more productive. It should be added that the semantic constraints on verbal stems always determine derivations both in Veps and Finnish.

<sup>7</sup> Apocope takes place in Veps at the end of the second syllable if it is short and vowel-final and the first syllable is long (i.e. it originally had a long vowel, diphthong or ends in a consonant) (Tunkelo 1946 : 718–725; Kettunen 1960 : 38ff.).

#### 4. The functions of modifying derivation

We maintain that M. Zajceva's assertion that in many cases Veps momentative and frequentative derivation would be redundant (Зайцева 1978 : 28, 79) is incorrect. In fact, frequentatives are widely used and regular to a large extent. It is possible that derivation has spread to verbal inflection, especially in the current spoken language and now has a more grammatical role. I observed this phenomenon in Ladv in 2006 when I tested simple verb paradigms with some native informants. In the test, they could not distinguish between the verbs *ujuda* 'swim' and the frequentative *uj-el-da* (swim-FREQ-INF) 'to swim around', although the frequentative was used typically the in past tense. The frequentative suffix as past tense marker explains the use of the suffix especially with *i*-stem verbs such as *tuugoida* 'understand' (see example (3)) in which the present and past tenses are homonymous: *tuugoi-n* (understand-SG1) – *tuugoi-n* (understand.PST-SG1). There is no other obvious explanation for the use of the frequentative form *tuugoi-l-i-n* (understand-FREQ-PST-1SG) in past tense. Hence, we maintain that the blurring of two distinct inflectional categories triggers grammatical change that will have to be further examined.

##### 4.1. Momentative derivation

###### 4.1.1. Typical Finnic momentatives

The first group of typical Finnic momentatives in Veps are sound and motion verbs that have no unambiguous underived verbal stem other than a phonetically motivated root. These derivations display free phonetic variation. However, their frequency has diminished in contemporary Veps: in the old data over a half of the occurrences represent this category whereas in more recent data only a third.

Those *-hta* derivatives that can be replaced with a simple verbal stem without affecting the meaning of the clause represent another type: such are for example *hüüp-ta* 'jump' > *hüüpp-ähtä-da* (jump-MOM-INF) ja *haškta* 'take a step' > *hašk-ahta-da* (take a step-MOM-INF). Intransitive motion verbs such as *joks-ta* 'run' : *jokse-n* (run-1SG) > *jokse-hta-da* (run-MOM-INF), *män-da* 'go' : *mäne-n* (go-1SG) > *mänehtada* (run-MOM-INF) cannot be seen as typical momentatives because the verbal stem denotes a durative action. Transitive momentative derivations such as *nolalta* 'lick [quickly]' and *ka-cuhtada* 'take a look' can be considered more typical because it is the case of the object that defines aspectual interpretation.

###### 4.1.2 Lexicalised momentatives

In Finnish there are some lexicalised momentatives such as *nukkua* 'sleep' > *nuk-ahta-a* 'fall asleep'. Supposedly there are some lexicalised momentatives in Veps, too, such as *lik-ahta-da* (see, example (14)) (< *likta* 'move') that in Olonets Karelian has, among other things, the meaning of a temporary lost of mental balance<sup>8</sup> (SKES 292).

<sup>8</sup> A formal and semantic equivalent in Finnish is *tärähtää* 'shudder; become crazy' (< *täristä* 'shudder').

- (14) *Hän ol-i vähäiže-l kuti lik-ahta-nu mel-i-špäivähäiže-l*  
 he be-PST.3SG little-ADE like move-MOM-PTC mind-PL-ELA little-ADE  
*se-n täht, miše lapse-n ol-i lange-nu i satata-nu pä-n.*  
 it-GEN for that child-ESS be-PST fall-PTC and hurt-PTC head-GEN  
 'He was somewhat off balance because he had fallen and hit his head  
 as a child.' (Kodima 124–125)

However, in Veps according to Зайцева, Муллонен 1972 : 291, *likah-tada* is a transparent derivation of *likta* 'move' and expresses momentaneous motion. The only lexicalised momentative in my data is *hökkähta* 'assent; give up', that has no underived verbal stem. Assenting typically involves oral action and therefore *hökkähta* can be interpreted as an onomatopoeic or descriptive verb.

#### 4.1.3. Unconventional Veps momentatives

In the last group of momentatives the productivity of momentative derivation cannot be adequately explained with the use of the suffix. No unambiguous motivation can be found in lexicalisation either. There are cases in which derivation can change the aspectual interpretation of the whole clause.

- (15) *Miše teh-ta lumiuko-d, priha-iže-d tege-ba koume šaru-d*  
 that make-INF snowman-PTV boy-DEM-PL make-PL3 three ball-PTV  
*sirdä-hta-ba heid üht-he sija-ha i sid*  
 move-MOM-PL3 they.PTV one-ILL place-ILL and then  
*pane-škande-ba ühte-n toiže-n pä-le.*  
 panna-INCH-PL3 one-GEN/ACC second-GEN top-ALL  
 'In order to make a snowman the boys make three balls and move  
 them to one place and begin to place them one on top of the other.'  
 (Kodima 106)

The derivation *sirdä-hta-da* (move-MOM-INF) is semantically contradictory to the partitive object *heid*. The momentative implicates a perfective aspect, finalised action. The partitive object, in turn, points to imperfective action. The present tense of the example implies that a perfective interpretation of the aspect of the whole clause would give the clause a meaning of future action. As the future tense is not the right interpretation in the light of the context, we should ask whether the momentative suffix here points to an action that is short in duration or whether it functionally corresponds to Russian imperfective verbs.

Lehtinen (1990 : 61–62) suggests that momentative derivation increased in Veps due to the influence of the Russian attenuative manifesting short duration of action, a characteristic connotation of prefixed perfective verbs (Forsyth 1970 : 21; Wade 1992 : 264). Likewise, M. Zajceva shows the correspondence between the Veps *-ahta* derivatives and Russian attenuative verbs with the prefix *po-* (Зайцева 1978 : 87). According to Lehtinen the semantic category of attenuative meaning corresponds to the diminutive, a connotation of Veps momentatives that influences the use of momentative suffixes. Many of those momentatives Lehtinen considers diminutives are found in the data of the current study as well, for example, *nägehtada* < *nähta* 'see',

*söhtta* < *söda* 'eat', *kazvahtada* < *kazda* 'grow' and *elähtada* < *eläda* 'live'. These momentatives limit the length of the action which need not be marked with a temporal adverbial (see, example (8) above). Rather than diminutiveness, the way Russian expresses imperfective action is transferred to Veps and a parallel semantic change triggers a reanalysis of the suffix that is used as an aspect marker focusing on the action itself. The momentative derivation *kazva-hta-da* (grow-MOM-INF) < *kazda* 'grow' does not imply diminutivity or attenuativity in example (16).

- (16) *Sambu-i-ba külä-d, k a z v a - h t - u i - b a*  
 die out-PST-PL3 village-PL grow-MOM-PST-PL3  
*meca-l leveda-d te-d.*  
 metsä-ADESS wide-PL road-PL  
 'The villages died out, forests grew over the wide roads.' (Kodima 111–112)

The growth of the forest roads cannot be interpreted as a minor or fleeting action, although it is evidently sudden and fast. This suffix emphasises the totality of an action, the disappearance of the old roads, while growth in itself does not stop.

The momentative *kacuhtada* < *kacta* 'look' occurs dozens of times in the data (cf. example 17). Functionally *kacta* marks instantaneous action in contexts in which Finnish displays an underived verbal stem (*katsoa*).

- (17) *Käv-el-das, mindei-se vot tarbiš k a c u - h t a - d a.*  
 visit-FREQ-3PL me.PTV-DEF need look-MOM-INF  
 'They visit [me] because I need to be looked after.' (Mäggärv 2007)

The verb *nägehtada* < *nähta* 'see' occurs several times in the older data (example 18).

- (18) *Män-dä, basi-b, ait-ha n ä g e - h t a - m - h a*  
 go-INF say-SG3 granary-ILL see-MOM-INF-ILL  
*I n ä g e - h t a i t h a.*  
 and see-SG3.PST granary-ILL  
 'Must go to the granary to have a look, he says. And he took a look into the granary.' (Kettunen, Siro 1935 : 12)

In principle, the semantics of seeing and looking in examples (17–18) is modified with the connotation of an imperfective action. Moreover, momentative derivations can be used as imperatives, for example, *kacuhta čomin* 'look [at the camera] nicely' or *väheižen lebähta* 'take a little rest'. In this case the verbal stem *kacta* is not enough to define an instantaneous act of looking. Furthermore, the adverbial *väheižen* 'a little' highlights the short duration.

## 4.2. Frequentatives

Compared to momentatives my data shows that the use of frequentative derivation is synchronically more diverse. The use of frequentatives is more common in contemporary Veps. The data do not allow counting strict frequencies, but finding 200 frequentative derivations in present-day Veps proved significantly easier than in the data from the beginning of 20th century. My fieldwork observations of the spoken language point to even

more frequent use. The question arises whether inflectional categories are becoming blurred as language shift gradually progresses in an eroding bilingual language community. A further issue is whether derivation in Veps is obligatory in some contexts. In Finnish, for instance, the use of frequentatives is not obligatory because the derivative can be replaced with an underived verbal stem without any significant semantic change (Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 : 347). In Veps many of the ascribed derivations are clearly optional, but there are instances in which it is hard to evaluate unambiguously.

#### 4.2.1. Typical Finnic frequentatives in Veps

Many frequentative derivations can be replaced with an underived verbal stem without affecting the clause semantics. Most typically these are motion verbs, for example *lend-el-da* < *leta* 'fly', *joks-el-da* < *joksta* 'run'. The verbal stems indicate continuous action. The frequentative suffix does not change the aspect of the stem but does affect the shades of the action as evidenced in example (19).

- (19) *Midä sinä joks-e-le-d alasti?*  
 what-PTV you run-FREQ-SG2 naked  
 'Why are you running [around] naked?' (Kodima 148–149)

Certain verbs of speech and cognition can be replaced with simple verbs, for example, *kac-el-ta* < *kacta* 'watch' ja *küz-el-ta* < *küzuda* 'ask'. The frequentative derivation *san-el-ta* (say-FREQ-INF) is interesting in light of Зайцева, Муллонен 1972, according to which the simple base *sanuda* means both 'say' and 'tell'. If so, then the frequentative suffix only introduces a different semantic property to the verbal stem.

Frequentative derivatives can be used to create other derivatives, such as the inchoatives in the old data. According to M. Zajceva there are some lexicalisations among the Veps frequentatives such as *ombelta* 'sew' and *kulda* > *kundelta* 'listen; obey' (Зайцева 1978 : 79) but my data does not include unambiguous lexicalised frequentatives.

#### 4.2.2. Conative implication

Conative<sup>9</sup> meanings can be expressed in Veps with frequentatives just as in Finnish. According to Lehtinen the conative function is the second important function of Veps frequentative derivatives after habituality that has expanded because of Russian influence (Lehtinen 1990 : 62–64). In example (20) the priest intends to buy the boy but we do not know whether he succeeds or not. The base 'buy' implies a completed action but the suffix changes the action in to endless.

- (20) *Pap i ost-le-škanz netse-n poiga-n [---]*  
 priest and buy-FREQ-INCH.PST.SG3 that-GEN boy-GEN  
 'And the priest begun trying to buy the boy.' (Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951 : 220)

<sup>9</sup> Conatives implicate that an attempt has been made to complete the action by the actor, although we cannot know whether it will reach an end point or not.

Lehtinen argues that conative frequentatives are frequent in Veps and points out a parallel with the Sámic languages. However, he does not present many examples (Lehtinen 1983 : 497). My data show a difference between the old and new material. There are no conative frequentatives in the data representing the 21st century. In the old data there are some examples, but in fact a conative meaning is not as common as in the derivation of frequentatives. In principle, a conative interpretation may have been one of the more peripheral meanings of Veps frequentatives but there are no signs of this in the present-day language.

According to M. Zajceva the *-(e)le* suffix does not display conative meanings: however, she considers it possible that the meaning of the suffix was blurred at some stage, because it manifests both instantaneous and repeated action (Зайцева 1978 : 79–80). She assumes that the variant *-škende* of *ske*-frequentatives has a stable function of conative action (Зайцева 1978 : 79–80). My data do not cast any additional light on this issue, but in older data it must be considered at least a possibility.

#### 4.2.3. Habitual frequentatives

The most probable explanation for the high frequency of frequentative derivatives in my 21st century data is the expression of habitual meanings. A frequentative often defines a situation in which someone tells what used to be done or what is typically done in a given situation. According to Mønnesland (1983 : 53) habituality is unlimited repetition (iteration) of several total actions that is typically expressed in clauses that implicate or involve temporal adverbials of repletion (i.e. 'on Sundays', 'usually', 'always', 'often', 'rarely').

In Veps a habitual interpretation is attested both in the case of verbs of a finished process and the perfective aspect of a given action (*lähtta* 'leave from somewhere', *jätta* 'leave something somewhere') as well as durative verbs (e.g. *lugeda* 'read', *ajada* 'drive', *olda* 'be'). The habitual meaning does not always change the aspectual relations but it is possible if the verbal stem is semantically restricting. My data show that those frequentative derivatives that, according to M. Zajceva (Зайцева 1978 : 79), lost their frequentative meaning can be replaced with an underived verbal stem (cf. Lehtinen 1990 : 63) denoting habituality instead of repeatedness. M. Zajceva claims that these frequentatives express an instantaneous action and the *-(e)le* frequentative is used similarly to the verbal stem (Зайцева 1978 : 28). We maintain that there is no reason for redundant frequentative marking in *lähtleb* 'published' on every front page of the newspaper *Kodima* (example 21).

- (21) *Läht-le-b Sulaku-n 1993 vode-späi.*  
 leave-FREQ-SG3 April-GEN 1993 year-ELA  
 '[The newspaper "Kodima"] has been published since April 1993.'  
 (Kodima)

This example demonstrates that iterative action must be considered as habitual. As a matter of fact, this claim is supported by the publishing the newspaper. This newspaper appears repeatedly once a month and the action is clearly habitual.

Most habitual frequentatives in my data are intransitive verbs but habituality can also be expressed using transitive verbs as in example (22).

- (22) *Vaiše razbainika-d ou-d'-he, rik-el-t'-he rahvas-t.*  
 only criminal-PL be-PST-PASS kill-FREQ-PASS.PST-3PL people-PTV  
 'But they were plain criminals, [and they] killed people.' (Kettunen, Siro 1935 : 177)

The object of habitual transitive frequentatives is usually partial as with the word *rahvast* (people-PTV) in example (22). The object of a habitual transitive verb is sometimes a total object, as in the case of the plural nominative *kassetad* 'the cassettes' in example (23).

- (23) *Poig jälges kasseta-d to-l-i,*  
 son later cassette-PL bring-FREQ-PST-SG1  
*i mö täs kacu-i-m i kundl-i-m.*  
 and we here watch-PST-1PL and listen-PST-1PL  
 'Later on the son brought the cassettes and we watched and listened here.' (Kodima 106)

Furthermore, habitual frequentatives can be derived from stative location verbs. The context shows that the meaning of the Veps *ole-ske-l-i-n* (be-FREQ-PST-SG1) in example (24) differs from the lexicalised Finnish *ole-skella* 'stay at a place; spend time somewhere', because the action is repeated constantly.

- (24) *Minä ole-ske-l-i-n sigä toižen mehe-n-ke.*  
 I be-FREQ-FREQ-PST-SG1 there another-GEN man-GEN-COMIT  
 'I used to be there with another man.' (Kodima 111–112)

In Russian suffixal frequentatives have a habitual function as well. However, it only occurs in the past tense (Forsyth 1970 : 28). Actually, Forsyth (ibid. 29) assumes that Russian imperfectivising suffixes originally had an iterative meaning and only later began to mark the imperfective aspect.

#### 4. Discussion

Summing up what is written above, the use of frequentatives has increased in present-day Veps. It is possible that it originally used to be more common than in other Finnic languages. In this article we examined the given feature in the evidence of data extending from the beginning of the 20th century until the 21st century. There are different motivations for the current situation. Parallel to the increase of frequentative derivatives the number of momentative derivatives decreases. However, as frequentative derivation is more productive than momentative derivation in all Finnic languages, one must ask what explains the increase of frequentatives and the decrease of momentatives shown in the comparison of the older and newer data. The first evidence comes from the uncanonical functions of modifying derivation in contemporary written Veps. Later, more evidence was found in spoken Central Veps.

Descriptive momentatives are particularly productive in the old data. Compared to Finnish their morphotactic restrictions are loose. The contem-

porary data show a decrease in the use of descriptive momentative derivation, yet is illustrative in terms of the derivotactic features of other momentatives. The suffix *-a(hta)* can be attached to almost any verbal stem. Momentative derivation typically highlights the ending of the action and the short duration of the action in the present tense. It seems, however, that the use of momentative suffixes is not obligatory in expressing telicity, because the same clauses may usually take an underived equivalent also.

In contemporary Veps the marking of habituality is a shared function of frequentative derivatives. However, this kind of derivation is not exclusively habituality-marking, but should rather be seen as highlighting imperfectivity.

The only productive suffixes in contemporary Veps are the shortest and simplest allomorphs *-(e)le* ja *-(a)hta*. These are crucial for the system and, in principle, universally predictable because elements marking core functions tend to become as short as possible. The shorter the morphemes become, the less variation they have and the closer they come to inflection (Laakso 1989 : 51).

The loosening of derivotactic restrictions suggests that something more is going on than just the expressing of nuances or even *Aktionsart*. Basically, Veps verbal derivation represents an early stage of the grammaticalisation of aspect in Veps verbal morphology. It is hard to depict the process before it has become settled in the language system. Further research on the role of aspect as a verbal category in Veps is definitely needed and should be connected to the development of the case of the object. Moreover, Russian influence is constantly growing in Veps as the result of bilingualism and language shift.

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**Abbreviations**

ADE — adessive; ALL — allative; COMIT — comitative; DIM — diminutive; ELA — elative; ESS — essive; FREQ — frequentative; GEN — genitive; ILL — illative; INCH — inchoative; INE — inessive; INF — infinitive; INS — instrumental; LocD — approximative; MOM — momentative; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; PST — past; PTV — partitive; PTC — participle; Q — question particle; REFL — reflexive; SG — singular.

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**ФРЕКВЕНТАТИВНОЕ И МОМЕНТАТИВНОЕ  
ГЛАГОЛЬНОЕ СЛОВООБРАЗОВАНИЕ В ВЕПССКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ**

В статье анализируются вепские моментативные и фреквентативные глагольные производные. С одной стороны, это морфологический разбор, с другой — в центре внимание необычно большое количество и продуктивность этих производных в вепском языке. Подоплекой для анализа послужила высказанная ранее гипотеза о влиянии русской категории вида на преумножение вепского глагольного словообразования и его семантическое развитие.

Отмечается диахроническое изменение, поскольку сравнение вепского языка начала XX века с вепским языком начала XXI века показывает, что особенно участилось употребление фреквентативных производных. Фреквентативные суффиксы в вепском языке могут присоединяется к основам слов таких типов, к которым в близкородственных языках они не присоединяются. Выбор как фреквентативных суффиксов, так и моментативных в XXI веке сузился по сравнению с текстами начала XX века, когда использовалось много их вариантов. В настоящее время в основном в ходу укороченные варианты суффиксов: фреквентативный *-(e)le* и моментативный *-(a)hta*. С помощью фреквентативного производного передается прежде всего и значение многократного действия. Иногда оно используется для того, чтобы подчеркнуть имперфектность действия по сравнению с непроизводным основным глаголом. Моментативные производные в статье представлены в небольшом количестве, но и в них ощущается влияние функции категории вида. Остается неясным, обязательно ли выражение имперфективности и многократности действия или рефлексивности с помощью этих глагольных производных.